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Appendix

West Virginian John C. Neely Authors Informative Article on Investigating Violations of the Social Security Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, constructive amendments to the Social Security Act over the years have brought under its coverage provisions a growing number of beneficiaries. Enactment of a program of medical aid to the elderly through the social security system would significantly increase the number of persons on the rolls.

Unfortunately, it is to be expected that certain misguided individuals will try to take advantage of the system and will use fraudulent means in the attempt to obtain money from the trust funds. It is the hope of these dishonest persons that the relatively few fraudulent claims will escape detection among million of legitimate ones.

Fortunately, the Social Security Administration is equipped with proven procedures and highly trained personnel which make it extremely difficult for the unprincipled to abuse social security programs.

In the June issue of the Police Chief magazine there appears a helpful and informative article entitled "Investigating Violations of the Social Security Act," by John C. Neely. Mr. Neely is Chief of the Investigations Section, Violations Branch, Social Security Administration. He began his Government service career in 1940 in the Los Angeles office of the Collector of Internal Revenue, transferring in 1945 to Baltimore as a special agent in the Intelligence Division of IRS. In 1959 he came to the Social Security Administration to head the newly formed Violations Branch in the Division of Claims Policy.

Mr. Neely is a son of the late and distinguished Senator from West Virginia, Hon. Matthew M. Neely, who served the citizens of the Mountain State so effectively in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. It was following the death of Senator Neely in 1958 that I was elected to serve the unexpired portion of his term in the U.S. Senate.

Another son, Hon. Alfred Neely, is Judge of the Criminal and Juvenile Courts of Marion County, W. Va.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the concisely written article by John Neely be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection the article was ordered to be printed, as follows:

[From the Police Chief, June 1965]

INVESTIGATING VIOLATIONS OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

(By John C. Neely)

Within the framework of the Social Security Administration, which administers a program of social insurance benefits for persons who are aged, disabled, widowed, and orphaned, investigators in the Violations Branch, Division of Claims Policy, find themselves performing their duties in an area that is distinct from the main thrust of the program.

In meetings with enforcement personnel from other agencies, I am very often asked two questions: "Don't you experience difficulties in getting U.S. attorneys and the courts to take an interest in social security prosecution cases, in view of the fact that many of the beneficiaries are aged, the witnesses who must give testimony are often of advanced age also and may be suffering from mental deterioration, and the amounts of money involved usually are small? If you get a conviction followed by a relatively substantial sentence, doesn't this do harm to your public image in view of the fact that you are taking such actions within the framework of what is basically a beneficial agency?" The answer to the first question is a conditional "Yes" and to the second, a conditional "No." Before going into detail concerning the approach which has been successfully used by Violations Branch people in dealing with these problems, let us review the growth of the program, the establishment of the Violations Branch in 1959, and the types of violations of the Social Security Act which are punishable as crimes.

High officials involved in fraud detection and deterrent activities in benefit-paying agencies seem to be in substantial agreement that the original interviewer in the local office is the first line of defense against fraudulent claims, since he is in a position to detect fraud at its inception. This role is carried out in the Social Security Administration's fraud prevention program by alert district office personnel. Continuing vigilance is maintained regardless of whether one claim in a hundred, one claim in a thousand, or one claim in a million turns out to be fraudulent since one of our goals is to prevent fraud whenever and wherever it raises its head. Individuals seeking to defraud the Social Security Administration or one of its claimants usually employ approaches and methods that are depressingly familiar to the seasoned interviewer.

Since the beginning of the program, the Social Security Administration has borne these things in mind. While its policies and procedures are geared to the bulk of its 3 million new claims a year and 20 million beneficiaries already in payment status, it has identified and incorporated guidelines that set certain cases apart from the routine and signal the need for more than minimal development and documentation.

Congressional amendments to the Social Security Act over the years brought under its coverage provisions, large additional groups of persons and increased benefit amounts to the point where self-styled accountants and others began looking upon the program as a potential source of substantial illicit revenue. Considerable thought and much ingenuity went into the conjuring of methods whereby improper payments could be syphoned from the social security trust funds. For example, certain persons who had formerly concentrated on Federal income tax matters and who had engaged in questionable practices in that regard turned their attention to social security claims and coupled the preparation of false tax returns with assistance to claimants in filing for social security benefits based on fictitious earnings. They thereafter collected an unconscionable portion of the first benefit check received by the beneficiary. It is usually surprising to persons unfamiliar with the provisions of the Social Security Act to learn that it is possible for a retroactive benefit check, under certain circumstances, to amount to as much as $5,000 or more. Unscrupulous persons, who persuade a claimant whom they have "helped" to agree to surrender his first check when it is received, may skillfully avoid any mention of this possibility so that the claimant is under the impression that the first check will be the same amount as his subsequent regular monthly benefit checks. The Violations Branch has been especially interested in making investigations of situations involving this type of activity. Under the Social Security Act, persons can be prosecuted for attempting to perpetrate frauds against the trust funds and also for violating the fee-charging provisions of the act. A nonattorney who charges any fee or any attorney who charges a fee in excess of the amount prescribed by our regulations, without prior authorization, commits a violation punishable under our act regardless of whether fraud is involved.

It was recognized that increasing inducements to commit fraudulent acts (that is, the larger benefit amounts and the special provisions incorporated into the law from time to time which made it possible in some instances to obtain benefits on the basis of short-term earnings) together with normal program growth would result in increasing numbers of fraud situations even if the ratio of fraud to nonfraud cases were to remain roughly the same. In view of this situation, in 1959 the Violations Branch was formed in the Division of Claims Policy, and persons with a law background and/or investigative experience were chosen to comprise a small group, with an investigations section, to make selected investigations throughout the United States, operating from the central office in Baltimore, Md. Through the cooperation of Mr. H. Alan Long, Director, Intelligence Division, Internal Revenue Service, the investigators were given intensive training in the U.S. Treasury Law Enforcement Officers' Training School in Washington, D.C. There is considerable parallel in the work of the special agents in Internal Revenue Service and the social security investigators, since false wage and self-employment tax returns are very often involved in cases investigated by both groups.

And now to answer the first question which other enforcement people usually ask concerning possible difficulties encountered in trying to bring social security violators to trial. It is true that one of our problems has been the need to convince some U.S. attorneys, all of whom express a desire to be cooperative but many of whom are understaffed and overworked, that our cases are important enough—even in terms of money—to justify that portion of their time which is required to process and present our cases for indictment and trial. By reference to the abridged life expectancy tables

of the United States, and in view of the fact that advanced age need not be a factor in all benefit situations, we have been able to demonstrate to those U.S. attorneys that thousands of dollars could be paid out, even where monthly benefits are not very large, in cases where false claims go undetected and payments continue over a period of many years. Our investigators, working through the Office of the General Counsel, have been very successful in this regard, as has been shown in recent years by the increased percentage of cases sent to the U.S. attorneys which have been accepted for prosecution. We have managed to have our cases reach Federal grand juries or result in the filing of criminal informations in more than 60 percent of those in which prosecution has been recommended by the Violations Branch. Of these, approximately 80 percent have resulted in convictions. There have been very few acquittals and the majority of nonconviction cases have resulted from negative grand jury actions or dismissals by the court for a variety of reasons which could not properly be considered when the decisions to recommend prosecution were made by the Violations Branch.

Our investigative staff is small and it is not possible for us to investigate every matter which is referred for investigation. We usually try to participate in on-the-scene investigations of cases involving large-scale "claims-fixers" (persons or firms encouraging others to file false returns and claims and/or encouraging them to file honest claims and thereafter charging unauthorized fees), sensitive situations involving factors which make investigation by local people undesirable, and other cases in which a need to use highly skilled and specially trained investigators is indicated.

Following preparation by the investigator of his factual report covering an investigation, the report, together with all of the other evidence in the case, is meticulously reviewed by a law-trained claims policy specialist in the Appraisal Section of the Violations Branch. Based on the report and the exhibits, the criminal violation aspects may be closed. However, if prosecution is deemed appropriate, a statement of facts containing a recommendation for prosecution is prepared for transmittal to the U.S. attorney by the appropriate section in the Office of the General Counsel. Cases developed by field people, as well as cases investigated by our own Violations Branch, are handled in this way. If the U.S. attorney requires additional information or specialized investigation, he may request one of our investigators to go into the judicial district and discuss the case with him and thereafter make additional development and/or appear before the grand jury as a Government witness. The Violations Branch also makes investigations of certain types of cases involving alleged improper conduct on the part of employees of the Social Security Administration as well as of cases involving an employee's alleged participation in a fraudulent claim. At the present time, we are sending out monthly benefit checks to approximately 20 million beneficiaries, amounting to $1.4 billion per month. Thus, it can be seen that constant alertness to any and all indicia of fraud is vital to the integrity of the program, and our goal is to prevent this vast tide of benefit payments from obscuring those fraud situations, however few and however small, by assuring that they will not be "buffered" up and carried along without detection.

And now to answer the second question which is frequently asked as to whether efforts to deal punitively with known offenders may not do harm to our status as a beneficial agency. The answer to this question is "No." Prosecutions involving individual claimants have, for the most part, been limited to flagrant violations, and the benefit of every doubt is given to suspects in preparing these cases for possible prosecution. Of course, if enforcement activities and the necessary work performed in connection with those activities are not kept in their proper perspective, the excellent public relations which we enjoy could certainly be severely damaged. The trust funds belong to the people and benefit amounts paid out to those properly entitled constitute a right, not a privilege. We would not want the public to get the idea that every person who files a claim for benefits under proper circumstances is going to be challenged in the sense that he may be made to feel that he must overcome a presumption that his claim is not legitimate. On the other hand, we want the bulk of our claimants—the honest ones—to have complete confidence in the integrity of our administration of the social security program.

Clarence Darrow, the famous trial lawyer, came to this conclusion:

"A man cannot be classified as honest or dishonest. He goes along with the game of life and can stand a certain amount of pressure for the sake of ideals. But at a given point, he can stand no more."

We strive to identify the man or woman who has reached or passed this point and thereafter deal with him (or her) in a special way, without allowing the discovery of a violation to change the basic approach used in the day-to-day claims-taking process. Occasionally, dealing with offenders in a special way will involve prosecution, conviction the imposition of fines, and even incarceration in a penal institution. Undoubtedly, the persons who are directly involved in these situations, their friends, and members of their immediate families may, and probably will, be offended by such special treatment and our popularity may very well deteriorate from their personal point of view. By the same token, our honest claimants would be justified in feeling resentment if our failure to take action in such matters should indicate to them that our stewardship of the funds on which so much of their future depends is not of the highest standards.

Curtailment of Railway Post Offices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I have long been an advocate of improved postal services for the people of this Nation. There has been a continued curtailment of such services—the latest being the discontinuance of railway post offices on trains across the country.

In the case of my State of Nebraska, the Nebraska Federation of Postal Clerks has presented evidence that in some cases the curtailment of railway post offices will cause delays in the delivery of mail of up to 24 hours. I certainly do not call this improving postal service and I think most of my colleagues will agree.

In this regard I would call attention to a resolution which was passed unanimously by the delegates to the Nebraska convention of the Nebraska Federation of Postal Clerks this month.

RESOLUTION No. 3

Whereas the postal service is steadily in a process of decay, due to gradual curtailment of services; and

Whereas the most efficient method of handling mail is to work it by the en route method of distribution made by mobile clerks; and

Whereas the postmaster general plans to fit all railway post office and highway post office service into the new pattern of sectional center distribution, and

Whereas a thousand level 5 railway post offices clerks have been lost to us since 1962 and this meat-ax method will further cut our ranks; and

Whereas when mail revenue has been stopped the railroads discontinue trains and railroad employees are forced out of work and the small towns are further harmed by poorer mail service: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Nebraska Federation of Postal Clerks in convention in Lincoln on June 4 and 5, 1965, go on record as being inalterably opposed to the curtailment of service on Omaha and Ogden trains 27 and 28 and Omaha and Denver 17 and 8. That we also inform the Department that we will oppose with all our facilities the future proposals for reduction in any of the remaining few railway post offices in Nebraska; and be it further

Resolved, We devote all our energies to this end and, if necessary, send a full delegation to Washington and voice our opposition and views on this important subject; and be it further

Resolved, That we urge our national officers to use all media of press, radio, and TV to inform the public of this loss of service to them.

This resolution was passed unanimously by the delegates to the Nebraska convention of the Nebraska Federation of Postal Clerks and is hereby forwarded to all Nebraska Congressmen and Senators.

DONALD J. URWILLER,
Secretary-Treasurer, Nebraska Federation of Postal Clerks.

Execution of American Army Sergeant by Vietcong—No Sympathy From White House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I invite the attention of Senators to an editorial entitled "No Call From the White House," published in the Columbia Record of Columbia, S.C., of June 28, 1965. The editorial makes a point that has caused considerable concern to many people throughout the South and elsewhere in the country. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NO CALL FROM THE WHITE HOUSE

During the spring demonstrations in Mississippi, a white woman civil rights worker was slain on the highway. The Nation was shocked by the crime. President Johnson called the woman's husband and offered his condolences in a televised telephone conversation. Vice President HUMPHREY went personally to express the Government's grief and sorrow.

Last weekend the President stopped over in Missouri to exchange expressions of mutual admiration with the former Presi-

dent, Harry S. Truman. Johnson went on to San Francisco, where his plea before the United Nations for peace was accepted with startling coolness.

At the same time a widowed mother in Perryville, Ark., wept for one of her three soldier sons. An Army sergeant, he was captured by the Communist Vietcong and executed in reprisal for the punishment of Red terrorists. The Nation was shocked by the savage brutality of the murder.

Friends and relatives streamed into the frame house where she lived. They expressed their concern and sympathy in small town tradition by bringing food and flowers. They shared her grief and horror, but the news media reported no telephone calls from the White House, no word of a visit from the Vice President.

Only neighbors mourned the death of the American martyr for world peace.

Anniversary of the Independence of Rwanda

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, 3 years ago, on July 1, 1962, Rwanda became an independent republic. On this memorable occasion, therefore, we wish to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency, Gregoire Kayibanda, President of the Republic of Rwanda; and to His Excellency, Celestin Kabanda, Rwanda's Ambassador to the United States.

During the 3 short years of statehood the people of this small country in East-Central Africa have made a great and successful effort to create a viable and democratic state.

Since its independence the Republic of Rwanda has been faced with many difficult tasks in the political, economic, and social realm. As part of its historic legacy the new state inherited a complicated landholding system, which dated as far back as the 15th century. Germany extended its zone of influence over Rwanda-Burundi as a result of the Berlin Conference of 1884–85. After the First World War, Belgium administered the area as a mandate under the League of Nations and subsequently as a U.N. trust territory. Neither power changed the feudal structure of the society. It was up to the leaders of the independent Republic of Rwanda to institute the needed socioeconomic reforms, and I am pleased to note the spirit of perseverance with which the government has embarked on this complicated task.

Rwanda is one of the most densly populated countries in Africa. Despite its relatively limited natural resources, Rwanda has reached the point where it is almost completely self-sufficient in its food supply. Its agriculture was modernized, production was increased and diversified. Thus, the disastrous famines of the past were overcome.

Following a complete review of its economic policies after independence, farsighted industrial development began; the transportation system was enlarged and hydroelectric powerplants were built.

The benefits of these and other programs have reached all the people. Whereas in 1954 all education was provided by religious missions and limited almost exclusively to primary grades, Rwanda now provided free education for all children between the ages of 7 and 16. In 1962–63 its school population totaled 350,000, many in new secondary schools and technical institutes—a truly admirable achievement. At the same time, a variety of programs of great social benefit were started: public health services were organized, and the training of doctors and nurses undertaken. Well-planned urban centers are growing, and new housing is provided for many.

In the years to come Rwanda will face many difficult tasks. Yet the experiences of the 3 past years cannot but lead us to believe that future obstacles will be overcome. Rwanda has taken the first steps with courage and success.

In pursuing a policy of international cooperation Rwanda has not only aided its own progress but has also set a fine example for the world. Agreements with the EEC, and pilot programs set up under the auspices of the United Nations give proof of Rwanda's commitment to international understanding. Though young in years, the Republic of Rwanda pursues a policy of great wisdom.

In short, the people of Rwanda can look with pride at the progressive development of their country, and Americans regard their efforts with approval. It is with the greatest pleasure that I congratulate Rwanda on the progress it has made. We admire the laudable goals and methods chosen by the people of Rwanda, and past evidence make us confident that the future will see even greater achievements.

Montana Stockmen Oppose User Charge for Soil Conservation Service Assistance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, a wide variety of interests throughout the Nation have appealed to Congress to oppose the Budget Bureau proposal to assess a user charge on Soil Conservation Districts, farmers, ranchers, and other landowners, for technical assistance from the Soil Conservation Service.

Farmers, bankers, educators, contractors, businessmen, and many others have joined farm organizations and Soil and Water Conservation Districts in objecting to this proposal.

The Western Montana Stockmen's Association has joined the chorus of opposition. A resolution to that effect was adopted by the association at its annual spring meeting, recently held at Ronan, Mont. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOIL CONSERVATION

Whereas there is a greater need for soil conservation practices than ever before; and

Whereas under the present proposed budget set up by the Department of Agriculture, funds available for the Soil Conservation Service, will be $20 million less than last year; and

Whereas to make up the $20 million cut in the Soil Conservation Service budget, the Department of Agriculture will charge for technical assistance to those individuals requiring Soil Conservation Service: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Department of Agriculture budget additional funds for soil conservation services.

Passed by the members of the Western Montana Stockmen's Association at their annual spring meeting held at Ronan, Mont., on May 1, 1965.

GEORGE TRIPP,
President, Niarada, Mont.
J. L. WILSON,
Chairman Resolutions Committee, Whitepine, Mont.
RUTH STEARNS,
Secretary, Plains, Mont.

Student County Government Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month I introduced a resolution requesting the President to proclaim a National Student Council Week. Today I would like to again call to the attention of Congress the activities of the Nation's youth in the field of government.

For the past 7 years, the Board of Freeholders of Bergen County in my district has sponsored an annual Student County Government Day. Bergen is believed to have been one of the first counties in the United States to establish such a program and its Public Information Department has on two occasions been awarded the George Washington Honor Medal from the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge for sponsorship of the project.

Student County Government Day in Bergen County involve students from the various schools taking the reins of government for the day-long period and working with their counterparts in their assigned duties. In the 1965 program, participating students met with county officials at an orientation night and were assigned specific county government projects, together with reference sources. Each student was also given an official handbook on county government outlining the duties and functions of government at the county level in Bergen.

A brief description of the day's activities from the 1965 report of the Bergen County Board of Chosen Freeholders follows:

A total of 176 students from 35 public and parochial high schools participated in Student County Government Day. This is the largest number of students and the largest number of high schools ever to participate. Students assembled in the Freeholder public meeting room and were instructed in how to use the voting machine. They followed regular voting procedures. Each student registered and received a voting slip before entering the voting machine.

Here are the two questions on which they voted and the results:

(1) Should the legal drinking age in New York State be increased from 18 to 21?—no, 101; yes, 65.

(2) Should the voting age in New Jersey be lowered from 21 to 18?—no, 110; yes, 50.

The students were then taken by their official counterparts to their respective departments to learn about the operating of county government.

At noon a luncheon was served in the cafeteria of Bergen County Vocational and Technical High School for the students and their counterparts. From 2 to 3:15 p.m. student Freeholders and their counterparts held a caucus to arrange the meeting agenda. The public Freeholder meeting began at 3:15 p.m. with all the other nonparticipating students seated in the audience.

The meeting centered on the two questions on which all of the students had voted in the morning. A resolution memorializing the New York State Legislature to increase the drinking age from 18 to 21 was defeated 7 to 2. By the same majority the student Freeholders defeated a resolution memorializing the New Jersey Legislature to lower the voting age from 21 to 18.

All students and schools participating in the project were given awards and certificates and special recognition was given to the St. Cecilia High School student newspaper for "journalistic excellence in acquainting its readers with the aims of Bergen County Student Government Day and thereby helping foster an increased understanding of government."

High schools participating in the program included: Bergen Catholic, Bergen Tech, Bergenfield, Bogota, Cliffside Park, Don Bosco, Dumont, Dwight Morrow, Fair Lawn, Fort Lee, Hackensack, Hasbrouck Heights, Holy Angels Academy, Immaculate Conception, Immaculate Heart Academy, Leonia, Lodi, Mahwah, North Arlington, Northern Valley Regional, Pascack Hills, Pascack Valley, Ramapo Regional, Ridgefield Memorial, Ridgefield Park, Ridgewood, Riverdell Regional, Rutherford, Saddle Brook, St. Cecilia, St. Mary's, Teaneck, Tenafly, Wallington, and Wood-Ridge.

Irving N. Chayken Returns Medal to President de Gaulle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the Hammond, Ind., Times, on Sunday, June 27, 1965 carried a front page story regarding a prominent citizen of my district, Irving N. Chayken, returning a World War I Croix de Guerre Medal to President de Gaulle of France.

I think his actions reflect the minds of millions of American citizens, along with the majority of the citizens of France and other nations of the free world. I know that Mr. Chayken, in addressing his letter to President de Gualle personally, did not include millions of French citizens who are in opposition to the dictatorial and ungrateful actions of the French President who is now completely noncooperative with the free world in curtailing the aggressions and spread of the international Communist conspiracy.

The following is a copy of the open letter of Mr. Chayken to President Charles de Gaulle of France:

AN OPEN LETTER TO CHARLES DE GAULLE
PRESIDENT OF FRANCE

DEAR PRESIDENT DE GAULLE: I note with great concern that you have undertaken a course of action that threatens the unity of the Western Powers. It appears you are determined to make France independent and to assume leadership of free Europe, which has rested with the United States since World War II.

You intend to withdraw France from the North Atlantic Alliance in 1969 and plan also to take steps to deprive the alliance and America, in particular, the right to use military installations and facilities on French soil except under national control of France.

You forget apparently, Mr. de Gaulle, that you spent 4 years in exile during World War II because France had been conquered by Germany and America's military forces were fighting at the other end hoping to restore France's freedom some day.

Americans are justified to complain about your lack of memory and in many places, regard you as an ingrate. France received a total of $9,413,500,000 in economic and military aid since the war. In 1953 and 1954, France received military aid totaling $1,107,900,000 and $683,500,000 while battling bitterly to keep a toehold in Indochina. The official U.S. Government publication, "U.S. Foreign Assistance, July 1, 1945, to June 30, 1962" will bear out these figures.

Your attitude may not only prove disastrous to France and yourself but also to the entire free world. In event of a Russian attack, the free nations would be handcuffed trying to defend Western Europe on the ground.

You memory is very poor, Mr. de Gaulle, when you forget the thousands of Americans who lost their lives or were wounded and permanently injured during World Wars I and II, defending the soil of France.

During World War I, the Croix de Guerre Medal was presented to me on the battlefront near Soissons, France, in July 1918, for helping to safety the wounded from my company that left 3 dead and 60 injured. I prized this citation for nearly 50 years and often recalled the glorious days with the 2d Division that fought not only for America but for the safety of France.

If you, Mr. de Gaulle, as President of France, now take a stubborn attitude against America and are forgetting your friends, then it is no longer and honor for me to keep this famous medal from the Government of France.

I am an American, first and always, and those who belittle this great Nation have no place in my heart after all that America has done to restore and preserve the freedom of France.

I am returning this medal to you, Mr. de Gaulle, because I can no longer have the respect of the country that gave it to me. Such a medal is a citation that any soldier would cherish and treasure.

You are nothing but a major threat to the peace of the Western Hemisphere and of all people, the French should be most grateful to the American forces that shed their blood so that France may survive. I hope that my comrades in World War I will join me in returning their medals, too, to you so that you can be reminded of the sacrifices from America for the survival of the French people.

Sincerely,

IRVING N. CHAYKEN,
President.

Cuban Refugees Train as Teachers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, Fairleigh Dickinson University recently was given a Federal grant to train Cuban refugees to be teachers of Spanish in New Jersey schools.

A feature article, written by Charles H. Harrison, education editor, appeared recently in the Record of Hackensack, N.J. It describes the effective program which has been organized by Fairleigh Dickinson University and how this grant will result in providing outstanding teachers for many of our school systems in New Jersey.

So that my colleagues can be aware of the value of this program I insert Mr. Harrison's article in the RECORD at this point:

CUBAN REFUGEES TRAIN AS TEACHERS AT FAIRLEIGH DICKINSON UNIVERSITY—UNIVERSITY AWARDED GRANT TO RUN INSTITUTE; SPANISH IS SUBJECT

(By Charles H. Harrison)

TEANECK.—An ambassador in the Batista regime in Cuba, who has been selling electrical appliances in Miami, is among 26 Cuban refugees who began yesterday training to be Spanish teachers in New Jersey schools.

Fairleigh Dickinson University was awarded a $37,284 Federal grant to conduct the training institute. Another $28,000 was made available to the refugees by the Federal Government on a loan basis. They will have to pay their own living expenses through September, when they are scheduled to take full-time jobs in New Jersey schools.

The majority of the 26 refugees were lawyers or teachers in Cuba before Castro took over. They are all college graduates. Dr. Emilio S. Cancio-Bello served as an ambassador to five Latin American countries under Batista from 1952 to 1959. He resigned the day after Castro took over on January 1, 1959.

The group will be enrolled in the master of arts in teaching program at Fairleigh Dickinson University, which prepares college graduates for teaching positions in high schools. The refugees' course of study will be slightly different, however.

Generally, those enrolled in the master of arts in teaching program spend the summer practice teaching under a master instructor and then become teaching interns for one semester the following school year. The second semester is spent in pursuing graduate studies in their major field.

The Cubans will complete the summer part of the program and then be granted an

emergency teaching certificate by the State which will allow them to take full-time positions immediately. They will take required education subjects and courses in Spanish literature over a 2-year period.

According to Dr. James E. Williams, director of the master of arts in teaching program and the special institute for the refugees, approximately 10 of the Cubans have already had interviews arranged for them with school superintendents in Bergen and Hudson Counties. The others will also be interviewed for teaching positions this summer.

In addition to the master of arts in teaching program work, the refugees will receive special instruction in the history of American public schools, English as a foreign language (all 26 speak English to varying degrees of competency), and comparative culture and literature of Cuba and the United States.

LIVE IN TEANECK

The refugees will live in dormitories on the Teaneck campus until September. After they obtain full-time teaching jobs, their families will join them.

Dr. Cancio-Bella, who said he is a personal friend of Batista's, was, at various times during a 7-year period, Ambassador to Panama, Costa Rica, Peru, Uruguay, and Chile. He is as fluent in French as in Spanish, having studied at the University of Lyon in France. He may end up teaching French and Spanish in some North Jersey high school.

All the refugees were picked by Dr. Williams and his staff during interviews in Miami this spring. Approximately 150 persons were considered.

Raul E. Mendiguita was a civil judge in Sancti-Spiritus, Cuba, for 25 years before leaving for exile in the United States. When he was interviewed in Miami, Mendiguita was working in a tomato-packing plant.

Another former government official among the group is Andres Suarez. He was in the Ministry of Education during Batista's tenure and joined the Castro regime as assistant secretary in the Ministry of the Treasury from January 1, 1959 to October 1960. He became disillusioned with Castro and fled to Miami by plane in the fall of 1960. He said he has been doing some freelance writing in Miami.

Mrs. Olga C. Fuentes, who assisted a professor of physiology and genetics in the University of Havana, has good reason to remember the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961. Her husband was among those who landed on the beach. He was captured, she said, and later exchanged. He works now in Miami and will join her when she becomes a teacher in September.

These four refugees are not optimistic about returning to Cuba, and they doubt they would go back now if they could. The main reason for their reluctance is the younger generation. They all have children and the children are thoroughly Americanized.

Suarez said he was interested in obtaining American citizenship. He said he thinks his children would find Cuba a strange country if they returned.

Dr. Cancio-Bello has one son studying to be a doctor at the University of Miami and another son preparing for a career in chemical engineering. He also has a 13-year-old daughter. Because his daughter talks only English now, Dr. Cancio-Bello said, he decided to give her lessons in Spanish grammar. He taught her Spanish 1 hour a day for 6 months.

"I'm 54 years old now," Dr. Cancio-Bello said. "I don't think I could begin again in Cuba." He also believes Castro is going to be around awhile. When Castro does topple from power, there will be violent times in Cuba, Dr. Cancio-Bello predicted.

For the first 10 days of the institute, the refugees will meet periodically during the day with five recent American college graduates, some of who are also enrolled in the master of arts in teaching program.

Their job is to help orient the group to new surrounding and to correct the refugees' English. Also, the refugees will be taking some field trips. Tomorrow they will tour Englewood Junior High School; later in the week they visit the Madison campus of FDU.

Foreign Aid: Partnership of Industrialized Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEC G. OLSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. OLSON of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, an article in the March issue of the Reader's Digest praises foreign aid efforts to help the "have not" countries and points out that foreign aid is no longer a U.S. monopoly but a partnership of industrialized nations which realize that the peoples of the world must be responsible for each other if the free world is to survive.

Two-thirds of the world's population live in the less-developed countries—many of which are newly independent nations that must span centuries of political, social, and industrial development in a few short years. Some of us may have the impression that only the United States is meeting this challenge through foreign assistance. But this no longer so. Although at one time the United States was the only country giving major aid, today we are one of many nations who feel they have an immense stake in the process of development in these countries. Seventeen other free world nations now contribute substantial foreign assistance to the developing nations. Total free world aid amounted to $8.1 billion in 1963, the last year for which figures are available.

As David E. Bell, Administrator of the Agency for International Development, pointed out before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee recently:

U.S. bilateral assistance, including Public Law 480 and other economic aid, totals about .54 percent of our gross national product. The bilateral aid programs of other donors total slightly less—.60 percent of combined gross national product. But U.S. gross national product per capita is almost 3 times that of other donor countries. From this point of view, the relative burden on the citizens of other donor nations is higher.

The United States has been a major force behind the increased foreign assistance efforts of other donor countries and we have been pleased with their response. Bilateral aid commitments of the developed countries increased by 50 percent from 1960 to 1963 and for the first time U.S. bilateral aid, including Public Law 480, was less than half the aid to the developing countries. The U.S. share of multilateral resources now ranges from 30 percent of World Bank subscriptions to 43 percent of the ordinary capital of the IDB, while other nations' contributions range from 44 percent of World Bank subscriptions to 100 percent of the European Economic Community aid programs.

There is every evidence that other donor countries will continue to increase their share. Canada has begun a new $50 million loan program in addition to their existing aid programs. The Netherlands recently announced a 20 percent increase in aid. Loan terms are beginning to ease in order to hasten development without imposing prohibitive debt burdens on recipient nations. The British have decreased their average interest rates and West Germany has liberalized its loan maturities. The new Canadian program will include significantly more liberal terms than those provided by the United States.

There is no doubt of the commitment of other nations to helping to better the lot of the masses of people in the world who live in poverty and ignorance. The magnitude of this human condition, the increasing political responsibilities placed upon the developing nations in international affairs, and the multiplying threat of communism to the independence of their governments makes it mandatory that the United States and other advanced countries continue to restate their commitment.

In this context, I would like to call attention to the Reader's Digest article which gives an excellent account of what other countries are accomplishing by their commendable foreign assistance programs:

HANDS ACROSS MANY SEAS

(By James Daniel)

(NOTE.—Foreign aid to have-not nations is no longer a U.S. monopoly. A progress report on nation-to-nation help.)

In Guinea, a 600-mile-long aqueduct is being built to bring pure mountain water to the crowded capital city of Conakry. In Thailand, a dam under construction will provide 25,000 kilowatts of electricity for homes and industries, besides irrigating thousands of acres of badly needed farmland. In Pakistan, buses are rolling through ancient streets where for centuries the pace has been set by bullock carts. In Tanganyika, a recently completed railroad line is opening up the fertile Kilombera Valley to new sugar plantations.

All these represent foreign aid at work—but not U.S. foreign aid. This may surprise many Americans who have come to think that the United States is alone in giving economic assistance to other countries The fact is that many nations are helping other countries. More than $6 billion a year is now distributed in government grants and loans from industrialized nations of the free world to less developed countries. Of this, 38 percent is contributed by countries other than the United States.

On a proportional basis, several countries have equaled or surpassed the United States in economic assistance. France, for example, in 1963 extended $1.074 billion in total foreign aid (i.e., official governmental aid plus private investment). This effort was one-forth as large as the U.S. performance, though France's production is only one-eighth as great. In the same year Portugal, a far poorer country than France, devoted a record 1.89 percent of her gross national product to official aid alone. Even Belgium was ahead of the United States, proportionally.

None of this implies that we ought to enter a foreign-aid competition; nor does it minimize the burden the United States has carried and still carries. On the loan side of

foreign aid, the United States is still the largest source of easy credit, annually lending more than $1 billion, much of it at token interest rates of less than 1 percent. (Other countries have usually priced their loans at 3 to 6 percent, or even higher.) Furthermore, the United States devotes 9.4 percent of its gross national product to the military defense of the free world, as compared to 4.7 percent for its allies.

Many of America's allies, however, have their full share of dramatic projects. Canada, for example, has built and helped finance the $36 million Warsak hydroelectric and irrigation development on Pakistan's Kabul River, near the historic Khyber Pass. At present, Canadians have 75 major projects underway around the world.

French railroad engineers undertook the modernization of India's electrical railways. Besides designing the new system, training the Indian supervisors, mechanics, and conductors, France built one-third of the locomotives and some of the other equipment. Crack management teams borrowed from the French railway system saw the initial project through to completion in 3 years—half the estimated time for a comparable project in Europe. And the work still continues.

Just a decade ago, West Germany was on the receiving end of economic assistance; now she is giving it, to more than 90 nations. A few examples of German aid: an improved telephone system for South Korea, construction of three irrigation dams in Tunisia, expansion of port facilities in Ceylon.

One of the causes behind the upsurge in free-world aid is the economic boom in Western European and North American countries and Japan. These nations have discovered that foreign-aid missions often stimulate more sophisticated wants in emerging nations, requiring greater imports from the industrialized countries. Also, with aid programs former colonial powers maintain their presence in ex-colonies.

Another cause: late in the 1950's Washington candidly told European allies that the time had come for them to spread some of their Marshall plan-stimulated prosperity around among the poorer nations of Asia, Africa, and South America. Besides genuine concern over the political and social dangers inherent in the widening gap between haves and have-nots, Washington was worried over the nagging imbalance in this country's international payments.

To put steel in the U.S. request, Washington required that official economic-aid dollars henceforth be "tied" to purchases in the United States. This curtailed the use, by aid-receiving countries, of U.S. gift money to purchase commercial products from other industrialized countries. The latter, then, were compelled to increase their own aid substantially to keep up their trade.

One healthy upshot of the U.S. cajoling occurred in 1961, when Belgium, Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Portugal, and the United States formed the Development Assistance Committee within the framework of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Norway joined in 1962, Denmark in 1963. DAC's goals, besides persuading rich countries to export more capital to poor ones, include urging members to avoid wasting aid on unproductive projects, encouraging private investment, and making sure that underdeveloped countries are not loaded with more debt than they can carry.

DAC's approach to foreign aid is low keyed and levelheaded. DAC officials say that aid is useless unless a receiving country has trained people, a stable government, and a social system conducive to working hard and getting ahead. In particular DAC abhors prestige projects designed to flatter local rulers, such as steel mills without ore or customers, or cold-war ploys based on the idea that if the free world doesn't give country X's dictator a dam the Communists will.

The overall philosophy is summed up in two statements. One was by Thorkil Kristensen, economist and former Finance Minister of Denmark, who serves as OECD's Secretary General. "Many of the mistakes in foreign aid," he told me, "have come from trying to do the photographable things first without the necessary advance preparation." The other statement was from Willard Thorp, professor of economics at Amherst College, serving as chairman of DAC. After noting that certain emerging countries' rulers put the attainment or enjoyment of office or the pursuit of more territory ahead of economic betterment, Thorp said, "At the outset, for many of these countries, the most useful thing you could do was to increase their total number of college graduates from 5 to 10."

In line with the emphasis upon people ahead of plans and money, some of America's allies are quietly pushing educational programs. For example, in addition to 1,000 scholarship students from former French colonies attending French universities, each year 3,500 stagiaires, or on-the-job trainees, are brought to study and work in France, in scores of occupations ranging from radio broadcasting to lighthouse maintenance. An important objective is to inculcate new methods, work habits, and attitudes, which the trainees, on returning home, can pass along as a way of leavening the apathy of their people.

One of these stagiaires is Gérard Jérôme Nana, a 22-year-old Camerounian, whom I interviewed at the Renault auto works near Paris. With five other articulate young Africans, Gérard was putting in a 9-hour day of work and study at the plant, taking extra Saturday courses, and often devoting his holidays to working as a mechanic in garages around Paris for extra cash. Daily contact with a modern industrial society had given Gérard an apostle's zeal.

"Take just the matter of getting to work on time," he told me. "In my country if the French boss says, 'Everybody be on time tomorrow so we can get the job done,' the employees say, 'See, our ex-colonial masters are still trying to exploit us.' If they only understood that one man's being late can cut the output of an entire factory, what a difference it could make."

Since the United States began pushing for more shoulders to the wheel, 16 other countries have instituted or strengthened aid programs. As a rough guide, the United Nations suggests that every "have" country should devote at least 1 percent of its gross national product to economic development in the "have not" countries, in whatever mix of public and private investment it chooses. Some of the latest percentages of government aid among DAC members: Portugal, 1.89; France, 1.27; Belgium, 0.76; United States, 0.72.

It is clear that equality of effort among the industrialized countries is still a far-off goal. William S. Gaud, Deputy Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development, said in testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee: "The mere fact that other industrialized countries are contributing more aid each year does not answer the question of whether they are doing enough."

In sum, the United States, having expended more than $100 billion on foreign aid since World War II, would like to see even more participation by its allies. It would like them to share the philosophy typified by Albert Bougeant—a participant in Volunteers for Progress, the French peace corps—who is donating 2 years of his life to a primitive village in steaming equatorial Africa. "In this world," Bougeant says, "I believe that we are all a little bit responsible for one another."

Burundi's Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, today marks the third anniversary of the independence of the Kingdom of Burundi. We wish, therefore, to take this opportunity to extend warm felicitations to His Majesty Mwami Mwambutsa IV; and the Burundi Ambassador to the United States, Leon Ndenzako.

The Kingdom of Burundi is a small country in central Africa which has recently received attention from the American press. In view of the importance of contemporary events, we should give attention here to the history and political background of this recently independent state.

Burundi was among the last African states to come under European influence. Its first visitor from Europe was John Hanning Speke, who in 1858 traveled through Burundi in his search for the headwaters of the Nile. In 1871, Stanley and Livingstone arrived there and explored the region near the present port-capital of Usumbura, on Lake Tanganyika. In 1885, the German sphere of influence in Africa was extended to include the territory of Burundi. Although the Germans remained there until 1916, the government remained in the hands of the traditional authorities.

During the First World War, Burundi was occupied by Belgian troops; after the war, the territory was awarded to the latter as a mandate of the League of Nations. This status remained unchanged until after World War II, when Burundi, with its neighbor to the north, Rwanda, was made part of a United Nations trust territory under Belgian administration. Throughout the period of Belgian control, the traditional authorities also retained their positions. During the latter years, however, the Belgians sponsored an extensive economic development program.

By 1961, the people of Burundi had demonstrated their political maturity and responsibility by holding peaceful national elections.

Plans for independence were completed; with neither a political revolution nor a social upheaval, Burundi became a self-governing State, ruled as of old by the King, or Mwami, and his advisers. The Government, however, was now patterned on Western constitutional democracies rather than on old tribal organizations. On the 1st of July, 1962, the territory of Urundi became the independent kingdom of Burundi.

Today Burundi, under the leadership of its King, Mwambutsa IV, finds itself in a difficult political and economic situation. Improvements in medicine and sanitation have created a serious threat of overpopulation in the small country; this situation has been made more serious by the considerable influx of refugees from neighboring countries.

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Yet Burundi has not been left in peace to face its internal problems and to pursue development programs in medicine, education, communications, agriculture, animal husbandry, and industry. While trying to improve its own situation in a rapidly changing area of the world, the Government must also keep under control the Chinese Communists, who, according to a recent Chinese defector there, want to use the kingdom as a base in central Africa for the encouragement and support of rebel activities in the Congo.

Recently, Burundi plainly showed its disapproval of Chinese Communist activities by severing diplomatic ties with Peiping. The kingdom has demonstrated its neutrality and its unwillingness to aid the spread of rebellion in Africa. It wisely recognizes the importance of achieving internal stability and economic independence to complement its political independence. Under the leadership of Prime Minister Joseph Bemina, Burundi seeks moderation in politics, the integration of its rival racial and political elements, and neutrality in foreign affairs.

Today we see in Burundi a stable government and a channelling of national efforts toward common goals. In achieving political moderation and economic development, we wish the kingdom of Burundi every success.

"Bread Tax" Charge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STANLEY L. GREIGG

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. GREIGG. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to place in the RECORD a fine editorial from the June 29 edition of the Des Moines Register which once and for all should dissolve the phony "bread tax" issue raised in reference to wheat legislation.

This editorial is from a great newspaper located in the heart of the agricultural area of our country. The message contained in it does not require an explanation. It is crystal clear. This false issue, now dead, should be properly buried and forgotten in any reasonable discussion of farm programs.

"BREAD TAX" CHARGE

The attack against the wheat acreage diversion and price support program as a "bread tax on consumers" is one of the more cynical pieces of political demagogy to be practiced lately. This program requires domestic processors of wheat to buy certificates worth 75 cents a bushel and exporters to buy certificates worth 30 cents a bushel. The certificates are given to farmers as part of their payment for complying with acreage restrictions.

Since the certificate program began, the price-support loan on wheat has been reduced from $2 a bushel to $1.25. The average "blend" certificate value, which depends on the ratio of domestic to export sales, last year was 43 cents and this year is to be 44 cents. The total support price to wheat growers this year will average $1.69 per bushel, as compared with $2 in 1962.

The domestic miller will pay about the same for wheat this year as in 1962, since the market price plus the certificate will cost about $2 per bushel.

The "bread tax" charge is based on the fact that part of the price support cost now is paid by the public as consumers instead of taxpayers. The flour millers pass on the cost of the certificates in the price of flour.

The "bread tax" charge is cynical because everyone knows the price of bread is only slightly related to the price of wheat. The cost of wheat makes up less than 20 percent of the retail price of bread and other bakery products. About 80 percent of the price is made up of processing and marketing costs.

The total cost of wheat to flour millers is no higher than it was 3 years ago and is lower than it was in the early 1950's when price supports were higher. Yet the prices of bread and other wheat products are considerably higher because of increased labor and other manufacturing costs.

The price of white bread has risen every year since 1950 but not because the price of wheat went up. If the wheat program is extended by Congress and the administration recommendations are approved, the wheat certificates will be increased in value. Since the cost of wheat in a loaf of bread is around 2 cents, raising the certificate value to $1.25 (a 20-percent increase in the total cost of wheat to the miller) could not justify as much as a 1-cent increase in the price of bread.

If this part of the subsidy is paid in the form of a charge on consumers instead of taxpayers, it cannot affect low-income consumers perceptibly.

Whether it is a good idea to raise the returns to wheatgrowers by any method is a separate question. But the method of a higher certificate value should not be discarded on such phony ground as the "bread tax" argument.

Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, the editor of the Honolulu Star Bulletin, Mr. William H. Ewing, has written an exceedingly provocative editorial on the question of the direction of the war in Vietnam which I feel deserves attention and thoughtful consideration.

With permission of the House of Representatives, I place this editorial in the RECORD at this point:

THE ONLY WAY TO DEFEAT CHINA

The United States has now come very near to provoking war with Red China.

There should be no mistake about this. The bombing of targets within 80 miles of the Chinese border, less than the distance between Oahu and Kauai, is on its face a provocation. But on top of this the administration in Washington has not hesitated to make clear that the bombing was aimed at Peiping. An Associated Press report from Washington says:

"Authorities speaking against the backdrop of the latest U.S. bombing raids within 80 miles of the Red Chinese frontier said that it has already been made clear that North Vietnam cannot expect to have a sanctuary in its territory while Hanoi is feeding the war in South Vietnam.

"This note of warning is also being applied to Peiping by U.S. officials who fear that U.S. restraint may have been misinterpreted by Communist China's rulers."

The Associated Press does not identify the authorities who made these statements. Often the authority is the President himself. No matter who, the experienced reporters, who work for the Associated Press in Washington do not make such attributions without knowing that the spokesman does, in fact, represent the administration.

The same story goes on to say:

"A feeling of strong resentment has run through administration circles as the result of the harsh tone of Peiping's rejection of the British Commonwealth effort to seek a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam struggle.

"Prime Minister Harold Wilson of Britain was called a nitwit in official Chinese Communist rejection of a Commonwealth peace mission's call. In Washington this was looked upon as extremely harsh language which demonstrated clearly that there is no interest in any peaceful settlement of the Vietnam war except on Communist terms. * * * Authorities said it will be up to the Communist side to decide what happens next."

What kind of policy is it that is predicated on whether the other side speaks harshly or gently? Our policymakers should have known, though they obviously did not know, that the air raids on North Vietnam would not force the Communists to submit; that, on the contrary, the raids would more likely harden the enemy's resistance and determination. This, on the basis of all the evidence available, is what has now happened.

We ought to know now that dropping bombs within a few miles of the Red China border is most likely to have the same effect. The aim, as conceived in Washington, is to force the Communists to come to the conference table. The opposite result is much more probable—to drive them away. The fact is that the Communists, within sight of winning in South Vietnam, will negotiate when they judge it to be in their interest to do so, and not before.

On March 31, after our policymakers had announced we would punish North Vietnam with bombings in order to halt its support of the Vietcong and to produce peace negotiations, this newspaper editorially raised the question: What if the bombing fails?

The bombing, after over 4 months, has now, it appears, failed. That is, it has neither stopped northern Communist aid to the Vietcong nor has it produced a peace conference. In fact, along with Red China and the Soviet Union, country after country of the so-called uncommitted bloc has refused to attend a peace meeting proposed by Prime Minister Harold Wilson of Britain.

So what do we do now? Do we bomb Hanoi? Do we cross the border into Red China? If it is logical to bomb North Vietnam for "feeding" the war in the south, is it not also logical to bomb Red China whence came the war stores in the first place? The "authorities" quoted by the Associated Press say it will be up to the Communist side to decide what happens next. This states clearly enough that we will hold the Communists responsible for what we ourselves do.

Regardless of all else, let us keep clearly in mind one dark and monstrous prospect: If we get into a war with Red China, we will never win it without resort to nuclear weapons. Are we willing to face this prospect? In a showdown, we would have to expect that Moscow would provide Peiping with modern conventional weapons—supersonic fighters, heat-seeking air-to-air missiles, etc.—to defend itself against American attack. We could never win a conventional war against China, and the Chinese know it. We ought to know it. We could win it, but only with our nuclear arsenal. Are we ready for that, and the general holocaust almost certain to follow? We ought to face up to this before we take the final step that almost surely would lead that way.

Charge to the Class of 1965, by Dr. Elvis Stahr, President, Indiana University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, recent events on some college campuses have shocked and alarmed the country. College administrative machinery has been halted by unruly mobs of demonstrators. A so-called free speech movement degenerated into a "filthy speech movement" marked by placards bearing four-letter words. Some student organizations have called upon our Government to betray its friends, abandon its commitments abroad and accommodate its sworn enemies. The question "What are the purposes of a university?" has often been asked, but the need for an answer is more imperative than ever before.

A brilliant and perceptive answer was given at Indiana University's commencement ceremonies on June 14, 1965, by the president, Dr. Elvis Stahr. Indiana University is one of this country's great educational institutions; it is my alma mater and I am proud to say that it has generally remained free of the disorder and unrest that has plagued some others.

Dr. Stahr reminded the class of 1965 that while their degrees are conferred with "all the rights, privileges, and responsibilities thereto appertaining," they must give special attention to the matter of responsibilities. This wise and sound injunction is, unfortunately, all too seldom heard today, and Dr. Stahr's remarks are worthy of careful consideration by all Americans:

CHARGE TO THE CLASS OF 1965

Members of the class of 1965, today—this morning—the work of many years will culminate for each of you in a brief sentence—a remarkably simple procedure in contrast to the educational experience which it certifies and the success which it symbolizes. Just so, rituals often capture in capsule the accumulated past and the implications of the future.

There is an essential difference in this ceremony of commencement. No oath will be required of you, no promises, no "I do." It is as if what this signifies is its own guarantee of future performance. Educated, you will perform as educated men and women.

In a few moments you will receive your degrees, conferred with "all the rights, privileges, and responsibilities thereto appertaining." Let us look briefly at these concomitants of your degrees.

The rights and privileges are relatively obvious. You will have letters which you are entitled to use after your name. You will have evidence of achievement to support your qualifications for a field of employment. Wherever a college education is a requirement for membership, you will have your passport. And, importantly, you will always belong to the special group of men and women who share Indiana University as their alma mater.

It is to the third word of the trio, "rights, privileges, and responsibilities," that I would draw your attention with the emphatic hope that you will never forget, will always honor, the unspoken promise of responsibility which is inherent in your bearing of a university degree.

The world may reasonably expect a different performance of its educated citizens. Yet cultured speech, broadened knowledge, refined tastes, even training for a profession are but partial and circumstantial evidences of formal education, however useful they may be in your careers and in your lives. The fullness of the implication in the word "responsibilities" lies beyond these, in the realm of choice, of values, and of understanding.

As you have pursued the mastery of your particular discipline, there has matured in you a pattern of seeking information, weighing it with increasingly discriminating judgment, formulating its expression, and then learning from its criticism by a faculty member and sometimes by your fellow-students. This is the educative process, a process which—if you have understood it well—will become one of the most valuable assets you will have in the furtherance of your personal and professional lives. It takes an individual act of liberation, not always conscious, to transfer this process to all of your experience—from the classroom to the experience outside.

Yet this transference is expected of you as educated men and women, and particularly in the opinions, choices, values and judgments that will characterize your adult lives.

For each of you this means that your opinions must be based on information, carefully weighed and thoughtfully expressed. This means that your judgment of issues should be responsible and unprejudiced by ignorance, propaganda, or inverted values. This gives to your acts a special significance—for you are educated people, certified representatives of the educational program of a great university, and the embodiment of her expectations. As the Honorable Adlai Stevenson well observed: "In the serene title of university is meant more than a wide curriculum and a general seeking after knowledge. It implies too that the men and women who come from it will have in them some sense of the universal experience of mankind."

Much of mankind has come a long, hard way from his primitive origins. In fighting his way forward through the centuries man has sought above all else civilization. The civilizing process has brought some understanding of such values as decency, fairness, good manners, and consideration for the rights of others, values little known and less regarded in the jungle and the cave. Simple virtues such as gentleness and personal cleanliness are marks of civilization, just as are more complex virtues like the creation of beauty in art or poetry or music—or the courage to walk in space.

To know and understand from the long experience of mankind that flaunting the proprieties is only tasteless tilting at windmills; that ignoring others' rights is denying the basis of all right; that championing disorder for itself is courting anarchy—to know and understand this is the reasonable expectation we have of you men and women who go from Indiana University with some sense of the universal experience of mankind.

Today the concerns of thoughtful Americans extend from the emerging African nations to the painful struggles of Vietnam; from the threat of Asian aggression to the war on poverty; from the revolutions of Latin America to the campaign for civil rights; from overpopulation to the Communist strategy of deception. If you fail to bring into your consideration of these problems, vital to all of humanity, the discipline of informed opinion and balanced judgment which you have learned, or had the opportunity to learn, in your years at IU, you disavow the degree you will take away from this campus today.

I anticipate and can readily understand an immediate objection: that neither time nor resources will be available for careful research into each issue; yet, to reserve opinion is to be a perpetual fencesitter.

My answer is simply this: if such issues cannot beg your time; if war and ignorance, deprivation and hatred, the dilemmas of freedom and restraint, cannot claim the thoughtful attention of educated men and women, then the degrees we confer today are meaningless symbols and our ceremony a tragic rehearsal. For it is from the thoughtless that the zealot and the bigot recruit—from the uninquiring and closed mind; from those who, without interest in being truly informed, lend their enthusiasms to prejudice and their energies to persecution.

Education should be liberating; should be self-renewing; should be your lifelong pleasure. For, as Joseph Addison wisely wrote: "Education is a companion which no misfortune can depress, no crime can destroy, no enemy can alienate, no despotism can enslave. At home a friend, abroad an introduction, in solitude a solace, and in society an ornament. It chastens vice, it guides virtue, it gives, at once, grace and government to genius. Without it, what is man? A splendid slave, a reasoning savage."

Educated men and women with "all the rights, privileges, and responsibilities thereto appertaining," I charge you to accept fully the role into which you graduate today. You have the ability to act, the training to think, and the potential to lead. Bring with these eagerness for responsible participation in the affairs of mankind and you will invest with lasting honor the symbols that are joined to your names today. For it is only as you become more than individuals, as your concerns encompass wider and nobler things than your own ego, and as you then become a voice in the land, that there can be, as Max Friedman expressed so well 5 years ago this commencement weekend, a hope of "reaching across barricades of hate and fear to that nobler and more spacious day in which men of goodwill will put prosperous hands and creative minds to building a world in which all the weak at last will be safe, because the strong have learned to live and work with generosity and with compassion."

As you go from here, I officially and personally offer to each of you heartfelt and affectionate best wishes. I speak for the faculty and your deans in wishing godspeed to you all and in thanking you for all you have contributed, in your years with us, to the betterment of this that is now your alma mater.

President's Goal Is America the Beautiful

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, our citizens have long been concerned about the growing ugliness along our highways and byways, and many have expressed full support for the efforts of President and Mrs. Johnson to beautify our land.

I know this is a deep concern to my colleagues, and I am pleased to bring to their attention the following editorial from the Houston Chronicle of May 27 concerning the President's proposals to make our country more beautiful:

AMERICA, THE BEAUTIFUL, ALONG HIGHWAYS

President Johnson has asked Congress for legislation going beyond natural beauty's conservation along our Federal-aid highways into the field of its restoration.

A sweeping program, divided into four parts, is recommended:

Eliminate outdoor advertising along sections of the interstate and primary systems "not zoned or used predominantly for commercial or industrial purposes."

Establish control over junkyards within 1,000 feet of the pavement and visible to motorists. No new ones could be established; present junkyards to be effectively screened or removed by July 1, 1970.

Require States to use 3 percent of Federal-aid funds to acquire and beautify lands alongside highways and develop rest and recreation areas. This has been permissive, but not used by the States.

Require States to use one-third of the Federal aid they now receive for secondary roads to (a) construct scenic roads, (b) construct roads leading to scenic and recreational areas, and (c) provide for landscape and roadside developments along Federal-aid highways.

Proposal No. 3 would divert about $120 million to beautification and No. 4 about $100 million.

These are recommendations which the vast majority of Americans unquestionably will applaud and which, we anticipate, Congress will enact.

Conservation has been an important endeavor in this Nation for half a century. We are moving beyond it to clean up our rivers, restore denuded forest areas, and heal ugly land scars which strip mining inflicted.

With the automobile used to go to and from work and for pleasure trips, including weeks-long vacation journeys, it is important that we conserve the vast natural beauty this country enjoys and restore beauty to our highways. Each of the four recommendations Mr. Johnson made is designed to make America more beautiful. It is, as he said, "an investment in the future of America."

He Asked for It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial in the June 30 issue of the Washington Evening Star made interesting reading, and I have asked unanimous consent to insert it in the RECORD:

HE ASKED FOR IT

No one has ever really known what makes people vote the way they do, and politicians are usually content to let the mystery go unanswered. But now John Bailey, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, has decided to try finding out, by offering a prize to the best explanation of "Why I am a Democrat." In 25 words or less.

Talk about Pandora's box.

It's frightening enough to think of the entries Mr. Bailey is likely to get from Republican infiltrators, who never had such a grand opportunity to have their views studied by the opposition. Posing as loyal party members, GOP propagandists can submit statements that will be worth far more in confusion than the paltry $10 that is to be sent in with each contest entry. What a chance to reshape administration policy.

"I am a Democrat because I believe in a balanced budget" * * * "because I think we should weed out the liberals and left-wingers in the Federal Government" * * * "because I believe in encouraging free enterprise, low taxes, and a strong foreign policy."

How, we wonder, can Mr. Bailey tell whether these are authentic entries from the party faithful? With the milewide consensus under which the Johnson administration has been operating, how can anyone spot a spurious answer? The Democrats may wind up awarding a free trip to Hawaii to a staff member of the Republican National Committee.

But even more staggering is the prospect of the contest entries that might come in from legitimate Democrats: "I believe in States' rights" * * * "I think we should pull out of Vietnam" * * * "The Democratic Party offers the best chance for recognition of Red China."

By the time Mr. Bailey finishes sifting through the contestants' reasons for party loyalty, he may well have to recommend a change in the whole structure of the Democratic Party.

We don't like to coach the contest judges, but it seems to us the best answer, under the circumstances—the only safe one, in fact—is Mr. Bailey's own.

Asked why he was a Democrat, he said, "I guess I was born one."

Independence Day of Somalia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on this date 5 years ago, the new nation of Somalia joined the world community of nations. On this memorable occasion, therefore, we extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Abdirazak Hagi Hussen, Prime Minister of Somalia; and to His Excellency Ahmed Mohamed Adan, the Somalian Ambassador to the United States.

Created by the union of former Italian and British Somaliland territories on July 1, 1960, it has in the past 5 years demonstrated an almost uncanny ability to retain distinctive and strong democratic processes, and create a viable fusion of two such separate former colonial experiences.

For a variety of reasons, Somalia has been the object of covetous powers throughout more than 3,000 years of history. For example, Somalia has for millenia been one of the very few producers of rare and exotic aromatics. In the ancient world, where frankincense and myrrh were prized as highly as gold, the areas which produced them were the object of envy and had an inevitable aura of mystery. Expeditions from the empires which ruled the Mediterranean world in antiquity spent fortunes on fleets and armies in order to control the sources of these almost priceless commodities. As a consequence, Somalia for centuries had to cope with expeditions designed to monopolize the incense trade.

In more recent times, there was little demand for these aromatics, and Somalia's economic importance declined. In the 19th century, however, the powers of Europe were engaged in the struggle for empire, and every piece of unoccupied territory became an additional gem in the colonial crown. So it was that Italy, France, and Great Britain vied for territory on the eastern horn of Africa after the first wave of exploration by the Portuguese had ebbed.

As a result, the ancient "Land of Aromatics" became divided among a French, a British, and an Italian territory. In the aftermath of the Second World War, however, Great Britain administered both its own portion and the Italian section until 1950, when the United Nations trusteeship for the south was given to Italy. In granting the trusteeship, the United Nations specifically stipulated that Italian Somaliland would receive its independence by 1960. By the end of 1956, the Somalis were in almost complete control of domestic matters—a fact which provided them with the experience necessary to conduct their own postindependence affairs with all the aplomb of a state with centuries of experience. As an indication of this, the Somali Republic recently survived nearly a year of governmental paralysis; unlike most other countries in the world, the democratic processes survived. Prime Minister Abdirizak Hagi Hussen was quite correct when he said that few other nations of Somalia's vintage could have endured so long a period of uncertainty without risking "chaos, disorder, anarchy, and the destruction of social balance."

Despite the bright political picture, there is no denying the economic difficulties which Somalia faces. Through the Planning and Coordinating Committee for Economic and Social Development the government seeks to stimulate production in all sectors of industry, agriculture and commerce. Through various agreements with other countries, the government is obtaining assistance in founding new industries and expanding agricultural output in order to decrease and finally eliminate the present unfavorable balance of payments.

On their anniversary then, we congratulate the Somalis on their political maturity, and the government for its dedication toward providing a more prosperous life for its citizens. I feel certain of the support of my colleagues in extending our sincere best wishes for the future.

Panamanian Demands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in numerous addresses in the Congress over the past decade, I have often discussed

Panamanian demands as regards the Panama Canal, which seemed to many at the time as fantastic. A list of these addresses can be found in our intensive bibliography prepared by my distinguished colleague from Texas [Mr. THOMPSON] in the RECORD of September 2, 1964, under the title of "Isthmian Canal Policy of the United States—Documentation, 1955–64."

The aspirations of Panama affect not only the management of the Panama Canal but also the status of our military, naval, and air installations on the Isthmus.

The following are the principal demands as regards the Canal that were published in a recent issue of an Isthmian newspaper:

HERE ARE OTHER PANAMA DEMANDS

Aside from the issue of the miliary installations, other major Panamanian demands are reported to include:

Reaffirmation by the United States of Panama's sovereignty over the Canal Zone.

Substitution of the term "in perpetuity" in the 1903 Canal Treaty by a fixed period, with Panama having full reversionary rights of canal works and installations without charge.

Legislation and administration of justice in the Canal Zone must be in hands of Panamanians.

Display of Panamanian flag throughout the Canal Zone and on ships transiting the canal.

Return to Panama of all lands, waters, and installations not required for operation, maintenance, or protection of the canal.

Recognition of Spanish as official language in the Canal Zone.

Recognition of Panama's civil, penal, fiscal, and labor jurisdiction over nonmilitary affairs in the Canal Zone.

Enforcement in the Canal Zone of the principle of equal pay for equal work without regard to nationality.

Establishment of special training programs to qualify Panamanians for work in all canal categories.

Special treatment for Panama in continental U.S. market.

Preferential use of the Canal Zone market for Panamanian industry and commerce.

Elimination of all private, industrial, and commercial enterprises in the Canal Zone.

Application of Panamanian tax system to the Canal Zone.

Exclusive use of Panamanian postage stamps and postal service in the Canal Zone.

Building by the United States at its expense a corridor under Panamanian jurisdiction across the canal on the Atlantic side.

Building of a port and dock on the Atlantic side for Panama by the United States at American expense.

Development of proper and adequate civil defense system for Panamanian communities at expense of the United States.

Right-to-Work Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, the battlelines for and against the repeal of section 14(b) have been drawn—all is clear but the real issue.

Generally speaking, nearly all who are against repeal are not real parties in interest whose right to join or not to join is affected. These are employers—not the employees.

Those who support repeal include the overwhelming majority of all members of the labor force—the very people whose right it is alleged would be offended.

Strange, is it not?

Could it be that the right-to-work laws, where they exist, do not serve primarily to protect workers? Could it be that they are chiefly used as employers' weapons against unionization? Could it be that an emotional cloud has shrouded the real issue?

Could it be that in the last analysis the laborer may be found the best judge of his own destiny? The best to decide which "free riders" he is to support?

Would not it be a noble function of our form of self-government to allow those involved to choose their own course by majority vote rather than imposing the will of their natural economic adversary upon them under the guise of protecting their rights?

Let the real parties in interest rise and be counted.

In this context, Mr. Speaker, I am proud to submit for consideration of the House a statement of John H. Lyons, general president, International Association of Bridge, Structural & Ornamental Iron Workers in support of my bill and others like it to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

STATEMENT OF JOHN H. LYONS, GENERAL PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BRIDGE, STRUCTURAL & ORNAMENTAL IRON WORKERS IN SUPPORT OF H.R. 77, HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR

This statement is in support of repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. There are two principal points of sufficient importance as to warrant particular emphasis.

In addition, it should be stated that there has been, and doubtless will be much said on the economic side of the discussion. For this reason, these remarks are limited to these two highly relevant phases above mentioned.

The Congress, on both points, now is straddled—"riding Roman fashion," if you please—with one foot on each steed.

This situation has continued 14 years or longer. The Congress in the present circumstance is in the position of correcting its own doubletalk by repealing section 14(b).

Point No. 1 involves a law which you members or your predecessors brought forth.

Consider what has been provided in Public Law 81–914 dated January 10, 1951:

1. Within 60 days of being hired by a railroad, an employee shall become a member of "the labor organization" representing his "craft or class."

Please note that this language leaves to no one the opportunity to engage in any small talk about the "right to work" or "States rights." And further, please note that Public Law 81–914 has never been amended or altered in any way. It is the same law that it was on the date of enactment of Public Law 81–914.

HUMAN BEHAVIOR JOBWISE

The courts have spoken clearly and frequently on what recourse may remain with the individual whether he shall be a free-rider on the backs of his fellow employees. Fifty States are affected, uniformly.

The bare fact is that if he is going to serve alongside, or in the proximity of others, he is not even allowed to vote for or in opposition to his membership in a "labor organization." To accept employment is to subscribe to the outline for human behavior, jobwise, and to live with and under what you in the Congress have said is the correct way for demeaning himself.

2. The checkoff is included by law for periodic dues, initiation fees, or assessments uniformly required as a condition for acquiring employment in the railroad industry.

At the time this law was enacted, the present President of the United States was Democratic whip of the Senate. The late Speaker of the House was Sam Rayburn.

Point No. 2. Let us take a look at the Taft-Hartley Act itself. In fact, let us examine the declaration of policy and the title. It reads:

"Industrial strife which interferes with the normal flow of commerce * * * can be avoided or substantially minimized if employers, employees, and labor organizations each recognize under law one another's legitimate rights in their relations with each other, and above all recognize under law that neither party has any right in its relations with any other to engage in acts or practices which jeopardize the public health, safety, or interest."

MEMBERS' RIGHTS REAFFIRMED

The same declaration then proceeds to refer to the general welfare, and so forth. These words were written nearly 20 years ago.

Yet, having said that each aforementioned party has rights, it is clear that labor organizations have the clear right to maintain themselves as well as to bring into their fold those who continue to be without union benefits.

The valid concept of the declaration of policy of the Taft-Hartley Act, therefore, is that unions have complete right and freedom to organize inasmuch as such action does not impinge upon "the public health, safety or interest."

Now, turning to the language of section 14(b) ceding to the States and territories the authority to say "no" to these proclaimed rights, the least we can say is, "here is an outstanding contradiction crying to be corrected."

Of what value are the platitudes about "rights," declared on the one hand, when they are offset by limitations on the other?

Also, why has one segment of labor continued to be partitioned off for one kind of legislation while another gets a different treatment?

This is glaringly true of section 14(b) in the light of a law later enacted for the railroad industry.

The only way to correct such disparagement is through the simple device of repealing the prohibitory section in Public Law 101 of the 80th Congress.

That section is 14(b).

There is an item in labor law which too frequently fails to come to mind when we talk about this antilabor section in the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act.

I refer to section 7(a) of the original Wagner Act of June 26, 1933, Public Law 67 of the 73d Congress. I believe this section should be quoted at this point. It reads:

"Every code of fair competition, agreement, and license approved, prescribed, or issued under this title shall contain the following conditions: (1) That employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and shall be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection; (2) that no employee and no one seeking employment shall be required as a condition of employment to join any company union or to refrain from joining, organizing, or assisting a labor organization of his own choosing; and (3) that employers shall comply with

the maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay, and other conditions of employment, approved or prescribed by the President."

PROMOTING ANTISOCIAL ACTIVITY

Even section 14(b) reaffirms the right to elect to join an organization to promote collective bargaining—or not to join. That much of the original Wagner Act incorporated in the Taft-Hartley Act, therefore, is reasserted.

What section 14(b), in effect, does is to set up what its coauthors designed to be done. That was to forbid employees of a given unit—by majority vote—to decide whether they wished to work and to live alongside others who, for their own reasons or excuses, desired to be antisocial.

Majority rule is the method by which each of you in the Congress was elected. It is the same system for determining almost everything we do and wherever we turn.

When groups decide they wish to do something, they take a vote and the majority rules. But section 14(b) leaves to the States the issue whether the majority shall decide, by election, the road to collective progress.

It has begun to develop among the States lately that whether by legislative enactment or by referendum, the antisocial and the antilabor forces can and do continue to lose. Cited as instances are Oklahoma and Indiana, as well as Louisiana. Such results are decided by majority vote by labor and nonlabor citizens alike.

Senator Taft within a few months of enactment of his antilabor act learned that his law was no perfect instrument. He already had conceded, based upon a visit to the California waterfronts, that the hiring hall was a useful and necessary adjunct to labor-management operations.

He has even been represented as saying he had never intended that Public Law 101 be applied to the building and construction industry. This idea, we would have to doubt.

TAFT'S MISTAKES COME TO SURFACE

To sum it up, as you can read in Prof. Philip Taft's book "Organized Labor in American History," Sentaor Taft planned to amend his own law in a number of important regards.

In fact, the Senator had drafted 28 amendments. He wished to get labor's assent to these amendments. In other words, he sought clearance. To quote from Professor Taft's book, he "was anxious to obtain some concession from the spokesmen of organized labor."

Labor's position at that time was that the act was a complete mistake and that outright repeal was called for. The composition of the Congress in 1950 was such that repeal could not succeed.

Senator Taft referred to the conservative Members of the House and said he could not reach agreement with them without concessions from both employers and employees even to modify the Taft-Hartley Act. Employers, fresh from victory, offered no evidence of moderation.

It then must be clear to most of us that the Senator had recognized after 3 years that he had made at least 28 mistakes. I think we can say that section 14(b) was high on his list.

The Congress today, 18 years later, can never be said to resemble the Congress of 1947.

It is not the intent of the Iron Workers to deprive any group of labor of its long fought for legislative gains. What we seek here is equanimity and even-handed treatment from our lawmakers. All labor has the need and right to a leveling up and to have the encouragement of the Congress to organize and maintain organization and to have the actual benefits as set forth in the wording on the facade of the U.S. Supreme Court Building which reads: "equal justice under law."

In my opinion, many will point to the manner in which "right to work" has retarded the economic progress and average wage earnings. It is not necessary for me to go over the same grounds because this story is so well known. At the outset, I intended to bring to your attention points which I believe would not be emphasized otherwise. I purposely made this statement sufficiently brief that my remarks could be easily understood with the least involvement.

The position of the Iron Workers is in complete accord with that of the AFL–CIO and the building and construction trades department.

It is our wish that H.R. 77 be reported without amendments.

Section 14(b) could not be enacted today. But it can be repealed.

Firearms Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. HAGAN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including an article on firearms legislation by Mr. Bill Baab, outdoor editor of the Augusta Chronicle-Herald, of Augusta, Ga.

The article follows:

PROBLEM STILL EXISTS

Well, here I am again, about to attack the proponents of bills which would strongly control the sales of firearms.

I am against bills like that proposed by Senator THOMAS J. DODD, of Connecticut (S. 1591 and S. 1592), even though they have the backing of the President.

It is S. 1592 in particular which bothers me as a gun owner, particularly some of its provisions, which haven't been made known to the general public.

In section 1 of the bill, a provision would not allow big game hunters to own rifles of larger than one-half caliber unless permission was obtained from the Secretary of the Treasury.

This means that collectors of large-caliber rifles, particularly English rifles, would have to get permission from the Secretary to own them.

A provision of section 2 would ban all mail-order sales of firearms (including handguns, rifles and shotguns) to consumers in interstate commerce.

This would inconvenience thousands of farmers and ranchers who do not live close to sporting goods stores. There are more than 400 old-line, respectable houses that have mailed sporting arms to consumers for years.

They include such names as Sears & Roebuck, Montgomery Ward, Spiegel, and Abercrombie & Fitch. Hundreds of small businesses that make receivers, frames, and conversions would be put out of business.

Other provisions call for these measures: A sportsman could buy a handgun only in his home State. A competitive pistol shooter traveling from California to New York for a match would have to get a permit from each State he traveled through, or have the pistol transported for him under such conditions as the Secretary would prescribe.

TOO MUCH POWER

A dealer could not dispose of any firearm to any person without following procedures regulated by the Secretary of the Treasury. The regulations are not spelled out and presumably, the Secretary could make any regulations he wanted to.

A consumer (us) could not buy a handgun over the counter if he was under 21; he could not buy a rifle or shotgun if under 18. Certainly, there should be reasonable controls over youngsters, but S. 1592 applies the same rules to a New York City boy and a farm boy living in Wyoming. It apparently is an invasion of States rights.

The dealer, in an over-the-counter sale, would be made responsible that the consumer had not violated any provision of the act, or would not be likely to do so.

Small reloaders, clubs that were reloading for resale to members, individuals who reload their own—all would have to pay $1,000 a year for the privilege that costs them nothing today.

There are about 750,000 antique gun collectors in America. Many of them sell and trade modern as well as antique weapons. They would be subjected to dealer's licenses and harassed by redtape by provisions of S. 1592.

A sportsman bringing a gun back into the United States after hunting in a foreign country such as Africa or even Canada would have to satisfy authorities that he was bringing back the same gun.

A hunter going to another State and shipping his guns there would be subjected to much delay and redtape.

I could go on and on, but I won't. Why is this bill and others like it being proposed?

The assassination of President John F. Kennedy is the main reason. Senator DODD's bill has the backing of the late President's brother, BOBBY, as well it might.

EMOTIONAL BLINDNESS

But these lawmakers are letting emotions blind them to the real problem. Actually, there is no firearms problem to be found here in the United States. No, there really isn't.

What exists today has existed for years; it's a crime problem. But our legislators, some of them, are putting the cart before the horse. They are trying to close the barn doors after the livestock escaped.

The laws which they are trying to push through as fast as possible affect innocent people. Apparently, even President Johnson has been blinded by his emotions.

On April 1 of this year, the President spoke on the proposed Alabama boycott: "I think we must be very careful to see that we do not punish innocents in this country while we are trying to protect all of our people and that we do not hurt those who through no fault of their own could be damaged without any real reason."

I believe that the President should use this same sort of thinking for the many firearms bills that come before his eyes each day.

If the bulk of attention at solving the crime problem is directed only at guns—as it is being done today—then the problem will not be solved.

At least one Congressman took a good, hard look at the crime problem and came up with this solution: Open war on the illegal use of firearms by the criminal preying on society.

In other words, make the existing laws so tough that it would not be healthy for organizations like the Mafia (Cosa Nostra), Murder, Inc., or individuals like the Al Capones, the John Dillingers, the hoods of yesteryear, and today, to exist.

CASEY SPELLS IT OUT

Representative ROBERT CASEY, of Houston, Tex., pointed out that the illegal use of firearms is found nationwide and "the States have been unable to deal with it effectively.

"The time has come," he said, "to meet this problem head on, and to take from the courts the power to turn loose on society the

second and third offenders to continue their preying on our citizens."

So at long last some attention is being given to a phase of the problem that has been sadly overlooked in most legislative halls.

I believe that severe penalties should be imposed on all persons who are convicted of a criminal misuse of firearms. I believe that it is reasonable to require any purchaser of a firearm, especially those ordering guns through the mails, to submit a notarized affidavit or some other positive means of identification attesting to the fact that he or she is legally entitled to own the gun.

I believe that penalties for falsifying information on such applications should be severe and certain. I believe laws should prohibit sale of firearms to felons, drug addicts, habitual drunkards, juvenile and mental incompetents, and I believe that laws should invoke strict and severe penalties against the possession of firearms by known criminals or other irresponsible persons.

But, at the same time, I believe laws should permit responsible, law-abiding adults to own and use firearms for legitimate purposes, without having to comply with registration, new legislation or other governmental redtape.

Portugal Consulate in Waterbury, Conn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, it has been my great fortune in my service as mayor of the city of Waterbury, Conn., and as U.S. Representative from the Fifth Congressional District, to work with and for constituents of Portuguese origin in matters concerning immigration, trade, and individual services. I am very happy, therefore, to give notice that the Portuguese Government has recently opened a consulate in the city of Waterbury for the convenience of Portuguese natives and others who have business with Portugal. The Waterbury consulate is under the capable direction of Dr. Adriano Seabra Veiga, Portuguese consul for Connecticut, who is assisted by Vasco Matos Pinho of Naugatuck, Conn., as chancellor, and Beatrice Hernandez of Waterbury as secretary.

I welcome this development as a guarantee of closer relations between all the people of Connecticut and the Portuguese Government. There is great opportunity for the stimulation of trade, travel, and cordial relations between our peoples and the opening of the consulate in Waterbury will be of great assistance, not only to the approximately 25,000 people of Portuguese extraction in Connecticut but also to the State at large.

Dr. Veiga has been an outstanding leader in the representation of the Connecticut people of Portuguese extraction during the past several years, and his devotion to this service was properly recognized in his appointment as Portuguese consul for Connecticut.

With permission to extend my remarks, I enclose herewith an article which appeared in the Waterbury American on June 28, 1965, under the heading "Portugal First Foreign Nation To Open Waterbury Consulate."

[From the Waterbury American, June 28, 1965]

PORTUGAL FIRST FOREIGN NATION TO OPEN WATERBURY CONSULATE

For the first time in the history of Waterbury, a foreign government has opened a consulate in the city.

That government, Portugal, and the city are both expected to reap benefits.

Some months ago, eyebrows were somewhat in Waterbury with announcement that Dr. Andreano Seabra Veiga had been appointed Portuguese consul for Connecticut. Many believed this was merely an honorary title given a native son who presently lives here.

But people are finding out that there is more to the opening of a consulate than speechmaking, ceremonies and titles.

The Portuguese Consulate in Waterbury occupies a three-room suite on the second floor of the Lilley Building, West Main Street. All the furniture has not even arrived and Dr. Veiga apologizes for its modest appearance.

The office, however, is meant for business—business that will help Waterbury and the State, business that will help Portugal and its "provinces" around the world.

In all references to Portuguese lands in Africa and Asia, Dr. Veiga is careful to describe them as "provinces" rather than as colonies. This is part of a national policy wherein territories are considered integral parts of continental Portugal, rather than as possessions or colonies.

Angola and Mozambique in Africa were compared by Dr Veiga to Hawaii and Alaska.

There are about 25,000 of Portuguese extraction living in Connecticut, including numerous migrants from the Cape Verdean Islands off the west coast of Africa.

GEOGRAPHICAL CENTER

Waterbury is about in the geographical center of the Portuguese settlements in the State. There are about 3,000 living in the city at present and 3,000 more who live in Naugatuck. Other centers in the State include Hartford, New Haven, Bridgeport, Wallingford and Danbury and Stonington in southeastern Connecticut. Others are scattered throughout Connecticut.

Portuguese and Cape Verdeans first migrated to Massachusetts and the eastern coastline as fishermen. During World War I, many moved to the Waterbury and Bridgeport areas to work in the factories.

More recently, Portuguese descendants who have lived in the Fall River area of Massachusetts have been moving to Connecticut because of the lack of industrial employment there.

These Portuguese descendants still have ties in Portugal and the Cape Verdean Islands with relatives. The consulate is here to help them.

While Dr. Veiga is the consul, he cannot spend full time at the job. He is a surgeon, president of the Waterbury Health Board, and he has his family obligations—"most of all" his family, he notes.

The full-time daily operation of the consulate is being handled by Vasco Matos Pinho, Naugatuck, who has been appointed chancellor. Also assisting as full-time secretary is Beatrice Hernandez, Waterbury.

The office is open weekdays from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. and Saturdays from 9 a.m. to noon. It will be closed on all American and Portuguese holidays.

Until now, those who have had to do business with the Portuguese consulate have been forced to go to New York, Boston, or Providence. Now the business will be handled in Waterbury.

OBVIOUS TASKS

The most obvious task is the handling of visas and passports to Portugal and its provinces, including such exotic locations as Macao, near Hong Kong; Timor in the Indonesian Islands, the Madeira Islands southwest of Portugal, Mozambique on the east coast of south Africa and other areas around the world.

During the first week the office was open—even though not fully equipped for business—it handled 100 requests for passports. During the year it is expected more than 1,000 applications for passports and visas will be processed.

One important task involves the handling of birth and death certificates and documents involving the transfer of properties in Portugal and the provinces, including translations of documents.

Preliminary arrangements are being made with the Portuguese Tourist Bureau in New York City, Casa de Portugal, to publicize the country in many ways in Waterbury. Some materials, including travel folders, will be available at the consulate.

Dr. Veiga said the plans, now being developed for the fall after the vacation season ends, includes exhibitions of painting, sculpture, Portuguese products, and the showing of movies. In some cases, the exhibitions may be in a hotel or motel.

Waterbury will benefit because the staff of the consulate, instead of going to New York, Boston, or Providence to do business, will eat here, sleep here, and shop here.

Portugal will benefit because people of the area will become more familiar with the country and might think in terms of spending part of a European vacation there.

Even more important than the matter of tourism will be the business-industrial aspects being concentrated upon. The consulate is greatly interested in international trade. Pinho said he is ready to assist anyone in this area with import or export questions.

INTEREST EXPRESSED

One firm has already expressed an interest in importing Portuguese table wines for sale in this area.

Dr. Veiga noted the consulate can assist with import problems on such widespread products as linen table cloths from the Madeira Islands, porcelain, canned sardines and tuna fish, marble, assorted textiles, cork, and others.

Any stores in the area wishing to investigate the possibility of Portuguese imports can check through the consulate.

While everyone thinks in terms of Brazilian coffee, Dr. Veiga pointed out the coffee used in "instant" coffee in this country is imported mainly from Angola on the west coast of southern Africa.

Again the question of imports and exports is a two-way street in benefits to Waterbury and to Portugal. Dr. Veiga said he has held discussions with the head of a local factory on the possibility of exporting to Portugal and its overseas provinces goods manufactured in this city.

"People are always interested in selling," Dr. Veiga said. He also called attention to investment possibilities in Portugal and the provinces. Numerous types of tax incentives are being offered persons and firms investing or building plants.

Because Connecticut and this area has numerous small industries, the possibilities of tying in with the new industrialization movement in Portugal are vast, he said.

Evidences of the relations between Portugal, the United States and the State are numerous in Dr. Veiga's office. There are, of course, American and Portuguese flags.

There are also photographs of the President of Brazil, America Thomax, and President Johnson, including one autographed by Johnson. There are the framed credentials naming Dr. Veiga consul and the declaration of the acceptance of those credentials by President Johnson.

Photos of Gov. John Dempsey and Mayor Joseph F. McNellis are also on the walls, together with several of Dr. Veiga's personal friends in Brazil, including the Brazilian Ambassador to the United States, a recent visitor at his home.

The Real Alabama—Part XXI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the port city of Mobile is noteworthy for steady economic advancement over a period of many years: a growth that is continuing today.

Typical of that sturdy and continuing growth are facilities of the National Gypsum Co. and the St. Louis and San Francisco Railway. The heads of these organizations have indicated why they like to operate in Mobile, and their statements follow:

NATIONAL GYPSUM CO.,
Buffalo, N.Y.

We can give our impression of Mobile in two words: "highly favorable."

Mobile's business and civic leaders have helped us to maintain a prosperous operation in Mobile for almost three decades. And we have every expectation that our plant here will continue to be a thriving and prosperous operation for the foreseeable future.

National Gypsum's plant capacities have been increased sixfold since the plant was opened in Mobile in 1938. Saleswise, it is the company's second largest producer.

The plant's 652 employees and their families generate enough economic activity to expand the Mobile nonmanufacturing work force by about 418 more employees. They are happy employees because they, like us, are fond of Mobile.

I have been impressed with the many industrial blessings of Mobile, its cultural facilities and, above all, the pitch-in-to-win spirit of the Mobile people.

MELVIN H. BAKER,
Chairman.

ST. LOUIS–SAN FRANCISCO RAILWAY,
St. Louis, Mo.

Frisco history in the Mobile area began on December 28, 1948, when control of the Alabama, Tennessee & Northern Railroad Co. was acquired. This purchase connected the port of Mobile and 214 miles of trackage through Alabama with the major Frisco system at Aliceville. Few acquisitions in the history of our railroad proved to be so rewarding to its management in retrospect.

With the control of the A.T. & N., we secured direct access to a total of approximately 15 valued industries in the Mobile area. In addition, we perform service, through the other lines in the area, for practically all of the rail industries in the city and to the Alabama State Docks and Terminals.

With the A.T. & N., we acquired valuable industrial property in the Chickasaw industrial district and excellent waterfront sites on Blakeley Island, thus insuring that Frisco will be an intimate part of the future growth of Mobile.

It has been gratifying indeed to witness the constant modernization and improvement of the fine port facilities operated by the Alabama State Docks, knowing full well the great effort that has been put into this development by the civic leaders and the progressive chamber of commerce of this city.

Apparently others have also seen reason to expand their operations in this area. Mobilians can point with pride to the flourishing pulp and paper and chemical industry that is located in this community. Each expansion—and they seem to be announced almost monthly—represents a continuing endorsement of the Mobile area as a great place in which to work and live.

Mobile is the largest port served by the Frisco system and ranks high in the list of seaports in this hemisphere. We are confident it will continue to grow to the benefit of all who are so fortunate as to do business in the area.

LOUIS W. MENK,
President.

Independence of Ghana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on this day, July 1, the African nation of Ghana celebrates its 8th anniversary of independence, as well as the 5th anniversary of the 1960 constitution which officially declared Ghana to be a republic. On this memorable occasion, we wish to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana, and to His Excellency Miguel Augustus Ribeiro, the Ghana Ambassador to the United States.

As is the case with many of the African nations, much of Ghana's early history is lost in legends and folklore, although there is evidence that Ghana was the name of an ancient West African kingdom. Again in common with other African countries, our knowledge of its recent past begins only with the period of European colonial intervention. The area which was known as the gold coast was at various times ruled in part by the British, the Danes, the Dutch, and the Germans, until it finally became a British territory in the early 19th century.

During the long periods of British rule, English customs and traditions were slowly spread throughout the territory, bringing about a gradual and perceptible unity among the population. Nevertheless, it should be added that this was only accomplished after prolonged and bitter fighting and not infrequent severe exploitation of the native population. The British also made efforts to extend elementary education to as many people as possible—unlike their policy elsewhere—and in so doing planted not only the seeds of future nationalism, but of future opposition to their continued presence.

Although the British created the conditions needed to foster national unity, the activism necessary to make this feeling an effective movement came about as a result of the work of Africans. The formation, first of the United Gold Coast Convention, and later of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's more dynamic Convention People's Party, were the ingredients essential to the attainment of independence.

In the years since 1957, Ghana, under President Nkrumah's able leadership, has been eminently successful in dealing with at least two of the basic tasks which confront nearly all of the African nations. First, great strides have been made in mending the deep cleavages caused by tribal and linguistic diversity. English is widely spoken and is the basic language of instruction in the schools, although other Ghanaian languages are also being used in an effort to extend education and inculcate national values in the remote areas of the country. Second, Ghana has created a social and economic infrastructure unequaled by any other African nation. She has done this through a program for the development of basic industry and for increasing the efficiency of the agricultural sector of the economy.

In addition, a capital investment board has been created for the purpose of encouraging direct investment by outside firms. The board insures against expropriation by the government and allows free transfer abroad of profits after tax liabilities. One of the largest of the foreign investments which have been attracted by this program is a $280 million aluminum smelter being built by the Kaiser Corp. and the Reynolds Metal Co.

In the 5 years which have elapsed since the birth of the republic, President Nkrumah has done much to realize the aspirations of the fervent Ghanaian nationalism which he earlier did so much to develop. Ghana is now engaged in an ambitious 7-year plan designed to further realize these aspirations for economic and social progress. This gives cause for reassurance that Ghana is handling her problems in the most effective way possible, and that the past tradition of amicable relations between the Government of Ghana and the Government of the United States will continue.

Foreign Affairs: De Gaulle, NATO, and the GOP

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, the House Republican factfinding mission to France, studying the NATO Alliance and the Atlantic Community, has done a most effective job, as attested to by the assessment of the New York Times most prestigous commentator on foreign affairs, Mr. C. L. Sulzberger.

In his column dated June 30, 1965, from Paris, Mr. Sulzberger gives his summary of the impact of this group, headed by Representative PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois.

All Members of Congress, and Republicans in particular, can be extremely proud of the job done by Representative FINDLEY and his colleagues, and of the constructive contibution they have made to the NATO Alliance.

Mr. Sulzberger's article should have the attention of all the Members and I ask that it be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

[From the New York Times, June 30, 1965]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS: DE GAULLE, NATO, AND THE GOP

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

PARIS.—Franco-American relationships and the entire question of France's attitude toward the North Atlantic Alliance may be joggled this week when the report of a Republican factfinding mission is published in Washington. The mission, comprising four Congressmen headed by Representative PAUL FINDLEY, visited Paris earlier this month and discussed NATO problems with several leading French officials including Defense Minister Messmer.

COORDINATION AGAINST INTEGRATION

It is appreciated in Europe that, in the end, the President and State Department make U.S. foreign policy and that the four Congressman only speak within the framework of an opposition party. Nevertheless, the tenor of their recommendations could stir considerable interest among Gaullist circles and, also inside NATO. They are expected to urge a new look at U.S. cooperation with France and to echo De Gaulle's desire for alliance "coordination" instead of "integration."

The State Department favors a dormant attitude toward both NATO and France until after this year's West German and French national elections. However, Under Secretary George Ball will be arriving here next week to consult with the North Atlantic Council on the Vietnam and Dominican crises. It seems improbable that, in the wake of the Republican recommendations, the basic issue of what to do about NATO's obvious problems will be avoided.

The principal conclusions of the Findley commission seem to be these: (1) A "diplomatic standing group"—approximate political equivalent to the military standing group—should be created; (2) President Johnson should take the initiative in seeking a meeting with General de Gaulle this year; (3) Washington should further clarify its nuclear commitments for Europe's defense; (4) the United States should take advantage of discretionary provisions in the Atomic Energy Act to help France's weapons program.

Each of these proposals touches upon sensitive issues, and all of them are bound to provoke commentary in the French press when they are made public. Therefore it is likely that both the NATO Council and Paris-Washington bilateral contacts will be more agitated this summer than had been expected.

A DIFFERENT EUROPE

The Republican Congressmen are apparently persuaded of the need for more "partnership" between the United States of America and its European allies on technological research and development, military procurement, defense financing and decisionmaking on atomic strategy. These are all matters on which Gaullist France has complained long and loudly. But the fact-finding mission seems convinced that Europe today is a different Europe from that of 1949 when the NATO treaty was signed and resents being relegated to a secondary position by American military, scientific and economic preponderance.

MORE PARTNERSHIP

Nor does the congressional group feel such resentment is limited to France or that De Gaulle's policies will disappear when he leaves office. On the contrary, it believes similar opinions are strong elsewhere in Western Europe and that this continent wants more American partnership and less American ascendancy.

The mission apparently concluded that establishment of a partnership in NATO will be require adjustment in U.S. policy but will consequently alleviate the American taxpayers' heavy defense burden. The report is bound to hearten Paris by reaffirming many French positions that disagree with those of Washington and the North Atlantic Council. The fact that the Findley group's conclusions are neither those of the Democratic administration nor even of the Republican Party high command will by no means wholly dull their impact here.

Findley came to Paris together with Representatives PIRNIE, of New York, KEITH, of Massachusetts, and MARTIN of Alabama. All are members of the House Republican Committee on NATO, a body of restricted influence on U.S. policy. Nevertheless, the fact that the GOP tried, if unsuccessfully, to underscore certain differences with the Democrats on both France and NATO during the 1964 campaign would seem to indicate that interest in maintaining this as an American political issue is not dead.

REPERCUSSIONS IN PARIS

This, however, has less immediate implication than the likelihood that the Findley report will have prompt repercussions here. There has been an easement in Franco-American tensions, most recently symbolized by Vice President HUMPHREY's visit and his conversation with De Gaulle. Now, one may suppose, the French Government will choose to interpret the Congressmen's observations as indicative of a swing in U.S. public opinion along lines more sympathetic to Gaullist concepts than those hitherto expressed by the State Department. Ball will arrive in time to hear some lively echoes.

A Bridge to Nowhere?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I read with interest an editorial from the Post-Transcript of Dresden, Ohio, which seemed to hit the nail right on the head. Mr. Warren F. Lindsey, editor and publisher, expressed the exasperation of many of us when we see the patchwork improvements which are made on our highway system. The Federal Interstate System has been one of the true milestones in Federal-State cooperation. We soon will have the dream fulfilled for which Mr. Lindsey yearns.

Route 60 connects many villages and cities in the district which I represent. It it typical of difficulty which rural people have in getting better State highways. Mr. Lindsey is to be commended for this fine editorial and I call it to the attention of the Members of this body:

A BRIDGE TO NOWHERE?

The Post-Transcript has not received the usual publicity release, or a legal notice from the State department of highways, but a hearing is scheduled for the proposed relocation of Route 60 in this area at the Dresden mayor's office Friday afternoon at 2:30.

The proposal to relocate Route 60 from Route 16 to the old township house about 6 miles south of Dresden. A piecemeal construction program is planned with the first part of the project to build the bypass to Dresden. Later the remainder of the road is to be completed. This means at least two periods of construction to hamper travel to Zanesville.

We have no objection to good roads, but we do object to patchwork construction, with one portion of a road worn out before the rest is finished, meaning repair for the first part almost immediately. It seems to us to be a foolish waste of money. If sufficient funds are not available, then let's wait until the job can be completed in one move.

Again, why improve 60 to Route 16? It leaves us just where we are, with no outlet to the north without traveling miles east or west.

A good sample of this type of construction is Route 40 across Ohio. At no time in the past 35 years has it been possible to travel from Richmond, Ind. to Wheeling, W. Va., on Route 40 or now on Interstate 70, a crazyquilt of completed and uncompleted sections.

The hearings will also include the connection of Route 208 with the bypass. The proposed route will include two unnecessary turns by coming two blocks north on Dresden Main Street and out West Ninth Street. While Ninth Street would not need additional right-of-way it would create two unnecessary turns in making the connection and increase the travel distance by at least one-half mile to traffic coming from 208 to Zanesville. The extra turns would create unnecessary traffic hazards to all using the new route.

If possible, we suggest that all taxpayers be present at the hearing. If not possible, we urge you to attend the chamber of commerce meeting on Thursday night and enter your protest if any.

Regulation of Community Antenna Television Systems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 7, 1965

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, the question of regulation of community action television systems is one of concern in my State, as I am sure it is in many others. Legislation for this purpose is now pending before the Congress. Recently Mr. Arch L. Madsen, president of Bonneville International Corp., of Salt Lake City, a principal broadcasting company in the State of Utah and other Western States, set forth the views of his organization with respect to this subject. I believe these views will be of interest to my colleagues, and, therefore, include them as a part of the RECORD for their consideration:

STATEMENT OF ARCH L. MADSEN, PRESIDENT OF BONNEVILLE INTERNATIONAL CORP., SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, ON H.R. 7715 CONCERNING REGULATION OF COMMUNITY ANTENNA TELEVISION SYSTEMS

As president of Bonneville International Corp. (BIC), I am pleased to comment on H.R. 7715, which would add a new part V to title III of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 301–386) to establish a national television policy and prescribe the bounds of Federal Communications Commission regulatory jurisdiction over community antenna television (CATV) systems.

SUMMARY OF BIC VIEWS

BIC endorses the view that it is necessary for the Federal Government to regulate CATV as soon as practicable. BIC concurs in the view that the public interest is best served by giving the people of the United

States access to diversity of local, network, educational, and other television programs. It does not agree that CATV should be equated with broadcasting stations. CATV should be considered as a supplemental service to broadcast stations. BIC urges that instead of holding in abeyance rules and standards promulgated by the FCC, Congress should urge the FCC to adopt and make effective as soon as possible rules and standards governing CATV. In the meantime, an interim policy restricting franchising CATV systems should be adopted to preclude further complications in the CATV "jungle."

BIC BACKGROUND AND INTEREST

So that you will know the orientation from which I speak, I would like to furnish a little background concerning Bonneville International Corp., a Utah corporation with headquarters in Salt Lake City. BIC is majority owner of KSL, Inc., licensee of KSL, KSL-FM, and KSL-TV, Salt Lake City, Utah; of KIRO, Inc., licensee of KIRO, KIRO-FM and KIRO-TV, Seattle, Wash.; and International Educational Broadcasting Corp., licensee of international radio station (shortwave) WRUL, with studios in New York City and its five transmitters located at Scituate, Mass. In addition, through its subsidiary KSL, Inc., BIC has a substantial but minority ownership interest in Idaho Radio Corp., licensee of KID, KID-FM and KID-TV, Idaho Falls, Idaho, and in Boise Valley Broadcasters, Inc., licensee of KBOI, KBOI-FM and KBOI-TV, Boise, Idaho.

The personnel of BIC have had extensive broadcasting experience, in both radio and television, in diverse markets. For example, KSL Radio has been operating since 1922 and is one of the class I-A 50-kilowatt clear channel stations. KIRO has been operating since 1927 and is a 50-kilowatt station of prominence in the northwest. KID has been operating since 1928 in the Idaho Falls area and KBOI since 1947 in the Boise area. While WRUL is a pioneer in international radio broadcasting, it has been owned by the BIC affiliated group only since December 1962.

The 1965 edition of Television Factbook records the following information concerning our TV stations:

Station	Location	Began operating—	Total households
KIRO-TV	Seattle	Feb. 8, 1958	664,600
KSL-TV	Salt Lake City	June 1, 1949	357,300
KBOI-TV	Boise, Idaho	Nov. 26, 1953	121,900
KID-TV	Idaho Falls	Dec. 20, 1953	113,700

As is indicated, our stations range from the very urban Seattle-Tacoma market to the more rural Idaho markets. The diversity of our interests and extensive CATV development in our area make us at BIC aware of the many critical factors and considerations in these difference size markets affecting the future of television stations and CATV.

THE BROADCASTER'S DILEMMA

The record is clear that the rapid expansion of CATV has reached very significant proportions. When in the 1950's CATV systems were installed in our general operating area to take certain of our signals, along with those of other stations, into remote areas, we had no objection to and encouraged such supplemental service. These services have developed in our area in parts of Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming and Utah, for example. We were pleased to have the signals of our stations transmitted to reasonably proximate areas which contained potential television viewers with programings desires and background similar to the audiences served by the concerned stations.

Now the problem is different. It is proposed that systems carry from 15–35 channels. Plans of CATV companies include bringing in signals of large metropolitan stations from great distances. CATV poses a serious threat to survival of local broadcasters, especially those in rural markets when there is not room for economic survival of so many competitors because of the limited audiences and the advertising revenue. CATV threatens to replace many broadcasters. It is not competition that is the problem. It is the unfair competitive advantage that CATV has over broadcasters that threatens local stations.

The alert broadcaster must ask himself whether he should get into CATV to protect himself in his own market and in a sense compete with himself in an area where his signal is already reaching the majority of homes which can pick it up off the air. As he ponders this decision, the FCC rules are not clear as to whether doing so would violate duopoly rules. The ominous possibility of his being challenged upon application for renewal of his TV license, if he goes into CATV, must be weighed against the ominous possibility of outsiders getting control of CATV in his home community and importing distant stations to become a threat to his very existence. Also, there is no clear ruling on whether he may join with other broadcasters in his service area to jointly own and operate a CATV. While he waits for clarification from the Fderal Government, local governments, without experience in television, are licensing hundreds of CATV systems. The broadcaster watches an unregulated "jungle" grow. This situation must be changed. The FCC action was a step in this direction.

FCC ACTION JUSTIFIED BUT DOES NOT ANSWER INTERIM PROBLEMS

In 1955, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit stated with respect to the FCC jurisdiction over CATV:

"The Commission will presumably assert jurisdiction to regulate community antenna systems if and when it concludes that such systems provide or are adjuncts of a broadcast service." *Clarksburg Publishing Co.* v. *FCC*, 225 F. 2d 511, 517 (1955).

Very recently, that same court said with respect to the FCC jurisdiction over CATV:

"It may not be without authority or interest in the question of how many distant stations were to be carried by a CATV if that could affect the chances for survival of an independent local station. Although the Commission does not ordinarily supervise CATVs or serve as a forum for disgruntled CATV subscribers, it might consider whether the relationship of the CATV to its primary concern provides a substantial reason to do so here." *Citizens TV Protest Committee, et al.* v. *FCC*, No. 18738, decided May 7, 1965.

The practical situation facing broadcasters and CATV operators, as disclosed to the FCC in comments filed in at least two administrative proceedings has convinced the FCC that the time, which the court spoke of, had come. The future of television broadcasting, the integrity of the basic television allocation plan, and the future of local broadcasters were at stake. We believe that the courts, in view of prior pronouncements, will uphold the Commission in its assertion of authority. In fact, Boise Valley Broadcasters, Inc. (KBOI), after studying the matter of jurisdiction, formally urged the FCC to assume complete jurisdiction over CATV, to preclude deterioration of TV service to the public.

KBOI also urged the FCC to afford interim relief pending adoption of definitive rules and standards. The FCC does invite comments as to an interim course of action, if any, which should be followed by the Commission with respect to situations where microwave is not used. (Its first report and order dealt only with microwave authorizations used to relay television signals to CATV systems.) But no action was taken to stop the head-long dash of CATV operators to get franchises from local communities. The FCC notice did declare:

"We believe that franchising authorities will give due regard to the fact that the matter is thus under Commission consideration."

This warning did not have practical effect. The rush continues. The May 31 issue of TV Digest reports that in the period May 14–20, some 20 new CATV franchises were granted by local authorities, from New Jersey and Virginia in the east to California in the west. It also reported 47 new applications which had become active. The May 31, 1965 issue of Cable Television Review carries the following lead article:

"United Utilities, Inc., the Nation's second largest independent telephone system, has announced the formation of a new subsidiary, United Transmission, Inc., to develop and operate CATV systems within the nearly 500 communities served by United subsidiaries in a 15-State area.

"United's president, P. H. Henson, describes CATV as 'a natural adjunct to telecommunications operations. We have the transmission media, the personnel, the tools, the experience, and the financial ability to provide dependable, high quality, multichanneled television reception in those areas where reception now is less than perfect or where television programing is not sufficiently comprehensive.'

"United Transmission, Inc., already is negotiating for franchises in several communities in Missouri and for the purchase of existing, privately owned CATV properties. The growth activity will be accelerated throughout the entire United system within the next several months, Henson said."

We are concerned particularly about the implications of this continuing activity while the Congress and the FCC determine upon a basic policy for all CATV. The FCC announcement contains some very technical standards and will require considerable expertise to apply. Local governments lack the experience and expertise to determine whether the plans of their applicants will violate the FCC proposals (should they be adopted and made applicable). Unless the Federal Government enters the field of regulation, the local governments will make a myriad of different and inconsistent rulings in similar situations. If the FCC then exerts jurisdiction, either due to congressional direction or its interpretation of existing law, the problem of bringing into compliance holders of franchises granted in the interim will be much more difficult than would be the case if some interim control were exerted.

NEED FOR INTERIM POLICY

It is essential that a uniform policy be enacted by Congress or adopted by the Federal Communications Commission which will assure the continued development of a nationwide television service capable of satisfying the national and local programing needs and desires of all areas of the United States. Yet, section 398(c) of H.R. 7715 effectively precludes the Commission from adopting an interim policy if the bill is enacted. In addition, no interim policy is set out in H.R. 7715.

CATV is now and will continue to contribute to the improvement of television service. However, as we have said, the present development of CATV, except where microwave authorizations are involved, is being determined by inexperienced community and State governments. By imposing franchise fees, the communities are becoming joint venturers with CATV entrepreneurs. State regulatory bodies, as in Connecticut and Nevada, are also wrestling with CATV problems which, we believe, should be determined by Congress and the Federal Communications Commission.

Heretofore, there have been few standards which could be adhered to by broadcast licensees, such as BIC, who are primarily responsible for the development of free television in the United States. A rulemaking

proceeding concerning ownership of CATV systems by broadcast licensees is pending at the Commission. The Commission's rulemaking relating to jurisdiction over all CATV and substantive rules relating thereto will not be adopted for some time. It is likely this period will be further extended because of H.R. 7715. During this interim period, we respectfully submit, it is essential that the Congress or the Commission establish an interim policy restricting new CATV franchises. Otherwise, CATV activity will continue in an accelerated and uncontrolled fashion. In addition, the role of broadcast licensees in the development of CATV will be uncertain. At present, such licensees are accelerating their CATV activity as a means of self-preservation. There is no limitation on the extent to which a television station can extend service by the acquisition and operation of a CATV system. Conversely, nonaction by broadcast licensees may result in the establishment of CATV systems carrying as many as 35 channels into their normal service areas. The resultant audience dilution will severely affect the ability of the smaller stations to satisfy the local community needs. We think it imperative that Congress or the Commission arrest CATV growth until a uniform national television policy is established.

NEED FOR UNIFORMITY

Section 399 of H.R. 7715 provides essentially that the Federal Communications Commission can regulate but not license CATV systems, that any CATV rulemaking proposals will not take effect prior to the expiration of 90 days and that any interim CATV practice or procedure being followed by the Commission on the effective date of H.R. 7715 will be null and void.

We respectfully suggest that this provision would place CATV in the position of preference when compared to television broadcast stations and television translator stations.

In addition, many regulatory actions taken by the Federal Communications Commission should, in our opinion, affect all means of television reception including CATV, particularly if in the final action of the FCC or Congress CATV is not restricted (as we think should be the case) to receiving and simultaneous retransmission of television broadcast signals.

For example, Congress has established elaborate and precise rules concerning regulation of political broadcasts by announced candidates for public office (section 315). We do not believe that Congress intended that a CATV operator could pick and choose and edit speeches and coverage of political candidates, while television stations were required to give equal time. Nor do we believe that Congress intended that television stations comply with detailed rules on sponsorship and identification of programs (section 317) while CATV operators could ignore them. We believe that Congress intended the limitations on alien ownership and control (section 310) to be equally applicable to CATV as to television station operations.

We believe the FCC should be free to accomplish uniform regulation of all types of television which is received in the homes, whether by wire or off the air. Under the proposal of H.R. 7715, any rule adopted by the FCC would become effective as to television and translator licensees in 30 days but not for 90 days, if at all, to CATV licensees or franchise holders. We strongly urge that any legislation have equal application to CATV and television stations and translators.

LOCAL INTERESTS NEED PROTECTION

Diversification of programing is desirable. However, it is important that local community interests be served, local advertisers have their outlets, and local program interests of viewers be served. This has long been the policy under the communications act (section 307(b)). Unlimited diversification of programs, by importation of big city signals, would result in the elimination of the smaller stations and cause great injury to local interests. It would be a reversal of the sound policy of local identity which has made broadcasting in the United States such an effective instrument.

In our judgment, the inexperienced local governments are not effective instruments to protect these interests.

THE POWER TO LICENSE

The bill (H.R. 7715) would preclude licensing of CATV by the FCC but would permit regulation. Licensing has a broad meaning under Federal statutes, such as the Administrative Procedure Act. We are sure that it will be made clear that this is not intended to preclude effective regulation. Moreover, power of revocation of license or refusal to renew has been a most effective means of enforcement by the FCC. There is every reason why CATV and television stations and translators should all be placed on the same footing. The FCC has not proposed that it license CATV's, but if it concludes Federal licensing is desirable, legislation should not preclude uniform and equal treatment of CATV, television and translator licensees.

CONCLUSION

We hope that these views will assist the committee in its decision on this important legislation We urge that CATV regulation by the Federal Government become effective as soon as possible to permit the development of a "fair, efficient and equitable" distribution of television service "among the several communities" and a sound national policy and program of regulation of CATV, as well as television stations and translators.

Nixon Paves New Path for GOP and Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1965

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, former Vice President and Republican presidential nominee Richard M. Nixon gave a stirring address at the Young Republican National Convention in Miami on June 18.

I believe this address deserves the careful attention and serious consideration of all thoughtful Americans and for this reason I am placing a transcript of the address in the RECORD at this point:

THE PARTY OF PROGRESS

People have been talking about what's wrong with the Republican Party. Well, tonight I think we should change the subject. I am going to talk about what is wrong with the Johnson administration and how we can elect more Congressman, more Senators, more Governors, more State legislators in 1965 and 1966, so that we can win a Republican victory then and go on and win the White House in 1968.

Let me tell you why I believe that we are not just smoking opium when we talk about winning in 1966 and winning in 1968. Let me tell you why I really believe as I stand here that the Republican Party is on its way back. It isn't just the enthusiasm—and we see it everyplace—but the fundraising dinners, all over this country, are breaking records. And a party that is on its back, that doesn't have a chance, isn't able to raise money like that.

What we have going for us—if I could put this great convention in perspective—is a historical fact. History tells us that whenever this Nation has needed great leadership—not just good leadership, but great leadership—someway, somehow, it gets it. At the present time, it is my firm conviction that since World War II there has never been a time when America more needed great leadership—not just good leadership—than today.

I want to tell you why: Not just because of the problems here but because in the world today we are at one of those great turning points in history. We find that the Communist world is deeply divided. The Soviet Union and Red China—instead of being allies—are opponents and enemies and not working together. And the strongest of the two—the Soviet Union—has a crisis of leadership. I was in the Soviet Union just a few days ago and no one knows there who's the boss. And that's why the Soviet Union speaks with such an uncertain voice in Vietnam and other places—because no one is in charge. And so, what we find in the world today as against our potential enemies is that they're divided and the major opponent—the strongest one—has an uncertain voice and uncertain leadership, a crisis of leadership. And this poses to us, you see, a great opportunity. This is a time—a time that may never come again—when America as the leader of the free world, instead of being on the defensive, instead of reacting, should be on the initiative to freedom as well as defend it.

And so the question arises: At a time when America has this opportunity, at a time it needs great leadership, are we getting it? And if we are not getting it, what can we do about it? Now, naturally, I am a Republican, as you are, and I say that the present administration isn't providing it.

But even admitting for the moment that we would be biased in that respect, let us recognize that history tells us something else about America. The greatness of this country's leadership has generally come from the fact that we had a competitive two-party system. Whenever one party gets too strong and the other too weak, you get mediocre leadership from the one. And today we have one-party government in Washington, D.C. * * * and, there isn't anything the Democrats can't get through Congress if they are all united—if Lyndon Johnson wants it. * * * And so we find the situation today that, at this period when America needs great leadership, we lack that chemistry which is necessary to provide it—the conflict of two great parties in which the one in opposition is strong enough to force the other to come up not with mediocre solutions but with great solutions. And so that is one reason the Republican Party should gain in 1966. The country needs it. We need a stronger opposition.

Let's go to a second point. Not only do we need a stronger opposition in the name of the two-party system, but we need it because the Republican Party, as a party, has something to offer today in the field of foreign policy and in the field of domestic policy that America needs and that this present administration isn't providing.

Let's look first at Vietnam. Today, the Democratic Party is split right down the middle on Vietnam. Leaders of the Democratic Party criticize our policy on Vietnam. And abroad, that creates a disastrous impression—the impression that Americans are divided, that America will not be steadfast as the long months go on and victory does not come as quickly as we might want. And so, at a time that the Democrats are not supporting their President, the Republicans are serving America. And I'll tell you why we are doing

it: Because the policy presently being followed by Johnson is basically a Republican policy in terms of what we did in the Eisenhower administration in Quemoy and Matsu and Lebanon. It has always been a Republican principle, and an American principle, that when there is aggression, instead of backing up, we stand firm. That's the way of peace and any other way leads to war.

The Republicans, I think, are taking a proper position * * * I want to tell you why I think the Republican loyal opposition is right in supporting the President up to this point in Vietnam. I want to tell it simply * * * I am for what we are doing in Vietnam for the very reason that the critics of the policy say they are against it.

The critics say that the United States should not intervene in the internal affairs of another nation. I agree. But that is why we are in Vietnam. We're in there not to intervene for ourselves, but to keep the Communists from intervening—and that is what we must get across.

The critics say that the United States should not attempt to impose colonialism in Asia. I agree. But we are not in Vietnam for the purpose of imposing American colonialism there or anyplace else. We're in Vietnam for the purpose of denying Vietnam to Communist colonialism. That is what we must understand.

The critics say that the United States should never be in a position of resisting the desire of an undeveloped people to have a better way of life. I couldn't agree more. But that's why we're in Vietnam. Do you realize that the per capita income in free South Vietnam is 2½ times as much as the economic slum of Communist North Vietnam? And that is why the Vietnamese in South Vietnam are fighting bravely and courageously. They don't want to be reduced to the level of North Vietnam. So we are fighting for economic progress—and not against it—when we stand with South Vietnam against the Communist conquest.

And then, finally, this is the big point. The critics say that the United States should always be on the side of peace and not on the side of war. I agree. But you see, what they fail to realize is that if Vietnam is lost, that will increase the chance of world war III immeasurably. We fight in Vietnam now so that we will not have to fight world war III 4 or 5 years from now. Let me tell you why:

First, if Vietnam is lost or if we negotiate too soon and agree to a coalition government or neutralization—equivalent to losing it—if Communist aggression is rewarded in Vietnam, these consequences will follow one after another inexorably.

Cambodia and Laos will go; and then Thailand; then Burma, which is an economic basket case; Indonesia, already on the brink, will go; Malaysia will not be able to stand the pressure and then what do you have? Two hundred million people, half the world's rubber, half the world's tin—all under Communist domination 4 or 5 years from now.

You have this great bloc of countries under Communist domination and, looking at the map, you see Indonesia 14 miles from the Philippines. And then there begins the inevitable Communist attempt at conquest by revolution in the Philippines. And what happens * * * 5 years from now? The threat of world war would be infinitely greater because China then, as distinguished from now, would have substantial nuclear capabilities. China then might be allied with Russia again and the risk would be infinitely greater.

And so, what we are really talking about here is this: By standing against aggression in Vietnam, we are reducing the chances of world war III. By failing to resist aggression in Vietnam, we would increase the chances of world war III.

Some Republicans say to me, "look, join the Democrats in criticizing because you win both ways: If the policy succeeds, Johnson is going to take the credit and if it fails, you can take the credit for pointing it out."

But what's at stake here is peace and freedom for us in the world and the Republican Party is right in standing for what is right in America and in the world.

Having told you what I think is right about the Johnson policy, let me tell you now some areas I think are wrong and some areas where there could be improvement.

First, with regard to Asia. I do not agree with the proposal of the administration, or the philosophy, that the answer to communism—apart from the reaction in Vietnam—is a greatly increased economic aid program. Economic aid without a military alliance to protect it is money right down the rathole. And so I say that this administration must go forward now with a program that it should have gone forward with before: of getting other free Asian nations—which have an immense stake in their own freedom and what happens in Vietnam and in other countries—in getting those nations to develop a military alliance before we go forward with great economic programs.

And then, second, looking at Vietnam itself, I think we should make it celar to the Chinese Communists, who huff and puff and threaten to intervene, that this time there will be no Yalu River concept which denied victory to America, to MacArthur, in Korea.

I think it is essential that, from a diplomatic standpoint, we have an objective other than simply a defensive one. The Communists say that their goal is a Communist South Vietnam. Our diplomatic goal, wherever there is a negotiation, must be a free North Vietnam. Only then can we have any negotiation.

Let's look at other areas. In Europe, obviously there is an immense need for rebuilding the NATO alliance, not in its old form because the situation has changed, but rebuilding it so that the NATO nations, instead of resisting and opposing America and free world policy, will support it. And this particular program is one in which the administration has failed to provide the leadership that it should.

In Latin America, I favor what happened in the Dominican Republic, because we had to avoid a Communist takeover. But what we were doing there was putting out a fire. And any firefighting department has to have a fire prevention department and, believe me, we don't have one in Latin America. By a fire prevention department I, of course, mean getting at the arsonist. And the arsonist is Castro. Castro shipped arms and men and operators into the Dominican Republic. He is training and shipping them all over the Caribbean and into Colombia and other hot spots and I say that it is time that this administration come forward with a program to deal with Castro. One which will stop the export of revolution by whatever means are necessary from Cuba and one which will cease to give to Castro a perfect sanctuary but which will support the free Cubans inside of Cuba and outside of Cuba.

And while I am speaking on Cuba, may I make just one historical record—only for purposes of guidance in the future and not for purposes of criticizing the past. The great Cuban confrontation * * * was, in some ways, a very productive effort. That confrontation, once it was made, risked war. But after we took the risk of war, we submitted the carrying-out policy to the United Nations. Result: Russian forces are still in Cuba. There has been no inspection to see whether the missiles have been removed. I believe that the U.N. does serve, and can serve, useful purposes, such as some peacekeeping missions. But I say that in the future, wherever the United States and its security is threatened by international Communist imperialism, policies should be made by the United States and not by the United Nations.

Now, our relationship with the Soviet Union. Here again, history teaches us something. I recall the export of wheat to the Soviet Union. Since then it has come out that this export cost us maybe $25 million, maybe $40 million. But the amount is immaterial. One hundred million dollars would be a cheap price if it produced better understanding and reduced the danger of war. But, since the export of wheat to the Soviet Union—subsidized by the taxpayers—what have we seen? The Soviet Union has stepped up its subversion in Latin America, in Africa, in Vietnam, and around the world. For the future then, I say that the policy of America should be very simply this: No exports of wheat or anything else to the Soviet Union until they quit exporting revolutions to the rest of the world.

I would not want anyone to get the impression that, having spoken of some of our problems, there are not areas where things are going well for the United States—because there are. And for the cause of freedom. Let me tell you about Asia. I was there twice in the last year. Did you know that the only areas in Asia in which there has been substantial economic progress since World War II are those countries which have bet on freedom rather than turning to socialism or communism? Listen to it—Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, all represent economic progress. And second, we find that the failures in Asia, not to mention Communist China and Communist North Vietnam, are the Socialist countries: Burma, which I mentioned a moment ago and Indonesia, a disaster case. Now, at a time when around the world freedom is proving itself and at a time when communism is proving to be a failure, this is a lesson for America. I say that when the rest of the world is turning toward freedom because it works, let's not turn away from freedom here at home.

I cannot in a few moments summarize completely the policies of this administration in the domestic field. I can only say that what they add up to, in my considered judgment, in terms of the amount of money spent, in terms of the extension of Federal Government power, the Johnson administration programs are all more radical than the New Deal, the Fair Deal, and the New Frontier combined.

Never in the history of America has so much been promised to so many by one man. I'll have to admit these Democrats are versatile, though. You know Harry Truman gave them hell and Lyndon Johnson gives them heaven. But now, my young Republican friends, can I speak to you as one who for 20 years has gone through the torturous process of trying to find out what is right? What is best for our party? What is best for America? And particularly, when confronted with promises which seems to have great political appeal, where do we stand?

There are three courses of action that we could take. One, because it is so successful politically, why don't we join them and do likewise? Let's "me-too" them, go their road. Of course, most Republicans would reject that. We don't want to go down their road on a me-too basis. Or second, there are those who say: "Well, let's don't go quite that far. But let's go half as far as they do. Let's go, in effect, on the middle of their road, because at least we'll get that much in the way of public acceptance."

I don't know what you feel, but I say for my part, I don't want any part of any road—middle, right or left—which eventually leads to total government.

Those are two choices—here's the third: Let's don't go down any road. And let me say that too many Republicans end up in that very difficult position. Because they are so horrified by the big government pro-

grams that say, "We're against them" and they end up being against people, against better health for people, against better education for people, against jobs for people, against the recognition of the rights of all people to equality of opportunity. That is what happens when a great political party, faced with immense promises which are wrong, takes a completely negative attitude.

I'll tell you what I think is right. I'm not for the middle of their road and I'm not for their road—but I'm not for standing still.

I'm for a new road—and the key to it is progress. They say, let's have progress through more and more government in Washington. Let us say we will have progress through more and more opportunity for 190 million free Americans.

They say we will have progress through bigger government in Washington, D.C. We say we'll have progress through better government in the States and local communities.

Take education. It's so easy, where education is concerned, simply to say we don't like their program. We're going to leave things as they are. But there is another way, the way Republicans in the House have come up with an alternative. They say we have programs for education, tax credits, for example, for college students, it's a multiple program. The Republicans offer a program for education for all, but with this difference: the Republicans recognize that what we need is not only quantity of education, but quality of education. And the Republican program is based on the great principle that, where quality is concerned, the decisions as to what is taught should be made not in Washington, D.C., but in the home communities and in the States of this country. Let's take medical care. Here is a program that is going to pass. And it is very easy to say be against it. It's very easy to say offer nothing. But the Republicans in the House, to their credit, have not done that. They offered their own program * * *. And I'll tell you the difference between the Republican program and the Democratic program. I say that we want doctors who are working for the patient—and not for the Government.

My friends, the Republican Party is the party of progress. The Republican Party has been responsible for great waves of progress throughout its history in office. Let's continue to be and let the young Republicans lead the forces of progress—not through bigger government but through better State government and through individual opportunities. This is our charge.

Kingdom of Burundi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I should like to extend greetings to the Government and to the people of the Kingdom of Burundi in this third year of their independence.

During this brief span, relations between the Burundi Government and the Government of the United States have always been friendly. Trade relations have been beneficial to both countries, and I refer particularly to coffee export.

It is evident that the Government of Burundi is dedicated to serving the true interests of its people.

U.S. Foreign Policy and the Polish-German Border

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, recently representatives of a number of Polish-American organizations in my home State of Wisconsin met to draft a memorandum on the question of the Polish-German border.

The matter is one which deeply concerns Americans of Polish ancestry, since for nearly 20 years the United States has failed to extend "de jure" recognition to the existing Western frontier of Poland, east of the Oder-Neisse line.

They have requested that I call this memorandum to the attention of my colleagues and therefore I insert the memorandum in the RECORD at this point.

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY AND THE POLISH-GERMAN BORDER

Recent events—especially the changes in Russia, the exploding of the atom bomb by the Chinese Communist regime, the growing Communist menace in Asia, the undeniable Red influence in Africa, and the encroachment of the Red tide onto the shores of America—indicate that the horizons are darkening. We are confronted with the sad fact that the United States is losing rather than acquiring friends. Clever Communist propaganda, using distorted facts, has succeeded in presenting the U.S.S.R. to some nations as the sole champion of liberty and guarantor of sovereignty. In some instances unfortunately the fault lies with our foreign policy.

One of the clearest illustrations of this fact is the problem of the Oder-Neisse boundary between Poland and Germany.

There are millions of people behind the Iron Curtain who are natural allies of the United States and enemies of the Soviet Union. Poland with its 1,000-year historical and cultural ties with the Western World and with its passionate love of freedom is one of the stanchest friends of the United States, bound in a mutual friendship that goes back to the cradle days of the American Republic. It must moreover be remembered that Poland's role as a leading nation in central Europe has always been recognized by other East European nations who traditionally follow the example of Poland.

Unfortunately for nearly 20 years the Western frontier of Poland has not been recognized "de jure" by the United States. There are 8 million Poles living in territories east of the Oder-Neisse line; 3 million of them were born there. There are virtually no Germans living there now. Poles have rebuilt these territories from ruins the war had left behind. Poland had every legal and moral right to these territories that had been annexed or partitioned by the Germans in the course of centuries. It might be added that even though the French Government recognizes this boundary as the lawful Polish-German frontier, French-German relations still remain quite friendly.

The refusal of the United States to recognize this boundary for fear of antagonizing the Germans—our foes is World Wars I and II—is the only shadow on the traditional Polish-American friendship that dates back to the time of George Washington and Benjamin Franklin.

Not only Poles but all Slavic nations behind the Iron Curtain dread the reborn militarism and revisionism of a propserous and resurgent Germany with suspicion. History has taught them a horrible, and unforgettable lesson. In the course of the last 10 centuries Poland alone has had to wage no fewer than 60 wars with Germany in a sheer constant struggle for survival against a rapacious, ruthless foe, ever greedy for other peoples' lands and treasures.

Under these circumstances Russian propaganda has been using the Oder-Neisse problem with great success as obvious proof that the United States is backing the German plans of a new Drang nach Osten and a bigger and greater Germany über Alles.

The "de jure" recognition of the Oder-Neisse boundary by the United States would be a realistic move in our Eastern European foreign policy. It is certainly unrealistic to wait for a peace conference on Germany in the very remote future or to assume that 8 million Poles can be forcibly ejected from these territories that constituted a part of Old Poland before Germans had annexed them. "De jure" recognition would remove all traces of suspicion among the Slavic satellite nations that the United States is now backing the militant German expansionist policy.

Russia, bearing in mind the events in Poland and Hungary, is fully aware of the accumulated explosive material in these countries.

So long as the problem of the Oder-Neisse boundary is not settled, the United States can never convince Poles—both American and European—and other peoples of Eastern Europe of its just and fair intentions.

This affords us a great opportunity to penetrate the Communist-dominated Slavic world in Europe, to deal a strategic blow to Russia, and to destroy the edge of Russian propaganda.

In the interest of our security and as a winning move in the cold war, and also in the name of justice toward Poland, our first faithful ally in the Second World War, we propose that the Oder-Neisse boundary be recognized de jure by the United States in the immediate future as an effective counterblow to Soviet claims that U.S.S.R. is the sole protector of Slavic nations against a resurgent, aggressive Germany out to reconquer lands and territories that were originally Slavic to begin with.

Respectfully submitted,

Waclaw Zurowski, President, Polish Western Association for Wisconsin; Jerzy Brzezinski, President, Polish Veterans in Exile Association, Milwaukee, Wis.; Anthony Szymczak, President, Council No. 8, Polish National Alliance, Milwaukee, Wis.; Jan Golembiowski, President, Polish-Roman Catholic Union, Council No. 6, Milwaukee, Wis.; Thomas P. Rozga, President, Milwaukee Society, Polish National Alliance, Milwaukee, Wis.; Edward Zemlak, President, Polish Youth Association, Milwaukee, Wis.; Frank B. Sienkiewicz, President, New American Association, Milwaukee, Wis.

Edmund Banasikowski, President, Polish-American Congress for Wisconsin; Pelagia Wojtczak, President, Polish Women's Alliance for Wisconsin; John R. Joachimczyk, State Commander, Polish Army Veterans Association of America, Department of Wisconsin; Dr. Anthony Markusiewicz, President, New Life "Chorus," Milwaukee, Wis.; Emil M. Pankiewicz, President, Independent Society, Council No. 3156, Polish National Alliance, Milwaukee, Wis.; Wlodzimierz Kulczycki, President, Council No. 20, Polish National Alliance, Cudahy, Wis.

Poles Admit "Good Life" Has Thin Veneer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Thomas Nuzum, chief of the Chicago Tribune's Paris bureau, has just completed an auto tour of Poland and has been reporting his observations in past weeks. One of the most interesting of his articles dealt with the comments of individual citizens, and because of the contradiction between this report and the position of the State Department that the Polish Communist regime is liberalizing, I place the article which appeared in the June 27 Chicago Tribune in the RECORD for review by the Members.

POLES ADMIT "GOOD LIFE" HAS THIN VENEER

(By Thomas Nuzum)

WARSAW, June 26.—The casual visitor's impression is that Poles lead normal lives, are reasonably happy and adequately fed and clothed. They seem to feel free to do about anything—except criticize their Government.

Nobody complained—as long as this reporter was with official interpreters.

A third of the strangers registered some complaint when I was alone and could communicate in English, French, broken German, or Polish.

REMAINDER ARE CONTENT

An equal number expressed contentment with the regime, but many of these held official jobs. The remainder seemed neutral.

One man used to improve his English by viewing films at the American Embassy, but he is afraid to go there since hearing on a Voice of America broadcast that the Embassy was bugged with police microphones. Bugging was not disclosed by the Polish press.

Police controls have been much looser since bread riots in 1956 brought Wladyslaw Gomulka to the head of Poland's Communist Party, one critic of communism told me. This Pole charged that looser controls were possible because many people were jailed "even for joking about the regime. Nowadays we know enough to keep our traps shut."

A professor, unemployed for years because he was not a party member, got off the dole and onto a faculty. He thinks life is infinitely better than before 1956, but longs to leave the country.

"HAPPY" SONG A THEME

The Polish equivalent of "happy birthday" is a song called "Sto Lat" (100 years). Citizens sang it to wish Gomulka 100 years' life when he came to power. They believed he would bring them a greater measure of freedom.

Since then, "Sto Lat" has symbolized revolt and hope.

That hope was disappointed by the Gomulka government, averred one man. "Therefore, we do not feel like singing 'Sto Lat' at birthday parties that fall on election days. They remind us of the regime."

Another time, a Pole looked around to see if anybody was overhearing our conversation. Finally he wrote what he hesitated to say aloud—that students sang "Sto Lat" (with its anti-Communist implications) for Robert Kennedy during his visit last year.

People were inspired with hope in 1956, especially by Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski's calls for freedom, said one citizen, but hope was succeeded by disappointment he charged: "Today we feel only apathy."

VOTE HEAVY, CHOICE SMALL

About 99 percent voted in the Polish parliamentary election on May 30, although in most cases their only choice was between several candidates endorsed by the Communist-dominated People's Front.

"We voted because otherwise an official comes around before the polls close and asks why you haven't," two men explained.

A snaggle-toothed peasant was asked if living conditions were not better than before the war. He threw up his hands and laughed, indicating he couldn't reply to that sort of question. When I pressed for an answer, he replied, "Ni demokracja (it is not a democracy)."

About 6,000 Poles emigrate each year to America, the full quota, and there is a 5-year waiting list. Most emigrants say they are leaving for reasons economic rather than political.

CITES OTHER EMIGRANTS

Fifteen percent emigrating under the American quota are Poles living in France, Britain, and other countries, which indicates their standard of living in those countries is not too satisfactory.

Of those leaving Poland, the majority come from the tiny sandy farms around Rzeszow and Kielce. These areas were main sources of immigration before World War I. Most of those leaving now have relatives established in America to help them.

One sees posters reading "hands off Viet nam," but only two Poles mentioned the subject. When asked if he disapproved of American participation in that war, a man said:

"No, because I only know what I read in our own newspapers about it."

No Dictation for Young Republicans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, in all of the maze of postmortems which have followed the election, several points remain clear through all of the smoke and dust. Most Republicans do not want our party to become a Socialist cousin of the already hopelessly Socialist Democrat Party. We must stand for those principles which are time honored and correct. It is obvious that we need to do better selling job and many areas of self-criticism are justified. Republicans have always responded with new ideas. We must remember that the Republican Party is still the best hope for a strong America and the only hope for the preservation of the free enterprise system and our entire basis of individual opportunity and worth. While some may choose the course of expediency and collaboration, most Republicans surely stand firm in this principle.

One of the ideas which has been thrown around is to undermine the autonomous nature of our Young Republican National Federation. I well recall when I was Young Republican National Federation chairman how the Democrats operated. Chairman Butler had a very capable assistant, Dick Murphy, now with the Post Office Department, who in effect was executive director of the Young Democrats. The Democrats elected a national chairman but he was on an equal or possibly inferior basis with my good friend Dick Murphy. We want none of this in the Young Republicans. We appeal to young Americans on the basis of individuality and a flat rejection of bossism. Any chairman, committee, or group which advocates dictating to the Young Republicans should have the total opposition of our more than one-half million Young Republicans throughout the country. Any chairman, committee, or group who would remove the time-honored concept of independence of the Young Republicans is wrong and Young Republicans should never bow to this type of insult. I for one will vigorously oppose any effort to stamp the Young Republicans into a mold of oppression and dictation whatever the benevolent reasons might be. One party advocating dictation of our economic and political life and practicing it in its party operations is certainly enough.

Extra Duty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, the principle of civilian control of the military and Government is one that has long been cherished in this country. Like all such principles, if it is to be preserved, it must be carefully guarded. The appointment of General McKee as Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency does not destroy this tenent of our democracy, but it represents an encroachment that if consistently repeated could render the principles meaningless. The encroachment has proceeded to the point where 94 retired and active regular officers enjoys executive assignment in the Federal Aviation Agency.

The question is not whether General McKee and these other officers are qualified for their positions. The real question involves whether or not the principle of the civilian control of the military and of the Government is being eroded. I am sure that all of my colleagues will want to remain informed on this important question of principle. With this in mind I call attention to an editorial in the Milwaukee Sentinel.

EXTRA DUTY

Is the Johnson administration becoming topheavy with military men in civilian jobs?

Rumblings are beginning to be heard that it is. The main cause for this discontent is President Johnson's nomination of a retired general, William F. McKee, to be Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency.

Some Senators, notably Democratic ones, are objecting to having a man with a military background named to head an agency that the law requires be headed by a civilian.

Nevertheless, the Senate has passed a bill waiving the requirement that the head of the FAA be a civilian, thus clearing the way for McKee's appointment.

AMONG HIGHEST PAID OFFICIALS

Should McKee be confirmed, he would be among the highest paid officials in the executive and legislative branches of the Government, with the exception of the President and Vice President. In addition to $30,000 a year he would get as FAA head, he gets $8,404 a year in military retirement pay. McKee would not be alone as a retired military officer in a top civilian job. The flap over his appointment has focused attention on the fact that there are 41 retired generals and admirals in high places in the Johnson administration.

Since last December, reports Senator PEARSON, Republican, of Kansas, approximately 2,225 retired military officers have joined the executive branch. Furthermore, he says, it is estimated that roughly 30,000 persons presently serving within the Government are former military officers.

This proliferation of the military influence in the executive branch raises some serious questions. Foremost is the question of what effect this has on the American tradition of Government that the military is subject to civilian control.

In his farewell address in 1961, President Eisenhower issued a warning that bears repeating now:

"In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist."

Another question raised by the swelling of the military in civilian government ranks is whether the Government's military retirement policies are in need of change.

DUAL SALARIES SERVE PURPOSE

Congress last year passed a Dual Compensation Act. Under its provisions, retired military personnel may enter the Federal Government in a civilian capacity without foregoing retirement pay. This was done to enable the Government to compete with private enterprise for the valuable talents of military officers. The influx of military men into Federal civilian jobs testifies to the success of the Dual Compensation Act in accomplishing its purpose. Of course, the Federal Government cannot renege on the retirement contracts it has with military officers. But the question is whether the Government is not retiring its officers too soon. The retired officers still have several years of service left in them, as the McKee case demonstrates.

The whole matter needs looking into.

Republic of Rwanda

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of this distinguished body that today is the third anniversary of the Republic of Rwanda.

This republic has expended great effort to institute technical and economic reforms. Accordingly, the people stand ready to profit from the advantage of having a government which has been able to catch a clear vision of the goals of a democratic society.

Resolution on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WESTON E. VIVIAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a communication from the Reverend Dr. Hoover Rupert, president of the Ann Arbor-Washtenaw Council of Churches, informing me that the Ann Arbor-Washtenaw Council had adopted the thoughtful and reasonable resolution on Vietnam promulgated by the National Council of Churches.

I am privileged to represent a district containing a large number of outstanding clerical and lay Christian leaders; these men and women invariably involve themselves in the vital social issues of the day, thereby enriching our communities and, I am sure, adding to their own Christian experience.

Mr. Speaker, the National Council of Churches resolution supports President Johnson's quest for peace in Vietnam; it supports his offer to add enormous American resources to help develop the Mekong River Valley. I am proud that the Ann Arbor-Washtenaw Council adopted this resolution. I am sure the resolution is supported by the vast majority of our Members, and under unanimous consent place it in full at this point:

ANN ARBOR-WASHTENAW COUNCIL
OF CHURCHES,
Ann Arbor, Mich., May 24, 1965.

Hon. WESTON E. VIVIAN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. VIVIAN: At the regular meeting of the board of directors of the Ann Arbor-Washtenaw Council of Churches, May 18, 1965, the following resolution, adopted by the Board of the National Council of Churches, on February 25, 1965, was unanimously supported:

Recognizing the concern of the United States for the freedom and independence of all peoples;

Acknowledging our responsibility to the people of South Vietnam who have been depending upon our aid;

Expressing our distress at the continued violence, war and loss of life of all the peoples involved;

Believing that mankind must learn to settle its disputes around the conference table rather than on the battlefield;

Welcoming the initiative taken by the Secretary General of the United Nations in the present crisis and sharing his conviction that "only political and diplomatic methods of negotiation and discussion may find a peaceful solution" to the problem;

Conscious that there are many difficulties and dilemmas facing our country in negotiations for political settlement, but mindful also of the seriousness of prolonged military conflict, the danger of escalation of hostilities, and the possibility of a third world war;

The General Board of the National Council of Churches urges the U.S. Government:

To engage in persistent efforts to negotiate a cease-fire and a settlement of the war which will attempt to achieve the independence, freedom, and self-determination of the people of South Vietnam;

To utilize United Nations assistance in achieving a solution and in seeking to reduce the area of conflict by effective border control and internal policing; and

To give bold and creative leadership to a broad international development program for the Mekong region and to continue full-scale U.S. economic and technical assistance where necessary.

The general board pledges support and cooperation in the urgent tasks of reconciliation and reconstruction in Vietnam.

In addition, we wish to give our support to President Johnson's indication of our Government's willingness to participate in discussion without preconditions.

We would further wholeheartedly support President Johnson's offer of $1 billion to be used to implement a large-scale economic development of the Mekong River and his suggestion that it be channeled through the offices of the Secretary General of the United Nations.

We finally urge our U.S. Government to honor its commitment to the principle of maintaining international peace and security through cooperative efforts to which we pledged our country when we signed the United Nations Charter. We call upon our Government to use the mediating services of the international community and especially the services of the United Nations.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. RACHEL ANDRESEN,
Executive Secretary.
The Reverend Dr. HOOVER RUPERT,
President,

Commentary of Joseph F. McCaffrey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, recent discussion concerning the role of the office of the Architect of the Capitol prompted the distinguished journalist Joseph McCaffrey to comment on this matter.

I place Mr. McCaffrey's remarks in the RECORD at this point:

COMMENTARY OF JOSEPH F. MCCAFFREY

The critics of Capitol Architect J. George Stewart always make much of the fact that Mr. Stewart is not an architect.

The Washington Post recites this litany: "J. George Stewart is not an architect." So what.

There have been eight men who have served as Architect of the Capitol. Only three—three of these eight men—have been architects.

One of the original designers of the Capitol Building itself, and the first Architect of the Capitol, was not only not an architect he was a doctor of medicine—Dr. William Thornton.

Since 1865—100 years ago—there has not been a man who has served as Architect of the Capitol who has been, by profession, an architect.

So why the fuss over George Stewart, who is not an architect?

The job, basically, is that of property manager for the U.S. Congress. It has been so regarded and so treated by the Members of Congress. There is not now, nor has there ever been any requirement that the man who holds the job be an architect. And, as I said, the record which is easily available shows that no architect has held the position of Architect of the Capitol in the last 100 years.

What Is ARA's Fascination for Papermaking?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the editor of a magazine covering the paper and pulp industry asks why the Federal Government is so fascinated with getting into the paper industry. He does so with good reason. According to the latest information, the Area Redevelopment Administration is using taxpayers' money to build or restore, or to study the possibility of building, 17 pulp and paper mills. Opening these additional facilities would be disastrous in the highly competitive paper industry. It would take away jobs from workers now employed in existing papermills, creating unemployment.

The question is a good one. What is the reason for this fascination? What is the reason for this onslaught of Government-financed competition with the existing pulp and paper industry?

I include an editorial from a recent issue of Pulp & Paper which raises this question:

UNITED STATES IS PLANNING OR BUILDING 17 MILLS—WHY THIS FASCINATION FOR PAPERMAKING?

We're amazed by the persistence of the Federal Government in getting involved in the pulp and paper industry in competition with private mills which have to pay their own bills and can't dip into tax money. It's a naive Alice-in-Wonderland approach in some respects, but underlying it all are practical political objectives.

If the Government financed steel, automobile, or chemical factories, what a howl would go up. But paper is fair game for the business geniuses on the Potomac.

By our latest count, Uncle Sam has, or is, using your money to build or restore as many as 17 pulp and paper mills. Some are still in the "study" stage. Some were failures in private hands. This doesn't count a scattering of wood chip plants (no one knows who is going to buy the chips and other forest projects). This is costing taxpayers nearly $8 million, and this is just a drop in the bucket. It includes only first, minor costs of feasibility studies for most mills.

Incidentally, you can live just as dangerously as editor of a little old paper industry magazine as scribbler in chief of "Purple Scandals." Just question this competition with private enterprise. We have been warned by Government proteges to expect a visit from a barrister. That kind of personal attention can lead to damages or even incarceration in a dungeon. But seriously, is Uncle Sam really doing these promoters a favor? The industry certainly will expand where the markets justify expansion.

To permit building an ARA-financed beet sugar plant on the Prestile River, the Maine Legislature had to lower the river's classification from B-1 to D, which means about anything goes. The same Federal Government which demands papermills purify their streams, insisted on it. Senator MUSKIE, "clean streams" champion of Congress, urged laxity for this project.

And why are engineering firms which never had the slightest experience in pulp and paper, able to grab off Government contracts for new mill projects? ARA is financing studies for mills in Oregon, Kentucky, Missouri, West Virginia, Minnesota, etc. This is tax money. The existing paper industry should have access to this information.

An ARA mill is proposed in the Minnesota "Canoe" area where no private firm may touch a tree. Does Mr. Udall know about this? Actually, the area already has been explored and it was decided a mill there could not compete with existing mills.

Government mill financing aims at creating jobs. Very laudable. But other mill jobs and markets are endangered. ARA mills also "pirate" workers from existing mills. In the end, they create few jobs at high cost.

A Norfolk, N.Y., mill, twice gone bankrupt, is reopened with long-sought ARA loans. It shut down last January when previous ARA and State loans of $1,200,000 ran out. A local newspaper reported liabilities of former owners totaled $2,449,370.

Why wasn't the first ARA-backed company more thoroughly investigated? Why did it fail to bring the plant up to standard? Why did an ARA man say "we'll do anything within the law to reopen the mill." Another ARA man looking into a rag paper project in the heavily forested South probably gave the answer: "I'm convinced it's uneconomic, but this is a political thing."

ALBERT W. WILSON.

Democracy and What It Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 28, 1965

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, the essay contest which I recently sponsored for junior high and senior high school students in the 27th Congressional District of California produced many outstanding writings on the subject "What Democracy Means to Me."

In the junior high school division, the participating schools and the first-place winners and runners-up were:

Junipher: Shelley O'Kelley, Mike Wilson, Nancy Grafe, Jana Wells, and Ronnie Santas.

Richard E. Byrd: Cindy Sagara, Larilynn J. Chemas, Dianne Slac, Jerry Dunlap, and Gregory Walker.

Hughes-Elizabeth Lakes Union School: Dale Beasley, Thomas Dwayne Lewis, David Breslin, Joseph Goss, and Ricky Jacks.

Eastside: Muffet Schwartz, Sherry Kostecky, Dennis Cassidy, Vickie Windsor, and Deborah O'Rear.

James Madison: Kay Hatamiya, Robert Kramarz, Danny Shartin, Karen Leslie, and Ann Morgan.

Almondale: Mary Ann Tillman, Morna Kimberlin, Paula Kenck, Ailien Mentemeier, and Wallace Andrews.

Gorman: Dan Levitt, Linda Tracy, Melanie Adams, Robert Tracy, and Robert Morrison.

Mount Gleason: Pam Diamond, Kendra Barrett, Wendy Isbell, Bob Rosenfeld, and Louise Anthony.

Soledad Aqua Dulce Union: Chris Wagstaff, Mike Wynn, and Lupe Dorado.

St. Finbar: Susanna Geiger, Barbara Corradi, Diane Villeneuve, Marcia Nos, and Diane May.

St. Jane Frances de Chantal: Susan Neville, Patrick Aulicino, Bill Berteaux, and Georgette Dvoracek.

Placerita: Sue Bryant.

St. Patrick's: Donna Martin, Christopher Morris, Melissa Jean Malak, Doris Campbell, and Suzanna Coane.

Winners who participated on an individual basis were David H. Gregg, of the Desert View Junior Academy, and David Podsadecki, of Our Lady of Lourdes School.

As an indication of the fine work which these students submitted, it is a pleasure for me to enter into the RECORD, at this point in my remarks, the thoughtful essay by the winner of the junior high school division, Miss Shelley O'Kelley, of the Junipher School in Palmdale, Calif.:

DEMOCRACY AND WHAT IT MEANS TO ME

(By Shelley O'Kelley)

When I see our colors flying against the soft blue sky and see children playing under it, that is democracy to me. Children playing freely, singing happily, and even fighting show that citizens of the United States may make their own choices. Hearing my teachers speak what comes to mind to help us learn, to add something to our lives. Helping a little bird back into its nest, taking in stray animals, speaking out freely for or against something shows me democracy in action. Writing what comes to mind and publishing it without fear. This all means democracy. Even hearing a little child cry blends with America's free ideas. Life without freedom isn't worth living. Just to exist isn't enough, we must have goals and a chance of obtaining them. Democracy gives us these goals and also gives us the chance. Mankind must have freedoms almost as much as the necessities, food, clothing, and shelter. Work, eat, and sleep is no life, just an existence. In the United States, a democracy, people have freedom. Freedom to do what they wish as long as it doesn't infringe on the rights of others.

We get up in the morning usually feeling fine, because the night before we slept without fear of being bombed or murdered. We have men in Vietnam (as an example) who are fighting to see to it that their country won't be attacked. We have policemen patrolling the streets to see to it that we don't get murdered. We go to school to learn more about the world. They don't keep from us the facts of our own country. They teach us to think and make up our own minds. We leave school and go home. We do our chores and homework, we eat a good meal.

But then after things are finished, we can watch television's entertainment and we can read books to improve our minds. We go to bed without fear. On Sundays we go to church. The church of our choice. We have freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition. Our Government is by, of, and for the people. Our Constitution helps make our Government, our Union, more perfect. It had faults, as the first constitution was the Articles of Confederation, but the men wrote them to govern the people and they were only human. They worked, prayed, and got guidance to build the Constitution we now use.

Democracy is a teacher teaching her pupils the things she'd like them to know, a parent taking her child to open house and a family going to watch a member play baseball. Democracy is a woman cleaning her house, a baseball thrown through a window, a dream of owning a car at 17, and raising a family in a democracy such as America. By

the time we do have a family in this Union, it will be more perfect than ever. So when you have time to think about it, think of the advantage we have over most people we have seen in the world.

Dr. Frederick A. Cook Centennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 15, 1965

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, on June 13 last, it was my honor to join with our colleague in the House, the Honorable JOHN DOW, of Sullivan County, and the two Members of the Senate from my State, the Honorable JACOB K. JAVITS and ROBERT F. KENNEDY, in extending greetings and congratulations to the people of the town of Delaware and the communities of Callicoon and Hortonville in Sullivan County on the occasion of their celebration of Dr. Frederick A. Cook Centennial Day.

The contributions of this great American explorer who was a pathfinder to the farthest reaches of the North and South polar regions have been detailed in previous remarks before this House, Mr. Speaker, both by myself and by Mr. Dow. I feel it is significant, however, that the centenary ceremony prompted not only my distinguished colleagues to send messages, but also recognized authorities in the scientific and geographic communities.

And as Mr. Dow pointed out last month, the eminent science editor of the New York Times, Mr. Walter Sullivan, reported on May 8 that the current president of the American Geographical Society, Mr. Walter Wood, believes that the case for Dr. Cook "is strong and should be reviewed" by authorities in light of the past 57 years since his historic journey to the North Pole.

I am among those, Mr. Speaker, who hold the belief that a great American has gone largely unhailed and unrecognized in his contributions to science, exploration, and geography, and should in the near future be accorded official recognition for his work. With the permission of the House, I would like to enter the following editorial which appeared in the Buffalo Evening News on the centenary date, June 10, 1965:

ARCTIC PIONEER

The tributes being paid Dr. Frederick A. Cook in connection with the centennial anniversary of his birth today seem fitting recognition of a physician-explorer whose accomplishments have been all too obscured in one of the bitterest personal disputes of the century.

Dr. Cook's claim that he was the first man to reach the North Pole in 1908, a year before Adm. Robert E. Peary, was discounted by scientists named to evaluate the rival claims.

The Dr. Frederick A. Cook Society, founded to gain official recognition for his contributions to science and geography, recalls that during the later years of his life in the Buffalo area, "his work was to be questioned, his integrity challenged, his character abused."

If Dr. Cook has been dealt with unfairly by history, though, his polar exploits seem closer to a fair-minded and sympathetic review—if not indeed some measure of vindication—than at any time since his death in 1940.

Recent Navy discovery of massive drifting ice islands is cited by some Arctic experts as tending to substantiate Dr. Cook's sightings of solid land near the North Pole. The New York Times only last month reported that the president of the American Geographical Society "is among those who have recently expressed the view that Cook's claims regarding his polar journey should be reexamined."

Ironically, Dr. Cook won more tributes and support from the scientific bodies in Europe than from those in his own country. Whatever the final verdict of time on his North Pole expedition, his unassailable contributions in extending the frontiers of both the Arctic and Antarctic regions deserve a fairer recognition than they have had in standard reference works which ignore him. For despite the shadows that crossed his reputation, he belonged to that hardy company of explorers who dared the dead world of ice in an era when such feats of conquest were as heroic in their own way as those a half century later in outer space.

Danger Signals in Africa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, while concentrating our concern and energies on the frustrating and bloody struggle in southeast Asia there is the danger that we will be diverted from an equally important struggle, the relentless campaigns of Peiping and Moscow to win major footholds on the vulnerable continent of Africa.

The free world's stake in the future of Africa—a stable, prosperous Africa ruled by free peoples—is incalculable.

Two newspaper articles are important in this regard, and the contrast of what they have to report of situations on opposite coasts of that continent bears our closest consideration.

Lynn Heinserling of the AP, in a story published by the Standard-Times of New Bedford, Mass., details the rapid transition of once peaceful Dar es Salaam. In the short span of time since it became the capital of the federation of Zanzibar and Tanganyika, the harbor of Dar es Salaam has become a terminal for incoming Communist arms, agents, and propaganda. The sisal-producing surrounding area now has become more important as a training camp and staging ground for Red-supplied and inspired infiltrators, terriorists, and rebels, who are exported throughout east Africa.

The second article concerns Portuguese Guinea, where insurgent forces—which is a phrase that flatters roving bands which have never aspired to any higher cause than ruthless terrorism and the gangster-like intimidation of remote villagers—have been quelled by the determined policies of the government, with the widespread aid of the villagers and native militia.

This latter article was written by George Martelli and appeared in the Daily Telegraph.

The situation in Africa today is critical, despite the encouraging report from Portuguese Guinea, and I commend both of these articles to the careful consideration of my colleagues in Congress.

[From the Standard-Times, June 13, 1965]

RED DANGER SIGNALS IN TANZANIA: "HAVEN OF PEACE" NOW HOTBED OF REVOLT

(By Lynn Heinzerling)

DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA, June 12.—Prime Minister Chou En-lai of China, speaking his message of revolution in Africa on a state visit to Tanzania, found no need to offer guns and ammunition. They are already here and still coming. Dar es Salaam means "Haven of Peace," but in the past year it has become the arsenal of African nationalism.

Here are gathered the leaders of the "liberation movements" whose aim is to bring down the remaining white governments in Africa—those in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia and South Africa. Chou's message that the climate was favorable for revolution in Africa was addressed as much to them as to the Tanzania leaders who surrounded him.

But the climate has changed a little since Chou made a similar pronouncement in Mogadishu, Somali Republic, a little more than a year ago. Neighboring Kenya has seen Communist agents at work, buying officials, smuggling arms and infiltrating presumably democratic institutions.

President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, the most stable and respected statesman in east Africa, does not consider Kenya ripe for revolution. His position permitted the issuance of a statement by his government throwing back Chou's revolutionary gospel.

U.S. RELATIONS BETTER

Kenyatta's action and Tanzania President Julius N. Nyerere's firm stand for nonalinement probably say more about the success of Chou's mission than all the words uttered during the visit.

Tanzania-United States relations have been improving in recent weeks and there is no reason to feel that Chou's visit has reversed the trend. But the visit was of prime importance because it put the spotlight on the struggle between black and white in Africa which now is taking form here. Communism is supplying the guns.

Ships call regularly at the picture-book harbor, studded with handsome yachts and grimy dhows, to unload Chinese and Russian weapons. They have been coming at an average rate of about one a month. Portuguese officials say two a month.

Soviet planes fly in with more arms and ammunition.

A dozen or more organizations of "freedom fighters" headquarters here, issuing regular and violent threats against "colonialists" and "imperialists." There are strictly restricted training camps in the Tanzania countryside.

It is no diplomatic accident that Red China has its largest east African Embassy in Dar es Salaam. There are believed to be nearly 300 Chinese diplomats, technicians, military advisers and espionage experts in Tanzania.

The capital formerly devoted to sisal growing and the humimity now is alive with intrigue. A dozen Chinese and other Communist newsmen have been attracted here.

TRAVEL LIMITED

Diplomatic travel is limited to the city limits, unless express government permission is granted. A number of areas in the country have been designated as restricted—presumably for the storage of arms and the training of the liberation forces.

Kigoma, a railhead and formerly a resort on the west shore of Lake Tanganyika, is one of the restricted points. Five months ago,

100 tons of Communist arms were seized by Burundi authorities when they arrived at the Burundi border from Kigoma in private trucks. They included antiaircraft guns, mortars and machineguns destined for the Congolese rebels whom the Chinese support.

Only last month, 75 tons of Chinese weapons were impounded briefly by Kenya police. They were being transported in private trucks from Tanzania to Uganda, another Congolese neighbor. Included in this supplement were antiaircraft guns, mortars, rocket launchers, landmines, and machineguns with ammunition.

Tough old Kenyatta described the violation of Kenya's territory as "criminal folly." He finally released the weapons to Uganda after Prime Minister Milton Obote of Uganda flew to Nairobi for urgent talks.

The arrival of the weapons has strained Tanzania's storage capacity. At one time crates were piled on the playing field of National Stadium. It was found necessary to call off basketball at the stadium gymnasium because the court was filled with ammunition boxes and crates.

The campaign against white-ruled Africa actually started in 1961, across the continent in Angola. Bands of guerrillas directed by the Angolan rebel leader, Holden Roberto, crossed into Angola from the Congo and killed hundreds of whites and thousands of Africans in a fearful massacre. Portuguese troops soon were streaming to Angola and that rebellion now has been stifled.

"PAYOFF" INVASION

Last September, the fight against another Portuguese territory, Mozambique, started. Guerrilla forces under the leadership of Dr. Eduardo C. Mondlane, head of the Mozambique Liberation Front crossed into Mozambique from Tanzania.

This is the payoff. The road from Mozambique leads to Salisbury, Pretoria, and Cape Town. The Organization of African Unity has committed itself to the battle.

Dr. Mondlane, an urban and articulate man, has studied in South Africa, Portugal, and the United States. He directs the campaign from a neat office in downtown Dar es Salaam, next to a slimming salon.

The Mozambique Liberation Front has another office on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam, a little less neat. There the pictures on the wall of the waiting room include Mao Tzetung, Fidel Castro, and Lenin.

Dr. Mondlane, in an interview, said that since September his freedom fighters had killed or wounded 700 Portuguese soldiers in Mozambique. His own losses were 15 dead and 20 wounded, he said, in operations throughout northern Mozambique and far south in Zambezi Province.

"We are training people right in Mozambique," he said. "The Portuguese have the army, but we control the people. It's 7 million people against 100,000 whites.

PORTUGUESE MOVES

"The only thing that could save Portugal would be if the United States decided to send another crazy contingent to Mozambique. We would be very sorry to see it happen, but we would go on and win."

If there is an air of unreality about the boasts and claims of the liberation movements in Dar es Salaam, it is dispelled by the arms flowing into Tanzania. The Organization of African Unity, the Red Chinese, and the Russians are deadly serious.

The opposition they face also is deadly serious. Portugal has moved an estimated 50,000 troops into Mozambique. There is similar strength in Angola.

Prime Minister Ian Smith of Rhodesia and the even more extreme elements backing him have vowed they will not submit to African rule in Rhodesia.

Backing up this defiance of the African nationalists in South Africa is Prime Minister Hendrik F. Verwoerd, implacably opposed to any concession to black nationalism. The South African defense minister, James Fouche, has said that South Africa can put a fully equipped army of 250,000 men in the field.

By force of circumstance, President Nyerere, the slender, mild-mannered leader of Tanzania, has moved into a leading position in the crusade against white rule. His capital was chosen as the seat of the liberation committee. His foreign minister, Oscar Kambona, is chairman of the committee. His police and troops must guard the arsenal.

MERGER NOT SMOOTH

The incorporation of Zanzibar and Tanganyika into the United Republic of Tanzania has not gone smoothly. A revolutionary council ruled Zanzibar for many months following the revolution of January 1964. Almost everything on the clove island has been nationalized.

To effect the union, Nyerere took some of the extreme leftwing elements in Zanzibar into his Cabinet. There have been frequent rumors of plotting to unseat him. But those close to the situation here say he is firmly in charge.

PORTUGAL'S WAY WITH GUINEA REBELS

(By George Martelli)

The claim recently made in London by their leader, Amilcar Cabral, that the rebels control and administer 40 percent of the territory of Portuguese Guinea is nonsense. Mr. Cabral, who lives in Conakry, 200 miles away from his nearest front-line fighters, is either badly misinformed or is trying to keep his supporters' courage up.

My own estimate from what I saw and heard on a recent visit, both from the authorities in Bissau and in the course of unrestricted travel throughout the country, is that 80 percent of it is completely peaceful.

Of the rest, 10 percent is liable to the occasional raid—invariably repulsed—and the other 10 percent is infested by dispersed bands each composed of anything up to 150 terrorists, totalling in all several thousands.

These are the hard core of insurrection and their hideouts are mainly in the more inaccessible jungle between Bissau and the Senegalese frontier; in the marshlands between Fulacunda and Buba to the east of Bissau; and on the island of Como, 50 miles south of it.

The last two are rice-producing areas, intersected with waterways, and afford both ample supplies of food and protection from pursuit. The terrorists may be said to control them only in the sense that gangsters control certain parts of London, that is by intimidating peaceful citizens and extorting money or goods from them.

ELUSIVE GANGS

They live off the land, are extremely elusive, and do little harm except to the unfortunate people who live in the vicinity or whom they have carried off from other districts to work for them. The number of the latter can only be guessed but could be as high as 20,000.

But the numbers escaping from such enforced outlawry are increasing steadily, and they are being resettled in new villages which are being built with the help of the Army. More are returning from across the frontiers, where they took refuge when the terrorists made their first attack in 1963.

Astonishing as it seems after their experience in Angola, the rebellion took the Portuguese by surprise. They had only two companies of soldiers in the whole province, one of them native, and there were only 1,000 European residents.

The rebel leaders, many of them trained abroad in guerilla warfare, came across the southern frontier, which could not be watched with so small a force, and set to work quietly indoctrinating the Balanta tribesmen in central Guinea. They had ample supplies of arms and, when they struck, met with little opposition and were able easily to overrun a large part of the province.

Villages were ordered to join the movement and acknowledge the rebel government: if they refused, or hesitated, their houses were burned and their goods stolen. There was, however, very little killing.

Probably about a fifth of the population of 500,000 were driven by fear to follow the rebels, hide from them in the jungle, or take refuge across the frontier.

This was the highly critical situation when early in 1964 the Portuguese started to bring in reinforcements. Their display of overwhelming force—which in the event it has not been necessary to use—was intended not only to dishearten the rebels but also to demonstrate their determination to protect the population and thus encourage it in self-defense.

LOCAL DEFENSE

Under the leadership of General Schultz, who was largely responsible for the pacification of Angola, and who was appointed Governor and commander in chief of Guinea a year ago, this policy has paid off. With very little serious fighting, law and order have been restored over nearly all the territory and in the rest the lawbreakers are kept on the run.

Casualties have been insignificant and military operations consist chiefly of constant patrolling by small detachments, larger units being used only when there is good hope of finding the enemy.

To insure security, however, it has been necessary to organize the most thoroughgoing system of local defense that has probably ever been seen in an African country. Every important center is now garrisoned with white troops, supported by native militia, and every village is defended by native volunteers who can sometimes be seen working in the fields with their rifles lying handy.

Villages are fortified on all sides, usually by one or more outer lines of barbedwire fencing, and an inner line of timber and earth stockades, or trenches, interspersed with slitted blockhouses and underground antimortar shelters. They are all in wireless communication with the nearest military post and in the event of attack can be rapidly reinforced.

HIT-AND-RUN RAIDS

Fortification of the villages combined with the enrollment as home guards of the able-bodied men—which started 18 months ago when the natives asked for arms to defend themselves—has proved a more effective deterrent to terrorism than the deployment of troops on a large scale.

Rebel attacks are increasingly rare and ineffective. The terrorists seldom approach to within 200 yards and after blazing away till their ammunition is exhausted withdraw into the jungle or across the frontier.

In the course of visiting dozens of villages, some with a European garrison and some without, I was struck by the obvious happiness of the natives in finding peace and security again.

The deepest impression made on me by my visit was that, great as have been the sufferings caused by the rebellion, the acceptance of the challenge it presented and the measures successfully taken to counter it, which have been psychological as much as military, have brought much lasting good to the province.

Commencement Address by the Vice President at Syracuse University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 23, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that in his recent commencement address at Syracuse University, Vice President HUMPHREY was directing his remarks not only to the graduating class before which he appeared, but indeed to all Americans.

The Vice President's address is a thoughtful treatise on the role of the Congress: its powers, its responsibilities, its functions. It is an eloquent expression of the keen intellect and long experience of the Vice President and permits us better to understand and appreciate our country's unique legislative process. I commend it to the attention of Members of the House and to all Americans. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the text of the Vice President's address at this point in the Appendix:

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

As a former university teacher, I am aware of the pitfalls of commencement speeches. It is so easy to follow the formula: The world is in a mess, the older generation has failed, it is up to the graduating class to put things right. But platitudes rarely change attitudes, and baneful criticism and vapid exhortations are cheap substitutes for hard thought and analysis.

I prefer to take my stand on the proposition that the American people, working through democratic institutions, have met, are meeting, and will continue to meet the complex problems of our age.

If we still have a long way to go—in achieving human equality, in securing international and domestic tranquility, in extending the benefits of our technical genius to all citizens in the American Republic and to all mankind—let us glory in the unfinished agenda.

Let us glory in the fact that we still possess the wit and the wisdom to continue making our American democratic system responsive to the terribly complex problems of this turbulent age.

I want to discuss with this graduating class the importance of one of the great constitutional instruments at the disposal of the American people in the business of making democracy work. I refer to the institution of the U.S. Congress.

What I have to say, I think, needs saying because all too many of our citizens take an indifferent, or even a hostile, view toward the legislative branch.

This is not to underestimate the need for strong and able Presidential leadership or for wise and humane judicial decisions. It is, however, to reaffirm the vital role of Congress in our constitutional system.

Few persons can deal directly with either a President or a Supreme Court. But any person can communicate with his elected representatives in Washington.

The Members of Congress provide a direct link between the National Government and the almost 195 million persons who comprise this Republic.

Surely this connection is vital in keeping our National Government responsive to the needs and opinions of the American people.

I have found congressional service to be a remarkable form of higher education. My teachers have been Presidents and department heads, constituents and the press, and, above all, a group of wise and distinguished colleagues in both Houses.

I cannot in a few minutes convey to you all that I have learned from these teachers. But perhaps I can suggest some lessons in democratic theory and practice which I have gained from my collegial experiences in Congress.

The first lesson has to do with the creative and constructive dimension of the process of compromise.

There are 100 Members of the U.S. Senate; 435 Members of the House. They come from States and districts as diverse as Nevada and New York, Alaska and Alabama. No two States or regions of the United States have identical interests or prejudices.

One of the jobs of Congress is to reconcile such differences through the process of compromise and accommodation.

What sometimes seems to the untutored eye to be legislative obstructionisms are often no more than the honest expressions of dedicated representatives—trying to make clear the attitudes and interests of their States and regions.

As Sir Richard Grenfell once observed: "Mankind is slowly learning that because two men differ neither need be wicked."

From the earliest days of this Republic—at the Constitutional Convention of 1787—the leaders of this Nation have maintained an unwavering commitment to moderation. If our Founding Fathers had not understood the need to overcome extremes in drafting our Constitution, this noble experiment in the are of self-government would have surely foundered on the rocks of dissension and discord.

As in the deliberations of the Constitutional Convention, the heart of congressional activity are skills of negotiation—of honest bargaining among equals. My willingness to compromise—and I have done so more times than I can count—is the respect I pay to the dignity of those with whom I disagree.

Through reasonable discussion, through taking into account the views of many, Congress amends and refines legislative proposals so that once a law is passed it reflects the collective judgment of a diverse people.

Surely this is a remarkable service. Surely, the habits of accommodation and compromise are of universal consequence. These are the skills and attitudes so desperately needed on the larger stage of world conflict.

World order and the rule of law will be secure on this earth only when men have learned to cope with the continuing conflicts of peoples and nations through peaceful processes of legislative bargaining.

A second lesson I have learned from my congressional teachers is the importance of the congressional role of responsible surveillance. There are roughly 70 separate departments and agencies of the Federal Government. Some are small; some are large. All are engaged in carrying out the will of the people as expressed through Congress.

In the interests of efficiency, economy, and responsiveness, these departments and agencies need a continuing critical review by the committees and Houses of Congress. The genius of our Founding Fathers is nowhere more in evidence than in those sections of the Constitution which provide for checks and balances.

Through its review of the executive budget, in the appropriations process, through committee investigations, through advice and consent on appointments and treaties, and through informal discussion, Congress seeks to improve and to support the executive branch of the Government.

This exercise in freedom protects and extends freedom. If legislative voices are occasionally strident, citizens should take stock of what their world would be like if no legislative voices were heard at all.

We know what happens in countries without independent and constructively analytical legislatures.

Mankind invented a word for such systems centuries ago. The word is "tyranny."

But there is a final lesson I have learned from my congressional teachers: the creative joy of politics. Each Congress is devoted in substantial measure to the development of new public policies designed to promote the general welfare and the national security of this Nation. Congress is not a battlefield for blind armies that clash by night. It is a place where national objectives are sought—where Presidential programs are reviewed—where great societies are endlessly debated and implemented.

If, as Emerson once wrote, Congress is a "standing insurrection," it is a standing insurrection against the ancient enemies of mankind: war, poverty, ignorance, injustice, sickness, environmental ugliness, economic and personal insecurity.

Few careers open such remarkable opportunities for translating dreams into reality. A new bill, a creative amendment, a wise appropriation, may mean the difference between health and sickness, jobs and idleness, peace and war for millions of human beings.

Stemming from ancient parliamentary origins, the main job of Congress is to redress grievances, to right wrongs, to make freedom and justice living realities for all. What higher calling exists? This is the essence of politics: to translate the concerns and the creative responses of a vast citizenry into effective and humane laws.

I cannot conclude without a personal note. For almost 20 years, Congress has been my home. As Vice President, my relationships with my former colleagues are inevitably more formal and more intermittent than in past years. Yet I can say unashamedly that I cherish them dearly. I have seen their weakness as they have seen mine.

I have on occasion been restive of delays and procedural anachronisms—and so have they. But I have seen in the Halls of Congress more idealism, more humaneness and compassion, more empathy, more understanding, more profiles of courage than in any other institution I have ever known. Like many of you today, I find it in my heart to praise and to thank my teachers.

Perhaps some of these brief words of tribute to the institution of freedom known as the U.S. Congress may stay with you. As long as Congress continues to function as a responsible and viable element in our constitutional system, the promise of American democracy will forever endure—the torch of freedom will forever light the path of the future.

Each of you, however, must also assume a personal responsibility for preserving freedom in these perilous times. And the nature of this responsibility is best illustrated by John Adams' notion of the spirit of public happiness.

It was this spirit, said Adams, that possessed the American colonists and won the revolution even before it was fought—a spirit which is reflected in delight in participation in public discussion and public action. It is a sense of joy in citizenship, in self-government, in self-control, in self-discipline, and in dedication.

An important part of the mission of this great university has been to instill in each of you this spirit of public happiness. And it will be this dedication to public service—found in the hearts of Americans alive today and of generations yet unborn—that will insure the ultimate victory of freemen in their struggle against the forces of tyranny and oppression.

Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. DICKINSON

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, Monday is the official celebration of Independence Day. It was 189 years ago that our Founding Fathers decided that only a free and independent America could preserve the ideals which so many of them had sought when leaving other shores for our country.

A constituent, neighbor, and friend, Rubin Morris Hanan, of Montgomery, Ala., has written a letter to his grandson in Birmingham, Ala., which expresses his love of freedom and his service to his adopted country and to God in a most interesting and inspirational way. His grandson is now 2 years old and will someday read and understand the words written to him by his grandfather. When I read this letter, I felt that its contents should not be restricted to the grandson alone, but that every Member of this body and every American should be aware of its contents and of its message.

Under unanimous consent to extend my remarks, I include this letter in the Appendix of the RECORD. It is an inspiration not only to a 2-year-old grandson but a tribute to those who made this Nation great, and serves as a reminder that we must keep working to preserve the freedom won at such a high cost and passed down to us today.

JULY 2, 1965

Master RUBIN HANAN LAPIDUS,
Birmingham, Ala.

DEAR GRANDSON: Congratulations on reaching your second milestone and being 2 years old. You will not understand this letter now, but, if your mother saves it for you, someday you will. It is about man's greatest driving force—the thirst for knowledge and freedom.

Once upon a time, in a distant land, lived a small boy who could not read or write but did speak a little Turkish. He was barely aware that his native land had fought and lost devastating wars. At the age of 15 his only education was fifth-grade French. While his father was serving his country as a small caravan master, his mother worked night and day to care for her children. The nightmares and horrors and the evil edict of Prime Minister Avner Bey to massacre all Jews in Turkey would leave a lasting impression upon his mind.

His parents were serious minded and religious and believed in giving their children the finest opportunities. This young boy owes his enlightenment to an old, simple book as plain and modest as nature itself—a book as ordinary and unpretentious as the sun which warms man's body and the bread which nourishes it. The knowledge and wisdom of the Torah greets him with all intimate confidence, blessed affection, and kind glance of an old, dear mother.

The boy listened to discussions concerning the Jewish religion, history, traditions, and national politics. He learned early in life that it was not easy to be a good Jew or for a Jew to exercise freedom's privilege effectively in his native country.

Suddenly, at dawn one morning the news flashed throughout the land that the so-called "March on Rome" had taken place on October 28, 1922, led by Benito Mussolini, who became dictator. Mussolini was determined to gain power and restore the old Roman Empire to its heights. He preached race superiority. He promised to repudiate treaties, stamp out corruption, and make the Roman people conquerors again.

At first, he was not taken seriously. But those were troubled times for your people. It was the beginning and the end of the entire Jewish colony of Rhodes, and it was the last of freedom or the breath of life for more than 5,000 Jews on the island. The parents of a 15-year-old boy, foreseeing the inevitable, permitted him to leave his native land and emigrate to a foreign land, penniless and without knowledge of its language or history. But friends and relatives told him that America was the land of great opportunity—where money grew on trees. All he had to do was to find such a tree and he was set for life.

This youthful immigrant did not seek the gold or the riches of his new home. Instead, the daring projects he assumed threw bridges across the gulf of vast misery among the aged citizens of the Nation—bridges of mercy filled with food, medicine, and better care for thousands of deserving old people and huddled armies of orphaned children who would otherwise have perished in the sea of poverty.

By dint of his free personal labor, he is chairman of the commission on aging, a State agency created by a special session of the legislature in 1964; consultant on aging to President Johnson, as he was to President Kennedy; adviser to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; recipient of national awards; and a frequent visitor to Washington. His love of freedom is a guidepost that stands out like a beacon in the night for his duty and honor to his adopted country and to God.

The story I have just told is not a fairy tale and the end was really the beginning. For, you see, I was that boy and now the time is at hand for a grandfather to counsel his namesake, the first son of his first child, his grandson. My parents taught me that our deeds on earth are not only seeds of fate but also sunbeams which may pass through a thousands bosoms without losing a particle of their original rays; may, when they strike on a kindred heart, like the converged light on a mirror, reflect themselves with redoubled brightness; that no man has come to true greatness who has not felt in some degree that his life belongs to his family and his people and that what God gives him He gives him for mankind. You have the inheritance and the ingredients that can be molded together to build a superb character and dedication which are the requisites of a great leader.

As grandson of an immigrant boy of the 1930's, you have a greater obligation than an average American-born citizen. Your grandfather made a covenant with the American people to love, uphold and protect the American way of life and its freedom.

Remember, yours is a day and age of great discoveries, a thrilling life and glowing hope, surrounding these blessings with new knowledge, wisdom and discoveries of the secrets of the universe. Whatever the future brings, may it bring forth the best within you. You must find ways, not to be relieved of your duties, burdens and obligations to your fellow men and your country, but for the strength to bear them; not for the solution alone to your problems, but for the wisdom to understand them; not to escape from challenges, but for the courage and strength to face them courageously. Your views and actions must conform to the ideals of life that are rooted in the ritual of your fathers and fed from pure spiritual springs of the ages.

This is your goal—to go out and conquer injustice and relieve suffering and poverty. By doing so, let your light shine so bright before men that they may see your good works and glorify God.

In conclusion, I pray to the Almighty God to lend you grace, charm and sobriety in all your dealings; to help you to maintain poise and dignity under all conditions; to keep your life clean and wholesome as the Holy Scripture so your presence may bring life and light to those about you. That you will fulfill the ambition of your grandfather, lend hope and nourish your faith—remembering that the eternal laws of God are the only ones under which you can truly succeed—are my dreams and prayers.

The longer I live and the more I see, the more I love my heritage and my precious adopted country.

Affectionately yours,
Grandfather RUBIN MORRIS HANAN.

Shifting Sands in Algeria

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the reports are still unclear as to exactly what has transpired in Algeria in recent weeks. We are also not clear as to the true motivation for the overthrow of the Government there. One immediate consequence however, is the cancellation of the Afro-Asian Conference. This development was discussed in a very interesting fashion in the Chicago Daily News Friday, June 25, and I insert the editorial in the RECORD at this point:

SHIFTING SANDS IN ALGERIA

The instability of the Afro-Asian world could not have been better illustrated than by the coup d'etat in Algiers, the very city in which Afro-Asian leaders were to open a much-heralded Conference next week that may be postponed or even canceled.

The significance of the ouster of Premier Ben Bella by Col. Houari Boumedienne may not be clear for weeks. It appears, however, that Algeria is passing through what has become a classic stage in the political development—or lack of it—of a newly independent nation. In this phase the military, impatient with the leadership provided by the nation's first civilian government, wrests power. Boumedienne and his allies in the 60,000-man Algerian Army are bound by the fellowship of combat against the French during long years that Ben Bella spent as a relatively comfortable prisoner.

The shifting sands in Algeria, moreover, are matched by the shifting international alinement of what was once called the neutralist world. The Sino-Soviet split and the rapid changes in the Western alliance have set diplomatic needles aflutter in search of a new ideological north.

China has been working hard through aid and arms and personal visits by Red leaders, to become the new lodestone. Her speedy recognition of the Boumedienne regime was symptomatic. France has advanced her claims as a leader of the "third world" by demonstrating her willingness to take diplomatic initiatives and enter into alliances radically different from those approved by the United States. The signals from Moscow are not clear. Will the new Kremlin leadership stick to the Khrushchev role of benevolent uncle of the newly independent, or shift to a Sino-Stalinist line as sole keeper of the sacred flame of world revolution?

The one thing the former colonial nations are unlikely to achieve in Algiers, if and when they meet, is the formation of a truly neutral third bloc.

Burlington Citizens Association at Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 29, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, many citizens talk about public apathy and indifference to community problems, but few translate their concern into effective action. One of the exceptions is Joseph Hess of Burlington, Mass., who has recently been elected president of the new Burlington Citizens Association.

Mr. Hess and his group are hard at work at community problems ranging from the need for a new post office to traffic patterns. The Burlington Citizens Association is a broadly representative group including people from both political parties, a number of professions and other civic and community groups.

A story about Mr. Hess and the Burlington Citizens Association recently appeared in the Woburn, Mass., Daily Times. I include the full article in the Appendix of the RECORD:

JOE HESS HEADS NEW BURLINGTON CITIZENS ASSOCIATION—WANTS NEW MEMBERS TO FIGHT PUBLIC APATHY

(By Audrey Lynch)

Joe Hess has an enemy. He calls it by the name of "public apathy."

He became president of the new Burlington Citizens Association on April 30 this year in order to engage his enemy in deadly combat.

At the first public meeting, on June 2, of the organization he stated dramatically, "On December 16, 1773, the Boston Tea Party was held as an act against taxation without representation." This evening, June 2, 1965, we meet at our coffee party faced with a self-induced taxation without representation."

The main aim of the group is to get more citizens actively involved in town government. Basically, the Burlington Citizens Association is concerned with providing a forum for issues. Other than the annual candidates night, a forum for public debate is lacking in the town. As Mr. Hess says: "We offer you the opportunity to express your grievances and your constructive suggestions for the improvement of our town."

Mr. Hess is quick to add that he does not want the Burlington Citizens Association to turn into "an anti group." He feels that our elected officials are conscientious men and wants to work with and not against them. He hopes that many of them will take an active part in the work of the organization. Besides this, he hopes that the membership of the Burlington Citizens Association will represent a true cross section of the interests of the town.

Right now one of the biggest problems facing the group is to find the right issues on which to begin work. So far the members have volunteered some of the following for consideration: consolidation, limited town meeting, assessing practices, the role of industry in the town, traffic control on Cambridge Street, and a town manager form of government.

While the new group is concerned with issues they are wary of politics. So far the consensus of feeling in the Burlington Citizens Association is against backing specific candidates for political office. The original group has been given credit for helping Selectman Charles Shea achieve political office. Although the group did not officially endorse him, individual members worked hard for him during his first campaign. Instead of pushing individual candidacies the members want to keep the new Burlington Citizens Association open to all groups and all philosophies.

For their first open public meeting, the fledgling organization invited Mr. Dana Hanson executive director of the powerful Cambridge Citizens Association of Cambridge to speak. The meeting was held at the American Legion Hall on June 2. From an enthusiastic roundtable discussion Mr. Hanson deduced that the answers to most of Burlington's problems could be solved by two measures: a limited town meeting, and the hiring of a professional town manager.

Although the number of people attending consisted of only 32, Mr. Hess and the other members are not discouraged. "We got only 10 less than Elliott Richardson," he laughs. The group was pleased at the composition of the meeting—a selectman, a moderator, the president of the LWV and two other members, past officeholders, department heads, an even balance of men and women, a cross section of government officials and townspeople.

In board of directors' meetings, the organization has already gotten off to a methodical start. They are proceeeding slowly in order to insure a solid foundation for the organization. At present this is more important to them than a large membership. Most important they established a new bylaw committee under the direction of Mr. Michael Wislotski to revamp the organization because "we want to balance the new ideas and the old."

One of the members from the original group who recalls its history is Mr. Linn Swain. The organization began in 1950 and was incorporated in 1955. Some of the aims of the original group included: the establishment of a board of health, increasing the lot size to 20,000 square feet in all new developments, the sponsoring of the town manager plan, and the assistance to the Muller Road residents to be included in the water district. In 1957 the organization became inactive. Mr. Swain explains it by saying, "I do not believe it was because there was lack of work to be done but rather, to the lack of encouragement and support of our fellow citizens."

At present leadership is one of the key problems which the Burington Citizens Association hopes to explore. As Mr. Hess says, "There are not enough good people willing to run and serve and our decisions are made by special interest groups. It is inefficient and uneconomical to have our 7M corporation being run by amateur potluck leaders." As for the study of other issues, they plan to follow the advice of Edward Bernays, public relations expert, and compile a questionnaire of areas of dissatisfaction to be distributed to the people of the town.

While the Burlington Citizens Association is working all summer "to have a going concern by fall," a group with a different philosophy, the Burlington Taxpayers Association, is also forming. This is under the leadership of Mr. David Piper. Of this new development Mr. Hess says, "I'm glad to see it. It's healthy to have many organizations in town, not just ours."

A Government employee, Mr. Hess works at Hanscom Field as an atmospheric physicist. Prevented by the Hatch Act from running for political office, he has been active in town affairs in other ways. He receives the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD every day and has been working with BRADFORD MORSE for the establishment of a bigger post office in Burlington. He has also participated actively in the Jaycees and the finance committee.

Of the future of the Burlington Citizens Association Mr. Hess says: "Eventually the minority becomes the majority."

Return of the Square

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DEL CLAWSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, this week two articles came across my desk, both responsive to what seems to be a trend in American attitudes, a far swing of the pendulum from the tried-and-true values. Because it is my feeling that we are not in reality a Nation of hipsters, but that perhaps the vast majority of Americans need a spokesman or two, I am including in the RECORD both discussions. They are, an article published in the Pacific Telephone Review of May 24, entitled "Return of the Square," based upon a talk by Charles H. Brower, president of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Inc., and an editorial, entitled "The Automation Ethic," from the Christian Science Monitor of June 30.

The articles follow:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, June 30, 1965]

THE AUTOMATION ETHIC

The American economy is no longer an industrial economy. According to the National Bureau of Economic Research, the trend of fewer workers producing more goods has reached a significant point. Considerably less than half the Nation's workers are needed to produce all the Nation's goods.

It now becomes accurate to call the economy a service economy. Jobs are on the increase in such service fields as finance, real estate, repair, and government.

These findings by a private agency are but the latest corroboration of the changing character of the United States as a place to work. If the future lies ahead, as Mort Sahl used to say, what will it mean to Americans' attitudes toward work?

In an article in this newspaper, churchmen were reported showing a lively recognition of the problems.

One said: "The old Protestant concept of labor as a way to prove one's value in society and attain one's own concept of self-respect will have to be seriously revised."

Another made the nice distinction between work considered as something competitive and work considered as something creative—with the latter being liberated by automated relief from physical and mental drudgery.

Clearly work may have to be redefined in the coming years. It will not only be what is done during paid working hours. Its satisfactions may be those not of a job doggedly adhered to, but of a skill enriched as it is applied to a succession of different and perhaps unpredicted jobs.

But we doubt that the best philosophical approach lies through a revision of the religiously based respect for work that has contributed so much to American progress.

Rather, we suggest a sharpened interpretation of this "ethic," making clear the relationship of spiritual and human efforts.

Spiritual progress may lead to making money but making money is not necessarily proof of spiritual progress. Spiritual progress may be expressed in satisfying work, but equating work with what one does but doesn't like is no proof of that progress.

As usual, Tocqueville had in his own terms something lasting to say on the subject:

"Whatever elevates, enlarges, and expands the soul, renders it more capable of succeeding in those very undertakings which concern it not. Whatever, on the other hand, enervates or lowers it, weakens it for all purposes, the chief as well as the least, and threatens to render it almost equally impotent for both * * *. If men were ever to content themselves with material objects, it is probable that they would lose by degrees the art of producing them; and they would enjoy them in the end, like the brutes, without discernment and without improvement."

[From Pacific Telephone Review, May 24, 1965]

RETURN OF THE SQUARE

(By Charles H. Brower)

I'm going to talk quite a bit about a six-letter word. Why six letters? Because modern literature has snapped up all the four- and five-letter words as its own. So I am going to start on six-letter words.

The word is "square"—"square."

At one time, it was one of the finest words in our language, among the top 10 on any lexicographer's hit parade. You gave a man a square deal if you were honest. And you gave him a square meal when he was hungry. You stood foursquare for the right, as you saw it, and square against everything else. When you got out of debt, you were square with the world. And that was when you could look your fellow man square in the eye.

Then a lot of strange characters got hold of this honest, wholesome word and bent it all out of shape. Now everyone knows what a square is. He is the man who never learned to get away with it. A Joe who volunteers when he doesn't have to. A guy who gets his kicks from trying to do something better than anyone else can. A boob who gets so lost in his work that he has to be reminded to go home. A fellow who laughs with his belly instead of his upper lip. A slob who still gets all choked up when the band plays "America the Beautiful." A square, and strictly from Squaresville.

His tribe isn't thriving too well in the current climate. He doesn't fit too neatly into the current group of angle players, corner cutters, sharpshooters and goofoffs. He's burdened with old-fashioned ideas of honesty, loyalty, courage, and thrift. He may already be on his way to extinction.

He and all the rest of us are living in a country today that is quite different from the one that we were taught to love. Parents have successfully defended in court their children's right to ignore the flag salute. Faculties and student bodies have found it distasteful to publicly take an oath of loyalty to their country. And the U.S. Military Academy has found it necessary to place a sign beside its parade grounds at West Point reminding spectators that it is customary for men to remove their hats at the passing of the banner that was once unashamedly referred to as Old Glory.

The force of government is now directed more fully toward the security of the weak than the encouragement of the strong. In business, it is said the way to survive is to emulate the turtle—grow a hard shell and never stick your neck out.

What has happened to us, I think, is that we have changed from an exporting to an importing country.

The United States of America was once the greatest exporter of ideas the world had ever known. We created and sold abroad the idea of individual dignity, responsibility and freedom. We created and sold the idea of government of the people, by the people and for the people—an idea that is still being bought today. We exported the idea of freedom of worship, the idea of an unfettered press, the idea that those who are taxed should be represented.

It is hard to find a basic idea that America has exported since you and I were young. We have, I think, bought in the bazaars of Asia Minor the idea that an honest man is either a fool or a liar. From our most mortal enemy we have bought the idea of a strong government for weak people. We have bought abroad the ideas of "Let Jack do it," of "What's in it for me?" and the gesture of the neatly shrugged shoulder.

But, most of all, we have been gullible patrons of the export firm of Sigmund Freud, who has sold us the idea that all men are born feeble, that we should abandon our ancient disciplines as too stark for the poor souls that we are, and to seek our salvation through group support. Freud's discovery that man was not adjusted to his world, and could never be truly adjusted, justified the lazy cynic and condemned the square. For if you can't win, what is the use of trying? And here was the first great authority who said you cannot win.

HOW MANY LEGS ON AN OSTRICH

The other day, I am told by a friend, his young son came home from his progressive school proudly exhibiting a book that he had won for excellence in natural history.

"However did you do that?" the father asked.

"The teacher," answered the son, "asked how many legs an ostrich has, and I said three."

"But an ostrich has only two legs."

"I know," said the boy, "but I came closest. All the other kids said four."

This may be funny. But it is not so funny that our colleges are loaded today with youngsters who are hardly prepared for high school—kids who cannot do simple arithmetic and who cannot spell simple words. This, too, was an import—the idea that the dull discipline of the three R's was disturbing to little Johnny's ego. So we got real scientific and went to work on the poor little kid and his id, with the result that today hardly any school that really is a school is without a class in remedial reading.

Our museums today are exhibiting on their walls paintings by people who never learned to paint.

Nonbooks are being thrown together and sold by nonwriters who never bothered to learn how to write. And murky poems are being ground out by scraggly poets who sing them to their friends because they are unreadable. Here, for example, is a deathless line that was obviously written in San Francisco: "O man, thee is onion constructed in hot gabardine."

WHAT HAPPENED TO LAUGHTER?

Always tearing down these days. Never building up. Always knocking. Belittling. Downgrading. A sneer rather than a grin. A mocking laugh rather than a belly laugh. Poking fun at other people rather than at ourselves.

And what, by the way, ever happened to laughter? Once we were a laughing nation. We laughed easily and deeply. The corn may have been as high as an elephant's eye—but we laughed, and it was good for us.

Laughter today is stored in Hollywood in cans. It is taken out as needed and pasted onto TV films. And the laugh track tips us off to when things are funny.

But I want to laugh when I am amused. And I want to decide what I think is funny. And this, I suppose, will mark me as a square. And if it does, I will be in pretty good company. For this country was discovered, put together, fought for and saved by squares. It is easy to prove that Nathan Hale, Patrick Henry, Paul Revere, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin and almost anyone else you care to include among our national heroes was a square—by simply thinking what he might have said had he not been square.

Nathan Hale: "Me spy on those British! Are you trying to be funny? Do you know what they do with the spies they catch? I'll give you a news flash, chum. They hang them."

Paul Revere: "What do you mean, me ride through every Middlesex village and town? And in the middle of the night yet. Why pick on me. Am I the only man in Boston with a horse?"

Patrick Henry: "Sure, I'm for liberty. First, last, and always. But we've got to be a little realistic. We're a pretty small outfit. If we start pushing the British around someone is going to get hurt."

REWRITING THE HISTORY BOOKS

It is perhaps a significant fact that what such men actually did say has been quietly sneaked out of our schoolbooks. This Week magazine made a survey recently of school history books issued before 1920, compared with those issued since. Nathan Hale said, "I regret that I have but one life to give for my country," in 11 of the old texts and in only 1 of the new texts.

Patrick Henry said, "Give me liberty or give me death," in 12 out of 14 earlier texts and in only 2 of 45 recent ones.

But John Paul Jones set the record. He said, "I have not yet begun to fight," in nine of the old books and in none of the new ones.

Maybe these aggressive and nationalistic statements went the way of our contact games, which have been largely abandoned on our school grounds. Maybe the educators thought our children would be more interested in Peter Rabbit, who goes hippety-hop. Maybe the Russians are smarter than we think.

Or maybe it is just because these fellows, and all of their fellows, and all of their ideas, are square.

Arnold Toynbee, the historian, says that of 21 notable civilizations, 19 perished not from external conquests but from the evaporation of belief within.

Today, our country still has a choice. I believe it has already begun to make that choice. I believe it is going back to its old beliefs in ideas, pride, patriotism, loyalty, devotion, and even hard work.

THE STRUGGLE FOR BETTER THINGS

We are great believers in statistics in this country—and while the things that really count can never be measured even by the most advanced computers—sheer head counting seems to indicate that people are beginning to struggle for better things.

Twenty years ago, half of us belonged to churches. Today 64 percent of us do. It's perfectly possible that the churches are full and the people are empty—but the statistics are on our side.

Sales of classical records have jumped 78 percent in the last 3 years. Advertising, perhaps, but the statistics are on our side.

We spent over a billion dollars on books last year, and people are taking 670 million volumes out of our pubic libraries each year.

There are 50 percent more symphony orchestras than there were 10 years ago. And expenditures on all cultural activities have increased 70 percent in the past 10 years—to more than $3 billion.

You might point out to me that $3 billion spent for culture, stacked up against $50 billion spent for war, still isn't much. But you will have to admit that there is definite movement. And in the right direction too.

Since the turn of the century, the percentage that has gone to college is up seven times. And the percentage in higher education who are in there trying to get higher marks is encouragingly higher than it used

to be. Yes, there are indications that the day when it's smart to be smart is finally at hand.

A NEW SET OF HEROES

But the greatest thing that has happened, of course, is that our Nation has a whole new set of heroes. Named Glenn, Grissom, and Shepard. Named Carpenter, Cooper, and Schirra. Named Crews and Bock; Smith, Sorlie, and McIntosh; named Knolle and Hoover. The towns they came from have nice small names: Sparta, Boulder, East Derry, Mitchell, Shawnee.

These lads apparently lived too far from the big city and grew up to be squares. For who but a square would volunteer his life for his country's good?

They are not even ashamed of their feelings.

John Glenn says he gets a funny feeling down inside when he sees the flag go by. Imagine that.

He's proud of his small town, proud of his small college. Proud that he belonged to the Boy Scouts and the YMCA.

I hope that some of him rubs off on the next generation.

Sunk Without a Trace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 9, 1965

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, in our attempt to find a practical solution to the highway junkyard problem, I feel that every feasible idea should be considered. Mr. Robert B. Powers, editor and publisher of Ward's Quarterly, an authoritative and respected automotive publication, has written a most interesting editorial pertaining to the disposition of junked automobiles. Under unanimous consent, I include this editorial, which appeared in the June 1965 edition of the Quarterly, in the RECORD:

SUNK WITHOUT A TRACE

(By Robert B. Powers, editor and publisher)

There is a growing desire to preserve the beauty of our landscape. The Federal Government, prompted by increasing numbers of irritated citizens, has finally decided that blots on the landscape are also part of the Great Society.

Time was when the local junkyard was outside the city limits as well as outside the concern of people. But we are now living in a century of obsolescence, the remains of which are covering more and more acres. Aside from esthetics, our population explosion forecasts the need of every acre.

Lining our roads, filling backyards, and cluttering alleys are millions of junkers. Cars that have been stripped of what can be sold and left to moulder and decay—neither of which metal does very fast.

What to do with them has been answered in many ways. In a recent interview, Mrs. Lyndon Johnson suggested the planting of trees and rosebushes to hide the metal wrecks. We fully subscribe to the planting of trees and rosebushes—but not to hide anything. This is a little like sweeping rubbish under the carpet. Another suggestion was burial. Burial would be fine except that the graves would be open most of the time—yawning for the next week's crop.

Also, tons of metal would not be as good as fertilizer for acres that soon must be put into production.

Our plan is to put them where they will not rise again to haunt us. It is a limitless place, and, once dropped in, they will be gone permanently. The ocean, the Great Lakes, or any body of water vast and deep enough to receive what will be millions of hulks, is our answer to the problem.

Junkers could be flattened in the same way cans are with suitable machinery. Then baled one on top of the other and transported by haulaways to designated waterways where they would be taken by ship or barge and dropped overboard.

Presently, haulaways are required by law to make return trips empty—thus transportation costs of delivering new automobiles would be cut. Local shipping and barge firms now in economic straits would welcome the business. The cost would be in the machinery necessary to flatten the junkers plus the cranes needed to lift the bales and drop them into the water.

The disposal of garbage, cans, bottles, and other litter is not the responsibility of the citizen. The disposal of junkers is not just another affair to be passed on to the car buyer or the auto industry. Municipal, State, and Federal taxes are being paid in abundance for an increasingly strange assortment of projects. A long-suffering public has the right to some small return.

In a Nation Blessed With Abundance, No Person Should Lack the Opportunity for Enough Food To Eat, Says Secretary of Agriculture Freeman in Launching District of Columbia Food Stamp Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, as the sponsor of Public Law 88–525, the Food Stamp Act of 1964, and as one who has been working for a nationwide food stamp program since 1954, I was understandably proud and happy this morning to join Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman and the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia in launching a Federal food stamp program in the Nation's Capital.

Existence of such a program here in Washington will focus greater national attention on the many advantages of this form of food assistance to the needy compared to the direct method of distribution of dried and powdered and canned surplus food items still being used in most areas of the country to help 5,400,000 people in low-income families to escape hunger. As more Members of Congress see at firsthand how the food stamp program works, I am sure they will be even more anxious to have the program extended to all of the communities in their districts, as replacement for the direct distribution system, and to assure well-rounded nutritious diets for all of their constituents, no matter how poor.

Secretary Freeman promised this morning that the Department plans eventually to see the food stamp program "extended to reach every area in the area in the United States where it is needed and welcomed." At present, food stamp programs are in operation in 111 areas of the country, providing more adequate diets for more than 600,000 persons. By the end of this summer, he said, and with the higher appropriations being made available by Congress, more than 150 areas—counties or major cities—will be included, reaching more than 1 million low-income families.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ACTS TO ASSURE EXPANSION OF FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

As I told the group this morning which attended the ceremonies in the Board room of the District Building initiating the Washington, D.C., program, the project here—and many others also scheduled to start in this new fiscal year—were made possible by the action of the House in restoring to the Department of Agriculture budget the full appropriation of $100 million for the food stamp program after the Committee on Appropriations had previously recommended a $25 million reduction in the budget amount. The reduction would have prevented the start of any new projects.

Mr. Speaker, in his excellent talk this morning the Secretary of Agriculture described the close interrelationship and interdependence of the farm areas of this Nation and the urban communities. The food stamp program, perhaps more than any other program except the school lunch program, dramatizes that interrelationship and interdependence. Our abundance of food is a blessing from God; our surpluses, which are often so burdensome to manage from an economic standpoint, are a great strength to us in helping the impoverished peoples of many lands, including our own. As Secretary Freeman said:

> In a nation blessed with abundance, no person should lack the opportunity for enough food to eat.

He added:

> I hope and pray and believe that we will meet that challenge and the day will come when none of God's children go hungry.

But he also pointed out that we are not yet doing enough to assure good nutrition for every American, including the many children who are still not covered by the school lunch program.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include as part of my remarks the fine talk by Mr. Freeman at the District ceremonies this morning:

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE ORVILLE L. FREEMAN, SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE, AT OPENING OF FOOD STAMP PROGRAM IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, DISTRICT BUILDING BOARD ROOM, FIFTH FLOOR, WASHINGTON, D.C., AT 10 A.M., EASTERN DAYLIGHT TIME, JULY 1, 1965.

Several times in the past few months I have gone to some of the larger cities in this Nation to help launch food stamp projects—a food and agriculture program enacted into law last year as Public Law 88–525, better known as the Leonor Sullivan bill.

These are especially satisfying occasions, for they illustrate better than any 10 speeches the close and indivisible relationship of agriculture to urban areas, a relationship often overlooked.

Let me assure you this relationship is difficult, if not almost impossible, to convey. Last Sunday, for example, I found it was easier to pet a tiger than to convince some

hardbitten newsmen that the Department of Agriculture was concerned with the needs of all people, including farmers.

This only proves that tigers are less difficult to get along with than newsmen, or that anyone who holds the job of Secretary of Agriculture shouldn't be afraid of a tiger.

There have been times when I have almost concluded that the job of Secretary of Agriculture makes training a tiger seem like child's play.

It is ironic, for example, that the unprecedented productive success of American agriculture has far outpaced our ability to make full use of our food abundance. As a result, we have found it necessary to develop means of holding back production lest we strangle our farmers—and depress our national economy—with substandard prices and low-farm income that results when markets are glutted.

There is little joy in cutting back production, or in idling or banking cropland.

There is, rather, sadness and frustration in being unable to use effectively to satisfy human need the food we produce with such incredible efficiency.

But to make progress in getting food to those who need it both here and abroad—in this there is the joy and satisfaction of meaningful accomplishment in helping to meet the needs of our fellow man. We work much harder in the U.S. Department of Agriculture to make use of our agricultural abundance than to cut back its production.

That is why I am truly happy and privileged to be here today.

Eleven months ago, the Congress enacted the permanent food stamp program. Its guiding angel. Congresswoman LEONOR SULLIVAN, is here today with me to help celebrate this event.

Currently, projects similar to the District program are in operation in 111 areas and cities throughout the Nation, and 67 of these have begun since the first of February.

These programs now provide more than 600,000 persons with a food budget which is a third again as large on the average than before.

By the end of the summer we plan to have food stamp projects operating in over 150 communities and areas where they will reach over 1 million low-income families. Eventually, the food stamp program will be extended to reach every area in the United States where it is needed and welcomed.

As a result, where the food stamp program goes into operation (1) local retail food store sales will increase 8 percent or more; (2) markets for farmers will be strengthened more than under any existing program; (3) families in the program will improve both the quality and quantity of the food they eat. Vegetables, fruit, meat, and dairy products will be purchased over the counter and will help brighten the lives of millions of Americans young and old.

This will happen here as the food stamp program goes into operation.

Thus, the dream which promoted President Kennedy to begin the first pilot food stamp projects in 1961, and the hope which led President Johnson in 1964 to include food stamps among the frontline troops in his war on poverty, have begun to be realized.

The dream of one President, and the hope of another, are both based on a very simple concept: It is that in a nation blessed with abundance, no person should lack the opportunity for enough food to eat.

Thus, while this ceremony marks an event of great importance to the people of the District of Columbia, it is in reality a guidepost of what we have yet to accomplish in making abundance a reality to all people.

We now distribute food directly to 5.4 million people in low-income families—and another 1.4 million in schools and institutions, but there are still communities which are unable or unwilling to afford the cost of distributing this food which is available without cost.

During the past school year, over 17 million children got a good lunch each day they were in school through foods provided both by the Department and by the local communities. The USDA contributes about 12 cents per pupil per day—about 4.5 cents in cash and the remainder in food commodities.

However, this program, as good as it is, still is not doing the job. While the Congress has consistently increased school lunch appropriations as the student population has increased, there are grave weaknesses in the current program.

No large metropolitan city today has a fully adequate school lunch program. And instead of getting better, the situation is actually getting worse.

In some cities, the program has been withdrawn from schools, while in others, the program has been severely limited.

The reason is not hard to find. No one would consciously deprive schoolchildren of food, or the opportunity to have an adequate lunch.

The reason is simply that adequate funds do not exist, either at the local level or from the Federal Government, to finance an adequate school lunch program. Thus, while none of us would consciously deprive hungry children of the food they need, all of us are failing to prevent this condition by not insuring that adequate funds are available.

Consider how ludicrous this situation appears. We are a nation which has more food available than it can consume or share effectively at home or abroad. And we have the capacity to produce nearly a fourth again as much with very little effort. Further, we enjoy the benefits of the wealthiest economy in the history of mankind.

We have the food, and we have the wealth and the capacity to distribute it. Yet, during the last school year, nearly 1.4 million schoolchildren did not have school lunches because there were no facilities by which they could be fed. Th majority of these children are in the large metropolitan areas.

Here in the District of Columbia, for example, while over 8,000 children in primary and elementary schools received free lunches—most of these, however, were not even hot lunches—another 74,000 children who could afford to pay part of the cost did not have access to school lunch facilities.

What kind of a civilization is it that has everything needed to provide its children with adequate lunches except the will to do it?

Hopefully, some help may be on the way. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, when appropriations become available, will provide funds which can be used to equip school lunch facilities, and this may be of some aid to school districts with schools that do not have school lunch programs.

But, much more needs to be done.

Four years ago I urged Congress to strengthen the School Lunch Act, recognizing that this problem would continue to grow. The Congress acted to provide authority for special appropriations which would enable schools with large numbers of children from low-income families to provide lunches either free or at very nominal cost. Each year since then the President has requested funds to activate the special school lunch authority but, so far, to no avail.

Our accomplishments in using abundance demonstrate that we are capable of ending hunger, and our potential for abundance shows us we have only begun to test our capacity to use it.

This ceremony then is not so much a celebration of an accomplishment as it is a beginning of a joyous and exciting challenge—a challenge which can only come to a nation blessed with abundance.

I hope and pray and believe that we will meet that challenge and the day will come when none of God's children go hungry.

PARTICIPANTS IN CEREMONIES IN NATION'S CAPITAL

Mr. Speaker, following is the list of those who participated in the ceremonies this morning in launching the food stamp program in Washington, and the schedule of events:

OPENING CEREMONY INITIATING THE FEDERAL FOOD STAMP PROGRAM, WASHINGTON, D.C., JULY 1, 1965

Time: 10 a.m., eastern daylight time.

Place: District Building Board room, fifth floor, Pennsylvania Avenue and 14th Street NW.

Principal speaker: Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman.

Host: District Commissioner John B. Duncan.

Guests:

Commissioner Walter N. Tobriner.

Commissioner Brig. Gen. Charles M. Duke.

Representative LEONOR K. SULLIVAN, St. Louis, Mo.

Donald D. Brewer, Director, District of Columbia Department of Public Welfare.

Alvin R. Rosin, Deputy Director for Administration, Department of Public Welfare.

Albert P. Russo, Deputy Director for Family and Children Services, Department of Public Welfare.

Aubrey Robinson, Vice Chairman, District of Columbia Welfare Advisory Council.

Schuyler Lowe, Director, District of Columbia Division of General Administration.

David P. Herman, District of Columbia Budget Officer.

Bruce Kiner, president, District of Columbia Bankers Association.

James Banks, executive secretary, United Planning Organization.

E. Wiley Stearns, Jr., chairman, Bankers Food Stamp Committee.

Henry Noon, president of District Grocery Stores, Inc.

Howard P. Davis, Deputy Administrator, Consumer Food Programs, Consumer and Marketing Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Isabelle Kelley, Director, food stamp program, Consumer and Marketing Service, USDA.

Philip B. Hearn, Northeast Director, Food Distribution Office, Consumer and Marketing Service, USDA.

John F. Conaboy, officer in charge, District of Columbia food stamp program, Consumer and Marketing Service, USDA.

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

At 10 a.m.: Opening remarks by Commissioner Duncan.

At 10:10 a.m.: Address by Secretary Freeman.

At 10:20 a.m.: Secretary Freeman and Commissioner Duncan to issue first food stamp coupons to two participating families.

At 10:30 a.m.: Press conference.

At 10:50 a.m.: Secretary Freeman, Representative SULLIVAN, and other officials depart for retail store.

At 11 a.m.: Secretary Freeman and Representative SULLIVAN shop with participating families at Carolina Market, 1420 Seventh Street NW. First food stamp transaction. Carolina Market is an independent store owned by Burnell Goodman and managed by Archie Moore.

OTHER NEW FOOD STAMP PROGRAMS ALSO BEGUN TODAY

Next, Mr. Speaker, I submit the Department of Agriculture press release

today announcing the start of several additional food stamp projects as well as the one in Washington, D.C., including counties in Georgia, Maryland, Minnesota, Mississippi, and Michigan, as follows:

[Press release of U.S. Department of Agriculture, July 1, 1965]

CURRENT NATIONWIDE STATUS OF FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

Low-income people in seven areas in five States and the District of Columbia will begin participating in the expanding food stamp program during July. Two of the States—Maryland and Mississippi—as well as the District of Columbia will have food stamp programs for the first time.

The July openings will bring the food program to a total of 116 areas, which include the District of Columbia and 31 States, marking further progress on the initial year's expansion under the Food Stamp Act of 1964 announced last October.

New programs getting started in July are: the District of Columbia; Hall County, Ga.; Dorchester County, Md.; Ramsey County, Minn.; Harrison and Jones Counties, Miss.; and Wayne County, Mich. The program in Michigan is being expanded to include all of Wayne County, whose city of Detroit has participated in the food stamp program since its inception in 1961.

Under the food stamp program, low-income families certified in need of food assistance by State welfare agencies exchange the amount of money they normally spend on food for coupons worth more than they paid. The additional amount enables them to buy more and better food for improved diets. The coupons are spent like cash at retail food stores authorized to accept them by the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Consumer and Marketing Service.

The latest complete reports for the month of May show that over 620,000 people were taking part in the program for that month. In the 105 areas that were operating in May, families put nearly $6.5 million of their own food money into food stamp coupons and received an additional $3.9 million—representing the Federal Government's contribution to increased food purchasing power spent in local grocery stores.

ANSWERING QUESTIONS ABOUT OPERATING DETAILS OF FOOD STAMP PLAN

Finally, Mr. Speaker, and because of the fact that so many of the Members of Congress have asked me for specific information and details about the operation of the food stamp program, indicating widespread interest in, but also much uncertainty about, these details, I include a question-and-answer summary of some of the most important features of the program's operation in the District of Columbia project, as follows:

SOME QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ABOUT THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA FOOD STAMP PROGRAM, PREPARED BY THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE CONSUMER AND MARKETING SERVICE AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

What is the food stamp program? It is a means by which low-income families and those receiving public assistance are able to buy more food in retail stores. Their purchases are made with Federal food coupons, which permit them to buy most of the foods carried on grocers' shelves. Thus, they can buy more food for a varied, more nutritious diet, with the convenience of normal shopping practice. The program has two basic purposes: (1) safeguarding the health of the Nation's low-income families through better nutrition; and (2) increasing the flow of food from the Nation's farms through normal trade channels. The food coupons, redeemable for cash by participating grocers, are added food-buying power, thus benefiting retailers and wholesalers and stimulating the local economy.

How does the food stamp program work? Individuals or families who are certified as eligible by the District of Columbia Welfare Department exchange their food money for food coupons of higher value. This increases their food-buying power—enabling them to buy not only more food but better food as well. Coupons are spent just like cash at retail stores and are good for any food in the store, except for certain imported foods.

Who is eligible to participate in the District of Columbia food stamp program? In general, most of those who have been eligible for the Government-donated foods will be able to take part in the food stamp program. And it's important here to remember that to be eligible does not necessarily mean that you must be on relief. But, of course, a large part of the eligibles will be those receiving some form of public assistance—such as those with dependent children, the aged, the disabled, and the blind. But other familes may be eligible; for example, the unemployed, and those living on small pensions.

How much do eligible recipients pay and how much additional do they receive? The amount they pay depends upon several factors. The U.S. Department of Agriculture, in cooperation with the District Welfare Department, has worked out a sliding scale that shows how much is paid and how many free coupons are needed. Important considerations are family size and income.

Are there provisions for "hardship" adjustments? Yes. Unusually heavy or hardship expenses for medical care, rent, and child care are taken into account. Some relief and low-income families may find that the amount of money they pay for food under the stamp plan will be less than they actually spent previously, and, of course, they'll be getting substantially increased food-purchasing power in total.

Do the families get their coupons from the Welfare Department? No. Banks in the District will issue the food coupons. A family goes to the bank with an identification card showing how many coupons they are authorized to buy and how much money they are to pay. They buy coupons for 1 month at a time.

Once eligible families or individuals have their food coupons, where can they spend them? At any retail food outlet authorized by the Consumer and Marketing Service to accept the coupons. It is expected that most stores in the District of Columbia will be participating; large and small alike. Among them will be those handling groceries, meats, fruits and vegetables, and bakery goods. Established food-route operations, such as dairy home delivery, also will be eligible.

What can the eligible families buy with their food coupons? They can buy any food for human consumption, except for certain imported items and imported meat identified as ineligible by the store operator. Alcoholic beverages are not eligible. Of course, such nonfood items as paper products, soap, and tobacco normally sold in food stores cannot be bought with food coupons, either.

If the food stamp family's grocery money is invested in food coupons, how may they buy the household nonfood items such as soap and paper products? Allowance has been made for this. The amount of money turned into food coupons represents only what the family would spend for foods they can buy with coupons. Coupon shoppers will have as much cash as they ever had for other human needs; maybe even a little more.

How are food coupon purchases handled at the checkout counter? The customer identifies himself to the clerk as a food stamp shopper. Coupon foods are separated from the items which the customer cannot buy with food coupons. Each group is totaled and paid for separately.

How do customers get change for food coupons? No change in cash may be given for coupons. Unendorsed 50-cent coupons may be used in making change. If an amount less than 50 cents is required, the food coupon shopper has the option of paying in cash or accepting a credit slip from the retailer for future delivery of an equivalent value of eligible foods. A credit slip or due bill cannot exceed 49 cents when used in food coupon transactions. Examples: (a) If a customer buys $9.50 worth of food and tenders five $2 coupons in payment, he may be given one 50-cent coupon in change; (b) if a customer buys 60 cents worth of food, one 50-cent coupon may be given the cashier plus 10 cents in cash, or if the customer gives the cashier two 50-cent coupons for a 60-cent purchase, the cashier could give as change a credit slip for 40 cents. Retailers can also allow recipients to "trade out" the difference in eligible food.

Can sales tax be paid with food coupons? Yes. Food coupons may be accepted for payment of sales tax, but only for taxes on eligible foods purchased with coupons. That's another reason for separating coupon purchases from the items that are to be paid with cash.

May food coupon shoppers leave their coupon books at food stores? No. Coupon books must be kept in the possession of households to which they are issued. The books are to be presented each time purchases are made with coupons.

May food coupon shoppers transfer, trade, or sell their coupons? No. The coupons must be used only by the households to which they are issued. Anyone who misuses them, whether participant, retailer, wholesaler, or other, is in violation of program regulations and subject to penalty.

Where do people get information about the program and sign up? Individuals or families, who think they may be eligible for the program should go to 1291 Taylor Street NW., between the hours of 9 a.m. and 4 p.m., Monday through Friday. People may call this number for information: Randolph 3-9560.

What provisions are there to help disabled people, who can't leave home, to take part in the food stamp program? The Welfare Department will arrange to register the disabled person at home. A relative or neighbor can be authorized to purchase coupons at the bank and buy food for the homebound individual. Call Randolph 3-9560.

Will anyone besides the food stamp recipients benefit from the program? Yes. The increased buying power of these customers should result in an estimated $1.5 million increase in retail food sales in the District. As the coupons are redeemed by the grocers and the money is added to the local economy the entire community will benefit.

Will families continue to receive federally donated foods? No. The food stamp program will replace the family distribution of federally donated foods here in the District. So, in order to continue receiving food assistance, it is necessary to join the food stamp program.

Where can retail food merchants get information and sign up for the food stamp program? Retailers should call 382-7413 for information. To be authorized to accept food coupons, they must apply in person at the Consumer and Marketing Service Food Stamp Field Office, 1634 I Street NW., room 405.

Poverty War Ends Year of Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I would call the attention of my colleagues to a newspaper story written by Jack Steele of the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance. As we all know, Mr. Steele, one of America's outstanding investigative reporters, does research in depth on all of his stories. I mention this only to assure my fellow members of this body that we can place faith in his report on the first year's operation of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The bill to perpetuate this program will be before us in the next 2 weeks. Despite the failures in its present administration, its proponents are asking an appropriation that is practically its present budget. It would be well for all of us to read Jack Steele's evaluation of the operation of the Office of Economic Opportunity before we decide its future course.

The other night, we saw a dreadfully long television program called "What's Happening, Baby." We understand that this was produced not only as a recruiting program but also as a lobbying effort to further the progress of the present antipoverty legislation. I have since been told that we are all too old to properly appreciate the great value of that program.

I think that it is about time to ask "What's Happening, Sargent Shriver?"

Jack Steele's story follows:

TROUBLES, DELAYS, AND CONFUSIONS—POVERTY WAR ENDS YEAR OF CRISIS

(By Jack Steele)

The Government's massive war on poverty has ended its first fiscal year beset with troubles, delays, and confusion which kept it from reaching most of the measurable goals set by Director Sargent Shriver when it was launched last autumn.

A survey by Scripps-Howard newspapers disclosed today that most of the antipoverty war's 10 major programs have not even come close to achieving their original first-year objectives in terms of providing actual and direct benefits to the poor.

Many have enrolled less than half as many of the poverty stricken as Mr. Shriver predicted last year they would by June 30, 1965.

ON THE VERGE

Congress, which is now on the verge of extending the program for another year and doubling its funds, seems largely unaware of or unperturbed by its lags and shortcomings. Both the Senate and House Labor Commitees have shied away from any real efforts to assess its successes and failures.

Mr. Shriver and his top aids at the Office of Economic Opportunity have whittled down many of their previously announced goals in recent months as the antipoverty program has fallen behind schedule. But even some of these scaled-down objectives have not been met.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps is the only one of the original antipoverty projects which has come close to its goal of enrolling 200,000 teenagers. This relatively simple program—a sort of modern WPA to provide make-work jobs for youngsters at $1.25 an hour—is run by the Labor Department rather than the antipoverty agency.

HEAD START

Another late starter among the antipoverty programs—Project Head Start—has far outrun its initial goal. It is expected to provide preschool training to more than 500,000 children from poverty-stricken families this summer.

But other antipoverty programs are lagging badly. For example:

Bitter political warfare—still largely unsettled—has stymied the community action program in most of the Nation's big cities. This program is the keystone of the antipoverty war since it will provide the machinery for helping the poor. In rural areas, lack of community initiative has delayed the CAP program even more.

Vista, the so-called Domestic Peace Corps, was originally supposed to enroll 5,000 volunteers to help the poor by June 30. As of yesterday, it actually had 203 such volunteers working in the field and 542 more in training.

The Job Corps, which Mr. Shriver told Congress last autumn would have 30,000 to 40,000 teenage dropouts in some 75 camps by June 30, actually had 8,345 in 48 camps as of Tuesday. And more than 15 percent of those sent to Youth Corps camps had already quit the camps.

GLOSS OVER

Mr. Shriver and his battery of public relations experts have managed to gloss over most such lags and failures in the antipoverty program. Here's how they've done it.

In recent weeks, OEO officials have worked day and night to allocate funds for antipoverty projects and thus use up all the $793 million Congress appropriated last year for the program and clear the way for passage of this year's $1.5 billion fund request. Much of this money won't be spent—or the projects even started—for months.

Mr. Shriver listed 265,000 enrollees in the Neighborhood Youth Corps. But the 100,000th enrollee was inducted at a White House ceremony on June 11, less than 3 weeks ago. And NYC officials, after whirling their computers, came up yesterday with a top enrollment estimate of 175,000—including 70,000 in a special summer "leaf-raking" project. The first-year goal for this program was 200,000.

Mr. Shriver's list included 88,000 in a so-called work experience program run by the Health, Education, and Welfare Department. But HEW officials yesterday reported the program had 15,240 actual enrollees in 59 projects now in operation.

The OEO Director also listed 600,000 direct beneficiaries of community action programs. Yet most of the CAP projects approved thus far are so-called planning or demonstration grants which provide help or employment to relatively few of the poor. And only a few of these are yet off the ground.

Farmers, Unite or Perish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to have the following words added to a speech I placed in the RECORD previously.

This speech was prepared with the help of the National Farm Organization for their educational seminars. For further information or copies of this speech contact: National Farm Organization, National Headquarters, Corning, Iowa.

Jukebox Royalties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 28, 1965

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, I believe a matter of concern to the Congress is, and rightfully should be, an updating of the copyright laws.

In this connection, one pertinent problem is the matter of royalty payments to the holders of copyrights in musical recordings placed in jukeboxes and other forms of coin-operated, automatic playing machines.

Mr. Speaker, the present laws were adopted in 1909, when it was inconceivable that an estimated $500 million yearly music machine industry would come into being. But those 1909 laws today preclude a fair treatment of the copyright holders whose music is being exploited. It is patently obvious to me that simple justice demands a fair return to those persons whose work and inspiration provide the multimillion dollar industry its very basis.

Recently the Times-Picayune of New Orleans published a cogent editorial concerning the jukebox royalties matter, and I commend the editorial to my colleagues.

I am also including into the RECORD a news story from the Times-Picayune of June 26, 1965, which relates the remarks of Mr. Herman Finkelstein, general counsel of the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers.

Mr. Finkelstein was a featured speaker at the national conference at Tulane University of the National Association of College and University Attorneys.

During his talk, Mr. Finkelstein commented on the anachronism in the law as it now relates to copyrights.

Mr. Finkelstein's remarks, and the logic of the editorial from the Times-Picayune, again remind the Congress that revision of the copyright laws should be accomplished as soon as possible:

[From the Times-Picayune (New Orleans, La.), June 22, 1965]

JUKEBOX ROYALTIES

One of the many tasks remaining for Congress this session is consideration of a bill to bring up to date the copyright laws. In at least one glaring instance, these work great hardship on music composers and authors by applying rules reasonable when adopted in 1909 but now quite the reverse.

Provisions of H.R. 4347 would assure royalty payments to the holders of copyrights in musical recordings placed in jukeboxes, etc. In 1909, the closest thing to jukeboxes were earphone instruments in penny parlors whose financial returns were insignificant. Today's coin-operated music machine industry does an estimated $500 million a year business from whose fruits copyright holders are effectively excluded.

Given the means of enforcing it, a requirement that royalties be paid to copyright holders seems just, and in line with royalty

payment requirements for other types of copyrighted works. A representative of the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers, which is urging passage of the bill, has testified that such means are available without costly, burdensome accounting systems. A number of exemptions from royalty payment, for nonprofit uses, are set forth in the proposed bill.

Similar bills have been submitted to Congress, and in 1963 one was reported by the House Judiciary Committee, but did not clear the Rules Committee before adjournment. Many Congressmen are thus familiar with the situation and the basic proposals. The present bill merits Congress approval, before this session's adjournment.

[From the New Orleans (La.) Times-Picayune, June 26, 1965]

COUNSEL SPEAKS AGAINST CUTTING AUTHORS' MARKET—DISCUSSES BILL TO REVISE COPYRIGHT ACT

American authors will have little incentive to meet the needs of education if education continues to ignore their needs.

This was the position of New York attorney Herman Finkelstein in an address before the National Association of College and University Attorneys Friday at Tulane University. The NACUA is holding its annual national conference at the University Center.

Finkelstein is general counsel for the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP).

He quoted the report of a Rockefeller Bros. Fund panel of distinguished educators that "perhaps the most serious threat (to copyright protection) is the current advocacy to exempt educational institutions from the obligation to pay royalties for the performance of musical, dramatic, and literary works."

TO PREVENT COPYING

Finkelstein explained that the law of copyright deals, basically, "with products of intellectual endeavor which have been reduced to concrete form.

"What are the rights of copyright owners that must be respected by educators—or that educators gain when they become authors," he asked.

The first right, he said, is to prevent others from copying the work.

He noted that in testifying on the pending bill to revise the Copyright Act, "some teachers are urging that they should have the right to make enough copies of a short work—like a poem or a short story—to supply each pupil in a class."

Such a practice is not permitted in the present law, but an organization representing 100,000 teachers, whose average class consists of 30 pupils, proposes that the law expressly permit such multiple copying.

If each teacher made copies for his classes, he pointed out, the total number would be 3 million—probably of only the best, most salable, poems and stories.

AUTHOR WOULD SUFFER

"You can see how much the author would suffer if he is deprived of such an important market," he commented.

"A dramatic work," he continued, "can't be performed publicly without consent of the copyright owner, even though the performance is by an amateur group."

In the case of musical compositions, the right of performance is more limited. It may be given in public only if it is not for profit when the consent of the owner has not been obtained.

However, the question of what amounts to a performance "for profit" has been the subject of considerable litigation.

The copyright law, passed in 1909, when jukeboxes were not a multimillion-dollar business, does not deem performance of a recorded composition by means of a coin-operated machine in a place where admission has not been charged a public performance for profit. A number of bills have been introduced to amend this "anachronism in the law," Finkelstein said.

FOR PROFIT ISSUE

Similarly, the for profit issue came up before a congressional committee reviewing copyright laws. The issue was raised whether copyright laws should permit the composer to require payment of educational institutions when his work is performed publicly in concerts and "perhaps even during the halftime period at the Sugar Bowl."

Finkelstein quoted Dr. Howard Hanson, president of the National Music Council, and for many years head of the Eastman School for Music:

"Millions—I suppose billions of dollars—of private and government funds are each year poured into our educational coffers. Here the term, 'not for profit,' although technically accurate, has a hollow ring for the author and the composer and puts education in the unenviable position of stifling the very creativity which it is theoretically supposed to encourage."

Finkelstein concluded, "If the author's market is lessened * * * there will remain little encouragement for him to spend his time trying to fulfill the needs of education as a very large consumer of literary property."

Address by Congressman John V. Lindsay, of New York, Prepared for Delivery at the Commencement Exercises of Stuyvesant High School, Carnegie Hall, Manhattan, June 28, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 29, 1965

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the management of our metropolitan areas is a challenge which increasingly demands our attention. Recently our colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. LINDSAY], discussed the dimensions of this challenge in an address at the commencement exercises of Stuyvesant High School in Manhattan. Mr. LINDSAY'S speech emphasized the need for imagination and enlightenment in public service, and for the active cooperation of private and public abilities. I would like to bring this thoughtful address to the attention of the Congress:

There were moments while I was thinking about brief remarks for these graduation exercises when I felt a little like the printer's devil who was left alone to set the final type for the Farmers' Almanac. Suddenly he discovered that one of the most important weather predictions for the year was missing; the weather for the Fourth of July. In something of a panic he inserted the words "snow and hail" and sat back and prayed. But that year it did snow and hail on the Fourth of July for the first time and overnight the young printer's devil, who had acted decisively, even if implusively, was lionized as the greatest of forecasters.

The burden of my remarks this morning is not with forecasting. Yet there are few moments of life like a graduation exercise when all eyes are focused on a single thought: Where are we going? What lies ahead? It is with this spirit that I would like to explore how the past may instruct the present and add a few observations about the future.

We have long believed in enthroning the experts. But the experts can be thumpingly wrong and expertise alone is no substitute for imagination. Some time before I entered high school, back in the 1930's, a book was published called "The Airship." The conclusion reached was that commercial airplanes would never be developed that could fly the Atlantic because they would be too costly and could never safely accommodate a sufficient passenger load to make them pay. The same year, the National Commission on Social Trends, a body composed of the most distinguished social scientists of the day, concluded that the U.S. population had peaked at 130 million and would henceforth begin to decline.

Looking again at history's clock, let me now turn to an area which has greater relevance for your generation than any other issue except that of war or peace. It is now just 77 years since Lord Brice penned the omniscient judgment in his "American Commonwealth" that "the Government of American cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States." Actually there has never been a time since the publication of Lord Brice's classic, that this judgment has such urgency for so many Americans. Somehow we have never found a viable partnership between the art of politics and the science of administration that has produced effective, bold, innovative, imaginative methods of governing our cities. The city in America has oscillated between excesses of politics and excessive administration.

Historically we have long known the reasons for the neglect of the American cities in the total pattern of American federalism. Jefferson, in many of his writings, spoke of the "pestilential city" and rejected it, as so many other Americans did likewise, as a cancerous growth upon the healthy tissue of rural democracy. The lurking suspicion and hostility against the city also influenced the South where it was used to reinforce southern arguments against northern industrialism. Elsewhere the enduring hostility to the American city was embodied in many familiar practices, such as the refusal to grant cities their rightful share of representation in State legislatures and in the comparative disregard of urban interests in the framing of national policy.

But hopefully that era is finally beginning to be behind us. America has entered a new stage of its existence and your generation is very likely the first to be able to see real light at the end of the tunnel. Yet, as I am sure you are well aware, the problems are staggering.

The needs of public service everywhere are much more than simply improving technical skills. Far more serious is the lack of imagination at all levels of government. On the drawing boards at the moment are plans to establish 51 national water resources institutes. Yet we are told by competent authorities that to this date there are not 25 qualified men in the Nation to lead them. When we look at the manpower resource problem for our cities the situation is even more disquieting. One projection indicates that State and local employment for the years 1964 through 1968 will increase about 100 percent. For the Federal Government in the same period the anticipated increase in employment is about 2 percent.

Clearly this means that we are going to have to stretch ourselves to meet this challenging demand from our cities. But it also means far more. What it really means is that the great social battlefield of our society lies within the rims of our exploding urban areas and that we must recruit and enlist the finest talent we can produce to meet the crisis before us.

How can this be done? And what will your role be? Here I have no hesitancy in giving my testimony according to the lights that I follow. I am convinced that in the years ahead almost all of you will be spending some part of your lives in some form of public service. We need greater flexibility in phasing talented people in and out of public service. Why not bring creative people from business, industry, commerce, and the academic community into the service of our cities for specific periods and transfer some of our career people in Government to the private sector of our society for similar stints of service. In our cities the problem of middle management talents is critical and the shortage of top level managerial persons is equally severe. For my own part, all of these symptoms point to one inescapable conclusion: We must put the resources of the private sector of the Nation into a meaningful partnership with our cities if we are going to erase urban blight and decay.

Of course, in all of our hopes, aspirations, and plans to enjoy great reform and eliminate the nagging urban disorder, like taking deadly hydrocarbons out of the air, finding solutions to the transportation, housing, schools, and minority problems, and a vast catalog of other issues, we need to bear in mind that the central key to progress is in the political process. But the solution is not with brittle politics or brittle partisans. An old friend once told me of an experience in attending a political rally where the speaker spoke for almost 2 hours on the difference between the Democrats and the Republicans. When the man finally finished, an elderly gentleman seated in front of my friend turned to his companion and said in a loud voice. "I forgot my darn hearing aid. What did he talk about?" "I don't know," shouted his companion, "he didn't say."

And so it is, I am afraid, with so much of the tireless aimless political dialog about the plight of our cities. The condition we are in is like a swinging firebrand in a powder mill. Under such circumstances as we seek solutions it is well to remind ourselves of Dorothy Parker's admonition that "there are not just two sides to every question or issue, but three; your side, my side, and the right side."

We seek the right side to the diverse disorders that beset us and the times call for new formulas for a new age. The old empty war whoops of partisan politics is nothing but a mockery of the grave urban problems we face. Party labels as the answers to restoring our cities are old husks devoid of any real meaning.

We need to develop some new strategic concepts and move out of the trackless wasteland we have wandered about in for so many years while one urban disease is piled on to another. So far we have only played around the edges in a fitful, faltering approach to governing our cities. We seem to be stalled on dead center. It is to you we look for a fresh start and hold out the the persistent hope that you are ready to enlist for the duration.

Ahead the problems to be encountered can only be described as awesome. To take just one phase of education, it is now estimated that very shortly we will be building new community colleges at the rate of about 100 new institutions a year. In another area extremely crucial to the health of urban life, we now have upward to 70,000 special districts. No one really knows exactly how many of these governing bodies there are and yet they comprise one of the Nation's dark unexplored continents of local government.

All this means that your generation is committed irrevocably, and I know not indifferently, to an urban society. But side by side with this commitment runs the overriding responsibility upon you to bring about greater understanding if we are to succeed in revitalizing urban life. A long time ago when Thorsten Veblen, one of America's celebrated social reformers, was a student in college, he was asked by his teacher to prepare an essay on the drunkard. When he read it to his class his teacher, John Bates Clark, a leading economist, tore him to shreds. "If that's your case against the drunkard," he snapped, "you failed completely." That was not my purpose," answered Veblen. "Well," said his teacher with a rising note of sarcasm, "if your purpose was to present your case for the drunkard, then you failed too." "My purpose," said Veblen, "was not to present the case for or against the drunkard. My purpose was to understand him."

Surely understanding is central to all plans to upgrade urban life, and it is precisely for this reason that I believe those of you graduating today hold the key to a new transition in American society—the transition that will one day make our cities the shining example of civilization that lies within our grasp. The whole world shivers anxiously as we grope our way and we dare not fail. We must not pause or postpone. That we will succeed is not just a towering hope, but a deep belief borne in the conviction that in the domain of the mind and spirit you have the equipment to do the job. That you will redeem the pledge to rebuild our cities, I have no doubt. Speed the day and my heartiest congratulations to you, both on your scholastic distinction and the very special place in our lifeline that graduation from high school signifies.

Arab League Boycott Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a resolution adopted by the Detroit Common Council on June 22, 1965 in opposition to the air boycott, so harmful to free international trade, aimed at strangling the new State of Israel and its economical and diplomatic growth and endeavors.

This excellent resolution merits the careful consideration of the Congress and all right thinking men.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE DETROIT COMMON COUNCIL JUNE 22, 1965

Whereas the State of Israel is one of the U.S. staunchest and firmest friends in the Near East; and

Whereas the State of Israel is a bastion of democracy in the Near East, and is dependent on commerce and industry to continue its growth and survival; and

Whereas the Arab States are committed to a policy of boycotting all commercial and industrial businesses that see fit to do business with the State of Israel, and this boycott and economic pressure against the State of Israel is not in accord with those whose efforts have been directed toward peace through economic cooperation and stability, and this boycott violates the American concept of fair business practices and international cooperation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Detroit Common Council urges the people of Detroit, its businesses and industrial enterprises to ignore the Arab League boycott and does further petition the Detroit Chamber of Commerce to advise its members that to succumb to the economic pressures of the Arab League is contrary to the spirit of Detroit and the code of ethics of all America, and further respectfully petitions the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate to enter into appropriate legislation or action to advise the Arab League that such action is not in accord with the historical position of the Government of the United States toward fair and open trade.

Henry Luce and Fortune Magazine's 35th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 30, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, for 35 years, Fortune magazine, one of our great business journals, has faithfully chronicled the adventures and misadventures of American business. By its wisdom and enlightenment contributed mightily to the success of our free enterprise system.

Henry R. Luce, Fortune's distinguished founder, looked back over these 35 years of service to business and to the people of the United States. Mr. Luce wrote for Fortune an eloquent and brilliant testimony to our great American free enterprise system and all that it stands for.

He tells us:

> It is the genius of America that it has worked out an economic system by which the public interest is continually represented, while the public enjoys the blessings of liberty and the fruits of competitive and skillful management and initiative.

But there is a continuing need, he warns us, to fight for its preservation, and to be ever on guard against encroachment by Government and misrepresentation by its foes.

Mr. James Linen, the president of Time, Inc., whom I admire and respect highly, has written to me on the occasion of Fortune's 35th anniversary, calling this to my attention.

It is a pleasure to submit James Linen's letter and this article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as I believe they deserve wide circulation in Congress and among the American people.

TIME INCORPORATED,
New York, May 17, 1965.

Hon. JAMES G. FULTON,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JIM: On the occasion of Fortune's 35th anniversary, its founder, Henry R. Luce, reflected on the developments that have marked the years since 1930. In a period that has seen a big war and several small ones, a depression and superbooms, both atomic and economic, the American business-enterprise system has been put to a severe test. Yet most business statesmen agree that as we enter an era of radical change the most challenging times are still ahead. In response to Mr. Luce's article, George Champion, chairman, board of directors, the Chase Manhattan Bank, suggested

that "it deserves the careful and thoughtful consideration of all in this country."

I thought you might like a copy of Mr. Luce's article.

Best regards,

JIM LINEN.

FORTUNE MAGAZINE'S 35TH ANNIVERSARY

(By Henry R. Luce)

(NOTE.—The idea of Fortune began to take shape just before the Wall Street crash of October 1929, which might have discouraged many publishers from going ahead with a magazine of this kind. Yet, as events turned out, Fortune's dedication to reporting the philosophy of American business and its tangible assets—its steel mills, its drilling rigs, its agriculture, and the day-to-day work of its entrepreneurs and managers—fulfilled a real journalistic need in the depression thirties, and thereafter. In this article, Henry R. Luce, who staked out Fortune's original claim and who has at every point influenced its development, sums up the extraordinary accomplishment of U.S. enterprise, and reflects on the nature of the institutions that have carried the Nation thus far and will carry it further.)

A few years ago we were all speaking of the "miracle of Germany"—of the fact that within a decade Germany had risen from a mass of dead rubble to a great prosperity and that it had done so mainly because of free enterprise. The chief worker of this miracle (under the aegis of Adenauer) was Prof. Ludwig Erhard. I met this corpulent, blue-eyed professor a few months after war's end. We walked for an hour or two through the streets of Munich, which were piled high with rubble and empty of traffic. The professor kept saying over and over again, "Free enterprise * * * Free enterprise—Marktwirtschaft * * * that is the only way." To me, he sounded pixilated: it seemed impossible to have such unqualified faith in free enterprise in the midst of all that silent ruin. Erhard is one of the very few men in history who had a faith, who got the chance to put that faith into practice, and who saw it work.

In that winter of 1945–46, when I was walking with Erhard, everyone—almost literally everyone, including American foreign correspondents—assumed that the countries of Europe would be ruled, after the war, by Popular Front (Socialist-Communist) governments. They did not foresee the rise of the Christian Democratic Parties, which were to be one of the factors in swinging Western Europe toward free enterprise. Another factor was the Marshall plan, which under the persuasive genius of Paul Hoffman planted the seeds not only of "productivity" but also of free enterprise.

So, in a decade, came the miracle of Germany. And then came the miracle of Italy and then the miracle of France and the miracle of Europe generally, and then—way off yonder—the astonishing miracle of Japan. And then we gave up talking about miracles and settled down to taking all these amazing achievements almost for granted.

Yet all the while, of course, the greatest miracle of them all was the miracle of the American business-enterprise system, which had been the inspiration and the source of all the rest.

The American economy has now reached an extraordinary point, one rarely, if ever, reached by any large human construct. The American economy has arrived at the point where it meets all, or very nearly all, the demands put upon it. It meets the demands both of "capitalism" and of "socialism." It meets the demands of businessmen that it should provide ample opportunity for production for profit—and it also meets the demands of the welfare of all the people.

To this last statement there will be instant objections. But consider. In his famous book, "The Affluent Society," our former colleague on Fortune, John Kenneth Galbraith, argued that we are spending our affluence on all the wrong things—on tail fins (that was back in the fifties) instead of on education or medicare. He may have been right; he may still be right. But note that Mr. Galbraith was not arguing that the American economy was incapable of meeting social demands; he was simply saying that the demands made on the economy (fins) were not the demands he himself would make. As for me, I would be happier if the $6 billion we now spend on agricultural subsidies were to be spent on more inspiring projects.

Since Mr. Galbraith's book, two things have happened: the economy has grown bigger, faster; and the criticisms of American life have become deeper and more widespread. This was shown in the 1964 presidential campaign, when there was a minimum of bread-and-butter issues. Both sides stressed intangibles: Mr. Goldwater stressed individual freedom and morality; Mr. Johnson, not satisfied with having all the bread and butter on his side stressed utopian hopes.

Obviously, the economy cannot supply every absurdity (like farm subsidies or solid-gold putters) that anyone could possibly think of, and the present malaise or aimlessness will not last forever. We will grow out of it or we will be shocked out of it either by new goals or by new misfortunes and most probably by both. My fundamental assertion has to do with the instant moment: the American economy has reached the extraordinary point where it can and does meet all the demands that can reasonable be made upon it.

Granted, the basic importance of modern technology and granted the even more basic blessings of our form of government, we must also emphasize the extraordinary contribution of a type of economic system that perfectly "fits" and complements our form of government. The wonder of the enterprise, or market, economy is that it disperses economic power and the decision while at the same time coordinating human effort in the interest of what the public wants. Now in one sense this kind of economy is nothing new, and businessmen, in producing for profit and hence for use, are not so different from their whiskered confreres of yesterday. Yet in other respects there have been vast changes in how businessmen act and in what we expect from them. I would cite at the start the proposition on which Fortune was founded—that all business is vested with a public interest. And since it is, like no other capitalistic business anywhere, ever, American business in the 20th century has been open to inspection. It is not only open to inspection by all manner of Government agencies including the Antitrust Division and the Securities and Exchange Commission, it is also open to the inspection of journalists, and in this Fortune has played a leading role.

I elaborated all this once in a speech to young businessmen, when I said: "It is, I suppose, almost impossible for the younger men here to realize how radical was this proposition of inspection when I was your age. To be sure, at the beginning of this century there was a great deal of public law. Teddy Roosevelt had made the antitrust law a real force and—imagine—he had even gone so far as to instigate a pure food and drug act. And grocers were required to have scales that didn't cheat—thus putting a limit on the age-old law of caveat emptor. But still, with all of that, the bankers in Wall Street and La Salle Street and the heads of great corporations sincerely thought of themselves as individuals going about their private business, with essentially no more accountability to the public than the corner grocer or soda-pop vendor.

Journalistically, this meant that no leading banker or businessman considered that the inquiring reporter had any right to knock on his door—unless he came to write a puff story. The idea that the journalist should inquire after the facts was not only outrageous to the businessman, it was inconceivable. Any anyway, who cared about the facts of business? And then came the great depression, and suddenly everybody cared—in a bewildered, confused, bitter, hysterical way. The heavens had fallen. Business was the villain. Well, you know the rest of the story—how the New Deal brought in many great reforms but no prosperity; and how the war came with its tremendous upsurge of productivity; and then these amazing postwar years.

And not least of the wonders is how universally it is now accepted that all business is vested with a public interest. That proposition is of course fundamental to socialism. The fallacy of socialism, however, is that it leaps to a false conclusion from a sound premise: since all business is vested with a public interest, the Government should own and operate business. This Socialist fallacy may lead to tyranny of the Communist variety or some other, and it certainly leads to inefficiency and poverty. It is the genius of America that it has worked out an economic system by which the public interest is continually represented, while the public enjoys the blessings of liberty and the fruits of competitive and skillful management and initiative. In most of the rest of the world you will not find anything like this.

THE PARADOX OF SUCCESS

I come now to the second of my observations—to the paradox that free enterprise, or, as I prefer to call it, business enterprise, has to be fought for in this country, despite its success. Fought for against whom? Who is against it? Presumably people who call themselves liberal Democrats and organizations like the ADA, recently rescued from obscurity by Goldwater-Miller.

The Republican Party, though all these years, has stood for business enterprise. Is, then, the majority Democratic Party against it? By reason of its stream of welfare legislation it might seem to stand under that accustation. And yet I cannot think of a single Democrat in Congress or in any other high office who would not feel cruelly maligned if you said he was against business enterprise.

In my New York apartment in 1960, when Joseph Patrick Kennedy and I were waiting to hear his son's speech accepting the Democratic nomination for the Presidency, I said to Joe that of course Jack would have to be left of center on domestic affairs but——

Joe cut in with all the colorful explosion of language at his command. He said: "Blank, blank, how can you imagine that any son of mine would be any bank blank liberal?"

I calmed him down by explaining that, in the nature of American politics, the Democratic candidate couldn't possibly be elected without being a tiny bit left of center, and that we wouldn't hold that against him, provided he performed well on other counts.

In fact, President Kennedy did not feel himself to be against business enterprise. He wanted "to get this country moving" and that to him meant getting business moving forward. He probably regretted the storm that blew up about steel prices. In any case, he always seemed, to me at least, to be both a little baffled and a little hurt by any hostility that business felt toward him.

And now, of course, we have a President who, unlike Kennedy, got a lot of businessmen to vote for him and who has spoken more ardently in praise of business than any other President since Calvin Coolidge. You recall President Johnson's heartfelt burst of enthusiasm when he expressed his pride in a system where "the employer, hoping to make a little profit, the laborer hoping to justify

his wages, can get together and make a better mousetrap."

Perhaps we have come to the end of a long era and business enterprise will no longer have to fight for its existence against creeping socialism and all that. Perhaps. But I do not think so. Why? Partly because the business enterprise system tends to be a disruptive as well as a creative process, overturning older and more static ways of economic organization: it is no fun to have the worth of one's effort measured in the marketplace. Again, a political democracy will always find it easier to dream up new "programs" for redistributing wealth already created than to strengthen the incentives that produce wealth. Finally, it is no easy task to define and to fight for the proper functions, and the proper limits, of government power in our economic affairs. The enterprise economy needs strong government in the realm of external defense, of internal security, and of monetary policy, to mention a few. It is all too easy to confuse these needed powers with attempts of government officials to run the whole show—to dictate specific prices and wages and other matters. In this whole business the price of freedom is indeed eternal vigilance.

FIRST WAS THE ANTHILL

My third line of observation concerns the growth of that notable contemporary phenomenon, the organization. Of course, there have always been organizations, ever since men began to band together. And there was the anthill before that, and the word might even be applied to the gravitational music of the spheres or indeed to the whole universe. But never before the 20th century have organizations been so many, so big, so various, so efficient, so heavily relied upon for the world's work, and, above all, never before have thinking men been so conscious of the phenomenon of organization.

In 1938, Chester Barnard, president of the New Jersey Bell Telephone Co., published his book, "The Functions of the Executive." This book was given to me by Charles L. Stillman, then as now the chief financial officer of Time, Inc. In the early days of the magazine Stillman also served as a part-time editor, helping us to achieve a touch of economic sophistication. Mr. Barnard's book made a great impression on me. It was, I was told, and correctly, the first book in the history of human thought to deal with organization in terms of philosophical-analytical theory. A marvelous example of how the world's thinkers can ignore major phenomena of life right under their noses—and on their breakfast tables.

Organization has everything to do with modern economic development—whether by socialist or capitalist means. It also has everything to do with the present and future governments of the world. Thus modern tyrannies, Communist or Nazi, are more terrible than tyrannies of the past because of their ability to make organization effective—thereby preventing revolts against them. An absolute monarch like Louis XIV was incapable of exercising anything like the power of, say, the U.S. Treasury, let alone of Stalin or Hitler.

Awareness of organization has, of course, been growing rapidly for a century or more. But there is a world of difference between both the fact of and the feeling about Morgan's U.S. Steel or John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil and the fact and the feeling about these same companies today. The same could be said for many another company—Sears, Roebuck, for example—and in addition we have a whole new form of organization in NASA and the moon shot.

To me several things seem quite clear about the organization as it has developed in our time—especially in the United States, and particularly in U.S. business.

The organization increases, rather than diminishes, opportunities for the individual—not necessarily for all individuals but for the many millions who are tolerably well suited to organization life. The individual in an organization has facilities that he could not possibly have otherwise.

Organizations, meaning large and very large organizations, are obviously essential to do the work of today's world. Manhattan Project is a milestone in human history—not only because it produced the bomb, but because it showed so dramatically that only an organization of that size can get that kind of work done. The current equivalent is NASA—and the organizational equivalents of the future will be mining in the oceans and capturing the energy of the sun.

HONG KONG IS DIFFERENT

Finally, I should like to make a few simple points about a vast subject—the importance of the United States to the economies of the whole world.

Six years ago when I stopped off at Bangkok, I was surprised to find that during the previous week Bangkok had overnight abolished all rickshaws and pedicabs. The wide streets of that city would henceforth be filled only with motor traffic. This is just a dramatic example of how all the cities of the world more and more resemble each other. Great diversities of culture still happily remain: the personalities of Hong Kong and Rome and Chicago are unmistakably different. But they remain different only within an increasingly universal pattern of machines and commerce. The motorcar takes over the widened streets. Tall buildings rise above the temples. The hurrying crowds are dressed mostly "Western style"; Madame Butterfly vanishes. The shops are full of much the same merchandise and Coca Cola is everywhere. Pepsi Cola too.

This is sometimes called Americanization. But it is not essentially that; it involves essentially the rapid spread of modern technology, more or less available to all, and, equally important, the spread of modern methods of commerce and finance. This tide of modernization is remaking the social structures of Europe and Japan and wherever else it reaches. It creates a consumer economy and a much bigger middle class. The "Americanization of Europe" is often deplored, especially by the aristocratic right and the would-be leaders of the proletarian left. But whether it is good or bad, it is not being done mostly by Americans; it is being done mainly by Europeans—and Japanese and the businessmen and engineers of other lands.

Nevertheless, the United States has a very special responsibility with regard to this worldwide panorama of economic progress.

The first responsibility is elementary, though often lost sight of. It is to protect freedom—to protect specifically Europe and Japan and other places in the world where the institutions of freedom exist or are being developed. Economic progress depends upon freedom (surely the evidence on that point is now conclusive), but it also depends upon a large measure of peace and order. The miracle of Germany, the miracle of Japan, and all the other miracles could not have occurred except under the reliable umbrella of the military establishment of the United States. And without the continued guarantee of that umbrella, all the economic miracles (and social securities) will vanish.

The United States has many other responsibilities toward the growing world economy. One of them, for example, is to take the lead in developing adequate monetary policies. The responsibility that I should like to cite as being the most important (next only to the protection of existing freedom) is the responsibility to advance, to promote, and to encourage the formation of constitutional governments in all those parts of the non-Communist world where constitutional governments either do not exist at all or exist only in a very dubious manner. On this point there is much disagreement and confusion of tongues. It is argued, rightly enough, that many nations are not "ready" for truly democratic governments. To this it may be replied that governments may be reliably constitutional without an excess of direct democracy.

It is also argued, again with reason, that nations differ so widely in their characteristics that it is foolish to expect them to become, politically, like us. This is the argument that, in my view, needs more careful analysis. It is my belief that, if the matter of cultural differences is more carefully examined, it will be found that there are principles of freedom and order that are universal in their human and psychological and even in their institutional truth. Anyway, the truth of "liberty under law" is the truth we know, and live by, and so we should never tire, with all our busyness of business and politics, in showing forth by word and deed the truth we live by. Let every nation make its own adaptations but let us never cease to make plain that what most concerns us as Americans is human freedom and the institutions that guard and promote it.

Fortune's John Davenport has just written a most valuable book entitled "The U.S. Economy." His last chapter is "Of the American Mission." I am happy to conclude my reflections by quoting his concluding paragraph.

"What is that mission after all? To maintain a sheltering shield of military power against the further encroachment of tyranny, and to roll back and neutralize those who have said they will bury us; to project outward the rule of law and liberty under the law which has been both our inheritance and our pride; to shape not only a more prosperous America but an America that, in the phrase of John F. Kennedy, 'will not be afraid of grace and beauty'; to use the promise of the machine, not just for the conquest of poverty, but for the pursuit of excellence and distinction. Great tasks require great builders, and the mission of America is to build no less than to defend. Yet in the clamorous and busy world of tomorrow, let us hope too that there will be time for reflection in those silent and indeed lonely hours when the spirit reasserts its influence and reanimates the human endeavor. America is not a purpose but purposes, not an ideal but ideals, not a crowd but men and women. It will be in the heart and mind of each one that the future of the Republic will be shaped, its premises vindicated, and its promises fulfilled."

Birthday Tribute to Hon. H. R. Gross, of Iowa

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 30, 1965

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in tribute to one of the most distinguished Members of the House, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. H. R. GROSS], on the occasion of his birthday. An outstanding Member of the House, this gentleman has earned and holds the respect of all who know the value of a dollar or of a man who, with scholarship and devotion, guards the public till.

He is a stanch supporter of the sound, honest, responsible governmental practices which are the foundation of our na-

tional stability, and has unceasingly opposed all efforts to undermine the traditional structure of our Republic.

I join with my colleagues in wishing him many more years of productive and valued service to our Nation.

Orange County's Project 21: A Plan for Metropolitan Greatness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 24, 1965

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to bring to the attention of the Congress, and the entire Nation, a very unique and worthy undertaking now in progress in Orange County, Calif., entitled "Project 21." The goal of this project is to involve the entire business, industrial, civic, and labor community of Orange County in "studying and promoting balanced economic growth and in improving the county's physical resources and beauty." The project is aimed at metropolitan greatness for Orange County during the 21st century.

Our President has emphasized the need for urban planning and orderly development. It seems clear to this Member of Congress that this nongovernmental project, which does not receive nor seek tax support, is an ideal example of what farsighted, civic-minded Americans can do to insure that the growth we all know must take place will be a guided and orderly growth.

In Orange County, as in many areas adjacent to expanding urban centers, we have seen a great deal of growth in recent years. Yet, in a very real sense, our commercial, industrial, and population growth has just begun. If we allow this expansion to proceed in an uncoordinated, disjointed fashion, Orange County will itself become an ugly urban "slurb." The economic base will be unsound, transportation and communication systems will be lacking, our cultural, recreational, and educational facilities will be inadequate. And furthermore, Mr. Speaker, at that time there will be little or nothing we can do about it.

Fortunately, Orange County can avoid this unhappy fate. We can build the kind of sound, varied, and attractive community in which it will be a pleasure for our citizens to live, work, and enjoy life. Success in this worthy endeavor will only be ours, however, if we begin now to do the planning and the studies which are being carried on by Project 21. Project 21 is our best hope for the fulfillment of Orange County's rich potential.

I heartily commend John B. Lawson, vice president and general manager of the Aeronutronics Division of the Philco Corp., who is the father of Project 21. He first proposed that such a project be launched in his address before the Fourth Annual Orange County Economic Conference in 1963. Since that time, John Lawson, as president of Project 21, has worked with an outstanding group of business and civic leaders throughout the county to make Project 21 become a reality. The following is the proposed activities of Project 21 for the current year; as we can see, it is an ambitious, progressive, and well-constructed program which deserves the support and encouragement of all our people:

PROPOSED 1965 PROGRAM OF ACTION—PROJECT 21

ENLIST CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Prepare a questionnaire relating to values Orange County citizens might like to see included in the framework of their environment. Widely administer the questionnaire and, upon completion and analysis, supply results to key Orange County people so that they may be cognizant of the preferences of the people;

Produce booklets, television films, and other media items from this study to give it added force and to solicit further citizen participation;

Inventory county government to find out who the governments are, what they do, and when they meet—all to encourage citizen awareness of government and what it is doing on the local level.

INITIATE AND ENCOURAGE ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES

Through study and consultation, evolve a list of major county problems by priority;

Compile potential sources of finance for research studies in the problem areas, along with a corresponding list of appropriate research specialists;

Upon completion and publication of each study, provide widespread distribution of its recommendations through publicity.

ORGANIZE REFERENCE CENTER

Purchase and catalog publications on environmental planning and activities;

Obtain general plans, codes, statutes and ordinances relating to planning, zoning, building, housing and conservation;

Acquire pertinent statistical data on a continuing basis;

Take steps to establish reference center as depository and clearinghouse for planning materials.

PROVIDE A FORUM

Establish procedures for convening public forums on issues of topical interest.

RECOMMEND IMPROVED PLANNING STANDARDS AND TECHNIQUES

Maintain continuing study of literature to discover practices which might be beneficially applied in Orange County;

Establish methods to disseminate these findings and to ascertain if Project 21 recommendations are being used, and if not, why.

SPONSOR BIENNIAL CONFERENCE

Convene a biennial conference to discuss major issues of the day in environmental planning for Orange County.

HONORS

Establish criteria and awards to be given those who, in Project 21's view, contribute to county environmental excellence.

GENERATE CITIZEN SUPPORT

Organize and bring the influence of the people behind objectives of private and public sectors as expressed in Project 21;

Establish ways in which Project 21 will be continually aware of the goals of the people;

Set up a speakers' bureau and list of organizations within the county to which representatives may put on programs;

Prepare a newsletter and circulate it to members and interested other parties;

Compile list of individuals and organizations who may be likely sponsors and candidates for membership in Project 21 to aid a continuing fundraising program.

Mr. Speaker, Project 21 has attracted the active support of hundreds of Orange Countians. They, in turn, have selected as officers and members of the board of directors 20 men and women of the highest ability, reputation, and stature. Upon them will fall the heaviest load for guiding Project 21 during this, its vital formative years. The officers and directors are as follows:

OFFICERS

President: Mr. John B. Lawson.
Vice president: Mr. H. W. McMillen.
Secretary: Mr. Donald A. Strauss.
Treasurer: Miss Agnes Blomquist.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Dr. Daniel G. Aldrich, Jr., chancellor, University of California, Irvine; Irvine, Calif.

Mr. William Beck, general manager, Laguna Niguel Corp., South Laguna, Calif.

Mr. W. Worth Bernard, publisher and editor, Orange County Life, Business, and Industry newsmagazine, Santa Ana, Calif.

Miss Agnes Blomquist, president, Newport Balboa Savings & Loan Association, Newport Beach, Calif.

Mr. James Decker, local manager, Southern Counties Gas Co., Laguna Beach, Calif.

Mr. M. L. Doelz, vice president and general manager, Collins Radio Co., Information Science Center, Newport Beach, Calif.

Mr. C. M. Featherly, First District, Orange County Board of Supervisors, Santa Ana, Calif.

Mr. John B. Lawson, vice president and general manager, Aeronutronic Division, Philco Corp., a subsidiary of Ford Motor Co., Newport Beach, Calif.

Mr. Cecil Marks, executive manager, Orange County Farm Bureau, Orange, Calif.

Mr. H. W. McMillen, vice president, Orange County area administration office, Bank of America, Santa Ana, Calif.

Mr. Edgar C. Miller, director of economic planning, Autonetics Division, North American Aviation, Inc., Anaheim, Calif.

Miss Lorna Mills, president, Laguna Federal Savings & Loan Association, Laguna Beach, Calif.

Mr. Jack Mullan, vice president, 23d District, Orange County, Calif., Real Estate Association, Newport Beach, Calif.

Mr. Max Reynolds, president, Orange County Division, League of Cities, Orange, Calif.

Mr. Fred Schell, division manager, Southern California Edison Co., Santa Ana, Calif.

Mr. Howard B. Lawson, owner, Howard B. Lawson Co., Town & Country, Orange, Calif.

Mr. Donald A. Strauss, vice president, employee relations, Beckman Instruments, Inc., Fullerton, Calif.

Maj. Gen. Frank C. Tharin, commander of Marine Corps Air Bases, Western Area, and commanding general of El Toro Marine Corps Air Station, El Toro (Santa Ana), Calif.

Mr. Charles S. Thomas, president, the Irvine Co., Irvine, Calif.

Mr. C. E. White, director of administration and materiel, Hughes Aircraft Co., ground systems group, Fullerton, Calif.

Mr. Speaker, as we look at Orange County, with its more than 1 million people, extensive defense, electronic, and related industries, incomparable tourist and recreational attractions, vital military bases, and centers of higher learning; we realize that is is in itself a very important part of the most populous State in the greatest Nation in the world. Yet even beyond this, with our diversity and rich potential we reflect the entire Nation. Project 21 shows that private citizens, recognizing their responsibilities as community leaders, and with nothing to gain personally but the satisfaction of achievement, can join together to provide for a better, a more worthwhile, and a productive future for our county, State, and Nation. Many areas throughout the United States need and would benefit greatly from a program similar to Project 21. It is our hope that Project 21 will lead the way in a nationwide commitment at the local level to, in the words of John Lawson, "long-range planning and growth management that integrates the aspirations of all our municipalities into a total metropolitan plan for greatness."

On the United Nations—A Review of 20 Years

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 24, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, 20 years ago this week, delegates representing 50 nations met in San Francisco and drafted the United Nations Charter. Dedicated to the peaceful resolution of conflict, to the preservation of fundamental human rights, and to the search for economic and social progress, the United Nations was born in a postwar milieu of hope and common purpose.

This organization—this international experiment in the rule of law and conciliation—has sought to institutionalize mankind's dream for a lasting world peace.

In this 20th anniversary year, however, it is apparent that the United Nations has fallen short of its founders' hopes.

Its principal accomplishments have been in the fields of health, agriculture, child welfare, and technical aid. I am sure that even its detractors would concede the extent to which the United Nations has assisted the underdeveloped nations in the cyclical problems of poverty, hunger, disease, overpopulation, and illiteracy. Through the herculean efforts of its specialized agencies, the United Nations has given new hope and a sense of human dignity to the less fortunate peoples of the world community.

I regret to say, however, that the United Nations has been far less successful in the all-important area of peacekeeping. For as Max Frankel has noted, the Great Powers have been eager for the United Nations to take action only when they have been confident of controlling that action. In short, the Great Powers have been singularly unwilling to entrust matters of vital national interest to the world organization. As a consequence, the United Nations thus far has been unable to develop into a sufficiently viable and effective instrument of collective security.

Most recently, the Soviet Union and France—in flagrant disregard of article 19 of the charter—have flatly refused to pay their assessments for U.N. emergency force operations in the Congo and the Middle East. The 1964 session of the United Nations did not deal directly with this problem, and as a result the organization now finds itself some $108 million in debt.

Admittedly then, the United Nations is vulnerable to criticism. But I would remind the critics that by its very existence the United Nations has performed a valuable diplomatic function. It has made possible public debate and private discussion among nations. Indeed, it has been the scene of important negotiations, notably during the Berlin blockade of 1949 and the Cuban missile crisis of 1962.

The United Nations, furthermore, has provided the organizational framework for mediation in crises such as those in Indonesia, Palestine, Egypt, the Congo, Cyprus, and Yemen.

It is easy for irresponsible critics to point cynically to the United Nations' shortcomings; but it is far more difficult and infinitely more worthwhile to offer solutions to those problems which confront the world organization in this its 20th year. For not unlike any 20-year-old, the United Nations is undergoing a formative stage of development, a time for growth and maturation.

But the United Nations cannot possibly grow and mature in an atmosphere of doubt and despair, amidst the politics of pessimism.

On Friday, June 25, in his San Francisco address, President Johnson voiced his support for the United Nations. I am proud to say that I share with the President of the United States "confidence in both the future of these United Nations and the fate of the human race."

Somalia Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, the Somalia Republic celebrates its fifth year of independence today. Five years ago this new Republic faced the problem of combining different administrative, financial, and military systems of two formerly separate areas into an effective national organization. Today, Somalia is a stable country which places primary emphasis on improvement of economic and social conditions within the country, with especial emphasis in the field of education.

Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. HOWARD H. CALLAWAY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 29, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 7984) to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families to promote orderly urban development, to improve living environment in urban areas, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing, urban renewal, and community facilities.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Chairman, where do we stop? We all know that the Federal Government at this moment has its hand in every facet of American life. Citizens can farm—or not farm, eat, retire, get sick, be educated, buy houses—you name it—all on Uncle Sam.

But, Mr. Chairman, where do we stop? Is all this not enough, or must the Federal Government now also pay the rent? I suggest that we stop right here, with the administration's housing and urban development bill.

First, I am alarmed with the widespread expansion of public housing contained in this bill—the building of new units and the buying and leasing of existing units. I question the need, and I certainly question the principle.

Further, I object to that part of the bill which allows public housing units to be built anywhere, without any location veto by local governments. I suppose that I am among that old-fashioned group who still believe that local housing problems should be handled locally.

But most of all, Mr. Speaker, I object to section 101 of the administration's housing program—that section which provides rent subsidies to middle-income families.

Let us look at what is involved here. According to the last census 8 percent of the families with incomes between $4,000 and $8,000 live in substandard housing. The other 92 percent, plus 72 percent of the families in the $4,000 and less income bracket, have managed to secure their own "standard" housing without Federal help. Must we now ask this group to pay not only their own rent, but to help pay the other fellow's rent as well? Shall we legislate that the beneficiary's rent dollar be worth double or more than that of the self-sufficient citizen? Shall we pass laws to kill a man's incentive to improve his living accommodations by his own efforts?

Well, Mr. Chairman, if this is what we propose to do, let us at least not cloak it in a shroud of benevolence and grand phrases. To ourselves and to the American people, let us at least call it what it is—a national socialized rent subsidy program—a program that I firmly feel has no place in the American way of life.

"Warning: May Be Injurious"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared in the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., on Thursday, May 27, 1965:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 27, 1965]

"WARNING: MAY BE INJURIOUS"

(By William Hines)

One might have been excused last January for shrugging off President Johnson's state of the Union exhortation to "increase the beauty of America and end the poisoning of our rivers and the air that we breathe." After all, what position could be safer for a politician than the public advocacy of natural beauty, pure water and fresh air?

But there is evidence that the President was well advised to make this proposal when he did. It is later than most of us think, in the view of a scientific panel called the "Air Conservation Commission."

The scientists have been studying man's destructive effect on his environment for more than 2 years. They have published their interim report in the latest issue of Science, authoritative weekly magazine of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

It would hardly exaggerate the scientists' findings to suggest that metropolitan air should bear a cautionary label like the one now urged for cigarette packages: "Warning May be injurious to human life."

Time is running out, the commission warns; man's ability to corrupt his environment is outstripping even nature's almost boundless ability to compensate. "The quality of the air succeeding generations will breathe will depend to a large extent on what we do or fail to do during the next several years," the scientists say.

Modern civilization is transforming our "fresh air" supply into a noxious mixture of irritants, stenches and poisons, some of which have been shown to foster cancer in laboratory animals. Carbon monoxide, suicidal agent of choice among the squeamish, now exists outside locked garages in dangerously high concentration, the commission finds.

Monoxide's less lethal relative, carbon dioxide, is building up so rapidly in the atmosphere that many scientists fear the climate all over the world is slowly changing. Carbon dioxide is believed responsible for a so-called "greenhouse effect" in the atmosphere, which inhibits the release of radiated heat to outer space, just as glass panes restrict the flow of heat from a hothouse.

Under natural conditions (that is, without the meddlesome finger of man in the ecological pie) any excess of carbon dioxide goes into solution in the ocean, whose "power * * * ultimately to consume such materials by dilution is enormous," in the words of the report.

"However"—the scientists add—"our rapid production of carbon dioxide seems to be outstripping the ocean's ability to remove it from the atmosphere. It appears that roughly a third of the carbon dioxide put into the air by combustion processes remains there * * *."

This is only the beginning of the list of contaminants. The burning of hydrocarbons (from the crudest of coals to the most highly refined gasolines) contributes many undesirable or dangerous compounds to the noisome mixture we breathe. These substances did not exist in the atmosphere before man's inventiveness started running wild a couple of centuries ago.

Particularly objectionable are compounds of sulfur. Some of these merely stink, but some are violently lethal. Sulfuric acid in low concentrations can be extremely dangerous because of its ability to get deep into the lungs as an aerosol. Even when present in air in only a few parts per million it can do irreparable damage. The 4,000 people who died in the London smog of 1952 were probably victims of sulfur compounds.

The roster of poisons in any city's "fresh air" is distressingly long—aldehydes to embalm you while you breathe; nitrogen compounds that would suffocate a Martian; fluorides that may be great for the teeth but are bad for the bronchia; ethylene, olefins * * * the list continues.

Nor is this all. What about the dusts, soots, and grimes that befoul our air? It would probably surprise even a harassed housewife to learn that "the fall of particulate materials on a single square foot of horizontal surface in a city may easily exceed a pound a year.

This is more than just a nuisance. Soot often carries other poisons, and as a lung irritant may trigger cancer.

Who is to blame? This is the saddest part of all. The report gives us no scapegoat but ourselves: "Individual citizens, by their use of cars, their demands for electric power, and their household-heating, and trash disposal measures, are the principal contributors * * *."

There is the built-in difficulty. When something is everybody's fault, it often ends up being nobody's fault.

Praise for Congressman James Haley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague, and my fellow Floridian, Congressman JAMES HALEY, has received the praise of four of America's leading veteran's organizations. As chairman of the House Veterans' Affairs Hospitals Subcommittee, Congressman HALEY was lauded by the Disabled American Veterans, American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and Veterans of World War I at a ceremony and reception staged in the House Veterans' Affairs Committee hearing room earlier this week.

Subcommittee Chairman HALEY conducted 2 months of hearings and investigation in connection with the Veterans' Administration efforts to close VA hospitals. In the wake of these hearings, 6 of the 14 hospitals and all 8 VA regional offices were eliminated from the effect of the shutdown order.

Each of the four organizations honoring Congressman HALEY gave articulate testimony to the dedication and sense of duty which has distinguished my good friend Congressman HALEY's record of public service.

Concern Over Consolidation of Rural Mail Delivery Routes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WESTON E. VIVIAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I received a petition in the mail, signed by many of the good people of Clayton, in Lenawee County, Mich. These folks are concerned because they have heard that several of their rural mail delivery routes may be consolidated in the near future.

On June 14, I wrote to the Assistant Postmaster General, Mr. W. M. McMillan, concerning this matter. Mr. McMillan responded, assuring me that no decision had been made in this matter, and adding:

In accordance with the usual policy and practice of the Department, an investigation is being made to explore the possibility of consolidating existing rural service prior to taking any action toward filling the vacancy at Hudson on a permanent basis. Consolidation of service results in a reduced cost in operation and provides comparable service to that presently given.

I would like to thank Mr. Harold Archer, of Adrain, for transmitting this petition to me. I can assure my friends in the Clayton area that I will make every effort to see to it that this action does not take place before very serious study is given the matter, and before it is made absolutely clear that there will be cash savings to the Department, and no reduction in service.

Under unanimous consent of the Members of the House I include the petition in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

We the undersigned, rural residents of Clayton, Mich., understand there is under consideration a possible change in Clayton mail routes which will mean a change of address for many of us. Our business addresses of longstanding will be affected which will bring much annoyance and confusion. The same number of patrons will have to be served and we fail to see the Department's justice in such a change. The present personnel is giving satisfactory and accurate service. We do not wish service from any other office.

Douglas Sussex, Lucille Griffin, James Binns, Claude Jones, Charles Childs, Ernest Wellhouser, Malcolm Sexton, Patricia Quigley, Sarah Day, Wm. C. Conrad, Mrs. Clarence Kildow, Lawrence Burch, Irving Fanning, Flossie Scott, D. R. Ronnodell, Ardie E. Ramsdell, Lena M. Goodlock, Edna Double, Peggy Six, Harriet Clark, Cecil Berry, George Rowley, Clair Thompson, Harland J. Pibbles, Mrs. Arden Marowells, Mrs. Clare Stubli, Mrs. Alden Stuble, Mrs. Ronald Smith, W. D. Martin, William Bates, Orrin H. Pebbles, Madalyn Yeretter, Dera McDowell.

Constance E. Bates, Victor B. Bates, Ronald Holloway, Mrs. Glendora Mehan, Barbara Mehan, Franklin Mehan, Eva Waldron, Alfred Howard, Boyd Waldron, Alma Davison, Florence Jones, Wauneta Nichelson, Helen Nichelson, Floyd Nichelson.

LaVern Nichelson, DeWitt Davison, Samuel R. Forbes, Doris Forbes, Carl Cady, Josephine Cady, Glennivee Clapp, Otis Clapp, Margaret Kellogg, Eunice Close, Howard Close, Electa Marks, Margaret Pifer, Lyle Pifer, Ronald Carr, Zelma Butler, Elvin Butler.

Alfred Underhill, Lloyd Jones, Carroll Jones, Eugene Day, Lloyd Grubaugh, Jennie Gould, John Martin, Dorman Richardson, Everett Shook, Chester Robinson, Milan Tew, Lawrence Wellnitz, Harold Grubbs, Charles Kutzley, Clara Mobley, Dorman Mobley, Clifford L. Clark, and Mrs. Garrett Baker.

Edward Gore, Leon Frank, John Turczin, Katherine Turczin, Edwin Schmidt, Jr., Lawrence Betz, Ernest Doubly, Handley Gore, and Wayne Fish.

Orville Meinke, Frank Lenz, James A. Lenz, Elmer Koppitsch, Lillian McVay, Arlene Gay, Mr. and Mrs. Archie Faar, Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Schoonover, Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. Schoonover, Mr. and Mrs. Melvin Libke, Mr. and Mrs. Harold Dotson, Mr. and Mrs. Ray Sharneour, Mrs. Patrica Dinert, and Mrs. Aura McCarty.

Bennett Praises Judiciary Committees on Disability Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to praise the work of the esteemed chairman and ranking minority member of the House Judiciary Committee, Congressmen EMANUEL CELLER and WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH, on their work in the passage of the Presidential succession and inability amendment.

The House Judiciary Committee, working with the Senate Judiciary Committee, and its Constitutional Amendments Subcommittee, chaired by Senator BIRCH BAYH, has done an excellent job in presenting this legislation to the country.

Since 1953 I have in every Congress introduced legislation calling for a solution to the problem of Presidential inability and succession, and I believe the authors of this amendment have done an excellent job in helping to solve this critical problem.

I am hopeful that the States will act favorably and speedily on the amendment, because the country and the world can little afford to be without strong and definite leadership in these times of continuing crisis.

Congo's Independence Day

SPEECH

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 30, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Congo observed its 5th year of independence. This former Belgian Colony, of all the many African nations which have gained independence since World War II, has had the most difficult, violent, and chaotic transition period. Activities in the Congo and the international and domestic conflicts there have been subject to much emotional debate.

I think, however, it is appropriate to note on the Congo's independence day, encouraging signs of domestic peace, governmental development, and international responsibility. Its new stability gives hope that the Congo may at last be emerging from its time of troubles. For if it does, the country's enormous natural resources and human potential give promise of a bright future ahead.

It is appropriate, Mr. Speaker, that on this day marking the independence of the Congo, we commend that country for gratifying progress and stability and express our hopes for future progress.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

SENATORS WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON

OFFICE ADDRESS: Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey

Aiken, George D., *Vt*
Allott, Gordon, *Colo*
Anderson, Clinton P., *N. Mex.* — 6 Wesley Circle
Bartlett, E. L., *Alaska*
Bass, Ross, *Tenn*
Bayh, Birch E., *Ind*
Bennett, Wallace F., *Utah*
Bible, Alan, *Nev*
Boggs, J. Caleb, *Del*
Brewster, Daniel B., *Md* — 1327 33d St.
Burdick, Quentin N., *N. Dak.*
Byrd, Harry Flood, *Va* — The Shoreham
Byrd, Robert C., *W. Va*
Cannon, Howard W., *Nev*
Carlson, Frank, *Kans* — Sheraton-Park
Case, Clifford P., *N.J*
Church, Frank, *Idaho*
Clark, Joseph S., *Pa*
Cooper, John Sherman, *Ky*
Cotton, Norris, *N.H*
Curtis, Carl T., *Nebr*
Dirksen, Everett M., *Ill*
Dodd, Thomas J., *Conn*
Dominick, Peter H., *Colo*
Douglas, Paul H., *Ill*
Eastland, James O., *Miss* — 5101 Macomb St.
Ellender, Allen J., *La*
Ervin, Sam J., Jr., *N.C*
Fannin, Paul J., *Ariz*
Fong, Hiram L., *Hawaii* — 5519 Uppingham St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Fulbright, J. W., *Ark*
Gore, Albert, *Tenn*
Gruening, Ernest, *Alaska*
Harris, Fred R., *Okla*
Hart, Philip A., *Mich*
Hartke, Vance, *Ind*
Hayden, Carl, *Ariz*
Hickenlooper, Bourke B., *Iowa.* — 5511 Cedar Parkway, Chevy Chase, Md.
Hill, Lister, *Ala*
Holland, Spessard L., *Fla* — Sheraton-Park
Hruska, Roman L., *Nebr*
Inouye, Daniel K., *Hawaii*
Jackson, Henry M., *Wash*
Javits, Jacob K., *N.Y*
Jordan, B. Everett, *N.C*
Jordan, Len B., *Idaho*
Kennedy, Edward M., *Mass*
Kennedy, Robert F., *N.Y*
Kuchel, Thomas H., *Calif*
Lausche, Frank J., *Ohio*
Long, Edward V., *Mo*
Long, Russell B., *La*
McCarthy, Eugene J., *Minn.* — 5916 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md.
McClellan, John L., *Ark*
McGee, Gale W., *Wyo*
McGovern, George, *S. Dak*
McIntyre, Thomas J., *N.H*
McNamara, Pat, *Mich*
Magnuson, Warren G., *Wash.* — The Shoreham
Mansfield, Mike, *Mont*
Metcalf, Lee, *Mont* — 453 First St. SE.
Miller, Jack R., *Iowa* — 5417 Kirkwood Dr., Bethesda, Md.
Mondale, Walter F., *Minn*
Monroney, A. S. Mike, *Okla.*
Montoya, Joseph M., *N. Mex.*
Morse, Wayne, *Oreg* — 4000 Mass. Ave.
Morton, Thruston B., *Ky*
Moss, Frank E., *Utah*
Mundt, Karl E., *S. Dak* — 122 Schotts Court NE.
Murphy, George, *Calif*
Muskie, Edmund S., *Maine*
Nelson, Gaylord, *Wis*
Neuberger, Maurine B., *Oreg.*
Pastore, John O., *R.I*
Pearson, James B., *Kans*
Pell, Claiborne, *R.I* — 3425 Prospect St.
Prouty, Winston L., *Vt*
Proxmire, William, *Wis*
Randolph, Jennings, *W. Va* — 4608 Reservoir Rd.
Ribicoff, Abraham A., *Conn*
Robertson, A. Willis, *Va*
Russell, Donald S., *S.C*
Russell, Richard B., *Ga*
Saltonstall, Leverett, *Mass* — 2320 Tracy Pl.
Scott, Hugh, *Pa*
Simpson, Milward L., *Wyo*
Smathers, George A., *Fla*
Smith, Margaret Chase (Mrs.), *Maine.*
Sparkman, John, *Ala* — 4928 Indian Lane
Stennis, John, *Miss*
Symington, Stuart, *Mo*
Talmadge, Herman E., *Ga*
Thurmond, Strom, *S.C*
Tower, John G., *Tex*
Tydings, Joseph D., *Md*
Williams, Harrison A., Jr., *N.J.*
Williams, John J., *Del*
Yarborough, Ralph, *Tex*
Young, Milton R., *N. Dak* — Quebec House So.
Young, Stephen M., *Ohio*

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Secretary—Felton M. Johnston.
Sergeant at Arms—Joseph C. Duke.
Chief Clerk—Emery L. Frazier.
Secretary for the Majority—Francis R. Valeo.
Secretary for the Minority—J. Mark Trice.
Chaplain—Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D.

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Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences

Messrs. Anderson (chairman), Russell of Georgia, Magnuson, Symington, Stennis, Young of Ohio, Dodd, Cannon, Holland, Mondale, Tydings, Mrs. Smith, Messrs. Hickenlooper, Curtis, Jordan of Idaho, and Aiken.

Committee on Agriculture and Forestry

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Committee on Rules and Administration

Messrs. Jordan of North Carolina (chairman), Hayden, Cannon, Pell, Clark, Byrd of West Virginia, Curtis, Cooper, and Scott.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel Sheraton-Park, Washington, D.C.
Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 4853 Hutchins Pl.
Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut Ave.
Mr. Justice Harlan, of New York, 1677 31st St.
Mr. Justice Brennan, of New Jersey, 3037 Dumbarton Ave.
Mr. Justice Stewart, of Ohio, 5136 Palisade Lane.
Mr. Justice White, of Colorado, 2209 Hampshire Rd., McLean, Va.
Mr. Justice Goldberg, of Illinois, 2811 Albemarle St.

OFFICERS OF THE SUPREME COURT

Clerk—John F. Davis, 4704 River Rd.
Deputy Clerk—Edmund P. Cullinan, 4823 Reservoir Rd.
Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 6004 Corbin Rd.
Reporter—Henry Putzel, Jr., 3703 33d St.
Librarian—Helen Newman, 126 3d St. SE.

UNITED STATES JUDICIAL CIRCUITS

JUSTICES ASSIGNED

TERRITORY EMBRACED

District of Columbia judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. District of Columbia.

First judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Goldberg. Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Puerto Rico, Rhode Island.

Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Harlan. Connecticut, New York, Vermont.

Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Brennan. Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virgin Islands.

Fourth judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia.

Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black. Alabama, Canal Zone, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas.

Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Stewart. Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee.

Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark. Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.

Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas. Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Guam, Hawaii.

Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, Wyoming.

Appendix

The 250th Anniversary of Hopkinton, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am privileged and honored to bring to the attention of the House that the city of Hopkinton, Mass., in my congressional district, celebrated its 250th anniversary over a 3-day period, this past week, of June 25, 26, and 27, with the grand finale and mammouth parade taking place on last Sunday, June 27.

Mr. Speaker, the early and most courageous settlers of Hopkinton met and conquered tremendous hardships to help establish for all America the basic institutions of a democratic government.

They helped to build a civilization, a tradition, a way of life and a proud history which lives to this very day in the heritage with which we are nationally blessed.

It is, therefore, Mr. Speaker, most fitting that this House take note of the bitter struggles and stern sacrifices of the pioneer people of Hopkinton so that we may perseveringly dedicate ourselves to the preservation and projection of the remarkable legacy of free institutions they and their heroic contemporaries passed on to us.

I am exceedingly proud that this great New England community, with its superb leaders and loyal people, is a bright part of the Fourth Massachusetts Congressional District which I am honored to serve here.

Hopkinton is without question one of the most beautiful towns in all of America and it will never be excelled in its civic spirit and patriotic fervor.

Mr. Speaker, I have sponsored here in the House a special resolution, extending congratulations and greetings to Hopkinton and its people on the occasion of their 250th anniversary and, at this point, I would like to include the resolution and extracts from the excellent newspaper article, by MacGregor Fiske and Jane Farrell, graphically describing the activities of last Sunday's closing celebration program, that appeared in the Framingham News issue of June 28, last:

[89th Cong., 1st sess.]

H. RES. 439

In the House of Representatives, June 24, 1965; Mr. DONOHUE submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

Whereas 1965 marks the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the town of Hopkinton, Massachusetts; and

Whereas this town and its people have made important contributions to all aspects of the life of this Nation; and

Whereas the observance of this anniversary will be celebrated in Hopkinton, Massachusetts, on June 25, 26, 27, 1965, with public ceremonies, parades, concerts, and other public gatherings with widespread participation of not only the townspeople but guests and visitors from many places; and

Whereas Hopkinton is a beautiful community, rich in historic interest, well known for its patriotic contributions, noted for its many famous sons and daughters who distinguished themselves in many fields of endeavor and many facets of American civilization: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives extends its greetings and felicitations to the people of Hopkinton, Massachusetts, on the occasion of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of this community, and the House of Reprsentatives further expresses its appreciation for the splendid services rendered to the Nation by the citizens of Hopkinton during the past two hundred and fifty years.

[From the Framingham News, June 28, 1965]

(By MacGregor Fiske and Jane Farrell)

HOPKINTON.—At 11 o'clock Sunday night the town of Hopkinton closed its 3-day 250th anniversary celebration with a rockets' red glare as thousands of Hopkintonians and neighboring townspeople huddled in blankets behind the high school, necks craned toward a spangled sky to watch the grand finale in fireworks ring down a perfect weekend of festivities blessed by excellent weather.

Sunday's third of the celebration brought out the biggest throngs. The day opened at 10 o'clock with an ecumenical service held at the junior-senior high school athletic field, then at 2 o'clock came the celebration's most magnificent display—a 78 unit, 7 division grand parade which produced some of the finest marching bands and drum and bugle corps in the State, interspersed with an array of floats whose imagination dazzled grownups and children alike.

It took an hour and a half for the parade to complete its route. Well over 25,000 packed Hopkinton's streets and cars were parked along Route 135 from Ashland nearly to Woodville.

After the parade the celebration moved to the high school where prizes were awarded for the best beards in town, beards that had all the splendor of months in the making.

Dignitaries addressed the celebrators and resolutions honoring the town of Hopkinton from the U.S. Congress and from the State were read.

The evening opened with a band concert, followed by choral group singing. Thousands began pouring in for the fireworks.

MAMMOTH ANNIVERSARY PARADE

The mammoth Sunday parade got started at the junior-senior high school when the smartly dressed Hopkinton High School Band struck up its first number.

Thousands lined the 2-mile route 4 to 8 deep as approximately 78 units, bands and floats moved down Grove Street, to Pleasant Street, up Main Street and into Hayden Rowe. Spectators were perched on porch roofs, yards were filled with lawn chairs, and every doorstep and wall was crammed.

The parade and anniversary officials led the marchers along the route and received hearty applause as acknowledgement of their contribution to the successful program.

Grand marshal of the parade, Joseph V. McCarthy, the only living member of the 200th anniversary, led off, followed by Francis McIntyre, coordinator, parade chairman John A. Carlberg, U.S. Congressman HAROLD DONOHUE, and State Representative Robert Belmonte.

The Hopkinton Board of Selectmen and their ladies rode in the century old Marlboro stagecoage, which looked like it could make the route today as well as it did in yesteryears.

Service units and their honor guards from the three branches of the armed services were represented by crack marching teams from the Yankee Drum Infantry, the Marine Corps, and the Navy Band from Boston Naval Base.

The Civil Air Patrol sent its 1965 State drill champions, the Massachusetts Wing, and a float to add to the military splendor of the program.

Most warmly received by all spectators were, most appropriately, the colonial units: the fifes and drums of the Progressive Club, Uxbridge; the precision drums of the Linn Village Drum Band, 1639; the Minutemen marching unit, Lexington; and Commonwealth Fife and Drum Corps, Uxbridge.

MOST ORIGINAL FLOATS

The old country was represented and rousingly cheered by spectators as squirling pipes of the Irish Barry Piper, Boston, and the Clan MacPherson played typical Irish and Scottish airs.

One of the most popular and musically skilled groups was the GOP Dixieland band beating out some hot and sophisticated "licks" from the Southland.

Chosen as the most original floats were creations from Curtis Road, Spring Hill, and Fenton Street. Curtis Road took top honors for the depiction of a colonial-clad class of children in Hopkinton's first school, 1743. The Lord Mayor of Spring Hill and his lady, relaxing on a beautifully landscaped lawn, won second prize. Placing third was Fenton Street and their representation of colonial living in a log cabin complete with gingham-dressed housewife, Indian princess, fireplace and well, and cut logs and split rails.

Judged the best floats were the oxen and covered wagon from Sutton, the Summit Chapter, No. 32, Order of Eastern Star, and the Girl Scout float and honor guard.

The Summit Chapter presented an elaborate star composed of the rainbow colors and women residents who are currently outstanding leaders in the Rainbow and Eastern Star organizations.

The Girl Scout float, decorated in green and yellow crepe paper, contained a square of dancers executing intricate maneuvers while the leader called.

The renowned National Lancers led the mounted divisions, dressed in smart cavalry and uniforms of red and blue.

ECUMENICAL SERVICE

Sunday opened with an ecumenical service attended by some 250 citizens. The service was held on the athletic field and participating clergy included the Reverend Andrew Halko, pastor, Woodville Baptist Church; the Reverend William Hogkinson, rector, and the Reverend John Foley, curate, St. John's Roman Catholic Church; the Reverend Forrest Higgins, minister, First Congregational Church; the Reverend George E. Hearn, rector, St. Paul's Episcopal Church.

Special guest speakers were the Reverend Charles Von Euw, STL, SEOP, professor of theology at St. John's Seminary, Brighton, and the Reverend Albert J. Penner, president of the Massachusetts Council of Churches and minister and president of the Massachusetts Congregational Christian Conference (United Church of Christ).

Reverend Von Euw spoke briefly on the felling of purpose which is deep in the fiber of all individuals and communities. "We are called and drawn to a unity of mind, heart, and faith * * * a unit of all in God, our Father." This sense of oneness and faith enables the peoples of the world to remain free and will enrich the next 250 years of Hopkinton's corporate life.

Reverend Penner spoke on the need for social action of the United Christian Church. "It is the responsibility of the church to create a Christian conscience and heart" to fulfill the scriptual imperative "to build a city of God among the habitations of man." Ecumenicism in Hopkinton does much to insure that this town will be firm on foundations of Christian love and understanding.

EVENING ACTIVITIES

Hundreds of residents poured into the high school cafeteria at 4:15 for the first of four anniversary supper sittings. A typical New England buffet of baked beans, ham, potato salad, rolls, ice cream, and beverages were served. Albert Irvine was in charge of the committee who prepared and served the meal.

Johnny Archer and his orchestra provided the music for the adults in full anniversary regalia, to dance away the evening. Couples began arriving at the smartly decorated school gymnasium at 8 p.m.

At 9:15, 150 couples joined in the grand march to show off with pride their anniversary creations. Lovely and fashionably dressed in party-colored ginghams, silks, and frilly lace passed by on the arms of their distinguished gentlemen in top hats, bowlers, tricornered hats, straw hats, stetsons, powdered wigs, racoon caps, and false and real face whiskers.

Francis J. McIntyre and Douglas Hamilton announced the evening's prizes which were awarded to Bill McMillian and Nancy Penney, most appropriate costumes; Mr. and Mrs. Bruce Creswell, most original costumes (Indians); two stowaways, Joe and Fran Mullin were given an award for being the funniest, cutest, and only kids of the evening. The best couple were Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Kenyon. The oldest residents at the dance were Mrs. Salomias Markowski and Mrs. Riega, both spry ladies in their 70's. Katherine Sullivan came the longest distance to join the festivities, from Florida.

Over 700 enjoyed a night 250 years in the making.

MARSHAL AND COMMITTEE

Joseph V. McCarthy, who took part in the 200th aniversary celebration of 50 years ago, was the chief marshal for the parade. John A. Carlbert was the capable chairman.

Division leaders were Col. Leland P. Berry, Cecil Holden, John Loncar, Vincent Wood, Seymour Wood, Walter Wood, and Leon Wilson.

Francis J. McIntyre was coordinator of the entire celebration with Ruth Chartier treasurer and Mrs. Mark C. Furber, secretary.

Committee members included Police Chief Francis X. Bowker, Richard Bartlett, John Deneen, Ernest Fecteau, Miss Adelaide Fitzgerald, Mrs. Mary C. Furber, Charles Hill, Norman C. Kimball, Francis J. McIntyre, Herman Larter, Mrs. Bernice Nealon, Robert Nealon, Thomas Russell, Joseph Spinazola, Fire Chief Arthur H. Stewart, and Robert Wilson.

Mississippi Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 2, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, most of us realize the outstanding contributions made by religious leaders in securing the historic Civil Rights Act of 1964. We also realize how much remains to be done and how important is the continuous dedication of church members and their ministers. On May 28 of this year the Unitarian Universalist Association met in general assembly at Boston, Mass. Two resolutions were adopted there relating to the Mississippi challenge and the need for Federal registrars to protect voting rights. Because these resolutions are fine examples of the continuing concern of this great church to insure full citizenship rights for Negroes, I respectfully request that the two resolutions adopted be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The resolutions follow:

MISSISSIPPI CHALLENGE

Whereas registration procedures and the November 1964 elections in the State of Mississippi were conducted by the officials in that State in a manner clearly designed to discriminate systematically against the Negro citizens of the State, and

Whereas qualified voters of Mississippi residing in the five congressional districts have challenged the validity of the elections held in those districts in 1964, and have challenged the seating of the Congressmen now temporarily seated to represent these districts; and

Whereas the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in support of these claims filed depositions and briefs in accordance with rules of the House governing challenges; and

Whereas the House Subcommittee on Elections is at present considering depositions supporting the charges against the seating of the purported Mississippi delegation and is to report by July 4 for or against seating the purported Mississippi delegation; and

Whereas by its vote on said report, the House of Representatives shall decide whether the purported Mississippi delegation now fulfills the qualifications for permanent seating; and

Whereas the Unitarian Universalist Association's member churches and fellowships unite in seeking to affirm, defend, and promote the use of the democratic method in human relationships;

Resolved, That the fourth general assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association urge the Members of the House of Representatives to (a) work to insure a floor vote on the challenge to the seating of the purported Mississippi delegation, (b) vote not to seat permanently any Mississippi delegation until such time as a delegation is elected by free elections open to all adult citizens and conducted in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, and (c) support the calling of special elections following a period of federally supervised registration of citizens qualified to vote.

(Adopted by a greater than two-thirds majority vote.)

General resolution adopted at the fourth general assembly, Unitarian Universalist Association, held at Boston, Mass., May 28, 1965.

FEDERAL REGISTRARS FOR VOTING

Affirming that the right to vote is elemental in our American society;

Noting that major obstacles are still being put by some States before Negroes who attempt to register to vote; and that after the passage of appropriate legislation physical and economic intimidation may nevertheless be used to delay, impede and hamper the effective implementation of the statute; and

Commending those individuals and organizations who, under great provocation, are determinedly trying to increase the registration of Negroes despite these obstacles;

The fourth general assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association urges the passage of Federal legislation authorizing the appointment by the President of the United States of Federal registrars, not necessarily residents of the State in which they are to work, who would be empowered to register citizens to vote in any State of the Union where such appointment seems necessary, and providing for injunctive relief and criminal penalties in cases of intimidation of any kind, exercised against any Federal official, civil rights worker, voter, or prospective voter, designed to delay, hamper, impede or pervert the exercise of any right granted by any legislation so enacted.

(Adopted by a greater than two-thirds majority vote.)

General resolution adopted at the fourth general assembly, Unitarian Universalist Association, held at Boston, Mass., May 28, 1965.

Section 14(b) of Taft-Hartley Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 2, 1965

My AYRES. Mr. Speaker, for almost 20 years the right-to-work issue has festered like an open wound in the American body politic. I am convinced that the time has come to eliminate this troublesome problem by repealing section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. That section, as we all know, authorizes the States to enact so-called right-to-work laws which prohibit employers and labor unions from freely contracting with each other to require membership in the union as a condition of continued employment. Section 14(b) is the sole exception to a fundamental purpose of the Taft-Hartley Act which is to establish a uniform, national policy in the area of labor-management relations.

I am a stalwart supporter of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts; however, I do not believe that they are sacrosanct. I am convinced that the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act will not in any way weaken that law or would give unions an unfair

advantage in either organizing or in negotiations.

At the present time only 19 of the 50 States have such right-to-work laws. Only a few months ago, the State of Indiana repealed its right-to-work law and several years earlier, the State of Louisiana amended its own similar statute to repeal the prohibitions against union shop agreements in every field save agriculture. Recently, Oklahoma, in a popular referendum, rejected a proposal to adopt a right-to-work law, and, some years ago, California and my own State of Ohio defeated similar proposals by substantial popular margins.

There are many who think that the repeal of 14(b) would cause great industrial strife in those States now operating under the so-called right-to-work acts. The State of Louisiana has had this reversal and the experience there does not lead anyone to believe that there have been any abnormal disruptions in labor-industry relations in that State. The State of Indiana's repeal of its right-to-work law is of such short duration that we cannot use it as a complete example, but to date, we have heard no evidence of bad effects or serious disruptions caused by the repeal.

The controversy over the proposed repeal of section 14(b) evokes passionate support and equally intense opposition. As a result, the facts tend to be lost in a welter of strong emotions and visceral reactions. It is not surprising, therefore, that misconceptions abound and that opponents of repeal have, on occasion, indulged in highly exaggerated predictions of havoc and disaster following repeal.

First, let me say this: Elimination of the so-called State right-to-work laws will not affect in any way whatsoever the strength, scope or extent of union organizing activity in the 31 States that do not have such laws. These States contain the overwhelming majority of American wage earners, both organized and unorganized. On the other hand, it may well have a desirable effect on their economic well-being.

The 19 States which have right-to-work laws, by and large, represent the least industrialized areas of the country. They have been making strenuous efforts to improve their economic conditions, efforts which usually take the form of seeking to induce industry to locate within their borders. I have no quarrel with their objective and firmly believe that a rise in the productive development of every section of our great Republic is definitely in the national interest. In fact, I think that fair competition among the States to attract industry is a healthy phenomenon, acting as a stimulus to increased efficiency and productivity.

But let me repeat—the competition must be fair and I find it extremely disturbing that often the competitive methods used by some of the right-to-work States are not fair. I think that today, nearly everyone is agreed that cost economies achieved by means of lower wages and poorer working conditions in the face of equal productivity are not a legitimate element of fair competition. Wage earners are entitled to be paid in accordance with their productivity regardless of where they work and the chief purpose of union organization is to see that workers receive their economic due.

Unfortunately some of the right-to-work States seek to attract industry by holding out the inducement of an adequate supply of productive labor available at lower wages and less costly working conditions. This appeal often takes the form of calling attention to the State's right-to-work law with the clear implication that the existence of the law assures the employer of a competitive advantage because of lower labor costs.

Thus, in a brochure distributed by one right-to-work State, inviting industry to locate within its boundaries, there is included a facsimile of a letter from the Governor which reads in part as follows:

> [This] is a business State and offers many attractions to industrialists.
>
> A favorable tax climate, ideal weather and working conditions, a right-to-work law, excellent transportation in the midst of the fastest growing market in the country have contributed to the solid industrial growth of this area. The desire for a continued economic growth by the citizens of this great State is best reflected by its outstanding business climate.

The New York Times several years ago, reporting on a drive by one right-to-work State to lure industry, reported as follows:

> The Governor said the program will stress the natural resources and favorable business climate to persuade industry to take up residence in [his State].
>
> One of the most important advantages, the Governor believes, is the State's right-to-work law. Because of the law, national labor unions lack strength in [his State] and the percentage of time lost to industry through strikes is the lowest in the Nation, he asserted.

These statements are clear admissions that States which have right-to-work laws regard them as an effective means to attract industry by the implicit promise of an adequate supply of cheap and tractable labor. All of us who represent constituencies located in the more highly industrialized States are confronted with this continuing threat of unfair economic competition and that alone would be reason enough for me to support repeal of section 14(b).

But there are sound additional reasons for my opposition to right-to-work laws. These, unfortunately, have been obscured by an uninterrupted flow of inaccurate and confusing propaganda disseminated by some of those who bitterly oppose repeal. I say nothing here of the misleading connotations of the phrase right-to-work itself, but shall instead examine some of the other widespread misconceptions which are held by many.

One is constantly surprised by the large number of intelligent people who believe that in the 31 States which do not have right-to-work laws, union membership is legally compulsory for all the employees in any enterprise which has been organized by a union. Nothing could be more mistaken.

Compulsory union membership results exclusively from voluntary contracts entered into between employers and labor unions as a result of free collective bargaining. Nothing in either Federal or State law compels an employee to join a union or an employer to consent to an agreement with a union which would require his employees to join the union as a condition of retaining their jobs. Thus, in the non-right-to-work States there are large enterprises which bargain with powerful unions and have never agreed to a union shop provision in the contract despite the insistence of the unions for the inclusion of such a requirement. Examples which come immediately to mind are the General Electric Co. and Armstrong Cork.

In other words, compulsory union membership, where it exists, is a result of free and voluntary agreement between employer and union, and is not a condition imposed by law. If 14(b) is repealed, thereby nullifying State right-to-work laws, no employee could be compelled to join the union in order to hold his job, unless his employer voluntarily agreed to grant such a contract provision to the union democratically chosen by a majority of his employees in the bargaining unit.

If section 14(b) were to be repealed, the provision in the Taft-Hartley Act permitting union security arrangements would then apply uniformly in all 50 States, and I might add, none of them would then enjoy any unfair competitive advantage of this respect.

Again there seems to be a widespread misconception that repeal would have the effect of imposing unrestricted compulsory union membership on all employees in enterprises organized by unions. This too is completely erroneous. The provision in Taft-Hartley permitting employers and unions to agree to union security arrangements is an extremely limited one.

The closed shop, which requires the employer to hire only those job applicants who are already members of the union, would still be unlawful. And employees required to join the union after getting their jobs—this is known as the union shop—could not be deprived of their jobs even if they lose their membership in the union, unless such loss of membership were solely the result of a refusal to pay their dues or initiation fees. Loss or denial of union membership for any other reason would not constitute a lawful basis for the employee's loss of his job. In this connection attention needs to be called to an additional employee safeguard which is too often overlooked. The Taft-Hartley specifically makes it unlawful to compel employees required to join the union under a union shop agreement to pay a fee in an amount which the Labor Board finds excessive or discriminatory.

Hence, apart from the requirement to pay union dues and initiation fees which are neither discriminatory nor excessive, the employee required to join the union has no other obligation to the union as a condition of keeping his job. Repeal of 14(b) would leave this fundamental scheme of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts unchanged.

The Wagner Act which remained on the statute books substantially un-

changed from 1935 to 1947, was limited to protecting employees against any attempt by their employers to interfere with their membership in or activities in behalf of their unions. No other safeguards for employees were provided, nor any protections for employers against union abuses or misconduct.

The Taft-Hartley Act, passed in 1947, did provide some safeguards for employers against certain types of union activity such as secondary boycotts, jurisdictional strikes, certain types of picketing, and so forth. Moreover, the closed shop was completely outlawed, and only the limited type of union shop which I have already described, was permitted even in those States without right-to-work laws. None of these safeguards would be affected in any way by the repeal of 14(b).

In 1959, the Landrum-Griffin Act became law. This new statute strengthened the ban on secondary boycotts, outlawed hot-cargo contracts, and prohibited organizational, recognition, and extortionate picketing. Moreover, it established a bill of rights for union members, provided for protecting union funds against misuse, erected certain safeguards designed to insure fair union elections, and provided a procedure for the removal of union officers by the union membership. Not a single one of these protections afforded by the Landrum-Griffin Act would be either eliminated or weakened by the repeal of 14(b).

Thus it is plain that the repeal of section 14(b) would result in no fundamental or significant modification in the structure and safeguards which the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts have made available to rank-and-file union members, employees, and employers.

At this point I would like to emphasize that my support for the pending measure to eliminate right-to-work laws is not a position which I have just adopted. It is a view of long standing. In 1958, when a right-to-work proposal was placed on the ballot in my State of Ohio, I publicly stated that I would not vote for it. I further declared that it was my belief that the Congress of the United States should itself face this issue.

Let me assure you that my views on the desirability of both the Taft-Hartley and the Landrum-Griffin Acts have undergone no change. I am a firm supporter of both statutes, and as a matter of fact, I take great pride in the major role I played in the famous 1959 conference committee proceedings which resulted in the adoption of the Landrum-Griffin Act.

I have always supported labor legislation which would provide the proper climate for fair collective bargaining. Possession of excessive power by either labor or management can lead to nothing but disaster for both. I have always kept in mind that the general public has an important stake in sound labor relations and hence that the public interest should always receive the most attentive consideration. But I also feel that the public interest is in no way adversely affected by the existence of union security arrangements and hence that the issue is one which should be decided by labor and management without the intervention of those who are in nowise affected.

Let me repeat—my opposition to right-to-work laws implies no attack on the Taft-Hartley Act. It is simply a recognition that time and experience often lead to the conclusion that a reexamination and modification of some of the provisions, even of a good law, have become necessary. In my opinion, there are other provisions as well, in both Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin, which require such reexamination and improvement.

Just a short time ago, I called for a review of the union election provisions of the Landrum-Griffin Act. In two recent international union elections, loopholes in these provisions became glaringly apparent—loopholes that permitted fraudulant or confusing activity on the part of some of the principal actors involved. I firmly believe that nothing is more important than the right of union members to participate in fair and honest union elections and hence I strongly favor legislative consideration of means and measures to close these loopholes.

Again, as I listened to or read the testimony in the hearings on repeal of 14(b), I realized clearly that the democratic principle of majority rule which is supposed to be the foundation stone for choosing a union bargaining representative under the Taft-Hartley Act, is not adequately implemented by the provisions of that act. There have been situations, as the testimony conclusively demonstrated, where there was considerable doubt that the union designated as exclusive bargaining agent had actually been selected by a genuine majority of the employees affected.

I was compelled to reach the conclusion that the procedures for determining whether a majority of the employees has designated a union to act as bargaining representative needed to be effectively improved. I am now convinced that the only foolproof method of guaranteeing that the will of the majority actually prevails is to require a secret ballot election directed and supervised by the National Labor Relations Board in all cases where the employees are asked to select a bargaining agent. I think that the Congress has a duty to examine this matter with the utmost care.

It was most gratifying to me that George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, indicated his agreement with my position in his testimony during the hearings. I had questioned him concerning this problem and in the course of the colloquy I said to him:

> What I would like to see is a provision that even though 51 percent of the employees sign cards for an election, the employer cannot start bargaining until there is an election. At present, he doesn't have to have an election if he wants to start bargaining. I would like to see that spelled out in the law so that the employee who signs a card for an election, actually is guaranteed the opportunity to vote in such an election.

Mr. Meany replied as follows:

> As a general principle, I would not be opposed to that. But there would be some cases where it would not work * * * short term jobs, such as the building trades and the like.

I agree with Mr. Meany that special situations like the building trades require special treatment. But may I point out that they presently receive such special treatment under the Taft-Hartley Act. Section 8(f) specifically provides that unions in the building construction industry may lawfully be the recognized bargaining agents of employees in that industry without first establishing their majority status as other types of unions are required to do under section 9 of the Act. What is more, they are also permitted to enter into union shop agreements requiring membership in the union within 7 days of getting the job instead of the 30 days which is allowed in other industries.

That special consideration of the building trades unions was added to Taft-Hartley in 1959 by the Landrum-Griffin Act, and I might say that I not only supported the amendment but, as a member of the House-Senate Conference on Landrum-Griffin, I played a leading part in getting it accepted by the Conference. Let me assure Mr. Meany that my position in favor of Labor Board elections as a prerequisite to union recognition does not contemplate in any way changing the provisions of section 8(f) or imposing such election requirements in the building construction industry.

In conclusion, I would like to refer to one aspect of the argument in favor of retaining 14(b) which I have not thus specifically mentioned but which is implicit in what I said at the beginning of my statement. It is contended by some that regardless of the merits of the issue concerning the rightness or wrongness of the union shop, the States should have the right to permit or to prohibit this form of union membership.

I feel that I have adequately refuted this contention by my demonstration that leaving this decision to the States simply gives an unfair competitive advantage to those States which seek to improve their economic fortunes at the expense of labor over those States which seek to achieve the highest labor standards consistent with sound industrial development. But somehow I have the feeling that many of those who advance what appears to a genuine "States rights" argument are being somewhat disingenuous.

As I have pointed out, the Taft-Hartley Act repealed those provisions of the Wagner Act which permitted a complete closed shop and substituted therefor a most limited type of union shop. It seems to me that if those who advance the States rights argument were genuinely concerned to achieve States rights on the issue of compulsory union membership, they would ask that 14(b) be amended not only to authorize the States to prohibit all forms of compulsory membership, but to permit all forms of compulsory membership including the complete closed shop. That would make 14(b) a two-way street, with no limitation on the power of the State to act in either direction. Sad to relate, I can find nothing in the hearings indicating that a single witness who appeared in

opposition to the repeal of 14(b) was willing to propose that as a matter of consistent States rights 14(b) should be amended to authorize the States to permit every form of compulsory unionism including those forbidden by the Taft-Hartley Act such as the closed and preferential shops.

Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 30, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 7984) to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, to promote orderly urban development, to improve living environment in urban areas, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing, urban renewal, and community facilities.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Chairman, contrary to popular belief, this country, the land of the free and the home of the brave, this Nation of unprecedented wealth, is covered with blemishes.

Any cursory examination of our Nation reveals pockets of slums, pockets of decrepit housing and impoverished people who live in despair, pockets of people who are mired in the repetitive cycle of ignorance and poverty.

These slums are the incubators of a myriad of ills which by their very nature perpetuate their genesis. Statistics about these slums reveal a high incidence of disease, crime, poverty, and school dropouts. Case histories are replete with broken homes and welfare payments; slum lords from distant environments reap their wealth from the misery of others. This cancerous sore not only engulfs surrounding areas, but preys on whole populations. The violent and vicious world of the slum spills over and people remote from these conditions are attacked by the products and inhabitants of the slums. The crime which festers in the slums bursts forth into black headlines of murder, assault, theft. Who dares walk the back streets of our major cities at night?

Mr. Chairman, the overriding policy of my decisions as a Representative shall always be to get at the cause of the problems that afflict us. Votes to slow down their growth—to offer vacant platitudes which at the most offer momentary respite—are not adequate. This body owes a responsibility, a duty, to hit at the cause and rid this country of this blight. We cannot afford nor must we allow the continuation of welfare as a nonvariable or as a cure-all.

This country has instituted a public housing program. Need I belabor the point that this program has not proven adequate One can espouse with certainty that public housing offers no chance nor possibility to meet the needs of this country present or future. One statistic is the epitome of the situation—there is today a backlog of 500,000 applicants for public housing. That this picture can be bleaker is truly frightening—but bleaker it is—the backlog is increasing, not decreasing.

I voted for the housing bill, and for section 101 which provides for certain rent subsidies for eligible poor families, because I feel that every path must be explored to get at the root causes of poverty and its attendant evils. The rent subsidy program, by enabling poor families to live in adequate housing, may provide the key to free thousands of Americans from the crushing oppression of a life in the slums, the life from which crime springs.

Prior to yesterday I was opposed to section 101 because I felt that people not entitled to this kind of help would benefit from it—the section itself was too broad.

However, with the new amendment making only those who qualify for public housing eligible under section 101, and restricting the program only to the aged, the indigent, and those currently living in slums, I felt that the measure now compels support as a possible way out for many of our people now living under the most wretched conditions.

Mr. Speaker, the necessities of life are food, clothing, and shelter. The denial of these necessities invite consequences that must be avoided. The future of America depends upon the houses we live in and worship in—and both must be available.

San Jose Host to Selma Teenagers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 2, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I am extremely proud of my hometown, San Jose, Calif. It sits at the foot of the beautiful San Francisco Bay cradled between the rolling hills of the coast range to the east and the wooded Santa Cruz Mountains to the west. San Jose was California's first capital and has always been one of our State's most productive agricultural areas. In the last 20 years, many of the beautiful fruit trees have had to be cut down to make way for our rapid industrial and residential growth. Nevertheless, San Jose has adjusted to all of these changes with a dynamic good will.

I think, however, that I have never been as proud of San Jose and the surrounding communities as I was when I heard about the project HOST. HOST stands for Help Our Selma Teenagers. It was begun by an outstanding teacher at the Andrew Hill High School, Russell Cline, who spent his spring vacation in Selma and developed the idea of the San Jose trip with a Negro high school teacher in Selma, Miss Susie Odon.

Mr. Cline enlisted the enthusiastic support of many others in San Jose. Money was raised to bring the teenagers to Santa Clara County, transportation and jobs were arranged for. I am very proud to announce that on June 18, our young guests from Selma arrived in San Jose to a warm reception and welcome.

None of these young students, between the ages of 16 and 18, had ever been outside of the Deep South before. Most of them or their families had participated in the voter registration effort in Selma and many of them have been jailed for trying to exercise their civil rights. While they are in San Jose, they will live with San Jose families. Seventy families have volunteered to participate in the program and therefore the students will spend a month each with two different families.

Sidney A. Peterman, minister of the First Unitarian Church has been very active in giving leadership to the HOST project along with Mr. Cline. The Reverend Peterman has told me also of the extraordinarily fine cooperation by two gentlemen who helped mightily in getting these young people jobs for the summer. I should like to particularly commend to your attention, Mr. Charles Runner, manager of the San Jose Farm Labor Office in San Jose and Mr. Jack Rocca, Farm Labor supervisor in Gilroy, Calif. The two articles in local newspapers, the San Jose Mercury and the Milpitas Post provide further details of this wonderful project. I ask unanimous consent that they be reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The articles follow:

HELP IS NECESSARY: SELMA TEENAGERS TO SAN JOSE

The spotlight may be off Selma nationally, but San Jose has not forgotten.

On June 12, the day after school closes for the summer, a Negro high school teacher named Miss Susie Odon and 36 other students plus a second chaperone will board a cross-country bus for San Jose.

These students, all over age 16, are coming for a 2-month vacation to this city, partially to learn how Negroes and whites live together outside of Alabama, but mainly to be given jobs so that they can help their jobless families who remain back in Selma.

The whole project is being sponsored by HOST (Help Our Selma Teenagers), a spontaneous group of San Jose citizens who hope to establish some permanent relationship between the people of San Jose and the people of Selma.

HOST will provide the bus trip, homes for the students in which to live in a friendly atmosphere, and jobs to help their families who have been left without an income because of their activities in voter registration.

None of these students have ever before been outside of the Deep South. All of them and their families are unable to find work because they are labeled as "troublemakers" for their participation in nonviolent drives in the voter registration effort.

Every one of them have been in jail at least once, and most have been jailed three times, for their civil rights activities. They all participated in the vigil which took place in Selma between the death of Reverend Reeb, the Unitarian minister, and the march to Montgomery, many of them also going on the march. During the days prior to the march, most of them stood before the Selma courthouse for 5 days and nights.

Recently organized, HOST held its first meeting on Monday, May 24, at the home of the chairman, Russel Cline, a history teacher at Andrew Hill High School who spent his spring vacation in Selma and helped develop

the idea of the San Jose trip with the teacher, Miss Odon, at that time.

Serving on the HOST committee are Marguerite Rex, Dick Weston, and Ethel Meece, publicity; Dorothy Cline and Jerry Casiemere, housing; Monti Sweet, social director; Larry Hart, Bert Gellatly and Sid Peterman (pastor of the First Unitarian Church) finance; and Bob Melinkoff and Paul Rex, arrangements.

A second meeting of the committee was held last Monday, May 31, to continue the plans for the project. Money and help in housing are the many needs at present.

Nearly $4,000, approximately $100 per teenager is needed to cover transportation costs. It is hoped that both individual families and local organizations will contribute to this. Funds should be sent to Rev. Sidney Peterman, First Unitarian Church, 160 South Third Street.

Some 70 families need to be found who will welcome these youngsters into their homes for a month. Although the students will be here for 2 months, the plan is to keep them only 1 month with any one family so that as many Santa Clara families as possible may participate in the experience.

Jobs have already been promised to all the students coming.

Weekend activities such as trips to zoos and ballparks must be planned. These youngsters have never had these experiences.

IT'S CALLED HOST: DRIVE TO BRING SELMA TEENS HERE

An Andrew High School history teacher is trying to raise $4,000 to bring 36 Selma teenagers to Santa Clara County for the summer.

Russell Cline wants to bring the youngsters here to find them summer employment and house them in the homes of 70 families.

For most, it will be the first taste of life outside the Deep South. The teenagers, like many of their parents, participated in voter registration campaigns and can't find work as a result.

The project, dubbed Help Our Selma Teenagers (HOST), envisions transporting the youngsters across the country abroard a bus, keeping them here 2 months, then sending them back.

The Reverend Sidney Peterman of the First Unitarian Church, one of about 50 persons aiding in HOST, said the travel money hopefully will be raised from groups interested in the civil rights fight.

The teenagers, ranging in age from 16 to 18, are due to arrive at the First Unitarian Church June 12. Reverend Peterman said he hopes there will be a delegation of local officials on hand for a welcome.

Persons wishing to donate travel money may send their contributions to the church, 160 South Third Street.

Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill H.R. 8371, to reduce excise taxes, and for other purposes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation. I am particularly grateful that the committee has taken steps to eliminate the tax on telephone calls. It is my hope that the telephone companies will not absorb this reduction by seeking rate increases from local and State commissions.

Congress and the Price of Bread

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 2, 1965

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, as work continues on farm legislation, special interest groups who are not concerned either with the public interests or with the problems of the farmers have begun to wage their annual battle against farm programs which are in the best interests of our country.

It is interesting to find the giants of the baking industry expressing, all of a sudden, such concern over the cost of bread to low-income Americans.

These are the same giant companies who pay less to the farmer today for the wheat which goes into bread than they did in the years 1947–49. At the same time, they have increased the price of bread to the consumers from an average price of 12.7 cents during the 1947–49 period to an average price well above 20 cents today.

Mr. Drew Pearson in his "Washington Merry-Go-Round" today does a fine job of analyzing the problem and reporting it to his readers. I commend his comments to my colleagues:

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND: CONGRESS AND THE PRICE OF BREAD

(By Drew Pearson)

A lobbying battle of great interest to housewives is now being waged over the future price of bread. It will also affect more than a million farmers.

About 50 big baking companies, plus 2 baking unions, have retained as their lobbyist Maurice Rosenblatt, mainspring of the Committee for an Effective Congress, who has raised thousands of dollars to elect new Congressmen. He has helped finance some of the most crusading liberals in Congress. Naturally they feel under obligation to him.

However, Rosenblatt is now working to defeat the Johnson administrations farm bill as the registered lobbyist for such giants of the baking-biscuit world as National Biscuit, Continental Baking, Ralston-Purina, United Biscuit, Pillsbury Flour, Sunshine Biscuit, Kellogg, General Baking, Interstate Baking, the Bakery & Confectionery Workers Union, the American Bakery & Confectionery Workers International, and about 40 companies associated with the baking industry.

Rosenblatt, an able young man who has led many important battles for the public interest, makes no secret of his campaign to defeat the Johnson farm bill.

"I am the registered lobbyist for the Wheat Users Committee," he says. "I am not wearing my hat as a member of the Committee for an Effective Congress. I cleared my works, however, with the committee."

DIAMONDS VERSUS BREAD

At issue in Rosenblatt's and the big baking companies' claim that the new farm bill will cost the housewife 2 cents a loaf more for bread. And some Congressmen are raising their eyebrows at the political repercussions if they vote to decrease the price of diamonds and the cost of country club dues by removing excise taxes, then turn around and increase the price of bread.

Agricultural officials, however, deny that the farm bill will increase the price of bread more than seven-tenths of 1 cent and claim this can and should be absorbed by the millers and bakers.

The farmer, argues the Department of Agriculture, has been getting it in the neck from the middlemen, in the case the bakers and millers for years. And officials produce some rather convincing figures to prove it.

In the last 15 to 18 years the cost of flour on the farm has not increased. Bakers can still buy wheat on the farm for the same price today as they paid in the late 1940's. But over the same period, the cost of a loaf of bread to the housewife has about doubled. It has gone up from 13.5 cents to 21 to 31 cents.

In brief, the millers, the bakers, and the bakers' unions have almost doubled their share of the cost of bread, while the farmers receive exactly the same amount.

SQUEEZE ON FARMERS

Meanwhile the cost of farm labor has gone up at least 50 percent while the cost of tractors and other farm machinery has almost doubled.

Accordingly, Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman has argued that it is time for both the farm middleman and labor to loosen up their take and pass a part of their profit on to the farmer. Instead, the big bakers' lobby, headed by Rosenblatt, wants to pass not merely seven-tenths of 1 cent on to the housewife, but more than double that amount; namely, 2 cents, on the cost of a loaf of bread.

The new farm bill would give farmers a price of 100 percent of parity on domestic wheat, through a certificate plan whereby part of the support price would be paid by the millers and wheat users. Hence the howl by the millers and their retention of lobbyist Rosenblatt.

The bill is geared to help the small family farms, most of which raise about 15 acres of wheat as a small cash crop. If the farm bill fails, more and more family farms will go to the wall and wheat raising will be concentrated in the hands of a few thousand factory-type farms.

America Has Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 24, 1965

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the Fort Lauderdale News editorialized on Memorial Day on the responsibility which must be shouldered by Americans in upholding freedom around the world. As we approach the Fourth of July holiday, celebrating the 189th anniversary of our own revolution from tyranny, this editorial is of special significance and I include it here in the RECORD:

AMERICA HAS RESPONSIBILITY OF KEEPING INTERNATIONAL BULLIES UNDER CONTROL

With the world being in the state that it is today, it seems a bit tragic that while Americans are paying well-deserved tribute to the victims of our past wars, a new casualty list is growing larger by the day in far-off Vietnam.

To many of our people it appears foolish to demand that American fighting men shed

their blood or forfeit their lives in an undeclared jungle war that holds little meaning in relation to the protection of our own freedom or our own security.

Yet, if this world is ever to enjoy peace, and if the small nations are ever to be freed of the constant fear of being swallowed up by larger and more powerful neighbors, there must be one nation ready to stand up and fight the international bullies who believe that might makes right.

Unfortunately, or otherwise, America seems to have inherited the responsibility of using its own might to keep these international bullies from grabbing off everything they want and can reach.

It is not a pleasant responsibility to fulfill. Yet if it isn't fulfilled, and if the bullies aren't restrained, how long does anybody think it might be before the weaker nations are all gobbled up, and we are standing as the sole remaining barirer to the world domination plans of the bully sect?

Thus, American blood is hardly being shed in vain in Vietnam today. It is a cruel and a vicious war we are fighting and, at times, the easy choice may well appear to be to settle it in any fashion we can.

But how many times in world history has the easy choice been the right one? How many times have international bullies been placated or appeased by granting them their demands without their immediately coming up with more demands?

The whole history of war shows that appeasement never accomplishes anything more than temporarily halting aggression. As soon as the aggressor digests his appeasement morsel, he inevitably gets hungry again and sooner or later a stand has to be made against him.

It is this fact which the intelligentsia, the long hairs and the beatnik students who are raising such a clamor in this country against our present Vietnam policy, don't seem to grasp. To us these people are laboring under the same illusion which gripped British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain when he knuckled under to Adolph Hitler and returned to England with rosy visions of peace in our time.

There can be no real or lasting peace so long as one part of the world persists in believing its destiny is to take over the whole world and mold it to its own fashion. Real peace will be achieved only when aggressors finally learn there is no profit in aggression and their own destruction is apt to be the price they will have to pay for continuing their aggressive habits.

Thousands of American men died in World War I to impress that fact upon the Kaiser of Imperial Germany. Thousands more gave their lives to impress it again upon Hitler and Benito Mussolini, and it took thousands more to teach it to the Emperor of Japan and the Communist warlords of North Korea and Communist China.

Now, it seems, it is a lesson that must be impressed upon the aggressor nations again. The men who are fighting the war in Vietnam know what kind of an enemy they are up against. They are under no illusions about there being any easy way out of the struggle they are waging. The face the enemy presents to them is a different face than he puts on the visages of his diplomats, yet those who oppose our present firm policy in Vietnam cannot seem to recognize the enemy is two-faced.

All they can see is the pleasant face that promises peaceful coexistence if we will just but move out of their way and give them what they want.

In truth, however, what the enemy is asking is nothing but a bit by bit abandonment of the pledges, the promises, and the commitments we have made to nations and to peoples all over the world who want to be left alone, and who have every right to expect our help in achieving that objective.

This will not be easy and nobody has ever said it will be. It could well be that before this Vietnam business is ended many more American fighting men will have to be sent to that war-torn country and many more will have to join the dead from our previous wars to whom we pay tribute this weekend.

It is not a responsibility, however, that we can shirk or pull away from without dishonoring the legions of dead from our past conflicts. They didn't like war or the prospect of war anymore than we do today. Yet, they served when they were called, and it was only through their efforts and their sacrifices that our flag still flies high and proudly today as a reminder to free people the world over that there is still a nation strong enough to champion their cause and stanch enough to stand up to the international bullies who would wipe out freedom everywhere.

JACK W. GORE.

Beacon Shapes Bright Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 23, 1965

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of this distinguished body to a recent article in the Boston Herald entitled "Beacon Shapes Bright Future."

This article describes how my two very good friends, Norman and Bob Leventhal, upon graduating from MIT scraped together $2,000 to start a construction business whose 1963 contracts totaled more than $33 million. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased that the Boston Herald saw fit to recognize the outstanding achievements of these two fine men.

The article follows:

BEACON SHAPES BRIGHT FUTURE

(By John P. Carberg)

The Leventhal brothers, Norman and Robert, are building quite a name for themselves in the construction business.

WIDE RECOGNITION

Their firm, Beacon Construction Co., of Allston, is known from Saginaw, Mich., to San Juan, P.R., and in Boston for its performance at One Center Plaza in the Government Center.

Not so a couple of decades ago when the two Massachusetts Institute of Technology graduates decided to pool their limited resources and open an office on Cambridge Street, just around the corner from their present facilities on Hano Street.

Together they managed to scrape up $2,000. First year contracts amounted to less than $10,000, most of it coming in the form of small remodeling jobs at stores and hotels. By contrast, 1963 contracts totaled more than $33 million.

Norman, 47, is president of the firm and in charge, on paper at least, of all construction projects. Robert, 51, serves as treasurer and is responsible for development and new ventures.

"We really don't worry about titles here. There's no fine line drawn—we fill in wherever we are needed," says Norman.

Both men attended Boston Latin School and studied building design and construction at MIT. Both live in Newton and both picked up their business savvy the hard way, but the only way as far as they are concerned.

Norman, the more talkative of the two, believes that survival in the construction field; depends on the individuals in command.

"Because of the rugged nature of the business you find very few second generation contractors in the United States.

"It really depends on the individuals. If they are strong the business continues. But once the rugged individuals leave, the business goes down the drain. Where there are second generation members in a company, you usually find that the major part of the building was done by them."

Beacon has become very active as a developer as well as a builder in recent years.

To date, Beacon has handled more than $30 million worth of post office construction or some 12 structures in 8 States and Puerto Rico. The firm constructed 1,000 precast concrete dwellings sold under the FHA in Puerto Rico and still has some industrial land there left for development. The Wellesley Office Park is another example of the changing emphasis.

"We've done work all over the country. But what is really significant now is our work in Boston. One Center Plaza and the Castle Square development are of prime importance because this is what we look forward to accomplishing over the next few years."

The company employs anywhere from 250 to 700 depending on the amount of business farmed out to subcontractors. What equipment they do have is stored behind the Hano Street structure.

And even though the Leventhals are essentially in the construction business they agree that the financing, leasing, and developing involved make construction somewhat incidental.

"I think if the basic concept is good it allows for some margin of error. But when the basic plan is wrong you don't have that margin for error," says Robert.

Norman disclosed during the interview that the company may move its main office to Wellesley and store the equipment at some suburban location. In addition, Beacon will definitely have an office at "the world's first horizontal skyscraper"—One Center Plaza.

Freedom From Hunger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 2, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call to the attention of my colleagues the sincere efforts of Mrs. Grace McDonald and the Northern California Freedom From Hunger Committee. Mrs. McDonald, who is a resident of San Jose, Calif., has for many years been concerned with and active in community affairs.

At a time when world hunger is a recognized but general problem, Mrs. McDonald's committee is directing its efforts toward a specific village and the problems faced in obtaining sufficient food. The following account from the San Jose Mercury of June 24, 1965, tells of the work of this committee.

FREEDOM'S THEIR GOAL—FREEDOM FROM HUNGER

(By Lee Dye)

The wheels of technological progress spin at an unprecedented rate in this age of scientific marvels, but more people will go

to bed hungry tonight than at any other time in history.

That is the belief of a San Jose woman who is leading a fight by a group of northern Californians against hunger.

The woman is Mrs. Grace McDonald, who calls herself a "hunger fighter," and the group she represents is the Northern California Freedom from Hunger Committee. The committee is part of a worldwide organization which operates through the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations.

Members of the locally based committee have added action to their beliefs by reaching all the way to the tip of South America in a nongovernmental "people to people" program which they hope will reduce the pangs of hunger in the small fishing village of Ancud, Chile.

But the purpose of the organization is not just to provide food.

"Food is essential to survival, but food alone is not the answer," Mrs. McDonald said.

"In order to meet the increasing demands for food resulting from the population explosion we must provide people with the means of obtaining their own food," she explained.

Toward that end the northern California group raised over $1,000 this year to purchase three diving suits, an air compressor, reserve tank, and the accessories required by the Ancud shell fishermen to reap their livelihood from the sea. Their original equipment was lost during the 1960 earthquake and resulting tidal waves.

The shipment reached the fishermen late last month after being delayed first in New York Harbor due to a longshoremen's strike, and again in Chile due to storm-damaged docking facilities.

Duplicate equipment was purchased by the Fisherman's Cooperative of Ancud, in accordance with earlier agreements, bringing the total number of suits to six.

So encouraging have been the results of their efforts that the members of the northern California committee have set their sights much higher for the coming months.

They want to provide the fishermen with a $10,000 drying tunnel and a $3,000 ice-crushing plant.

"We have already collected around $2,000," Mrs. McDonald said.

"The new equipment will enable the fishermen to ship their fish to metropolitan markets which are 500 miles north," she added.

As the prime mover among "hunger fighters" in this region, Mrs. McDonald, one of the valley's best known senior citizens, feels a personal sense of commitment to the program.

And she has her heart set on sharing that commitment with anyone who happens to be within shouting distance.

"Now you give it everything you've got," she said sternly after a 2-hour interview.

"If you can't find your answers in these documents, just let me know," she added as she handed over a stack of papers nearly an inch high.

She has sponsored poster contests at various colleges and helped institute educational programs in schools throughout this area.

And if you're not careful she will plaster your car with "hunger decals" and then tell you they cost $1 each. All proceeds go to support the committee's projects.

This week an exhibit showing the work of the northern California committee will be on display in the courtyard of Norse Auditorium in San Francisco during the United Nations observances. It was built at Mrs. McDonald's home at 740 Hilmar Street, Santa Clara.

Mrs. McDonald, who has been active in community movements in the valley for many years, goes about her work of winning the war against hunger with a militant sense of purpose.

"Freedom from hunger is man's first fundamental right," she said, reflecting the official position adopted by the organization in Italy in 1963.

"We can't afford to forget that," she added.

Anybody want to buy a bumper sticker?

Investigations of NASA-Defense Contracts in Bobby Baker Operations Is Long Overdue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 2, 1965

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, the most recent "final" whitewash report of the majority members of the Senate Rules Committee leaves unanswered a multitude of vital questions concerning the financial capers of Robert G. Baker when he was secretary to the Senate majority.

A major question left unanswered is why does North American Aviation continue to do business with Baker's Serv-U vending company, and why did the Fidelity National Bank & Trust Co., of Oklahoma City, have such faith in the Baker enterprise that it loaned him money to buy stock in Serv-U?

It will be noted that the Apollo contract was awarded by James E. Webb, administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, to North American Aviation during the November–December period of 1961. It was during the same period that North American decided to switch its business from the Automatic Canteen Co., to Baker's Serv-U vending firm.

Prior to these manipulations, it was Baker and Fred B. Black, the latter at that time a so-called public relations man for North America, together with their gambling friends, Benjamin Sigelbaum and Edward Levinson, that borrowed $100,000 from the Kerr-controlled Fidelity National Bank & Trust Co. of Oklahoma City, to launch the Serv-U Vending Corp.

As previously noted, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration is headed by James E. Webb who was long and closely associated with the Kerr-McGee enterprises in Oklahoma, and a former director of the Fidelity National Bank & Trust Co. According to the Subcommittee on Domestic Finance, of the House Banking and Currency Committee, Webb is still listed as one of the "20 largest stockholders of record" of the Fidelity National Bank & Trust Co. In this 1964 publication, Webb is listed as holding 1,866 shares of stock—see volume 5, House Committee on Banking and Currency report on Federal Reserve Districts Nos. 10, 11, and 12.

At this point it should be noted that the future of North American Aviation and other aviation industries are closely tied to the decisions of the National Space and Aeronautics Administration and the Defense Department, both of which annually award contracts totaling billions of dollars to these industries.

It should be noted, too, that North American Aviation decided that Fred B. Black was too hot to handle and fired him as a Washington representative after he was convicted on Federal tax evasion charges involving the large amounts of cash he was using as a lobbyist and political operator. However, North American still feels it must continue to deal with Bobby Baker's Serv-U outfit despite the proven "gross improprieties" in which he has been involved. North American and other big space and defense contractors still feel compelled, for reasons best known to themselves, to continue to deal with Baker's vending firm despite the fact that Baker, in a Federal investigation, repeatedly took refuge behind the fifth amendment.

There is no question but what the financial future of Bobby Baker, key figure in the sordid scandals that have rocked Washington, is tied to the Serv-U Vending Corp. Records indicate that Baker and Black owned 57 percent of the stock of this multi-million-dollar corporation. It is a firm that mushroomed on the basis of decisions by aerospace industry officials that switched business from older established vending firms to the then new Baker-Black operation.

There is no question but what the future of Serv-U is tied directly to the lucrative contracts with the various aerospace and defense industries, including North American and Northrop. The North American food vending contract alone grosses more than $2,500,000 annually, according to the testimony. In this connection, the minority report of the Senate Rules Committee states:

> Until such time as defense contractors such as North American Aviation and Northrop decide they no longer want to do business with Baker, his financial empire may continue.

That report also stated:

> The backbone of Baker's financial empire was, and still is, the Serv-U Vending. It was through the vending business that Baker was able to acquire monthly cash kickbacks as well as inaugurate a highly profitable vending operation with defense contractors whose almost sole source of income was from the U.S. Government. It was in these vending operations that Baker became associated with questionable individuals who ranged from gamblers to those convicted of income tax evasion. Likewise, when Baker's Carousel was in the midst of financial difficulties, it was his vending business that had the wherewithal to bail out the Ocean City property.

It might be possible to excuse North American officials for dealing with Baker's corporation when they state they did not know of his involvements. But there is absolutely no reason now for continuing to deal with Serv-U for the basic facts have been revealed as to Baker's "gross improprieties."

Nor is there the slightest excuse for the failure of Administrator Webb, of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, to tell those who hold fat Government contracts that they have come to the end of the road unless they cease to do business with those who seek refuge

behind the fifth amendment or engage in other improper activities.

Even the Democrat majority of the Senate Rules Committee admitted the impropriety involved in the relationship Baker and Black had with Serv-U—see pages 26, 27, and 28 of the July 8, 1964, majority report. And on pages 45–46 of that report, the majority comments on the concealment of the ownership of 57 percent of the stock of Serv-U by Baker and Black:

His (Baker's) compelling reason for this concealment must have been that he was quite aware of the gross impropriety in his ownership of the stock under all the circumstances—one of the important circumstances being that the entire success or failure of the company depended upon whether he and Black could secure vending contracts with large corporations having defense contracts with the Government.

Such contractural relations would not be tolerated by the Government if they involved such figures as Frank Costello, Tony Accardo, or others of their racketeering ilk. The record shows that Bobby Baker is a political racketeer, and political racketeering should be given no preference.

Mr. Speaker, on February 13, 1965, I issued a statement on this same subject but it is evident, in the light of subsequent events that this statement made no impression upon any of those who had it within their power to take corrective steps.

Following is the statement as it appeared in an article in the Des Moines, Iowa, Register:

GROSS LINKS NASA HEAD TO BAKER THROUGH BANK

(By Clark Mollenhoff)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Representative H. R. GROSS, Republican of Iowa, Thursday called attention to the fact that James E. Webb, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Agency * * * (NASA), is a large stockholder in a bank that financed Robert G. Baker's vending operations.

The Iowan said Webb is listed as one of the 20 largest stockholders of record in the Fidelity National Bank & Trust Co. of Oklahoma City, Okla.

"I would think that any investigation of Bobby Baker would include a close study of the award of all contracts by NASA to those firms that are using Baker's vending service," GROSS said.

The Congressman said that in the light of "the record of coverup in the Baker case" he does not expect that the Senate Rules Committee will do a thorough investigation into these big Government contracts.

LISTED AT 1,866 SHARES

GROSS said the House Banking and Currency Committee has compiled a list of the top 20 stockholders in member banks of the Federal Reserve System, and that Webb is listed as 18th in size of his holdings in the Fidelity National Bank & Trust Co., with 1,866 shares.

GROSS said records of the Senate Rules Committee show Baker had an almost instant success in the vending machine business, with many of his new contracts coming from firms that depend upon contracts from the Defense Department and from NASA.

The committee also heard that Baker, Fred B. Black, former Washington representative for North American Aviation, and two Nevada gambling figures—Benjamin Sigelbaum and Edward Levinson—obtained large loans from Fidelity National to launch the Serv-U vending machine business.

COINCIDENCE?

"It may be coincidence that during the same period North American Aviation landed the huge Apollo contract with NASA, and decided to shift its vending business from another firm to Serv-U," GROSS said.

But such circumstances "carry the possibility of conflict of interest, and certainly should be scrutinized with the greatest care," he added.

Last June, the Iowa Republican said Webb had hired Breene M. Kerr, 35-year-old son of the late Senator Robert Kerr, as Deputy Administrator of NASA.

KERR, M'GEE

GROSS said Fidelity National was dominated by the stock owned by the family of the late Senator Kerr and Dean A. McGee, a Kerr business associate.

Since last June, Black is reported to be out of Serv-U, and it is reported that Baker obtained additional loans from Fidelity National to buy the stock Black held.

The Challenge to Mississippi Congressmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 2, 1965

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, all members are deeply concerned with the pending challenge of the sitting Mississippi delegation. The April issue of Frontier magazine contains an article by a prominent Los Angeles attorney, Edward Mosk. "The Challenge to Mississippi Congressmen" should be of interest to all my colleagues and indeed to all those who have an interest in and are following this matter. I am pleased to have it made a part of the RECORD at this time:

[From Frontier magazine, April 1965]

THE CHALLENGE TO MISSISSIPPI CONGRESSMEN

(By Ed Mosk)

Great social movements have a way of developing new techniques to meet crises which require immediate solutions. A nationwide "law office" of nearly 100 lawyers was created overnight and functioned for 40 days and 40 nights to assist the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's challenge to the Mississippi congressional delegation in just such an emergency in January and February.

More than half the lawyers were from California. The others came from Illinois, Michigan, New York, and a few other areas throughout the United States. (An unofficial count indicates more than 20 lawyers from southern California and more than 40 from the San Francisco area went to Mississippi.)

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party had conducted its own election in October and November to dramatize the official denial of the right of Negroes to participate in the regular election. The candidates in this freedom election filed a challenge demanding that Congress refuse to seat all the Mississippi Congressmen. The challenge was filed under provisions of an 1851 statute setting up the procedure for questioning the validity of the election of any Congressman.

The statute gives the contestant 40 days within which to gather supporting testimony by depositions; these depositions are presented to Congress together with any answering deposition on behalf of the Congressman. On this record, Congress, as the sole judge, then makes its decision.

One hundred and forty-eight Members of Congress voted against even the provisional seating of the Congressmen from Mississippi when Congress was convened this year, but the majority favored awaiting formal filing of documentation of the charges. Thus arose the urgent need to set up a legal staff to gather evidence supporting the charges in the statutory form required by Congress.

The essence of the case was in the second paragraph of the "Notice of Intention To Contest" directed to each Mississippi Congressman:

"You * * * were purportedly nominated by the 'regular Democratic Party of Mississippi' from which Negroes are and have been systematically excluded by illegal and unconstitutional registration and election procedures, and by intimidation, harassment, economic reprisal, property damage, terrorization, and violence. * * *"

The formal challenge spelled out a bill of particulars of specific incidents and statistics and recounted the historical use of the forms of law to accomplish the systematic exclusion of Negroes from the electoral process.

The attorneys of record in the contest, William Kunstler and Arthur Kinoy, of New York, and Benjamin Smith, of New Orleans, found themselves faced with the seemingly impossible practical problem of gathering the voluminous evidence available in the towns and villages of Mississippi to support the charges within the legally allotted 40-day period.

A NATIONWIDE APPEAL FOR HELP

The American Civil Liberties Union, cooperating with the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, appealed to lawyers across the country for assistance. The National Lawyers Guild made a similar request. The requirement was a simple one: "Attorneys are needed to take depositions in support of the challenge. Those interested must go at their own expense and for not less than 1 week. The need is immediate. Less than 30 days of the statutory period remain."

The response was immediate and remarkable.

Within a week 20 attorneys from San Francisco were in Jackson, Miss., and had begun to gather and organize the evidence in preparation for a second wave of lawyers from other parts of the country following a week later. In Jackson and throughout the State, the attorneys worked in close coordination with local officials of the Freedom Democratic Party and the field workers of COFO (Council of Federated Organizations), who had been living in the towns and rural areas of Mississippi working on the voter registration drive for many months.

The first out-of-State attorneys interviewed witnesses, arranged for subpenas, found satisfactory locations for taking depositions, sought local officials qualified under the law willing to act as hearing officers, found notaries public to swear in witnesses, and gave legal notice to the congressmen. All of this had to be accomplished by attorneys who by and large had never before been to Mississippi and who 2 weeks earlier had never heard of the law under which they were acting. And yet with the improvised kind of organization that frequently arises on short notice to meet a real need, all this was in fact accomplished.

The attorneys quickly discovered that finding court reporters in Mississippi to transcribe the depositions was a major problem. Appeals for help in Los Angeles, San Francisco and eastern cities met a quick response. By the time the first depositions were scheduled, a sufficient number of volunteer court reporters were on hand. Not

a single deposition was delayed because of lack of reporters or lawyers.

The depositions were taken in Negro churches, Negro colleges and schools or wherever facilities were available in the Negro sections of each community. No one knew how the Congressmen would react to these locations. In Holly Springs, at Rust College, 10 attorneys representing the subpenaed Congressmen walked into the room 5 minutes before the time set for the start of the depositions. The 10 attorneys came from various counties. When the evidence was taken, for example, for a Negro sharecropper from Benton County, an experienced white attorney from that county vigorously cross-examined the witness. Witnesses from other counties had the same experience. This battery of white attorneys lined up across the counsel table was obviously intended to intimidate the witnesses even before they testified. The maneuver failed. The witnesses were not intimidated.

The Mississippi attorneys employed similar tactics in all parts of the State. In every town, they tried to move the depositions from the Negro community to the local courthouse. This "offer" was firmly declined. The courthouse is the center of authority of the white community, and, as such, the very symbol of intimidation. In this challenge to the Congressmen, the Negro contestants held the offensive. Their insistence on holding the depositions in Negro communities proved that the initiative, in this situation, had passed from the "white power structure," which now had to send its representatives to the locations selected by the Negro challengers.

Lawyers representing the Negroes insisted that the defending white lawyers address Negro witnesses as "Mister" in public. In every deposition, the facts of Mississippi life for Negroes were spread on the record for submission to Congress. Out-of-state Negro attorneys questioned local white registrars and sheriffs in some hearings. More than that, the crimes committed against the Negro population were revealed in public.

LONG HISTORY OF REPRESSION

The witnesses included Negroes whose homes had been shot into and burned, who had been beaten, who had lost their jobs or their property, and who had experienced unfair and unequal registration standards applied against them. The witnesses also included COFO workers who had spent months with Negroes in all parts of the State and could testify in detail to the pattern of terror which had prevented Negroes from registering to vote. Typical of the prevailing situation in Mississippi, as disclosed by the hearings, is Marshall County. Negroes comprise more than 60 percent of Marshall's population but less than 1 percent of the county's Negroes are registered, while over 95 percent of the whites are registered.

During this remarkable period, nearly 100 attorneys from many parts of the United States participated. They came when the need was greatest, and they did the job with a minimum of preparation but a maximum of conscientious application. When each lawyer completed his work, he passed his experiences on to the next group of arrivals, and an amazing continuity was maintained despite constantly changing personnel. Perhaps never before has any similar activity been performed by lawyers. The results when presented to Congress in early summer will be comprehensive and damning. It will be difficult for Congress to resist the impact of the evidence gathered, and Congress should, by majority vote, unseat the Mississippi Congressmen and order new elections under the principle of one man, one vote.

Civil Rights in Jackson, Miss.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 2, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, many Americans may seem at a loss to explain the recent involvement of young people in civil rights work in the South. In a letter to the editor of the San Jose Mercury, printed June 23, 1965, Mrs. Erman Stadler expresses the motivations of her daughter, Mae, who is a professor at San Jose State College.

It also reveals serious problems in the administration of justice in such States as Mississippi. The police brutality which followed peaceful demonstrations in Jackson, Miss., in June is ample evidence of the physical risks taken by many young Americans such as Mae Stadler and others from the San Jose area. I should like to express my own deep feelings of pride and admiration for those who work to guarantee constitutional rights for all citizens. I, therefore, submit this letter to the RECORD and urge its careful reading:

[From the San Jose (Calif.) Mercury, June 23, 1965]

WHY MAE WENT SOUTH

EDITOR:

Last night one of your reporters called me to inquire about my daughter, Mae, the San Jose State professor who is believed to be in jail in Jackson, Miss. He asked me why, when she had told another of your reporters that she intended to teach in a freedom school, had she participated in the demonstration which resulted in her being jailed.

Mae went to offer her services to the Negroes of Mississippi, to be useful where she could be useful. To teach in a freedom school seemed a logical assignment, to help to develop the leadership necessary that these people can help themselves.

How do you encourage people to be brave, to lead, to fight for their rights, to work with others, if you cannot exemplify these qualities yourself? Mae did not go to Mississippi to go to jail, but if going to jail was part of the assignment in order to find out what can happen to you in Mississippi and in order to be one with the people she is trying to help, I know Mae went bravely, and I know that while she is not the strongest person in the world, she has the endurance and stability to survive.

Mae is in jail for the crime of demonstrating, demonstrating that she cared that the Mississippi legislature is voting in laws, which, while patently unconstitutional, will hold back the enforcement of the civil rights bill until they can be declared to be unconstitutional.

What concerns me is the apathy I see around me. Your reporter tried to get definite word last night, but he said that the people in Mississippi are uncooperative with the news media. My daughter is being held without even the possibility of one telephone call. At least six others from here are being held. Why is this not news of more significance than Lincoln's rock?

Mae's crime is that she took seriously the lessons taught her concerning unselfish and concerned behavior, which are a part of her Judeo-Christian heritage. She shows clearly that this is a dangerous ethic which we teach. And it is one which most people give lipservice, but a few have the courage to live it.

MRS. ERMAN STADLER.

Extending Juvenile Delinquency Act

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 24, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 8131) to extend the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961.

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Chairman, I have listened to this debate with great interest. Although I am no longer on the Education and Labor Committee, I served on Mrs. GREEN's subcommittee at the time that the original juvenile delinquency legislation was drafted in 1961. I participated in the drafting of the bill and believe that I am well equipped to speak on the legislative intent of this measure.

I am taking no issue whatsoever with the desirability of projects designed to find new ways to control juvenile delinquency. When we wrote and enacted this bill, this was its purpose. A 3-year program of demonstration grants was to be established to test new skills. This has been extended once and now we are asked to extend it for another year.

This will make a grand total of 5 years of study and experiment. It seems to me that this should mark the end of this phase of our war against juvenile delinquency. If we have not learned new methods of approaching this problem, then the entire plan is a failure and should be replaced by a new one.

I subscribe to the approach suggested by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI] and the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE] and hope that Congress will again study this entire program and redesign legislation to incorporate any benefits of this bill and begin to give us a new program based on the progress made by the juvenile delinquency program.

As the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMAS] has said, these programs should be studied and reevaluated. It is my hope that the Administrators of the program will keep this in mind and will devote the remainder of the life of this act to existing programs. Certainly there is no reason to expend money on new programs until we have an opportunity to test the effectiveness of the old ones.

Again, I will support this extension, but I feel strongly that this should be the last extension and that any further juvenile delinquency legislation should

be based on the successes—and failures—which exist in this experimental program.

Fiscal Year Anniversary—How About a Balanced Budget?

SPEECH

OF

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

(Mr. DEVINE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, on this occasion a number of Members have said that we should commemorate the birthday of various things, one of which is the newly emerging African nations; the other has to do, I think, with the 98th anniversary of the great Dominion of Canada.

It occurred to me also that this is the anniversary of the fiscal year and that today is the first day of the new fiscal year. The administration has been fast in putting out press releases that the fiscal year just ended has been a great year because the deficit—and you should underline that word "deficit"—is only a little more than $3 billion.

Instead of bragging about the amount of the deficit being small, how about trying for a surplus for a change?

It seems to me that we in the House of Representatives should on this occasion, on this first day of July, the new fiscal year, dedicate ourselves to bringing about a balanced budget for the American people for the first time since 1960.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Friday, July 2, 1965

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

House adjourned out of respect to the memory of Representative Thompson of Louisiana.

Senate

Chamber Action

Senate met at 9 a.m. and, pursuant to order previously entered, immediately adjourned (without transaction of any business) until noon Tuesday, July 6, when it will begin consideration of H.R. 6675, social security—medicare, after it has acted on the conference report on S.J. Res. 1, Presidential inability (2 hours of debate).

Committee Meetings

No committee meetings were held.

House of Representatives

Chamber Action

Bills Introduced: Five public bills, H.R. 9615–9619; five private bills, H.R. 9620–9624; and one resolution, H. Res. 443, were introduced. Page 14994

Bill Reported: One report was filed as follows: H.R. 5041, regarding safety regulation of common carriers by pipeline, amended (H. Rept. 588). Page 14994

Condolence Resolution: Adopted H. Res. 443, providing for expressions of sympathy and condolences on the death of Representative T. Ashton Thompson, of the Seventh Congressional District of Louisiana. After numerous Members had spoken on his life, character, and public service, the Speaker pro tempore appointed the following funeral committee on the part of the House: Representatives Hébert, Morrison, Fallon, Miller, Boggs, Passman, Garmatz, Willis, Gross, Gray, Whitener, Waggonner, Cleveland, and Long of Louisiana. Pages 14991–14994

Program for Tuesday: As a further mark of respect to the memory of Representative Thompson of Louisiana the House adjourned at 12:35 p.m. until Tuesday, July 6, 1965, at 12 o'clock noon, when the House will consider H.R. 6400, to enforce the 15th amendment to the U.S. Constitution (voting rights) (10 hours of debate).

Committee Meetings

No committee meetings were held.

Joint Committee Meetings

HALLAM REACTOR

Joint Committee on Atomic Energy: In executive session the committee heard testimony on the current status of the Hallam, Nebr., reactor from Gerald F. Tape, Atomic Energy Commissioner, and staff, and Dr. Emerson Jones, consultant to Consumers Public Power District of Nebraska.

Appendix

Pennsylvania Dutch Heritage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the Pennsylvania Dutch have a rich heritage and a culture which they very carefully preserve. They have added a great deal to the beauty of America. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD remarks by Marjory Hendricks and a lecture by Genevieve Hendricks on the "Pennsylvania Dutch Way of Life."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

If I'd had anything to do with it I would have been born in Pennsylvania because Pennsylvania is my favorite State. Yes, I love Pennsylvania and I have seen a great deal of the State, especially the Pennsylvania Dutch country. I became interested in the Pennsylvania Dutch when I was a young child and my father had an office in Philadelphia; I became even more interested when I had a graduate scholarship at Bryn Mawr. I took advantage of every chance I had to go over to Lancaster, Berks, Montgomery, and other counties which claim they are the center of the Pennsylvania Dutch region. Personally, I like to think that Lancaster County is because, countywise, I am especially close to Lancaster County. In fact, some of the things in the Pennsylvania Dutch room which my sister has created are willed to the Landis Valley Farm Museum. They come from my Water Gate Inn or from my home.

Much has been said about the Pennsylvania Dutch. In brief, the Pennsylvania Dutch come from the Palatinate of Europe and were persecuted for perhaps 200 years, mostly because of religion and customs. There is still freedom of customs and religions among the 125 different sects which I understand are part of the Pennsylvania Dutch. The largest number of people are Lutherans Reformed, Mennonites, Amish, and Brethren. To go into all of this would take a great deal of time and so I am going to suggest that all of you attend the Kutztown Festival and learn more about it, or get a copy of the "Pennsylvania Dutch Guide Book," the official guide book of Lancaster County, which will tell you about the history, the churches, the farmers' market, the folk art, the State museums, the covered bridges, the language and, very close to my heart, the foods of the Pennsylvania Dutch.

I happened to be a writer until a misguided friend gave me a cookbook some 40 years ago. One of my distinguished guests at Water Gate Inn has been Edna Eby Heller, who is a food columnist, lecturer, and writer, in addition to being one of the real authorities on Pennsylvania Dutch cooking. When I gave a luncheon for Edna Eby Heller at Water Gate Inn, I thought I would impress her with a dish which I had learned in Lancaster County, Shrimp Wiggle Esch Puddle, and, for the first time I learned that that is not an old-time Pennsylvania Dutch dish. However, Edna Eby Heller and I have become good friends and I sell a number of her cookbooks at the Water Gate Inn Gift Shop.

You may be interested to know why Water Gate Inn is Pennsylvania Dutch: Of all of the ethnic groups, the Pennsylvania Dutch most clearly exemplify what we were fighting for in 1942 when Water Gate Inn was founded. My sister and I agreed that Water Gate Inn, being on the banks of the Potomac, had to be Early American, and that the Pennsylvania Dutch had contributed most to the very things which my sister will tell you about, the furniture and design of America. I am proud to introduce my famous sister, who is one of the few fellows of the American Institute of Decorators, Genevieve Hendricks.

America has been particularly fortunate in its heritage of arts and crafts. Artists from many lands have contributed their skills, tradition, and culture to our folklore. But of all the cultures and folk art that have flourished in our land, the most popular and now the most sought after and perhaps the most creative are the arts and crafts of the Pennsylvania Germans or as we popularly call them, the Pennsylvania Dutch.

Much has been written about the Pennsylvania Dutch folk art. To mention only four of the authoritative sources I refer to: (1) Frances Lichten's book, "The Folk Art of Rural Pennsylvania"; (2) "The Index of American Design," by Christensen; (3) "Pennsylvaina Dutch Folk Art," by Joseph Stroud; and (4) "Early Pennsylvanian Arts and Crafts," by John Joseph Stroud.

Many museums have given us valuable collections and informative data. Pennsylvania has wonderful collections: from the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Pennsylvania Historical Library, to the many local museums. Of particular interest to us are the Landis Valley Farm Museum and the Ephreta Cloisters, Hope Lodge, Harmony and Henri du Ponts collection at Winterthur is also outstanding. The Art Institute of Chicago has a particularly fine exhibit. Last week in New York I visited the new Pennsylvania Dutch rooms in the Metropolitan Museum. In Bath, England, I have visited the recently opened American Museum with its collection of Pennsylvania pewter, Stugel glass, painted tinware and two rooms of Pennsylvania Dutch furniture. I have also seen many valuable pieces of Pennsylvania Dutch Art in museums of Germany and other European countries.

For several reasons I, as a professional interior designer, am particularly interested in Pennsylvania Dutch art:

1. We have a good Dutch name from an early ancestor who came to New Amsterdam in 1640 from Middleburg, Holland. He might just as well have gone to Lancaster County. While we cannot claim to be Pennsylvania Dutch at least we might be related since Holland was one of the low countries of the Palatinate whence came the Pennsylvania Dutch people to Pennsylvania starting in 1650 at the invitation of William Penn, who promised them religious freedom and a new way of life. Having visited Middleburg and Holland many times, I know its peasant art well and recognize many features in their handicraft similar to the Pennsylvnia Dutch.

2. As children we were taken for a summer's vacation high in the mountains of Montana. There we lived in an old log cabin. The beauty and charm of this simple sturdy house has haunted me ever since. For years in Washington we searched through the mountains of nearby Maryland and Virginia for our dream cabin. Finally, we found it high in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia. This cabin was built in 1750 by Johann Hummer who with several neighbors left Lancaster County to buy acreage in Clarke County at 25 cents an acre. Our deed reads from King George of England to Lawrence Washington to Captain Snicker, to Johann Hummer, to Walter Blount (who sold Dunbarton Oaks to live the simple life in the country), to William Head, coeditor of the Reader's Digest to the Hendricks. The Hummer family had lived in the cabin until 1900. Five cabins were built by the Pennsylvania folk. Four still exist as examples of the fine honest building of the Hummers and their friends. One was torn down for its lumber, but we bought the old logs and beams and simple paneling. Making every effort as we restored and remodeled the cabin to keep the original building we have used these old pieces with studied care.

The Hummers and their Pennsylvania Dutch friends cleared the mountain sides of virgin timber, making fields for tobacco, corn, and sumach which latter they sent to Germany to tan leather.

As we have cleared the second growth forests and for our gardens and views we are ever reminded by the carefully laid stone walls and piles of stone around large boulders of the tremendous effort expended by these early settlers. From our garden area we have dug up old iron utensils, old pottery, old glass, powder horns and other artifacts.

Our mountain neighbors, at first considering us slightly mad in our delight in the early Pennsylvania Dutch furniture and tools and treasures, soon became interested. They have brought us many treasures possibly inherited from the early group of Pennsylvania Dutch settlers. One brought his grandpappy's tools, others brought great copper apple butter bowls, etc.

For 30 years we have searched through Lancaster and other Pennsylvania Dutch counties for our original pieces, several of which I brought in for you to see. As we collected and had duplicates we have given many items to museums. Others will go in the future to the Landis Valley Farm Museum. We knew the Landis brothers for many years and learned much of the lore of Pennsylvania Dutch art from these kindly, informed gentlemen.

3. As a decorator I have for 33 years, been buying antiques from Lancaster County for clients who admired the simple sturdiness of Pennsylvania Dutch furniture. Early we came to know among the many fine dealers in Pennsylvania Dutch country, Hattie Brunner at her Tulip Shop near Iron Horse. This great authority and kindly friend is known as the Grandma Moses of the Pennsylvania Dutch country for her provincial paintings. You will hear of her later as I speak of Water Gate Inn. For many years I have attended your glorious Bach festivals, visiting the de Schweinitz family descended from the originator of this renowned musical feast. From them too, I learned to advise and know the Pennsylvania Dutch artistry.

Part of my art training in Europe was at Max Reinhart's School of Stage Design in

Munich. There we were urged to visit the peasant museums in the neighborhood and nearby countries. The outstanding Peasant Museum in Innsbruck, Austria, has been an inspiration ever since. I have searched out similar museums in Austria, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, and Holland all along the trek of the early Pennsylvania Dutch along the Palatinate.

Some 25 years ago my sister founded Water Gate Inn in Washington. There were then French, Greek, Hungarian, Chinese, Early American restaurants, but none furnished in the Pennsylvania Dutch way representing a great people searching for religious freedom and a new way of life. So, wishing to honor these fine people and to give to her public the joy of knowing Pennsylvania Dutch art, she decided on its Pennsylvania Dutch furnishings. (She will not like my mentioning the fine Pennsylvania Dutch dinners which she has also included in her menus after considerable study of the fine cooking of the Pennsylvania Dutch people.)

At Water Gate Inn one room is named for Hattie Brunner her good friend and counselor whom I have mentioned before. Another room is named after Conrad Beissel who founded the singing school as first director of the Ephrata Cloisters and who was a tremendous influence in preserving the good and the simple sturdiness of the Pennsylvania Dutch settlers.

So through the years we have treked through the Pennsylvania Dutch counties finding treasures of furniture and accessories which make up my sister's outstanding collection at Water Gate Inn, a joy to the hordes who have come from all over the world partly for her fine food and partly because of the Pennsylvania Dutch historic atmosphere. My sister has already made donations to the Landis Valley Farm Museum from the Water Gate collection and plans to donate many more in the future. Water Gate Inn has been a monument for 25 years to the Pennsylvania Dutch culture and way of life.

From Humming Hollow we plan also to make gifts from our collection so that the Hummers may in spirit return again to the beautiful Lancaster County whence they came.

In Water Gate Inn you will find beautiful hand-painted panels the work of the late Anna Kosinski who made faithful reproductions of designs we had found in your Pennsylvania Dutch collections and which I had had permission to sketch.

Here we have brought some of our treasures from Water Gate Inn, my sister's private collection, from Renaissance her antique shop, and from Humming Hollow. Almost all are originals dating from the late 1700's to the middle 19th century. Except for the two iron lanterns which my sister has had reproduced in Pennsylvania Dutch country from her antique one, all items you see are originals, used by the early settlers, loved and preserved by them and their descendants and treasured today by us.

The charm of Pennsylvania Dutch folk art exists for many reasons: It is rich in individual craftsmanship to a degree not attained in any other section of the New World. It is simple and honest in its construction and design. Much of the work was the handicraft of untutored individuals expressing their heritage of design from old European lores and expressing themselves in their efforts to make what they needed in the way of tools, and furnishings, what they needed to express their love of nature, their homelife. Religion and love of family and homelife and nature are the outstanding sources of Pennsylvania Dutch designs.

We have here furniture from the end of the 17th century and early 18th century expressing the furniture of the Palatinate with designs from the neighboring Italy and France, even England and Denmark.

Would that I could have brought my monumental old Dutch Kas similar to one I missed at Hattie Brunner's since she sold it to the Art Institute of Chicago. This piece, popular in the days when closets were not built in fratures of houses, is simple and heavy made of sturdy oak. Or my gayly painted armoire which I found in Vienna but which an early Pennsylvania Dutch settler might well have brought with him to the New World. These rarely beautiful pieces are still to be found in their original gay colors and floral designs dunned by time to mellow soft colors. One Liepold Wallach in New York has made faithful copies of these old cupboards for many years.

My sister's dower chest is a fine example of a once popular piece of furniture holding as it did the treasures which a young girl made and collected for her wedding day. This one is dated 1794 and has never been retouched.

The fiddle back side chair is from the early 18th century. It might be English or Dutch or even French since it has the popular urn or fiddle back design, but it is true Pennsylvania Dutch.

The brown painted chairs came from the early 19th century—the green ones from the middle 19th century. All are decorated in early designs painted by simple home folk recalling early designs.

The pine rocking chair by the much earlier cradle comes from the early 19th century. Would that we had a Pennsylvania Dutch baby in the cradle and a Pennsylvania Dutch mother rocking in the arm chair as she also watches her bread rise in the dough tray on her left. This is a rare piece, the smallest one I have ever seen.

The old cabinet from the late 18th century is typical of many such when the Pennsylvania Dutch delighted to show their pewter and inherited china and pottery, Dutch sinks, corner cupboards, open cabinets, etc.

Since love of family life and children was paramount among the Pennsylvania Dutch. The making of toys was popular. The old rocking horse is from my sister's collection at Water Gate Inn and may soon join others she has given to the Landis Valley Farm Museum.

Here we have some samples of early iron ware. The door to a beautiful stove from Water Gate Inn handwrought iron utensils and pots and pans. Tin ware was made mostly around Lancaster, Pa. Cookie cutters once 10 cents each now are collectors items. These are also from my sisters collection at Water Gate Inn.

Pewter was treasured much of it brought from the Palatenate. Pottery in plates and jugs were beautiful. Plates often had amusing designs. China was treasured—not only the old blue from Europe, but also the locally made slipwear and the Gandy Dutch. Wood carvings were beautiful and I show one found in the Pennsylvania Dutch country.

The making of hand-hooked rugs and braided rugs became a great art. We show you three of the hand-hooked rugs, the center one being of the finest I have ever seen. This will indeed go to a museum one day.

Embroideries appeared in samplers, and pictures as well as historical and patriotic symbols. Coverlets and quilts, etc., were popular.

Wooden objects were carefully made by Joseph Lehn of Lititz famous for his fine wood.

Perhaps the most interesting and distinct of all Pennsylvania Dutch arts are the frakturs. For this we should have hours and hours. Denied the privilege of printing in some sections of the palatinate, individuals using the fraktur printing copied Biblical texts, made their manuscripts of weddings, births, and public events.

At Ephreta, Margaretta Thornn made superb frakturs, aided and abetted by Conrad Beissel. Others often gayly colored by watercolors made from local berries or vegetable dyes. Later in the 19th century made by itinerant artists who painted for those who needed to commemorate some event or another.

The Pennsylvania Dutch folklore has made great impact on modern designs, especially in fabrics, to a growing degree in wallpapers. The Gruff Co. in New York, through the kindness of her Trautman sales manager loaned me a great many samples to show you.

So all too briefly I have given you my tribute to the Pennsylvania Dutch lore and its arts and crafts. My congratulations to Pennsylvania for giving the Pennsylvania Dutch its early freedom, for revering the fine people from the palatinate, for preserving their fine characteristics and giving to the world the outstanding beauty of Pennsylvania Dutch art.

Dr. Morris Ford and Family of Longview, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I subscribe wholly and fully to the statements contained in an editorial and article which appeared Sunday, June 16, 1965, in the Longview Morning Journal concerning Dr. and Mrs. Morris Ford. The Ford family is a most outstanding and effective family. The attainments and accomplishments of this family are great, indeed.

Under unanimous consent I include the editorial and an article about the work of Dr. Ford and his family in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

[From the Longview (Tex.) Morning Journal, June 6, 1965]

FRUITFUL YEARS

It is a happy and significant occasion today in which the membership of the First Baptist Church of Longview recognizes and honors Dr. and Mrs. W. Morris Ford on the 20th anniversary of his pastorate here. In his ministry to the church and in his service to the community, these have been fruitful years.

The church membership is to be commended for planning a Sunday afternoon public reception in the parlor adjoining the Memorial Auditorium from 3 to 5 p.m., thus giving the general public an opportunity to have a part in the observance and express appreciation to the pastor and his wife for their constructive service in the community and area.

Morris Ford's life and work in Longview has been manifold in its expression and in the outreach of its influence. He has been a persuasive preacher of the Gospel. He has been a pastor whose understanding and wise leadership has kept the Longview church in a position of leadership in east Texas during a long period of unusual development and growth. He has been a counselor of experience and spiritual insight in personal and family matters.

In addition to his pastoral work, Dr. Ford has served in many posts of leadership and responsibility in Baptist life and activity at the association, district, State, and National levels. In these areas of service, Dr. Ford has drawn favorable attention to Longview.

He is a member of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. He is chairman of the program planning committee of the Executive Board of the Baptist General Convention of Texas, and also serves as chairman of the convention's church-state committee.

He has served on the boards of trustees of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.; Baylor University, Waco; Union University, Jackson, Tenn.; Southwest Baptist College, Boliver, Mo.; the Relief and Annuity Board, Baptist General Convention of Texas, Dallas; and presently is a member of the board of trustees and past chairman of East Texas Baptist College.

First Baptist of Longview has been in the forefront of growth and progress in Baptist activities and programs in Texas, under the dedicated and spirited leadership of Morris Ford.

A double decade of progress finds the local church an active and strong congregation with modern facilities and a well-rounded program of evangelism, education and training, and worship.

Under Dr. Ford's personable leadership and spiritual guidance, church membership has grown steadily, 6,400 people having been accepted into the church; the staff has been enlarged from 6 to 17 who serve full-time; a strong board of deacons now numbers 76, more than double the number 20 years ago; and major growth has been recorded in enrollment and average attendance in the Sunday school, training union, woman's missionary union, and other church organizations.

Twenty years of planned and prayerful progress has brought about the construction of major new buildings and facilities to accommodate the growing active membership and expanding program of the church. The annual budget of financial support for local, State, National, and world work has been increased from $71,136 in 1945 to $350,000 in 1965.

The new sanctuary seating 1,700 was erected in 1951, along with a chapel seating 250. A new children's building was erected in 1955. The new youth center was completed in 1961. A new pastor's home was acquired on Isgren Drive, and additional property has been bought for parking and future expansion needs. Property valuation has increased from $251,000 in 1945 to more than $2,400,000 at present.

The Ford ministry in Longview has been marked by a firm interest and a growing participation in missionary work. The church sent the pastor and his wife to the Orient in 1963, where he preached and sang and both witnessed and participated in religious services in Indonesia, Taiwan, Taichung, Hong Kong, and in Japan.

In the field of local community service, Dr. Ford has been a strong leader and an active cooperator. He has served on the board of directors of the Longview Chamber of Commerce and the Young Men's Christian Association, as vice president of the Longview Civic Music Association, and on numerous other civic and community service boards and committees across the years.

Mrs. Ford has actively supported her husband's ministry, serving as leader and worker in women's and children's activities. Their son, David, was active in youth groups and the choir, now resides in Waco with his wife, Linda, and two children and gives major time to religious music in evangelistic campaigns, church revivals, and music programs.

This newspaper, for itself and on behalf of the general public of Longview and the east Texas area, joins the membership of the First Baptist Church in appreciation and respect for the spiritual leadership of Dr. Ford as a Longview pastor and for his continuous contribution to community progress in all worthwhile areas of life across these 20 fruitful years. May he have many more years of useful ministry in our community.

ELLIE HOPKINS,
Editor in Chief.

[From the Longview (Tex.) Journal, June 6, 1965]

DR. FORD MARKS 20TH YEAR AS MINISTER OF FIRST BAPTIST

(By staff writer)

The membership of the First Baptist Church will recognize today the 20th anniversary of Dr. W. Morris Ford as pastor, with particular attention to the growth of the church under his leadership.

A public reception by the membership will honor Dr. and Mrs. Ford from 3 to 5 p.m. today in the church parlor.

Roses will be presented to the pastor and his wife at the 11 a.m. worship service, the presentation on behalf of the membership to be made by George Lyon, chairman of the deacons.

The Fords also will be honored by the deacons and their wives at a dinner at 7 p.m. Monday in the social hall.

The sanctuary choir will sing the anthem, "Hark, Hark My Soul," as a part of the Sunday morning music program under the direction of Dr. Glenn L. Farr, minister of music, with Mrs. Lawrence Birdsong at the organ.

Deacon Chairman Lyon will make the presentation of roses during the period of preliminary announcements and will lead the offertory prayer before Dr. Ford delivers the morning sermon.

The Sunday afternoon reception was planned to give Longview people in general an opportunity to pay their respects to Dr. and Mrs. Ford, who have been active in numerous civic and community organizations.

Growth in active church membership and organizational work, expansion of buildings and facilities, and a continuing emphasis on all phases of mission work provide the highlights of Dr. Ford's ministry here.

When he accepted the call and began his work as pastor here on the first Sunday in June 1945, First Baptist had 6 staff members, 30 deacons, 2,126 resident members, and 1,695 nonresident members, and a budget of $71,136 for the year.

During the Ford pastorate, the church staff has been expanded to 17 full-time persons, 76 men serve as deacons, 6,400 people have been received into church membership, the present roll includes 3,074 members with only 577 of them nonresident, and the budget is $350,000 this year.

The church plan in 1945 consisted of the present Memorial Auditorium, three educational buildings grouped next to it, the Northcutt Heights Mission, and pastor's home on Fifth Avenue, with total value of $251,000.

Under Dr. Ford's leadership, a new sanctuary and chapel were built in 1951, new children's building in 1955, youth center completed in 1961, a new pastor's home was acquired on Isgren Drive, new property was bought for parking and future expansion, and total value of property rose to $2,400,000.

In addition, the Northcutt Heights Mission became self-supporting Northside Baptist Church; the Oakland Heights Chapel was organized and the present auditorium and one educational building were erected under First Baptist sponsorship. Then it became self-supporting and was organized as the Oakland Heights Baptist Church and is carrying out a major building and expansion program of its own.

Growth of church organizations under Dr. Ford's leadership has been notable. The Sunday school in 1945 had an enrollment of 1,936 and average attendance of 966; its current enrollment is 2,336 and attendance averages 1,450 per Sunday.

Training union enrollment in 1945 was 376 and attendance averaged 186 per Sunday. Current enrollment is 988 and average attendance is more than 500.

The woman's missionary union in 1945 had three groups. Today it has 14 groups with 388 enrolled.

Mrs. Ford has been active in support of her husband's ministry and in church organization work. She serves as coordinator of the cradle roll department of the Sunday school, visiting homes of new babies and enlisting their parents in church activities.

She serves as official "greeter" on Sunday morning in the children's building, meeting visitors and enrolling new members.

Dr. and Mrs. Ford participated early in 1963 in the Japan New Life Missions program. Sponsored by First Baptist, they went to Indonesia, where Dr. Ford's sister Ruth is a medical missionary with the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention.

In Indonesia, Taiwan, Taichung, Hong Kong, and Japan, Dr. Ford preached through interpreters, sang—sometimes in the native tongue which he had learned for the particular song—and he and Mrs. Ford worked and witnessed in various activities during the trip.

Last November, Dr. and Mrs. Ford had as their guest in Longview for a month the Reverend Sumeo Kaneko, Japanese pastor of the Kokura Baptist Church where Dr. Ford ministered during the New Life campaign. The Longview pastor accompanied the Japanese minister, acted as his interpreter and sang in many churches and Baptist institutions and organizations where he appeared during his visit to the United States.

Since coming to Longview from the First Baptist Church in Jackson, Tenn., Dr. Ford has served the denomination on numerous boards and committees, both at the State and National levels.

Presently he serves as chairman of the program planning committee of the executive board, which has the responsibility of budgeting the $12 million expenditures of the Baptist General Convention of Texas.

He also is chairman of the church-state committee of the Texas convention; member of the board of trustees of East Texas Baptist College and formerly served as chairman.

Last year Dr. Ford was elected a member of the foreign mission board of the Southern Baptist Convention. He recently attended a meeting where several new missionaries were chosen for foreign service.

Dr. Ford has been active in Longview community service organizations, as well as in broader educational fields. He has served on the board of trustees of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.; and on the relief and annuity board of the Baptist General Convention of Texas, Dallas.

He also has served on the boards of trustees of Baylor University, Waco; Union University, Jackson, Tenn.; and Southwest Baptist College, Boliver, Mo.

In Longview, he has served on the board of the Longview Chamber of Commerce, the Young Men's Christian Association, and as vice president of the Longview Civil Music Association.

Renowned as a bass soloist, Dr. Ford has sung in many churches in numerous civic operas and concerts, and has made a recording under the general title "Songs of Assurance."

He is author of a book, "Music in Worship," which has been used in many churches and music programs.

Dr. and Mrs. Ford's son David is a graduate of Longview High School, Baylor University, and has done postgraduate work at Southern Baptist Seminary in Louisville, Ky. He is using his rich baritone voice in the field of sacred music, in evangelistic meetings and revivals, and in oratorios, operas and concerts. He and his wife Linda have

two children, Scott and Gwen, and make their home in Waco.

The Longview pastor is a native of Patterson, Ill., graduate of Whitehall High School in Illinois, and as a youth moved with his family to Memphis, Tenn.

He holds a B.A. degree from Southwestern College, Memphis, Tenn.; and Th.M. and Ph.D. degrees from Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky. Baylor University has conferred on him the honorary doctor of divinity degree, and East Texas Baptist College honored him with a doctor of letters degree.

"The Ypsilanti War on Poverty Is a Fraud and a Disgrace"—Statement by Arthur Amolsch to Republican Task Force on Economic Opportunity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THRUSTON B. MORTON

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement presented on June 8, 1965, by Mr. Arthur Amolsch, of Ypsilanti, Mich., to the Republican Task Force on Economic Opportunity, chaired by our able colleague, Representative FRELINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey.

On June 21 I visited and inspected the area described in the statement. From personal knowledge, I can vouch for its accuracy. I commend it to the Members of the Senate.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY ARTHUR AMOLSCH, YPSILANTI, MICH., JUNE 8, 1965

Mr. Chairman, I would like to begin by stating the obvious: It is a tribute to our country and our form of Government that the minority party in our highest legislative council can, on its own, search out relevant testimony on public issues. It is, however, unfortunate that the minority party should have to go outside usual legislative channels in orders to get this testimony.

To identify myself, I am Arthur Amolsch, of Ypsilanti, Mich. I teach American history and English at Edmundson Junior High School, which is about a quarter mile from Willow Run Village. With me is Gordon Mattson, who is a resident of Willow Run Village and is the chairman of Reply (Return Every Penny, Leave Ypsilanti). He is in charge of material followup with the Fisher Body Division, General Motors, at its Willow Run plant. We represent at least 75 percent of the residents of the Ypsilanti portion of Willow Run Village. We are shocked at the highhanded methods employed by the OEO in our community.

Mr. Chairman, there can be no doubt that the Ypsilanti war on poverty—financed initially with almost $200,000 of the taxpayers' money—is a fraud and a disgrace. It is a fraud because the money was granted under false pretenses. It is a disgrace because (a) those who perpetrated the fraud have shamelessly played on the understandable desire of the American people to help the unfortunate by indulging in a fantastic give-away; and because (b) it reveales extremely sloppy management and administrative procedures on the part of those who are charged with dispensing public funds under the avowed aim of promoting economic opportunity. Let me expand on these charges in the order in which I stated them.

Even a cursory study of the 88 page report on which this grant is based reveals it to be possibly the greatest swindle since the Donation of Constantine. This report, entitled a "Demonstration-Training Community Action Project for Willow Village, Mich.," was prepared by the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, which is a combined operation of the University of Michigan and Wayne State University. In the report's own words, it was submitted to the Federal Government by the institute "in cooperation with the Willow Run Association for Neighborhood Development (WRAND)." This report is divided into four parts, the first of which I want to discuss this morning because it is in this section of the report that the institute and WRAND make their case for Federal funds.

According to this report, the people in Willow Village are "socially isolated. The normal infrastructure (sic) of public facilities, local government and community organizations on which self-help depends is (sic) either absent or highly disorganized." Further, "Willow Village is a depressed community * * * (which, after World War II) rapidly became a center of hard-core poverty." "The Village," says the report, "is an unincorporated, urban-fringe area * * * a pocket of poverty dissociated from the surrounding, relatively prosperous area."

We submit, Mr. Chairman, that Willow Village is not a center of hard-core poverty, is not a depressed community, and is not an urban-fringe area—whatever that is—and that the people who live there are not socially isolated. About the only true statement in the general fiction which I just quoted you from the report is that Willow Village is unincorporated. Actually, no such place legally exists any longer and a great many of the residents of the area resent being reminded of what they call "a ghost." What we shall call—for the purposes of this discussion—Willow Village, is primarily located in Ypsilanti Township, a thriving, growing community in southeastern Michigan. Heavy industry in the form of General Motors Corp. and Ford Motor Co., among others, are located in Ypsilanti Township. It lies within 10 miles of two major State-supported universities.

As soon as the institute report was made public, volunteers circulated questionnaires in the area to determine some of the economic characteristics of the areas and its people. Questionnaires were circulated to 524 homes in the area. Two hundred and eighty-nine responses were received. This is, I believe, an overall 55 percent response rate. In some of the streets canvassed, the return was as high as 87 percent, but unfortunately we were later informed that in one street a member of WRAND followed the volunteers and told the residents not to fill out the questionnaires. As a result of this blocking of data gathering, in one area only 13 percent of the questionnaires were returned. Nonetheless, the returns which we have, give, I think, a fair picture of the area. These answers show that 268 own their own homes, while 20 rent; 259 wanted to return the grant to the Government, while 12 wanted to keep it; 129 own 1 car, 73 own 2 cars, 13 own 3 cars and 2 families owned 4 cars; 145 families own 1 television set, 67 own 2 sets, 5 own 3 sets and 1 family owned 4 television sets; only 11 people living in the area felt themselves to be impoverished, while 29 did not think they themselves were impoverished, but thought the area was impoverished. No person or family who was unemployed returned the questionnaire—although I am sure that there are some unemployed in the area—and the average family income of those who returned their sheets was $7,942 (sic). If the committee wishes, I can break these figures down by street later on.

Two members of the Ypsilanti Township Board of Trustees (including the former chairman of the board of WRAND who now has a well-paying job administering the grant) live in Willow Village. The area is served by the Willow Run public school system—where I am employed—which employs over 170 teachers, about half of whom have advanced degrees, and which has a budget of approximately one and a half million dollars a year. According to the report, "the schools are a bus-ride away," yet a brandnew elementary school on the edge of the area has just been opened this year.

According to the WRAND report, "Willow Village is a community without social services," yet WRAND was ostensibly organized here; the United Fund operates in the area and the school system provides a school nurse, an immunization program, etc. The WRAND report claims that there is no newspaper serving the area but both Detroit dailies and the Ypsilanti Press and the Ann Arbor News are delivered in the village. The report states that there is no medical facility but the fact is that Ypsilanti Township belongs to the People's Community Hospital Authority which operates a hospital less than 3 miles away. The report blandly states that there is no recreation or cultural or even entertainment facility, but the township and school district operate recreational facilities including public use of the high school swimming pool; the two universities in the area of course operate full-time cultural activities and there is, among other things, a major chain motion picture theater approximately 2 miles away.

The report alleges that there are no stores in the area, yet there is a modern shopping center right in the middle of the village. As a matter of fact, a neighborhood grocer closed his store recently because of a lack of business: suggesting that retailing facilities are at least adequate.

The WRAND report claims that urban renewal "demolished * * * the community buildings * * * the community center (which is now located in a former schoolbuilding), the schools (there are several), the gas station (there are three), the grocery (there is still a small grocery right across the street from the shopping center), the medical and dental clinics (both of which are less than 5 minutes away by car)." This inaccurate report on which the grant was based claims, on page 7, that many houses are standing vacant for lack of anyone to move into the area; yet, on the same page, it says that "old residents of the village * * * are still waiting for a chance to move back." Which is it? And anyway, why should anyone want to move into a depressed area, if it really is one?

In the synopsis of the report, the writers claim that the so-called poverty in Willow Village has produced "a social adjustment to marginal life: passivity, dependency, and mistrust in relation to public agencies, withdrawal from the political and cultural life of the wider community; and an unwillingness the energy and hope in self-help." But on page 8 of the report, the writers admit that "The community spirit of the old village remains" and that "there is a reservoir of leadership talent in the area." And on page 12, the report adds that the WRAND projects in the area "demonstrate the remarkable will of a group at the bottom of the social, economic, and cultural ladder to invest both energy and money in their own future."

It occurs to me that such blatant contradictions could only be written into a report by a writer who had not the slightest idea of what he was doing or else know that he had contradicted himself but didn't expect anyone to read his report thoroughly before they granted these requested funds.

On the basis of those contradictions, Mr. Chairman, the institute report concludes as follows: "The institute believes that Willow Village is an area of substantial poverty which should receive Federal assistance under the terms of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964."

It is a disgrace that the Government has gone ahead and given away $188,000 of the workingman's money to the institute without, apparently, verifying either the details of the report or the credentials of those responsible for it. According to those responsible for this hoax, the Willow Run Association for Neighbor Development, a local community action group, was the source of this project. The report implies that WRAND is a local group formed by local citizens with approximately 500 members. Actually, WRAND is nothing more than a front group formed by six Ann Arbor social planners with a local mmebership that we have been able to find of about 6—not 600, just 6. I have a list of the incorporators if the committee is interested in their names. One of them is a Mr. Henry Alting, manager of a group of cooperative apartments which lie within the area known as Willow Village. When these apartments were opened for occupancy, an advertising brochure extolling their virtues was published. I would like to quote from that brochure, a copy of which I have with me:

"Near recreation areas with—fishing, swimming, boating * * * easy access to shopping * * * 4½-acre parksite adjacent * * * quiet, safe streets * * * protected play areas."

"In the Willow Run school district—which provides elementary, junior high, and high school—recreation and athletic programs—adult education—year-round swimming * * * library facilities."

Mr. Chairman, it is not enough just to know that a fraud has been committed. It is not even enough to indict those responsible for the fraud. Responsible leadership should seek to find the conditions which enabled the fraud to be committed and then try to correct them. I suggest that fraud occurred in this case because we have been taking the wrong approach to solving the complex problems of today which demand our attention. Like ancient alchemists, we have sought the magic ingredient which will yield us instant wealth and guaranteed happiness. We have, of course, failed, for there is no magic ingredient, no supernatural incantation which when pronounced will do away with poverty and need. But out of the experimentation of the past 30 years, we should at least have learned what sorts of things will not work. We have tried out the ingredients of what President Kennedy caustically referred to as the leviathan state. It is time we learned that not everything can be solved by a government spending program: that, indeed, government spending may often cause more problems than it cures, not the least of which may be an inefficient or arrogant bureaucracy. Unless we are willing to believe that the President and the Office of Economic Opportunity conspired to throw away the taxpayers' money—and I for one am not ready to believe it—then a rational alternative suggestion as to how all this money was poured down the rathole is that a large centralized bureaucracy simply is not capable of coping with the problems which arise at the local level. What we need, then, are programs which recognize this fact and proceed to handle problems at the local level.

The Keystone of the Democractic Arch Is Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. GILLIGAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. GILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, July 2, President Johnson delivered an address to the convention of the National Education Association meeting in New York City. This is an exceedingly important statement and program outline of interest not only for every practicing and prospective teacher but for each citizen of this Nation.

It cannot be overemphasized that the future of education in this country and the Nation's future itself are indistinguishable. Because of this it is incumbent upon each of us to lend our talents and experiences in searching for answers to the questions raised by the President.

I greet you as the shapers of American society.

Emerson said, "The true test of a civilization is not the census, nor the size of the cities, nor the crops, but the kind of man the country turns out."

Education, more than any single force, will mold the citizen of the future. That citizen in turn will determine the greatness of our society. And it is up to you to make that education equal to our towering expectations of the America to come.

I am here to reaffirm your Government's intention to help in that task.

MEASURES PASSED

In the last 19 months your President and your Congress have worked together in the most fruitful partnership for education in American history.

We passed the Higher Education Facilities Act.

We passed the Library Services Act—to improve our libraries as storehouses of learning.

We passed the Vocational and Technical Education Act.

We passed the Nurse Training Act.

We passed the poverty measure, the Economic Opportunity Act, offering millions of young people training to help them escape from poverty.

We passed the $1.2 billion Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965—the broadest, most meaningful, and sweeping Federal commitment to education ever made.

And this is the first week, of the first fiscal year, in which funds, under this act, will begin to flow to States and communities in every part of America.

OTHER GOALS NOTED

We are going to pass the higher education bill to provide help to colleges and to students.

We are going to pass the Federal Arts and Humanities Foundation bill—to help those engaged in the study of the humanities and in the practice of the arts.

Next year, in my next state of the Union message, I intend to offer more new proposals to improve the education of all Americans.

And we are not going to stop until every child in this land can have all the education of the highest quality, which his ambition demands and his mind can absorb.

So I come here not to speak of our triumphs but our tasks, not of the success we have had but the sacrifices to be made, not of the achievements of yesterday, but the aspirations of tomorrow.

For this is not an occasion for self-congratulations. It is rather a time to reflect on our mounting needs and our present deficiencies.

More than 1 million students a year drop out of school—their talents wasted, their intelligence lost to the Nation, their futures shadowed by their failure, and ours.

NEEDS ARE STRESSED

In the next 5 years, attendance in elementary and secondary schools, at 48.1 million in the fall of 1964, will increase by 4 million—almost a million students a year. We will need 400,000 new classrooms to meet this growth; while a half million of our present classrooms are already more than 30 years old.

And beyond 1970 the demand for education, at every level, will continue to increase.

We will need more classrooms, more books, more teachers, and more schools on a scale undreamt of even a decade ago.

Nor is it enough to give a student a place to sit and a teacher to learn from. We must make sure that the quality of that education is equal to his capacity to learn—that it stimulates creativity rather than stifling it—that it enlarges the mind rather than narrowing it—that he receives not merely a diploma but learning, in its broadest, most meaningful and humane sense.

In pursuit of these goals I have sent out invitations for the White House Conference on Education. It will take place on July 20–21. It will bring together educators and informed citizens from all over the country. It will seek the answer to the immense question: How can a growing nation in an increasingly complex world provide education of the highest quality for all its people?

The search for this answer radiates into every corner of American life. It must deal with educational opportunity and techniques from preschool age to the most advanced of studies. And it must look beyond the classroom to the family and the surroundings of the student. For the process of learning is not a carefully defined and isolated segment of a person's life. It is part of an organic whole, embracing all the forces which shape the man. If we ignore these forces, we do so at the peril of learning itself. Nothing is more dangerous than the easy assumption that simply by putting more money into more schools we will emerge with an educated, trained, and enlightened Nation.

It is this assumption I want you to challenge. I want you to bring all the tools of modern knowledge, from physics to psychology, to bear on the increase of learning. And if these tools are still inadequate, we must fashion new and better ones.

To guide discussion we are formulating a series of questions. I hope you will give them your most careful thought and boldest imagination in the weeks to come.

They include:

How can we bring first-class education to the city slum and the impoverished rural areas? The children of 5 million families are now denied it.

How can we stimulate every child to catch the love of learning so he wants to stay in school? One million students a year now drop out.

How do we guarantee that new funds will bring new ideas and new techniques to our school system, not simply expand the old and the outmoded?

How can local, State, and Federal Government best cooperate to make education the first among our Nation's goals?

GOVERNMENT ACTING

These are only a few of the important questions which I hope the White House con-

ference examines. I would like to mention one other: Our country today is among the leaders in the community of nations. How well is our education system preparing our citizens for this responsibility?

But even as we prepare for this conference, your Government is acting.

We are now completing a thorough reorganization of the Office of Education, equipping it to deal with its new and future responsibilities.

We have also established:

A national center for educational statistics.

An office of programs for educating the disadvantaged.

An office of equal educational opportunity.

And we are, at this moment, preparing more, exciting new programs.

In the next few days I will propose a National Teachers Corp to enlist thousands of dedicated Americans to work alongside local teachers in city slums and areas of rural poverty. They will be young people, preparing for teaching careers. They will be experienced teachers willing to give a year to places of the greatest need.

They can bring the best in our Nation to the help of the poorest of our children.

FELLOWSHIPS PLANNED

I announce today that your President will support a program of fellowships for elementary and secondary school teachers so they can replenish their knowledge and improve their abilities. This program will also assist teachers, displaced by the process of school integration, to acquire the skills necessary to new and challenging jobs.

For you and I are both concerned about the problem of the dismissal of Negro teachers as we move forward with desegregation of the schools. I applaud the action you have taken.

For my part I have directed the Commissioner of Education to pay special attention, in reviewing desegregation plans, to guard against any pattern of teacher dismissal based on race or national origin.

When upgrading of teaching staff is required in newly integrated districts, I have instructed education officials to provide funds for teacher institutes from National Defense Education Act, and to assist the school districts through title IV of the Civil Rights Act.

Where an integrated school system requires fewer teachers than those required to operate two segregated school systems, I have directed Federal officials to provide special reemployment services through a national program carried out by the U.S. Employment Service.

When unemployed teachers need and desire refresher training, I have ordered Federal officials to provide this training under the Manpower Development and Training Act. Such a training program has already proven its worth in this city, sponsored by the Urban League at Yeshiva University.

In these and many other ways, we continue to pursue this central goal of our administration.

But the basic thought, and programs of future action, must come from you. And the deeds which give meaning to the law must also come from you. For a Federal law is not an education. A national program is not a developing child. A Presidential speech is not a trained nation. But as a teacher who has labored with you through the years, I remind you we have talked and dreamed and philosophized about the need for all these things for 30 years or more. We urged that they be put in the annual party platforms. But this is a different day.

The time for talking and dreaming and philosophizing and writing platforms is gone and the time for doing is at hand. These things are empty and sterile without the will and the effort at every level of our national life needed to transform intention into reality—the mandate of law into the fulfillment of life.

In this, too, the hopes of our Nation rest on you.

I do not need to talk to this audience about the importance of education. No strain in our national life is more deeply rooted or more enduring than this faith in learning. It is a pathway to opportunity and the good life. It is the key to wise and satisfying use of our leisure time. It is the door to each man's highest use of his highest powers—which is happiness. It can bring fulfillment to the many; and, to the happy few, those transcendent achievements which enrich the race.

And if these things are true for every society, how much more important they are for a free society.

In every corner of the world, not only our democracy but the idea of democracy itself is being challenged. As the world grows in danger and complexity, as humanity seems dwarfed by the forces it has lossed, man's ability to govern himself is again being questioned.

We will not prove democracy's strength by faith or by the experience of the past. We will prove it by the works of the future. And that future—hopeful but still unknown—is today struggling to be born in millions of young and waiting minds, in thousands of classrooms in this restless continent.

Resolution To Have Boxing Placed Under Federal Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution adopted by the Veteran Boxers Association of New York.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas Veteran Boxers Association of New York, Inc., a membership corporation organized under the laws of the State of New York for the purpose of aiding the boxing profession and the veteran boxers; and

Whereas said organization is vitally interested in maintaining high standards for the said boxing profession and all associated with it; and

Whereas recent fights have created a bad public image of boxing; and

Whereas there is pending activity for the passage of a national boxing control law in the Congress of the United States of America; and

Whereas said association is in favor of such legislation: Now, therefore, it is

Resolved, That legislation be passed that boxing be placed under and subject to Federal control and that a Federal boxing commissioner be appointed to carry out the purposes of said act.

This resolution was made at a duly constituted meeting of the National Boxers Association of New York, Inc., and the president and secretary of the association was ordered to affix their signatures to said resolution.

VETERAN BOXERS ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK, INC.,
I. W. SILVERMAN, *President*.
BEN JEBY, *Secretary*.

Local Government and Training Local Officials Key to Effective Government, Charles F. Moore, Jr., Indicates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, there is a crying need in this country for the most competent men and women available to participate actively in local government. There is naturally a tendency for people to try for the more glamorous but often superficial positions on the Federal level and the result is that villages, towns, counties, and State governments suffer. It is really the people who live there who suffer the most from this because private initiative and enterprise are not encouraged and a full faraway government takes the place of interested local participation.

For several months there has been a quiet success story in Orleans, Mass., which merits national attention. Charles F. Moore, Jr., who has had extensive experience on the State and national level, as well as in private and civic enterprise, ran for and won, first, a selectman in Orleans on the cape in Massachusetts. He went into this because of his very real belief that if a genuine job is to be done at the grassroots level, a great deal of the trouble that plagues us periodically at the top might be eliminated. Few people at first could grasp that he was really serious about it all and that he meant what he told them of the importance of good citizens taking an active part in such affairs and at the lowest rung of the ladder, if necessary. He obtained 72 percent of the total vote based on a positive local program. Now the most amazing side reaction has been the correspondence he has had from many quarters, which clearly indicate that others have taken careful note of this and have become moved to do likewise in other upcoming local elections. One man has announced that he will leave his rather special job at Harvard and run for office in his home town; a young minister from the New Bedford area is planning to do likewise; except that he will continue to hold his church position. Mr. Moore has set up a public information committee of 40 men and women to bring them closer to what local government is doing. When they reviewed the town budget this last month he put together about 100 slides explaining the whole assessment process. When a substantial tax rate increase was mentioned it was actually applauded—the first time in any local history. He is having good citizenship medals made up for three town civic figures who have come up with bright new ways to encourage local initiative and service. He has also started a scholarship from Nauset Regional High in this field. Because I believe that this sort of citizenship participation at grassroots level by qualified people who may have spent their previous years in other lines of endeavor, needs encouragement and

discussion, I hope that Members of Congress, the press and other careful students of the record will be on the lookout to encourage this kind of pioneering in the improvement of local government.

High-Speed Ground Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, recently I have called upon the administration, in a research and development program to be undertaken pursuant to legislation presently pending in Congress, to give equal emphasis to the objective of improving existing conventional passenger railroad transportation in the northeast corridor as to the objective of developing more exotic and unconventional forms of high-speed ground transportaton. Specifically, I favor the development of passenger trains capable of speeds in the range of 150 miles per hour—initially on the existing New York-Washington line, then in the Boston-Washington corridor and other congested urban transportation corridors. My position was outlined in a statement I gave recently before a subcommittee of the Committee on Commerce on S. 1588 which I am cosponsoring.

I, for one, do not believe that railroads are obsolete. On the contrary, they are the hope of our cities. While airports and expressways serve outlying areas rather than established urban centers, it is the railroad which can facilitate the access of people to center cities. I have felt that it is sound public policy to revitalize the cores of our cities, and I believe that this can be done quickly only by railroad or buses.

I support the development of conventional high-speed railroad systems capable of achieving speeds of 150 to 160 miles per hour, and see in the proposed northeast corridor, with service from Boston to Washington, hope for the extension of other congested urban transportation corridors throughout the Nation.

I ask unanimous consent that my statement and an editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer on this subject be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY U.S. SENATOR HUGH SCOTT, REPUBLICAN, OF PENNSYLVANIA, BEFORE THE SURFACE TRANSPORTATION SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE COMMERCE COMMITTEE, JUNE 1, 1965

Mr. Chairman, as a cosponsor of S. 1588, I appreciate this opportunity to testify in support of this legislation to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to undertake research and development in high-speed ground transportation. This is an important bill which should be promptly enacted.

I am appearing before your subcommittee today not only to express my support of S. 1588, but also to outline my views as to how we can most productively proceed in the development of high-speed ground transportation, first in the northeast corridor between Boston and Washington, and then in other heavily populated intercity transportation corridors.

S. 1588 authorizes such sums of money as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of the bill. The President has asked for an appropriation of $20 million for fiscal year 1966 for this project, and the Secretary of Commerce has said, that he will seek an additional $70 million for fiscal 1967 and 1968.

The Department of Commerce intends to spend its fiscal 1966 appropriation as follows: $2 million to improve transportation statistics so that the Department can acquire detailed knowledge of present transportation patterns and preferences to predict future transportation needs and to ascertain the most efficient ways of meeting them; $6 million for demonstration projects on the Pennsylvania and New Haven Railroads to test the public's reaction to improvements in the speed, comfort, and convenience of passenger service; and $10 million for the study of other possible high-speed ground transportation sytems of a more unconventional and exotic nature.

In outlining their plans for railroad demonstration projects, Commerce Department officials have declared that no commitment to a future development of railroad transportation is implied. This is an understandably prudent position to adopt at the outset of a major undertaking of research into a wide range of technological possibilities of high-speed ground transportation in the decades to come.

But I am here today to urge that serious consideration be given to the proposition that there is a place in the scheme of things for high-speed railroads (perhaps of Japan's Tokaido variety) and that first priority be assigned to the development of high-speed passenger railroad service in the congested urban corridors of the Nation.

I do not intend to dismiss or downgrade the necessity of studying the feasibility of a more advanced and exotic system such as, for example, a jet-propelled passenger train riding on air-cushion pods at a speed approaching 400 miles-per-hour through an underground tube. Indeed, such systems should be explored, with the only restrictions being the limits of human imagination and ingenuity.

Let me point out, however, that despite the recent and awe-inspiring walk in space by Major White, we have not yet reached the era of Buck Rogers, nor are we likely to reach it soon in the area of high-speed ground transportation. This point must be emphasized, I think, because considerable concern has been voiced by knowledgeable observers that the Department of Commerce may already be committed to concentrating on the Buck Rogers phase of its research and development undertaking at the expense of the more pressing need for investigating the full range of possibilities available in the field of conventional high-speed passenger rail transportation. I feel strongly that assurance is needed that the here and now will receive as much attention as the hereafter. My approach is to go faster now and fastest later.

This is a legitimate concern. Say what you will about the promising vistas opened by a preview of some of the exotic systems that are being discussed in transportation circles. I think it is reasonable to say, however, that we are talking of modes of high-speed ground transportation that cannot be developed before 1985 at the earliest. A conventional railroad and an exotic system both will be needed by 1985. If the latter has not been developed by then, we would be forced to do what the Japanese have done and add a second complete railroad. Let us by all means investigate the feasibility of these various systems, but let us also devote equal attention to the more immediate and pressing problem of improving door-to-door ground passenger transportation in the congested Boston-Washington and other inter-urban corridors.

I propose, therefore, that we follow the step-by-step approach instead of the great leap forward. The first major step would be the development of conventional high-speed railroad systems capable of achieving speeds of 150 to 160 miles per hour. In this context, I attach great significance to the planned demonstration projects to be undertaken on the railroads between Boston and Washington. While I can understand the Commerce Department's reluctance to commit itself to the future development of railroad transportation, I, for one, do not accept the notion that railroads are obsolete, and I urge the Secretary of Commerce to reconsider his uncommitted position to the extent of assuring the American people that he has no intention of bypassing the improvement of railroad passenger service and, instead, putting all our eggs in the Buck Rogers basket. If he adopts the step-by-step approach I have just outlined, I would hope that he reexamine his proposed allocation of funds for the railroad demonstration project to make sure that $8 million and the period of time reserved for the projects are adequate to produce meaningful and useful results. The Department of Commerce might consider expending a larger portion of its $20 million appropriation than that presently earmarked for the rail demonstration project, or it could ask Congress for additional funds for this purpose.

Some people might say that a step-by-step approach to developing a high-speed ground transportation system will be more expensive than proceeding directly to developing an unconventional Buck Rogers system. I doubt this very much. I understand that the Department of Commerce's studies indicate that the present railroad between New York and Washington could be improved to provide a speed capability of 125 miles per hour at a cost of $329 million. The cost estimate for a 150-mile-an-hour railway between the two cities is $750 million. A passenger train with speeds of 150 to 160 miles per hour could make the run between New York and Washington, including the intermediate stops, in 2 hours, which competes favorably with the airplanes in terms of door-to-door transportation between these cities. It would seem impractical to exceed these speeds since the return in time savings at higher speeds diminishes considerably. Moreover, 150 miles per hour is fast enough to compete favorably with other modes of transportation on the short intercity runs that are involved. Of course, the railroads should also give serious thought to better competition with the airlines in the area of meals and other services.

The principal technological problems involved in developing speedier passenger service in the northeast corridor are two: designing cars capable of riding safely and comfortably at these high speeds, and straightening out the curves. With regard to the latter problem, Commerce Department studies indicate that for 125-mile-per-hour trains between New York and Washington three major curves would require straightening. These problems are soluble within the existing state of the art.

Now Mr. Chairman, these sums of money I have mentioned are not small. But think of the staggering cost of expenditures during the next two decades by reason of concentrating solely on the development of rainbow-chasing schemes at the expense of the existing railroads. This would mean the continued decline of rail passenger service, since the major eastern railroads have made it abundantly clear that they want to get out of the passenger business. We would then be faced with the choice of doing nothing as we bide our time awaiting the results of the Buck Rogers research enterprise while

watching our expressways and airports become congested, or of building more expressways and airports to keep up with the rapidly growing passenger demand in the northeast corridor.

The second option certainly would be expensive. Rights-of-way for additional expressways are becoming more scarce and their costs are rapidly going up. Moreover, drastic increases in automobile speeds within the next 20 years seem unlikely because of driver limitations and highway congestion. As for airports, land acquisition costs would likewise be high for the same reason as for highways, and I doubt that we shall see any significant reduction in flying time in short-haul intercity air transportation. Let me point out that these costs I have just mentioned would be borne in large part by the Federal Government and, in turn, the taxpayers.

Think, too, of the social costs of concentrating airport and highway construction in our congested urban corridors while waiting for the development, still many years ahead, of an exotic high-speed ground transportation system. I can testify to the disruptive hue and cry that goes up in communities when large tracts of land are earmarked for major highway construction because I have been the recipient of vigorous protests against many such projects. More critical, in my mind, is the fact that airports and expressways serve outlying areas rather than established urban centers. I have felt that it is sound public policy to revitalize the cores of our cities. One way of doing this is to facilitate the access of people to center cities. This can be done quickly only by railroads or buses.

And so, Mr. Chairman, while I do not suggest that the cost of developing high-speed railroad transportation between major urban centers will be cheap, the cost of developing rapid and convenient door-to-door intercity transportation on the ground is likely to be greater if we wait for the fruits of research into the unconventional systems that are under consideration.

For these reasons, I strongly urge the Department of Commerce to take the prudent step-by-step approach in the research it will undertake. First priority, as I previously said, should be given to developing high-speed passenger rail services on the order of 150 to 160 miles-per-hour. While this phase of the project necessarily would focus initially on the Boston-to-Washington corridor, which is the most heavily congested one in the Nation today, the results of this applied research, demonstration and testing would be readily applicable to other urban corridors. Here, Mr. Chairman, let me point to my own State, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The Scranton administration has under active consideration a proposal submitted last fall by the Governor's Council on Science and Technology for the development of a high-speed "Keystone Link" to the Boston-Washington line which would run from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. I have previously proposed, and now reiterate it, that a high-speed passenger service be developed between Pittsburgh and Cleveland. Other possibilities, I am sure, could be mentioned. The point here is that one of the benefits of the northeast corridor project in terms of the development of faster and more modern rail services between Boston and Washington is its easy applicability to other congested urban transportation corridors throughout the Nation. The Japanese have demonstrated the utility of a truly modern railroad. We could have similar railroads if this were to be our goal.

Another byproduct of proceeding with the development of high-speed rail transportation is the progress it would represent toward the eventual development of a more advanced and exotic mode of ground transportation. In addition to meeting the immediate problems of improving intercity transportation in congested corridors, it does look forward to another system. Both the railroads and a more advanced system will be needed by 1985 when, according to best available estimates, traffic in the northeast corridor may even be tripled.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, at the risk of being premature, I think that a word should be said as to who should build and manage the forthcoming interurban ground passenger transportation system, be they railroads, underground tubes or other exotic systems, or both. Let me cite the Communications Satellite Corp. as a point of reference and suggest that serious consideration be given to the idea of chartering a mixed public-private corporation along the lines of Comsat to do the job of building and managing the new ground transportation systems that most surely will result from the research authorized by S. 1588. While this suggestion is not immediately relevant to our consideration of S. 1588, it merits serious attention for we are going to be called upon to decide this matter before long.

A proper judgment now may save untold costs later.

HIGH-SPEED TRAINS

The promise of 150-mile-an-hour passenger train service between Philadelphia and Washington and Philadelphia and Boston has advanced a step toward fulfillment with the proposed designation of a 20-mile stretch of trackage near Trenton for testing purposes.

At the same time, a Department of Commerce official has disclosed the advance commitment of a $9 million Federal Government loan to the Pennsylvania Railroad to help finance the experiment.

President Johnson has already approved the high-speed project and has recommended to Congress an appropriation of $20 million.

The idea behind the plan is to provide fast, comfortable rail service in the northeast corridor area between Boston and Washington, with convenient service to New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. It has been suggested that this line can generate sufficient passenger volume to make for profitable operation by the Pennsylvania Railroad, and in the northern section by the New Haven. It is believed that the high-speed service could induce many persons to ride the trains instead of using other forms of intercity transportation.

The Boston to Washington run is a logical testing ground for this project. Senator HUGH SCOTT has pointed out that the plan, if successful, might be extended to take in Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia to Cleveland service. As the Senator says, "population needs and traffic congestion are running ahead of planning."

The Real Alabama—Part XXII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, two of the Nation's largest industrial organizations with major facilities in the Mobile area are the Scott Paper Co. and Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp.

Recently spokesmen for these industries wrote of their reasons for building and expanding in Mobile.

Following are their letters:

As I reflect upon a decade of significant progress for Scott Paper Co., as a partner in Mobile's thriving industrial development, I am convinced that our selection of this community for the site of an expanding plant complex was one of the most favorable and wise decisions we ever made.

Since 1954, Scott has completed two major expansions at Mobile, and we are now in the midst of a third which, when completed, will represent the largest single construction program ever undertaken by the company.

The fact that we continue to invest large capital sums in our Mobile operation to increase production capacity and improve the qualities of our products can be attributed to the competitive advantages and the wholehearted support we receive from this community.

We have found the Mobile area to be an ideal plant location for Scott because of its proximity to growing southern markets; easily accessible raw materials at attractive costs; good transportation; resourceful people; and—most important—a healthy business climate conducive to industrial growth.

These factors are extremely important to a company because they contribute to the operation of a sound and profitable enterprise; one that justifies vast investments in modern plants, machinery, and a continuing search for improved methods and products.

During the span of 10 years in Mobile, we have enjoyed a most gratifying partnership based upon mutual understanding, mutual purpose and mutual recognition that both companies and communities share a common stake in future progress. This is why all of us at Scott are confident our business will continue to grow and prosper for the benefit of the people and the community whose well-being are dependent upon its success.

HARRISON F. DUNNING,
President, Scott Paper Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

Our confidence in the Mobile area is best manifest by the fact that a few years ago we doubled our Nichols Works capacity at McIntosh, Ala.

While visiting our facility last fall, I had the pleasure of spending the night in Mobile and it was interesting to note the industrial progress which has occurred in your good city.

Without a doubt, it is the aggressive spirit of the Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce that must be responsible to a large degree for this industrial growth.

We wish you every success in your program to sell Mobile both for industrial purposes as well as being a very nice place in which to live.

JOHN O. LOGAN,
Vice President and General Manager, Chemicals Division, Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp., New York City.

Presentation to Roger Van Noord of Fourth Herman A. Lowe Memorial Scholarship in Journalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, recently the fourth Herman A. Lowe Memorial Scholarship in journalism was presented to Roger Van Noord at the annual dinner of Sigma Delta Chi, the national

journalistic honorary society. This scholarship honors the memory of the late Herman A. Lowe, whom I knew well as correspondent for the Philadelphia Inquirer and later as head of his own Washington news bureau.

The scholarship was established by Florence Lowe, now well known as producer of Metromedia's "Opinion in the Capital" and other television programs, and her brother, Bernard Segal, a nationally known Philadelphia lawyer and close personal friend of mine. It was conceived as a fitting tribute to a reporter of integrity and ability, and is administered by the Sigma Delta Chi Foundation, especially created for this purpose.

Roger Lowe, a member of the staff of the Senate Junvenile Delinquency Committee, made this year's award in memory of his father. I ask unanimous consent that Roger's presentation to the winner, Roger Van Noord, a junior at George Washington University, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the citation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Munroe, Senator KENNEDY, Mr. Scripps, Mother, members of Sigma Delta Chi and distinguished guests, ever since Johannes Guttenberg took the press out of winemaking and put it into printing, men have made great advances in the field of journalism.

However, this vital profession cannot afford to rest on past accomplishments; cannot afford to use outdated methods; and most of all, cannot afford to neglect the injection of fresh blood into the ranks.

While my father, Herman Lowe, was the last man to take credit for his accomplishments, he was the first to encourage the training of new reporters.

Therefore, 4 years ago, when my family sought a fitting memorial to him, the idea of an annual scholarship was decided upon. Tonight, I am very pleased to present this award to Roger Van Noord. I hope you, Roger, will have the chance to carry the torch ahead.

Wheat and Bread

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that any Member of this House intends to take a position against the farmer receiving something near a fair income for the contribution he makes to our health, to our economy, and to our well-being as a Nation. Our farm people are very important to all of us.

Agriculture has not shared in the Nation's prosperity, along with other great segments of our economy.

Over the past 17 years, prices received by farmers have dropped by 15 percent, while prices paid by consumers for food have increased 31 percent. During the last year, farm prices declined by another 3 percent in relation to 1947 prices, while consumer prices climbed another 2 percent.

Expenditures per person in the United States for food increased from $312 in 1950 to $417 in 1964. Of the $105 more each person spent on food in 1964 than in 1950, marketing firms received $104 and farmers received only $1.

This is a very serious situation for our farmers, especially when we consider the great increases that have occurred in the cost of things they must buy to make their crops. For instance, in 1950 the farmer sold 1,185 bushels of wheat to buy a 30 to 39 belt horsepower tractor which then could be had for $2,370; now it takes 2,053 bushels of wheat to pay for the same horsepower tractor which in 1964 carried a price tage of $3,470.

In the House Committee on Agriculture, we have been working for days, weeks, and months, trying to devise ways of improving the farmers' position, at the least possible cost to our taxpayers and the Government. It is the only fair and equitable thing that we in the Congress can do.

But, Mr. Speaker, our task has been made exceedingly difficult. A great deal of erroneous and misleading information is being circulated around the country, confusing our citizens.

Along with the other people in agriculture, we are trying to improve the position of our wheat farmers. They now are getting less for their wheat than they did 15 years ago. But some people are spreading the word that when we improve the price for wheat farmers we are actually imposing a bread tax upon our consumers.

This question presents itself: Are we to repress and hold down our farmers forever, in the fear that by boosting their meager income, however slightly, someone will charge us with imposing a tax upon food?

Mr. Speaker, I have made these remarks by way of introducing into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a letter I have received from the Secretary of Agriculture, which takes a very sharp look at the record where the wheat farmer and the wheat program are concerned. I recommend the very careful attention of each Member of this body to what the Secretary has to say. The text of his letter to me follows:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, July 1, 1965.

Hon. HAROLD D. COOLEY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The wheat certificate program completed its first year June 30, with these results:

Wheat farm income for the 1964 crop year will be about $450 million higher than would otherwise have been possible;

Program costs to the taxpayer were over $300 million lower than in the previous fiscal year;

Publicly owned wheat stocks stored at public expense will total 725 million bushels, or some 150 million bushels fewer than at the end of the previous marketing year. Total wheat stocks currently are about 840 million bushels;

Profits to wheat users thus far in 1965, according to recent Standard & Poor surveys, are higher in nearly every case than for the same period in 1964;

Consumer prices for wheat products have remained stable. Bread prices in the past 12 months have averaged around 21 cents a loaf or less, virtually unchanged from the period before the certificate program went into effect; and

Wheat exports in the 1965 fiscal year are the second largest in history. Only the 1964 fiscal year, which included substantial sales to the Soviet Union, was larger.

In every respect the predictions which the administration made last year in support of the wheat certificate program have been borne out.

The same, however, cannot be said for the predictions of wheat users and others who opposed this legislation when it was under consideration by the Congress last year.

Let me quote some of those statements as they were made then:

A key opponent of the bill on the Senate floor said, "Under this bill, what, in effect, is being said by the Government is: 'Add 1 cent per loaf, no matter * * * how you do it.'"

The New York Times editorialized that "What all this means is higher costs for the consumer."

Interstate bakeries, whose per share earnings are currently running almost 65 percent higher than a year ago: "The consuming public * * * will be victims of inevitable price increases."

Continental Baking Co. said this legislation "can mean nothing but an increase in the price of bread to the consumer."

The Northwestern Miller editorialized that "Wheat prices will rise. And so flour will cost more."

These are only a few of the calamitous statements heard a year ago in an effort to defeat a bill, and all of them have been proven false by the most effective test possible—a year of practical operating experience.

I quote them now because the same dire predictions are being heard once again, this time in regard to the proposals now before the Congress to extend the wheat certificate program.

We have stated repeatedly that the new legislation would provide the wheat farmer an additional seven-tenths of a cent for the wheat used in a loaf of bread by domestic bakers. It will be the first time in 15 years that the wheat farmer has had an increase in his share of the returns from a loaf of bread. Since 1949, the cost of wheat in a loaf of bread has been 2.7 cents or less even though the cost of that loaf has increased from 14 to 21 cents currently.

Yet, the wheat users have threatened that if the share of the farmer is increased seven-tenths of a cent, the price of bread will be increased 2 cents a loaf.

This statement must be viewed in the context of the experience of the past year. The results of practical experience have borne out the position of the administration, just as future experience will bear out the statements which the administration is making in support of the current proposal.

Sincerely yours,

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN,
Secretary.

Dedication and Commitment of Americans Serving in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, Loudon Wainwright wrote a poignant essay in the June 11 issue of Life magazine about

the dedication and commitment of the Americans serving in Vietnam. I ask unanimous consent to insert the article in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A LITTLE PARCEL OF COMMITMENT

(By Loudon Wainwright)

I figure I had just about recovered from my brief trip to Vietnam when the letter came from a pilot I'd met during a 5-day visit to the carrier *Midway*. That is, I was getting over the shock of returning to a land where Cassius Clay's right hand and JOHN LINDSAY's party loyalty are important topics. I had almost reached the point where I could read about the teach-ins without getting sore and had nearly stopped feeling hostile toward people who asked me wasn't Hong Kong a more swinging town than Saigon. In short, I was in the midst of a bland process of disengagement through homecoming. High school graduations, summer plans, and the bills had begun to resume their normal staggering priorities.

The letter from the pilot halted that process abruptly. Its most important paragraph read, "Your message of greetings was delivered to each man you named except Comdr. Jam LaHaye. I am grieved to report that Jim was killed on May 8 during a strike on Vinh Airfield. Jim rolled in on a flak suppression run just moments before our bombing runs. We dove through a barrage of antiaircraft and Commander LaHaye's aircraft was hit. He managed to fly to the coast, but glided into the sea without ejecting."

The strange gentleness of those final words took me right back to the carrier. They seemed especially appropriate to Jim LaHaye, with whom I had passed an afternoon about a week before he "glided into the sea without ejecting." Commanding officer of a squadron of F-8 Crusaders aboard the *Midway*, he was a thoroughly polite and modest man, and as he walked me around the flight deck and showed me his big jets with the shark's teeth painted around their engine intakes, he was so low pressure he could have been showing me a stand of tomato plants. But for all his quiet diffidence, the quality of total engagement was there. In the course of our conversation, LaHaye, 41, an Annapolis graduate and father of three, told me that he'd had a day ashore at Saigon recently. Instead of spending the night sacked out in an air-conditioned hotel or simply going out on the town, LaHaye bummed a ride in an armed helicopter and went off on an overnight visit to a friend who was an Army adviser at a particularly dangerous and exposed Vietnamese village.

I doubt that LaHaye attached any special importance to his visit. He wanted to see his friend and—beyond that—he wanted to have a look at the war from a vantage point other than his own. But his act illustrated for me a reality I saw everywhere in Vietnam. It is a one-subject, single-preoccupation country, and no American I talked to was much interested in anything but the struggle that is going on there. They bitch about the heat and the food, gab about home and sex, but mainly they are fascinated, even obsessed, with the problems at hand. Some people may say—quite wrongly I think—that many of these men are war lovers. It seems more logical to me that their vulnerable position at the very swordpoint of the conflict demands total engagement. They give it, and it is an astonishing thing to see. It is also contagious for the passer-by.

In Vinh Long, a Mekong Delta town 60 miles south of Saigon, many of the Americans live in a three-story building which serves as an advisers' hotel. The men there are attached to Vietnamese units of many kinds: infantry, artillery, river forces, and they go back and forth almost daily between the hotel and their work, which is the continuous battle against the Vietcong who abound in the area. Armed commuters in jeeps, helicopters and boats, they go about the job of regularly exposing themselves to death in an utterly professional manner. The operations are planned and carried out without heroics or fanfare, and the lucky man can even get back in time for a shower before dinner. I suppose it's possible that danger as a routine way of life would be enormously attractive to some, but I found more compelling than that a sense of agreement among these men that they were engaged in necessary business.

This contagion of purpose extends beyond the military. I had dinner one night in Saigon at the apartment of a U.S. Operations Mission official whose wife had returned to the United States when the dependents were moved from Vietnam in February. With us at dinner was another official whose family had gone home, too. For much of the evening we talked about the USOM men who work in unprotected isolation in remote parts of the country, and we speculated about whether or not the Vietcong would begin a systematic campaign of harassment and murder against them. Until now they had not, but the heavy buildup of American forces might cause a retaliatory change. The conversation then shifted to the subject of what these two men would do when their tours of Vietnam duty were up, a matter of a few months in both cases. Both felt—absent families or not—that it was entirely possible they might decide when the time came that they must remain in Vietnam, that it would be close to desertion to leave.

The day before I left Vietnam I was drinking beer in a group that included two marine lieutenants, one an American, the other his Vietnamese counterpart. The American held his head as if he had a slightly stiffneck, and it turned out that a Vietcong bullet had grazed his cheek and jaw, entered the side of his neck and then emerged from the back of it, leaving a hole about 2 inches long. A couple of us, holding our beer bottles well away from the nearly healed wound, examined it, and when I remarked that it looked as if it itched, the marine agreed that it did. Then, tired of being the center of attention, he called out to the Vietnamese across the room: "Show 'em yours, Han. Show 'em yours." Smiling shyly, the Vietnamese marine unbuttoned his dungaree shirt and revealed two completely healed wounds high in his chest. Then he pointed to another on his right forearm and finally to a fourth on his right hand which made one of the fingers considerably shorter than it should have been. Members of an exclusive club, the two marines grinned at each other.

I did not envy them the price of initiation, but I do remember wishing that I somehow could extract for myself some small, civilian piece of their commitment. Away, now, from that one-subject country, back in the land of ghost punches and silly politics, a letter from a carrier tells me that I caught that little piece, and I hope I can keep it.

Bold Idea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, one of the most forward-looking pieces of social legislation to be offered to Congress in years was President Johnson's housing proposal which passed the House on Wednesday, June 30.

This measure was strongly supported by the New Republic of June 3. In an editorial entitled "Bold Idea," this distinguished liberal magazine hailed the President's housing bill as "one of the boldest ever sent Congress."

Under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include herewith the New Republic editorial and commend it to my colleagues and to readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD generally:

BOLD IDEA

President Johnson is often accused of offering Congress only warmed-over Truman-Kennedy consensus ideas. This isn't so. The Johnson Federal rent subsidy program is one of the boldest ever sent Congress. Substandard tenements are universal in American slums. Hitherto the Government has half-heartedly tried to remedy this by building public housing—gaunt and institutional. It hasn't worked.

Now, Mr. Johnson has come up with a radical new idea in the omnibus housing bill. He would encourage nonprofit groups to build decent private housing, offered at standard rents. Families of modest means would get a supplement; i.e., subsidy, from the Government to help pay these rents. The subsidy would be flexible, to bridge the gap between an arbitrary one-fourth of the family's income, and the rent.

The Smiths, say, are an elderly couple. Total income, $4,000. A nonprofit cooperative builds quarters which rent at $1,400 a year. For the Smiths the Government pays a rent supplement of $400 a year (the difference between 25 percent of their income, or $1,000, and the $1,400 rent). The Government's check goes to the cooperative, not to the Smiths.

The group aimed at is not the destitute or very poor; the latter are eligible for public housing. This is for the income scale above that: handicapped or elderly people, or those of moderate means jammed into slums. The guess is there are 4 million families in this category, including those people who have been displaced by Government operations. There will be 300,000 more persons displaced in the next 4 years. Some won't be able to get decent housing.

This is a new idea. It is intensely controversial. The time may not be ripe for it. But don't let it be said that Mr. Johnson offers only trite plans to Congress.

Republican Groups Urge Strong Voting-Rights Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, yesterday, the Council of Republican Organizations issued a statement urging their fellow Republicans in the House of Representatives to support the passage of a strong and really meaningful voting rights bill. Too many Americans have for far too long been denied this most fundamental right of our free society. I ask unanimous consent that an informative article on the council's statement, published in this morning's issue

of the New York Herald Tribune, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, July 6, 1965]

REPUBLICANS PUSH VOTING RIGHTS BILL

(By Victor Wilson)

WASHINGTON.—Ten national progressive Republican groups issued an eloquent statement yesterday urging party members in the House of Representatives to back a voting rights bill to end "once and for all" registration and voting discrimination.

The statement, released by the Council of Republican Organizations, representing all the groups, was strategically timed to today's opening debate on the voting rights bill which was approved by the Senate on May 26.

"The time has come to assure the right to vote to all Americans," the statement said. "At a time when, at the expense of our blood and treasure, the United States is attempting to lead the world in the acceptance of the right of self-determination for people everywhere, it is ironical that in many sections of our own Nation, that right is not * * * accepted today."

House Republicans then were urged to work for 10 principles in any voting rights bill ranging from abolition of poll taxes in both State and local elections, through Federal penal sanctions for interference with the right to register and vote, to creation of Federal machinery to conduct elections where State or local authority can not guarantee voter protection.

House Republicans are by no means united on what a voting rights bill should contain, opinions ranging from an ultraliberal bill to an emasculated measure that would please the most ardent segregationist.

There are two major aims in the Senate-passed bill: The first would suspend, in the seven Southern States that still use them, literacy tests for prospective voters; the second is use of Federal voting registrars, if needed, to ensure Negro registration and voting rights in any State in which 50 percent of the eligible population failed either to register or vote in 1964.

A stern fight is expected in the House on barring poll taxes in State and local elections. (They are now barred in Federal elections by a 1964 constitutional amendment.)

The Senate's bill, at Johnson administration urging, asks a quick test of the constitutionality of such a ban in State and local balloting. The House, observers believe, will vote to abolish the tax and let a constitutional test come later. This could result in long delays because of clogged court calendars.

The feeling here is that the poll tax ban would be dropped in a Senate-House conference.

Debate on the bill is expected to continue through tomorrow with voting on Thursday, with final passage by a comfortable margin on Friday.

The toughest test may come on a proposal by one group of Republicans to drop the Federal registrars proposal, and instead dispatch Federal examiners to any locality in which 25 or more persons alleged they had been discriminated against. The argument against this is that those protesting would be pinpointed and thus open to possible retaliation in their communities.

The council's statement, which termed individual rights "the key to the American dream," asserted that the "elimination of persistent discrimination" in voting, education, justice, jobs, public accommodation and housing "has scarcely begun."

KEY POINTS IN GOP PLEA

WASHINGTON.—Following are the key points of a statement by the Council of Republican Organizations addressed to Republican members of the House of Representatives which begins debate today on the voting rights bill:

1. Support of legislation by Congress to abolish in State and local elections the poll tax or any other test or device that may be used to deny the vote to a majority.

2. Support of Republican initiatives in the House providing a new "trigger" based upon actual discrimination on account of race or color as a means of assuring Federal guarantees of the right to vote.

3. Establishment of a Federal voting board with power to send registrars and poll-watchers into all voting districts in which discrimination or intimidation prevents citizens from registering or voting.

4. Support of legislation that, while providing for a judicial review procedure consistent with constitutional guarantees, nonetheless insures speedy recourse to persons deprived of their fundamental right to vote.

5. Authorization for the Attorney General to initiate suits to prevent intimidation against registration or voting whether caused by private reprisal or official action.

6. Adequate Federal penal sanctions for interference with the right to register or to vote in any election.

7. Legislation to authorize machinery for Federal officials to conduct elections when protection of the rights assured by the 15th amendment would be otherwise impossible.

A-Teams, Disillusionment, Choas, Great Society's Social Experiment With Kids

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, the most accurate and complete report which has come to my attention regarding the A-team experiment in California appeared in the June 28, 1965, issue of the Council of California Growers Newsletter.

We have heard reports of complaints by parents and by some of the A-team boys themselves that their working and living conditions are less than adequate. All such complaints which have been called to my attention have been checked. So far, all have proved unfounded.

Many A-team youngsters signed up for the trip to California after having been led to believe that they would find fun and adventure—not the difficult, demanding work which is required on California farms.

The A-team experiment is unfair to the boys and unfair to the growers.

As the CCG Newsletter states, some A-team members were 14-year-old high school sophomores. Thus, we find the Department of Labor sponsoring the employment of child labor, at reduced wages, on the one hand, and enforcing child labor and minimum wage laws on the other.

Why are California growers being "blackmailed" into employing inexperienced child labor.

Every other industry requires experienced, competent help—and one of the functions of the Department of Labor is to see that they get it.

The full text of the CCG Newsletter follows:

A-TEAMS, DISILLUSIONMENT, CHAOS, GREAT SOCIETY'S SOCIAL EXPERIMENT WITH KIDS

Here are the real facts about A-teams—

Haste, lack of planning, and poor organization by Government planners have created such chaos in the A-team program that the whole operation threatens to come apart at the seams.

Facts now come to light which indicate the entire scheme to place thousands of high school youths—from all over the West—on California farms for the summer was slapped together in a matter of a couple of weeks and then jammed down the throats of California growers on a "take it or else" basis.

On April 27 the Secretary of Labor wrote Governors in a number of States saying he would "announce shortly a summer employment program for athletically inclined high school students" and promising this would "assist in meeting farm labor needs."

Three days later, on April 30, several thousands high school principals received a letter seeking to determine if students would be interested. May 4 the program was announced and growers were being solicited to employ the youths, immediately.

The announcement said 17,000 high schools were being contacted. It said "special emphasis will be placed on the physical conditioning which the farm work will provide," and added that "it is expected that most of the boys who are interested will be athletically inclined.

"There are going to be hundreds of thousands of high school students looking for work this summer, and fruit and vegetable growers are going to be needing workers.

"The A-team program will be an interesting experiment in trying to match and meet at least a small part of these two needs." What he didn't say was that growers would be required to pay the entire cost of this experiment.

When growers seemed reluctant to adopt the Secretary's pellmell pace, he sent them a telegram which flatly said, "you are required to accept all workers who are available in areas west of the Mississippi River," including, of course, the A-teams. He didn't limit this requirement just to those growers who were employing foreign workers. Nonusers of foreign workers, who failed to take A-teams faced "forfeiture of their eligibility to employ foreign workers" until they had requalified by serving additional time under the "secretary's criteria." Because of pressures—to move—growers were given 24 hours to respond.

This still was barely a month after the program had been announced and solicitation of the teams started—but, with the gun at their heads, growers agreed to participate in this interesting experiment, and the confusion then became compounded.

The Secretary's announcement talked about "young people 16 to 21 years of age," members of his staff talked about students from "16 to 18 years," who would be second- to fourth-year high school students. Typical of the poor planning, they overlooked the fact that there are many 14-year-old high school sophomores, at least one of whom was recruited for work in California.

Enthusiasm was far more prevalent than hard facts: For example, one Utah youngster said, "We didn't know until 5 minutes before the bus left that we were going to pick strawberries * * * I could have stayed home and done that."

The program seemed to be "get them on the road and we'll worry about details later." Unfortunately this sort of attitude is bound to cause trouble—and it did—and, predictably, much of the blame fell on the grower, the one person who had urged reasonable caution from the beginning.

When some of the youngsters arrived to pick strawberries neither they nor their counselor were aware of the payment pro-

gram which had been worked out by growers and the Government. None of them had so much as seen one of the contracts which the Secretary was so insistent that growers offer.

As one counselor said, "A lot of the misunderstanding came from the U.S. Department of Labor and the local (home State) employment service." He said most of the boys felt "this would be a Government project, operated something like a summer camp, with wages of $1.40 an hour."

The contract states in plain language: "The employer must provide each worker no less than 24 hours of training. After completion of the training period the worker is entitled to a 40-hour trial period in which to demonstrate that he is a qualified worker."

The contract further states that if he proves to be less than a qualified worker the worker agrees to accept (1) 75 percent of the hourly rate if employed by the hour, or (2) if employed on a piece-rate basis, total wages earned based on units actually produced.

This would have been known if the crews had read and signed contracts; they had not. As a matter of fact last Tuesday night U.S. Department of Labor representatives collected counselors together and told them the contracts would have to be signed and gave them 24 hours to get it done—and left the impression the students would be returned home if they did not sign.

Another counselor handled the description in a nutshell. "The Government did not give enough thought to the organization of the program on either end." Students were gathered hurriedly, piled aboard buses, and shipped off to California. Growers were told "take 'em or else," and rushed around to get camps ready and make preparations for hundreds of youths.

When the boys arrived the chaos was compounded and the disillusionment hit. The boys weren't prepared for the type of housing they were to get; they were thinking in terms of summer camps. The food was strange, as one boy said, "not like my mother cooks," the work was boring to youngsters, and they complained.

The publicity Mr. Wirtz had generated around the program now bit him. Reporters had been waiting for the arrival of the teams; they reported every little incident. By the time some of these reports reached home they had been magnified and parents became disturbed. The parents started calling and politicians became disturbed.

The Governor of Utah actually telephoned one of the employers to say that he had reports of riots, strikes, and stabbings in the camps, that parents insisted that he send buses to collect our youths at once. All the reports proved to be false.

The Governor of Kansas sent, as his personal representative, the speaker of the Kansas House of Representatives to conduct an investigation.

The Department of Labor has scores of people on the Federal payroll doing nothing but checking up on the program. In one case a U.S. Department of Labor representative actually lives in the camp with the youngsters.

As one employer reported, "It's hard to get a day's work out of the kids because of all the people who want to talk to them—every day."

Finally, and most important, is the question of the performance in the field. Can these boys do a man's work? The answer is, some can and some can't. Earnings in strawberries range from 60 cents to $1.90 an hour. In some other activities, on an hourly basis, some are doing good work, others are not. In melons some boys have earned over $20 per day, well over $2 per hour; others quit because they could not earn enough. But the overall cost is extremely high. Transportation, food subsidy, inefficiency, all serve to make this interesting experiment a costly one for growers who must try—and try again—in an effort to harvest their crops.

Early Bird Can Change the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, my district is the home of Fairleigh Dickinson University, one of the Nation's most phenomenal educational institutions. In less than 25 years, Fairleigh Dickinson has grown from a junior college to a great university, which now is educating more than 17,000 students.

The university has four campuses in operation in New Jersey, and a fifth being organized. Last week, a new overseas campus was opened at Wroxton, England, for graduate studies in English literature.

Most of the credit for this great accomplishment must go to a distinguished educator, Dr. Peter Sammartino, who has been president of Fairleigh Dickinson since its founding. Dr. Sammartino currently is serving as president of the International Association of University Presidents.

In a report written for the Record of Hackensack, N.J., Dr. Sammartino recently told more than 120 educators from many parts of the world of the great promise that the Early Bird satellite holds for education.

This is a possible application of the satellite communications system which has not been explained in great detail, but I think Dr. Sammartino has shown remarkable foresight and intuition in predicting how the so-called backward nations of the world can be aided through this system.

I would like to insert Dr. Sammartino's article in the RECORD at this point and recommend it as required reading for all of my colleagues:

EARLY BIRD CAN CHANGE THE WORLD: SAMMARTINO—SATELLITE GIVES EDUCATORS CHANCE TO LIFT LEVEL OF MANKIND

(By Dr. Peter Sammartino)

(NOTE.—The author, president of Fairleigh Dickinson University in New Jersey since its founding in 1941, is president of the International Association of University Presidents. This week he is in Wroxton, England, where Fairleigh Dickinson has opened a branch college, and where more than 120 educators from all over the world are assembled to discuss the common elements a university education should offer in all countries of the world.)

WROXTON, ENGLAND (NANA).—Recently, I arrived in a large Indonesian city before dawn. The desk clerk gave me a gracious welcome, but also made it clear that the hotel had no reservation for me.

He was unable to speak English and I found out quickly enough that he also could not read. Fortunately, a local friend who met me at the airport and escorted me to the town came to the rescue. He found my name on the reservation list—misspelled, but there, nevertheless.

It became apparent that since the night clerk couldn't read, he had grasped the simplist and most immediate solution, answering, "No—sorry" to everything I had said. I learned the next day that the rest of the hotel staff fared no better and was virtually unable to communicate with English-speaking guests.

TEACHES ENGLISH

As an educator, this vexing situation intrigued me and I soon assembled eight of the hotel's staff in a simple English lesson experiment. I displayed before them six articles used daily: a towel, a bar of soap, a pitcher of water, a teapot, a key, and a fan. Very quickly, this little group memorized the names of the objects and the common forms of direction, such as "Give me, give him, take away, place this," and a few others. Their interest kindled, the hotel staff began asking the English words for other objects and actions. Before long I and other guests at the hotel had a far more pleasurable stay through this new currency of language.

What I accomplished on a small scale in this Indonesian hotel could be magnified a million-fold through one of the great wonders of our decade, the Early Bird satellite. It is the precursor of innumerable generations of similar communications satellites and it provides, for the first time, the opportunity to transmit basic knowledge—and advanced knowledge, too—throughout the most remote regions of the world.

TARGET: ILLITERACY

Through Early Bird, illiteracy can finally be banished from the world, and backwoods teachers in Africa and Asia can get the benefit of the most up-to-date courses from the great universities of America and Europe.

Through Early Bird and its successors, we will be able to train those who want it in basic English, to demonstrate modern health and sanitation techniques throughout the world, to educate peasants in modern farming.

Via Early Bird, the world's most distinguished educators and scientists could provide exchange programs without once leaving their native soil. International conferences could be held on a world-wide basis, with a sharing of opinions and ideas and information. For example, a physicist, working on an unusual project in the Midwest, would be able to compare notes with a colleague in Japan engaged in a similar or allied venture.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

And equally important as the academic avenues of knowledge that the Early Bird satellite can open, is its potential importance in vocational training. Although this often is considered as a second-class education, and of less prestige and importance, it is of great value to many of the newer countries of Africa which must develop the technical expertise, the vocational skills and manpower necessary to meet their basic requirements of food, shelter, and economic stability.

Nearly every American who has traveled in Asia and Africa knows how urgently many countries need technicians to maintain the equipment and facilities so important to their economy and self-sufficiency. In an emerging West African state, a friend of mine had to wait over a month to obtain the services of a mechanic to repair some vital machinery. In the capital city of this same nation, a water main burst not too long ago, and thousands of people were without water for weeks. Mechanics in all skilled categories are desperately needed, and through Early Bird classes this training could be supplied. In addition to basic courses in special fields, refresher programs could also be provided.

With pictures and words and specific examples, we can show our oversea friends how to keep water pure and uncontaminated

and the method for the sanitary disposal of waste matter.

HEART SURGERY

Similarly, a New York doctor can show the technique of open-heart surgery to a colleague in Bombay as well as doctors in hundreds of other cities linked by ground lines to the Early Bird transmission.

The effort we're making to send farm experts around the world to aid these nations is small when compared to the impact one agricultural expert can have on many nations via Early Bird. For example, a crop rotation expert in the United States could study the particular agriculture of a country, examining and testing its soil in a U.S. laboratory. Then, by live television or Early Bird relayed motion pictures, he could demonstrate the most effective way of tilling the soil to produce a particular crop, how to fertilize the land, and rotate the plantings, increase productivity.

These are only some of the worldwide benefits of Early Bird which this Nation could achieve by sound planning of the Federal Government, our universities, and industry.

Education, certainly, is not a commodity—to be hoarded offered to the few fortunate enough to live in the United States and other fully developed nations. Education is a basic right of all individuals and we have the moral responsibility, and now the technical facilities, to make this a worldwide reality.

We educators have before us the forum of the world. And what we now say before it, through the medium of a whirling mass of metal and plastic, may very well influence the destiny of millions and the world itself.

Congratulations on the Nation's Centennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Nation. For a century this outstanding periodical, the oldest continuously published weekly journal of opinion in the country, has been consistent in its policy "to supply opinions exactly as we have formed them, and not in the shapes in which they will be likely to please or encourage or console."

Throughout its history, the Nation has maintained a tradition of independent thought. As its editors originally stated:

The Nation will not be the organ of any party, sect, or body. It will, on the contrary, make an earnest effort to bring to the discussion of political and social questions a really critical spirit, and to wage war upon the vices of violence, exaggeration, and misrepresentation by which so much of the political writing of the day is marred.

Consistent adherence to this policy may account for the fact that the Nation has never obtained a particularly large circulation but it also attests to its ability to survive in an area where many other journals have failed. From its inception, the function of the Nation was to take a consistently hard critical view, to be scholarly but topical, and to create its own small but influential audience by consistently maintaining a morally unassailable position. The Nation has always been concerned with policy and performance, and has never been guided by the prospect of profit or financial success.

Since the publication of its first issue on July 6, 1865, its editorial policy has been guided by outstanding editors-in-chief, beginning with founder Edwin Lawrence Godkin and continuing with its present editor Carey McWilliams. Its list of contributors is a distinguished one and includes among them Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, Carl Schurz, Henry James, H. L. Mencken and many others.

Consistently upholding a moral view approach to social, political and economic questions, the Nation maintains a record of unbroken opposition against racism, militarism, imperialism, machine politics, demagoguery and superpatriotism. As the Nation pointed out:

Our criticisms * * * may be ill-founded or ill-judged but are always honest, and they shall certainly never be withheld; they shall go before our readers, like testimony before the courts, for what they are worth.

It is this honest approach in the formulation of its criticism that has made the Nation one of the respected and influential journals of our day.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the Nation on its centennial and its dedication to independent liberal thought.

Malawi Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, July 6, a day so close to our own hallowed holiday, marks the first annual birthday of Malawi's existence as a sovereign entity. This country patterned like an exclamation point in the southeastern portion of Africa is one of the most beautiful on this vast continent. Within its borders, it boasts inspiring mountain masses, lovely lakes and green plateaus.

Malawi's most vital resource, however, lies in its people who are known far and wide for their energy and devotion to productive labor. On the farms and in the mines and industries throughout southern Africa, Malawian workers have for decades been contributing their strength and their willing hands to the production of essential commodities.

Like much of Africa, Malawi is mustering all its reserves of will and diligence in a valiant forward thrust to modernize its economy and to fulfill the promise of independence as the harbinger of a better life for its people. The Malawi Government under the leadership of Prime Minister H. Kamuzu Banda is tackling this enormous task with characteristic good sense, courage, and tenacity. With American assistance playing a worthy role, educational expansion, agricultural development, and road construction are being pushed vigorously.

On the anniversary of its independence, Malawi will pause for a moment to rejoice and remember with pride its successful nationalist struggle and the foundation for progress laid during its first year as a country ruled by its own people. Having taken this momentary look backward, Malawi can turn once again with fresh resolve and unabated enthusiasm to the mighty job of forging a happy and healthy nation.

A school of agriculture was also launched during this period. Lastly, a project was begun under which Malawi will be helped to improve a national radio system essential for communication between the Government and the people and as an important means of mass education.

Malawi has worked hard during its first 12 months as a sovereign people. It can now step forth with confidence and good conscience on the next leg of the journey towards the goal of a better life for its people.

Repeal of Section 14(b)—Not a Protection for the Principled Objector, According to UAW Statement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL J. KREBS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. KREBS. Mr. Speaker, there is much loose talk in advertising about compulsory unionism.

The president of the United Auto Workers, Walter P. Reuther, in his statement on repeal of 14(b) notes that:

In recognition of genuine moral scruples in individual cases, there exists a special agreement between the UAW and religious groups, permitting their members working at union shop plants to contribute to the support of the union's charitable and welfare services in lieu of paying dues and initiation fees, and recognizing their right to abstain from attendance at meetings and other union activities.

The president of the AFL–CIO, George Meany, has clearly indicated that the Nation's labor unions have faced up to the problems of bonafide religious objections to union membership as such, and Mr. Meany has also recommended that the AFL–CIO Executive Council adopt a policy for all of its constituent organizations.

Because so many of our colleagues are getting mail and entreaties on this particular problem, I am including the full text of Mr. Reuther's testimony and a copy of the UAW policy concerning religious objectors be printed at this point in the RECORD:

STATEMENT SUBMITTED TO SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR OF HOUSE LABOR AND EDUCATION COMMITTEE, JUNE 11, 1965

(By Walter P. Reuther, president Industrial Union Department of AFL-CIO and United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, International Union, AFL-CIO)

On behalf of the approximately 6½ million industrial workers organized in the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, and on behalf of the million and a half members of the International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers, I take this opportunity of stating our strongest support for repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. The trade union movement is united in its determination that Labor Day 1965 will celebrate the end of this iniquitous provision.

Section 14(b), enacted 18 years ago, permits a State to prohibit a union and an employer from voluntarily agreeing to a union shop and constitutes a cynical States rights surrender of human rights and Federal power over national labor relations. Section 14(b) is a shabby symbol of antiunionism, a legalized shelter for the free rider's right to shirk. This haven for antiunion employers, must, at long last, be stricken from our Federal law.

The UAW and the IUD welcome the forthright recommendation of President Johnson for repeal of 14(b), thus implementing the pledge of his party platform in 1964 and his own promise "to reduce conflicts that for several years have divided Americans in various States." I will briefly outline the salient reasons requiring a repeal by this Congress of section 14(b), and briefly examine the so-called civil rights amending rider which has been advanced by those seeking to sidetrack repeal in a blind alley.

SECTION 14(b) REJECTED BY GREAT MAJORITY OF STATES AND PEOPLE

In the 18 years since this provision was enacted, every State has had ample opportunity to decide whether to use the escape hatch of section 14(b) from the Federal policy permitting the union shop and lesser included forms of union security (agency shop, maintenance of membership, etc.). It is now clear that the firm majority will in the States and among the people of our country rejects section 14(b), and approves various forms of union security, including the union shop, which Congress itself in Taft-Hartley found fitting and proper for incorporation into a collective bargaining agreement between the union and the employer. Today only 19 States find it proper to utilize section 14(b), whereas 31 States continue to reject it and to abide by the national standard which outlaws the closed shop but permits the union shop. Moreover, if we translate the State figures into population figures, it is revealed that nearly three-fourths of the national population resides in the States which have rejected the opportunity under section 14(b) to outlaw the union shop. Thus, 311 Members of this body, representing 71 percent of the House, reside in States where the Federal policy authorizing the union shop continues unimpaired by the State restrictions.

All apart from the merits or demerits of section 14(b)—and the demerits are clear—we submit that the view established during the 18 years since Taft-Hartley shows that section 14(b) has not won majority approval. In a nation and a political system predicated on majority rule, this alone should suffice for Congress to repeal a loophole in Federal labor policy originally enacted in a wave of antiunion sentiment.

SECTION 14(b)—NOT A PROTECTION FOR THE PRINCIPLED OBJECTOR

As the experience of nearly two decades proves that section 14(b) is rejected by the vast majority of our States and our people, it also proves that the provision is not the protector of the principled objector to unionism it was once supposed to assist. Thus, there has been much loose talk about compulsory unionism where the union shop prevails; compulsory unionism is a total misnomer. The fact is that under a Federal court decision of 1951 (*Union Starch and Refining Co.* v. *NLRB*, 186 F. 2d 1008), a union shop contract may require all employees to pay dues needed for the operation of the union and its performance of its legal and contractual obligations, but no employee may be forced to join the union and participate in any form of union action if he has conscientious scruples or personal objections thereto. In recognition of this import of the Taft-Hartley Act, the standard UAW union shop contract provides that the employee shall be a member of the union only "to the extent of paying his monthly dues." And even beyond this limitation, in recognition of genuine moral scruples in individual cases, there exists a special agreement between the UAW and religious groups (see attached memorandum) permitting their members working at union shop plants to contribute to the support of the union's charitable and welfare services in lieu of paying dues and initiation fees, and recognizing their right to abstain from "attendance at meetings and other union activities."

In sum, the pre-Taft-Hartley argument about compulsory unionism has proven to be illusory because under the 1947 law no employee in any State of the Union may be required on pain of discipline or discharge to participate in any union activity whatever if he does not desire to do so. Thus, what section 14(b) protects, and all that it protects, is the free rider.

SECTION 14(b) SUPPORTS THE FREE RIDER

The evil of a system of representation without taxation, whereby free riders without paying a penny get the benefit of the union's collective bargaining, its strike efforts, its grievance procedures and the other benefits of organized employee strength, was recognized even by Senator Taft in his noted reference to the Canadian "Rand formula," which Congress approved in section 8(a)(3) of Taft-Hartley. As Senator Taft put it:

"I may say that the argument made for the union shop and against abolishing the closed shop, is that if there is not a closed shop those not in the union will get a free ride, that the union does the work, gets the wages raised, then the man who does not pay dues rides along freely without any expense to himself. Under the Canadian rule, and under the rule of the committee, we pretty well take care of that argument" (93 Daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD 5089 (May 9, 1947) 2 Leg. Hist. 1422).

May I say too, that this business of the free rider is of immense concern to the ordinary worker who responsibly pays his share for the support of the union democratically chosen by the majority of all the employees to represent all the employees. As I explained to Senator MUNDT during hearings of the Senate's Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field (85th Cong., 2d sess., p. 25 at 10103): "The pressure is from the membership. I have seen situations where the fellow says, 'We would rather have the union shop to make this handful of free riders pay their fare than we would like a wage increase.' When you talk about the labor bosses doing these things, you are just kidding yourself. The pressure is from the rank and file, the guys who are paying their fare want everybody to pay their fare."

And the fact is that the employee in the organized shop enjoys better and safer working conditions and he has far more job security than does the employee in the nearby competing nonorganized shop. A study (see 8 Ind. and Lab. Rel. rev. 253) of 500 union and nonunion plants in 11 Southeastern States shows that the union plant has greater fringe benefits in the form of pension plans, insurance plans, credit unions, and lunchrooms; that the union plant takes more precaution in the employment of its workers; that it insists upon compliance with safety precautions; and that the union plant is much more apt than a nonunion competitor to have a promotion and layoff system based on seniority and to have procedures with established steps to permit employees to air grievances. Achieving and maintaining these benefits costs money which comes from union dues. But these benefits are available to each and every employee, whether or not he pays union dues, as the union is required by law to represent nonmembers without any charge and "without hostile discrimination, fairly, impartially, and in good faith." Consequently, in the absence of a union shop agreement, there are employees who refuse to join the union and yet enjoy the benefits of working in an organized plant. These free riders naturally are resented by the dues-paying union members and this resentment ferments a demand for an agreement requiring all employees to pay for the benefits they receive.

The results of Federal and State elections requiring member consent to the union shop contract bear this out. All but a handful of participating employees voted to authorize their union to negotiate union shop agreements. In the first year of voting under the Taft-Hartley Act—approximately 2 million employees were concerned—98 percent of the elections resulted in favor of the union shop agreement, and only 4 percent of the employees voted against the union shop. A New Hampshire law requiring a vote by employees prior to the negotiation of a union shop agreement brought similar results.

The resentment by dues-paying union members, usually steady workers who have achieved skill, social recognition, and interest in their job conditions, is due in large part to the fact that the free rider is only too often a transient worker. Although the rate of labor turnover is high, it is caused by the activities of a minority of the labor force. A survey of tool and die makers, for example (78 Monthly Labor Review 772), shows that 60 percent of the job changing was done by 14 percent of the workers. The permanently employed union members feel that these transient employees should pay their share of the costs for maintaining the conditions which drew them to the plant with the union wages and decent working conditions.

SECTION 14(b) A HAVEN FOR ANTIUNIONISM

If, as we have emphasized, the majority of our States and people have rejected section 14(b) in the years since its enactment, and if that section is not the protector of the principled objector to unionism but actually provides shelter for the free rider who wants representation without taxation, then what purpose does section 14(b) actually serve? The answer is found in the fact that the 19 right-to-work States which ban the union shop under section 14(b) are the very States where there is the least organization of workers, and where labor standards are the lowest. A clear purpose of the right to work laws is a State advertisement to employers in industrial States to bring their business where officialdom is hostile to unions. Right-to-work legislation is a symbol of the State's hostility to the basic duty of collective bargaining with the majority representative of the workers, which has been the public policy and the Federal obligation since the Wagner Act of 1935. For instance, none of these 19 States matches the Federal minimum wage of $1.25 in their State minimum wage legislation. Only two of them provide even a minimum wage of $1 an hour; 11 have no minimum wage law at all. By contrast, 23 of the States which have rejected 14(b) have

enforcible minimum wage laws, with 21 providing at least $1 an hour, and 12 equaling or exceeding the Federal $1.25 level.

It is no accident that the right-to-work States—mostly Southern and border States—are precisely the ones wherein employment conditions and employee protections under law are the poorest and the most backward. In these States, antiunion employers wielding disproportionate political power have persuaded the legislature (often a malapportioned and unrepresentative legislature at that) to prohibit the union shop agreement. They seek the protection of a legal prohibition, fearing that the will of the workers for union organization and union security will otherwise be too persuasive to withstand a union security contract. Thus employers hide behind the legislative ban they themselves have procured, to say to the workers: "I know you want me to sign a union security agreement, but the State law prohibits me from doing so."

Union organization, union security, and employee solidarity are thus restricted through the political power of a minority which would resist decent labor standards at all costs. Indeed, often the employer and his "community development" associates in the right-to-work State turn around and brazenly solicit business from other States with decent employment standards, with the promise that wages will be kept low for the manufacturer who moves to the State. By this means, the symbol of antiunionism which section 14(b) permits, becomes an instrument for depression of labor standards and continuing piracy of business and manufacture from the States abiding by decent Federal norms of union security, minimum wage, and fair employment standards. We say in all candor that a vote in this Congress by a Representative from one of the 31 non-right-to-work States, is a vote for the continued piracy of business and manufacture from his State to the substandard and antiunion right-to-work area.

THE NEED FOR A UNIFORM NATIONAL STANDARD

These observations also demonstrate the necessity for returning to a uniform standard of union security under Federal law, without distinction between one State and another. Section 14(b) is unique among Federal laws governing business, industry, and labor, in its surrender of a Federal policy—approval of the union shop—in any particular State which chooses to reject the Federal standard. The evil of such a surrender is certainly shown by the invitation which it extends to States to reduce and restrict union solidarity and employee strength and thus to maintain a competitive advantage over sister States in appealing to manufacturing and industry.

Moreover, the double standard which is thus created and the divisive conflict between States which is thus promoted is not all. It must also be recognized that today we have many major national industries as distinguished from the single State or single locality employer of former years. For instance, UAW contracts with large manufacturers often encompass workers in numerous States, extending all the way from the eastern to the western shores of our Nation. Yet the effect of 14(b) is to prevent a uniform contract provision with such an employer for all of the employees. Refined distinctions must be made to encompass the varying limitations on union security which one or more of the States involved have chosen to enact. Thus not only does section 14(b) emasculate a uniform national standard as between the States, but it often prevents a uniform standard as a single union and a single employer.

The solution, we submit, is simple. Congress should make up its mind about the union shop. Congress approved the union shop in the Taft-Hartley Act and it should set a uniform national standard applicable in every State, not just in the majority of States which have chosen to abide by the Federal policy. Congress can no longer surrender national policy to nullification in a minority of States motivated by the disproportionate political power of antiunion elements.

Section 14(b) is the segregationists' weapon

In concluding our presentation to this committee, it seems appropriate also to mention the relationship between section 14(b) and civil rights, particularly because some Congressmen have stated their intention of burdening the repeal of this provision with riders on the subject of civil rights.

It should first be noted that section 14(b) does not protect but rather impairs minority and Negro rights to employment and collective bargaining. As Roy Wilkins, the able executive secretary of the NAACP, has said it: "The 19 States where the 'right-to-work' fraud is now in force are the States where the Negro has had to struggle hardest against the forces of bigotry, discrimination, and segregation." Or as A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, has said, the real aim of the open shop supporters protected by section 14(b) is "the hope of driving a wedge between Negroes and the labor movement. We must not let it happen." It is no accident that the stronghold of right to work is found in the Deep South—in the very same States which resist Negro rights in every other area of public life as well as in employment. Dividing the workers into unionists and antiunionist camps by right-to-work legislation goes hand in hand with the effort to divide them into hostile white and Negro work forces.

Accordingly, it is no surprise that the present effort to hamstring repeal of section 14(b) with "civil rights" amendments is unsupported by friends of civil rights. Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP, testifying to this committee for Roy Wilkins, A. Philip Randolph, James Farmer, and Dr. Martin Luther King, flatly opposes the so-called civil rights rider, noting that he is not "deceived by things done up in pretty wrapping paper." Just as every real supporter of civil rights lined up in the Senate in 1951 against the "Jenner amendment" effort to hamstring the Railway Labor Act union shop with "civil rights" (see 96 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD 17241), enlightened Members of this Congress will vote against an effort to burden the return to a uniform union shop under the National Labor Relations Act.

Of course, in opposing a hamstringing rider, we do not for a moment condone racial discrimination by labor unions, any more than by employers. The answer to that problem was thoughtfully and correctly given by the Congress only last year, in title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which deals specifically and, we hope, adequately with the problem of racial discrimination in labor relations. If that legislation, which goes into effect this July, proves inadequate, Congress should and will strengthen it. But the hollowness of the present effort to attach a civil rights rider to the repeal of section 14(b) is exposed when it is seen that precisely those Members of Congress who in 1964 voted against the careful and comprehensive regulation of employer and union discrimination will be pretending to protect Negro rights by voting for civil rights amendments to the repeal of section 14(b).

To recapitulate: Section 14(b) has been rejected by a great majority of States and our people; it does not serve as a protection for the principled objector but only as a haven for the free rider; it is a symbol of State and local antiunionism, and is the segregationists' weapon for alienating workers by allegiance and by race. For 18 years this provision has served only to disrupt and divide, without achieving any justifiable public purpose.

This is the time for building the Great Society, not for perpetuating past mistakes. We cannot go forward burdened by such excess baggage as the right-to-work fiction. Congress should promptly prescribe that the reasonable union security standard it approved in section 8(a)(3) of the National Labor Relations Act shall now apply uniformly throughout the Nation without further discrimination or distinction between different States of the Union.

We call for the immediate and unqualified repeal of section 14(b).

International Union, United Automobile, Aircraft Agricultural Implement Workers of America—UAW,

Detroit, Mich.

Re agreement between UAW and the Seventh-day Adventist, Mennonite, Old German Baptist, and Brethren in Christ Churches

To all financial secretaries, UAW.

GREETINGS: On April 28, 1957, the international union entered into an agreement with the Council on Industrial Relations of the Seventh-day Adventist Church which provided the following:

1. A good standing member of the church—certified as such by its council on industrial relations—was relieved from attendance at meetings and other union activities without prejudice to his employment in plants under our jurisdiction.

2. In lieu of payment of initiation fees and dues, said church member was to pay a sum of money equal thereto for the purpose of carrying on charitable and welfare services of the local and international union.

3. Said church member would refrain from interfering with or resisting any union laws or activities.

4. In case of strike, such church member would not remain at work nor would he actively participate in the strike by performing picket duty, etc.

The international executive board authorized a similar agreement between our union and the Committee on Industrial Relations of the Mennonite, Old German Baptist, and Brethren in Christ Churches. Members of these churches will hereafter be accorded the same privileges and rights as Seventh-day Adventist Church members.

Financial secretaries are to forward to the international union an amount equivalent to what they would normally forward for per capita tax and initiation fees from the sum of money donated by these church members.

Secretaries of the church councils will issue appropriate cards which are to be signed by the individual and by the church secretary. These in turn are to be presented to the financial secretary of the local union having jurisdiction over the plant in which said church member works.

I am enclosing a sample of the card which the local union will issue him in lieu of a regular membership card. In the event you need any of these cards, you may obtain them from the supply department of the international union by ordering same on the regular order blank.

Fraternally yours,

EMIL MAZEY,
Secretary-Treasurer.

By order of the international executive board.

Independence Day, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, the Fourth of July, 1965, is now history. I

observed all too few flags on display. Have we become so interested in our own selfish interests that the purpose of this great holiday has lost its significance?

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Cheney Sentinel, of Cheney, Kans., which expresses the views of many Americans concerning Independence Day:

INDEPENDENCE DAY

(By Floyd Souders)

Independence Day is just a few days away. And many older people will wistfully wonder, "What became of the oldtime Fourth of July?"

There are many kinds of answers. The urbanization of the country, the mobility of the families, the many distractions of the present age, preoccupation with material things, the rootlessness of many families in any community are just a few reasons we don't have an old-fashioned Fourth of July.

At any rate, the Fourth our fathers knew was a special and unique observance. It was a happy combination of fun and reverence for the men and principles that make up our rich history. The flag flew everywhere. The speakers' stands in the town squares blazed with bunting, and the bands tirelessly played patriotic airs. Fireworks exploded endlessly, ranging from the ubiquitous firecracker to stunning set pieces celebrating great events of the past. It was a wonderful day for young and old.

Not the least of its attractions were the fiery addresses, made by well-known public figures of the time. Some of these, needless to say, were of a low oratorical level. But all of them had one thing in common. They paid tribute to freedom, and how it was won, and what was needed to maintain and defend it. The theme was patriotism—dedicated, unabashed. And every listener went away with a little better knowledge of our inheritance as a people and a little more determination to keep the spirit of the founders alive.

The oldtime celebrations will be few and far between this year. But, whatever we do, wherever we go on that day, let us take a moment to think what freedom and independence, in the fullest sense of those words, mean—and let us determine that our heritage shall never be lost.

It's Time To Use Bulldozers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an interpretive report by Marguerite Higgins, entitled "It's Time To Use Bulldozers," which appeared in the July 4 edition of the Washington Evening Star.

The article reads as follows:

IT'S TIME TO USE BULLDOZERS

(By Marguerite Higgins)

After V-J Day, a surrendering Japanese general made the famous remark: "Americans don't fight jungle war. They bring in their machines and bulldoze the jungle away."

He was right, too, about much of the island fighting in the Pacific. And his remark goes to the heart of still another controversy inside the administration on how to fight the war in Vietnam.

A quarrel about what to do about the Vietnamese jungle may, at first hearing, sound like a minor technical matter. But it happens to be a crucial one.

DEEP TUNNELS

Consider the Vietcong headquarters area near Ben Cat that was hit by B-52 bombers. The area known as C zone is only 2 miles long by 1 mile wide. And get Vietcong have killed and maimed more than 1,000 regular and irregular Vietnamese forces in the immediate vicinity alone.

What is in this small patch of jungle?

A maze of deeply dug bankers, underground storehouses plus some aboveground headquarters buildings for the Vietcong. Vast stores of food and armaments are hidden deep in the earth.

So formidably well dug in are the Vietcong in C zone that until the B-52's softened up the patch jungle (and presumably sent the defenders deep into the deepest underground tunnels), no Vietnamese force had been able to penetrate more than a few yards without being chewed to bits.

On the last attempt (several months before the B-52 bombings), an entire battalion was put out of commission.

Aside from the Vietcong, the 1- by 1-mile patch is uninhabited except by pythons, poisonous snakes, and possibly a few monkeys—but these don't last long in a Vietcong area because many guerrillas are fond of monkey meat.

SHOULD USE BULLDOZERS

Why shouldn't the United States and Vietnamese set about bulldozing the patch of jungle and in this way deprive the Vetcong of their entrenchments. This would relieve the population of deadly harassment, and possibly result in catching a few Vietcong in the process.

When the current Vietcong offensive is blunted and defeated (our stated objective), it will be time enough to reforest the area and repopulate it with monkeys and pythons. But in the meantime, why should American and Vietnamese lives be lost by leaving the Vietcong relatively free to use this jungle sanctuary?

This is a question that several not-so-junior American military men in Vietnam have been asking so far to no avail The C zone area is so small, of course, that a military operation is perfectly feasible if we were really determined to get rid of it.

The operation would require a bit more softening up by the B-52s and the temporary deployment of a large concentration of forces, followed by bulldozers.

OBJECTIONS ARE POLITICAL

The objections to bulldozing the jungle are mainly political. There is a fear in some quarters of the administration that this would smack too much of Barry Goldwater's proposals for defoliation of the jungle.

Leaving aside the issue of whether defoliation of the jungle is or is not a good idea, it is an entirely different matter than bulldozing away a patch of land like C zone.

In the latter case, no chemicals are involved and there can be no accidental damage to the peasants, crops by breezes blowing the defoliation material onto rice paddies. The driver of a bulldozer goes after a specific patch of land-under highly controllable conditions.

The United States has, of course, not even begun to apply its technological power and ingenuity in Vietnam. Now that we are obviously in the war for keeps the time to do so is surely at hand. It is ridiculous for the Vietcong to have jungle sanctuaries anywhere in Vietnam if our technology can prevent it.

Mr. Speaker, I do not desire to see our boys fighting in different parts of the world. I would much rather have them here, at home, where they belong. But the encroachments of the Communists, their unsatiable hunger for territorial expansion, will not permit us to stand idly by while the free world falls, bit by bit, under Communist domination. We must meet Communist aggression wherever it occurs, whatever form it adopts.

The character of warfare has changed in recent years. In the so-called wars of liberation, the Communists employ the weapons of subversion, infiltration, terrorism, and guerrilla warfare. In Vietnam, they have departed from the tactics of conventional warfare and are trying to establish a model of action which they can use to advance their objectives in other parts of the world.

Our response must take into full consideration the changed character of war as waged by the Communists. We must employ our imagination as well as our resources to meet this new threat, to deal with it successfully. And in this regard, I believe that the suggestions made by Miss Higgins deserve our careful consideration. I therefore commend her article to the attention of the membership of this body.

Ninety-eighth Anniversary—Canadian Confederation Day

SPEECH

OF

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House delegation of the Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group, which has done so much to improve working relations between our two great nations, I would like to join with my other colleagues in extending best wishes to our neighbors in Canada on Confederation Day, July 1, a day so close to our own Independence Day.

In 1867, a small group known as "Fathers of Confederation" brought about the confederation of four Canadian Provinces—Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia—into partial self-government. Within a few years the western Provinces and then the midwestern Provinces were linked. The last of the 10 Provinces to join the Union of Canada was Newfoundland in 1949.

Plans are now in progress for the celebration of the 100th anniversary to be held July 1, 1967 in Montreal, which is known as EXPO 67. I have been personally kept informed of the progress of this fine exposition through periodic reports of this program. The United States will be represented by a pavilion, which has already been authorized by Congress, and I certainly hope that I will be able to personally join in the celebration of this centennial.

Canadians have every right to be proud of the achievement of their confedera-

tion, as we are proud of our independence for which much blood was shed.

The United States and Canada share the same continent with its vast resources, potentialities, history and customs, each nation completely independent yet banded together for the protection of our shores.

It is a privilege to serve as a member of the interparliamentary group and I have gained much insight and knowledge about mutual problems.

Happy birthday neighbors.

The President at the U.N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson gave a reviving shot in the arm to the United Nations in his speech to the 20th anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Charter.

The President's speech could not have been given at a better time. The Philadelphia Inquirer so truthfully wrote: "The President did not just say 'Many Happy Returns' and let it go at that. He gave the United Nations the best birthday gift it could receive: a sense of mission and dedication in a world that badly needs its offices. We can only hope the enthusiasm his speech engendered is an augury of new and more effective action."

I commend the Philadelphia Inquirer on their June 26, 1965, editorial entitled "The President at the U.N." and at this time place it in the RECORD:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, June 26, 1965]

THE PRESIDENT AT THE U.N.

The United Nations, which has been in a sadly sagging state lately, received a revivifying booster shot from President Johnson at the ceremonies commemorating the 20th anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Charter.

The United Nations has seemed to some observers to be sinking steadily into oblivion, unable even to furnish the appearance of a good debating society; inert and confused in the face of crisis; fumbling around in uncertainty even on how to get its members to pay their dues.

But the President wanted to make clear the continued U.S. support for the United Nations Charter. He wanted to make clear America's commitment to peace, and to the eradication of poverty, disease, and racial prejudices wherever they are present.

He called upon the United Nations to be the peacemaking and peacekeeping agency that it is supposed to be, and he placed before its member nations, in clear and unmistakable terms, the efforts made by the United States, and frustrated by the Communist powers, toward a negotiated peace in Vietnam.

There are members of the United Nations who have condemned the U.S. policy in southeast Asia; who have not been hesitant to tell us to stop the bombing, to deal with the Vietcong, to get out of Vietnam. At the same time, they have refused to acknowledge the part played by Red China and Red North Vietnam in the Vietnamese aggression; they have found it impossible to criticize these powers for ignoring our offers of unconditional negotiation.

President Johnson did not hand the problem of Vietnam to the U.N. for solution. But he made it plain that any effective peace-seeking initiative by that organization would have American support. So would steps leading to disarmament, and to the curtailment of poverty. So would efforts to provide a peacekeeping body that would be prepared to cope with crisis, not in a matter of months and weeks, but in 24 hours.

The President did not just say, "Many happy returns" and let it go at that. He gave the United Nations the best birthday gift it could receive: A sense of mission and dedication in a world that badly needs its offices. We can only hope the enthusiasm his speech engendered is an augury of new and more effective action.

It's What's Happening, Baby

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, apparently it was my good fortune to miss last week's controversial television show entitled "It's What's Happening, Baby." From news accounts and letters describing the 90-minute rock 'n' roll show about the administration's antipoverty program, the widespread criticism seems justified. One constituent wrote, "This program was and is a disgrace to civilized society. I hope you had the misfortune to see it."

Aside from the low entertainment value and question of morality, the most disturbing aspect is the fact that such an appeal must be made to trick our young people into improving their positions in life. Officials of the CBS television network and the Office of Economic Opportunity have associated the advantages to be gained from initiative and work with cheap emotional thrills and the latest dance crazes sweeping the country. It is doubtful that our Nation has reached such a decadent state that the youth of America would fall for such trumpery.

The June 30 edition of the Moultrie Observer carried a well-worded editorial on the subject which I call to the attention of my colleagues:

IT'S HAPPENING, BABY

A television show entitled "It's What's Happening, Baby" was presented a couple of nights ago with the purpose of directing teenage attention to the Office of Economic Opportunity which directs what is commonly called the "Poverty Program."

It was a shocker in its implications.

The music was wild and wooly, but definitely of the sort which appeals to the teen crowd of this era, but that's beside the point.

The shock was in the method of spoonfeeding young people with sugar-coated appeals to better themselves.

We cannot believe that this Nation has so deteriorated that a veil must be pulled across the art of initiative and work. If we have become such a handout society that we must trick young people into remaining in school, learning trades, and bettering their position in life, then our American ways have become decadent and we are on the way out as a dynamic, virile Nation that places honest work and service to our fellowman above beatnik existence and hipster parties.

We are very much afraid many youngsters got the wrong idea from this show. Life wasn't intended to be one long, emotional thrill, and the shimmy, shake and twist won't accomplish any permanent progress.

It's happening, baby—but not for the best interests of young people and their futures. We suggest that the dropouts, the jobless, and those who haven't really been given a chance to prove their mettle put serious thought to the various programs offered through the Office of Economic Opportunity. Forget the hipsters and the hollerers, and concentrate on some worthy goal in life. The opportunities exist, but it is going to take a bit of digging and a measure of sacrifice to achieve a worthy goal. Let's not kid ourselves or the young people. They must work and strive for the better things. Handouts and parties won't do it.

Legal Services for the Poor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the April–May issue of Trial, the publication of the American Trial Lawyers Association, carried an excellent article by Donald M. Baker, the General Counsel of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

In his article, Mr. Baker discusses a problem which deserves more serious attention among members of the legal profession and among those of us holding public office—namely, the need for improved legal services for the poor.

As Mr. Baker points out, millions of Americans "have been effectively denied the right to counsel." He attributes this denial of legal rights to the conditions of poverty in which millions of our fellow citizens live.

Fortunately, many communities are moving to meet this problem through local antipoverty programs. It is my hope that more communities will consider establishing systems for providing legal services to the poor under their local community action programs.

I take great pleasure in calling Mr. Baker's article to the attention of my colleagues—first, because of the importance of its subject matter, and secondly, because Mr. Baker is a distinguished lawyer and member of the bar in my State of Michigan.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I place the article which appeared under the headline, "Legal Rights for 40 Million Persons," in the Appendix of the RECORD:

LEGAL RIGHTS FOR 40 MILLION PERSONS—SEEKS TO EDUCATE MILLIONS IN THEIR LEGAL RIGHTS

(By Donald M. Baker)

Near the top of any list of basic American rights, most citizens, certainly most lawyers,

would place the right to counsel. By definition they would include not only the right to have an attorney in a criminal case, as guaranteed by the 6th and 14th amendments, but also the right to legal assistance in the defense and prosecution of civil suits, and the right to seek legal advice in a broad range of personal, social, and business matters.

Most of us believe that the existence of this right implies that most Americans actually enjoy it.

Outside the field of criminal law and, in fact, until the Supreme Court's decision in the Gideon case within that field as well, the fact is that millions of Americans, perhaps as many as 40 million, have been effectively denied the right to counsel. This denial is not the result of legislative fiat or government regulations. It results from poverty.

If we have thought of this matter at all, probably most of us have satisfied ourselves with the thought that the poor rarely need counsel except to defend themselves against criminal prosecution. They do not have businesses; they have little property to will or deed. They do not have automobiles to collide with others. Unhappily, however, the poor have other legal problems.

RIGHT TO COUNSEL

A few simple examples will illustrate the point. A man may lose his job at the post office, and with it security for his wife and children, because, without counsel, he does not follow appropriate appeal procedures.

An elderly couple may lose their right to social security, and with it their entire income when they are too old or ill to work, because when told they are not eligible, they are unaware of their right to challenge this determination.

A man charged with the misdemeanor of siphoning gas from an automobile may go to jail or receive a fine which he cannot pay because he did not have an attorney who could intercede with the local prosecutor and persuade him to drop the case. All these are relatively simple cases, easily handled, if the poor had counsel to represent them.

Far more difficult are the numerous situations where the substantive law is either unclear or restricts the rights of the poor. For example, landlord-tenant law, in its effects on the poor, is generally weighted heavily on the side of the landlord. Many commercial practices, not generally used by downtown stores, but followed by stores with which the poor generally deal, are grossly unfair, if not actually illegal. The vagrancy and loitering laws and many local welfare and public housing regulations are harsh in their application to the poor.

The poor, if they are actually to enjoy the same rights as the rest of us, must have representation with the imagination and aggressiveness to challenge the placing of such burdens on them.

Finally, there is a crucial area involving not only the lawyer but the social worker, consumer education expert, and others, who work with the problems of the poor. People in poverty suffer not only from a lack of representation; they fail to take advantage of representation even when it is available. The reason is simple. Even more than other laymen, they frequently fail to realize that they have a legal problem or, when they do, often they have no confidence that anyone, perhaps a lawyer least of all, would be willing to help. Consequently, any legal problems requires education of the poor in their legal rights and the effective ways they can be asserted.

LEGAL AID FAILS

It is, of course, true that legal aid and public defender offices have long made services available to the poor. However, while these offices have made real strides, for financial and other reasons they have rarely been able to provide legal services for all the poor in a particular locality as to all kinds of legal problems.

In addition, such services have generally not been decentralized in order to bring legal help into poor neighborhoods where it would be easily available.

The Office of Economic Opportunity, the President's principal weapon in the war on poverty, is committed to providing comprehensive opportunities and services for the poor. While adequate legal services will not themselves win this war, they are crucial. OEO does not itself formulate and run programs. But it hopes that with the interest and support of the American Trial Bar, local antipoverty programs will include, as a major component, a broad range of legal services for the poor.

The form these legal services take will in the individual case depend largely on the needs and desires of each particular locality. However, proposals which have already been made to OEO suggest ideas which local poverty programs may want to consider.

Many communities are proposing the establishment of new legal service offices in poor neighborhoods, frequently in centers providing a wide variety of other social services such as in the fields of employment, housing, and health.

These proposals frequently provide for legal services to the poor in meeting problems which now fall outside available help; e.g., in domestic relations cases, to questions concerning the action of welfare agencies, the inaction of housing authorities. Other communities are planning similar services to be provided through the expansion of existing legal aid programs.

Regardless of the method followed, such programs do frequently include programs for educating the poor to know when a legal problem is raised—and to know to come to the neighborhood lawyer before they act rather than after.

Proposals also frequently include studies of existing law in order to determine how it ought to be changed to give the poor the protection they need and deserve.

In short, throughout the country, there are programs and proposals to give the poor the same kind of broad and dedicated legal service as is available for the rest of the community.

The full effectiveness of these programs will necessarily depend, of course, upon the interest and support of the legal profession. Lawyers can initiate legal service programs in their communities for inclusion in the local community action program, give their ideas and support to make it work. They can and should contribute some of their own time directly to help the poor. Such an effort would be in the highest tradition of the American Trial Bar.

Ashton Thompson

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 2, 1965

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, just 6 days ago one of our colleagues, ASHTON THOMPSON, of Louisiana, was suddenly taken from us in a traffic accident near Gastonia, N.C. Only the day before we were together in this Chamber on business of the House of Representatives. Today we are here, but he is absent in person but present in our hearts. ASHTON was a good man, a devoted Member of this House, a true friend whose presence will be greatly missed by all of us. May his soul rest in peace.

To his family and to his friends, our deep sympathy in this hour of sorrow.

Our Involvement in Vietnam and What It Means to Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, a penetrating analysis of our involvement in Vietnam and what it means to Americans was presented to the County Veterans Service Officers Association of Wisconsin, meeting at Eau Claire, Wis., on June 18.

The very able director of the Wisconsin Department of Veterans' Affairs, John R. Moses, presented this analysis and challenge.

So that my colleagues may have the benefit of Mr. Moses' thinking on Vietnam, and the challenge Vietnam poses to all Americans, I insert his address in the RECORD:

JOHN R. MOSES' ADDRESS TO COUNTY VETERANS SERVICE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION, EAU CLAIRE, WIS., JUNE 18, 1965

A citizen in a free country has far more responsibilities than one living under tyranny, whether Communist style or that evolved under Hitler in Nazi Germany.

The continued successful functioning of a free government is the responsibility of every citizen. We must be well and correctly informed if we are to be expected to act wisely. And the free institutions we have developed in this land, the individual freedoms we enjoy, must be guaranteed to all within our land as firmly as we must defend them against all challenges from without.

When we veterans went into service we were given the heaviest responsibility a citizen in a free land can bear, a responsibility we undertook to discharge with our lives. All of us, whether we served as buck private or as an officer with rank, were given, and we assumed, the responsibility for fighting off and defeating an enemy who threatened our continued existence as a free Nation. We assumed that responsibility—and we discharged that responsibility—frequently with great discomfort, always inconvenienced, in the face of grave danger, and at great sacrifice. We permitted a mighty armed force to be made—and the challenge was thrown back, and the enemy defeated.

Many of those who served died, or were maimed—but the survivors, as citizens in a free land, cannot while they live lay down their responsibilities.

When we fought, we looked after our comrades in arms and they looked after us.

When we returned as veterans of the war, our responsibilities as citizens were continued with the years. The emphasis was changed perhaps, but if we would be true to our national traditions, we were still charged with the responsibility of keeping ourselves informed and of acting wisely upon that information in the national interest.

Our special experience did not endow us with any special military wisdom—but at the very least we bought with our experience a special stake in this great experiment of ours in a free democratic Government.

We became experts in recognizing the cost of war in values other than dollars and cents—the cost of winning, and the cost of losing.

Without becoming military experts, we came out of the war charged as veterans with a special responsibility for the defense of our land—we turned in the uniform and the gun, but the heavy responsibility that was also issued to us when we put on the uniform remained and will remain.

In the years since the last formal war, we've been faced with many challenges from outside our borders. Today in Vietnam Americans are dying, and it becomes very important that we understand whether their deaths and the dangers our increasing involvement in somebody else's war are necessary to us, and what our proper course as a Nation should be.

At the outset some of the facts that I believe are incontrovertible must be examined, and some of the errors and misconceptions that exist must be corrected.

The war in South Vietnam is not a civil war, a rebellion from within the country, as in the case of our own revolution, against intolerable injustice, real of fancied. It is an invasion, first by diehard Communist agents trained and equipped in North Vietnam and more recently by regular units of the North Vietnamese Army. It is supplied by equipment and munition taken from ambushed units of the Government of South Vietnam, by food looted under threat of death from a helpless civilian population, and increasingly by Communist munitions and equipment smuggled in by the North Vietnamese.

What popular support the Vietcong movement has attracted, according to reliable information, has been the result of a murderous campaign of terror waged against the innocent people of South Vietnam on a broad scale.

The principal Vietcong effort has been a campaign of brutality and savagery deliberately aimed at destroying the will of the free people of South Vietnam to govern themselves. The war has been waged by the Vietcong principally against the civilian population, and only incidentally against the Vietnamese Army.

Thousands of village headmen, civilian administrators, and their helpless women and children have been murdered in cold blood. Civilian food stores have been looted or destroyed. Tens of thousands of the people of South Vietnam, both civilian and military, have been slaughtered.

The Government of South Vietnam is far from perfect. In spite of our best efforts it has never achieved much stability. Change by military coup has been the order of the day. Friction between religious groups has frequently paralyzed the orderly transaction of public business.

But democratic processes have been kept alive, imperfect as they may appear to us with our 200 years of democratic tradition.

In the past 10 years tremendous progress has been made in improvement and development of public education, medical services, industrial growth, agricultural production—and the democratic processes have been kept alive and strengthened.

Following the example of Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy, President Johnson has taken a firm and decisive stand in support of the free people of South Vietnam.

Our economic and military commitment has been well known. Support by both parties in the Congress has been nearly unanimous.

Public support of the President's position, as indicated by Gallup poll samplings, has been consistently felt by a strong majority.

And yet in this country there has been shrill opposition to our position in South Vietnam particularly on college campuses throughout the land.

Many thoughtful, responsible men and women have serious reservations about the correctness of our position both on moral and strategic grounds, and have been sincere in their opposition. Many of us, whether we support the President or not, have been bewildered and frustrated when the ceaseless struggle for control in the Government of South Vietnam makes it appears that the Vietnamese don't want to help themselves, that our sincere efforts to help them have been futile.

This basis for opposition we can understand, and we must accept if our vaunted freedom of thought and freedom of expression are to mean anything. We may not agree with what the sincere doubters say, but we must defend their right to say it.

There are others, however, who have no commitment to our free institutions, who work for an ideology totally foreign to us, and who will do anything to see our Nation discredited and to give comfort to the enemy.

They are not large in numbers, but they are clever and persistent.

They use specious arguments to advance their point of view, but their very lack of scruples, their lack of dedication to the truth, gives them great flexibility and great initial advantage.

They are a new generation of the same breed who urged us to intervene against Hitler prior to the partition of Poland, and who the following morning could find no fault with Communist Russia's new ally.

The resurgence on the college campuses throughout our land of Communist-oriented youth groups is evidence that even after a decade of near-peaceful coexistence with Communist Russia we cannot lower our guard.

That these Communist-oriented youth groups should use the reservations to our present course expressed by sincere patriots is to be expected. Throughout the world one of their most effective techniques has been to intrude their disciplined action-units into well-meaning non-Communist organizations and movements—to use, incite, influence.

With carefully thought-out slogans, a gentle push in the right direction, a skillfully planned incident, democratic groups have been arrayed against democratic institutions and democratic governments.

We have recently witnessed the skill of their techniques—the audacity of their approach—the success of their efforts.

While American servicemen serving our Government at the request of a duly constituted allied government in the defense of a helpless civilian population against foreign attack have been ambushed and killed by bombs and savage attacks in the night—while American civilian technicians working to improve agricultural and industrial and administrative methods in a backward land have been kidnaped and tortured and murdered—otherwise responsible and loyal Americans have protested only the alleged immorality of our actions.

The poor people of a land invaded by a savage foe merit not a tear—the American servicemen who are wounded or killed by murderous attacks of an invader merit not a tear or a word of sympathy.

To them it is the invader and the trained agents of the invader who are being mistreated. To them the criminal act is our napalm or bomb attacks on the jungle hideouts of the Vietcong guerrillas who the night before, perhaps, assaulted a peaceful village, beheaded its headman and his family as bloody examples, and slunk back into the night, leaving the village aflame and reeking with death.

The danger to this Nation and to the free world is not that we commit such force as may be necessary to defend Vietnam at the risk of escalating the war, but that we may not act decisively.

As real estate, South Vietnam is not worth a single American dollar or a drop of American blood. As the test of our dedication to freedom, of the good faith of our commitments, of the dependability of our alliances, South Vietnam is worth everything we must put into the fight to win the war there.

If the Vietcong and the invaders from the north react to our determination with greater outrage, we must extend our defensive commitment and our deterrent effort. If the Red Chinese intervene with a massive commitment of manpower, we must use such means at our disposal, no matter how fearful, as will effectively put an end to that commitment, as we would shoot one who invades our home and ignores our warning and advances upon us knife-in-hand, in the belief that we dare not pull the trigger.

As citizens we have a responsibility to be well informed so that through us our Nation may act wisely. But if we would enjoy our free institutions we also have a responsibility to protect them for all others within our land, so that freedom of thought and of expression, however we may disagree with that thought or that expression, is guaranteed to all Americans.

No matter how strong our disagreement may be with sincere expressions by others of concern or opposition to our present course in South Vietnam, we dare not interfere with the right of any Americans to speak out freely. Freedom of expression is a fragile thing and does not flourish in the face of fear or coercion, and freedoms denied to any of us endangers the continued enjoyment of those freedoms for us all.

As veterans we must bear from our personal experience in time of war a large measure of responsibility to see that our Nations' goals are sound and that our Nation's defenses, wherever the lines may of necessity be drawn, are strong enough to meet all challenge.

Our Inept International Public Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents attended the International Air Show in Paris and shared with me his reaction. Because he is an exceptional citizen, businessman, and scientist; because his views are usually accurate; because he is genuinely concerned and because he is as knowledgeable as anyone else in the field, I want to share his views with Members of the Congress.

I hope that someone, somewhere in the Federal Government will heed his simple but profound suggestions:

JUNE 29, 1965.

Hon. BURT L. TALCOTT,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BURT: I have just returned from 12 days at the International Air Show held at Le Bourget Airport in Paris and am writing to advise you of the situation as I saw it from the standpoint of an American businessman spending 8 to 10 hours a day in an exhibit booth with the purpose of selling our products to the European market. Like John Glenn, I still get a lump in my throat when the flag goes by and we raise it every morning at our plant to remind us of our heritage and blessings. But, Burt, after 12 days in Paris, the gross stupidity, incredible arrogance and general ineptitude of our Government representation made me almost cringe at the mention of the United States of America. This is inexcusable. By and large, the American business representatives were doing

a creditable and possibly an outstanding job, but in spite of, not because of, our official bungling.

Let's face it. At Paris the Russians made us look like idiots and we cooperated so beautifully that it almost looked as though our public relations program was being directed by the Kremlin. Let's look at the facts:

First, we'll examine the Russian program:

1. Immediately after debarking at Le Bourget, I walked through the aircraft park where the Russian and American exhibits were practically side by side. The Russian aircraft were exclusively commercial, the American almost 100 percent military. Think of the irony of the situation. The United States, which has pioneered, built and has flying, more commercial aircraft than all the rest of the world combined being outgamed by a country that still puts bombardier nose sections in the few commercial aircraft that they have produced.

2. There was a long line waiting to enter the small, separate building that housed the space exhibit of the U.S.S.R. and I joined it. Inside was a full scale model of the Vostok space capsule and its rocket motor suspended from the ceiling, what appeared to be an operational Vostok in a glass case and Mr. Gargarin, Russia's first man in space, who shook my hand, said da da and gave me a Vostok lapel pin. This was easily the most popular exhibit at the show and I would estimate that 70 percent of the attendees had Vostok pins and were wearing them. I laid mine down and it was promptly stolen which is more than I can say for our U.S. publicity handouts.

3. The Russians then flew in their great misshapen 750 passenger transport aircraft which really impressed the public. I examined it and as a pilot and engineer of many years standing. I feel it economically and militarily foolish, but the publicity value was tremendous.

4. Then there was the announcement of the proposed U.S.S.R., SST transport which looks like a retouched Concorde. This also hit all of the front pages.

In short, the Russians stole the show with an obsolete space capsule much inferior to our Mercury, an artist's sketch of a supersonic transport and an overgrown, awkward monstrosity of an airplane. But they could do it because everything they did was aimed at and shown to the general public.

Now let us look at our notable contribution as ugly Americans.

1. A huge sign proclaiming "Aerospace U.S.A." hung over a complex of box-like private offices located not far from the American Avitron booth where Holex exhibited. The doors of the offices had charming signs such as Chief Press Officer, Assistant Chief Press Officer, etc., and were always closed. There was one open section, staffed by the Department of Commerce with literature, handouts, etc. The public attendance in this area was notably sparse.

2. The same complex contained a very small, about 10 by 20 foot area, unventilated and hot, where a motion picture projector and a few chairs provided an uncomfortable and intermittent opportunity to see some very good American films. Due to location, environment, and lack of publicity, this was also very poorly attended.

3. When the truly magnificent, color film of White's space walk was finally received and shown late on Friday afternoon, it was treated like a secret. I found out about it quite by accident and then had to borrow a press badge from a British friend in order to see it. This, despite the fact that Holex manufactured vital parts for the Gemini mission. Needless to say, the general public probably never knew it was there.

4. When White, McDivitt, and the Vice President finally arrived, it was a triumphant tour surrounded by Secret Service, press, public relations and photographers and the great mass of the unwashed public including the exhibitors were generally ignored and forgotten.

5. As a part of the combined American Avitron–Holex contributions to export sales and international good will, we presented a film, lecture, and demonstration on 2 separate days in the main auditorium as Les Bourget. As a matter of courtesy, we provided full information to the "Aerospace U.S.A." public relations staff on Tuesday and we were informed that "this was great stuff, just what we wanted, etc." On Thursday afternoon, having heard or seen nothing further from the public relations staff, we contacted them again. They didn't remember who we were, couldn't find the information we had provided and generally made us feel as welcome as the proverbial "skunk at a garden party." Naturally, if any publicity did appear, we didn't see it. In fact, the lectures were fairly well attended due to our own efforts and it appeared that our friends from the U.S.S.R. and the mainland of China were more interested than our own people since there was a good attendance from both of these organizations, but not a single U.S. press or public relations man on either day.

6. As to the net effect of the mass visit of Congressmen and Senators and the impact of the Ambassador's reception, the less said, the better.

There were a few good points. James Webb, Administrator of the NASA, visited the U.S. exhibitors. He came unheralded and alone and had time to stop and talk for a few minutes without the aid of 50 photographers. In this, Jim was unique among the U.S. officials and should be commended. The USAF Thunderbirds and the U.S. Navy Blue Angels put on fantastic flying exhibitions on Thursday evening. But it occurred around 7:30 p.m. when most of the public had departed.

The point is this. The Russians appealed to the people; we ignored the people and appealed to the press. As a result, the Russians only lost the front pages once and that was when we made them through the unfortunate crash of our B–58.

The real tragedy lies in the fact that we have so much to be proud of and so much to give. We are first in aviation and I am not willing to concede that we are second in space. Just suppose we had forgotten the public relations experts, the mimeograph machines, the press handouts, and the missiles and the fighters and had chosen the following:

1. Wiped out all the cozy little offices and enclosures of "Aerospace USA," placed a dias in the center of the open area, hung a Gemini overhead and had three or four back projection machines showing White's space walk on a continuous schedule. Have White and McDivett there 15 minutes every hour to talk with and shake hands with the people. That would have been the hit of the show.

2. Park a DC–8, a 707, a 727, an Electra, etc., on the ramp and let people through to see how we fly in the United States. The contrast with the commercial aircraft of the U.S.S.R. would have been enlightening. Have one plane equipped with the in-flight movie setup with an appropriate 5-minute color film. I realize that these aircraft are operating in Europe, but not many of the European people have flown in them.

3. Have a display of our amazing array of scientific satellites with an explanation of their purpose and their value to the human race.

4. Have the United States officially represented only by people with some capabilities in a language other than their own, with a real desire to communicate with and interact with the Europeans and with a real pride in the United States without arrogance or condescension.

It is my feeling that we are citizens of what is still the greatest Nation on earth. We have our problems and make our mistakes, but basically, we believe in and practice those freedoms which are and have been the hope and goal of all mankind. We are also the world's greatest salesman. How long is it going to take our Government to use the commonsense practiced daily by the successful American businessman abroad to combine our principles and salesmanship in an irresistible package that can be marketed to the people of the world, not mimeographed as a press handout?

I am sorry that this letter had to be written. I would feel far better if it could have been one of praise rather than condemnation. However, I could not feel that I am doing my job as a citizen if I did not call the glaring deficiencies mentioned herein to the attention of the responsible Members of Congress with an earnest plea for prompt and remedial action.

With my sincere best wishes.

HOLEX INC.,
E. J. STECKER,
President.

Malawi Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, July 6 is a significant day in the history of Malawi; for on that day in 1964 Great Britian effectively granted independence to the Malawian people. Today, only 2 days after we Americans have commemorated for the 189th time our own Declaration of Independence from England on July 4, 1776, Malawi celebrates its first anniversary of constitutional self-government. At this time, I should like to express my admiration for the achievements of the Malawian people in their 1 short year as a free member of the British Commonwealth and the community of nations.

The years since the end of World War II have seen the erosion of numerous colonial empires and the birth of many new nations. In some independence has brought problems which have all but aborted the goals dreamed of by the people during their years of subservience to foreign rule. New-born Malawi is an outstanding example of what a free people with determination and will, led by a man of foresight, understanding, and intelligence can accomplish. I speak, of course, of the distinguished Prime Minister of Malawi, the George Washington of his country, Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda.

Indeed, Malawi stands proudly as a symbol of democratic representative government and as a vital example of the republican system succeeding in a newly established state. The Malawian people did not achieve their independence without much effort, sacrifice, and determined hard work. While the transition from colonial sovereignty to self-determination was relatively smooth, it came only after the raj had been convinced time and again, by actual demonstration, that Dr. Banda and his followers were both willing and able to assume

the responsibilities to be transferred to them. Malawi's freedom came in gradual stages. From 1953 to 1963 it was a member—along with Northern and Southern Rodesia—of a federation. At that time it was called Nyasaland.

Malawi moved toward autonomy with a constitutional conference held in London in 1960. In 1961, in accordance with the convention, elections for a new legislative council were held. Dr. Banda and his Malawi Congress Party received the mandate of the electorate and assumed the leadership of the new Executive Council.

In 1962, a second constitutional conference was held in London. This meeting resulted in a declaration of intent by the British articulating their determination to give Melawi domestic self-determination in early 1963. Shortly thereafter England made public its willingness to allow Malawi to secede from its union with the Rhodesias.

Step by step, the British assisted in the establishment of a ministerial, unicameral system of government with the Prime Minister, Dr. Banda, as Head of Government. In October of 1963, with a constitution promulgated, Great Britain announced its intention to grant Malawi its independence on July 6 of the following year.

Today, Malawi, which became a member of the United Nations on December 1, 1964, is an emancipated constituent of the family of nations.

Mr. Speaker, I believe Prime Minister Banda and the Malawian people deserve the heartiest congratulations and best wishes of the American people on this anniversary date.

Public Service by KABC-TV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, station KABC-TV, Los Angeles, Calif., recently rendered a unique public service to the southern California community which I am sure will be of general interest to communities and cities nationally.

This service, as is often the case, had its inception as a project to fill a need and, for a variety of reasons, grew into something much bigger. It began when the station was interested in informing the school systems of certain of its community service activities relating to subjects such as high school guidance clinics, scholarships, dropouts, a search for teenage reporters, and so forth. Surprisingly, it was found that there was no listing of institutions of higher education readily available for use in connection with such a project. KABC-TV itself therefore stepped in to fill the breech and compiled such information in an attractive and informative booklet "College Handbook—A Guide to Schools of Higher Education in Southern California."

The handbook devotes a page to each of the institutions of higher education in southern California, including a picture of a campus scene and a brief description of the institution. Also included is information in outline form concerning degrees awarded by the various institutions, entrance requirements, tuition, living accommodations, whether it has a religious affiliation, and where to write for additional information.

KABC-TV initially printed 10,000 copies of the very useful booklet. The response has been so enthusiastic from educators, libraries, students, parents, businessmen, and civil leaders, however, that an additional printing of 10,000 copies has become necessary.

I believe that station KABC-TV, Vice President and General Manager Elton H. Rule, and his associates merit commendation for this unique and worthwhile project. The popularity of the booklet attests very well to the success of the venture. Certainly it exemplifies too the measure of service that can be rendered to the public by organizations, whether they be private or public, when there is motivation and dedication.

Centennial of The Nation Magazine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, 100 years ago today "a weekly journal devoted to politics, literature, science, and art" began publication. Since that time the Nation, the oldest continuously published weekly of opinion in the United States, has gained a respected position in American journalism as well as in domestic affairs.

The Nation was the first, and has been the most consistent supporter of civil rights. Its sixth editor, Oswald Garrison Villard, for example, was a founder of the NAACP. Also, this organization was first housed in the Nation's offices.

Since its beginning, the Nation has championed and has been the forum for the causes of freedom and progress and has sought to expose those forces which it felt were damaging not only to this country but to the free world as well. The Nation, however, has taken not the ideological view so much as the moral view against racism, imperialism, political machines and super-patriotism. It criticized the U.S. Marine occupation of Haiti, exposed the Black and Tan terror in Ireland, fought McCarthyism and assorted "witchhunts." It was among the first American publications to illuminate the evils of Mussolini and Hitler.

This policy was first begun by E. L. Godkin, its founding editor. Godkin, a Manchester liberal, deeply believed in "peace, retrenchment and reform." What he mainly attempted to reform was American journalism, particularly the daily press which he believed to be inaccurate and immoderate. For his models, he chose two outstanding publications—the Spectator, an English publication of opinion, and the American Saturday Review. Godkin thought the Nation's function would be to take a consistently hard critical view, to be scholarly but topical, and to create its own small but influential audience by maintaining a consistently virtuous position.

From its inception, the Nation has taken an independent position. The original prospectus for the publication stated, for example:

> The Nation will not be the organ of any party, sect or body. It will, on the contrary, make an earnest effort to bring to the discussion of political and social questions a really critical spirit, and to wage war upon the vices of violence, exaggeration, and misrepresentation by which so much of the political writing of the day is marred.

A review of the 200 bound volumes comprising the Nation's history reveals contributions by a roster of distinguished writers and editors such as James Russell Lowell, Henry W. Longfellow, John G. Whittier, Francis Parkman, Lord Bryce, Henry James—Senior and Junior—William James, Charles Francis Adams, Carl Schurz, and many others.

Thus, this fine publication has made an outstanding contribution to American journalism, domestic politics, and international affairs. Its independence is particularly noteworthy and has been consistently maintained. As its current editor, Mr. Carey McWilliams, has stated:

> The Nation belongs to no one * * * you cannot own it.

It is with great pleasure, Mr. Speaker, that I congratulate the Nation on successfully completing 100 years of continuous and exceptional publication. Knowing that it begins its second century with the same spirit and goals that motivated its sponsors in 1865, I wish it all success and good fortune.

South Africa's Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I would like to include at this point an editorial which appeared in yesterday's Washington Post, entitled "South Africa's Challenge."

I subscribe wholeheartedly to the reaction voiced in that editorial, and urge this Government to maintain its strong stand against discriminatory racial policies, whether here or abroad.

The editorial follows:

SOUTH AFRICA'S CHALLENGE

With a self-righteousness bordering on a death wish, South African Prime Minister Verwoerd's government, during the past month, has exhibited a determination to add

the United States to the long list of nations it wants nothing to do with.

In mid-May, when the United States routinely asked for permission for the planes from the U.S. carrier *Independence* to land on South African airstrips during a scheduled Capetown docking, South Africa replied yes, providing the crews were pure white. The *Independence* thereupon bypassed Capetown.

Subsequently, both Prime Minister Verwoerd and Foreign Minister Muller repeated statements of rebuke against the U.S. Embassy which persisted in holding interracial parties on its premises in defiance of South Africa's apartheid policies for separating blacks from whites. Although the warnings came just before the big Embassy Fourth of July party, the U.S. Government declined to rearrange its hospitality procedures.

In a recent statement before a Nationalist Party golden jubilee gathering of farmers, Verwoerd warned that South Africa would not tolerate any American Negroes on either the Defense Department or National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) tracking stations in South Africa.

Neither the NASA agreement of 1960, nor the defense agreement of 1962 contains any mention of racial policies. Moreover, no American Negroes ever have been assigned to the stations. And if they were, Verwoerd's government, which grants the necessary visa, obviously would have a veto power.

In sum, Verwoerd seems determined to pick a fight. As this year's elections already are out of the way, and with substantial increases in his party's popularity, Verwoerd apparently is picking a fight for other reasons.

Since 1957, the United States has joined in on stronger and stronger United Nations condemnatory resolutions against South Africa's apartheid policy—although never to the point of imposing severe sanctions. In 1962, the United States stopped the sale of U.S. arms to South Africa which could be used to enforce apartheid. And a year later it broadened this embargo to include equipment and machinery for the manufacture and repair of arms.

Now, Verwoerd seems determined that the United States publicly acknowledge its quiet practice of not assigning any Negroes to the tracking stations, a rather mortifying request of a nation which is trying so hard to enforce racial equality at home.

If the issue must be joined, let Washington now take stock of just how important South Africa is to U.S. interests. There is considerable trade between the two countries and at the moment the balance is very favorable to the United States. The tracking stations undoubtedly are useful, both scientifically and militarily. But U.S. trade is not that dependent on South Africa. And there are other, and friendlier, areas of the world where similar tracking stations can be set up.

In short, if Prime Minister Verwoerd and his government are determined to isolate themselves from a United States which cannot condone their racial policies, let them do it.

The Search and Destroy Policy on the Ground in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial from the July 1, 1965, edition of the New York Herald Tribune.

The policy of this administration in Vietnam is a logical one and there appears to be no question that we do not intend to lose.

The editorial follows:

VIETNAM: "SEARCH AND DESTROY"

The U.S. role in the Vietnamese war has entered a new and broader phase with the allied invasion of the Vietcong jungle stronghold known as D zone. We have escalated the war in the air by taking the offensive against military targets in North Vietnam. We are now escalating our role on the ground by taking the offensive against Communist guerrillas in the south.

There appears to be some nervousness on the part of spokesmen in Saigon and Washington. They are reluctant to acknowledge that something has changed; that something new has been added. They cling to the references and terminology of the past—official pronouncements describing the function of American forces as essentially defensive, to protect our installations and personnel.

However, in speaking of the incursion into D zone, a State Department spokesman referred to it as a search-and-destroy mission. This can be squared with the previous formal position only by relating it to the classical military doctrine that the best defense is the offense.

The question is whether an offense on the ground is essential to achieving our purpose in Vietnam—to uphold the independence of South Vietnam and to deny the area south of the 17th parallel (as fixed by the Geneva agreements) to the Communists. The jungle is forbidding, filled with the darkness and danger from Communist guerrillas, snakes and swamps. Americans are extremely reluctant to see their young men sucked into such treacherous terrain.

A number of Republican critics suggest this can be avoided and victory can be achieved more cheaply by massive attacks on North Vietnam from the air and the sea. The President's military advisers evidently do not accept this over-simplified view; they contend that operations on the ground—which is, after all, where the Vietcong operate—are no less essential than air strikes against sources of supply in the north.

But this does not invalidate demands for more forceful measures against legitimate military targets in the north. If the two go hand in hand, complementing each other, in the absence of a favorable response to our repeated invitation to negotiations, it is logical to suppose that intensified efforts on the ground will be accompanied by stepped-up action from the air.

New Hampshire—Leader in Tree Farms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, as one who has had a lifelong interest in conservation and the development of natural resources, I read the following editorial from the Claremont Daily Eagle with great interest and some pride. The tree-farm concept is a growing one that is contributing increasingly to the health of the land and the economy of our area. I operate a tree farm myself and am, therefore, especially pleased to note the progress in this area and to place this editorial in the RECORD.

NO. 2 TREE FARM STATE

New Hampshire, with 485 tree farms, continues to maintain a firm grip on second place both in acreage and number in the New England States, according to figures released at the tree farm committee's spring meeting.

This is good news for the Granite State and its residents. It shows that acreage, far from being cut back by encroachment of public ownership, as is true in so many other States, is actually increasing.

New Hampshire, as of this writing, has 485 tree farms, totaling 514,091 acres. It has added 6 new properties, with an acreage of 3,666, during the past year. And it might be noted that the major plot, measuring better than 2,000 acres, was acquired by a Bay State concern in the Sullivan County town of Goshen.

The American tree farm system, launched in Washington State in 1941, has since spread to all 48 contiguous States, with 29,000 ownerships representing total holdings of over 65 million acres.

As was recently noted here, State and Federal Governments are constantly acquiring private lands. Joint holdings of these two agencies amount to approximately 39 percent of the land in the United States—a percentage which is, naturally, exempt from taxation.

Conversely, each tree farm acre is privately owned and is contributing to tax receipts.

And, in the words of the Granite State Forest Industries Committee:

"Our tree farms stand as excellent examples of private enterprise demonstrating the practicability of multiple-use forest management. Their primary purpose is to grow wood for an expanding economy, but they also serve as habitat for wildlife, watershed for our streams and lakes, and provide hunting, fishing, camping, and other forms of recreation for our citizens."

K. D. W.

A Positive View of the Johnson Doctrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 24, 1965

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the Johnson doctrine of standing up to communism in Latin America has received wide support throughout the Nation, and particularly in Florida where we are so close to Cuba and can remember the events preceding the Castro takeover. There have been, however, some negative press reports, similar to those which helped build up the Castro image in this country prior to his communistic declarations. The Miami Herald recently commented on the positive aspects of the President's actions and results in the Dominican Republic and I include this editorial in the RECORD:

LET'S VIEW IT POSITIVELY

The commitment of the United States in the Dominican Republic, in manpower, prestige, and resources, is tremendous. The stakes are incalculable.

In the circumstances, it is necessary to reserve judgments while we move cautiously and surely toward a solution that not only means freedom for the Dominican people but

turns back the threat of Communist subversion from the hemisphere.

Judgments in this period of confusion are not being reserved. The dispatch of U.S. military forces and the continued strife between rival factions have set off a torrent of criticism.

For the record it should be said that much has been accomplished on the positive side.

President Johnson acted with decision when the lives of thousands of Americans and other foreign nationals were endangered by the Dominican revolt. All civilians who sought safety were evacuated without a single casualty.

There was evidence of a Communist attempt to take over the country. That would have been a catastrophe for the inter-American system, compounding the Cuban mess. It would have made ridiculous the repeated pledges of two American Presidents that such a development would not be tolerated.

That has been prevented, although the danger still lingers.

The Organization of American States, although somewhat laggardly, studied the evidence and came to the historic conclusion that joint action was necessary to protect democratic government in the Dominican Republic.

That decision has yet to be implemented, but two nations have dispatched forces and the OAS secretary general was on the scene yesterday to seek extension of the 1-day cease-fire.

The OAS by its action has said plainly that it will not sit still for a second Cuba and that peace and freedom in the hemisphere are inter-American concerns. That is of great import for the future.

Although factional strife persists in the Dominican Republic, adding each day to its tragic toll, the decisive stands have been taken and the machinery set up for a constructive solution.

The first step is to replace chaos with law and order.

The second is to establish an authority that can restore normal processes and prepare for a freely elected government.

The final step is to help the Dominican people repair the grievous damage and improve their lot in peace and freedom.

These things do not come from the wishing, but require patience, understanding, sacrifice and hard work.

We believe they will come because the basis is beginning to be laid, and because otherwise there would be no nation in the hemisphere wholly free of fear.

Bad Time for Budget Gamesmanship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, the Los Angeles Times of July 1, 1965, commented editorially on a matter of concern to our Nation.

The editorial is entitled, "Bad Time for Budget Gamesmanship," and the title sums up very well its timely message.

The Los Angeles Times, very appropriately in my view, turns a critical eye on the efforts apparently being made to give the appearance of a Federal budget at a level below the $100 billion figure. This includes, for example, what is labeled, "clamping a deceptive lid on military spending." It states that "the increasingly expensive war in Vietnam has simply been ignored by authors of the annual budget."

Under leave to extend my remarks I submit the editorial for inclusion in the RECORD:

[From the Los Angeles Times, July 1, 1965]

BAD TIME FOR BUDGET GAMESMANSHIP

President Johnson is not the first Chief Executive to play sleight-of-hand tricks with the budget. Nor will he be the last. It is important, though, for the public to recognize the game for what it is.

Mr. Johnson is said to be pressing his subordinates to come up with a budget for fiscal year 1967, which begins a year from today, that will be under $100 billion.

The budget-makers may well produce a document which seems to do just that. If so, however, it will be even more misleading than the $99.7 billion budget which the President proposed for the current year.

The gimmick is that the administrative budget, which is the one everybody talks about, does not cover expenditures from trust funds for special purposes such as highways and Social Security payments.

When these are included, it turns out that the Federal Government already is spending over $127 billion a year. And it is this hidden part of the budget that is going up rapidly.

Also, the Johnson administration has managed to keep the showcase budget below $100 billion so far only by clamping a deceptive lid on military spending.

Real efficiencies introduced by Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, plus a less laudable conservatism in new weapons development, have been major factors in this leveling-off process.

More important, though, the increasingly expensive war in Vietnam has simply been ignored by authors of the annual budgets.

The White House had to ask Congress for a $700 million supplemental appropriation in the fiscal year just ended. It is obvious that the formal defense budget for this year will fall even shorter of actual needs.

The facts of life are that the American people may be facing a grim period of sacrifice, in lives and in dollars, in Southeast Asia.

President Johnson should ask himself whether this is really the time to encourage a national mood of euphoria through budgeteering gamesmanship.

Economists Believe Sustained Prosperity of Kennedy-Johnson Administrations Will Continue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 16, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, in a recent column, Roscoe Drummond summarized the broad consensus of economists on the state of the American economy: That we are in for more of the unprecedented sustained prosperity and economic growth that have marked the Kennedy-Johnson administrations.

The continuation of this growth for the longest period in our history is a tribute to the wise policies pursued by President Johnson.

Drummond in his article concluded that:

The truth is that the state of the economy is good, the outlook is for more of the same as far ahead as one can reasonably see and no one, including Federal Reserve Chairman William McChesney Martin, sees a recession around the corner.

I include the full text of the article hereafter:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, June 27, 1965]

STATE OF ECONOMY IS AND WILL BE GOOD

(By Roscoe Drummond)

Nothing is more vital to everything the United States is trying to do in the world than the state of the economy. This is why it is important not to get the stock market mixed up with the valid thermometers of economic health.

The market has had its scare. It still may be a little jittery. But the truth is that the state of the economy is good, the outlook is for more of the same as far ahead as one can reasonably see and no one, including Federal Reserve Chairman William McChesney Martin, sees a recession around the corner.

This isn't just a Lyndon Johnson pep talk, although the President has been saying as much at recent press conferences. This appraisal comes from looking at the objective facts and is shared by most private economists. It reflects a pervasive confidence on the part of the whole business community.

It isn't wishful thinking or political organ music to quiet the stock market.

Among the reasons why the business community is not nervous about the future, despite market vibrations, are:

Federal revenue is going up, spending is going down ($900 million below the January estimate) and the budget is getting nearer to balance.

The Treasury finds business activity and personal income will yeld $1,600 million more in taxes than it estimated last January—despite the substantial cut in rates last year.

This combination means that the Federal deficit at the end of this month will reach a 5-year low. There has been sustained prosperity and economic growth for the longest period in American history.

Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler sees a steady upward trend in business activity for the rest of 1965—and beyond. Though disagreeing on some things, the liberal Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, Gardner Ackley, shares conservative Martin's view that no recession is in the making.

Martin's Columbia Universty speech did not start the downturn in the market. His speech, with its warnings against inflation and the still unresolved balance-of-payments gap, undoubtedly gave it a push—more of a push than he intended because his warnings were played so much more prominently than his assurances.

Basically, the warnings were well taken and timely. But the dissimilarities between now and 1929 are far greater than the similarities—and Martin said so. Few read his speech in full.

The most reassuring fact is that none of the ingredients of a recession show up in any of the economic indicators. Just the opposite. Inventories are not bulging. They are actually lower today than when the boom started. Business is not overexpanding and that was what, in large part, brought on the recession of 1957. The expansion of productive capacity has been running just about even with the explanation of consumer demand.

Fiscal Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, I want to call to the attention of the Members of the House an able summary of a fundamental problem of our fiscal policy implementation which is currently a subject of intense study by the distinguished chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, the gentleman from Texas, the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN. An article by Walter Lippmann, published on July 4 in the Kalamazoo Gazette calls attention—on Independence Day—to the independence of the Federal Reserve System from the institutions and individuals who are held responsible by the electorate, for the System's activties in the field of fiscal policy.

Lippmann's conclusion, that the arrangement is untidy, cannot be argued. The fundamental problem, faced by Chairman PATMAN, is whether or not it is wise to allow this untidy arrangement to continue, merely hoping that it works.

The text of Lippmann's column follows:

ARRANGEMENT BETWEEN FED AND WHITE HOUSE IS UNTIDY

(By Walter Lippmann)

Having very great respect for William McChesney Martin, the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, I have been reading and rereading his celebrated speech of June 1.

The reader will remember that it was called Does Monetary History Repeat Itself? and the burden of it was that as our prosperity proceeds on its recordbreaking path we must look for the warning signs of another great depression. Martin found enough "disquieting similarities" with the years before 1929 to warrant his saying that only by heeding the truths which were disregarded in the 1920's do "we have a good chance to avoid another such disaster."

During the month that has followed the speech, the administration's economists and their colleagues in the universities have been answering Martin's foreboding and trying to reassure the financial community and the investing public. But the discussion has been unsatisfactory, and this may well be, it seems to me, the most important thing about it. For what it reveals is the existence of a conflict at the highest levels of economic policy.

Martin and some of the governors of the Federal Reserve Board on the one hand, the President, his Council of Economic Advisers, his Secretary of the Treasury and his Director of the Budget on the other have a very different reading of the economic condition of the country and presumably, therefore, are offering different views of what action should be taken.

Martin's speech did not contain specific recommendations or announcements of a change of policy by the Federal Reserve Board. But the tone and tenor of the speech seems to imply that the boom should be braked down by restrictionary measures, such as reducing the supply of money and credit and raising the interest rate. Martin, moreover, seemed to be saying that the defense of the dollar and the continuation of economic expansion may be incompatible with one another.

The crucial question raised by his remarks is whether we are on the verge of having two conflicting policies—that of the administration, which is to encourage the continued expansion of demand, and that of the Federal Reserve Board, which is to hold back the expansion. Whatever one's opinions of the two policies, no one can suppose that anything but confusion and a loss of confidence could come from trying both of them at once.

This brings us to the fundamental problem which has been revealed by the conflict between Martin and the administration. In conformity with the traditional role of central banks, which was written into law in the Banking Act of 1935, the Federal Reserve System, though its governors are appointed by the President, is an independent institution and not just one of the many departments and agencies under the President's command. It is a public but not a governmental institution. Thus, Martin is not like Secretary Fowler, a member of the Johnson administration.

The independence of the Federal Reserve Board derives from the time when the management of money and credit was the function of the bankers alone. This traditional position of a central bank was radically impaired by the great depression of 1929 and by the revolutionary changes in economic thinking which stem from John Maynard Keynes.

At the end of the Second World War Congress passed the Employment Act of 1946 which gives the President a mandate to use his power to keep unemployment low, to keep prices reasonably steady and to promote an adequate rate of economic growth.

This has left us with two separate sets of officials, both of them responsible for the management of the economy. There is the Federal Reserve Board with its power over the supply of credit and the structure of interest rates. There is the administration with its power to spend and tax, to finance the debt and to give grants in aid.

The two sets of powers have to be exercised harmoniously, and the problem raised by Martin's speech is how to insure harmony in action without producing a conformity that prevents critical debate in the formation of policy.

It is hard to see how this can be written into law, and almost certainly what we must fall back upon is an understanding that in high financial policy the Federal Reserve Board can advise and can warn, but it must not act at cross purposes with the administration.

Thus, Martin, for example, would remain free to say that credit should be restricted and interest rates increased, but the Federal Reserve Board should not carry out such a policy if it is contrary to that of the President.

This is, to be sure, untidy. But it is the kind of untidy arrangement by which so often old institutions are adapated to changing conditions.

U.S. Navy May Buy Ships in Britain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of this distinguished body to a disquieting article which appeared in the June 18 issue of the New York Times. This article, entitled "U.S. Navy May Buy Ships in Britain," explains how the Pentagon is studying suggestions that the U.S. Navy buy some noncombatant ships from Britain. Mr. Speaker, as one who represents Boston, Mass., and has some familiarity with the problems of this Nation's shipbulding industry, I am greatly alarmed that the Pentagon can even seriously consider a suggestion that it buy ships from Britain. Mr. Speaker, if this country decides it needs more ships, the place to go for them is not Britain or some other foreign nation but to our own shipyards which are desperately in need of more work. Mr. Speaker, I can only hope that the Pentagon will take into account the declining state of our shipbuliding industry and the fact that naval yards are being shutdown all over this country before it decides to buy ships from Britain or for that matter any foreign nation.

The article follows:

U.S. NAVY MAY BUY SHIPS IN BRITAIN—PENTAGON STUDIES PURCHASE OF NONCOMBATANT VESSELS

WASHINGTON, June 17.—The Defense Department is considering a suggestion that the U.S. Navy buy some noncombatant ships from Britain.

The idea, which is being examined at the Office of International Security Affairs, is one of several proposals aimed at keeping defense industries in major allied countries in a condition of readiness for expansion in an emergency. Military procurement has dropped off sharply in many of the larger non-Communist nations.

The suggestion is certain to stir apprehension in the American shipbuilding industry and in communities where Navy shipyards are being closed down.

Those who see possible advantages in the proposal for buying Navy cargo ships from British yards believe that the British ships might be better at a lower cost, than ships produced in the United States.

Both Britain and Japan have huge shipbuilding industries. The British yards may have more experience in building the specialized cargo types used by the U.S. Navy than Japanese yards, which produce quality tanker ships.

The balance in military buying would still lie heavily in favor of the United States.

HAS OPTION FOR PLANES

Under an agreement reached earlier this year, Britain has the option of buying from the United States about $1 billion worth of the long-range, supersonic, F-111 variable-wing warplanes. So far, however, the British have made no move to take up either part or all of the option.

Agreement has been reached, however, for the procurement by Britain of the American F-4 Phantom, a supersonic plane with considerably less range than the F-111.

British interest in the two American planes increased as the point neared where Britain abandoned her own development program for the TSR-2 bomber.

British aircraft experts may be inclined to the veiw that for Britain's purposes in European-area operations the longer range of the F-111 is not needed.

Even if the Defense Department should decide to buy some cargo ships for the Navy from Britain, all construction of combatant ships almost certainly would remain in American private and Navy yards.

H.R. 7105: The Anti-Arab Boycott Amendment

SPEECH

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 30, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the agreement by this House with the Senate amendment and the passage of H.R. 7105, as amended, marks another great advance in our foreign policy.

Once more Americans hold their heads high and proclaim we will stand for no foreign interference with our free enterprise system. Our antidiscrimination statutes apply not only as between Americans but as between Americans and those abroad with whom they have every right to do business.

Restrictive trade practices and boycotts may have a place between unfriendly nations, but they have no place between friendly nations or between their citizens.

During the course of the debate in the House on this bill, I pointed out that the declaration of policy written into it was mandated to be implemented by the language I proposed and which was adopted.

I am gratified that the correctness of my statement is recognized both by our State Department and by our Commerce Department. More than that, they commit themselves to comply with that declaration of policy and to implement it by rules and regulations.

On June 30, 1965, the Secretary of Commerce, the Honorable John T. Connor, so stated in a letter to the distinguished majority leader of the Senate, the Honorable MIKE MANSFIELD. Senator MANSFIELD has authorized me to place that letter in our RECORD. It is as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE,
Washington, D.C., June 30, 1965.

Hon. MIKE MANSFIELD,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MANSFIELD: In extending the Export Control Act, the House approved an amendment which provides that it is the policy of the United States to oppose restrictive trade practices or boycotts by foreign countries against countries friendly to the United States. Further, this amendment declares that it is the policy of the United States to encourage and request domestic concerns to refuse to take any action which has the effect of furthering or supporting such practices or boycotts. To carry out this new policy statement, there is an expressed requirement for the promulgation of rules and regulations.

This proposed amendment to the Export Control Act, contained in H.R. 7105, has been approved by the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency and is now pending before the Senate.

If the Senate approves the bill recommended by the Senate committee, the Department of Commerce will be required to issue rules and regulations within 90 days after the date of enactment.

The Department of Commerce will have the obligation, and will, in fact, request American business firms not to cooperate in restrictive trade practices or boycotts imposed by a foreign country against another foreign country friendly to the United States. I am expressly authorized by the Secretary of State to say that the Department of State would, if H.R. 7105 is enacted into law, take all appropriate steps through diplomatic channels and other means that may be available to the Department in opposing restrictive trade practices or boycotts by foreign countries against a country friendly to the United States.

Further, it is our understanding that an addition that strengthens the bill as passed by the House will be offered on the Senate floor as follows:

Page 5, line 6, before the period at the end of the sentence: "and shall require that all domestic concerns receiving requests for the furnishing of inforamtion or the signing of agreements must report this fact to the Secretary of Commerce for such action as he may deem appropriate to carry out the purposes of section 2(4)."

It is clear that the language of H.R. 7105, with the suggested addition quoted above would require specific action by the executive departments and the executive departments will, of course, follow through on those requirements if this bill is approved by Congress.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN T. CONNOR,
Secretary of Commerce.

Another Noteworthy Peace Corps Achievement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I am always pleased to learn of new achievements of the Peace Corps, particularly when one of my constituents is involved.

Miss Irene Bayorek of Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y., has been instrumental in organizing the College of Business Administration at Haile Selassie University in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Miss Bayorek will be completing her 2-year tour in that country. Her efforts, however, will never be forgotten, particularly by the students of the College of Business Administration. She recently received from the students significant praise for her contribution to the college and its students.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to take this opportunity to insert into the RECORD the editorial which appeared in the publication of the students of the College of Business Administration. I believe this further demonstrates the impact the Peace Corps is having on the developing nations of the world.

The editorial follows:

THE PIONEERS LEAVE

The end of the current academic year marks the departure of six faculty members and a secretary—all Peace Corps volunteers—from the college of business. In all schools teachers come and go; there is nothing unusual about that. But this is a special case.

The names of Kreuser, Bayorek, Cordasco, Sprague, Tener, Tracy, Knowles, and Rachut will always be remembered in the history of CBA. Without their presence here, the creation of the college in October, 1963, would have been difficult, if not impossible, due to the lack of teachers. Their contribution to getting the college started is remarkable, especially in view of the difficult conditions under which they had to work. At the time the college opened, there was a shortage of almost everything: suitable classrooms, books, equipment, etc., but they made the best of what was available.

The significance of the work of this dynamic force lies in these two things. In the first place, they have shown that a good lecturer need not be a hunchbacked, gray-haired old man. Though most of them are relatively young, yet their lectures, characterized by careful and thorough preparation, and methodical presentation, have generally been of very high standard. Furthermore, they have shown that an ideal teacher is not required to play the role of a boss all the time. They always maintained a smiling face to all the students even on occasions when this was difficult.

We the students of CBA have got much to learn from these people. Briefly, they have taught us the love for hard work—hard work for its own sake. Also, their self-sacrificing missionary spirit should not go unnoticed.

Their stay here has been a true practical contribution towards better international understanding, often on people's lips but rarely translated into action. Again, accept our inadequate word of thanks. We wish you the best of luck, success and prosperity in all your future endeavors.

Salutatorian Address by Mark J. Silberblatt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 22, 1965

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged to deliver an address at the commencement exercises of Stuyvesant High School held in New York's Carnegie Hall on June 28. I spoke of the responsibility of these graduates and their contemporaries to revitalize urban life and to rebuild our cities into proud examples of a great civilization.

The address of the salutatorian, Mr. Mark Silberblatt, gives encouragement and reassurance that this generation has the capacity to meet these challenges and others which it faces in an imaginative and enlightened fashion. Mr. Silberblatt has some extremely interesting thoughts on the direction which our educational programs should be taking, and I commend his remarks to the attention of the Congress as follows:

SALUTATORIAN ADDRESS BY MARK SILBERBLATT

Honored guests, Dr. Fliedner, members of the faculty, parents, and fellow students, the individual, in the education of his offspring, and the society, in the education of its youth, seek the salvation of posterity and the means of self-preservation. Economics demands that the young be instructed in how to make a living; religion that they be taught how to live. Education is the oldest and most vital of the social concerns, and it is, as well, probably the most carefully scrutinized and the most consistently criticized. The critic of education labors under the exceedingly heavy burden of history; between Rousseau and Dewey, between Plato and Paul Goodman, there is nothing new under the sun. I speak not with the conviction

that what I say is novel, but rather with the knowledge that some ideas demand repetition.

The present concept of education is that it represents the process whereby the youth, innocent of the most meager knowledge, is adjusted to his own life and to his future role in society. He is educated then, in the expectations of others.

He is taught science because his society needs, among other things missile experts; he is taught brand discrimination because his society needs competent consumers; he is taught group socialization and "other direction" because his society needs cohesion.

Either he is prepared directly for the labor market, or the individual is allowed several additional years of education as preparation for a profession.

In both cases, however, the primary, and the most profoundly disturbing characteristic of our education is at once apparent. Very simply, American education is job-oriented. The individual is placed in the absurd situation of being adjusted to a life he finds meaningless. The typical victim of such an education could conceivably seek meaning within his job, but he must frequently confront the reality that his job is an unworthy justification, and that he, the job holder, is insignificant in a society that can replace its lower echelons by machines and its leaders by an elaborately contrived public opinion poll.

Our present system of education now faces the problem of transforming education from a mean (whether to increased efficiency in work or to increased adjustment to society) to a valid and valued end in itself. Our present educational program has not been able to do this; without considerable redirection, it will not be able to do this.

We must learn, in one man's words, "not what to think, but how to think." Education must produce, if it produces anything at all, sentient and sensitive human beings, human beings with an ability to perceive and to reason, and with an abiding desire to develop and to employ these capacities to the utmost. Education must, observed Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, nurture "a kind of deep reverence, not certainly, for the learned man or the stuffed shirt, but for learning, for knowledge, and skill—the kind of thing we learn in school where we learn to do and create and understand, and where we learn really to act with the knowledge we get." We must be educated to the fact that learning itself is a vital and never ending process; that it is the most necessary occupation.

"In order to have citizens," Coleridge said, "you must first be sure that you have produced men." From books we must learn what the poet called "freedom and civilization," a knowledge of our debt to the past and an acceptance of our responsibility to the future. From our contemporaries, we must learn tolerance, "an ability to learn from others what their world is like," an appreciation of the diversity of the human experience and a very real conception of the essential unity and sameness of that experience.

From these sources man achieves both an enlightened humility, a consciousness of his individual, historical irrelevance, and a profound awareness of the grandeur of the human race, of the fact that he, knowing his own past, can survey, with some possibility of comprehension, thousands of years of life.

And the ultimate aim of the process called education is precisely this contemplation, and, in the end, the search for knowledge must achieve a vital moral end, and must cause us to see beyond our society, and beyond our time, and beyond our selves, to the realization of the common dreams of humanity.

Increased Trade With Soviet Contrary to Our Interests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, James D. Hittle, brigadier general, U.S. Marine Corps, retired, who serves as director for national security and foreign affairs of the Veterans of Foreign Wars organization is the author of an excellent comment on proposed trade expansion with the Soviet Union.

Here is the text of Mr. Hittle's comment as it appeared in the San Diego Union on May 21:

OUR TRADE WITH SOVIET SEEN AIDING U.S. SUICIDE

Suggestions of increased trade with Communist countries raise some basic questions.

A key question is "why now?"

When the Soviet Union is engaged in gunrunning on an intercontinental basis, it's a strange time even to talk about sending more of the products of our free enterprise system to Red regimes.

There's only one reason the Communist leaders are interested in our products. That's to make up for the deficits of their industry and agriculture. The hard cold fact of Communist economics is that there wouldn't be so many shortages—and hence so much demand for Western products—if such heavy emphasis wasn't being placed on armament production.

Those armaments are intended for use against us and our allies. The Kremlin finds itself in economic difficulty for a very simple reason: It has flouted just about every moral and economic law. Everything has been sacrificed to building a heavy industry. A heavy industry is the prime requirement for modern weapons production.

From the beginning of the Kremlin's rule, Soviet agriculture was deliberately shortchanged to hasten the buildup of industry. This resulted, in turn, in the continuing Russian agricultural mess.

We bailed the Kremlin out of one agricultural crisis with huge shipments of our subsidized wheat. The actual cost to our taxpayers of this transaction is still beclouded by intricate explanations of international exchange, shipping costs, and subsidies.

But there's one thing we can be sure of. The Communist system is stronger today because it gained access to our wheat supplies.

There's little doubt that the Kremlin is still feeling an industrial pinch because of armament production. As delicately balanced as the Russian industrial system is, it can't meet the demands for arms for the Middle East, the African puppets, the Warsaw Pact armies, Castro, the Latin American terrorists, Sukarno, and the shipments to North Vietnam, without shortages in other lines of production.

This helps explain why, as Senator THOMAS J. DODD, Democrat, of Connecticut, recently reported to the Senate, Russia is on a huge shopping binge in free world markets. His investigation disclosed that the Kremlin shopping list isn't limited to foodstuffs. It includes chemicals, electronics, and other products of our scientific research.

This makes sense from the Kremlin standpoint. It's easier to duplicate a device or a chemical formula than to develop it. It's cheaper, too, since our economic system pays the development costs.

Lenin told his followers not to worry too much if they made mistakes. He said they could make up their shortages by purchasing from the capitalist countries. We would, he said, be so eager for profit that we would participate in our own suicide.

It was another way of expressing the Communist long-range motives behind their drive for free world products: It's their cash on the barrelhead today, our heads on the choppingblock tomorrow.

We sent a lot of scrap iron and other so-called nonstrategic material to Japan, at good profit, in the thirties. It came back at us on December 7, 1941, at Pearl Harbor.

All this talk about increased trade with Communist countries raises another question: Communist success means our destruction; why, then, do we refuse to let communism fail?

Government Employees Who Refuse To Pay Their Debts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 7, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on January 4, 1965, I introduced a bill, H.R. 1096, which provides for the separation of government employees who refuse to pay their debts when a judgment has been entered against them. The bill does not provide for automatic dismissal for such employees. They can only be dismissed if, after a judgment has been entered against them, they fail to make arrangements to honor their obligations.

H.R. 1096 is currently pending before the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee and I hope that committee will schedule hearings on it in the near future.

I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial from the May 19, 1965 edition of the Pacific Stationer and Office Outfitter, published in San Francisco, concerning H.R. 1096:

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES WHO REFUSE TO PAY DEBTS

Government employment should not be a sanctuary for deadbeats. That is apparently the attitude of the Nation's independent business proprietors who have just completed a nationwide vote on H.R. 1096 introduced into Congress by Representative ABRAHAM MULTER, of New York.

This bill, which would provide dismissal for Government employees who refuse to pay their debts despite judgments against them, was given approval by a majority of 77 percent, with 20 percent opposed, and 3 percent undecided.

The nationwide voting was conducted by the National Federal of Independent Business, which has received many complaints from businessmen on the problem of collecting from a small minority of Government employees who take advantage of a law which holds their salaries immune from the ordinary processes of attachment, or garnishment to satisfy a judgment.

Commenting on the vote, C. Wilson Harder, Federation president, said: While obviously

the vast majority of Government employees do honor their obligations, all are given a bad name by the relatively few who refuse to pay, knowing that unlike people in private employment, ordinary processes of collection cannot be used against them."

The 20th Anniversary of the Signing of the U.N. Charter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, 20 years ago this country was privileged to participate in the signing of the United Nations Charter in San Francisco, Calif.; and, two decades later, I can think of no more appropriate observance of this historic event than to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the address made by the Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson, Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations, at the commemorative session of the U.N. General Assembly at San Francisco on June 26.

Ambassador Stevenson speaks proudly and eloquently of United States participation in the United Nations, and of the many wonderful accomplishments of the United Nations over the span of the last 20 years, particularly toward our goal of a peaceful world.

I would like to call his words to the attention of my colleagues, and, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include his statement at this point:

THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

(Statement by His Excellency Adlai E. Stevenson, permanent representative of the United States of America to the United Nations)

Mr. President, this is the end of a commemorative occasion. Some of us here today who were midwives at the birth of the United Nations can never forget those days here in San Francisco in the twilight of the war, when an old world was dying and a new world was coming to birth.

We shared an audacious dream—and launched a brave enterprise.

It seemed so easy then—when all was hope and expectation. I remember my own sense of pride, of history, of exultation—and the special responsibility that fell upon the host country to that historic conference.

Inescapably I remember, too, both the triumphs and the failures. For over these churning, fearful, and expectant years, we have been up and we have been down.

II

But up or down, my Government and my people have never lost faith in the United Nations.

The hope, the expectation, was mirrored by the vote—89 to 2—by which the U.S. Senate approved the ratification of the Charter of the United Nations in 1945—a few weeks after the charter was signed here in San Francisco in this very hall.

And our Congress only this week—in a rare mood of unanimity—reaffirmed that support and dedicated this country, once again, to the principles of this Organization.

This concurrent resolution referred specifically to this 20th anniversary event, to International Cooperation Year, to the "important and, at times, crucial role" which the United Nations has played in defense of the peace—and to its other "valuable service" to human rights and the fight against hunger, poverty, disease, and ignorance.

The resolution then stated:

"Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That it is the sense of the Congress that the United States of America rededicates itself to the principles of the United Nations and to the furtherance of international cooperation within the framework of law and order."

Thus in this week of memory and anticipation did the representatives of our democratic diversity declare again our unity and our commitment in matters that touch the peace of the world.

III

We welcome the counsel of all our brethren, large and small, on this long, rough voyage to world community.

We make no claim to omniscience or omnipotence; we, too, believe that to the humble many things are revealed that are obscure to the mighty.

Out of 20 years of humbling experience, we all know that we need the United Nations more today than we needed it 20 years ago—that we shall need it more 20 years from now than we do today—that the United Nations is a simple necessity of our times.

We know that the issue therefore is not one of survival but of how rapidly or how slowly, how surely or how hesitantly, how skillfully or how clumsily, we shall get on with the work we took up here so short a time ago.

IV

And the record of the United Nations is full of evidence of skillful action by men and women of many nations.

There is time, even in a short address, to salute the Secretary General and the international civil servants of the U.N. family of agencies who pioneer day in and day out in our emerging world community.

We have time to extend our congratulations to those delegates from the younger nations who have joined our ranks since the charter first was signed—who have added diversity to our company—who have given us all an intimate sense of wider community—who have contributed their minds and talents, their vision and wisdom to the conduct of our affairs.

We have time, too, to pay our respects to those hundreds of men of the United Nations who have given their lives in the cause of peace—to those tens of thousands from 54 countries who have helped the United Nations keep the peace—and to those other thousands of Blue Berets who at this moment stand guard for peace in Gaza, Cyprus, and Kashmir, even as we meet here, peacefully, in San Francisco.

We have time here to offer thanks to those unsung heroes of the United Nations who are responsible for curing 37 million children of the yaws, and 11 million more of trachoma, and another million of leprosy—and to those who have protected 162 million people against tuberculosis, and lowered the incidence of malaria by over a hundred million people a year—and to those nameless men and women of the United Nations who have helped find new homes and new lives for more than a million refugees.

These are a few—and only a few—of the things that we the people of the United Nations have done together in the time speck of two tearing decades.

V

In the bright glow of 1945 too many looked to the United Nations for the full and final answer to world peace. And in retrospect that day may seem to have opened with the hint of a false dawn.

Certainly we have learned the hard way how elusive is peace—how durable in man's destructive drive—how various are the forms of his aggressions. We have learned too how distant is the dream of those better standards of life in larger freedom—how qualified our capacity to practice tolerance—how conditional our claims to the dignity and worth of the human person—how reserved our respect for the obligations of law.

Our world is still as brave, though not so new, as it seemed in this place two decades past. But the world's leaders, and their peoples, are deeply troubled—and with cause:

There is war in Vietnam—and in other places too.

There has been revolution and bloody violence in the Dominican Republic—and in other places too.

There are still border troubles in Kashmir, communal bitterness in Cyprus, violence in the Congo.

There is shattering ideological conflict; there is subversion and aggression—overt and clandestine; there is tension and mistrust and fear.

The nuclear threat is spreading and the means of self-destruction are still uncontrolled.

Meanwhile the economic gap between the developed and developing nations grows wider. Human rights and political rights and self-determination are cynically denied. Hunger, disease, and ignorance still afflict the majority of God's children.

I agree with Ambassador Bindzi of the Cameroon that these are symptoms of an unstable, dangerous world—too dangerous and too unstable, for the General Assembly to remain in its present deadlock.

We all know that the deadlock must be broken before we sit down again in the General Assembly 9 weeks hence.

VI

If there be disputes which keep us apart—there is much, much more to be done which draws us together.

Change, guaranteed by the inventions of science and the innovations of technology, accelerates, threatens and promises.

Already science has destroyed any rational excuse for war between states.

Already science induces statesmen to reach for national prestige not in the conquest of someone's territory, but in the conquest of everyone's environment.

Already science and technology are integrating our world into an open workshop where each new invention defines a new task, and reveals a shared interest, and invites yet another common venture.

In our sprawling workshop of the world community, nations are jointed in cooperative endeavor: improving soils, purifying water, harnessing rivers, eradicating disease, feeding children, diffusing knowledge, spreading technology, surveying resources, lending capital, probing the seas, forecasting the weather, setting standards, developing law, and working away at a near-infinitude of down-to-earth tasks—tasks for which science has given us the knowledge, and technology has given us the tools, and commonsense has given us the wit to perceive that common interest impels us to common enterprise.

Common enterprise is the pulse of world community, the heartbeat of a working peace, the way to the Great Society.

VII

Yet we are all impatient. We are all concerned that the scope of our work is still too narrow—that the pace of our work is still too slow—that our best efforts to date risk being overwhelmed by the enormity of the tasks and challenges that press upon us from all sides.

We need time to perfect our peacekeeping machinery to the point where no nation need use its own armed forces save in the service of the international community.

We need time to adjust to the thundering impact of science and technology upon human society and human tradition.

We need time to get on with international cooperation toward disarmament, toward a decent world diet, toward peaceful exploration of outer space, toward international development.

And we, the members of the United Nations, need time at home to struggle with all those great domestic tasks of welfare and justice and human rights which cry out for the priority attention of all national leaders, regardless of the size or the wealth or the social system of any particular country.

VIII

Is there no way to quicken the pulsebeat of our common enterprise? Is there no shortcut to a better world society? Is there no way to make time our ally—and use it better to serve us all?

Of course there is. For the enemy is not change but violence. To induce needed change without needless murder what we require above all is a truce to terror. We need a moratorium—a breathing spell free from acts of international violence.

We need—all of us—a respite from the malignant claims which violence levies upon our energy and our attention and our resources.

There is not a single dispute in this world—however sharply the issues may be drawn—which would not look different two decades from now, after time and change have done their erosive work on the sharpest corners of conflict.

If we could somehow bring about a truce to terror we would soon discover that world order will come not through the purity of the human heart nor the purge of the human soul, but will be wrought from a thousand common ventures that are at once possible and imperative.

Mr. President, on behalf of my government, on behalf of my countrymen, let me say this: We believe in the United Nations; we support the United Nations; and we shall work in the future—as we have worked in the past—to add strength, and influence, and permanence to all that the organization stands for in this, our tempestuous, tormented, talented world of diversity in which all men are brothers and all brothers are somehow, wonderously, different—save in their need for peace.

For all our desperated dangers, I do not believe, in the words of Winston Churchill, "that God has despaired of His children."

For man in his civil society has learned how to live under the law with the institutions of justice, and with a controlled strength that can protect rich and poor alike. This has been done, I say, within domestic society. And in this century, for the first time in human history, we are attempting similar safeguards, a similar framework of justice, a similar sense of law and impartial protection in the whole wide society of man.

This is the profound, the fundamental, the audacious meaning of the United Nations. It is our shield against international folly in an age of ultimate weapons. Either we shall make it grow and flourish, arbitrator of our disputes, mediator of our conflicts, impartial protector against arbitrary violence, or I do not know what power or institution can enable us to save ourselves.

We have the United Nations. We have set it bravely up. And we will carry it bravely forward.

Will History Repeat Here?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, the Journeyman is the name of a periodical published and produced entirely by the students of the New Hampshire Manpower Training Center at Manchester, under the New Hampshire State Department of Education. It has just completed its first year of publication and is excellent in every way.

I was particularly struck by a small item in the June 15 issue reflecting the students' concern for the future of our country as they prepare to improve themselves and take a significant role in the economy. So long as men like these display such an interest, we can be hopeful that this sad history will not be repeated here. The excerpt follows:

WILL HISTORY REPEAT HERE?

The average age of the world's great civilizations has been 200 years. These nations progressed through this sequence:

From bondage to spiritual faith.
From spiritual faith to great courage.
From courage to liberty.
From liberty to abundance.
From abundance to selfishness.
From selfishness to complacency.
From complacency to apathy.
From apathy to dependence.
From dependency back again to bondage.

Annual Barnum Festival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 8, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, once every year over the Fourth of July weekend the city of Bridgeport, Conn., breaks out in a burst of fun and frivolity. It is the annual Barnum Festival, the city's unique way of saluting Phineas T. Barnum, longtime showman of the world and onetime mayor of Bridgeport.

It is a time for flagwaving and funmaking. But it is also a time for reminding ourselves of the importance of this anniversary in the life of our Nation.

It is a time for reminding ourselves that though Americans at home are living a life that is relatively peaceful and prosperous, our freedom and our ideals are being seriously challenged around the world. And the true meaning of the Fourth of July is not in the brief 1-day outburst of enthusiasm but in the day-to-day determination to meet the challenge to democracy. It is just such a note that was struck by Rear Adm. Francis E. Nuessle, Chief of Staff of the Naval War College. Therefore, I know my colleagues will be intcrested in his remarks, which follow:

REMARKS BY REAR ADMIRAL NUESSELE

Mayor Tedesco, Governor Dempsey and distinguished guests.

This festival, which begins as a tribute to a famous patriot of the city of Bridgeport and of the great State of Connecticut, and which ends appropriately with the celebration of Independence Day, is both impressive and meaningful.

That this festival is impressive is evidenced by the growing fame that it earns each year throughout the Nation. That it is meaningful is apparent in this observance of the anniversary of the severance of the American colonies from allegiance to Great Britain.

It is most fitting that this anniversary be observed as the greatest secular holiday of the United States; a day set aside not alone for parades, bands playing, fireworks, cheering and flagwaving, but also and more soberly for solemn rededication to the principles of the Declaration of Independence. It is especially fitting because the world situation in the present has altered substantially the threat to these principles. In the past, an intense flood of national patriotism has always risen to meet the immediate challenges of war. But after victory—after Yorktown, and Appomatox and Versailles—when the visible problems at hand were disposed of—the Nation turned abruptly from conflict to the secure and comfortable pursuits of peacetime.

Now the setting has changed. Now we have assumed leadership in the community of free nations in an era when our hard won principles of freedom and democracy are challenged, not from generation to generation nor from decade to decade, but from day to day. In the face of this challenge, whose force and direction is evidenced by events in Cuba, in Africa, in Vitenam, and elsewhere, it is essential that we manifest our patriotism and demonstrate our national courage and determination not in an occasional upsurge of enthusiasm, but instead continuously every day of the year. As I see it, that is the meaning of this 4th of July.

It is a privilege for us in the Armed Forces, members of the Army, the Navy and Marine Corps, the Air Force, and the Coast Guard to take part in these ceremonies. I realize also that, in a larger sense, our presence here is also a recognition of the loyalty and service of our soldiers, sailors and airmen on duty in the many far and often dangerous places around the world. I am highly honored to express, in behalf of those of us here today in Bridgeport, our gratitude for the opportunity to join in this celebration.

Burundi, Rwanda, and the Somali

SPEECH

OF

HON. BILLIE S. FARNUM

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, July 1 is an historic date for three of our African neighbors. To name them in alphabetical order, they are the Kingdom of Burundi, Rwanda, and the Somali Republic.

Burundi, where King Mwambutsa IV reigns, achieved independence on July 1, 1962.

Rwanda, which has as its President, Gregoire Kayibanda, also gained independence on July 1, 1962.

Somali, whose President is Aden Abdulla Osman, marks July 1, 1960, as its independence day.

I believe it may be stated as the sense of the people of the United States that our hope is to maintain friendly relations with each of these proud nations and to ever remind them of the lessons to be learned from our own history in our struggles to use our independence as a means to attain peaceful development of our talents.

Our hope today, I am sure, is that each of these nations may fulfill its destiny under freedom, with whatever assistance we may be able to render.

Support for New Reserve Unit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 23, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, it has been my contention for some time that the entire international monetary system should be reviewed. In the interests of stimulating a discussion of this problem and putting all its phases before Members of the Congress, I include at this point in my remarks a report by Edwin L. Dale, Jr., in the July 6 New York Times:

SUPPORT FOR NEW RESERVE UNIT GROWS IN KEY MONETARY NATIONS

(By Edwin L. Dale, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, July 5.—When hard bargaining begins in a few months on improving the International Monetary System, the United States will discover strong support among many of the leading financial nations for a new device called the cru.

The cru is shortland for collective or composite reserve unit. It would be made up of 10 or 11 leading currencies in fixed proportions and would be held in national reserves along with gold and dollars. It could be used, along with gold, to settle international accounts.

The United States has long been cool to the cru idea, particularly in the form suggested by France and a few other European nations. But the U.S. position is not inflexible.

If the cru system could be firmly linked to the International Monetary Fund, if it left the dollar intact as a world reserve and working currency, and if other U.S. conditions were satisfied, the United States is now understood to be willing to listen to cru-type proposals.

It has been learned that Britain is now leaning in the same direction, though she too was at first cool to the cru.

The originator of the composite reserve unit idea was Edward M. Bernstein, former chief of research in the International Monetary Fund and now a private economic consultant.

Mr. Bernstein also was chairman of the high-level committee that recently reviewed the U.S. balance-of-payments statistics and recommended a major modification.

The aim of the CRU is to help meet the world's monetary dilemma, now becoming generally familiar. This is that world reserves have depended for their growth in the last decade, mainly on deficits in U.S. payments, which pumped dollars into the world.

Now these deficits must cease if confidence in the dollar is to be maintained, and the Government is energetically trying to end them; with intial success.

The question then becomes, how are world reserves to grow in the future? While no one contends that they must grow exactly in line with world trade, there is a general consensus that some additions to reserves will be necessary and that newly mined gold will not be enough.

Under Mr. Bernstein's latest proposal, the 11 leading monetary nations—the "Group of 10" plus Switzerland—would agree to create $1 billion worth of cru a year for 5 years by putting up their own currencies in the agreed amount.

One-quarter of the new crus would go to the International Monetary Fund, which would also be the trustee for the currencies behind the crus.

The other three-quarters of the cru, or $750 million a year, would go into national reserves. They could be used to settle international payments in a ratio of one cru to $2 worth of gold. Thus, if France, for example, wanted to convert $30 million of dollar holdings, she would get from the United States $20 million of gold and $10 million of cru.

It is know that France, the Netherlands and Canada are sympathetic to the cru plan, though with some variations in individual cases. Britain is also interested.

The attitude of other members of the group of 10 is not clear, but it is probable that nations such as Japan and Belgium would not be opposed to the idea.

Numerous points would have to be settled in working out the plan. There is no way of knowing at this stage what the outcome will be. But at the moment the cru appears to be a frontrunner in the race for international monetary reform.

"The President and the Presidency"—Jack Valenti's Boston Remarks in Full Text

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 21, 1965

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the remarks of Mr. Jack Valenti, Special Assitant to President Johnson, before the Advertising Federation of America Convention at Boston on June 28, has caused quite a stir. Numerous articles have been written and harpooning cartoons have been drawn about Mr. Valenti's remarks on the subject "The President and the Presidency." Some of the news articles have been uncomplimentary, some lifted out of the full context of his remarks, and some turned into a sharp spear directed at the President himself.

In the last several days I have heard a great deal of talk about Mr. Valenti's remarks and have asked the interested parties whether they had taken the time to read the full text of his remarks. To my amazement I found no one had read the full text, but rather their judgment was being guided only by the piecemeal treatment and selected excerpts they had been reading in the press.

Mr. Speaker, I have taken the time to read in its entirety the prepared remarks of Mr. Valenti on the subject "The President and the Presidency." It carries some very interesting insights on the Presidency which I have not as yet seen in print. I recommend to all who are accustomed to make their own judgments on the basis of all the facts available that they too read the entire text. For the convenience of those interested, by leave obtained, I am inserting at this point in the RECORD the full text of Mr. Valenti's remarks before the Advertising Federation of America Convention:

The Presidency is a mystical body, constructed by the Constitution, but whose architecture was conceived in the inner crannies of a people's soul.

It is unique—awesome—all embracing, an odd mixture of royal divinity and equalitarian choice—a union between a nation yearning for continuity and its firm resolve not to yield one jot of independence.

Between man's purpose in history and God's purpose in eternity, there is an infinite difference in quality. So it is between what we call our democratic tradition and our appetite for a father to lead us.

To watch the Presidency from afar, as is the lot of most of us, is to perceive the dim, fuzzy outlines, the silhouette of the leader, and to hear only the distant pulsebeat of his activities displayed in the press and on TV.

But no one, not even the perceptive newsmen who sit day in and day out in the west lobby of the west wing of the White House, really know the President's burdens, the abrasive shred of events that beats against him every hour of every day, and through the long night.

There is no sharing of this burden. Each day, thickly crowded with trials and demands for decision, thrusting against him, crying out for attention, finds the President alone, though the rose garden or his office or the Cabinet room is crammed with people. For essentially, though it has become trite to say it, the President is alone, the problem always at flood, the irritations ceaseless, the naggings and the pressures like an uncured rash, and in this age of miracles and madness, the possibility of catastrophe always only a shadow's span away. Other Presidents have complained and philosophized about this strange and transcendent office.

"The business of this office is so oppressive," said John Adams, "I shall hardly support it 2 years longer."

At the end of his second term, Tom Jefferson said: "Five weeks more will relieve me from a drudgery to which I am no longer equal."

"No one," murmured John Quincy Adams, "knows and few conceive the agony of mind that I have suffered from the time I was made by circumstances and not by volition a candidate and then President."

And in a despairing hour during the Civil War, Abe Lincoln cried out "In God's name, if anyone can do better in my place than I have done, let him try his hand at it and no one will be better contented than myself."

And so through our history these men annointed by fate and elections and perhaps divine intervention have applied to higher authorities for help and loudly declared to the electorate their misgivings and their distress over their burdensome office. And each of these men has heard what John Milton called a dismal universal hiss, the sound of public scorn.

And yet, these men have gone on, and as they saw their duty they did it. Some with grace and competence. Others with lifted hopes and stunted skills, but all with that curious up-soaring of mind and spirit that seems, as if by Godly osmosis, to invade the veins of a man the moment he becomes President. It is as if God determined that he would give to the President an extra prescience, additional stamina, and most of all a fuller measure of fortitude that is beyond the dimension of ordinary men.

I have never known another President, so I am powerless to compare, nor would I if I could.

But I do know there have been only 36 men in all our history who have been called to the agony and the glory and the sky-tall summit that is called the President of the United States.

I do know the 36th President, the son of a tenant farmer. He is a sensitive man, a cultivated man, a warmhearted and extraordinary man. I have watched him every hour of every day since his accession to the

Presidency and somehow the full spirit of the man never seems to be captured. It is as if the observer sees but one side of him, the other sides dimly glimpsed, only half illuminated.

He came to the Presidency possibly the most experienced and best trained of any Chief Executive. A State administrator of the National Youth Administration when he was only 28—24 years a Congressman and Senator—for 8 years the leader of the Democratic Party in the Senate and for 6 years, the second most powerful man in all the Nation as majority leader in the Senate. For 3 years Vice President, and then in the shock and disbelief of what is still an incredulous minute in American history, he became President.

I shall never forget that day. He sat in the cabin of *Air Force 1*, a scant few minutes after the assassination, solemn, grim, his face an unyielding mask. All around him everyone was in various states of shock, nearing collapse. But the new President sat there, like a large gray stone mountain, untouched by fear or frenzy, from whom everyone began to draw strength. The Nation may have tilted and trembled and the light of the country may have flickered, but the flame could not go out for though the President was dead, the President lived. The Nation would go on, as it had to, as it must, and those around the new President watched him and took heart.

He reached for a glass of water and his hand was steady, not even a tremor to mar a confidence. He began to give orders in clear, audible tones, yet the voice was soft, the words unhurried. And suddenly, as though the darkness of the cave confided its fears to the trail of light growing larger as it banished the night, the Nation's breath, held tightly in its breast, began to ease and across the land the people began to move again.

And so it was that in the middle life of the Republic, the country was tormented, but it never lost its purpose.

Since I have been in the White House, my notions of what a President ought to be and ought to have, have undergone some change. It's a game any number can play, to find the answer to the questions: What are the qualifications of a great President?

I judge those assets to be three.

One, a President must have courage. He must shove into his spine a lance of steel that never bends though the pressures reach the yowling stage. He must have a toughness of spirit that feeds his courage and causes him to do what he knows to be right though the shouts of the crowd try to drown out all his pleadings. He must know, as Emerson wrote, that reason will look out and justfy her own and malice will find all her work in vain.

Second, he must truly care. He must have a concern for the voids and the vacancies of those who are helpless. He must have inside his bones a measureless compassion for every human being who has nowhere to look but to the President for understanding and hope. Isaiah is the favorite prophet of the President. He quotes him with relish, and Isaiah summed up the cause of the President when he said: "Learn to do well, seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow."

And finally, the President must have a sensitive intelligence that is married to an instinct for rightness. No great leader ever endured in history without this misty quality called instinct. When all the facts are in, and all the information has been gathered and there is not enough of either, but the decision must be made, the instinct for rightness becomes indispensable. Without it, the decision becomes flabby. With it, the leader peers beyond the possible and vaults over the present, and instinct carries him forward. All visionaries have instinct. Every great President had it. Out of the midst of the fire, of the cloud and of the thick darkness, the instincts of the President for rightness and justice and history's judgment become a valuable and irreplaceable national asset.

Each day, the President needs these three assets. And each of the days I have watched and heard and been with this President, he has used them with abundance and sanity.

How then, does the President go about his day? How does he live out each hour, facing the problems that never go away?

The President, thank the Good Lord, has extra glands, I am persuaded, that give him energy that ordinary men simply don't have. He goes to bed late, and rises early, and the words I have never heard him say are: "I'm tired."

Each night when finally he leaves his office to walk the 100 yards from the oval Presidential Office in the West Wing to the Mansion's second floor living quarters, he finds on his bed what we in the White House call, with simple disguise, the night reading. In stacks of brown envelopes are heavy packets of material—reports from State and Defense, latest intelligence reports, cables from Ambassadors, memoranda from various Cabinet Officers and White House staff members, budget data, project reports from task forces working on various problems, magazine articles, newspaper clippings, personnel recommendations as well as a selected sample of the day's mail. In a week's time the President will have read the equivalent of a 100,000 word novel. This is in addition to the reading he does in the quiet of his own office. The reading a President must do is an avalanche, a never-ending river of words that pour across the Presidential dikes with the floodgates open.

On practically every piece the President will scribble his comments. A "Yes" or a "No" or an admonition, a suggestion for another tack, a request for more information, an idea for improvement or an order to move out swiftly.

The Director of the Budget once told me he was astonished at the President's grasp of the most complex details, and how quickly decisions were made. The President is impatient with stalling, hesitation, or any kind of shuffling in front of the decision door. He wants that door opened, and activity to move through.

He may read for 2 to 3 hours in the late evening and when at last he turns off the light above his pillow, he falls to sleep easily.

It is true that in his mind is an alarm clock that silently nudges him about 4 in the morning whenever there is air action in Vietnam. In the darkness he turns and lifts the phone to call the Situation Room deep in the basement of the White House. He gets the latest information about the strike, casualties, if any, receives the information quickly, and then hopefully goes back to sleep. No man can really tell with certainty if sleep comes easily then. He's never discussed that with me, and I have never asked. Once an admirer wrote a passage about the great lady of Greek letters, Edith Hamilton, and it applies so accurately to Lyndon Johnson it is worth repeating now: "She feels, like a personal experience, the giant agony of the world; there are not many in this aristocracy of humanity." It may or may not seem strange to you, but to the President one pilot's life lost in Vietnam troubles him greatly. He is visibly saddened.

I remember so well one morning when I walked into his bedroom about 8:30 in the morning. He was propped up as usual with pillows against his back, working on his papers and reading. When I entered, he looked up, smiled hugely, and with great jubilance, said: "They found him—isn't that wonderful news!" I learned that during the night the President was informed that two U.S. pilots were shot down and one had parachuted to safety. Just before I saw the President, he had been told that the second man was safely back in U.S. hands. This one boy's life, spared and safe, was precious to the President of the United States, and he wanted to share that joy with everyone he saw.

After about 3 hours' work in bed, finishing up the night reading, the President exercises in his room, shaves and showers and is in his office about 10 a.m., ready for the day's appointments.

For the last year, his workday focuses on problems beyond the rim of our shore. If you were to take an index from 1 to 100, you would score about 75 or 80 on the index for foreign problems and about 25 or 20 for domestic problems. Contrary to the popular notion, the President spends a small chunk of his time on the so-called domestic issues.

Secretary Rusk, Secretary McNamara, McGeorge Bundy, Admiral Raborn, of the CIA, Secretaries Mann, Ball, Bundy, and Vance, members of the National Security Council, members of the White House staff, and, of course, the Vice President, are consulted and talked to both by phone and in meetings.

Contrary again to popular notion, the President is not fond of those who continually say "yes" to him. He thrives on new ideas, new initiatives, innovations, fresh thinking. If a man consistently agrees and offers no new counter arguments, that man is soon not asked for advice. The President believes, that unless a man is thinking he is valueless, and therefore, is of no benefit to the President. But the thinking man can expect the President to assault him with questions—terse, pointed, homing in on the nerve-edges of the issue.

In a top-secret meeting of advisers or the Security Council, the President's method of leadership is clearly, cleanly visible. He sits back, head against the thick padded top of the black swivel chair, in the middle of the octagon shaped table in the Cabinet Room. He calls on each adviser, asks them for their opinion. Sometimes the discussion is spirited, the President listening quietly, turning his head to look at the man talking. He is unperturbed, relaxed. He is not a doodler, preferring to watch the full face of the speaker, absorbing both the words, and the demeanor.

Last year, during the small crisis in Cuba when Castro shut off the water to Guantanamo naval base, a Security Council meeting took up this problem. What to do about it? The talk flew around the table, the President, as usual, soaking up the discussion. Some advisers wanted to do nothing, simply turn the other cheek. Others implored a show of might, to impress Castro with his blunder.

After an hour or so, the President began to speak. We would not turn the other cheek, he said. But we would not use force. Instead, he laid down a three-point plan: We would no longer depend on Castro for water. We would manufacture our own. We would dismiss all Cubans working on the base, and thereby rid ourselves of thousands of known Castro agents or sometime agents. And finally, we would by staffing the base with our own employees, we would deprive Castro of $5 million in foreign exchange.

One top adviser sitting at the end of the table, whistled softly, and muttered to the man next to him: "Ingenious, and Castro will be furious that we have called him and trumped him." Another adviser later on told me this was a dazzling example of sophisticated diplomacy and shrewd handling of a ticklish, peevish, foreign problem.

The day moves on. Telephone calls, meetings, memos to read, urgent problems that arise and must be met instantly, delegations that come in, ceremonial pictures to be taken, and finally, about 2:30 or 3, the President goes to lunch. Sometimes, he will swim in the pool, usually with staff mem-

bers or Cabinet officers, then a working lunch, and a nap from 4 to 5.

Waking refreshed, he begins his "second" day—in his office at 5:15. Sometimes, he sits alone in the office for an hour or more, and no one disturbs him. Outside the oval office, there is feverish action. Inside the oval office, there is a curtain of silence, a serenity that shuts off the din and the press of anxious problems and insistent visitors. The President is at work and there is quiet. In the rose garden, the brassy shine of the sun has receded and the sheared line of shadow begins its inexorable march across the sweep of grass, clean and green and flat as a billiard table.

The President, if he is not dining with friends will be in that office until 10 or 11 in the evening. Sometimes, just before he leaves the office he will sit in the small inner office he uses for intimate conversation with members of the staff. There will be laughter and easy talk, as the President begins to unwind and shed the crisis crust that has accumulated during the day. He loves to tell a good story, and as one magazine editor of liberal and sophisticated leaning once observed: This is a side of the President the public never really sees. He is probably the most skilled teller of stories since Lincoln, and their humor is much the same, extracted from the soil and the people of the land.

Once Walt Whitman wrote: "I hear America singing."

Well, I saw America singing. During this campaign I traveled with the President. Usually I sat in the front seat of his car. Down the streets of a hundred American cities—the people came by the millions. They came in all sizes and ages, all colors and moods, holding up their children, thrusting them toward the President's car; they smile, and laugh and wave, their faces alive with love and pride. Their President was in town, and this would be the first time most of them had ever seen their President, and they are vibrant with excitement.

It is impossible to live this experience without knowing that the taproots of this land lie not in the Nation's Capital but in the land beyond the Capitol dome—in the little towns and big cities—along the rivers and the valleys where the keepers of the herald are—where the lifebeat of the country is the strongest and most durable.

And like Antaeus whose mother was Earth, each President goes back to the land and the people for his strength and the renewal of his spirit.

President Johnson, like every President before him, sought this renewal and found it in the outpouring of love and affection, in the outstretched arms of mothers holding up their babies to see the President, in the tears and the laughter of the people.

Every night, when the President would retire to his room in whatever city we happened to be in, he would be caught up in this affection. He felt alive and vital and refurbished. For he saw in the faces of the people trust and faith, a simple belief that their President cared about them and believed in them and would not let them down. The people knew in their hearts without having to prove it that the President was their guardian and their champion, and their hope, beyond corruption and above fear, living and working and fighting for them and their children.

This, then, is the essence of the Presidency. No President, and particularly this President, can ever let the day pass and the night begin without feeling with overpowering intensity the communion of people with their President.

Once during the deadly days of the Nazi terror, when France had been overrun and the heel of the Nazi was on the neck of the French, Winston Churchill spoke to the French people: "Français, c'est moi, Churchill," he said. He told them not to lose heart, that in due time, the free world would stir itself and relieve the French of their long chill night. "So," he said, "sleep well, my Frenchmen, sleep well to gather strength for the morning, for the morning shall come."

I sleep each night a little better, a little more confidently because Lyndon Johnson is my President. For I know he lives and thinks and works to make sure that for all America and, indeed, the growing body of the free world, the morning shall always come.

A Political Scientist Looks at Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, one of the ablest students of the Congress of the United States is the distinguished young political scientist, Prof. James A. Robinson, of the Ohio State University.

Recently Professor Robinson testified before the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress and I believe that Members of Congress will find most interesting Professor Robinson's analysis and some of his recommendations with respect to the operations of Congress.

Under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD Professor Robinson's statement of June 8, 1965:

A POLITICAL SCIENTIST LOOKS AT CONGRESS

(Statement by James A. Robinson, professor of political science, the Ohio State University, prepared for the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, June 8, 1965)

I am grateful for the invitation to appear here today, and I am certain that the political science community appreciates the time this committee has generously allocated to academic students of Congress. Before offering my appraisal of Congress as a policy-making institution and my recommendations for its improvement, I shall refer briefly to the role of "political science" and "political scientists" in deliberations such as these.

Needless to say, I am not a frustrated victim of a filibuster, nor do I have a pet bill pigeonholed in the House Rules Committee, nor have I suffered from a discharge petition signed by a majority of the Members of the House. My special interest, like that of my colleagues, is the knowledge that political scientists have accumulated about Congress and its operations in the national political system. I trust that, as a result of the continuing improvement of political analysis by professional scholars, the political scientists who appear before this committee will adopt a role that differs from their roles as citizens. I view our responsibility to you as one of reporting on the knowledge that we have accumulated about Congress.

The value of such knowledge depends on the evidence that we adduce in behalf of our appraisals and recommendations. As individual citizens we may speak from personal concern, but as professional political scientists, we speak from a different perspective, namely, from the specialized knowledge that we possess and can demonstrate about the subject matter. Therefore, without meaning to be pedantic, I have annotated this statement with references to some of the relevant research by political scientists. These sources will provide the committee with an appreciation of the evidence on which my analysis and recommendations are based.

I shall organize my remarks in two major parts, appraisal and recommendation. In appraising Congress let me, first, stipulate what I regard as Congress' chief objectives in the national political system. These constitute the goals that we expect the House and Senate to serve in the total governmental enterprise in the United States. These goals also provide criteria for evaluating congressional performance. Second, let me review the record concerning the achievement of these goals by Congress. This will indicate how successful is Congress in accomplishing its goal. Third, allow me to consider the conditions or reasons that underlie current trends.

This will help us to identify those aspects of its job that Congress is doing well, and those that it is not performing as well as we might like. Fourth, let me speculate about what is likely to happen if no changes are made in the status quo.

In recommending reforms, I will discuss alternatives that are available or that can be invented to increase the probability that Congress will contribute to its goals more successfully than it presently does.

APPRAISAL

Objectives

I am confident that participants in Congress and observers of the institution agree that one of its primary responsibilities is to be an effective check and balance in National Government. Surely this was a major intent of the Founding Fathers. By check and balance we do not mean that one branch is to dominate another, nor do we mean only that power is to be divided among three branches. Rather, the purpose of checks and balances is also to insure that the three branches share broadly in making the most important political decisions affecting the Nation.

The objective of the check-and-balance mechanism is, however, only one of the primary functions of Congress. Congress is also expected to be a constructive or positive instrument of national policy and not primarily a negative one. Congress can check and balance by negative acts, or by merely amending or legitimating acts of the executive and judicial branches.

Certainly, however, we expect Congress, as we expect the other major branches of Government, to propose original, creative contributions to public problems of many kinds. Thus, any evaluation of Congress must concentrate on the effectiveness with which the institution contributes new ways to deal with both old and new public problems.

Historical trends

The historical record concerning Congress' effectiveness as a check-and-balance instrument and as a creative mechanism in making public policy seems to me eminently clear. Much as we may regret to admit it, a consensus exists among political scientists that congressional power is declining relative to the power of other branches, especially that of the executive.[1]

A decline in congressional power is especially acute with respect to innovative or creative contributions to public policy. Needless to say, individual Congressmen and particular committees occasionally propose new legislation over the opposition or the neutrality of the executive. Such events, however, are exceptions to the rule.[2] The rule is aptly summarized in a shopworn phrase, the executive proposes and Congress disposes.[3]

Legislation is often drafted in the executive branch and introduced by committee chairmen or other Members in Congress.

Footnotes at end of speech.

The House Ways and Means Committee is a rare exception in drafting tax legislation on the basis of executive recommendations rather than working from an executive draft.[4]

Not only are the technical drafts of legislation usually prepared in the executive branch, but the agenda of Congress is largely set by the President. To be sure, temporary factors in Congress may affect whether a bill will come up one week or another. The Rules Committee may prefer to consider one matter before another, or tactical considerations may cause the leadership to call up a bill out of order.[5] By and large, however, actions by the President determine the agenda of Congress. The President's state of the Union message and his special messages throughout the year set the timetable for the House and Senate.

In short, the record reveals that Congress is less and less effective, relative to the executive, as a participant in the check and balance system, and that its innovative contributions to public policy are exceptions rather than regularities.

Conditions

How do we explain the decline of Congress relative to the executive? Why is it that most of the initiative for dealing with public problems comes from the executive branch?

I attribute much of the decline to a change in the nature of public policymaking and to the failure of Congress to alter its organization in ways that would compensate for the change. To say that public problems are both more numerous and more complicated must seem terribly obvious to the committee. However obvious, the implications are staggering. In his famous address on economic myths at Yale in 1962, the late President Kennedy reminded us that in the first century of the Republic, legislators dealt with a small number of perennial problems. Speaking of 19th-century statesmen, he said, "They and their contemporaries spent entire careers in grappling with a few dramatic issues on which the Nation was sharply divided—issues that often occupied attention for a generation at a time: The National Bank, the disposal of the public lands, nullification or union, freedom or slavery, gold or silver." In our time, however, the agenda of Congress is not so constant. New problems arise regularly, and the agenda of one Congress may be quite different from that of the next.

As a consequence of the increasing number of problems, no legislator can be expert on many of them. Effective and influential legislators, those who are esteemed in Congress and who are successful in obtaining passage of their bills, are those who specialize, who carve out for themselves a subject on which to become an expert.[6]

Meanwhile, as problems increase in number and Congress specializes to deal with them, the amount of information available on the problems also radically increases. Governmental facilities for gathering and reporting information are fantastically speedier and greater than 100 years ago. The President can talk by telephone with his Ambassador in the Dominican Republic during a revolution. The Bureau of the Census, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and other intelligence bureaus of the executive branch regularly gather and publish massive amounts of data on innumerable subjects.

And Congress is heavily dependent on these executive sources for most of its information about conditions in the country and in the world. Congress has no independent source of information. To be sure, it hears interest group representatives, it consults with academic scholars and experts from research institutions, but even its own arm, the Legislative Reference Service, relies upon executive publications for primary sources of information. The decentralized character of Congress was not designed to cope with processing and comprehending vast amounts of information.

The executive branch, organized more or less bureaucratically, is better prepared to comprehend and combine specialized knowledge about problems confronting National Government.

In short, although Congress is reasonably well specialized in its committees and subcommittees, it is often heavily dependent on the executive for information. Its specialists are knowledgeable, its senior members possess a long record of experience and history dealing with particular problems, and the expertise of the legislative specialists should be the envy of any intellect.

Nevertheless, Congress finds it difficult to combine these specialties. Indeed, in some committees, subcommittees are so autonomous that their decisions are rarely reviewed or reversed by the full committee.[7] Creative problem solving consists of more than knowing a great deal of information or of more than storing data in one's memory bank or in an organizational file drawer. Integrative solutions to public problems depend upon combining bits and pieces of information, of relating something that is known about one aspect of a problem to another. Comprehensive problem solving occurs when the facts about one subject are related to another.[8] No bureaucracy, of course, is perfect in this respect, but the President, through his Bureau of the Budget and other centralized agencies about him, has a much better opportunity to take a comprehensive look at the demands that the country faces in relation to the relatively limited resources it possesses. Congress, because of its highly specialized committees, and subcommittees, has no comparable opportunity. And therein lies much of its difficulty. When I discuss alternatives for improving the current state of Congress, I propose to emphasize ways and means of providing congressional leaders, as well as Members, with instruments for increasing Congress' capacity to take a comprehensive view of public problems.

What if Congress doesn't change?

What is likely to happen if no changes are made in the status quo? Do we expect a continuation of the trend of the decline of Congress as a check and balance instrument and an increase in its negative as distinguished from its positive role? If anything, I expect the trends to become more acute. Our best evidence is in the experience of other governments with respect to executive-legislative relations. One can find no other nation in which the legislative branch is as powerful as it is in the United States. The "Mother of Parliaments" is now gray and dependent on the executive. In France, the National Assembly is atrophied. In the emerging states, in what are referred to as the underdeveloped areas, the manpower pool is so small that one-party systems have had to be established, and even where the semblance of parliamentary machinery is maintained, it is often overshadowed by the awesome presence of a one-party dictatorship.[9]

Moreover, the conditions that account for legislative decline, namely the increasing number of problems and the complex information about them, may be expected to increase at something other than their present rate. I do not see how we can expect our public problems to be fewer or any less complex. Hence, I am pessimistic about the future of independent legislatures unless committees such as this one can invent new ways of strengthening legislative competence.

RECOMMENDATIONS

My diagnosis is that Congress is frustrated in obtaining a comprehensive analysis of public policies, that is, of the interrelations of policies and the effects of one program on another. Therefore, we need to consider ways to offset or overcome this handicap.

1. Create a National Security Committee

One of the most frequently proposed changes in legislative practices that presumably would contribute to this purpose is the creation of a National Security Committee that would combine consideration of foreign policy and defense policy.[10] The National Policy Machinery Subcommittee chaired by Senator HENRY JACKSON endorsed the proposal. A National Security Committee could take any of several forms. It might be a nonlegislative committee that would include the leaders of these four committees plus the elected floor leaders in the two Houses. Or, alternatively, it might replace the present Committee on Foreign Relations and Committee on Armed Services in the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Armed Services in the House.

Whatever form the committee might take, its purpose would be to provide foreign and defense policy specialists in the House and Senate with opportunities to integrate foreign and military policies. It is well known that military and foreign policies intersect, and it seems eminently reasonable that each should be considered with respect to the other.

I would expect that the form of the committee would, however, make a difference for the likelihood of successful integration of foreign and military policies.

For example, if the committee is in addition to the present Committees on Foreign Relations, Foreign Affairs, and Armed Services, I doubt that the new committee could succeed. Senators and Representatives presently complain that their schedules are so full that they cannot attend all their committee meetings. And if some Members add this committee to their current duties, they will have to neglect some of their assignments. If this committee is primarily a committee of discussion and not a legislative committee, I predict that Members would understandably set aside their activities on the new National Security Committee.

On the other hand, if the committee is a substitute for the present committee structure, we might expect some different effects. We would expect that the Members who serve on the new committee would soon come to have a much more integrated and comprehensive view of foreign and military policies than they presumably now possess.

As the comprehensivenss increases for the Members of the committee, however, a decreasing specialization may occur among the Members who are not on the committee.

A committee that combined the present jurisdictions of foreign relations and armed services or foreign affairs and armed servics probably would not contain all of the Members who presntly serve on these committees. If some Members were "bumped" from their current assignment on either the foreign policy or defense policy committees, the number of Representatives and Senators closely acquainted with the details of current policy would be reduced.

This, it seems to me, is a latent consequence that we might not approve. The effect of this, I predict, would be the exacerbation of legislative-executive consensus on foreign and military policies.

In my studies of Congress and foreign policy making, I have found that, in the aggregate, Members who are satisfied with their information and contacts with the Department of State, are more sympathetic with our foreign policies. And satisfaction with information partly depends upon th availability of channels for the exchange of information between the executive and Congress. If these channels are closed to a number of Members, I would expect the concensus on policy between the executive and legislature to decline. In view of the fact

Footnotes at end of speech.

that exchange of information is especially important in maintaining a bipartisan foreign policy, I would view such a consequence with misgivings. Members of the President's party in Congress have the pull of party to encourage them to support the administration's policy, but a bipartisan policy depends upon the sharing of information with Members of the minority. And because the minority specially would be affected by a reduction in the number of Members serving on foreign and military committees, I can imagine that the bipartisanship of foreign policy might be affected by the creation of this committee.

In short, I think that a National Security Committee, while it has advantages for development of an integrative congressional point of view about our external affairs, may adversely affect bipartisanship in foreign policy. If I am right that these two effects are likely to occur together, we have to choose whether we want more integrative policies and a little less bipartisanship or less integrative policy and more bipartisanship.[11]

2. Strengthen leadership in Congress

Another way of integrating the diverse work of congressional committees is by strengthening the party leaderships in both Houses. The Legislative Reorganization Act originally provided for both policy and steering committees, but these have not developed as the Committee on Reorganization hoped. The House eliminated policy committees from the act. The Senate later established its own, and House Republicans have since created a relatively active policy committee. I do not think it is necessary to enforce any particular form of policy structure, but I do think it is important to strengthen the leaderships of the two parties. Leaders often regard these committees as threats to their leadership; actually they may actually strengthen personal as well as party and congressional leadership.[12]

My model for what should be done, although not necessarily how to do it, is provided by the experience of the Senate majority leader in the late 1950's. Senator Lyndon Johnson, as Democratic leader, assembled a staff that I understand consisted of approximately 50 professional people. He was able to do this because of the several committees he chaired and responsibilities that had been assigned to him. He drew on professional staff members from his office as a Senator from Texas, a few from his office as majority leader, a few from his position as head of the majority policy committee, still others from his chairmanship of the subcommittee on preparedness, and from other assignments. These were not provided him because he was majority leader, however, but because of his separate responsibilities. With such a staff, to which he distributed assignments not on the basis of the source of their salary, but on the basis of the daily demands on his role as leader, gave unusual leadership to the Senate.

It was the nearest thing to centralized leadership that I think we have ever seen in Congress, at least in the 20th century.[13] It is my impression that this style of leadership has not been continued by Senator Johnson's successor, nor has it been emulated in the House of Representatives. And yet, it seems to me, it is precisely this style of leadership that makes it possible for Senators to act as the Senate and Representatives to act as the House of Representatives. Such leadership provides a comprehensive view of policy and an integration of policies that come from different committees.

I would not insist that a policy committee be established or any other particular mechanism be created. The details in practice, must be worked out by the participants. I do hope, however, that the Joint Committee will stress the value of strengthening party leadership to leaders and Members of both the House and Senate and that convenient mechanisms can be worked out with them.

The history of Congress surely shows that as much as it opposes autocratic leadership, as it did when the House "overthrew" Speaker Cannon, it also demands leadership. And as Representative HECHLER of this committee has shown in his history of the period during which Cannon was dethroned, the case against Cannon was not founded so much on procedural grounds as on the fact Members did not like the policies that were advocated by Cannon. Had Cannon been a more progressive leader, it is doubtful that he would have been stripped of his power to appoint the Rules Committee and dominate the agenda of the House.[14]

In recent years we have seen a slight tendency to restore to the Speaker some of the formal powers that he once held. The recent checks and limitations put on the House Rules Committee provide an instance of this.

In this connection, I might say a word about the role of the House Rules Committee, although I believe it is formally outside the jurisdiction of the joint committee.

In my book on the committee I proposed eliminating the Committee on Rules from decisions concerning the agenda of the House. It seems to me this is one way of forcing, as it were, on the party leaders the responsibility for collating the work of committees and providing some "rational" order for taking up committee work and considering one policy in relation to other policies.

I propose that the leadership assume responsibility for determining when bills will come before the House and in what order. The majority leader would move the adoption of a special order. The Senate leaders perform this function by asking unanimous consent, and if 100 men can set their agenda under unanimous consent, surely the House of Representatives can operate under majority rule.[15]

The burden of my remarks has been to emphasize the need for finding legislative procedures that will contribute to strengthening legislative leadership and give Congress a more coherent view of the interrelations of public policies. I have been less concerned with proposing particular procedures that would accomplish those ends, because I am well aware that the selection among alternative procedures will depend critically upon the familiar give and take, the compromises and accommodations, of any political process. Moreover, no magic is contained in any particular legislative procedure.

If one compares the rules and procedures of different legislatures, one observes considerable variability. The American State legislatures closely resemble Congress; there are differences to be sure, but there are many similarities. The legislatures are bicameral; they are presidential rather than parliamentary; they are usually elected for terms of different lengths, and the constituency base is usually different in size and composition.[16]

Yet these legislatures, which are similar to Congress in many respects, organize themselves and conduct their business in many different ways. Some follow seniority rules, others rotate chairmanships. Some have a Rules Committee, others do not.

Some have centralized party leaderships, others decentralized. Some have a powerful speaker, others a weak one. Some have a small number of committees, others a large number. The fact that so many legislatures, basically similar in function and structure, conduct themselves according to different procedures suggests that Congress ought not to regard any particular procedure or practice as inevitable, irrevocable, or indispensable.[17]

3. Establish scientific board to advise Members

In discussing ways of providing Congress with a more comprehensive view of problems and policies, I have referred to committees and the leaderships. What can be done, if anything, for individual Members?

You have, I realize, heard many pleas for more staff at higher pay. I concur in such recommendations; busy men will always need more and better assistance. Are there, however, any specialized skills or assistance that Congressmen especially need?

If we consider the skills that Members bring with them when they first come to Congress, we are struck with the similarity of professional and occupational backgrounds. It is not uncommon for more than half the Members of Congress to be lawyers and another fourth to be businessmen.

Farmers, an occasional physician, a few educators, and journalists make up the rest of the membership. In a word, Congress, like most American political institutions, possesses extensive legal and commercial talent. Such skills have been the most useful and necessary ones throughout most of the Nation's history. They very much need to be supplemented by scientific and military skills in the present era.[18]

We cannot expect many scientists or military specialists to seek and win election to Congress. Scientists can hardly leave their work and remain scientists; their fields change too rapidly under the impact of one knowledge explosion after another. A lawyer can enter public life without forsaking his profession; he can later return to the bar. It is doubtful that scientists enjoy such professional flexibility.

And, as for military specialists, tradition alone bars most military personnel from elective offices.[19]

These skills, then, are among those that ought to be provided Congress through expanded staff. The detailed means can vary, but as an experiment I would initially create a scientific Consulting or Advisory Board, not unlike the President's Council of Scientific Advisers, rotate memberships on a 3-to-5-year basis, and give it a small staff of young scientists none of whom would be eligible to reappointment to their initial 3-year terms. It may be necessary to establish adjunct research facilities for some of the staff in order to attract the highly qualified scientists. The gains would be worth the price. I think this could easily be justified as a supplement to the recent establishment of a Science Policy Research Division in the Legislative Reference Service.

The proposals I have discussed concern rationalizing congressional organization and resources to obtain a more effective intelligence about and appraisals of public policies. These proposals are, I think, without bias or prejudice to any special or public interest. Liberals and conservatives, Republicans and Democrats, surely share the goals of checks and balances and of constructive congressional action.

4. Revise parliamentary rules

I wish to conclude with a similar proposal, one that favors all groups and interests and does not advantage one at the expense of others. This suggestion differs from the others in that it calls for research first and action later. I refer to the need for a specialized study of certain House and Senate rules, especially those governing voting on amendments. Parliamentary procedure has long been a favorite topic among lawyers, politicians, and mathematicians.

Even Lewis Carroll applied mathematics to various voting schemes in an effort to find fair and rational procedures. Recently a few political scientists, with the necessary training in modern mathematics, have begun examining parliamentary procedure from new perspectives.[20] As a result, occasional "irra-

Footnotes at end of speech.

tional procedures" or "intransitivities" have been uncovered in voting rules. For example, one such discovery involves both House and Senate rules that permit as many as four motions to amend a bill or resolution.[21] The rules are now such that there may be one less vote than there are amendments and, consequently, it is actually possible for an amendment to be adopted that is not the majority's first preference among amendments. I suggest that the Joint Committee, or the Rules Committees of the two Houses, seriously consider an examination of the rules to see whether other such procedures exist and should be revised.

Recommendations such as these rightly seem marginal; they certainly promise no miracles. In 1939, the President's Commission on Administrative Management declared, "The President needs help," and his office was strengthened. Now, Congress needs help, and the institution can be strengthened. Changes are likely to be incremental rather than sweeping, but that is a distinction of democratic decisionmaking. If this committee and this Congress act, the House and Senate can renew their historic contributions to the checks and balances system and to creative policymaking.

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[1] Lawrence Chamberlain, "The President, Congress, and Legislation." New York: Columbia University Press, 1946; David B. Truman, "The Congressional Party: A Case Study." New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959, pp. 1–7; James A. Robinson, "Congress and Foreign Policy-Making." Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1962, pp. 1–69; Harold P. Green and Alan Rosenthal, "Government of the Atom: The Integration of Powers." New York: Atherton Press, 1963, pp. 21–25; Raymond H. Dawson, "Congressional Innovation and Intervention in Defense Policy: Legislative Authorization of Weapons Systems," "American Political Science Review," 56 (1962), 42–57; and Lewis Anthony Dexter, "Congressmen and the Making of Military Policy," both in Robert L. Peabody and Nelson W. Polsby, eds., "New Perspectives on the House of Representatives." Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1963, pp. 273–304, 305–324.

[2] James A. Robinson, "The Monroney Resolution: Congressional Initiative in Foreign Policy." New York: Holt, 1959; Dawson, loc. cit.

[3] Robinson, "Congress and Foreign Policy-Making," op. cit., pp. 1–69.

[4] Everett Cataldo, "The House Ways and Means Committee," Ph. D., dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1965.

[5] James A. Robinson, "The House Rules Committee." Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963, pp. 1–42.

[6] For the Senate, see Donald R. Matthews, "The Folkways of the United States Senate: Conformity to Group Norms and Legislative Effectiveness," "American Political Science Review," 53 (1959), 1064–1089; also in the same author's "United States Senators and Their World." Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960, pp. 92–117;

For the House, Charles L. Clapp, "The Congressman: His Work as He Sees It." Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1963, pp. 23–24. For State legislatures, one of the most frequent pre-Congressional arenas of political service, see John C. Wahlke, Heinz Eulau, William Buchanan and LeRoy Ferguson, "The Legislative System: Explorations in Legislative Behavior." New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962, pp. 193–215; and James David Barber, "The Lawmakers: Recruitment and Adaptation to Legislative Life." New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965, p. 209.

[7] Richard F. Fenno, Jr., "The House Appropriations Committee as a Political System: The Problem of Integration," "American Political Science Review," 56 (1962), 310–324, also in Peabody and Polsby, *op. cit.*, pp. 79–108.

[8] Consult the work of Herbert A. Simon on decision making and problem solving. For example, "The Decision Maker as Innovator," in Sidney Mailick, ed., "Concepts and Issues in Administrative Behavior." Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962, pp. 66–69; Allen Newell, J. C. Shaw, and Herbert A. Simon, "Elements of a Theory of Human Problem Solving," "Psychological Review," 65 (1958), 151–166; and James G. March and Herbert A. Simon. "Organizations." New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958, pp. 173–210.

[9] Arthur S. Banks and Robert B. Textor, "A Cross-Polity Survey," Cambridge: MIT Press, 1963, pp. 97–101, 110–111, and references.

Even where and when executive tenure is short and instable, "powerful" legislatures are not usually the source of executive turnover. This may be inferred from table 30 in Bruce M. Russett and Hayward R. Alker, Jr., Karl W. Deutsch, Harold D. Lasswell, "World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators." New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964, pp. 103–104.

[10] An early recommendation to this effect was made by Harold D. Lasswell, "National Security and Individual Freedom." New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950, pp. 106–108.

More recently a Brookings Institution report also advocated it: "United States Foreign Policy, Compilation of Studies," prepared under the direction of Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, 87th Cong., 1st sess., Mar. 15, 1961, pp. 791–989.

[11] Robinson, "Congress and Foreign Policy-making," op. cit., pp. 182–190, 199–201.

[12] Charles O. Jones, "Party and Policy-making: The House Republican Policy Committee." New Brunswick, N.J.; Rutgers University Press, 1964.

[13] Ralph K. Huitt, "Democratic Party Leadership in the Senate," "American Political Science Review," 55 (1961), 333–344; Robinson, "Congress and Foreign Policy-making," op. cit., pp. 194–196, 214–216.

[14] Kenneth W. Hechler, "Insurgency: Personalities and Politics of the Taft Era." New York: Columbia University Press, 1941, pp. 31, 38; also see William R. Gwinn, "Uncle Joe Cannon: Archfoe of Insurgency." New York: Bookman Associates, 1958.

[15] Robinson, "The House Rules Committee," op. cit., pp. 123–127.

[16] Wahlke, et al., op. cit.

[17] Comprehensive comparative data on legislative procedures and practices, State by State, are reported in "The New Jersey Legislature," a report submitted by the Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers—the State University, Nov. 15, 1963, appendix 28–75, pp. 41A–199A.

[18] Donald R. Matthews, "The Social Background of Political Decisionmakers." New York: Random-House, 1954, pp. 28–32; also see Heinz Eulau and John D. Sprague, "Lawyers in Politics: A Study in Professional Convergence." Indianapolis and New York, 1964.

[19] Harold D. Lasswell has long been alert to the changing skill requirements of political elites, inter alia "The Garrison State," "American Journal of Sociology," 46 (1941), 455–468. And "The Garrison-State Hypothesis Today," in Samuel P. Huntington, ed., "Changing Patterns of Military Politics." New York: Free Press, 1961, pp. 51–70.

[20] William H. Riker, "Voting and the Summation of Preferences: An Interpretative Bibliographical Review of Selected Developments During The Last Decade," American Political Science Review, 55 (1961) 900–911.

[21] William H. Riker, "The Paradox of Voting and Congressional Rules for Voting on Amendments," American Political Science Review, 52 (1958), 349–366.

Answers to Questions About Silver

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article from the June 21, 1965, edition of U.S. News & World Report which gives clear and concise answers about changes to take place in our coinage:

IN ANSWER TO YOUR QUESTIONS ABOUT SILVER

(NOTE.—Silver is turning out to be one of the most complex financial headaches facing the United States. Because of a silver shortage, coins are about to be changed. Billions of today's silver coins may disappear. Price of silver may be forced upward. People are wondering what the concern is all about. This article answers questions on silver, on coins, on prospects.)

Just why is the making of silver coins going to be ended?

There simply is not enough silver with which to make coins at the present rate—more than 300 million ounces per year in this country. Silver for this purpose comes out of the Treasury's reserves, which amount now to about a billion ounces. At the present rate of use, coinage alone would exhaust this stockpile in a little more than 3 years.

But why doesn't the Treasury buy more silver to replenish its reserves?

The shortage of silver is worldwide. According to official estimates, the normal needs of industry and the arts exceed total production of silver in the world today by about 75 million ounces a year.

For this reason, U.S. industry is buying some of the silver it needs from the Treasury. This demand, added to coinage, moves up the date at which the stockpile would be depleted.

Why does the Treasury sell silver at a time like this?

There is a practical reason: If the Treasury stops providing silver at the present price, $1.29 per ounce, the price of silver will go up. The Treasury fears it could easily go to $2 per ounce and might even double or treble.

What would be wrong with that?

Once the price passed $1.38 per ounce, the silver in present coins would be worth more than the face value of the coins. It then would become profitable to hoard coins and melt them down for the silver content. A Treasury study goes so far as to suggest that all of the 12 billion silver coins now in circulation would probably disappear. The result would be a severe coin shortage, unless there were other coins to take the place of the silver coins.

Is there any legal rule that the Treasury must go on selling silver?

Take a look at the next silver certificate you receive. On the face of this kind of dollar bill, you will read, "One dollar in silver payable to the bearer on demand." In effect, you are entitled to get a little more than three-quarters of an ounce of silver if you present one of these bills for redemption at a Federal Reserve bank.

Thus, the Treasury is obligated to pay out silver in exchange for silver certificates, so long as these are in circulation. There are more than 930 million silver certificates outstanding today.

But can't the mining of silver be increased to end the shortage for all users, the Treasury included?

Silver output is increasing, but not fast enough. The U.S. Department of Interior estimates that production, worldwide, may be 18 million ounces higher in 1968 than in 1964. An industry forecast puts the probable gain in production at 38 million ounces in the same 4-year period.

Increases of those proportions might easily be swallowed up by additional uses of silver for indusrtial purposes, let alone for coinage.

Then demand for silver is growing?

Yes. Industrial demand for silver in the United States alone in 1964 was 25 million ounces higher than it was 4 years earlier. Part of the increase, the Treasury believes, was speculative. Even so, annual use of silver for industrial and artistic purposes in this country might increase, over a 4-year period, by 8 million to 10 million ounces, without any speculative influence. That would be in line with experience in the United States from 1959 to 1963.

How about the use of silver abroad?

The Treasury says industrial demand is growing even more rapidly in countries such as West Germany and Japan.

Foreign use of silver, apart from coinage, was 38 million ounces higher in 1964 than in 1960.

Is anything being done to uncover new silver lodes, such as the famous Comstock?

Yes. The Government is advancing up to 75 percent of the cost of exploration to approved contractors. This advance is to be paid back as a royalty if production results. A number of exploration projects have been agreed to.

However, geologists warn against counting on big discoveries to end the silver shortage any time soon. The biggest silver discovery of recent years, at Timmins, Ontario, is expected to yield almost 8 million ounces a year by 1968. This mine will be the biggest silver producer in the free world. Even so, its production will be small relative to the silver shortage.

Would an increase in the silver price stimulate production?

It would, but there is no telling how much. Keep in mind that about 60 percent of the new silver mined in the world—and two-thirds of that mined in the United States is a byproduct of the mining of other metals, such as copper, lead, and zinc. The market for these metals usually has more to do with production than does the price of silver.

Remember, too, that a big rise in the silver price would probably cause a severe coin shortage, as long as the Nation depends on present silver coins.

So what is going to be done?

The Treasury is going to stop making silver coins—coins that are 90 percent pure silver.

What kinds of coins will be made?

Congress seems ready to go along with the Treasury's plan to make the future dimes and quarters with a core of pure copper bonded to thin outer layers of copper-nickel alloy.

There is more controversy over the Treasury's proposal for a new half dollar: a core of 21 percent silver and 79 percent copper bonded to thin layers of 80 percent silver and 20 percent copper. Some legislators are fighting to have the new half dollars completely nonsilver, just as the proposed dimes and quarters would be.

What about the silver dollars?

If any are made, they will be the same as those now in use, 90 percent pure silver. However, no dollars have been minted since 1935 and no more are planned for the next few years.

When will the change in coins be taking place?

As soon as Congress approves, the Treasury will begin buying needed materials and additional presses. New quarters will go into production late this year and be issued early in 1966. When enough of those coins are circulating, the Treasury will shut down production of silver quarters and use the facilities to begin turning out nonsilver dimes. The idea is to have enough of the new coins in circulation within 3 years to meet all needs.

Will this solve the problem of the silver shortage?

Probably not. As the accompanying chart indicates, the Treasury's silver stockpile seems destined to be exhausted in the not-too-distant future, despite the changeover to coins containing little or no silver.

What will happen then?

There will be the prospect again of a sharp rise in the price of silver, unless some unforeseen development greatly reduces demand.

What is to be done about the present silver coins?

The Government hopes these coins will continue to circulate alongside the new coins. The greatest worry in the Treasury is that they may not, and may even be withdrawn from circulation before the new coins become plentiful.

There is a shortage of silver coins at the present time.

What caused that shortage?

Two things: First, the Treasury was slow to expand production of coins in line with a growing population and business needs in the early 1960's. Second, people everywhere have taken to collecting coins.

Now there is the additional factor that people believe the silver coins will become scarce or that the price of silver will go up.

Because of this prospect, Treasury officials are working on the assumption "that there will still be a coin shortage at the period of peak demand in the second half of 1965."

Will silver coins, if put aside now, gain in value?

They will, if the price of silver rises very much, for then many coins will be melted down. Otherwise, any gain in value is likely to be rather slow in coming. Remember, there are more than 12 billion U.S. silver coins in circulation. Remember, too, that many outdated coins, even with age, never become very valuable. You can buy some Roman Empire coins for about a dollar. An ordinary Indian-head penny, more than 60 years old, commands about 20 cents. In short, you need much time and many coins to make a fortune.

The use of silver in coins is to be largely discontinued, yet the problem of silver supply will persist. The figures:

Silver now on hand in U.S. Treasury, 1 billion ounces.

Estimated use of silver between now and end of 1967:

	Million ounces
For additional coinage	280
For a defense stockpile	165
For industrial uses, on top of newly mined silver and imports	190
Speculative purchases, if continued at the rate of last year	220
Leaving, as of the end of 1967, only	145

Meaning that the price of silver, now held down to $1.29 an ounce, could be forced up sharply. Above $1.38 an ounce, the silver in all present silver coins would be worth more than their face value. Question: Will it become profitable eventually to melt down silver coins still in circulation, causing a severe shortage?

Basic data: U.S. Treasury.

A Well-Deserved Honor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, evidence that college is still the road to an educated and adult alumni can be found in a short editorial in the Baltimore News American for July 2, 1965. The News American notes that the Johns Hopkins magazine has been named, along with a publication of Columbia College, to share first place as "Magazine of the Year" by the American Alumni Council.

This honor is well deserved. I have read the urbane and thoughtful pages of the Hopkins magazine with much pleasure during the past years. As a former professor of economics at the University, I am happy to add my tribute to the honor which the Johns Hopkins magazine has won.

It is also my great pleasure to include in the RECORD the editorial comment of the Baltimore News American:

A WELL-DESERVED HONOR

The Johns Hopkins magazine, the alumni publication of Johns Hopkins University, has received a well-deserved honor.

The magazine has been named, along with the publication of Columbia College, to share first place as "Magazine of the Year" by the American Alumni Council.

Baltimoreans, whether or not they are affiliated with Hopkins, have come to expect an interesting, highly readable product of the Johns Hopkins magazine.

They will be glad to see the publication and its editor, Anthony E. Neville, achieve this kind of national recognition.

Our National Heritage and History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, newspaper editorials and editorial comments across the country the past weekend dwelt extensively with our national heritage and history as they relate to our Independence Day celebration. My attention was directed to an article which appeared in the July 1 edition of the Blue Island Sun Standard of Blue Island, Ill., in which a local attorney, Mr. Leonard Carriere, expresses his interpretation of some of the cherished concepts of our Declaration of Independence. This article, I feel, will be appreciated by the Members of the House:

IN PASSING

(By Leonard Carriere)

"When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another."

And thus it began, the opening stanza in the unending drama that has taken us from the knoll where the embattled farmers stood at Concord to the knoll in Da Nang in South Vietnam, where the embattled farmers still stand, unbroken in time and memory. It was because these words were spoken that on the 4th the sky will be luminous and bright; that the night will be filled with music bearing a martial air; that the day will be one of remembrance tinged with tragedy.

It was because these words were spoken that the Lions will parade, resplendent in the sun, in their purple and gold. There will be picnics and racing, speeches and cheers, laughter, gaity, and blistered skin, salmon pink, * * * because these words were spoken.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

More words, but in their wake came the Constitution, and Bill of Rights, and later the Civil War, the 13th and 14th amendments. Still later from the same words came Little Rock, Montgomery, and more recently, Selma. The parade of names, events, and places is never ending. To these words you can also add the strife in Haymarket Square, the mill hands in battle array at the Homestead, Samuel Gompers, John Altgeld, and their later day prototypes, Walter Reuther, Bill Green, and John L. Lewis. You can also add men and women of the 20th century pursuing happiness as though the world will end with the coming of the new dawn.

"That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men."

The governments came. The compact among the sovereign States, the Articles of Confederation, shaky and unstable, passed quickly into oblivion. In close pursuit, the Philadelphia Convention and the framing of the Constitution, giving rise to an indissoluable Union, tested by still another government that was not to be, the government of Jeff Davis that died in the square at Appomattox Courthouse in Virginia, the birthplace of the Declaration. On that day in 1865 the dream to secure those rights for which governments are instituted among men became a garish nightmare, haunted by the specter of a burning Atlanta, a mangled mass of men at an obscure village called Gettysburg, and death at a place called Missionary Ridge on the outskirts of Chattanooga—"Choo Choo Me Home."

"Appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions * * * declare that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent."

With the help and support of the Supreme Judge of the world we remained free and independent in 1812, in 1846, in 1898, in 1918, in 1942, and all the other lesser times in between. In 1965 with that help, still free and still independent, we march triumphantly on the only hope in a hopeless world. It was to this end that the Founding Fathers pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

Words? Perhaps. Yet much more than words. The Declaration of Independence embodies our faith in ourselves and in our way of life. It is the epitome of our heritage, to be transmitted intact to those yet unborn. It is our compact with destiny, well worth remembering, well worth preserving. So long as freemen march on this glorious Fourth, so long shall we keep faith with the past and so long shall we bridge the gap between those that are no more and those that are yet to be.

Nation Magazine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 15, 1965

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, it is fitting that in an age of discontent, abroad in the rising nations, at home on the questions of race, of war and peace, of education, of lifting the impoverished, that the Nation celebrates its hundredth year. Pick up the Nation and it jars the complacency, questions haste, defies orthodoxy, discovers the uncommon. It is a magazine that has tenaciously outlived its enemies and stays arm's length with its friends.

For 100 years the Nation has been at the front in the struggle for human decency and expression. There is no question but that it is the most consistent supporter of civil rights and liberties among journals of opinion. There is no hesitation to take the unpopular cause, to dig into official decision and opinion and expose misgovernment and waste. For all of this it is a wonder the Nation still survives, but however long it clings to overthrowing the shibboleths, to undermining tyranny and deceit, to defending dissent and minority opinion there will be readers and I will be among them. The Nation is to be congratulated on its long and distinguished history.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided,* That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Application of Nuclear Propulsion of Merchant Shipping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by Adm. John M. Will, chairman of the board, American Export Isbrandtsen Lines, Inc., before the Reactors Subcommittee of the General Advisory Committee to the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission recently. The facts as stated by Admiral Will should be an urgent reminder to the Congress and to the American people to closely examine the state of our maritime reactor program today:

STATEMENT BY ADM. JOHN M. WILL, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, AMERICAN EXPORT ISBRANDTSEN LINES, INC., BEFORE THE REACTORS SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE OF THE U.S. ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION, MAY 25, 1965

I am grateful to Mr. Swartout for his invitation to participate in this meeting today. He has asked that I express my views concerning the application of nuclear propulsion to merchant shipping.

Gentlemen, my views are these:

I am in favor of nuclear propulsion for merchant ships. And, I am in favor of proceeding with its development right now; not in the uncharted and ill-defined future.

I favor nuclear propulsion for merchant ships, first, because our experience in operating the *Savannah* has convinced me of its practicability, and second, because I believe most strongly and steadfastly that it affords us the only means now available to rescue the American merchant marine from the serious inroads of foreign flag competition and to restore it to its rightful place in the world of merchant shipping and in our national economy. Other esoteric proposals may be on the drawing boards but nuclear reactors are on the high seas. Their success has been proven, not only by our Navy but also by the nuclear ship *Savannah*, the world's first—and for a limited time longer—the world's only nuclear powered commercial vessel.

The United States still enjoys a vast lead over other nations of the world in the shipboard application of nuclear reactors, but other nations are entering the field. Time is not on our side. Let us not forget that while we were testing and debating, the Soviet Union launched sputnik and relegated us to our present position of followers rather than leaders in outer space. Despite our present impressive position in the maritime reactor field, we can still test and debate our way into second or even third place.

Our maritime reactor program today is on top dead center. It has been on top dead center for nearly 2 years. There are 69 reactors now in actual operation at sea—68 of them in naval vessels and one in the American merchant marine. Fifty four more reactors are being readied for seagoing operations—none of them for the American merchant marine.

I should think the Maritime Administrator would be hammering at the door of the AEC, demanding that this situation be corrected. I should think the Members of Congress would be asking pointed questions as to the reasons for the orphaned state of our merchant ship reactor program. I should think the American people would want to know why the millions of dollars poured into the Savannah program have produced no more tangible results than a single ship.

I wonder too why we read press reports from the Maritime Administration with vague references and hints about an interest in purely experimental craft. How much of MarAd's slender R. & D. budget will be allocated to novel principles, to the detriment of the maritime reactor program? Or, indeed, is there any provision at all at this time for the support of a reactor program in the Maritime Administration?

There are two groups whom I believe to be chiefly responsible for the inertia shackling our progress, the accountants and the testers. One group says, "Let's wait until it's more economical." The other says, "Let's wait until we run a few more tests." The lyrics may differ slightly, but the chorus is "let's wait."

Gentlemen, I submit that we can no longer wait. We must act. We must undertake a strong cooperative effort in which the Atomic Energy Commission, the Maritime Administration, the shipping industry and the reactor manufacturers are joined to produce for the American merchant marine a fleet of nuclear powered merchant ships capable of competitive operation in world trade.

There are two immediate benefits to be gained from nuclear power applied to a merchant ship—significantly increased speed for sustained operations and a vastly improved ratio between cargo space and space required for machinery and fuel storage. Such a ship would best be employed over long-distance routes just as the jet airliner is more advantageously employed between New York and San Francisco than between New York and Washington or Boston.

A fleet of 30-knot nuclear powered freighters would be almost as much of a step forward as today's steamships were over Robert Fulton's *Clermont*. Nuclear energy applied to bulk carriers, container ships, tankers, and more sophisticated types still to come from the drawing board would open a new and wonderful age for the commerce of the world's nations.

To those who are fearful of the cost—the accountants, as I referred to them earlier—I say we cannot afford not to proceed with this program immediately. The shipowners and the shipbuilders cannot be expected to shoulder alone the extra expenses involved in this investment in our country's maritime future. Our Government must be prepared to support a program which promises such great potential benefit to our economy as a whole.

As an example that these problems are not unique to America, I quote from a recent issue of Marine Engineering/Log relating to foreign problems of financing nuclear ship development:

"Reports reaching us from Norway indicate that country and Sweden may be the next builder of a nuclear-powered merchant ship. The estimated costs of building and operating such a vessel there have reached a stage where one is so close to being economically competitive that the next logical step is actual construction of a trial ship.

"On the subject of who should foot the bill, Norwegian Project Manager Jens Wilhelmsen says that 'the shipowners and the shipbuilding industry cannot be expected to shoulder alone the extra expenses involved in a trial ship.' The project is of such importance to the entire economy of the country that it would be reasonable for the Government to step in with its support."

In the same article U.S. Congressman GARMATZ is quoted as saying, "No one operator should be expected to bear the full costs of an undertaking so important to the shipping industry."

At the time the *Savannah* design was first under consideration, the Isbrandtsen Co. offered to make available a ship's hull—the hull of the tanker *Hans Isbrandtsen*—then on the building ways—for experiments in the maritime application of a nuclear reactor. Today, American Export Isbrandtsen Lines is willing to risk its capital to support an advancement in this already proven art.

The company risks loss of investment, or smaller returns on investment, if our proposed nuclear ships fail to produce the revenues projected for them. The novelty of nuclear power is not worth a dime on the market unless the ships themselves are capable of sustained, efficient express operations.

In a letter dated October 23, 1964, and addressed jointly to the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Maritime Administrator, American Export Isbrandtsen Lines said: "With the United States offsetting the higher capital and operating cost associated with this pioneering endeavor in commercial nuclear marine applications, we are willing to commit ourselves to an immediate program of nuclear vessel construction for service on Trade Route 12 using a pressurized water reactor. American Export Isbrandtsen Lines, Inc., would expect to bear its fair share of the cost of the vessels and would contribute an amount toward the nuclear ships which would equal the expected cost of ships of conventional speed, type, and design."

Later in that same letter, we spelled out some of the details of our proposal: "Since this direct application may require extensive testing or otherwise experience construction delays due to the uniqueness of the reactor or the propulsion system, we believe it prudent to have the ships contructed for the Government's account initially in a manner comparable to vessel construction under section 502 of the Merchant Marine Act. We would purchase the ships upon completion of such trials as appear warranted to permit their licensed operation by us. We do not consider it prudent to advance our funds to a shipyard for construction progress payments because of this hazard of potential delay, but we would be willing to escrow or otherwise segregate moneys in our reserve funds for use on the nuclear vessel purchase. Indeed, we would be willing to execute a contract with the United States prior to commencing actual vessel construction which incorporated this or a comparable financial arrangement and such other terms and con-

siderations for transfer of title that may be mutually agreed upon."

Today—8 months after that letter was written—we are still awaiting replies from both Marad and AEC.

The initial outlay for a nuclear ship is, of course, greater than it would be for her oil-fired counterpart. Yet there are so many other considerations involved that a painstaking cost analysis tends to suggest a parity between the two.

For example, if we add to the cost of the conventional ships the cost of 7 years supply of black oil, we have lessened the imbalance considerably.

Of greater significance is the fact that four nuclear powered 30-knot freighters employed on long-haul routes can replace six conventional cargo liners in the same service. The acquisition cost is roughly the same, yet the Government can save the operational differential subsidy on two ships a year for 20 and more years.

The matter of nuclear propulsion versus conventional power costs has been subjected to the closest scrutiny by the Navy Department. The Navy has found that the cost differential in 1960 was on the order of 50 percent. In 1962 the figure was 30 percent and in 1963 it was 20 percent. An even greater narrowing of this cost ratio is forecast in the very near future.

It would appear to me that the accountants have less reason than they think to justify their cry of "let's wait until its more economical."

I think it of interest that the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, acting on its own intiative, raised the Atomic Energy Commission's 1966 budget request in the maritime reactor field from $1.4 to $2.5 million. The committee report states, "The committee recommends this increase because it believes this application of nuclear energy has the potential of contributing significantly both to our national security and to the commercial posture of the United States.

"The committee is not satisfied with the direction which has been provided in the past within the administration for this country's merchant ship reactor program. The program has suffered from the lack of clear-cut objectives."

To this I heartily agree.

But, as commendable as this positive action is, it represents only an extremely small expenditure for the beneficial results which I think could be realized. In addition, it is intended to expend these funds in what I consider to be the wrong way. The $2.5 million is in reality only the downpayment on a program which will result—perhaps as much as $50 million and 5 years later—in a new form of prototype reactor. It will not put us any closer to a nuclear-powered merchant fleet or even to the beginnings of one.

And here is where I take issue with the second of the "let's wait" groups, the testers.

While there is no doubt that design refinements can eventually produce a better and more efficient maritime reactor, we cannot afford the delay which a new prototype program would require. We think we will have available a reactor based upon thoroughly proven principles for which a reputable company is willing to quote a fixed price and offer a performance guarantee. We know others are willing to do the same for reactors of more advanced concept. Our job is to place the reactor directly into a new ship and get on with the creation of a nuclear merchant fleet.

I would remind you that the Ford Motor Co. sold a lot of model T's before they developed the Mustang, and they made money on both.

I would also remind the testers that prototypes are not always a guarantee of success. For proof of this we need look no further than the submarine *Seawolf*, our Navy's second venture into nuclear power. Her sodium-cooled reactor had all of the advantages of a developing technology plus many months of operating experience on a shore based prototype. However, when the reactor was installed in the submarine, serious problems developed, problems not experienced with the prototype. The high costs in time and money required for the prototype operation were thoroughly invalidated when the sodium plant was removed from *Seawolf* and replaced by a pressurized water reactor.

Gentlemen, the single most constructive step which the Atomic Energy Commission could take at this time is to free the maritime reactor development program to private enterprise. We do not need a Government effort now which would result in another long-range prototype program. We need a direct ship application and private enterprise is ready, willing, and able to proceed with it right now.

In his testimony before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Mr. Milton Shaw said, "The industry has been given the opportunity to do the best job it can (about) reducing cost and improving reliability and has produced fairly well; better than in any other technology."

Despite Mr. Shaw's restrained praise, the facts are evident—better than in any other technology.

If we are permitted this course of action, we can, I believe, put a nuclear reactor of vastly improved design in a new hull and have that ship sailing on commercial service prior to 1970.

With AEC cooperation, private enterprise is adequate to the task and eager to undertake it. Moreover, such an arrangement is far more in keeping with the American tradition than to vest full responsibility for development in the hands of an agency of the Government.

Unless we are allowed to proceed—unless Government and industry move forwardly, boldly together—then we must reconcile ourselves to the role of a spectator. We can watch while in West Germany they install an American-designed reactor, a *Savannah* improvement, into a new hull. And we can ask ourselves, "Why are we letting them get the jump on us?"

North Tonawanda, N.Y.—100th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. KENNEDY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, the community of North Tonawanda recently observed its 100th birthday. The Tonawanda News issued a splendid centennial edition on June 26 which contained many interesting and colorful stories about the community and its historic origins, so closely tied to the opening of our western territories. I ask unanimous consent that a general historical review article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ACT OF LEGISLATURE IN 1865 ESTABLISHED VILLAGE OF NORTH TONAWANDA

North Tonawanda, which boomed into one of the world's leading lumber centers as a city, got off to an infant—but energetic—start 100 years ago.

In 1865, the State legislature passed an enabling act creating the village of North Tonawanda. Eight years earlier, the north-siders had voted, in effect, to declare their independence from the parent village of Tonawanda.

In the 32 years between formation as a village and incorporation as a city, North Tonawanda sought its own fortunes with a unique rough and tumble spirit.

Even before the area had its official designation as a village, the residents were laying the groundwork of business and industry. The Erie Canal was completed in 1825 and by 1857, when North Tonawanda began functioning as a separate community, it was well on the way to becoming the largest lumber market in the world.

RAILROADS COMPLETE

Rail transport began competing with the waterway in the 1850's, bringing further prosperity. Other industry and business developed, population ultimately jumped to 10,000 in the village and such institutions as banks, schools, fire departments and public transit were well established.

There are various accounts of why the north-siders devided to separate from the south side. But the final dispute was apparently over a load of gravel that was dumped on the "wrong" side of the water.

Taxpayers in the two wards that were in Erie County wanted money to go for highway improvements on their side—but townfolks in Niagara County wanted a share.

The friction culminated in 1857 when a load of gravel supposedly intended for the north was spread on a street in Erie County. In that year, the legislature authorized the north side to withdraw from the village of Tonawanda as a municipal corporation—after the north-siders gave approval.

PART OF WHEATFIELD

For 8 years, the area of 681 acres was governed as part of the town of Wheatfield. It then became a village with population of 440.

James Carney, first village president, settled on Tonawanda Island in 1819 and in 1824 had to relinquish the land when Samuel Leggate of New York bought it for a speculative price of $23 an acre.

Village trustees were David Robinson, Jacob Backer, George W. Sherman, Alexander Kent, Clark Ransom, and J. D. Vandervoort.

North Tonawanda was primarily populated by canal boatmen and their families in 1848 when some Ohio businessmen were attracted by the area's possibilities as a good lumber and grain port.

By the mid 1850's the Tonawandas began to expand into a major transportation and industrial center and experienced for nearly 40 years a continual climb in population and production.

RECORD SET

In May 1897—the year North Tonawanda became a city—an alltime high of more than 93 million board feet of lumber was taken into North Tonawanda docks with men working 20 hours a day.

But even while still a village, North Tonawanda ruled as the lumber market supreme. In 1882, production and shipping figures surpassed those of Chicago, the Nation's leader. Men worked for $2 a day at the saws and jointers.

After daily long hours and backbreaking work, the lumbermen during village days sought escape in vigorous recreation that ranged from public brawling to dance marathons.

Early newspaper accounts tell of frequent scuffling and slugging in the streets to settle differences, or just to blow off steam.

Walking contests and dance marathons were extremely popular. Large crowds would sit for hours to see a man walk round and round a track to cover 60 miles.

POPULAR JAUNT

The Buffalo to North Tonawanda jaunt was popular with scores and one man was credited with a 2-hour 5-minute trip.

An old dance hall on Niagara Road was popular and so were so-called nickel readings. Such organizations as the Women's Christian Temperance Union sponsored recitations of plays, readings, and musical selections.

Boating was a favorite of fishermen and those who wanted relaxation. And an 1880 news report said "baseballists have begun to harden their fists with an occasional practice on the diamond."

Fortunes were piled up in a few years and there was plenty of work. The boom, however, spelled plenty of trouble for the village.

Fire protection became a major problem—most serious to the vital lumber stocks. And water supply was inadequate at many times. It wasn't until 1886 that a central fire headquarters was suggested.

POLLUTION A PROBLEM

River pollution was a difficulty as early as 1885 when objections were raised about Buffalo Sewage Co. dumping matter near the village water intake.

The boom brought land values up and the village had to pay high for litigation and purchase. Opening Goundry Street in 1887, for instance, cost $1,000. It cost $5,500 the same year to condemn and confiscate land for the proposed Little Island swing bridge.

The first steam railroad ran from Buffalo to Webster Street in North Tonawanda and was completed September 6, 1836.

As the railroad expanded through the village, citizens complained to the board about spurs crossing their streets to reach new lumberyards. The protests were generally denied.

The rough work produced rough living conditions, in many cases, dangerous. A housing shortage often meant sailors and lumber handlers had to rent a bed for 8 hours—giving it up to a man on another shift when he left.

EVERY MAN FOR HIMSELF

Main and Webster Streets were lined with saloons, their basements filled with arenas for cock and dog fights. In the street it was every man for himself with the waterfront bullies in control when police weren't nearby.

By the 1870's, McGraw & Co. had a 6-acre lumberyard and 1,600 feet of dock frontage as its two mills were fed with 31,000 acres of pine trees from Michigan.

Two more yards developed on Tonawanda Island when a bridge was constructed in 1885. One of them, W. H. Sawyer & Co., made a record shipment of 40 rail cars of 600,000 board feet to New York in 42 hours. The load was bound for South Africa.

During North Tonawanda's last year as a village, 30 lumber firms turned out a peak capacity of 35,123,200 shingles, 43,166 railroad ties, and 530,000 barrel staves.

FIRST SCHOOL

The first school—a log house on Goose Island—was operated in 1828 by John Bush, a lawyer and teacher and in 1844 Tonawanda had several large frame school buildings. When the villages separated, so did the school systems. And in 1866, the south siders built facilities on Clinton Street for $100,000.

Smaller schools were discontinued and all seven teachers worked at Clinton, the staff increasing as the community expanded.

The village left a colorful, industrious and and at times bellowing reputation.

The growth of population and transportation facilities developed over the 32 years. The village attained a worldwide lumbering reputation—and established a foundation for further growth.

The gravel incident had been enough in the 1850's to break off the north side into an independent village. But municipal problems multiplied well beyond the scope of "dumping gravel on the right side of the water." Fire protection, housing, land values, water pollution, police protection and many other matters raised new challenges.

BASE ESTABLISHED

The three decades as a village laid an industrial base, presented major municipal problems and offered opportunity for refinement and expansion of what was already there.

So North Tonawanda became a city with these challenges on April 24, 1897.

A gradual decline in lumbering began at the turn of the century. But new industry and associated business—started in village times—continued to prosper and expand.

There had been fear that the decline of lumbering would shatter the boom town North Tonawanda.

It never happened. The foundations had been well laid. Infant steel, iron, entertainment and other industry blossomed as the days of the saw mill passed.

The auto and industrial age brought continued resurgence to the North Tonawanda economy and a civil and civic pride—spawned in village days—began to bear fruit.

Modern fire and police departments were established, schools expanded and improved, a hospital was built, churches founded.

The little more than 400 north-siders who cut themselves from an already growing community a century ago showed the determination and desire to steer their own course.

The village of North Tonawanda had excellent location, fine transportation facilities, good leadership—and most of all a determined spirit to make the community and industry even better.

The city still has those advantages, the spirit and the opportunity—thanks to those pioneers.

Northeast Rail Corridor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, the nature of government sometimes makes it difficult to attack urgent domestic problems with any degree of celerity. In fact, the complex times in which we live have taught us to have patience with public administration. If nothing else, I think, Mr. Speaker, that times are changing.

Several months ago President Johnson announced a bold new plan to meet the mounting transportation problems of the so-called Northeast Corridor that runs from Washington to Boston. Although it might be expected that action on such a plan might be postponed in view of the many other exigencies of immediate concern to the administration, the Johnson administration is going on with this project in characteristic fashion—full speed ahead. And according to the Regional Plan Association it is conceivable that alternate high speed transportation will be available to the populous area between New York and Washington as soon as 1970.

Transportation in the densely populated regions of America is fast becoming a concern of the first magnitude. Ten years will be too late. Apparently the administration is aware of that. The obvious speed employed in approaching this problem evidences the seriousness of the problem and the deep concern of the President. I urge the close attention of my colleagues to this problem and offer the hope that the President will receive the full cooperation of the Congress in his great and timely efforts in this regard.

Although the President's request for research funds will not directly benefit the New Haven Railroad's commuter service, which is vital to Fairfield County, Conn., I feel we have a responsibility to create a climate in which railroads will see that there is a possibility of profits in passenger transportation and will therefore take a greater interest in it.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD, for the interest of my colleagues, an editorial from the June 30 edition of the New York Times, commenting on the progress of the administration in this area. The editorial follows:

NORTHEAST RAIL CORRIDOR

Plans for developing high-speed rail transportation in the Northeast Corridor between Boston and Washington are advancing in the Capital. The administration has asked Congress for $90 million to finance a 3-year research program. Included would be a 150-mile-an-hour electrically propelled train; 20 miles of reinforced track on the main line of the Pennsylvania, south of Trenton, where it could be tested and self-propelled gas turbine cars on the New Haven between Boston and Providence.

The Pennsylvania Railroad is willing to invest $10 million of its own money in this program. It can hardly be expected that the bankrupt New Haven will put up substantial funds, but as a matter of enlightened self-interest its trustees should cooperate also to the extent its straitened resources permit.

The Regional Plan Association reports that the Northeast Corridor, with about a fifth of the Nation's population, will have 30 percent more people within 20 years. Transportation requirements will rise even more rapidly.

Meeting these conditions will necessitate a choice among additional airports, additional highway lanes and increased rail speeds. The regional plan experts are convinced that the added transportation needs can be most economically answered by improved rail facilities. They urge that a 2-hour schedule between New York and Washington be put into operation as as soon as feasible, with 1970–72 as the hoped-for target. More expensive roadbed improvements and more difficult route choices are involved in extending the high-speed operation to Boston, but that, too, should be pushed.

Of special interest is the regional plan's argument that establishing high-speed rail travel in the Northeast Corridor might postpone for some time the need for a fourth major airport in the New York metropolitan area. About 20 percent of the commercial aircraft landings and departures at the present New York airports are to or from Boston, Washington and intermediate points. If much of this relatively short-haul travel took place by rail, there would be tremendous savings, not only in money but also in

the space that would otherwise be devoted to new air facilities and expressway lanes.

While the most direct beneficiary of the program would be the Northeast Corridor, the research would clearly be in the national interest. President Johnson has predicted that by the end of the century the population of the metropolitan areas across the Nation will have doubled. The high-speed rail program will eventually benefit all of them.

Speech on Medicare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BIRCH E. BAYH

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I call the attention of the Senate to an excellent analysis of the basic features of medicare, prepared by a young Indianapolis student. Raymond H. Berndt, Jr., who is only 13 years of age, recently delivered at St. Lawrence Grade School and Brebeuf High School original speeches in which he carefully explained the need for medicare, and contrasted its benefits with those provided by the Kerr-Mills Act. In view of the present debate in the Senate on House bill 6675 and the widespread interest in this subject, I ask unanimous consent that this very fine statement by young Berndt be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEDICARE

A friend asks, "What does medicare mean to you?" Perhaps it is a politaker who asks the same question. Do you know?

Medicare. What does medicare mean to you? More often than not, if you are an average person politicswise, it's a hazy word shrouded in uncertainty, and hidden in a fog of misconception. It often brings to mind vague and not too favorable impressions for some of us. I would like to liberate these impressions, so to speak, from the mists of vagueness and uncertainty, and to clarify them.

First of all, I will answer the oft asked but little answered question: What is medicare? Essentially, it is the same bill introduced into Congress by Senators King and ANDERSON in 1960. It provides for 90 days of paid up hospital services, 180 days of skilled home nursing care, 240 visits per year by a visiting nurse, therapist, or health agency representative, and finally, all outpatient diagnostic services. Medicare would cover the cost, wholly and entirely. The next question is almost a reflex reaction. "Where's the money for all this coming from?" It would cost the worker making $100 a week just one-quarter of 1 percent of his weekly salary—25 cents.

But how many of us fully realize the urgent need for medicare? First, let it suffice to say there are almost 19 million people in this country over 65. In years to come there will be millions more, and the need for medicare will be manifold what it is today.

There are four major reasons today for medicare. These are: (1) the inadequacy of existing health measures, (2) the inadequacy and expense of private health insurance, (3) the low income of the elderly, and last but not least, to use an old cliche, the extremely high cost of medical care. But do not take my words at face value. Permit me to elaborate. Let the facts speak for themselves.

The Kerr-Mills Act was what I spoke of when I referred to inadequate health measures. The Kerr-Mills program is elective. Only a little more than half the States carry it, and the States set limitations. In only 6 of the States are Kerr-Mills benefits being paid to more than 1 percent of the population over 65. Eligibility ranges from a minimum of $1,000 to $1,800 for individuals and a minimum $1,500 to a maximum of $3,000 for couples. The needy and very needy who are faced with huge medical costs and are making over the maximum are often excluded. Some States cover as few as 6 hospital days and provide care only in emergency or life-endangering illnesses. But all these injustices are dwarfed in comparison to the major argument and the worst trait of the Kerr-Mills Act. All recipients must sign a pauper's oath or submit to a humiliating means test. Yes, those who are not paupers, but in need of medical care, must suffer the ignominy, the degradation, the humility of wearing the badge of pauper for one and all to see. They are not given medical care as a matter of human right, but relegated to pauper when they request the rights so justly theirs.

But let us proceed to the matter of insurance. I quote Dr. Basil C. MacLean, former president of Blue Cross: "A lifetime's experience has led me at last to conclude that the cost of care of the aged cannot be met, unaided, by the mechanism of insurance or prepayment as we know it today. The aged simply cannot afford to buy from any of these the scope of care that is required, nor do the stern realities permit any carrier, nonprofit or commercial, to provide benefits which are adequate at a price which is feasible for any but the smallest proportion of the aged." This is linked to the third point, the low income of the aged. The elderly simply cannot afford adequate insurance on less than $20 to $50 a week, for less than $20 to $50 a week is what half of the elderly who live alone in this country receive. And medical payments. Let us not neglect them. Hospital costs have gone up from $9 a day in 1946 to a current level of $40 per day. Insurance rates have gone up, but the pensions for the aged remain the same. Drugs are extremely expensive. And a private nurse does not work out of the charity of her heart.

Medicare is not socialized medicine, but it is a form of insurance. Medicare will not ruin private insurance—but it will cost very little. Medicare would provide for health care to all persons over 65 as a matter of right, not charity, or something we condescend to grant them. We must not, we will not, we cannot deny to the elderly their basic human rights as children of God and citizens of the free United States of America.

The Early-Bird Aviators

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, Teterboro Airport, one of the Nation's oldest, recently was the scene of a rather nostalgic reunion, the Teterboro Airport Pilots' Jamboree, honoring early aviators and oldtimer who used the Bergen County, N.J., landing field in the pioneer days of aviation.

Jack Elliott, aviation editor of the Newark, N.J., Star-Ledger, has given us an interesting account of the reunion, which I insert in the RECORD at this point:

EARLY AVIATORS HONORED AT TETERBORO JAMBOREE

(By Jack Elliott)

"We took an auto road and widened it and that was the first runway," the portly white-haired gentleman explained to us. His name: Charles R. Wittemann, and the runway he was talking about was the first runway at Teterboro Airport. That was back in 1917.

"It was about 1,500 feet long," Wittemann said. "Paved? Oh, no. It was dirt. There's Bill Diehl," he said. "He landed the first plane at Teterboro."

We went over to meet Bill Diehl and he proudly showed us a photo of himself and the English Avro which was the first airplane to land at Teterboro.

"There's Karl Ort," somebody said. "He was the first surplus dealer in the country." And he pointed out a fellow whose hair hung to his shoulders and whose beard stretched halfway to his waist.

This was the Teterboro Airport pilots' jamboree honoring early aviators and oldtimers at the VFW headquarters in Hasbrouck Heights. There was better than 250 fliers present. Up on the dais was Clarence Chamberlin, who flew the Atlantic with a passenger in 1927, 1 month after Lindbergh's celebrated flight.

Russ Brinkley, who was the manager of a flying service at Teterboro in 1930, started this oldtimer's reunion with a similar affair 10 years ago. Russ, who is now the publisher of the aviation newspaper, Quadrant, was instrumental in organzing this second get-together, with a strong assist from Royal Ryder, an oldtimer who is still at it. Royal is currently teaching New Jersey skating champ Scotty Allen to fly out at Lincoln Park Airport.

Charles Wittemann, incidentally, who put in that first runway at Teterboro, used to build mail planes for the Post Office. He built his first plane in 1907. Wittemann, who was in business with his brothers Paul and Walter, also built a six-engine bomber called the Barling Bomber back in 1920. But it was a bit ahead of its time and only one was ever built. The Wittemanns left Teterboro and the aviation business in 1923 and they are now in the concrete products plant equipment business in Farmingdale.

Diehl, who landed the first plane at Teterboro, has lived in North Bergen most of his life. Although he has spent most of his life in aviation (he built and flew his first flying machine in 1913 when he was 20), he is a plumber by profession. "I've had a card in the North Bergen local since 1910," he boasts.

A more colorful bunch of flyers than those assembled at this affair would be hard to find. It would be nice if this could become an annual get-together.

I think my colleagues would be interested in hearing some of the background of Mr. Diehl, one of the gentlemen named in Mr. Elliott's article.

Mr. Diehl, a resident of North Bergen, N.J., is 73 years old and has been a pilot for more than 50 years. In fact, he made his first flight in 1913, a scant 10 years after the Wright brothers first took to the air.

Mr. Diehl is a member of the Early Bird Fliers Association and served as an instructor of fighter pilots in World War I. After the war, Mr. Diehl and others who served as volunteer civilian flight instructors were released from duty with no recognition.

I am presently working with the Federal Aviation Agency in an attempt to dig up World War I records which show what Mr. Diehl and other members of the Early Birds did for their country in World War I. After these records are located, we will then be able to pay well-deserved recognition to these pioneers.

Unions Versus Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr . ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial, from the Wall Street Journal of July 7, 1965, in which the claim is well documented that repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act would be against the best interests of the workers of our country.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNION VERSUS WORKERS

What would you think of a law requiring everyone who holds a job to sign a card endorsing the Johnson administration foreign policy? After all, the administration represents us all abroad, and needs solid support to negotiate with the Communists. A majority of people support the President anyway, and no one who disagrees would be forced to sign; he could give up the job.

Well what you'd probably think is that such a law would be aimed squarely at building power not against the Communists but over the American people. And you'd be entirely right.

But now come labor leaders trying to get Congress to repeal Federal sanction for States to ban the union shop. The leaders want all workers to sign cards endorsing the union and, not so incidentally, pay dues as well. After all, they argue, the union represents all the employees and needs solidarity in bargaining with management. A majority supports it, and anyone who doesn't can always quit.

Yet a lot of people seem not to recognize that this setup is intended to build power not primarily against management but over the workers themselves. It's no trifling matter, for union leaders are certainly not above using their already sizable power over members to enforce social ideas a member may well find contrary to his own interests.

Consider the contract recently negotiated by the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union with west coast shippers. To enforce the union's share-the-work ideas, the agreement includes a fiat against moonlighting. Any fulltime workers covered by the contract must give up any other job under pain of losing his dockworker's certification; that is, of being fired because union leadership regards the desire for a little extra income as a sin.

That is one clear-cut example of union officers using their bargaining powers not against management but against the workers. Similar abuses of power over members are recognized as odious even in union circles. It is a plain fact that union shop agreements have facilitated outright union racketeering in some instances, and they also furnish a handy tool for compelling union racial discrimination.

The point is not merely that the moonlighting ban is foolish and racketeering and racism are bad. What needs to be understood is that the unions' legal umbrella protects just about any agreement they can coerce from management. This has often meant that there is little practical recourse for a member seeking honest representation, or for a Negro seeking an apprenticeship.

A longshoreman who wants a second job can, of course, try to organize a slate of officers to oust the current one. But an attempt of that sort requires—besides close Federal watch over the ballot boxes—a nearly impossible combination of money, time, and political talent. More likely, the worker, regardless of how much his family may need more income or how deeply he feels his private rights are violated, will have no choice but to knuckle under to the fuzzy-minded dictate of union leadership.

Now, we realize that it's quite fashionable to see only crocodile tears when anyone voices concern for workers while opposing the political and social ideas current in unionism. The feeling seems to be that an argument should be judged by its source rather than its intrinsic merit. The obvious fallacy aside, this view ignores the circumstance that individual union members have little public forum for voicing complaints against leaders who nominally represent them.

In fact, there is evidence that membership complaints about too much power in leaders' hands cannot be written off as merely isolated gripes from born malcontents. A recent Gallup poll, for example, found that among union members and their families, 42 percent of the respondents agreed that "unions have too much power in this country." The sampling found that in the same group, 30 percent, hardly an insignificant minority, specifically opposed the union shop.

Whatever the other effects might be, voiding State laws against the union shop would tip the balance of power still further against the wage earner, who disagrees with labor leaders' pet notions. That balance of power could stand some tipping, all right, but hardly in the direction of even greater union regimentation of workers.

America's Other War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following column by Henry C. Wallich which appeared in the July 12, 1965, issue of Newsweek magazine.

We are all concerned with the battle to eliminate poverty. I feel Mr. Wallich's remarks deserve the attention of the Members.

The column follows:

AMERICA'S OTHER WAR

(By Henry C. Wallich)

A reliable picture of the war on poverty is almost as hard to come by as of the war in Vietnam. There are claims and counterclaims, marches and countermarches, and the only sure fact is that the poor are still with us.

The general concept of an antipoverty program is sound. If one does not share the view that unemployment and poverty can be removed by simply heating up the economy, a "structural" approach of this kind becomes the logical alternative. And surely it is better to do something for needy people than for needy politicians, which is the effect of the Appalachia program.

Bafflement begins when one tries to identify the people we are trying to help. The critical income level is $3,000, adjusted for family and regional conditions. This seems indeed very close to the margin. But ownership of homes, cars, and household goods in poor families is surprisingly high. It is hard to resist the conclusion that what we call poverty may not be very closely related to income.

WHAT IS POVERTY?

Poverty seems to be primarily a social condition. Households headed by old or poorly educated people, Negroes, farmers, or women are especially prone to it. The antipoverty program, in the hands of Sargent Shriver as Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, is directed toward those members of this group who can still be trained to become productive workers.

The question is how. Are most of the dropouts, the perpetually unemployed, the drifters, still malleable by the rather primitive methods of the poverty program? Or are they predominantly misfits, frozen into their hostile attitudes, likely always so to conduct themselves as to prove their point that the world is against them?

The jargon that is springing up around the poverty program almost suggests the latter. Poor people are habitually referred to as "the poor," analogous to "the blind." Much of present poverty may be hereditary, but must we give it permanent status in our manner of speech?

Can the poor be changed? This is the basic question against which the performance of the various parts of the antipoverty program must be appraised. How good is the Job Corps, which is one of the big money items? That it takes the kids off the streets is so much to the good. The conservationist skills that it teaches them in rural camps are probably worth little, those in urban projects quite likely valuable. But the cost of $4,200 per head is exorbitant, and the dropout rate is discouraging.

HOW SUCCESSFUL?

How good is the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the second big youth program? It creates small jobs in schools, hospitals, and other nonprofit institutions that hold down unemployment and teach some skills. It costs only about $1,000 per head. But by paying the minimum wage of $1.25 it has upset existing pay scales and created conflicts in some localities, such as Cleveland, Ohio.

How good is the community action program, which accounts for about half the cost of the entire program? It carries great opportunities for local initiative, representation of the poor, and use of existing facilities. It also offers a free field for political skulduggery, Federal power plays, and waste. It is in trouble now because in too many places it has failed to involve efficiently local governments, agencies, and interests.

The college work study program seems to have been quite successful. It makes grants to colleges that provide jobs to keep students studying. But it deals with a much more advanced type of person, and compared with the others it is quite small.

Where answers can be obtained only through trial and error, mistakes are bound to be numerous. They are no reason to come to a truce with poverty. They are a reason, however, for keeping the program relatively small, until we know where we are going, and for keeping it flexible.

Those are the directions in which the Congress should push the second round of the

program now under discussion. The bill that came out of the House Education and Labor Committee is far from ideal in both respects. The Congress must improve it if it wants the program to make a better showing than the first year.

The Need for the Development of Rural Water Systems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, there is now pending before the Congress legislation which would authorize the Farmers Home Administration to make up to $25 million annually in Federal grants for the development of water systems in rural areas.

This legislation is critically needed, for a large number of rural communities are presently without a good, clean water supply and also lack the financial base to develop a modern water system.

This legislation has strong support in the Senate, where it has 93 cosponsors In addition, a number of similar bills are pending in the House of Representatives. These include H.R. 7998, which I introduced in May.

I would like to call to the attention of my fellow Members an article in support of this legislation by Mr. Clyde T. Ellis, general manager of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association.

The article, published in the July, 1965, issue of Rural Electrification, correctly points out that the lack of adequate water in small communities is one of the major problems in rural development.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I hereby include the article:

FROM WHERE I SIT: "30,000 COMMUNITIES WITHOUT WATER"

(By Clyde T. Ellis)

The above is the title of a booklet recently published by the Farmers Home Administration. I think the fact that the adjective "rural" does not appear before the word "communities" is significant. It would be superfluous. Even city folks would know at once that the reference must be to rural communities, for it would be inconceivable to them in this age of "space walks" and "moon shots" that an urban community in the United States could be without a water supply system.

This statistic in the booklet's title dramatically underscores the wide gap between city and rural life in much the same way as did the statistic used in 1935 relating to the lack of electric service in rural areas. It seems to me that the statistic does something else too. It virtually cries out for a massive, full-scale program directed at eliminating the disparity in water service.

According to FHA, all of the 30,000 communities without water systems have less than 2,500 population. About 15,000 are under 100 population. Moreover, one out of every four farm homes and one of over five rural nonfarm homes do not have running water. This figure cannot be interpreted to mean that the 75 to 80 percent of rural homes which have water necessarily have a dependable and safe source. Many are contaminated now. In many sections, cisterns, wells, and ponds often go dry and there is frequently the possibility of contamination. As the water table keeps dropping, the necessity of hauling water during periods of sparse rainfall is becoming more widespread. Nitrates from fertilizers, detergents, and waste products pose a constant threat of pollution to shallow wells which thousands of people in rural areas still must rely on. Cities, on the other hand, are able to dig deep wells or buy equipment to purify otherwise unsafe water. But little towns and villages, and rural areas generally, usually do not have sufficient financial credit to develop adequate sources and treatment plants.

Rural America cannot attain its rightful place within the Great Society—which President Johnson sets forth as a present-day objective—until something major is done to solve the water problem. There are hopeful signs of progress in this direction. At present, many bills are pending in Congress which would provide increased amounts of loans and grants to rural areas.

One bill (S. 1766) which Senator GEORGE AIKEN of Vermont introduced in early April is concerned entirely with meeting the need in rural areas. It would authorize $25 million annually in grants of up to 40 percent for rural communities of under 5,000 for the purpose of development and improvement of water systems. In addition, it would provide for grants to help communities prepare plans. The Farmers Home Administration would administer the program, combining it with it ongoing water system loans activities. FHA's loan-insuring ceiling would be lifted from $200 to $450 million, making a great deal more funds available for water system loans.

Lack of adequate, pure running water is a big hindrance to rural areas development, to the war on poverty, to the rural electrification program, to wholesome rural living.

Lack of modern water service is also a serious handicap to rural areas, not only in their efforts to attract new, job-creating enterprises but also to provide recreation and other facilities for their residents.

I am sure that you will be interested in following the course of this legislation. Our legislation and research staff will keep you of the rural electric systems informed.

One aspect of Senator AIKEN's bill which seems extremely significant is that 93 of the 100 Members of the Senate have signed it as a cosponsors. This certainly is an impressive indication that the problem of rural water supply is being recognized as one of deep national concern.

While legislation can do much to help bring water service to rural America, as legislation helped to bring electricity, it alone cannot do the job. It will take concentrated local group action and leadership and know-how. Many of our rural electrics are already furnishing this type of assistance. Many more, I am sure, will want to lend their support to continue the progress of rural America toward modern living.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES P. FARNSLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. FARNSLEY. Mr. Speaker, in view of the widespread interest that has been shown in the Neighborhood Youth Corps, I insert in the RECORD an editorial on this program that appeared in the Louisville Times on June 15, 1965:

BEYOND KEEPING THEM IN SCHOOL

A U.S. Chamber of Commerce official charged in Washington the other day that an antipoverty program is causing students to quit high school instead of preventing dropouts as intended.

The students, the official claimed, were lured out of school to take jobs offered by the program.

He evidently didn't know the facts.

The program, called the Neighborhood Youth Corps, is administered by the Labor Department. At present, about 200,000 teenagers have part-time jobs paying $1.25 an hour under the program.

Seventy percent of the jobs are available only to school pupils through school systems according to Labor Department figures.

The other jobs are available through community antipoverty agencies and usually involve work for a city. These jobs are openly available to dropouts. The aim is to find work for teenagers who need money to pay necessary school expenses.

The Labor Department acknowledges, however, that some of these people won't go back to school and maybe shouldn't.

It hopes those permanent dropouts will learn the need for skills and get into a training program. In the meantime, they may learn to accept the discipline imposed by regular work—an aptitude many dropouts lack.

Here in Jefferson County, some 450 youngsters are at work for the county school system's Neighborhood Youth Corps, and about 200 are expected to be in the city system's program soon.

The objective here and elsewhere goes beyond keeping young people in school. The belief clearly implied by the program is that by helping students finish high school, we help them be better prepared for useful lives.

That is why the Neighborhood Youth Corps is worth having.

John K. Dungey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES M. HANLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, on June 30, 1965, Mr. John K. Dungey, of Syracuse, N.Y., passed away. With his passing I have lost a good friend and this Nation has lost one of the foremost proponents of the American way of life. John Dungey was a veteran of World War II; a leader in State and local American Legion affairs and chairman of its Un-American Activities Committee, as well as editor of the American Legion publication, "Spotlight." He was a student of world affairs and remained ever alert to situations which would indicate the possibility of jeopardy insofar as the liberties and principles of this Nation were concerned. His philosophy embraced the dignity of man in every instance, and he exerted every possible effort to assert himself accordingly.

Despite the great amount of time he devoted in this area of interest, he pursued his obligations as a husband and father in an exemplary fashion.

If only more people assumed the responsibility of citizenship as did John Dungey I am sure that the problems of this world would be somewhat lighter through the process of better understanding.

The Real Alabama—Part XXIII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the city of Mobile is a key transportation center. A deepwater port provides sea transportation, and the airport is a key stop for four airlines.

Railways also service Mobile and provide excellent service. And, of course, highways provide road transportation to all parts of the Nation.

The president of the Southern Railway System and the president of Southern Airways have both written of their relationships with Mobile.

Their letters follow:

The rapidly expanding economy of the Mobile area, in addition to its high ranking as a tourist attraction, makes the city a real asset to the routes of Southern Airways. We happily bring in hundreds of passengers monthly who are looking forward to seeing the beautiful Bellingrath Gardens, world famous for beautiful azaleas.

Mobile is Alabama's only deepwater seaport, as well as being a key airline stop for four airlines, and is a valuable asset to our industry.

The rapid growth of industry in the Mobile area benefits all of us in the transportation business, and thanks to the capable and progressive thinking leadership of the Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce and the city officials, we look forward to an ever-increasing profitable relationship during the coming years.

FRANK W. HULSE,
President, Southern Airways, Inc., Atlanta, Ga.

Where railroads and resources meet at the edge of deep water, an exciting potential develops for the establishment and growth of many varieties of industry.

Add Mobile's advantages as a city that is not only famed for hospitality, but also as one where alert people work eagerly to attract and welcome new industrial citizens. Then, the prospects for progress are limitless. Mobile is proving this daily as it and the areas nearby are developing into a great industrial complex.

But today's Mobile pales besides tomorrow's when you consider the ample room that still exists for industrial expansion, and in the light of all the other commercial and business advantages the city has to offer. Among its most significant advantages is the fact that Mobile is linked to the rest of the South and the Nation by the modern, 10,400-mile Southern Railway system—a railroad responsive to the specific needs of industry for dependable, low-cost transportation of raw materials and fast, flexible distribution of finished products.

Southern Railway has taken a keen interest and has worked to aid in Mobile's development for many years. I know from experience what an inspiration and a challenge it is to work with people who get things done. The chamber of commerce officers and other public-spirited people have been getting things done. Mobile's industrial upsurge proves this. All of us on Southern look forward to sharing the challenge of building an ever-increasing economic strength for the Mobile area in the coming years.

D. W. BROSNAN,
President, Southern Railway System, Washington, D.C.

Stamp Out Printers of Pornography

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the problem of the availability of obscene and pornographic material to the youth of our Nation is one that must be attacked from every direction and by every means available. A giant step was taken recently when Mr. Louis Van Hanswyck, president of the International Printing House Craftsmen, called upon his fellow craftsmen to take up the anti-obscenity banner and refuse to print or cooperate in the printing or publishing, of pornography. Mr. Van Hanswyck is indeed to be commended for his willingness to stand up and be counted and for his appeal to the printers of the Nation to join the ranks of those who recognize the danger of obscene and pornographic material to the minds and morals of our people.

Following are excerpts from a speech Mr. Van Hanswyck made in Fort Wayne, Ind., April 8, 1965:

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH OF LOUIS VAN HANSWYCK

Pornography has taken an upward spiral. Our organization must help curb it. Join with me on the craftsmen's march on obscene garbage which is polluting and disgracing our industry. Some men are contaminating our country's young and impressionable. We have been approached regarding this problem by a group who hopes enough of us will help to stamp out this problem. Craftsmen are in a good place to help. This week, I personally refused to set type for a New York printer of garbage.

All over the country, citizen's groups are marching on the places where passion is placed for sale. New York Mayor Wagner this week appointed a citizens committee to stamp out the printers, distributors, and sellers. The printers in New York bring disgrace on our craft when they contribute to this problem. May the Good Lord protect the printers whose presses turn to this. This flood could stop immediately if printers would not sell their equipment to publishers of this trash. If the printers won't join the fight, it is time International Craftsmen bring weight to bear. It is the responsibility of the International to take its place in the anti-obscenity fight: one way is by forbidding members to take part in it. International Craftsmen intend bringing up and firing their guns to influence good men from disgracing the printer's profession.

America's 20th century printers must and will stand up and be counted.

Stabilizing Feed Grain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STANLEY L. GREIGG

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. GREIGG. Mr. Speaker, I submit the following editorial, "Stabilizing Feed Grain," from the Des Moines Register of June 27. The story so well illustrated therein is a tribute to the success of the administration's farm program on feed grains. Reference is made to Secretary Freeman for his efforts in establishing a "sensible grain stabilization policy," and I join the writer in acknowledging the vital role the Secretary has played in this effort, and I applaud his solid actions.

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register, June 27, 1965]

STABILIZING FEED GRAIN

With hog prices up around $23 to $24 and top cattle around $27 to $29, Iowa farmers are feeling more confident than they did a year ago or 2 years ago. Also, market prices of corn and soybeans have been at favorable levels. In past years when market prices have risen, farmer participation in the crop acreage diversion programs has fallen off. However, this year the sign-up in the feed grain program is higher than it was in 1964.

Farms with about 56 million "base" acres of corn and grain sorghum are in the program, compared with 51 million in 1964. These farms are diverting to sod cover 25 million acres of corn and grain sorghum, compared with 23 million a year ago. In Iowa, the sign-up is about the same as in 1964—10 million base acres and 3.5 million diverted. Iowa has had high participation in the feed grain program from the beginning.

One reason for the high participation may be the change in the program which provides that part of the price support is in the form of direct payments. These payments on corn have been 15 to 18 cents a bushel on normal yield. The loan rate (national average) was lowered from $1.20 a bushel in 1961 and 1962 to $1.07 in 1963 and $1.10 in 1964. It will be $1.05 in 1965.

Since market prices usually have been near the loan rate, in order to be sure to get the full price support a farmer must take part in the program and receive the payment.

Because of large exports and reduced production, the administration has sold off Commodity Credit Corporation reserve supplies. This has brought forth charges by some organization leaders that the administration is keeping the market price down to force farmers to join the program. Actually, the market price has not been lowered; prices have been higher in the last year than in the year before and have averaged above the loan rate. But if the administration had kept all the Government corn under lock and key, undoubtedly market prices would be higher today.

The purpose of the loan program, however, is to maintain an "ever-normal granary." It is the responsibility of the managers of this program to release supplies into the market when increased demand or reduced production occur. The management of the reserve stocks has been skillful from the viewpoint of price stability. Market prices have been held within a range of $1.08 to $1.16 as annual averages since 1961.

When a big crop was harvested in 1963, the administration eased up on its corn sales. With a short crop in 1964, it increased sales.

Political interests who oppose crop regulation do not like this. Neither do grain storage interests which profit from holding large stocks of Government corn. These include a few farmer cooperatives whose managements sometimes seem more interested in profits from grain storage than in the total profits of their farmer members from farming.

Agriculture Secretary Freeman deserves credit for going ahead with a sensible grain stabilization policy despite the opposition of these farm groups. He should be backed up by the Congress in renewing the feed grain legislation.

It would wreck the stabilization effort if Congress passed a law preventing the sale of Government stocks at less than 120 percent of the support price, as some farm organizations propose. If the secretary's hands were tied by such legislation now, feed grain prices would be much higher and feeding of livestock would be reduced. This would push livestock prices up much faster and would generate a large increase in production, causing an ensuing collapse at the other end of the cycle.

It is far better to try to keep the market supply of feed grain stable and to level out the ups and downs in production as much as possible. As a result of acreage diversion and wise grain reserve management, the national stockpile of feed grains has been reduced from 85 million tons in 1960 to an expected 56 million tons as of this fall.

This is still a more-than-adequate reserve of feed grain. But the granary does allow room now for some increase in the reserve if that becomes necessary. In 1960 the surplus was about to get out of hand. With continued good participation in the feed grain program and sensible granary management, it should be possible to keep the feed grain-livestock industry in reasonably sound balance for the years ahead.

We have an idea that farmers understand this and that this is a major reason why they continue to support the feed grain program. It isn't just the bribe of the direct payments. But is there anything wrong with giving the farmer who takes part in such a program some extra benefit from doing so?

Federal Government and Maine—Partners in Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to tell the Members of this House about the way in which the Federal Government and the government of the State of Maine are joined in promoting crime in Maine by virtue of their ignorant policies of keeping gambling illegal.

Illegal gambling bankrolls organized crime in Maine as elsewhere in the Nation, and the governments which have kept gambling illegal, and thus available as a mob revenue-raising device, might as well be partners in the crime they are thus indirectly subsidizing.

Maine's parimutuel turnover came to $19 million last year, but this was greatly exceeded by illegal gambling figures. Figures presented to the McClellan committee set off-track betting in the Nation at $50 billion a year, which figure is only 42 percent or so of the national illegal gambling total, which would then approximate $120 billion a year. Maine's share of this on a population basis would be $600 million a year. Ten percent of this stays in mob pockets as profit, so Maine is a lucrative potato patch for the syndicates. If the Federal and State governments would wise up to social realities, they would regulate and operate gambling, rather than leave it, inevitable as ever, to finance all shades of criminal activities.

I sincerely hope that it will not be long before the unwise collaboration of the Federal and State governments in ignorance will vanish in favor of Federal and State lotteries.

We Must Save Our Natural Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH J. RIVERS

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 28, 1965

Mr. RIVERS of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, in his message to the Congress on natural beauty, President Johnson stressed the need for extension of our present system of parks, seashores, and recreational areas in order to meet the requirements of our growing population. Saying, "The wonder of nature is the treasure of America," the President called for a national effort to extend and preserve such treasure.

This week, the national commander of the American Legion, Mr. Donald E. Johnson, summoned Americans to the same effort. Writing in Parade magazine, July 4, Mr. Johnson said:

If our national legacy of wide open spaces is to be meaningful to our cildren and their children, we must act now—with all the power at our command.

In order that this important message be more widely read, I insert it here:

AN IMPORTANT JULY 4 MESSAGE: WE MUST SAVE OUR NATURAL RESOURCES

(By Donald E. Johnson, national commander of the American Legion)

One hundred and eighty-nine years ago, on July 4, 1776, our new Nation had less than 4 million people, with millions of acres of beautiful virgin forests, clear streams, clean air, and abundant wildlife.

Today we have a population of 190 million; we are a strong and prosperous Nation. But we are daily growing poor as we ravage our forests, pollute our streams, and poison our air. We must take steps immediately to conserve our areas of natural beauty so that our children can be assured that they and future generations will have their rightful heritage of outdoor relaxation. We must preserve for them healthy areas in which they may enjoy the traditions of America—"Let's go fishing," "Let's have a picnic," "Let's go for a hike."

And the demand to enjoy those activities is surging. Figures prove Americans of every age are seeking the outdoors as never before. Visits to State parks leaped from 114,291,000 in 1950 to 254,772,000 in 1960, and outdoor devotees visiting National Park and U.S. Forest Service preserves increased from 33,253,000 to 92,592,000 in the same period of time.

Yet during that explosive period total recreational acreage in these facilities increased only from 209,744,000 to 217,148,000—a marginal increase of land area of roughly 3.80 percent while use of State parks increased over 100 percent and national park visits tripled.

WARNING FROM UDALL

Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall has issued this warning:

"By 1970, about 210 million Americans will be competing for the inner space of our Nation. These Americans, flexing their economic muscles, will press for their place in the outdoor parklands of this country, and Federal, State, and local parks will have to bear the main burden.

"The least this Nation can do, before our land patterns become unalterably fixed, is to preserve the few remaining extensive areas of natural open space now, while there is still time."

Our ancestors left us a legacy, the great outdoors, broad lands, open seashores, clean, and lovely lakes, rivers, and streams. All of these are rapidly disappearing. We cannot do less for our young people than save our natural treasures.

The pattern we establish for outdoor recreation in the next few years is destined to be the pattern forever.

If we continue to permit the destruction of our Nation's natural resources tomorrow's children will never know the feel of grass underfoot, or see a bird on the wing. Even our national symbol, the bald eagle, is today threatened with extinction.

America must be for the youth of tomorrow much more than TV sets, apartment houses, crowded cities, and express highways; it must be a land of beauty, a land to be loved for itself.

Senator KARL E. MUNDT, of South Dakota, a champion of conservation, says: "With our country experiencing a tremendous and dynamic growth in both population and economic activities, tomorrow may truly be too late to save valued resources. Not only is there a threat to our wonderful wildlife heritage, but many of our other precious natural resources such as woodlands, seashores, lakes, and streams can fall victim to unwise uses or abuses."

If our national legacy of wide open spaces is to be meaningful to our children and their children we must act now—with all the power at our command.

The Late Senator Olin D. Johnston

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILBUR D. MILLS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 22, 1965

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker ,it was with a sense of deep sadness that I learned of the passing of the admired and respected Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON, of South Carolina.

OLIN JOHNSTON served his State and Nation long and diligently, with conscientious devotion to duty, a deep sense of integrity and with a sincere and deep feeling for the less fortunate. He will be sorely missed by his constituents, and by his friends in all ranks of life which are legion throughout the Nation. His accomplishments in the legislative arena

are many and varied, not the least of which are the many improvements in the status of Federal employees which he sponsored and pushed to a successful conclusion. Senator JOHNSTON was indeed a friend of the millions of our devoted civil servants. He did much to improve the administration of the laws by his deep and abiding concern for the status of those who are charged with the administration of the laws. Se will be long remembered for his work as chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

Senator JOHNSTON's family and friends and constituents can take solace in the knowledge that he served his country well and that he has left a monument in the form of hundreds of statutes which bear his indelible imprint.

My sincere condolences to his surviving family in this, their hour of sadness.

Freeloading Under 14(b)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, one of the emotional arguments now making the rounds against repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act claims that the union shop is undemocratic—an abridgment of the rights of man as set forth in the Constitution.

Steel Labor, the voice of the United Steelworkers of America, rebuts that "exactly the reverse is true."

This rebuttal is developed in an editorial, "Freeloading Under 14(b)," in the current issue of Steel Labor. Under unanimous consent, I insert this editorial in the RECORD:

FREELOADING UNDER 14(b)

The extremists who persist in their fanatical opposition to repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law never are troubled by reason or logic.

It's amusing, albeit bitterly so, to read the "right to workers" arguments as printed by reactionary columnists, or in the letters to the editor columns of the Nation's newspapers.

Invariably, these foes of unionism wrap themselves in the flag, beat their breasts in support of democracy and indulge themselves in all the other antics of the lunatic fringe which professes to be bottled-in-bond patriots.

The thought never occurs to these people that they are being inconsistent when they decry the union shop as "undemocratic—an abridgement of the rights of man as set forth in the Constitution."

Exactly the reverse is true.

The so-called right-to-work laws now carried on the books of 19 States, in truth, are an infringement on democratic rights of great bodies of our citizenry, as represented by unions and management.

The union shop is the product of the free democratic process of collective bargining. An iniquitous right-to-work law which forbids such a negotiated benefit as the union shop is a direct infringement on democratic processes—not to mention a menace to free enterprise system.

Nor is there any greater logic in the right to workers concern over the provision that, under a union shop clause in a contract, a worker must become a dues-paying member after a certain time of employment.

A worker should have the right to stay out of a union, say they, piously declaring, "this is true democracy."

This is pure bligewater, say we.

Following the right to workers reasoning to its logical—or rather, illogical—conclusion, it therefore becomes anyone's democratic right to resign from society simply because of disagreement with a law, or any other orderly process of government.

In short, the right to workers are arguing that the will of the minority, rather than the will of the majority must prevail in a democracy.

That would be anarchy, or a reasonable facsimile.

Anyone who has been around the labor movement knows that the union shop was and is an expression of the will of the majority.

The gripers and growlers in the plants and mills almost invariably are in a distinct minority. They are charter members of the great American freeloading society. They want all the benefits at no cost to themselves.

We have no statistics on the subject, primarily because we do not care to be exposed to such people. But we're willing to wager the open shop minority in any plant where unions hold contracts also roar the loudest against assuming their dues-paying obligations as citizens.

They don't want to be taxed but they demand all the services and benefits which accrue to all of us who pay dues to our union and our Government and thank God for the chance.

How Many Nuclear Powers?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the press throughout the country has been almost consistent in favorable comment of Congressman PAUL FINDLEY's GOP mission to France and the excellent job they have done in studying and reporting on NATO nation relationships. Certainly comments and conclusions in the Findley report have been thoughtfully made, based on an objective appraisal of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. One such editorial appeared in the Chicago Sun-Times of July 6, and is submitted herewith:

HOW MANY NUCLEAR POWERS?

Representative PAUL FINDLEY, Republican, of Illinois, was one of four Republicans of the House who recently went to France to look into the state of NATO nation relationships. The committee has suggested a number of actions that might be taken to improve relationships between the NATO nations—especially those with France—in a special report.

One of the suggestions FINDLEY's committee made was to recognize that France is a nuclear power, "whether we like it or not," and should be given U.S. cooperation in further development in this area.

The suggestion seems to be sound. When the nuclear club was limited to only three members, the United States, Great Britain, and Soviet Russia, the world managed to live with the bomb, even though it was an uneasy existence.

Now the world is faced with the specter of nuclear proliferation. Red China has exploded two nuclear devices. Indonesia is boasting that it will be the next nation to touch off a nuclear explosion. Indonesia's bomb will, in all likelihood, be a Red China bomb and a further test of that nation's nuclear capability. A growing number of nations, India, Israel, West Germany, Sweden, and Egypt, to name a few, have the technological and economic capacity to undertake nuclear weapons programs.

The proliferation of nuclear weapons cannot go on unchecked. The United States has recognized this from the first and is now urging an early reopening of disarmament discussions in Geneva, with priority given to drafting a treaty which would require a pledge from existing nuclear powers to refrain from giving control of nuclear weapons or manufacturing information to nonnuclear states.

Before Red China had achieved its nuclear capability, President Kennedy said, "I am haunted by the feeling that by 1970 there may be 10 nuclear powers instead of 4, that by 1975 the number may be 15 or 20."

There would be difficulty in working out a program to check the spread of nuclear weapon capability. One difficulty would be the absence of France and Red China from the bargaining table. Part of that could be solved if France were to be recognized by the United States as a nuclear power, as the GOP committee has suggested.

The President and the Presidency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I am including with my remarks a speech delivered by Mr. Jack Valenti, special assistant to the President, before the Advertising Federation of America Convention, in Boston, Mass., on June 28, 1965. Mr. Valenti's speech, "The President and the Presidency," speaks for itself but I cannot pass up the opportunity to say a few things about it. In the first place, I consider it a great speech. I believe it will find a place in any future collection of outstanding American orations. In the second place, I am sure that it represents an important contribution to American political science.

The speech follows:

THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRESIDENCY

(By Mr. Jack Valenti)

The Presidency is a mystical body, constructed by the Constitution, but whose architecture was conceived in the inner crannies of a people's soul.

It is unique—awesome—all-embracing, an odd mixture of royal divinity and equalitarian choice—a union between a nation yearning for continuity and its firm resolve not to yield one jot of independence.

Between man's purpose in history and God's purpose in eternity, there is an infinite difference in quality. So it is between what we call our democratic tradition and our appetite for a father to lead us.

To watch the Presidency from afar, as is the lot of most of us, is to perceive the dim, fuzzy outlines, the silhouette of the leader,

and to hear only the distant pulsebeat of his activities displayed in the press and on TV.

But no one, not even the perceptive newsmen who sit day in and day out in the west lobby of the west wing of the White House, really know the President's burdens, the abrasive shred of events that beats against him every hour of every day, and through the long night.

There is no sharing of this burden. Each day, thickly crowded with trials and demands for decision, thrusting against him, crying out for attention, finds the President alone, though the Rose Garden or his Office or the Cabinet room is crammed with people. For essentially, though it has become trite to say it, the President is alone, the problems always at flood, the irritations ceaseless, the naggings and the pressures like an uncured rash, and in this age of miracles and madness, the possibility of catastrophe always only a shadow's span away. Other Presidents have complained and philosophized about this strange and transcendent office.

"The business of this office is so oppressive," said John Adams, "I shall hardly support it 2 years longer."

At the end of his second term, Tom Jefferson said: "Five weeks more will relieve me from a drudgery to which I am no longer equal."

"No one," murmured John Quincy Adams, "knows and few conceive the agony of mind that I have suffered from the time I was made by circumstances and not by volition a candidate and then President."

And in a despairing hour during the Civil War, Abe Lincoln cried out "In God's name, if any one can do better in my place than I have done, let him try his hand at it and no one will be better contented than myself."

And so through our history these men anointed by fate and elections and perhaps divine intervention have applied to higher authorities for help and loudly declared to the electorate their misgivings and their distress over their burdensome office. And each of these men has heard what John Milton called a dismal universal hiss, the sound of public scorn.

And yet, these men have gone on, and as they saw their duty they did it. Some with grace and competence. Others with lifted hopes and stunted skills, but all with that curious upsoaring of mind and spirit that seems, as if by Godly osmosis, to invade the veins of a man the moment he becomes President. It is as if God determined that he would give to the President an extra prescience, additional stamina, and most of all a fuller measure of fortitude that is beyond the dimension of ordinary men.

I have never known another President so I am powerless to compare, nor would I if I could.

But I do know there have been only 36 men in all our history who have been called to the agony and the glory and the sky-tall summit that is called the President of the United States.

I do know the 36th President, the son of a tenant farmer. He is a sensitive man, a cultivated man, a warm-hearted and extraordinary man. I have watched him every hour of every day since his accession to the Presidency, and somehow the full spirit of the man never seems to be captured. It is as if the observer sees but one side of him, the other sides dimly glimpsed, only half-illuminated.

He came to the Presidency possibly the most experienced and best trained of any Chief Executive. A State administrator of the National Youth Administration when he was only 28—24 years a Congressman and Senator—for 8 years the leader of the Democratic Party in the Senate and for 6 years, the second most powerful man in all the Nation as majority leader in the Senate. For 3 years Vice President, and then in the shock and disbelief of what is still an incredulous minute in American history, he became President.

I shall never forget that day. He sat in the cabin of *Air Force One*, a scant few minutes after the assassination, solemn, grim, his face an unyielding mask. All around him everyone was in various states of shock, nearing collapse. But the new President sat there, like a large grey stone mountain, untouched by fear or frenzy, from whom everyone began to draw strength. The Nation may have tilted and trembled and the light of the country may have flickered, but the flame could not go out for though the President was dead, the President lived. The Nation would go on, as it had to, as it must, and those around the new President watched him and took heart.

He reached for a glass of water and his hand was steady, not even a tremor to mar a confidence. He began to give orders in clear, audible tones, yet the voice was soft, the words unhurried. And suddenly, as though the darkness of the cave confided its fears to the trail of light growing larger as it banished the night, the Nation's breath, held tightly in its breast, began to ease and across the land the people began to move again.

And so it was that in the middle life of the Republic, the country was tormented, but it never lost its purpose.

Since I have been in the White House, my notions of what a President ought to be and ought to have, have undergone some change. It's a game any number can play, to find the answer to the questions: What are the qualifications of a great President?

I judge those assets to be three:

One, a President must have courage. He must shove into his spine, a lance of steel that never bends though the pressures reach the yowling stage. He must have a toughness of spirit that feeds his courage and causes him to do what he knows to be right though the shouts of the crowd try to drown out all his pleadings. Me must know, as Emerson wrote, that reason will look out and justify her own and malice will find all her work in vain.

Second, he must truly care. He must have a concern for the voids and the vacancies of those who are helpless. He must have inside his bones a measureless compassion for every human being who has nowhere to and hope. Isaiah is the favorite prophet of the President. He quotes him with relish, and Isaiah summed up the cause of the President when he said: "Learn to do well, seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow."

And finally, the President must have a sensitive intelligence that is married to an instinct for rightness. No great leader ever endured in history without this misty quality called instinct. When all the facts are in, and all the information has been gathered and there is not enough of either, but the decision must be made, the instinct for rightness becomes indispensable. Without it, the decision becomes flabby. With it, the leader peers beyond the possible and vaults over the present, and instinct carries him forward. All visionaries have instinct. Every great President had it. Out of the midst of the fire, of the cloud, and of the thick darkness, the instincts of the President for rightness and justice and history's judgment become a valuable and irreplaceable national asset.

Each day, the President needs these three assets. And each of the days I have watched and heard and been with this President, he has used them with abundance and sanity.

How then, does the President go about his day? How does he live out each hour, facing the problems that never go away?

The President, thank the good Lord, has extra glands I am persuaded that give him energy that ordinary men simply don't have. He goes to bed late, and rises early, and the words I have never heard him say are: "I'm tired."

Each night when finally he leaves his office to walk the 100 yards from the oval Presidential office in the west wing to the Mansion's second floor living quarters, he finds on his bed what we in the White House call, with simple disguise, the night reading. In stacks of brown envelopes are heavy packets of material—reports from State and Defense, latest intelligence reports, cables from Ambassadors, memorandums from various Cabinet officers and White House staff members, budget data, project reports from task forces working on various problems, magazine articles, newspaper clippings, personnel recommendations as well as a selected sample of the day's mail. In a week's time the President will have read the equivalent of a 100,000 word novel. This is in addition to the reading he does in the quiet of his own office. The reading a President must do is an avalanche, a never-ending river of words that pour across the Presidential dikes with the floodgates open.

On practically every piece the President will scribble his comments. A yes or a no or an admonition, a suggestion for another tack, a request for more information, an idea for improvement or an order to move out swiftly.

The Director of the Budget once told me he was astonished at the President's grasp of the most complex details, and how quickly decisions were made. The President is impatient with stalling, hesitation, or any kind of shuffling in front of the decision door. He wants that door opened, and activity to move through.

He may read for 2 or 3 hours in the late evening and when at last, he turns off the light above his pillow, he falls to sleep easily.

It is true that in his mind is an alarm clock that silently nudges him about 4:00 in the morning whenever there is air action in Vietnam. In the darkness, he turns and lifts the phone to call the Situation Room deep in the basement of the White House. He gets the latest information about the strike, casualties if any, receives the information quickly, and then, hopefully goes back to sleep. No man can really tell, with certainty if sleep comes easily then. He's never discussed that with me, and I have never asked. Once an admirer wrote a passage about the great lady of Greek letters Edith Hamilton and it applies so accurately to Lyndon Johnson it is worth repeating now: "She feels like a personal experience, the giant agony of the world; there are not many in this aristocracy of humanity." It may or may not seem strange to you, but to the President one pilot's life lost in Vietnam troubles him greatly. He is visibly saddened.

I remember so well one morning when I walked into his bedroom about 8:30 in the morning. He was propped up as usual with pillows against his back, working on his papers and reading. When I entered, he looked up, smiled hugely, and with great jubilance, said: "They found him—isn't that wonderful news." I learned that during the night the President was informed that two U.S. pilots were shot down and one had parachuted to safety. Just before I saw the President, he had been told that the second man was safely back in U.S. hands. This one boy's life, spared and safe, was precious to the President of the United States, and he wanted to share that joy with everyone he saw.

After about 3 hours work in bed, finishing up the night reading, the President exercises in his room, shaves and showers and is in his office about 10 a.m. ready for the day's appointments.

For the last year, his work day focuses on problems beyond the rim of our shore. If

you were to take an index from 1 to 100, you would score about 75 or 80 on the index for foreign problems and about 25 or 20 for domestic problems. Contrary to the popular notion, the President spends a small chunk of his time on the so-called domestic issues.

Secretary Rusk, Secretary McNamara, McGeorge Bundy, Admiral Raborn of the CIA, Secretaries Mann, Ball, Bundy and Vance, members of the National Security Council, members of the White House staff, and of course the Vice President, are consulted and talked to both by phone and in meetings.

Contrary again to popular notion, the President is not fond of those who continually say "yes" to him. He thrives on new ideas, new initiatives, innovations, fresh thinking. If a man consistently agrees and offers no new counterarguments, that man is soon not asked for advice. The President believes, that unless a man is thinking he is valueless, and therefore, is of no benefit to the President. But the thinking man can expect the President to assault him with questions—terse, pointed, homing in on the nerve-edges of the issue.

In a top-secret meeting of advisers or the Security Council, the President's method of leadership is clearly, cleanly visible. He sits back, head against the thick padded top of the black swivel chair, in the middle of the octagon shaped table in the Cabinet Room. He calls on each adviser, asks them for their opinion. Sometimes the discussion is spirited, the President listening quietly, turning his head to look at the man talking. He is unperturbed, relaxed. He is not a doodler, preferring to watch the full face of the speaker, absorbing both the words, and the demeanor.

Last year, during the small crisis in Cuba when Castro shut off the water to Guantanamo Naval Base, a Security Council meeting took up this problem. What to do about it? The talk flew around the table, the President, as usual, soaking up the discussion. Some advisers wanted to do nothing simply turn the other cheek. Others implored a show of might, to impress Castro with his blunder.

After an hour or so, the President began to speak. We would not turn the other cheek, he said. But we would not use force. Instead, he laid down a three-point plan: We would no longer depend on Castro for water. We would manufacture our own. We would dismiss all Cubans working on the base, and thereby rid ourselves of thousands of known Castro agents or sometime agents. And finally, we would by staffing the base with our own employees, we would deprive Castro of $5 million in foreign exchange.

One top adviser sitting at the end of the table, whistled softly, and muttered to the man next to him: "Ingenious, and Castro will be furious that we have called him and trumped him." Another adviser later on told me that this was a dazzling example of sophisticated diplomacy and shrewd handling of a ticklish, peevish, foreign problem.

The day moves on. Telephone calls, meetings, memos to read, urgent problems that arise and must be met instantly, delegations that come in, ceremonial pictures to be taken, and finally, about 2:30 or 3, the President goes to lunch. Sometimes, he will swim in the pool, usually with staff members or Cabinet officers, then a working lunch, and nap from 4 to 5.

Waking refreshed, he begins his second day—in his office at 5:15. Sometimes, he sits alone in the office for an hour or more, and no one disturbs him. Outside the oval office, there is feverish action. Inside the oval office, there is a curtain of silence, a serenity that shuts off the din and the press of anxious problems and insistent visitors. The President is at work and there is quiet. In the Rose Garden, the brassy shine of the sun has receded and the sheared line of shadow begins its inexorable march across the sweep of grass, clean and green and flat as a billiard table.

The President, if he is not dining with friends will be in that office until 10 or 11 in the evening. Sometimes, just before he leaves the office he will sit in the small inner office he uses for intimate conversation with members of the staff. There will be laughter and easy talk, as the President begins to unwind and shed the crisis crust that has accumulated during the day. He loves to tell a good story, and as one magazine editor of liberal and sophisticated leaning once observed: This is a side of the President the public never really sees. He is probably the most skilled teller of stories since Lincoln, and their humor is much the same, extracted from the soil and the people of the lad.

Once Walter Whitman wrote: I hear America singing.

Well, I saw America singing. During this campaign I traveled with the President. Usually I sat in the front seat of his car. Down the streets of a hundred American cities * * * the people came by the millions. They came in all sizes and ages, all colors and moods, holding up their children, thrusting them toward the President's car; they smile, and laugh and wave, their faces alive with love and pride. Their President was in town, and this would be the first time most of them had ever seen their President, and they are vibrant with excitement.

It is impossible to live this experience without knowing that the taproots of this land lie not in the Nation's Capital but in the land beyond the Capitol dome—in the little towns and big cities—along the rivers and the valleys where the keepers of the herald are—where the lifebeat of the country is the strongest and most durable.

And like Anteaus whose mother was earth, each President goes back to the land and the people for his strength and the renewal of his spirit.

President Johnson, like every President before him, sought this renewal and found it, in the outpouring of love and affection, in the outstretched arms of mothers holding up their babies to see the President, in the tears and laughter of the people.

Every night, when the President would retire to his room in whatever city we happened to be in, he would be caught up in this affection. He felt alive and vital and refurbished. For he saw in the faces of the people, trust and faith, a simple belief that their President cared about them and believed in them and would not let them down. The people knew in their hearts without having to prove it that the President was their guardian and their champion, and their hope, beyond corruption and above fear, living and working and fighting for them and their children.

This, then, is the essence of the Presidency. No President, and particularly this President, can ever let the day pass and the night begin without feeling with overpowering intensity the communion of people with their President.

Once during the deadly days of the Nazi terror, when France had been over-run and the heel of the Nazi was on the neck of the French, Winston Churchill spoke to the French people: "Francais, c'est moi, Churchill." He said. He told them not to lose hear that in due time, the free world would stir itself and relieve the French of their long chill night. "So," he said, "sleep well, my Frenchmen, sleep well to gather strength for the morning, for the morning shall come."

I sleep each night a little better, a little more confidently because Lyndon Johnson is my President. For I know he lives and thinks and works to make sure that for all America and indeed, the growing body of the free world, the morning shall always come.

A Bill To Control Highway Cluttering

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, I welcome this opportunity to support the President's effort to preserve our country's natural beauty.

Many Americans have long been indignant over the unsightliness that has encroached upon our countryside. We have seen once-beautiful areas deteriorate into appalling unattractiveness.

The postwar years in this country have seen a massive effort to build a highway system sufficient to accommodate the flow of traffic which got such a head start on us during the war. This highway building program has apparently preoccupied us to the extent that we have given little or no attention to the scenic blight that has meanwhile enveloped these roadways.

President Johnson has given us a program which would erase some of that blight and transform our Federal highway system so that it will enhance the natural beauty that lies along our Nation's roads. It is my strong belief that the Congress should give the President's proposal its support.

The need for legislation controlling outdoor advertising along Federal-aid highways is especially evident in my own State of Colorado. Every year thousands of tourists come to Colorado to enjoy Colorado's breathtaking scenery. Tourism is one of the State's fastest growing businesses, and it is certainly in the State's economic interests, at the very least, that billboard advertising be prevented from obliterating the natural beauty.

During the last session of the General Assembly of Colorado, strong antibillboard legislation was sponsored by Representative Richard Gebhardt, of Boulder, and Senator Floyd Oliver, of Greeley. Their proposals would have kept the signboards back 660 feet from the multilane interstate highways and would have been broad enough to enable the State to get the extra highway bonus payments, or one-half of 1 percent of the cost of each section of highway constructed under the terms of the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads.

Unfortunately, the Oliver-Gebhardt bill was killed in the State senate, and a much weaker compromise bill was passed in its place.

The unhappy sequel to this matter was reported in the Denver Post on May 31, when the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads ruled that Colorado's new billboard law would not qualify for highway bonus payments since the new measure contained too many loopholes.

It has been my feeling generally that the Federal Government should assume additional responsibility with greatest reluctance. It should undertake new tasks only when there is a clear and present need, and then only when local au-

thority is unable or unwilling to assume the responsibility itself. With few exceptions, Colorado and the other States of our Nation are in great need of action by the Federal Government. If it is our wish that our citizens "see America first," we should make sure that what they see will make them proud.

Morality in Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the voting rights bill under consideration is a perfect example of political hypocrisy. It is to be classified with a vast majority of the legislation enacted this session which has been in clear conflict with the public interest.

An editorial in the June 30 issue of the Albany, Ga., Herald recommends "some examination of consciences in Washington." The editors suggest that it is time for some down-to-earth thinking about the state of political morality in our Nation's Capital.

The following editorial reflects the sentiments of a majority of the people of the Second District of Georgia:

MORALITY IN WASHINGTON

With so much high-sounding talk these days about the presumed need for higher ethical standards in Government and business—the President especially likes to emphasize the need for "morality" on all fronts—maybe it is time for some down-to-earth thinking about the state of political morality in Washington.

We have in mind, among other things, a brace of legislation that Congress has obligingly put together very much as the President requested. Both the voting rights bill and the depressed areas law are marvels of political hypocrisy. We do not say that they are the worst in the long history of politicking, but they are bad enough.

The basic concept of the voting rights bill has been described this way: Because it is beyond dispute that Negroes have been discriminated against at the polls in parts of the South, by misuse of literacy tests and other means, it is therefore necessary to adopt a complete and discriminatory formula to determine when literacy tests should be suspended and Federal voting registrars sent to particular States or counties accused of discrimination.

That is a sham. Actually, there is no real need for any new voting law. Many exist and require only proper enforcement. But if a new law is desired, it should be a simple, straightforward statement that would not single out particular States or be subject to constitutional misgivings. Such reasonable precautions Congress has disdained.

We yield to no one in opposition to arbitrary infringements on the ballot on account of race; indeed, we think that Negro access to the polls on a par with other citizens is something the whole society ought to be able to agree on. That is a vastly different matter, however, from saying that there should be no sensible voting qualification for anyone, Negro, white, or Puerto Rican, other than perhaps being alive. Such an approach is considerably at variance with the traditional American understanding of the voting process, which features constraints on the franchise to prevent, if possible, democracy from degenerating into mobocracy.

This fraudulent legislation has good company in the depressed-areas measure. The definition of such an area is one where unemployment is above an arbitrary percentage. First of all, the Government makes only the most superficial attempt to discover how many people in this country are genuinely unemployed, in the sense that they are able and willing to work and actually looking for any work that will keep them off the Government doles. Thus the very premise of the depressed-areas legislation is faulty.

Beyond that it is designed to attract industry to areas whose problem of the moment is an excess of industrial capacity for immediate needs, while providing no assurance of attracting industry to economically unappealing areas. Some of the law's more candid supporters admit their doubts that it will do anything to relieve unemployment. The all-important political point is that it is a means of channeling large sums of Federal money into politically appealing areas.

More generally, it is becoming clear that this Great Society administration purposes to pursue its political spending plans with little regard to the Government's financial condition. Unless it changes quickly, it is setting the country on an inflationary course. That means shirking one of the Government's most basic moral responsibilities—the preservation of honest money.

We would want it well understood that we are not against politicians or politicking. In our Government a President is perforce a politician. In the nature and diversity of our political society, compromises in Congress—logrolling if you wish—are necessary and frequently desirable. In this fashion it is possible to reach something like a consensus of the country; it is frequently possible to defeat or modify dangerously extreme legislation.

But what is striking about many in this administration and this Congress is the high degree of political cynicism they have brought to Washington; the virtues of politics, after all, can turn into vices, as when they produce legislation and actions in clear conflict with the public interest.

So it is perhaps not out of place to suggest some examination of consciences in Washington. If that is asking too much, the public should at least take a good look at what is going on in its name.

The National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN JARMAN

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, an event of tremendous importance to the 17 Western States, and particularly to my own State of Oklahoma, took place on June 26 of this year. The details are set out in a document that reads as follows:

The National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center in Oklahoma City, Okla., was designated as a National Memorial by the U.S. Congress, August 7, 1957.

It was so designated because of the interest and action of citizens of 17 Western States who desired a museum which would honor past and present cowboys, stockmen and ranchers who have contributed to the initial development of the West. It was to be a museum for the preservation of historical and present day documents, mementos, personal effects, and relics of these pioneers, so that they might remain always as a valuable contribution to the folklore of America.

Because of the perseverance of hundreds of westerners and through donation of thousands of people throughout the 17 Western States, a $2½ million structure has been erected to forever memorialize the pioneers of America's westward movement.

The National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center, a fitting and valuable institution for the collection and preservation of artifacts and other evidence and data relating to the role the West has played in enriching our American historical heritage, was officially dedicated and opened on the 26th day of June, 1965, in Oklahoma City, Okla.

This document was flown to the Nation's Capital on June 28, 1965, via American Airlines' flight 352, the inaugural of Oklahoma City's first direct jet service to Washington, D.C.

Mr. Speaker, we of the Oklahoma congressional delegation urge all of our colleagues in the Congress to come to Oklahoma and visit this outstanding museum.

Poll of New Jersey Second District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS C. McGRATH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. Speaker, in May, I mailed to 83,000 homes in New Jersey's Second Congressional District, which I have the honor to represent, a questionnaire in which I asked my constituents to answer 10 questions concerning international and domestic matters of concern to the Nation.

I am pleased to report that as of today, more than 7,500 of the questionnaires have been returned to me—a total equal to 9 percent of those who received them. I believe the views of my constituents in southern New Jersey will be of interest to my colleagues.

On questions concerning international matters, it pleases me to report that 80 percent of the respondents favor our present policies in Vietnam; 73 percent favor our present policies regarding Cuba; 55 percent favor an increase in the amount of military aid we are providing Israel, and 90 percent favor our continued participation in the United Nations.

Regarding domestic matters, my poll showed 55 percent of the 7,500 who replied favor abolishment of the existing national origins' quota system for immigration to the United States; 70 percent favor legislation requiring Federal registration of firearms; 96 percent support truth-in-packaging legislation, and 97 percent favor truth-in-lending legislation.

Fifty-three percent of those in the Second District who participated in my poll opposed repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law, and 55 percent of them

are opposed to continued Federal farm price supports.

It is interesting to note, Mr. Speaker, that although I noted it was not necessary for the respondents to sign their names to their ballots and, in fact, I left no space for signatures, 12 percent of the 7,500 who returned their ballots signed their names.

I feel the results of this poll provide an excellent sampling of opinion in my district, and I offer the results to my colleagues for their information and possible guidance.

Labor Behaves Magnificently

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, there has been too little publicity given to organized labor's stand against communism and the appeasement of aggressors, and the ceaseless efforts of U.S. labor officials to encourage and assist free labor movements throughout the world. The columnist, John Chamberlain, in a recent column which I insert in the RECORD for the benefit of those who may have not read his comments, gives merited praise to labor's firm stand against the enemies of freedom and the appeasement of dictators.

THESE DAYS—LABOR BEHAVES MAGNIFICENTLY

(By John Chamberlain)

I've been knocking the unions for their attempt to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, the clause that permits individual States to pass right-to-work laws, and before I am through with the subject I may do so again. But between attempts to defeat the unions on a demand which they should never have made, let me pause to say that organized labor, in the present Vietnamese and Dominican Republic crises, is behaving magnificently.

Back in May the AFL–CIO executive council issued a stirring appeal in support of President Johnson's efforts to defeat the Communists in southeast Asia and in the Caribbean. George Meany, the president of the AFL–CIO, added his eloquent statement that "organized labor in our country has steadfastly opposed appeasement of all aggressors—Mussolini, Hitler, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, and Khrushchev alike."

"In continuation of this policy," said Meany, "we have time and again supported President Johnson's firm rejection of all proposals to appease the aggressors against the people of South Vietnam."

David Dubinsky, the head of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, chimed in with Meany by urging his own union members "to rally to the support of the President in his prompt, effective action to halt the enemies of freedom in Vietnam and Santo Domingo."

Thus the clear voice of American labor, which knows that in a totalitarian world there would be no more freedom to bargain collectively for any benefits whatsoever. But while the American labor movement has been busy upholding President Johnson's hand in the attempt to halt the latest march of the Communist Goliath, what have large numbers of our artists and writers and professors been doing?

They have been busy signing appeasing statements which, for sheer indulgence in "double think," outdo anything in George Orwell's satiric novel about Big Brother's forthcoming domination of the world, "1984."

And many of our businessmen have been trying to drum up sentiment for entering into commercial deals with Red China and with Soviet Russia, an effort which Dubinsky has castigated as "just as senseless and dangerous as was doing 'business as usual' with Hitler, Musolini and the Japanese military dictators yesterday."

The latest "peace" advertisement put out by a so-called "Artists Protest Committee" is signed by scores of painters, sculptors, writers, editors, musicians and theater artists. But it is noteworthy that the list is well salted with the names of the same old hacks who were signing pro-Communist manifestos back in the 1930's. The "Hollywood Ten," or at least a fractional part of it, is riding again. So is the League for Peace and Democracy, which was only for peace when it helped the Soviet Union.

One could respect the integrity of the signers if they would also denounce the burning of U.S. overseas libraries and the bombing of embassies. One could respect them if they had shown an equal amount of zeal in opposing Mao Tse-tung's attempt to liquidate the Tibetans, or if they had taken due note of Khrushchevs' policy of "genocide by diffusion" when the Soviets deliberately sent the Baltic State populations to the oblivion of Asian work camps. One could respect them if they had denounced Castro for reviving child labor when he grabbed the Cuban school kids and sent them out to cut sugarcane.

Compared to the record of a ponderable segment of our artists, professors and even businessmen, American labor's record in opposing appeasement of dictators is as pure as a well-known soap. At this very moment Meany, Jay Lovestone, and other union officials are en route to Brussels for a meeting of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. They will try to put the ICFTU firmly on President Lyndon Johnson's side in standing up to the Communists in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

I can't help feeling proud of George Meany, even though I must continue to oppose the AFL–CIO on the issue of the repeal of 14b. But I can't say I'm proud of a lot of my fellow intellectuals. They don't know from nothing.

The Astoria Reserve Fleet Base

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I want to bring to the attention of the Congress House Joint Memorial 26, 53d Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, urging the U.S. Maritime Administration to retain the Astoria Reserve Fleet base and continue to maintain the base for ships in the Reserve Fleet.

I wish to commend our Oregon legislators for their memorial with which I am in full agreement:

HOUSE JOINT MEMORIAL 26

To the President of the United States, the Administrator of the U.S. Maritime Administration, and each member of the Oregon congressional delegation:

We, your memorialists, the 53d Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, in legislative session assembled, most respectfully represent as follows:

Whereas the U.S. Maritime Administration has recently proposed to close the Astoria Reserve Fleet base; and

Whereas under the proposal, some of the more than 100 ships now stored at the Astoria fleet base would be transferred to Olympia, Wash., and others to Suisun Bay, Calif.; and

Whereas it is a matter of record that the Astoria base is superior for ship storage because of the relatively low salt content of the Columbia River water in contrast to the salt water of other bases; and

Whereas the Astoria Reserve Fleet base employs between 50 and 60 people; and

Whereas it appears that closure of the Astoria base and transfer of the ships to other bases would not result in a substantial savings in public funds required to maintain ships in the Ready Reserve: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon:

(1) The U.S. Maritime Administration is urged to retain the Astoria Reserve Fleet base and continue to maintain the base for ships in the Reserve Fleet.

(2) A copy of this memorial shall be transmitted to the President of the United States, the Administrator of the U.S. Maritime Administration, and to each member of the Oregon congressional delegation.

Bernard L. (Barney) Krebs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, one of the great newspapermen from my city of New Orleans and the State of Louisiana has passed on, and all of his friends and colleagues in the newspaper profession, as well as the people of Louisiana, have lost a dedicated public servant in the full sense of the word.

Bernard L. (Barney) Krebs was a great newspaperman who dedicated his life to providing the people and the officials of Louisiana with the benefit of his knowledge and insight into the problems facing his State and his city, and the deficiencies which resulted therefrom, in order that they might take positive steps to improve the caliber of government in the State at all levels. This Barney did for more than 40 years as a reporter and as managing editor of the Times-Picayune of New Orleans, La.

Many legislative reforms were enacted and implemented as a result of Barney's good works—as a result of his intensive and extensive probes into abuses and irregularities to be found in years gone by in both parish and State governments. There is no doubt that the caliber of our city's and our State's public servants and of the administration of government at all levels is more honest and more effective today because Barney Krebs dedicated his life to this end. He was as much a public servant as if he had been a civil service employee for the city of New Orleans or the State of Louisiana, and we are all in his debt today.

Not only was Barney Krebs an exemplary newspaperman, but also he

was a wonderful person—an outgoing, friendly man who was liked by all who met him and beloved by his family and many friends throughout Louisiana. In short, the newspaper profession is stronger today because of his good works; government in New Orleans and Louisiana is more truly devoted to the general good and welfare of all the people because of his efforts, and all of us who knew and shared his friendship are bigger men because he passed among us.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress an editorial on Mr. Krebs from the Times-Picayune of Monday, July 5, 1965, in which Barney receives the accolades which he so richly deserved. The editorial follows:

[From the New Orleans (La.) Times-Picayune, July 4, 1965]

LONGTIME TIMES-PICAYUNE NEWSMAN IS DEAD—B. L. KREBS WAS EXPERT POLITICAL ANALYST

Funeral services for veteran newsman Bernard Louis "Barney" Krebs, a former managing editor of the Times-Picayune, will be conducted at 11 a.m. Monday at the House of Bultman, 3338 St. Charles Avenue, followed by requiem mass at St. Rita's Catholic Church.

Interment will be in St. Patrick's Cemetery No. 3.

Mr. Krebs, 72, died Saturday at 12:05 a.m. at Touro Infirmary. He had retired from the journalism profession on November 1, 1963, after more than 50 years in the field.

His intensive research and delvings into the operations of State agencies, and his various revealing reports on the corruption in certain political bodies resulted in the statement a few years ago that Mr. Krebs was "possibily the most respected man in the press corps of Louisiana." He was an expert political analyst.

A native of Monticello, Ill., where his father was owner of the weekly Piatt County Bulletin, Mr. Krebs moved with his family in 1898 to Lake Charles, where his father purchased the daily American, which later became the American-Press. He attended convent grammar school and public high school there, and taught backwoods schools for 2 years before starting newspaper work hustling "personals" for his father's paper.

POLICE REPORTER

He attended St. Mary's College in Kansas and in 1912 became assistant police reporter for the New Orleans Item. He became city editor of the Shreveport Times in 1918 after serving as a reporter for the Lake Charles American-Press, and assistant night manager of the Chicago office of International News.

In what he described as "representative of an average reporter's wanderings in his early years back in the "teens," Mr. Krebs was then telegraph editor of the San Antonio Express; was drafted into the Army and served overseas with the 323d Field Signal Battalion in 1919; edited the Field Signal magazine "Toot-Sweet" after armistice; served with the statistical department of Union Sulphur Co., and was a court reported with the El Paso Times.

His long tenure with the Times-Picaynne began January 3, 1921, when he was assigned a night police reporting beat, soon afterwards switching to special writing for the Sunday paper.

Then came several years on the business run, involving reporting of activities of the banks, railroads, steamship lines, chamber of commerce, port, department stores, utilities, etc. Included, from time to time, were assignments on flood control, comprehensive zoning, assessment reform, politics and the legislature in 1930.

MANAGING EDITOR

From March 1931 to March 1936, he served as managing editor (during a highlighted period of Huey P. Long's administration), and after a 2-years' absence from the journalism scene, returned to the Times-Picayune as a civil courts reporter. In June of 1939 he was sent to Baton Rouge as manager of the newly established news bureau there, just at the time the Louisiana scandals began to break.

From 1939 through the spring of 1959 he covered all State campaigns and sessions of the legislature and made an extensive investigation into mental hospitals in 1940 and into the penal system in 1941.

In 1943 he returned to New Orleans from Baton Rouge to do general assignment work.

Among the wide range of specialized subjects handled by Mr. Krebs during his career with the Times-Picayune were court procedures and trials, meetings of public bodies and transaction of public affairs, police procedures, police brutality, public swindles, flood control, reforestation, comprehensive zoning, investigation of skulduggery in public office, legislative coverage, production of oil and gas, State finances, mental health, penology, and city finances.

"LEARNS BY DOING"

He once said, "A reporter learns by doing, no matter what he is taught in journalism school. And I see younger reporters around me picking up these techniques of reporting at the same point where I started many years ago."

Mr. Krebs was honored at the third annual dinner of the Press Club of New Orleans and presented a special award sponsored jointly by the Press Club, the Louisiana Civil Service League, the Public Affairs Research Council, and the Capitol Correspondents Association of Baton Rouge.

The award was a typewriter on the case of which was inscribed:

"1960 Civil Service Award—To Bernard Louis Krebs of New Orleans in recognition of 50 years of distinguished public service of editing and reporting in search of good government in Louisiana."

He is survived by his widow, the former Thelma De Blanc; a daughter, Mrs. Guy F. LeMieux; three sons, John S. Krebs of San Francisco, William Bernard Krebs and Wilson C. Krebs, both of New Orleans; two brothers, Anton Krebs of Lake Charles, Joseph J. Krebs of New Orleans; a sister, Sister Bernadine, O.S.U., St. Martin, Ohio, and six grandchildren.

Further, Mr. Speaker I would like to present to my colleagues the Times-Picayune's news story on the passing of this fine man. The story of Barney Krebs' passing appeared in the Picayune of July 4, 1965, and I ask unanimous consent to insert this account in the RECORD. The story follows:

BERNARD L. KREBS

The byline by B. L. Krebs was familiar for many years to hundreds of thousands of Louisianians and Mississippians. The personable "Barney" Krebs was well known during the same period by hundreds of Louisiana newspaper people, businessmen and political leaders.

During his more than half century of work for newspapers, started on the Lake Charles daily owned by his father, "Barney" performed many assignments and performed them well.

Most of his years were spent as a reporter, with an interruption from 1931 to 1936, when he became managing editor of the Times-Picaqune following the accidental death of Martin T. Durkin. He discharged well this desk responsibility but, in newspaper terms, his heart was on the street. After his return to the Times-Picayune in 1938 after 2 years of travel, principally in California, he devoted himself until his retirement in 1963 to working as a reporter; and he was a fine one.

There are many healthy conditions in Louisiana for which "Barney" was a major cause. As an example, it was he who handled the assignment of telling so well of needless harm being done here by the Texas fever tick that tick-eradication legislation was adopted by the Louisiana Legislature years earlier than many political observers thought possible.

Examinations of State and city records by "Barney" led to elimination or corrections of many abuses that were a burden on the State's people. His revelation of conditions in State hospitals encouraged many reforms.

"Barney" was known by reputation far and wide as a topflight newspaperman. He was better known by his family and fellow workers as a devoted husband and father, as a polished technician in his chosen field, as an inspiring teacher of young newspaper men and women and as a true, courageous friend.

Liberty Bell Is Linked to Bible

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT THOMAS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, I respectfully include the following column from the Houston Chronicle, written by Dr. Henry Tavel, the distinguished rabbi of the Houston Congregation for Reform Judaism, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

LIBERTY BELL IS LINKED TO BIBLE

(By Dr. Henry Tavel)

(NOTE.—The following column originally was prepared by Rabbi Tavel, a former U.S. Army chaplain (colonel), as a sermon. Then he revised it for use as a guest column in the Chronicle.)

"Proclaim Liberty throughout the Land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

This proclamation inscribed upon the U.S. Liberty Bell is from the middle of a longer verse recorded in the book of Leviticus, chapter 25, verse 10, proclaims the establishment of the jubilee year.

In the 50th year the slaves with their families were emancipated and all title to landed property returned to its original owners.

This was the meaning of "liberty" in the verse of Leviticus: Emancipation of slaves and release of landed property from mortgage or attachment.

The verse opens, "Ye shall hallow the fifth year." Then follows, "Proclaim liberty throughout the land unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and unto his family."

There is no detailed account in Scriptures regarding how this law worked. The spirit of the proclamation was to declare the sacredness of individual personality and individual property.

This was the earliest conceived notion of liberty; individual right to self-determination and individual right to possession of property.

Our U.S. Liberty Bell was conceived before the independence of the 13 States; before the establishment of the United States of America.

It was first ordered by the Province of Pennsylvania in 1751 to commemorate the Golden Jubilee of William Penn's Charter of Privileges.

This charter by no means established equality and liberty as the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution later did. But it was an implementation of the ancient Biblical concept. It established liberty of religion and equality of political and property rights for all races and religions.

Three bells were cast in London before one was made without defect. Its use was to convene the Pennsylvania Assembly, until on July 8, 1776, it rang to announce a public reading of the Declaration of Independence enacted on July 4, 1776 by the Continental Congress. It was then known as the Independence Bell.

On April 16, 1783, it rang out to announce the proclamation of peace. It pealed and tolled out afterward at national festivals, anniversaries, and joyous and solemn events.

On July 8, 1835, it cracked while being tolled to mourn the passing of Chief Justice John Marshall.

It was repaired, but cracked again on February 22, 1846, while being pealed to commemorate Washington's Birthday. It was beyond repair and was set up as a national monument in the vestibule of Independence Hall.

The name "Liberty Bell" was given it in 1839 by spokesmen for the antislavery movement. The Biblical verse inscribed on it affirms belief in the dignity and equality of all men. The association of U.S. citizenry and their Government is founded on the belief in the dignity and equality of all men.

On this July 4, 1965, we can proclaim our faith and achievement with even greater satisfaction than in years before. Much needs yet to be achieved. But we may boast that the realization of equality is fuller than ever before.

A Misguided Mishmash

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the following column, written by Terrence O'Flaherty and published in the San Francisco Chronicle on the 1st of July, develops one of the great weaknesses in the war on poverty program. Mr. O'Flaherty's article follows:

A MISGUIDED MISHMASH

(By Terrence O'Flaherty)

HOLLYWOOD.—"We're trying to reach the out-of-luck teenager, the 16- to 21-year-old who is out of school and out of work," said one of the folks in Washington's Office of Economic Opportunity headed by Sargent Shriver.

"I don't mean the nice middleclass kid. We want to tell the poorest, the tenement-trapped kid, the itinerant's offspring, all about the Youth Corps and the Job Corps. But how can we get them to listen, these lost, luckless lads and lasses?"

Then someone remembered television.

But what kind of show would these lost young people be watching "Shindig" and "Hullabaloo" of course. Why not use the frug, the watusi, and the jerk to attract them without preaching to them or crowding them in?

But what kind of a Messiah can we get to tell our wonderful story? Someone they can respect. Someone to lead them to better jobs, better education, a better future.

"A disc jockey," cried one. And a program was born.

Washington contacted a 40-year-old disc jockey named Murray Kaufmann who, as "Murray the K," appeals to the lowest common denominator among New York's huge restless youth population. Shriver dubbed him "Radio and TV Consultant to the OEO" and sent him forth to fight President Johnson's war on poverty at the drop-out level.

He assembled 25 groups like "Cannibal and the Headhunters," "the Temptations," "the Supremes," and "Herman's Hermits" who reel off the teenage litany of "Be My Baby," "I Don't Cry," and "Ooh Baby." They gave their talents free and the Columbia Broadcasting System gave an hour and a half of prime network time.

What resulted Monday night was "It's What's Happening Baby"—a program of excessive vulgarity with aimless and indefinite pitches made to the young people in the audience assuring them that "Big Daddy" in Washington really loves them and wants to hear about their problems.

It was an unbelievably misguided mishmash, presided over by Murray the middle-aged disc jockey with a hairpiece, wearing kid clothes, doing their dances, and trying to communicate with his audience in a language that was half Brooklyn, half Negro slum, and all phony.

"It's What's Happening, Baby" was more than a social document of one of the problems of our times. It was a horror film of major proportions—plus commercials.

In the immortal words of Murray the K: "The Government is thinkin' of you and lookin' after you and thinks you are the most. That's what's happening, baby—but we don't want to have anyone in Washington telling you what's best for you. We want you to tell us how it is, baby, because we think you're rather important. It's going to be a swingin' show and a better way of life. Write to New Chance, Washington 20506. It's what's happening, baby."

You get the picture, doncha, baby? I mean like the Government has run out of ideas to inspire young people on a decent, healthy level of accomplishment. That's what it really is, baby. It's not the ridiculous little disc jockey or the silly performers who are so much at fault.

The real trouble, baby, lies with the money-hungry entertainment business, which has fed this kind of junk to young Americans for a decade, and with the Government's OEO, that's trying to reach the lost ones by giving them the same sort of sterile diversion that caused them to lose their way in the first place. It's all so mixed up, baby, so let's dance.

Sargent Shriver, baby, there appears to be as much impoverishment at the top of your Great Society as there is at the bottom.

I'm afraid that's what's really happened, baby.

Repeal of 14(b)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE F. SENNER, JR.

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Speaker, when an issue such as the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law comes to the fore, it tends to be surrounded by so great a degree of emotionalism that reason is virtually strangled.

It is, therefore, a matter worthy of note when a noted columnist in a right-to-work State such as mine penetrates the storm.

Columbus Giragi, a businessman, publisher, editor, newspaper columnist, is generally regarded in Arizona as one of our most astute journalistic observers. His views on issues are widely read and highly respected.

Although Mr. Giragi lists himself as a Democrat, his ideas fit no particular political mold. He writes what he believes, and he does so without equivocation.

Mr. Giragi's support of repeal of 14(b) has already brought an onslaught of protest in Arizona. But Mr. Giragi thrives on protest. To quote him:

The price paid for failure to be reasonable, in all things in this troubled world, is terrific.

I commend to my colleagues the column written by Columbus Giragi favoring repeal of 14(b) as published in the June 22, 1965, Arizona Daily Sun, of Flagstaff.

DEFINITELY IN FAVOR OF PEACE AND QUIET COLUMNIST VOTES FOR SECTION 14(b) REPEAL

(By Columbus Giragi)

Two Arizonans wrote letters to an editor, one advocating and the other condemning so-called right-to-work laws which have been adopted in 19 of our 50 States. Arizona is among those 19 States.

Perusal of both letters to the editor reveals the fact that both the writers are right in most of the aspects they cited.

Adoption of the right-to-work law has been a bitter pill to organized labor, both to its rank-and-file members and particularly to its leaders.

Among the former are some who are not opposed to such restriction on union activity, but if any person in the union leadership category has such regard for that law, they have not and probably do not dare express such an opinion.

In frankness, this humble one was opposed to the enactment of the right-to-work law in Arizona, and its subsequent fortifications (on two occasions), all by vote of the people—against which there can be no successful dispute.

We have been asked frequently in recent weeks if we favor repeal of section 14(b), of the Taft-Hartley law, which sanctions adoption of right-to-work laws by individual States.

We favor repeal of section 14(b).

Preferring peace and quiet, we are not inclined to engage in further and prolonged arguments with respect to the sins and virtues of right-to-work laws.

Every attempt to embroil us in such futility will merely bring another repetition of that famous quotation: "He that complies against his will is of his own opinion still."

In past years a few friendships have been lost because of right-to-work law approval and opposition. The friendship of some good men was lost, if not their respect, while that of others was weakened by the diverse attitudes.

It is questionable that any employers or employees were benefited in any degree as a result of such combat and aftermath.

However, there are some firm facts which withstand the utmost buffeting.

There are, both in the rank-and-file membership and in the leadership of organized labor, some individuals and groups unworthy of its benefits and virtues.

There are employers, in every category of so-called management, individuals and groups whose greed murders the innate justice in their hearts toward their fellowmen.

In both classes there are those whose sense of justice clabbered within them before birth and who by choice, developed certain instincts in their association with mankind which transformed them into disgraces to the human race.

Specific instances of misconduct can be cited in detail, in support of both above ref-

erences, but nausea deserves come consideration.

Briefly, there are employers who have never learned the difference between men and mules.

There are employees who accept pay for their time and talents, and become guilty of thievery by withholding performance.

There are labor leaders who feel that the bearer of a union card can do no wrong.

There are employers utterly devoid of shame for ruthless exploitation of human workers.

The extremists in both the above classes are the worst enemies of their own cause.

Both classes are "sitting ducks" for some exploiting and deceitful politicians and officeholders. One is milked primarily for money for campaign coffers, the other primarily for votes—and also filthy lucre.

Too many leaders in organized labor have been unwise in their excesses.

As a result, the U.S. Supreme Court only recently produced rulings which placed labor unions under the antitrust laws.

It seems shamefully certain that what is called capital and labor will never accord each other the respect warranted.

It is puzzling, but each insists upon operating with fists in their voices. Their creed is force over reason.

If those caustic attitudes could be supplanted by virtues, of which both are capable, lands of milk and honey would be developed worldwide.

If employers and employees would turn to justice, they could harvest happiness, nectar and serenity from combined endeavors ranging from operation of a string of hamburger stands, to taxi service to the moon.

The price paid for failure to be reasonable, in all things in this troubled world, is terrific.

The lazy worker who believes in doing the least work he can, and recognizes such as a victory over his employer, is no better or worse than the cruel employer who believes "they work better when they are hungry."

It is regrettable that their advocates and critics cannot seem to get those two battlers apart—or together.

Marines' Friday Evening Parade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, with the tourist season at its height, I wish to call attention to the Friday evening parade at the Marine barracks which attracts not only visitors to Washington, D.C., but area residents as well. The July 1965 issue of Navy magazine carries an excellent story of this dramatic presentation by the Marine Corps which both adults and children thoroughly enjoy. No one can view this moving ceremony and fail to leave with renewed feeling and pride in this great Nation, its history and its future. The U.S. Marine Corps can well be proud of its Washington, D.C., contingent.

The article follows:

MARINES' FRIDAY EVENING PARADE: A TOP WASHINGTON ATTRACTION—BAND AND DRUM AND BUGLE CORPS THRILL ONLOOKERS WITH "SOUND AND LIGHT" SPECTACLE

(By Lee Lorick Prina)

One of the biggest free summertime tourist attractions in the Nation's Capital, the Friday evening parade at the Marine barracks, Eighth and I Streets SE., is in full swing again and will continue through September 24.

The dramatic hour-long ceremony takes place outdoors on a floodlighted parade ground at 9 o'clock each Friday night. Two companies of marines march in a full dress parade to the music of the U.S. Marine Band and the Marine Drum and Bugle Corps.

"SOUND AND LIGHT"

Because of the painstaking work of groundkeeping crews, the parade field represents one of the few spots in Washington that stays lushly green all through the sizzling summer. In sharp contrast, the scarlet coats and gleaming brass instruments of the band and the blue and white dress uniforms of the barracks marines stand out under the blaze of floodlights.

Visitors to Washington agree with area residents that this is a "sound and light" presentation unequaled for patriotic color and excitement. The sequence of events follows the pattern of a standard sunset parade. But the clever use of spotlights in split-second timing makes the review of the troops, the lowering of the colors and the sounding of taps attain thrilling impact. Equally important to the evening's perennial appeal is the superb playing and marching of the Marine Band and the Drum and Bugle Corps.

Under the direction of Lt. Col. Albert Schoepper, the band has 120 of the finest musicians in the country. Called "The President's Own," the band plays at a great many state ceremonies. The 50-man drum and bugle corps represents the elite of the Marine field musicians selected from units around the world.

Both groups play a wide variety of martial music from memory. Often Colonel Schoepper includes a selection by John Philip Sousa, leader of the band from 1880 to 1892. At the evening's end, listeners generally feel as the British broadcaster who commented about the band when King George VI and Queen Elizabeth came to Washington in 1939:

"We don't know by what magic the leader obtained the results he did, but never was the British anthem played in so stirring and inspiring a manner."

DRAWS MANY VIPS

This season, regular onlookers will notice that the band has a new drum major. Under the tall bearskin hat is M. Sgt. Daniel M. Oeser. He takes the baton from the popular M. Sgt. Henry L. Peters who has retired from the corps and settled in the Leathernecks' Western Pacific stronghold, Okinawa.

Not only summer's influx of tourists but diplomats, Cabinet members, Senators, and high-ranking officers enjoy the performances. President Kennedy attended the full dress review in 1962, and the following year invited the Marines to put on a special evening parade at the White House. Last year, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, who has a son serving in the corps, enthusiastically watched on at least two occasions. Miss Lynda Bird Johnson, who at that time was dating one of the barracks' officers, was present on several Friday evenings last season.

Almost 4,000 spectators sit in grandstands on the side and end of the 370-foot-long grassy quadrangle with the surrounding brick buildings and venerable trees serving as a backdrop. On the north side is the only remaining original part of this oldest post of the Corps. Here stands the Commandant's house, completed in 1805. Often the present occupants, Gen. and Mrs. Wallace M. Greene, Jr., entertain high-ranking guests at a preparade reception in the garden of the historic house.

CHESTY IS A FAVORITE

In the evening a fancy military parade ground maneuvers, the silent drill platoon performs the most intricate feats. Composed of 24 marines, this platoon executes an 8-minute precision drill without verbal command. The demonstration ends with gasps from the spectators when the corporal inspecting the platoon's rifles spins and tosses in mid-air a 10-pound M-1 rifle, finally flipping it over his head to another marine.

Children usually like best the part of the parade where one of the marines leads out on leash Chesty III, the barracks' bulldog mascot. As they march proudly down the center walk, Chesty, on command, jumps in the air three times as a salute to the crowd.

This year, the marine barracks has announced that 2,756 reserved seats are available without charge for each Friday parade. To obtain seating for a desired date, write the Marine Barracks' Adjutant, Eighth and I Streets SE., Washington, D.C., about 2 weeks ahead of the time wanted.

In addition, 1,200 unreserved seats may be obtained by lining up at the barracks 1 hour before the parade begins. Visitors may park on a limited basis inside the main gate or at the Navy Yard, a few blocks away, and take a free shuttle bus.

The Sex Amendment—Equality for Gals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the July 3 edition of Publisher's Auxiliary carried a light and entertaining column entitled "The Sex Amendment—Equality for Gals." The editors of the highly respected trade publication commented that they "could think of no one more capable of expressing the feminine viewpoint than Dorothy Daniel," coeditor of the Quitman, Ga., Free Press. Recognized as one of the country's outstanding columnists, she is the author of "Cut and Engraved Glass" and "Circle 'Round the Square." I am pleased to submit the following column as the product of one of my constituents:

THE SEX AMENDMENT—EQUALITY FOR GALS

(By Dorothy Daniel)

It was bound to happen sooner or later. But the way it happened.

Sneaking it into a civil rights act when we weren't looking.

So here we are, practically on the eve of the Fourth of July, absolutely equal to men, by law that is.

A dismal deal at best.

According to the U.S. Government, Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Public Law 88-352) title VII, a girl can now go right ahead and be a mailman, a busboy, or a chairman of the board.

So who needs it?

Gone with one swoop of a pen is the contest of half a century.

Gone is the joy of competition.

Gone is the shy look, the slightly raised hem, the tilted chin, the swinging gait, the lowered eyes, the slow soft voice.

Put away your polyester fiber-filled brassieres, girls, the game is over.

We are as equal to the boys as equal can be. Any minute now we'll be expected to pick up the tab for theater tickets, pay our own dinner check, share the cost of a tank of gas.

It wouldn't be so bad if we'd had a sporting chance.

But the way they put that equal employment title VII over on us was an accident.

It was a southerner, a chivalrous, gallant southerner who did it to us.

Representative HOWARD SMITH, Democrat, of Virginia, introduced the sex amendment as part of an effort to delay the vote on the civil rights bill back in 1964. In the excitement and flurry of talk on the floor, the steamroller pushed the whole civil rights package through Congress and with it went our female status as a creature to be cherished and protected. Nobody could have been more surprised than Representative HOWARD SMITH, Democrat, of Virginia, or the committee who had nary a chance to look into what this sort of thing could do to us girls.

Like it is now any girl who can catch a red-hot bolt in a bucket and isn't afraid of heights has got her a job as riveter at the next letting. And will any strong handsome fellow in a tin hat help her along the edge of the I-beam? Heck, no. It is everybody for him or her self now that title VII is the law of the land.

Last weekend in Sunday newspapers from the canyons of New York to the surfs of Santa Monica, there appeared columns and columns of want ads, precise, definitive, and exact. "Five young men to assist manager"; "Countermen, a chance to grow"; "Fireman guard must have telephone and weapon. Uniform furnished. No police record." Or "Gutterman and experienced helper."

Next week all this will be changed, if the advertisers know what is good for them, that is.

"Five young men and/or women to assist"; "Counter persons, to grow as they count"; "Firewoman guard, not given to tears"; and I don't know what they'll do with "'Gutter woman." That sounds downright indecent.

All this changeover, praise be, is up to the advertiser, not the newspaper.

If a steel mill wants to advertise "Eight jobs for men under 40 as open hearth helpers," it is not the intent of the act or the responsibility of the newspaper to point out that women have been keeping open the hearths of the Nation for years.

A bulletin of the American Newspaper Publishers Association (No. 26) on newspapers and title VII further suggests that the want ad takers do not "volunteer advice in this area" because telling an advertiser that it is illegal to advertise for a "Girl Friday" when a "Man Friday" might do as well, could just possibly "lead to unnecessary involvement of the newspaper in enforcement proceedings through the aggrieved party."

There is enough grief in this title VII already without the newspapers stirring up any more. Besides the law is not all that clear.

For instance, any job that a waitress can handle presumably a waiter can do just as well. There is an exemption for Indians but I'm not quite clear what it is.

Then there are teamsters and teamstresses, seamster and seamstress, janitor and janitoress, but from the newspaper's point of view it would seem to be safer just to neuterize the whole business: carpenter, plumber, sewer, and reaper.

Otherwise the poor harassed want ad takers are going to go out of their minds, i.e.:

"Wanted: Stripper, call Acme Offset Printers, 244-9813." and on the same page "Wanted: Stripper, call Bijou Vaudeville Agency, 276-1642." According to the law the second advertisement may be placed in a special, privileged, and legitimate category, "Female help wanted."

The former must by its nature remain neuter.

While the new classifications may be complicated and revolutionary to an already confusing department of the newspaper industry, the new law, in the long run may result in increased revenue, wordwise.

As for instance: "Circus needs bearded person (only those to whom chin whiskers might be considered unique should apply)." There you have 12 words going for you where one would suffice in the good old days before neuter employment.

As far as the newspaper itself is concerned, the law applies just as it does to iron founding, sand hogging, and long shoreing. Of course, if an editor needs a new man on city hall and a lady applies who is obviously only 3 months give or take away from accouchement, he has a chance or doing a little juggling, reassigning the real estate editor (who has for the past 30 years been a male) to city hall and putting the lady on the exchange desk and let old Mr. Collins chase the land transfers. Not too much of a problem there.

But elsewhere in the plant there may be muttering.

Little white caps of newsprint will look mighty jaunty on the lasses down in the press room, but the practice of wearing raggity old ripped up, acid stained T-shirts in stereotype is going to have to be upgraded.

And neuterizing want ad work categories isn't the only language revolution ahead.

Just think how things are going to change wordwise in the "mail and femail room."

Take it from grandma, Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., and his helpers are going to find the race, color, religion, and national origin guidelines of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 a breeze.

It is the sex angle on which the boy will come a cropper.

They will have the pale satisfaction of knowing they aren't the first, nor will they be the last.

Where would any of us be without sex, anyway?

Here?

Charles E. "Chick" Frampton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, "Chick" Frampton was one of those men of real character and indomitable spirit who make a lasting impression on all those whose lives they touch. A newspaperman, a public servant of the State of Louisiana for many years, "Chick" was a great credit to every cause he championed, and I am proud to salute him on this solemn occasion for a full life in the service of others. His good works for the city of New Orleans and the State of Louisiana, both as a newspaperman for the old New Orleans Item-Tribune and later as director of publicity for the State department of commerce and industry and particularly as business manager of the Louisiana State Museum, were many, and "Chick" distinguished himself in all of them.

He has left us now, in New Orleans and in Louisiana, a legacy of an idomitable spirit and a selfless dedication to the advancement of his city and State, and I am honored to have shared his friendship. Not only was he successful in all his endeavors at home, but also he was a great soldier in the service of our country in World War I, in which he was gassed, wounded by shrapnel, captured by the German Army, escaped from a prison camp and led the capture of more than 100 German soldiers. For this heroism he received a special commendation from General of the Armies John Pershing; the Silver Star; the Croix de Guerre from France and other military honors.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I should like to insert into the RECORD a news story from the Times-Picayune of July 3, 1965, on the passing of Charles E. "Chick" Frampton, beloved by many as a fine newspaperman and a great and true friend. The story follows:

EX-LOUISIANA MUSEUM MANAGER DEAD—LONG ILLNESS IS FATAL TO C. E. FRAMPTON

Funeral services for Charles E. "Chick" Frampton, 71, former business manager of the Louisiana State Museum, will be conducted at 2 p.m. Saturday at the Jacob Schoen & Sons Funeral Home, 3827 Canal.

Presbyterian rites for Mr. Frampton, who died early Friday at the Veterans' Administration Hospital after a long illness, will be conducted by Rev. Albert Link, pastor of the Gentilly Presbyterian Church.

Louisiana Relief Lodge No. 1, Free and Accepted Masons, will hold masonic services.

Interment will be in Hope Mausoleum.

PALLBEARERS LISTED

Pallbearers will be James W. Calvert, James L. Leslie, Ray Skrmetta, Thomas Toups, A. B. Capella, and W. Jeff Davis.

Mr. Frampton, a native of Huntington, W. Va., had lived in New Orleans 41 years. He was married to the former Esther Nottleman, his only survivor. They resided at 4600 Press Drive.

He was a member of Cabell Lodge 152, F. & A.M., Huntington; the Grand Consistory of Louisiana, Jerusalem Temple, and the New Orleans American Legion Post No. 125.

Also, he was recipient of the Croix de Guerre with star and palm for his World War I efforts.

Often he spoke of his experiences with the late Huey P. Long and of witnessing Long's assassination in 1935.

Mr. Frampton resigned as museum business manager last October after serving in the post during the administrations of Gov. Jimmie H. Davis and Gov. Earl K. Long.

WORLD WAR HERO

Through the years, Mr. Frampton held several other State posts, served as a reporter and an editor for 16 years for the old New Orleans Item-Tribune and distinguished himself as a hero during World War I.

Mr. Frampton emerged from a war in which he was gassed, peppered with shrapnel, and cited for bravery in action. His honors included a citation from General Pershing and a silver star.

He was credited with leading less than a score of volunteers into Jaulney, France, on September 12, 1918, and capturing 118 Germans. Mr. Frampton was a first lieutenant at that time.

After the war, he went to work for the Item-Tribune. He served as a reporter during the heyday of Huey Long.

Mr. Frampton also worked on a part-time basis as a statistician for the State attorney general's office, beginning during the administration of Gov. Oscar K. Allen.

NAMED BY LECHE

He resigned from the Item-Tribune in September 1938, to accept an appointment by Gov. Richard W. Leche as director of publicity for the State.

In December of the same year he was appointed publicity director for the Louisiana Tourist Bureau, a division of the department of commerce and industry.

Later, Mr. Frampton was associated with a New Orleans advertising firm.

On October 25, 1948, Gov. Earl Long again appointed him director of publicity and

promotion for the commerce and industry department. He held the post until 1952 when Gov. Robert F. Kennon took over the reins of the State government.

Until his appointment as museum business manager in 1956, Mr. Frampton worked in the advertising and public relations business.

During his museum tenure, the Presbytere was restored, improvements were begun on the Cabildo, the lower Pontalba apartments were rehabilitated and a renovation program was started at Madame John's Legacy.

Hawaii Keeps Pace in War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, under the able leadership of former Congressman Thomas P. Gill, the war on poverty program in Hawaii is being carried to the people who need the help but who, for one reason or another, will not come to the program.

This is one of the practical approaches instituted by State Director Gill during the first 6 months of operation of the Hawaii Office of Economic Opportunity. In a recent interview by a Honolulu Advertiser staff writer, Mr. Gill stated that he and his staff have been urging agencies involved in the program to "move rapidly and with imagination."

The complete text of the newspaper interview follows:

[From the Star-Bulletin & Advertiser, June 27, 1965]

ISLES KEEP PACE IN POVERTY WAR

(By Ed Engledow)

President Johnson's war on poverty is moving in Hawaii but how many people it will reach eventually is problematical.

Federal officials believe one-fifth of the Nation's families are disadvantaged by low incomes. On the mainland that means their family income is below $3,000 annually. In Hawaii, the figure has been set at $4,000.

Thomas P. Gill, State director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, last week reviewed the first 6 months of operation.

He feels that the number of Hawaii residents who will qualify will be somewhere between one-tenth and one-fifth of the State's population.

And it's easy to see why he is not more specific.

The 1960 census figures, the best vailable, showed 23 percent of Hawaii's families with incomes below $4,000. The income of almost everyone has increased since then and today it is hard to tell just how many families remain in that category.

Gill's review of progress made so far reflected a new, dramatic, and far-reaching concept of self-help. He indicated he feels it leans more to the practical approach, rather than that of the professional "do-gooder."

Gill said his office has purposely refrained from drumbeating and seeking publicity.

"There are some programs that could be harmed by publicity," he said. "There is too great a misconception that we are handing out money—giving something for nothing. That's a mistake because what we are doing is putting professionals to work helping people better their economic status."

Gill is preaching, in a soft-sell fashion, an approach to the problem of the poor which smacks of newness and departs from some accepted ideas on social service.

For one thing, he feels the people who must be reached will not come to the program—the program must go to them.

"These people's youngsters are not going to apply for jobs in answer to a newspaper ad," he said. "They don't read newspapers. Neither do their parents, who will not be attracted to an adult education course by publicity."

He cites the experience of one local social service agency which is handling several OEO programs successfully.

"These people sat in their offices for years until they decided that the people they were serving were in the middle-income groups, and they were not helping the poor," he said. "A couple of years ago they decided to go after the people who really needed their services. They have been successful and are doing a good job for us."

The drive to reach people who really are in need also will lean heavily on self-participation.

"We are organizing community councils with half the members professionals and half the members actual beneficiaries," he said. "These are the groups which will get kids in school and jobs and older persons in programs which will improve their economic status."

Gill also refuses to place much stock in figures and reports, although Federal aspects of the program require his office to turn them out by the bale.

"A report may say we are reaching 900 children in preschool classes," he said. "But that is misleading because if we are operating successfully, we also are reaching their parents and their older brothers and sisters."

Gill talks even more forcefully about the need for new ideas. So far, he said, his staff has been urging agencies involved in the program to move rapidly and with imagination.

"We want them to use new approaches and new ideas," he said. "We tell them that if an idea flops, let it flop. We will profit by the experience. This is a new, experimental thing and we know errors are going to be made but we must have imagination and action."

Gill admits the demand for movement more rapid than usual has had a shock effect on some agencies involved with his office. But, on the whole, he is satisfied.

"We started from scratch on something entirely new and we now have 17 funded projects involving close to $2 million during the coming fiscal year," he said. "We will have 14 more projects approved shortly. It's a big job, but I think it is moving well."

Residual Oil Quotas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, as you know, I was one of the first Members of this body to speak out against the unjust and discriminatory imposition of mandatory quota controls on the importation of residual fuel oil when they were initially promulgated in 1959. Since that time, I have not relaxed my efforts to obtain the complete removal of these restrictions and I will not do so until that day, already so long overdue, when the schools, hospitals, and small businesses of New England and Florida will no longer be forced to shoulder the burden of these quotas under the guise of national security and misdirected arguments made in behalf of the domestic petroleum and coal industries.

A persuasive argument can certainly be premised in terms of our national security, but that argument is the inverse of the tired remarks that seek to justify these import restrictions. Our national security is, in fact, endangered by the continuation of the residual fuel oil importation quotas due to their detrimental affect on our foreign relations with our South American neighbors.

Latin American experts have warned of possible damage to U.S. relations with Venezuela, the principal exporter of residual grade fuel oil, if the present restriction are maintained. This is especially significant today in light of the very serious Communist threat to the leadership of that country. We have already witnessed the grim indications of Castro's designs on Venezuela. We cannot afford to weaken our ties there and with the rest of South America by clinging stubbornly to outmoded and foolhardy policies like these residual oil quotas.

A very timely article directed to this specific issue appears this month in Foreign Affairs magazine. I feel quite strongly that friends and foes alike of the mandatory residual fuel oil import controls controversy should read "View from Caracas" written by the President of Venezuela, Raul Leoni. President Leoni realistically appraises the role of his country in today's Latin America. One cannot put down this article without having serious doubts about the policy being pursued by this administration in perpetuating these import restrictions, of doubtful validity in their inception, and described by Mr. Leoni as contributing to the impoverishment of Latin America and obstructing its development. We are, then, contributing to the roadblocks to development which we seek to overcome by our foreign assistance program. It is difficult to rebut Mr. Leoni's conclusion that such actions are playing into the hands of those who would challenge and attempt to undermine the governments of Latin America.

I commend the following pertinent excerpt from this article to the attention of my colleagues:

Our foreign policy is not limited to the inter-American field. We believe in international cooperation and attach particular importance to the Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries (OPEC), since the defense of world prices of our primary export product is so intimately linked with our development.

I want to emphasize that Venezuela has never been opposed to protection of an industry as vital as that of oil. What Venezuela objects to is the way in which protection has been applied by the United States; it just does not seem to us consistent with the proclaimed principle of hemispheric solidarity. In contrast to the products of other nations in the hemisphere, Venezuela's main export is discriminated against by a quota system imposed by the United States to subsidize its domestic oil industry. As a result, we have suffered considerable economic losses at the same time that we have had to fight a de-

cline in prices. Since the quota system was put into effect, we have lost hundreds of millions of dollars which are indispensable for the economic and social development of the country in such critical fields as housing, education and youth and infant care.

We attach so much importance to petroleum because it is our principal source of wealth and the basic support of our development. It is wealth that belongs as much to future generations as to the present, yet because it is a nonrenewable resource, its real value will be measured by the degree to which it allows us to create a modern industrial-agricultural economy. In 1964, petroleum production increased by nearly 5 percent, but the decline in prices continued, falling by nearly 3 percent, so that the net gain was minimal.

Frankly, loans and credits are not as desirable as fair prices. Discrimination by the United States and the unjustified deterioration in prices for our petroleum led us to take a strong position at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held in Geneva last year. We firmly believe that in international trade, nations in a position similar to that of Venezuela are victims of injustice. In view of the bonds of friendship that link the United States and Venezuela, it is hard for our people to understand how a country as powerful as the United States can ignore our just demands. Venezuela is pressing these demands in a friendly and persistent manner because of our determination to solve the acute problems of economic development. Happily, there are indications that the U.S. Government is becoming more receptive, and that this one black mark in our otherwise cordial relations may soon be removed.

President Kennedy once described Latin America as "the most critical area in the world." In these days, attitudes of indifference or discrimination do not meet the gravity of the situation in our continent, where the systematic deterioration of prices of our basic raw materials has contributed to the impoverishment of Latin America and has been an obstruction to its development—all of which plays into the hands of our adversaries.

American-Israel Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include at this point an address I made on June 17, 1965, at the annual installation of the Long Island region of B'nai Zion at the Forest Hills Jewish Center, Forest Hills, Long Island, N.Y.

The speech follows:

I am particularly grateful for the opportunity to discuss with you tonight a matter of mutual concern and conviction—American-Israel affairs. For the past 6 months, the growing tensions in the Middle East have been very much on my mind. I must be frank with you and say that recent activities there are not comforting, nor do they promise to be comforting if the pronouncements of Arab leaders are any guideline. But let me also say that events in that embattled area are being followed with utmost care and sobriety by the administration and the Congress. In meetings of the Foreign Affairs Committee, of which I am a member, in briefings with State Department officials, including Secretary Rusk and Governor Harriman, who has recently returned from the area, I have repeatedly communicated my own firm belief that our national commitment to Israel must remain fundamental and irrevocable.

The causes and purposes in which we join with Israel, however, are still very much in jeopardy.

At present, fully consistent with the Johnson plan which was sponsored and supported by the United States, Israel is diverting water from the Sea of Galilee to irrigate the arid Negev Desert and to develop hydroelectric power for the entire country. Water is Israel's lifeblood. But, being conscious that the entire Middle East shares that need, Israel is currently diverting no more water than she is entitled to according to the plan once agreed to by Arab engineers and scientists.

In clear opposition to that plan, Nasser and his allies have announced an Arab program against Israel, which would divert Jordan River water above Israel into Arab countries, and thus deprive Israel of her just claims. Work on this diversion scheme is already beginning in Syria. Arab armed forces are being mobilized to defend such projects and others are being planned.

What are we to say to such tactics? How can Israel and this country relate to action thus conceived in hostility and venom? How are we to respond when Arab leaders pronounce, in repeated speeches, that the day is near when Israel will be pushed into the sea? "We are prepared to march into Israel immediately," says the Syrian President. And, to do so, the Arab league now arms and supports a Palestine liberation organization, which is recruiting refugees and other Arabs for combat against Israel. How should men of peace react to such demagogy? "After waiting 17 years for justice," says the leader of this new army, "we are morally entitled to take the law into our own hands and wage war against Israel." Must Israel, after so many years of lonely tribulation, once again be the vicitm of men who announce their intention to "take the law into their own hands"?

President Johnson has asserted his own commitment to preserve a just and honorable peace in the Middle East. "We know that you want to live in peace with your neighbors," he told Premier Eshkol last year, "and we believe it not only possible but imperative that these problems be peacefully resolved." My own judgment is that this commitment is dependable and solid, one which all American friends of Israel can rightly acclaim.

There are, moreover, quiet and less public steps the United States is taking to preserve the integrity of the Israeli people. In diplomatic contacts, our officials can privately communicate our strong support of those Arab voices which evince a willingness to accept the permanence and rights of Israel. Likewise, the considerable political influence which accrues from the foreign aid we issue to Arab countries can be, and is being, used in the cause of calming Arab tempers and promoting there a more realistic view of world realities.

My own patience, and that of many of my colleagues in the Congress, however, is severly strained by the abusive behavior of the United Arab Republic, which still receives considerable American aid. Egypt tells us to "jump in the lake," while accepting food shipments. Its arms support Congo and Yemni rebels; its officers train troops for some mythical occupation of Israel, while its Government accepts our generosity. I see no reason why the United States should underwrite aggression and such threats to peace. I have therefore voted, sponsored, and spoken out on the floor of the House of Representatives for a curtailment of aid to the U.A.R., pending some evidence of its willingness to accept the integrity of Israel and live peacefully with its neighbors. I have likewise voted for resolutions opposing any American aid or participation in the Arab economic boycott of Israel.

Meanwhile, the United States must continue its attempts to aid the development of a healthy and prospering Israel. Handicapped by the absence of normal commercial relations with its neighbors, Israel still has made enormous progress in its economy. Increasingly threatened by the efforts of those neighbors to stifle such progress by boycotts, Israel is slowly gaining full self-sufficiency in agriculture and industry.

The accumulated wisdom and skill of a rich tradition are slowly bringing a good life to all Israelis. The willingness of Israel's friends to support with patience such growth has been instrumental in its success. Even now, for example, American and Israeli engineers and scientists are cooperating in the development of a nuclear desalting process to bring limitless sweet and fresh water to the entire country. All this must and will continue.

But without the promise of peace, progress is insecure. Israel's armed strength, however sad its necessity, is the guarantor of the country's integrity. American aid to Israel's deterrent will have to continue. Hawk missiles, provided by the United States and combined with Israel's own land forces guard Israeli integrity. The arms balance in the Middle East already implicates the United States. I am confident that we will allow no alteration in that balance.

But men of peace—Israeli, American, and Arab alike—must all look forward to an ultimate resolution of the explosive situation in the Middle East. Premier Eshkol has repeatedly called for a diplomatic confrontation with progressive Arab leaders to resolve existing problems and disputes. "A day will come when the Arab countries * * * will realize that the true division is not between Israel and the Arabs, but between lovers of peace and aggressors." These are the words of the Israeli leaders—they project a detente in the Middle East, a defusing of the time bomb feared by the entire world.

Such a Middle East, if ever we see it, might thrive and grow with a regional common market. Its security might be assured by nonaggression pacts and treaties banning the development of nuclear weapons, an event this country would particularly welcome. But most important, this should be a region where modest nations can focus their ardor and energy on good works of benefit to poor people, whose lives have for so long been victimized by senseless hatreds and aggressions.

I do not pretend that we here will ever really see such a Middle East, one in which Israel will be free to pursue policies and goals never yet open to her. I merely envisage a solution toward which we might all work, a solution toward which my own efforts on behalf of my country might be responsibly directed.

I do not believe, as do some, that the cause of a secure and growing Israel falls outside the proper responsibilities of any American Congressman or private citizen. I endorse the wisdom of Justice Louis Brandeis who said, 50 years ago, "Let no American imagine that Zionism is inconsistent with patriotism. Multiple loyalties are objectionable only if they are inconsistent."

The lesson of our meeting is that there is no such inconsistency in our loyalties and the loyalties of American foreign policy. We are and will continue to be Israel's best friend. This is the message I bring from Washington. And this is the reason I am here tonight, among you who share my loyalties and beliefs.

The City That Knows How?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, much publicity has been given to the recent commemorative anniversary meeting of the United Nations in San Francisco.

A local newspaper in my congressional district, the Morning News of San Leandro, Calif., carried an editorial dated June 28, 1965, which outlined a certain aspect of the meeting relative to the working press. I hope that the information contained in this editorial will be helpful to other cities and other organizations in making preparations for sponsoring something as important, historic, and sensitive as this recent meeting of the United Nations:

THE CITY THAT KNOWS HOW?

The description of San Francisco, so often uttered by its more vociferous citizens, as "The City That Knows How" is in obvious need of revision, and we suggest that it consists of deciding just what it is that the city knows how to do.

Whatever it is, it is quite apparent that it does not include the matter of handling arrangements for a meeting such as that held this past week for the 20th anniversary of the United Nations—that is, it doesn't unless the intention was in fact to louse it up.

Take the matter of the President's address as a case in point. There were literally thousands of people who would have liked to have a seat in the Opera House on that historic occasion, so many that it would have been impossible to accommodate more than a fraction of them. Nonetheless, that is no excuse for the fact that there were scores of seats—we know personally of at least 100—that were empty throughout the speech.

One might, of course, say this was necessary for security reasons, for the protection of the President. And for a moment when a guard was overheard telling an usher that he personally recognized two men who had come in to take seats in the section above the grand tier as men whom he had seen marching in picket lines on earlier occasions, we were sure that was the reason.

But it wasn't. A little thought quickly showed that such thinking had no merit. For if it did, how would members of the press corps have been able to come and go as they did?

The only identification they needed was a badge and card, both of which could be duplicated by any competent printing establishment in a matter of an hour or so.

Furthermore, the scrutiny to which the badge and card were subjected was nothing other than ludicrous. It wasn't necessary to show the card to get up to the second floor of the opera house, and once there, the only persons one had to show the card to in order to get in and take a seat were—believe it or not—Red Cross girls. It is true that there were some elderly male ushers who might ask to see the card, but for all the scrutiny they gave it, an ace of spades would have served the purpose just as well.

Doubtless, of course, there were FBI and Secret Service men stationed here and there, but there certainly could not have been very many of them. And there were uniformed police—a few—but they were busy, whenever we looked at them, in looking out over the big hall and probably fastening their gaze on the theatrical masks that adorn the walls on either side of the stage.

But that isn't all. The way in which the arrangements were made for handling the press itself were about as rustic in concept and execution as could be imagined.

The press credential officials went out of their way to see to it that everything was ready in a package for the members of metropolitan press, but for those who attended from newspapers farther away from the San Francisco City Hall than the metropolitan papers, it was another matter.

They were treated not only as if they came from Hicksville, but almost as if Hicksville were located somewhere in the lower Ukraine. That, at least, was the impression made on representatives from out-of-town papers that we saw. They were not allowed to pick things up in a package for their staffs, but each and every one of them had to appear in person to get his badge and card, a fact which meant that some of those who wanted to go were simply unable to do so through not being able to get their credentials.

Patience and Perseverance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, despite some of the vocal criticism being voiced these days concerning American foreign policy, President Johnson is doing an outstanding job of leading the free world.

His bold decisiveness, tempered with calm restraint, is freedom's best hope for peace.

An editorial in the Long Island Press of April 28, 1965, commented on the President's handling of foreign affairs in the face of criticism. Under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include this editorial as follows:

PATIENCE AND PERSEVERANCE

At yesterday's press conference the President was asked to describe the conditions under which the United States might discontinue its air raids on North Vietnam. His answer was brief and definite. We will stop bombing North Vietnam whenever the North Vietnamese stop attacking South Vietnam.

President Johnson emphasized that in earlier months the United States had shown great restraint in using its power. Our restraint, however, was misinterpreted as weakness and surrender. Now we strike back because our opponents will never talk peace until they are convinced we will never withdraw.

Once again the President remarked upon the folly of attempting to appease an agressor. Yet he declined to classify his critics as appeasers because there is nothing to be gained by "calling names."

A moment later, however, the President did remark that he couldn't understand people who could be so concerned about our bombing a military target in North Vietnam and so unconcerned about the bombing of our own embassy in Saigon.

This newspaper marvels at the President's patient handling of such criticism. At the same time, we applaud him for it because of the nature of his threefold task. First, he must solidify this Nation; second, he must bring our allies into line; third, he must convince the Reds that we will never knuckle under.

These can be attained only by patience with our friends and perseverance against our foes. By steadfast adherence to his present course and steadfast avoidance of personalities, the President works toward a genuine peace.

Foreign Diplomats Full of Praise for Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, we who call Hawaii our home are understandably lavish in our praise for the Island State and its people, and much of what we say may be dismissed as "sales talk." But when our seemingly boastful words are voiced by nonbiased visitors from all parts of the world, our claims must be heard with a ring of truth.

At a recent reception given by Governor of Hawaii and Mrs. John A. Burns, a group of foreign diplomats assigned to Washington and the United Nations were asked by a Honolulu Star-Bulletin reporter: "What does Hawaii mean to you?"

I must say that the replies were just as enthusiastic as ours would have been if we had been asked the same question.

The newspaper account of the interview of the diplomats follows:

FOREIGN DIPLOMATS FULL OF PRAISE FOR OUR ISLES

Twenty-six foreign diplomats assigned to Washington and the United Nations last night were honored at a reception at Washington Place.

Governor and Mrs. John A. Burns were the hosts.

A Star-Bulletin reporter asked the diplomats, who arrived here Monday for a 2-day visit: "What does Hawaii mean to you?"

Here are comments from eight of the visitors interviewed at the reception.

Dr. Robert Ajavon, Ambassador from Togo: "Maybe not for you, but for me, a paradise. I feel very comfortable here. I should like to stay for a longer time, but you know it's business before pleasure so I have to go back. And I am very sorry to leave. Oh, there are so many beautiful, beautiful girls here. They are very kind, very nice."

Mahmoud A Nasr, first secretary from United Arab Republic: "I have never seen a more beautiful place in my whole life. It's a mixture of Eastern hospitality with Western civilization. I admire very much the mixture of races that live together in wonderful harmony. And I wish that the world would learn from Hawaii how to live peacefully together the way you do."

Khamchan Pradith, counselor from Laos: "I have been here three times, once as a student attending summer school at the University of Hawaii in 1954. It means the crossroads between Asia and America. It's a place where there is good cooperation among the races and religions."

Patrick Laver, United Kingdom: "It means a marvelous cool climate compared with the east coast. It's a magnificent place. One hears that Hawaii is overcommercial. I don't believe so because you get the spirit of aloha right away. The genuine reception is beyond expectations. It's the friendliness and

sincerity * * * it goes beyond mere politeness."

Carlos G. Demarchi, counselor from Argentina: "It means very much to us. Did you know that Hawaii was the first country in the world to recognize the independence of Argentina? King Kamehameha signed a treaty with our country through a captain of an Argentine ship that visited Hawaii in 1816. I would like to stay much longer. I am glad to have the opportunity to learn something about Hawaii in such a short time."

Dr. Solomon B. Asea, Ambassador from Uganda: "It's an island paradise where people go for enjoyment * * *. I have come and found that to be very true. Everything is so exotic * * * the food is exotic, the people are good, climate is good * * * so what else can you ask for? You got everything here."

Emmanuel Y. Agorsor, first secretary from Ghana: "It's a beautiful State. The tropical climate and vegetation reminds me very much of home. I am really impressed by the way people live here, just like we live in my country. People are friendly and very interested in visitors and foreigners. It's different from any other State in the United States in this respect. We all looked forward to Hawaii and we are very happy we came."

Philippe Husson, counselor from France: "Everybody seems so happy and your State is flourishing. It's so full of warmth here. People welcome you in a very charming way. We appreciate this very much. I have intentions of coming back with my wife for a vacation."

Vietnam Background—I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I have long contended that the overthrow of President Diem of South Vietnam in late October 1964, was the indirect result of inaccurate and biased reporting by American and other newsmen stationed in Saigon.

The flood of stories alleging police brutality, religious persecution and suppression of liberty by Diem and his regime were, it appears, in large part responsible for the removal of U.S. support and the eventual overthrow and assassination of President Diem and his brother, Nhu.

Additional facts to back up this belief are provided in an article which appears in the July 3 issue of America magazine by the Reverend Patrick O'Connor, the Vietnam correspondent for the National Catholic Welfare Conference. In a well-documented presentation, Father O'Connor points out how unreliable were many of the presumably "factual" stories emanating from Vietnam.

It is his contention that a Buddhist-inspired effort to discredit President Diem succeeded because reporters accepted Buddhist charges without investigation and because they failed to remain objective in a complex and politically charged dispute.

As Father O'Connor says in his article:

The cumulative effect produced by months of reporting by seven or eight journalists was the worldwide impression that a religious persecution of Buddhists by Catholics did indeed exist in South Vietnam.

The falsity of this impression became evident to the special study mission to southeast Asia which I headed in the fall of 1963. This congressional delegation, composed of members of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Far East and Pacific, visited Vietnam about a month before Diem's overthrow.

We found—and reported to the Congress—that while certain special privileges were given to all Christian faiths as a holdover from the earlier French rule in Vietnam, religious persecution was not being directed against the Buddhists by the Diem regime.

Our observations were later confirmed by the report of a special United Nations fact finding team which visited Vietnam at the invitation of President Diem to investigate the charges of religious oppression by the Buddhists. This team was in Vietnam at the time of President Diem's assassination, and its report was issued after it was too late to be of help to the wrongly maligned Vietnamese leader.

To lend further credence to the assertions made by Father O'Connor in his article, which I am inserting hereafter in the RECORD, I should like to cite the experience of the study mission regarding the journalists in Saigon.

In an effort to ascertain the truth, our group conducted an "in reverse" press conference to which press correspondents in Vietnam were invited. The purpose of this meeting was to allow them to express their views on the Vietnam situation and air their gripes against the Diem government.

Among those who attended was Father O'Connor, whose news dispatches had differed sharply with other reporters. At my invitation, he recited the facts of the incident at Hué, which began the overt Buddhist campaign, as he knew them. None of the reporters present, including a subsequent Pulitzer Prize winner, offered to refute him. Some of them, however, had filed stories which differed significantly.

Mr. Speaker, the July issue of Ramparts magazine contains an article which contends that a "Vietnam Lobby" exists which promoted Diem into the Presidency of South Vietnam, kept him in power, and swayed the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations into supporting him.

"The Vietnam Lobby" by Robert Scheer and Warren Hinckle is to be recommended to those with a taste for fantasy, for the article can hardly be considered fact. It contains a paucity of documentation, an abundance of sweepingly incorrect judgments and a conspiratorial view of recent history.

Rather than a "Vietnam Lobby," I might suggest a better case could be made for an anti-Diem lobby which would include certain American writers and journalists. Father O'Connor's article raises some questions on that point.

I commend his article which follows, to the attention of my colleagues:

THE DOWNFALL OF THE DIEM GOVERNMENT IN VIETNAM WAS THE RESULT OF A CAMPAIGN TOUCHED OFF BY A NEAR RIOT IN HUÉ ON MAY 8, 1963—PUBLIC OPINION AND U.S. POLICY WERE INFLUENCED BY REPORTING OF THIS AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS IN MAJOR NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES—HOW ACCURATE WAS THIS REPORTING?

(By Patrick O'Connor)

Two years ago, a series of events began in South Vietnam that led to the overthrow of its Government on November 1, 1963, and the murder of its President. There followed a prolonged political instability in the country, setbacks in the military resistance to Communist aggression, and a new—to many observers, a more somber—phase in southeast Asian affairs.

In the process that led to the revolution of November 1, press reports of the events between May and November played an extremely influential part. These reports affected public opinion throughout the world, especially in the United States, and thus swayed policy decisions. They encouraged the forces within Vietnam that were working for the Government's overthrow. And they are likely to shape and color the writing of history.

Not all the foreign correspondents resident in or visiting Vietnam in 1963 contributed to the final result. This article will quote a few samples from some of those who did or who, writing soon afterward, manifested what had been a current view in important circles.

The 6-month campaign against the Ngo Dinh Diem government was led in South Vietnam by a section of Buddhists who alleged that they were victims of intolerable religious persecution. The event that set off their campaign was the tragic killing of eight persons in a near riot in Hué on May 8, the feast of Buddha's birthday.

No foreign correspondent was in Hué at the time. Few important happenings can have been so inadequately and so inaccurately reported as this key incident.

On May 6, the Government had telegraphed orders throughout the country that a decree issued and reissued years earlier, restricting the public display of all "international religious flags," should be enforced forthwith. The purpose of the decree was to assert the preeminence of the national flag outside purely religious precincts. Catholics, especially the refugees from the north, had been flying the white-and-yellow Vatican colors on festivals. Since 1950, the organized Buddhists had flown the multicolored flag adopted by the World Buddhist Association.

In some places, the local authorities took their time about applying the order of May 6 as regards Buddhist or Catholic flags. In Hué, the Buddhists had already hung out their flags when, on May 7, the ill-timed order arrived. Naturally, they were unwilling to take them down. The authorities agreed that the order would be suspended until after the festival days. Hence, on the morning of May 8, everybody in Hué was free to fly a Buddhist flag anywhere. The bonzes (Buddhist monks) knew this; they knew also, and apparently had accepted, the restrictions to be put in force later.

Early on May 8, however, Buddhists gathered at Tu Dam pagoda for the birthday celebrations. Banners were displayed denouncing the Government for "injustice" and religious discrimination. Thich ("venerable") Tri Quang, militant organizer of a Buddhist movement in central Vietnam, harangued the crowd, reading out anti-Government slogans and criticizing the admin-

istration. "We are changing this ceremony into a meeting," he announced.

That evening, Buddhists assembled again at Tu Dam for the customary dance of the flowers. The bonzes canceled the observance and told the crowd to march directly to the Government radio station. There they demanded that a tape recording of the morning's speech, with its anti-Government slogans, be broadcast.

A radio official protested that he could not put any speech on the air that had not been authorized in advance. The bonzes persisted. The station director, knowing what was in the recording, telephoned the chief of province, a Buddhist, who ordered him not to broadcast it.

Thich Tri Quang now urged the crowd to stay until the authorities yielded to their demand. They swarmed up to the station and over the porch. Security forces were called out to protect the installation.

Led by a major in a light armored car, soldiers carrying American MK–III concussion (not fragmentation) grenades approached the crowd. Suddenly two powerful explosions took place, in which eight persons, children and women, on the porch were killed. According to expert testimony, MK–III grenades could not have caused the mutilation of bodies or the hole in the pavement that resulted. (The ordinary effect of these grenades, according to the official U.S. field manual, is to cause shock, concussion, or burst eardrums.)

The Government claimed that the tragedy was caused by plastic explosives thrown by the Communist Vietcong. The Buddhists leaders claimed that they had eight martyrs, killed by the Government.

The troops did not fire into the crowd. When the major in charge was put on trial in 1964, the prosecutor never once alleged that they did.

The number of victims, eight, was given to me by Thich Tri Quang himself in Hué later that month. The same number was mentioned by the prosecutor in the trial a year later.

Following are some of the published accounts of the May 8 tragedy in Hué. The first three are from Newsweek:

"Twelve persons were killed in Hué during the Buddhist demonstration protesting an order from President Diem forbidding them to fly their flag on the birthday of Gautama Buddha" (May 27, 1963); "A month earlier, Diem's troops had fired into a Buddhist procession celebrating the 2,507th birthday of the Buddha in Hué, killing 11 people" (July 15); "Diem's troops fired into a Buddhist procession in Hué, killing nine Buddhists who were demanding the right to fly the Buddhist flag" (September 2).

UPI reported (June 2) that Government troops and armored cars "opened fire against thousands of persons protesting against alleged religious discrimination," and a New York Times editorial (June 17) mentioned "the killing of Buddhists by Government troops during a Buddhist ceremony in Hué." Both these sources continued to put the number of those killed at 9; AP put it at 11 even as late as August 23, and again in 1964.

According to Time (Aug. 9): "Government troops forbade Buddhists to unfurl their flags. * * * When the Buddhists protested, the government soldiers stupidly shot down nine demonstrators." As the New Yorker told it (Dec. 14): "Maj. Dang Sy, the Catholic deputy chief of the province, ordered his troops to use live ammunition and grenades and the nine killings took place."

Press reports were apparently the basis for the communication addressed to the U.N. General Assembly by 17 nations, in September, 1963, alleging that "nine persons were killed when troops fired on the participants" in "appropriate [Buddhist] ceremonies" in Hué. The same message asserted Buddhism is "the faith professed by over 70 percent" of the Vietnamese.

No national religious census has ever been taken in Vietnam. Responsible Vietnamese and foreign observers have estimated the percentage of practicing Buddhists in the population at something between 20 and 30. Some would put it under 20. During 1963, however, foreign correspondents gave these varied, unsubstantiated figures for the percentage of Buddhists: "about 90" (Associated Press, May 13), "about 80" (Associated Press, May 29); "about 75" (New York Times, June 5), "70" (New York Times, July 28); "80" (Time, June 14); "about 80" (United Press International, July 1), "more than 80" (United Press International, July 30).

A remarkable myth has been accepted and propagated in press reports regarding the episcopal silver jubilee of Archbishop Ngo Dinh Thuc of Hué, brother of the late President Diem. According to an article in The Reporter (Sept. 12, 1963):

"During the first week of May, Catholics of Hué had decorated the city with crosses, Vatican flags and large pictures of Archbishop Thuc to celebrate the 25th anniversary of his ordination as bishop. These ceremonies ended on Sunday, May 5 * * *. On the night of May 6, while the city streets were still festooned with Thuc's picture, a telegram from the presidency in Saigon ordered enforcement of a regulation that only the national flag should be flown during religious ceremonies. * * * The Catholic decorations remained on the bridge across the Perfumed River. * * * The Buddhists, carrying defiant banners, crossed the river in sampans."

Readers of the New Yorker (Dec. 14, 1963) were told:

"The commemoration of the 2,507th anniversary of the Buddha's birth * * * happened to overlap [a celebration] commemorating the 25th anniversary of Archbishop Thuc's consecration as bishop. The trouble had begun when Thich Tri Quang, the Buddhist leader of central Vietnam, refused to send Thuc a congratulatory telegram. The Government thereupon gave orders for strict enforcement of a 2-year-old ban against the flying of religious flags, despite the fact that during Thuc's celebration the Vatican flag was displayed along with the national flag and Thuc's picture appeared all over Hué. The Buddhists defiantly began to display their own banners 3 days before the Buddha's birthday, on May 8, while the Catholic flags and pictures were still up."

This is untrue. Archbishop Ngo Dinh Thuc did not celebrate his silver jubilee in Hué until June 28–29. The record shows that he was in Qui Nhon on April 30, in Danang on May 1, in Dalat May 3–4 and in Saigon May 5–6. He did not allow the public flying of the Vatican flag. In August 1962, he ordered the Redemptorists to take down the papal flags hoisted outside their new church in preparation for the dedication ceremony. After that time, no Vatican flags were flown publicly in Hué.

Where did the untrue story originate? At least one of the journalists quoted got it from an American official in Saigon, a man who had not been in Hué on May 8. It looks as if some partisan informant hoodwinked the U.S. Embassy in Saigon or the consulate in Hué, or both.

Another fiction, perhaps from the same source, was apparently accepted by American officials in Huci after the August 21 raid on the pagodas and passed on to the New York Times and United Press International. On August 23, the Times said:

"Despite Government reports that no one was killed in the attack on the Buddhists, diplomatic sources reported from Hué that nearly 100 priests, students, and Boy Scouts were killed or wounded during the attack on Tu Dam pagoda. At least 30 persons were reported to have been killed there."

United Press International said much the same thing on August 23: "Diplomatic sources, citing latest reports from Hué, said some 100 Buddhists were killed or wounded when Government troops stormed the main Tu Dam pagoda there Wednesday. Sources said that of this number they believe at lease 30 Buddhists were killed."

In November, after the overthrow of the Diem government, the Buddhist bonzes in Tu Dam stated definitely that nobody had been killed in the August 21 raid on their pagoda.

A similar attack was reported in Saigon. Associated Press from Tokyo (August 22), quoting Saigon, said: "At least 1 monk was reported killed and 30 monks and nuns wounded in the midnight raid on Saigon's Xa Loi pagoda." Months later the bonze spokesman in Xa Loi pagoda told me that nobody had been killed there.

The story that bonzes had been killed in Hué or Saigon was apparently flashed immediately to Washington and believed there. An Associated Press story of August 21 from Washington declared: "Official sources said the crackdown included hundreds of arrests, the seizing of important pagodas and killing of some monks."

Newsweek next reported (September 2): "Some 2,000 pagodas were raided. At least 30 Buddhists are said to have lost their lives." The truth is that about a dozen pagodas were raided, in Saigon, Hué and a few other towns. Most of the thousands of pagodas in the country were left untouched. Newsweek also stated: "The troops in Operation Pagoda had three dominant characteristics: 'They were Catholic, they were from Hué, and they were ruthless.'" On inquiry, the basis for this proved to be a remark reportedly made by a non-Catholic Vietnamese officer about a handful of men, less than a squad, at one pagoda.

A New York Times story of August 23 said: "Two of [Col. Le Quang Tung's] battalions are reported to be 'Catholic battalions.'" Colonel Tung, murdered in the general staff headquarters on November 1, commanded the Vietnamese Special Forces. An article in Esquire (January 1964) echoed the Times, saying: "'Two of Colonel Tung's battalions, which carried out the pagoda raids, were so-called 'Catholic battalions.'" Who called them that, we are not told. I, myself was told, however, by two U.S. officers, advisers with the Vietnamese Special Forces, that there were no Catholic battalions. Furthermore, I was told by American and Vietnamese sources that the men who actually entered the pagodas in Saigon were not from the special forces.

On September 2, Newsweek said: "Even more seriously, fighting was reported to have broken out between Catholic and Buddhist troops in Dinh Tuong. Sixty soldiers were reported to have been killed and 120 wounded." Times picked up the same canard (August 30): "At week's end, according to one report * * * at the small town of My Tho * * * Buddhist and Catholic troops turned on each other." Exhaustive inquiries from military and civilian sources proved this story to be entire untrue. It was released by Reuters and by United Press International, which, however, speedily tried to have it killed.

Early in the Buddhist campaign, the foreign press made sweeping allegations such as the following: "The South Vietnam Government * * * is made up chiefly of Roman Catholics" (Associated Press, May 13); "Most of Ngo Dinh Diem's high Government officials, chiefs of provinces and military officers are Catholics" (Newsweek, May 27); "Most high Government officials, chiefs of provinces, and military officers are Catholics" (New York Times editorial, June 17); "Diem and his principal Government officials are Roman Catholics" (United Press International, July 8).

It came as a surprise to some of the press corps to learn that only 3 of the 19 Vietnamese generals of that time (and only 1 of the 4 corps commanders) and 5 of the 17 Cabinet ministers were Catholics.

On July 15, an Associated Press release said: "Newspapers also reported the promotion of Col. Do Cao Tri, a Roman Catholic, to the rank of brigadier general, apparently as the first step toward assuring command of an area that will include the Buddhist holy city of Hué." Do Cao Tri is not a Catholic. It would be a glaring exaggeration to imply that Hué can be called a Buddhist holy city in the sense that Jerusalem or Rome or Mecca is a holy city.

According to an article in the Washington Post (June 23): "Among South Vietnam's private schools, Catholic-run institutions receive Government subsidies; Buddhist-run institutions do not." Less than 4 percent of Vietnam's private secondary schools, Catholic and other, and less than 1 percent of private primary schools, received any Government aid at all.

The total amount given to all was minimal, less than $6,500 for the year. The chairman of the allocations committee in 1963 was a Buddhist. Most of the 29 schools receiving grants were indeed Catholic-run, some of them serving poor refugees. The only private school receiving a Government grant in the Saigon-Cholon area was one conducted by a Buddhist bonzess. Buddhist schools were few, simply because Buddhists have not made much effort in the field of general education. Two semipublic schools, purely for Buddhist studies, received a total of more than $6,000 (451,000 piastres) from Government funds in 1962.

The Washington Post article stated, further: "Catholic priests are the rectors at the predominantly Buddist universities at Hué and Dalat." The university in Hué is a state institution. The rector was a Vietnamese priest-scholar whom the Diem government dismissed in August 1963. Under him there were four administrative bureaus in the university, each of them headed by a non-Catholic. Of 30 persons employed in the university administration, only 5 were Catholics. The University of Dalat is a Catholic institution. The same article states: "Only 2 of the 16 Cabinet members are Buddhists." According to my information, the Cabinet had 17 members. If only 2 of the 12 non-Christians were Buddhists, that merely illustrates the inaccuracy of the estimate, repeated by the writer, that Buddhists form 70 to 80 percent of the population.

Throughout the 6 months before the coup, many foreign journalists showed an almost obsessive preoccupation with President Ngo Dinh Diem's religion. They harped on it day after day and transferred his religious affiliation to the Government. "The Roman Catholic government of President Diem" (Washington Post editorial, June 11); "Diem's Catholic government" (Newsweek, June 24; Associated Press, Washington, July 11); "Catholic President Ngo Dinh Diem's government" (United Press International, June 9, 16; August 18)—these were typical word-groupings. In a single story, Reuters (June 13) spoke of the "Roman Catholic-led government," the "5-week-old religious crisis" and "Catholic President Ngo Dinh Diem."

It has been claimed that the correspondents in general, and the New York Times in particular, always declared that the dispute was political under a religious banner. One did indeed find such statements as these: "Slowly the entire matter has become more political than religious. In its larger context the crisis is basically political" (New York Times, June 16); "politico-religious crisis" (United Press International, June 1), "The Buddhist campaign has become more political and now is seen as being predominantly so" (United Press International, July 28). On June 7, Associated Press said cautiously: "Leading Catholic priests say the matter is political, not religious."

On the other hand, phrases and statements appeared that gave ordinary readers across the world the impression that the issue was one of religious persecution. Here are a few examples from the New York Times: "religious conflict" (June 5), "the current religious dispute" (June 11), "bitter religious crisis" (June 14), "5-week-old religious crisis" (June 16), "controversy between the Buddhists and the Government, which is Roman Catholic" (July 21).

From other sources: "the current religious dispute between militant Buddhists and the Catholic-led government" (Reuters, June 10); "The government is deep in a freedom of religion conflict with Vietnam's Buddhists" (United Press International, July 9), "South Vietnam's 10-week-old crisis over religious freedom" (United Press International, July 23), "the Government's moves in crushing the Buddhists' religious movement" (United Press International, August 25); "religious conflict between President Ngo Dinh Diem, a Roman Catholic, and Buddhist leaders" (Associated Press, July 15); "The U.S.-backed regime, which launched a wave of terror against Buddhists" (Newsweek caption, September 2).

Correspondents, it is true, usually took the routine precaution of saying "alleged" when they wrote of "persecution" or "discrimination." However protective this word might have been for the writer in a court of law, it did not keep the reading public from being misled. The cumulative effect produced by months of reporting by seven or eight journalists was the worldwide impression that a religious persecution of Buddhists by Catholics did indeed exist in South Vietnam.

Correspondents who reported the political Buddhists' allegations throughout 6 months did not take the time or trouble to investigate them carefully. They left their readers with reiterated allegations and vivid descriptions of carefully staged protests, but without the hard, precise information by which the allegations could be judged.

There were also notable oversights. In June 1963, the Government issued a detailed report that listed, province by province, the pagodas newly built or restored since Ngo Dinh Diem had come to power 9 years earlier. More than one-fourth of the country's 4,766 pagodas had been constructed in that period, and more than one-fourth repaired. The report showed that the Government had given money grants totaling more than 8 million piastres and hundreds of hectares of land for pagodas. It itemized the amounts, locations, and pagodas. I did not see these facts reported by the Associated Press, the United Press International, the New York Times, Newsweek, or Time.

Rarely did any correspondent mention that Vice President Nguyen Ngoc Tho, chief representative of the President in negotiating with the Buddhist leaders, was himself a Buddhist, or that two of the Govermnent's three-man Interministerial Committee were non-Christians.

Sometime in June, a Buddhist bonze told correspondents that his leaders' "five demands" were not the real issue now and that the intention was to bring about the overthrow of the government. This, as far as I know, was not revealed at the time in the dispatches of the journalists concerned.

A certain number of errors and omissions are always to be expected in news stories written in a foreign land, and under the constant stress of having to meet a deadline. It is noteworthy, however, that in Vietnam in 1963 the errors and omissions usually tended to favor the Buddhist agitation against the government.

Efforts were indeed made to correct popular misconceptions. Time, which occasionally erred, said on August 9: "Since he took over the government in 1954, Diem has gone to great lengths not to offend the Buddhist majority * * *. Whenever there is a whisper of opposition, the government treats Catholics like anyone else." On October 18, it said: "Even Diem's severest critics in Saigon concede that there was no serious religious persecution until the present troubles began, and that the Buddhist movement has become a political force dedicated to Diem's overthrow."

It is not within the scope of this report to quote from correspondents who disagreed with those I have quoted.

Finally, a note of social and even gastronomic interest may be added. About 3 weeks after the coup d'etat of November 1, the foreign correspondents in Saigon—with some exceptions—were invited by the Buddhist bonzes, as a mark of appreciation, to a dinner. It was given in the premises of Xa Loi pagoda, which had been the bonzes' command post during most of their campaign. The guests were greeted by girl members of Buddhist Youth, who pinned on each a yellow Buddhist ribbon. The nine-course dinner—vegetarian, to be sure—was enjoyed in the jubilant atmosphere of a victory celebration.

Protecting American Patents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, in recent years several vital segments of American industry have suffered severe revenue losses as a result of Government purchases of foreign products manufactured from stolen U.S. patents. Most seriously affected have been the pharmaceutical, chemical, and electronic industries, which are heavily concentrated in New Jersey. This unfair competition is jeopardizing the jobs of American workers and discouraging our American firms from continuing the expensive investment in essential research and development of new products.

To eliminate this unfair situation, I have introduced in the House H.R. 5675, which would prohibit Government purchases of any products manufactured from pirated patents. An identical bill introduced by Senator HARRISON WILLIAMS, S. 1047, is now the subject of hearings in the Senate. I am glad to say that labor and management are united in support of this essential legislation, and I, under unanimous consent, include the text of a resolution adopted by the New Jersey State AFL-CIO convention on the legislation in the RECORD.

RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF FULL PATENT PROTECTION TO SAVE JOBS IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY

Whereas 1965 marks the 175th anniversary of the first patent law in the United States; and

Whereas through a technicality in the statutes covering patent law protection, certain Government agencies have assumed the right to bypass patent laws in the purchase of products from foreign countries which do not respect American patent laws; and

Whereas such loopholes in the law have resulted in the purchase of many millions of

dollars of such foreign products, which are manufactured under cheap labor conditions and manufactured under formulas stolen, copied and otherwise infringing on American patents; and

Whereas in the pharmaceutical, chemical, and electronic industries such stolen patents and other infringements of American patents have resulted in the loss of thousands of American jobs and have adversely affected the livelihood of nearly 5 million workers in organized labor; and

Whereas such practices threaten the very incentives for research and manufacture which have kept America in the forefront of industrial and medical developments; and

Whereas U.S. Senator HARRISON A. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, and Congressman PETER W. RODINO, Jr., of New Jersey, have introduced identical bills in Congress aimed at insuring full and adequate protection in safeguarding employment opportunities for American workers under our patent laws; be it hereby

Resolved, That the New Jersey State AFL-CIO in convention voice support for Senator WILLIAMS' bill S. 1047 and Congressman RODINO's bill H.R. 5675, being identical measures designed to protect and strengthen the American patent system by insuring that no Government agency be permitted to purchase products manufactured abroad through stolen or infringed American patents; and be it further

Resolved, That the New Jersey State AFL-CIO bodies to adopt identical resolutions in the interest of the American labor movement and in preservation of American jobs; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent by the secretary-treasurer of the New Jersey State AFL-CIO to the national AFL-CIO with a recommendation that the S. 1047 and H.R. 5675 be made part of the legislative policy of the AFL-CIO for adoption by the Congress of the United States, and with the request that this resolution be submitted to the 1965 national convention of the AFL-CIO for its support and adoption.

Wanton Cruelty and Terrorism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, in much of our public discussion of the crisis in Vietnam, there is overlooked the organized terrorism that is the hallmark of Vietcong tactics. Those advocates of withdrawal from Vietnam who condemn American policy through rationalizations that depict the Vietcong as patroitic revolutionaries seeking to liberate their country conveniently ignore the barbaric savagery of the Vietcong. Their violence is not limited to the battlefield nor is it directed principally against the military forces of the Republic of Vietnam, but rather through stealth and assassination, it seeks to intimidate and immobilize the civilian populace of South Vietnam through unparalleled acts of terror.

Because the following editorial from the Northern Virginia Daily, published at Strasburg, Va., July 6, 1965, puts the nature of the Vietcong tactics in proper perspective, I should like to insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the benefit of other Members of the House.

ASSURANCE ENOUGH

If anyone requires further proof of the wanton disregard of all principles of morality by the Vietcong terrorists, they need only recognize the execution of U.S. Army Sgt. Harold George Bennett for what it is: an outrageous denial of the prisoner-of-war standards accepted by civilized peoples.

They are in effect, saying, "This is what we believe."

When the bombs exploded in the Saigon restaurant—hardly a military objective, which the Hanoi radio proudly confirmed—killing and wounding more than a hundred men, women, and children, they told us again, "This is what we believe."

Behind that simple statement and the two latest acts of savagery lies the inescapable and deadly truth about the enemy in Vietnam. They hold nothing sacred except the will to win.

We have met this breed before.

Certainly we'll be hearing from the self-appointed get-out-of-Vietnam magistrates that these are only acts of desperate men eager for self-government. Their thinking has as much reasoning behind it as the statements of justifiable revenge coming from Hanoi.

We've had assurance enough just what kind of government the South Vietnamese would be forced to endure under the direction of the Red comrades.

A Look Ahead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, at this time of the year, when there are many graduations being held, I was pleased to find a valedictory address, given in my congressional district, which I feel is worthy of particular note. Miss Peggy Paciotti, of Pacific High School in San Leandro, Calif., had great wisdom in the excellent speech which she gave on behalf of her class, entitled "A Look Ahead." I am pleased to insert her remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

CURRIER'S COMMENTS

(By Win Currier)

A copy of the valedictory address delivered by Peggy Paciotti at the commencement exercises of Pacific High School has been forwarded to us and it is worthy of publication.

A notation accompanying the copy of the address says that "it breaks tradition for such speakers by saying something."

We are not expert in the field to the extent that we can compare it with other valedictory addresses that were given at the various schools this month, but there is no doubt that this one does say something significant.

Her address follows:

"A LOOK AHEAD

"The end of an era marks the beginning of a new one, and this new one is the era of our involvement. It's the time when we emerge from childhood's protective shell of dependency and become a determining part of this society, this world, this history that's being recorded, this future that's being created. We begin this era with an affirmation of personal independence and freedom, for we believe that rightness is inherent in individuality. With confidence in ourselves and each other, we willingly accept the consequences of our decisions.

"We are aware of the greatness of our Nation: Our political heritage of democracy and freedom, our opportunities for personal advancement. We appreciate our educational advantages. And we do want the material gains that our society is so famous for.

"But at the same time, we see that the happiness that should follow our Nation's material wealth is not there as is should be. For even the most rich there is no limit, no end, to the desire for the things that money can buy. And as for the poor, the pursuit of even the necessities of life often goes unrewarded. Most of us, as a people, are addicted to the formula that money and success are the same, many of us to the idea that the main purpose in life is to improve social status.

"The pettiness of our desires is made even more apparent when we look outside our country. The UNESCO Courier of June 1964 tells us that for each of us who inherits a life of comfort, two inherit a life of want, and these two will spend their lives usually sick and always close to starvation. Two out of three may never know what clean water looks or tastes like. And now, with the improvements in communications, these people who always were poor, for the first time feel poor.

"This, too, is the world we inherit.

"But here, within our land, where we live in prosperity? We know that when men become slaves to their desires for material possessions, when people become less important than things, when the dignity and worth of any man is questioned or threatened, we must be ready to sacrifice the security of feeling better off than someone else and adopt the security of living as important and unique individuals.

"This is expressed in two lines of a Zen poem:

"In the landscape of spring, there is neither high nor low. The flowering branches grow naturally, some long, some short.

"In other words, by the design of nature the long branch is no more important than the short branch, no more able to exist alone than the tides independent of the moon. And so with men.

"We can never submit to the cruel assumption that people with certain admirable assets are necessarily the most important people or are to be envied. Yes, we admit that some people have richer parents, some people are more beautiful, some more talented, intelligent, some more highly educated or trained. But we can never form judgments about who is most important or who worth most admiration. We cannot do it, because it destroys us, as individuals, as a community, and as a nation. It destroys every man who can't give his family the material abundances so idolized by his society. It destroys every artist, thinker, or person whose thoughts flow contrary to public opinion and who has consequently been crushed. It destroys the community where the haves compete, at the expense of the have nots. And it destroys the nation that congratulates itself on a reputation for affluence when there remains in that nation a certain number of disillusioned, isolated, alienated, and very poor persons—born to lose.

"So, we dare to believe in the natural diversity of human character. We believe in achieving levels of understanding which melt into tolerance, in defeating any propaganda which tries to dictate what is success and what is failure in our land. And as a final aspiration, we believe in a softening of preconceived and superimposed dictates a good and bad, right and wrong.

"A nation of men and women thus dedicated to the concept of the uniqueness and

worth of every man, cannot fail itself, or its foreign neighbors, or the future generations of mankind."

Project HOPE

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, a recent article in the Flushing, N.Y., Queens Voice pays tribute to the many busy executives who take time out from their important tasks to work without pay for worthwhile organizations like Project HOPE.

In the article by Jackie Robinson, we learn that such men as Jerome S. Hardy, publisher of Life magazine, and Paul Felix Warburg, a noted investment banker, serve HOPE unselfishly as members of the national HOPE board of directors.

Mr. Robinson appropriately salutes the men from industry, labor, and all walks of life who, with medical people such as Dr. William B. Walsh, founder and president of Project HOPE, devote their skills to humanitarian ideals.

The column by Jackie Robinson follows:

JACKIE ROBINSON SAYS

(By Jackie Robinson)

In the welter of anguished headlines about racial strife and the ugly reflections of the inhumanity of our times, we often fail to note the powerful, quiet programs which are being conducted to advance the march of humanity.

Such a project is called to our attention by Jerome S. Hardy, an erstwhile golf partner, who is sacrificing a great deal of time and energy to discharge his duties as the chairman of the New York committee of a magnificently humane program called Project HOPE.

Hope is a hospital ship which carries around the world—to hundreds of thousands in Asia, South America, and Africa—the best America can offer in medical services and people who teach professional counterparts in developing nations. The latter, in turn, pass on the information and skills to younger people of their own countries.

Dr. William B. Walsh organized HOPE in 1958. On its maiden voyage to Indonesia in 1960, 200 doctors and 300 nurses were given special training; 18,000 patients were treated and 700 operations performed. Thousands of people were X-rayed and examined. In 1961, in South Vietnam, 500 major operations were performed. Then, in 1963 HOPE moved in on the Latin American front. During 10 months in Peru, 80,000 persons were directly aided by HOPE services—and several hundred thousand South Americans were helped indirectly.

Now, HOPE has sent medical teams to Africa, while continuing to work in Saigon, Trujilla, and Ecuador.

Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY, commenting on the work accomplished by this project, has said: "There is only one thing wrong with Project HOPE; namely, that it consists of only one ship. We need many more like it. It behooves all Americans to pitch in and help support the magnificent work of this floating American medical center with their financial contributions."

Paul Felix Warburg, board member of the project, just recently returned from Conakry, Guinea, in Africa, where the good ship *Hope* is currently docked. Here is his reaction to what he observed:

"To see our doctors and nurses in action, working with their Guinean counterparts, is something I will never forget. The impact on the people of backward nations—such as Guinea—makes one realize that the good ship *Hope* means in good will between the people of foreign lands and our country."

Dr. Walsh, Jerome Hardy, and all the other humanitarian Americans who are helping to wage peace by the concern for basic, humanitarian needs, are heroes in the ever-increasing struggle to emphasize those things which unite the peoples of the world, instead of the considerations which divide them.

The 20th Anniversary of the U.N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to address this body today on the topic of the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the United Nations. Today, more than ever, we see the critical importance of this international body as the development of nuclear weaponry proliferates. We see how the complexion of international diplomacy has changed since the time when the German strategist von Clauswitz stated that war is but an extension of diplomacy.

The United Nations has served a vital function during the years since it was set up at the Dumbarton Conference following World War II. It has sent peace forces into Korea, Yemen, the Congo (Léopoldville) and the Sinai Peninsula. Currently, the United Nations is maintaining a precarious peace in Cyprus between the Turkish and Greek communities. These forces have been able to take the heat out of strained situations and give nations some time to cool off before bringing them to the conference table.

In the field of technical and economic assistance, the United Nations has perhaps served its most vital role. By giving help and advice to the developing nations, the United Nations has helped to make these states more economically viable. The work of Paul Hoffman, Managing Director of the Special Fund, has been invaluable in this regard and is worthy of the greatest praise. The Economic and Social Council, the Food and Agriculture Organization and the regional economic organizations of the United Nations have been the sustaining framework for the poorer nations of the world.

Mr. Speaker, today the weaponry of this world includes not only arrows and axes and gunpowder but also the hydrogen bomb. We have enough weapons today for the first time in history to eradicate human life on this planet. The question thus becomes not one of the need for a United Nations but how to increase its effectiveness.

Only through a worldwide effort can we ever hope to avoid the ultimate holocaust. If in 1995 we do not celebrate the 50th anniversary of the birth of the United Nations, it is highly likely that there will not be anyone left to celebrate anything on earth.

Vietnam Background—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, a recent issue of America magazine featured three articles under the single title "Vietnam Background." I previously have inserted an article by the Reverend Patrick O'Connor on alleged persecution of Buddhists by the Diem regime.

At this point I would like to insert a second article from "Vietnam Background." This one is by Prof. Quentin L. Quade, of the political science department at Marquette University, Milwaukee.

In his article, Professor Quade calls for a clearer articulation of polify on Vietnam, as a means of answering those who have criticized U.S. actions in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

While I do not completely agree with Professor Quade that the administration can or should make explicit the scope for our current policy, his conclusions about the underlying theme of that policy are valid ones and deserve careful consideration.

For that reason I urge the attention of my colleagues to the article, which appears hereafter:

VIETNAM BACKGROUND

(By Quentin L. Quade)

(NOTE.—What is the aim of American foreign policy? How many Vietnams and Dominican Republics must we be prepared to police? These questions are being repeatedly asked by the critics of the administration's foreign policy. Although the answers to them are implicit in that policy, they have not as yet been clearly articulated—and they must be.)

Faced with massive, if often incoherent, criticism of its policy in Vietnam, the administration has gone a considerable distance toward explaining that policy. The President, Secretaries Rusk and McNamara, and other spokesmen have devoted themselves more and more to the root question of why the United States is involved in this remote place. In attempting to give an answer, these men have elaborated three interrelated themes that seem to constitute the premises of our Vietnam policy.

The first premise is that the world is integral, and that the struggle in Vietnam is simply part of the wider conflict with the forces of aggression. In President Johnsons' words: "This is the same battle we have fought for a generation." The second premise is really a lesson drawn from experience. It argues that the modern aggressor's appetite is insatiable and cannot be appeased. As the President has declared: "Wherever we have stood firm, aggression has been halted, peace restored, and liberty maintained." And Secretary Rusk affirms

this judgment: "We are told that southeast Asia is far away—but so were Manchuria and Ethiopia." The third premise, which inevitably colors the first two, is an appraisal of the character of contemporary communism. This judgment is perhaps best expressed by Dean Rusk, who, while acknowledging conflict between China and the Soviet Union, nonetheless insists that both are "committed to the eventual communization of the entire world."

Taken together, these three prudential judgments represent a rationale or theory of U.S. action in Vietnam. This rationale and the judgments on which it is based are rejected by some (Walter Lippmann) as being substantively incorrect. But it is possible to share and support the administration's theory and its premises, and still be seriously dissatisfied with it—not because it is wrong, but because it is insufficient. For in one crucial respect the position of the administration, as enunciated to date, is warning: it seems to have no "resolution dimension," no end in sight.

This fact helps to explain the abundance of criticism directed at the policy. Dean Rusk has called for sense not nonsense from opinion leaders in the country, but he and his colleagues are at least partly responsible for the incoherence of much of the criticism, simply because the administration has failed to provide a final rationale of its policy. What is the end of U.S. policy in Vietnam? How long will it continue, and how often will it be repeated? Walter Lippmann undoubtedly speaks for many when he says: "The addicts of the global and crusading theory should ask themselves how many more Vietnams and Dominican Republics they are prepared and able to police."

There is implicit in present American policy an answer to these questions, but it has not as yet been articulated. Its articulation requires an appraisal of human nature, and a testing of the universality of that nature. It requires the kind of probing done by Pope John XXIII in "Pacem in Terris."

The most fundamental objectives of American foreign policy is to achieve and maintain conditions of relative peace and order around the world. A part of this objective is to enable the various peoples of the world to define their own political order freely. This policy is presented as an accurate reflection, first, of what our own national security requires, and second, of the best condition for all men.

Applied to Vietnam, this general policy is specified roughly as follows: South Vietnam is an independent state whose political integrity is presently threatened by attempts to impose a regime upon it. The threat is in several forms: Vietcong guerrillas are waging a form of civil war, but this is more than simple internal dissension, because the Vietcong are representative of an international conspiracy; as such, they are receiving substantial support from outside South Vietnam. In this context, there is direct involvement of North Vietnam, and indirect involvement of China and the Soviet Union. Thus, against the background of our basic foreign policy, the defense of South Vietnam is important in itself. But it is also important in a larger sense: it is a direct confrontation between us and the Communist powers.

In this sense, any integral American policy in Vietnam must have at its root an assessment of the character of communism today, including the possibility of differentiating among the several brands now available. In terms of its international ramifications, which are most pertinent here, communism is a world view that gives its adherents certain conceptual categories that serve as operative motives or dynamics in international politics. More precisely, it is a doctrine of combat that sees the world divided between imperialists and the oppressed. According to the doctrine, this division of the world necessarily results in conflict, which conflict will ultimately be decided in favor of the international proletariat, i.e., the Communist regimes as self-defined representatives of the proletariat.

What is to be said of this doctrine, and how is the United States to respond to it? The first point—and, though it may seem a truism, the most important—is that the doctrine is erroneous; it does not genuinely portray the realties of international life. (This is not to say, of course, that Marxism-Leninism, and particularly the creed of Lenin's "Imperialism," has no pertinence to past and present world politics. But Communists propound this doctrine as the total explanation, and this, clearly, it is not.)

But despite the error at its basis, in nearly a half-century communism has worked rather substantially, and has expanded from areas proximate to St. Petersburg and Moscow until today it commands one-third of the world. And to the extent that it has worked, to its proponents it seems true. This phenomenon of error confirmed by success is not uncommon, and the notion of self-fulfilling prophecy is particularly pertinent to communism. Since Lenin, its leaders have stated that such-and-such would happen, and have then gone out and made it happen.

If this analysis of international communism is correct, what are its implications for U.S. policy? Since the U.S. basic objective in foreign policy is to achieve and maintain relative world order, it is obliged to neutralize the aggressive and disruptive tendencies of the Communist countries, which are presently the primary—though certainly not the exclusive—source of world disorder. To achieve a neutralization of Communist aggressiveness, the United States must blunt and deter every instance of Communist expansionism, whether it be in Berlin, Korea, Vietnam, or elsewhere.

But this is where Lippmann's question becomes pertinent and where, I suggest, the rationale of the administration's policy is deficient: Is this confrontation with communism to continue indefinitely, perhaps in perpetuity? Are we to anticipate an unending series of Vietnams in the future, each of which will present the awful possibility of the holocaust? Is our present policy tenable if it has no prospect but repetition of itself?

This need not, however, be the prospect of our present policy. The ultimate justification of the policy is that if, over an extended period of time, we consistently frustrate each Communist effort at expansion, we will force the Communists to reassess the validity of their doctrine in its international dimensions and, one may hope, abandon it in practice.

Emphasis on this principle, I think, can make our present policy integral; hence it is essential to clarify the elements of the assertion. First, it affirms the possibility of fundamental change in the Communist countries, especially regarding their attitudes in international politics, and this avoids the danger of freezing our perceptions of communism, a danger eloquently cited in Pacem In Terris. And this is just another way of saying that before Communist leaders are Communists, they are men; in them is a human nature that can guide them out of the paths of aggression and into the paths of rational accommodation and adjustment. But to the extent the Communist leaders are able to fulfill their erroneous prophecies, they will not follow the dictates of humanness. This country must therefore speed and facilitate that reassertion of human nature in the Communist regimes by demonstrating in the concrete order the error of their theory.

In this regard, it may not be premature to suggest that we are witnessing the beginning of such a transformation in the Soviet Union. Though it remains essentially totalitarian in its internal makeup, it has been increasingly reluctant to heighten international tensions. Why? Perhaps in part, at least, because its expansionistic efforts in its natural areas—Europe—have been quite definitely rebuffed. Is it inconceivable to anticipate a similar transformation in the Chinese attitude, if we can successfully deter them?

What does this mean for our policy in Vietnam? We are, it seems to me, obliged to deter and finally discourage Communist aggression there, be it Vietcong, North Vietnamese, Chinese or Soviet. Implicit in this judgment is the willingness to escalate the conflict as high as necessary to achieve the objective of negotiations on the basis of guarantees of South Vietnamese integrity. Escalation "as high as necessary" is loaded with frightening possibilities, of course, but the alternative is even more frightening. To set a self-imposed limit on our escalation would be comparable to telling an opposing poker player that you would only bet so high and then drop out. Equally important, we must be prepared to continue the conflict so long as is necessary, expecting that our huge economic superiority translated into military stamina will cause our adversaries to reach a point where they judge the price of aggression too high.

And finally—Walter Lippmann's question can now be answered—we must be prepared to repeat this performance in response to every instance of Communist expansionism, on the judgment that there is a genuine end in view.

Repeal of Excise Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, for the recent repeal of manufacturers' excise taxes to have their maximum effect, they should be passed on to the consumer. I am happy to note that this is the view taken by a distinguished member of the New York business community who has indicated that his company plans to pass on the tax savings in a price reduction.

Mr. Speaker, under permission I insert in the RECORD a letter from Mr. Henry Steinway of the famous piano making firm of the same name which indicates a policy that I hope will be followed by American business generally:

STEINWAY & SONS,
July 2, 1965.

Hon. JOHN V. LINDSAY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JOHN: A few months ago I wrote you about our interest in excise tax repeal and you were good enough to reply, expressing your interest in this matter. I would just like to thank you for your support of this measure which repealed this tax that has discriminated against pianos and other musical instruments since 1941.

For your information, we, Steinway & Sons, have immediately reduced our wholesale price to our dealers by the total amount of the tax and have reduced our suggested retail price by the amount of the tax, together with the normal markup on this tax. In this way we are passing on the maximum benefits to the public as we believe this was the intention of Congress.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY Z. STEINWAY,
President.

Now It's There; Now It Isn't

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 22, 1965

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, over the past weeks a familiar pattern regarding reports on phases of the so-called war on poverty has developed. First, someone who has been close to an individual project will point out problems in its operations or administration. The next day, a high official of the Office of Economic Opportunity will deny that any such problems exist. It is a kind of "now it's there, now it isn't" game.

Last week, a high official of the NAACP said the programs were not reaching the poor. The next day a high official of the OEO said they were.

This week, the Women's Job Corps Training Center at St. Petersburg, Fla., provides the playing field. It is housed in a former luxury hotel, which the Director of the Women's Job Corps says isn't luxurious.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following two newspaper reports. The first is from the Washington Daily News of July 6. The second is from the Washington Post of July 7.

[From the Washington Daily News, July 6, 1965]

INSIDE LOOK AT ANTIPOVERTY PROJECT—TRAINING CENTER: "A COUNTRY CLUB"

(By Ken Schlossberg)

A young Washington woman who quit her staff job at the first Women's Job Corps Training Center in St. Petersburg, Fla., said today the place is being "run like a country club."

Gloria Pasternak, 25, of 4501 29th Street NW., who was a counselor in residence, said the staff has lots of money but little experience. So the young girls brought there for job training are getting instead a paid vacation at the beach.

"Everything is given, given, given to them," she said. "They aren't allowed to do a thing for themselves."

RESORT

The center, opened in April, is in an oceanside hotel in a resort area. Some 125 girls, aged from 16 to 21, are living there now.

Here's a list of what the girls are getting:

Thirty dollars spending money a month and $50 in the bank (in addition, of course, to room and board.)

One hundred dollars worth of clothing.

Four maids and 16 kitchen employees to do the housework for them.

A shuttle bus to take them to classes (only a few blocks away), to the beach, and on trips around town.

"The one thing that wasn't given them was a staff that could help them and cared enough to try," Miss Pasternak said.

TROUBLES

Actually, in the weeks since Miss Pasternak quit, the center's difficulties have mushroomed.

Its director, Joseph Ems, quit.

The Pinellas County School Board said it wanted out of an 18-month $2,461,907 contract with the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity to run the center.

The St. Petersburg City Council asked that the center be moved after people complained of excessive noise and rowdyism.

OEO officials admitted it was a mistake to put the center in the hotel.

BETTER

"The Huntington Hotel was already plush—but it's more so after some of our own improvements," Miss Pasternak said.

The improvements included a new kitchen, new air conditioning and fire alarm systems, and new furnishings.

"Though the hotel is leased for $12,500 a month—$225,000 over the life of the contract—the owner has not had to carry any of the improvement costs," she said.

Few of the persons running the center had experience with young girls.

Mr. Ems, a former county welfare director, recently admitted his experience with young people is very limited.

Miss Betty J. Gardiner, a former employee of the county health department and now assistant director of the center, has always been an administrator.

James Northrop, head residence counselor, came from an administrative position in a Federal manpower training program.

"The only person qualified to handle young people was a man they have made a logistics supervisor," Miss Pasternak said. "That meant he was the man in charge of ordering $40 desks for every girl."

GONE

He is Darrell Blackburn, a former juvenile court probation officer. He has now resigned. He said he couldn't "stand the waste of money going on."

Miss Pasternak said: "Basic education courses for the girls are good, but the vocational courses were limited, at one point, to typing. And no homework is ever assigned."

As a result the girls have nothing to do and become bored.

SERVICE

"The maids clean their rooms, sweep the floors and empty the ashtrays," she said. "The kitchen help prepares the food, sets the table and washes the dishes.

"You would think the girls would be organized to keep the place neat and clean, to help out behind the food counter, to fold napkins. The ones that could type weren't even allowed to do clerical work."

She said boredom has allowed petty differences, some racially based, to blow up out of all proportion. The 125 girls were about evenly divided between white and Negro.

"We had some nasty fights," she said. "If the girls had been kept busy it wouldn't have happened."

INDIFFERENCE

She said staff indifference often aggravated other small problems.

"I remember one girl who wanted to change roommates and had good reasons," she said. "She made her request and nothing happened. Finally, she became so upset she left the center."

She said other girls would leave, seemingly without any warning.

"They always had reasons but we wouldn't find out until they were gone," she said. "There were no staff meetings to discuss the girls, to pinpoint their problems and try to help them."

By the time Miss Pasternak quit, some 20 girls had left—a few were emotionally unstable, some were just homesick. These were the girls the center could, and should, have done the most for, she said.

PRAISE

In general she thought highly of the young trainees.

"They are very fine, willing, alert," she said. "In fact, they were of a much higher caliber than I expected."

She said that when the girls first arrived most were serious and intent on taking advantage of the opportunity to learn. Then the atmosphere of largesse and permissiveness affected them.

"When a girl wants to study nursing and she's told to go out and play softball, it bothers her," said Miss Pasternak. "I heard one girl say, 'I didn't come down here for a party, but now I might as well have one.' "

Miss Pasternak said she expects the center to have more problems before it is straightened out.

"It's a mess and before it is over, it will be an even bigger mess," she said. "It's ironic, isn't it? With all the money that's being spent, the girls are still being shortchanged."

SAYS DR. WASHINGTON: JOB CORPS NO LUXURY LIFE

(By Elizabeth Shelton)

Dr. Bennetta B. Washington, Director of Women's Job Corps Training Centers, denied yesterday that enrollees are enjoying country club living in a former luxury hotel in St. Petersburg, Fla.

"The hotel is not a luxurious kind of building," Dr. Washington said of the former Huntington Hotel, built in 1903. "It has four elevators that don't work. The kitchen had to be remodeled. There is air conditioning only in certain offices on the first floor. The girls sleep three and four to a room."

She was being questioned over WRC-TV (channel 4) by commentator Charles Murphy as to whether the enrollees are being coddled, as charged earlier yesterday by a former staff member.

Gloria Pasternak, 25-year-old resident adviser at the Florida center until June 1, and now vacationing on Long Island, charged, according to the Washington Daily News in a story later condensed and circulated by United Press International, that the center is being run more like a resort than a school.

Miss Pasternak told the Washington Post she regards the hotel as neither "plush" or "luxurious." The point she was trying to make, she said, was that having too many things given to them is destroying the girls' incentive.

Her private nickname for the old hotel during the 2 months she was there, she said, was "Termite Terrace."

Miss Pasternak, who worked on a kibbutz in Israel after graduating from college a year ago, said she thought the Government was not wasting, but was misusing, money in St. Petersburg.

What she questioned were the purchases of "wall-to-wall carpeting, expensive desks, golf clubs, and tennis rackets." She said her experience at the center "shattered my ideals of social work."

In her letter of resignation, Miss Pasternak quoted Oscar Wilde to the effect that she could no longer "follow the pack." She later had a conference with the director and then went to the press to air her views.

In St. Petersburg, a center spokesman said that Miss Pasternak "was trying to run things her way."

As explained by Dr. Washington following the television program, the Office of Economic Opportunity's concept is to free the young women for vocational training.

Dr. Washington said the center's 16 food service workers feed the young women 7,000-plus meals a week. Four maids are responsible for the upkeep of the lobby and hallways. The girls change their own linen and make their own beds, as well as tidying up their rooms.

Answering Miss Pasternak's complaint that the young women are not learning the salable job skills they came to acquire, Dr.

Washington said they have a full schedule of basic education and vocational training.

At least a dozen are in on-the-job training in food preparation and service, and another dozen are learning recreation direction on the job. Others are doing clerical work.

She pointed out that the center had not reached its full complement of enrollees when Miss Pasternak left. There are now 242 girls. A total of 37 have left, mainly due to homesickness or illness in the family.

Six girls were disciplined by Assistant Director Betty Gardiner over the holiday weekend, Dr. Washington said, adding that two are still at the center with status pending.

She said the girls were disciplined for disruptive behavior, not for drinking charges alone. Miss Gardiner told the Washington Post that the other girls applauded when she told them disciplinary action was taking place.

Dr. Washington also said that the St. Petersburg City Council has not yet informed the OEO of its action last week. By a 6-to-1 vote, with Mayor Herman Goldner dissenting, the council voted to request removal of the center from that city "as soon as possible."

She added that Project Officer June Henry, a former Air Force logistics officer, has returned to St. Petersburg to make an objective study of the situation. Dr. Washington said it is a little too early for her to evaluate whether the site is wrong.

She observed that St. Petersburg wanted the center and made an attractive proposal in order to get it there.

Last week, she added, Assistant Superintendent Joseph D. Mills came to Washington to assure the OEO that the Pinellas County Board of Public Instruction intends to fulfill its contract.

The board selected the site and the staff, Dr. Washington said. The program has now been in operation 3 months. It has recently come under heavy criticism from residents who complain of the rowdyism of their youth hanging around the girls' hotel. Last week, after city council action, Joseph R. Ems, former county welfare director, handed in his resignation.

The school board will act on the resignation at a July meeting.

Another Myth Dispelled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I place in the RECORD an editorial from the Chicago Daily News of June 29 which is as practical a commentary as I have seen on the recent change of government in Algeria:

ANOTHER MYTH DISPELLED

The delay of the long-touted Afro-Asian conference in Algiers is being hailed as a diplomatic defeat for Red China, which is doubtless true. China had become the principal promoter of the "second Bandung" conference and viewed it as a springboard for assuming a leadership role second to none in the world.

The Chinese plan even included blocking Russia from admission to the conference on the ground that Russia is a European power, despite all that stretch of the Soviet Union across Asia to the Pacific. Under the banner of Afro-Asian unity—which in the Chinese plan carries a broad stripe of anti-white racism—there was to be a huge propaganda campaign against the United States and white "imperialists" in general.

The postponement of the conference wrecked these plans, but Red China's was not the only defeat. The principal casualty was the concept of Afro-Asian unity itself, which had been promoted by other self-seeking nations besides China. The nations of Asia and Africa, many of them still so new they scarcely deserve to be called nations, are nowhere near ready for unity, behind China or anyone else.

Among the countries invited to the conference were some that stand firmly with the United States, like Japan, Thailand, and the Philippines. Others, like India, are striving to remain unattached. Many of the new African nations retain strong ties with Britain or France.

The revolution in Algeria which unseated Ahmed Ben Bella proved convenient for some diplomats who clearly had misgivings about the conference to begin with. The postponement to November, when it came, was in a sense belated recognition that the conference had failed before it started.

The immediate gainer from this fiasco may be the United States, which at least was spared the embarrassment of fiery castigation from Red China about the situation in Vietnam. Russia, too, comes out ahead for the time being.

But the long-range gainers are surely the Afro-Asian nations themselves, who need no longer subscribe to the myth that geography binds them inevitably into a chain in which Red China is the largest link.

The Immigration Bill—Sensible and Humane

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, a major item of unfinished business for the 89th Congress is the Celler immigration bill now pending before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration.

The principal reform called for in the Celler bill and my companion bill, H.R. 2856, is the elimination of the national-origins quota system over a 5-year period. Over the years, Congress has recognized the injustice caused by the present system and has enacted special legislation and private bills to remedy specific cases. The proposed bill would substantially reduce the number of private immigration bills introduced each year for the relief of individuals. By way of example, in the last four Congresses 14,672 such bills were introduced and 2,155 were enacted.

It should be emphasized that there is no relaxing of the qualitative criteria for admissibility to the United States and that no relaxation of these mental, moral, economic, and ideological criteria is proposed by this legislation. Under the proposed amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act preferences will be granted to those whose skills are especially advantageous to the United States and to relatives of U.S. citizens and resident aliens to promote the reuniting of families. Under this legislation, the total number of persons to be admitted to this country would not be substantially increased.

I commend to my colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the July 6, 1965, edition of Newsday, published in Nassau County, N.Y.:

ACTION ON IMMIGRATION

It is fitting that Congress, at Independence Day weekend, is on the verge of giving a significant boost to President Johnson's proposals for a sweeping revision of the Nation's archaic and discriminatory immigration laws. America has been made great not only through the labor and dedication of our native born citizens, but also as a result of the great contribution that has been made by the millions of immigrants.

But while millions have come, millions more have been denied entrance to the United States under iniquitous immigration statutes dating back to 1924 which base the selection of whom shall be admitted on a national origins quota system. This formula has tended to favor the countries of Western Europe (where the demand to emigrate has fallen off) and discriminate against the nations of south and central Europe (where the demand has increased tremendously).

Under the administration bill about to be reported out of the House Judiciary Subcommittee, the country-by-country quota formula would be abolished in favor of a system which would base preference on work and cultural skills, and the reuniting of separated families. Despite the change, the number of those permitted to enter the country would not be substantially enlarged. The proposed new law is sensible and humane. It deserves early passage by the Congress.

I commend Newsday for treating editorially a subject about which the citizens of the Fifth Congressional District are in large numbers writing to their Congressman.

Dear Graduate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, during the past month, the thoughts of many of us have been on the thousands upon thousands of men and women who are graduating from high school. These thoughts, naturally, relate to the long hours and years of devotion in educating these students to face the grave responsibilities of their generation.

The Reverend Joe Ferreira attended the graduation exercises at the San Leandro High School in my congressional district in San Leandro, Calif. During the period of the ceremony, he had time to reflect on the 4 years between the entering class and the graduating class, and to put into writing his advice to these particular graduates. Because I believe his words are so appropriate and should be shared by many others, and not only the graduates of San Leandro High School, I am pleased to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Father Ferreira's message, which appears in the San Leandro Morning News of June 25, 1965:

CURRIER'S COMMENTS

(By Win Currier)

Father Joe Ferreira, recently returned to the area as assistant pastor at St. Paschal's Church, attended San Leandro High School graduation exercises the other night.

The ceremonies prompted him to write some of his thoughts and send them along to us for what meaning they may have for others.

His message follows:

"DEAR GRADUATE

"(By Father Joe Ferreira)

"I have just come back to the rectory after watching your beautiful graduation at San Leandro High. I remember so well the day when you signed up to be a member of our beloved St. Leander's Teen Club. You were, then, a freshman savoring the thrill of being able to walk on the road reserved for mature youths.

"Looking at you tonight, marching out with your high school diploma, I couldn't help but feel this sensation of pride and joy running through my whole being.

"I wanted to talk to you, but circumstances didn't permit it. You had plans for the evening and I didn't want to spoil your fun. And because I couldn't be with you, I decided to write you an open letter with the hopes you will read it sometime, when all the parties are over.

"Listen, are you aware of the great privilege, you were favored with, by receiving a high school education? Today, my dear graduate, it is very difficult to procure any responsible position without it. People ask for references when you apply for a * * * you worked at school, how much geography or history you have covered, or how many dates you can remember. Sure, these are means for a higher end. But your graduation was only a commencement, the beginning of the practical application in everyday life of the things that you have been taught until now. Your honesty and integrity will often be put to test in the keen competition of the business world. In this battle of wits it is usually the person with character that will win out in the end. Character is, briefly, that quality which prompts a person to do the right thing at all times in all places. In short, to be true to yourself, to God and your fellow man.

"The training you received in school wasn't so much for the sole purposes of thinking right, but rather to zero you in how to act right. Being true to yourself you must act like intelligent beings, endowed with reason, understanding and free will. Your trained conscience should be able to guide you through life's squalls. In other words—a sound mind in a sound body.

"However, before you can be true to yourself, you must, first of all, be faithful and true to your God and His precepts. All your dealings with yourself or with others, everything you do, fall under one or the other of the Ten Commandments. To obey and observe them, is a test of real character.

"As you leave the walls of San Leandro High, with your mind made up that you will follow God's Commandments, you may enter the stream of humanity, certain that you will succeed in the active and competitive life that awaits for you.

"And if you do so, then you will also be true not only to yourself and God, but also to your fellow man. You are now a graduate with a heart full of the best intentions; but this doesn't offer you complete maturity. You still got to listen and to ask your elders. So, be cautious and move along carefully; there are many pitfalls along the way. Soon you will realize that the world, which you painted so beautiful and serene, is filled with more wickedness than you ever dreamed of. There is still many a slip between the cup and the lip, as the saying goes.

"Don't let your high hopes and lofty aspirations go astray. Avoid the blight, the catastrophe, in your own future life. Just remain to be yourself; act natural. 'To thyself be true' and 'act thy part well,' says Shakespeare. Then look bravely into the future and let each passing day and hour:

" 'Die as the vernal flower,
A thing of self-reviving power:
That every word, and every deed,
May bear within itself the seed
Of future good and future need.' "

Silver Still Scarce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, this Congress has been assigned the difficult task of making the first fundamental change in our coinage system in its 172 years of existence. There are many conflicting interests that have been brought to bear on the coinage issue, but the overriding interest, which must guide the action that will be taken by this Congress in establishing a new coinage system for this country, must be the national interest.

That interest will only be served by a new system of coins that will fulfill their primary function—that of a circulating medium of exchange—and assure the smoothest and least disruptive transition from our present coins to the new coins.

That interest calls for more than a compromise proposal. I have worked with the Treasury Department in the past years, as a member of the Treasury-Post Office Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, as attempts were made to maintain our traditional coinage system. The compromises and stopgap measures of those years did not resolve the problems confronting our coinage system.

As we await House action on the Coinage Act of 1965, every Member of this body should make every effort to insure that he or she is as well-versed in the proposals for a new system of coinage and the ramifications of those proposals as time and the demands of office will allow. Only then can we be assured that the action we will take will meet the problems with which we are faced in this instance head on.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues, a recent news article from the June 7 Boston Globe and an editorial from the June 11 Boston Herald, which comment on the state of our coinage system today and the proposals for a new system of coins.

[From the Boston Globe, June 7, 1965]

SILVER STILL SCARCE—COINAGE PLANS DODGE THE ISSUE

(By Peter B. Greenough)

A fellow traveler on the plane to Europe recently displayed a pocketful of Kennedy half dollars.

"They'll perform miracles," he said. "Get me all kinds of things and services I want."

Later we ran into him again. If anything, he had understated the case. People followed him down the street begging for the coins. Some of it was reverence for the late President. Others were merely avid collectors.

At the Harvard Business School this spring, a few students have been hoarding regular half dollars.

One had a bag with 1,000 halves.

His theory, shared by some of his classmates, was silver simply had to rise in price. Then they'd melt the coins down and make money.

Indeed, one lad wrote a term paper advancing this notion.

The point of these two stories?

Simply to illustrate that a genuine money fever is loose in the world.

Next question: Will it now be cooled by President Johnson's proposal to take silver out of dimes and quarters, and reduce much of it in half dollars?

Politics obviously swayed the President's compromise plan. He didn't wish to alienate Western silver-producing States. Or more particularly, his pal MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana, Senate majority leader.

However, where compromise has done well by Mr. Johnson in many circumstances, this time it may have bought him exactly nothing.

Bankers and coin specialists we sampled are almost of one mind that Gresham's law (bad money drives out good) surely will take hold.

That is, there will be a tremendous surge of hoarding. As one put it: "We have only a fair chance of getting out of this with our skins."

Don't think it hasn't got people at the Federal Reserve System worried about a great coin pinch. Especially with 50-cent pieces, which may disappear into collectors' maw between now and next year, when new ones appear.

Still, it is never possible to assuage everyone. The very fact that virtually no one except vending machine people (who now won't have to alter their machine innards) is really happy with the idea, indicates that it may—for a time—work out satisfactorily.

The silver market here took the plan in stride Friday, with no change in price. London's silver price dropped 2 cents an ounce, but not enough to upset the U.S. market.

Probably things appeared calm because everyone anticipated a compromise plan.

Our feeling is that in time this compromise scheme will disappear. Industrial demands for silver are so heavy, and mounting continually, that supply cannot meet needs. Sooner or later, preferably sooner, we'll have to remove all silver from all coinage—including "silver" dollars.

Historical tradition be darned here. Half a solution is no solution, and the quicker Washington recognizes it, the poorer the hoarders will be.

One last quick hop back to Europe: silver has been pulled out of most coinage over there. No one feels the worse for it.

[From the Boston Herald, June 11, 1965]

LOOK FOR THE ALLOY LINING

The House Banking Committee, snapping its fingers at the once powerful silver bloc, went Mr. Johnson one better this week and voted to eliminate all silver from the half dollar and to stop minting the silver dollar for at least 5 years. Last week Mr. Johnson asked only that silver be dropped entirely from the dime and quarter, with the content of the half dollar cut from 90 to 40 percent. Copper-nickel alloys would replace the silver.

We think the House is moving in the right direction. The Senate, where the western

mining bloc is stronger, may yet manage to keep the half dollar at its present content. But time is working against it.

Mr. Johnson had little choice the other day in asking Congress for the first major changes in U.S. coinage in about 170 years. The reason was simple. The free world just isn't producing enough of the precious metal to keep the present content in our coins, to say nothing of the vaulting demands of industry.

But why do we need only silver in our coins? Much of Europe manages to get along with alloys. And even in this country we haven't used silver in the 5-cent piece for many years. No one has complained very much.

A nickel-copper coinage would release much needed silver to industry to the firms manufacturing photographic film, pharmaceuticals, and dental products. Our own jewelry industry in the Attleboro-Providence area needs as much silver as it can get, and think of the large supply needed by Greater Boston electronics plants.

Mr. Johnson perhaps recognized the continuing nature of the problem last week when he said he intended to set up a special fact-finding commission. This body, including the Secretaries of Commerce and the Treasury, would pay particular attention to technological advances in the alloys, and would decide moreover just when the Government should stop keeping up the price of silver.

Investigation will take time, but careful study of a total shift to alloys may provide the lasting solution.

Consultants From Hawaii Aid Infant Micronesia Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, because Hawaii enjoys unique geographical, cultural, and ethnic status, her people are often called upon, perhaps more frequently than the people of any other State in the Union, to render assistance to peoples outside the limits of the United States.

A recent example of such people-to-people assistance program was the significant help a team of Hawaii's leading citizens were able to provide the newly elected Congress of Micronesia which opened its session in Saipan on July 12, 1965.

The team was invited to Saipan to conduct a 2-week presession program for members of the Congress of Micronesia and their legislative staffs.

A full newspaper account of the historic event follows:

FOUR FROM ISLES TO ADVISE INFANT MICRONESIA CONGRESS

Four islanders leave tomorrow for Saipan to help the newly elected Congress of Micronesia prepare for its opening session July 12.

They are Y. Baron Goto, vice chancellor of the East-West Center's Institute for Technical Interchange; Norman Meller, University of Hawaii professor political science; Tom Dinell, director of the Legislative Reference Bureau, and former Representative Thomas P. Gill.

Gill will substitute for Charles S. James, University of Hawaii finance director, who had been scheduled to make the trip but is convalescing from an appendectomy.

Now State Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Gill yesterday received permission from Washington to make the trip. He will return to Hawaii July 4.

Goto will return July 2. Dinell will stay in Micronesia for the entire 30-day legislative session, returning to Honolulu in August. Meller will meet with district legislatures in the trust territory following the Saipan session, returning to Hawaii in September.

The team is going to Saipan at the request of the high commissioner of the trust territory, who asked the Institute for Technical Interchange to conduct the training program.

Micronesia elected its first Congress earlier this year, and the Hawaii team will conduct a 2-week presession program for members of the congress of Micronesia and supporting legislative staff.

Training programs also will be held for district legislative bodies and their supporting staffs.

The conference is designed to emphasize the importance of the Congress to Micronesian self-government to motivate the Congressmen to take the initiative of participation in self-government, Goto said.

It also will give members of the legislature an opportunity to meet informally before convening to consider the structure and procedures of legislative bodies so that they can organize the Congress, and give them a chance to participate in parliamentary proceedings before the Congress convenes.

The Late Honorable T. A. Thompson

SPEECH

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 2, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sadness that I join with our colleagues in paying tribute to our late colleague, T. A. THOMPSON, the distinguished Member from Louisiana's Seventh District.

Our dear colleague was taken from us suddenly and without warning. He will be sorely missed by all of us who have known him since he came to the House in 1953. He was an outstanding legislator and a good man.

I am proud to have known T. A. and to have called him my friend. He believed, with so many others in this body, that "human life consists in mutual service."

My sincerest condolences to Mrs. Thompson and the children.

May his memory be for a blessing forever.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Progress of Bonneville Power Administration's Advance Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, the East Oregonian of Pendleton, Oreg., for July 1, 1965, published an excellent editorial entitled "Superb Planning." The editorial relates to the important subject of the use of Columbia River power. It gives much credit to Congress and the Bonneville Power Administration for the successful conclusion of the Columbia Basin treaty. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUPERB PLANNING

Bonneville Power Administration's advance program (1965–75) report emphasizes the importance of events of the past 4 years upon the operations of the agency over the next 10 years. One sees that but for two significant events the next 10 years for BPA would have been quite different.

Signing of the treaty with Canada for joint development of the Columbia River and the Pacific Northwest-Pacific Southwest intertie make the big difference and neither of itself could have made the difference that they make together. In fact that they had to go together.

Under the joint development treaty Canada will build three large storage projects. They are Duncan Lake, Arrow Lakes, and Mica. The United States will build Libby Dam which will back water 42 miles into Canada.

The three Canadian storage dams will produce initially 2,800,000 kilowatts of additional salable firm power at U.S. dams downstream on the Columbia. Half of this power will go to each country. Libby Dam will add 750,000 kilowatts of salable power at site and at dams downstream. Putting this together, the United States will have 2,100,000 kilowatts of new salable power, about 1,600,000 kilowatts of which will be produced on the Federal system and the balance at non-Federal dams.

Canada has sold her share of the power that will come from her three projects through a nonprofit corporation to 41 private and public utilities in the Northwest.

The Pacific Northwest-Pacific Southwest intertie of four big lines will tie together electric systems of 11 Western States. The lines will be built by a combination of public and private utilities and the Federal government. Two of the major lines will be 500,000-volt alternating current and two will be 750,000-volt direct current.

Now, why is it important that the treaty and the intertie are to be developed simultaneously? The intertie was justified for the surplus power it could have moved from the Northwest to the Southwest and the Canadian treaty had been sought for a long time without any particulars on marketing of the power it would develop. But now we can see that the treaty could not have been fully effective immediately had it not been for the Southwest market available for the power that will come as a product of the three Canadian storage projects and Libby Dam. All of that power can be sold in the Southwest and that will make financing of construction of the Canadian storage projects possible immediately.

This is a story of superb planning and management on the part of Bonneville Power Administration over the past four years. Much of the credit must go to the BPA administrator, Charles Luce, who has guided the program through the Congress and elsewhere through that period of time.

Making Cities Fit for People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most significant steps taken by this Congress occurred when the House approved a bill creating a Department of Housing and Urban Development.

The need for such a Cabinet-level department is obvious. More than 70 percent of our population lives in urban areas. By 1970 the figure will rise to 75 percent. And it will not stop there. In Connecticut, for example, it is estimated that 98 percent of our citizens will be living in urban centers of 10,000 or more by the year 2000. As one perceptive critic said, the growth of urban areas may qualify the State by the end of the century to be known as "the city of Connecticut."

And just think of what this means in terms of problems for our suburbs, exploding all over the American landscape, and our cities, groping with the problems of decay.

We have programs to deal with many of these problems: Urban renewal, public works, open spaces, public housing, and transportation, to name a few. But when the President meets with his Cabinet and wants to know how the Federal Government is doing overall in assisting areas where 7 of 10 Americans live the agency most concerned, Housing and Home Finance, is not there.

Perhaps the most cogent explanation of why a Cabinet department was offered by Vice President HUMPHREY in the July 3 issue of the Saturday Review. And I know my colleagues, as concerned about the problems of urban areas as I am, will be interested in the editorial. Under leave to extend my remarks, I hereby include the editorial:

MAKING CITIES FIT FOR PEOPLE

(By HUBERT H. HUMPHREY)

Robert Herrick said in the 17th century that great cities seldom rest: if there be none to invade from afar, they will find worse foes at home. We know those foes today. They are slums, crime, a lack of playgrounds and parks, overburdened schools, inadequate transportation, crowding, lack of clean air, and inequality of opportunity.

It was only 45 years ago that people in American cities first began to outnumber people on our farms. By 1960 only 11 States had more rural than urban population.

But most of these States will not remain that way very long. The urban population of North Dakota, our "most rural" State in 1960, jumped 35 percent in the 1950's. Alaska's urban population increased 150 percent, and three other States—Arizona, Florida, and Nevada—more than doubled their urban population during this period.

By 1970 we can expect that three-fourths of our people will be living in towns, cities, and suburbs, compared to 70 percent in 1960. Most of our people will be concentrated in metropolitan areas. At the end of 1964, two-thirds of our population lived in 219 such areas, an increase from 59 percent in 1950. By 1980 that proportion will increase to three-fourths and by the year 2000 to four-fifths.

There have been several patterns of metropolitan growth. One has been mass migration from farm to city. One has been mass migration of Negroes out of the South—virtually all of it to central cities. Another has been mass migration of middle and upper income people from the core city to the suburb. And great growth has come from a higher birthrate and from longer life expectancy.

This growth has imposed new and unprecedented burdens on local government for schools, housing, streets and highways, commercial expansion, transit, and welfare programs.

In the past 10 years, State and local debt has more than doubled, while Federal debt has risen only 15 percent.

State and local government employment jumped from 4,600,000 in 1953 to more than 7 million employees in 1963. During the same decade, State and local public expenditures more than doubled, increasing by 132 percent to $65 billion in 1963. Major among these were expenditures on transportation, education, highways, sanitation, and parks and recreation, with increases from 140 percent to 165 percent during the 10 years. Interest on State and local public debt jumped by 258 percent.

Along with these sharp rises in costs of public services and facilities, the growth of these urban areas has also created explosive racial and economic pressures.

I remember during my two terms as mayor of Minneapolis, at the close of World War II, the strains placed on our city by changing population patterns. Those strains were small compared to those today. Example: In the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area, nearly three-fourths of the people lived in 1950 within the city limits. Today those cities' populations remain constant, while population in their suburbs has more than doubled. The same pattern is common to nearly all our major metropolitan areas.

The picture is clear: There has been a shift of middle and higher income groups into the suburbs, out of the taxing jurisdictions of the inner city, while too many of the poor and disadvantaged have remained behind or moved in from the poorer rural areas.

Although the suburbs have provided cheaper land and lower-cost housing for

many middle-income families, as well as for the more prosperous, they have been populated largely by those able to afford better housing. Those at or near the poverty level have remained concentrated in the slums and poorer sections of the central city. Faced with deterioration and decay, the inner city has found itself with greater tasks to undertake and with fewer ready sources of money. At the same time, the suburbanites have had their hands full creating public facilities and services in communities that were open grass fields a few years ago.

Behind the statistics and population patterns have been thousands of personal and community tragedies, many of them created by those of good intention. There are the impersonal housing projects that in many cases have displaced families and destroyed the traditional fabric of neighborhood life. There are the freeways that have torn through people's homes and businesses, cut through parkland, and done no more than add to the noise in our streets and poison in our air. There are the shortsighted zoning decisions that have blighted neighborhoods and reduced property values.

Because of these discouraging experiences, it would be easy to say that many of our metropolitan problems stem from apathetic or inept local government. In a few places this is true. But in most it is not.

I have been working, at President Johnson's request, with the Nation's mayors, county officials, and city managers. Almost without exception I have found these men and women to be dedicated, competent, and deeply concerned with the problems pressing on their constituencies. Most of them have long since initiated constructive programs of their own in an attempt to keep pace with the urgencies facing their cities. But they have been fighting massive problems with dwindling resources. And they have not had any single place to turn for counsel and assistance.

One of their major difficulties, they tell me, is that no one Federal department or agency has had either authority or responsibility to work with mayors and county officials in areas where they need most help. Our mayors and county officials have not, in many instances, been able to get advice or a rapid answer in Washington—much less Federal funds.

In 1963 the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations identified over 40 separate programs of aid for urban development, administered by some 13 Federal departments and agencies. Small wonder that the committee reported that "the effect of inconsistencies is felt most keenly in urban areas where programs of all kinds at all levels of government most frequently come together."

It cited particularly inconsistency and conflict between policies, or lack of them, in relocating people displaced by public activities. While a community plans for the relocation of people displaced from a renewal area, not infrequently still another public project, undertaken with Federal help, displaces additional numbers with no rehousing plan—and may even eliminate some of the housing urgently needed to meet the problem.

Jet airports may be announced in residential growth areas, driving down values of homes financed with Federal mortgage insurance or guarantees. A right-of-way for a federally aided highway may be purchased, cutting through an area that another agency is seeking to acquire and preserve as public parkland.

One test of democratic government is its ability to respond rapidly to changing conditions.

In 1953 the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was created to provide top-level Federal policy and direction in meeting the human and social needs of our citizens. HEW treats, to a large degree, the symptoms of urban disease.

But until recently there has been no similar recognition of the need for a top-level Federal department to help meet the physical and environmental problems of metropolis—in many cases the causes of urban disease.

Today most of the key programs having to do with urban development, improvement, and housing are lodged at a secondary level of Government, in the Housing and Home Finance Agency. This independent agency was created in 1947, under President Truman, to administer the housing programs of the FHA and the Public Housing Administration as continuing peacetime activities.

Since that time all manner of programs have been added to HHFA's responsibilities, including urban renewal, urban planning, mortgage supports, public works, college housing, mass transportation, open space, and housing for the elderly. Its broad major responsibilities now cover at least 10 distinct and definable areas of activity. If you add the many special programs administered under the agency, the number would more than double. Its programs today involve some type of Federal support for more than $70 billion in private and public investment in housing and urban development.

About 77 percent of this—more than $54 billion—is private-housing mortgage investment insured by the FHA. Public housing accounts for about 10 percent—$7 billion—in capital investment by local public bodies, secured by annual contributions pledged by the Federal Government. Federal grants reserved or committed for renewal of our urban areas total about $4.5 billion, and loans for college housing nearly $3 billion. Lesser amounts include loan or grant commitments for such programs as housing for the elderly, public works planning and construction, open space acquisition, urban planning assistance, mass transportation, and mortgage financing support for G.I. home loans.

The Housing and Home Finance Agency was never intended to fill its present job. It is a loosely knit instrument. According to law, three of its officials are appointed by the President and report directly to him. In a legislative sense, at least, there is no one official in command.

When the President meets with his Cabinet he cannot find out what or how the Federal Government is doing overall in assisting towns, cities, and metropolitan areas. The agency most concerned with these areas is not even represented at the Cabinet table.

In the past several years much has been done through executive cooperation and coordination to mesh various urban-related problems throughout Government. Glaring conflicts have been avoided. But this has been done the hard way, through bits and pieces of agreements and consultations among officials and staff at many levels, in many agencies.

Ad hoc committees and interstaff memorandums are no substitute for executive decision and direction.

In 1961 President Kennedy became the first President to propose creation of a Cabinet-level department of urban affairs. Committees of both the Senate and the House of Representatives reported the bill favorably, but it did not reach the floor in time for action at that session of Congress. When the proposal was submitted in 1962 as a reorganization plan, it failed to receive House approval. Much of the opposition expressed, as the record shows, was based on misconception of what the plan would do or considerations unrelated to the merit of the proposal.

Today the reasons advanced for opposing a new department are: that it would be too costly; that it would mean Federal domination over local communities and States; that it would benefit only the large cities; that the Government is already too big, and this department would make it bigger.

I disagree with these contentions.

The Department bill would authorize no increase in expenditures; instead, it would simply mean that the Government's money would be better spent. It would add no authority to the Federal Government it does not now exercise. It is important to the larger cities but, if anything, even more so to the smaller communities less able to cope with their growth problems—indeed, the great proportion of communities using these programs are small towns, down to the village level. And the argument against "big government" gives no consideration to the fact that the country and its urban needs and problems are far bigger than we were able to foresee even a decade ago.

The needs of our urban areas have not diminished; they have become more pressing. President Johnson's proposal for a Department of Housing and Urban Development must be considered in this knowledge.

The President seeks from Congress the authority to bring good management to Federal responsibilities in our metropolitan areas. He asks for coordinated direction of these activities by a single Government department. And he asks for a place at the Cabinet table for the head of that department.

The bill itself says in part that the Department of Housing and Urban Development shall undertake "maximum coordination of the various Federal activities which have a major effect upon urban, suburban, or metropolitan development," and "the solution of problems of housing and urban development through State, county, town, village, or other local and private action, including promotion of interstate, regional and metropolitan cooperation."

Are our metropolitan areas important enough to merit top-level consideration in the Federal Government?

The answer is certainly yes.

We have long since given Cabinet status to our national concern for our natural resources, our agriculture, our trade and commerce, our labor force, and the social health and educational needs of our citizens.

Surely our cities and metropolitan areas—where three-quarters of us live—are worthy of the same attention.

Accomplishments of Peace Corps Men in Ethiopia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STANLEY R. TUPPER

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a letter from the Honorable Sargent Shriver, Director of the Peace Corps, and an editorial from the student publication of the College of Business Administration at Haile Selassie University in Ethiopia commending a group of U.S. Peace Corps men for their work in organizing the College of Business Administration.

One of these gentlemen, Mr. Roger Sprague, son of Mr. and Mrs. Emery Sprague of Belfast, Maine, is a constituent of mine, and I am proud to bring this to the attention of the House.

This is another indication of the great worth of the Peace Corps.

The letter and editorial follow:

PEACE CORPS,
Washington, D.C.

Hon. STANLEY R. TUPPER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN TUPPER: One of your constituents, as a Peace Corps volunteer, has been instrumental in organizing the College of Business Administration at Haile Selassie University in Ethiopia. He is Roger Sprague, son of Mr. and Mrs. Emery Sprague, 37 Congress Street, Belfast, Maine.

Roger will soon complete his 2-year tour in that country. He recently received from the students significant praise for his contribution to the college and its students.

Enclosed is a copy of the editorial which praises Roger. I felt you would be interested in this fine tribute and the description of the accomplishments of the volunteers at the university.

Many thanks for your continuing support of the Peace Corps.

Sincerely,

SARGENT SHRIVER,
Director.

THE PIONEERS LEAVE

The end of the current academic year marks the departure of six faculty members and a secretary—all Peace Corps volunteers—from the College of Business. In all schools teachers come and go; there is nothing unusual about that. But this is a special case.

The names of Kreuser, Bayorek, Cordasco, Sprague, Tener, Tracy, Knowles, and Rachut will always be remembered in the history of CBA. Without their presence here, the creation of the college in October 1963 would have been difficult, if not impossible, due to the lack of teachers. Their contribution to getting the college started is remarkable, especially in view of the difficult conditions under which they had to work. At the time the college opened, there was a shortage of almost everything: suitable classrooms, books, equipment, etc., but they made the best of what was available.

The significance of the work of this dynamic force lies in these two things. In the first place, they have shown that a good lecturer need not be a hunchbacked, gray-haired old man. Though most of them are relatively young, yet their lectures, characterized by careful and thorough preparation, and methodocial presentation, have generally been of very high standard. Furthermore, they have shown that an ideal teacher is not required to play the role of a boss all the time. They always maintained a smiling face to all the students even on occasions when this was difficult.

We, the students of CBA, have got much to learn from these people. Briefly, they have taught us the love for hard work—hard work for its own sake. Also, their self-sacrificing missionary spirit should not go unnoticed.

Their stay here has been a true practical contribution toward better international understanding, often on people's lips but rarely translated into action. Again, accept our inadequate word of thanks. We wish you the best of luck, success, and prosperity in all your future endeavors.

Who Leads the Demonstrations?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES D. MARTIN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to include two news stories. One from the Washington Post of July 7, "Rights Leader Indicted in Alabama," and the second from the Washington Evening Star of the same date, "Dr. King Defends Colleague Indicted as Selma Embezzler." The people of the United States have a right to know who is leading the demonstrations which are tearing our cities apart both in the North and the South:

RIGHTS LEADER INDICTED IN SELMA

SELMA, Ala., July 6.—A special grand jury returned embezzlement indictments today against the Reverend Frederick D. Reese, a Selma Negro leader and a lieutenant of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in the Alabama voter rights campaign.

Reese, president of the Dallas County Voters League, was indicted on three charges of embezzling a total of $1,850 in funds belonging to the civil rights group. The grand jury asked that it be put in recess in order to investigate a fourth charge.

Circuit Court Judge James A. Hare immediately arraigned the civil rights leader and set bond at $5,000 on the charges.

Selma's public safety director, Wilson Baker, said the arrest was the result of an investigation begun 10 days ago at the request of league members. He said the probe carried investigators as far as San Francisco.

In Atlanta, King reaffirmed confidence in the league's leadership, but said the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which he heads, would investigate the charges.

DR. KING DEFENDS COLLEAGUE INDICTED AS SELMA EMBEZZLER

SELMA, Ala.—Civil rights leaders have rallied to the support of one of their number, the Reverend Frederick D. Reese, of Selma, who is charged with embezzling $1,850 from the organization which he heads.

Reese, a lieutenant of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in the Alabama civil rights campaign, was indicted Tuesday on three charges of embezzling from the Dallas County Voters League, a key organization in the civil rights drive in Selma and Dallas County earlier this year.

The Reverend Ralph Abernathy, vice president of King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, flew into Selma Tuesday night with other leaders assigned by King to investigate the charges made against the Negro minister.

FULL SUPPORT ANNOUNCED

Before flying back to Atlanta, Abernathy announced the full support of the organization for Reese before a cheering crowd at Brown's Chapel AME Church, a center of the Selma civil rights drive.

King jumped to Reese's defense after news of the indictments reached him.

"At this time," he said, "we have no reason to doubt either the interest or the integrity of the Reverend Mr. Reese or any of the Dallas County leadership."

King continued, "However, in order to emphasize our interest in fair play and justice, SCLC will immediately launch an investigation into allegations made against Mr. Reese and any other members of the organization.

SELMA OFFICIALS COMMENT

"The public should be made cognizant that these charges were made in an area where justice traditionally has been biased against Negroes, and too often just consideration under law has to be sought in Federal court," King added.

Selma Mayor Joe Smitherman and Safety Director Wilson Baker stressed at a news conference after Reese's indictment that the investigation was begun only after Negro civil rights workers complained.

The grand jury, called into special session by Circuit Judge James Hare, turned in one indictment for each of three checks alleged to have been written on an account Reese is said by Baker to have established in Montgomery. The checks were for $1,500, $133, and $217.

Baker said that it is possible that more accounts and more people are involved.

Smitherman said there was evidence that food and clothing contributed to the civil rights movement was being sold in rural areas of Dallas County.

Baker said he began his investigation when Negro leaders filed a complaint against William Ezra Greer, 41, civil rights leader in Selma.

The investigation turned up no evidence against Greer, Baker said, but did against Reese.

Greer was arrested, however, on charges of fondling two Negro girls, and use and possession of obscene literature. He is to be tried July 13.

The Real Alabama—Part XXIV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK EDWARDS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, a major reason why the Mobile area has been steadily growing in economic strength is the cooperative and imaginative spirit of Mobile's citizens.

Business and industry like to work with Mobile people. When they come they like to stay. This aspect of the city was highlighted recently in statements by officers of the Stauffer Chemical Corp. of New York and the Stone Container Corp. of Chicago. Their statements follow:

STATEMENT OF ROGER W. GUNDER, STAUFFER CHEMICAL CORP.

We constructed our first manufacturing plant at LeMoyne, Ala., over 10 years ago. A careful study was made of the Mobile area at the time to evaluate the availability of labor, water, utilities, and transportation and—just as important—the type of people we would be living with.

We were highly impressed then, and as time has gone on we realize that we made the right decision. We believe we have a "happy family" in that our labor relations have always been excellent in this area and we like our neighbors. We hope and believe that they like us.

We are now in the process of erecting new facilities at the LeMoyne plant which, when complete, will encompass an additional capital expenditure of about $13 million, and with this large capital investment you may be assured that there will be quite a number of additional job openings for qualified people living in the area.

Several of us, including Mr. Stauffer, had the privilege of visiting Mobile a few months ago. We took the opportunity to tour the area and we were indeed impressed with the sizable amount of large industry operating there. Our plant manager, Mr. Gordon Mitchell, tells me it has been his experience that the people are hard-working and industrious, as well as loyal to their respective companies.

Again, may I say that this sort of climate just doesn't happen without the civil spirit of the public officials, along with the Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce, who work to-

gether to create this type of atmosphere so necessary for a successful business venture.

STATEMENT OF NORMAN H. STONE, OF STONE CONTAINER CORP.

Stone Container Corp. is proud to be a member of the Mobile family of great industries.

Recognizing Mobile as a center of industrial and commercial growth opportunities, we are pleased to have a place, not only in its present greatness, but also in a bright future that surely lies ahead.

Stone Container has been a part of the Mobile business community since 1950 when we purchased an interest in an existing paper mill. The growth potential of the area led to our acquiring full control 3 years later, and we feel strongly that assured industrial expansion will make the future of our Mobile division as bright as that of the area.

We welcome, too, the opportunity to take part in the exciting community spirit shared equally by civic leaders, our industrial neighbors, and all citizens of Mobile.

Committee Formed To Honor the Late Congressman Walter G. Andrews

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce that a citizens committee has been formed to pay tribute to the memory of one of the most distinguished and revered Members of this body, the late Congressman Walter G. Andrews. Since he was one of my predecessors as Representative of the 40th District of New York, I have the honor of serving as chairman of the Walter G. Andrews Portrait Fund. It is our intention to accept donations from friends of "Ham" Andrews, for the purpose of commissioning a noted artist to paint a portrait of the first chairman of the House Armed Services Committee. The portrait itself will be placed on the wall of the Armed Services Committee room in the new Rayburn Building.

I wish to take this opportunity to commend Lucian C. Warren and the editors and publishers of the Buffalo Courier-Express for the leadership they have provided in bringing into being what was only a fond thought to others.

Many have in the past expressed the hope that such a fitting tribute might one day be paid to "Ham" Andrews, and we are happy that this hope is to become a reality. I am proud to serve on a committee so dedicated to the memory of a great Buffalonian, and a great American, "Ham" Andrews.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert at this point in the RECORD two separate articles carried by the Buffalo Courier-Express relating to the establishment of the Walter G. Andrews Portrait Fund:

[From the Buffalo Courier-Express, May 16, 1965]

HONOR TO ANDREWS IS HELD INADEQUATE

(By Lucian C. Warren)

WASHINGTON.—Friends and admirers of the late Representative Walter Gresham Andrews, of Buffalo, are not happy about the indifferent way he is being honored by the House Armed Services Committee, of which he was the first chairman.

The committee recently moved into beautiful new quarters in the Rayburn Building, the $100 million new House Office Building.

Hanging behind the committee hearing room podium are two huge oil paintings of the second and third chairmen—Representative Carl Vinson, Democrat, of Georgia, and Representative Dewey Short, Republican, of Missouri. A third painting is in the planning stages for the present chairman, Representative L. MENDEL RIVERS, Democrat, of South Carolina.

REPRESENTED BY SMALL BUST

Andrews is represented in the room only by a small bust, set off to the side and resting on a table that was created for another purpose—the table is formed from the capstan of the U.S.S. *Maine* of Spanish American War fame.

The inscription on the Andrews bust reads: "Walter Gresham Andrews, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, 1946–48."

Actually Andrews, a Republican, served as chairman from January 3, 1947, to the end of the 80th Congress, January 3, 1949.

CONGRESSMAN FOR 18 YEARS

The distinguished Buffalonian, grandson of Walter Gresham, Secretary of State in Grover Cleveland's administration and Postmaster General in Chester Arthur's, served in Congress from March 4, 1931, to January 3, 1949, during which time he performed the difficult task of welding the old House committees having jurisdiction over the Army and Navy into one effective unified unit, the House Armed Services Committee. He was a World War I veteran with a Distinguished Service Cross. He died March 5, 1949, and is buried in Old Fort Niagara Cemetery.

The custom of having portraits of committee chairmen or enlarged tinted photographs on the walls of commitee rooms is a flourishing one.

A partial list of such likenesses on file with the Capitol Architect's Office shows the following number for the House committees indicated—Agriculture, 5; Banking and Currency, 2; Foreign Affairs, 9; Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2; Judiciary, 3; Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 2; Public Works, 4; Veterans' Affairs, 3; Ways and Means, 14; Appropriations, 22.

No reflection is intended on the Andrews bust by the late Congressman's friends. It is a good likeness created by a distinguished sculptor, Mrs. Anna Glenn Dunbar, and is a gift to the commitee by the Congressman's sister, Mrs. William P. Urban, of Buffalo.

However, its size, in comparison with the portraits, and its inconspicuous setting leaves, in the opinion of these friends, something to be desired.

A quiet campaign is underway to remedy the oversight.

[From the Buffalo Courier-Express, July 5, 1965]

MOVEMENT GAINS TO PLACE PORTRAIT OF ANDREWS IN HOUSE COMMITTEE ROOM

(By Lucian C. Warren)

WASHINGTON.—A movement to place a portrait of the late Buffalo Congressman Walter G. Andrews in the House Armed Services Committee room is gaining momentum.

The movement was started after a story in the Buffalo Courier-Express pointed out that portraits of two former chairmen of the House Armed Services Committee graced the committee walls, but the committee's first chairman, Andrews, was not so honored.

Andrews became chairman of the committee, a merger of the old House committees dealing with Army, Navy, and Air Force affairs separately, in the 80th Congress.

While a small bust of the late Congressman is displayed in the committee, it does not command the attention of the wall portraits of former chairmen Dewey Short, a Republican, and Carl Vinson, a Democrat, who succeed to the chairmanship posts. A portrait of the present chairman, Representative L. MENDEL RIVERS, Democrat, of South Carolina, is in the planning stages for later hanging in the committee rooms.

TO DECIDE ON PROCEDURE

Recently, a group met in Washington to decide on procedures to honor the late Congressman in the same fashion.

Representative HENRY P. SMITH III, of North Tonawanda was selected as chairman. Those in attendance also included John R. Blandford, chief counsel of the House Armed Services Committee and former Buffalonian, and former Representative W. Sterling Cole, of Bath, who served with Andrews on the old committee, and Samuel S. Spaulding, formerly of Buffalo, whose wife, the former Susan Urban, is the late Congressman's niece.

A Walter G. Andrews Portrait Fund was established, an account set up in a local bank and Spaulding was made the treatsurer of the fund.

In Buffalo, Dexter P. Rumsey has accepted the chairmanship of the Buffalo section of the portrait fund committee.

The movement has the enthusiastic endorsement of both House Speaker JOHN MCCORMACK and Representatives RIVERS.

LONG OVERDUE HONOR

"I heartily and fully endorse the recommendation that the Mr. Andrews portrait be painted and that it be placed in the House Armed Services Committee room," RIVERS wrote. "This is a long-overdue honor for our first chairman and I am delighted not only to express my full approval but my full concurrence in what the Henry Smith committee is seeking to do."

Bryce Harlow, formerly a staff counsel of the Armed Services Committee and later an administrative assistant of Dwight Eisenhower in the White House, has joined the portrait fund committee and is seeking to interest other friends of the late Congressman in the objectives.

A ruling has been obtained from the Internal Revenue Service that contributions to the fund are tax-deductible.

It is planned at some later date to engage a Buffalo artist to paint a portrait from photographs of the late Congressman.

Why Invest $2.50 for Each $1 Return?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, Ray Bates, editor of the Feed and Farm Supplier magazine, raised a pertinent question in the July issue on the excessive ratio of farm program cost to farmer benefit. Here is Mr. Bates' editorial:

WHY INVEST $2.50 FOR EACH $1 RETURN?

When the discussion on the first feed grain program was going hot and heavy about 3 years ago, we asked a farmer friend what kind of a farm program he would like, if he could draw it up himself.

His answer was simple, and direct. "I would wipe out all of the present farm programs," he said, "then I would take the same money and divide it up among all the farmers in the country on a proportionate, fair basis."

His idea seemed a bit farfetched at the time, but it doesn't seem so unrealistic when you see what has happened with the farm programs we now have. Charles B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, says that the USDA's budget has risen from almost $5½ billion in fiscal year 1960, to nearly $8 billion in 1964. At the same time, net farm income has increased less than $1 billion, in return for the extra $2½ billion spent on farm programs.

It seems quite a waste to pay $2.50 for each extra $1 brought to the farmer. That extra cost could be so much better used to buy inputs the farmer needs to increase his production efficiency and profits. Those kinds of dollars can return him $2 or $3 apiece, when spent among local farm suppliers.

We also expect that the farmers would prefer spending their own tax dollars the latter way, rather than sending them to Washington to be diluted.

New Open-Door Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, in the days before World War II, in England, there was a small but noisy faction of young people constantly asserting that under no circumstances would they fight "for King and country." It is true that when war did come many of them renounced this view and served king and country in the armed forces. Many of them died for a cause they had seemed to renounce just a few years before. But many historians believe that Hitler was encouraged in the pursuit of his aggressive policies under the mistaken belief that this minority reflected the sentiment of England as a whole and that the English national will to resist had deteriorated.

Today we see this in the United States. A noisy, unwashed collection of beatniks makes noise and gets publicity out of all proportion to its size and influence, and reports reaching the West from the Communist bloc indicate that some of our adversaries believe these protests and demonstrations against U.S. foreign policy indicate the American will to resist has been undermined.

Of course, this vocal minority does not in any sense speak for the majority of American youth, and I have been encouraged to read of counterdemonstrations pledging support to this country and backing its foreign policy of standing firm against Communist aggression. Still, in its misguided ignorance, this beatnik minority has the capacity to work much harm to the United States. The following editorial from the Indianapolis Star of July 7, 1963, points out what would have happened if these people had had their way in past crises, and it carries a somber warning of what could happen if this sentiment were to prevail in the present:

NEW OPEN-DOOR POLICY

It has become a ritual of today's beatnik political youths to tear up their draft cards and let the confetti flutter defiantly onto the pavement.

This act of rebellion is in line with the old-fashioned Bohemian custom of "epater la bourgeoisie," which translates "flabbergast the middle class," or more aptly, "bug the squares." More erratic denizens of the Paris Left Bank or New York's Greenwich Village would stir up the merchants, bankers, clergy and other elements of nonbeat society by tattooing their shaved heads with obscene pictures, walking lobsters down the street on leashes and ribbon, dyeing their hair lavender or promenading in togas or breech-clouts.

Tearing up draft cards is less bizarre but more sinister. It is supposed to make patriotic Americans, who are considered "suckers" and "squares," froth at the mouth. At the same time it is a symbolic protest against war as a policy, and a notification by the card shredders that they would not serve in the U.S. Armed Forces.

Many of these rebels are members of a growing leisure class of youth, basking in a prolonged childhood made possible by liberal allowances from fathers who earn their livings in crass occupations which their bearded, self-indulgent sons deplore.

But the supreme irony of the draft card ripping ceremonies is that these militant pacifists are giving the word that they will not fight to defend the freedom which makes their rebellion possible in the first place. They assume that freedom, if they think about it at all, is a gift of nature, like air and sunshine, eternal and indestructible. They are wrong.

Societies remain free only when they produce men and women who value freedom highly enough to fight for it. Our country won our freedom by fighting for it and has kept it by fighting for it.

If the draft card ripping complex had prevailed in 1776 and since there would be no United States today, only a group of colonies. King George III would not have been chastened and sobered in his autocratic drives by the loss of such valuable possessions, and the cause of freedom would have suffered in the British Empire and everywhere else in the world.

If the draft card shredders had had their way in 1942, the country might now well be divided into an East Zone ruled by Japanese warlords and occupation troops as a subdivision of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, and a West Zone under the heel of Nazi gauleiters and SS troops busy with duties including, among other things, the shipping of undesirables—persons with unfavorable opinions and the like—to death camps.

And if it prevails in the America of the remaining decades of this century, the official language of this country by the year 2000 may be Chinese and children of the draft-card shredders may be pulling well-upholstered Red Chinese tourists in rickshas through New York, Washington, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, New Orleans, Dallas, and Indianapolis, which will have strange-sounding names like New Chengtu, New Yungning, New Tsangwu and New Chungtien.

This would be the result of a new Open-Door policy, one that said, "Mao, the door of America is open. Come on in."

Winner of State Driving Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. IRVING WHALLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. WHALLEY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD an article that was recently published in the Lewistown Sentinel dealing with the safe driving contest that is being conducted on a national scale:

SECOND YEAR FOR COUNTY: LEWISTOWN YOUTH WINS STATE DRIVING CONTEST

For the second consecutive year a Mifflin County youth has copped the State Jaycee State Driving Road-e-o.

The 13th annual contest hosted by the State College Jaycees and the Pennsylvania State University was won by Jerry North, son of Mr. and Mrs. John E. North of R.D. 2.

Jerry will represent the State of Pennsylvania in the national contest in August.

Winners from 43 local contests from throughout the State competed in this event. Jerry scored 465 points from a possible 550.

Competition was held Saturday with a written test in the morning and skill and road test in the afternoon.

An awards banquet was held at the Nittany Lion Inn at the university Saturday at 6 p.m. Guest speaker for the event was Amos Neyhart, retired director of the institute of public safety at the university.

FOUNDED IN 1952

Joseph Intorre of the institute of public safety served as honorary chairman. It was under Mr. Intorre's direction that the Teen Age Road-e-o was founded in 1952.

Nelson Hartranft of Hatfield, president of the Pennsylvania Jaycees, presented the awards, Michael Potochney, representing Hall Motor Freight, presented a rotating trophy to the Jaycee chapter sponsoring the State winner. This trophy, given this year for the first time, will rotate to other winning chapters in coming years.

The State contest was cosponsored by the Bell Telephone Co. of Pennsylvania and the Pennsylvania Jaycees. The national contest, which will be held in Washington, D.C., will be cosponsored by the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce and the Lincoln-Mercury Division of Ford Motor Co.

The local sponsor was McCardle's Motors, Inc., which also provided the use of a new automobile for the State contest.

Jerry was accompanied to State College by David Loudenslager, local Jaycee chairfor the Road-e-o.

David McBride, of Highland Park, a student at Chief Logan, last year's State winner, was present at the banquet, as were Jerry's parents.

Debate Concluded: Defense of Vietnam Supported

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the July 7, 1965, Washington Post:

DEBATE CONCLUDED: DEFENSE OF VIETNAM SUPPORTED

(By Roscoe Drummond)

The debate is over. The verdict is in. By now President Johnson knows he can count on the decisive support of Congress and the country behind his decision to defend South Vietnam.

For a time it looked like touch and go and many thought that the President's public backing was crumbling. The professorial teach-ins crying, "Get out of Vietnam" were contagious. Poets writing L.B.J. about how

wrong he was seemed to be getting a better hearing than Rusk and McNamara.

But it was the opposition to the defense of Vietnam that was crumbling, not the support. Although there has been no formal referendum, the national decision is amply clear. Here is the evidence.

Top Republican spokesmen—Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN and Representative GERALD FORD, the minority leaders in Congress, who have given Mr. Johnson strong support over Vietnam from the beginning, have just renewed their bipartisan backing.

Democratic leaders in Congress—like Senators J. W. FULBRIGHT and FRANK CHURCH—who have been sharply critical of the President's course in Vietnam, are now agreeing that for the United States to withdraw or give up would be disastrous.

The public critics of the Government—like Hans Morgenthau of the University of Chicago, the leading professional teach-in—have talked so much and said so little that the country could not fail to see that they had no constructive alternative.

This undermined their criticism so badly with the public that Professor Morgenthau had to shift his stance and say he was against withdrawal.

Some sincerely say, "Let's negotiate." The United States has offered unconditional discussions, the Communists have refused and you can't negotiate at an empty table.

Some sincerely say, "Quit escalating the war." The fact is that U.S. military power is being used with care and measure. It is the Vietcong who are raising the level of terror and escalating the fighting.

Some sincerely say, "The real struggle in Vietnam is economic, not military." It is both, and Vietnam cannot begin to make real economic progress until the aggression is ended and the fighting stopped. At which time, as the President has announced, the United States will provide general aid.

And what next? There is no certain answer. We don't know how long it will be before the aggressor has had enough. But there is no reason to think that the Vietcong are going to overrun South Vietnam if we are prepared to stay the course. I give you the words—and the faith—of Capt. James Spruill, U.S. Army, written to his wife in the United States a few days before he gave his life in Vietnam.

"I feel there is too much talk of despair. Above all, this is a war of mind and spirit. For us to despair would be a great victory for the enemy. We must stand strong and unafraid and give heart to an embattled and confused people. At the moment my heart is big enough to sustain those around me. Please do not let them, back where you are, sell me down the river with talk of despair and defeat. Talk instead of steadfastness, loyalty and of victory—for we must and can win here.

"There is no backing out of Vietnam, for it will follow us everywhere we go."

Another American has said: "We will not withdraw. We will not grow tired. We will not be defeated."

That was the President of the United States. It is evident by now that his goal is the goal of most Americans.

Derogatory Allegations Concerning the State of Maine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STANLEY R. TUPPER

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as in yesterday's RECORD our colleague, PAUL A. FINO, saw fit to make certain derogatory allegations concerning the State of Maine, I believe the House may be interested in this rebuttal in the form of a letter to the gentleman from New York:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., July 8, 1965.

Hon. PAUL A. FINO,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PAUL: I noted in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD yesterday that you have repeated your allegations of the existence of organized crime in Maine supported by illegal gambling.

If you have arrived at this wild conclusion merely through prorating Maine's population against the total estimate of illegal gambling in the Nation, this is the height of irresponsibility. Surely there is a better way for you to promote your campaign for a national lottery than to make such unsubstantiated charges.

You may remember that I wrote you in a similar vein during the last session of Congress after you had made a similar charge against my State. At that time I requested you to bring to the attention of Maine's attorney general any evidence you had supporting your charges. In checking today with the Honorable Richard Dubord, attorney general of Maine, I find that you have offered nothing whatsoever to back up your allegations.

This hit-and-run technique may be admired in your congressional district, but it is not in mine.

Sincerely,

STANLEY R. TUPPER,
Member of Congress from Maine.

What Are We Doing to Our Youth?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the riots, violence, destruction of property and contempt for law enforcement officers in areas all over the country during the July 4th weekend should be of concern to every thinking American.

Is it not time we asked ourselves why well-educated young people from supposedly good family backgrounds show such contempt for law and orders? Certainly some responsibility must be borne by over-indulgent parents. It is true that too many of our youngsters have been coddled and spoiled. But these factors are not the sole reason for such outbursts as we have seen all too often in recent months.

A major contributing factor is the lowered moral standard we have been willing to accept. High Government officials and even some of our leading churchmen have condoned violence and the defiance of law and order for any who believe that it is right to disobey laws which they feel are unjust. You cannot tell young people one day it is OK to riot, to defy the police, to break up property and destroy communities for one cause and then convince them the next day that they cannot do the same thing to satisfy their desires no matter how depraved these desires may be. We cannot instill in the youth of America a sense of duty, honesty, integrity, and moral character when every issue of our newspapers exposes corruption, dishonesty, and immorality in high places. Only when we demand of our national leaders a strict code of ethics and morality may we expect the rising generation to respect the law and to act with integrity and honesty.

This point is made in the following editorial from the Birmingham Post Herald of July 6 and I include it as part of these remarks:

OUR FLAMING YOUTH

Dating back to Biblical times, the older generation has been disturbed by acts of the younger folk.

"We didn't do that when we were young" is the universal complaint.

But all of us should be concerned with the obvious disregard for authority and the destructive tactics of youths over the holiday weekend in many parts of the country. Don't these young people know what Independence Day means—how many people have given their lives to see that it survives?

National guardsmen were forced to seal off a town in Ohio and to use tear gas on 1,500 rioters.

In Iowa tear gas was used and guardsmen volunteered to help subdue the mobs.

Police dogs were employed in Missouri where there were more than 2,000 rioters.

There were other spots also, where youth got out of hand, enough to make this a case for national concern.

Said one policeman "If the parents were only on hand to see how their children are living and behaving down here, this wouldn't happen."

This brings the question—where were the parents and did they know what their youngsters are doing?

Most of these rioters, we judge, are from middle or upper class homes. They have enough money to bring in cases of beer and whisky.

Stern treatment by authorities, including fines stiff enough to impress parents, could do some good.

But most of all, it seems to us, is the need for a higher code of living for us all.

What is the good of a Great Society, with money and comforts for everyone, if our standards are lowered to allow barbaric behavior?

Primarily this is a matter that parents and local authorities should handle. But we need also to look to our moral and spiritual standards nationally.

One Man, One Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the Midwest Democratic conference at its meeting in Chicago on June 26 adopted a very significant resolution in opposition to any effort to nullify or dilute the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decisions on apportionment of State legislatures.

Because of the vital importance of this issue, I hope all Members of Congress will take the time to read the resolution adopted by the Midwest Democratic conference. Under unanimous consent I include the text of the resolution in the Appendix of the RECORD:

Whereas the Democratic principle of equal representation in State legislative bodies has been eloquently affirmed by the Supreme Court in the case of *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, in which it said that "To the extent that a citizen's right to vote is debased, he is that much less a citizen"; and

Whereas the vast migration of our population has transformed our Nation from a predominantly rural to a largely suburban and urban character, which has brought with it new and different kinds of challenges to our legislative process; and

Whereas the adamant refusal of many State legislatures to reapportion themselves in the face of constitutional mandates has created an indifference to the problems of urban areas and the atrophy of strong State government and State initiative in solving urban problems; and

Whereas the effort to overturn the Supreme Court decision through the dual method of Senate Joint Resolution 2 and State petitions for a constitutional convention has imperiled the Supreme Court reapportionment decisions; and

Whereas the provision of Senate Joint Resolution 2 that "factors other than population" may be used to apportion one house of a State legislature is vague and opens the door to discrimination against groups of voters such as Negroes and the poor, and consequently endangers the gains promised by the Voting Rights Act of 1965; Therefore, be it

Resolved by the Midwest Democratic Conference, meeting in Chicago on June 26, 1965, That we oppose any effort to negate the Supreme Court decision on State legislative apportionment and urge all Midwest Congressmen and Senators to oppose and vote against any measure designed to dilute or overturn this historic affirmation of the Democratic principle of fair representation.

Army Sgt. Andrew P. Sugarick, of Schenevus, N.Y., Is Awarded the Silver Star for Gallantry in Action in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, as one who has had the privilege of serving in the Nation's Armed Forces, I know the importance of the award of the Silver Star Medal in a combat situation. It is the Nation's third highest award for valor. And anyone who wears it on his uniform or in his civilian suit lapel can be proud of what he has done for his country.

With this in mind, Mr. Speaker, I was especially proud to see that a constituent of mine has been awarded the Silver Star Medal for gallantry in action in Vietnam. He is Army Sgt. Andrew P. Sugarick, of Schenevus, N.Y. I congratulate Sergeant Sugarick for his high courage and his devotion to his country. I congratulate his wife, his parents, and the other members of his family.

Under leave to extend my remarks I include the following article from the Binghamton Sunday Press of May 30, 1965:

SILVER STAR FOR GI

ONEONTA.—An Otsego County soldier has been awarded the Silver Star for gallantry in action in Vietnam.

He is Sgt. Andrew P. Sugarick of Schenevus rural free delivery 1, who is serving with the Special Forces of the U.S. Army.

Sergeant Sugarick received the Silver Star and citation during a ceremony in the John F. Kennedy Center at Fort Bragg, N.C.

In the audience as he was decorated were his wife, the former Magaret Bradley of Fayetteville, N.C., and his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Sugarick of Schenevus rural free delivery 1.

His citation reads:

"Sergeans Sugarick distinguished himself by gallantry in action while engaged in military operations in the Republic of Vietnam on April 30, 1964.

"He demonstrated perseverance, bravery, and professional competence while serving as a replacement adviser to a Vietnamese strike force patrol that had been harassed by the Vietcong for 19 consecutive days as it penetrated deep into insurgent controlled territory.

"While the exhausted, discouraged, and wounded defenders were preparing for an aerial evacuation, Sergeant Sugarick participated in constructing a landing zone for the arriving aircraft and in establishing a defense perimeter.

"As the first helicopter landed, it became the target of heavy gunfire from multiple automatic weapons and was badly damaged.

"Although the armed helicopters repeatedly suppressed the gunfire of known enemy positions and the evacuation operation was resumed several times, the perimeter of defense became smaller and smaller throughout the airlifts.

"Despite the decrease in the defense patrol and the increase in the intensity of enemy fire at closer range, Sergeant Sugarick demonstrated complete disregard for his own safety and courageously defended the landing zone by returning the gunfire with outstanding effectiveness.

"Undaunted by the hazardous situation, he exposed himself to the heavy enemy gunfire to defend the group until the last evacuation helicopter had landed.

"Sergeant Sugarick's conspicuous gallantry is in the highest traditions of the U.S. Army and reflects great credit upon himself and the military service," the citation concluded.

Congress Should Act on Amendment To Abolish the Electoral College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, we were reminded once again last week of the need for modernizing the constitutional provisions governing the presidential election process.

Changes in our presidential election system, including abolishment of the outdated electorial college, are badly needed. The proper method of making such changes, of course, is by means of a constitutional amendment.

Last week, however, the press carried reports of plans in Delaware and Arkansas to revise one aspect of the presidential election process through the use of litigation. According to the New York Times of June 29, 1965, suits will be filed in those two States with the hope of eventually obtaining a Supreme Court decision banning the general ticket system, under which the winning presidential candidate in any State receives that State's full total of electoral votes. These suits, the Times reported, will contend that the general ticket system violates the 14th amendment, as interpreted by the Supreme Court in its recent reapportionment decisions.

At the outset, it should be said that this litigation is a bizarre and futile attempt to amend the Constitution by circumventing the Congress and the traditional amending process. As the Washington Post correctly pointed out, in an editorial of July 2, 1965, the best way to remove the flaws in our presidential election system is by constitutional amendment, not through the courts.

More than that, it is the only way. The proposed litigation in Delaware and Arkansas is, in effect, an attempt to deprive State legislatures of the power to choose presidential electors under the general ticket system. But the Constitution declares quite clearly, in article 2, section 1, that each State shall appoint presidential electors "in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct." Thus, for better or worse, State legislatures possess an almost absolute power with respect to the appointment of presidential electors.

Furthermore, the Supreme Court itself, in an 1892 decision, upheld this power, ruling that the Michigan Legislature was free to abandon the general ticket system and provide instead for selection of presidential electors by districts. In that decision, the Court stated in part:

It is argued that the district mode of choosing electors, while not obnoxious to constitutional objection, if the electoral system had conformed to its original object and purpose, had become so in view of the practical working of that system. * * * But we can perceive no reason for holding that the power confided to the States by the Constitution has ceased to exist because the operation of the system has not fully realized the hopes of those by whom it was created. Still less can we recognize the doctrine, that because the Constitution has been found in the march of time sufficiently comprehensive to be applicable to conditions not within the minds of its framers, and not arising in their time, it may, therefore, be wrenched from the subjects expressly embraced within it, and amended by judicial decision without action by the designated organs in the mode by which alone amendments can be made (*McPherson* v. *Blacker*, 146 U.S. 1, 35–36).

From this, it is clear that the litigation proposed in Delaware and Arkansas does not merit serious consideration. These suits, nonetheless, may serve a useful purpose if, as the Washington Post editorial suggests, they focus national attention on the critical need for bringing the presidential election provisions of the Constitution into line with the realities of modern American politics.

In this regard, the primary objective should be abolishment of the electoral college, an institution which is both utterly useless and potentially dangerous. Having served in 1964 as one of Iowa's nine presidential electors, I was able to observe the workings of the electoral college at first hand. And, in February, I introduced a proposed constitutional amendment, House Joint Resolution 327, which would abolish the electoral college and make other revisions to modernize the presidential election process.

As yet, neither the House of Representatives nor the Senate has scheduled any hearings on the amendments which have been proposed relating to the presidential election process. In January, at the same time he urged approval of an amendment dealing with presidential continuity, President Johnson recommended action on an amendment to abolish the electoral college. The Congress has now given its approval to the presidential continuity amendment and it will be submitted to the States for ratification. The need is just as great for an amendment to modernize our presidential election system, and I am hopeful that hearings will be held as soon as possible for consideration of this important matter.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I hereby include the article from the New York Times and the editorial from the Washington Post, to which I referred earlier:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, June 29, 1965]

SUITS TO ATTACK ELECTORAL COLLEGE VOTING BY STATES

(By Fred P. Graham)

SAN ANTONIO, TEX., June 28.—A legal campaign to challenge the electoral college system of casting all of each State's electoral votes for one presidential candidate was announced here today.

Suits will be filed in Delaware and Arkansas, each challenging the electoral college system on a different theory, but timed to reach the Supreme Court simultaneously next spring.

Both suits will argue that the winner-take-all general ticket system violates the 14th amendment, as interpreted in the Court's reapportionment decisions.

The Court has ruled that the U.S. House of Representatives must be apportioned so that House districts are roughly equal in population and that both Houses of State legislatures must be apportioned on a population basis.

The plaintiffs in the electoral college suits hope that the Court will strike down the general-ticket system as unfair to voters in small States or members of a longstanding minority party within a State.

David P. Buckson, attorney general of Delaware, said in a statement at the convention of the National Association of Attorneys General here that Delaware would bring suit directly in the Supreme Court, naming the 49 other States as parties.

The suit will contend that the general-ticket system gives big States with large blocs of electoral votes too much influence in the election of a President, thereby discriminating against citizens of small States.

It was learned that the other suit will be brought in Little Rock within a few weeks by Republican supporters of Winthrop Rockefeller.

It will contend that the general-ticket system disfranchises the Republicans of Arkansas, as the Democrats have carried Arkansas in every election since the Civil War, and that the Republicans' votes have, in effect been wasted.

Marion Buckson of Little Rock, Mr. Rockefeller's attorney, was reported to be a plaintiff and the moving force behind the suit. He was in Washington today with Mr. Rockefeller and was unavailable for comment.

The Constitution does not say how the States must cast their electoral votes. All States allot all their electoral votes to the party that carries the State.

Several unsuccessful attempts have been made in Congress to pass a constitutional amendment requiring each State to divide its electoral votes between the presidential candidates in proportion to each candidate's popular vote, or to give each candidate an electoral vote for each congressional district he carries.

Mr. Buchson said he understood that the Arkansas plaintiffs hoped to have their case tried before a three-judge Federal panel in September. If the Arkansas case is appealed to the Supreme Court, he will file his suit at about the same time, so the Court could consider them together.

THREE-DAY SESSION

Mr. Buckson made the statement in his remarks as moderator of a panel discussion on the electoral college during the 1st day of the 3-day meeting of the State attorneys general. The senior law officers of 46 of the States are here for the convention.

A panelist, Prof. Robert G. Dixon, Jr., of the George Washington University Law School in Washington, predicted that apportionment disputes would shift from the present emphasis on numbers of voters represented by each Representative to problems of gerry-mandering.

He quoted Justice William L. Brennan's statement in a Supreme Court majority opinion last January that a districting plan might be unconstitutional if it operated "to minimize or cancel out the voting strength of racial or political elements of the voting population."

Professor Dixon said the Court might strike down a congressional or legislative districting plan, even though the districts were almost equal in population, if the lines had been drawn to submerge certain racial or political groups under permanent opposing majorities.

He and John A. Gosnell, general counsel of the National Small Business Association, agreed that this principle could cause the Court to invalidate the general-ticket method of selecting presidential electors, if the system had the effect of diluting or canceling out the votes of minority groups.

Former Gov. Cecil H. Underwood of West Virginia, a Republican, said a group called the National Electoral Reform Committee was urging legislatures to apply to Congress for a constitutional convention to propose an amendment eliminating the general-ticket system. He said 12 of the required 34 States had passed such resolutions.

Prof. James C. Kirby of Vanderbilt Law School said the added political power given big-city voters by the winner-take-all system was no longer fair, since rural voters were losing their domination of Congress and legislatures through reapportionment. Professor Kirby said he preferred popular election of Presidents.

J. Harvie Williams, secretary of the American Good Government Society, said a presidential candidate should win an electoral vote for every congressional district he carried in a State, even if he did not win a majority of the State's votes.

In the electoral college system, each State has one presidential elector for each U.S. Representative and Senator it has.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post July 2, 1965]

OBSOLETE ELECTORAL SYSTEM

An interesting challenge to the present method of electing the President is taking shape as a result of the Supreme Court's one-man-one-vote ruling in the apportionment cases. Projecting the reasoning of the Court into the presidential elector system, some lawyers have concluded that there is no constitutional justification for the practice of giving all of a State's electoral votes to the presidential candidate winning a majority of the popular vote in that State. The challenge is to be carried to the Supreme Court.

One suit is being prepared in Arkansas. A group of Republicans in that State will contend that they are disfranchised because the general ticket system has given all of Arkansas' electoral votes to the Democratic candidate in every election since the Civil War. Republican votes in Arkansas, they say, never count for anything in the election of the President.

Another attack will come from Delaware. There the argument is that the general ticket system gives an unfair advantage to the big States with large blocs of electoral votes. In a case before the Supreme Court some months ago, Justice Brennan remarked that a legislative districting plan might be unconstitutional if it should "minimize or cancel out the voting strength of racial or political elements of the voting population." This is said to be what the general ticket system does in presidential elections.

In our view, the possibility that the Court might intervene to upset the general ticket system is remote. The Constitution is very specific in authorizing each State to appoint its presidential electors in such a manner as the legislature thereof may direct. Nevertheless, these challenges to the existing system are significant for two reasons. First, they emphasize the many deviations from the one-man-one-vote concept in our constitutional system, thus perhaps encouraging Congress to go forward with its proposed amendment to restore to the States the right of distributing seats in one house of their legislatures on the basis of political units rather than population. Second, they center attention once more on the necessity of reforming our presidential election machinery.

Last January the Johnson administration introduced a proposed constitutional amendment to abolish the electoral college and let the people vote directly for presidential and vice presidential candidates. Those receiving a majority vote in each State would carry the electoral votes of that State. Not much has since been heard of this proposal. Although it has some serious technical defects, it would have the virtue of eliminating the electors, who may sometimes be in a position to thwart the will of the voters in the naming of the President.

The best way to attack our obsolete presidential election system is through the amendment process rather than through the courts.

Open Season on Minorities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of the

Members of the House to a perceptive editorial on the apportionment amendment urged by Senator DIRKSEN. This editorial appeared on July 1 in the fine newspaper, the Hawk-Eye, published in Burlington, Iowa. The writer of the editorial has wisely noted a major weakness in that proposed amendment to the Constitution:

OPEN SEASON ON MINORITIES

The opponents of the one-man, one-vote legislative apportionment rule, laid down by the Supreme Court, are a fascinating contradiction.

The amendment urged by Senator DIRKSEN and others leaves the composition of the legislature completely with the people of a State. It provides that nothing in the constitution shall prohibit a State from apportioning one house of the legislature on factors other than population, so long as the majority of voters in the State approve of whatever system is adopted.

This is being sold as democracy at its purest. After all, what could be more American than letting the people themselves, not their courts, decide on the makeup of their legislature?

But the sales job is misleading. What DIRKSEN proposes is to let the majority in a State devise the system it wants, curtailing however it wants the rights of whatever minority it wishes to suppress, and denying that minority any right to judicial remedy.

Thus, the growing urban majority of Iowa conceivably could one day disenfranchise the shrinking minority of farmers, at least in one house; and the white majority in Mississippi could be counted on to continue denying equal representation to the Negro minority.

The irony is that the reapportionment explosion came because in many States minorities had a tight grip on legislatures, to the disadvantage of the majority. The opponents of reapportionment have bled copiously for the economic minorities in fighting against equal representation.

But now those same people come forward with a proposal that could give the majority unchecked power to work its will on any minority.

The most charitable conclusion is that they are confused, suffering from the shock it is to be dragged so abruptly into the 20th century.

Civil Rights in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, a most thought-provoking editorial appeared in the Wednesday, July 7 edition of the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star. The full text follows:

CIVIL RIGHTS IN VIETNAM

The civil rights movement in the United States surely will suffer a massive loss of support if it presumes to use its organized efforts in an attempt to influence or control American foreign policy. Yet there are tentative signs that it is heading in this direction.

According to the Associated Press, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, favors the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. Dr. King is reported as telling an audience of Negro leaders in Petersburg, Va., last week: "The war in Vietnam must be stopped. There must be a negotiated settlement even with the Vietcong. The long night of war must be stopped." He also suggested that his organization might hold peace rallies similar to the campus teach-ins.

Somewhat belatedly, James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, was able to head off similar action. CORE, at its meeting in Durham, had adopted a resolution calling for the withdrawal of our troops in Vietnam. Farmer was able to persuade the delegates to rescind the resolution, pointing out that the civil rights groups ran the risk of losing the sympathy of many people if they should become active, as organizations, in the peace movement. He was making a distinction between individual attitudes and organizational attitudes. Instead of alluding to the risk of losing popular support, he might well have said the organizations would surely lose it.

One Negro leader, Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, has made it clear that he thinks civil rights groups have enough to do without taking part, as organizations, in the Vietnam and Dominican situations. He is right, of course.

The point which no one has touched on concerns the outlook for civil rights in the Dominican Republic and, more importantly, in Vietnam. Suppose we recall our troops in Vietnam and negotiate a settlement with the Vietcong. There is every probability that this would lead to a Communist takeover and the slaughter of brave South Vietnamese who have fought and bled for years for freedom. What does Dr. King have to say about their "civil rights"?

Alabama and Rent Subsidies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the following editorial concerning rent subsidies which appeared in the Birmingham, Ala., Post Herald on July 2.

ALABAMA AND RENT SUBSIDIES

Seven of Alabama's eight Congressmen stood against the administration's housing bill, and all opposed the foolish and highly controversial rent subsidy proposal.

For that, we give them thanks.

The rent subsidy was approved by the narrow margin of six votes in the House.

And for those who are saying that there is no difference between the GOP and the Democrats, we point out that only four Republicans, all from New York, voted for the rent subsidy. This is a very definite difference between the parties.

The rent subsidy, one of the Lyndon B. Johnson innovations, is a further socialistic move. Admittedly those in great want should receive help in housing. We have low-rent housing for them and it has been beneficial.

But this new program could be extended to many who are not in that category. It has been charged that families with incomes as high as $11,000 a year could get help through this proviso.

Opposition to the program was so great that the Johnson forces were compelled to make several cutbacks in the measure. One of these amendments would limit the subsidy to those eligible for public housing—and that should provide some needed control if properly administered.

There is a strongly political flavor to the whole affair.

The Senate still has to pass on this program but with the overwhelming Democratic strength there it probably will go through. We look to our Senators to take the same stand that our House Members did.

They Brought Us a Miracle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNN E. STALBAUM

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 28, 1965

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, Ralph Yohe, editor of the Wisconsin Agriculturist and Farmer, published in my hometown of Racine, Wis., recognized the Rural Electrification Administration's 30th anniversary with his reminiscences of REA's pioneering days in Wisconsin.

As one who take pride in the REA's accomplishments during this short span, and as an admirer of its exceptionally able Administrator, my friend and fellow Wisconsinite Norman Clapp, I am pleased to submit Mr. Yohe's article to the RECORD:

THEY BROUGHT US A MIRACLE

This year marks the 30 anniversary of the Rural Electrification Administration. In 1935 the Rural Electrification Cooperative program got underway. It was to bring electricity to thousands of farms throughout our Nation.

I vividly remember those times of 1935, 1936, and 1937 when our local co-op was getting underway.

My father was a director of the newly formed group. There were long midnight meetings at the county seat.

The new struggling REA co-op did not escape opposition. People in some of the small towns circulated petitions to keep REA out, even though they had no electricity. Some farmers refused to sign right-of-way privileges. The new highlines had to be diverted down side roads to avoid their property.

Anxiously we watched the crews stretch the gleaming aluminum wires along the newly set poles. There was a great deal of discussion around the stove at the local hardware store as to how long it would take the electricity to get to our neighborhood once the power was turned on at the power station 17 miles away.

And then there was the big night when we had electric lights for the first time. For 2 or 3 years my mother kept kerosense lamps filled and ready to take over should electricity fail.

Over the next several years the highlines of REA crawled across the Nation's countryside. Today they have helped bring electricity to nearly every farm in our entire country. And in addition they serve many smaller towns and growing industries.

The first Wisconsin REA lines—Richland Cooperative Electric Association and Columbus Rural Electric Cooperative—were energized on May 8, 1937. Today REA serves nearly 104,000 farm families and rural businesses in Wisconsin on 32,795 miles of line.

REA and commercial electric companies bring electricity to 99.8 percent of Wisconsin's farms.

Those early REA leaders of 30 years ago—like my father—who worked and struggled at times against strong opposition—brought to farm people one of the true miracles of our generation—electricity for every farm.

Rights and Opportunities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, it has been a little over a month now since President Johnson delivered his landmark address at Howard University. In his June 4 speech, the President pointed the challenging way to achieving genuine economic and social equality for Negroes and whites.

A measure of the impact of the President's words can be found in the favorable editorial comment which appeared in news media throughout the country. One of the ablest assessments of Mr. Johnson's statements appeared in an editorial in the Des Moines Register.

This editorial was reprinted June 14 in the Indianapolis Star. The text of the editorial, entitled "Rights and Opportunities," follows:

RIGHTS AND OPPORTUNITIES

In his remarkable address at Howard University, President Johnson made clear his administration has no intention of taking a breather in the battle for equality now that passage of the voting rights bill is assured.

The President called enactment of civil rights legislation merely "the end of the beginning" and urged programs of economic and social uplift so that "the only difference between Negroes and whites is the color of their skin."

The sweeping character of the programs the President has in mind is evident from the vast differences between the Negro and white segments of the population today:

Every sixth home owned by a Negro is dilapidated—a rate five times the white proportion. Negro family income is just 55 percent of white family income. Three of every four Negroes in urban areas work at low skill jobs compared to one of every three white workers in this category, in every fourth Negro home the worker is jobless compared with the jobless rate of one in 20 in white homes. The maternal mortality rate is four times as high for Negro mothers as for white mothers, and the average Negro dies 7 years earlier than his white counterpart.

These differences are an outgrowth of a complex of factors, not the least of which are discrimination, inferior education, and the hopelessness and despair that confront Negroes from infancy.

"Ability is not just the product of birth. Ability is stretched or stunted by the family you live with, and the neighborhood you live in—by the school you go to, and the poverty or richness of your surroundings. It is the product of a hundred unseen forces playing upon the infant, the child, and finally the man."

Other minority groups confronted poverty, acquired skills, and achieved success. But none of these groups has ever been subjected to such wholesale oppression as the American Negro nor been left with the terrible heritage of slavery. The institution of slavery, which did not recognize marriage, has created perhaps the most crippling disadvantage of all—lack of family tradition that results in less than half of Negro youngsters reaching 18 having lived all their lives with both parents.

The widening gap in achievement between Negro and white Americans, despite Negro legislative and legal gains, shows that Negroes lack the skills needed to earn their way in an increasingly technological society. President Johnson's address is recognition also that an attack is needed across a whole broad front to provide motivation as well as opportunity—through health, education, welfare, and other services, including measures to strengthen Negro family life. The President has perforced a major service by placing this on the Nation's agenda.

Stimulating Editorials

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NEAL SMITH

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, three articles which recently appeared in the Des Moines Register and one which appeared in the Ames Tribune deal with subjects that are of great public interest. While I may not agree with everything that is in all of the articles, I believe that they are all very stimulating and should be available for the various readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register, Apr. 16, 1965]

USING U.S. SCHOOL AID IN IOWA

One method of meeting the needs of "educationally deprived" children under the new Federal aid-to-education law is through preschool programs.

The value of preschools has been proved in experimental programs. It amounts to establishing "prep" schools for kindergarten pupils, which may sound ridiculous. However, children whose parents are illiterate or near illiterate are handicapped when they enter school. The preschools can bring them nearer in learning capacity to children of better educated parents.

Iowa school laws have not anticipated preschool programs. The legislature should take a look at these laws, then revise them so that there is no question about the legality of preschool classes.

Iowa law says no child shall be admitted to school unless he is 5 years of age on or before September 15 of the current school year. He can enter school at that age only if the school has a kindergarten approved by the State department of public instruction.

Another law might permit school districts to establish preschool programs, though it was passed mainly to benefit children with physical or mental defects. It defines children eligible for special education as those "under 21 who are certified to be emotionally maladjusted or intellectually incapable of profiting from ordinary instructional methods." This might be interpreted to permit preschool for the underprivileged.

However, parents of children who could benefit from preschool classes might object to certifying that their youngsters fall into these classifications. It would be more practical to establish preschool programs for all children in areas with a large number of low-income families.

It should be easy to change the Iowa law to assure the legality of preschool programs. Other problems of utilizing Federal funds may be more difficult, especially those involving assistance for children from low-income families who attend parochial schools.

The new Federal law makes funds available for dual-enrollment programs, usually referred to as shared time. In these programs, parochial pupils attend public school classes in certain subjects, for example, science where special laboratory equipment is needed.

Shared time classes have been held illegal under Iowa laws and the Iowa constitution. Despite this interpretation, a few school districts in Iowa have had shared time programs. But, if this practice is to be extended, the legal question should be resolved. The State department of public instruction must approve new programs under the Federal aid law, and it could not do so unless Iowa law allowed them.

Some problems that will arise in connection with the new Federal aid program, to be effective this July, can't be anticipated. The State department needs guidlines from the Federal Office of Education before it can advise local school districts, and these guidelines may not be available for some time. But the legislature should act to make possible the use of Federal funds in programs beneficial to Iowa schoolchildren.

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register, June 8, 1965]

RIGHTS AND OPPORTUNITIES

In his remarkable address at Howard University, President Johnson made clear his administration has no intention of taking a breather in the battle for equality now that passage of the voting rights bill is assured. The President called enactment of civil rights legislation merely "the end of the beginning" and urged programs of economic and social uplift so that "the only difference between Negroes and whites is the color of their skin."

The sweeping character of the programs the President has in mind is evident from the vast differences between the Negro and white segments of the population today:

Every sixth home owned by a Negro is dilapidated—a rate five times the white proportion. Negro family income is just 55 percent of white family income. Three of every four Negroes in urban areas work at low skill jobs compared to one of every three white workers in this category. In every fourth Negro home the worker is jobless compared with the jobless rate of 1 in 20 in white homes. The maternal mortality rate is four times as high for Negro mothers as for white mothers, and the average Negro dies 7 years earlier than his white counterpart.

These differences are an outgrowth of a complex of factors, not the least of which are discrimination, inferior education, and the hopelessness and despair that confront Negroes from infancy. As the President stated:

"Ability is not just the product of birth. Ability is stretched or stunted by the family you live with, and the neighborhood you live in—by the school you go to, and the poverty or richness of your surroundings. It is the product of a hundred unseen forces playing upon the infant, the child, and finally the man."

Other minority groups confronted poverty, acquired skills and achieved success. But none of these groups, has ever been subjected to such wholesale oppression as the American Negro nor been left with the terrible heritage of slavery. The institution of slavery, which did not recognize marriage, has created perhaps the most crippling disadvantage of all—lack of family tradition that results in less than half of Negro youngsters reaching 18 having lived all their lives with both parents.

The widening gap in achievement between Negro and white Americans, despite Negro legislative and legal gains, shows that Negroes lack the skills needed to earn their way in an increasingly technological society. President Johnson's address is recognition also that an attack is needed across a whole broad front to provide motivation as well as opportunity—through health, education, welfare and other services, including measures to strengthen Negro family life. The President has performed a major service by placing this on the Nation's agenda.

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register, June 13, 1965]

LAUDS JOHNSON CANDOR ON NEGRO PLIGHT

(By Roy Wilkins)

NEW YORK, N.Y.—What we call the Negro problem was brought out and laid on the table for all to see by President Johnson in his commencement address at Howard University.

It marked the first time in the history of our country that a President has spread the whole difficult, intimate, and extremely complex racial picture before all the people.

Other Presidents or high Government officials have talked of parts of the problem—usually those deemed to be least damaging politically. In contrast, President Johnson truly declared: "Nor can these differences be understood as isolated infirmities. They are a seamless web. They cause each other. They result from each other. They reinforce each other. It is not enough to lift just one corner (of the blanket of circumstance that buries the Negro community). We must raise the entire cover if we are to liberate our fellow citizens."

SHIED AWAY

Public officials have shied away from the complete Negro problem because it is a seamless web. They want to deal with a park, or a beach, and to say, "See, it is now open; go and enjoy yourselves and don't bother me until after the next election."

They want to deal with job discrimination in a single industry or plant or trade union. They want to condemn publicly the falling plaster, heatless rooms, rats, and filth of slum housing.

They point to an ordinance or a State law and bid their petitioners to be satisfied. They cite a Negro or a small number of Negroes swimming upstream and say, "go thou and do likewise."

President Johnson has his legislation—more than most officeholders. He has the most comprehensive Civil Rights Act ever adopted. He has the poverty program and the Aid to Education Act. Soon he will have the Negro voting legislation.

SHOWCASE SPECIMENS

He and the Nation also have more Negro "showcase specimens" in the form of an expanding middle class than ever before in history.

But this legislation and these successes and these specimens are not enough. The majority of the Negro population is losing ground. In the most embracing of an array of arresting statistics the President observed that in the past 18 years the number of white families living in poverty has decreased by 27 percent whereas the Negro decrease has been only 3 percent.

He might have added that in public education, desegregation proceeded for a 10-year period at a rate of less than 1 percent a year and that some southern Governors a week or two ago were still calling for more time to effect changes.

NOT BECAUSE OF RACE, COLOR

The weaknesses in Negro family life have been touched upon heretofore only to be condemned, not only by letter-writing moralists and taxicab drivers, but by social workers who know better. Johnson handled it with frankness and compassion, declaring that white America must accept responsibility for the breakdown in the Negro family structure.

Johnson marked the difference between the Negro predicament and that of the white minorities that fought their way up from poverty and language barriers to integration: "They were not excluded because of race or color—a feeling whose dark intensity is matched by no other prejudice in our society."

Because there is no single easy answer to all the problems, the President is calling a White House conference next fall to seek answers. Its theme will be "To Fulfill These Rights." The Nation thus has been given leadership by President Johnson on what he has termed, with perceptive foresight, "the next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights."

The White House conference has a monumental task before it. The rabid anti-U.S. speech of Chou En-lai in Tanzania suggests that successful outcome in Washington could mean further undergirding of the American way of life, not merely the easing or erasure of the Negro's pain.

[From the Ames (Iowa) Daily Tribune, April 14, 1965]

OUTDATED POSITION

Story County Farm Bureau members are among those who circulated petitions, attempting to get signatures of 100,000 Iowans on a paper urging the State legislature to join in calling for a Federal constitutional convention.

Specifically, the petitions urge the Iowa General Assembly to adopt Senate Concurrent Resolution 14, which petitions Congress to call a convention to amend the Constitution.

Legislatures in 22 States already have passed a resolution favoring the petition; in 7 other States, 1 house has passed the measure. A total of 34 State legislatures must join in the petition to force the calling of the convention.

At the heart of the effort is a movement to amend the U.S. Constitution to allow representation in State legislatures and other bodies to be distributed on a basis other than population.

The "one man, one vote" ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court is under attack on many quarters. The Farm Bureau members are among those who would like to see the Constitution changed to allow other factors, specifically political subdivisions, to be admitted in computing the representation in the various lawmaking bodies.

In our opinion, the Farm Bureau and other organizations whose members feel they may be unjustly treated as a result of the ruling, would do better to seek a plan by which each citizen is guaranteed a minimum of representation, leaving out all other factors. This is essentially what has been done on the Federal level, and what could, in our view, be a more successful campaign than the proposed constitutional amendment.

In our opinion, probably the weakest argument we have heard advanced in opposition to the one-man, one-vote position is that "in many instances, the people who pay most of the taxes will get the short end of the say-so on how the money will be spent."

As we recall our American history, one of the reasons for setting up the U.S. Constitution in its present form was to arrange it so that the poorest citizen's vote had exactly the same value as that of the wealthiest man in the country. At the time our Constitution was framed, this was an important point, because many Americans had experienced the tyranny of an aristocracy.

As for arguments that the two Houses of Congress offer built-in checks and balances because one is on area and one on population, we would offer the proposition that the House may be on population all right, but the Senate is not on area, but rather guarantees a minimum of representation to residents of each State.

To permit apportionment of representation on any basis other than one-man one-vote is, in our own view in opposition to all the philosophy of this representative Republic as expressed in the Constitution.

T. Ashton Thompson

SPEECH

OF

HON. PAUL J. KREBS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 2, 1965

Mr. KREBS. Mr. Speaker, I deeply regret that my short tenure in this body prevented me from coming to know our colleague, T. A. THOMPSON, better. I know I share with all of you the profound sense of shock and loss that I felt when I learned of his sudden and senseless death.

I join with you in offering my sympathies to his wife and children in this terrible time of trial. But even more, the State of Louisiana, the whole South and, indeed, the entire Nation are made poorer by this tragedy.

For I will remember T. A. THOMPSON best, not only as a warm, generous and helpful friend and colleague, but as a courageous voice of reason and justice on the most vital economic, moral, legal and human issues confronting our people today.

Mr. Speaker, our Southern States are undergoing great strains. Desperate, last-ditch efforts are being made to prevent the inevitable assimilation of the Deep South with the rest of the United States. The scrapping of an outmoded, obsolete and repudiated social fabric is being resisted by a handful of skillful demagogs who, distrustful of democracy, keep power by clouding issues and misinforming their constituents about the facts of life in the 20th century.

I am convinced, Mr. Speaker, that the vast majority of our fellow citizens in the South both desire and require an America—a united America—of which we can all be proud. I also believe that there are many citizens of Southern States—black and white alike—who share my conviction. I am further pursuaded, Mr. Speaker, that these millions have been silenced by the intimidation, economic and otherwise, of extremists. A few brave souls from the Deep South have sought to force a wedge between the extremes; have recognized that clinging to a lost cause has nothing to do with the kind of statesmanship demanded by today's world. Our departed colleague was an eloquent spokesman for this group of Americans dedicated to a better America.

In this context, I salute the memory of T. ASHTON THOMPSON, a man whose broad and deep understanding of these issues made him a true and faithful leader of all of his people, a man whose leadership will be very hard to replace.

God rest his soul.

Cebern L. Lee, Outstanding Citizen of Geneva, N.Y., Honored by Hobart and William Smith Colleges With the Awarding of an Honorary Degree, Doctor of Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, the other day at the commencement ceremonies of Hobart and William Smith Colleges in Geneva, N.Y., in my congressional district, one of those honored by the conferring of an honorary degree was a local Genevan, Mr. Cebern L. Lee. Cebern Lee is one of the most hard-working, respected, and effective citizens of this great Finger Lakes community. He well merits the honor of the doctorate of law degree conferred by these two colleges, incidentally his alma mater.

I have had the privilege of knowing Cebern Lee for some time, Mr. Speaker, and I am proud of the recognition he has thereby received. I know of no one who has given more selflessly of his time, and abilities, and energies, and resources to the welfare of his community. Geneva can be proud to have a citizen like Cebern Lee within its wall.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the formal citation awarding the degree to Dr. Lee, and also a news article from the Geneva Times, describing his life and manifold accomplishments.

CEBERN LOWELL LEE

(Manufacturer and road builder, president of L. S. Lee & Son, Oaks Corner; bank director and community chest leader; hospital president and director of its successful fund raising efforts; yachtsman and horseman; world traveler, historian, and author; alumnus of two colleges, Dartmouth and Hobart, and one-time member of the board of trustees of Hobart and William Smith.)

Nature does as she pleases. Some of us she makes all of a piece, in others the mold is slightly composite, on infrequent occasion it becomes a mosaic of disparate designs.

You, sir, are such a mosaic. No single category can contain you. You are both master of the concrete and the chaser of rainbows. Based in Oaks Corners, you range far in search of the Lost Dutchman, your trail leading through Tennessee, walking.

Self-reliant, independent in thought, imaginative in action, you infuse leaven into our conforming society, and your varied talents give vitality to our community.

Friend Cebern, North and South Main Street, those geographic extremes, join as monuments to your prophetic leadership, your liberality of spirit and of substance.

Rejoin your alma mater as her doctor of laws, honoris causa, by the authority of your erstwhile fellows, the board of trustees.

CEBERN L. LEE: OUTSTANDING GENEVAN TO BE HONORED

In awarding an honorary degree to Cebern L. Lee, Hobart and William Smith Colleges defy the Biblical reference, "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country and in his own house."

The colleges, marking the 140th commencement for Hobart and the 54th for William Smith, will graduate 271 men and women June 13. Mr. Lee will be among six who will receive honorary degrees.

While he has many and varied interests, he has given much of his time to Geneva General Hospital and the colleges. He has been a member of the hospital's board of trustees off and on since 1945. After a member serves two consecutive terms, he has to leave the board, but may return later. Mr. Lee has returned twice for 6-year terms after his original election and reelection.

Additionally, the board has elected him president, and he has served as chairman of the institution's fund drive and building program. He has headed four drives for funds there, including one that raised more than a quarter of a million dollars.

A member of the colleges' board from 1957 until his resignation earlier this year, he has been chairman of the finance committee, and remained as consultant after his resignation. As chairman of finance, he has helped pilot the colleges through a $4 million capital funds drive and has seen the tremendous expansion in buildings on the two campuses.

He has held directorships with the Geneva Community Chest and National Bank of Geneva.

In his field, he has been a member, director and treasurer of the American Concrete Pipe Association, and a director of the American Road Builders Association.

Born in Rochester, he attended Cook Academy at Montour Falls, then Dartmouth for 2 years, and transferred to Hobart. He was a member of Delta Tau Delta at Dartmouth.

His interest in the concrete pipe business came naturally. His grandfather, Moses Stockley, made the first reinforced concrete pipe in the United States in 1898. Mr. Lee was brought up in Montour—his father died when he was young—and his grandfather operated the business there. Sand and crushed stone were shipped to Montour Falls from Oaks Corners, and Mr. Lee decided that it would be more efficient to set up directly at Oaks Corners next to the supply and save shipping costs.

Because grandfather had his own business in Montour, this one was named L. S. Lee & Son. Mr. Lee is the son, the initials stand for Louise Stockley, his mother's maiden name.

Mr. Lee gets his first name from a family custom that the elder son in the family will always be named Cebern for his ancestor, Cebern Lowell Logan Harris. The Lee side of the family goes back to Col. Timothy Lee, his paternal grandfather, an Irishman who immigrated from Dublin, joined the northern forces in the Civil War and rose to the rank of colonel.

Colonel Lee met a Miss Harris in the town of Rutherfordton, N.C. Her father, Col. Cebern Harris, was in the Southern Army. After the war, the young couple eloped, and later returned to Rutherfordton where this Yankee Irishman became a southern sheriff. Later, Colonel Lee returned to New York City where he became head of the New York City Port Authority, and wrote much of the legislation used in the immigration laws.

Mr. Lee's hobbies include yachting and horses. Yachting was his first hobby and he sailed in the Star class as a member of the 1948 Olympic team as first alternate in London. He served a term as vice president of the international Star class and has also done considerable officiating as well as conducting three world's championships and three North American championships.

Becoming interested in Tennessee Walkers with Mrs. Lee, he started a stable and they now breed and show walking horses. They have at least 30 foals, brood mares, and show horses in the newly constructed stables on Lester Road.

Comparatively recently, Mr. Lee won the American walking horse amateur spring championship at Morgantown, W. Va., although he had never been in the show ring saddle until 10 days before. His first time in competition he took a fourth, then was second in an amateur stake in Syracuse. At Morgantown he had a third and two firsts in the amateur class riding Dark Angel, and won the amateur championship. Thus in five times out he had won five ribbons.

But this was not the first time he had been in the saddle per se. He has spent many hours exploring in Arizona and has completed a book on "The Lost Dutchman's Gold Mine in the Superstition Mountains of Arizona." He has been going there since 1948. It is a history of his experiences.

He and Mrs. Lee, the former Muriel Vintschger, of Montclair, N.J., are widely traveled having been abroad and penetrated behind the Iron Curtain. They visited East Berlin before the days of the wall, and also traveled in Yugoslavia. They have also visited in Holland, England, Italy, France, Austria, Spain, Portugal, and Greece, his favorite country, and portions of the African Continent including Marrakech, Morocco, Casablanca, and Dakar.

Independence Day Celebration of Long Island General Assembly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on July 5, 1965, I had the pleasure of participating as guest speaker in the annual Independence Day Celebration of the Long Island General Assembly in Prospect Park, Brooklyn. Prior to the ceremonies in Prospect Park there was a parade consisting of contingents of Knights of Columbus, Catholic War Veterans, American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Boy Scouts of America, Squire Circles of the Knights of Columbus, ladies auxiliaries and numerous other patriotic organizations.

The general chairman of the celebration was Emory F. Buckhaut who is to be commended for the outstanding job he did. I would also like to commend Rev. Edward L. Curran for his excellent oration.

Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my address:

This Fourth of July—the 189th anniversary of our hard-won independence—finds us locked in a bitter struggle to preserve it, and the free world's, against the most implacable foe we have faced in all these 189 years. The foe is communism. Blood is being shed in the current phase of our 20-year war with those who would impose Marxism upon the world, in the rice paddies of South Vietnam, and, to a lesser extent, in the contested streets and alleys of Santo Domingo, yet these are but battles, as Korea was some 15 years past, in a global conflict that offers no hope of an early end.

Our immediate objectives are to halt Communist aggression in South Vietnam, to continue to contain it in Korea, and to prevent it in the Dominican Republic and we are meeting these objectives, carpers and alarmists notwithstanding, yet these are but moves in a grim game of chess in which lives are the pawns and survival of the free world is the stake.

The players in Peiping and Moscow could not care less about thir pawns in Vietnam or in Korea or in the Dominican Republic, despite their professed aim of uniting the world in Communist brotherhood. In the Communist game, the place of the Vietcong, for example, is simply that of cannon fodder to be callously expended upon the true objective—the destruction of the United States.

The Red hierarchy in Peiping and Moscow know their objective. They know that the takeover of Fidel Castro in Cuba was a setback for the United States—that the planned Communist takeover in the Dominican Republic would have been another except for the prompt and courageous action of President Johnson in preventing it—and that a withdrawal from South Vietnam, or a cease-fire except from a position of strength, would be the most damaging setback of all. But I sometimes wonder if we know our objective. Have we become so engrossed in a battle, as deadly and costly as it is, that we have lost sight of the war of which it is a part?

Let us look at South Vietnam. Why should our young men be fighting and dying in a far-away land whose politics and culture are largely incomprehensible to us? Is our position there justified morally? Is it justified militarily in the long-range fight to roll back the tide of Red aggression?

The answer is an emphatic yes on both counts. On the first, we are committed, and have been since the Eisenhower administration, to protect the South Vietnamese from the Red regime in Hanoi which, directed and supplied from Peiping, would bring South Vietnam under Communist control in weeks were it not for the backing we provide. And I leave it to your imagination to picture the fate of thousands of loyal South Vietnamese left to the hands of Hanoi's torturers and executioners. Castro's bloody reprisals against his political foes would be mild in comparison.

Can we now, after extending these people our protection, simply walk away and leave them to be engulfed by tyranny and terror? In all conscience, we cannot and continue to call ourselves the guardians of the free world.

On the second count, our self-interest and the interest of the free world demands that we stay in South Vietnam. Why, you ask, is this largely undeveloped peninsula so important? I'll tell you, the Mekong River Delta is perhaps the most productive agricultural area in the world. Alone, it can produce almost enough rice under planned, intensive farming to feed Asia. Think of what this means to Red China, burdened with a population nearing one billion in a land of worn-out soil that cannot begin to support its hordes.

Even with the monumental task of feeding its people with the meager food supply at its command, Red China has already managed to divert enough manpower and resources to build a crude atomic device, possibly no more advanced than the one we exploded in New Mexico some 20 years ago, but an atomic device nonetheless. With its major problem—food—solved by control of the South Vietnam rice bowl, Red China would be a formidable contender in nuclear arms in only a few years, and a doubly dangerous one because, unlike their coldeologists in Moscow, there is evidence that Peiping's rulers have no realistic idea of the holocaust a nuclear war would precipitate. They are fanatics, so obsessed with the destruction of this country that they have lost sight of the consequences that a war of annihilation would bring upon them.

Strategically, South Vietnam is a key position in our far-flung Pacific defense system. The very fact of our presence there blocks Peiping's designs on neighboring Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, and Burma—all of southeast Asia, with its untapped riches. Even India, already threatened on the north by Red China's pressure, derives an indirect security from our forces in South Vietnam.

Directly across the South China Sea from Vietnam lies the Philippines, which has a high priority in Peiping's plan for conquest and even now is infected by Communist infiltration, the forerunner of all attempted Red takeovers. South of Vietnam is tiny, struggling Malaysia, an island of freedom menaced by Sukarno's peculiar brand of satellite communism. And below that stands the free world's most lonely outpost, Australia, resolute yet dependent to a great degree upon our military might.

If we make the tragic mistake of withdrawing from South Vietnam, all this tremendous area, vital to our Pacific lifeline, is put in peril; one withdrawal inevitably leads to another. Do we then withdraw from Korea, from Japan, from Okinawa, and cut Chiang Kai-shek adrift on Formosa to be swallowed by the Red Empire? If so, we lose all of Asia to the free world and present Peiping with the people and the resources to build a war machine of monstrous potential, and one dedicated to our total destruction.

Thus, you see, it is not simply a matter of pulling out of South Vietnam, even if that were morally possible. One sandbag in a dike is unimportant until you pull it out and find yourself swept away in a deluge.

Those who urge our disengagement in South Vietnam—and disengagement is an evasive term for the blunter surrender—sometimes give the impression that Red China is an awesomely powerful nation, and that we should not dare to challenge its ambitions in what it considers its private sphere of influence. In manpower, Red China is powerful, but manpower is not the whole story.

Before we press the panic button and flee in terror from this dragon, let us look at our own strength in the Pacific, and take heart. We have amassed enormous air and sea power in that vast ocean. American bases in Japan, Korea, Okinawa, Formosa, the Philippines, Thailand, Laos, and South Vietnam bristle with the latest word in heavily armed strategic bombers, tactical strike aircraft and fighters.

The Air Force has 32 tactical air squadrons stationed on the long defense perimeter from Japan to the Philippines. The Strategic Air Command has two squadrons of atom-carrying B-52's based in Guam. The 7th Fleet, one of the most powerful in history, is a huge force of 120 ships, more than 650 planes, and 64,000 men. Three Polaris subs and possibly more by now, are on patrol in the western Pacific with atomic missiles capable of hitting targets 1,500 miles away. These have freed aircraft carriers to support our growing land operations in South Vietnam.

In troops, we quite likely by now have some 100,000 in the Pacific. And because of a rapid, recent increase in mobility, we can now rush whole divisions into that area from this country on a moment's notice. We have 16 combat-ready divisions stationed around the world. Defense Secretary McNamara told Congress not long ago that his estimates indicate that some 22 divisions are needed to deal with the various kinds of limited war situations we are likely to face over the balance of this decade. And the additional eight can be drawn from Army Reserves.

Further down on the balance sheet we find some 600,000 men under arms on Formosa, a tough, well-equipped force of 19 South Korean Army and Marine divisions, an army of 105,000 men in Thailand, which might help us in a pinch—70,000 British troops in Malaysia, another 66,000 in Australia and New Zealand together—in total, a formidable fighting force against which the Red Chinese can throw little more than manpower—provided they can get that manpower to the point of battle through our air opposition.

So, you see, our position is not nearly so perilous as the prophets of doom would have you believe. It might be well if we remember, also, that we are the only Nation in history to have fought a massive, two-front war and supported a third front—the Russian—and won it without ever really straining our domestic economy. That was 20 years ago and we are most powerful, militarily and economically, than we were then.

Remember, too, that there were prophets of doom in 1776, even more than are croaking their gloomy forebodings today. And in that day it required a stout heart to ignore their dire warnings—we were a colony contending with one of the world's great powers outnumbered, outgunned and, in a coldly realistic view, engaged in a hopeless struggle. But we prevailed in a triumph of the spirit and for these 189 years we have held the torch of liberty aloft in the face of repeated and determined efforts by the forces of tyranny to quench it.

Once, the Fourth of July was a day to joyously celebrate our independence. Today, it is far more than that. Our independence and that of the free world are inseparably joined by the constant threat of a remorseless common enemy, communism. If the light of freedom flickers out in South Vietnam or in the Dominican Republic or in any beleagured land the darkness falls upon us, too. So, on this 189th Independence Day, let us celebrate our freedom, certainly, but let us also dedicate ourselves to preserving it with the resources of the spirit, as well as arms, wherever and whenever it is challenged by those who would destroy it. Thank you.

Labels and Packaging

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the consumers of America do not need to be taken by the hand in the purchase of merchandise from retail stores. A letter was received by me from a Jonesboro, Ark., couple giving me their views with regard to a bill now pending in Congress known as the truth-in-packaging measure. The sponsors of the legislation would require distributors of various products and foods to compete "on the basis of price and quality—not on packaging gimmickry and deception." The constituents' letter emphasized that the American housewife is badly underrated and that in fact she will be the final judge in whether or not the size or contents of a package purchased is satisfactory. They wanted to give me the benefit of their opinion and attitude regarding this proposal.

Senator PHILIP A. HART, of Michigan, became interested in the matter because of hearing complaints from employees in his office and from his wife. He had headed an investigation of the problem by the Senate Antitrust Subcommittee. In filing a report of the work of the subcommittee, it was cited what was deemed irrefutable testimony that "the packaging and labeling revolution of the past

decade has resulted in competitive practices that are bad for the economy, bad for the businessman, and bad for the consumer." The complaints consisted of use of descriptive words such as as "super" and "jumbo" and "10 cents off regular price." Also, it was contended that the contents' net weight is printed in type that is too small to be easily read. Testimony from various manufacturers contended that the American housewife was well able to choose merchandise from the shelf and that in order to stay in business he had to please the customer.

The bill introduced by Senator HART, of Michigan, and 12 other Senators as the result of the study and investigation of the subcommittee would require the Federal Trade Commission and the Food and Drug Administration to provide regulations that would: First. Make it mandatory on the part of the manufacturer to place a statement of the net weight of the contents on the front part of the package in a particular size type and without using such terms as "full quart." Second. Make it unlawful to place on the package any "cents off" which would indicate that the product is being sold under the regular price therefor. Third. Prohibit the use of pictures or other descriptive matter which would show more ingredients in the particular product than actually existed.

It is hard to believe that legislators would seriously attempt to pass such a bill. It is a search for an excuse to deprive people of freedom of choice. Under the Federal Trade Act "Unfair methods of competition in commerce and unfair or deceptive acts in commerce" are prohibited.

The Federal Trade Commission is enforcing that act and doing a good job of it too. The people who buy are protected by and through the laws that are now on the statute books. The Food and Drug Administration Commissioner, George P. Larrick, and the Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, Paul Rand Dixon, favor the enactment of the legislation and seek authority to write specific regulations setting standards that will have the effect of law. It is not uncommon for department heads to seek new authority and expand the functions and duties of their organizations. Subdepartment heads like new laws too as they mean added employees under their supervision, which in turn would make them eligible under the civil service laws for increased salaries.

I do not recall an instance in many years of buying groceries where I was misled by a label upon the package. The label clearly depicts what the package contains. The net weight can be found on the label even though it may be on the back of it in some instances. It is not at all objectionable to me to find "Six cents off" written across a can or jar in a store. There is no deception because it means that the price has been reduced by 6 cents. Many times that is the case in the introduction of a new brand, such as instant coffee, or the like. I know what to expect from the name "Libby", "H. J. Heinz", "Campbell" and "Maxwell House." Those names mean a lot to me. The companies that sell the particular product zealously guard the quality of the food or other item contained in the package. Their reputation is at stake. They are engaged in a highly competitive business and seek to establish good will on the part of the buying public.

This added authority sought to be applied at the national level would place additional hardships and harassments upon industry and the American people.

Time Running Out for Wheat Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, omnibus bills are always more easily passed, but by the same token they are always more dangerous, too. This is especially true of the omnibus farm bill which can only mean serious difficulty for the winter wheat farmer.

This matter is covered in some detail in an editorial in "The Farmer" in their July 3, 1965, edition, which follows:

TIME RUNNING OUT FOR WHEAT PROGRAM

While Congress dawdles over the proposed omnibus farm bill, which includes programs for wheat, feed grains, wool, cotton, and rice, time is running out for the present wheat program. It covers only this year's crop. And the law requires that prior to August 1 the Secretary of Agriculture must, through a referendum, give wheatgrowers an opportunity to declare whether or not they want the type of wheat program that calls for marketing quotas and penalties for selling in excess of quotas.

Prospect of a referendum arouses memories of the one conducted 2 years ago. Not an upper midwest wheatgrower, or probably any upper midwest farmer, will forget that one. There was as much of a campaign preceding it as in any bitterly fought election campaign. And when the returns were in, it was found that almost two-thirds of wheatgrowers in Minnesota and the two Dakotas (65.8 percent average for the three States) favored the proposal imposing controls. But two-thirds majority was required to carry the measure, and growers in other parts of the country voted overwhelmingly to defeat it. Final tally for the country was a little less than 50 percent in favor. It is generally guessed that another referendum would turn out about the same way.

As this is written there's no indication from Washington as to the Secretary's or the Congress' intentions. A referendum prior to August 1 may be avoided in only one of two ways: (1) The Congress may restore to postpone it, or (2) pass new legislation.

Meanwhile, winter wheatgrowers are envying growers of the spring wheat country. Winter wheat planting time will have almost arrived before winter wheatgrowers know of their acreage allotments, or, in fact, whether there will be acreage allotments.

When farmers are as dependent as they are upon farming rules made in Washington, they have a right to expect that the rules be made in time to permit doing an intelligent job of planning before seeding time is upon them.

F.D.R.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. OLIVA HUOT

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. HUOT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to insert an essay written by Miss Nancy Ellen Wefers, aged 14, of Salem, N.H. This essay was written by Nancy for the graduation exercises at Salem Central Junior High School and is a moving tribute to a great American:

F.D.R.

(By Nancy Wefers)

The elderly couple up the street live a normal, happy, and secure life. The man is too old to work now. But, he and his wife live comfortably and independently on the social security insurance payments that he contributed to when he was working.

The man next door was laid off last winter. The unemployment compensation checks he received kept the family out of debt during the father's layoff period.

American industry once demanded long hours from its employees with no extra compensation. The National Labor Relations Act changed that and requires that overtime be paid for anything more than a 40-hour week.

The man who introduced these social reforms was Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 32d President of the United States of America.

For every crisis in our country's history there has emerged a leader. In 1932, when the country was plunged into the despair of the worst depression in its history, the people chose Franklin Roosevelt as their leader.

He was a man born with a silver spoon in his mouth and a silver tongue that called to the people to take courage.

"This great Nation," he said, "will endure as it has endured, will revive and prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance."

He offered the people leadership and asked for their support. He pointed the way toward economic recovery and requested them to follow him. During the hundred days of the specially called session of Congress more social and experimental legislation was enacted than in any previous session.

Among the more important measures were: AAA, which gave farmers protection against low prices on crops; CCC, Roosevelt's imaginative effort to save a half million idle youths from vagrancy by putting them to work on national forest lands; the Security Act, which aimed to protect innocent investors; the Railroad Reorganization Act, which kept railroads from financial bankruptcy; NIRA, a recovery measure to stimulate business enterprise, safeguard the rights of organized workers, abolish child labor, and initiate public works.

Today, the man next door who is out of work, the elderly couple receiving social security, the employee who receives overtime pay, are the beneficiaries of Franklin Roosevelt's imagination, determination, and inspiration.

Elected four times to the Presidency, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, himself one of the privileged, gave the underprivileged a New Deal.

Falls Creek Baptist Assembly Near Davis, Okla., May Be Largest Church Camp

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to call to the attention of all Members an article which appeared in the June 25 edition of All-Church Press. This article describes an unusual church camp located in my congressional district near Davis, Okla.

This church camp, the Falls Creek Baptist Assembly, is almost 50 years old and may be the largest church camp in the United States. I am sure all Members will be interested in this excellent article:

SPRAWLING, SINGING FALLS CREEK MAY BE LARGEST CHURCH CAMP

(By Joan Harvison)

If nothing else, sheer size alone would be sufficient to establish Falls Creek Baptist Assembly near Davis, Okla., as one of the Nation's most unique religious encampments.

Located in the heart of the Arbuckle Mountains, the Oklahoma Baptist-owned and operated assembly is believed to be the largest religious encampment in the world.

SOME 50,000 A YEAR

During the three annual weeklong summer assemblies which begin July 19, over 20,000 teenagers and adults from all over the State will attend assemblies at Falls Creek. If officials were to waive the "Oklahoma only" rule, it would be almost impossible to accommodate the crowds.

In the weeks immediately preceding the general encampments, 2,000 other persons will attend the Indian Baptist Assembly and the State Youth Camp for National (Negro) Baptists. Some 50,000 persons will be campers at Falls Creek before the year is ended.

Expected to draw even greater numbers on a year-round basis is the new B. B. McKinney Chapel, which will be dedicated at the general assemblies this year. Built on a site adjacent to the main tabernacle, the $60,000 chapel is named for the famous hymn writer who found inspiration for many of his compositions at Falls Creek during the 25 years in which he served as the assembly's music director.

The air-conditioned building will house rehearsal facilities for a 500-voice choir and orchestra. Such facilities are needed during summer assemblies. Throughout the remainder of the year, the chapel will be used for workshops, retreats, and other meetings.

HALF CENTURY OLD

It is estimated that nearly a million persons have attended Falls Creek since it opened in 1917. Available records dating back to 1957 show that 1,746 persons have made professions of faith and 4,439 have made commitments to vocational Christian service at Falls Creek—just within the past 8 years.

Missionaries throughout the world trace their call to Falls Creek. The scope of its influence seemed destined the first year when a young lady came forward to make a decision at the assembly. The young lady was Rosalie Mills Appleby, who later became a missionary to Brazil, a well-read author, and mother of a concert pianist and teacher, Dr. David Appleby.

During its half century lifetime, the Oklahoma assembly has grown to its present size from a rather modest beginning of 273 campers who traveled over the crude mountain road in wagons loaded with bedding and supplies for that first summer encampment.

BRING OWN FOOD

Dr. Sam W. Scantlan, missions secretary for the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma and business manager for Falls Creek, points out most church groups still bring their own food.

"One of the most unique features of the encampment is that among the vast numbers who attend the 3 weeks of general assemblies, not more than 100 persons will probably eat in the cafeteria each week," Dr. Scantlan says. "These will be mainly staff and personnel," he adds.

The reason that so few eat in the cafeteria is because every church provides meals for its own group. At the beginning of each assembly, the convoy of trucks and cars entering the patrolled gates of the camp usually carries grocery supplies for a week along with cooks to prepare the meals.

Church groups and individual campers also rely on the grocery store and ice dock operated by the convention on the assembly grounds for a full selection of food and first-aid items.

CHURCHES OWN CABINS

Another unusual feature of the encampment is that individual churches own 193 of the 250 cabins nestled in valleys and along hillsides of the 190-acre site.

Individual ownership of cabins is the only way, according to "Brother Sam," as Dr. Scantlan is fondly called.

"We could not possibly handle the crowds at Falls Creek by any other method," Dr. Scantlan says. "When churches own the cabins, they have a personal interest in the assembly grounds. They are responsible for maintenance of the buildings and discipline within their cabin units. In addition, churches are free to use their cabins all year round without having to reserve them or pay rental fees.

"In fact, if there are any disadvantages to this type of arrangement, I haven't found them yet," Dr. Scantlan testifies.

ARCHITECTURAL DISUNITY

Of course, the critics of New York's Rockefeller Center with its teams of architects haven't seen anything yet until they have seen about 200 different architectural styles—to use the phrase loosely—in one setting.

A split-level rock cabin, a free form sort of thing molded by the sloping terrain, sits next to a crackerbox type of frame building. A neat row of modern motel-type units contrasts sharply with the rustic Raley cabin blending into the wooded setting at the top of a steep hill in the distance.

The most radical departure of all the architectural forms is the McKinney Chapel. The contrast mildly shocks the observer at first. It seems a little out of character with the curved, sweeping lines of its stylized roof. The form is made even more conspicuous by its enormous size and its proximity to the tabernacle.

Also, in spite of the architectural disunity, Falls Creek is in a very real sense a house that many people built. Falls Creek is a team project from start to finish. During the summer assemblies, every department of the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma literally moves its staff to the assembly. This is the one thing that has behind it the concerted efforts of the entire State convention at one time.

BECOMING YOUTH ASSEMBLY

Another peculiar aspect of Falls Creek is that the three general assemblies each summer are open to anyone over 13 years of age. Younger children attend only if parents are sponsors or camp personnel.

From the very beginning when entire families of campers pitched tents in an area known as "Tent City" and cooked meals over open fires, Falls Creek has been traditionally a family encampment. Within the past few years, the increasing percentage of teenagers attending the assembly has altered the picture somewhat.

More and more, Falls Creek is becoming a youth assembly. This is another aspect which differentiates it from most State assemblies where the major part of the program is devoted to leadership. Any attempts to explain the trend toward a predominantly youth audience meet with the answer: it just happened.

However, a frank recognition of the trend has resulted this year in publicity geared to communicate to youth. Carnival-red posters, designed with both humor and sophistication, picture an elephant-eared rhinoceros and issue a nonsensical appeal: "Come on to Falls Creek. * * * Bring your Bible, your hiking clothes, toothbrush, maybe even a raincoat. But please don't bring your Rhino."

EVANGELISM EMPHASIZED

Through the years, Falls Creek has maintained the qualities of an old-fashioned camp meeting with the major emphasis on the evangelistic services. In spite of this emphasis, daily class sessions cannot be minimized as a vital part of the total program. A selection of 75 classes in Bible study, doctrine, nad problems related to Christian living are offered each morning during general assemblies.

The open pavilion tabernacle, which seats 5,000, provides the setting for two daily preaching services. Capacity crowds jam the tabernacle during these services to hear some of Southern Baptists' leading preachers.

Services are broadcast daily over two Oklahoma radio stations. A communications team, which includes sound technicians, public relations director, and a full-time staff newswriter, help to tell the story of Falls Creek.

A SINGING ENCAMPMENT

Finally, if Falls Creek had no other claim to fame, its historical role in church music would alone carve a permanent niche. And, of course, the name that towers like a giant at Falls Creek is that of the Baptist hymnologist, B. B. McKinney.

It is said that McKinney set Falls Creek to singing. He did this primarily by writing songs spontaneously just for the audiences at Falls Creek. Often he would go back to his room at night following a service and compose a gospel song which he would introduce in the services the next morning. They were simple songs that people could sing with complete abandonment, a characteristic of Falls Creek singing unparalleled anywhere.

"Falls Creek" is, in fact, the name of a hymn tune given to the song, "Wherever He Leads I'll Go," written by McKinney. The composer introduced the hymn at the assembly in 1936, prior to its publication the following year.

The new music chapel, named in his honor, stands as a symbol of Falls Creek's heritage in church music. But more than this, it is a monument to a man whose influence—like that of Falls Creek itself—could not be confined to any one place or State.

AN EXPERIENCE

Falls Creek is indeed unique. It is distinguished by its attendance, its longevity, its dining and housing arrangements, its origin as a family encampment, evangelistic emphasis, and historic interest.

However, a person can list all these points of comparison and still fail to capture the essence—that extra something—of Falls Creek.

Falls Creek is not a place. It's an experience. It's an experience which has created a bond felt almost universally between people who have been there.

The Price of Freedom Comes High

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, every schoolchild knows, or should know, that the signers of the Declaration of Independence pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to the cause of freedom.

What few Americans today fully appreciate, however, is the enormous personal sacrifices paid by many of the 56 signers in redeeming that pledge. We remember the famous ones, like Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, who went on to become Presidents of the new Republic and who lived fruitful lives for almost a half century after that historic event of July 4, 1776.

For others, the signing of the Declaration brought severe hardship and financial ruin. Five were captured, imprisoned, and brutally treated; several were driven from their homes and separated, some permanently, from their families; 12 signers had their houses burned, and 17 lost all their possessions.

Not one defected or went back on his pledged word.

As we celebrate the 189th anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, at a time when thousands of our finest American manhood are engaged in Vietnam in another life-or-death struggle for freedom, it is well to remember the lesson taught by our Revolution—the price of freedom comes high.

An interesting account of what happened to the men who signed the Declaration of Independence is told in the following article by T. R. Fehrenbach in the July issue of the American Legion magazine:

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE MEN WHO SIGNED THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE?

(By T. R. Fehrenbach)

On the 7th of June 1776, a slender, keen-eyed Virginia aristocrat named Richard Henry Lee rose to place a resolution before the Second Continental Congress of the United Colonies of North America, meeting in State House off Chestnut Street, in Philadelphia. Lee had his instructions from the Virginia Assembly, and he would fulfill them, but this was one of the hardest days of his life. The 13 British Colonies of America were already far gone in rebellion against what they considered the tyranny of the English Parliament. The shots heard round the world had been fired at Lexington and Concord; blood had flowed at Breed's Hill in Boston.

Lee still believed there was time to compromise with the British Government. But, acting on instructions of his State, he stood and proposed: "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

This was no longer opposition to Parliament. It was revolution aginst the Crown.

American histories sometimes gloss over the fact that passage of the Declaration of Independence was by no means assured. Many of the men assembled in Philadelphia were at best reluctant rebels. There were many moderates among them, men desperately aware of, and fearful of, the fruits of war. Immediately after Lee made his proposal, a majority of the Congress stood against it. It took 4 days of the passion and brilliance of the Adamses of Massachusetts and other patriots such as Virginian Thomas Jefferson to secure a bare majority of one—and then, on a South Carolina resolution, the matter was postponed until the 1st of July.

Many men hoped it had been postponed forever. But John Adams shrewdly gave Thomas Jefferson—unquestionably the best writer in Congress, and perhaps the man with the fewest political enemies—the task of drafting a declaration of independence, and, meanwhile, with his fellow Massachusetts man, John Hancock, set to work. What happened between then and the evening of July 4, 1776, when a vote for adoption of one of the world's great documents was carried unanimously, has filled many books. Some of the story—the quarrels, compromises, controversies, and backroom conferences—as Adams admitted, would never be told.

What happened was that in the course of human events the hour had grown later than many of the gentlemen sitting in Philadelphia had realized. State after State instructed delegates to stand for independence, even though some States held back to the last, and finally four delegates resigned rather than approve such a move.

After 4 world-shaking days in July, Thomas Jefferson's shining document was adopted without a dissenting vote, and on July 4 John Hancock signed it as President of Congress, Charles Thomson, Secretary, attesting. Four days later, July 8, "freedom was proclaimed throughout the land."

The Declaration of Independence was ordered engrossed on parchment, and August 2, 1776, was set for its formal signing by the 56 Members of Congress. The actual signing of such a document, under British or any other law of the time, was a formal act of treason against the Crown. But every Member eventually—some were absent on August 2—signed.

What sort of men were these, who pledged their "lives, fortunes, and sacred honor," with a British fleet already at anchor in New York Harbor?

For rebels, they were a strange breed. Almost all of them had a great deal of all three things they pledged. Ben Franklin was the only really old man among them; 18 were still under 40, and three still in their twenties. Twenty-four were jurists or lawyers. Eleven were merchants, and nine were landowners or rich farmers. The rest were doctors, ministers, or politicians. With only a very few exceptions, like Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, whom well-wishers furnished a new suit so he might be presentable in Congress, they were men of substantial property. All but two had families, and the vast majority were men of education and standing. In general, each came from what would now be called the "power structure" of his home State. They had security as few men had it in the 18th century.

Each man had far more to lose from revolution than he had to gain from it—except where principle and honor were concerned. It was principle, not property, that brought these men to Philadelphia. In no other light can the American Revolution be understood.

John Hancock, who had inherited a great fortune and who already had a price of 500 pounds on his head, signed in enormous letters, so "that His Majesty could now read his name without glasses, and could now double the reward." There was more than one reference to gallows humor that day in August.

Ben Franklin said, "Indeed we must all hang together. Otherwise we shall most assuredly hang separately."

And fat Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, told tiny Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, "With me it will all be over in a minute. But you, you'll be dancing on air an hour after I'm gone." These men knew what they risked. The penalty for treason was death by hanging.

William Ellery, of Rhode Island, was curious to see the signers' faces as they committed this supreme act of courage. He inched his way close to the secretary who held the parchment and watched intently. He saw some men sign quickly, to get it done with, and others dramatically draw the moment out. But in no face, as he said, was he able to discern real fear. Stephen Hopkins, Ellery's colleague from Rhode Island, was a man past 60 and signed with a shaking hand. But he snapped, "My hand trembles, but my heart does not."

These men were all human, and therefore fallible. The regionalism, backbiting, worries, nepotism, and controversies among this Congress have all had their chroniclers. Perhaps, as Charles Thomson once admitted, the new nation was "wholly indebted to the agency of Providence for its successful issue." But whether America was made by Providence or men, these 56, each in his own way, represented the genius of the American people, already making something new upon this continent.

Whatever else they did, they formalized what had been a brush-popping revolt and gave it life and meaning, and created a new nation, through one supreme act of courage. Everyone knows what came of the Nation they set in motion that day. Ironically, not many Americans know what became of these men, or even who they were.

Some prospered. Thomas Jefferson and John Adams went on to become Presidents. Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Josiah Bartlett, Oliver Wolcott, Edward Rutledge, Benjamin Harrison and Elbridge Gerry lived to become State Governors. Gerry died in office as Monroe's Vice President. Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, Md., who was the richest man in Congress in 1776, and who risked the most, founded the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad in 1828. Most Americans have heard these names.

Other signers were not so fortunate.

The British, even before the list was published, marked down all Members of Congress suspected of having put their names to treason. They all became the objects of vicious manhunts. Some were taken; some, like Jefferson, had narrow escapes. All of those who had families or property in areas where British power flowed during the war which followed, suffered.

None actually was hanged. There were too many Britons, like William Pitt, the old Earl of Chatham, who even during a vicious and brutal war would not have stood for that. But in 1776, the war had almost 8 grueling years to run, and the signers suffered. Their fortunes were caught up in the fortunes of war.

The four delegates from New York State were all men of vast property, and they signed the Declaration with a British fleet standing only miles from their homes. By August 2, 1776, the government of New York had already evacuated New York City for White Plains. When they put their names to the Declaration, the four from New York must have known that they were in effect signing their property away.

The British landed three divisions on Long Island on August 27. In a bloody battle, Washington's untrained militia was

driven back to Harlem Heights. British and Hessian soldiers now plundered the mansion of signer Francis Lewis at Whitestone; they set it afire and carried his wife away. Mrs. Lewis was treated with great brutality. Though she was exchanged for two British prisoners through the efforts of Congress, she died from the effects of what had been done to her.

British troops next occupied the extensive estate of William Floyd, though his wife and children were able to escape across Long Island Sound to Connecticut. Here they lived as refugees for 7 years, without income, and eventually came home to find a devastated ruin "despoiled of almost everything but the naked soil."

Signer Philip Livingston came from a baronial New York family, and Livingston himself had built up an immensely lucrative import business. All his business property in New York City was seized as Washington retreated south to Jersey, and Livingston's town house on Duke Street and his country estate on Brooklyn Heights were confiscated. Livingston's family was driven out, becoming homeless refugees, while he himself continued to sell off his remaining property in an effort to maintain the United States credit. Livingstone died in 1778, still working in Congress for the cause.

The fourth New Yorker, Lewis Morris, of Westchester County, saw all his timber, crops and livestock taken, and he was barred from his home for 7 years. He continued fighting as a brigadier general in the New York militia.

As Washington's men commenced their painful retreat across New Jersey, it began to seem that the Revolution would fail. Now American Tories or Loyalists to the Crown began to make themselves known, helping the advancing British and Hessians to ferret out the property and families of the Jersey signers. When John Hart of Trenton risked coming to the bedside of his dying wife, he was betrayed.

Hessians rode after Hart. He escaped into the woods, but the soldiers rampaged over his large farm, tearing down his grist mills, wrecking his house, while Mrs. Hart lay on her deathbed. Hart, a man of 65, was hunted down across the countryside and slept in caves and woods, accompanied only by a dog.

At last, emaciated by hardship and worry, he was able to sneak home. He found his wife long buried. His 13 children had been taken away. A broken man, John Hart died in 1779 without ever finding his family.

Another New Jersey signer, Abraham Clark, a self-made man, gave two officer sons to the Revolutionary Army. They were captured and sent to the British prison hulk in New York Harbor—the hellship *Jersey*, where 11,000 American captives were to die. The younger Clarks were treated with especial brutality because of their father. One was put in solitary and given no food. The British authorities offered the elder Clark their lives if he would recant and come out for King and Parliament. Over the dry dust of two centuries, Abraham Clark's anguish can only be guessed at as he refused.

When they occupied Princeton, N.J., the British billeted troops in the College of New Jersey's Nassau Hall. Signer Dr. John Witherspoon was president of the college, later called Princeton. The soldiers trampled and burned Witherspoon's fine college library, much of which had been brought from Scotland.

But Witherspoon's good friend, signer Richard Stockton, suffered far worse. Stockton, a State supreme court justice, had rushed back to his estate, Morven, near Princeton, in an effort to evacuate his wife and children. The Stockton family found refuge with friends—but a Tory sympathizer betrayed them. Judge Stockton was pulled from bed in the night and brutally beaten by the arresting soldiers. Then he was thrown into a common jail, where he was deliberately starved.

A horrified Congress finally arranged for Stockton's parole, but not before his health was ruined. Finally the judge was released as an invalid who could no longer harm the British cause. He went back to Morven. He found the estate looted, his furniture and all his personal possessions burned, his library, the finest private library in America, destroyed. His horses had been stolen, and even the hiding place of the family silver had been bullied out of the servants. The house itself still stood; eventually it was to become the official residence of New Jersey's Governors.

Richard Stockton did not live to see the triumph of the Revolution. He soon died, and his family was forced to live off charity.

About this same time, the British sent a party to the home of New Jersey signer Francis Hopkinson at Bordentown, and looted it, also.

By December 1776, Washington's dwindling band of patriots had been pushed across the Delaware, into Pennsylvania. The Revolution had entered its first great period of crisis. One by one, the important people of Philadelphia were mouthing Loyalist sentiments, or concocting private ways of making their peace with the Crown. But signer Robert Morris, the merchant prince of Philadelphia, was not among these. Morris, who had honestly and sincerely opposed the Declaration of Independence because he felt the colonies were unready but who had signed in the end, was working his heart and his credit out for the Revolution. Washington's troops were unprovisioned and unpaid; the United Colonies' credit, such as it was, had collapsed.

Morris used all his great personal wealth and prestige to keep the finances of the Revolution going. More than once he was to be almost solely responsible for keeping Washington in the field, and in December 1776, Morris raised the arms and provisions which made it possible for Washington to cross the Delaware and surprise the Hessian Colonel Rall at Trenton. This first victory, and Washington's subsequent success at Princeton, were probably all that kept the colonies in business.

Morris was to meet Washington's appeals and pleas year after year. In the process, he was to lose 150 ships at sea, and bleed his own fortune and credit almost dry.

In the summer of 1777 the British, who were seemingly always near the point of victory and yet were seemingly always dilatory, landed troops south of Philadelphia, on Chesapeake Bay. These marched north, to defeat Washington at Brandywine and again at Germantown. Congress fled to Baltimore, and Lord Howe took Philadelphia on September 27. On the way, his men despoiled the home of Pennsylvania signer George Clymer in Chester County. Clymer and his family, however, made good their escape.

The family of another signer, Dr. Benjamin Rush, was also forced to flee to Maryland, though Rush himself stayed on as a surgeon with the Army. Rush had several narrow escapes.

Signer John Morton who had long been a Tory in his views, lived in a strongly Loyalist area of the State. When Morton had come out for independence, it turned his neighbors, most of his friends, and even his relatives against him, and these people, who were closest to Morton, ostracized him. He was a sensitive, troubled man, and many observers believed this action killed him. John Morton died in 1777. His last words to his tormentors were, "Tell them that they will live to see the hour when they shall acknowledge it [the signing] to have been the most glorious service that I ever rendered to my country."

On the same day Washington retook Trenton, the British captured Newport, R.I. Here, they wantonly destroyed all of Signer William Ellery's property and burned his fine home to the ground.

The grand scheme to separate New England by General Burgoyne's march from Canada was foiled at Saratoga in 1777; this victory eventually brought the French into the war on the American side. But after desultory fighting here and there, by 1779 the British seemed to have the war well in hand. Washington had held a small, professional Continental Army intact, and with European instructors like von Steuben and Lafayette it was being drilled into a compact, disciplined force. Washington was seemingly too weak, however, openly to challenge the heavily armed British forces again. The seaports were captured or blockaded, and American shipping driven from the seas. The northern colonies seemed neutralized, and the British turned their main effort south.

Like the men from New York, the South Carolina signers were all landed aristocrats. They had, as a body, reflected Carolina's lukewarm attitude toward independence. The Carolinians were all young—average age, 29—and all had studied in England. But in the end they had joined the majority in the interest of solidarity, and after signing they had all entered military service.

While serving as a company commander, Thomas Lynch, Jr.'s health broke from privation and exposure. His doctors ordered him to seek a cure in Europe, and on the voyage he and his young wife were drowned at sea.

The other three South Carolina signers, Edward Rutledge, Arthur Middleton, and Thomas Heyward, Jr., were taken by the British in the siege of Charleston. They were carried as prisoners of war to St. Augustine, Fla., and here they were singled out for indignities until they were exchanged at the end of the war. Meanwhile, the British roaming through the southern countryside had made a point of devastating the vast properties and plantations of the Rutledge and Middleton families.

The 2 years beginning in 1779 were the ugliest period of the war. There was sharp fighting in the South, which sometimes devolved into skirmishes and mutual atrocities between Americans for independence and Americans who still stood with the Crown. There had always been strong Loyalist sentiment in the South, as in the Middle Atlantic States; plantations and homes on either side were raided and burned, and women, children, and even slaves were driven into the woods or swamps to die.

The British soon conquered all the thin coastal strip which was 18th century Georgia. Signer Button Gwinnett was killed in a duel in 1777, and Col. George Walton, fighting for Savannah, was severely wounded and captured when that city fell. The home of the third Georgia signer, Lyman Hall, was burned and his rice plantation confiscated in the name of the Crown.

One of the North Carolina signers, Joseph Hewes, died in Philadelphia while still in Congress, some said from worry and overwork. The home of another, William Hooper, was occupied by the enemy, and his family was driven into hiding.

By 1780 the fortunes of war had begun to change. Local American militia forces defeated the King's men at King's Mountain. Realizing that the war was to be decided in the South, Washington sent Nathanael Greene to dance, as the saying went, with Lt. Gen. Lord Cornwallis, the British commander. Cornwallis did not like the dance at all, and slowly retreated northward toward the Chesapeake. At Yorktown, a Virginia village surrounded on three sides by water, Cornwallis established what he thought was an impregnable base. No matter what happened on land, Cornwallis felt he could always be supplied, and rescued, if need be, by sea. It never occurred to the British staff that Britannia might not always rule the waves.

Now began the crucial action of the war, the time Washington had been waiting for with exquisite patience. A powerful French squadron under Admiral de Grasse arrived at the mouth of the Chesapeake from Haiti and gained temporary naval superiority off the Virginia coast. Under carefully coordinated plans, Washington and the French General Rochambeau marched south from New York to Annapolis, where De Grasse transported the allied army across Chesapeake Bay. At the same time, General the Marquis de Lafayette was ordered to march upon Yorktown from his position at Richmond.

By September 1781, Cornwallis and the main British forces in North America found themselves in a trap. French warships were at their rear. Regular forces—not the badly armed and untrained militia the British had pushed around on the battlefield for years—closed in on them from the front. By October 9, Washington's and Rochambeau's armies had dug extensive siege works all around Yorktown, so there could be no escape. Now the bombardment began. The greatest guerrilla war in history was coming to a classic close.

Murderous fire from 70 heavy guns began to destroy Yorktown, piece by piece.

As the bombardment commenced, signer Thomas Nelson of Virginia was at the front in command of the Virginia militia forces. In 1776 Nelson had been an immensely wealthy tobacco planter and merchant in partnership with a man named Reynolds. His home, a stately Georgian mansion, was in Yorktown. As the Revolution began, Nelson said, "I am a merchant of Yorktown, but I am a Virginian first. Let my trade perish. I call God to witness that if any British troops are landed in the County of York, of which I am lieutenant, I will wait for no orders, but will summon the militia and drive the invaders into the sea." Nelson succeeded Thomas Jefferson as Governor of Virginia, and was still Governor in 1781.

Lord Cornwallis and his staff had moved their headquarters into Nelson's home. This was reported by a relative who was allowed to pass through the lines. And while American cannon balls were making a shambles of the town, leaving the mangled bodies of British grenadiers and horses lying bleeding in the streets, the house of Governor Nelson remained untouched.

Nelson asked the gunners: "Why do you spare my house?"

"Sir, out of respect to you," a gunner replied.

"Give me the cannon" Nelson roared. At his insistence, the cannon fired on his magnificent house and smashed it.

After 8 days of horrendous bombardment, a British drummer boy and an officer in scarlet coats appeared behind a flag of truce on the British breastworks. The drum began to beat "The Parley."

Cornwallis was asking General Washington's terms.

On October 19, the British regulars marched out of Yorktown, their fifes wailing "The World Turned Upside Down." They marched through a mile-long column of French and Americans, stacked their arms, and marched on. It was, as Lord North was to say in England when he heard the news, all over.

But for Thomas Nelson the sacrifice was not quite over. He had raised $2 million for the Revolutionary cause by pledging his own estates. The loans came due; a newer peacetime Congress refused to honor them, and Nelson's property was forfeit. He was never reimbursed.

He died a few years later at the age of 50, living with his large family in a small and modest house.

Another Virginia signer, Carter Braxton, was also ruined. His property, mainly consisting of sailing ships, was seized and never recovered.

These were the men who were later to be called "reluctant" rebels. Most of them had not wanted trouble with the Crown. But when they were caught up in it, they had willingly pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor for the sake of their country.

It was no idle pledge. Of the 56 who signed the Declaration of Independence, 9 died of wounds or hardships during the war.

Five were captured and imprisoned, in each case with brutal treatment.

Several lost wives, sons, or family. One lost his thirteen children. All were, at one time or another, the victims of manhunts, and driven from their homes.

Twelve signers had their houses burned. Seventeen lost everything they owned.

Not one defected or went back on his pledged word.

Their honor and the Nation they did so much to create, is still intact.

But freedom, on that first Fourth of July, came high.

Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 30, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 7984) to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, to promote orderly urban development, to improve living environment in urban areas, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing, urban renewal, and community facilities.

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the enactment of H.R. 7984, the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965.

While we are considering this measure to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, to promote orderly urban development, to improve the living environment in urban areas, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing, urban renewal, and community facilities, we should bear in mind the solemn congressional declaration in the Housing Act of 1949 that:

The general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require housing production and related community development sufficient to remedy the serious housing shortage, the elimination of substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, and the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family, thus contributing to the development and redevelopment of communities, and to the advancement of the growth, wealth, and security of the Nation.

Mr. Chairman, in my opinion, the legislation we are considering today can provide a sound and comprehensive framework for carrying out the objectives and fulfilling the promise of that congressional declaration.

It is certainly significant, and most interesting, that all the major established programs in the housing and urban development field, such as public housing, FHA insurance, urban renewal, college housing, and community facilities, which used to arouse such vocal opposition on the ground that they were allegedly foreign to American concepts, would kill the incentive of the American family, and would lead us toward a socialistic way of life, have this year caused little or no discussion, much less opposition.

This rather surprising fact stands as quiet but eloquent testimony to the almost universal acceptance of the important role of the Federal Government in assisting local communities meet the challenge of urban growth and expansion.

Another example of this developing consensus is the recent House passage of President Johnson's proposal to create a new Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development to serve as a focal point of Federal concern for such problems of rapid metropolitan growth as sharply rising local tax rates, providing efficient mass transportation systems, building adequate housing, expanding educational opportunities, assuring effective air and water pollution control, and providing recreation and all the related necessities of modern urban life in the latter half of the 20th Century.

This expression of House support for the President's proposal reversed a 264-to-150 defeat in 1962 of a similar administration plan, and is of particular importance to the residents of southern California, where population is expected to triple from 10 million to over 30 million within the next 35 years.

The problems of urbanization, of course, are not confined to Los Angeles or the State of California. In the Nation at large, whereas more than half our citizens lived on farms or in rural areas at the turn of the century, today some 70 percent live in metropolitan centers. And by the year 2000, the Nation's population will have increased to about 350 million, of which nearly 80 percent will be concentrated in urban areas.

Times certainly change, and the face of America changes along with everything else. In 1862, as the rich farming regions of the West were opening up, the Federal Government established the Agriculture Department to assist in that historic development. So now, more than a hundred years later, I feel it is time to direct the Nation's attention toward providing effective assistance to the vast majority of our citizens who today live and work in our burgeoning cities.

Mr. Chairman, in the legislation now before the House, the only apparent real opposition has been voiced with regard to the President's proposed new rent supplement program, which he has characterized as "the most crucial new instrument in our effort to improve the American city."

I heartily agree with President Johnson in this matter, for I believe the rent supplement program is an imaginative and forward-looking new housing tool that can be of tremendous benefit to the segment of our population whose income

and financial situation now prevents them from obtaining decent housing in today's market conditions.

As such, this program can become an essential element in our national effort to mobilize the country's human and financial resources to attack the basic causes of poverty and high unemployment among America's 30 million disadvantaged citizens.

Considered as part of the new Economic Opportunity program, the rent supplement proposal may well offer a promising new approach to solving the tragic paradox of extreme poverty in the midst of an alltime record prosperity for most Americans.

Basically, the proposal is fairly simple. The housing built under the new program would be privately sponsored, privately built, and privately financed under FHA—and FHA regulations assure that it will be of sound and modest design. Eligible families will be those within the public housing income range who, in additon, are elderly or handicapped, displaced by Government action such as urban renewal or highway construction, or who are now living in slum housing. The supplement, itself, will be the difference between one-fourth of the family's income, which it would pay as rent in the normal manner, and the fair market rental of the unit as approved by FHA.

Thus, it is essentially a private enterprise program, with supplemental Federal assistance provided through partial rent payments to help meet the housing problems of our low income families. The housing would be modest in design and no luxury-type housing would be permitted.

Overall, the rent supplement program would accomplish a number of things. It would make a net addition to the supply of decent housing available to low-income groups. It would enlist the energy and imagination of churches, unions, and civic-minded private citizens. It would complement the existing public housing program and offer low-income families another alternative to their present limited choice between slums or regular public housing. It would substantially reduce the impact on the Federal budget of direct Government financing of the whole cost of a unit. And it would provide a flexible formula that would extend aid to families when they need it, curtail that aid when their incomes rise, and terminate it when they could afford housing on their own, without the painful necessity of evicting them as is the case in public housing.

Since there are now approximately 500,000 eligible families already on the waiting list for admission to public housing, it is obvious that the President's proposal will fill an urgent need by speeding the day when low-income families, now unable to afford decent housing, can move into better homes with Federal assistance.

During this debate we have heard the rent supplement plan denounced as just another Government handout or subsidy to one economic class in America, and that it would lead us straight down the path to socialism, if not worse.

For that reason, I think it might be profitable to spend a moment or two in considering the subject of subsidies in the housing field in America, and, by extension, the general subject of the principle of Government subsidy in American life.

First of all, the President's rent supplement proposal would by no stretch of the imagination be the first Federal subsidy to private housing, nor would it be by any means the largest.

As a matter of fact, almost every kind of housing now receives a Federal subsidy, direct or indirect.

The most significant Federal subsidy to housing is, of course, the income-tax deduction for mortgage interest. It is a subsidy to the economic classes that can afford to buy houses.

In addition, housing for veterans, for old people and for farmers is subsidized. There are public housing programs for the very poor; the Federal Housing Administration provides mortgage insurance for one-family dwellings for the middle class; even luxury apartments for upper-income citizens often get an indirect subsidy under the urban renewal program.

The question, then, is not whether this country intends to subsidize its citizens' shelter. That was settled a generation ago. The current question is whether the country intends to subsidize the poor as widely as it does the wealthy, and whether it intends to subsidize the renters as well as the buyers.

Now, to look for a moment beyond the field of housing, it is easy to trace a consistent pattern of Federal Government subsidy as an integral, and indeed an essential, part of the history of the economic development and prosperity of America.

One of the earliest kinds of subsidy in the United States, and one which is still very much with us, is the tariff on goods produced outside the country. Tariff laws were enacted and have stayed on the books since the 18th century in an effort to protect U.S. industry and agriculture by reducing or eliminating competition from foreign-made products.

But this Government-enforced subsidy is paid for directly out of the pockets of American consumers in the form of higher prices they must pay in the marketplace for each of these protected commodities.

And we are only too familiar with the present multibillion-dollar annual agricultural subsidy. American taxpayers pay to U.S. farmers who produce our overabundance of food and fiber.

So too, even a cursory reading of American history will also remind us of the many hundreds of thousands of acres of land given to the railroads of this country as a direct land subsidy to promote the population and development of the West. This subsidy was also paid for by every citizen through a proportionate diminution and reduction in the public domain.

Major current Government subsidies are found in the Federal Internal Revenue code in the form of special exemptions, deductions, and similar tax concessions and advantages granted by law to certain classes of citizens.

One outstanding example of this kind of Government subsidy is the Federal tax treatment accorded income from oil and gas resources. Taxpayers with such income are eligible for an annual 27 percent depletion allowance, which, according to an authoritative 1963 Brookings Institution study, saves these taxpayers between $1.5 and $2 billion every year.

In other words, the U.S. Treasury loses from $1.5 to $2 billion in revenue each year because of the special 27-percent depletion allowance granted the relatively few taxpayers with income from oil and gas sources. This Government tax subsidy, therefore, is paid directly out of U.S. Treasury funds by all other American taxpayers whose tax bills would otherwise be, dollar for dollar, that much less.

Another multi-billion dollar annual Government subsidy is given to corporations—generally the larger and more prosperous ones—in the form of patent rights to the commercially profitable discoveries and inventions that result from Federal research and development contracts.

A large share of this lucrative patent subsidy goes to firms with Government military or space contracts, but taxpayer-sponsored R. & D. contracts range into every conceivable field of human endeavor. In fact, total Federal outlays for research and development are estimated to be somewhere in the neighborhood of $12 to $13 billion a year—far more than half the entire annual R. & D. spending from all sources, both public and private.

To take another specific industry as an example, commercial aviation has been subsidized by the Federal Government since its very infancy in the early decades of this century, and, in one way or another, will probably always be the recipient of taxpayer largesse.

In this case, the subsidy has been paid through profitable Government mail delivery contracts, and, to the larger domestic and international trunk lines who no longer receive direct subsidy, through the granting of Government-protected franchises to operate over choice commercial air routes where passenger and freight traffic growth potential almost guarantees a highly remunerative business future, shielded from the normal competitive hazards of the American free enterprise system, and virtually assured of a comfortable rate of return.

Now, the Federal Government has just ordered a speed-up in its development effort toward building an American supersonic airline transport, so that our commercial aviation industry will be in a better position to compete for future business with similar planes produced in Europe or Russia.

What is involved here is a $1 to $2 billion expenditure of taxpayers' money for research, development, test, and evaluation to produce an aircraft for commercial use after our U.S. airlines and aircraft manufacturers flatly refused to shoulder the financial responsibility because they considered the project too expensive and risky for private industry to handle alone.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I have cited these various examples of Government subsidy to indicate that there has been a rather consistent historic pattern of Federal subsidization, not only in the housing field, but in nearly every other area of America's economic development and prosperity.

So, I believe we can safely discount the opposition to President Johnson's rent supplement proposal that is based on the contention that a housing subsidy for America's poorest classes would somehow be un-American and contrary to our historic traditions.

Rather, I feel that this proposal can become an important element in our overall, comprehensive effort to meet the urgent housing needs of our fast-growing Nation.

With that thought, therefore, I strongly hope the Members of this House will today give their support to the President's rent supplement plan, and will join me in voting for the administration's Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, as a major step toward achieving the magnificent goals outlined in the congressional housing declaration of 1949.

Salute to Wright Patman's Effective Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES L. WELTNER

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Speaker, on June 16 there appeared in the Los Angeles Times a querulous article criticizing our distinguished and able colleague, WRIGHT PATMAN, chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee.

Mr. Fred Schmidt, in a letter to the Times, rightly asserts that this article would hardly suffice for a freshman government student. Mr. Schmidt cites chapter and verse on Mr. PATMAN's major legislative accomplishments, which include the veterans' bonus bill, the Robinson-Patman Act, the Veterans' Emergency Housing Act of 1946, the Employment Act of 1946, the Small Business Act, and much more recent housing and banking legislation that must be credited to Mr. PATMAN in the short time since he became committee chairman.

Already in the first session of the 89th Congress the Banking Committee has reported out 10 major bills with more to come. I have the privilege of being a member of both the Banking and Currency Committee and the Foundations Subcommittee of the Select Committee on Small Business, with Mr. PATMAN as chairman in both cases. His leadership is effective and imaginative.

I think it is important to insert Mr. Schmidt's letter into the RECORD, and I include it at this point:

LETTERS TO THE TIMES: PATMAN'S LOSS OF CONGRESSIONAL INFLUENCE DOUBTED BY RESEARCHER

The "Lesson in Erosion of Influence" that Thomas J. Foley endeavored to teach us in the Times (June 16) would hardly suffice for a freshman government student. He argues that Representative WRIGHT PATMAN has diminished his influence in the Congress and before the people by inveighing too long and too often against high-interest rates and a Federal Reserve Board that acts independently of the needs and will of the people.

Foley is right that these are old refrains—almost historic, for they started before Andy Jackson jerked the charter of the Bank of the United States out of the private hands of the Nicholas Biddle family.

But Foley is wrong in washing out PATMAN at this point of the game. It has just started. True, PATMAN has been in the Congress for 31 years, and for much of that time has been the voice-in-the-wilderness that Foley says he is now. Today there is a difference.

The difference is that under the committee system in the House, PATMAN had to wait 20 years for seniority and the departure of the ancient Brent Spence to bring him to the chairmanship of the Banking and Currency Committee. This finally happened in the last Congress. Under Spence the committee had become a do-nothing committee, an eroded committee. PATMAN set out at once to rebuild its influence and effectiveness. Its activity since testifies to his success.

Federal Reserve Chairman Martin's suave indifference to PATMAN's efforts should not fool Foley into thinking they are futile. They weren't on the bonus bill, the Small Business Administration, the housing program and much of our recent banking and currency legislation that already must be credited to PATMAN's persistence.

Nicholas Biddle, like Chairman Martin, was an "able, suave, and cosmopolitan gentleman." But historians add that he suffered from "a fatal self-confidence, a disposition to underrate his opponents and a lack of political imagination." Martin is making the same mistake.

FRED H. SCHMIDT,
Research Specialist, UCLA.

Resolution From the Steuben Society of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, in the annals of our history there are three names which stand out in our struggle to be a free nation—I refer to three patriots who left their native lands to come to our shores to assist in our fight for independence, Baron Frederick William Von Steuben, Count Casimir Pulaski, and the Marquise de Lafayette. Their deeds and their place in our history shall never be forgotten.

As a sign of our debt to these patriots, our Navy has, in the past few years, named three Polaris submarines in honor of them. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a resolution from the Steuben Society of America calling for the issuance of a commemorative stamp to further honor the memory of these gentlemen and to honor the nuclear submarines which bear their names. I have recommended to the Postmaster General that this be done, and I call upon my colleagues to lend their support to this resolution by expressing their interest to the Post Office Department.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO ISSUE COMMEMORATE POSTAGE STAMPS HONORING THE NUCLEAR POLARIS SUBMARINES NAMED AFTER FOREIGN BORN HEROES

Whereas the Thirteen Colonies declared their independence in the year 1776 and suffered the ordeal of conflict to take a place in the family of nations; and

Whereas our Nation, founded on the lofty principles of the equality and dignity of man and a recognition of his inalienable rights became a beacon of hope to the oppressed of all lands; and

Whereas our emergence as a nation is the product of the sacrifice, courage and dedication of our forefathers; and

Whereas we are mindful of the decisive roles played by distinguished patriots who left their native lands to join in our struggle for freedom, giving full measure of their talents and devotion; and

Whereas the names of three such patriots have been gloriously perpetuated by the designation of three polaris nuclear submarines, the *Von Steuben*, the *Pulaski*, and the *Lafayette:* Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That their achievements and sacrifice be accorded further grateful recognition through the issuance of an appropriate commemorative postage stamp honoring Baron Frederick William Von Steuben, Count Casimir Pulaski, and the Marquise de Lafayette, distinguished generals of the Continental Army and the nuclear submarines, which, in their names, serve as a bulwark of the freedom for which they fought.

WARD LANGE,
Chairman.
GEORGE STOTZ,
Secretary.

Mrs. Elaine Samet Tells of the Quiet Revolution in Miami

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I call your attention to an excellent article by Mrs. Elaine Samet, who has dedicated a great part of her life to the improvement of the area of Florida which I represent and who speaks with conviction and authority about Greater Miami and its problems. She is the wife of Seymour Samet, former area director of the Miami American Jewish Committee.

In her article, Mrs. Samet objectively elucidates why and how Miami has escaped large-scale racial tension as she explores the progress that has been made there. Her article states that success first came as religious and civic leaders

joined together in 1963 to form the Community Relations Board. Perceptively, she explains that this board has helped to divert "potentially explosive demonstrations from the streets to the conference table."

Mr. Samet at present is assistant to former Florida Governor, LeRoy Collins, working with the Community Relations Service of the Department of Commerce. An outstanding community and civic leader, he has been honored with the distinction of having a library named after him—the Seymour Samet Human Relations Library in the Dade County public school system.

The significance of Mrs. Samet's article is great in the light of our national struggle to lessen bigotry and help bring equal opportunity to all citizens regardless of race or color. Her insightful and accurate report of how Miami has met this problem ought to be read by all:

QUIET REVOLUTION IN MIAMI

(By Elaine Samet)

Five million tourists who visited Miami last year were instrumental in keeping our racial revolution from erupting into violence, and, at the same time, assuring its continued success.

While there are many reasons for the peaceful mood in race relations here, tourism is an important part of the answer. Economically, we cannot afford violence.

John B. Turner, civic leader, put it this way: "Tourists don't take vacations where there is bloodshed. Birmingham can have violence and open the steel mills the next day. Miami would finds the hotels empty."

Dade County is also making tremendous efforts to attract new industry. What business will move into an area of racial unrest?

Another explanation for the peaceful nature of civil rights activities locally is our population makeup. About half our residents have recently come from Northeastern and Midwestern urban areas, where nonviolent participation in race matters was the general rule.

But the most valuable peacemaking resource over the past dozen years has been the activities of a small group of residents of both races and all major religions. Among them are: Dade County Council of Community Relations, Coconut Grove Slum Clearance Committee, American Civil Liberties Union, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Congress of Racial Equality, Urban League, American Jewish Committee, Anti-Defamation League, and social welfare agencies of various religious faiths.

What have they accomplished? Dade County public schools have been desegregated without major incidents. The school administration and school board are committed to integration and quality education.

In addition, Catholic schools and colleges, as well as the University of Miami, voluntarily opened their doors to Negro students.

Free access to public accommodations provides a success story. Most hotels, dining rooms, pools, night clubs on both sides of Biscayne Bay have an open policy. As early as 1955, public beaches, swimming pools, golf courses and other tax-supported facilities were integrated.

Although we may boast of some race progress, this is still no Eden to Negroes in slums. Attempts have been made to eliminate rundown hovels, but too often they have been replaced by concrete monsters, charging higher rents, with greater population density, less privacy, less outdoor play area. Public housing efforts help, but not enough.

Lack of Negro employment opportunities is another major concern. Only recently have educators, labor, industry and local government agencies joined forces to seriously study job problems of Negro citizens.

Yet any overall view shows that Miami, compared to other Southern cities, is making civil rights progress. Among residents of both races are those who want equality for all minorities as of yesterday. Some whites say, "never," and some say "tomorrow." Most Negro leaders say more firmly than ever, "now."

To help maintain communication among these groups a community relations board was created in 1963 to provide local governmental support to the ideal of equal opportunity and rights for all citizens.

Although separate groups and individuals had been dreaming and working toward a quasi-public race relations board for several years, success was not possible until their voices united. The religious voices of the community had been heard on occasion but without a concerted effort, until Bishop Coleman F. Carroll chaired a local conference on race and religion.

Out of this meeting came a strongly-worded statement of conscience, signed by many outstanding clergymen of Dade County, urging citizens and elected officials to take action to assure the dignity of all men.

With the community's moral forces speaking out clearly; with the economic power structure aware of the financial disaster inherent in racial violence; and with the backing of mass media the elected metro commissioners voted for the ordinance creating CRB, and providing funds for a professional staff.

This is not the end to a fairy story with a magic formula for instant justice. But as Rev. Theodore Gibson has said, "The board has kept the top on the powder keg."

Several potentially explosive demonstrations have been diverted from the streets to the conference table. How skillfully the CRB can continue to make progress toward providing dignity and justice for Miami citizens will determine the popularity of south Florida as a playground to the Nation and as a source of pride to its residents.

Kansas City Star Comments on Responses to Research Committee's Inquiries on the Impact of Federal Grants on Higher Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 16, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the Research and Technical Programs Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations has been investigating the impact of the huge program of Federal research grants on our colleges and universities.

In the course of its inquiry, the subcommittee sent questionnaires to some 300 selected faculty members, university administrators, and other knowledgeable persons. In addition, the subcommittee held hearings on June 14, 15, and 17.

In an editorial published June 27, the Kansas City Star has presented a valuable selection of some of the responses and has offered its own thoughtful comments.

The editorial concludes:

Certainly the Government has helped enlarge the pool of researchers and scientists whose projects fill direct needs. But there are other human needs. To the extent that society intends to support education, that is, not only the discovery but the preservation of knowledge, then the horizons of public and private aid should be expanded.

The full text of the editorial follows:

TEACHING VERSUS RESEARCH ON THE CAMPUS

Is the enormous amount of research in the universities and colleges shortchanging students whose best teachers are in the laboratories instead of the classrooms? Is faculty loyalty shifting from schools to the Federal agencies that supply the money?

What about the humanities? Is there an inordinate flow of Federal money going to the hard sciences to the detriment of the nonscience disciplines? Does most of the money go to a few prestige institutions, thus widening the gap between the "haves" and "have-nots"? Should there be more of a geographic allocation and should more money go to smaller schools?

What about the graduates? Do government research grants tend to lure them out of teaching? Will Federal money build an oversupply of specialists?

These are questions that concern the present condition of higher education in the United States, and the answers can profoundly affect the course of events.

The important and immediate fact, however, is that these questions are being asked by the Research and Technical Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations—and that the people involved in education have been requested to supply some answers. The legislative branch wants to learn of the effect of its authorized billions in grants and subsidies to higher education. Is all of this Government-sponsored research good for education or is it bad?

In the wake of the Berkeley riots and obvious discontent on campuses elsewhere, it would appear that there is, indeed, a widening gap between teacher and student. But how much does the practice of Federal grants have to do with this?

In a refreshing approach, the House subcommittee has gone to the source in asking the questions of more than 300 teachers, deans, college presidents, foundation directors and others. The written replies, some anonymous and some signed, are illuminating. Many, of course, offer views in keeping with the extent of their subsidization. Thus, one man says, " 'Inordinate' is exactly the right word to use in connection with oversubsidization of the hard sciences." But another says that, "The support of hard science is not inordinate. It is inadeqate."

An eastern dean puts the whole business into his own succinct perspective:

"I am convinced that currently it is fashionable to blame research activities for most of the ills on the academic scene. To my way of thinking the problems come more from the increasing size of academic institutions and their consequent depersonalization than from increased research. Certainly it is possible for professors to become 'operators' and to neglect their students for the sake of research. This sometimes happens.

"However, professors also, and in my experience more frequently, neglect their students because of laziness, to spend time making money through consulting or running businesses, to pursue hobbies, to chase women, and to otherwise indulge themselves in all of the frailties which beset the human race."

The director of a professional research establishment expands on this theme:

"In my opinion, the complaint against the teaching in our great research universities arises primarily from students and their indulgent parents who would like the university to be a kind of advanced high school—a continuation of the sheltered life the student has enjoyed at home.

"The university must assume its students are mature individuals who attend because of their dedication to learning and (who) desire careers in a society that today fully depends on sufficient education."

This is the tough line that seems to say universities are centers for the accumulation of great scientific minds, a big library, banks of computers, and facilities for the young people either to absorb knowledge or fall by the way. And a few dozen million in research grants from the Atomic Energy Commission and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration would not hurt either.

The humanists and the small-college people generally oppose the tough line, naturally on principle and perhaps for other reasons. A philosophy instructor recounts that a college dean once asked him what he thought might be a decent starting salary for such as himself with a Ph. D. The philosophy instructor thought that from $7,500 to $8,000 might be reasonable.

"Do not talk like a physicist," said the dean.

A history professor in California believes that the "postwar Federal grant system has accelerated the opening of the gap between faculty and student." He recalls that, in 1962, when he spent several months of a sabbatical leave at Berkeley and Stanford, pressure of student resentment was building up "against a system whose standards of advancement and achievement were designed to draw men away from any serious devotion to undergraduate teaching.

"Indeed those instructors who chose to do much of this usually found that they were asked to leave. The reason? They had not published. They had not advanced the frontiers of knowledge.

"A large part of our California problem is the current salary scale, but the difficulty runs deeper than salary. I fear that unless we redress the balance, the Nation can well find that it has trained a mass of talented makers of things and gadgets, but will be deficient in the production of men who can tell us what things are socially useful and for what purposes we should employ our gadgetry."

A somewhat different view comes from the president of the California Institute of Technology. He looks to the history of the American University and notes that, "up to the time of World War I most American institutions—even those that called themselves universities—regarded research and graduate education as a rather minor part of their responsibilities.

"After 1920 a great transformation took place—a change so radical that in the field of science, for example, American universities arose from a position of obscurity * * * to a position of substantial equality with European centers by 1940."

Since 1946, he writes, undergraduate enrollments have increased "at an astonishing pace," graduate enrollment has increased even more rapidly and so have Government grants for research. But he believes this not only has strengthened programs at schools already engaged in research prior to 1940, it also has brought an extension of research activities to many institutions that before the 1940's were not heavily involved. And certainly it is difficult to deny that "the expansion of research has placed the United States in a commanding position of world leadership in science and technology," or that "the boom to the strength of the Nation and its economy is of incalculable value."

Circumstances, undoubtedly, contribute greatly to the present emphasis on research in the hard sciences that are expected to produce hard results. This is an age of science. Moreover, the impression lingers that this country and its allies in World War II won a very close race with Nazi Germany in acquiring the bomb; the Germans were far ahead in rockets and jet airplanes and they might have tipped the balance had these weapons been available a year or two sooner. No one can wonder how Adolf Hitler would have used a few Hiroshima-type devices. The research brains of American and European universities gave us the bomb first.

It hardly can be denied that in the sciences contributing to the survival of the country, we still are close to a wartime condition. Obviously the Government must get results.

But it is possible, too, that this country is rich enough to send more research money to the smaller schools and to the men and women who deal in the humanities—we might even spend a few dollars on the people who primarily are teachers and who never will find a cure for cancer or build a bigger bomb.

For despite the brilliance of individual researchers and the magnificence of their laboratories, a university still is built on the existence of young people who arrive on the campus to learn. Unquestionably, it is true, as one of our area university presidents says, that the best of all teachers always are engaged in research—they must at least read to keep abreast of their fields. And another educator says flatly: "It is nonsense to talk about the 'good teacher' versus the researcher. The man or woman who does little or no research becomes intellectually sterile and capable only of preaching sermons."

Perhaps an answer is not to diminish the support given the outstanding universities and their scientists, but to increase support for the smaller and newer schools that inevitably will absorb a bigger share of the growing enrollments. Aside from that, more funds surely must be made available for those in the humanities and the arts. It is not so much a matter of priming a pump for the production of paintings, history, symphonies, poems and verb counts of Shakespeare. In a scientific age the immediate danger is that the status attached to research grants could, in the long run, detract from the very basic importance of the humanities and the arts to mankind.

Bernard Shaw said that "He who can, does. He who cannot, teaches. We doubt whether this bit of pomposity ever was true and most certainly it is not true today. In American education the ideal is one who both teaches and does, and the pool of these individuals needs to be enlarged in all fields of scholarship. Certainly the Government has helped enlarge the pool of researchers and scientists whose projects fill direct needs. But there are other human needs. To the extent that society intends to support education, that is, not only the discovery but the preservation of knowledge, then the horizons of public and private aid should be expanded.

Lithuanian Flyers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, each year on the anniversary of the death of Lithuania's transatlantic flyers, Capt. Stephen Darius and Lt. Stanley Girenas, in July 1933, Lithuanians everywhere pay tribute in commemoration of two courageous men who sacrificed their lives for their country.

This year, as in previous years, Lithuanians in Chicago paid tribute to Captain Darius and Lieutenant Girens at a ceremony held on the evening of June 12, 1965, at the monument erected in their honor in Marquette Park located in my congressional district. Those attending the ceremony were privileged to hear an outstanding address by Dr. Joseph Kajeckas, Charge d'Affaires of Lithuania, and I am pleased to include in the RECORD the very fine speech given by him on this auspicious occasion:

We began this evening's commemoration in a service of prayer, and now we end it by the monument of Lithuania's cherished transatlantic flyers, Darius and Girenas. It would have been even more fitting to end such a commemoration by a monument to the unknown sufferers in the cause of Lithuanian freedom. We do not have such a monument, but I feel certain that someday such a memorial will exist in this country. It would remind coming ages of our country's sacrifices, and suffering and of the nefarious treachery of our country's occupant. But we have gathered by a monument to Darius and Girenas, who dedicated their courageous and noble efforts to the honor of Lithuania. We have gathered here to remember our country's extensive sacrifice for God and a free way of life. We have gathered to remember our countrymen who have perished in prisons, in the wastes of Siberia, and partisan fighting for their country. We have gathered to remember families which have been dispersed, and the rivers of tears shed by widows, orphans, and the aged.

The price of independence is great. The only proper way for us to remember such awesome sacrifices for our homeland is to emulate the dedication of those whose heroism we remember tonight. It is only in that way that the sacrifice of the countless heroic Lithuanians who have fought for Lithuania's freedom can be lasting and timeless.

We have gathered here at a time when our countrymen under oppression cannot speak, when our enslaved brothers and sisters are forced to mouth thanks and praise in return for sorrow and human deprivation, in a cruel and vengeful mockery of that country which once flourished from sea to sea—from the Baltic to the Black Sea. We have, therefore, gathered here to protest the infamous aggression against Lithuania and the Baltic States.

The Soviet Union has viciously denied, and continues to deny, the right of the Baltic States to self-determination and their people's desire to aline themselves with the tradition of a democratic, free society which flourishes preeminently in the West. We protest vigorously against the Soviet politics of genocide on the banks of our beloved Nemunas River. We protest against the clumsy attempts of the Kremlin to justify their murderous intervention in the Baltics. We protest against Soviet neocolonialism and the fantastic lies by which the Soviet leaders have attempted to explain their greedy interest in our ancient land, older even than the dawn of history itself.

It should not be forgotten that Lithuanian liberty fell before the onslaughts of the Red Army, with the blessing of the Nazi regime. Thus, the present situation of Lithuania and the Baltic States is a direct consequence of the nefarious, secret agreements of Stalin and Hitler, and thus constitutes part of the urgent and unfinished business of the Second World War. For that matter, if the Soviet

leaders now wish to repudiate the methods of Stalinism, they must also repudiate the reprehensible occupation of the Baltic States.

It is with joy and graditude that we recall on this occasion that the United States has always condenmned the Soviet aggression in the Baltic States. At the time of the Soviet occupation of these countries in 1940, Sumner Welles, the spokesman for the government, said, "The policy of this Government is universally known. The people of the United States are opposed to predatory activities no matter whether they are carried on by the use of force or the threat of force." He also added that modern civilization itself depended on such a defense of the rule of reason, justice and law. These principles have been upheld by all the U.S. Presidents since then, including President Johnson. And each year the Secretary of State has, on the occasion of Lithuanian Independence Day (February 16), expressed the support of the American people in Lithuania's quest to regain her rightful liberty and independence. We are grateful to the Government and people of the United States for all the encouragement which has strengthened our hope and redoubled our resolve to see Lithuania free again.

Aggression is a crime against international law. The aggression against Austria, at the time of the Second World War, was not justified, and that nation is free today. Neither was aggression justified against Lithuania, but she is not free. And the criminal Soviet inhumanity with respect to the Baltic States is a classic example of modern aggression and its methods. For centuries to come, it will testify to the infamous career of the Kremlin and its systematic usurpation of human rights.

Only last year, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower told the Lithuanian American Council that the occupation of Lithuania by the Red army constituted a flagrant act of aggression, and that the conscience of America would not be quiet until Lithuania regained her independence. On that occasion, he also very rightly pointed out something that is worth remembering—that Soviet overtures of peace, coexistence, and the like could only be taken sincerely at face value after the Soviets have restored the right of self-determination to the Baltic States.

As matters stand, alas, the Soviets don't care about the rights of men or nations. They are interested only in building an ever higher Tower of Babel. They are concerned only with expanding the Communist territorial and economic empire, over other people's dead bodies. In such an empire, there is no room for basic human rights or for the political fruits of the Judaeo-Christian political tradition. The Communist order has shown itself to be one of deceitful and illegal expansion, an order alien to the Baltic peoples and all freemen. But since men who live by force respect only force, it is, perhaps, inevitable that freemen should have had to resist the new wave of Communist expansion now germinating in southeast Asia.

As the years pass, the struggle to restore Lithuania's rightful freedom and independence takes on new and deeper meaning, for it becomes clear to all thoughtful men that this struggle coincides with the struggle to preserve the very bases of international peace, cooperation, and law. We can rejoice that we are participants in this struggle, which is destined to emphasize the greatness of the human spirit in its yearning for freedom. This awareness of the importance of our efforts strengths both our resolve and our hope. Future centuries, I am sure, will inevitably comment on the irony of the fact that Communist efforts to control the world only strengthened the resolve of freemen to preserve and enrich their own way of life.

Bread Tax Charge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, the voluntary wheat certificate program now in effect has been most successful in accomplishing the stated goals of the program. It has increased farm income, reduced Government costs, reduced Government stocks of wheat, and prices for wheat products have remained stable.

As was the case when this program was first enacted, the baking industry has launched a massive propaganda effort to defeat this program as the Congress moves toward extending it for 4 years. The opponents are once again using the "bread tax" charge which they used before the program was originally adopted. A very fine response to this charge is stated in an editorial of Tuesday, June 29, 1965, in the Des Moines Register. I hope my colleagues will take the time to read this very fine editorial which follows:

BREAD TAX CHARGE

The attack against the wheat acreage diversion and price-support program as a "bread tax on consumers" is one of the more cynical pieces of political demagoguery to be practiced lately. This program requires domestic processors of wheat to buy certificates worth 75 cents a bushel and exporters to buy certificates worth 30 cents a bushel. The certificates are given to farmers as part of their payment for complying with acreage restrictions.

Since the certificate program began, the price-support loan on wheat has been reduced from $2 a bushel to $1.25. The average "blend" certificate value, which depends on the ratio of domestic to export sales, last year was 43 cents and this year is to be 44 cents. The total support price to wheatgrowers this year will average $1.69 a bushel, as compared with $2 in 1962.

The domestic miller will pay about the same for wheat this year as in 1962, since the market price plus the certificate will cost about $2 per bushel.

The "bread tax" charge is based on the fact that part of the price-support cost now is paid by the public as consumers instead of taxpayers. The flour millers pass on the cost of the certificates in the price of flour.

The "bread tax" charge is cynical because everyone knows the price of bread is only slightly related to the price of wheat. The cost of wheat makes up less than 20 percent of the retail price of bread and other bakery products. About 80 percent of the price is made up of processing and marketing costs.

The total cost of wheat to flour millers is no higher than it was 3 years ago and is lower than it was in the early 1950's when price supports were higher. Yet the prices of bread and other wheat products are considerably higher because of increased labor and other manufacturing costs.

The price of white bread has risen every year since 1950 but not because the price of wheat went up. If the wheat program is extended by Congress and the administration recommendations are approved, the wheat certificates will be increased in value. Since the cost of wheat in a loaf of bread is around 2 cents, raising the certificate value to $1.25 (a 20-percent increase in the total cost of wheat to the miller) could not justify as much as a 1-cent increase in the price of bread.

If this part of the subsidy is paid in the form of a charge on consumers instead of taxpayers, it cannot affect low-income consumers perceptibly.

Whether it is a good idea to raise the returns to wheatgrowes by any method is a separate question. But the method of a higher certificate value should not be discarded on such phony ground as the "bread tax" argument.

Prices Should Go Down With Tax Cuts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson and this Congress gave a great lift to the economy with the passage and signing into law of the $4.7 billion excise tax reduction bill.

We here in Congress believed this bill would act as a catalyst for the Nation's economy, and project it to even greater heights than it is now.

I am one who believes deeply in the theory of free enterprise. I am now looking for the free enterprise system in this country to meet the challenge and the duty which have been put on it with the passage of the excise reduction bill.

The Los Angeles Times, on June 24, 1965, wrote so wisely:

The President rightfully expects businessmen to live up to those promises now, so that public buying power will be increased and the Nation's prosperity given a timely boost.

So at this time, I include in the RECORD the editorial in the Los Angeles Times of June 24, 1965:

[From the Los Angles Times, June 24, 1965]

PRICES SHOULD GO DOWN WITH TAX CUTS

When President Johnson signed the $4.7 billion excise tax reduction bill, he made it plain that his administration expects retailers to pass the cuts on to consumers in the form of lower prices.

Any failure to do so would constitute a form of price gouging, and thus deserves public condemnation.

It should be recognized, however, that there is no guarantee that the full benefits will, in fact, trickle down to the consumer unless the public is alert against cases of abuse.

During congressional hearings, spokesmen for various industries pledged that the excise tax cuts—on items ranging from mechanical pencils to autos and household appliances—would be passed on.

The President rightfully expects businessmen to live up to those promises now, so that public buying power will be increased and the Nation's prosperity given a timely boost.

It is hard to see how any manufacturer or merchant can justify doing otherwise. In all likelihood, most will cut their prices

in good faith—and in response to the good, old-fashioned prod of competition.

There are bound to be exceptions, however, because nothing in the law prevents a business from pocketing the tax saving in order to boost profits. Labor negotiators, too, may be tempted to make wage demands which will absorb the tax cuts.

Skeptics fear such cases will be excessively numerous. It is too soon to be sure they are wrong.

However, the Johnson administration has let it be known that it will watch what happens to prices. The implication is that flagrant abuses will be publicly exposed.

By leading the way with quick price cuts, thus enabling competition to work in the time-honored American fashion, legitimate businessmen can help make sure that no Government prods are necessary.

The Fix the Farmer's In

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the low level of farm income continues as one of the major problems before this Congress. The effect on farmers and small businessmen in my congressional district is becoming acute, and I know that it is having a similar effect throughout the Nation. A recent letter from my good friend, Jim Hill, Jr., manager of the Pendleton Grain Growers, serves well to demonstrate the correlation between grain prices and total farm income, as well as the effect of low grain prices on local business concerns. I recommend his letter to those of my colleagues who may still have questions concerning the proposed extension and revision of the certificate program for wheat.

Mr. Hill's letter follows:

PENDLETON GRAIN GROWERS, INC.,
Pendleton, Oreg., June 30, 1965.

Representative AL ULLMAN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN AL: We are addressing this letter to you because you are our Congressman. However, by means of copies we hope our thoughts and our feelings can be equally transmitted to many other leaders of our Congress.

At our monthly board of directors meeting our 19 farmer directors and our management spent considerable time discussing the operations of our company, the economic situation of our rural areas, and the "fix the farmer's in."

For the past 4 years the net earnings of our company have been at levels inadequate to maintain a healthy, dynamic, and growing farm service business. These earnings results are despite the facts that we have aggressively endeavored to increase volume, cut out all unnecessary costs, and developed every possible means of improving earnings. Our conclusion is that our business is caught in the middle of the agricultural cost-price squeeze. The increased costs of Government, labor, and the attendant price increases of major industries descend on our business and we have not been able to totally pass these costs on to our farm people and we have absorbed about all we can stand. The farmer can't pass his costs on and he has absorbed all he can stand.

I have personally visited with many of our local businessmen about the condition of their businesses. The story is the same. I have checked other rural and agricultural communities of the Pacific Northwest and the answer is the same. The exception will be the areas where there is a big Government development going on.

We know the financial and operating conditions of our farm people. Our people are not making adequate wages or financial returns for their efforts and their investments. This is true around the entire Pacific Northwest. I am sure it is true around this entire Nation. Sure, there are some exceptions, but for the vast majority of good, family commercial farms the net income of their agricultural operation is not adequate. The enclosed chart "The Fix the Farmer's In," visually presents some of the major economic influences relevant to the situation.

The need or the solution is "increased net income" for agriculture. Price increases for agriculture are a must.

These preliminaries then bring us down to the consideration of new farm legislation and in particular, wheat and feed grain legislation. Grain is the major component supporting America's wonderful meat-rich diet. Our ability to produce grain is a big factor in the direct grain consumption diet of the have-not nations of the world. Grain land, grain production, and grain prices in this Nation have a substantive effect on the income and the profitability of total agriculture in the Nation.

The need of the grain producers of this Nation is more income.

The need of the wheat producer is a program that will let him use his total plant, increase his income, and provide continuity so he can make plans other than year to year.

We favor the National Wheat Growers position on the wheat program. We think this program will work better than any suggested to date. It should be tried for 4 years. The marketing allocation for food should be a minimum 500 million bushels and this should bring 100 percent of parity and certainly not less than $2.50 per bushel. There is great merit to tying this price in the future to the cost of living so that wheat producers have a fair chance to increase prices as does labor, government, and big business. On the resale price of CCC stocks, we strongly feel that wheat and feed grains must be tied together.

This has been a long letter and I am sure it hasn't told you anything new. We hope it has encouraged you to do something about "the fix the farmer's in." There are too many of the rest of us interminably linked with agriculture of this Nation to allow the present situation to drift.

The farm and rural population provides a stability which is significant and important to the economic, social, and religious well-being of this Nation. We sincerely ask your support, and in the same breath express understanding and appreciation for the difficulties of your task and your devotion to your office.

Sincerely,

JAMES HILL, Jr.,
Secretary for the Board.

Immigration Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report to this distinguished body that at the 51st Annual Grand Convention of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, Order of Sons of Italy in America, the following resolution was adopted. It is gratifying to me to know that such honorable organizations as the Order of Sons of Italy in America are wholeheartedly supporting the administration's bill to correct the present inequities in our immigration policy:

GRAND LODGE OF MASSACHUSETTS,
Boston, Mass., June 30, 1965.

Hon. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.,
Member of Congress,
Old House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN O'NEILL: We are pleased to forward to you the enclosed resolution adopted at the 51st Annual Grand Convention of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, Order of Sons of Italy in America, held at the Mount Washington Hotel in Bretton Woods, N.H., on June 19, 20, and 21, 1965.

Respectfully yours,

SOPHIE E. GORRASI,
Grand Recording Secretary.

IMMIGRATION LAWS

Whereas the Order of Sons of Italy in America has for many years pioneered and exerted every effort to change our outmoded immigration laws; and

Whereas the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts by its acts and deeds since its inception has demonstrated its devotion and dedication to the support of our beloved United States, seeking only to enhance its image, its influence, and prestige with other nations of this world; and

Whereas we believe that the provisions of H.R. 2580 and S. 500 pending before the Congress of the United States are fair and reasonable in that admission of immigrants would be based upon the needs of our Nation, the needs of other nationals for asylum and their relationship to others already in the United States, and the need for their skills; and

Whereas we subscribe to that portion of the President's message wherein he stated: "The quota system has other grave defects. Too often it arbitrarily denies us immigrants who have outstanding and sorely needed talents and skills. I do not believe this is either good government or good sense": Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, Order of Sons of Italy in America, in convention duly assembled at Mount Washington Hotel in Bretton Wood, N.H., on this 21st day of June 1965 do hereby endorse the passage at this session of Congress of H.R. 2580, introduced by the Honorable EMANUEL CELLER, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and S. 500, introduced by Senator PHILIP HART, of Michigan, and other Senators, and we hereby strongly urge immediate enactment of this legislation in order to bring to an end our outmoded immigration laws; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to each member of the congressional delegation from Massachusetts, Maine, and New Hampshire, and to U.S. Senator PHILIP HART and Congressman EMANUEL CELLER.

Choking Cotton Is Costly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 16, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Walter Moore, editor of the Texas Alma-

nac has written an article concerning the future of cotton and the cotton industry in the United States, and more important in the Southwest. Cotton is too important to the U.S. economy to be sacrificed, and there is no good reason for the United States to cut its acreage and production in the fact of an everincreasing world consumption and world production.

Mr. Moore's article follows:

[From the Dallas (Tex.) Morning News, June 26, 1965]

CHOKING COTTON IS COSTLY—MILLIONS WILL SUFFER

(By Walter B. Moore)

Strangulation menaces U.S. cotton. If this great American crop is choked any more, it could mean death for an international commodity that provides jobs and business opportunities for thousands who never saw a cotton patch or mill, and never will. Cotton's illness already has uprooted many farmers and forced business owners and their employees out of work, but a worse crisis is threatened unless Congress quickly changes its medicine for the crop.

Two things American cotton must have to save it: First, there must be enough acreage and production to hold customers. Next, present supplies must be moved into consumption in an orderly manner that will not ruin the market but make the American fiber competitive at home and abroad.

Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman recently said that cotton must "export or die." He also stressed the necessity for moving cotton through private trade freely at world prices. Both goals are sound and imperative.

Truckdrivers in Dallas, bankers in Bakersfield, Calif., millhands in Massachusetts, and textile technicians in Tokyo all have a stake in keeping cotton healthy. No other U.S. crop more extensively permeates the economy of our own Nation, or international trade of many countries.

Producers alone in 1964 received $2,653,-215,000 for U.S. cotton fiber and its seed. But cotton value multiplies itself six or seven times as it moves from field to the ultimate users, so that perhaps $18 billion worth of business was generated by this crop last year alone.

But these impressive figures do not tell the whole tale. Our share of the world cotton crop is steadily dropping. And the exports which Mr. Freeman said are essential declined from 5,661,000 bales last season to an estimated 4,500,000 this season. Present laws permit the Government to sell cotton abroad at any price it decides is needed to hold our fair share of the market. But, as yet, this is not being done.

Instead, cotton acreage may be cut even below the 16 million acres which almost everyone in the industry agrees is the irreducible minimum for us to stay in business. Various gimmicks are proposed that will whittle this rockbottom figure. If they do, no matter how it is done, the cotton economy will be hard hit.

Today, there is critical need for cotton men and their leaders in Congress and the executive branch to get together on steps to save this commodity—not just for its own sake, for its direct monetary value, but for the sake of millions here and abroad who look to cotton to clothe them, feed them with its fat and protein, and provide an opportunity to earn a living.

Agreement as to ways, or the application of these methods, will not be easy. But it will be a lot easier than giving up, going out of business, and letting the economy of the United States and dozens of other nations suffer a heavy blow. And that is sure to happen if cotton is choked to death.

President Johnson and the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's speech at the 20th anniversary celebration of the United Nations last week was aptly designed to reassure all the nations of the world that the United States still believes, as it did 20 years ago, that the United Nations is the great key to man's hope for the future.

The President did not devote himself to a single problem affecting the world organization, nor did he confine his address to a particular international problem. What he did was to remind the world once again that the United Nations is the only forum available in which men of all nations can work in concert. It is a certain alternative to chaos. The President let the world know that this country intends to do everything it can to not only preserve the United Nations but to nurture and strengthen it in every way possible.

In reminding the member nations of their duties, the President paid tribute to the unlimited capacity for good that has been placed in the hands of the delegates through the United Nations Charter. By enumerating the diverse areas in which the United Nations bears responsibility, the President brought home with impressive impact the fact that the U.N. is faced with a towering task. He reminded all of us that the social, economic, and physical survival of man depends in good measure upon the work done by the U.N. in the years to come. And he reemphasized that the United States stands firmly behind its commitment to make the U.N. an effective instrument of international order.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD an editorial from the Baltimore Sun of June 26, commending President Johnson for his forthright speech to the United Nations:

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

President Johnson deliberately spoke in a rather low key at San Francisco yesterday. He had decided that the 20th birthday party of the United Nations, under the circumstances, was not the place for a speech on such specific problems as the United Nations financial distress or plans for the next session of the General Assembly or new disarmament talks in the autumn. He chose, instead, to reemphasize the point that the United States is committed to support the United Nations, and is not wavering in its conviction that the member nations want to solve the organization's problems so that the United Nations will be able to work toward a solution of such world problems as keeping the peace and reducing the blight of poverty.

It was well for the President to remind the member states—including citizens of the United States—of the possibilities and responsibilities of the United Nations. Economic matters, technical aid, capital investment, population control, public health—these are all areas in which the United Nations can be particularly effective. And it remains an urgent necessity, as he said, for the members of the United Nations to try to keep the peace and to recognize the dangers to world peace that exist in southeast Asia.

As Mr. Johnson put it, "we must restrain by joint and effective action any who place their ambitions or their dogma or their prestige above the peace of the world. We must find a way to do that. It is the most profound and urgent imperative of our time."

Father Gibson Without Fear Leads the Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, in the June issue of the Village Post there appears an article by Mr. Ed Fartier entitled, "They Find There Is Nothing To Fear." The title comes from a statement made by the Reverend Father Theodore Gibson, a Negro, an Episcopal priest and an outstanding citizen of Miami, Fla.

Father Gibson has spent years paving the way to understanding between men of different faiths and of different color. His struggles have not been easy but he chose his tools carefully—perseverance and patience in place of overzealousness, plasticity rather than inflexibility, and above all an insistence upon always considering more than the single side of any question.

This is a religious leader who has assumed the responsibility of leadership far beyond that of the spiritual. He has sensed the importance of the social and political arenas of life and worked tirelessly to bridge men's differences in these areas. His attention to the needs of his fellow man has been a source of inspiration—a model that others could well study and follow.

Men, regardless of their station in life, have sought his council and he has given it judiciously, earning their highest regard and respect. Where others failed, Father Gibson accepted the challenge and won. He has been a veritable beacon shining in an area once considered dark and impenetrable.

Because of his efforts, the Greater Miami area has made tremendous strides forward in the real of interracial understanding and good will. As long as there are men with the courage and wisdom of Father Gibson we need not fear, for "there is nothing to fear."

The article follows:

THEY FIND THERE IS NOTHING TO FEAR

(By Eb Fortier)

So much has happened since that the racial disputes of 10 years ago seem more childish now than they did then.

The big argument in Miami was over segregation of bus passengers. Negroes, after generations of taking the back seats, wanted to move up front.

One good reason was that the engine was under the back seat in those buses, and anyone who rode there for any length of time came out pretty well cooked.

The leader of the campaign to change the seating arrangements was the Reverend Father Theodore Gibson, Negro, Episcopal priest and president of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Father Gibson was the symbol of the Negro drive for equal rights in Miami. No other Negro leaders had emerged then in this community, and a great many whites who should have known better believed that Negroes really preferred the back seat, figuratively and literally, and would stay there if Father Gibson would stop getting them stirred up.

The issue of school segregation arose next, and Father Gibson was out in front there, too.

"People call me a radical," he said at a time when the abuse was particularly virulent, "but the day will come when I'll be considered a moderate."

The day wasn't long in coming. Miami leaders have been turning to Father Gibson for quite a few years now whenever a racial issue seemed to be heating up. He's driving as hard as ever for the betterment of his people, but his moderate approach is largely responsible for the reasonableness with which the debate has been conducted.

Father Gibson's status was made more or less official when he was guest of honor last month at a testimonial dinner attended by some of Dade's leading white and Negro citizens.

It was quite natural for Father Gibson to speak of and to his "white friends." He has many of them. He also knows a lot about them.

Some whites in the South announce occasionally that they know the Negro mind—presumably better than the Negroes know it. Father Gibson avoids pronouncements, but he's demonstrated that he has a good working knowledge of how the white mind works.

Father Gibson also is thoroughly familiar with Miami. He was born here 50 years ago and has spent his life in the community, except for a 5-year period during which he attended Bishop Payne Divinity School at Petersburg, Va., was ordained and served as a priest in Virginia and North Carolina.

Several of the speakers at the testimonial dinner spoke of him as "God's angry child." Father Gibson has been angry at times, but he's seldom showed it. Most of those who have started out arguing with him have been persuaded—and have become his friends.

"People naturally are afraid of change," he said. "It's a matter of getting them to understand, to accept, and then to move on.

"Once the change has been made, most of them are glad. It's something they've been fearing; after it's done, they find there is nothing to fear."

Introductory Remarks of Hon. Jack H. Vaughn, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, at the First Inter-American Conference of the Partners of the Alliance, June 10-11, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest pleasures I had during my 3 years as a staff member of the Peace Corps was working with Jack Vaughn, at that time my immediate superior as the Director of the Corps' Latin American programs and presently Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. Jack Vaughn is noted not only for his keen wit and sense of humor but also for his deep understanding and genuine concern for the problems confronting our Latin American neighbors.

Recently he addressed the first Inter-American Conference of the Partners of the Alliance, a branch of AID which coordinates the active United States and Latin American private sector involvement in the Alliance for Progress.

One of the most noteworthy points which Mr. Vaughn makes in his remarks concerns the removal of false and misleading labels which are placed, often carelessly, on many movements in our society. I completely agree with his statement that "in many cases labels are outmoded, that labels pose unnecessary problems and obstructions to understanding."

Mr. Speaker, I believe that Mr. Vaughn's statements are certainly worthy of our close consideration. Therefore, I should like to take this opportunity to insert the full text of Mr. Vaughn's remarks:

Thank you very much, don Eduardo, for that lovely presentation. Beautiful ladies, handsome and distinguished gentlemen. Dear friends. First of all, I wish to thank all of you for attending this important Conference. This gives me a great pleasure as I am very much familiar with the activities of the Partners of the Alliance—both in Latin America and here in the United States. I am acquainted with some of the partnerships and I can sincerely say that this is one of the most important, among the programs we are working with, to bring our peoples closer together.

My first job as a young man was working in a gift shop, and I worked in the back room, and my principal occupation was to unpack and take the labels off, mainly Japanese ceramics and glassware, perhaps to give the impression that this was Swedish material. I thought that this was a fairly menial undertaking at the time. I've come to realize that there are many labels that should be removed in our societies, and in our relationships and actually in subsequent years I have been trying to do little else than to remove labels. I think in many cases labels are outmoded, that labels pose unnecessary problems and obstructions to understanding. I think there are many things that should be redefined. I'm not sure that conservative and liberal and leftist and rightist and centrist and Republican and Democrat and Christian Democrat and Democratic Christian and Atheistic Democrat mean as much as some people think. I think that one of your principal tasks is to go beyond labels and try to understand each other as Americans in the broadest sense. I consider myself personally more of a gringo than I do as a man of certain political, social, or other persuasions, and I think that's a good point of departure in trying to find ways of working together without prejudice about obstacles.

There are great advantages that you have in the Alliance that you are engaged in over the Alliance that I am engaged in. You have the ability to do things much more rapidly. You don't need a feasibility study for friendship. You don't need a Foreign Office note for a handshake. You have the opportunity to get there first, and to remove barriers easier than we—through government and traditional channels. Moreover, the partners of the Alliance program has the obvious facility of being able to reach areas that we have never been able to reach—in geographic terms, age groups, social and business groups where for some reason government programs have not been at their best, have not been able to reach. I think that it's clear that the kind of relationships, the kind of projects that develop from your activities are sure to last longer than government programs that are as temporary as the bureaucrats that foment them. To me the key word, the key fact of what you're doing is initiative. There is no limit to what you can do or how you can do. You can experiment and enter into agreements and in ways that a government operation could never undertake. Much of your success will hinge on your imagination and your initiative. I was associated with the Peace Corps for about 3 years—the most exciting thing that ever happened to me by far—in an endeavor very similar to the kind of things that you are doing. And the successful Peace Corps Volunteers and their coworkers were those who used their imagination and used their initiative to come up with unheard of projects that brought people together and that brought rapid progress. I remember the first Peace Corps Volunteer I saw in the field in St. Lucia, an island in the Caribbean, and this volunteer was in the downtown plaza when I arrived there for the first time, and she was tearing crates apart. She was a nurse, and she was standing in back of a jeep in the central square ripping large packing crates apart. I introduced myself and asked her what she was doing, and she said, "Well, I'm a full-time nurse, but I have extra time, and I am engaged in a furniture-building program to provide tables, desks, bookcases, and the rest for the schools of the island." And she said, "Within another year we will have provided this material for all the schools of this country." I asked her where she was getting the money. She said, "I don't need money. My boy friend is the manager of the warehouse, and our understanding is: no crates, no dates." [Laughter.] And she said, "He gives me everything I want, cratewise." [Laughter.]

There have been very exciting things done that I have heard about, that I have seen, that I have gloated over in your activities, and I am sure there are even greater things to come. I would guess that were it possible to do a cost benefit study to determine what we Americans, all Americans, get out of your endeavors compared to what is put in in time, effort and money, that this would be the most exciting program in history. We need your ideas. We in the United States have reached certain affluent, have reached certain heights materially, economically, politically, socially, but there's a lot we don't know, and a lot that we don't understand both about you to the South and about our own society and where we're going. We need your candid observations. We need your best ideas, and we need your help. Very much of what you're doing is not tangible, and very many of your accomplishments are not measureable, but this doesn't mean that they aren't of the greatest significance. I was at a meeting in Cuernevaca six weeks ago. This was a meeting of intellectuals from 16 Latin American countries and a very distinguished group of intellectuals from Gringolandia, and we met for 5 days and quietly, candidly talked about the misunderstandings and the differences between us as people, between us as Americans, and there were many rather unusual things that I learned even after having been in Latin America for 25 years off and on, there were many things which surprised me in terms of attitudes, problems, misconceptions, things that tended to block real understanding, real communication, and in spite of all the very frank and friendly comments made and the

many suggestions, I felt that the suggestion that meant the most, that really got to the heart of the matter was that we just aren't communicating fully. There are too many old labels and too many new and old cliches to describe us and our politics, who we are and we stand for.

My motto is down with cliches. And I have been destroying labels, or I have been trying to, since I was 16. That's the word that I would like to leave with you this morning. We need greater or friendly and frank communications between the peoples of our countries. We need your ideas desperately, and we're extremely flattered and grateful that you have taken the time to come and sit with us and discuss where we can go from here. It will make a difference in our democratic societies. I wish you well. I personally, and in speaking for the Department of State, am truly delighted that you are here, and I am sure that important things, good things, and greater understanding will come from your deliberations. Thank you very much.

Western States Mining Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 9, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, at a recent conference of the Western States Mining & Business Men's Association, at Deadwood, S. Dak., the status and problems of the mining industry were discussed at length. Following the discussions the conference adopted a resolution setting forth proposals for revitalizing the gold and silver mining industry and putting is on a sound and profitable basis. A copy of this resolution was forwarded to me by a respected friend, a resident of my home city of Omaha, Nebr., Mr. Roy M. Harrop. Mr. Harrop is executive chairman of the Western States Mining & Business Men's Association, and at his request I am including the resolution so that all Members of the Congress might have an opportunity to be informed of the views and recommendations it contains:

RESOLUTION OF THE WESTERN STATES MINING & BUSINESS MEN'S ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE AT DEADWOOD, S. DAK., JUNE 2, 1965, HELD AT THE FRANKLIN HOTEL

Whereas our entire economic future is at stake in opening and developing the gold and silver mining and other mining resources of the 15 Western States—an undeveloped empire—America's greatest asset; namely, Arizona, Alaska, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nebraska*, New Mexico, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming (*Nebraska, largest gold and silver smelter in the United States); and

Whereas in these Western States the big landowner is the Federal Government, owning nearly two-thirds of the total land area therein, and these States are the main sources and produce practically all the gold and silver as well as the strategic minerals which have an estimated mineral value of $1,500 billion in value which is lying there undeveloped and unused, no taxes being received by the Government excepting small sums to the local subdivisions of government, and all of this because the administration and the Congress of the United States have for more than 50 years put a ban on the mining of gold and silver and are operating the Government on a deficit spending basis, borrowing credit from the Federal Reserve Bank System, a privately owned banking organization, controlled by the international bankers, and since 1912 licensed by the Government to do the Nation's banking business, and this privately owned banking system pays no income tax on their enormous profits for the use of this privilege; and

Whereas in 1934 President Franklin D. Roosevelt increased the monetary value of gold from $20.67 to $35 per ounce by Presidential proclamation; and today the price for labor, taxes, supplies of all kinds have risen to a point where gold and silver cannot be mined at a profit; the gold and silver mining industry is dead in these western mining States and has been for 30 years; and

Whereas our indebtedness tops a trillion dollars—do you know that the U.S. Treasury gold stock is only $14.39 billion—only one-fourth of which, or $3.87 billion backs our paper currency. Foreign nations claim the remaining $10.05 billion in gold, which makes it mandatory that we mine more domestic gold and silver—and now.

It breaks down something like this:

1. Federal, $320 billion.
2. With $12 billion annual interest paid by taxpayers.
3. State and local, approaching $100 billion.
4. Corporate, moving toward $500 billion.
5. Individual, more than $400 billion.

This huge national debt is the cause of most of our inflation, which decreased purchasing value of the dollar. We need increased output of gold and silver to help pay off this debt and provide more jobs for our unemployed and open up our vast mineral resources; and

Whereas the only solution to our problem is an increase in the monetary price of gold to $70 per ounce and silver to $3 per ounce, and our country's gold reserves have been depleted by foreign raids, the only way to remedy this condition is to mine more gold and silver, and this cannot be done unless President Lyndon B. Johnson issues a proclamation to raise the value of the gold and silver dollar. Higher prices of these metals will serve as an incentive in these stagnant mining areas, make work available for 2 million unemployed persons in mining and related industries, and local business will be brought to life: Therefore be it

Resolved:

1. We propose to revitalize the American gold and silver mining industry of the United States and to compensate the domestic producers of gold and silver, for the difference between the present monetary valuation of gold and silver, created by President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Presidential proclamation in 1934, since these minerals cannot be produced at a profit today.

2. Statement of purpose: To aid and restore to profitable operation the domestic gold and silver mining industry of the United States, more especially in the 15 western mining States, including Alaska and Hawaii; to coin $2 billion in silver, to be paid into circulation for public improvements and employ 2 million jobless men, by Presidential proclamation of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

3. In order to compensate the new domestic gold and silver mining and allied industries for expenditures, amortization of such expenditures until all costs are recovered, for income tax purposes for the said industries.

4. Place an embargo on all shipments of gold from the United States to all foreign nations now in arrears on their debt payments to the United States, in order to protect the Gold Act of 1934, which is adversely affected by the depreciation of the value of foreign currency in relation to the monetary value of gold, that an economy emergency exists, and we deem it necessary that President Lyndon B. Johnson, by Presidential proclamation, fix the monetary value of the gold dollar at $70 per ounce and silver at $3 per ounce in the United States of America for all newly mined domestic gold and silver in the United States; this would reemploy 2 million of the 6 million unemployed in the United States and increase the purchasing power of the dollar to compensate for the depreciated value of the dollar.

5. We endorse the making, and an appropriation by Congress, of an official survey of the mineral resources of the Black Hills of South Dakota for the purpose of ascertaining whether the amount of ore available there will warrant the construction of a smelting and refining plant or mills necessary for the area. If adequate ore resources are determined, such renewal of the mining industry will reemploy thousands of the unemployed in the Black Hills area of South Dakota.

6. Debased coins: Whereas the administration's proposal to adulterate, cheapen the intrinsic value of dimes, quarters, and half-dollars should be publicly condemned by every American who believes in sound national gold and silver coined money as the Constitution provides under article I, section 8, paragraph 5: "Congress shall have the power to coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coins." It is an axiom that bad money drives out good money and reduces the purchasing power of the dollar which is now reduced to 37 cents by increased debt inflation, caused by acts of Congress in continually raising the national debt limit. The sovereign right of Congress to coin money should be exercised then there would be no national and almost no private debt burden—and no interest charge permanently crippling the public purchasing power and destroying this Republic.

7. Silver dollars: Whereas President John F. Kennedy's last official act was a request of the Congress to adopt an appropriations measure which would resume the minting of silver dollars; and

Whereas this request was followed by the 1965 appropriations bill of the Johnson administration, which included another and larger minting of silver dollars and subsidiary silver coins.

Whereas the silver dollar is an important economic asset of some Western States and an equally important part of the heritage which all Western States share; and

Whereas the coinage of silver dollars would be multibeneficial in that it would provide needed coin for commercial and trade circulation, provide such coin at lower cost than the greater cost of recurrent printing and reissue of paper money of similar face value, and provide a useful store of value of the metal even while it was being used for money; and

Whereas many of the Western States are silver producers whose mining industries would benefit from increased use of silver: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Western States Mining & Business Men's Association urge Congress to provide funds for the minting of 2 billion silver dollars and subsidiary 10-, 25-, and 50-cent coins, requested in the 1964 supplemental appropriations bill and the 1965 appropriations bill.

On motion, approved and adopted unanimously.

WESTERN STATES MINING & BUSINESS MEN'S ASSOCIATION.

By ROY M. HARROP, *Executive Chairman, Omaha, Nebr.*

Attest:

HUBERT V. WILLIAMS,
Executive Secretary and Treasurer, Lead, S. Dak.

New Los Angeles Organization Does Outstanding Work in Promoting Educational Advancement of Young Americans of Mexican Ancestry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to offer my heartiest congratulations to the members of the Mexican-American Professional and Businessmen's Scholarship Association of Los Angeles for the outstanding job they are doing in making funds available for college scholarships for young people of Mexican ancestry in southern California.

The association, located at 924 South Atlantic Boulevard, Los Angeles, Calif., 90022, represents a highly encouraging and commendable cooperative effort by a group of prominent business and professional leaders in the Los Angeles area to promote the cause of increased educational opportunity and advancement for Americans of Mexican descent.

A recent example of the broad support this organization has received from the community leadership is the substantial contribution of Mr. Edward G. Dominguez, president of the Delsie Food Products Corp., of Los Angeles, who has become the first $1,000 life member of the association.

In making his scholarship donation, Mr. Dominguez strongly urged his fellow professional and businessmen to join the association and become active contributing participants in its work of providing the opportunity for young Mexican American students in the community to attend college.

A late issue of the association's monthly publication gave the following account of its recent very successful membership drive banquet held at the Mayfair Hotel in Los Angeles:

MEMBERSHIP DRIVE BANQUET SUCCESSFUL

The membership drive banquet held at the Hotel Mayfair was more than a social event where good people gathered to chat.

It proved to be an eye-opening display of potential, but as yet not fully realized, community strength which had been quietly but steadily developing.

Banquet Chairman Al Juarez presented a well-organized program which began with the salute to the flag dedicated to the memory of President Kennedy. Gloria Camarillo, association secretary, led the invocation. Robert Castro, a charter member, presented the history of the association. And Manuel Valenzuela, president of the association, introduced Ricardo Montalban, renowned star of stage and screen.

Dr. Ralph Richardson, member of the Los Angeles City Board of Education, commended the group for its efforts as he reminisced of his childhood days in Kansas when he first came in contact with Americans of Mexican descent.

He spoke of the problems of today, and quoted some of the latest statistics released by the California State Fair Employment Practices Commission, which highlighted the educational disparity between the number of Mexican Americans in the district and the teaching staff supplied by this group.

He cited the comparisons which showed that while various minority groups may have their problems, most of them had supplied a percentage of teaching staff equivalent to their total population.

By comparison, the Mexican American community comprises 10 percent of the district's population but only supplies 2.2 percent of the teaching staff. This would indicate an area, Dr. Richardson pointed out, in which the scholarship association could profitably direct its attention.

Judge Leopoldo Sanchez then introduced several scholarship winners and spoke of their plans for the future: Felix Gutierrez at California State College at Los Angeles, John Ramos at UCLA, and Carlos Ortiz of East Los Angeles College.

Judge Sanchez called for a concerted effort by all to attract more members so as to assist financially a larger number of needy young persons pursuing a professional goal. He displayed copies of the membership plaques presented to persons signing pledges. They are regular membership at $10 per month, sustaining membership when $250 is reached, associate membership at a $500 total, and life membership for $1,000.

Jet Noise—Part VI—Hazard to the Nation's Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, I have lived with the aircraft noise problem for many years, first as a resident of Lynbrook from 1936 to 1947 and in Lawrence, Long Island from 1947 to date. Since the arrival of the first jet plane at Kennedy Airport less than 7 years ago, there has developed throughout the United States over 100 airports which presently receive jet planes. In the near future many more of the 9,000 other airfields in our Nation will be servicing jet aircraft, and when that time comes, there will be a hue and cry from all over the land. Do we have to wait for the cries from more sufferers from the nuisance of jet noise? Is not the cry from those presently suffering from this nuisance sufficient to warrant action at the highest level? Certainly it warrants action by the Congress.

Since introducing H.R. 7981 and H.R. 7982 on May 6, 1965 to stimulate and coordinate research activities and operational controls to reduce aircraft noise, I have discussed various aspects of the problem, ranging from the alarming increase in the number of lawsuits pending against municipalities which operate airfields, to the effect of jet noise on the value and enjoyment of our property.

I have read affidavits of persons, who live near jet airports, filed in various lawsuits, who have complained and detailed the interference with sleep and relaxation which they have encountered and the ensuing difficulties at work the following day. The annoyance factor is clear, the complaints are documented, but there is need for the gathering of more information on the health aspects and for medical analysis and evaluation of this annoyance.

The House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in its report of February 27, 1963, stated:

During certain hours of the day a close-in neighbor to one of the larger air terminals can have his peace and tranquility disrupted at 60- or 90-second intervals for an hour or more. During these interruptions he is unable to carry on a normal conversation with members of his household, his television set flickers during each overpass, his radio reception is interrupted, and he is unable to carry on a normal telephone conversation.

Testimony has been heard about an invalid who had been sent into a state of shock for a sustained period as a direct result of repetitive aircraft noise. Men have reported such an interruption by aircraft noise of their nightly rest that the next day their proficiency as businessmen was impaired.

The nervous systems of those who reside near airports must withstand the annoying and disturbing effects of jet noise continuously thrust upon them. The effects of this exposure must be studied and I urge the Congress to act quickly in order to expedite and coordinate the research in this field.

The Nation's health is our number one item of unfinished business, therefore, the potential hazard to health from aircraft noise is an aspect of the problem which must be fully explored and considered. The physical and mental health of our citizens who live near airports must be protected and that is why the question of the relationship between aircraft noise and health must not remain unanswered. We have a responsibility to our citizens to find the answer by accelerating our efforts in research.

European investigators have discovered noise-induced changes in blood circulation, and in digestive and metabolic functions, which they believe to be harmful to the health of humans. Let me make it clear that these findings cannot be classified as final. They are open to question and most certainly justify further investigation and need for vertification. Whether aircraft noise can cause mental illness has not been studied sufficiently so that no judgment can be made on this subject. There is however a great need for determining the relationship between nuisance-types of noise exposure such as aircraft noise and any apparent physiological and psychological stress that may result.

I am inserting into the RECORD for the information of my colleagues two articles entitled: "Biological Effects of Noise" by Etienne Grandjean, Department of Hygiene and Work Physiology, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich; and "Effects on Health and Temper" from "Effects of Noise on Performance and Productivity," a paper by Dr. A. Carpenter in "Control of Noise," H.M.S., London, England, 1962:

BIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF NOISE

(By Etienne Grandjean)

DEFINITION

Noise is by definition annoying sound. In fact, sound waves have not only the function of acoustical information but also side effects which are, under certain conditions, perceived as disturbing, wakening, or annoying noise.

The physiological aspects of these side effects shall be the main object of this paper; other effects like hearing losses or interference with speech communication may be dropped since they are already well known.

AUDITORY MECHANISMS OF THE BRAIN

Sound energy is converted into nerve impulses of bioelectrical nature after reaching the receptor organ in the internal ear. The physiological organization of the auditory pathways consists of two distinct systems. One is a specific projection system leading directly to the cortical auditory area and concerned with integration and perception of the acoustic signals.

The other one is a nonspecific projection system branching off from the specific one in the activating reticular formation and spreading diffusely into different functional systems of the brain. This second projection is concerned with arousal of the different sensory, motor, and vegetative functions.

The reticular formation is somehow a central alerting or activating system which enables the whole organism to react in an adequate way to the given outworld situation. The stimulation of the reticular formation by noise or other sensory stimuli will arouse the animal or human being in order to enable it to focus its attention to the external acoustical information. Therefore, the ability of paying attention depends from the reticular formation.

In addition, two other important functions which are regulated most probably by the reticular formation must be pointed out here. Animals and human beings have the capacity of increasing their attention to a special kind of sensory information and of reducing simultaneously irrelevant sensory informations. The reticular formation has therefore the role of a discriminative input filter.

Another very important function is the habituation. If a noise stimulus is repeated over and over, the reticular formation will gradually lose its responsiveness to the noise stimuli. This capacity of reducing the alerting response is called habituation.

In the process of habituation, cortex, and reticular formation are able to extinguish selectively some stimuli which prove to be irrelevant. This is a possible explanation for the capacity of animals and human beings of sleeping peacefully in the presence of many potentially alerting noise stimuli. It explains also why a mother can ignore all sorts of noise but is wakened up by any small noise of her child: through habituation she learns to distinguish between irrelevant traffic noise and the significant sound manifestation of her child.

The most important biological effects of noise:

1. Noise may affect the internal ear and produce hearing losses.

2. Noise may interfere with speech communication.

3. There are side effects based on the stimulation of the reticular activating system by noise. Such stimulations are interfering with mental and skill work by distribution, are producing impairment of sleep, subjective emotional effects, and vegetative responses.

The following two important physiological facts have to be pointed out once more:

4. Noise is not the only factor stimulating the reticular activating system; all sorts of afferrent and emotional stimuli may produce the same alerting responses.

5. The phenomenon of habituation prevents human beings and animals from reacting undistinctly and every time to any kind of noise by all the mentioned side effects.

INTERFERENCE WITH MENTAL AND SKILL WORK

It is known by experience that thinking and creative mental work is more difficult in a noisy than in a quiet environment. The literature contains many investigations dealing with the effects of noise on skill tasks, on mental work and physical capacity of man under laboratory conditions as well as in factories. Some authors were not able to find quantitative effects of noise, while others observed under laboratory conditions a decrease of skill and vigilance, and in factories a decrease of productivity.

Whatsoever the observations of all the authors are, in one point they all agree: noise produces always subjective feelings of annoyance when it interferes with skill or mental work. Careful analysis of the literature led Kryter 1950 to the conclusion that continuous and expected noise had no influence on psychomotor functions. It is known today that the negative results are partly due to the fact that noise affects vigilance primarily if it is irregular and unexpected, or if vigilance requirements are high and of long duration. This has been demonstrated in an elegant manner by Broadbent who found a marked decrease of mental capacity.

From the physiological point of view, a decrease of mental capacities can indeed be expected if the noise situation does not allow the process of habituation.

Man is certainly able to do mental or skill work in a noisy environment. However, for this respect he has to increase his attention in order to ignore the noise. Certainly, many of the contradictory results reported up to now are due to such changing levels of human attention.

As an opposite effect of noise, increases of productivity have been observed also in monotonous situations. Noise can improve performance by its wakening effect if environment and work by themselves have no stimulating effects on the recticular formation. This may explain the success of music under monotonous working conditions.

IMPAIRMENT OF SLEEP

One of the most important noise effects in everyday life is the impairment of sleep. Unfortunately, this is just the kind of noise effects which scientific investigation failed to study until now. Nevertheless, it can be stated that a deep and undisturbed sleep is necessary for a healthy life. During sleep, muscles, brain and various organs show a reduced activity in order to allow the restitution of energy and the assimilation of nutritive elements. The shortening or frequent interruptions of sleep interfere with recovery and reduce well-being and resistance. During sleep, we close the eyes in order to protect the sleeping brain from light stimuli. On the other hand, we cannot close the ears; the only preventive mechanism is the process of habituation which has been already mentioned above. The only important investigation on sleeping disturbances by noise has been done by Steinicke with 343 subjects. Between 2 and 7 o'clock a.m., noise stimuli with frequencies ranging from 60 to 5,000 cps were given during 3 minutes to the sleeping subjects. The results showed prominent individual differences; some 10–20 percent woke up with 30–35 phones only, while others were still asleep with 70 phones. This confirms the everyday experience that the sleep of some sensitive individuals is impaired by the least noise, while others are able to sleep in presence of high traffic noise, passing trains, airplanes or even firing guns. Steinicke concluded from these experiments that noise should not exceed 35 phones in bedrooms during night. Such research should be intensified in order to study problems like habituation to different noise qualities and quantities.

NOISE EFFECTS ON THE AUTONOMIC NERVOUS SYSTEM

For a long time, physiologists have been interested in vegetative reactions to noise. Cannon found already 1929, that noise inhibited digestive functions. He then compared noise effects with fear, pain and rage responses. He presented evidence of all such responses belonging to a common physiological emergency system. Many physiologists have been studying the various vegetative effects of noise stimulation since Cannon reported his results. Specially intensive research along this line has been done by Lehmann and his collaborators since World War II.

All the effects of noise on autonomic nervous system which have ever been observed by physiologists can be summarized as follows:

Under proper laboratory conditions, noise stimuli produce:

1. Vasoconstriction in the skin, increase of blood pressure and heart rate, expressing changes in the regulation of blood circulation;

2. Reduction of salivary and gastric secretion and decrease of peristalic movements, which can be considered generally as symptoms of a slowing of digestive functions;

3. Increase of metabolic functions.

All these responses occur after all kinds of afferent or emotional stimulation of the recticular formation and are transitory and not noise specific. Furthermore, they occur also during sleep and are therefore not related to subjective annoyance. The responses of the autonomic nervous system to noise are of a limited value for the evaluation of noise effects, since they are not connected to sleep impairment and to annoyance.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to remember the meaning and the importance of audition in animals: there, hearing is less important for communication than for the perception of danger. With respect to preservation of life, this represents an essential physiological mechanism, since noise as an alerting signal not only arouses the attention but changes also the regulation of the whole organism by adapting circulatory and other functions to flight or to fight. This was certainly the original meaning of the reaction of the autonomic nervous system to noise.

ANNOYANCE—EMOTIONAL EFFECTS OF NOISE

The most delicate effects of noise are with no doubt the emotional ones. According to general experience, particular sounds may produce in some people pleasant, in other people unpleasant feelings. In addition, the same sound may be perceived by the same subject sometimes as pleasant and sometimes as unpleasant. As it is well known, the extent of annoyance depends from the quality as well as from the quantity of noise and in addition from subjective conditions varying individually.

Individual personal attitudes toward noise are most important. Motorcyclists, workers, musicians are not annoyed by the noise of their own activity. However, outsiders and neighbors will usually be more annoyed the more they have negative attitudes toward the particular noise or toward the noise producing people.

Another important factor is the kind of experience man has had before with noise. Noise which often produced fear or disturbed sleep or other activities may become increasingly more annoying. That means that sometimes a process opposite to habituation can occur which may be called a hypersensitivity to noise.

As mentioned before, the reticular formation can amplify as well as reduce the intensity of a noise stimulus reaching brain. It is interesting to state that also the emotional effects can be gradually amplified to a hypersensitivity or in the contrary be gradually reduced by a process corresponding to habituation. It is reasonable to assume that the reticular formation which is also depending from emotional processes is the focus of these psychological phenomena. Today, the majority of hygienists and social experts agree that the annoying effect of noise is the most common one and has therefore the greatest importance for the well-being of people living in cities and other noisy sur-

roundings. For this reason, annoyance is the main problems of authorities, health administrations and police dealing with noise complaints.

NOISE AND HEALTH

There is full agreement in considering hearing losses as a serious health injury. There is less agreement about the evaluation of the importance of the side effects (impairment of sleep, annoyance, vegetative responses and interferences with speech communication and mental and skill performance) as a health hazard.

By definition of the World Health Organization, health is a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being. This definition is wide enough to include not only hearing losses, but also sleep impairment and subjective annoyance. Controversial is still the evaluation of the noise effects on the autonomic nervous system.

Daily repeated exposures of animals like rats to intense noise produce a chronic state of high blood pressure together with other pathological changes. These are due obviously not only to a modification of vegetative regulation, but also to disturbances of endocrine regulation; i.e., of the production of some hormones.

Jansen, a collaborator to Lehmann, investigated the health condition of nearly 1,000 workers. A group of 669 workers was exposed to noise between 90 and 120 phones at their work places, while another group of 336 workers was exposed to noises below 90 phones. A higher incidence of clinical symptoms like circulatory disturbances, heart rate irregularities and others, was found in the group with high exposure. The interviews of these 1,000 workers revealed also characteristic differences between the 2 groups with respect to their social behavior. Previous social backgrounds and complaints about living or salary were more or less the same in both groups. However, the frequency of social conflicts at home and at the factory was higher in the group with high exposure.

Lehmann concluded from the results of Jansen that the exposure to noise over many years may lead finally to chronic pathological symptoms of the autonomic nervous system. Nevertheless, the results of Jansen and Lehmann cannot be considered as conclusive. The two groups of workers do not seem to be comparable; professional conditions and other uncontrolled factors like tobacco consumption, age, etc., could have interfered and could be the reason, as well as noise, of the observed clinical and psychosocial differences. Therefore, the question whether noise of everyday life does produce pathological changes of the autonomic nervous system in human beings or not, remains open, and needs more research.

CONCLUSION

From a general physiological point of view, frequently repeated wakening and alerting stimuli obviously must interfere with recovery processes not only during sleep but also during day rest.

It is quite clear that some noise stimuli do no harm to man; the alerting reactions as well as the responses of the autonomtic nervous system are physiological and normal phenomena. It is only the excess of noise stimuli which interferes with well-being and therefore with health. It is reasonable to assume that these interferences with recovery processes are the main reasons of subjective annoyance. From this point of view, annoyance must be considered as a biological protective mechanism inducing man to avoid noise and to secure recovery processes. The biological meaning of annoyance is therefore quite comparable to other feelings of uncomfort like hunger, fatigue, cold or warm sensations. All these feelings have the importance of life protecting mechanisms.

Annoyance due to noise disturbing rest is an important health hazard from the biological point of view. It is therefore reasonable to consider annoyance as a biological standard for noise abatement.

The difficulty of distinguishing between justified and nonjustified annoyance complaints remains as a great practical problem. Such individual differences are often caused by personal resentment, financial interests or other purely egoistic motivations. Careful psychosociological field investigations could be expected to contribute to a more complete understanding of these delicate problems.

Noise is increasing gradually in civilized countries. Simultaneously, the frequency of complaints about noise is increasing. It must be concluded that excessive noise exceeds more and more the limits of adaptation or habituation. Noise is added to other stresses of modern life like haste and restlessness, increasing tobacco consumption, sedentary life with inadequate nutrition and, in some places, increasing air pollution. Noise is therefore one of the important problems of modern hygiene, and its abatement is a well justified postulate of our days.

EFFECTS ON HEALTH AND TEMPER

(Taken from paper by Dr. A. Carpenter, "Effects of Noise on Performance and Productivity" in Control of Noise, HMS, London, England, 1962)

This is the aspect of the subject which most worries the public and indeed often produces strong and conflicting emotions. Correspondingly there are a large number of suggestions as to the harmful effect noise has, or might have, and these suggestions are in the main very difficult to prove or to disprove.

3.1 Mental illness: The idea that noise can lead to mental upset of some kind or other, usually unspecified, is perhaps the most nebulous of these suggestions. It can be clarified by the hypnothesis that noise by itself can increase the probability of an individual producing symptoms of any neurosis to which he is predisposed. To demonstrate whether or not this is so it is necessary to compare the incidence of reported neurosis in a sufficient population exposed to noise with that in a comparable population who are not so exposed. This comparison has in fact been made among American naval personnel serving on aircraft carriers, where the noise level should certainly be sufficient to show any effect which exists but the result was negative.

Nevertheless, patients with anxiety will continue to look for external excuses for their symptoms and no doubt noise will continue to be blamed.

3.2. Physical illness: The idea here is that noise is a physical stress which in some way makes increased demands on people exposed to it. Thus it is suggested that one could usefully look for increased metabolic rate, increased muscular tension, heart rate or blood pressure, for signs of overactivity of the suprarenal cortex, or for an increase in those physical illnesses, such as peptic ulcer or thyrotoxicosis, which are thought to be related to physical stress. All these have been looked for and only two things found which are worth including now.

Firstly, on the onset of an unfamiliar loud noise, an increase muscular tension, of heart and respiration rates, and changes in electrical skin resistance have been found but these changes are all transient and die away as the noise is continued. These various effects indicate an increase in activity of the sympathetic nervous system and this in turn is often associated with subjective feelings or fear. After all, sudden loud sounds produce perhaps the earliest reactions to external stimuli in newborn babies, the so-called startle reaction.

Secondly, noise appears to result in contraction of the arterioles of the hands, and possibly the feet, as shown by a reduction in finger volume, by paleness and by various paraesthesial effects. These changes are small and inconstant and have not yet been fully investigated. The odd thing about this is that, whereas the other signs of sympathetic stimulation are transient, this one is said to be permanent, or at least of much longer duration. It is possible that among people who work in very noisy places there are some in whom this effect produces at least inconvenience or discomfort.

3.3 Harm to temper: Here we should be on safe ground. Noise certainly harms the temper, at least in some people. It is because people are annoyed by noise that they look for some weapon to use against it. It would be much more respectable to be able to say "Noise causes madness" than merely "I find his noise very irritating:"

It would be very useful indeed if there were some objective means of measuring annoyance but unfortunately there are none. As with other subjective effects, all we can do is ask people about it, a method which is not very consistent. We could of course also observe behaviour and look for instance for escape reactions such as covering the ears, or leaving the room or building; but this too is rather crude.

We can summarize the considerable amount of work which has been done, both in the laboratory and in the field, on what people say are the qualities of a sound which make it annoying.

(a) Loud sounds are more annoying than those less loud.

(b) Sounds of high pitch are worse than those of lower pitch.

(c) Noises containing discrete tones are worse than those with a smoother spectral composition.

(d) Variability or irregularity, either of pitch, is commonly related to annoyance.

(e) Rhythm in a sound can have a variable and sometimes extreme effect, depending greatly upon what lese the observers are doing.

I refer those of my colleagues who are concerned with the aircraft noise problem to my prior statements on this subject: "Aircraft Noise Abatement—A National Problem"—May 6, page 9363); "Jet Noise—Opens the Floodgates of Litigation"—May 13, page A-2377), "More on Jet Noise-NASA Conference"—May 20, page A-2533); "More on Jet Noise—Part IV—The NASA Aircraft Noise Research Program."—May 27, page A-2718; "More on Jet Noise—Part V—FAA Aircraft Noise Symposium"—June 10, page A-3037.

William Jennings Bryan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 21, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, William Jennings Bryan delivered his famous "Cross of Gold" speech 69 years ago today, July 8, 1896, to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. Bryan, as a result of this superb address, became the Democratic Party nominee for President at the age of 36. William Jennings Bryan, though defeated three times as the Democrat standard-bearer, paved the way for Woodrow Wilson. Bryan's dynamic personality and progressive platform greatly influenced every Democratic administration in this country.

Appendix

Dr. Frederick Albert Cook Centenary Celebration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. DOW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, I insert the following excerpts from letters and wires received at the Cook centennial celebration at Hortonville, Sullivan County, N.Y., on June 13, by the Honorable Richard Ried, chairman of the Delaware Township Centenary Committee. Also included is a resolution by the mayor of the city of Buffalo and an account of the event in the Sullivan County Democrat of Callicoon:

[From the Sullivan County (N.Y.) Democrat, June 17, 1965]

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY ATTENDED COOK CENTENARY—PLAQUE DEDICATED TO FAMED ARCTIC EXPLORER

More than 150 persons attended the Cook centenary celebration at Hortonville on Sunday, June 13, 1965 despite temperatures in the 50's. Each of the speakers enlightened the audience on some phase of the life of Dr. Frederick Albert Cook, who was born in Hortonville on June 10, 1865. In addition to celebrating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Dr. Cook, the ceremony marked the dedication of a roadside marker to be placed near Dr. Cook's birthplace, the present Lawrence Mauer home.

Justice Richard Ried of the town of Delaware acted as master of ceremonies and touched upon Dr. Cook's literary career in his speech. Russell Gibbons, editor of the Hamburg Sun and secretary of the Dr. Frederick A. Cook Society, outlined the recent events which have served to strengthen the belief in Dr. Cook's claim that he was the first man to reach the North Pole. He also enumerated the various experts in the field who have come to believe in Dr. Cook.

Mr. Gibbons then presented a picture of Dr. Cook to Bert Feldman and Burton Lemon, who represented the Sullivan County Historical Society.

Town historian Valleau C. Curtis touched upon the many achievements of Dr. Cook in allied fields, such as his study of natives of the Arctic region, his survival studies, medical discoveries, and his literary career.

A word of thanks was extended to Mrs. Norma T. Stengel of Callicoon, who did much of the preliminary research for the project and who planned an assembly which was presented at Delaware Valley Central School on Thursday, June 10. J. Vance Hunt of Hawley, a member of the board of governors of the Dr. Frederick A. Cook Society, was also credited with local help.

Mrs. Elliott J. Vetter, daughter of Dr. Cook, reflected that a celebrity such as her father, has little time for home and family but that his family realized that he was a man of the ages.

Supervisor John Eschenberg then unveiled the marker, which was placed later in the day. He expressed the thanks of the town board to all those who had helped with the celebration.

The invocation was pronounced by the Reverend Newton B. Ford of Callicoon Methodist Parish and the benediction was given by Father Cyprian Lynch of St. Joseph's Seminary, Callicoon.

The Delaware Valley Central School band played several musical selections before the program and assisted in the flag salute and the national anthem.

CITY OF BUFFALO RESOLUTION

Whereas Dr. Frederick Albert Cook was born 100 years ago this Thursday, June 10, in the hamlet of Hortonville, Sullivan County, in the State of New York; and

Whereas Dr. Cook is a pioneer American explorer, traveler, and scientist who extended the frontiers of both the Arctic and Antarctic regions and the subarctic area of Alaska; and

Whereas Dr. Cook is the first man in historical geography to have described the region at the north geographical pole, and his attainment of the North Pole on April 21, 1908, is recognized by many geographic, scientific, and reference authorities; and

Whereas the Journal of the Arctic Institute of North America recently paid tribute to Dr. Cook's pioneer polar exploits in marking the centenary of his birth; and

Whereas the career and accomplishments of Dr. Cook have been cause for recent recognition in messages in the Congress of the United States and a resolution by the New York State Legislature; and

Whereas the Erie County Board of Supervisors has also gone on record as according recognition to this explorer of the ends of the earth, citing his residence in Erie County some three decades ago; and

Whereas the city of Buffalo shares part of the history of this famous polar explorer in that Forest Lawn Cemetery is his final resting place: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That I, Chester Kowal, mayor of the city of Buffalo, do hereby designate Thursday, June 10, 1965, as Dr. Frederick A. Cook Centennial Day, in Buffalo and direct that copies of this resolution be sent to the Sullivan County Historical Society and the Dr. Frederick A. Cook Society, who are marking a civic celebration this Sunday in Callicoon, N.Y.

CHESTER KOWAL,
Mayor of Buffalo.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., June 8, 1965.

This Congressman made a considerable effort to revise his schedule in order to attend the Cook Centenary celebration in Callicoon. It is unfortunate that there was one previous engagement which could not be changed.

I am very proud that a great explorer, whom you are honoring at the Cook Centenary was a native of our congressional district. So much that is great in American history, in fact the major part of all the civilization that we have today, was created for us by American boys who came from the back hills and river valleys of rural America.

They started out as barefoot boys at distant crossroads in the country. They went to the little red schoolhouse and I suppose they went fishing and trapping in the creeks. Somehow they had the intelligence and the resolution to go forth and achieve mighty results.

I am sure nobody went farther than Dr. Frederick A. Cook because he went to the North Pole. How could you go farther than that?

It is an inspiration for us in our endeavors to recall the achievements of this native boy from Callicoon. Nowadays we are going forth into space and we have to pioneer on new political frontiers. Because Dr. Cook could do it, we know that we can do it if we will try as hard as he did.

With my very kindest good wishes to the board of governors and to all the good people who are assembling to honor one of America's great explorers.

Most sincerely yours,

JOHN G. DOW.

U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C., June 8, 1965.

On the occasion of the centennial celebration of the birth of Dr. Frederick A. Cook, it is a pleasure to send greetings to the citizens of Sullivan County, the members of the Dr. Frederick A. Cook Society, and the others who are joining to honor this distinguished American explorer and scientist.

The controversy that has surrounded Dr. Cook's attainment of the geographical North Pole continues; but whatever the outcome of the inquiries, Dr. Cook's contributions to the fields of science and history continue to gain recognition, respect, and credence in scientific circles.

I am glad to join with you in proud observance of Dr. Cook's great contributions.

With best wishes.

ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., June 10, 1965.

My best wishes go to the members of the Town of Delaware Centennial Committee, the Sullivan County Historical Society and the Dr. Frederick A. Cook Society, as well as all of the citizens of Delaware Township on the occasion of your civic observance Sunday.

On Tuesday, to celebrate the 100th anniversary of Dr. Cook's birth, I inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and extended remarks in the House of Representatives excerpts from the historic letter of Dr. Cook to Congress of February 1915.

I said on this occasion that I hoped that at some time in the future a fitting and proper recognition could be accorded by Congress to Dr. Cook for the pioneer work he blazed in both the Arctic and Antarctic frontiers at the turn of the century.

Your recognition today is a testimony to the belief of good citizens in the ultimate course of justice and fairplay.

RICHARD D. MCCARTHY,
Member of Congress.

I regret that I shall be unable to attend the ceremonies held in honor of Dr. Frederick A. Cook, but an earlier commitment for that weekend prevents me from accepting your committee's invitation.

It was a pleasure to sponsor the resolution that memorializes the Governor to proclaim June 10, 1965, as Frederick A. Cook Centennial Day in New York State. I acknowledge Dr. Cook's accomplishments and join with you in honoring this outstanding citizen.

Please be sure that I am with you all in spirit on this important day.

Mrs. DOROTHY H. ROSE,
Member of the Assembly, New York State Legislature.

Please extend my best wishes and greetings to the people of Callicoon and Hortonville, as well as those from throughout Sullivan County and other parts of the State, who have joined in this fitting tribute today.

It was my pleasure to cosponsor the joint resolution in the legislature memorializing the Governor to designate "Dr. Frederick A. Cook Day" in New York State.

E. OGDEN BUSH,
State Senate, New York Legislature.

To anyone who impartially examines all the evidence, there can be no doubt that Dr. Frederick Albert Cook reached the North Pole, and was therefore the first man in history to do so.

FREDERICK J. POHL,
Editor of Dr. Cook's Posthumous "Return From the Pole."

Those who are gathered to do honor to Dr. Cook at his birthplace are to be saluted for their courage. For it takes courage to stand up for justice. Let us hope that this observance will spur others to follow your example and thereby speed the day that will bring him the vindication withheld for over half a century.

ANDREW A. FREEMAN,
Author, "The Case for Dr. Cook."

I'm honored that from Italy arrive to you, honorable members of the Committee for Dr. Cook's Birthday Centennial and to you, citizens of Callicoon, the salutations of an Italian geographer and polarist.

Dr. Cook's victory is patrimony of all the world and pride of all the men who love science and the heroisms on the bloodless fields of scientific competition.

Too many shadows were cast on Dr. Cook's name and glory. Now the ray of the truth comes back to illuminate that very great figure of explorer and scientist, and polarists of all the world will welcome this. After the darkness, the light.

In Italy also the judgments are changing and the truth begins to appear.

Italian Geographic Polar Institute, all the Italian polarists, and I join enthusiastically with the celebration that the city of Callicoon has resolved to Dr. Cook's memory and incite the great America to believe in the truth.

The truth—that of Dr. Cook's victory—honors her history and irradiates new light on her glorious flag.

Dr. SILVIO ZAVATTI,
Director, Italian Military Polar Institute (Istituto Geografico Polare, Civitanova Marche (Macerata), Italy).

Best wishes to the citizens of Callicoon as you commemorate the century of the birth of Dr. Frederick A. Cook. Your interest and work in behalf of the memory of Dr. Cook reflects a commendable spirit, appreciation and sense of history and will do much to bring about the recognition which his great works merit.

Respects and regards to all,

JACOB K. JAVITS,
U.S. Senator.

Please accept and convey to Centennial Committee my felicitations on Dr. Cook's birthday. Oceanography has shown him to be the first to reach the Pole.

Rear Adm. CHARLES W. THOMAS,
U.S. Coast Guard (Retired), Assistant Director, Hawaii Geophysical Institute, President, Dr. Frederick A. Cook Society.

When you know what kind of a man a person is you have illumination to measure his motivations. Dr. Cook was an honest man, sincerely inspired to do great deeds. If he had not been truthful the light of his adventurous explorations would have long since flickered away instead of today still brightly burning to illumine his contributions to the history and advances of exploration.

ROBERT HOLDER,
Chautauqua Institution, Member, Board of Governors, Dr. Cook Society.

Here in Norway we know Dr. Frederick Cook primarily for his lifelong friendship with Roald Amundsen.

We also know Dr. Cook for his great services on the "Belgica" Antarctic Expedition, and for his push to the North Pole in 1908. There is no doubt that he made one of the longest and most daring sledge journeys ever made. Dr. Cook's diary on it is admirably written.

K. Z. LUNDQUIST,
SOREN RICHTER,
Directors, Norsk Polarinstitutt, Oslo, Norway.

My regrets to all those attending the Dr. Cook centenary. It was my wish that I could be with you today, but I have just returned from the Canadian Arctic to North Bay.

In the near future I hope to detail my plans to erect a fitting monument at Cape Sparbo, to further recognize the field work of this pioneer polar explorer.

HORACE GARDNER,
Associate, Canadian Polar Shelf Project.

How I wish I could be with all the fine people at the civic ceremony in Callicoon this Sunday, but previous plans find me in Connecticut. As a reporter on the famous old New York Evening World, I had the opportunity to interview firsthand both Dr. Cook and his rival claimant to the discovery of the North Pole.

Dr. Cook was forthright in his replies to the questions of all the newspapermen present, and subsequent events have proven that his account was both true and accurate. Dr. Frederick Albert Cook, a true scientific explorer, was indeed the first man ever to reach the North Pole. My deepest congratulations to all concerned in this historic centenary celebration in honor of the memory of a great and beloved man, a brilliant Arctic and Antarctic explorer.

WENDELL PHILLIPS DODGE,
Arctic and Hot Desert Explorer Since 1901; Former Editor, the Explorer's Journal, Fellow Royal Geographical Society.

Twenty-fifth Anniversary of Soviet Annexation of the Baltic States—A Day of Infamy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, the United States has never recognized the forced occupation of the Baltic States by the U.S.S.R.; and we continue diplomatic relations with the governments in exile.

On June 14–16, we commemorated the anniversary of the Soviet annexation and mass deportation from the Baltic States. The Honorable Joseph Kajeckas, Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of Lithuania, delivered an eloquent speech at the Darius-Girenas Memorial in Chicago. I ask unanimous consent that his speech be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY JOSEPH KAJECKAS, CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF LITHUANIA, AT A CEREMONY AT THE DARIUS-GIRENAS MEMORIAL IN CHICAGO OBSERVING LITHUANIA'S CONTINUED FIGHT FOR FREEDOM SINCE HER OCCUPATION 25 YEARS AGO

We Lithuanians and friends of Lithuania are gathered together this weekend because we are proud of our past, because we look with hope to the future, and because as lovers of freedom we must be seekers after justice in the present time. As pride and hope characterize our gathering, so too does anger at the injustice to our native land that has now continued for a quarter of a century.

The international and inhuman crime which the Soviet Union perpetrated in Lithuania and the other Baltic States in 1940 has now become notorious. The deportations, the murders, the fragmentation of families, the falsification of history, the undermining of language and culture, and the suppression of religion—these are all well-known techniques used by the Soviet Union in its attempts to obliterate the national identity of the countries it has so cruelly subjugated.

In addition to these older and more obvious methods of destroying the national identity of the Baltic States, the Soviets have of late used new and more insidious methods of Russifying the Baltic peoples. For example, thousands of Lithuanian youth have been recruited as so-called volunteers to farm virgin soil in far-off points of the Soviet Union; and such service is required if a student wishes to progress in higher studies. At the same time, thousands of Russians are imported to settle in the Baltic States. This dispersal of the inhabitants is accompanied by an increasing emphasis on the Russian language—in schools, post offices, department stores, and other public institutions.

In the face of such an array of attacks on the very identity of our people, it might well be asked whether there can be any hope for our beleaguered nation. The answer to that question lies in the very fact that we have gathered here today to pay tribute to the thousands of our countrymen who have died and are dying for the freedom of their homeland.

We stand by a memorial to the free and courageous spirit of the fliers Darius and Girenas; they are part of our past, just as the Soviet Union's continuing criminal aggression against the Baltic States is part of our immediate past. In the present and the future lie the newer and more insidious Soviet efforts to efface the language and culture and history of Lithuania and her sister nations of Estonia and Latvia. But even though Darius and Girenas are no longer with us, this memorial is here, and we are here. And we are determined that evil forces of the Kremlin shall, in the future, not be stronger than our own dedication to the cause of regained freedom and independence for Lithuania and the Baltic States. As long as we look to the past with pride, as we do today standing by a memorial such as this one, we shall be able to look to the future with hope, and we will be true today and in the future to the ancient motto that characterized the quest of Darius and Girenas: per aspera ad astra: it is through sufferings that one attains greatness and ascends to the heights.

Monroe County Citizens Fight Water Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WESTON E. VIVIAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Public Works has recently reported to the House for action a bill of utmost importance to thousands of my constituents in Monroe County, Michigan. This bill, S. 1648—the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965—already has passed the Senate body and hopefully will come before the House within the next few weeks.

Mr. Speaker, numerous townships and villages in Monroe County urgently need the aid to be made available under this new act, for construction of sewage systems and treatment facilities. These facilities will serve not only to alleviate local public health hazards, but also help abate the pollution of Lake Erie, now seriously polluted.

The Monroe County communities, in spite of acknowledged need of aid, have been unable to obtain funds through the State authorities in control of Federal funds appropriated for the construction of such facilities, presumably because of high priority of other projects.

The Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 is designed to provide grants for public works and development facilities needed to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment in economically distressed areas and regions. When enacted into law, this bill will replace the present Area Redevelopment Administration Authority.

Monroe County, because of past persistent unemployment, earlier had been eligible for grant assistance under the expiring authority from the time the legislation became effective in 1961. But in May of this year, Monroe County became ineligible for ARA aid because the unemployment rate fortunately had dropped markedly in the county.

As originally submitted, the proposed Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 would have continued to excluded Monroe County, for only those areas on the ARA eligible list at date of enactment would have been eligible for assistance under the new bill. However, changes in the wording of the bill were made in both the Senate and House Public Works Committees, permitting an area to continue to be eligible for aid if it was on the ARA list as of March 1 of this year, according to the version of the bill reported to the House, or as of April 1 in the version that passed the Senate. Because of these changes, Monroe County is assured of being eligible under the new act.

Mr. Speaker, the village of South Rockwood, in Monroe County, is one of the communities in need of sewage facilities, and is a typical example. I recently received from Don F. Dodge, attorney for the village, a petition signed by 169 citizens, which makes a strong, clear argument why Federal aid is needed for South Rockwood. The petition follows:

To: WESTON E. VIVIAN, Member of Congress
From: The Citizens of the Village of South Rockwood, Monroe County, Mich.

We, the undersigned citizens of the village of South Rockwood, Monroe County, Mich., hereby respectfully submit our petition to you showing as follows:

1. The village of South Rockwood does not presently have public sewerage system or treatment facilities.

2. The Michigan Department of Health and the Monroe County Health Department have determined that a public health hazard exists in the village of South Rockwood and, therefore, the village has been under a building ban wherein no residential or commercial construction can be commenced until such time as sanitary sewers are available.

3. The Huron River, which acts as the northern boundary of the village of South Rockwood, has become seriously polluted from waste material from the various septic tanks in the village seeping into the river, which has become a subject of investigation by the Water Resources Commission of the State of Michigan.

4. The Housing and Home Finance Agency has acknowledged receipt from the village of South Rockwood of an application for a Federal grant of $262,762.10 to aid in financing a sanitary sewer system estimated to cost a total of $525,424.21 and said application has been assigned project number APW-Michigan-421G.

5. Under the accelerated public works program, the Community Facilities Administration periodically reviews the applications preparatory to assigning project priorities for the fiscal year.

6. Many communities in the United States who were independently able to finance their own programs have received Federal grants, and yet the village of South Rockwood, with its minimal revenue, although standing in the path of residential and industrial expansion, has not yet been favored with desperately needed Federal assistance.

7. The village of South Rockwood is located adjacent to the I-75 expressway affording its residents immediate access to the industries of downriver Detroit and Monroe; and, therefore, the residents of said village are primarily employees of the corporations in said areas. It is expected that a great residential and commercial expansion in the village, serving the aforesaid great industrial areas, would occur should a sanitary sewer system be developed.

Wherefore, your petitioners, listed on the following pages, hereby most earnestly and respectfully request your active support of the village of South Rockwood application for Federal assistance for financing the construction of a badly needed sanitary sewer system in the said village.

(Signed by 169 citizens).

Now the wastes from this village, as well as from all other sources in the county, flow directly into Lake Erie. Recently, the Second State-Federal Conference on Water Pollution in the Detroit River and the Michigan Waters of Lake Erie was held in Detroit. At that conference I stated my belief that:

If all concerned spend the time, effort, and money required to improve this area's waters, waters now befouled by pollution, much of their former usefulness and beauty can be restored—and their economic value increased manifold.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased that citizens in the Second Congressional District of Michigan have banded together and are now diligently making the effort to work toward a cleaner, more healthful Lake Erie. The Lake Erie Cleanup Committee, under the leadership of John Chascsa, president; Mrs. Irene Finck, secretary; Ted Hoffman, vice president; and Lawrence Leibold, treasurer; is providing the local initiative that is absolutely necessary if we are to win the fight to restore Lake Erie.

The Lake Erie Cleanup Committee, includes many local associations and companies including the League of Women Voters in Monroe, the Monroe Boat Club, the Ottawa Shore Home Owners, the North Shore Estates, the Monroe Auto Equipment Co., the Monroe County Rod & Gun Club, the Town & County Garden Club of Monroe, the village of Dundee, the Stony Point Association, the village of Estral Beach, the Wahls Grove Improvement Association, the Luna Pier Improvement Association, the New Beach Association, the Izaak Walton League of Ann Arbor, and others. It is a pleasure for me to be able to work with such public-spirited citizens. There is no doubt in my mind that in Monroe County the local initiative, spirit, and determination exist to meet the challenge and to succeed in returning the local waters of Lake Erie to a clean, healthful state.

Mr. Speaker, I know that the great majority of the Members of the House will vote to provide the material help that communities like Monroe County will need if they are to provide the basic public facilities vital to foster new economic growth and opportunity. I feel confident that when S. 1648 reaches this floor it will move to swift passage, to the great benefit of millions of Americans.

Tribute to Edwin E. Doepel, "Arkansas Outstanding Young Farmer of the Year"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by Mr. B. G. Blackmon, and published in the June 1965 edition of the Rice Journal. The article gives recognition to Mr. Edwin E. Doepel, a Stuttgart, Ark., rice farmer, who has been named "Arkansas Outstanding Young Farmer of the Year." The rice industry is extremely important to the economy of Arkansas; and I am pleased to congratulate Mr. Doepel for his success on the farm and his leadership in the community.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RICE FARMER IS NAMED "ARKANSAS' OUTSTANDING YOUNG FARMER OF YEAR"

(By B. G. Blackmon)

For the second consecutive year a rice farmer has capture the No. 1 spot in Arkansas' annual outstanding young farmer contest. Thirty-five-year-old Edwin E. Doepel,

a Stuttgart rice farmer, won first place in statewide competition held at Springdale, Ark., February 5–6, 1965.

Mr. Doepel has an outstanding record of accomplishments in agricultural, civic, and religious circles. As in most cases success did not come easy. At the age or 15 Ed had to drop out of school temporarily and work on the family farm when his older brothers were drafted into military service. Upon graduation in 1950 (De Valls Bluff, Ark., High School) he too was drafted into the U.S. Army and served 21 months. In January of 1953 Ed was discharged with the rank of sergeant. After military service Ed worked on the farm with his father but later was able to initiate his own farm operation. At the present time he is successfully farming some 495 acres on Arkansas' Grand Prairie. On this farm he plants approximately 157 acres in rice and 274 in soybeans. Ed's success is attributed in part to good fertilization and weed control practices. He regularly has his soil tested and follows fertilizer recommendations as outlined by the Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station and Arkansas Agricultural Extension Service. A carefully planned program of grass and weed control is also followed on the Doepel farm. Bluebonnet 50 and Nato are the varieties of rice usually grown.

Aside from farming, Ed is active in various farm organizations. In 1964, he was chairman of the community ASC committee. He is on the board of directors of the Farm Bureau, a member of Producers Rice Mill, Arkansas Grain Co-op, the Rice Council, and Farmers' Aerial Seeders Corp.

Ed's leadership is not limited to agriculture, however. He also lends his talents to religious and civic organizations. For the past 9 years he has been treasurer of Zion Lutheran Church. Mr. Doepel has also served as president and vice president of the church men's club and Lutheran Hour chairman. Ed has served a local parent-teacher association both as president and vice president. He is also a member of the American Legion and a past president and vice president of the Ruritan Club.

Ed is not the only leader in the Doepel family. Mrs. Doepel, the former LaFern Schroder, was chosen Club Woman of the Year for Prairie County in 1964. She is also secretary-treasurer for the Prairie County Home Demonstration Club, a Cub Scout den mother, and a member of the Martha Society. In the Lutheran Church she teaches Sunday School and sings in the choir. The Doepel's have two children, Edwin, Jr., 10, and Karen, 8.

Ed first won in a local contest sponsored by the Stuttgart Junior Chamber of Commerce before going to the State event which was cosponsored by the Arkansas LP-Gas Association. Keynote speaker for the awards banquet was Paul Harvey, internationally known news commentator. Last year's State winner was James L. Staton, a De Witt, Ark., rice farmer.

South Africa's Racial Policies Are Affront to Free World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, the racial policies of South Africa are an affront to the entire free world. In recent weeks, that Government has made obvious its intention to force representative bodies or institutions of any government located in South Africa into an acceptance and participation in its apartheid policy. Its hope to force the free world into silent assent to the oppressions, brutalities, and asininities of its policies are also clear.

You will recall, on May 13, South Africa tried to restrict the landing of U.S. naval personnel from the aircraft carrier *Independence* to "white only."

On June 26, Dr. Verwoerd, South Africa's Prime Minister, attempted to prevent our Embassy in Capetown from holding its traditional Fourth of July reception without segregation.

On June 28, the Prime Minister announced that no American Negro personnel would be permitted to work at the three U.S. tracking stations in South Africa.

The Netherlands was attacked on June 16th for contributing money to the legal defense of political prisoners and support of their families, as Scandinavian countries and other nations have done and as the U.S. Government will soon be asked to do.

Mr. Speaker, I have written to our agencies which have been specifically challenged by this head-on confrontation between the desegration policies the United States is attempting to implement and the apartheid policies of South Africa.

Our citizens will want to know what will be the answer of our Government to these challenges to its equal opportunity and equal rights objectives.

We would urge that the U.S. Government make it absolutely clear that it will not permit South Africa to dictate its racial policies in any of its governmental business or related activities. We would urge that our Government do this in specific terms by not restricting personnel in our institutions and activities in South Africa to "white only."

The U.S. Government cannot afford to evade this challenge to answer clearly to the world community on its position on the struggle for human rights, dignity and justice which daily grows in momentum around the world.

Mr. Speaker, as they are reported, I will include in the RECORD recent articles of these significant developments in United States-South African relations and in South African-free world relations.

[From the New Republic, July 10, 1965]

SOUTH AFRICA BARS AMERICAN NEGROES

Twice a year, July 4 and February 22, U.S. Ambasasdor Joseph C. Satterthwaite clinks glasses with guests of all races and colors at his official residence here, in defiance of South Africa's apartheid (segregation) laws and customs. The U.S. consulates in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban, and Post Elizabeth likewise hold July 4 and George Washington's Birthday receptions at which races and colors intermingle.

The government of Prime Minister Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd frowns mightly on all gatherings at which blacks meet whites on terms of equality. Knowing this, and desiring not to offend the government yet unwilling to practice segregation themselves in deference to Verwoerd, some of the smaller embassies have evaded the problem by simply ceasing to celebrate their own national days, at least by giving embassy receptions. But the United States and British embassies, the two biggest in the coutry, have ostentatiously continued to entertain nonwhite along with white guests.

Knowing that South African Government officials won't attend unsegregated functions, Ambassador Satterhwaite has tactfully dropped them from his invitation lists for July 4 and February 22. And the U.S. Government has been careful not to include any Negroes, in its diplomatic postings to South Africa, among its aircrews landing there, or among the 50 or so Americans who staff the 3 U.S. satellite tracking stations near Pretoria. (For a similar reason, Jews don't get posted to Saudi Arabia.)

But these tactful U.S. evasions of the race problem have quite failed to appease Dr. Verwoerd. Quite to the contrary, his anger has been steadily and visibly swelling. This month, on the eve of another July 4 celebration in South Africa, Verwoerd's lightning flickered and his thunder rolled again. Dr. Verwoerd said the Government wouldn't allow American Negroes into South Africa to work at the three U.S. satellite tracking stations. By doing so, he confronted the United States with a painful challenge that threatened to nullify U.S. tact (or, as some might prefer to put it, expose U.S. hypocrisy). For, though the United States has never assigned Negroes to South Africa, it can scarcely take Verwoerd's verboten lying down. The tracking stations may be closed unless Verwoerd backs off.

The South African Prime Minister appears to be eager to get into a row with the United States. In May, he suddenly insisted that, if the United States sent advance planes to a South African military airfield from the U.S. carrier *Independence*, as the United States had requested, the aircrews must be white. U.S. aircrews had landed in South Africa before and no questions had been asked about their race—the South African Government knew perfectly well that the United States did not assign Negroes to duty in South Africa. But now, under Verwoerd's gun, the United States canceled the visit to Cape Town of the *Independence*.

Verwoerd last month referred mysteriously to this cancellation as "the intervention of the United States," and a commentator on the state-owned South African broadcasting corporation alleged that the United States had, somehow, deliberately engineered the entire incident. But South Africa's leader of the opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaf, criticized Verwoerd in Parliament. Dr. Verwoerd accused him of being "the mouthpiece of the American Ambassador."

Much of the South African press supports the parliamentary opposition, opposes the Verwoerd government, and has shown considerable sympathy with the United States in this controversy. Politics apart, the South African Government has annoyed many white South Africans by its doctrinaire extensions of its bans on mixing of races. Now, mixing is forbidden at all public entertainments and sports events. The Government insists upon separate entrances, separate ticket offices, separate foyers, separate refreshment stands, separate toilets and separate seating in all halls, stadiums, amphitheaters, and so forth. The Cape Town City Council is in trouble over having mixed audiences attend symphony concerts in city hall, which wasn't built for separating races. When he first read about the Government's ban, the chairman of the city's general purposes committee, Fritz Sonnenberg, exclaimed "The Government has gone haywire."

Pleas from exemption from the segregation decree have poured in from all over the country; from sports and entertainments organizers, churches, bazaars, youth organizations, and boy scouts and girl guides. But the Government woodenly continues stepping up its segregation measures rather than relaxing them. It says sports events in

predominantly white areas can be attended only by whites. In South Africa, national league soccer is played only by whites, but until now about a quarter of the season's 2 million spectators have been nonwhite.

The Johannesburg Sunday Times has declared that Verwoerd's public insistence on the United States sending only white air crewmen to South Africa was meant as a rebuke to U.S. Ambassador Satterthwaite. The paper recalled that the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Muller, had announced that the Ambassador's persistence in having persons of color attend embassy receptions was causing growing irritation to the South African Government.

Sympathizing with the U.S. attitude attitude rather than with South Africa's segregationist stand, the Rand Daily Mail, which is also published in Johannesburg, pointed out that four U.S. Negroes are now serving their country abroad as ambassadors, but the United States has hitherto gone out of its way to appease the South African Government by appointing "whites only" to its diplomatic corps in South Africa. The Mail asked how long the United States could in fact go on "reflecting the racial character of the American people everywhere in Africa except in South Africa," adding: "It is hard to believe that the Negro leadership in America will not start paying attention to anomalies of this kind."

The statements by Dr. Verwoerd and Dr. Muller may have brought that day closer. The Natal Mercury headlined the Prime Minister's and Foreign Minister's announcements "unbelievable blunder" and the Cape Times, pointing out that one day South Africa and the United States may find themselves fighting side by side in an East-West war, asked if the South African Government would then still insist that the United States use only all-white air crews.

DUTCH ASSAILED BY SOUTH AFRICA—PLANS FOR A GIFT TO POLITICAL PRISONER FUND PROTESTED

(By Joseph Lelyveld)

JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA, June 16.—South Africa bitterly accused the Netherlands Government today of having interfered in her internal affairs by announcing plans to contribute to a charity organized on behalf of political prisoners here.

The charity is the Defense and Aid Fund, which raises money to pay the legal fees of Africans arrested on political charges and to sustain their families while they are in jail.

Last Friday, the Dutch Foreign Minister, Dr. Joseph M.A.H. Luns, said in The Hague that his Government planned to give the equivalent of $28,000 to the fund next year.

This morning, the South African Foreign Minister, Dr. Hilgard Muller, told parliament in Capetown that a formal protest had been made "expressing the resentment of the Government and the nation."

Furthermore, he said, South Africa is canceling negotiations to give KLM Royal Dutch Airlines additional landing rights here. Also being canceled is a planned visit of the South African Naval Chief of Staff, Adm. Hugo Biermann, to Dutch shipyards.

AID TO REDS CHARGED

Dr. Muller charged the defense and aid fund with associating itself through financial support "with the reckless action of saboteurs who have no respect for law and order and even the lives of innocent people."

"Any form of encouragement to such saboteurs inevitably promotes, knowingly or unknowingly, the communistic ambitions in Africa," Dr. Muller declared.

The Dutch Government, in a statement issued here, denied that it had any intention of supporting subversive elements.

"It is a generally accepted principle that every person prosecuted before being duly convicted is entitled to the best possible legal aid and his family, if necessary, to social assistance," the statement said.

The Afrikaans press has been reacting angrily all week to the Dutch "insult."

It is especially galling because the Afrikaner traces his own descent and that of his language back to the Netherlands. Dutch, in fact, was an official language here until 1927.

Forty thousand residents of South Africa were born in the Netherlands—among them, Prime Minister Hendrik F. Verwoerd.

Dutch immigrants have been planning "a spontaneous demonstration" for Saturday morning in front of the Netherlands Embassy in Pretoria. They say they will carry placards with the South African flag at half staff on one side and the Dutch flag at half staff on the other.

About half of those helped by the defense and aid fund have finally won acquittal in South African courts. Recently, the Government "banned" the organization's Johannesburg leader, David Craighead. Banning orders, which are authorized by the Suppression of Communism Act, make it illegal for those who receive them to take part in any political activity.

The fund's Capetown leader, John Blundell, a British national, last week was given 10 days to leave the country.

[From the London Observer]

VERWOERD SCORES U.S. GUEST LISTS—DEPLORES MIXING OF RACES AT PARTIES IN SOUTH AFRICA OF AMERICAN DIPLOMATS

JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA, June 26.—Prime Minister Hendrik F. Verwoerd has complained bitterly about racially mixed receptions held by U.S. diplomats in South Africa.

He said his government would continue to boycott such receptions to show its disapproval of the failure of American diplomats to respect its policy of racial separation.

The United States, the Prime Minister said at a political meeting at De Aar in the Cape Province last night, is intent on teaching us that integration is not so difficult. But if South Africans accepted the lesson, he said, "it would mean the end of us as a nation."

PARTIES SET FOR JULY 4

Dr. Verwoerd's remarks came 8 days before the biggest receptions held by American diplomats, their July 4 parties. The first integrated official functions at U.S. missions in South Africa were the receptions on July 4, 1963. Before that these affairs were for whites only.

The U.S. Embassy in Pretoria declined to comment on the Prime Minister's speech.

An implicit warning to the U.S. Information Service was seen in the Prime Minister's insistence that his government would not allow the United States to try to alter the attitude of the South African people.

The United States has to realize, he said, that the fight against black rule is, ultimately, the same as the fight against communism, since the Communists would find it easy to get black governments to serve their purposes. If the United States and Europe fail to grasp the basic differences between the races, he went on, the white man will go under.

TIES SEEM STRAINED

Relations between the United States and Dr. Verwoerd's government appear to have been steadily worsening in recent months.

The first incident was that government's insistence that the United States promise to land no Negro airmen at South African airfields on a scheduled visit to Capetown off the carrier *Independence*. As a result, the carrier continued around the Cape of Good Hope without calling in.

Then came the disclosure that the government had been boycotting the Ford Motor Co. because it failed to bid on a contract for military trucks. Ford's action was based on the refusal of the United States and Canada to permit the export of necessary parts.

[From the London Observer]

VERWOERD RACE BAR CHALLENGES UNITED STATES AT SPACE TRACKING STATIONS

(By Joseph Lelyveld)

JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA, June 27.—The United States is faced with a decision on whether to take up a South African challenge over the conditions under which its three satellite tracking stations are operating here.

Prime Minister Hendrik F. Verwoerd said this weekend that his Government would not admit American Negroes if they were assigned to work in the stations.

It can be assumed that the United States has known this all along and has never thought of sending Negroes to work in the tracking stations, just as the State Department has never assigned Negroes to work in any of the diplomatic missions here.

But by saying what has been left unsaid until now, Dr. Verwoerd has made it impossible for the United States to contend, as it has in the past, that it has not accepted any racial resrictions on its personnel in South Africa.

It is not considered likely that Dr. Verwoerd will back down from a stand he has publicly taken. Therefore, it is believed here, the likely result of any diplomatic pressure for an explanation of his remarks would be the shutting down of the tracking stations.

Ambassador Joseph C. Satterthwaite was reported to be traveling between Cape Town and Pretoria and could not be reached. A spokesman for the embassy refused comment when asked what reaction there would be, if any, to the Prime Minister's statement.

There is, however, a recent precedent. Last month the United States asked South Africa for permission to have advance planes from the carrier *Independence* land at airports when the ship was scheduled to dock at Cape Town. The Government gave permission, provided the planes' crews were white.

U.S. planes have often landed at South African airports. On rare occasions, there are reported to have been Negro crewmen. Never before had the South Africans asked for all-white crews, though no one could have doubted their preference.

CLARIFICATION SOUGHT

When the reply concerning the *Independence* was made, the American response was to ask whether it was a condition or a suggestion. If it was a condition, South Africa was told, it could not be accepted; if it was a suggestion, no guarantees could be given.

In the end, the *Independence* bypassed Cape Town. Dr. Verwoerd's comments on the tracking stations seemed to most observers, to be a condition, deliberately made.

South African commentators have quickly drawn a parallel to the *Independence* case. "The United States will have to decide whether it can afford morally to overlook Dr. Verwoerd's remarks," the Sunday Times, a newspaper distinctly out of sympathy with the Prime Minister, said.

[From the London Observer]

U.S. WARNS SOUTH AFRICA

(By Colin Legum)

The United States has warned South Africa not to try to impose racial conditions on the teams employed at America's three satellite tracking facilities in the Republic.

This sharp warning by the U.S. State Department is the culmination of an angry exchange between the Americans and the South Africans after the cancellation of a visit to Cape Town by the U.S. aircraft carrier *Independence* on her way to the Far East.

The Americans had asked for the normal courtesy facilities. The South Africans specified that no "mixed flight" crews (meaning no Negroes) should be used by any of the U.S. planes landing on South African military airfields. The Americans rejected these conditions.

The trouble over the tracking stations came when a South African minister said that the Americans had in fact accepted restrictions in regard to these stations. The Americans denied that any such conditions are provided in their agreement signed on September 13, 1960.

It is now up to the South Africans to decide whether to push their insistence on racial policies to the point of compelling the Americans to dismantle their tracking facilities.

[From the London Observer]

U.S. PLANNING STUDY OF VERWOERD MOVE

WASHINGTON, June 28.—The United States may consider closing its three satellite tracking stations in South Africa because of the South African Government's public ban on American Negroes at the installations.

Questioned at a news conference today on whether the United States presently planned to continue operating stations, Robert J. McCloskey, the State Department press officer, said "surely."

However, Mr. McCloskey made clear that he was speaking only for the moment and before the situation had been reviewed in the light of the latest step by Prime Minister Hendrik F. Verwoerd.

In apparent irritation over the United States refusal to cooperate with South Africa's segregation policy. Dr. Verwoerd has announced that he has told the United States it cannot employ Negroes in the tracking stations.

State Department officials said they were awaiting reports from Ambassador Joseph C. Satterthwaite.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Herald Tribune, July 2, 1965]

THE BOORISH BOERS

The white rulers of the Union of South Africa are free, of course, to boycott the Fourth of July party at the U.S. Embassy in Pretoria, but the Embassy is certainly within its rights to include Negroes among its guests. Union government leaders may feel obligated to stay away because they are committed to racial segregation. But the United States also has an obligation—to racial equality and desegregation.

It is nonsense for the Union officials to argue that our practice of racial equality in the Embassy (where the United States enjoys extraterritorial rights and diplomatic immunity) represents interference in their internal affairs—that is, injures their policy of apartheid. If they fear a desegregated party at the Embassy, then their apartheid policy is in mortal danger—not because of the Embassy but because of factors and forces lying outside of it.

South Africa now proposes to retaliate by striking at American interests lying outside the Embassy at points beyond the range of diplomatic immunity. It has maliciously raised a racial question where no question heretofore existed regarding the staffing of three U.S. satellite tracking stations. It wants Washington to eat crow for the Fourth of July party by publicly declaring it will not use American Negroes at these stations, even though it may have no intention of doing so (as it has not done so in the past).

Refusal to submit could mean the shutting down of the stations. We shall have no difficulty in making our choice, if it is forced on us. We must close the stations rather than let ourselves be blackmailed into accepting the racist doctrine of the white primitives of South Africa.

"There Has To Be Motivation"—Principal of George Washington Carver School in St. Louis Tells Globe-Democrat, From Firsthand Knowledge, What It Takes To Overcome Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, when a two-time high school dropout, who made his living after the age of 14 at such jobs as busboy, waiter, gardener, clothes presser, and washroom porter in a hotel bar, earns a doctor of philosophy degree from a major university on the basis of a thesis on the problems of the poor, it is certain that he knows the subject at first hand.

The St. Louis Globe-Democrat last weekend carried a fascinating account by Staff Writer George Monaghan of the rise of Dr. William Moore, Jr., principal of the George Washington Carver School in St. Louis, to national stature for his research into the lives of 100 families in a public housing project, particularly into the lives of the children in a high-rise project. Incidentally, I might say, Mr. Speaker, that as a member of the Subcommittee on Housing of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, I have strenuously opposed high-rise public housing for families with young children, for some of the same reasons Dr. Moore uncovered in his research, as reported in the Globe-Democrat article.

IF THERE'S A WILL

Most of the article about Dr. Moore discusses his own highly motivated determination to obtain an education and improve his circumstances. When he tries now, as a school principal, to instill motivation into the youngsters in his school, he brings to the task a personal awareness of the importance of such motivation if the child is to win his way out of a life of poverty.

Mr. Speaker, I think there will be widespread interest among Members of Congress and others who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in the unusual background of this high school principal who has won recognition among scholars for his research into poverty, and I therefore submit for inclusion in the RECORD, under unanimous consent, the excellent article by St. Louis Globe-Democrat Staff Writer George Monaghan about Dr. William Moore, Jr., as follows:

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Globe-Democrat, July 3–4, 1965]

NATIONALLY RECOGNIZED SCHOLAR, DR. WILLIAM MOORE, JR., KNOWS HIS SUBJECT: POOR PEOPLE

(By George Monaghan)

During the 1940's the George Washington Carver School at 3325 Bell Avenue, was an island in a sea of slums, noise, trash, and trouble.

It offered some hope of salvation to the occupants of its grimy surroundings.

Mostly the people went to the school, left it, then melted into the world of the bars, shoeshine parlors, drab old houses, and long, narrow tenements jammed along the sidewalks of north-central St. Louis.

They became part of the crowd milling around, collecting at corners, and lined along the sidewalks.

They became part of the big, hard, indigestible lump stuck in the city's throat and removed years later only by the crude surgery of the bulldozer.

HIS CREDENTIALS

Into this world—of the school and the slum—came Bill Moore, 13, from Stuttgart, Ark., one day in 1942. He began picking up his credentials. They show:

He is a two-time school dropout, a competent waiter, busboy, washroom porter, lawnmower, porch scrubber, clothes presser, and just about anything else in the odd-job line.

He started early as a dishwasher in Stuttgart and made about $3.50 a week. But in St. Louis in 1942 he was in the big time—he could make that in a day mowing lawns in the county.

Besides the money, Bill Moore found the Carver School in St. Louis. He liked it. And this is where his credentials show a startling contrast.

For he became, at 35, a nationally recognized scholar. His specialty: Poor people.

Professionally he is known as Dr. William Moore, Jr., a title he earned last year at St. Louis University.

LIVED CONDITIONS

His doctorate was the most authoritative document to date on the life of the small child in one of this city's towers of mass living—the Pruitt-Igoe housing project.

Dr. Moore played the part of a pathologist who takes a thin slice from a tumor and examines it under a microscope.

Only he took his slice from the life of the project and then, cell by cell, picked it apart—in the apartments, the halls and elevators, the nearby bars, store-front churches, laundromats, hospital clinics.

For a year he lived and breathed conditions in the housing project.

He played dice with the men. He shopped with the women. He ate hog intestines with ADC families. He walked the streets, drank in the bars, sat on project benches on hot summer evenings and slept on pads on the concrete floors.

DON'T KNOW NAMES

From the 100 families he studied intensively, here are a few of the things he learned:

Some of the children don't even know their names. "They simply don't know which of the family names used in the family belongs to them."

About a fourth of the children he interviewed were locked out of their apartments while their mothers worked. So for a whole working day they were on their own.

Things at mealtime were simple—eat as much as you can get because you don't know when the next meal will be.

"The children learn to use force, live with force and respect force.

"They learn early that fairies do not put money under their pillows when they lose a tooth and that Santa Claus may not come, even if they are good."

The boys, often, are good con men. "They operate with the uncanny knowledge of

human nature. They know that many people want to get something for nothing."

Many of the children "not only do not drink orange juice, but have never possessed or seen a real orange * * * or tasted butter."

HUMAN DRIFTWOOD

The children roam the buildings. Sometimes they fall from the windows or down the concrete stairwells or hook rides on top of elevators and get crushed against the ceiling.

There are few books, magazines or newspapers and more often than not it is the four letter obscenity on the wall that is the child's first introduction to reading.

Thus, "the deprived child and his family become little more than human driftwood in the urban stream of social turbulence—never fulfilling—never being fulfilled."

The doctoral thesis he prepared sets out its case in about 290 pages. It is gathering no dust on the library shelves.

"He worked with real living people and what he said couldn't be said in cold statistics," says Dr. Andrew M. Doyle, assistant director of the department of education at St. Louis University and Dr. Moore's graduate adviser.

"He got to the heart of things. He was the most unusual student I've ever had. He worked harder and made more sacrifices."

SPEAKS LANGUAGE

Dr. Moore's thesis more than fulfilled his Ph. D. requirements. It had the distress, the tragedy, the drama, the humor—and the hope—of a man who knows.

"I've been down that road before," says Dr. Moore. "That's why I know about the poor. I speak the language."

He is sitting on top of a table in one of the empty first grade classrooms in the George Washington Carver School. He is the principal now.

When Dr. Moore talks, he lights up. His hands move and his big eyes flash in rapidly alternating smiles and frowns and all of the shades of moods and expressions in between.

He is tall, athletically built and above all, animated.

He is talking on his favorite subject—the poor—and he rises from the school room table and says, "Let me show you something."

MOTIVATION BIG THING

He walks through the school playground and all the time he is going on about sociological problems and the Banneker School District's drive to motivate.

"That's the big thing," he says. "Motivation."

"We tell them what they can do and what's possible if they stay in school. We repeat it over and over. We put up signs around the school."

He walks into the other building, down a flight of stairs and into the basement.

"Here it is," he says, "our gymnasium."

It is not a large basement room. Everything is concrete and insulated piping. There are a few crudely scrawled signs on the whitewashed walls, like "Virgil Johnson is Zorro."

Dr. Moore points up at a section of pipe where the insulation had been worn down and says:

"And that is our basket for basketball. Our team won a championship with it. And that's what they practiced on. We're proud of it.

"It's motivation."

He begins walking back to the school building and to his small office on the second floor.

PARENTS INCLUDED

"We've got the child in school. But there has to be motivation for the parents, too. That's important.

"When a pupil gets an award we don't take a picture of him alone. We get the parents too. This is a big thing. Maybe it's the first time they've had their picture taken.

"Or we send them a letter that begins, 'Mr. and Mrs.' and maybe it's one of the first times they've received a letter saying that, unless it was a bill.

"These are what we call disadvantaged people and we can learn more from them than they can from us. In a way they are profound.

"Because they have survived it. Their problem is verbalization. But they have to have aspirations. There has to be motivation."

Once, several years ago when Dr. Moore was a teacher, some of his pupils who could not afford gym shoes flatly refused to take off their street shoes during gym period.

ASHAMED OF HOLES

They were afraid of the shame the holes in their socks would bring.

So Bill Moore started wearing holes in his socks, and when gym period came he removed his shoes. No one was afraid of socks with holes after that.

But long ago Bill Moore had learned not to fear holes in socks. He had learned to live with them.

Back in Stuttgart, when he was 7, his father left the family's little "shotgun" house before the furniture was paid for. His mother took in washing and he helped.

That meant getting up at 4 a.m. and doing the ironing before school. It meant more ironing after school. It meant odd jobs in between.

THE BIG CITY

St. Louis was the big city, and that meant opportunities. So the family moved here in March, 1942 and Bill Moore got his formal introduction into St. Louis society.

He tried to make friends with the "pack" by offering the boys some of his ice cream cone one day. Instead they took the whole thing, and when he kicked about it, they beat him up.

After that he steered clear of the pack.

Now and then he picked up odd jobs around town and finally he landed fairly regular work mopping up in a tavern for $10 a week. His mother worked as a maid.

By the time he was 14 he decided he should be on his own. He rented a room at 919 North Leonard Street for $4.50 a week and that fall he enrolled in Sumner High School.

LEAVES SCHOOL

Then he picked up a job as a busboy at the Mayfair Hotel and immediately the job and school clashed. Thus, in his first year in high school he became a dropout.

But next fall he was back in school, this time with an $18 a week job as a busboy and washroom porter for the bar of the Coronado Hotel.

He wouldn't get off work until 1.30 a.m. and somehow he couldn't keep his head off his school desk. He had to quit school again.

The thing that saved him was persistence and patience and a couple of waiters at the hotel who kept telling him the facts of a waiter's life.

The facts of life seemed to conspire against Bill Moore in those early student days, but he ignored the facts and kept coming back to school.

ACTIVE STUDENT

He was a good student, and an active one. He was in the school plays, and was president of the Negro History Club and one year he won first place in a statewide oratorical contest for Negro schools.

It took him 5 years and two summers to get through Sumner High School, longer than it took him to get his master's and doctor's degrees at St. Louis University.

Stowe Teachers College followed Sumner and he graduated there in 1952 with a bachelor of arts degree.

For the next 5 years he taught school and waited tables at the Coronado. Then, in 1957, Bill Moore's life became a blur of activity.

He started working on his master's degree at St. Louis University. By day he was teaching full time in the public schools and by night he held down his job as waiter.

This went on for a year. At the end of it he dropped his job at the Coronado to devote more time to his oral and written master's degree examination.

LIFE CALMS DOWN

The Ph. D. meant 2 more years of furious work.

Now Dr. Moore's life has calmed down. He rises at 6:30 a.m. and is in school by 8:10. Then there is the routine of paperwork, work, bloody noses, skinned knees, indignant parents and the big one—motivation.

He's as busy off the job as on. During the week, mainly because of the notoriety his thesis has brought, he'll make about seven or eight speaking appearances before various church groups and civic clubs.

Now he is sitting behind a cluttered desk in his small office in the Carver School. The schoolday is over and the voices and shouting of pupils leaving the school are no longer heard.

Dr. Moore leans back and talks of the things that motivated him—his mother, the two old waiters at the Coronado, his own optimism.

AT HOME WITH POOR

He talks of the ways he has always tried to do more than people have asked of him and of the people who have called him odd because of his persistence in school. He talks of the poor and why he often feels more at home with them than with his own peer group.

He goes to the window and looks out. The school is still something of an island. But now the slum is gone. It has been replaced by rubble and grass.

The day is nearing when the George Washington Carver School, built in 1882 and once known as the Wayman Crow School, will crumble under the wrecker's ball and the bulldozer.

A new school will rise in its place, and new homes and buildings will surround it.

"I want to stay in St. Louis," Dr. Moore says. "It has been good to me. I want to do something for this city."

Cream of the Crop: The Hopeless Far-Out Dropouts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, a widely quoted and respected columnist from my district has presented his views on the recent CBS television program "It's What's Happening, Baby." In his usual homespun wit, Bo McLeod, editor of the Donalsonville, Ga., News commented:

> If that's the kind of stuff our youngsters understand and follow, it's too late for a Job Corps to do anything for them * * *. It's bad enough to be a dropout, I mean. It's hopeless if you're a far-out dropout.

Readers of the Donalsonville News are given a light and entertaining perspective of the world's news each week through Bo's column "Out on a Limb." In addition the editor writes a column for the Atlanta Journal. His column in

the July 7 edition of that newspaper follows:

CREAM OF THE CROP: THE HOPELESS FAR-OUT DROPOUTS

(By Bo McLeod)

DONALSONVILLE.—That certainly was an inspiring program on the telly the other summer evening. It inspired words like "shameful," "degrading," "immoral," "lousy," and even "double lousy."

These words were used by a number of Republican Senators, and strangely enough, they were not referring to that other party or any of its members.

They were referring to a rock 'n' roll type program called "It's What's Happening, Baby."

This was a program made up of the cream (?) of the crop of stars of today's music (?).

CBS gave the time to the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunities, and if there was a reason for it, it was to bring a message to the younger folks about such things as the Job Corps and Community Youth Action.

SICK

One report on the motive said it was to encourage the kids to stay in school. This was reported before the program appeared, however. Since it came on, it's too late to claim anything.

They said the message would be spoken in a language the young people would understand. It would meet them on their own level, you see, and grab their interest while preaching a sermon.

If that's the kind of stuff our youngsters understand and follow, it's too late for a Job Corps to do anything for them. A propaganda effort can't produce miracles.

It's bad enough to be a dropout, I mean. It's hopeless if you're a far-out dropout.

And from the performances given on the CBS 'tother night, there have been quite a few dropouts from schools of music.

Still, it might be that Senator GORDON ALLOTT, Republican, of Colorado, overdid it when he told the president of CBS he (ALLOTT) was "about to throw up."

It was bad, but not so bad it should make you ill.

After "Shindig" and Hullabaloo" and the "Lloyd Thaxton Show," you build up a resistance to such things, as a defensive measure.

Senator ALLOTT should take advantage of such physical fitness practices, before he takes the whole dose, like 90 minutes of the "cream."

As for Senator DIRKSEN, he didn't show much appreciation of it, either.

He said Republicans are "almost incandescent in their fulminations" against the thing.

If he isn't careful, some cat will take those words incandescent and fulminations and write another song. Such a statement as DIRKSEN's sounds a little like the current style of lyric, anyhow.

Naturally, the criticism and the praise was based along party lines. Political parties that is, because Holmes Brown, of the Office of Economic Opportunity, said the program was good, effective, and that one of his sons who is preparing for the ministry, thought it was not immoral, degrading, or shameful.

DROPOUTS

As far as I am concerned, if "It's What's Happening, Baby," is really what is happening, we're in worse shape than I thought.

As for dropouts, it is likely to help fight that stuff. If the kids don't stay in school, if the parents don't make them stay there, "It's What's Happening, Baby," ought to be shown again and the guilty parents should have to see and hear every minute of it.

With such punishment threatened every parent will do all he or she can. I'll be glad to help, too, just let me know what I can do.

Address of Brig. Gen. Charles J. Quilter, Jr., USMC, Before the 47th Annual Convention of the American Legion, District of Columbia Department, July 8, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, last night, the 47th Annual Department Convention of the District of Columbia of the American Legion opened its 47th Annual Convention.

The keynote speaker was Brig. Gen. Charles J. Quilter, Jr., Assistant Deputy Chief of Staff, Plans, Headquarters, USMC.

General Quilter gave a most interesting and informative status report on the Marine Corps and I believe that my colleagues will find this background briefing unusually helpful.

General Quilter discussed the significance of the Marine Corps in Vietnam and he also outlined the part the Marines played in Santo Domingo.

Because of the importance of these statements of fact, it is a real privilege to call these remarks to the attention of the Members of the Congress:

ADDRESS BY BRIG. GEN. CHARLES J. QUILTER, JR., USMC, BEFORE THE 47TH ANNUAL CONVENTION, THE AMERICAN LEGION, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT, JULY 8, 1965

This evening I intend to give you a status report on the Marine Corps—its current capabilities. Most particularly, I am going to talk about Vietnam, what the Marines are doing out there, and what we consider to be the significance of our contribution. I am also going to say something about the part the Marines played in Santo Domingo.

One of your main purposes is to present to the American public the story of the Marine Corps and the other armed services. Therefore, if you like, you can consider my talk as sort of a background briefing oriented, naturally, to the Marine Corps.

First, how many marines are there now? How big is the corps?

The Marine Corps has been at an essentially level strength of about 190,000 active duty marines for the past 3 years.

With this strength we have been able to provide this Nation with three combat-ready divisions, three combat-ready aircraft wings, and the combat and service support units needed to sustain them. We also provide the supporting establishments to train, to administer, to equip, and to supply these forces.

And there is also the Marine Corps Reserve, the Reserve is at its highest state of readiness in its history.

There are nearly 100,000 marines in the Reserve—including, perhaps, some of you—who are immediately available for mobilization. This includes over 45,000 in the organized or drill pay Reserve.

Our organized Reserve actually gives us a fourth marine division and aircraft wing.

Let's talk about the Fleet Marine Forces. Nearly two-thirds of our 190,000 active-duty marines are in the Fleet Marine Forces.

Some of you will remember how we used to say in World War II that there were only two kinds of marines: those who were overseas and those who were going overseas. In 1965 we still have only two kinds of marines: those who are in the Fleet Marine Force and those who are going to be in the Fleet Marine Force.

And recent events have caused a good proportion of the Fleet Marine Force to be deployed overseas. More of that later.

Fleet Marine Force, Atlantic, consists of the 2d Marine Division and the 2d Marine Aircraft Wing plus force troops.

It's of interest to note that Lt. Gen. Phil Berkeley turned over command of Fleet Marine Force Atlantic to Lt. Gen. Al Bowser on June 30. Phil Berkeley's first overseas assignment was in Nicaragua in 1928. Now, 37 years later, the most recent deployment of troops from the command he just relinquished was to Santo Domingo.

On the other side of the world, Lt. Gen. "Brute" Krulak commands Fleet Marine Force, Pacific, and he has been very much in the news.

The 3d Division and a good part of the 1st Wing is now in Vietnam. The 1st Brigade which was in Hawaii has now moved forward and has been incorporated into the 3d Division and 1st Wing.

The 7th Marines from the 1st Division has been shifted from Camp Pendleton to Okinawa. A number of squadrons have been moved from the 3d Wing at El Toro to the Western Pacific.

We now have 18 of our 27 infantry battalions and 28 of our 52 aircraft squadrons serving outside the continental United States.

Some things don't change.

The marine division is still basically an infantry division configured for amphibious operations.

Even if you haven't seen a marine division at close hand since World War II or Korea you would still find its organization fundamentally the same. The division still has a triangular structure although for some years now the infantry battalions have had four rifle companies. It numbers about 18,000 marines and 1,000 bluejackets.

Some units that used to be part of the division—such as the tank battalion—are now part of force troops. Force troops are essentially pools of combat support and combat service support units—tanks, amphibious tractors, communicators, engineers, heavy artillery, and so on—used to reinforce the divisions and wings as required by the occasion.

There are some new weapons in the division: the M-14 rifle, the M-60 machinegun, the M-79 grenade launcher, and the 107mm. howtar, for example. But if you look at the howtar closely you can see it is nothing more than the old 75mm. pack howitzer carriage mounting a 107mm. mortar tube. It gives the helicopter-lifted units an artillery-type direct support weapon.

A marine aircraft wing will now average about 11,000 people and operates about 350 airplanes. Its exact composition will vary from situation to situation. Ordinarily, there are three or four combat groups. Sometimes these groups consist of squadrons all of the same type; that is, fighter, attack, or helicopter. Sometimes they are a composite of several kinds of aircraft.

Now it is fundamental that none of these units—division, wing, or force troops—goes into battle alone. For combat they are always task organized into balanced teams. And in the Marine Corps we insist that these be air-ground teams. This is nothing new to you. It has been Marine Corps doctrine for years: the complete integration of air-ground effort.

There are many possible combinations. However, Marine Corps doctrine prescribes four basic types or levels of air-ground task organization.

When we combine a battalion landing team, an attack squadron, and a helicopter

squadron, we call it a marine expeditionary unit or MEU.

Next larger is the marine expeditionary brigade or MEB. This consists of a regimental landing team and a composite marine aircraft group.

The next larger size air-ground task force is the marine expeditionary force or MEF. This is the classic division/wing team combination.

A full MEF will contain upward of 43,500 marines. We define an MEF as being a powerful, balanced air-ground task force capable of seizing and controlling a large area against significant opposition.

If something larger than an MEF is required, we can combine more than one division/wing team. We then have a Marine Expeditionary Corps or MEC.

This, then, is how we are structured for combat.

How well have we been able to perform—to deliver, so to speak, on our promises?

Amphibious forces have had a remarkable record of being there, at the right time, and in the right place. This has again been demonstrated in recent weeks. It didn't just happen. It wasn't a matter of luck.

International crises usually don't erupt without warning. As tensions build up, amphibious forces are free to move toward the potential trouble spot. So long as the ships remain in international waters, they can take station without negotiation, provocation, or violation of sovereign rights.

If the emergency subsides, we can move on or return to base.

On the other hand, if the order is given—as has happened, most dramatically, in the Dominican Republic and South Vietnam—to "land the landing force," we can be ashore in hours. We land, of course, both by helicopter and by landing craft and amphibious vehicles. This gives us great tactical flexibility. And most important, our logistic support is built into the amphibious task force.

I'll ask you to imagine that you have a map of the world in front of you.

Look first at the Mediterranean.

We keep at least one battalion landing team with the 6th Fleet. This has been so since 1948. Its designation: "Landing Force, Mediterranean." This was the force that made the landings in Lebanon in 1958. It also played a part in the Suez crisis. If other similar situations had called for the introduction of a U.S. force, the Mediterranean battalion would have been ready for its share of the job.

Move westward across your imaginary map to the Caribbean.

A marine expeditionary unit or at least a battalion landing team is kept on station in the Caribbean, conveniently close to certain continuing trouble spots.

So it was that on April 27, when the decision was made to land the marines at Santo Domingo, the 6th Marine Expeditionary Unit was there offshore, ready to do the job.

At first it was intended that only a small detachment go ashore to assist in the evacuation. But on April 28, with the situation becoming more precarious, 400 marines were landed by helicopter from *Boxer* to protect American and foreign nationals being evacuated and reinforce the marine guard at the Embassy.

The next day—in face of a deteriorating situation and fears of a Communist takeover, all ground elements of the 6th Marine Expeditionary Unit were ordered to land. By late that evening, April 29, 1,600 marines were ashore.

Build up of American forces was rapid. The first two battalion combat teams of the 82d Airborne Division began arriving early on the 30th.

By May 1 two more battalions of marines had been ordered to land. The marine force was now the 4th Marine Expeditionary Brigade, Brig. Gen. John Bouker, commanding.

Army Lt. Gen. Bruce Palmer, commanding general of the XVI 11th Airborne Corps, was also ashore and in overall command of both the Army airborne troops and the Marines.

By May 7, with three BLT's ashore and one in afloat reserve, Marine strength in the area had reached 8,000.

On May 26 the withdrawal of two BLT's began. The remainder of the marines left in two echelons, on the 3d and 6th of June.

Upon the detachment of the 4th MEB from his command, General Palmer sent General Bouker a message complimenting him personally as a commander and saying, "The 4th MEB, under your capable and dynamic leadership, was successful in accomplishing all missions assigned."

During most of their time ashore, the marines had been responsible for the security of the evacuation port of Haina, 5 miles west of the city, and of the International Security Zone, an area that included the western half of the city of Santo Domingo.

Marine casualties for Santo Domingo were 6 killed and 29 wounded.

Now, let's move further west, across the Pacific to the biggest trouble spot of all just now: Vietnam.

Earlier this evening, I described our several sized marine air-ground team packages. You will recall that I said that experience had taught us that for maximum effectivenes our air and ground elements must be employed together.

I also said that routinely we keep at least a battalion landing team with the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean and a battalion landing team or Marine expeditionary unit afloat in the Caribbean.

In the same fashion, for the past several years we have kept an SLF or special landing force at sea with the 7th Fleet in the Western Pacific. As a minimum the SLF has consisted of a battalion landing team and a helicopter squadron. When tensions mount, as they so frequently do in the South China Sea, the SFL is quickly beefed up to a Marine expeditionary brigade. This, you will remember, is a truly balanced air-ground team. It will number 8,500 men or more.

Because of this posture, we were fully ready on March 7 when the order was given to land the 9th Marine Expeditionary Brigade at Danang.

The landing began at dawn on the morning of March 8. One battalion landing team came across the beach. Another came in by air from Okinawa.

This was the first introduction of U.S. ground combat troops into South Vietnam.

One marine helicopter squadron was already operational at Danang. A second helicopter squadron and the usual command, control, and support units and elements were deployed ashore. In the next few days and weeks the 9th Marine Expeditionary Brigade, under Brig. Gen. Fred Karch, continued to grow in size.

During those first weeks at Danang we were uneasy because one essential ingredient of our air-ground team was missing; we had no fixed-wing marine aircraft ashore. We wanted our own fighters, and more particularly, we wanted our own attack aircraft, ready to support us with close air support if and when we needed it.

This point was brought home to the American public, in dramatic fashion, by Life magazine in its April 16 issue. Those of you who have read the article will recall that it describes the airlift of a Vietnamese battalion by Marine Helicopter Squadron 163. This was a particularly rough operation. Sixteen marines were wounded, two of them fatally.

The article accentuates the vulnerability of the helicopter when it is not protected by fixed-wing aircraft and pleads very effectively for the Marine Corps concept of close air support.

While Life does perhaps overstate the vulnerability of the helicopter, what it says about the need for close air support is essentially true.

So we in the Marine Corps breathed a little easier when a marine fighter attack squadron equipped with the McDonnell Phantom II went into Danang. There is no better fighter aircraft in the U.S. inventory than the Phantom II and it is also a very adequate attack airplane.

Even so, we have another airplane in our inventory, the A-4 Douglas Skyhawk, which we think is even better suited for the close air support situation facing us in South Vietnam.

So, after proper coordination with the South Vietnamese government, the 3d Marine Expeditionary Brigade, under Brig. Gen. Marion Carl, went ashore on May 8 at a place called Chu Lai, some 50 miles south of Da-Nang.

A Seabee batallion went in with the marines in a partnership reminiscent of World War II. In three weeks an expeditionary airfield was ready for operations. On June 1 our A-4's began using the field. They landed in the morning. They made their first combat strikes that afternoon.

Marine combat units in South Vietnam have now been designated the III Marine Amphibious Force. They are commanded by Maj. Gen. Lew Walt.

The mission of the III MAF is defensive in nature, but this does not mean that our activities are confined to a fixed or static defense. Marines learned long ago that one of the best countermeasures against guerrillas is aggressive patrolling. We are conducting patrols in depth and are engaging in limited clearing operations outside our perimeters. Close air support of these limited operations has been outstandingly effective.

I was fortunate enough to accompany Gen. Harold Johnson, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, on an inspection trip to South Vietnam in early March and witnessed the first landings at DaNang on March 8. I can assure you that the III MAF is as fine a body of troops, as well trained, and as combat-ready, as you would want to see.

Col. Ed Wheeler, who commands the 3d Marines at DaNang, has commented to me on the extremely high caliber of the junior officers and the NCO's in his regiment. He says they are just as good as World War II and Korea and probably smarter.

I am going to end my remarks this evening by saying once again that almost every international emergency since the end of World War II, which has called for the use or display of U.S. military force, has furnished fresh proofs of the continued usefulness of our amphibious forces, both as strategic and tactical instruments.

We are dedicated to the belief that whatever type of trouble the future may hold, there will continue to be a real need to exploit the Navy/Marine amphibious capability of this country.

We in the Marines are proud of our past performance. But past performance alone is no justification for our continuance. Our continuance can only be justified by what we are doing today and what we can do tomorrow and the day after that.

L.B.J.: Pass Along the Tax Cuts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include

the following editorial which appeared in the Philadelphia Inquirer, Wednesday morning, June 23, 1965:

L.B.J.: PASS ALONG THE TAX CUTS

In signing into law the $4,700 million excise tax cut bill. President Johnson said that it would "pay big dividends in lower prices, more jobs, more sales and more production," and we certainly hope that the bill will accomplish all of these desirable things.

The President is counting on the elimination of a host of nuisance taxes to stimulate buying and thus provide a fresh spur to the business upturn.

He was careful to warn, however, that the hoped-for benefits from the tax reductions will be obtained only if they are passed along to the consumer. The bill will make its maximum contribution to our economic health, he pointed out, "only if businesses pass along to consumers the full amount of the reduction in the tax." He added an appeal to manufacturers and retailers to do just that.

It was President Kennedy's policy, carried on by President Johnson, to rely on tax cuts as a spur to economic activity at a time of budgetary deficits. Last year's $11,600 million individual and corporate income tax slash was a major item in putting this fiscal philosophy into practice, and the excise tax cuts are a natural followup. Still unsatisfied with the extent of the reduction program, the President holds out the promise of future tax relief for the lowest income groups. He mentioned taxpayers "who now live in the shadow of poverty" as the beneficiaries, but he left the details of their tax relief unspelled out.

Strawberries South of the Border

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, strawberry imports from Mexico have increased at a catastrophic rate in the last few years. Too few people are aware of this threat to domestic labor, processors, and growers. I take this opportunity to apprise my colleagues of these startling developments.

The Giannini Foundation, located at the University of California, Berkeley, is one of the most reliable agricultural research institutions in America. We are indebted to it for a study made in October of 1963 entitled, "The California Strawberry Industry." Its authors are Beatrice M. Bain and Sidney Hoos. The report surveys the strawberry industry on a nationwide basis, as well as historically. I commend the research report to everyone's reading. The following facts are confirmed in this report:

Since 1952 a frozen strawberry industry has been created in two States located north of Mexico City. More than 11 freezing plants were built by 1960 to process the berries for shipment.

Imports of frozen strawberries from Mexico amounted to 4,501,000 pounds in 1950. By 1955, they had increased almost three times to 12,011,000 pounds. Imports had again almost trebled by 1962 to a new high of 33,517,000 pounds—approximately 13 percent of domestic consumption. The most recent information, published in the Frozen Food Report for June 19, 1965, confirms this accelerating trend:

Through June 12, 1965, 40,800,000 pounds of frozen strawberries were imported from Mexico into the United States. This compares with 30,500,000 pounds for the first 5 months last year.

If this rate of importation continues unabated, domestic labor and processors will soon be joining the ranks of the unemployed and seeking help through the war on poverty. This war will stalemate if the Federal Government follows policies that force men out of work and into poverty.

One solution is to adjust our tariffs to offset the tremendous labor cost advantage enjoyed in Mexico. I have introduced a bill to raise the present tariff from 14 percent ad valorem to 35 percent ad valorem. I urge action on this subject to prevent the destruction of another important domestic industry.

Favorable Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PRENTISS WALKER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. WALKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, my good State of Mississippi has for a number of years been under attack by liberals of Northern States. I have heard many reports of attempts to dissuade parties coming into our States. There appeared in the July 1 issue of the Jackson, Miss., Daily News, a copy of a letter written to that paper from a constituent of mine, Mr. Harry C. Davis of Taylorsville, Miss., in which he related a typical experience. I feel that all Americans should be apprised of the fact that to travel south into Mississippi or Alabama, one does not place one's life in jeopardy.

The letter reads as follows:

HOW TOURISTS ARE RECEIVED

EDITOR, DAILY NEWS:

I am the registration clerk in one of the motels in Laurel. Saturday evening three ladies registered from Indianapolis, Ind.

In talking with them they informed me they were touring the South on their way to New Orleans. They told me they were informed to bypass Alabama and Mississippi, because with their Indiana auto license, people in those two States would probably run into them. So naturally they thought to protect themselves. They carried a small pistol and kept all windows and doors locked in their car when they got to Alabama.

In Tuscaloosa they took a wrong turn and got themselves lost, so they stopped and asked directions with some misgivings about their safety.

However, they told me they were so well treated by the highway patrol in Alabama they decided to stop and get some lunch. They then stated they had been treated with such courtesy they began to wonder why they had been so badly misinformed.

Continuing their conversation, they also told me that the people in Alabama and Mississippi treated them much better than in their own hometown and wondered if the people who had so badly misinformed them had ever been South.

They really were enraptured by the treatment they had received and stated to me they were now contemplating trying to get a position in our school system.

This is just an example of what people are saying about the South, but when they do come South with no idea of creating discord, how tourists are treated here.

HARRY C. DAVIS, CMA.

TAYLORSVILLE, MISS.

Recovery in Paris

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from Aviation Week & Space Technology, June 28, 1965:

RECOVERY IN PARIS

The Navy Blue Angels aerobatic team and the surprise appearance of the space triplets—*Gemini* Astronauts Ed White and Jim McDivitt and Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY—rescued the U.S. effort at the 26th Paris Air Show from the brink of disaster and made a spectacular recovery in the show's finale.

The Blue Angels' performance was so outstanding that they were the only one of seven aerobatic teams to draw spontaneous applause from the multitudes jamming Le Bourget on the final day. Even the French newspapers gave them the accolade of superiority in this greatest international competition of the past 2 years.

But the unexpected arrival of the *Gemini-4* astronauts, their wives, and Vice President HUMPHREY at Le Bourget late Friday afternoon on board the gleaming silver and white presidential Boeing VC-137 jet was the most spectacular event of the 12-day show. In their brief 72 hours in Paris, the astronauts, their wives, and the Vice President performed splendidly in portraying an image of our people that sharply contrasted with the one assiduously peddled by our critics. Without detracting in any way from the fine work of Jim McDivvit, it was Ed White who proved to be the star performer, not only because of his walk in space—a feat that has impressed Europeans beyond all measure—but also because of his skillful use of a small French vocabulary and his diplomatic references to his Air Force service in France. From his opening greeting to the jammed press conference at Le Bourget—"Bonjour, mes amis"—to his final appearance on French television, Major White made an impact on the French people that will do his country immeasurable good.

GOODWILL MISSION

The astronauts, their wives, and the Vice President played their goodwill roles to the hilt through a grueling schedule, including a 2-hour walk around the airshow exhibits and remaining for lunch as guests of French Prime Minister Georges Pompidou. Vice President Humphrey, wearing his chairmanship of the National Aeronautics and Space Council conspicuously, spread his enthusiastic affability all over Paris. It may be that his 80-minute interview with President Charles de Gaulle will mark the beginning of a change in the current acrimonious relations between the United States and France. One strong impression of 3 weeks in Paris is

that both sides in this quarrel are realizing that it has gotten out of hand, to the detriment of both countries. There appears to be a realization that, whatever the differences may be, we are still long-term allies devoted to the same major international goals and we had better get back to behaving accordingly instead of wrangling to the delight of our enemies. If Vice President Humphrey's visit provided an informal medium for cutting through official channels toward that goal, this will indeed be another valuable dividend from the surprise visit.

All of the Americans at the Paris Airshow who shouted back to Washington during that first dismal week of Soviet domination deserved credit for stimulating the astronauts' visit. Credit also must go to those wise heads in the White House who passed on this intelligence from Paris to the President, and to the President himself for making what will become known historically as a typical L.B.J. gesture. The fact that the United States has a President who can and did make a decision of an evening that launched his second in command and a jetload of astronauts and space officials across the Atlantic before the next dawn impressed not only the French but all of the other visitors at the Paris show.

The valiant work of the Vice President, the *Gemini* twins and the Blue Angels in effecting an emergency recovery of the American aerospace image at Paris does not invalidate the criticisms of that effort we made on this page last week. In fact, it adds weight to our principal point, that the United States can project a valid image of superior technology leavened with dramatic human touches if it only organizes its available resources with imagination and effectiveness. If the performance of the Blue Angels and the astronauts had been laid on the proper foundation of American technical effort from the beginning of the show, the results would have been stupendous and would have provided a sharp, valid contrast with the level of Soviet technology.

SOVIET EFFORT

The Russians made their biggest effort to date to compete in the international aerospace marketplace. With the initial absence of a strong American technical image, the Soviet Union's showing succeeded far beyond the real level of its technology. We imagine the Soviets learned a great deal from their first large-scale exhibition in Western Europe against international competition. They, too, must have a post show critique scheduled in Moscow as their fleet of jet transports wings eastward. But we think it is a very healthy sign that the Russians felt it necessary to compete in the international aerospace marketplace of Le Bourget. We have long felt that their aerospace technology, particularly in the transport field, has lost far more than it has gained by maintaining its technical Iron Curtain and by failing to mingle in the competitive markets to learn the secrets of successful commercial transport operations. For even under the Soviet system, efficiency, which is merely another expression for profit, is a goal that must be sought.

The lessons of Le Bourget 1965 must be studied carefully by the leaders of our aerospace industry, or legislators, and the executive branch of our Government. There will be other such confrontations in the international aerospace market in the decade ahead. Some will be as spectacular and as easy to evaluate as the last fortnight at Le Bourget. But others—in Africa, Asia, and South America—will be equally significant, but less obvious and with more variables in their equations.

It is evident that the United States made a spectacular last minute recovery to avert a debacle at Le Bourget. But, it also is evident that there is no Government-industry planning organization headed by people with sufficient understanding of the problem and lively enough imaginations to project an effective U.S. aerospace image wherever and whenever necessary. Organizing this type of effort should rate a high priority now with industry and the Government.

ROBERT HOTZ.

Right to an Equal Vote as Important as Equal Right To Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BILLIE S. FARNUM

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, all eyes are on the campaign to insure the right to vote—as a means of halting the theft from citizens of their birthright. But keeping them there may let go unnoticed another scheme to rob citizens. This is a sophisticated kind of theft in which the fraud depends on diluting the strength of certain votes.

One kind of robbery is direct; one indirect.

Direct robbery consists of disenfranchisement by outright trickery—such as by the use of so-called literacy tests. But the robbery may be just as effective when the trickery is indirect—as when the law requires, let us say, two votes by persons in one election district to equal one vote's representation in another district.

A half vote is not like a half loaf, which is said to be better than none. A free and equal vote is a birthright of all Americans, and diluting it dilutes the democracy on which the fate of all of us depends.

A splendid statement of the heartland issue was made by the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches:

Every American citizen has, as his inalienable right, not only an equal right to vote but also a right to an equal vote.

This statement was contained in a policy report adopted at the June meeting of the general board of the National Council of Churches. The report, titled "Equal Representation Is a Right of Citizenship" is, I believe, required reading for all citizens. It follows:

The general board of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States has repeatedly expressed its Christian concern for the maintenance and enhancement of human rights and liberties, most recently for "the right to full participation of the person in political and civic life." The general board has an equal concern for the ever-full attainment of a just and open society. Both of these concerns have come to focus in the right to vote.

As our understanding of the God-given dignity of man has developed and matured, most of our fellow citizens have now realized the urgency of giving all adult members of our society equal access to the ballot. What has not been as widely realized is the necessity of protecting the quality of the ballot. We welcome the action of our commission on religion and race within its special mandate witnessing to the conviction that "every American citizen has, as his inalienable right, not only an equal right to vote, but also a right to an equal vote."

The condition has arisen in our country that many legislatures have refused to reapportion themselves according to the shifting of population, thus permitting the representatives of less populous areas to continue to outnumber the representatives of the growing cities and suburbs, and so to maintain their dominance over the affairs of the several States.

In recent years, the courts have sought to rectify this condition by insisting that the legislatures be reapportioned in proportion to the current distribution of population, so that the votes of all citizens for their legislators would be substantially equal in effect. The Supreme Court's interpretation of the equal protection clause of the Constitution guarantees this personal right of representation for individual voters. This right must not be abrogated by any constitutional revision. But the Supreme Court's decisions have been met by moves to amend the U.S. Constitution to withdraw this issue from the jurisdiction of the courts and to permit the States by referendum of their present voters or by other means to apportion the membership of one house of a bicameral legislature on factors other than population.

In the light of these circumstances, the general board concludes that many of the causes of civil rights and liberties we have long supported are at stake in the question of equal representation, and now affirms our Christian conviction that one of the fundamental rights of citizenship is the right of every citizen to representation substantially equal to that of other citizens, regardless of where he lives or what may be his wealth or learning.

We do not find in the nature of men as children of God any distinction of kind such that one man should cast a vote worth more than another's. Neither race nor religious adherence, neither property nor education, neither rural residence nor urban, nor appeal to States rights, entitles one man or group of men to a disproportionate share in the basic franchise by which their civic affairs are governed. The structures of government erected upon this base may vary in design and operation according to the development of the techniques of political science, but the right of every person to say his full "yea" or "nay" in periodic elections is more than a technical question.

If the right to vote is denied, or if the vote itself is diluted, then to that extent the membership of the voter in civil society is diminished and his political personhood is impaired. He becomes less of a man than his fellows, and loses to them some portion of his right to help determine his civic destiny. This is a moral question and ultimately a theological one, concerning which the National Council of the Churches of Christ may not remain silent.

When the founders of our Nation declared, "All men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," they perceived and expressed a profound truth about the nature of man, which earlier generations had not had the social experience or political opportunity to discover. In the Christian view, man is a child of God who is loved by his Heavenly Father, and who is called to love his brother as a member of God's family. As such, he is also a son of God who is of infinite value in God's sight and who, in obedient response to His will, values all other human beings as sons of God with the dignity and the freedom of action of such sonship.

Believing, then, that all men are created equal—not in their abilities but in their rights among the rest of humankind—we do not know of any proper basis on which that equality can be reduced or the rights which

God has given alienated, not even by majority vote of the electorate. Individuals may refrain from exercising their franchise, but it ought not to be kept or taken from them—in whole or in part—by those who presently possess political power in order to perpetuate their possession. Rights guaranteed to persons by the Constitution are not rights if they depend on the outcome of elections.

The story of this Nation is in part the story of the extension of the franchise to all adult citizens. The founders of our Nation failed to apply fully their daring insight that all men are created equal. They failed to give women the right to vote, and for the purpose of allocating representatives to the States counted Negro slaves as three-fifths persons and even then denied them the right to cast these votes themselves.

Ever since that time, we have been striving as a nation toward a goal which could not then be, and has not yet been, fully attained. For over a century we have suffered as a nation the continuing consequences of undervaluing the personhood of some of our fellow men. Recently, we have begun to perform a national penance for this injustice. But having striven thus far toward achieving a genuine and effective political equality, we should not now change our Constitution in any way that would take out Nation back toward fractional citizenship. Rather, we should move in the opposite direction: toward the integrity and equality of every citizen's full belonging to the civic commonwealth of God's children. If our democracy is to function properly, those who are eligible to vote should be encouraged to exercise their franchise and to prepare themselves to vote intelligently on candidates and issues.

We believe that equal representation is every person's fundamental right and a necessary adjunct to full political personhood. Therefore, the National Council of Churches records its opposition to the proposals for an amendment to the Constitution or any other moves which would restrict the right of every person to substantially equal representation.

Get Well Soon, Carlos

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, all Californians are proud of their State legislature and the quality of citizens attracted to its offices. Certainly among the foremost of California representatives is the speaker pro tempore of the assembly, Carlos Bee. Carlos is a dedicated and effective public servant in the fine tradition of the Bee family which can trace public careers back several generations and into Texas. Carlos Bee is a native Californian, a veteran of World War II, and has served as a teacher in Hayward for 19 years.

I recently learned that Carlos had suffered fatigue from his arduous duties as speaker pro tempore as the assembly was winding up its session, but is now taking a well-deserved rest in the mountains. I commend to my colleagues the following editorial from the June 17 Fremont News Register, conveying the wish of all his friends and fellow Californians to "Get Well Soon, Carlos."

GET WELL SOON, CARLOS

We are saddened to hear of Assemblyman Carlos Bee's illness which may force him out of the remainder of the legislative session.

This hard-working gentleman undoubtedly deserves a rest, for he has been a constant advocate of southern Alameda County's best interests in the State legislature. But illness is the hard way to obtain this. Mr. Bee does not hesitate to champion the cause of the small man or the less influential communities when he feels it is for the betterment of the people of the State. And he does so without regard for his own personal desires and time.

All too often the efforts of our representatives go unheeded and unrewarded. It is easy to criticize whenever we disagree, but seldom do we offer our thanks when our interests have been adequately served.

Assemblyman Bee is not the only hard-working public servant in our State legislature. But he is one of the hardest working and most conscientious representatives South County has ever had in the State government.

Mr. Bee has authored many bills during his terms in office, and he has been responsible for the passage of much legislation greatly benefiting the growth and prosperity of the area. As speaker pro tempore, he wields a firm gavel and has gained the admiration of his colleagues and constituents alike.

We express our regrets over his illness and offer our sincere hopes for a most speedy and complete recovery.

The Real Alabama—Part XXV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, in our State we feel there is just cause for pride over our economic growth already achieved. We also feel confident of the future.

One of the reasons for expected future economic strength in the port city of Mobile is industrial diversification, our geographical location also is a key, making transportation one of our major advantages.

The president of United Air Lines recently wrote of these matters and his letter follows here:

The main part of Mobile's growth comes from advantages that are not subject to future exhaustion nor can they be rendered obsolete. I am referring to the advantages of geography, to the city's coastal location, its position as a port and transshipment point for a region of substantial resources.

Another significant part of Mobile's growth comes from the energy, initiative, and spirit of those who man the chamber of commerce. They are most deserving of congratulations for their share in recent industrial progress and diversification.

GEORGE E. KECK,
President,
United Air Lines.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Mr. Speaker, another aspect of our region is the spiritual life of our people. We believe that the church-going nature of Alabamians provides our State with a strong basis for spiritual health and good will.

For example, at the University of Alabama the various religious organizations have worked to achieve programs of noteworthiness. They are described in the following article taken from a newspaper supplement of the Birmingham News, of May 17, 1964:

THE LIGHT THAT LIGHTETH EVERY MAN THAT COMES

Oases for the lonely, the tension taut, the spiritually hungry student fringe the university campus.

These are the religiously oriented recreation centers, chapels, and churches in which 10 denominations have a property investment of over a million dollars.

One of the most inclusive and effective such programs in the Nation, it constantly attracts visitors from other educational centers to observe its facilities and operation.

Two basic reasons are given by ministers for the program's success—cooperation of university officials and continuity of service by those who direct the activity.

While the university does not require church attendance or in any way interfere with the students' spiritual life, all students are required as part of the registration procedure, to fill out a card giving church information. These are turned over to the ministerial group to use as it sees fit.

Also, because the ministers usually stay on their jobs here for long periods of time, mutual respect and friendship develops between them and the faculty, out of which comes cooperative student counseling.

Two patterns exist in operating the religious centers. Some function entirely as recreation centers or clubs; others perform as churches with regular worship services, and other usual church activities.

In all instances, spiritual counseling is available for those who seek it.

Attendance is much the same as in any community at both the centers and churches. All of the facilities seek to serve first university students and faculty, but they are also open to the public.

Full-time ministers or trained laymen direct the programs sponsored by the Baptists, Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, Church of Christ, Roman Catholics, the Hillel Foundation (Jewish), Lutherans, Disciples of Christ, and Church of God—Reformation Movement.

All of these have either built or modified buildings. Three other groups—the Christian Scientists, Mormons, and Unitarians—hold regular meetings in the Student Union Building.

First to be erected, in 1951, was the Episcopal Canterbury Chapel. This property now also includes a parish house, recreation hall, a rectory, and another house in which a kindergarten is operated primarily for children of students. There is a waiting list for vacancies for, in addition to a fine full-time staff, child specialists from the university who are Episcopalians give volunteer services.

There are plans at the university to add a full-time professor of religion to the faculty. In the meantime, some of the ministers associated with this church-supported program, teach courses—for free.

Unjustified Tinkering With Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the Congress is the custodian of the social secu-

rity program. This is a sacred trust, upon the faithful execution of which depends to a great degree the happiness, security and well-being of our citizenry as well as the economic security of our Nation.

I have repeatedly warned the House of the dangers of making social security a political football or trying to turn it into something which it was never meant to be, or use it unwisely. It is a way of life in planning for the future of an overwhelming majority of families in America, and we must not betray this trust placed upon us.

The following editorial from the July 7, 1965, Bloomington, Ind., Herald-Telephone rightly condemns the foolish and dangerous practice of tinkering with the social security system. The editorial carries a warning we should all heed:

UNJUSTIFIED TINKERING WITH SOCIAL SECURITY

The amount taken in by the social security system and paid out by it has grown with each passing year so that it has become an increasingly large part of the total of the Nation's transactions.

Even without the possible passage of medicare—social security transactions would grow this year. With medicare, the taxes would rise about $2.8 billion.

This has caused some brow-furrowing in Washington among those who believe that prosperity depends upon the Government's paying out more money each year than it takes in. They point to the fact that these new taxes bulk larger than the $1.75 billion trim in excise taxes which is expected.

This leads to the argument that the social security taxes should not be larger than needed to pay out current benefits—that despite the enormous new obligations that are to be assumed the reserves should not grow to meet them at all.

This should pretty well dispose of the argument that today's workers will be putting aside money through the system during their earning years to cover medical expenses in their old age.

But more important is that the social security system upon which so many rely for support in their old age is apparently to become just another tool for manipulation of the economy at the cost of shaving the reserves.

There's little excuse for this. Social security taxes either are paid out currently or invested in U.S. bonds. If they go into bonds in these deficit-ridden times, the Government merely takes less out of the economy through borrowing from other sources.

Any slight advantage that might accrue by pumping up the gross national product figure slightly—even if that really results—does not justify tinkering with the integrity of the system.

South Africa's Policies Cost American Taxpayers $300,000

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, the policies of South Africa are not only an affront to human decency, they are also costly to the American taxpayer.

An Associated Press dispatch from Norfolk, Va., appearing in the July 3, 1965, issue of the Washington Post notes that an American naval oiler was forced to reschedule its stop at Cape Town, South Africa, because Negro Americans wearing an American naval uniform are not allowed to be treated as first-class citizens in South Africa.

Another article written for the London Observer and reprinted by the Washington Post, describes the anguish of the South African artistic community over the present segregationist policies of their own Government. An Afrikaner poet-artist, married to a Vietnamese—therefore nonwhite in the eyes of the South African Government—is unable to return to his home and receive the recognition his own people wish to accord him.

A New York Times article ridicules the asininity of racial policies which makes even the suntan a hazard.

Mr. Speaker, the immorality of segregation is both inconvenient and awkward. There are good people in South Africa who deplore the blind, backward-looking segregationist policies of their own country. It is the duty of Americans who believe in democracy and the dignity of man to point out the waywardness of present South African policies.

I insert the following three articles from recent periodicals and newspapers in the RECORD so that my colleagues can understand what is happening in South Africa:

[From the Washington Post, July 3, 1965]

AFRICA RACE BARS BOOST NAVY COSTS

NORFOLK, VA., July 2.—South African racial policy may have cost the U.S. Navy nearly $300,000 and tied up a fleet oiler for 8 weeks.

The oiler *Marias* returned to Norfolk today after a 14,000-mile round trip to refuel the attack carrier *Independence* at a rendezvous 250 miles east of Cape Town, South Africa.

The *Marias*, an Atlantic Fleet Service Force spokesman said, left "on the spur of the moment" to refuel the *Independence*, which had been dispatched to the 7th Fleet in the Pacific as a relief for carriers operating off Vietnam.

Published reports at the time said the *Independence's* scheduled refueling stop at Cape Town was canceled because South Africa would not permit any Negro members of her crew to land.

The Service Force spokesman said "it could be assumed" that an oiler operating with the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean had commitments that the short notice would not permit her to cancel in order to refuel the carrier.

Service Force officers reported it costs approximately $5,300 a day to operate a fleet oiler.

The *Marias* sailed from Norfolk May 8, 2 days before the departure of the *Independence*.

After refueling the carrier, the *Marias* returned by way of Rio de Janeiro and Trinidad. No port calls were made on the way to the rendezvous.

The Service Force said the *Marias* "had a full load of fuel when requested by the *Independence*," and that her "spur of the moment (assignment) to meet a fast carrier some 7,000 miles away once again demonstrated the readiness of the Navy to meet all situations."

[From the Washington Post, July 3, 1965]

RULE OF UNREASON: APARTHEID IN FORCE

(By Stanley Uys)

CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA.—When 21-year-old George Paissis, of Cairo, received his immigrant's papers for South Africa he spent many hours in sunbathing on the long sea voyage to Durban. There the immigration authorities took one look at him and refused to allow him to land.

He was "too dark," they said. South Africa wanted white immigrants.

Paissis, of Greek extraction, took his bags back to his cabin. The ship sailed on to Cape Town, where the immigration authorities were equally firm. Paissis could not go ashore. The ship headed for Durban again with Paissis still on board.

By this time, however, the question of Paissis' future had been raised in Parliament, and the Minister of Immigration, Senator Alf Trollip, had given an assurance that the matter was being reviewed. When the ship docked at Durban for the second time, officials told a relieved Paissis that it was all right now—he could come and settle in South Africa.

Paissis told the press that he was not bitter about his "welcome" in the land of his adoption. Generously, he explained: "I am far more interested in soccer and music than politics." Pulling an Athena ring off his suntanned finger, Paissis said: "See that white strip—that is my natural color."

But if he professes not to be upset by his experience, the opposition press in South Africa certainly is. "One must not be surprised at this grotesque insult," wrote the Sunday Times, the country's largest circulation newspaper. "It is an inseparable part of the crazy, mixed-up pattern of the government's racial philosophy."

Then there is the incident involving the U.S. aircraft carrier *Independence*, which canceled a visit to Cape Town because the Verwoerd government stipulated that its aircrews should be white. The U.S. Government refused to accept this condition.

South Africa's strained relations with the United States took a further dip when the matter was raised in Parliament, and Dr. Verwoerd asked the leader of the opposition, Sir De Villiers Graaf: "Are you perhaps acting as the mouthpiece of the American Ambassador?" Sir De Villiers replied that Dr. Verwoerd was being "impudent," as he had no contact either with the Ambassador or any member of his staff.

Finally, there is the case of Breyten Breytenbach, a young Afrikaans poet-artist living in Paris, whose wife has been refused a visa to visit South Africa because she is Vietnamese—and therefore nonwhite.

Breytenbach's marriage to his nonwhite wife Yolande, who is a French citizen, is not recognized under South Africa's race laws, and if the couple were to visit South Africa they could possibly be prosecuted under the Immorality Act, which prohibits sexual relations between whites and nonwhites. The fact that Yolande is a daughter of a former Vice President of South Vietnam, a student of anthropology at the Sorbonne, and a highly cultured girl, is neither here nor there as far as the Verwoerd government is concerned.

Breytenbach decided to apply for a visa for his wife when he won a $3,000 award for Afrikaans poetry from a publishing house of which Dr. Verwoerd is chairman. Because he refused to fly to South Africa without his wife, the award had to be made to him in Paris.

Breytenbach has since declared that he will never visit South Africa again, unless his wife is granted a visa—he merely sought a visitor's visa for her so that she could meet

his parents. He has also declared that he is ashamed to be an Afrikaner.

Afrikaner writers and intellectuals have expressed their shock at the government's action. Prof. N. P. Van Wyk Louw, a leading Afrikaans writer and critic, said: "I speak as an Afrikaner * * * and I speak with pain and shame * * * we can't just slap down a talent like Breytenbach * * * to make Breytenbach an eternal exile? We cannot, we dare not."

A young avant-garde Afrikaans writer, Andre Brink, said: "Today I am ashamed before God to have to say that I am an Afrikaner, that I write in Afrikaans, that I must serve people and a language which is drifting ever further away from all norms of Christian civilization."

In recent months, the Verwoerd government has embarked on one of its most ambitious campaigns, which is to enforce social segregation wherever possible—at sports events, public entertainments, etc.—and out of this campaign new and even stranger situations could easily arise.

[From the New York Times, June 22, 1965]

A SUNTAN BEFOGS APARTHEID LAWS—SOUTH AFRICA CALLS FOR, THEN BARS GREEK AS TOO DARK

JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA, June 21.—The color-conscious Government of South Africa is taking steps to settle the delicate case of the suntanned settler.

A full-scale Government inquiry has been ordered into the predicament of an immigrant, George Piassis, who sunbathed extensively by the swimming pool on the 17-day boat trip here.

The question facing immigration inspectors is: How dark can you be and still be white under this country's complex laws?

Mr. Piassis, a 21-year-old mechanic who was born in Egypt to Greek parents, had come to join other members of his family to seek a new life in South Africa. The South African Government, as part of its drive to increase the white population, paid for his passage. He had a permanent residence visa and a job awaited him in Pretoria.

But as he passed through customs at Durban, an immigration official told him:

"You're much too dark, I'm afraid."

He stamped "prohibited immigrant" on Mr. Piassis' passport and ordered him back aboard the liner.

The ship went on to Capetown and a storm of protest broke out in South African newspapers. Mr. Piassis said, in a ship-to-shore telephone interview, that his father and mother were Greek, that he had no African ancestors, and that it was all a "ghastly mistake."

Opposition members in Parliament said the case pinpointed the difficulties and embarrassment caused by the Government's rigid apartheid policies, under which whites, Negroes, Asians, and those of mixed ancestry are separated as much as possible.

Commenting in an editorial headed "The Tan Ban," the Johannesburg Star said: "In color matters, our laws are beyond the lunatic fringe."

Mr. Piassis has been granted a special temporary residence permit while he awaits the outcome of the investigation.

No Dropout, No Job

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the Government recently opened a Women's Job Corps Center in the Regis Hotel in Omaha, Nebr. The Burroughs Corp. has a $4,250,000 contract to operate the center with tax funds for 2 years. The Omaha facility is to train 335 underprivileged, undereducated, undermotivated young girls with a staff of about 135.

There has been a lot of comment about this facility from the residents of my district. I think my colleagues will be interested in a letter written to the Omaha World-Herald by a young girl who is not a dropout. It points up one of the fallacies of the administration's socialistic programs.

NO DROPOUT, NO JOB

OMAHA.

Concerning the Regis Hotel venture:

It is disheartening to have worked hard all during high school only to be told, as one seeks summer employment to help see her through the first year of college, that there are no jobs for her.

I WAS a Girls' Stater, ranked fourth in a class of 565 with a 3.99 grade average on a 4.0 scale, was elected by my faculty to National Honor Society, was a World-Herald "Teen of the Week," and served my school—a school known nationally for its scholastic excellence and high standards—in various other ways.

Now I find that while my services are apparently unwanted, those of the high school dropouts are so desperately desired that we are willing to give them (ugly word, give) a place to live, free training, employment promise, and, yes, even the lifeblood of every teenager * * * spending money.

The effort-reward concept and the desirability of self-pride are, thank heaven, too integral a part of my set of ideals to be destroyed by such people as L.B.J.

But for all my feelings inside, I still have an empty pocket with which to finance a lot of dreams for the future.

UNEMPLOYED.

A recent editorial in the Omaha World-Herald summed it up this way:

There is some apprehension about how this bureaucratically operated girls' finishing school is going to work out.

The notion that underpriliged, undereducated, undermotivated young girls 16 to 21 can be wrenched from their environment and quickly made into responsible, prudent Cinderellas is breathtaking in its implications. It flies in the face of well-established belief that social education, as well as the acquisition of academic and technical knowledge, is a slow process accompanied by discipline and painful adjustment.

Postal Unions To Hold Mass Rally in New York on July 23

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, on July 23, the unions representing post office clerks, carriers, mail handlers, and others will hold a mass rally and demonstration on Friday, July 23, in the Manhattan Center in New York. The purpose of their rally will be to generate interest and support for legislation now pending before the Congress to increase salaries of postal workers and achieve genuine comparability in the supervisory and management levels of the postal service.

It is important that everything possible be done to improve the status of our postal employees and civil servants and to point up the problems these groups are presently confronting. I include an article appearing in the Chief on July 2:

POST OFFICE UNIONS TO HOLD PAY RALLY JULY 23

Post office clerks, carriers, mail handlers, vehicle employes, and others employed in postal installations in New York City will hold a mass rally and demonstration on Friday, July 23, in their drive for passage of bills in Congress for pay comparability with private industry and overtime pay.

Plans for the rally and demonstration, in accordance with the Lloyd-LaFollette Act, were set in motion last week at a meeting of the four unions that compose the Metropolitan Postal Council. The Lloyd-LaFollette Act guarantees Federal employees the right to petition Congress.

Those who met were Morris Biller, president of the Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union, affiliated with the National Postal Union; Phillip Lepper, president of New York Branch 36, National Association of Letter Carriers, AFL-CIO; Ben Sufian, head of the Brooklyn Postal Union, NPU; and Felix Heiger, president of Brooklyn Branch 41, NALC, AFL-CIO. The four unions represent more than 50,000 postal employees in New York City.

The July 23 rally will be held from 3 to 4 p.m. in the Manhattan Center, 311 West 34th Street, west of Eighth Avenue. At 4 p.m. the members of the four unions will march to the General Post Office, a block south, where they will stage an orderly demonstration in an effort to enlist public support and the backing of postal officials for H.R. 8663 by Representatives ARNOLD OLSEN of Montana, the pay-increase bill, and H.R. 2798 by Representative DOMINICK DANIELS of Jersey City, the overtime-pay measure.

UNION HEADS' STATEMENT

The leaders of the four unions, Messrs. Biller, Lepper, Sufian, Hieger, this week issued a joint statement outlining the problems confronting postal workers and giving arguments in favor of prompt enactment of the legislation. Their statement follows:

"Probably at no time in history has there been more emphasis on material needs than today. The public is constantly exposed through public information media to the existence of needs and new ways of satisfying them to make life easier and more enjoyable. Discreetly followed, this is healthy for the Nation's economy and for the consumer.

"With this in mind, it is important to consider the salary situation facing Government employees, particularly, postal employees. Their dedication and proficiency have been taken for granted too long, just as their salaries have been permitted to lag behind those in private industry.

"Recently a Presidential Pay Panel recommended a 3-percent increase to become effective in 1966. Even President Johnson's advisers have testified this is 'too little too late,' especially in the face of the ever-increasing cost of living, now at an all-time high.

"MANY NEED TWO JOBS

"Today a family of four needs a minimum of $123 a week for basic necessities. Since that is far above the average postal salary, is it any wonder that letter carriers, clerks, and other postal employees are compelled to augment their income with a second job or have their wives go to work.

"Many postal employees arise as early as 4:15 a.m. to report to their stations at 6 a.m., hours earlier than most of the working public. Despite this, they are paid no differen-

tial for service performed between 6 and 9 a.m. when most people begin work.

"To get 8 hours rest, they must retire at 8:15 p.m., even before their children do. After a full day's work, they must go on to their second jobs. To make ends meet, they sap their strength, jeopardize their health, and forego the normal enjoyment of family life. Similar situations face many thousands of night workers who report between 3 and 12 p.m.

"SIX-DAY WEEK

"But unlike workers in private industry, postal employees receive no premium pay for weekend and holiday work. Instead, they are given a day off during the week, with many employees in business districts working a 6-day, 40-hour week, a condition unheard of in private industry.

"It's high time the Government paid its own employees time and one-half for Saturday work and double time for Sundays and holidays, as is almost universally the case in private industry.

"Postal employees want no less for their children than workers in outside industry. That their wage gap, however, is very great and many years behind is substantiated by congressional committees and Government boards.

"At present, the average postal worker has a dim outlook with regard to savings, education for his children in schools of higher learning, and other pressing necessities. He has little opportunity for relaxation.

"A 7-percent wage increase will help put him almost on a par with his fellow Americans. He isn't asking for the moon. He just wants to serve with selfless devotion, knowing that his Government appreciates his dedication, and recognizing his needs, pays him a salary commensurate with that in private industry.

"Postal and Federal employees eschew the right to strike. It is fitting and proper, then, that the just needs of these faithful servants be recognized and met in a way that will count—in their paychecks.

"For legitimate pay comparability we seek enactment of H.R. 8663 by Representative ARNOLD OLSEN, of Montana, and for legitimate overtime pay for Saturday, Sundays, and holidays for substitutes we seek enactment of H.R. 2798 by Representative DOMINICK DANIELS, of Jersey City."

Gertrude Clarke Whittall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OMAR BURLESON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, in my years of service in the Congress, my responsibilities as chairman of the Committee on House Administration and as chairman and vice chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library perhaps have made me a bit more keenly aware than some of my distinguished colleagues of the great contribution to our country's culture made by a great lady, Gertrude Clarke Whittall, who died at the age of 97 on Tuesday, June 29, 1965. I therefore feel it is most appropriate for me to pay tribute to this extraordinary person, whose good works will continue as long as the Library of Congress continues to exist, thanks to the foundations bearing her name which she established during her lifetime.

The record of Mrs. Whittall's benefactions is open for all to read and admire, but a brief summary may be in order at this time. Her gifts to the Nation and its citizens through the Library of Congress began, publicly, in 1935, shortly after she had moved to Washington from Massachusetts. Widowed in 1922, she had two great loves that sustained her spirit—music and poetry. Before leaving New England, she had carefully formed, with the help of experts, a collection of musical instruments which is one of the world's most precious possessions—three violins, one viola, and one violoncello constructed by that fabled master, Antonio Stradivari, with five magnificent bows to match, constructed by the Stradivari of bowmaking, François Tourte.

The late Herbert Putnam, then the Librarian of Congress, was one of Mrs. Whittall's close friends. As Mrs. Whittall herself once put it, "Dr. Putnam was my inspiration." He encouraged her to present these wonderful instruments to the Library of Congress, where they might be perfectly preserved and maintained. But since the Library is not a museum, and since musical instruments such as those assembled by Mrs. Whittall only come to life when they are heard as well as seen, he also encouraged her to allow them to be used in concerts for the benefit of the American people. Mrs. Whittall needed no more than the suggestion—indeed, she needed no more than Dr. Putnam's inspiration, since it may well be that the wonderful idea was her very own. Thus, in 1935, she did indeed present the Stradivari instruments and Tourte bows to the Library of Congress, where they were to be used—at her express wish—to provide free public concerts of chamber music to all who would hear; simultaneouly, she established the Gertrude Clarke Whittall Foundation to assure the perpetuation of these activities. The first public concert in which her wishes were executed took place in the Library on January 10, 1936, with the Stradivari instruments used—appropriately enough—by the famed Stradivarius Quartet.

It was quite characteristic of Mrs. Whittall to donate a room to the Library in which the instruments could be beautifully displayed when they were not being played, and in 1937, the Whittall Pavilion—one of the Library's most handsome settings for cultural events, was completed. Ever since then it has been used as the home, and thousands of Americans and visitors to our country have paused before the case in which they are housed in order to admire their beauty and to speculate on the magic a master craftsman had wrought more than two centuries earlier.

Mrs. Whittall preferred the continuous use of the Stradivari instruments by one group of musicians—a wise choice, since only in that manner could the individual instrument be adjusted to the needs and temperament of each artist, and only in that manner could the individual artist adjust himself to the needs and temperament of each instrument. The two must live together in order to make the finest music, she felt. As a result of this thought, the Library of Congress acquired a "quartet in residence, the Budapest String Quartet—one of the world's great chamber ensembles—which played its first concert on December 8, 1938, and continued to use the Stradivari instruments for 23 seasons—until March 30, 1962. Beginning with the 1962–63 season, the renowned Juilliard String Quartet started to use the Strads, and they have been the Library's resident group ever since.

As further evidence of Mrs. Whittall's generosity, many additional ensembles and distinguished soloists were presented under the auspices of the music foundation bearing her name. Up to the time of her death, nearly 700 concerts had been offered by the Whittall Foundation, many of them broadcast, and countless thousands enjoyed the pleasure that the combination of great virtuosity and great music alone can bring.

Over the years, Mrs. Whittall continued to enlarge the foundation's endowment, and at the outbreak of the Second World War, she made it possible for the Library to purchase a superb collection of autograph musical scores, privately owned by a Vietnamese family, for which a home safe from the hazards of destruction in Europe was being sought. This was the nucleus of what has since become one of the world's most awe-inspiring collection of original manuscripts—the Whittall Foundation Collection of Autograph Musical Scores and Autograph Letters—which includes music and letters by Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Haydn, Mozart, Mendelssohn, Schubert, and many, many others.

Poetry and music had an equal share of Mrs. Whittall's affection, and in 1950, she provided the Library with the resources whereby the public could enjoy the sister art in the same way as she had provided the resources for our citizens to enjoy music. Through the Gertrude Clarke Whittall Poetry and Literature Fund in the Library, she made it possible for listeners to hear our best poets reading their own poems, our best actors interpreting the master dramatists, and our finest minds lecturing on literary subjects. She furnished the Library's attractive Poetry Room—where her good friend, the late Robert Frost, liked to meet his friends and view the Capitol; she made it possible for the Library to acquire manuscripts of such poets as Shelley, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, A. E. Housman, and—one of her favorites—Edwin Arlington Robinson.

Although advancing years robbed her hearing of much of its acuteness, she continued to attend almost every Whittall Fund presentation, and her tiny, gracious figure, in her regular seat specially wired with a hearing aid, was a familiar and beloved one to generations of Washingtonians. She was in the audience—and at the reception honoring playwright and cast—when Mark Van Doren's "The Last Days of Lincoln" played on April 12, 1965; she was in the audience when the Juilliard String Quartet gave its last concert of the 1964–65 season last April 23. She was a gregarious person, who freely shared her own enjoyment of the arts with the rest of the audience, and especially with young people, whose presence continually

delighted her. She was a frequent visitor to the Library's Music Division and its Poetry Office, and she took a deep and genuine interest in its work. She was as much a part of the Library of Congress as anyone possibly could be, and in many ways, her ideal of service to the country she loved is a personification of the Library's own ideal of service.

On December 4, 1963, the Commissioners of the District of Columbia honored her with a citation for distinguished service. This was presented by Commissioner Walter B. Tobriner in a ceremony in his office. The citation stated that "her gifts of music and literature to the people of the United States, through the Library of Congress, have brought the arts into the lives of many Americans; have enriched the Library's collections and extended its influence; and have given the American people great pleasures and pleasant experiences." It would be difficult to improve on this succinct tribute, and I shall not attempt to do so.

At the ceremony, Mrs. Whittall—young in heart as ever—complained mildly about the timing of the citation. "I wonder why they didn't wait until I am 100," she said. "My work is not yet done." I am glad the Commissioners did not wait, but she need not have worried about her work. Thanks to her enlightened generosity, Mrs. Whittall's good work will never be done, and she will continue to live in the affections of the people of this country as a symbol of that civilized devotion to the things of the spirt which is as typically and characteristically American as the Nebraska farm on which she grew up. But as a person she will be missed, for she was a great person. We will not soon see another such great lady again.

A Tribute to David E. Bell, Administrator of the Agency for International Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this time to speak a few words of appreciation for David E. Bell, Administrator of the Agency for International Development. I regret that I was absent from the floor recently when a number of our colleagues paid eloquent tribute to this able Administrator.

When reminded that his tenure in office outlasted that of his predecessors, Administrator Bell retorted that he considered this a "very minor distinction" because he came to do a job and not outlast anybody.

I consider the job he has done a very major distinction in one of the most difficult and most tumultuous positions in the U.S. Government.

As Director of the Bureau of the Budget, David Bell brought with him to his position with AID a great understanding of our Government and of our economic system. As overseer of the U.S. budget, he perhaps had a greater appreciation of economy and management efficiency than any other person in our Government, with few exceptions.

When he was sworn into office, December 22, 1962, he said:

> Any enterprise of the Federal Government involving the use of public funds ought to be managed with the highest prudence and frugality.

And in the ensuing months, as head of the AID program, he made this promise a reality.

Under David Bell the foreign aid budget has been pared to essentials. This year's request was the lowest in this history of the AID program.

Not only has the AID budget decreased, but AID funds have been better spent. David Bell inaugurated a comprehensive new management improvement system in AID, including new methods for more effective execution of AID's operating and programing systems.

He has tightenend personnel management, reducing the number of employees by 1,140 in fiscal year 1964 alone.

He has improved the Agency's procurement policies, thus saving the Government hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Under Administrator Bell, AID's auditing practices have been revised and overseas auditing services consolidated at great manpower and financial savings.

By adapting electronic data processing to the Agency's accounting and financial reporting requirements, David Bell has saved hundreds of man-hours and cut costs.

Country programs have been tightened and some terminated, since David Bell came to AID. A higher proportion of AID funds are going to fewer countries—95 percent is going to only 31 countries, and two-thirds of development assistance is going to just 7 countries.

Reduced budgets and program and operating costs are only a part of David Bell's major distinctions in office. But they are important ones—which have restored the confidence of Congress and the American people in the foreign aid program. And with the restoration of that confidence has come better opportunities to help the people of the developing countries around the world.

U.S. Policy in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, the following telegram is a typical expression of the substantial concern in my district and other places around the country about our policies in Vietnam and the obvious escalation of our involvement:

> DETROIT, MICH.
>
> Congressman CHARLES C. DIGGS,
> *Washington, D.C.:*
>
> Applaud call for Vietnam hearings. Strongly urge you speak against McNamara announced troop buildup.
>
> DETROIT COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM.

A New Class To Lead the Poor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Lawrence Fertig, a columnist for the San Francisco Chronicle, has written an article on title II of the Economic Opportunity Act which is certainly worthy of close study by the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. His article, published in the San Francisco Chronicle on July 2, follows:

A NEW CLASS TO LEAD THE POOR

(By Lawrence Fertig)

Does it make sense for the U.S. Government to create and subsidize a special class of people who have a vested interest in being leaders of the poor? Is the public interest served when a law encourages some people to make a career of articulating the complaints, the resentments, and the demands of the so-called poverty group?

This is the crucial question raised by title II of the Economic Opportunity Act—the antipoverty law. This law provides that those who are defined as poor (family groups with incomes at $3,000 a year or less) must have a participation in application of the law which distributes these vast funds.

There must be involvement by leaders of the poverty group, and these leaders are encouraged to promote action programs in opposition to constituted authority.

Eleven mayors of large cities recently met in Washington and expressed their deep concern about this matter. The mayor of Syracuse, N.Y., fears that the law will actually cause violence, in his city at any rate.

He points out that the law is pitting the poor against everyone else. This almost amounts to a phase of class conflict which is a definite Marxian concept. It is in violation of the principles which underlie a democratic, free-enterprise society.

The originators of the Antipoverty Act were on the horns of a dilemma. They did not want expensive projects in every corner of the United States directed from Washington. On the other hand they feared a patronage grab by local politicians. So they decreed "maximum feasible participation" by poverty recipients in the administration of antipoverty funds. The result is the constitution of a new class whose roots are deep in the subsidized poverty group and whose sole objective is to wring from the Government maximum concessions for their clients.

A typical organization set up to express the involvement of the poor is mobilization for youth (MFY), whose scandals rocked New York and Washington some months ago. This group spent more than $7.2 million for a variety of programs during the past 2 years to meet the problem of juvenile delinquency on the lower East Side of New York.

As a result of their strange activities 26 public school principals protested that MFY was making it difficult for them to teach school. They asserted that George A. Brager,

then director of MFY's action program, had turned full-time, paid agitators and organizers of extremist groups loose on the community—to create disorder, disharmony, and violence—the very condition MFY was created to combat.

Then came rent strikes, led by radical agitator Jesse Grey who, it was proved, used the facilities of MFY regularly. Finally came the Bedford-Stuyvesant race riots. Handbills circulated during the riots charging police brutality had been printed on MFY paper with the agency's typewriters and mimeograph machines.

And FBI loyalty checks revealed that "at least 32 of the agency employees have been linked in the past to the Communist Party or front groups. Several active members of the Communist Party are currently on the payroll."

The shocking aspect of this matter is the attitude of public officials concerning activities of the ringleaders. Said New York City Council President Paul Screvane, the above activities of MFY were "in just and right causes." Referring to the rent strike and the march on Washington he said, "They are community action programs * * * We're encouraging youths to become active participants in these causes * * *"

It remained for Alex Rosen, high in the echelons of social workers, to state the case most clearly and disturbingly. He said that MFY's mission is to "change the community's power structure * * * this means upsetting the stability of the community and replacing it with a higher-level stability."

Most taxpayers will rub their eyes in wonder when they read statements asserting that it is right for the Federal Government to tax people in every State and contribute funds toward upsetting the stability of the community and to change the community's power structure.

Every radical handbill repeats these revolutionary phrases which are tossed about by leaders of the new antipoverty movement.

American taxpayers will gag at the idea of a $1.5 billion Federal appropriation (which will probably double or treble in a few years) being used as an instrument of radical propaganda.

There is good reason to worry about a law that subsidizes a special class of people who make a career out of poverty.

Citizens Union Opposes Dirksen Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to those efforts now being made to overthrow the decisions of the Supreme Court in Reynolds against Sims and related cases by means of a proposed constitutional amendment.

When the hearings on this matter before the House Judiciary Committee resume I intend to testify against these proposals.

In the Senate this effort to reverse the Court is known as the Dirksen amendment and I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following statement and letter from the Citizens Union of the City of New York endorsing my position:

CITIZENS UNION,
July 1, 1965.

CITIZENS UNION OPPOSES DIRKSEN AMENDMENT; URGES ALL CITY CONGRESSMEN TO VOTE AGAINST IT

The Citizens Union has written to Senators JAVITS and KENNEDY and all of New York City's Representatives in Congress urging them to vote and work against the Dirksen amendment, which would permit States to elect one house of a two-house legislature on a basis other than one-man, one-vote.

Enclosed with the letter was a copy of a resolution against the amendment passed by the New York State Senate on May 3 but never reported in the assembly and therefore presumably not transmitted to the Congressmen.

The Citizens Union letter and enclosure read as follows:

CITIZENS UNION
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
New York, N.Y., June 29, 1965.

To All New York City Congressmen:

The Citizens Union strongly urges you to vote and use all your influence against the Dirksen amendment, which would allow States to have one unrepresentative house in their legislatures if a majority of their voters so vote. Such a house could veto any action proposed by the more representative house and so be an effective block to progress.

This request is sent with the emphatic endorsement of our executive committee at its most recent meeting.

As a further explanation of our reasons, I enclose a copy of a resolution passed by the New York State Senate on May 3, which I drafted for the introducers, Senators Berking, Berman, and Ohrenstein. Since it was not reported in the assembly, it may not have come to your attention. Despite the unfortunate oversight of the assembly rules committee, it does stand as the considered judgment of the one house of our legislature which acted on it.

We earnestly hope you will concur and will help to prevent any backsliding in this basic principle of democratic government.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE HALLETT,
Executive Secretary and Legislative Representative.

"NEW YORK RESOLUTION 168

"Introduced Mar. 30, 1965, by Senators Berking, Berman, and Ohrenstein

"Whereas efforts are being made in the legislatures of the several States and in the Congress of the United States to promote an amendment to the Constitution which would permit one house of a bicameral legislature to be apportioned on a basis other than equal treatment of citizens or residents; and

"Whereas such an amendment would partially nullify the historic and salutary decision of the U.S. Supreme Court that people must be given equal privileges of representation regardless of their place of residence, by permitting an unrepresentative house to veto the actions of a more representative house; and

"Whereas the unequal representation of States in the U.S. Senate is not pertinent in this connection because the States were sovereign and independent entities whose equal representation was naturally demanded and necessary in order to create a Federal Union and there is no such sovereign status in the districts of a State legislature; and

"Whereas there are at least as many special interests requiring representation in proportion to population in the thickly settled areas of the States as in the sparsely settled areas; and

"Whereas the principle of majority rule requires that districts with a minority of the people of a State should not be able to outvote in a legislative body districts with a substantially greater number of people, as has often happened in this and other States and will happen again if the proposed amendment should prevail: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved* (*if the assembly concur*), That the Legislature of the State of New York strongly opposes the proposed amendment and supports the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court requiring equal treatment of a State's people in its representative bodies as a fundamental bulwark of democratic self-government; and be it further

"*Resolved* (*if the assembly concur*), That copies of this resolution be sent to the Governors and the majority and minority leaders of the legislative bodies of all the States and to all the Members of the Congress of the United States."

A Dream Fulfilled for Cuban Refugees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, it is my personal privilege to commend the Dade County Public School system for its extraordinary job in educating and integrating large numbers of Cuban refugees, some 16,000 this year, into American life. Each refugee has endured pains caused by the language barrier and loss of their previous status.

As all my colleagues well know, the event of communism in Cuba has caused freedom-loving individuals to flee from their homeland to American shores in the hope of making a new life for themselves. The numerous professional people have had to began at the lowest level of their calling. Doctors are working as interns, lawyers as clerks. We all realize the psychological pains this must cause.

The most remarkable fact about the Cuban refugee problem is the accommodation they have received in the Dade County Public School system. The wonderful new schools in Dade are featured in the magazine Education Age, in an article appropriately entitled "Miami Schools—A New Life To Cubans," from which I quote:

> This unexpected onslaught of Cuban refugee has not only been absorbed by Dade County in a remarkable and unprecedented education effort, but has in the past 5 years brought about several new teaching methods.

Indeed the problems of large-scale immigration is today unique to Dade and methods of educating the refugees is also unique. The need to educate students from preschool age to 90 has been handled by a devoted staff of specialists who have coped well will emotional problems not ordinarily faced by teachers. The Cuban refugee needs a great deal of English training, and of necessity had to adapt himself to an entirely different educational concept in other areas. The educational differences were

further augumented by the change of residence of large numbers of Cubans within Dade County itself, and the movements of refugees between Dade and other areas within the United States.

The most modern techniques are being used. Educational television, for instance, is used with teacher participation. The broadcast then returns for a followup emphasis. The multitude of Cuban teachers are used in conjunction with Spanish-speaking American teachers. This creates jobs for them while greatly aiding the educational effort. Vocational schools are used to train adults, who will then be of more use to themselves and the American economy.

The Cuban refugees have been imbued with a sense of pride in their adopted country, and have shown their thanks to those who made their new life possible. They have started a new library in honor of our late great President, John F. Kennedy, for example, and many have joined junior clubs in such fields as business and politics.

In the past the Federal Government and the Appropriations Committee Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, under the chairmaship of the Honorable OTTO PASSMAN, has given a thoroughly sympathetic and impartial hearing to this problem. Public Law 87-510 has provided funds since June 28, 1962, for the education of Cuban refugees. At that time it was realized that the cost of educating Cuban refugees was 20 percent greater than that for American citizens. The present fiscal appropriation for Cuban refugee education represents a $1½ million cut as compared to the 1964-65 figure. The number of Cuban refugees is not decreasing at a rapid rate. For that reason, I have received numerous requests to work for the inclusion of Cuban refugees in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1965. I have discussed with my able colleague, SAM GIBBONS of the Education and Labor Committee, the possibility of offering a committee amendment to that effect.

I urge that we expand the services we are providing for refugees; that we demonstrate the individual benefits to be reaped by those living in our great modern society, as compared to those of that unfortunate island, Cuba. From past performance, I know that the educators of Dade County will continue their role. Let us take advantage of the skills of these energetic people.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I also commend the people of Dade County, their school system, their dedicated administrators, and truly the progressiveness of every member of that school board.

Civil Defense in Nebraska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR CALLAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, during this past year the people of the State of Nebraska have valiantly fought against floods, tornadoes, and fires. The civil defense has done a particularly fine job in combating these dangers, and it deserves to be recognized for its efforts.

Gov. Frank B. Morrison has written a fine letter to Mr. William P. Durkee, Director of the Office of Civil Defense, in which he describes the efforts of the civil defense in Nebraska.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I would like to insert Governor Morrison's letter in the RECORD:

STATE OF NEBRASKA,
Lincoln, June 25, 1965.

Mr. WILLIAM P. DURKEE,
Director, Office of Civil Defense, Office of the Secretary of the Army, Department of the Army, Pentagon Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. DURKEE: This has been an unusual year in Nebraska. We have seen floods, tornadoes and fire plague these vast plains and the sturdy people that inhabit them. Time after time, I have witnessed dedicated men and women unselfishly give of their time and stamina to fight off the cruel phenomena of nature that strike from angry skies, rampaging streams or as billowing flames turning a treasured forest into cinder and ash.

Our most recent battle against nature has been the fight to control the violent waters of the South Platte River as it rolls across our State, threatening every valley and low-lying field. I am proud to report that the menacing river has been held in check mainly through the dedicated efforts of local governments and volunteers. Civil defense in Nebraska may have undergone one of its finest hours. With local civil defense directors coordinating vital emergency services under the direction of city mayors and officials, the river is being controlled. A ribbon of dikes stretching from the Colorado-Nebraska border to the North Platte Valley is the force that is restraining the swift waters.

On June 14 the Big Springs, Ogallala, Brule, and Paxton area fielded the first assault by the river as it entered Nebraska from Colorado. I directed Maj. Gen. Lyle A. Welch, State civil defense director to the area. He reported that Sheriff Floyd Stahr, Deuil County civil defense director and Mr. John Hilderbrand, Keith County civil defense director had made excellent preparations. Approximately 500 workers built dikes with a big assist from the Union Pacific Railroad's men and equipment. General Welch described Mr. Hilderbrand's operation as a model civil defense performance upon his return.

As the crest approached the Sutherland-Hershey-North Platte area, many feared that the river could not be contained as it rolled across the valley. But again, civil defense in action was seen as the controlling force. North Platte-Lincoln County Civil Defense Director George Voorhies saw the eventual threat and spurred the communities into action as the crest bore down. The small town of Hershey (population 580), under the leadership of Mayor Leroy Matthewson, built a 6-foot dike across the southern edge of the village which proved to be the salvation of the town. Holding back a 5-foot wall of water for several hours, Hershey was able to escape with only minor flooding at the southeastern edge of town.

On June 15 the South Platte crest reached North Platte, Nebr., and here, too, several hundred volunteers, under the able direction of Mayor Kenneth Huebner, were able to keep the swollen river from swamping the low-lying city.

The crest is moving toward east-central Nebraska, having lost much of its punch due to the herculean efforts of local governments and people who make up civil defense. I feel that it is only fitting that civil defense personnel who made outstanding contributions in the valiant fight to save lives and property be recognized. We hesitate to ponder the plight of this great State had they not been available to defend against nature's violent ways.

It occurred to me that you as Director of our Nation's civil defense program would appreciate knowing about the excellent performance rendered by civil defense organizations in Nebraska, during our recent disaster.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK B. MORRISON,
Governor of Nebraska.

Resolutions of Connecticut VFW Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD a group of resolutions adopted at the 45th annual convention of the Connecticut Department, Veterans of Foreign Wars, held in Bridgeport on June 18-20. In all 34 resolutions were adopted, but due to lack of space I have selected only a few and primarily those that deal with matters of wider national interest.

It was my great pleasure to attend the session on the evening of June 19, on which occasion I was presented with the State VFW's 1965 Distinguished Citizenship Award by Walter A. Jackson, Jr., State VFW commander. I am extremely proud to be the recipient of this award and am very grateful to the VFW for presenting it to me.

The resolutions referred to above are as follows:

RESOLUTION ON INCREASED BENEFITS FOR ARMED FORCES PERSONNEL

Whereas the security of the United States depends on poised and ready military power in being; and

Whereas our military strength can be measured by the courage, dedication, and proficiency of Americans in uniform at the time of an enemy attack; and

Whereas the present Communist threat to the security of this Nation and the advanced technology used in modern warfare require the highest trained, professional technicians to operate and maintain our weapon systems; and

Whereas the financial hardship imposed by creeping inflation of our present economy, the ever-spiraling costs of education and the high industrial demand for military-trained specialists are resulting in an inordinate loss of military personnel; and

Whereas it is now necessary to take immediate action to offer benefits which will offset the many hardships imposed by a military career in order to attract and retain our most highly trained and best citizens in the military services: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the Department of Connecticut, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, That we urge and strongly support substantially increased pay scales for armed services personnel; and be it further

Resolved, That we strongly oppose attempts to equate military service and its unique obligations and risks with pay scales in civilian occupations; and be it further

Resolved, That we vigorously support the continuation of post exchange, commissary, hospitalization, and medical facilities and services for active and retired Armed Forces personnel and dependents; and be it further

Resolved, That we endorse and support the provisions of permanent troop housing complexes, which include not only barracks but also mess halls, administration and supply buildings, and morale and welfare facilities; modern bachelor officer housing which provides the privacy, living space, and housekeeping conveniences of modern civilian apartment living, and adequate family housing for members of the military services; and be it further

Resolved, That personnel retired from the Armed Forces of the United States and their dependents in foreign countries be provided the same medical and dental care and under the same conditions as active duty military personnel in such foreign country; and be it further

Resolved, That all retired military personnel and their dependents be authorized the use of schools, commissaries, post or base exchange facilities, and all other such benefits which are afforded to active duty military personnel outside the United States on the same basis as enjoyed by such active duty personnel and their dependents.

RESOLUTION ON FULL SUPPORT FOR SOUTH VIETNAM

Whereas by treaty by the Senate of the United States, we are obligated to assist the Government of South Vietnam to repel Communist aggression; and

Whereas we believe that serious consequences to the United States and the free world would result from the loss of Vietnam to the Communists; and

Whereas the cost in blood and treasure will be far less by defending against the enemy in Vietnam rather than after the aggression has actively spread to other areas of southeast Asia: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the Department of Connecticut, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, That—

1. We will support our Government in whatever action is required to conclude that war with victory;

2. We commend the U.S. military personnel which is actively engaged in that conflict and express our gratitude for the service and sacrifice they are making in our behalf;

3. We call upon the Congress to recognize this service and sacrifice by providing adequate educational and economic benefits in keeping with the longstanding traditions of this country.

RESOLUTION SUPPORTING COLD WAR GI BILL FOR CERTAIN VETERANS

Whereas it is evident that members of our Armed Forces are actively participating in armed hostilities throughout the world; and

Whereas many servicemen are serving in areas where hostilities are capable of breaking out at any time; and

Whereas these servicemen are not eligible for many veterans benefits which were made available to wartime veterans; and

Whereas our Government has recognized that service rendered in some areas is more hazardous than the usual peacetime service; and

Whereas our Government has recognized this extra hazardous service by the issuing of a campaign medal for service in these hostile areas; and

Whereas it has been traditional for the United States to recognize the sacrifices of those of our Armed Forces who have served in time of war; and

Whereas the VFW recognizes that the earning of a campaign medal for military service is comparable to wartime service: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Department of Connecticut, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, That we support legislation which will elevate to wartime service all benefits including compensation, pension, education, hospitalization, rehabilitation, loans, and any other veteran benefits to those veterans of the cold war who are recipients of a campaign badge or an expeditionary medal.

RESOLUTION TO REOPEN THE NATIONAL SERVICE LIFE INSURANCE PROGRAM

Whereas many veterans dropped their national service life insurance policies at the end of their period of service; and

Whereas many veterans were not advised that the continuation of this insurance would be to their benefit; and

Whereas many veterans while in the service did not find it necessary to obtain Government insurance; and

Whereas now many veterans find they have obligations; and

Whereas these veterans do not now have insurance coverage; and

Whereas many of these veterans wish to reinstate their national service life insurance policies; and

Whereas many veterans who did not participate in a plan, now wish to obtain national service life insurance; and

Whereas for many veterans national service life insurance will be the only Government benefit available as a result of this long wartime service; and

Whereas under the proposed reopening the insured shall pay the administrative cost of the program; and

Whereas the proposed reopening shall in no way affect the trust fund now in operation under the present national service life insurance program; and

Whereas last year legislation was enacted which permits certain veterans to reinstate national service life insurance; and

Whereas abled bodied veterans who are considered good insurable risks are unable to obtain the national service life insurance; and

Whereas the age of these veterans makes it extremely difficult financially to obtain insurance from commercial sources: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Department of Connecticut, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, That we strongly endorse and support legislation which will permit veterans who served in the Armed Forces between October 8, 1940, and December 31, 1956, to reinstate their national service life insurance policies and permit those who did not have insurance to obtain national service life insurance.

RESOLUTION ON VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION AND EDUCATION

Be it resolved by the Department of Connecticut, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, That we seek approval of the following recommendations by administrative changes or legislation, as applicable—

1. Increase subsistence and training allowance rates under all vocational rehabilitation and education training programs administered by the VA in conformity with the increased cost of living.

2. Increase the income ceiling applicable to on-the-job training under chapter 33, title 38, United States Code, to not less than $400 per month.

3. Extension of war orphans educational assistance to children of veterans who died from service-connected disability incurred or aggravated during a period of service for which disability compensation rates are authorized.

4. Elimination of the age 23 limitation for completion of training imposed on most beneficiaries of war orphans educational assistance.

RESOLUTION ON VETERANS GOVERNMENT INSURANCE PROGRAM

Be it resolved, by the Department of Connecticut, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, That we seek approval of the following recommendations by administrative changes or legislation, as applicable—

1. Reopen national service life insurance program to those veterans who served in the Armed Forces during the period of October 8, 1940, and December 31, 1956, inclusive.

2. Authorization of waiver of service-connected disabilities for the purpose of reinstating "H," "RH," "J," or "JR" policies (the service-connected disability permitted veterans to obtain the insurance initially).

3. Authorization to waive service-connected disabilities to permit granting of the total disability income provisions on national service life insurance policies.

4. Amendment to section 712, title 38, United States Code, to change the 1-year limit in which to file claim for waiver of premiums for total disability to 3 years.

5. Authorize the Board of Veterans' Appeals to review all decisions affecting rights under the Government insurance program.

6. Authorize $10,000 gratuitous insurance to members of the Armed Forces who are required to engage in combat or extra hazardous duty.

7. Authorize granting of insurance under Public Law 88-664 to eligible persons on active duty.

RESOLUTION ON VETERANS HOUSING AND LOAN PROGRAM

Be it resolved, by the Department of Connecticut, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, That we seek approval of the following recommendations by administrative changes or legislation, as applicable—

1. Amendment of section 801, title 38, United States Code, to authorize specially adapted housing for other seriously disabled veterans, such as those suffering from loss or loss of use of two extremities on the same side.

2. Authorization of direct loans for specially adapted housing in areas not designated as direct loan areas.

3. Opposition to any increase in the present 5¼-percent interest rate permissible on VA guaranteed loans.

Latin Business Unit Backs Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, last evening Charles Bartlett, writing in the Washington Evening Star, described the hopeful development in Central America in entirely new concepts of management. Central American businessmen are exploring new techniques and new approaches under the auspices of INCAE, which has close ties with the Harvard Business School. Led by George Lodge, former Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Labor Affairs, U.S. faculty members are working with cases drawn entirely from the Central American business experience.

The response has been enthusiastic and it appears that a growing commit-

ment to progressive change will bring impressive results. I include Mr. Bartlett's article in the RECORD, following my remarks.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 8, 1965]

LATIN BUSINESS UNIT BACKS PROGRESS

(By Charles Bartlett)

SAN SALVADOR.—The roomful of Central American businessmen clapped approval as the mayor of San Salvador declared, "We need business leaders with feelings and hearts who will not work merely for egotistical progress and for the few but for the good of all the people."

Later the mayor, a Christian Democrat named Napoleon Durate, said he was not surprised by the applause because he had found that Latin businessmen will always applaud lofty sentiments unless they cost money. A prominent industrialist made the same point in observing that the Central American business community likes every aspect of the Alliance for Progress except its suggestion that they give up their privileges.

The establishment of the Central American Common Market has given these men a critical opportunity. The United States has 16 times as many people as these 5 countries and 250 times as much annual production. The question is whether the local entrepreneurs will have the talent and imagination to bring the production of this new trade bloc into better balance with its population.

The early signs are auspicious. The Common Market has been institutionalized to a point at which few believe it can be fragmented like about 25 previous attempts at consolidating these small countries. Gross trade between the five has more than tripled in the last 5 years as the customs barriers came down. Integration is proceeding at a pace that promises a common currency, a common tariff policy toward the rest of the world, and firm steps toward political unity.

The gathering of business managers in San Salvador represents the anxiety of the entrepreneurs to make the most of the new conditions. They are attending a 6-week seminar at INCAE, a Latin offshoot of the Harvard Business School founded to create "a new elite dedicated to the construction of new systems and new methods within which a framework can be established to insure prosperity, liberty, social justice, and an ever-widening measure of democracy."

These words by the school's founder, George Lodge, do not imply an effort to impose American judgments and standards. The school's faculty, which includes eminent specialists from Harvard, deals entirely in cases researched from Central American business experience. The professors present the Latin managers with specific instances of their own problems and encourage them to propose solutions.

The broadening impact of this process was evident in a final statement by the businessmen who attended last winter's seminar. They concluded that they are living in a time of dynamic change that requires "higher standards of living, increased social justice, a fuller realization of the dignity of each individual, and guidance by responsible private and public leaders."

The business group unanimously offered to cooperate in "designing more just and more effective tax systems" and committed themselves to negotiate "justly and fairly" with trade unions pursuing better health, housing, and education for their members. "The progressive changes are inevitable," the businessmen declared. "They must not be stopped."

The evolving attitude of the Central American businessmen is balanced between gratitude for U.S. aid to the five countries, more than $500 million since 1957, and apprehension that the new common market may fall captive to gringo investors.

These apprehensions are complicated by variations in the attitudes toward American investment. Some feel this capital should be welcomed on any basis and in any quantity. Others believe that it should be restricted to joint ventures with local entrepreneurs and to fields in which there is no present investment. The member countries have not discovered how they will manage to avoid a bruising competition for foreign investment and some bruises have already developed.

This is the first common market in the underdeveloped world and it entails initial sacrifices in the standard of living. For example, a Salvadorean now buys shirts from Honduras at prices similar to those he previously paid for shirts of higher quality from the United States.

But these temporary sacrifices will not weigh heavily against an industrialization that produces employment and an economic growth that is the best answer of these countries to their problems of poverty and population. The test of the Central American businessmen will be their ability to produce this growth.

Resolution in Defense of Ukrainian People and Their Culture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a copy of the resolution adopted by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., Detroit-East and Hamtramck Branch, on July 4, 1965:

RESOLUTION BY UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA, INC., DETROIT-EAST AND HAMTRAMCK BRANCH, IN DEFENSE OF UKRAINIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR CULTURE

Whereas the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is a puppet government of the Moscow Communist regime which did not come to power by legal or democratic processes, but has flouted all assurances and agreements and is only another form of Moscow imperialism that rules by means of brutality and genocide; and

Whereas the Moscow Communist regime is striving for physical extermination of the Ukrainian people using all perfidious methods to decrease a percentage of Ukrainian population on Ukrainian ethnographical territory, not even deviating from such methods as artificially created starvation, forceful exilement, imprisonment and deportations to severe conditions in concentration camps; and

Whereas the suppression of human freedom by the Moscow Communist regime is directed to uproot the spiritual and cultural values of the Ukrainian people with the definite intention to create an obedient Soviet subject within a Communist society; and

Whereas the Moscow Communist regime in carrying out its despotic aims liquidated the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches, destroyed the Ukrainian main library of the Ukrainian Academy in Kiev, suppressed Ukrainian literature and art, compelling all intellectuals to work within the frames of Communist Party directives, introduced educational laws which barred almost completely the Ukrainian language from schools and universities and at the same time by attaching great importance to the Russian language as international medium within the territories of Ukraine and other non-Russian Republics; and

Whereas Moscow regime in order to achieve its "internal" reconstruction and to gain a time for a peaceful reorganization is at the present time deceiving the Western World with coexistence and cultural exchanges, which are only for their advantage:

Now, therefore, we Americans of Ukrainian descent in the State of Michigan, who today, on July 4, 1965, are gathered for the annual picnic at the Ukrainian estate, Kiev, sponsored by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, protest most emphatically against the persecution of the Ukrainian people, indignantly reject the deceiving assertions made by the Soviet leaders about freedom and religious tolerance in the U.S.S.R. and demand an immediate reinstatement of freedom for the Ukrainian Nation.

We call on the nations of the free world, above all the people of our great country of liberty, to condemn the crimes perpetrated by Communist Moscow in Ukraine.

We request the Government of our country and all governments in the free world to direct their representatives at the United Nations to take actions pertaining to the placement of the crimes committed by Communist Moscow in Ukraine on the agenda for discussion and the adoption of appropriate resolutions.

We appeal to all free nations of the free world to lend their support to the Ukrainian people in its struggle for freedom and independence.

We call on all countries in the free world to sign the convention on genocide.

DETROIT, MICH., *July 4, 1965.*

Florida's Small Businessman of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, on May 28 of this year my friend and constituent, Jack H. Green, of Port Orange, Fla., was honored by being named by the Small Business Association as Florida's Small Businessman of the Year.

His reaction to this honor is so profound and so inspiring that I wanted the Membership of the Congress to read it as he expressed it in a letter to the Honorable Eugene P. Foley, Administrator of the Small Business Administration, in accepting this honor. The letter follows:

PORT ORANGE, FLA.,
July 4, 1965.

Hon. EUGENE P. FOLEY,
Administrator, Small Business Administration, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. FOLEY: As I am sure you are aware, on last May 25 I was honored by being named by the Small Business Administration as Florida's Small Businessman of the Year. I am humbly grateful for this distinctive honor and appreciate so much the part that was played by you and the Small Business Administration in making this award possible.

One of the most rewarding things about this honor as far as I am concerned is that it bears out the feeling that I have always had that in this great Nation where freedom was born, opportunity is everywhere.

My wife, Dorothy, and I came to Florida in 1946. We arrived with very little else except faith in our country and a wonderful family. Things were not always easy. Once, even a new home was sacrified so that we might start our first Thirftway Store. Of course, I owe much to my family—to my mother, who taught me to study, to work hard and to build a business that was based not only on profit, but on product and service. She told me never to forget that this Nation was built upon hard-won principles of freedom and respect for my fellow man. Her faith in me was and continues to be a driving force.

Likewise, the faith in me demonstrated by other friends, such as Henry Coleman, of the Commercial Bank of Daytona Beach, resulted in my getting financing for my first business venture. My government, through your fine agency, the Small Business Administration, reaffirmed that faith. If anyone had told me 19 years ago that today I would have received this award, I would have said that life could not be this good; but faith works wonders, and here I am.

I went into the grocery business knowing, of course, that everyone had to eat. I also knew that just because they had to eat, they didn't have to buy their food from me. So, from my very first customer, Mr. Arlie Cardwell, I have endeavored to treat everyone with courtesy and to merit their faith, confidence, and support.

Many people have helped me along the way, not the least of whom was my first employee, Mrs. Iantha Metts. From that time our organization has been a team. Together we have done and hope to continue to do the job.

Through Mr. Hal Lively, a most helpful and wonderful friend, I became associated with a buying co-op in central Florida. This organization and others provide the small grocer with buying power and other services which enable him to compete with larger institutions which have their own buying organizations. Throughout all of this, I hasten to say that I have been guided by the hand of the Almighty.

The challenge that has kept America strong is a challenge to outdo ourselves—not to outdo the other fellow. There can be no enmity in competition when the goal sought is to better and outdo ones self. To accomplish this in our free enterprise system requires a willingness on our part to be bigger and better today than we were yesterday. If our free enterprise system is worth anything, it is worth continually fighting for and unless we're willing to do this, we don't deserve to have a free enterprise system.

The strength of America has flourished by reason of faith in the freemen who are willing to work hard. Thousands of businesses such as the Commercial Bank and the Certified Grocers which I mentioned before have been built upon this same faith. Over 90 percent of this Nation's business is classified as small business and many of them hire fewer than 100 people. As a small businessman, I want you to know how much I have been helped by the Small Business Administration and I hope that I have justified your faith in me. I am most grateful.

In view of the way things have been going in some quarters, however, I would not be human if I were not concerned about the future. As a father, I want to do what I can to assure that 19 years from now my children will have the opportunity to benefit from the same faith, the same challenge and the same freedom that has helped me so much. I cannot believe that the same principles that were taught in Galilee nearly 2,000 years ago have suddenly gone out of style. I can't believe that any good can come from trading freedom for security or substituting cynicism for faith. Apathy, which seems to be the byword in so many areas today destroys independence and eliminates challenge.

America became great not because she was peopled by supermen, but because of a system that permitted ordinary people like me to achieve extraordinary things. The threat to this system is great—both from outside forces like communism, and inside forces such as complacency and indifference. This threat is the thing that concerns me. This indifference, apathy and complacency can be and often are as contagious as faith, hard work and enthusiasm. Too often they seem to be more appealing to too many people.

We must not lose our freedom by giving it away. It is not too late to turn back the tide to those principles which have been such good guidelines for me and millions of other Americans.

Mr. Foley, this letter may not seem of any consequence to you, although I believe you are interested in the same principles about which I write. However, I am going to circulate copies of this letter not only to those with whom I would like to share this moment in the sun, but also in the hope that some might read it who need to be reminded that the last four letters of the word American end in two most significant words—I can.

Sincerely,

JACK GREEN.

Republicans Adopt Cause of NATO Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, we in the Republican Party are exceedingly proud of the superb job accomplished by our House Republican task force on NATO and the Atlantic Community under the chairmanship of our able and distinguished colleague, PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois. Since their report, which was fully reported in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 30, 1965, on pages 14758–14761, there have been a number of praiseworthy comments made by prominent foreign policy experts in this country and abroad.

I was particularly pleased to note that the Washington correspondent for the London Times, in the July 1 issue of that excellent paper, reported enthusiastically on the valuable task force conclusions.

I ask unanimous consent that the London Times article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

[From the London Times, July 1, 1965]

REPUBLICANS ADOPT CAUSE OF NATO UNITY—STUDY GROUP URGES TALKS WITH GENERAL DE GAULLE

WASHINGTON, June 30.—The Republican Party today urged President Johnson to meet President de Gaulle in Paris and to amend the Atomic Energy Act if necessary to extend nuclear cooperation with France. The party looked back with favor upon the earlier French proposal for a NATO nuclear directorate, and proposed the establishment of a diplomatic standing group to provide greater allied participation in NATO planning.

It suggested a NATO planning conference as a first step toward full partnership in NATO. The conference would address itself to technological research and development, military procurement, defense financing, and the making of strategic decisions.

These interesting proposals appear in the report to the House Republican conference of the party's factfinding mission on NATO. Representative PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois, was chairman of the group, which spent 9 days in Paris earlier this month.

At that time there was much good-natured banter about the Republican Party establishing diplomatic relations contrary to the Logan Act, but the group, which had the blessing of General Eisenhower, has produced a well-reasoned if provocative report. It might help in the reconstruction of the party, and certainly provides a basis for congressional debate when the administration ceases to be mesmerized by Vietnam.

TRUE PARTNERSHIP

It says that the Atlantic area is neglected, and requires immediate attention. The changes since 1949 are at the heart of American-European difficulties, and are so fundamental as to demand a thorough reappraisal of American policy.

Western European dissatisfaction arises from the present NATO structure, which makes them rely on American strategic capabilities and decision for the most basic requirements of their national security. They want a larger voice, and therefore President de Gaulle is not a lonely anachronism. He rides powerful currents of European opinion. He is the leader of the "loyal opposition," and the forces that now threaten NATO unity must first be dealt with in Gaullist terms.

True partnership is the first requirement. The European countries want to fulfill their roles both in world politics and in science and technology. Instead of viewing this development as an unfortunate challenge to American political and economic leadership, the United States should welcome it as one of the most hopeful aspects of the entire postwar period.

Organized Labor Supports Strong Vietnam Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I have been most impressed by the strong support given President Johnson's policy of firmness for freedom in Vietnam by the great majority of organized labor. They have refused to go along with the many confused voices emanating from campuses and editorial rooms around the country and, indeed, from this very Chamber, who in the name of freedom would surrender to the Red aggressors the lives of untold thousands of South Vietnamese. They are adding still another shining chapter to their long history of opposition to tyranny. An editorial published in the June issue of the Journal of the Upholsterers' International Union of America, written by their international president, Sal B. Hoffmann, points out that "organized labor has been the strongest and most solid supporter of our Government in its policy of aiding freedom wherever it was threatened, whether in Berlin, Korea, in

the Caribbean through Castro, in Africa in the Congo, in British Guiana and Brazil, or in Vietnam in southeast Asia."

I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from this excellent editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT SAY YOU, SELF-STYLED LIBERALS?

President Johnson these days makes no bones about the fact that in his efforts to protect our Nation and defend liberty in this period of international peril and conflict, his greatest comfort is the solid support of all organized labor, except for a few whose views are borrowed from liberalist advisers, and his greatest trial is the ceaseless and frequently quite senseless clamor from the loudest voices of campus, classroom, press, and pulpit.

It seems clear to me, from reading the record of the 84 years' history of our union since its founding in 1882, and of our 65 years of affiliation with AFL, now the AFL-CIO, that we of organized labor in the United States have won our present unique position of freedom and prosperity among the workers of the world by adherence to a couple of simple principles.

The first principle was that set forth by Samuel Gompers, 84 years ago. Gompers said that leadership of organized labor in America must be placed firmly in the hands of those into whose lives and thoughts had been woven the experience of earning their bread by daily labor.

Way back in the 1890's a radical and opinionated Columbia University professor, Daniel de Leon, challenged Gompers and that principle and said that labor should be led by people like himself and his little Socialist Labor Party. His hero was Karl Marx, who had died in England in 1883 after proclaiming himself the prophet of the workers of the world, although he had never done a day's manual labor or earned a living for his own family in his whole life.

Gompers won that argument in the 1890's over Daniel de Leon and his Socialists, who had set themselves up as directors of the American labor movement.

Twenty years later, a Russian corporation lawyer, Lenin, who also had never worked at his profession or earned his own living in any other way, announced that in addition to his dictatorship over the Russian worker and peasant, he was going to take over the American labor movement, which he called Mr. Gompers' rope of sand. Gompers won again, and Lenin and his would-be dictators and their agents were outlawed and their pirate crew made to walk the plank by American labor, as demanded by the UIU Journal in 1922. This lasted until some ambitious labor leaders, in a hurry for quick results, opened the gates of some unions to a Lenin-Stalin crew in 1937. When the CIO had also learned its lesson and outlawed them in 1949, it made possible the reunion of free labor of the world in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, ICFTU, internationally and in the merger of AFL and CIO nationally.

Another principle of Samuel Gompers, faithfully pursued by William Green afterwards and George Meany today, was that organized labor freely supported free enterprise and free government in time of peace and its country in time of international peril and conflict, especially strongly when it confronted totalitarian aggressors and tyrants—Hitler in World War II and Stalin and his Chinese counterparts in Korea in the 1950's.

Only when our Government interfered in a neighboring country for private and selfish interests, as in Mexico in the 1920's, or dragged its feet on its promise to grant independence to the Philippines, or sought to appease the aggression of dictators like Mussolini or Hitler in the 1930's and Stalin in late 1940, did organized labor raise protest against and ask amendment of our country's foreign policy, the conduct of which the Constitution places in the hands of the President, whom the people elect. In both cases, American policy was modified to meet organized labor's criticism.

Since President Truman, in 1947, proclaimed his doctrine of support of Greece and Turkey and of any free people resisting the Communist aggression, which had taken over the role of Hitler after his destruction in 1945, organized labor has been the strongest and most solid supporter of our government in its policy of aiding freedom wherever it was threatened, whether in Berlin, Korea, in the Caribbean through Castro, in Africa in the Congo, in British Guiana and Brazil, or in Vietnam in southeast Asia.

When it became evident last February that the Communists, who had been turned back in their starvation blockade in Berlin and in their open military aggression in Korea, were succeeding in their new type of dirty guerrilla warfare aimed first at civilians, as perfected by the Chinese Communist Dictator Mao, President Johnson changed the ground rules which had given the Communists a privileged sanctuary and threw in American air and naval power to force them once again to truce and the peace table, as in the case of Berlin and Korea.

The Executive Council of AFL-CIO, speaking unanimously for organized labor, backed our President to the hilt. When, last month, the Communists moved in on one of the century-long series of coups, revolts and dictatorships in the Dominican Republic, next door to Castro's Russian garrisoned Cuba, and so-called rebels picked off the entire police force and fired machineguns over the heads of American women and children, President Johnson, after waiting thirty-six hours for the reluctant and slow moving OAS to act, sent in American Armed Forces to stop mass murder and bloodshed. Again, American organized labor spoke up through AFL-CIO in solid support against the false clamor of the Communists and their little Sir Echoes about "imperialist intervention," etc., etc.

But as American labor speaks with a clear and united voice in this critical and perilous hour, where have the self-styled liberals, the self-proclaimed proponents of civil and all liberty everywhere, such as Americans for Democratic Action, the clamoring students, professors, clergymen, and editors of great eastern newspapers, the commentators and columnists, been?

The sad answer is that, with all too few honorable exceptions, in this hour of peril, they have been giving their country's President and administration only criticism, contumely, contempt and organized distrust. Their voices where loudest have been raised in confused pleas for appeasement and retreat in face of a deadly and propaganda-wise foe, psychologically armed and prepared to turn this deafening and ill informed clamor to supreme advantage. They have given the enemy and his cynical propaganda the benefit of every doubt, their own country and leaders and our allies and the men on the fighting fronts, the benefit of none.

The spectacle of this shame of the intellectuals has become a recurrent incident in every international crisis our country has faced in meeting the persistent hot and cold war attack of the Communist aggressors since 1946. When I wired President Johnson our union's general executive board's strong support of his and our country's policy in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic in early May, text of which is to be found elsewhere in this journal, I was compelled to indict by name these strangely weak allies of ours.

There stands the record. When in 1943, in the middle of wartime, Stalin, only a short time before the willing ally of Hitler and now only the grudging ally of the free nations, an ally who had refused, until Roosevelt gave him an ultimatum after Stalingrad, to even let the Russian people know of the flow of aid from United States and Britain, this cruel dictatorial ally of ours crudely announced that he had executed Alter and Erlich, the revered leaders of the Polish-Jewish labor movement. U.S. labor in New York held an anguished public protest.

President Johnson has learned a lesson that Gompers taught and Truman learned, that in the important struggle for freedom everywhere, the free wage earners organization is the most reliable as a group force, and the so-called intellectual the most unreliable except as an individual on his merits. It is our faith and observation that a bunch of workers facing a problem can rise to the level of the wisest and most instructed leadership present, while the intellectually privileged fall to or below the level of the poorest mind and loudest voice present.

This is some history and comment for our members and the public at this time. We voted in majority in full confidence in President Johnson last November. We are not about to fly to opposition when the going first gets rough.

Election Laws and Voter Participation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, we are currently debating in this body one of the most historic pieces of legislation to ever come before us—H.R. 6400, the voting rights bill.

One of the best arguments for this legislation is contained in the following address delivered on April 2, 1965, by Gus Tyler, assistant president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, at the National Civil Liberties Clearing House Conference held here in Washington:

REMARKS ON PROBLEM OF ELECTION LAWS AND VOTER PARTICIPATION, BY MR. GUS TYLER, ASSISTANT PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS UNION—NATIONAL CIVIL LIBERTIES CLEARING HOUSE CONFERENCE, WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 2, 1965

No American need be told the significance of the date: November 22, 1963. What happened on that date and on the 3 days immediately following it will remain deeply etched in our minds for the rest of our lives. But precisely because of the momentous and overwhelming nature of the tragedy which befell us at that time, very few Americans were aware, then or since then, of the issuance, by a committee appointed by President Kennedy, of a report which has great significance for the future of our American system of democratic government.

That report, which was originally to have been presented to President Kennedy on November 26, 1963, and which was presented instead to Lyndon Johnson a month later, deals with that most important single cog in the machinery of democracy: the voting system. The report was prepared by a group known formally as the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation. The Commission consisted of 11 men drawn from all sections of the Nation, from

both major political parties, and from a wide spectrum of ideological views. Some of its distinguished members are with us here today.

The basic task which President Kennedy asked the Commission to perform was to examine the problem of low voter participation in the American electoral process; to determine why the problem existed and what might be done about it.

It appears that we, the leading Nation of the democratic world, consistently make a sorry showing in terms of the degree to which we participate in our own democracy. Even allowing for somewhat misleading statistical bases, our friends and allies generally do far better.

In our 1964 presidential election, for example, almost two out of every five Americans of voting age—39.4 percent of us to be exact—did not vote. By contrast, in the last four general elections in Italy, all but 8 percent of those eligible went to the polls. Just over the border in Canada, only about 20 percent of the voters failed to show up to vote in the last general election. In Germany, the percentage of those failing to vote has never gone above 22 percent in the postwar period.

But if our participation record seems bad in presidential elections, it is strikingly worse in nonpresidential years. In every midterm congressional election since 1920, more than half of all voting-age Americans stayed away from the polls. In the best showing of modern times, in 1962, only 48.9 percent of us voted.

Within our country, there are not only wide variations from election to election; there are also, as we well know, very wide variations from State to State, and even within States. Last year, for instance, more than three-quarters of those eligible to vote in Utah actually did so, but in Mississippi, less than a third turned out.

We all know that a good part of the reason for low voter turnout in many parts of the South is attributable to racial discrimination. But our recognition of this must not make us unaware of the fact that in the South as well as everywhere else, these are many other important causes of low voter participation. It was the Presidential Commission's task to examine these other causes.

The Commission found that the causes could be divided into two general categories: those based on psychological and sociological factors, and those rooted in legal provisions and administrative procedures. I should like to direct your attention here today to the second of these groupings.

The Commission's report regarding the legal and administrative barriers to greater voter-participation concludes by suggesting 21 different recommendations to the States—recommendations which the Commission felt could, if adopted, contribute significantly to meeting the problem. Time does not permit us today even to mention each of the 21 recommendations. I have appended the full list at the end of the written text of my remarks. I would, however, like to discuss with you, at some length, three of them which I consider to be particularly important; those dealing with voter-registration procedures, residence requirements, and literacy qualifications.

VOTER REGISTRATION PROCEDURES

The problem of voter registration is central to the problem of voter participation.

The original purpose of voter registration was to prevent voting frauds—to promote free and honest elections. Over the years, however, the registration process has, in far too many places, degenerated into a obstacle course seemingly designed not to assist but to hinder the would-be voter. As a result, it has been said that in many parts of the Nation it is far easier to obtain a gun and a hunting license than it is to obtain the right to vote.

One of the most significant of the Commission's findings was, not surprisingly, that there is a high correlation between high voter-participation and the degree to which Government actively promotes—not just passively allows—voter registration or its equivalent. Where Government plays a positive, active role—where it seeks to aid and encourage potential voters—the record is consistently good. This is true outside of our country as well as inside.

The State of Idaho, for example, as a consistently good voter-participation record. In the 1960 presidential election it led the Nation with a turn-out of over 80 percent. In 1964, it was one of only three States to top the 75-percent mark. In Idaho, voter registrars are authorized to canvass from house to house, seeking potential voters. Indeed, the State not only authorizes but encourages this practice, and it pays deputy registrars in each precinct of the State to keep the voting lists up to date.

In Canada, where the voting turn-out is consistently high when compared even to the best American States, a similar procedure obtains. Prior to each general election, enumerators go from house to house in a census-like operation, seeking out all potential voters.

In contrast to these practices, many of our States have registration systems which at best permit the voter to register if he is willing to wade through a sea of petty inconveniences, and at worst make the process of registration downright difficult and unpleasant.

Only a third of our States allow a voter to register by mail. Only half enable voters to register in their own home precincts rather than at offices which must serve an entire county. Only a very few permit mobile registration—under which registration officials can actually sign voters up away from a registration office. A quarter of the States close their registration rolls more than a month before election day, and as a result, many potential voters whose interest is not whetted until a campaign gets "hot"—usually around mid-October—are denied an opportunity to participate.

In general, it may be said that where the initiative rests with Government and its agents to promote registration, the voter turn-out is high; where the initiative is left entirely to the voter, the turn-out is usually significantly smaller.

The purpose of a registration system must be to register voters. The President's Commission therefore concluded that "registration should be easily accessible to all citizens," and it recommended that the States change their laws and practices to implement this goal.

Among the Commission's specific recommendations dealing with registration law reforms were the following:

"Registration should extend as close to election day as possible—that in no event should the registration deadline be more than 3 or 4 weeks prior to election day. (The Commission found that this was not an unreasonably short time in which to do the work which is required between the close of registration and election day. In New York, for example, the process is now done in about 3 weeks.)

"A person's registration should not be canceled for failure to vote during a period of any less than 4 years, and any voter whose name is to be removed from the registration rolls should be so notified. (The theory is, of course, that a person's failure to vote—whether for reasons of apathy or anything else—should not be a reason for making it more difficult for that person to vote in a subsequent election when his concern may be greater. To deplore the fact that someone does not vote in an off year is an illogical reason for making it more difficult for that person to vote in an on year.)

"All States should provide absentee registration for those who are unable to register in person. (Only a third of the States today have provision for general civilian absentee registration.)

"Registration lists should be used for election purposes only. (In some States, the voter-registration lists are used for such purposes as tax assessment and the selection of potential jurors. While these are important governmental functions, many persons who might otherwise vote abstain from doing so, for fear that their names appearing on the registration rolls might mean a tax rise or a jury-duty notice. Members of my own union have told me that they or persons they knew did not vote for this reason.)"

I should like to raise an additional registration problem not dealt with by the Commission, but one which, in my experience, is serious in a number of areas—including the city of New York. This is the absence of governmentally printed and distributed district finders—list which show the precinct number and the other voting district numbers for each address in a city. The absence of such lists is a very serious handicap to the many nongovernmental agencies and organizations which are eager to do a serious job of promoting voter registration among their members and among the general public.

Six or seven years ago, we in the ILGWU in New York City participated in the compilation of such a finder. It was a long, tedious, expensive job. Because it was turned out by nonprofessionals, the finder we helped produce was only about 90 percent accurate—yet it was the only such document available. Ever since then, our political department has been swamped with requests for copies—which have long since run out—by all kinds of organizations, ranging from the neighborhood political clubs to the League of Women Voters.

This is an excellent example of the kind of job which government should do—all over the country.

RESIDENCE REQUIREMENTS

Residence requirements for voting have two principal purposes: First, to prevent persons from voting if they have not lived in an area for a long enough time to become familiar with the area's problems and with the candidates for office; and second, to prevent fraudulent voting. Unfortunately, however, residence requirements are often set up in such a way as to prevent many persons from voting in elections in which they are thoroughly familiar with the issues and candidates, and in which they ought logically to have a perfect right to vote. A person who, for example, moves from one side of a street to another in October is very likely to be deprived of his right to vote in November—for every office, from Presdent of the United States down to the proverbial dog catcher.

Some of our States have been trying to meet this problem, but the changes in State election laws have come slowly, whereas our rate of population mobility has been accelerating very rapidly.

The Presidential Commission cited the following estimate to point up the problem: in 1950, 4 million Americans were disfranchised due to residence requirements; in 1954, 5 million were disfranchised; in 1960, the figure was 8 million.

In a survey following the presidential election of 1952, 12 percent of those who did not vote—almost one out of every eight—cited residence requirements as the reason for their failure to vote.

Census estimates indicate that in a typical recent year, 3 million Americans moved from one State of another, 6 million moved from one county to another within a State, and 13 million moved from one residence

to another within a county. The 3 million who moved from one State to another certainly did not become unfamiliar, thereby, with national issues; yet, as I noted earlier, 8 million potential voters were disfranchised in the presidential election year of 1960. (Only 12 States permit persons to vote unless they have lived there for at least a year; only 10 others have special provisions allowing new residents to vote for presidential electors.) The 6 million voters who moved from county to county within States presumably remained just as familiar with State matters as they had been before they moved, but a great many of them are unable to vote for State offices because they cannot meet the county or local residence requirements. Similarly, many of the 13 million persons who move from one part of a county to another lose their right to vote because they have not lived long enough in the precinct or some other political subdivision.

Such arbitrary disfranchisements are not only unfair but illogical.

There is also another dimension to this issue of residence requirements, over and above the fact that the requirements themselves are often unjust per se—our pattern of population movement is such that these requirements operate most severely against the lower income groups. Like literacy tests, they are in a sense, an indirect form of class discrimination. Department of Labor statistics reveal that residential mobility tends to decrease as income increases. (See attached table.) The highest mobility rate from 1955 to 1960 was found in that income group which earned between $1,000 and $2,000 a year. The lowest rate was that of the group which earned $15,000 a year or more. The mobility rate for the former group was more than double that of the latter. (It is perhaps paradoxical that those in our population who have the most money, and who are undoubtedly the most mobile physically—in the sense that they do the most traveling—are also the ones with the lowest mobility in terms of residence. They travel, but they don't take their homes with them. But when the poor travel, they often have to do just that.)

Three of the provisions of the President's Commission attempt to deal with this problem.

One recommendation calls upon all the States to extend to new residents the right to vote in presidential elections. More than two-thirds of the States do not yet have such provisions.

Another recommendation calls upon the States to adjust their election laws so that it will not be necessary to live in a State for any longer than 6 months in order to vote. Coupled with this is a recommendation that local residence requirements ought not to exceed 1 month.

Adoption of these recommendations would, I submit, go a long way toward making residence requirements do the job they were originally intended to do—and no more.

LITERACY QUALIFICATIONS

The most controversial—and probably the most important—of the committee's recommendations dealt with the question of literacy qualifications for voting.

The majority of the Commission's members favored complete elimination of literacy as a qualification for voting in any State. This may seem like a radical suggestion to many, but the Commission makes a most convincing argument to support the contention that, even aside from the question of proper or improper literacy tests, literacy itself ought not to be a prerequisite for voting.

Thirty-one States do not now have a literacy test as a qualification for voting. Of those which do, only 11 are outside of the Southern and border State area. (A list of the States which maintain literacy tests is appended to the text of my remarks.)

It will be noted that among those non-Southern States which do have such tests are a number which either have now or have had in the past, sizable numbers of foreign-born or non-English-speaking citizens. Thus literacy tests, not only in the South but in other parts of the country, seem either deliberately or perhaps in some cases by chance to have worked to the disadvantage of specific ethnic groups.

In addition, literacy qualifications, like residence requirements and like the property qualifications which were gradually eliminated in the early years of the last century, are also, in effect, another form of economic discrimination. They do not operate against the wealthy; they can only operate against the poor—indeed, against the poorest and most disadvantaged among us.

Why indeed should those who cannot read be denied a voice in determining their own futures? The assumption is that the illiterate person should not be permitted to vote because he cannot have informed himself about the issues in an election. But this assumes that the printed word is the only way one may acquire sufficient information on which to base a judgment as between two candidates. This is an obviously invalid assumption. Where one's own interests are involved, there are many means by which one can, and does, acquire information—means ranging from word of mouth to radio and TV. It may be argued that information so acquired is inferior to the information available to the literate person, but this is a value judgment which should certainly have no place in the determination of voter-eligibility criteria.

Some may argue, of course, that those who cannot read do not deserve to have their interests represented; but again, such an argument can have no validity under a democratic system of government.

The right to vote is, in essence, the right to influence public policy by participating in the selection of the officeholders who make that policy. To deny to anyone the right to vote is, then, to deny him the guarantee that his interests will be taken into consideration in the making of public policy. There can be no more valid grounds for disfranchisement of illiterates as a class, than there can be for the disfranchisement of any other group of citizens as a class, because the capacity to judge one's own interests ought not be denied to any class other than those which are clearly and unquestionably incapable of properly judging their own interests. Clearly, a literacy test cannot gage this capacity; it can simply determine a person's ability to read and write—and nothing more.

In earlier times, when newspapers and other written documents were virtually the only media by which political knowledge and information were circulated, there may perhaps have been some validity in assuming that those who could not read were thereby incapable of making political judgments; clearly, there is no such validity in our times.

And if the capacity to judge one's own interests is not dependent upon the ability to read, how much clearer is it that that capacity is surely not dependent upon the ability to read any one language?

The Commission did not go into the question of the language discrimination aspects of literacy tests—presumably because it favored outright abolition of such tests. But I should like to raise this question myself, for I believe that where literacy qualifications exist to make voter eligibility dependent upon literacy in English is an additional—and clearly invalid—form of discrimination. I am thinking particularly of the rather sizable group in our population which is literate—often highly literate—in Spanish, a tongue which is not only the language of instruction in the public schools of a part of the United States, but which is one of the official languages in more than one jurisdiction within our country.

To eliminate at least this one form of discrimination which is inherent in the maintenance of literacy as a qualification for voting, I would suggest amendment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. That act makes the completion of 6 years of education a rebuttable presumption of literacy if such education was acquired "in any public school in, or a private school accredited by, any State or territory, the District of Columbia or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico where instruction is carried on predominantly in the English language * * *." I would suggest the elimination of the word "rebuttable," and the elimination of the reference to the English language. If literacy be a qualification for voting, then our literate Spanish-speaking fellow citizens are clearly as capable of acquiring the information for which literacy may be deemed necessary in Spanish, as the rest of us are capable of acquiring it in English.

Address by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman at 50th Anniversary of Cook County (Ill.) Forest Preserve District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL D. ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like printed into the RECORD at this point the address by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman delivered on Sunday, June 27, 1965, at the 50th Anniversary of Cook County Forest Preserve District, Chicago Zoological Park, Brookfield, Ill.:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE ORVILLE L. FREEMAN AT 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF COOK COUNTY FOREST PRESERVE DISTRICT, CHICAGO ZOOLOGICAL PARK, BROOKFIELD, ILL., SUNDAY, JUNE 27, 1965

It is an honor to participate in this 50th anniversary celebration.

On behalf of President Johnson, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and the entire Johnson administration, I extend congratulations and best wishes to the Cook County Forest Preserve District, to the board of commissioners and the 5 million citizens of this great metropolis who both enjoy and support these wonderful facilities for recreation and re-creation. Here you have opportunity for casual fun and for spiritual regeneration.

This is not only a beautiful and useful public asset, not only a monument to the foresight of leaders who established and developed this area—it is an example to all who live today, proof that the battle against ugliness and noise and pollution can be won.

Here is proof that men and women with vision and determination can build for themselves and their descendants a better place in which to live. This is a challenge to you and to me.

The challenge is the more real because your success came hard. The example you offer is one of hard work and perseverance as well as achievement.

In the U.S. Department of Agriculture Library, we have a good deal of historical

literature about this forest preserve district. Scanning it we are reminded that your success was achieved against great odds. In the late 1800's Chicago was growing at a teriffic rate in size, population, wealth, and complexity—and also in its output of smoke and sewage, in creation of slums, in problems of health, education, and recreation. Some people who made their fortunes in Chicago moved elsewhere to enjoy life.

Complicating the situation was the influx of foreign-born people, many of whom were poor and disadvantaged but who were accustomed in their old countries to publicly supported parks.

A leader of that period—Dr. John Rauch—wrote vigorously of the need for parks, saying "we want not alone a place for business, but also one in which we can live."

Fortunately, good citizens took an interest. Many of the famous names of Chicago history are associated with the forest preserve. Also by good fortune, the forest preserve had the benefit of competent metropolitan planning.

Very early, according to the records, the special park commission of the Municipal Science Club recommended (and I quote): "Instead of acquiring space only, the opportunity exists for reserving country naturally beautiful."

In 1909 the plan of Chicago prepared under the direction of the Commercial Club stated that "nearby woodlands should be brought within easy reach of all people, and especially the wage earners," because of the restorative value of natural scenery to city dwellers.

While areas have been allotted for the zoo, playfields, golf courses, picnic grounds, and other important intensive uses, the emphasis through the years has remained on natural forests, natural beauty.

As Anton J. Cermak said in his report as president of the board of commissioners in 1925: "This has been a unique venture in combining the beautiful and the practical."

In the 1921 report is the record of a meeting honoring the memory of the first president of the board, Peter Reinberg. On the cover of the book is a poem:

"The kindest thing God ever made,
His hand of very healing laid
Upon a fevered world, is shade.

"Green temples, closed against the beat
Of noon time's burning glare and heat
Open to any pilgrim's feet.

"This is God's hospitality,
And who so rests beneath a tree
Has cause to thank him gratefully."

The need for natural beauty is not new. It is very old.

Recognition of the need is not new either.

But we do have a new expression of that need—a new call to action—a new challenge.

We are rich and powerful and advanced in scientific achievement, yet we continue—thoughtlessly or ruthlessly—to pollute and despoil the earth on which we live. We foul our environment to such an extent that we rob our lives of the joys that could easily be ours—the simple joys of being alive, of being human, of being children of God in the universe of His creation.

Today we cannot even be sure we are fulfilling the most elementary animal instinct—the preservation of species. For the would-be human population of the future may find an earth not only bleak and bereft of joy, but unfriendly to life itself. Destruction and pollution and uglification of our vital resources are the suicidal, man-made enemies of man.

And if the richest nation on earth—blessed with democratic institutions—cannot build for the future, pray tell, what hope is there for the earth as a whole?

Fortunately, the Nation is awakening to the danger and facing the challenge. President Johnson, with his genius for expressing the will of the people, has called for a new drive to regain and retain the natural beauty of our country.

As he stated it in a recent message to the Congress: "The beauty of our land is a natural resource. Its preservation is linked to the inner prosperity of the human spirit."

In this statement, President Johnson has not merely expressed his own philosophy—although he has done that in admirable fashion—but he has sensed and put into words that you and I would have been proud to utter the feelings, belief, and determination of the whole people.

We recognize that the love of beauty is one of the most fundamental attributes of human nature—one of our finest attributes. We recognize also that natural beauty is one of the most important dimensions of our practical goal of conserving and revitalizing our natural resources.

It is suddenly clear to us that our concept of conservation has been growing and taking new form, escaping old cubicles and dividing lines, emerging as a new philosophy.

The new concept is characterized by unity.

No longer can there be separate compartments in the conservation world—no compartment for soil conservation apart from beauty preservation, no longer a wall between wildlife protection and agricultural conservation, no longer a forestry objective separate from the interests of the grasslands, no longer a policy question as to multiple use of water resources and, finally, no more a disunity between city and open country.

Perhaps there is symbolic significance as well as practicality in the fact that the Secretary of Agriculture is Chairman of the Recreation Advisory Committee of the U.S. Government.

The conservationist of 1965 is an exponent of natural beauty in its many forms for the enjoyment of all the people—he is an enemy of preventable ugliness.

The modern conservationist is a proponent of the principle of sustained economic use of resources—an opponent of mere hoarding and an enemy of waste—waste in any form, including erosion, fire, or uneconomic production.

The conservationist of 1965 is an advocate of open space and quiet areas—an enemy of crowded slums, filth, and air filled with stench, poison fumes, and fallout.

The true conservationist of today sees the union of resources and values on which humanity depends, and he would preserve that union. He sees the world of conservation as one world.

The love of natural beauty is a great unifying force in the modern conservation movement. As President Johnson said, "We can introduce into all our planning, our programs, our building and our growth, a conscious and active concern for the values of beauty." In agricultural terms, we can express this ideal as a concept of multiple use management. Under multiple use management, natural beauty can be developed and maintained; food, fiber, wildlife, recreation, forage and timber can be provided; soil and water can be conserved.

In our national forests—which comprise 19 percent of our country's commercial timberland—we no longer think of ourselves merely as custodians and protectors. We practice multiple use management to the end that the greatest possible number of people may benefit.

In community programs such as small watershed projects on private land, we combine flood control with municipal water development, recreation, and farmland conservation.

In our public partnership with farmers for conservation work on individual farms we encourage the use of practices which not only conserve soil and water for agricultural use but also provide better conditions for fish and wildlife and recreation for the public.

Let me give you some illustrations of our multi-purpose conservation activities.

Here in Illinois 50,000 to 60,000 farmers do partnership work with you every year through the agricultural conservation program. With cost-sharing assistance from you and the rest of the tax-paying public, they build ponds which are a boon to waterfowl, an aid in flood prevention, and a means of helping maintain the ground water table. They establish grassed waterways to dispose of runoff water without the erosion of soil. They plant trees.

Down in Johnson County last year 150 farmers—every farmer in one particular area—cooperated in a special pooling of funds under the agricultural conservation program—and they built 80 ponds and established a protective grass cover on 3,000 acres. The result was a great boost in conservation—and in beautification.

A similar project is underway this year in Clark County.

In Henderson County, along the Mississippi River, we have a special ACP project underway to heal the ugly gullies in the bluffs and to reduce the siltation of streams and reservoirs below.

In my home State of Minnesota, farmers in one county, in just 1 year recently, planted well over 3½ million trees on 3,000 acres. They did this with the help of the ACP.

The farmers in Minnesota and other nearby States are being encouraged to plant oats for wildlife on land diverted from market crops under the feed grain program. This should make a lot more good cover for nesting birds and a lot of feed for them as well.

In projects of this kind we have the cooperation of several agencies and many people—the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, which administers the program through the farmer committee system; the Soil Conservation Service, which provides technical assistance; the Federal-State-county Extension Service, which carries out educational responsibilities; the Farmers Home Administration, which markes loans for conservation and development, including recreation, to eligible persons and groups; State agencies responsible for work in forestry, and in fishing and wildlife; soil conservation districts; conservation organizations; local civic organizations; business and professional people; and, of course, the farmers themselves.

Here in Illinois, 99 percent of the farms are in locally organized soil conservation districts that have been set up under State law. Our technical assistance is provided through those districts in which there are 65,000 cooperators. The Department also works with local groups, usually soil conservation districts, in planning and developing small watershed projects for flood prevention, water supply, recreation and other public purposes. In your State, local groups have made formal application for 56 of these watershed projects, and so far 9 have been approved for operations with 17 more approved for planning.

In Lake County the regional planning commission and other local agencies are using for urban purposes the soil survey maps that were made primarily for soil conservation use on farms. These maps have been used to help prevent the location of home developments where basements will flood or where soil is not porous enough for septic tanks or for drainage of lawns and gardens. They are also used to help roadbuilders avoid unstable soil and to help in selection of trees and shrubs that will do well.

You have seen from a hilltop or from an airplane the graceful lines of crops planted on the contours of sloping fields. This beauty came about for a practical reason: We had to fight erosion. Farmers and public together have done it—the public providing the

technical, educational and cost-sharing help that the public interest justifies, farmers providing their labor and a big share of the dollar cost. We now have 40 million acres, nearly a tenth of our cropland, on the contour.

In our agricultural extension work with 95,000 4-H Clubs, and with home demonstration units, garden clubs, and other organizations, we provide and emphasize education on beautification of home and community.

Our agricultural research people do a great deal to improve varieties of ornamental plants and their culture. Our loans for rural telephone and electric systems are used increasingly for lines that run underground rather than on poles that are sometimes very noticeable and unsightly.

We have credit programs that enable many people on farms and in rural towns to build new homes to take the place of rundown houses and shacks.

Since 1962 we have made loans to 133 nonprofit rural associations to build community recreation facilities and to 375 farmers to develop income-producing recreation facilities.

In 616 small watersheds we are working with local groups, largely soil conservation districts, to build dams and develop the resources for flood prevention, watershed protection, erosion control, municipal water supply, fish and wildlife, and recreation. In these projects, the public provides technical help and part of the dollar costs; the local groups provide the rest.

We have cooperative forestry work involving the U.S. Department of Agriculture, State and local agencies and individual owners of woods and forests. The people working in this field report that in the 12 months just past about 950 million seedlings were planted on well over a million acres, and fire protection was provided for well over 400 million acres.

You undoubtedly know a lot about the national forests. There are 154 of them and 19 national grasslands, all owned by the public and managed by the Department of Agriculture. We recorded 134 million visits by persons seeking recreation last year. The national parks administered by the Department of the Interior enjoyed similar popularity. As it is here in Cook County, some of the visitors to public lands wanted strenuous activity; others—or the same persons at different times—wanted just to enjoy quiet and beauty. Not incidentally, the national forests include thousands of miles of free-flowing wild rivers and 14½ million acres of primitive areas and wilderness.

I have given you examples and an abbreviated checklist of activities in which the Department of Agriculture is involved to indicate in general what can be done for natural beauty and conservation when the public cares enough.

In a democracy we tailor method to the job. In the Cook County Forest Preserve District and in the national forests, we see public ownership. In some of our watersheds we see teamwork between Federal agencies and legally constituted local groups. On our millions of farms, we see the individual in league with the public through local, State, and Federal agencies.

Much is being done to benefit the people of both city and country. Much that is being done contributes not only to our material welfare but also to our enjoyment of beauty and our opportunities to re-create our inner lives.

The programs through which we are making this kind of progress have had the support of most of your Members of Congress, even when ill-informed people and mass media at times labeled them as Government interference, or subsidy farm program. I salute them for their courage and farsightedness.

But so much more needs to be done.

And right now we have a tremendous opportunity to take another gigantic step forward. The proven philosophy and principle of unity and use in conservation can if we are wise and alert be constructively applied once more—this time in the Great Society farm program now pending before the U.S. Congress.

We are in the vortex of an amazing technological revolution. Science and capital in combination enable our farmers to keep on increasing output of crops year after year. We are diverting surplus acres by means of our feed grain program and other commodity programs as a means of holding back surpluses that otherwise threaten the Nation's economic well-being and the welfare of the farmer. But as we take out of production the land not needed in producing food, let us use our commonsense and—rather than merely retiring this land or banking it—put it to use.

Right now Congress has before it a proposed cropland adjustment program recommended by the President and the Secretary of Agriculture and various public-spirited organizations, including conservation and wildlife groups.

This program would provide good uses for as much as 40 million acres of surplus cropland. These are opportunity acres for the public. We can put them to use as forested and grass-covered watersheds producing clean water, reducing the erosion of soil and sedimentation of streams. We can use them to create more open space near cities. In fact, one feature of the proposed program would provide direct help for cities in acquiring surplus cropland to meet their needs for parks and open spaces.

We can also benefit as citizens when farmers devote more of their surplus acres to ponds and lakes, hunting areas, hiking trails, and other recreation opportunities open to the public. And as we do this we will benefit from reduction in Government costs of protecting the economy against the effects of surplus production. Truly, in this program the basic concepts of modern conservation—of unity and of use—can and must be put to work. I commend this program to your study, and I hope you will give it your wholehearted support as a means of carrying out your objectives toward conservation, recreation, and beautification.

Do not be misled by those who narrowly and spitefully attempt to plaster the label farm subsidy on this legislation. It is all to the good that it will help meet our commodity problems and help to improve the farmer's income. The main thing is that at the same time it will accomplish improved use and preservation of our national resources. It deals with a whole union of values. It is of interest to every conservationist whether on the farm or in the city, no matter from which part of the old conservation world he emigrated to the one world of today.

Just as truly as it is agricultural, it is urban legislation. As surely as it is a farm bill, it is a beautification bill.

Fortunately for us and those who will live after us, our Nation has the opportunity to choose paths we wish to take toward the future. Despite neglect and waste we still have tremendous resources. We have a large measure of prosperity. We have pride in our Nation, a feeling of citizenship in the world community, and a sense of stewardship as temporary users of the resources of creation.

Like those who had the vision and the fortitude to establish this forest preserve district 50 years ago, we today seek to do our bit toward the building of a Great Society.

In this anniversary celebration, we find good cause to take heart. For here we celebrate a triumph of conservation over despoliation, of beauty over ugliness—a triumph of the spirit with which man was endowed by God.

Port of Oakland—All Systems Go

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, one of the great public agencies in my congressional district is the port of Oakland. Recently, the president of the Oakland Board of Port Commissioners delivered a report on the many activities of this public body before the San Francisco Area World Trade Association at the Fairmont Hotel.

I believe this is a very fine presentation of the many accomplishments of this great public body, and I am pleased to insert this speech in the RECORD for the consideration of my colleagues:

PORT OF OAKLAND—ALL SYSTEMS GO

(Remarks of Edward G. Brown, president, Oakland Board of Port Commissioners, at San Francisco Area World Trade Association, Fairmont Hotel, Tuesday, June 29, 1965)

Thank you. Mr. Chairman, honored guests at the head table, ladies and gentleman, it is indeed a pleasure for me to appear before you today to tell you something of our trips to Japan and Europe on behalf of the port of Oakland and also to tell you something about the port of Oakland, of which we are very proud. Before talking about our trips, I think it best for me to tell you why we say the port of Oakland "systems are go." We really do not claim to be some of the new astronauts that were announced today, but 1965 has truly been a year of firsts for the port.

During the year we entered into serious negotiations for the development of an industrial park area comprising approximately 700 acres, thus expanding the port's already large industrial area. We are confident this development will generate cargo for both the marine terminals and the airport, and will bring about a substantial increase in employment for the bay area.

During 1965 we have seen planning with a future in mind has considerable merit. The Metropolitan Oakland International Airport has achieved the high hopes anticipated in the planning. Figures for the first 5 months this year showed traffic at the airport has exceeded the total traffic experienced in 1962 when the new airport was dedicated. Scheduled flights have more than tripled in the last year. This growth is the highest rate of acceleration of airport use in the entire United States.

You have no doubt heard about the air cushion vehicles, more commonly known as the hovercraft. This is a fantastic vehicle having no wings, fins, nor wheels, and yet it travels over land and sea. Recently I overheard someone say that with the development of this vehicle, the man who invented the wheel is likely to lose his annuity. The port, together with the Federal Government, SFO helicopter, and Bell Aerospace Systems are jointly working to provide this service. We expect the hovercraft to go into commercial scheduled operation between the Oakland Airport and other points on the bay, August 2, for a 1-year trial period. This will be the first commercially scheduled year-round hovercraft operation anywhere in the world. A little later we will show you a film of the hovercraft.

Another first—the port of Oakland controls, and the SFO helicopter operates, the

only rooftop heliport presently in use in the United States.

You may have read in the papers that the port is studying the feasibility of establishing an industrial foreign trade zone at the airport. Should such a zone be created, this again would be a first. These, with many other firsts for the port of Oakland, relate only to our industry, land and the air arm of our operations. The port, however, has marine terminals and in this field all systems are also go. Sea-Land, which has established Oakland as its west coast base, has developed a great intercoastal container operation. We recently concluded negotiations with Sea-Land from the doubling of their present facilities.

The port established a port of Oakland office in Tokyo this year for the purpose of assisting in the expansion of trade.

A week ago the board of port commissioners approved the leasing of space in its headquarters building for an international trade center which will be occupied by importers, exporters, U.S. customs, an international bank and others engaged in world trade and commerce. Again, with the future in mind the planning of this center contemplates approximately 30,000 square feet to be devoted to the trade center. We have reason to be optimistic about this development because we have letters of intent from potential tenants for most of the space in the first phase of this project.

We are working closely with BARTD on their plans for tunneling under San Francisco Bay, and expect to develop a new deepwater terminal facility at the old S. P. Mole as a part of this tunnel project.

Another first—we visited our office in Brussels, which was established in 1964 and found it to be effective in telling our stories.

These firsts and accomplishments, however, cannot be attained without people. The port has people. In the past 2 years many important changes in port personnel have taken place. A team with experience, vitality and the spirit of making "all systems go" has been placed in the key positions of the port, and I assure you they are prepared to meet the challenges. We know this team will help bring about the increase in American exports as predicted by Secretary of Commerce Connor, from the present $25.6 billion to the anticipated $38 billion and imports from $19 billion to $28.5 billion by 1975.

All in all we are very proud of past developments within the port of Oakland and we are confident that this excellent progress will continue and even speed up in the coming years.

Now let me talk about the travels of port people this year. First, we made a trip to Japan and a short time later a trip to Europe. The purposes of these trips were threefold. First, we wanted to inform people about the port of Oakland and the airport. Second, we wanted to become acquainted with the areas we visited; we wanted to learn more about the people and the role of world trade from their point of view. Third and last, we wanted to study at firsthand the problems of our trading partners, so we could plan and bring about even more progress for the port of Oakland to better serve our customers. I believe all three missions were successfully accomplished.

In our oversea visits we talked with businessmen, American Embassy personnel, shipowners, and many others. We informed them of the port and airport facilities which now exist and discussed at length the facilities which we have planned for the future in order to provide better services for them. While in Japan, we were searching for the "right man" to be a representative for the port of Oakland in Tokyo and to establish our office there. This we accomplished with singular success.

We also learned something about Japan as a power in the field of world trade. Japan ranks first in shipbuilding, second in the production of electronics and electrical machinery. She is competing with Germany for third place in steel production. Incidentally as part of this industry the port of Oakland plays an important role; large quantities of scrap iron and steel are shipped from the port to Japan. Japan is fourth in the world in automobile production.

Did you know that the Japanese gross national product last year was $78 billion? When this is compared with Italy's gross national product of $52 billion, the United Kingdom's $83 billion, France's $86 billion, and West Germany's $103.5 billion, you can readily see that Japan has become one of the leading industrial nations in the world. The Japanese are confident they will increase their gross national product by at least 10 percent this year, in spite of the setbacks which have been occurring. They have been increasing the gross national product on an average of 10 percent each year during this decade.

In many instances the Japanese have overbuilt their plants and as a consequence they must strive even harder to develop their export markets.

The Japanese are devoting less than 1 percent of their annual budget to defense. Industry therefore is spending its time in the manufacture of goods and services. Is it any wonder then that they are confident of an increase in their exports?

Japanese steel industry equipment investment is expected to be up 20 percent in fiscal 1965, over fiscal 1964. The petrochemical industry is expanding its capital investment by 58 percent; automobile and shipbuilding industries will be investing more heavily this year than in past years.

Makers of steel, steel products, nonferrous metal products and cameras have either formed, or sought permission to form, cartels in order to control prices through production control or by actual price fixing. This means that they will be even stronger as competitors throughout the world.

With the beginning of the current fiscal year, Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry has been elevated to the status of a trade promotion bureau, indicating that they are actively and vigorously seeking an expansion of their share of the world market. As Japan's biggest trading partner, the United States is bound to feel the impact of this increased export drive. Last year Japanese exports increased 27.5 percent over the previous year, and during the current year the Japanese Government predicts a gain of "only" 13 percent in exports. This is relatively nominal by Japanese standards but still formidable by any other measure.

The Japanese have a serious policy decision to make concerning trade with Red China. They know that China can become a big potential market some day; their trade with China has increased and I have the feeling that the Japanese hope to act as the bridge between the United States and China in trade, as England has done in the past between the United States and Europe. The Japanese have been converted to capitalism; therefore, when they are selling their products, they will be selling capitalism in Asia; this will help the free world in its political problems in Asia.

On the whole, we were most favorably impressed with the Japanese industry, the intelligence and skill of its people, and certainly with its capabilities to compete in today's world.

It is my personal observation that the Japanese market for goods produced in America will increase, but at the same time we must look to them as more serious competitors in world trade.

In April and May we visited 10 countries in Europe in a period of 20 days. This, of course, makes me an expert on Europe. Had we stayed a week longer, I can assure you I would not have been an expert.

We were greatly pleased with our reception as Californians and I can assure you that when the name California appears on a product in a foreign country, it is accepted as a product of quality.

Throughout Europe we were greatly impressed with the standard of living that exists.

The development of supermarkets and self-service markets in the Scandinavian and other European countries has much to do with this pattern. As this growth continues, undoubtedly greater consumption of foodstuffs will occur and, of course, the United States has an edge on all other countries in the world on mass marketing of its food products, therefore, California, being the fruit basket of the world will play a major part in this growth. We at the port of Oakland are very optimistic about the prospects of such a vast export market. But before anyone thinks this is a cinch, they must look at the ever-increasing competition in this field from Africa, Spain, and other Mediterranean countries.

As you know, we are now in the 52d straight month of unprecedented expansion in the United States; this is the longest such period in our history. Our gross national product in the last 4 years has increased by $160 billion, an amount equal to our total gross national product in 1942. Our personal income has increased from $403 billion to $516 billion in the last 3 years. Investment in plant equipment has increased by 50 percent in the last 4 years. All of this means that the United States is an attractive market for imports from countries throughout the world.

In Europe we learned that the EEC countries are concerned about inflation and have adopted an antiinflation program, which includes a 5-percent limit on governmental budget increases, long-term loans rather than central bank credit financing, and wage increases are being tied to productivity. They are very conscious that they do not want to bring about too much of a slowdown in economic growth, yet they realize that the tendency toward inflation must be checked. American companies are continuing to gain footholds in the Common Market, in spite of our administration's drive to try to stem the dollar outflow. From what we were able to learn, I have the impression that the Europeans cannot handle the financing necessary for American companies to set up subsidiaries in the Common Market countries with European capital; however, this could prove to be a short-term difficulty. Europe is looking at the United States as a market to help meet these problems.

We heard some doubt expressed about the swiftness with which the GATT negotiations can be concluded, because of the serious problems concerning agriculture, but on all sides we found a readiness on the part of the Europeans, to whom we talked, to continue the trade expansion which has taken place over the past 15 years and we were assured that U.S. products would continue to be well received.

On the other hand, we found that both the Japanese and the Europeans are becoming cost conscious. They are seeking ways to make world trade produce more favorable results. It is no longer enough that their so-called labor advantage can compete with the other countries in the world. They must, if our reading of the situation is accurate, look for and adopt the most far-reaching possible economies in conducting their world trade in order to continue to compete.

Our trips confirmed our knowledge that world trade is vital. They confirmed our belief that, without world trade, we, in this country, would be without many of the advantages we enjoy. We also learned, however, that others are looking at world trade to improve their economies. Cooperation in this field is most necessary. The Port of Oakland will continue to make every effort to cooperate with the world market to make "all systems go."

Finally, I wish to thank you for this opportunity to briefly tell you the story of a going organization. We would be delighted to have you visit the port of Oakland and see it in depth. We hope all of you can remain to see the film of the hovercraft in operation.

Thank you.

Secretary McNamara and Military Retired Pay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, during the recent hearings on military pay before the House Committee on Armed Services, the Secretary of Defense Mr. Robert S. McNamara went into considerable detail in discussing the retired pay benefits which accrue to military personnel during their career in uniform. The overall impression which he may have left with some Members of Congress is that these benefits are extraordinary. Yet such is not actually the case.

Now, the Journal of the Armed Forces has published a fascinating study in which it compares the retirement benefits earned by Mr. McNamara during his 15 years with the Ford Motor Co., with those earned by a brilliant young military man. The analysis, by the Journal's Congressional Editor, Mr. Louis R. Stockstill, is detailed right down to the penny and it underscores the fact that military retired pay is not all that it is reported to be.

I commend the article to Members of the House and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD at this point:

SECRETARY MCNAMARA AND MILITARY RETIRED PAY

(By Louis R. Stockstill, Congressional editor)

No matter how rapidly he may have been promoted, no matter what outstanding contributions he may have made, no matter how important his assignment or the significance of his accomplishments, the most brilliant young officer in the Armed Forces, if he is of sound mind and body, is entitled to absolutely nothing in terms of retirement benefits at the end of 15 years' service to his country.

Everyone in military serivce knows this, but with the current preoccupation about the costs of the military retirement system, perhaps it would serve some useful purpose to compare the lot of the brilliant young man in the Armed Forces, after 15 years in uniform, to the lot of a brilliant young man in industry.

Let's take the example of Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara.

Mr. McNamara joined the Ford Motor Co. at the end of January 1946 as assistant director of the planning office. He was 29 years old. By all accounts, he was an outstanding young man. In less than 3 years he became director of the planning office. In 1949 he was made controller. In 1953, he became assistant general manager of the Ford Division. In 1955, he was promoted to vice president and general manager of the division. From 1957 to 1960 he was group vice president of car divisions and a company director. In 1960, he was elevated to the office of president.

SIXTEEN THOUSAND DOLLARS BENEFIT

In January 1961, after slightly less than 15 years' service with Ford, at the age of 44, Mr. McNamara left the company to become Secretary of Defense.

Without ever again returning to Ford, Secretary McNamara, on the basis of less than 15 years' employment with that company, is entitled, when he reaches age 65, to a retirement income of $16,187.96 per year. Life expectancy tables indicate that he should receive this amount for a period of 10 years for a total of $161,879.

In addition to the hefty salary Mr. McNamara received during his years at Ford, he also became entitled to "supplemental compensation" in the amount of $618,750. If he had made retirement contributions on this amount alone, at the 6½ percent rate required of Federal civilian employees, his contribution would have totaled more than $40,000.

Actually, Mr. McNamara contributed approximately $37,000 to the Ford retirement fund—a relatively small percentage of his total compensation, counting both salary and supplemental pay.

At the time he left Ford, the Secretary of Defense, if he had so desired, could have withdrawn the amount that he had paid into the retirement fund, together with interest which had accrued on the payments, receiving a lump sum check in the amount of $41,169.94.

Even if he had withdrawn his retirement contribution, however, he still would have been entitled to a "noncontributory retirement benefit" of $33.83 per month when he reaches age 65.

EIGHTEEN THOUSAND DOLLARS FOR CHIEF OF STAFF

Secretary McNamara's $16,000 retirement income from Ford—on the basis of 15 years' service—compares with the $18,000 retired pay received by a Chief of Staff after 30 years' service and the $18,000 retired pay received by former House Armed Services Committee Chairman Carl Vinson, Democrat, of Georgia, after 50 years in the Congress.

It should be remembered, of course, that the Pentagon chief made an enormous financial sacrifice when he agreed to leave his top industry post to serve in the President's Cabinet. Not only did he take a huge wage cut, but he lost certain company benefits to which he would otherwise have been entitled, and he elected not to exercise stock option rights which would have netted him a potential profit in the neighborhood of $60,000 to $70,000.

The comparison here is not designed to show Mr. McNamara in an unfavorable light. It is intended to show that the military retirement system, whatever its virtues, is not quite as glorious as some believe.

NO VESTED RIGHT

The military man has no vested right in his retirement income. The earliest he is entitled to any of its benefits (except in case of disability) is after 20 years' service. He can never withdraw any portion of the funds in case of need. Nor can he pass any part of the benefit on to his widow unless he agrees to a substantially reduced benefit during his own lifetime. If his wife predeceases him, the amount which has been deducted from his retired pay is lost forever. And, even so, the deductions continue although no portion of his retired pay will thereafter be paid to a second wife or other heir.

To go back to the example of the brilliant young officer—if he is so outstanding that he has been promoted to the rank of colonel after 20 years' service (and the average officer is not) and if he then elects to retire, and if his retirement is approved, he is entitled to an annual military retirement income of $5,812.20.

The amount of annual income is only about one-third the amount Mr. McNamara will receive, but the military man has one advantage not enjoyed by the Secretary of Defense. He starts receiving his retired pay immediately. He does not have to wait until age 65.

Yet it will come as a surprise to some—perhaps even to Mr. McNamara—to learn what this means in terms of the total annuity the two men will receive over their lifetime.

SMALL DIFFERENCE

Chances are that if a military man has become a colonel after 20 years' service he will be younger than 44, the age at which Mr. McNamara left Ford. This means his life expectancy is shorter than Mr. McNamara's. For the sake of argument, however, let us assume he is 44, in which case his life expectancy (73.78 years) is still less than is Mr. McNamara's. This means he will receive his retired pay for a period of about 30 years, for a grand total of $174,366 (not counting whatever small percentage increases he may be granted under the Consumer Price Index formula).

This is about $12,500 more than the amount to which Mr. McNamara is entitled. Of course, Mr. McNamara contributed $37,000 toward his retirement plan, whereas the military man is deemed to have contributed nothing. But, the military man had to work 5 additional years, at far less compensation, and with little opportunity to build up an estate, in order to obtain his benefit.

And, if he elects to provide for his wife, thereby accepting reduced retired pay, and if his wife dies before he does, he will never collect anything approaching the total $174,366.

Secretary McNamara is to be commended for his attempts to see that the Government properly accounts for military retirement costs, but in doing so, he should make a greater effort to assure that all aspects of the military retirement system are properly weighted in assessing this important benefit.

As the counsel for the House Armed Services Committee, Mr. Frank Slatinshek has pointed out, active duty military pay always has been "deliberately" held down in order to, in effect, charge members of the Armed Forces for retirement contributions which they do not actually make.

If a contributory system had existed for the services, Congress frequently has observed that the Government would have had to shell out more to maintain it than it has spent on the noncontributory system, and active duty military pay would have had to be increased substantially, thereby boosting Federal payroll costs and enlarging retirement benefits.

Secretary McNamara's preoccupation with the "accrued costs" of the system indicates that he has devoted considerable time and effort to developing a full understanding of this factor of the equation. But there are other factors and they also must be taken into account.

The SBA Loan Policy Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, as I pointed out in my remarks in the RECORD on June 8, 1965, I am delighted that President Johnson's Reorganization Plan No. 4, submitted to the Congress on May 27, abolishes the Loan Policy Board of the Small Business Administration and transfers all of its functions to the Administrator of the SBA.

In connection with this action I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following letter addressed to the President by my good friend, George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business, and the reply he received from the President's special counsel:

JUNE 9, 1965.

Hon. LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
President of the United States, White House, Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I, too, want to join with Congressman ABRAHAM MULTER, a very active member of the House Small Business Committee, and very active in his activities regarding the Small Business Administration from its inception, 1953 up to the present time, in congratulating you on your splendid action in the abolition of the Loan Policy Board in the Small Business Administration.

The record will disclose in my appearances in behalf of the federation, repeatedly over the years I have recommended the elimination of the Loan Policy Board, and in fact opposed the formation of such Board from the start.

I well recall in the fall of 1953, shortly after the enactment of the Small Business Administration Act making a hurried spot check of SBA offices in key cities throughout the Nation. My first experience as to the Loan Policy Board was as it was brought to my attention, in forceful terms, by the regional office of SBA in Kansas City, Mo.

Because of the information obtained in this visit a joint conference was arranged with the then Administrator of SBA here in Washington, his deputy and top staff members, which resulted in his calling for a joint conference, a few days later, with Treasury, Commerce, the writer and himself as to the report of my findings received in Kansas City, and as a result of this conference some drastic changes were made in SBA loan policy.

More recently, during the platform hearings on Small Business before the Democratic National Convention in the summer of 1964, at the completion of my testimony a member of the platform committee put a question to me as to the reasons for my recommendations regarding the Loan Policy Board. I believe I answered his question satisfactorily.

A nationwide poll was made of our members in 1961, which followed previous actions as it related to the Loan Policy Board, and the result of that poll was: For abolition, 61 percent; against, 31 percent; no vote, 8 percent.

Again, Mr. President, you are to be congratulated, and your action will result in being even more important—that is, placing the full administration of the act in the hands of the agency—of course, subject to review by Congress every so often. The latter recommendation has also been made by us on numerous occasions.

With highest regards,
Sincerely,

GEORGE J. BURGER,
Vice President.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, June 24, 1965.

Mr. GEORGE J. BURGER,
Vice President, National Federation of Independent Business, Washington, D.C.

DEAR GEORGE: The President appreciated your letter of June 9 and your kind remarks concerning his proposal to abolish the Loan Policy Board of the Small Business Administration.

It is, of course, gratifying to learn that this action is consistent with the position which you and a substantial number of your members have taken for several years.

As you well know, the President has made clear his intention to have a Government as efficient and economical as is humanly possible. In transmitting to the Congress on May 27, 1965, Reorganization Plan No. 4, which transfers the Policy Board's responsibilities to the SBA Administrator, the President emphasized in the accompanying message the need to have a Government that is streamlined and capable of quickly adjusting and readjusting its organization and operating procedures to take up and surmount new challenges.

If the Congress will allow the reorganization plan to become effective after the expiration of the 60-day statutory period, we are convinced we will have taken another substantial step toward a more effective management of our National Government.

Thank you for your continuing support.
Sincerely,

LEE C. WHITE,
Special Counsel to the President.

Residual Oil Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, more than a year ago on the floor of the House I deplored the continuation of residual oil import quotas as discriminatory, unnecessary and harmful to our national security.

At that time I pointed out how serious was the impact of these quotas on the economy of Venezuela, a nation which depends on the export of oil for 90 percent of its foreign trade and 95 percent of its foreign exchange receipts. We cannot emphasize hemispheric economic growth and solidarity and then turn around and isolate one of the strongest nations in Latin America.

It has been difficult for Venezuela to understand this policy of restriction. Writing in the July 1965 issue of Foreign Affairs, President Raul Leoni comments:

I want to emphasize that Venezuela has never been opposed to protection of an industry as vital as that of oil. What Venezuela objects to is the way in which protection has been applied by the United States; it just does not seem to us consistent with the proclaimed principle of hemispheric solidarity. In contrast to the products of other nations in the hemisphere, Venezuela's main export is discriminated against by a quota system imposed by the United States to subsidize its domestic oil industry. As a result we have suffered considerable economic losses at the same time that we have had to fight a decline in prices. Since the quota system was put into effect, we have lost millions of dollars which are indispensable for the economic and social development of the country in such critical fields as housing, education and youth and infant care.

I share President Leoni's concern and I know that the people of New England who depend so heavily on the Venezuelan imports of residual oil to operate their industrial firms, their hospitals, and their schools do too. We do not understand the policy of the administration either and we will continue to work just as hard as we can for a complete reversal of that policy.

South Bend (Ind.) Tribune Praises President Johnson's Immigration Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, subcommittees of both the House and Senate are both considering a proposal by President Johnson to revise our present immigration laws.

I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues an excellent editorial from the South Bend Tribune of June 15, 1965, in support of revision of our present immigration statutes.

The editorial follows:

FLOODGATE PHOBIA

We were considerably disheartened the other day to read that a public opinion poll showed Americans oppose changing U.S. immigration laws by a 2-to-1 margin.

The Johnson administration has submitted proposals for immigration law changes to the current session of Congress. It has not pressed very hard for passage, however, and committee hearings have dragged unspectacularly along.

Maybe that is part of the difficulty. There has been little real debate about the proposed changes and too many Americans, perhaps, have accepted without questions the zealots' cry that the bill would "open the floodgates" to job-hungry foreigners.

There is no truth to the charge. The proposed changes in the law would not substantially increase the total number of immigrants to this country. It would simply substitute a new set of criteria for admission.

Instead of the present insulting national origins basis for immigration quotas, the proposed law would give priority to immigrants who possess specialized skills which are in low supply in this country. Kinship to U.S. citizens also would weigh more heavily under the new rules.

Contrary to other rumors, the proposed legislation would not change the present law relating to admission of Communists and subversives.

It is ironic to hear white Americans get worked up about immigration. So far as we know, red-skinned Americans are the

only ones who might have a real anti-immigration case to make.

The rest of us are a great deal closer to immigrant status than a good many of us care to admit.

Americans Have Helped in Chijnaya

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, American efforts to aid needy peoples abroad often encounter severe criticism at home. "Is our money being spent wisely or wastefully?" taxpayers ask. "Are we reaching the people who really need our aid? Are our citizens in other countries doing more harm than good?"

I was heartened to read an article in yesterday's Evening Star about one American project that is doing a world of good. A Peace Corps volunteer in Peru is helping the Indians of an impoverished, subsistence-level mountain village to build a progressive, economically stable and responsible community. His name is Ralph Bolton, and the village is Chijnaya, in the Peruvian Andes. Bolton is assisted by a number of dedicated U.S. citizens familiar with the problems of South American development, who have organized a group known as the Andean Foundation.

The key to Chijnaya's new prosperity rests with its youngest residents. The Indian children are learning to weave beautiful, brightly colored tapestries from alpaca yarn and homespun cloth. The tapestries depict scenes in the life of the children and their rural village. They became popular almost instantly, and two shipments have already been imported into this country. They are on sale at the Brooklyn Museum and the Center for Contemporary Religious Art in Boston, and are being distributed to museums around the country by the Smithsonian Institution. Proceeds from the sales enable the children to buy clothing and books for their newly opened school.

One problem still remains. The Bureau of Customs has classified the tapestries as "wool furnishings—other" which makes them subject to a duty of 42.5 percent. I feel that this is inappropriate and excessive.

In view of the fact that the tapestries are original pieces of art—each handmade and each unique—and that they are being exhibited in art galleries and museums across the country, it seems only fair that they be classified as art, and provided with a duty-free, or substantially less expensive, entry into the country. It would certainly be to the credit of the U.S. Government, which initiated the Peace Corps, the Alliance for Progress, and other self-help programs for South America, to do everything feasible to promote this worthy program.

I hope that my colleagues in Congress and all Americans will take an interest in Chijnaya. It could be a real success. For your consideration, Mr. Speaker, I include the fine article in yesterday's Evening Star. The article follows:

A "MIRACLE" HAPPENED IN THE ANDES

Tapestries have changed the lives of Indian children in the Peruvian Andes.

The tapestries will be exhibited at the State Department the last 2 weeks in July, sponsored by the Peruvian Embassy and the Peace Corps.

The show is the first stop in a 2-year tour around the country arranged by the Smithsonian Institution.

Peruvian Ambassador Pastor and Peace Corps Director Sargent Shriver will be hosts at a 6 p.m. reception opening the show July 15 at the State exhibit hall.

VIVID SCENES

The tapestries, which consist of scenes embroidered in vividly colored yarn on a light beige homespun cloth, depict the life of the children, the animals and mountainous countryside of the village of Chijnaya.

Before the founding of Chijnaya in the fall of 1963, Indian children had no time for tapestries.

If they were under 12, they had their families, few sheep and cattle to herd. If they were older, they spent long hours in the fields bordering Lake Titicaca, working alongside their parents.

Staying alive was a full-time job; there was no time for education or recreation.

About once every 20 years Lake Titicaca floods. The high waters often take as long as 5 years to recede.

The problem of beginning anew became the chief concern of two engineers of a Peruvian Government development agency and a Peace Corps volunteer.

They decided an entirely new community should be founded on land far enough away from the lake to be safe from future flooding.

Months of searching and talking resulted in the purcase of a 1,200-acre hacienda. The Indian families were asked to decide what kind of houses they would built for themselves. Architects donated various designs.

The settlers selected a one-story two bedroom brick model which provided them with indoor cooking facilities and running water for the first time.

The funds for the land and needed equipment had been loaned them by the Peruvian development agency.

BUILD HOUSES

The families went to work building houses (some 60 of them will be completed by this September), a school building, and a community center.

A tractor was obtained and a Government agronomist taught modern seeding and fertilizer techniques. For the first time, the Indians had the opportunity to utilize modern farming methods.

Farm animals were pooled so that the entire herd could be watched by one or two people, rather than having young children look after two or three privately owned head. The free time enabled Chijnaya to become the first village in the area requiring school attendance.

Arts and crafts production was started. The women began making a high quality alpaca yarn now being imported into the United States under the name of "La Pushka," which is the Indian word for the wooden spindle about which the yarn is spun.

The idea of the tapestries came from the Peace Corps volunteer, who was living in a nearby city, Puno. The proposal was received cautiously by the children. Few of them had ever had the opportunity to even draw on paper.

The results won large orders for more tapestries from markets in Lima. The project caught on rapidly.

QUIET WORK

Today, more than 200 children spend much of their spare time working on tapestries.

Today the tapestries, together with the alpaca yarn, have become the major part of the Chijnaya arts and crafts industry.

The communal aspects of life and development at Chijnaya are expected to disappear as the income now coming into the community pays off the common debt and becomes private capital.

Poet Lowell, Stick to Your Own Parameter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, the recent White House Festival of the Arts was called by President Johnson to strengthen and encourage those who nurture the hearts and souls of mankind. Many of the Nation's great leaders in the arts attended the festival, yet one of those invited guests, Poet Robert Lowell, snubbed the invitation because he does not agree with the President's foreign policies. His temperamental display of bad manners was compounded by Mark Van Doren, the festival master of ceremonies, who felt called upon to defend Lowell's action. The White House Festival of the Arts had absolutely nothing to do with this Nation's policies in Vietnam, and Poets Lowell and Van Doren showed an amazing lack of understanding of the scope of the office of the President by confusingly mixing foreign policy and poetry. The following editorial from the Sacramento, Calif., Bee of June 25, 1965, expresses this viewpoint eloquently:

[From the Sacramento Bee]

POET LOWELL, STICK TO YOUR OWN PENTAMETER

The poet, Robert Lowell, decided to snub President Lyndon B. Johnson's White House Festival of the Arts because he does not agree with the President's policies in Vietnam. And Poet Mark Van Doren, festival master of ceremonies, thought it necessary to express admiration for Lowell's courage for standing by his scruples, so far as Vietnam is concerned.

Both poets were out of line, to use very unpoetic slang.

They chose the wrong stage and the wrong time to say what they thought was the right thing to say even though they had the right to say it.

Whether or not Lowell disagrees with the President's Vietnam policies—he is not exceptional in this, incidentally—had nothing to do with art in the remotest stretch of the imagination, and art was the exclusive business of the festival. By temperamentally spurring Johnson's invitation, and dragging in Vietnam by the heels, Lowell simply chose to dramatize a situation and was giving vent to that martyr complex which is part of the grain of the soul of many worthy poets.

One might excuse temperament in a poet, even expect it.

Not even a poet has to be excused for bad manners, however, and that is what Lowell was guilty of in this play for attention.

And Van Doren, for all of the respect that name demands in the arts, compounded the

offense when he felt he had to declare his sense of integrity too, and—like Lowell—wear it on his sleeve.

If Lowell feels so strongly about Vietnam why could he not speak out from his own front porch and not demean the White House Festival and dampen the magnificent spontaneity which created it, by giving vent to his vagrant prejudices? There were petulance and hoked up theatrics in the lines Lowell wrote for himself which bruise the art he processes to love and falls tinily with untrue pentameter on the ear.

Williamsburg, Pa., Celebrates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. IRVING WHALLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. WHALLEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the citizens of Williamsburg, Pa., on the occasion of their 175th anniversary as a borough.

I would also like to have inserted in the RECORD a timely editorial from the Altoona Mirror honoring this community.

WILLIAMSBURG, PA., CELEBRATES

Seven big days, elaborate in every way, will mark 175 years of the existence of the borough of Williamsburg, in southern Blair County. Starting Sunday, July 4, and ending Saturday, July 10, things, will be pretty lively in the community, whose residents have made plans to welcome all countians and visitors from far and near.

Designated as Founder's Week, religious services will mark the Sunday opening with community services in the evening. Speaker, the Rev. Dr. Frank Ake of Williamsport, is a direct descendant of Jacob Ake, one of the founders of the Papertown.

Monday is Historical Day, with oldtimers honored and industry lauded, a historical tour of Mount Etna being featured. Youths have their day Tuesday, and the night session will be highlighted by the appearance of Gov. William W. Scranton at a banquet in the school cafeteria.

Civic and fraternal groups, long active in the borough, will celebrate Wednesday with the Jaffa Shrine units of Altoona featured. Agriculture holds forth Thursday and there'll be a chicken barbecue. Friday will be marked by an evening parade and a giant ox roast and getting-acquainted session. Firemen from far and near will feature the Saturday closing. Fire apparatus will be demonstrated, a horse show is slated, and a queen of the week will be crowned. Fireworks conclude the banner week.

Williamsburg is truly a historical community, since the area was a focal point for transportation in the 19th century due to the Pennsylvania Main Line canal. The town was the hub of the thriving Juniata Valley iron industry long before the Civil War. Limestone was an early product of the rich quarries. Agriculture and industry have always thrived.

The town was the birthplace of Charles M. Schwab, the great steel manufacturer, and he always extolled the community, making frequent visits and contributions to the town's welfare.

Williamsburg is noted for its big spring, which once powered a gristmill, sawmill, and iron furnace, and which flows strongly today to supply the town's water supply. Industrially the borough has kept growing and its papermill is one of the county's oldest, the United States Envelope Co. is the newest of the industries.

All Blair county will congratulate the hustling residents of the Williamsburg community and will join in the weeklong celebration. Williamsburg has long been the pride of Blair and will continue to be in the years ahead.

Williamsburg, it is recalled, started out as Aketown, for Jacob Ake purchased sites from John Canan and John Swift, naming the area in his honor in 1790, the early population being 750. The canal followed in 1826 and in 1846 Williamsburg was made a part of Blair County, when Blair was formed from Huntingdon County.

For Every Bad Apple There Are Barrels of Good Ones

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEO W. O'BRIEN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. O'BRIEN. Mr. Speaker, I am afraid many of us adults, wringing our hands and shaking our heads over the antics and troubles of young Americans, fail to realize that for every bad apple there are barrels of good ones.

Perhaps, instead of talking to and about young people, we should listen occasionally. The youngsters make sense.

Recently a young man in my area, Richard Gould, spoke at the annual meeting of the Fort Orange-Uncle Sam Council, Boy Scouts of America. I liked what he said and I think you will, too. This was his talk:

Mr. Julian Gibson, Mr. Raymond Logan, Mr. Leonard Frielander, Mr. Fred Peters, members of the clergy, and Scouters, on behalf of the scouting movement of the Fort Orange-Uncle Sam Council, I have been selected as their representative to speak before you tonight. It is a great honor and privilege to have been asked to represent the 9,000 Scouts of this council. Furthermore, I am very glad that I was afforded the opportunity to addressing the leaders of the Scouts for whom I am speaking.

You gentlemen who are gathered here represent every type of leader in scouting—from a Cubmaster to the Scout executive. It is my purpose to express my sincere appreciation to all you gentlemen who have dedicated so much to scouting. I admire all you men for the patience and perserverance you have demonstrated by assuming the role as a leader in the scouting movement. As a junor assistant Scoutmaster, myself, I am fully aware of the discouragement you possess at times as being the leader of a group of teenage boys. However, I am also a Scout and I am aware of how other Scouts feel toward their leaders.

To many of us, our leaders are our second fathers. On camping trips, they teach us many things about nature and wildlife. If any problems arise, we seek their guidance and understanding.

Much has been said about the value of the scouting movement. For example, a Scout saves a person's life and gets his picture in the local newspaper. The caption below describes the Scout and the paper says the community is fortunate to have an organization as the Boy Scouts. But what is said about the boy's Scoutmaster and the others who trained the Scout. Nothing. The Scoutmaster and his assistants are the unsung heroes. They remain in the background while the Scout receives all the recognition. But leaders in scouting never receive any recognition. However, I tend to disagree with this. Even if your Scouts have never saved a person's life, you gentlemen still deserve recognition. By guiding your Scouts up through the ranks, you are preparing them for the life they will eventually face as adults. This alone is reason enough to praise every leader connected in any manner with scouting.

When a Scout is called up to receive his badge for the rank he has just attained he, of course, thanks his leader. This thanks is not so much for the help the leader has given the Scout, but more for otbaining the badge. At this time, I would like to thank all you leaders for giving the Scouts the knowledge they received in achieving their rank. You men have seen to it that each Scout possesses the materials and abilities to cope with any challenge which may arise.

I have been a Scout for the past 5 years now and can honestly say that I have enjoyed all 5 of them. However, the year that stands out more than all the rest has been this last year. It was not until I had received my Eagle Badge at the end of last year that I fully realized what scouting meant to me. During my first 4 years in scouting, I received more knowledge than I passed on to others. Once I attained the rank of eagle, I realized that it was time I related my knowledge and experience to my fellow Scouts. I was also given the opportunity of representing my fellow Eagle Scouts during Eagle Career Day last February for which I will always be thankful.

During the past 5 years, scouting has given me the opportunity to meet various people. While I was earning my merit badges, I was reviewed by at least 15 different men. I have also met many people while attending Stratton Mountain Scout Reservation for 3 years. I have also met many Scouts and scouters at various functions such as expositions, camporees, and banquets.

Yes, I have gained a great amount of knowledge and enjoyment these past 5 years, and I am sure I will continue to achieve personal satisfaction for many years to come. However, I will not be the only Scout who will benefit from scouting. Every boy who enters this movement is sure to gain personal satisfaction for himself. And this satisfaction will come because of the efforts and time you gentlemen have given and will continue to give to this greatest of youth movements.

Our Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLARD S. CURTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. CURTIN. Mr. Speaker, as the current foreign aid program wends it way through the Congress, I am sure all of us review, in our own minds, the effects of our foreign aid in the past and the probable effects in the future in the light of world peace, better foreign relations, and improved econonic conditions for other countries of the world. In that connection, I found most interesting a

news item which appeared in the New York Daily News on Monday, June 28, 1965. Under leave to extend my remarks, I desire to include the aforesaid news item, which is as follows:

SOVIET WHEAT HAILED IN EGYPT; UNITED STATES SNUBBED

CAIRO, June 27.—Amid cheering crowds, the first Soviet-aid wheat to Egypt arrived today at the Mediterranean port of Alexandria.

The Soviet freighter *Dubossary*, carrying 8,845 tons of wheat purchased by the Soviet Union from Australia, entered port while workers and crowds along the dock cried, "Long live Soviet-United Arab Republic friendship."

The Russian ship docked only a few hours after the American freighter *Sabrina* sailed out of Alexandria after unloading 24,000 tons of U.S. wheat. There were no cheers for the American vessel.

UNITED STATES RESUMES AID

The American cargo was part of resumed shipments of $37 million worth of food supplies under a 3-year-old aid agreement that expires Wednesday. Final shipments had been suspended until President Johnson ruled last week that they were in the U.S. national interest.

Soviet wheat shipments were announced only 3 days ago. Ships carrying wheat, which the Soviet Union had to buy abroad to supplement its own short supply, had been diverted to Egypt. Capt. Trubachez Yuzy of the *Dubossary* said that while in the Red Sea he received instructions to go to Alexandria, instead of at Odessa, on the Black Sea.

A Pervasive Fear of Intervention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished columnist Marquis Childs has begun a series of studies of the impact of the recent Dominican Republic crisis on hemispheric relations. Writing from Caracas, Venezuela, the capital of one of the most stable governments in Latin America, Mr. Childs points out that despite a very real fear of communism and terrorism in that nation, the recent unilateral intervention by the United States in the Dominican has resulted in severe concern over its implications for the future.

I include Mr. Childs article from the morning Washington Post in the RECORD at this point:

A PERVASIVE FEAR OF INTERVENTION

(By Marquis Childs)

CARACAS, VENEZUELA.—Those of us who search for clues to what is happening or about to happen in the world customarily follow the East-West Axis, with Europe and Asia a part of the beat. This reporter is starting out on the North-South Axis to try in the aftermath of the political earthquake in the Dominican Republic to learn something of the state of what is conveniently lumped as Latin America.

It is one of those deceptive terms encouraging the illusion of a continent with a common viewpoint and common customs and traditions. Nothing could be further from the truth. The range of difference in outlook and way of life is as great as, say, that between Massachusetts and New Mexico. And, instead of a common political bond as in the United States, 20 nations—many of them hardly viable from the economic perspective—are beset by passionate national rivalries that pit them against one another.

Venezuela is a good place to start. Great progress has been made here in land reform, education, housing in the countryside and in the cities, and in other areas. In less than 3 years 80,000 land titles have been transferred to landless peasants. If in the next few years this same rate of progress can be maintained the task will be completed.

For 5 years—the longest period in the nation's history—Venezuela has had a stable, democratic Government. The author of this triumph was Romulo Betancourt, who successfully held off a Castroite-Communist-terrorist attack intended to bring him down and prevent last year's free election. His successor, President Raul Leoni, is quieter and more cautious. But he seems to have a firm grip on his job.

Unlike any other Latin-American country, Venezuela has the great advantage of a fabulously rich flow of oil. It is the third largest oil producer in the world, coming after the United States and the Soviet Union. Oil exports are 95 percent of the country's foreign exchange earnings and 40 percent of the oil is sold to the United States. This income pays for virtually all the Government's spending for a broad program of social advance.

But the fact that the United States is the largest single purchaser and American companies, headed by Standard-Creole, are the biggest operators does not mean Venezuela is an American satellite. On the contrary, this helps to underscore the determined independence of a people who, after decades of dictatorship, want to keep their freedom. The Venezuelan Congress voted unanimously—one of the very few times in its history there was such a vote—to condemn the unilateral intervention of the United States in the Dominican crisis. Minor demonstrations have been directed at the American Embassy as well as machinegun fire from terrorist guns. In the Organization of American States, Venezuela has abstained on almost every Dominican vote.

But it is not so much these outward manifestations, the visitor is told, as a deeply rooted fear of American domination of the OAS and the subordination of all other Latin countries to American aims. This goes down to the right of individual nations to bring about social change in their own way without the fear of intervention by the colossus of the north.

The fear of communism is very real here and with good reason. The terrorist attack that has gone on for more than 4 years has been stepped up since the Dominican crisis. Despite increasing efforts by military and paramilitary forces it continues. Yet any overt help from the outside is about the last thing the government wants.

It is the precedent of Santo Domingo that is so unsettling. If it can happen there, the visitor from the north is asked, why cannot the same thing happen elsewhere? And who is to determine the circumstances under which it can or should happen?

One of the problems for the American observer traveling the north-south axis is with the terms of reference as between a great power that too often takes for granted the good neighbors in the hemisphere and small struggling nations that barely keep above the lapping tides of political disarray and economic chaos. Pride and sensitivity go hand in hand in this relationship. Along with this is an acute awareness that cultural traditions in many instances antedates those of North America.

The present is a turning point in the ties between the two halves of the hemisphere. American action in Santo Domingo was a severe shock. Tact, patience, understanding are necessary if it is to be overcome. The United States is still the overwhelming dominant force, and arm twisting in the last resort may work. But for the long pull that course can be disastrous.

Dr. William John Kerr

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, on June 12, 1965, a great American was laid to rest, at a funeral service held in the First Baptist Church of Arcata, Calif. Dr. William John Kerr was truly one of the great humanitarians of our time. He was loved and highly respected by all who were privileged to know or be associated with him. Dr. Kerr was my friend.

As I attended the funeral service, I was impressed with the beautiful eulogy presented by Dr. Cornelius H. Siemens, president of Humboldt State College and the outstanding sermon preached by Rev. Michael Petrillo. I herewith submit for the benefit of my colleagues in the Congress of the United States these exceptional renderings. Dr. Kerr gave his full measure of devotion to the benefit of all mankind—he was truly "One of the real giants in our forest of human beings," as stated so eloquently in Dr. Siemen's eulogy that follows:

EULOGY—WILLIAM JOHN KERR, M.D.

One of the real giants in our forest of human beings has fallen. The achievements and influences of his active and productive life are evident in many places and felt in may lives. For this was no common man.

After his student college days at Berkeley, he earned his doctor of medicine at Harvard University. Then for 40 years he distinguished himself as a scholar, physician, teacher, faculty administrator, heart specialist, inventor, and clinical investigator.

For his achievements, the University of California bestowed on him, after retirement, its highest honor, the doctor of laws degree.

His individual activities, innovating practices, and medical advances are too numerous to account here. His contributions to medicine and to medical education greatly advanced the practice and science of healing.

To recognize and stimulate young internists at the University of California Medical School, he initiated in 1939 the Gold-Headed Cane Award for the most promising senior student. The Gold-Headed Cane continues to be awarded annually as a tribute to Dr. Kerr.

Similarly, he stimulated interest in nursing by providing the first Florence Nightingale Awards at the University of California and at Humboldt State College.

He was the founder of the San Francisco Heart Committee and in 1927 organized the California Heart Committee. In 1946 his leadership in this endeavor was recognized by his simultaneous election to the presidency of the American Heart Society and the American College of Physicians.

Thirteen years ago Dr. Kerr retired and with Mrs. Kerr returned to Kerrydale and to the old home place established by his parents in 1914. Here in partnership with

his brother Guy, he led a very active retirement life as a rancher, tree farmer, cattle raiser, and experimental conservationist. The ranch was expanded by thousands of acres of prairie, forest, and grazing lands abundant in the wildlife, shrubs, grasses, and trees he studied, nurtured, and loved. In addition, he found time to become a friend and adviser to Humboldt State College, and to initiate projects in the public interest. On behalf of the Humboldt State College Advisory Board, he personally supervised the planning, soliciting, processing, and installation of the beautiful panelled walls of the college forestry building exhibiting the indigenous hardwoods of this region. He was responsible for simliar projects at the Humboldt County Agricultural Building, the San Francisco Medical Center, the student center at the University of California in Berkeley, and in the Santa Cruz County Court House, now under construction. These now become abiding memorials to him.

His genuine interest in youth, in a better future, and his activities devoted to planning for tomorrow never flagged. This driving force and unselfish desire is exemplified in the Kerr Bros.' project tc teach young boys and girls the value in planting trees—thousands of them by hundreds of our youth—little trees that will not become useful forests until after the year 2000. A few months ago he personally planted 300 small trees in a single day—an act of faith in the future and of his love of nature.

We shall miss this gentle soul, our good friend, helpful counselor, inspiring teacher, faithful husband, loving father, and wonderful grandfather. Indeed, he was mankind's multifold benefactor.

That we and many others are better persons for having had him live among us is a noble tribute to his lovable personality and fruitful life. All whose lives have been touched by his goodness, by his healing hand, by his friendly counseling, and by his loving care will forever treasure the legacy left by Dr. William John Kerr.

CORNELIUS H. SIEMENS.

ARCATA, CALIF., *June 12, 1965.*

FUNERAL SERVICE FOR DR. WILLIAM KERR, JUNE 12, 1965

(Preached by Rev. Michael Petrillo, First Baptist Church of Arcata, Calif.)

"Old men shall dream dreams and your young men shall see visions"—Joel 2:28–32.

A man stepped out in space. On the basis of scientific knowledge there was nothing out there. He was traveling 17,500 miles an hour. He walked there for 20 minutes. He was commanded several times to return. He finally relented but made the wistful reply "this is the saddest moment in my life."

I cannot escape the feeling that the immensity and eternity of space holds experiences that we who are earth bound cannot imagine. Space pilot White felt the impact of a law that is at work—a law caught by the poet—Walt Whitman:

"NIGHT ON THE PRAIRIES

"The supper is over—the fires on the ground burns low;
The wearied emigrants sleep, wrapt in their blankets:
I walk by myself—I stand and look at the stars, which
I think now I never realized before.
Now I absorb immortality and peace,
I admire death, and test propositions.

"How plenteous. How spiritual.
I was thinking the day most splendid, till I saw that the not-day exhibited,
I was thinking this globe enough, till there sprang out so noiseless around me myriads of other globes.

"Now, while the great thoughts of space and eternity
Fill me, I will measure myself by them:
And now, touch'd with the lives of other globes
Arrived as far along as those of the earth,
Or waiting to arrive, or pass'd on farther than those of the earth,
I henceforth no more ignore them, than I ignore my own life,
Or the lives of the earth arrives as far as mine,
Or waiting to arrive.

"O I see now that life cannot exhibit all to me—
As the day cannot,
I see that I am to wait for what will be exhibited by death."

The fact is that there is more to life than the things we can touch.

"One cannot handle kindness—
Love eludes being grasped,
And hope is as fluid as the wind.
Hope, faith and love are visions of what can be.
Faith in others is a dream yet unfulfilled."

Dr. William Kerr dreamed dreams and saw visions like a young man. He planted trees for others to receive benefit. He made possible continuing education for the yet unborn. Dr. Siemens in his eulogy has shown us the power of friendship and love.

Theerfore, this morning I would take these moments, somewhat audaciously, to plant some signs for us to follow. For the "lives of great men all remind us we can make our lives sublime, and, departing, leave behind us footprints on the sands of time."—H. W. Longfellow.

We need to dream dreams and have visions for the ones who will follow us.

1. Perhaps the greatest tribute one can hear is: He was someone to look up to.

2. Dr. Kerr's dreams came true because they met certain spiritual principles. Our dreams will come true also if we meet and follow those same principles. They are stated in the Bible—Philippians 4: 8—"Finally, brethren, whatever is true, whatever is honorable, whatever is just, whatever is pure, whatever is lovely, whatever is gracious, if there is anything worthy of praise, think about these things."

Great men live by great truth and their dreams come true because:

1. They are true—true to self and to others.
2. They are honorable—honest desires.
3. They are just.
4. They are pure—reverence for life as it came from the hand of God.
5. They are lovely—beauty never fades.
6. They are gracious—always filled with grace.
7. They are based on excellence and excelling.
8. They are praiseworthy—optimistic.

We are to live lives of service.

1. No greater monument can be erected than the simple words—"He served well."

2. Perhaps with the right dreams that God has given to the imagination of men and with a sense of dedication we will follow these footprints left by a man of long strides.

He would want us to take heart—to take up life where he left off and dream dreams and see visions.

"Let us, then, be up and doing with a heart for any fate: still achieving, still pursuing, learn to labor and to wait."

I have felt free to bring a message of hope because it catches the spirit of a man who just the other day planted 300 trees in hope.

Joel says: "Dream dreams, see visions, and you will serve others."

A Useful GOP Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, as I have indicated many times since the return from Paris of the House Republican task force on NATO and the Atlantic Community, we Republicans are exceedingly proud of the statesmanlike job they did. Members of the task force who visited Paris were Representative PAUL FINDLEY, chairman, Representative HASTINGS KEITH, Representative ALEXANDER PIRNIE, and Representative JAMES D. MARTIN.

The task force report was placed in the RECORD as a part of a speech by Congressman FINDLEY on June 30, 1965, pages 14758–14761. Since release of this constructive report, the Findley task force has received a number of well-deserved accolades, including many from individuals who were initially critical of the idea of this visitation. I would stress that this kind of factfinding trip by representatives of an opposition party has many precedents in our history. Among the most prominent examples is the visitation of the then Senator HUMPHREY to Khrushchev in 1959.

Under unanimous consent I place an editorial of July 7, 1965, from the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Post-Gazette, July 7, 1965]

A USEFUL GOP REPORT

There had been ample reason to doubt that the four Congressmen Republicans sent to Europe on a factfinding mission about NATO problems would come up with anything constructive. For legislators, and from the House of Representatives at that, to parley directly with foreign officials was highly unusual, bordering in constitutional irregularity. The built-in minority party bias seemed obvious.

But the Republican mission has turned in a useful report—one from which a Democratic administration can profit and one which, it can be hoped, Republicans in Congress will themselves remember in the foreign policy debates that lie ahead. This is not because the mission's findings are startling, but because they are emphatically stated from the Republican side.

What the GOP factfinders say is that the fact of French nuclear power must be accepted; that the ambiguity of the American position on really sharing nuclear decision-making with NATO must be removed; that an effective means of consulting among NATO allies on global diplomatic policies should be established, and that U.S. dominance of NATO must be abandoned.

Indeed, the crux of the GOP report is that French-American accord must be reestablished, not merely in deference to President Charles de Gaulle but because Mr. de Gaulle "actually rides powerful currents of opinion which flow throughout all of Western Europe, and the problem (that) is posed by his challenge of U.S. policies is only partially to be formulated in exclusively French terms."

President de Gaulle, of course, is first and foremost a great French patriot, and not unnaturally he places the interests of France ahead of those of the United States. He is also at odds with other European leaders who disagree with his policies with respect to relationships with America and among European countries. And we do not interpret the Republican mission as saying that the United States should adopt a French foreign policy, nor that it should yield to France where vital American interests would be sacrificed.

But the recognition of existing realities is a necessity that cannot ultimately be avoided in foreign affairs. The U.S. Government has been ready enough to pay lipservice to the fact that power relationships have changed with the reemergence of a strong Europe without seeming genuinely willing to do more than alter the facade of American domination. If President de Gaulle has on occasions sought to advance French grandeur at American expense, the persistence of American postwar ideas toward allies has offered him opportune targets. Those Americans who think that all of the policy problems with which he has confronted us will vanish with his retirement or death still have not accepted the reality of shifting historic trends that he discerned and capitalized upon.

Many Republicans probably would not be prepared to follow through to their logical conclusions the findings of the GOP mission to NATO. Some have been in the forefront of the allies-be-damned school of thought. But the GOP mission report would be most valuable if it spurred the administration into pressing ahead to seek an understanding with Gaullist France.

Eulogy to T. A. Thompson

SPEECH

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 2, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, it is with profound sadness and a deep sense of loss that I join my colleagues in paying tribute to our departed colleague and friend, the Honorable T. ASHTON THOMPSON.

News of his untimely passing an the shocking circumstances surrounding his death reached me as I was preparing to leave Washington for Hawaii to speak at a July 4th celebration. I was then reminded of his frequently expressed wish to spend a nice leisurely visit in Hawaii.

On May 27, 1965, it was my privilege to appear and testify before ASHTON THOMPSON's Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation with respect to a bill then under consideration. It was a pleasure to watch the hearings progress under his able chairmanship. I was deeply impressed with his fairness, incisiveness, and familiarity with the subject matter at hand.

Truly, T. ASHTON THOMPSON WAS a dedicated legislator. The Congress and the Nation have suffered a great loss. His home State of Louisiana will sorely miss one of her greatest citizens. We who knew him will forever cherish his warm friendship and understanding which he so willingly shared.

To Mrs. Thompson and members of his family, I offer my heartfelt sympathy. May the good Lord bless them and give them courage to face the morrow with hope for the future.

Secretary Udall's Bid for Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, $1 billion will be spent in Appalachia by the Federal Government to develop the region and create opportunity for its people. This is taxpayer's money. Duke Power Co., is requesting permission to spend $910 million of private enterprise funds in the same region to generate power and thus to purchase coal from the depressed coal mines of Appalachia. Secretary Udall filed an intervention with the Federal Power Commission to prevent Duke from starting this development. Secretary Udall attempted to answer some questions last Sunday on "Meet the Press" about his opposition to private enterprise. The following editorial from the Greenville News will be of great interest to the entire country.

[From the Greenville News]

MONOPOLY, NOT COMPETITION

It took some digging, and wading through a few vague and evasive answers, but Editor James J. Kilpatrick of the Richmond News Leader Sunday night got from Secretary Udall the real reason why the Department of the Interior is trying to block the Duke Power Co.'s Keowee-Toxaway project in Pickens and Oconee Counties.

Mr. Udall, on "Meet the Press," referred to the importance of providing competition for the private power companies by building federally operated hydroelectric dams with taxpayers' money. But to do this to the exclusion of private power development is not competition.

It is a far cry from the Federal "yardstick" the late Franklin D. Roosevelt talked about in justification of Federal power development and the creation of the electric cooperatives with Federal grants, low interest loans, and federally subsidized power.

Since there are more Federal projects than privately owned generating facilities along the Savannah and its tributaries, Mr. Udall is not promoting competition.

He is aiming at a Federal power monopoly. There it is, plain and simple. That can be the only end result of the policies the Federal agencies are following.

We can only hope that Mr. Udall is speaking for his Department only and that he is not reflecting the policies of the Johnson administration as a whole.

In view of what he said Sunday, and his refusal to comment earlier despite numerous efforts of newsmen to reach him, Secretary Udall is not likely to agree to rescind or to soft-pedal his petition of intervention before the Federal Power Commission.

As brought out by the question's of Mr. Kilpatrick, who had all the facts before him, Mr. Udall has no case against the Duke project, except the purpose of nationalizing or socializing the power industry.

He kept referring to the proposed Federal project at Trotters Shoals, which is far from being ready for a start, even if Congress were to authorize it.

He appeared to feel that this, with the other Federal projects on the Savannah would meet all needs. He confused the whole issue with the proposed Duke steamplant at Middleton Shoals, a project which has been approved by all agencies and awaits only congressional authorization.

The Keowee-Toxaway project is not on any interstate rivers, another point on which Udall seemed confused, and requires only FPC approval. Furthermore, this development is projected to meet needs which will come with development after the Savannah River plant is delivering capacity.

Udall questioned both Duke's figures and its need for the power. That is utterly absurd, for companies like Duke don't gamble with their stockholders' cash and credit. They calculate the risks carefully and spend conservatively.

Finally, Udall errs foolishly when he says the Federal projects can meet the power needs of the present and the future. The proposed Middleton Shoals plant would deliver more firm power than all of the existing and proposed Federal projects combined—unless the Federal Government takes the private companies over and builds steamplants.

So, the issue is clearly and fairly drawn. As we have stated from the beginning, it is a question of Federal ownership and socialism at the taxpayers' expense against private enterprise and investor ownership with millions of tax dollars for government at all levels.

It is a question of industrial development by private enterprise against a Federal monopoly which stifles industrial development.

The huge Federal projects at Hartwell and Clark Hill have brought no industry to South Carolina, but the threat of another Federal dam at Trotters Shoals has kept industries from coming to that part of the State.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

Appendix

North Conway, N.H., Finds How Essential Timekeeping Is

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. McINTYRE

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, last month the United States took one giant step toward conquering the unknown areas of outer space. Sometime, perhaps within our lifetime, American astronauts will set off on an interplanetary mission.

Whether we think in terms of simply establishing a base on the moon—gigantic an undertaking as that will, indeed, be—or dream even more expansively in terms of navigating between planets, one thing is constant and one thing brings our thoughts earthward: A fundamental consideration of either adventure will hinge upon man's capability, among myriad other things, to measure time precisely.

Consider, for example, that as our astronauts go rocketing along at speeds of some 25,000 feet a second, a half-second's error could mean a position error of more than 2 miles. On interplanetary missions, where speeds are expected to equal 100,000 miles an hour, an error of 1 minute could mean that the astronauts would miss their target by nearly 9 million feet—1,666 miles—with the likely consequence that they would wind up in endless orbit in outer space.

I mention these extreme possibilities, Mr. President, to help put in proper perspective an unusual research experiment conducted by the townspeople of North Conway, N.H. When a national magazine—with the editorial curiosity which has made our free press the uninhibited, inquiring vehicle it is—determined to find out just how essential timekeeping is to a community's basic family, business, and social life, it was North Conway, N.H., I am proud to say, that volunteered. For 48 hours this village of same 1,100 persons lived without time—no clocks, no wristwatches, no church chimes at noon, or radio time signals. All the while, research and writers from This Week magazine and time consultants from the Bulova Watch Co., visited stores, businesses, schools, homes, and churches, collecting material on how things were going in the timeless society. What they found out will be the subject of an extensive feature in next Sunday's This Week magazine. Because I think there is a certain significance in their findings, I wish to make note of a few of them.

The researchers found that while all of the town operations functioned—schools, business, and so forth—they did so uneasily, almost apprehensively. Teachers arrived 15 minutes to half an hour early, afraid of being late; workers worked overtime, without extra pay, because they underestimated the time; the church chimes sounded, but not at noon, thus confusing the local people. In short, they discovered that "no matter how space age man may rhapsodize about getting away from the tyranny of time, he has a built-in instinct to watch watches and synchronize his daily performance with his neighbors, his community, and the world."

A New Hampshire psychiatrist said it another way; he said that, "operating under the surface was a primeval urge to maintain time relationships."

In other words, this unique experiment—limited as it was—did give some proof that while clocks and watches do not enslave civilized man, it is civilized man who craves and dotes on the clock.

And, I ask, what is wrong with that? In the final analysis, it is how people spend their time that determines how well off we are. When men spent their time grubbing in the soil and trying to kill game with spears and arrows, and women tried to cook and heat their rude dwellings with fires, no one could live in comfort. How hard they worked made little difference; they were not spending their time efficiently, by today's standards.

As people learned to get more done in less time, the ease of living steadily improved. Once, man worked from sun to sun; today, we work a fraction of the time. Yet, because we use our time better, we produce more, and live better.

For each of us, there is only so much time. If we put our time to work with the best tools, used in the best way, progress toward security and lightened burdens will continue. Perhaps that, above all else, is the most significant lesson learned in North Conway.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "A Funny Thing Happened in North Conway," written by Leslie Lieber, and appearing in the July 18, 1965, issue of This Week magazine, be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A FUNNY THING HAPPENED IN NORTH CONWAY

(By Leslie Lieber)

What was happening in North Conway, N.H., on that quiet, unrippled afternoon of May 26 last, seemed like a real-life episode from TV's "Twilight Zone."

On Main Street an elderly out-of-State couple drove into a service station, ordered $1 worth of gasoline, and casually asked the attendant what time it was.

"Sorry, I can't tell you," said the attendant.

The embarrassed old lady and gentleman drove away thinking they hadn't ordered enough gas to be told the time of day.

At approximately the same moment on the other side of town, two eggs which a lady intended to hard boil suddenly exploded, driving everybody out of the house.

A transient guest awakening from a snooze at the Eastern Slope Inn, the town's most distinguished hostelry, phoned the room clerk to ask the time.

"It's Wednesday," said the clerk and hung up. There was a relationship among those three brusque events. North Conway, N.H., is normally a charming and hospitable White Mountain ski and summertime resort where sirloin steaks still cost only $1.49 and drugstore soft drinks are only 5 cents. On May 26, it was in the throes of one of the most novel experiments in time displacement since man invented clocks in the 13th century: for 2 days—from midnight on May 25, until 9 p.m., May 27, the 1,104 inhabitants of North Conway had agreed to declare a moratorium on time—to isolate and quarantine their community from all contact with the time of day or night.

The purpose of the test was to determine whether modern man has domesticated time or whether time has enslaved humanity. Is knowing what time it is so vital to our stability and sanity that, like Robinson Crusoe on his island, we would grimly scratch it in wood, should it suddenly be snatched away from us?

PROJECT TIME OUT

At the behest of researchers from the 91-year-old Bulova Watch Co., who wanted to see just how badly family, school, and business life would be disrupted by a time blockade, North Conway had agreed to become the guinea pig for Project Time Out.

A few days before North Conway was to secede from time, the town's selectmen posted an official proclamation announcing Project Time Out. The rules were mimeographed and passed out to the citizenry.

All wrist watches were to be turned in at time-out headquarters in the baroque railroad station, no longer in use since the Boston & Maine Railroad had long ago isolated North Conway in space just as Bulova wanted to cut them off from time. All public clocks were to be covered. Even Western Union—from whose clock nearly all townsmen borrowed the time of day—agreed to go along. At home all electric, portable, stove, mantelpiece, and grandfather clocks were to be stopped or hidden. Dashboard clocks were also blindfolded—although they were probably wrong anyway.

Townspeople agreed not to watch TV, which could serve as a time guidepost, for 2 days. They were permitted, however, to listen to WBNC, the local radio station. Lawrence H. "Skip" Sherman, WBNC owner and president of the chamber of commerce, had agreed to scramble program schedules and cancel time announcements.

The fire whistle, which normally blew at 12 noon and 9 p.m. daily, agreed to sound off twice for practice—but not at any particular time. The Episcopal Church agreed not to ring its brandnew hourly bells.

The principal of John Fuller Grammar School announced that teachers would begin and end classes by intuition and that no pupils would be punished for tardiness. The town's largest factory, employing 100 people, agreed not to sound any factory whistles, ring the coffee-break bell, or dock watchless workers who punched the covered time clock late or left early. A plaintive plea from a

lady at the pretest town meeting that egg-timers be declared "legal" was turned down—except for nonticking hourglass timers.

"We even prevailed on a farmer on the edge of town to muffle his rooster by keeping him inside the barn," says Paul Blanchard, editor-publisher of the local paper, The Reporter, who threw the weight of his newspaper behind the timeout experiment. "It cock-a-doodles at 6:30 every morning as regular as clockwork."

One the first morning of the test, a few people were awakened by the cries of hungry infants, the buzzing of flies in the bright shafts of sunlight, or by pet dogs impatiently licking their feet. The majority, however, began right off to exhibit one of the project's main characteristics: when not tethered to the clock, man becomes even more time-conscious, fretful, overanxious, and—perhaps for the first time in his life—early for all appointments.

The realization that no alarm clocks would sound the morning call-to-duty had given most grownups a fitful sleep. Nearly everyone was up, ready for action, much earlier than usual.

Armand Pepin, who has stayed in bed every morning in Mrs. Pepin's memory while she gets up and makes the coffee, arose at daybreak and made coffee for her.

"It's a miracle," said Mrs. Pepin. "I'd like to prolong timelessness forever."

EARLY FOR SCHOOL

Of the 240 boys and girls at the local grammar school, 238 showed up much earlier than usual—some arriving approximately an hour before classes were to begin.

"My observation is that being without time generates feelings of anxiety among the teachers—and the school principal. The kids think it's fun," William Mathurin, the school principal, told us when we interviewed him on the second day.

"When the only clocks around are in their stomachs, the kids get hungry earlier. It must have been around 11 o'clock, when we served lunch yesterday. The teachers don't know when to dismiss class. They look through the windows to see what the other teachers are doing. Some classes are trying to judge the time by using the woodsman's clock—holding a hand up to the sun and seeing where the thumb's shadow falls. One class established a correlation between the shadows cast by our flagpole and the time-of-day before this project began. Now teachers on the shady side of the building are sending pupils to the flagpole. I estimate that we let school out about 10 minutes early yesterday afternoon."

Residents of the town-without-time had special headaches whenever they had business dealings with outsiders.

Bob Davis, a prominent local insurance man, had an 11 a.m. appointment with Sherman Adams, former aid to President Eisenhower, in Lincoln, N.H.. "I tossed and turned all night for fear of not getting up on time," said Davis. "I arose at what I thought to be a godly hour, passed the office where 10 people should be at work, but the office was empty. Then I set out on the 50-mile drive to Lincoln so I'd surely be there on time. When I arrived at Sherman Adams' house, he graciously bade me enter although he was still attired in his bathrobe, having coffee in the kitchen. The reason quickly became apparent: it was only 8:30 in the morning."

WHEN'S 5 O'CLOCK

Bill Levy, president of the town's booming and usually businesslike maple-furniture factory, Yield House, placed a long-distance call to Laconia to inquire about the delivery of some scaffolding.

"We'll get the material over to your place by 5 o'clock," said the scaffolding executive in Laconia.

"That's great—but when's 5 o'clock?" shouted Mr. Levy into the phone.

"What do you mean—when's 5 o'clock?" said Laconia.

"Well I haven't the vaguest notion when 5 o'clock is," said the president of Yield House. "We might be closed by mistake. We'd better send one of our men to pick it up."

"Okay, what time will he be here?" Laconia asked.

"How do I know?" said Levy. "We don't know what time it is over here."

Laconia slammed down the receiver.

At 12:35 when the fire department let loose with a practice whistle, the town's two policemen on duty rushed to what they thought must be a fire (the police department and the hospital were allowed to keep track of time).

"TIME ON MY HANDS"

It was around 1:30 when the two eggs exploded from overboiling. At approximately the same time Mrs. Briggs Bunker, working on eastern daylight guess time, served up a well-done roast beef to her medium-rare loving husband. Sheila Wyatt called station WBNC and complained that for lack of a timer, her Hollandaise sauce had just disintegrated and would the station's disk jockey please stop tantalizing everybody by playing numbers like "Time on My Hands," "My Time is Your Time," "Three O'Clock in the Morning" and stuff like that?

Sometime in the afternoon a fellow walked penitently into timeout headquarters. "I'm turning myself in," he said. "By mistake last night I turned off my electric blanket instead of the electric clock. When I woke up, I saw what time it was."

During the day a vigilante committee dashed around North Conway investigating reports of unmasked clocks. There were also rumors that time was being bootlegged in from out of town. Headquarters was even tipped off that some agent provocateur had actually lifted the mask on the jeweler's sidewalk clock—and peeked under it.

Miss Helen E. Nute, a leading spirit behind the project, became furious with a gentleman friend who "deliberately took out his watch and brazenly announced 'It is now 2:10 p.m. Bulova watch time.' I told him he'd spoiled my whole day."

Probably nobody's equilibrium was upset on quite so grand a scale as that of retired Ray Walker who happens to be a member in vigorous standing of the National Association of Watch and Clock Collectors. Mr. Walker had in his house a total of 303 antique watches and clocks to cover up—ashtray clocks, plate clocks, grandfather clocks, musical alarm clocks, pendulum clocks.

This writer stumbled over an artistic arrangement of sundials in Mr. Walker's backyard to find him in his living room surrounded by the 303 muted and camouflaged clocks—plus two xylophones which nobody in the family plays.

"I really wouldn't have had to cover the clocks," said the town's most conscientious citizen. "I've had them for years and have never known the right time yet."

The principal lesson learned by this town, which has been celebrating its bicentennial this past week, is this: No matter how much harried space age man may rhapsodize about getting away from the tyranny of time—he has a powerful built-in instinct to watch watches and synchronize his daily performance with his neighbors, his community, and the world.

FLOATING IN MIDOCEAN

"Operating under the surface was a primeval urge to maintain time relationships," says a New Hampshire psychiatrist. One person told me he felt he was floating in midocean without a compass. A motel owner said he consulted his wrist from habit at least 50 times in the 2 days, and felt lost when he found only an untanned spot from his missing watchband.

"An 85-year-old woman was afraid to cover her wall clock because she said a clock was a living thing—the only familiar face she could look at during the lonely days."

Many devious methods were used to sniff out the right time without actually sneaking a look at timepieces. Some listened for the clink of milk bottles on the front doorstep. Makeshift sidewalk sundials were staked out all up and down Main Street.

Many more people than usual called the post office to find out "whether the 10 o'clock mail has arrived yet." But the postmaster of North Conway wasn't leaking any of Uncle Sam's official Greenwich time.

"I have my own troubles," the postmaster told a Time-Out investigator. "I let my wife have the car. Now I'm worried. Can you imagine giving a woman a car and no watch?"

At exactly 9 p.m. on the evening of May 27, a blast of the North Conway fire whistle signaled the end of the time vacuum. One could almost feel a quickening of tempo and a gladdening of heart as a village that had been starved for time felt the hours and minutes being pumped back into its veins. Although they did not know in advance where their venture into the void would lead, the organizers of Time-Out had made their point: clocks do not enslave civilized man; it is civilized man who craves and dotes on the clock.

WHAT THE KIDS THOUGHT

North Conway's elementary school kids were asked to comment on the time-stop experiment. Here are quotes from their papers:

"It was fun because you could be late for school."

"I'm glad this won't last because my mother said all the women in town would get too fat. When there's no clock to go by everybody is hungrier practically all the time. Yesterday it was lunchtime four times."

"My family didn't take part in this project. I have seven brothers and four sisters, so as you can see my mother didn't have time to tell me about time."

"Yesterday all the children in my family missed the bus. My father was late for work. My brother got angry and started all the clocks. But when he wasn't looking I turned them off."

"On the first day the birds woke me up. But my mother said go back to sleep because she didn't know what time it was. Then all of a sudden my baby brother, Dale, starts crying. So my mother asked me to take Dale downstairs. When I got to school everything had started."

"My father worked from 12 noon until any old time at night."

"Doing without time is a very good way to get people confused and things fouled up. I enjoyed it and wish they would keep it up."

Milwaukee Protest Shocks Marine in Vietnam War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, a vital element in the effectiveness of any fighting unit, anywhere in the world, at any time in history, is high morale.

The morale of our fighting men on the front lines in South Vietnam is being

injured by demonstrations and picketing protesting our involvement in Vietnam.

This has been dramatically and eloquently confirmed by a marine from my State of Wisconsin who wrote to the Milwaukee Journal about his reactions to a recent Milwaukee demonstration.

This report was sent to me by one of my constituents—William E. Degner, of Fond du Lac.

Mr. Speaker, so that my colleagues can read the words of a marine now risking his life in Vietnam, I include the report in the RECORD:

MILWAUKEE PROTEST SHOCKS MARINE IN VIETNAM WAR

A young Milwaukee marine fighting in Vietnam says that college professors who picket against the U.S. war effort should go back to their high school history books to learn the meaning of the American way. Lance Cpl. Henry O. Bacich, 19, said he was a high school dropout and that many of his marine buddies had not attended college. "But, sir," he wrote in a letter to the Milwaukee Journal, "we who are sweating, getting shot at, and living far from the comforts of home realize the reason we are here * * *." Bacich, the son of a church janitor, said he was shocked by news of protests in his home town against the war.

STORY IN STARS AND STRIPES

Stars and Stripes, the unofficial service newspaper, carried a story about the June 26 picketing of the Federal building here by students and faculty members of the University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee.

The group, which identified itself as the UWM Faculty-Student Committee to End the War in Vietnam, marched in sympathy for 1st Lt. Richard R. Steinke of Milwaukee. Steinke, a West Pointer, was court-martialed and dismissed from the Army for refusing to obey a direct order to join a combat team in a remote area of Vietnam.

"They held a sympathy march for Lieutenant Steinke," Bacich wrote, "but do they realize that another man had to take his place, and do they have any sympathy for the others who are out in the jungles acting as advisers for the Vietnamese troops and is there any sympathy for the men who went into Vietcong infested territory and lost their lives?"

OPINIONS OF THOUSANDS

Bacich said he voiced the opinions of thousands of marine and other servicemen in the war-torn country.

His letter continued:

"If people of very high learning do not realize the meaning of true democracy and the American way, they should go back to their grammar school and high school history books and reread them thoroughly.

"Are these future leaders truly concerned with the actions here in Vietnam, or is it just another come and go fad, such as stuffing people into a phone booth or a small foreign car?

"If they are truly concerned, they would not be holding these foolish demonstrations. All I can say is that if these people would drop by an elementary school and visit a first- and second-grade classroom, they would hear children giving us more backing than themselves each morning just reciting our pledge of allegiance to the flag."

IS IT "END" OR "QUIT"?

"These people who want to end the war in Vietnam, these people who we are supposed to represent, are they sure they don't want us to quit the war in Vietnam?

"Don't they know what would happen to these poor people if we just packed up and left, what it would be like under Communist control?

"I sincerely hope these people will come to realize the importance of us being here and keep this thought in mind: If we don't stop the Communists here, where will we stop them? On the front steps of UWM?"

Bacich joined the Marines March 22, 1963, and went on active duty July 10, a day after his 18th birthday. He enlisted for 3 years and was sent to San Diego, Calif., for his basic training.

He is assigned to C Company, 1st Battalion of the 9th Marine Regiment in Da Nang.

His parents, Mrs. and Mrs. Michael J. Bacich, of 2575 North Stowell Avenue, are on vacation in California and could not be reached for comment. The elder Bacich is custodian for several Lutheran churches.

ATTENDED RIVERSIDE HIGH

Bachich attended SS. Peter and Paul Catholic Elementary School and Riverside High School until his junior year. He has two brothers, Anthony, who lives with his parents and is a Milwaukee patrolman, and Michael, Jr., who works as a salesman and part-time policeman in Modesto, Calif. A sister, Delano Swenson, lives in Minneapolis.

"I'm glad he wrote," said Anthony Bacich. "He's in a good position to get the point across."

"All three brothers have served in the Marines," Anthony said.

"We're a gung ho family where the Marines are concerned," he added.

Abuse of Diplomatic Immunity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, for some time I have been concerned about the abuse of diplomatic immunity by representatives of foreign governments who refuse to observe our country's traffic laws. I have strongly supported the policy of the New Jersey Turnpike Authority of escorting diplomatic speeders off the Turnpike, and I have asked the Secretary of State for a complete report on violations of traffic laws by diplomats.

A recent article in the New York Daily News deals with this problem in some detail. The article, written by William Federici and Henry Lee, appeared on June 23. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the first article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DPL STORY: LAWS ARE MEANT FOR OTHER PEOPLE

(By William Federici and Henry Lee)

"All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law."—Article VII, U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In the busy afternoon traffic, the driver signaled to turn right into 57th Street from Lexington Avenue. The cop waved him straight ahead. He turned, anyhow, knocking down the cop and later belting him. He was taken to the stationhouse in handcuffs.

In the early morning hours, a limousine rammed a taxi at Eighth Avenue and 123d Street, whereupon its occupant punched the cabbie and tried to take on two cops. En route to the stationhouse, he assertedly grabbed the wheel of the cops' car and jammed the accelerator.

At a Lexington Avenue bus stop near 56th Street, a 1961 black Ford sedan remained parked for 5 straight days, collecting two tickets—in addition to 46 received earlier.

For the ordinary cop-fighter or 48-time parking loser, there would be a lot of morning-after miseries in these offenses. We'd be bagged for things like felonious assault and resisting arrest and shell out enough money in fines to buy a shiny new computer for the traffic summons control bureau.

But Article VII in the U.N.'s Universal Declaration of Human Rights omits something rather important. Some of us are more equal before the law and get more equal protection—that is, if we work out of U.N.

In each of the three pretty instances cited above, the offenders yelled diplomatic immunity and got away with it. Respectively, these adornments to international understanding and respect for the law were:

Mohammed Britel, 25, chancellor of the Moroccan Consulate and attaché at its U.N. Mission; Michel Collet, 38, then Guinea's deputy permanent U.N. representative with rank of ambassador; Leonid A. Gouliev, first secretary for political affairs and press officer of the Soviet U.N. Mission.

DPL DRIVERS VERSATILE AT TRAFFIC INFRACTIONS

In the growing matter of the people versus the DPL's we're not prejudiced against any particular continent or consulate. Whether it's double or triple parking, or crosswalk-hogging, the DPL'ers are a remarkably versatile lot, and when it comes to finding a fire hydrant, they seem to possess an almost canine infallibility.

In addition to the above, we could cite, Syria, Nigeria, Denmark, Cyprus, Paraguay, Trinidad, even the Chinese Nationalist mission.

And if you will step briefly across the Hudson River with us, we can get more examples from William J. Flanagan, executive director of the New Jersey Turnpike.

For some time, Flanagan has pursued the morbid little hobby of collecting the elapsed time of DPL hot-rodders as they whizz back and forth along his pike between Washington and U.N. World Headquarters on the East River.

FORTY-FOUR SPEEDING VIOLATIONS ON JERSEY TURNPIKE

Over 9 years, he has collected 44 diplomatic violations of the pike's 60 mile per hour speed limit by "equaler"-before-the-law enthusiasts from more than 30 countries. They represent a generous cross section of the globe: 14 from Africa, 9 from Europe, 3 each from Asia and the Middle East and 2 from South America.

It's not the speeding diplomats we've worried about," Flanagan told the News. "They can drive as fast as they want to. If they want to kill themselves, it's their business.

"We're worried about the average citizen with a car filled with children who uses the turnpike as a route to travel safely and restfully. If we couldn't protect people like that from a maniac barreling down the pike, we'd be in trouble.

FLANAGAN'S POINT: IT'S SAFETY FIRST

"The speed limit is high. So why should some idiot be able to travel at even greater speeds without worrying about getting stopped by a trooper? After all, the trooper is only trying to protect the motorist."

Flanagan asked himself the question and, in coming up with an answer, fired a shot that is still being heard around the DPL world.

We'll come back later to Flanagan and his prescription for his pike. All we want to say now is that he's an executive director with a lot of promise, and maybe he ought to run for Governor of New Jersey, or something.

The point he makes—that protocol should defer to simple flesh-and-blood safety—is echoed in varying tones of frustration by our local commissioners who play daily hide-and-seek with the fun-loving DPL crowd.

"All we've ever asked is that these people comply with the law and keep fire hydrants accessible," says Fire Commissioner Martin Scott.

"We have hoped they would comply. In the public's interest and the protection of life and limb, it is urgent that these laws be obeyed."

Adds Traffic Commissioner Henry Barnes:

"Needless to say, they are not only endangering the public when they park at a fire hydrant. I wonder if they realize they are endangering themselves?"

CARELESS PARKING PEDESTRIAN DANGER

"There is also a great deal of danger involved in parking the way they do—double, triple, in bus stops and in no-standing zones. People are forced to walk in the middle of traffic when they alight from buses in certain areas.

"And so far as traffic is concerned, it's one helluva mess." As an example, he cites 56th Street near 5th Avenue. In fact, every time he thinks of it, Barnes, who is not the most mild-mannered commissioner in the city, counts to 10 and then continues on rapidly to 1,000 to make sure he's regained his composure.

At this point, 56th is an express block with no standing, no parking during the peak travel hours—and yet "one of the most horrible traffic jams occurs every night."

THEY OFTEN BUG EACH OTHER, TOO

"On the block right off Fifth, there's a store run by a foreign government, and its diplomatic representative to the U.N. is also the head storekeeper," Barnes explains. "He double parks his DPL-licensed Mercedes-Benz right outside the store.

"Traffic must narrow down around him, and nightly there is a tremendous mess with more than 2,000 people greatly inconvenienced in the 2-hour period. I'll bet even some diplomats are greatly inconvenienced by one of their own kind."

It's enough to make a sincere traffic commissioner go out and kick a parking meter stanchion, especially since Barnes foresees no solution.

"I know we are powerless to do anything like tow them away," he says. "I believe that would be a Federal offense. It was an act of Congress which grants them all of the privileges they are now operating under.

"When I first started in this job, I received an official complaint from the chief of protocol of the U.S. State Department. The charge was that I was starting an internatoinal situation when I asked everyone (even diplomats) to obey traffic laws and parking regulations.

IT'S ANOTHER WORRY FOR STATE DEPARTMENT

"I was severely reprimanded.

"I believe the State Department is worried that there will be repercussions against our people in foreign service if the visitors here are not treated just so."

For years, the police also have been brooding about diplomatic disrespect for law. At one time, they issued about 50 warnings weekly in the form of green tickets that looked just like the painful $15 jobs, but weren't.

Rather plaintively, the tickets asked that the offenders, as guests of New York, "recognize your responsibility to your host and its people * * * These laws are designed for your safety and the safety of others. Please obey them."

Not many redblooded diplomats liked that kind of talk. Even when the police stepped up their drive and during just 1 week tagged 468 DPL and FC (foreign consul) cars—more than half the total number registered in the city—the defiance persisted.

EVEN CON ED DIGGERS GET INTO THE ACT

Not surprisingly, in view of what happened to Patrolman Thomas Gernon only last February, the cops have sort of lost heart in tangling with diplomats.

A policeman with an unblemished 13½-year record, Gernon was struggling with a traffic problem at a nonparking bus stop at 3d Avenue and 47th Street.

Even for that area, which has been crudely nicknamed the Adlai Stevenson-U.N. free parking lot, it was a beaut.

Besides three DPL cars parked at the stop, four more flying the proud flags of the British, Nigerian, Finnish, and Syrian Governments were double parked alongside and that well-known civilian, Con Ed, was also there, digging as it must.

To the most flagrant offender, Syrian U.N. Ambassador Rafik Asha, Patrolman Gernon sadly pointed out that such snarlups make "all the DPL's look lousy in eyes of the citizens."

Because of this polite understatement, His Outraged Excellency complained to the U.S. U.N. Mission which beefed to then Police Commissioner Michael Murphy who cracked down hard on Gernon. For 6 weeks, the cop was exiled to Harlem "to learn how to get along with people."

EVEN RAFIK APPEARED SOMEWHAT DISMAYED

Even Rafik seemed somewhat dismayed because His Honor would have been satisfied with a reprimand for what he considered a very crude lecture from the patrolman.

Giving himself a clean bill of diplomatic health—and a passing tribute to his fellow DPLers—Rafik said:

"Do you realize that if it had been any representative from any other country like Africa, there might have been a real situation, with punches thrown, or who knows what?"

Much more tactfully, a high police source put the problem of the blues to us in these words:

"I doubt whether anyone realizes how our hands are tied. What is forgotten here is that after these incidents, we must deal with the taxpaying citizens who often have suffered as a result of a diplomat using his diplomatic immunity.

IMMUNITY TIES HANDS OF CRASH VICTIMS

"Think of the victims in an auto crash. There is no way for them to take action because of the diplomatic immunity. Think of the abuse a police officer must take even when he is aware that the diplomat is guilty of committing a felony and yet must sit on his hands and make a report.

"And that's it.

"The police must deal with the offended, not the man with the striped pants."

In slightly less than 3 years, the cops have turned in a total of about 7,100 diplomatic offenders, the DPL plates easily outrunning the foreign consuls by more than 3 to 1.

For a 5-month period from August 1962 to January 1963, about 3,400 were tagged, in contrast to less than 600 for the first 5½ months of this year. Maybe our worldwide cousins are slowing down—or maybe the cops are—and if so, you can't blame them.

Holiday Riots: Now Watch the Courts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, the editor of the Columbus, Ohio, Citizen-Journal, Don E. Weaver, wrote an outstanding column last Saturday, July 10, 1965, that every responsible and thinking American should read.

Mr. Weaver properly places the emphasis on the manner in which the judiciary should dispose of cases involving those who seem to enjoy the luxury of rioting.

Rehabilitation, repentance, punishment, and other reasons for invoking realistic sentences have been expressed from time to time. However, as Mr. Weaver suggests, the courts must handle these cases in such a way that future conduct of this nature will be neither attractive, considered a status symbol, nor looked upon with favor by the adolescent malcontents and dissidents that seem to thrive on unlawfulness and resultant publicity.

The Weaver column follows:

HOLIDAY RIOTS: NOW WATCH THE COURTS

(By Don E. Weaver)

What ails them anyway, these mobs of kids who riot and commit vandalism at resorts and beaches on holidays?

A crowd of motorcycle nuts turned a quiet New Hampshire town into a mess.

Russels Point, over on Indian Lake, had a return engagement over the Fourth this year. The Governor had to send the National Guard to quiet the disturbance.

Obviously many of the rioters went there with rioting in mind. A few drinks and off they go, tossing molotov cocktails, upseting cars, assaulting innocent people, behaving like the young beasts they are.

Geneva-on-the-Lake (Erie), near Ashtabula, entertained another crowd of young hoodlums. And again State guardsmen had to supplement local law enforcement officers. Sunday night a mob of 10,000 milled around tossing firecrackers and beer cans—empty of course.

Logan County Sheriff Don Horn calls for more stringent State laws, so rioters can be charged with felony instead of misdemeanor. This might be of some help, but we think the biggest help would be stronger enforcement of the laws we have now.

Several hundred youths were booked on various charges in the Ohio holiday riots. Now it will be interesting to watch and see what the courts do with them. Will there be endless continuances until the heat is off and then a gentle wrist slap by a limber-spined judge?

The way money is flowing today, fines for misdemeanors don't seem to mean much. The kids pay them—if they aren't quietly suspended by the court—or else the same parents who didn't train them right in the first place pay their fines for them.

Some people who are shocked by these riots are demanding a revival of the whipping post. The idea is tempting, and a few lashes officially laid on might be the first corporal punishment some of the hoodlums ever had.

But we doubt that the public would stand for it. So it would be better for judges to devise penalties that would make the lawless youths repent their ruffian ways and refrain from such capers in the future.

We recall quite a few years ago when some kids from the better Bexley families got caught cutting up—it was Halloween, we believe—and were taken before Mayor Bill Schneider. As a magistrate, Mayor Schneider has long been noted for bold and undiscriminating law enforcement.

Unabashed by these kids' family status, the mayor put them under an 8 o'clock curfew for a couple of weeks and sentenced them to wash the windows of the Bexley city hall every Saturday morning. This they did.

and no doubt derived some practical respect for the law from their chores.

Since the holiday rioters do a lot of damage, smashing windows, littering streets with their liquor bottles and beer cans and breaking up property, why not make them clean up the mess they made?

Keep them in jail a night or two to sober up, then form them in squads and send them forth, under guard, to gather up the trash, replace windows and generally police the area where they frolicked.

The alternative should be the limit number of days in jail for the offenses they committed.

In the distorted status system of the leather jacket ruffian and the beatnik, fines and even jail are prestige symbols. But there's might little prestige value in hard work for such people.

So, instead of returning the whipping post, let's just go back as far as the work gang. Rioting isn't much fun when you have to clean up afterward.

It might be unusual punishment, but better than the whipping post and just as effective.

Albert Thomas, Texas Congressman, Now in 14th Congress, Is Outstanding Representative From Houston

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, it is not uncommon to hear the people of the Eighth Congressional District of Texas, in the Houston area, refer to their Congressman as "our ALBERT THOMAS." The Honorable ALBERT THOMAS has compiled an outstanding record in representing his constituency since 1936, a term of office that spans over 28 years and 14 sessions of Congress.

ALBERT THOMAS is held in esteem by all who have known and worked with him, and all of those who have had the privilege of being represented by him. Congressman THOMAS has risen to a position of prominence in Congress through diligent work and a devotion to his duty that is seldom paralleled in a life of public service. His interest has always been to benefit his congressional area, yet that desire has always been tempered by a deep sense of devotion to act in the national interest of his country.

In the June 1965, issue of the magazine "The Best of Houston," an article written by Walter F. "Buster" Hackney, Congressman THOMAS is described as being a "giant" in Houston. I ask unanimous consent that this article beginning on page 6 and continuing on pages 7, 11, 12, and 13, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COVER PAGE HONORS HON. ALBERT THOMAS

Our cover page honors the Honorable ALBERT THOMAS, Congressman from the Eighth District of Houston, Harris County, Tex.

May I, on behalf of the executive staff of "The Best of Houston," convey our thanks to the Houston Chronicle and Photographer Ted Rozumalski for the use of the photo of our distinguished Congressman (May 20, 1965, Houston Chronicle), and our thanks also to Clayte Binion and Joe Perkins of the Chronicle.

Respectfully,

FRED G. HAYDEN,
Publisher-Editor, of "The Best of Houston."

GIANTS OF HOUSTON

(By Walter F. "Buster" Hackney)

This is possibly the only way to describe the guest of our column for this issue. He is a southern gentleman, stately in appearance, and immaculate to the pinpoint of perfection for dress and cultural approach. Always at east and relaxed among all peoples, he knows no strangers—they are all his friends.

ALBERT THOMAS, a native Texan, born at Nacogdoches more than 60 years ago, attended public school in Nacogdoches, and entered Rice Institute to study prior to the outbreak of World War I. Mr. THOMAS immediately enlisted in the U.S. Army and was commissioned a lieutenant at the ripe old age of 21. He became one of the youngest officers in military service.

After the war on November 11, 1918, he reentered Rice Institute where he received his B.A. degree, and then entered University of Texas Law School, graduating with an LL.B. degree in 1926. Mr. THOMAS returned to his home in Nacogdoches and ran for and elected to the office of district and county attorney, the two offices being combined at that time. He was reelected for a second 2-year term, but resigned in April 1930, to come to Houston and accept appointment as an Assistant U.S. Attorney for the southern district of Texas.

He served 6 years in that office and then in 1936 announced as a candidate for Congress winning election after a hot runoff with, Mayor Holcombe, the veteran and winner of several mayorality battles. ALBERT THOMAS was nominated to Congress on August 22, 1936, on the Democratic slate for the Eighth District, Harris County, Houston, Tex. Among other winners during that election were, Dan W. Jackson, district attorney, and Charles W. Plowden as county treasurer.

Congressman-elect THOMAS, the assistant U.S. district attorney, was given a big majority over Oscar F. Holcombe in the hotly contested congressional race. A total of 59,500 votes were cast for an all-time high. It had been estimated that between 45,000 to 50,000 would vote.

The freshman Congressman tallied 33,866 votes while Mayor Holcombe garnered 25,021. Joe H. Eagle, incumbent, was not a candidate for reelection, having made an unsuccessful bid for Senator Morris Sheppard's position.

Later, Congressman THOMAS along with County Judge Roy H. Hofheinz, and District Attorney Dan W. Jackson were reelected to their third terms.

On July 12, 1938, ALBERT THOMAS returned home with 12 PWA projects and $9 million for flood control under his arm. He declared, "Houston is leading the Nation back to a new prosperity." He was to return to Washington, D.C., within 3 weeks "to finish priming the city's pump." This was one of many appropriations afforded Houston, and its ship channel and navigation—flood control program. ALBERT THOMAS has very definitely, through his own personal and well-applied efforts, accomplished much in navigation, flood control, and vast expansive waterways for the present-day deluge of traffic that fills the port commission ports.

He was reelected in 1938 and 1940. Gosh, he's been winning this office ever since. I, for one, am personally happy he has, and hope he continues to afford we Harris County citizens good representation in Washington.

The many good projects, appropriations and meaningful good turns via strongly supported constructive bills have been our good fortune.

Since ALBERT THOMAS was elected to Congress in 1936, he says he has made it a point to read every letter and dictate the answer on the same day it was received. In this practice he was and still is able to keep posted on home needs. One cautious phase he explained in regards to his voting on a bill was that he sums up all of the peoples' views and then makes up his mind what is the correct and fair thing to do.

Congressman THOMAS has been responsible for the city of Houston, all of Harris County, and—possibly the State of Texas in many capacities—to have such a large Houston ship channel improved to a first-class waterway and transportation of the Port Commission and its present-day success. Now that Manned Space Craft Center, the astronauts being placed here through his diligent and persistent efforts. The Veterans' Administration Hospital on Holcombe Boulevard, which has grown in area and popularity throughout the Nation through his personal applied effort. The Texas Medical Center, all navigation projects and freeways that grace our city and county. These are just a few of the many projects proposed and solidified through his tenacious desire and mettle. There are more constructive plans he has vaulted and they are reality today.

One of ALBERT THOMAS' favorite quotes was when asked by reporters upon his return to Houston in 1938, "Like a million dollars," he replied again with a grin and said, "I am going down to the railroad shops and over to Goose Creek [now known as Baytown] and shake hands with some of the boys and thank them for all their kindness this past year, but, it'll be great not to have to ask them to vote for me."

He assured the reporter that "I work 12 hours a day when I'm lucky. It's the hardest work I ever did in my life. But—being a Congressman gets into your blood like a disease." This, we can vouch for and approve of Mr. THOMAS and his record as a Congressman of the 8th District, Houston and Harris County, Tex.

Now, we must go back to September 9, 1937, to salute ALBERT THOMAS once again.

He was given the unusual recognition by his colleagues when they elected him chairman of the Subcommittee of the House Labor Committee to consider the Secretary of Labor, and to establish a board of inquiry and study of relations between labor and employers. The resolution upon which the committee started hearings would authorize the special board, to wit: (a) to ascertain the facts relating to the labor practices of employers of labor in the shipbuilding industry and any and all other industries that sell and supply materials and goods to the U.S. Government or any of its departments, (b) to report upon the facts found, (c) to make recommendations for improving and coordinating the work of the National Labor Relations Board and the Bureau of Conciliation of the Labor Department; and (d) to recommend legislation to improve the Wagner-Connery National Labor Relations Act and make effective agreements between labor and employer.

He also predicted on September 30, 1937, that "the labor movement is coming into its own, the movement is just being felt" as he told business agents of the Houston AFL unions upon one of his customary visits to Houston.

Congressman THOMAS also stressed and declared strongly that economic stability depends on short workweek, more purchasing power. Of course, we have all seen and experienced long workweeks, but—only through war eras. Today his philosophy and fact-finding is stable and profitable with more people working with an on-the-job training programs, through his efforts.

On March 24, 1939, ALBERT THOMAS began a full-scale push for full improvements on the Houston Ship Channel as requested by the Port Commission of Houston, Col. R. G. Powell, District Army Engineer, had returned only a partially favored report on further improvements to the Houston Ship Channel as requested by the Houston Port Commission. Needless to say—but, for facts, this project was accomplished by our esteemed Congressman from Harris County. He got that and more too for the program and admiration from the local commission.

This gallant and courageous Congressman continued to have honors bestowed upon him for, on January 22, 1949, he was selected as Chairman of the Independent Officers Committee of the House Appropriations Committee. This was a reorganization of the entire committee as approved by Chairman Clarence Cannon of Missouri. In assuming the chairmanship of this important subgroup, Mr. THOMAS would no longer serve on the Naval Appropriations Subcommittee which was abolished. This was combined with the Army and Air Force Subcommittee into a single group to handle all armed services funds. Where one Texan stepped out—another stepped in. Representative GEORGE MAHON, of Colorado City, assumed ALBERT THOMAS' role.

The important agencies that ALBERT THOMAS assumed were: Veterans' Administration, Maritime Commission, Atomic Energy Commission, the Executive Office of the President along with the Budget Bureau, the Civil Service Commission, the Federal Communications Commission, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Federal Power Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the Federal Works Administration, the Federal Housing Administration, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Tax Court, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the General Accounting Office, and the Tariff Commission. Several smaller Government agencies and corporations were placed under the Thomas committee.

Four other members of this group were appointed to serve with Congressman THOMAS for the above group of committees, to wit: Democrat Representative GORE of Tennessee, and ANDREWS of Alabama. The Republicans were, CASE, of South Dakota, and Phillips of California. These men carried the load for many outstanding committees, and what they meant to the economic structure of our country.

One could ramble on for hours, days—even weeks, about ALBERT THOMAS and his accomplishments project-wise and factors leading up to constructive city, county, State, and National Government, their operations, achievements as he broached them through strong but equally careful forethought at Washington, the White House, and for Houstonians and Harris County residents.

Most recently Houston's Congressman ALBERT THOMAS came in for more praise via an editorial from the Houston Chronicle on May 20, 1965, with the caption, "For Modification of Customs Shuffle." And I quote from it. "Much good can, and should be accomplished by reorganization, consolidation—and elimination—among Federal Government's sprawling tangle of bureaus and administrative agencies and we are heartily in favor of President Johnson's activities in this direction."

But we believe the President got some bad advice when he was considering his recent reorganization of the customs service, and that it led him into error. The error was an attempt at too much consolidation; specifically in ordering creation of a single regional gulf customs at New Orleans, to have jurisdiction over all gulf ports.

That meant placing the important Port of Houston and all other Texas ports, in a position subordinate to New Orleans as regards custom matters. It was not a practicable arrangement. In the "Gulf Crescent" the big majority of busy ports lie far to the west of New Orleans, only a few to the east.

We feel that the Crescent is too vast and its many ports too active for any one regional office to serve them all adequately.

And we feel that if one such office was to be created, Houston more near the center of the Crescent would have been far the more logical choice.

Fortunately Houston's Congressman ALBERT THOMAS felt much the same way about it, and he moved promptly to effect a readjustment in the President's Executive order. THOMAS' seniority, and his ability, made him a power in Congress and his efforts have been successful. Houston and Texas owe him another vote of thanks in this matter.

Under law, Executive orders for administrative reorganizations become effective automatically—unless either the House or the Senate register objection within a specified period. THOMAS sponsored a resolution in the House, disapproving the proposed customs shuffle, and was prepared to bring it to a vote this week. Apparently, administration forces felt he had the votes for adoption, which would have been a set back for the President so the Presidential order was modified.

The modification provides that both Houston and New Orleans become regional customs offices, with the Houston office having jurisdiction over gulf ports from Brownsville to Port Arthur and the New Orleans office handling gulf ports east of Port Arthur. Unless some other objection is in the House or Senate which is not expected, the order becomes effective on Tuesday next.

This is one of many items, bills, and bureaus that Mr. THOMAS constantly is observing, fighting for better advantages for us.

When the Houston Baptist College was readied for dedication ceremonial tributes on March 20, 1964, it was the only natural thing to invite ALBERT THOMAS to seize the gavel, the podium and dedicate this newly created college, and, welcome fellow Houstonians to follow him through the building on an inspection tour. He then, at the invitation of Frank and Lucille Sharp, later dedicated the Frank and Lucille Sharp Building located near the new college.

To conclude a year of gigantic structure dedications, ALBERT THOMAS returned to Houston assuming the role of guest speaker and to dedicate the new Veterans' Administration cemetery on July 15, 1964, at 10 a.m. The ground breaking ceremonies were performed with the laying of the cornerstone by the Honorable ALBERT THOMAS. He was assisted by John S. Gleason, Jr., the Administrator of Veterans Affairs, Washington, D.C. When the cemetery is completed it will be renamed and will be a national cemetery for veterans of all States and cities of the United States. Those who participated in the ceremony were the U.S. Marine Corps color guard of Houston, the Reverend Dow H. Heard, chaplain of Veterans' Administration Hospital, John W. Claiborne, Jr., M.D. and director of the hospital, Rev. F. B. Vanholme, chaplain, Dr. Robert I. Kahn, rabbi, Temple Emanu El, and the Sam Houston High School Band, Houston.

As all Houtsonians know he was responsible for the cemetery along with all other projects for Houston and Harris County. It is located on the Steubner-Airline Road just off the Northwest Freeway No. 75.

Congressman THOMAS recalled two former colleagues while at Rice Institute. The late and illustrous Paul Hochuli, a star football quarterback on the 1926 eleven. Paul was a perennial figure and newspaperman for the Houston Press and a very close friend of ALBERT THOMAS. The other gentleman is Joseph Polichino (Rice 1926), president and owner of Jax Beer Co. of Houston.

ALBERT THOMAS is magnanimous. His capacities include: nobleness of soul, honorable; great of mind, and—elevated about what is ungenerous. The Latin for it is, magnus (large). He is continually laboring for the betterment of one and all.

An outstanding statesman, Congressman, American—"a Joe Blow citizen." He does not believe in the old adage of "Let George do it." He does it himself.

Yes, we of the "Best of Houston" salute Congressman ALBERT THOMAS. He is our "Giant."

The Overseas Trade Fair Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. GILLIGAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. GILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the major problems facing our economy today is the creation of new jobs for an expanding work force. Unhappily, many government officials at State and local levels feel that it is necessary to travel to other localities or States to draw away either existing plants or proposed expansions of existing plants.

It seems obvious to me that this is not only unsound but also unfortunate. It is unsound because it does not increase the number of jobs in the total economy: It merely shifts them around, frequently causing an unpleasant dislocation in the work force, and sometimes causing a lowered wage scale for workers in a particular industry. It is unfortunate because it causes citizens to think of themselves as primarily Ohioans or Pennsylvanians or from some other State rather than as citizens of the United States who are willing to work with other citizens in trying to build a solid national economy from which all can benefit.

The political advantages of such a State and local program of drawing away industries from other areas are obvious—the public official who undertakes such a campaign can easily stir enthusiasm from those who are unable or unwilling to look at the total national picture.

However, there are ways of increasing jobs in our economy which are not destructive of interstate and intercity cooperation, and President Johnson and the 89th Congress have been working very hard to do that. Domestically we are attempting to better the national economy so that the very increase in income, well distributed, will cause greater demand, and thus an increase in jobs. Internationally, the National Government has urged the fullest possible participation of U.S. business firms in international trade. This areas of business expansion benefits the consumer overseas as well as the producer in this country. The industrial and trade know-how in the United States can compete internationally, and a number of Cincinnati, Ohio, firms have illustrated this time after time.

A device used by the National Government in the overseas trade fair program. For the information of the Congress, Mr. Speaker, I insert into the REC-

ORD the list of Cincinnati firms which have joined in partnership with their Government in promoting peace, prosperity, and American products around the globe. From Accra, Ghana, to Zagreb, Yugoslavia, the products of Cincinnati workmen have not only been demonstrated and sold at our overseas trade fairs, but at this very minute are showing people everywhere how to live better more enjoyable lives.

These firms have promoted the interests of the United States by demonstrating the superb quality and technology of American products produced in a free enterprise system, by creating a demand for these products which in turn results not only in profits for American industry and jobs for American workers, but helps the Nation meets its international balance-of-payments obligations.

The list follows:

CINCINNATI FIRMS PARTICIPATING IN OVERSEAS TRADE FAIRS WITH THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

FIRM, YEAR, AND LOCATIONS

Alvey Ferguson Co.: 1961, Zagreb; 1962, Poznan, Salonika, Brno; 1963, Berlin, Mexico City, Zagreb.

Magna America Corp.: 1962, Bangkok; 1965, Caracas.

American Tool Works Co.: 1961, New Delhi.

American Wheel Chair: 1961, Lima.

Balcrank, Inc.: 1960, Damascus; 1961, Accra, Lima; 1962, Casablanca, Bangkok.

E. W. Buschman Co.: 1957, Zagreb.

Cincinnati Lathe & Tool: 1961, New Delhi.

Cincinnati Milling & Grinding: 1961, New Delhi.

Cincinnati Shaper: 1961, New Delhi; 1963, Barcelona.

Cincinnati Sub Zero Products: 1961, New Delhi; 1963, Tokyo.

Cincinnati Tool Co.: 1959, Moscow.

Cockle Ventilator Co., Inc.: 1961, Cairo.

Cook Well Strainer: 1963, Bankok.

Charles Wm. Doepke Manufacturing Co.: 1965, Frankfurt, Verona, Milan, Paris.

Eagle Pitcher Co.: 1964, Tokyo, Milan.

Econo Sales: 1964, Milan.

Emery Industries, Inc.: 1963, Frankfurt.

Fibreglass-Evercoat Co.: 1963, Bankok.

Globe Wernicke Co.: 1962, Bankok.

Gold Medal Products Co.: 1962, Damascus; 1963, Tunis.

Huber Industries: 1964, Casablanca, Algiers, Tripoli.

Huenfeld Co.: 1962, Bulawayo; 1964, Tripoli.

International Feeds, Inc.: 1963, Bankok.

S. H. Isaacs Co.: 1961, Zagreb.

Karl Kiefer Machine Co.: 1962, Buenos Aires.

Lloyd Brothers: 1964, Damascus.

Lockwood Manufacturing Co.: 1961, Cairo.

The Lodge & Shipley Co.: 1960, Oaska; 1964, Barcelona.

Martin Equipment Sales: 1962, San Salvador.

MacGregor Co.: 1957, Poznan; 1960, Casablanca.

Mehl Manufacturing Co.: 1958, Zagreb; 1962, Karachi; 1964, Barcelona.

William S. Merrell Co.: 1964, Damascus; 1964, Poznan.

Morse Chain Co.: 1961, Zagreb.

National Marking Machine Co.: 1961, Poznan, Zagreb; 1963, Frankfurt; 1964, Milan.

Nobel Machine Tool Corp.: 1961, Colombo, Accra.

Perry & Derrick Co.: 1961, Zagreb.

Price Y CIA, Inc.: 1962, Buenos Aires; 1964, Barcelona.

Procter & Gamble Distribution Co.: 1960, Salonika; 1961, Cairo, Helsinki; 1964, Damascus, Poznan, Dar-es-Salaam.

Production Industries, Inc.: 1962, Bangkok.

Rainbow Crafts: 1962, London; 1963, London.

Richbilt Manufacturing Co.: 1963, Brno and Tripoli.

Right Products, Inc.: 1963, Rio de Janeiro.

Safegard Corp.: 1964, Bamaka.

Standard Electrical Tool: 1962, Karachi.

Stafford Labs: 1964, Damascus, Poznan.

Steelcraft Manufacturing Co.: 1964, Berlin.

Stewart Manufacturing Co.: 1962, Zagreb.

U.S. Electric Tool Co.: 1962, Poznan.

Ward Manufacturing Co.: 1959, Salonika; 1962, Plovdiv; 1963, Poznan, Rio de Janeiro.

The Real Alabama—Part XXVI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, progress made during the past decade in the Mobile, Ala., area indicates clearly that the economic future for this area is extremely promising and unlimited.

Facts substantiating this claim and pointing up the phenomenal growth of the Mobile area are contained in the following editorial appearing in the Friday, July 9, 1965, edition of the Mobile Register:

INDUSTRIAL MOMENTUM OF MOBILE INCREASES

For a preview of Mobile's promising economic future, we recommend as one source of significant information a digest prepared by the Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce.

Major factors that should influence the growth of the Mobile area during the next decade include:

1. Expanded port facilities: The port of Mobile is presently handling over 19 million tons of cargo per year. Considerable increased capacity is planned with the addition of more than 20 new berthing spaces at McDuffie Island, southeast of the city. The proposed addition of an anchorage immediately to the east will provide even greater capacity.

2. Highway improvements: Completion by 1972 of two interstate highways that junction in Mobile—I-10 and I-65, will give the Mobile area rapid road access to key northern, Florida, and New Orleans markets.

3. Ample water supply: With fresh water supplies becoming increasingly critical in other parts of the Nation, industry will turn to the Mobile area with its plentiful water resources.

4. Available industrial sites: More than 60 industrial sites of varying acreage and facilities are available for industry.

5. Tourism: Mobile's new municipal auditorium, national recognition of America's Junior Miss Pageant and the battleship *Alabama* are some of the factors combining to produce an annual increase in tourism of approximately 15 percent.

The vigorous industrial expansion experienced in the Mobile area in the past decade is expected to continue at even greater pace in the decade ahead. Of this the area chamber of commerce says:

"During the period 1955–65, industry invested some $221 million in new plants and facilities in the Mobile area.

"Conservative estimates of the next 10 years show an investment of $256 million.

"However, due to the * * * industrial development program of the Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce, Task Force 200, it is felt that this estimate will be surpassed. This organization has a goal of $200 million in new and expanded industry in the 5-year period 1964–69."

Mobile's growth in the past few decades has been phenomenal, and its growth potential for the future is, by understatement, enormous.

Its attractions to industry in resources and advantages are genuinely outstanding in both variety and volume, a basic fact of good fortune which has contributed tremendouly to its growth in recent decades.

But Mobile's growth momentum as an industrial seaport does not come from its natural or physical resources and advantages alone. A sterling spirit of civic enterprise, as reflected, for example, in the selling job spearheaded by task force 200, is an asset of immeasurable value in building a greater and increasingly prosperous Mobile.

Bravery and Dedication of Our Servicemen Overseas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I am always heartened to hear comments about the exceptional bravery and dedication of our servicemen overseas. The May 12, 1965, edition of the Air Force Times cites the story of A3c. Laurence Laffredo, of Lawrence, Mass., who, while stationed at Grenfell Mission Hospital in Labrador, braved 120-mile-per-hour winds and a zero temperature to deliver a substitute for blood plasma to a woman who had just given birth to a baby girl. Laffredo's prompt action was rightly credited with saving her life.

Under unanimous consent, I include the Air Force Times article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

BRAVERY AND DISTINCTION OF OUR SERVICEMEN OVERSEAS

GOOSE AIR BASE, LABRADOR.—It isn't often that a medic at a remote radar station is called upon to assist in delivering a baby. Twice, recently, a medic at Hopedale Air Station has had to do just that.

A3c. Lawrence Laffredo, 923d Aircraft Control and Warning Squadron, was called upon by a nurse at the Grenfell Mission Hospital to assist in a delivery. The wife of the Moravian missionary in Hopedale had given birth to a baby girl and needed a blood transfusion to save her life. Airman Laffredo was asked if he could give assistance.

Dextran, a substitute for blood plasma, was available at the site. The major problem was getting the Dextran to the village. Outside the site, one of the worst storms of the winter was raging. The temperature was near zero with 120-mile-per-hour winds.

Maj. William A. Joyce, 923d ACW Squadron commander, consented to allow Airman Laffredo and an airman from the motor pool to try and get the Dextran to the village. They met a Royal Canadian Mounted Policeman who took the Dextran to the village. The quick action of Airman Laffredo was credited with saving the woman's life.

Education of a Generation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post, on July 6, published a column written by Mr. John Chamberlain entitled "Education of a Generation" in which he comments on the developing awareness of our citizens, both in public office and out, to the demands placed upon this Nation by the unwavering ambitions of the Communist world.

It is a splendid statement of fact, and I urge those who may not have read this article to do so. It is a pleasure to place this comment in the RECORD:

EDUCATION OF A GENERATION

(By John Chamberlain)

The tender minded of yesteryear are becoming the tough minded of today. And in this we may yet find our salvation.

There is White House Adviser McGeorge Bundy, who once reprimanded the then Vice President Lyndon Johnson for being too beligerent at the time of the Bay of Pigs. Bundy, an educator who is capable of absorbing education, now realizes that you don't hit Communists with cream puffs and live to tell the tale.

There is Secretary of State Dean Rusk. He was once supposed to be a soft, a dove, and conservatives who had become disgusted with what they called the 20-year retreat before communism spoke of him as being part of the fringe on top—meaning a set of appeasers who had somehow taken over the Government. But today Rusk, as spokesman for the Johnson policy in Vietnam, wonders at the "gullibility of educated men and the stubborn disregard of plain fact by men who are supposed to be helping our young to learn—especially to learn how to think."

There is Averell Harriman, who has been Ambassador and troubleshooter for many years. Harriman used to draw taunts from those who considered him an architect of defeat because of the part he is alleged to have played in turning over a third of Laos to the Communists. But today we find Harriman saying, "If you listen to some of the bleeding hearts in this country, you begin to think that we started the trouble in the world instead of the Communists."

Finally, there is Adlai Stevenson, the permanent representative of the United States at the United Nations. At the time of the Bay of Pigs, Stevenson was all atremble lest President Kennedy should really commit U.S. forces to the overthrow of Fidel Castro. But Stevenson recently made a speech at Toronto that was the best thing of its kind in many a moon. It was so packed with realistic insight, in fact, that it makes one sorry he didn't keep it on ice for delivery at the 20th birthday party of the U.N. at San Francisco.

The Toronto speech got very little publicity; actually, there was more in the news stories about the anti-U.S. pickets outside the University of Toronto Convocation Hall than there was about Stevenson's own words.

But as the picketers were parading with signs reading "Negotiate with rebels in Vietnam," Stevenson was telling people inside the hall that "we live in a world where the Marxist ministry of truth has perfected the exercise of converting black into white and up into down."

Said Stevenson, warming to his theme: "Nowadays totalitarianism is the new democracy, Communist intervention is liberation, and counterintervention against it is Western imperialism * * *. If it weren't so serious, it would be funny. But it is not funny, because it is devilish to cope with, both militarily, psychologically, and institutionally."

It must mean something when exposure to the realities of dealing with the Communists moves men like Bundy, Rusk, Harriman, and Stevenson to rebel against the influences that once gripped them. The professors who are still talking like the Bundys and the Stevensons of yesteryear might examine this phenomenon with some profit to themselves. It might save them from 10 to 20 years of profitless vandering in a never-never land that bears no relation to reality.

We await Stevenson's next speech at the U.N. If he can carry through a campaign to get the assembled nations to accept his own definition of "neo-aggression," the United States will make a beginning at using the U.N. for purposes that combine decent human objectives with the obvious national interest.

Patriots, Sound Off

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, an excellent editorial appeared in the June 29 issue of the Aurora Advertiser, entitled "Patriots, Sound Off."

It is one of the best commentaries I have yet seen on the present position of the United States in southeast Asia.

I hope it will be read by those who are advocating another Munich in Vietnam.

The editorial follows:

PATRIOTS, SOUND OFF

The 24-year-old son of a widow who lives in a little town in Arkansas, captured while wearing his American army uniform in open combat, and entitled to the status of prisoner of war, has been executed by the North Vietnamese, so they claim, in reprisal for the execution of a North Vietnamese terrorist, who, in civilian clothing, sneaked up to plant a bomb that would have killed women and children going about their daily lives as civilians had he not been caught redhanded.

Horrible as such a crime is to contemplate, what will happen to the grieving widowed mother, if the pattern deliberately established by the lunatic liberals elsewhere is followed in her case, will be almost as cruel.

For it may well be that anonymous telephone callers, some of them living miles away and calling long distance, will ring her up, one after another, to tell her that her murdered son got "exactly what was coming to him."

The widow of an American officer killed in Vietnam was subjected to such a campaign of vicious, unfeeling torture that she first changed her telephone to an unlisted number, and then moved away. She could not stand being told, time after time after time, that some of his fellow countrymen are glad that he had lost his life wearing the uniform of his country. Presumably they would shout with joy if the thousands of fine Americans serving in that far distant land were wiped out. This is also happening to survivors of other American boys who have died in the service of the United States.

But the families of those servicemen stationed in Vietnam who have not been killed or wounded also share in the cruelty inflicted by these lunatics, whose numbers seem to be growing. Their telephone callers gleefully claim to have heard on the radio, or TV, or read in some paper, that their sons, husbands, or fathers have been killed in Vietnam, and the Pentagon has been beseiged by frantic inquiries seeking to learn the truth.

The sadism of the peace front in this country bears the stamp of the studied terrorism of the Communists in Vietnam, and would seem to justify a glaring suspicion that the same source has planned both. In Vietnam, literally thousands of village mayors, minor government officials and peasants loyal to the government have been murdered, mutilated, or their families kidnaped in a widespread effort to spread terror into the hearts of an entire population and to create chaos in which Communists operate best. That this campaign of murder has not been adequately reported to the people of the world is a reflection upon the motives of the correspondents who have covered Vietnam during the past 6 years.

In fact, quite often, judging by their dispatches, those covering the area seem bent upon presenting American troops, loyal troops, American officials and government officials in a bad light rather than picturing what is taking place in an unbiased, accurate manner.

In all American history with the exceptions of the hatred existing between the loyalists and tories in the American Revolution and the bitterness of the Civil War, have American fighting men gone into battle believing that some of the reporters covering the conflict for the press at home, and a segment of the citizens of the country for which they are willing to die, want them to lose rather than win, to be killed rather than to kill the enemy.

For this state of affairs our colleges and universities mush shoulder a major portion of the blame. Careful and largely unreported investigations after the riots and demonstrations against our foreign policy by so-called college students has shown that only a small part of these participating are actually enrolled in the schools they claim to represent. Instead, they are dropouts, failures, and emotionally defective beatnicks who live in the college population, but do not belong there. They are phonies who live on the fringe and pretend to be something they are not, and have no right at all on the campuses maintained for a quite different purposes by the taxpaying public.

And, judging them by their deeds instead of by their words, one wonders if at least some are not paid agents of this country's enemies.

So far the vast bulk of the American population, loyal, devoted, and anxious about the welfare of those wearing this country's uniform in far-off lands and risking their lives for us all, has been strangely silent. It is time, it seems to us, for the voice of patriotism and devotion to country and our way of life, to swell out in such proportion that the voice of these puny lunatics is drowned out until it matters as little as the squeak of a rat.

Patriots sound off.

The 15th Assembly of the International Civil Aviation Organization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, on June 22, in Montreal the 15th Assembly of the

International Civil Aviation Organization was convened. It was created in Chicago in 1944 in order to bring the nations of the world together in the development of civil aviation and providing the benefits of speed and reliability in this transportation now so indispensable to our domestic and international economic life.

This meeting of the assembly is the first after the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Chicago Convention and very appropriately the first days' session was devoted to the honoring of the organization which grew out of that convention meeting under the stresses of the closing days of the last great war.

It has seemed to me most appropriate that there be brought to the attention of the Members of the House as well as of the public the address made to the organization on Tuesday by Adolf A. Berle, who presided over the Congress of 57 nations 20 years ago, and to whom—above all others—I think we owe a great debt of gratitude for fashioning and hammering out this convention and the organization which has been so helpful in the years since.

I think that the address of Mr. Berle is so outstanding in its review of this achievement in international cooperation and in the provocative tenor in which it has looked at some of the problems which now face us, and will in the future, that it is worthwhile to bring it to the attention of the House, and, accordingly, I am including it here with my remarks.

ICAO, as it is known, has been indispensable to the work of finding solutions to the problems arising from international aviation and has done much toward the standardization of communication equipment for aircraft, the advancement of radio aids, and of air navigation, the improvement of air traffic control procedures, and the progress made in the licensing of personnel. There is no doubt that ICAO can rightly claim a large measure of the credit for successes in these fields which have contributed immeasurably to the orderly development of worldwide aviation. This assembly will deal with some of the problems which are now current as well as those which face us in the future in this field, and I am certain that the results of these deliberations will be as helpful as those which have come in the past.

The address follows:

ADDRESS BY ADOLF A. BERLE, INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION, HOTEL WINDSOR, JUNE 22, 1965

Twenty years ago at Chicago, I had the honor to preside over a congress of 57 nations, convened to establish an international civil aviation organization. This we achieved. Establishment of ICAO realized one small part of Franklin Roosevelt's great dream of organized peace among nations. It was designed as a specialized agency, operating under the aegis of the United Nations, then projected only, but to become real at San Francisco a few months later. Its organization was planned so that it could function separately irrespectively, if need be, of the fate of the United Nations itself.

Two decades of history have established your success. It has become great. My purpose is to examine some of the reasons for its effectiveness. Lessons for the future can perhaps be drawn from its achievements.

We met in November 1944. The Soviet Union, then the only Communist nation in the world, had engaged in preparatory conferences. Its delegation actually reached the United States. As the Chicago conference opened, the delegation was withdrawn, and the seat of the Soviet Union still remains unfilled. The cold war, as it is called today, had already begun. The incident would not be worth recalling save for a remarkable fact. Soviet aircraft today travel the airways of the world. Though not bound by technical law, they undeviatingly follow the practices, and customs, and use the terms and language laid down by this organization. Though the Soviet Union has never formally adhered to the Chicago treaties and is not represented here today, yet its planes, pilots, and routines follow the body of rules agreed on by you. Other nations, not in existence when the ICAO was born and also not parties to its charter, do the same. They do so because these rules, routines and practices represent technical reality. Adhering to them is essential to participation in the vast process of world communication by air.

But for the dominance of this body of rules, the air would once more become an impassable barrier. Some of us, however, believed that every country had the right to enter the air and communicate by it. Otherwise a man's country would become not his home but his prison. So, no international group had the right to refuse to any country, great or small, access to world airways. No country or group of countries had the right to tie up gateways or collect a price in cash or diplomacy for other people's entry to God's blue skies. At Chicago, powerful interests in some countries tried to take the air for themselves. They fought the principle of open skies with every weapon at hand. The principle that every country seeking access to the air had a right to it had to be fought for. Happily the Chicago conference accepted it, though only after a bitter struggle—whose honorable scars I still proudly bear.

This is true international suprapolitical, even suprasovereign, law in action.

When we met in Chicago, commercial air traffic as now known scarcely existed. Tentative lines had been pushed across the oceans and substantial systems had developed in a number of local areas. But most commercial intercontinental traffic was blanked out by World War II; a few local areas alone maintained air systems. At Chicago, we were dealing less with reality than with dreams.

We hoped then to organize the future. Today you govern the present, over an area coterminous with the inhabitated earth.

History often deals ironically with early fears and preoccupations of men. Certainly it has laughed at ours. Let me call back some ghosts which gibbered through our discussions in Chicago.

The head of the pioneer American airline committed himself to the proposition that, in the then foreseeable future, 30 planes would adequately carry all commercial transatlantic traffic. He was speaking of the DC-4's which today cower under the wings of great jet liners.

Because of that and similar estimates, it was claimed that by no possibility could transatlantic traffic support more than two airlines. Our conference was seriously asked to limit transatlantic aviation to American and British airships only and refuse passage to any other country. Even these two lines were to be pooled in a variety of cartel. Or, in alternative, to require that the country in which an airport was situated could require that passengers boarding there must use only the aircraft of that country, and none other. Today, vast jets of all flags without artificial trammels, set out every hour of the day and night to cross the seas.

Let us call up a more sordid little specter. War conditions had for the moment made the United States the sole producer of large passenger and cargo aircraft. Dread was expressed that the United States, abusing this accidental monopoly of construction, would allow only Americans to secure planes, would prevent all others from developing air routes, would thus monopolize the airways. As president of the conference, I committed myself to a prophecy and a promise.

First, I insisted that in a short span of time industrial countries wishing to do so would manufacture planes competitive—or more than competitive—with anything the United States could produce. Today, British, French, Russian, and other plants turn out whatever craft their nation's interest suggests and are, I am clear, only beginning.

Second, I promised that during the transition postwar period, American craft would be available on equal terms to any nations wishing to establish airlines. That also happened. As an American, I like to think that no country found obstacles because, for a period, they had to make use of American facilities while developing their own. For a brief time, the world was aloft on American wings—but not bound to them. Today, those that choose are aloft on their own. As an American, I am glad of it.

One other werewolf haunted us all. Would not these peaceful commercial planes, carrying passengers and cargo, be also secret engines of death, capable of dropping bombs on cities? Or, less lethally, engaged in photographic espionage? That fear, in fact, almost wrecked the essential freedom of air passage on which, to the credit of mankind, we finally agreed. Sane persons in these days of rockets know that commercial aircraft would not, indeed could not, be used for bombing. Better photographs can be taken by sputniks in orbit.

History has mocked us, disclosing that the fears with which we wrestled at Chicago were not merely ridiculous: they were irrelevant. Yet even as we laugh, those of us who brought the Chicago arrangements into being remember that just these fears, childish in retrospect, nearly prevented establishment of the planetary air system we have today.

In the perspective of 20 years, we must, I think, confess that it was no gift of accurate prophecy that produced our success. Rather it was our faith in freedom—specifically in freedom of the air. We did rise above our fears, and established air freedoms designed to give full scope for human capacity, technical, commercial, and national. In result, a liberating future could be dealt with under common rules by men and nations and governments, giving to all more range than any could attain by itself.

The results affect every corner of the planet. Men anywhere in the world who can reach an airport, can fly to practically any destination on earth, and growing millions make use of them every turning year. Literally, the lines went out to the ends of the earth. In elementary phase, we were able to bring this condition into existence even as the guns of World War II ceased firing. The then tiny and tentative air net is now the greatest instrument of peaceful communication, commerce, and travel the world has yet known. Even more: it has become so essential to personal and national life that its interruption or cessation would be resisted by every developed and even undeveloped country on earth.

This was done in a few weeks of peaceful, if difficult, discussion. That achievement must be contrasted with the two centuries of delay, six or seven wars, and endless savage struggles required to establish freedom of navigation on the seas. We entered the Chicago conference amid fears of the 16th century. We closed it with the freedoms of the 20th.

ICAO took up the burden of world organization of air, and has carried it brilliantly. Thanks in great measure to this organization, the world has been enriched precisely because we did overcome and left behind the guilt and weight and debris of a bloody past.

Can we, perhaps, draw lessons from this vast, if silent, success?

Classic international law is conceived as a set of rules formally or informally consented to by nations, and derived from their will. We now see emergence of a parallel body of international law dealing with application and use of natural scientific principles. They are not made by sovereign consent. They are made by nature. No international treaty established the laws of gravity or aerodynamics. This new field parallels the older group of politically established rules.

This new and growing area of international law and international life arises not from lawyers, foreign ministers and politicians but from science and technology. These compel rules whose application is not created or imposed by anyone's sovereign pleasure. By the very nature of things, a pilot, Israeli or Arab, Chinese or Soviet, French or Canadian, American or African must fly within rules accepted by all—if he is to complete his journey. Airports must have one language. Control towers cannot be Towers of Babel. Rules of craft safety, of takeoff, of approach of landing, must be uniform else none could go or come save at intolerable risk.

Signals, instructions, standards, must be substantially the same. Craft at Orly or Moscow, Tokyo or Los Angeles, Nairobi or New Orleans, Berlin or Bombay, overflying many countries en route, willingly obey the most detailed directions under law they dare not—and do not—wish to break. No one thinks of the control tower crews as rulers or policemen. Yet their instructions are followed to the utmost limit of attainable fidelity. We think of them as guides, friends, and aids—essential, responsible interpreters of the common rules whose observance alone makes the operation possible. The rules were drawn in the technical meetings of ICAO; but those who do not adhere to the ICAO conventions recognize them as faithfully as those who do. The Ishmael seeking his own rules either dies in disaster or dares not fly. His penalty is less legal than natural. It is, quite simply, self-exclusion from the world system of communication—a penalty inescapable alike to individuals, nations, and peoples.

In other areas international law establishes itself because of reality. The allocation of frequency waves in telecommunications, first worked out at Cairo in the convention of 1928, have with later modifications, remaining in force through revolutions and even world wars. In extended form, their validity is established today though now we send messages by aid of artificial stars. The international telecommunication organization like your own has erected self-enforced international law.

It is a necessary condition if telecommunication facilities are to be operative at all. The World Health Organization, like ICAO a specialized agency, works within the concept of the United Nations. When it establishes rules of disease control, they are effective not because any army will invade if they are broken, but because disease immediately enters the broken wall. My old frend, President José Figuéres, of Costa Rica, put up a sign in his Central American airport, "Disease germs know nothing about diplomatic immunity." Sovereigns and stewardesses, tourists, and tramps accept that fact.

Even in the terrible, fear-ridden field of nuclear explosion, a tiny area of natural international law has already emerged. It limits nuclear fallout. Release of deadly poison into the atmosphere which surrounds the entire planet is checked by the Soviet-American ban on aerial atomic testing. To that ban not many nations formally adhere; yet there is not a nation on earth which does not recognize its necessity.

Point-by-point, area-by-area, nature demands, and people insist on, recognition of her laws in those areas where the rule must be a common law or an indiscriminate death.

The United Nations, on which we count eventually to bring the world to a state of peace through reason must work in a more difficult area. The tensions of an unfinished peace, the tragic illusion that this or that social, racial, religious group, or doctrine can dominate the earth are not penalized by nature. Nor does nature restrain competition for power, brute, or subtle. Men, not physics, must act. So, peace must depend on the patience, ingenuity and capacities of men of good will. These can fail, though it is the business of all of us to see that they do not.

So I suggest the institutions that, like your own, take strength from nature's laws more than from men's, might well seek common ground. Informal contact between ICAO, the World Health Organization, the International Telecommunication Union and perhaps the disarmament commissions having jurisdiction over atomic fallout would seem to be logical. Taken together, they add up to a great and powerful area beyond reach of conventional politics. They are, I think, the early currents moving toward the new ways of scientific future. These nonpolitical agencies have gone an appreciable distance toward organizing a world in which men are less likely to die of indiscriminate disease, or be limited to their own national borders in air or radio communications. Tomorrow, they may deal with outer space. These agencies are in truest sense supranational. They are suprasovereign because physical laws laugh at sovereignty.

Without losing a moment's sight of your own great function in air transport, you may also think of yourselves as part of a new world of natural statesmanship. I suggest you establish quiet liaison with your sister agencies, bringing together directing heads of staffs presently operating these suprapolitical governments. Their continued functioning already serves the world whether in war or peace. Their vision may open new vistas for those of us beneath, who must work with men.

We salute your 20 years of success with thanks as well as admiration. Through the murk and overcast darkening our time, it has opened a stretch of sunlit sky.

Health Professions Educational Assistance Amendments Act of 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to inform my distinguished colleagues of the House that today I am introducing a bill to correct an inequity to the schools and colleges of optometry to students of optometry.

At this time there is pending before the Congress and before our most important Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce several major proposals which will further expand Public Law 88-129, Health Professions Educational Assistance Act. The original amending legislation proposed this year by the administration, inadvertently or otherwise, did not in three of its most important provisions include the participation of the institutions or the students of these institutions which are devoted exclusively to the training of our licensed vision specialists.

The 88th Congress recognized the importance of optometry to the health of the American people when it passed the bill (S. 2180; H. R. 8546) sponsored by Senator WILLIAMS, of New Jersey, and Congressman Roberts, of Alabama, and made optometric students eligible for loans under Public Law 88-129—along with physicians, osteopaths, and dentists.

My very good friend, Dr. William Greenspon, of Bluefield, W. Va., a trustee of the American Optometric Association, has served for 18 years as either member or chairman of the Council on Optometric Education.

This council has the responsibility for investigating and approving schools and colleges which train our Nation's optometrists. Through the years he has kept me informed on the needs of America for optometric manpower and on the capabilities of our institutions of higher education for training the specialized manpower required. I can state from firsthand and personal knowledge, therefore, that the financial needs of the optometric schools and colleges and the students who attend them are as critical as those professional institutions and students already listed to receive Federal aid in all provisions of the pending legislation.

Mr. Speaker, the cost to the Nation for the changes I am proposing is a mere pittance compared to the overall cost of the administration's proposal. By passage of my bill, however, we will assure the American people that their visual requirements will continue to be met and that students who are not now financially endowed with the means to become optometrists will have the opportunity to dedicate their lives to careers in the service of vision. I believe you will agree with me that vision is mankind's most priceless possession next to life itself.

Vice President Humphrey's Contribution to the Paris Air Show

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to an editorial crediting Vice President HUMPHREY, the Gemini astronauts, and the Blue Angels aerobatic team with making a spectacular showing for the

United States at the recent Paris Air Show. Robert Hotz, editor of the authoritative Aviation Week & Space Technology writes that without such representation the United States would have made a poor showing at the air show. His editorial follows:

RECOVERY IN PARIS

The Navy Blue Angels aerobatic team and the surprise appearance of the space triplets—Gemini Astronauts Ed White and Jim McDivitt and Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY—rescued the U.S. effort at the 26th Paris Air Show from the brink of disaster and made a spectacular recover in the show's finale.

The Blue Angels' performance was so outstanding that they were the only one of seven aerobatic teams to draw spontaneous applause from the multitudes jamming Le Bourget on the final day. Even the French newspapers gave them the accolade of superiority in this greatest international competition of the past 2 years.

But the unexpected arrival of the *Gemini 4* astronauts, their wives, and Vice President HUMPHREY at Le Bourget late Friday afternoon on board the gleaming silver and white Presidential Boeing VC-137 jet was the most spectacular event of the 12-day show. In their brief 72 hours in Paris, the astronauts, their wives, and the Vice President performed splendidly in portraying an image of our people that sharply contrasted with the one assiduously peddled by our critics. Without detracting in any way from the fine work of Jim McDivitt, it was Ed White who proved to be the star performer, not only because of his walk in space—a feat that has impressed Europeans beyond all measure—but also because of his skillful use of a small French vocabulary and his diplomatic references to his Air Force service in France. From his opening greeting to the jammed press conference at Le Bourget—"Bonjour, mes amis"—to his final appearance on French television, Major White made an impact on the French people that will do his country immeasurable good.

GOOD WILL MISSION

The astronauts, their wives and the Vice President played their good will roles to the hilt through a grueling schedule, including a 2-hour walk around the air show exhibits and remaining for lunch as guests of French Prime Minister Georges Pompidou. Vice President HUMPHREY, wearing his chairmanship of the National Aeronautics and Space Council conspicuously, spread his enthusiastic affability all over Paris. It may be that his 80-minute interview with President Charles de Gaulle will mark the beginning of a change in the current acrimonious relations between the United States and France. One strong impression of 3 weeks in Paris is that both sides in this quarrel are realizing that it has gotten out of hand, to the detriment of both countries. There appears to be a realization that, whatever the differences may be, we are still long-term allies devoted to the same major international goals and we had better get back to behaving accordingly instead of wrangling to the delight of our enemies. If Vice President HUMPHREY's visit provided an informal medium for cutting through official channels toward that goal, this will indeed be another valuable dividend from the surprise visit.

All of the Americans at the Paris Air Show who shouted back to Washington during that first dismal week of Soviet domination deserved credit for stimulating the astronauts' visit. Credit also must go to those wise heads in the White House who passed on this intelligence from Paris to the President, and to the President himself for making what will become known historically as a typical L.B.J. gesture. The fact that the United States has a President who can and did make a decision of an evening that launched his second in command and a jetload of astronauts and space officials across the Atlantic before the next dawn impressed not only the French but all of the other visitors at the Paris show.

The valiant work of the Vice President, the Gemini twins and the Blue Angels in effecting an emergency recovery of the American aerospace image at Paris does not invalidate the criticisms of that effort we made on this page last week. In fact, it adds weight to our principal point, that the United States can project a valid image of superior technology leavened with dramatic human touches if it only organizes its available resources with imagination and effectiveness. If the performance of the Blue Angels and the astronauts had been laid on the proper foundation of American technical effort from the beginning of the show, the results would have been stupendous and would have provided a sharp, valid contrast with the level of Soviet technology.

SOVIET EFFORT

The Russians made their biggest effort to date to compete in the international aerospace marketplace. With the initial absence of a strong American technical image, the Soviet Union's showing succeeded far beyond the real level of its technology. We imagine the Soviets learned a great deal from their first large-scale exhibition in Western Europe against international competition. They, too, must have a post-show critique scheduled in Moscow as their fleet of jet transports wings eastward. But we think it is a very healthy sign that the Russians felt it necessary to compete in the international aerospace marketplace of Le Bourget. We have long felt that their aerospace technology, particularly in the transport field, has lost far more than it has gained by maintaining its technical Iron Curtain and by failing to mingle in the competitive markets to learn the secrets of successful commercial transport operations. For even under the Soviet system, efficiency, which is merely another expression for profit, is a goal that must be sought.

The lessons of Le Bourget 1965 must be studied carefully by the leaders of our aerospace industry, our legislators, and the executive branch of the Government. There will be other such confrontations in the international aerospace market in the decade ahead. Some will be as spectacular and as easy to evaluate as the last fortnight at Le Bourget. But others—in Africa, Asia, and South America—will be equally significant but less obvious and with more variables in their equations.

It is evident that the United States made a spectacular last-minute recovery to avert a debacle at Le Bourget. But it also is evident that there is no government-industry planning organization headed by people with sufficient understanding of the problem and lively enough imaginations to project an effective U.S. aerospace image wherever and whenever necessary. Organizing this type of effort should rate a high priority now with industry and the Government.

—ROBERT HOTZ.

The Need for Immigration Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I have long campaigned for the revision of the present unjust immigration laws. As a Member of Congress, I have continued this fight by cosponsoring a bill which will eliminate the present inequities in the immigration law.

The need for this reform and the major obstacles in our fight to secure this reform are reported by the New York Times in a recent editorial. I am submitting excerpts of this editorial:

[From the New York Times]

REOPENING THE DOOR

The accidents of political history and the seniority system have a perverse way of mocking hopes for immigration reform.

For nearly 20 years the personal influence of the late Senator Pat McCarran, of Nevada, and Representative Francis Walter, of Pennsylvania, obstructed almost all efforts to place our race-ridden immigration laws on a liberal, openminded basis.

* * * * *

On July 23, 1963, President Kennedy proposed basic reform of immigration law very similar to the recommendation made this past week by President Johnson. Representative EMANUEL CELLER, chairman of the parent Judiciary Committee, immediately introduced a bill embodying the Kennedy administration proposals. (Subcommittee) * * * stalled for 11 months before holding hearings.

The testimony last summer at those hearings, when finally held is most instructive. The gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER] testified that the racially discriminatory national origins quota system is so restrictive and unworkable that, in fact, only one-third of all immigrants enter under its provisions. The other two-thirds are admitted by refugee and displaced persons legislation and private bills. Secretary of State Rusk testified the existing law is "indefensible from a foreign policy point of view." Secretary of Labor Wirtz testified that the number of immigrants entering the working force—about 48,000 a year in recent years—is "insignificant" in a labor market of over 70 million. Attorney General KENNEDY testified:

The immigrants pose no serious security problems and that the present law is cruel in its effect on separated families.

Notwithstanding all this testimony the subcommittee refused to report the bill, instead introduced a hopelessly inadequate substitute bill written on the apparent premise that immigration of any kind is a dangerous experiment.

Aside from the subcommittee there is a hidden obstacle to immigration reform. Many Members of the House from big-city districts, although paying lipservice to reform, actually prefer the present system because it enables them to gain political favor with constituents by introducing private bills for favored individuals.

The public looks to President Johnson and the House leadership to overcome both these open and hidden blocks to a long overdue reform.

Mr. Speaker, I am also enclosing a chart from the annual report of Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The chart is demonstrative of the large quotas assigned the northern European countries as compared to the southern countries. Certainly the nation of origin should not be the criteria of the size of quotas where all other factors are equal:

TABLE 7.—*Annual quotas and quota immigrants admitted: Years ended June 30, 1960–64*

[Numbers of quota visas issued and quota immigrants admitted will not necessarily agree. Differences may be caused by failure of the alien to make use of the visa issued, or by immigrants who are admitted to the United States in the year following the one in which the visa was issued, or by adjustments chargeable to future years]

Quota area	Annual quota [1]	Quota immigrants admitted [2]				
		1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
All quota areas	158, 161	101, 173	96, 104	90, 312	103, 036	102, 844
Europe	149, 597	97, 850	92, 795	86, 814	99, 244	98, 729
Albania	100	70	82	93	93	102
Austria	1, 405	1, 310	1, 330	1, 274	1, 450	1, 271
Belgium	1, 297	1, 069	1, 182	1, 076	1, 052	1, 022
Bulgaria	100	100	82	84	114	100
Czechoslovakia	2, 859	2, 541	2, 236	1, 946	2, 098	1, 823
Denmark	1, 175	1, 199	1, 066	1, 124	1, 203	1, 075
Estonia	115	100	110	116	98	129
Finland	566	554	554	536	494	554
France	3, 069	2, 908	2, 892	2, 930	2, 987	2, 876
Germany	25, 814	25, 859	24, 273	22, 911	26, 533	23, 997
Great Britain and Northern Ireland	65, 361	27, 094	25, 100	23, 447	28, 291	31, 759
Greece	308	344	321	339	308	308
Hungary	856	805	844	825	914	854
Iceland	100	112	105	106	85	112
Ireland (Eire)	17, 756	7, 479	6, 273	5, 364	6, 054	6, 134
Italy	5, 666	5, 609	5, 648	5, 405	5, 560	5, 724
Latvia	235	217	234	217	250	191
Lithuania	384	330	383	338	396	374
Luxembourg	100	78	62	63	88	83
Netherlands	3, 136	3, 035	2, 969	3, 073	3, 016	2, 828
Norway	2, 364	2, 345	2, 208	1, 944	2, 071	2, 219
Poland	6, 488	6, 057	6, 891	5, 435	7, 460	6, 434
Portugal	438	427	425	426	445	434
Rumania	289	314	297	273	311	829
San Marino	100	98	96	96	105	100
Spain	250	236	204	161	220	272
Sweden	3, 295	2, 307	1, 656	1, 685	2, 019	2, 160
Switzerland	1, 698	1, 717	1, 510	1, 594	1, 673	1, 661
Turkey	225	211	220	195	242	182
U.S.S.R.	2, 697	2, 422	2, 536	2, 765	2, 616	2, 564
Yugoslavia	942	901	932	888	915	969
Other Europe	400	62	74	85	83	109
Asia	3, 690	2, 359	2, 014	2, 245	2, 256	2, 290
Asia-Pacific	100	86	87	88	98	80
Burma	100	107	99	93	71	122
Ceylon	100	75	52	76	92	90
China	100	103	78	99	90	74
Chinese persons	105	454	117	84	82	47
Cyprus [3]	100	--------	94	94	98	102
India	100	99	92	111	108	100
Indonesia	200	104	72	107	96	127
Iran (Persia)	100	112	99	115	100	100
Iraq	100	103	92	112	95	108
Israel	100	106	99	100	102	100
Japan	185	142	128	191	195	177
Jordan and Arab Palestine	200	202	215	181	209	206
Korea	100	94	103	109	100	94
Lebanon	100	98	102	91	103	100
Pakistan	100	89	88	98	87	88
Philippines	100	70	58	57	50	47
Thailand	100	110	93	107	95	100
Vietnam	100	51	80	83	94	92
Yemen	100	90	97	100	99	97
Other Asia	1, 400	64	69	149	192	242
Africa	4, 074	746	857	846	1, 010	1, 232
Ethiopia	100	43	69	71	101	97
Ghana	100	34	35	68	86	101
Libya	100	67	94	73	107	101
Morocco	100	124	100	101	92	105
South Africa	100	114	120	102	98	102
Tunisia	100	107	90	99	84	98
Other Africa	3, 474	257	349	332	442	628
Oceania	600	418	438	414	350	381
North America	200	--------	--------	--------	176	212
Jamaica [4]	100	--------	--------	--------	90	110
Trinidad and Tobago [4]	100	--------	--------	--------	86	102

[1] The annual quota was 154,887 in 1960; 156,487 in 1961; 156,687 in 1962; and 156,987 in 1963. In 1964 the total quota was increased to 158,161 by the establishment of additional quotas for newly independent countries.

[2] Figures include adjustment of status cases. Adjustments chargeable to future years are included in year of adjustment.

[3] During 1960 Cyprus was charged to the British subquota.

[4] Quotas established by President's Proclamation No. 3503 of Oct. 23, 1962. Figures for 1963 include admissions charged to British subquotas July 1 to Oct. 22, 1962.

If You Think the Stadium Deal Rooked the Taxpayers, Wait Till the Subway Gets Going and the Taxpayers of Our Nation Will Be Walking in Barrels

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, I hope that the Members of Congress will read the editorial which appeared in the Milwaukee Sentinel a few days ago.

This editorial points out how the taxpayers of our Nation are being rooked on the stadium deal which was not supposed to cost the taxpayers a dime.

The taxpayers were betrayed twice. They were betrayed when they were told that the stadium would not cost the taxpayers a dime. They were betrayed again when they were told that there would be national events taking place at the stadium that would add dignity to the Nation's Capital. The only national event held there since the stadium was built was a riot when two high schools played football, and the stadium is now costing the taxpayers $831,600 a year. This is what the taxpayers are paying to subsidize a cellar football team and a cellar baseball team. However, what the taxpayers do not know is that the stadium is already falling apart. And what the taxpayers do not know is the graft that was connected with the building of this stadium.

Can you imagine what it would be like if the Congress approves the first step of a $3 billion subway for the Nation's Capital. If the Congress approves this project, in a few years the taxpayers of our Nation will be walking around in barrels supporting two white elephants in the Nation's Capital.

OF GREAT INTEREST

Tucked away in a $360,228,500 Federal appropriation bill to run the District of Columbia for fiscal year 1966 is an item for an $831,600 payment on the District of Columbia Stadium.

In these times of hundred-billion-dollar budgets, $831,600 isn't much. Then again, it is quite a bit, especially when stacked against the income of individual taxpayers.

NONE OF BONDS AS YET RETIRED

It might not be so bad if this $831,600 payment was doing something toward relieving the tax burden by reducing the debt we all owe on the District of Columbia Stadium. Unfortunately, however, the $831,600 goes only for paying interest. Not a penny is going for reducing the principal. None of the bonds on the stadium, which was opened in the fall of 1961, has yet been retired. Adding insult to the injury, an additional $10,900 has to be appropriated for fiscal 1966 to pay interest on interest on the District of Columbia Stadium loan.

This is the financing operation which Members of the House of Representatives originally were told would cost the Federal taxpayers nothing, Representative GROSS, Republican, of Iowa, reminded his colleagues.

Shortly after GROSS spoke, the House approved the District of Columbia appropriation, stadium interest payment and all.

If it's any consolation to you Federal taxpayers, be advised that your Representatives, the night before this action, had a jolly time at District of Columbia Stadium in a baseball contest between Republican and Democratic Members. For once this year, the Republicans defeated the Democrats.

Taxpayers are the only ones who apparently are never going to win at District of Columbia Stadium.

Silverless Coins Will Do the Job

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Banking and Currency has recently recommended a sweeping reform of our coinage system, and we shall shortly be called to act upon its suggestions. I strongly support the action taken by the committee and, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the RECORD the following editorials which stress points

corresponding to the committee's recommendations:

[From the Meriden (Conn.) Record, July 10, 1965]

WHY NOT HALF DOLLARS?

President Johnson has done well to ask Congress for approval on plans to mint new silverless dimes and quarters. He would have done still better if he had called for plans that would eliminate silver from the half dollar as well.

Some such move to reduce the use of silver in coinage has been long overdue. The world in general and this country in particular are using more silver than is being or can be mined. As the President put it, "If no silver at all had been used for coinage there would have been a deficit in new production in free world silver during the last 5 years averaging * * * some 1,370 tons a year.

The proposed new dimes and quarters would appear to meet all the specifications called for by currency. They are "sandwich" coins, with a cupronickel exterior and a copper interior. They would be of the same size and design as at present, but slightly lighter. Most important they would work in the coin-operated machines, from washers to lunch dispensers, which play such an enormous role in the Nation's economy.

The new half dollar would also be a sandwich coin, but with a silver-copper skin containing a high silver content. It would consist of 40 percent silver, instead of the present 90 percent.

Obviously, the retention of silver in manufacture of half dollars is a sop to the mining interests, which have fought long and hard to keep the Government as the big purchaser of silver. This concession is reinforced by the recommendation that the Treasury be authorized to buy silver at $1.25 an ounce, thus insuring silver producers against price drop.

But with demand already outrunning supply and still rising, this is a foolish and unnecessary move. Instead of encouraging better use of silver, it is sure to result in more hoarding and speculating. The artificial squeeze thus created will make silver goods more expensive to manufacture and to sell—for no good reason.

Congress can show real statesmanship and economic good sense by redrafting the President's plans to include half dollars in the new silverless coinage.

[From the Waterbury (Conn.) American, Apr. 29, 1965]

HI YO, AND AWAY WITH SILVER

Americans have always liked jingle money, but they may soon be forced to live without it. A pocketful of pennies make a dull sound, but dimes, quarters, and half-dollars give a nice ring.

This is, of course, due to their silver content, which is only fractional, but silver nonetheless. The use of precious metals as fractional money in contemporary times is mainly for its convenience, to buy cigarettes and newspapers, for example. Ten dimes are worth a dollar because they can be exchanged for a dollar, not because they represent a dollar's worth of silver.

If a dime contained 10 cents worth of silver and the price of silver went up, people would melt down their silver coins and sell them. The problem is that the price of silver has been going up, because the consumption of silver has far exceeded its production.

Free world consumption of silver in 1964 totaled 551 million ounces. Production reached only 215 million ounces. This shortage has two effects: It pushes up the price to the point of making it profitable to melt down the coins, and it puts a crimp on the fractional money supply, as evidence by the coin shortages felt in the United States periodically in the last several years.

The solution, proposed to the Congress by the Treasury Department, is to do away with silver coins altogether. As the economy and money supply expands, so much fractional money. But if expansion of coins is held back by a silver shortage, as paper money could be restrained by a gold gap, economic growth would be restricted.

An easy solution would be to substitute a nonprecious, plentiful metal for silver, such as copper and nickel alloy. Then the coin supply could expand without check from either rising prices or metal shortages.

Psychologically they might be an initial drawback because people are used to the silver coins, and they know silver is valuable. Politically there will be active opposition by the huge vending machine industry, because their mechanisms would have to be changed. If possible these two objections could be resolved by keeping a modicum of silver in the coins, but observers say this is unlikely.

If and when the Congress takes the silver out of coins supplementary legislation will be necessary, as it was when the Nation went off the gold standard in 1933. Laws prohibiting the hoarding, melting down, or speculation in silver coins will be required to force people to relinquish them.

When the changeover will come, and whether it will be to nickle-copper or stainless steel coins, is uncertain. But it appears sure to come sooner or later, and money men think the sooner the better. In the meantime, don't take any wooden nickles.

[From the Hartford Times, June 14, 1965]

SPEND AS EASILY—SILVERLESS COINS WILL DO THE JOB

(By Sylvia Porter)

Minutes after President Johnson asked Congress to eliminate silver from U.S. dimes and quarters and to slash the silver content of half dollars, I informally polled friends with the question: "What do you think of it?"

A surprising percentage of the answers indicates indifference to the administration's long-awaited decision to make the first complete change in our coinage in 173 years.

Typical remark of this group: "I'd rather have something 'behind' our coins, but as long as they'll buy things, I don't care."

But an important minority is distressed. Typical remark of this group: "Money should look and feel like money and should be worth something. I don't like the idea of cheap tokens for coins." Formally expressing the reaction of this minority is the American Mining Congress, which insists "intrinsic value" in our coins is "necessary to confidence in our monetary system at home and abroad."

Here are vital facts about this historic changeover.

The new sandwich coins of cupronickel with a copper filling will look and feel very much like today's coins. They will have a reddish edge and will be slightly less shiny. But they'll be the same sizes, carry the same designs and will wear as well.

The new coins will buy as much in goods and services as the old ones and, starting next year, both the new and old coins will circulate side by side for many years. Behind our tens of billions in paper money and coins today is only a token fraction in precious metals, for the tie between our currency and precious metals was cut long ago. Our money is backed by the might of the U.S. economy, is a convenient medium of exchange designed to buy goods and services in the marketplace. Compared to the value of these goods and services, a pinch of silver in a coin is nonsense.

The very fact that the "worth" of today's coins is geared to the price of silver has only encouraged hoarders. A vast majority of the 264 million Kennedy 50 cent pieces has disappeared from circulation—along with 480 million silver dollars and uncounted coins of other denominations.

The Nation's millions of vending machines will accept the new coins, and there will be no need for remodeling the machines.

The only nations left which use any appreciable totals of silver in coinage are Canada and Switzerland. Canada probably will soon substitute another metal for silver in all coins except the "prestige" silver dollar. Last December, Mexico, the world's largest producer of silver, announced that the peso—its last silver coin—was being withdrawn from circulation.

The background for our decision to shift to silverless coins is easily dramatized. Demands for coins have been skyrocketing. Our mints are now producing coins at an annual rate of 9 billion, double last year's rate. In fiscal 1965, just the Treasury's needs for silver reserves have dwindled to a mere 2-year supply. Meanwhile, industry's needs for silver have been rising relentlessly.

"The use in coinage of a metal in short supply," states John B. Stevens, senior vice president of International Silver Co., "violates every concept of a proper medium of exchange."

"The necessity of intrinsic value in subsidiary coins is a myth," adds Sinclair Weeks, president of the Silver Users Association. "The silver content varies with the market price of silver. A 50-cent piece now contains silver worth 47 cents, but when the market price was 24 cents, silver in this same coin was worth 8 cents. This did not impair its value as a medium of exchange."

"We simply have no choice but to turn to other metals," sums up Robert A. Wallace, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

U.S. Embassy Pressured To Practice Segregation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL J. KREBS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. KREBS. Mr. Speaker, the American people have expressed their feelings many times on the question of segregation. Every public opinion poll in recent years has shown that the vast majority of people in this great melting pot utterly rejects the notion that the races of mankind must live in ghettos, or that black people should be treated as inferiors.

There is one disgraceful government which is now pressuring our State Department to conform to its own master race theories of government. The Government of South Africa is mounting a campaign which is both politically absurd and also against the precepts of every religion.

The latest outrage from South Africa was explained on the front page of the New York Times of June 27, 1965. The article speaks for itself, and, under leave to extend my remarks I include this article so everyone can see what preposterous policies result from segregation:

VERWOERD SCORES U.S. RECEPTIONS—DEPLORES MIXING OF RACES AT PARTIES IN SOUTH AFRICA OF AMERICAN DIPLOMATS

JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA, June 26.—Prime Minister Hendrik F. Verwoerd has

complained bitterly about racially mixed receptions held by U.S. diplomats in South Africa.

He said his Government would continue to boycott such receptions to show its disapproval of the failure of American diplomats to respect its policy of racial separation.

The United States, the Prime Minister said at a political meeting at De Aar in the Cape Province last night, is "intent on teaching us that integration is not so difficult." But if South Africans accepted the lesson, he said, "it would mean the end of us as a nation."

PARTIES SET FOR JULY 4

Dr. Verwoerd's remarks came 8 days before the biggest receptions held by American diplomats, their July 4 parties. The first integrated official functions at U.S. missions in South Africa were the receptions on July 4, 1963. Before that, these affairs were for whites only.

The U.S. Embassay in Pretoria declined to comment on the Prime Minister's speech.

An implicit warning to the U.S. Information Service was seen in the Prime Minister's insistence that his Government would not allow the United States to try to alter the attitude of the South African people.

The United States has to realize, he said, that the fight against black rule, is, ultimately, the same as the fight against communism, since the Communists would find it easy to get black governments to serve their purposes. If the United States and Europe fail to grasp the basic differences between the races, he went on, the white man will go under.

TIES SEEN STRAINED

Relations between the United States and Dr. Verwoerd's government appear to have been steadily worsening in recent months.

The first incident was the Government's insistence that the United States promise to land no Negro airmen at South African airfields on a scheduled visit to Capetown of the Carrier *Independence*. As a result, the carrier continued around the Cape of Good Hope without calling in.

Then came the disclosure that the Government had been boycoting the Ford Motor Co. because it failed to bid on a contract for military trucks. Ford's action was based on the refusal of the United States and Canada to permit the export of necessary parts.

Michigan United Conservation Clubs Oppose Dodd Firearms Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, there is considerable concern among members of sportsmen's and conservation clubs in Michigan over the broad provisions of S. 1592 dealing with firearms.

The Michigan United Conservation Clubs, one of the leading organizations of sportsmen in the Midwest, adopted a resolution opposing this proposal at its annual convention in Cadillac, Mich., a few weeks ago.

Mr. James L. Rouman, executive director of the organization, has just sent me the text of the resolution, and I submit it for the consideration of Members of Congress. It follows:

RESOLUTION PRESENTED AND APPROVED AT THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF MICHIGAN UNITED CONSERVATION CLUBS

Whereas the more than 200 MUCC delegates to the 28th annual convention and this board of directors are thoroughly familiar with the provisions of S. 1592, the so-called Dodd bill; and

Whereas the more than 60,000 members of the member clubs of MUCC by resolutions have admonished convention action pertaining to said bill; and

Whereas it is the firm conviction of all of said persons that if said bill becomes law needless restrictions will be placed upon the law abiding citizen in pursuit of his sport of hunting in that:

1. Increased dealer license fee from $1 to $100 will greatly limit the number of such dealers in guns and ammunition to the sportsmen's inconvenience and greater expense;

2. The provisions prohibiting the carrying of a gun across State lines, as on a hunting trip, without a permit, or the shipping of a gun for authorized repairs without a permit, will confound and hamper sportsmen unnecessarily and without benefit in the control of crime;

3. The several referrals to the Secretary of the Treasury of the right to make regulations in implementation of the bill and especially the right to regulate the local sale of guns and ammunition without any limitations in the bill as to the form or extent of such regulations, is particularly and vehemently opposed by all sportsmen; and

Whereas the members of MUCC clubs generally oppose all provisions of S. 1592 except those pertaining to destructive devices; and

Whereas the delegates indicated their willingness to support legislation of the type of the so-called Casey bill and the King-Hickenlooper bill: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention has gone on record by a substantially unanimous vote in opposition to legislation of the character of S. 1592 and that we support legislation of the general character of the Casey bill and the King-Hickenlooper bill; that copy of this resolution be sent to the entire Michigan delegation; to the President of the United States; to Senator DODD, and to Representative MILLS.

JAMES L. ROUMAN,
Executive Director.

More Than Meets the Eye

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I think there can be little quarrel, if any with President Johnson's program to beautify our highway vistas.

But putting ugliness out of sight of the motorist must not mean putting it out of mind. As the Bridgeport Telegram said in an editorial last June 1, the ugliness will not be so visible, but it will, too often, remain. We must extend our efforts beyond our throughway vistas; we must reach out to wherever our natural resources are being blighted.

I, therefore, wish to call the attention of my colleagues, who I know share my concern about the deterioration of the countryside, to the editorial which follows:

[From the Bridgeport (Conn.) Telegram, June 1, 1965]

MORE THAN MEETS THE EYE

Most people will support President Johnson's plan to beautify and protect the scenic corridor—the area within the line of sight of the Nation's highways.

More and more Americans will be using the new interstate freeways in coming years, driving quickly and conveniently to parts of the country they might not otherwise have visited, seeing new landscapes and works of nature they might not otherwise have had the opportunity to enjoy.

The dumps, the junkyards, the blatant billboards will be banned from the purview of the traveling motorist. None of the ugly artifacts and discards and byproducts of an industrialized and urbanized civilization will be allowed to mar the esthetic quality of the passing scene.

But out of sight should not be allowed to mean out of mind, for it will not necessarily mean out of existence. The ugliness will not be so visible, but it will, too often, remain.

It is easy today to drive into our large cities on the broad backs of throughways that slice with surgical directness through congested, rundown sections—and forget that the slums still fester beyond the antiseptic right-of-way.

It is easy to cruise a modern highway that arcs with engineered effortlessness across the green countryside—and forget that the quiet stream in the distance may be fetid with the effluvia of town and factory or that the pleasant grove of trees may screen the raw wounds of land raped for its minerals and then abandoned.

Beautification of the highway vista is important because it is along the roads that so much of our 20th century ugliness springs up, but it is only one skirmish in the administration's war on ugliness.

Other fronts involve the preservation and protection of untouched green spaces and waterlands and the restoration of those that have become derelict, ending stream and river and air pollution, finding some new use or method of disposal for the mountains of scrapped automobiles whose metal new steelmaking processes have rendered surplus.

Americans must care not only for the quality of the land they can see from the highways but also that which they may never see or visit or reside upon.

"Beauty was here and man has destroyed it to a great extent," says Anthony Celebrezze, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

"The question is how we can change man's behavior to restore beauty."

Rent Subsidy Similar to Wage Subsidy Which Failed in Britain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the House has approved by a narrow margin the rent-subsidy bill, but will have a chance to right this wrong if it comes back as a conference report.

Therefore, even though the hour is late, all may not be lost. It may be of special interest to Senators to learn of an analogy in British history to the rent-subsidy bill.

In 1795, near the beginning of the wars with France that culminated in Waterloo, the county authorities of Berkshire instituted a wage-subsidy scheme for relief of the poor. It was known as the Speenhamland system, or practice, and was widely copied. The payment of money from local taxes was permitted for the purpose of supplementing wages up to a fixed figure, when the price of bread reached a level regarded as imposing hardship on workers. The scheme was an utter failure, for employers simply beat down wages in the knowledge that the taxpayers would have to fork out enough for the workers to subsist. The system was swept away by the reformed poor laws in the act of 1834.

"He who knows not history is doomed to repeat it." The present proposal, of course, is to apply to housing, not wages, but the result will be the same. While I have the greatest sympathy for the poor in their problem of securing decent housing, I object to this device. It will raise hopes that will prove illusory, for it simply will not work.

The philosophy, indeed, of all these deals since the new reminds me of an incident in the history of Athens. When Pericles expressed to his friend and adviser—his Judge Rosenman, you might say—some uneasiness over the competition of a political rival far wealthier than he, the friend reassured him with the remark:

Nothing pleases the people so much as to receive presents from their own possessions.

I know of no more apt description of all this lavish Federal spending.

Will Shriver Show?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, on June 28, I requested permission to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an exchange of letters between Mr. Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and myself.

At Mr. Shriver's own request, I am submitting a further exchange of views between us. The letters follow:

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY,
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
Washington, D.C., June 30, 1965.

Hon. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PETER: I was very interested to read your letter of June 28 in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the same date. Unfortunately, the printed RECORD reached me before the letter arrived in my office.

I believe you may have misread my previous correspondence from which you deduce that I am "unwilling to meet with Republicans, in public or in private," to discuss the business of my agency. I have never said this and I can only reiterate that I hold myself ready to meet privately with any individual Member of Congress, whatever his or her political persuasion, to discuss any aspect of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

I have been privileged to hold numerous private meetings like this with Republican Members of Congress in the 8 months and 23 days this agency has been in existence. These meetings have been extremely fruitful and the good counsel and helpful suggestions that I have received as a result of them have been of great value to me.

It is unfortunate that you intimate that I am reluctant and allegedly fearful of attending meetings with individual Republicans that I already have said that I will attend.

Furthermore, I know of no "sensitive subjects" which you suggest I "would rather not discuss in public or private." I am prepared to discuss any subject that falls within the area of my responsibility.

Since I write this on the last day of the fiscal year, I want to add that I am proud of the accomplishments of my staff in the 266 days that this Office has been in business.

During this period, the Office of Economic Opportunity, with the assistance of hundreds of thousands of Americans from all walks of life, has been able to aid directly more than a million impoverished Americans and indirectly assist another 2 million members of their families.

Furthermore, a total of 530 community action grants have been made to assist local wars on poverty. At the same time, 90 percent of cities with populations of 50,000 or more have established local community action organizations on which serve 4,600 leading citizens who do not receive a penny of remuneration for their efforts.

This week 10,000 young men and women will be in the Job Corps receiving basic education and job skills at residential camps and centers throughout the Nation.

This week also the number of young men and women to have benefited from the Neighborhood Youth Corps will reach 265,000.

And by the end of this week the majority of 560,000 culturally deprived children will have entered 2,300 head start projects designed to prepare them this summer for school this fall. This figure is matched by an almost equal number of part- and full-time volunteers.

I hope you will be kind enough to add this letter to the previous correspondence you have placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD after you have received it.

Sincerely,

SARGENT SHRIVER,
Director.

JULY 12, 1965.

Hon. SARGENT SHRIVER,
Director, Office of Economic Opportunity,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SARGE: Many thanks for your letter of June 30, which I might add was not received in my office until July 2. Perhaps this delay explains why my last letter to you did not reach your desk until after you had read it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

You may be interested to know that I published our correspondence because your letter of June 21 indicated clearly that you had refused to discuss matters of common concern with us Republicans. The way in which you said "No" was so unusual I thought it might be of interest to others.

Since you wish to have our further correspondence placed in the RECORD, I shall of course comply with your request. You realize, I am sure, that we may both overestimate the appeal which our letters may have for the general reader of that publication.

As you suggest, I may have misread your previous correspondence. For example, did I misread your assertion that "it would seem unnecessary to schedule an executive session for the rediscussion" of matters you had covered in testimony before the House Education and Labor Committee? To me, this sounds like "No." Likewise, your willingness to discuss matters with "individual" Members of Congress sounds to me like an unwillingness to meet with a group. Do I misread your message?

At any rate, I hope I now understand that you really are willing, and ready, to discuss with Republicans your responsibilities as Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. As I understand it, and I hope you will correct me if I misread, you are prepared to discuss any aspect of the OEO, with any Member of Congress, even Republicans. This heartens me as the whole point of my efforts, since I first wrote you on June 3, has been to arrange such a discussion.

Do your repeated expressions of willingness to meet with "individual" Members of Congress mean that you will not meet with the individual members of the Republican Task Force on Economic Opportunity? Will you meet with them only if they come in one after another? Would it be impossible for you to meet privately with any group of Republicans?

Perhaps you would be kind enough to set a time convenient for you to meet with us, and to specify the conditions, if any, under which you will attend. Naturally we should prefer to meet with you as a group. If for some reason this would seem unwise to you, perhaps we could arrange a series of individual interviews. If we used a tape recording, we could eventually piece together your answers to the many questions on our minds.

Your recapitulation of what you consider achievements surely should not blind us to the urgent necessity of considering also your problems, and the advisability of considerable tightening of your increasingly criticized "war" on poverty. In pointing with unabashed pride at your accomplishments, you assert, for example, that 10,000 young men and women are now in the Job Corps. As of the end of June, I had understood there were actually only 8,345 in Job Corps camps, and that over 15 percent of those sent to such camps had already left. And did you not testify before a congressional committee only last autumn that there would be 40,000 in camps by June 30?

Likewise, your statistics on the Neighborhood Youth Corps, with 265,000 already enrolled, do not seem to jibe with the ceremony at the White House on June 11 in honor of the 100,000th enrollee.

Your letter that "a majority" of 560,000 children are enrolled in the preschool Head Start program gives no indication of how many are actually enrolled. Is it true, as reported in the New York Times, that in New York City alone they were short 3,000 children of their goal of 26,000? And what effect has the extreme haste in setting up these extensive pre-school programs had on the effectiveness of these efforts? Why not tell us of your problems rather than simply gloss over them?

You point with pride to the part- and full-time volunteers in the Head Start program, and the 4,600 "leading citizens" in local community action organizations who do not receive "a penny of remuneration" for their efforts. Would it not be at least as pertinent to reveal the number of federally subsidized helpers in these programs, how much they are being paid, and how big a bite the salaries of these employees represent of the total theoretically available to fight poverty?

Your failure to mention the VISTA program makes me wonder whether it is true that as of June 30 there were only 203 such volunteers in the field, and only 842 more in training. Had you not estimated there would be 5,000 VISTA volunteers by this time?

In conclusion, let me assure you once again that we seek to find ways to strengthen the programs for which you are responsible, and to improve their administration. To that end your cooperation will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN,
Member of Congress.

Drug Safety Investigation of the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. DOW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee, which is chaired by our very able colleague, Representative L. H. FOUNTAIN, and on which I serve, has recently held a number of searching hearings for the purpose of examining how the Food and Drug Administration is carrying out its responsibility for assuring the safety of new drugs. This is a grave responsibility, since the health and very lives of the American people may be affected by how well the FDA does its work in this vital area.

Following the subcommittee's most recent hearings on drug safety, the Washington Post carried two objective and perceptive reports on the hearings written by Mr. Morton Mintz, whose outstanding journalistic skill had earlier earned him recognition in connection with the Thalidomide tragedy. Because of the importance of the subcommittee's inquiry, under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD Mr. Mintz' informative articles, together with an editorial and an additional item on this subject which also appeared in the Washington Post.

The material follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, June 25, 1965]

FOUNTAIN SCOLDS FDA OFFICIALS FOR SUPPRESSION OF INFORMATION

(By Morton Mintz)

Representative L. H. FOUNTAIN, Democrat, North Carolina, sharply reminded top officials of the Food and Drug Administration yesterday that their responsibility is "not to the doctors, not to the drug companies, but to the consuming public who may live or die as a result of your decisions."

"You're not running a private business there," FOUNTAIN said at a hearing of his House Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee. "You people don't own it."

As in past episodes, Fountain was angered by FDA's techniques for delaying, denying or handling information sought by the subcommittee in monitoring FDA's performance.

At one point, he threatened to use subpoenas to obtain documents and to prevent FDA officials from sitting in at Subcommittee interviews with agency personnel—a practice he has termed "a hell of a situation." FDA Commissioner George P. Larrick broke in to say he has been "authorized to relax" the auditing practice.

Earlier, in an unusual action, FOUNTAIN told Larrick, Dr. Joseph F. Sadusk, Jr., FDA Medical Director, and six top aides to raise their hands together and take an oath before testifying.

The Congressman's mood was not improved when Dr. Sadusk produced a mimeographed-in-advance statement about the subject of the hearing—FDA's decision-making in regard to an antidepressant drug—that he had not disclosed to subcommittee investigators when he met with them Wednesday night.

The antidepressant is Smith, Kline & French's Parnate (tranylcypromine). By February 1964—38 months after it went on sale—FDA had reports of 15 fatal and 35 nonfatal strokes, among 400 side effects, and halted the marketing. At that time, an estimated 1.5 million Americans had taken it.

Seeking to have sales resumed, SKF proposed restricting Parnate to hospitalized patients under care of psychiatrists. FDA refused. It said other treatments—electroshock therapy and alternative antidepressants—were as effective and safer. The agency suggested and set a public hearing.

In mid-May 1964, about 6 weeks after taking office, Dr. Sadusk met with SKF representatives who proposed remarketing with tougher use instructions on the label. In a later meeting, he proposed, and the company rejected, returning Parnate to experimental status.

In June, on the eve of the scheduled hearing, FDA announced that it had agreed with SKF on a drastic, restricted-use labeling. Remarketing began in August.

On the basis of a recent FDA report, the subcommittee said that in the first 9 months since remarketing Parnate patients have suffered 18 strokes, 7 of them fatal.

However, in the statement, Dr. Sadusk withheld from the subcommittee, he said an analysis showed that only four of the fatal strokes occurred in the United States, and that all of these involved the use of the drug before the labeling revision. FOUNTAIN said that until his staff has had a chance to examine the underlying data, the analysis is suspect.

Defending his remarketing decision, Dr. Sadusk cited the new labeling, comparative death rates with electroshock therapy, strong pro-Parnate opinions among practicing physicians and 11 controlled studies indicating it was effective in severe depressions.

FOUNTAIN developed these points in rebuttal:

Dr. Sadusk asked Dr. Jonathan O. Cole of the National Institute of Mental Health to evaluate the 11 studies as to Parnate's effectiveness against depression generally. He was, and is, favorable to remarketing. But had the question concerned effectiveness in severe depression—the condition for which the drug is advised—he would have reported no substantial evidence of efficacy.

Of the 11 studies, Dr. Cole found 5 irrelevant, 1 sketchy, and 1 lacking a placebo control. Two involved Parnate in a combination product that FDA has deemed unsafe. Another study had favorable and unfavorable efficacy data—but Dr. Cole reported only the favorable.

The remarketing decision was opposed by two top Bureau of Medicine officials and by the medical officer responsible for Parnate, Dr. Arthur Engelman, then the Bureau's only psychiatrist. He said remarketing would sacrifice lives and prolong suffering. Dr. Sadusk said the psychiatrist had "a very strong bias." He has left FDA.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, June 26, 1965]

HEW TESTIMONY VARIES, PROBE TOLD

(By Morton Mintz)

Representative L. H. FOUNTAIN, Democrat of North Carolina, said yesterday that high-ranking physicians from two different branches of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare had given "conflicting testimony" to his House Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee.

At the close of an inquiry into the Food and Drug Administration's monitoring of the safety of marketed drugs, FOUNTAIN also said that the agency's policies and procedures in this area "may be subverting the intent of the Congress in passing the drug amendments of 1962." In other developments:

Inconsistencies were indicated between statements made by one of the physicians, Dr. Joseph F. Sadusk, Jr., FDA's Medical Director, and interviews with two additional HEW doctors as reported by subcommittee investigator W. Donald Gray.

An anguished Dr. Sadusk, his face flushed, protested challenges to "my integrity and veracity" by Gray and a subcommittee staff colleague, Delphis C. Goldberg. FOUNTAIN said his kids had done no more than seek documentation.

Assistant FDA Commissioner Winton B. Rankin acknowledged that consideration had been given to starting a criminal prosecution of Smith Kline & French Laboratories in connection with animal data submitted for its antidepressant, Parnate (tranylcypromine). Rankin said the idea was dropped after investigation showed the data contained minor errors. FOUNTAIN questioned whether the data may not have been "false and misleading."

Questioning brought out that before FDA decided to allow remarketing of Parnate, sales of which had been stopped after numerous reports of nonfatal and fatal strokes in users, the agency's Bureau of Medicine was given a lecture by a psychiatrist who had received SKF grants and was to be a witness for the company at a hearing on Parnate.

EXAMPLE OF CONFLICT

One instance of conflicting testimony involved Dr. Sadusk and Dr. Jonathan O. Cole, director of the Psychopharmacology Service Center of the National Institute of Mental Health.

On Thursday, Dr. Cole testified that Dr. Sadusk had asked him to evaluate 11 studies on Parnate's efficacy, not in severe depression—the specific condition for which it is recommended—but in depression generally.

The subcommittee regards the distinction as crucial. Dr. Cole indicated his favorable impression of the data for depression would not have held for severe depression.

Dr. Sadusk said yesterday, however, that he had gone to Dr. Cole's home in early June 1964, and shown him the proposed, drastic relabeling under which Parnate would be returned to the market for use in severe depression.

After the Thursday session, Dr. Sadusk said, he had discussed the visit with Dr. Cole, who couldn't recall being shown the relabeling.

On challenge from Gray involved Dr. David W. Harris, a St. Elizabeths Hospital phychiatrist who had been enlisted by FDA as a witness to testify to insufficient evidence of Parnate's efficacy.

Speaking from memory, Dr. Sadusk named Dr. Harris as among FDA's consultants who had changed his mind and declined to testify. Gray said that Dr. Harris told him Wednesday that at no time had he indicated an unwillingness to testify.

SECOND CHALLENGE

A second challenge concerned an FDA press release, intiated by Dr. Sadusk, announcing the decision to let sales of Parnate resume and the cancellation of the hearing at which Dr. Harris and others were to testify.

Referring to but not naming Dr. Cole and Dr. Fritz A. Freyhan, director of clinical research for the National Institute of Mental Health, the release said that the experts

"were consulted by FDA and concurred in the action taken."

While the experts concurred in the remarketing, Gray said Dr. Freyhan told him the efficacy studies were not very well done and would not have given Dr. Sadusk "a leg to stand on" at a hearing on Parnate.

In a series of personal observations about FDA's handling of Parnate and other drugs, Fountain cited "decisions made more on the basis of personal opinion than on the basis of the available scientific evidence," decisions raising questions about FDA's compliance with the law's requirement that to remain on sale drugs must be shown to be effective, and decisions in which the views of responsible FDA medical officers had not been adequately considered.

The question of prosecution came up in connection with SKF animal data prepared by Hazleton Laboratories of Falls Church. Before the remarketing decision was made, FDA discovered that, in parts of the data, animals on huge doses of Parnate that had suffered brain hemorrhages were listed as having suffered brain congestion.

Investigation showed that over the objection of the technician involved a supervisor had substituted the milder description. However, FDA's spokesmen said that they had assumed hemorrhages had occurred but determined that, especially because of the abnormal animal dosages, it made no difference.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, June 30, 1965]

REGULATING DRUGS

Is the Food and Drug Administration carrying out its mandate to protect the public? The Kefauver-Harris amendments to the Pure Food and Drug Act, passed in 1962, instruct the FDA to prohibit the marketing of drugs that have not been shown to be both efficacious and safe. But according to the information elicited by Representative L. H. FOUNTAIN's Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, the FDA has been rather lax in permitting the marketing of several pharmaceutical preparations that are suspected of causing strokes and birth defects.

Mr. FOUNTAIN's most disquieting strictures are directed toward the marketing decisions recommended by Dr. Joseph F. Sadusk, Jr., the FDA's medical director. The first involves the decision to continue the nonprescription sales of certain antihistamines recommended for morning and motion sickness which in the opinion of some scientists are suspected to be capable of causing birth defects.

According to the record, Dr. Sadusk first recommended to FDA Commissioner George P. Larrick that nonprescription sales be halted and that physicians be warned that their "safety in early pregnancy has not been established." But he suddenly withdrew his recommendation, and the drugs are to be sold on a nonprescription basis with a label warning that pregnant women should consult a physician. The difficulty is that the warning is totally ineffective in instances—and there are many—where women are still unaware of the fact that they are pregnant.

The second case involves an antidepressant suspected of precipitating strokes. In February 1964, after the FDA had reports of 50 strokes and 350 less serious side effects, it halted sales of the drug. But by August, after Dr. Sadusk had conferred with representatives of the manufacturer, the drug was returned to market with a drastic, restricted-use label. Information that will cast light on the side effects of the drug since the remarketing order is still being collected.

Incidents such as these can sometimes arise out of honest differences of opinion between men who are competent to evaluate the effectiveness and safety of drugs. What is disquieting about these cases is that they appear to fit into a pattern of permissiveness. It was made abundantly clear at the time of his appointment that Dr. Sadusk was chosen for his post with an eye toward pleasing the pharmaceutical manufacturers and the organized physicians. "He has," according to the April 16 issue of Medical World News, "repudiated the so-called young Turks in the FDA who demanded arms-length dealings with the industry and the AMA and excessively harsh enforcement of all drug controls."

Vice President HUMPHREY, when he headed a Senate investigation of the FDA in 1964, strongly doubted whether the agency, "with its record of past laxity," was capable of administering the provisions of the Kefauver-Harris amendments in a "strong and effective manner." Mr. FOUNTAIN, a conservative Democrat from North Carolina who is not given to hyperbole, recently stated that: "There appears to be serious deficiencies in the FDA's policies and procedures for monitoring the continued safety of new drugs after their approval for marketing which may be subverting the intent of Congress in passing the drug amendments of 1962."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 4, 1965]

FDA ADMITS TO ERROR IN TESTIMONY ON DRUG

The Food and Drug Administration has acknowledged that it erred in recent testimony about the incidence of adverse effects among users of Parnate, an antidepressant drug.

This was disclosed yesterday by Representative L. H. FOUNTAIN, Democrat, of North Carolina, whose House Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee held a 2-day inquiry into the FDA decisionmaking process by which Parnate was allowed to be remarketed starting last August 1. Sales of the drug had been halted several months earlier.

In defending the remarketing, the agency's medical director, Dr. Joseph F. Sadusk, Jr., testified, "There have been no reported deaths which have come to our attention involving use of Parnate in the United States since Parnate was returned to the market with revised labeling."

To back this up, Dr. Sadusk supplied statistics on reports to FDA of so-called hypertensive crises and strokes since remarketing. He was supported by Commissioner George P. Larrick.

However, FOUNTAIN said in a statement, the subcommittee "was prevented from verifying the accuracy of these figures both before and during the hearings because FDA had declined to provide the supporting documentation."

FDA's statistics showed 18 reports of strokes, 7 of them fatal, and 25 reports of hypertensive crises. The agency said that of the seven fatalities, three had occurred abroad. All four of those in the United States were said to have occurred before remarketing, although reported afterward.

Responding last Tuesday to a request for documentation, FOUNTAIN said, Dr. Sadusk acknowledged "that we were in error" in connection with one of the deaths, which did occur after remarketing. However, he noted, "the evidence indicates there was no causal relation between Parnate and the death."

The medical director also disclosed that four, rather than three, of the deaths occurred abroad, and that three additional foreign deaths not included in the original tabulation have now come to light.

FOUNTAIN commented that while the subcommittee still has not had an opportunity to verify FDA's statistics fully, "I think it important that the hearing record be corrected * * * since the hearings will not be printed for some time."

Richland, Wash.—The Town That Would Not Stay Down

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CATHERINE MAY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, the latest issue of the U.S. World & News Report carried an excellent article on one of my communities which has created a proud record of self-self.

I ask that this article be included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

TOWN THAT WOULDN'T STAY DOWN

(NOTE.—No jobs for one out of every four wage earners—that prospect faced a one-industry community in Washington State 18 months ago. Then, industry teamed with civic and Government leaders to turn gloom into brightness.)

RICHLAND, WASH.—What happens to a community when it is threatened with a sharp cutback in a defense industry provides a livelihood for 80 percent of its residents?

Is economic disaster inevitable? Not necessarily. A close look at what happened here might provide a lesson for other U.S. communities caught in the same situation.

Just when it seemed that Richland and and its sister cities of Pasco and Kennewick might be doomed to industrial decay, an encouraging rebirth has taken place.

CONFIDENCE RETURNS

The cutback in production at the region's biggest industry—the Atomic Energy Commission's Hanford Works—has been successfully absorbed. New and varied industries are moving in. The world's largest power-plant run by steam from nuclear heat is being built. Employment is going up. Confidence once again is high.

Trouble loomed for the Tricities, as Richland, Pasco, and Kennewick are known, when President Johnson in January 1964 announced a 25-percent cut in plutonium production. The main business in the Tricities since World War II has been the production of plutonium for nuclear weapons. For 22 years, this area in southeastern Washington has been dependent on the nearby Hanford Works, a $1.4 billion plant and reservation occupying 580 square miles on the Columbia River. Heart of the works consists of nine nuclear reactors, two fuel fabricators and two chemical-separation plants. The only product is plutonium.

Hanford fuel made possible the first atomic explosion near Alamogordo, N. Mex., in 1945. Hanford has been the Nation's top supplier of plutonium.

HUGE PAYROLL

As many as 8,300 people work at the Hanford plant. Thousands more make their living supplying services to the workers. AEC officials estimate that the annual payroll of $73 million supports 80 percent of the population.

Under the planned cutback, about 2,000 workers faced the loss of their jobs—roughly 25 percent of the work force. Three of the nine reactors and one chemical-separation plant were being shut down. It was a grim prospect for the area's residents.

The Tricities had come a long way since 1943. In March of that year, the ground was broken for the first nuclear-reactor plant on a piece of desert covered by sagebrush and Russian thistle.

Inhabitants were mainly jackrabbits and deer. Richland was a rural village of 247; Kennewick had 1,918 residents, and Pasco had 3,913. The population of the area today is about 80,000.

Civic leaders long have recognized the danger of depending on a single product, particularly one that could be stockpiled for use only in total war. Since 1961, efforts had been made to attract diversified industries. However, little progress was made until the announcement 18 months ago of the planned cutback at the Hanford Works.

THE TURNING POINT

At the same time, General Electric Corp., which had operated the Hanford plant for the AEC since 1946, announced that it would not seek renewal of its contract. The AEC then decided to split the contract among several companies.

AEC specified, in calling for bids to replace the master contract held by General Electric, that new contractors must not only fulfill their obligations to the Government but must contribute to the future economic development of the area.

Topflight concerns bid on the contracts. Many company officials expressed interest in the area as a possible future site for plant expansion. Says Harry E. Parker, an AEC official at Richland: "We have awakened a fair segment of American industry to the potential of the Tricities and the whole Pacific Northwest. This is the next frontier. California is crowded. The only place to go is up here."

Biggest new contract went to a joint venture by Douglas Aircraft and United Nuclear Corp. They will take over the reduced operations at the Hanford Works. The two companies also will construct a $2.6 million plant for fabrication of plutonium to go into operation in 1967.

SPACE-VEHICLE RESEARCH

Douglas, on its own, will build the Douglas Laboratories, a $2 million facility on 119 acres purchased from the city of Richland. There, it will conduct research on nuclear space vehicles.

United Nuclear plans to build a $2 million plant to manufacture zirconium tubes for use in nuclear reactors.

Another big contract went to a joint operation of U.S. Rubber and Martin Marietta Corp. They formed Isochem, Inc., to process fission products into forms useful for both defense and commercial purposes. The firm will employ 1,500 workers.

Isochem also will begin construction next year of an $8 million plant to process and package radioactive isotopes from Hanford's radioactive wastes. These can be used for a variety of purposes, ranging from food preservation to supplying power for remote installations such as polar weather stations.

One of the most far-reaching contracts was won by the Battelle Memorial Institute, of Columbus, Ohio, a nonprofit research and development organization. It took over the $85 million Hanford Laboratory.

MILLIONS FOR EXPANSION

Battelle will conduct research and development projects for the AEC and other Government agencies, as well as for private industry. It plans a $20 million expansion over the next 10 years.

Other newcomers setting up services here include the Computer Sciences Corp., of El Segundo, Calif., handling both Government and private work, and U.S. Testing Co., Inc., of Hoboken, N.J., which has invested $600,000 in a new plant in Richland.

The center for graduate study, affiliated with the University of Washington, plans a $1.5 million expansion of its facilities on an 84-acre campus in Richland. In Pasco, Columbia Basin College offers a 2-year program that stresses scientific-technical studies.

Where once there was deep worry, Tricities residents now are enthusiastically optimistic. Predictions that closing of the three reactors would cause widespread unemployment have not been realized. For the most part, new contractors are hiring more people.

New homes, churches, schools, highways, and a big Federal building are being constructed.

Many business firms are remodeling. The Pasco airport, which serves the area is being enlarged.

WANTED: "STEADY GROWTH"

Despite the favorable signs, R. F. Philip, president of the Tri-City Herald, does not look for a spectacular boom.

"We don't even want a boom," he says. "We want a solid, steady growth."

Civic leaders believe the area's future lies, in part, in agriculture and food processing. Already, a grapejuice plant has been built. In the planning stage is a plant to process frozen fried potatoes.

A nearby pulp plant is undergoing a $7 million expansion, and a chemical plant is adding to its factory.

The Hanford area soon will lead the rest of the country in nuclear power. A group of 16 public utility districts in the State is building a $122 million steamplant near the big nuclear reactor about 50 miles from Richland.

When it goes into full operation in 1966, it will be able to supply 860,000 kilowatts of power—nearly equal to the total output of 970,000 kilowatts generated by 13 other nuclear plants in the United States. It is enough power to supply two cities the size of Washington, D.C.

A major tri-cities project now is to persuade the AEC to build in the Hanford area a 200-billion-electron-volt accelerator that has been proposed. This huge atom smasher will help physicists to search for basic matter that makes up the universe. It will cost about $300 million, employ 2,000 workers, and have a yearly operational cost of $50 to $100 million.

FUTURE LOOKS ROSY

With everything else going so well for the tri-cities now, capture of the accelerator contract would crown the efforts of its citizens to prevent the economic disaster that loomed just 18 months ago. Even without that prize, the future looks good.

It's no wonder that people around here speak of "a miracle in the desert."

Honors for California's GOP Chief

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, an outstanding Californian was recently accorded a great honor. Dr. Gaylord Parkinson, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of California, was selected national chairman of the Republican State Chairmen's Association. In this post, "Parky" will undoubtedly make many significant contributions toward the increased strength of the Republican Party. His predecessor in this office is our new national chairman, Ray Bliss.

It is not an easy task to fill the shoes of Ray Bliss, but we who have worked with Gaylord Parkinson now that he has the skill to carry on this important work. Ray Bliss and the Republican National Committee must feel this way, too, for "Parky" was also chosen to be chairman of the Western Conference of Republican State Chairmen. Only a man of dedication, great ability and boundless energy could think of tackling all of these jobs.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I think my colleagues would be interested in reading the following editorial of commendation which appeared in the Los Angeles Times on July 5, 1965:

HONORS FOR CALIFORNIA'S GOP CHIEF

Selection of California's GOP State chairman, Dr. Gaylord Parkinson, as national chairman of the Republican State Chairmen's Association, marks recognition not only of his State's vital role in the national political scene but of his own capacity to get things done.

The San Diego obstetrician is a member of the new breed emerging in Republican politics. He has displayed intelligence and competence in a field that requires ingenuity and organization ability—and for which there are no rule books. A man of moderation, Dr. Parkinson can serve as an effective catalyst between the two wings in the party.

In addition, Dr. Parkinson was named chairman of the western conference of the State chairmen's organization thus giving him three GOP hats to wear.

He merits commendation for the job already done, and good wishes for the formidable tasks ahead. It could be that he's just what the doctor ordered to help restore the party to its former health.

The Dirksen Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, the proposed Dirksen amendment to the Constitution concerns an issue of vital interest to all of us. In my own State of Maryland, 14 percent of the population elects a majority of the State senate. This is clearly inequitable. The Prince Georges Democratic Forum has drafted a resolution supporting the philosophy that one citizen's vote should carry as much weight, no more and no less, than that of any other. In support of their views against Senator DIRKSEN's amendment, I insert their resolution in the RECORD:

THE DIRKSEN AMENDMENT—A RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE PRINCE GEORGES DEMOCRATIC FORUM

The Democratic Forum of Prince Georges County opposes the passage of any of those proposals now pending before the Congress to amend the Constitution of the United States to provide for unequal representation in State legislatures. These proposals include Senate Joint Resolution 2 introduced by Senator DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois; Senate Joint Resolution 38 introduced by Senator CHURCH, Democrat, of Idaho; and Senate Joint Resolution 44 introduced by Senator JAVITS, Republican, of New York.

There are slight variations in the wording of the proposals introduced by Senators CHURCH, and JAVITS, but they are similar in principle and substance to the Dirksen proposal.

If either of these were adopted as an amendment to the Constitution, it would be provided that one house of a State legislature could be apportioned on a basis "other than population" provided that the voters of the State approve of such an arrangement by referendum.

This proposal is one of several approaches designed for the purpose of attempting to reverse the dictate of the Constitution as presently written and as first ruled upon in concrete situations by the Supreme Court in the case of *Baker* v. *Carr* in 1962 and in other cases since that time. In these and other cases it was held in substance that one person's vote should have the same weight as another person's vote without regard to an individual's station in life, whether rich or poor, man or woman, highly educated or poorly educated, without regard to religious belief, to political belief, to race or color or national origin, and without regard to the section of a State in which he happens to reside. It is precisely the struggle for the foregoing objective that consumes many chapters of the history of representative government. Time and time again devices have been forced or foisted upon the people having the effect of producing governmental coercive authority on the basis of some consideration "other than population," devices for the objective of either disallowing any vote at all or for the purpose of reducing some individual's vote to a minute fraction of another individual's vote. It is with reluctance that the melancholy fact must be recognized that such propositions are still seriously argued in approaches such as that contained in the Dirksen proposal.

The Dirksen proposal only pretends to provide for apportionment in one house on some basis "other than population" while, in fact, it provides that one sector of the population shall have more representation than another similar sector of the population; it in fact provides that because of differences in people, whatever those differences may turn out to be, one persons' vote shall be counted as much more important than another person's vote. The distinction may be based on place of residence, so that an individual is given much greater representation because his home is surrounded by several acres of forest or farmland. The distinction may be based on artificial boundaries, such as those marking off a town, city, or county, so that an individual is given much more representation because he happens to reside within such boundaries. Whatever the reason or justification or excuse, there is no escape from the fact that the scheme provides for more voting weight for one class of persons than for another class of persons, all of whom make up the population.

There seems to be no doubt that the purpose of the Dirksen proposal is to provide greater representation for the so-called rural inhabitant and smaller representation for the so-called urban inhabitant; and by providing that such disproportionate voting strength shall come into existence only by approval of all the voters in a referendum, a bow is made to the concept of "one man, one vote." In other words, the creation of a body of the legislature on the basis of 10 votes for 1 person and one-tenth of a vote for another person should be all right and acceptable if such an arrangement is adopted on the basis of "one man, one vote." The Dirksen proposal tells the American people that they should vote away a large part of their voting rights. In terms of the procedure set up by the Dirksen proposal, it is exactly the same as if the amendment provided that freedom of speech shall be abridged if a majority of the voters in a State so provide, or that freedom of worship, or freedom of assembly, or freedom to petition for redress of grievances, or any one of them, shall be abridged or limited or reduced if not eliminated in any State in which a majority of the voters so determine in a single election. Such a principle opens up a route by which all individual rights can be tampered with, and it should be rejected for that reason alone.

But, finally, the so-called rural elements should look more deeply at the threat to their own rights which is imbedded in the Dirksen proposal. By allowing representation in one house on a basis "other than population," a large Pandora's box is opened because no limitation is placed on what the other basis or bases shall be. In an attempt to increase power, such standards as per capita income could be used, or amount of taxes paid to the State per capita, or amount of wealth owned or controlled, or amount of formal education attained on the average by each citizen. Every one of these standards would fall under the category of a basis "other than population," resulting in one class of of citizens having more voting strength than another class. Every one of them has existed or been proposed in the past as a standard for disproportionate voting strength. And every one of them would today favor the so-called urban voter and reduce the representation of the so-called rural voter. In the matter of political power, such temptations should not be dangled before the urban population. Under a banner of favor to them, rural voters should not be deceived into supporting a method by which their own future voting equality is placed in jeopardy, for a constitutional amendment looks not only to today but also to the far future, and there is no certainty that future urban political forces shall be always self-restraining.

Today's urban dweller is more often than not the son or daughter or grandson or granddaughter of a rural dweller. There are ties that bind them all so inextricably together that there is very little substance to the rural-urban conflict so-called; but these filial ties will weaken as time passes, leaving rational standards as the principal limitation on the struggle for political power. Whatever the other differences between individuals, the principle that each person is the same in the voting booth is one which enhances the dignity and solemnity of each individual and is most likely to produce the feeling of stability that breeds confidence in American institutions: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Prince Georges Democratic Forum strongly opposes not only the specific provisions contained in the Dirksen proposal but also any other proposals embodying the philosophy that one citizen's vote in any State is to be counted either as more or less important than another's, no matter what the justification expressed for such discrimination; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to such State and Federal elected officials as determined by the board of directors of the Prince Georges Democratic Forum.

Reds Routed From Vietnam Rice Bowl

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the editor of the Chicago American, Mr. Lloyd Wendt, who is in Vietnam on a factfinding mission, reports in the third of his series of articles on an important victory of the South Vietnamese against the Vietcong and the efforts to reconstruct and rehabilitate the area involved. Of particular interest are Mr. Wendt's observations on the relations between the Americans in Vietnam and the people of that country:

REDS ROUTED FROM VIETNAM RICE BOWL

(By Lloyd Wendt)

GO CONG, SOUTH VIETNAM.—We are deep in the delta rice bowl, where cleanup operations against the Vietcong have yielded 255 Vietcong killed, according to reports. Our sector, Go Cong Province, the smallest in Vietnam, is quiet now.

Col. Roy Preston, of Miami, Okla., commanding the advisers here, and his assistant Maj. Earl Scales, of Baraboo, Wis., already are busy with their pacification and reconstruction chores.

Go Cong, on the Mytho River, appears in a jubilant mood as the news comes through of government victories. Just a few days ago the South Vietnamese troops ambushed the Vietcong in nearby Mytho Province and captured Muoi Ha, the Vietcong province chief and his entire politburo. It is hailed as one of the most impressive of government victories and has been followed by the cleanup today.

There will still be some Vietcong in this area, they once controlled about 30 percent of the villages and hamlets. But the tide of war in this area is running against them, and this is where the rice comes from.

"Now our own local guerrillas can be more active," said Capt. Anthony Harring, of Cairo, N.Y., an aide to Preston. "Where the Vietcong had control they heavily taxed the farmers. Those who have been freed are glad to have their freedom. They'll fight to keep it."

In this area the Vietcong had maintained control by raiding villages for hostages, by recruiting some of the young men, and by the continued aid from former Viet Minh, men who fought the French and who object to any form of central government.

The disorganization in the area is a heritage of the French regime. Few were educated, there was little local self government, and in the past resistance to injustices was left to the Viet Minh, or Communists, trained by leaders from the north.

Now the Americans are trying to change things, setting up schools, aiding in village reorganization, and bringing in technicians to aid with the rice problems. The area is on a salt dome and the salt water regularly comes up to attack the crop.

Consequently, Da Cong province raises only one rice crop a year. The salt can be defeated, it is believed, by the creation of fresh water reservoirs.

The acceptance of the new American program is obvious. The people clearly want to be friends. They are taking advantage of the hamlet reorganization program. And the "Chieu hio" program, the government's plan for welcoming converted Vietcong back into village life, seems to be working. There now are 45 Vietcong men and 18 women in the district jail, getting reorientation training. All will be put to work on reconstruction projects, and ultimately they'll get their freedom.

"They are well treated," said Preston. "This makes sense. When word gets out that the Vietcong who gives up is treated well there'll be an increase in conversions. We won't have to kill 'em or drive 'em out to win."

The provincial chief, Lt. Col. Nguyen Viet Thanh, was not about to exhibit his Vietcong prizes, however. Thanh was too occupied to take visitors to the jail. So Preston's word for it that prisoners are not mistreated was accepted.

Preston is proud that in Go Cong Province there was an election, democratic style, May 31. "There were nine candidates for six

provincial council offices," he said. "Considering that the Vietcong tries to kill elected officers, this is pretty good. There was an 89-percent turnout of the registered voters. Try to match that in one of the United States."

We were invited to a hamlet reorganization meeting in the home of the chief of Long Ong, population 318. The meeting was attended by the chief and his advisers, Preston and his aids, Gail Friemark, the American district rehabilitation adviser, 39 chattering children, and one black duck, which marched solemnly about the room throughout the proceedings.

It was the task of the village officials to prove that Long Ong had met six conditions of rehabilitation. As it turned out, the hamlet had held an election, it had purged itself of the Vietcong, it had a flourishing yellow Buddhist pagoda, and it otherwise qualified.

The village officials, in their western business garb, were pleased to learn that Long Ong would henceforth be recognized as loyal to the government. When the meeting concluded each picked up his gun, the armed guards outside dispersed, and the women came out of the kitchen to resume their household chores.

"These people want democracy once they've learned how to get it," said Preston. "We have excellent relations with the local population. This province will ultimately be completely restored to the government."

Preston certainly proved that Americans are welcome here. The big, sandy haired Oklahoman towers above the Vietnamese as he goes about the village and the Province with minimum protection. He'd make an easy target for the Vietcong. "It's perfectly safe," he insisted. "Naturally, we are careful, and we don't go about at night."

Those are the chores the soldiers have when the fighting stops. If a single day's demonstration of their work is an adequate criteria, the Americans here are doing OK.

Poverty War Saps American Spirit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, the various ramifications of the so-called war on poverty have brought to light waste, Democratic partisan activity, mismanagement, and disregard of State and local prerogatives. Recently, my friend, William H. Rentschler of Illinois, who was a Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate in the April 1960, primary, reported on a startling activity in the war on poverty which should shock every Member of this House.

I commend this article to my colleagues in the House and to the American public:

POVERTY WAR SAPS AMERICAN SPIRIT

(By William H. Rentschler)

I was jolted by a phone call the other day.

It came out of the blue from a Princeton University lad who told me he was lining up summer jobs for college students, and asked if the company which I head could find a place for a student or two.

I told him I thought he was a little late—well into July—to be talking about summertime employment.

"Oh," he said brightly, "I'm talking about next summer."

That really floored me.

I said I couldn't possibly tell what our needs would be a year from now and suggested that he get back in touch with me in April or May of 1966.

Then I asked, "Are you looking for a job for yourself next summer?"

"No, sir," came the reply. "I'm trying to find job opportunities for other students."

My next question was, "Well, why can't they get in touch with me direct?"

"I suppose they could, but that isn't the way this program works," he replied.

"What program?" I inquired, by now a little baffled. "Are these students hiring you to find summer jobs for them?"

"Oh, no, sir, this is part of the, uh, part of the poverty program, you know, the poverty program the Government is running."

When I regained consciousness, I had just enough strength left to ask still another question: "Do you mean to tell me that the poverty corps is sending you around now to find jobs for college students next summer?"

"Yes, sir."

All I could do was splutter. "Incredible. Do you get paid for this mission?"

"Oh, sure, and it's really helping me out this summer," the young man said earnestly. "I can use the money."

Perhaps I lack understanding. I may well be dumb, unsympathetic, and hardhearted. Maybe my arteries and attitudes are getting brittle.

But I can't for the life of me see any possible justification for this sort of activity in—of all things—the poverty program, or, for that matter, in any other Federal appendage.

Back 15 or so years, I myself was a Princeton undergraduate. Despite the contrary opinion of my children, that really wasn't the "Dark Ages." Students were just as hard-up then as they are now.

But if they needed jobs, they went out and knocked on doors and made their own phone calls and sold themselves without sending around in their behalf gray flannel envoys and/or budding undergraduate bureaucrats at taxpayer expense.

Poverty czar Sargent Shriver really ought to be ashamed of himself.

I freely admit that my impression of the whole "poverty" effort from the very beginning has been skeptical at best and downright negative at worst.

Demagogs and shrewd politicians down through the ages have scaled the heights by pledging to wipe out poverty and create an idyllic, unscarred land of milk and honey. But history shows that Government-guided poverty programs invariably fail to do the noble job and just as invariably add scads of bureaucrats and precinct captains to the public payroll.

This Nation has come closest to eradicating true poverty—not through an endlessly inventive sheaf of Government programs—but rather because the unique American free enterprise economy has brought more people more material well-being than any system yet devised by man.

The Johnson-Shriver "attack" on poverty differs little from all the rest, except perhaps that it is more wide-ranging, more ingenious, and embellished more by massive modern-day public relations technique. It is something of a political grab bag, a fountain of cascading dollars over which Democratic politicians are already scrapping and snarling. Stripped bare of its glitter, it is a program calculated to elect and then perpetuate incumbent administrations and politicos, and only secondarily will it get at the tough, demanding job of really reducing the rolls of the poor.

It is both cynical and unfair to make lavish promises and lift the hopes of the genuinely needy while Ivy Leaguers and other leaguers are paid to ferret out next summer's jobs for presumably able-bodied, even if not filthy rich, college students.

In one of John Steinbeck's books, a tired old man who long ago led a wagon train westward across the American plains and mountains to the Pacific offers this doleful lament:

"Westering has died out of the people. Westering isn't a hunger any more. It's all done. * * * It is finished."

Perhaps the spirit that shaped America is "all done * * * finished."

I hope and pray and believe in my heart it is not.

But if a trace of the old daring remains, the poverty program and others akin to it, by damping the inborn initiative of pliable, impressionable young people, is surely stifling the spirit and character which made America great in its "wagon train" era and which must prevail to make it greater in this "age of astronauts and automation."

To nurture what remains of that flickering spirit, we must challenge and stir and uplift our youth. We must inspire them to dream. We must hold out the promise of opportunity—not security. We must instill the hunger to serve mankind—not be served. We must demand the best they can give—and not readily accept less.

Through the Peace Corps, Sargent Shriver rekindled for one brief shining moment the rare, irresistible spirit of a younger America. But now he has lost it. What confronts us this day is no job for bureaucrats or planners, for Federal moguls or Federal agencies.

It is plainly a task and stubborn challenge for each individual American.

Research Subcommittee Has Made a "Solid Contribution" to Evaluating the Impact of Federal Research Grants on Higher Education, Science Magazine Says

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, in its July 2 issue, the magazine Science, published a comprehensive article on the investigation by the Subcommittee on Research and Technical Programs of the impact of Federal research grants on our colleges and universities.

The author of the article, John Walsh, comments that:

The subcommittee has made a solid contribution by giving serious attention to a number of interrelated questions which have been vexing people in higher education since the rise of big science. And the record of the investigation will be a useful one not least because the net was cast wider in the academic community than usual.

The article goes on to provide a concise account of some of the most important statements and findings in the subcommittee's investigation.

Because I believe this matter will be of interest to many Members and particularly to institutions of higher education in their home areas, I include the full text of the article:

SUBCOMMITTEE SURVEYS EFFECTS OF FEDERALLY SUPPORTED RESEARCH ON HIGHER EDUCATION

The question of the extent to which Federal support of research has harmed as well

as helped American institutions of higher education is not a new one inside Congress or out, but a House subcommittee has lately been giving the subject its most intensive scrutiny to date on Capitol Hill.

The initiative came from the House Government Operations Committee's new Subcommittee on Research and Technical Programs chaired by Representative HENRY S. REUSS, Democrat, of Wisconsin. This subcommittee, established in February, is the latest among several groups formed in the House to consider the conduct and implications of the $15-billion-plus-a-year Federal research and development effort.

REUSS's subcommittee based its investigation on 3 days of hearings in mid-June and a canvass by letter of some 300 "selected faculty members in a number of fields, as well as university administrators and other distinguished citizens." About 170 replies were received in time to allow the subcommittee staff to put together a compendium intended to provide a cross section of opinion and to publish it as a committee print in advance of the hearings.[1] About half of the 170 responses are represented either by full letters or excerpts. There are plans for including later replies in the published record of the hearings.

ANSWERS TO A QUESTIONNAIRE

The subcommittee's "poll" was based on questions grouped under five major headings and, according to the introduction to the committee print, the questions were "compiled from extensive literature which has appeared in the last few years. They seemed to the committee to summarize the salient aspects of the problem."

The questions are clearly not the sort that can very usefully be answered yes or no. Because of the broad focus of the questions and the variety of viewpoints expressed, the results of hearings and the canvass are inevitably inconclusive. But the subcommittee has made a solid contribution by giving serious attention to a number of interrelated questions which have been vexing people in higher education since the rise of big science. And the record of the investigation will be a useful one not least because the net was cast wider in the academic community than usual and brought in a number of people besides those who by virtue of achievement or position are, ex cathedra, perennial witnesses before Congress.

Both the letters and the testimony in the hearings reflect a consensus that the wartime marriage between Government and the universities is, for better or worse, permanent; in general, they support the judgment of the Carnegie survey of 2 years ago that, on balance, the relationship is beneficial to the universities.

This is not to say that on a number of counts there were not expressions of serious concern. The quality of teaching undergraduates are getting was the subject of fairly widespread although certainly not universal worry. Sharpest concern was directed to the independent liberal arts colleges, which are seen as suffering, indirectly at least, from emphasis on research in the universities.

Most pessimistic perhaps was one unnamed member of the faculty of the Columbia University graduate school of business who said: "Small liberal arts colleges are threatened not (so much) by Federal grants as by economics of scale in higher education, which raises the question whether these institutions are viable."

Much more typical was a view that liberal arts colleges must and can do more to create an atmosphere in which research—particularly in the sciences—is an integral part of education, as has been successfully done in a number of the "prestige" colleges.

It was generally recognized that the key to the problem is faculty and that able young scholars in fast-moving fields will not emigrate to the colleges and stay there if such action forecloses their chances for a research career. Most of the suggestions for mitigating the isolation of the researcher in the liberal arts colleges implied establishment of new or modified Federal programs as well as cooperative programs among institutions. The main recommendations were for arrangements to lighten the characteristically heavy teaching loads in the colleges, to make it easier for college faculty to use the library and laboratory facilities of the universities and national laboratories, and to enable college scholars to work periodically for sustained periods with leading men in their fields.

As for undergraduate education in the universities, it was acknowledged that teaching may be left largely in the hands of graduate teaching assistants. This can be unsatisfactory, but a fairly strong segment of opinion held that this is not necessarily a bad thing. One who expressed this latter view without sounding like Pangloss was C. H. Braden, a professor of physics at Georgia Tech.

"Perhaps the principal consideration," wrote Braden, "is the increasingly large fraction of the college age population that attends college. This, coupled with the increase in population, means that colleges must employ mass production techniques that deliver a good quality education to large numbers of students. In the future it will be a graduate degree, rather than simply a college degree, that will be a mark of academic distinction, and it will be in the graduate program that the close contact between faculty and student will be achieved which formerly marked the undergraduate program also.

"This new order of things need not imply an inferior undergraduate education. On the contrary, many mass production colleges offer programs of the highest competence. The generally accepted way to offer such a program is to place the undergraduate program under the close supervision of distinguished faculty members who have an interest in undergraduate teaching, and such faculty are not rare, and then provide much assistance in the way of junior instructors, technicians, and student assistants. Moreover, many young instructors are superior teachers because of their enthusiasm and close contact with problems of current interest."

On the final morning of the hearings when several representatives of research-supporting Federal agencies appeared, the discussion turned to agency regulations which have prevented graduate assistants working on federally funded research from teaching. The National Science Foundation, an agency with a special sensitivity to university opinion and with room to maneuver, because of its responsibilities for education as well as research, has revised its rules so that its graduate-student beneficiaries can do some teaching, and the general trend among the agencies would appear to be toward more flexibility. A crucial factor in the matter, however, would appear to be university insistence that graduate students teach as part of their regular program and teach well.

Criticism of teaching standards elicited a counterattack from Lloyd V. Berkner, director of the Southwest Center for Advanced Studies, Graduate Research Center of the Southwest, who was expressing a hard line not uncommonly held by senior men in the hard sciences.

"In my opinion," said Berkner, "the complaint against the teaching in our great research universities arises primarily from students (and their indulgent parents) who would like the university to be a kind of advanced high school—a continuation of the sheltered life the student has enjoyed at home.

"The university must assume its students are mature individuals who attend because of their dedication to learning and desire careers in a society that today fully depends on sufficient education. The basis of that learning must be books and a modern, rigorous curriculum. This means that the teachers at the university level, though dedicated to the highest standards of scholarship, can only be supplementary guides to a student who is forced to assume responsibility. These qualities of the institution will themselves assure the quality of the undergraduate (and graduate) education which it offers. To mature its students, to give them self-discipline, the university must be tough. The intellectual competition is high, and to develop qualities of independent decision and leadership expected of university graduates by society, the university cannot hold the student's hand or cajole him. In such an environment the success of the student must depend primarily upon himself—his intellectual qualifications, his growing self-discipline, his inquiring mind, his self-development toward qualities of leadership.

"Graduate students have to teach because they must learn to teach and they have to start somewhere. Moreover, the teaching experience by the grduate student requires that he think more clearly, formulate his presentation more precisely. Teaching is an important part of his own graduate experience—equally important, it is conducted under the tutelage and guiding hand of men who, through their own research in creative frontiers, are holding themselves in the forefront of today's science."

Berkner also doubts that humanistic studies are suffering as the result of Federal expenditures on science. He argues that Federal support of scientific research has released large sums for the development of nonscientific university activities. In addition he feels that research in the "hard" social sciences—those that submit to quantification—should be supported by the Government, but that the "soft" social sciences "uncontrolled by experiment should be left to private support."

ANOTHER VIEW

A diametrically opposed view was expressed by one in quite a different field and stage in his career, Norman S. Care, an instructor in the philosophy department at Yale.

Care argues that there is little money available to support research in the humanities. He points out that humanists are on the short end of a salary differential between them and scientists and, on top of that, a scientist can usually count on the Federal Government's underwriting summer research while his colleague in the humanities often must teach to piece out his salary. Another hurdle to research in the humanities, says Care, is generally heavier teaching loads for humanities faculty compared with the sciences.

"The upshot," says Care, "is that academicians in the humanities, are not only materially deprived, but also made out to be professionally second rate. There is a form of status attached to having research grants, and lack of opportunity to secure such aid is sometimes interpreted as a sign that one's discipline is somehow not respectable in a vigorous and practical society. I have encountered this kind of artificial ranking among both students and faculty in my experience on the campuses of two major State universities and one large private university. However, it is worth adding that this form of grading is not common on campuses with strong traditions of education in the liberal arts."

[1] "Conflict Between the Federal Research Programs and the Nation's Goals for Higher Education," available from the Committee on Government Operations, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

A political scientist, whose name was withheld by request, wrote complaining about grants to the social sciences. "Apparently only research projects which are completely susceptible to quantification and computerization will be considered by NSF," he said. "This appears to be an artificial limitation which can only have an adverse effect on the kinds of research undertaken by political scientists. I have no quarrel with quantification where it is applicable, but strongly disagree with the notion implicit in such a requirement that only that which can be measured and counted is significant."

On the fundamental matter of concentration of Federal funds for university research in science projects and in a relatively few institutions, there seemed to be virtual unanimity among witnesses and those who responded to the questionnaire that there should be no major redistribution of funds or discontinuance of the project grants which have been instrumental in creating the present pattern. Rather, it appeared there was fairly strong sentiment for putting additional funds into programs which will improve the research atmosphere in liberal arts colleges and the quality of instruction and research in universities which fall distinctly short of excellence. Sentiment for the greater use of "institutional" grants to strengthen aspiring universities seemed strong, although there was equally firm espousal of the principle that Federal funds should not be spent without reasonable assurance of significant improvement in the institution receiving them.

One interesting excursion into high policy occurred on the final day of hearings when it was asked if many of the problems being discussed might not be solved if education programs were consolidated under the jurisdiction of one agency. On hand were Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel, Commissioner Mary I. Bunting of the Atomic Energy Commission, and representatives of NSF, the National Institutes of Health, the Office of Science and Technology, and the Bureau of the Budget. While the subject was not pursued at length, the clear consensus was that present diversity is regarded to be of advantage to both the Federal Government and the universities.

The task of the subcommittee is now to review the record and decide what, if any, action is in order. Congressman REUSS says he emerged from the hearings disturbed by the patent fact that, "Unless we do something about it, there's going to be a very considerable shortage of university teachers in the next few years. Maybe closed circuit TV and computers can do the job (the inevitability of such measures was mentioned during the hearings), but if we do shortchange the undergraduate and graduate students in the universities we are not only going to hurt them, but we're going to hurt the Nation too."

He said that the investigation had confirmed in the minds of the subcommittee that the Federal research program is indispensable, "but some nagging questions present themselves."

"Many research grants do take teachers off teaching.

"The Federal research program has resulted in a great imbalance between a few favored universities with graduate departments and the other thousands of colleges and universities in the United States.

"Teachers have lost caste * * * and Federal research grants have in part made it so.

"There is an observable imbalance between the support of science on the one hand and of the social sciences and the humanities on the other."

REUSS has no ready solutions for these problems, though he does say "We must make up our minds whether we want the Federal Government to support the humanities the way it supports science."

RECOMMENDATIONS COMING

The end product of the subcommittee investigation will probably be a report recommending legislative and administrative changes. The subcommittee is supposed to deal with problems which transcend departmental programs and committee lines of authority. Specific action would appropriately be left to the committees with authorization authority.

Examination of the conflict between Federal research programs and goals for higher education was the first venture of the new subcommittee, and the experience of wrestling with a formidable subject does not seem to have daunted it. Next in prospect, although not scheduled, is consideration of problems in such areas as transportation technology, sewage and waste disposal, and building construction, which are important to the public but have been the object of relatively little federally financed research. An effort would be made, says REUSS, without batting an eye at the far-flung implications, to look at the relative payoff of various Government research programs.—John Walsh.

Thirty Thousand Communities Without Water

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the Members of the House of Representatives an excellent discussion of the water problem in rural America.

The article was written by Mr. Clyde T. Ellis, general manager of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association. It appeared in the July issue of Rural Electrification:

THIRTY THOUSAND COMMUNITIES WITHOUT WATER

(By Clyde T. Ellis)

The above is the title of a booklet recently published by the Farmers Home Administration. I think the fact that the adjective rural does not appear before the word communities is significant. It would be superfluous. Even city folks would know at once that the reference must be to rural communities, for it would be inconceivable to them in this age of "space walks" and "moon shots" that an urban community in the United States could be without a water-supply system.

This statistic in the booklet's title dramatically underscores the wide gap between city and rural life in much the same way as did the statistic used in 1935 relating to the lack of electric service in rural areas. It seems to me that the statistic does something else too. It virtually cries out for a massive, full-scale program directed at eliminating the disparity in water service.

According to FHA, all of the 30,000 communities without water systems have less than 2,500 population. About 15,000 are under 100 population. Moreover, one out of every four farm homes and one of every five rural nonfarm homes do not have running water. This figure cannot be interpreted to mean that the 75 to 80 percent of rural homes which have water necessarily have a dependable and safe source. Many are contaminated now. In many sections, cisterns, wells, and ponds often go dry and there is frequently the possibility of contamination. As the water table keeps dropping, the necessity of hauling water during periods of sparse rainfall is becoming more widespread. Nitrates from fertilizers, detergents, and waste products pose a constant threat of pollution to shallow wells which thousands of people in rural areas still must rely on. Cities, on the other hand, are able to dig deep wells or buy equipment to purify otherwise unsafe water. But little towns and villages, and rural areas generally, usually do not have sufficient financial credit to develop adequate sources and treatment plants.

Rural American cannot attain its rightful place within the Great Society—which President Johnson sets forth as a present-day objective—until something major is done to solve the water problem. There are hopeful signs of progress in this direction. At present, many bills are pending in Congress which would provide increased amounts of loans ad grants to rural areas.

One bill (S. 1766) which Senator GEORGE AIKEN, of Vermont, introduced in early April is concerned entirely with meeting the need in rural areas. It would authorize $25 million annually in grants of up to 40 percent for rural communities of under 5,000 for the purpose of development and improvement of water systems. In addition, it would provide for grants to help communities prepare plans. The Farmers Home Administration would administer the program, combining it with its on-going water system loans activities. FHA's loan-insuring ceiling would be lifted from $200 million to $450 million, making a great deal more funds available for water system loans.

Lack of adequate pure running water is a big hindrance to rural areas development, to the war on poverty, to the rural electrification program, to wholesome rural living.

Lack of modern water service is also a serious handicap to rural areas, not only in their efforts to attract new, job-creating enterprises but also to provide recreation and other facilities for their residents.

I am sure that you will be interested in following the course of this legislation. Our legislation and research staff will keep you of the rural electric systems informed.

One aspect of Senator AIKEN's bill which seems extremely significant is that 93 of the 100 members of the Senate have signed it as cosponsors. This certainly is an impressive indication that the problem of rural water supply is being recognized as one of deep national concern.

While legislation can do much to help bring water service to rural America, as legislation helped to bring electricity, it alone cannot do the job. It will take concentrated local group action and leadership and know-how. Many of our rural electrics are already furnishing this type of assistance. Many more, I am sure, will want to lend their support to continue the progress of rural America toward modern living.

The Vietnam War: A Wild West Scene Amid Death, Terror

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the following report on the situation in Vietnam, the first of a series written by Mr. Lloyd Wendt, editor of the Chicago's American, will be of interest to the readers of the RECORD. Mr. Wendt, a news-

paperman of long experence and great ability, is on a factfinding mission in Vietnam. His first-hand observations are of particular value in gaining up to date perspective on the situation in that strife-torn country:

THE VIETNAM WAR: A WILD WEST SCENE AMID DEATH, TERROR

(By Lloyd Wendt)

SAIGON, SOUTH VIETNAM.—This beleaguered city is 12 hours away from Chicago as time flies, half the world away geographically, and about 200 years back as wars go. To get the feel of it, try watching Daniel Boone on TV, or some other good Indian war story from America's colonial past.

That's the trouble with this war. There are the good Indians and the bad Indians and it's very hard telling which is which. The bad Indians, called the Vietcong, have come down from the north, recruited some locals, and are everywhere.

In this city, a Vietcong (Communist) who looks like anybody else, may blow up the place next door, or garrote you as you ride in a pedicab. He may lead his forces out of the darkness to murder, with sadistic torture, every man, woman, and child in a village a few miles away. Then he fades into the jungle or the mangrove swamp.

The Vietcong fights from ambush, hits and runs, controls one-third of the population in this country of 14 million by his terror. He can't be made to stand and fight, except when he chooses.

Professional U.S. fighting men grow grim when they speak of the Vietcong. Our side, the good Indians—the South Vietnamese, are excellent fighting men, too. But you can't fight the Vietcong when you can't find him.

When you come down at Tan Son Nhut airport from Chicago, you know at once there's a war on, and it isn't going too well.

This is the capital, yet from your plane you can see the smoking wreck of an Air Force C-123, shot down by Vietcong ground fire to crash through three homes only 15 miles out. Sixteen dead. Two miles north of the airport a B-57 Canberra has just been shot down.

At the airport are troops, sandbags, concrete revetments, planes armed with bombs, and other planes returning from a strike, their drag chute blossoming behind them as they land.

A block from where you put up with the troops, in what is humorously called a hotel, they are setting up posts before a wall of sandbags where tomorrow some Vietcong terrorists will be shot. Not all of them get away.

In the jungle, the swamps of the delta, and on the central highlands, the war is strictly from the American wild west. Troops and posses hunt the raiders. Emboldened by the monsoons, which keep the cloud cover heavy and the planes away, the Vietcong increases his attack. He gets fresh forces and supplies from the Communist North across more than 1,000 miles of jungle border, and another 1,000 miles of coastline. The jungle is so thick a plane can crash into it and never touch ground.

Here in Saigon, of course, there's a slight variation on the wild west theme. It's more like Kipling. A backdrop of the exotic east, millions in the streets in this war-glutted capital. Soldiers and barbed wire everywhere as Air Vice Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky, new boss of the Vietnam Republic, tightens security.

The trim, pretty Vietnamese women in pajama-like gowns are everywhere, conducting the town's vast business, including the construction of streets and buildings. The warboom is huge and thrilling, and it's worth your life to try to cross a street against Renaults, motorbikes, and pedicabs.

At headquarters, where the increasing thousands of American advisers plan new techniques to aid our Viet allies, men mutter about the bombings. The deadly attack on My Canh restaurant is fresh in their minds and there is no doubt there will be more such attacks. A jovial major exclaims: "Nine more days and a wakeup and I go home." The wakeup is his actual day of departure. He can't stop talking about it.

The advisers are professionally optimistic. But no one asserts that the war is going well. Despite the step-up in the U.S. commitment, there is no discernible improvement. You gradually realize that this is because we're re-fighting the French and Indian wars in Vietnam and it will take some time before our modern know-how is adapted to the ancient problem.

Yet, things may not be as bad as they first seem. An Air Force (SAC) strike first called a bust turns out to be at least a minor success. In a battle not far from the capital, at Dinh Tuong, a Communist defector enabled our side to ambush the bad guys. We killed 30 and captured 29, including the entire politburo [high command] of the province.

And the Air Force finally got through to deliver 16 strikes, despite the weather, to aid our entrapped force in at Tou Mourong. Maybe that force, written off as lost, can still be saved.

The capital is by turns glum and optimistic. At night you can hear the sounds of howitzers and mortars only 15 miles away. Still, the Vietcong have been 15 miles away many times. There are no lines, no fixed positions, and no assault in force can possibly come to Saigon.

All the bad Indians can do is hit and run keep up the war of fear, slip in men and supplies from the north as attrition sets in, and hope the United States gets discouraged and tired.

If the United States gets too discouraged and tired and withholds its support, that will be the end for Saigon and South Vietnam. But nobody in his senses around here thinks that could happen. So, Saigon grimly carries on the fight, and also does business as usual, only five times as much.

Professors Were To Blame for Berkeley Mess

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, a great deal has been printed and discussed about the situation at the University of California, known as the Berkeley mess.

Recently Dr. Rafferty, State superintendent of public instruction in California, who is also a member of the board of regents of the University of California, made a talk before the Commonwealth Club of California. Flashes from that address of June 25, as published in the Commonwealth of July 5, follow:

"PROFESSORS WERE TO BLAME FOR BERKELEY MESS—REAL FIGHT IS OVER UC CONTROL"—DR. RAFFERTY

(From Address by Hon. Max Rafferty)

In a book I wrote a few years ago, I listed the following almost certain outcomes of the kind of life-adjustment, progressive education we were conducting in practically all California schools:

1. Violence: When an educational philosophy is almost completely permissive—lets a child express himself at any cost, holds we must avoid frustrating or inhibiting the child in any way, then the result is indiscipline, discourtesy, and doing what comes naturally; this means violence, for a human animal is a violent one.

2. Immortality and obscenity: When we educators began replacing "Evangeline" and "Silas Marner" with "Catcher in the Rye" and James Baldwin's latest, we were just asking for what we have since gotten.

Some English teachers, fascinated with so-called "avant garde" literature, assigned it indiscriminately to children, and sowed a whirlwind of literary filth which has since grown into wholesale obscenity on the part of too many young people. Once you agree that there are no positive standards, no eternal truths, no lasting values in life or in education—then anything goes.

CHILDREN MUST BE CIVILIZED

3. Decline of personal morale: It was the new behavioristic psychology which warned educators and parents against any interference whatsoever with the divine right of the child to express himself—even if this self-expression turned out to be at the expense of those around him and at the cost of school discipline generally. The outcome was predictable: the beards, the sandals; the long, lank hair; the general aura of unwashed disinhibition.

Education exists to take kids who are naturally disposed to nature in the raw, and show them finer things in life to aspire to. When you permitted an educatioanl philosophy to take over in this State which holds that the words "the good, the beautiful, the true," are all meaningless—that everything in life is relative—why, you were just asking for what you got. And you certainly got it, did not you?

4. Contempt for law and the democratic process: This country has just as large a percentage of decent, law-abiding youngsters as it ever had. But the minority, who always got into trouble in the past, are getting into worse trouble now.

"EASY WAY OUT," PREVAILING DOCTRINE

Why? The doctrine of "permissiveness"—another name for the "easy way out"—took over both the homes and the schools two decades ago, and produced the least repressed and worst behaved generation this country has ever seen.

For months now the entire country has been gazing unbelievably at Berkeley. In the sacred name of free speech, police cars have been bashed in and campus police held prisoners.

The university president resigned, and then un-resigned. So did the chancellor. The board of regents, charged with determining university policy, became so palsied at the mere possibility of bruising some beatnik's constitutional rights that for months it was afraid even to bring the matter to a vote.

The people of California are outraged. No other word fits. Almost every letter I get these days winds up with: What's causing this Berkeley mess?

College kids have always raised Ned. But they have always been punished too—until now. Now they get away with everything from kidnapping to outraging public decency, and nothing happens to them.

PROFESSORS BLAMED

Why? Not due to the administration or the regents. But because of the professors. They're responsible in two ways—directly and indirectly.

Too many of them openly or tacitly endorse disorderly, or even criminal conduct by their students. We got nothing but obstruction from those professors who controlled the different faculty senates and committees.

The professors fouled things up indirectly because the administration and some regents

were afraid some professors would quit. Many of the regents are appalled at the prospect that several of their more prestigious professors may resign out of sympathy for the poor downtrodden filthy speech boys, deprived of their sacred right to bellow obscenities over the campus public address system.

PROFESSORS WON'T GO

Not me. I'm the only regent except Dr. Kerr who is a professional educator—I know my own kind. And I know we leave a teaching job voluntarily only when offered a better job elsewhere. We leave it to better ourselves—not to show sympathy for some loudmouthed showoffs who are doing their best to disrupt the scholarly pursuits of a great university.

For every professor who will quit if we apply discipline at Berkeley, two will quit if we don't.

"Why," you ask, "should intelligent, scholarly professors act in such strange ways." Well, one thing they're trying to achieve is control of the university by the faculty, instead of by the people. They're seemingly enamoured of the European way of running a university. Over there, you know, the professors are the university. They make the rules. They establish policy. They hire and fire each other. Here, we Americans have long held the somewhat quaint idea that a people's university ought to be run by the people, not by stray groups of employees or students.

WHO'S GOING TO RUN UNIVERSITY?

The real fight at Berkeley is over who's going to run the store. Are the people, who spend hundreds of millions to subsidize and support the university, going to turn the institution over to the inmates?

Here's my recipe: (1) Put all discipline in the chancellor's hands and out of the faculty committees. (2) Tell the chancellor to do whatever is necessary and let him do it. (3) If the chancellor can't or won't do it, fire him and get one who will. (4) If any students or professors don't like it, remind them that they can easily go elsewhere.

REAL STUDENTS HAVE REAL GRIEVANCE

After law and order have been reestablished, the job has just begun. There is a very real if somewhat incoherent grievance on the part of the sincere and sober students with which all of us should concern ourselves.

This is a loss of identity, erosion of self-respect, increasing inability to identify as an individual with a "multiversity" numbering almost 28,000 souls. It's a kind of creeping facelessness.

One Berkeley undergraduate wrote me recently: "I sit in a lecture class with 600 other students and I'm No. 327. The professor's lectures are piped in electronically. I never see him. The tests are collected automatically, corrected automatically, handed back automatically. I engage in group activities, group health services and group recreation. I came to the university to find myself—to learn how to become a person. Instead, I've become a number."

We're all to blame. We've let the university become a factory. We've been too willing to let George do it.

Always and forever, we who cherish the proud title of Californians will keep a special place in our hearts for the Berkeley campus. To us, she and she alone will always be "Cal." She belongs, thank God, to us all. Too great to be defiled by fools. Too wondrous ever to be turned over by default to any others save ourselves alone.

ANSWERS TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS FROM FLOOR

Question. (C. K. Gamble): Too many eggheads on Berkeley's teaching staff? Answer. Most professors are eggheads in some ways. But I'm more concerned with lack of balance in certain fields, particularly economics, political science, and to some extent history.

Question. (Wilson E. Cline): Character of Berkeley different from other U.C. campuses? Answer. Yes; no other campus like it. Low-cost housing adjacent where many nonstudents and hangers-on live; at other campuses it's 15 miles away—makes it difficult to mount spontaneous demonstrations after driving 15 miles and thinking about it.

Question. (Richard Johnston): Student unrest justified? Answer. For vast majority—yes. They've lost touch and can't call it "alma mater" now. It was easy to identify with Berkeley years ago. This is important—look back to your own college days; aren't the things you remember the ways in which you identified with your university? But the rioters had no grievance. They were put there. The brochure they published on the regents was a slick job—very clever—done professionally, not the work of students, nor financed by students.

Question. (John A. Rowe, Jr.): Should students use campus as soundingboard? Answer. Yes, but there should be both sides by men of equal glamour—not Gus Hall, brought in with trumpets, and answered, 5 months later, by a kindly, if doddering, local professor.

The Fifth Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an address by Mr. Robert R. Gros, vice president, public relations, Pacific Gas & Electric Co., San Francisco, Calif. This address was given before the Advertising Association of the West in Honolulu, Hawaii, and was entitled "The Fifth Freedom." Mr. Gros points up the importance of the incentive system which has produced the abundant life in America, and compares it with the Socialist systems operating in other countries.

He gives ample warning against the creating of a welfare state, which would reduce us to a country of mediocrity. He states that we must fight the concentration of power in Washington, or in any State capitol, and that we must hold taxation within reason. He states that excessive taxation erodes freedom. I highly recommend the implementation of his recommendations:

One of the best things that I can say to you fellow advertising people today is that even the Russians finally have decided it pays to advertise. As you probably have read, on May 4 Pravda printed an article which said, among its otherwise doctrinaire verbiage, that advertising brings "higher turnover, faster selling, and other economic benefits." Pravda astonishingly went on to say: "The famous expression 'advertising is the motor of trade' no doubt has sense."

That expression does have a great deal of sense because you and I long have known that advertising functions as the yeast of American business. And it is American business and American productivity that underpin the good life in this country.

What's been happening to this good life of ours? Or, put another way, is our good life in jeopardy of being taxed and welfared to death?

When I walked into this room today, it occurred to me that the gratifying attendance at this luncheon quite possibly might come from a rumor among the Waikiki outrigger set that I was going to reveal the low-down on the new income tax revisions or that I had some hot poop on the Federal budget.

Recently we've had some tax cuts, thank heavens. However, the 1966 Federal budget stands at about $100 billion—no small figure in even the space age. Necessarily that budget provides more money just to service the national debt's interest than the entire Federal budget amounted to as recently as 1940. Clearly there has been no decrease in the Government's spending—just more revenue produced by our prosperous economy.

I can't begin to comprehend a budget of nearly $100 billion. In the first place, the Federal budget's very language is a tongue foreign to my business-trained ears—it is characteristic Federalese, replete with double talk and, in parts, I suspect, with the purpose of confusing rather than convincing. Nor can I really comprehend the astronomical figure of 100 billion anything. I do know, though, that there have not been nearly 100 billion seconds since the birth of Christ. To spend $100 billion you would have to get rid of a million dollars a week for more than 19 centuries.

So long as I'm free to speak my mind, my conscience forces me to cry out in protest when our Government plunges even further into the Grand Canyon of debt to provide so many things we Americans don't need, don't want, and can't afford. I'm sure you'll agree that we're being taxed today for many projects we'd be better off without. In other words, we're getting more government than we need. It would be good if we actually got all the government we pay for.

But big government isn't about to remove its fingers from my pocket or your billfold. A huge, impersonal tax machine doesn't have much regard for the dignity of the dollar you and I earn. It's not much consolation to see a sign, such as the one displayed in a New York bank, that reads: "Remember, part of all you earn belongs to you."

The fact is that America has become the House Beautiful, with wall-to-wall taxation. And unless we take positive action now we could well lose our mansion of freedom.

Now let me assure you that I'm neither a pessimist nor a cynic. To the contrary, I'm the kind of optimist without whom the poor old pessimist wouldn't know how happy he isn't. America is still the greatest nation ever to exist on this planet—but we didn't get that way through phony economics or through the big spending bureaucrats in Washington.

Our United States was not built by government ukase. It was built by the energies of a self-reliant people who did things for themselves and through cooperation with each other. It was built by a people who pushed across the western plains in wagon trains, who created homes in the wilderness through log-rolling bees, who reclaimed arid lands by their own efforts—whose missionaries sailed to these beautiful islands, bringing civilization with all its boons and problems. I admire them the more if the old saying is true that they "came to do good and stayed and did well"—for they obviously did both. Yes, our forebears were men and women who constantly demonstrated their capacity to fend for themselves. And they worked for honorable profit. This is the American way—this is the way of freemen.

As a natural consequence of our heritage, plus the harsh facts of today's cold war, to most Americans the concept of freedom means political and religious liberty. The inalienable rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" were declared as God-endowed by the free and farseeing statesmen who founded our Republic. Soon after, they

were guaranteed to the individual in the Bill of Rights and written into the Constitution as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom to worship. These basic tenets of our new Nation were laid down by fearless and freedom-loving men who elsewhere had been denied these political and religious rights.

Today we are preoccupied with protecting our political freedoms—intensified by the cold war struggle, which most Americans interpret in terms of a nuclear race, a missile race, a space race, with well-justified fears for the survival of the human race.

Yet, the struggle between freedom and slavery is much more. It is a fundamental conflict between individual freedom of action and state collectivism. And a collective state can be maintained only via police-state methods—as I have seen with my own eyes in the Soviet Union and six of her satellites and to only slightly lesser degree in a number of other nations in Africa and Asia.

In an effort to define the concept which I term "The Fifth Freedom," I would remind you of a meeting in the early forties on the high seas of the North Atlantic where freedom was quartered at a shipboard meeting of state.

There emerged the stirring four human freedoms, high and noble sounding: freedom of speech and expression, freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—plus two new freedoms which are more idealistic than wholly realizable; freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

Now I ask—did it ever occur to you that even the bird in the gilded cage has all four of these freedoms? He has freedom from want—he's fed and watered daily. He has freedom from fear—the cat can't get at him in his gilded cage. He has freedom of speech—he can trill and warble all he wants. And while I'm no psychoanalyst, I assume that little birdie has freedom of belief—at least, he's not denied it.

But this bird doesn't have life's most important freedom—freedom of individual initiative and action. That is liberty itself. You cannot quarter freedom; you cannot divide freedom. You can't take away one kind of freedom from me and still call me a freeman.

I cast my lot with Somerset Maugham whose "Of Human Bondage" contained this pungent line: "There are two good things in life, freedom of thought and freedom of action."

This expresses the fifth freedom. To state it simply, it is freedom from governmental interference, encroachment and confiscation; it is freedom to work with dignity and independence in an economic system where we may profit according to our energy and ability.

This fifth freedom certainly implies economic freedom—the essential ingredient which in everyday life gives practical meaning and viability to the other four freedoms. Otherwise they become meaningless platitudes.

This thing we call free enterprise means the freedom of every man to have a dream, then put it on sale in the marketplace in competition with the dreams of other men. We call our economic system capitalism, albeit the enemies of capitalism have worked so insidiously and skillfully that the very term has been given an odious connotation in some quarters. This maligning of a perfectly decent term and system is unfair and unfounded, but still we hear the hysterical cry that "capitalism is on trial." I ask what other system has ever done half as much for its people? What other nation in the history of the wrold has ever enjoyed such high living standards as ours? What other people enjoy such short working hours, with more time to live richer lives and enjoy the fruits of our labor?

To quote from "Braude's Anecdotes": "Economic systems are like ladders. In capitalism you climb the ladder while the government stands by to steady it. In socialism the government knocks the rungs out from the ladder. In communism the government waits till you climb to the top, then knocks down the ladder and beats you to death with the pieces."

I prefer to think of our economic system not just as capitalism or free enterprise. Rather, I think back to an interview I had 17 years ago with the then president of Columbia University, Dwight D. Eisenhower. In the midst of discussing the economy, that dedicated American thoughtfully suggested, "I'm not sure the term 'free enterprise' describes our system well. Isn't the real difference between our system and others that ours is an incentive system? Incentive is the fuel that powers our economy." That interpretation is still good enough for me. I like to think of incentive as the sparkplug which makes our productive machine click better. So let's call it the American incentive system.

It is a curious paradox of our times that Khrushchev himself finally had to admit that in order to make their strange economic system creak along even as inefficiently as it does, the Commies have had to ease toward the very capitalistic incentive devices. Human nature just doesn't respond productively to a mediocre social system which offers neither challenge nor reward.

I am reminded of an idea that Bruce Barton once suggested. He declared that the most effective way to combat Communist ideology would be to pass out Sears, Roebuck catalogs. With the Sears catalogs, the Russian people would certainly see all the things they aren't likely to find on the shelves of GUM, Moscow's big department store.

Speaking of incentives, isn't it more than concidence that the only sector of the entire Russian agricultural economy which produces well is also the only one where some degree of incentive for the ordinary farmer exists? The Russians have suffered perpetual failure in their agricultural program, although nearly half the country's labor force works in agriculture—versus only 7 or 8 percent in the United States. There in the Soviet Union an eloquent testimonial to the incentive idea does exist, however, in what the Russians call private plots. These are tiny parcels of land, about the size of the front lawn in an average California subdivision, where each State or collective farmer is permitted to raise a few crops. These presumably are for his own use, but any surplus may be sold in the farmers' markets in the cities and towns. This is absolutely the only semblance of private enterprise in the state economy.

These private plots account for only 5 percent of the total sown land in the Soviet Union. Yet from these plots come 47 percent of the country's meat, 49 percent of its milk, 82 percent of its eggs, 65 percent of its potatoes and half its vegetables. To me this remarkable productivity by the same farmers who just can't seem to produce on the State and collective farms shows what people can do when they are given an incentive.

It would almost appear that the Commie brethren are experiencing creeping capitalism. To make their shoddy, yet still formidable industrial machine grind and shudder along they increasingly embrace elements of the allegedly "decadent capitalism" they decry.

Their latest gimmick is one of the most significant economic developments of our era—the Libermanism movement which started appearing on the Soviet scene during the latter months of Nikita Khrushchev. This concept takes cognizance of the profit incentive, gearing production to market demand, and even recognizing interest charges on capital. Under the new Kosygin-Brezhnev leadership some 440 factories are now producing not according to what the State planning board theoretically figures people should want, but rather according to consumer demand. The result is that costs are down, quality and profits are up and consumers have better quality, some variety and more contentment. The old notion of a totally state-planned economy proved too cumbersome, unresponsive and inefficient.

In their new search for incentives, the Soviets eloquently attest to the failure of the cardinal Communist creed which has always assailed capitalism on the grounds that the profit motive is evil, wrong and unnecessary. The dogma of Lenin himself preached "we should learn from the capitalists, adopting whatever is sensible and advantageous." And the new breed of Soviet bureaucrat-technician is doing it with a vengeance.

There are those who worry lest the Soviet economy pass us, as Krushchev boasted to me it would do. I don't appreciate the tremendous energies of the Russian people, nor the material possibilities in a State-controlled system of priorities. But I maintain that in the long pull incentive capitalism can lick socialism any day of the week, while still protecting the dignity and freedom of the individual.

If we are on the verge of running behind Russia, then how do you explain that in order just to equal Russia, we in the United States would have to abandon three-fifths of our steel capacity, two-thirds of our petroleum capacity, 90 percent of our natural gas; rip up 14 of every 15 miles of highways and 2 of every 3 miles of railroads; junk 19 of every 20 of our cars and trucks; smash up 40 million television sets and 9 of every 10 telephones; to say nothing of tearing down 7 of every 10 houses?

We have three times the electric power capacity of the Soviet Union and five times her transmission system. American homes use nearly eight times the electricity of the Russian home and indeed for lighting alone we Americans use twice as much as Russia's total electric output.

So, I'm fed up with hearing that the American system is on trial. I say it's socialism and communism which are on trial. Capitalism has its faults, to be sure. But is it necessary to tear down the temple of our forefathers just to get rid of a few termites in the basement?

Expressed in practical terms of the marketplace, this fifth freedom I'm talking about is just the right to make an honest buck and to respect a man's right to make a successful career of making honest bucks.

When government impinges on my freedom to do so, then I lose a human liberty. And no man is free when he's only partially free. My philosophy rejects undue restrictions on our liberties by paternalistic government. If continued to their extreme, we could end up like Russia—where all that is not forbidden is compulsory.

It is very easy to lose much by losing a little bit at a time. You can even get lost in semantics.

A Socialist screams when he is called a Communist. Yet the Communists call themselves Socialists. I had this paradox driven home to me within the walls of the Kremlin itself, on my first visit to the U.S.S.R. back in 1955. Six thousand miles of touring the Soviet Union and visiting such factories as the Stalingard tractor works had confused me with the differences between to pious protestations of communism and its actual practices. Repeatedly I saw that special incentive awards were given for exceeding production norms in factory and farm and in bonuses and salaries of foremen and plant managers. This intrigued me because it negated the whole Communist economic concept of equality of rewards, regardless of ability or output. I could hardly wait to bait a top Communist leader with the question, "How do you reconcile these practices with the theory of communism which you people preach and allegedly practice?"

My opportunity came unexpectedly at a Kremlin reception where I got really squelched during an unforgettable impromptu firsthand lesson in semantics and dialectical Marxism. My teachers were tops—three very senior members of the Presidium, although they subsequently got the ax from the Khrushchev-Kremlin clique. I was arguing in a relaxed sort of way about the respective merits of capitalism and communism with Malenkov, Molotov, and Kaganovich. After a bit of banter and mild argument I finally snapped, "But you fellows don't even practice what you preach here. For example, how can you reconcile your high-sounding theory 'from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs' with the fact that you obviously resort to the American incentive system to make your own economy work? Isn't that slogan about abilities and needs the economic basis of communism?"

Then the three wily old Bolsheviks took me apart. First, Kaganovich baitingly querled, "And who ever said we practice communism here?" That floored me and I perplexedly replied, "Well, if you don't practice communism here in the very Mecca of communism, what do you do?" Kaganovich then proceeded to give me a lesson in the fundamentals of communism, with Malenkov and Molotov chiming in. The latter asked me to say the name of their country and I had to reply, "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

Malenkov then advised me, "Take time to read our press and the proceedings of the Soviet state and you will find that we always speak of socialism. Communism is the goal we're striving toward in the long run, but it will take another generation and perhaps more to attain real communism. In the meantime, we've made great strides along that road, and we are already at a point that is just one step from communism—and that is socialism. Once we reach our goal, we can abandon these bourgeois incentives. When the people understand how to work together for the common good of the state, socialism will blend naturally into real communism."

What a startling lesson to me and what a revealing admission from members of the presidium itself. And herein lies a lesson for Americans who have embraced a good many things that were distasteful but were made more palatable by the unrealistic sirup that "this is necessary and it's just a little bit socialistic." I say that there is no such thing as being "just a little Socialistic" any more than you can be just a little pregnant. If by the Communists' own admission, socialism is part and parcel and just a waypoint on the road to ultimate communism, then I say we'd better beware. Evidentally the old saw is right and "socialism is just soft communism; communism is hard socialism." If this sounds like a sermon, let me remind you that the text comes not from a prejudiced capitalist, but from preacher of the book of Marx, the very horses' mouths of communism.

There is a basic rule for the security of our freedoms which makes sense to me and is wholly in keeping with the American tradition. This rule is that government should not do for the people what the people are both able and willing to do for themselves. Today the Federal Government has its hands full carrying out the legitimate functions originally and necessarily delegated to it—foreign affairs, national defense, certain law enforcement and the postal service, to name a few. But in addition, over the past three decades Washington has come increasingly not only to regulate the economy but actually to engage in business in competition with its own citizens.

Concluding then, let me suggest three fundamental courses of attitude and action for those of us who realize that individual freedom and initiative are fast being usurped by a central government that can become bigger only by making people smaller. Let us ever remember that government is not our shepherd. Our guardian angels are not in Washington or any State capital. They are within ourselves.

1. Let us keep up the good fight to hold taxes within reason. We must vigorously oppose unnecessary spending at all levels of government. Aside from its sheer burden and drain on the economy, taxation erodes freedom.

2. Let us scrap like all get out to contain and, indeed, roll back the constant trend of paternalistic government to get further into business in competition with its own citizens.

3. Let us recognize that part and parcel of our role in business goes beyond our individual jobs and industry. Ours is the responsibility to support and strengthen and to interpret more clearly the American incentive system, which is a keystone in America's greatness. To sell public confidence in our American way of life is a job calling for real business statesmanship.

I offer no panacea, nor is there anything new about these suggestions. Being for the American incentive system is not enough. For it to work, we as individuals must believe in it. We as individuals must practice it. This American system is more than an ideology. It should be an individual conviction. It should be your responsibility and my responsibility and the meaningful part you play in your jobs of selling goods and services. There is no more important part than your part.

The incentive system caused our economy to grow and prosper. It made America great. Indeed, she became the land of promise for millions of people across the oceans.

It is our system. We must make it work so well, as it is inherently capable of working, that all comparisons with other economic schemes and systems become academic.

The responsibility rests in our hands. It was Andrew Jackson who once said: "One man with courage makes a majority."

Let us repudiate those who would sell America short. Our way of life and our economic supremacy were not bought short, but rather, they were built and nurtured through faith and fortitude and hard work—yes, and through an honorable incentive system. Let us never forget that individual freedom and initiative are part and parcel of the bundle of all our freedoms. As important as any other freedom in the bundle is this fifth freedom because man is not free if he is only partially free.

Judge Arthur L. Eno

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, recently the city of Lowell, Mass., lost one of its best friends and most revered public servants with the death of Judge Arthur L. Eno, presiding officer of the Lowell district court.

Judge Eno fulfilled the meaning of the word "citizen" in the fullest sense. An outstanding member of the judiciary who devoted the full measure to his profession, Judge Eno always found time for the worthy cause in his city of Lowell.

Under unanimous consent, I call the attention of the House to the outstanding career of Judge Eno by including an article from the Lowell Sun. I would also like to share with my colleagues a tribute which appeared in the Lowell Optic. It summarizes the esteem with which Judge Eno was held in Lowell.

The articles follow:

[From the Lowell (Mass.) Sunday Sun, May 2, 1965]

DISTRICT COURT JUDGE ENO DIES

LOWELL.—Judge Arthur L. Eno, presiding justice of the Lowell district court for more than two decades, died yesterday at St. Joseph's Hospital.

Associated with the law since he was admitted to the State bar in 1914, Judge Eno died on the day the city was observing Law Day, U.S.A.

Judge Eno was born in Lowell, the son of the late William and Odile (Chenail) Eno on March 20, 1892.

He was one of the most highly respected district court judges in the State and had served on many of the committees of the court during his many years on the bench.

The judge collapsed in court last Tuesday noon. His condition steadily weakened and he succumbed late Saturday afternoon.

Judge Eno was the first full-time justice in the history of the district court and assumed the post in October of 1944.

He was educated at St. Joseph's School, Lowell High School, Harvard University, and studied law in the office of the late Attorney Albert O. Hamel. Three years after he was admitted to the bar, Judge Eno enlisted in the U.S. Army and was commissioned a second lieutenant in World War I. He was secretary of the Lowell Memorial Auditorium Building Commission from 1919 until 1922 and appointed a special justice of the district court in 1927.

Yesterday also was the 42d wedding anniversary of Judge and Mrs. Eno. He married the former Clair B. Lamoureux on May 1, 1923.

Judge Eno held an honorary doctoral degree from the University of Montreal, was honorary president of Jeanne D'Arc Credit Union, Lowell, and a trustee of the Lowell Five Cent Saving Bank. He served as a member of the appellate division of the district court since 1945 and as a member of the administrative committee of the district courts since 1948.

He was decorated with the Officer d'Academie Award by the French Government and was a member of the following: Yorick club, Lafayette club; Lowell, Middlesex, and American Bar Associations, American Judicature Society, American Legion, Military Order of World War I, vice president, American Friends of Lafayette, Lowell Old Scouts, Franco-American Historical Society, Lowell Historical Society, American Catholic Historical Society, and the Society of Catholic Laymen.

Besides his wife, he is survived by two sons, Attorney Arthur L. Eno, Jr., of Billerica and Paul A. Eno of Warwick, R.I.; a daughter, Mrs. Gerald J. Sullivan of Concord, N.H., and 10 grandchildren.

Judge Eno succeeded the late Judge Patrick J. Reynolds in his post at the district court having been appointed by Gov. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, now U.S. Senator.

During his many years as a practicing attorney, Judge Eno was regarded as one of the most outstanding Franco-American leaders in the State. He was born in the so-called Little Canada section of Lowell and studied law while working as a clerk in a Lowell insurance office.

[From the Lowell Optic, May 15, 1965]

JUDGE ARTHUR L. ENO: A REMEMBRANCE

The death of Justice Arthur L. Eno, presiding officer of the Lowell District Court, is an occasion of mourning and of remembrance for the city of Lowell and all of her people.

Summed up in this septuagenarian is an era that even now seems so remote, yet contained those ingredients that would be bound together to fashion a living city.

In his birth and youth he attended upon the closing days of another century. As a first generation American he would be caught up in the crucible of the great "melting pot" from which this Nation would draw her greatest strength.

Of his origins among the tenement people of Lowell's "Little Canada" he would ever be mindful. And for these people among whom he was nurtured there would ever be gratitude, respect, and remembrance.

At the age of 25 he served in the conflict hailed as "the war to end all wars." He received a commission as second lieutenant in the Department of the Army. Two years later, in 1919, he returned here to renew his place in the life of the community.

His civic career would be highlighted by his cherished participation in the work of the Lowell Memorial Auditorium Building Commission from 1919 until 1922.

Admitted to the State bar in 1914 at the age of 22 years he would be appointed a special justice of the district court 13 years later in 1927. His career in the judiciary would reach its apex in October of 1944 as then Gov. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL appointed Eno presiding justice of the Lowell District Court. For over two decades Judge Eno lent to the judiciary those energies and talents that had in earlier life earned for him the recognition of a grateful community.

But if Judge Eno's career is to be best understood, it must need be equated in terms of his contribution to the people of Lowell. In the administration of justice his could not be described as an attitude of detached disinterest. While he applied himself in the judicial exercise with impartiality it was never without an awareness of social context. Judge Eno gave countless hours away from the bench in attempting to bridge the gap between fathers and mothers, husbands and wives, caught up in the anxieties and problems peculiar to those with such difficulties.

As presiding justice of the State's third oldest and sixth largest district court he maintained an acute interest in the probationary function of the court—always mindful that the end to which any punishment may be given is correction and reform.

His membership in a variety of civic, military, and social organizations bespoke an abiding interest in the life of the community.

It was in the Lowell Historical Society, however, that Judge Eno would find his one great interest fulfilled. For as one who was to have played himself so prominent a role in the contemporary annals of the city, it was only natural that he should have so highly valued the respect for and importance of local history.

He cherished a prize collection of memorabilia on Lowell and her people. This interest was not static, however. He pursued always an interest, in later years increasingly detached from direct involvement owing to demands of health and age, in the continuing evolution of local governmental, social, and cultural life and activities.

He was in the fullest sense a true child of Lowell. In the 74 years that would be allotted him by providence he would make good use. His emotional experiences would be those of his people, of his city, and of his country and the world.

As a lover of history he proved himself to be a lover of his fellow men.

Thirty-nine years ago Judge Arthur L. Eno sat in Lowell's Memorial Auditorium to hear another contemporary, Frank K. Stearns, address these parting words on the occasion of this city's centennial observance:

"We are but the trustees of a fleeting moment. Our problem so huge and pervasive, will not be solved in the lifetime of any here present. What shall we do, however, during our stewardship must have incalculable importance in the results of a far distant future; and on us, the people of Lowell now in being, devolves a duty as imperative as any that beset the men of 1826.

"Right worthily did they perform their tasks. Right worthily may we, in our different condition, emulate them. They were men and women of vigor; men and women of heart. They were men and women moved in all parts alike as we are, often discouraged, often perplexed, often tempted. They did their work; they held their peace; they faced their crises, and they have left us a priceless heritage. It is our task to go forward as bravely as did they; to deal as resourcefully with what now disquiets or perplexes us, and to rear on the foundation which they have so well and truly laid, a monument which later centuries may not disdain to honor.

" 'Build the more stately mansions, O, my soul!
As the swift seasons roll!
Leave thy low-vaulted past!
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from heaven with a dome more vast
Till thou at length art free,
Leaving thine outgrown shell by life's unresting sea.' "

Yank, Vietnamese Fortress Atop Rock Defies Communists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the second in the series of articles written by Mr. Lloyd Wendt, editor of the Chicago's American who is now in Vietnam on a factfinding mission, reports on one of the special-forces officers of the U.S. Army and his thoughts concerning the war in South Vietnam.

I commend it to the readers of the RECORD:

YANK, VIETNAMESE FORTRESS ATOP ROCK DEFIES COMMUNISTS

(By Lloyd Wendt)

NUI BA DEN, SOUTH VIETNAM.—Anyone who believes the war in Vietnam can't be won by our side hasn't talked to Capt. James M. Kennedy.

Captain Kennedy and his 18 special-forces officers of the U.S. Army and Air Force are dug in atop Nui Ba Den, which translates "Black Virgin Mountain." They advise a strike force of Vietnamese volunteers and are building a radar installation in the heart of Vietcong country.

The Vietcong surround this hill, about 60 miles northwest of Saigon. They know all about the installation. For a year they've been trying to do something about this fortress in the sky, without success. The site is vital, near the Ho Chi Minh trails which supply the Vietcong, and near the Cambodian border, whence the Vietcong gets men and guns from North Vietnam via jungle trails through Laos.

Except for U.S. helicopters, Captain Kennedy and South Vietnamese Lieutenant Lich, the local commander, are cut off by the Vietcong. Yet morale was never higher. The radar goes up in plain view, 3,200 feet in the sky; patrols from Nui Ba Den slip down through the jungle to hit and cut up Vietcong forces, using their own guerrilla tactics.

The time will come, Captain Kennedy predicts, when more bases like this will enable the Government to cut the supply routes and infiltration trails of the Vietcong, and that will be the beginning of the end for the invasion from the north.

"We're going to win this war," says Kennedy, a dark, handsome young Californian from Palo Alto who gave up plans to be a preacher when he joined the special service forces. "We have proved repeatedly that our men can fight and cut up the Vietcong. When we get the strength to shut off supplies and reinforcements for the Vietcong they will dry up. It's that simple.

"The Vietcong aren't supermen. Our patrols from the strike force fight and defeat them repeatedly. Don't believe what you may hear about the South Viets not being fighters, they are excellent. My life and the lives of my officers depend on them and we couldn't be in safer hands."

Kennedy issues a few quiet orders to the barefoot men in jungle camouflage who are packing supplies up to headquarters from our helicopter. Then he returns to his favorite theme.

"We'll end the war when we make it clear to North Vietnam and to China that what they are trying to do will be unprofitable. It will simply cost them too much. Once they realize that, they'll have to go back behind the demarcation line (at the 17th parallel) and the Vietcong in the south will dry up. We do not have to drive out or kill every Vietcong to win. Plenty of them are discouraged already.

"The South Viet people, on the whole, simply want to be let alone. They go along in this area because they are terrorized by the Vietcong. The guerrillas come out of the jungle, take over a village and kill or threaten to kill hostages unless the village goes along with them. So, until our strength here grows, naturally the village goes along.

"But let me tell you, the Vietcong doesn't attempt to attack us in force. They know better than to get into a real fight."

Captain Kennedy looks like a movie hero in a mountain setting wilder and stranger than anything Hollywood has yet devised. His native forces, under command of Lieutenant Lich, swarm over the mountain, manning guns, mortars, rocket launchers, and booby traps designed for welcoming the Vietcong. The men are small and tough and as hard to see as the tigers and cobras that also inhabit this area. Except when they come out, as of now, to pack up the supplies from the "choppers."

You can reach Nui Ba Den only by "chopper," which the Vietcong diligently attack by gunfire as they come in to land. We came over with Capt. Ernest Strum and his "Rat Pack Six" aboard a UHIB "Huey" chopper. Our machinegunners on each side of the chopper poured some fire down on the Vietcong occupying Nui Can ridge half way up the mountain as we came in. This disturbs the accuracy and enthusiasm of the Vietcong gunners on the ground, Captain Sturm explained. It also checks out the guns, in case they're really needed.

The fortified camp is a bleak stretch of tan rocks and tan sandbangs bristling with weapons.

The jungle has been cleared for a quarter of a mile down the slopes to rob "Charlie"—the Vietcong—of any cover should he decide

to advance. The strike force men on duty now are Cambodian inhabitants of South Vietnam. Different ethnic groups train and serve together and come to the peak for 6 week tours of duty.

Captain Kennedy and his officers, designated by their green berets, serve continuously, 7 days and night a week, for weeks and months on end. They live armed to the teeth, ready for emergency, as the engineering work they're directing slowly takes shape.

Kennedy is 29, soft spoken but fervent as he talks about the meaning of this South Vietnam war. In 1954 he was graduated from Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He also was a lay reader in the Episcopal Church and had about decided to go into the ministry after serving his army time. But then the fire and mission of the special forces got into his blood.

"Where could a man of my age do more?" Kennedy demands, speaking of his bleak life on this hill. "I am responsible for the lives of several hundred people. Where would I get a job like that in civilian life at my age? I know that we are going to save this country for these people. Where could you find work more rewarding that that?"

Kennedy and his men were in special good humor because we were leading a pack of choppers bringing in supplies. It was the first good weather in days.

"We've been living on K rations," Kennedy explained. "Last night, though, we had a feast when our strike force killed and cooked a python. It was delicious. Too bad you didn't get here sooner."

Nui Ba Den is in the heart of war zone C, where operations are of maximum toughness. Not only the Ho Chi Minh trails but the Cambodian and Laos jungle nearby make it impossible for the area to be sealed off from the north. The rice and vegetable growers on the plains are almost defenseless when the Vietcong rolls out from the jungle.

The villagers can only fight when they volunteer to serve in the popular force like that commanded by Lieutenant Lich. Then they have guns provided by the United States, through the South Vietnamese Government, and a base protected by the U.S. forces in cooperation with South Vietnam.

The presence of a base like this, and forces like those under Lich, tell the people of Tay Ninh Province that all is not lost.

Since Nui Ba Den must be maintained from the air, the men are trained elsewhere and flown in. The base is so firmly established that the Vietnamese troops bring in their wives, who have established a small village part way down the mountain. There also, the U.S. forces aided in the building of a new Buddhist pagoda, replacing the one on the mountaintop, which is now a fort. The mountain got its name by the death in ancient times of a young woman dressed in black who was killed by a tiger as she was en route to the pagoda to be married. "There are still some tigers here," said Kennedy. "I saw one only a few days ago."

The Americans, all 19, live in three stone galleries about 10 by 24 each. One is the galley and dining room, the others are for desks and bunks. The cave-like living was enlivened a few hours ago when a krait slithered out from a crack in the walls. It's the Asian version of the deadly coral snake and it was quickly stomped to death.

"Life is rugged up here but we can take it because we know we are doing useful work that is going to succeed," said Kennedy. "There is nothing wrong with the situation in Vietnam that some hard work won't cure. This country is a really rich rice bowl, which is why the Communists want it. When they do get an area they take most of the rice for their troops. This is what will always happen. The South Vietnamese have no wish at all to raise rice for China.

"Once we get the Vietcong off the people's backs by cutting their sources of supply you'll find this war here will end relatively fast."

As you look around at Kennedy and his men against the backdrop of rocks and guns you realize that the rugged individualism that made America free is still alive in today's young men. You share Kennedy's faith in the tough, tiny South Vietnamese all around you. You know, after you talk with evangelical young Kennedy at Nui Ba Den that this war is going to be won by our side some day.

Voting Rights Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 6400) to enfore the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Chairman, I want to join with my colleagues from both sides of the aisle in urging the adoption of H.R. 6400, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, to enforce the 15th amendment to the Constitution, in order to guarantee that the full and free exercise of the right of citizens of the United States to vote will not be denied or abridged.

Events in many parts of the country in recent months have again clearly shown the need for additional Federal legislation to guarantee this right for all Americans.

No one can deny that the safety, and even the lives of our fellow citizens are at stake. In my opinion, the full majesty and full resources of the United States must be exerted to preserve and protect the precious heritage of freedom and equality we all are entitled to enjoy.

President Johnson, in his eloquent address to the joint session of Congress, voiced a deeply moving and forceful call to action on this vital legislation.

I urge that the Members of the House now answer that call with speed and determination—to assure, once and for all, the unrestricted exercise of the right to vote, possessed by every American by virtue of his citizenship in this "land of the free."

Certainly, 95 years after ratification of the 15th amendment is not too early for the Nation to make good on its promise to protect the elementary right of all its citizens to full suffrage.

This bill provides for automatic suspension of literacy or any other tests or devices used to discriminate against would-be voters where less than 50 percent of the voting-age population was registered or voted in the 1964 presidential election.

In addition, it authorizes use of Federal examiners to register and assure the right to vote for all citizens previously unable to exercise that fundamental right.

Another strong feature of this legislation is its outright ban on the poll tax as a requirement for voting in State and local elections, in the same manner as the 24th amendment to the Constitution, ratified in January 1964, outlawed the poll tax in Federal elections.

All in all, the measure represents a clear, practical, effective, and legislatively responsible way to enable citizens to vote without the fear or threat of discrimination.

For that reason, I hope the Members of this House will pass the Voting Rights Act of 1965 without further delay, so that the Congress may again take a leading part in the noble crusade to create a better America, to banish the phrase "second-class citizen" from our vocabulary, and to fulfill the revolutionary dream of freedom and equality for all Americans.

Our Pacific Partner: Japan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 24, 1965

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, the day is long past when the Pacific Ocean was merely America's geographic and economic backyard. For, today a Pacific nation, Japan, stands as America's most important customer, second only to Canada. A Pacific State, California, now leads the Nation in exports. Furthermore, two developments of great historic moment and of profound concern to this country are presently occurring in the Pacific Basin—the emergence on the one hand of a dynamic and growing Pacific community of free nations, a community which has become an increasingly important factor in the growth of our economy, and the emergence on the other hand of a militant Red China as a real and growing threat to that community, to our own security, and to world peace. These crucial developments, Mr. Speaker, demand that we turn more of our attention to mending our diplomatic fences in the Pacific.

Nowhere is this more urgent than with respect to our most important partner in Asia, Japan. Now, I have, from time to time, pointed out specific areas of difference between our country and Japan where I felt we could take more positive approaches toward achieving mutually satisfactory solutions. In this regard, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to an editorial from yesterday's Washington Post which succinctly presents a full portrayal of problems affecting our relations with Japan, problems which can and must be solved. Entiled "Our Pacific Partner," this editorial makes the point that yes, this country did very generously help Japan achieve her present eminence, but now we would be very wise to take positive action in good faith to solve our differences with Japan in order to insure our present good friendship for a future in which we are very much going to need it. I think that the point is well taken.

I hope that the editorial will be read and all of its recommendations carefully considered.

None of the points of the editorial is quite so timely as the reference made to the Asian Development Bank under point No. 5. If we can judge from our experience with the Inter-American Development Bank, and I think we can, this proposal offers a highly constructive alternative to that of direct aid to developing nations. As in the case of the Inter-American Bank, the Asian Bank offers a regional approach to the problems of development, placing assistance on a self-help banking basis with all nations of the region participating in the Bank to a degree commensurate with their ability.

The Posts's recommendation that we help Japan to obtain the site of the Asian Bank for Tokyo is not only wise policy from a diplomatic point of view as the Post suggests, but natural in view of Japan's eminent position in the region. After all, Japan is Asia's greatest industrial and commercial nation. For most of the nations who will participate in the Asian Bank, Japan is either their No. 1 customer, their No. 1 supplier, or both. Moreover, Japan has set the pattern for Asian development—in land reform and rural development as well as industrialization. The free nations of Asia thus look to Japan as a leader, as a success story which they hope to emulate. Thus Japan is the commercial, industrial and increasingly the political focal point of the interest and attention of Asia's developing nations. It is therefore natural that the Asian Development Bank be placed at that focal point and that Japan be recognized as the great nation which she has come to be.

The Post editorial follows:

OUR PACIFIC PARTNER

The arrival of seven members of the Japanese Cabinet for the fourth annual gathering with their American counterparts is a good time to reaffirm our belief that Japan is this country's most important partner in Asia—militarily, economically, and politically.

In the formal speeches, this has been duly recognized; in action it has sometimes been denied.

True, it has been the United States, through its foresighted occupation-period policies and its generous distribution of economic aid, that has helped Japan to this eminence after her World War II disaster. But there are a number of things the United States can do, in its own interest, to insure that this partnership with Japan is long-lasting. For instance:

1. The United States could better appreciate the Japanese national instincts concerning Okinawa. President Kennedy, as far back as March 1961, recognized Japan's residual sovereignty to the Ryukyu Islands, of which Okinawa is the chief member. But our policies often seem not to reflect this recognition. At the moment, the Ryukyuans need something like $50 million a year to improve their schools and move up their standard of living a notch or two. The United States contributes only $12 million a year, and restricts Japan to another $8 million in economic help. Certainly the economic help should be greater. And, to be really foresighted the United States should realize that one of these days even a pro-Western Japanese government will have to demand the return of Okinawa if it is to stay in office. The United States should prepare for that day and arrange to yield Okinawa's sovereignty while still holding on to the military bases there which are so essential to the security of both Japan and the United States.

2. Fisheries represent another thorn in United States-Japanese relations. For Japan, fish are essential both to the diet and to the economy. For the United States, the Pacific salmon run is essential mainly to Alaskan fishermen. Instead of the boycott against Japanese goods which was whipped up on the Pacific coast last month, and the fear of too few salmon when there now appears to be a record catch for all, the United States should recognize that the Japanese consider the North Pacific Fisheries Convention of 1952 to be an "unequal" treaty foisted upon them while they were emerging from occupation.

3. Air rights are a similar thorn. Japan contends she was obliged to give U.S. airlines right to land in Tokyo under her occupation. But so far Japan has been unable to get the United States to reciprocate with rights to cross this continent and thereby enable Japan Air Lines to enter the big league with a round-the-world hookup.

4. Economically, the Japanese fear that under such slogans as "Buy American" and "Conserve Our Balance of Payments" the United States is backsliding into its old protectionism. At the moment, the United States is tying to work out a multilateral restriction on the imports of wool textiles which the Japanese are resisting. The Japanese-American cotton textile agreement expires the end of this year and the Japanese want out from a level of voluntary quotas which they feel has held them back from the normal growth of the U.S. market.

5. Politically, while the United States is anxious to see Japan assert the leadership she is entitled to in Asian affairs, there is still a begrudging, look-the-other-way attitude when Japan attempts to normalize trade and cultural ties with her greatest historical and geographic neighbor, Communist China. At the coming week's gathering, when the United States presumably will press Japan to take a bigger role in granting foreign aid to noncombat areas in Asia, it might be a wise gesture to help Japan make Tokyo the headquarters for the new Asian Development Bank which is to have such a key role in future aid to Asia.

In sum, here is a friend whose territory, in years to come, may represent the one piece of solid Asian ground for U.S. national needs. It would seem to be the better part of wisdom not to begrudge Japan her own needs now, but to anticipate them in order to insure the firmness of this Japanese-American partnership.

A Beacon of Hope

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to place before the House a commentary by Mr. Charles Lucey, editor of the Trenton Times, that appeared in a recent edition of that newspaper. I think we can all join with him in seconding President Johnson's expression of renewed faith in the United Nations as an antidote to the disorder which seems to abound throughout the world.

Mr. Lucey's commentary is as follows:

A TIME OF DISSONANCE

(By Charles Lucey)

These years will not be set down as gentle ones. Stridency, vulgarity, destructiveness, anarchy in individual lives; among states and nations a larger anarchy, angry bad manners and brutal violence.

Have you a gripe—are you annoyed by something? Then whip up a committee. Fashion a name with words whose first letters cannonade out into some such sharp injunction as STOP or WHOOP or BOMB (Banish Old McGeorge Bundy, obviously). Splash up some signs and placards to convey an angry spontaneity. Stage a march. What cause is so anemic its pickets have not ringed a mayor's or Governor's office?

The other day the graduating class at Hyde Park High School in Chicago went on strike because school officials, choosing music for commencement, shelved Elgar's traditional "Pomp and Circumstance" for the "Triumphal March" from Verdi's "Aida."

Now, there is nothing wrong with ringing protest in a good social cause, but how far to nonsense do you run?

Among nations, mayhem and marauding sweep from Cairo to Cyprus to Algeria to the Congo to Santo Domingo to Indonesia to Vietnam. Tomorrow the flame may burst in Bogotá or on the Arab-Israel border or along the autobahn to Berlin.

So, now 20 years after that candle of bright hope was lighted at the United Nations founding meeting in San Francisco, one finds no peace and scarcely can recall when men were not at one another's throats. And the emissaries from all the nations talk and talk and yet are helpless in such agonies as Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

The dream and the hope the founders of U.N. had for comity in the brotherhood of man, corporate branch, is as great and noble as ever. But the U.N. machinery was crippled by the Communists when Moscow destroyed the role of the Security Council by use of the veto, and when it stubbornly thwarted efforts to form an effective U.N. peacekeeping force as originally conceived.

Yet U.N. remains the beacon, it must go on—and President Johnson is right in bespeaking anew at San Francisco our faith that it still will have meaning.

Excise Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 28, 1965

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, many consumers have written to me wanting to know exactly which items have been affected by the reduction of excise taxes and by what percentage. Therefore, I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point a complete list of those items which are currently affected by the excise tax reduction, the percentage of reduction, and the base price for determining the percentage reduction. I have also included the effective date of reduction of the excise tax. I would like to note that there are several exceptions to this following list. For example, the tax on automatic clothes washers was removed several years ago. Shampoo floor polishers, while an appliance, have been exempted from excise taxes since 1958. Motor powered, household lawnmowers were previously subject to a 5-percent excise which has now been removed. I wish to emphasize that many of these taxes were levied on the manufacturers' price and not on the retail price. Please note the distinction in the following tables:

Brief summary of major tax provisions of Public Law 89-44, the Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1965

Item	Prior law		Under new law	Effective date
	Base	Rate		
A. RETAILERS				
Furs	Retail price	10 percent	Repealed entirely	June 22, 1965
Jewelry	do	do	do	Do.
Luggage and handbags	do	do	do	Do.
Toilet preparations	do	do	do	Do.
B. MANUFACTURERS				
Passenger automobiles [1] (refunds as to sales after May 14, 1965)	Manufacturer's price	10 percent	Reduced to 7 percent on June 22, 1965, 6 percent on Jan. 1, 1966, 4 percent on Jan. 1, 1967, 2 percent on Jan. 1, 1968, and 1 percent on Jan. 1, 1969.	
Schoolbuses	do	do	Exempted	June 22, 1965
Camper coaches and bodies and selfpropelled mobile homes	do	do	do	Do.
Farm feed, seed and fertilizer equipment	do	8 or 10 percent	do	Do.
Small 3-wheeled motor vehicles (also includes household-type power lawnmowers subject to 5 percent tax which is repealed.)	do	10 percent	do	Do.
Auto parts and accessories [1] (except parts primarily used for trucks and buses).	do	8 percent	Repealed entirely	Jan. 1, 1966
Refrigerators [1]	do	5 percent	Repealed entirely	June 22, 1965
Freezers [1]	do	do	do	Do.
Air conditioners [1] (refunds as to sales after May 14, 1965)	do	10 percent	do	Do.
Electric, gas, and oil appliances [1] (there was no excise on washing machines).	do	5 percent	do	Do.
Electric light bulbs [1]	do	10 percent	Repealed entirely on Jan. 1, 1966, except tax on bulbs used in previously taxable items repealed on June 22, 1965.	
Radio and phonographs [1]	do	do	Repealed entirely	June 22, 1965
Television sets [1]	do	do	do	Do.
Phonograph records [1]	do	do	do	Do.
Musical instruments [1]	do	do	do	Do.
Sporting goods [1] (except fishing equipment)	do	do	do	Do.
Cameras and film [1]	do	do	do	Do.
Projectors [1]	do	5 percent	do	Do.
Business machines [1]	do	10 percent	do	Do.
Pens and mechanical pencils	do	do	do	Do.
Lighters	Each (but not more than 10 percent of manufacturer's price).	10 cents	do	Do.
Matches:				
Plain	2 cents per 1,000, but not more than 10 percent of manufacturer's price.		do	Do.
Fancy	5½ cents per 1,000		do	Do.
Playing cards [1]	Pack	13 cents	do	Do.

[1] Provision is made for floor stock refund.

Republican Record on Voting Rights Praised

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues, the Republican leader of the House Mr. FORD, and the ranking Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee Mr. McCULLOCH deserve the highest praise for their contributions in behalf of equal voting rights for all Americans.

The Ford-McCulloch bill was in many respects a stronger measure than the Celler administration bill passed last week by the House. This was particularly true after the adoption of an amendment abolishing the poll tax in State and local elections.

The President's reflections upon the efficacy of the Republican voting rights bill sponsored by Mr. FORD and Mr. McCULLOCH was most unfortunate. Their joint statement in reply to the President, is both pertinent and highly significant. I call it to the attention of all of my colleagues and to the American public:

JOINT STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE GERALD R. FORD, REPUBLICAN FLOOR LEADER, AND REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM McCULLOCH, RANKING REPUBLICAN MEMBER OF COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, JULY 12, 1965

The President's political instincts got the better of his sense of fairness and his sense of history when he accused House Republicans of seeking to dilute the voting rights bill.

The President is obviously sensitive to his own "Lyndon come lately" congressional record on civil rights.

The President is embarrassed by the failure of the Johnson administration to support the honest elections provision in either the Senate or House version of the voting rights bill.

Will the President tell the people:

1. Why Texas was not covered under his initial voting rights bill and is not effectively covered now?

2. Why vote frauds and dishonest elections, such as have occurred in Chicago and Texas, were not covered under his proposal?

3. Why should not the right to vote be protected equally in every State, not just in seven States?

4. Why should any area be exempted after only 50 percent of the Negroes are permitted to vote?

5. Why should challenged votes be counted and if found invalid be used possibly to determine the outcome of an election, including the election of a President?

The Ford-McCulloch bill effectively meets all of these problems. The President's proposal ignored all these vices and defects. The Ford-McCulloch bill was more comprehensive, more effective, and more equitable than the Administration bill.

From 1940 through 1960 as a member of the House and the Senate, Lyndon Johnson voted against civil rights on 78 percent of 50 meaningful rollcall votes. Before 1957, he voted against civil rights 100 percent.

Lyndon Johnson's public statements were consistent with his voting record. In Austin, Tex., on May 22, 1948, he said:

"This civil rights program, about which you have heard so much is a farce and a sham—an effort to set up a police state in the guise of liberty. I am opposed to that program. I fought it in Congress. It is the province of the State to run its own elections."

Republicans disagreed with him then and have consistently disagreed with that philosophy ever since.

The President embraces a form of consensus which in effect says, "I'm right. Everyone else is wrong. I'm for good; you're for evil." He tolerates no constructive differences of opinion. As such, he is a dangerous advocate of one-party government in this country.

Southern Railway's "Big John"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial was broadcast over radio station WDIX, Orangeburg, S.C., on July 8. The success of Southern's "Big John" operation is great news to the Southeast, the Midwest, and to those everywhere who believe in competitive free enterprise:

For 2 years, those of who who like to watch the trains go by, have noticed the "Big John" grain cars moving feed into the Southeast for southern cattle and hog feeders. Each "Big John" means a minimum of a hundred thousand pounds of feed grain moving to southeastern farmers at a 60-percent savings in freight costs. A 60-percent savings in transportation of feed grains is profit. It's the difference between making money and going broke to a lot of people. The Southern

Railway fought the Interstate Commerce Commission for 2 years to be permitted to lower the freight rates made possible by "Big John." After another 2 years' operation, Southern is reporting on the effect of the Big John savings to the grain user. Here is the score. In the Southeastern States in the past 2 years 23 new feed mills have been built and 41 existing feed mills have been expanded. In these 2 years 35 new cattle feed lots have been opened and 17 existing cattle feed lots have been expanded, 16 new hog feed lots have been built, and 3 existing hog feed lots have been expanded. In these Southeastern States and in these 2 years 2 new packinghouses have been built and 11 existing packinghouses have been expanded. Thus, savings through lower freight rates on grain from the Midwest to the Southeast have brought a healthy and vigorous market expansion for southern livestock farmers, feeders, processors and new jobs for people all along this line of expansion.

In Appalachia the Duke Power Co., offers to invest $700 million in electric power production that would bring expansion of job opportunitiees to a tri-State area. The facility is planned as the Keowee-Toxaway plant in Pickens and Oconee Counties in South Carolina. And, who objects? The U.S. Government in the person of Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall. Secretary of the Interior Udall says that Duke could buy its power from the proposed Government powerplant at Trotters Shoals and from other places. Secretary of the Interior Mr. Udall's proposal comes with poor grace. A Federal power group 2 years ago stopped Duke from building a plant at Trotters Shoals. What Duke proposes would cost the people nothing. What the Department of the Interior proposes would cost the people the price of the Federal powerplant and millions in tax dollars. And, the point is this. A Federal agency delayed the Southern Railway's use of "Big John" grain cars 2 years by forbidding Southern to lower the freight rate. A Federal agency stops private power development to build its own public power empire. Only the voter can trim the Federal Government's stranglehold on private enterprise.

Superb Address of Secretary Dean Rusk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of State Dean Rusk delivered a magnificent address on June 23 before the American Foreign Service Association here in Washington.

I commend this timely address, "Vietnam: Four Steps to Peace," to the attention of every Member of the Congress, to the people of our country, and those throughout the world who are striving for a just and honorable peace in southeast Asia—a peace which will end aggression.

VIETNAM: FOUR STEPS TO PEACE

It is a very great pleasure for me to be here. It is a privilege for me to salute my colleagues, present and retired, of the Foreign Service and to express to you the gratitude of President Johnson and of the American people for a service which is marked by so much competence, dedication, and personal commitment.

Two and a half months ago President Johnson spoke to the world about Vietnam at the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. Today I wish to talk to you on the same subject—to you who know that such problems have deep roots, to you who have lived through and worked upon such problems before, and to you who know that such matters can gravely affect the future of our Nation and the prospects for general peace.

The struggle in Vietnam has continued since April and indeed has grown the more severe. The harsh resistance of the Communists to any form of discussions or negotiation continues. The effort to destroy the freedom of Vietnam has been expanded. The trial by fire of the people of Vietnam goes on. Their own resistance has been courageous, but the need for American resolution and for American action has increased.

AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH

The root of the trouble in Vietnam is today just what it was in April and has been at least since 1960—a cruel and sustained attack by North Vietnam upon the people of South Vietnam. Now, as then, it is a brutal war—marked by terror and sneak attack, and by the killing of women and children in the night. This campaign of terror has continued throughout the spring.

Those of us who have not served in Vietnam may find it hard to understand just how ugly this war of aggression has been. From 1961 to the present date the South Vietnamese armed forces have lost some 25,000 dead and 51,000 wounded. In proportion to population, these South Vietnamese losses are 10 times as great as those suffered by Americans in the Korean war, and larger than our losses in World War II.

Even more terrible than these military losses are the cruelties of assassination and kidnaping among civilian officials and ordinary citizens. In the last 18 months, for example, more than 2,000 local officials and civilians have been murdered. When an official is not found at home, often his wife and children are slain in his place. It is as if in our own country some 35,000 civic leaders or their families were to be killed at night by stealth and terror.

These are the methods of the Vietcong. This is the test to which the people of Vietnam have gallantly responded.

Meanwhile, from the north, heavy infiltration has continued. Intelligence now shows that some 40,000 had come down before the end of 1964. Toward the end of that year—well before the beginning of our own air operations against North Vietnam—the infiltration of regular North Vietnamese army units was begun, and important elements of that army are now known to be in place in South Vietnam and Laos, where they have no right to be.

And so we face a deliberate and long-matured decision by a persistent aggressor to raise the stakes of war. Apparently this was their answer to our own repeated affirmation that we ourselves did not wish a larger war. Apparently a totalitarian regime has once again misunderstood the desire of democratic peoples for peace and has made the mistake of thinking that they can have a larger war without risks to themselves. And hence the airstrikes against military targets in North Vietnam.

These actions have made infiltration harder. They have increased the cost of aggression. Without them South Vietnam today would face still stronger forces from the north.

These measured air operations have done what we expected them to do—neither more nor less. For air attack alone cannot bring peace. I cannot agree with those who think it wrong to hit the logistics of aggression. It is the aggression itself that is the wrong. Those who worry about bridges and barracks and ammunition dumps would do well to give their sympathy instead to the daily victims of terror in South Vietnam.

EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE

The other side is obviously not yet ready for peace. In these last months, the friends of peace in many lands have sought to move this dangerous matter to the conference table. But one proposal after another has been contemptuously rejected.

We and others, for example, have sought to clear a way for a conference on Laos, and a conference on Cambodia—two neighboring countries where progress toward peace might be reflected in Vietnam itself. But these efforts have been blocked by North Vietnam and by Communist China.

Twice there has been an effort at discussions through the United Nations—first in the Security Council after the August attacks in the Tonkin Gulf, and later this April, when Secretary General U Thant considered visits to Hanoi and Peiping to explore the possibilities of peace. But in August there was a refusal by Hanoi to come to the Security Council. And in April both Hanoi and Peiping made it clear that they would not receive U Thant, and both regimes made plain their view that the United Nations is not competent to deal with that matter.

Repeatedly our friends in Britain, as a cochairman of the Geneva conference, have sought a path to settlement—first by working toward a new conference in Geneva and then by a visit of a senior British statesman. But the effort for a conference in Geneva was blocked, and the distinguished British traveler was told that he should stay away from Peiping and Hanoi.

Twice in April we made additional efforts of our own. In Baltimore the President offered unconditional discussions with the governments concerned. Hanoi and Peiping call this offer a hoax. At that time the 17 nonalined nations had appealed for a peaceful solution, by negotiations without preconditions. This proposal was accepted on our side. It was rejected by Hanoi and Peiping. And some of its authors were labeled monsters and freaks.

The President of India made constructive proposals—for an end of hostilities and an Afro-Asian patrol force. To us this proposal was full of interest and hope. But by Hanoi and Red China it was rejected as a betrayal.

Our own Government and the Government of South Vietnam, in May, suspended air attacks on North Vietnam. This action was made known to the other side to see if there would be a response in kind. This special effort for peace was denounced in Hanoi as a wornout trick and denounced in Peiping as a swindle. To those who complain that that so-called "pause" was not long enough, I would simply report that the harsh reaction of the other side was fully known before the attacks were resumed. And I would also recall that we held our hand for more than 4 years while tens of thousands of armed men invaded the South and every attempt at peaceful settlement failed.

HANOI'S RESPONSE

Reports in the first half of June have confirmed that all these violent rejections are in fact what they appear to be—clear proof that what is wanted today in Hanoi is a military victory, not peace, and that Hanoi is not even prepared for discussions unless it is accepted in advance that there will be a Communist-dominated government in Saigon, and unless too—so far as we can determine—American forces are withdrawn in advance.

So this record is clear. And there is substance in Senator FULBRIGHT's conclusion that "It seems clear that the Communist powers still hope to achieve a complete victory in South Vietnam and for this reason

are at present uninterested in negotiations for a peaceful settlement." For the simple truth is that there is no lack of diplomatic procedures, machinery or process by which a desire for peace can be registered—that there is no procedural miracle through which peace can be obtained if one side is determined to continue the war.

As I have said, Hanoi is presenly adamant against negotiation or any avenue to peace. Peiping is even more so, and one can plainly read the declared doctrine and purpose of the Chinese Communists. They are looking beyond the current conflict to the hope of domination in all of Southeast Asia—and indeed beyond.

But one finds it harder to understand Hanoi's aversion to discussion. More immediately than the Chinese, the North Vietnamese face the costs and dangers of conflict. They, too, must fear the ambitions of Communist China in Southeast Asia. Yet they are still on the path of violence, insisting upon the forceful communization of South Vietnam and refusing to let their brothers in the south work out their own destiny in peace.

In recent weeks, after 2 months of reduced activity, the enemy has sharply quickened the tempo of his military action in the south. Since early May, major Viet Cong units have returned to the battlefield, and already a series of sharp engagments has shown us that the fighting through the summer may be hard. Setbacks have occurred and serious defeats have been avoided only by the combination of continuing Vietnamese bravery and effective air and other types of support.

Losses on both sides have been heavy. From April 1 to date, we have had confirmed reports of almost 5,000 Vietcong dead, almost 3,000 South Vietnamese, and almost 100 Americans. We must expect these losses to continue—and our own losses may increase.

ROLE OF U.S. FORCES

Since March we have deployed nine battalions of fighting men to South Vietnam. Six more are on their way. For as the President said in April, "we will not be defeated. We will not grow tired * * *. We will do everything necessary * * * and we will do only what is * * * necessary."

Our own battalions in South Vietnam have three related tasks. Their first assignment was and is to guard such major installations as the airfield at Da Nang. A second and closely related task is that of active patrol in nearby areas. And the third is to join in combat support of Vietnamese forces—when such help is requested and when our Commander, General Westmoreland, believes it should be given.

American forces so committed will carry with them the determined support of our people. These men know, as all our people know, that what they do is done for freedom and peace, in Vietnam, in other continents, and here at home.

SUPPORT FOR U.S. ACTION

In authorizing combat missions for our ground forces in Vietnam, the President acted to meet his constitutional responsibilities as Commander in Chief. He has recognized the obligations of this Nation under the Southeast Asia Treaty, which the Senate approved by a vote of 82 to 1. He has acted under the joint resolution of August 1964, which passed the Senate by a vote of 88 to 2—and passed the House with no opposing vote. This resolution expresses our national readiness—as the President determines—"to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States" and "all necessary steps, including the use of armed force" to help Vietnam and southeast Asian members of the SEATO who ask for help to preserve their freedom.

The President has acted on the unanimous advice of the American leaders in Saigon and his senior civil and military advisers in Washington.

He has acted in full consultation with the Government of South Vietnam.

And he has acted on his own considered judgment of what is necessary at this time to stop aggression.

This decision—like all of our decisions in Vietnam—is open to review by Members of the Congress and open to reversal if it does not have their support. But the leaders of the Congress have been kept in close touch with the situation, and no such prospect should stimulate the hopes of enemies or the fears of friends. For America is not divided in her determination nor weak in her will.

In Vietnam today we face one more challenge in the long line of dangers we have, unhappily, had to meet and master for a generation. We have had to show both strength and restraint—courage and coolness—for Iran and for Greece, for Berlin and for Korea, in the Formosa Strait, and in the Cuban missile crisis. We mean to show the same determination and coolness now.

In 1954 President Eisenhower pledged our support to the Government of Vietnam, to assist that Govermnent, as he put it, "in developing and maintaining a strong, viable state, capable of resisting attempted subversion or aggression through military means." And this determination was reaffirmed again and again by President Kennedy. "We are going to stay here," he said. "We are not going to withdraw from that effort." And that is our position still.

FIRMNESS AND RESTRAINT

Now, as in April, as the President put it, "We will use our power with restraint and with all the wisdom that we can command." For it is others, and not we, who have increased the scale of fighting. It is others, and not we, who have made threats of gravely widened conflict. The firmness with which we resist aggression is matched by the firmness with which we will refrain from ill-advised adventure.

A few—a very few—may believe that unlimited war can take the place of the sustained and steady effort in which we are engaged, just as there may be a few—a very few—who think we should pull out and leave a friendly people to their fate. But the American people want neither rashness nor surrender. They want firmness and restraint. They expect courage and care. They threaten no one. And they are not moved by the threats by others.

ROLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM

This contest centers in the defense of freedom for the people who live in South Vietnam. The sustained and increasing infiltration from North Vietnam has required the measured use of air attack on military targets in the north. We alone cannot determine the future—could we do so there would be a prompt peace. The other side, too, must decide about the future. And we must hope they know—as we do—that increased aggression would be costly far beyond the worth to the aggressor.

The political turmoil in South Vietnam has continued. It is easy to be impatient with our friends in Saigon as they struggle to establish and sustain a stable government under the stress of war. We see there the ferment of a society still learning to be free, even while under attack from beyond their borders.

We must remember that this ancient people is young in its independence, restless in its hopes, divided in its religions, and varied in its regions. The turmoil of Vietnam needs the steadfastness of America. Our friends in Vietnam know, and we know, that our people and our troops must work and fight together. Neither of us can do the work of the other. And the main responsibility must always be with, and is fully accepted by, the South Vietnamese. Yet neither of us can "go it alone." We would not be there without the urgent request for assistance from those whose land this happens to be. We have a tested faith in the enduring bravery of the people of Vietnam, and they, in turn, can count on us with equal certainty.

FORMULA FOR PEACE

The people of Vietnam long for peace. And the way to peace is clear. Yesterday the Foreign Minister of South Vietnam set forth the fundamental principles that can provide a just and enduring peace. Those principles, in summary, are:

An end to aggression and subversion.

Freedom for South Vietnam to choose and shape for itself its own destiny "in conformity with democratic principles and without any foreign interference from whatever sources."

As soon as aggression has ceased, the ending of the military measures now necessary by the Government of South Vietnam and the nations that have come to its aid to defend South Vietnam; and the removal of foreign military forces from South Vietnam.

And effective guarantees for the independence and freedom of the people of South Vietnam.

Now these are the fundamental steps. This is what the arguing and the fighting is all about. When they are carried out, we can look forward, as we have stated previously many times, to the day when relations between North Vietnam and South Vietnam can be worked out by peaceful means. And this would include the question of a free decision by the peoples of North and South Vietnam on the matter of reunification.

This forthright and simple program meets the hopes of all and attacks the interests of none. It would replace the threat of conquest by the hope of free and peaceful choice.

A LOOK TO THE FUTURE

And even while these hopes of peace are blocked for now by aggression, we on our side and other nations have reaffirmed our deep commitment to the peaceful progress of Vietnam and southeast Asia as a whole. In April the President proposed to the nations of Asia and to the United Nations that there be constructed a new program of support for Asian efforts and called upon Mr. Eugene Black to assist them. Now in June this work is underway. The Mekong River project has been given new life. A new dam is ready to rise in Laos. A billion-dollar bank is in the making for the development of southeast Asia. And in Vietnam itself new impetus has been given to programs of development and education and health.

So let us call again on other nations—including the Soviet Union—to join in turning this great region of the world away from the waste and violence of a brutal war. For the hope of Asia is not in relentless pressure for conquest. It is in unremitting hope for progress—a progress in which rice production could be multiplied manyfold, where the expectation of life could be doubled, the education of the young could be tenfold what it is today, and there could be an end of cholera and tuberculosis and intestinal parasites and other human afflictions.

In April the President offered determination against aggression, discussion for peace, and development for the human hopes of all. And in June we reaffirm that threefold policy.

Aggression has increased, so that determination must be greater than ever.

Discussion is rejected, but our efforts to find a path to peace will not be stopped. We have welcomed the new initiative of Prime Minister Wilson and the Commonwealth conference and regret that it has received so little reception on the other side.

Beyond the terror of the aggressor and the firmness of our defense, we must, nevertheless, look to the day in which many new dams will be built, and many new schools

opened, and fresh opportunities opened to the peoples of southeast Asia. For we must look beyond the battle to peace, past fear to hope, and over the hard path of resistance to the broad plain of progress which must lie ahead for the peoples of southeast Asia.

Vietnam: An Answer to Some Probing Questions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, I have great admiration and respect for the very able editor of the Saturday Review, Norman Cousins. His writing and analysis in numerous fields has made a fine contribution to a new awareness and a better understanding of many public issues.

I was, accordingly, deeply troubled by two of his recent articles: "Vietnam and the American Conscience," February 27, 1965; and "How America Can Help Vietnam," March 20, 1965.

In response to my request for a point-by-point analysis, the Department of State has provided me with a reply which I consider to be thoughtful, informative, and responsive. I include it for our colleagues' attention and considered review:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 7, 1965.

Hon JEFFERY COHELAN,
House of Representatives.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN COHELAN: Thank you for your letter of June 3, 1965, requesting the comments of the Department on two recent editorials in the Saturday Review, by Norman Cousins. The Department of Defense has also referred to us your letter to them concerning these editorials.

The conclusions in Mr. Cousins' articles are based on a number of assertions which are either oversimplifications or largely inaccurate. The major assumptions on which he bases his arguments are discussed below.

1. "The first fact is that the United States does not have the backing of the Vietnamese people in whose name it went into Vietnam in the first place and whom it is seeking to save today." "In private briefings U.S. officials concede that the large majority of South Vietnamese are opposed to the U.S. presence."

This is not accurate. While many Vietnamese just wish to lead their own lives and do not actively support either the Government of Vietnam or the Vietcong, the majority of the South Vietnamese have already shown that they do not wish their country to be taken over by the Communists and that they appreciate American efforts to assist them in protecting themselves.

Nearly 1 million North Vietnamese refugees rejected communism by moving south in 1954. Over 500,000 Vietnamese soldiers are now serving in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Vietnam—3,411,000 persons took part in the government's municipal and provincial council elections held on May 30 of this year. No political or military leader of note has defected to the Vietcong, even during the days when a number of them were actively opposed to President Ngo Dinh Diem. While it is impossible to prove what exact percentage of the South Vietnamese support or oppose the Vietcong, these facts do indicate that the great majority of the South Vietnamese oppose them.

With regard to Vietnamese support for the American effort in Vietnam, it should be noted that almost all the leaders of all political and religious groups with the exception of the Vietcong have publicly stated their appreciation of American assistance to their country. Some student leaders have criticized some aspects of the method of administering American assistance, but even they have been careful to make clear their gratitude for American support and desire that it be continued.

2. "The second fact is that most of the military equipment used against American and South Vietnam military forces has come neither from Communist China nor from North Vietnam but from the United States."

It is true that the Vietcong use weapons cached in 1954. It is also true that the South Vietnamese, from 1961 until today, have lost over 39,000 weapons, but in the same period the Vietcong lost over 25,000, and so the Vietcong gains have netted them only some 14,000 arms. This is only 10 or 15 percent of their total requirements or, most favorably, only 30 percent of the requirements for their regular, "main force" units alone. The remainder—over 35,000 weapons for the regular, "main force" Vietcong troops, and between 50,000 and 100,000 for the Vietcong irregulars—must, and have, come from outside.

Related to this, it is heartening to observe the trend in weapons losses in 1965. For a long while, the ratio of losses was 3 to 1 in favor of the Vietcong. But this year the ratio is 1 to 1—a favorable sign.

3. "The third fact is that the legal justification invoked by the United States for its involvement in Vietnam has long since been nullified."

The enclosed leaflet entitled "Legal Basis for U.S. Action in Vietnam" discusses this question.

4. "There has been an outpouring of anti-American sentiment not just in Asia but throughout the world—and it would be a mistake to charge it all to Communist manipulation or propaganda."

It is true that the American effort in Vietnam is opposed by the leaders of some countries and by some elements of the population in most countries. Many more leaders and groups throughout the world have expressed concern at the situation in Vietnam, a concern which is shared, of course, by responsible officials in the American Government and by all men interested in peace. However, even many of those expressing concern recognize the necessity of assisting the Vietnamese Government and people. Government leaders of over 60 countries have either publicly or privately voiced support of our policy in Vietnam as compared to the approximately 25 countries which openly oppose it. Thirty-eight countries are now providing assistance to the Republic of Vietnam or have agreed to do so.

5. "The United States did and does have an economic program in Vietnam and Laos but that program lacks grandeur."

The enclosed leaflet entitled "U.S. Assistance to Vietnam" shows the large scope of our nonmilitary aid to that country, and President Johnson discussed our economic assistance in greater detail in an address on May 13, 1965, a copy of which is also enclosed.

6. "The repeated changeovers in the Vietnam Government indicate that the problem of stability is not represented solely by subversion from the north. One way or another, the principle of self-determination, at the core of historic U.S. foreign policy and traditions, does not now exist in Vietnam."

After centuries of domination by Chinese, French, and Japanese it would seem fanciful to expect the Vietnamese to emerge after the signing of the Geneva accords with a well-trained, experienced and effective leadership group and well-informed, conscientious electorate, both groups able and confident in the operation of governmental institutions with which they have had no previous contact. Is it realistic to require that their Government be as democratic as ours before we will assist them? The progress that has been made since 1954 should not be ignored: the increasing responsiveness of the Government to various groups now becoming vocal on matters of policy, the continuing efforts of the Government to improve the social and economic position of its citizens, and the progress toward an effective administration. One example of their efforts was the successful provincial and municipal elections held throughout the country on May 30.

7. "American newsmen have had a more difficult time in getting unmanipulated news out of Vietnam than out of almost any crisis center in recent years."

Enclosed is an article from the June 20 Chicago Tribune which gives the opinion of an impartial observer on this subject.

Mr. Cousins' conclusion is that we should "* * * involve the United Nations, with all its limitations, to the fullest possible extent."

It should be noted that the United States has attempted more than once to use the machinery of the United Nations to help solve various aspects of the Vietnam situation. When in May 1964, Cambodia complained to the United Nations Security Council of South Vietnamese military incursions into Cambodian territory, the United States proposed that a United Nations peacekeeping body be established on the border. The Security Council sent a mission of three of its members (Brazil, Ivory Coast, and Morocco) to examine the border situation and to make recommendations as to how these incidents could be avoided. Hanoi and Peiping condemned even this limited United Nations initiative in southeast Asia. The Vietcong warned that they could not guarantee the safety of the mission and would not accept its findings.

In August 1964, the United States requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the serious situation created by the North Vietnamese torpedo boat attacks on two U.S. destroyers in international waters. After hearing the U.S. report of the defensive measures taken in response to these attacks, the Council stated that it would welcome such information relating to this issue as North or South Vietnam desired to make available either by taking part in the Security Council discussion or in a form they might otherwise prefer. The Republic of Vietnam expressed its readiness to offer the Security Council its full cooperation. However, the North Vietnamese maintained that the Security Council "has no right to examine the problem" and replied that any "illegal" decision on the U.S. complaint by the Security Council would be considered null and void by the North Vietnamese authorities.

On June 25, 1965, in a speech at San Francisco on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the United Nations, President Johnson called upon "this gathering of the nations of the world to use all their influence, individually and collectively, to bring to the table those who seem determined to make war. We will support your efforts," he continued, "as we support effective action by any agent or agency of these United Nations."

The machinery of the United Nations has been extremely valuable in easing tension in many parts of the world. But any peace settlement, to be effective, must be agreed to by parties who are willing to work out and abide by such an agreement. The responses to the President's proposal on April 7 have not given

us any encouragement that Hanoi or Peiping are interested in even considering discussion toward peace.

Referring to reports that Secretary General U Thant had offered to visit several capitals of the world, in Peiping a People's Daily editorial on April 12 had this to say: "* * * Mr. Thant wants to come to China and the DRV (North Vietnam) to seek a settlement of the Vietnam question. Obviously, he is knocking at the wrong door. * * * The Vietnam question has nothing to do with the United Nations" and that "no meddling by the United Nations is called for nor will it be tolerated." Finally, Hanoi's declaration of April 19 noted that it would be inappropriate for the United Nations to intervene in the Vietnam situation.

It is Peiping and Hanoi, not the United States, who oppose an effective role for the United Nations in southeast Asia.

In conclusion, we would like to quote the following paragraph from Mr. Cousins' editorial entitled "How America Can Help Vietnam," which well states the fundamental problems in Vietnam:

"The original problem in Vietnam is represented by an unremitting Communist campaign of terror, assassination, and brutality against the South Vietnamese people and government. The campaign has its origin in North Vietnam but many South Vietnamese are part of the undercover army, known as the Vietcong. What concerns the United States at least as much as the disorders in South Vietnam is the spread of Chinese Communist influence or dominion in southeast Asia."

If the Department can be of further assistance, please let me know.

Sincerely,

DOUGLAS MACARTHUR II,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

[From the Office of Public Services, Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D.C.]

LEGAL BASIS FOR U.S. ACTION IN VIETNAM

Although Congress in fact has not made a formal declaration of war, the sense of Congress has indeed been expressed. Congressional leaders have been consulted continuously by the administration, and many Senators and Congressmen have made their views known both in private discussions and public speeches in Congress. A joint resolution (Public Law 88–408) was passed in August 1964 by a combined vote of 503 to 2, which stated, among other things: "That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief too take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression * * *" and that "the United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia * * *" and that "* * * the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom." It has not been considered desirable or necessary to declare war in the Vietnam situation. Should a declaration of war become necessary or desirable, Congress would, of course, make such a declaration, since it is recognized that the power to declare war is solely within the province of the Congress.

Article II of the Constitution makes the President Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and vests in him the executive power. This article has also been interpreted by the Supreme Court as making the President the "sole organ of the Nation" in the field of foreign affairs. Thus the President has authority to deploy U.S. military personnel abroad.

Furthermore, the United States and Vietnam are parties to the agreement for mutual defense assistance in Indochina of December 23, 1950, which was concluded pursuant to Public Law 329, 81st Congress. This agreement provides for the furnishing by the United States to Vietnam, inter alia, of military assistance in the form of equipment, material, and services.

The Manila Pact, ratified in February 1955, which established SEATO, included South Vietnam as a protocol state. This treaty was approved by the Senate by a vote of 82 to 1.

A Presidential decision was made in 1954 to extend aid to South Vietnam; President Eisenhower said in a letter to the President of South Vietnam: "The purpose of this offer is to assist the Government of Vietnam in developing and maintaining a strong, viable state, capable of resisting attempted subversion or aggression through military means."

U.S. ASSISTANCE TO VIETNAM

Since its formation in 1954 the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam) has received over $3.5 billion in U.S. economic and military assistance. This large amount of aid for a relatively small nation (approximately 15 million population) has been necessary because of Vietnam's location on the borders of Communist Asia and the external and internal pressures it must resist to remain independent. In furtherance of U.S. policy in Vietnam both economic and military assistance programs are being carried on.

During the past fiscal year ending June 30, 1964, $233.9 million was provided in economic assistance, as follows:

Some $46.8 million for the counterinsurgency program which finances technical assistance and commodities for strengthening rural development, the national police, communications, public works, and similar projects. Under this program U.S. technicians are living in and providing advisory assistance to the 45 rural provinces; commodities such as medical kits, radios, building materials, school equipment, livestock and pesticides are provided for direct use in counterinsurgency and self-help activities at the village level.

There was $113 million for the commercial import program under which essential import requirements such as raw materials, fertilizer, and some industrial equipment are financed so as to maintain the country's economic foundations. Under this program U.S.-financed imports flow through private commercial channels.

There was $68.2 million of U.S. surplus agricultural commodities under the food-for-peace program, Public Law 480, of which $39.2 million (title I) was sold to meet basic needs for foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials, $26.8 million (title II) was given to support counterinsurgency activities, such as food for resettled families until the next crop harvest, $2.2 million (title III) was donated for distribution to needy persons by U.S. voluntary organizations.

Some $5.9 million for improvement of education, health and telecommunications facilities, and other economic development projects under the advice and guidance of U.S. technicians.

Under the military assistance program, over $200 million of military equipment, supplies, and services were programed for Vietnam in fiscal year 1964, and some 53,000 U.S. servicemen are currently assisting in training, logistical support, base defense, and combat operations with the Vietnamese armed forces when requested by the Government of South Vietnam, in the war against the Communist guerrillas.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, June 20, 1965]

REPORTER FINDS VIET WAR EASY—PROVIDING

(By Arthur Veysey, London bureau chief)

SAIGON, VIETNAM, June 19.—Covering the war in Vietnam is easy for a reporter. Stories are everywhere, waiting to be told.

Contrary to often stated charges, reporters willing to leave the air-conditioned hotels, restaurants, bars, and the press conferences of Saigon are free to travel where they like. They find a welcome everywhere among American military men.

Military transportation of all types is open to the reporter for the asking. He even gets preference on scheduled flights carrying troops and supplies. If no scheduled flight is available, the reporter need only wait on an airfield and sooner or later a plane will come along. The pilot happily gives the reporter a lift.

TALKS OF CENSORSHIP

There is no censorship. In 2 months moving about the country, I met no restriction that I considered unreasonable. Of course, the reporter is expected to use his commonsense. The reporter who, for example, files a story that planes have taken off for North Vietnam while the planes are still on the way is quite properly shunned by fliers who feel the reporter's irresponsibility endangered their lives.

In Saigon, the reporter lives in a hotel or apartment he provides for himself. Army dining rooms, bars, shops, post exchange shops, and movies are open to him. In Da Nang, the military has taken over a seaside motel for reporters covering the war from there. Elsewhere, the reporter bunks with whatever outfit he happens to be with at mealtime or bedtime. The outfit usually gives him the best it has and charges him 50 cents or a dollar.

BACKS PIO'S EFFORTS

Each military outfit has an officer or sergeant assigned as public information officer. By and large, the PIO's do their best to see that the reporter gets the story he seeks, as well as transportation and quarters.

Some reporters accuse the command of using the PIO's as "prison wardens" to make sure reporters "don't get out of line." But my experience is that the PIO's are a much greater help than hindrance to an experienced reporter who understands military ways.

The best PIO's see that the reporter gets to the people with the story, introduces him, and then leaves him to get the facts himself. Sometimes, PIO's who have had unfortunate experiences with reporters sit in on interviews by reporters they are meeting for the first time.

Some inexperienced or lazy reporters expect PIO's to do the work for them and give them the story. Ironically, these same reporters are usually those who protest about "restrictions" and "spoon feeding."

The reporter's worst problem lies in poor communications between Saigon and the rest of the world. The cable service is bad and 24 hour delays are common on big news days. The service is expensive—about 25 cents a word to American cities. This is one of the world's highest press rates. Agencies are arranging their own radio circuits. These would tie into existing cable networks in Manila, Hong Kong, or Tokyo.

Despite the ease with which a reporter can travel within Vietnam, most of the reporters spend most of their time in Saigon. A daily briefing by the command PIO in the air conditioned U.S. Information Service auditorium supplies the raw material for the bulk of stories filed daily from Vietnam.

RECEIVE MIMEOGRAPH PAGE

At the briefing, a PIO officer hands out two or three mimeographed pages listing in-

cidents. Reporters can ask for further details, but rarely get them. Sometimes, the PIO produces one or two military men directly involved in some incident. These men seem to speak from carefully prepared statements and seem to hedge when asked for further details.

The briefings lead to charges that the military is guiding the news. If a reporter is content with the briefings as his main source of material, the charge sticks. But any reporter is free to seek facts elsewhere and as soon as he leaves headquarters he finds a free world for news gathering.

This is no new situation. It existed in World War II and in the Korean war. In those wars, censorship and long distances between the fronts and the cable head made the reporter's role much more difficult than that which the reporter meets today in Vietnam.

Jacobus tenBroek

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, in 1940, when the National Federation of the Blind was formally inaugurated, it was no ordinary private group that was set in motion but an extraordinary social movement. The blind people of the United States, long immobilized in the protective custody of almshouse and lighthouse keepers, were at last on the move—and on their own.

One of the men who met at Wilkes-Barre—founder of the national federation and creator of the vision which inspired it—was a 29-year-old California professor named Jacobus tenBroek, whose own blindness had not deterred him from earning a college degree and three postgraduate degrees in political science and law—a fourth degree from Harvard was later to be added.

Dr. tenBroek's own successful struggle for independence stood in stark contrast to the stifling atmosphere of overprotective shelter, enforced dependency and foreclosed opportunity which everywhere prevailed among the agencies and institutions for the blind. The worst effect of this prejudice, in his view, was to isolate these sightless "wards" not only from normal society—and from their self-appointed "custodians"—but even from significant association with one another—by depriving them of the means and responsibility for mutual effort and collective self-advancement.

It might almost be said that for tenBroek the end of sight was the beginning of "vision"—the vision of a democratic people's movement in which blind men and women would no longer be led but would take the lead themselves in their own cause, and in so doing point the way to a new age of individual independence and social integration for all blind Americans.

Born in 1911 as the son of a prairie homesteader, young tenBroek lost the sight of one eye as the result of an accident at the age of 7. Thereafter, his remaining vision rapidly deteriorated until by the age of 14 he was totally blind. He did not sit long in idleness. Within 3 years he was an active participant and officeholder in local blind organizations in Berkeley, where he went to attend the California School for the Blind. By 1934 he had joined with Dr. Newel Perry, Perry Sundquist, and others to form the California Council of the Blind—a prototype of the State level of the National Federation which followed 6 years later.

From its inception the national movement of the organized blind was shaped in the image of the revolutionary approach to blindness which was preached and practiced with equal brilliance by its founder. It was preached up and down the land, in convention and conference, to blind and sighted audiences alike, in a continuous succession of memorable public addresses stretching over more than 20 years.

But the new philosophy of normality, equality and productivity was not only preached by the NFB's first president during his twoscore years in office. It was also practiced. In the same year in which the Federation was founded, TenBroek received his doctorate in jurisprudence from the University of California, completed a year as Brandeis research fellow at Harvard University, and was appointed a tutor at the University of Chicago Law School. Two years later he began his teaching career at the University of California, moving steadily upward through the ranks to become a full professor in 1953 and chairman of the department of speech in 1955. In 1963 he accepted an appointment as professor of political science at the Berkeley campus.

During this period Dr. tenBroek published more than 50 articles and monographs—plus 3 books—in the fields of welfare, government and law, establishing a reputation as one of the Nation's foremost scholars on matters of constitutional law. One of his volumes—"Prejudice, War, and the Constitution"—won the Woodrow Wilson Award of the American Political Science Association in 1955 as the best book on government and democracy. His other books are "Hope Deferred: Public Welfare and the Blind," 1959 and "The Antislavery Origins of the 14th Amendment," 1951. In the course of his academic career he has been a fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, at Palo Alto, and has twice been the recipient of fellowships from the Guggenheim Foundation. In 1956 he was awarded the honorary degree of doctor of letters by Findlay College of Ohio.

In 1950 Dr. tenBroek was named a member of the California State Board of Social Welfare by Gov. Earl Warren. Subsequently reappointed three times to the policymaking welfare board, he was elected its chairman in 1960 by the other members, and served in that capacity until 1963.

He has been the president since 1945 of the American Brotherhood for the Blind, an educational and charitable foundation which publishes an internationally circulated braille magazine, the Blind American, and has pioneered in the provision of such notable ventures as "Twin Vision Books" combined braille and inkprint storybooks.

Dr. tenBroek has served on numerous advisory committees and study commissions for State and Federal Governments; recently, for example, he was a consultant to the Subcommittee on Special Education of the U.S. House Committee on Education and Labor, and was a member of the California Governor's Study Commission on Public Welfare.

After 21 years as president of the National Federation of the Blind, Dr. tenBroek retired in 1961 at the time of the federation's Kansas City convention. His resignation did not, however, bring an end to his active participation in the movement of which he had been founder and chief architect. He subsequently accepted a position as the NFB's delegate to the World Council for the Welfare of the Blind. In that capacity he attended the meeting of the world council's executive committee at Hanover, Germany, in the summer of 1962.

I have known Dr. tenBroek for many years. He has been a constant source of inspiration to me as we have worked together in the field of social welfare.

It is with great pleasure that I share with my colleagues in the Congress his address delivered at the second anniversary convention banquet of the National Federation of the Blind:

THE FEDERATION AT 25: POSTVIEW AND PREVIEW

(An address delivered by Prof. Jacobus tenBroek at the 25th anniversary convention banquet, the National Federation of the Blind, Washington, D.C., July 8, 1965)

Oscar Wilde tells us: "Most modern calendars mar the sweet simplicity of our lives by reminding us that each day that passes is the anniversary of some perfectly uninteresting event." We must approach the task of celebration and review with some pause and some humility, neither exaggerating our importance nor underestimating it. It is my task in this spirit to capsulize our history, convey our purposes, and contemplate our future.

The career of our movement has not been a tranquil one. It has grown to maturity the hard way. The external pressures have been unremitting. It has been counseled by well-wishers that all would be well—and it has learned to resist. It has been attacked by agencies and administrators—and learned to fight back. It has been scolded by guardians and caretakers—and learned to talk back. It has cut its eye teeth on legal and political struggle, sharpened its wits through countless debates, broadened its mind and deepened its voice by incessant contest. Most important of all, it has never stopped moving, never stopped battling, never stopped marching toward its goals of security, equality, and opportunity for all the Nation's blind. It has risen from poverty to substance, from obscurity to global reputation.

It is fitting that the anniversary of our own independence movement should coincide with that of the Nation itself. The two revolutions were vastly different in scope but identical in principle. We too memorialize a day of independence—independence from a wardship not unlike that of the American colonists. Until the advent of the National Federation, the blind people of America were taken care of but not represented; protected but not emancipated; seen but rarely heard.

Like Patrick Henry on the eve of revolution, we who are blind knew in 1940 that if we wished to be free, if we meant to gain those inestimable privileges of participation for which we had so long yearned, then we

must organize for purposes of self-expression and collective action; then we must concert to engage in a noble struggle.

In that spirit the National Federation of the Blind was founded. In that spirit it has persevered. In that spirit it will prevail.

When the founding fathers of the federation came together at Wilkes-Barre, to form a union, they labored in a climate of skepticism and scorn. The experts said it couldn't be done; the agencies for the blind said it shouldn't be done. "When the blind lead the blind," declared the prophets of doom, "all shall fall into the ditch."

But the federation was born without outside assistance. It stood upright without a helping hand. It is still on its feet today.

At the outset we declared our independence. In the past 25 years we have established it. Today we may say that the National Federation has arrived in America—and is here to stay. That is truly the "new outlook for the blind."

We have not reached our present standing, as all of you know, by inertia and idleness. The long road of our upward movement is divided into three phases—corresponding to the first decade, the second decade, and the third half-decade of our existence as an organization. Each of these three periods, though a part of a continuum, has had a different emphasis and a different character. Let us look at each of them.

The federation was not born with a silver spoon in its mouth—but, like the Nation itself, it was born with the parchment of its principles in its hand. Our basic philosophy and purposes—even most of our long-range programs—existed full-panoplied at our origin. We were dedicated to the principles of security with freedom; of opportunity without prejudice; of equality in the law and on the job. We have never needed to alter or modify those goals, let alone compromise them. We have never faltered in our confidence that they are within our reach. We have never failed to labor for their implementation in political, legal, and economic terms.

The paramount problems of our first decade, the 1940's, were not so much qualitative as quantitative; we had the philosophy and the programs, but we lacked the membership and the means. The workers were few and the cupboard was bare.

Each month as we received our none too bountiful salary as a young instructor at the University of Chicago Law School, Hazel and I would distribute it among the necessaries of life: food, clothing, rent, federation stamps, mimeograph paper and ink, other supplies. So did we share our one-room apartment. The mimeograph paper took far more space in our closet than did our clothes. We had to move the mimeograph machine before we could let down the wall bed to retire at night. If on a Sunday we walked along Chicago's lakefront for an hour, 4 or 5 fewer letters were written, dropping our output for that day to fewer than 25.

The decade of the forties was a time of building: and build we did, from a scattering of seven State affiliates at our first convention to more than four times that number in 1950. It was a time of pioneering: and pioneer we did, by searching out new paths of opportunity and blazing organizational trails where no blind man had before set foot. It was a time of collective self-discovery and self-reliance: of rising confidence in our joint capacity to do the job—to hitch up our own wagon train and hitch it up we did.

In the decade of the forties we proved our organizational capacity, established our representative character, initiated legislative programs on the State and National levels, and spoke with the authority and voice of the blind speaking for themselves. In these very terms the decade of the fifties was a time both of triumph and travail. The triumph not unmixed but the travail was passing.

Our numbers escalated to a peak of 47 statewide affiliates with membership running to the tens of thousands. Our resources multiplied through a campaign of fund-raising. Our voice was amplified with the inauguration of the Braille Monitor as a regular publication in print, braille and tape, which carried the word of federationism to the farthest parts of the Nation and many distant lands.

With the funds to back us up, with a broad base of membership behind us, with constructive programs of opportunity and enlargement, with growing public recognition and understanding, the federation in the fifties galvanized its energies along and expanding front. We sent teams of blind experts into various States, on request of the Governors, to prepare master plans for the reform of their welfare services to the blind. We aided our State affiliates in broad programs of legislative and administrative improvement in welfare and rehabilitation. We particpiated in opening the teaching profession to qualified blind teachers in a number of States. We assisted in bringing to completion the campaign to secure white cane laws in all of the States so that blind men might walk abroad anywhere in the land sustained by a faith justified by law.

We shared with others the credit for infusing into Federal welfare the constructive objective of self-care and self-support, progressive improvements in the aid grant and matching formula, and the addition of disability insurance. Over the unflagging opposition of the Social Security Administration, we secured the acceptance by Congress, in progressive amounts, the principle of exempt income for blind aid recipients; at first temporary, and finally permanent permission for Pennsylvania and Missouri to retain their separate and rehabilitative systems of public assistance; and we began to lay the groundwork by which our blind workers in the sheltered shops might secure the status and rights of employees. We pushed, pulled, and persuaded the civil service into first modifying, then relaxing, and finally scrapping its policy of discrimination against blind applicants for the public service.

In these enterprises, as against the doctrinaire, aloof resistance of administration, we had the cordial good will, practical understanding, and humane regard of an ever-growing number of Congressmen.

All of a sudden, in the furious fifties, the National Federation of the Blind was very much noticed. Our organizations became the objects of intense attention—if rarely of affection—on the part of the agencies, administrators, and their satellite groups which had dominated the field.

As the organized blind movement grew in affluence and in influence, as affiliates sprang up in State after State, county after county, across the land, as a ground swell of protest rose against the dead ends of sheltered employment and segregated training, of welfare programs tied to the poor law and social workers bound up in redtape, the forces of custodialism and control looked down from their lighthouses and fought back.

"The National Federation of the Blind," said its president in 1957, "stands today an embattled organization. Our motives have been impugned, our purposes reviled, our integrity aspersed, our representative character denied. Plans have been laid, activities undertaken, and concerted actions set in motion for the clear and unmistakable purpose of bringing about our destruction. Nothing less is sought than our extinction as an organization."

No Federationist who lived through that decade can forget how the battle was joined—in the historic struggle for the right of self-expression and free association. The single most famous piece of legislation our movement has produced—one which was never passed by Congress but which made its full weight felt and its message known throughout the world of welfare and the country of the blind—was the Kennedy-Baring bill.

It is fitting that John F. Kennedy, then the junior Senator from Massachusetts, was a sponsor of that bill of rights for the blind, who gave his name and voice to the defense of our right to organize.

Eight years ago he rose in the Senate to introduce and speak for his bill "to protect the right of the blind to self-expression." He told how some 43 State associations of blind persons had become "federated into a single nationwide organization, the National Federation of the Blind." He declared: "It is important that these views be expressed freely and without interference. It is important that these views be heard and considered by persons charged with responsibility. * * *" He pointed out that in various communities this freedom had "been prejudiced by a few professional workers in programs for the blind." He urged that "our blind citizens be protected against any exercise of this kind of influence or authority to interfere with their freedom of self-expression through organizations of the blind."

The Kennedy bill was simple and sweeping in its purposes: to insure to the blind the right to organize without intimidation; and to insure to the blind the right to speak and to be heard through systematic means of consultation with the responsible agencies of Government.

That bill of rights was not enacted; but it gained its ends in other ways. Lengthy and dramatic public hearings were held by a committee of Congress, at which dozens of blind witnesses both expert and rank-and-file testified to the extent of coercion and pressure brought against them by the forces hostile to their independence. "Little Kennedy bills" were introduced in a number of State legislatures and enacted by some. The forces of opposition called off their attack upon the organized blind and beat a strategic retreat.

Meanwhile, in that second decade, the federation faced another bitter struggle within its own house. Not all federationists were happy with the way the movement was going. There were a few who were decidedly "soft on custodialism," overfriendly to the agencies which opposed us. There were others with a burning passion for leadership and office, an ambition which burned the deeper as it burned in vain. There were still others whose grievances were personal; real enough to them if not substantial in fact. All of these factors combined in the 50's to form a temporary crisis of confidence and collaboration.

But then, as suddenly as it had begun, the civil turmoil ended. Those who had desired power for their own ends or for itself; who had sought to change the character and officers of the movement, departed to form their own organizations. Shaken in its unity, depleted in resources, diminished in membership, the Federation began the hard task of rebuilding and rededication.

That task has been the primary assignment of the sixties, and today, at the halfway point, we may report that it has been accomplished. During the 5 years past we have regained stability, recovered unity, and preserved democracy.

We have found new and dynamic leadership, in the person of a president imbued with youth and creative vigor. We have regained our fund raiser—the wizard of St. Louis—and with him has come the prospect of renewed resources. We have restored and rejuvenated the Braille Monitor, as not only the voice but the clarion call of the federated blind. We have reached across the seas, ex-

tending the hand of brotherhood and the vision of federationism to blind people the world over—through the International Federation of the Blind.

We have made new friends—yes, and found new champions—in the Congress of the United States and in the legislatures of the States. And in so doing we have brightened the vistas of hope and opportunity not only for half a million blind Americans but for all the handicapped and deprived who rely upon their Government for a handup rather than a handout.

And in this new decade of the sixties, we of the federation are reaching toward another base of understanding and support. We intend to carry our case and our cause, not only to the lawmakers in Congress but to the judges in the courts as well: for it is in their tribunals that new pathways of progress are being cleared, as the result of a happily evolving concept which holds that the great principles of the Constitution—among them liberty, dignity, privacy, and equality—must be brought down off the wall and made real in the lives of all our citizens with all deliberate speed.

The organized blind have traveled far in the past quarter century. The road ahead will not be easy. But the road is never easy for the blind traveler; every step is a challenge, every independent advance is a conquest. The movement of the organized blind in society is like the movement of the blind person in traffic: In both bases the gain is proportionate to the risk. Let us adventure together.

It was Theodore Roosevelt who said that the sign of real strength in a nation is that it can speak softly and carry a big stick. The sign of strength in our movement is that we speak vigorously and carry a white cane.

Whatever may be the challenges to come—whatever the opposition to be converted or defeated, whatever the problems of maintaining internal democracy and external drive, whatever the difficulties of activating successful but indifferent blind, whatever the slow progress and temporary setbacks in achieving our ultimate goals—our experience and accomplishments of a quarter of a century tell us one thing: we can prevail.

And we shall prevail.

We have prevailed over the limitations of blindness, in our lives and in our movement. We shall prevail over the handicap of blindness in all its forms: not the physical disability, which is an act of nature that may not be repealed, but the social handicap which is an act of men that men may counteract.

We have prevailed, in our movement and our minds, over the myth of the helpless blind man. We shall prevail over that myth of helplessness in the minds of all who have sight but not vision.

We have prevailed over the foredooming conclusion that the blind are ineducable, that lack of sight means loss of mind, and over the only slightly less foredooming conclusion that the blind can be taught but only the rudiments of academe and rudest of crafts. We shall prevail over every arbitrary restriction and exclusion inhibiting the fullest development of mind and skill of every blind person.

We have prevailed over the legal stricture that the blind should not mix and mingle with the public in public places but should confine their movement to the rocking chair. We shall prevail over the lingering concept in the law of torts that the white cane and white cane laws should not be given full credence and that blind persons are automatically guilty of contributory negligence whenever an accident befalls them.

We have prevailed over some of the myriad social discriminations against the blind in hotels, in renting rooms, houses, and safety deposit boxes, in traveling alone, in blood banks, in playing at gambling tables, in jury duty, and serving as a judge, in purchasing insurance, in release from the penitentiary on parole, in holding student body offices, in marriage laws and customs. We shall prevail over the whole sorry pattern which is no less vicious because it is sustained by the best of motives.

We have prevailed over the notion that the blind are capable only of sheltered employment. We shall prevail over the institution of the sheltered workshop itself as a proper place for any blind person capable of competitive employment.

We have prevailed against the exclusion of qualified blind workers in a number of fields of competitive employment. We shall prevail over such discrimination in every calling and career.

We have prevailed over the principle of welfare aid as a mere palliative for those in distress, without built-in incentives to help them out of that distress. We shall prevail over the stubborn remnants of the poor-law creed—the means test, the liens pest, the requirement of residence, the concept of relatives' responsibility wherever they rear their Elizabethan heads in the statutes of the States and Nation.

We have prevailed over the obstacles to communication and communion among the blind of America—the physical distances, the psychological differences, the lack of devices for writing and talking—which have isolated us from one another. We shall prevail over the greater obstacles to communication and affiliation among the blind people of the world—we shall carry federationism to all the nations.

We shall prevail because we have demonstrated to the world and to ourselves that the blind possess the strength to stand together and to walk alone; the capacity to speak for themselves and to be heard with respect; the resolute determination of a common purpose and a democratic cause; the faith that can move mountains—and mount movements.

Twenty-five years—a quarter of a century—how much time is that? In the perspective of eternity, it is an incalculable and imperceptible fraction. In the chronology of the universe, it is less than an instant. In the eye of God, it is no more than a flash. In the biography of a social movement, based on justice and equality, it is a measurable segment. In the life of a man—say from his 30th to his 55th year—it encompasses the best years, the very prime, when experience, energy, and intelligence mingle in their most favorable proportions, before which he is too young, and after which he is too old. As a man who spent those 25 best years of life in and with the federation, I have few regrets, immense pride, and boundless hope for the future.

This Nation, Under God

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, as some of my colleagues may remember, 24 years ago in 1941, some Members of Congress met to form the Congressional Prayer Breakfast Group. Since that time the weekly breakfast meetings have been a means of becoming better acquainted with their colleagues, as well as sharing in discussing together the spiritual welfare of our country. Through the years, Members have enjoyed the excellent fellowship of these meetings where men of all political beliefs can share their views on brotherly love.

This year I have the honor to serve as president of the Congressional Prayer Breakfast Group which meets in the Senate family dining room at 8 a.m. every Thursday morning.

Just recently both the majority leader, CARL ALBERT, and the minority leader, GERALD FORD, spoke at our weekly meeting. Both had a profound impression upon those in attendance. Mr. ALBERT gave us a wealth of historically significant information on the office of chaplaincy of the Congress, and I am taking this opportunity to include his remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, which I know will be of tremendous interest to my colleagues and anyone else interested in the religious liberty and political life of our country.

THIS NATION, UNDER GOD

(Remarks given by Representative CARL ALBERT at Congressional Prayer Breakfast, July 1, 1965)

The precedents, traditions, and institutions of the two Houses of the Congress of the United States are the bone and sinew of these great legislative bodies to which you and I are devoting the most important efforts of our lives. Some of these things deal with parliamentary procedure. Others with legislative form. Still others with the political, social, economic, and military facts of American life. All these traditions and procedures are important.

But I propose to talk to you this morning about an institution in the Congress which symbolizes the religious heritage of our people—our belief that legislative decisions must have a spiritual content. The institution is as old as the Congress itself. I am speaking, of course, of the Office of Chaplain in the Senate and House of Representatives and I am speaking of my own belief that if politics is to serve its highest purpose it must have a moral origin. That I think is the difference between this country and the Soviet Union. Our fathers in founding a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people earnestly sought the guidance of Almighty God.

The Mayflower compact was signed, "In the name of God, Amen."

The Declaration of Independence, the anniversary of which we will celebrate this weekend, was concluded "with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence."

Another symbol of the recognition of our country of the need for divine guidance from the beginning of our Government is the daily opening of Congress with prayer.

This practice dates from the Continental Congress.

I think it is significant that every single daily session of Congress ever convened under the Constitution of the United States has been opened with prayer.

For my own part, I have made it a practice ever since I have been a Member of Congress to be present every possible day for the opening prayer in the House of Representatives. I think this has profited me not only in the personal strength and peace which prayer always engenders but more important in the perspective which the reflections of a man of God bring as I face problems from day to day.

In the daily prayers preserved in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD down through the generations, more than anywhere else, may be found the thoughts and convictions of our clergy on the great issues with which the Congress of the United States has had to deal. It is inconceivable that these daily petitions for divine help have not had an im-

pact—a major impact—on the course of events in the Congress and the country.

Now for a word about the origin and history of the office of Chaplain.

When it was proposed that congressional sessions be opened with prayer, there were expressions of doubt as to the propriety of doing so because of the great diversity of opinions and religious beliefs.

Then Samuel Adams, with his gray hair hanging about his shoulders, rose and said it did not become men professing to be Christians to be so negative.

He could see no reason why Christian men coming together for solemn deliberation in a serious hour could not, as one man, bow in prayer to the Almighty, no matter how different their religious beliefs. He then moved that the Reverend Jacob Dushe of the Episcopal Church should address the Throne of Grace in prayer. Mr. Dushe read the Episcopal service of the Church of England; then, as if moved by the occasion, he broke out into extemporaneous prayer.

"O Lord our Heavenly Father, high and mighty King of Kings and Lord of Lords, who dost from Thy throne behold all the dwellers on earth and reignest with power supreme and uncontrolled over all kingdoms, empires and governments; look down in mercy we beseech Thee on these American States who have fled to Thee from the rod of the oppressor, and thrown themselves on Thy gracious protection, desiring to be henceforth dependent only on Thee; to Thee do they now look up for that countenance and support which Thou alone canst give; give them wisdom in council, and valor in the field. Be Thou present, O God of wisdom, and direct the councils of this honorable assembly* * *; shower down on them and the millions they here represent such temporal blessings as Thou seest expedient for them in this world and crown them with everlasting glory in the world to come. All this we ask in the name and through the merits of Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Saviour. Amen."

John Adams in a letter to his wife describing the session said he never saw a more moving spectacle. He said pacific Quakers, who formed part of that interesting assembly, sobbed. He added: "Depend upon it * * * where there is a spirit of Christianity, there is a spirit which rises above form, above ceremonies, independent of sect or creed, and the controversies of clashing doctrines."

The practice of opening the daily sessions of Congress with prayer has continued from that beginning.

The Senate's first Chaplain was Dr. Samuel Provost, an Episcopalian, appointed on April 25, 1789. Dr. William Linn, a Presbyterian, was the House's first Chaplain. He was appointed May 1, 1789, when George Washington's first speech was read to the House. The Chaplain's appointment was the first business after Washington's address.

The Chaplains' custom has been challenged at various times through the years. For example, in 1857, certain Members of Congress claimed that the employment of chaplains conflicted with the spirit of the Constitution and tended to promote a union of church and state. They made a determined effort to discontinue the practice. This aroused the churches of the country, and at the end of an acrimonious debate the House, by an overwhelming majority, adopted a resolution that the daily sessions of the House should be opened with prayer. This resolution, so far as I have been able to determine, is the only specific legislative authority for the selection of chaplains.

Since 1789, a total of 111 Chaplains have served Congress—55 in the Senate and 56 in the House. Of these 111, 37 have been Methodists, 28 Presbyterians, 19 Episcopalians, 14 Baptists, 4 Unitarians, 3 Congregationalists, 2 Christians, and 1 each Roman Catholic, Lutheran and Universalist. One Chaplain's denomination was not known. Far more important than this, however, is the fact that there is a ministry in the Office of Chaplain. Chaplains are the shepherds of the Hill.

The daily invocation in Congress is only one fact of a Chaplain's office. Since you all know our present Chaplains you have probably heard some of these things about them from the Chaplains themselves, but I think these facts are worth repeating. Chaplains are always available as spiritual advisers to Members of Congress. They counsel them and their families, call on the sick, officiate at weddings, baptisms, and funerals. Their calendars are crowded with talks to clubs and visiting student groups. To their offices come an unceasing stream of citizens who want to talk about the spiritual and physical welfare of the Nation, and indeed, the state of the entire world which is so closely enmashed with activities on Capitol Hill. Hundreds of letters pour into the Chaplains from every corner of the country and must be answered, for the Chaplains of Congress are, in a sense, also the servants of the constituency. The letters they receive reveal the spirit of our people unburdening their hearts. Many of these letters come from people who read the daily prayers as they appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. A doctor in Texas wrote that he never makes his daily rounds at his hospital without first pausing and reading prayerfully Dr. Harris' invocation. Numerous people in Washington use the prayers for their family devotions.

President Johnson describes the daily prayers in Congress as one of the most important traditions of government. He says the prayer is as much a part of the legislative process as is the drafting of bills and the taking of votes on them. "It is a pause in the day's occupation from which men who have heavy responsibilities draw strength and fortitude for the tense hours that lie ahead," he says.

Richard M. Nixon, once said that in the usual order of business of Congress, the invocation is often the best speech of the day. "Thoughts expressed in the invocations constantly remind us," he said, "that the greatness of America comes from the fact that this Nation was built on the foundation of faith in God."

Speaker Sam Rayburn described the daily ministrations of the House Chaplain as "helpful, inspiring, lifting all who hear him to a deeper realization of their need for divine guidance."

It has been my good fortune to know personally four Chaplains who have served in the Congress; Dr. Montgomery and Dr. Braskamp in the House, and Dr. Harris and Dr. Peter Marshall in the Senate. Not only do I look forward to Dr. Braskamp's daily prayer, but also to his quotation of one verse of Scripture preceding his invocation.

He began this practice early in 1958, reviving a custom which had been followed by Dr. Edward Everett Hale, who had served the House as Chaplain in the early 1900's. Some of these Scriptures stick in my mind and are recalled throughout the sessions which follow. For example, I remember Dr. Braskamp's prayer at the beginning of one session was preceded by the brief Scripture: "In the beginning, God." Among other familiar ones which I have felt were especially appropriate have been: "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble." "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run and not be weary; they shall walk and not faint." "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly and to have mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." "If God be for us, who can be against us?" "Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord."

Dr. Braskamp, the House Chaplain, came to Washington as assistant pastor of the Church of the Covenant, now called the National Presbyterian Church—the church where President Eisenhower worshipped—and has spent his entire ministry here. He retired from a regular pastorate in 1952, and was the first full-time chaplain in either the House of Representatives or the Senate of the United States. To the Members, he is counselor, friend, and brother.

Dr. Montgomery, who preceded Dr. Braskamp as House Chaplain, had the longest record of service of any congressional Chaplain. He served over a quarter of a century—for some 29 years from 1921 to 1950. * * * During the years of his service, he delivered invocations on many historic occasions. In 1923, he officiated at the funeral of President Harding. The next year, when Woodrow Wilson was dying, Dr. Montgomery's moving prayer for the former President was reprinted in the New York Times (Feb. 3, 1924). His prayers for the men of the sunken submarine *S-4* were similarly reported in 1927. When the United States was in the early stages of the depression in 1932, Dr. Montgomery opened the new session with the prayer that every Member of the House should "be brave to investigate and fearless to decide" so that all selfishness, sectarianism, bias and evil design might "melt away into brotherly love and pour into the golden circle of our homes the fullest measure of purity and sweetness." He delivered the D-day prayer in the House, in June 1944 when news came of the Allied invasion of continental Europe from the north. In praying for speedy victory with a minimum loss of lives, Dr. Montgomery said: "We bring unto Thee our heroic sons and daughters of the battlelines who have surrendered their secret joys, their aspirations and the blessings of the years * * * comfort them in the face of all adversaries as their swords of righteousness prevail." In 1946, he delivered the invocation at the congressional joint session memorial service for Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

The late Peter Marshall is one of the best known of all the Chaplains ever to serve in Congress. He was elected Chaplain of the Senate on January 4, 1947. Dr. Marshall established a reputation among the Senators for his spirited way of being spiritual. His pungent phrases and tart morsels of thought were frequently reported in the press, and Senators found that the Chaplain's prayers often related significantly and sharply to the business of the day. When the Senate began debate on foreign aid in the spring of 1947, the new Chaplain prayed: "Give us clear vision, that we may know where to stand and what to stand for—because unless we stand for something, we shall fall for anything." Later when David Lilienthal's appointment to chairmanship of the Atomic Energy Commission was being debated, Marshall prayed: "Teach us that liberty is not only to be loved, but also to be lived. Liberty is too precious a thing to be buried in books. It costs too much to be hoarded. Make us to see that liberty is not the right to do as we please, but the opportunity to please to do what is right." During a partisan fight over postmaster appointments, Marshall chided Senators with the words: "Since we strain at gnats and swallow camels, give us a new standard of values and the ability to know a trifle when we see it." One of Peter Marshall's best was: "May we resolve, God helping us, to be part of the answer, and not part of the problem."

Following Dr. Marshall's untimely death at the age of 46 in 1949, Dr. Harris became Chaplain of the Senate for the second time. He was born in England and was serving as Pastor of Foundry Methodist Church here.

I don't know of anything more interesting than to go back through old CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS and read the daily prayers. A chronology of important events in American history could be constructed by a review of these prayers. At the first meeting of Congress on December 4, 1865, after the death of Lin-

coln and the conclusion of the Civil War, Rev. Edgar H. Gray prayed: "Glory be to Thy name, O God, that the Republic still lives, the Nation survives, the country is safe. Glory be to Thy name that our heroic efforts have been crowned with victory, so that the desolations of war have ceased, and the ground no longer shakes beneath the tread of armies. We praise Thee with thanksgiving that the statue of Freedom now looks down from our Capitol upon an entire Nation of freemen."

At the first meeting of the House on June 28, 1919, after the signing of the Versailles Treaty, Dr. Henry N. Couden's prayer went like this: "We thank Thee that a peace treaty has been signed by a majority of the leading nations; and while it may not be adequate to the needs of the world we most fervently pray that it may be a steppingstone to a higher civilization from which shall spring spontaneously from the hearts of all men and of all nations a peace pact which shall spare the word from a holocaust through which it has just passed, leaving it inexpressibly sad and mournful in the loss of men and means."

One of the most beautiful of Dr. Braskamp's prayers was the one he gave after V-E Day, May 8, 1945, when he was substituting for Dr. Montgomery: "O Lord God Omnipotent, who maketh wars to cease unto the ends of the earth, we praise and magnify Thy holy name, for through Thy might and Thy mercy we have been brought to this day of grace and victory. When we call to memory with pride, gratitude, and love that vast multitude who struggled so heroically and endured so valiantly, giving their very lifeblood in order that this day might be possible, we cry out, 'Alas, alas, next to defeat, the saddest thing is victory at such a cost.' We pray that we may earnestly and faithfully endeavor to prove worthy of their sufferings and sacrifice."

On the day of the conference at San Francisco to establish the United Nations, April 25, 1945, 20 years ago, Dr. Braskamp prayed in part: "Today we are joining struggling and war-torn humanity in its prayers for Thy special blessing upon those chosen representatives who are now seeking to organize the good will of the nations of the earth for a lasting peace."

The day after President Truman ordered General MacArthur to support the Republic of South Korea, June 28, 1950, Dr. Braskamp prayed in part: "Grant that in these days of strife an confusion, of storm and tumult, we may carry on in the glad assurance that the Lord of Hosts is with us, and the God of righteousness is our refuge and strength."

When President Kennedy was killed, the Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, prayed in part: "God of the living and of the living dead: as in this hour we bow in the shadow of a people's grief, Thou dost hear the sobbing of a stricken nation. But we come with the comfort that Thou knowest what is in the darkness, and that the darkness and the light are both alike to Thee."

These historical facts and quotations which I have brought to you this morning are illustrative of a very important but little publicized institution in government The total effect of these prayers through the generations cannot be measured. It is certain, however, that they are symbolic of the deep purpose of the men who have been responsible for the direction of our government since its inception. They demonstrate clearly that we as a people have always tied and still do tie the destiny of this Republic to the spiritual ideals of our people.

There is no chaplain in the Comintern—but this is a nation under God.

Governor Scranton's $10 Billion 10-Year Pennsylvania Highway Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, a State's highways are truly its lifelines—for commerce, communication, and personal mobility.

Gov. William Scranton's bold new $10 billion 10-year highway improvement program is a giant step forward to place Pennsylvania first in highways in the Nation. Announced February 1, 1965, the program has begun projects in 50 counties under the able direction of State Highway Secretary Henry D. Harral. A new computerized system for tracking all highway projects has been instituted to assure competent, efficient administration of this forward-looking program.

To show the progress being made in Pennsylvania, I insert for the RECORD the following letter and news clippings.

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA,
DEPARTMENT OF HIGHWAYS,
Harrisburg, June 30, 1965.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN JAMES FULTON: The department of highways is dedicated to serving all Pennsylvanians by making technically possible Governor Scranton's $10 billion, 10-year highway revolution.

As early evidence that this bold program is on the move, we thought you would be interested in these recent news clippings.

Sincerely,

HENRY D. HARRAL,
Secretary of Highways.

PENNSYLVANIA STORY—HIGHWAYS DEPARTMENT PROVING IT CAN HANDLE $10 BILLION LOAD

(By Mason Denison)

HARRISBURG.—The State department of highways apparently means business in its efforts to prove it can handle the $10 billion highway program proposed by Governor Scranton.

Within the last month the department has: (1) made four major appointments; (2) submitted a record $292 million construction budget; (3) established the highest mark ever for advertising projects for construction.

And, when the columns are counted for the fiscal year that ends June 30, the highest value of projects advertised for construction in 1 year are indicated for the books.

Listing the accomplishments, State highways secretary, Henry D. Harral, was quick to point out that the marks were established by any organization using many outmoded administrative practices which since have been changed.

"All I can see are great days ahead," he told this column when asked to outline what was going on within the department since February 1, when the Governor proposed his $10 billion plan.

He admitted being somewhat "conservative" in his approach to the Governor's plan at first but now is one of its most enthusiastic supporters. Since directing many administrative changes within the framework of the department, Mr. Harral has seen a rapid increase in the output potential of the department.

"The Governor's plan has attracted wide attention in the engineering field," the secretary said. He explained, for example, that the announcement has stimulated recruiting of professional people. In fact engineers from 47 States have filed applications for employment in the department.

Within a week, when the fiscal year ends, Mr. Harral said a record high of nearly $276 million in construction plans will have been advertised during fiscal 1964–65. This is $56 million above the $219 million for fiscal 1963–64.

He attributed the sizable production increase to a new plans review procedure that saved time in putting projects under construction. Put into effect right after the Governor presented his ($10 billion) message, the new procedure was responsible for starting projects in 50 counties that represented more than 300 miles of improvements.

Four recent appointments in high administrative posts in the department are credited by the highways chief with helping to accelerate production upward. (The appointments are Victor W. Anckaitis of Easton, chief engineer; Robert C. Rosser of Mt. Joy and David C. Sims of Camp Hill, deputy chief engineers; and Robert G. Bartlett, Bethlehem, special assistant for administration.)

A new computerized system for tracking all highway projects has been initiated to "eliminate human failures" and maintain construction schedules. The department has nearly $2 billion of plans on the drawing board. These plans will build 4,500 miles of highways. Each plan now will be watched closely by the computers.

Interestingly, Mr. Harral feels that without the computerized system the $10 billion program "wouldn't get off the ground." (This also will play an important role in the State's first long-range construction program to be announced before July 1 by the State highway commission.)

"We recognized early that it was necessary to change many of our operational efforts and to look at the department as the one-half billion dollars a year business it is," Mr. Harral said.

The department's total budget this year is $593 million—of which $292 million is for construction, $67 million will be for acquiring rights-of-way and $45 million will be used for major maintenance improvements.

To maintain an accelerated pace the highways department during 1965–66 expects to advertise $340 million in construction plans in comparison with the $275 million production record established in fiscal 1964–65.

TIME-SAVING PROGRAM INITIATED TO SPEED HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION

A time-saving innovation to speed highway construction will get its baptism of fire this year in Pennsylvania, Highway Secretary Henry D. Harral said today.

The State highway department will establish mobile testing laboratories in three areas to bring quality control standards closer to the job. Tests previously were monitored at the department's laboratory in Harrisburg.

FIELD LABORATORIES

The location of the field laboratories in Scranton, Franklin, and Indiana will eventually eliminate the practice of sending materials and samples to Harrisburg for testing. Harral said this procedure is not adequate in meeting today's accelerated highway construction program.

The first mobile lab should be in operation by June. It will serve the Scranton district with headquarters at Dunmore. Materials will be tested for Lackawanna, Luzerne, Wayne, Bradford, Susquehanna, Pike, and Wyoming Counties.

At the Franklin district, a steel fabricated laboratory building is scheduled to be in operation early this summer. It will handle general field tests of materials. As much as a week will be saved since only random and quality tests will continue to be run at Harrisburg. Laboratory technicians and engineers will augment the Franklin staff to perform these essential services. The Franklin district includes Erie, Crawford, Mercer, Lawrence, Venango, Forest, and Warren Counties.

Harral said the branch laboratory at Indiana will be operating by midsummer. Tests will be run for the Indiana, Clearfield, Hollidaysburg, Pittsburgh, and Uniontown districts.

Plans are currently nearing completion for an estimated $250,000 renovation program to convert the old Indiana County maintenance building, 4th and Chestnut Streets, into the testing laboratory.

At the start of operations, material testing will be limited to aggregates, sand and antiskid materials but, eventually, the plan calls for virtually all types of testing at the facility.

In most instances, it is hoped to have tests completed and returned to the job site within 24 hours. The technical staff is expected to be increased.

When the first three facilities are operative, the department plans to establish field and branch labs to serve the remaining districts, Harral said.

The highway secretary said the $10-billion 10-year highway improvement program proposed by Governor Scranton to place Pennsylvania first in highways in the Nation, will be accelerated by the branch and field labs program, supervised by Cyril D. Jensen, head of the materials testing and research bureau.

U.S. Policy in Southeast Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 30, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, on May 17, 1965, the Honorable Douglas MacArthur II, Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, speaking to the annual convention of the Nation Congress of Parents and Teachers in Albuquerque, N. Mex., gave an extremely thought-provoking address on U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Very simply, very clearly, and very forcefully, Mr. MacArthur refutes the arguments of those who say we should unconditionally withdraw from Vietnam—or who would have us believe that negotiation is a miracle drug that will, in itself, automatically restore peace and brotherhood to the world.

As a statement of the policy of the United States in regards to Vietnam, I am sure these words of strength, assurance, and determination will be hailed by free peoples everywhere.

The address follows:

U.S. POLICY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

(Address by the Honorable Douglas MacArthur II, Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, to the annual convention of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, Albuquerque, N. Mex., May 17, 1965)

I am delighted to have the opportunity to appear before this distinguished group this evening. My pleasure comes partly from my recollection of a very inspiring discussion which I had with your president, Mrs. Moorhead, and a group of members of the National Congress of Parent-Teachers' Associations in Brussels in the summer of 1964.

But more fundamentally, I am happy to have this opportunity because I want to thank you for something you have done, and to encourage you to continue to do it. I refer to the efforts you have been engaged in to make America's schools better than they already are—ever more equal to the ever more challenging task of preparing American men and women for the work that their country and the world will increasingly demand of them.

The Department of State is deeply interested in the efforts being made to teach social studies, history, and the other disciplines needed for an understanding of the world situation. Our interest is not unselfish. Why? Because whether we like it or not our country has had a mantle of free world leadership thrust upon it in a changing world. And with change comes new and difficult problems in every corner of the earth demanding new insight, understanding, and imagination.

Thomas Jefferson, our first Secretary of State, once said, "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be." And so today as the world grows more complex, as foreign relations becomes more and more interwined with the daily lives of all Americans, so it becomes more and more important that our schools help equip our young people to understand and cope with those problems.

To meet this tremendous challenge in the years that lie ahead, our Foreign Service must seek young men and women—your sons and daughters—who are equipped to meet that challenge. We need the best, the finest of young America.

Therefore we hope that the youth of our country, now in the public schools and the high schools of the Nation, will be given the kind of educational background which will both encourage them to think of the Foreign Service as a career and enable them to qualify for it. Thus they can play an active part in the great struggle for a better world in which there will be peace with freedom and justice for all peoples.

And when we speak of the struggle for peace with freedom and justice, one part of the world—southeast Asia—immediately comes to mind. There, a struggle—a crisis is occurring that may appear very complex but which at the same time is simpler in its essential meaning for the American people than any other of the troubles in which this troubled time abounds.

The central crisis on the American agenda today is the struggle in Vietnam. On no other front are American vital interests so deeply and directly involved. In no other part of the world today is there such immediate peril to the security of free peoples and to the cause of peace with freedom and justice for which the United States stands.

The history of Vietnam and the struggle there is a complicated one. But the issue is simple. Bluntly stated, the question is, "Can aggression be made profitable?"

Let there be no mistake on this point. What is happening in Vietnam is not a civil war. It is not an insurrection. It is not a popular uprising, nor is it, in the terms Hanoi and Peiping prefer to use, "a war of national liberation." It is aggression, pure and simple.

I was in France in 1939 when hundreds of thousands of German troops, armed to the teeth with all the latest devices of warfare, went boiling across the borders of Poland on their way to conquest. I was in France in 1940 when hundreds of thousands more German troops smashed into neutral Holland and Belgium and then into France. I remember debates as to what America's reaction should be—but I cannot remember any debates as to whether or not Nazi Germany was committing aggression against its neighbors.

In 1950, North Korean soldiers in great numbers rolled across the 38th parallel where for three bloody years men from Korea, the United States and other free nations resisted their aggression so that a small nation that was minding only its own business could remain free. I can recall that there were differences over how to cope with that aggression. But I do not remember any respected segment of opinion which denied that aggression had indeed taken place.

Aggression does not lose its character because efforts are made to conceal its naked character or because the time schedule is drawn out—or because trained men and weapons of war are introduced by stealth across frontiers and then unleashed in a savage assault on free peoples—or because the aggressor's troops speak the same language as their victims.

This is what has been happening and is happening today in Vietnam.

We are, in short, confronted with aggression by the Communist regime in Hanoi, spurred on by Peiping, against the Government and people of South Vietnam. The United States is helping the South Vietnamese at their request, in their interest; in our own clear, unmistakable national interest and in the interest of the free peoples of southeast Asia and elsewhere as many of them have made clear to us.

This proposition has been challenged in some quarters on several counts. The challenge deserves analysis and response.

First, we are told that the requests for help came from an earlier South Vietnamese Government. Originally, they did. But in spite of changes in Saigon, every succeeding Government has renewed the original request for help in its struggle to remain free. Today the present Government there remains as firmly committed to the struggle against Hanoi's aggression as any of its predecessors have been. And the people of South Vietnam, when they are not terrorized into passiveness by the Vietcong—by murder, kidnapings and other savagery—demonstrate persistent support of their Government.

We sometimes hear that cases of South Vietnamese collaboration with the Vietcong are an indication that the South Vietnamese do not have their hearts in the war. Let me again draw on my own experience.

I was in France for over half of the Nazi occupation. Many Frenchmen obeyed the orders of their armed and ruthless Nazi conquerors. They felt they had no other choice if their families were to survive. A few—a very few—actively collaborated. The collaborators were never mistaken by the outside world as being the true spokesmen of France—and those who complied with Nazi demands backed by threats to lives of their families reacted, I think, as most of us would react in the same circumstances. Today in certain areas in South Vietnam we have a similar situation.

There is another aspect of the picture I would like to mention. The North Vietnamese have repeatedly referred to their attack upon South Vietnam as a "war of national liberation." Some have implied that Hanoi and Peiping are reacting only to our presence in South Vietnam—that the Vietcong represent an armed popular rebellion in South Vietnam against an unpopular government and army.

Let's look at the statistics. In January of 1964 there were 223 Vietcong military attacks. But in that same month, these so-called "liberators" carried out 1,244 acts of terror against innocent civilians, killing 148 civilians, wounding 160, and kidnaping 787 others. In December 1964—12 months later—the number of armed attacks against South Vietnam Government forces dwindled to 96, while the number of acts of terror had grown to 1,719. In that month, 112

civilians were killed, 161 seriously wounded, and 598 kidnapped. And all this, violence directed by the Communist regime in Hanoi against innocent and peaceful civilians, was carried on in the name of a "war of national liberation." This is, I suggest, not a people in arms rising against an unpopular government. This is simple thuggery, directed from North Vietnam against the people of South Vietnam, in an effort to impose upon them the Communist system of the north.

The State Department white paper of February shows conclusively what the SEATO Council meeting in London stated less than 2 weeks ago that the struggle in Vietnam is "an aggression organized, directed, applied and supported by the Communist regime in North Vietnam, in contravention of the basic obligations of international law and in flagrant violation of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962."

Nor is this a new conclusion, announced now to a hitherto unsuspecting world. A year ago, at the conclusion of the ninth SEATO Council meeting, the members of that organization found that the Vietcong attacks were "an organized campaign, directed, supplied and supported by the Communist regime in North Vietnam."

And 3 years ago—in 1962—the International Control Commission, consisting of India, Poland, and Canada, reached a similar conclusion in a majority report. A year before that—in 1961—the State Department publication, "A Threat to Peace," set forth voluminous evidence that this same campaign of aggression was going on.

I have heard some people say, "Even if this is aggression, we should end it by negotiation, not by war. Why isn't the United States willing to negotiate?"

The answer to that is very simple. We are willing to negotiate and we have been willing to negotitate for over 10 years.

In 1954 the United States and eight other nations, including the Soviet Union, Communist China, and the North Vietnamese, were together at the conference table in Geneva where agreements were hammered out to protect the freedom and independence of the South Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian peoples.

We agreed to respect that agreement.

The Hanoi regime was also committed to respect it. However the ink was hardly dry before Hanoi began to violate it by ordering its agents to go underground, caching arms in South Vietnam and organizing secret bases for future aggression.

Again in 1962, the United States sat down at the conference table with 13 other countries in our effort to preserve the independence of Laos. Again, the Soviet Union, the Chinese Communists, the North Vietnamese were present with representatives of Laos, South Vietnam, and other countries immediately involved. Again agreements were hammered out that if observed would have brought peace to Laos and preserved its freedom. Once again, the ink on the agreement was not dry when Hanoi proceeded to violate the prohibitions on the presence of foreign forces and then directed the Communist Pathet Lao to resume their savage assault on the forces of the peaceful little Kingdom of Laos.

And more recently, with what I believe must be considered commendable patience, we have invited Hanoi to enter into unconditional discussions, only to have that offer, up until this time, rebuffed.

But even if the other side proves willing to negotiate—and we hope it will—I would emphasize that negotiations and peace are not the same thing, as our experience in 1954 and 1962 makes quite clear. Negotiations are not an end unto themselves. For us they are a means to reach an honorable settlement that will respect the freedom and independence of a small country—the Republic of Vietnam—that asks only to be left alone.

For the other side negotiations in the past have meant something different. They have served as a smokescreen behind which stealthy and concealed aggression has continued. Let me emphasize that the United States insists upon an honorable settlement for the Republic of Vietnam that will preserve its independence. We will not resort to negotiations as a cloak for capitulation.

I have heard it said the so-called loss of face we might suffer in simply withdrawing from Vietnam "is not worth the death of one American." I agree. "Face" is not worth the death of one American or one Vietnamese or one old blind mule. But we are not talking about saving "face." We are talking about the fate of the people of South Vietnam—and what is even more important—about the people of every nation in the free world.

Indeed it is the Hanoi regime itself that makes this clear. General Giap, commander of the North Vietnamese Communist Army, has stated publicly "South Vietnam is the model of the national liberation movement of our time. If the special warfare that the U.S. imperialists are testing in South Vietnam is overcome, then it can be defeated everywhere in the world." Let me repeat—"everywhere in the world."

In the 1930's, when I was a young Foreign Service officer in Europe, young men with swastikas on their arms were marching through the streets of Germany, singing the anthem of the Nazi movement, the Horst Wessel song. "Today Germany is ours. Tomorrow the entire world." Some Americans thought this was a joke. Others thought that it was purely an internal German affair. Others thought the Nazi appetites could be satisfied by negotiation. We heard every argument against stopping the Nazis that we have heard in favor of withdrawing from Vietnam.

And what happened? We listened when the Nazi jackboots marched into the Rhineland. We listened when the Horst Wessel song was sung in Vienna following the rape of Austria. We listened when the Sudetenland was torn from Czechoslovakia and when what was left of that once free country became a reichsprotectorat. We listened later when Poland was savagely smashed, when neutral Holland and Belgium were crushed, and devoured and France overrun. And we were to listen later to the burning of London, the ravishing of Yugoslavia, the sound of panzers in Athens, and stukas over the Soviet Union. And we were to listen later to the smashing of bombs and the crackle of flames as Pearl Harbor went up in smoke and gallant Americans died in a sea of flames.

But there was a voice in the 1930's that many did not listen to. Many did not listen, after Munich, to a Member of the British House of Commons who told his country and the world:

"Do not suppose that this is the end. This is only the beginning of the reckoning. This is only the first sip, the first foretaste of a bitter cup which will be proferred to us year by year unless, by a supreme recovery of moral health and martial vigor, we arise again and take our stand by freedom as in the olden time."

Eventually, of course, we and other free peoples listened to Winston Churchill. We listened almost too late, but not quite. And we prevailed.

But at what a tragic cost.

Today we have been given fair warning of Hanoi's and Peiping's intentions. If we withdraw, if we do not stick by the Republic of Vietnam whose only desire is to remain free and who asks our help we will encourage the belief that aggression pays off and can succeed if disguised as a war of national liberation.

And if we show that we are not prepared to stand by our commitments to South Vietnam, no one else is likely to believe that our commitments anywhere else can be depended on.

In 1939, Germany finally went to war—her appetite having grown by what it fed upon since 1936. Every historian of the crucial days just prior to the invasion of Poland agrees that the German Government went to war secure in the assumption—solidly based on the history of the preceding 3 years—that Britain and France would not abide by their commitments. These commitments existed, and they had been made as specific and as pointed as words could make them. They lacked only one crucial ingredient—credibility.

From the lessons of the 1930's we have learned, I believe, that freedom is indivisible—that as the area of freedom shrinks from aggression our own security and our own freedom are threatened. We cannot, we must not repeat the tragic error of the 1930's. We cannot afford to encourage further aggression and eventually invite another kind of Pearl Harbor.

So let us renew our commitment to the defense of freedom in the world today. Let us show that this commitment is credible. But at the same time let us continue to make clear that we are prepared to discuss without conditons an honorable settlement that asks nothing for the United States and seeks only the continued freedom and independence for the people of the Republic of Vietnam.

The Proposed 25th Amendment to the Constitution on Presidential Disability and Succession

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 30, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I rise to urge prompt ratification by the legislatures of the several States of the proposed 25th amendment to the Constitution relating to succession to the Presidency and Vice-Presidency and to cases where the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office.

This proposed amendment, overwhelmingly adopted by both House and Senate, can be of vital importance in helping clear up some 175 years of constitutional uncertainty and in assuring the continuity of the legal Government of the United States whenever the questions of Presidential disability or succession arise, or a vacancy in the office of the Vice President occurs.

As cosponsor of the joint congressional resolution which proposed the amendment, I believe we have come to realize more fully than ever before, especially since the tragic assassination of our late beloved President John F. Kennedy, that we can no longer afford, in this nuclear space age, to gamble with the future stability of our Government by leaving its fate to the uncertain whims of chance.

Nothing less than the safe and sure continuity of the legal Government of the United States is at stake. This essential continuity has been endangered many times in the past, and in some instances, only good fortune has prevented possible disaster.

For more than a year after Lyndon Johnson became President, our national luck held out, and we were all witnesses to an impressive demonstration of the true inner strength of America's democratic traditions.

The new President firmly and quickly took up the reins of leadership, to assure continuity of the Government in the midst of a great constitutional crisis, to begin to heal the Nation's wounds, and to reinstill in our people a sense of unity and brotherhood and faith in the future.

This experience has again focused public attention on the critical issue of Presidential and Vice Presidential succession, as well as the related, and in some ways more difficult, problem of Presidential disability.

As a result, there has developed a strong national consensus in favor of resolving these issues in a positive way, so that there will be no doubt concerning the constitutional provisions for handling such problems in the future.

As an affirmative response to the need for a solution to these problems, the joint congressional resolution proposes to amend the Constitution in three respects: first, it confirms the established custom that a Vice President, succeeding to a vacancy in the office of the President, becomes President in his own right instead of merely Acting President; second, it establishes a procedure for filling a vacancy in the office of Vice President; and third, it deals with the problem of Presidential disability.

Section 1 of the proposed amendment provides that in the case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President.

Section 2 provides that in the event of a Vice-Presidential vacancy, the President can nominate a new Vice President, who will take office when he has been confirmed by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress.

Section 3 enables a President to declare his own disability to exercise the powers and duties of his office, thus voluntarily turning over those powers and duties, but not the office, to the Vice President who then becomes Acting President, until such time as the President declares that the disability no longer exists, and he resumes the powers and duties of his office.

In the absence of a Presidential declaration of disability, section 4 permits the Vice President, with the approval of a majority of the Cabinet, or such other body as Congress may stipulate, to make such a declaration, and to assume the presidential responsibilities as Acting President. It also provides for quick and orderly congressional resolution of any dispute over the President's ability, by authorizing him to resume discharging the powers and duties of his office unless two-thirds of both House and Senate agree with the Vice President and a majority of the Cabinet—or such other body as Congress has stipulated—that the President is unable to perform those duties.

This proposed amendment, though not perfect, represents a sincere effort on the part of many persons who have studied the admittedly complicated issues involved to offer a workable means of solving difficult and delicate problems affecting the continuity and perhaps even the life of our Government.

A variety of suggestions have been made to improve this proposed amendment, and Congress has given full and thorough consideration to all these suggestions, and, in fact, has incorporated several of them into the joint resolution.

For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, I strongly urge our State legislatures to act without unnecessary delay, for the subject is important to the future stability and peace of this Nation, and we cannot afford the risk that further delay would entail in this vital matter.

As President Johnson stated in his message to Congress:

> Favorable action * * * will, I believe, assure the orderly continuity in the Presidency that is imperative to the success and stability of our system.
>
> Action * * * now will allay future anxiety among our people—and among the peoples of the world—in the event senseless tragedy or unforeseeable disability should strike again at either or both of the principal offices of our constitutional system.
>
> If we act now, without undue delay, we shall have moved closer to achieving perfection of the great constitutional document on which the strength and success of our system have rested for nearly two centuries.

Notes United Arab Republic Publication of Book on the Nile by Jew

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of our colleagues to a very wonderful book on the Nile River, "Nile: Lifeline of Egypt", Scarsdale, N.Y.; Garrard, 1965, written by a well-known American author, Mrs. Violet Weingarten.

No greater tribute could be given this work than that paid by the Egyptian Government which has purchased the rights for its publication in the United Arab Republic in Arabic. I believe that this is the first instance in modern history of United Arab Republic purchase for publication of a book written by a Jewish author. Perhaps it is a presage of better relations to come between the Arab world and the Jews. I hope so. At the least, it is a deserving honor to a fine author and her very worthy book, "Nile: Lifeline of Egypt."

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

Appendix

Public Backs Johnson on Dominican Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS E. MORGAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, there has been a loud protest against U.S. foreign policy which has been widely publicized in our Nation's newspapers. However, what has not been publicized is that this protest comes from a small segment of the populace. The overwhelming majority of the people of this Nation support President Johnson in his efforts to contain communism in this world. This fact was proven by the latest survey.

On July 5, 1965, the Harris survey showed that 77 percent of the Nation is backing President Johnson's action in the Dominican Republic. The Harris survey stated the following:

In contrast to previously reported doubts about U.S. policy in Vietnam, public opinion in this country is today solidly arrayed behind the course President Johnson has followed in the crisis in the Dominican Republic. By 3 to 1, the 77 percent of the public ready to express views on the subject endorse the way Mr. Johnson handled the Dominican situation.

At this time I would like to recommend to my colleagues this informative survey, and ask consent to have it placed in the RECORD.

THE HARRIS SURVEY: PUBLIC BACKS JOHNSON ON DOMINICAN POLICY

(By Louis Harris)

In contrast to previously reported doubts of the American public about U.S. policy in Vietnam, public opinion in this country is today solidly arrayed behind the course President Johnson has followed in the crisis in the Dominican Republic.

By 3 to 1, the 77 percent of the public ready to express views on the subject endorse the way Mr. Johnson has handled the Dominican situation.

Even more lopsided majorities believes that the President was right to send Marines into Santo Domingo to protect American lives, to increase the number of troops so that Communists could not take control and to leave U.S. troops there until a stable government can be restored.

The key to the deep public support of Mr. Johnson in the Dominican Republic is the firm belief on the part of 78 percent of the public that the United States has a right to use military force to keep Communists from gaining power in the Western Hemisphere.

The people reject by an overwhelming 11-to-1 margin the contention made by some that our Government's intervention in the Dominican crisis was no more justified than that of Khrushchev in putting down the rebellion in Hungary in 1957.

Regarding the Johnson policy of keeping both the contending rebel and the junta groups from taking over power in Santo Domingo, the public expresses no substantial sympathy for either side. To the contrary, by 7 to 1, most people agree with the President in his effort to bring both sides into a coalition government.

In fact, the only substantial body of a criticism about U.S. policy in the Dominican crisis is registered over Mr. Johnson's order sending in troops before he received approval from the Organization of American States. Still, even in this facet of American action, those with opinions are better than 2 to 1 in accord with the President's decision.

The negative view of U.S. intervention was summarized by the retail store manager in Somers Point, N.J., who said, "He intervened without consulting the OAS, and that put us in a bad light in the world and gave the Communists propaganda material." In San Antonio, a 32-year-old woman radio script writer said, "I don't understand what's happened there. I think President Johnson is a troop sender-inner."

But the overwhelming majority tended to agree with a 50-year-old industrial fireman in Herbon, Maine, who said, "He was on the spot and did the best thing for the country. If he hadn't gone in, the Commies would have taken over and it would have been another Cuba." In La Grange, Ky., the president of a machine foundry said, "We are the only county in the OAS with enough power to take over, so we had to go ahead."

In Daytona Beach, the 65-year-old wife of a retired salesman added, "It is too close to home for comfort, and we should do everything to keep the Communists out." In Cincinnati, a marketing executive said, "Old Lyndon was like a oig father picking up a razor strap and spanking a child for something. It'll discourage others from doing it."

The heart of public conviction that the President did the right thing in the Dominican Republic rests in the response people gave to this question:

"It is argued that the United States has the right to use military force to keep the Communists from gaining power in North or South America. Do you think it is right or wrong for the United States to use military power to keep Communists out of the Western Hemisphere?"

U.S. force to keep Communists out of hemisphere

	Percent
Right to use force	78
Wrong to use force	7
Not sure	15

The commitment to the security of neighboring territory runs deep among the American people. When a parallel question was asked about Red China's insistence on the same sphere of interest in Vietnam, however, the U.S. public divided sharply, with no more than 35 percent according a similar right to China in that context.

Responses among a carefully drawn cross-section showed there is no doubt that almost all of the steps the President has taken in Santo Domingo have met with broad-based public approval. (See table.)

To an extent, of course, the ultimate wisdom of President Johnson's course in the Dominican situation will be judged by the people on the final outcome. If a coalition government can be formed and bloodshed brought to a halt there, public approval likely will remain at its present high level or rise even higher. In the end, the people are both a harsh judge and a pragmatic jury concerning the consequences of foreign policy.

Diplomatic Immunity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article on the subject of the abuse of diplomatic immunity, published in the New York Daily News, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DPL'S GET SO MANY PRIVILEGES AND ABUSE THEM

(By William Federici and Henry Lee)

"I'm a diplomat. Get your dirty hands off my white car." Dr. Barry Auguste, then first secretary of the Trinidad U.N. Mission, thus addressed Patrolman Francis Kennedy who finally caught him after a tire-scorching chase from Brooklyn to Manhattan. Kennedy kept his dirty hands on the white Jaguar. Auguste assertedly slugged the cop and drove off, dragging Kennedy for some distance and severely injuring his knees.

"You are not supposed to park at all on this street. It is for us."

The first (or maybe the second or third) secretary of the Cyprus Mission was ticking off a dowager.

Her limousine had been trapped at the curb for 45 minutes by four double-parked Cyprus DPL cars. She couldn't do anything about it. The first, or second or third, was right. Public streets in Manhattan have become private U.N. property for parking.

These instances of diplomatic arrogance—along with many, many more that go unreported—occur almost daily, and even wives and children of World-Peace-on-the-River get into the act.

The teenage son of Manuel Avila, Paraguay's alternate U.N. delegate, pushed two cops and called them gringo swine.

Frau Schmid, whose husband, Franz, is secretary of the Austrian U.N. Mission, was outraged when a news photographer snapped the Schmids' little red Volkswagen parked on 42d Street, headed in the wrong direction.

"If this keeps up, this harassment," she scolded, "there won't be anymore contact between countries—nor will there be a U.N."

Young Avila had to be freed (immunity, you know), and a cop obligingly stood guard in the street as Herr Schmid U-turned to get going in the right direction.

This willingness of the DPL set to take on the cops, the civilians, the press, all 8

million of us in fact, traces back to Public Law 357, passed by the 80th Congress in 1947.

OUR MAN'S ADVICE: HOLLER TO MISSION

Under this U.S.-U.N. agreement, world headquarters is inviolable from Federal, State, or local officials. Its ambassadors, certain members of their staffs, and representatives of specialized U.N. agencies are immune to such mundane things as taxes and tickets.

At the U.S. Mission offices, 799 United Nations Plaza, Sol Kuttner, our man on privileges and immunities, loads each newcomer with more than half a dozen certificates which exempt them from:

Retailers' and manufacturers' Federal excise taxes on such items as jewelry, furs, toilet preparations, and luggage; the Federal cabaret tax if they want to go slurping; Federal taxes on transportation of persons, telephone, telegraph, radio, and cable communications; State gasoline tax and city sales and uses taxes.

If "the question of immunity from legal process arises." Sol advises, "just holler to the U.S. Mission."

As den mother of the whole crowd, U.S. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson then sees to it that the DPL beefs are forwarded forcefully to the cops or whatever department stepped on the high-polish shoes.

Though he concedes that some diplomats "to put it mildly are not kindly disposed toward the United States," Adlai takes his den duties very seriously. In a closed-circuit TV address to the Police Academy, he implored the cops to keep a tight, respectful grip on their nightsticks.

"Remember, the foreign official regards the police officer as a representative of the United States," he said.

"Any behavior which suggests a lack of respect on the part of the police officers is considered as evidence of a lack of respect on the part of the United States as a whole.

EXPECT ADLAI, SOL TO FIX THINGS UP

"And we cannot afford under any circumstances to have our negotiating position in the United Nations adversely affected by any suspicion that the United States has less than the highest regard for any member state or its dignitaries."

"All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination."—Article VII, U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Hence, when a little misunderstanding arises, you can understand the cop's hesitant posture, to use DPL language. He doesn't want to wind up before a sort of diplomatic review board.

Also, if you want to be so charitable, you can understand that with petty stuff like parking, the DPLers assume that Adlai or Sol or some other nephew of Uncle Sam should fix things up pronto. Only they keep wanting more, and parking spaces don't stretch.

Already, from Volks to Caddies, more than 600 DPL and 400-plus FC (foreign consul) cars are tooling about the city. In probably the heaviest parking area in town—from 38th to 75th Streets and First to Fifth Avenues—325 spaces are reserved for them (not counting hydrants or bus stops).

In this same huge outdoor garage, there are 1,574 parking meters for the civilian stiffs Thus, out of the 1,899 total spaces, the diplomats enjoy more than one in six for their exclusive use.

Not nearly enough.

"We are constantly receiving requests and demands from our friends in the U.N." Traffic Commissioner Henry Barnes reports wearily.

"They complain that we must do more for them. I have tried to explain that we are doing everything possible and a little more, but we do have 8 million taxpayers to worry about also. They, too, have rights, I have told these committees who come to talk to me.

PLEAS TO COOPERATE FALL ON DEAF EARS

"We have tried to work out situations as they arose. But this has become impossible. In some residential areas, as well as business areas where diplomats live and work, we have tried to get them to move their parking habits—to, say, around the block.

"But their attitude is, 'If it's not right in front of where I work or live. I'll park where I please.'

"That's an awful situation but that's it."

Recently, for example, Barnes department got an SOS that the DPL-FC's just had to have more reserved spaces between 42d and 52d Streets, from the East River to Fifth Avenue.

After a survey, Traffic decided they could be tucked into the north side of 48th Street between Second and Third Avenues, and the signs went up dispossessing the locals from parking in that part of their own block.

To placate the English-speaking natives, Traffic did restrict the DPLers to parking between 8 a.m., and 6 p.m. This was a mistake because, for some mystifying reason, diplomats like to park long, as well as illegally.

The day after the signs were erected, there were empty spaces on their private north side of the street—but the south side of 48th was cluttered with DPL cars, bumper to bumper.

While we know there are more than 1,000 of there park-as-you-please cars at large, we can't give the statistics on the number of immunity-protected drivers. Our U.N. mission claims to update regularly its list of free riders for the benefit of local merchants and the taxing authorities. Curiously, however, a spokesman just couldn't seem to put his fingers on a total.

To get some idea, we queried our many at Whitehall in London where they have just the nice, old-fashioned kind of diplomats. Even without a U.N., he reports, Great Britain was playing host—at the most recent—striped pants count to 6,920, including wives.

LONDON HAS WOES EVEN WITHOUT U.N.

For the latest available year, the London County Council issued almost 2,000 excise exempt licenses to embassies. The same year there were almost 50 traffic accidents in which the victims couldn't make successful claims because the other motorist pleaded diplomatic immunity.

(In Sol Kuttner's welcome-wagon brochure to newly arriving U.N. diplomats, he cites New York State's compulsory auto insurance law, and adds hopefully: "It is assumed by the Government of the United States that all members of missions who own and operate automobiles carry such insurance in amounts commensurate with their status and responsibilities.")

At least, Britain doesn't have special license plates for diplomats. A foreign office spokesman told our man:

"Anybody can buy the 'CD' plates generally supposed for the corps diplomatique only. They are on sale at most garages for about 5 shillings a pair (70 cents).

"I usually put them up when I am going abroad on holiday because I find you can get through the customs more speedily that way. The law on the matter is merely that you must not put up any combination of letters which spell a rude word.

"The police here don't put any store by CD plates."

However, Peter Cadbury, who has strong, down-to-earth feelings despite the fact that he belongs to the wealthy chocolate manufacturing family, sports them out of principle.

USES CD FOR EFFECT AND HE GETS RESULTS

"It has always annoyed me to think that a chosen few from foreign embassies could flout our laws because of diplomatic privilege," he told our man at his mansion alongside Royal Ascot racecourse.

"I always have CD plates on my Rolls. I use them for effect and get wonderful service as a result. Several times, they have saved me in difficult parking situations.

"If I'm ever challenged on what they stand for, I say, 'Careful Driver, of course, old boy.'"

In a 6-week ticket blitz, the metropolitan police, backed up by "traffic wardens," cleared the diplomats out of central London where their parking had been a public nuisance.

"In our view, they are subject to the same regulations that have to be obeyed by the ordinary public," the foreign office spokesman says.

"If a diplomat leaves his car at a meter beyond the time, then he ought to pay the extra charge—and note this, we call it a 'charge' and not a fine. We find that most of them pay up without a word, and the U.S. Embassy, in particular, is frightfully good about it."

One who wasn't so frightfully good was Malagasy Ambassador Pierre Razafy-Andriamihaingo—so the bobbies or wardens just towed his car away.

It can't happen here? It could.

Calendar of Events for the National Gallery of Art

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Calendar of Events for the National Gallery of Art for the months of July and August 1965. During these summer months we Members of the U.S. Congress and the residents of our Nation's Capital, as well as the many people from our country and visitors from abroad can look forward to the wide variety of exhibitions, films, and lectures to be presented at the excellent National Gallery.

Along with the National Gallery of Art's outstanding permanent collection, one can enjoy from time to time such fine contributions to art as the 19th- and 20th-century European drawings arranged by the American Federation of Arts. These European drawings which were sponsored by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation are now on display at the gallery.

If you have not visited the gallery or seen the recent exhibits, the gallery tour is well worthwhile.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART—CALENDAR OF EVENTS, JULY AND AUGUST 1965

MONDAY, JUNE 28 THROUGH SUNDAY, JULY 4

Work of Art of the Week: Flemish c. 1500, "Triumph of Christ" (Mazarin Tapestry), (Widener collection), gallery G-1, Tuesday through Saturday, 12, and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11, 1, and 3; Sunday, 2:30 and 5.

Sunday Film Lecture: "The Primitive in Art." Speaker, Carter Nelson, staff lecturer, National Gallery of Art, lecture hall, 4.

MONDAY, JULY 5 THROUGH SUNDAY, JULY 11

Painting of the Week: Margaritone, "Madonna and Child Enthroned" (Samuel H. Kress collection), gallery 3, Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda, Monday, 11 and 3; Tuesday through Saturday, 11, 1, and 3; Sunday, 2:30 and 5.

Sunday Film Lecture: "The Classical in Art." Speaker: Margaret Bouton, associate curator of education, National Gallery of Art, lecture hall, 4.

MONDAY, JULY 12 THROUGH SUNDAY, JULY 18

Painting of the Week: Millet, "Leconte de Lisle" (Chester Dale collection), gallery 93, Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda, Monday, 11 and 3; Tuesday through Saturday, 11, 1, and 3; Sunday, 2:30 and 5.

Sunday Film Lecture: "The Gothic in Art." Speaker, Frances Robb, staff lecturer, National Gallery of Art, lecture hall, 4.

MONDAY, JULY 19, THROUGH SUNDAY, JULY 25

Painting of the week: Van Gogh, "Girl in White." (Chester Dale collection), gallery 88, Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour: Introduction to the collection: Rotunda, Monday, 11 and 3; Tuesday through Saturday, 11, 1, and 3; Sunday, 2:30 and 5.

Sunday film lecture: "The Oriental in Art." Speaker: Margaret Bouton, associate curator of education, National Gallery of Art, lecture hall, 4.

MONDAY, JULY 26, THROUGH SUNDAY, AUGUST 1

Painting of the week: Goya, "Don Antonio Noriega." (Samuel H. Kress collection), gallery 66, Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour: Introduction to the collection: Rotunda, Monday, 11 and 3; Tuesday through Saturday, 11, 1, and 3; Sunday, 2:30 and 5.

Sunday film lecture: "The Renaissance." Speaker: Ursula Trenta, staff lecturer, National Gallery of Art, lecture hall, 4.

MONDAY, AUGUST 2, THROUGH SUNDAY, AUGUST 8

Painting of the week: French master, second half 15th century, "Portrait of an Ecclesiastic." (Samuel H. Kress collection), gallery 41, Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour: Introduction to the collection: Rotuna, Monday, 11 and 3; Tuesday through Saturday, 11, 1, and 3; Sunday, 2:30 and 5.

Sunday film lecture: "The Baroque and Rococo." Speaker: Raymond S. Stites, curator of education, National Gallery of Art, lecture hall, 4.

MONDAY, AUGUST 9 THROUGH SUNDAY, AUGUST 15

Painting of the Week: Agnolo Gaddi, "Madonna and Child with Saints and Angels" (Andrew Mellon collection) gallery 1. Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour: Introduction to the collection, Rotunda, Monday, 11 and 3; Tuesday through Saturday 11, 1, and 3; Sunday, 2:30 and 5.

Sunday Film Lecture: "The Romantic." Speaker: Carter Nelson, staff lecturer, National Gallery of Art, lecture hall, 4.

MONDAY, AUGUST 16 THROUGH SUNDAY, AUGUST 22

Painting of the Week: Velázquez, "The Needlewoman," (Andrew Mellon Collection), gallery 51, Tuesday through Saturday, 12, and 2, Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda, Monday, 11 and 3; Tuesday through Saturday, 11, 1, and 3; Sunday, 2:30 and 5.

Sunday Film Lecture: "The Modern." Speaker: John Brooks, staff lecturer, National Gallery of Art, lecture hall, 4.

MONDAY, AUGUST 23 THROUGH SUNDAY, AUGUST 29

Sculpture of the Week: Modigliani, "Head of Woman" (Chester Dale collection), lobby D, Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda, Monday, 11 and 3; Tuesday through Saturday, 11, 1, and 3; Sunday, 2.30 and 5.

Sunday Film Lecture: "Art and the City." Speaker: Raymond S. Stites, curator of education, National Gallery of Art, lecture hall, 4.

Inquiries concerning the gallery's educational services should be addressed to the Educational Office, 737-4215, extension 272.

Gallery hours: New summer hours, starting July 1 and ending September 6: Weekdays, 10 a.m. to 10 p.m.; Sundays, 12 noon to 10 p.m. Admission is free to the Gallery and to all programs scheduled.

Collections: Paintings and sculpture from the Andrew Mellon, Samuel H. Kress, Widener, and Chester Dale collections, with gifts from other donors, are on the main floor. American primitive paintings from the collection of Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch, Kress Renaissance Bronzes, and Widener Decorative Arts are on the ground floor.

New exhibition: 19th and 20th century European drawings. Central Gallery. July 10 through August 29.

Continuing exhibition: Sketches by John Constable lent by the Victoria and Albert Museum. Central gallery. Through July 5. "Portrait of the Artist's Son Titus," by Rembrandt, lent by the Norton Simon Foundation. Main floor lobby B. Through Labor Day.

New publication: Catalog. 19th and 20th century European drawings. 60 pages, 7 by 10 inches, with foreword by Elaine Evans Dee, 50 black and white illustrations, $2 postpaid.

Recent publication: "Catalog." Sketches by Constable—96 pages, 7½ by 10 inches, with introduction and catalog notes by Graham Reynolds, 56 black and white illustrations, $1.75 postpaid.

New reproductions: 11 by 14 inch color reproductions: West, "Col. Guy Johnson"; Poussin, "The Assumption of the Virgin." Twenty-five cents each—orders under $1, add 25 cents handling charge.

Sunday film lectures: A series of lectures with films on "The Development of Style in Art" will begin on July 4 and continue through August 29.

Cafeteria: New summer hours: Starting July 1 and ending September 6: Monday through Saturday, 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. and 5:30 p.m. to 8:30 p.m. Sunday 1 p.m. to 8 p.m.

Honors for California's GOP Chief

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, an outstanding Californian was recently accorded a great honor. Dr. Gaylord Parkinson, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of California, was selected national chairman of the Republican State Chairmen's Association. In this post, "Parky" will undoubtedly make many significant contributions toward the increased strength of the Republican Party. His predecessor in this office is our new national chairman, Ray Bliss.

It is not an easy task to fill the shoes of Ray Bliss, but we who have worked with Gaylord Parkinson know that he has the skill to carry on this important work. Ray Bliss and the Republican National Committee must feel this way, too, for "Parky" was also chosen to be chairman of the Western Conference of Republican State Chairmen. Only a man of dedication, great ability and boundless energy could think of tackling all of these jobs.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I think my colleagues would be interested in reading the following editorial of commendation which appeared in the Los Angeles Times on July 5, 1965:

HONORS FOR CALIFORNIA'S GOP CHIEF

Selection of California's GOP State chairman, Dr. Gaylord Parkinson, as national chairman of the Republican State Chairmen's Association, marks recognition not only of his State's vital role in the national political scene but of his own capacity to get things done.

The San Diego obstetrician is a member of the new breed emerging in Republican politics. He has displayed intelligence and competence in a field that requires ingenuity and organization ability—and for which there are no rule books. A man of moderation, Dr. Parkinson can serve as an effective catalyst between the two wings in the party.

In addition, Dr. Parkinson was named chairman of the western conference of the State chairmen's organization thus giving him three GOP hats to wear.

He merits commendation for the job already done, and good wishes for the formidable tasks ahead. It could be that he's just what the doctor ordered to help restore the party to its former health.

Results of Fourth District Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, about 2 months ago I mailed out questionnaires to my constituents in the Fourth Congressional District of Iowa, asking their views on some of the legislation pending before the Congress.

More than 10,000 questionnaires were returned, a large response for a survey of this type. Reading the replies took a good deal of time, but I feel it was time well spent.

To insure complete accuracy, I had the returned questionnaires tabulated at my own expense by an electronic computer. The tabulation is now finished, and today I would like to call the results to the attention of my fellow Members in the House of Representatives.

In addition, I plan to reprint this tabulation and distribute copies to those who received the original questionnaire.

The questions in any survey of this kind must necessarily be brief, despite the many complex features of the legislation, and I am sure many people found it difficult to supply a simple "yes" or "no" reply.

In fact, a large number of people commented that, while they were inclined to favor or oppose a certain piece of legislation and marked their questionnaire accordingly, the final decision would have to be mine.

As many of these people pointed out, a close study of all the available information is needed before voting on the complex legislation that comes before the Congress.

I will continue to make a careful study of legislation in the future, taking into account its effect both on the Fourth District and on the Nation as a whole.

The tabulation of the questionnaire survey follows:

Question	Percent		
	Yes	No	Undecided
1. Do you favor a bill I have introduced to prohibit all Federal employees from hiring their relatives?	87.9	8.8	3.3
2. Do you favor legislation for medical care for persons 65 or older, financed mainly through a separate trust fund in the social security system by means of increased social security taxes?	33.5	59.7	6.8
3. Do you favor legislation providing a cost-of-living increase in social security benefits?	69.2	24.8	6.0
4. Do you favor repeal of sec. 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which permits States to enact laws prohibiting employers and employees to contract for a "union" or "agency" shop?	25.5	55.1	19.4
5. Do you favor the administration's bill for Federal aid to elementary and secondary schools, which puts emphasis on assistance to areas with large numbers of pupils from low-income families?	63.2	28.2	8.6
6. Do you favor legislation to expand aid to colleges and universities, including a $15 million program to finance student loans?	53.0	37.9	9.1
7. Do you favor establishment of a National Arts Foundation and a National Humanities Foundation, to be financed by Federal funds?	12.0	73.4	14.6
8. Do you favor additional legislation to insure that all Americans, in all parts of the country, are not denied the right to vote?	81.5	12.2	6.3
9. Do you favor a constitutional amendment I have introduced to abolish the electoral college in the presidential election process?	79.1	10.2	10.7
10. Do you favor legislation to gradually abolish the "national origin" immigration quota system, which favors admission of persons from northern European countries?	39.2	41.9	18.9
11. Do you favor a constitutional amendment providing that "factors other than population" could be taken into account in apportioning a State legislature?	64.0	23.5	12.5
12. Do you favor legislation that would continue America's foreign aid program?	43.6	44.9	11.5
13. If so, would you favor distributing the aid in the form of loans rather than grants?	60.2	9.0	30.8
14. Do you favor legislation that would repeal or reduce excise taxes on such items as—			
(a) Telephone service?	72.1	18.9	9.0
(b) Furs?	15.6	62.2	22.2
(c) Cosmetics?	32.5	48.1	19.4
(d) Fountain pens?	45.7	34.1	20.2
(e) Trailer hitches?	41.2	35.7	23.1
15. Do you favor legislation that would continue the voluntary feed grains program?	54.2	25.9	19.9
16. Do you favor legislation to keep the area redevelopment program in operation?	48.1	27.5	24.4
17. Do you favor legislation to renew and expand the Federal housing program?	43.0	40.6	16.4
18. Do you favor legislation to step up the "war on poverty" in both urban and rural areas?	51.5	37.7	10.8

One Man, One Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, when the distinguished senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS] speaks, most of us in Congress are accustomed to listening. For when he speaks—or writes—he always has something important to say.

Senator DOUGLAS' article in the July 1965, issue of the UAW Solidarity is no exception. In the article, "The Struggle Is On To Save Your Vote," the Senator argues very persuasively the case for apportioning both houses of State legislatures on the basis of population.

In view of the timeliness and importance of Senator DOUGLAS' article, I believe all Members of Congress ought to have the opportunity to read it. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues and ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The article follows:

THE STRUGGLE IS ON TO SAVE YOUR VOTE

(By Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, Democrat of Illinois)

The Senate of the United States has just passed the Voting Rights Act to protect each citizen in the exercise of his right to vote.

It is ironic that only a few weeks later the Senate will be asked to pass a resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which would take away each citizen's right to have his vote count equally with that of other citizens.

It is particularly unfortunate that some Members of Congress who have supported the right to vote are sponsors or supporters of the proposed constitutional amendments which would arbitrarily take away the right to a meaningful and equal vote.

Now pending in both the Senate and the House (but with committee and floor action expected to occur first in the Senate) are amendments which, if supported by a two-thirds vote in each House of the Congress and ratified by three-fourths of the States, would permit a State to apportion the representation in one house of its State legislature on "factors other than population"—provided this is somehow submitted to a vote of the people of the State.

These amendments would, and are intended to, repeal the Supreme Court decisions of only a year ago.

In a number of cases, the Court held that the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the 14th amendment to the Constitution requires the apportionment of both houses of a State legislature substantially on the basis of population. The Court also ruled that no referendum or majority vote of the people of the State can deny to each citizen this basic individual right to have his vote count equally with that of other citizens in electing his State legisalture.

In its decision, the Supreme Court was upholding a basic principle of representative democracy which has been a foundation of our Republic from the beginning. Unfortunately, this principle has increasingly been abused in the past 70 years by legislators in nearly every State, with the support of certain interests who benefit by having an unrepresentative or minority-controlled State legislature.

It was the persistent refusal of the State legislatures themselves to reapportion, often in open defiance of their own State constitutions, and the refusal of State courts to enforce their constitutions, that finally caused the Supreme Court to respond to the pleas of citizens who claimed that they were underrepresented and to enforce this basic principle of American government.

Through most of the 19th century, while the United States remained primarily an agricultural and rural country, equality of representation in the State legislatures was observed in most States in both houses of the legislatures.

But in the late 19th century, an ever-larger percentage of the people came to reside in cities. As the population of the Nation shifted to the cities and suburbs, the State legislatures increasingly began to ignore their duty to reapportion because the legislators from the rural and relatively less populated areas did not want to give up their control of the State legislatures.

The result of this by 1960—when nearly 70 percent of the American people were living in cities and their suburbs—was extreme malapportionment of the legislature in nearly every State of the Union.

In Michigan before its recent reapportionment, for example, it took in 1960 only 34,000 persons in the smallest district to elect a representative for the lower house, while it took 135,268 in the largest district.

In other words, one person in the smallest district had four times the representation which was had by one person in the larger district.

And for the Michigan senate, a person in the smallest district had 12.4 times the representation as did the person in the largest district.

In Illinois, a minority of only 29 percent of the people could elect representatives to the State senate having a majority of the votes. This situation was repeated in State after State with as few as 8 or 10 percent of the people electing a majority of the votes in a house of the legislature.

And often a small minority controlled not only one house but both houses.

As a result of the Supreme Court decisions, a number of States have already reapportioned one or both houses of their legislatures. Perhaps as many as 18 States have now reapportioned in a satisfactory manner.

But at the beginning of this year, the figures showed that for the lower houses there were still two States in which less than 20 percent could elect a majority of the chamber and 17 States in which from 20 to 40 percent of the people could elect a majority of the lower house. With respect to the upper houses, there were about 10 States in which less than 20 percent could elect a majority and 13 States in which between 20 and 40 percent could elect a majority.

There probably are still more than 30 upper houses and lower houses in which a majority of the representatives is elected by less than 45 percent of the people.

The proposed constitutional amendments now before Congress have been properly labeled the "rotten borough amendments," because they seek to preserve the representation in the State legislatures of wealth, land, possessions, or other interests besides people, just as did the infamous rotten boroughs of early 19th century England which sent representatives to the Parliament even though they had very few people or no population whatsoever.

These amendments, however, appear deceptively attractive. One of the chief deceptive arguments is that it is proper that "other factors" be represented in just one house of a bicameral (two-house) legislature when the other house represents people. While there are many other dangers in these proposals, I think that the practical effect of what could happen under the amendments is frequently not understood and I want to emphasize what this practical effect would be.

Because legislation and appropriations must be passed on by both houses of a two-house legislature, we must not fail to realize that however well apportioned one house may be, if the second house is not representative of the people, it permits a minority, in effect, to have a veto over the entire State government.

The evidence on this could not be more clear. Last year, August Scholle, president of the Michigan State AFL-CIO, documented this fact before the House Judiciary Committee. He gave many illustrations from the experience of Michigan, prior to its reapportionment, of what happens when a minority of the people not sympathetic to the problems of the cities and suburbs, controls one house. For example:

A bill to provide free polio shots for needy children was blocked by State senators representing 2.8 million people despite the fact that senators representing 3.2 million voted for it.

A bill to provide an unemployment insurance increase of $3 was killed by senators representing only 2.4 million people despite support for the bill by senators representing 3.5 million.

Workmen's compensation amendments were killed by senators for 2.9 million people despite support for them by senators for 3.5 million people.

The addition of several hundred desperately needed mental health beds was blocked by senators for 2.8 million people despite the support for this legislation by senators representing 3.1 million people.

A bill to help small business by letting development credit corporations secure the benefits provided by the Federal Small Business Investment Act was killed by Senators for 2.6 million people despite support for the bill from Senators representing 3.6 million people.

A bill to exempt food and medicine from the 4-percent sales tax in order to help retirees and others with fixed incomes was killed by Senators representing 3.3 million people despite the fact that Senators representing 5 million people voted for it.

In my own State of Illinois, where the malapportioned State senate permits 29 percent of the population to elect a majority of the members of the senate, we have the same problem each session. The Illinois House, which in recent years was more fairly apportioned and for this session is elected at large, passes needed legislation on labor, welfare and city home rule matters, but the malapportioned senate, in effect, vetoes them.

This year, for example, the Illinois Senate is watering down or killing a proposed new revenue article to replace our archaic revenue article adopted in 1870, fair housing practices bills, a minimum wage bill, a gun registration bill, and a bill to give the city of Chicago authority to raise sufficient money to conduct its affairs.

Antilabor legislation, such as the so-called right-to-work laws, or the lack of fair labor legislation, is typical of the States with malapportioned legislatures. Most of the States which have right-to-work laws are among the most badly apportioned in the Nation.

It was interesting to note that when the Indiana Legislature was reapportioned fairly, one of its first accomplishments was the repeal of the right-to-work law. But as long as even one house in the other right-to-work States remains under minority control, it is very unlikely that we could get repeal of the State right-to-work law or obtain other fair labor legislation.

And this leads to another interesting point about the practical effect of the rotten borough amendments now pending in the Congress. Because many of the State legislatures are malapportioned, they are unable to deal with the needs of cities and other modern problems. Consequently, the cities and others are forced to ask the Federal Government to do many things the States can and should do.

Those who truly believe in States rights and a stronger Federal system ought to realize that the State governments will continue to remain weak and be bypassed as long as they are unrepresentative of the people.

Fair apportionment of the State legislatures is the essential requirement of building strong and modern State governments.

As my good friend Pat Greathouse of the UAW recently told the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments: "Minority rule of the States is the surest way to atrophy the remnants of strong State government that still remain."

I hope that the people of the United States will come to understand the full meaning of these insidious rotten borough amendments.

I hope they will let their representatives in the State legislatures and in the Congress of the United States know their opposition to any interference in the great opportunity we now have to achieve fair representation in our State legislatures through the orderly carrying out of the Supreme Court's magnificent decision on behalf of the people.

"Pink" Professors Blind to Perils Faced by United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, there is a small but noisy minority of so-called intellectuals among the academic community that seems intent on condemning everything the United States does and praising the motives of our sworn enemies. The following column from the July 12, 1965 Indianapolis Star, by Edgar Ansel Mowrer, accurately describes their total intellectual bankruptcy:

"PINK" PROFESSORS BLIND TO PERILS FACED BY UNITED STATES

WASHINGTON.—Something is very wrong in a number of American universities.

I don't mean the students, not even when they use pacifism to cloak simple cowardice and turn sympathy with "revolution" against human freedom. Not even when, in their struggle to attain adulthood, they become the instruments of creeping Red tyranny. Almost all young people need at some point to turn against their elders. How else can they be sure they exist? And when young people like ours have been reared permissively, have absorbed no firm moral or philosophical or religious convictions at home and have been subjected to self-pitying existentialism at college, a turn toward anarchy is understandable.

What in our universities is rotten (or, if you will, sick, sick, sick) is a part, I am told a small part, of the faculties. Professors suffering eye trouble (anything from astigmatism to double cataract) disguise it as a demand for more intellectual freedom. Truth, which they claim to seek even when they spit upon it, requires that any viewpoint be heard, whether it be the advocacy of dirty speech or of free love, or anarchy and government by riot or of radical pacifism.

SLANT MUST BE IDENTIFIED

And so far, so good—provided each advocate is accurately labeled so that even the least intelligent student or most doctrinaire professor can identify the slant.

But by the same token, students have the duty to listen to lecturers who advocate fascism and militarism. If the Fair Play for Cuba people are to be considered respectable, so too are advocates of South African apartheid.

But this is just what those same purblind professors deny. Reform, revolution, communism—yes. Reaction, racism, and dictatorship (unless it be Communist)—no.

Thereby these "learned" people reveal themselves not as champions of academic or any other freedom but as willing or unwilling partisans of Red tyranny. This is the lesson of the recent teach-ins (really brainwashings). This is what the refusal of several hundred students of the University of Wisconsin (including some professors) to listen to the Government's viewpoint on the war in Vietnam reveals.

PROFESSORS PROVE PARTISAN

A portion of the faculties in our colleges are partisans. Furthermore, they are partisans of the enemy while the United States is engaged in the deadliest and longest war in our history, one in which the enemy challenges not only the "American way of life" but that national and individual freedom which is what our fathers died to preserve.

Much of this attitude, one must admit, is the result of a panic fear of nuclear war. Better Red than dead. So, to make this cowardly surrender palatable, dress up the Red regimes in robes of idealism, accept their lies about themselves, and insist above all that they are evolving away from their worst features. Sooner or later the tyrannical, totalitarian Communist parties (whose self-indulgent leaders are as far from the masses as they were in Nazi Germany) will relax and turn from murder (the Vietcong) and subversion to the trough. Anyway, better the enslavement of hundreds of millions more than a greater risk of nuclear war.

REALISM VERSUS LIBERTY

Even an idealist like Archibald MacLeish, poet, bureaucrat, and professor, cannot apparently see what the realistic efforts being made by the Johnson administration to contain communism, far from being an abandonment of the American dream of bringing liberty to the world are a late attempt to defend what liberty remains. Similar realism would have prevented Hitler's war.

This treason of the learned causes a moralist like Frederick D. Wilhelmsen to write that "the West, sickened in comfort and diseased in doubt, has unleashed its

sword and is about to hand it over to the enemy, blade in palm and hilt outstretched."

It could happen—if the cockeyed professors and pacifists and anarchists had their way. Yet I am convinced that it will not. At least three-fourths of all Americans have not lost their manhood and belief in fundamentals.

Sooner or later they will settle down not merely to containing but to defeating the Red enemy—whether the "pink" professors like it or not.

United States, Russian Space Efforts Differ Greatly in Purpose

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the following brief but significant report on the United States and Russian space programs appeared in the July 12, 1965, issue of the Chicago Tribune. Mr. Walter Trohan, able chief of the Tribune's Washington Bureau, points out the potentials for good or evil in man's efforts to conquer space and the dangers to the security of the non-Communist world of neglecting the critical area of inner space where military domination of the world might be established.

On many occasions in the past, I have urged consideration of this possibility, and as Dr. James R. Killian, Jr., once stated, "This is one race we dare not lose."

The report follows:

UNITED STATES, RUSSIAN SPACE EFFORTS DIFFER GREATLY IN PURPOSE

(By Walter Trohan)

WASHINGTON, July 11.—There is a startling difference between Russian and American space programs which could well determine the political future of the world.

The difference is submerged by all the fuss and furor over manned space flights, but it can be summed up in two very simple words—peaceful and military. The United States is dedicated to conquest of space for peaceful purposes, primarily a moon landing, and Russia is interested primarily in conquest of space for military purposes, the advancement of the Communist aim to dominate the world.

Various Russian leaders have boasted that Red rockets can be launched from satellites against any nation on earth. While American tracking stations, which are almost good enough to detect a fly in space, haven't found such satellites in outer space, it can be assumed Russia is straining to be the first in this significant achievement.

On the other hand many in the United States interpret the nuclear test ban treaty as barring such development. Naturally the development of such a satellite would be a most carefully guarded secret, if it is underway in Russia, as is believed.

SPENDING $40 BILLION TO REACH MOON

The United States has developed many weather and communications satellites. Russia has put one of these in orbit. The United States is spending more than $40 billion in an effort to reach the moon by the end of this decade. Russia is assumed to be aiming at the moon, but is spending nothing like that sum in its effort.

The vital area in space is the belt between 100 and 500 miles out, which is known as inner space. In the last 8 years something like 1,000 missiles have been projected into space, mostly by the United States. There are 601 of these still in orbit, some functioning and some circling around as garbage in space, casings and the like.

The United States has gathered considerable data on this vital area. It may be in a position to begin speedy development for domination of this critical area. If Russia should win the race for control of the area, it could be expected to use it to dominate the world, while if we should win control we could be expected to use it to guard against aggression.

EVIDENCE OF TRAPPED RED ASTRONAUTS

It is possible that some our space launchings have been aimed at developing satellite rocket launchers or at least for gathering data which would be helpful in such development. Many of our launchings have been unannounced, although they have doubtless been noted and studied by Russian trackers.

In the same way we have spotted many unannounced Russian launchings. There is evidence from neutral trackers which has led many observers to believe that Russia has sent astronauts into space, both men, and women, who have not returned, but are circling the world in capsules that became coffins.

If the United States is not striving for military control of inner space, it should, because the safety of the Nation and of the non-Communist world depends upon it.

The United States can afford to lose the moon race to Russia, which would be a great scientific first. But it cannot afford to lose the race for control of the inner space belt, because it will have lost all.

Model Library Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, to improve local libraries and to encourage their use, Members of Congress may wish to relay to librarians in their respective constituencies a résumé of the activities of what I believe is one of the Nation's outstanding library systems.

At the recent dedication of the new Carrolltown, Pa., public library, I asked Dean C. Gross, library administrator of the Cambria public library, for an outline of the techniques and operations of this highly successful system in order that communities throughout the country might benefit. His contribution is most interesting and informative and merits wide distribution. I commend it to your close attention:

PUBLIC LIBRARY SERVICE IN CAMBRIA AND SOMERSET COUNTIES, PA.

(By Dean C. Gross, library administrator, Cambria Public Library)

The future of our country depends on four institutions. These are the home; the church and synagogue; the school, college, and university; and the public library. From these four institutions come the spiritual and educational resources which must mold future citizens and keep our society strong and stable.

The public library is now beginning to receive its due recognition as a partner and servant of the other three institutions. The Library Demonstration Act of 1956 and the Library Services and Construction Act of 1964 have brought needed help to public libraries from the Federal Government.

In addition, many States in recent years have begun to provide funds assisting their public libraries. The third and most essential partner—city, town, or county governments—must play their part if adequate public libraries are to be established throughout the Nation. In most communities the contribution of each of the three partners must be much higher than at present.

One of the finest State programs for public libraries is that of Pennsylvania. The Commonwealth's State library code of 1961 uses State funds to induce increased financial support by local governments. It also provides a plan by which the cities' extensive collections of materials and their professional staffs are helping the less privileged towns, villages, and rural areas.

One of the most effective library programs in the State, and in the whole country, is based in Johnstown. As a district and county center the Cambria Public Library is bringing modern public library service to the 280,000 residents of Cambria and Somerset Counties, in southwestern Pennsylvania.

In Cambria County libraries are now established in 16 communities, including Johnstown, Barnesboro, Beaverdale, Carrolltown, Cresson, Ebensburg, Gallitzin, Hastings, Lilly, Nanty Glo, Patton, Portage, Richland Township, South Fork, Spangler, and Westmont. In addition 2 bookmobiles now visit 45 other communities, including the county home and county prison, on alternate weeks. Library books are now within less than 5 miles of all residents of the county.

Federal and State assistance, together with local funds, have made this valuable program possible. The city of Johnstown contributes one-half mill of taxation or about $35,000 per year, and in 1965 the county government is contributing $72,600. The library system received $114,000 from the State in 1964. In 1963, $40,000 was received under the Library Demonstration Act, with which were purchased a new bookmobile and the books to stock it.

In 1964 the system of libraries loaned to the 203,000 residents of the county a total of 650,934 books., magazines, pamphlets, and records. This was an increase of 48 percent over 1963. Reference work is also increasing rapidly, with 12,969 questions being received last year by the main library. These figures indicate something of the response to the program.

The following is an outline of the many achievements of the Cambria Public Library and its county and district programs:

An extension librarian visits all district libraries regularly, bringing them new books, and advising and assisting in administration of the local libraries.

In 1964, 2,365 books were sent on interlibrary loan to member libraries.

Assistance in 612 reference questions in the district libraries was provided in 1964 by the central unit.

Rotating collections of popular, new adult books are provided.

Telephones are provided for all local libraries out of State grants.

Eight periodicals are provided for each library.

Monthly all-day meetings of all district librarians are held at the main library. After books are selected from leading professional journals, topics are discussed in the subject of library administration.

A bimonthly newsletter is sent to all libraries of the district.

Many lists of recommended books and other publicity materials are distributed to all

libraries. Two weekly radio series, discussing books and our libraries, are broadcast in Johnstown, and tape recordings are carried by four other Cambria County stations.

A weekly column appears in the Johnstown Tribune-Democrat, publicizing new books and the library's program.

Collections of books have been placed in four hospitals, three rest homes, and Johnstown's Senior Activities Center.

Book collections are sent to 15 schools having no libraries.

A home delivery service for shut-ins is provided.

All new books are ordered, cataloged and processed for the Cambria County libraries by the Barnesboro and Johnstown units.

A course in reference work and materials was given to all librarians. Heads of new libraries are trained in procedures and techniques.

Book review sources and book selection aids are provided for each library in Cambria County.

A teletype service has been provided at the main library, linking the system to many of the great libraries of the Nation.

A photo-copying service is provided at the main library.

A study is underway of means by which more persons can be reached by all libraries. Copies of a library brochure have been sent to all homes in the two counties.

A half-hour film has been made, depicting the Cambria County libraries, bookmobiles, and the entire program. This film is available for lending to any interested organization.

Cambria and Somerset Counties are fortunate in having this vigorous library program. Many more county governments should support their public libraries, for this support in most cases provides the chief means by which residents of villages and rural areas may have access to books. The responsibility for providing public library service must be accepted by county commissioners all over the country.

City public libraries now have two major responsibilities and challenges. The first is to reach the city's own adults and children who are not now using libraries. The second is to carry to surrounding towns and countryside the advantages of city library collections, staffs, and techniques.

Our Purpose in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and to include therein extraneous matter has been previously granted.

We have been reading and hearing a great deal of those who are spreading doubt, confusion, and distrust over the aims and purposes of the United States in Vietnam.

One of the best articles I have read on this subject was written by Don Whitehead, and appeared recently in the Knoxville News-Sentinel, Knoxville, Tenn.

I believe this is a very excellent presentation, and I am pleased to insert this article in the RECORD for the consideration of my colleagues:

DON WHITEHEAD REPORTS ON OUR PURPOSE IN VIETNAM

From the most surprising of all sources, there is arising across the country a miasmic mist of isolationism which is spreading the germs of doubt and confusion over the honorable aims of the United States in Vietnam.

The fog is rising from many college and university campuses where intellectual groups—a minority but nevertheless a vocal one—profess to shudder at our naked sword challenge to Communist expansion and aggression in Asia.

Twenty-five years ago many of these same people were crying for U.S. intervention against nazism and fascism when it seemed that the legions of Hitler and Mussolini might engulf a great part of the world. They were internationalists and wore the badge proudly. They scorned the isolationists of the day who cried out against any involvement in Europe.

They were all for freedom for all nations in those days. Freedom from aggressors. Freedom from the Gestapo. Freedom from dictators pushing people around, slaughtering millions in gas chambers, and brutalizing those who opposed them.

Now they would have us beat a retreat from Vietnam. They deplore any escalation of the fighting in that wartorn little country and make it sound as though the United States were responsible for the stepped-up fighting. They ignore the fact that the Communists escalated the war. They will not or cannot see that Vietnam is only a single battle in a worldwide war against aggressive communism.

They shed no tears for Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Cuba, North Vietnam, and China whose people had no voice in choosing their government and are ruled by brute force.

They cry not for the freedoms lost by these millions. They carry no placards calling for the Russians to pull back their tanks and divisions behind their own borders. They stage no sitdowns protesting the Communists' grabs for power. They pass no resolutions denouncing the North Vietnam attacks on South Vietnam or Cuba's efforts to subvert governments in Central and South America.

They stage rallies and cry out against President Lyndon B. Johnson because he has stood firm in North Vietnam and balked, at least temporarily, a Communist takeover in Santo Domingo. They refuse to place the blame where it belongs—on the Communists who deliberately follow a policy of communizing the world by force, subversion, threat or whatever means proves most effective.

Now that nazism and fascism have been conquered as a world threat, these onetime internationalists would have us pull back into our shell as though communism was nothing more than a matter for academic debate. Their attitude presumes that Communists are men of reason speaking the same language we speak. And they know better.

These professors who are so vocal against the administration policy of meeting force with force should be teaching their students that a Communist dictatorship is as vicious as the Hitler-Mussolini variety. They should be teaching that communism threatens the freedoms of discussion, protest, inquiry, self-expression, and all that is held dear in the academic world. These freedoms die when communism takes over—and the intellectuals are the first to feel the iron fist.

There is a simple way to end the hot war in Vietnam and the tensions of the cold war. That is for the Communists to give up their fight to impose communism on the world by force and subversion.

Until that day arrives, we have only two choices: Surrender or fight back. And I applaud President Johnson for fighting back.

Twelve-Mile Coastal Limit Is Excellent Beginning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego Union of July 11, 1965:

TWELVE-MILE COASTAL LIMIT IS EXCELLENT BEGINNING

A bill proposing protection of U.S. fishing rights for a distance of 12 miles from our shores certainly is a recognition of a grave problem.

It merits the approval of Congress. However, at the same time, Congress should recognize that the proposed law touches only the surface of a much larger problem.

The United States, and 10 other nations, presently recognizes a 3-mile territorial limit. It is a general rule of thumb for national defense, established in 1703 on the basis that 3 miles was the effective range of a cannon, and therefore the distance a nation could reasonably be expected to defend.

From the standpoint of security today, 3 miles is a laughable range for larger guns or missiles. The problem, however, includes a scope much larger than national defense.

Most nations in the world claim territorial limits up to 10 miles. Cutting across these is a confused plethora of disputes, national edicts and treaties.

Most South American nations on the Pacific seaboard, for example, claim fishing sovereignty within 200 miles, which closes a valuable area to U.S. fishermen.

In May of 1964, Canada gave notice it would enforce a 12-mile fishing limit, which gave rise to frictions and problems in the northeast, northwest United States, and Alaskan areas.

Japan and the United States have agreements on salmon and other fishing in Alaska. Additionally, the United States and Russia agreed to Alaskan fishing jurisdictions in six areas last year.

Further complications arose on June 10, 1964, when Russia, the United States, and 20 other nations agreed to sovereign rights to a depth of 200 meters along continental shelves—about 20 to 25 miles. Japan refused to recognize the agreement, which includes most natural resources, not only fish.

Fishing rights are only one of the problems. Of equal or greater importance are questions of natural resource development and national security.

The Continental Shelf of the United States is an extension of the mainland, believed equally rich in oil, gold, metals, and other precious resources. It is an undeveloped frontier that could be exploited with more emphasis on the current acceleration of oceanographic research.

Other nations show recognition of these facts. Last year more than 6,000 Russian and Japanese boats were sighted near the U.S. shores. Sophisticated electronic equipment on many of the vessels indicated they were interested in intelligence work and charting of natural resources as well as fishing.

The United States, it is true, is showing a greater interest in oceanography. This must be coupled with a realistic recognition that the valuable resources on the Continental Shelf also must be protected from poaching.

The protection of a fishing limit for 12 miles is an excellent beginning. It also is vitally important however, for the United States to begin efforts to protect all of its vital interests off our shores.

Hope for Cities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT B. DUNCAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. DUNCAN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the applause can still be heard from the 140 million Americans who work and live in urban areas. They are applauding the action of the House in passing the bill authorizing the new Department of Housing and Urban Development.

There are many problems facing the urban centers of this country which need the top-level representation they will receive when the Department of Housing and Urban Development becomes law.

The Eugene Register-Guard, a fine newspaper in my district, pointed out the need for such a Department in an editorial on June 18, 1965:

America's most crucial domestic problem is no longer the farm economy but the problem of city living. Our Nation is bulldozing 1 million acres a year into the urban sprawl. The Nation just has to give increased attention to cities.

I support this editorial when it states that more attention must be given to urban areas. I hope the Senate will join with us in the House in supporting President Johnson's proposal to create a Department of Housing and Urban Development, which will assist urban areas in getting the attention they need in the form of a Cabinet-level representation.

With consent, I place the editorial in the RECORD:

HOPE FOR CITIES

Municipal leaders, plagued with problems of urban growth, appear at last to be assured of Cabinet-level representation in the Federal Government.

The House has passed a bill authorizing a new Department of Housing and Urban Development. The Senate is expected to add its approval and President Johnson will thus sign into law another measure which Congress refused to serve up to the late President Kennedy.

Mayor Henry Maier, of Milwaukee, Wis., president of the American Municipal Association, reminded Oregon of some of the problems facing American cities when he addressed the League of Oregon Cities in Portland last November.

Calling the central city the "dustbowl of the Sixties," Mr. Maier argued that America's most crucial domestic problem is no longer the farm economy but the problem of city living. Our Nation is bulldozing 1 million acres a year into the urban sprawl. Yet cities receive only one-thirteenth as much Federal aid as the Nation's farmers.

"In the final analysis," Mr. Maier said, "the problems can only be solved through reallocation of national resources. The Nation just has to give increased attention to cities."

The measure will combine existing activities of the Federal Housing Administration, the Housing and Home Finance Agency, and the Federal National Mortgage Administration under an 11th Cabinet member. From the municipal standpoint, the move will also provide American cities with the kind of representation Mr. Maier talks about in the highest council of the Federal Government.

A Cheer for American Imperialism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to an article that appeared in the Sunday, July 11, New York Times magazine, "A Cheer for American Imperialism." The article, by Henry Fairlie, political writer for the Spectator and the Daily Telegraph of London, presents one Englishman's view of the way the United States meets its world resopnsibilities. It is an unusual exposition and suggests that perhaps semantics may be troubling us more than substance as we view America's role in the world today.

The first part of the article follows:

A CHEER FOR AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

(By Henry Fairlie)

Is America an empire? It is a question which no American cares to ask himself and, if you ask it of him, he returns a hasty negative. "Imperialism is not in our blood. You are still thinking in terms of the British Empire." I have got used, by now, to the answers. But it seems to me a question which needs not only to be asked but to be answered with some frank regard for the facts. To an outsider, the fact that America is an empire is the most obvious fact of all.

The idea of empire, I realize, fits uncomfortably into the severe and sparse conception which the Americans have of their destiny. Their Nation began its life in rebellion against a colonial power, and consequently the mere suggestion that they may themselves be an empire is taken immediately as an accusation. "It is that word. It is just that word," says one American with whom I have discussed the question over and over again. Call it, then, by another name—though none is so short and convenient—but the fact will remain.

"I am a Berliner," President Kennedy proclaimed, in perhaps the most far-reaching words he ever used, and, if they meant anything at all, they implied a shared citizenship of what—if not an empire? "I am a Berliner" has no meaning if all he was talking about was a treaty obligation to defend West Berlin. But that, precisely, was what he was not saying. To say "I am a Berliner" is exactly the same as to say civis Romanus sum and civis Britannicus sum. Common to all three is the idea, not simply of protection, but of protection arising from common citizenship of an empire.

But I should begin by enumerating what seem to me the facts of empire, as distinct from the plainer facts of America's power.

1. International police, or "peacekeeping," operations are in themselves the most obvious obligation of empire; and no serious person that I know (whatever his view of the specific actions in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic) denies that America must, from time to time, engage in such operations. To employ force abroad without the declaration of war is, in fact, the first attribute of empire.

2. More specifically, to endow American forces with a combat role—a phrase which could have been rendered so simply in Latin, and would have been understood by any emperor, or, for that matter, any legionary—is to endow them with the same responsibility as once belonged to the Roman and the British soldiers on the frontiers of empire. That American soldiers in farflung provinces of the world should have a combat role seems peculiar only if one does not acknowledge the fact, and so the duties, of empire.

3. When military police actions lead directly to a local and political engagement in these farflung territories, empire exists. As one American commentator wrote recently of the Dominican situation, "Despite Washington's carefully orchestrated campaign to cloak the political negotiations in the trappings of the Organization of American States, they remain very much a U.S.-managed operation." Exactly, and that is empire.

4. "Until the international community is ready to rescue the victims of clandestine aggression," Adlai Stevenson said the other day, "national power will have to fill the vacuum. It is the most costly, the most dangerous, and the least desirable kind of peacekeeping." May be. But, meanwhile, this stark admission that, in the absence of any other world order, national power must fill the role is as clear an acceptance of imperial responsibility as one could wish for.

5. Empire means that the need for it is accepted in the provinces perhaps even more readily than at the center; and, freed from the necessity to mince his words, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, ironically one of the leaders of India's struggle for independence, wrote recently to the New York Times: "There is not the slightest doubt that if America withdraws and leaves southeast Asia to itself, Communist China will advance and seize the continent * * * and the empire of China under Mao and his successors will be firmly established." To resist this empire, he looks to the protection of another.

6. Near Phoenix, Ariz., 500 Luftwaffe pilot officers are now being trained by the U.S. Air Force for tactical command duty, including the delivery of nuclear missiles. Some of them have already passed the course, with appropriate graduation ceremonies, and been awarded the freedom of Arizona. In much the same way, the Roman legions were recruited from native populations, the legionaries themselves becoming privileged citizens; and Sandhurst turned out superb native officers for service in the empire. Symbolically as well as actually, the Luftwaffe officers are, however ironically, the representatives of empire.

7. Above all, there is the achievement of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. He has created, during his years in office, an American force which can be disposed around the world with a minimum of difficulty and domestic disturbance. To an outsider, this force seems to have the inspiration as well as the practical attributes of empire; its mission, certainly, is the peace and security of an empire. But, perhaps even more significant, this is the achievement of Mr. McNamara which has been least questioned, which has been almost tacitly accepted by the American people—as if they understood their unending and inescapable imperial role.

So one could go on. Even the American critics of America's present policy use the language of empire. Whatever may be said for or against the idea that there are distinct spheres of influence properly "belonging" to one or other of the great powers, it is an im-

perial conception. Certainly, those who use the notion of spheres of influence as an argument for American withdrawal in any part of the world are relying on no more lofty intellectual or moral categories than the administration in staying there.

All, some, or much of which may be accepted by Americans, but still they shy from the idea of empire. It seems important, therefore, to try to explain why I think the idea of empire is useful. For one thing, certain time-worn propositions can immediately be stated frankly, even if they are not accepted.

No empire can contract and hope to survive. It must either be strenuously maintained or disintegrate. No empire, it follows, can selectively withdraw from its frontiers without inviting another empire to advance—by steps which have thus been generously preselected for it. The ingenious idea that America can abandon her responsibilities in one part of the world, without sacrificing them elsewhere, can be countered by the simple question: Who will do the selecting?

Perhaps if it were done by all-wise and all-seeing men, it would be feasible. But once the process is begun no one can foresee how, by whom, under what pressures, for what motives, in response to what seductive arguments, it will be continued. It is impossible to abandon any frontier of an empire without establishing precedents, both of argument and of action.

An empire has no justification except its own existence. It is, therefore, pointless to ask (as is so often asked today) why America is "here" or "there." There can be no answer that is militarily, politically, intellectually, or morally satisfying. When Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., said recently that America's initial involvement in Vietnam was a mistake, he may or may not have been right. But when he went on to say that, once that engagement had been made, America could not withdraw, he was (although he might be horrified to have it put in this way) simply drawing attention to the facts of life of empire.

An empire is always open to the strongest attack where the arguments for its remaining seem to be the weakest. An empire is normally defending, not its heart, but its frontiers. By their nature, frontiers are difficult to defend, both in logic and in practice. A frontier is always dangerous. It is where interests meet, and may collide. It is where the claims of others seem to be strongest, and one's own claims most open to question. It is distant. It is costly and hazardous to defend. It is usually uncommonly messy. It its not surprising, therefore, that an empire is continually engaged in small wars or actions precisely where the arguments for disengagement are the most appealing. But this is the trap. Frontier wars are the inescapable moments of truth for an empire. By the time one is left defending the heart alone, the game is already lost.

An empire wastes treasure and life. There is nothing more apparently wasteful than the defense of far-distant frontiers. For long years Britain's civil officers and soldiers kept guard on the northwest frontier of India—bartering with the tribes for their loyalty and, when this was not successful, subduing them. The "waste" (in both action and inaction) was undeniable. But, as a result of their watch and only as a result of their watch, two huge empires, Britain and Russia, remained locked in peace where their interests threatened to collide most dangerously. That America is now "dissipating" her resources in small wars and actions around the world seems to me, therefore, a meaningless criticism.

Implicit in all this there remains what seems to me the most useful perspective which the idea of empire can offer. Americans—and this is the firmest conclusion that I have drawn from watching and listening to the current debate on American foreign policy—have not yet learned that foreign policy does not produce results and, what is more, is not intended to produce results.

The foreign policy of a country in the position which America now occupies can never be much more than a ceaseless attempt to stop six holes in a dike with only five fingers. This is what foreign policy is. There is no respite, for it is a fact of empires, as it is a fact of dikes, that the pressure on them is continuous and continual. No sooner has one stopped one hole than the water begins to trickle through elsewhere—as often as not, where one thought the dike was strongest. As Dean Rusk obliquely observed the other day, there are, in an average year, between 30 and 40 changes of government in the world—"and many of these, you can be sure, will run contrary to your expectations."

The only thing to do in this situation is to live with it, and sleep well at night.

But there is more to it than this. An empire with the worldwide responsibilities of America can never be certain where not only changes of government but changes in any of the existing circumstances may lucklessly involve her. She can never be certain that she has no involvement in a particular area until a threat has appeared there; and, when the threat appears, the calculations which must be rapidly made are full of imponderables. An empire can never make a tally of the extent of its commitments, or even establish any order of priority among its commitments.

All that is clear is that the empire is one, and that the effect of its actions in one of its parts is likely to produce incidental reactions in all of its other parts. An empire does not exist apart from the will at the center—in the metropolitan country—and that will cannot be shown to be weak in one area, without its being assumed to be weak elsewhere.

At the beginning of the fifth century the Britons, harassed by the invading barbarians, sent a desperate appeal to Rome for the help and protection of the empire. Honorius' reply—and it is one of the most melancholy documents in history—was that the empire no longer had the strength or the will to protect them, that they must fend for themselves.

Within a few years, Britain had slipped into the dark ages—but, of course, not Britain alone. Steadily and selectively, Rome continued to withdraw from her frontiers, as the barbarians realized that the empire had lost its will, until Roman civilization could survive only obscurely in Byzantium, and Rome herself, the nearest man has come to establishing a successful world order, fell forever. None of this, in the early days, was inevitable. But once the process had begun, it could not be arrested.

Save That Tree and Save

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, not too many years ago woodsmen leveled forests with abandon, not realizing the value of trees in checking erosion, building up watersheds, protecting against high winds, and providing recreational pursuits. Today the wise farmer and lumberman alike utilize selective cutting as a sound business practice while complying with conservation principles.

The advantages of selective cutting are described in an article by Dick Denison in the June 12 issue of the Pennsylvania Farmer. Based upon the experience of a resident of the 22d Congressional District, it contains helpful suggestions which should be given national attention. For this reason I place in the RECORD at this point:

WEED OUT THAT WOODLOT NOW—GROWTH RATE WAS DOUBLED AND TIMBER QUALITY BOOSTED UNDER THIS TIMBER MANAGEMENT PROGRAM

(By Dick Denison)

If I were going to write a book on woodlot management I would title it, "Weeding My Onions," says Cambria County woodlot owner J. V. Hammond.

"All there is to sound timber management is keeping the weeds out, and the timber crop thinned and properly spaced," emphasizes this lumberman.

Why bother with a woodlot? A well-managed woodlot will produce between 200 and 400 board feet of timber per year per acre," Cambria County district forester O. L. "Jim" Mulhollen tells us.

"But if you clear cut an acre of woodland, the most timber you can hope to harvest is 4,000 board feet. It'll be another 50 years before you cut another 1,000 feet," reminds Hammond.

It doesn't take a mathematician to figure out the economics of selective cutting over clear cutting. If you cut 300 board feet each year over a 50-year span that figures out to 15,000 board feet in any man's book—a plus of 11,000 feet over the clear-cut method.

"In my estimation a properly managed woodlot is an insurance policy for a farmer," says Jim Mulhollen. "It has a certain value each year. A farmer could work in a few truck loads of logs in the winter and add to his income. Or if he needs lumber for a repair or construction job he has it readily available."

One dairy farmer we visited recently was able to slash his construction costs for a new dairy barn by $100 per cow through the use of home-grown timber.

An Elk County farmer figures he averages about $300 a year extra income by tree farming his 66 acres of woodland. He regards the extra income as just plain "gravy" because he is improving his woods, utilizing farm equipment and labor in slack periods and because he enjoys working in the woods.

"Every time I get a couple of hours," he says, "I go into the woods. It's just like a vacation."

A Penn State graduate in Adams County, who started farming on a shoestring, credits his tree farm with getting him off to a good start. He received $2,000 recently for a selective harvest of sawtimber which left his woods in better condition than it was before cutting. He also saves several hundred dollars a year by heating his home with wood. Periodically, he sells pulpwood.

HOW DO YOU WEED THE "ONIONS?"

The "weeds" in Hammond's "onion patch" or tree farm are undesirable species of trees competing for available nutrients. The thinning or weeding process does the same for a woodlot as cultivation does for a field of corn.

First step is to remove all undesirable species and remove all but the top wood. Tops may be left to rot as they add plant food and organic matter to the forest floor. In addition, they keep deer away from young seedlings sprouting up among them. The cull trees can be sold as pulpwood, firewood, or rough lumber.

After removing the undesirable timber, thin out the high value species so they do not compete for available nutrients. Plant

population per acre counts in woodlots just as it does in corn.

Desirable trees in the Hammond Tree Farm include cherry, maples, and tulip poplar. Cherry and poplar predominate.

"The best cherry grows at elevations of 1,500 to 2,500. Our average elevation is 2,000 feet," says J. V.'s forester, John Zimmerman.

At that moment, J. V. pointed to a cherry tree with at least two topnotch 8-foot logs in it: "That tree is worth $15 on the stump today. Five or 6 years ago it was junk. We thinned out this stand and released the growth potential of this tree," emphasizes Hammond.

Bill Corlett of the Department of Forests and Waters tells us that the cost of thinning an acre of timber runs in the neighborhood of $3 to $4. It involves not only the removal of undesirable trees but also the removal of those desirable species which are too close together.

The area of Hammond's woodlot which we visited looked like a park, except for tops of old cuttings. Tulip poplars and cherry trees reach majestically toward the sky. And plenty of sunshine filters down through the open forest canopy.

"Trees need sun and space to grow," reminds Hammond. "By thinning out the woodlot, we allow the sun to reach young seedlings.

This type of thinning is called opening the canopy, forestry experts tell us. This open canopy creates a wet floor on the forest floor which acts as a sponge. It will hold 80 to 90 percent of a 3-inch rainfall. A closed canopy creates a dry forest floor and increases rainfall runoff.

In one 140-acre tract where Hammond "opened the canopy" 8 years ago, growth rings in the stumps of recently felled logs show the growth rate of these trees was doubled. This is known as releasing the growth potential of a tree.

Help is available. Free forestry advice is available to small woodlot owners in the State. The Pennsylvania Department of Forests and Waters employs 50 foresters scattered throughout the State. These men devote some of their time helping farm woodlot owners to practice good forestry management. If you need the help of one of these men write to State Forester, Department of Forests and Waters, Education Building, Harrisburg. These foresters can show you which trees to remove to achieve greatest growth potential from your woodlot.

Also, by following their advice your woodlot might qualify for the American tree farm program. A tree farm is an area of privately owned, taxpaying land of at least 5 acres dedicated to continuing growth of forest crops for man's use. Further details on this program may be obtained from Pennsylvania Tree Farm Committee, State Street Building, Harrisburg, Pa.

Modern tree farming has been paying off for J. V. Hammond. You have available the same services to you as he had. Why not develop a side income from your woodlot?

Foreign Aid Is an Iceberg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the July 12, 1965, Indianapolis Star describes the recent study of foreign aid figures made by our colleague, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. PASSMAN]. Foreign aid is, indeed, an "iceberg," and like icebergs, it is the part below the surface that is most dangerous.

The editorial follows:

FOREIGN AID IS AN ICEBERG

If you think foreign aid amounts to only $3 or $4 billion a year, look again.

A list of 15 budget items has been drawn up by Representative OTTO PASSMAN, of Louisiana, chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee and a long-time critic of foreign aid.

The 15 items on PASSMAN's list, for the year now beginning, total $7.5 billion. This is more than twice the $3.4 billion for the item which is labeled "foreign assistance." It embraces economic aid and "mutual security." The other 14 items, ranging from $4 million for the Inter-American Highway to $1.6 billion for the agricultural commodities Public Law 480 program, are scattered through the budget, buried in the activities of various departments and agencies.

The effect of foreign aid on the balance-of-payments problem often is belittled on the grounds that a major portion of foreign aid money actually is spent in this country. This argument refers to the identified foreign aid, the $3.4 billion item in the list. It is interesting to note that most of the rest of the items, accounting for more than half of the $4.1 billion of additional foreign aid, are all spent outside the country.

In addition to this $7.5 billion of requests for the current fiscal year, PASSMAN said, there are unspent funds from prior years' authority totaling $10.6 billion. This means that if all the current requests are approved there will be a grand total of $18.1 billion in spending authority available this year for foreign aid activities.

There are also other items. PASSMAN called attention to a recent appropriation of $1 billion for the International Monetary Fund which is to be applied to the fiscal year which ended June 30. And $4 billion a year is being paid for interest on the portion of the national debt which financed foreign aid spending of previous years.

Add that $4 billion to the $7.5 billion of current requests and the actual true cost to the taxpayers for foreign aid for this year will be $11.5 billion.

More and more taxpayers are beginning to protest that the results of foreign aid are not worth the publicized cost of $3 to $4 billion a year. The results fall a lot farther short of being worth $11.5 billion a year.

Biting the Helping Hand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following column by Arthur Krock which appeared in the July 13, 1965, edition of the New York Times. It should have the attention of all the Members.

It very carefully spells out the problem of our President "biting" the helping hand of the Republicans in the House on civil rights legislation. I commend it to your attention:

[From the New York Times, July 13, 1965]

IN THE NATION: BITING A HELPING HAND

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, July 12.—The principal spokesman for the House Republicans on equal rights legislation, Representatives FORD of Michigan, and MCCULLOCH of Ohio, were justified in the resentment they expressed today of President Johnson's adverse comment on their substitute voting protection bill. The Republican version, unlike the administration measure approved by the House, provided nationwide instead of regional machinery against Negro discrimination. And in other respects it met the basic obligation of a political opposition to offer constructive alternatives to proposals of the party in power.

VULNERABLE TO RETORT

Moreover, in attacking the House minority leaders for responsibly discharging this obligation, the President left himself vulnerable to their retort that in effect Mr. Johnson was "advocating one-party government." For if the leader of the party in power is to determine which alternative proposals by the opposition are responsible performances of its function and which are not, the net is a one-party system.

But the President's assumption of that role in this instance was unwise for more reasons than that. He is indebted to the Senate and House leadership, especially Senator DIRKSEN and Representative MCCULLOCH for the passage of the civil rights bill of 1964 over Democratic resistance. He is indebted to the same House Republican leadership, whose substitute he attacked as a measure "which would have seriously damaged and diluted the guarantee of the right to vote for all Americans," for the suggestion by which Congress recently went on record in support of his conduct up to that point of the war in Vietnam. It was Representative FORD who proposed that Mr. Johnson's decision to use an additional $700 million of funds already at his disposal in the existing appropriations for the Department of Defense be made special legislation to dramatize this support. And there are other pending foreign and domestic problems in which the President must rely on a bipartisan approach.

WIDENING THE BREACH

This cannot be assured by the House Republican group of superliberals who on several occasions saved President Kennedy and himself from defeat by deep Democratic division on vital items in their legislative programs. Mr. Johnson will often require the help of the much greater percentage of the Republicans who vote with their leadership. To widen this breach by putting his political weight against their support of a constructive substitute for the administration's voting rights bill is hardly the way to induce them to think of Mr. Johnson as the President of the United States when they should, instead of as primarily a political enemy.

It may not even be the way, if such was the intent, to widen the breach between the Republican leaders of the House and Senate that appeared on the voting rights legislation. At election time they have the common interest of increasing the party membership in Congress. Furthermore, the President's attack on the House Republicans was implied praise for Senate Minority Leader DIRKSEN, because, instead of offering a substitute for the Administration measure, he chose to associate himself in drafting and revising it.

But since this implied praise of DIRKSEN was in the framework of the President's charge that the substitute of the House Republican leaders "would have seriously damaged * * * the guarantee of the right to vote for all Americans," this is more likely to

narrow the House-Senate leadership breach than widen and deepen it.

However, the fact that the Republican retort to the President was left for FORD and MCCULLOCH to make, illustrates the weakness of the Republican Party. Perhaps this weakness tempted Mr. Johnson to deviate from his assiduous courtship of Republicans, together with the other groups required to further his objective of government by "consensus." Lacking an acknowledged national leader constantly active in the political interest of the Republican Party, and also the unity of Senate-House leadership on this particular matter of a voting rights bill, the party voice in reply was necessarily limited to the two Republicans in the direct fire of the President's criticism.

THE PITY OF IT ALL

That is a pity, because, as the Ford-McCulloch statement disclosed, Mr. Johnson had made himself a vulnerable target to a concerted Republican broadside on a national scale. It is quite true, as House leaders noted, that the President's conversion to militancy on equal Negro rights is a rather recent manifestation. Also, the pattern of the administration bill miraculously excludes Texas and Cook County, Ill., where Negro and/or white discrimination has not been exactly uncommon. And the measure could permit the election of candidates by invalid votes in seven States.

All of these defects were absent from the Ford-McCulloch substitute.

The Real Alabama—Part XXVII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the State of Alabama is blessed with many outstanding educational institutions, one of these being the University of Alabama, founded in 1831 and located in Tuscaloosa.

Dr. Frank A. Rose, the distinguished president, points out the outstanding growth and expansion of the university and his 10-year master plan in a recent report to the board of trustees of the university.

This report appeared in the July-August issue of the Alabama Alumni News and is submitted herewith. I commend it for thoughtful study by the readers of the RECORD:

UNIVERSITY, ALA.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES,
University of Alabama.

GENTLEMEN: I am delighted to present to the board of trustees the President's report on the activities of the University of Alabama for the academic year 1964–65. Within recent years the university has seen splendid progress, but this past year has been the best one. It has been a year of good teaching and research by our faculty, a splendid response on the part of our students, and the continued development of our academic programs. Substantial increases in financial support from all sources have been most encouraging. The university has surged forward with important research, new instructional programs, and new service projects. All of these are the mark of a good university.

I want to use this means to express to the trustees, the administrative officers, the faculty, and the students my appreciation for the solid support and splendid efforts which all have made toward achieving our common goal of excellence.

I am furnishing you with edited reports from all of the divisions of the university which will reveal to you the immensity of our programs and our needs for the future. Today, with your approval, I am announcing a 10-year master plan for the total University in Tuscaloosa, Birmingham, and Huntsville that will see us spend $75 million on physical facilities and libraries, starting immediately. The remarkable fact about this is that the funds are available to us through the State bond issue, Federal matching funds, Federal agency gifts, and debt retirement loans. This development will allow us by 1975 to have 15,000 students on the main compus, 6,000 on the campus in Birmingham, and 5,000 on the campus in Huntsville. This is the proposed full-time enrollment and does not take into account an additional 15,000 part-time students in the extension division. This will give us an overall student increase of more than 50 percent.

I would like to give you a general report on the overall development. The passage of the $116 million bond issue by the Legislature of the State of Alabama and its approval by the Governor gave the University of Alabama the needed base from which it should be possible to assure the growth in physical plant necessary to care for the required expansion during the next 5 to 10 years. A part of the $10,838,000 provided by the bond issue to the University of Alabama, other than the medical center, can be used to attract other matching funds. University revenue bond issues, gift development programs, and additional grants to be applied for will supplement State funds. It is anticipated that these resources, when added to the State funds, should provide for the construction of buildings and facilities on the main campus and at the centers valued at $38,160,700 during this period.

Almost half of the funds or about $16 million will be used to expand and modernize classrooms and laboratories. This is the paramount need of the university and will enable continued expansion of its educational offerings and meeting the demands for larger enrollments. Among the areas which will be cared for with new or modernized facilities will be mathematics, psychology, the Huntsville campus, biology, physics, geology, chemistry, the libraries, commerce, journalism, radio and television, music, English and romance languages.

Additional facilities must also be provided to care for the space needs of those functions which support the teaching processes of the university. Approximately $10 million of the total will be spent in these areas. An addition to the administration building will be built to provide for the space needs of the central administrative offices and a large auditorium and convocation hall, long known as the fieldhouse, providing a seating capacity of 15,000 will be started July 1. A new student union and a new student health facility are planned to keep abreast of the needs of the rapidly expanding student body.

Another $14 million will be spent to provide residence hall and dining hall facilities for the students, faculty and staff. Additional residence hall and dining facilities must be provided for both men and women. Adequate apartments need to be constructed for students, faculty, and staff. New fraternity and sorority houses are also planned. All of these revenue producing facilities will be financed by loans repaid from pledged revenue.

An additional $2 million will be used to enlarge the capacity of the central heating plant, provide additional electrical transmission lines and for additional facilities at the Research Institute at Huntsville. All of these are badly needed.

The availability of $9,800,000 from the educational bond issue will permit us to move forward immediately on the first phase of our long-range plan of development at the University of Alabama Medical Center. We will, for the first time in 20 years, be able to construct new educational facilities, thereby permitting us to increase our classes in medicine, dentistry, and in the paramedical fields in order to better serve the health needs of Alabama. The State bond issue, when matched with Federal funds, will result in a total building program of $28,300,000, depending upon the most favorable Federal matching ratios. It is our plan to allocate 73 percent or $20,500,000 to instructional buildings, 23 percent or $6,600,000 to hospital facilities, and 4 percent or $1,200,000 to a research building. A $3 million building program funded by Housing and Home Finance Agency loans is planned for student housing and related facilities. This new construction totaling $31,300,000 will greatly assist the medical center to expand and improve its programs for the benefit of the people of Alabama.

With our graduating more than 2,000 alumni each year, and with additional students, it is necessary we expand our stadium here in Tuscaloosa with another 20,000 seats. We will complete the stadium bowl by building high-rise end-zone seats at a cost of $1 million, which will be paid from the additional seat sales.

The 18-percent increase in our appropriation will allow us to increase faculty salaries to a more competitive position with other universities in our region, but it will not allow us to compete for as many top scholars in our country as we would like to have. We are fortunate in that we have been bringing a few a year for the last 5 year, and we are now making a national and international impact on many fields of knowledge. More than 539 books and learned papers have been published during the past year. These have been increasing annually at a rapid rate where 5 years ago this development within the university was negligible. It has been a good year, and more than ever I view our horizons as unlimited. Our staff and faculty have shown the ability, the commitment, and the drive to accomplish great things. Our driving ambition is to become the center of excellence for the entire South and a university of national prominence.

Respectfully submitted.

FRANK A. ROSE,
President.

Hairdressers Thank Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Mandan, N. Dak., Pioneer, of June 29, 1965:

HAIRDRESSERS THANK CONGRESS

WASHINGTON.—Congress was not only requested to eliminate the excise tax on cosmetics, but, for once, every Member of the Senate and House is getting an official letter of thanks from a local affiliate of the National Hairdressers & Cosmetologists Association.

"We do not believe that people thank their Representatives in Congress enough when they do get bills passed and are only interested in petitioning for assistance through lobbyists," said Leonard Benner of

Bellevue, Wash., national president of NHCA, the 70,000 member association of professional cosmetologists in beauty salons.

"We have written complimentary letters to President Johnson and also to the members of the two committees responsible for the passage of the bill," said Benner. "We want them to know that our patrons also appreciate this elimination of taxes and that cosmetologists are sincere, courteous, appreciative citizens."

The North Dakota Hairdressers & Cosmetologists Association of which Raymond Grismer is president, is affiliated with the National Hairdressers & Cosmetologists Association.

Yugoslavia Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Serbian National Committee is one of the effective spokesmen for the oppressed peoples of Communist Yugoslavia. In its information bulletin of June 1965 there was a brief report on present-day conditions in Yugoslavia which I place in the RECORD at this point. It is well for us to keep in mind that peaceful coexistence has not produced freedom in Yugoslavia. Tito, like any Communist, is merely a leopard that does not change its spots:

YUGOSLAVIA TODAY

An uninformed man, observing the frequency and luxury of Tito's extravagant trips to many Communist and non-Communist countries, always exclusively for Communist profit and against the United States, noting the activities and purposes of Tito's political and diplomatic representatives, reading only the headlines in Tito's numerous newspapers, could very easily conclude that Yugoslavia today is a very successful country in all realms of activity, that Yugoslavians have very happy lives, and that they enjoy higher living and cultural standards than any other nation, including the United States. Such a conclusion, however, would be a gross error.

THE TRUTH ABOUT YUGOSLAVIA: YUGOSLAVIA'S DEBT

Tito's continual propaganda in all areas of activity, notwithstanding, the realities in Yugoslavia are very discouraging. We know that Tito received over $60 billion in foreign aid from the West and that for a 20-year period, as long as he has tyrannized the peoples of Yugoslavia, he has used unpaid labor; yet he has not succeeded in a postwar renewal in Yugoslavia commensurate with the help he has received. With the exception of Belgrade and other large cities such as Zagreb in Croatia and Lubljana in Slovenia and the narrow belt along the Adriatic Shore, which are used for propaganda and as places for diplomatic representatives and tourists to live, deplorable economic conditions exist. Most of the factories which were built with American help in the first place are today closed or work below minimum capacities; bridges exist, but, for the most part, are not used; railroads are built, but the trains don't run; American built fertilizer factories exist, but there is no fertilizer for the farms; and so on. Why these conditions? In order to satisfy those who gave him aid, Tito built as much as possible in the cheapest, most primitive manner possible, using the rest of the funds he received for himself and his Politbureau's work in the interests of international communism. To try to find any other answer is to delude oneself and others. To better understand Tito's diplomatic gangsterism, one must also note that, as impoverished as the Yugoslavian peoples are, Tito and the Politbureau of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, besides giving ideological and diplomatic help to African and Asian nations, gave them a great deal of money and material help, much of which had originally been obtained from the West to help Yugoslavians. Following orders from Moscow, Tito worked for Communist ideals and goals to stop American influence in Africa and Asia.

TITO'S STATE DEBT IS $1,100,000,000

Yugoslavia is a country of about 250,000 square miles with a population of about 19 million people, more than 50 percent of whom live on the farms. But these are not American farms. In comparison to American farms, Yugoslavian farms are primitive and far behind. Tito's "factories" and "industries" must import their basic elements. They only assemble imported parts.

Port Washington People Put Their Stamp of Approval on Enlarged Post Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, back in the early days of our country, a barn raising was the signal for what neighbors there were, to pitch in, and create a building which would, in the long run, benefit the whole community. Rarely is such spirit shown in the modern world.

A sterling example of the fact that this spirit has survived is to be found in the cooperative efforts of the free enterprise system and the local and Federal Government in the opening of the new addition to the Port Washington, N.Y., Post Office. Here was a perfect example of how these three diverse elements can be brought together successfully and creatively, to achieve a result thousands of municipalities would have envied.

The Chamber of Commerce of Port Washington pitched in with a fervor and dedication reminiscent of old. The dedication of the post office enlargement was a product of the efforts of men of the caliber of Charles Shapiro, chairman of the planning committee; H. Clinton Hegeman, president of the Port Washington Chamber of Commerce; and myriads of other devoted and public-spirited citizens.

Even the inclement weather that threatened to mar the festivities could not dampen the spirits of these men nor their memorable program. Many came nonetheless—all knew it was worth it when they left.

Postmaster Walter Cuminskey and his staff also played an important role in planning the event. They will inherit the building—the symbol of the expansion and importance of Port Washington. Theirs is a trust which they have already proven they richly deserve.

Fulbright-Hays Latin American Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to bring to the attention of this body an educational and cultural exchange program in the Department of State which was initiated with Latin America 25 years ago, in which university students and faculty conduct exchanges with other American Republics.

This program was established under the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations, signed in Buenos Aires in 1936. It is the Fulbright Act of 1946 and the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948. The Congress initiated similar exchange activities on a worldwide basis. This program was later broadened in scope through subsequent congressional legislation and is now carried out under the authority of the Fulbright-Hays Act of 1961 through the esteemed Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, of Arkansas, and my esteemed colleague from Ohio, Congressman WAYNE HAYS.

The general goal of this program is to assist in the development of friendly, sympathetic relations between our country and our sister nations in the Americas. As an academic activity, this program engenders understanding through communication on the highest levels. In 1964, under the Latin American program, a total of 3,179 persons received grants, 2,732 were grants to Latin Americans to visit the United States and 447 were for U.S. grantees to travel in Latin America.

I am proud to announce that Mr. Thomas Skola, of Parma, Ohio, whose family resides at 6018 Charles Avenue, is a recipient of a grant, through the Fulbright-Hays Act, to study in Santiago, Chile, at the University of Chile.

Thomas is a recent graduate of the University of Rochester where he was senior class president and captain of the University of Rochester wrestling team. His major during his college career was political science where he participated in the honors program.

Thomas graduated from John Adams High School, located in the 21st District of Ohio, which I am proud to serve. He was equally active during his high school career.

During his high school and college careers, Tom was actively interested in Latin American affairs and became fluent in Spanish, which will now be put to good use.

During the 10-day orientation period in Washington, D.C., in which Thomas and his colleagues participated, the State Department and Government officials provided briefings, lectures, and discussions on various facets of Latin America and Chile affairs, which would be useful during his 1-year stay.

From our discussion, it is my understanding that as a student in Chile, Thomas will receive $170 a month which

will be paid in counterpart funds. He will also receive a set amount each year to provide for his books at the University of Chile.

I am proud to note that Thomas is 1 of only 150 persons in the United States to participate in this Latin American student exchange program. I am confident that after having met several of the Fulbright-Hays recipients, like Tom Skola of my district, who are to study in Latin America, that our country will be well represented during their period of study at the various universities currently involved in this program.

I wish to extend my congratulations to Thomas' family who must be very proud of their son's academic endeavors.

Aid for Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's new education proposal which he unveiled at the 103d annual convention of the National Education Association should be welcome news to every person in this country. Particularly two groups will be encouraged by the President's message—the Negro teachers who have been ousted from their jobs as a result of school desegregation, and the thousands of children who are receiving an inadequate education because of the lack of qualified teachers in their communities.

The New York Times editorial of July 5, 1965, expresses my sentiments of President Johnson's new education proposal. "The establishment of a National Teachers Corps to assist hard-pressed and often inadequately prepared teachers in slum schools could hasten the renaissance of urban public education. Experienced teachers with a sense of mission thus would offer infusion of knowledge and enthusiasm where it is most urgently needed; teachers in training might, not unlike interns and residents in the medical profession, acquire their skill in the emergency wards of American education."

I believe we should give full-fledged support to the National Teachers Corps proposal and all that goes with it. This is the type of proposal which will benefit this country as a whole, and not just a small segment of it.

At this time, I include this New York Times editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD:

EMERGENCY AID FOR EDUCATION

President Johnson's new education proposals should be viewed as emergency measures. His plan to give professional training to Negro teachers who are ousted from their jobs as a result of school desegregation in the South and to establish a Federal job placement agency for them could alleviate an already serious human tragedy. The establishment of a National Teachers Corps to assist hard pressed and often inadequately prepared teachers in slum schools could hasten the renaissance of urban public education. Experienced teachers with a sense of mission thus would offer an infusion of knowledge and enthusiasm where it is most urgently needed; teachers-in-training might, not unlike interns and residents in the medical profession, acquire their skill in the emergency wards of American education.

The fact that a program such as the National Teachers Corps has been discussed in Congress for some time should be an asset in translating proposal into action. It may help to avoid part of the confusion which attended the creation of some educational antipoverty programs. As the corps is created, professional wisdom and diplomacy will be required to achieve effective partnership between its members and the local school staffs. Nothing could harm the program more than hostility between locally and nationally sponsored personnel.

As for the vital upgrading and placement of southern Negro teachers, the Federal Government must make it unmistakably clear that it will not permit such measures to be used by Southern States as a device to expel and evict Negroes for reasons of race. Naturally, those surplus teachers who prefer to come to the Northern cities, which are actively recruiting qualified Negro educators, should be aided. But it is important to the true desegregation of the southern schools that white and Negro teachers learn to work side by side in integrated faculties. The President's proposals should be turned into an instrument to speed, not to retard, that process.

Barbs of the "Intellectuals"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, to those critics of the Johnson administration, I recommend an excellent column in the July 1, 1965, issue of the New York Journal-American.

Written by Robert Spivack, the article points out some of the fallacies in the comments made by critics of President Johnson.

Spivack notes that the recent speech by Presidential Aid Jack Valenti, in which he delivered a glowing insight into the many facets of Lyndon Johnson, was something that needed saying.

I commend the Spivack column and include it in full in the Appendix of the RECORD:

BARBS OF THE "INTELLECTUALS"

(By Robert G. Spivack)

WASHINGTON. Jack Valenti, President Johnson's special assistant, has said something that has long needed saying about L.B.J. but that only he, in his unique relationship with the Chief Executive, could say with such authority.

Many writers, Valenti said, have failed to capture the full spirit of the man. He singled out no one; perhaps that is a chore for others. But, said Valenti, speaking in Boston, appropriately enough:

"It is as if the observer sees but one side of him, the other side dimly glimpsed." Valenti went on the describe the Chief Executive as a sensitive man, a cultivated man, a warm-hearted and extraordinary man.

No President in recent years, not even President Eisenhower, has suffered more cruel barbs at the hands of those who fancy themselves intellectuals than has Johnson. I do not think this is true of those who are genuinely intellectual; that is, original creative thinkers, those who approach individuals and problems with open minds and clear heads.

But it is the case with those who suffer that intellectual malaise—the overdeveloped mind and the underdeveloped heart, those who are for the masses in general but who hate most people in particular; whose personal relationships are often unsteady and unkind.

In many ways the bitter outpouring by self-described intelectuals reminds me of the way businessmen behaved in the thirties towards Franklin D. Roosevelt. They owed him their very lives and existence, but they hated him. They did not want to acknowledge their debts. They refused to admit that their much-vaunted talk about free enterprise was so often dependent on exploitation of public resources, that frequently they existed on Government subsidy.

The more he put them on their feet, the greater became their estrangement until there arrived a time when F.D.R. was "the enemy."

Now some of those who should know much better are reacting to President Johnson in the same way. Dogmatic and doctrinaire, they are faulting L.B.J. on foreign affairs because he does not understand foreigners or the aspirations of nationalists or the need for social reform.

In many instances they will not acknowledge that totalitarianism of the Left constitutes just as much a threat to intellectual freedom as totalitarianism of the Right; that he is protecting their interests by his course in southeast Asia.

In the myths they have created about Mao Tse-tung and Chinese communism they have forgotten all about Stalinism, or about Arthur Koestler's "Darkness at Noon," or how China's intelligentsia fare on the mainland.

And in their self-delusion they have lost sight of the differences between pacifists and conscientious objection as against the Peiping pacifists who believe Mao has a mission to rule Asia.

Every President has had to endure shortsighted critics, those who are self-seeking, those who have special interests, and those who secretly feel that they would make better chief executives than whoever it is that emerges as "The People's Choice."

Felix Frankfurter once advised F.D.R. to create an opposition. Why? So that the critics could view the alternatives and see how lucky they are.

Peace Corps Community Development in Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I would liek to take this opportunity to call our colleagues' attention to an article which recently appeared in the Yonkers, N.Y. Herald Statesman concerning the significant contribution Miss Mary Louise Wazeter, of Hastings-on-Hudson, is making to the people of Honduras as a Peace Corps volunteer.

This article describes one facet of what is known as community development. This term is often difficult to explain, however. Basically, it is helping other people help themselves. Briefly, a volunteer enters a village and helps the villagers organize and decide upon projects they would like to undertake as a community. Then the volunteer helps them execute the project and obtain such governmental and other assistance as may be necessary. Miss Wazeter accurately described one of its goals when she said that community development programs "bring people together toward a common goal."

The projects which may be involved in community development programs are many and varied. They range from the construction of a new or improved road so that a farmer can take his produce to market to projects to improve health education and nutrition, such as Miss Wazeter's program.

At present, there are 44 Peace Corps community development programs in 14 Latin American countries. They are programs in which a high school graduate or a liberal arts major with little or no previous technical training can make a significant contribution.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the following article is another example of the fine work the Peace Corps is doing overseas:

[From the (Yonkers, N.Y.) Herald Statesman, July 8, 1965]

ZAZA SHOWS WHAT THE PEACE CORPS CAN DO

(By Ann E. Willis)

HASTINGS-ON-HUDSON.—There's a Hastings girl living right in the middle of Central America's Honduras and loving every minute of it.

She's Mary Louise Wazeter of 12 Washington Avenue, a Wellesley graduate who 2 years ago traded her cocktail-identity card for an adobe stove in what urban provincials would call "the middle of nowhere."

Known as Zaza to her American friends, the vivacious 23-year-old is now home on leave. But in 2 weeks, she'll be back at Siquatepeque ready to take up her Peace Corps duties where she left off 2 months ago.

Her job is labeled "community development," which can mean almost anything. Zaza takes it to mean involving people with their own welfare.

"If I do nothing else," she said, "I want to leave knowing that I have helped them to understand that the use of their own labor is profitable. They're so used to only political promises at election time."

"Maria" as the Hondurans call her, said it's been easier to begin projects in the outlying vilages, some of them 8 hours away from her home base over soaring trails.

The main reason for this, she said, is that the people in Siquatepeque first scoffed at the idea of a mere girl being able to teach them anything.

The rural areas were far more willing to be led. But the town came around when she showed up with a vaccine to immunize the people from diptheria, whooping cough and tetanus.

"My main job in this was organizing and finding transportation," she said. The Honduran Government gave her the vaccine which was given by the town's only medical officer, a practical nurse.

"But as in this," said Zaza, "my main work seems to consist of conning someone to give something to someone else. I spend almost all my time just talking."

But it must pay off, for in 18 months, she's begun a CARE milk project—"the children are terribly undernourished," she said, begun radio schools and even figured in the building of a permanent medical dispensary for Siquatepeque.

All these programs are important for community development because they bring people together toward a common goal, Zaza said.

Although Sequatepeque has a Protestant missionary hospital of about 14 beds, it hasn't been adequate for 34,000 people who live in the area.

Hence, Zaza's push for a dispensary. Trips to the capital—Tequcigalpa—brought cooperation from the government. But there's little medicine—there just isn't any to give.

So Zaza has a project while home on leave. Medicine to cure diarrhea and other main child killers in Honduras will be her's by the time she returns.

But medicine to cure is one thing. The cause of sickness is another. For that she has an idea, too.

The Honduran's diet is practically void of animal protein. The Institute for Nutrition of Central America and Panama has come up with a product to help. It's called Incaparina and is made from carbohydrates and vegetable protein that are combined to turn into animal protein.

Sounds simple. But gaining its acceptance by the people is the problem, Zaza said. And the conservative manufacturers won't begin production until they are satisfied there's a market.

"What the program needs is several thousand dollars to set up experimental groups in seven areas of Honduras," she said.

The Peace Corps volunteers will take before and after pictures.

"If we can raise the funds," Zaza said, "the program will run about 4 months."

Along with Incaparina—which cost 6 cents, a penny a serving—the volunteers plan to teach nutrition to all mothers.

If the program can be initiated, Zaza plans to stay longer than her term of service, which will end this fall.

Is Profit Without Honor?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 30, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, the American free enterprise system is under constant attack, not only from the evil forces of the Communist conspiracy, but, unfortunately, all too often from segments of our own society whose lack of understanding leads them to voice suspicions in loud vocal charges that "business" is bad, and the bigger the business, the worse it is.

To some in our country big business apparently is synonymous with corruption and greed, and is completely detestable. To them the very word "profit" is accursed.

In view of this, I believe we might all well heed the words of Mr. Lawrence Litchfield, Jr., as set forth in the July 1965 edition of "The Western Girl Report"—official publication of Western Girl, Inc., a firm which furnishes part-time office help.

The excerpt of Mr. Litchfield's remarks follows:

Is profit without honor? In light of attacks on some U.S. companies lately, we thought you'd be interested in these words from Alcoa's articulate president, Lawrence Litchfield, Jr., before the Evansville, Ind., Chamber of Commerce.

"Profit is a motor which powers growth. The bigger our economy grows, the bigger motor it takes to keep it growing.

"Only profitable companies grow—only profitable companies hire people—only profitable companies can raise our standard of living—only profitable companies can make nonprofit activities possible.

"But most important of all—the profit-seeking philosophy has been the principal guardian of the most sacred of all human values: the value for which it was originated. That value is man's right to free choice. That value is freedom.

"Let us continue to bear in mind the material and moral consequences of what we do. For profits are not without honor. They are the life-giving seeds of all our freedoms."

Amending Fisheries Loan Act

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of S. 998, a bill to amend section 4 of the Fish and Wildlife Act of 1956, as amended. Presently, section 4 of the Fish and Wildlife Act of 1956, as amended, authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to make loans for the purposes of financing and refinancing the replacement, repairs, and maintenance of commercial fishing vessels. It also authorizes the making of loans for research into the basic problems of the fisheries.

Under the present authority of section 4 of the act, a loan can be made for a new or used commercial fishing vessel only when it is used as a replacement for a fishing vessel that is then operating in the fleet or is lost. S. 998 authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to make loans for, among other things, the purchase or construction of a commercial fishing vessel without regard to whether the vessel will replace an existing vessel.

Experience in administering this program during the past 8 years has shown that there is a definite need to broaden the scope of the fisheries loan program. In addition to the need to upgrade and modernize the commercial fishing vessel fleet which is the principal objective of this program, there is also a need to attract younger men to the fishing industry. S. 998 would help in making this possible.

Under this bill we could provide assistance in financing the purchase of a used vessel when the seller was interested in obtaining a larger, more modern vessel and could use the funds for a down-payment on the new vessel. It would enable a younger fisherman to come into the fishery. It would also assist the young fisherman who has a very poor or obsolete vessel to obtain one that might be considerably better when he cannot afford to buy a new vessel.

At the present time the fisherman with the older vessel cannot obtain a loan for replacement with a larger, more modern vessel because he is unable to find a purchaser who has a means of financing the purchase of the older vessel. If he sells it as a commercial fishing vessel, he will be ineligible for a loan under the fisheries loan fund program because he is not replacing a vessel that has actually left the fleet or is lost. Most such vessels are not easily adaptable to other uses.

I believe that this proposed legislation will result in a further modernization of the commercial fishing vessel fleet, while at the same time present an opportunity to attract younger people into the industry. As in the present case, the authority to make these loans would be limited by section 4 of the act to situations where there is evidence that the applicant was otherwise unable to obtain financial assistance on reasonable terms. In addition, we would require that the loan applicant demonstrate experience and ability in the operation of fishing vessels. This would provide assurance against persons with no experience or only marginal experience in the fisheries from using the loan program to enter the fishery.

I believe that this proposal will fill a gap in our present credit system and remove a major impediment to our efforts to modernize the commercial fishing vessel fleet.

It is anticipated that the additional loan applications which would be received under this proposal can be handled by the present staff and without an increase in the administrative expense limitation.

Thus, Mr. Speaker, as one who is from Boston and has some familiarity with the problems of our hard-pressed fishing industry, I am most happy to support S. 998 which will provide a much-needed boost to a declining but vital industry.

Communication of Secretary of Agriculture Freeman with Mr. George S. Moore, President, First National City Bank of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR CALLAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of the Members of the House to a letter which Secretary of Agriculture Freeman wrote to Mr. George S. Moore, president, First National City Bank of New York. This letter points out clearly that the proposed wheat program is in harmony with the goals of the Great Society. Farmers will receive seven-tenths of one cent more for wheat on a loaf of bread. This will be his first raise in 18 years. The Secretary's letter follows:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, July 9, 1965.

Mr. GEORGE S. MOORE,
President, First National City Bank,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. MOORE: Your July newsletter, which you devoted primarily to an attack on the Great Society farm program, has confused consumers, farmers, economists, and the public alike, each for different reasons.

The consumer, viewing your alarm in predicting as much as a 2-cent increase in the price of bread if the Great Society wheat certificate proposal is enacted, is struck by your sudden great sympathy for him. What has brought about this new overwhelming concern for the consumer? The price of bread in the past 18 years has increased by two-thirds, climing 8 cents a loaf, yet you have raised no objection. Eighteen years ago the farmer was getting 2.7 cents for the wheat in a 1-pound loaf of bread, and consumers were paying about 13 cents for the loaf. Today the farmer is getting the same 2.7 cents for the wheat, and consumers are paying 21 cents for that loaf of bread. So long as the farmer got no increase, you apparently felt no concern for the consumer.

The farmer is asking himself why are you trying to block any consideration for his needs. Does it mean that a bread price increase has your approval if the farmer does not get any part of it, but invites your attack if he is helped? He can only hope that not many other big, powerful financial institutions hold such attitudes.

The wheat certificate program means that the farmer would get 3.4 cents rather than only the 2.7 cents or less than he has received over the last 18 years for the wheat in a loaf of bread. The farmer knows this is very little to cover the increased costs he must pay like everyone else, and he believes the consumer will understand his needs.

The farmer is also puzzled by the assertion in your newsletter that the wheat farmer is well to do. A typical wheat farm in Kansas, for example, which depends on wheat for the primary source of income, provides the farm family a modest income at best.

Last year under the wheat certificate program enacted in 1964, a typical wheat farm netted about $4,200. If there had been no certificate program, the farm family would have netted less than $2,000. This farmer has an investment of at least $80,000. We estimate that the proposed program would increase the net return to about $4,800 a year—perhaps about as much as you pay a typist.

Would your bank, for example, be willing to loan a farmer the credit he needs to carry out his farming operation if you knew his net return would be less than $2,000? I doubt if it would, yet you seem to want to put the farmer in the position of reducing both his profits and his chances to obtain the credit he needs.

Your newsletter certainly must puzzle the agricultural economist just as it amuses the consumer and frightens the farmer. You ought to make it clear when you are "playing politics," and when you are making a serious economic analysis. Your July letter is sheer economic nonsense. You made the same alarmist predictions a year ago when the current certificate plan was enacted, and a year's experience has disproved every one of them.

In the first full year of operation with the wheat certificate program, bread prices have remained virtually the same as before the certificate program went into effect. In addition, profits earned by wheat users have increased, the cost of operating the program was $300 million less than in the previous fiscal year, and farmers earned $450 million more than would otherwise have been possible. The program also means that wheat will move at competitive market prices domestically and in world trade—a procedure you have long advocated but now totally ignore.

Finally, your assertion that the agricultural programs are inconsistent with the other Great Society programs of this administration, particularly the excise tax reduction and the poverty program, is a clever play on words, but it doesn't stand up under more than a passing glance. In the first place, there is no bread tax. Instead, the farmer will receive seven-tenths of a cent more for the wheat in a loaf of bread—his first raise in 18 years.

Instead of hindering the poverty program, as you claim, the new wheat program will make more funds available for Great Society programs like the food stamp plan which improves the diet of low-income families by boosting their food budget a third on the average.

I read your letter carefully and profit from it. Won't you please return to serious, carefully thoughtout articles and get out of "farm politics." Both the bank and the Nation will be better off.

Sincerely yours,

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN,
Secretary.

Provisional Voting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, during debate on the voting rights bill last Friday, I assured the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCCULLOCH] that I would place in the RECORD certain information regarding provisional voting in the State of Alabama. The following analysis, prepared by the Department of Justice, covers procedures for challenging votes in the six Southern States covered by section 4 of the Celler bill:

CHALLENGE PROCEDURE IN SIX SOUTHERN STATES COVERED BY SECTION 4

None of the six Southern States—Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, or Virginia—has an impounding procedure similar to that being proposed by Representative MCCULLOCH. However, each of these States does have some provision bearing on the problem. These provisions are as follows:

(1) Alabama: Section 185 of the Alabama constitution requires that voters, if challenged at the polls, must take an oath that they are qualified to vote. If they submit false information, they are subject to prosecution for perjury. Title 17, sections 188–190 implement this provision by providing for an oath in two instances: (1) if the prospective voter is challenged by another elector or (2) if the present prospective voter's name does not appear on the list of qualified voters prepared by the probate judge. If the voter refuses to take the oath, his name is written on his ballot and the ballot is "laid aside."

(2) Georgia: The Georgia code, title 34, section 628 allows for any person desiring to vote to be challenged by an elector of the county who must present his challenge to the board of electors for immediate consideration. If the challenge is pending at the time of

the vote, the person is permitted to vote but the word "challenged" is written across the back of his ballot. Attached to each ballot is a certificate which all persons sign, stating that they are qualified to vote. Where there is no challenge this certificate is detached from the ballot after it has been marked. However, when the challenge is pending this certificate is not detached and it therefore serves to identify the individual ballot.

See Georgia election code, title 34, sections 628(c), 1302, and 1314(d).

(3) Louisiana: The Louisiana challenge procedure is similar to the Georgia procedure. Under La. Rev. Stat. 18:580, if a voter is challenged at the polls, he is to be examined under oath by the election officials regarding his qualifications. He must establish his identity and right to vote by affidavit of two qualified electors of the ward or precinct, which are to be placed in the ballot box, presumably attached to the ballot. A State attorney general's opinion indicates that the election commissioner would attach a memorandum to the challenged ballot, giving the name of the voter, challenger, and the ground of the challenge.

(4) Mississippi: The Mississippi procedure is similar to that of Alabama. See Mississippi code sections 3129 and 3244. At primary elections, any member of the party can challenge a voter and force him to take an oath that he is "in accord" with party principles as declared by the State party convention. In general elections, election managers may examine voters under oath regarding their qualifications. Perjury penalties are attached to false swearing. However, as in Alabama there is no provision for impounding and unlike Georgia and Louisiana no way of identifying ballots which were challenged.

(5) South Carolina: Under South Carolina code 23-346, 379, election managers are required to administer an oath to each voter that he is qualified when he presents himself to vote. Perjury penalties apply. There appears to be no specific provision for challenging.

(6) Virginia: Under Virginia code 24-254, voters must take an oath that they are qualified if they are challenged at the polls. They are not allowed to vote if they refuse to take the oath. If they take the oath and the election officials are satisfied that they are qualified, such voters are allowed to vote, but the word "sworn" is written next to their names in the poll book. However, there is no way to identify a particular challenged ballot.

Wrong Time for a Filibuster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of the major areas that should receive congressional attention this session is the proposed constitutional amendment on legislative reapportionment. We all recognize the dubious Supreme Court decisions which have thrust the question of reapportionment to the center of the legislative arena.

The Chicago Daily News, in its Saturday, July 10 issue, contained a most objective editorial offering constructive criticism and evaluation of the amendment as proposed by Senator DIRKSEN. In view of the forthcoming debate in the other body and the hoped-for House action, I believe this editorial merits the attention of the Members:

WRONG TIME FOR A FILIBUSTER

Senator DIRKSEN hopes soon to pry loose from the Judiciary Committee his proposed constitutional amendment on legislative reapportionment. Senate liberals indicate they will filibuster if necessary to kill it.

This is a curious stance for a group ordinarily dead set against the use of the filibuster. But more importantly, that resort could deny the Nation the serious debate DIRKSEN's amendment deserves.

Undoubtedly there are many supporters of the proposal who, as the liberals fear, look to it as a way to preserve the rural domination of State legislatures. But the proposed amendment goes far beyond immediate partisan advantage to pose a question as old as democracy itself. Under majority rule, how can diverse interests be assured of a voice and how can minorities be safeguarded against the haste, ignorance or tyranny of the majority?

No ideal answer has ever been found. The American experience, however, has been that the congressional system is a road toward the answer—one House apportioned on the basis of population, another on the basis of geography. This also had been the road taken by the individual States until June 1964, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that both houses of a legislature must be apportioned on the basis of population only. DIRKSEN's amendment would restore the Federal system to the States, permitting the apportionment of one house on a basis other than population.

The argument that political minorities and the rich social and geographic diversity of our States are threatened by the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote dictum cannot be lightly dismissed. Nor is it edifying to find liberals, rightly anxious to protect minorities in so many other instances, blind to so basic a threat.

DIRKSEN and his supporters, however, must stand ready to admit that the Federal analogy had been scandalously abused in many State legislatures before the Supreme Court stepped in. This was because changes in population and economic structure of the States brought about by industrialization, urbanization, and suburbanization had been ignored by the dominant rural and small-town legislators. Rather than the minority being safeguarded from the tyranny of the majority, the majority was being subjected, in many instances, to the tyranny of a minority entrenched in the statehouse.

To insure against such a distortion of the Federal system in the future, the Dirksen amendment should be revised to include periodic updating of any apportionment principle other than strict population. A Senate subcommittee has approved a revision of the Dirksen amendment to include periodic referendums on apportionment. The system outlined, however, is cumbersome and more study is needed.

The Dirksen amendment also needs a safeguard against apportionment and violates civil rights. Under its current language, for instance, it would appear that a State like Mississippi could juggle geographic boundaries in the State senate to deny counties with heavy Negro populations fair representation. Language should also be adopted to allay the fear that the amendment would merely turn back the clock to rural-dominated legislatures.

A delay in framing the final form of the amendment would appear inevitable. But this should not mean a recess in debate and an attempt to block decision by filibuster. Surely no problem is more worthy of continuing attention than making democracy work, and, with all its faults, this is what the Dirksen amendment seeks to do.

MacKown Clinic Dedication

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to bring to the attention of the House and the Congress a most interesting address delivered at the dedication ceremony for the MacKown Dental Clinic and Graduate Training Center at Lackland Air Force Base in San Antonio. It was my pleasure to attend this ceremony which inaugurated the largest dental center of its kind in the United States, marking an important milestone in the improvement of health services for the members of our Armed Forces.

With unanimous consent, I would like to insert a copy of the address of Brig. Gen. Benjamin W. Dunn, the Air Force's Assistant Surgeon General for Dental Services, and newspaper articles from the San Antonio Light and the San Antonio News:

DEDICATION, MACKOWN DENTAL CLINIC AND GRADUATE TRAINING CENTER

RECOGNITION OF DISTINGUISHED GUESTS

Mrs. MacKown, ladies, and gentlemen, it is a rare privilege for me to return to Texas and particularly Lackland AFB. It is a very real pleasure, and honor, for me to have a part in the dedication of this modern Air Force dental facility.

I've always worried about introductions. The one you have just heard is essentially the one provided by the Pentagon protocol section. I never cease to wonder what my friends will say, and I always worry about what others might want to say.

I feel like the man who said: By the time he can afford to lose a golf ball—he can't knock it that far. "Tempis fugit."

This base and this dental service has been such a part of my life and the life of my family in the Air Force that it will be difficult to avoid personal references during these remarks. Some of you know that I have spent a considerable portion of my Air Force career here at Lackland. I was here during the low ebb of this base—when the hospital was temporarily reduced to a dispensary status. I was also here during the Korean buildup when the base population soared to nearly 80,000 basic trainees. I have also seen the intermural residency training workload at Lackland nearly double since 1957. At one time the dental service occupied all or part of 15 separate buildings on this base. Yes, I have seen changes at Lackland, and I count it a real privilege to have had some small part in this change.

My appreciation of this new dental facility is directly related to my knowledge of the long struggle for construction approval and fund appropriation; but after seeing this facility, and knowing the high quality of patient care that has always been offered, I am further convinced that the struggle was well justified. It is a pleasure to see so many in the audience who contributed so much to the planning, justification, and implementation of all the actions required to bring this facility into being.

The completion of this new dental facility with its close proximity to this fine hospital now makes Wilford Hall USAF Hospital a truly composite medical facility. Some of you know that the Air Force Medical Service is currently operating an effective group-type

practice of comprehensive medicine—a method which is widely used and highly regarded in the United States today. This type of operation requires a team of skilled people representing many disciplines—physicians, dentists, veterinarians, nurses, medical service administrators, biomedical science personnel, and many airmen and civilian ancillary people. Since dentistry is a natural branch of comprehensive medicine, or a natural division of the health services, we consider it to be an essential and dynamic part of the Air Force Medical Services. It has undoubtedly been God's plan that there be physicians, dentists, veterinarians, nurses, et cetera, each with their own purpose and their own place under the sun.

Today, we are gathered here to dedicate this magnificent new dental clinic and graduate training center that is appropriately named for Col. John L. MacKown. Most of us who knew him called him Mac.

Born August 15, 1909, Ada, Ohio; D.D.S., University of Pittsburgh, 1934; master of science degree in oral surgery, University of Pittsburgh in 1948 as one of the early, service-sponsored and training oral surgeons.

He has always supported in all his aspirations by his lovely wife Molly and three fine sons.

His major Air Force assignments included: (1) One full tour as chief of oral surgery, here as Lackland; (2) division dental surgeon, Pacific Air Forces; (3) command dental surgeon, Headquarters FLY TAF; (4) wing base dental surgeon, Randolph Air Force Base; (5) command dental surgeon, Alaskan Air Command.

Colonel MacKown had continuous service since 1941 and was physically retired as chief of dental services, Lowry Air Force Base, Colo., November 13, 1963. His civic activities included membership in the Masonic Lodge No. 50, was a member of the National Sojourners.

I knew Mac as an expert professionally. I worked closely with him here at Lackland and valued his counsel. I hunted and fished with him and knew him to be a fine, true, gentleman. He was a devoted husband and father and was possessed of all that is implied in character, initiative and curiosity. Those who are serving in this dental service as well as those who will follow will do well to emulate the example set by this truly fine person. So it is appropriate that this clinic and graduate training center be named for a man who dedicated his life to dentistry and represented the finest aspirations a man can have.

This new facility is a living symbol of the advancement of dental knowledge and technology and a symbol of the dedications of the dental staff to use these advancements for the benefit of this military community. It is another stepping stone toward our goal of providing the best and most modern dental care to our personnel.

The building and its equipment represents an investment of more than $1 million by the taxpayers. I use the term "investment" advisedly because I consider Federal facilities and their operation to actually be national resources. This clinic and graduate training center is a community asset as well as a vital military necessity. It is particularly appropriate that this dedication is taking place in an area where a large part of the military effort is expended toward maintaining the freedom of our country. We can be proud today that we are formally introducing this Air Force facility to this community and dedicating it to the service of our country.

It is interesting to note that, since 1952, 87 separate dental clinics plus 107 dental clinics that were part of hospitals or dispensaries have been constructed and are now in use.

It makes good sense to protect the tremendous investment our Government makes in training of personnel for maintaining the Military Establishment. It is our duty to keep our military people healthy and on the job. It might interest you to know the magnitude of the job being done by the dental service. We sometimes tend to forget the ones we don't know by name—the hundreds of dental officers, airmen, and civilians who keep the dental service of ours moving ahead. During the past year, the dental service treated over 3.8 million patients, performing nearly 12.6 million procedures which included over 2.1 million amalgam and silicate restorations, nearly 9,000 fixed partial dentures, nearly 23,000 complete dentures, nearly one-half million caries prevention treatments.

These professional procedures, and many more, were provided in 423 dental clinics and 14 dental vans that house nearly 2,500 dental operators. One hundred eighty-nine Air Force bases either have fluoridation of the base water supplies or are in the process of being fluoridated. Eighty-one dental services in the United States and 16 dental services overseas are accredited by the Council on Hospital Dental Services of the American Dental Association. All of our intern and residency training programs are approved by the Council on Dental Education of the American Dental Association. Nearly 2,000 dental officers and their supporting ancillary personnel have done a fine job of conducting, of guiding, of administering, of controlling and directing this important facet of the overall health program. It has taken a lot of skill, time, ingenuity and hard work to do this.

Each day many servicemen leave our dental clinics restored and renewed, thanks to the dedicated effort of many of our dental personnel. Our dentists lighten the physical burdens of many people of our armed services. The oral tissues are extremely sensitive barometers of general health conditions. They indicate both good health and poor health. I could cite you cases of cancer of the mouth observed by alert dentists and confirmed by microscopic examination. Many other oral manifestations, too numerous to enumerate, are associated with metabolic and deficiency changes, and are usually first seen by the dentist. It is interesting to note that at age 18, 22 percent of all people have some degree of periodontal disease. By age 50, the figure is over 50 percent. By age 65, practically all individuals are afflicted to some degree. Nearly 50 percent of all children need some form of orthodontic care. The need for dental care is greater than the demand. The demand can only be motivated by education. Throughout the general American population nearly 30 percent receive virtually no dental care. Many basic trainees arriving here at Lackland see a dentist for the first time in their lives.

If I told you that we have a drug that would cure 50 percent of our cancer and dental caries, you would say that we have a bonanza on our hands. We now have such a drug—the drug is communication. Both afflictions are largely preventable if the message could be gotten to the public in such a manner that they would believe it. Preventive measures for the control of cancer and dental caries are more than theoretical suppositions. There is conclusive proof that application of known principles of prevention can result in significant reductions in both diseases. We have an awesome responsibility to stimulate people to have a greater appreciation of the value and importance of prevention, and to translate the appreciation into action.

I am proud to dedicate this dental clinic and graduate training center in the name of and for the benefit of all the members of the U.S. Air Force. May it prove to be a place where the pursuit of excellence in the healing art is practiced with modern equipment and old-fashioned human sympathy; where science is applied with humility, and where technology does not take the place of charity. In short, may it be the sort of haven that all of us would like to have available when we, or those close to us, want the best. May we do the best we can. By all the means we can. In all the ways we can. In all the places we can. To all the people we can. As long as ever we can.

[From the San Antonio (Tex.) Light, June 24, 1965]

DENTAL EDUCATION: MACKOWN CLINIC DEDICATION DUE

The assistant surgeon general for Air Force dental services will be the main speaker for the dedication of the new MacKown Dental Clinic, which has been added to the Aerospace Medical Division's Wilford Hall U.S. Air Force complex at Lackland Air Force Base.

Brig. Gen. Benjamin W. Dunn will deliver the dedicatory address on the program beginning at 9:30 a.m., Saturday, in the hospital auditorium.

He will be introduced by Col. Harold J. Malan, director of dental services at the hospital, following a welcoming address by Brig. Gen. Thomas H. Crouch, commander of Wilford Hall Hospital.

The invocation and benediction will be given by Lt. Col. Wade K. Tomme, hospital chaplain.

Open house at the clinic will begin at 10:50 a.m., following the 10:45 a.m. ribbon cutting.

HIS WIDOW

Cutting the ribbon will be Mrs. John Lloyd MacKown, Jr., widow of the late Colonel MacKown, for whom the $800,000 clinic is named. Mrs. MacKown lives in Denver with her three sons, John L. III, 21; David R., 20, and Charles T., 14.

The late colonel's mother, Mrs. John L. MacKown, Sr., Bridgeville, Pa., also will attend the ceremonies.

MacKown, who died at Lowry Air Force Base, Colo., June 29, 1964, graduated from the University of Pittsburgh School of Dentistry in 1934. He practiced in McKees Rocks, Pa., until 1941. He had been commissioned a first lieutenant in the Army Reserve in December 1940, and was called to active duty in March 1941.

After World War II, he returned to the University of Pittsburgh School of Dentistry for postgraduate training. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1949 and to colonel in 1953.

He served as command dental surgeon for Flying Training Air Force and for the Alaskan Air Command.

TO BE HUB

The new MacKown Dental Clinic is the hub of advanced dental education and research in the Air Force, according to Malan.

Its dental education program includes internship, residency, and postgraduate training.

The primary mission of the clinic is patient care, but it also serves as an Air Force-wide referral center for complex treatment in all fields of dentistry.

A central area dental laboratory, with a chrome cobalt capability, serves a five-State area in the Southwest, including 35 satellite bases with a total population of 105,000.

Clinical dental research is conducted for the Aerospace Medical Laboratory (Clinical).

The modern, air-conditioned brick building, with 30,000 square feet of floor space, consolidates 6 separate Lackland dental facilities previously housed in pre-World War II frame structures.

MANY ROOMS

All new equipment is installed in the clinic, which contains 52 treatment rooms decorated in "key" pastel colors. There are

11 oral surgery rooms in blue, 13 prosthodontic and 12 periodontic rooms in green, and 16 general dentistry rooms in coral.

In these rooms patients can be treated for periodontal disease which affects the tissues immediately surrounding the root of the tooth, have missing teeth replaced by artificial dentures, and receive diagnosis and treatment for nonvital teeth.

In addition to an oral surgery branch, the clinic has the only oral pathology service conducted solely by the Air Force. This service deals with the causes, signs and symptoms, structural changes and the disturbances in function caused by oral disease.

There are four X-ray examination rooms. One includes a panoramic unit which can photograph the entire mouth, "from ear to ear," on one sheet of film in 7 seconds. To photograph the entire mouth with a standard X-ray unit requires the exposure of more than 14 dental films.

The revolutionary panoramic unit was evolved by two Lackland dentists in the late 1940's and early 1950's. The two, retired colonels and professors, are Donald Hudson, now at the University of Texas, and Carlos Schuessler, now at the University of Alabama.

FOR CLEANING

Another modern piece of equipment used at the clinic is the ultrasonic dental unit for cleaning teeth. The ultrasonic unit, according to Malan, has proved itself an unequaled instrument for rapid, effortless, and effective removal of tarter and stains. Its actions are so gentle there virtually are no tissue lacerations or bleeding and almost no patient discomfort.

Other features in the clinic include a laboratory classroom and an orthodontic laboratory which fabricates appliances to prevent and correct irregularities of the teeth.

There are the usual supply and administrative rooms and a reception and lounge area.

The McKown Clinic is designed for closed-circuit color television, which soon will be installed at the Wilford Hall Hospital.

There is a large conference room which can be divided by folding doors into three classrooms. One of the classrooms is equipped with a dental unit for teaching purposes.

The clinic will have about 40 dentists in training each year. The program is accredited by the American Dental Association's Council on Dental Education, as well as various specialty boards.

TRAINING PROGRAM

The education program includes residency training which is affiliated with the University of Texas Graduate School of Biomedical Sciences. Internship training is for 12 months and rotates each of 12 students through all dental specialties as well as pertinent areas in the medical field.

Residency training, which qualifies participants for board certification in their specialties, includes 3 years in oral surgery, 2 years in periodontics, and 2 years in prosthodontics.

The postgraduate course accepts 12 dental officers for 18 weeks, during which time they receive an intensive refresher study in general dentistry, oral surgery, periodontics, and prosthodontics.

There also is a 1-year dental laboratory techniques and management course and a 12-week course in general dentistry for allied dental officers.

The clinic's staff members involved in teaching have status as associated clinic professors in the University of Texas dental branch at Houston.

[From the San Antonio (Tex.) News, June 24, 1965]

MACKOWN CLINIC DEDICATION SET

The MacKown Dental Clinic, described by Air Force spokesmen as the largest dental service under one roof in the Armed Forces, will be dedicated at 9:30 a.m. Saturday at Lackland AFB.

The clinic, which consists of 52 dental chairs, was named for the late Col. John Lloyd MacKown Jr. Construction cost was almost $800,000.

Dedication ceremonies, open to public, will be held in the auditorium of Wilford Hall Hospital across the street from the new dental clinic.

Brig. Gen. Benjamin W. Dunn, assistant surgeon general for dental services, Office of the Air Force Surgeon General, will deliver the dedicatory address. Guests will include U.S. Senator JOHN TOWER and U.S. Representative HENRY B. GONZALEZ.

Mrs. MacKown, widow of the colonel, will cut a ceremonial ribbon at the front entrance of the new facility.

Nasser's War Against the Yemen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article from the July 11, 1965, edition of the New York Herald Tribune.

Those who have any doubt about where President Nasser stands in the world today should certainly read this article carefully:

CRASH BARES RUSSIA'S ROLE IN EGYPT'S WAR IN YEMEN

(By Seymour Freidin)

LONDON.—In the blazing desert on Wednesday, an armed Soviet-built transport spun out of control outside Cairo and crashed. It might have been just another grisly incident except that the transport was bound for the war-torn Yemen and carried aboard a Soviet copilot and eight Russian officers and airmen.

The lone survivor was a rear gunner, "lent" to the Air Force of President Nasser as was the plane, a little bigger than our own Globemasters.

All told, 30 passengers perished. They were casualties in Colonel Nasser's self-promoted war of liberation in the Yemen. It was the first time that any Soviet military personnel were reported killed working with Colonel Nasser.

Russia's role in the war in the Yemen has been constant since Colonel Nasser sponsored the uprising against the Imam a couple of years ago. Soviet planes have air ferried specialists and equipment to Colonel Nasser's expeditionary forces. All of them carry Red Air Force copilots and military liaison officers.

The U.S.S.R. gets paid, generally in kind these days because the Egyptian regime, is flat broke. Egyptians will be picking cotton for a generation to meet his (Colonel Nasser's) commitments to Moscow for planes and equipment. To bolster his run-down equipment, he made a deal last winter with Soviet top troubleshooter, Alexander Shelepin. The Russians delivered more hardware and aircraft—plus specialists—to keep Colonel Nasser's sagging strategic show in business in the Yemen.

The fact that almost nobody of consequence in the world has called attention to the Nasser expedition remains one of the strangest facts of political life in the world today. Here, in fact, is a smaller scale Vietnam operation in reverse.

Colonel Nasser beefed up his forces recently to better-than-65,000 men. They are most of his combat effectives. His most modern equipment is invested in a self-proclaimed liberation operation by force. The Royalist regime he toppled was pretty much in the dark ages, but it was not for Colonel Nasser to decide how and when to force a change.

The result has been a huge casualty toll for his troops. They run into ambushes around the clock. They bomb villages by air and they hold towns and some main roads, mostly by day. The Royalists, who command loyalties of nearly all tribes, fight a bitter guerrilla war.

They have two armies. One is uniformed and paid by princes of the Imam's family. The other are tribesmen who go out and fight, with excellent small arms, under tribal leaders.

All told, the Royalists can field across the desert-pocked and mountain-rimmed country about 50,000 "regulars." Add another part-time quarter-of-a-million tribesmen and the total anti-Nasser force is formidable. Levies of Republican Yemenis are supposed to be fighting, to a strength of maybe 100,000 with Colonel Nasser.

But they defect almost as soon as they're pressed into service. Nevertheless, even after a disaster last week when Royalists ambushed about 5,000 Egyptian troops and routed them, Colonel Nasser stays and spends for his expedition. And the Russians encourage him to keep going.

The United States, with its inordinately hasty recognition of the Republican Yemini regime, tried to back off somewhat. We have been holding up free grain deliveries to Colonel Nasser. The betting is that we will resume them again. Those deliveries enable Colonel Nasser to pay for armaments he buys in the U.S.S.R. They mean simply that he need not go out and buy wheat, which his regime says it will do anyway. It hasn't.

Besides bringing Egypt to the brink of bankruptcy, Colonel Nasser has given a blank check to the Russians to mastermind tactics and try to assess strategic conditions in the Middle East for the future. It was a war of aggression he deliberately triggered.

When he began losing men in sizable numbers, Colonel Nasser changed stooges to run the rump Yemen Republic. He brought back his appointed Prime Minister, Ahmed Mohammed Oman and is giving President Abdullah al-Sallal backing to press no-quarter warfare in the Yemen.

Yet critics of the American role in Vietnam never complain about Colonel Nasser's own war and flagrant intervention. Maybe it's because so-called "wars of liberation" are fashionable folly.

Good Politician

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM R. ANDERSON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Ralph Wheeler of Mystic, Conn., formerly my next door neighbor, recently took the trouble to send me in his own handwriting his ideas of a good politician. Members of Congress receive much advice, but I felt Mr. Wheeler's words are exceptional. Despite being in his 90's, he still walks tall. He is one of the finest gentlemen and one of the most dedicated Americans that I have ever

known. I wanted to share his comments with my colleagues.

Mr. Ralph Wheeler's Idea of a Good Politician:

This isn't advice, but my idea of a good politician.

Stick to your party and its principles.

Win on your own merit.

Think twice before downing your opponent's idea, for it might be better than yours.

The unspoken word is sometimes a person's greatest asset.

Kiss the babies. Admire the ladies, and shake hands with the men.

God help you for he is the only One who can.

Appeasing the Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the President is under increasing pressure from the organized left and many innocent Americans who have been caught in its web of propaganda aimed at our policy in Vietnam. An article by columnist William S. White, which appeared in the Saturday, July 3 edition of the Chicago Daily News, is especially appropriate in its emphasis on the dangers of appeasing the Reds, a subject that should be thoughtfully studied:

APPEASING THE REDS

(By William S. White)

WASHINGTON.—The big push is now on to compel the United States to submit to Communist blackmail in Vietnam in the name of a peace that would be a Munich of the sixties—a surrender to the veiled blade of Communist aggression as Munich was to the naked blade of Hitler.

Voices in the Senate are joined by many European voices in demands that this country deal with and thus ligitimize the Vietcong insurgents in South Vietnam who are, in plainer words, the spearheads of a Communist invasion directed from Red China by way of North Vietnam.

All the forces of international and unintentional pacifism are gathering in supreme effort. The sum of their case is that the United States must be more reasonable toward those who break the world's peace by open military assault upon South Vietnam.

The nation that now all but alone carries the burden to resist the new Communist imperialism finds itself attacked far more virulently, at home and in Europe, than are those who carry forward this cynical pattern of conquest.

A U.S. Senator, FRANK CHURCH of Idaho, joins the clamor for what, however fuzzed over, would amount to recognition of the Vietcong as though this marauding bandit-Communist group had a legitimate place at any peace table. He is saluted by other Democratic soft-liners in the Senate and is echoed by a former British foreign minister still very close to the British Labor Government, Patrick Gordon Walker.

The United States is prepared to allow the Vietcong to sit at any honest peace table, but not to grant them status as bargaining agents. Even in this we go dangerously far. The day we permit them real participation would be the day we set the seal of consent upon the concealed-blade technique of Communist aggression.

Yes, the push is on. And those prepared to take up their adult responsibilities in a tough world must face it that their only reward is likely to be the consciousness of duty done. For the other side has all the appealing words—"peace" and all that. And the hammering grows harder and harder from domestic politicians and foreign politicians—and much of the European press—who simply want out of Vietnam and out from under our solemn obligations there.

One can see this pounding in the outcries at President Johnson for committing two dreadful crimes at the recent anniversary meeting of the United Nations. One crime was to withhold an immediate promise to pick up even more of the tab for running the U.N. so that the Russians and others could continue to refuse to pay even a small share. The other crime was the President's tactless determination not to cut and run in Vietnam and his even more tactless act of identifying the aggressor out loud.

It is a strange world. Those who do their hard duty are denounced for it and those who wish to cut and run are the "reasonable" men.

Excise Tax Reduction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, during the past weeks since the excie tax reduction has taken effect, I have been attempting to call to the attention of the American consumers and retailers the problems that have arisen in passing the reduction on to the consumer.

In this continuing effort, I wish to insert an article from the Fairchild News Service publication, Home Furnishing Daily, which outlines some of the problem areas in connection with the excise tax reduction.

Popular demand is the only course to the benefits of the tax cut. While many of us can campaign for "truth in prices," all of our efforts have little meaning if the public is apathetic about the absorption of this tax.

I again suggest that retailers take advantage publicly of this excise tax reduction by making clear statements in all of their advertising about lower prices on an item-by-item basis, as a result of the excise tax reduction. Any retailer would be wise to take advantage of this splendid opportunity to show the consumer of his desire to be fair and not subject the consumer to the mercy of the marketplace.

The Fairchild article follows:

TAX REPEAL SPURS PRICE CRAZY QUILT, PUBLIC IS APATHETIC

Repeal of Federal excise taxes has brought—

Consumer apathy.

Some retail willingness to cut prices below levels provided by the tax repeal.

A sharp attack on those producers who have not reduced their prices.

A crazy mixed up condition in the electric housewares field where some manufacturers have been laggard on posting new prices.

Since repeal went into effect Tuesday, a cross-the-Nation spot survey by Fairchild News Service indicates:

Major appliances made modest gains, with more substantial increases expected. Air conditioners in several cities were still sluggish because of continued cool weather, although New York reported gains.

Electric housewares remained about steady, with gains of a more modest nature than major appliances expected in the future.

Home entertainment products remained stable, with gains predicted.

In the New York area, customers aren't stampeding to their favorite store to buy any of the products with newly lowered prices.

Sales in all categories remained fairly steady, and retailers failed to note any definite gains that could be attributed to the tax removal.

Bigger ticket items picked up modestly, and air conditioner sales have been brisk the past 2 days, although retailers credited hot humid weather rather than the tax elimination.

As several dealers commented, "we would have sold air conditioners during this period even if prices had gone up 6 percent, instead of coming down. When it gets this hot those who want one are not going to sweat out the weather just to save a couple of bucks."

Home entertainment volume remained steady.

In Cleveland fair improvement in sales of major appliances was noted by department and specialty stores as a result of the excise tax action.

No great amount of increased business was noted, however, on sales of television and electric housewares which had been holding up well. The weather apparently was continuing to put a damper on any real activity on air conditioners.

Major appliances, however, have been in the doldrums for the past 2 or 3 weeks, with many buyers and retailers indicating they believed this stemmed from the tax repeal talk.

In St. Louis, retailers believe the potential lift to sales following removal of excise taxes is substantial, but they emphasize that it is much too early to attempt measuring the results.

There has been no mad rush to buy, although heavy rainfall Tuesday and Wednesday and the likelihood of scattered showers through the remainder of the week were blamed with holding down store traffic.

In Atlanta, while there has been little consumer reaction to price reductions in hard goods, retailers are optimistic the tax repeal will give lagging sales a needed shot in the arm.

All retailers agreed it is too early to determine what long range affect the repeal will have on the appliance-television business, although they expect it to pick up within the next several days and accelerate into coming weeks.

Air conditioning business has been miserably cool this season, but cool weather and not price is blamed.

In Charlotte, N.C., retailers are not in accord on consumer reaction to the excise tax repeal, although all report there was more reaction to prospects of the action 2 weeks ago.

Some say the situation has made no noticeable difference in business, that this is a quiet season when attention is focused on vacations and not housewares purchases, and that the tax repeal will be a boon to future business.

Others, however, say the repeal has had some effect, and will further spark customer buying in the future.

Electric housewares ads tied to the tax have been almost nil as dealers await guidance from manufacturers.

In Los Angeles, excise tax repeals had little or no positive effect on hard goods sales this week, retailers said.

"The public still is confused," observed one key chain official. "Many customers still

think they are entitled to 10 percent reductions."

Most retailers had reduced prices on many major appliances and home entertainment equipment in advance of a date the tax repeals were made law. These price cuts in most cases were based on early excise tax figures circulated by suppliers.

Distributors and retailers reported new-price posting by electric housewares manufacturers has lagged, compared with major appliance and TV producers, but that new portable appliance prices steadily were being received this week.

White Stores, Inc., in its anniversary sale ad continues to list some price comparisons, but most stores are content to talk savings generally rather than price specifics. White's anniversary sale ad lists a Catalina brand 15-cubic-foot "no-frost-refrigerator-freezer at a regular price of $349.95, with a tax reduction of $10 and a "new sell price" of $339.95. A trade-in offer in the ad, however, brought the price down by a total of $51.07 to a low of $288.88.

Some of the stores mention savings on last-year models in the air-conditioning line. Others push annual summer sales and special purchases throughout appliances and electric lines.

Sales have yet to react too strongly to the tax repeal. "It hasn't come yet but we think it will" is the opinion of many dealers.

In Cincinnati, major appliance business has soared since the tax lift and home entertainment sales have shown moderate gains, but local retailers are thanking the weatherman, not the Government.

The hottest day of the year (92) hit Tuesday, bringing a sudden and long-awaited consumer rush on air conditioners, fans and refrigerators, dealers reported.

The upsurge has brought with it retailer optimism that customers looking for relief for what appears to be a sustained heat spell, will take advantage of the tax cut while they're at it by making other purchases in both white and brown goods.

At this point, retail prices are reflecting a greater reduction than provided for by the tax cut. Most dealers are basing new prices on a new cost to them plus 10 percent markup.

In Dallas its almost like a game of "button, button, who's got the tax cut" as the trade advertises excise tax repeal, seasonal reductions, and special purchase buys in housewares, home entertainment and appliances.

One store reported a number of extremely irate customers who were expecting a full 10-percent reduction at retail. This store has been in sale events for the past several days, but the picture has been confused by consumer expectations for wide-scale 10-percent cuts. "Our prices have been adjusted to reflect the tax cut," this dealer said.

Several stores are going the complete limit, dealers reported, with reductions in home entertainment lines slashed drastically. One retailer told of a $100 price cut on an upper end stereo that had only a $56 tax repeal.

Housewares prices dipped somewhere from 5 to 7 percent on the small electrics.

Price promotions in appliances, for the most part, were confined to statements such as "passing on the tax cut savings" * * * "reduced more than excise cut" * * * "Federal tax repealed—buy now and save."

In Washington, the excise tax repeal did not produce an initial customer rush to the stores. Some merchants said activity during the first few days following the tax cut showed some improvement but they do not feel it resulted from the excise repeal.

"It's too early to tell," said one buyer, who added that business has shown no change since the Tuesday effective date. Another said traffic has improved but attributes it more to the hot weather which has stimulated air conditioner business.

One retailer pointed out that several stores advertised reduced prices prior to the effective date to stall off a consumer buying cutback. "We haven't noticed any increase in business since Tuesday, but we reduced prices early," said one.

In San Francisco, there has been little variation in sales volume since the repeal went into effect.

Most retailers were too involved in their own confusing situations to give more than token recognition to sales.

"I'm in no position to answer," one department store buyer said; "I'm up to my neck in it." The buyer said his store's policy was to pass savings on fully to the customer. "In many cases we're giving more," he said. "We're giving too much and the prices were not established by us. He said a legitimate $27 retail adjustment was coming out to $40.

"This was another golden opportunity for us to stabilize our profit structure," he said.

California Develops Farm Labor Surplus With Active Recruiting of Domestic Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a most encouraging article from the June 27, 1965, edition of the Los Angeles Times, which tells the remarkable success story achieved by the American economy this year in finding work for many thousands of U.S. citizens in the fields and on the farms of the West.

The article, written by the Times' labor editor, Harry Bernstein, is primarily concerned with the highly successful transition California's agricultural industry has been able to make from its former major reliance on a foreign labor supply, to an almost complete use of domestic workers this year.

But it also illustrates the outstanding capacity of American agriculture generally to shake off its past unhealthy dependence on imported foreign labor, and by improving wages and working conditions, to attract a sufficient number of skilled, dependable U.S. fieldhands to meet critical harvesttime labor need.

The Times' article follows:

SURPLUS LOOMS IN FARM LABOR, TIEBURG PREDICTS

(By Harry Bernstein)

California will have a surplus of farm labor for the rest of the summer, State Employment Director Albert Tieburg predicted Saturday.

In an assessment of the State's multi-billion-dollar farm industry, Tieburg told the Times:

"It now looks as though we will have a surplus of workers through the summer months. The State's needs will sharply increase by the early part of September, but it is possible we may be able to get through even that crisis period without foreign workers."

And Washington officials are now convinced that by next year there will be no need for any foreign workers.

TOMATOES POSSIBLE

Last year at this time there were 34,000 foreign workers in California. And by September 15 of last year there were 63,900.

Tieburg said his estimates are preliminary, and that he hopes to have more precise estimates of labor needs by July 15.

The crop most likely to need foreign workers, he said, will be canning tomatoes.

"But it is possible that the tomato harvest needs could be met if some drastic changes are made to make the jobs more attractive.

"The tomatoes now are loaded in 50-pound boxes. This pretty much eliminates husband-wife teams and women workers. If the box sizes could be cut and rates on a piece-rate basis raised substantially, field sanitation increased and other benefits provided, the labor needs might be met."

But tomato harvesting, he noted, is an especially difficult job, compared with tree crops, and it will not be easy to attract enough workers especially because the peak labor need in the State comes just as young workers are starting to return to school.

Nevertheless, Tieburg said, the State may be faced with the paradox of having a surplus of farmworkers even in the fall, and still face a shortage of workers in the tomato harvest.

While the final estimates are not yet available, it is known that the tomato harvesting machine is in part responsible for estimates that relatively few foreign workers, if any, will be needed for the early fall.

The huge machines, which can pick 100 tons of tomatoes a day, each replace about 40 workers or more.

Last year there were less than 100 such machines in operation in the State.

This year, according to Robert Holt, president of the Tomato Harvesting Association, the number is 262, "and by next year it should be over 500 machines."

CUT IN NUMBER

This means the number of workers needed this season will be cut by over 6,000 from last year because of the machines. And by next year, the machines will be able to replace another 10,000.

Also, the growers last year had planted 143,000 acres of tomatoes. This year the number has been cut to 110,000.

Holt said he originally recommended the acreage cut because of a heavy carryover of canned tomatoes from last year.

In other words, the original suggestions to growers that they reduce their acreage of tomato plantings by 23 percent this year was based on an oversupply of canned tomatoes, not on an anticipated labor shortage.

But Holt said the canning companies moved their carryover from last year much faster than expected, and so the acreage cutback ended up being due in part to the expectation of labor shortages.

Workers are still pouring into California at an unprecedented rate, but Tieburg said the rate is decreasing rapidly and will be down sharply "as the word spreads that we have no urgent farm labor needs."

Department of Agriculture inspection stations along California's borders estimated that about 100 cars a day are coming into the State with farm workers, compared with about 25 a day at this time last year.

COUNT DROPS

Holt said the tomato growers are not nearly as optimistic as Tieburg, who said he is "hopeful" but not confident that the tomato growers will be able to get by with only a few foreign workers, if any.

Tieburg pointed out that the number of domestic farm workers in the State drops rapidly from early September to the middle of October each year, and begins to drop even earlier because of a return to school.

The aim this year, Tieburg said, is to keep in farm labor jobs the thousands of workers who normally leave the farms just as the

tomato harvest is reaching its peak in September and October.

Holt said tomato growers are planning a substantial wage hike to attract the harvesters.

He said the workers, mostly Mexicans last year, averaged $1.35 an hour with a piece rate of about 15 cents a 50-pound box.

The new piece rate will be designed to produce an average hourly rate of about $1.75, which would mean far less than half-cent-a-pound increase in the cost.

That is, if growers could get just a fraction of a cent more per pound of canned tomatoes from the consumer, they could cover the proposed wage hikes to the harvesters with no difficulty.

PRICE GOES UP

However, Holt insists that other labor costs rise, too, and "besides it is just not realistic to talk about the price of a can of tomatoes going up less than 1 cent a can in order to give the worker a 50-percent pay hike or more.

"Nobody has figured out yet how to get that extra cent from the consumer to the employee," he said. "All others involved—processors, wholesalers, retailers—work on percentages, and they, too, go up in costs. So the end result is much more than half a cent a can to the consumer."

Nevertheless, Thomas L. Pitts, State AFL-CIO secretary, says the only amount which can actually be attributed to increased labor costs is less than a cent a can.

Growers last year averaged about $25 a ton for their tomatoes. This year, it is expected that they will get around $30 to $35 a ton, or between 20 and 40 percent over last year.

This increase of even the highest estimate of $10 a ton more this year than last year in the price the growers will get for their tomatoes amounts to half a cent a pound.

If all the workers who were in seasonal farm jobs in California at the end of last month would continue working in September, there would be an estimated shortage of about 10,000 to 15,000 workers in September.

These might be sought from Mexico, under regular immigration laws, even though the old bracero farm labor import program is now dead.

But some Government officials, and growers, are concerned that the Mexican Government may not be anxious to let 15,000 Mexican nationals come to California jobs for a few weeks in the fall.

RUSHED OUT

This fear is based on the handling of the 2,500 Mexicans admitted in the spring season just ending. After months of delays, the Mexicans were finally approved for admittance by Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz.

Then, almost immediately, there was a rapid increase in the number of American workers, and the Mexicans were being rushed back out of this country because domestic workers have first choice on U.S. jobs.

Tieburg is hoping that there will be more American workers available in tomatoes and all other crops in September than at the end of May, and that the need for the Mexicans may be eleminated.

Even if the hope does not materialize, it would still mean that the number of foreign workers used by California this year will total between 10,000 and 15,000, compared to the 107,000 used last year.

There are still many areas where growers are not paying the $1.40 an hour minimum wage which they must offer Americans if they want to be eligible for using foreign workers.

Government officials are now convinced that if the wages of farm workers continue to rise, especially in piece rates, and housing conditions are improved, by next year there will be no foreign workers at all admitted to California legally.

Results After 14 Months

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 22, 1965

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, 14 months ago—on May 15, 1964—while I was its chairman, the House Republican task force on NATO unity wrote to President Johnson and asked to meet with the President at his convenience to discuss the possibility of a blue ribbon commission which we urged to study the causes of disarray within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and to work for strengtheinng of NATO, politically and economically, as well as militarily. Although the President did not meet with the task force, I believe that the sentiment of the task force was expressed in the final paragraph of the letter, which said:

> Our committee consists entirely of Republicans, but we view this as a responsibility and opportunity which calls for full bipartisanship. We therefore offer our fullest cooperation and would like to meet with you at your convenience.

Mr. Speaker, the House Republican task force on NATO unity, under the able leadership of its new chairman, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] has continued to work toward two objectives during the 14 months that have passed since we sent the letter to the President.

First, the task force has sought information that might be useful in healing the disarray within NATO. For instance, a most significant contribution was made only a few weeks ago when a task force delegation under leadership of the chairman visited France and learned at firsthand some of the views of the French toward the alliance, as well as some of the strengths and weaknesses of the organization itself.

Second, the task force has continued to seek bipartisanship in approaching the problems of strengthening the Atlantic Alliance, for it recognizes that the strength and cohesiveness of the Atlantic Community is a matter of statesmanship vital to the future of the world.

Thus, you may imagine the pleasure of the task force over an action taken yesterday in the other body by the distinguished Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH] and five of his colleagues. These six Senators introduced a resolution calling for a "Special Governmental Commission" to study the disarray in NATO and to work toward strengthening of the alliance.

Mr. Speaker, the Special Governmental Commission suggested in the Senate resolution is identical to the blue ribbon commission suggested on May 16, 1964, by the House Republican task force on NATO unity.

The six Senators who introduced the Senate resolution represent both the Republican and Democratic Parties, since three are Democrats and three are Republicans, lending bipartisan support to the resolution.

Mr. Speaker, the goals, method, and bipartisanship of the resolution introduced yesterday in the other body are so identical to the proposal made by the House Republican task force on NATO unity 14 months ago, that I am introducing an identical resolution today in the House. It is my hope that it will receive the same bipartisan support that was accorded it in the Senate.

Correction of NATO disarray and its broad-based strengthening along political, economic, and military lines is vital to the future of the world. It is becoming increasingly vital, while the time for action grows short. As Senator CHURCH said in the other body yesterday:

> Today, those who make our foreign policy are confronted with challenge and hostility on many fronts. Our increasing military involvement in Vietnam poses problems for our policy in Asia. Revolution in the Caribbean and the consequent intervention of U.S. troops, has complicated U.S. foreign policy in Latin America. Much of Africa is in a state of flux, including the volatile Congo. Ferment unsettles the Middel East.
>
> In the midst of this turbulence, like a solid rock against a seething sea, stands a concert of genuinely free countries, whose stability is certain. I am speaking, of course, about the nations of the North Atlantic.
>
> The formation of the alliance between the United States and the countries of Western Europe is the great success story in American foreign relations since the Second World War.

Mr. Speaker, as Senator CHURCH goes on to point out, we have been sidetracked in recent years from the job of developing the Atlantic Alliance, which has stood "like a solid rock against a seething sea" of world disorder. As the task force has often pointed out, the United States has frequently embarked on a unilateral course, without consultation with our allies. While we have expressed interest in the military strength of NATO, we have done nothing to develop the economic and political cohesiveness of the Atlantic Alliance. Yet, there are fundamental economic and political problems which, unless resolved, have tended and will increasingly tend to weaken the military aspects of the alliance.

This weakening must be avoided and the alliance must be strengthened if it is to continue to stand as a bastion against Communist subversion, propaganda and military aggression.

Amid increasing signs of disarray, time is running out. The current NATO Charter expires in 1969. France complains that she has not been given an adequate voice in the affairs of NATO. The United States continues on a frequently unilateral course. The European Common Market, a child of the NATO establishment, has encountered difficulties. Yet little has been done to implement the provision of title II of the NATO Charter, which calls for the political and economic development of the alliance.

It is not difficult to conceive that many of the problems faced within the alliance could be solved by a top-level special governmental commission dedicated to the task. That is why its establishment is important and why I call today for bipartisan support of the reso-

lution which would help implement its establishment.

For the Members of the House to support this resolution is simply to fulfill the pledges of the 1964 national platforms of the respective parties.

The 1964 Republican Convention adopted a plank which says:

It is a keystone of Republican foreign policy to revitalize the alliance.

To hasten its restoration, Republican leadership will move immediately to establish an international commission, comprised of individuals of high competence in NATO affairs, whether in or out of Government, to explore and recommend effective new ways to strengthen alliance participation and fulfillment.

Mr. Speaker, the 1964 Democratic platform reads:

We believe in increased partnership with our friends and associates in the community which spans the North Atlantic. In every possible way we will work to strengthen our ties and increase our cooperation, building always more firmly on the sure foundation of the NATO treaty.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the full support of the House for the following resolution:

Whereas freedom, enduring peace with justice, and enhanced prosperity require the progressive development of greater unity in the free world; and

Whereas the interests of the United States require the development of greater unity of other free nations with it: Therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the House that the policy of the United States should be to achieve such unity with other nations as will best serve to safeguard the individual freedom and national values of our various peoples, and, at the same time, enable us to deal effectively with those problems with which no nation, today, can deal effectively alone, and that the President be advised of the sense of the House, that this Government, by constitutional means, should particularly pursue the following objectives:

1. Development, by exploration and agreement with our allies, of an Atlantic Community adequate to meet the political, military, and economic challenges of this era.

2. Such a community to be composed of nations which share our basic ideals of freedom, democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law and as are willing to accept the benefits and responsibilities of close political, military, and economic ties.

3. Such a community to be conceived and developed in the interest not only of its own peoples, but of all free peoples and to be open to the admission of others as and when their governments become willing and able to assume the benefits and responsibilities of membership.

To this end it is the sense of the House that the President should promptly seek to establish a Special Government Commission composed, in the first instance, of representatives of NATO nations to study and recommend concrete steps toward the attainment of the foregoing objectives.

Lobbying Rules Need Tightening

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, the Senate Rules Committee has released their report on the Robert G. Baker hearings. I have studied this report and I am now convinced that my bill, H.R. 9626, would be a major step toward eliminating the abuses uncovered by the Senate committee.

My bill would amend sections 305 and 310 of the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act by turning over administration of that act to the Comptroller General of the United States. At present, all lobbyists are required to file their reports with the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate. But there is a noticeable lack of any law to make an agency or official responsible for the administration or enforcement of the act. I feel that the Comptroller General is the proper authority in that he is not only an arm of Congress itself, but he has an investigative staff at his disposal. Thus the Comptroller General is admirably equipped to determine whether lobbyists' reports are accurate or not and whether the statute's terms are being complied with fully.

H.R. 9626 would authorize the Comptroller General to study and review the reports and then to determine whether they meet the standards of the act. Among the other powers provided for in the bill is the provision that the Comptroller General can ascertain whether all lobbyists have registered in compliance with the law. I think that the Senate report makes it abundantly clear that not all lobbyists have done so. When violations are discovered, the Comptroller General would report them to the appropriate law enforcement agencies of the Government.

The Comptroller General would also be directed to make studies of the lobbying problem and transmit his recommendations to Congress if the recommendations would further the objectives of my bill. The bill would require further that the Comptroller General send to Congress a copy of each lobbyist's report where it would be on public record for 2 years.

Mr. Speaker, there can be no doubt that the Senate committee has laid bare unethical practices by lobbyists to the public's critical eye. Such practices by lobbyists must be stopped if Congress is to deserve public confidence.

Fallacious Intervention Position

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, many of my constituents have expressed concern over the action taken by the Department of the Interior recently in intervening before the Federal Power Commission in a proceeding involving the Duke Power Co., Keowee-Toxaway project in South Carolina.

An editorial of July 9, 1965, carried over WBT-WBTV, Charlotte, N.C., entitled "Public Power Priority"; an editorial of the same date appearing in the News-Herald, Morganton, N.C., entitled "Old Concept Gets New Twist"; and an editorial in the "Shelby Daily Star," Shelby, N.C., of July 7, 1965, entitled "Fallacious Intervention Position," point up the concern felt by my constituents over the interference by the Department of the Interior in a project which should be constructed by the Duke Power Co.

I hope that the Federal Power Commission will reject the petition filed by the Department of the Interior to intervene in the Keowee-Toxaway project and that the Duke Power Co. will be permitted to proceed in the matter on a free enterprise basis.

I include the editorials to which I have referred in the Appendix of the RECORD:

[From WBT-WBTV broadcast of July 9, 1955].

PUBLIC POWER PRIORITY

The Federal foot in the door is getting bigger these days. Secretary of the Interior Udall has asked the FPC to refuse permission to Duke Power Co. to undertake its Keowee-Toxaway project, and has given some very strange reasons.

Up to now, people who favor public power development have justified their position by quoting Abraham Lincoln to the effect that the Government should do for the people only what they cannot do for themselves. In other words, the Government should own and operate the means of production only if private enterprise does not have the resources to do it.

Well, the people can very obviously produce electric power for themselves. They have been doing it ever since electricity became a necessity of modern life. And certainly Duke Power Co. has the resources to build and operate the plants in question.

But Secretary Udall gives as a reason his decision that the power to be generated by the proposed plants will not be needed. Now, it is not the function of Government to decide whether there is going to be a market for a commodity under a system of free enterprise. And we suspect that Duke Power Co. is interested enough in making a profit so that they have had a good many experts analyzing whether there will be a market for their power before they lay out millions in construction.

We have little confidence in the judgment of Government power people. There were power shortages in TVA, Bonneville, and Grand Coulee at a time when every power company in the country was meeting its own demands for electricity. They have overcome this bad judgment with further outlays of tax millions now.

The real hooker is that Mr. Udall says that the Government is going to be building in such a big way that power can come from public plants instead of private ones. This is a shift of emphasis that would have Abraham Lincoln retracting his statement.

If Government power is to be chosen in competition with private power, and in preference to it, then we might ask how soon the United States will be manufacturing motor cars, sanforized shirts, and aspirin tablets—and telling private companies there is no longer a market for their own products.

The Piedmont Carolinas are among the fastest growing industrial areas in the country. The three power companies in this area have shown excellent foresight in estimating needs and having the power ready when the demand developed.

We are not the lawyers for these companies. We have complained about bills or service on occasion as much as anyone. But we are disturbed by this reversal of policy in government which strikes us as being a long step toward giving priority to government ownership of the means of production—

which, by the way, was Karl Marx's definition of socialism.

Invitation to respond has been sent to Secretary of the Interior Udall.

[From the News-Herald, July 9, 1965]

OLD CONCEPT GETS NEW TWIST

Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall may have some sound argument in opposition to Duke Power Co.'s proposed $700 million facility in upper South Carolina, but if he has we missed it.

In fact, it isn't clear why the Interior Department is intervening in an application pending before the Federal Power Commission. But Secretary Udall's adamant opposition would indicate that he thinks he has some ace in the hole toward stopping Duke's plan to construct a generating facility in Pickens and Oconee Counties in South Carolina and Transylvania County in this State.

There's something incongruous in his position. On the one hand, he says Duke will not need the power the new project will provide, and in this realm of prophecy the Duke record leaves him a poor second. On the other hand, Mr. Udall makes it plain that he favors the Savannah River's Trotters Shoals project, a Federal power unit.

If the only justification for the Federal power project is that it will supply needed power only if the Government curbs the expansion plans of Duke, there's definite imbalance between public and private power.

The original concept of the Government's role in this and in other fields was that it would meet needs which private companies couldn't or wouldn't fill. Development of rural electrification cooperatives is a case in point. Private power companies should have learned by now to live with these rural power distribution co-ops which are rendering a service to fill a sharp deficiency (although there is some indication that the private companies still use them as whipping boys).

In keeping with the concept, Federal power projects have developed to fill gaps in the availability of electricity. The man in the street seems to feel that there's nothing unhealthy in the existence of some Government power projects which tend to keep private companies alert in their operations. But our average citizen never contemplated a takeover of the entire job by Government. It's safe to say that his feeling is that if the private enterprises can do the job, it should be allowed to do so.

Surely the concept of the Government's role hasn't become so distorted that the Federal establishment feels that it must restrict the expansion of private enterprise in order to promote the use and growth of a Federal power project. If Duke showed no signs of keeping pace with the area it serves, Uncle Sam might consider means of offsetting its lethargy. But when did it become a menace when private industry serves its area too well?

It appears to be a case of putting the cart before the horse, and we are waiting to hear Secretary Udall explain how he is serving the public's interest by trying to prevent the growth of Duke Power Co.

[From the Shelby (N.C.) Daily Star, July 7, 1965]

FALLACIOUS INTERVENTION POSITION

Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall's attempted monkey wrench work on Duke Power Co.'s Keowee-Toxaway power project is terrifyingly ridiculous.

Fallacious from the word go is his straight-faced contention that what this section of the country really needs "is a little competition between public power and private power. This is really needed."

That's pure, unadulterated hogwash.

Udall's asinine assessment of the southern situation is tantamount to arguing that what this section of the country really needs is compulsory unionism (through repeal of section 14(b) of Taft-Hartley) to assure economic progress. Yet the fantastic industrial and overall economic progress realized in this area in the past decade is as vigorous, or more so, than gains many anywhere in the Nation.

The Secretary should know that competition in the marketplace is a keystone of the American economic system. But, traditionally, it has not been the Federal Government's function to provide that competition. The Federal Power Commission does have legitimate regulatory functions.

Equally as fallacious is the Udall argument—cast upon the waters during a Sunday "Meet the Press" interview on television—that Federal power projects generate as many benefits to an area as private power. This is not borne out by the experience of some areas adjacent to such as the Clark Hill project on the Savannah River between South Carolina and Georgia.

That reservoir certainly has not been a magnet to new industry. Impounded water certainly has not been made available to non-Federal interests free of charge as has been the Duke policy at each of its hydroelectric facilities. Tax revenue benefits certainly have not accrued to the State, local, or Federal treasuries.

The Government has not found it easy, through its Southeastern Power Administration to market the power it has available. When the SPA's sale activities were much in the news in early 1964 a South Carolina newspaper reported: "Only 5 South Carolina towns * * * chose to sign the contracts from a number of eligible municipalities variously listed from 10 to 17. In North Carolina, the percentage was even less. Only 3 of 20 eligible towns (Shelby was on the eligibility list but declined) entered the contracts. But across the Savannah River in Georgia, 49 of 50 eligible towns signed contracts with the Government."

Although Georgia has consistently been more prone to embrace this sort of thing, the project at issue—Keowee-Toxaway—involves primarily South Carolina. And official bodies from the legislature down to and including the town boards of Seneca, Salem, Liberty, Clemson, Easley, Pickens, and Walhalla have endorsed the project.

Udall and company would be hard pressed to match benefits statistics with Duke Power. Aside from contributing greatly to the industrialization of the two Carolinas, Duke Power offers residential customers an average rate which is 20 percent below the national average. Those customers use power at an average rate which is 41.8 percent above the national level. Last December 1, Duke filed a request for its 16th rate reduction, 4 of which were made in the last 4 years.

While projects of the type envisioned by Udall eat heavily into the public till, Duke Power contributes. The company reports having paid $540 million in Federal, State, and local taxes in the past 20 years. Taxes paid at all levels in 1963 amounted to 24 cents of each dollar of revenue.

If Udall's recently filed petition of intervention proves anything at all, it is that one of the things this section of the country really needs is less ill-conceived intervention by the likes of the Secretary of the Interior.

Voting Rights Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. DICKINSON

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 6400) to enforce the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Chairman, many colleagues on both sides of the aisle have pointed out the many, many reasons why H.R. 6400 should not be enacted into law. I can only endorse their reasoning and their statements.

I stand before the House today to urge all Members as fairminded men to examine their motives—to look inwardly and ask themselves one question—the key question in our debate today. The question is not, "Shall we have a new voting rights law"—that question is by now moot. The question before the House today is, "Shall we have a fair, constitutionally sound voting rights law that governs everyone in the United States equally, or shall we enact a law that applies to only part of the Nation?"

Mr. Chairman, is it possible that a majority of the Members from a majority of the States will voluntarily surrender to the executive branch of the Federal Government one of the last rights reserved to and exercised by the States? To me, this would be incredible.

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 6400 is purported to be a bill to abolish discrimination. It is an anti-South bill—politically inspired and contrived and aimed at the only section of the Nation which the administration did not carry in the last election and cannot control today.

How can any man vote for a bill designed to prohibit voter discrimination in only 6 States and thus impliedly sanction discrimination in the other 44 States? The very bill the administration claims will end discrimination will, in fact, set up a form of discrimination against six States of the Union. Under the guise of voting rights, six Southern States are being punished for having voted wrong. H.R. 6400 is not a just bill, nor was it designed to be just. How can any bill creating two classes of people or States be considered just or fair? Are we in the South to become second-class citizens?

If we are to pass a bill, let us treat everyone alike and apply its provisions equally. The passage by the House of H.R. 6400 will be one more giant step toward a totalitarian government. Only by passage of sound legislation affecting all Americans equally will we continue to have a nation of laws—not of men—with equal justice for all.

Kids and Cantaloups

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, anyone interested in helping kids would like to see the A-team proposal—high school kids, usually aspiring athletes, working on farms during summer vacations—succeed. The idea was not designed to help the farmer—there is some evidence that the idea was pushed to punish the

farmer—as the cost of harvesting alone exceeds the farmers' receipts. But the idea may help idle kids by introducing them to the discipline and pride of work and permit them to earn some money during otherwise unprofitable school vacations.

If work on the farms contributes anything to the character, physical health, discipline and bank accounts of high school kids, maybe next year A-teams can be sent to the factories, assembly lines, restaurants, hotels, and building trades.

Most reports are unfavorable, but in fairness of reporting, I insert the following report from the July 1965 issue of Western Grower & Shipper:

KIDS AND CANTALOUPS

(NOTE.—The use of youngsters to harvest the crops has been seen by some officials as the answer to the current crisis in field labor. The Yuma cantaloup harvest, now in full swing, is providing the acid test for this program because the weather there is the hottest and the work among the hardest in the industry. It is still too early to provide a judgment on the situation, but one thing is apparent; it is proving no bed of roses for the kids or their employers.)

Griping like a rookie GI, a pooped and bedraggled member of one of Secretary of Labor Wirtz' A-teams boarded a Greyhound at Yuma for Phoenix, and waved a dispirited goodbye to his coach.

"Melon picking is sure separating the men from the boys," the coach said. "I'm wondering what will happen when it really hots up around here."

On the other side of town, a grower's bus pulled up to the curb and a husky 16-year-old broke out of a foursome of horsing teenagers. Once on the ground he took off for home on the lope. Stopped for an interview, he proudly showed his $65 weekly pay check and when asked if he was tired, replied:

"Naw. Say, excuse me mister. I gotta get home for supper. I'm playing baseball tonight."

And so it went. Some could take it, others could not. But at the halfway point in the Yuma melon deal it was definitely too early to evaluate A-team performance or high school and college student field labor in general. However, certain hard truths had already become evident.

First, and most important, student labor, for most growers, has been costly. Practically without exception growers have found that they require almost twice as many labor units to keep ahead of their fields as they have in past years. So far (June 22), the normal blistering summer temperatures have failed to materialize; should the weather change, field labor efficiency is expected to change, too, in a downward direction. The belief is quite general that should real Yuma summer weather come along, many more players on the A-teams will ask for transfers to the home league.

Quality of supervision has been shown to be extremely important during both on and off time. Where coaches and supervisors have run a tight ship, performance in the field and behavior in the camps and town has been greatly improved. In some cases, however, growers say that coaches or supervisors have been more concerned with their own personal popularity with the boys than in getting melons picked, and the resultant laxity in discipline has adversely affected the boys' performance in the field. On the other side of the coin, there have been complaints that growers' personnel have not fully understood the rules under which A-teams have signed. As is often the case, there has been a failure in communications which may be corrected as the deal progresses.

In this connection, it has been apparent from the first that local youths have turned in better field records than student groups recruited from nonagricultural areas. Growers feel that young men in the latter category should have been given a better picture of local working conditions and earnings possibilities. Too many student workers came into the valley expecting a several weeks' lark away from parental supervision, and a triumphant return home with pockets lined with gold.

Then, someone forgot to tell a lot of the boys that melons ripened every day of the week, so they failed to show up on Sundays. This mistake proved extremely costly to several growers, who were understandably hotter than local temperatures over the matters.

One local wag remarked that if the growers are to depend on the type of help in the fields this year, the experts will have to come up with a "Never on Sunday" strain of cantaloup.

And the student workers showed a marked aversion to picking melons with bags instead of behind a harvesting machine. Because their equipment could not always be worked to full efficiency with labor available, some growers had to switch to bags to keep up with their fields. Student workers claimed that they had been promised work behind the machines.

In one department, the student workers have been given good marks: Travis "Bud" Yancey, Yuma County sheriff, says that they have not been a source of trouble to law enforcement officers, although a few have been guests at his hostelry for a few hours' stay, and also in other similar establishments in the area.

One characteristic is outstanding—proving that boys will be boys—they are always hungry. If there was a food surplus in this country, the student worker program would take care of it—handily.

Los Angeles Times Promotes Better Understanding, Closer Relations With Western Hemisphere Neighbors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, the Los Angeles Times has performed an important service to its readers by printing a very interesting and informative article on Latin America in its Sunday, June 27 edition.

The article, entitled, "South America Fallacies Difficult To Overcome," was written by Mr. James Bassett, director of the Times editorial pages, and summarized some of the observations and conclusions drawn as a result of a recent tour of Latin America he made with the Times' editor, Nick B. Williams.

During their 25-day, 15,000-mile journey they toured and held intensive background conferences with political, economic, military, and foreign investment spokesmen in seven key nations south of the border: Mexico, Panama, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, and Venezuela.

In advocating continuing effort by our citizens to increase their understanding and develop closer relations with our neighbors to the south, Mr. Bassett writes:

It takes time, effort, and a large amount of on-the-scene checking to set Latin America in proper, comprehensive perspective. Yet it's worth the price, if only to increase by a small degree the knowledge of what binds us together—north and south—as a free people with common interests.

The Times' article follows:

SOUTH AMERICA FALLACIES DIFFICULT TO OVERCOME

(By James Bassett)

At this moment in world history, when understanding among friends has become a prime necessity, it is regrettable that so many North Americans harbor so many misconceptions about their hemispheric neighbors to the south.

Rooting out such fallacies isn't easy. It takes time, effort, and a large amount of on-the-scene checking to set Latin America in proper, comprehensible perspective. Yet it's worth the price, if only to increase by a small degree the knowledge of what binds us together—north and south—as a free people with common interests.

Here, then, are some of the most commonly held misconceptions, along with clarifying notes drawn from a 25-day, 15,000-mile journey through seven key nations.

1. Latin America is one, vast, indistinguishable, homogeneous country.

Far from it. Ethnically, culturally, politically, economically, and physically, the 20 republics which, with the United States, comprise the Organization of American States (OAS) differ markedly from one another. True, each is an emergent country, moving from an agricultural age into modern industrialism. But there the resemblance ends. It would be the height of folly for a North American, engaged in business or diplomacy, to treat bustling Brazil in the same terms as the relatively undeveloped Chile.

2. Latin America is politically unstable, ripe for revolution.

Largely untrue. Certainly most of the countries we visited, plus others, have achieved a high degree of solid government, based on constitutional principles. The quality of their leaders, including Mexico's Diaz Ordaz, Chile's Eduardo Frei, Brazil's Castello Branco, rates well alongside that of any world power. Argentina's Illia does face serious politico-economic problems. And there are, of course, a few smaller nations where political stability has never been achieved. But these trouble spots should be viewed as containable irritants rather than major crisis zones.

3. It's ripe for a Communist takeover.

Wrong again. Active Communists represent only a fraction of the political population. Like frogs, they generate a lot more noise than their numbers warrant, and their occasional violent deeds attract undue attention. All seven important nations on our schedule are dedicatedly anti-Communist, particularly since Castroite Cuba drifted into the Russian orbit.

4. All Latin American dictatorships are alike.

False. There's corrupt, totalitarian "Papa" Duvalier in Haiti, ironfisted Alfredo Stroessner in Paraguay, Communist Fidel Castro in Cuba—and middle-roading Castello Branco in Brazil. Having led the army revolt which toppled a potential Red government, the latter has his sights set on restoring the constitutional Presidency next year. Meanwhile he deals forthrightly with the Brazilian Congress in directing the affairs of this huge (population 80 million) country.

5. Latin America is essentially anti-United States.

Untrue. Of course, a majority of nations take issue with the way we intervened in the Dominican Republic. Beyond specific differences like this, however, their leaders openly recognize the much greater ties that

bind the two continents, economically and geographically.

6. They are ready to confiscate U.S. properties.

Fallacious. Generally they want a better shake in revenues from their own natural resources. (Peruvian oil, Chilean copper.) But the responsible governmental leaders intend to work out equitable arrangements, pay for what they expropriate, and continue wherever possible with efficient U.S. management. In most cases North American industrialists seem reasonably satisfied.

7. They reject the thought of intra-hemispheric cooperation.

Absolutely wrong. Perceptive Latin Americans know that their destiny is inextricably tied into that of the United States, that a recession here would hit them hard, that talk of a "third world" (Latin American-plus-Afro-Asia) is nonsense. For this reason, they look toward a strengthened OAS, and a more effective Alliance for Progress.

8. U.S. aid has been money poured down a rat hole.

Negative. Throughout these key nations you can see strong evidence of long range benefits from U.S. assistance. It has not bought superficial friendship. But it has kept reasonably good governments in control helping to ameliorate some of the worst problems facing Latin America: illiteracy, agricultural unproductivity, an inadequate consumer industry, inferior highways.

9. Theirs is a hopelessly feudal economy.

This might have been true a couple of decades ago. Now they are emerging from an imbalanced rural economy, ruled by a few vast landholders. U.S. technical skills is largely responsible, and they know it.

Secretary Udall's Folly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the unbelievable intervention of Secretary Udall before the Federal Power Commission to prevent Duke Power Co. from spending $700 million in Appalachia is delaying the full development of Appalachia. The Secretary's action will delay and deny opportunity for the people of Appalachia.

I congratulate WBT-TV, a great Charlotte, N.C., station, and commend the following WBT editorial to the attention of the Congress and to the people of the country:

PUBLIC POWER PRIORITY

The Federal foot in the door is getting bigger these days. Secretary of the Interior Udall has asked the FPC to refuse permission to Duke Power Co. to undertake its Keowee-Toxaway project, and has given some very strange reasons.

Up to now, people who favor public power development have justified their position by quoting Abraham Lincoln to the effect that the Government should do for the people only what they cannot do for themselves. In other words, the Government should own and operate the means of production only if private enterprise does not have the resources to do it.

Well, the people can very obviously produce electric power for themselves. They have been doing it ever since electricity became a necessity of modern life. And certainly Duke Power Co. has the resources to build and operate the plants in question.

But Secretary Udall gives as a reason his decision that the power to be generated by the proposed plants will not be needed. Now, it is not the function of Government to decide whether there is going to be a market for a commodity under a system of free enterprise. And we suspect that Duke Power Co. is interested enough in making a profit so that they have had a good many experts analyzing whether there will be a market for their power before they lay out millions in construction.

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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OFFICE ADDRESS: House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]

Speaker: John W. McCormack

Abbitt, Watkins M., *Va*
Abernethy, Thomas G., *Miss.* — 6278 29th St.
Adair, E. Ross, *Ind* — 4000 Mass. Ave.
Adams, Brock, *Wash*
Addabbo, Joseph P., *N.Y*
Albert, Carl, *Okla* — 4614 Reno Rd.
Anderson, John B., *Ill*
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Annunzio, Frank, *Ill*
Arends, Leslie C., *Ill* — 4815 Dexter St.
Ashbrook, John M., *Ohio*
Ashley, Thomas L., *Ohio*
Ashmore, Robert T., *S.C*
Aspinall, Wayne N., *Colo* — The Towers Apts., 4201 Cathedral Ave.
Ayres, William H., *Ohio*
Baldwin, John F., *Calif*
Bandstra, Bert, *Iowa*
Baring, Walter S., *Nev*
Barrett, William A., *Pa*
Bates, William H., *Mass*
Battin, James F., *Mont*
Beckworth, Lindley, *Tex*
Belcher, Page, *Okla*
Bell, Alphonzo, *Calif*
Bennett, Charles E., *Fla* — 1314 Rusticway Lane, Falls Church, Va.
Berry, E. Y., *S. Dak* — 118 Schotts Court NE.
Betts, Jackson E., *Ohio*
Bingham, Jonathan B., *N.Y.*
Blatnik, John A., *Minn*
Boggs, Hale, *La*
Boland, Edward P., *Mass*
Bolling, Richard, *Mo* — 307 Warrenton Dr., Silver Spring, Md.
Bolton, Frances P. (Mrs.), *Ohio.* — 2301 Wyo. Ave.
Bonner, Herbert C., *N.C* — Calvert-Woodley
Bow, Frank T., *Ohio* — 4301 Mass. Ave.
Brademas, John, *Ind*
Bray, William G., *Ind*
Brock, W. E. (Bill), *Tenn*
Brooks, Jack, *Tex*
Broomfield, William S., *Mich.*
Brown, Clarence J., *Ohio*
Brown, George E., Jr., *Calif*
Broyhill, James T., *N.C*
Broyhill, Joel T., *Va*
Buchanan, John, *Ala*
Burke, James A., *Mass*
Burleson, Omar, *Tex* — 2601 Woodley Pl.
Burton, Laurence J., *Utah*
Burton, Phillip, *Calif*
Byrne, James A., *Pa*
Byrnes, John W., *Wis* — 1215 25th St. S., Arlington, Va.
Cabell, Earle, *Tex*
Cahill, William T., *N.J*
Callan, Clair, *Nebr* — 1200 S. Courthouse Rd., Arlington, Va.
Callaway, Howard H., *Ga*
Cameron, Ronald Brooks, *Calif.*
Carey, Hugh L., *N.Y*
Carter, Tim Lee, *Ky*
Casey, Bob, *Tex*
Cederberg, Elford A., *Mich*
Celler, Emanuel, *N.Y* — The Mayflower
Chamberlain, Charles E., *Mich.*
Chelf, Frank, *Ky*
Clancy, Donald D., *Ohio*
Clark, Frank M., *Pa* — 220 C St. SE.
Clausen, Don H., *Calif*
Clawson, Del, *Calif*
Cleveland, James C., *N.H*
Clevenger, Raymond F., *Mich.*
Cohelan, Jeffery, *Calif* — 1028 New House Office Building
Collier, Harold R., *Ill*
Colmer, William M., *Miss*
Conable, Barber B., Jr., *N.Y.*
Conte, Silvio O., *Mass* — 5619 Lamar Rd., Washington 16, D.C.
Conyers, John, Jr., *Mich*
Cooley, Harold D., *N.C* — 2601 Woodley Pl.
Corbett, Robert J., *Pa*
Corman, James C., *Calif*
Craley, N. Neiman, Jr., *Pa*
Cramer, William C., *Fla* — 6714 Joallen Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Culver, John C., *Iowa*
Cunningham, Glenn, *Nebr* — 4920 Yorktown Blvd., Arlington, Va.
Curtin, Willard S., *Pa*
Curtis, Thomas B., *Mo*
Daddario, Emilio Q., *Conn*
Dague, Paul B., *Pa*
Daniels, Dominick V., *N.J*
Davis, Glenn R., *Wis*
Davis, John W., *Ga*
Dawson, William L., *Ill*
de la Garza, Eligio, *Tex*
Delaney, James J., *N.Y*
Dent, John H., *Pa*
Denton, Winfield K., *Ind*
Derwinski, Edward J., *Ill*
Devine, Samuel L., *Ohio*
Dickinson, William L., *Ala*
Diggs, Charles C., Jr., *Mich*
Dingell, John D., *Mich*
Dole, Robert, *Kans* — 6136 Beachway Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Donohue, Harold D., *Mass*
Dorn, W. J. Bryan, *S.C* — 2030 Laburnum St., McLean, Va.
Dow, John G., *N.Y*
Dowdy, John, *Tex*
Downing, Thomas N., *Va*
Dulski, Thaddeus J., *N.Y* — 1705 Longworth House Office Building
Duncan, John J., *Tenn*
Duncan, Robert B., *Oreg* — 914 Lakeview Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Dwyer, Florence P. (Mrs.), *N.J.*
Dyal, Ken W., *Calif*
Edmondson, Ed, *Okla*
Edwards, Don, *Calif*
Edwards, Jack, *Ala*
Ellsworth, Robert F., *Kans*
Erlenborn, John N., *Ill*
Evans, Frank E., *Colo*
Everett, Robert A., *Tenn*
Evins, Joe L., *Tenn* — 5044 Klingle St.
Fallon, George H., *Md*
Farbstein, Leonard, *N.Y*
Farnsley, Charles P., *Ky*
Farnum, Billie S., *Mich*
Fascell, Dante B., *Fla*
Feighan, Michael A., *Ohio*
Findley, Paul, *Ill*
Fino, Paul A., *N.Y*
Fisher, O. C., *Tex* — Calvert-Woodley
Flood, Daniel J., *Pa* — The Congressional
Flynt, John J., Jr., *Ga*
Fogarty, John E., *R.I* — 1235 New House Office Building
Foley, Thomas S., *Wash*
Ford, Gerald R., *Mich* — 514 Crown View Dr., Alexandria, Va.
Ford, William D., *Mich*
Fountain, L. H., *N.C* — The Westchester
Fraser, Donald M., *Minn*
Frelinghuysen, Peter H. B., *N.J.* — 3014 N St.
Friedel, Samuel N., *Md*
Fulton, James G., *Pa*
Fulton, Richard, *Tenn*
Fuqua, Don, *Fla*
Gallagher, Cornelius E., *N.J.*
Garmatz, Edward A., *Md*
Gathings, E. C., *Ark*
Gettys, Tom S., *S.C*
Giaimo, Robert N., *Conn*
Gibbons, Sam, *Fla*
Gilbert, Jacob H., *N.Y*
Gilligan, John J., *Ohio*
Gonzalez, Henry B., *Tex* — 200 C St. SE.
Goodell, Charles E., *N.Y* — 3842 Macomb St.
Grabowski, Bernard F., *Conn.*
Gray, Kenneth J., *Ill*
Green, Edith (Mrs.), *Oreg*
Green, William J., *Pa*
Greigg, Stanley L., *Iowa* — 301 G St. SW.
Grider, George W., *Tenn* — 119 7th St. SE.
Griffin, Robert P., *Mich*
Griffiths, Martha W. (Mrs.), *Mich.*
Gross, H. R., *Iowa*
Grover, James R., Jr., *N.Y*
Gubser, Charles S., *Calif*
Gurney, Edward J., *Fla*
Hagan, G. Elliott, *Ga*
Hagen, Harlan, *Calif*
Haley, James A., *Fla*
Hall, Durward G., *Mo*
Halleck, Charles A., *Ind* — 4926 Upton St.
Halpern, Seymour, *N.Y*
Hamilton, Lee H., *Ind*
Hanley, James M., *N.Y*
Hanna, Richard T., *Calif*
Hansen, George, *Idaho*
Hansen, John R., *Iowa* — 800 4th St. SW., Apt. S-701
Hansen, Julia Butler (Mrs.), *Wash.*
Hardy, Porter, Jr., *Va*
Harris, Oren, *Ark* — 1627 Myrtle St.
Harsha, William H., *Ohio*
Harvey, James, *Mich*
Harvey, Ralph, *Ind*
Hathaway, William D., *Maine.*
Hawkins, Augustus F., *Calif.*
Hays, Wayne L., *Ohio* — 3424 Barger Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Hébert, F. Edward, *La* — 26 Cockrell St., Alexandria, Va.
Hechler, Ken, *W. Va*
Helstoski, Henry, *N.J*
Henderson, David N., *N.C*
Herlong, A. S., Jr., *Fla*
Hicks, Floyd V., *Wash*
Holifield, Chet, *Calif*
Holland, Elmer J., *Pa*
Horton, Frank J., *N.Y*
Hosmer, Craig, *Calif*
Howard, James J., *N.J*
Hull, W. R., Jr., *Mo*
Hungate, William L., *Mo*
Huot, J. Oliva, *N.H*
Hutchinson, Edward, *Mich*
Ichord, Richard (Dick), *Mo.*
Irwin, Donald J., *Conn*
Jacobs, Andrew, Jr., *Ind*
Jarman, John, *Okla*
Jennings, W. Pat, *Va*
Joelson, Charles S., *N.J*
Johnson, Albert W., *Pa*
Johnson, Harold T., *Calif*
Johnson, Jed, Jr., *Okla*
Jonas, Charles Raper, *N.C*
Jones, Paul C., *Mo* — 1111 Army-Navy Dr., Arlington, Va.
Jones, Robert E., *Ala*
Karsten, Frank M., *Mo*
Karth, Joseph E., *Minn*
Kastenmeier, Robert W., *Wis.*
Kee, James, *W. Va* — 5441 16th Ave., Hyattsville, Md.
Keith, Hastings, *Mass* — 5906 Harwick Rd.,
Kelly, Edna F. (Mrs.), *N.Y.*
Keogh, Eugene J., *N.Y* — The Mayflower
King, Carleton J., *N.Y*
King, Cecil R., *Calif*
King, David S., *Utah*
Kirwan, Michael J., *Ohio*
Kluczynski, John C., *Ill*
Kornegay, Horace R., *N.C*
Krebs, Paul J., *N.J*
Kunkel, John C., *Pa*
Laird, Melvin R., *Wis*
Landrum, Phil M., *Ga*
Langen, Odin, *Minn*
Latta, Delbert L., *Ohio*
Leggett, Robert L., *Calif*
Lennon, Alton, *N.C*
Lindsay, John V., *N.Y*

Appendix

International Financial Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an outstanding address by Hon. Henry H. Fowler, Secretary of the Treasury, before the Virginia State Bar Association at the Homestead, Hot Springs, Va., on July 10, 1965, on the subject of "International Finance."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE HENRY H. FOWLER, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, BEFORE THE VIRGINIA STATE BAR ASSOCIATION AT THE HOMESTEAD, HOT SPRINGS, VA., SATURDAY, JULY 10, 1965

For a Virginian, the honor of sharing in this 75th annual meeting of the association is exceeded only by the pleasure of seeing so many old friends of my native Roanoke and my adopted home of Alexandria.

For an erstwhile lawyer, the privilege of speaking to this distinguished bar, including most notably the 14 life members, is surpassed only by the temerity of choosing international monetary problems as a subject for discussion. But Virginians have always been heavily concerned with and leaders in providing for the United States an appropriate role in international affairs. And Virginians have in this century made notable contributions to and set high standards for the conduct of public financial affairs.

For a Secretary of the Treasury from Virginia, this is a welcome opportunity to pay tribute to two great living Virginians who bear heavy national responsibilities in the fields of finance, taxation, money, credit and banking, holding two of the most important posts in the U.S. Congress in these areas. I refer to Senator HARRY BYRD and Senator WILLIS ROBERTSON, who serve the Commonwealth and the Nation with distinction and dedication as chairmen of the Senate Finance Committee and the Senate Banking and Currency Committee respectively. No other State is represented by two Senators whose influence and prestige exceeds their seniority by so great a margin. As chairmen of the two committees with which the Treasury, acting for the executive branch, has most of its dealings with the Senate, I am indebted to them for their constant courtesy and their impeccable fairness.

They carry on the tradition of an earlier national statesman from Virginia in the field of public finance in this century; namely, Carter Glass. His service, both in the Congress and as Secretary of the Treasury, is particularly remembered throughout the world of financial affairs. He contributed in a major way to the creation and development of the Federal Reserve System which served to correct many of the outstanding defects of the preexisting national financial arrangements which in many ways find their counterpart in the international financial world of today.

It is to these international financial problems that I would direct your attention this evening.

We have all heard or read a great deal in recent months about the problem this Nation faces in its balance of payments and about the need for the nations of the free world to move toward agreement on ways of assuring the financial resources needed to support increasing international trade and development.

Indeed, world financial questions have never occupied a more prominent place in public discussion than they do today. But to most Americans, I suspect, these problems still seem rather remote from their daily lives and labors—rather unrelated, even, to the other national and international events that engage so much of our interest and our concern. Nor is it unnatural that they should pale beside events such as those in Saigon or in Santo Domingo.

But we must never forget that America's ability to succeed in its difficult and demanding role as leader of the free world—that all the political, diplomatic, and military resources at our command—depend upon a strong and stable American economy and a sound dollar.

We must never forget that our lives can be vitally affected, not only by the events in Saigon or Santo Domingo, but by such apparently far removed occurrences as the outflow of American gold and dollars abroad.

For the role of the dollar as the most widely used international currency is part and parcel of America's leading role in the free world—politically, economically, militarily. More than any other single factor, it is the strength and the soundness and the stability of the American dollar that serves as the essential underpinning of the entire free world monetary system through which the interdependent nations of the free world have fashioned their awesome economic accomplishments of the past several decades.

The solution of our balance-of-payments difficulties and the strengthening of the international monetary system are thus far more than merely arid economic exercises. They are crucial matters which must deeply concern—for, in a broad but very real sense, they deeply affect—not just bankers and businessmen and economists, but every American in every walk of life.

What, then, is our balance-of-payments problem? Why is it so important that we solve it?

Since 1949, the United States has had balance of payments deficits every year except for 1957—when our exports soared as a result of the Suez crisis. During that first postwar decade—up until 1958—those deficits were little cause for concern, for they were simply the counterpart of our effort to help rebuild a Europe laid waste by war. Our vast outpouring of dollars was the essential source-spring for replenishing the reservoir of international reserves and liquidity required by a Western Europe and a Japan whose financial, as well as physical, resources war had drastically depleted.

Under the Marshall plan and other programs, we furnished some $30 billion in grants and loans to help put the economies of Europe back on their feet again. With the recovery of Europe, we turned more and more of our dollars toward aiding the underdeveloped countries of the world. We also sent dollars abroad to support large military forces and furnish military aid essential for the defense of the free world.

These measures were eminently successful. By the mid-fifties the economies of Europe and Japan were strong and growing, controls and restrictions on trade and payments were being progressively dismantled, and in 1958 external convertibility of the leading European currencies was restored.

But this progress was accompanied by other developments that led to U.S. balance-of-payments deficits far larger than Europe required and than we could live with indefinitely. Rising prices in this country had weakened our competitive position at a time when Europe and Japan had once again become a formidable competitive force in world markets. At the same time, the strength of Europe's economic resurgence and its new-won financial stability began to attract growing amounts of American capital abroad.

Thus, beginning in 1958, things changed—and more swiftly perhaps than most people realized. The dollar shortage which Europe had suffered in the early postwar years was fast disappearing.

During the 7 years 1950–57, our deficits averaged only $1.5 billion a year—and at the end of that period our gold stock amounted to about $22 billion, or more than a third larger than the total volume of dollars held by all foreigners.

Yet over the next 3 years—1958–59–60—our balance of payments deficits averaged almost $4 billion a year. Other countries found their dollar holdings growing more rapidly than they wished, and our gold began flowing abroad in much greater volume—roughly $5 billion in 3 years.

That was the situation that confronted us in early 1961, when we launched a strong and sustained effort to move our international payments into balance once more.

Over a period of 4 years—1961–64—we achieved substantial improvements in many separate accounts entering into our balance of payments, including: A $900 million gain in our commercial trade surplus—those not financed by Government—making it a record $3.7 billion in 1964; a $400 million cut in the dollar outflow as a result of foreign aid; a cut of nearly $700 million in net military dollar outlays despite rising costs abroad; and a $1.6 billion rise in our earnings from past private foreign investments.

Simply as a matter of arithmetic, those gains were enough—all else being equal—to have given us virtual balance in our payments last year. But all other things were not equal. Instead of approaching the vanishing point, with the $3.9 billion deficit of 1960 being absorbed by these gains in particular sectors of our payments totalling $3.6 billion, our deficit in 1964 was in fact reduced by a net total of only $300 million to $3.1 billion.

We incurred that deficit—despite 4 years of real and lasting progress—primarily because of a drastic deterioration in the one major area of our balance of payments which our programs had not yet effectively reached in a comprehensive way—the area of private foreign investment outflows.

In 1964, the outflow of private capital abroad reached the $6½ billion mark—more than twice the size of the deficit and up over $2 billion from 1963 and over $2½ billion from 1960. That outflow reflected a variety of causes—including the drive by American

business to stake out a claim in the rapidly growing and seemingly highly profitable European markets. But, to a very large degree, the accelerating outflow had its source in the marked disparity that had long existed between European capital markets and our own—a disparity in size and scope and facilities that led borrowers in other countries to tap our market for a large share of their capital requirements. The United States had often enough called attention to this disparity and urged its European friends to expand and improve their markets. But their progress in that endeavor had simply not been large and rapid enough, and we had passed the point where we could sustain the huge drain of capital which that disparity entailed.

We had to act. We had not only to intensify the efforts already underway in other sectors of our balance of payments, but to extend those efforts to include comprehensive curbs upon private capital outflows. It had become abundantly clear that to restore balance to our payments once more we had to attack our deficit on all major fronts simultaneously. President Johnson launched such an attack with his February 10 message to Congress on the balance of payments. The heart of that message was the call to arms of America's businesses and banks—the call to join voluntarily in a national effort to curb the outflow of dollars abroad, while preexisting programs were intensified.

That call has been heard—and heeded. After a bad start in January, our balance of payments improved in February following the President's message and showed a surplus in March, in April, and in May.

Thus we are off to a good beginning, but—let there be no mistake—it is no more than a beginning. Let no one think that a few months of apparent surplus—a surplus purchased only through extraordinary and temporary measures—can suffice.

The likelihood of a surplus in the second quarter of this year does tell us that we are moving in the right direction—that our current measures can turn our deficit into a surplus. But the big job—the job that remains—is for us to demonstrate that we can sustain equilibrium through these measures as well as the longer term measures inaugurated since 1961. We must maintain those extraordinary measures in full force until rising returns from past private investment abroad, our improved climate for domestic employment of capital, enlarged availability of capital in markets abroad and growth in our trade balance—which requires that we maintain our excellent record of price stability—place our accounts securely in equilibrium.

It is imperative not simply to reach balance in our payments for a quarter or two, or even for a year, but to sustain equilibrium over time. The reasons are clear. Our 14 years of deficits have resulted in a large outflow of dollars to the rest of the world. Because there is worldwide confidence in the stability of those dollars and because they are convertible into gold at the fixed price of $35 an ounce, those dollars are widely used to finance international transactions, and other countries hold them alongside gold in their official reserves.

Today, those dollars—some $27 billion—account for a major share of the international liquidity that sustains the growing free world economy. Some $12 billion of those dollars are in official reserves, while the remainder serve to support growing world trade and investment. Thus, it is essential to the viability of the international monetary system as it exists today that the usefulness and value of those dollars remain unquestioned throughout the world. And, whatever changes might be introduced into that system, the dollar will have to continue to carry a heavy burden as a reserve currency.

If we allowed our deficits to continue, or if we lapsed back into prolonged deficit after a brief period of surplus, we would undermine world confidence in the dollar and impair its usefulness as a world reserve and leading currency. Dollars would return to our shores as claims on our gold, thus depleting instead of supplementing world financial resources. To prevent such a contraction in world liquidity and the widening circles of deflation and restriction that would surely follow, we must reach and maintain equilibrium in our payments as a matter of the highest national priority, along with sustaining the economic advance that has marked the last 53 months.

The paradox is, therefore, that the very increase in official foreign dollar holdings that has fueled so much of the growth in world liquidity in the past—and has thus helped support the growth in world trade—can no longer be allowed to continue if current international liquidity is to be protected. Yet without additions to the reserve dollars that our deficits have so long supplied, the world will need a new and assured source of growing liquidity to support increasing world trade and investment.

This, in a nutshell, is what the issue of world monetary reform is all about. It is to assure ample world liquidity for the years ahead that the United States, in cooperation with other leading financial powers, is seeking workable ways of strengthening and improving international financial arrangements.

For several years now the essential laying of the technical groundwork has been underway as the United States has joined with other major countries in comprehensive studies of the international monetary system—its recent evolution, its present effectiveness and its future. An early conclusion was that there are two elements in international liquidity; on the one hand the more conventional reserves of gold and reserve currencies and on the other hand the ready availability of credit facilities for countries in need of temporary assistance.

As long ago as 1961 the 10 major industrial nations, now known as the Group of Ten, negotiated with the International Monetary Fund a so-called general arrangements to borrow whereby the 10 nations agreed to lend to the IMF up to $6 billion should this be necessary "to forestall or cope with an impairment of the international monetary system." That arrangement was activated last December and again this May in order to provide a part of a $2.4 billion drawings from the IMF on the part of the United Kingdom.

On the credit side, also, the members of the International Monetary Fund have now agreed to support a 25 percent general increase in IMF quotas. This 25 percent increase, plus special increases for some 16 countries, will raise total aggregate quotas from $15 billion to around $21 billion. The Congress last month approved a $1,035 million increase in the U.S. quota.

Meanwhile, the Group of Ten and the International Monetary Fund have been continuing their studies of the future course of world liquidity. Deputies of the Group submitted a comprehensive report on the problems involved last August. In their ministerial statement last August, the Group of Ten stated that while supplies of gold and reserve currencies are fully adequate for the present and are likely to be for the immediate future, the continuing growth of world trade and payments is likely to require larger international liquidity. While they said that this need might be met by an expansion of credit facilities, they added that it may possibly call for some new form of reserve asset.

A study group was set up "to examine various proposals regarding the creation of reserve assets either through the IMF or otherwise." The efforts of that group have culminated in the so-called Ossola report, submitted to the Deputies of the Group of Ten on June 1 of this year, which exhaustively examines, with all their promises and pitfalls, the possible paths to the creation of reserve assets.

Now for the first time in 4 years we are confronted by the happy concurrence of three crucial facts:

1. The U.S. balance of payments is approaching an equilibrium and the executive branch, the Congress, and the private sector, including industry, banking, and labor, have mounted a program that makes unmistakably manifest our determination to keep it that way.

2. Evidence is accumulating of a rising tide of opinion in many knowledgeable and influential quarters in the free world, private and public, that our international monetary arrangements can and should be substantially improved, building on the basis of the International Monetary Fund and the network of more informal international monetary cooperation that has marked recent years.

3. The completion of technical studies necessary to give a thorough understanding of the problem and various alternative approaches to solution on the part of those at the highest levels of government who must ultimately make these decisions.

We have now reached the moment which President Johnson had in mind when in speaking of new international monetary steps he said: "We must press forward with our studies and beyond, to action—evolving arrangements which will continue to meet the needs of a fast growing world economy. Unless we can make timely progress, international monetary difficulties will exercise a stubborn and increasingly frustrating drag on our policies for prosperity and progress at home and throughout the world."

In taking office, I described this as "the major task facing our Treasury and the financial authorities of the rest of the free world in the next few years."

In recent weeks we have moved beyond the plane of hope and technical studies toward the prospect of more conclusive negotiations from which alone solution can emerge. I met last week with the British Chancellor of the Exchequer James Callaghan and we exchanged preliminary and tentative views on the subject of international liquidity.

Next week I hope to have the pleasure of informal discussions with the Japanese Minister of Finance, Takeo Fukuda, in connection with the Joint Cabinet sessions of the United States-Japan Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs.

Both before and after the scheduled meeting of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank in late September, I expect to visit ranking financial officials of other Group of Ten countries, to ascertain firsthand their views on the most practical and promising ways of furthering progress toward improved international monetary arrangements. We must not only be prepared to advance our own proposals, but to carefully consider and fairly weigh the merits of other proposals. As Congressman ROBERT ELLSWORTH, of Kansas, in discussing this subject recently remarked: "We must appreciate that if we wish a strong Europe it must be a Europe strong enough to look upon an American proposal as merely one among many possible solutions—all of which will be reviewed together. If we wish their partnership, we must treat them as partners."

Already your Government is engaged in an intensive internal preparation for these bilateral meetings and multilateral negotiations that should follow. In addition, so that the Government may have the benefit of some of the expertise and experience outside the Government in this highly technical

area, President Johnson has accepted my recommendation and announced creation of an Advisory Committee on International Monetary Arrangements which includes as its Chairman the former Secretary of the Treasury, Douglas Dillon, and a distinguished group of experts including Robert Roosa, former Under Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs; Kermit Gordon, former Director of the Bureau of the Budget; Edward Bernstein, economic consultant specializing in international monetary policy; Andre Meyer, of the investment banking firm of Lazard Freres; David Rockefeller, president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, and Charles Kindleberger, professor of economics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

With their help and that of many others who will be consulted including, particularly, many well-informed members of the appropriate committees of Congress, we shall constantly seek a comprehensive U.S. position and negotiating strategy designed to achieve substantial improvement in international monetary arrangements thoroughly compatible with our national interests. In the various proposals which have and will be made we must determine those which will be acceptable to the United States, those which are entirely unacceptable, and those which may well be appropriate for negotiation.

There will be an initial meeting of the Advisory Committee on International Arrangements on July 16. Hearings are planned before the International Finance Subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee under the chairmanship of Congressman HENRY REUSS, of Wisconsin, to obtain various private and organizational points of view. These hearings and the reports of the committee will be of great value, together with those of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress and the International Finance Subcommittee of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee under the chairmanship of Senator EDMUND MUSKIE, of Maine.

I am privileged to tell you this evening that the President has authorized me to announce that the United States now stands prepared to attend and participate in an international monetary conference that would consider what steps we might jointly take to secure substantial improvements in international monetary arrangements. Needless to say, if such a conference is to lead to a fruitful and creative resolution of some of the free world's monetary problems, it must be preceded by careful preparation and international consultation.

To meet and not succeed would be worse than not meeting at all. Before any conference takes place, there should be a reasonable certainty of measurable progress through prior agreement on basic points.

Our suggestion is that the work of preparation be undertaken by a preparatory committee which could be given its terms of reference at the time of the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund this September.

The United States is not wedded to this procedure nor to any rigid timetable. I shall exchange views with my colleagues in Europe and elsewhere, as well as with the senior officials of the International Monetary Fund, on how best to proceed. The point I wish to emphasize here is that the United States is determined to move ahead—carefully, deliberately—but without delay. Not to act when the time is ripe can be as unwise as to act too soon or too hastily.

We are, therefore, moving ahead—and we are making progress. But we mut be aware that the issues involved are complex, and they raise basic questions of national interest. It is not, therefore, easy to arrive at the degree of international consensus we must have for any workable reform of the international monetary system. We can expect no overnight solution—but only patient exploration of the alternatives with our trading partners in a spirit of mutual cooperation. This is the course we are now pursuing.

As we move ahead, we will do well to remember that the existing international financial system has successfully financed an unparalleled expansion in world trade and payments. We have also done much in recent years to strengthen that system. The need now is not to start all over again, to move in a completely new direction. Rather, we must move once more to strengthen and improve the existing arrangements.

And while we proceed solidly and surely toward international agreement on the problems of world liquidity, we in this country must keep ever before us the present and pressing need to protect the existing international payments system by maintaining a strong, sound, and stable dollar. First things must come first. We are bringing our own payments into equilibrium and we must keep them in equilibrium. By resolutely shouldering that responsibility we will preserve the foundation upon which must rest all efforts to assure free world growth in the years ahead—the monetary system that has served the free world so well in the past.

Coinage Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill, H.R. 8926, to provide for the coinage of the United States.

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 minutes.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a quick question?

Mr. WIDNALL. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. If we are in such short supply with respect to silver, why have we been exporting so much silver? Why the jump in the exportation of silver in the last year?

Mr. WIDNALL. Is the gentleman from Iowa asking me that question or the previous speaker?

Mr. GROSS. Yes, if the gentleman would yield to the gentleman from Texas so that he may answer. Why the increase—the tremendous increase in the exportation of silver last year if we have been in such short supply in this country.

Mr. PATMAN. I will say to the gentleman, we have no law against the exportation of silver. This is a free economy and free enterprise.

Mr. GROSS. I expected that kind of an answer from the gentleman. I expected just about that much of an answer from the gentleman.

Mr. PATMAN. We imported much more than we exported so the gentleman can be happy with that answer.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WIDNALL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. CONTE. The fact is that we have exports of silver right now because of the law that Congress pased with regard to silver certificates. Foreigners have these silver certificates and they can redeem them and take the silver out of the country. That is the answer to that question.

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Chairman, I think there is an unquestioned need for this change in the coinage system. We are all aware of the drain on silver that has been happening in the last few years and we are aware of the greatly increased consumption by silver users, by our defense operations and also in the photographic industry.

The Treasury at the present time has approximately 1 billion ounces of silver which is sufficient to carry through for possibly another 3 years of coinage, that is with the present amount of silver in each coin.

I would like to read these figures from the committee report:

> From an annual average during the years 1958–60 of about 42 million fine troy ounces of silver used for coinage, there was an increase to 203 million fine troy ounces in 1964. The current rate is 300 million ounces a year.
>
> With the Treasury Department acting as residual supplier to the market and using increasing amounts of silver in coinage, Treasury silver stocks have declined from 2,106 million fine troy ounces at the end of 1958 to 1,218 million fine troy ounces at the end of 1964.

A recent daily statement of the U.S. Treasury showed silver stocks down to 1,000,064,173 ounces.

There is no question about the need, and up to this time there certainly has been no proof shown as to the ability to produce sufficient to meet the demands of annual consumption.

Faced with these hard facts, the Treasury has made recommendations. The committee received the Johnson administration proposal which would have affected the dimes, quarters, and half dollars, so that a so-called sandwich coin would be produced in dimes and quarters with no silver content, and the new half dollars would have a 40-percent silver base.

The following has not been though about in the consideration of the bill.

The administration proposal that the new half dollars have a silver content of 40 percent would establish a new monetary value of silver applicable to the 50-cent piece. The new 50-cent piece would be worth 50 cents in silver if and when the price of silver rose to $3.38 per ounce. A future administration just might be tempted to call in silver, in coins, at some subsequent date and to issue new silver certificates against them on the basis of $3.38 per ounce of monetary value established by the new half dollars. That would be a simple way of creating about a $6 billion bookkeeping profit.

We had a near miss on potentially the biggest silver blunder of all on the part of the administration. On May 15, 1965 there was a White House release on coinage of silver dollars containing the following statement by the President:

> Consequently, I have directed the Mint to proceed with the making of silver dollars up to the amount authorized by the Congress

during the remainder of the current fiscal year ending June 30.

The amount authorized by the Congress was 45 million silver dollars which would have required the use of approximately 33.9 million ounces of silver. Actually, 316,076 of the new silver dollars were struck on a trial run basis before Treasury, with White House approval, reversed the order 9 days later, on May 24. These trial run dollars have since been melted down. Had the order not been reversed, 33.9 million ounces of silver—more than half our entire silver coinage requirements in 1961—would simply have gone into hoarding as new silver dollars. It would have demolished the conclusion of the Treasury study on silver and coinage—released June 3, 1965—that silver was in such short supply that we had to abandon our 173-year-old tradition of silver coinage.

It was this silver dollar fiasco which prompted me to offer an amendment in committee, which was accepted, absolutely banning the minting of silver dollars for a period of 5 years after the date of enactment of the pending bill.

The committee in its wisdom in acting on this bill adopted the Reuss amendment, which provided that no silver would be used in the coinage of the half dollar.

It seems to me and a majority of the committee that if we are making a drastic change in the format of our coins it should apply equally throughout and there should not be anything like a so-called prestige coin—that was the way it was referred to by Treasury officials—in the three basic coins, dimes, quarters, and half dollars. The majority on the committee believed that if we still provide a 40 percent content of silver in the half dollar this would lead to more and more hoarding on the part of the public and more of a drain on the Treasury and a tighter situation again with respect to the circulation of coins.

I have been alarmed in reading recently about some of the things that have been done by the vending industry. I want to put this in the RECORD, because it seems to me they have been pretty well taken care of in this bill.

Senator BIBLE placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 23, 1965, as shown on pages 14042 and 14043, a number of items from the Coin World of May 26, 1965, indicating the sale of coins by vending machine companies.

I will quote some examples:

Dimes, 2,000 dimes, $216.50. Sent prepaid anywhere in the United States. Like our cents, guaranteed unpicked from our vending machines.

We think that dimes because of their silver content are going to be good. Even the common dates. We suggest that you go through the bag and take out the better dimes.

"Walk in" sales always welcome. Hours 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. Saturday.

A. Kantor, First National Vending Service, 5322 West Belmont Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Guaranteed absolutely unsearched. Bagged by electric counter just as taken from vending, gum ball, cigarette machines. Try us once and you will reorder; $50 bag cents $54, $100 bag nickles $105, $100 bag dimes $105, $100 bag quarters $105, $500 bag dimes, quarters, special $514. Reference Southern Bank & Trust, Greenville. Express collect. Summey's 300 Blue Ridge Drive, Greenville, S.C.

Los Angeles, Calif.: Bags of vending machine coins. Guaranteed numismatically untouched; 5,000 cents, $52; 500 dimes, $52; 1,000 nickels, $52; 200 quarters, $52.

Walk-in sales welcomed. All shipments via REA freight collect. No personal checks accepted. Acme Vending Machine Co., 1696 West Washington Boulevard, Los Angeles, Calif.

One thousand nickels $55; 500 dimes $53.50; 200 quarters $53.50. Shipped prepaid numismatically untouched from our own cigarette vending machines located in metropolitan New York. Send money order or certified check to: Aetna Automatic Vending Corp., 750 10th Avenue, New York, N.Y.

Direct from gumball machines in New England. Cents or nickels, one $50 bag $55; two $50 bags, $107; three $50 bags, $160; six $50 bags, $315. From jukeboxes and cigarette machines. Dimes, quarters, and halves, $100 at $105; $200 at $208. Guaranteed unsearched or money refunded. Freight collect, cheapest way. King Vending, Box 4153, East Providence, R.I.

Poverty area coins, direct from our own vending machines to you. Numismatically untouched. Most our customers repeat, some every week. Need say more? $50 bags of cents $55, $50 nickels $54, $50 dimes $53. If quantity totals $150, deduct $3. Southeastern Venders, 419 Quincy, Knoxville, Tenn.

The vending machine industry has evidently been a great contributor to the coin shortage through its own hoarding. I think the Congress in its wisdom must consider, if this continues in any way, shape, or form after this bill is passed, some drastic laws in connection with the hoarding of coins and stiff penalties on the melting down of coins. We should take every step to assure that there will be no profit in destroying our coins should the price of silver rise above its monetary value at some time in the future. Quite clearly the public is responsible for the hoarding of the Kennedy half dollars. I believe the latest figures from the Treasury indicate that about 300 million Kennedy half dollars have been coined. You rarely see them in circulation. They have become important keepsake coins. People want to pass them on, I suppose, from generation to generation.

It seems to me that we will again run into this same unfortunate circumstance of hoarding, if we continue to have the only silver content in the Kennedy half dollars. I hope that we are doing the very best that we can in a tight situation to provide coins that will be thoroughly acceptable to the American people. They certainly are backed by the full faith and credit of the United States. I hope that they will prove highly acceptable to our people.

There has been some criticism about the fact that there were not enough hours spent in considering this legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has expired.

Mr. WIDNALL. I yield myself 2 additional minutes, Mr. Chairman.

To the best of my knowledge, those who sought to be heard were heard by the committee. There was testimony from all the segments of our economy that would be affected by the legislation—the silver producers, the silver users, and those concerned with the vending industry. It is true that the committee changed the administration's recommendation so that today something that was acceptable to those who were testifying at the time might not be acceptable to them now because of the change. This is probably particularly true with respect to the silver producers, but I feel from their own testimony at the time that they appeared before the committee that they endorsed the bill. They found no particular fault with eliminating silver from the dimes and quarters and they did not seem too disturbed actually about what was going to took place with respect to silver. I believe the silver producers have been treated quite well with a guaranteed minimum price of $1.25 an ounce. If silver is allowed to go free, as they actually desire, we could have the greatest coin shortage in the history of the United States, or in the history of any modern nation. We certainly cannot afford to let that take place. I believe that the bill that is being recommended to the House today is a far better bill than that which the administration offered. If accepted by the House, it seems to me we could effect, with the Senate, a bill that can do justice to a good coinage system and provide coins in which our public can have confidence.

I urge the adoption of the bill.

Epirus: A People and a Cause

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAT McNAMARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, on July 2, 1965, Representative LUCIEN N. NEDZI, Representative from Michigan's 14th District, delivered a significant address at the National Pan Epirotic banquet held in the Sheraton-Cadillac Hotel, Detroit.

His pertinent remarks on the continuing contributions of Greece to the cultural development of the West deserve a wider audience. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the text of his address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EPIRUS: A PEOPLE AND A CAUSE

(By Congressman LUCIEN N. NEDZI)

One of the joys of public office is meeting and getting to know a wide variety of people with all kinds of interests and of all ethnic backgrounds.

I have found in them varying degrees of national pride. But with the Greeks, I have found not only pride of nation, but pride of province, whether one's répos is Sparta, or Arcadia or Epirus. This feeling contributes to a richness of heritage probably unmatched by any other people—you here tonight have the unrivaled heritage of an-

cient Greece plus the considerable heritage of Epirus itself.

I have also found, with some amazement, what some of my Greek friends call "the Greek underground": not only does every Greek know many other Greeks, but every Epiroti seems to know every other Epiroti, whether they live in the same city or not.

Americans of Epiroti blood have been working for the cause of their brothers for 50 years. I think it is significant that you have made freedom and self-determination the primary concern of your organization. Your leadership has, through the years, assembled a persuasive case in behalf of this cause.

An equal objective of your organization, and one which has met with high success, is to instill in every member an appreciation of American citizenship and loyalty to the United States and its flag.

I might say that the Epirotes I have known need no lessons in patriotism. The fever of patriotism seems to be in your blood, and I think you can give lessons, not receive them.

We may be seeing a renaissance in Greek culture today. I believe that Greece is riding the crest of notable new achievements.

All civilized men and women owe something to ancient Greece, and particularly to the Golden Age of Greece. While Greece has had its subsequent ups as well as downs, it may now be approaching its greatest years since the Golden Age. As you know, there has been a sharp upturn of interest in contemporary Greece. This has been created, in part, by Greece's great lure for tourists, for it is a land which offers antiquity combined with wonderful climate and hospitable people. But it has also been created by the increasing Greek contributions to 20th-century culture.

I think of Mitropoulos and Callas and Hadjidakis in music, Kazan and Cocoyannis, Mercouri and Cassavetes in the theater, Kazantzakis and Seferis in literature, Doxiadis in urban planning. And there are thousands more, not yet as well known, but destined to contribute greatly.

We can expect a further flowering of Greek thought and achievement because Greeks, as a rule, have a high respect for education. Education is being made universal in today's Greece—and this will bear fruit. Moreover, the offspring of Greek immigrants have reached maturity in the English-speaking nations and they will make their mark in increasing numbers.

I know from my own experience that Greek families will make every sacrifice for the education of their children. The results are everywhere around us—there are thousands of Greek-American lawyers, teachers, engineers, businessmen, and doctors. Moreover, like their parents, they are good family people, revering the family as the foundation of the good life.

In Greece itself, during the term of Prime Minister Karamanlis, political and monetary stability was achieved and much progress made in road construction, rural electrification and tourism. Under the new Prime Minister, Mr. Papandreou, economic growth has continued while a new emphasis has been placed on education. I note that education has now been made free and universal. Inevitably, there are bound to be positive results from this.

Speaking as an amateur, when it comes to Greek affairs, there are some flaws in the picture, to be sure.

The continuing crisis in Cyprus is one. I believe the tide is running in the direction of enosis. Eventually, enosis, with some allowance for minority rights, will come to pass.

Another flaw, it seems to me, is the continued drain of Greek manhood to the labor-short nations of West Germany and Belgium and Australia. They go because there are not enough jobs in Greece. More should have been allowed into the United States.

To be frank, U.S. immigration quotas are very unfair to Greece. Even the new immigration bill, which we expect to pass in this session, and which raises the Greek quota from 308 to 3,500, is only a modest improvement. At any rate, the excessive drain of Greek labor can only be corrected by economic expansion in Greece itself.

A third flaw has been the education field, from which attention was diverted by wars, reconstruction, and other pressing needs. Greece, I am surprised to learn, has only two universities, together with some technical schools. I am therefore pleased to learn that a new university is planned for Patras, where modern methods of teaching can be applied and where Greek men of learning, now scattered all over the faculties of the globe, can return for a year or more of teaching. I hope this expansion will carry to Yannina, in Epirus. While I have never been there, I am told it is a beautiful setting and that it was an ancient seat of learning. Perhaps it will again become a center of intellectual achievement.

The Greek Renaissance is carrying to the Detroit area. Our neighbor, the city of Ypsilanti, named after a hero of the Greek revolution of 1821, is planning a Greek theater, where classical plays will be produced. This will be the first theater of this type in America, and I was happy to discuss its plans with its founder, Mrs. Clara Owens, in my Washington office last week.

If there is indeed a Greek Renaissance, I expect people of Epiroti blood to play an important part in it, just as they always have.

If Epirus, including Northern Epirus, wasn't a land of Greek national sentiment, it would have been swallowed up without a murmur long ago. But the fact is that Epirus—all of Epirus—is Greek.

The Greek character of Northern Epirus rests on history, ethnology, and international law. But it rests especially on the determination of its people, which has demonstrated again and again its commitment to freedom.

Northern Epirus is Christian in religion, and clearly Greek in sentiment, culture, language, and aspiration.

In every century, great powers, in the aftermath of war, have carelessly, or mistakenly, or treacherously drawn boundaries which ignored the interests of the people directly involved. Sometimes this leads to more war, as in the case of Korea's 38th parallel, drawn almost as an afterthought by tired leaders distracted by other problems. Almost always, improperly drawn boundaries lead to injustice and suffering. This has happened in northern Epirus.

In 1920, the U.S. Senate passed a resolution saying it was "the sense of the Senate that northern Epirus, the Dodecanese Islands, and the western coast of Asia Minor, where a strong Greek population predominates, should be awarded by the peace conference to Greece." But the peace conference failed to agree.

As you know, it was not until after World War II that the Dodecanese were given to Greece, while the disaster of 1921–22 and the exchange of populations established Turkish preeminence in Asia Minor.

The claim was renewed at the peace conference after World War II but failed due mainly to violent opposition from Soviet Russia.

Because northern Epirus is a small area, of small population, and because a remedy is so terribly difficult under present circumstances, its cause does not press itself on the attention of international public opinion. A further reason is that some people who raise an uproar over injustices committed by colonial but free world powers remain silent when the oppressors are Communist, mainly because democratic nations are more likely to provide relief than are tyrannies.

I would be less than frank if I did not confirm what you already know, that is, that the quesiton of Epirus is not on the agenda of congressional attention. Naturally, the primary concern is about the red hot problems of Vietnam, Red China, and the Dominican Republic. Nevertheless, your efforts and your cause are not without hope.

Situations constantly change and opportunities come and go. What may seem impossible today becomes possible tomorrow.

Time To Pass Auto Safety Standards Legislation To Save Lives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of my bill H.R. 9303 to require that all automobiles be equipped with the 17 safety features soon to be included on automobiles purchased by the Federal Government.

Statistics provided by Elmer Paul of the U.S. Public Health Accident Prevention Bureau indicate that perhaps 25,000 lives annually could be saved if all automobiles featured these safety devices.

Beginning today, a Senate committee will hear testimony from the automobile manufacturers on providing certain safety features for automobiles, including improvements in lights, dashboard, steering wheel, and other equipment on motor vehicles.

I would like to commend the General Motors Corp. for its timely pledge to equip its 1966 passenger cars with 6 of the Government Service Agency's 17 listed safety features, which will be required on Government-owned cars. Other automobile manufacturers, most notably American Motors, have also announced their intention to increase the safety equipment on their new automobiles. At the same time, many State legislatures have recently passed laws requiring safer automobiles.

All of these things are positive measures to stop the slaughter on the highways, that killed almost 50,000 Americans in 1964. However, much more needs to be done, and that is why the Congress should enact legislation I have introduced in this field, and which I have pushed and supported for the last 10 years.

There is a great deal of overlapping in the setting of standards for safety features between the States, and this should be corrected by Federal legislation. The National Highway Users Conference publishes extensive reports of the equipment requirements established for automobiles by the States. Careful study of these reports yields the inevitable conclusion that these laws conflict and overlap to a great degree. In 1964, for example, 11 States passed laws regulating brakes, 6 States enacted leg-

lislation regulating flashing lamps; 5 States passed safe tire laws, and 5 States enacted seat belt requirements. The standards set for these four features were very different.

The reports of the conference also reveal that there is as yet little indication that uniformity will ever characterize State automobile safety laws. And there is no indication that any significant reduction in the appalling fatality rate can ever be achieved if this lack of uniformity prevails. Even the automobile industry appears to prefer a single Federal law to a maze of confusing State laws.

Over the past Fourth of July weekend, 552 persons died within a 78-hour period. That represents 83 more Americans than have died in Vietnam since 1961 and more Americans than have ever died during a comparable period of that weekend.

State efforts to stop this needless slaughter, however commendable, are inadequate. The time has come for Congress to pass a law that will be adequate to save American lives on the highways.

Honoring the Flag

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a communication I have received from the Loyal Boosters Social Club of Bellevue, Ky., on the subject of honoring our flag. This program should be emulated in every part of our country.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOYAL BOOSTERS CLUB, INC.,
Bellevue, Ky.

GENTLEMEN: We, the members of the Loyal Boosters Social Club of Bellevue, Ky., have come up with an idea whereby every individual loyal American can do something for our flag which is a symbol for our country.

We have a membership of approximately 70 members and one of the oldest clubs in northern Kentucky. At our last meeting we passed a resolution whereby every member will fly the American flag every day during the month of July. Instead of celebrating one day of independence, it will be 31 days.

We do not have to remind the American people of this country how our flag has been abused and our embassies have been bombed throughout the world.

We know you all have felt the same anger as we have and as individuals feel absolutely helpless to do anything about it, but as a group we can do plenty. Just imagine every home and business flying the American flag for 1 month throughout the country, what a tremendous impact that would make all over the world.

Instead of seeing the ugly side of America, such as the Selmas and demonstrators, let them see the brighter side of the American people. The individuals, banded together, flying the American flag. If they want pictures of what is going on in America, let them see how 90 percent of the Americans feel.

Can you imagine a group walking down the street with flags flying as far as the eye can see on their way to demonstrate. It is bound to have some effect on them, knowing how the greater majority of the Americans feel.

Some people seem to think that the word "patriotic" is a bad word. We refuse to believe this, given the chance, the American people will always come through. They always have.

We have contacted the mayor and councilmen of Bellevue, Ky., and they are 100 percent for the idea. They have passed a proclamation, proclaiming July as "Rally Around the Flag" month. The U.S. Marines are already behind this idea. We have already received 2,000 books explaining all about our flag and its origin, with more books to follow. We will be happy to give you as many books as you need. The U.S. Marines will also try to get a one-half-hour TV program to tie in with the idea by showing a film about the flag. Sergeant Shelby will also be available to show slides or films to any city, clubs, or organizations that our interested.

The Southern Ohio Bank of Cincinnati will cooperate with us, giving us permission to use their windows for display purposes during the whole month of July. We contacted Sergeant Shelby of the Marines and they will take care of trimming the windows. There are quite a few organizations working with us which are too numerous to mention.

Won't you join us in trying to show the world that as American people we do resent them tearing down our flag. If you are interested won't you let us know.

Thank you and "Rally Around the Flag."

JOSEPH L. DOYLE,
Chairman of the Committee.

P.S.—For further information you can contact any member of the committee: Joseph L. Doyle, Highland Heights, Ky.; James Findley, Cincinnati, Ohio; Jerry Schneider, A.C., Bellevue, Ky.; Jack Wildeboer, Bellevue, Ky.; Joseph Gross, Bellevue, Ky:; William Callery, Dayton, Ky.; Al Grollig, Bellevue, Ky.; Camillis McNamara, Bellevue, Ky.; and Vincent Kariage, Covington, Ky.

The Real Alabama—Part XXVIII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, during the past few weeks, I have inserted material into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD pointing out the progress which is being made in the State of Alabama, primarily along the economic, educational, and industrial line. The assets of the State of Alabama are many, and one of the most colorful and exciting features of our State is its many and varied advantages for the tourists of our Nation.

A recent publication of the Bureau of Publicity and Information of the State of Alabama, entitled "Your Guide to Fun Days in Alabama," points out the many features which will offer one many enjoyable days of travel in the State. I insert herewith material from this publication:

YOUR GUIDE TO FUN DAYS IN ALABAMA

DIFFERENT FUN EVERY DAY

Seashore or mountains, zesty activity or tranquil loafing, history or space age, the swirl of life at the center or poking in offbeat corners, the intimacy of an inn or the luxury of a large hotel.

You can have them all in star-studded Alabama.

During a recent tour of travel writers, one recurrent phrase resounded through mammoth caverns, wafted over blue gulf waters, rustled through venerable historic rooms, lilted across pine-ringed lakes, echoed from picturesque mountain tops—"I had no idea."

Alabama is a myriad of star vacation values.

Richly endowed with scenic beauty and natural wonders, Alabama has a profusion of manmade wonders, too. The enormous variety of exciting choices makes your Alabama vacation a star to sight by.

Surprisingly economical, delightfully friendly, Alabama is abundantly rewarding to travelers.

Discover Alabama for yourselves.

HISTORY

A gentle clime, hospitable terrain, sparkling waters, abundant plant and wildlife are brought together in one geographical area to offer Nature's welcome to man.

Archeological digs attest that Alabama has been a favorite with folks since prehistoric times. Rich in remnants of life through the ages (restored and open to the public), Alabama is heavily sprinkled with the moondust of intriguing history.

The ages unfold in the fascinating fabric of a State that has flourished under seven flags. Paleo man in cliff shelters, Indian mound builders, De Soto's legions, French rule, English dominance, Spanish occupation, bloody Indian wars, graceful agrarianism, tragic Civil War, painful Reconstruction, early industrial development, space history in the making.

Each age has left its imprint upon a land and a people, for you to see in Alabama.

WATER SPORTS

Tan up, ride into the beach on a cresting wave, scuba dive to the deep, fish in secluded serenity, slip along in a listing sailboat, build sandcastles, skitter about in a motorboat in Alabama, star studded with water sports.

Whether your cup of tea is executing nifty capers on water skis, or garbed in happy disarray, gazing with cupped chin across glittering water, Alabama is the perfect place to do it.

Great rivers unwind like magic ribbons through the State.

Giant dams, built by Alabama Power Co. and the Tennessee Valley Authority, have created vast fresh water lakes, their shores opened to recreation. With its numerous natural lakes, Alabama has an astonishing amount of inland shoreline miles. Dotted with fishing docks, boat launching ramps, marinas and beaches, these crystalline waters beckon you to play.
with fishing docks, boat-launching ramps,

Snowy gulf beaches, among the most beautiful in the world, invite you to salt water fun.

Water is just a stone's throw away, wherever you stay, in Alabama.

OUTDOORS

Just being out is a blue-chip occupation in Alabama.

Nature trails abound, and reward hikers with lovely views, beautiful flora (from mountain to tropical), long stretches of water-washed beaches and unexpectedly sculptured rocks, curious caves. Fresh-turned ground often surrenders an Indian artifact.

Fishing is fun, wonderful. From a deep sea romp with a tarpon, the State's official

salt water fish, to setting a hook for smaller fry, the salt water fishing is fine. Surf casting and pier fishing is for anglers of all ages. Scores of species of salt water game fish are taken along the gulf; favorites being pompano, red snapper, and speckled trout. Specks run during the winter months.

Lakes yield smallmouth, largemouth, spotted, and white bass; crappie; walleye; sauger; and sunfish. Rainbow trout are present in and below several of the deep tributary reservoirs. Some of the rough fish, including drum, buffalo, and carp, provide good sport. The big catfish—channel, yellow, and blue—are in a class by themselves.

Hunting begins in October with dove shooting and continues through the winter months with a varied pattern of open seasons on large and small game animals. Ducks, geese, quail, and wild turkey are abundant. Alabama is a sportsman's paradise.

SCENERY

The Appalachian Mountains roll into northern Alabama, festooned in gold and scarlet in autumn, luxuriant in mountain greenery and wild blossoms in spring and summer. Sluiced with silvery streams and cascading waterfalls, split with majestic gorges and colorful canyons, this area has been called "The Little Alps." Unlimited examples of strange geological phenomena, botanical specimens and wondrous views make every mile a miracle mile.

From this elevation of about 1,800 feet the hills diminish southward and give way to the fertile black belt. For decades cotton ruled supreme in this idyllic band of rich earth with its picturesque homes, giant oaks and romantic magnolias.

Farther south is spread semitropical Alabama, bordered by the gentle roll of the Gulf, brilliantly splashed with white sand, blue sea, vivid flowers and Spanish moss.

Photogenic Alabama has been met with soaring enthusiasm by camera buffs, and it's tops for just plain looking.

STAR ATTRACTIONS

Natural wonders, many developed and easily accessible, and historical landmarks, carefully preserved and authentically restored, mean Alabama glitters with star attractions, and vacations are bargain bonanzas in Alabama where family travel-fun money goes a lot further.

And overlaid on this colorful canvas are numerous events and attractions, springing from the varied culture of Alabamians themselves. The gay and fun-filled Mobile Mardi Gras, Birmingham's celebrated Festival of Arts, Dauphin Island's Deep Sea Fishing Rodeo, lovingly tended gardens, the blessing of the shrimp fleet, great steel mills, the "Rocket City," center of our space effort, and more, many more—all frosted with that tantalizing intangible, friendliness, make Alabama an explosion of family fun.

Omaha, Tex., Demonstrates Community Unity—Recreational Facilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, in this day of diminishing rural towns, and the slow phasing out of small communities, it is inspiring to read of a town such as Omaha, Morris County, in the heart of east Texas with a population of 1,250.

This community, realizing their need and necessity for recreation facilities and a general community complex in order to survive as a small town demonstrated an unusual amount of community unity, when they successfully put on a campaign to raise money to build their recreational facilities.

Mr. President, to illustrate a fine accomplishment in the battle of survival of small towns, I ask that the story of Omaha, Tex., published in the Dallas Morning News of Saturday, July 10, 1965, be printed in the Apendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE LITTLE TOWN THAT THOUGHT IT COULD—OMAHA (POPULATION 1,250) PITCHES IN TO BUILD A FINE RECREATION CENTER

(By Fred Pass)

OMAHA, TEX.—A north wind was howling and a freezing mist was in the air one evening last February when a group of citizens gathered in this east Texas town to decide what they needed most.

It was not a night to think of swimming pools and picnic grounds and baseball games in the late afternoon sunshine. But that is precisely what their thoughts turned to. The reason for such out-of-season thinking was a concern for their children and the need for a place for them to play.

Those at the meeting were aware that to many people, small towns such as Omaha (population about 1,250) are simply wide places in the road. They knew that young families often leave these towns to make their homes in cities where such benefits as recreation facilities can be found.

The men of Omaha, all members of a chamber of commerce not big enough to employ a manager, determined to reverse for their town the trend that is shrinking the small towns of America.

What they needed most, they decided, was a recreation center where children and parents might gather in idle hours. Such a recreation complex, they estimated would cost about $35,000.

They announced a campaign to collect that amount of money.

Skeptics let out a whoop. Whoever heard, they asked, of a little town like Omaha raising $35,000 for a playground?

But enough people believed in the project's success to go to work. They got a good start from Randy Moore, a former big league baseball player who now is an Omaha banker, oilman, and rancher. His family donated a 12-acre tract for the recreation center at the north edge of town.

The chamber members formed a nonprofit corporation and called it the Omaha Park and Recreation Association. A mail carrier, Wendall Matthews, was chosen as president. The workers were divided into 10 teams—two men per team—and, with pledge cards, they started knocking on Omaha doors.

Their pitch was simply that they were selling a program of recreation for the children of Paul Pewitt school district, which has an enrollment of 700 students from the Omaha and Naples area. They asked for monthly donations over a 2-year period.

After a week of soliciting, the 10 teams reported pledges totaling $12,000—a long way from the goal, but encouraging. By the end of the second week the amount had climbed to $19,000. But by this time the best prospects had been tapped.

At the close of the third week the pledges amounted to $25,000, but the drive was losing momentum.

The team members met and talked over their troubles. They had to solicit everybody, they decided. More donations, however small, were needed.

Their renewed efforts paid off. By the end of the sixth week they had pledges amounting to $45,000—$10,000 over the goal.

How did they succeed so handsomely?

It was simply that everybody got into the spirit. Fewer than 10 households failed to donate to the campaign.

Buck McGonagill, foreman of the Broseco ranch near Omaha, was one of the first donors, though he has no children.

"I wanted to help other people's children to have something," he said. "And I felt it would be a shot in the arm to our community."

C. H. Wright, a cotton classifier who is away from Omaha much of the time during cotton season, is 74 years old.

"This is a benefit for the younger people," he said. "But the older people will enjoy it too—the picnic area and beautiful trees. I donated it because it gives me more pleasure to sit under a tree out here and watch the youngsters use it than if I was using it myself."

Charley Love, who makes his living principally by mowing lawns, pledged $100. And a farmer near Omaha pledged $100 "if you'll wait till hay haulin' season." A couple of weeks ago they received his donation.

A retired minister, J. M. Lewis, and an auto mechanic, Odis Cline, contributed, as well as employees of Lone Star Steel Co., who live in the area. And Mrs. J. M. Davis, a housewife and organist at the First Methodist Church, was overlooked during the solicitation. So she called for a pledge card.

"I felt as though I had been left out," she said.

With the money and much donated labor by the men of Omaha in their off-duty hours, the 12 acres were turned this past spring into a park containing two baseball fields—one Litle League and one Pony League; a 60 by 90-foot swimming pool, a tennis court, bathhouse and concession stand, an equipped playground area and a picnic area with tables and benches.

Even the scoffers were cheering on that recent June night when no lesser personage than baseball's Casey Stengel—on hand at the request of his friend, Randy Moore—dedicated the recreation complex in phrases that only Stengel could contrive:

"It's terrific like it is for this city in Omaha to put in a structure where you have so many boys in softball and hardball. While you're chasing a baseball you don't get in any trouble, unless you go up and strike out. And if you strike out why you come back to the bench and there's nobody shakes your hand or kisses you or anything, but it puts a man where he is. And good competition is great for the parents.

"I think it's great for the community. It's an amazing thing for families. Why? Watch the parent. Watch the father. Watch the mother. Where he tells the boy what he ought to do, he shouldn't do. The greatest managers in the world today in baseball are the men that are running softball teams and hardball teams, and they have the toughest job and get the poorest pay. And they do the most good in the United States. All these playgrounds are going to be terrific."

The next time a traveler along Highway 67 comes to Omaha and dismisses it as only a wide place in the road, these citizens can reply:

"A wide place indeed. It's the town where people stretched their labors and their pocketbooks wide enough to create a happy place for their young people to live and play."

Dispatch Performs Public Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, the St. Paul, Minn., Dispatch in an editorial published July 7 called to the attention of its readers the actions some of us in the Congress have taken to end illegal political arm-twisting in the Federal work force and to force compliance with the Hatch Act.

It seems quite apparent the Government is most reluctant and unwilling to take the corrective actions so plainly warranted. I can only conclude it will not do so until public indignation is sufficiently aroused. So I am grateful to the Dispatch for the public service it is rendering in bringing these Federal law violations out into the open.

Under unanimous consent I place the editorial in the RECORD at this point in my remarks:

MORE HATCH ACT VIOLATIONS

Representative ANCHER NELSEN and other Congressmen interested in keeping the Federal Civil Service out of the clutches of power hungry politicians often seem to be fighting a losing battle.

They have repeatedly submitted to the House of Representatives documented evidence indicating clear violations of the Hatch Act provision banning the political activity of Federal civil servants.

Last week Representative CHARLES MATHIAS, Republican of Maryland, told the House that several employees of the Commerce Department have been pressured into buying $100 tickets to the 1965 Democratic Congresisonal fund raising dinner.

MATHIAS told the House that several medium grade civil servants were called to a meeting (on Government time) at which it was suggested that it would be appropriate if each of them made $100 contributions. Apparently the implication was clear—failure to contribute might affect future promotion possibilities.

The civil servants exerting this pressure are well aware that they are violating the Hatch Act. But they are even more aware that failure to collect funds for the party would seriously hinder their bureaucratic careers.

Because of NELSEN's persistent campaign, many of these officials are nervous about the possibility of being prosecuted under the Hatch Act. In order to prevent this they have organized a campaign to exempt top grade civil servants from the provisions of the Hatch Act.

NELSEN in a speech on the House floor last week noted that some Civil Service Commission officials are in favor of such an exemption.

Such an exemption would give department heads a free hand and clear conscience in pressuring their underlings for political contributions. And as NELSEN points out, this would result in putting millions of Federal employees more directly under the thumb of politicians.

Unfortunately, the exposures by NELSEN, MATHIAS and others have fallen on the conveniently deaf ears of Democratic Congressmen unwilling to kill the golden goose which helps fill their campaign coffers.

Senators Vote for Ray Parr

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED R. HARRIS

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, in Oklahoma we have one of the most talented newspapermen in the Nation today. Ray Parr, the statehouse reporter and columnist for the Daily Oklahoman, is a gifted writer, an acknowledged authority on Government and politics, a humorist of the first order and a man with a keen sense of fairness.

I have known Ray Parr for 9 years and have never ceased to be amazed by his ability. His column, "Parr for the Course," is an outstanding feature of the Daily Oklahoman and is read by Oklahomans from border to border.

Following my election to the U.S. Senate, I remember Parr's statement that the worst thing they could say about me was that I parted my hair in the middle. To even the score, I would like to say that the worst thing that can be said about Ray Parr is that his hair is parted in the middle, but not by choice.

For many years Parr has covered the Oklahoma capital, and previous to that he was the Daily Oklahoman's correspondent here at the Nation's Capital. I am sure many veterans of the Washington scene remember him.

The Oklahoma State senate recently honored Parr by unanimously passing a resolution commending him and designating him as the 49th member of the State senate. I am happy that the legislative body in which I served for 8 years has given Parr this honor, and I want to associate myself with it. Also, I ask that the Associated Press story on Wednesday, July 7, describing this action, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATORS VOTE FOR RAY PARR

It's now official: Daily Oklahoman Reporter-Columnist Ray Parr is the 49th member of the State senate.

Senators adopted unanimously Wednesday a resolution introduced by Senator Boyd Cowden, Chandler, and coauthored by the other 47 senators commending the veteran newsman for his "faithful and able reporting."

The resolution turned the needle of satire on Parr, whose column each Sunday has been known to singe his fellow senators.

"The notoriety accompanying the actions of the senators reported in the eminent column 'Parr of the Course' is only surpassed by the notoriety received by those senators omitted from such dubious recognition," the resolution said.

It added that Parr "through his stalwart and aggressive support of the free steaks and lamb fry gatherings has earned the respect and admiration of members of the State senate."

"The penetrating needle of satire displayed in the writings of Mr. Ray Parr displays the obvious fact that he possesses a month like a thimble and a brain like a gallon bucket," the resolution said in a new twist on Cowden's earlier statement that some newsmen have brains the size of a thimble and mouths the size of a gallon bucket.

Parr's absence "from his customary position on the floor of the State senate may result in the belief that there is an absence of a quorum."

In conclusion, the measure resolved that Parr "is hereby commended for his outstanding journalistic ability and in recognition thereof is hereby designated as the 49th member of the senate and is assigned, as his permanent throne, the chair located at the northwest corner of the press table."

Congressman Zablocki and Milwaukee Journal Reporter John Reddin Note Eastern European Youths' Disaffection From Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, our relations with Eastern Europe in the future will naturally be strongly influenced by the outlook of the new generation which will be rising to leadership.

It is heartening, therefore, that two astute observers of Eastern Europe have recently found striking evidence of the failure of communism to capture the allegiance of Eastern Europe's youth.

John N. Reddin of the Milwaukee Journal cited the observations of our colleague, Congressman ZABLOCKI, and his own findings in an interesting article in the Milwaukee Journal of July 12.

Congressman ZABLOCKI, who was in Poland as the President's representation to the Posnan Trade Fair, is particularly qualified to sense the feelings of the people because of his deep knowledge of Polish history, culture, and language.

Mr. Reddin is an experienced and perceptive reporter. I believe many Members will be interested in the following article:

CHANGE IN EASTERN EUROPE: REDS LOSING OUT ON FUTURE AS YOUTH REJECTS COMMUNISM

(By John N. Reddin)

Every generation loses its youth to some degree. But the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe have lost their youth almost entirely. This may, in time, be the most significant fact in European politics.

It is a basic tenet of communism that it can build the "new man"—that by indoctrination it can form an entirely new society based on dialectical materialism and the philosophies of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

Eastern Europe has had a a whole generation in which to build the new man. It has failed.

In Cracow, Poland, Representative ZABLOCKI, Democrat, of Wisconsin, was accosted a few days ago by a young man who had heard through Radio Free Europe that ZABLOCKI was in town. The youth and half a dozen companions met the Milwaukee Congressman at Walwel castle. They had been hunting for him for half a day.

The young man pinned a badge on ZABLOCKI with the letters "PW"—standing for

Polska Walczaca, or Fighting Poland. It was the symbol of resistance during the Nazi occupation.

"WE WILL BE FREE"

"We will be free again," the young man said.

"If we had known earlier of your visit, instead of 7 of us we would have had 8,000 young people to honor you. We know, in spite of the refusal of our Government to tell the people, the great help the United States has been to our people. We are friends of the United States."

And he produced a photographer to record a repinning of the "PW" on the Congressman.

"It was an act of courage," ZABLOCKI said.

It was also symbolic of the youth of Poland and much of Eastern Europe. Not in every country could young people be that open in stating their views, and even in Poland it is still dangerous to go so far.

Not all youth is concerned with political freedom or with politics at all. Many, maybe most, reject politics completely and either want an education and a chance to move west or have turned materialists. They seek everything western—music, dances, literature, cameras, transistor radios, pictures of movie stars.

MOVIES FROM WEST

When I visited Prague, most of the movies being shown were from the west. On St. Wenceslas Square, the beautiful shopping and promenade street, a man set up a table as I passed one day and covered it with pictures of an American, the star of a western picture. He was swamped by young buyers.

In Poland especially, American dances are the craze. In city after city, restaurants and night clubs are filled with gyrating young Poles who can equal any Americans in the watusi, frug, the twist or what have you.

In Budapest and Poznan, at two international fairs, young people swarmed around musicians playing popular American music and around replays of television programs featuring Dinah Shore, Frank Sinatra and others.

Plastic construction hats stamped out by an automated machine at the American exhibit in Budapest were so popular and drew such crowds that the machine had to be decommissioned.

U.S. AUTO AN ATTRACTION

An American car draws youngsters like flies. At both exhibits young people climbed over medium priced cars, looked under them and pressed faces against windows to see inside.

There are youngsters who are loyal Communists, of course. But few of them are concerned with old cliches and dogmas. Many are sincerely concerned with basic problems of social justice, equality, and peace—much as socially conscious American students are. Their interest is mankind and its problems.

The youth of 20 years of age and under are different from the young people of 30 and older. This last group went through the Communist takeover and was shocked out of any ideals it may have had by the de-Stalinization movement after 1955. It lived through the liberalization period of 1956 only to be frustrated and disillusioned in later years.

Yet debate about communism is veiled.

MUTED IN POLEMICS

Herbert Reed, in a study for Radio Free Europe, writes:

"If this most explosive aspect of current generational conflict—youth's lack of faith in essentials of Communist doctrine—has, understandably, been muted, in open polemics, what issues, then, have been the focal point of open debate?"

There is, for one thing, the older people's concern about the complete indifference of the young toward politics, their lack of sense of social responsibility and their alleged total preoccupation with material things, particularly the attractive features of a western type consumer society.

"To be sure, much the same can be heard from critics in the west, but behind this criticism in Eastern Europe there must surely be much bitterness on the part of the Communists over their inability to create—out of human material which, theoretically, they were in a position to mold from the very beginning—that 'new man' who was to be born out of the new social and economic relations."

OLDSTERS JARRED

The young are rocking the older generation, Communist and non-Communist alike, by their sharp questions on Stalin and Stalinism. They blame their parents for having looked on and done nothing about the atrocities and terrible conditions that existed in Stalin's day throughout the bloc.

They ask, much as some German youth asks its elders about nazism: "How could you let it happen?" Clear answers are impossible, and the elders have lost authority.

"Youth mercilessly measures the behavior of its parents through that (Stalin) period by absolute standards of morality," Reed says.

"The older generation, including those who genuinely regret whatever role they may have played under the Stalinist regimes, feels that it is grossly misunderstood by the young."

Part of the real dissatisfaction of the youths who are Communists comes from the fact that the road to promotion is closed by older Communists, who are often incompetents. This is particularly true in Czechoslovakia, where old party hacks are legion.

LESS DOGMATISM AHEAD

What happens when the older generation dies off or retires? What happens when the young intelligentsia takes over, as it must in time?

Reed believes that we will at least see "the growth of a more pragmatic, less dogmatic brand of communism" and further challenge to long cherished doctrines.

Youth's revolt is not uniform throughout the bloc. In Bulgaria, youth's protest has been muted. Yet as early as 1962 the regime reported with alarm that some Communist local organizations had not recruited new young people in several years.

Most protest in Bulgaria has come from young writers, as, indeed, it has elsewhere. Some go pretty far. Karol Nikolov, a Bulgarian, published a poem recently that blasted the Stalinist years and said, among other things:

"Years will be needed to heal
The chronic hunger for freedom,
The fatal anemia of justice
And the unnatural death of beauty."

NOVOTNY ISSUES BLAST

Czechoslovakia's young writers are more outspoken and brought this blast from Antonin Novotny, the Communist boss:

"Some articles by young authors show a hidden or even open current of inadmissable opposition, insidious digs at politics and other matters which anger our functionaries, party members, and other honest citizens.

"The spirit of some of them is destructive. * * * The party work is being pictured as a continuous chain of errors. And this in spite of the fact that many an author of such malicious remarks has not yet quite outgrown his baby slippers."

Of concern to leaders also is what the eastern European intelligentsia calls alienation of middle aged and older people.

The word began to be used in Hungary. It involves rejection of politics, of communism, through disillusionment. It weakens the government regimes.

Traffic Violations by Diplomatic Personnel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article on the abuse of diplomatic immunity, published in the New York Daily News.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Daily News, June 25, 1965]

FLANAGAN FORMULA SEEN AS CURE FOR DPLITIS—NEW JERSEY TURNPIKE CHIEF FLEXES MUSCLES AND GETS RESULTS

(By William Federici and Henry Lee)

Like the weather and the water shortage, everybody talks futilely about our diplomatic parking-traffic problems around town. However, unlike meteorology and Croton, we can do something about the DPL's right away.

It would be nicer, of course, if they would police themselves as Christopher Phillpotts, a senior attaché at the British Embassy in Washington, recently did.

When his 18-year-old son got involved in traffic troubles, he gave him a public "wigging," as our cousins across the water call a scolding. More, he made Junior go to the nearest police station, apologize, and turn in his driver's license.

It would be nicer, too, if our own mission at the U.N. briefed each newly arrived guest on our traffic laws.

Actually, they don't even teach the DPL's to drive, as the often-battered entrance U.N. gates prove.

So we should wait so long for self-enlightment to dawn over the East River? Herewith, from a variety of authorities, is what we can do—now.

Remember Flanagan? That's William J., executive director of the New Jersey Turnpike, who has clocked DPL'ers going as fast as 115 miles per hour. Last March, Sierra Leone Ambassador Gershon B. O. Collier finally exhausted Flanagan's long-suffering Celtic patience.

His Excellency was sail-planing along the pike in his 1965 Lincoln limousine at 95 miles per hour when a State trooper overhauled him. Collier paused briefly to dismiss the trooper and was last seen roaring into the outskirts of Newark at 85 miles per hour.

It was than that Flanagan added diplomats to hitchhikers as being positively non grata on his pike.

The fellows get one warning—that's all.

The second time they try to fly, four State police cars will converge on them, fore, aft, and on either side. At cortegelike speed of 5 miles per hour the offenders will be led to the most convenient exit and booted off the pike.

FLANAGAN'S MOVE IS THE TALK OF U.N.

"I don't like talking prematurely," Flanagan told the News, "but I think we've beaten them. Since the incorporation of my system, we haven't had but two instances—and one was for driving too slowly. He was learning to drive, and we gave him whatfor.

"The other was escorted right off, and he is now persona non grata on the turnpike. Yes, I believe the situation has improved 200 percent, and we intend to keep it that way.

"We understand our action has been the talk of the U.N. They have circulated the story so that everyone knows the New Jersey Turnpike is not a private tunnel between New York and Washington.

"They know our rules and are playing by them."

Before the end of this month, all 14 service areas on the pike are being renamed in honor of famous Jerseyites—and we respectfully suggest that one stretch be titled "Flanagan's Way."

THEY HAVE IMMUNITY, NOT DIPLOMATIC LICENSE

To the forthright Flanagan, the basis of our problem here is condoning the action of the DPL'ers and forgetting "it's diplomatic immunity they have—not diplomatic license."

"If New York stopped allowing the diplomats to take license to do whatever they want to, the problem would probably disappear," he believes.

"Show a little muscle. Make them understand you mean business and are not going to kowtow to their every whim. That business of transferring a patrolman for doing his duty was ridiculous. But at least it was rectified."

Maybe, he suggests, New York ought to insist that the Government build a multistory DPL parking garage, and if that isn't feasible, "the problem could still be solved very easily"—by having police wreckers or sanitation department trucks tow away illegally parked cars.

"Take their cars away from them for a day and then let them pay $1.50 for the towing," Flanagan recommends. "This fee isn't too high, but the embarrassment and hardship in the day's loss of the car would get across the message that you aren't fooling."

Certainly, on the rare occasions the city has shown muscle, the DPL'ers have retreated.

When Dr. Barry Auguste, Trinidad U.N. attaché, hassled with a cop, the then Police Commissioner Murphy protested to the State Department, and within 2 weeks, Auguste was yanked home.

BRITAIN COMES UP WITH A FORMULA

For 5 months, the Soviet U.N. mission left a car parked in front of a hydrant on upper Broadway, but the same day the fire department threatened to tow it away, the Redskies removed it.

Or we could tighten immunity as other countries have been doing. Great Britain has been working out new legislation for its diplomatic privileges bill that would distinguish between official and private acts of some 4,000 individuals with only the heads of missions and diplomatic staffs continuing to hold full immunity.

"We propose to take a rather sterner line, insofar as we can, over motoring offenses," Lord Carrington said darkly in the House of Lords.

"We have brought to the attention of the heads of missions the fact that, although there is immunity from the penalty for breaking the law, there is an obligation on all diplomatists to conform to the law, and they are expected to do so."

In short, England expects every diplomat to do his legal duty.

From Madrid came word just last week that a Spanish supreme court has upheld a decision in effect stripping diplomats' dependents from their immunity—and the case involved an American, too.

Mrs. Barbara B. Johnson, wife of a former U.S. assistant naval attaché in Spain, was involved in a fatal auto accident. Along with dependents, the court held, Mrs. Johnson's immunity "was only honorific and should she return to Spain, she would be subject to arrest and trial."

In our own Congress, the usually mild-spoken Senator CLIFFORD P. CASE, Republican, of New Jersey, has angrily demanded from the floor that we toss out diplomats who flout speeding and other traffic laws.

A member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, CASE has asked that potent group to investigate the problem of diplomatic immunity "in some depth."

Locally, City Councilman Matthew J. Troy, Jr., Democrat, of Queens, fired up by the News campaign, has urged that the council ask President Johnson "to request diplomatic return for flagrant violators of the traffic law."

For diplomats, Troy would apply the same test that goes for the sad-looking Joes you see in traffic court. They would be booted if they drew enough summonses which would make an ordinary citizen lose his license under the point system or if they scofflawed five or more parking violations.

SCOFFLAWS ABROAD WOULD BE RECALLED

CASE similarly believes in equal treatment, and he would recall any U.S. representative abroad who breaks the law where he is assigned.

However, on the word of honor of our State Department, our fellows overseas do respect local law.

"Our own people in foreign service live with very strict regulations and must obey all laws, no matter how trivial," a spokesman in Washington told the News.

"It is insisted upon by the Department that they live well within the law of the country they are serving in. We do not condone any abuses of local laws.

"The Ambassador is the boss, and a flagrant violator even of parking regulations may be sent back to the United States with a negative report from the Ambassador.

"This does not mean he will be fired, but he is in trouble."

Of course, State explained, the entire immunity thing is governed by international convention, "and therefore what's good for the goose is good for the gander. Everyone has the same rights and privileges in every country."

The little snag, he confessed, is that "discretion is a very important catch-all for governing actions and life in foreign service."

If a diplomat isn't discreet in traffic, what can you do about him?

"It is rather difficult for us to take any particular action, in that it would be rather ridiculous for us to declare a diplomat persona non grata because of traffic violations," State said.

"We have hoped that the various chiefs of mission would take their people in tow and keep a better check on them. I know we do in our consulates and embassies overseas."

Personally, we were somewhat touched and flattered to discover that State is a faithful reader of the News in its DPL crusade. And we feel we ought to report its posture—there's that word again—on immunity; not its own ruling, but international convention, grants it.

"ENFORCEMENT IN HANDS OF LOCAL AGENCIES"

"Of course we have made known the rules to the local enforcement agencies," the spokesman said. "But actually it is at their discretion. No one has told them they can't issue tickets or attempt to make arrests of violators.

"Perhaps if enough records were kept on the abuses, and these were forwarded to the proper authorities, action would be taken by the mission involved."

Then State let us in on a little diplomatic secret that might have application right here.

It was State itself which suggested to the city authorities in Washington "not to issue special tags, denoting DPL, to flagrant abusers of traffic and parking regulations."

"WE CAN REFUSE TO ISSUE TAGS"

"As a result of the records kept by them, we can now show the records and refuse to issue the tags. Of course, this does not stop them from driving with regular tags.

"But as we understand the problem, the tags and other special plates are very desirable, and their loss is not taken too lightly."

Actually, by law, diplomats are not only entitled to free DPL plates, but if they feel like it, they can speed around without any plates at all.

Of course, if they do, they may be subject to such uncouth things as being towed away. That's why they want the DPL identification, and we seem to be in a position to withhold it if they aren't nice boys.

Well, Adlai?

Growers Can't Meet New Wirtz Demands, Lose Braceros

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, many of my colleagues have asked, "How have the A-teams worked out?" or, "Is it true that California growers have enough domestic workers so that they no longer need braceros?"

The Department of Labor has misrepresented the situation to avoid the onus of many gross mistakes and some inexcusable negligence. Many of the news media who obtain their stories solely from Department of Labor handouts, have republished and reiterated many false and misleading stories about the A-teams and the continued need for competent farm labor.

Some of the youngsters have tried to earn their pay. Some came to California to work. But only a few. Practically none has been able to earn his pay. Almost without exception—even among those who conscientiously tried to produce—harvesting costs performed by A-teams have exceeded the total sales price received by the grower. Costs of planting, husbandry, shipping, are never recovered. No industry can survive under these conditions. The sad sequel of the small farmer failing and his land being gobbled up by the large corporate farm is occurring already.

I am inserting an article written by a writer, Ron Razee, who was sufficiently interested in the facts that he came to the farm. Firsthand, on-the-scene reports are more accurate than the stories written here in Washington.

The article follows:

GROWERS CAN'T MEET NEW WIRTZ DEMANDS, LOSE BRACEROS

(By Don Razee)

The daily newspapers and the radio stations picked up the one-sided release put out by the Department of Employment, indicating that the Government drive to recruit A-teams (teenage athletes) to do farm work was so successful that the braceros were no longer needed and were being sent home.

Doubting this, we headed for Salinas to try to find out what really was going on. Agriculture got sucked into a power play and got clobbered.

A few weeks back Secretary of Labor Wirtz told Governor Brown that California was not accepting the A-teams his office was recruiting and that the number of braceros would be reduced by the same number of high school students not hired.

It was this pressure that forced growers to tell Wirtz to take his braceros because the price was too high. The Growers Farm Labor Association does the recruiting for most of the growers in the Salinas Valley. They have four full-time recruiters. Manager Ben Lopez says it takes at least one, and most of the time two, recruiters to keep up with recruiting in California. If the State department of employment tells them to recruit in San Francisco, they must have a man there. This is true all over the State. When the State department of employment says go, they go.

Now comes the Federal Department of Employment demanding that the Growers Farm Labor Association send a recruiter to a dozen States at the same time to recruit over 5,000 green high scholl athletes and pay their way to California to see if they want to do farmwork when they get here.

This association with four recruiters available was ordered into Idaho, Washington, New Mexico, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, Texas, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, and Florida. They were to be in each of these States immediately, and at the same time. Texas demanded not 1, but 3 recruiters at the same time to recruit 62 A-teams averaging 31 high school boys each.

Growers were busting their humps recruiting A-teams as fast and as orderly as possible. This is when Wirtz told Brown that California growers were dragging their feet in recruiting A-teams, and that if growers did not take them all, and at once, the braceros would be sent home. Growers mulled this one over for a spell and came to the conclusion that there was no way in the world they could comply with the new Wirtz demand, so they told him to send the braceros back.

Grower are now rid of Wirtz and his impossible demands and are in the midst of recruiting A-teams and anyone else who wants to do farmwork in an orderly manner.

Here is how Wirtz was going to solve the California farm labor problem. He had more than 5,000 high school kids lined up for a trip at growers' expense to come to California. At an average of $50 bus fare (one way) it would have cost $250,000 just to bring the kids out, and an equal amount to send them back home—a cool half million just for transportation for a bunch of teenagers who did not know the difference between a radish and a strawberry.

The first six A-teams with 171 youngsters represented $7,500 in transportation costs. They represented $680 per day in extra supervision as the salary to counselors, who in many cases have no knowledge of agriculture.

They've worked an average of about 7 hours each, earning $4.90 or 70 cents per hour. Earnings had to be doubled to meet Secretary Wirtz' criteria.

Subsidies ranged from 49 cents per hour average for one crew to a high of 96 cents for the least efficient crew. Not one crew has been able to pull its own weight.

Wirtz wanted to dump 5,000 more of the same into the Salinas Valley, and the growers said no thanks. And that is the real reason you read stories saying Salinas growers were sending braceros back to Mexico.

Captive Nations Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, half the world lies under the heel of Communist imperialism and it is, therefore, no wonder that America is concerned over the plight of the captive nations. These nations, these victims of cruel tyranny over the mind, the spirit and the body, are living symbols of Communist oppression. They are tragic examples of what communism intends for us, who still enjoy the blessings of freedom.

With many other Members of Congress, I have sponsored legislation to create a Special Committee on the Captive Nations in the House of Representatives. Such a committee would recognize formally the commitment of the American people to the liberation of the captive nations; it would provide also a continuing source of information concerning the captive nations, which it would receive from both domestic and foreign sources, and evaluate and disseminate it to the public.

It would provide the American people and the world with a constant picture of what life under communism is really like. I strongly believe that if this committee were in existence today, there would be far less danger that Americans could be misled enough to argue that we should let up in our national commitment against communism.

The one truth we should have learned since the end of World War II is that Communists relax in their overt aggressions only when it suits their basic policy of world conquest. The goal itself never changes.

It is sad to see that in this country there are those who flinch from making the sacrifices which the defense of freedom requires. It is sad to see their blindness to the threat of communism and it is ironic that their criticisms and attacks are possible in an atmosphere of freedom only because others in times past have made the sacrifices necessary to insure freedom. We would not have it any other way, but it is ironic.

Now we come to another anniversary of Captive Nations Week. It is well that we take this time each year to think of those hundreds of millions of fellow humans whose lives are spun out in near or actual slavery; whose spirits are stifled by the all-oppressive rule of Communist states; whose only hope for liberty now lies with those who still live in the light of freedom.

We must not fail them for in so doing, we would fail ourselves. So long as any dictator rules, freedom everywhere is in danger. Let us take this occasion of Captive Nations Week to rededicate ourselves to the cause of liberty and individual freedom for all men.

I particularly want to commend the participants in the captive nations rally in Liberty Park, Manchester, N.H., next Sunday. I hope the enemies of our country are listening to what is said there and at other, similar gatherings across the country. It is these expressions of concern rather than the strange cries from some of the campuses in the land, which speak the true convictions of the vast majority of the American people. Let our enemies take note that we do not accept our God-given liberties lightly and let them understand that we will defend them at any cost, as we always have done. Let them know that we regard their oppressions of once-free peoples with loathing and let them know that this great Republic will never rest until the cause of individual freedom is secured throughout the world.

Loyalty Award to Dr. C. C. Howard, of Glasgow, Ky.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the Courier-Journal, of Louisville, Ky., about Dr. C. C. Howard, one of the great doctors of Kentucky.

There being no obligation, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GLASGOW PHYSICIAN HONORED

LEXINGTON, KY.—Dr. C. C. Howard, Glasgow, who is said to have done more to help fight TB than any other living Kentuckian, received the annual loyalty award of the Kentucky TB and Respiratory Disease Association here yesterday.

Except for a brief interval, Dr. Howard has served as chairman of the TB Hospital Commission since it was established in 1944.

In the early 1940's, he advocated and won approval of system of regional hospitals to combat TB, offering this as an alternative to establishing one, large sanatorium for the State.

NEAR THEIR HOMES

Dr. Howard, now 76, argued that better results could be achieved if patients could be kept near their homes and families during what were then extremely long periods of treatment.

Gov. Simeon Willis, who died recently, supported his theory. As chairman of the medical economic commission, Dr. Howard helped secure funds from the legislature to build the State's system of TB hospitals.

Dr. Howard also helped organize the Rural Kentucky Medical Scholarship Fund, is its chairman and is a past president of the Kentucky Medical Association.

Other awards given by the association went to two school newspapers that had been judged for the quality of their stories, editorials, and cartoons on the subject of TB. Recipients were the Quest Lexington Catholic High School, and the Putnam Prattle Putnam Junior High School, Ashland.

Dr. E. N. Maxwell, Louisville, was reelected president of the association.

Newsday Provides Lucid Explanation of International Monetary Issues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, one of the most difficult jobs confronting the press in the months ahead will be the task of adequately reporting the obscure, complex but extremely important actions involved in the reform of the international monetary system. Don Smith, of the Newsday Washington Bureau, has set a high standard with a recent story providing an excellent explanation of the situation, the issues, and their importance to "every American and foreign breadwinner and housewife."

Because I believe Mr. Smith's lucid story will be of interest to many Members, I include the text of the article hereafter:

UNITED STATES CALLS FOR WORLD FINANCIAL PARLEY

(By Don Smith)

WASHINGTON.—The administration has called for a meeting of the world's leading financial experts to make sure that the healthy international trade and business cycle does not slump as U.S. dollars start traveling less and staying home more.

As proposed by Treasury Secretary Fowler, the conference would bring together the non-Communist world's financial experts for a general look at world monetary system workings. But, more importantly, the experts would focus on attempts to find a new reserve system that, along with gold and the U.S. dollar, would back up the world's economy.

While fiscal policies are usually dull and highly complex, the overriding significance of such a parley is that decisions made can affect every American and foreign breadwinner and housewife.

Since the end of World War II the U.S. dollar has become the main staple of world currency. As long as the United States had an "outflow" of dollars (the unequal balance of payments) foreign nations had no difficulty in holding them in reserve. Healthy reserve funds encourage trade and business which in turn keeps living costs stable and promotes employment. With the United States achieving a payment balance and beginning to end its deficit, less U.S. dollars will be going out of the country. Unless a new reserve system is hit upon by international financial experts, the scarcity abroad of U.S. money could lead to a decline in foreign production, trade, and employment. Recessions in foreign countries would have repercussions in the United States since trade and business would also tighten up and could lead to inflation and unemployment.

"International trade doubled last year to $150 billion," said one Treasury official, "and there's a lot of jobs and income involved in that amount of business. What we want to do is make sure we have a solution to any problems that might arise as U.S. dollars become less available overseas."

The first world money conference was held at Bretton Woods, N.H., in July 1944, and was part of the overall assembling of the United Nations. It was called to find ways to rebuild war-torn Europe's economic life, and out of it came creation of the International Monetary Fund and the International Reconstruction and Development Bank.

TOP 10 TRADERS INCLUDED

The new conference would include representatives from 10 of the world's largest trade and business nations, but would not be limited to those countries. The top 10 are the United States, Britain, Canada, Japan, West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Sweden. Communist bloc countries, which do not take part in the International Monetary Fund, would not be included.

Representative HENRY S. REUSS, Democrat, of Wisconsin, chairman of the Joint Subcommittee on International Exchange and Payments and chairman of the House Subcommittee on International Finance, said, "The conference idea is excellent; although it should have been done 3 years ago it's better late than never. What is needed, besides a fresh look at how things have been working since the first world conference in 1944, is to find a new, carefully controlled currency that can lubricate the wheels of trade." REUSS, who said his committees have been calling for such an international conference for the past 2 years, said, "What it comes down to is finding a way that will protect the economy and jobs that now exist." He warned that if a new international reserve system isn't agreed upon "the American housewife is going to feel direct effects from things that happen in Tokyo or Zurich."

Most suggestions for a new reserve turn on the idea of having the International Monetary Fund (which was created at the Bretton Woods Conference) issue certificates that would be guaranteed against deevaluation and would be held by central banks in conjunction with gold or U.S. dollars. Such a new system would ease the pinch on world gold supplies and the strain on the U.S. dollar and, at the same time continue to encourage wider trade and business growth.

Fowler warned that no country should come to the conference without a lot of hard preparatory work and a willingness to listen to other points of view. He said preliminary work toward the parley would be begun when the International Monetary Fund holds its annual meeting in September. A Treasury official said, "There's no timetable yet or any hard and fast rule about who will sit in. But it's a safe bet it will be held next year." The official and others said there was little likelihood that France or other European nations that have tended to oppose any expansion of money reserves would stay away from the meeting. One official said, "This thing hits everybody where they live and the free world is going to make sure their economies continue to grow."

REUSS, asked about what would happen if France rejected the conference idea, said, "We may rail about their demands for gold but I'm sure they would take part and if they don't then the rest of the free world could pull together and just go ahead without them." REUSS said his two committees would begin hearings about the conference and on suggestions for a new international monetary reserve next week.

Small Business Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD my own statement concerning an award given to George E. Saunders, head of the Rocky Mountain area for the Small Business Administration, who received a plaque as "Area Administrator of the Year" from Eugene P. Foley, SBA Administrator. Upon making the award on June 23, 1965, Mr. Foley praised George Saunders for his "initative and ingenuity" in carrying out SBA programs in the Rocky Mountain area which includes Colorado, Monta, Wyoming, Utah, North, and South Dakota, Nebraska, and most of Kansas.

Mr. Saunders' early career was in Government, having served for 5 years prior to 1940 as Secretary of State in Colorado. In this capacity he was responsible for the State motor vehicle department, the State liquor department, and all incorporations under the State laws. Also, his responsibilities included collection of some $15 billion a year in taxes.

In 1941 he entered the retail furniture business and continued as president of the George E. Saunders Co. until his appointment in 1963 as regional director, Denver, Colo.

Mr. Saunders served in a part-time capacity as chairman of the board of adjustments for the city and county of Denver, Colo. He also served as director of Falcon Life Insurance Co. of Denver and as a director of the North Denver Bank.

In addition, he served in civic and social organizations such as international director of the SERTOMA group, chairman of the State board of welfare and chairman of the board of crippled children committee and many others. Mr. Saunders was appointed area administrator in January of 1965. His business, financial, and administrative experience, together with his wide acquaintance with the business and civic community, equip Mr. Saunders particularly well for the position of area administrator.

Among his first innovations was instituting of interviews with loan applicants where turndowns were probable. This was most useful in developing further information; often favorable enough to grant the loan. It eliminated or nearly reduced the number of appeal cases; it established a more friendly and personal relationship with applicants; and it created a more favorable view of the Small Business Administration.

Mr. Saunders quickly launched an intensive training program, to a great extent planning it himself. He insisted upon the use of teams, of loan servicing and loan processing specialists combined with document examiners to carry on,

with an overseer standing by and acting only in an advisory capacity. The program received enthusiastic support on the part of all participants, and it is apparent that considerable savings of time and processing in closing of loans has resulted with the constant speed up and the disbursement of loan proceeds.

Mr. Saunders is known for his special efforts among minority groups. Soon after taking office he launched a program whereby committees were formed of three principal minority groups in the Denver area. Constant contact is held by Mr. Saunders and these groups. They share his respect and he has theirs. Loan applications were previously unheard of by these groups, but they have now begun to filter in. As time goes on and the full development of the plans by this area realized, there is no doubt that this will be a significant contribution in intergroup relations. Mr. Saunders, from the business relations viewpoint, believes in an aggressive program and has used every facility at his command to carry the SBA message to the business community. As a result, his area recently docketed and undocketed the greatest number of loans in its history.

Coins Without Silver

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, with the debate now going on concerning our coinage system and the use of silver for minting U.S. dimes, quarters and half dollars, there is one thing that is apparent. That is the much discussed fact that silver, either now or in the near future, must be eliminated from the half dollar as well as other coins.

My position on this issue has been stated and restated. I support elimination of all silver from dimes, quarters and the half dollar in the legislation now under discussion. It is heartening to note that observers in parts of the country other than Washington agree with me. I refer to an editorial which appeared in a recent issue of the Hartford Courant, a newspaper known over the country for its accurate reporting and informative and well-thought-out editorials.

This editorial states incisively the basic reasons for the need to eliminate silver from the half dollar at this time. With the permission of the House, I insert this editorial "Coins Without Silver," in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Courant, June 11, 1965]

COINS WITHOUT SILVER

Silver is being used faster than it is being produced. Substitutes are feasible for the silver in coinage, but not for such industrial uses as photography. The administration has proposed elimination of silver from dimes and quarters as a conservation measure. The House Banking Committee has voted to add half dollars to the list, leaving only the little-used silver dollars for souvenirs and hoarding.

Whether the change in coinage is made in one step or two steps probably means little to the Administration, although its original proposal implied two steps. There is much to be said for making the entire change at this time, and letting the public and the silver producing and using interests adapt themselves and settle down. The new coins will have a pure copper core, with a layer of cupro-nickel on the outside of the sandwich.

Consumption of silver is greater than the total world production. The deficit amounted to 70 million ounces last year. The U.S. stock of silver has been cut in half during the past 2 years. By 1967 the supply will be exhausted if the demand continues and no changes in coinage are made. This would send up prices and curtail production in many industries that depend upon silver. New coins will provide a solution without inconveniencing anyone except the hoarder who hopes for a higher silver price.

Are Profits of Cigarette Industry More Important Than Health of Our Youth?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, my vote against the conference report on S. 559, the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act, is based solely on the grounds that it is not strong enough; and that it will protect tobacco advertising in its present form until July 1, 1969.

It is my belief that this legislation will accomplish nothing by printing a word of caution on cigarette packages. A sincere and genuine effort to alert potential smokers, especially our youth, to the possible health hazards in smoking, would surely have to start with advertising—not the small printed matter on a cigarette package.

Mr. Speaker, the dean of Wisconsin newspaper editors, the eminent William T. Evjue, questioned the wisdom of this legislation in a recent editorial in his newspaper, the Capital Times of Madison.

I concur with the sentiments expressed in this editorial and request unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the RECORD:

ARE PROFITS OF CIGARETTE INDUSTRY MORE IMPORTANT THAN HEALTH OF OUR YOUTH?

Recently U.S. Surgeon General Luther Terry made this statement: "Every 4 minutes someone in this country dies prematurely because of cigarette smoking." But while the top health officer of this Nation was making that statement, Congress was passing a bill promoted by the tobacco industry. This bill will prevent the Federal Trade Commission from ordering the cigarette manufacturers to include in their advertising a warning that cigarettes are a health hazard. The biggest problem with cigarettes is educating the young people about the hazards involved in smoking. It is the advertising that entices most of them to develop the habit. What is more important in this country—the profits of the cigarette industry or public health?

Let the people have the truth and the freedom to discuss it and all will go well.

Congress Ignores Water Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am in accord with the views expressed in an editorial that appeared in the Buffalo Courier-Express, Buffalo, N.Y., on July 10, 1965, with respect to legislation providing water quality standards passed by both the House and the Senate many weeks ago.

We sorely need legislation aimed at controlling the very serious problem of water pollution of our waterways and lakes, and I urge the conferees to resolve the differences and report this bill as soon as possible.

The editorial of the Courier-Express follows:

CONGRESS IGNORES WATER SITUATION

Judged by the seeming unwillingness of congressional conferees to settel the question of what the Federal Government is going to do about water pollution, alarm over the Nation's water supplies has no foundation.

Yet the Lake Erie region is looking to action by the U.S. Public Health Service under existing procedures in hopes that the lake's death can be stayed. And the Delaware River Basin Commission has declared a 4-State water emergency, ordering New York City to reduce its consumption of water from the Delaware by 75 million gallons a day.

Despite these and many other examples of popular and official concern over the problems of water supply and pollution of sources of fresh water, Congress has not passed finally at this session any measure dealing with the problems.

The Senate approved a bill in January to authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to establish water quality standards for interstate waterways while the House in April passed a measure that does not contain this feature. The House bill, however, raised the annual authorization for Federal aid in construction of sewage-treatment plants from $100 million to $150 million with the additional money to be distributed in States with large populations.

Months have passed with no sign that Senate and House conferees are going to get together to iron out differences and secure passage finally of a compromise measure—though why there should be a compromise to exclude the strongest control and assistance features of either bill is a question that can be answered only by Members of Congress who have in mind other considerations beside the Nation's health and welfare.

Neither bill is drastic in its provisions. But passage of one which would permit setting of water quality standards by the Federal Government would serve notice that enforcement of pollution-control laws no longer will be left to States that have winked at pollution by their communities and industries.

While there is some hope for Lake Erie's improvement through activity of the U.S. Public Health Service, this approach should be backed up by passage in Congress of the strongest measure which can be put together from the varying provisions of the Senate and House bills.

The congressional foot dragging indicates that one of the Nation's most serious domestic problems, which ultimately may prove to be the most serious that has originated

in this generation, is being pushed off as a mirage by to great a part of the membership on Capitol Hill. Another year of inaction at the Federal level on interstate waterways will hasten the impending water-short doomsday.

Dubious Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Don Peterson, editor of the Springfield (Minn.) Advance-Press, thinks there is "dubious economy" in the administration proposal to establish a car leasing program for the rural mail carriers of America. The ramifications of this proposal would be most far reaching, in Don's estimate, not only for rural carriers and their mail patrons, but for all taxpayers.

Under unanimous consent I introduce the Peterson editorial into the RECORD at this point in my remarks:

DUBIOUS ECONOMY

Congress will soon be faced with a bill that would create a new Federal bureau that would administer a car leasing program for the rural mail carriers of America. The proponents of the bill estimate that their program would save about $35 million per year, and we doubt it. If the bill becomes law, the Federal Government would lease cars for carriers.

A rural carrier now receives 12 cents per mile car allowance. He buys his own gas, insurance, maintenance and pays for all other service he may need such as towing or a substitute car in case of a breakdown. The authors of the bill estimate they can do all this for 6½ cents per mile.

Now then, most rural carriers we have known, or know about, take a particular pride in getting the mail to the farm patrons despite all kinds of weather. Many of the car dealers who sell to rural carriers are ready with standby transportation when it is needed. The cars take quite a beating on some of the rural roads, and the depreciation is rapid.

Here are some of the things that would be brought about if the bill embraced by the administration becomes law:

1. State gas tax loss of about $135,000 per year.
2. Loss of sale of cars by local dealers about $240,000 per year.
3. Loss of State car license fees about $33,000 per year.
4. Loss of Federal gas tax about $90,000 per year.
5. Loss of insurance premiums, general repair shops and tire dealers * * * you estimate.
6. Loss of standby vehicles for route emergencies.
7. Excess administrative costs for record keeping of leasing program.
8. Storage cost for cars in cold climates.
9. Elimination of special optional safety equipment used on rural carrier owned vehicles by many veteran rural carriers.
10. Removal of responsibility of rural carrier for emergency service while on the route, including towing.
11. Maintenance delay because of loss of customer priority.
12. Regimentation of rural delivery service and the reduction of individual initiative of rural carrier through removal of private ownership, resulting in deterioration of rural carrier moral.

If you like the service your rural carrier has given you in the past, and you want to give him an assist in this instance, drop your Congressman and your two Senators a courteous note protesting the rural carrier car leasing bill. He's not getting fat off of that 12 cents per mile, but he is giving service that he will not be able to perform under the lease program.

Urban Agency Coming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROLLAND REDLIN

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. REDLIN. Mr. Speaker, while I represent a predominantly rural constituency, I recognize the many serious problems faced by the Nation's cities. On June 16, I gave my support to H.R. 6927, to create a Cabinet level Department of Housing and Urban Development which would correspond to the Department of Agriculture. In the July 7, 1965, edition of the Minot Daily News, Minot, N. Dak., I was very much pleased to note editorial support for the new Department.

I would like to share this editorial with the Members and request unanimous consent to insert the editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD.

URBAN AGENCY COMING

Back in the days when America was primarily an agricultural society, there was prime reason to have a Department of Agriculture looking after the interests of the farmer. In these days, when the revolution in farming and marketing methods has created so many new problems, there is still prime reason for such a Department.

There also is reason, however, for a Cabinet-level Government agency chiefly concerned with the problems of cities and those who live in cities. The best argument for this rests on a simple mater of population statistics: Whereas most Americans lived on the farm or in rural communities when the Department of Agriculture was established, about 70 percent of us now live in large towns and cities.

The United States, in short, has become predominantly an urban society. It appears almost certain to become more so, rather than less so, in the decades ahead. This change has created, is creating, and will create a wide range of problems that must be dealt with.

Thus there is excellent reason to be glad that Congress appears in a mood to establish the Department of Housing and Urban Development. This seems nearer than at any time since the proposal was first made. Although the House margin of approval for such a Department was small, it is significant that the legislators have now come around to something they had rejected twice before.

Now it is up to the Senate, where prospects of enactment are good. We seem to be on the way at last to giving urban problems the sort of concerned attention they demand. Ours will become a more pleasant society as this effort bears fruit.

Private Enterprise Versus ARA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ODIN LANGEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, Minnesota leads the Nation as an example of how private enterprise, when given the proper climate in which to grow, far outdistances the feeble make-work efforts of the Federal Government in creating lasting jobs and bolstering sagging economies. I refer to the tremendous resurgence of the iron ore industry in northeastern Minnesota since the taconite amendment was passed, assuring the industry of fair tax treatment in the State. Since passage of the taconite amendment, private enterprise has moved ahead to invest over $971 million, which represents the largest single private enterprise investment ever made in the history of the United States in a given area.

Although this project is barely underway, the effects have been startling, with some areas reporting a drop in unemployment rates by almost one-half. These are benefits that accrue to all of Minesota in new jobs, lower unemployment rates, and a healthier economy.

On the other hand, the folly of the Government spending in useless projects has been proven time and time again. Two of the prime examples have directly affected my own Seventh Congressional District.

The ARA has financed a $4 million hardboard plant in Superior, Wis., that this month goes into direct competition with three neighboring plants built by private funds. This action came after a Department of Commerce report stated that existing U.S. facilities were already adequate for hardboard demand. Still this Government agency went ahead and shelled out taxpayers' cash for the unneeded factory.

Then there's the ridiculous expenditure of public funds by ARA to develop the growing of sugarbeets in Maine and New York. These areas were unproven as to suitability and interest. These new plants would be in direct competition with such areas as the Red River Valley of Minnesota and North Dakota, which have been proven to be excellent for sugar production, and which were developed by the hard work and initiative of the local people themselves.

Congress recently gave the generous ARA new life when it extended its expiration date for 60 days. And we all know that a new program is in the making to replace it. Under any name it is the same ARA boondoggle that has not worked in the past and should not be allowed to function in the future. It has done far more harm than good, and at taxpayer expense.

The comparison is perfectly clear. Private enterprise in Minnesota is providing untold benefits to the State com-

pared to the incalculable harm from ARA and other bureaucratic programs. What this Nation needs is a better business climate in which the proven forces of private enterprise can operate, rather than the ineffective and scattered buckshot from Washington that thwarts the efforts of the private sector.

A Cheer for American Imperialism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the second half of an article in the New York Times Magazine of July 11, 1965, called, "A Cheer for American Imperialism." Mr. Fairlie, political writer for the Spectator and the Daily Telegraph of London, presents a very sophisticated view of America's role in the world today.

The article follows:

An empire must grow used to the fact that its commitments—the empire itself—are without rhyme or reason. One of the greatest of American commentators said to me the other day that what I called the American empire was, in very large part, a holdover from the Second World War, that America had simply found herself occupying positions which had formerly been under the protection of Britain and that there was no real reason why she should now stay in them. All of this is, no doubt, true; but it is how empires grow, and their illogicality is no criticism.

Even this commenator was not, then, consistent. He went on to admit that, for sentimental reasons, America recognized an obligation to defend Australia and New Zealand. Why? Because Australia and New Zealand are white, while India (which he is prepared to abandon) is coffee-colored? Because Australia and New Zealand are part of the family of English-speaking peoples? At this point I found not only a great deal more illogicality, but a great deal more immorality in the attitudes of my American critic than in my own conception of the American empire. An empire cannot decently distribute its favors in this fashion according to its prejudices.

But I cannot leave it there. One of the most thoughtful and experienced of British correspondents recently visited Vietnam, and returned home across the Pacific and across America. From Washington he filed his firmest conclusion: "Thank God for Emperor L.B.J.," read the headline over his article. It may be brash, but it is to the point. I, too, am prepared to celebrate the American empire and, in celebrating it, I believe I give voice to the inarticulate feelings of millions and millions of ordinary people of the world, where they have access to the truth.

Where the Strategic Air Command is, where the Tactical Air Command is, where U.S. Marines may quickly be brought into action, where U.S. paratroops stand on the alert, where the American fleets plow the seas or ride, ready to strike, in their great bases, where the ultimate deterrent spreads its benign protection, there is peace—not certain, for only the foolish man looks for certainty—but at least more likely. If I sleep soundly in my bed at night, if I expect my children to be able to live peaceful and fruitful lives, it is because I count myself and them as citizens of the American empire.

Not long ago I was arrested in Yugoslavia, along with a photographer who was accompanying me. It is not the easiest thing to find a consul in Sarajevo on a Saturday morning, and we discovered to our dismay that there was, in fact, no British consul in Sarajevo.

Was there, then, an American consul? Yes. We were immediately relieved. We knew at once that the arm of the empire to which we belonged would stretch to us even there. But there was more to it than that. As we sat moodily under the eyes of our guards, I remarked to my companion that the wonderful thing was that we had not the slightest doubt that the American consul would count us as one of his own. But we knew more even than that. We knew that the American consul represented an empire which understood our claims, which rested on opposition to arbitrary arrest, detention, and inquisition.

We were, in fact, released after a prolonged and angry interview with the chief of police, while the search for the American consul was being made. But neither I nor my companion had the slightest doubt that we owed our release to the threat, which I constantly reiterated, to involve the American consul. What is more, neither the military who arrested us nor the police who detained us questioned our right as British citizens to summon the American consul to our protection. They, at least, assumed the existence of the American empire.

In both the large and the small considerations, this protection, this duty of empire, is sublime.

For this is the last thing that I wish to say about the conception of empire—and perhaps only an outsider can say it. Empire can be—and the American empire is—a lofty enterprise.

The superiority of the American to the Russian or the Chinese empires is partly a matter of interest, partly a matter of methods, and partly a matter of purpose. There is nothing peculiar or difficult in my saying, as an Englishman and Mr. Rajagopalachari's saying as an Indian, that we would prefer to live within the American emprire rather than the Russian or the Chinese empires, simply as a matter of calculated self-interest.

That we calculate our interest in this way is, in turn, the result of the methods of empire which we have seen used. The American empire has never depended on the arbitrary use of military power, whereas neither the Russian nor the Chinese empires would exist without it. Moreover, this difference in methods reflects a difference of purpose. Gibbon spoke of the emperors of the second century as "pleased with considering themselves the accountable ministers of the laws," and the phrase might be applied to the successive administrations which have discharged America's imperial responsibilities since 1945.

Even more than the Roman and the British Empires, the American Empire unites power to law. It unites power to the search for a world order. It units power to the desire of men in a rich and advanced society to bring succor to the poor and the backward who live in the province of their care. I have no doubt in saying—although it will horrify many—that the Peace Corps seems to me an exact and lofty imperial enterprise. The only tragedy is that, whereas the young district commissioners of the British Empire had no thought of returning home, at least until the end of their lives, the members of the Peace Corps abandon their mission after only a few years. Deny it though they may, and will, the volunteers in the Peace Corps are driven, first and foremost, by a deep sense of imperial mission.

But perhaps the most obvious type of an imperial officer is a man like James S. Killen of the Agency for International Development. Trying, in turn, to bring some economic order—to bring food—to the people of Pakistan, of Korea, and now of Vietnam, he remarked the other day, that the business ethics in Vietnam are "probably no better and no worse than anywhere else in the so-called developing countries." It was, recognizably, the saddened, the disillusioned, but the benevolent voice of empire.

Nothing seems to me more urgent than that America should find some way of building up a corps of civil officers—not volunteers, not ad hoc recruits—who can, as their life's work, undertake the decent mission of empire. Almost 200 years after her own Revolutionary War, America requires her own altered form of a colonial office.

It could not, of course, be called that—such is the touchiness of our world to words which represent reality—any more than the name of "empire" can be used by either America or the great number of its subjects. But it is not the word, the name, with which I am concerned. I am concerned that America should recognize that the responsibility she has undertaken is inescapable, is indivisible, is without logical defense but also without practical substitute; is wasteful and often repugnant but ultimately merciful and needing no apology. For 20 years now—so short a time—the United States has fulfilled her imperial obligations with a maturity, a generosity, and an enlightenment which cannot be paralleled in all the history of the world. If ever a country had the grace for empire, it is this.

What is more, I believe that this is understood by the ordinary people of America. The "cloud of critics" at the center, as Gibbon contemptuously dismissed them, may react nervously to every exercise of their country's power. But I have traveled already in some of the States and have found, in the mass of her people, a sense of purpose, even a clearness of mission, which is truly imperial; which is lordly, benevolent, and touchingly aware that the task they have undertaken is a task which will not fall from their shoulders for generations more.

If this steadiness and clearness are not "empire"—then find another word for it. For it is there.

Uninsured District Motorists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial broadcast by station WMAL here in Washington during the week of July 11. I am the sponsor of H.R. 634—which is based on New York law and which provides a solution for having irresponsible uninsured motorists on the streets of the District of Columbia.

The editorial follows:

UNINSURED DISTRICT MOTORISTS

Uninsured District motorists have had a good thing going far too long. They must be forced to accept financial responsibility for their actions.

There are more than 265,000 cars registered in the District. More than 50,000 cars are driven without insurance and represent a hazard to every citizen in the area.

Last week a House District Subcommittee resumed hearings on legislation to provide adequate protection. Unless a measure is approved, area residents will remain at the mercy of irresponsible uninsured motorists.

Taxes Down, Business Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, James T. Prior, business writer for the Record, the leading newspaper of Bergen County, N.J., has analyzed the effect of last year's income tax reduction and the recent elimination of excise taxes. His comprehensive article concludes that these reductions have been a tremendous boon for business, at least in Bergen County and Rockland County, N.Y.

There was much skepticism about the effect of these tax reductions on the economy when they were enacted. So that others may be convinced of the wisdom of these moves, I place Mr. Prior's article in the RECORD at this point:

BERGEN AND ROCKLAND MERCHANTS AIDED BY EXCISE TAX REPEAL

(By James T. Prior)

Bergen and Rockland merchants never had it so good.

In the first half of 1965 they have reaped the harvest of increased sales sowed by the 1964 Federal income tax. As for the second half, the retailing field has been tilled with one of the finest growth mixtures ever put on the market—repeal of the Federal excise tax.

Everything is coming up roses. Personal incomes, particularly in the Bergen-Rockland area, are on the rise. Employment is at a record high. Consumers have record savings from which to draw. And the business boom is now into its 53d month.

National retail sales are up about 8 percent, a figure which holds true for the two-county area. Some merchants say they have gained only 2 percent, while others claim a hike of 22 percent.

But most agree that the first half could hardly have been better.

Both Main Street shops and highway shopping giants report substantial gains in both sales and profits. Each looks for a sustanined boom, but neither foresees a dramatic increase in the next 6 months compared with the expansion in the first half which largely outperformed expectations.

Murray Berezin, manager of Arnold Constable's in Hackensack, summed up the general picture: "The first half has been ahead of the same period last year, and we look for an increase in the next 6 months."

Ridgewood merchants, on the average, report half-year sales were higher than the national average of 8 percent.

Robert Puritz, president of the Ridgewood Chamber of Commerce, says one indication of how successful Ridgewood merchants are is that when a store moves out, which is rare, there is a waiting list to get the location.

VOLUME IS HIGHER

Korvette's in Paramus and Nanuet report increased sales Manager David Goldstein, in the Paramus store, describes first-hand sales as exceptionally good.

Donald Gomes, vice president of Vornado, Inc., operator of the Two Guys discount chain in Garfield, Hackensack, and Totowa, said retail sales in this period were excellent.

He said the sales were in accordance with the 22-percent gross volume projected.

"The month of July should produce a volume in excess of 22 percent," said Gomes.

He foresees a healthy second half, with an added boost from the elimination and reduction of the Federal excise taxes.

Hackensack merchants have had good activity during the first half, says Harry Gooding of the Hackensack Chamber of Commerce.

The second half should get off to a booming start next week during the July 22, 23, and 24 Hackensack Festival Days, he said.

Bloomingdale's, Hackensack, labels the first half as good, while Bamberger's, Paramus, describes it as excellent.

REPORTS ARE ROSY

Franklin Simon, Hackensack, reports its first half sales were more than satisfactory.

Most stores in the Garden State Plaza report a sales hike for the 6-month period over last year. "A healthy gain," said a spokesman.

They also anticipate added sales in the next 6 months.

The big questions in the beginning of the first half were: Would the boom of the average added $4 weekly takehome pay for each worker carry over into 1965 and would Congress eliminate the Federal excise tax?

The answers have been yes.

Now the questions are: How long will the boom last and how much effect will the Federal excise tax cut have on the retailing in the second half of 1965?

No definitive answers emerge, but the general consensus to the first seems to be: There's no cloud on the economic horizon, and there's no reason why the boom can't continue; at worst, it will level off.

As for elimination of the excise tax, virtually every merchant says it will act as a sales incentive.

SALES RISE FORECAST

There is nothing in the legislation to compel manufacturers to pass along the reduction to consumers in the shape of lower prices, but President Johnson's urging to do so seems to be taking effect.

Merchants from Wallington to West Point look for increased sales of air conditioners, fans, cameras, sporting goods, and refrigerators during the summer, which otherwise will have its usually usual doldrums.

Each of these items will enjoy the benefits of being good hot weather sellers and being on the list of which had the Federal excise tax lifted.

In the fall and winter, sales should increase in precisely those items which no longer have the tax or have had the tax reduced—furs, jewelry, television sets, pens and pencils, photographic equipment, musical instruments, cosmetics, and other items.

The upper regions of the Bergen County area and Rockland have had population growths in the past year with the influx of new business. New plants bring new workers.

And each 100 new factory workers, according to statistics from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, will bring to a town: 359 more people, 91 more schoolchildren, $710,000 more personal income per year, $331,000 more retail sales; and $229 more in bank deposits.

This means a sizable amount of spending power is concentrated in this bicounty area. In the latest available figure, compiled by the Standard Rate and Data Service, Bergen residents spent $1,253,990,000 in the last 12-month period, compared with $1,181,274,000; while Rockland residents poured $155,658,000 in local stores, compared with $153,718,000 during the previous year.

In Bergen, the average family spent $4,902 on purchases, compared with the national average of $4,470. Per household spending in Rockland was at the rate of $3,639 per family.

With more disposable money in the hands of the average family, thanks to rising income and cuts in Federal income and excise taxes, the amount for such basics as foods and clothing was much larger than usual.

Moreover, residents in Rockland and Bergen indulged in fancier foods, frillier finery, and livelier living.

In Rockland, some 60 percent of the dollar went for food, cars, and auto equipment. Broken down it was $50,574,000 for food; $32,063,000 for auto equipment; and $10,556,000 at gas stations.

Bergen spent a considerable amount of the dollar for these items—some 49 percent of it. Their combined sales amounted to $618,487,000, a gain over the previous year's $597,442,000.

Food shops on the main streets, and food departments in the giant centers along the highways took in some $333,657,000. This does not include the money spent in restaurants.

Auto dealers from North Arlington to Nyack, including those who sell trailers, boats, motorcycles, and the like, had a combined sales volume of $195,137,000.

Gas stations lining the highways and streets of the two-county area put some $89,693,000 into their collective cash registers.

Stores selling general merchandise grossed $124,852,000; apparel shops, $92,590,000; home furnishings stores, $78,073,000; and drug stores, $34,014,000.

Other retail establishments also recorded increases.

In Rockland, the same rosy picture has been painted.

General merchandise sales reached $5,158,000; apparel, $9,455,000; furniture, $6,143,000; and drugs, $4,402,000.

Federal Government and Kentucky: Partners in Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to tell the Members of this House about the unfortunate collusion in ignorance of the Federal Government and the State of Kentucky in making the State a rich grassland for gangland gambling grazing. The continued illegality of gambling in Kentucky merely serves to insure that clandestine gambling will continue to line mob pockets with fat profits, whereas Government-run gambling would put these moneys in public hands for public welfare schemes.

Last year, the parimutuel turnover in Kentucky came to $88 million. Illegal gambling was far more extensive, in the tried and true spirit of mob citadels like Newport and Covington. Testimony before the McClellan committee pegged national off-track betting at $50 billion annually, and other testimony indicated that this figure was only 42 percent of the total illegal gambling figure, which figure would then approximate $120 billion a year. On a population basis, Kentucky would account for $2.04 billion of this. The mob keeps about 10 percent of this as profit, so that the mob is having a royal $200 million feed in the Bluegrass.

The gambling profits are the source of funds for much of Kentucky's many-

shaded vice. The illegality of gambling has driven gambling underground and into the service of the crime syndicates. The ignorant partnership of the Federal and State Governments in perpetuating this illegality has turned the sport of kings into the payroll of pimps in Kentucky—as well as the payrol of pushers and the exchequer of extortionists. Kentucky and the Nation need Government-run gambling to take gambling profits out of underworld hands. The way to do this is with State and National lotteries.

Declaration of Independence House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. BYRNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD an article from the New Rochelle, N.Y., Standard-Star pertaining to the Declaration of Independence House and Library located in Philadelphia.

The article follows:

[From the Standard-Star (New Rochelle, N.Y.) June 25, 1965]

HARWOOD CITED FOR EFFORTS TO RESTORE HISTORIC HOME

A luncheon was given this week at the Yale Club of New York honoring Charles Harwood, Jr., 1 Washington Square, Larchmont, for his efforts on behalf of the restoration of the Declaration of Independence House. The '76 Committee which cited Mr. Harwood was formed to restore the house in Philadelphia where Thomas Jefferson wrote the document.

Kenneth G. Smith, an authority on historical buildings, was master of ceremonies. Samuel J. Cohen, a Jeffersonian scholar, showed slides of the house where the document was written. The house itself was torn down 82 years ago. Only the bronze tablet remains.

However, in 1963 Congress appropriated $200,000 to buy the site. Plans are underway to reconstruct the house and to add a library. President Lyndon B. Johnson is honorary chairman.

In his speech of acceptance Mr. Harwood stressed that the Declaration of Independence could only have been written by a man of deep vision and foresight and quoted from the Book of Proverbs, "Where there is no vision the people perish." He went on to say, "The signers of the Declaration of Independence when pledging themselves to the task which lay before them, fully realized * * * that the Government was not the source or the instrument for promoting the unalienable rights given them by their Creator. For government was not to be the master but the servant of men." Mr. Harwood also stated that "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are rights which "belong solely to God and cannot be delegated to the President, Congress or even the Supreme Court."

Mr. Harwood obtained his bachelor of social science in economics from the College of the City of New York and attended Boston University Law School and Suffolk Law School. He did postgraduate work in economics and transportation at Columbia University.

In 1951 he won a prize from the New York Railroad Club for a paper dealing with U.S. transportation policies. He is author of several papers dealing with "Cumulative Voting." He is a member of the Yale Club, New York Railroad Club, Westchester Country Club, Nu Alumni Association, National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, a 32d degree Mason, Westchester Chapter of Royal Arch Masons, Bethlehem Commandery, Conservative Society of America, and Nathan Hale Conservative Club.

Capt. Charles H. Kimes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAGE BELCHER

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, have you ever noticed how a man's head will swell several sizes too big for his hat, and his heart nearly burst with pride when the boy next door suddenly becomes a nationally acclaimed hero? Well, that is just what happened a couple of Mondays ago, when I heard of the fantastic achievement of Capt. Charles Kimes. And I have not been able to wear my hat since.

I can remember Charles Kimes as the happy-go-lucky kid making his way, along with dozens of other neighborhood boys, through all the joys and woes of becoming a man.

Recently all these fond memories were brought back in a flash as I listened to the humanly unbelievable account of Captain Kimes' victory over sure-fire disaster for himself, his crew and 152 other passengers aboard his Boeing 707 jet airliner.

When I recount how this brave pilot's calm, clear voice instilled courage and hope in the hearts of all those sharing this terrifying experience with him, only then can I begin to approach this marvelous feat of Charles Kimes' with proper appreciation.

What presence of mind. What presence of mind, indeed, to make such a decision as to carry on to Travis, rather than dump into the Pacific. What faith and courage to meet, not one, but several spine-chilling threats with this same presence of mind.

All this could not help but bring to thought Rudyard Kipling's words, "If you can keep your head when all around * * *."

My hat is off to this Enid, Okla. boy, Captain Kimes, and to his crew. And I am sure this feeling is shared by all Americans, as evidenced by the following editorial from the Washington Evening Star of Monday, July 5, 1965:

BLUE IS STILL WILD

It was the last touch needed to his calm, professional heroism for Pan American Pilot Charles H. Kimes to play down his accomplishment in bringing safely home a crippled airliner with 153 persons on board. He could not, he said, "wear the hero's hat."

The Federal Aviation Agency had other ideas and so does anyone who has read the story. The captain's 707 jet had just taken off from San Francisco for Hawaii when trouble took over. A wing fuel tank exploded. One engine dropped off; so did about 30 feet of wing. At that point Captain Kimes took over from trouble.

He brought the plane delicately up to 1,400 feet, flew out over water so as to avoid the populated bay area, and, having made it to Travis Air Force Base, 45 miles away, flew in circles until the damaged landing gear could be lowered into place by hand. As they used to say in early aviation, he came in on a wing and a prayer and the seat of his pants.

With enough dials and gages to start a small computer operation, a lot of the personal control has gone out of bigtime flying. It is heartening to know that it can still be called upon when needed. The pilot richly deserves his special citation from the FAA. And anyone embarking on a Pan American flight will feel a little more secure if the name on the captain's door is Charles H. Kimes.

Taking Miracles for Granted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, as the distinguished columnist, Joseph Alsop, points out in the New York Herald Tribune of July 14, 1965, the legislative miracles we have witnessed during this session of Congress should not be taken for granted.

We have a lot more work to do, but I believe that all of us can take pride in the progress pointed out by Mr. Alsop in his column, which follows:

TAKING MIRACLES FOR GRANTED

(By Joseph Alsop)

WASHINGTON.—It is easy enough to give the measure of the joint achievement of President Johnson and the present session of Congress. With a bit of luck, the President will even get his immigration-reform bill before the session ends.

If any knowing person had been asked, last year, how soon we could hope for reform of the hoary and unjust system of immigration quotas, the answer would have been: "Not until hell freezes over." And every word in this response would have been meant quite literally.

Nowadays in contrast, every one is fretting, not at all because the reform bill has no chance of passage, but because it is being unduly delayed by the squalid row in the House Judiciary Committee. The chairman, EMANUEL CELLER, of New York, is scarcely on speaking terms with the subcommittee chairman, MICHAEL FEIGHAN of Ohio. Even so, the row is unlikely to be fatal.

In the old days, to be sure, the Feighan subcommittee was the official graveyard of all sane legislation about immigration: the cross-grained FEIGHAN used to be proud to run a graveyard. Today, however, long-delayed redistricting has caused changes in FEIGHAN'S home district; and FEIGHAN is much less eager to be known as a cemetery owner.

In addition, the Johnson landslide caused important changes in the composition of the Judiciary Committee itself. The adminisfration's legislative strategists took care to see that these larger changes were strongly reflected in the Feighan subcommittee. Thus if worst comes to worst, the bill can simply be taken away from FEIGHAN and sent to the House floor for early action.

If early action is taken, final enactment is a good bet. Thus, the antiquated system of racial immigration quotas, with its ugly overtones of racial prejudice, will at last go by the board. Instead, we shall have a general immigration quota of 161,000 per annum—the same as before, but with no racial basis.

All places within this general quota will then be allocated by a sensible system of priorities. Close relatives of American citizens will get first chance. Next will come highly skilled professional men, such as scientists. Next will come citizens' more distant relatives. And last will come members of skilled trades for whom jobs in the United States are going begging, like sheepherders, certain kinds of tailors and domestic servants of some categories.

Assuming this sensible substitute for the ugly quota system goes through, it will not be a great reform, like the excision of a cancer. But it will be a valuable, hardly hoped-for reform, like the sudden disappearance of a canker on the tongue that continues so long that it begins to seem permanent.

Precisely because immigration reform has previously seemed so totally hopeless, moreover, the good prospects now are a convenient symbol of a much larger and more important reality. Every one ought to be astonished that an immigration-reform bill has any chance at all. But every one ought to be plain pop-eyed with amazement at the undramatic, steady progress of the rest of the President's program.

It is a majestic program—there is no other for it. Any two of the 11 major bills would normally provide enough food for controversy, as well as enough grounds for boasting, for a normal congressional session.

But here we are, with the big Appalachia bill and the great and ground-breaking new education bill already signed; with the inflammatory medicare and voting-rights bills safely in conference; with the housing subsidy and Department of Urban Affairs bill's past the House and waiting Senate action; with the water-pollution and drug-abuses bills and the poverty program coming along nicely, thank you, and with no real trouble in sight except for the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which may prove to be a squeaker.

It is extraordinary to be able to offer such a list of truly major, truly transforming legislation, all the work of a single congressional session, and almot all of it in process of being comfortably passed, with no one howling bloody murder, invoking the sacred ancestors, or talking about creeping socialism bursting into a brisk hard gallop.

Taking miracles—at least near-miracles—for granted is a foolish practice that invites reprisal from fate. This accomplishment in the making, for which most of the credit should go to Lyndon Johnson, certainly ought not to be taken for granted.

The Literacy Test

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, July 9, this House, by a bipartisan effort in which I was instrumental, rejected an amendment to the voting rights bill that would permit large numbers of Spanish-speaking residents of New York to vote without meeting the English language literacy requirement.

I can think of no other section of this important bill which is of less relevance to the basic issue of denial of Negro voting rights.

The New York Times on May 22, editorially opposed this amendment because "the requirement to read and write English imposed by New York State has been fairly and impartially administered and it should not be destroyed by Federal law."

In reaffirming its previous position, the New York Times, on July 13, again wrote an editorial which I commend to the Members of this House:

THE LITERACY TEST

The voting rights bill, now approved by both Houses of Congress, goes to conference for resolution of the differences between the versions adopted by the Senate and the House. On every major point at issue the House bill is superior. If the final measure follows it in most respects, it will be a triumph for democracy and a major weapon against racial discrimination.

However, one of the key differences between the two bills that has nothing to do with racial discrimination is a provision accepted in the Senate but rejected in the House, that would permit large numbers of Spanish-speaking residents of New York City to vote in the forthcoming mayoral election without meeting the English language literacy requirements specified by the New York State constitution.

Leaders of both Democratic and Republican parties in this city have endorsed this provision, but we adhere to the position we have set forth many times in the past: the English language literacy requirement specified by the State constitution ever since 1922 is sound and should not be abridged. It has always been fairly administered and never used as a means of discrimination against minority groups.

The government of New York State is carried on in the English language. The laws are in English. Virtually all public meetings devoted to political discussions and the public business are conducted in English. Intelligent participation in the affairs of New York City and New York State requires a knowledge of English. Every assistance should be given those who wish to qualify to vote here, but not at the expense of weakening this basic requirement. These considerations seem to us to demonstrate that the amendment has no place in a law designed to block discrimination against Negro voting in the South.

The other major points in which the House bill seems better than the Senate version are in banning the poll tax as a prerequisite of voting; permitting Negroes to register directly with Federal examiners without having first to apply to local registrars, and providing for Federal poll watchers on election day.

Congressional Responsibility to Today's G.I.'s

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, an excellent article by William McGaffin appeared in last Monday's New York Post, and succinctly made the point that we are simply not doing enough for today's GI's who are serving in South Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

As a member of the House Veterans Affairs Committee, I have sponsored legislation to provide readjustment benefits for our men who serve in areas of hostility. Mr. McGaffin suggests that, in addition, we accord prompt consideration to the need for more realism in the administration of GI hazardous duty pay and reinstitution of insurance programs. I believe that the article contributes some incisive thought to the issue of congressional responsibilities to our GI's, and I wholeheartedly commend it to the attention of all my colleagues:

UNINSURED GI'S

(By William McGaffin)

WASHINGTON.—More and more GIs are being asked to face death on foreign battlefields in today's troubled world.

Yet, they are not covered by Government life insurance policies. Nor do they enjoy, upon leaving the service, the educational and other benefits made available to the veterans of Korea and World War II.

They do receive combat pay if they are exposed to hostile fire and meet certain other qualifications. This gives a soldier, regardless of rank, a $55-a-month bonus on top of his regular pay.

But there are curious inconsistencies in the way the Defense Department has applied this since it was approved by Congress 2 years ago. A GI who gets shot at in the Dominican Republic, for example, is not eligible for it—unless he gets wounded or is killed.

In Vietnam, on the other hand, an estimated 25 percent of the GIs were drawing combat pay until recently. Now about 75 percent will begin receiving it.

The rule was liberalized for Vietnam out of recognition of the rapidly escalating war there. Combat money is not paid in the Dominican Republic, on the grounds that there is no clearly established enemy there and the situation is considered temporary.

The Pentagon general who supplies this explanation shrugs as he finishes as though he, too, questions whether it is right to be so arbitrary in a matter of this kind.

This issue, however, does not bother nearly as many people here as the fact that the GIs are no longer covered by insurance. In World War II, they contributed toward its cost. In Korea, they were given a $10,000 policy free.

It is satisfying to report that a growing number of Congressmen appear to be having twinges of conscience about this situation. Four bills to restore GI insurance have been introduced in this session.

Congress abolished the insurance program and raised the monthly benefits to servicemen's widows in 1957. Up to this time, a widow was paid $87 a month, plus social security for herself and her children, plus the $10,000 in insurance paid out at the rate of $92.90 a month for 10 years.

Since 1957, she has been entitled to $120 a month plus 12 percent of her husband's basic pay, and social security. The monthly benefits range, approximately, from $132 to $262, depending upon her husband's rank, in contrast to the flat $87 a month paid to survivors of all ranks before.

Her social security payments are higher now, also, particularly if her husband held a higher rank. Before 1957, social security was free for the GI but payments to his beneficiaries were low, as they were based on an arbitrary figure for all ranks of $120 a month.

Since 1957, the serviceman has contributed to social security like any other employed

person and the benefits are based on his rate of pay. If he earned $1,800 a year in the service, his widow with one child would draw $109.60 a month. If he earned $4,800, the widow and child would draw $190.60 a month.

With the abolishment of the insurance program, parents were cut out of the benefit pattern. Survivors of unmarried men who die in service are awarded only the death gratuity of 6 months' base and combat pay. In the case of a private, this would come to only $800.

Congressmen are now beginning to ask themselves whether this is fair. They wonder whether the benefit scale established 8 years ago provides as adequately as it should for the security of widows and children in 1965.

For these and other reasons, Congress may well restore some kind of insurance program. There appears to be less chance for a perennial proposal of Senator YARBOROUGH, Democrat, of Texas, to pay "readjustment benefits," including such items as education grants and home loans, for veterans of today's cold—not hot—wars.

Fifth Anniversary of Christening of SS "Hope"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. BATES

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, this year the hospital ship SS *Hope* celebrates the fifth anniversary of its christening. Since that memorable day in San Francisco on September 22, 1960, the vessel's parent organizations Project HOPE, has grown into the largest and most effective medical-education program of its kind, in the world.

Let me cite briefly, the major accomplishments of this magnificent organization:

In 5 years, the SS *Hope* has traveled to five countries on three continents.

Project HOPE has trained nearly 3,000 doctors and nurses, performed over 6,000 major operations, treated more than 100,000 persons, vaccinated some 1 million children, and distributed a million cartons of nourishing milk.

HOPE has set up such nationwide programs as nutrition-education plan, under which mothers and children are taught proper practices in sanitation, hygiene and dietary habits.

In the meantime, land-based operations have been set up, in the developing nations visited by the ship, to continue the programs initiated by HOPE.

In Jakarta, Indonesia, the first country visited by the vessel, HOPE trained medical personnel who now staff a recently constructed hospital.

In Saigon, South Vietnam, HOPE directs activities in a specially built orthopedic rehabilitation center for children.

In Trujillo, Peru, the project supervises the country's first residency and internship program, at the city's medical school and hospital.

In Cuenca, Ecuador, Project HOPE is upgrading and reorganizing the curriculum at the University of Cuenca School of Medicine and the city's hospital.

Additional shore programs are maintained by HOPE, and another will be established in Africa when the ship leaves Conakry, Guinea. The SS *Hope* sails out of the west African port city on August 14 and returns to the United States at Philadelphia, on September 1.

Mr. Speaker, although ceremonies throughout the country will honor Project HOPE in September, I want to take this occasion to congratulate the project.

As an advocate and supporter of Project HOPE since its inception, I have been pleased to watch the good work and compassion of the men and women of HOPE.

I recall the difficult days in 1958 when Dr. William B. Walsh, a specialist in internal medicine from Washington, D.C., struggle for 2 years to launch his dream.

I remember the enthusiastic support from such officials as Vice President HUMPHREY, former President Eisenhower, and our colleague, Congressman ED EDMONDSON.

Then there are the dedicated doctors who volunteer 2 months of their time to serve abroad the ship; the talented nurses who work at minimal salaries for entire, year-long voyages, and the magnificent men and women in white who continue HOPE's legacy on shore after the ship has gone.

Most importantly, the greatest personal satisfaction has been the warm endorsement of HOPE by the American people—by the individuals and organizations who give so generously; by the representatives from business, labor, and all walks of life, who volunteer their services; and by the industries and firms which donate millions of dollars in supplies and equipment each year.

Finaly, Mr. Speaker, it has been gratifying to see the overwhelming acceptance of Project HOPE among my colleagues; and it is for your benefit, and for the benefit of the American public, that I have endeavored to inform the country of Project HOPE's achievements, as it approaches its fifth birthday.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Domestic Farmworker Program a Success As Bracero Foreign Labor Importation Ends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, nationwide attention has been focused on the so-far-successful effort made this year to utilize our U.S. domestic farm labor force to replace the tens of thousands of foreign workers who in past years found jobs in the fields and on the farms of America under the bracero program which Congress ended last December.

I would like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD two recent examples of the fine news coverage this effort has been receiving. The first is an editorial appearing in the July 7 edition of the Washington Post entitled, "Farm Labor", and the second is an article written by Frank C. Porter also printed in the Post on July 12, and entitled, "Wirtz Is Seen Winning Farm Labor Battle, as Bracero Numbers Dwindle to a Trickle."

Both the editorial and the article are highly encouraging to me, because they point to the end of an era when farm workers in the United States were treated as second-class citizens, and were afforded virtually no protection against the harsh rigors of an agricultural economic system that felt little responsibility toward this, one of the most exploited groups in America.

The editorial and article follow:

FARM LABOR

If there was a visionary quality to the July 7, 1965, speech on farm labor delivered last week by the Secretary of Labor, it was the quality of one of the Old Testament prophets rousing the populace to grapple with some besetting sin. The contemporary sin about which Secretary Wirtz is concerned is the complacent and callous neglect of the hired hands who work on American farms, moving from region to region with the seasons to harvest their rich yields. Farmworkers, and especially migrant farmworkers, have been the most submerged, exploited and degraded element in the national economy.

Mr. Wirtz proposes to do something about the situation. Indeed, he has already done soemthing about it—something exceedingly constructive. He has been the main mover in bringing virtually to an end the practice of importing foreign farmworkers—mostly Mexicans—to do the stoop labor which American growers insist that domestic farmworkers are loath to perform.

The change is measurable—and dramatic. A year ago there were 36,300 foreign nationals working on California farms. Today there are 1,964. In the country as a whole, there were 65,218 such foreign farmworkers at this time last year. There are now 2,587. And despite pitiful wailing and dire predictions by the big agricultural employers who like to be able to hire cheap labor, disaster has not overtaken American agriculture, prices of farm products have not generally spiralled and the prospects now are very good for getting the crops harvested with the help of college and high school youths in need of employment supplementing the domestic supply of migrant farmworkers eager to work.

"The encouraging lesson of the year," Mr. Wirtz observed in summary, "is that the laws of economics, of supply and demand, supplemented by special recruitment efforts, do work in the agricultural industry just as in any other. Workers are available if the prices and conditions are right." These American workers, it must be recognized, however, are not peons who can be treated like scum while they are working and then sent back to Mexico for the rest of the year. Decent living conditions must be furnished for their families; they must have housing and schools for their children and a reasonable share in the national prosperity.

A three-point approach to the farm labor problem is needed, the Secretary says. First, agricultural employment must be recognized as being essentially like other kinds of employment—and entitled to the same kinds of protection and the same standards of decency in conditions of employment. Second, year-round employment opportunities must be developed for agricultural workers. and,

third, there must be a more effective mobilization of public opinion regarding the farm labor situation—so that the public recognizes that farmworkers cannot be kept submerged and degraded.

The whole country, not its agricultural segment alone, will be immeasurably benefited if Secretary Wirtz' vision achieves realization. For the whole country has been degraded by the degradation of migrant farm laborers. And the whole country will be enriched by giving them a fair share in its economic democracy.

WIRTZ IS SEEN WINNING FARM LABOR BATTLE AS BRACERO NUMBERS DWINDLE TO A TRICKLE

(By Frank C. Porter)

After 6 months of internecine warfare, Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz appears to be winning his battle to make good a congressional mandate against wholesale importation of foreign farmworkers.

More importantly, the controversy has helped coalesce new efforts, led by Wirtz himself, to improve the lot of agricultural workers generally.

In this respect, obstruction to Wirtz' program by a minority of growers—mostly larger operators in California and Florida—seems to have backfired.

They have failed to obtained more than a trickle of the docile, efficient, and comparatively cheap foreign field hands to which they are accustomed. And they have had to upgrade pay and working conditions to obtain domestic help.

Beyond this, by fanning the controversy, these growers may have helped improve prospects for a Federal minimum wage in agriculture, for extension of social security to farmworkers, for strengthening of unions of agricultural employees by ending their exemption from the Taft-Hartley Act, and for stricter child labor laws in the fields.

LEGISLATION INTRODUCED

Legislation covering these and other agricultural reforms has been introduced on Capitol Hill. Chances that much of it will be enacted in this session are slim. But sentiment for the passage of such bills is growing in Congress.

Wirtz put his finger on the trend last week when he told a Senate subcommittee that the long exclusion of farmworkers from the statutory rights and benefits enjoyed by wage earners in industry appears to be largely "an anachronistic carryover from the period of disproportionate political influence by rural voters, especially propertied voters."

"The national acceptance of the principle of one man, one vote," he said, "foretells the end of the exclusion of agricultural employment from the coverage of State and Federal laws regarding minimum wages, health, and sanitation, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation and collective bargaining."

Only a week earlier, speaking at the Los Angeles town hall, Wirtz said that using domestic instead of foreign workers is only a starting point. He went on to propose a national agricultural labor program "which will serve all the interests of the growers, the workers, and the public."

But such a program would probably never get off the ground if Wirtz should be discredited in the still unfinished fight on foreign worker importation.

So far, however, the Secretary seems to be winning.

WIRTZ AIMS AT LOOPHOLE

At issue is Congress' termination effective last December 31, of the bracero program, under which hundreds of thousands of Mexican workers entered the Nation each year. But there remained a provision of immigration law (Public Law 414) which permits the Attorney General, on advice of the Labor Secretary, to allow use of foreign farmhands on a spot basis where domestic workers are unavailable at fair pay and working conditions.

Fearing this might provide a loophole that could nullify the bracero termination, Wirtz applied rigorous standards to Public Law 414 and insisted that in most cases domestic workers could replace foreign workers if the growers did right by them. This brought a storm of protest from some growers and their allies in canning, processing, transport, banking, the Teamsters Union, and on Capitol Hill.

The clamor continues—the most recent instance being a bitter, 10-point indictment of Wirtz on the Senate floor by Senator GEORGE MURPHY, Republican, of California.

But the best proof that Wirtz has the upper hand appears to be the mere 2,587 foreign farmworkers in the United States as of June 30, compared to 65,218 a year ago.

The Secretary concedes there have been some temporary crises in the labor supply (but no serious shortages) and "some small crop losses, responsibility for which a more objective judge would have to assess to growers, governments, or God." He feels the program is working reasonably well and that there have been substantial benefits in increased employment of Americans, better pay and working conditions, and the like.

His opponents dissent strongly. For one thing, they argue, labor uncertainties stemming from the bracero embargo have pushed up fruit and vegetable prices——not because of the added cost of domestic workers but because planting have been down and crops left to rot unharvested.

In particular they cited lettuce, where the cost of a head jumped to as high as 49 cents in Washington stores 5 or 6 weeks ago—about double the normal price.

But Wirtz' policies had nothing to do with the soaring price; rather it was the result of a temporary supply shortage induced by California's wettest April on record, Representative JEFFREY COHELAN, Democrat of California, told the House. Since then the price here has dropped back to a normal 25 cents a head to 35 cents for two, he noted.

NO UNUSUAL FLUCTUATION

Regarding lettuce, the Secretary attacked what he called a "widespread and obviously planned program of propaganda" to mislead consumers. "In general," he said, "prices this year for fruits and vegetables have not risen or fluctuated any more for crops which braceros used to pick than they have for other food prices."

Figures compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics from Agriculture Department data actually show slightly more price declines from a year ago than increases. The following table gives average wholesale prices for the week of July 6 on representative fruits and vegetables compared with the year-earlier level.

	This Year	*Last Year*
Cantalup (jumbo crate)	$7.92	$8.58
Carrots (48 1-lb. bags)	5.21	3.42
Celery (crate)	4.83	5.88
Lettuce (24 heads)	2.75	3.88
Tomatoes (40 lbs.)	2.46	6.49
Strawberries (quarts)	.85	.80
Oranges (Calif. ½-box ctn.)	2.83	4.39
Onions (50 lbs.)	3.55	2.00
Corn (crate)	3.13	3.17
Potatoes (Los Angeles, 100 lbs.)	8.71	4.75

D-Day for Transit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the House will consider on Thursday, July 15, H.R. 4822, which provides for the construction of a rapid rail transit system for the National Capital area.

The Evening Star of July 13, 1965, carried a very fine editorial entitled "D-Day for Transit." The editorial will be of interest to everyone who is interested in a balanced transportation system for the Nation's Capital and who believes in true free enterprise. I include it in the appendix of the RECORD:

D-DAY FOR TRANSIT

The vigorous support the White House is giving Washington's revised rail transit bill is well deserved. No legislation in recent years has had more crucial, far-reaching importance to the Nation's Capital. And this week the responsibility for achieving its benefits passes to the House of Representatives.

This bill is the fruit of a full decade of study and improvement. In 1963, the House rejected an earlier version which contained glaring deficiencies. Its defects were evident then, and they have been corrected.

The new bill authorizes 25 miles of rail lines confined almost wholly to Washington, roughly half of which are underground. Without exception, these lines ultimately will be extended into the Maryland and Virginia suburbs. And indeed, if the House does its part this week, a compact between the two States and the District to assume responsibility for the total system might well become a reality in 1966. The present bill, however, would commit the Federal Government to participate only in the critical nucleus of the system, and it is essential that this be made clear to Congress.

Perhaps the most vital change in the bill is a complete revamping of its financing structure. Congress objected 2 years ago, rightly so, that it was being asked to bear nearly all the burden, with the District contributing almost nothing. Under the new formula, the District and Federal governments would participate on a one-third, two-thirds basis in grants and in responsibility for revenue bonds which would pay the lion's share of the cost. Surely, as the White House has said, this is an appropriate, reasonable division in view of the urgent importance of rail transit to the Capital City.

House Members no doubt will be told, largely on behalf of the D.C. Transit System's O. Roy Chalk, that the present bill is unfair to "private enterprise." Nothing could be further from the truth.

The system would be designed and built by private egnineering firms, under contract, with public dollars. The bill unequivocally requires that the system, under contract, be privately operated. The operating personnel would be employees of the private operator—not Government workers. Mr. Chalk would have a fair chance, along with anyone else, to compete for the operating rights. And the bill provides specific protections for existing bus companies.

To be sure, it would not give Mr. Chalk the arm-lock on the rail system which he quite naturally desires. At first, he fought to kill the whole program. More recently he has proposed protective amendments to the bill which have been rejected in various forms by both the White House and the House committee. Some of his demands are unnecessary. Some are simply preposterous. The House should resist them.

Congress also should be encouraged by the strengthened leadership of the National Capital Transportation Agency, which will administer the rail program during its initial phases. Its new Director, Walter McCarter, is not unsympathetic to Washington's freeway program. But he insists, and he is right, that rail transit is the only alternative to an endless proliferation of freeways which in time could become intolerable.

In moving this vital bill to the House floor, the full District Committee approved it by the overwhelming margin of 18 votes to 3. We trust that the House will grant its indorsement in as conclusive fashion, as an inducement to the Senate to complete action during this session.

Pressure To Conform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, in a recent article written by columnist Wilfrid Dellquest, entitled "Apple Carts," I notice that he has commented on something that bothers many of us. Why have we become so prone to maintaining the status quo in the United States? More to be wondered at is the fact that we even extend this tendency beyond ourselves and seem to try to impose the same restrictions on others about us.

I believe that Mr. Dellquest has stated this case very eloquently, and ask unanimous consent to have his column, printed in the Lincoln Heights Bulletin-News on July 11, 1965, inserted in the RECORD at this point. The article follows:

APPLE CARTS

(By Wilfrid Dellquest)

He's in the doghouse: I recently met an old acquaintance who once attended a class with me at the university. In the intervening years, he studied theology and, after ordination, accepted the ministry of a small church near Los Angeles. He is perturbed because some of his friends have turned their backs upon him. A few weeks ago he visited the Midsouth and was an active participant in civil rights demonstrations. For that he was condemned by members of his congregation. They told him that he had no business interfering in matters that were not of his concern and that he should let well enough alone and not be a troublemaker. I am not passing judgment upon the expediency of his cause, but I do know that he believed in it sincerely and felt a moral obligation to try to help to correct what he regarded as an injustice. Nor can I either praise or condemn his critics, but I think I can understand them. Those who denounced their clergyman are nice people. That is to say, they are respectable members of their community. They play bridge and golf; they belong to civic clubs; they are in an adequate income bracket, and are often seen at fashionable social affairs. They are nice people, and they mean well. It is just that they object to anyone who tries to upset the applecart. As an academic theory, they would probably agree with their clergyman's social views. But they consider it unseemly and dangerous to become personally involved in a controversy that concerns strangers thousands of miles away. They would be happier if their minister stayed at home and confined his energies to his usual Sunday platitudes.

Those oldtime crusaders: I think that these nice people are forgetting something. They forget that the security and comfort they enjoy were made possible for them because a few men somewhere back along the line had the moral courage to fight for the things they believed. The men who made our Nation possible, the men who established the historic American tradition, were all upsetters of applecarts. They were not willing to let well enough alone. Those crusading dissidents who involved themselves personally to help further freedom and justice aroused the antagonism of the nice people who were satisfied with things as they were and who resented being disturbed. What we call the American tradition did not come cheaply. The yearning for justice, the reaching after freedom and political equality for all Americans were paid for by sensitive men and women who were ready to lay their reputations and their lives on the line in realization of their ideals. I have read of Americans who forfeited their respectability when they became personally involved in the fight against human slavery. In the beginning, it was not a popular cause. Most of the nice people, both North and South, looked askance at the crusaders who were making trouble. They wanted them to mind their own business and leave well enough alone. After all, they were free Americans and nobody was trying to enslave them. What more did they want?

Women on the warpath: I remember in my boyhood the women who personally involved themselves in the struggle for women's rights. They agitated, they demonstrated, they were mocked, laughted at, scorned, and derided. They were arrested for defying the laws. They were thrown into jail. But they were obstinate and they persisted, and because of their courage political equality for women has become a part of the American tradition. Of course, we are all more or less opinionated, and maybe you are among those who assert that a woman's place is in the home and a clergyman's place is in the pulpit. You may believe it both wise and discreet to remain silent so long as we have our own ease and security while someone else is being bruised by bigotry and deprived by ignorance. That's one way of looking at it. Don't be too hard on the clergyman who is in the doghouse. He has his opinion, too. I have a feeling that every great step this Nation has taken toward the realization of freedom, justice, and common decency has been pioneered by those who upset applecarts. They were hell-raisers, no doubt of that; they were very disturbing people, but they were also architects of our American tradition. They were worthy of their country. Are we worthy of them?

A2c. Gary L. Iseli

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, a very exceptional honor has come to a constituent of mine, which is not only an honor for the young man himself, but for his parents, my congressional district, and the State of Ohio.

Brig. Gen. William C. Garland, commander, 12th Strategic Aerospace Division, U.S. Air Force, Davis-Monthan Air Force Base, Ariz., states that, and I quote—

Airman Second Class Gary L. Iseli, son of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Iseli, 4505 West 170th Street, Cleveland, Ohio, has been selected the Davis-Monthan Air Force Base Airman of the Month for June, 1965.

Selection of A2c. Iseli for this honor was based on top professional performance, exemplary conduct, and outstanding display of leadership ability. Airman Iseli is a member of the 4457th Combat Crew Training Squadron, 4453d Combat Crew Training Wing, and over an extended period of time has proven to his supervisors that he is well deserving of this basewide recognition.

We are also pleased to add that a Tucson civic organization will introduce Airman Iseli at their monthly luncheon meeting as an outstanding representative of this Air Force installation.

I know you share my pride in this fine young man who not only is an outstanding citizen of the State of Ohio, but a real asset to the U.S. Air Force.

I warmly congratulate Airman Iseli and his parents and assure them that I, too, share their pride in the honor which their son has brought to them, to Cleveland and Ohio, and to himself.

Centerville, Iowa, Newspaper Urges Support for the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, the United Nations is now 20 years old and, because of some recent developments, concern has been expressed over the future of this valuable organization.

It is true that the United Nations has had severe problems, especially in the last few years. But this is all the more reason for reaffirming our support for the U.N.

This point was well made in an editorial from the July 7, 1965, issue of the Centerville Iowegian of Centerville, Iowa, and I commend this editorial to my fellow Members.

What is needed today, as the editorial says, is a rededication to the principles of the United Nations Charter and a new effort to make those principles a reality.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I hereby include the editorial:

DON'T DESERT THE SHIP

The United Nations has clearly not accomplished all that was envisioned in its charter, adopted 20 years ago in San Francisco. This was never made plainer to the world than at the recent 20th anniversary celebration.

The U.N. is staggering under the burden of grave financial troubles; it is hamstrung by the dispute over voting rights, which may yet tear it apart. Meanwhile, it is struggling to be a vital force in the development

of an orderly, peaceful world. This struggle is carried on against great difficulties, which are caused in part by the unrelenting confrontation between great power blocs and by the fact that the original membership has more than doubled since the charter was signed.

It is of prime significance, however, that despite all this the anniversary celebration was not blighted by a prevailing sense of gloom and doom. Among those assembled there was an almost palpable feeling compounded of hope and determination—a sense that the U.N. remains humanity's best chance for solution of world problems. It seemed to be the consensus—and is, we judge, the American consensus also—that there must be a rededication to the dreams embodied in the charter, and a renewal of effort to transform those dreams into reality.

There are dissenters from this view, among them the reactionary leaders of the John Birch Society. Their head-in-the-sand outlook was in the spotlight again the other day when the John Birch public relations chief, John H. Rousselot, said the United States should withdraw from the United Nations and the U.N. headquarters should be ousted from this country. We believe, and devoutly hope, that Americans will have nothing to do with this kind of neoisolationism. Deserting the U.N. ship as it sails in rough waters would be the worst thing we could do.

Daniels Offers Antismut Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, for more than three-quarters of a century, the Daily Home News of New Brunswick, N.J., has been providing editorial leadership in Middlesex County and surrounding areas. Thus, it comes as a great source of pride to me to read that this fine newspaper has seen fit to support my bill, H.R. 7465, to curb pornography.

The Daily Home News in an excellently worded and carefully reasoned editorial in its June 30, 1965, edition has expressed reasons why my bill should be passed.

I am inserting in the Appendix of the RECORD the Daily Home News editorial. I urge all Members to read it very carefully.

The editorial follows:

DANIELS OFFERS ANTISMUT BILL

Campaigns to eliminate or even control pornography—and if you do not know that pornography abounds today, you are wearing dark glasses when you visit a newsstand—run into major obstacles almost before they begin.

The cry of "censorship" is raised when any organization moves even mildly to control pornography to the extent of banning the sale of printed and pictorial filth to youngsters. The Supreme Court itself feels that it cannot define pornography, and in many cases upsets the decisions gained in lower courts in the battle against filth.

It has to be admitted that it is difficult to draw a hard and fast line between what is filth and what may be art or literature. But it is not difficult to identify hard-core pornography.

The fact that it is difficult to define pornography precisely should not preclude the best possible effort to do so. It is often extremely difficult to arrive at a decision between guilt and innocence in criminal cases, but it's done every day.

We know we shall never have completely pure water in our rivers, but we fight water pollution. We know, our air will never be completely pure, but we fight air pollution.

We should make equally strong efforts to fight pollution of the minds of our young people.

Representative DOMINICK V. DANIELS, from Hudson County, has started exerting leadership in a comprehensive attack on pornography. He has introduced in Congress a bill to set up a Presidential commission to find ways to combat smut. The commission would have in its membership representatives of the book publishers, the motion picture industry, newspapers, churches, librarians, lawmakers, and others. DANIELS envisons this citizens committeee as developing a plan for Federal, State, and local officials' cooperation to keep the public informed of the origin and scope of the traffic in smut.

A writer in the Trentonian says that the Knights of Columbus, with a membership of 60,000 in New York, have endorsed the bill. DANIELS says he is receving letters of approval from all over the country.

We think the Daniels bill is a good beginning. It involves no censorship. It interferes with no one's rights. It hurts no one's profits, and it is, of course, the fact that there is great profit in smut, as in most vices, that pornography is being promoted so broadly and defended so widely.

The Daniels bill proposes a factfinding approach, a fact-disseminating approach. We believe that if a Presidential commission is named as provided in the Daniels bill, the facts which it will uncover will astound the American public. And, we believe further, that when the public realizes how deeply the cancer of smut has infected the Nation, prompt control will be demanded and achieved.

Secretary Udall Undermines President Johnson's Appalachia Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, James J. Kilpatrick, editor of the Richmond News Leader, wrote a splendid and timely column which appeared today in the Washington Star. I congratulate and commend this renowned and distinguished journalist for exposing an unbelievable but very real threat to private enterprise by the Secretary of the Interior:

CAROLINA PUBLIC-PRIVATE POWER FIGHT

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

One of the troubles in writing about certain events in Pickens and Oconee Counties of South Carolina is that no one really gives a particular hoorah about what goes on in Pickens and Oconee Counties of South Carolina, the 86,000 residents, of course, excepted. But the biggest fight since Hell's Canyon over "public power" and "private power" is about to be waged in Pickens and Oconee, and if Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall gets away with this one, he will get away with murder.

The country ought to be aware of what is going on down there. Questions of major public policy are involved, and all of us are involved in them.

The story goes back to January 4, when the Duke Power Co. filed an application with the Federal Power Commission to get started on a vast new steam and hydropower complex known as the Keowee-Toxaway project. Ultimately the project would produce an investment of $700 million in private capital. The first phase, covered in this license application, proposes an investment of $85 million for dams on the Keowee and Little Rivers with an initial hydrocapacity of 750,000 kilowatts of power. These units would become operable in 1971.

This is only the beginning of what the company's studies propose. Other dams would be built and other lakes created. Additional steam generating units would provide 7 million kilowatts more. All of this construction work would take place on a 100,000 acres of land already owned by Duke Power Co. The investment would have great meaning in the Appalachian area. In time, an estimated $18 million in State and local taxes, and $24 million in Federal taxes, would be generated by the investment. The reservoirs would serve not only for power supply but also for water supply, recreation, and flood control—and not a nickel in Federal tax funds would be required.

Now comes Udall, with a brusque and presumptous petition for intervention, filed on June 21, nearly 3 full months after the deadline. His object is to block Duke Power's plans completely, and compel the company to rely instead upon power from a Federal dam proposed for construction at Trotters Shoals on the Savannah River many miles away.

"Applicant has no need for the hydro power that would be produced by the project in 1971," says Udall. "Applicant's asserted needs can be met from Trotters Shoals. Subsequently, power may be made available to applicant from the four Chattooga River plants.

"Applicant has no need for steam-electric power from a plant located on the Keowee Reservoir about 1972 or later. Applicant's asserted need for steam power * * * will be satisfied by Congress permission to build a 2 million kilowatt steam plant below Hartwell concomitant with the Trotters Shoals authorization."

Forget about the local place names. What we have here is an arrogant assumption by Udall that he knows more about a power company's needs than the company itself knows. He would block $700 million in private investment in order to compel the company to rely upon a Federal power facility instead. The Trotters Shoals dam would require $78 million in public funds, and would take 23,000 acres off the local tax rolls; and it should be added that Trotters Shoals has nothing whatever to do with flood control or navigation. It is a 95 percent pure power project.

Now, if the Duke Power Co. had a poor reputation in its service area—if it charged exorbitant rates, if it underestimated power requirements, if it had poor public relations with the communities it serves, or if further Federal dams really were required for flood control—Udall might make a plausible case for intervention in this FPC proceeding. None of these factors is present. Duke is among the most respected power companies in the Nation; its rates are low, its public relations excellent. The Keowee-Toxaway project has been endorsed by the Governor, the general assembly, the town and county councils, and a host of local organizations. Both of South Carolina's Senators, Republican THURMOND and Democrat RUSSELL, support the company and oppose the Interior Secretary.

Udall is here engaged in a brazen grab for power—for socialized power, in the una-

dorned word—and the effort needs to be exposed. The Keowee River may be remote from most Americans who believe in the enterprise system, but John Donne's famous warning can be paraphrased: Ask not for whom the Keowee flows; it flows for thee.

FBI Investigation of Fraud

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the following very interesting article entitled "FBI Investigation of Fraud," written by the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which appears in the July 1965, issue of the Journal of Accountancy:

FBI INVESTIGATION OF FRAUD

(By the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover)

The cost of crime in the United States is conservatively estimated to be a staggering $27 billion a year. Varying estimates as to the annual losses resulting from fraud and embezzlement alone run into billions of dollars. The seriousness of these so-called "white collar" crimes is illustrated by an FBI analysis of data furnished by local law enforcement agencies for inclusion in the uniform crime reports, which disclosed that in 1963 local authorities made almost 80,000 arrests for embezzlement and fraud. This estimate does not include arrests made by the FBI and other Federal investigative agencies.

The term "fraud" in its generic sense includes many acts of trickery, deceit and misrepresentation. Members of the accounting profession are usually concerned with those commercial-type frauds wherein manipulation of books and records took place either in furtherance of, or to effect concealment of, a fraudulent scheme. The FBI, during investigation of the various Federal crimes under its jurisdiction, has encountered almost every conceivable type of fraud situation. These include fradulent check schemes, securities frauds, confidence game swindles, embezzlements, false bills of lading, fraudulent bankruptcies, false claims and various frauds perpetrated against the Government.

Since the subject of fraud is so all-embracing, this article will be confined to FBI investigations in three general areas: frauds by employees, frauds by customers, and frauds by suppliers of material.

FRAUDS BY EMPLOYEES

Investigations by the FBI of frauds by employees are normally concerned with embezzlements and other violations of the Federal Reserve Act and related statutes which make it a crime for officers and employees of banks and certain other financial institutions to convert employers' property to their own use. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1964, an all-time high of 2,728 alleged banking-type frauds were reported to the FBI. Shortages in these cases amounted to more than $19 million. There were 596 convictions in Federal court, and fines and recoveries exceeded $16.8 million during the same fiscal year.

Many employees frauds are made possible either because the company lacks an adequate system of internal control or it does not follow reasonable precautions in using the services of internal auditors and/or public accountants. While some employee frauds are ingeniously contrived to avoid detection during audits, others are relatively simple schemes. In one of the largest bank frauds investigated by the FBI it was found that an official and customer of the bank had conspired to embezzle more than $3 million over a period of several years. The fraud was perpetrated through the simple expedient of issuing cashier's checks to the customer and to companies in which the customer had an interest. The embezzlements were concealed by false debits to the accounts of correspondent banks. The situation was not brought to light until after the officer was promoted and transferred, making it impossible for him to continue to cover up the scheme.

A considerable number of bank frauds involve the manipulation of savings account records. Since some of these accounts are relatively inactive and no periodic statements are sent to customers, they are particularly susceptible to fraud. It is interesting to speculate how many fraudulent schemes involving savings accounts would have been detected earlier if confirmations had been requested.

One embezzlement was not discovered until a customer came to the bank to check a savings account balance. The ledger sheet could not be located in the file. During the search an officer produced the missing ledger sheet, claiming that he had the record in connection with a loan inquiry. The sheet was returned to the proper ledger file, and at the close of business that day it was found the savings account ledger and the control were out of balance in the exact amount of the ledger sheet returned by the officer. This caused a bank employee to become suspicious and the matter was brought to the attention of the bank president. The officer who had produced the missing ledger sheet was confronted and admitted embezzling more than $30,000 over a period of 10 years. The embezzler had withdrawn four legitimate customers' saving accounts ledger sheets from the file and had inserted two fictitious or "dummy" sheets in their place.

FBI investigation revealed that the culprit had also prepared fictitious signature cards for the dummy accounts including false social security numbers. He prepared fictitious withdrawal slips for these accounts and withdrew money after transferring balances from legitimate ledger sheets. The manipulations were made by him during nonbanking hours, using a typewriter and the bank's posting machines. To decrease the chance of detection, the officer would periodically rotate the shortage among various legitimate savings accounts. During the last 5 years that the scheme was in operation almost 80 withdrawals had been made from the dummy savings accounts. The officer subsequently entered a plea of guilty in a U.S. district court and was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment.

A longtime, trusted employee of a firm doing business on a global basis took advantage of the confidence reposed in him to fleece his employers out of more than $300,000. He would prepare memorandums to the accounting department of the company requesting that checks in amounts ranging up to several thousand dollars be issued for commissions on foreign sales. He would indicate that the amount was to be charged to the account of one of the company's foreign export agents and request that the check be made payable to an out-of-State bank or an individual known to the employee. It was not unusual in this particular business for foreign firms entitled to commissions to request that checks be sent to third parties in the United States. After the checks were approved and signed they were returned to the employee who originated the transaction. He had an account at the out-of-State bank and would send the checks payable to this bank for credit to his personal account. He later obtained money or merchandise from the individuals to whom company checks were sent.

In order to conceal his peculations, the employee did not charge the checks to the accounts of the foreign export agents since the fraud would have been detected when these agents received their monthly statements. The employee created other improper entries and adjustments in order to keep the books in balance. When the company was alerted to the employee's affluence, through a routine credit inquiry, a certified public accounting firm was called in to make an audit, and the matter was reported to the FBI. The employee was sentenced to imprisonment on State charges and also was convicted in a Federal court for interstate transportation of stolen property.

In some instances an employee will deceptively manipulate records or reports for reasons not connected with a theft or embezzlement of the assets of the company. The FBI investigated one such case where the company manager caused false inventory reports to be submitted to a Federal lending agency for the purpose of making it appear that the company was making a profit. By so doing, he was able to conceal the fact that the company had been operating at a loss and was able to retain his position of manager.

The false inventory and other overstatements of assets presented a favorable financial picture and the company directors continued to pay dividends to its stockholders. The corporation had actually experienced a total loss in operations during a 10-year period of approximately $600,000. The investigation did not show any financial gain to the employee except for the retention of his position as manager as a result of the submission of the false financial figures.

The company maintained a perpetual inventory; however, it was not the practice to take physical inventories on a regular basis. The employee caused the book inventory to be overstated by several hundred thousand dollars through a series of understatements of the amount of raw material used in production over the years. The employee hoped that the company's profits would improve in the future and that he would be able to bring the inventory into line. The situation, however, went from bad to worse, and the overstatements continued to grow year after year until the company found itself in financial difficulty. The shortage was disclosed when representatives of the lending agency supervised the taking of a physical inventory.

It was necessary for the FBI special agent accountant handling the investigation to make a detailed examination of the company's records. This involved a tedious reconstruction process of working back from the actual physical inventory to the correct book inventory figures for comparison with some of the reports submitted to the Government lending agency. It was also necessary to have charts prepared in order that the variations could be understandably explained to the jury. The manager was found guilty after a trial in Federal court.

FRAUDS BY CUSTOMERS

Bad debt losses resulting from either insolvency of customers or schemes to defraud are a constant plague to the American businessman. FBI investigations of frauds by customers usually concern criminal provisions of the National Bankruptcy Act which make it unlawful for bankrupts to conceal property or use bankruptcy proceedings as a cover in cheating creditors.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1964, a record high of 171,719 bankruptcies were filed in Federal court, according to figures compiled by the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts. Ninety percent were nonbusiness bankruptcy filings and 10 percent were business filings. In the overwhelming majority of bankruptcy filings the parties involved are conscientiously working toward just settlements and the FBI conducts investigation only in the small percentage of cases where fraud is alleged.

The FBI has noted that the hoodlum element has recently increased its participation in the so-called racketeering or professional type of planned bankruptcy. In one common method of operation the hoodlum will have a front man set up a business and establish a good credit rating by making prompt payment on a number of small purchases. The front man will then make large purchases of merchandise on credit and either abscond with the merchandise or dispose of it quickly at prices substantially below cost, before disappearing from the scene. The defrauded creditors will eventually place the business into involuntary bankruptcy and be able to realize only a small fraction of the amounts owing to them. The businesses most frequently involved have been furniture stores, jewelry stores, discount appliance outlets and produce companies.

In another scheme frequently used by hoodlums, a legitimate businessman who cannot meet his obligations, possibly due to gambling debts or sudden business reversals, finds himself with a racketeer silent partner who uses the businessman's established credit to carry out a fraudulent bankruptcy scheme.

Planned bankruptcies are a challenge to the ingenuity and perseverance of our special agent accountants. In no other violation is the accountant required so frequently to develop supplementary information to bridge the gaps left by the missing, altered or incomplete records. Many fraudulent bankruptcy schemes have been artfully contrived to avoid detection and prosecution, and in many cases substantial amounts of sales and purchases have not been recorded on the books. Large withdrawals of cash from the business are often concealed by false charges to expense or inventory accounts. In securing credit some bankrupts have mailed false financial statements to banks, factors and other credit grantors, making it necessary for our accountants to conduct a detailed audit to prove the truth or falsity of the various items covered in the financial statements.

Public accountants, by providing management and audit services to clients, could help reduce the loss from fraudulent bankruptcies and other customer schemes by recommending sound, workable credit policies. An alert credit department making maximum use of financial information available from credit agencies and other sources can often prevent overextensions of credit to firms in obvious financial distress.

FRAUDS BY SUPPLIERS

The U.S. Government and other purchasers of goods and services are vulnerable to many types of frauds perpetrated by suppliers. These include shipment of merchandise inferior to that specified in the contract and various false claims concerning the cost of goods and services rendered. In dealing with frauds arising out of Government contracts, it has been our experience that false entries are frequently made in the records in connection with the schemes. For example, billings may be made for salaries or wages of persons not actually employed by the contractor. False payroll records and supporting data are prepared and the checks issued to the "dummy" employees are cashed by those responsible for the fraud. In other situations employee time and/or material actually used in the performance of civilian work may be falsely charged to Government contracts.

Most FBI investigations of frauds by suppliers relate to violations of the fraud against the Government statutes growing out of procurement contracts. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1964, a total of 611 persons were convicted in Federal court for violations of these statutes, while fines, savings, and recoveries, including civil fraud cases, totaled almost $4 million. In addition, information developed during investigations was of assistance to other Government agencies in designing controls to correct weaknesses.

One rather common fraud perpetrated by suppliers of material is the substitution of goods less expensive than those originally contracted for, accompanied by billings for the more costly material. The Government and business organizations both must set up reasonable controls through inspection of materials received, together with examination of shipping documents, to keep losses from these "switching" operations to a minimum. Public accountants should consider recommending inspectional procedures to their clients, when appropriate, in connection with the review of the client's system of internal control and in providing management services.

Several years ago another Government agency called the attention of the FBI to a situation where goods shipped from the United States to an overseas point under Government financing were claimed to be of U.S. origin, whereas in fact the merchandise had been manufactured overseas. The Government agency was alerted to the irregularities because of discrepancies in the unit price and the fact that inspection of a sample of the merchandise indicated that it was of foreign origin.

The FBI investigation, which included an examination of the records of companies handling the transactions, verified that the merchandise was manufactured abroad, shipped to this country, and then transshipped to the Orient. It was necessary to request investigation in several foreign countries to develop the case properly, and our investigation was further complicated by the fact that certain of the accounting records were in a foreign language little known in this country. Our inquiries also showed that an official of one of the companies involved made written statements that certain of the merchandise was of United States origin, which resulted in the Government's making payments for the goods. Following our investigation, one person and two of the companies involved entered pleas of guilty in Federal court. Fines and recoveries by the Government were in excess of $200,000.

FBI AUDITING STANDARDS AND PROCEDURES

FBI auditing standards, which must be understood and adhered to by all special agent accountants, closely parallel the generally accepted auditing standards of the public accounting profession. Our accounting investigative operations and the results thereof are under constant evaluation to insure that these standards are followed and are compatible with our goals. Third-party reliance on FBI accounting reports requires that our personal standards, standards of fieldwork and standards of reporting be maintained at a high level. FBI reports are transmitted to other Government agencies and U.S. attorneys, and the information in them becomes the basis for criminal, administrative, and civil action. Portions of the reports may be produced in court and our agents are subject to intensive cross-examination by opposing counsel on the results of our audits.

FBI accountants use the auditing procedures normally followed by the public accounting profession. The various writings of the profession have been helpful to us in this regard, and, in addition, we have our own manuals on the preparation of working papers and auditing procedures to be used in specific types of investigations.

The climate of an FBI audit in a fraud case is somewhat different from that of the usual audit engagement of the public accountant. Prior to our examinations, there have been definite allegations of fraud and/or collusion. While the FBI accountant will reconcile bank statements, for example, in the same manner as the public accountant, he will pay particular attention to the endorsements on the canceled checks since he knows that these will occasionally establish patterns of fraud. In one case the agent noted that checks payable to several different payees were all cashed at the same place. Further investigation showed that some payees were fictitious and this helped to establish that large amounts of cash had been siphoned from the business.

Both FBI and public accountants review and analyze ratios and trends during the initial stages of the engagement to pinpoint areas requiring further examination. The FBI accountant is particularly interested in such matters as: unusual fluctuations of expense accounts, comparisons between fixed assets and depreciation expense, relationships between purchases and sales, and the existence of classifications such as "exchange" accounts, which, experience has shown, can easily be manipulated for fraudulent purposes. The gross-profits test and related analyses are among the standard preliminary techniques used by FBI agents to determine if an inventory shortage is indicated.

In many instances the perpetrator of a fraud will only partially conceal his crime by making false entries or using spurious documents in an attempt to avoid detection by auditors. We have had several cases where invoices purporting to be for items of inventory and supplies were used as a cover for personal and other expenses not properly chargeable to Government work. In some instances regular invoice forms with the printed letterhead of a legitimate supplier were used and in other cases blank invoice forms were filled in by typewriter. These invoices would be processed in the usual course of business, false entries made as to the reasons for the transactions, and checks issued to the vendors. The vendor who sells personal articles to an official or employee of the company may be unaware that a fraud is being perpetrated and payment by company check will not necessarily create suspicion.

The person committing a fraud of this type does not always follow through to insure that the records support the false entries made in the books. For example while the invoice may specify that certain raw materials were purchased, there may be no record of the actual receipt of the goods and no entry in the inventory records. When our test checks show that the supporting data is incomplete, it may be necessary to contact certain vendors to determine the true nature of the expense.

The use of blank invoice forms would, of course, be a red flag to the agent investigating a case where allegations of fraud have been made. On one occasion an FBI accountant examining the records of a customer of the firm under investigation noted that the handwriting on certain invoice forms was similar to that of the principal suspect. This resulted in uncovering several thousand dollars in unrecorded sales under a fictitious name. The nature of the supplier's business as compared with the type of material ostensibly purchased is another factor. An extreme example of this would be an invoice from a jewelry store for office supplies.

Confirmations of assets and liabilities by FBI personnel, whether by letter or other-

wise, must be positive confirmations. We cannot afford to have the agent testify in court until he has uncovered all available facts. In a criminal trial for fraud it is necessary for the Government to prove guilt beyond a reasonable doubt. Forewarned with this knowledge, the FBI agent must use auditing procedures designed to determine the full facts in a positive fashion, regardless of the outcome. Our men take as much pride in clearing a wrongfully suspected employee as they do in unraveling the tortuous machinations of a skillful, experienced embezzler.

I would like to thank again those members of the accounting profession who have reported violations to us and who have assisted our agents by supplying information needed during investigations. One effective deterrent to the individual contemplating a fraud is the sure knowledge that his crime will be reported to the authorities promptly upon discovery. Business and professional people can do much to make embezzlements and similar crimes a risky business by cooperating with those agencies whose duties are to investigate these schemes.

Community Leader Dies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to express to my colleagues the grief which I share with the whole community of Davenport, Iowa, at the passing of one of that city's most able and respected community leaders, Cable G. von Maur. The sense of loss which is felt by all of Davenport, and which is shared by all of us who know the value of community leaders of Mr. von Maur's caliber, is expressed most aptly by an outstanding newspaperman, Mr. Bob Feeney. I would like to enter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this article by Mr. Feeney, citing the great contributions which Cable G. von Maur made to his community, which appeared in the July 12 issue of the Davenport Times-Democrat in his column "Around the Clock":

A COMMUNITY LEADER DIES

(By Bob Feeney)

Davenport lost one of its most useful community leaders when Cable G. von Maur died Sunday.

He was a man who was respected by all—there was probably no citizen here to whom all would have turned with more confidence than to Mr. Cable, as his associates in the retail field like to call him.

For a number of years this column used to select a "Man of the Week" who had performed some outstanding local public service.

We picked Mr. von Maur for this honor one time when he took the chairmanship for a Girl Scout camp fund raising committee. At the time we explained he had usually dodged the top spot on committees and in organizations although he was willing to do more than his share of work. He simply did not like the limelight. These paragraphs from that article of a number of years ago still pretty well sum up the character of the man:

"Many men achieve success in business but not necessarily success in life.

"Cable von Maur has been a success in life, and success in business has been only incidental. He has always felt that what is good for Davenport is good for his own business, and also that his own business cannot be good unless that of his competitors is also good. He has worked to build not only a great store but a great retail community.

"Because of this attitude he gained the confidence and respect of all, and has inspired many younger men of the community to take a broader outlook.

"His good judgment, his broad tolerance and his strength of character, developed through the years and demonstrated on many occasions, make him a man of whom Davenport or any city could well be proud."

Another Foreign Aid Graduate Proves Value of Self-Help Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply impressed by the widespread interest expressed in the recent announcement that Taiwan, one of our long-time foreign assistance recipients, had now graduated to an economic takeoff status and would no longer require an infusion of American aid to maintain the momentum of its successful self-help economic development program.

By thus joining the company of the nations of Western Europe, Japan, Lebanon, and Greece, Taiwan has demonstrated again the wisdom of our post-World War II effort to assist in the rebuilding of a war-torn world, and more recently, to assist in the development of strong and viable nations from among the newly emerging countries.

For that reason, Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point three articles which describe Taiwan's successful graduation from its former dependence on outside assistance:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, July 4, 1965]

TAIWAN'S "GRADUATION"

The Republic of China on Taiwan last week joined the nations of Western Europe, Greece, Lebanon, and Japan as a "graduate" from the U.S. economic assistance program. Over the years Taiwan has received $1.5 billion in U.S. economic aid (plus $2.5 billion in military aid, which will continue). The decision to terminate the economic aid was reached by the Agency for International Development with the concurrence of the Chinese. The announcement was accompanied by considerable fanfare apparently to impress critics of foreign aid that, given a sufficient infusion of American investment, a country can generate enough capital in time to become self-sufficient and embark upon its own agricultural and industrial development programs.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 5, 1965]

GRADUATE CUM LAUDE

President Chiang Kai-shek's government on Taiwan has now achieved that ultimate criterion of the U.S. economic aid program: "takeoff point." After 16 years and some $1,425 million in assistance specifically geared to economic development, the AID program has come to an end and Taiwan is able to join Western Europe, Japan, Greece, and Lebanon as a successful graduate of the course.

"Strong and sensible efforts by the Chinese people, plus major foreign aid from the United States, have brought noteworthy progress," AID Administrator David E. Bell declared. "But the crucial change is that Taiwan today has the trained leadership and the capital base to allow the nation to achieve further progress on its own."

The real spurt in Taiwan's economic development was in 1960 when U.S. aid officials came to realize that the takeoff point really was within reach if enough effort was made. Accordingly, those officials gave Chiang's government a sort of shock treatment. A list of 19 points for economic development was drawn up, and it was made plain to Taiwan that future U.S. economic aid would be conditioned upon their adoption.

Chiang's government winced at first but agreed to try the course. Today, as the U.S. AID program closes, American banks have shown their confidence in Taiwan's future by opening branch banks in Taipei. Foreign investment is 125 times what it was a dozen years ago, and exports, Taiwan's way of earning foreign exchange, are way up. Of course, Taiwan is not cut adrift completely since the very sizable U.S. military-aid program there continues.

The success story is, of course, mainly Taiwan's. But it is also a tribute to the long-harassed U.S. AID administrators, and it gives them something to talk about as they go, cup in hand, to Congress for their annual dressing down.

[From the Washington Star, July 12, 1965]

U.S. ECONOMIC AID HELD A SUCCESS IN FORMOSA

TAIPEI, FORMOSA.—Mission successful.

These two words are a fair assessment of an American effort to make the Republic of China's economy on Formosa capable of supporting itself.

The economic aid program has ended but American military assistance, which has so far amounted to more than $2.7 billion, is being continued.

The United States has contributed $1.465 billion to the economic aid program here in the 15 fiscal years since 1951.

But aid in the pipeline budgeted in previous years will keep flowing through 1967 in the form of power-generating equipment and other items.

This aid will amount to approximately $47 million in the second half of the current calendar year, $66 million in 1966, and $18 million in 1967.

The American Ambassador, Adm. Jerauld Wright, said in a recent speech: "One of the marvels of the present age is the economic growth of the Republic of China."

In saying this, the Ambassador had such facts as these in mind:

Industrial production in the Republic of China increased by three times since 1954.

Agricultural production has doubled in the past 15 years.

The per capita income has risen from about $70 a year in the early 1950's to more than $150 a year at the present time.

Electric power generation is now more than a million kilowatts, compared with only 33,000 at the end of World War II.

Manufactured goods, less than 10 percent of Nationalist China's total exports in 1950, now form almost half the country's exports.

The American staff of the Republic of China mission of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) here has dwindled from a peak of 148 in 1959 to 21 now. All will have gone by the end of 1967.

The American decision to terminate AID to the Republic of China was announced last year.

One reason for the decision was that this island could obtain credit from the World Bank, the Export and Import Bank and other financial and business institutions and could earn sufficient foreign exchange from exports.

American officials give full credit to the Chinese Nationalists for their part in achieving what is called the Republic of China's economic takeoff.

Gerald H. Huffman, acting chief of the China mission of AID, describes the foreign investment law enacted by the Chinese Government here as one the most liberal and enticing in the world.

The law provides tax benefits, gives a 20-year guarantee against expropriation of property, allows unrestricted outflow of profits and enables repatriation of recovered capital investment at the rate of 15 percent a year.

"We feel that our aid had been used wisely and well," said Huffman.

He said factors contributing to the success of the AID program included intelligent direction by Chinese leaders, political stability, a successful land reform program, the high degree of literacy of the people, their industriousness, and natural ability to acquire skills.

Huffman also praised the Chinese Nationalist Government for its decision, now being carried out, to establish an export processing zone at the southwest Formosa port of Kaohsiung. He said there is no reason to doubt there be a continued flow of private investments to the Republic of China.

He said private foreign investments approved through the fiscal year 1964, which ended last June 30, amounted to $130 million. In the calendar year 1964, he added, it amounted to $29.5 million, and likely will total $40 million to $50 million this year.

The United States, he said, devoted adequate attention first to improving the agricultural base and then to establishing an industrial base.

Attention also was paid, he said, to building up the country's economic structure by AID for electric power generation and the improvement of railways, highways and harbors. Cheap power rates have attracted many industries.

In the last 2 or 3 years, Huffman said, attention was concentrated on developing the Republic of China's exports. This involved quality control, establishment of standards, for example in food processing, better marketing methods and, above all, raising the level of managerial capability.

In the early 1950's, Huffman said, more than 60 percent of the Republic of China's industry was State-owned and less than 40 percent privately owned. Today the position is reversed.

He said Nationalist China's economic development was achieved despite the heavy military burden borne by the Government, which maintains armed forces numbering more than 600,000 men. It also was achieved despite the fact that only a quarter of Formosa's area of 14,000 square miles is arable.

The Support of Science in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following penetrating and useful discussion of the problems flowing from the sharp increase of Federal funds in aid of research and development these past several years, with particular reference to the impact of such funds on participating American universities, as written by Dael Wolfle in the July 1965 edition of the Scientific American magazine:

THE SUPPORT OF SCIENCE IN THE UNITED STATES

(NOTE.—The sharp and sustained increase in funds has improved research and has benefited the investigator. Nevertheless, serious questions are being raised about the financing of research in universities.)

(By Dael Wolfle)

This year in the United States nearly $21 billion—3.2 percent of the gross national product—will be spent for research and development. Some two-thirds of the funds will be supplied by the Federal Government. "Research and development" includes basic research, applied research and engineering, design, and even the development of prototypes; it is a broad category, but it does encompass all forms of scientific research. Not long ago the support of science was primarily the business of the colleges and universities and some voluntary agencies; before World War II the Federal Government's contribution was largely in agricultural research and the work of such agencies as the U.S. Geological Survey and the Naval Observatory. It was not until 1942 that the country's expenditures on science reached $1 billion. A steady growth in the support of science continued through the war and afterward; beginning in 1953 there was a sharp and sustained rise of huge proportions. Since 1953 the country has increased its expenditures for science at an average rate of 13 percent a year. The most striking rise has been in the contribution of the Federal Government, which has grown at a rate of nearly 20 percent a year. Although spending for development is leveling off, appropriations for academic research will continue to increase at about the present rate for some years.

The funds spent for scientific work during the past two decades have provided research opportunities on a scale previously unimagined. All fields of science have benefited from the better equipment, special facilities, greater freedom from constraints, and larger number of workers made possible by the increased budgets. The award of Nobel Prizes is one measure of the growing strength of basic research in this country; in the 1930's Nobel Prizes were awarded to 9 American scientists, in the 1940's to 13 of them, and in the 1950's to 27. Meanwhile, the economy of the country has gained enormously from the upsurge in technological research and development. In 1953 research and development accounted for 11 percent of all industrial investment; in 1962 research and development absorbed about 25 percent.

The subject is nonetheless surrounded by disquiet. In Congress and in the executive branch, in the universities and learned societies and foundations questions are being raised about the manner in which science is financed. Most of the questions deal not with the adequacy of the national effort but with the effects of the massive Federal contribution on the course of science and in particular on the conduct of basic research in the universities.

Evidence of this concern is found in a rapidly growing list of policy studies and program analyses. The National Academy of Sciences is midway in a series of reports dealing with various aspects of the scientific enterprise. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce has advocated the establishment of a national review body that would decide on major new programs. Two committees of Congress—the House Select Committee on Government Research and the House Subcommittee on Science, Research and Development—have reviewed many aspects of the Federal program, and their reports have become valuable sources of detailed information. Moreover, Congress has begun to insist that executive agencies prepare special reports on certain areas of investigation such as oceanography so that the Federal effort can be examined as a whole instead of in its budgetary and departmental fragments. The White House Office of Science and Technology has appointed a blue-ribbon committee of industrial, scientific, and educational leaders to review the policies and programs of the National Institutes of Health. The Bureau of the Budget has taken the lead in reexamining the administrative practices of the Federal agencies that support basic research. The National Science Foundation has reorganized and strengthened its staff sections responsible for studies of scientific policy, planning, and resources. "Science policy" has become the topic of a number of university seminars and analyses.

All this ferment of analysis and reexamination makes it clear that major changes in policies governing the support of science are under way or in the offing. These analyses have also served to provide reassurance that many of the past policies and practices are sound and should be continued. The magnificent achievements of recent decades are evidence that the support system has been a fundamentally healthy one.

Support for research and development comes from many sources; some contribute only a few dollars, others billions. Some 300 firms provide 80 percent of the industrial money that goes into research and development; another 13,000 firms provide the remainder. Some 200 private foundations grant significant amounts to science and medicine. Universities and many colleges provide research talent, laboratories, and financial help. A number of private research institutions finance their own investigations. State and local governments conduct a variety of research programs. Four agencies are responsible for 95 percent of the Federal funds: the Department of Defense, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. In addition to these giants there are another four agencies that account for 4 percent of the Federal total: the Department of Agriculture, the National Science Foundation, the Department of the Interior, and the Federal Aviation Agency. The remaining 1 percent of Federal research and development funds is spent by 21 other agencies.

In the 12 years from 1953 to 1965 every major source of research and development funds increased its support substantially. Federal funds are five times what they were in 1953. Industrial support has tripled, and the universities have done almost as well. The other nonprofit institutions are contributing six times their 1953 amount.

Just as the amounts of money supplied by these four sectors vary greatly, so do the amounts they use. The Federal Government supplies two-thirds of the funds, but Federal laboratories carry out less than 15 percent of the work. Industry contributes a third of the funds but conducts three-fourths of all the work (mostly with Federal funds). The colleges and universities provide about a tenth of the funds, and the other nonprofit institutions about a fortieth. (The universities' contribution is underrepresented in the financial reports, perhaps by several hundred million dollars a year; they provide substantial additional support, in the form of laboratory facilities and faculty time, that is not budgeted explicitly for research.)

From 1953 until 1960 about 8 percent of the Nation's research and development budget was devoted to basic research. The percentage has been rising since 1960, reaching

almost 12 percent in 1965. As for the Federal Government's funds, in 1953, less than 7 percent went for basic research. The figure has been rising since 1960, to about 11 percent in 1965. The universities are relatively much more prominent in basic research than in the total research and development effort, being responsible for almost half of all basic research. In contrast the industrial laboratories, which dominate in development activity, conduct only about a fourth of the basic research.

Development activity is directly associated with identifiable industrial, economic, military or other practical objectives. Its cost and the cost of any associated research are therefore justified and budgeted in terms of its expected contribution to the attainment of specific objectives. In the case of basic research the situation is quite different. The ultimate beneficiaries of basic research are many, but they are hard to identify in advance. As a result the costs of basic research tend to be shared widely. Some basic research of notable quality is done in industrial laboratories, but most of it is conducted in universities with support from public funds. In some cases this public support involves Congress directly in decisions on priorities. Modern basic research sometimes calls for large-scale facilities such as particle accelerators, oceanographic research vessels and astronomical observatories. Such "big science" enterprises are so expensive that they must be considered individually at top Government levels, where the cost and promise of each can be compared with those of other claimants for available funds.

On the other hand, "little science," typically the work of a university faculty member and his assistants and advanced students, will continue to be budgeted on a priori basis and to be supported by means of a large number of project grants. Little science, the principal subject of the remainder of this article, is an area of central concern to science as a whole, not least because it involves the education of future scientists. It is the kind of science that is most characteristic of academic research and hence is most often involved in Government-university relations. It is also the area in which those relations are most likely to change.

Sustained scientific work of high quality requires the effective union of three elements: a self-renewing population of able scientists; appropriate research facilities with the necessary supporting structure for institutional management; a source of money. In a few well-endowed research institutions all three elements are happily present in an almost totally self-contained and self-supporting organization. Such unity, however, is rare. More commonly under present conditions there is a scientific staff, a university with multiple obligations, and an external source of funds. All three sides of this triangle are interested in science, but their interests differ in detail; tensions arise and compromises become essential. The scientist must serve three masters: the internal logic and the opportunities of his own discipline, the policies and requirements of his institution, and the customs and wishes of his financial supporter. The university must meet the demands of science, of its many other endeavors and of the agencies that provide support. The Government agencies have an equally complex problem: in supporting a large number of individual scientific projects they must also consider the general welfare of the universities and be mindful of the wishes of Congress and the public it represents.

One useful change in the interrelations of scientists, universities, and Federal agencies would be the simplification and standardization of what has grown to be a maze of rules and regulations governing fiscal and administrative details and reports. The complexity of grant administration was summarized last year by the House Select Committee on Government Research: "One of the ironies of the research grant is that while it is sometimes itself a simple one-page (if not a one-paragraph) document, it is accompanied by a bulky manual of instructions, explanations, and amendments. For example, although the NIH (National Institutes of Health) grant form is a one-page instrument, it incorporates by reference the NIH grant manual, which runs to more than 100 pages."

The National Institutes of Health manual of course explains only NIH procedures and requirements; other agencies have adopted different rules and procedures. Congress has sometimes added to the confusion by setting arbitrary limits on the amounts that some agencies can pay to reimburse an institution for the indirect costs of conducting research. This overhead rate varies, moreover, depending on the agency that grants the funds. Sometimes overhead can be paid on some budgetary items but not on others, or at one rate on some items and at another rate on other items. The multiplication of administrative redtape slows decisions, harasses both agency and university personnel and puts the emphasis on form rather than substance. Fortunately these difficulties are widely recognized, and simplification and standardization would bring such obvious advantages that they will surely come about.

Standardization of procedures will be welcome, but more fundamental changes are required. Project grants are nominally made to a university or other institution, but in reality they are awarded to an individual. The scientist and Government official frequently deal directly with each other on both substantive and budgetary matters, largely excluding the university administration from any important role in reaching decisions about the research done in the university. Not all of the consequences have been happy ones.

When a faculty member looks outside his university for the major sources of support for his work, his interest and loyalty are likely to go where the dollars are. When the continuation of his work depends on his maintaining good relations and an effective record with private foundations and Washington agencies, and when his professional reputation depends primarily on his research productivity, he is likely to devote more and more of his time to writing project proposals and reports and to supervising the increased number of research assistants that liberal grants enable him to hire. Correspondingly less of his interest and loyalty go to the university that happens to be his home for the present, and less of his time is devoted to teaching and to doing actual laboratory work with his own hands.

There are many contentions that the increase in research has been bought at the expense of a depreciation of teaching. The research programs at most colleges and universities are not large enough to have an adverse effect on teaching. In the universities with large research budgets, however, complaints are heard that there is a schism between the teachers and the researchers; that the ablest graduate students are research assistants, whereas the less able ones become teaching assistants; that the bigtime research operator has become the admired model in the eyes of graduate students; that in return for the explosive growth of research we are building up a deficit in the training of future scientists and in the general education of other students in science. There is a substantial body of opinion to the effect that whereas education at the graduate level has improved as a result of the availability of better equipment and larger and more competent staffs, undergraduate teaching has suffered.

The emphasis on research supported by outside funds on an individual-project basis has also tended to strengthen the divisive forces and weaken the integrative forces that are always at work on a university campus. By and large faculty scientists like the change to off-campus support; it means that each researcher is judged by colleagues in his own field of specialization. Physicists judge physicists, biochemists judge biochemists, and geologists judge geologists. A man can take pride in the fact that specialists from other institutions have judged his work and found it worthy of support.

Bringing new funds to the campus enhances the scientists' prestige and gives him some freedom from local control. He can buy equipment or hire a secretary, travel to a national meeting to discuss work with other people in his field and even invite a man from another institution to pay him a visit—with expenses paid—to consult on research plans. And he can do all this without having to ask his dean or president for permission, because the grant is his. (That is, he can pay for these extras if he has had the foresight to provide for them in his project proposal. If not, it may take weeks for a busy office in Washington to let him know whether or not he can transfer $100 from one budget category to another.)

The result of all this is that the project-grant system undoubtedly weakens the scientist's ties with his own university. It means that many decisions about the research conducted on a campus are made in Washington instead of at the campus level and are made piecemeal rather than with full account taken of all the other programs and responsibilities of the university. A university is not solely a group of individualistic faculty members. It is a community of scholars and of students who wish to learn from them. It includes a central administration responsible for the development of the entire university, not simply the uncoordinated expansion of individual units or empires. Professor X would rather entrust his research proposal to the judgment of his professional colleagues on a Washington reviewing panel than to what he may consider the uninformed or biased decisions of his own dean and president. President Y, however, would prefer to have a larger measure of control at the university level, because he remembers that the university is responsible for teaching as well as research, for history and philosophy as well as physics and biochemistry, for the library as well as the observatory—and he wants funds that can be used in the best interests of the university.

Not only may the institutions in which research is carried out be changed by the methods of support; science itself may also be affected. One cannot help worrying about what subtle distortions in the course of scientific progress may result from the fact that nearly all of the Federal support now comes from "mission-oriented" agencies. The National Institutes of Health are interested in certain diseases, the Atomic Energy Commission in nuclear energy, the Department of Defense in weapons systems and countermeasures. Each supports basic research, but each selects projects in terms of its own mission. Of all the Federal grant-making agencies, only the National Science Foundation is free from this necessity. To be sure, many researchers have secured support from the mission-oriented agencies for exactly what they as scientists most wanted to do. The fact remains that, of all the money spent for basic research in the United States, only about one dollar in five comes from a source that does not have specific missions in mind. It is still a matter of opinion whether or not this fact is threatening the future health of basic science, but there is a widespread feeling that the National Science Foundation should assume a greatly increased share of the responsibility for supporting basic research.

Certainly agencies with special missions will continue to support basic research; funding decisions will often be controlled by immediate objectives; projects will continue to be supported largely on the basis of their individual merits and those of the scientists involved. Yet basic improvements in the system are possible. Now that massive Federal support is accepted as an obligation, the most necessary change is to shift a substantial amount of the decisionmaking responsibility closer to the point of research. The fact is that decisions that should be made by the executive agencies are now being made by Congress. Decisions that should be made by the universities are being made by the agencies.

In Great Britain, Parliament avoids political and governmental control of science and education by making block grants to the University Grants Committee, which in turn allots funds to the British universities. For a number of reasons this mode of operation is not feasible in the United States. Don K. Price of the Harvard School of Public Administration has pointed out that Congress takes a very different attitude toward the relation between ends and means than Parliament does. Parliament is content to decide on the ends, authorize the necessary funds and leave the details of the means to administrative agencies and the civil service. Congress, on the other hand, pays much attention to the means by which national objectives are to be attained. It reviews the budgets of Federal agencies in great detail, sometimes instructing an agency that no more than (and occasionally no less than) a stipulated amount is to be spent on a particular kind of activity. Congress is not likely to surrender its control of means as well as ends but it might well give the agencies a freer hand with the details and subcategories of their research budgets.

There will have to be, in turn, a substantial shifting of responsibility for research decisions from the supporting agencies to the universities. Some of the Federal agencies are now supplementing the project grant with newer forms of support that will help the universities to regain this responsibility: general-research support grants; program grants that support an established group of research colleagues not for a specific project but for work in an area in which they have demonstrated their competence; institutional grants that can be used in whatever way the university officials believe will best advance science on the campus; grants to help with the construction or equipping of laboratories, and the new science development grants to help selected institutions that are already quite good take a major step up the quality ladder.

These newer forms of grants will help to shift responsibility back to the campus, but the universities also have some work to do. A university's functions include both teaching and research; it has to maintain a reasonable balance between the two and also decide on the kind and amount of research that make sense in the context of its total program. The university president will sometimes say wearily that he knows these are his responsibilities but that his hands are tied—that there is no way to stop the very competent Professor X when he wants to start a new project because half a dozen other universities are eager to have the professor, willing to take him on his own terms and confident that plentiful grants will follow him to his new home. If the president lets his hands remain tied, the project grant will continue to be the dominant form of research support. It now seems likely, however, that universities that develop strong institutional controls and excel in the management of research funds can expect to receive a larger amount of support in more flexible forms.

Both the Government and the universities need to reconsider their interrelation. The makers of science policy must recognize that the Nation is as dependent on the universities as the latter have come to be on the Government. The universities are institutions with major responsibility for the Nation's future and not just for its present eminence in science; institutions with a broad role in the Nation's intellectual life and not merely laboratories qualified to solve current problems.

The universities have always adjusted their policies and programs to changing social and economic requirements, and they will have to continue to do so. The universities cannot, however, merely respond to outside forces. They must also be independent innovators and stubborn conservators of old values. The weight of history urges that control of the universities by any one benefactor must be prevented if they are to preserve their independence, play their full roles as critics, conservators and innovators, and retain control over their own destinies.

The Time Has Come

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, on July 1 I brought to the attention of the House an editorial by William H. Ewing, editor of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, on the question of the direction of the war in Vietnam. Mr. Ewing has followed that editorial with another in which he further explores alternatives open to the United States in resolving this conflict.

I offer for your perusal and attention the editorial, "The Time Has Come," published in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin on July 6:

THE TIME HAS COME

It is now time for the United States to seek actively and with resolution the intercession of a third party into the war in Vietnam with a view to ending it. And when we do so we must accept the prospect of paying a price for peace, because we are not going to have "total victory," whatever that is, except by the means of a nuclear war, which could just as well mean total defeat as total victory. Nobody would win.

The most logical third party to intervene would be the Soviet Union. Certainly, the Russians are Communists. But they are also nationalists as well, and it is no more likely that they would try to weigh the scales in favor of Red Chinese hegemony in Southeast Asia than that they would seek a capitalist administration throughout the area.

The efforts of Prime Minister Harold Wilson of Britain to get the disaffected parties together are likely to come to nothing. In Peiping the British are viewed as pawns of the United States. The Peiping radio may rant and rave about the heresies of the Soviet regime but the Red Chinese know that the Russians are not a Western ally and are not about to become so.

We have three courses open to us:

1. We can let the war drag on, with more and more ground forces committed, with a heightening of the senseless bombing of North Vietnam, with no reason whatever to believe that, in the end, we will get more than a dogfall, with the country being fought over ruined and its population decimated, hating both sides and probably ours more.

2. We can tell Hanoi tomorrow that we give it 48 hours notice to clear out its civilians, that the fate of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have been determined for it unless it takes the steps necessary to bring about a cease-fire by the Vietcong and peace talks to follow. Hanoi can do this, if it will. The problem is. Who will be tougher? Will the North Vietnamese simply say, "Do your worst?" And would the Soviets tell us, as they told the British and French when they bombed Suez, that if we carried out our threat Russian rockets would be unleashed on our cities? And would we know whether they meant it?

3. We can, swallowing our pride, and admitting reality—we are not going to be able to eradicate communism from Asia, not at this point, anyway; what has capitalism to offer a Vietnamese farmer over communism?—invite the intercession of the Soviet Union as a peacemaker, relying on the nationalist instincts of the Russians to balance their tendencies toward making the world Communist in whatever form.

Maybe it wouldn't work. But it might, and even if it didn't, we could go about what we are doing with a great deal better conscience than we enjoy today. Unless the escalation of the war is stopped, sooner or later we will find ourselves at war with Red China. Then we shall face the ignominious prospect of (1) defeat or stalemate with conventional weapons or (2) victory, if this is the proper term, by means of nuclear arms. The latter would almost certainly mean a worldwide nuclear holocaust. We have to face up to this decision sometime. Why not now?

Rapid Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the legislation which the House will consider on July 15 for the construction of a rapid rail transportation system for the National Capital area through free enterprise has the support of many of the outstanding leaders of the Washington business community.

I believe my colleagues will be interested in reading an ad which appeared in the Evening Star of July 13 and the Washington Post of July 14. The prominent Washington businessmen who signed the ad believe in the principle of free enterprise and strongly support H.R. 4822 to provide a balanced transportation system for the Nation's Capital.

The ad is as follows:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA NEEDS A RAIL RAPID TRANSIT SYSTEM FOR A BALANCED TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: You will shortly have an opportunity to vote for the Whitener-Bible bill (H.R. 4822) which would provide Washington with a rail rapid transit system. This bill is of vital importance to the economic health of your Nation's Capital.

The businessmen of Washington strongly support this legislation for a balanced transportation system, and we appeal to you to vote for it. Your consideration and support will be very much appreciated.

Respectfully,

Signed by:

Ulysses G. Auger, president, Blackie's House of Beef.

Robert C. Baker, president, American Security & Trust Co.

Edward C. Baltz, president, Perpetual Building Association.

Geo. P. Bergmann, president, Bergmann's, Inc.

Donald S. Bittinger, president, Washington Gas Light Co.

Edgar N. Brawner, general manager, Sealtest Foods Division, National Dairy Products Corp.

D. W. Brosnan, president, Southern Railway System.

A. Julian Brylawski, president, Motion Picture Theatre Owners.

Hon. Wiley T. Buchanan, Jr.

B. Bernei Burgunder, Jr., vice president, S. Kann Sons Co.

Edward Burling, Jr., partner, Covington & Burling.

Geo. B. Burrus, president and chairman of the board, Peoples Drug Stores, Inc.

Meyer Burstein, partner, Freed Optical Office.

Calvin Cafritz, president, Cafritz Co.

E. Taylor Chewning, Jr., executive vice president, United Clay Products Co.

Barnum L. Colton, president, the National Bank of Washington.

Marshall B. Coyne, president, Roscoe-Ajax Construction Co., Inc.

George W. DeFranceaux, chairman of the board and president, the Berens Co.

Clarence Donohoe, Jr., vice president, John F. Donohoe & Sons, realtors, and Donohoe Construction, Co., Inc.

R. Roy Dunn, president and chairman of the board, Potomac Electric Power Co.

Richard P. Dunn, president and chairman of the board, Julius Garfinckel & Co., Inc.

Simon Eichberg, president, DeYoung Shoes.

Robert V. Fleming, advisory chairman and chairman, executive and trust and investment committees, the Riggs National Bank.

Edward H. Foley, Corcoran, Foley, Youngman & Rowe.

L. M. Frankel, president, Lansburgh's.

George A. Garrett, U.S. Ambassador retired.

Philip Larner Gore, president, Security Storage Co. of Washington.

Gordon Gray.

Frank A. Gunther, president, Security Bank.

Harry W. Hahn, Jr., vice president, Hahn Shoe Stores.

Linwood P. Harrell, president, Union Trust Co. of the District of Columbia.

Joseph R. Harris, Sr., chairman of the board, Joseph R. Harris Co.

V. Manning Hoffman, president, Firemen's Insurance Co. of Washington.

Margaret Gollan Jelleff, president, Frank R. Jelleff, Inc.

L. A. Jennings, chairman of the board, the Riggs National Bank.

Louis A. Johnson, senior partner, Steptoe & Johnson.

Philip Jolles, Jolles & Jolles Co., realtors.

Edward K. Jones, president, Weaver Bros., Inc.

Louis Justement, architect.

Howard W. Kacy, president, Acacia Mutual Life Insurance Co.

C. D. Kaufmann, president, Kay Jewelry Stores, Inc.

Clarence E. Kefauver, president, Columbia Federal Savings & Loan Association.

W. John Kenney, senior partner, Sullivan, Shea & Kenney.

Joseph Kinsky, owner, Kinsky Realty Investments.

W. M. Kiplinger, chairman, the Kiplinger Washington Editors, Inc.

Sidney Lansburgh, Jr., president, Raleigh Haberdasher, Inc.

R. A. Learnard, vice president, Aluminum Co. of America.

William T. Leith, president, Peoples Life Insurance Co.

James H. Lemon, partner, Johnston, Lemon & Co.

Robert H. Levi, president, the Hecht Co.

F. C. Little, president, B. F. Saul Co.

Corneal J. Mack, managing director, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C.

C. William Martin, Jr., chairman of the board and president, Pepsi-Cola Bottling Co. of Washington, D.C., Inc.

L. P. McLachlen, chairman of the board, McLachlen Banking Corp.

John W. Miller, president, John W. Miller Corp.

L. J. Milliken, president, Chas. G. Scott & Co., Inc.

Thornton W. Owen, president, Thos. J. Owen & Son, Inc.

Andrew Parker, president, Woodward & Lothrop.

George W. Petticord, Jr., partner, Mills, Petticord & Mills.

Frank S. Phillips, president, Frank S. Phillips, Inc.

Horace Richardson, president, Brewood Inc.

William P. Rogers, senior partner, Royall, Koegel & Rogers.

Donald C. Rosinski, president, Carl G. Rosinski Co.

William E. Shannon, president, Shannon & Luchs Co.

Charles E. Smith, chairman of the board, Charles E. Smith Co.'s.

Douglas R. Smith, president, National Savings & Trust Co.

Fred W. Smith, president, Fred A. Smith Co.

John W. Stadtler, president National Permanent Savings & Loan Association.

William C. Stuart III, president, Stuart & Maury, Inc., Realtors.

Mark Sullivan, Jr., general partner, Auchincloss, Parker & Redpath.

Charles H. Tompkins, Jr., vice president, H Street Building Corp.

Oliver M. Walker, president, Walker & Dunlop, Inc.

Philip H. Watts, general partner, Alex. Brown & Sons.

J. A. Weinberg, president, J. A. Weinberg Co., Inc.

Osby L., Weir, area manager, Sears, Roebuck & Co.

William G. Whyte, vice president, United States Steel Corp.

James C. Wilkes, partner, Wilkes & Artis.

Lloyd B. Wilson, Jr., president, H. L. Rust Co.

Basil M. Winstead, Washington, D.C., division manager, Safeway Stores, Inc.

Carey Winston, president, the Carey Winston Co.

Tribute to the University of California Band

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, it was my distinct privilege and pleasure this morning to greet the University of California Band on the steps of the House of Representatives and later to bring them into this Chamber.

I am sure that all who had an opportunity to hear their performance will agree with me that this is one of the finest marching and concert bands in the country. In my estimation they are the very best.

And they are not only fine musicians. They are great representatives of their university and ambassadors of good will wherever they travel.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the RECORD should note the members of this outstanding musical organization who are providing so much pleasure to so many people in the course of their summer tour of the United States. They are:

James Berdahl, director, Berkeley.

Robert Houston, student director, Albany.

Bruce Benzler, cotour director, Fresno.

William Dal Porto, cotour director, Stockton.

Gene Koury, drum major, Oakland.

Lloyd Amborn, choreographer, Oakland.

Douglas Abbott, Bakersfield.

Marco Alpert, Redwood City.

Williard Alloway, Merced.

Arnold Baruch, Oakland.

Jordan Bloom, Sacramento.

Edward Cheever, Sacramento.

Carl Couture, Clarement, N.H.

Jeffrey Custer, Hagerstown, Md.

Michael Dempsey, Mount Prospect, Ill.

Glen Duren, Merced.

Richard Estes, Granada Hills.

Robert Fisher, Lynwood.

Richard George, Berkeley.

Peter Harris, San Francisco.

Harold Heringhi, San Francisco.

Norman Howard, Sacramento.

William Johns, El Cerrito.

Steven Kaminaka, Nipomo.

Douglas Kirby, Sunnyvale.

Douglas Lee, Piedmont.

Don Megill, Alameda.

Carl Morse, Novato.

Glen Petersen, Oakland.

Wes Peterson, Denver, Colo.

Richard Riemke, Rodeo.

John Saunders, Sacramento.

Larry Sera, Berkeley.

Criss Snyder, Paso Robles.

Martin Sobelman, Los Angeles, Roosevelt.

John Upton, Tahoe City.

Daniel Williams, Orinda.

Kenneth Yamada, Santa Clara.

William Anderson, Orinda.

David Anderson, Lafayette.

Fred Bock, Saratoga.

Robert Brand, Lafayette.

Scott Busby, Lancaster.

Steven Clausen, Pleasant Hill.

Ronald Covey, Lakeport.

Bruce Donaldson, Porterville.

Paul Durando, Fresno.

David Evans, Whittier.

Frank Evans, Merced.

Rick Flier, Fresno.

James Fonda, Oakdale.

William Turner, Twin Falls, Idaho.

Dean Hickman, Sacramento.

Rex Hjelm, Canoga Park.

Stanley Inouye, Berkeley.

Kurt Junge, Oakland.

Gil Keith, Redwood.

Cecil Marr, Long Beach.

Archie Meader, Orindo.

Donald Milmore, Kensington.

Michael Murakami, Walnut Grove.
David Parker, Yuba City.
Rich Penner, Thousand Oaks.
David Pippen, Richmond.
David Rosenthal, Stockton.
Peter Rodriguez, Pasadena.
Peter Rubenstein, San Bernardino.
Charles Schauff, Inglewood.
Joseph Braun, Chicago, Ill.
Michael Anzis, Los Angeles.
Philip Bach, Watsonville.
William Chamberlain, North Ridge.
Thomas Edwards, Sunnyvale.
Gerald Eliaser, San Francisco.
William Ellsworth, Berkeley.
Donald Graham, Auburn.
Michael Irving, Los Angeles, Tujunga.
Jay Jacobs, Orinda.
David Johnson, Guadalajara, Mexico.
Steven Karp, Redwood City.
William Klasson, San Jose.
Dennis McCracken, Albany.
Gary Massey, Bakersfield.
Dave Megill, Alameda.
Martin Mulhern, Fresno.
Wayne Peterson, Martinez.
George Reed, Bakersfield.
Daniel Richards, Pleasant Hill.
Michael Ricci, Escalow.
Robert Sachs, Sacramento.
Ryan Sanders, Socal.
Robert Satterford, Fairfax, Va.
Alden Spafford, Stockton.
Bud Spindt, Berkeley.
Steven Whitgob, Oakland.
Joseph Wierzbowski, Sacramento.
Edward Winkler, El Cerrito.
Gene Yunt, Lindsay.

Ross Barnett Reservoir

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 30, a most significant event took place near Jackson, Miss. On that date a major water conservation and recreational project was dedicated which will inure immeasurably to the benefit of that area of the country and add to the economic well-being of our section.

Mr. Speaker, perhaps this would not be particularly noteworthy from a national standpoint, except for the fact that this gigantic project was conceived, planned, financed, and constructed by the people of the State of Mississippi, without the contribution of the first penny by the Federal Government.

The Ross Barnett Reservoir, a $25 million undertaking, was dedicated by Hon. JAMES O. EASTLAND, senior U.S. Senator from the State of Mississippi, who delivered a most interesting and informative address. Also participating in the ceremonies was former Gov. Ross R. Barnett, for whom the reservoir was named.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the text of the addresses made by Governor Barnett and Senator EASTLAND:

[From the Jackson (Miss.) Daily News, May 31, 1965]

TEXT OF BARNETT'S RESERVOIR ADDRESS

The text of former Gov. Ross Barnett's speech at Sunday's dedication of the Ross Barnett Reservoir follows:

"The building of this huge reservoir has been a long and rough road—from the initial projection to its final completion. But when we have people with an indomitable spirit of going forward there is nothing ordinarily that can impede our progress. It is an outstanding accomplishment," the former governor said.

"It is an accomplishment that all citizens of the State of Mississippi and particularly those of the five counties and central Mississippi should be indeed proud and forever grateful.

"AN EXAMPLE

"This is a typical example of what local self government and home people can accomplish. The citizens of the five counties and the city of Jackson and the State of Mississippi have supplied every penny of the $25 million that has gone into this project. It is a perfect example of what people can do for themselves before calling on the Federal Government for financial assistance. I am a firm believer in local self-government and home rule.

"Bob Hederman and all the other members of the board have been faithful, courageous, energetic, and have shown to be past masters in handling the financial affairs of this project. I am grateful to Parham Bridges, Gene Thomas, present and past members of the Pearl River Water Supply District; Joe Bullock, director of the A. & I. Board, Fred Bush, and others of the A. & I. Board, including the Mississippi Legislature. I am grateful to the officials of all municipalities, political subdivisions, the five counties together with State officials, including former Gov. Hugh White, former Gov. J. P. Coleman, and Gov. Paul Johnson, all employees and thousands of other good citizens who have labored untiringly and contributed a helping hand.

"UNLIMITED SUPPLY

"This great body of water will be a source of unlimited water not only for Jackson, but for all other areas in the five counties. It will mean much more future agricultural and industrial development. We know from experience that industry follows the water. This reservoir will also mean much to this and future generations for recreational purposes—for boating, fishing, skiing, swimming, and hunting. It will be the sportsman's paradise of the South.

"I am happy and honored to have the opportunity to accept this wonderful reservoir on behalf of the counties of Hinds, Madison, Leake, Scott, and Rankin—and the entire State of Mississippi. I thank God and all who have had a part in this great milestone of progress," Barnett said.

HERE'S TEXT OF ADDRESS BY EASTLAND AT RESERVOIR

The complete text of U.S. Senator JAMES EASTLAND's speech at Sunday's dedication of the Ross Barnett Reservoir follows:

"Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, this is an auspicious occasion and I am honored that you have invited me to participate.

"The dedication of this reservoir is the fruition of many years of labor in the study and analysis of the water problems of this area. It is affirmative proof of the growing recognition that water is a necessary and valuable resource on which we must build our economy, stabilize our society and meet our growing human needs.

"I commend those who have worked long and diligently in bringing this project to completion. In this magnificent accomplishment you have hewed out many firsts in this Nation.

"This is the first reservoir of its size to be completed and begin operation that does not include Federal funds. Not only did the State of Mississippi, five of its counties and the city of Jackson wholly plan, finance and construct this great installation, but reimbursed the Federal Government for its initial investment in the Natchez Trace Parkway. This reimbursement constitutes a first.

"The full utilization of the million acre feet of water you will manage will be wholly under your direction. You will also maintain this facility in the future and this is a first.

"ALSO A FIRST

"The cooperative financing, operation and planning together with State, county and municipal capabilities to the exclusion of the Federal Government is a first.

"I am extremely happy to be a part of this dedication because I personally recognize the tremendous value of our water resources. During the drought of the early fifties, when water began to be applied extensively in agricultural irrigation, I led the forces in the Senate in extending the provisions of the Water Facilities Act from the 17 reclamation States to the humid areas of the East. In 1950, less than 100,000 acre feet of water were used in Mississippi in agricultural irrigation. By 1955, this use had grown to 390,000 acre feet with the primary source irrigation wells in the Mississippi Delta.

"With the passage of the Water Facilities Act in 1954 by the Congress and the passage of the Water Rights Law in Mississippi in 1956, the use of surface water for irrigation accelerated tremendously. In addition to the thousands of acre feet of ground water used in rice and crop irrigation in the Delta, the Mississippi Board of Water Commissioners informs me that they have granted rights to use over 250,000 acre feet of surface water from streams and lakes. A tremendous amount of this is in the hill sections where topography provides the necessary storage sites and in which ground water costs would be extremely high. The conservation needs inventory on water resources, developed by our agricultural agencies, project a need for 1,750,000 acre feet of water for agricultural irrigation by 1975.

"CITES EXAMPLES

"To give you some idea of how valuable water is to argiculture let me illustrate with some Mississippi firsts. Lamar Ratliff, a 4-H Club boy in northeast Mississippi, using water stored in a farm pond, delivered by gravity to his corn project, holds the world's record of over 300 bushels of corn produced on an acre. His brother, using the same acre and techniques, has consistently produced above 200 bushels, and the highest production in the United States last year was by a Future Farmer in Marshall County who used this same source of irrigation water to produce over 280 bushels of corn.

"The highest income per acre from the production of vegetable crops to my knowledge was produced by Mr. Rutlege down in Copiah County. Using modern methods and applying water from a livestock pond in the pasture adjacent, he sold tomatoes off of his plot at the rate of $14,860 per acre. Water intelligently applied has a tremendous value in our agricultural economy. This installation has a surplus of water above municipal and industrial uses that can be applied to agricultural lands in the Pearl River Valley.

"ACTION ESSENTIAL

"It was essential that you deal with the water problem in this area. The low flow in the Pearl River for 3 days beginning October 11, 1954, was below 50 million gallons per day. The city of Jackson drew out more than one-half of this flow at that time. I am informed that the ground water table in this area, using the average of three observation wells, has declined nearly 20 feet in the last 10

years. This area was consuming water at a rate faster than the ground water recharge and the streamflow would stand at low flows.

"What have you done with this installation? You have made it possible to capture the excess flow of 50 billion gallons a day that flooded the city in 1963 and use it during the flow periods. I am informed that already the pressure of 30 feet of water in the reservoir is causing a rise in the water table in the underground Cockfield formation.

"You have created here an installation that will, wisely operated, increase the low flow of the river and manage a million acre feet of water a year. This is a sufficient quantity at the present rate of consumption to supply this essential resource for jobs, municipal uses, human needs, and recreation for over a million people with some left over for the consumptive uses of agricultural irrigation.

"This same foresight and initiative in putting our resources, both human and natural, to work has spread through our economy. The research information, technical, and financial assistance provided farmers over the last 15 years has enabled Mississippi to move from the lowest per farm income in the Nation to the 12th from the bottom in 1962. In the last 2 years per farm income in Mississippi has moved from $2,485 to over $3,000 per farm indicating continuing progress.

"INDUSTRY EXPANDING

"In the last 10 years industrial employment has nearly doubled and the increase in industrial plant capital has nearly doubled. I am informed that in 1964 industrial income equalled agricultural income. Much credit is due to the leaders in State government. We have improved our legislative climate to encourage the location of industry in the State bringing in outside capital.

"We have more fully utilized the capital within the State in industrial development through installations like the Mississippi and the Coastal Chemical Corps., and many others.

"The Standard Oil Refinery on the coast is a tribute to the aggressiveness of our State in attracting industry that requires a secure water supply. I am informed that two large paper mills will be located in the very near future in the northeast and the southern portions of the State to harvest the abundance of growing timber. Both installations will require a substantial amount of water for processing and for waste disposal. Our past accomplishments in attracting industry are outstanding and the future is bright.

"IN OTHER COMMUNITIES

"Other communities in our State are also making progress on the solution of their water problems. Early in 1962, the Congress extended the authority of the Farmers Home Administration to make loans to smaller communities for water supply systems. Since July 1962, 59 Mississippi communities have had their loan applications approved for $6,974,000 to service 4,900 families, and 131 other Mississippi groups have applications pending for $15,500,000. The completion of these facilities will improve the water supply, insure human health and in many instances entice industry for additional employment.

"The progress in agriculture and industry has made a tremendous impact on our economy over the last 20 years. In 1940, the per capita income in Mississippi was only $218. By 1963, per capita income had grown to $1,376, or over 625 percent. This is an accomplishment unequalled by any other State in the Union. From the bottom we are fast fighting our way up the ladder of personal income to levels that will provide all of our people with employment opportunities and a standard of living of which we can be proud, and a tax base broad enough to support needed State services in education, research and administration without undue hardship on our citizens.

"CONGRATULATE LEADERS

"I want to congratulate the leaders in the Governor's office and the members of the legislature over the past 10 years for the tremendous progress that we have made in creating an atmosphere in which our water resources can be developed and managed to accelerate this progress we have enjoyed in recent years. Under the leadership of water officials in State water agencies with the cooperation of Federal agencies, Mississippi has led the Nation in inventorying the natural resources by river basins. The Yazoo River Bluff Hill area study was completed 4 years ago. The Tombigbee River Basin study was completed last year and the Pascagoula, Pearl, Big Black and southwest tributary areas are currently under study with completion scheduled in 1966 and 1967. Upon their completion we will have a fairly comprehensive inventory of the land, water, and mineral resources on which to build our economy. This will comprise over 80 percent of the land area of our State. No other State will have reached 25 percent of its land area by that time.

"OPPORTUNITY OPEN

"The legislature has cooperated with the people in these river basins and permitted them to use the same financing mechanism that you used in constructing this great reservoir. The door of opportunity is open to them with a 2 mills ad valorem refunded to the county and the one-half mill to be levied by the county to provide a capable staff and a competent board to plan and develop their resources, and the economy that those resources will grow and sustain. Let us hope that these local river basin agencies will acquire competent staff, and that a wise legislature will provide authorization and financial need for State agencies to cooperate and assist the local agencies in developing these resources, which are the life blood of heavy industry and agriculture, to their maximum extent.

"You have made a wonderful beginning. This dam and the water behind it is a reality. It is a resource that must be put to work. The extent to which you can utilize it will determine its impact on the future growth of this area."

Bob Wernet Reports on a Year Well Spent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, the Peace Corps has established a well-deserved reputation as a highly effective diplomatic organization. This is because the Peace Corps is able to bring the diplomacy of peace to a person-to-person basis in all the countries it serves.

Graphic evidence of the effectiveness of the Peace Corps was published in the newspapers during the outbreak of the Dominican revolt. During the hours when the streets of Santo Domingo were turned into no man's land, it was reported that the Peace Corps volunteers were in no danger. These volunteers had earned the trust of the natives, and they and their counterparts spread across the globe deserve the hearty thanks of all Americans.

Last week I had the pleasure of reading a letter from a volunteer to his parents in Denver, Colo. Bob Wernet's letter expresses the profound experience that Peace Corps has meant to thousands of volunteers and the friends they make abroad. Having obtained his parent's permission, I am including Bob's letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the reading of my colleagues in the Congress:

MAY 25, 1965.

DEAR MOM, DAD, AND SUE: This might be a sloppy, sentimental letter, a letter that might or might not interest you, or a letter that might have great value—I'm not quite sure yet; but I know that I have to write about what I experienced in the past few months in a somewhat backward glance, summary style. Very much good has come to me recently both in the form of personal experience here and in the more reliable, durable recollective stage. I am, in short, extremely happy, contented and anxious for a final year that will prove to be one of the best years in my life—I believe this very strongly. I have come to realize that I have had more happy moments, more often, and with more regularity than in any previous time I can recall. I am not bemoaning or complaining about what I loved dearly at home, but I am just pointing out the fact that what last year I thought would be an unforgetably long drudgery has reversed itself into a beautiful, memorable life. I hope that I can adequately relate to you what might be the causes for this comfortable elation that I have felt recently and anticipate for the following year.

Graduation exercises were held last week, last Thursday evening to be exact. They were held outside in the field in front of the grandstands that held proud parents, eager underclassmen and local teenagers that had little else to do because of the fire-damaged lack of entertainment. The evening was perfect for a graduation. The sky was clear, a slight, comfortable breeze blew from off the mountain to the north of Lucena and the sun had about 1 hour of life left. The stage on the field was adorned with the school and national flags, Tagalog expressions encouraging the upcoming graduates and flowers appropriate for the occasion. The students and the faculty, myself proudly included, arrived at school about a half-hour ahead of the starting time. The beautiful, innocent, frail girls that sat before me in my literature class were lined up in rows now, ready to march toward the end of what were 4 intensely intimate years in their young lives. They were angels. Dressed in white, primmed to the tee, they showed radiance that the sun would find difficult to equal. Their eyes glistened with moist signs of happiness. Humanly mine did also. Picture-taking was excessive before the exercises and limited afterwards. They were all excited and ready to get started with the program that would last close to 3 hours.

The Filipinos are noted for long programs. The signal was given and the faculty proceeded slowly from the school building out onto the field. The students walked slowly behind in twos. Beautifully, the processional march from Aida was the march theme used here. From two large loudspeakers set in front of the grandstands the slow, triumphant chords of this angelic-sounding march sounded forth. Nothing could have encouraged more happiness from my heart. Added to the physical beauty of this entire affair was the fact that it was my first graduation as a teacher—my first graduation from the other side of the desk.

I proudly took my seat to the right of the graduation class in the section marked "faculty." But it was not the fact that I was faculty that elated me, it was the love that I had for my students that drew tears to my eyes. The boys were dressed in their best—slacks and white barong-tagalogs (the national dress for men at special occasions—I also wore one which I will bring home with me for you to see) and the girls were in snow-

white dresses tailored invidually as all dresses are in this country. The boys looked the same as always, except dressed a little better; but the girls were unbelievable transformations. Without prejudice or exaggeration they looked 21-years old when in reality they were a scant, innocent 16 at best. The dark Asian skin as a backdrop for the lily-white garb, and the raven-black hair done up exquisitely adding another contrast, was exterior beauty to the nth degree. The simple beauty of these tender beings sent my mind reeling.

I wish you could have been here. The Governor of the province, Governor Alhala, gave the commencement address in English and stressed the importance of realizing what success actually is—not being Governor or lawyer, but what one does when he becomes a Governor or a lawyer. It was a very good talk. The honor students for the year, all in the class that I had for literature, accepted their awards with all the nobility and prowess of Victorian gentry.

After the ceremonies were concluded, which included a well-done morality play and speeches from members reunioned of the class of 1915, the crowd dispersed, students met their parents and a few pictures of the honor students were taken. I walked up to congratulate the honor students whom I dearly love because they are such wonderful kids and because I grew very attached to them this past year, and shook each of their hands. Tears of happiness streamed down their cheeks and I felt so good. Nympha, the class president who has as much sophistication as any U.S. college student and who is going to the States this summer for a year in one of our high schools through a grant from the American Field Service, approached me and gently grabbed my arm, asking me to join in a picture that was being taken of all the honor students. I mention her taking my arm because in the Philippines contact is never made physically between boys and girls unless when dancing or officially courting. But her gesture came from a sincere overflow of affection for me as her teacher and friend, and from her supreme happiness at finally having graduated with the top average of the 282 students. Needless to sey her ebullience became a part of me. After that the students left for home where their relatives were all gathered to celebrate the great day. The sun had set about 2 hours before and the moon had appeared bright between two patches of fluffy clouds. All of nature was in harmony that evening.

This was one of the more prominent examples of the kind of thing that has made me so contented here. But there are many more. I have finally become adjusted to a society totally different from our own, a society that appears superfically to have resemblances but essentially differs radically—as east from west. I realize now what it means to be attached to such a fantastic, wonderful organization as Peace Corps.

I know what responsibility is and what it means and how to cope with it without buckling. I know what duty is, what friendship can be, what roles value systems play in someone's life. I know what poverty is. I know what disease is. I have felt death, the loss of homes, the want for food. I have seen children begging barefooted to scrape up enough money for a meal of dried fish and rice to feed an aged grandmother. I have felt compassion for some of my students who could not afford to buy a dress for the senior prom and had to stay home. I have seen the drastic imbalance of wealth and poverty here—across from the palatial Governor's mansion squats a scanty 2-room nipa shack, bulging with a family of 10 who hardly have clothes enough much less food enough. And I have reflected on the wealth in the States, where children are chubby, garages are full, supermarkets are crowded, and where girls going to senior proms ask not if there is a dress to wear, but which dress to wear. And I have become thankful. I have become thankful for my heritage, my education, my background. I have become passionately thankful for my parents, for what they have given me, for what they have taught me, for their love.

I know what it means to be an American; I know what it means not to be an American. I know what it means to love my country. I know what it means to be patriotic. I know what it feels like to have tears in my eyes when I hear the national anthem, or "God Bless America." The four volunteers in Lucena were invited last week to a despidida (farewell party) given by my literature class—they were the ones going but they wanted to thank us all anway. At the conclusion of the party they formed a large circle around the four of us and sang "God Bless America" for us. We couldn't say much afterwards and didn't need to. They knew how we felt and how thankful we were to them. Instead of saying anything they moved that we adjourn the party. The four of us walked home in silence.

If the Peace Corps recruiters at DU had told me stories like this I doubt if I would have believed them. I recall what Governor McNichols urged me to do one night when we were all over at the mansion: "Bob, the Peace Corps is a chance of a lifetime. Take it. I only wish I could have had the opportunity when I was your age." I brushed his advise aside then and wondered why he said it. I now wonder how come he was so accurate. To say I have a love for Peace Corps would be close to accurate. I have never felt so strongly about anything I have ever been connected with before. Many volunteers feel exactly this way. Next Monday is the termination date for about 150 volunteers.

They have served their 2 years in the Philippines. They have tried to do what they could to serve the people, the educational system, and the students, of this country. Few have been spectacular successes. A few have been miserable from the start and are leaving the Philippines with a sigh of relief. Most had to sever relationships that can never be sewed together again. Most will never see the islands again. A majority of those leaving say very little when they are asked about their impressions of leaving. Their eyes reflect their deep sorrow. In 2 years these volunteers were put through things that could never have entered their minds had they not experienced it.

The change that takes place from the first day of training to the termination day is great—it has to be. No one could possibly go through this without being deeply affected one way or the other. The experience is as valuable as anything I can imagine. But, like anything else, it is difficult to measure the change unless there is something to contrast it with.

Next September 400 fresh, eager volunteers will join us in the Philippines. The ones of us who will be here to greet them are extremely anxious to watch their every move—to see how we have changed in 1 year. The change comes about quickly because the events come quickly. Often there is little time to think about what to do; one just does it and hopes for the best. Thoughts about returning home are slowly being replaced by thoughts of how to do a fantastic job over here in the very short time left. But whatever I might or might not accomplish this year will be quickly forgotten at next year's graduation and next year's termination. I had a preview of what it will be like this year. To say that it will be hard to leave would be minimizing the reality.

I anticipate great personal hardship and discomfort next year at this time. But this is a part of the happiness that I am telling you about. Sorrow for leaving is not a cause for unhappiness because I won't be leaving because of unhappy circumstances. I will be returning to something equally great in its own way. At any rate I think it will be an extremely short and happy year, culminating an experience that no one can take from me and few will be able to fully comprehend.

Next week starts our summer conferences to be followed by a 2-week, travel-filled vacation to the southernmost islands of the country. I will be spending a week in Zamboanga on the white sand beaches, reflecting the past year and anticipating the next. I will be sharing this with some of the best Americans the States has to offer, kids that I will never forget and whom I have grown extremely close to. This, I say again, is one great outfit. I am proud to be a part of it.

Be good, say hello to all for me and write when you can. If I don't write again until July 20 or so don't fret. I'll let you know the minute the Marine Corps starts drafting Peace Corps volunteers for duty in Vietnam. Great man, Johnson, isn't he? I have a hard time understanding why the collegiate population thinks ill of his policies in Vietnam. Maybe they should recall their heads from the academic sands.

BOB.

P.S.—Tell granny and grandpa a special hello for me. Tell them to take care of themselves—and have a lunch or two on the patio for me this summer—bacon and tomato sandwiches (on toast)—iced tea.

Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES L. WELTNER

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Speaker, I have become increasingly concerned over various reports of the excise tax cuts and the effect on retail prices. My colleague, Congressman CHARLES VANIK, of Ohio, has provided a commendable study of retail prices in Cleveland and Washington before and after the enactment of tax cuts. The report from Congressman VANIK and his staff indicates that price reductions are nonexistent in many lower cost items. The report further demonstrated that negligible benefits have been passed along to the buyer with respect to such items as clocks, radios, and small appliances.

We must assume that this is a condition not simply confined to Washington, or Cleveland, or any single city. It would indicate that throughout the country, shoppers are not receiving the full easing of financial burdens which was intended. It would be deplorable if the tax reduction should be only an insignificant aid to the segment of the population it seeks to assist—the consuming public.

Many retail merchants have not yet received new price lists from manufacturers, and subsequently have no basis for reduction of consumer prices.

Yet the Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1965 provides for a series of tax reductions and eliminations effective the day after the date of enactment. The time is now for consumer prices to reflect this cut.

As with any law, final responsibility for enforcement in good faith rests with the individual citizen. So it is with the excise cut. It is evident that neither Ways and Means Committee action nor Internal Revenue Service tracing procedures can assure that the tax cut will be passed on to the consumer.

I strongly urge shoppers in the Fifth District of Georgia to be suspicious. Look before you buy. Do not buy at prices which do not reflect the tax cut.

The shopper should never hesitate to request price and excise information before buying any item. Failure on the part of discount houses, department stores, and small retail outlets to comply with the provisions of the act should be good cause for seeking properly adjusted prices elsewhere. Only by such direct pressure on the part of the consumer will the tax cut be of direct benefit to the people. Only by close attention will the public prevent what Congressman VANIK estimates may be a $750 million misuse of benefits established for the buying public.

[From the Home Furnishing Daily, July 25, 1965.]

PRODUCERS UNDER FIRE TO PASS ON FULL TAX CUTS

The great pressure game is on.

Macy's New York fired its major guns Thursday with a full-page ad in the New York Times appealing to manufacturers to reduce their base prices by the amount of the manufacturers' Federal excise tax cut.

In Washington Representative CHARLES VANIK, Democrat, of Ohio, is going to put the spotlight on merchants' handling of the excise tax cuts in what he calls a "truth in pricing" campaign.

And the AFL-CIO has asked President Johnson to direct the Council of Economic Advisers to make a study of prices on which excise taxes have been cut or eliminated 3 months after the effective date and semiannually thereafter.

But the whole question of whether or not vendors are reducing prices on excise tax merchandise is up in the air.

David L. Yunich, president, Macy's New York, in a telegram quoted in the ad, called upon the producers "in the interest of the national economy and in accordance with President Johnson's request that the manufacturers' Federal excise tax cut be passed on to the consumer we strongly urge you to reconsider your decision not to do this. We assure you that any cut you make will be immediately passed on by Macy's to our customers."

Edward Schenkel, treasure, Interstate Department Stores, said Thursday: "We have heard some talk to the effect that some manufacturers do not plan to pass along the savings to the consumer. Our stores have taken inventory of all floor stock in anticipation of filing claims against those vendors who may not pass along the savings. However, the only area in which I have heard, at the moment, of any resistance on the part of the manufacturer is in sporting goods."

William Heifrecht, hard goods merchandise manager, Grand-Way Discount Centers, stated: "I haven't seen any specific incidents where our resources have refused to pass on savings from the repeal of the Federal excise tax. But we haven't received final revisions or announcements from all our sources. We plan to use every effort to get these people to pass along the savings."

Fred Teitel, executive vice president, Caldor, Inc., said, "The only case I've heard of was one in hardware, where a manufacturer decided to retain prices: This manufacturer's prices were due to go up and, considering the tax cut, he decided to keep them at the pre-taxcut levels. Otherwise, most others have decided to pass along the cut to the consumer."

To date, the only home furnishings producers who have publicly stated that they are not reducing prices are S. W. Farber, Inc., and Marlun Manufacturing Co. Farber claimed that it intended to increase prices and so was not reducing its prices in accordance with the repeal of the Federal tax excise taxes.

Representative VANIK plans to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD comparative prices, by brand names and model numbers, of appliances which his staff checked both before and after the excise tax cuts became effective.

A staff aid explained he was virtually thrown out of one store because he was suspected of being a comparison shopper.

The comparisons made by the staff do not include any loss-leader items, it was explained.

Mr. VANIK is a member of the House Ways and Means Committee and from time to time has made House floor speeches about retail price situations.

In a floor speech, Mr. VANIK said he and his staff carefully have compiled lists on all items subject to excise tax cuts. "I will endeavor to carefully follow pricing policies to determine whether reduction benefits are passed on to the consumer," he said.

Mr. VANIK added, "My staff and I have recorded representative sales prices on air conditioners, television sets, house appliances, luggage, and other items.

"There is a need now for truth in pricing as well as packaging. As an example, certain 1966 model air conditioners have a new 75-cent plastic grill to distinguish them from the 1965 model—which is a better bargain—if you can find it."

George Plant, acting general manager of National Retail Merchants Association, said Thursday the association "views with concern reported indications that some manufacturers of retail goods previously covered by excise taxes are not planning to pass on the excise reductions to the customers.

"For over 20 years the NRMA has campaigned for the repeal of excise taxes on behalf of department, specialty, and variety store members and their customers.

"This goal would be defeated now that it has been obtained, if the customer did not enjoy the reduced prices. Merchants, through advertisments, in store displays, and in public statements have shown their wholehearted intent to reduce prices were applicable.

"The association urges those manufacturers who have not as yet passed on such excise tax reductions to do so immediately."

[From the Independence (Kans.) Reporter, June 25, 1965]

CAR BUYER'S FRIEND

Representative CHARLES A. VANIK, Democrat, of Ohio, is trying hard—and with some success—to become known as the automobile buyer's best friend. By the same token, his popularity among the less scrupulous car dealers must be nearing rock bottom.

Earlier in June Congressman VANIK had inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD some data which would enable prospective auto buyers to find out whether dealers were passing on the excise tax cut to the consumer. He listed prices paid by dealers for new cars without accessories. He also noted how customers could figure the percentage of the tax cut applied to these prices.

Now VANIK has carried the thing a step further. He has inserted in the RECORD a list showing retail prices of such accessories as air conditioning, radios, power brakes, and the like. He advises car shoppers to carry the list with them to the showroom and make certain the tax saving is passed on.

The law does not require the dealer to do this. But thanks in large part to Congressman VANIK, the tax cut may generally be passed on.

And who, all things considered, will object? Excepting, in the sanctuary of his private office, the occasional dealer who had hoped to pocket the difference?

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Senate cleared for President bills on water resources and war risk insurance and worked on housing bill.

House passed coinage bill and sent voting rights bill to conference.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 16122–16132

Bills Introduced: Three bills were introduced, as follows: S. 2284–2286. **Pages 16122, 16203**

Bills Referred: Numerous House-passed bills were referred to appropriate committees. **Pages 16121–16122, 16161**

President's Communication—Appropriations: Communication from President transmitting amendments to the request for appropriations for fiscal 1966 in the amount of $5 million for Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers, Civil, was received, referred to Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed as S. Doc. 41. **Page 16122**

War Risk Insurance: Senate passed without amendment and cleared for President H.R. 4526, to extend for an additional 5 years those provisions of the Merchant Marine Act which relate to war risk insurance.

Pages 16123

Water Resources: Conference report on S. 21, proposed Water Resources Planning Act, was agreed to, thus clearing bill for President's signature.

Pages 16142–16144

Saline Water: Senate disagreed to House amendments to S. 24, to increase authorizations for expansion and extension of the saline water conversion program, asked for conference with House, and appointed as conferees Senators Jackson, Anderson, Bible, Kuchel, and Allott.

Page 16144

Housing: Senate worked on S. 2213, proposed Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, taking the following actions on amendments thereto:

Adopted: Proxmire amendment including in the definition of "displaced persons" those whose dwellings were damaged or destroyed in areas determined by SBA to have been affected by a national disaster; Tower amendments requiring full report to the Congress by January 1, 1968, on operations under titles covering "mortgage insurance for land development" and "Federal National Mortgage Association" (motion to reconsider tabled); Allott amendment counting as grants-in-aid expenses incurred by citizens of Denver and Norfolk toward construction of certain urban renewal projects (motion to reconsider tabled); Pell amendments en bloc (1) respecting eligibility of communities in depressed areas for urban renewal assistance, and (2) exempting from repayment certain planning grants for public works project (motion to reconsider tabled); Harris amendment to add language providing for modification of workable programs as applied to Indians; Bible amendment respecting expenses incurred in construction of certain schools in Reno, Nev.; Kennedy (New York) amendments (1) to authorize increase in larger home improvement loans, (2) to eliminate certain language respecting purchase of below-market interest rate mortgages covering properties in urban renewal areas, and (3) respecting relocation payments, urban renewal; Miller amendment relative to cost of operating housing; Kuchel amendment to add language relative to student housing cooperatives; Hartke amendment to count as local grants-in-aid expenditures made by Memorial Hospital of Michigan City Foundation, Inc.; Clark amendment to add language providing grants-in-aid for certain coal royalties in Carbondale, Pa.; Sparkman amendment to add language respecting "Hobo Jungle renewal project" in Texarkana, Ark.; Tower amendment providing for study of the public housing program by HHFA; Smathers amendment to permit 1 percent of their assets to be in guaranteed loans by certain building and loan associations; Tydings amendment to modernize grant formula in urban renewal activities; and Kennedy (Massachusetts) amendment respecting preservation of historic structures; and Tower amendment respecting certain loans under Federal Credit Union Act; and

Rejected: Miller amendment defining "income" for purposes of the legislation; and by 35 yeas to 51 nays (motion to reconsider tabled), Bennett amendment (to Kuchel amendment) to confine scope of Kuchel amendment to residential dwellings for use of 12 or more families (the Kuchel amendment to make the prevailing wage under the Davis-Bacon Act applicable to this

Appendix

Roy P. Stewart Writes on Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, on the Fourth of July there appeared in the magazine section of the Daily Oklahoman an outstanding expression of the ideas which have made, and which continue to make, the United States of America the great Nation it is.

This article is entitled "Freedom Is Not a Sometime Thing: A Fourth of July Oration in Print." It is written by Mr. Roy P. Stewart, a columnist for the Oklahoman who formerly served as Washington correspondent. While he was in Washington all of us who knew him came to admire and respect him.

In this article, Mr. Stewart shows a fine perception of history and a keen understanding of the principles on which this mighty democratic nation was built. I would like to commend this article to my colleagues as a refreshing expression of down-to-earth patriotism.

I include the article in the RECORD at this point:

FREEDOM IS NOT A SOMETIME THING: A FOURTH OF JULY ORATION IN PRINT

(By Roy P. Stewart)

July 4 is the anniversary of our most significant national day—a day that had its origin at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, in 1776.

Signing of the Declaration of Independence brought to the English speaking world its second, but most important document. Like the Magna Carta, it bespoke the rights and aspirations of free men. But it was more than seeking a redress of wrongs against a people. It sought dignity for the individual.

When the last signature was affixed to the Declaration, the Liberty Bell was tolled with such exultation that its metal cracked. That remains a mark of honor, still borne by the bell that, even today, is venerated wherever in the world men talk of freedom.

On this July 4 let us think a bit about what this day really means and subconsciously at least, of the great freedoms which our commemoration of July 4 symbolizes: the freedoms of assembly, of speech, of religion, of the press, and of protection against illegal search and seizure. The most patriotic of us needs at times to recharge his batteries; to stand as a free man under a sky a little bit bluer, on soil a little bit softer than in those lands where the individual has been lost in the mass.

Let us draw again a bit of pure water from the well of freedom. There is enough there for all of us. But when we go to that well, the drawing is easier if we have something of our own with which to prime the pump.

Freedom is not a sometime thing. It did not come easy in 1776, it was difficult to keep in 1812, it had its trials in Wars I and II and in Korea. Yet it is perhaps approaching the ultimate test now, in our time.

When our Nation seems to be in peril, Americans rally around. But when danger lessens, many of us do some backsliding. For about the first 150 years of our national existence we could be little concerned with the rest of the world. We were protected by natural barriers.

Then came the air age with its shrunken distance, and the nuclear age with flashing missiles. In point of historic time this was quite suddenly thrust upon us. Even after the new eras were apparent, some of our people wanted to return to illusionary isolationism for assumed protection. They kept looking backward. They were more interested in where they had been than in where they were going.

This was terrapin philosophy. People sought security by pulling back inside a shell. They forgot that even the armored turtle doesn't have to stick his neck out to be killed. Neither does a nation have to be blasted with a hydrogen bomb to be lost.

It can be destroyed from within by selfishness or greed; by eyes closed to public corruption; by refusal to carry out obligations of citizenship; by decline of morals; by staying away from the voting booth; by permitting fiscal weakness; by dropping the strong defensive posture that is our greatest deterrent to aggression. Or—and this is a most important factor—by becoming so fearful of a nuclear holocaust that we fall to our knees, weak and trembling, rather than dare to live upright as free men.

We are indeed living in a dangerous age, but one where the knowledge of that danger, with the will and the means to face it for honorable survival, reduces greatly the odds that the worst will happen. We have an enemy who has the gift of patience; an enemy with many faces but only one credo; an enemy who stated plainly 48 years ago that he meant to conquer us—and has never deviated from that basic intent.

The seas no longer safeguard us. The skies are no longer our shield. We must not forget that time can run out. It is so easy—even so human—to forget unpleasant things; to ignore the lessons of history; to disregard the fact that all of the great civilizations that have perished brought about their own destruction from within. As Sun Tzu said, centuries ago: "To secure ourselves in defeat lies in our own hands, but the opportunity of defeating the enemy is provided by the enemy himself."

Fly with me across Greece, looking down on jumbled ruins of the age when democracy was born, only to die from cancerous cells in the body politic. The strength of purpose which brought the rise of that civilization wasted away at the moment of triumph, and decay set in.

Go on to Istanbul and look at ruins left by conquering Romans. Think of Constantine who gave his name to that seat of temporary empire for it, too, rose and fell, as did the Rome which created it. Think of the vast Attoman Empire that flourished, drawing its strength for a time from subject peoples, before it also decayed from within. Yes, history is a visible thing in Istanbul, as it is today in Philadelphia, if we interpret properly its meaning and take from it the eternally legible lesson.

Liberty has been man's treasured goal since he first walked the earth. Yet it was never achieved, nor retained, without effort and a measure of personal sacrifice. I have been in lands where freedom of the individual does not exist. In some of them liberty slipped away, almost without notice, for the internal defenses of spirit and of arms withered to fatal weakness.

What can we do, as Americans, to prevent this happening here? The easiest thing is vote—each according to his conscience. It is so true that bad officials are elected by good people—who do not vote. Our State shares with others the shame that 37 percent of the electorate does not go to the polls.

How many of us ever write the Governor, members of the State legislature or the Congress, except when we want something personally? How often do we write as individuals concerned with American affairs—not at the urging of any organized group? We speak often of the "democracy displayed at the New England town meeting," yet have a substitute for it in every post office in the land.

If we were really to express ourselves to those who make the laws by which we live, who levey the taxes and spend the revenue, who decide the policies by which one day we will fall or stand—many things would be changed. In fact, some of our elected officials would be greatly surprised. They would be like the late Mahatma Ghandi, when he said: "There go my people. I must hurry and catch them for I am their leader."

How often do we express ourselves on local matters, on school affairs, on community interests? How often do we remain silent when even a quiet word would change the tone of a defeatist conversation, contradict an intolerant statement, or show by word and action that a feeling of patriotism is not lightly to be dismissed, or smirked at as "waving the flag"?

A nation must be morally bankrupt before falling into fiscal bankruptcy. A rosy path to either is a dual standard for private and public morality. A nation can have a deficit of patriotism; it can so weaken its religious structure and its Christian ethics that these, too, wither away and crumble the very foundations of its society. This Nation has only a God-given chance to avert the course of history. It has no guarantee that, without effort and travail, it can endure.

These are the lessons of history. They are updated by the presence of an enemy within our gates—an enemy more cunning than any we have faced—and with more dedication to his ultimate ideological aims. This is not yet a clash of men at arms. It is not an invasion of Goths, Huns, Vandals, Tartars—or even Redcoats—but already this enemy has taken more territory, subjugated more peoples than all the warlike hordes of history.

Yet the insurance against defeat lies in our own hands. The conditions which would cause our downfall are avertible if we but heed the lessons. If we do not benefit from our knowledge, then we will waste away. And when we go down we will take with us our monuments and our institutions, our temples and our gods.

This must not be the fate of America. This must not be the end of the great American saga, or of the dream of liberty and eternal freedom which had its genesis at Concord and Lexington, and with that defiant creed we call the Declaration of Independence.

Where do we begin the preventive? We begin it here, in our own homes and in our own communities, not some far off place. We do it with a reaffirmation of those principles of liberty and Christian ethics of freemen which guided our Founding Fathers. We declare that patriotism is not a 1-day thing; that obligations of citizenship are more lightly borne when recognized as a duality with rights. We assert that only the living can repay the debt for our great freedoms, purchased at such cost by those who died for them.

Hurricane Damage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I would like to call attention to an article that appeared in the New York Times of July 1 concerning the damage that is inflicted by a hurricane. We have already entered into the "hurricane season," and the birth of our first tropical storm is now being watched by weathermen in the Caribbean. We have witnessed great advances in the methods employed in discovering and tracking these deadly storms. With the advent of the space age has come the Tiros satellites, which give us adequate warning of approaching menaces. These technological advancements have resulted in saving many lives. In 1957, Hurricane Audrey took almost 400 lives in her death dance across the southern part of this country. By 1964, the total number of fatalities for all hurricanes had dropped to 49.

Science, Government, and private industry have combined to bring about this dramatic decline in the death rate caused by hurricanes. But, to date, we have done little or nothing to protect the property of those who live in "hurricane alley." We have protected the lives of coastal inhabitants, but when they return to find their homes, shops, and businesses devastated by the sea, they have little to sustain them.

It is my hope that we will be able to provide a solution to these problems. The Senate has already passed S. 408. This bill, which I had the privilege of introducing, is designed to determine the feasibility of providing low-cost disaster insurance for those who are unable to obtain private insurance. At the present time, our citizens living in areas particularly prone to nature's whims, floods, hurricanes, and other natural disasters, are unable to obtain any type of insurance to protect their homes and businesses from complete destruction.

A companion measure to S. 408, introduced by Congressman WRIGHT PATMAN, is now before the House Banking and Currency Committee. I am sure that under the able leadership of the chairman, Congressman WRIGHT PATMAN, we will be able to enact this legislation before the tide recedes on still more twisted remnants of the lifelong endeavors of many of our citizens.

I therefore ask unanimous consent that the article from the New York Times be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PERSONAL FINANCE: GUARDING AGAINST HURRICANES

(By Sal Nuccio)

"Hurricanes? They're certainly no concern of mine," said an otherwise cautious family man in Westchester County the other day.

"We live in a well-built house that is on a hill and far from the water," he said. "So, what can a storm do to us?"

It can do plenty.

The hurricane season is here, and all coastal area residents—those inland as well as those near the seashore must be mindful of the widely disseminated storm warnings of the Weather Bureau. Lack of preparation damage and personal injuries can result in costly property—and sometimes fatalities.

Winds can whip up to impressive velocities—up to 50 miles an hour and more—in Westchester and other areas far from the water, especially if the New Jersey coast or Long Island is being buffeted by a storm of hurricane class (with wind of at least 75 miles an hour).

Thus, as snug as the Westchester man's house may be, he will be in trouble, if he does not heed storm warnings. A strong wind, for example, could send a lawn chair, toy, or piece of gardening equipment crashing through an expensive picture window, possibly injuring someone in the house. A dead limb on a tree that "I should have had pruned" might fall in a heavy wind and rain storm, causing property damage and personal injury.

But there is a greater reason for this man's need for concern with hurricanes. He and his family plan to spend their summer vacation on eastern Long Island, where they could be in the direct path of a major storm.

The record book shows how lethal hurricanes can be, and suggests how much of a threat they continue to pose to residents of the Atlantic seaboard and the Gulf Coast States. Last year, four hurricanes—Cleo, Dora, Isobel, and Hilda—wrought $104 million in insured damages.

The actual damage was much more extensive, but most policies do not cover damage caused by wave wash, rising water, and flooding. The prime exceptions and certain commercial policies, automobile "comprehensive" physical damage contracts and "all-risks" inland marine insurance on such property as furs, jewelry, and cameras.

Government and insurance officials are seeking a means of providing flood insurance at reasonable rates, and the solution may be a Federal subsidy.

Although hurricanes have taken lives each year, a decline in the death toll has been credited in part to the Weather Bureau's early-warning system, under which observers begin tracking a storm well before it hits the continent. In 1957, Hurricane Audrey took 395 lives, but the death toll declined to 2 the next year. There were 34 hurricane fatalities in 1959, 65 in 1960, 46 in 1961, 4 in 1962, 11 in 1963, and 49 last year.

The American Insurance Association has suggested procedures that should be followed before, during, and after a major storm.

When ever a storm threatens the U.S. mainland, people living in the historic storm-pattern areas should "track" it by following broadcast and newspaper reports. Radio being the best information medium in a storm, a portable, battery-powered unit should be kept handy, and it should be equipped with fresh batteries. Storms frequently cause electric-power failure.

Persons living or vacationing near a seashore should go inland, taking refuge on high ground, if a hurricane is about to strike. Beaches and low waterfront areas may become flooded or be swept by storm waves, as a result of a hurricane's "churning" of the sea. If the route to safety may be prematurely effected, the trip inland should be made early.

Hurricane migrants or those established in a safe refuge, such as a substantial house on high ground away from the water, should have a supply of water and food. The water supply—in jars, bottles and tubs—is important, because normal sources frequently become contaminated after a hurricane. Because of possible utility failures, the food should be of types that can be eaten with little or no cooking, and those can can be kept without refrigeration.

Lawn furniture, barbecure grills, garbage pails and other movable items should be stored indoors, to avoid their being carried by the wind and causing damage or injury. As a matter of course in hurricane or windstorm areas, trees should be kept pruned, especially those near buildings.

Storm shutters, if the house has them, should be placed over windows well before a storm strikes. Garage doors should be secured. In severe storm-hazard areas, some homeowners have their television aerials removed during the danger period.

During a storm, all persons should remain indoors, listening to their radios for developments.

When high-speed winds begin blowing, one or more windows should be kept open on the lee side—the side opposite from which the wind is blowing—to provide ventilation and prevent certain wind damage. In illustration, if hurricane-force winds should blow a hole in the windward side of the building or drive a flying object through a wall, wind pressure would build up inside the structure, threatening to lift its roof or push out the walls, unless that pressure can otherwise be reduced. The open windows on the lee side provide an escape for that pressure.

If there is an electrical failure and candles or oil lamps must be used, care must be taken in their placement to avoid fire. This could be especially tragic, as firemen may not be able to answer a call because of the storm.

After a storm, people should not go outdoors, except in extreme emergencies, until it is known that the roads are free from rubble and fallen powerlines. Unless qualified to render essential emergency assisance, people going outdoors may hinder first aid or rescue work.

If a person must use his automobile immediately after a storm, he must proceed with extreme caution, watching for fallen wires and tree branches. There may be washouts or undermined pavements on roads adjacent to swollen streams or flooded inlets.

Not only should people not touch fallen or dangling powerlines, but they also should stay away from all other wires and steel fences after a storm. Live powerlines could become entangled with metal fences, telephone and other wires, sending an electrical charge through all of them, and contact could be fatal.

If water service has been affected, drinking water should be discontinued until local health authorities announce that the water is safe to drink.

Monopoly, Not Competition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, recently the entire congressional delegation from the State of South Carolina expressed its shock and surprise when Secretary of the Interior Udall intervened before the Federal Power Commission against a Duke Power Co. project in the Carolinas. The shocking element of Mr. Udall's announcement was that he proposed a system of Federal takeover and control of waterways in South Carolina forcing this private power company into dependence upon the Federal Government for power to serve its customers in the future.

The following is an excellent editorial published in the Greenville News, of Greenville, S.C., covering Mr. Udall's explanation of his actions, and I feel it clearly indicates that the Secretary utilized extremely poor judgment in intervening in this matter:

MONOPOLY, NOT "COMPETITION"

It took some digging, and wading through a few vague and evasive answers, but Editor James J. Kilpatrick, of the Richmond News Leader, Sunday night got from Secretary Udall the real reason why the Department of the Interior is trying to block the Duke Power Co.'s Keowee-Toxaway project in Pickens and Oconee Counties.

Mr. Udall, on "Meet the Press," referred to the importance of providing competition for the private power companies by building federally operated hydroelectric dams with taxpayers' money But to do this to the exclusion of private power development is not competition.

It is a far cry from the Federal yardstick the late Franklin D. Roosevelt talked about in justification of Federal power development and the creation of the electric cooperatives with Federal grants, low-interest loans, and federally subsidized power.

Since there are more Federal projects than privately owned generating facilities along the Savannah and its tributaries, Mr. Udall is not promoting competition.

He is aiming at a Federal power monopoly. There it is, plain and simple. That can be the only end results of the policies the Federal agencies are following.

We can only hope that Mr. Udall is speaking for his Department only and that he is not reflecting the policies of the Johnson administration as a whole.

In view of what he said Sunday, and his refusal to comment earlier despite numerous efforts of newsmen to reach him, Secretary Udall is not likely to agree to rescind or to soft-pedal his petition of intervention before the Federal Power Commission.

As brought out by the questions of Mr. Kilpatrick, who had all the facts before him, Mr. Udall has no case against the Duke project, except the purpose of nationalizing or socializing the power industry.

He kept referring to the proposed Federal project at Trotters Shoals, which is far from being ready for a start, even if Congress were to authorize it.

He appeared to feel that this, with the other Federal projects on the Savannah, would meet all needs. He confused the whole issue with the proposed Duke steamplant at Middleton Shoals, a project which has been approved by all agencies and awaits only congressional authorization.

The Keowee-Toxaway project is not on any interstate rivers, another point on which Udall seemed confused, and requires only FPC approval. Furthermore, this development is projected to meet needs which will come with development after the Savannah River plant is delivering capacity.

Udall questioned both Duke's figures and its need for the power. That is utterly absurd, for companies like Duke don't gamble with their stockholders' cash and credit. They calculate the risks carefully and spend conservatively.

Finally, Udall errs foolishly when he says the Federal proects can meet the power needs of the present and the future. The proposed Middleton Shoals plant would deliver more firm power than all of the existing and proposed Federal projects combined—unless the Federal Government takes the private companies over and builds steamplants.

So, the issue is clearly and fairly drawn. As we have stated from the beginning, it is a question of Federal ownership and socialism at the taxpayers's expense against private enterprise and investor ownership with millions of tax dollars for government at all levels.

It is a question of industrial development by private enterprise against a Federal monopoly with stifles industrial development.

The huge Federal projects at Hartwell and Clark Hill have brought no industry to South Carolina, but the threat of another Federal dam at Trotters Shoals has kept industries from coming to that part of the State.

Indiana University Scholarship Honors Brazilian Diplomat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the Agency for International Development has within the past year and a little more actively promoted a program known as Partners of the Alliance, whose first anniversary was marked recently by a Washington dinner presided over by the dean of the diplomatic corps, the Ambassador from Nicaragua, Dr. Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa.

Brazil is one of those nations working strongly with the Partners of the Alliance, in which 25 States now pair up with a Latin American country or a State of Brazil. The Indiana Partners of the Alliance are working with Brazil in this program, and recently established three scholarships for Brazilian students at the Indiana University. Most fittingly, a notice of this event appeared at some length in the Brazil, Ind., Daily Times. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Brazil Daily Times account of the Brazil scholarship, named for Brazil's noted late diplomat, Ambassador Fernando Lobo, may appear in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SCHOLARSHIP AT INDIANA STATE WILL HONOR BRAZILIAN DIPLOMAT: FIRST IN UNITED STATES

TERRE HAUTE, IND.—The first scholarship in the United States to be named in honor of a Brazilian is the Fernando Lobo Scholarship at Indiana State University. The ISU Board of Trustees endorsed the naming of one of its foreign student scholarships in honor of the noted Brazilian diplomat.

The scholarship not only provides the possibility for a deserving student to study in the United States at ISU, but at the same time, honors a man who dedicated his career to the promotion of Brazilian-American friendships as well as to the needs and problems of students.

The scholarship is one of three scholarships established recently for Brazilian students under the Indiana Partners of Alliance. The Agency for International Development (branch of the U.S. State Department) has a new program called partners of the alliance which pairs up U.S. States and a Latin American country or a state in Brazil. Twenty-five U.S. States are now participating. The scholarships provide for a waiver of contingent fees and out-of-State tuition.

One of the fine qualities admired in Ambassador Lobo's long diplomatic career is that he treated everyone—the humble and the great—with the same polite manner, the same concern and interest. And, as he rose higher in his career, he never lost this quality. He interested himself in people rather than papers, and during his tour of duty in Washington, he often remarked "when I help others, I am helping myself."

Possibly this philosophy contributed to his outstanding success as administrator, as Minister Counselor of the Brazilian Embassy in Washington, and in his last assignment as Brazilian Ambassador to the Organization of American States.

A few months before he was to retire from his brilliant career, spent largely in the United States, Ambassador Lobo suffered a stroke. The same humble and great with whom he shared his diplomatic life concerned themselves with his comfort and welfare. The late President Kennedy put his personal plane and crew at the disposal of the Ambassador and his family and ordered it hospital-equipped for the return trip to Brazil. President Kennedy also arranged for one of his personal doctors, a nurse, and a military aide to accompany the Ambassador.

A native of Rio de Janeiro and a graduate of the University of Law of Rio de Janeiro, his career as a diplomat started in 1918 and continued until his retirement on October 14, 1961, when he reached the age of 65, the retirement age for Brazilian Ambassadors.

He was the Brazilian Ambassador to the Organization of American States from 1953 to 1961. He was chairman of the Council of the OAS from 1956 to 1957, and was reelected Chairman of the Council in November 1960, the only person to hold this position twice.

The Island of Cyprus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, because things are moving so very fast in this turbulent world of ours, current events turn into history faster than ever before.

In many ways, this is unfortunate, for man's stream of consciousness is directed by nature to the world around him, and he loses a great deal of understanding because each day the world around him is radically different from the day before, or the day after.

World problems, falling into a similar pattern, change so quickly and shift so suddenly that understanding is difficult and mastery virtually impossible for the average citizen. The situation in area X which seemed so important yesterday, involving the freedom of a nation, the tenuous international peace, and/or the principles of democracy are forgotten today. They have been replaced by problems which loom even larger in our fears.

However, we cannot afford to forget or ignore these situations, even if others of equal or greater importance take their place in the headlines. Such a situation is that on the island of Cyprus. A struggle for freedom and the principles of democracy is going on there today, but it is not in the headlines, and therefore not in our thoughts. We have no understanding of it.

Mr. Speaker, the author of the speech which follows has taken the time to obtain this rare understanding. He presents a concise profile of the problem, and what he believes to be an equitable solution. I am in agreement with him on both counts. Representative JOHN W. WYDLER, of New York, delivered the address at a meeting of Theodore Roosevelt Chapter No. 170 of the Order of Ahepa on June 4, 1965, in Hempstead, N.Y. The occasion was the Ahepa Freedom Crusade Week, with chapter president Charles Coffas presiding.

THE ISLAND OF CYPRUS

Nearly 5 years have passed since the storied island of Cyprus was proclaimed an independent state. Although recent developments in other regions of the world have pushed news of Cyprus off the front page of our daily newspapers, we are all only too well aware of the fact that the situation in Cyprus still represents one of the major unresolved disputes in the world today.

To obtain an understanding of the issues involved we are forced, as is so often the case, to take a close look at the past. In fact, the problems associated with Cyprus in the popular mind reach thousands of years into the past and, involving the armies of half a dozen nations, center on the island's strategic location in the eastern Mediterranean. Not surprisingly, those issues which were important centuries ago to different powers remain so for the countries involved in the present dispute. Yet, for the United States, which has become indirectly involved in the dilemma of Cyprus for the first time, the question of which policy to adopt should and ought to be easy.

Unfortunately, the United States did not immediately adopt the only logical moral policy which is in accordance with the best traditions of our country. Instead, negative propaganda and distorted accounts of the situation on that unhappy island have served to engage our country in a policy which runs counter to its most basic precepts and principles. I think that the time has come for the United States to once again declare its adherence to those principles, for if it does not, I fear that our country's great prestige and the moral force which it is able to exert in the cause of peace will be greatly diminished.

From the very founding of the United States, this Nation has been, and was known as, the great defender of the principle of self-determination—that is, the right of all peoples to choose their own destiny, to choose their own form of government, in short, to be the masters of their own fate. We have reiterated our belief in this principle ever since the days of the Declaration of Independence, and defended its application even to our very allies when it affected their former colonies in Africa and Asia. We continue to defend its application to those countries of eastern Europe who have had their form of government and their economic structure imposed by an outside power. Yet, strangely, we have been reluctant and hesitant to support it in the eastern Mediterranean when it affects the island of Cyprus. We do not there assert the principle of self-determination.

I find this a strange and indefensible position to take. It is not difficult to see how it will immensely damage American prestige, on a long-range basis for it makes us appear to be hypocrites; tending to weaken and make meaningless our announced defense of this principle in other areas of the world.

Let us briefly consider the history of Cyprus in order to see how the present situation was brought about. We find that the first references to the island are contained in the writings of the Greeks centuries prior to the Golden Age of Athens. Its name continually crops up even in the legends and tales of the gods; Aphrodite, the goddess of beauty, was said to have been born on Cyprus; the poets of ancient Greece, including the most famous of them all, Homer, sing of the close relations between the Greek and Cyproit kings, for already then there were many Greek colonists on the island. Indeed, their presence made Cyprus an important cultural part of the Hellenic Greek world, if not a political part.

The island's location, not far from the coasts of the Levant, insured that all the great empires and kingdoms of antiquity would covet it for the jewel in their crown. The great Assyrian Empire, the first of the east's great multinational empires, ruled Cyprus. Later, the Egyptians at the height of their ancient glory also took it, only to be replaced by the Persians, who in turn made room for the legions of Imperial Rome. With the decline of Rome in the west, Cyprus became a part of the Eastern Roman Empire. Under the Byzantines it reached new heights in wealth and power, for, after more than a thousand years, this was an empire in which the genius of the Greeks was allowed to come to fruition.

The decline of the Byzantine Empire brought new administrators to the island: the merchant princes of Venice. Drawn to the island by its fame, wealth, and magnificence of its industrial crafts, they governed it for sheer economic gain and gave no thought for the future. Not long thereafter they were ousted by the Ottoman Turks, whose forces seized the island in the 16th century, beginning what was to be over three centuries of maladministration and exploitation.

Ottoman misrule occasioned rebellion in nearly all areas of its farflung empire. In the 1820's, both the Greeks of the mainland, as well as the population of Cyprus itself, revolted. But, although a truncated Greece became independent only a few years later, the Cypriots remained under the hateful rule of the Turks. The desire of this subjugated people for enosis, or union with mainland Greece, had its birth during this time. Their yearning for this goal was not to be stifled by the actions of an unfeeling and arbitrary tyranny.

In the latter part of the 19th century, the strategic interests of Great Britain dictated that she obtain a lease of Cyprus from the Ottoman Sultan. This the empire was willing to do, for it faced a threat against its Asiatic portions from Russia, and badly needed the support which the British were willing to offer in exchange for Cyprus. The Cypriots enthusiastically hailed their new governors for they recalled the support of Great Britain for Greek independence years before, as well as Queen Victoria's gift of the Ionian Islands to Greece. They naturally expected a similar development with respect to Cyprus, and when their expectations were not fulfilled, they were bitterly angry and disappointed.

The Cypriots saw their last chance for a free choice disappear when the British annexed Cyprus during World War I, and later made it a crown colony. Their discontent began to assume serious proportions, and they clamored ever more insistently for their freedom. The British Government replied by abolishing the legislative council, assuming all legislative powers, and ordering ever more stringent measures for consolidating its position on the island.

Despairing of ever being permitted to decide their future by themselves, the Greek Cypriots decided that the British would have to be forced to make concessions. As has so often been the case in the past, including our own, it was this determination to obtain a redress of grievances as well as the inalienable rights due all peoples everywhere that finally convinced Great Britain that she must offer an acceptable program for the future, and loosen her grip on the island.

The agreements which were negotiated at Zurich and London in 1959, granting independence to Cyprus, appeared to offer the possibility of some improvement. It was soon clear, however, that the provisions of these agreements and the Cypriot constitution which resulted were self-defeating. The most important failure was that the important democratic principle of majority rule was completely abandoned; as a result, a small minority was able to thwart the majority, government was paralyzed, and an untenable situation was created. It has become abundantly evident that the solution offered by the 1959 agreements was supremely artificial, and some new method to bring peace and orderly development to the island would have to be tried.

Developments in recent weeks and months have amply demonstrated the complete unwillingness of the Turkish Government to bring about a just solution. Because they have not been able to have their way in Cyprus, they have vented their spleen on the helpless Greeks still resident in Turkey today. Their shops and businesses have been expropriated, looted, or burned in government-sponsored riots. Greeks whose families have lived in Turkey for centuries have been forcibly ejected without their possessions, their savings, or their self-esteem.

And, in a final burst of irrationality, the Turkish Government has threatened to similarly eject the patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church from Constantinople, the historical seat of the church for more than a millenium.

The important issue which this island has created for us is not, as many would have it, its strategic value to our ally Great Britain, nor is it how the United States may best remain friends with all parties concerned, of even an unthinking commitment to a policy which was formulated in the past, probably in good faith. The time has come to reevaluate our position with respect to Cyprus. Our traditional support and commitment to the principle of self-determination for all peoples, everywhere, should not, and indeed cannot be sacrificed for some slight short-term gain, whatever that may be in this instance. If we are not to lose our self-respect and our reputation as a convinced and convincing supporter of the right of all peoples to decide their own future, we must now openly reaffirm our commitment to the application of these principles to the people of Cyprus.

We should, and we must, support self-determination for Cyprus before the confused situation which has been the result of past errors leads to a war of major proportions. Only if the population of this unfortunate island is allowed to determine its course by itself can we possibly hope to see a just and lasting solution. I think our own historical experience, and our abiding commitment to freedom for all peoples requires that we support the Cypriots in their demand for this right.

Knowing what we must do, the question remains of how to bring about an effective program. My proposal would be to take the following steps:

1. Allow formation of a true government on the island of Cyprus, according to the principle of majority rule.
2. Allow union with Greece, if the people of Cyprus so vote.
3. Establish a NATO base on Cyprus to protect it from Communist influences and takeover.
4. Protect Turkish minority rights in Cyprus.
5. Similarly protect the Greek minority in Constantinople (Istanbul).
6. Protect the ecumenical patriarchate in Constantinople as a symbol of religious freedom on which all other freedoms depend.

These steps can be effected by using any number of devices. First, we as a nation, should appeal to the Department of State to use our national influence and foreign aid as a means of achieving the above steps. We should also make an announcement that we will protect the island of Cyprus from any outside aggression. We could also utilize a United Nation's Mission and the United Nations Genocide Convention to see that the authorities in Cyprus and in Constantinople fully protect the rights of the minorities. You, as citizens, could sign petitions calling for such action by our Government, and the United Nations and asking that the innocent victims be fully protected. Finally, as a Congressman, I can and will offer a resolution calling for a solution to the Cyprus problem along the lines I have outlined above. I most earnestly believe that we must act now. Although I am not of Greek descent, on this issue involving the freedom of Cyprus and the union of Cyprus and Greece, in my heart I am a Cypriot, I am a Greek.

The Power of Blackmail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I call the attention of my colleagues to an excellent editorial column by Mr. Thurman Sensing, vice president of the Southern States Industrial Council. The column is dated July 8, 1965, and is entitled "The Power of Blackmail." I ask unanimous consent that this column be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE POWER OF BLACKMAIL

(By Thurman Sensing)

Americans from Hawaii to Maine should be deeply concerned over what is happening in the Southern section of the United States. For the forms of political blackmail now being applied in these States could be used against States and individual communities anywhere in the Republic.

Doctors and educators in the South have an extraordinary story to tell concerning events of recent weeks. And for the political health and safety of the American people in years to come, one can only hope that people outside the South will be attentive to the recitation of facts.

What has happened is that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the U.S. Office of Education have set up guidelines for medical institutions and school districts. These guidelines, which are detailed to an astonishing degree, have only a weak foundation in the law. But the bureaucrats, acting on orders of the White House, are not worrying about the shaky constitutionality of their actions. They are using the Federal money power—the threat to cut off grants and aid—to force hospitals and schools into line. Gone is all semblance of constitutional order by means of action through the courts. Gone is the judicial policy of all deliberate speed in dealing with complex social and human problems. Instead, there is supposed to be immediate compliance with plans for medical centers and schools—plans which in many cases are utterly unreasonable and which will work hardships on the communities and people affected.

Americans should wake up to what is going on. Indeed one wonders whether people in Oregon or Nebraska, for instance, have any idea that hospital administrators in Southern States have been effectively deprived of the administration of their institutions. In one hospital in the South, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare instigated appointment of a special advisory committee made up of NAACP officials, who conduct regular checks of a hospital to see that each ward has a numerically satisfactory salt and pepper arrangement of patients.

The Atlanta Times recently cited a Federal memorandum which states: "Staff investigating hospitals in connection with civil rights compliance must determine the racial distribution of patients among rooms and wards and must evaluate the bed placement of the hospital as it actually is applied in terms of the laws of probability."

What is involved here is a guessing game by zealots, not the application of any statute through the normal administrative and/or judicial channels. The country also has a situation in which agitation groups in effect have been turned into vigilantes serving the bureaucrats. The result is an incredible harassment of doctors and administrators, which in time can only lead to poor medical service and the flight of competent physicians who refuse to work in a situation in which political decisions come before medical competence.

In another situation, one Southern State is threatened with the loss of $1 million in Federal aid to the mentally retarded because one institution has declined to admit Negro patients—the reason being that the institution already is filled to capacity and has a long waiting list. Truly, the instances of Federal injustice are being multiplied week by week.

This is not the American way. In the South today, States, cities, counties, and school districts are being indirectly taken over by Government decree. Elected officials and trustees are having their lawful authority usurped by bureaucrats and their helpers among the agitators.

Today, in the South, no bayonets are being used against American citizens. But the application of unconstitutional power is just as ruthless and destructive of liberties. The method now in use is a threat to cut off funds, which the States and communities involved help provide through tax payments. There is only one word for the cruel, sophisticated theft of freedom now taking place—the word is "tyranny."

Adlai Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, there is perhaps little that I might say that would evoke any added lustre to the memory of the Honorable Adlai Stevenson, whose untimely passing has truly diminished all mankind. There will be eloquent and moving tributes made in virtually every corner of the globe to this great and dedicated man, which fact alone will serve as a living citation to his long and distinguished career.

Mr. Stevenson will stand for all time as the classic statesman whose personal convictions and dedication to the cause of world peace and progress for all mankind transcended party politics and partisan dogma. He has created a new yardstick against which to measure public service. His immense personal dignity, unshaken even by the most shattering of taunts and insults, and his unfailing integrity are a standard to which most of those who follow can only aspire.

Mr. Stevenson's career was a turbulent one, surprisingly so for a man so committed to peace and understanding. He tasted the wine of success and the ashes of defeat. And, although twice rejected for the highest office in the land, he was not permitted to slip into obscurity. His great gifts compelled the world to find a role for him. The role he filled in the last years of his life may well be listed in the annals of history as hardly less significant or important than the Presidency.

As a Republican, I am keenly aware of the impact this man has had upon the politics of his day. None of us in public life could fail to sense the improved image of public service for which Adlai Stevenson has been one of the chief architects. We have all benefited from the high standard and uncompromising principle which were the unmistakable hallmarks of his career.

As one whose district embraces a good many excellent colleges and universities, I am also deeply aware of Mr. Stevenson's impact upon the youth of this Nation. I think all of us on both sides of the political fence might look upon his power in this abstract and elusive sphere with considerable envy.

He matched flawlessly clear vision with willpower and determination. He matched unswerving dedication with matchless eloquence. He was a speaker in the great traditions of Pitt and Clay and Webster. He could make us see his dream as few men have.

We have, of course, lost more than a political leader, an ambassador, a former presidential candidate, and a former Governor of one of our finest States. We have lost a courageous and untiring citizen of the world.

One of Mr. Stevenson's best remembered speeches was his moving and impassioned eulogy to the late Eleanor Roosevelt. In that speech, Mr. Steven-

son recalled that "She would rather light a candle than curse the darkness." It seems at this hour that a new darkness has descended upon us. One of our brightest candles has gone out forever.

National Commission on Food Marketing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the National Commission on Food Marketing has been doing a fine, hard-working job since its creation. It is now running into opposition and has suffered a substantial cut in its appropriations from the House Appropriations Committee.

In order to better acquaint the Members of the Senate with the commendable work the Commission is carrying on, I ask unanimous consent to have the following editorial from Broiler Industry, an influential monthly business poultry periodical, inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR STAKE IN PROBE

The National Commission on Food Marketing largely owes industry endorsement to the fact that it was designed to make an independent survey of the farm-to-market structure, and submit recommendations to Congress and a study to the public. Now, the House Appropriations Committee has voted to cut the Commission's requested budget to $750,000, just half of what it estimates it will need to complete the study by the end of next June.

The reason given for this—undoubtedly strongly endorsed by Representative JAMIE WHITTEN, Democrat, of Mississippi, chairman of the House Agricultural Appropriations Subcommittee—is that the USDA already has done much of the basic research required in farm-to-market spreads, including 22 projects completed within the past year or two.

We hope the Senate Appropriations Committee uses more levelheaded judgment. Thus is a one-time appropriation to take stock of where we are, where we have come from, and where we are heading—or should be heading—in this complex "agribusiness" world of ours.

An example of just what the Commission can do, if given enough time and money to support its talented staff, can be seen in the recent Atlanta, Ga., hearings which reviewed some of the problems in the broiler and egg industries.

Although the hearings themselves produced little that industry does not know, the Commission has asked for, and will get, subsequent detailed cost information from major firms involved—and this will include chain operators as well as processors, feed manufacturers, etc. It is at this point that the Commission's real work begins. Immunity will be granted firms as they make confidential disclosures. The atmosphere will not be one of courtroom forensics, but fact gathering.

As the investigation ends, we anticipate that the Commission will seek to improve the grower's position in relation to the integrator's—perhaps longer term contracts, with periodic public disclosure by areas of prevailing contract terms. Growers will have a bigger voice in what the contracts say. The USDA's already-declared intention of moving to a ready-to-cook quotation undoubtedly will be encouraged.

What isn't so obvious, and it is common to many other commodities besides broilers and eggs, is how to help producers of "cordwood" food get more bargaining power in the marketplace. There are many processors who, relatively speaking, are moving into the grower's position in their bargaining relations with volume retail buyers. If depth of capital alone is to be the measure of whether or not they can survive, what protection are they, in turn, entitled to have, if any?

It would seem that if the Commission were to intensively study the broiler industry as a case history, it will have established the probable future marketing and production pattern for an entire range of agricultural commodities—and this includes starting from such basics as transportation rates for grain, future deployment of labor, future distribution system, degree of integration back from retail, and into retail, etc.

When the Commission's work is done, its recommendations to Congress may involve suggested amendments to the antitrust laws, the Capper-Volstead Act and others. It may even lead to a permanent food regulatory agency, such as exists for communications, transportation, banks, etc.

We don't know whether we'll like what the Commission finds, or recommends, but it certainly deserves an opportunity to do two things: (1) Get at such facts as present business conduct, buyer and selling practices on the part of retailers as well as processors, profit rates, and relative distribution of economic returns among various segments of industry. (2) Examine present Government regulatory policy and practices and see what, if anything, needs to be done, to insure that the rules for the business game are fair, and remain so.

We can't possibly see the Commission's arriving at decisions like these if constrained by lack of funds to mere assembly and appraisal of existing studies, no matter how well done.

It would be ironical if the Commission were to finally suggest that the USDA, rather than the Justice Department, for example, should have jurisdiction over proposed mergers in the food industry. But to come to such a conclusion based on studies largely made by the USDA itself would be manifestly unfair.

We trust that the Senate will view the Food Commission's task with more objectivity than the House apparently has, and restore to the appropriations bill the funds it needs. Industry has an important stake in seeing that it does—perhaps, for many of us, a vital one.

The Pioneers Leave

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STANLEY L. GREIGG

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. GREIGG. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Mr. Herman Rachut of Burt, Iowa, will soon complete his 2-year tour in the Peace Corps. He has been instrumental in organizing the College of Business Administration at Haile Selassie University in Ethiopia. Recently the student newspaper at the college of business administration commended the Peace Corps volunteers in an editorial, and I am pleased to bring it to the attention of my colleagues. I also want to take this opportunity to extend my congratulations to Mr. Rachut for a job well done.

THE PIONEERS LEAVE

The end of the current academic year marks the departure of six faculty members and a secretary—all Peace Corps volunteers—from the college of business. In all schools, teachers come and go; there is nothing unusual about that. But this is a special case.

The names of Kreuser, Bayorek, Cordasco, Sprague, Tener, Tracy, Knowles, and Rachut will always be remembered in the history of CBA. Without their presence here, the creation of the college in October 1963, would have been difficult, if not impossible, due to the lack of teachers. Their contribution to getting the college started is remarkable, especially in view of the difficult conditions under which they had to work. At the time the college opened, there was a shortage of almost everything: suitable classrooms, books, equipment, etc., but they made the best of what was available.

The significance of the work of this dynamic force lies in these two things. In the first place, they have shown that a good lecturer need not be a hunchbacked, gray-haired old man. Though most of them are relatively young, yet their lectures, characterized by careful and thorough preparation, and methodical presentation, have generally been of very high standard. Furthermore, they have shown that an ideal teacher is not required to play the role of a boss all the time. They always maintained a smiling face to all the students even on occasions when this was difficult.

We the students of CBA have got much to learn from these people. Briefly, they have taught us the love for hard work—hard work for its own sake. Also, their self-sacrificing missionary spirit should not go unnoticed.

Their stay here has been a true practical contribution toward better international understanding, often on people's lips but rarely translated into action. Again, accept our inadequate words of thanks. We wish you the best of luck, success and prosperity in all your future endeavors.

The Samaritans Still Abound

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, of late, we have heard much about the impersonal nature of our society. There are daily accounts of muggings, robbery, and rape that arouse little public response. The death throes' pleas of Kitty Genovese are still haunting the conscience of many Americans.

It has become almost a preoccupation of our society to criticize and accenuate the negative aspects of life in this great

country. Granted, there is much we can do to improve the lot of our people. But we have done much. There are American virtues that we can proudly recognize.

An editorial recently appeared in the New Brunswick Daily Home Times that deserves our attention. It is a good reminder that Americans do care about their fellow man. We do possess the underlying decency that recognizes human suffering, and we do possess a willingness to help.

I therefore ask unanimous consent that this editorial be inserted at this point in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New Brunswick (N.J.) Daily Home News, June 29, 1965]

THE SAMARITANS STILL ABOUND

There is a good deal of talk these days about the unwillingness of the public to get involved in the troubles of other people. And we have heard it said that Good Samaritanism is a personal attribute rarely found these days.

These things are not necessarily true. There are lots of good people today.

In Friday's rush hour the woman motorist had four children riding with her. Her car crashed head on into a utility pole on George Street, near Douglass College. It was not a glancing blow. It was a direct hit. The car stopped as if it had hit a concrete wall. The woman was thrown against the steering wheel. A boy in the front seat crashed into the windshield, making the familiar round hole.

Two small girls and a small boy were tossed around in the back seat. Something caught fire under the hood.

The first cars on the scene all stopped. Drivers and passengers poured out including the driver of a bus. Everyone pitched in. The woman and the three small children were removed from danger and comforted. The bus driver put the fire out. The boy, badly injured, was left lying on the front seat until the ambulances arrived. Somebody had called in the emergency. A policeman arrived almost immediately. The injured were cared for and expertly placed in the ambulances and swiftly removed to the hospital.

Nobody cares today?

Don't you believe it.

Etiquette for Great Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, in his "Around the Corner" column in the Waterloo, Iowa, Sunday Courier, Eddie Torriell suggests a number of questions and answers for inclusion in a book of etiquette for President Johnson's Great Society.

I commend the excellent column to the attention of my colleagues; particularly those who are committed to marching steadily downward to the utopian Great Society:

TELLS ETIQUETTE OF GREAT SOCIETY

(By Eddie Torriell)

(NOTE.—Amy Vanderslung is reported to be preparing a book of etiquette for the Great Society. I assume it will contain questions and answers such as these):

Question. I have been invited to take subsidies from two Government agencies. Which should I accept?

Answer. Common courtesy requires that you accept the first offer. But send a note to the second politely pledging to accept another subsidy as soon as Congress changes the rules to make you eligible for both.

Question. My niece sent me one of the pens with which the President signed one of the antipoverty bills. Should I send her a gift in return?

Answer. No, it isn't necessary. Such pens have become so common that they are sold in second hand stores at $2 a gross.

Question. My income is only $12,000 a year. Are there any Government programs for me?

Answer. Yes, write to the Government Printing Office for the booklet, "Eight-Hundred Ways to Live Without Working." Don't expect to receive it immediately, however, since the agency is overloaded with work following the Presidential order requiring that each employe over 30 years old shall have as much time for coffee breaks as on the job.

Question. I am a member of a job retraining class in auto mechanics and my instructor told me I had to get my hands dirty. Should I walk out?

Answer. Yes. No decent American citizen should have to tolerate such uncouth conduct on the part of a Government employe.

Question. I am about to have a baby. Can the Government help with this?

Answer. Maternity care funds have been exhausted for this year. But as soon as the baby is born you can get your husband to desert you and get aid to dependent children.

Question. I thought I would give my daughter and son-in-law a savings bond as a wedding gift. Do you think this is suitable?

Answer. A convertible would be more desirable. Half of the interest from the savings bond will be eaten up in inflation and the other half will be taken in taxes. The young couple should have something they can enjoy.

Question. I am a woman and I want a job with a male chorus in a night club. They turned me down because they said I couldn't sing. Isn't this discrimination?

Answer. It depends. If you can prove that none of the men can sing either, the refusal to give you a job constitutes a violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Patent System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, there has been much recent controversy over the merits of the patent system as it presently exists in this country. We have concerned ourselves with the broad application of such a governmental policy, the central issue being the relative amount of protection to be given to patents produced through governmental assistance.

There is another aspect of this question that has not been debated in the popular forum; the function of private industry as a means of enforcing the patent structure. Of prime consideration in this area is the effect that patent infringement has upon the morale of the industry and upon the employees of each affected company.

Mr. L. C. Duncan, vice president of American Cyanamid Co., expresses some of these indirect effects in his address to the ninth annual conference of the PTC Research Institute of George Washington University. I, therefore, ask unanimous consent that Mr. Duncan's remarks be inserted at this point in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT A BUSINESSMAN HAS IN MIND WHEN INITIATING PATENT LITIGATION

(Remarks of L. C. Duncan, vice president, American Cyanamid Co., at the ninth annual conference of the PTC Research Institute of George Washington University, Washington, D.C., June 17, 1965)

I have been asked to discuss what a business executive has in mind when he initiates patent litigation.

Let's start right at the beginning—on the day when he first hears that a basic patent on one of his most important products has been infringed.

Some of my more volatile colleagues think first of mayhem. Then of various kinds of torture.

Their reaction is akin to that of a knight of old whose castle has been invaded, his honor smirched, and the surrounding countryside laid bare to rape and pillage.

And why not?

The deliberate, flagrant infringement of an important patent is theft. What is more, it is pillage and thievery of a most reprehensible kind. For it involves more than depriving the rightful owner of a very valuable asset. It is an attack on our way of life in the business field, an attack on an orderly way of life that has allowed us to live without fear, to pursue knowledge in a civilized way in a civilized society.

It undermines the incentive to invent and innovate, and threatens the security necessary for freedom of action and freedom of publication, for freedom to press forward openly without shrouding in secrecy.

Like the attachment of the farmer to the soil, or the sailor to the sea, the executive guiding and supporting a large research organization has a strong bond with his scientific people and a fierce pride in their accomplishments. He rises instinctively to defend their claims to their scientific achievements and to guard the sources of revenue from the new products they discover. For these are the funds that provide the lifeblood of the research organization and make their continuing work possible.

Is it any wonder, then, that the initial reaction of the typical businessman to a case of patent infringement is charged with strong emotion?

Now, I like to think of myself as a more temperate man. Like 'enry 'iggins of "My Fair Lady," a "good-natured man whom you never hear complain, who has the milk of human kindness by the quart in every vein."

I am also well aware that an angry man makes a poor client. Besides, I have some

inkling of what lies in store for anyone who opens the Pandora's box of patent litigation.

If my hand is a little shaky and my hair considerably grayer, it is because I have been through this experience before.

Therefore, I try to throttle what emotions I may feel and take up the gantlet to defend by patent rights and the system which confers them with a sense of resolution—but perhaps a little less enthusiasm than I once could muster for the task.

It has often been said that all it takes for evil to prosper is that good men should sit by and do nothing. It is just as true that any fine institution, like the patent system, will fall into disuse and become ineffective if those who believe in its virtues are unwilling to rise to its defense and assert vigorously the rights it confers upon them.

The basic patent system, itself, is under attack in this country and in many countries abroad. I firmly believe that it is the duty of those who support its principles to demonstrate its advantages by making the system work.

True, an individual patent suit is only a minor skirmish. But major wars are won by victories in a great many minor engagements.

Besides, every time an executive takes upon himself the burden of a patent suit he encourages others, by example, to do likewise. And every time he prevails, the victory acts as a further deterrent to those marauders who do no inventing or innovating of their own but lurk on the sidelines to "muscle in" on the discoveries of others.

Responsible executives who believe in independent research really have no choice. They know full well that in the long run it cannot be financed and continued except under a sound and functioning patent system to protect it.

You may well ask, "Do you really think all these noble thoughts when you contemplate patent litigation?"

My reply is, "If I don't, I ought to." For these are the fundamental issues at stake in every patent suit.

However, I must admit that at such times a great many other lesser thoughts come crowding in—some of which cause me to face the future with a feeling of resignation.

I am well aware that righteous indignation is one thing—but proving in a court of law, by a preponderance of the evidence is quite another.

An experienced executive knows that the battle—if you can call it that—will not be fought on his terms, but on the court's terms; and the champion in the pit will not be him, but his attorney. And he is convinced that the attorney can never really convey his point of view, or, more importantly, his indignation.

At best, the impending litigation will represent a period of interruption and frustration. At worst, it will be an attack on his credibility as a witness, his ability as an executive, and his integrity as a person.

If he has been through it all before, he is aware of the amount of his own time and effort that will be involved. He knows that the scientists in the laboratories and engineers in the plant will be drawn from their normal pursuits and spend long hours and many days in helping to prepare the case, to give depositions, and to appear in court as witnesses.

His files must be opened to prying, antagonistic eyes and he must look forward to days of questioning by hostile attorneys who, in getting at the facts, may not be entirely above a little intimidation and confusion on the side.

A determined attack on the validity of the patent itself is to be expected in every suit. But the most irritating and frustraing experience for the businessman is what is euphemistically called, "an affirmative defense," which has nothing directly to do with the question: "Is he infringing, or isn't he?" When this is raised, the delays and time consumed in finally resolving the major issue seem endless.

Thus far, I have tried to describe the state of mind of the executive when he faces the decision as to whether or not to initiate patent litigation.

His state of mind will influence how he decides but the decision itself must be based, of course, on the facts of the particular situation—and on advice of counsel.

His paramount consideration is the justness of his cause and the chances of success if a suit is undertaken.

At this point he enters into an alien world whose intricacies are usually entirely foreign to his experience. It is really two worlds.

The first is the world of science. Technical processes are no longer simple and the question of infringement may hinge on thousands of pages of testimony by scientific and engineering experts—on the opinions of experts in fields in which the full realm of discovery has not been approached.

Some of the processes used in the manufacture of everyday products which we take for granted are veritable mazes of technological know-how from the efforts of scientists and technologists from many fields, one more complicated than the other.

The executive must first come to grips with these scientific facts of the case. He must study the technology of the process involved and then must understand the nature of the conflict.

He must review with his research people and legal advisers the interpretation and breadth of the claims at issue in the patent or patents involved. Sometimes this requires consultation with technical and legal experts outside the company because differences of opinions develop.

Only when the businessman has sojourned in these unfamiliar worlds until he has grasped the basic scientific and legal points at issue is he competent to make a decision.

The typical executive is rarely a patent attorney or scientist and yet, in the last analysis, he must decide for both.

In addition, at no time can he forget his position as the leader of a massive and complex organization, as a businessman fighting for his company's position in the marketplace, and as a responsible citizen of the world. He is all these things and they all come to bear as he makes his decision.

As a leader of the corporation, he guides, supports and encourages his scientists and engineers. He has a responsibility to them to protect their creative efforts, to fight their battles outside the laboratory or manufacturing plant. He cannot afford to lose their loyalty and enthusiasm by yielding, through default, the fruits of their efforts and their inspiration.

As a businessman, he cannot give an inch in the marketplace. A patent, though presumed to be legally valid when issued, is not a bar to others who choose to duplicate the product or practice the process until it has been upheld in a court of law in a suit in which its validity is the principal point at issue.

Until that time, the threat of possible damages sometime in the future is the only deterrent to an infringer, or to others who might follow his example unless he is challenged. Thus, the executive must at times engage in litigation if he is to insure to his company the exclusive rights to its discoveries which are granted by the patent system.

On the other hand, as a businessman he cannot be guilty of wasting the company's resources in a fruitless effort or in one which does not promise an adequate return for the money and effort involved.

As a responsible citizen, he must not abuse the patent system or waste the time of the courts by engaging in frivolous litigation or initiating suits where the chances of success are minimal.

Such is the decisionmaking process when dealing with patent litigation.

I speak from experience because my company is a research-oriented organization whose existence depends upon a strong patent system.

I speak from experience because we are in the pharmaceutical field, which is now in the vortex of a world patent crisis. I speak from experience because my company has been involved in patent disputes around the world for many years.

We have made the decision to enter patent litigation on numerous occasions. Never was the decision made lightly. But once the step was taken, there was no backing away. We have tried to give our legal counsel our full support and to make available to them the full resources of time, information and effort of the company.

In entering patent litigation, the executive makes not so much a decision as a commitment.

But this is a commitment he must take—and all executives must make—if we are to continue to have a strong patent system, not only here in the United States but all over the world.

Unless each of us protects his own patents, the entire system will falter and give way to chaos.

There are forces in the world which are waiting for this to happen. More, they are actively seeking to destroy the patent system.

The question is asked in many countries these days: "Can we afford a strong patent system?"

Rather the question should be: "Can we afford not to have a strong patent system?"

Can any industrial nation keep its place in the rapid march of technical progress or compete vigorously in world markets without the incentives to discover, invent, and to innovate provided by a sound patent system?

I say it cannot, and the lessons of recent history bear out this assertion.

The inability of the Communist, and like systems of government, to feed their people adequately or to provide the basic necessities of life is a damning indictment of State ownership and control in the production field.

How, then, can you expect State ownership, State direction, and State control of the instruments of research to provide the leadership and stimulation required to nurture the delicate seeds of inspiration and genius, and provide the climate for productive research—except, of course, in a limited field where the State machine may find it politically desirable to achieve spectacular results by concentrating its efforts.

There are other standards, but I predict that the industrial progress of leading nations in the future will be measured by the viability of their patent systems.

But such patent systems are not an idea or a concept which feed upon themselves, like any living, developing thing, they need to be sustained and strengthened by use.

It is the responsibility of Government, of the legal profession, of private industry, and the individual executive to provide this support.

It is not an easy thing to do, but it is something everyone of us should do—must do.

Jobs Scarce for Middle Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article which appeared in the July 4 issue of the Dallas Morning News.

I do feel additional attention should be given to the problems of people 45 years of age and over who seek employment.

The article follows:

JOBS SCARCE FOR MIDDLE AGED—TEXAS ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAW HAS LITTLE EFFECT

(By Carolyn Patrick)

AUSTIN, TEX.—Our advancing society has given youthful status to the adult of 45—but it has also placed him in the most unwanted employment group, according to State officials.

While national campaigns are being conducted to find jobs for teenagers and elderly citizens, the Texas Employment Commission reports that "older workers," or those from 45 to 65, have the most difficulty finding suitable employment in Texas.

TEC observers of the problems of this "older worker" say an amazing phenomenon arises when employers praise the stable, experienced, productive older worker who is on the job and yet at the same time resists hiring the older worker who is unemployed.

Mrs. Helen P. Cunningham, "old worker" specialist for the TEC clerical and professional office in Dallas, said jobs in which older workers are placed include an unusually high number "of undesirable factors such as night hours, split shifts, temporary duration, and low pay rates."

In Dallas, Mrs. Cunningham reports, 79.1 percent of older workers placed by the TEC were hired in skilled occupations, service jobs, and unskilled work in that order. The fourth largest number of applicants were placed in professional and managerial positions allowed by semiskilled, clerical, and sales.

A TEC spokesman also explained that while employment offices eventually place these older workers, they tend to be hired for temporary jobs more often than younger workers.

"The success of the program in the future depends primarily upon educating employers regarding acceptance of the older worker," she added.

Statewide, during the calendar year of 1964, TEC offices took 104,732 applications from persons 45 to 64 and placed in jobs some 111,311 from that age group.

A TEC spokesman said the higher number of placements than applicants indicates that a number of those from 45 to 64 had been awaiting placement since the previous year.

Some 5,678 applications from persons over 65 were filed with TEC and 3,436 were placed in jobs.

While the TEC had difficulty placing all applicants in the "over 65" category, the Governor's Committee on Aging reports that it has only one or two complaints a year from persons that age who cannot find employment.

This committee is currently working throughout the State in helping communities organize services for elderly citizens, including preretirement education and placement in such part-time jobs as watchmen, custodial work, playground helpers, and school-crossing patrolmen.

Though the problem exists, the Texas law preventing discrimination in employment except to those over the age of 65 obviously has had little effect on the situation. A number of personnel in State agencies were unaware that such a law ever existed.

Congress was asked to correct the situation last week by Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, who said there was "substantial evidence" of discrimination where employers would not hire persons over a certain age regardless of qualifications.

Twenty States have laws regarding age discrimination in employment. The Texas Legislature passed a law 2 years ago prohibiting "discrimination in employment because of age" except for persons 65 years of age or older.

Recognizing the problem which exists in Texas, a TEC spokesman said that agency in the last year has assigned full-time "older worker" specialists to four metropolitan areas of Texas. Dallas has two such workers, with one specialist each in Fort Worth, Houston, and San Antonio.

Rights and "Rights"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, in the past few months literally thousands of articles have appeared in the press in this country on the controversial issue of repeal of section 14(b) of the National Labor Relations Act. I fear that the vast majority of them have generated more heat than light and merely added to the bonfire of emotionalism.

Recently I came across an editorial which struck me as particularly cogent. I ask unanimous consent to print in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial from Justice, the official newspaper of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. I think it gives what are, in the final analysis, the most compelling and compassionate arguments for repeal of 14(b).

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RIGHTS AND "RIGHTS"

There is only false nobility in the move by a group of big businessmen to preserve section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act in the defense of the freedom of the individual worker. That freedom, they say, is threatened not by big business, not by bargain-hunting employers, not by antilabor corporations—but by the unions themselves.

A quick reference to history is sufficient to reveal the hypocrisy of this argument. In the long stretch of time when business, big and small, had a free hand, the freedom of the individual worker was virtually nonexistent. Weighed down by poverty, he was not free to move, not free to learn, not free to combat dismissal from the job.

He was free to starve, to beg, to plead for State or private charity. The world is better for the end of that kind of freedom—a change achieved by trade unions at great cost in hardship and sacrifice. In the industrial dark ages before the rise of unionism, the free individual worker was a clod; his family was a team of two-legged work horses that dragged the weight of life along for a miserable span of years until each dropped in his or her own tracks.

It is a mistake to picture the free worker as one who stands alone. Back when this country won its independence in 1776 and 13 States had proven the wisdom of not standing alone, Adam Smith published the classic exposition of what a free capitalist society means.

But even at that starting time he noted that while capitalists were allowed to combine into corporations for the purpose of increasing profits and the efficiency of exploitation, three workers putting their heads together to figure a way of increasing their wages were immediately clapped into jail for conspiring against freedom and the general welfare.

Workers have achieved genuine freedom by joining together in a common effort to raise living standards and improve the quality of life. The reduction of the length of the workday and workweek, the lifting of wages, the development of retirement, illness and other benefits are only part of the gain. Through their pooled efforts as unionists, workers have been able to affect public policy and turn the State itself from disregarding the workers' lot into including him in its heightened concern for the general welfare.

But this history has been excluded from the 19 14(b) States. While in the rest of the country the union shop is legal, in these States 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act has been used to make it illegal. As a result, a double standard now exists in this country in respect to labor-management policy.

In those 19 States workers are encouraged to stand alone, to lean on the good will of employers only—and thus to preserve, as a representative of the National Association of Manufacturers put it before the House Labor Committee this month, the rights of the individual workers.

The concern of these so-called right-to-work States with the rights of the individual workers they are so anxious to keep individually free is reflected on what they have done for them in legislation. Only three of them have an equal pay for women law, while 66 percent of all other States have such laws.

Only one 14(b) State has a fair employment practices law, while 69 percent of the other have such a safeguard; 26 percent of the 14(b) States have a minimum standard child labor law while 56 percent of the others meet this test; only one has an unemployment insurance maximum weekly benefit of at least $48 as compared to 47 percent of the non-right-to-work States.

What rights do these so-called right-to-work States protect? Nothing more than the right to hire women at inferior pay, the right to employ children without effective regulation, the right to pay inadequate workmen's compensation, the right to discriminate in hiring, the right to work long hours at low pay. Section 14(b) must be repealed so that unions may regain the full right and strength to destroy these employer-favored rights.

What the Flag of the United States of America Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to bring to the attention of all

my colleagues a prize essay by a young man in my congressional district, Frank Rupp, 38 Locust Road, Northport, Long Island, N.Y:

ST. PHILIP NERI PUPIL: DAR FLAG ESSAY WINNER

There I stood among the Boy Scouts, alert and proud to be a part of what was going on. Suddenly, the voice of the man in charge rang out, "color guard front and center." Out I marched as proud as I could be. He unraveled the flag and I hooked it to the guideline. Just then every boy snapped to attention and put his hand to his head in a fine salute. As the flag went up the supporting pole the bugler sounded, "To the colors."

"My flag" is my assurance of a free land as long as it waves above my head. I see sections of colored cloth; I feel something different. An inner inspiration that says to me, love it, keep it, defend it. Its spirit extends not only to our country, but to all countries; to lands of low rolling plains, high dominating mountains, barren desert lands and tropical jungles.

To me the flag is something to love and cherish. To South Vietnam our flag means hope, and supplies. We are united with them in a struggle to eliminate communism, not only from their country, but from the world. Its many false promises trick poverty-stricken people into believing it will give them food and jobs. To another our flag means food, clothing and shelter.

I have many freedoms under my flag. A few of them are freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and finally and most important, freedom of religion, which I cherish most of all. The right to practice and profess my faith without being persecuted for it, seems to me the most important of all my freedoms.

I love my flag, and I pity anyone who doesn't, for it deserves all the honor of every American. As long as it waves I am, and every American is assured of a free country.

Hon. Gerald Ford and Hon. Clarence Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, today marks the birthday anniversaries of two great Americans, both longtime Members of the House and both leaders in the Republican Party. I wish to extend greetings to our distinguished minority leader, GERALD FORD, and our equally distinguished and beloved dean of the Ohio delegation, CLARENCE BROWN.

I was amused when someone pointed out the "Today's Horoscope" to me in this afternoon's Washington Daily News. It advises those readers born on July 14 that they are "natural competitors."

My knowledge of astrology is limited to the impact it currently is having on the NASA budget, but the stargazers are right in this case. Both the gentleman from Michigan and the gentleman from Ohio enjoy continued success at the polls in their respective districts, proof that they are successful competitors in the political arena. Congressman BROWN first came to Congress in 1939, Congressman FORD in 1949, giving them a combined total of service of 43 years in the House.

It has been my pleasure over the last 7 years to work closely on the Appropriations Committee with JERRY FORD. I am indebted to him many times over for his friendship and guidance as the ranking minority member of that committee. He is doing an outstanding job of leadership during these lean times for Republicans.

CLARENCE BROWN claims a special place in the hearts of all of us. He is a great and wonderful man. When I first came to Congress some 11 years ago he gave me much sound advice and counsel. It has stood me in good stead all these years.

We Ohio Republicans meet weekly for lunch and discuss matters coming up before the House. There is a great deal of jest and jocularity at these meetings and much kidding. CLARENCE is always there, with his good dry wit as necessary as the salt on the table.

CLARENCE is a tower of strength on the Rules Committee, a man of wisdom and integrity and one of Ohio's most loved sons.

I wish both of my good friends the happiest of birthdays and many more to be observed in this Chamber.

Local Iowa Project Unique in Sea of Federal Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, in the summer of 1964 the residents of Lee County, Iowa, decided to do something for the unemployed youth of the county. Instead of waiting for a handout from Washington, they initiated locally financed youth work camps to provide meaningful summer jobs for teenage boys.

From all indications, this unique local project in a sea of Federal programs has been a tremendous success. This is illustrated in the following article which appeared in the July 11, 1965, issue of the Des Moines Sunday Register:

A FINE THING FOR OUR BOYS—LEE COUNTY YOUTH WORK CAMPS A BIG SUCCESS

(By Gene Raffensperger)

Lee County residents got a jump on the rest of the country a year ago when they made plans to provide meaningful summer jobs for some of their teenage boys. Communities across the country are scrambling toward the same end this year in taking advantage of the Federal Economic Opportunities Act.

Last summer Lee County was getting ready for its locally financed youth work camps. This program, providing jobs for 72 boys from age 14 to 16, started June 14 and continues through August 13. The boys are working at cleanup and fixup projects throughout the county's system of conservation commission parks.

The program began with the formation of the Lee County Youth Association Council. This organization approached the county conservation board and county board of supervisors to ask if unemployed youth could be placed on meaningful jobs in the parks.

FOR SPENDING MONEY OR A FEW CLOTHES

The answer was yes, and the county supervisors set aside $8,000 to finance the plan. This home pay makes the Lee County project unique in a sea of Federal programs now underway around the Nation.

The Lee County Youth Association Council sought jobs for boys in the age group 14 to 16 because this is the so-called awkward age—too old for Little League and too young to hold regular jobs. No one mentioned that the purpose was to hold down juvenile delinquency, no one referred to the camps as "therapy for boys," and no one expected the boys would go out and build a Hoover Dam-type project.

What was expected in terms of a dividend was that the young boys could earn a little clothing or spending money, and the county would get a lot of relatively unskilled, yet tough, arms and legs work done in the parks.

This is weed cutting, brush trimming, sign painting, rock shoveling type work that should be done, but so often is not because a regular work staff just has too many more important tasks to handle. So they set up the program in 3 periods of 3 weeks each with 24 boys in each work group. Each boy is paid $5 a day, or $25 a week, or a total of $75 for the entire period.

THINGS THAT NEEDED TO BE DONE

So many boys were interested that the county had to set up a quota system in the schools. Finally, names were drawn by lot for the final list of 72. They represent every school in Lee County.

Now, with the program at about the midway point, sponsors are delighted with results. Robert McQuade, secretary of the county conservation board, summed it up: "This has been a fine thing for our boys. It has given them some incentive, they know people are interested in them, and frankly we're getting some things done in the parks that needed to be done but we just couldn't get done because we didn't have the manpower."

The Real Alabama—Part XXIX

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the attractions to see in Alabama are numerous. Many scenic wonders and manmade sights are available for tourists to enjoy in Alabama between the Gulf of Mexico and the Tennessee line. Continuing my efforts to point out the assets of Alabama, I invite our Nation's tourists to visit my State and enjoy firsthand these outstanding attractions. Submitted herewith is a brief description of some of our events and places of interest:

FORT MORGAN—GULF SHORES, BALDWIN COUNTY

A rich historical treasure, boldly beautiful Fort Morgan was constructed in the 1700's. The massive, five-pointed fortress served under seven flags, is pitted by shell marks and its granite steps still show the bloodstains of a Confederate soldier. A copy of an ancient fort near Florence, Italy, designed by the great Michelangelo, its fine brick arches are a gateway to thrilling moments of America's past. Hot Shot Furnace. Museum contains fascinating items preserved from the historic past.

FORT GAINES—DAUPHIN ISLAND, NEAR MOBILE

On historical Dauphin Island, inhabited since the French established a landing from which the Louisiana Territory was eventually established, this Civil War fort is a major historical landmark. Admiral Farragut's anchor lies in front of the fort. The fort was named for Gen. Edmund Pendleton Gaines who captured Aaron Burr. Limited camping area.

MOUND STATE MONUMENT, MOUNDVILLE

The Archaeological Museum, set in a 325-acre park and surrounded by 40 ceremonial mounds ranging up to 58 feet high, graphically reveals how the Indian mound builders once lived, worked, worshiped. Excavated ancient Indian burials are housed in wings of the museum.

HORSESHOE BEND NATIONAL MILITARY PARK, ALEXANDER CITY

This forested, 100-acre peninsula, formed by a great bend in the Tallapoosa River, is the site of the bloody battle in which Gen. Andrew Jackson's troops broke the power of the proud Creek Nation, ending the reign of terror of Chief Menawa. Museum. Visitor's center. Rest area. Information desk with historian. Monument.

MAGNOLIA GROVE HOBSON MEMORIAL, GREENSBORO

Ancestral ante bellum home of Adm. Richmond Pearson Hobson, hero of the Merrimac, beautifully furnished with original antiques, contains many historic souvenirs and relics brought by the admiral from foreign lands.

PIONEER HOUSE MUSEUM, NEAR MOULTON

This delightful pioneer cabin is furnished with household goods and implements actually used by early homesteaders, in a realistic setting surrounded by domestic animals, a moonshine still stands in the yard.

RUSSELL CAVE NATIONAL MONUMENT, NEAR BRIDGEPORT

This natural shelter gives evidence of Indian occupation dating back 8,000 years. The museum exhibits artifacts and tells the story of their use.

STATE CAPITOL OF ALABAMA, MONTGOMERY

This historic old State house was the first capitol of the Confederacy and scene of Jefferson Davis' inauguration as Confederate President. High points of the superb architecture are the huge dome and twin self-supporting spiral staircases. Fine McKenzie murals depict events in Alabama history.

FIRST WHITE HOUSE OF THE CONFEDERACY, MONTGOMERY

Charming executive mansion of Confederate President and Mrs. Jefferson Davis is authentically restored with original Davis furniture. The small museum room contains priceless items from the War Between the States.

STURDIVANT HALL, SELMA

Sturdivant Hall, steeped in nostalgic grandeur, is a superlative example of neoclassical architecture. It houses a museum. Thomas Helm Lee, architect of this mansion was a cousin of Gen. Robert E. Lee.

JAY VILLA PLANTATION, EVERGREEN

Located 6 miles southeast of Evergreen on Highway 29, this 135-year-old plantation has a rich historical significance. The plantation served as the boyhood home of William Barrett Travis, hero of the Alamo. During the War Between the States, the Conecuh County volunteers assembled here.

BURRITT MUSEUM, MONTE SANO, NEAR HUNTSVILLE

On a scenic mountaintop, this unusual home, shaped like a Maltese cross, displays articles of historical value and works of local artists. The archeological room, historical room, art room, formal and informal gardens, and pioneer homestead are now in process of reassembly and restoration.

GORGAS HOME, TUSCALOOSA

This lovely home, whose plans are on file in the Library of Congress as an example of southern colonial architecture, contains memorabilia of famed Gen. William Crawford Gorgas, who helped conquer yellow fever in the Canal Zone.

WILSON DAM, NEAR TUSCUMBIA

TVA's multipurpose dams, one of which is Wilson, provide storage of flood waters, create a 650-mile navigation channel, and produce millions of kilowatt hours of electricity. One of the highest single lift locks in the world (100 feet) has been built at Wilson.

ARLINGTON CONFEDERATE SHRINE, BIRMINGHAM

This graceful ante bellum mansion houses magnificent antique furniture, relics of the War Between the States and a museum of great Alabama women. It was built in 1841.

MOORESVILLE POST OFFICE, MOORESVILLE

A delightful page of the past, Mooresville was the first incorporated town in Alabama. This post office, dating from that time, still has wooden call boxes. Some of the boxes are still used by descendants of the first residents who rented them.

GULF SHORES, BALDWIN COUNTY

Dazzling beaches and clear blue water lure the vacationer to this picturesque resort area on the Gulf of Mexico. The Gulf of Mexico is but a stone's throw from fresh water lakes. Moderate prices in uncrowded surroundings make it an ideal family vacation area.

DAUPHIN ISLAND BEACH, NEAR MOBILE

Sunny, salty, sandy, this is a favorite playground for sun buffs and the wading set, too. Toll-free bridge connects island with the mainland. Good facilities and interesting activities make this resort an ideal place to live or visit.

LAY LAKE, NEAR CLINTON

Formed by one of the dams in the great Coosa chain, this beautiful lake's level is being raised and will increase the impoundment thousands of acres. Water is a short hop away from any spot in Alabama.

LAKE JORDAN, NEAR WETUMPKA

Fashionable homes surround lovely Lake Jordan, a favorite spot for family recreation. All water sports are enjoyed here.

AMERICA'S JUNIOR MISS PAGEANT, MOBILE

Annually honoring the Nation's ideal high school senior girls and rewarding these outstanding young women with national recognition and scholarship, this outstanding event, with its drama, talent, and pageantry, provides guests with spirited entertainment.

BOLL WEEVIL MONUMENT, ENTERPRISE

Erected in grateful appreciation to the boll weevil, whose ravages forced farmers to abandon the one-crop cotton system, this is the world's only monument to an insect pest.

LEWIS SMITH DAM, NEAR JASPER

Many-fingered Smith Lake, much of its gleamingly clear 21,000 acres impounded in virgin forest, has 500 shoreline miles of almost primeval serenity. Unusually deep, big bass are there for the taking.

BEAUTIFUL LAKES ARE PLENTIFUL IN ALABAMA

Fishing and boating enthusiasts come alive in all sections of the State as spring nears. And the fun continues until almost winter at such favorite spots as Bankhead Lake near Bessemer, Lake Eufaula, Lake Jackson near Florala, Weiss Lake in Cherokee County and Lake Mitchell, near Clanton. Come on in.

NATIONAL PEANUT FESTIVAL HELD EACH FALL—FESTIVAL AND FAIR, DOTHAN

A gala week bristling with fun, this magic-making festival with spectacular parades, a fair, beauty pageant, hootenannies featuring top motion picture, television, and recording stars and a "Greasy Pig" contest, too. Old-fashioned "county" fair fun for all.

OAKLEIGH MOBILE

This magnificent plantation home is set among live oaks and contains a fine collection of antiques and local museum pieces. The grounds are particularly beautiful during the azalea season.

FORKS OF CYPRESS NEAR FLORENCE

This stately mansion of temple-type architecture is noted for its encircling colonnade, supported by 24 massive columns which were made of sand and molasses by slave labor. It was visited by such notables as Andrew Jackson and James Madison.

LAKE MARTIN NEAR ALEXANDER CITY

Martin Dam, constructed by the Alabama Power Co., creates this huge scenic lake and playground. A onetime largest artificial lake in the world, with 760 miles of shoreline, it's still an alltime paradise for those who love to fish, swim, boat, water ski, or simply flop.

EASTERN SHORE OF MOBILE BAY, NEAR MOBILE

This luxury resort area is also a mecca for those seeking "active" retirement. Young and young-at-heart pluck a variety of fine seafood from the shore during nature's fish jubilees.

GUNTERSVILLE BOAT RACES, GUNTERSVILLE—OPEN TO THE PUBLIC FREE EACH SPRING

Top unlimited hydroplanes of the country race for the Dixie Cup in the annual Boat Race Festival at Guntersville, the boat-racing capitol of the South. The thrill of the roar and foam of these sleek crafts is accompanied by $10,000 prize money and a beauty pageant. The races include events for all classes of craft.

BLUE-GRAY FOOTBALL GAME, MONTGOMERY

Famous for its college football, Alabama also provides sports fans with the thrill of this major bowl classic, held each year in December. Outstanding college players from North and South participate. Many become professional stars and alltime football greats.

HORSE PENS 40, NEAR ONEONTA

Elephant Rock is one of many bizarre and beautiful stone formations comprising this natural stone corral, once use to hold Indian ponies. This Chandler Mountain site sports clothesline art shows, hootenannies, camping and outdoor fun.

WIND CREEK PARK, LAKE MARTIN, NEAR ALEXANDER CITY

End of the trail for discriminating campers, this well-equipped park has 1,000 campsites clustered along the shores of picturesque Lake Martin. Swimming, boating, fishing, sightseeing boat, open-air worship services each Sunday morning.

PICKWICK LAKE, NEAR SHEFFIELD

Alabama's westernmost TVA lake has large runs of "stripes" and "jacks." Buster catfish, 50- and 60-pound monsters are often caught below the big dams.

GULF STATE PARK, GULF SHORES

Balmy and beautiful, Gulf State Park has an outstanding 2¼-mile beach on the Gulf of Mexico and large fresh-water lakes for fishing and boating. A vast 4,807-acre tract, it is intensively developed.

CHEAHA STATE PARK NEAR MUNFORD

This peak with its breathtaking view is the highest point in the State 2,407 feet. Cool year-round, it has a hotel, plus cabins, picnic facilities, fishing, hiking, and a fine bathing beach.

HURRICANE CREEK PARK, NEAR CULLMAN

A fascinating 1½-mile nature trail, including a swinging bridge, a waterfall, a natural spiral staircase, and odd rock formations. Mexican burros and a small cable car provide rides out of the canyon.

DISMALS WONDER GARDENS, PHIL CAMPBELL

This wild, natural sunken garden blooms amid beautiful rock formations and waterfalls in one of the East's oldest undisturbed climax forests. Waterfalls, nature trails, swimming, picnicking, camping.

CITADEL ROCKS, FORT PAYNE

Intriguing rock formations, used by Indians as ceremonial pedestals, plus underground tunnels—all perched atop Lookout Mountain, make the Rocks a favorite stopping spot. Gorgeous view from the terrace. Concession building.

JOE WHEELER STATE PARK, RED BANK

Named for Gen. "Fighting Joe" Wheeler, cavalry officer of Civil War fame, this scenic 2,200-acre park is a favorite with picnickers and campers. In the heart of the Tennessee River Valley on both Wheeler and Wilson Lakes, this park offers fishing, boating, bridle trails and nature trails, refreshment stands and boat harbors. Lighted tennis courts in cabin area.

DE SOTO FALLS, DE SOTO STATE PARK, FORT PAYNE

The falls plunge a foaming 110 feet into this cool mountain pool. In spring the walls of the canyon are aglow with wild blossoms, in fall brilliant in autumn dress. A mile-long lake above is excellent for boating, fishing, swimming, and picnicking.

BAMA SCENIC ROCK GARDENS, VANCE

A maze of fanciful rock formations in a scenic woodland garden, this attraction includes prehistoric Indian rock houses and hundreds of artifacts. Swimming. Picnic facilities.

MONTE SANO STATE PARK, NEAR HUNTSVILLE

Meaning "mountain of health" because of its fresh pure air, lovely 2,140-acre Monte Sano Park has an interesting cavern known as Natural Well and a dude ranch with 10 miles of splendid bridle trails. Ample fa-facilities for picnicking * * * children's recreational equipment.

NOCCALULA FALLS, GADSDEN

Spectacular falls thunder from a limestone ledge for a 100-foot drop. The surrounding area is a public park with picnic tables and barbecue pits.

BOAT DOCKS, DECATUR

Alive with colorful crafts, this busy dock on the majestic Tennesse River sometimes accommodates large yachts en route through Alabama's inland waterways. A public beach and picnic facilities are available.

LITTLE MOUNTAIN STATE PARK, NEAR GUNTERSVILLE

Nestled in the hills on the backwaters of Guntersville Lake, this off-train, serene 4,000-acre park is designed to accommodate the ever-increasing tribe of tent campers. Excellent fishing with rental boats, fishing tackle, paved boat launching ramps. Complete camping facilities.

ALABAMA DEEP SEA FISHING RODEO, DAUPHIN ISLAND, NEAR MOBILE—HELD IN LATE JULY OR EARLY AUGUST

Fun for fishermen and nonfishermen, who may swim and lounge on beautiful gulf beaches, this major sports event pays a walloping $15,000 in prizes for the big ones. Fishermen from all over the country test their skill in this exciting competition.

OAK MOUNTAIN STATE PARK, NEAR BIRMINGHAM

This cool, spring-fed lake is a haven on a hot day. Scenic Oak Mountain is one of many beautifully tended and well-staffed parks in Alabama.

BELLINGRATH GARDENS AND HOME, THEODORE, NEAR MOBILE

A blaze of exotic blossoms among moss-hung oaks, this 65 acre garden is also a bird sanctuary. The home contains a rare collection of fine antiques. World famous for azaleas, the gardens feature different flowering plants in every season of the year.

AZALEA TRAIL, MOBILE

One of the most famous of floral spectacles, the Azalea Trail curls 35 miles through historic Mobile. The flowering bushes are normally at the peak of their beauty during the third week of March. Visitors should check with the Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce in advance, as weather conditions determine the azalea season each year. It ranges from February through March.

LONG'S GARDENS, MOBILE

Pine needled knolls and beautifully landscaped ravines lavishly bloom with azaleas and camellias. A lovely spot on the Azalea Trail.

MANITOU CAVE, FORT PAYNE

The Haystack is one of the fascinating formations which reflect themselves in the glassy stream flowing through this huge, well-lighted cave. Wide, dry paths make easy walking. Picnic area, souvenir shops and restrooms.

CRYSTAL CAVERNS, CLAY, NEAR BIRMINGHAM

An amazing feature of this fairyland cave is a perfect formation of the Capitol dome. A petrified waterfall is another. Camping facilities with running water, restrooms, showers.

GUNTERSVILLE CAVERNS, GUNTERSVILLE

An enchanting underground world of colorful formations and sea fossile, always remembered for its "Whosababies," formations resembling little people. Indian artifacts on display at the concession building. Rustic camping.

AVE MARIA GROTTO, NEAR CULLMAN

The Holy Land in miniature with more than 150 adroit replicas of famous shrines and churches. The intricate models were constructed by a Benedictine monk and are enshrined in a colorfully landscaped hillside on the campus of St. Bernard College.

SPACE ORIENTATION CENTER, REDSTONE ARSENAL, HUNTSVILLE

Unique, historically significant exhibits vividly portray the development of rocketry and space travel in this free world missile production center.

VULCAN, BIRMINGHAM

The largest iron statue ever cast, 55-foot Vulcan, Roman god of the forge, holds his lighted torch 180 feet aloft on Red Mountain, overlooking Vulcan Park and Birmingham.

LITTLE RIVER CANYON, DE SOTO STATE PARK, FORT PAYNE

This majestic canyon is the deepest gorge east of the Rockies. Little River flows at the bottom, the only river in the United States that forms and flows on a mountaintop. Mountain laurel and rhododendron bloom in profusion in the spring.

SAMFORD HALL, AUBURN UNIVERSITY, AUBURN

On the site of its forerunner, Alabama Male College, which opened in 1859, Samford Hall is a cherished landmark on the beautiful Auburn campus. Annual enrollment exceeds 11,000 and the faculty and staff number more than 1,500.

NATURAL BRIDGE, NATURAL BRIDGE, NEAR HALEYVILLE

Two giant arches of hard sandstone form a 148-foot natural bridge, the longest east of the Rockies. Lavish ferns drape the walls, and the canyon floor is lush with flora. Picnic area; concession stand.

CLARKE GARDENS, MOBILE

Towering pines shade brilliant azaleas, camellias, and other flowering plants in this charmingly natural setting.

CAMELLIA CITY, GREENVILLE

The camellia blooms through most of the State in late winter and early spring. The city of Greenville, the Camellia City, prides itself on its many varieties of the beautiful flowering shrub.

SEQUOYAH CAVE, VALLEY HEAD

A must for spelunkers, this newly opened cave contains lacy formations with colorful shading, a whispering waterfall and a mirror lake.

CATHEDRAL CAVERNS, GRANT

"Goliath," the world's mightiest stalagmite, 60 feet tall and 200 feet in girth, is a high point of these colorful caverns. Chasms deep enough to take a 12-story building * * * a frozen waterfall of pink stone are other features of these inspiring and unforgettable cathedral-like caverns.

BICKWOOD CAVERNS, WARRIOR, NEAR BIRMINGHAM

Abundant in glittering stalagmites, these caverns pierce an entire mountain and have a subterranean lake. A comfortable 60-degree year-round, natural drafts from the caves aircondition the facilities buildings. Swimming pool, restaurant, picnic grounds, camping.

ROCK BRIDGE CANYON, NEAR HODGES

A huge sandstone arch spans the pristine naturalness of this picturesque canyon, which is cloaked in subtropic plants and shrubs. Towering 300 feet high Ballrock overlooks the bridge, Indian caves, waterfalls. A spring-fed lake and rustic campsites.

STEEL PLANT, FAIRFIELD, NEAR BIRMINGHAM

Here molten iron is being poured into an open hearth. Do-It-Yourself Tour (available at U.S. Steel plant, Fairfield) leaflets direct visitors in a brief drive-around jaunt which gives the visitor a glimpse of this steelmaking community and identifies the mills and operations.

HELEN KELLER'S BIRTHPLACE, TUSCUMBIA

Birthplace of the remarkable Helen Keller, where she was stricken with the illness that left her deaf and blind and began the struggle to overcome these handicaps. William Gibson's inspiring play, "The Miracle Worker," is performed on the grounds during summer months.

MARDI GRAS, MOBILE

Kaleidoscopic pageantry and gay revelry mark Mardi Gras, held each year the week prior to Lent. The New World's first Mardi Gras celebration was held in Mobile, and many of today's carnival organizations date from early colonial days.

SENIOR BOWL, MOBILE

High caliber football guarantees a whoop and a thrill at this invitation game, held annually in early January. Seniors earmarked for the pro ranks are coached by big name coaches, and play with heart and fire in their first professional game. Half-time ceremonies are always outstanding colorful events.

MEDICAL CENTER, BIRMINGHAM

This rapidly growing multimillion-dollar medical complex covers 15 blocks and contains more than 30 health service facilities. Highly skilled medical personnel and specialized services draw patients from the entire southeast.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON MONUMENT, TUSKEGEE

This monument on the campus of Tuskegee Institute, largest normal and industrial institution for Negroes in the world, honors its outstanding founder, Booker T. Washington. It was at Tuskegee that the famous Dr. George Washington Carver did his work.

ALABAMA STATE DOCKS, MOBILE

The great ocean terminal, built three decades ago, helped put the port of Mobile among the top-ranking ports serving the world.

FESTIVAL OF ARTS, BIRMINGHAM—SPRING

This exciting celebration has skyrocketed into national prominence. Each festive day is packed with entertaining and informative activities. Concerts, dramas, operas, ballets top off outstanding exhibits of painting, sculpture, and crafts.

BIRMINGHAM ZOO, BIRMINGHAM

Largest in nine Southeastern States, this delightful, compact zoo attractively displays 750 birds, mammals, and reptiles. A children's choo choo.

ALABAMA STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BUILDING, MONTGOMERY

Built in 1848, this fine ante bellum home is unusually well preserved and is furnished in antiques.

MISS LIBERTY TOUR, BIRMINGHAM

The world's largest replica of the Statue of Liberty, "Miss Liberty," inspires a patriotic tingle. The 31-foot statue stands atop a 10-story building at 4th Avenue and 20th Street South. The tour through "The Tip of the Torch" room includes a sound-slide presentation of other Birmingham attractions.

THE CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS, ANNISTON

This superb Episcopal Church with its hand-carved ceiling, alter of carrara marble, and graceful statues of angels is described in Baedecker's and Cook's Tours as one of the most beautiful churches in America. The 95-foot tower holds 12 chime bells, each inscribed with a scripture text.

BLESSING OF THE SHRIMP FLEET, BAYOU LA BATRE—NEAR MOBILE

Raffish in gay decorations, the shrimp boats parade down the bayou before receiving the blessing of the priest. Held each year in late July or early August, the charming and moving custom of blessing boats as they "go down to the sea" is as old as seafaring itself.

BATTLESHIP U.S.S. "ALABAMA," MOBILE CAUSEWAY

One of the world's mightiest battleships, the gallant *Alabama* served in every major engagement in the Pacific and received nine battle stars. The *Alabama* was saved from scrap by contributions from the State's citizens and has been established as a shrine.

BOTANICAL GARDENS, BIRMINGHAM

Opened in 1962, these gardens have the largest conservatory and the largest botanical garden area (67 acres, now under development) in the South. Six annual shows feature various flowering plants and a projected arboretum will house a springtime sidewalk art show.

KELLY SPRINGS, NEAR DOTHAN

Wonderful water fun for all. Swimming in spring waters, "pure enough to drink." Also fishing, boating, picnicking and family games. Complete camping facilities, too.

BAMA PARK, LAKE MARTIN, NEAR ALEXANDER CITY

A complete vacationland with beaches of imported snowy sand, extensive tent-camping area with all facilities, marina, concession stand, pavilion with jukebox for teenagers, kiddie swimming pool, bathhouse. A haven for water sports enthusiasts.

SEALY'S MINERAL WELL HEALTH RESORT, COTTONWOOD

Natural flow of hot salt mineral water, said to be unique in America, is piped above ground from a depth of almost 1 mile. Beneficial baths and restful surroundings are ideal for complete relaxation.

MIMOSA PARK, TUSCALOOSA

Family recreation center with olympic-size swimming pool—largest in Alabama—and full array of other activities. Fishing, boating, picnicking. Children delight in miniature riverboat, real stagecoach, and other kiddie rides.

Federal Aid Means Federal Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the following column by James J. Kilpatrick which appeared in a recent issue of the Washington Evening Star. Mr. Kilpatrick points out clearly that there is no such thing as Federal aid without Federal controls.

CRACKING THE FEDERAL AID WHIP

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

For a good many years conservatives have been growling that "Federal aid means Federal control," and liberals have been snapping back that Federal aid means no such thing. You used to be able to work up a lively fight on the matter. No more. With every month that passes, it becomes increasingly evident that here, at least, the conservative warnings were sound.

President Johnson's May 26 message on highway beautification is the most recent example of the changing technique in action.

Johnson began with a lyric tribute to nature and beauty. The new concept of conservation, he said, must seek "to put beauty within reach of those who live in our cities, and make it part of the daily life of every American."

In times past, he went on to say, Federal programs have sought to encourage the States to achieve beautification voluntarily. The voluntary approach hasn't worked. But if the States wouldn't do it for love, he would make them do it for money.

"Therefore I recommend that States—as a condition of receiving Federal aid highway grants after January 1, 1968—institute control over outdoor advertising along those sections of the interstate and primary systems not zoned or used predominantly for commercial or industrial purposes * * *. Existing signs would have to be removed by July 1, 1970."

The same rule would apply to junkyards: "I recommend that as a condition of receiving Federal aid, States must exercise control along the entire interstate and primary systems. No new junkyards could be established within 1,000 feet of the pavement and visible to the motorist. Existing junkyards would have to be effectively screened or removed by July 1, 1970."

So, too, with Federal funds for landscaping. For some years the States have been permitted to use 3 percent of their Federal aid funds for beautification, but they have put the money to other highway purposes.

"Here is another case where a voluntary program was not sufficient to carry out the intent of Congress. Therefore, I propose that States be required to use the 3 percent for natural beauty."

This whip-cracking approach to highway beautification is being applied in countless other fields, Southern States especially are feeling the lash in the matter of Federal funds for aid to education. Under regulations promulgated by the U.S. Commissioner of Education—regulations that go far beyond the language of title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964—every county and city in the South is being compelled to file a desegregation plan, or face the loss of Federal funds.

The same pattern emerges in various programs of Federal grants for urban renewal, public housing, and the like. In his housing message of March 2, the President outlined the picture:

"The Federal Government cannot, and should not, require the communities which make up a metropolitan area to cooperate against their will in the solution of their problems. But we can offer incentives. * * *"

It is true that some degree of Federal control historically has been exercised over Federal aid programs in the past. By and large, however, the controls have been gentle. State and local plans for matching programs generally have been approved in Washington without great quibbling. Often the potential Federal subsidies were not large, and State and local governments could pass them up without particular pain.

All that is changing now. In one field after another, the lure of Federal money becomes overwhelming. It becomes politically impossible for local governing bodies to spurn a Federal grant. Too much money is involved.

Besides, State and local budgets are now heavily dependent upon subsidies from Washington. If these subsidies were abruptly canceled, as Johnson threatens in the case of highway funds, it would be nothing short of catastrophic. The States will do what "Big Daddy" demands.

For the past 30 years, since these programs of Federal aid really began to multiply, the States and cities have been nudged along by carrot and stick. Today the delectable carrot diminishes, and the Johnsonian stick gets longer all the time.

Hon. Peter Rodino Cited for Distinguished Public Service in the Field of Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS C. McGRATH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. Speaker, I have recently learned that while our esteemed colleague, Congressman PETER RODINO, of New Jersey, was out of the country last year attending a meeting of the NATO Parliamentarians Conference, he was, on December 14, 1964, cited by the American Bill of Rights Day Association for "distinguished public service in the field of government."

Each year the association has honored four persons, representing the Four Freedoms, who have distinguished themselves in the field of arts, sciences, education, and government. I am informed that the most recent recipients of the citations awarded in the field of government were the distinguished senior Senator from Rhode Island, JOHN O. PASTORE, and our late Ambassador Adlai Stevenson.

The citation was presented at city hall in New York during the 24th national

observance by the association of the signing of our American Bill of Rights. The first Bill of Rights Day was designated nationally by President Roosevelt in 1941. This year's ceremonies, incidentally, marked the 173d anniversary of the ratification of the Bill of Rights as well as the 16th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Mayor Wagner made the presenation during the ceremonies in which Dr. Edward D. Re, Chairman of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States, presided.

In view of the prominence which these awards have achieved, I feel Mr. Speaker, that this distinct honor conferred upon Mr. RODINO should not go unrecorded in the proceedings of this body. I take particular pride in the fact that I consider myself one of the many friends, as a colleague, of so distinguished and respected a Member of this House. I congratulate the American Bill of Rights Day Association for its selection of Congressman RODINO as exemplifying the kind of legislator which it is proud to honor.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert in the RECORD the texts of both the citation presented to Congressman RODINO on that occasion, and his remarks of acceptance delivered on his behalf at the ceremonies by Mayor Ralph Conte of Bloomfield, N.J.:

CITATION

For distinguished public service in the field of Government awarded to Hon. PETER W. RODINO, Jr., Member of Congress of the United States;

Whose distinguished career in the U.S. House of Representatives for 15 years has provided an outstanding example of devoted public service and responsibility;

Whose constant espousal and support of humanitarian legislation in revising immigration quotas, promoting civil rights, and aiding the elderly have earned him the admiration and respect of his colleagues, his constituents and his country;

Whose legislative enactments have consistently revealed a profound belief in the rights included within the Bill of Rights and a sincere desire to secure them for all people;

Whose untiring efforts in the Congress of the United States have enriched our land and its people and have substantially furthered the cause of national and international peace.

REMARKS OF MAYOR RALPH CONTE

It is unfortunate that because of an important congressional assignment Congressman RODINO could not be here this afternoon personally to accept this award. I know that he was very happy to be honored by his selection as a recipient and he has asked me to read on his behalf his acceptance message.

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN PETER W. RODINO, JR., ON THE OCCASION OF AMERICAN BILL OF RIGHTS DAY OBSERVANCE, CITY HALL, NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 14, 1964

It is with a sense of deep humility, born of the significance of this wonderful ceremony, that I accept your award today. In the fast pace of modern living, we often lose sight of the real meaning of America and real meaning of being Americans. Only too often we lose sight of our many blessings and heritage of liberty and freedom.

All of us, therefore, ought to be grateful to the American Bill of Rights Association for reminding us of the rich heritage which we have received from our forefathers, and for reminding us of those inalienable rights which we possess and which we should accord our fellow man.

The rights embodied in our Bill of Rights are the firm bedrock upon which our society is built. They are the source of justice and equality among men. They bring unity and stability to this great land of ours. Yet these principles must receive strength through constant application in our daily lives, for the deterioration of any government begins with the principles on which it was founded.

To protect the freedoms of speech, press, religion, assembly, and petition from encroachment by any individual or group is a legitimate function of Government. But it is not the function or responsibility of Government alone—it should be the concern of each and every one of us. Yet Government officials have a particular affinity to the Bill of Rights because they have sworn to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States. And this oath is most sacred and most serious.

I have had the opportunity to serve in the Congress of the United States for over 16 years. During this time, I have worked to make Government the servant—not the master—of the people—securing to all people the rights guaranteed them by the Constitution. This work has been a labor of love and to the America that we all love. Yet I realize that true justice and equality in America can result only through the efforts of all Americans. My contributions are but a small part of the vast task required of all men to bring real meaning to the words of the Bill of Rights. I am therefore grateful, yet humbled, for this public recognition of my role in the great work of our society. Thank you.

Coal's Battles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Coal's Battles" which appeared in the July 10, 1965 issue of the Messenger of Madisonville, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

COAL'S BATTLES

It seems like the coal industry—which has always stood on its own feet without Government subsidies and the like—has an uncommonly tough time making any big gains.

On the heels of recent news of a possible huge new market for coal as a water-pollution "filter" comes word of new pressures frome certain east coast interests for the Federal Government to abandon all controls on imports of residual fuel oil.

Our readers will recall that this is the waste oil left over from the gasoline-refining process and that Latin American oil firms flood the eastern fuel markets with it, at very low prices, and cut the throat of our domestic coal industry and some of our domestic oil industries.

Millions of tons of coal—and thousands of miners jobs—have been displaced by this importing of waste oil, even under the controls originally imposed by Uncle Sam 6 years ago. A chief reason for the controls—as far as the Federal Government was concerned—was in the interest of national security.

So some spokesmen for coal and its allied industries are using this important issue this week in urging the Office of Emergency Planning to resist moves to drop the control program altogether.

In part the joint statement of the National Coal Policy Conference, National Coal Association, and United Mine Workers of America to the OEP says:

"We respectfully submit that to risk total dependence of the east coast of the United States on a fuel imported from areas vulnerable to missile attack from submarines, across thousands of sea miles subject to the increasingly grave menace of submarine attack, where the ships have to sail by Communist-controlled Cuba is simply not a risk which, by law, as set forth in the Trade Expansion Act, the United States is permitted to take."

It will be hoped in our area, of course, that this and other arguments will be successful in salvaging the program which limits imports of waste oil.

In the meantime, the prospects of a finely powdered coal being used in sewage treatment plants and even as a purifying substance for the same acid waters that often pose such a problem around coal mines can be a great boon to the coal industry. Research of this kind may some day restore coal to its former status as the unchallenged king of the fuel industry.

But in the meantime, coal has to battle constantly to keep what it has, perhaps having to fight harder than most major industries. Cooperation in this endeavor of the type shown by the three groups named above is invaluable to the future of coal and communities like our own.

Voting Rights Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 6400) to enforce the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, hanging on the wall of my office in the Rayburn Building is a framed photograph of the football team of 1899 of the Benton Harbor, Mich., High School. I am in that photograph and on my right is a Negro teammate and schoolmate and immediately back of me is another Negro teammate and schoolmate.

That photograph was taken 66 years ago, and where I grew up there was no discrimination on the lines of color and race and if there was any discrimination of any sort, except that based upon character, it was so rare and exceptional that it never came to my attention.

I always have been conscious and appreciative of my great good fortune in being raised by parents whose faith was in an everyday democracy in a community where there was none of the prejudices and the visitation of discrimination that operate to close the mind and the heart to the concept of a God and all mankind of all races and all colors His children.

NEGROES ALL VOTED, MOSTLY REPUBLICAN

There were quite a number of Negro men in Benton Harbor and they voted the same as their white neighbors, and the Negro women did not vote nor did the white women because at that time all women were disfranchised. Almost solidly the Negro men of 21 and past

voted the Republican ticket, and this was understandable since they remembered Abraham Lincoln as the emancipator and the democratic strategy was still based on the solid South plus one or two of the larger Northern States.

I am very sure that in those days no Republican Congressman from Michigan would have dared to join with Southern Democrats in watering down a voting bill intended to open the polls to Negro voters in States where now they are all but disfranchised.

NEGRO VOTE KEPT ILLINOIS REPUBLICAN

My adopted State of Illinois for many long years was hopelessly Republican, but this was largely true because the Negro vote was overwhelmingly Republican. It may come as a surprise to some, but it is worth noting, that in all the long years that Illinois was safely in the Republican column the margin of Republican victory as a rule was less than the Negro Republican vote. In those years no Republican Congressman from Illinois would have dared to join with Southern Democrats in watering down a voting bill intended to open the polls to Negro voters in States where now they are permitted neither to register nor vote.

The first political speech that I made was in the African Methodist Church in Benton Harbor when I was a high school boy. I was courteously received and was accorded a bit of applause at the conclusion of my remarks, the sort of encouragement that good hearts give to beginners, but I doubt that I made any converts to the democratic cause.

The Negro vote was loyally, solidly in the Republican column, and it remained there year after year, election after election, despite the fact that Congress after Congress, overwhelmingly under Republican control, did absolutely nothing to change the registering and voting practices of Southern States that closed the door on Negro voters.

BIPARTISAN CRUSADE OF MORALITY

Mr. Chairman, interrupting briefly the continuity of what I have to say, I pause here to remark that in the legislative pursuit of objectives of morality there is no place for the play for partisan advantage.

I deeply regret that in the consideration of the present bill there has been a departure from that which we witnessed in this Chamber in 1964 and which gave thrill and inspiration to all mankind, Democrats and Republicans working side by side for a cause in which all believed and cherished so preciously that none would think to mar with partisan grasping the purity of the crusade of morality.

The plain blunt truth is that the watering down of this bill would mean the defeat of all for which good people of both parties have so long and valiantly been battling. If this were not already apparent to everyone, certainly it became as plain as the hand held before the eyes when opponents of civil rights and voting reforms urged the adoption of the Republican substitute over the administration bill.

You do not have to be smart to see what has been painted out for you in letters as high as a giant.

It is true the legislative medicine in the administration bill is strong, but may I respectfully suggest that ills as deeply rooted as those we attack are not subject to the aspirin treatment.

INFLUENCE OF GROWING-UP YEARS

Now, Mr. Chairman, I shall return to a narrative of the circumstances of my upbringing that afford the reason for my being what I am. In my sincere acceptance of all men as my brothers, I appreciate, too, that others who grew up in a different social climate cling loyally and with the same sincerity as do I to the order and the philosophy of their growing-up years. In time they will come to accept the changes that have come and to know that it is all for the best.

Change, Mr. Chairman, is life. Without motion, which is change, there would be no life.

There is no permanent status quo, although it happens that an established order endures through several generations, its gradual diminution unnoticed, and its adherents come to look at it as a permanent and sacred thing. Then comes the revelation of the change that has been taking form all the years, and it comes as a shock.

The fact is, Mr. Chairman, that what the 88th Congress accomplished in the enactment of the most sweeping civil rights law in history and what the 89th Congress is on the eve of accomplishing with the enactment of a voting law that really and truly will open the ballot boxes to our Negro fellow Americans did not come of a sudden and unannounced.

RIGHT OUTLIVES THE FOOT THAT CRUSHES IT

They were long in coming, but each year brought them closer.

Right is immortal. It may be crushed to earth but it outlives the foot that crushes it. That is the story and the history of mankind. That is the lesson of the ages, illustrated in every upward push of man in his long climb from the caves, after each slipping back, ultimately another forward plunge that reached heights never before attained.

Mr. Chairman, I came to the Congress in 1949. I then was 67 years old and had lived a full life. I resolved that in this body as long as the good Lord gave me the strength and my constituents at home in their goodness returned me I should never spare myself in combat against discrimination in every form and in every manifestation whenever it showed its ugly face.

I have been in every fight for civil rights and for voting equality, for laws against lynching and poll taxes, and all the line of cruel and undemocratic practices, since I have been a Member of this body. In several Congresses I have served with other Democratic and Republican colleagues on bipartisan joint steering committees for civil rights legislation. I always have felt, Mr. Chairman, that the advancement of morality and equality knew no party lines, and, as a rule, such has been the case.

IN JULY 9 YEARS AGO

In the civil rights fight in 1956, now 9 years ago, I made the following remarks, which are as timely now as then, and which I reiterate at this time:

Mr. Chairman, when I walked in the sunshine to the Capitol today I was thinking that there was some seasonal significance in the timing of this historic debate. We are in the last fortnight of July and all the signs are of a summer in its full enraptment. Yet the change came on June 21, when the days started to shorten and since then summer has been on the path of death. That is the way of life. Life is change. There is no enduring status quo. But the change from one order to another is not immediately discernible. Man is reluctant to embrace change until by nature it is forced upon him. He fears the unknown and the untried, but when it comes creeping upon him and engulfing him he finds in the climate of a new order the exhilaration of one who has climbed tediously a mountainside and having attained the peak looks out upon the vista of a new world.

I have listened to my colleagues from the Southland who have stood gallantly on the edge of a lost battlefield fighting for an order that they sense, if they do not know, is gone forever. There have been many such instances in the long history of man's climbing to higher plateaus of human dignity and human contentment.

Because I am older than many of my colleagues, I can look back further. There are two ways of understanding the present as it is related to the past. One way is by reading of the experiences of the yesteryears, another way, understanding through the experience of having lived in those yesteryears.

On this afternoon in late July, when, though the sun be shining, summer is already nearly a month on her path of death, may I take you back with me to the era when the 19th century was rushing onward, to be engulfed by the 20th century. Political philosophers then were saying that wherever the banana grows man is incapable of self-government. A President of the United States publicly proclaimed that he had never broken bread with a Negro. John L. Sullivan disclaimed being champion of the world because he said he would not lower the white race by entering the same ring with Peter Jackson, a Negro.

That was the era in which something transpired that left me with an ineffaceable memory. It was before the turn of the century. The memory that with me is ineffaceable is framed with the vivid background of a gorgeously beautiful sunset in the tropics. My father was talking to a great physician of South America, one of the outstanding physicians of the world at that period. This man had been eloquent in the expression of his affection for the United States. My father remarked that having such great admiration for our country he hoped that this great physician someday would visit our shores. The expression on the physician's face changed. "That I cannot trust myself to do," he said.

"I want always to go on admiring the great contribution that the United States has made to all the world and to all of

mankind, but if I went to New York or Chicago and were not admitted to one of your hotels because there is Negro blood in my veins could I understand?"

Later a few years there was another experience. I was on duty with two Cuban Negro soldiers, penetrating within the Spanish lines at Santiago. We were lost in hostile territory. We had one canteen of water and that one canteen of water we passed one to the other without the thought that some of the lips that touched the canteen were white and some were black. Never after that could I understand why in my own country, and in my own northland at the time, the dining rooms and public eating places were closed to those not of the white race.

Mr. Chairman, we have come a long, long way. The old order as far as the North is concerned is all but gone. The old order as far as the South is concerned is in the late July of a dying summer. Industry in the South is expanding. Ahead of the South lies a future of prosperity beyond the rosiest dreams of the old plantation days. The fears of the gallant little band of my colleagues making the last stand for the status quo will be proven as groundless as were the fears of countless other gallant little bands in the long history of the world making the last stand for the status quo. Again change is ushering in new orders advancing the dignity and the contentment of mankind. The bill we in the House will pass this week will mark another milestone in our country's march to meet her destiny as the servitor under God of all mankind.

NEAR THE END OF LONG HARD FIGHT

Mr. Chairman, those remarks were made in this Chamber 9 years ago this month of July. Even 7 years before that we had fought all through the day and all through the night until near 5 o'clock in the morning for some semblance of recognition of the civil rights of all Americans. I was happy and felt privileged that in this it was given unto me to play my part, small though it may have been, I then being in my first term.

It indeed has been a long hard fight. With the enactment of H.R. 6400 I shall have a sense of security that the cause of equality in opportunity, in the enjoyment by all Americans of the blessings, responsibilities, and privileges of running this country of ours, at last is planted on firm ground. This is a good bill and it will open the polling places to all Americans of good repute regardless of race or color.

Mr. Chairman, ours will be a greater and a happier country because of what now we are about to do. Strength that is rested on morality is an enduring strength. A representative democracy in which all citizens share according to worth and without distinction on lines of race, color, religion, station, sex, and may I add age, inevitably must produce the kind of government that never can be wiped from this earth.

No race can live alone. By all of us blessed with American citizenship working together, one for all and all for one, voting together and working together on a basis of equality and mutual respect, all that the Lord of our creation intended for us will fall to our lot.

I think, too, Mr. Chairman, that we have learned that in the world of today, narrowed as it has been by quick means of transportation, no nation can live alone. Surely if we as a nation have set the pattern in unity envisioned in the legislation we are here considering its influence cannot be lost on the world.

JUDICIARY, A HARD WORKING COMMITTEE

I cannot close without adding my voice to the universal acclaim of the great chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Mr. CELLER, whose stout championship of the cause of civil rights during many long years constitutes an epic in the legislative history of our country. I also join in expression of appreciation of the large contribution of the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ROGERS], the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. RODINO], and the others on the committee who worked so long and so faithfully in a difficult and complex field, and not forgetting William R. Foley, the able and dedicated general counsel of the committee. While I regret that the distinguished ranking minority member of the Judiciary Committee, Mr. MCCULLOCH, loaned his name to the watered-down substitute here offered, I cannot forget, nor should the country forget, that he stood, shoulder to shoulder, with Chairman CELLER in the stirring days in 1964 that ended with the enactment with bipartisan support of the greatest civil rights law of all times.

I think, Mr. Chairman, all my colleagues will agree that the quality and character of the membership both Democratic and Republican of the Judiciary Committee is extraordinarily high, a source of pride to all of us.

Research Grant to Montana State University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. OLSEN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following KBMN radio editorial:

[A KBMN (Bozeman, Mont.) radio editorial, July 15, 1965]

M.S.U. GRANT

My fellow Montanans, recently the National Aeronautics and Space Administration has announced a grant of $100,000 to Montana State University at Bozeman for research in space science and engineering. This grant is to support a broad integrated program of space-related research activities which are being carried on at the Bozeman campus.

The research supported by this grant will include projects in atomic physics, astrophysics, botany, bacteriology, and chemistry. The grant is directed toward the progress of pure science in these areas and is a small example of the massive effort our Government is making in financing pure science research. The money is well spent. Pure science is the basis of tomorrow's inventions. Without this work, the practical applications, improving our lives in the future, will not be forthcoming.

A wonderful example of this type of development is the Early Bird Satellite which was recently put in space by the Communication Satellite Corp. We are now in instant radio and TV communication with Europe and Japan, and we are expecting commercial use of the satellite in the near future. But this would not have been possible if the road had not been paved by research and development sponsored by our Government.

There is no direct profit to be derived from pure science research, and, because of this, the business community is reluctant to invest money for it. Moreover, the amounts needed are far too great for even the largest businesses in the country. Our Government must provide the necessary funds.

The $100,000 grant to the Bozeman campus is a compliment to the fine educational institution there, and it makes me proud to know that fellow Montanans are participating in the American effort in space. I want to congratulate those involved in the work, and I wish them the best of luck in their studies.

President Johnson's Strategy for Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Christian Science Monitor reveals in a few words a message, the spirit of which, if followed through will be the most sensible path toward the Vietnam settlement.

A TALE OF TWO TALKS

We believe that American Ambassador at large W. Averell Harriman has done right to go to Moscow. We also believe that British Prime Minister Harold Wilson was right to send his friend, Harold Davies, to Hanoi. For, even though nothing concrete comes from either visit, each is an earnest that the English-speaking world is ready to talk, to talk again, and to keep right on talking in the hope of reaching a negotiated end to the Vietnamese conflict.

The United States, with the welcome help of its British ally, owes it to itself and to the world both to overlook no chance for peace talks and to keep on trying to bring them about. These efforts are a token of moral strength, not of weakness. They are also wise statesmanship, for it is essential that Washington prove to the world that American involvement in Vietnam is on behalf of justice and not of neocolonialism.

During the past quarter century there have been few Americans whom the Russians have gotten to know better or have a stronger reason to trust than Mr. Harriman. While his presence alone will not dispel the deep Soviet-American rift which has grown out of the Vietnamese crisis, it should serve as an indication to Moscow that Washington still values "peaceful coexistence" with the Soviet Union and continues to hope that the time will come when Moscow feels able to take some further initiative to bring about peace talks on southeast Asia.

Similarly, Mr. Davies' visit, which got short shrift in Hanoi, will help make it clearer to the Afro-Asian world which side it is that is seeking talks and which side is turning them down. Prime Minister Wilson has not had an easy time over the Davies' visit and

he is to be commended for having persisted.

It is also to be hoped that Hanoi's cold-shouldering of Mr. Davies will help lay a persistent oversimplification widely held in Europe and also believed in some American quarters: The American bombing of North Vietnam is what prevents peace talks. The Communists refuse to talk because they believe they will win. Once let them lose that belief and the bombing in the north will speed their rush to the conference table.

Twentieth Anniversary of the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, as we commemorate the 20th anniversary of the United Nations we cannot help but look in retrospect at the state of the world 20 years after World War I and 20 years after World War II. It is necessary to compare the war-ravaged, totalitarian-ensconced world of 1939 with the prosperous and flourishing free world of today. In this way the effectiveness of the United Nations as a peacekeeping, world-stabilizing organization will be crystal clear. It is evident that the world is today troubled in southeast Asia and in the Carribean. However, one must look at the world in 1939 to see the marked difference in international affairs since the inception of the world organization.

The powers never really straightened themselves out after Versailles at the conclusion of the war that was fought "to end all wars." A lack of cooperation both at home and abroad doomed the Versailles settlement to failure and American refusal to cooperate transformed a potentially powerful League of Nations into a floundering and ineffectual debating organization, unable to halt the onslaught of the Nazi-Fascist tyranny. Obstinancy and shortsightedness did irreparable damage to worldwide hopes for a peaceful future. The dream of avoiding a second war was smashed on the rocks of party politics and ethnocentric narrowness.

The German march into Poland, the Italian attack on Ethiopia, and the Japanese takeover of Manchuria were marked by a reproving word, but by little action. The impotency of the League unmistakeably brought nearer and accelerated the horrors of World War II.

In 1945 the executive, legislative and diplomatic leadership of the country were determined that such a tragedy must be averted in the future. At San Francisco they designed the framework of a united organization which would not crumble helplessly as the League did. A bipartisan coalition insured national support for the international program. Inactivity in the twenties and thirties was supplanted by intervention in the forties and fifties. The United States has not swerved from its position of firm support in the past decades and its desire to continue support is reflected in the resolution which passed the House last Tuesday. When the interim 20 years between foundation and maturity are reexamined, we must marvel at the relative degree of stability which has been achieved in the world through U.N. cooperation.

Its detractors are quick to jump at its weaknesses and to obscure its accomplishments. They ignore totally the humanitarian work done through the various social and economic programs, through UNESCO, through UNICEF, through the Food and Agriculture Organization. Millions of children have received relief fund dollars and diet staples in lands where there are no welfare programs to help those with no means of support. Millions of poverty stricken farmers have received technological help and scientific aid where their own governments either could not or would not institute programs of their own. These accomplishments are real and are being perpetuated every day.

Besides these achievements the United Nations has played the integral role in its 20 years of age as the peacekeeper of the world. U.N. mediation stopped fighting in Palestine in 1948 and in Indonesia in 1949. U.N. military action ended the Korean war in 1953 and a U.N. Emergency Force resolved the Suez crisis in 1956. An observer task force negotiated a peace in Lebanon in 1958. Each of these incidents could easily have been the catalyst for a third war—existence of the U.N., however, averted such difficulty and resulted in a more peaceful world.

There is no question in my mind, Mr. Speaker, that the world has been made safer and better by the existence of the United Nations. Although there is tension and conflict today in the Far East, it would be greatly intensified if there was no peacekeeping organization of all the nations.

The 20 years under the leadership of Trygve Lie, Dag Hammarskjold and U Thant have been a testimonial to world cooperation. Let us hope that the member nations will continue to act in a spirit conducive to permanent peace through reason and justice.

Adlai Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS C. McGRATH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. Speaker, the people of the United States and the entire world are grieved and shocked at the sudden passing of a great American, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson. His dedication to the ideal of freedom, his zeal in the pursuit of peace, his deep feeling of the importance of the individual are all qualities rarely found embodied in a single human being.

One measure of his greatness was the respect which he was accorded by his antagonists in the world council he served so faithfully as the U.S. Ambassador. Another is the universal sadness and sense of loss felt around the world today.

Ambasador Stevenson had the facility for cutting into the heart of any matter and the ability to express his ideas in a forceful manner. He will long be remembered as a champion of liberty and peace. The memory of his mission, his loyalty to his country, his unceasing quest for freedom for all, and his humaneness toward all mankind will surely inspire all of us in some measure as we seek the fulfillment of his goals.

Eight Thousand Pounds of Killer Whale on a "Leash"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FLOYD V. HICKS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, two enterprising young gentlemen from my hometown of Tacoma, Wash., have undertaken a whale of a project.

They have, to oversimplify it a bit, put an 8,000-pound killer whale on a leash and are leading him home.

James S. Griffin, a Tacoma businessman, and his brother, Ted, who operates an aquarium in Seattle, bought the killer whale in Namu, British Columbia, and with great ingenuity, substantial outlays of cash, and the help of many people and organizations are moving the seagoing giant 400 miles south to Seattle. The whale and his escorts are expected to arrive at Seattle next Monday.

There the whale, whose name is "Namu," will take up residence in Ted Griffin's aquarium for all to see. Namu also will be the object of intensive scientific study, for he is the only killer whale in captivity in the world.

Mr. Speaker, Tacoma's waterfront reporter, Don Hannula, has told this entire modern saga of the sea in the Tacoma News Tribune. To permit my colleagues to share the thrills and vicissitudes of the Griffin brothers, Namu, and others involved in this adventure, I am pleased to present Mr. Hannula's story in its entirety.

[From the Tacoma (Wash.) News Tribune, July 11, 1965]

(By Don Hannula)

EIGHT THOUSAND POUNDS OF KILLER WHALE ON A "LEASH"

Tacoma fuel dealer Jim Griffin will tell you frankly that he doesn't know the difference between a guppy and a goldfish.

But all of a sudden, Griffin, vice president and general manager of Griffin-Galbraith Fuel Co., has a whale of a fish problem.

Seems his brother Ted, a former Tacoman who now operates the Seattle Marine Aquarium, bit off more than one man could chew when he decided to bring a 22-foot, 8,000-pound killer whale 400 miles from Namu, British Columbia, to Seattle.

The whale, accidentally caught by two gillnetters off Namu, June 1, was put on the block for sale after the fishermen constructed

a gillnet prison. Griffin bought it for $8,000, but that was just the beginning of his financial problems.

MONEY DISAPPEARING

Already he has close to $20,000 sunk in the venture.

Ted, 29, asked brother Jim, 28, for assistance in raising money to get the whale to Seattle. Jim has a simple explanation for his involvement in Ted's killer whale adventure which has received nationwide attention:

"He's my brother."

Another Tacoman, Point Defiance Aquarist Don Goldsberry, has been playing a leading role in the effort to bring the world's only captive killer whale to Seattle. On leave of absence from his job, he has lent his expert advice to Ted Griffin since the start.

"If it hadn't been for Don Goldsberry, they probably would not have the whale now," Jim Griffin said.

Keeping the whale confined has been a struggle since the beginning. As many as 30 other killer whales patrolled the confinement area apparently waiting to make a rescue attempt.

But they disappeared last Wednesday. It is expected they will be back at the side of Namu (Klingit Indian language meaning "many winds") the killer whale before the long haul south is over.

IN THE BAG

Friday, Namu was in the bag and en route to a new home. He was driven into a specially constructed pen of oil drums, nets and steel tubing. The tiny Seattle tug *Robert E. Lee*, operated by disk jockey and channel 11 television personality Bob Hardwick, was unable to tow the big pen, so Griffin hired a 78-foot seiner, the *Chamiss Bay*, to pull the pen to Point Hardy, about 100 miles south on the northern end of Vancouver Island.

It was expected to arrive in Point Hardy this evening. There the whale will remain in calm, protected waters until the Griffin brothers are ready for their next move.

GET ASSISTANCE

Saturday, the Navy and the Fish and Wildlife Service offered help, but they did not have facilities immediately available. Jim was able, however, to get help from Drew Foss, who volunteered the tugboat, *Ivar Foss*.

The tug left Tacoma Saturday and expects to begin hauling Namu from Point Hardy by Monday night.

Even with the 65-foot tug and its 6-man crew pulling the whale, Foss said it probably could not make more than 2 or 3 knots without breaking up the pen which is confining the whale.

A Navy floating drydock had been considered to haul the whale to Seattle, or even an Air Force Globemaster, Jim said.

In all it would take an estimated 7 to 10 days for the trip.

Meanwhile, Namu, the friendly killer whale, seems content to eat about 200 pounds of fresh salmon a day for a $100 daily food bill.

Jim Griffin who talked to brother Ted by phone said the whale seemed to like its new pen. It had been feared the whale wouldn't eat once inside the pen.

But, Namu is consuming 200-300 pounds of salmon a day now, Ted told his brother Saturday. He said fishermen come along side and throw fish to the whale to see him react.

"Ted said the whale was eating fine inside the pen," Jim reported. "But he'll only take fresh salmon. If they throw him an old salmon, he throws it back."

There had been rumors that Ted Griffin might want to put his killer whale temporarily in the Titlow Lagoon here. Presently the lagoon owned by the metropolitan park district but leased to the State fisheries department is free of salmon fingerling.

However, Ted Griffin said, if he can get the whale to Seattle that's as far as he will go.

HAS TANK

When he built a 100,000-gallon tank last summer for porpoise and seals, he constructed one bigger than his needs demanded. He did this with the hope that he would someday realize his burning ambition to capture a killer whale alive.

Griffin says the tank is suitable for the whale if he can ever get it to Seattle.

Brother Jim related that Ted seemed "depressed" the last time they talked by phone.

It's understandable—with $20,000 sunk into a whale which could break loose at any time. Then there's the matter of raising another $10,000 to complete the job—if no help is forthcoming from the Government which would like to do research on Namu.

But a part of the some $30,000 the brothers have already spent is safe. Lloyds of London has agreed to insure a substantial part of the whale's purchase price.

Will Ted Griffin let $20,000 swim away if he comes up against a stone wall?

Never, says brother Jim. He says Ted has promised: "I'm going to get that whale to Seattle. I don't know how, but I'm going to get it there."

The St. John's University Men's Chorus of Collegeville, Minn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEC G. OLSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. OLSON of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, a fine musical organization from my district, the St. John's University Men's Chorus of Collegeville, Minn., has just completed its third successful European tour. I have just received word that the chorus won first place in folk singing competition at the Llangollen International Eisteddfod in Llangollen Wales. In addition, it finished third in overall competition and was praised for a "finely united performance" by Dr. Herbert Howells, head of the board of judges. The St. John's Chorus is directed by Mr. Gerhard Track who directed the famed Vienna Choirboys for 5 years before joining the St. John's Music Department.

I ask that a portion of a news story from the St. Paul, Minn., Dispatch, July 7, be appended to my remarks:

LLANGOLLEN, WALES.—The St. John's University Men's Chorus from Minnesota won the first prize today in one of the major competitions at the Llangollen International Eisteddfod, a group singing competition.

They took the first prize and an international trophy in the contest for folk-song parties. There were 24 choirs in the competition, representing 14 different countries. The St. John's team was awarded 180 marks.

The St. John's choir from Collegeville had been on a European tour and Llangollen was its last place of call.

In giving the adjudication, Dr. Solon Michaelides of Greece said: "The St. John's music was beautifully graded with rhythmical feeling. The blending was excellent throughout.

"It is a choir with very large vocal resources. In their second song a tenor solo was very expressive and well supported by the rest of the choir. They built up a climax in a wonderful way. They were always excellent without losing their tone color. The choir is a virile ensemble."

Adlai E. Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial by Robert R. Brunn recollects some interesting but forgotten events in the life of the great statesman, Adlai E. Stevenson.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON: ADROIT WARRIOR FOR PEACE

(By Robert R. Brunn)

WASHINGTON.—Adlai E. Stevenson, who passed on in London Wednesday, was an extraordinarily deft and adroit representative of the United States on the global stage at the United Nations.

Free of the anguish of two grueling presidential campaigns in 1952 and again in 1956, Mr. Stevenson settled down to a spirited defense of U.S. foreign policy and action.

No American politician in this century was ever to shape a phrase with more telling intellectual effect. But in facing Dwight D. Eisenhower in two campaigns, he knew deep inside that it probably was a losing battle.

Under President Kennedy he took up the struggle for peace with gusto—and an elegant phrase. He spoke out for international justice and for wisdom in handling the global Communist threat.

At the time of his passing Wednesday in London, he had been talking with British officials about southeast Asia and had seen Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart that morning.

Looking back on his two campaigns Mr. Stevenson once said this:

"There is evidence that those campaigns were worthwhile; that they saw a quickening, an awakening, of political purpose in the minds of many thinking Americans; that they aroused a new or broader sense of personal responsibility in political affairs, a large respect for the political process, a sense of ideals attainable through political activity.

"I like to think they reduced the snobbery about politics; that there is more realization that free society demands the wisest kind of political leadership; that without politics there can be no democratic freedom, not even the freedom to be 'above politics.'

"And I have never felt any sense of defeat for the ideas of talking sense, of tackling the hard issues, of telling the truth, in a political campaign.

"It is extremely important that those who have taken part in this invigoration of the political process take up again now the cudgels they wielded so gloriously before."

President Johnson was visibly moved by the news of Mr. Stevenson's passing as he went through the motions of shaking hands with members of a Japanese trade mission who were his guests.

Senator GEORGE D. AIKEN, Republican, of Vermont, said Mr. Stevenson "did his work conscientiously and he did it well." He added it was unfortunate that "now, perhaps when he is needed more than ever, he has been called away."

In campaigning in the 1960 campaign, Mr. Stevenson indicated his future role in the

United Nations. In Madison, Wis., in October he said:

"The one transcendent issue * * * is peace. The farmer wants better prices; but he wants peace more. The housewife wants lower prices, of course; but she wants peace more. The businessman wants stability and the laborer wants security, of course; but they want peace more."

Words such as this were also used at the United Nations and outside of a domestic political context. It was the same—he sought paths toward peace above partisan feelings.

The Trumbull Times Wins National Honors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to report to you and to my colleagues that the Trumbull Times, a weekly newspaper published in one of the fastest growing communities in my district, has been awarded first place for general excellence in the 1965 National Newspaper Contest sponsored by the National Editorial Association.

News of this awards came as no surprise to me, for the Trumbull Times is a model for weekly newspapers and has achieved excellence in clarity of photographs, accuracy and attractiveness of typography, readability of advertising and news content. The paper is also notable for the broad coverage provided in its local news columns, its special articles by syndicated columists and its editorial comment on Trumbull Topics.

I welcome this opportunity to congratulate the Trumbull Times on this achievement. It is not by sheer accident or good fortune that this Connecticut weekly has won national honors. It is an achievement that has come through daily effort and attention to detail on the part of every employee and the direction of a very capable publisher, Mr. Richard M. Diamond, who is fortunate to have assisting him as able lieutenants, Editor Jerome K. Boin, Assistant Editor Sonia Boin, and Mechanical Superintendent Stanley T. Smith. While most of us perhaps have closer affiliation with representatives of the news and advertising departments of our papers, there are others of us who recognize that the general excellence of any newspaper more accurately reflects the operation of the mechanical department. It is, however, the combination of all departmental and individual efforts which produces the final product, and the Trumbull Times is an outstanding product, a model for other newspapers and a credit to the town of Trumbull and the State of Connecticut.

It is gratifying to me to be able to add my compliments to those already received by the Trumbull Times in its noteworthy achievement.

Adlai E. Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in expressing sorrow at the loss of one of the most admired, devoted, and inspiring leaders of our time, Adlai E. Stevenson. He was America's conscience. He was the articulate spokesman for America's political philosophy. He was a man of humility in the face of his responsibilities. He was a man of eloquence, wit, and charm.

But Adlai Stevenson's special gift to those of us who came to political maturity in the early 1950's was that he made politics an honorable calling. A whole new generation drew inspiration from his spirit and his eloquence as he mirrored the best in American politics.

Though we have lost an outstanding statesman, his words will live as long as the Nation.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to an appraisal of Mr. Stevenson by James Reston of the New York Times, an appreciation by Theodore H. White written for the New York Herald Tribune, and, finally, Mr. Stevenson's legacy, his own words.

The articles follow:

RIGHT MAN, WRONG TIME—STEVENSON, REJECTED BY THE VOTERS, WAS MAN OF THOUGHT IN AGE OF ACTION

(By James Reston)

MENEMSHA, MASS., July 14.—America celebrates success, but occasionally it pauses to regret the men who didn't quite make it—the also-rans, the good men who arrived near the top at the wrong time, the rejected and the disappointed.

Adlai Ewing Stevenson, of Illinois, was such a man. He was the man of thought in an age of action. He was in tune with the worldwide spirit of the age, but not with the spirit of his own country, and no one knew this better than he.

He was sad at the end, not because he was rejected for the Presidency by his fellow countrymen, but because he felt his ideas were rejected by the leaders of his own party—President Kennedy and President Johnson.

He never expected to be President. I spent 2 hours with him alone at the Roger Smith Hotel in Washington immediately after President Truman called him to the White House at the end of January 1952, and asked him to seek the Democratic Party's presidential nomination, with Mr. Truman's support.

Later he accepted the nomination on the ground that Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio, might be nominated by the Republicans, and that Senator Taft was "an isolationist," but that night, he was sure that General Eisenhower and not Senator Taft would be the Republican nominee, and he was sure not only that General Eisenhower would win, but that maybe the General should win.

Was is not time, he asked, for the Republicans to come to power after 20 years of Democratic rule? Was it not true that the absence of power, as well as the exercise of power, tended to corrupt?

Would not General Eisenhower finally lead his party away from its isolationist tradition, and was this not good for the country?

Later he changed, but this objective quality of mind in Mr. Stevenson was precisely why he was so respected by the intellectual and diplomatic communities, and why at the same time he was so unpopular with the most political elements of his own party.

His disappointments came later. He wanted to be Secretary of State more than he expected to be President, but both Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Johnson passed him over for the job, and while they listened politely and often reluctantly to his advice, they did not follow it—or at least, he died believing that they were more interested in power and politics and did not agree with him about Vietnam, or the Dominican Republic, or the importance of the spirit of the United Nations.

TALKED ABOUT RESIGNING

He talked many times about resigning, from the Bay of Pigs to the bombardment of North Vietnam, but at the same time, he loved the stir and prominence of public life, he hated "scenes," and could not quite bring himself to the point of getting out.

Mr. Stevenson was not bitter about not being President or Secretary of State. He was too full of self-doubt and even self-mockery for that. It was not his ambition but his pride that was affronted by what he thought was the rejection of his advice to rely more on U.S. moral than military power.

For example, he wanted President Johnson to reassure the United Nations that the United States wanted to end the legal dispute over financing the United Nations, but the President rejected his advice only a few days ago and exhorted the United Nations merely to follow American policy.

The tragedy of Adlai Stevenson, however, is not that the United States has lost a representative at the United Nations, but that the Western World has lost another of its few eloquent men.

Language is power, and in the last few years the West has lost most of the men who could define its purposes—Churchill and Gaitskell in Britain, Kennedy in the United States, Hammarskjold at the United Nations, Nehru in India, not to mention those spokesmen of the Western literary world, Frost, Faulkner and T. S. Eliot.

Maybe Mr. Stevenson's critics were right—he may have been primarily a writer and a public speaker, rather than a political leader.

(NOTE.—Theodore H. White, the author of this appreciation, has just had published his latest study of presidential politics, "The Making of a President 1964." An astute observer of the national political scene, he won a Pulitzer Prize for his earlier "The Making of a President 1960." He grew to know Mr. Stevenson well from many personal interviews with the U.N. Ambasador.)

(By Theodore H. White)

No man left a larger legacy.

As Governor of Illinois, Adlai Stevenson purged and purified one of the more corrupt State administrations of the Union. As party leader, he called into being new men and new forces from groups and communities previously entirely alien to the governing of the Nation. And suddenly, in death, one recognizes the full dimension of his work at the United Nations, which he dominated more than any other single individual. In a world where new kinds of force, new systems of violence require new patterns in American response, he made it clear that always American power was subordinate to its will to peace, that the talons of the eagle

held out to the world the olive branch if it would but accept.

One remembers one's first meeting with Stevenson abroad, in Paris, in 1953, after his defeat—and the quality of the mind as it asked questions about Europe, about Asia. They were entirely different kinds of questions from those of other men; it was as if he were, personally, responsible for America and what might happen to America in years to come and needed to know, for he, personally, must guide American thinking.

One remembers Adlai Stevenson sitting at his lawn in Libertyville, the black-faced sheep grazing nearby, the orange butterflies overhead, entering the campaign of 1956 knowing he would be defeated, yet entering nonetheless because someone must hold his party on course, someone must speak its principles without compromise.

One remembers Adlai Stevenson at the U.N. in the missile crisis—tireless, sleepless, binding shaky allies to our cause, neutralizing the undecided, counseling firmness and peace at once in his visits to Washington.

Yet all of us will remember Stevenson most for something undefinable: the tone he gave the dialog of American politics. He brought to it a quality of ideas, of thinking, of excitement as if, somehow, one could have reasonable discourse with people about the future. Whether gay, or melancholy, he never spoke down to them. A generation of younger Americans, brought up to feel that politics were sordid or dirty or corrupt or boss-manipulated, learned from him that American politics were the mirror of American life, and could be made to reflect the best in that life as well as the worst. From California to New England, in the 8 years of his leadership, his call brought thousands of new men into arenas they had hitherto despised or feared. State houses all across the Union are manned with men, now grown to eminence, who caught their faith from the Halls of Congress are crowded with lawmakers who entered politics first as fledglings 13 years ago on behalf of Adlai Stevenson. The White House, through two Presidents, has been guided by men who nursed from the spirit and direction he gave his party.

All his life Adlai Stevenson thought that America could be made a better place to live in. And he did his part.

[From the New York Herald Tribune]

THE ELOQUENCE, THE WIT, THE HUMANITY

More than anything else, Adlai Stevenson was a man of words, a highly articulate spokesman for American political philosophy. Here are some of those words:

"I have asked the merciful Father, the Father of us all, to let this cup pass from me. But from such dread responsibility one does not shrink in fear, in self-interest, or in false humility. * * * That my heart has been troubled, that I have not sought this nomination, that I could not seek it in good conscience, that I would not seek it in honest self-appraisal, is not to say that I value it the less. Rather it is that I revere the Office of the Presidency of the United States."—Accepting the presidential nomination of the Democratic Party in 1952.

"They say I am a 'captive' of the city bosses, then of the CIO, and then of the Dixiecrats * * * and then of Wall Street, and then of an organization called ADA. Next week I'll probably read in the papers that I am the captive of a girl named Ada. I have not met her yet. I had no idea I was so popular, and I hope I can bear this multiple courtship and captivity with becoming modesty."—August 14, 1952, Springfield, Ill.

"My opponents say that the threat to our liberty comes from within. I say that the threat comes from without—and I offer the fate of the enslaved peoples of the world as my evidence.

"My opponents say that America cannot afford to be strong. I say that America cannot afford to be weak.

"I promise no easy solutions, no relief from burdens and anxieties, for to do this would be not only dishonest, it would be to attack the foundations of our greatness. I can offer something infinitely better: an opportunity to work and sacrifice that freedom may flourish."—September 27, 1952, Louisville, Ky.

"I say to you that the anatomy of patriotism is complex. But surely intolerance and public irresponsibility cannot be cloaked in the shining armor of rectitude and of righteousness. Nor can the denial of the right to hold ideas that are different—the freedom of man to think as he pleases. To strike freedom of the mind with the fist of patriotism is an old and ugly subtlety."—August 27, 1952, in a speech before the American Legion at Madison Square Garden.

"* * * I yield to no man, if I may borrow that majestic parliamentary phrase, in my belief in the principle of free debate, inside or outside the Halls of Congress. The sound of tireless voices is the price we pay for the right to hear the music of our own opinions. But there is also a moment at which democracy must prove its capacity to act. Every man has a right to be heard; but no man has the right to strangle democracy with a single set of vocal cords."—August 28, 1952, New York City.

"I am convinced that nearly all (newspaper) publishers are doing their honest best, according to all their lights—even if I must confess that sometimes their lights seem to me a little dim."—September 8, 1952, at a luncheon for newspaper editors and publishers in Portland, Oreg.

A proposal to the Republican Party: "If they will stop telling lies about the Democrats, we will stop telling the truth about them."—September 10, 1952, Fresno, Calif.

"I utterly reject the argument that we ought to grant all men their right just because if we do not we shall give Soviet Russia a propaganda weapon. This concept is itself tainted with Communist williness. It insultingly implies that were it not for the Communists we would not do what is right. The answer to this argument is that we must do what is right for right's sake alone."—September 21, 1952, Richmond, Va.

"My definition of a free society is a society where it is safe to be unpopular."—October 7, 1952, Detroit.

"We must be on our guard against the danger to our own people, as well as to our friends, of confusing pronouncements with reality and proclamations with policy. For these are the ingredients of extremist opinion. And in these days when moderation and reason are so often equated with appeasement or even disloyalty, we must be careful lest unreason and extremism not only frighten and alienate our friends and fan the flames of neutralism in the world but also mislead the American people."—From the Godkin Lectures delivered at Harvard University in March 1954.

"I have finally figured out what the Republican orators mean by what they call 'moderate progressivism.' All they mean is 'Don't just do something. Stand there.' "—February 25, 1956, Hartford, Conn.

"Do not let us make any mistake about this. The natural government of man is servitude, tyranny. It is only by intense thought, by great effort, by burning idealism, and unlimited sacrifice that freedom has prevailed. And the efforts which were first necessary to create it are fully as necessary to sustain it in our own day."—January 1959, Washington.

"We are trying to construct a civilized world for the genus man * * * This aim may appear one of high generality. But so are such phrases as 'the defense of national interests,' or 'lebensraum,' or 'the white man's burden,' or any of the other catch phrases with which men have gone out with good conscience to plunder and maim their neighbors."—May 12, 1960, speech at the Conference on World Tensions, at the University of Chicago.

Mr. Stevenson's rule for speechwriting:

"If you would make a speech or write one
Or get an artist to indite one,
Think not because 'tis understood
By men of sense, 'Tis therefore good.
Make it so clear and simply planned
No blockhead can misunderstand."

—October 1960.

On the death of Eleanor Roosevelt:

"Yesterday I said I had lost more than a friend; I had lost an inspiration. She would rather light candles than curse the darkness, and her glow had warmed the world."—November 19, 1962, speech to the United Nations General Assembly.

"What is more difficult, to think of an encampment on the moon or of Harlem rebuilt? Both are now within the reach of our resources. Both now depend upon human decision and human will. I pray that the imagination we unlock for defense and arms and outer space may be unlocked as well for grace and beauty in our daily lives. As an economy, we need it. As a society, we shall perish without it."—June 8, 1962, Tufts University, Medford, Mass.

Random examples of the Stevenson wit:

A comment to a friend who had just been appointed to a new post—"Congratulations on your election as president. I know from hearsay how satisfying that can be."

Speaking to a television audience after one of his unsuccessful presidential campaigns—"A funny thing happened to me on the way to the White House * * *"

Discussing President Kennedy's apointments of several men from Mr. Stevenson's law firm in Chicago—"I regret that I have but one law firm to give to my country."

Arriving late for a speech, Mr. Stevenson explained that he had been help up by a military parade and said: "Military heroes are always getting in my way."

Finally, from Mr. Stevenson's last speech:

"We travel together, passengers on a little space ship, dependent on its vulnerable reserves of air and soil; all committed for our safety to its security and peace: preserved from annihilation only by the care, the work, and I will say the love we give our fragile craft. We cannot maintain it half fortunate, half miserable, half confident, half despairing, half slave—to the ancient enemies of man—half free in a liberation of resources undreamed of until this day. No craft, no crew can travel safely with such vast contradictions. On their resolution depends the survival of us all."—July 9, 1965, 39th session of the Economic and Social Council in Geneva, Switzerland.

Adlai Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. LLOYD MEEDS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, our beloved countryman, Adlai Stevenson, is gone. Democracy mourns her most forceful advocate. While always lending dignity to America, Ambassador Stevenson symbolized the United Nations, for his

aspirations transcended one country and became the hope for all.

Great men endure beyond the caprice of the headlines. Adlai Stevenson belongs to our heritage. We shall always revere his immutable courage, his undeviating quest for enlightenment, and his unshakeable decency.

Strike Not Effective

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PRENTISS WALKER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. WALKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I bring to the attention of my colleagues an article that appeared in Time magazine on July 2, 1965, referring to the unsuccessful attempts of certain groups to induce the good Negro citizens of the State of Mississippi to strike against their white employers and fellow Mississippians. To me this emphasizes the fact that, in general, the Negro in my State does not feel that he is being mistreated, overworked, or underpaid.

The article follows:

CHURCHES: RECONCILIATION THROUGH ANGER

For the first time since the 1930's, Negro field hands are striking on the cotton plantations of western Mississippi, where the pay is $3 a day and the hours are dawn to dusk. Ardently promoting the strike and helping to organize a union of the fieldworkers is the Delta Ministry, set up by the National Council of Churches last September to work for social and economic justice for Negroes and achieve a "reconciliation" of the races in Mississippi.

So far, the reconciling process has led only to bitter antagonism—at least in Greenville, center of the strike. There, a ministry preacher tells field hands that "the white man is your enemy," and the Delta project has managed to alienate not merely unswervable segregationists but white and Negro moderates as well.

CLASS STRUGGLE

"These professionals do not want change through reform," says Hodding Carter's Delta Democrat-Times. "They want revolutionary change of a kind which goes far beyond the question of an equal chance for all men." Middle-class Negroes, many of them veteran members of the NAACP, charge that the ministry and the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), are conspiring to oust them from leadership of the civil rights movement.

Both whites and Negro leaders feel that ministry officials have shown little interest in working with the community toward their common goals. This spring, the ministry derided a pledge, signed by a number of white and Negro civic leaders, to provide equal job opportunities. A note of class-struggle belligerency has crept into the ministry's words as the strike has spread. Baptist Minister Laurice Walker, a staff member of the project, whips up plantation workers by denouncing 'the man in the big white house taking food out of your wife's and your children's mouths and the clothes off your back."

Business Is for the Birds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, businessmen, educators, and I know a number of my colleagues, are greatly concerned over the growing shortage of young people taking up business careers.

Recently, a distinguished former Member of the House, our friend, Frank N. Ikard, president of the American Petroleum Institute, made this the subject of an enlightening talk. An adaptation of his talk appeared in the summer issue of Petroleum Today, and I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues:

BUSINESS IS FOR THE BIRDS

(By Frank N. Ikard)

(The following article has been adapted from an address by the president of the American Petroleum Institute.)

There is in our Nation today a dangerous shortage of talented young people taking up business careers. The entire business community is being affected; and the consequences may be serious and far-reaching.

Ironically, this shortage exists at a time when college and university graduating classes are larger than at any time in our history. Several explanations for this phenomenon have been put forward.

Some observers point out that government is attracting unprecedented numbers of college graduates. Others single out graduate schools as the business community's toughest competitors for talent. (One bank president claims that graduate schools are recruiting college seniors "the way Knute Rockne used to recruit football players.")

There is, however, another frequently heard explanation. I refer to the theory that substantial numbers of young people today regard business careers as singularly unattractive.

Not long ago there was an article in a national publication that began: "The word on the campus is that business is for the birds." The article painted a startling picture of the views held by at least a substantial segment of our college population.

Some of the students apparently believe that business is nothing more than a dog-eat-dog world obsessed with the profit motive and blind to every human and social value. Others seem to feel that business is a superficial, conforming world that engulfs and smothers the individual.

One can take his choice—the jungle or the quicksand. In either case, the picture is anything but flattering. Such views of the business community are like the unrecognizable reflections in the mirrors of a carnival sideshow; they bear only a vague resemblance to the truth.

Attracting able young people to the world of business is crucial not only to business but to the Nation as a whole.

Yet businessmen would be well advised to give these distortions serious attention. The reason is obvious. Business needs young people. It is going to need them increasingly in the years ahead—particularly those young people who show promise of rising to responsible managerial positions.

An oil company executive has put it this way:

"It seems certain that managerial talent will be even more vital to the success of major business enterprises in the future than it is today. Experience testifies overwhelmingly that the higher the state of economic development and technology, the greater the importance of able management."

The truth of these words is evident. The importance of attracting able young people to the world of business is crucial not only to individual companies and industries but to the economy and to the Nation as a whole.

What, then, can business do to meet this challenge? The answer is simple and straightforward: We must do a better job of reaching young people and making known to them the opportunities and satisfactions to be found in business.

The college student choosing a career is of course concerned about some fairly tangible aspects of his future. He seeks an attractive salary, a chance to advance, security. But he is just as interested, despite frequently expressed views to the contrary, in some rather intangible goals.

In the first place, to use an old-fashioned phrase, he wants to "make something of himself." He is conscious of a principle once stated by Albert Einstein: "Do not strive for success—strive to be a person of greater value."

Where there is competition, there may be failure. It is this very risk that causes a man to rise to the peak of his skills.

In the oil industry, the opportunities for a young person to develop the best that is in him are unlimited. The oilman is not interested in getting into a nice safe rut, keeping his head down, and confining his conversation to nothing more risky than the weather.

The oil business, like many others but to an even greater degree, is founded on risk, on the willingness to take a chance. And that extends all the way from the gamble a wildcatter takes drilling a well to the gamble a company takes setting up a service station. This is part of the excitement of the American business world, and the college student should not be allowed to think that it no longer exists.

This atmosphere of risk is heady, but it has its dangers—for the company and for the individual. Where there is competition, there is the chance of failure. Yet it is this very risk, this chance of failure, that causes a man to rise to the peak of his skills and talents.

Of course, all business, including the oil business, has its routine tasks. Organization and orderliness depend upon them. But in a field such as petroleum, the individual has the opportunity to move beyond routine. He is working in a fast-moving, growing industry with an advanced technology. And he has an opportunity to help direct some of the most powerful economic forces of our time.

There is another intangible goal that the college student seeks in his career. He doesn't work for excitement alone any more than he works for money alone. He needs deeper satisfaction; he needs to know that his work contributes something worthwhile to human experience.

We are called "materialistic." Yet it is the providing of "material" things that makes life comfortable and even possible.

Too often, we are inclined to forget that business fulfills a function that transcends the concept of profit. We become so enmeshed in talk of dollars and cents that we forget that these are only symbols of the true role of the businessman. We need not bow our heads in shame when we are labeled as being materialistic. For the essential purpose of business is the providing of goods and services—food, shelter, clothing, all of the material things that make life comfortable and even possible. The man who makes cloaks and suits, the man who cans meat, the man who builds skyscrapers—he is do-

ing the world's work. He is at the heart of life.

The college student who decides to make his career in a petroleum laboratory, for example, is casting his lot with men who are playing a vital role in sheltering, clothing, transporting the Nation. He is joining the ranks of those whose work has helped to bring the individual American more security, more freedom from hard, unrewarding labor, and more independence than man has ever known.

This is what business is all about. This is what our young people should know as they plan for the future. The business world is tough, competitive, exciting, important; it is what the individual businessman is able and willing to make it.

Business is for the birds? Of course. For those birds who want to soar.

Industrial Growth in Alabama Denies Charges by Liberals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, Federal officials connected with the Johnson administration have been trying to create the impression that industry has been driven from Alabama. Only recently James Webb, Administrator of the National Space Agency was credited with the remark that competent personnel could not be hired at Huntsville because of the racial situation.

We have only to check the figures of industrial growth in Alabama to prove how wrong such charges are. Some of these figures are contained in the following editorial from the Cullman Tribune, Cullman, Ala., in its issue of July 8, 1965:

INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

Alabama made a large industrial growth during the first 6 months of this year. From Alabama—Today and Tomorrow, published by the Alabama State Chamber of Commerce, is the following:

"More than $200 million in new and expanded industries during the first half of 1965 has been announced by the Alabama State Chamber of Commerce in Montgomery.

"The capital investment total of $200,087,000 compiled by the State chamber shows Alabama is continuing to grow industrially during the first half of the year.

"Industries already doing business successfully in Alabama have once again shown their faith and confidence in the 'Heart of Dixie' by announcing expansions during the first half of the year which will total $113,742,000 and will create an additional 5,000 jobs when complete.

"New industries announced for Alabama during the first half of the year will invest $86,345,000 in new plants and equipment, creating 5,977 job opportunities for Alabamians.

"Alabama's announced industrial expansions so far this year are scattered through a half hundred cities in 38 different counties, while new industries are announced for 44 cities in 34 Alabama counties.

"The State chamber survey does not include capital investment made by Federal, State, or local governments, utilities, educational research, or agricultural development. Only firms doing actual processing or mining are included."

The Congressional Burden of Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, for several weeks, now, I have been urging that full-scale hearings be held by the appropriate committees of the Congress into what is happening, now, in Vietnam, where the situation has changed so drastically from what it was only a few short months ago.

Only a few other voices have so far joined mine in pointing up something that ought to be obvious to all of us—and that is, that the Congress does have a proper and an essential responsibility of its own, not to attempt to try to dictate the day-to-day conduct of what has seemingly become an American war in southeast Asia, for that is clearly beyond our realm of concern, but to participate with the Chief Executive and Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces in the continuing process of reviewing and revising our long-range strategy in this conflict in order that we can, with honor, carry out our long-standing commitment to the people of South Vietnam and, with success, help them preserve their opportunity for freedom.

At his news conference on Tuesday of this week, in commenting upon the situation in Vietnam, the President said that "it is quite possible that new and serious decisions will be necessary in the near future."

Under the circumstances that have been pertaining here, we in Congress can only guess, along with the American people, as to the import of the President's words, and this disturbs me deeply for, while the American people will undoubtedly and vigorously support the President in whatever needs to be done, I think those same people remain not quite sure about this kind of a war. Their unvoiced questions should be answered—their thoughts and suggestions weighed and considered—and it is their Congress that should be providing them with the forum for accomplishing these things, and the Nation would be stronger after it had done so.

Mr. Speaker, may I therefore say, once again, that I sincerely hope that my voice will be heard and that this Congress, without further delay, will accept its share of the burden of responsibility for the shaping and development of our long-range foreign policy, in Vietnam and in the other areas of concern in a troubled world, and that we do so in a positive and affirmative manner.

And, now, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following lead editorial in the July 14, 1965, edition of the New York Times, which touches upon the same matters I have mentioned:

AT WAR IN VIETNAM

President Johnson has confirmed what most people realize—that the United States is faced with "new and serious decisions" in meeting the challenge of Vietnam. Although it is still not officially acknowledged, the United States is fighting a land war of steadily growing proportions in Asia. This is a momentous development in American history and it should be treated as such and not as a minor and soon-to-be-ended expedition to advise and bolster the Saigon government.

A major effort, of great cost in men, money, and materiel, stretching over a period of years, is now in sight. If North Vietnam and her Communist Chinese backer should give in after this monsoon or the next one, there will be reason for rejoicing; but this is not to be expected. As a Times correspondent writes from Saigon, the South Vietnamese are close to the point where they will be unable to carry on as the major fighting force.

Until now this has been largely a war of Vietnamese against Vietnamese. The general who commanded the Vietminh against the French—Nguyen Giap—is commanding the Vietcong, and his tactics are proving as successful today as they were then. They are the same guerrilla tactics that Mao Tse-tung used in defeating Chiang Kai-shek.

However, the United States is not going to be worn down and pushed out of Vietnam as the French were, France could not commit the men, planes, ships, and materiel which the United States possesses in unlimited quantities. At the same time it is folly to send American troops to meet Vietcong guerrillas on their own terms in their chosen territory, far from their bases in tropical jungles. Furthermore, a perennially shaky government in Saigon and poor Vietnamese military leadership at the top make a weak backstop. There is always the possibility that a future government in Saigon might ask the Americans to leave, thus ending the legal basis for the American presence; but at least this is one problem that does not have to be faced now.

As matters stand, the United States is presented with some difficult alternatives. One is to establish a series of unconquerable beachheads along the coast and a perimeter around Saigon, and then hold on until the situation changes and negotiations on honorable terms become possible. Another, which in our view would constitute a disastrous escalation, would be to carry the war further and more heavily into North Vietnam, with the strong possibility of directly involving Communist China, not to mention the Soviet Union. Another, equally disastrous but for different reasons, would be a decision to get out now—an obviously unacceptable move under present circumstances.

There are of course still other alternatives; but of all these unpleasant choices, the best seems to be to dig in at a number of coastal strong points where the overwhelming American naval and air superiority would be used defensively and with great effect. This may in fact be shaping up as the American strategy; but if so the American people should be prepared. Congress ought to be asked more definitively to face that fact that the country really is at war, and to take a greater burden of responsibility. The congressional declaration of last summer and the $700 million authorization for Vietnam seem almost irrelevant at this stage.

Vietnam is a different kind of war from Korea but it is a war, one that the Nation must recognize as such; and it is time to say so.

Diet Study Bill H.R. 9198

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, since the introduction on June 17 of my bill calling for a study by the Surgeon General of diets and their relationship to health, I have received many letters showing approval of the measure and requesting additional information on it. They clearly indicate widespread enthusiasm for my proposal.

I would like to include two quotations in my statement from Peter Wyden's excellent account of the many diet plans and fads currently on the market, "The Overweight Society." He states that the Federal Government has not contributed to a study of the problem:

Partly because of indifference, partly because of diffusion of responsibilities among several agencies, and partly because agricultural policy has made the excessive consumption of high-calorie, high-fat products seem desirable, the calorie crisis has received almost no attention as such. Instead the focus has been on smoking and lung cancer even though all types of cancer account for only 16 percent of all deaths in the United States while circulatory diseases account for 54.3 percent.

It belabors the obvious to point out that the breakup of the caloric avalanche can come only from the best combined efforts of parents, physicians, educators, researchers, industrial interests, and the Government guardians over our health and food.

Mr. Wyden raises a number of questions that any study of diets and health should consider:

1. How solid is the evidence that excessive caloric intake substantially shortens life?
2. How solid is the evidence that excessive fat intake substantially shortens life?
3. How solid is the evidence that lack of exercise substantially shortens life?
4. Which diet aids are helpful and which are useless or worse?
5. What should consumers do about fats?
6. Who are the people who shouldn't diet at all?
7. What can mothers do to help prevent obesity of their children from birth?
8. What is the most urgent diet and exercise research needed and how should it be organized?

I hope that the Surgeon General would attempt to find answers to these questions in his examination.

Relevant to my proposed study is an article from the New York Times of July 7, 1965. I include this too in the RECORD.

We all realize the importance of a healthy and physically fit country and acknowledge the difficulty of choosing a sensible and effective weight reducing program. A study of the problems of dieting is, I urge, most definitely needed.

The article follows:

NEW DIET DECRIED BY NUTRITIONISTS—DANGERS ARE SEEN IN LOW CARBOHYDRATE INTAKE

(By William Borders)

Some of the Nation's top nutrition experts are concerned at the new popularity of the low-carbohydrate reducing diet, which one of them calls "nonsense" and another compares to "mass murder."

The diet has come as the fulfillment of an age-old dream into more than 1 million American homes this year: It offers the fat man a code that ignores calories and seems to let himself gorge on such delights as martinis, avocados and Camembert.

Replacing the calorie as the chief villian is carbohydrate. If the dieter's daily menu contains no more than 60 grams of it, which he can get in a candied sweet potato or five slices of bread, his extra pounds will vanish quickly and permanently, the diet says.

The diet is popularly known as "The Drinking Man's Diet," the title of the most successful of half a dozen paperbacks describing it. Some also call it the "Air Force diet," although the Air Force emphatically disclaims any responsibility.

CALORIES PLAYED DOWN

Presenting Government-supplied lists of prohibited high-carbohydrate foods, like sugar and potatoes, the books deny the importance of the calorie, and entice the reader with such words as, "Sit down with us to roast duck and burgundy; you have nothing to lose but your wastelines."

Because most Americans eat several hundred grams of carbohydrate a day, along with a good amount of fat and a smaller amount of protein, a cut to 60 grams requires some care. However, whisky and gin, and many popular foods like mayonnaise and steak, contain almost no carbohydrate, giving the dieter a psychological boost.

That boost, however, has virtually no medical foundation: "It's ridiculous," says Dr. Frederick J. Stare, one of Harvard's leading nutritionists.

"Just a passing fad," Dr. Theodore B. Van Itallie of St. Luke's Hospital, says, "like the yo-yo or the hula hoop, and about as worthwhile."

Other specialists have even stronger objections, based on the diet's possible danger to the heart or the kidney.

It is a medical fact that no normal person can lose weight unless he cuts down on excess calories, either by talking in fewer of them; or by burning them up in exercise. The 135 calories in a martini are fattening, just as 135 calories in any food would be.

The low-carbohydrate diet works only when it causes a calorie cut, and it cannot work otherwise, doctors say. Robert W. Cameron, one of the four Californians who wrote "The Drinking Man's Diet," under pseudonyms, virtually agrees.

"Of course we admit that this is just another way of backing into calorie counting," he said in a recent telephone interview.

The point is implied, but considerably more veiled, in Mr. Cameron's book, which has 1 million copies in print in the United States alone.

WAISTLINE IS DEFENDED

Despite the ridicule or alarm that comes from medical quarters, the diet is strongly defended by some of its followers, who need no further proof than their shrinking waistlines.

A suggested daily menu in one of the widely circulated booklets tells the story. It includes ham, whipped cream, fried eggs and hollandaise, and only 59 grams of carbohydrate. What the book does not point out is that it also includes only 1,550 calories, about 1,000 below the recommended daily quota for the average adult.

It would be equally possible to construct a menu with only 60 grams of carbohydrate that contained many thousands of calories, enough to make almost anyone gain weight rapidly. Because the calories is a unit of energy and the gram a unit of weight, they cannot logically be compared.

Calories are present to varying degrees in each of the three basic food elements—carbohydrate, fat and protein. Some high-carbohydrate foods such as bananas, cake and oyster stew are fattening because they are also high in calories.

Some other high-carbohydrate food—strawberries and lima beans for example—are relatively low in calories and, therefore, good for reducing.

It is this distinction that the low-carbohydrate diet books gloss over, in the opinion of most nutritionists.

DIGESTION RATE CITED

One reason the low-carbohydrate dieter may not realize he has drastically cut his calories is that he may not be hungry, because protein and fat tend to be more slowly digested than carbohydrate: It takes longer to get hungry again after a hamburger than after a candy bar.

The dieter is also encouraged by a small but immediate weight loss caused by severe dehydration.

"But this is temporary," one doctor says. "The man should ask what the scales will say next month."

It is not the indirectness of the low-carbohydrate diet that worries physicians, because they all oppose obesity. Many, however, are concerned at some of its possible side effects.

Because the diet sharply reduces carbohydrate, which makes up 45 percent of the average American's daily calorie intake, it naturally leads to a proportional, or even quantitative, increase in the intake of protein and fat.

It is the fat increase that prompted Dr. Jean Mayer of Harvard to say that encouraging the diet for middle-aged Americans is, "in a sense, equivalent to mass murder."

LINKED TO HEART DISEASE

Many authorities think there is a relation between fat and heart disease and blood coagulation disorders.

The diet books caution their readers to consult a doctor before setting out—"but you know darn well they don't, so they just kill themselves alone," Dr. Mayer declares.

There are other dangers. To Dr. Philip L. White, the American Medical Association's top nutrition expert, dehydration seems a serious hazard, because of its possible effect on the kidneys and the liver.

Another more general objection is about the basic imbalance in the diet. The Department of Agriculture, and several private research groups, discourage any kind of diet that sharply restricts a basic food element.

Despite its disrepute in the medical community, the low-carbohydrate diet aims at an aura of scientific authenticity. Often cited in its behalf is an article on carbohydrates published in a 1963 issue of the Journal of the American Medical Association.

However, the author of the article, Dr. Edgar S. Gordon, of the University of Wisconsin, said the other day that it was "absolutely true that you cannot lose weight without cutting calories." His defense of the low-carbohydrate diet was based largely on its psychological advantages.

Another link with the world of research is an acknowledgment in "The Drinking Man's Diet," thanking the staff of the University of California for "material furnished." The university, whose top nutritionist called the diet "a bad habit in eating," has asked that the acknowledgment be deleted in future editions.

Looking to the future of what he calls "this oddball diet," Dr. Stare of Harvard predicts that the fad will pass, just as it has each of the dozen or so times in the last century that low-carbohydrate diets have gained sudden popularity.

Saline Water Conversion Program

SPEECH
OF
HON. ED REINECKE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 7092, as amended by the committee, and I would like to commend the chairmen of the subcommittee and of the full committee for their prudent action in revising this authorization downward. While each of us recognizes the importance of the programs of the Office of Saline Water and that they must be carried through to justifiable conclusion, nevertheless at this point it appears that the composite program has overextended itself to the point where we are building a great deal of very expensive hardware, demonstration plants, test plants, et cetera, that are not fully justified at this time.

It is my contention, and it was so stated in committee, that this program needs to the reconsidered in light of the total Federal mission, to the extent of participation of Federal money, and that no plants greater than 1 million gallons per day capacity should be built until the cost of water is economically justifiable and economically salable, in order to return the investment to the Federal Government. Certainly if the cost of producing water is so high that private industry and individual municipalities are not willing to undertake this measure, then the Federal Government should not be tampering in this area either, other than on a research basis. I feel certain that a comprehensive research and development program must be continued in order to find the necessary techniques and breakthroughs to make it possible to bring the cost of desalted water down to an economically usable figure. The development of water by itself is not the objective of this legislation. It is the development of potable water at a price that is commensurate with the alternatives in the marketplace today.

I might also add that the construction of large scale plants presumes the use of desalination for relatively large cities in that the gallonages of converted water for a 50 million gallon per day plant would adequately satisfy the needs of a city of 250,000 people. I do not see that this is a proper role of the Federal Government, but respectfully request that the subcommittee continue its efforts of redefining the objectives of establishing limitations of Federal participation and finally to accomplish the needs by technical assistance to larger cities that are willing and interested in continuing the operation of a desalting program. Such a situation is exemplified by my city of Los Angeles where at present a desalting plant of 150 million gallons per day is being seriously contemplated—paid for by local bond and water revenues. I feel the Federal Government should assist the city of Los Angeles and the metropolitan water district with technical advice and use this plant as an example for other cities to develop their own fresh water supplies.

Captive Nations Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, Captive Nations Week will be celebrated this year July 18–24. Our concern for the plight of these people is dual: we recognize their hopes as nations for freedom from Soviet Russian and Chinese imperiocolonialism, and their desires as individuals to retain their rights to make free choices in political, economic, religious, and cultural spheres. During this week we should affirm our willingness to assist them by peaceful means in their fight to regain individual freedom.

The American tradition recognizes the right of human liberty and free choice. As we reminded ourselves of our heritage and our blessings on the Fourth of July, these nations looked to us for guidance and leadership in their struggle against oppression and tyranny. Captive Nations Week must stand as a testimonial of American determination never to forget the hopes of any people for freedom. By recognizing those who have made the effort to escape from the Iron or Bamboo Curtains, we offer hope to those who are still there. By showing a concern for their conditions of life, we remind them that we care.

Those people living under communism do not enjoy the freedoms that we sometimes take for granted. Churches and church property are confiscated by and for the State. Elections are held with only one governmental ballot.

There are over a billion people in two dozen countries who yearn for freedom. This is a fitting time to honor their desires. It is the month of our independence and the month of the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. It is the 100th anniversary of the end of slavery in the United States.

To paraphrase Lincoln, the world cannot exist half free and half slave. What Woodrow Wilson said of nations is applicable to the individual; he must have the right to self-determination, to create his life as he wishes and to develop his personality as is uniquely his. It is our duty and responsibility now to state in our own words and show in our own deeds that we too are devoted to the concepts of liberty and freedom for the individual and for the Nation.

By celebrating Captive Nations Week in every community, we make a not-so-small contribution to this cause. We must commit ourselves fully to the cause of freedom at home so that we may effectively help those captive peoples who call for aid in their search for freedom.

Slovak Catholic Sokol and Its Biennial Physical Fitness Exhibition Scheduled for Bethlehem, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED B. ROONEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, this coming Saturday it will be my great honor and privilege to serve as the main speaker for the biennial National Slet of the Slovak Catholic Sokols from across this great Nation of ours.

This year, I am proud to report, the physical fitness exhibition is to be held in my native city, Bethlehem, Pa., in the Lehigh University fieldhouse.

The Sokol has been for many years a remarkable part of our community life in Bethlehem, just as it has in hundreds of other American communities.

The word "sokol" means falcon in the Slovak language and, like the magnificent gaming bird from which it takes its name, the Slovak Catholic Sokol is famed throughout our country and the free world for the alertness of mind and the quickness of body it instills in its members.

The founders of the Sokol organization were two great scholars of physical fitness, Tyrs and Fugner. The first unit was established in Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia.

From its earliest days, the leaders of the Sokol organization have been convinced that only the physically and mentally fit could survive the despotic rule of their oppressors. To attain a level of physical, mental, and moral superiority, they worked out rules for all those who chose to seek and sustain membership.

Here in our own country, where we have, at long last, begun to place physical fitness in its proper perspective and make it one of the goals of the Great Society, the Sokol organizations have grown from a membership of only 67 when the first was founded more than a century ago to a present total of more than half a million.

Our late beloved President Kennedy believed firmly in the need for increased fitness programs for the youth of our Nation. That belief has been carefully nurtured and encouraged by President Johnson.

On the eve of Captive Nations Week, which begins on Sunday, July 18, we would do well to remember that it was the membership of the Sokol organizations who were driven underground first by dictators such as Adolph Hitler and Josef Stalin. And we should think, with pride, of the continuing struggle these organizations are making abroad against the totalitarianism of the Communists.

In my early lifetime I learned to know the Sokols and the Slovak people well. My parents lived, before I was born, in Old Forge, Pa., near Wilkes-Barre, that great Pennsylvania city which has been

represented so long and so brilliantly by my revered and distinguished colleague, Congressman DANIEL FLOOD. It was in that city, incidentally, where the first National Slovak Catholic Sokol Slet was held in 1912.

I know that Congressman FLOOD and that great American spokesman from our sister State, Ohio, Congressman MICHAEL KIRWAN, would join me in praise of the membership of Sokol and its goals.

The Ku Klux Klan Is Not Wanted Here

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial by Carl Zimmerman, director of news and public affairs for Wisconsin's outstanding Storer station, WITI-TV, spoke to the heart of the disconcerting human problem.

It is sad enough that one section of our beloved country is especially afflicted by this problem, personified by the Ku Klux Klan.

Mr. Zimmerman's editorial reflects, I believe, a solid consensus of the Wisconsin people whom I represent. This consensus is articulately expressed in the editorial I now request to be printed in the RECORD at this point:

[A WITI-TV, Milwaukee, editorial, July 9, 1965]

THE KU KLU KLAN IS NOT WANTED HERE

What would possess anyone to join the Ku Klux Klan? It's just got to be hate. Because that's exactly what the Klan stands for—hate for the Negro, the Jew, the Catholic. And, now, the hooded hoodlums are branching out. They've announced they're going to be big in Wisconsin. It was so boasted by the Klan's imperial wizard from the State of Alabama, the home of the Wisconsin vote getter. Gov. George Wallace. The Klan has taken that impressive political support for Wallace as encouragement for their own sickening ambitions.

Apparently, though, they're finding "takers." A Waukesha truckdriver has run an ad in the personal column of a local newspaper calling for Klan membership here. He hopes for 50,000 haters to join him. We wish him nothing but complete failure. The Klan's charter was revoked in Wisconsin back in 1946 when a Sheboygan judge said the KKK was operating for the "unlawful purpose of promoting harmful race and religious prejudices and hatred. This proves again you can't erase hate by court order because they're back again to peddle this same garbage. It's important that everyone of us know exactly what these hate mongers really are. Webster's dictionary describes the Ku Klux Klan as "having for its chief aim the establishment of white control. They were first organized in Pulaski, Tenn., in 1865 * * * formed for the purpose of controlling the newly freed Negro in the days following the Civil War. Through the years it has degenerated into a lawless, night-riding, cross-burning hate organization bent on terror and murder.

The imperial wizard of the Klan is optimistic about membership in Wisconsin. Perhaps his vision is obscured by the white hood he's hiding behind. So, let's give him the picture here: Any organization which promotes white supremacy, is viciously anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish, is repulsive to us. Let's tell the imperial wizard that Wisconsin people have developed the ability to smell out a rat quickly and easily. TV6 urges the Ku Klux Klan, and anyone who might be misguided enough to join them, to wrap up their sheets and peddle their hate elsewhere. They're not wanted here.

Vertical Plane's Debut Is Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego Union of July 10, 1965:

TRIUMPH FOR RYAN: VERTICAL PLANE'S DEBUT IS SUCCESS

(By Robert Zimmerman)

EDWARDS AIR FORCE BASE.—The military's newest and biggest vertical-takeoff transport plane put on a flawless public performance here yesterday.

The tilt-wing, four-engine XC-142A—much of it developed and built by Ryan Aeronautical Co. of San Diego—flew to this Air Force Flight Test Center at 300 miles an hour like a conventional cargo plane.

Then, before an audience of military and industrial, representatives, reporters, and cameramen, it rotated its wings, pointing its engines upward, and took off and landed like a helicopter.

FROM DALLAS

The plane—representing an investment of $100 million in research, development, and testing—was flown here by a three-service flight crew from the Dallas plant of Ling-Temco-Vought Corp., prime contractor for the project.

LTV has built five XC-142A's with Ryan and Hiller Aircraft Corp. as principal subcontractors. The wings, rear fuselage section, tail surfaces, and engine nacelles were built at the Ryan plant in San Diego.

The plane flown here fom Dallas is the first to be delivered to the Air Force for military testing after completion of flight tests at Dallas. Over the next 18 months, Air Force, Army, Navy, and Marine Corps test pilots will see what the plane can do as a military vehicle.

RYAN TRIUMPH

Yesterday's demonstration was a triumph from beginning to end for Ryan officials who had come here less than 3 months ago for another demonstration that ended in tragedy. At that time Ryan's XV-5A, a vertical-takoff plane employing a different concept, crashed and killed its pilot.

The XC-142A left Dallas Thursday and flew as far as Luke AFB near Phoenix. It took off from there yesterday morning for the final leg of the trip to Edwards, with an Air Force C-130 flying behind it as an escort.

The C-130 had engine trouble on the flight to Edwards, and both planes finished the flight at a reduced speed.

"They were supposed to be escorting us, but we wound up escorting them," said Air Force Maj. Gay E. Jones, 38, of Shawnee, Okla., who was at the controls of the XC-142A.

After making a high-speed pass over Edwards, the XC-142A landed in a conventional way and taxied up before the spectators. Then it tilted its wings and, with its four General Electric turboprop engines roaring, it lifted vertically into the air.

It rose slowly to a hovering position about 50 feet off the ground. There it turned slowly on a vertical axis, showing different profiles to the onlookers.

Its wings began to tilt slowly forward and it began moving upward and forward. Within seconds it was flying as a conventional transport.

The plane circled to approach the runway again, but instead of landing as other fixed-wing craft would do, it slowed to a full stop in the air, its wings tilting back again to point the engines upward. Then it settled down to a vertical landing that looked as soft as an office building elevator reaching the first floor.

International Monetary Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday under a cloudy Virginia sky the Secretary of the Treasury, the Honorable Henry H. Fowler, brought a shaft of sunshine not only to Virginia but to the Nation and the world. Last Saturday, he announced:

The United States now stands prepared to attend and participate in an international monetary conference that would consider what steps we might jointly take to secure substantial improvements in international monetary arrangements.

As you no doubt know, Mr. Speaker, since 1949 the United States has suffered a balance of payments deficit every year except 1957. This deficit has resulted in a substantial out flow of gold which has drawn heavily on our national reserves. In 1949 our gold reserve stock stood at $24,563 millions while today, a mere 15 years later, our gold reserves stock is down 43 percent of the 1949 total to $14,481 millions of which $9,000 million is a required reserve. This is a significant fact when we stop to think of the even greater pressures put on the U.S. dollar today as a key currency in international economics.

During the early years of our growing international debt up to 1958—the deficit was of little concern because it necessarily resulted from our massive efforts to rebuild Europe. It resulted from massive U.S. aid to these countries under such programs as the Marshall plan established by our revered and esteemed former President, Harry S. Truman. Vast quantities of dollars were sent abroad as liquid reserves to lubricate the wheels of progress and peace in Western Europe and Japan. It goes without saying that the entire world has benefitted and is benefiting from the contributions which those countries have been able to make as a result of these programs.

After 1958, however, American overseas investment began increasing in gigantic proportions. Measures were taken at that time to stem the outflow of dollars since what had before been a dollar shortage was rapidly turning into a

dollar glut. In other words, other countries found they had more dollars than they wanted and as a result gold began to flow out of the United States at an alarming rate. Regardless of the measures used to arrest capital movement, the outflow of dollars through private investment grew in geometric proportions. In 1964, the outflow of private capital abroad grew to a fantastic $6.5 billion.

As you will remember, President Johnson in the February 10 message to Congress on the balance of payments called on American business to join voluntarily in an effort to curb the outflow of dollars abroad. And I must say, Mr. Speaker, that business deserves praise for its quick response. During the months of March, April, and May our balance of payments improved to the point where we showed a surplus. However, it must be remembered that these measures can only be temporary. Long-range measures must therefore be employed to balance our accounts over the long run and relieve the present pressure on the U.S. dollar. In the words of Secretary Fowler:

If we allowed our deficits to continue, or if we lapsed back into prolonged deficit after a brief period of surplus, we would undermine world confidence in the dollar and impair its usefulness as a world reserve and leading currency.

Herein lies the paradoxical problem with which we must deal. Assuming that the United States is able to continue this payments surplus which we all hope it will be able to do, dollars will return to the United States from countries abroad. However, if this surplus continues, world reserves will be reduced, since many countries today hold dollars as a part of their reserve stock. This chart which I would like to insert into the RECORD dramatically points this out:

Gold reserves and dollar holdings, June 1965—Holdings of foreign countries and international organizations

[In millions of dollars]

Area and country	Dec. 31, 1963		Mar. 31, 1964		June 30, 1964		Sept. 30, 1964		Dec. 31, 1964		Mar. 31, 1965 [1]	
	Gold and short-term dollars	U.S. Government bonds and notes	Gold and short-term dollars	U.S. Government bonds and notes	Gold and short-term dollars	U.S. Government bonds and notes	Gold and short-term dollars	U.S. Government bonds and notes	Gold and short-term dollars	U.S. Government bonds and notes	Gold and short-term dollars	U.S. Government bonds and notes
Western Europe:												
Austria	901	3	911	3	902	3	947	3	923	3	872	3
Belgium	1,791		1,782		1,832		1,821		1,887		1,895	
Denmark	253	14	259	14	289	14	352	14	428	14	430	14
Finland	160	1	176	1	167	1	174	1	212	1	201	1
France	4,653	6	4,709	7	5,003	7	5,093	7	5,392	7	5,530	7
Germany, Federal Republic of	6,884	1	6,811	1	6,616	1	6,437	1	6,258	1	6,131	1
Greece	265		239		227		225		251		232	
Italy	3,146	1	2,927	1	3,039	1	3,225	1	3,729	1	3,539	1
Netherlands	1,961	4	1,898	4	1,824	5	1,964	4	2,055	5	2,036	5
Norway	164	131	135	131	188	131	205	101	214	98	234	68
Portugal	688		[3] 691		[3] 698		[3] 747		780		801	
Spain	778	2	807	2	839	2	972	2	1,010	2	983	2
Sweden	591	129	610	130	615	130	733	90	833	40	928	40
Switzerland	3,726	75	3,528	77	3,737	77	3,653	78	4,095	79	3,927	78
Turkey	136		135		129		123		140		142	
United Kingdom	3,967	328	4,245	380	4,153	402	4,222	402	4,020	414	4,308	407
Other [2]	369	46	559	49	514	48	[3] 491	49	507	49	387	49
Total	30,433	741	[3] 30,422	800	[3] 30,772	822	[3] 31,384	753	32,734	714	32,576	676
Canada	3,805	687	3,555	686	3,674	686	3,863	695	4,009	690	3,564	735
Latin American Republics:												
Argentina	453		452		424		386		361		371	
Brazil	329		329		294		330		349		420	
Chile	186		181		227		224		219		206	
Colombia	231	1	244	1	238	1	226	1	265	1	223	1
Cuba	12		11		11		10		10		9	
Mexico	808	2	837	1	817	1	808	1	903	1	914	1
Panama, Republic of	129	10	91	1	105		89	1	99	1	109	1
Peru	215		230		271		271		272	1	333	1
Uruguay	284		277		276		280		281		294	
Venezuela	992		1,017		1,057		1,076		1,130		1,096	
Other	424	1	463	2	487	2	465	2	473	2	528	1
Total	4,063	14	4,132	5	4,207	4	4,165	5	4,362	6	4,503	5
Asia:												
India	298		302		311		307		306		342	
Indonesia	83	1	81	1	77	1	63	1	73	1	62	1
Japan	2,773	5	2,758	5	2,757	5	2,882	5	3,023	5	3,107	9
Philippines	237		232		230		260		256		278	
Thailand	486		513		529		546		562		592	
Other	1,687	41	1,893	38	1,944	42	1,995	45	2,059	43	2,223	43
Total	5,564	47	5,779	44	5,848	48	6,053	51	6,279	49	6,604	53
Africa:												
South Africa	671		670		645		635		620		547	
United Arab Republic (Egypt)	188		198		196		196		163		163	
Other	296	9	293	10	287	10	288	14	284	16	317	16
Total	1,155	9	1,161	10	1,128	10	1,119	14	1,067	16	1,027	16
Other countries:												
Australia	388		373		384		392		402		411	
All other	313	26	308	25	350	26	358	28	371	26	415	31
Total	701	26	681	25	734	26	750	28	773	26	826	31
Total foreign countries [4]	45,721	1,524	[3] 45,730	1,570	[3] 46,363	1,596	[3] 47,334	1,546	49,224	1,501	49,100	1,516
International and regional [5]	6,958	1,218	7,067	1,170	7,294	1,068	7,499	923	7,162	904	7,279	798
Grand total [4]	52,679	2,742	[3] 52,797	2,740	[3] 53,657	2,664	[3] 54,833	2,469	56,386	2,405	56,379	2,314

[1] Preliminary.

[2] Includes, in addition to other Western European countries, unpublished gold reserves of certain Western European countries; gold to be distributed by the Tripartite Commission for the Restitution of Monetary Gold; European Fund; and the Bank for International Settlements (the figures for the gold reserves of the BIS represent the Bank's net gold assets).

[3] Revised.

[4] Excludes gold reserves of the U.S.S.R., other Eastern European countries, and China mainland.

[5] Includes international organizations and Latin American and European regional organizations, except the Bank for International Settlements and European Fund, which are included in "Other Western Europe."

NOTE.—Gold and short-term dollars include reported and estimated official gold reserves, and official and private short-term dollar holdings (principally deposits and U.S. Treasury bills and certificates); excludes nonnegotiable, non-interest-bearing special U.S. notes held by the Inter-American Development Bank and the International Development Association. U.S. Government bonds and notes are official and private holdings of U.S. Government securities with an original maturity of more than 1 year; excludes nonmarketable U.S. Treasury bonds and notes held by official institutions of foreign countries.

With only a cursory glance at this table it becomes obvious that the amount of dollar reserves held abroad will diminish with every attempt to meet our balance-of-payments deficit. As a result, international liquidity will be squeezed to a point of illiquidity. Other countries will be forced to call on the International Monetary Fund for dollars to meet the demand. Although the IMF increased its quota this year by 25 percent thereby increasing its reserves from $15 to $21 billion it will still be unable to meet the needs of growing world trade. It is predicted with some assurance that international trade will grow at a minimum rate of 3 percent per year, which means that in 5 years the IMF will be working at capacity and will have to be further extended. On the other hand, if the surplus in balance of payments does not continue and we return to deficit spending, the dollar glut will continue. Pressure on the dollar and our gold reserve will increase perhaps to a critical point where there would be a run on American gold and the dollar would collapse.

It thus becomes readily apparent that a concentrated effort must be vigorously pursued. Time has long since passed when a casual and speculative effort could have been made, because as I have stated time and again, international monetary reforms must be accomplished soon or such illiquidity and pressure on the pound and the dollar will be more than a mere menace to international finance.

I believe that it was with this in mind, Mr. Speaker, that the Honorable Mr. Fowler recommended to President Johnson the creation of the Advisory Committee on International Monetary Arrangements headed by the distinguished former Secretary of the Treasury, Douglas Dillon. The Committee's first meeting this Friday will come none too soon to cope with this vast world problem. My only hope is that the Committee will use this shaft of light brought forth by the Honorable Mr. Fowler to illumine the complexities of this problem and subsequently put forth a viable solution. We cannot expect a sudden or dramatic clearing of these troubled skies as may come with a new day, nor can we foresee a sudden revolutionary acceptance of such a change, but we can hope for step-by-step changes to remove the pressures presently placed on the dollar and reestablish international liquidity on a stable and continuing basis.

Let us therefore encourage this newly founded Advisory Committee to seek out a tenable and permanent solution as quickly but as cautiously as possible. Let us also be thankful that at long last the administration and the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury realize the severity of the problem which, for quite some time, Members of Congress, including myself, have so diligently striven to delineate.

They Harvest Despair: The Migrant Worker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, Dale Wright, the crusading journalist, has written a chronicle of the living conditions of migrant farmworkers. "They Harvest Despair" is based upon the series of articles which he wrote for the New York World Telegram and Sun and which I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. These articles focused national attention upon the plight of the forgotten farm laborers who are caught up in the cycle of poverty. Dale Wright worked as a migrant in order to understand fully the situation. His articles were cited by the American Newspaper Guild as one of the two most distinguished pieces of reporting in 1961, and they won for the author a Heywood Broun Memorial Award, the Public Service Award of the Society of the Silurians, an organization of 25-year New York City newspapermen, and the Paul Tobenkin Award for distinguished public service reporting.

I have long been concerned with the plight of the migrant worker and sponsored a package of bills in the House which were also sponsored by Senator HARRISON WILLIAMS in the other body. Some of these have been enacted, others are pending. Congress has not fulfilled its responsibility to migrants who cannot exercise the traditional forms of political influence available to most Americans. Since they are constantly on the move, they cannot fulfill the usual residence requirements for voter registration.

Consequently, their problems are often ignored. Their very existence is often overlooked. They remain faceless and nameless. Very few Americans know these forgotten laborers as human beings, caught up in a treadmill of poverty, uneducated, and ravaged by disease.

Dale Wright's new book "They Harvest Despair: The Migrant Worker" tells the story of the migrant laborer in very human and moving terms. I hope all my colleagues will have an opportunity to read it. Meanwhile, I bring to their attention a book review by Robert Coles which was published in the New York Herald Tribune on Sunday, May 23, 1965:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Sunday, May 23, 1965]

(By Robert Coles)

"They Harvest Despair: The Migrant Farm Worker." By Dale Wright. Beacon. 158 pages. $4.95.

"The Slaves We Rent." By Truman Moore. Illustrated. Random House. 171 pages. $4.95.

Here are two books that once again serve to highlight a persisting national tragedy. Growers and farm hands alike are caught up in the terrible ironies of our agricultural situation: surpluses that themselves are a problem, associated with nervous, worried farmers who never quite believe they have permanently turned a corner from their past difficulties, and millions of field hands, sharecroppers or migrant workers, whose lives are lived in such contrast to ours that the very effort to describe them must be labored and strained.

If it takes effort and ingenuity to make a solid, informed, yet effective case about the conditions of life borne by our farmworkers—one that will instruct without so horrifying the reader that his attention or sympathy are purchased at the price of a later forgetfulness—it also takes courage even to make the attempt; for the books on this subject are by no means as rare as the attention given to it by most of us—that would include government, industry and labor. The titles of the books themselves are testimony to the conditions described as well as the continuing inventiveness of writers: "Ill Fares the Land," "Factories in the Field," or "The Harvesters." Then there are valuable pamphlets put out by public health officials, like "They Follow the Sun" or "On the Season." The television documentary "Harvest of Shame" stirred a bit of a controversy, just as John Steinbeck's "Grapes of Wrath" did decades earlier. All the while, for millions, life goes on—up with the sun, to the land, down on one's knees, hands to the crops, up with the darkening sky, and home. To see those "homes" is to realize the very generosity of the word, willing to lend itself without discrimination to everything from your home and mine to any flimsy shack that happens to cover human beings.

Not one thing new do either of these two books tell anyone who follows the literature; yet each of them is our generation's protest at some of the insensibility about us. How many more generations will have to contribute perceptive, decent writers like Dale Wright and Truman Moore to the task of our common arousal as responsible, compassionate American citizens?

Both these books are in the finest muckraking tradition. From Tom Paine to James Agee this Nation has produced poetically intense pamphleteers, distilling the struggle of our people for a better life into luminous passages that dare expose the writers' craft to the demands of justice. Mr. Moore is a good photographer as well as a sensitive writer. His book portrays the story of migrant farm work in broad strokes: its history, its characteristic isolation from the rest of the labor movement, the peculiar social and cultural system built upon it, binding and directing the lives of millions of citizens so unobstrusively that most of us simply don't know that such a way of life exists in our very midst. Photographs, touching and saddening photographs, interrupt the pages, bearing down upon the benighted with their visual evidence of fields and shacks and, most of all, with their people. When we have read the facts and heard individual field hands talk, we are left with the choice of closing the book and regarding it all as a bad, unfathomable nightmare, or going on to the ample and thorough references given at the end of the book—reading to do, organizations to seek, laws to support.

Mr. Wright's book is less extensively informative than emotionally involving. It is essentially an expansion of a series of newspaper articles written to describe the annual movement of families up and down the Atlantic seaboard, picking, moving on, picking. Anger and dismay streak through the narrative written by this gifted, unusual reporter, willing to travel, live with, and work

with the people he describes. The writing is well done, carrying the reader along, letting up on him periodically by suspending outraged comment long enough to supply him with a new batch of unnerving facts. By the last page one has just what the chapter is called: "a faint glimmer of hope." I would imagine that the reader will join the migrants by harvesting sympathetic despair from this candid, indignant book.

Still, without questioning the worth of these boks, I wonder about their titles, and what they indicate the authors have failed to regard. Migrants are not slaves, nor do they feel gloomy and weary as a result of their toil. I have met a good number of migrants who have shunned urban unemployment and relief, chosen willingly to stay out and work on the land. I have even met some who have left our ghettos for such a life. Why some of our rural poor remain loyal to farming and others go to the cities is an interesting and complicated problem. If we are going to call every inhabitant of the ghetto—every one of our relatively impoverished citizens—a "slave," then I would not deny the migrants their place in such a categorization. Yet, frankly, I think we get nowhere using that kind of language. The word "slave" has a historical and political connotation simply not encompassed by the lives of migrant farmers, who have, if anything, an odd kind of wandering freedom. For that matter, they are not tied down to th inert peonage of relief checks. Nor are they so psychologically depressed as a group to warrant the singular mention of "despair" as their harvest. I am not being sentimental when I say that many of the migrant families I have studied showed less evidence of despair—either actual clincial depression, or a more pervasive sort of agonized dejection—than I have seen in the upper-middle-class clientele who find their way willingly to psychiatric offices. Rather than saddle the rurel poor with our despair, we need to learn how lives can face a near moneyless form of vagabondage and yet gather for themselves some persisting coherence.

Let me be clear: poverty is no price to pay for any virtues or strengths it my unwittingly spawn. Yet, those virtues and strengths must be appreciated for what they are, even as we try to salvage them—for the sake of all of us—from their sordid environment. We can learn from one another on this planet, and perhaps surrender the notion that salvation lies in any exclusive domain, even that of our gilded anarchic suburbia.

Crime Continues To Increase in the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, Lyndon Johnson and Nicholas Katzenbach continue to try to tell other areas of the country how to live, but not a single step has been taken to make Washington safe for its citizens and visitors. Perhaps they could be more helpful to restoring law and order to the streets of the Nation if they demonstrated some concern over the increasing crime rate in the Capital.

The President and the Attorney General have had a field day castigating my State of Alabama and its people because of incidents created by agitators of violence, but I would like to point out once more that there is more crime in a single precinct in the city of Washington in a month than in the whole State of Alabama.

To keep the record straight, I would like to include the following news story from the Washington Evening Star of July 13, 1965, "District of Columbia Crime Rise for 37th Month":

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CRIME RISES FOR 37TH MONTH

Serious crime in the District increased last month by 26.3 percent over June 1964, police reported today.

It was the 37th consecutive month in which the number of local crimes showed a rise over the comparable period a year earlier. The June figures brought the total offenses for the fiscal year to 32,545, an increase of 12.4 percent over the 12 months ending in June 1964.

The June figures also were slightly higher than May's, 2,707 compared to 2,673.

Compared to June 1964, robberies showed the greatest rate increase last month, rising to 275 from 139, or 97.8 percent. Housebreakings increased by 82 to 644; grand larcenies by 38 to 147; petty larcenies by 165 to 873; auto theft by 139 to 496; rape by 4 to 15, and aggravated assault by 1 to 246.

Criminal homicide, which dropped from 13 to 11, was the only category to show a decrease.

Coinage Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill H.R. 8926 to provide for the coinage of the United States.

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Chairman, during discussion of the coinage bill, we have heard much talk centering on the fact that this is merely a localized problem—that the West is the only area concerned with the mining of silver. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Any employee of the Raritan Copper Works or American Smelting & Refining in Perth Amboy, N.J., knows the strategic importance of this industry to the central Jersey area. Besides this, there is also a pressing national need to conserve the silver supply—for these reasons, enactment of this legislation is absolutely necessary.

Silver is not always mined as other metals; it is mostly produced as a byproduct of other ores. This silver is too valuable to use in coinage. According to Mr. Walter McBride, general manager of the Raritan Copper Works, 6,747,000 ounces of silver were refined there in 1963 from copper slimes. In fact, the output of refinement of silver in America now stands at over 36 million ounces a year.

Although it was difficult for some to reconcile not having gold in the mid-thirties, it will be similarly necessary to do without silver in coins. We cannot peril our Nation's economy and take the chance of running out of silver in the next half dozen years by keeping our coins on the silver standard.

I am also happy to see the creation of a national Joint Committee on Coinage under another title of this bill. This will be one of the surest means of insuring a safe and sound currency system for future years.

Passage of this legislation is imperative.

Specific Lists of Items Affected by the Excise Tax Reduction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, recently, in response to many requests from people throughout the country, I submitted for the RECORD a general list of those items affected by the recent excise tax reduction.

It appears from the great number of additional requests for more specific information on those items affected by the excise tax reduction that it would be useful for me to submit a list enumerating each of the popular consumer items affected by the excise tax reduction, under the categories which I previously listed in the RECORD.

It is my hope that this list will be of further use to consumers and retailers who have found it exceedingly difficult to determine exactly what items should be subject to the excise tax reductions and, therefore, lower retail prices.

I might note, by way of clarification, that I have listed the categories under two different base price areas from which the excise tax percentage was figured under the old law. The first section includes those items in which the excise tax was based on the retail price; the second section includes those items in which the tax is based on the manufacturers' price.

The list of popular consumer items affected by the excise tax reduction follows:

Retailers' excise taxes

Item	Excise tax	Excise tax remaining after tax cut
A. JEWELRY AND RELATED ITEMS		
Amber	10 percent	None.
Beryl of the following types:		
Aquamarine	do	Do
Emerald	do	Do.
Golden beryl	do	Do.
Heliodor	do	Do.
Morganite	do	Do.
Crysoberyl of the following types:		
Alexandrite	do	Do.
Cat's eye	do	Do.
Chrysolite	do	Do.
Corundum of the following types:		
Ruby	do	Do.
Sapphire	do	Do.
Diamond	do	Do.
Feldspar of the following types: Moonstone	do	Do.
Garnet	do	Do.
Jadeite (jade)	do	Do.
Jet	do	Do.
Lapis lazuli	do	Do.
Nephrite (jade)	do	Do.
Opal	do	Do.
Pearls (natural and cultured)	do	Do.
Peridot	do	Do.
Quartz of the following types:		
Amethyst	do	Do.
Bloodstone	do	Do.
Citrine	do	Do.
Moss agate	do	Do.
Onyx	do	Do.
Sardonyx	do	Do.
Tiger-eye	do	Do.
Spinel	do	Do.
Topaz	do	Do.
Tourmaline	do	Do.
Turquoise	do	Do.
Zircon	do	Do.
Any synthetic stones called by the above names	do	Do.
Articles made of, or ornamented with precious metals or imitations thereof.	do	Do.
Watches	do	Do.
Clocks	do	Do.
Cases and movements for watches and clocks	do	Do.
Gold, gold-plated, silver or sterling flatware or hollow-ware and silver-plated hollow ware.	do	Do.
Opera glasses	do	Do.
Lorgnettes	do	Do.
Marine glasses	do	Do.
Field glasses	do	Do.
Binoculars	do	Do.
(NOTE.—The above enumeration was amended in 1958 to impose a tax on pearls, precious and semi-precious stones, and imitations thereof. The above items are not taxable when used on military uniforms, medical equipment, religious articles, etc. Automobile clocks or accessory clocks are not taxable.)		
B. FURS		
Articles made of fur, and articles of which such fur is the component material of chief value (3 times the value of the next most valuable component material).	do	Do.
C. TOILET PREPARATIONS		
Perfume	10 percent	None.
Essences	do	Do.
Extracts	do	Do.
Toilet waters	do	Do.
Cosmetics	do	Do.
Petroleum jellies	do	Do.
Hair oils	do	Do.
Pomades	do	Do.
Hair dressings	do	Do.
Hair restoratives	do	Do.
Hair dyes	do	Do.
Toilet powders (except for baby oil, powder, and lotion)	do	Do.
Similar substances	do	Do.
D. LUGGAGE, HANDBAGS, ETC.		
Bathing suit bags	do	Do.
Beach bags or kits	do	Do.
Billfolds	do	Do.
Briefcases	do	Do.
Brief bags	do	Do.
Camping bags	do	Do.
Card and pass cases	do	Do.
Collar cases	do	Do.
Cosmetic bags and kits	do	Do.
Dressing cases	do	Do.
Duffelbags	do	Do.
Furlough bags	do	Do.
Garment bags designed for use by travelers	do	Do.
Hat boxes designed for use by travelers	do	Do.
Haversacks	do	Do.
Key cases or containers	do	Do.
Knapsacks	do	Do.
Knitting or shopping bags (suitable for use as purses or handbags).	do	Do.
Makeup boxes	do	Do.
anicure set cases	do	Do.
Memorandum pad cases	do	Do.
Musette bags	do	Do.
Overnight bags	do	Do.
Pocketbooks	do	Do.
Purses and handbags	do	Do.
Ring binders, capable of closure on all sides	do	Do.
Salesmen's sample or display cases, bags or trunks	do	Do.
Satchels	do	Do.
Shoe and slipper bags	do	Do.
Suitcases	do	Do.
Tie cases	do	Do.
Toilet kits and cases	do	Do.
Traveling bags	do	Do.
Trunks	do	Do.
Vanity bags or cases	do	Do.
Valises	do	Do.
Wallets	do	Do.
Wardrobe cases	do	Do.

Manufacturers' excise tax

Item	Excise tax	Excise tax remaining after tax cut
MOTOR VEHICLES		
Automobile truck chassis	10 percent	10 percent.
Automobile truck bodies	do	Do.
Automobile bus chassis	do	Do.
Automobile bus bodies	do	Do.
Schoolbuses	do	None.
Truck and bus trailer and semitrailer chassis and body.	do	10 percent.
Tractors used with trailers in highway transportation.	do	Do.
Camper coaches: Bodies for self-propelled mobile homes.	do	Do.
Feed, seed, and fertilizer equipment	8 to 10 percent	Do.
Small, 3-wheeled trucks	10 percent	None.
Automobiles (chassis and bodies other than those taxable above).	do	7 percent on June 22, 1965, 6 percent on Jan. 1, 1966, 4 percent on Jan. 1, 1967, 2 percent on Jan. 1, 1968, 1 percent on Jan. 1, 1969.
Chassis and bodies for trailers and semi-trailers suitable for use in connection with passenger automobiles (house trailers and tractors are exempted).	do	Do.
Automobile parts and accessories (except tires, auto radios, and inner tubes):		
Spark plugs	8 percent	Entirely repealed on Jan. 1, 1966.
Storage batteries	do	Do.
Leaf springs	do	Do.
Coils	do	Do.
Timers	do	Do.
Tire chains (etc.)	do	Do.
Truck parts similar to those above	do	To be repealed in 1972.
APPLIANCES AND LIGHT BULBS		
A. Refrigeration equipment:		
Household-type refrigerators (for single or multiple cabinet installations) having, or being designed for use with an electrical, gas, kerosene, or gasoline unit.	5 percent	None.
Household-type quick freezers designed to run on electricity, gas, kerosene, or gasoline.	do	Do.
Combination freezers and refrigerators.	do	Do.
Self-contained air conditioner units	10 percent	Do.

Manufacturers' excise tax—Continued

Item	Excise tax	Excise tax remaining after tax cut
B. Electric, gas, and oil appliances and power lawn equipment:		
Electric, gas, or oil water heaters	5 percent	None.
Electric flatirons	do	Do.
Electric air heaters (not including furnaces).	do	Do.
Electric immersion heaters	do	Do.
Electric blankets, sheets, and spreads.	do	Do.
Electric, gas, or oil appliances of the type used for cooking, warming, or keeping warm food or beverages for consumption on the premises.	do	Do.
Electric mixers, whippers, and juicers	do	Do.
Electric direct-motor and belt-driven fans and air circulators.	do	Do.
Electric exhaust blowers	do	Do.
Electric or gas clothes driers	do	Do.
Electric door chimes	do	Do.
Electric dehumidifiers	do	Do.
Electric dishwashers	do	Do.
Electric food choppers and grinders	do	Do.
Electric hedge trimmers	do	Do.
Electric ice cream freezers	do	Do.
Electric mangles	do	Do.
Electric pants pressers	do	Do.
Electric, gas, or oil incinerator units and garbage disposal units.	do	Do.
Power lawnmowers (up to 21-inch blade).	do	Do.
Direct motor-driven fans and air circulators of the household type.	do	Do.
C. Electric light bulbs: Electric light bulbs and tubes.	10 percent	Repealed on January 1, 1966, except tax on bulbs used in previously taxable items repealed on June 22, 1965.
ENTERTAINMENT EQUIPMENT: RADIO AND TELEVISION SETS, PHONOGRAPHS AND RECORDS, ETC.		
Radio receiving sets (used for entertainment).	do	None.
Automobile radio receiving sets	do	Do.
Television receiving sets (for entertainment).	do	Do.
Automobile television receiving sets	do	Do.
Phonographs	do	Do.
Combinations of any of the foregoing	do	Do.
Radio and television components and accessories (tubes, chassis, etc.).	do	Do.
Phonograph records	do	Do.
ENTERTAINMENT EQUIPMENT: MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS		
Musical instruments (except those used for religious purposes).	do	Do.
RECREATIONAL EQUIPMENT: SPORTING GOODS		
Badminton nets, rackets, and racket frames (over 22 inches in length), racket string, shuttlecocks, and standards.	do	Do.
Billiard and pool tables (over 45 inches in length), and balls and cues.	do	Do.
Bowling balls and pins	do	Do.
Clay pigeons and traps for throwing clay pigeons.	do	Do.
Cricket balls and bats	do	Do.
Croquet balls and mallets	do	Do.
Curling stones	do	Do.
Deck tennis rings, nets, and posts	do	Do.
Fishing rods, creels, reels, and artificial lures, baits, and flies.	do	10 percent.
Golf bags (26 inches or longer), balls, and clubs (30 inches or longer).	do	None.
Lacrosse balls and sticks	do	Do.
Polo balls and mallets	do	Do.
Skis, ski poles, snowshoes, snow toboggans, and sleds (60 inches or longer).	do	Do.
Squash balls, rackets, and racket frames (measuring 23 inches or more), and racket string.	do	Do.
Table tennis tables, balls, nets, and paddles.	do	Do.
Tennis balls, nets, rackets, and racket frames (22 inches or longer) and racket frames.	do	Do.
RECREATIONAL EQUIPMENT—PHOTOGRAPHIC EQUIPMENT		
Cameras (except X-ray cameras and cameras weighing more than 4 pounds exclusive of lens and accessories).	do	Do.
Camera lenses (except still camera lenses having a focal length of 120 millimeters or more and motion picture camera lenses having a focal length of more than 30 millimeters).	10 percent	None.
Unexposed photographic film (except X-ray, microfilm, or film over 150 feet in length).	do	Do.
Electric motion or still picture projectors of the household type.	5 percent	Do.
BUSINESS MACHINES		
Adding machines	10 percent	Do.
Addressing machines	do	Do.
Autographic registers	do	Do.
Bank proof machines	do	Do.
Billing machines	do	Do.
Bookkeeping machines	do	Do.
Calculating machines	do	Do.
Card punch machines	do	Do.
Cash registers (except the type used in registering over-the-counter retail sales).	do	Do.
Change making machines	do	Do.
Check writing, signing, canceling, perforating, etc., machines.	do	Do.
Computing machines	do	Do.
Coin counters	do	Do.
Dictographs	do	Do.
Dictating machines	do	Do.
Dictating machine record shaving machines.	do	Do.
Duplicating machines	do	Do.
Embossing machines	do	Do.
Envelope opening machines	do	Do.
Erasing machines	do	Do.
Folding machines	do	Do.
Fanfold machines	do	Do.
Fare registers and boxes	do	Do.
Listing machines	do	Do.
Line-a-Time and similar machines	do	Do.
Mailing machines	do	Do.
Multigraph machines, typesetting machines and type-justifying machines.	do	Do.
Numbering machines	do	Do.
Portable paper fastening machines	do	Do.
Payroll machines	do	Do.
Pencil sharpeners	do	Do.
Postal permit mailing machines	do	Do.
Punchcard machines	do	Do.
Sorting machines	do	Do.
Stencil cutting machines (except those used in shipping departments in making cutout stencils for marking freight shipments.	do	Do.
Shorthand writing machines	do	Do.
Sealing machines	do	Do.
Tabulating machines	do	Do.
Ticket-counting machines	do	Do.
Ticket-issuing machines	do	Do.
Typewriters	do	Do.
Transcribing machines	do	Do.
Time-recording devices	do	Do.
Combinations of any of the foregoing	do	Do.
PENS AND MECHANICAL PENCILS AND LIGHTERS		
Mechanical lighters for cigarettes, cigars, and pipes.	10 cents per lighter but not more than 10 percent of selling price.	Do.
Mechanical pencils, fountain pens, and ballpoint pens.	10 percent	Do.
MATCHES		
Plain matches	2 cents per 1,000, but not more than 10 percent of manufacturer's price.	Do.
Fancy matches	5½ cents per 1,000	Do.
SAFE DEPOSIT BOXES		
Use of safe deposit box or similar receptacle.	10 percent	Do.
PLAYING CARDS		
Playing card packs	13 cents per pack	Do.
TOBACCO		
Tobacco, manufactured (chewing, smoking, snuff.	10 cents per pound	All repealed January 1, 1966.

The Separation Barrier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson warned in his historic speech at Howard University that the "separation barrier" isolating the poor, the disenfranchised, and the Negro from the larger communities in which they live remains intact. The conditions which result in this alienation are multidimensional and require the best efforts of all of us to overcome them.

Bruce Biossat discussed this question in a column in the New York World Telegram and Sun on June 22, 1965. His article points out how President Johnson is determined to build the essential bridges to end this isolation.

The article follows:

[From the New York World Telegram and Sun, June 22, 1965]

SEEKING AN END TO RACIAL ISOLATION

(By Bruce Biossat)

Newly highlighted by President Johnson, the severe isolation and alienation of millions of Negroes from established American society is being recognized increasingly here as the stiffest of all obstacles to racial harmony in this country.

The President, in his milestone speech at Howard University, noted the stunning fact that this condition of separation actually has increased even as some aspects of the Negro's economic and social status have been improved.

The administration's poverty fighters, contending on one hand with steady buffetings of criticism, come up against the "separation barrier" steadily as they begin to work among the poor. Poverty knows no color line, but it has struck with great force among Negro families.

Part—but only part—of the isolation is seen as a function of educational insufficiencies. Concerned white people are continuously astonished at the depth and breadth of this lack, and its effects on the most sincere efforts to communicate across the wide gulf.

An earnest young woman undertook to help in remedial reading work among some Negro boys aged 12 to 14. She thought that scanning the baseball news in the local newspaper would be a solid beginning point with a bunch of active lads.

Yet, though they lived but a few blocks from a baseball stadium, none of the youngsters ever had heard of the local major league team. They knew nothing of the professional leagues or their players.

Even as they walk beyond the physical confines of their "cities within cities," they necessarily move as if surrounded by an invisible moat.

Isolation, compounded by many economic and social factors, grades into alienation—nearly total hostility—in many areas of those large U.S. cities where de facto segregation is a grinding reality.

At the core of this hostility, the poverty fighters are discovering, is an incredibly huge reservoir of mistrust.

In countless places, no matter how big a "badge of concern" they wear, interested whites and even "established" Negroes cannot cross the lines fixed by the alienated.

Where the problem has a southern context, bridging efforts have to be of a different order. Atlanta, Ga., long was offered to the Nation as a bright example of what might be achieved through dogged attempts at mutual understanding.

But racial outbursts in 1964 over public accommodations issues disclosed that this bridge, too, was extremely frail, involving too few people on both sides of the gulf.

Such reverses in those places where a bridging effort has been made only underscore the magnitude of the difficulty.

Atlanta and Philadelphia have the advantage that the white business establishment and political power structure in both instances show awareness of the problem and a steady intent to act. Atlanta is further helped by having an educated Negro establishment as an effective counterpart.

In less favored communities, the "alienation" obstacle is mountainous. Only the faintest stirrings of effort are visible on both sides of the gap. One of the exceptions, perhaps, is Rochester, N.Y., where last summer's riots stunned the city into acceptance of the harsh realities.

Its antipoverty programs are being framed with the clear purpose of breaking the barrier and enlisting the isolated, alienated Negro community.

The President's well-received attentions to this grave dilemma, as laid out in his Howard speech, are serving now to interest more and more white and Negro leaders in the urgent necessity of building strong, durable bridges to end the Negro community's critical isolation and begin to eliminate the deeply embedded, potentially explosive mistrust of the alienated.

The premium today is on bridge-builders, men of good will on both sides who want to make a genuine, determined effort at spanning the gulf.

Adlai E. Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. HATHAWAY

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, the tragedy that struck the world community yesterday emphasizes the impact that Adlai Stevenson had on our lives and on our hopes for a permanent peace. The poignant sense of personal and national loss felt by all people resulted not only because he was removed abruptly from us at a time when he was brilliantly carrying out a vital duty, but also because he dignified public service.

Among political leaders he was unique for he was genuinely sensitive to human wants and aware that our great democracy could be perpetrated only if its members elevated the people by their own lives and actions. His eloquence, his intelligence, and his taste made us all proud to be Americans. Long after our personal sadness at his passing subsides, our memory of him, his deeds, and his personal exemplification of what is best in our way of life will remain. It is perhaps best to characterize his contributions to mankind by quoting his eulogy to another great American, Eleanor Roosevelt. Of her, he said:

She would rather light candles than let the world live in darkness.

Hamer H. Budge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, Securities and Exchange Commissioner, the Honorable Hamer H. Budge, recently was the subject of an extremely laudatory article in the New York Times in connection with the first anniversary of his appointment to the Commission by President Johnson. The article was particularly exceptional in that it reversed the position taken by the Times at the time of his appointment. At the time of his appointment, the Times was exceedingly critical—doubting that he had the experience for the job. It is good to see the record set straight.

Under leave to include extraneous material, I am including two editorials from Idaho newspapers, one by John Corlett, writing in the July 3 edition of the Idaho Daily Statesman, Boise, and the other appearing in the July 11 edition of the Times-News, Twin Falls. Both of these editorials point out the fact that the Securities and Exchange Commission, Commissioners, and employees have discovered, after a year of working with Mr. Budge, what Idahoans could have told them a year ago.

Mr. Speaker, Hamer Budge is one of the most dedicated, able, and effective men ever to serve Idaho's Second Congressional District, and it is indeed an honor to hold the seat he once occupied.

It is with pride and a sense of privilege that I submit the editorials, which follow:

POLITICALLY SPEAKING

(By John Corlett)

Hamer H. Budge of Boise has been a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for a year.

After he was nominated for the post by President Johnson in June of 1964, a cry went up amongst eastern liberals. They questioned Budge's qualifications for no good reason except that he had been a conservative while serving in the Congress, 1951 to 1961.

The U.S. Senate confirmed Budge's appointment on June 26, 1964.

Among the newspapers which bemoaned Budge's appointment to the SEC was the New York Times, which probably couldn't understand why the President chose a man so far away from Wall Street and the financial centers of the East.

It is of some great significance, therefore, that the New York Times carried last Sunday a story by Eileen Shanahan of its Washington Bureau, headlined "SEC Applauds Once-Controversial Nomination."

The Times writer started out her story, which was laudatory of Budge, with these words:

"To the intense surprise of practically everybody at the Securities and Exchange Commission, Hamer H. Budge has turned out to be a valued—and enormously well-liked—member of the team."

Miss (or perhaps it is Mrs.) Shanahan went on to point out that prior to his appointment he was known only "as the effective and tough partisan Republican infighter that he had proved himself to be during a

decade of service in the House of Representatives."

"The staff of the Commission, which runs heavily to New Deal Democrats, with a sprinkling of moderate Republicans, despaired because of the new commissioner's reputation as an arch-conservative and an out-and-out antiregulation man. Commission members feared they might never again be able to work in harmony. However, all hands now happily state they couldn't have been more wrong."

Persons intimately acquainted with Budge could have told them a year ago this is exactly what would happen.

During his decade in the House of Representatives, Budge was a "Congressman's Congressman." He worked hard and was respected among Democrats as well as Republicans. He was a conservative representing a conservative State and his voting record shows it. But he played the game by the rules laid down by Congress and his political philosophy did not prevent him from respecting the views of his opponents, and they reciprocated in kind.

Budge was a powerful figure in the House and on the House Appropriations Committee where he demonstrated he could, better than most Republicans in a Democratic Congress, get things done for Idaho. One can be sure that were he still in the House funds would have been made available long since for the Lower Teton project in eastern Idaho.

Unfortunately, Budge was not a "politician's politician," and somehow was unable to inform the people of the Second District of his effectiveness in Congress.

But his characteristics stand him in good stead on the SEC, wrote Miss Shanahan:

"The staff finds Judge Budge 'a very able guy, really quick * * * a nice guy with a good sense of humor * * * really good to work with * * * he never tries to cut you down or make you look bad * * *.'"

"The Commission chairman, Manuel F. Cohen, speaks glowingly of 'the judge.'"

"I'm not exactly an unbiased witness," he says. "I'm very fond of the Judge. He's a real member of this Commission and a valuable one. Mr. Cohen mentions among other things, Judge Budge's knowledge of Congress. This has led the chairman to make of Commissioner Budge a sort of special projects man in dealing with Congress on such matters as a new building for the Commission * * *."

Budge gets his "judge" title from the job he had before he was appointed to the SEC. He was serving at that time as a judge of Idaho's Third Judicial District Court in Boise.

PROVED AGAIN

Friends of Hamer Budge have been reading again what they've known all along, that Mr. Budge is a capable, efficient, human administrator. But because Mr. Budge also is a modest individual and soft spoken, it usually takes strangers some time to realize that he's an extraordinary person. The occasion for more individuals finally making the discovery is the first anniversary of Mr. Budge's appointment to the Securities and Exchange Commission. His friends aren't the slightest bit surprised to learn that Mr. Budge has established himself as a solid member of the Commission and other members of the Commission and all members of the staff are quite fond of Mr. Budge.

Around the Commission offices, Mr. Budge is known as "the judge" or perhaps "Judge Budge" which rhymes and sounds quite pleasant in keeping with the pleasant personality of the Commissioner. It's an honest title because Mr. Budge was third district judge in Boise prior to his appointment to the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Almost forgotten now is the uproar that accompanied Budge's appointment more than a year ago. The Times-News and a couple of other newspapers in this part of the Nation were almost alone in labeling the selection as a fine appointment. Some of the uproar developed because of Mr. Budge's conservatism. Under congressional examination for the appointment, he declared he "would be happy" to answer to the label as a conservative. Some of the uproar was for political reasons and there were objections that Mr. Budge had no background for such work.

But Mr. Budge ignored all the fuss and quietly went about his duties as a member of the Commission. He proved all over again that he's a capable individual. It was at least the third time Mr. Budge has had to prove his capability. There was some criticism and contentions of "political payoff" when he was appointed third district judge, but the criticism faded away when Mr. Budge went to work. Earlier, he had proved to citizens of southern Idaho that he was a good U.S. Representative, an office he might still hold if he had been just a bit more outspoken.

Mr. Budge's friends will find a little satisfaction in the means used to proclaim facts they have known about "the judge" all along. An article in the New York Times of June 27 is headlined "SEC Applauds Once-Controversial Nomination" with subheadings reading, "After A Year, Judge Budge Valued as Team Member" and "Doughty Republican Praised by Democratic Colleagues." The New York Times was among the critics when Mr. Budge was appointed to the SEC a year ago. That great, gray journal of "all the news that's fit to print" just couldn't understand why President Johnson was appointing a man with no financial background. Unfortunately, appointments made for political reasons seldom work out like this, but then there are so few men like Hamer Budge.

Adlai Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. HORACE R. KORNEGAY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, today I feel an overwhelming inadequacy. For I feel unable to engender seeming eloquence to speak of the nimble wit and tongue which was still yesterday in London.

However, I feel that I must smother my sense of inadequacy and speak in praise of Adlai E. Stevenson. Although he was claimed as the native son of the "Land of Lincoln" and later as a citizen of the world, we in North Carolina had deep affinity for this great spirit for peace who has left us for his own eternal peace. I had the very great honor of knowing him personally and feel a sense of pride in the knowledge that he aided my political career while I as a much younger man became interested in the field of politics. Ambassador Stevenson was a frequent visitor to our State, where his sister lived for many years.

We came to know him and to love him as our own in the Tar Heel State. Later, the free world did the same.

He leaves for all of us a noble example of personal courage and devotion to cause. He did not despair. Let us now not despair and seek for him the goal he sought for us—a lasting world peace.

Do We Have Property Rights?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, I have received a letter from a constituent bitterly condemning the proposal to eliminate most outdoor advertising, with compliance ordered by January 1, 1968, under penalty of the loss of Federal road money. The letter then contains a very strong statement of "Federal money and how it results in complete Federal control."

Under leave to include extraneous material, I hereby quote excerpts from this letter:

It used to be in this country that if a person owned property he could do with it as he desired so long as his use thereof did not harm other persons. Now apparently Congress intends to pass, or at least seriously consider passing a law which will restrict the free use of property on lands not within the highway rights-of-way and a use which is in no way harmful to other persons or the public in general but merely detracts from the esthetic beauty, so to speak, of the countryside as motorists approach urban areas.

The first thought that strikes me (and one with which I have been stricken on numerous occasions for some time) is what has become of individual freedom in this country? Why should not a property owner and a taxpayer have the right to make any use of his property he desires so long as such use is not harmful or deleterious to other persons? While the presence of advertising signs on some farm adjacent to a highway might offend the delicate sensitivities of some people (including, evidently, officials of the Bureau of Public Roads and a number of long-nosed Congressmen) in that their presence detracts from the scenic beauties (coming into Boise this would mean sagebrush), I fail to see where the existence of such signs constitutes any harm to other persons.

We might as well take all advertising out of newspapers too since it might constitute an eyestrain on the reader, who should be paying more attention to our objective news reporting.

The Government and the State both have the right to condemn private property for a public use; i.e., highway rights-of-way. The power to condemn adjacent land so as to restrict the erection of advertising signs or the power to restrict the use of such land for that purpose without actual condemnation goes far afield of any public use.

With all of the world and domestic problems facing this country collectively and its citizens individually, I should think that Congress could find more to do than constantly devising ways and means to restrict the individual rights and liberties of the citizens, and in my opinion it's a sad commentary indeed on the attitude of the "people's representatives" when they spend about half their time doing just that.

This proposal is just about as rotten as the firearm legislation and in my opinion strikes at basic and fundamental rights and freedoms.

Mr. Speaker, the 14th amendment to the Federal Constitution has been very much in the news of late. It has been used as the basis for passing civil rights legislation. But section 1 of the 14th amendment says, in part, "nor shall any

State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law."

Note, Mr. Speaker, the inclusion of "property" in this language. Are we now, in direct contradiction of this amendment, to pass a law condemning property in the form of highway billboards "without due process of law?"

Every effort should certainly be made to preserve and enhance the beauty of our great land but any legislation of such broad latitude is an abridgement of constitutional rights.

Wirtz Was Right on Farm Labor Dispute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz has made an outstanding contribution to the workers of this Nation by his refusal to endorse the importation of foreign farm laborers.

As Secretary Wirtz anticipated, the end of the bracero program this year has increased domestic employment and has helped take unemployed workers off the relief rolls.

Employment of domestic rather than foreign farmworkers has not caused a significant rise in retail prices, and the crops have not suffered.

One of the newspapers in my district, the San Fernando Valley Sun, has written an excellent editorial praising Secretary Wirtz' stand on the farm-labor dispute. I heartily concur with this editorial and wish to make it part of the RECORD so my colleagues might share it with me.

The editorial follows:

WIRTZ WAS RIGHT ON FARM LABOR DISPUTE

As the dust settles on the grower-labor dispute it is increasingly evident that the substance of the arguments in favor of bracero labor is hot air. In short, Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz was right and the farmers were wrong.

California farmers and their noisy band of publicists—Senator GEORGE MURPHY the lead flack—have been exoriating Secretary Wirtz as the architect of agricultural ruin here because of his rigid refusal to allow the wholesale importation of Mexican farmworkers.

Like a record that is stuck on the phonograph, they have played the same song over and over and over again: American farmworkers will not stoop to do farm labor in sufficient numbers to harvest State crops.

In a word, the argument is false. Not only are there enough workers, there is an oversupply. State department of employment offices have been literally swamped with applicants from Maine to California.

Secretary Wirtz, it turns out, was not only right, he was the fallguy in the growers' unstated plot to secure cheap, noncompetitive farm labor—the true motive behind the vicious attack on his policies.

It was the Secretary's contention from the beginning of the controversy that domestic workers could handle the country's agricultural labor needs if only the growers would provide the incentives of higher wages and improved housing and working conditions necessary to attract them to the fields. In those cases where the growers made an honest, by no means extravagant, attempt to do so and failed, Wirtz allowed the importation of foreign laborers.

Most growers refused to provide acceptable improvements, however, because they pined for a return to the good old days when they could use Mexican labor as a lever to depress wages. Forty or fifty dollars a week—the standard pay for a farmworker—may be a wad of pesos in Tijuana. Here it only makes the recipient a target of the war on poverty.

The growers and Senator MURPHY have, of course, strummed a different tune because it is now clear the real song contained too many obviously sour notes.

Adlai E. Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I join with all Americans and the world to mourn the loss of a great statesman and humanitarian, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson.

Here was a man who stood with his times yet above them, a true Renaissance man whose probing and cultivated mind, breadth of interests, and dedication gave him a lasting place in the hearts of men and in the annals of history.

Here was a man who, in the presidential campaigns of 1952 and 1956, added a new luster to American political life, showing all of us that politics can, indeed, be an art. Adlai Stevenson brought philosophy where there had been prejudice, wisdom where there had been ignorance, perspective where there had been dogmatism, and wit and humor where there had been suspicion. Yet, above all, he gave dignity to the individual, speaking to the common man as if he were the great uncommon. His trust in people was never shattered, and malice was not in his vocabulary.

Here was a man who, as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, served his country selflessly. In diplomacy, as in politics, he reflected the character and honesty implied in the word "responsibility." The eloquence of speech suggested by his presidential campaigns reached full flowering in his statesmanship, and the "Stevenson style" which made him nationally famous now gave shape to the hopes of the world.

In his passing we have lost a man who asked no less of himself than he did of his country. What could be a more fitting memorial than that we strive to ask the same of ourselves?

The Shadow on the Path

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, Tom Wicker, writing in the New York Times of July 14, has aptly pointed out the awakening mood of the American people, an awakening which last year resulted in the most far-reaching guarantee of full citizenship ever enacted by Congress, and this year a strong bill to guarantee voting rights.

He has thoughtfully used the example of President Johnson to reflect this growing awakening, and along with the Washington Post's lead editorial of yesterday, does much to set the record straight.

Mr. Speaker, I include both articles for all who are concerned with the fight to secure first-class citizenship for all Americans:

[From the Washington Post, July 14, 1965]

THE PRESIDENT ON RIGHTS

President Johnson's credentials, as an advocate of civil rights and as the leader of a nationwide effort to give the Negro his proper place in American life, are not open to just challenge. It is too bad that they were challenged by the Republicans in the House, but it is a good thing that the challenge brought forth an answer that ought to end any debate over the President's position.

The conviction evident in his press conference remarks standing alone would be persuasive. He stated his present belief with great force and no hearer could doubt his sincerity when he declared that he was "particularly sensitive to the problems of the Negro." He very obviously does believe that the racial problem is "a very acute problem" and no one can longer doubt when he says he wishes "to do my best to solve" it in "the limited time" allowed. There was an admirable and a winning candor in his acknowledgment that in the years past he did not sense the racial problems to the extent that he does today, and in his explanation that he did not have the responsibility for solving it that he has today. There is no reason whatever to doubt the sincerity of his declaration that he is going to try to provide in this field "all of the leadership that I can notwithstanding the fact that someone may point to a mistake or 100 mistakes that I made in the past."

The press conference statement, moreover, does not stand alone. The President has established his credentials as a great champion in this cause by the legislation he has advocated, by the great exertions he has made to get it enacted, by his disregard of racial considerations in making public appointments on merit, by his embrace of every opportunity to assert the principles of racial equality. His record in this field is better than that of any of his predecessors since Abraham Lincoln, his immediate predecessor not excepted. That such a record should have been made by a statesman who began his career in a Southern State is a great personal tribute to him. It is, besides, evidence of the absence of narrow provincialism in his makeup. It is as well a symptom of the fact that this issue, in the broadest

sense, is becoming less and less a sectional issue.

President Johnson, to be sure, is not the only American who has labored to solve this problem in the past few years. That we have moved so far toward its solution is due to the earnest labors and prayerful dedication of thousands of private citizens and public men who have rightly seen discrimination as a burden on the national conscience and a reproach to the national character. Their labor, dedicated as it may have been, would not have made so many gains without the sincere, courageous and consistent support and leadership of the President. For this he deserves the praise and gratitude of all Americans of all parties.

[From the N.Y. Times, July 14, 1965]

WASHINGTON: THE SHADOW ON THE PATH

(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, July 13.—There is a passage somewhere in a Joseph Conrad tale of the eastern islands about a white man who lived and walked among the colored natives "as if he were passing through the shadow of a tree upon his path." The quotation is not exact but it well describes the long, uncaring years of the white man's dismissal of the Negroes of America.

That is why there was something symbolic as well as poignant about President Johnson's confession at his news conference that he had not always done as much as he might have for Negroes, or felt keenly enough his responsibility toward them. He was describing not merely the political growth of a southwesterner who moved by slow stages to a national outlook. He was describing also the awakening of the American people to the rejected and forgotten, who had been casting the unnoticed shadow on the path.

THE VOTING RECORD

As Republicans pointed out yesterday, Mr. Johnson had a generally southern voting record on civil rights when he was a Congressman from a rural Texas district and when he was a junior Senator from that half-Southern State. It was only when he became majority leader and a presidential aspirant that he moved ahead to his architecture of the limited rights bills of 1957 and 1960. Now, as President, responsible for and to all the people and all the sections, he has taken the most advanced and sweeping position in support of the cause of the Negro ever to be proclaimed from the White House.

AMERICA'S AWAKENING

In approximately the same years, the American white population—or enough of it—has experienced the same awakening. As late as 1935, Oklahoma could pass, without arousing comment, a law requiring separation of the races in fishing and boating. Southern white men of today grew up in the thirties and forties breathing the air of segregation as naturally as they went to all-white schools or to the movie theaters with their cagelike balconies for Negroes or to the stifling little churches with their hard pews and fiery sermons. It was not so much prejudice, on the part of most southerners, as a total lack of awareness that life should be—or could be—lived in some other way.

Organized and total segregation was a southern way of life, but the rest of the country acquiesced in it, and maintained its spirit. From ocean to ocean, in the twenties, this was still white man's country—as ghettoes, race riots, Negro poverty and illiteracy, restricted towns, neighborhoods, graveyards and churches attested. The sign at the border of a restricted community—"nigger, don't let the sun set on you here"—may not have been typical, but "we reserve the right to refuse service to anyone" was everywhere and as C. Vann Woodward observed in "The Strange Career of Jim Crow," there were indications "that the southern way was spreading as the American way in race relations."

SOME OF THE FACTORS

What happened to roll back and reverse that tide is a subject for historians and thick books, but it included the rise in Negro voting strength in the North, the Negro's increasing contribution to American art and culture, the tortuous growth of southern liberalism, the liberating influence of World War II on American attitudes, the actions of courts and politicians, and—above all—the powerful pressures that Negroes themselves began to bring upon the uncaring and unseeing white majority.

What happened to Lyndon Johnson has been happening to all America—slowly, much too late, and not always voluntarily. But it has happened. If the President could say of the great responsibility he has shouldered that in the past "I did not feel it to the extent that I do today," so can most of us. If he could concede that "someone may point to a mistake or a hundred mistakes that I made in my past," so could we all.

JOHNSON'S SINCERITY

There ought to be no doubt that Mr. Johnson was sincere when he said that he would do his best to solve this "very acute problem" in "the limited time that I am allowed." For he knows, as no other, the political pressures that make the effort unavoidable. And he shares, with so many others, the great American discovery of the shadow on the path.

And it is both thrilling and encouraging that this son of a Confederate heritage is a promise in himself that the good instincts and high heart of the South may yet be aroused in its own redemption.

The Late George McLain

SPEECH

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked when I learned of the untimely death of George McLain, chairman of the California League of Senior Citizens and president of the National League of Senior Citizens. I held him in high esteem and warm affection. Whenever he visited Washington we always had dinner together, and I shall miss these meetings with one whose abiding interest in the aged and whose driving advocacy of programs for the benefit of our senior citizens were to me an inspiration. As the oldest member of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, I am sure that I speak for the aging and the aged everywhere in our country in saying that in the death of George McLain the senior citizens have suffered a great loss. I extend my sympathy to the wife and son of this good man whose memory ever will be fresh as long as any of the aged he served so ably and with such dedication remain on earth.

Chicago Tribune Article on the Growing Burden of Congressional Casework Illustrates the Need for an Administrative Counsel of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, for several years, I have been pointing out that the growing burden on Congressmen of dealing with citizen's grievances with the Federal bureaucracy is one of the major factors limiting the effectiveness of Congress as a policymaking and legislative body.

I have urged the establishment of an Administrative Counsel of the Congress to take over a significant part of this casework burden without interfering with congressional-constituent relationships.

In an article in the Chicago Tribune of Sunday, July 11, Willard Edwards has called attention to the problem of the heavy demand made by constituent service activities on the time of Members of Congress. He has observed also that the amount of casework is bound to increase, due partly to the passage of medicare, the Education Act, the housing bill, and other progressive measures.

As I pointed out in testimony before the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, the increase in casework resulting from the new legislation will not mean that these bills are badly drawn or unwise.

To allow the administration of large and complex programs for the general welfare we have had to give our officials discretion which—until administrators become philosopher-kings—allows for individual injustice. And simple error is always a possibility in administration. But it is precisely because citizens' grievances under these programs are more or less unique and not general that they must be dealt with on an individual basis by a Member of Congress or an ombudsmanlike administration counsel serving the Congressman.

The text of the article by Mr. Edwards follows:

CONGRESSMEN'S WORK TIME CUT IN HALF MEETING COMPLAINTS OF HARASSED VOTERS

(NOTE.—A congressional inquiry has disclosed that Members of Congress spend at least 50 percent of their time interceding with Government agencies in behalf of constituents who complain that they have been victimized by harsh or unfair Federal rulings. This is the first of two articles exploring a condition which handicaps Congress in the conduct of its normal business, contributing to its decline in stature as a coequal branch of Government)

(By Willard Edwards)

WASHINGTON, July 10.—Congress, in an attempt to recoup its waning influence, began to investigate itself two months ago. In the process, it has discovered a danger to its

future status greater than any of the hazards which prompted the inquiry.

The 24 hearings thus far have received virtually no publicity. But the bulky record points to conclusions of historic import. Unless halted, the decline of the legislative branch in recent years is destined to become a precipitous descent.

This forbidding prospect is not imminent because of antiquated rules or a cumbersome structure, the reasons usually assigned for the lessening of legislative power.

STRUGGLE UNDER BURDEN

It looms because Congress is struggling under a burden unimaginable in the days when the Constitution was framed. Members of the House and Senate are daily swamped with calls to intercede with Government departments in behalf of constituents suffering from Federal regulation of their lives.

Once, in dear dead days beyond recall, the American citizen's major contact with his Government was when he exchanged a cheerful good morning with his postman. Now he is in constant contact with big Government, often receiving benefits, more often paying for them.

Every 24 hours, bulky mail sacks are delivered to the 535 Members of Congress. They contain thousands of complaints, crying for assistance in the correction of injustices resulting from bureaucratic errors or arbitrary and unjust decisions.

TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT

The trouble with a paternalistic government, many of them writers lament, is that it is not necessarily a kindly government. Federal administrators are inclined to a stern, take-it-or-leave-it attitude.

This volume of appeals has steadily increased, as Government expanded, until 50 percent and as high as 75 percent of congressional mail now consists of requests for aid in adjusting some conflict with the bureaucracy.

Congressional staffs spend much of their time trying to handle these complaints. The burden is so great that other duties are neglected. A Congresssman, acting as a kind of people's counsel in defending his constituents' rights, has little time for committee work and legislation on the floor.

WORKLOAD TO INCREASE

The workload will inevitably increase sharply under the impetus of vast Government programs now being rushed through Congress under the Johnson administration's Great Society program. The time may come when a Member of Congress will be devoting all his waking hours to arguments with Federal officials in behalf of aggrieved residents of his district.

Nobody, alone and unaided, wins a fight with the Government. The old saying, "You can't fight city hall," has been given meaning on the national level. "You can't fight Uncle Sam," is an aphorism sadly recognized as a fact of life by countless citizens.

When a penniless Tennessee mountaineer recently defeated a Federal bureau's attempt to grab his land, the incident undoubtedly gave comfort to great numbers of citizens who have encountered similar instances of bureaucratic oppression.

APPEALS TO CONGRESSMAN

They noted, however, that Wilford Metcalf, the farmer in question, would have been helpless unless he had appealed to his Congressman, Representative JAMES H. QUILLEN, Republican of Tennessee, for assistance. QUILLEN bombarded the Agriculture Department with demands for corrective action, made floor speeches and invoked the arts of publicity to broadcast the injustice far and wide.

Metcalf had the courage to protest. But he had no money for a lawyer to represent him in a court battle. He turned to the only court of appeal open to him—Congress. The moral was apparent to everyone with a similar grievance.

In the Metcalf case, the Government was at first obdurate. A survey had shown that 55 acres of Metcalf's land belonged to a national forest. He was ordered to file a quit claim to this acreage and pay a bill of $1,717 for timber he had cut on it.

"POSSIBILITY OF ERROR"

"These cases are unpleasant," the Forest Services wrote QUILLEN when he noted the possibility of error in the Government survey. "They do not give us any personal satisfaction in our day-to-day work. Nevertheless, we are obligated to discharge our responsibility to protect the lands and resources of the United States."

The suggestion of an error in the survey was coldly rejected. Not only until 2 months later, during which time the incident had achieved political proportions through wide publicity and QUILLEN's continued hammering, did the Forest Service agree to a resurvey. It discovered the unthinkable—that it had indeed been in error. Metcalf owned the land, not the Government.

"This is the bureaucratic attitude we always meet," said QUILLEN "Government officials will never admit error. You have to keep pounding away at them."

NO SATISFACTORY ANSWER

Members of Congress support this charge. They report that not more than 10 percent of the claims they forward to Government departments are adjusted to the satisfaction of the petitioners.

Where does this leave Congress? The committee hearings on congressional reform explored the problem thoroughly and came up with no satisfactory answer.

Representative HENRY S. REUSS, Democrat, of Wisconsin, and a number of others proposed to shift the burden to a new congressional agency. He suggested creation of an "administrative counsel" who, with a competent staff, would handle most complaints about Government action or inaction.

"Whenever a citizen claims to have been the victim of maladministration of the law by Federal officials and appeals to his Senator or Representative, the administrative counsel would investigate the complaint," he told the committee. "The counsel would report his recommendations for steps needed to correct any administrative error or misjudgment."

WOULD MAKE PUBLIC REPORT

"If the agency persisted in what the counsel and the Member of Congress believed to be an illegal, arbitrary, or unfair decision, the counsel would make a special report to Congress which would be printed as a public document available to the press.

"Finally, in cases where the agencies continue to persist in decisions considered to be unjust or erroneous, the counsel could recommend appropriate legislative action."

The cases could involve social security benefits, veterans' benefits, military allotments, claims of injustice in the military forces, and unjust decisions under the immigration laws or the farm program, REUSS said.

WORKLOAD TO GROW

He was candid in predicting that the congressional workload of representing citizens before administration agencies would sharply increase under the Great Society programs which he approves.

"The excellent amendments to the Social Security Act just passed contain a hotbed of potential administrative-citizen problems," he said.

"The program of rent supplements (subsidies) presages a series of problems about eligibility and the correct amount of the supplement. The growing urban renewal program continually raised questions about the fairness of payments for property and expenses and the housing of those displaced.

PROBLEMS TO MOUNT

"The new education bill is bound to present problems in working out the details of how funds may be used. Literally dozens of bills among the major and minor acts of this Congress can be spotted as sources of increased casework. With even the most skilled and dedicated administrators, the authority given them sometimes results in administrative errors, misjudgments, and arbitrary or unfair decisions. The agency becomes so large and bureaucratic that it does not always respond readily or quickly to individual situations."

The Slings and Arrows of Outrageous Fortune: L.B.J. and the Intellectuals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, without comment I commend to the attention of our colleagues the column of Mr. Robert Spivack of the New York Herald Tribune of July 1, 1965:

BARBS OF THE INTELLECTUALS

(By Robert G. Spivack)

WASHINGTON.—Jack Valenti, President Johnson's special assistant, has said something that has long needed saying about L.B.J. but that only he, in his unique relationship with the Chief Executive, could say with such authority.

Many writers, Valenti said, have failed to "capture the full spirit of the man." He singled out no one; perhaps that is a chore for others. But, said Valenti, speaking in Boston, appropriately enough:

"It is as if the observer sees but one side of him, the other side dimly glimpsed." Valenti went on to describe the Chief Executive as "a sensitive man, a cultivated man, a warmhearted and extraordinary man."

No President in recent years, not even President Eisenhower, has suffered more cruel barbs at the hands of those who fancy themselves intellectuals than has Johnson. I do not think this is true of those who are genuinely intellectual—that is, original creative thinkers, those who approach individuals and problems with open minds and clear heads.

But it is the case with those who suffer that intellectual malaise—the overdeveloped mind and the underdeveloped heart, those who are for "the masses" in general but who hate most people in particular; whose personal relationships are often unsteady and unkind.

In many ways the bitter outpouring by self-described intellectuals reminds me of the way businessmen behaved in the 1930's toward Franklin D. Roosevelt. They owed him their very lives and existence, but they hated him. They did not want to acknowledge their debts. They refused to admit that their much-vaunted talk about "free enterprise" was so often dependent on exploitation of public resources, that frequently they existed on Government subsidy.

The more he put them on their feet, the greater became their estrangement until there arrived a time when F.D.R. was "the enemy."

Now some of those who should know much better are reacting to President Johnson in the same way. Dogmatic and doctrinaire, they are faulting L.B.J. on foreign affairs

because he "does not understand foreigners" or the "aspirations" of nationalists or the need for "social reform."

In many instances they will not acknowledge that totalitarianism of the left constitutes just as much a threat to intellectual freedom as totalitarianism of the right; that he is protecting their interests by his course in southeast Asia.

In the myths they have created about Mao Tse-tung and Chinese communism they have forgotten all about Stalinism, or about Arthur Koestler's "Darkness at Noon," or how China's intelligentsia fare on the mainland.

And in their self-delusion they have lost sight of the differences between pacifists and conscientious objection as against the "Peiping pacifists" who believe Mao has a mission to rule Asia.

Every President has had to endure short-sighted critics, those who are self-seeking, those who have special interests and those who secretly feel that they would make better chief executives than whoever it is that emerges as the people's choice.

Felix Frankfurter once advised F.D.R. to "create an opposition." Why? So that the critics could view the alternatives and see how lucky they are.

The Unanswered Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is obvious to all except the most naive members of the administration that the greatest threat to world peace remains the Soviet Union as it continues to instigate worldwide Communist pressures.

A very practical and timely analysis of the Soviet Union's economy is contained in an editorial which appeared in Tuesday's Chicago Tribune. I direct it to the attention of the Members:

THE UNANSWERED QUESTION

We're as gratified as anybody when we watch Russia patch up its rickety, monolithic, Marxist economy with applications of free enterprise, profits, and local control. This has been going on for several years, and it shows that the socialist system, toward which some people would like to lure us, isn't what it's cracked up to be.

But we don't see how Russia's economic repairs justify those who go about saying that our troubles with the Russians are over, and telling us that we should encourage their reform by trading with them more and giving them credit.

One very important question remains unanswered. This is whether the Russian Government, by whatever means it may employ, still intends to "bury us," as the indelicate Mr. Khurshchev used to phrase it. If it does—and certainly nothing has come out of the Kremlin to suggest that it doesn't—then we may as well recognize that our principal enemy is not communism but Russian economic and political imperialism.

Russia's record as a square shooter is hardly a distinguished one. Under Stalin, she tricked us into letting her take over Eastern Europe. Then she stole many of our nuclear and other military secrets. Now she is helping herself to our economic know-how, and in addition we are asked to give her material and credit.

If Russia's goal is still to bury us, then it doesn't make sense to help her develop a stronger and more sensible economic structure. This is only expediting our own funeral.

New USIA Head Is a Pittsburgher

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 23, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Leonard H. Marks, a distinguished teacher, lawyer, and public servant from my own city of Pittsburgh, has been appointed by President Johnson to be the new Director of the U.S. Information Agency.

Under leave to extend my remarks I should like to include an excellent article on Mr. Marks which appeared in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, July 14, 1965:

NEW USIA HEAD IS A PITTSBURGHER: MARKS HAS HAD BRILLIANT CAREER SINCE PITT GRADUATION

Leonard H. Marks, who was named yesterday Director of the U.S. Information Agency by President Johnson, is a native Pittsburgher and a graduate of the University of Pittsburgh and Pitt's Law School.

On expert on communications law and long experienced in the field of television, radio, and newspaper work, the 49-year-old attorney succeeds Carl T. Rowan as Director of the USIA, the Government's far-flung overseas propaganda agency.

Rowan has resigned from the USIA job to resume his newspaper career. The Agency, which operates the worldwide "Voice of America" broadcasting network formerly was headed by the late Ed Murrow, noted TV personality and commentator.

HIGHEST SCHOLASTIC HONORS

Born in the Herron Hill section of the city, Marks was graduated from Schenley High School at the age of 15 and in 1935 was graduated with highest honors from Pitt.

Following his graduation from the law school in 1938, Marks practiced law here and taught part time at the Pitt Law School until 1942 when he became assistant professor of law at the National University in Washington, D.C.

Marks' first position with the Government was as an attorney for the Federal Communications Commission. He had advanced to assistant to the General Counsel by 1946 when he left the FCC to concentrate on the practice of communications law.

A partner in a Washington law firm dealing exclusively with communications law, Marks' best known client is Lady Bird Johnson, and he has represented her Austin, Tex., broadcasting station, KTVC, since 1949. Attorney Marks also drafted the trusteeship agreement in 1964 which placed all stock of this station in trust for the duration of President Johnson's term of office.

Marks was general counsel for the National Association of Education Broadcasters which fathered the Educational Television Facilities Act. The law provides Federal funds up to $1 million for each State for matching local efforts in development of educational TV programs.

SATELLITE CORP. DIRECTOR

Marks, who is a director of the Communications Satellite Corp., was praised by President Johnson for his "long record as a teacher, lawyer, and public servant." The President also noted that Marks has served on a number of U.S. delegations abroad dealing with communications matters.

Marks and his wife, Dorothy, who formerly worked in the public relations office of the FCC, have both been active in Democratic circles. They have two sons, Robert, 14, and Stephen, 16.

The family recently moved from a home in Washington's Georgetown section to another fashionable area near Embassy Row.

Coinage Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 8926) to provide for the coinage of the United States.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Chairman, I want to state my support of H.R. 8926.

There is, indeed, general approval of this legislation and the differences really concern method and degree only.

The essential fact that confronts us today is the phenomenal rise in the demand for silver in the light of the available supply. An example of an industry which relies upon an adequate supply of this metal is the silver industry located in Meriden and Wallingford, Conn., in my district. These makers of silver flatware, tableware and other comparable products have found themselves in serious straits between the rising demand for their products and the increasing tightness of the metal supply. Inability to obtain metal could affect employment and economic activity. This industrial demand has been due not only to the increased purchasing power of the population, but it has arisen from the spread of silver use and the development of new industries and techniques which require this precious metal.

This has raised the question whether the present system of the United States for minting coins with an intrinsic value comparable to their face value is necessary or whether some alternative is acceptable which would release the silver presently used by the Government for nongovernmental purposes.

This problem has concerned the Treasury and the Congress for a long time. Instances of this concern can be found in the hearings of the Appropriations Committee and the Committee on Banking and Currency and in the hearings of a subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations which was headed by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL].

The answer of the Committee on Banking and Currency has been to recommend the virtual termination of the present system of coining silver. For the silver coins would be substituted a new type of sandwich coins made of a baser metal and fashioned in such a way that would be accepted by vending machines and other similar mechanical devices.

This is a logical and reasonable solution of our problem. The vast majority of countries in the world today produce coins which are not related to the actual value of the piece itself, but derive their value from the credit of the Government which issues them. In this respect, they are similar to paper money which constitutes a promise to pay rather than embodying any value itself.

I support the solution recommended by the committee in this bill. I believe that we are meeting a modern problem with modern means and that there will be no damaging effects on the commerce or credit of the United States. I will vote for this bill and I hope that it will pass.

At War in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times, in its lead editorial of July 14, has presented both a thoughtful and a sobering evaluation of the war in Vietnam.

I commend it to our colleagues for their attention:

AT WAR IN VIETNAM

President Johnson has confirmed what most people realize—that the United States is faced with "new and serious decisions" in meeting the challenge of Vietnam. Although it is still not officially acknowledged, the United States is fighting a land war of steadily growing proportions in Asia. This is a momentous development in American history and it should be treated as such and not as a minor and soon-to-be-ended expedition to advise and bolster the Saigon government.

A major effort, of great cost in men, money, and materiel, stretching over a period of years, is now in sight. If North Vietnam and her Communist Chinese backer should give in after this monsoon or the next one, there will be reason for rejoicing; but this is not to be expected. As a Times correspondent writes from Saigon, the South Vietnamese are close to the point where they will be unable to carry on as the major fighting force.

Until now this has been largely a war of Vietnamese against Vietnamese. The general who commanded the Vietminh against the French—Nguyen Giap—is commanding the Vietcong, and his tactics are proving as successful today as they were then. They are the same guerrilla tactics that Mao Tse-tung used in defeating Chiang Kai-shek.

However, the United States is not going to be worn down and pushed out of Vietnam as the French were. France could not commit the men, planes, ships, and materiel which the United States possesses in unlimited quantities. At the same time it is folly to send American troops to meet Vietcong guerrillas on their own terms in their chosen territory, far from their bases in tropical jungles. Furthermore, a perennially shaky government in Saigon and poor Vietnamese military leadership at the top make a weak backstop. There is always the possibility that a future government in Saigon might ask the Americans to leave, thus ending the legal basis for the American presence; but at least this is one problem that does not have to be faced now.

At matters stand, the United States is presented with some difficult alternatives. One is to establish a series of unconquerable beachheads along the coast and a perimeter around Saigon, and then hold on until the situation changes and negotiations on honorable terms become possible. Another, which in our view would constitute a disastrous escalation, would be to carry the war farther and more heavily into North Vietnam, with the strong possibility of directly involving Communist China, not to mention the Soviet Union. Another, equally disastrous but for different reasons, would be a decision to get out now—an obviously unacceptable move under present circumstances.

There are of course still other alternatives; but of all these unpleasant choices, the best seems to be to dig in at a number of coastal strong points where the overwhelming American naval and air superiority would be used defensively and with great effect. This may in fact be shaping up as the American strategy; but if so the American people should be prepared. Congress ought to be asked more definitively to face the fact that the country really is at war, and to take a greater burden of responsibility. The congressional declaration of last summer and the $700 million authorization for Vietnam seem almost irrelevant at this stage.

Vietnam is a different kind of war from Korea but it is a war, one that the Nation must recognize as such; and it is time to say so.

Few Motorists Use Seat Belts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, a routine report by the Maryland State Police states that of the 37 persons injured in highway accidents in 1 week, 28 could have been saved from serious injury by the use of seat belts.

The Community News, of Reisterstown, Md., published the summary of the report without comment. The statement of Colonel Jarman, superintendent of State police, whose men investigate these accidents, is commentary enough. Colonel Jarman said:

It is hard to understand the reluctance of the motorist to use seat belts.

I include the story from the Community News in the interest of further motorist education:

FEW MOTORISTS USE SEAT BELTS

Last week the Maryland State Police investigated 20 serious highway accidents in which 3 persons were killed and 37 injured. The investigators are of the opinion that the seriousness of the injuries would have been lessened in 28 of the 40 cases, if seat belts had been in use.

In only 7 of the 40 seats occupied by the persons killed or injured were seat belts available. In only two of these cases were they actually in use.

"In the light of the proven lifesaving capability of seat belts," commented Col. Carey Jarman, superintendent of the State police, "it is hard to understand the reluctance of the motorist to use them. I suppose a part of this reluctance is due to an attitude of "take a chance, it won't happen to me."

"The State trooper," continued the superintendent, "wants no part of this gamble with his life. He knows the value of seat belts and he always buckles up before he starts."

Voting Rights Act of 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, under leave for all Members to extend their remarks on the Voting Rights Act of 1965, I wish to commend those who, acting in good faith, were not stampeded into supporting a measure which I consider to contain undesirable, unnecessary, and unconstitutional provisions—and which discriminates not only against certain geographical areas, but even against the Negro who is now subjected to a numbers game based on an arbitrary 50 percent participation figure.

Mr. Speaker, I am not anti-civil-rights, nor am I anti-voting-rights.

On May 17, under previous order of the House, I took the floor to explain my position on the then pending voting rights bill. In order that there may be no doubt as to my position, I repeat that statement at this point in these remarks:

AN ANALYSIS OF THE VOTING RIGHTS CONTROVERSY

(A speech by the Honorable GEORGE V. HANSEN, in the House of Representatives, May 17, 1965)

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, the honored and respected Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has recently made some remarks about civil disorders and civil disobedience—and zealots and bigots and racists—that we might well heed as we approach a decision on voting rights legislation.

In the December 1964, FBI law enforcement bulletin, distributed to all law enforcement officials, Mr. Hoover said, in part: "Our society today is in a great state of unrest. Many citizens are confused and troubled. For the first time, some are confronted with issues and decisions relating to the rights and dignity of their fellow countrymen, problems which heretofore they had skirted or ignored.

"We have in our midst hatemongers, bigots, and riotous agitators, many of whom are at opposite poles philosophically but who spew similar doctrines of prejudice and intolerance. They exploit hate and fear for personal gain and self-aggrandizement. They distort facts, spread rumors, and pit one element of our people against another. Theirs is a dogma of intimidation and terror."

In a speech delivered in New York on December 12, 1964, on crime and subversion in the United States—and referring to some of the persons and groups involved—Mr. Hoover said, "And I include the false liberals of the extreme left, such as the Communist Party, as well as the counterfeit patriots at the fanatic limits of the far right, such as the Ku Klux Klan, who not only take the law into their own hands on occasion, but who would use the Constitution and laws of the United States to defeat the very purpose for which they were drafted—liberty and justice for all."

Also—in the words of Mr. Hoover in testimony on January 29, 1964, before a House appropriations subcommittee: "Turning to the subject of Communist interest in Negro activities, the approximate 20 million Negroes in the United States today constitute the largest and most important racial target of the Communist Party, U.S.A. The infiltration, exploitation, and control of the Negro population has long been a party goal and is one of the principal goals today."

After stating that the Communist has no honest desire to better the status or condition of the Negro, Mr. Hoover said, "Communists * * * capitalize on the adverse propaganda effect that reports of discrimination and oppression in the United States can produce in the eyes of the rest of the world, particularly among the African and Asian peoples; that is, the idea that this country is against equal rights for all races."

As to the number of Negroes who have joined the Communist Party, Mr. Hoover had this to say: "The number of Communist Party recruits which may be attracted from the large Negro racial group in this Nation is not the important thing. The old Communist principle still holds: 'Communism must be built with non-Communist hands.'

"We do know that Communist influence does exist in the Negro movement and it is this influence which is vitally important. It can be the means through which large masses are caused to lose perspective on the issues involved and, without realizing it, succumb to the party's propaganda lures."

This, Mr. Speaker, I believe to be a significant part of the current controversy over civil rights and voting rights. Unquestionably, the vast majority of those involved in the disputes are sincere, honest, and dedicated persons. However, on both sides there are those who masquerade behind ill-founded social, moral, political, and religious concern to practice intolerance, provocation, intimidation, and even downright lawlessness which all too often plays into the hands of our international enemies. Racial bigots and human flotsam only serve to detract from legitimate causes and, by their actions, cloud the real issues at stake. And it is the actions of these minorities within the two camps which make a difficult situation almost impossible.

The trouble is compounded by the presence of Communists who, though not necessarily the originators of demonstrations, at times push them to extremes. Dr. James N. M. Nabrit, Jr., president of Howard University, one of our country's leading Negro colleges, has said he has seen known Communists in a student picket line. Of the infiltration of Communists into civil rights groups, Dr. Nabrit said, "They are people who cloak themselves in the mantle of civil righters and plot and plan in secret to disrupt our fight for justice and full citizenship. They must be unmasked for the frauds they are. They must be fought in every arena, and they must not be allowed to prevail."

Some Negro leaders, unlike Dr. Nabrit who clearly recognizes the peril of Communist infiltration of the civil rights movement, have admitted that Communists do exist within the organizations, but say they have no influence. Unfortunately, the tactics and techniques of the Communists are not always apparent to these leaders, thus enabling the Red agents to carry on their nefarious work undetected.

The average person, in attempting to evaluate the racial situation and pinpoint the real problems, is frequently frustrated and puzzled by contradictory contentions and overstatements. It is obvious that critics of civil rights demonstrations are prone to minimize any good elements in the movements, and emphasize only the sordid and ugly. On the other hand supporters tend just as strongly to overlook the undignified and disgraceful actions of some of the civil rights groups and emphasize only the altruistic and philosophic goals they themselves have set.

Those supporting civil rights groups often tend to play to the hilt any acts of violence which occur, while, conversely, such violence has often been played down and even condoned by those opposing these movements and the perpetrators let off with a slap on the wrist by "juries of their peers."

To me, these positions appear to be untenable. It is difficult for me to see the compatibility between civil disobedience—which is advertised as nonviolent, but which is certainly provocative of violence—and the winning of the Nobel Peace Prize. It is equally difficult for me to see the compatibility between pleas for the sovereignty of local government and the unpunished bombing of churches and the midnight rifle shot on a lonely road.

Neither side, Mr. Speaker, is in a position to criticize the other for violations of the law. How can the one criticize the other for terrorist tactics when it, itself, decides which laws are "good" and which are "bad" and then obeys only the "good" laws? And how can the other side criticize this course when some of its members apparently feel that laws against murder are not valid and need not be obeyed when such laws interfere with what they consider to be their "rights?"

Ours is a process of law—of law and order. This process in America has never been both mother and stepchild of hysteria—which too often allows the rabble of contending sides to predominate in killings, intimidations, immoral conduct, and the like.

The Government of the United States, through its many years of growth from a small group of colonies to the greatest nation the world has ever known, has always placed the impartiality of law above the whims of man. That law has always contained processes for meeting and correcting social injustices; including the right of petition, the enactment of legislation, and access to the courts.

Contrary to the belief held by some, the United States is not merely a democracy, it is a constitutional Republic. It is important to note that political philosophers over the centuries have held that a pure democracy is the worst possible form of government, leading to impulsive and precipitous action by a sometimes hysterical majority, or mob, triggered by emotional circumstances.

Our constitutional Republic, with its various checks and balances, provides the processes that help protect us from the worst in ourselves. At times these processes may seem unduly slow and cumbersome—it may even seem that they are roadblocks preventing progress. But it is these roadblocks, lacking in a pure democracy, which give our constitutional Republic its strength and stability and provide for lasting solutions to our problems.

No one can deny, Mr. Speaker, that great strides have been made in the eradication of social injustices in the United States in recent years. Some of the actions which have attempted to give to all our citizens the rights and responsibilities inherent in our Constitution have come voluntarily from the private sector of our social order; some have been accomplished through legislation; some by directives of the executive branch; and some by the various levels of our courts.

We are moving forward, but I believe there is still a long way to go. I also believe that, when we speak of civil rights and the equality of all men, who too often confine our thoughts to the Negro and the problems he faces, and disregard the many injustices heaped upon the American Indian and foreign nationality groups concentrated in the slums and ghettos of our larger cities. These groups, lacking the potent political potential of the Negro, are often left to suffer and shift for themselves.

By the same token, when we refer to voting rights we are prone to think only of practices which deprive a man of his vote. Abhorent as this practice is, equally as abhorent—and almost as prevalent—is the practice of negating a man's vote through fraudulent voting, ballot box stuffing, and other illegal election practices. While untold numbers, particularly in the South, are denied the right to vote, there is also substantial evidence that untold numbers, particularly in large cities, have their votes canceled by fictitious names and tombstones.

Mr. Speaker, it is my firm belief that adequate machinery does now exist under present laws and under the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution—if properly implemented by conscientious officials—to correct voting injustices and to attain the goals which some are trying to accomplish through demonstrations involving civil disobedience which, no matter how well intended, subvert the very rule of law itself.

In this connection, I am convinced that any administration, political party, group or individual exploiting civil disobedience for self-aggrandizement is toying with a very explosive and possibly destructive force.

This course of action makes us vulnerable to the designs of the cunning Communist who, by infiltration, deceit, and the perpetration of any crime in the name of Communist triumph, has subjugated more than half the people of the world. The Communists have perfected the technique of "divide and conquer" to a point never envisaged by another recent group who employed this method—the Nazis. Communist imperialistic designs and subversive activities have set Chinese against Chinese, Korean against Korean, Cuban against Cuban, Vietnamese against Vietnamese, and now are attempting to set American against American at every opportunity.

Now—as stated previously, we already have the laws necessary for the eradication of social injustice. Prolonged apathy by various Departments of the Federal Government in seeing that these laws are applied is largely responsible for current controversies and the resultant demand for drastic Federal action—action which I deem to be unnecessary and, in some cases unconstitutional.

As an example—article I, section 2 of the Constitution and the 17th amendment give to the States the right to determine voter qualifications, and the 10th amendment prohibits the Federal Government from doing so. By the same token, the 14th and 15th amendments provide that no discrimination shall occur.

Hence, to me it is basic that the States can legally prescribe any tests or requirements for voting, consistent with the Federal Constitution, which the electorate of that State will approve. Then, and to me this is also basic, it is up to each of us, beginning with the lower subdivisions of Government, to see that these tests are applied without prejudice or discrimination. If violations occur at the local and county levels, then the State should exercise its authority. Only if the State refuses to do this (and obviously there are cases where this is so), should the Federal Government have the right and duty to step in.

Emphatically, I believe that we, as citizens, should do everything legally possible at all levels of Government to overcome existing inequities. Had more concerted action been previously taken, we would not now be undergoing great emotional disturbances such as the current civil rights demonstrations.

Hasty, poorly conceived legislation designed to bridge the gap created by poor enforcement of existing laws, holds out false hope to those concerned. Rather than passing arbitrary legislation and resorting to unconstitutional processes in an attempt to cure the evils which beset us, I believe the more valid answer lies in proper enforcement of existing laws and adequate education.

Under our system, Mr. Speaker, to enjoy full privileges, a person must assume responsibility. And education, which leads to acceptance of the responsibilities of "first class" citizenship and the enjoyment of all of its privileges, has been badly neglected in some areas of our country. This has been true among both Negroes and whites, although the whites, as a race, have generally more clearly recognized the benefits of education and have generally compelled their children to attend school longer than have the Negroes. This, particularly in States where one must pass a literacy test as a prerequisite to voting has led to a disproportionate number of whites being eligible to vote—even without discriminatory tactics.

It is unfortunate that this situaion contines to exist. The whites, who should have given guidance and leadership to the Negroes—so that the Negroes, in turn, would be able to give guidance and leadership to others—did not do so. And many Negroes, even when given the opportunity to participate in the responsibilities of citizenship, did not do so. Thus, although the position of the American Negro now is far better than even a decade or two ago, his cause in this country could have been more greatly advanced had it not been for his handicap of past apathy.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, that the solution lies in overcoming our apathy, not in passing additional legislation when we already have laws that would be effective if properly enforced. Success in this would bring increased educational opportunities for all minority groups, and increased acceptance of these opportunities. With increased education among all segment of our population would come increased acceptance of civic responsibilities. With increased acceptance of civic responsibilities would come the elimination of the influence of undesirable elements on our affairs. Only when this flotsam on both sides and those who would use it have lost all opportunity for the exploitation of our people will our Nation again be able to present an untarnished picture to the world of an America where each man can find his place as a person regardless of his race, color, or creed.

Mr. Speaker, I started these remarks by quoting Mr. J. Edgar Hoover. Let me conclude by another quotation from this great man. Again, in the FBI law enforcement bulletin of December 1964, Mr. Hoover said, "As Americans, we have in our grasp the ideals which were but visions to our Founding Fathers—freedom under God with liberty and justice for all. We must not be satisfied merely to have these ideals exist. We must assure that they flourish—generation after generation—so all the world will know that American stands for brotherhood among all men."

That this measure is considered of doubtful constitutionality even by its supporters is attested to by reports that House and Senate conferees are consulting with members of the Attorney General's office to change it—to change it after passage, Mr. Speaker—to try to get it in some sort of form that might pass a court test.

Nothing in the debate on this bill, Mr. Speaker, demonstrated to me that it was any better than it appeared to be from the outset—a measure which, I repeat, contains discriminatory, undesirable, unnecessary, and unconstitutional provisions.

Following passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, I issued a press release on it which follows:

VOTING RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Congressman GEORGE HANSEN said today that he is, "Disappointed that after all the lipservice paid to equal voting rights by this administration that it would settle for a discriminatory antidiscrimination bill."

HANSEN said the administration bill was geared to just a few States, and did little or nothing to correct voting inequities outside of the seven target States. "I still believe, HANSEN said, "that sufficient legislation already exists to enforce equal voting rights throughout the Nation if the executive and judicial departments would exercise their responsibilities and not persist in shifting the burden to the Congress to pass new laws which can only be as effective as enforcement makes them.

"I am completely against racial discrimination in any form and in hopes of going that extra step to assure that necessary powers exist within rightful constitutional bounds to provide for equal voting rights. I supported several amendments to correct deficiencies in the administration bill.

"However, nearly every effort to improve the bill was beaten down by administration forces making it necessary for me to vote against final passage.

"To resort to complicated formulas, to measure justice by percentages, and to aim punitive laws at some States, while making no provisions for others, not only violates both the letter and the spirit of the Constitution but buries the real moral question in political sophistry."

Adlai Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHARD WHITE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. WHITE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Adlai Stevenson was a leader of the mind and the spirit. He summoned us to sober reflection and calm judgment. With determination and skill, he searched out the needs of all nations, and at the same time was diligent and forceful in upholding those ideals of our Nation, of which he was an ardent student and champion.

His passing marked the passing of an artisan. In a complex society groping for expression and purpose, Adlai Stevenson stood out above all men of our times as the artist of ideas who could formulate our highest hopes and the understanding of our modern world moving at breathtaking pace.

Of an earlier generation of great leaders, he bridged the transition between the staid comfortable world of the first half of the 20th century, and the atomic age into which we are now emerging. Paradoxically, this articulate man of our times did not achieve even greater prominence, because what he said, in virtual poetry, was perhaps too well said and too many steps advanced beyond his contemporaries. Like some few others of our history who did not achieve the pinnacle of their aspiration, he will be even more read by future generations and even more valued.

Defeat in two presidential campaigns would have consigned a lesser man to history's footnotes. For Adlai Stevenson, it provided the open door to a career of service to all mankind. All of us who try to legislate for a better Nation and a better world, owe a debt of gratitude to this man who raised the standards of liberty and justice to inspire our efforts.

A Big Fourth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, on July 4 of this year, the city of Bel Air in Harford County, Md., revived a great American tradition by sponsoring a civic celebration of Independence Day. The citizens of Bel Air responded by turning out in crowds to enjoy the festivities. The Fourth of July, this year in Bel Air, came off with a bang.

I am delighted to include in the RECORD, the editorial published in the Aegis, of Bel Air, commenting on this great celebration of the Fourth of July:

A BIG FOURTH

Bel Air enjoyed a Fourth of July Sunday unlike any the county seat had spent in many years. The community responded to the plans made by local civic organizations to stage holiday entertainment here by coming out in record numbers, and was rewarded with an Independence Day celebration of great color and scope. After years of leaving the festivities to Havre de Grace, the town produced an unusually impressive display.

The throng seemed to fully enjoy the 3 hour show, which was accompanied by bands, speeches, flag ceremonies, sky-diving and dazzling fireworks. Naturally, a few hitches developed in producing the program, some of them caused by the unexpectedly large size of the crowd. Those in attendance came away with a feeling that the town had staged a splendid show in its first attempt at such a thing, and we can expect to see practically all of them back again for next year's festivities.

Oldtimers reviewed the crowd of people of various ages and recalled bygone gatherings in the town. They were unanimous in their happy support of the appearance of a revival of the community spirit which was once so great a part of the county seat, but which is often lacking today.

Perfect weather and good entertainment helped keep the relaxed crowd in an enjoyable frame of mind and few unpleasant incidents marred the evening. Delighted officials are already busy planning a bigger and better show for 1966. At first, there had been some doubt as to whether there was any need for this show, since Havre de Grace's annual "Fourth" festivities so well produced and draw big crowds. Last weekend showed that Bel Air and Havre de Grace are both of sufficient size and have capable organizations in their midst with which to continue the worthwhile offerings in the future.

Bowie State College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 29, 1965

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, there is a 4-year liberal arts college in my home county, Prince Georges County, Md., which has quietly, deliberately, and intelligently undergone some major changes in the past few years. I am referring to Bowie State College which is near the booming Bowie-Belair community.

Under the progressive leadership of Dr. William Henry, Bowie has changed from a Negro teachers college into a fully integrated liberal arts institution. As a demonstration of the strong backing neighboring Bowie-Belair gives the college, a citizens committee called Citizens for Bowie State College has formed to carry Bowie State's banner.

Baltimore Sun newspaper reporter Lowell E. Sunderland recently documented the Bowie State College and Citizens for Bowie State College story. I would like to reprint that article here and publicly commend Dr. Henry and the Bowie-Belair Citizens for Bowie State College for their success in proving what a cooperative community-college effort can do to help all of our citizens get the educational training they deserve:

CITIZENS FOR BOWIE STATE AID COLLEGE, COMMUNITY

(By Lowell E. Sunderland)

BOWIE, MD., July 12.—Image-conscious Bowie State College, an all-Negro teachers college in 1960 but now a fully integrated State college, has a full-time community-based cheering section.

More than 60 members of the Citizens for Bowie State College have been leading the cheers since last December, and the effect has been to make the formerly tiny college a focal point in the Bowie area.

"It's like the community woke up one morning and found the college," said Dr. Charles E. Rice, president of the citizens group. "We found that we can help the college and the college can help us, especially in cultural leadership."

GETS STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

Already the group is active in promoting the school to potential students. A seven-member "professional recruitment committee" has provided several part-time faculty members for the college. The group also plans to act as a lobbying force for the college, Dr. Rice said.

The unique group—there is no similar group elsewhere in Maryland—got started last December when Mrs. Emily Hoereth, a Belair housewife who was a full-time student at nearby Bowie, felt the college needed help in the 1965 General Assembly.

She called together several other members of the Belair-Bowie community and the Citizens for Bowie State College was formed.

CAMPBELL FIRST PRESIDENT

Charles Campbell, a lawyer for the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission, was elected the group's first president.

"The focus of the group then, as now," Mr. Campbell said, "was education and the improvement of it in our area." The group works to support the college, but specifically wishes to avoid interfering with the internal affairs of the school.

Dr. Rice, who was elected president of the group in May, explained the growth and sudden interest in the college: "This is a new area, very active in civic affairs. The level of education here is very high because of the high number of Government and research people living here."

NEW BELAIR WAS KEY

Key to the development of Bowie State was construction of Belair, a segregated housing development on the outskirts of Bowie. Before Belair in 1960, about 9,600 people lived in the basically rural area around Bowie.

Now some 23,000 persons live in blossoming suburban pastel homes and census projections shoved that figure to 60,000 by 1980.

"Before we discovered Bowie," Dr. Rice said, "there was a crying need for some kind of cultural center here. We have no civic center, no theater. There was no focus. The college became sort of a natural one."

UNIVERSITY HALF HOUR AWAY

But why Bowie, and why not the University of Marlyland, which would seem to have much more to offer? Dr. Rice was asked?

"Because Bowie's only 5 minutes away," he answered candidly. 'No parking problems, It's inexpensive and it's convenient. College Park is half an hour away."

Many of the new student Bowie State finds itself teaching are housewives wanting to finish bachelor's degrees, professional people seeking refresher or enrichment classes and white-collar workers seeking classes for advancement in their jobs.

The college is growing. Enrollment this fall is expected to hit 650, according to Dr. William E. Henry, president. Last year it was about 500. Two years ago it was 400.

This summer has found about 180 students taking summer courses. About 100 of them, or 60 percent, are white. In the fall, Dr. Henry said he thinks the enrollment will be about 40 percent white, making integration a fact at Bowie and just not an idea.

"I think this citizens group is doing a wonderful job for the college," Dr. Henry said. "They are a unique group from an unusual kind of neighborhood."

HELP OF PART-TIME TEACHERS

He said the biggest help has come from supplying part-time teachers for the college's faculty.

"This is an area where we can be of great help," Dr. Rice agreed. "We have a large number of people with graduate school contacts who are interested in supporting Bowie State."

Dr. Rice is a psychologist doing research work with drugs at the biometric laboratory of George Washington University in Washington. He has lived in the Washington area 3 years.

Dr. Henry—and Bowie State—would like to see more of his kind of support.

"This is the kind of thing that wipes out, well, unpleasantness between people," Dr. Henry said. "There should be more of it at lot of other schools."

Adlai Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLAIR CALLAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, the people of Illinois, of this Nation and of the world have lost a friend and compatriot. Of few people can it be said "his cause was mankind," but it can be said of Adlai Stevenson. Men so endowed and so dedicated do not often appear to counsel and guide us and the world can ill afford this loss in this time.

I mourn his death for the world and, most especially, for myself. His unexcelled talents of creativeness and eloquence were standards for which all of us reached and none obtained.

His tasks are now ours and we are less well prepared to face them than before. Our dedication to a world in which all have maximum freedom and minimum restaints must be renewed and our efforts multiplied without him.

The Problem of Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 23, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an address delivered recently by the Honorable Henry Ellenbogen, president judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County, Pa. Speaking to delegates at the third annual Bench-Bar Conference of Allegheny County, Judge Ellenbogen concerned himself primarily with the problem of crime.

Judge Ellenbogen's remarks represent a thoughtful and learned analysis of crime and criminal procedure. In addition, he suggests that President Johnson schedule a White House Conference on Crime and Crime Prevention.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I ask that the text of Judge Ellenbogen's address and a relevant Pittsburgh Press editorial be included at this point:

[From the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Press, June 20, 1965]

THE PROBLEM OF CRIME

The warnings continue about the growth of crime in the United States, and the statistics bear out the doleful prophecies. The most expert law enforcement officers and other public officials who have studied the problem agree that, unless something is done, we face large increases in both the incidence and nature of crimes.

President Judge Henry Ellenbogen of the Allegheny County Common Pleas Court rates crime as "the No. 1 domestic problem of our generation," and he sees Government as falling down in its duty to make every person secure in his life, liberty and person.

"There is today no safety, no security for our citizens in their homes, on the streets, in their places of business, at work or at play," he told a bench-bar conference the other day. "Our citizens must be warned that crime is growing like an evil cancer and, unless arrested, will consume the body of society."

Strong words? A recent FBI report estimated that "your chances of becoming a victim of a serious crime are increasing six times faster than the population is growing." And the growth is not confined to

cities. The sharpest increases have been found in suburban areas.

In Washington, U.S. Attorney David C. Acheson protested that police, prosecutors and courts are being swamped by the rising crime rate. And another occurrence in the same city gave one specific answer for the increase.

Judge George L. Hart, Jr., reluctantly freed a defendant in a rape case because the police didn't have a search warrant and thus had made what, by recent court rulings, was an illegal arrest.

The 17-year-old victim had gone to police with her story of rape at knifepoint. She joined police in a search of the man's home. There the police arrested a man identified by the girl and recovered her skirt and sweater from a car in the backyard. But they had no search warrant. The court said the police could have surrounded the house and then tried to contact a judge (in the wee hours of early morning) to get a warrant.

Judge Ellenbogen, in his address to the bar, noted that "what amounts to a revolution has taken place in our criminal procedure," through rulings of the appellate courts.

"The imminent danger now is that the scales of justice are so weighed as to give criminals greater and greater rights, and the law-abiding people less and less protection," he said.

What to do? Judge Ellenbogen conceded that he had no ready solution, though he believes laws against crime should be strengthened, our prison system completely overhauled and that we must have more policemen, better trained and better paid.

He suggested two steps that might be taken in the search for a solution, or solutions. One would be a White House Conference on Crime and Crime Prevention, using a successful method on a new subject. The other would be a statewide conference called by Governor Scranton. Considering the gravity of the problem, some such concentrated study would seem to be in order.

PUBLIC SAFETY—OUR NO. 1 DOMESTIC PROBLEM

(An address by the Honorable Henry Ellenbogen, president judge, Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County, Pa.)

When the legal history of Allegheny County is written, the year 1965 will loom large. It will loom large because it ushered in a new era in the relationship between the judges of the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County and the Allegheny County Bar Association.

I say to you with a great deal of pride and with a great deal of pleasure that there has never been so close, so cordial, so harmonious a relationship between the bench and bar of Allegheny County as exists today.

This is a happy situation which will result in great good for the people of Allegheny County and of the whole State as well as for the legal profession.

The credit for this new era in the relationship between the Allegheny County Bar Association and the court of common pleas is due to a young and brilliant trial lawyer who came to the presidency of the bar association a scant few months ago. That man is David B. Fawcett, Jr. I salute him. I salute the other officers and the members of the board of governors who have worked with him in bringing about a new era of cooperation between the bench and bar.

A NEW ERA OF UNDERSTANDING

I know that I speak for every one of my colleagues on the bench when I tell you that we all value this relationship. We intend to maintain it and build on it for the good of all of us. This mutual understanding will be the basis upon which we will build our program for the improvement of the legal profession, and for making our court a better and a greater court.

United in purpose, as we now are, let us join here tonight in examining what I think is building up into a real crisis. The subject which I would like to talk to you about—indeed, that I must talk to you about—is the fact that there is today no safety, no security for our citizens in their homes, on the streets, in their places of business, at work or at play.

To put it briefly and succinctly, I say to you that Government is falling down on its No. 1 job—its duty to make every person secure in his life, his liberty, and in his person. Ask your wives if they dare go out at night on the streets. For that matter, is it safe for you to take a walk at night in the residential neighborhood in which you live?

There is no use in closing our eyes to the true facts. As lawyers and as judges we have been trained to face up to the facts and to see a situation as it really is. The bench and the bar should not permit our citizens to be tranquilized into a false hope that this grave danger will somehow be dissipated. You know, and I know, that it will not. It will not improve unless we face up to this evil in its stark reality; deal with it, and remove its causes.

SAFETY—OUR NO. 1 PROBLEM

Our first duty is to inform the people of America of the true situation. Our citizens must be warned that crime is growing like an evil cancer and, unless arrested, will consume the body of society. The ever-accelerating growth of crime, and with it the ever-growing insecurity of our people, will soon be recognized as the No. 1 domestic problem of our generation. I call it the No. 1 problem, with the exception only of the threat of extinction through thermonuclear warfare. If that great tragedy should occur, we will not be around to worry about crime, or anything else.

Tonight let us talk about the threat to our domestic tranquility and the insecurity of our citizens. This problem is going to grow. It will be with us for the rest of our lives unless the bench and the bar unite to awaken the people to demand action.

We might well take judicial notice of a situation that all of us know to be true. But if proof is needed, let proof be offered. The Law Enforcement Bulletin, volume 34, No. 5, dated May 1965, issued by the Federal Bureau of Investigation has the proof. It shows on page 22 that "your chances of becoming a victim of a serious crime are increasing six times faster than the population is growing." Unless something is done to reverse this trend, FBI crime reporting experts agree, "the Nation faces another 78-percent increase in crime over the next decade."

A still later bulletin from J. Edgar Hoover confirms our fear that this hideous monster is not confined to our cities. Crime in the suburbs, the citadel of our middle class, shows the sharpest upward trend. It is up 6 percent for the first 3 months of 1965. Armed robbers, burglars, and other assorted felons now prowl the greener pastures of the once tranquil countryside.

Basic to any approach to this problem must be the realization that what amounts almost to a revolution has taken place in our criminal procedure.

I refer, of course, to the historic decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. Gideon's trumpet reverberated through the hallowed halls of the U.S. Supreme Court. It blasted away the old interpretation of the Bill of Rights.

Gideon's trumpet sounded the death knell of two different measures of justice—one for the poor and another for those who could afford the services of a good lawyer. From that day on, the humblest and the poorest of our citizens have been enjoying the same expert legal advice and the same protection of the Bill of Rights as our wealthy and influential citizens.

From that day on, we have truly become a democratic Nation where the law is blind to wealth and position. Now all of our people, rich or poor, stand on an equal footing in a court of law. The equality of man in the halls of justice is now a fact, not merely a cherished hope.

This has never been true before in the history of any nation. It is truly a peak in our developing civilization. It is a gain that we must retain. It must not be dissipated.

Your part in this notable development in our constitutional history is one in which you can take great pride. I take great pleasure in acknowledging your magnificent contribution.

The Allegheny County Bar Association and its most distinguished members made this constitutional development a reality. You responded most promptly and generously to my plea that you contribute your services to indigent prisoners who are seeking their freedom through applications for writs of habeas corpus. You have made 1965 one of the finest and noblest years in the noteworthy history of public service of the Bar Association of Allegheny County.

Let it be noted that 200 of the bar's most distinguished members are contributing their valuable time and extraordinary talents in serving this ideal of justice.

Grateful as I am for your splendid and overwhelming response in volunteering your services, it is my duty now to warn you that the end is nowhere in sight. The flow of letters and petitions—mostly handwritten—from hundreds of prisoners hopeful of gaining their freedom has turned into a flood. Sooner or later every long-term prisoner in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania will resort to a petition for a writ of habeas corpus. The same situation prevails in the other 49 States. Many of these petitioners were convicted as murderers and rapists. Many of them have been imprisoned for staging spectacular armed holdups and burglaries. Nearly all of them, too, have long records of prior convictions.

The fact that so many of you have volunteered your services to friendless and hardened criminals demonstrates that we share a passionate belief in the enforcement of the Bill of Rights. We are dedicated to apply the great safeguards which it provides to every person, rich man or poor man, law-abiding citizen or hardened criminal.

Yet we must never forget that the first duty of government is to assure the safety of the person and the security of the property of every citizen. The preservation of the peace in the community is society's primary concern.

Can we overlook the danger inherent in the hundreds, indeed thousands, of hardened criminals now demanding to be freed from long-term sentences imposed upon them under interpretations of the law and the Bill of Rights then valid? The imminent danger now is that the scales of justice are so weighed as to give criminals greater and greater rights, and the law-abiding people less and less protection.

Each of these cases imposes on us the difficult and delicate duty of weighing the rights guaranteed to convicted criminals by the Bill of Rights with the right of every citizen to security and peace, an inalienable right conferred by the laws of God and man.

We must not stop here. As we have already said, society's first duty is to protect its people. We must now demand that government meet this obligation.

I do not have any ready solution as to how this can best be done. It is certain that laws against criminals must be strengthened. The prison system must be completely overhauled and revamped. We must have more

policemen, they must be better trained, and better paid.

Other courses of action will recommend themselves after study and investigation. Since the threat of crime and criminals is statewide, indeed nationwide, the remedy must be statewide and nationwide.

The safety and security of our people deserve the attention of the best intellects of our country.

I urge this distinguished assemblage of the leaders of the bench and bar to consider all the aspects of this grave problem. We cannot evade the responsibility of seeking a solution. Perhaps a statewide conference called by the Governor in Harrisburg would be a step in the right direction. Perhaps a White House Conference on Crime and Crime Prevention is necessary to provide the answer. In any event I urge you to give careful thought to this most important matter.

Valor Award Presented to Mr. Lee Presley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, today a constituent of mine, Mr. Lee Presley, is being presented an award for valor above and beyond the call of duty.

The award, the result of courageous action by Mr. Presley on August 3, 1963, in which he saved the lives of two men when the landing foot of their helicopter caught on a telephone line and the aircraft flipped over, crashing upside down to the earth, will be presented by Secretary of the Interior Udall.

Serving his country with courage and honor as a member of the Forest Service is nothing new to Mr. Presley who formerly had served in the U.S. Marine Corps.

Mr. Speaker, it is a distinct pleasure for me to be able to call to the attention of my colleagues the highly merited honor Mr. Presley is receiving.

Following is an article from the July 8 edition of the Camas County Courier which gives details of Mr. Presley's accomplishment:

VALOR AWARD TO BE PRESENTED LOCAL RESIDENT

Lee Presley, assistant forester at the local ranger station since the latter part of May, will be presented a hero's award in the Nation's Capital on Thursday, July 15, by the Secretary of the Interior.

The award is officially called the Valor Award, and is nearly as rare as the Congressional Medal of Honor, and must be earned by the recipient for courage above and beyond the call of duty.

It was 2 years ago when Mr. Presley was employed by the Bureau of Land Management out of the Shoshone office, and at that time he was assistant fire control officer. There was a fire east of Bellevue in Muldoon canyon, and firefighters were being carried in by helicopter from a flight pad near Bellevue. The flying machine, carrying two firefighters, took off from the pad, and the helicopter landing foot became tangled, with a telephone line wire and the plane crashed to the ground. Presley observed the crash from nearby and rushed over and pulled the occupants of the helicopter to safety, and just seconds later, the helicopter blew up and was completely destroyed.

The pilot of the helicopter was badly injured, broken ribs and punctured lung, and the other two were badly shaken up and received many bruises, but they were safe, because of the instant and bold action of Lee Presley, without thought of his own safety, the trio were saved from cremation.

Shortly after the incident, a recommendation for the Valor Award was sent to Washington by Dale Kinneman, head of the Shoshone office of BLM, then, now stationed in Santa Fe, N. Mex., and Wandell Elliott, fire control officer. Intensive investigation has since occurred, and just last week, Mr. Presley was notified that he was to fly to Washington for the presentation. He will be accompanied by his wife. They will enplane from Twin Falls on the 14th, to Salt Lake City, Chicago, and then the Nation's Capital. Upon arrival there they will begin a sightseeing tour at 9 a.m., followed by the public presentation.

Mr. Presley is attending annual fire control school above Ketchum, sponsored by the Forest Service, and will return home this Thursday evening.

Adlai Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, the world learned with shock and sorrow yesterday of the untimely death of Adlai Stevenson. On this sad occasion, I would like to add my voice to those of countless others throughout the world who are mourning the loss of a great statesman who served his country and his fellowmen with matchless distinction.

No man of our generation has been more completely devoted to the ideals of service and quality in public life than was Adlai Stevenson. No man of our generation has so enriched our public discourse. To his campaigns for the highest public office he brought integrity, a deep sense of responsibility, and an uncompromising dedication to excellence. To public duties of high significance he brought dignity, sure judgment and the wisdom of a reflective mind.

He confounded some and captured the admiration and trust of many because he valued virtue above virtuosity, and because his every word and act reflected fully his realization that the power to do great good was also the power to do great harm. His wit and eloquence were not an acquired veneer. They moved men because they reflected the man himself—his deeply held convictions, his humility, his doubts and his insights. He spoke for America in the forums of the world. And because he spoke well, with grace and with simplicity, he gave new force to American ideals.

Adlai Stevenson gave fully of himself to his country. It is a measure of the unique place he occupied in the hearts of his fellow citizens and of the very special contribution he made to our public life that the history of our times will be partly written in his words and that no words are adequate to express the loss we have just suffered.

De Gaulle Hedges His Bet on Higher Gold Prices, Buffalo News and Eliot Janeway Observe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the activities of President Charles de Gaulle of France have been a continuing source of interest for Americans. The Buffalo Evening News has recently commented on a new step by President de Gaulle in an editorial based on a column by the perceptive economic columnist, Eliot Janeway. I include the text of the editorial hereafter:

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, July 6, 1965]

DE GAULLE—FINANCIER

For a man whose lifetime background has been military and political, President Charles de Gaulle of France is turning out to be something of a financial impresario.

First, he took a flier on dumping American dollars to buy gold in the hope—not yet realized—that the value of the U.S. dollar would deteriorate. He was the principal head of state in draining our gold reserves, a matter of great concern in the United States.

But now he is doing what Eliot Janeway, consultant economist for the Chicago Tribune Press Service, says is "hedging his bet on a higher price for gold" by making a new deal for uranium with Canada. Janeway says that de Gaulle's uranium investment is "a sure thing." He adds that the French President can't win on gold if the dollar holds its present value. He is paying out his vast reserve of American dollars to take in our gold at $35 an ounce as a gamble that he will be able to sell it back to us when and if the dollar declines in value.

On the other hand, there is little that is speculative about his uranium deal. The first atomic detonation over Japan sparked a speculative boom in uranium. But it didn't last long. And the Canadian uranium mining industry virtually dropped dead. Meanwhile, we had locked ourselves into a long-term contract with South Africa to purchase what it produced.

President de Gaulle will be paying Canada about half what we are paying South Africa for the stuff. And it will give de Gaulle added impetus in his own nuclear program. He is getting it at cut-rate prices.

It is a shot in the arm for the sick Canadian uranium industry. When world demand for the product of its mines declined, whole communities in northern Canada became ghost towns. It also may signal a strong market for the product within a very few years—which points up our losses in the high prices we are paying for South Africa imports.

Meeting of International Road Federation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH J. GRAY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Committee on Public Works and its Special Subcommittee on the Federal Aid Highway Program, it was my recent privilege to join with other members of the House and Senate in attending the South American regional meeting of the International Road Federation which was held in Lima, Peru, on May 17–22, 1965.

A total of 437 delegates from 27 countries met at this important gathering of the IRF which was called to evaluate methods and techniques through which land communication in the Central and South American region could be improved. Two days of technical sessions were devoted to the latest developments in the fields of highway and traffic engineering. In addition, the conference featured a field trip to the Andes on the Central Highway, an aerial inspection tour of Peruvian highway projects, a day of reports on national road activities throughout the Americas and a roundtable discussion on roads as a source of social and economic development which was chaired by the President of the Republic of Peru.

In addition to these various IRF sessions, the Marginal Jungle Highway Committee of the Pan American Highway Congresses was formally inaugurated and an important meeting of the Darien Subcommittee was convened.

This conference was one of the most successful ever held under the auspices of the International Road Federation and I believe that the participation by Members of the United States Congress was a demonstration to the delegates assembled from all parts of the world of this Government's strong interest in improving highway transportation, not only in the United States, but internationally.

While in Lima I had the opportunity to talk with the highest officials of the Peruvian Government concerning its highway programs. These officials and Peruvian and United States private business representatives as well, were unanimous in expressing their appreciation for the excellent cooperation and assistance that had been received through the Alliance for Progress. Mr. Robert E. Culbertson, U.S. AID mission Director, and Mr. Jack R. Hutchins, division engineer of the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads, were specifically complimented as having contributed significantly to the broad planning and guidance of the economic development programs of Peru and to the highway transportation program in particular.

The work of the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads under the direction of Federal Highway Administrator Rex M. Whitton in helping AID realize the objectives of its highway role in Peru in a sterling example of cooperation between agencies of our Federal Government and between Government and private enterprise. It was fortunate that Mr. Whitton could proceed to Lima to participate in this important meeting. His appearance made a strong impression upon the assembled delegates and further highlighted the U.S. concern for economic and social development in the Latin Americas through assistance in their land communications programs.

I noted with the greatest of interest that the relations of AID and Public Roads officials with Peruvian officials and American and Peruvian consulting engineers and contractors were excellent. There is every indication that all concerned are working harmoniously to carry forward the programs as authorized by this Congress.

Adlai Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, a voice is still, a void has been created, and the cause of freedom has suffered a great loss. Adlai Stevenson, one of freedom's most eloquent spokesmen and one of America's greatest men, has left us.

Adlai Stevenson worked hard to keep the candle aglow despite the winds of hate, ignorance, and prejudice that tried to snuff out the flame.

Longfellow said:

Great men stand like solitary towers in the city of God.
And so stood Adlai Stevenson.

Ambassador Stevenson was one of the most articulate voices for peace and for reason in our turbulent world. His words and his deeds will forever live in the hearts of men who cherish freedom and who seek to better mankind.

The world is poorer today because he has left us. But it is richer because he was here. He gave his time, his energies, and indeed his life in the service of his country. His long public service spans World War II and the entire postwar period.

In his career he represented the finest and most noble qualities to which a public servant can aspire. His calm, clear, and strong voice could be heard above the tensions and fears of the world. He gave much more to America than was returned to him.

As Chaucer said:

There was a knight,
A most distinguished man,
Who from the day on which he first began,
To ride abroad, had followed chivalry,
Truth, honor, greatness of heart and courtesy,
And ever honored for his noble graces.

We shall miss Adlai Stevenson, but we shall never forget him.

Statement of George J. Burger, Sr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OMAR BURLESON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, the following is a statement by Mr. George J. Burger, Sr., vice-president legislation, National Federation of Independent Business.

As will be noted, the statement was made before the Special Subcommittee on Labor of the House Education and Labor Committee. The subject is the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

It is interesting to note the results of the survey of the opinion of members of this organization throughout the country.

The statement follows:

SECTION 14(b)—TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

(Statement of George J. Burger, before Special Subcommittee on Labor, House Education and Labor Committee)

I am George J. Berger, Sr., vice president, legislation, National Federation of Independent Business.

As you know, we are—from the standpoint of directly supporting and participating members—the largest business organization in the United States. We currently have more than 200,000 members in smaller, independent business and the professions throughout all 50 States. Our membership is a representative cross section on the Nation's entire small business community—at the retail, wholesale, manufacturing, servicing, and professional occupation levels.

Also as you know, our policies are determined by direct poll of our membership, with each member having one and only one vote, and all urged to exercise their voting right and to send their signed ballots to their Congressmen. A majority on every issue polled determines our position. In addition to these policysetting polls we conduct regular yearly factfinding surveys and special surveys at the request of Congessmen and committees.

From the time of our founding in 1943, the federation has polled its members on 12 separate occasions on the right-to-work concept and closely allied issues, all of which touch directly on section 14(b) of the National Labor Relations Act. Each time our members by large majorities have either supported right-to-work proposals, or opposed proposals which would have destroyed the legal basis for the right-to-work laws.

Our latest such poll was conducted in mandate No. 299 (January 1965). In this poll we stated the issue as follows:

"H.R. 967: Permit unions and businesses to set up union (closed) shop contracts regardless of any State laws which now forbid such agreements (Congressman BURTON of California)."

We offered our members the following discussion on either side of the issue:

"Argument for H.R. 967: This bill aims to promote uniform labor law throughout the United States. Businesses and unions may now enter into union shop agreement on one side of a river in one State, yet be prohibited from doing the same thing on the other side of the river in another State. Further than this, the bill aims to put Federal labor law in its rightful position. Why should States be able to say "No" to something which Fed-

eral law permits. There's nothing wrong with a union shop."

"Argument against H.R. 967: This bill is an absolute invasion of States rights. After much debate, in 1957, Congress wrote the Taft-Hartley law. Section 14b of this gives the States the right to decide whether to permit union shop arrangements within their borders. Since then, many of them have outlawed the union shop to protect their workers and businessmen. This bill would pull the rug out from under these States and their citizens. Further than this, it would help union spread nationally."

As reported in mandate No. 300 our members voted as follows in this poll: 6 percent for; 91 percent against; and 3 percent no opinion.

It is the view of our members that the personal freedom of the individual worker to join or not to join a union is the central issue in this matter. For instance:

In one section of our current, year-long factfinding survey ("small business—the Nation's largest employer") we ask our members if they expanded during the past 12 months, whether they have found capital readily available, how much (if anything) they have spent on expansion, and how many (if any) new job openings have resulted. We received 17,009 signed responses during the first quarter, out of an expected 80,000 during the year.

Comparing responses from the 19 right-to-work States with those from the 41 non-right-to-work States we find the following:

A slightly higher rate of expansion, accompanied by a slightly higher capital availability, in the non-right-to-work States, but a slightly higher rate of new job formation per expansion, at a markedly lower cost per new job opening, in the right-to-work States.

The foregoing is, of course, on a general basis. A State-by-State comparison would show even more significant findings. For instance, two of the four States with the highest expansion rates are Iowa and Alabama—both right-to-work States. Further, the rate of expansion in the South Atlantic area, the stronghold of right-to-work laws, is second only to that reported in the three Middle Atlantic States.

The foregoing should demonstrate conclusively that right-to-work laws, while securing the freedom of the individual to join or not join unions and assuring the businessman of the right to offer employment freely, do not at all create or encourage a climate that is unfavorable to job-creating will and potential of business—which, after all, are the main interest of all working people.

We urge that you reject all proposals to repeal, in effect, the right-to-work laws, and that you maintain in full force section 14(b) of the National Labor Relations Act.

Antipoverty Boondoggling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents wrote to me the other day. His remarks are typical of letters I have received and are food for thought:

I also want to tell you that I support the President in the war against the Vietcong. And that I am against the antipoverty program because it is creating a vast and expensive bureaucracy that will drain most of the money into the pockets of political hacks. If the President wants to help the poor he could turn the money over to the organized charities, the Community Chests of various cities and he could recruit well-to-do, retired citizens who could work for nothing just to help the poor people that really need it. Giving $15,000 to $30,000 jobs and setting up expensive layouts like the Regis Hotel in Omaha where they bring girls in from faraway places by plane is just a lot of boondoggling.

International Monetary Fund

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, at the beginning of this year I pointed out that something must be done to meet the rapidly developing problem of international illiquidity. In January, I suggested that the U.S. position relative to the International Monetary Fund should be much more aggressively and actively pointed toward the creation of some international credit machinery within the IMF. Such a system would be supported on at least a pro rata basis by the gold and local currencies of all the nations in the IMF. Naturally, the innovation of this type of system could not be done in one gigantic step but rather through a series of cautious and responsible steps.

Needless to say, Mr. Speaker, in a program which would require as much time as this one would, time could not be left to pass unproductively but it was. January, February, and March passed. True, President Johnson spoke on our problem of the balance-of-payment deficit in February, and, true, the United States then began to show a surplus, but this only aggravated the problem by putting a squeeze on international liquidity. Consequently, once again I spoke out in April calling for positive action and critical thinking in reconsidering the old rules regulating international finance, for I should like to see our Nation summon the courage to move ahead vigorously and aggressively pursuing an international financial program to match our dynamic national policy for free trade and strong export position. At that time, Mr. Speaker, I introduced into the RECORD a provocative article from the Economist which pointed out Mr. Salant's astute argument that the balance-of-payments surplus in the United States would cause a tightening of international credit and subsequently a world balance-of-payments problem.

I am, therefore, delighted to see that the administration, the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, and even former Under Secretary of the Treasury, Robert Rossa, and former Secretary of the Treasury, Douglas Dillon, recognize that a tremendous problem of international finance does exist. Not only do they recognize that it does exist, now they are also ready to take concertive action in an attempt to find a solution. I can only hope but to encourage them in their future efforts. In this light, Mr. Speaker, I would also like to call the attention of my colleagues to two items which appeared in Monday's and Tuesday's Washington Post, a column entitled, "Economic Impact: The Monetary System Crisis" by Hobart Rowan and an editorial entitled "Timely Action."

Under unanimous consent I place the contents of these articles in their entirety in the RECORD:

[From the Washington Post, July 13, 1965]

TIMELY ACTION

The Government of the United States has taken the initiative to secure improvements in the international monetary system at the right time, in the right way, and with the right men. The announcement of Secretary of the Treasury Fowler is well timed because it occurs when the United States is well toward an equilibrium in its own balance-of-payments and cannot be accused of acting from narrow national interest. It is also at the proper moment because in the past several months an international consensus has gathered behind the belief that there is a shortage of international liquidity and the complacency of a year ago has disappeared.

The careful way in which the Government is going about the preparations for major international effort to increase liquidity is also commendable. And to cap it all, the personnel of the advisory preparatory committee is beyond any reproach. Former Secretary Dillon is the right choice for chairman and the other members are all well recommended.

The experts have been worrying for some time about the ability of the monetary system as constituted 20 years ago to take care of the legitimate requirements of a constantly expanding commercial activity in the world. In his testimony before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee last March, Walter S. Salant, of the Brookings Institution, sounded some warnings of which proper note was taken. He emphasized that since last September events have greatly unsettled the monetary environment. These events have included the worsening of the British payments position, the French conversion of liquid dollar holdings into gold, the rise of increased private hoarding of gold through the London gold market, the curtailment of American gold outflows, the rising interest rates of Europe, and the increases in world trade. These developments, as Salant told the committee, make it difficult to see how anyone can longer maintain that there is no shortage of international liquidity. In his most pointed observation he said: "This whole situation adds up to the makings of a scramble for liquidity, which could result in a world monetary crisis."

The official American position is properly and naturally more conservatively stated, but there is no longer any blinking of the fact that a tightening situation is underway and that it could have the most serious economic consequences for all nations. The deficit in the U.S. balance of payments no doubt helped to conceal the real shortages as long as this country allowed them to continue. Now it is becoming increasingly clear that the domestic problem was only a reflection of a larger world problem which came at once into sharper focus when the U.S. policy was tightened.

The moment now seems opportune to tackle the broad problems of the world monetary arrangements with vigor and the administration is to be congratulated for taking the initiative.

[From the Washington Post, July 12, 1965]

ECONOMIC IMPACT: THE MONETARY SYSTEM CRISES

(By Hobart Rowen)

Former Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon will be back in Washintgon at the end of the week as chairman of a high-powered advisory committee on monetary reform—and he's being welcomed with open arms, especially by liberal Democrats.

When Dillon's retirement was announced last spring, a close friend of the late President Kennedy said: "We're going to miss Doug Dillon—and 4 years ago, I wouldn't have believed that to be true."

At the start of the Kennedy administration in 1961, most Democrats viewed the appointment of Republican Dillon with some suspicion. As a matter of fact, Under Secretary Henry H. Fowler—who now occupies Dillon's post—was regarded by some as a Democratic watchdog.

That wasn't necessary. As one former White House staff man wisecracks, "Doug moved to the left while Joe Fowler moved to the right." Actually, what really happened was that the imaginative and energetic Dillon found himself in such close harmony with Kennedy and his economic advisers that party lines blurred into insignificance.

Former chief economic adviser Walter W. Heller, with whom Dillon scuffled for nearly 4 years, says: "You have to go back to Gallatin to find a more outstanding Treasury Secretary. Dillon became a master of modern economics and its application to fiscal policy."

Thus, Fowler is to be congratulated on his selection of Dillon to head the monetary committee. He enjoys a worldwide prestige that should help convince friends and skeptics alike that we are serious about the question of reform.

It should be said that Dillon himself wasn't always convinced of the need to add to international liquidity. At the International Monetary Fund meetings 2 years ago, he and former Under Secretary Robert V. Roosa (who joins him on the advisory committee) effectively deflated Reginald Maudling's scheme for reform.

Dillon and Roosa at that time thought that the need for some new form of reserves was far, far in the future. It is only to their credit that they have changed their minds.

Recently, in a commencement address in Middlebury, Vt., Dillon bluntly warned that the free world "is rapidly approaching a financial crossroads." Failure to strengthen the international monetary system, he added, could result in "a worldwide recession * * *. A strengthened international monetary system must be installed before it is needed, and not after the crash.

These are strong words. They reflect a position that many economists and academicians have taken for a long time. Even more important, Dillon's evaluation indicates that the United States will have a specific plan to put forward to its trading partners later in the year.

For all of the new clout that Dillon brings to Fowler's Treasury, however, success isn't assured. The big obstacle in the way is a stubborn man named de Gaulle.

The French attitude seems to be that there is no shortage of international liquidity—just a shortage of British reserves. The French are frankly tired of helping the British to live above their means. Other continental powers like the Germans and Dutch are fat and content at the moment, and show no interest at all in monetary reform.

Well-informed IMF sources think that the problem won't move off dead center until the French, the Germans, and the Dutch themselves feel a financial pinch. But everybody on this side of the Atlantic is delighted that Dillon will be at work generating and pushing ideas.

Chancellor Erhard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on June 6, 1965, during a brief visit to this country, Chancellor Ludwig Erhard of West Germany appeared on the NBC program "Meet the Press." During that interview the Chancellor made two very important points: that he believes that our Government is supporting the Government of South Vietnam in its war against the Communists because we believe in freedom and that although West Germany's recognition of Israel has brought about a severance of diplomatic relations with 10 of the Arab countries, the exchange of ambassadors between Germany and Israel does, in fact, introduce a stabilizing element in the Middle East.

A transcript of the Chancellor's interview on "Meet the Press" follows:

MEET THE PRESS

(Guest: Ludwig Erhard, Chancellor, Federal Republic of Germany. Panel: Henry Brandon, London Sunday Times; John Chancellor, NBC News; Sydney Gruson, the New York Times; Stewart Hensley, United Press International. Moderator: Lawrence E. Spivak.)

Mr. SPIVAK. This is Lawrence Spivak, inviting you to "Meet the Press." Our guest today on "Meet the Press" is the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Ludwig Erhard, who is in this country on a brief visit. We will have the first question now from John Chancellor of NBC News.

Mr. CHANCELLOR. Herr Bundeskanzler, when you arrived in the United States you said urgent decisions needed to be discussed regarding the unity of Europe.

What are these urgent decisions you discussed with President Johnson?

Chancellor ERHARD. I think that the most urgent task for us is to gain clarity on the continuation and organization for the Western Alliance in the specific form of NATO and also in other forms, but I think we cannot bear it that there be any uncertainty in this field and that we would not gain clarity very quickly as to how to continue and strengthen the alliance.

Mr. SPIVAK. Mr. Chancellor, you say, sir, that you were misreported when it was said that you would urge President Johnson to use more "patience" with General de Gaulle. Would more patience solve anything in this dispute?

Chancellor ERHARD. No, I don't think so.

Mr. SPIVAK. Mr. Chancellor, you said in New York that you advocated a reconciliation between France and the United States. Do you believe, given the attitude of General de Gaulle toward the NATO Alliance that there can be a reconciliation and, if so, how would we go about it?

Chancellor ERHARD. I said already that it would be desirable if such a reconciliation could take place, but I do not mean to imply that it could be my task to be any mediator or arbiter in the questions between the United States and France.

Mr. SPIVAK. Mr. Chancellor, sir, you say you are not acting as an arbiter or an intermediary, yet you have just seen President Johnson here in Washington, and you will be seeing President de Gaulle in just a few days. How would you describe your role in this?

Chancellor ERHARD. I think that the subjects we have to talk about are more or less the same. The political events in fact do impose on us these subjects, but on the other hand, I could not say that today I have received any advice from Mr. Johnson for my talk with President de Gaulle. The time is only incidental in this but, of course, the subject matter is common for all partners.

Mr. HENSLEY. Mr. Chancellor, you said a moment ago that you didn't believe that more patience was the answer to settling problems with De Gaulle. I am wondering, in that respect, do you believe that the United States should take a more vigorous initiative in trying to work out some sort of a rapprochement between Washington and Paris?

Chancellor ERHARD. I think that the problem really should be solved as early as possible. Of course, I cannot anticipate my talk with General de Gaulle but, of course, I shall do everything possible to make it clear to him [what a] special vital interest the Federal Republic of Germany has in a beneficial continuation of the Western Alliance and that we can never renounce that alliance in the form of integration of forces.

Mr. HENSLEY. Mr. Chancellor, in the recent meeting of the NATO Defense Ministers, Defense Secretary McNamara proposed a sort of a select committee of four of five nations to try to approach this question of nuclear strategy. I wonder what you think about those proposals?

Chancellor ERHARD. I think that this proposal—after having had an opportunity of receiving an interpretation by Secretary McNamara, I think this proposal is very important and interesting, and I think that this really represents a new aspect, because McNamara's proposal really has in mind five or six powers to consult together on nuclear planning and strategy. I think that sometimes there has been some misrepresentation, especially in the German press at least, as though any such consultation would have any direct influence on the technical and organizational forms of MLF or ANF or any combination of these two.

Mr. HENSLEY. Speaking of MLF, which seems to be somewhat dormant at the moment, how do you envisage the possible giving of the other allies a greater voice and share in nuclear strategy? You certainly don't believe that Mr. McNamara's proposals, if carried out, would be the ultimate in this, do you, Mr. Chancellor?

Chancellor ERHARD. No. I am certainly under no illusion. I think that no talk and no form would have as a consequence that the Federal Republic of Germany would have any direct control over nuclear weapons or even think in terms of production. There can be no question of anything of that sort, but I think that a country like the Federal Republic, which has so decisively contributed to conventional defense in Europe, is vitally interested in nuclear planning and defense to protect the Federal Republic of Germany and Europe and to have a share in it.

Mr. GRUSON. Mr. Chancellor, the American troops in Germany are there under the NATO agreement. If the French succeed in getting the revision of the NATO charter that President de Gaulle has suggested and there is no ground then under NATO for the presence of American troops, would you be agreeable to a bilateral agreement with the United States to keep those troops in the Federal Republic of Germany?

Chancellor ERHARD. I think that this is a rather hypothetical question because I continue to be convinced that NATO will continue to exist and that it is secured that American forces will remain on European and German soil.

Mr. GRUSON. Yes, but hasn't President de Gaulle made it clear he would like some other arrangement for NATO under which American troops would not be based there under NATO?

Chancellor ERHARD. I am unable give any interpretation of what General de Gaulle

said, but I am sure that NATO under any circumstances will continue to exist, and my talks today in Washington have even strengthened that conviction of mine.

Mr. BRANDON. General de Gaulle has said that the unification of Europe is a European problem and not an Atlantic problem. I was wondering what your position is on this.

Chancellor ERHARD. You know that the Federal Republic of Germany has placed great emphasis with cultivating the friendship of France; we are happy about the reconciliation with France. That is a value in itself but also the condition for a real European policy and to come to a European unification.

I believe that, also for the Atlantic Alliance, this is of the greatest importance if Europe is stronger and if really, whatever the stages may be, comes to a political unity, because a strong Europe, which can be an equal partner in the Western Alliance, of course, means that it has to assume the same, the equal obligations, and that, I think, is the important point in this.

Mr. BRANDON. Prime Minister Wilson the other day proposed the building of a bridge, as he put it, between the Common Market and the European free trade area.

Do you think that this is a practical proposition?

Chancellor ERHARD. I certainly think this feasible. I many years ago already thought this was feasible, and as you know I have been one of the most enthusiastic advocates of a larger Europe and continue to be so. I do not dare to answer the question what—in how far the question could be burning, whether Britain and other countries would join the Common Market, but I think the historic—the course of history makes it absolutely necessary for this unification to come about, and I think that not least—the Queen's visit to Germany can be a starting point for new developments. At any rate, we are prepared—and I am talking for the Federal Republic of Germany—to use some of our forces in order to, at the same time, strengthen the Common Market internally and open the way toward free-minded European peoples.

Mr. SPIVAK. Mr. Chancellor, you have said that one of the major goals of your government is the reunification of Germany. Have you any suggestion for realistic steps that could bring about unification?

Chancellor ERHARD. It is quite true that no German Government can ever renounce the problem of reunification in the form of not having it as being the first priority goal and interest of the German policy. This does not mean that we would not have patience as we had in the past. We are aware that we will have to use that virtue in the future, too. There have been some ideas floating around: On the one hand there was the idea that the cultivation of relations and ties with the Eastern European countries will make these countries more aware of their European history and culture and thus bring about a climate in which the problem of reunification might be more easily solved. This is one side, however, of the thing. We do not have control of all the elements in this problem.

I think that it is important for Germany to keep awake the problem of reunification. We cannot tell the German people that in 20 or 25 years there may be a chance by some course of history for reunification to come about, but we must be fully awake at any time to use every opportunity at any moment because we cannot predict the course of history for the next few years. Nobody can ever put up a timetable and say at that time there will be reunification, and nobody is able to say, this is the only instrument and the only means by which reunification can be achieved. But, for us it is the first priority goal—problem, and we are grateful that the United States has recognized this.

Mr. CHANCELLOR. Herr Bundeskanzler, you speak of new developments in the Common Market. Without asking you to place a timetable on it, would you now support a new campaign for British entry into the Common Market?

Chancellor ERHARD. I think there is the problem of mutual harmonization. We are all aware of the reasons which brought about the failure of Britain's joining the Common Market, and I think that on the British side, on the one hand, one will have to examine when the appropriate time will have come, but it is also a responsibility of the European Economic Community and the participating countries to be prepared for talks because such an attempt must not fail again.

Mr. CHANCELLOR. Last month you reportedly told some members of your party that you expected some additional difficulties in the Common Market and that you expected them soon. Do you expect this trouble to involve the common agricultural policy, or will it come in the area of political control of the community?

Chancellor ERHARDT. I haven't been so specific about this. I think that the Common Market, insofar as the economic side is concerned, will continue to make progress. Of course, we do not think that the Common Market should only be a common agricultural market, but that the Common Market should also include the industrial sector and is as important in that sector and that other important questions of an economic unity must be dealt with, such as taxation problems, legal problems. There is no doubt about that, but the object of my doubts, which I expressed, was the question whether over and above the progress of the Common Market we also achieve what one normally terms the political union of Europe.

I have made great endeavors from the very first moment of having become Chancellor and I—well, there was some reason for some hope for me, especially after my talks with De Gaulle at Rambouillet, that he would be prepared to go along that way. I don't want to say that this is no longer the case, but at any rate, I would have wished that I had a more positive answer at an earlier stage.

Mr. HENSLEY. Mr. Chancellor, we hear and read reports from Europe which express concern that the action of the United States in the Dominican Republic and in Vietnam may indicate a new policy of going it alone without too much reference to allies. The reports go on to say that this has caused some feeling among the Alliance members in Europe that possibly the United States is downgrading its multilateral aspects.

Do you share this concern, or does it exist to any extent in Europe?

Chancellor ERHARDT. No, I certainly do not share that concern, and quite generally I believe the problem of the Dominican Republic is not entirely identical with the South Vietnam problem. In our talks today—in our communique you will read that the American President and myself share the hope that a peaceful solution for orderly government will be found in the Dominican Republic.

South Vietnam, even from the German point of view, is something different because there America stands up for freedom, meeting aggression, and there Germany, even so far as South Vietnam may be geographically from the Federal Republic, we still feel that this holds a direct concern of ours because the resistance and determination of the United States in South Vietnam is for us proof that we can rely upon America's determination in defending freedom and that whenever danger appears in Europe or Germany, the United States will be our faithful partner and ally.

Mr. HENSLEY. Mr. Chancellor, with respect to Vietnam, do you have any concern or apprehension that the increased Soviet-American tension arising from that situation might have an effect in ending the detente in Europe and bring some new crisis there?

Chancellor ERHARD. I think one cannot absolutely deny that question, but we are aware not only for that reason but also in view of the elections which are forthcoming this year that certain harrassment may come about from the Soviet side.

Mr. GRUSON. Mr. Chancellor, a double question: Do you foresee the possibility of a coalition between your party and the Socialist Party after the West German elections in September, and if this coalition were brought about, would it make it easier for the Government of West Germany then to take steps on the possible negotiations for the reunification of Germany? I am thinking of recognition of the present eastern borders of Germany.

Chancellor ERHARD. I am talking on non-German soil, and there I don't like to talk about party politics in Germany, but I personally have very clearly stated that for democratic reasons and principles I do not think it appropriate to combine our position in government because parliamentary democracy really requires government as well as opposition. Both are as important, and I could not imagine that in America, for instance, Republicans and Democrats would join in one single government. This would be in full contradiction to the style followed so far. I don't think this would be a good solution for Germany either, but I recognize that there may be emergency conditions under which a great coalition could come about in Germany as, for instance, it did once in Britain.

Mr. BRANDON. Mr. Chancellor, I have heard concern expressed here in high quarters about some signs of nuclear weapons cooperation between France and Germany, perhaps not on a governmental but on the industrial level, and I was wondering whether you could clarify this situation?

Chancellor ERHARD. I can just say no. There is no such cooperation, and we are not having any desire to participate, for instance, in the force de frappe, nothing of the sort.

Mr. CHANCELLOR. Herr Bundeskanzler, there is a feeling here in Washington among some Americans and in some European capitals that the United States is standing back, standing away from the essential problems of Western Europe and letting the Europeans, or wanting the Europeans, to solve them themselves.

Is this holding back desirable, or does it give you additional problems?

Chancellor ERHARD. I believe that it would be wrong to believe, as I see it, that the United States would lose their interest in Europe, or that they would withdraw from the Four Power responsibility or that they would no longer take seriously their commitment to the Atlantic Alliance, and no concern about this can ever take place, really, in Germany.

For instance, we have the public opinion poll which showed that the United States was considered as the most faithful ally of Germany and by far the strongest.

Mr. SPIVAK. Gentleman, we have about 2 minutes.

Mr. HENSLEY. Mr. Chancellor, would you tell us kindly what you think will be the effects of the breaking off of diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic by some of the Arab States?

Chancellor ERHARD. The first act was the establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel. I have taken that decision well aware that this could well elicit a reaction in the Arab countries, and in fact 10 countries in the Arab world have severed their diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic without, however, establishing diplomatic relations with Pankow, the East German authorities.

I think we should not bring up any new emotions, but I think we can say that in mutual interest we can expect that this is just an episode and that in fact in the foreseeable future the old friendship between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Arab countries will continue, but that at the same time by establishing diplomatic relations with Israel, we have introduced a stabilizing element in the Middle Eastern situation.

Mr. SPIVAK. May I ask you a very short one, Mr. Chancellor? Do you think it would be a good idea for President Johnson and General de Gaulle to meet soon?

Chancellor ERHARD. I cannot really judge. That is up to the discretion of the two.

Mr. SPIVAK. Thank you, Chancellor Erhard, for being with us today on "Meet the Press."

California State Board of Agriculture Reaction to Farm Labor Chaos

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, for years Governor Brown has been condemning and maligning California growers and producers and championing the union farm labor organizers—for the obvious political reason that there are more workers than employers and the workers naturally respond to munificent promises whether fulfillment is possible or not. Employment by a bankrupt employer or a grower who is becoming insolvent is not good for the worker even though he earns 3 cents an hour more than last year and even though the Government and unions keep promising more. When the goose that produces the golden egg of high wages is finally strangled, the worker will know who did the choking.

Finally, a member of Governor Brown's State Board of Agriculture said:

California farmers should be praised not only for paying the highest farm wages in the Nation, but also for transporting workers from long distances, to meet this years labor shortage.

Milton Natapoff of Los Angeles told fellow members of the board at a recent meeting in Sacramento:

You seldom, if ever, hear this side of the story.

For years our growers have paid the highest wages in the entire United States, and this year they have increased those rates by 25 to 50 percent, and I think credit is long overdue.

Anyone who knows the facts will concur.

The Council of California Growers, meanwhile, reported that "fair to good" workers have been earning from $3 to $5 per hour harvesting lettuce, from $17 to $30 per day pulling tomato transplants, from $20 to $40 per day picking cherries, from $1.50 to $2.85 per hour picking citrus, and from $1.50 to $2 per hour picking strawberries.

Observed Board Member Joseph Crosetti, of Salinas:

The big question now, is, How long California growers can continue to compete with other States and Mexico where wage rates are considerably lower.

California State Employment Director Albert Tieberg told the Board at the same meeting that "wages as low as 60 to 70 cents per hour are still common in such States as Texas and Oklahoma." This may or may not be true. Regardless, California growers have consistently paid the highest wages and provided the best housing and working conditions of any farmer in the world. California growers can no longer perform so handsomely for their employees and complete with other sections of the world and withstand the punishment of their own Federal Government.

Congressman George Hansen of Idaho Receives Recognition in Press for Efforts on Lower Teton Reclamation Project

SPEECH

OF

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, in a recent column by Aden Hyde which appeared in the Eastern Idaho Farmer of Idaho Falls, my good friend and colleague from the Gem State, Congressman GEORGE HANSEN, is cited for his efforts to secure congressional approval for the Lower Teton reclamation project. Passage of this highly important project is of vital concern to residents of Mr. HANSEN's district. As my colleagues may be interested in this article, I am including it in the RECORD for their information:

VIEWS AND NEWS ON SUBJECTS HERE AND THERE

(By Aden Hyde)

The public works appropriation bill sailed through the House of Representatives in Washington Tuesday. It had $1 million as a starter for a Bonneville Power Administration transmission line through southern Idaho but not 1 cent for anything on the Fremont Dam on the Teton River.

The odd part of this is that both House actions could be reversed in the Senate. There's even some hope for a little help for the Fremont Dam project.

It's easy to dispose of the BPA matter. The House appropriation has strings attached: Go right on negotiating for a transmission contract with Idaho and Utah power companies. But it's quite probable that the Senate won't even go that far and that the million-dollar provisional appropriation will be stricken from the public works bill. It just happens that Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana, a political power of Montana, a political power in Washington, isn't exactly enthusiastic about extending the BPA federally subsidized power octopus throughout the Northwest. He could balk and if he does, that million dollar item will be washed out of the bill.

The Teton Dam appropriation matter is a little more delicate. Water conservation projects should be nonpartisan; they should not even be political. The Fremont Dam got that way by inadvertence. But even that embattled proponent of political reprisal, Congressman MIKE KIRWIN, of Ohio, has mellowed on this one to the point where he concedes that the Fremont Dam, like other water conservation projects, should neither be partisan nor political. And that's progress.

In the Senate, that's always been true. Idaho's two Senators, Democrat FRANK CHURCH and Republican LEN JORDAN, have long since endorsed the Teton project, worked for it. Upon that basis and the hope that this bipartisan support can be extended in the Senate to include a majority of the Members of that body, Congressman GEORGE HANSEN has written a letter to both Senators CHURCH and JORDAN pointing out the possibility of this approach.

We're impressed that Mr. HANSEN's finesse in this matter has possibilities. He was smart enough not to make an issue of it on the floor of the House where nothing could possibly have come from vocal intercession on the floor but more acrimony and delay.

How much progress can be made in that direction is uncertain. But we'd say as of now, that the Fremont Dam project still has a chance to get somewhere at this session of the Congress. In any event, a proper foundation is being prepared to make real progress a year from now. Our judgment is that Mr. HANSEN, displaying evidence of sound political astuteness, is to be commended for his adroit approach to a vexing legislative problem.

The Harvest in Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, last week I discussed the student riots which occurred over the Independence Day holiday in my section of the country.

The July 7, 1965, edition of the Joplin, Mo., Globe contains an excellent editorial which I believe reflects the view of many citizens.

The editorial follows:

THE HARVEST IN YOUTH

In the wanton desecration of national Independence Day, and the disgracing of themselves by some 30,000 American young people old enough to know better, we are reaping some of the harvest of our own national folly. To merely deplore this pattern of behavior displayed over the past weekend at resorts in four States, including our own Ozarks, is not enough. Let's take a brief look at the stage setting in national policy:

For years we have subsidized illegitimacy and related social indiscretions; we have rewarded idleness and placed a premium on dependence; we have mollycoddled delinquents and shielded young criminals; government has encouraged, even aided, the flouting of local law by approving so-called civil rights demonstrations, and rioting; some colleges have licensed disrespect of country under the guise of "academic freedom," and many affluent parents have financed the unrestrained misconduct of their offspring.

In this sequence of abdication of moral and lawful responsibility, and the abandonment of discipline at government, school, and parental levels, we ask: "Just what do you expect?" This is no alibi; it's a sign of degeneration.

The one consoling element in this sordid story is that these pitifully inadequate young people do represent only a small minority. But the warning is that rotten apples do spread their decay.

Remarks by Hon. Horace R. Kornegay at Prayer Breakfast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that all Members of this body are familiar with the prayer breakfast group which meets every Thursday morning in the family dining room on the Senate side of the Capitol, and which is open to all Members of the House of Representatives.

Unfortunately, however, all Members of this body were not present this morning to hear an inspirational talk by our colleague, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KORNEGAY].

In order that his discernment and wisdom in a matter concerning the moral posture of this country might be shared by all, in and out of the Congress, I herewith include his remarks:

REMARKS BY HONORABLE HORACE R. KORNEGAY AT HOUSE PRAYER BREAKFAST, JULY 15, 1965

"We are losing the war in Vietnam."

We hear this plaint daily, almost constantly, from many sources. Learned Members of both Houses of the Congress debate the efficacy and effectiveness of our policies in southeast Asia in floor speeches. Self-styled political and military experts in our colleges and universities conduct "teach-ins" on the campus and write often silly "open" letters to the editors on the subject. Bearded young pseudointellectuals parade around in dirty white sneakers with placards calling for us to get out of South Vietnam.

Radio and television commentators and news analysts probe into the subject and ask penetrating questions about it.

Everywhere we go today, we heep hearing that "we are losing in Vietnam." There is widespread concern.

There is, of course, reason for deep concern as the Vietnam situation concerns many of the best minds of this Nation—from the President on down.

I, too, am concerned.

I am equally concerned, however, that we might be losing a war closer at home—one that could be even more devastating and disastrous than one that is being fought in the jungles of southeast Asia.

I am afraid that we are in serious danger of losing the battle being fought for the mind, the spirit, and the soul of America. Round about us today, as we meet together to pay tribute to our God, we can see evidence of moral decay which is weakening the fiber and fabric of a great Nation—founded in a concept of religious faith. This Nation was established by persons who came across the seas bringing a book, a Bible, under their arms.

Now, the book under the arm of the American is "Lady Chatterly's Lover" or "The Tropic of Cancer." The filthier the book, the greater the sale.

Our Founding Fathers sought to establish a Nation directly upon the Bible and therefore upon belief in a personal God. In those early days their concept of this Nation was a Theocracy in which the rule of God prevailed in the affairs of man. Upon this sure foundation was developed a mighty and potent people.

Dr. Norman Vincent Peale has widely commented: "We got this Nation out of the pages of the Bible. And unless we maintain the Bible as the anchor of our liberty, this great country which Abraham Lincoln called 'the last best hope on earth' may be taken from us."

Some of the seeds of destruction have already been sown and bear promise of fruition. For, a Maryland atheist who says "my child shall not pray" has brought about a Supreme Court decision that your child and mine shall not pray in school either.

A Pennsylvanian who opposes Bible-reading in classrooms has been able to have this Bible exercise eliminated from every classroom in the country. In Sacramento County, Calif., it was ruled unconstitutional for schoolchildren to say with their milk and cookies this simple grace: "God is great, God is good. Let us thank Him for our food."

This week we have heard much discussion about removal of silver from our coinage. This is an important area of discussion, but not nearly so important to me as some of the proposals to remove from our coinage the motto "In God We Trust."

Others complain about the use of chaplains in the armed services and prayers before Government and public gatherings. There is a great movement underway to make America a godless nation and I am disturbed to think that we have lost the early battles in this war here at home.

In 6,000 years of recorded history, the American Constitution is the only document of government to be based on the law of God as defined in natural law, the decalog and devine revelation. Its authors were believers; their faith is evident in the guarantees for individual freedom which they wrote into the Constitution. Furthermore, by their checks and balances on the three branches, they assured that no branch should overpower the others and that, while protecting the rights of minorities, government should remain in the hands of the majority of the people. This is the freedom of religion which the framers of the Constitution had in mind.

Yet, today as we meet here in the capital of the free world, we are greatly troubled. No intelligent man could fail to be, for throughout the world and even here in America all that is needed to create a riot are a few roughly painted signs and a loudmouthed leader. The mob spirit is everywhere.

Earlier this month, on the day set aside to commemorate American independence, young Americans went on rampage in demonstration against established authority. They flouted the rights and property of others. They engaged in wild mayhem.

Mob thinking is not only rampant, but popular today. Streets once used for travel are now filled with bodies of people. Sit-ins and lying-downs are new but now-familiar phrases. Hate is becoming widespread and churches are being bombed and torn asunder. A Gallup poll has revealed the startling finding that only one-third of the people believe that the church has any appreciable influence in American life. In the year 1900, 35 percent of the world's population were Christians and if the present rate continue, the year 2000 will find it reduced to 20 percent—a loss of 15 percent in 100 years. A century of progress, indeed.

And, as I look upon our country I see much that disturbs me.

There is evidence at every hand that many of our traditional American values are deteriorating, particularly among the young—who, unfortunately, have an innate tendency to emulate their elders.

We have watched juvenile delinquency climb steadily. We have seen a growing tendency to tolerate all kinds of abuses, crimes, and lawlessness without intervention or protest. We have seen the reluctance of witnesses to testify for fear of retaliation, recrimination, or merely out of fear of becoming involved. We have seen parental reluctance to place restrictions on teenage children or to report teenage behavior.

We speak of underprivilege. Yet the young men who swagger up and down the streets, boldly flaunting their gang symbols on their black jackets, are far more blessed in creature comforts, opportunities for advancement, and freedom from drudgery than 90 percent of the children of the world.

We speak of educational advantages. Yet all of us know of instances of mass sex orgies that have taken place on or near some of our greatest institutions of higher learning, attendant with dope and habit-forming drugs now becoming more popular than ever with our young people. All of us, too, know of the growing "beatnik bunch," which rebels against any vestige of authority or tradition or convention.

There is the status of our advanced culture—our entertainment and our literature.

All of you, I am sure, are aware of the flood of offensive material now prevalent in books, magazines, movies, radio, television, and the stage. It's everywhere, and in abundance. We are preoccupied, it seems, with the glamorization of sordid themes—sexual perversion, prostitution, dope addiction, etc. Can anyone deny that movies are dirtier than ever? Only nowadays, they don't call it dirt. They call it "realism." Filth today is a "daring art form", licentiousness is really social comment. Not too long ago, the screen industry solemnly announced that from now on perversion and homosexuality would no longer be barred from the screen—provided the subjects were handled with "delicacy and taste." Heavens help us, when we have reached this advanced state of culture.

There has been a tremendous rise in the "anything goes" philosophy in which no limits are permitted on what may be printed or exhibited, nor any restrictions placed on its distribution to individuals of any age. We have reached the pinnacle in absurdity when college students cry for their "freedom of speech" when they were not permitted to paint four-letter obscene words on a college campus.

We have watched the rise of crime and lawlessness and the deterioration of many of our cities to a point where some areas are unsafe at night and some are even unsafe in daylight. There is, as you know, just that situation existing here in the "home of freedom."

Gentlemen, unless some meaningful steps are taken to prevent further deterioration of our standards, the American environment will grow progressively worse until it becomes so intolerable that only radical solutions will accomplish any results. But, we are a great people. We have noble traditions.

We have much to teach to the rest of the world—and to ourselves again. But, one thing is certain. We do not have centuries for a leisurely reawakening—for we have a dedicated enemy in communism that has the capacity and the willingness to seize upon our own moral decay and speed our moral decline.

A democracy depends on individual responsibility in order to function. Therefore, the level of individual moral and ethical standards, to a great degree, governs the health of the Nation and the continuing viability of its institutions.

We need and must have a reexamination of the historical, religious, and philosophical heritage from which American values have developed. We need to redevelop the theme that the traditional standards of personal, business, and political conduct are a distillation of men's wisdom over the ages. They are worth preserving because they:

Permit maximum freedoms for individuals to live their lives so long as they do not impinge on the rights of others.

Establish and foster civilized relations between human beings who must, of necessity, cooperate in order to live.

Are not only right in the moral and religious sense but worthwhile in the practical sense, and necessary for the longrun preservation of the American way of life.

This cannot be accomplished by our ministers, priests, and rabbis alone. It is up to all of us to help fight this battle. Those of us in the public eye can help, in our lives and in our preachments. The tremendous power existent in the mass media of radio, television, and the press could exert its great influence to great advantage. The entrepreneurs and promoters of our entertainment world could pitch in, as could those responsible for the literature we read.

There is a war going on here today—for the eye, the ear, the mind, and spirit of America. We may be losing at the moment, but I believe in the indominatable will of the American people. We can win.

I am a Methodist, if you will permit the personal reference, and proud of my denomination—as I know each of you are yours. I point this out at this time to say that the founder of our denomination, John Wesley, had the perfect battle plan drawn for the war we are fighting on the morals front today when many years ago he defined a Methodist. He said:

"A Methodist is one who has the love of God shed abroad in his heart by the Holy Ghost given unto him. One who loves the Lord his God with all his heart and soul and mind and strength. He rejoices evermore, prays without ceasing, and in everything gives thanks. His heart is full of love to all mankind and is purified from envy, wrath, malace, and every unkind affection. His one desire and the one design of his life is not to do his own will be the will of Him who sent him. He keeps all God's commandments from the least to the greatest.

"He follows not the customs of the world, for vice does not lose its nature through becoming fashionable. He fares not sumptuously ever day. He cannot lay up treasures upon earth, nor can he adorn himself with gold and costly apparel. He cannot join in any diversion that has the least tendency to evil. He can no more speak evil of his neighbors than he can lie. He cannot utter unkind or evil words. He does good unto all men, unto neighbors, strangers, friends, and enemies.

"These are the principles and practices of our sect. These are the marks of a true Methodist. By these alone do Methodists desire to be distinguished from all other men."

I would point out that not all of us who proclaim fidelity to Methodism are able to fully measure up to the Wesley definition and certainly your speaker this morning would not claim these many virtues which Wesley insisted we develop.

I can profess that if each of us made a definite, sincere attempt to mirror this definition—regardless of our profession of faith—that we can and will win this insidious war against further moral decay in our land and in our world.

Thank you.

The Late Adlai Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, in the death of Adlai Stevenson, America has lost one of her greatest statesmen and we have all lost a friend. All of us thrilled to the great literary quality of his speeches and the high tone of the political campaigns he waged.

Ambassador Stevenson represented the interests of the United States in the United Nations with dignity and ability and will be remembered as one of the great voices of the 20th century.

As a voice crying for justice and understanding in the midst of political, social, and economic turmoil, Adlai Stevenson was for our day what Abraham Lincoln was a century ago. The State of Illinois has given her very best to America and the world.

We are all saddened as the shadow of death casts its pall over us and we are aware of the deep void Ambassador Stevenson's passing leaves.

Bread Tax and Price Wars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR CALLAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to add my voice to the growing body of sentiment in this House which is becoming increasingly disgusted and insulted by the felicitous propaganda being circulated to defeat the farm bill.

As my distinguished colleague from Texas reminded this body last week, this bread tax argument or propaganda is totally false and cunning, a deceitful and deliberate campaign by the big baking companies and their well-paid professional lobbyists.

I have in my hand at this moment the best red, white, and blue, 100-percent American evidence to rebut the gloom and doom philosophy and propaganda sought to be spread by these disbelievers in our great free enterprise system.

There is currently ensuing in my district—and I submit it could be contagious and occur in anyone's district—a bread price war.

Last week the Beatrice, Nebr., Daily Sun, a leading newspaper in my home county, carried the following advertisements:

Bread, IGA short loaf, 16 ounces, 10 cents.
Ovenjoy bread, white, loaf, 10 cents.
Butter and Egg bread, save 8 cents, 16-ounce loaf, 19 cents.

I am sure that the good people in my district who buy and consume bread, as everyone does, are most pleased at the enlightened marketing practices and stimulated free market competition that has brought this situation about in Nebraska. It is ironic that such a situation should occur at the same time when highly paid professional lobbyists here in Washington are busily engaged in attempting to scare this body away from constructive farm legislation, on the spurious grounds that the price of bread to the consumer must go up.

This situation in my State points out dramatically the true facts that give the lie to the fiction that the price of bread must go up to the consumer if the wheat farmer's share of the price of a loaf of bread is increased by seven-tenths of 1 red cent—I repeat, "seventh-tenths of 1 red cent." Opponents of the farm bill's wheat provisions have in the past made predictions that the price of bread would rise to the consumer—in that the farmers were not given consideration—but it did not.

Bread prices in the last year have averaged around 21 cents a loaf, or less.

This is virtually unchanged from the period before the certificate program went into effect. This program has meant the addition of approximately $450 million in farm income to wheatgrowers all over this land and at the same time has resulted in lowering, by $300 million, the cost to the taxpayer. Wheat stocks have been reduced by about 150 million bushels below the previous marketing year and thus additional savings have resulted to all taxpaying American citizens.

Now, what about those who claim to be hurt by such constructive farm programs? Profits to wheat users rose in 1965. According to reliable sources, they are higher in nearly every case than for the same period in 1964. I am sure that no one opposed to the wheat provisions in the wheat bill would have the temerity to suggest that the bakers and other wheat users are not better off financially than the farmers who grow the wheat or deny that they get a greater share of the consumer's cost than the farmer, from every loaf of bread they sell and yet these folks just do not seem to want to give the farmer parity of income even if it only costs seven-tenths of 1 red cent.

The goals of the farm bill are simple. First, to raise farm income by $250 million a year; second, to reduce farm program costs $200 million a year; and third, to cut back Government-held stocks of farm commodities and reduce Government storage and handling costs.

They are not, as we have been propagandized, designed to put bakers and wheat users out of business or to raise the price of bread to the American consuming public. Let us remember, gentlemen, that the farm and rural American families are themselves one of the most important consumer units in the country.

In 1949, the retail price of bread averaged something like 13 cents a loaf. At that time, the wheat farmers' share of that 13 cents was two and a fraction cents. In 1965, the average retail price of a loaf of bread has risen to 21 cents a loaf. The farmers' share remains the same two and a fraction cents a loaf.

The new bill would not solve all the marketing inequities, but it would provide the wheat farmer with his first increase in his share of the returns from a loaf of bread in 15 years.

I submit that any of my colleagues who may represent districts with an industrial complex, it would be hard put to deny their constituents one fractioinal wage increase in 15 years.

And, yet, you and I must be subject to this continued false and fradulent argument that if the share of the farmer is increased by seven-tenths of a cent, the

price of bread to the consumer will be increased two cents. I say, woe, to those who use this type of scare tactics.

Let us, gentlemen, be done with these prophets of inflation who use paid hurlings to confuse the issue. The good people of Nebraska by their actions this week in my district have shown again the fallacy of the premise—"That you can fool some of the people some of the time."

The Late Adlai Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, if there ever was a true Renaissance man of the 20th century, that man was Adlai Stevenson. We are even more stunned by his loss than one would expect because of the enormity of this man's ability and his goodness.

A diplomat, a statesman, a lawyer, a journalist, a political leader, an unabashed and full-fledged intellectual, a man of great warmth and compassion, a man of glittering wit and superb intellect—Adlai Stevenson was, indeed, a man for all seasons. His loss is irreparable and irretrievable.

One of the brightest stars in the entire political world galaxy has been dimmed. Few men of the stature of Stevenson come along in one generation, or, in fact, in a host of generations.

The Ambassador was a man who had unselfishly given more than his measure of service to all the people of the country and of the world. Although the torch of leadership of the American people was denied him, he wore the mantle of world leadership for many years. For a time it appeared as if he alone was carrying the burden of the United Nations on his shoulders.

The intellectual fire and eloquent voice which were extinguished will not easily be relit. There are few Americans of whom we can all be as proud as of Adlai Stevenson. He will be remembered with love, respect, and honor by all.

Captive Nations Week Observance in Lehighton, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, July 18, we begin the annual observance of Captive Nations Week in our country and in my congressional district the members of the Lehigh Valley Branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee will sponsor a special meeting at the Ukrainian Homestead Summer Camp near Lehighton in Carbon County.

Joining with my many friends from the UCC will be members of the Hungarian, Polish, Slovak, and other ethnic groups from throughout the Lehigh Valley. I know that the Members of the House of Representatives join me in the hope that they will have a prayerful and successful meeting.

Here in America, as we enjoy the day-to-day dignity of a free people in a free society, we should pause to remember those millions of men, women, and children who labor beneath the yoke of tyranny across the world.

We cannot be wholly content, no matter what our own state may be, so long as the face of the world is scarred by the suppression of the human spirit.

The people of the Ukraine, the Slovak, and Polish people, have lost none of their thirst for individual liberties or their pride in their own national heritage.

I urge that we join together, now, in a reaffirmation of America's hope for their peace and freedom.

Ambassador Adlai Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. SANTIAGO POLANCO-ABREU

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM PUERTO RICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. POLANCO-ABREU. Mr. Speaker, Puerto Ricans everywhere share with me and my colleagues the dark sorrow of Ambassador Stevenson's death. He was a man of vision and of mission for his country, and he served the task well through many years. Never a robust person, he seemed to drive himself at times close to the limit of endurance. He was selfless, able, persuasive, dedicated, purposeful, and an effective foe of communism. And he was humble. Magnificently gallant in action was Adlai Stevenson, for he was of, by, and for the people, and it was their cause for which he struggled.

We, the free people of the world, have lost a real champion, and we are poorer now.

California Federation of Young Democrats Supports "One Man, One Vote"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, the annual State convention of the California Federation of Young Democrats has expressed its strong support for the principle of one man, one vote and its opposition to the Dirksen amendment. I congratulate the federation and its able president, Mr. Henry Waxman, on their support of fair legislative apportionment. The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION ON REAPPORTIONMENT OF STATE LEGISLATURES

Whereas the Supreme Court historic one-man, one-vote ruling in *Reynolds* v. *Simms* is threatened by a proposed constitutional amendment introduced in the U.S. Senate by Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, and

Whereas this amendment would permit the perpetuation of control of State legislatures by underpopulated rural areas: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the California Federation of Young Democrats goes on record as opposing the Dirksen amendment or any other proposal which would circumvent the one-man, one-vote ruling, and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to each member of the California delegation in the House of Representatives and to the State legislators.

Adlai Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in paying tribute to a great American, Adlai Stevenson, as we mourn his passing. Ambassador Stevenson served in a most difficult, challenging assignment for the last 4½ years as the U.S. spokesman at the United Nations. His loss will not only be felt by Americans but his valued counsel and judgment will be missed at the U.N.

As a representative from Illinois, Mr. Stevenson's home State, I also take note of the years of service he devoted to the citizens of our State. All who knew him, worked with him, or observed his public career recognized him as a man devoted to his philosophy and principles of government, and respected him for his brilliant mind and unusual eloquence.

Ambassador Stevenson was known throughout the world as a major American spokesman and highly respected for his determination, energy, and ability. In his long career he played a major role in many vital developments and leaves a clear imprint on the pages of history.

Mrs. Derwinski and I extend to his family our sincere sympathy on his sudden passing.

Adlai E. Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, we lost a great man whose greatest contributions to America were his ideas and his ideals. He was a man who lived be-

fore the times were ready to accept his thinking, and yet a great deal of the forward motion of America, and indeed the world, can rightfully be attributed to him.

In many ways he can be likened to the great Woodrow Wilson. Both men were obsessed with the idea of peace among all nations and both knew and realized the true horror of war. Both labored throughout their lives to bring about a world united in the cause of peace. Wilson failed, but at least he laid the foundations. Stevenson succeeded and helped to create a functioning international organization.

Now it remains for us to carry on in the spirit of Adlai Stevenson. We must strive, as he did, with renewed perseverance toward peace throughout the world.

Adlai Stevenson never became President, but on the great questions of humanity he was always right. I have lost, our Nation has lost, and indeed the entire world has lost a great advocate of world peace and world progress.

Adlai Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, Adlai Stevenson was a fresh, articulate, and attractive force in American politics. His respect for the language and his great facility in its use, his integrity and deep convictions, and his fine intelligence added much to the quality of our country's public life. He had the courage and dedication to overcome political defeat and serve our country and the cause of peace and humanity with great distinction. All Americans will miss him greatly.

Adlai Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the United States and all of mankind have suffered an immeasurable loss in the death of Adlai E. Stevenson.

He was one of the towering figures of our time and in all our history. He devoted his life to public service and died in the midst of his patient, tireless efforts for international peace and justice. He was an excellent administrator, an outstanding Governor of his State, and the paragon of an American Ambassador to the United Nations.

But he was even greater as an inspiration for the American people. By his eloquence, his wit, his brillant analysis, and his idealism he raised the political dialog and enhanced the political process in this country. By his definition of liberalism, he aroused a new generation and brought it into politics and public service.

In a profound sense, Adlai E. Stevenson cannot die. He lives forever as a part of the better America shaped by his life and spirit.

Another Award for Westminster for Pedestrian Safety Locally

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, safety campaigns do bring results. As a contrast to the usual news of mounting highway and traffic deaths during holiday week-ends; as a proof that traffic safety directors are slowly but surely succeeding in their efforts, I am honored to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a short editorial from the Carroll County Times for July 8, 1965. This editorial notes that Westminster, Md., was given the coveted AAA Pedestrian Safety Award for the fifth straight year:

ANOTHER AWARD FOR WESTMINSTER FOR PEDESTRIAN SAFETY LOCALLY

Mayor Joseph H. Hahn and City Manager John R. Eckard proudly accepted the coveted AAA Pedestrian Safety Award last Wednesday from Fred E. Voges, president of the AAA Automobile Club of Maryland at ceremonies in Baltimore.

The beautiful plaque was presented to the Westminster officials for 5 consecutive death-free years.

Sparrows Point led the cities with 24 consecutive years and Greenbelt and Pleasant, 15 years each, and Easton 12 years. In all, 17 communities won awards for pedestrians safety records.

About 1,870 cities competed in the AAA's 26th national pedestrian program. During this time pedestrian fatalities in the United States have plunged 40 percent below the 15,500 fatalities recorded in 1937.

The AAA program is a good one and we should all support it by observing all traffic and pedestrian safety rules and regulations.

Cleveland Monroe Bailey

SPEECH

OF

HON. CARL D. PERKINS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, the passing of Cleveland Monroe Bailey, while a personal loss to myself and his many friends with whom he served so many years in this body, is a greater loss to the State of West Virginia and our Nation.

It was my privilege to enter Congress at the same time Cleve, as he was known to his friends, returned from a 2-year vacation and we were assigned to work together on the Education and Labor Committee. His dedicated efforts to improve our educational system did more to establish a program of Federal aid to education than those of any other individual. The work he did was an inspiration to the entire House membership and, in particular, to myself and the members of his committee. I am comforted by the fact that he lived to see most of the major programs for which he worked so long and so hard become a part of the law of our land. His efforts and accomplishments along this line will remain as a monument to his memory.

His family and his friends have a right to be proud of this record. Our future citizens and the country will reap the rewards of his work and this record will not be complete for years to come.

His adult life was devoted to the service of his country—first as an educator, followed by more than 40 years as a local, State and Federal official. The greatest and almost only reward for these long years of public service is his record of accomplishments.

Adlai Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, I join with deep sadness in honoring the memory of a truly great man, Adlai Stevenson, whose passing leaves an irreplaceable void in national and international affairs.

Endowed with rare gifts of intellect, eloquence, and personality, Adlai Stevenson dedicated his enormous talents to the service of his country and the world. He believed that peace is "the most important unfinished task of our generation," and he devoted himself unstintingly to achieving a stable world community. His was always the voice of reason and restraint and justice, and the cause of freedom and democracy could have no abler advocate.

Adlai Stevenson's great accomplishments merit for him a high place in history. As we mourn his loss, let us be inspired by the nobility of his life and works, and let us hope that his wise counsel will be heeded by the peoples of the world he served so well.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

More Visitors for the U.S.A.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have been greatly encouraged recently with the effort that is being made jointly by the Government and private industry to increase foreign travel to the United States and to promote the pleasures and benefits of travel generally. As the sponsor of the "See the U.S.A." resolution, enacted in the 88th Congress, I have followed with great interest the outstanding efforts of President Johnson, Vice President HUMPHREY and his travel taskforce, the U.S. Travel Service, and many segments of the travel industry in promoting the theme of the congressional resolution.

One of the most important aspects of this whole program is the promotion of travel to the United States from other countries. This phase is known as Visit USA. In view of the U.S. balance-of-payments situation, the effort of cooperating carriers to increase tourist traffic to this country should be of major interest to all of us.

Last month, here in Washington, the Scandinavian Airlines System marked a Visit USA milestone by opening its office as a welcome center for foreign tourists to America. In connection with this opening, spokesmen for SAS made a number of very interesting and useful observations on what should be done to attract tourists and how the overall effectiveness of the Visit USA program might be further improved.

SAS has been a leader in Visit USA development—a fact attested to by the acting director of the U.S. Travel Service, Mr. Black, and I believe that its recommendations are worthy of serious consideration.

I would particularly draw attention to the view of Scandinavian Airlines System spokesmen that the United States is lagging behind other countries in its exploitation of the highly competitive tourist market, and that much greater development of arrangements within the country to take care of foreign tourists is also necessary.

The balance of trade with Scandinavia has consistently been favorable to the United States—amounting last year to $116 million—and the airline itself has been a very substantial customer of the U.S. aircraft industry, spending many millions of dollars more on purchases in America than it earns in sales here. A spokesman for the company pointed out the need for marketing Scandinavian goods and services in the United States to help provide the means for continued growth of this valuable tourist traffic. Certainly, the mutual benefits of such exchange is apparent to those of us who support expanded world trade. I want to congratulate Scandinavian Airlines System for its contribution to the Visit USA program, and request that the following remarks by Mr. Bartlett M. Shaw, vice president for marketing and sales, be included in the RECORD. I recommend them to all who are concerned with the problems of international trade and tourism:

MORE VISITORS FOR THE U.S.A.

(Remarks by Bartlett M. Shaw, vice president, marketing and sales, of Scandinavian Airlines System, Inc., at a press conference in the International Club, to mark the opening of the first SAS Welcome Center for foreign tourists in Washington, D.C., June 24, 1965)

Scandinavian Airlines System is happy to have you as its guests this afternoon and flattered that you have taken the time from the important preoccupations of a working day in Washington to be with us.

If you are wondering about the sign over my head, it is written in the second official language of Scandinavian Airlines System, which is Norwegian. Happily for me, the first official language of the company is English. But I am certain that the sentiment of welcome which the sign conveys will be plain to you and to the many tourists whom we expect to see here from our part of the world in the season and in the years to come.

I speak today on behalf of the president of Scandinavian Airlines System, Inc., Mr. Tore Nilert, who must be your host in absentia because he has been called to a management meeting in Stockholm. I also speak on behalf of several hundreds of people in Scandinavian Airlines System whose major preoccupation is to build tourism from abroad to the United States. While we have been hard at this effort for several years past, we feel that there are several good reasons to talk about it at this particular time.

Purely by coincidence, it was just 20 years ago today that the first Scandinavian commercial flight across the Atlantic touched down at LaGuardia airport. You may be interested to know that it was a converted B-17 bomber with 9 passengers and that the flight took 31 hours. Today, with an American jet transport, we can operate 3 flights each way over the same route in about the same time, and offer 804 seats instead of 9.

A second and more important reason is that air carriers between Scandinavia and the United States—all carriers, including SAS—have now achieved a 50-50 balance between aliens and American citizens flying the route. This is the first time that this has happened with respect to any European destination area; and we believe that it is, in its own way, an important milestone in the development of international travel.

This traffic from overseas—and particularly from Scandinavia—has now reached such proportions that as from today, we are giving our offices in the United States a dual role. They are not merely to be places where we sell tickets to Americans: they will also be places where foreign tourists can find information and assistance in enjoying the United States. We start today with Washington: in the next few months, more than a score of SAS offices will be similarly set up.

And finally, we believe that at this particular time, when the United States is involved in a balance-of-payments difficulty which is as serious for Scandinavia as it is for America, some recital of a foreign carrier's contribution to the Visit USA program may be of interest here in the Capital of the United States.

We feel, with some justification, that we have been in the Visit USA, or the Discover USA business longer than most people. After all, Leif Ericsson was a Scandinavian. And we have been carrying on a very active Visit USA program during years in which the U.S. Travel Service has been unable to do much in Scandinavia for itself.

Before we try to give you some idea of what goes into such an effort by a foreign carrier, however, I would like to assure you that we are not talking about negligible quantities or nebulous possibilities. Our Visit USA business, as you will hear, is now up in the 50 thousands per annum and will go higher this year. And the people behind the statistics are even more interesting—on our 1965 group list you will find, among many others, 100 Swedish housewives, 75 retired Norwegians, 3 parliamentary delegations, 21 pretty girls from Malmo, no less than 16 groups of Swedes recruited by Swedish railways, bakers tours, carpenters tours, cattle breeders and veterinarians from Denmark, Dutch packaging experts and even a group traveling under the auspices of a leading Danish newspaper to take a look at what the Danes gave up in the Virgin Islands.

With this preface, I should like to turn this session over to Mr. Trygve Svendsen, who works at the heart of our systemwide Visit USA program at Stockholm. He is particularly well equipped to explain to you what is needed to make a program of this sort tick over—inside an airline, in the travel industry, and in the whole intricate process of appealing to the traveling public on the other side of the Atlantic.

Mr. SVENDSEN. As you can see, a successful "Visit USA" campaign is and must be a seriously considered and meticulously detailed educational and logistic operation before it can become a sales campaign.

[Mr. Svendsen has omitted to mention one quite revolutionary development in our Visit USA promotion—a joint campaign with a Swedish bank based on the concept of "Save Now—Fly Later." If this catches on, there is no telling where it will end.]

Mr. SVENDSEN. By claiming success for what SAS have done so far, I would not want to minimize what others are doing in the same field. All carriers on the North Atlantic are mounting their own Visit USA efforts, with quite impressive results, and many of them are working in countries larger and more populous than Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland put together.

We are fortunate, however, in the bailiwick which fate has given us. Of all the countries of Europe, ours have the highest standards of living and the largest disposable consumer incomes. They have the longest statutory paid vacations, the most ingrained habit of foreign travel, and the closest family affinities to America. There are few families in Scandinavia which do not have some relations to draw them here like a magnet; and hap-

pily, there are more Scandinavians each year who can afford the trip.

For all these reasons, we believe that the market for travel to the United States from Scandinavia and contiguous countries is a particularly good one; and for these reasons, we are devoting very substantial resources to our Visit USA campaigns and expect to see substantial results.

These are well-founded expectations. In the last 9 months, the volume of group business for which we make arrangements ourselves has already increased 300 percent over the total for the preceding fiscal year, and by the end of September we calculate that the annual increase will be at least 500 percent up. Individual bookings via the SAS travel planner during the last 12 months are more than three times what they were 2 years ago.

However, I would like to suggest to you that these results could be even greater. And since we are really partners in this enterprise—for it means even more to the U.S. economy than it does to the SAS balance sheet—I trust you will not mind a few observations, based on our experience, as to how this Visit USA traffic could be further expanded.

In our part of the world, at least, the Visit USA campaign has very largely been an SAS campaign; and the results would have been even better if the United States had given it the support it deserves.

This is not a criticism of the U.S. Travel Service. Indeed, our only criticism of that worthy hard-working agency is simply that there isn't enough of it. Our people come over here to study and marvel at the massive advertising and merchandising campaigns by which Americans can develop mass consumer markets for relatively unknown products. I might tell you that they find it hard to understand why America does not give the same kind of support to the merchandising abroad of a product so magnificent and so promising as the scenic grandeur and other attractions of the United States.

It may not be our business, as a foreign carrier, to interfere in domestic decisions, but I cannot resist pointing out that this is a very competitive business and that the United States is spending less—per capita and even in numbers of dollars—than many of its competitors in the same overseas markets.

The impact of U.S. Travel Service promotion abroad might also be considerably enhanced if U.S. restrictions on free and reduced rate transportation for the press were liberalized. At the moment, European publications with less plush budgets than our own find it difficult to extend their travel coverage to the United States. We have brought almost 200 foreign press to America in the last couple of years, but they have not been able to penetrate the country as deeply as they should—and we have all lost thereby.

Let us assume that through your efforts or ours, we have our prospective tourist on the brink of a decision to come to America. While the U.S passport office has streamlined visa processing, there are still a good many Scandinavians who live at some distance from a U.S. consulate and for whom the business of getting an American tourist visa is time consuming and possibly quite unnecessary. Some of them may also find it somewhat repugnant to provide even pro forma assurance that they are neither drug addicts, nor criminals, nor seeking to overthrow the Government of the United States.

There are, of course, reasons for these questions, but the amount of protection they give you is questionable. Any one with sinister designs will not be stopped at a few convenient lies. And mean while, for the more than 99.99 percent of the traffic, the whole process is a denial of the smiling welcome which you hold out to the foreign tourist. The United States has persuaded a good many foreign countries to drop their visa requirements for Americans. You have a very good reason now to pay some of these countries the compliment of doing the same for them.

I have already inferred that the United States offers the tourist a travel experience second to none in the world. Regard this, if you will, as the raw material of the Visit USA program—and then ask if the raw material has been properly processed into the finished product of tourism. On balance, our experience indicates that we still have some way to go.

The travel industry in the United States—and by that I mean the whole complex of carriers, hotels, resorts, tour operators and agents who contribute to the final package—is not yet organized to deal as well as it should with the tourist from abroad.

We are not particularly concerned about arrangements for the group tour. Our own tour department, with the help of tour operators, the domestic airlines, the bus companies, the railroads and some of the hotel chains, can fairly easily work up quite satisfactory itineraries at good package prices. If necessary, we can send out our own personnel as advance men and troubleshooters to tie off loose ends, because a group is large enough to justify the expense.

But the individual foreign tourist in the United States is quite another problem. When he comes from Scandinavia, at least, he has probably had a good deal of European travel experience behind him. And this means that he is used to getting package tours, providing his every need within a single price, including virtually every item of expenditure, and giving him, with almost infinite variation, firm reservations for something to do for every moment in which he wants to be occupied.

On this side of the Atlantic, the situation is not the same. There are very few tour operators who have interested themselves in this business as yet. The entry through customs at New York, at any rate—is a rather abrupt introduction to American supermarket techniques. For some strange reason, it is absolutely impossible to arrange transfers in advance. Few of our major airports, or railroad and bus stations are posted in languages other than English, or possibly Spanish. Many of the sights and acommodations most attractive to the tourist can only be reached by car; and while the rent-a-car companies have offered some very attractive rates, not all tourists feel up to driving themselves.

In most banks, hotels, and shops in this country, the idea of exchanging a foreign banknote puts the cashier into a state of advanced hysteria. We are not yet, as a nation, adept at foreign languages, or at putting people who speak them in places where the foreign tourist may need them. And I challenge anyone in this room or in Europe this evening, to tell me at what time the next tour of the pueblos leaves from Santa Fe or how to book a seat 3 months in advance. These are not the only sorts of loose ends we encounter, and none may be terribly important in itself, but taken together, they can somehow spoil the fun.

I hope I haven't given you the idea that the European tourist is inept and incapable. He isn't—at least no more than any other. But you must remember that he is not used to our scales of distance or of cost, or to the pace of our lives in the large cities, or to our own habits of travels—and that if we want him to come, to enjoy himself and to urge others to follow him, we must meet him half way. After all, it's his own money he's spending; and he has got to squeeze a lot out of it.

Back in April 1961, the late President Kennedy set what we consider our goals when he had this to say to the European Travel Conference meeting in New York.

"We want to make the Atlantic a two-way ocean. We want you to see us in all our complexity and variety as we have seen you, and as we shall continue to see you as even greater numbers of Americans travel to Europe in the sixties. Let us keep our houses open to one another."

We in SAS feel that we have gone a long way to meet these goals. What we want now is not only to keep the house open, but to make certain that everything is in order to make the guest happy, and to send him away with the feeling that his stay in it has been the most wonderful time in his life.

Malawi Independence Day

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 6, 1965

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, today is a great occasion for one of the youngest nations of the world. July 6, 1965, marks the anniversary of 1 year of independence for the great nation of Malawi. The name for the new country was taken from that of a people who in the 17th and 18th centuries inhabited much of what is now Malawi. It is fitting that this name of a free and proud people was given to Nyasaland in commemoration of its change in status from a protectorate to an independent nation.

Malawi is a land of lush green foliage, high mountains, and large lakes, and is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful in Africa. The country is 37,000 square miles in area and lies between Northern Rhodesia and Tanganyika in the north and Mozambique in the south. The southern tip of Malawi is about 130 miles from the sea. However, it does have its own 360-mile-long lake, Lake Nyasa, sometimes called Lake Malawi in honor of the new nation.

The population of Malawi is estimated at 4 million, including 9,000 Europeans and 11,000 of Asian descent. The bulk of the population is descended from the original settlers of Malawi—the Malawi, Yao, and Angoni peoples. Blantyre, the commercial and industrial center of the country has a population of 75,000; Zomba, 10,000; and Lilongwe, the main city of the central region, 10,000.

One year ago, Malawi reached the last stage of a 4-year plan for status as an independent dominion within the British Commonwealth of Nations. The smooth transition from colonial rule to self-government was facilitated by the presence of a great leader in Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda. Dr. Banda, who returned to Nyasaland in 1958 after many years overseas, led the Malawi Congress Party to an overwhelming victory in the August 15, 1961, legislative council elections. The role which he played in the new executive council demonstrated his talent and wisdom as an administrator.

Dr. Banda became Prime Minister February 1, 1963, when the executive council was replaced by the British ministerial system of government. The country has a unicameral National As-

sembly consisting of 53 elected members, 3 of whom must represent the European minority. On December 1, 1964, Malawi became a full-fledged member of the United Nations.

The United States is happy to call Malawi its friend. We are host to several students from Malawi who are studying in American universities and hope that more of their young people will wish to study in this country. Malawi has asked for and received Peace Corps volunteers from the United States. Technical assistance is also being sent to Malawi under the auspices of the Agency for International Development.

The people of the United States extend their hearty congratulations to the people of Malawi on this, the anniversary of their independence. It is always heartening to see a people drop the yoke of colonialism and stride forward as a free and independent nation without the bloodshed of revolution. To His Excellency the Prime Minister of Malawi, Hastings Kamuzu Banda, and the soon-to-arrive Malawian Ambassador to the United States, Vincent H. V. Gondwe, we extend our warmest greetings. We salute Malawi, Africa's "Land of the Lake," on her independence day, and we wish for her continued progress, prosperity, and peace.

Perils of Oversimplification

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, Murrey Marder, writing in the Washington Post of July 16, has wisely pointed out that "it is almost axiomatic for nations to oversimplify the issues in time of struggle."

The result, he suggests in commenting on the war in Vietnam, is that we begin to emphasize "national honor" and "our word" rather than the real problem, which is a test of the Communists so-called wars of national liberation, and our real objective, which is a diplomatic settlement.

Mr. Marder's warning is timely and I urge we give it our attention lest we give more ammunition to those who "challenge any outcome short of unattainable total victory."

The article follows:

NO HOLY WAR

(By Murrey Marder)

One of many hazards the United States must face in its major expansion of American forces in the Vietnamese war is the control of national passions and the administration's own utterances that can feed those passions.

We have a national tendency to convert every conflict where numerous American lives are at stake into holy war. Hyperbole becomes the order of the day. With Teddy Roosevelt, in politics and war, "We stand at Armageddon, and we battle for the Lord."

But if the Johnson administration is to adhere to its announced policy of applying only enough added force to push the Vietnamese conflict toward the declared limited objective, a diplomatic settlement, it will have to guard its own tongue.

If not, the administration increasingly will be in danger of propelling itself, by its own statements, beyond the goals it has defined. Politically, the pressure to try to press the administration further than it wants to go is already well underway.

It is almost axiomatic for nations to oversimplify the issues in time of struggle. The shadings of gray that apply to most international disputes emerge as blacks and whites. Arguments that have little or no bearing on a crisis are dredged up to serve as immutable evidence to support a course of conduct that even may be more justifiable in its own right, but which officials may regard as too subtle for the average man to grasp or acclaim.

That process is going on now.

President Johnson, with mounting stress, has been emphasizing that the "national honor" of the United States, and "our word," is at stake in Vietnam and "three Presidents have made the pledge for this Nation. * * *"

The President said in his press conference on Tuesday "that the Senate has ratified the SEATO Treaty by a vote of 82 to 1 pledging the United States to come to the aid of any nation upon their request who are parties to that treaty or protocol."

Yet in fact what is now a massive American commitment to South Vietnam did not begin as a test of national honor. It started as a conditional program of aid and support during the Eisenhower administration, with just over 300 American military advisers on the scene. The Senate vote, in 1955, on the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization has little, if any relevance; moreover, the treaty itself leaves to the participating nations the determination of what actions will be taken to defend the territory to which it applies. France and Pakistan, for example, as two of the signatories, refuse to assume any coresponsibility for U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Fundamentally, U.S. actions in Vietnam are based on other considerations. The principal ones are that the United States regards Vietnam as a critical testing ground for the Communist advocacy of "wars of national liberation" and a test of American national interests and American prestige in the world.

By marshaling oversimplified arguments to substantiate its actions in foreign policy, the present administration often runs the risk of alienating more sophisticated listeners, apparently on the thesis that what counts most is mass support.

This sometimes carries the administration to strange lengths. In the Dominican Republic crisis, for instance, President Johnson told a news conference on June 17 that "some 1,500 innocent people were murdered and shot, and their heads cut off * * *." The President could not have meant that whopper literally; evidence is yet to be presented that anyone's head was cut off.

The constant pressure inside the Johnson administration to oversimplify complex issues of foreign policy is known, despite current denials, to have plagued the late Adlai E. Stevenson at the United Nations, most recently in the Dominican crisis.

Even on practical political grounds, the danger of rebound is great. The more the administration digs itself into the position that the principal issue in Vietnam is "national honor," the more ammunition it provides to its political opponents to challenge any outcome short of unattainable total victory.

Adlai E. Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

M. HANNA. The voice of Adlai Stevenson has been stilled, and had that voice been music all would have cried, "Play on." The Grim Reaper reached out his inexorable sickle and cut from our ranks this world statesman while he was literally in full stride on the demands of his important office. The end came to our Ambassador to the United Nations in the streets of London. It dramatically and eloquently marked his activity as a representative of our great land in the community of the world.

In my time there have been many voices heard around this troubled world. Some, like the voices of Hitler and Mussolini, rang with hate; bellowed with brutality and sounded with the siren lure of exaggerated nationalistic superiority. Some like the voices of the militarists of Japan glorified war, fed on fear and subdued all discord with power. Others like the voice of Stalin whispered in deceit; roared in violence and were pompous with promise of world domination.

These voices had in common a core devoid of humanism; a theme of hate and fear and a constant companion in suppressive power. The degradation and devastation they ushered into the world in our times lodge in the conscience of mankind. Their legacy is as irresponsive to the blanding and softening effects of time as a rock lying in the belly of man is irresponsive to the digestive juices. Some gratitude can be entertained that death has stilled all these strident, discordant throats also in our time, though lesser luminaries continue their chants. Greater thanksgiving should be raised that there was as a balance, as a sanctuary, and as a banner to rally the opposition to these baser calls, the voice of Adlai Stevenson.

Adlai Stevenson, a man who by temperament was constrained to seek the cloak of scholarship, but who by calling and conscience was forced to accept the mantel of statesmanship. Out of the torture that involved adapting the preference for the private and the intimate to the constant exposure of the public and the mass media, there came a distilled, clear and forceful articulation that answered fear with hope; that confounded base emotions with high reason; that contradicted narrow national meanness with broad human aspirations; and that contrasted suppression by power with the power of an open world forum where ideas and ideology competed on merit.

His voice had a solid core of humanism, a theme of patience, understanding, and cooperation and a constant companion in a sparkling wit.

The foes Adlai Stevenson bravely faced were the foes of dignity, of humanity and of free destiny. The adversaries he opposed favored a future completely secure but absolutely subservient. His enemies and ours offered an easy road and a broad gate to a place they marked as heaven. Those who turned from the gate were killed. Adlai Stevenson was the champion of another course. He held for patience, persistence, and a little progress. His goal was a cooperative effort to build one step in a stairway for mankind which, if it did not lead to heaven, at least promised perches on a higher ground.

Oh, the sweet balm and healing grace that such a voice has been in this troubled world. The days ahead will be less bright in hope, less safe in wisdom, and less tolerant in humor because his voice will be no longer heard. His family has lost a noble member; his intimates will miss a treasured friend; his Nation will grieve a devoted and effective leader, and the world will mourn one of the sweetest antidotes to grace our sour times.

Proposed Conference To Strengthen the International Monetary System Seen as Rivaling the Bretton Woods Conference in Importance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, an article in the Christian Science Monitor of Thursday, July 15, 1965, properly stresses the potential importance of the international monetary conference proposed by the United States by equating it with the Bretton Woods Conference which set up the International Monetary Fund.

Certainly action to reform the creaking international monetary system is, and has been, much needed. The United States and the entire free world have a big stake in seeing that the proposed conference fulfills the promise it holds.

The article in the Monitor by Philip W. McKinsey provides an excellent summary of the situation facing the nations. I include the text of the article hereafter:

LIQUIDITY SHRINKS: NEW "BRETTON WOODS"?

(By Philip W. McKinsey)

WASHINGTON.—The U.S. proposal for an international monetary conference commits this country for the first time to join with other nations in an effort to ease the international payments problem.

What kind of new system for supplementing the dollar would be acceptable to the United States is still very much up in the air. There will not be any "American plan" proposed, at least in the early stages.

But a conference such as the United States has in mind could become as important a landmark in international finance as the Bretton Woods Conference 20 years ago which set up the International Monetary Fund.

CONFERENCE DATE?

How soon the conference will actually take place depends on how readily the United States and European nations are able to approach agreement on what form the expanded monetary system should take. Action could be a couple of years away; the United States does not want a conference to take place until there is sound prospect of emerging with a solution.

The need for a conference stems from a growing shortage of international liquidity to finance transactions between nations. The greatly increased volume of trade demands an expanded supply of currency. And the fact that the United States is now moving toward an end to the balance-of-payments deficit means a shrinking supply of dollars in foreign hands for needed transactions.

NEW INITIATIVE

At the IMF Conference 2 years ago, American officials opposed any move to augment international currency supplies. But recent events have given the United States the opportunity to seize the lead in a new initiative.

As long as the United States was running a payments deficit, it could not propose monetary reform without running the risk of appearing panicky about the soundness of the dollar. Some advisers suggested waiting until the United States could show a balance over a sustained period of time.

But when former Economics Adviser Walter Heller returned from a tour of European financial circles last week he told the President that confidence abroad in the dollar is high.

Former Secretary of the Treasury C. Douglas Dillion, too, recently has been pushing for moves toward reform. And talks with British Chancellor of the Exchequer James Callaghan 2 weeks ago lead American officials to feel that Britain's continuing financial crisis calls for new efforts at reform.

JOHNSON DECISION

Mr. Johnson listened to the various arguments pro and con, took some studies with him to the ranch recently, and came back with a decision that the time had come to act.

The administration has no set ideas on what new system would be most acceptable. Mr. Dillon has been named to head a committee of the Nation's most respected financial thinkers to give Secretary of the Treasury Henry H. Fowler continuing advice.

Mr. Fowler will explore the thinking of other nations before the IMF Conference this September, and follow up with further talks during the year. He will try to arrive at a framework of terms which would be to the liking of the United States without advancing a rigid proposal before the special conference on reform is called.

U.S. LEADERS WARY

A raft of proposals are now circulating in international financial circles. Some are privately considered unacceptable by the administration.

The United States is wary of schemes that would tie a new reserve currency too closely to gold, feeling this might tighten rather than ease international liquidity.

The United States definitely wants any new reserve currency tied closely to the IMF. It is willing to give serious consideration to a number of proposals to establish a "CRU," or composite reserve unit, made up of the currencies of various leading nations and tied to IMF.

This would not be in the form of another kind of "dollar bill" which could be passed from hand to hand in international trade; rather it would be a kind of bookkeeping unit which would be used simply among nations, not among private traders, to settle their international payments.

CAPITOL HILL ADVICE

The makeup of the Dillon committee suggests that some form of "CRU" would be the most favored idea. Former Undersecretary of the Treasury Robert V. Roosa and former Budget Director Kermit Gordon are reported to favor such an approach.

Secretary Fowler also will be getting advice from Capitol Hill. A subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee headed by Representative HENRY REUSS will hold hearings July 26–28 on proposals from academic sources for a solution, and will come out with committee recommendations by late August before the IMF meeting.

Burundi Independence Day

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, 3 years ago today the Kingdom of Burundi emerged as an independent nation. On this proud day I send congratulations to the people of this fine new country, to their leader, King Mwambutsa IV, and to their Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Leon Ndenzako.

On July 1, 1962 the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi, which had been a United Nations Trust Territory under the authority of Belgium since World War II, was divided into two independent nations. Thus did Burundi, the southern half of the protectorate, become independent.

Following a tradition of over 400 years, Burundi is headed by a Mwami or king, who acts as Chief of State for the constitutional monarchy. The king, His Majesty Mwami Mwambutsa IV, who ascended the throne in 1915 at the age of two, has long been a stabilizing influence within the country.

Burundi, which is located in the heart of Central Africa, bounded by the Ruizi River on the west and Lake Tanganyika on the east, has primarily an agricultural economy. It produces a very fine quality of coffee, for which the United States provides a large market. Significant progress has been made in programs of agricultural research, reforestation and cultivation of marshlands.

The people of Burundi have vigorously worked to improve their country's economy and educational facilities. We in the United States are happy to be a part of these efforts through our financial assistance and through the Peace Corps.

We are encouraging this young nation to continue to use its newly found independence to provide conditions which will foster stable and effective government and make peaceful development possible for the entire country.

Again our warmest congratulations to Burundi on her third anniversary of independence.

Cigarette Labeling

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I wish to state my objections to the conference report on the so-called cigarette labeling bill. It is my studied opinion that this bill was either hastily conceived or intentionally diluted to appease the tobacco interests.

It is my understanding that this type of legislation was originally intended to warn the public of the health hazard involved in smoking cigarettes. We have been expertly advised by the Surgeon General that:

> Cigarette smoking is a health hazard of sufficient importance in the United States to warrant appropriate remedial action.

The provisions of this bill do not even definitely state that smoking is a health hazard. Instead, the purchaser is advised, "Caution: Cigarette Smoking May Be Hazardous to Your Health." Far from being a remedial action, this weakly contrived phrase only tends to cast doubt on the validity of the Surgeon General's findings.

But even if the warning on the cigarette packages stated smoking is a health hazard, even if statistics of tar and nicotine content were also included on the package, even if a skull and crossbones were stamped on the package, this legislation would not get at the root of the problem. Quite to the contrary, it obstructs any future attempts to get at that root. Far from being a positive and constructive piece of legislation, this bill seriously restricts those who are concerned with our Nation's health.

Permit me to once again quote from the report of the Surgeon General so that we might better understand the nature of this problem:

> The overwhelming evidence points to the conclusion that smoking—its beginning, habituation, and occasional discontinuation—is to a large extent psychologically and socially determined.

And let there be no mistake, the greatest determiner of social and psychological attitudes today is mass media advertising.

This is what we are talking about when we speak of the root of the problem. This is what influences 4,000 young people every day to take up the smoking habit, and not a few words printed on a cigarette pack. This legislation makes a feeble attempt at dissuading the purchaser, usually those already hooked, while at the same time it makes it nearly impossible to warn anyone prior to purchase.

I am referring specifically to section 7 which prohibits any requirement for warning in advertising. Such a provision can only weaken governmental attempts at safeguarding the public health.

The restrictions imposed by this legislation apply not only to the Federal Trade Commission, the Food and Drug Administration, and the U.S. Public Health Service, but to State and local governments. According to the proponents of this legislation, the preemption of State and local governments was for the purpose of avoiding a lack of uniformity in labeling requirements. We were told we would be running a grave risk of ending up with 50 divergent laws in this area. Mr. Speaker, I would submit to you that this argument is absurd. Furthermore, it is in total disregard of existing Federal-State relationships and policies in this area. Federal laws in the Food and Drug Act have been built around existing State laws. States are permitted to make their own labeling and advertising specifications. Here we are talking about literally hundreds of drug manufacturers. In the case of cigarettes we are talking about a relatively small number of manufacturers. Yet this legislation, in an unprecedented manner, preempts all State and local action in this area for 3 years.

In conclusion, permit me to restate my objections to this conference report. I do not oppose it in order to protect the tobacco interests. I oppose it because this bill would overly protect them. I am not opposed to labeling, but I am opposed to meaningless labels. I am not opposed to advertising, but I am opposed to laws that would permit irresponsible and misleading advertising. I am not opposed to attempts to safeguard our Nation's health, but I am opposed to attempts which would preempt Federal, State, and local measures.

The Excessive Exportation of Silver

SPEECH
OF
HON. ED REINECKE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 14, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 8926) to provide for the coinage of the United States.

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Chairman, while I recognize and accept the ruling of the Chair with respect to the germaneness of my amendment, I would like to point out that certainly silver coinage is dependent upon the availability of silver; that the redemption of silver certificates is dependent upon the availability of silver, and third, that this amendment in no way suggests to amend the Export Control Act.

It is obvious that we are meeting on this piece of legislation today because of the problem of a lessening availability of silver, and therefore I feel that in addition to reducing the silver content in coinage, we should attempt to reduce the unnecessary depletion of our stocks of silver due to exporting more silver than we import.

Traditionally, since World War II, this country has been a net importer of silver, but as of 1964 the tables were reversed and for the first time we exported 57 million ounces more than we imported. This represents a substantial loss and would easily accommodate the silver requirements for the 50-cent pieces which were the subject of such debate today.

One reason for the excessive exports in 1964 was our Treasury Department's apparent desire to help Mr. de Gaulle of France strike two new French coins with high silver content. Moreover, we were called upon to assist Great Britain in backing up her pound sterling. Mr. de Gaulle has not indicated that he is going to cease his production of new silver coins nor has the pound sterling improved its position very much in the last 6 or 8 months. I see no reason to think that we will not experience the same condition in 1965, and this year it may cost the Treasury as much as 100 million ounces. To ignore this possibility is an irresponsible position, Mr. Chairman, and while my amendment cannot be included in this legislation for parliamentary reasons today, I will seek to draft a new piece of legislation to see to it that the United States remains a net importer of silver rather than to continue to allow unnecessary losses by leaving the back door to the Treasury open.

Somali Independence Day

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, today, July 1, in the enterprising new nation of Somalia the people are celebrating the fifth anniversary of their nation's independence. We in the United States of America, who soon will be celebrating our own Independence Day, feel an affinity to this young country on this very important and happy occasion.

Somalia, which is located on the so-called horn of Africa has a history of over 4000 years. The land was first inhabited by Hamitic people, and later Arab traders came to the coastal areas. In the seventh century people from the Yemen established an Arab Sultanate there.

In the 15th century traders from Portugal began to arrive in the area. They were followed by English and Italian traders and settlers. Thus, throughout most of its modern history, the Somali territory has been governed by foreign powers.

In their recent political history, Somalis have much of which to be proud. In November 1949, Italian Somaliland was made a trusteeship of the United Nations, which was terminated on July 1, 1960. In the meantime, British Somaliland began to work for self-government and achieved her independence on June 26, 1960. On July 1 she joined Italian Somaliland to form the Somali Republic.

The Honorable Aden Abdulla Osman, who had served as president of the assembly which wrote the constitution for

the new republic, was elected provisional President.

Since July 1, 1960, this ambitious nation has worked hard to improve her Government and economy. Today in commemoration of that date, we extend our warmest congratulations to the people of the Somali Republic, and to their fine and able leader, President Aden Abdulla Osman.

In a very short period of time, this nation has established a stable, democratic government, and has achieved remarkable success in uniting the previously separate governmental systems of British and Italian Somalilands.

The United States is proud to have the friendship of this aspiring new nation. Our Government has enjoyed working with the Somali Republic in her programs for economic development, and I am confident that the two countries will continue their close cooperation in the future. In the very near future we look forward to having with us in Washington the distinguished new Somali Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Ahmed Mohamed Adan, who has been a visitor to our country in the past while serving as a member of the Somali delegation at the United Nations.

The future is bright for the people of the Somali Republic under the admirable leadership of President Osman. Congratulations and best wishes to him and to the Somali people on their fifth independence day.

Adlai E. Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, few men in history have been so deeply or sincerely mourned as Adlai Stevenson, our late Ambassador to the United Nations.

Mr. Stevenson was a man of the people, yet at the same time and in the best possible sense he was above the people. His thoughts ran deeper, his conversation was more sparkling, his heart was larger. His breadth of vision, his compassion and his goals encompassed all the world.

One remembrance of this was noted in an editorial appearing on July 15 in the Waterbury, Conn., Republican. With the permission of the House, I would like this editorial to appear in the RECORD at this point:

ADLAI E. STEVENSON

A few months ago at the "Pacem in Terris" convocation which opened at the United Nations, Paul Hoffman introduced Adlai E. Stevenson to the dignitaries and newsmen in the General Assembly chamber.

The introduction was awkward, and as Governor Stevenson (he preferred to be called "Governor") walked to the podium the applause was generous and sustained. But then a curious thing happened. It started first in the press gallery, and then spread throughout the huge hall. Instead of abating the applause grew in intensity, the sophisticated audience realizing that here was Adlai Stevenson, the personification of America's commitment to the United Nations, a grand man of world stature.

Members of the press and some people throughout the hall got to their feet. The applause grew louder. And then the great chamber echoed the standing ovation to Adlai Ewing Stevenson.

And Governor Stevenson, as was his wont, received that uncommon ovation with a happy smile, a few gently self-deprecating witticisms, and then proceeded with a speech marked by eloquence, grace, wisdom, and vision. Listening to Governor Stevenson there in the august chamber of the General Assembly one was reminded of how much he has meant to so many people; his own people, the people throughout the world.

Adlai E. Stevenson represented much that was the best in American public life. The pursuit of excellence was his personal and political philosophy, and there is perhaps no better word than "excellence" to describe that quality he brought to American national life.

Lesser men have been more successful than Adlai E. Stevenson. Lesser men have been more popular. But few men have been more deeply respected and loved by their friends and followers.

As with all great men, one could list the various positions of public and national trust he has held; as with all beloved men one could enumerate all the virtues and talents that endeared him to his fellows; as with only a few great men one could recall all the wonderful little phrases and witty remarks with which he greeted both personal praise and personal defeat.

His major deeds were never done; they were thought. For Adlai E. Stevenson was never leader of all his people, but he was their prophet. And at his best, which was nearly always, he was in the most magnanimous sense a prophet for all the world's peoples.

He was one of those men who had the misfortune to suffer sometimes for being right. He was, his opponents said, a man in error. He was too intellectual, too witty, too visionary, too thoughtful, and sometimes too compassionate in a hard-nerved world. Perhaps he was. But to err in that manner, if error be the judgment, was to be a prophet with honor in a world unready, or unheeding, or untamed.

American values place success first and foremost. And by those values Adlai Stevenson might be seen as a man of less stature than many of his contemporaries. But speak to us of quality, of eloquence, of civilized discourse, deep knowledge, and statesmanship, and where were his peers?

A man of true worth is dead, and his country mourns.

Tribute to Adlai E. Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, it was with shock and sadness that I learned of the death of our Ambassador to the United Nations, Adlai E. Stevenson, truly a great man. Ambassador Stevenson literally died in the service of his Nation and the world. His life was one of service to all. We have lost an articulate, hard-working public servant—one who has fought hard for peace in the world and the brotherhood of man.

Very few men are given the many talents that Adlai Stevenson had, talents he used unselfishly for the good of all. The United States has suffered a great loss as have freedom-loving peoples everywhere. The Ambassador will be sorely missed by a Nation forever grateful that we produced such a man.

Mrs. Addabbo joins me in extending deepest sympathy to the Stevenson family.

Rwandan Independence Day

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, 3 years ago today, July 1, 1962, the Republic of Rwanda attained independence, fulfilling a United Nations General Assembly resolution terminating Belgian trusteeship of the territory of Ruanda Urundi of which Rwanda formed the northern half.

Rwanda joined the African and Malagasy Union in order to help solve some of their common regional problems. The United States is furnishing aid to the country in several ways, including the development of a new water system and a telephone system for Kigali, the capital. In an effort to help herself provide the capital which she needs for investment and development, Rwanda has adopted an austerity program.

Situated in the heart of Central Africa, only two degrees south of the Equator, Rwanda, the "Pearl of Africa," has been a leader in the efforts of the newly independent African nations in promoting education, health, social welfare, and democratic government. Although schools were not established in Rwanda until 1900, illiteracy is being eliminated due to the relentless efforts of President Kayibanda, himself a former educator. Rwanda's first university opened its doors on November 3, 1963.

In the field of public health, the Rwandan people have made great gains. The rate of infant mortality in this country is the lowest in Central Africa. A comprehensive welfare program has been developed and settlement houses have been erected in both urban and rural areas. The determination of the people of Rwanda to build a great nation which can handle its own domestic problems efficiently is worthy of our admiration and support.

The people of the United States are proud to accept the kind of friendship shown us in the symbolic postage stamps issued by Rwanda in April 1965. These stamps bear the image of our own Abraham Lincoln. We thank the Rwandan people for this tribute and we wish them continued peace and prosperity.

To His Excellency the President of Rwanda, Gregoire Kayibanda, and His Excellency the Rwandan Ambassador to the United States, Celestin Kabanda, I extend greetings and congratulations.

California Economy Reflects Growing Impact of Labor Shortages

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, the Council of California Growers has prepared another excellent newsletter documenting the severe economic effects of the current farm labor crisis.

In the issue dated July 12, 1965, the council cites declining farm income and substantial decreases in the amount of food handled by processors—noting the burgeoning effects on many other segments of the economy in California and elsewhere.

The full text of the Council of California growers newsletter entitled "California Economy Reflects Growing Impact of Labor Shortages," follows:

The California economy is beginning to total up the cost of labor shortages in harvest fields during the first quarter of the year. These shortages plus inefficient workers and reduced plantings had their effect on the general economy, and, if the trend takes up next fall, will have an even greater effect in the future.

Growers have known all along that there is a great difference between gross and net, and they have looked with suspicion upon the claims that higher grosses in the asparagus industry, for instance, meant increased net profits.

Now a report released by the Governor's office last week confirms the suspicions. Contrary to a general increase in personal income in California, the report shows cash receipts for farmers in general was down during the first quarter of 1965—down both from the preceding quarter and the first quarter of 1964.

The reduction of cash receipts for agriculture in general counteracted the increases in some crops, and, coupled with increases in production costs, resulted in a decrease in net farm income of 3.2 percent compared to the same quarter of 1964. When compared to the quarter immediately preceding, the last quarter of 1964, the first 3 months of this year showed net farm income to be off an even greater 8 percent.

Such facts hardly can be reconciled with recent stories which claimed that, even though production was of, "increased prices meant higher nets."

The Governor's report pointed out that the decline in agricultural income was offset by increases in many nonfarm activities.

But there are some nonfarm—but agriculturally oriented—jobs that have felt the impact of harvest labor shortages. The asparagus cannery workers who lost $1.6 million in wages, the suppliers who lost $1.3 million in the same industry, the 356 processing plant workers in Watsonville who did not work this year, the 44 workers in the same plant who did work, but only half time—all of these people would be hard to convince that "some small crop losses," as Secretary Wirtz called them, were offset by "a significant increase in worker earnings." And the reduction in both gross and net hardly matches the Secretary's statement that there had been "larger than normal gross and net profits per acre this year on most crops."

But this isn't all. A survey recently completed by the Watsonville Register-Parajonian showed that a second plant had processed only 67,000 pounds of strawberries this year compared to a million pounds at the same time last year, in spite of the fact that this is what one grower calls a vintage year—lots of berries—if they could be harvested.

Another plant reported it was packing only a third of its normal operation, while a fourth operator said that he had reduced his force by 75 people and cut down the number of shifts being worked.

Still another processor reported he had cut his crew in half and was working only two-thirds as many hours as last year.

Industry spokesmen said that all of these job reductions were directly due to the shortage or inefficiency of harvest labor, or to the elimination of plantings due to the uncertainty of a labor supply at harvest time, and to a lesser extent, to weather.

It is interesting to note that, according to one of the major processors concerned, the loss of processing jobs was due to a shortage of such crops as broccoli, cauliflower, and some bean varieties as well as the more publicized strawberries. This same processor estimated that if processing was off 50 percent up to this time—as it appears to be in that area—future increases as other crops come on will not be able to make up the difference and total processing employment could well be down at least 25 percent for the year.

While the shortage of jobs for these people who normally work in processing plants will have an immediate effect in reduced income for them—and reduced spending by them—it will have a more far-reaching effect as the impact spreads.

Another segment of the economy which has felt the effects of growers' uncertainty about the labor supply, is the farm equipment business.

Dealers report that in areas where there are heavy concentrations of labor-sensitive crops—such as tomatoes, asparagus, strawberries, lettuce, and other vegetables—there has been a growing reluctance on the part of growers to commit themselves to long-term obligations. This means a reduction in sales of tractors and other heavy equipment.

This is just one more indication of the basic quality of agriculture—it is a creator of business and jobs. As the council billboards tell the driving public, "One out of every three jobs in California depends directly or indirectly upon agriculture." When anyone tampers with the economic well-being of the State's agricultural industry he endangers the jobs of one-third of the State's working people.

Up to this time the burden of trying to adjust to the constantly changing edicts from Washington has fallen mainly on the shoulders of growers in California and Florida. But now, as other States start their harvest seasons, the problem is becoming more widespread.

Indicative of the growing concern and awareness are statements made in the U.S. Senate recently during a debate on the subject. Senators KUCHEL and MURPHY, of California, further documented the case that has been built here, as did Senator HOLLAND, of Florida.

Among the more interesting statements was one by Senator RANDOLPH, of West Virginia—a State often mentioned as a potential source of farmworkers—recruited from among that State's "disadvantaged" and "underemployed" people. However, the Senator reported that "There is a shortage of qualified farmworkers,'" in West Virginia and he discounted any help from proposed A-teams—calling them "only a stopgap."

Senator ALLOTT, of Colorado, said a prospective shortage of workers in his State caused a considerable cutback in plantings and resulted in a shrinkage of acreage to meet the worker supply, with corresponding damage to the general economy of that State. ALLOTT also reported on an exchange he had with Secretary Wirtz and expressed amazement that to the Secretary laborers were just statistics—a description that could explain some of the directives that emanate from the Department of Labor.

During the debate a news story from an Illinois paper was read, reporting that DeKalb (Ill.) area truck farmers are faced with a labor shortage because former migrants from Texas were not available this year because of competition from other areas.

Finally Senator SIMPSON of Wyoming accused Secretary Wirtz of false promises and misrepresentations during the recruiting of A-teams for work in California—an accusation which receives support among A-team members from other States also.

Wirtz' lone supporter in the exchange was Senator WILLIAMS of New Jersey—long a foe of the supplemental worker program. Almost at the time the Senator was supporting this program to eliminate foreign workers by attracting more domestics with higher wages, the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia reported that growers in New Jersey aren't too happy over the fact that contracts with Puerto Ricans this year are $1.10 per hour, plus a 5-cent-an-hour bonus for those workers who stay a full season. The bank said the new contract represents an increase of 20 cents an hour over rates paid Puerto Ricans in New Jersey last year and growers are worried this willl mean an increase in labor costs for all migrant laborers. It would seem that Senator WILLIAMS could spend some time at home before he worries about California.

Is the $4 Billion Excise Tax Cut Benefiting the American Consumer?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I have just received a rather disturbing report that the full benefit of the recently enacted excise tax cut is not being passed on to the American consumer as was intended.

Certainly the Members of this House intended that every nickel of the tax reduction would accrue to the benefit of the retail purchaser, and not be pocketed somewhere along the line by the manufacturer, wholesaler, jobber, retail merchant, or any of the various other middlemen in the business-commercial chain.

President Johnson also made his intentions on this matter quite clear when he declared in his message to Congress:

To insure that the excise tax reductions make the maximum contribution to continued price stability and balanced prosperity, I call on American business to translate lower excise taxes promptly into lower retail prices for consumers.

Business will share fully in the benefits of excise tax cuts through the larger sales volume they will generate. Rising volume will boost profits and create more jobs.

As you will recall, the House of Representatives, on a nearly unanimous 401 to 6 count, overwhelmingly endorsed a slightly expanded $4.6 billion version of the President's plan to reduce—and in most cases eliminate entirely—the Federal excise taxes on a wide range of con-

sumer items such as jewelry, luggage, cosmetics, radios and TV sets, air conditioners, household appliances, cameras, autos, and auto accessories.

These taxes, which hit low- and middle-income families the hardest, also exerted an unnecessary and harmful drag on our Nation's economic growth. Moreover, they have been preventing us from reaching our goal of a full-employment economy with worthwhile job opportunities for every American.

On top of last year's $11.5 billion income tax cut, and 1962's $2.5 billion investment tax credit and liberalized depreciation allowance for business, the new excise tax cut should help improve the country's economic health, not by more Government spending, but by releasing the pent-up energies of the American private enterprise system.

For this reason, Mr. Speaker, if the multibillion dollar Federal excise tax cut is not passed on fully to the U.S. consumer in the way of reduced retail prices, the entire purpose of this legislation will have been defeated.

In this regard, I am deeply indebted to Miss Gladys Behling of 1005 West 6th Street, Los Angeles, Calif., for her recent letter in which she cited a specific instance in which the excise tax reduction had not been passed on for the benefit of the consuming public.

Miss Behling also has some very knowledgeable comments on the purpose of the excise tax reduction, and a most worthwhile suggestion that citizens begin to speak out forcefully and contact their Representatives and Senators whenever they determine that the spirit, intent or purpose of the tax cut is being violated. In this way, such instances of bad faith will be brought to light, and the power of an informed and aroused public opinion can be brought to bear.

In addition, I would hope that every affected agency of Government, particularly the President's Council of Economic Advisers, the Commerce Department, and the Federal Trade Commission, would be alert to violations of the spirit and intent of the law, and would report to the President and the American people on the extent of noncompliance.

Then, if there is a need for additional legislation in this area, Congress will have the facts available with which to consider and properly evaluate the various legislative proposals.

Because of its importance, Mr. Speaker, I would like to include at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD pertinent portions of Miss Behling's fine letter, together with an excellent article on the purpose of the Federal excise tax reduction which appeared in the July 9, 1965, edition of the Los Angeles Citizen:

LETTER FROM MISS GLADYS BEHLING, 1005 WEST SIXTH STREET, LOS ANGELES

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROYBAL: With respect to the excise tax cut, I would like to lodge a complaint. I recently bought some makeup, and the department store where I purchased it said that the excise tax had been taken off.

When I got home, I looked at my old makeup container and discovered that, although the store had taken off the exise tax, they had put the tax in the consumer price, and nothing in the way of a savings was passed on to me, the buyer.

I also have a friend who is a buyer in one of the large department stores, and she informs me that the stores are taking off the excise tax, but instead of passing it on to the consumer, they have raised their prices on the products that formerly carried a tax.

Now I realize that our Congress and our President passed this legislation for the benefit of the consumer, hoping to stimulate the economy and put more buying power into the hands of the consumer.

Since I just bought a car this year (previous to the time that the excise tax reduction went through), I am very much afraid that automobile manufacturers will do the same thing, and simply incorporate this extra money into the price of their automobiles, and the consumer again will come out on the short side.

I don't know if Congress can in any way force the manufacturer to do what, in all good faith, the President had hoped they would, and allow the buying public this benefit, but, for what it is worth, I am sending you my complaint.

I hope all hard working American taxpayers will do as I and drop their Congressmen and Senators a letter of complaint to let them know how they feel in this matter.

Very truly yours,

MISS GLADYS BEHLING.

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Citizen, July 9, 1965]

THE BIG QUESTION: WILL EXCISE TAX CUT PUT MONEY IN YOUR POCKET?

Congress has just adopted and the President has signed a law that will cut excise taxes by about $4.6 billion over the next three and a half years. The idea behind the cut was not only to get rid of unjust "emergency" taxes that have been hanging on ever since war days, but to put more money into peoples' pockets and so keep the economy rolling.

The big question now is who is going to get the benefit of the tax cut—you, the purchaser of the goods and services involved, or the businessman who may not be quite as willing to subtract the tax as he was to add it on.

Even though the question is an obvious reflection on the good will and even honesty of the businessmen involved, it is not an idle one. Lots of people are asking it.

Whether or not businessmen are to be trusted to do the right thing automatically, the AFL–CIO would like to make sure that the excise tax cut is passed on to the customer and doesn't become a pleasant gimmick to add to profits instead.

AFL–CIO President George Meany has suggsted to President Johnson that the Council of Economic Advisers keep an eye on prices involved in the excise tax cut and report to the country on what is happening.

"The reduction in Federal excise taxes, which you have just signed into law," Meany told the President, "has had, as you know, the complete support of the AFL–CIO. We heartily concur in your belief that these tax cuts will contribute to consumer purchasing power and relieve low- and moderate-income families who most felt the burden of these taxes."

"Of course," he continued, "your purpose, with which we completely agree, will only be effective if these tax cuts are passed on, in full, to the consumer."

It isn't going to be too easy for the average consumer to make sure that he is getting the benefit of the excise tax cut. The cuts involve a long list of items and they go into effect at varying dates and at least one of them—the automobile tax—goes into effect in stages. But with the tax cut running at 10 percent in most cases and as high as 20 percent in others, it will be worthwhile for the buying public to make sure that it knows the score.

Here are some of the highlights of how taxes will be cut:

Retroactive to May 15, 1965: Repeal of the 10-percent manufacturers tax on air conditioners and reduction to 7 percent of the 10-percent manufacturers tax on automobiles.

In effect as of June 21 when the President signed the bill: Repeal of the 10-percent tax on jewelry, furs, cosmetics, luggage, and similar items; repeal of the 10-percent manufacturers tax on certain sporting goods, phonographs, and phonograph records, musical instruments, cameras and films, radios and televisions, and repeal of the 5-percent tax on refrigerators and freezers.

As of July 1, 1965: Repeal of excise taxes on coin-operated amusement devices, bowling alleys, billiard, and pool tables and safety deposit boxes.

As of December 31, 1965: Repeal of taxes on general admission to theaters, athletic events, and on cabaret bills.

As of January 1, 1966: Repeal of the tax on auto parts, light bulbs, and club dues, reduction of the automobile tax to 6 percent and of the 10-percent tax on local and long-distance telephone calls to 3 percent.

As of January 1, 1967: Reduction of the automobile tax to 4 percent and of the telephone tax to 2 percent.

As of January 1, 1968: Reduction of the automobile tax to 2 percent and the telephone tax to 1 percent.

As of January 1, 1969: Reduction of the automobile tax to 1 percent and the complete repeal of the telephone tax.

The Department of the Treasury says that it is difficult to estimate the exact price savings involved in the tax cuts because retail prices vary considerably in comparison to manufacturers' prices. Nevertheless, it figures that there ought to be a $3 to $7 saving on a $75 camera; $2 to $4 on a $75 power mower; $9 to $17 on a TV set; $6 to $10 on a refrigerator, and $80 to $110 on an automobile, depending on markups.

If you have a monthly telephone bill of $15 you ought to save $1. If you like sporting events and buy two tickets for a total of $12, you ought to save another dollar and if you have a night club check of $20, the saving ought to be $2.

It estimated further that the average American family ought to save more than $57 a year as a result of the tax cut.

If you don't think you're getting your proper share of the cut, make sure that you do a little checking and see to it that you do get it.

Adlai Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, one of America's and of the world's real leaders has been silenced by death, the late Adlai E. Stevenson. Seldom do people rise in the ashes of defeat to even greater leadership as did this man. His passing is indeed a tremendous loss to our country.

My companion in war, Jack Arvey, first introduced me to Mr. Stevenson shortly after World War II, long before

any thought of the presidency was in his mind. Through the subsequent two compaigns for the presidency and through his great work at the U.N. I repeatedly noticed in him the qualities of brilliance, humility, and courage which characterized him also in his earlier years. America was fortunate to have had him at the council places of great events. The whole world is bereaved by his passing.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 2, 1965

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, today is the first anniversary of the signing into law of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. For this reason I feel it would be appropriate to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a brief legislative history and legal analysis of last year's bill by Prof. Harold Norris, of the Detroit College of Law. Professor Norris has done a thorough and excellent job of analyzing the various considerations which caused the bill to be introduced, how and why Congress amended the bill, and the legal questions involved.

Professor Norris has had a long and distinguished legal career of tireless activity in securing equal rights for all Americans, with particular emphasis on individual civil liberties. This outstanding member of the Michigan bar is the author of various books and articles in the fields of constitutional and criminal law. In 1961 he was elected as a delegate to the Michigan Constitutional Convention, where he served with great distinction as vice chairman of the committee on the declaration of rights. Professor Norris has also served as chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan.

In his article Professor Norris has some very perceptive and stimulating comments on the omissions in the 1964 Civil Rights Act. I think these comments might be of particular interest to my colleagues since next week we will be considering the voting rights bill of 1965. This bill is before us because it has become clear to all that the 1964 act was not effective in securing the right to vote against obstruction and intimidation, both public and private. In addition I would like to recommend to my colleagues the final section of this article which points out that no law, however strong its provisions, can be effective if the executive branch is not determined to enforce that law:

> Civil rights in the last century in the United States have not been so much a question of adequate law; they have been primarily a question of adequate will.

The text of the article follows:

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

(By Harold Norris)

(NOTE.—Harold Norris, A.B., M.A., University of Michigan; L.L.B., Columbia University. The writer, a professor of law, has long been active in the legislation and promotion of civil rights. He was of counsel in Michigan's congressional redistricting case. Professor Norris was elected as a delegate from Detroit to Michigan's Constitutional Convention in 1961–62 where he served as vice chairman of the committee on the declaration of rights and was the coauthor of the provisions setting up a civil rights commission and prohibiting racial and religious discrimination. He is the author of "Mr. Justice Murphy and the Bill of Rights," and "Casebook of Complete Criminal Trials." He teaches constitutional and criminal law at the Detroit College of Law and has served as chairman of the constitutional roundtable of the Association of American Law Schools, and as chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan.)

I. HISTORY OF THE LEGISLATION

Early in the 88th Congress a substantial number of broad civil rights bills were introduced by members of both political parties.

On February 28, 1963, President Kennedy transmitted to the Congress a message of recommendations pertaining to civil rights.[1] This message pivoted principally upon more effective protection of the right to vote, seeking to strengthen the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960, which dealt primarily with voting. The message also urged renewal and expansion of the Civil Rights Commission, and the providing of technical and financial assistance to encourage school desegregation. The message reflected President Kennedy's main thesis, "Armed with the full and equal right to vote, our Negro citizens can help win other rights through political channels not now open to them in many areas." Subsequently, on June 19, 1963, President Kennedy sent to Congress a second message containing recommendations pertaining to civil rights.[2] The message of June 19 went far beyond that of February 28, and urged the enactment of a comprehensive or omnibus civil rights bill.

Developments in the Nation between these two messages reflected the geometrically progressing impatience of the victims of discrimination with its persistence, and the overt and patent forms of resistance to change by segregationists. Crucial was the net impact of widespread participation of huge numbers of ordinary Negro citizens in direct action, nonviolent protest. This was the most significant development in the civil rights struggle since the Civil War. The ordinary Negro citizen was taking his struggle and that of democracy to the streets; it was not only the talented 10th concentrating primarily in courts.

Concentration upon the right to vote was too little and too late. The more precise question was being asked and answered, "How does a people without civil liberties secure civil rights?" It was being answered not only in the courts and legislative halls, but also by sit-ins in places of public accommodations, stand-ins in voting registration lines and pray-ins in churches. It was being answered by Rosa Lee Parks, who walked in preference to riding a segregated bus in Birmingham—who, in short, "voted with her feet." Commercial pressure was applied. Taking a leaf from American labor history, as well as from Thoreau and Ghandi, the American Negro sat down and was recognized. The Emancipation Proclamation was marked "received" by the ordinary Negro citizen and returned to the White House dated 100 years later with the injunction, "All, Here, Now." The little fellow whose birthright to full and equal opportunity it is the purpose of the Government of the United States to secure was fighting for his rights as a first-class citizen, for democracy for all, for integration into a Government by consent, and for America's nationhood.

President Kennedy's June message carefully assessed this change in method and purpose of protest and the reactions to it, and declared:

"The Negro's drive for justice, however, has not stood still—nor will it, it is now clear until fully equality is achieved. The growing and understandable dissatisfaction of Negro citizens with the present pace of desegregation, and their increased determination to secure for themselves the equality of opportunity and treatment to which they are rightfully entitled, have underscored what should already have been clear; the necessity of the Congress enacting this year—not only the measures already proposed—but also additional legislation providing legal remedies for the denial of certain individual rights.

"The vulnerable code of equity law commands 'for every wrong, a remedy.' But in too many communities, in too many parts of the country, wrongs are inflicted on Negro citizens for which no effective remedy at law is clearly and readily available. State and local laws may even affirmatively seek to deny the rights to which these citizens are fairly entitled—and this can result only in a decreased respect for the law and increased violations of the law.

"In the continued absence of congressional action, too many State and local officials as well as businessmen will remain unwilling to accord these rights to all citizens. Some local courts and local merchants may well claim to be uncertain of the law, while those merchants who do recognize the justice of the Negro's request (and I believe these constitute the great majority of merchants, North and South) will be fearful of being the first to move, in the face of official, customer, employee, or competitive pressures. Negroes, consequently, can be expected to continue increasingly to seek the vindication of these rights through organized direct action, with all its potentially explosive consequences, such as we have seen in Birmingham, in Philadelphia, in Jackson, in Boston, in Cambridge, Md., and in many other parts of the country.

"In short, the result of continued Federal legislative inaction will be continued, if not increased, racial strife—causing the leadership on both sides to pass from the hands of reasonable and responsible men to the purveyors of hate and violence, endangering domestic tranquility, retarding our Nation's economic and social progress and weakening the respect with which the rest of the world regards us. No American, I feel sure, would prefer this course of tension, disorder, and division—and the great majority of our citizens simply cannot accept it.

"For these reasons, I am proposing that the Congress stay in session this year until it has enacted—preferably as a single omnibus bill—the most responsible, reasonable and urgently needed solutions to this problem, solutions which should be acceptable to all fair-minded men. This bill would be known as the Civil Rights Act of 1963, and would include—in addition to the aforementioned provisions on voting rights and the Civil Rights Commission—additional titles on public accommodations, employment, federally assisted programs, a Community Relations Service, and education, with the latter including my previous recommendation on this subject. In addition, I am requesting certain legislative and budget amendments designed to improve the training, skills, and economic opportunities of the economically distressed and discontented, white and Negro alike. Certain executive actions are also reviewed here; but legislative action is imperative."

A bill embodying the President's proposals was introduced on the same day in the Senate (S. 1731) by Senate Majority Leader MIKE MANSFIELD (Democrat, of Montana) and 45 other Senators, including 9 Republicans. It was referred to the Committee on the Judi-

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ciary, of which Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND (Democrat, of Mississippi) is chairman. An identical bill (H.R. 7152) was introduced in the House on the next day by Representative EMANUEL CELLER (Democrat, of New York), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, to which the bill was referred. Hearings were held on H.R. 7152 and on 171 other bills from May 8 through August 2, 1963. The subcommittee met in executive session a total of 17 days, reported out favorably a substitute, H.R. 7182, which was adopted by a majority of the full Judiciary Committee, and by a majority of the House of Representatives on February 10, 1964, by a vote of 290 to 130.

A filibuster then ensued in the Senate. The grand strategy for both sides appeared to center in the question, "What amendments in the House bill could be debated and traded for what votes to secure cloture, that is, the two-thirds vote necessary to cut off the filibuster?" Senators HUBERT HUMPHREY and PHILIP HART were the principal Democratic strategists.

Senator DIRKSEN offered a large number of amendments and secured the favorable disposition of enough of his Republican colleagues to assure the required support for cloture and passage. On June 10, 1964, cloture was voted in the Senate, 71 to 29. On June 19, the measure was passed by the Senate, 73 to 27, a year after the Kennedy message to Congress on civil rights. Of the 73 voting in the Senate for final passage, 46 were Democrats and 27 were Republicans.

That matter was then dispatched to the House Rules Committee which reported the bill out, 10 to 5. A final vote was taken in the House, resulting in 289 in favor, and 126 against. Of the 289 favorable votes, 153 were Democratic and 136 were Republican. Ninety-one Democrats and 35 Republicans voted "no." President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 on July 3, 1964.

II. STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The amended H.R. 7152, a revised Mansfield-Celler bill, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, is confined to civil rights issues. It does not include other items stressed by President Kennedy in his civil rights message as effecting the welfare of minority groups, such as area redevelopment, Federal aid to education and youth employment. It should be noted that the President partially reflected a judgment similar to that of the huge Washington demonstration of August 1963—that fair and full employment are interrelated goals. The new Civil Rights Act does not tie the two goals together. The majority of the House Judiciary Committee stated (H. Rept. No. 914, 88th Cong., 1st sess.):

"The bill, as amended, is designed primarily to protect and provide more effective means to enforce the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States. In furtherance of these objectives, the bill: (1) provides for the appointment of a three-judge district court in voting suits and for the expeditious determination of such suits, and also provides against the discriminatory use of literacy tests in Federal elections; (2) prohibits discrimination in enumerated public establishments; (3) authorizes the Attorney General to initiate suits to desegregate public facilities, other than public schools, and to intervene in suits charging deprivation of equal protection of the laws; (4) authorizes the Attorney General to initiate suits to desegregate public schools; (5) makes the Civil Rights Commission a permanent agency; (6) prohibits discrimination in any Federal Equal Employment Commission designed to eliminate discriminatory employment practices by business, labor unions, or employment agencies; (7) provides for the compilation of registration and voting statistics by race, color, and national origin; (8) makes a remand of a civil rights case from a Federal court back to a State court reviewable on appeal."

The House Judiciary Committee accompanied its legislative exposition of purpose with the following general statement which may be of significance in the future to courts as well as to the public:

"In various regions of the country there is discrimination against some minority groups. Most glaring, however, is the discrimination against Negroes which exists throughout our Nation. Today, more than 100 years after their formal emancipation, Negroes, who make up over 10 percent of our population are by virtue of one or another type of discrimination not accorded the rights, privileges, and opportunities which are considered to be, and must be the birthright of all citizens.

"Considerable progress has been made in eliminating discrimination in many areas because of local initiative either in the form of State laws and local ordinances or as the result of voluntary action. Nevertheless, in the last decade it has become increasingly clear that progress has been too slow and that national legislation is required to meet a national need which becomes ever more obvious. That need is evidenced, on the one hand, by a growing impatience by the victims of discrimination with its continuance and, on the other hand, by a growing recognition on the part of all of our people of the incompatibility of such discrimination with our ideals and the principles to which this country is dedicated. A number of provisions to the Constitution of the United States clearly supply the means "to secure these rights," and H.R. 7152, as amended, resting upon this authority, is designed as a step toward eradicating significant areas of discrimination on a nationwide basis. It is general in application and national in scope.

"No bill can or should lay claim to eliminating all of the causes and consequences of racial and other types of discrimination against minorities. There is reason to believe, however, that national leadership provided by the enactment of Federal legislation dealing with the most troublesome problems will create an atmosphere conducive to voluntary or local resolution of other forms of discrimination.

"It is, however, possible and necessary for the Congress to enact legislation which prohibits and provides the means of terminating the most serious types of discrimination. This, H.R. 7152, as amended, would achieve in a number of related areas. It would reduce discriminatory obstacles to the exercise of the right to vote and provide means of expediting the vindication of that right. It would make it possible to remove the daily affront and humiliation involved in discriminatory denials of access to facilities ostensibly open to the general public. It would guarantee that there will be no discrimination among recipients of Federal financial assistance. It would prohibit discrimination in employment, and provide means to expedite termination of discrimination in public education. It would open additional avenues to deal with redress of denials of equal protection of the laws on account of race, color, religion, or national origin by State or local authorities.

"H.R. 7152, as amended, is a constitutional and desirable means of dealing with the injustices and humiliations of racial and other discrimination. It is a reasonable and responsible bill whose provisions are designed effectively to meet an urgent and most serious national problem."

III. MAIN PROVISIONS OF THE BILL

A. Voting rights

Title I consists of a single section, 101, that extensively amendts the existing Federal statute providing for civil remedies to protect the right to vote.[3] That statute, originally enacted in 1870, was amendmed by the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960. However, the Commission on Civil Rights found, for example, in 1963 that there are still 100 counties in 7 States where qualified Negro citizens are denied the right to vote by being forced to meet standards not required of white citizens.

Subsection (a) of section 101 is aimed at certain practices that have been used to exclue Negroes from voting. It does not refer to discrimination, but instead prohibits certain specific exclusionary devices. It applies to any State official or anyone else acting under "color of law" but only in the case of Federal elections. It prohibits (a) the use of different standards or procedures for different individuals to qualify for voting; (b) the denial of the right to vote because of immaterial errors or omissions by an applicant; and (c) the use of any literacy test unless it is in writing and a copy of the test and the voter's answers are available to him. A separate provision states that, for the purpose of this subsection, "'literacy test' includes any test of the ability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter." (It should be noted also that, under the existing statute, the term "vote" includes registration and all other steps preliminary to voting.)

Subsection (b) of section 101 amends the existing statute empowering the Attorney General to bring suits to prevent interference with the right to vote. It provides that, in any such suit "there shall be a rebuttable presumption" that any person who has completed the sixth grade in any public school or accredited private school "where instruction is carried on predominantly in the English language" possesses "sufficient literacy, comprehension, and intelligence to vote in any Federal election."

Subsection (c) of section 101 adds a new paragraph designed to give relief while a case is pending. Under the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts, the Attorney General can bring an action to halt discrimination in voting. If the court finds that a pattern of discrimination exists, would-be voters of the same race as the persons discriminated against can ask a court to register them. In this case, the court may appoint a voting referee to pass on such applications for registration.

In his civil-rights message of February 28, President Kennedy pointed out that many such cases drag on for periods of a year or more, during which no action is taken. Hence, the act would add a provision allowing the Attorney General or the defendant to ask for the convening of a "court of three judges" to hear and determine the case. Contrary to the belief of some the Attorney General would not have authority to register any voters.

Section 101 adds a new paragraph designed to speed the disposition of voting cases. It provides that, in any voting case, the chief judge of the district or of the Federal circuit shall promptly assign a judge to hear and determine the case and that the case shall be "in every way expedited."

B. Discrimination in places of public accommodation

Under the 1964 act discrimination would be prohibited in specific places of public accommodation whose operation "affects" interstate commerce or whose practices of discrimination are "supported by" State action. An example of the latter, says the Commission on Civil Rights, would be State or local laws requiring proprietors to exclude or segregate Negro customers.[4]

This section creates for "all persons" a civil right to "full and equal enjoyment of" public accommodations "without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin."

The public accommodations covered include hotels and motels, restaurants, lunch

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counters, gasoline stations, theaters and stadiums or other facilities which are part of an establishment covered by the act. The provision would be enforced by the persons who were discriminated against. Such persons should file a civil suit in Federal court to enjoin such denial of "full and free access." The Attorney General is likewise empowered to institute such suits upon certification of the suit as one "of general public importance." The Attorney General could use Federal, State, or local public agencies to secure voluntary compliance before beginning the court proceedings. Before starting suit, it is mandatory that the Attorney General "notify the appropriate State or local officials and, upon request, afford them a reasonable time to act under such State or local laws." The Attorney General "may" before suit "utilize the services of any Federal, State, or local agency * * * to attempt to secure compliance * * * by voluntary procedures." But the Attorney General shall not be required to give such notice if he "shall file with the court a certificate that the delay * * * would adversely affect the interests of the United States or that compliance * * * would prove ineffective."

Senator DIRKSEN, however, altered this procedure. If there were a local public-accommodations law, an individual would not file a Federal suit until 30 days after he had notified local officials of his complaint. The Federal court could delay the suit until local officials completed their action. If there were no local law, he could file a Federal suit immediately. The court then would have the power to ask a newly created community-relations service to investigate and to seek voluntary compliance with the law for a period up to 120 days. These negotiations would be secret. If they failed, the suit would proceed.

Under the Dirksen amendments, the Attorney General could not institute such suits for individuals. He could ask the court, however, to intervene in such cases. If granted that would mean that Federal attorneys would help argue the case, but the complainant would have the burden of securing counsel and assuming other costs. But if the Attorney General could demonstrate a community pattern of denying free access to public accommodations, he could file a Federal suit, set forth his facts and seek relief against specific proprietors whom he considered part of the pattern.

The Civil Rights Act would not make persons or businesses licensed by a State or city subject to the act by virtue of their license. Nor are all businesses offering goods and services to the public covered. Only those establishments specifically listed in the act or physically part of a listed establishment would be subject to the act. The act does not prohibit racial discrimination in barber shops, beauty parlors and many other service establishments, retail stores, bowling alleys and other places of recreation unless such places serve food. It would not cover hotels or lodging houses which have less than six rooms for rent in a building occupied by the proprietor. Merely operating under a State regulation would not make an establishment subject to the act.

It has been suggested that the public accommodations section would be a vast extension of Federal control and that it is unconstitutional. However, business open to the public is already subject to many Federal, State, and local regulations (e.g., antitrust laws, zoning ordinances, health and sanitation standards) designed to protect the public and business itself. Also, the proposed legislation prohibiting racial discrimination by certain businesses serving the public is similar to statutes already in existence in 30 States. These statutes have been held constitutional. Discrimination supported by State action was redefined by the House to mean discrimination or segregation carried on under color of law, statute, ordinance or regulation; or carried on under color of any custom or usage required or enforced by public officials; or required by action of the State.

Finally, the committee version of the bill made it unlawful to incite, aid or abet any person to discriminate against another. The House deleted this section, but the act leaves intact the prohibition against intimidation, coercion and retaliation.

C. Desegregation of publicly owned facilities

Any individual denied equal access to a publicly "owned, operated or managed" facility, such as a park, swimming pool, hospital or library—but not a school—could file a complaint with the Attorney General. Should the Attorney General certify that the individual is unable to afford his own suit or is in fear of physical or economic harm, the Attorney General could institute a civil suit to force State or local officials to desegregate such a facility. The committee version of the bill made the United States liable for court costs in any proceeding under this title, and the House added "reasonable attorney fees" to the costs, "the same as a private person."

D. Public education

The U.S. Office of Education is directed to conduct a survey on the availability of equal educational opportunity. It is authorized to render technical assistance to school districts in the implementation of desegregation plans, to arrange training institutes for school personnel and to make grants to school boards to employ specialists for in-service training. These plans have been required by law since 1954 when the Supreme Court ruled that enforced racial segregation in public schools violates the Constitution. This provision is intended to assist school boards that wish to comply with their constitutional obligations.

The Attorney General is authorized to institute civil actions upon (a) receipt of complaints alleging the continuance of school segregation, (b) giving notice to the school of unreasonable delay in desegregation, (c) finding that such suit would "materially further the orderly achievement of desegregation in public education," and (d) finding that complainants are unable "to bear the expense," "obtain effective legal representation," or are "unable" because of a risk to "personal safety."

It has been alleged that the U.S. Commissioner of Education "could influence the transfer of children from one school to another * * * until racial balance exists." The 1964 act gives no authority to the Commissioner of Education to require or influence the transfer of children. The House redefined "desegregation" to make it explicitly clear that it does not include the assignment of students to public schools to overcome racial imbalance.

Another amendment provides that besides school boards, States, municipalities, or school districts, other governmental units legally responsible for operating public schools might apply for technical assistance.

E. Commission on Civil Rights

The life of the Commission on Civil Rights is extended for 4 years and in addition to its present functions of investigating "allegations in writing under oath," denials of the right to vote and infringements of equal protection guarantees, and appraising Federal policies, the Commission is also directed to serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information and to investigate general allegations of voting frauds not related to racial discrimination.

The committee version of the bill made the Commission a permanent agency, but the House limited its life to 4 years. In addition, the House specifically prohibited the Commission from inquiring into or investigating fraternities, sororities, private clubs or religious organizations.

F. Federally assisted programs

Each Federal agency which administers a program of financial assistance by grants, loans, or contracts is directed to require the elimination of discrimination under the program, "with the approval of the President."

The action of a Federal agency effectuating this requirement might include the termination of or refusal to grant assistance. If such action were taken, it would be subject to review by the courts.

This title has been attacked as an extension of Federal control beyond that now exercised as part of the normal supervision of Federal expenditures.

The Supreme Court has ruled that the U.S. Constitution prohibits the Federal Government or its instrumentalities from discriminating because of race. Other Federal courts have ruled that private or public agencies receiving Federal financial assistance cannot deny the benefits of the program to persons because of their race. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act simply states these rulings as a principle supported by Congress. It says in effect that when Federal tax moneys are collected from all citizens regardless of color the benefits derived from Federal expenditures of these moneys should be available to all citizens regardless of color. For example, this title would require hospitals constructed with Federal funds to serve all patients without regard to race, color or national origin; State employment agencies entirely financied by Federal funds to refer qualified job applicants to employment opportunities without discrimination; elementary and secondary schools constructed and maintained by Federal funds to admit children without regard to race, color or national origin; colleges and universities receiving Federal funds for the construction and operation of research centers to admit students without discrimination.

It has been alleged also that this section would apply to farmers and homeowners, implying that they will be subject to Federal control. Actually, the act simply means that when Federal money is made available to help farmers it must be available to Negro farmers as well as white farmers. It means that when the Federal Government makes funds available for the construction of homes the homes must be offered to all eligible persons without regard to race.

The procedures to be followed in the administration of this title were amended by the House to require that (1) the President approve all implementing rules and regulations, (2) a hearing be held before compliance steps are taken, and (3) Congress be notified 30 days before funds are denied (or discontinued) to a program.

Another amendment makes clear that this title would not apply to Federal programs which insure or guarantee loans by private institutions. The housing executive order remains unaffected by this amendment.

Senator DIRKSEN would specifically limit the curtailment of funds to those recipients of assistance actually found to be discriminating. For example, an entire State could not be shut out of all Federal programs if only a particular city discriminated in a Federal housing project. The position of Senator DIRKSEN is incorporated in the 1964 act.

G. Equal employment opportunity

The most warmly contested section of the bill is title VII, providing for equal employment opportunity. According to the New York Times of June 7, 1964, 25 States, where an estimated 40 percent of the Nation's Negro population resides, have statutes prohibiting racial discrimination in employment. Generally the provisions of the act would establish on a Federal level what is already provided in most of these 25 States.

An equal employment opoprtunity commission is created to receive or initiate complaints alleging discrimination by employers in industries affecting interstate commerce with annually graduated coverage of 100 or more employees, reduced to 25 or more in 5 years, or by labor unions or employment agencies whose activities affect interstate commerce. The commission initially would seek to eliminate any discriminatory practices by conciliation and persuasion, but where these efforts fail it is authorized to bring civil actions in which the courts would review the facts de novo. If the court found racial or religious discrimination, it would order the discriminating employer, employment agency or union to treat all persons according to their merit and ability rather than their race, religion, national origin or sex. Back pay, hiring, and reinstatement are possible remedies. A 6-month statute of limitations is placed on complaints. Cooperative agreements are required with States having fair employment practices commissions.

It has been alleged that Federal officials could tell employers "whom they shall hire, fire, promote and demote, and how they shall handle their employees"; that employers could be required to maintain a work force balanced along racial or religious lines; and that the rights of employees within a company could be destroyed.

The Civil Rights Act does not give the Federal Government these powers. It requires only that employers, labor unions, and employment agencies deal with all persons in the employment relationship on the basis of their merit and ability without regard to their race, color, religion, or national origin. Employers subject to the act are free to hire, promote, or fire anyone they want provided their action is not based on the person's race, color, religion, or national origin. And, under the act, it would be unlawful for an employer to discriminate against either a white or Negro applicant because of race.

The House extended the coverage of this title in two respects: (1) sex is now within the prohibited types of discrimination; and (2) retraining and inservice training were included as areas in which there can be no discrimination. The rest of the amendments adopted were largely limiting in nature. Atheists and Communists are excluded from coverage, a provision of dubious constitutionality, and religious institutions of learning are allowed to use religion as an employment criterion. The committee bill provided that no union or employer would be subject to coverage during the first year after enactment, only those with 100 or more workers during the second year, 50 workers the third year, and 25 or more during the fourth and succeeding years. The House modified this by adding another year and a 75-worker level to the graduated coverage, postponing coverage of employers of 25 or more until 5 years after enactment.

Title VII was further amended by several procedural provisions. To initiate a complaint the Commission must now have reasonable cause to believe a violation has occurred. A vote of two of the five Commissioners would be sufficient to initiate Commission procedures under the House bill, but the act refers to "the Commission." However, a written charge may be filed "by a member of the Commission" upon probable cause. Hence a single member of the Commission may get the procedure in motion. The committee bill had empowered the Commission to bring a civil action before exhausting its informal techniques if circumstances warranted, but this provision was deleted by the House. The investigative powers of the Commission were clarified and modified to the extent that it may now inspect records of and examine only those persons being investigated or proceeded against. The committee bill had authorized such action whenever it might add to the enforcement of the title. Regulations or orders by the Commission may now be prescribed only after a public hearing. Government agencies must still furnish all relevant information to the Commission, but the House limited this requirement to information that can be disclosed legally.

An entire section relating to employment practices of Federal agencies and Government contractors, which was essentially a restatement of an existing Executive order, was deleted from the bill but the act does declare that "it shall be the policy of the United States to insure equal employment opportunities for Federal employees without discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, and the President shall utilize his existing authority to effectuate this policy."

Many of Senator DIRKSEN's amendments apply to this section. He would extend coverage to Federal employment and to union hiring halls, and exempt Indian reservations. He would eliminate the Commission's right to file suits. Instead, the Commission would investigate upon complaint and could recommend that the Attorney General intervene in certain suits. His amendments are incorporated in the measure as passed.

Under the Dirksen procedure, now embodied in the Act, the Commission would investigate a complaint in secret and, in those States and cities that have a fair-employment-practices law, notify the local authorities, who would have 60 to 120 days to remedy the practice. If they failed the Commission would have 30 days to seek voluntary compliance. If that too failed—or if there was no local law—it would notify the person who filed the claim, and that person could then file a Federal civil suit.

The court could, if it wished, delay the suit for another 60 days to let local officials or the Federal Commission try again to resolve the matter. The court could also authorize the Attorney General to intervene in the suit. But the Attorney General could not initiate a suit himself unless he could show that a pattern of job discrimination existed in the community. Senator DIRKSEN would have required the plaintiff to prove that the violation had been "intentional," but this provision was not adopted. This title of the act does not become effective until 1 year after the enactment.

H. Voting statistics

The Secretary of Commerce is directed to conduct a survey of persons of voting age by race, color, and national origin, and to determine the extent to which such persons have registered and have voted, in such geographic areas as recommended by the Commission on Civil Rights.

I. Removal of intervention in civil rights cases

The order of a Federal court sending a civil rights case back to a State court shall be reviewable by appeal. The Attorney General is given authorization to intervene in any case that he can certify is of "general public importance."

J. Community relations service

This entire title was inserted in the bill on the House floor, after having been deleted by the Judiciary Committee. It establishes a community relations service in the Department of Commerce to provide informal assistance to persons or communities requiring help with civil rights problems. The service is limited to a director and six employees.

K. Miscellaneous

The last title in the act contains necessary miscellaneous provisions. Appropriations are authorized to carry out the act, and a separability clause provides that the rest of the act will be unaffected if any portion is invalidated. Another section preserves existing remedies under Federal law.

A new section was added by the House to insure that the provisions of the act are not construed as "occupying the field" of civil rights legislation. State laws in this area are to remain in force unless inconsistent with the act. Respect for States rights and encouragement of the processes of conciliation and persuasion are intended to be encouraged by this exclusion of Federal preemption.

IV. CONSTITUTIONALITY

Considerable discussion and opposition developed on the Civil Rights Act of 1964 on the claim that it is unconstitutional. Senator Barry Goldwater was a particularly vigorous proponent of this view. He argued that the public accommodations and equal employment titles are in conflict with the 10th amendment, the commerce power, and the 14th amendment.

The principal constitutional bases upon which the Federal power rests to pass this law are the commerce power and the "State action" conduit of the 14th amendment. The reach of the public accommodations title is found in this language:

"Each of the following establishments which serves the public is a place of public accommodation within the meaning of this title if its operations affect commerce, or if discrimination or segregation by it is supported by State action * * *.

"The operations of an establishment affect commerce * * * if it is an establishment [that] serves or offers to serve interstate travelers or a substantial portion of the food which serves or gasoline * * * which it sells has moved in commerce, * * * it customarily presents films, performances * * * or other sources of entertainment which move in commerce, * * * is physically located within the premises of * * * an establishment the operations of which affect commerce within the meaning of this subsection.

"For purposes of this section, 'commerce' means travel, trade, traffic, commerce, transportation, or communication among the several States * * *.

"Discrimination or segregation by an establishment is supported by State action within the meaning of this title if such discrimination or segregation (1) is carried on under color of any law, statute, ordinance, or regulation; or (2) is carried on under color of any custom, or usage required or enforced by officials of the State or political subdivision thereof; or (3) is required by action of the State or political subdivision thereof."

The reach of the equal employment opportunity title is found in the following language: "* * * the term 'employer' means a person engaged in an industry affecting commerce who has 25 or more employees. * * * a labor organization shall be deemed to be engaged in an industry affecting commerce if (1) it maintains * * * a hiring hall * * * which procures employees for an employer. * * * the term 'commerce' means trade, traffic, commerce, transportation, transmission, or communication among the several States * * * the term 'industry affecting commerce' means any activity, business, or industry in commerce or in which a labor dispute could hinder or obstruct commerce or the free flow of commerce and includes any activity or industry 'affecting commerce' within the meaning of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959."

Many memorandums were offered to the House and Senate hearings on the issue of constitutionality of the proposed measures. Less controversy attached to the validity of the use of the commerce power than to the 14th amendment. The most precise and authoritative memorandum was that submitted on request of the Senate committee by Prof. Paul A. Freund, of the Harvard Law

School.[5] Professor Freund's exposition suggested the phrase "among the several States" as being broader than "interstate commerce," noted that as to the commerce power "the issue is one of legislative policy, not constitutional power" and, in reply to those who expressed concern over the rights of property and freedom of association, stated 'every exertion of power under the commerce clause has involved some restriction on the use of property or the exercise of liberty while at the same time enlarging the effective liberties and proprietary interests of others. This is true of any significant regulations enacted to promote social justice."

As to the 14th amendment Professor Freund is more cautious. He notes the basic principle of the civil rights cases,[6] that only State discrimination is proscribed, not private conduct, and indicates that a combination of uncertainties is behind the Court's rationale for its holding, uncertainties as to the class of establishments, the kinds of practices and the standards to be set. Custom is not yet equated with State responsibility, and private licensees come into reach when they take on the duties of the public licensor. But the Court may yet be persuaded to overrule the civil rights cases and it is conceivable that a "new set of constitutional standards would be formulated for private practices covered by the amendment—a set conforming neither to the code of fairness for purely private conduct nor to the constitutional code for governments and their agencies." Professor Freund concluded his memorandum in words which were representative of the submissions of many bar associations and of the proponents of the Civil Rights Act of 1964:

"From this study several conclusions are indicated:

"1. The commerce power is clearly adequate and appropriate. In fact, more extensive use of the commerce power can be made if it is desired to broaden the coverage and reduce its uncertainties in marginal cases. No impropriety need be felt in using the commerce clause as a response to a deep moral concern. Where social injustices occur in commercial activities the commerce power is a natural and familiar means for dealing with them.

"2. There is no serious question of the right of association or of property or of privacy as a barrier to the legislation, applicable as it is to commercial places of public accommodation.

"3. Whether the Supreme Court would sustain the legislation under the 14th amendment is more uncertain, because of the necessity to find principles of inclusion and exclusion in opening up a new class of constitutional claims against private enterprises. The Court may be the readier to accept this basis for the legislation if a consensus is reached as to those principles by the proponents of this constitutional approach."

V. SOME COMMENTS

A part of the history of this legislation is the great debate as to whether the act is a "blueprint for total Federal regimentation," as former American Bar Association Presidents Lloyd Wright and John C. Satterfield have characterized it or as "the most comprehensive civil rights bill ever to be enacted by the Congress" as declared by Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP. It is not the object of this exposition to enter this debate, or to describe this act as more or less moderate or otherwise. A few observations may be offered, however, as to the adequacy of some provisions to accomplish the stated purposes.

1. A most important weakness of title I is its failure to deal with the problem of outright intimidation. The deaths and repeated assaults suffered in recent months by persons active in voter registration campaigns plainly reveal the need for increased Federal protection of the basic right to vote. It will seem incongruous to succeeding American generations that the Federal Government which so potently affects the balance of power all over the world is so ineffective in protecting the right of a qualified Negro to vote in a Federal election in Mississippi. Is it a matter of laws? Or is it a matter of will? Although the Federal Bureau of Investigation may be invoked with greater effect in this respect, in the past it has proved to be an ineffective and untrustworthy instrument to protect Federal rights and to enforce existing Federal laws in relation to Negroes and trade unionists in the South.

2. Making sixth-grade education presumptive evidence of literacy is a forward step. However, civil-rights forces have favored either prohibiting literacy tests altogether or making a sixth-grade education conclusive proof of literacy. As long as 6 years of schooling is treated as only presumptive proof of literacy, the officials who have used literacy tests to keep qualified Negroes from voting will be free to continue their obstructive tactics.

3. A question may be raised as to whether in the desegregation of public facilities or public schools the Attorney General should be required to judge the means or ability of complainants to carry forward the sustained litigation. To some this appears to impose a degrading means test on injured parties, and is basically unsound in theory. It rests on the assumption that racial segregation is a private wrong rather than a subversion of the democratic system. The Federal Government has a responsibility to see that public officials adhere to the basic law under which it operates. Respect for law is undermined when public-school segregation, for example, continues to be widespread 10 years after the Supreme Court held it unconstitutional. This is a problem in which the Federal Government has a direct concern. It should take action in its own name rather than merely as a substitute for handicapped citizens. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 must be seen not only as a measure to help Negroes but as movement toward the fulfillment of the Nation's purpose.

4. The enforcement provisions of title II, public accommodations, are quite limited. Because of the absence of either criminal penalties or damages, proprietors of public accommodations may take the position that they can continue to discriminate until compelled to change their practices by order of the court. Considering the fact that thousands of separate enterprises exist, separate suits by either the Attorney General or aggrieved parties would not deter a large percentage of them—only the most prominent violators. Though many will find the standards of the bill a helpful incentive to end a distasteful practice, the recalcitrant will yield slowly, if at all.

5. The act omits one provision that has been advocated by civil-rights forces and endorsed by the Democratic Party platform of 1960—a clause requiring all segregated public school districts to submit a desegregation plan and to start desegregation by a specified date. The omission of this provision must be regarded as a shortcoming.

While in several respects the act falls short of the program of some civil rights organizations, it nevertheless represents considerable legal if not factual advance. It is far more comprehensive than the civil rights acts of 1957 and 1960. Its adoption ushers in a new stage for the struggle for constitutional relationships among American citizens.

The bill would provide for substantial reforms. Its major advances would be:

1. Development of a more adequate concept of Federal Government, through all of its coordinate branches, as an instrument for achievement of constitutional rights;

2. Establishment of the administrative structure for protection of equal opportunity in employment;

3. Comprehensive prohibition of discrimination in places of public accommodation;

4. Provision of governmental services for helping local governments and schools to comply with constitutional standards;

5. The pledge implicit in title VI that in distribution of Federal benefits the President will use his executive power to curb discrimination.

On April 10, 1954, President Johnson told several hundred business leaders that the passage of the civil rights bill would leave the Nation "on the side of the hill, with the big peak still ahead of us." He said that scaling the peak would require "the cooperation, the good will, the moral courage, the determination, the good sense, and the patriotism of every single American."

On the same day Senator EDWARD KENNEDY, speaking in the U.S. Senate in behalf of the bill, declared:

"My brother was the first President of the United States to state publicly that segregation is morally wrong. His heart and his soul are in this bill. If his life and death had a meaning, it was that we should not hate but love one another; we should use our powers not to create conditions of oppression that lead to violence, but conditions of freedom that lead to peace * * * the bill abounds with reasonableness, with conciliation, with voluntary procedures, with moderate approach toward its goals. With provisions as mild as these it can truly be said that even in passing the bill, we are still relying primarily on the decency and tolerance and conscience of the American people to secure these rights for Negro citizens."

VI. A PERSPECTIVE

What is not yet adequately recognized is that generally the South has engaged in a 20th-century program of interposition and nullification—that is, civil disobedience, an official civil disobedience supported by an official police state. So encrusted is this civil disobedience that criminal justice for the southern Negro, notwithstanding the historic decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court, is not much further advanced than it was a generation ago in the Scottsboro case.

Law in the South has not been an expression of equality and justice, but a weapon of power for white supremacy. Official and unofficial power, institutionalized and structured on white supremacy, has used police-state methods, the knock on the door in the night, the arrest, the detention, the assault, surveillance, the threat, the boycott, publishing of names for visitation and retribution, the denial of job or loan or mortgage to thwart not only the Negro but to silence the great mass of whites who inchoately want to "disenthrall themselves" and find their own way to decency. Indeed, the civil rights of the Negro are not only indivisible from his civil liberties, but also are indivisible from the civil liberties of the whites. The coalition and conspiracy of the police, white citizen councils and their entourage have with precision and pervasiveness intimidated the white community by a network of economic, political and physical devices to the point where a consciousness is beginning to form—a consciousness that the Negro struggle for civil rights is part of the greater enterprise, of both Negro and whites, for democracy, dignity, and decency.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 may find its significance as part of that consciousness. When schools are closed to all to evade compliance with law and integration, the desire

Footnotes at end of speech.

of white people for needed education merges with the Negro's efforts for equality in education. The Negro's struggle for a job at all, as well as for fair employment, will merge with the crusade for full employment for all. The Negro's efforts for equality will indeed improve the quality of the whole and move us farther along the road toward what President Johnson has called the Great Society.

But many more mergings and connections between the Negro's need and the need of the whole community have to be recognized. Where Lincoln departed from the irrepressible conflict, President Johnson and his successors begin, begin a leadership of reconciliation, of mediating and developing an ever-growing resolution of the new irrepressible conflict—of the Negro's irrepressible assertion and the South's immovable denial, of national purpose and sectional self-determination. The Civil Rights Act is a new tool, but it will still have to be wielded. The Negro in his struggle has the National Constitution, the national law, the pronouncements of the Court, the Congress, and the Executive.

The law serves a great educational purpose, as those in the South know, for they have passed many laws to encrust white supremacy and segregation. But as Justice Jackson said "the ultimate justification of the law is to be found, and can olny be found in moral considerations and not in expediency and utility." President Kennedy asked Congress to support the legislation "for one plain, proud, priceless quality that unites us all as Americans: a sense of justice . . . not for reasons of economic efficiency, world diplomacy, and domestic tranquility, but because it is right."

Justice and rightness will have a better chance today with electoral reapportionment that bids well to posture a political realinement that will challenge the 100-year coalition between the conservative Republicans and the southern Democrats that has influenced if not entirely shaped American policy on every issue. Justice and rightness have a better chance because this is the century of the common man and the winds of change are blowing over every latitude of the world. Domestic policy and foreign policy are two sides of the same coin. America must serve its national purpose everywhere—"to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men." An America that is true to itself, to this purpose, will not be false to any nation. A nation that is the servant of liberty will be the master of its security. The Negro's effort must be seen as part of the unfolding of the United States as one nation in the service of human rights, economic security and peace.

To serve liberty means a confrontation with the South's official and unofficial civil disobedience. The perspective with which to assay the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is in terms of political power. The power of the Nation is now expressed in law. Will it be expressed in fact? The act will afford a legal basis for continued assertion of, and demonstration for, civil rights. But equality of right rests on equality of power, and the Federal Government must be equal to its power. Dean Eugene Rostow of Yale Law School, in the Anti-Defamation League Bulletin, June 1964, has put it this way:

"Let us be clear about what this proposition means; we can hope that the President with the remarkable fervor of his being, will succeed in persuading Southern Governors to enforce the law with regard to voting, schools, juries, and public accommodations, and equally will persuade Northern Governors to enforce the law with regard to schools, housing and jobs. But we must be prepared for the situation if his mission is only partly successful. The massive resistance to law of the last decade is no longer tolerable. It will have to be recognized for what it has been and is—a movement of civil disobedience—and dealt with as such.

"We shall have to develop procedures of law enforcement commensurate in scope with the defiance of law we confront today. Take the case of juries and of voting, two of the most basic protections of the individual against the state. There is no possible doubt that jury commissioners and voting registrars are breaking the law of the Nation in many parts of the South. But the Nation is not impotent. There are remedies which can and should be invoked unless the course of disobedience is soon abandoned. I have in mind the potentials for action by the Congress which are here in two parts of the Constitution; in that momentous sentence in article IV—once called the sleeping giant of the Constitution—which provides that the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government; and in the equally momentous sentences of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments which give Congress the power to enforce each of those amendments by appropriate legislation.

"I contend that a State which systematically denies the vote to a half or a third or a quarter of its citizens does not possess a republican form of government. And I contend that the grants of power to Congress in the three great amendments which followed the Civil War permit adequate and effective national action to hold the States to high national standards in dealing with the rights, privileges, and immunities of our people wherever State action, or custom having the force of law, operates to restrict them * * *.

"It is important to avoid self-deception and self-congratulation. Opinions of the Supreme Court, however eloquent, are words, means to social improvements, never to be confused with improvement itself. I do not undervalue the power of eloquence in human affairs, nor the strength of our loyalty to the values for which the Supreme Court speaks. But in the end the Court's work will prevail only if we make it prevail, all of us, those in high positions and in little ones, our visitors from Olympus and those who labor in neighborhoods and precincts and churches and in the humble local committees meeting at night, in old school buildings or city halls, where the decisions are made that truly determine the quality of our society."

What "procedures of law enforcement" may be "commensurate in scope with the defiance of law we confront today" bids well to be an abiding question. The irrepressible Negro assertion and the immovable southern denial pose the historic question of what quality and quantity of Federal force will be necessary to nationalize civil rights in the United States. "The road to compliance," said President Johnson, "will be long and hard."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People urged the President to consider "taking over" race-torn Mississippi. Attorney General Robert Kennedy replied that the Federal-State relationship forbids "preventive police action." Twenty-nine professors at Harvard, Yale, Columbia, New York University, Pennsylvania, and Boston College challenged Mr. Kennedy's opinion in an open letter on this pivotal question.[7]

The law professors stated that the Federal Government has been fully empowered since Reconstruction to "take protective action in the circumstances that now prevail in Mississippi." They cited section 332 of title 10 of the United States Code which authorizes the President to use State militia and Federal troops "whenever he considers that unlawful obstructions, combinations or assemblages, or rebellions against the authority of the United States, make it impracticable to enforce the laws of the United States in any State or territory by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings." It was under this statute that Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy took military action at Little Rock in 1957 and the University of Mississippi in 1962.

The law professors also cited section 333 of title 10 which further empowers the President to use "any other means"—not only troops, but also Federal marshals—"to suppress in a State, any insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combination or conspiracy" whenever such an event denies equal protection to any class of citizens, or "obstructs the execution of the United States laws or impedes the course of justice under those laws." Certainly, therefore, power exists to deal with Mississippi's denial of Negro voting rights as guaranteed by the civil rights acts of 1957, 1960, and 1964.

Some may argue that the Constitution leaves the preservation of peace and good order exclusively to the States through the reserved police powers of the 10th amendment. The professors declare that this argument has been without merit since 1879 when the Supreme Court affirmed the Federal Government's power to command obedience to its laws "on every foot of American soil." Mr. Kennedy's critics noted that prudence may curb these powers in Mississippi. But it is, they said, "disappointing and ironic that the Department of Justice, which has been bold beyond precedent in successfully urging the Supreme Court that the judiciary possessed the broadest powers to enforce constitutional assurances of equality, should now discover nonexistent barriers to executive action."

It remains for the future to disclose whether or not a national standard of "liberty and justice for all" in "one nation," a truly United States, can be obtained without the invocation of these executive powers. Civil rights in the last century in the United States have not been so much a question of adequate law; they have been primarily a question of adequate will.

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[1] H. Doc. 75, 88th Cong., 1st sess.

[2] H. Doc. 124, 88th Cong., 1st sess.

[3] 42 U.S.C. 1971.

[4] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, memorandum on the civil rights bill, Feb. 28, 1964, p. 2.

[5] "Constitutional Bases for the Public Accommodations Bill," report of the Committee on Commerce, U.S. Senate, on S. 1732, 88th Cong., 2d sess., S. Rept. No. 872, pp. 82–92.

[6] 109 U.S. 3 (1883).

[7] See Time magazine, July 10, 1964.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

Appendix

Growing Nationalism in Eastern Europe Emphasized in Address by W. E. Chilton III, Knowledgeable Journalist and Publisher of the Charleston, W. Va., Gazette

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the current trend among the nations of the Eastern European Communist bloc is one of growing independence and nationalism. For several years knowledgeable observers of the international scene have noted increasing indications that the ironclad control formerly exercised by the Soviet Union over her satellites is gradually relaxing.

In the West, these changes are the subject of constant analysis and discussion. Generally speaking, we tend to view as a positive sign any evidence of individual thinking or self-sufficiency on the part of nations of the bloc. We look forward to a time when self-determination will be practiced in Eastern Europe as well as in the more democratic countries.

Mr. President, a thoughtful and informative address has recently been given on this timely subject by W. E. Chilton III, president and publisher of the Charleston, W. Va., Gazette. Speaking before the Rotarians of Charleston on Friday, July 16, 1965, Mr. Chilton drew from his own experiences as a member of a newspaper publisher's study group which recently toured the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Mr. Chilton believes that change must inevitably come among the Communist nations—that growing competition, the desire for profits and other indications of a turn toward capitalism are combining to speed up the process. He states that:

> There is cause for thinking that eventually these nations might know an adaptation of democracy that many political theorists maintain is an imperative of popular, representative government. And, if free enterprise really takes hold in the economic arena, who knows what may happen in the more important political arena?

Mr. President, I request that the news article reporting on this significant address by Mr. Chilton be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The article appeared in the Charleston Gazette of Saturday, July 17, 1965, and was written by James F. Dent of the Gazette staff.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMUNIST UNITY SEEN FADING—EAST EUROPE "CHANGE INEVITABLE"

(By James F. Dent)

Each nation in Eastern Europe is distinct from every other nation and it isn't possible to generalize about the type of communism found in each country for the degree of control differs appreciably from nation to nation, W. E. Chilton III, president and publisher of the Gazette, told Charleston Rotarians Friday.

Earlier this year, Chilton was a member of a newspaper publisher's study group which toured the U.S.S.R. and the Communist nations of Eastern Europe.

"Let's take the subject of religion," Chilton said. "Outerbridge Horsey, the U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, told our group that the intensity of religious oppression among Soviet satellites depends on the populace of the different countries. The party, in other words, can depress religion just so much.

"In Czechoslovakia, where religious skepticism has existed for many years, religion has been greatly depressed. In Poland, the party has had to relax its control. In Rumania, in the last national elections, not only were representatives of the dominant Rumanian Orthodox, religion elected to the national assembly but so too were places reserved in the same assembly for representatives of several minority religions including, if I remember correctly, Judaism, Roman Catholicism, and Lutheran."

Economic controls also vary widely, Chilton said, "and it's quite apparent numerous capitalistic devices have been and are being introduced—even into Mother Russia."

In Yugoslavia, he said, 70 percent of the rural land is privately owned although the private owner is allowed to hold no more than about 12 acres. Private businesses also are to be found in Yugoslavia, most in the arts and native crafts industries, but no private business can employ more than five persons.

"Still," he said, "astonishing reforms have been initiated to spur collectives to produce more and better quality goods. Collectives are owned by those working for them and enjoy considerable autonomy. Some collectives even go bankrupt. Collectives compete against each other. Large wage differentials exist and, after taxes, the collective, subject to majority will, can do what it wishes with the remainder or what we'd call profit.

"Taxes are moderate—0 to 16 percent. The Yugoslav Government uses its tax powers to promote or build up certain enterprises it believes are essential to national growth. Forgiven taxes, however, must be used for expansion. They cannot supplement salaries or be paid out in bonuses."

Many of the reforms instituted by Yugoslavia are being tried in other Eastern European countries, he said, and are proving their merit with workers and consumers.

"If I'm right," he said, "that these reforms smack suspiciously of capitalistic principles of reward and punishment, there is cause for thinking that eventually these nations might know an economic adaptation of democracy that many political theorists maintain is an imperative of popular, representative government. And, if free enterprise really takes hold in the economic arena, who knows what may happen in the more important political arena?"

Chilton said he thought if the United States and Russia could reach agreement on certain issues peculiar to Europe, economic and political change would sweep through Eastern and Central and Balkan Europe. He gave five reasons for this belief.

"First," he said, "every one of these nations is experiencing a tremendous rise in nationalism and ties with the Soviet Union are loosening. Second, universal education is producing a more knowledgeable, more demanding citizenry. Third, trade and tourism are being promoted in all these nations and particularly are they desired with the West to reduce the existing hard currency shortage. Fourth, throughout Eastern Europe, the manufacturers of communism are dying off. Replacing them is a new breed of Communist, often a specialist or a technocrat, totally uninterested in politics. Fifth, the quarrel between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China isn't the only manifestation of fragmentation in the Communist world.

"Communist unity, formerly so pronounced in Eastern Europe, isn't nearly so pronounced today. Albania is allied with China. Rumania three times voted in the United Nations differently from the way the Soviets voted. Yugoslavia can be depended upon by the Soviet Union only up to a point. Polish, Czechoslovakian, and Hungarian ties with Russia have slackened and would be slackened more were the problem of the two Germanies settled."

Change is coming to Eastern Europe, he said, "and these changes will have a profound impact on the lives and on the governments of these nations and they will be for the better—for them and for us."

In Hungary last year, he pointed out, 600,000 Hungarians visited the West. "The Czechoslovakian Assistant Minister of Culture told our group that of 14 million Czechs 150,000 have put aside in special bank accounts the full purchase price of a new automobile. The Government can't gratify this demand at this time, he stated, because it has other commitments it must fulfill. Yet how long can the Government refuse to satisfy so many citizens?"

In Poland and Hungary, he said, it was possible to buy 5 days late international editions of the New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune. He was able, he said, on the radio in his hotel room to pick up the British Broadcasting Co. programs and an American station in Munich. Pan American Airlines will shortly institute nonstop jet service between Prague and New York City.

"It is no doubt trite to say that change is coming anywhere," Chilton said, "since change is a continuing occurrence in nature and in the human condition and in institutions man establishes. However, I think few would debate the point that the world had ever previously experienced in so compacted a space in time such explosive change. How we all adjust and adapt to these explosions will determine whether the world survives.

"I would like to suggest that peaceful adaptation and adjustment depend as much on our intelligence and restraint and sensible aspirations as upon those peoples and nations we now look upon with suspicion and hostility. Indeed, I'm not so sure that from us a greater understanding will be de-

manded, since we have so much more to lose spiritually and materially."

In a question and answer period following his talk, Chilton said that Hungary appeared to be the freest nation in the eastern bloc.

He said that the "grayness" of life in the Eastern European nations varied from country to country with Poland perhaps the "grayest" of all. "Russia was grim," he said, "but after all, I was only there for 4 days and there is a tremendous language barrier. As a personal reaction, I found both West and East Berlin depressing."

In some of the eastern nations, he said, there is no formal press censorship but "the editor knows how far he can go. If he steps over the line, he'll probably be called in for a dressing down."

Russia's control of the foreign policies of the nations of the bloc differs. "There is considerable control in Poland," he said, "because the Poles still fear the Germans and want to retain close ties to their big Slavic brother.

In Rumania, control is breaking down. Russia's original intention, you know, was to turn the satellite nations into agricultural countries with industry based in Russia. But all the Eastern European nations are developing their own industries."

Vietnam: Four Steps to Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, on June 23, 1965, Hon. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, delivered an important and informative address, entitled "Vietnam: Four Steps to Peace", before the American Foreign Service Association at Washington, D.C.

Secretary Rusk's address clearly states the justifiable reason for our policy and our presence in South Vietnam and in southeast Asia. His address is an effective presentation of our justification in terms of our national interest and in the furtherance of world peace.

Secretary's Rusk's address is also an answer to appeasers, those filled with fear and to the many people who are living in a dream world of hope—like countless of millions here and in other countries, when Hitler galloped across the horizon of world history, leaving in his wake the terrible experiences of World War II. Firm leadership in certain European countries at that time might have averted World War II but such leadership did not exist.

And firm leadership now might avert another terrible and even more destructive world conflict.

And among other things, Secretary Rusk well said:

> Those who worry about bridges and barracks and ammunition dumps would do well to give their sympathy instead to the daily victims of terror in South Vietnam.

In my remarks I include the splendid address made by Secretary Rusk.

VIETNAM: FOUR STEPS TO PEACE

It is a very great pleasure for me to be here. It is a privilege for me to salute my colleagues, present and retired, of the Foreign Service and to express to you the gratitude of President Johnson and the American people for a service which is marked by so much competence, dedication, and personal commitment.

Two and a half months ago President Johnson spoke to the world about Vietnam at the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. Today I wish to talk to you on the same subject—to you who know that such problems have deep roots, to you who have lived through and worked upon such problems before, and to you who know that such matters can gravely affect the future of our Nation and the prospects for general peace.

The struggle in Vietnam has continued since April and indeed has grown the more severe. The harsh resistance of the Communists to any form of discussions or negotiation continues. The effort to destroy the freedom of Vietnam has been expanded. The trial by fire of the people of Vietnam goes on. Their own resistance has been courageous, but the need for American resolution and for American action has increased.

AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH

The root of the trouble in Vietnam is today just what it was in April and has been at least since 1960—a cruel and sustained attack by North Vietnam upon the people of South Vietnam. Now, as then, it is a brutal war—marked by terror and sneak attack, and by the killing of women and children in the night. This campaign of terror has continued throughout the spring.

Those of us who have not served in Vietnam may find it hard to understand just how ugly this war of aggression has been. From 1961 to the present date the South Vietnamese armed forces have lost some 25,000 dead and 51,000 wounded. In proportion to population, these South Vietnamese losses are 10 times as great as those suffered by Americans in the Korean war, and larger than our losses in World War II.

Even more terrible than these military losses are the cruelties of assassination and kidnapping among civilian officials and ordinary citizens. In the last 18 months, for example, more than 2,000 local officials and civilians have been murdered. When an official is not found at home, often his wife and children are slain in his place. It is as if in our own country some 35,000 civic leaders or their families were to be killed at night by stealth and terror.

These are the methods of the Vietcong. This is the test to which the people of Vietnam have gallantly responded.

Meanwhile, from the north, heavy infiltration has continued. Intelligence now shows that some 40,000 had come down before the end of 1964. Toward the end of that year—well before the beginning of our own air operations against North Vietnam—the infiltration of regular North Vietnamese army units was begun, and important elements of that army are now known to be in place in South Vietnam and Laos, where they have no right to be.

And so we face a deliberate and long-matured decision by a persistent aggressor to raise the stakes of war. Apparently this was their answer to our own repeated affirmation that we ourselves did not wish a larger war. Apparently a totalitarian regime has once again misunderstood the desire of democratic peoples for peace and has made the mistake of thinking that they can have a larger war without risks to themselves. And hence the airstrikes against military targets in North Vietnam.

These actions have made infiltration harder. They have increased the cost of aggression. Without them South Vietnam today would face still stronger forces from the North.

These measured air operations have done what we expected them to do—neither more nor less. For air attack alone cannot bring peace. I cannot agree with those who think it wrong to hit the logistics of aggression. It is the aggression itself that is the wrong. Those who worry about bridges and barracks and ammunition dumps would do well to give their sympathy instead to the daily victims of terror in South Vietnam.

EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE

The other side is obviously not yet ready for peace. In these last months, the friends of peace in many lands have sought to move this dangerous matter to the conference table. But one proposal after another has been contemptuously rejected.

We and others, for example, have sought to clear a way for a conference on Laos, and a conference on Cambodia—two neighboring countries where progress toward peace might be reflected in Vietnam itself. But these efforts have been blocked by North Vietnam and by Communist China.

Twice there has been an effort at discussions through the United Nations—first in the Security Council after the August attacks in the Tonkin Gulf, and later this April, when Secretary General U Thant considered visits to Hanoi and Peiping to explore the possibilities of peace. But in August there was a refusal by Hanoi to come to the Security Council. And in April both Hanoi and Peiping made it clear that they would not receive U Thant, and both regimes made plain their view that the United Nations is not competent to deal with that matter.

Repeatedly our friends in Britain, as a cochairman of the Geneva conference, have sought a path to settlement—first by working toward a new conference in Geneva and then by a visit of a senior British statesman. But the effort for a conference in Geneva was blocked, and the distinguished British traveler was told that he should stay away from Peiping and Hanoi.

Twice in April we made additional efforts of our own. In Baltimore the President offered unconditional discussions with the governments concerned. Hanoi and Peiping call this offer a "hoax." At that time the 17 nonalined nations had appealed for a peaceful solution, by negotiations without preconditions. This proposal was accepted on our side. It was rejected by Hanoi and by Peiping. And some of its authors were labeled "monsters and freaks."

The President of India made constructive proposals—for an end of hostilities and an Afro-Asian patrol force. To us this proposal was full of interest and hope. But by Hanoi and Red China it was rejected as a betrayal.

Our own Government and the Government of South Vietnam, in May, suspended air attacks on North Vietnam. This action was made known to the other side to see if there would be a response in kind. This special effort for peace was denounced in Hanoi as a "wornout trick" and denounced in Peiping as a swindle. To those who complain that that so-called "pause" was not long enough, I would simply report that the harsh reaction of the other side was fully known before the attacks were resumed. And I would also recall that we held our hand for more than 4 years while tens of thousands of armed men invaded the South and every attempt at peaceful settlement failed.

HANOI'S RESPONSE

Reports in the first half of June have confirmed that all these violent rejections are in fact what they appear to be—clear proof that what is wanted today in Hanoi is a military victory, not peace, and that Hanoi is not even prepared for discussions unless it is accepted in advance that there will be a Communist-dominated government in Saigon, and unless too—so far as we can deter-

mine—American forces are withdrawn in advance.

So this record is clear. And there is substance in Senator Fulbright's conclusion that "It seems clear that the Communist powers still hope to achieve a complete victory in South Vietnam and for this reason are at present uninterested in negotiations for a peaceful settlement." For the simple truth is that there is no lack of diplomatic procedures, machinery or process by which a desire for peace can be registered—that there is no procedural miracle through which peace can be obtained if one side is determined to continue the war.

As I have said, Hanoi is presently adamant against negotiation or any avenue to peace. Peiping is even more so, and one can plainly read the declared doctrine and purpose of the Chinese Communists. They are looking beyond the current conflict to the hope of domination in all of southeast Asia—and indeed beyond.

But one finds it harder to understand Hanoi's aversion to discussion. More immediately than the Chinese, the North Vietnamese face the costs and dangers of conflict. They, too, must fear the ambitions of Communist China in southeast Asia. Yet they are still on the path of violence, insisting upon the forceful communization of South Vietnam and refusing to let their brothers in the South work out their own destiny in peace.

In recent weeks, after 2 months of reduced activity, the enemy has sharply quickened the tempo of his military action in the South. Since early May, major Vietcong units have returned to the battlefield, and already a series of sharp engagements has shown us that the fighting through the summer may be hard. Setbacks have occurred and serious defeats have been avoided only by the combination of continuing Vietnamese bravery and effective air and other types of support.

Losses on both sides have been heavy. From April first to date, we have had confirmed reports of almost 5,000 Vietcong dead, almost 3,000 South Vietnamese, and almost 100 Americans. We must expect these losses to continue—and our own losses may increase.

ROLE OF U.S. FORCES

Since March we have deployed nine battalions of fighting men to South Vietnam. Six more are on their way. For as the President said in April, "We will not be defeated. We will not grow tired. * * * We will do everything necessary * * * and we will do only what is * * * necessary."

Our own battalions in South Vietnam have three related tasks. Their first assignment was and is to guard such major installations as the airfield at Da Nang. A second and closely related task is that of active patrol in nearby areas. And the third is to join in combat support of Vietnamese forces—when such help is requested and when our commander, General Westmoreland, believes it should be given.

American forces so committed will carry with them the determined support of our people. These men know, as all our people know, that what they do is done for freedom and peace, in Vietnam, in other continents, and here at home.

SUPPORT FOR U.S. ACTION

In authorizing combat missions for our ground forces in Vietnam, the President acted to meet his constitutional responsibilities as Commander in Chief. He has recognized the obligations of this Nation under the Southeast Asia Treaty, which the Senate approved by a vote of 82 to 1. He has acted under the joint resolution of August 1964, which passed the Senate by a vote of 88 to 2—and passed the House with no opposing vote. This resolution expresses our national readiness—as the President determines—"to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States" and "all necessary steps, including the use of armed force" to help Vietnam and southeast Asian members of the SEATO who ask for help to preserve their freedom.

The President has acted on the unanimous advice of the American leaders in Saigon and his senior civil and military advisers in Washington.

He has acted in full consultation with the Government of South Vietnam.

And he has acted on his own considered judgment of what is necessary at this time to stop aggression.

This decision—like all of our decisions in Vietnam—is open to review by Members of the Congress and open to reversal if it does not have their support. But the leaders of the Congress have been kept in close touch with the situation, and no such prospect should stimulate the hopes of enemies or the fears of friends. For America is not divided in her determination nor weak in her will.

In Vietnam today we face one more challenge in the long line of dangers we have, unhappily, had to meet and master for a generation. We have had to show both strength and restraint—courage and coolness—for Iran and for Greece, for Berlin, and for Korea, in the Formosa Strait, and in the Cuban missile crisis. We mean to show the same determination and coolness now.

In 1954 President Eisenhower pledged our support to the Government of Vietnam, to assist that Government, as he put it, "in developing and maintaining a strong, viable state, capable of resisting attempted subversion or aggression through military means." And this determination was reaffirmed again and again by President Kennedy. "We are going to stay here," he said. "We are not going to withdraw from that effort." And that is our position still.

FIRMNESS AND RESTRAINT

Now, as in April, as the President put it, "We will use our power with restraint and with all the wisdom that we can command." For it is others, and not we, who have increased the scale of fighting. It is others, and not we, who have made threats of gravely widened conflict. The firmness with which we resist aggression is matched by the firmness with which we will refrain from ill-advised adventure.

A few—a very few—may believe that unlimited war can take the place of the sustained and steady effort in which we are engaged, just as there may be a few—a very few—who think we should pull out and leave a friendly people to their fate. But the American people want neither rashness nor surrender. They want firmness and restraint. They expect courage and care. They threaten no one. And they are not moved by the threats by others.

ROLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM

This contest centers in the defense of freedom for the people who live in South Vietnam. The sustained and increasing infiltration from North Vietnam has required the measured use of air attack on military targets in the north. We alone cannot determine the future—could we do so there would be a prompt peace. The other side, too, must decide about the future. And we must hope they know—as we do—that increased aggression would be costly far beyond the worth to the aggressor.

The political turmoil in South Vietnam has continued. It is easy to be impatient with our friends in Saigon as they struggle to establish and sustain a stable government under the stress of war. We see there the ferment of a society still learning to be free, even while under attack from beyond their borders.

We must remember that this ancient people is young in its independence, restless in its hopes, divided in its religions, and varied in its regions. The turmoil of Vietnam needs the steadfastness of America. Our friends in Vietnam know, and we know, that our people and our troops must work and fight together. Neither of us can do the work of the other. And the main responsibility must always be with, and is fully accepted by, the South Vietnamese. Yet neither of us can "go it alone." We would not be there without the urgent request for assistance from those whose land this happens to be. We have a tested faith in the enduring bravery of the people of Vietnam, and they, in turn, can count on us with equal certainty.

FORMULA FOR PEACE

The people of Vietnam long for peace. And the way to peace is clear. Yesterday the Foreign Minister of South Vietnam set forth the fundamental principles that can provide a just and enduring peace. Those principles, in summary, are:

An end to aggression and subversion.

Freedom for South Vietnam to choose and shape for itself its own destiny in conformity with democratic principles and without any foreign interference from whatever sources.

As soon as aggression has ceased, the ending of the military measures now necessary by the Government of South Vietnam and the nations that have come to its aid to defend South Vietnam; and the removal of foreign military forces from South Vietnam.

And effective guarantees for the independence and freedom of the people of South Vietnam.

Now these are the fundamental steps. This is what the arguing and the fighting is all about. When they are carried out, we can look forward, as we have stated previously many times, to the day when relations between North Vietnam and South Vietnam can be worked out by peaceful means. And this would include the question of a free decision by the peoples of North and South Vietnam on the matter of reunification.

This forthright and simple program meets the hopes of all and attacks the interests of none. It would replace the threat of conquest by the hope of free and peaceful choice.

A LOOK TO THE FUTURE

And even while these hopes of peace are blocked for now by aggression, we on our side and other nations have reaffirmed our deep commitment to the peaceful progress of Vietnam and southeast Asia as a whole. In April the President proposed to the nations of Asia and to the United Nations that there be constructed a new program of support for Asian efforts and called upon Mr. Eugene Black to assist them. Now in June this work is underway. The Mekong River project has been given new life. A new dam is ready to rise in Laos. A billion-dollar bank is in the making for the development of southeast Asia. And in Vietnam itself new impetus has been given to programs of development and education and health.

So let us call again on other nations—including the Soviet Union—to join in turning this great region of the world away from the waste and violence of a brutal war. For the hope of Asia is not in relentless pressure for conquest. It is in unremitting hope for progress—a progress in which rice production could be multiplied manyfold, where the expectation of life could be doubled, the education of the young could be tenfold what it is today, and there could be an end of cholera and tuberculosis and intestinal parasites and other human afflictions.

In April the President offered determination against aggression, discussion for peace, and development for the human hopes of all. And in June we reaffirm that threefold policy.

Aggression has increased, so that determination must be greater than ever.

Discussion is rejected, but our efforts to find a path to peace will not be stopped. We have welcomed the new initiative of Prime Minister Wilson and the Commonwealth con-

ference and regret that it has received so little reception on the other side.

Beyond the terror of the aggressor and the firmness of our defense, we must, nevertheless, look to the day in which many new dams will be built, and many new schools opened, and fresh opportunities opened to the peoples of southeast Asia. For we must look beyond the battle to peace, past fear to hope, and over the hard path of resistance to the broad plain of progress which must lie ahead for the peoples of southeast Asia.

Philadelphia Enigma—Political Probes by Grand Jury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the July 15, 1965, issue of the Philadelphia Bulletin contained an excellent editorial entitled, "Political Probes by Grand Jury." The questions raised by this editorial are indeed of concern to me, as they are to a great many residents of my State, and I believe other Members of Congress share this interest as well. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLITICAL PROBES BY GRAND JURY

Grand jury investigations, both Federal and county, have been singularly ineffective as inquisitorial bodies in Philadelphia in the last decade. In the nature of things, nearly all have had political overtones, intraparty or interparty, and in the mysterious way of political matters, what seems in the beginning to be a mountain ends up by somehow becoming a molehill as far as results are concerned.

The abrupt ending of the Federal probe of alleged election frauds in the 1964 U.S. Senate Democratic primary is a good example. Chief U.S. District Judge Thomas J. Clary dismissed the jury which had been asked for by the Justice Department when, he said, it was apparent the panel would be unable to elicit any evidence justifying indictments.

The investigation grew out of the primary in which Secretary of Internal Affairs Genevieve Blatt narrowly defeated Supreme Court Judge Michael A. Musmanno, but only after vote recounts showed that Miss Blatt had been defrauded of votes taken from her and credited to Judge Musmanno by division election officials. Miss Blatt was backed by U.S. Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK, and Judge Musmanno by the Democratic Organization, which Senator CLARK often opposes.

There was so much smoke that it seemed there must surely be some fire when the FBI last summer took up the investigation which county, State, and Federal prosecutors had not pursued vigorously. The Justice Department report quoted the FBI as saying that "unquestionably" there had been fraud.

It seems astounding, in view of this, that an investigation costing tens of thousands of dollars has ended in a flop.

Why were the witnesses interviewed by the FBI unable to back up their testimony before the grand jury? How could it be that these trained investigators could report "unquestionable fraud" but that the witnesses' memories are now faulty? Why were only little people called in, and not the party leaders?

These are only a few of the questions that remain unanswered, and they will continue to trouble concerned citizens.

Memorial Rites Pay Tribute to Navy Pilot's Faith

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego Union of July 5, 1965:

MEMORIAL RITES PAY TRIBUTE TO NAVY PILOT'S FAITH

(By Joe Stone)

The sailor with the badge of aviation boatswain's mate second class on his sleeve strode to where Mr. and Mrs. Jess M. Christian stood with family and friends in the shade of a tree in Lindo Lake Park in Lakeside.

"We from the North Island Naval Air Station honor guard," said the sailor, "want, on behalf of all U.S. Navy units and all units of the 7th Fleet afloat, to render you the honors."

With that, the sailor, Artis G. Williams, did a brisk about face and returned to the honor guard.

The silence was brief and was broken only by the sound of Williams' marching feet, but it was time enough to remember other words hurled for the first time at the world 189 years ago.

HISTORIC WORDS

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty."

And because Williams is a Negro, it was impossible not to recall the oft-repeated story of the five sons of Mrs. Bixby who gave their lives for the freedom of his ancestors, and called by Abraham Lincoln 101 years ago in his letter to their mother, "so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom."

Mr. and Mrs. Christian's sacrifice was Lt. (j.g.) Davis H. Christian, 24, their son who died fighting in the belief that the brown men of South Vietnam deserve to know freedom, the kind he knew.

Carter-Smith Post 6867, Veterans of Foreign Wars, sponsored the memorial services for Lieutenant Christian, who died when his A-4 Skyhawk jet was brought down by ground fire June 2 during a mission over North Vietnam and crashed in the ocean.

COMMANDER'S LETTER

Howard Shaff, commander of post 6867, read to the crowd a letter from Comdr. John R. DeWinter, Christian's commanding officer.

It said that Christian had almost single-handedly wiped out North Vietnam radar installations on his fatal mission and had been recommended for the Distinguished Flying Cross.

Twice previously, he had been recommended for the Air Medal, DeWinter wrote.

In his eulogy to the lieutenant, Rev. Orval C. Butcher of Wesleyan Methodist Church, Lemon Grove, read words the young man had written before his death, while flying in combat.

"I wouldn't trade places with anyone."

"I would not feel cheated if my life were taken soon."

"I am once again inspired to the ministry."

"The world is a mess. I still aspire to the ministry."

On the leaves of his Bible:

"This Book is dedicated to rebuilding the personality of man and this goal will be realized, one way or another."

CRITICAL NOTE

A letter written to his parents by Christian and published 2 days after his death had criticized Americans who wanted to abandon South Vietnam to Communist dictatorship.

The letter was tolerant of college students, from whose ranks Christian had been graduated 2 years ago.

"I know how uninformed most of them really are—how they want to be noticed * * *," he said.

TRAITS DESCRIBED

The parents, three sisters, and a brother heard Christian described by John Westrick, principal of Lakeside Junior High School, and Rev. Theodoric E. Roberts, Jr. of Lakeside Community Presbyterian Church, as a student, athlete, singer, musician, and practicing Christian.

The Reverend Mr. Roberts epitomized Christian's love of flying and religious belief with the World War II poem:

"I have slipped the surly bonds of earth * * * and touched the face of God."

Canadian Arts Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the House will soon have an opportunity to vote on a bill (H.R. 9460) creating a National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities. The bill was reported on July 14.

In the Washington Post for July 18 there was a timely article, written in connection with the appearance of Canadian dance companies at Carter Barron, describing the splendid work of the Canadian Arts Council, which helps support the creative and performing arts in Canada with financial grants. Our present arts council, created by Public Law 88-579, has no authority to make grants. Recognizing that a grant program is necessary in order to permit the arts and the humanities to flourish, the National Council on the Arts, at its initial meeting early this spring, adopted a resolution approving the present legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I include as a part of my remarks, the article on the Canadian Arts Council which appeared in yesterday's Washington Post:

CANADIAN COUNCIL BOOSTING DANCE

(By Jean Battey)

Two Canadian dance companies will be seen here this summer at Carter Barron: Les Feux Follets, a Canadian folk dance group, open a week's engagement Monday evening and the National Ballet of Canada will start its 2-week stand August 2.

Both groups are examples in action of the tremenduos impetus to the arts generated by Canada's 9-year-old Canada Council.

With this country's National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities close to a reality it is particularly interesting to look at the Canadian Government's deep involvement in the arts. President Johnson's bill to establish a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities has passed the Senate, is in the House Rules Committee now and will probably pass the House within a month.

As William Rice pointed out on these pages several weeks ago, the experience of the British Council as a patron of the arts does much to allay our fears that Federal aid to the arts will mean Federal control of the arts.

The story of the Canada Council is an even more dramatic example of the point, since the council was formed at a time when the country was, in the opinion of many Canadians, close to being a cultural wasteland. As a result the Canada Council has played a more dominant role in the development of cultural organizations in Canada than any government agency would conceivably play in this country. In addition the Government plays a comparatively larger part in aid to the arts than it will in this country with its large and active foundations.

The Canada Council was the principal recommendation of the historic Massey Commission report of 1951, which took a long, hard look at the state of the arts in Canada.

The Commission also emphasized the problems raised by Canada's geography: "In Canada all national gatherings are costly in time and money; yet our regionalism makes them doubly necessary."

Formed by the Government in 1957 with an initial endowment of $100 million (and other responsibilities besides the arts), the Council plays angel to cultural organizations at a rate of over $1 million a year. This amount was doubled a couple of months ago with an additional $10 million grant to be spent over the next 4 years.

The Council's functioning seems close to ideal. It is not answerable to politicians for its decisions and it has never been accused of censoring the artists whom it supports. Indeed, so brilliantly has it done its job of allocating its limited funds that even though it has to turn down three out of four worthy requests it has earned the admiration of the artistic community.

Cognizant of the suspicion which attends Government patronage of the arts, the Council noted in one of its annual reports: "In North America, where state control of the arts is viewed with the apprehension which might greet an outbreak of the bubonic plague, matters have been left more in private hands."

In another report the Council notes that it has been scrupulous to avoid any suspicion that its grants might influence editorial policy and adds, wryly, "Having corresponded regularly with a number of editors of magazines we have helped we are not seriously concerned on this score and we have already collected a handsome number of examples of editorial independence."

This past winter 100 leaders in the arts met in a Laurentian winter resort at the invitation of Canada's unofficial minister of culture, Maurice Lamontagne—whose official title is Secretary of State.

This meeting, called Seminar '65, produced a discussion of all aspects of the arts and singled out the Canada Council for praise, saying, "The fairness with which it has awarded grants has earned it a high regard in the artistic community, a community not noted for charity when it comes to sharing funds."

The Council has not been content merely to be fair. It has actively set about discovering needs and doing something about them; it has made clearcut policy decisions which have tended, over the years, to put increasing emphasis on supporting a few really strong cultural institutions of outstanding quality rather than a number of mediocre ones. This has perhaps been necessary where standards of excellence are still to be achieved and where an opera company, a symphony orchestra, or a ballet internationally recognized as first rank is a goal for the future.

Further, the Council has not tried, in the way of governmentese, to balance its individual grants by regions and by arts. As one of its directors put it, "We don't care if 60 percent of the people who do best are violinists from the city of Toronto."

The Massey report, which was the prime mover in Canada's venture into Federal aid to the arts, begins by noting Canada's cultural debt to this country. It comments, "Culturally we have feasted on the bounty of our neighbors and then we ask plaintively what is wrong with our progress in the arts."

In return we have much to learn about government assistance from Canada because of its experience and success in helping the arts without hampering them.

Labor Peacemaker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL J. KREBS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. KREBS. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, July 11, the newspapers throughout the Nation published an article written by Raymond Crowley of the Associated Press, regarding the excellent work of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service and its Director, William E. Simkin. The public is often unaware of the fine role of this agency and its Director in the resolution of disputes which otherwise may have resulted in strikes and in limiting the duration of strikes which have occurred.

I am including this article in the RECORD so that more citizens can become acquainted with the quietly efficient peacemaking role of Mr. Simkin and his small staff of fellow mediators in helping to resolve industrial conflicts in this country:

LABOR PEACEMAKER—CHIEF MEDIATOR HAS PRESCRIPTION

(By Raymond J. Crowley)

WASHINGTON.—The role of the peacemaker is known to be perilous. He often gets clobbered by both sides.

But big Bill Simkin, a 6-foot-1-inch Quaker weighing 220 pounds, has never been clobbered. Never even threatened with violence in about a quarter century as arbitrator or mediator of hot labor disputes.

William E. Simkin, 58, onetime schoolteacher and university instructor, is now director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, a band of some 260 mediators.

It is important to understand how they work—important to get the inside story, for example, of how Simkin recently staved off a steel strike, for at the present, a maritime strike is in effect and contracts are running out in the aerospace industries (rockets, missiles, and planes).

Federal mediators are really powerless, except for the power that comes from their reputation for integrity, impartiality, know-how, and the capacity to listen endlessly.

It is true the law says that contending parties battling over a new contract must notify the mediation service before resorting to strike or lockout. But after a mediator moves in on the problem, the quarreling parties could invite him to get out, and there would be nothing he could do. He can suggest, but must do no dictating.

How did Simkin fend off a steel strike? Here's the lowdown (not provided by him):

It is evident now that neither side wanted a steel strike. But in April 1965, this was not so evident. The parties were yammering at each other and things looked gruesome.

So Simkin missed his Easter dinner. Flying to Pittsburgh, he renewed acquaintance with the negotiators, studied the situation in detail, conferred endlessly with both sides.

Finally, he locked himself in his hotel room with the feeling that events might be drifting toward disaster. In longhand, he wrote a piece of paper, starting off with a preamble. The strike deadline of May 1, was too close, he reasoned, to settle all the thorny issues.

Why not postpone the crisis to September 1, meantime agreeing to put in escrow, subject to further bargaining, a certain increase for the workers. Here the paper had a blank on it.

The last thing a mediator wants to do is suggest a figure to put in a blank like that. The idea is to get the parties to agree on a figure by themselves. But Simkin said that, if pressed mercilessly, he would recommend a figure. He knew by that time pretty well just what each side would settle for, but of course he was barred by the mediator's creed from divulging his information without permission from his source.

At one point R. Conrad Cooper, of the United States Steel Corp., chief industry negotiator, sounded Simkin out on what figure he would recommend.

Without cracking a smile, Simkin said: "Well, it won't be more than 20 cents an hour."

Cooper must have recoiled inwardly at this, because the union had offered to settle for 17.9 cents.

Simkin, of course, used similar tactics on the union.

The upshot was that the parties got together at a martini session in the Duquesne Club, something like the Union League Club, and agreed on 11.5 cents.

Simkin has thought up a description of an ideal mediator—an impossible standard because there never has been such a personality. "But we can try," he says.

Here is his prescription:

"The patience of Job, the sincerity and bulldog characteristics of the English, the wit of the Irish, the physical endurance of a marathon runner, the broken-field dodging abilities of a halfback, the guile of a Machiavelli, the confidence-retaining characteristics of a mute, the hide of a rhinoceros, and the wisdom of Solomon."

Currently Simkin is putting much emphasis on preventive medicine—some sort of joint management-union setup in an industry to handle disputes as they arise.

* * * * *

Simkin got a sort of insight into his own powers by overhearing a dialogue years ago in a restroom. At the age of 32, he was on his first case as a private arbitrator. During a recess he accidentally overheard a couple of the union men discussing him.

"I don't know," one said dubiously. "That arbitrator seems awful young to handle a case like this. I don't think he's dry behind the ears."

"Well," the other said philosophically, "at least he's a big son-of-a-gun."

So Simkin reasons that down through the years his bulk has kept him out of trouble.

Simkin was born in Merrifield N.Y. He got his education at Earlham College, Rich-

mond, Ind., Columbia University, and the University of Pennsylvania.

During the depression he worked 5 years for the American Friends Service Committee in West Virginia, helping train unemployed miners to make furniture.

When Arthur J. Goldberg, then Secretary of Labor and now a Supreme Court Justice, twisted his arm to head the mediation service in 1961, Simkin took a cut in the income he had been making as a private arbitrator. The cut was bigger than he knew at the time.

When he asked Goldberg casually how much the job paid, Goldberg said "Oh, 25." Simkin thought that mean $25,000, but it turned out it meant $20,500.

Simkin is married to the former Ruth Commons of Richmond, Ind., and has two sons. His hobby is woodworking. He built furniture for his house in Wallingford, Pa., and he and his sons built part of the house. With a grin, he said:

"I have scabbed shamelessly on the construction trades."

Section 14(b) Serves as a Restraint Upon the Ruthless, Unscrupulous Labor Leaders and Protects the Individual Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL C. JONES

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, early this year I stated that I was opposed to the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, and that as a matter of principle I would vote against any bill which seeks to repeal this section of the law. Many people, including no doubt a majority of the members of the several unions operating in the 10th District, cannot understand why I have taken this position inasmuch as Missouri does not have a right-to-work law. In responding to letters, from union members, urging me to change my position, I have prepared the following form letter, which sets forth briefly why I have taken this position. Incidentally, I have had many letters and calls from captive members, stating that while they cannot publicly express their views, due to fears of reprisal from their union leaders, they are in accord with my views, as set forth herewith:

DEAR FRIENDS: This will acknowledge your communication, asking that I support the repeal of section 14(b).

Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act is the last remaining restraint upon those labor leaders, some of whom have demonstrated their desire to exercise dictatorial powers over the members of their unions. This section does provide protection to the individual member, and while this section has no direct effect on union members in Missouri, the fact that it does remain in the law and is effective in some 19 States, serves as a protection to all workers in Missouri.

As I have stated repeatedly, the union worker in Missouri is not adversely affected by section 14(b), but if it is repealed, it is my opinion that not only he, but the entire public would be adversely affected; the unscrupulous union leader would be unleashed and the rights of the individual union member would be further jeopardized. Good unions which are being fairly operated in the best interests of their members do not need the repeal of section 14(b), and the others should continue to be restrained by this section, if for no other reason than to protect the interests of the individual members of the union, many of whom are captive members who do not condone or approve of many of the tactics used by irresponsible leaders who use coercive methods in extracting dues and other payments which are not necessary in the operation of the legitimate union.

In closing may I state again that I believe I am representing the views of a majority of my constituents in opposing the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, and this includes many members, if not a majority of the members of the several unions in the 10th District.

Respectfully yours,

PAUL C. JONES,
Member of Congress.

Harassing of Citizens Increasing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego Union of July 4, 1965:

[From San Diego Union, July 4, 1965]

HARASSING OF CITIZENS INCREASING

(By Edith K. Roosevelt)

A host of harassments has developed in America around the average private citizen in a manner that has never been known before in our society. Unless counteracted, every American will become nothing more than the puppet of his omnipotent Government.

Bureaucratic abuses of power is the subject of an especially important investigation underway by the Senate Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure, whose chairman is Senator EDWARD V. LONG, Democrat, of Missouri. Every American should read "Invasions of Privacy," the first volume of the hearings now available from the subcommittee.

"The average citizen is left standing naked and bare when someone wants to find out something about him," Subcommittee Chief Counsel Bernard Fensterwald told this writer.

In elaborating on the raw power possessed by Government agencies, he said records available to the Bureau of Internal Revenue include access to a citizen's insurance company forms, credit bureau records, bank records and private, personal, and canceled checks.

Unknown to most citizens, income tax records may be inspected at the pleasure of any government agency, Federal, State or local, Fensterwald informed me. A veritable army of big brothers may know your religion by looking over your charitable contributions, the state of your health by scanning your medical deductions, who your employers are and were, your marital status and the number of dependents you have—in short, a virtual life history.

As part of the system used in building up dossiers by the Bureau of Internal Revenue, Americans can be required to answer inquiries about what money their friends and acquaintances have and other questions posed by revenue agents. If through a sense of honor you conceal what you know and do not tattle, you are actually liable to criminal prosecution.

Of course, no reasonable person would deny the need for investigatory powers by Government agencies where criminal or subversive acts are involved. However, the subcommittee has collected countless instances from irate citizens all over the country who have been harassed by Federal agencies or victimized by extra legal procedures used by investigators.

One case in the subcommittee files involves a crusading editor of a weekly newspaper. He was subjected to a 6-month investigation by seven agents from the Bureau of Internal Revenue which involved more than 3,000 manpower hours of queries and examination of his personal files. Apparently his only crime was to write a series of editorials that were unfriendly to some of the agencies practices.

The Government agents have failed to find that the editor has paid insufficient taxes. Nonetheless, this executive has suffered great personal anguish and uncertainty, inconvenience, and the loss of his valuable time. This correspondent obtained the name of the editor and spoke to him by telephone but he asked me not to use his name because the inquiry is still going on.

It would be a fine thing if permanent subcommittees were established in both the House and Senate to keep continual watch over the steady encroachment on individual freedom by the Government. This process embraces the establishment of more and more agencies and bureaus which act as prosecutor, jury, and judge.

Day of Trinity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, July 16, was the 20th anniversary of the first successful explosion of an atomic bomb.

July 16, 1945, marked the culmination of an extensive program begun even before the assault on Pearl Harbor. The program brought many of the finest military, scientific, and administrative men in America to work together in close contact and cooperation, for this was the beginning of the intimate alliance between our Government and the leaders of industry and science, to guide and promote the use of atomic energy.

Lansing Lamont presents the factual history of that atomic bomb program in his book "The Day of Trinity." But even more, he has captured the drama and uncertainty that pervaded this period, where mankind stepped up to a new plateau of greater self-potential and self-destruction.

Mr. Lamont has worked the thousands of day-by-day steps in the development of the atomic bomb into a story of emotion, hope, and humor. This is indeed an historical work of the highest merit. It reveals the characters of the men involved, the complexities of the problem they faced, and the decisions they made.

On this 20th anniversary of the occasion when man first unleashed the power

of the atom on the lonely desert in New Mexico, Lansing Lamont deserves high acclaim. He has recorded the story of the atomic bomb for the readers of this generation and future generations. "The Day of Trinity," I am sure, will soon be recognized as one of the finest books of the year.

The Inconsistent "Bread Tax"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial that occurred in the New York Journal of Commerce on July 7, 1965, has been called to my attention by a constituent. I feel it is an excellent summary of the present situation concerning the proposed farm program and herewith insert it in the RECORD for the information of my colleagues in the House of Representatives.

It is no secret that the administration's farm program is in considerable trouble, as it should be in the light of what it is. As more people understand what it is the more trouble is likely to build up. Two big contributions to understanding so far this year comprised an article last January in the Saturday Review by Kermit Gordon, formerly Director of the Budget. This is amplified and improved upon, if that is possible, by extended comment by the First National City Bank of New York in its July monthly letter.

Mr. Gordon, it will be recalled, said that farm policies should be shaped more closely to the facts of today's world and made the telling point that 80 percent of our farm assistance goes to 1 million farmers whose average annual income exceeds $9,500; the other 20 percent is spread thinly among the 2.5 million farmers whose income is lower.

The First National City's attack is mainly against the wheat section of the program which it describes as a welfare program in reverse, improving the lot of relatively well-to-do farmers while reducing the income of lower income consumers. Particularly assailed is the administration proposal to hike the price of domestic marketing certificates to $1.25 a bushel for wheat consumed domestically (the 25-cent export certificates would be dropped). Since the domestic marketing certificate now is 75 cents, the hike would produce a price rise to $2.50 a bushel from $2 for producers.

The certificates represent a processing tax that flour millers and bakers have to pay. It is a kind of excise tax and has been called a bread tax, since it adds to the cost and price of bread. For 1966, it is calculated that it will yield $625 million.

This amount, as the City Bank points out, is more than the $618 million combined yield of the excise taxes, just repealed, on furs, jewelry, toilet preparations, luggage, photographic equipment, coin-operated amusement devices, bowling alleys, and pool tables. It is rather incongruous for an administration warring on poverty to substitute what is in effect a tax on bread for so-called luxury taxes and to tax the basic farm price about 100 percent, while the excise taxes repealed were at a rate of 10 to 20 percent of price.

The wheat or bread tax, since it must raise the price of bread a cent or two a pound loaf, appears to collide head on with the President's promise of income tax cuts for "those taxpayers who now live in the shadow of poverty" and is also bad in that it increases a food cost. Even States which impose sales taxes tend to exempt food. To do anything by Government action to raise the price of food accelerates the slowly rising consumer price index, which in turn adds to wage pressures.

It is more or less beside the point for Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman to minimize the impact of the proposed programs for wheat and rice by saying that they would raise the cost of foods for a family of four by only 3.6 cents a week or $1.87 a year and that, besides, the take home pay of the average family has increased, along with increased purchasing power derived through the expanded food stamp program.

Any deliberate increase in prices to be paid by the poor is inconsistent with relieving poverty by Government largesse; furthermore it is inconsistent to give food to less fortunate consumers and compel other more fortunate ones to pay a 100-percent bread tax so that farmers, especially the wealthier ones, should be subsidized. It is Alice in Wonderland stuff.

Not the least valid of the criticisms of the bread tax, or processing levy, is that it shifts from the Federal budget to consumers a portion of the cost of the farm program and thereby makes it possible to show a reduction in the federally budgeted cost of the farm program. Actually a portion of the cost is being merely redistributed and "hidden," not reduced. To channel all costs through the Federal budget, as was recently testified by a witness for the American Bakers Association and the Cracker Manufacturers Association, "would be far more forthright and honest."

As we have often pointed out, commodity programs have cost the Government some $4 billion a year on an average, have accomplished little of value and for the most part reflect bygone thinking. One of the best illustrations of absurdities in them was the recent statement in behalf of the administration that the feed grain stocks had been reduced by 30 million tons in the past 4 years. Charles B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, was quick to point out that this achievement cost $3.7 billion, or $3.65 a bushel for the number of bushels involved.

As the city bank says, instead of producing food at reasonable and stable prices, food prices would be raised by the changes proposed in the farm program. Instead of a more effective free market system mentioned by the President, farmers would face the same old controls and rigged markets. And instead of liberalizing international farm trade as we have been trying to do in negotiations in Geneva, we are proposing to reduce the differences between our farm system and the protectionist system of the Common Market of which this country has been so critical. It all does not seem to make sense, not even to Congress.

George McLain

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the passing of George McLain, chairman of the California League of Senior Citizens and the National League of Senior Citizens, has robbed California and the country of a courageous leader. In his consistent advocation of health care for the elderly, he proved a dedicated exponent. It is no small tribute to his efforts that medicare is soon to become a reality, and I am glad he lived to see both Houses of Congress take this giant step in the field of social and humanitarian legislation.

George McLain was often a controversial figure and I was not always in agreement with him; yet, it is incontestible that he did a great deal to benefit his people. His close work with the California State Legislature greatly helped the passage of many important pieces of social legislation aiding the blind and the aged to improve their opportunities. Known nationally for these efforts, he worked more than 25 years in this constant cause.

George McLain leaves a legacy of leadership that will be remembered by all who are working to improve the lot of our senior citizens. As a Californian and as an American, he led with distinction and with courage.

The Late Adlai E. Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, Adlai E. Stevenson, another great son of the great State of Illinois, has passed on.

I met him as he entered the political arena in 1947. We campaigned together, he for the governorship and I for the general assembly. To meet him was to be impressed immediately with the warmth of his personality, the wit and wisdom of a great intellectual.

I knew him as the distinguished Governor of our State. His untiring efforts and indefinable ability to read and understand character caused him to gather around him in public service the finest, ablest and most dedicated servants in the public interest of the State. His cultural approach to the needs of his people enabled him to have the legislative assistance that brought to the State of Illinois one of the finest and most efficient establishments of public welfare ever enjoyed.

I knew him when he took on a national image and an endeavor to seek the highest office within this great land. And we all marvelled at his ability to accept the democratic will of the people of this Nation. Nowhere in the world can any man compare with Mr. Stevenson in the manner of accepting circumstances of the moment and in preparing to challenge the future. With undying spirit and deep emotion he accepted the subsequent challenges to achieve that high office and when this was not to be, he gave the utmost of his intellect, wit, wisdom and cultural abilities for the benefit of all mankind.

Although deeply saddened by the sudden death of its great son, Illinois stands ever proud to have given to the Nation and to the world this dedicated public

servant whose graceful eloquence, intellectual approach and effective endeavors gave to the troubled world assurance and confidence that men can live together in peace if they are inclined to deliberate rather than wage war.

May God in His heaven hold out His benevolent hand to a great servant of all mankind.

Gen. Bruce C. Clarke

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT C. McEWEN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of Congress to an honor being bestowed upon a distinguished military leader, Gen. Bruce C. Clarke, an outstanding New Yorker and prominent native of the 31st Congressional District. A new high school building in Jefferson County, N.Y., will be named after General Clarke, to serve the communities of Adams and Adams Center.

An article and an editorial on General Clarke from the Jefferson County Journal of Adams, N.Y., follow:

BOARD VOTES TO NAME NEW SCHOOL FOR GENERAL CLARKE: WILL BE CALLED GEN. BRUCE C. CLARKE BUILDING

The new Adams Center-Adams Central High School building on Route 11 will be named the Gen. Bruce C. Clarke building in honor of the distinguished Adams native who rose from private in the National Guard to become a four star general and World War II leader.

The Adams Center-Adams School Board of Education passed the resolutions to name the new building after General Clarke on Monday, May 3. The resolution reads as follows: "Resolved, that the new high school building be named the Gen. Bruce C. Clarke Building, subject to General Clarke's approval, and in turn the other buildings of the district (Adams school, Rodman and Adams Center) are to be given suitable names after a period of study.

It is understood that General Clarke was highly pleased when the board's action was made known. He was at the new school recently for a meeting with committee members in charge of arrangements to display his war records in a special room at the school. General Clarke has given the school all of his records, medals, citations, and other priceless mementos gathered during a 40-year career.

The Journal was first to announce publicly its endorsement for renaming the new school in honor of General Clarke, followed last year by Don Round Post, No. 586, American Legion of Adams. Many in the area had considered renaming the school in honor of General Clarke as a fitting tribute to the wartime leader.

BORN IN ADAMS

General Clarke was born near Adams on April 29, 1901, the son of Matthew John and Isola Veneta (Stevens) Clarke. His father was a dairy farmer. Born sixth in a family of nine children, he had four older brothers, an older sister, a younger brother, and two younger sisters.

He attended school here, and after World War I, completed high school at Masten Park High School, Buffalo.

Enlisting in the Regular Army at the age of 17, he served a part of World War I as a private in the Coast Artillery Corps. On January 5, 1920, he joined the New York National Guard in the grade of private first class and, shortly thereafter, was advanced to the grade of corporal. While a member of the New York National Guard, he was attending Masten Park High School and being interested in a military career took the competitive examinations seeking appointment to West Point. He scored high in the exam and won an appointment.

General Clarke entered the U.S. Military Academy on July 1, 1921, and 4 years later graduated 33d in a class of 246 with a bachelor of science degree.

In a traditional West Point Graduation Day wedding, he married Miss Bessie Jean Mitchell, of Buffalo. The Clarkes have three sons, an adopted daughter, and seven grandchildren. David Arthur Clarke, their second son graduated from West Point in 1958.

MANY COMMANDS

In summary, perhaps the salient feature of General Clarke's career has been his great and varied experience in command. He has commanded a squad, a platoon, a company, two combat engineer battalions, a brigade, two armored combat commands, the 4th and 1st Armored Divisions, I Corps, X Corps (Group) the 8th U.S. Army, the U.S. Army, Pacific, the 7th U.S. Army, Europe, and the Central Army Group of NATO which in time of war would be composed of German, French, and U.S. Army forces in central Europe.

In over 17 years as a general officer, General Clarke has served 14 command assignments. As field commander, he has had under his command, British, Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, French, German, Indian, Colombian, Dutch, Ethiopian, Thai, Belgian, Korean, Luxembourg, Turkish, Hellenic, Philippine, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, and Italian as well as U.S. soldiers.

General Clarke has served as president of the National Executive Council, Boy Scouts of America, and now is a director of several large corporations.

General Clarke's sister, Mrs. Mary Clarke Griffin, resides in Adams as well as his sister-in-law, Mrs. Allan Clarke, widow of the late mayor of Adams. Donald Clarke, son of the late Mr. Clarke and Mrs. Allan Clarke, a lieutenant colonel in the Air Force, is a graduate of Adams High School in 1934. He is stationed at Travis Air Force Base, Calif.

GENERAL CLARKE SCHOOL

It is highly commendable that the Adams Center-Adams Central School Board of Education has seen fit to name the new high school building in honor of Gen. Bruce Cooper Clarke.

Sometimes when we have a native son who becomes famous, we are slow to recognize him, while other sections of the Nation are more cognizant of their achievements. General Clarke, as a World War II and postwar leader, has probably done more to assure the freedom of this Nation than most of his contemporaries. In the midst of the bloodiest battles of World War II, his command stood firm in the Battle of the Bulge at a time when our Nation's future stood in the balance.

The four-star general, who in his early youth attended school in Adams, commanded troops in Korea, all Army forces in the Pacific area, the 7th Army in Germany, and all Army troops in the United States. In 1960 he became commander in chief of all U.S. Army forces in Europe. As a general he achieved unusual balance between logic and the use of new ideas, which has kept this Nation strong.

General Clarke has been a teacher. He was assistant professor of military science and tactics and responsible for engineer branch training for 4 years at the University of Tennessee. In February 1948 General Clarke was assigned as the assistant commandant of the U.S. Army Armored School at Fort Knox, Ky.

During his service, General Clarke spent more time in direct contact with troop units, and commanded more soldiers of different nations as their field commander than has any other U.S. Army officer. In 17 years as a general officer he served in 14 command assignments.

He has 41 decorations from this and foreign nations, honoring his military service. These and other records, mementos and war citations, have been given to Adams Center-Adams Central School by General Clarke.

The Legislature of the State of New York in 1962 passed a resolution honoring General Clarke on his service to our country over a span of 44 years. The Transatlantic Council of the Boy Scouts of America awarded General Clarke the Silver Buffalo, the highest award in scouting in April 1962, at Garmisch, Germany.

It seems a small honor, indeed, that we now name our new high school for this native son who has not only completed (on Apr. 30, 1962), one of the most brilliant military careers in history, but has also been a lifelong student and teacher.

A Commitment To Fulfill—National Unity Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, national unity is important at all times but it is especially important today as we face the armed aggression of Communists in southeast Asia.

The Nashville Banner, a daily newspaper published in Nashville, Tenn., in an editorial July 14 last, succintly and eloquently makes the case for unity and for the determined effort we must make to demonstrate that this Nation will stand by its friends against Communist aggression.

I ask uaninmous consent that this editorial will be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, believing it will be of widespread interest to the Nation.

The editorial follows:

PRESIDENT SUMMARIZED IT: A COMMITMENT TO FULFILL

President Johnson yesterday went as far as he advisedly could go in appraisal of the situation in Vietnam, and in candid acknowledgment of the prospect for "new and serious decisions" necessary to meet increased Communist aggresion there.

In a word, there were assurances Gen. William C. Westmoreland would be given whatever it takes to fulfill this Nation's commitments; and he spelled out again the fact that, as U.S. Commander, Westmoreland has authority to use American forces in "ways he considers most effective."

That stipulation does reassure. What it should mean is that, in the middle of a war to which these forces have been sent, they are to be neither sitting ducks for an enemy's target practice, nor the pawns of overriding political considerations. General Westmoreland knows war, and how to win it. And when war is joined, it must be won.

The President was engaging in no belligerent gestures; he was summarizing facts—

chief of which was that the Vietcong has intensified its aggression. Though in different language, he was reiterating the declaration of State Secretary Dean Rusk that the enemy will enjoy no privileged sanctuary in this war. That in itself is a telling—and welcome—change of format for U.S. operations in Asia; a necessity learned at frightful cost in the Korean affair.

In truth the United States has commitments in Vietnam—made long before Mr. Johnson became President. Circumstantially, they came under major test with the decision, when the Vietcong launched its assault from the north, to fulfill them.

There were those, including this newspaper, with misgivings about those commitments—considering the Asiatic chaos of which that crisis was born—but once the showdown came as a conflict between communism and freedom, the United States had no acceptable alternative to the course chosen. It could not fulfill commitments by retreat.

It must win.

President Johnson yesterday presented these facts clearly, and his message of determinination was beamed to the world. It could not have failed to register in Hanoi, Peiping, and Moscow, and in whatever other capitals Communist leadership needed notification that in this confrontation the United States means business.

The bulk of American opinion stands with the Chief Executive on the policy enunciated though nervous nellies shudder at the sight of policy not garbed in appeasement robes, and beatniks now prowl streets and campuses recruiting for rebellion at home.

The rest of the Nation stands up to be counted, with the President in reaffirming the integrity of America's pledged word—and with the thousands of its sons who already are on the firing line where that commitment puts them. They deserve their country's best; whatever it takes of manpower, material, and strategy—intelligently directed—to win.

That is national unity; the item in which America never has been lacking in time of military crisis.

By the very character of the enemy, there is no choice. Nor, when showdown is inevitable, is anything gained—much can be lost—by procrastination.

Appeasement compounds more than folly. It multiplies the eventual cost to be exacted when, permitted to grow by incessant brushfire wars, territory and striking power gained by long sufferance, the unappeasable starts raining bombs far beyond the range of its present reach.

In forecasting new and serious decisions, and relying on a united Nation to help execute them when they are as clearly imperative as in the present case, the President is right.

Community of Wilkes-Barre Supports Captive Nations Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, as you know, on this Wednesday the House will hold a program in full recognition of this week, Captive Nations Week, under the provisions of Public Law 86-90, and it will be my privilege and honor to again serve as chairman of Wednesday's program in this chamber.

In the edition of Saturday, July 17, 1965, in its lead editorial, the Wilkes-Barre Times Leader, the largest newspaper in my congressional district, had some thoughtful and penetrating comments to make with respect to the captive nations and the observance of Captive Nations Week.

As part of my comments today and in anticipation of our program on Wednesday, I would like to have the text of that editorial printed at this point.

The editorial follows:

THIS COMMUNITY BACKS CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

Announcement that Representative DANIEL J. FLOOD will be honored at the annual dinner of the Assembly of Captive European Nations in Washington on July 21 calls attention to the important contribution this community has made and is making to the observance of Captive Nations Week and the cause of freedom.

Representative FLOOD, who is an honorary member of the Captive Nations Committee, has been active in the movement for years as chairman of the program in the House of Representatives calling attention to the plight of enslaved countries and their suffering people. Thus, the struggle for liberation is kept alive with official recognition from our Government, including a proclamation by the President of the United States.

Representative FLOOD is one of a large number of local residents identified with the committee. They include Attorney Charles Rozmarek, president of the Polish National Alliance and of the Polish American Congress with headquarters in Chicago; Stephen Tkach, president of the Pennsylvania Slovak Catholic Union; Peter Paul Olszewski, Wilkes-Barre attorney and prominent figure among Americans of Polish extraction; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Joseph V. Miliauskas, Scranton, formerly of Duryea and Pittston; Rev. Andrew P. Maloney, Pittston; and Victor C. Diehm, Hazleton, among others.

The championship of captive nations by the United States is understandable. It is not just because of our leadership of the free world; equally important is the fact that America is a melting pot and its people have their roots in countries now enslaved. Our greatness is due to the contribution succeeding generations of immigrants have made to the Nation's progress.

The submerged nations of Europe and Asia now look to the United States as their last hope of liberation and independence. That is why Captive Nations Week is not just another observance; it is a challenge that we must meet if we are to fulfill our obligations and protect our own interests. So long as one of these countries is enslaved, our own liberty and security are in danger.

It is fitting that we reassure the world annually at this time that the struggle goes on. In view of what is transpiring currently in Vietnam and elsewhere our responsibilities and opportunities are increasing.

Tribute to Adlai Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the news of Adlai Stevenson's death leaves us stunned and saddened.

This great and gentle man did much to enliven and enrich the public discussion of our time. No American politician in this century was ever to shape a phrase with more telling intellectual effect. No man did more to raise the level and improve the quality of our political dialog. As a sane yet eloquent voice in an age of danger and discontent, he will be sorely missed.

I am proud to say that it was my privilege to know the Governor from the days of campaigning together in 1952 and 1956. I vividly recall the off-campus speech which he made at the west gate of the University of California where thousands listened to his exhortations for a society that would deal with the modern world instead of living in a state of national delusion.

I recall him again in Albany, Calif., and the wit and good humor with which he addressed a group of citizens, many of whom were committed to his opponent.

It is significant, I think, to remind ourselves that he spoke on issues which were frequently untried and untested. Yet the genius of the man was that he lived to see many of them accepted and espoused by others.

It was at the United Nations, however, where Ambassador Stevenson made what historians perhaps will consider to be his greatest and most lasting contributions. His dedication to the cause of justice and of peace; his concern for freedom, for human dignity, and for rational discussion in a nuclear age, will live on long past the life-span of any single man. The United Nations itself is a stronger force for the causes he and we hold dear because he served it faithfully and well.

His passing at this time is particularly cruel for seldom has he been needed more in the councils of the nations. But we are fortunate to have had his rare talents at all. Men like him do not cross the public threshold often and we are richer for his presence.

Let us then pay him the tribute he so much deserves. Let us take up the tasks he can no longer continue. Let us make the world a better place for all its citizens and a greater treasure for our children.

Anticollective Bargaining Bias of 14(b) Supporters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. THOMPSON on New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest analyses of the issues involved in the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, stripping the emotional arguments bare, is that of Mr. Hobart Rowen in his column, Economic Impact, published in the business and financial page of the Washington Post of July 19.

Mr. Rowen is a distinguished Washington observer, who for years has been recognized as a keen interpreter of financial and economic happenings as a member of the Washington staff of Newsweek.

Mr. Rowen suggests that opponents of repeal "ought to quite shadowboxing, and

say forthrightly they are losing valuable sleep over the question of individual liberty."

Supporting this thesis is the testimony of Dr. Frederick Fowler, a clergyman, who appeared before the Special Subcommittee on Labor as the board chairman of the National Right-To-Work Committee, which has spearheaded the effort to retain section 14(b). In response to a series of direct questions put by the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. SICKLES], Dr. Fowler made these admissions:

An individual should bargain individually for wages, hours, and conditions of employment.

The employer has a privileged position to hire, if he chooses, only those who will or who will not join a union.

An employee is free to work in an unsafe area if he wants to. "A man has the freedom to be lousy if he wants to."

A man has the individual freedom to work for any wage, even though a law may be established setting up minimum wages.

All of these positions, Dr. Fowler told us, are based upon a moral principle, as found in Christian teaching.

Mr. Speaker, I include Mr. Rowan's article as a part of my remarks, and commend it to the attention of my colleagues. I also suggest that my colleagues read the colloquy between the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. SICKLES] and Dr. Fowler, appearing on pages 317, 318, and 319, of part 1 of the hearings.

Mr. Rowen's article follows:

[From the Washington Post, July 19, 1965]

SMOKESCREENS OBSCURE RIGHT-TO-WORK ISSUE

(By Hobart Rowen)

The battle over repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act—those unfortunate few words that allow an individual State to ban the union shop—is about to be resumed, this time on the House floor. The public will thus be treated again to an appealing amount of hokum and buncombe on this issue.

Those individuals and organizations that want to preserve the right-to-work laws permitted by section 14(b) ought to quit shadowboxing, and say forthrightly that they're against the whole idea of labor unions.

Right or wrong, at least that position would end the pretense that they are losing valuable sleep over the question of individual liberty.

At the present time, 19 States have taken advantage of section 14(b) by prohibiting any agreement between an employer and a union specifying membership in a union as a condition of employment. Even if a company and a union should desire a union shop, it would be illegal in these 19 States.

But while the chamber of commerce and others weep crocodile tears about the loss of liberty in the other 31 States, the basic motive of the right-to-work crowd is to attract industry with the promise of cheap, nonunion labor.

And as the AFL–CIO has ably documented, the less respectable of the antiunion band have a close alliance with the ultraright-wing John Birch types, whose bias on this score is merely one aspect of a longer record of antiquated, antisocial, 19th century prejudices.

Organizations like the chamber, which are eminently respectable, if behind the times, fail to see the inconsistency between their avowed support of the principle of collective bargaining and their demand for continuance of section 14(b).

They are saying, in effect, that an employer should have to bargain with his workers (that's what collective bargaining means)—provided they haven't formed an effective union. If one can make sense out of the chamber position, it is that employers should strive to return to that nostalgic era when they could deal with their employees individually.

Well, maybe it would be nice—the way some people look at it—to do without unions. But the chamber better forget it, and take a look at the calendar. It is 1965.

Most of the really influential leaders of American industry have taken a more sophisticated approach. They know that the individual freedom propaganda is just that—a line created by the same imaginative public relations men who thought up the misleading right-to-work phrase.

Actually, the real leaders of American industry couldn't care less about repeal of section 14(b). Some, it is true, wish that President Johnson had staved off AFL–CIO President George Meany's request. But policymakers in the U.S. business community deal regularly with unions and the union shop.

By and large, they'd be panicked if they weren't assured of well-organized, responsible labor unions to provide a steady flow of manpower for them.

One of L.B.J.'s Texas aids confides: "When a big national company comes in down home, they generally ask: 'Where's the union?' If it's not there, they're disappointed. They want one right on tap."

But the local "wheels" are generally nervous. They are skeptical of union organizers, who are equated to "invaders," men who want to upend precious States rights. Above all, the local men, often pillars of small-time chambers of commerce, feel they can keep wages low if the union is kept out. They freely advertise and solicit on that basis.

The unions have floated their share of baloney, too. Repeal of section 14(b) is not a do-or-die proposition for union organization, because they can and do survive in the right-to-work States.

And despite denials, it is true that the notion of a union shop involves a certain element of compulsion. This ought to be freely admitted, because the compulsion is justifiable. Where collective bargaining is the law of the land, a man who is deriving benefits from union representation ought to join the union. At least, he ought to pay dues, which is all the law requires.

The unions want to do away with section 14(b) because it is "a bone in the throat." The Wagner Act established the principle of collective baragining, and then the Taft-Hartley Act partially reneged. For 18 years this has invited antiunion harassment. Both management and labor could turn their attention to more useful and productive endeavors if section 14(b) were scrapped.

The Wonders of the "Wundees"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Evening Star of July 16, 1965:

THE WONDERS OF THE "WUNDEES"

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

Winston and Sally Belle Smith were married in the spring of 1966, a few weeks after he had been booted out of his third Job Corps encampment and she had been sent home from the girls' school in Florida. They had grown up together, more or less, in the same public housing project; they had dropped out of school together. They had the same ambition, which was to stay well fed without really working, so it was natural to find them at last man and wife.

Winston worked part time in a service station and Sally Belle worked part time in a barbeque and grill, but these were merely avocations. Their real job, which occupied them increasingly as the years went on, was simply to stay poor within the P & R. It was a lot of work, what with all the forms and things.

The P & R, of course, were the procedures and regulations established by the Administrator. These had first been established in the summer of 1965, 9 months or so before the young couple were married, but by 1966 they had become a way of life. Rent supplements, it will be recalled, were only the beginning. "The amount of the annual payment with respect to any dwelling unit shall not exceed the amount by which the fair market rental of such unit exceeds one-fourth of the tenant's income as determined by the Administrator pursuant to procedures and regulations established by him." That was the way the law first read, in the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965.

Winston and Sally Belle qualified at once for a rent supplemental. They were among the 300,000 who came in as the one-oh-one-one-dee's, soon shortened to the Wundee's, a diminutive taken from the act's definition under the so-called Stephens amendment of those eligible for help on their rent. This made the supplemental available to any family whose income was within established levels for public housing, provided that such a family, under section 101(1)(D) were then occupying "substandard housing." Winston and Sally Belle were living in an ordinary walk-up flat, not too good, not too bad, but after Sally Belle broke out the windows with a beer bottle, they were officially substandard; so they went down and signed up.

By the summer of 1968, when the time came for the first recertification of income under the P & R, the Smiths were a little uneasy. They had been earning $3,200 between them when they moved into the new apartment in the co-op, where the fair market rental was $125 a month or $1,500 a year. The taxpayers had been kicking in $700 a year as the difference between one-fourth of their income and the fair rent, but lately the Smiths accidentally had been earning a little more and they were afraid the P & R man would catch up with the situation.

As it turned out, they didn't need to worry, for that same summer—the summer of 1968—Congress added another section at the President's request. This brought Winston and Sally Belle into the wonderful world of the one-oh-one-one-ee's, or Wunnys as they were called, in which rent supplementals were extended to any persons "socially or culturally disadvantaged." The Wunnys were permitted to qualify if they earned as much as 50 percent above the maximum permitted for occupants of public housing, and with all that Job Corps background, there was no question of Winston's making good. He had only to keep failing.

It wasn't easy, for money somehow kept coming Winston's way, but Sally Belle helped by leaving the bar-b-q and devoting her full time to the P & R. The amendments of 1970 spread the principle of supplementals to clothing, transportation, and food. That year Winston took in $6,000—he couldn't seem to help it—and while this naturally left him safely "poor" under the P & R, it complicated the bookkeeping. The trigger points were 25 percent on rent, 20 percent on food, 15 percent on transportation, and 8.3 percent on clothes, and Sally Belle never could learn to multiply by 8.3 percent. She

had determination, though, and after a while, what with further amendments of the law, they were getting $1,000 toward rent, and $800 toward food, and $500 toward payments on the two cars, and the P & R had been revised to cover a coat of imitation mink. What with Sally Belle's unemployment compensation, it all added up.

Winston retired in 1980, at the age of 34, his active working life behind him. Thereafter the Smiths earned no income, by which they qualified for 100 percent supplementals including a swimming pool not to exceed 20 by 40 feet. Here the poor fellow drowned, 4 years later on a cold afternoon in April when the clocks were striking 13. The coffin supplemental, under the P & R, covered the full expense.

Adlai Stevenson: Embodiment of Democracy

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, a great spirit, a great man has passed from among us.

Adlai Stevenson served the Nation in many dimensions—not only as an official but as an intellectual leader who blazed new trails in new concepts and standards of public service.

He was a statesman.

He was the living essence of democracy philosophically and practically.

He served the Nation.

He served the world.

In respect to the memory of this great statesman and as a matter of broad general interest to my colleagues and all Americans, I ask unanimous consent that my newsletter, Capitol Comments, of July 19 last, be reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The newsletter follows:

ADLAI STEVENSON: EMBODIMENT OF DEMOCRACY

(By JOE L. EVINS, Member of Congress)

The death of Adlai Stevenson—Governor, statesman, presidential candidate, Ambassador—removes from the American scene one of the most talented men of this century. Adlai Stevenson possessed an eloquence that gave this Nation some of its most beautiful literary passages.

But more than that: he was dedicated to the proposition that the basic strength of our democracy comes from the people.

He said:

"Trust the people, trust their good sense, their decency, their fortitude, their faith. Trust them with the facts, trust them with the great decisions.

"And fix, as our guiding star, the passion to create a society where people can fulfill their own best selves."

Adlai Stevenson's candidacy for the Presidency came at a time when history projected a great war hero—a great military general—following the victory in World War II. That time was not feasible.

Who can ever forget the poignant words of Adlai Stevenson after one of his defeats. He said he "felt like a boy who had stubbed his toe—it hurt too bad to laugh and he was too big to cry."

Governor Stevenson's philosophy was in the tradition of some of our greatest Presidents. He had a vision of a new America.

He visualized our country's growth as one of change and progress.

"There is a New America every morning when we wake up. It is upon us whether we will it or not. Though change is inevitable, change for the better is a full-time job," he said.

Franklin D. Roosevelt espoused the New Deal.

Harry S. Truman championed a Fair Deal for all Americans.

John F. Kennedy extolled Americans to cross the New Frontier into an era of excellence and progress.

Today Lyndon B. Johnson is building the foundations for the Great Society where every American will have the opportunity for fulfillment. This Stevenson visualized and predicted.

Following the elections of 1952 and 1956 your Representative had occasion to remind Governor Stevenson that had the Nation gone like the great fourth district in those two elections, he could have been President. He always chuckled, grinned wryly, and was pleased.

While Governor Stevenson did not become President, he became a heroic figure in the United Nations where he fought with all his eloquence and will to curb aggression and to maintain the U.N. as an effective organization for world peace.

He held high the flaming torch of freedom even in dark hours when crisis threatened to erupt into holocaust and when divisions threatened.

"Nor should we despair," he said a month ago.

"The art of open government has grown from its seeds in the tiny city states of Greece to become the political mode of more than half the world.

"So let us dream of a world in which all states, great and small, work together for the peaceful flowering of the republic of man."

He hated hypocrisy in all dimensions of American life—but especially in politics. He urged candidates to talk sense to the American people. He had a keen wit and sharp sense of humor. His words sang with the beauty of perfect expression.

Samples of his wit are preserved in these lines:

A certain candidate for high office, he said, was "a man who thinks everything will be better in the rear future."

He began a speech shortly after his presidential defeat by saying, "A funny thing happened to me on the way to the White House."

"An editor," he said, "is one who separates the wheat from the chaff and prints the chaff."

"An independent," he said, "is a guy who takes politics out of politics."

Adlai Stevenson was a great American.

He was the embodiment of the democratic man. He was a statesman and a worker for peace.

He believed in the brotherhood of men of all nations—and of every nation.

He believed in America and sensed that its true greatness and its true strength lay in the wisdom and dedication of its people.

The Late Adlai E. Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, no words of mine are necessary to express the grief so deeply felt throughout the country—indeed, the entire world—with the passing of Adlai E. Stevenson, our brilliant Ambassador to the United Nations. Others more eloquently and more adequately than I could presume to undertake have reviewed in sorrow the many accomplishments of this great man, endowed by his Maker with the finest of minds and stoutest of hearts.

But I do wish to say for myself, and in so doing believe I express the mind and heart of the people of my district, that he was a nobleman for whom we had the greatest admiration and deep affection. A line from Chaucer well describes him: "He was a very perfect, gentle knight."

He has gone home to Bloomington-Normal, Ill., to a peace and quiet he longed for but never had time to enjoy in life. This is in the district I have been privileged to represent for around 30 years. While we did not necessarily agree with the policies advocated by our native son during the course of his political career, we took great pride in the manner and skill of his advocacy.

It was in his most difficult, and, I am sure, ofttimes most frustrating, role as Ambassador to the United Nations that Adlai Stevenson made a contribution beyond measure. It seemed that he was best fitted by intellect and personality for just such an assignment. When God in His wisdom took him from us, Adlai Stevenson became to the free people of the world a fallen warrior in the cause of freedom, justice, and peace.

Mr. Speaker, Ambassador Stevenson will prove to be, as history is written, one of the foremost men of our time. He has made a contribution to our time that will live for all time.

All of us share the loss felt by his family, and to them we extend our deepest sympathy. While he is no longer with us, his words and his deeds will live with us and after us for generations to come.

Des Moines, Iowa, Tribune Supports Rent Supplement Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, during the recent debate over the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, some rather extravagant charges were made by opponents of the new rent supplement program.

It was even claimed that the program was socialistic, although favorable testimony for the rent supplement program was received from representatives of such organizations as the National Association of Home Builders, the Mortgage Bankers Association of America, and the American Bankers Associations.

I would like to call the attention of my fellow Members to an editorial from the July 12, 1965, issue of the Des Moines Tribune of Des Moines, Iowa, which provides a factual and objective assessment of the rent supplement program.

The editorial, written before the Senate approved the rent supplement program last week, correctly states that the program is a worthwhile effort to utilize private housing to meet the needs of low-income families.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I hereby include the editorial:

[From the Des Moines Tribune, July 12, 1965]

NEW APPROACHES TO LOW-INCOME HOUSING

Iowa communities wrestling with the problem of providing decent housing for low-income families may find some answers to the problem in the housing bill approved recently by the House. The bill has yet to be acted on by the Senate.

The measure contains two major innovations in connection with low-income housing—rent supplements and leasing of private housing for families of low income.

The rent supplement program applies to persons whose incomes are low enough to qualify them for public housing and who live in substandard housing, are physically handicapped, elderly, or are displaced by Government action. The measure would authorize the Federal Government to pay the difference between 25 percent of the eligible occupant's income and the fair-market rent for a particular dwelling.

Rent supplementation could be a way of opening up large numbers of vacant housing units to occupancy by low-income families. But the measure authorizes the supplements only for a limited type of construction—housing built by private nonprofit or limited dividend corporations or by cooperatives with the assistance of FHA-insured market-rate mortgages. A community would have to have groups provide such housing before the Government would enter into rent supplement contracts—for up to 40-year periods—with the owners.

The provision for leasing of existing housing is intended to take "full advantage of vacancies or potential vacancies in the private housing market." Local public housing agencies would be authorized to advertise their need for housing in private accommodations and to enter into contracts with the owners for 1- to 3-year periods. Families would pay the usual rent charged in regular public housing units, with the Government making up the difference between it and the rent charged by the private unit. No more than 10 percent of the units in any private accommodation could be rented under the program, but housing agencies could make exceptions "because of the limited number of units in the structure or for any other reason."

The bill is a commendable effort to get away from reliance on new Government-owned public housing construction and to encourage experimentation in utilizing the private housing market for meeting the low-income housing need.

Right To Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the following statement by Robert Stone of Arlington, Va., has been brought to my attention. The advice contained herein is heartily shared by myself and I commend it to my colleagues and herewith insert it in the RECORD:

My name is Robert R. Stone, Jr. I reside at 1471 South 28th Street, Arlington, Va., and presently am a Republican nominee for the House of Delegates in the Virginia General Assembly.

For the record I should add that I have been active in civic and political affairs in the Commonwealth of Virginia for a number of years and served during 1961–65 on the Republican State central committee and am immediate past chairman of the Young Republican Federation of Virginia.

Mr. Chairman, the purpose of this statement is to express my opposition to repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. I want to make clear at the outset my strong belief in the right of workers to engage in collective bargaining. I am not against unions, only against compulsory unionization.

As a Virginian, I am proud of the economic gains of the Commonwealth since passage of our right-to-work law. New jobs—new wealth—new progress—has been the pattern of economic development since legislative action gave this right to Virginia's working population in 1947. The economic progress in Virginia and other right-to-work States, as compared to that progress in the other States, would be sufficient reason for continuing the policy—which is obviously successful.

Second, the present law is widely supported by the public—in my State—and in the States which enjoy right-to-work protection. Moreover, according to a nationwide survey of public opinion in 1964, by Opinion Research Corp., 67 percent of the American people believe that no citizen should be forced to belong to a union in order to hold his job.

Surely, the decision of this committee and the U.S. Congress should reflect appreciation for the wishes of the majority of the American people.

I want to address myself to the basic principle of this present law—and its relationship to the development of our great Republic.

It was in Virginia, in 1619, that the legislative history of America began—from that day on, ours has been the history of freedom.

At a time when the enlargement of freedom and the protection of the rights of all men is a major concern in Congress, and across our land—it is both illogical and detrimental for the Congress to remove so basic a right as the right to hold employment without compulsion to join a union.

Where are those brave defenders of American liberty—those who longingly and loudly speak of the days when Americans dared to be individuals? Where are they who in the sanctity of their living rooms proclaim their devotion to individual liberty and the rights of the individual States? They are not being heard from now when their views and their voices are needed to preserve an old American right—the right of free choice of association, the right to join or not to join a party, or club, or even a union.

And what has happened, on the other hand, to the vocal defenders of the minority—those who ardently and admirably speak of and fight for the day when Americans—all Americans—are equal at the ballot box and in the employment market? Where are they who in the streets and in the courts proclaim and demonstrate their devotion to freedom and liberty for all?

They are not being heard from, either, now when their views and voices are needed to protect an unsung minority—the workingman who believes in the old American right—the right of free choice of association, the right to join or not to join a party or club, or even a union.

They, all of them, are staying home and behind locked doors awaiting the outcome of the right-to-work issue. They do not wish to be involved—each for his own and no doubt good reasons.

Are these ladies and gentlemen perhaps under the impression that their constitutents back home have weakened in their resolve to preserve American individual freedoms? If so, how wrong they are; if so, how they misread the signs Certainly the people in my State, the Commonwealth of Virginia, are as determined as ever to protect each individual American's birthright—his right to make a living without any condition, his right to work where he wishes and for whom he wishes without any condition, his right to decide freely to join a union or not to join a union.

Many who should stand here and be counted, who should publicly protest any move to abolish any freedom for any American, remain absent and silent. What they fear, what they hope for, by this strangely silent surrender, it is not my place to indicate. I stand here before you only to speak for myself—an individual American speaking out loud what he feels and thinks and believes in. There are many citizens in the Commonwealth of Virginia who believe as I do, but who are not properly represented by those who have been timid spokesmen for their cause. I want to speak up for these citizens whose rights are at stake.

After all the testimony is in—after the phone quits ringing and the day of voting comes—still one issue stands above all others: Not that which is good for business or labor unions—both are important—not even the wishes of the majority—the dominant consideration which must not be sidetracked is simply the inalienable right of each citizen to choose employment—without legislatively imposed compulsion—and the right of a sovereign State to charter its own course.

I am not here to ask this right for Virginia and for its working force. This right we have enjoyed for many years. I simply ask for your help and vote in preserving this right. I want the Congress to say loud and clear—we will not be pressured, we will affirm our belief in the right of choice for every American.

Humphrey Points Up Dangers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the San Diego Union, the leading daily newspaper in San Diego, Calif., printed an enlightening editorial on Wednesday morning, July 14, 1965, entitled "Peace Versus Appeasement, HUMPHREY Points Up Dangers."

Their comments are refreshing and well worth the short time it would take my colleagues to read. With your permission I include them below as an extension of my remarks.

PEACE VERSUS APPEASEMENT—HUMPHREY POINTS UP DANGERS

Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY is seeking to blunt the attack on the administration's foreign policy coming from the left-wing.

Mr. HUMPHREY is a liberal. He is a former officer of the Americans for Democratic Action and was the chief liberal spokesman in the U.S. Senate.

Now, with conviction, he strides the country defending the military actions President Johnson has taken in South Vietnam and in the Dominican Republic.

It isn't that Mr. HUMPHREY has changed his liberal views.

The American left has gone so far down the road that it now finds itself in a position where it is willing to weaken the United States before its enemies in the eagerness to delude itself that the atheistic Communist "wars of liberation" are nothing more than necessary social revolutions.

They thus have gone a long way from where Mr. HUMPHREY stands. He made his position clear in a talk to Democrats in San Diego while leftist pickets paraded nearby. He said:

"I have been introduced as a man of peace and that I am. Just because one is dedicated to peace is no reason to believe he indulges in appeasement."

Mr. HUMPHREY has seen that the atheistic Communist conspiracy is worldwide; that it moves first in one place and then in another; and that the lessons of the 1930's make clear that dictators cannot be appeased.

The present situation is not only a dangerous one, in the ever-present possibility of a limited war suddenly becoming a major one, but in the question of the creditability of the United States.

The United States, Mr. HUMPHREY said in his talk here, has the strength to make its commitment to freedom felt any place in the world.

But the leftists would have us pick up our arms and abandon South Vietnam to the Communists. Never in the Nation's history have our people so blatantly paraded our campuses and gathered in public halls to demand that their own country abandon commitments made in the name of freedom.

These are not liberals, but radicals.

Perhaps they are not large in numbers but the damage they do is incalculable. They keep alive Communist hopes that we are a divided people and that freedom does not have the meaning for us it once did, and that we will in time get out and go home.

We have not agreed with Mr. HUMPHREY on domestic programs, and how a representative society can best be governed, and have thought at times in the past that he did not always see the Communist conspiracy in its full light, but he is first an American.

The Communist conspiracy has made South Vietnam a crucial test of our will and our commitment. Mr. HUMPHREY knows this and has made it clear that this is the time to stand up and be counted—on the side of freedom.

Rural Mail Car Leasing: An Impractical Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the proposal to establish a car-leasing program for the rural mail carriers of America is impractical and unsound.

As a representative of a rural district—the great Fourth District of Tennessee—I want to go on record now as saying that the proposal is ill-conceived and impractical. It is not responsive to the circumstances that govern and control rural carrier operations.

It is fiscally irresponsible.

It is a reflection on the rural carrier system as now constituted.

It would be a great mistake to implement this concept.

Here are some of the effects it would have:

The local economies would suffer because the sale of cars would be reduced, insurance business would suffer, general repair shops would have their volume reduced, and tire dealers would be denied the patronage of the rural carriers.

There would be substantial losses in State gas taxes and car license proceeds.

There would be losses in Federal gas taxes.

There would be loss of standby vehicles for route emergencies.

Administrative costs for record keeping on the proposed new arrangement would be excessive. There would be many other disadvantages, to the Government and the public should this ill-conceived proposal materialize.

This proposal, Mr. Speaker, should be defeated.

"Alien Philosophy" Blighting Our Campuses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS C. McGRATH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. Speaker, a true American and well-known figure in the world of athletics, Mr. A. F. "Bud" Dudley, has recently written for the Camden, N.J., Courier-Post his views on a topic which, I feel, should be of concern to all Americans. Mr. Dudley is president of Liberty Bowl Charities, Inc., the organization which stages the annual Liberty Bowl game, one of football's outstanding postseason features. He had an unusual opportunity to contrast attitudes in the United States and behind the Iron Curtain when, last year, he took the U.S. ice hockey team to Eastern Europe.

Since Mr. Dudley's article appeared in the Courier-Post last month, that fine newspaper, as a public service, prepared 5,200 reprints and has been distributing them as a public service. Since newspaper columnists and sports magazines have also been devoting space to "the lost image" of the college athlete, I feel it would do well to have Mr. Dudley's eloquent expression of this serious matter brought to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives:

[From the Camden, N.J., Courier-Post, June 24, 1965]

BUD DUDLEY DEPLORES NEGLECT OF DUTY, HONOR, COUNTRY: ALIEN PHILOSOPHY BLIGHTING OUR CAMPUSES

(By A. F. (Bud) Dudley)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Mr. Dudley's article to the Courier-Post is timely and expresses opinions shared by athletic leaders everywhere. He was the successful promoter of the Liberty Bowl indoor football game in Atlantic City last December and has been a longtime leader in sports activity.)

I am the father of six children and a graduate of the University of Notre Dame. In World War II I flew 54 missions in a B-24 Bomber and was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross. I have been actively engaged in the field of athletics for more than 30 years as a player, coach, athletic director and owner. I have traveled extensively all over the world and last year was in charge of the U.S. Ice Hockey team that played a series of games in Russia and Czechoslovakia. I have spent a lifetime dealing with youth.

This background perhaps will enable you to be tolerant of me when I strike what I think is an important note to fathers and mothers all over America and, especially, to all present and past college athletes.

The recent troubles on the campus at Berkeley, Calif., and numerous other college campuses all over the United States, convinces me an alien philosophy has crept into the curriculum of these students. I would like to pay tribute to the colleges who are still teaching the philosophy of the Founding Fathers so their students will grow up and respect the objects sought by those great men who gave us our Declaration of Independence, our Bill of Rights and our Constitution. Furthermore, I pray these students are taught the Founding Fathers believed in a personal, living God. I hope they are taught to respect Washington on his knees at Valley Forge just like they should MacArthur with his head bared saying the Lord's Prayer in the ruins of Korea.

I want my children to attend an American college with a robust American spirit that will impregnate them with genuine patriotism. That is not a mere academic study—it is a life-giving devotion to respect the blessing of liberty and undying devotion and thanksgiving to God. I want them to be taught and to fully understand the meaning of those greatest of words—duty, honor, country.

I watched the NCAA and NIT college basketball finals on television and want to believe that these men were not merely men of brawn and skill but wholesome American youngsters who were taught the significance of the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, and other fundamental principles of religion, without which this Nation must die, and deserves to die. I hope and pray they are being given a thorough course in American history and they are taught by professors who are proud of their inheritance as American citizens. You can't get this in an institution where the philosophy of communism is tolerated and where agnosticism is the emblem of academic culture.

In the March 22 issue of Newsweek the magazine devoted 20 pages to a survey which supposedly showed what is on the mind and in the heart of the modern college generation. I read it and found its contents rather misleading. From personal experience, I feel 90 percent of today's students are not too changed, but we are in an era in which the extremists have succeeded in confusing the administration and, consequently, colleges are in a rather awkward transition period. One statement which really made me shudder was that the bestseller this year in college bookstores was "Candy."

Dorothy Kilgallen in her column of March 20, quoted Maurice Girodias, the head of Olympic Press, which published "Candy," as follows: "I'm all for the corruption of youth. Corruption is an essential part of education. What I'm against is the square world."

I wonder what "lucky" school can number him among their alumni?

In the May 8 edition of the Saturday Evening Post there appeared an article entitled "The Explosive Revival of the Far Left." It goes on to tell of the most explosive of the new groups that call them-

selves the Progressive Labor Party. Many of their members are bearded Bohemians who wear sandals and smoke marihuana and hang out on Manhattan's lower east side.

Quoting the Post, "Progressive Labor was started in 1962 by a pair of longtime Communists. Ninety percent of its members are under 30. They organized the student trips to Cuba, are being trained in karate, have established arms caches in the New York area and are talking about sending a select cadre abroad for training. This cadre would return and go underground to become terrorists in the event of the expected war with China."

Unbelievable—right.

In the last 15 years I have been invited to speak at all sorts of functions here in the United States and behind the Iron Curtain. I have seen, firsthand, what it is like to be denied the freedom of speech and can vouch for its undesirability. On the other hand, I feel an abuse of this privilege takes place when the speech involves obscene words and actions. I was shocked by the "signs bearing nothing but an obscene four letter word" incident on the campus of the University of California (Life, March 19 issue) and, likewise, by the gall of those students who were selling obscene literature.

I couldn't believe decent, red-blooded American men would stand idly by and have women subjected to such insults.

Why are these so-called intellectuals—malcontents and beatniks—the local campus leaders? In my opinion, it is because most modern college athletes appear to be taking the easy way out and are not assuming their normal roles as leaders and men of responsibility;. Not too many years ago the athlete enjoyed a unique position on every college campus in America. He was admired, respected and held in high regard by the entire student body.

In recent years, he has taken a back seat and allowed a small group of students who basically are jealous of his athletic ability, to malign and ridicule him primarily in the school paper and at other public gatherings. These "angry young men" have created a distorted image of "all brawn and no brains."

I would like to strongly urge every varsity athletic club on every college campus in America to take stock of itself—to encourage their more outstanding members to run for class office—to join the staff of the school paper—to run for student council—to take a leading role in every student activity. I think the other students would enjoy it and would soon learn all athletes are not "squareheads" but most of them are fine, respectful young gentlemen. A perfect example this year was Bill Bradley of Princeton. An all-American and a Rhodes scholar. I'm sure every campus in America has a Bill Bradley. Let's hear about him—let's light a fire under him—let's all get together and help regain this lost image.

Alumni varsity clubs can help by urging their prospective new members it is high time the clean, wholesome element of the campus takes over. Encourage them to show these "angry young men" what a robust college training can do to train a boy physically and mentally, but especially spiritually in the way of service to his God and a credit to his country.

Frankly, I have had enough of this "beatnik" type and all of his complaints about his school and the United States in general. I pray to God he will soon pass from the scene and once again we will be restored to sanity. I am proud of my alma mater—I am proud to be an American—I thank God every night I do not have to live in most of the foreign countries I have visited. Only after one short trip, most people are convinced the United States isn't too bad after all.

Let us preserve what we have—let's pull this game out of the fire.

Big City Poor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, in a series of five articles, Walter Rugaber, writer for the Detroit Free Press, gives a firsthand view of the life of Detroit's poor. While this is not a scientific treatise, it is an excellent series which shows the needs of the poor, how they are defrauded, and how they can be helped.

The first article follows:

FAILURE: WAY OF LIFE FOR THE POOR

(NOTE.—This is the story of a fractured world most Detroiters never see. A world where despair stifles hope, where futility has become part of life. For 3 weeks Free Press Staffer Walter Rugaber lived in one of Detroit's poor neighborhoods. This is the first of five articles on the people he met—their housing, their jobs, their everyday lives. It is a searching look at the other Detroit.)

(By Walter Rugaber)

In the evening the rooms along lower Third Avenue steam up, and everything is very tight and close and drab. It is a separate world, and the failure of poverty is all around.

There is failure in the lack of a breeze, failure in the colorless, stripped-down furnishings, failure in the cramped mixture of worn parents and restless kids.

A man feels vulnerable here. In the rooms along Third Avenue he finds little to insulate him from the memory of defeat or the choking reality of its consequences.

There is no relief on the street, for the failure is there, too, in the eyes of the people and in the windows of the stores and in the very boredom of the endless blocks.

The sidewalks are gritty and stained with vomit. Between the buildings stand dozens of forgotten vehicles, stripped and rusting. One is an ancient hearse.

In the restaurant windows are the menus, chalked daily on squares of blackboard. Beside one is a wheel of dry, shriveled hot dogs, turning ceaselessly about an electric light.

A florid-faced old man sits in a dreary clothing shop as the people walk past. He stares out at them, but with scarcely a sign of interest. He is numb with failure.

So are a substantial number of the people I met during a 3-week stay in an area of the inner city bounded by Woodward, Third, Willis, and Ledyard.

Dressed in patched and faded work clothes and posing as a new arrival looking for a job, I talked with the derelicts, the unemployed, the unskilled, the aged, the disabled—the largely invisible population of a world that missed out on the affluent society.

Most of the people were isolated and utterly out of touch with middle class 1965. Not once did I hear the words "war on poverty" or "the Great Society."

Yet here and in the other poor areas of the city, countless millions of dollars and unmeasurable quantities of talent and energy have been—and will yet be—expended to help the poor.

A poor that fewer and fewer Americans, increasingly affluent and suburban, really know; a poor masked from the occasional passerby by long-lasting clothing dyes and the soundness of brick tenements that age and wear with little outward sign.

What are the realities of poverty?

What are the everyday, unrelieved difficulties of supporting a family in a Third Avenue tenement on less than $60 a week?

What are some of the restraints which—despite the war on poverty—bind the poor to a separate culture?

The answers are neither compact nor final, for individual poverty favors the intuitive and the subjective. Only the rich have concepts.

My stay in a single low-income neighborhood produced anything but a scientific sampling the city's poor. For one thing, there were immense differences, even there, in the people and the circumstances.

For instance, some of the housing in the area north of Cass Park must be among the most dilapidated and dangerous in the entire city. But the building next door or across the street was often in relatively livable condition.

In either place, however, the almost uniform hopelessness and dissatisfaction was inescapable.

For the cardinal reality of poverty was simply expressed by a social worker with 25 years experience in the slums of Detroit. He said:

"The biggest thing that the middle class doesn't understand is that the poor are not just rich people temporarily out of money."

Poverty is instead a confirmed way of life, a fractured world populated almost entirely by people broken or being broken.

It is true that most of them are in desperate need of better food, better housing, better health care—all the things the traditional welfare programs seek to supply.

But it is equally true that many are caught and held by poverty, and gradually grow so accustomed to it that it is an uncomfortable business for them to break away.

Miss Monica Mullally, principal of the neighborhood's Burton Elementary School, tells of parents who withdraw their children with great and shining plans.

They have saved enough money to get out and live in a better neighborhood. Yet, 3 or 4 months later, a surprising number of them return, voicing some vague, tragic-comic complaint about the neighbors.

Floyd Knox, the third son of an eastern Kentucky coal miner, was born in 1931 within half a mile of Detroit's Masonic Temple.

He has lived in the same unhappy neighborhood almost all his life. He could leave, but he won't. He probably never will.

Knox (that isn't his real name) thinks now and then of getting out. He tried it at least six times in the last 8 years and he'll probably try it again.

Each time in the past he has fallen back into his old world where he pays $16 a week for three cramped, unfurnished rooms and watches his five kids play in a dim alleyway.

It may be, as he says, one of the worst sections of the city. But for some lost, inexpressible reason, he feels in place there. He fits.

The Knox family's most recent excursion into the outside world brought them to a neat frame house on a quiet, shaded street on the far lower West Side.

They had saved up enough for a downpayment on the home, and for a time it seemed they might stay. But in less than 6 months they were gone.

There was no simple, clear-cut reason for the retreat except, perhaps, that the family was rather unprepared for the everyday requirements of life outside their old neighborhood.

Knox said:

"One time the plumbing broke down and I didn't get it fixed right away. It got worse and worse. I never could get it to work right.

"Where we are now, somebody else has to worry about that."

There were a whole set of perplexing problems, and the Knox family found itself hopelessly unprepared to solve a good many of them.

When they returned and reentered their oldest girl in Burton School, Mrs. Knox noted with a rare sense of place and continuity that the child was put in a class taught by one of the mother's old teachers.

A caseworker familiar with the neighborhood said:

"You have no idea of the unsettled lives these people live."

"They don't get up at a certain time of day, they don't get breakfast at a certain time or even together—there is no routine, no discipline."

In short, the whole fabric of life is very different. A teacher at Burton School told of students—taken on an outing to Cobo Hall—who were afraid to ride the escalators there.

The futility of being poor comes even more into focus when the Knox family discloses that it is among that segment of the Third Avenue area population that has learned how to obtain public assistance for its specific, limited needs.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Knox have suffered illnesses that required thousands of dollars worth of medical and hospital care. All of it was financed with welfare money.

Welfare ("it saved us," Knox said) also bought the family a refrigerator, a washing machine, and considerable clothing—all of which was surely needed.

But it didn't supply determination, or the basic ability to cope, that would be required by the family for it to overcome permanently its chronic difficulties.

Many of the really poor people in the Third Avenue area are so steeped in poverty that their reasoning sometimes grows blunted and almost useless as a goad to ambition.

A visitor asked one housewife whether it wasn't a bit cramped with only three rooms and a whole squad of kids. Her apartment featured wall-to-wall beds.

"It's not too bad," the woman said. "I got bunk beds for the youngest, and then the sofa makes up into a bed at night—and that's like having five rooms right there."

A policeman who works extensively with the younger boys observed of many of them: "Their parents have lost hope for themselves, and they don't pass on hope to their kids."

And the kids, of course, can grow up very fast. One youngster at Burton school said of his father: "Every time he gets a quarter or a dollar he hits the road for the King of Clubs Bar."

There were lots of people, like Floyd Knox, who seemed unable to make any lasting improvement in their lives. But none were enraptured with the simple virtues of poverty.

And the most dissatisfied of all were frequently those on public relief. Contrary to what might be thought in the affluent, taxpaying suburbs, no one lives it up on welfare.

Money—just money—is not the basic problem.

Since Floyd Knox is able-bodied and only 34, he can and sometimes does obtain a fairly good job. He is presently employed as a punch press operator and makes $3.25 an hour.

The first time I met his wife, I asked her why, with her husband bringing home such good wages, the family lived no better than it did.

"Well, I'll tell you," she said glumly. "We used to take it and he'd buy whatever he wanted and I'd buy whatever I wanted. We never had a dime left."

She brightened.

"Now we're on a budget," she said tentatively. "I take $70 and buy the groceries, pay the rent and lights and gas and everything. Then we try to save some.

"And he gambles the rest."

She laughed self-consciously, then grew glum again.

"He's got to gamble," she said.

The Challenge of Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, on each anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, appropriate ceremonies are held by the city of Boston in the historic and famous Faneuil Hall, located in the heart of Boston, one of our Nation's historic shrines. In connection with the exercises, a prominent citizen of our country is invited to deliver the oration. It is an outstanding honor to be invited to deliver the Fourth of July oration.

On July 5 last, on the occasion of the 189th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, a distinguished American, scholar, and gentleman, Dr. Alexander Brin of Boston, editor and publisher of the Jewish Advocate, dean of the Massachusetts Board of Education, a great man and a good man, delivered the oration.

In my remarks I include the appropriate, eloquent, and informative oration delivered by Dr. Alexander Brin entitled "The Challenge of Independence Day":

THE CHALLENGE OF INDEPENDENCE DAY

His Excellency, the Governor, your honor, Mayor Collins, Mr. Chairman, reverend clergy, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, standing in this sacred shrine of American liberty, consecrated by the blood and sacrifices of some of America's noblest personalities, my first impulse is to offer a prayer of thanksgiving and gratitude for the greatest privilege that can come to any human being—that is, to be a citizen of the United States. The tide of fortune and favor that has carried America to a position of unparalleled progress is underscored by the anniversary we commemorate today which permanently changed the lives of every man and woman of the 48 million political and religious refugees who settled here, since the Declaration of Independence was adopted, as well as the millions born here, who enjoy the inestimable blessings of religious and civic freedom, free speech and a free press, higher standards of education and living, a tradition of fair play, fellowship and peace.

I am deeply grateful for this signal honor which Mayor Collins has conferred upon me. Since 1783 when these exercises were inaugurated, there has been a long line of distinguished predecessors who have stood in the same place that I occupy today—men and women who have rendered service in every field of human endeavor. I feel particularly proud when I recall that one of the men among those who delivered the oration was the late Mr. Justice Louis D. Brandeis, my mentor and friend. His warm and affectionate friendship is the most enduring and most stimulating influence in my life. He was properly acclaimed as the most significant man on the American scene since Abraham Lincoln. His was one of the great and lucid minds of our times.

Justice, mercy, and humility are descriptive of his life. One feels that his soul goes marching on in those devoted to the cultivation of these qualities. He believed in the finest traditions of our democracy and he tirelessly kept his talents at work in support of those traditions.

Democracy is the choicest treasure of our civilization. It is well for us to recall on this day that it was a resolute, confident spirit that brought this Nation into being when timid souls were fearful to act. It emphasizes the rights of man. We of this generation are challenged to show a single-hearted support of American institutions and faith in the basic principles that made America what it is—freedom, individual initiative, moral integrity, and hard work. This generation should regard it as the high privilege and special obligation to consider themselves as trustees and guardians of the ideals and principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence. To lack faith in America's destiny and future is to betray the courage and confidence of the founding fathers. There is no room here for prophets of doom who preach doctrines of despair. America must get rid of her fear complexities. Fear paralyzes, confidence encourages. Confidence in America's destiny is the new gospel that should be preached. There must be an offsetting of the impression that America has no use for the energies and talents of its youth. We must utilize and safeguard the adventurous strivings and individuality of youth. For in education, in religion, in medicine, in music, in fine arts, in moral crusading, in philanthropy, in public service, in science, in law and in every walk of life the youth of America must continue to bring blessings to the altar of humanity. The very life-spirit of American democracy is progress. It must not be abandoned.

Two of the greatest events which have happened since the creation of the world, are the discovery of this continent by Columbus and the establishment of the United States of America 189 years ago.

If we are to preserve democracy of America we must dramatize its virtues. Every American home must become a true arsenal of democracy. It is well we should know of our heritage of democratic liberalism at a time when that heritage is challenged from within and assailed from without.

In America there are now 50 State boundary lines any American citizen can cross without interruption, without fear. No bristling bayonets, no suspicious sentries, no passport inspection every hour when you travel abroad. Our neighbors to the north and south have no forts.

America is the world's schoolmaster in the noble art of helping others. The fine tradition of American humanitarianism has made philanthropy one of our leading industries.

There are many supremely important facts of the American way of life that stand out as significant to thoughtful citizens, that should be imparted and interpreted to all classes of our citizens until the youngest student in the kindergarten up to the graduate of the university shall be convinced of the greatness and glory of our country.

First, ours is the oldest government in the world. With a continuous and unbroken history of political institutions functioning as the founders established them under the Federal Constitution, a little under 189 years ago, our Government exhibits an unequalled record of achievement. The wisdom and courage and faith of the leaders, endorsed and adopted by the people in each successive era, have brought results which no other government can show. The United States of America is often regarded as the infant among the nations of the earth, but this erroneous judgment is due to the comparatively recent discovery of the North American Continent. Our territory is new, but our Government established upon this virgin soil is older than other governments founded upon territory that men have known for a much longer time. England, France, Italy, Germany, Japan, and other governments have made changes all the way from absolute monarchies to constituted democracies and in some of them several changes have ensued while the United States of America was operating under one form of laws. And what is most noteworthy is the fact that all the

changes taking place in other governments, they show a constant and impressive approximation to our own form of government, which is the highest tribute that can be paid to our country.

Secondly, measured by all the economic, industrial, and political standards that men have formulated, and taking into consideration all the qualities of personality, freedom, initiative, human welfare, etc., it cannot be denied that the average individual, the common man, the vast majority of us attain a larger measure of life's rewards and God's richest blessings right here in America, than any other group on earth enjoys. We have many faults to our discredit, we must improve in many ways, in which we are not different from all groups of human beings to be found anywhere on earth, but it is true, nevertheless, that our system of government does assure us the best things in life in larger measure and in finer quality than other peoples know.

Even in our defects and in our imperfect use of our powers and blessings, we can appreciate the greatness of our form of government, because we realize that we have only ourselves as individual citizens to blame if we elect misrepresentative men to office and tolerate good-naturedly corruption in business matters.

Thirdly, the prospects of American progress are most captivating to our imagination and promising of certain achievement. We do not need to dethrone any monarch, we do not have to start a revolution, we do not expect to change organic law, we see no use to fight against dynastic or racial or class traditions and customs in order to multiply our blessings, to magnify our freedom, to increase our prosperity. All we have to do is just to develop along the lines laid down for our guidance when the call of the Republic first caught the spirit of the founders that has not ceased to stir the loyalty and appreciation of all good citizens.

Our present duty to preserve and perpetuate our blessings is just as vital as the duty to secure freedom and peace, which is credited to the early American pioneers. They had us in mind when they gave their very lifeblood in order to make possible the many blessings which are ours. Let us prove ourselves worthy of the great privileges which are bestowed upon us. Let us help to make history by joining the army composed of men and women whose aim is to make this a better and nobler nation.

Democracy has not failed in America. We are building a finer and more just society along democratic lines. The American people are bearers and exponents of a type of democratic civilization which is above race, color or creed, and yet contains them all America is God's field of experimentation.

With all our deficiencies and imperfections, trials and tribulations, this is still the finest garden of humanity. America is seeking to fashion a world where men and women, though different in origin, diverse in outlook can live and labor together in peace and in security. Our interests are gradually shifting from property to people. It finds expression in definite demands such as social security, old age pensions, unemployment insurance, business cooperation to forestall panics. These movements to conquer injustice and insecurity for all the American people are gradually becoming accepted aims of American business life and governmental policy.

We of this generation are challenged to carry out America's noble plan as expressed in lofty ethical and spiritual concepts. Our Constitution is a document written by man divinely inspired. The injustices in our system are being corrected within the framework of our Constitution which is broad enough and flexible enough to solve any human problem and to really make it possible for every American to enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

To many Americans Independence Day comes and goes without striking deep enough its roots in the minds and hearts of our citizens to make it the memorable anniversary it deserves to be. We need now more than ever a very deep faith and conviction in the democratic way of life. It is time for us to catch the spirit of America, yes, the spirit of its past, of its destiny, together with the spirit of its culture, its psychology and its philosophy.

Too often we talk by the mile about the American way of life and act by the inch. Little do we realize the brevity of the great concepts which are dedicated to bring out the best in man instead of the beast in man.

The Declaration of Independence admonishes people to work for the welfare of man instead of warfare on man. The American creed stands for the consecration and dignity of man instead of the extermination and elimination of man.

The Declaration of Independence has 1,458 words, including the signatories, and can be read in 10 minutes. The Constitution contains only 4,543 words. This includes the signatories to the Constitution. The amendments have 2,214 words that can be read in 15 minutes. Washington's Farewell Address has 7,651 words and can be read in 45 minutes. The story of the creation of the world is told in Genesis in 400 words. The world's greatest moral code—the Ten Commandments—contains only 297 words. Lincoln's immortal Gettysburg Address is but 266 words in length. Lincoln first told the story of his life in 47 words.

There are 461 words which record the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the United States. They are the most important of any words having to do with men's social, economic, and political organization and institutions. It takes a few minutes to read the Bill of Rights, and it needs the fullest protection by every American in order that they remain free and that the cause of freedom may not perish in this great country of ours.

It is the glory of the writers of the Declaration of Independence that it embodies sound general principles in accord with the traditions and aspirations of the people of the United States of today—principles that were sound 189 years ago and are sound today.

The defects of our democracy do not result from our form of government but from our own deficiencies. We have the power to elect leaders who are sincere, efficient, and dedicated people. If we do not, we can blame nobody but ourselves.

As you know, the United States dates its existence as an independent people from July 4, 1776. A war had to be fought and won before the newborn Nation could function. At a time when human liberties were at stake, the early pioneers were willing to give their very life not for the acquisition of territory, not because they had a passion for power or a lust for gold, but to acquire for all independence, liberty, freedom. In signing the birth certificate of this Nation, our forefathers pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to these goals.

Since the first Fourth of July, we have grown from less than 4 to 192 million. In science, industry, transportation, and settlement territory, viewed retrospectively, our progress has been phenominal. But all that we have gained, through education, discovery, invention, organization and wealth, cannot compare with or compensate for one single quality of the pioneer period: Those who lived then had the wisdom to understand that devotion of public affairs must be paramount.

The kind of a world they wanted to build is described in the Declaration of Independence. If carried out it would insure a world of freedom and justice under law. More important today than better roads, better schools, better politicians, are better men and women.

This is a day to reimpress upon ourselves the reasons why this Government exists—to secure the blessing of liberty for all Americans and to promote the general welfare at home and abroad. It is a day that should strengthen every citizen's determination to uphold the standards of the founders of this Nation. It is a day to unite all men and women in the firm resolve to let no irrational prejudices against creed or color imperil America's equality and freedom. It is a day of national rejoicing for blessings won and blessings yet to be bestowed.

Independence gives no one the right to reckless self-indulgence. It asserts the rights of others as well as our own. We must obey the laws to this end and continue to develop and perfect law until equality is fully secured.

An illuminating phrase in the Declaration of Independence is not without its bearing upon our national and world situation today. It was out of a decent respect to the opinions of mankind that the framers of the Declaration made a public statement of their intentions, their principles, and the causes that impelled them to such action. The wave of the future lies right here in the United States of America.

In our own time, President Johnson has demonstrated what he thinks is basic to the development of the Great Society which began 189 years ago and to which so many other Presidents, through our existence, have contributed.

By placing all the force and power of the Presidency behind the passage of the civil rights bill of 1964, President Johnson clearly served notice, as did our beloved President Kennedy who conceived this legislation, that there can be no Great Society unless there is equal opportunity for all our citizens—equal opportunity to vote, to work, to be educated, to hold one's human dignity.

By liberalizing Federal aid to higher education, the President has indicated that everyone's intellectual gifts and talents are at once both personal and national resources which must be cultivated to the fullest.

By initiating an antipoverty program he struck at the despair and degradation, which is the constant lot of the poor and which, if allowed to continue, would make a mockery of independence.

The heart of democracy is our schools. Education is the trunk of the tree which nourishes all branches of American life. Because of my deep personal and official interest in the field of education, I should like to dwell on this subject, so deeply related to independence, for a moment. I do not mean the technical aspects of education. I mean education in its broadest sense—the process of widening our vision and our whole manner of thought and living.

This kind of education has become the great challenge of our times. It is a challenge which comes from the very nature of the world we now live in, and from the dangerous factors which threaten that world.

So often has it been said that a new age, an atomic age, is upon us, that the awful significance of the statement has already become blurred. I am afraid that people generally are beginning to take the coming of the atomic age as something almost commonplace which need not concern them too much in their daily lives.

And yet it is a fact which all of us should keep repeating to ourselves—with thoughtful appraisal of just what it can mean in terms of terror and destruction.

I do not propose to paint a picture of what the atom bomb implies in the complete destruction of cities and nations—and ultimately the possible end of civilization itself. But this new situation gives rise to facts which we must face.

First, we have no monopoly on this destructive force.

Second, no responsible scientist or man of arms has been willing unqualifiedly to assert

that there is any reliable or complete defense which we or any one else could use against atomic or hydrogen bombs.

Third, the only possible solution to this mortal danger is that in some way the nations of the world working together will jointly control this great power.

Into the hands of fallible man fate has placed this terrible and yet possible constructive source of energy. Can human beings respond properly to this challenge and responsibility?

Because I trust the Lord and respect my fellowman, because I have deep faith in man's ability to use and meet new crises, I say that we can. We can, if we are willing to devote to it our full thought and energy, our understanding of the view and needs of other peoples and the ingenuity with which our Founding Fathers responded to the problems of their times.

This awesome invention will destroy mankind only if man is stupid and complacent—only if he refuses to exercise the intelligence with which his creator endowed him.

This means that we must begin afresh to rethink America's place and destiny in this constantly changing and dangerous world.

As former President Truman said in his message on atomic energy to the Congress: "In international relations, as in domestic affairs, the release of atomic energy constitutes a new force too revolutionary to consider in the framework of old ideas. This discovery involves forces of nature too dangerous to fit in any of our usual concepts."

Thus, the first task of education in the world of today is to lead us to an appreciation and respect for each other, both on the national and international levels.

The last speech which President Roosevelt prepared just before he died—a speech never delivered—contained this farewell message of warning: "Today we are faced with the preeminent fact that, if civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships—the ability of all peoples, of all kinds, to live together and work together, in the same world, at peace."

Our children can no longer make their daily pledge of allegiance to the flag and then stop thinking or learning about the complication that allegiance now has, not only to them, not only to their Nation, but to the world.

Our children and we ourselves must feel in our bones the interrelation of all mankind—no matter where one lives or worships or what the color of his skin may be. We all must understand that fundamentally all people have the same aspirations for peace, security, and accomplishment for themselves and their children.

Now, unfortunately, we must honestly admit that we have not yet succeeded in achieving this outlook in our local community or in the United States. As we measure the amount of racial and religious intolerance, the sectional jealousies and hatred, the class and group rivalries, we realize how ineffectual American education has been, in the broad manner in which I examine it, even after almost two centuries of effort.

But great as the stakes have been in the past, they are immeasurably greater now. Now, life itself is in peril. Education, in the civilizing sense, must now become our major preoccupation. In this, we dare not fail.

"Civilization," H. G. Wells once said, "is a race between education and catastrophe." I'd like to rephrase it and say, "Civilization is a race between understanding and catastrophe." When civilizations die we may be sure that there has been a tragic failure in the communication of ideas and hence in the understanding of the people.

If Boston is to have a healthy, alert, and law-abiding citizenry in the future, it must provide adequate, supervised recreational facilities for its youth today on a greater scale than ever before.

For years I have advocated the utilization of school buildings after school hours in order to stem the ever-rising tide of juvenile delinquency. Our public school buildings and facilities, representing millions of dollars of capital investment, could, with a small expenditure of money, be placed at the service of our boys and girls after school hours as recreation centers so that they may be engaged in supervised play and thereby be kept off the streets. This will inevitably result in a diminution of our problem of juvenile delinquency. It is during the leisure time provided after school hours that the boy seeks association with the street gang and is ultimately led into petty escapades, which end in the juvenile court.

This is particularly true of boys from underprivileged homes. Our boys require more facilities for recreation and play. We need more supervised playgrounds, and will do much to keep children in safe surroundings, away from the temptations and dangers of the streets. The effect in reducing juvenile delinquency may be well worth the extra effort and expense for lighting, heating, and entertainment that may be incurred.

The hope of America lies in the creation in every generation of a peaceful army of enlightened, charitable, patriotic, honorable, spiritual, and courageous citizens, who will place American principles and ideals above selfish interests and think more of the well-being of the entire Nation than their personal interests.

American schools are failing to educate our future citizens in the use of constantly growing leisure. The profitable use of leisure time is a pressing problem. The effect of unwisely used leisure is indicated by the widely published assertions that delinquency, crime, drug addiction, and insanity have increased alarmingly in recent years. Yet very little consideration is being given to one cause that perhaps is among the most fundamental—undigested leisure time. Not only has the community a moral and civic responsibility to promote the welfare of its citizens, not only in the safeguarding of life, preserving of health, promoting of education, but also in providing opportunities for the fine art of living. The physical, moral, and spiritual powers of our citizens must be guided and directed by high aims. If the same power is misguided and uncontrolled, undirected and unattached, it becomes not only wasteful but even dangerous to society.

May I suggest a 10-point program which I believe will help us meet this challenge which we face so squarely on this Independence Day.

1. The creation of a Federal Department of Education to be headed by a Secretary of Cabinet rank, under the general control of a policymaking National Board of Education. It will establish national educational standards, so that performance of students and teachers throughout the United States can be adequately judged. It will enhance the prestige of education.

2. Establishment of courses and chairs in democracy in every school, public and private, as well as colleges, to foster an appreciation of our national ideals, and the dangers that threaten them. Addresses, discussions, patriotic plays and pageants should be featured. Every student should be conversant with the story of the great Americans and the part they have played in the building of the world's greatest democracy. Every American should have more information concerning the achievements, failures, possibilities, and principles of these United States. I want to reiterate I know of no better mode of instruction and inspiration than discussion of the lives of the great men and women who helped to build this great nation. Most of them came from the ranks of the common people and struggled all their lives, but they helped to build the enduring mansions of American civilization.

3. We need a large network of neighborhood public forums and study groups in every school district as a prime requisite to develop the thought processes of our citizens so that they may protect, with argument and reason, the democratic institutions from the menace of demagogs.

4. Newspapers are almost as important as textbooks in giving our youth a liberal education in Americanism. A thoughtful and faithful reading of the foreign news will develop in our youth, a finer grade of patriotism, intelligence, and interest to build with a better and finer nation.

5. It is not enough to have a philosophy of democracy. True democracy leads to action. In order that American democracy may conquer ignorance, injustice, and insecurity, there must be an all-out war on poverty. We should prove to the world that under our system, this land of plenty can provide the essentials in food and shelter for everyone. Here, again, not by words but by deeds, by using our great initiative and inventive genius to find new ways to provide a decent living standard for all.

We must help check the greatest threat to democracy on the home front, inflation, which threatens the safety, the security, the tranquility, the progress, the peace of mind of all Americans and every home in America.

6. On this 20th anniversary of the United Nations, which I am proud to say I had some small part in shaping as an observer to the original San Francisco meeting, we are all poignantly reminded that we live in a world at war. We must strengthen this instrumentality, conceived from the sacrifices of those who fell in World War II, toward the end that it becomes enabled to bring the world to peace, lest growing Vietnams embroil us in a holocaust which will doom man. We must find a mode of living with our neighbors in peace, to know each other, trust each other and move toward common ideals * * *. The substitution of the council table for the battlefield. We must maintain the armed strength that compels respect for peaceful intent.

7. Not only through the United Nations, but on every diplomatic level available to us, we must seek peace with the same diligence, foresight, and work that we built this land.

8. Earlier, I alluded to the new world which atomic power had brought into being. Its sheer potential for terror and destruction impels us to seek every means possible to encourage and facilitate worldwide disarmament of this dreadful weapon and all others.

9. Surrounded by the budding "New Boston," in a physical sense, we must devote ourselves to removing all vestiges of racial intolerance and racial imbalance from our schools, our employment picture, and our neighborhoods. We must be willing to sacrifice to reach this goal. We again have the opportunity that our forefathers had in showing the way to America, the conquering of new human frontiers.

10. To achieve the foregoing, leadership is what America needs most at this crucial period. We need wise leaders who are truly devoted to the American way of life. When I speak of leaders, I don't mean only those elected to office. I refer to every citizen who has the vision to see his stake and that of his children and neighbors in the realization of the America of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

The greatness of democracy does not lie in the physical, scientific, mechanical, or material realms; but in the development of a citizenship devoted to the highest moral and spiritual values. These values are now being challenged at home as well as on foreign shores.

The survival and growth of the democratic ideal depends upon the ability and willingness of the individual to meet the problems

of the present and future. If the people of these United States would but retrace their steps to the sources of their political birth and would accept and apply the fundamental truths pronounced in our great founding documents, the solution to our social, economic, and political problems could be attained.

Independence Day reminds us that liberty is a blessing not won overnight. It calls for unceasing watchfulness and the willingness to work for its achievement. It has taken on an added aura in the 20th century of not only the expression of human rights but the right to human dignity through the essentials of equal opportunity, decent shelter, freedom from hunger, and full individual development. The word should again go forth from Boston, the New Boston, that this is the fresh challenge of Independence Day 1965.

Eleven years from now—to be exact on July 4, 1976, we shall commemorate the bicentennial of the birth of the United States. Let us rededicate ourselves to help build a finer and better nation and to reincarnate the spirit of our Founding Fathers whose slogan was: "To serve our God, our country, and our fellowmen is to really live; to deny those ideals is to die."

A Balance Is Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Cookeville Citizen, a great newspaper published in Cookeville, Tenn., by a distinguished journalist and editor, Mr. Coleman A. Harwell, had in its July 13 issue an excellent editorial on the issue of reapportionment and legislative representation.

The editorial takes to task the thesis that legislatures in which one house is elected on the basis of population and the other on the basis of geography are intrinsically evil. This, after all, is the basis for election of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the U.S. Congress which—the editorial observes—has worked well for the Nation and can do the same for the States.

It observes that there should be some balance between rural and city blocs, that neither segment should dominate.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD because of its broad and general interest.

The editorial follows:

NOT ESSENTIALLY EVIL

A new phase of the fight to modernize the legislatures of the 50 States is now shaping up.

One big center of controversy is the proposal for a constitutional amendment to permit States to elect one house of a bicameral legislature according to geography.

Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, minority leader of the Senate, is working for its passage. DIRKSEN has always been able to keep his balance in the struggle between Chicago and downstate; in doing so he has sometimes seemed quite liberal and at others very conservative.

It seems to us that he thus illustrates the need of keeping some balance between the rural and city blocs; it would hardly seem best for the State and its whole people if one segment or the other should have complete control.

We do not advocate, however, that the minority should rule. In fact, much of our difficulty today in State matters is the result of long years of domination of whole States by rural minorities, defying the Constitution and serving their own interests.

Now the Supreme Court has ruled this illegal; under the 14th amendment, it has held that the majority must rule. This means that, whether having two houses or one, entire State legislatures must be chosen as closely as possible along lines of population.

If we must settle for one or the other—minority or majority rule—there can be no argument, the majority must prevail. But we have yet to hear an argument that is convincing against a State legislature being organized as is the U.S. Congress.

One of the ablest political analysts, Miss Doris Fleeson, newspaper columnist, writes that an amendment providing such a division would serve to perpetuate the weaknesses of State legislatures.

She says: "Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN is trying to preserve the greatest over-the-counter market in America. This informal institution deals in the buying and selling of legislative favors in 50 States.

"Its brokers are the lobbyists for every variety of interest * * *. It has no rules, obeys no ethical code, and its motto is 'All the traffic will bear.' "

Miss Fleeson advances the argument that DIRKSEN wishes to continue legislative control by the rural minority; that this would maintain all the evils now existing in legislatures.

And she notes that while Congress and other governmental functions have been streamlined in recent years, legislatures have been impervious to change.

We agree that legislative conduct has not been a matter of public pride in every instance, that lobbying often is evil, and that the Supreme Court's reapportionment decision was "the direct result of their obdurate refusal to modernize themselves." But we still do not concede that a geographical-population basis for membership is essentially a source of evil.

We believe that basically it has worked well for the Nation and can do the same for the States.

Realistic, Practical Approach Needed To Avoid Waste of Highway Funds in Conforming to Esthetic Proposals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL C. JONES

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I have requested permission to include with my remarks a copy of a letter signed by all members of the Missouri State Highway Commission, setting forth their apprehension over some of the possible effects of four legislative proposals of the administration having to do with the use of highway funds, contingent upon the enactment of control measures having to do with junkyards, billboards, landscaping, and other things which would affect the beauty and appearance of our highways.

While I have great confidence in the committee which will consider this legislation, I am hopeful that the members will give attention to the letter from the Missouri Highway Commission and reach a realistic balance between the utilitarian and esthetic values of our highways. I commend the suggestions made in the following letter and hope that many of my colleagues will read and consider the facts which have been presented by Mr. M. J. Snider, chief engineer of the Missouri State Highway Department, for I am confident that many of the proposals which would prove detrimental to Missouri's highway system would also have an adverse effect in many other, if not all, States:

MISSOURI STATE HIGHWAY COMMISSION,
Jefferson City, Mo., July 2, 1965.

Hon. PAUL C. JONES,
U.S. Representative,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. JONES: Members of our highway commission and our staff in Jefferson City are greatly disturbed over highway legislation that has been presented to the Congress.

The four legislative proposals by the administration are:

"Provide for control of junkyards along certain Federal aid highways (H.R. 8491).

"Provide for control of outdoor advertising along certain Federal aid highways (H.R. 8489).

"Landscaping and scenic enhancement of Federal aid highways and for other purposes (H.R. 8493).

"Broaden the purpose for which Federal aid highway funds may be used (H.R. 8487)."

No one quarrels with the administration's views on billboard control or landscaping and roadside development. However, we cannot comply with the advertising control features and the relocation of junkyards through police powers. The rights of the owners of the billboards and junkyards will have to be purchased.

We are of the opinion that it will cost us approximately $1 million per year for the next 5 years to effect the billboard and junkyard removal. Naturally, our Federal aid construction program will be reduced by this figure.

We are not opposed to beautiful, well kept highways; in fact, we feel our highways are living evidence of our interest in such a program.

We are opposed to the lapsing feature of the 2 percent Federal funds to be apportioned to Missouri to be used for the preservation and enhancement of scenic beauty adjacent to such highways. We think this will be an incentive for States to waste much needed highway funds in order to comply with the requirement.

We are much opposed to the provision in H.R. 8487, making it mandatory that one-third of the secondary funds be used for construction of scenic roads and roads leading to recreational areas.

In Missouri, we have about 23,000 miles in our secondary system. We have a long-range improvement program for this system. If the funds are reduced by one-third, as proposed, our program must be reduced accordingly.

We are constantly besieged by Missouri citizens to update and modernize our highways. Any legislation that will require reduction of already inadequate funds is bad for our State.

At the June commission meeting, M. J. Snider, chief engineer, was asked to estimate what the four proposals would mean in dollars to our highway planning in Missouri.

It was his estimate that in the next 5 years between $50 million and $60 million would be required in State and Federal

funds to carry out the provisions of the four proposals.

We are sure our citizens want more and better roads. It is most evident to us any reduction of funds, especially a mandatory one, will be detrimental to Missouri's highway program.

We believe Missouri is typical of the midwestern area. In fact, we read with interest a recent news story where Walter Johnson, highway engineer from Kansas, pointed out the undue hardships such a program would work in his State. While Kansas does not nearly approach the secondary mileage that Missouri has, the detrimental effects are evident to our sister State.

We know of your genuine interest in Missouri's State highway business. We urge your continued support in helping us do a better highway job for our State.

Most sincerely,

JACK STAPLETON, Sr.,
Chairman.

ROY E. MAYES,
Vice Chairman.

WILLIAM C. HAYES,
Ex Officio.

A. C. RILEY,
Member.

A Matter of Vital Importance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, a most significant exchange of correspondence has been brought to my attention by a constituent. The continuing hostility between the Arab States and the Israelis has given rise to a most pernicious organization, the Central Office for the Boycott of Israel.

The Central Office for the Boycott of Israel has brought severe economic pressure to bear upon firms who seek to maintain normal business contacts with Israel. A most courageous company, the Scherr-Tumico Co. of St. James, Minn., has set a standard of integrity in resisting this outrageous boycott. The Scherr-Tumico example should be an inspiration for other American firms to resist the boycott in similar fashion.

An exchange of correspondence between the Boycott Office and the Scherr-Tumico Co. follows:

EXCHANGE OF CORRESPONDENCE: A BOYCOTT EFFORT BY THE ARAB LEAGUE IS REPELLED BY AN UNINTIMIDATED AMERICAN FIRM

LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES, SECRETARIAT GENERAL, CENTRAL OFFICE FOR THE BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL,
Damascus, Syria, May 10, 1962.

SCHERR-TUMICO, INC.,
St. James, Minn.,
United States.

GENTLEMEN: We wish to inform you that we have acquired reliable information to the effect that your company has subscribed in the establishment and the ownership of a plant in Israel for the production of mechanical, optical, and electronic precision measuring devices.

In this regard, we draw your attention to the fact that the Arab countries are still in a state of war with Israel. Therefore, as a measure of self-defense and with the view to safeguarding the rights and the vital interests of the Arabs of Palestine, the Arab countries strictly adhere to a set of boycott regulations directed at Israel. In brief, these regulations prohibit an Arab from having any dealings whatsoever with any Israel person or business, or with foreign persons of firms maintaining such dealings with Israel. Violation of these regulations entails the blacklisting of violators in all Arab countries with the result that all commercial transactions with such violators are banned.

However, before any action is taken against your firm, we deem it necessary that we contact you directly in order to ascertain the nature of the dealings of your firm with Israel. This will have to be done in the form of a declaration duly signed before the competent governmental authorities and should also bear a final authentication to the signature of the authorized representative of your firm appended thereto by the closest consulate or diplomatic mission of any Arab country. The required declaration will have to contain complete answers to the following questions:

(Detailed questions asked whether Scherr-Tumico had now, or had in the past, branch factories, assembly lines, general agencies or head offices in Israel; whether it had ever granted Israelis patent rights; whether it now, or ever, owned shares in, assisted, or represented any Israeli firm.)

If in the light of the answers to the said questions, it turns out that you have any dealings with Israel in the aforementioned forms, then, under the Israel boycott regulations, now in force in all Arab countries, the name of your firm will be blacklisted in all these countries. Consequently, you will be denied access to the extensive Arab markets and all transactions with your business will be banned.

We earnestly hope that you will choose to keep your commercial relations with the Arab countries in good standing, rather than to impair your free access to the Arab markets. If you will decide to adopt this course then you will have to repudiate any standing agreement between your firm and any Israeli firm or business within the aforementioned forms. You will also have to furnish us with documentary evidence to this effect.

In this connection, we draw your attention to the noteworthy fact that under the effective Israel boycott regulations, failure to submit the required documents within a period not to exceed August 20, 1962, will automatically lead to taking action against your firm, as provided for by the said regulations.

Finally, we do hope that you will extend sympathetic understanding of the compelling considerations which render these measures mandatory. It is also our sincere hope that you will find it appropriate to maintain your commercial relations with the Arab countries.

Very truly yours,

DR. ABDUL KARIM EL-A'IDI,
Commissioner General, Central Office for the Boycott of Israel.

MAY 22, 1962.

Attention Dr. Abdul Karem el-A'idi, Commissioner General, Central Office for the Boycott of Israel

LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES,
SECRETARIAT GENERAL,
Damascus, Syria.

GENTLEMEN: The information you have, to the effect that we are establishing a subsidiary manufacturing plant in Israel, is correct. The plant is now under construction there and we will produce measuring devices and do metal finishing when it is completed.

We were invited by the Government of Israel to come there for that purpose. After a thorough investigation by us of the market potentials, the capabilities of the people, and the generally favorable business climate there, we decided to avail ourselves of their many advantages.

We have found them to be a friendly, industrious, forthright, and intelligent people, interested only in making a modern, productive, and suitable homeland for a people who, until 1948, had been homeless. They have, through almost superhuman effort, made a desert bloom. It is our opinion that they wish to live at peace with and trade with their Arab neighbors as well as the rest of the world. People of Jewish extraction have been and are now contributing more than their proportionate share to the artistic, scientific, industrial, and social achievements which the world now enjoys.

Scherr-Tumico, Inc., is a non-Jewish corporation, the majority of owners and principals of which are of British extraction and are third generation Americans. We have therefore not entered into the agreement with the Government of Israel for reasons of sentiment. Had the Arab States extended us the same ensuing cooperation, we would have given such an overture equal attention and consideration.

We are not impressed by your threats of intimidation and coercion through boycott and blacklist. If the Arab States had progressed industrially and scientifically to the point where your markets were lucrative for our products, we would still not be impressed.

The effort you are expending in fomenting hate and strife with your neighbors can better be used to bring something of substance for your people that they may have the advantage of a better standard of living. Cease your war with the Israelis and you will find this corporation and most all of America ready and anxious to extend to you a welcome and helping hand.

Cordially yours,

SCHERR-TUMICO, INC.,
HOWARD M. JAMES,
President.

He Left His Mark

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, this morning Ambassador Adlai Stevenson was laid to rest in the family graveyard in Bloomington, Ill., beside his namesake grandfather, who served as Vice President of the United States. While the funerals are now over, the tributes continue to come forth; for Ambassador Stevenson's warmth of character, eloquence, and unparalleled statesmanship are now part of memories that will endure forever. The following editorial comment aptly captures the sense of loss and deep respect shared by citizens of New Jersey at this time. The first article is from the Newark Star-Ledger of July 14, 1965, and the second from the Newark Evening News of July 15, 1965.

[From the Newark Star-Ledger, July 14, 1965]

HE LEFT HIS MARK

Adlai E. Stevenson was the kind of man who stood apart but was still part of the flow and ebb of life * * * and of humanity itself.

He was a warm, deeply human person, fully committed to the task of seeking solutions that would make the world a better place for all men, of all colors, of all races, of all religions.

He had the gentleness of manner and a graciousness that was in the style of the Old World, but he was very much a part of the modern world, its complex problems of conflict and peace, in the shadow of nuclear destruction.

Above all, Adlai Ewing Stevenson was a civilized man of broad intellectual powers, perceptive, and articulate. He was a potent force for peace, a voice of reasonableness and sanity, one that was heard above the strident claims of power-hungry men who sought to impose the will of their countries upon others.

In a world rent with suspicion and distrust, Mr. Stevenson was a figure who inspired confidence and trust. And this, in the final hour of service to his country as ambassador to the United Nations, marked the fulfillment of a long, illustrious and meritorious career.

Mr. Stevenson came to the United Nations at a time of life when most men seek the solitude and tranquility of less demanding duties. He came after major disappointments in his political career.

Twice Mr. Stevenson offered himself for election to the Presidency and twice he was defeated. Political historians may some day record that these events were foreordained and less of his doing than of the stature of the man who defeated him, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Mr. Stevenson will be remembered for the brilliance of his campaign rhetoric, the sheen of his intellect reflected in thoughtful appeals to the minds of his countrymen. His addresses, particularly those in the first campaign, brought a new, high style to the American political scene.

For the first time a candidate moved away from campaign cliches * * * the hackney phrases, the trite charge and countercharge. He spoke of the future, of his country and of the world. He saw hope where others saw despair. More important, he spoke up, not down, to the people.

It was the mark of the universal quality of this man that made leaders and people of other countries hold him in high regard. They saw in him potentialities that many of his own fellowmen did not perceive until much later, when he was brought back by President Kennedy to represent the United States in the U.N.

It was in the world body that the deeds measured up to the words he had uttered earlier, spoken on campaign platforms. The eloquence of the man drew a new dimension, one that fitted his courage and fortitude during periods of crisis and travail.

Mr. Stevenson was, as President Johnson was to recall in the sorrow of his death, "America's finest voice." For this man had not really changed, from the politician to the statesman. He still preferred the civility of reason to the ranting of restrictive national interests in quest of extending spheres of influence.

Mr. Stevenson measured the world by the fullness of its horizons, not by the borders of his own country. He saw this world as few other statesmen have seen it, in human terms of men and women and children. He saw it in terms of peace, not war. He saw it as he must have seen himself in the solitude of his most intimate privacy. He saw it as a human being, civilized and deeply concerned. The world is a better place because he passed through it * * * and left his mark.

[From the Newark Evening News, July 15, 1965]

A STATESMAN PASSES

The sudden, shocking death of Adlai Stevenson leaves not only his country but the entire free world the poorer for his going.

Everything about him—his eloquence, intellect, charm, his sensitivity to humanity's plight—helped to make him an ideal emissary to the world. It is difficult to evaluate immediately his vast contributions as United Nations Ambassador to America's prestige and influence.

It is a measure of his modesty that in 1952 he refused to seek the Democratic nomination for President. It is a measure of his devotion to country and party that he felt obliged to accept the draft. He won more votes than any previous candidate except Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936, yet lost to General Eisenhower, a defeat that was repeated overwhelmingly 4 years later. Yet in defeat Mr. Stevenson retained, even enhanced, his personal prestige.

In 1960 he lost the presidential nomination to John F. Kennedy, who soon after his election as President appointed him Ambassador to the United Nations with Cabinet rank. From the beginning Mr. Stevenson seemed predestined for his United Nations post. As early as 1956, during the presidential campaign, he was perhaps the first high-level spokesman anywhere to urge an end to the nuclear tests which were increasingly poisoning the globe's atmosphere.

In his ambassadorial role, Mr. Stevenson was to attain the success that had eluded him in the political forum. He soon won, in the U.N. Security Council, the respect, even admiration of his fellow emissaries.

Perhaps one of his most devastating blows at Russian duplicity was achieved during the Cuban missile crisis, when he dramatically discredited Soviet Ambassador Zorin. After Mr. Zorin had denied that his country had any missiles in Castro's country, Mr. Stevenson unveiled U-2 pictures of the actual emplacements before a crowded Council chamber.

More recently, in the bitter debates on the Congo crisis, and still later when opinion among the developing nations began to swing against the United States on Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, his prestige and reputation for integrity helped the United States even among nations which did not approve of Washington's position.

Now, at 65, death has intervened to deprive the free world of a passionate and articulate champion, of a bright spirit, a man of grace and wit.

The Bridge Over the Sound

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I believe the New York Times editorial entitled "That Bridge Over the Sound," which appeared in today's edition, Monday, July 19, summarizes the objections I and many of my fellow Long Islanders have to the proposed bridge across Long Island Sound between Oyster Bay and Rye, N.Y.

Such a bridge is necessary on the island for the future economic progress of our area, but I am informed that the Port Jefferson site would better serve these needs. In addition to a proposed Orient Point Bridge which would open up the New England area to Long Island commerce and travelers. President Johnson has launched a program to preserve the natural beauty of our Nation; should we New Yorkers respond to the President's worthy efforts by building a bridge that would severely impair one of the finest areas in the Northeast?

We who oppose the bridge at the present proposed site welcome the editorial support of the New York Times to take another look at this proposal, and under leave to extend my remarks I include the following editorial:

[From the New York Times, July 19, 1965]

THAT BRIDGE OVER THE SOUND

Rebuffed last winter by the public outcry against his original proposal, Robert Moses has now brought forward a refurbished plan for a bridge across Long Island Sound. It would be 6.5 miles long; extend between Rye in Westchester County and Oyster Bay in Nassau County, and cost $130 million. Mr. Moses' engineers say that a toll of $1 a car could be made self-liquidating and cost taxpayers nothing.

The Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority is limited by law to operations within New York City, and so Mr. Moses now suggests that a new authority be created for the purpose. Who would constitute the new authority? The county executives of Nassau and Westchester and the chairman of Triborough, who happens to be Mr. Moses.

Mr. Moses may be right in contending that growing population and traffic will eventually necessitate a new crossing of Long Island Sound. But the bridge proposed by Mr. Moses would do enormous damage to two fine residential communities. It would certainly impair the esthetic and recreational values of Long Island Sound, one of the greatest of natural playgrounds.

Alternate sites that have been proposed, such as from the eastern end of Long Island to Rhode Island or Connecticut, or the possibility of a tunnel instead of a bridge, of course need to be thoroughly explored before a decision is made. The Tristate Transportation Commission is now the official regional planning agency on transportation problems for the entire metropolitan area. It should be asked to review the proposal as part of the overall regional pattern.

Vice President Humphrey Subjected to International Humiliation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last week Vice President HUMPHREY was subjected to international humiliation when it was revealed that the Polish Communist Government refused him permission to visit Poland. Nationwide reaction to this development has generally reflected disappointment at the naive foreign policy of the administration. However, a very special commentary written from the viewpoint of a leading Polish-American journalist appeared in the July 17 edition of the Polish-American of Chicago, Ill. The commentary was by the paper's editor, Mr. Joseph Bialasiewicz who is thoroughly familiar with developments in Poland and is also cognizant of the complications in Washington.

The article follows:

POLITICAL LINE

(By Joseph F. Bialasiewicz)

It is hard to understand why the Communist authorities in Warsaw refused to admit an American delegation to the planned dedication ceremonies in Krakow where a children's hospital has been built by this country as a gesture of good will.

Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY and a large congressional representation wanted to fly to Poland in autumn since it was made known that the frequency postponed dedication ceremonies will finally take place.

The children's hospital was a gift of American generosity. Many difficulties and problems were encountered to complete this project because there are in American politics some groups hostile to any help for Poland. These groups consistently see Poland as a Communist government only neglecting to take into consideration the existence of 31 million people imprisoned by power.

It was always difficult for friends of Poland to carry through Congress projects like financial aid selling surplus wheat for Poland currencies, granting the "most favored nation" trade treatment and so forth.

Also the children's hospital undertaking had "rough sailing" in Congress but strong and determined action by our congressional representation (Representative CLEMENT ZABLOCKI and others) supported by our friends with the then Senator HUMPHREY spearheading the movement succeeded in getting the approval of the hospital funds.

Now the Vice President and many Congressmen who were instrumental in bringing this project to fruition have been "rewarded" with the refusal of admission to Krakow.

There are rumors that Warsaw's action is a manifestation of its disapproval of American policy in Vietnam. There is an official explanation that Warsaw wants to avoid the possibility of an anti-American demonstration at the dedication ceremonies. These reasons are most difficult to accept.

The Vietnam situation is a major problem within the context of world politics. The childrens hospital is a matter of humanitarian efforts and is limited exclusively to American-Polish relations.

To combine these two issues reflects a tendency on the part of Polish Communists to deepen and aggravate the ideological differences between the United States and Poland. It is also apparent that they would like to receive aid and consideration from this country but that they lack the courage to accept the role of appreciative host by inviting and giving the "red-carpet treatment to the representation of the American donors.

It is ridiculous to suppose that the Polish Governments attitude in regard the participation of Americans in the dedication ceremonies in Krakow would influence the U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Official Washington evaluates Warsaw's action as a form of effrontery undermining American-Polish relations. Why did Poland choose this arrogant course when even Moscow seems to disclose more understanding for American participation and policy in Vietnam?

As to the fears of the possibility of an anti-American demonstration it should be observed that all forms of demonstrations in Communist governed countries are successful only when triggered or accepted by governmental authorities. An anti-American demonstration could be easily avoided if the authorities would not favor this type of action.

One might suspect that Polish authorities fear more a pro-American rather than an anti-American demonstration in Krakow. Vice President Nixon's visit and his enthusiastic reception by the people of Warsaw will not be easily or quickly forgotten.

The refusal to invite the American delegation to Poland for the official dedication ceremonies of the children's hospital in Krakow is a blow to all efforts of good will and help to Poland.

It would be wise for Warsaw to reconsider its ill-advised decision.

Shall We Abandon the Captive Nations to Communism?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, at the request of the Assembly of Captive European Nations, and under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a copy of the appeal which that organization has issued on the 20th anniversary of the Second World War in Europe, together with a cablegram to President Johnson.

I think every American should read and carefully think about the contents of this thought-provoking statement. Surely the captive nations must be encouraged and helped to recover their hard-won freedoms.

Shall the free world abandon these helpless peoples to the oppression and slavery of communism? Every true American should carefully ponder this question:

APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCE OF EUROPE AND THE FREE WORLD ON THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF WORLD WAR II

One hundred million Europeans appeal to the conscience of Europe and of the free world: 20 years after the Yalta Conference where the three principal allies solemnly proclaimed the right of the liberated peoples to determine their fate, to choose freely the political, economic and social institutions under which they would live; 20 years after the victorious end of the Second World War in Europe whose primary aim was to liberate the European peoples from totalitarian domination and secure them the exercise of fundamental freedoms and of the rights of man, 100 million Europeans remain subjected to Moscow-imposed and dominated Communist totalitarian regimes.

One hundred million Europeans, robbed of the most essential rights of man and of the right of self-determination, are still awaiting their liberation. In these 20 years numerous peoples of Africa and Asia have achieved nationhood.

In contrast, these rights are still denied to once free and independent European nations with a long historic past.

New agreements have been or are about to be entered into with the Soviet Union—without any demand that it first comply with the provisions of the agreements to which it had previously subscribed.

Economic agreements are concluded, financial aid is given to the Communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe which enable them to maintain themselves in power against the will of their peoples.

The totalitarian Communist regimes which have been foisted upon the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe are being morally and politically vindicated.

Peoples of Europe, peoples of the free world, is this normal, is this right? The Communist aim of world domination remains unchanged. World domination remains the Communist aim.

Only the tactics designed to achieve it more easily have changed and are getting more flexible, better concealed and, consequently, more dangerous for world freedom. The common interests of the free and subjugated nations, therefore, enjoin the Assembly of Captive European Nations to appeal, in the name of 100 million silenced Europeans, to the conscience and solidarity of Europe and the free world:

Help the European peoples subjected to the Communist yoke, to recover their national independence, their human rights, and fundamental freedoms.

To this end; the free nations dispose of many peaceful means, both political and economic. In availing themselves of these means, they will reconstruct a free Europe in its natural confines; they will establish a true, just, and lasting peace.

NEW YORK and STRASBOURG, *May 8, 1965.*

ASSEMBLY OF CAPTIVE EUROPEAN NATIONS TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON

General Committee of Assembly of Captive European Nations meeting to commemorate 20th anniversary of end of Second World War conveys to you, Mr. President, their feeling of profound admiration for the strong leadership you are providing to the free world. The clarity of your purpose in defense of freedom and the firm action you have undertaken to forestall Communist attempts at takeovers in Asia and Latin America will have an electrifying effect on your most reliable allies, the Communist-ruled peoples in east-central Europe. From their tragic experience over the last 20 years, the peoples of our homelands know that communism, whatever its form or disguise, is evil. They know the difference between Communist promises and Communist performance. They know that instead of social justice communism brings material and spiritual enslavement; instead of national independence, exploitation and humiliating subjection; instead of peace, permanent war against free and civilized societies. They therefore fully realize that whoever stands up to Communist totalitarianism and thwarts its unholy designs is right, and hence deserves the grateful recognition of all mankind. We wish, Mr. President, you could read these days the minds and hearts of the captive peoples. You would find them filled with faith in America and hope in their resurgence as members of the community of free men and free nations.

JOZEF LETTRICH,
Acting Chairman.
BRUTUS COSTE,
Secretary General.

The Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, Sunday, July 18, I had the signal honor, along with my colleague from New York, the Honorable FRANK J. HORTON, to receive a plaque honoring an unknown fighter lost in the continuing struggle against the forces of communism. Congressman Horton and myself were en-

trusted by the Assembly of Captive European Nations in ceremonies at United Nations Plaza in the city of New York with the bronze plaque which will be placed in a national shrine in the United States for eventual transfer to the capital of the first captive nation to be freed from Soviet domination.

At a time when the forces of freedom are once again heavily engaged in another struggle with communism, I think my colleague's remarks particularly succinct and relevant, and, under leave to extend my remarks, I include them in the RECORD:

Certain signs, point with promise to a new era of understanding between our Nation and the Soviet Union. Yet, the fulfillment of that promise never can occur unless and until the Kremlin masters redress the grievances of those millions of people—your national kin—who are enslaved by the most oppressive colonial system ever to occur in human history.

The American conscience is troubled by what we see and what we know to exist in the once free nations of Eastern Europe. Freedom and independence are fundamental to our life and to our belief in the rights of man. Where these essentials have been destroyed by the actions of aggressors, we have a duty to democracy to help gain their restoration.

That is why we observe this Captive Nations Week. It is an official expression of the U.S. Government and the people of this liberty-loving land. It publishes to the world—free and slave alike—that the revolutionary spirit of our country lives today as strongly as ever and that it is dedicated to regaining the rights of those who still are subjected by communism.

But, the message of this Captive Nations Week must be put into meaning beyond a statement of belief. Our vital contemporary mission is to convince the Communist leaders that no meaningful nor realistic relaxation of the tensions that divide the world is possible without full and final freedom for Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, the Ukraine, and on through the roster of nations that had ripped from them by the vicious claw of the Russian Bear all that they held near and dear.

It must be stated, restated, and repeated as many times as necessary that the United States of America will demand the return of national independence and the restoration of individual liberties in any negotiation with Moscow. Soviet slavery is the key issue, and our total effort must insist on Russia's breaking the bondage which holds captive millions of people in Eastern Europe.

A world based on freedom and justice is the only hope for peace. It is the abiding desire of Americans and the fervent goal of the captive peoples. In recognition of its imperative, let us continue with renewed strength and dedication our mission in behalf of peace.

I applaud what you and your organizations are doing to win victory in this offensive. Because you know deep within your hearts the justice of your cause and because you have the support and sponsorship of millions of your fellow Americans, including many of us in the U.S. Congress, triumph will result.

Shoulder to shoulder and heart to heart, we are joined in the struggle and fight for the sacred right of the captive peoples to a new and free life. We shall win.

Gun Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the murder and mayhem committed daily in this country with guns is appalling. This is why I have sponsored H.R. 6783, which would prohibit the selling of firearms through the mails at the retail level.

The following column by the distinguished publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, Ralph McGill, is very much to the point with reference to this deadly business. Mr. McGill's column appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of July 18, 1965:

CONTROL OF GUNS

(By Ralph McGill)

We can begin with a few headlines taken from one edition of one newspaper: "A 57-year-old salvage dealer kept Atlanta police at bay for 75 minutes—holed up in his house with three guns * * * he narrowly missed his 17-year-old son who called police * * * his wife, who is separated from her husband, told police he had been drinking for 8 weeks * * * spent .45-caliber shells were found on the livingroom floor * * * his two other guns, a three-shot shotgun, and a pump gun, were unfired."

"Pittsburgh police shot down a love-crazed gunman who killed a police lieutenant in a predawn reign of terror."

"Lane County (Oreg.) deputy was shot to death when he stopped a car on a country road near Eugene, Oreg."

"Patrick Moeller, 23, a former mental patient, is charged with having shot seven persons in Honolulu, killing one of them. Police are investigating the possibility he may have been the berserk sniper who killed a honeymooning naval couple in 1964."

These items are a part of the daily story of violence with guns—guns which may be bought with as much ease as buying a hat or a pair of shoes—and for less money. Guns may be bought in shops or by mail. If one wants a machinegun, it may be had. A bazooka and rockets to fire in it?—why certainly. Just fill out the blank and mail it in. One may even buy field artillery. Rifles are cheap. Ammunition is cheaper.

The mentally disturbed, the criminal, the hoodlum, the man or woman determined on murder—all these may buy guns.

Criminal organizations may purchase guns by the thousands. Within recent months Federal agents have seized truckloads of guns destined for underground fascist-type organizations who are storing guns and threatening to "take over" one of these days.

What does J. Edgar Hoover, the Nation's top law enforcement officer, say about the ease with which the crazed, the unstable, the criminals may obtain guns? In the most recent public comment, Mr. Hoover, Director of the FBI, was asked if easy access to guns was not a contributing factor in crime and if stricter control over gun sales would not help police and the FBI in dealing with homicides.

The answer was "yes." Mr. Hoover then gave the stark statistical facts that refute the wooly-minded concept that guns should be easy to get and that any sensible control over sales and use of them is somehow un-American.

"A review made by the bureau," said Mr. Hoover, "of more than 8,500 willful killings in 1963 shows that some type of firearm was used in 56 percent of them. Guns were used in 56 percent of the murders in our cities, 62 percent of suburban slayings, and 68 percent of the rural killings. Almost 60,000 armed robberies and over 22,000 aggravated assaults in 1963 were committed with a gun. Of the 168 law-enforcement officers slain by criminals in the 4-year period of 1960–63, all but 6 were killed with some type of gun, 131 of them with handguns.

"The 1963 record revealed that a gun is 7 times more lethal than all other types of weapons combined. Victims of assaults where a gun is used die from wounds sustained in 21 percent of the cases, while death results in only 3 percent of assaults with other weapons.

"The control of the sale of guns will not eliminate willful killings. But a study of murder motives indicates that the ready accessibility of firearms enables persons to kill on impulse and while in a rage. Many homicides no doubt would be reduced to mere assault if the most deadly of all weapons—the gun—were not so easily obtainable."

Is Mr. Hoover a "Red" for wanting some control over the sale and possession of guns? Is he anti-American? Do police officers who want such control seek to violate constitutional rights? Hardly.

Commonsense and the record of lawless use of private weapons require establishment of control. It is disturbing that there should be opposition to proposed control. Surely civilization demands that we act.

Captive Nations Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, when the last war was over, many millions of people, who had suffered the terrors of war for more than 5 years, had thought that their freedom was in sight. Many other millions who had sacrificed much and had prayed for the quick conclusion of the war had also hoped that peoples enslaved under totalitarian tyranny would regain their richly deserved freedom. That was the one general expectation in the West, and it was naturally hoped that the Government of the Soviet Union would help its wartime allies to restore freedom to the peoples in eastern and central Europe. But as we all learned the hard way, and as we rue over wartime events, the Soviet Union not only failed to aid and assist the oppressed peoples to regain their freedom, but it deliberately brought these peoples under its monolithic rule, and then imposed upon them Communist totalitarian tyranny.

That is the unfortunate and the almost unbelievably sad situation today in all central and east European countries. From the Baltic to the Black Sea, the Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Czechoslovaks, Hungarians, Bulgarians,

and Rumanians, and Germans in East Germany, constitute the captive nations of Europe.

The fate of these unhappy peoples has been the most serious concern of the West. The West's statesmen have tried to regain their freedom through peaceful means, and our Government has done its utmost to that end. In order to assure the people of this country that we are in earnest in this matter, the Government has designated the third week of July as Captive Nations Week. We have been observing it since 1959. We have always felt and still feel, that the cause of the captive nations is a righteous cause, one of freedom and humanity. I am happy that the Captive Nations Week is thus officially observed throughout the land, and I gladly associate myself with the observance of Captive Nations Week.

Building Service Employees Oppose the Bread Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, Mr. David Sullivan, general president of the Building Service Employees International Union—AFL-CIO—has written me in opposition to the bread tax which would be imposed by the pending farm bill, H.R. 7097.

Mr. Sullivan points out that he does not oppose price supports for wheat farmers. What he does object to is the proposed method of financing price supports, which would shift the burden off the Federal Treasury and onto "those who would find it most burdensome—the consumer." Mr. Sullivan urges the adoption of an amendment "to require that the farmers receive their subsidy from general tax funds and not from the pocketbook of the consumer"—in short, that wheat supports be paid for by progressive, not regressive, taxation.

I include the full text of Mr. Sullivan's letter in the RECORD at this point:

BUILDING SERVICE EMPLOYEES' INTERNATIONAL UNION,
Washington, D.C., June 30, 1965.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I am writing to you in regard to H.R. 7097. I want to make it clear that I am not opposed to the Government offering price supports for wheat farmers.

I do wish to let you know that we strenuously oppose the 50 cents charge in H.R. 7097. The subsidy is thereby misplaced. It is borne by those who would find it most burdensome—the consumer.

When action is taken on this bill, I urge you to amend the bill to require that the farmers receive their subsidy from general tax funds and not from the pocketbook of the consumer.

Sincerely,

DAVID SULLIVAN,
General President.

Better Day for the Migrant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, in several recent statements to the House I have pointed out that despite some limited trouble spots, the overall record of harvesting crops this year without a large influx of foreign workers has been encouraging.

This evaluation has been confirmed by the New York Times which said yesterday:

Thus far the evidence is strong that the Nation's food needs can be well met without reopening the flood gates for low-cost labor from Mexico, the West Indies and other areas.

The Times' article goes on to point out that "fruit and vegetable prices have not skyrocketed as a result of the bettered labor standards."

Mr. Speaker, the important task now, as this article makes clear, is to "extend to migratory American farm laborers some of the protections that are basic for virtually all other American workers."

Several bills which will help to accomplish this goal are now pending before Congress. One, which would extend unemployment insurance to some 70,000 farm workers and to another 200,000 agricultural processing workers, is scheduled for hearings before the Committee on Ways and Means this next month.

This protection, Mr. Speaker, along with others, is vitally needed; it is long overdue, and I urge that it be provided at the earliest possible time. It is a measure of our responsibility to America's most neglected workers.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, July 18, 1965]

BETTER DAY FOR THE MIGRANT

More than a half year has passed since Congress cut off the mass inflow of foreign labor willing to work at stravation wages to harvest American crops. Despite continued expressions of anguish from many large farm owners, the transition to total reliance on domestic workers has been encouraging. Only 1,500 foreign workers are now engaged in offsetting local labor shortages on American farms, compared with more than 54,000 at the same time last year.

A sterner test may come in September and October; but thus far the evidence is strong that the Nation's food needs can be well met without reopening the flood gates of low-cost labor from Mexico, the West Indies, and other areas. Secretary of Labor Wirtz deserves credit for his refusal, under incessant political pressure, to yield to the warnings of disaster with which California growers bombarded him. He stood courageously on the principle that enough domestic labor would be found if wages and living conditions for field workers were brought up to a level of decency.

The interesting fact is not only that he has been proved right on this score but also that fruit and vegetable prices have not skyrocketed as a result of the bettered labor standards. A Labor Department survey over the past 9 weeks indicates that most farm products have been selling in the wholesale market at prices below those of 1964. The spread between what the housewife pays and what it costs to pick most fruits and vegetables is so great that even a doubling of farm wages would have only a slight direct impact on market-basket prices.

The need now is to extend to migratory American farm laborers some of the protections that are basic for virtually all other American workers. Mr. Wirtz has told a Senate subcommittee of his strong personal support for the inclusion of farm workers under both the Federal minimum wage and the statutory guarantees of freedom to bargain collectively. But he emphasized that there was no officials administration position in favor of either of these highly salutary objectives. There ought to be.

A nation dedicated to abolishing poverty cannot continue to neglect the most elementary rights of the most deprived group in its work force.

GI Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as the war in Vietnam intensifies, parents of servicemen have a natural interest in their welfare and their military benefits. Since the benefits to which a serviceman is now entitled by law are subject to considerable misunderstanding, an editorial in this morning's Chicago Sun-Times is in the true tradition of public service and carefully explains the legal benefits to which our GI's serving in Vietnam are entitled.

The editorial follows:

GI BENEFITS

The charge has been made several times that a GI risking his life in Vietnam "cannot even buy GI life insurance," and that if he is killed his widow or parents get an amount of money from the Government so small that it is, literally, a pittance. The charge, which is false, should be refuted, especially since the probability exists that a great many more troops will be going into combat areas in South Vietnam.

It is true that a serviceman can no longer buy GI life insurance. That insurance program was ended in 1956.

However, every member of the Armed Forces on active duty is protected by the "Dependency and Indemnity Compensation Act." The details of this act are found in the United States Code (annotated) under title 38, sections 401 through 423.

This act provides a sliding scale of payments to the widow of a serviceman who dies or is killed on active duty. The amount of the payment is predicated on the rank or rate of the man and his length of service. It ranges from $130 a month for the lowest-rated enlisted man up to $175 a month for a high-ranking enlisted man with many years of service. Indemnity for officers is similarly scaled.

The payments to the widow are for life if she remains a widow. If she remarries or dies and there are surviving children payments are made to the children until they are 18, or until they are 21 if they are in school. Parents who were dependent on a serviceman for support are also covered.

The act also provides for a burial allowance plus a death gratuity of not less than

$800 or more than $3,000 and extends some medical services to a serviceman's widow and children.

The serviceman does not have to pay for this protection. One does not have to be an insurance expert to realize that the benefits for survivors that are now available from the Armed Forces represent a protection far greater than the old GI life insurance, which was limited to $10,000.

Legal officers of the Armed Forces say that if any survivors are in doubt about their rights they should ask for legal aid from the nearest branch of the service to which the deceased serviceman belonged. We hope this clears up what seems to be a persistent and harmful misunderstanding about what benefits are due a serviceman's survivors.

The Legacy of Adlai Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, it is our practice here in the House when some particularly relevant or well-phrased comment is made, to ask leave to associate oneself with the remark.

Under the unanimous-consent rule, I am placing in the RECORD an editorial from the New York Times of Sunday, July 18, and I simply state that I desire to be associated with these remarks:

THE LEGACY OF ADLAI STEVENSON

Power is ephemeral; and once-vivid memories of great deeds and stirring events eventually fade. But the moral force of personal example—for good or bad—inevitably endures, for it enters the minds of contemporaries, shapes the way in which they see and judge reality, is passed on to posterity and becomes part of history and of the historian's measure.

The death of Adlai E. Stevenson this week left a unique void because through his deeds, words and mode of life he had set an unusually compelling example to the practitioners of politics. It is possible to misunderstand the nature of that example. Although he was well read and interested in ideas, he was not an intellectual seeking to live the life of the mind. He was indisputably a public man who understood politics and sought power. To see Stevenson solely as a preacher of high ideals or as a literacy figure miscast in the brutal world of politics is to miss the main force of his career.

The essence of Stevenson's example was that he demonstrated that moral values are relevant to politics. In 1952 he took over the leadership of the Democratic Party which, despite many great accomplishments, had grown fat, careless, and corrupt. He reorganized the party's national headquarters, recharged the party's sluggish idealism, and gave it a new tone and direction. Four years later, in his much undervalued second campaign, he set forth in his "New America" program most of the intellectual basis for the later New Frontier and Great Society.

Largely because of his leadership, the Democratic Party in the 1950's provided a viable alternative. Senator EUGENE McCARTHY did not exaggerate when he told his fellow partisans at the 1960 convention that Stevenson was "the man who made us proud to be a Democrat." Nor is it an exaggeration to say of him that he had a more profound and lasting effect on his party as an opposition leader out of power than his successful Republican opponent had on his party in power.

To the problems of foreign policy, Stevenson brought his admirable gifts of tact, timing, patience, incisive eloquence, and skillful maneuver. His clear moral insight guided him through the ambiguities and indirections of diplomacy. He recognized that peace is not only an end which most men seek, but it is also a means for reaching that end, which many men tend to forget. Stevenson bequeathed to the Nation in foreign affairs not a plan or a policy, but a reminder that moral self-restraint in the use of power is a source of strength.

Stevenson knew defeat and disappointment, but he never knew vulgarity, panic, or despair. He was no stranger to ambition, but he remembered that, win or lose, he had to live with himself after election day. To the public dialog of his time he brought intelligence, civility, and grace. We who have been his contemporaries have been companions of greatness.

Text of Adlai Stevenson's Acceptance Speech at 1952 Democratic Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, the Nation said its final farewell to a favorite son today when the body of Adlai E. Stevenson was interred in a family plot in Bloomington, Ill. Though he lost two elections by wide margins, the idealism and eloquence that characterized his campaigns have made a deep and lasting impression on our Nation. Therefore, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to a brief example of Mr. Stevenson's shining oratory, his memorable speech when he accepted the 1952 Democratic presidential nomination in Chicago.

The speech follows:

I accept your nomination—your program.

I should have preferred to hear those words uttered by a stronger, wiser, better man than myself.

None of you can wholly appreciate what is in my heart. I can only hope that you may understand my words. They will be few.

I have not sought the honor you have done me, I could not seek it because I aspired to another office, which was the full measure of my ambition. One does not treat the highest office within the gift of the people of Illinois as an alternative or a consolation prize.

I would not seek your nomination for the presidency because the burdens of the office stagger the imagination. Its potential for good or evil now and in the years of our lives smothers exultation and converts vanity to prayer.

I have asked the Merciful Father of us all to let this cup pass for me. But from such dread responsibility one does not shrink in fear, in self-interest, or in false humility.

So, "if this cup may not pass away from me, except I drink it, Thy will be done."

That my heart has been troubled, that I have not sought this nomination, that I could not seek it in good conscience, that I would not seek it in honest self-appraisal, it is not to say that I value it the less. Rather is it that I revere the office of President of the United States.

And now that you have made your decision I will fight to win that office with all my heart and soul. With your help, I have no doubt that we will win.

"THE HIGHEST MISSION"

You have summoned me to the highest mission within the gift of any people. I could not be more proud. Better men than I were at hand for this mighty task, and I owe to you and to them every resource of mind and strength that I possess to make your deed of today a good one for our country and our party. I am confident, too, that your selection of a candidate for Vice President will strengthen me and our party immeasurably in the hard, implacable work that lies ahead for all of us.

I know you join with me in gratitude and respect for the great Democrats and leaders of our generation whose names you have considered here in this convention, whose vigor, character and devotion to the Republic have won the respect of countless Americans and enriched our party. I shall need them, we shall need them, because I have not changed in any respect since yesterday. Your nomination, awesome as I find it, has not enlarged my own capacities. So I shall be profoundly grateful and emboldened by their comradeship and fealty.

Let me say, too, that I have been heartened by the conduct of this convention. You have argued and disagreed because as Democrats you care and care deeply. But you have disagreed and argued without calling each other liars and thieves, without despoiling our best traditions in naked, shameless struggles for power.

And you have written a platform that neither equivocates, contradicts nor evades. You have restated our party's record, its principles and its purposes in language that none can mistake, and with a firm confidence in justice, freedom and peace on earth that will raise the hearts and hopes of mankind for the day when no one rattles a saber and no one drags a chain.

"I FEEL NO EXULTATION"

For all these things, for unity, vigor and vision, I am grateful to you. But I feel no exultation, no sense of triumph. Our troubles are all ahead of us. Some will call us appeasers; others will say we are the war party. Some will say we are reactionary. Others will say we stand for socialism. There will be the inevitable cries of "Throw the rascals out"; "It's time for a change"; and so on and on.

We'll hear all those things and many more besides. But we will hear nothing that we have not heard before. I am not too much concerned with partisan denunciation, epithets and abuse, because the workingman, the farmer, and thoughtful businessman, all know that they are better off than ever before and that the greatest danger to free enterprise in this country died with the great depression under Democratic blows.

Nor am I afraid that the two-party system is in danger. Certainly the Republican Party looked brutally alive here a couple of weeks ago, and I mean both Republican parties. Nor am I afraid that the Democratic Party is old and fat and indolent. After 150 years it has been old for a long time; and it will never be indolent as long as it looks forward and not back, as long as it commands the allegiance of the young and hopeful who dream the dreams and see the visions of a better America and a better world.

You will hear many sincere and thoughtful people express concern about the continuation of one party in power for 20 years. I do not belittle this attitude. But change for the sake of change has no merit. If our greatest hazard is preservation of the values of Western civilization, in our self-

interest alone, if you please, is it the part of wisdom to change for the sake of change to a party with a split personality; to a leader, whom we all respect, but who has been called upon to minister to a hopeless case of political schizophrenia?

If the fear is corruption in official position, do you believe with Charles Evans Hughes that guilt is personal and knows no party? Do you doubt the power of any political leader, if he has the will to do so, to set his own house in order without his neighbors burning it down?

"GREAT OPPORTUNITY TO EDUCATE"

What does concern me, in common with thinking partisans of both parties, is not just winning the election, but how it is won, how well we can take advantage of this great quadrennial opportunity to debate issues sensibly and soberly. I hope and pray that we Democrats, win or lose, can campaign not as a crusade to exterminate the opposing party, as our opponents seem to prefer, but as a great opportunity to educate and elevate a people whose destiny is leadership, not alone of a rich, prosperous, contented country as in the past, but of a world in ferment.

And more important than winning the election is governing the Nation. That is the test of a political party—the acid, final test.

When the tumult and the shouting die, when the bands are gone and the lights are dimmed, there is the stark reality of responsibility in an hour of history haunted with those gaunt, grim specters of strife, dissension and materialism at home, and ruthless, inscrutable and hostile power abroad.

The ordeal of the 20th century—the bloodiest, most turbulent age of the Christian era—is far from over. Sacrifice, patience, understanding and implacable purpose may be our lot for years to come. Let's face it. Let's talk sense to the American people. Let's tell them the truth. That there are no gains without pains, that this is the eve of great decisions, not easy decisions, like resistance when you're attacked, but a long, patient, costly struggle which alone can assure triumph over the great enemies of men—war and poverty and tyranny—and the assaults upon human dignity which are the most grievous consequences of each.

PORTAL TO THE GOLDEN AGE

Let's tell them that the victory to be won in the 20th century, this portal to the golden age of man, mocks the pretensions of individual acumen and ingenuity. For it is a citadel guarded by thick walls of ignorance and mistrust which we do not fall before the trumpets blast or the politicians imprecations. They must be directly stormed by the hosts of courage, morality, and wisdom, standing shoulder to shoulder, unafraid of ugly truth, contemptuous of lies, half-truths, circuses, and demagoguery.

The people are wise—wiser than the Republicans think. And the Democratic Party is the people's party, not the labor party, not the farmer's party, not the employers' party—it is the party of no one because it is the party of everyone.

That is our ancient mission. Where we have deserted it we have failed. With your help there will be no desertion now. Better we lose the election than mislead the people; better we lose than misgovern the people.

Help us to do the job in this autumn of campaign and conflict; help me to do the job in these years of darkness, doubt, and crisis that stretch beyond the horizon of tonight's happy vision, and we will justify our glorious past and the loyalty of silent millions who look to us for compassion, understanding, and honest purpose. Thus, we will serve our great tradition greatly.

I ask of you all you have; I will give to you all I have, even as he who came here tonight and honored me, as he has honored you—the Democratic Party—by a lifetime of service and bravery that will find him an imperishable page in the history of the Republic and of the Democratic Party—President Harry S. Truman.

And finally, in the staggering task you have assigned me, I shall always try "to do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with my God."

Public Outcries Bring Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, some 1,500 members of the United Federation of Postal Clerks are attending a legislative and grievance conference here in Washington this week. These postal employees from practically every State in the United States, will be visiting with the distinguished Members of the 89th Congress to explain their support of pending postal overtime, pay raises, preservation of en route mail distribution and other legislative goals.

I hope each of my colleagues will take a few minutes to hear the views of these dedicated postal workers. They are vitally interested, as I am, in improving this Nation's postal service.

Some of the views of the postal clerks are spelled out in an editorial written by the editor of the Omaha Postal Clerk, Mr. Kenneth Wilson. I call this editorial to the attention of my colleagues:

PUBLIC OUTCRIES BRING ACTION

(By Kenny Wilson)

Recently the postal clerk has seen many different types of action taken on his behalf by Congressmen and Senators. What has brought about this hurried action by people who have heretofore not shown much interest in this problem? The reason given by the people in question is simple. Their constituents have been sending letters about this problem at a rate that in some cases outnumbers mail on problems that might seem more critical to some people. Senator McGEE who has launched an investigation reports that his mail on this mail problem equals the amount of mail he receives on Vietnam, Dominican Republic, and atomic energy combined. The Senator reported the impact being felt is tremendous and that the people in Washington do not know how people feel if they do not receive mail.

For about 3 months now this paper has urged the members of local No. 11 and all persons interested to write their Congressmen and Senators. I urge them to keep the letters going. Let them know we feel that ZIP code should be optional to all mailers whether the mail be first-, second-, third- or fourth-class mail. Also let them know that you oppose one-rate mail for first-class matter. This is to combat the fact the Postmaster General wants to eliminate airmail rates and move the mail at what he terms "the best available means." In testimony before a Senate subcommittee, Assistant Postmaster General William Hartigan testified that of all the mail mailed in the United States one-third of the letters do not leave the city in which they are mailed. He also testified that another third of the mail does not leave the State in which it is mailed. This means that the elimination of air mail rates do two things the average mailer probably will not like. One will be the probable increase of first-class rates. The rates will be increased and 6 cents or 7 cents will be a good guess. The second will be that the average mailer will not be able to select the type of mail service he or she wants and important mail will possibly be delayed. Prior to this idea a patron has been able to choose to pay extra for airmail service. In the future he would not. This also means if airmail rates are eliminated and mail is then all put on planes the two-thirds of the mail that does not leave the State in which it originates will pay the long haul for the remaining third. Is this what the patrons deserve? Write your views to your Senator or Congressman. These men are interested.

Colorado: "Ski Country, U.S.A."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 16, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, the growing ranks of ski enthusiasts are discovering increasingly that Colorado's numerous ski resort areas, with their characteristic fine powdered snow and beautiful mountain scenery, have earned for our State the title of "Ski Country, U.S.A."

Last year the number of skiers who enjoyed Colorado's slopes jumped well over the 1-million mark. Skiing has become a commercial enterprise of major importance to our State, and efforts are constantly being exerted to improve and enlarge our ski facilities.

I have just received a report from Mr. D. S. Nordwall, the regional forester of the U.S. Forest Service, on the 1964–65 ski season in Colorado, and I would like to have it inserted in the RECORD.

SKIING ON THE NATIONAL FORESTS IN COLORADO, 1964–65 SEASON

Early, consistently heavy snows, coupled with significantly increased use of Colorado's 21 national forest-based winter sports and ski areas, marked the 1964–65 winter ski season.

Ski area operators are reporting increases ranging from 19 percent to as high as 83 percent. Based on national forest lift ticket sales audits, the overall Statewide increase on those slopes located on national forest lands rounded out at 37 percent, with a total of 1,121,383 skier visits, compared with 817,518 during the 1963–64 season.

Forest Service and private operators agree that concerted efforts of private industry, including common carriers such as rail, bus and air have succeeded in creating a worldwide image for Colorado as "Ski Country, U.S.A." International advertising campaigns and promotions were stepped up during 1964. According to releases from several industries catering to the winter sports fan, this concerted campaign will continue in wider scope during 1965.

The question, "How fast will skiing continue to grow in popularity?" now faces public land administrators such as the U.S. Forest Service, and those segments of private industry catering to the skier.

In addition to the 21 developed ski and winter sports areas, all or partially situated on national forest land, there are six major areas on private land.

The Rocky Mountain region of the national forest system issued a prospectus to private

industry in 1964 seeking bids on ski/recreation development on Rio Grande National Forest in Colorado. Two new developments on other forests were announced, and construction will begin during 1965. Teams of Forest Service-private industry experts are investigating other areas.

Pleased with success, but concerned by the seeming uncharted growth, Colorado ski industry leaders have formed a steering committee to conduct an in-depth economic survey of the skiing industry in Colorado.

National forest administrators, from district ranger to supervisor, and thence to the Chief Forester in Washington, are also seeking answers. As managers of the public lands which provide the greatest opportunities in ski area development, the Forest Service will be faced with mounting requests for such development.

With 60 years experience in managing land, natural resources, and people the Forest Service will most likely follow a program of long-range expansion and development, mindful of established areas, community interests, and the needs of the winter visitor.

GROWTH OF WINTER SPORTS

No one really knows for sure how, or when, or even where today's popular winter sports started in Colorado. Hot Sulphur Springs, center of early day winter carnivals is generally accepted as the first community to realize the economic importance of winter sports.

The first known double chair lift in the United States was erected under special use permit on Arapaho National Forest on top of Berthoud Pass.

Denver's popular Winter Park summer-winter recreation area, also on Arapaho National Forest, opened its first winter season in 1938.

Two years prior to Winter Park's development, the Forest Service hired Graeme McGowan to study the potential of skiing on Arapaho National Forest. Mr. McGowan was considered an expert in this field, having operated the old ski lodge at West Portal prior to this time. In a special report about the future of a particular lodge, Mr. McGowan reported:

"The Sunday skiers generally are an actual detrement [sic] to any business of this sort. They not only make no purchases but also use up space in the Inn which might otherwise be used by paying guests. These Sunday indigents, or cheapskates, are a real drawback to any Sunday business the Inn might have in winter. I speak on this matter with definite knowledge. Not only have I carefully observed conditions here but also have had to put up with the same thing while operating the old ski lodge as West Portal."

Having delivered this blow to the Sunday skier, Mr. McGowan grudgingly admitted: "That there is actual need of some sort of shelter for these people who are so inconsiderate in their abuse of hospitality."

Like many reports, this portion of Mr. McGowan's evidently was either not read, or if so, fortunately ignored. The Sunday skier was there to stay—later to be joined by the weekend skier, and today, by the 2-week-long or more skiing guest. Ringing tills testify he has learned to pay his way.

The question, "Why Has Colorado Become Ski Country, U.S.A.," is eagerly answered by any chamber of commerce oriented spokesman for the State:

Why Colorado? A negative question. Where else but Colorado? Here is skiing terrain most like that found in the best winter resort areas in Europe—plus powder snow. With 11 national forests, Colorado has a vast, scenic source of public lands offering high, alpine slopes with Rocky Mountain peaks reaching to the sky—a sky traditionally sunny and snow traditionally dry. And a long season. In most years, 4 to 5 months of skiing."

Added to terrain and climate is another important factor—"atmosphere." Colorado is dotted with one-time boom towns of the mining's golden age. The prospector instinctively headed for the mountains. If the mother lode was found, she gave birth to a town. The prospector's jet-age counterpart, although not looking for metals, heads for the same mountains.

Aspen, Crested Butte, Breckenridge * * * once thriving communities * * * first boomed, then busted * * * thrive once more. While gold and silver gave them their start, white crystals of snow have kept them alive.

There were other "strikes" to be made, however. Tucked away in the rugged national forests were the "isolated" sites, to mention a few such as Winter Park, Monarch Pass, A-Basin, and most recently Vail. Just as in the mineral era, civilization moved to the scene. New communities, offering the latest in services, and featuring their own unique, often expensive "housing developments," surrounded the once isolated areas.

TODAY

The word, "today," in Colorado ski history, deserves emphasis. Today is as fleeting as yesterday. The picture constantly changes. As of this writing, however, the ski slopes located all, or partially on national forest lands.

An estimate of their worth is difficult. But it is huge. Even the most cautious world round it off at $11 million. This is private capital invested, in whole or part, on lands owned by the American people. Without careful analysis, sound planning, and total cooperation, Colorado's ski success would not be possible. The investor must have more than casual assurance from his landlord that his operation continue for years. The landlord, in this case, the Forest Service, must also be assured that lands belonging to all the people are best developed for this purpose.

THE PRIVATE SLOPES

While most winter sports areas are located wholly or partly on national forest lands, Colorado boasts several smaller, totally privately operated ski slopes. They, too, play an important role in the success story.

NATIONAL FORESTS AND SKI AREAS

As America's playgrounds, it was natural that national forests would play an important part in Colorado's ski area development, as well as in other States across the Nation.

Ski areas located on national forest lands are developed and operated by individuals or corporations under special use permit from the Forest Service. The operator pays for this special use of the national forests, and the receipts go to the U.S. treasury. Some of the money returns, however, as 25 percent of all receipts are returned to the county or counties in which the national forest is located. Another 10 percent comes back to the national forest for road and trail development.

Ski area developments are not built in a day. In the initial phases an intensive feasibility study is conducted by qualified Forest Service snow rangers and the proponent. The investigation includes a careful reconnaissance of the terrain, snow, wind and similar problems, accessibility as well as the need for such a development.

If all factors are favorable and the site is given approval, a permit for the use of national forest land will be issued. The special use permit is issued in one of two ways: By competitive bidding, or by negotiation. The method depends upon the quantity and location of private lands within or adjacent to the proposed development. A fee is charged the permittee for the use of the land. The permittee, or developer, erects the chair lifts, tows, lodges and other facilities in accordance with a development plan agreed to by the Forest Service and the developer, and to required safety and health standards.

Working together, the ski corporation and the Forest Service bring the public a safe ski area for winter enjoyment.

As ski developments continued to expand in both size and numbers, it became evident to the Forest Service that this was no part-time management job. A new Forest Service specialist was developed—the snow ranger.

The snow ranger is the public's representative at the ski area. His assignment is to work with the ski area manager, ski patrol, ski instructors, racers, and the skiing public. His primary responsibility is to make the area a safer, more enjoyable place to ski.

To accomplish this, today's snow ranger is carefully schooled—not only in the art of the stem christi, but also in problems of ski area management.

You may find the snow ranger almost anywhere on a national forest ski area working from an operations plan he has worked up in cooperation with the ski area operator.

The snow ranger's task is varied, ranging from:

Supervising avalanche control work.

Assisting in leading rescues.

Checking to be sure:

There is adequate ski patrol and first-aid equipment.

Lifts and tows are periodically inspected and properly maintained and operated.

Encouraging users to follow safe practices in all winter sports.

Working with the operator on future expansion plans.

Recording weather data for avalanche hazard forecasting.

Keeping attandance records for the area.

Providing information for the public.

A snow ranger's "winter sports check list," has no less than 60 individual entries—all directly, or indirectly, reflecting safety for the skiing public.

A MATTER OF ECONOMICS

"Skiing in the State of Colorado is no longer merely a sport—it is an industry growing at an impressive rate and is presently making a major contribution to the economy of the area."

The quotation is from "Colorado Business Survey," issued monthly as a public service by Colorado National Bank of Denver. The 1964 November-December issue was devoted to skiing and its economic impact on Colorado.

While those who serve the skier with transportation, food, clothing and equipment move rapidly ahead to meet public demands, the ski area operators are not standing idle.

Of the 20 Colorado ski areas located on national forest lands, expansion planning is underway at 7, and construction on these added improvements should be underway within 2 years. This summer (1965) will see construction of at least four new chair lifts. This is in addition to 33 chair lifts, 2 gondolas, 24 T-bar and platter tows and 6 rope tows already existing.

National forest special use permits have been issued for two new areas:

1. Snowmass, a major national area enlarging the Aspen complex. Construction anticipated in 1966.

2. Purgatory, a large area near Durango. Construction anticipated summer of 1965.

Feasibility studies are currently underway on 12 additional national forest sites in Colorado to determine their potential for winter sports.

Since 1960, 8 new ski areas have been built on national forest lands in Colorado. During this same period, uphill transportation facilities constructed include 2 gondolas, 17 chair lifts, and 10 T-bar or platter tows.

Skier visits to these areas reflect the new and increased facilities. The 1964–65 record

season is a 37-percent increase over the previous record year of 817,518 visits.

What of tomorrow? Banking circles are noted for conservatism. We quote: "It is apparent that properly nurtured and developed it (skiing) may well be of more importance to Colorado's economic well-being than any single commercial or industrial complex presently envisaged." Colorado Business Survey, published by the research department, November-December 1964 edition, Colorado National Bank of Denver.

Helping Others

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, joint Senate-House conferences are now completing the final details of two legislative landmarks: the voting rights and medicare bills. Nationally acknowledged as two of the most progressive measures in recent years in the field of human rights, these bills give new hope that our disadvantaged citizens may become full participants in our society's progress.

On this subject, I should like to call to the attention of our colleagues the thoughtful, constructive editorial comment in the Newark Star-Ledger of July 13, 1965:

HELPING OTHERS

The passage of the voting rights and medicare bills, one in the House, the other in the Senate, represent twin peaks of glittering legislative achievement for this session of Congress.

Both bills now go to a joint House-Senate conference to resolve differences between versions passed by both legislative bodies. They are expected to emerge from these sessions without major impairment.

These bills represent landmark legislative triumphs, for Congress and the administration. They move the Nation into another area of social progress, wiping out voting barriers in the South and easing the financial problems of the elderly in need of medical treatment.

For the disenfranchised Negro in the South, the voting rights bill has tremendous potential for opening up a far more responsible role in the Nation's political life for this minority group.

The law is the medium for great change in this area, but it must be remembered it can be only as effective as the American Negro chooses to make it. The law itself, when it is passed, does not, per se, mean that the Negro's problems are automatically over.

Far from that. Particularly if there is apathy. The road to the ballot box must be deeply impressed with the determined footprints of the Negro voter on his way to exercise his hard-won right of enfranchisement.

"American Negroes," said Mr. Johnson, "must strive to translate the promise of this law into strength at the polling places. A law is not a ballot and the right to vote is not a vote."

The law, in its present form, gives the Negro voter the legislative tools to break down discriminatory barriers in hard-core segregationist States. It bans poll taxes, suspends literacy tests, permits use of Federal voting examiners to register voters and empowers the Attorney General to institute suits when violations occur.

But even more than that it strikes at the atmosphere of fear and local pressures in Southern hotbeds of racial intolerance. The Negro at long last can move into the polling booth in the South secure in the knowledge that the full force of legal redress is available to him, outside the restrictive restraints of his community.

Hon. Arthur Levitt's Commencement Address to Bronx Community College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, few men in the State which I represent can equal the depth of commitment to education of our distinguished State comptroller, the Honorable Arthur Levitt.

As a past president of the New York City Board of Education and as the fiscal officer charged with many management duties in connection with better education, Mr. Levitt always speaks from learned experience.

In a recent commencement address he spoke most eloquently of modern challenges in a background of historic reference. I am particularly engaged by his reference to the medieval beginnings of academic freedom in Western education.

Comptroller Levitt correctly traces the rise of the great universities from the scholarly revolt of the 12th and 13th centuries. This, of course, was the period when the enlightened Papacy of Clement decreed for the University of Paris that ecclesiastics were not to subvene in spiritual or temporal affairs of the university. What took place in Paris as a result of this great release of freedom of inquiry, spread to university after university in other towns and other countries. It is interesting to note, however, that the classic origins of academic freedom in no way gave rise or encouragement to anarchy against academic authority in which students participated.

In every particular, Mr. Levitt's address is both scholarly and timely and I commend it to my colleagues as most worthy of their attention:

ONE TREE OUT OF MANY

(Address by State Comptroller Arthur Levitt at the commencement, Bronx Community College, New York, N.Y., June 15, 1965)

With your permission, I am going to be somewhat less than fashionable in making the commencement address this evening. I am not going to stress the two themes which are reverberating across the collegiate world these days: the one theme is the necessity of involvement, and the other is the necessity of higher education. Now I believe in both—indeed, as a State officer, my involvement is endless and my education is continuous—but I see no reason for you, as members of the class of 1965, to rush into the immediate quest of social utopia; nor do I think you must necessarily begin planning tomorrow morning for the ultimate degree of doctor of philosophy.

At the moment there is a much greater challenge: an involvement of a different sort, an education of a much different nature. The symbol of this challenge is imprinted on the diplomas you will receive this evening: look carefully at the design of the seal chosen by your college to represent its aspiratioons for you. It is not a sword, nor a shield, nor a key to a doctorate. There are those who might look for a dollar sign, such being the emphasis some authorities place on the monetary value of a college education these days. But your college seal has none of these symbols. It has, quite simply, a tree with three branches.

Now for centuries the symbol of knowledge has been a tree, beginning with a rather fateful tree in the Book of Genesis itself. Today, perhaps, the symbol might better be a forest, through which the plodding student must hack his way from the thicket of one course to the next, always with the danger of losing his way without map or compass. And those who are fortunate enough to emerge into the sunlight otherwise known as graduation, often find there is another jungle ahead—variously called the real world, whatever that may be.

But the tree on your college seal is a very simple tree, as I have said, with three branches. Uppermost is an open book superimposed on an ancient scroll, symbolic of life enriched by knowledge and disciplined by wisdom. In the lower left portion of the seal is the globe of the earth, held in an outstretched hand, symbolic of man's ability to control his destiny. And in the lower right corner, rather surprisingly, is the diagram of an atom. This is not only the symbol for the vast energy available to man, but the symbol for his control of that energy for peaceful purposes.

The challenges, then, to which I direct your attention this evening are really three: first, self-discipline through knowledge; next, the search for true destiny; and finally, the energetic pursuit of a meaningful life. These challenges may indeed lead to your involvement with the causes of mankind, and may indeed impel you to higher and higher educational attainments, but at the moment the important task is a careful and deliberate self-appraisal. Do not waste the precious gift you receive this evening by a wanton scattering of your talents tomorrow.

Let us examine these challenges a little more closely. Uppermost is the open book of knowledge, superimposed upon an ancient scroll. There is a meaning here for this great community college, so young in years, so very old in concept. When we trace back our cultural heritage into the course of European history, we find that medieval man emerged from the Dark Ages by the light of the schools which were established, not by great benefactors, but by the citizens of town after town. Some of these schools pioneered in special programs, even as your college has pioneered in a later day, and attracted scholars from distant areas. It was through this development that we trace the rise of the great universities from the early 12th century.

In his classic "History of Western Education," Dr. William Boyd has pointed out that these medieval schools had their greatest growth "where the municipalities were freest and most vigorous." He also points out something else that has a modern ring: the revolt of the students. The revolt was against the faculty establishment, comprised of recalcitrant doctors. The students brought these faculties into entire subjugation, and established certain rules which sound downright revolutionary even by today's standards. Listen to a few of them:

All classes were to be regulated according to the instructions of the students' officers.

No member of the faculty could be absent without leave even for a day.

It was required that every lecture begin and end punctually.

And it was required that each course be so arranged as to cover the ground at a proper rate without evading difficulties or omitting anything.

These ideas do not seem to be medieval at all. There was another custom that brings us back to our occasion this evening. In the great medieval universities a commencement or an inception, as it was then called, was the occasion on which a bachelor candidate gave his first lecture or disputation. It was the beginning of his productive life as a scholar, the commencement of his further progress toward becoming an actual master or doctor. By an unfortunate evolution, you modern graduates sit mute and silent while the disputation, if we may call it that, is given by some interloper, such as I am today.

There was point to the medieval custom. The student emerged from his books, his lectures, his examinations, to demonstrate before the faculty of the university, or to try to demonstrate, that he was capable of doing original work. It was no longer enough that he have learning; now it was required that he have mastery of the tools of knowledge. He was to be part of the intellectual world, not just an observer of it.

In spanning the eight centuries from the rise of European universities to the rise of the great municipal colleges of our own day, we witness the one common theme: knowledge is never ending, and education is among the first concerns of the community. There is discipline for teacher and student alike, and even a higher discipline once the student emerges from his books.

The challenge is to make our knowledge productive of a meaningful life, but our tendency is to confuse productivity with utility. We look to the degree itself to be useful in gaining employment and social acceptance, forgetting the greater endowment of a life enriched by philosophy and art if we but pursue them. We want education to amuse us, not discipline us. Cardinal Newman warned of this a century ago: "Recreations are not education," he wrote. "Accomplishments are not education. Do not say, the people must be educated, when after all you only mean amused, refreshed, soothed, put into good spirits and good humor, or kept from vicious excesses. I do not say that such amusement, such occupations of mind, are not a great gain; but they are not education." And there is a more recent precept that "Education consists essentially of preparing man for what he must be." I fear that today we expect education to prepare us not for what we must be, but for what we must get.

Then there are those who go to the other extreme and worship education as an end in itself, an honorable escape from usefullness, a life dedicated to footnotes and bibliographies. The very name of education becomes scared, the scholar sacrosanct. Listen to G. K. Chesterton who wrote: "No man who worships education has got the best out of education; no man who sacrifices everything to education is ever educated. What is wrong is a neglect of principle, and the principle is that without a gentle contempt for education, no gentleman's education is complete." Albert Einstein, in a celebrated epigram, said much the same thing when he defined the education of a man as "that which remains, when he has forgotten everything he learned in school."

Once your education is viewed in this light, our other two challenges become transformed into two significant opportunities in this viable age in which we are so privileged to live. You will remember that in the lower left portion of your college seal is the globe of the earth, held on an outstretched hand. I do not think that this means the world is for your asking. I do believe it means you can find your rightful destiny in this world if you find yourself first.

A few years ago Dr. Rollo May wrote an eminent book on "Man's Search for Himself," starting with the thesis that modern man is often beset with loneliness and anxiety, with roots of his malady in the loss of values in our society. But contrast the mature person who goes through several stages in his total development. Dr. May lists these stages as the innocence of the infant before consciousness of self is born; followed by the stage of rebellion, when the person is trying to become free to establish some inner strength in his own right; followed by a stage he calls "the ordinary consciousness of self," when a person can make his decisions with some responsibility based on experience; followed by a fourth and rather extraordinary stage in the sense that "most persons experience it only rarely." This is the creative stage, the highest goal of educated man, the gift of intellect and inspiration.

Now I am not sure how up-to-date I am with current thought in the field of psychology and psychiatry, but it seems to me that the malady of modern society, which we so often diagnose as the loss of central values, will be cured only by the development of truly mature citizens. It is in this sense that the world is ready for your outstretched hands—hands that will first help the discovery of self, hands that will give purpose, hands that will build a destiny limited only by the capacity to create.

Finally, we come to the challenge of the atom in the lower right corner of your college seal. It is a mixed symbol today, one of limitless energy, but also one of man's capacity to destroy himself. I shall not dwell this evening on the darker meaning, for the forebodings have been impressed upon all of us by far more eloquent tongues than I possess. Rather, I emphasize that your college has chosen the symbol as the hope of mankind that this energy, this tremendous capacity, will be used for the purposes of peace. This is indeed your task, turned over to your generation by an older and now wiser generation.

But, if I may return to Dr. May, the atom is also a symbol of man's transcendance of time, because the atom is a bit of eternity. It is a bit of the stuff of the universe, invisibly small in itself but awesomely large in the scheme of time, space and natural law.

Today, the expanding frontiers of our knowledge reveal the limitless wonders of creation. But in all the universe the human mind finds no wonder as great as the mind itself, no mystery as deep as the human spirit. Through mind and spirit man reaches out to seek the true purpose, the true meaning of what we know as life. As our minds are enriched, as we are lifted up in spirit, so do we come nearer to perception, however dim, of eternal truth. There is no greater knowledge.

Now I know that it is not intellectually fashionable in certain circles these days to speak of the spirit or the soul. The analyst can't measure them, the biologist can't dissect them, the lawyer can't put them on the witness stand. But some things will remain forever beyond the scope of the computer, or the laboratory, or the rules of evidence. As the physical limits of the universe are pushed beyond millions of light years, so does the mystery of life, the wonder of creation, deepen. Thinking scientists bear witness to this today as readily as do philosophers.

I did not mean this evening to begin with a tree and end with the universe, but perhaps this very natural evolution is in itself the mark of the age in which we live. And it may seem strange that a speaker with a background primarily in law and government should be saying these things to you this evening. But intellect and self-discipline should be part of every walk of life. I go further and say to you that never before have we so needed in government men and women of intelligence, of conviction, of vision and culture. A republic is truly representative only when it is responsive to all interests, all the aspirations, of a free society. Here is the hope of America and here is your place in this remarkable age of growth and opportunity.

I have a last word for the young ladies in the graduating class tonight. I do not know if we men will ever improve enough to right what is wrong in the world. But this is precisely where the educated women of the world have both opportunity and responsibility. You bring up the young men of the world, you are the life partners of the mature men of the world, you nurse the old men of the world. President Edward D. Eddy, Jr., of Chatham College had this in mind when he declared that: "The educated woman can keep the male eye from trivia, and the male mind from preoccupation with immediate effects. The educated woman can encourage a man to rise above self and can make community service something more than a hollow status race." You may particularly like what James Reston of the New York Times has suggested: "Somebody has to find a new way to get around old men and old problems, and since women have been doing precisely that for several thousand years, why not pass the problem to them?"

I suspect the truth is that some enlightened woman had a hand in placing the tree of knowledge in your college seal. But whatever the origin of the design, do not forget its enduring truth: it is through mind and spirit that you may find yourself, that you may seek your rightful destiny, and that you may join others in using the resources of a mighty world for the good of mankind.

Academic Community Supports the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the overwhelming majority of the professors and educators in this country support President Johnson's Vietnam policy. It is unfortunate that a few are conducting teach-ins and peace demonstrations thus aiding the enemies of our country. Our men are engaged with the enemy in combat. They are dying on the field of battle. This question is no longer debatable. We are there and must stay until the aggressor withdraws.

The following article appeared in the Washington Post this morning and is encouraging to the President and to 99 percent of the Congress:

SIXTY-SEVEN PROFESSORS SUPPORT U.S. VIET POLICIES

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J., July 18.—A group of 67 college professors issued a statement today supporting the Johnson administration's position in Vietnam.

Drawn mostly from political science, history, and economic departments around the United States, the professors said, "We believe the U.S. policy in Vietnam is consistent with the realities of the situation, the goals of American foreign policy, and the peace and freedom of Vietnam."

The statement also said, "We reject the bizarre political doctrine that President Johnson or his principal advisers have special obligations to the academic community * * *."

The professors said they issued the statement "to dispel the notion that any small but active and vocal groups of teachers and students speak for the entire academic community on the problem of Vietnam.

"British Politics in the Collectivist Age"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished member of the faculty at the Littauer School of Harvard University, Dr. Samuel H. Beer, has published a study of "British Politics in the Collectivist Age." Reviewing the book in the New York Times Book Review yesterday the noted scholar, D. W. Brogan, commented that "this is a learned and penetrating book."

Commenting on Dr. Beer's scholarship, Mr. Brogan praises his acuteness in analyzing the shifts in emphasis of Labor Party thought, and his "real understanding of the British political system."

Dr. Beer is one of the leaders of the Massachusetts Partners of the Alliance Committee and I would like to extend my congratulations to him on the success of his latest effort and share Mr. Brogan's fine review with the House by inserting it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

TO RULE BRITANNIA

"British Politics in the Collectivist Age." By Samuel H. Beer, 390 pp., New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

(By D. W. Brogan)

This is a learned and penetrating book. It is also remarkably topical. Samuel Beer, professor of government at Harvard, once Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, knows England extremely well and for a great part of this excellent study he is the pure scholar. He discusses Burke and Disraeli. He cites Walter Bagehot and L. S. Amery. He quotes the most relevant scholars—Asa Briggs, Dorothy Marshall, Philip Williams, S. E. Finer. He has a theoretical framework involving a discussion of the basic philosophical differences between the conservative and the collectivist point of view. He is extremely acute in analyzing the shift in British "liberal thought" (in the American sense of the term) from radicalism to a kind of socialism, and this is one of the most important analyses of the background of the British political system now available. As such it can be most warmly recommended to college students and still more to their teachers.

But for the moment, much more important is the very high degree of relevance of this formally academic study. First of all, what I take as a proof of real understanding of the British political system, Mr. Beer insists on the distinction between the labor movement and the Labor Party. It was one of the weaknesses of Robert Mackenzie's admirable "British Political Parties" that he played down the importance of the movement. It is quite easy, today, to suggest that the Labor Party suffers from the lack of an effective and emotionally moving ideology, and it is highly relevant to remind us that the Conservatives, or Tories as I prefer to call them, do not need an ideology in this sense.

The Labor Party's ideology is a more real and, academically speaking, more sophisticated thing. The conversion of a great part of the British working class to "socialism" has happened and, in a sentimental sense, is still very potent. Mr. Beer's account of the internal wars of the Labor Party in recent years, mainly over the dogma of nationalization, seems to be the wisest of the many that have been written. He understands the anguish with which the abandonment of nationalization, less a panacea than a religious belief, would have caused, and how much its watering down still causes.

No doubt deliberately, he recalls the debates over steel nationalization in the Labor government of 1945. History is repeating itself, with some of the same dramatis personae. Whether it will end in the same way is still a matter of speculation. (It is unfortunate the author has not told American readers that Richard Thomas & Baldwin, which appears simply as one of the great steel companies of Britain, has in fact stayed nationalized right down to the present day.)

Mr. Beer also has relevant and intelligent things to say about the foreign policy of the Labor Party, although I think he underestimates the nostalgia of a good many members of that party for a deal with the Soviet Union. (Other people would put this more harshly.)

One other point might be made. The author ignores the bad luck which beset the first postwar Labor government in the onset of the most terrible winter, January to March 1947, since 1788. The result was not an equivalent of the French Revolution of 1789, but it was a blow from which the Labor Party, in a sense, did not recover. Nor does he, except for one allusion, deal with the damage done to the prestige of the Labor government by the necessity of devaluating the pound after the rash promise of convertibility made as a condition of getting the American loan. For people like me who had, to their own cost, believed Sir Stafford Cripps' firm denials: "It was never bright confident morning again."

And Mr. Beer does not explain fully enough for an American audience, the character of the English elite. Of the last five Prime Ministers, three have graduated with the highest honors from Oxford, Sir Winston would no doubt have done the same if he had been allowed to enter Oxford, and Sir Alec Douglas-Home might have done the same, if he had not had the automatic prestige of being the heir to an ancient peerage, and the still greater prestige of being one of the most brilliant cricketers that Eton has produced in modern times.

Indeed, except for one table, the importance of Eton is not stressed enough. It surprised no one in England to learn that the head of the nationalized steel company was an old Etonian, or that the head of the Chinese secession from the British Communist Party was also an old Etonian. The American Groton is a very different and much less interesting institution.

Research Institute Is No Pocket of Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, in the last session of the Congress, I submitted a bill that would have provided funds for a complete survey and evaluation of our many Federal programs for the benefit of the poor. If this bill had been enacted, we would have now at hand a complete list of all projects together with their value. We could have then established either improvements on the existing programs or created new programs where the need had been proven.

I now note that the Office of Economic Opportunity has but recently received a survey showing that there were 170 existing poverty programs. Without waiting for this list of programs that agency has created new programs. They were not even concerned with the possible duplication of the programs with those now in effect.

The ordering of this private survey, at the cost of $87,000, is an admission that the improvement of the condition of the poor is but secondary to the political aims of the antipoverty program.

The sincerity of the administrators of the program is certainly suspect when they failed to fulfill their prescribed duty to establish an antipoverty program that would be pinpointed toward those matters which would raise the income of the impoverished. Anyone reading the very fine article by Jack Steele of the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance will note that the Office of Economic Opportunity, when ordering the private survey of the poverty programs, had no interest in the funds involved, or in the effectiveness of the programs.

When the Office of Economic Opportunity was created, it was claimed that it would coordinate all of the existing programs. We can now see that no such coordination exists. The Director of that agency did not even see fit to contact the various departments of Government so as to work out a cooperative effort that would achieve the purposes of our avowed war on poverty.

Mr. Steele's story follows:

[Fom the Washington Daily News, July 19, 1965]

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY NEEDED DATA: RESEARCH INSTITUTE IS NO POCKET OF POVERTY

(By Jack Steele)

The Office of Economic Opportunity has paid $87,000 to a private research group to compile a catalog of more than 170 Federal programs—in addition to those set up by the antipoverty program—which help the poor.

Just why the Federal Government had to hire a private research firm to find out how many antipoverty programs the Government itself is operating and financing remained a bureaucratic mystery today.

Officials of the antipoverty agency and the Stanford Research Institute, which compiled the catalog, had somewhat different explanations.

SAVING CLAIMED

An OEO spokesman said the Government would have had to hire a special staff to prepare the catalog. He said the United States saved money by "farming out" the job to a private firm.

A spokesman for the Stanford Institute said OEO wanted the catalog in a hurry and a non-Government agency could do the job quicker.

Stanford Institute researchers took 4 months to complete the mimeographed catalog, which is thicker than New York's Manhattan phone book.

It is now being used by OEO officials as an "internal working document" to help in planning future antipoverty projects, but there are no plans to publish it or make it public.

The catalog was prepared, the OEO spokesman said, under a provision of the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act under which Director Sargent Shriver is supposed to "coordinate the antipoverty efforts of all Federal agencies."

The law authorizes Mr. Shriver to call on all Federal departments and agencies to supply statistical data, program reports, and any other materials he might need for this coordination.

But the Stanford Research Institute spokesman said it had compiled the catalog solely from "public sources" such as reports and brochures found in libraries.

It would have taken too long to get this material from Government agencies directly, he explained.

NO EVALUATION

The catalog contains no evaluation of the existing Federal antipoverty programs. It also does not show the amount of money available for each program.

After the catalog was compiled about 6 weeks ago, it was circulated to all Government agencies for their comments.

Many rewrote the descriptions of their programs and some added programs which the private researchers had missed.

Now the Stanford Institute and OEO are negotiating another contract to revise the catalog to include this new material. Officials said they didn't know how much this might cost.

The antipoverty agency has farmed out another $31,400 contract to a private research firm to find out how much State, local, and private agencies are spending for the poor.

This job was supposed to have been completed last week by Griffenhagen & Kroeger of San Francisco.

Adlai E. Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. It is with sadness that the world records the death of one of its most noble statesmen. Adlai Stevenson shared with people everywhere a love of peace. Perhaps this dream—the dream of peace—is a common dream. But Adlai Stevenson was not a common man.

He shouldered responsibility of a weight few men could bear. He did not begrudge the often thankless, the always difficult tasks of a public figure, either as Governor of Illinois, as a candidate for the Presidency, or as Ambassador to the United Nations.

In his years in the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson typified to the rest of the world what is best in the United States. His duties there were often harsh and often arduous, but he performed them with a zeal and dignity which both befitted the man and credited the Nation which he served so selflessly.

Adlai Stevenson is dead and we are the poorer for this loss, but we are prouder for the legacy which he has left to us. He envisioned a world where peace reigned and war was unknown, where law was supreme and violence was a stranger. He was convinced of the greatness of America and of its place as a leader of freemen.

It has been said that Adlai Stevenson was a front runner who always ran second. But he was taller in defeat than the winner. His wisdom and dedication combined with a fund of personal charm endeared him to people of all parties, of all States, of all nations.

The world mourns his death. But we cherish the life he lived.

Adlai E. Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. DANIEL J. RONAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. RONAN. Mr. Speaker, the death of Adlai E. Stevenson has saddened the whole Nation and freedom-loving people everywhere. We from Illinois are particularly grieved over the loss of one of our State's greatest sons and one of our Nation's finest statesmen.

Adlai Stevenson served his country in many ways and always with ability and distinction. It was my privilege to have served in the Illinois State Legislature when he was Governor and to view from close hand this remarkable man. It was near the end of his term as Governor that he was suddenly thrust into the national spotlight at the 1952 Democratic convention. In a seldom if not rare instance in the annals of national politics, he became the object of a genuine draft and was nominated to be the standard bearer for the Democratic Party in the 1952 election and again in 1956. His double defeat for the Presidency did not dim the luster of his personality, nor was it the twilight of a great career.

Instead, as we all know, he went on to render even greater service to his country as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. In this capacity, as a servant of his country, he was struck down while on a mission to London.

Adlai Stevenson was a man of many talents; scholar, writer, diplomat, and above all, statesman. He was a master of the finely honed phrase and his superb wit was always in evidence. There were hints that he would have preferred to have spent his last days in quiet reflection, sharing through his speeches and writings, the vast accumulation of experience and knowledge gained over the years. The call to duty, however, was stronger. And although he sometimes seemed to despair over the hectic and frantic atmosphere of international diplomacy at the United Nations, he never wavered in his determination to make that organization a force for peace in an uneasy world.

To the surprise of some who did not know him well, he excelled as a stanch defender of our Nation and its policies whenever we were under attack or threatened by our adversaries. His was a voice of reason and understanding in an arena that is all too often a sounding board for self-seeking demagogs. He will be missed as only men of his stature are missed.

My heartfelt sympathies go out to his family in this moment of national sorrow.

The Enigma of Farm Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, we are all concerned with efforts to solve the very challenging problems of huge food surpluses and developing some suitable program that will stabilize agricultural products and prices and at the same time serve necessary consumer interests.

Proposals have been made by a prominent farm group, providing for the termination of present programs for wheat and feed grains and substitution in their place of a cropland retirement program which would be initiated beginning with the 1966 crop.

In return for agreeing not to harvest or graze this contracted land, farmers would receive annual rental payments determined by competitive bids. The retirement of whole farms would be encouraged.

These proposals also provide for a price support program beginning in 1966 in which all producers would be eligible for price support loans. Various levels for price support would be established, corn 90 percent of the average price received by farmers during the 3 preceding marketing years, or 50 percent of parity, whichever is higher, and for other feed grains, at a level related to their feeding value as compared with that for corn.

Price support for wheat would be the farm price equivalent of the average world market price during the 3 preceding market years, but in no case less than 50 percent of parity. Further, CCC would not be authorized to make sales of wheat or feed grain stocks at less than 125 percent of the loan rate plus carrying charge.

A further analysis of these proposals would seem to indicate that to rely solely upon a long-term land retirement program to achieve and maintain a workable balance between the supply and demand for farm products would have severe adverse repercussions, especially with respect to net farm income.

In the first place, should such a law be enacted and go into effect, harvested grain acreage would expand and production would increase. I believe also that, automatically under ordinary economic law, grain prices would press against the lower support levels and excess grain would be turned over to the Commodity Credit Corporation. It would also be true, I believe, that lower grain prices would require a further drop in the level

of supports for the following crop year. Grain selling at lower prices would stimulate and increase the production of livestock products and lower prices for livestock and livestock products would follow. So say the experts.

This would be robbing Peter to pay Paul, so to speak, and it could create a crisis in the livestock industry, and, second, create a crisis in certain industries spread around throughout the country that depend upon the livestock business to purchase their products and maintain the employment rate. This would cause depressed conditions and unemployment in those industries and have a bad effect upon the entire economy.

If there were no limitations on Government funds for cropland retirement, it probably would be possible, after several years, to retire enough acreage to hold production of various crops in line with requirements, and that would seem to be a goal that we have been pursuing for years as we have striven, without much success, and in some cases by making the situation worse, to find an answer to our serious agricultural problems.

Without wheat certificates and with lower grain prices and higher production expenditures, net farm income would be sharply lowered. That would seem to be inevitable under this kind of setup.

Government costs would not be appreciably different from those required under programs such as those in the farm bill now before Congress. Fewer dollars paid to farmers would be about offset by more dollars required to store additional excess stocks of grain, and this, to my mind, is not only an anomaly, but a travesty on economic reason and good sense.

While I am doing everything I possibly can to try to rid the Nation and the Treasury of the very high costs of existing agricultural programs, I would view with concern precipitating depressed conditions in agriculture by adopting further experimental programs until we fully test the existing ones.

Everyone seems to have a plan, as in the past, but I would point out, Mr. Speaker, that none of these plans to date has worked, yet some have worked better than others, and under the circumstances, there is little left for those of us who are interested in industry and also in agriculture to do, than to support those proposals which will stand up best under the careful analysis of experts, and which, on their face, show some definite promise of being able to accomplish all they support.

Very clearly, the situation and present conditions do not readily lend themselves to any immediate panacea, nor is it possible for anyone, unless he be endowed with a crystal ball, to forecast how some of these proposals and programs will work out.

The best we can do is to embrace some program that will reduce the wastage and high cost of current storage commodities, and try not to impair by legislative action the opportunities or prosperity of farming areas and people, who are so important to our country, to our economy, to our prosperity, well-being, and the sound condition of the Nation.

The farm needs industry, and industry needs the farm. And the country needs both to sustain prosperity and the high standards of American life.

These are factors every Member of this body must have in mind. To pierce the enigma of present farm problems requires expert, specialized analysis on the part of policymaking officials and some good commonsense by the Members of this body. I hope we will have both, as well as the resolution to solve these very perplexing problems. But we cannot accept or tolerate solutions which augment huge costs of the farm program, leave many food and feed surpluses substantially untouched and increase the cost of food and feed to the consumer. Such solutions are unsound and must be rejected.

Secretary of State Tom Adams Reports on Juvenile Delinquency Study in Florida

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, it seems that one of the sad byproducts of our modern world has been an increase in incidents of juvenile delinquency. What can be done to prevent the occurrence of this malady that takes from us an abundance of youthful talent and wastes it away—and what can be done to rehabilitate those who are already delinquent? These are questions which must be answered for our society has a responsibility to help its youth.

Of course, the answers are not easy to come by. As early as 1934, a team of criminologists from Harvard University, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, attempted to formalize a method for predicting whether a child would become delinquent based on factors in his early environment. Their formula has proven to be useful, as demonstrated in a 10-year study in New York City. But it is not completely accurate and it has given us no insight about how to prevent the predictions from coming true.

I am happy to say that the rate of delinquency in Florida has not yet reached alarming proportions. Last year less than 1 percent of the juvenile population—between the ages of 10 and 16—was referred to juvenile court. Of the 29,000 cases, in fact, 27 percent were in the courts more than once, and so only 21,000 young people were actually involved. However, I believe that any incidence of juvenile delinquency is unhealthy.

The problem is not merely one of law enforcement. Too often, once the police must become involved it is too late to help the individual. It seems that much can be done in our schools and through social agencies in the home to prevent a potential delinquent from going bad. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has estimated that 95 percent of all 17-year-old delinquents are school drop-outs, but only 50 percent of all 15-year-old delinquents are drop-outs. This may mean that a child who stays in school has a better chance of not becoming delinquent.

Thus this problem becomes one that can only be solved locally. However, much assistance can be given if there is a statewide program of coordination. Such programs already exist, for example, in California, New York State, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania. They can help to develop plans through which communities could analyze their own youths' needs, and institute preventive and remedial measures. A system such as the one in California has created a youth conservation corps, to provide supervised work, measures to help culturally deprived children, and programs for improved and expanded vocational training.

I am very pleased to report that Florida has also taken steps to appraise the problem of delinquency. The 1965 session of the State legislature has created an interim committee to study juvenile delinquency in the Sunshine State. In addition, the Florida Youth Advisory Council has been reactivated. This group was created several years ago in an attempt to give the youth themselves an official voice at the State level. Though limited, hopefully these measures will provide us with a starting point from which we can begin to learn about juvenile delinquency, and in using the knowledge gained make definite strides toward its eventual elimination.

The following article written by Tom Adams, the Florida secretary of state, appearing in the publication, the Capitol, deals with the problem of juvenile delinquency in Florida and presents an excellent analysis of the problems and what Florida is doing about it:

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY STUDY IS SCHEDULED IN FLORIDA—THE PROBLEM IS WIDELY PUBLICIZED BUT VITAL INFORMATION IS SPARSE

(By Tom Adams, secretary of State)

Much has been written and said in recent years about the plaque of juvenile delinquency which has swept across many cities of our Nation in near epidemic proportions.

But amid the sensational headlines we tend to magnify the extent of the problem out of its proper perspective. In Florida, for example, less than 1 percent of our juvenile population—ages 10 to 16—was referred to juvenile courts last year. Of these cases, which totaled 29,164, there were 10,293 minor traffic violations.

Apart from traffic violations, nearly 43 percent of the juvenile crimes were against property—thefts, burglaries, etc. Only 5 percent were crimes of violence against other persons. Approximately 12 percent were offenses against public order. Close to 40 percent were family oriented—runaway, incorrigible, and including truancy and curfew violations.

Even though delinquency has not reached epidemic proportions in Florida, it still amounts to an alarming waste of our youth. It is a problem which is increasing, and it is a problem which deserves far more attention than it has been receiving from both State and local governments.

In spite of the fact that juvenile delinquency has been widely and loudly exhorted in the mass media, there still is a dearth of reliable information which is necessary if we are to develop an effective program for conserving the youth of Florida.

The causes of juvenile delinquency are many and varied, and before any community can intelligently attack this problem it must be able to define and measure the extent of the problem. This is impossible without complete and detailed records—without a thorough examination of the social, educational, and economic factors which contribute to delinquent behavior.

Much work has been done, and much progress has been made toward isolating and detecting the causes of delinquency. For example, two Harvard criminologists, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, as long ago as 1934 developed a formula for predicting delinquency in a child as early as age 5 or 6. The formula considers five factors in a child's environment: Discipline by the father, supervision by the mother, affection by the father and the mother, and the cohesion of the home.

The worth of the Glueck formula was proven by the New York City Youth Board in a 10-year study of 300 boys from a high delinquency neighborhood. The formula was about 85-percent accurate in predicting the incidence of delinquency and 97-percent accurate in predicting nondelinquency.

Thus we can predict with reasonable certainty whether or not a child will become delinquent. But how can we use this information to prevent delinquency? What can we as a society do? These are questions which will require deep and detailed study and much more statistical information than is presently available.

Our present laws are overly protective of juvenile offenders and the records of their crimes. Information can be obtained from the juvenile courts, but only with the sanction of the individual judges. Even then, there is no standard or uniformity in the information available.

The statutes give the State welfare department authority to compile juvenile crime statistics, but that same statute forbids a city-by-city or county-by-county comparison. The information can be compiled only on a statewide basis.

Then, too, juvenile delinquency is not solely a problem of law enforcement and the courts. Many agencies share the responsibility. The welfare and mental health workers who deal with family and economic problems could be an assult force on delinquency if they were armed with a weapon similar to the Glueck formula.

Our schoolteachers and guidance counselors share in the responsibility also, for it has been estimated by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare that 95 percent of all 17-year-old, 85 percent of the 16-year-old, and 50 percent of the 15-year-old delinquents are school dropouts. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare also has determined that 11 percent of all dropouts have a potential to complete a college education. More than half of them have a scholastic potential to complete vocational-technical programs.

Many times after the delinquent reaches police headquarters it is too late for effective rehabilitation at least without a long, tedious and quite expensive process.

Good early detection methods are important, but an effective followup preventive program is necessary. A more dramatic example cannot be found than that of a 13-year-old boy who was found to be "potentially dangerous." His name was Lee Harvey Oswald.

There is a growing need for a coordinating agency—a youth bureau at the State level—to provide some basic guidelines and focus the efforts of existing facilities onto the problem.

Several States have created such a bureau. Our sister State of California established a Department of Youth Authority in 1941. Studies by that agency have resulted in a five-point program which calls for:

A youth conservation corps to provide supervised work which will lead the youth into full-time employment or back to school.

Steps to help the culturally deprived child before he becomes unschooled, unskilled, and unemployable.

An improved and expanded vocational training program to teach the skills of the space age.

A program to make youngsters in minority groups feel more a part of rather than apart from society.

And last, continued assistance by the youth authority to juvenile courts, probation departments, law enforcement agencies, and correctional schools.

New York State through its division of youth probably has carried on a greater variety of prevention programs than any other State. It develops programs in which communities analyze their own youth needs and then institute preventive and remedial programs with State financial assistance and advice.

Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania, have agencies with similar authority and responsibilities. However, we in Florida must not be tempted to reach out blindly and adopt any one of these plans, for there are some very basic differences between the various State agencies involved and the existing relationship between the State and local governments.

What we should do now is to thoroughly appraise our juvenile problems. Such a study should not only define the problem and the agency which will have to cope with it, but it should also give the agency the general scope of its mission.

A step toward this end was made in the 1965 session of the legislature with the creation of an interim committee to study juvenile delinquency in Florida. The legislature also reactivated the Florida Youth Advisory Council, an organization which was created several years ago to give the youth themselves an official voice at the State level and to coordinate youth programs designed to advance the welfare of our young people.

In separate action, the legislature appropriated half a million dollars to institute an aftercare program for boys and girls returning home from training schools.

Florida finally has begun to respond to the problem of delinquency, and the steps taken thus far have been proper. Now, the responsibility is ours to unite in the legislative study and to share our knowledge and ideas, to discuss frankly the needs of our communities. We need to evaluate the services that we are now capable of offering both at the State and local level. Finally, we need to demand whatever action is necessary to conserve the wealth of our youth.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN FLORIDA

Juvenile delinquents (those referred to juvenile courts) in Florida in 1964 represented only 1 percent of all children 10 to 16 years old.

There were 29,164 delinquency referrals involving 21,000 different children. Thus 8,000 offenses (or 27 percent of all referrals) were committed by "repeaters."

Of the 29,164 referrals, 43 percent represented crimes against property (larceny, auto theft, burglary, vandalism), 40 percent represented offenses applicable to juveniles only (running away, being ungovernable, truancy, curfew violations, etc.), 12 percent represented offenses against public order and decency (weapons, violation of beverage control laws, acts of mischief, disorderly conduct), and 5 percent represented crimes against persons (homicide, rape, robbery, assault, sex offenses).

Referrals to juvenile courts for traffic offenses were up 6 percent for 1964, to 10,293.

Of the offenses committed by boys, 50 percent were against property, and 20 percent were offenses applicable to juveniles only.

Of the offenses committed by girls, 16.6 percent were against property and more than 50 percent were offenses applicable to juveniles only.

Boys were referred to court primarily for the following offenses (in the order of frequency): larceny, breaking and entering, and auto theft.

Girls were referred to court for the following offenses (in the order of frequency): running away, being ungovernable, shoplifting, and sex offenses.

Talks by Senator George Smathers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, on June 14, 1965, the Honorable GEORGE A. SMATHERS, U.S. Senator from the State of Florida, delivered an address to newly commissioned officers of the Armed Forces, all of them about to become graduates of Yale University.

Included among those commissioned were a son of Senator SMATHERS and my own son. The remarks made by the Senator were so appropriate that I include them in the RECORD, under unanimous consent, so that all Members may have the opportunity to read them.

Senator SMATHERS' address follows:

TALK BY SENATOR GEORGE A. SMATHERS AT YALE UNIVERSITY

Captain Jones, Officers of the United States, ladies and gentlemen, I appear here this morning with mixed emotions, much like the man who saw his mother-in-law drive over the cliff in his new Cadillac. At once, both happy and sad.

I feel that every parent in this audience this morning is both happy and sad, but all—extremely proud. We are proud that our sons are among these outstanding young men who will shortly be commissioned officers in the Armed Forces of the United States of America.

Mixed with that pride, however, is genuine concern. For, while these young men have chosen the highest road of leadership, the acceptance of the responsibility of service to their country in the uniform of their country, the mission upon which they are about to embark is as hazardous, challenging, and uncertain as it has ever been before.

These are the quiet youths, not the self-styled angry young men, who fight so insistently for headlines and pictures in newspapers. Baggy trousers, sandals, and unwashed beards do not assure the wearer of a bond with peace. How easy it is to be righteously indignant when you have no responsibility.

In fact, there is an old saying that "War hath no fury like a noncombatant."

You young men here this morning might have pursued your fortunes in 100 other ways. But you have chosen to commit your immediate future, and possibly all that you have, for the well-being of your country and those in the world who seek freedom.

We don't have to look very far to see how much America and the free world needs such young men as you—for human misery and war cast their long shadows into the far corners of the earth today, as they have in the past.

Regrettably, at this time of challenge some of our citizens, though well-intentioned they may be, go about the country sowing seeds of doubt, disunity, and distrust.

To them, our military efforts are unworthy, all military sacrifices in vain.

These peace-marchers find safety in slogans but remain blind to the ancient saying: "It is madness for the sheep to talk peace with a wolf."

Let's take a very brief look at some history.

Were it not for the military power of America generously given in 1941 through 1945, we would not be living today as free men; and those who talk so glibly of disarmament and peace would lack the freedom to speak at all.

The same can be said of 1917 when the Kaiser was overwhelming Europe—until the day came when the men of the United States answered the call of those who sought liberty.

Down through the years, time and again, as diplomacy has broken down and the desires of some men to rule and dominate others has led them to the use of force, it has been a responding force that has preserved the freedom of us all.

Were it not for our military power today, does anyone doubt that the Communists would now control all South Vietnam? Cambodia? Thailand? Malaysia? Indeed, all the 600 million people in southeast Asia?

Were it not for our Armed Forces, how long would the Communist allow Berlin to remain even half free, or how much freedom would there be in Western Europe?

What knowledgeable and fair-minded person doubts that, had it not been for President Johnson's quick decision and fast action, Santo Domingo would at this moment be another Cuba?

He who has eyes, should see. He who has ears, should listen, and he who has a mind, should understand that the forces of communism still threaten the freedom of mankind today just as much as they did in 1941 or 1950 or 1962.

Of course, everyone craves peace, but when tigers are prowling, it is no time to be passing out leaflets.

The United States of America was born in a citizens' military revolution.

Six times in our history tyranny has threatened to destroy us. Six times, young men have answered the call.

And the good that has resulted from six victories is attested by there being more freedom, better education, more prosperity, better health, and higher standards of living for all in the United States, as well as in the free world.

Today, once again, freedom rests upon the military strength and the moral commitments of America.

But we are at present under heavy indictment, accused by our enemies, and more regrettably by some of our friends, of pursuing an ill-fated jingoistic course.

Yet facts show we have sought, and are seeking now with every available means, every possible way to bring these confrontations to the conference table.

For surely, Americans seek no new territory, no domain, no dominion, no rule, no authority, over any other lands nor any other people.

But for a certainty, we seek now and will in the future a peace—but always a worthy peace, a peace with honor.

Over the course of recent generations, we have learned that to gain these precious goals we must first respect our own contracts, our own commitments. And then those who would destroy freedom must be made to understand that in respecting our commitments, we will once again follow the steps of our forefathers—we will fight for freedom. We will not quit under pressure, nor surrender under attack.

To you young men, I would say that you have assumed enormous responsibility, for you have taken on the task of leadership, and you do it at a time of danger and uncertainty.

But the sum of your responsibility is the hope and strength of America—and in fact the free world.

You can be proud of the course you will follow. Men of courage and determination have preceded you. You walk in the spirit of every revolutionary whose name is emblazoned on the pages of time.

California Agriculture Must Not Be Allowed To Become Union's Football Field

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, Americans of Filipino descent are among our finest citizens. For many decades, Filipino-Americans have worked in California agriculture—in every capacity—from stoop-labor fieldhands to grower-employers. They know California specialty crop agriculture as well as any other group. California agriculture, and the standard of living of the farmworker, are much the better for the individual and collective contributions of Filipino-Americans over a period of many years. We must respect men who are willing to compete with anyone in the basis of skill and who show sincere desire to earn good wages for themselves and a profit for their employers. They deserve to be heard on the subject of the current crisis of California farms.

Mr. Speaker, the Bataan News, M. H. Jacaban, managing editor and publisher, is the principal voice of Filipino-Americans in California. Naturally, they have a special interest in the preservation of California agriculture and in all who produce and consume California fruit and vegetables.

For the above reasons, Mr. Speaker, I ask permission to include at this point in my remarks an editorial which appeared in the July 4, 1965, edition of the Bataan News entitled, "California Agriculture Must Not Be Allowed To Become Union's Football Field." The full text of the editorial follows:

CALIFORNIA AGRICULTURE MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO BECOME UNION'S FOOTBALL FIELD

Some 3 or 4 years ago the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, with its headquarters in Stockton, had decided to organize the farmworkers. Public Law 78 was in the way of their organizing scheme, so the AFL–CIO, to which AWOC is affiliated, bent all its efforts in having that supplemental law ended. That is when the football game between the growers and the union started, with Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz as the nonimpartial referee for the match.

AWOC has always claimed that with attractive wages, the unemployed domestic workers could be attracted to work on the farms. They claim that enough farm labor force could be recruited to harvest the crops which represent a $4 billion industry. AWOC had demanded and got U.S. Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz to set $1.40 per hour for the farmworker. The $1.40 per hour wage, due to the fact that the Labor Secretary has no legal right to set minimum wage, is illegal, but the California growers are forced to go along with the order.

What happened though is quite a damaging fiasco. In spite of the $1.40 per hour wage, AWOC has not been able to recruit enough men to adequately harvest the spring crops. Strawberries in the Salinas area were left on the vines to rot from want of workers to pick them. That represented a loss of millions of dollars gone for naught. Then thousands of acres in asparagus in the San Joaquin and Sacramento delta areas have not been harvested because of no able and willing workers to cut them. That represents approximately $1 million loss every day for about 90 days of harvest season.

The gullible public has been made to believe by the AWOC that there are hundreds of thousands of our domestic workers that are out of work, and for that reason there is no need for foreign workers to supplement our agricultural work force. The fact is that the unemployed that the union counted on to compose the farm labor force are the winos and the lazy people who do not want to work. These kind of people are not able to do the strenuous stoop labor jobs, and I do not see why the union is insisting that these people be employed in agriculture. The other industries would not have them; why penalize the growers by insisting that they use them in their operations? It does not figure; agriculture needs men that are both mentally and physically fit to do the jobs on the farm.

Because there are still about 10,000 Filipinos in California who are directly or indirectly dependent for their bread and butter on agriculture, this bloc of workers becomes very important as far as the question of unionization or nonunionization of the farmworkers is concerned. This bloc of workers will have to be reckoned with in the final solution of the critical farm labor dilemma California agriculture has been forced to face.

As for the Bataan News, it has been its consistent basic policy for the last 22 years that, because it had provided employment for our Filipino people in the last 50 years, California agriculture must not be allowed to forfeit its position as No. 1 economy of California just to accommodate the selfish design of any union. We maintain that the present laws of this country are tailored for nonperishable goods, and invoking these laws in agriculture will surely bring ruin to the industry.

For example, our present laws allow strikes by the unions at any time. These laws, if applied to nonperishable goods industries, such as steel, automobile industries, etc., are not going to completely ruin the industry because their products would not rot. But if the same laws are applied to agriculture and allow the unions to strike at the time when the crops are ready to harvest, the crops will completely go to waste.

Unless there are laws that definitely will protect the agricultural industry from unscrupulous unionists we definitely believe in the policy of let well enough alone. This policy is, we believe, for the good of everybody. It allows the continuance of the production of foods so that the whole public will not be forced to pay exhorbitant prices for their foods. We are taxed to death already. It is also good for the unions. Agriculture has been the biggest employer in California, and if agriculture is going to be hurt because of the selfish design of any union it follows that there will be unemployment. No grower, no worker. No worker, no union either. It is as simple as that.

As for the Filipino farmworker, he is a highly skilled worker who will stick his finger on his nose if he is offered the $1.40 per hour wage. He works on a piecework rate; in

that way he makes around $3.50 per hour. He is also smart enough to negotiate for himself with his employer; he is, because of his skill and experience, highly wanted, and for that reason union representation is hardly necessary.

The final solution of the California agriculture's dilemma is not to cut off foreign supplemental labor, but to encourage it in such crops like asparagus, strawberry, dates, citrus, melons, etc., in which our able and willing domestic workers could not adequately perform.

Let us remember that California agriculture supplies 41 percent of the Nation's foods and fibers, and if something happens to disrupt that supply, every housewife in America will feel the impact of higher cost of foods. You know, football players wear cleats, if we let the unions make California agriculture their football field, they will trample the crops to smithereens and you and I will have to pay for such a folly.

United States Apologetic About Food It Gives to Communists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, since the continued expansion of the war in Vietnam drives home the seriousness of the all-out battle against freedom being waged by the Communist world, a column by Walter Trohan, chief of the Chicago Tribune's Washington bureau, which appeared in this morning's edition, is especially pertinent and timely in nature. It is my hope that administration foreign affairs experts would ponder Mr. Trohan's words.

The article follows:

[From the Chicago Tribune, July 19, 1965]

UNITED STATES APOLOGETIC ABOUT FOOD IT GIVES TO COMMUNISTS

(By Walter Trohan)

WASHINGTON, July 18.—Food has been virtually neglected as a weapon in the cold war and as a powerful force for peace.

Communists nations can't feed themselves. The United States produces more than it can consume and has had to spend billions on subsidies and storage of surplus.

Instead of making a case for capitalism against communism on food production, the United States is apologetic about sending food behind the Iron Curtain, as though it were ashamed of the system under which it does so well. Bleeding hearts among us want American food distributed through the United Nations, so that the international organization gets the credits rather than the American way.

The world as a whole is running low on food production. As populations rise, the situation will worsen. Instead of using food production as an argument for the capitalist system, the United States is bending every effort at conciliation with a system that can't feed its people.

When the United States does give food and dole out resources under foreign aid, it does so in such a way as to encourage people seeking relief from totalitarianism to believe that we are on the side of their leaders.

BARRED FROM HOSPITAL UNITED STATES BUILT

The United States poured billions into Communist Yugoslavia and Communist Poland. The people see this as entrenching their Communist bosses rather than helping the people to achieve freedom.

Recently the Polish Communists refused to permit Vice President HUMPHREY and a congressional delegation to attend the dedication of an $11 million children's hospital the United States has built in Krakow.

There is growing recognition within the Government, especially those departments and agencies concerned with diplomacy and agriculture, that the role of food in promoting peace has been neglected. A long, hard look is being taken at existing programs. This has given rise to consideration of releasing agriculture from rigid controls.

The value of food in promoting peace, coupled with mounting farm organization protests against regimentation of agriculture, may work in time to release farmers from production straitjackets and supervision.

No doubt it won't happen overnight or even over the next year or before the next presidential campaign, yet, it is possible the trend away from socialism and welfare statism may begin by freeing farmers from existing controls.

A FARM REVOLUTION IN REVERSE

Before any steps can be taken, the United States will have to determine just what the foods needs will be of soaring populations and what part of that needed food supply the United States could meet under its surplus producing know-how and mechanization.

Experts contend that it is obvious whatever goal is determined will be higher than existing production, so that ceilings will have to be lifted on productive capacity. With the lifting of ceilings will come a release from existing controls.

The extent of release is being debated by planners for the future. It is possible that the Government would maintain only a minimum floor under farm prices and leave farmers free to choose what to plant and to sell in a free market.

What is being talked of is a farm revolution in reverse. It is still too early to say how far it will go, but it is a long step even to consider employing food production as a propaganda tool and a lever for promotion of peace.

Shaping Our Long-Range Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, I have been urging the Congress to assume its rightful role in participating in the shaping of our long-range foreign policy, particularly with reference to the continuing and expanding conflict in southeast Asia.

I remain convinced that the vast majority of the American people will support whatever must be done to achieve our goal of ending Communist aggression and subversion against South Vietnam, and then of attempting to work out some honorable and satisfactory arrangement under which its citizens will be left free to choose and shape their own destiny.

So far, so good—but, though the American people undoubtedly understand that this is our primary goal and overwhelmingly approve of it, I am not at all convinced that they have, as yet, any clear idea of how long it may take to reach such a result nor of what may be eventually demanded of them along the way.

One of the reasons why this is so is that, up to now at least, most of the initiative for what has been happening in Vietnam has rested with the aggressor. The future course of the conflict is almost impossible to predict for the same basic reason and, as long as this condition prevails, I think the uneasiness here at home over this new and strange kind of a "war," and the uncertainty about what we are getting into, is bound to increase to the detriment of both our real and our apparent national resolution.

I am convinced, as I have said before on several occasions, that the American people need and deserve to be told, fully and frankly, why this war must be fought and why it must be won—"won" in the sense, that is, that the President now defines our possibility of success in achieving our underlying goal—and I am also convinced that they need and deserve to be told, with equal fullness and frankness, what the cost of such success may be to them.

Until this has been done, I fear that the seeming contradiction that may exist, here, between what the American people want, and what they are willing to pay for, will continue—and, for so long as that is so in any degree, the posture of the United States, in southeast Asia or elsewhere, is not one of full strength.

In my judgment, the President must bear the primary responsibility for improving this situation. To a degree, after a rather long period of comparative silence, he has been attempting to do so. But I do not think that press conferences, nor "off the record" discussions with either congressional leaders or representatives of the news media, or intentional leaks about the possibility of troop callups and so on, constitute proper vehicles for him to use for such purposes.

The best and, traditionally and constitutionally, the proper vehicle to which the President should turn is the Congress itself—as I think, eventually, he will have to do. And, if I am correct in this assessment, Mr. Speaker, then the sooner the better for all concerned.

And, now, under leave to extend my remarks and include extraneous material, I submit for the consideration of my colleagues the following newspaper comments, the first an editorial from the July 16, 1965, edition of the Christian Science Monitor, and the second a column by Tom Wicker as appearing in the New York Times on the same date:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, July 16, 1965]

ALL THE FACTS ON VIETNAM

Now that the U.S. Government has made it clear that it is determined to achieve in Vietnam those military ends which it believes are right and necessary, Washington faces three moral and practical obligations. The first of these is to explain more convincingly to the American people and the world why Washington believes this war must be fought and won. The second is to tell the American people as fully and as frankly as is possible what this war will demand of them. The third is to win that

war with the utmost speed consistent with decency and common humanity.

Although we understand and sympathize with the difficulties, both domestic and foreign, which President Johnson faces over Vietnam, we do not believe that any one of these three obligations are yet being met. Washington's explanations on American involvement in Vietnam have left far too many Americans (to say nothing of the rest of the world) confused, doubtful and in many cases even indignant. Washington has deliberately refrained from telling the American people what the White House and the Pentagon well know: the cost of victory will be high, the road to victory hard and probably long. Finally, the present American build-up of troops, bases and material in Vietnam may not be adequate for even a long-drawn-out effort at victory, to say nothing of a swift and decisive effort to end the conflict.

At any time, anywhere, and under any circumstance war is a heart-rending human tragedy. But once a war is begun, the wisest and most merciful procedure is to win that war as quickly as is consistent with every humane consideration left the warrior.

Nor will anything be gained by failing to be utterly frank with the American people. If Vietnam is to require larger armed forces, a call-up of Reserve units, new military appropriations, the sooner and more fully the American people are told of this the better. At present, this news is coming out in dribs and drabs, in hints, in "leaked" stories and in other roundabout ways. It is little wonder that the American people seem uncertain and confused about what is going on.

We believe that the American aims of preserving South Vietnam's independence, of halting outside aggression and of seeking a negotiated peace with honor and justice are right. But we also believe that these may well require greater sacrifices than Washington has yet admitted. It is high time that the White House made this plain.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, July 16, 1965]

WASHINGTON: HOW DEEP IS THE RIVER?

(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, July 15.—In the early days of his Presidency, Lyndon Johnson is supposed to have remarked that his support in the country was like a western river—wide but shallow. The remark probably had no special relevance to the specific question of his policy in South Vietnam, but in the months and years ahead the depth of that particular river may be thoroughly tested.

The best efforts of poll takers and the informed opinion of reporters and others who move around the country agree that the Nation is supporting the expanded war in South Vietnam and believes with Mr. Johnson that the United States must stick to its guns against the Communist guerrillas.

THE GOOD PEOPLE

It is likely also, however, that the majority of the good people pursuing their business from here to the Pacific coast do not have a detailed understanding of what is going on, what is at stake, and what could happen in remote southeast Asia. In such a complex situation the people have rallied round the President, taken his word and advice, and acquiesced in his management of things.

In the postwar world, moreover, it has not been difficult to mobilize American opinion around an anti-Communist position, and it always has been easy to evoke the patroitic fervor of Americans when their flag and their boys are under fire.

But wars involving mass societies in the 20th century with its instant communications and propaganda techniques are most easily sustained when there is a clear-cut objective. Franklin Roosevelt's demand for "unconditional surrender" of the Axis Powers may have been unwise in the long view, but it provided the American pepole with a visible and definable target, and they aimed at it unanimously and wholeheartedly.

The trouble with the war in Vietnam is that Lyndon Johnson can provide no such attractive terminal goal. There is no real battlefront to be stablized at a certain line. There is no lost and occupied territory to be regained. There is not even a clearly visible enemy command to be brought to its knees and relieved of its swords.

NO RINGING SLOGANS

It is not surprising, therefore, that this repugnant war has produced no rising slogans and no confident definitions of victory. And that may be why, despite the evident general support for the President's policy, the Vietnamese war has sicklied o'er the American sky with the pale cast of uneasiness. People want something tangible to fight for.

This and earlier administrations have worked hard to provide it. A clear and consistent American goal has been to achieve an end to aggression and subversion against South Vietnam.

Beyond that is diplomatic murk, although the South Vietnamese Government, with the endorsement of Dean Rusk, has set forth these additional fundamental principles for a just and enduring peace:

Freedom for South Vietnam to choose and shape its own destiny without outside interference; an end to South Vietnamese military action and the withdrawal of all foreign troops; and effective guarantees for independence and freedom for the South Vietnamese people.

Mr. Rusk added that if these principles were realized, North and South Vietnam could proceed to a free decision on the question of reunification.

That would not appear to rule out government participation by South Vietnamese Vietcong elements, as distinguished from North Vietnamese infiltrators. It does not necessarily reject the idea of international guarantees partially shared by Communist powers. It at least opens the possibility of South Vietnam being voted by all of Indochina into a Communist or Titoist government as a part of reunification.

Mr. Johnson probably has to float these notions before Hanoi, Peiping and Moscow, as well as the Vietcong themselves, if he is to keep open the faint prospect that they eventually might consider the conference table more promising or less punishing than the jungle.

OUR BARGAINING POSITION

But he cannot concede such points in advance without destroying his bargaining position in southeast Asia—a position that already needs plenty of improvement. Nor is it likely that he can foresee whether any or all of these arrangements might become necessary or impossible or even advantageous.

So there is not, and probably can't be, any inspiring and precise definition of what the war is all about. As the casualty list lengthens, this might turn Mr. Johnson's river into a dry gulch unless the American people understand that the problem is not so simple as bringing down Hitler or getting the missiles out of Cuba.

Any Trade With Reds Helps Foe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, the Alhambra Post Advocate of July 13, 1965, perceptively editorialized on the problems of trade with the Communist bloc.

The editorial serves to deflate this administration's extensive campaign designed to promote an increase in East-West trade as virtually a political and economic panacea to the cold war.

As the editorial concludes:

One of the greatest cold war ironies is that the free world does not recognize the threat or ignores it to trade with the Russians in the mistaken belief that it enhances the cause of peace.

Unless there is more recognition of this fact, we could become the tools of our own destruction.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the editorial for inclusion in the RECORD:

[From the San Gabriel Valley (Calif) Post Advocate, July 13, 1965]

ANY TRADE WITH REDS HELPS FOE

One of the most futile exercises in semantics of our generation is whether a distinction can be made between strategic and nonstrategic goods so far as trade with the Soviet Union and its satellites is concerned.

Without the trade from the free world, the Soviet Union could not have reached the position of influence and power she wields today. Whether wheat or machinery, trade to the Soviets is a political weapon for Marxist domination and as such is strategic.

The value of trade with the free world to the Soviets was clearly outlined recently in a speech by B. F. Coggan, an executive of the National Security Industrial Association, who has traveled extensively in Russia.

"Russia," he said, "has come to the realization that she cannot exist unto herself and she must enter the world marketplace. We now see Marxism turning outward and making a direct contact with the free world through the window of trade.

"Russia will now try to market her products worldwide in an effort to enlarge Marxist influence throughout the world. She believes that world trade will gain her time to overtake the economic progress of capitalistic countries * * * We therefore now see the Soviet leaders attaching a very special importance to opening up trade with the United States."

One of the greatest cold war ironies is that the free world does not recognize the threat or ignores it to trade with the Russians in the mistaken belief that it enhances the cause of peace.

Unless there is more recognition of this fact, we could become the tools of our own destruction.

Busiest Executive—"Mr. Boston"—42 Affiliations for Ralph Lowell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the recent edition of Poor's Register of Corporations, Directors, and Executives shows that the Nation's busiest executive is a remarkable Bostonian, Ralph Lowell.

Mr. Lowell serves as chairman of the Boston Safe Deposit & Trust Co., but he is also a director or officer of 41 other corporations.

In addition to all of these activities, Mr. Lowell is a noted patron of the arts in Boston and has built the Lowell Fund, organized to assist Harvard students from $238,000 to $2 million.

Ken McKenna, of the New York Herald Tribune, wrote an interest profile of Mr. Lowell and I would like to share it with the House by inserting it in the RECORD:

BUSIEST EXECUTIVE—"MR. BOSTON"—42 AFFILIATIONS FOR RALPH LOWELL

(By Ken McKenna)

This year Ralph Lowell somehow is dividing his working hours between Boston Safe Deposit & Trust Co. and 41 other corporations and institutions where he is an officer or director.

As such, the 74-year-old Bostonian became the busiest corporate executive in the United States for 1965.

Mr. Lowell, who is chairman of Boston Safe Deposit, added 12 new affiliations this year, thereby taking the lead over last year's busiest director, Washington Businessman George E. Allen. Mr. Allen, famed as the joke-telling friend of U.S. Presidents, ran second this year.

This information concerning the public life of top executives emerged from the 1965 edition of "Poor's Register of Corporations, Directors and Executives." The 3,810-page volume, weighing 13 pounds, was published yesterday by Standard & Poor's Corp.

Among the facts of business life emerging from the publication:

The average age of top-level corporate officers and directors is increasing rather than decreasing. An age study of the listed 71,327 men indicated the average age of executives has increased by 4 percent over last year.

With a possible boost from the space age, Massachusetts Institute of Technology moved into the leading 10 colleges and universities attended by corporate executives and directors. Harvard was an easy first, with 4,135 company officers listed. Following were Yale, Princeton, and the University of Pennsylvania.

Busiest woman executive was Mary A. McCravey, secretary of Georgia-Pacific Corp., who is also an officer and/or director of 23 related companies.

Standard & Poor's candidate for the year's most active executive is a member of the renowned New England Lowell family. Often identified as "Mr. Boston," he has demonstrated over the years a surprising range of interests.

LONG LIST

His affiliations include John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co., as a director; New England Medical Center, treasurer; Massachusetts Institute of Technology, life member of the corporation; Massachusetts Historical Society, trustee, and Salvation Army Association, treasurer.

He is also a director of Republic Steel Corp., Avco Corp., American Brewing Co., Park Sheraton Corp., and S. Klein Department Stores.

A lover of cultural pursuits, he was an early advocate of educational television (commercial television plays "down to amuse; we play up to stimulate or instruct," he once said).

Recently he backed a proposal that the conservative Boston Museum of Fine Arts buy a Picasso painting and Brancus sculpture, commenting, "Now, I don't believe in all this modern stuff myself, but I'm not always right."

As a financial figure, his batting average has been high. In the 37 years he managed the Lowell Fund, organized to assist students at Harvard, its assets grew from $238,000 to $2 million.

His major concern is Boston Safe Deposit & Trust, of which he is chairman. He describes the trust bank, oldest of the chartered trust companies in the United States, as "a bank with a conscience."

Mr. Lowell earned a Phi Beta Kappa key at Harvard, graduating in the class of 1912 with Robert Benchley, Frederick Lewis Allen, and Joseph P. Kennedy. The executive, a member of the seventh generation of his family to attend the college, was later elected president of the Harvard University Board of Overseers.

"When we say college here, we mean Harvard," he said a few weeks ago, "I can't think of any Lowells who didn't go."

OLDER

At 74, Mr. Lowell is in an age category that increased this year in "Poor's Register" of active executives. Some 8,303 executives were listed in the 71-to-80 bracket, almost 1,000 more than last year.

The number of working businessmen over 80 also rose, by 50 percent to 1,402. In the younger categories, the number of executives declined. Only 59 percent of the officers and directors listing their age (4,541 omitted this fact) were in the 21-to-60 area, compared with 63 percent in 1964.

The Register is shadowy on one point. Harold L. Wyman, Standard & Poor's senior vice president in charge, pointed out that the count of women executives (1,284) was based on those positively identified as such.

There is reason to believe, he said, a great number of women conceal their sex by reporting only initials.

Sportsmen Must Bypass Philadelphia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a grim warning appearing in the Pennsylvania Game News published monthly by the Pennsylvania Game Commission of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania entitled "Sportsmen Must Bypass Philadelphia."

Citizens across the Nation are concerned about the kind of irresponsible legislation directed at firearms and law-abiding citizens.

The legislation referred to is an ordinance of the city of Philadelphia requiring that all sporting arms purchased, transferred, or brought into the city, including rifles and shotguns, be registered and may not be legally possessed in the county without first presenting the owner's name, address, fingerprints, photograph, and serial number to the Philadelphia Police Department accompanied by a registration fee of $1.

Firearms not so registered may be confiscated and the owner fined.

This is simply an example of the direction in which legislation such as H.R. 6628, H.R. 1783, S. 14, and the so-called Dodd bill, S. 1591, and S. 1592, is taking this Nation:

BECAUSE OF NEW GUN LAW SPORTSMEN MUST BYPASS PHILADELPHIA

(By Charles H. Nehf)

Philadelphia, the birthplace of American Democracy, is now in the onus position of also giving it "the kiss of death." The very implication of the ridiculous new restrictive gun law which went into effect April 15 now strikes at the very heart of human privileges granted in the constitution of the United States.

The Philadelphia law now requires that all sporting firearms purchased, transferred or brought into the city, including rifles and shotguns, be registered and may not be possessed legally in the county without first presenting the owner's name, address, fingerprints, photograph and serial number to the Philadelphia Police Department. Registration fee is $1. Incidentally guns not so registered may be confiscated and the owner fined.

"This law," as stated by an official of the Pennsylvania Game Commission, "will impose serious hardships on both the honest resident sportsman and on the visiting hunter or target shooter who is temporarily in, or passing through the city."

"Out-of-State sportsmen are particularly cautioned to keep this in mind when traveling through the city of Philadelphia. The transportation of unregistered firearms through Philadelphia constitutes a violation. It should be emphasized that this is not a Pennsylvania law, but applies only in the city of Philadelphia."

PUSHING OUTWARD

In some of the initial discussion of the bill, the mayor of Philadelphia and councilmen expressed the hope that similar laws would be imposed by the counties of Bucks, Chester, Delaware, and Montgomery. The heat is now on and overtures have already been made to the county commissioners in the districts surrounding Philadelphia.

Just where does this leave the honest law-abiding sportsman? It places him out in left field so far that he isn't even in the ball game anymore.

The sportsmen, as repeated many times over, are as much concerned with crime as anyone. Our position is that absolutely no amount of laws for registering sporting arms can and will reduce crimes. Philadelphia and every other part of the country will continue to have major crimes at gunpoint, in spite of all the laws in the book.

Do criminals register firearms? The answer to that question is only too obvious.

Let us just examine a few of the nasty situations which now arise under this absolutely worthless gun law:

1. Sets up an autocratic police department: The issuance of permits to transport, own or transfer sporting firearms now rests in the hands of a bureaucracy which smacks on the border of autocracy. God forbid, but the first place that all dictators in Europe went to disarm the people was to the bureau of arms registration. Once the public is deprived of lawful arms then we become the victims of might.

Over a recent weekend my wife and I spent 3 days at beautiful Williamsburg, Va. Among many impressions, you just can't help but realize that the very basis for the existence of the United States is the result of an armed citizenry.

2. Avoid Philadelphia airports in making your trip west: Sportsmen of the Lehigh Valley must now forget the Philadelphia Airport and arrange their big game hunting trips to the Far West and Alaska here at the Allentown Airport. TWA and United now have direct routes out of Allentown and you can pick up your jet accommodations at either Pittsburgh or Chicago.

3. Bypass Philadelphia on your waterfowl trips to the shore: The hundreds of Lehigh Valley sportsmen who use the Schuylkill Expressway and Walt Whitman Bridge to the shore for waterfowl hunting must now give Philadelphia a wide berth. The couple of bucks we poured into eating meals along the way will be spent elsewhere.

4. Worth a good test case: Sportsmen are now aware of what an uninformed city council can do and are more united than ever. We are all standing by for a test case of this ordinance. Keep in mind how successful we were in overruling ordinances on controlled hunting.

5. Slowly disarm the public: People will get so sick and tired of rules and regulations for possession of guns that they will slowly get rid of them. This will be a paradise for crime, the innocent citizen will be without a weapon of protection and the hoods, gangsters, and their compatriots will ride herd.

There are plenty of laws already on the books to fight crime. Let's get busy and enforce them—not using the honest law-abiding citizen as the scapegoat.

Dean of the House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following well-deserved editorial which was published in the New York Journal-American of July 15, 1965.

All of us are honored to serve with the gentleman to whom the editorial refers, the dean of the House, the distinguished Representative from New York EMANUEL CELLER.

The editorial follows:

DEAN OF THE HOUSE

Among the many contributions of Representative EMANUEL CELLER, Democrat, of Brooklyn, during his 43 years of service, we must reckon among the most significant the sponsorship and adoption of three constitutional amendments. These are:

The granting of the vote in presidential elections to the District of Columbia, the abolition of the poll tax in Federal elections, and the filling of the constitutional gap in the matter of presidential inability.

The first two passed Congress June 16, 1960, and August 27, 1962, respectively, and were ratified by the States on April 3, 1961, and January 23, 1964, respectively. The third one was adopted by the House last June 30, and by the Senate on July 6.

No other chairman in the history of this country has to his credit the shaping of three constitutional amendments. This is a high proportion when we consider that, excluding the Bill of Rights, only 15 constitutional amendments have passed the Congress since its inception.

The statement of Representative CARL ALBERT, majority leader, made on the floor of the House on June 30, is indeed, well merited:

"Mr. Speaker, this is a memorable day in the history of the House and in the life of one of the most distinguished men ever to serve in the House. The House has just adopted the conference report on the constitutional amendment dealing with presidential disability and succession, which has been managed from its beginning by the distinguished dean of the House, the gentleman from New York, Mr. CELLER.

"Also of historical significance is the fact that this is the third constitutional amendment which has been shepherded through the House by our distinguished friend from New York."

St. Louis Post-Dispatch Endorses Urban Transport Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the July 14 edition of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch carries an editorial endorsing legislation I recently introduced (H.R. 9200) requiring the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency to undertake a 2-year, $20 million research program to achieve a technological breakthrough in the development of new urban transportation systems.

The editorial says the "proposal makes a good deal of sense" because of the urgency of the problem and the fact that no one but the Federal Government can undertake a research program of the required magnitude.

The new systems would be designed to carry people quickly, safely, and economically from place to place within urban areas, without polluting the air and in such a way as to meet the needs of the people for individual transport. This effort would complement the mass transportation grant program already administered by HHFA which helps cities buy new equipment for existing facilities, or set up new bus or subway systems.

Nine other Members have joined as cosponsors: the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHLEY], the gentleman from Texas [Mr. CABELL], the gentleman from New York [Mr. FARBSTEIN], the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER], the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROSENTHAL], the gentlewoman from Missouri [Mrs. SULLIVAN], the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VANIK], the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. WELTNER], and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. YATES].

The editorial follows:

FOR A TRANSIT BREAKTHROUGH

Legislation calling for a crash research program to develop new types of public mass transportation systems has been offered in Congress by Representative HENRY S. REUSS, of Milwaukee, and eight other urban-area Democrats, including Mrs. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN, of St. Louis, and SIDNEY R. YATES, of Chicago. Given the urgency of the urban transit problem and the clear inability of anyone except the Federal Government to finance the effort to achieve a technological breakthrough in this field, the proposal makes a good deal of sense.

What is aimed at is not merely engineering advances on existing rail and bus systems, but the development of wholly new systems more in keeping with the needs of the times—"high-speed, noiseless, nonpolluting, economical," as one proponent put it in a House speech. Representative REUSS reported on one such possibility, the commucar, which has been proposed in rough outline by scientists at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The commucar would be a small lightweight vehicle carrying two to four passengers capable of being driven independently on its own power at 50 miles an hour and along special electric-powered guideways at up to 100 miles an hour; it could be parked in downtown racks.

Costly research is necessary to determine the feasibility of the commucar, or alternative proposals. Neither private industry nor the States have the resources to tackle a problem of this magnitude. Mr. REUSS and his colleagues would make available $10 million in each of the next 2 years. This is adequate but still a drop in the bucket compared to the $15.5 billion the Federal Government expects to spend next year on research and development, including $7 billion for defense and $5 billion for space.

As Mr. REUSS has pointed out, an efficient urban transportation system would reduce the air pollution problem, caused in no small measure by automotive exhaust fumes; greatly reduce accidents on the highways; slash the excessive cost of commuting by automobile and reverse the trend to a growing urban ugliness caused by parking lots and highways. It also would unclog urban arteries and help make the urban areas that produce so much of the Nations taxable wealth pleasant and efficient places in which to live and do business.

Nigerian Ambassador to the United Nations Adebo Saluted by Horton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday, it was my pleasure and privilege to take part in a very impressive meeting sponsored by the Federation of Negro Women's Clubs in my home community of Rochester, N.Y. The guest of honor on this occasion was His Excellency, Chief S. O. Adebo, Ambassador Plenipotentiary to the United Nations. The Ambassador was accompanied by his wife. Both were greeted warmly by my fellow Rochesterians.

The invocation for the luncheon which Ambassador Adebo addressed, was delivered by my long time friend, the Rev. Arthur L. Whitaker of the Mount Olivet Baptist Church. Another distinguished constituent, Dr. Carl W. Zuehlke, president of the Rochester Association for the United Nations was the master of ceremonies. The president of the Rochester Federation of Negro Women's Clubs, Mrs. Cullen Taylor and Mrs. Rhoda Townsend, regional president, of Buffalo, N.Y., delivered welcoming remarks and Mrs. Sophie G. Divers, the community relations adviser for the city of Rochester introduced Ambassador Adebo. Following the Ambassador's address, Rochester Mayor Frank T. Lamb officially welcomed our esteemed visitor and the program was concluded with the benediction of Rabbi Robert Segal of Temple Sinai.

Mr. Speaker, before sharing with my colleagues the summary of Ambassador Adebo's address, I include with my remarks an excerpt from Mrs. Diver's introduction of the Ambassador for its value in establishing the impressive back ground of education and Government service which Ambassador Adebo brings to his important diplomatic post:

He is a great and wise man, He attended grammar school in his native land and holds

a bachelor of arts degree from King's College, Lagos, Nigeria. He received a bachelor of arts degree and his bachelor of law degree with honors from London University, London, England. A barrister-at-law he was called by Gray's Inn, London.

For many years before his country was independent, he was in the administrative class of the Nigerian civil service, and served as Chief Secretary to the Government of Western Nigeria, and, also, as head of the civil service. He organized and carried out the replacement of British senior officials by Nigerians in the top posts of the Nigerian civil service.

In 1963 he was Chairman of the Working Group of 21 on the examination of the administrative and budgetary procedures of the United Nations and was awarded an honorary doctorate of laws degree by Western Michigan University.

In his present position as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Permanent Representative to the United Nations, he is also Commissioner General for Economic Affairs.

THE NEW NATIONS AND THE NEW WORLD

(Summary of points made in an address delivered to a luncheon meeting of the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs of Rochester on Saturday, the 17th of July, by Chief S. O. Abedo, Permament Representative of Nigeria at the United Nations)

For my present purpose, "the new nations" are, primarily, those countries which have achieved independence since the end of the Second World War. But I also include in that category countries like Ethiopia, Liberia, and the United Arab Republic which were independent before 1939 but can be said to have generated a new life, politically, and/or economically and/or socially since 1945.

Although not all the new nations coming within my definition are located on the continent of Africa, although a great deal of my submissions will have validity for most if not all of them, I have particularly in mind, as I speak, the 35 countries of Africa whose destinies are now in the hands of their African inhabitants. That is to say, all the independent countries on the continent, except South Africa in which unhappily the indigenous African has no voice in the running of his country.

The new world that I wish to discuss is the world as it has become as a result of (a) the establishment in 1945 of the United Nations and (b) the presence in it of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons of mass destruction.

The new nations are to a great extent the result of the international climate of opinion created by the existence of the United Nations. They reflect in that sense the success of the Organization. But they also represent a challenge to it, for there are now 35 members of it from independent Africa alone, and they have faced the Organization with problems of special interest to Africa, which it cannot ignore.

These special problems may be summarized as the elimination of colonialism, the preservation of human rights within individual countries (including abolition of the apartheid policy of the South African Government and the abolition of overt and covert discriminatory practices against people of color anywhere), the promotion of international economic cooperation with a view to raising the standard of life in the new nations.

On the other hand, the new nations have brought along assets of value for the United Nations and the world. Those of them who have avoided involvement in cold war policies and attitudes, and possess the strength and the determination to stand for truth and justice, can and do make very useful contributions to the settlement of international problems.

I have deliberately avoided simply calling these these nations "nonalined," for nonalinement is not an end but a means. It only serves the world if it is accompanied by the strength and the determination to stand for truth and justice.

The youthfulness of the new nations is itself an asset. Like youthful individuals, they possess an idealism which if it sometimes strikes the more experienced as unrealistic is indeed essential to restore a sense of purpose to our world. The new nations believe more strongly in peace, than the older nations seem to do. They believe that a new world is necessary. And they think it can be created. And they are ready to cooperate in its creation.

The world of the nuclear bomb is not a world in which nations can any longer afford to fight it out. So, if for no other reason, the parading of military might, the near-deification of military conquerors, must cease. We must break with all this if, as the opening words of the United Nations Charter put it, we are "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."

But the warless world which the new nations seek is not a static world, a world of the "status quo. They seek a world of change, but of change brought about by peaceful methods, the methods prescribed in Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter for the "pacific settlement of disputes", plus "international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion", as set out in article 1 of that charter.

The responsibility for the creation of this new brave world of the future is, of course, that of all nations, small and great, old and new. It is also the responsibility of individuals and of groups of individuals. My tribute goes to the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs of Rochester for the way in which they are playing their part in this crusade, the promotion of national as well as international understanding and cooperation.

Adlai Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, ordinary language seems strangely inadequate in expressing the sorrow of the American people upon the untimely passing of Adlai Stevenson. In the career of this great American every act was characterized by unassuming dignity, yet his own natural eloquence will itself serve as the most lasting tribute to his magnificent work. In his life there was the grace of dignity coupled with rare intellectual insight, but qualities of the academic were blended with a profound, sympathetic understanding of the human condition. His voice, though always restrained and measured, was both prophetic and genuinely realistic; few who heard his articulation of the loftiest national principles will be able to forget. Each coming year will add to the memory and the impact of his words. Among them were these:

The most important single event in our history is that it is our turn to be freedom's champion, indeed her shield and sanctuary. * * * A consciousness of the limits of our wisdom is our best companion because it is the root of responsibility * * * let us dream of a world in which all states, great and small, work together for the peaceful flowering of the republic of man.

With an unalterable commitment to the furtherance of human integrity, marked by a largeness able to withstand the demands of rigorous introspection, and esteemed for the patient humor and incisive wit and mature wisdom, Adlai Stevenson will long be remembered by all those who cherished his convictions of a world united in peace and harmony.

Executive Corps Starts Writing Success Story in Its First Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most stirring examples of the role that private industry can play in our foreign aid effort is the International Executive Service Corps. Dozens of experienced and successful businessmen have been putting their talents and skills to work for the growing industries of the developing nations.

The corps deals directly with the companies concerned and has produced outstanding results in all of its projects. Started at the suggestion of Chase Manhattan Bank president, David Rockefeller, and now under the full-time direction of Frank Pace, Jr., the Executive Service Corps demonstrates what private resources can do to improve management techniques and build the morale of the new industries of the new nations.

I insert a fine article by Douglas W. Cray in the business section of the New York Times yesterday in the RECORD:

EXECUTIVE CORPS STARTS WRITING SUCCESS STORY IN ITS FIRST YEAR

(By Douglas W. Cray)

Contrary to form, a chance to catch up on "a little fishing" was not uppermost in the plans of George F. Salman, of Manhasset, Long Island, when he retired 2 years ago, at the age of 56, as controller of the Minerals & Chemicals Philipp Corp., an international trading corporation.

Yet today, fresh from a 3-month tour of volunteer service in Peru, Mr. Salman has brought back a tale that makes minnows out of any conventional entries in a fishing derby for retirees.

With the help of the recently organized International Executive Service Corps, a kind of business executives' Peace Corps, Mr. Salman found himself in the whaling business.

During his stay with the officers and directors of a small, struggling shore-station whaling company in Port Paita, Peru, Mr. Salman acquired enough whaling lore and whaling industry data to fill a book.

Instead of writing one, he shared his newly acquired knowledge in detailed reports with the company, which had been

looking for ways to diversify a product long confined to sperm oil and whale meat.

Mr. Salman describes his tour as "a most rewarding experience."

The general manager of the whaling company found it more than just personally "rewarding." In a recent letter to officials of the executive corps, he asserted that the help Mr. Salman provided "will save our industry from economic collapse; will create new job opportunities; will permit our industry to advance to manufacturing activities [and] will help the country's economy, including the inflow of foreign currencies."

DISTINGUISHED GROUP

The International Executive Service Corps, which was formally organized last January, has not been in operation long enough to have received many such letters. But if the plans of the distinguished group of U.S. corporate executives who founded it work out, the organization will eventually have 400 to 500 projects like the one Mr. Salman participated in going on each year.

As the executive corps states in a new brochure for prospective "client" companies in developing nations:

"IECS is a private nonprofit organization directed and managed by businessmen. Its primary objective is to help improve the performance of privately owned commercial enterprises in developing countries essentially in the fields of general management, production, marketing and financial control. IECS makes available on request experienced executives for limited periods of time, usually 3 to 6 months, to advise the managment of enterprises seeking assistance, and to help implement the recommendations made. ICES deals directly with individual businesses, and not through the Governments of the United States and the host country."

The idea for this kind of gray-flannel, privately operated Peace Corps was first voiced in 1963 by Senator VANCE HARTKE, Democrat, of Indiana, and, that same year, by David Rockefeller, president of Chase Manhattan Bank, in the keynote address at the 13th annual International Management Congress.

Mr. Rockefeller said: "It is my suggestion that private companies in the industrialized nations—in addition to pursuing their own investment opportunities abroad—volunteer to send members of their management to work in the developing areas."

He called for what he termed a "managerial task force of free enterprise."

By June 1964, the project was being hailed by President Johnson as an "inspiring example of sane and sensible, responsible and constructive cooperation between government and private enterprise."

Besides Mr. Rockefeller, the chairman, directors include Sol M. Linowitz, chairman of Xerox Corp.; Andrew Heiskell, chairman of Time, Inc.; Lawrence Litchfield, Jr,. chairman of Aluminum Co. of America; Ralph A. Peterson, president of the Bank of America, and David A. Shepherd, executive vice president of Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey).

Frank Pace, Jr., is the full-time paid president of the organization, whose nine full-time staff members are mostly retired corporate executives. The organization has its headquarters at 720 Fifth Avenue.

HEAVY SCHEDULE

The executive corps has completed 4 projects, has 11 more in progress and another 30 approved. A total of 44 projects, that is pleas for managerial assistance from private companies in developing countries, have been approved and 37 more are under study.

Essentially what the companies or clients are seeking is the managerial experience and background of senior and retired U.S. corporate executives.

The corps has a contract with the Agency for International Development whereby the initial financing of the venture is in part met by AID funds. AID will meet 75 percent of the nonproject costs and 80 percent of the project costs during fiscal 1965.

An additional $100,000 in expenses has been raised by the organization in a limited fund-raising effort in the U.S. business community.

Eventually, the endeavor will be, according to its staff, 100 percent backed by private enterprise.

A volunteer like Mr. Salman—there are some 300 volunteers who have been fully screened and processed—receives no pay for his tour of service with a "client" company that might be in the Middle East, Latin America or the Far East.

The client pays the corps a fee for his managerial services equivalent to the existing rate of pay in its country for such a senior management officer. The volunteer, in turn, receives only daily expenses for himself and, on occasion, his wife.

If the client is able to meet such an expense he is also expected to pay for the volunteer's travel expenses to and from his temporary place of service.

So far, more than 50 percent of the clients who have approached the corps for assistance are producing companies in the developing countries, whose output ranges from drugs and shoes to furniture and automotive parts.

Other companies are in the retail business, insurance, development banking and various service or commercial ventures.

ACHIEVEMENTS NOTED

Mr. Salman, drawing from his acquaintances in the international business community, was able to obtain data on how another whaling company, in Africa, had diversified its production to include a substantial volume of business in meat extracts.

He turned this data over to the company that he worked 6 days a week with.

Another returned volunteer, who plans to return for another assignment this fall, is Otto G. Berwind, who managed a Sears, Roebuck & Co. store in Pittsburgh for 20 years.

He helped a large retail operation in David, Panama, set up a credit operation and revamp its management operations so that operating division heads were represented on the board instead of simply members of the family.

"To me," Mr. Rockefeller said last week, "the most significant achievement so far is that our experience has clearly demonstrated the workability of the concept of an executive service corps on a worldwide scale."

"Our returnees so far have all indicated a desire to return again for another assignment," Mr. Pace said last week.

The combination of an active alumni and a mounting desire on the part of individual companies in developing countries for skilled managerial assistance indicates that the executive corps has an active future ahead of it.

In the words of another volunteer, back from a tour of service in Panama:

"There is, of course, also the feeling of self-satisfaction in having made a contribution to what I consider a necessary and worthy cause. Equally important is the feeling of satisfaction of having taken on a challenge and beating it."

Trade Expansion Act Needs Overhauling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I have long had misgivings about our foreign trade policy and particularly about the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. This act was run through Congress as a result of promises, pressures, and deals, without proper consideration of the contents of the act itself.

As we all know, the new legislation was to mark a new departure by providing adjustment assistance for the industries and labor elements that have been or will be injured by tariff reductions. This was the part of the legislation that would make it palatable to labor. In fact, leaders of labor based their support of the legislation on the promise of relief contained in the adjustment assistance provision.

By now we know that the promise of adjustment assistance was a vacuum. In a succession of 17 cases filed before the Tariff Commission subject to the new law none survived the steep exactions of the law. Each applicant was under the need to prove a chain of cause and effect much more stringent than was called for in the preceding escape clause that was discarded by the act. Instead of making relief more readily available to injured industries or labor groups, the door was shut tight. It is fair to say that today there is no remedy for injury suffered by a domestic industry or its workers from import competition. What was described as a relaxation of requirements for a remedy was in fact a shutout.

I myself was not in favor of adjustment assistance and do not favor it now. In my judgment it is inexcusable policy to set out to hurt our economic enterprises through the operation of a law that should not have been passed in the first place and then coming to the rescue with the resources of the National Treasury. However, having adopted such a law on a promise of improving the existing measures of relief while in fact closing the door completely does not add up to acceptable practice.

Mr. Speaker, in my opinion the act of 1962 is in urgent need of amendment. The present tariff cutting negotiations now underway in Geneva, although lagging just now, should be prevented from inflicting heavy damage on more of our industries. The legislation that I propose together with other Members would introduce some degree of caution in proceedings that otherwise would produce incalculable harm. I say this because the tariff negotiations, while not yet very far advanced, are proceeding on the basis of a 50-percent tariff cut across the board, with a mere handful of exceptions. I do not say that there are not some products that could perhaps stand such a cut without being compelled as a matter of survival to resort to very drastic cost-reducing steps that in turn will be bad for the economy, especially employment, or moving more of their operations abroad, or both. Others—some that could perhaps withstand a cut of 20 or 30 percent—would become overexposed if they were cut the full 50 percent. It was this possibility that led Congress in 1962 to provide for extensive public hearings before the actual negotiations began.

The bill that I am joining in introducing would do what we apparently did not do explicitly enough in 1962. It would

establish criteria to guide our negotiators in Geneva. It is not too late to plug this loophole. It would make it possible to prevent further tariff reductions in all instances in which imports have reached a height equal to at least 7½ percent of domestic production, provided that the imports had increased at least 75 percent since 1958, which was the year in which the last preceding tariff-cutting act was passed.

When I say that it would make it possible to prevent additional tariff reductions I mean that any industry or labor group would be eligible under the proposed amendments to apply to the Tariff Commission for certification to the effect that imports of a product or products produced by them did in fact meet one or more of the criteria laid down in the bill. Upon an affirmative finding by the Tariff Commission it would so certify to the President. He would then remove the product from the list offered for tariff negotiation.

It was never intended by Congress that all products indiscriminately should be offered for a 50-percent cut. The law dos not say so. As I have just said, it made provision for public hearings on a list supplied to the Tariff Commission by the President. It did not say that these hearings were to be a mere formality; nor did it say the President's special representative for trade negotiations was empowered to set aside the purpose of the hearings in deference to some approach that was more agreeable to the GATT countries, but that would nullify the integrity of the hearings.

A considerable number of the Members of this Chamber and of the other body appeared before the Tariff Commission and the Committee for Trade Information during the 4 months of public hearings that were indeed held. I understand that altogether more than 800 witnesses were heard, representing besides Congress numerous representatives of industries, agricultural pursuits and workers.

I should think that such a massive preparation for an international tariff conference would have signified something. Upward of 5,000 items were examined. What a shocking surprise then to learn that our national spokesman, the President's special representative, agreed as long ago as May 1963 with other GATT representatives to wholesale tariff cuts of 50 percent—with exceptions described by a phrase that is due to be heard more and more—namely, "a bare minimum of exceptions."

Evidently the public hearings were indeed held to signify something; but I am sorry to say that they established a new high in contempt not only of Congress but of the many citizens who responded to the notice of hearings and were entitled to believe that the hearings were sincere and for the purpose implied in the law. I do not blame the Tariff Commission. I am sure that it performed as conscientiously as possible. It did not participate in the GATT agreement that reduced the hearings to a farce. In fact, the subsequent agreement that produced this effect was a slap at the dignity and standing of the Commission itself.

Mr. Speaker, the executive branch by thus treating the Tariff Commission, which is a creature of Congress, established to do some of the work of Congress, with what amounts to contempt merely illustrates how far that branch has moved toward virtual autonomy in regulating the foreign commerce of this country. Although this is a clear and undisputed constitutional function of the Congress, the executive branch has become increasingly high-handed in its usurpation of this power. The nullification of the hearings held by the Tariff Commission in carrying out the preparatory steps set forth in the law as a guide to the negotiators, represents only the last of a long series of abuses of power by the executive branch in this field.

Unfortunately this high-handedness is a matter of the most serious concern to many of our industries. The self-justification of the executive branch in this instance can only rest on the theoretical assumption, so widely made by doctrinaire economists, that American industry and agriculture are able to compete with foreign producers with only a fringe of exceptions. These exceptions are regarded as inefficient domestic producers or manufacturers and are therefore not entitled to protection. They are merely to be helped to get out of their present lines of production into something else—something that is never specified and never indicated even vaguely because no one knows what it is.

As the gentleman from Nevada [Mr. BARING], said not many days ago, there is no place for producers of livestock such as sheep, goats, and cattle to go except to the cities if they are driven out of business by imports. These are among the leading pursuits in my own district. Only a year ago meat imports had risen so sharply that many cattle producers were in distress. If a halt had not been called on the imports, ruin on a broad scale would have descended over the ranching areas of the Southwest and West.

Mr. Speaker, it is more than tiresome to hear from the mouths of economists the accusation of inefficiency whenever a domestic industry is unable to compete with imports. The accusation is singularly inept, lacking in sympathy for domestic enterprise and smacking of outright sadism. The very ones who exhibit this attitude are often those who purport to give their support to high wages, collective bargaining, and social benefits of all kinds, while deploring unemployment.

Yet the fact is that this country led the world in productivity per man-hour, both in our factories and mills and in our agricultural pursuits. It was not inefficiency that put us at a disadvantage in wool growing or animal husbandry. It was the same factor that puts our merchant marine at a disadvantage in competition with foreign-flag vessels; the same factor that has called for a subsidy to cotton and wheat growers and that has led to the great increase in foreign investment by scores of our great industries. In other words, it was higher costs traceable directly to higher wages.

While foreign countries were relatively backward in the technology and methods of production we were able, with the help of the tariff, to compete because of our generally higher productivity. Now our tariff protection has been greatly lowered, thanks to the Trade Agreement program, and the technology of other countries, especially the leading industrial countries has been vastly improved. With our tariff affording much less protection and with the higher productivity of other countries pressing us, our previous competitive capacity has been lowered.

It is often said that wages abroad have risen sharply; and that is true, especially in Europe and Japan; but that does not mean that they have overtaken us. Far from it. Let us keep in mind that our own wages have not stood still. In one year's time our average industrial wages have increased 9 cents per hour. They moved from $2.53 per hour in June 1964 to $2.62 per hour in June 1965. This was an increase of 3.4 percent; but in Japan a 9-cent increase would be in the order of a 25-percent increase and in Europe one of 10 to 15 percent. The big increases we hear of from aborad are in percentages, not in actual cents. At the rate of difference in wage rises in the past few years between foreign countries and the United States it will be many years before they come to parity with us. Meantime, because of the escalation of productivity abroad, benefited greatly by their access of our technology, we will remain at a competitive advantage in many lines; and we may expect these instances to increase.

Should we then reduce our wages? Is that what is implied by those who are so impatient over our inability to compete cost wise? Presumably we should let our merchant marine disappear from the high seas. Yet, can anyone possibly believe that we are less efficient shipbuilders and ship operators than other other countries? How is it then that those of our ships that transfer to foreign flags are able to compete? The argument is transparent. It is not inefficiency of either shipbuilding or ship operation that is at fault. It is our wage and our living standards. What is true of our merchant marine, with respect to which construction and operating subsidies take the place of a tariff, is true of numerous others of our industries.

Should we listen to those who would throw all our industries that cannot compete with imports into the ashcan, we should embark on the most severe wage-cutting campaign ever practiced in the history of man. This is the force of the critics' counsel, and yet these critics of our industries pose as friends of labor. Their counsel, if followed much longer, will do more to damage American wage standards than any right-to-work law would ever produce.

If I were opposed to the American wage level I would say, by all means, take down the tariff and expose our industries and agriculture to the onslaught of foreign low-wage competition. A 50-percent reduction such as is contemplated under the so-called Kennedy round would not go all the way, but it would go a long way to throttle the American wage standard. If we wish to level the American economy down to the level of our competitors, or to impose on it a

standstill until they come abreast of us, that would be the way to do it.

I am not in favor of inflationary wage increases in our own economy but I do not believe in measuring our industrial efficiency by our inability to compete with imports; and I am not in favor of reducing wages in order to become competitive with imports. Those who would impose a handicap on our competitiveness to the point of demanding that we must be two or three or five times as productive, which is to say that many times as efficient, as foreign industries, may be intricate economic thinkers, but they are hardly offering a formula for continuing American prosperity and American industrial leadership.

Mr. Speaker, the legislation offered by myself and others would remove a considerable part of the intemperate element of the oncoming tariff reductions and would at the same time open the way for reasonable regulation of imports by quotas if import competition reaches certain specified levels. I think it would be a calamity to allow the intent to lower our tariffs another 50 percent across the board to be carried out—and I mean a calamity. We should instead be thinking about how to face the rising competitive capacity of the fast-rising industrial economies of the world. It is too late to think of beating them technologically; especially since higher machine installation means fewer workers in our factories and more awaiting poverty treatment.

I urge a complete rethinking of the thinking that produced the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. It is obsolete. The Ways and Means Committee would do well to face up to this fact.

While it is too late to maintain our former technological lead it is not too late to prevent the effects of the foreign technical advancement from upsetting our system, as it will if steps such as those proposed in this legislation are not taken.

A Mess in the Job Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 22, 1965

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, as we prepare for the debate on the 1965 poverty bill, I believe that the following three-part series from the Savannah, Ga., Evening Press will be of interest to my Colleagues:

[From the Savannah (Ga.) Evening Press, July 12, 1965]

ARMED U.S. GUARDS HAUL BACK JOB CORPS VOLUNTEER

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Savannah recently was considered as the site for a Job Corps center of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Such a center has been established in St. Petersburg, Fla. This three-article series is a special report in the St. Petersburg center.)

(By Ray Martin)

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.—"Etta's gone over the wall. Etta's gone."

This frantic call echoing through the lobby of the former Huntington Hotel, located in quiet residential area of North 4th Avenue touched off a flurry of activity which gave a real insight to the operation of the Nation's first Women's Job Corps Center.

The wall was real and one of the 256 enrollees, aged 16 to 22 decided she had had it and was going to leave the center without going through the normal process.

The next 10 to 15 minutes were tense ones, not only for the quickly formed posse but for residents of the area as well. Members of the uniformed guard force at the Job Corps center and civilian staff members fanned out over a several block area south of the center. Some on foot, others in station wagons with U.S. Government license tags and private cars.

Up and down the streets and alleys they raced in search of Etta. At times the pursuers nearly collided with each other, caution apparently having been thrown to the wind. The capture of their quarry, an escapee from a voluntary program, was uppermost in their minds.

Etta was spotted moving at a high and fast gait a block from the center and headed west. Off roared another Government car parked in front of the center and off galloped more civilian aid on foot. Etta was no match for those on foot. She left them behind as does the hare the tortoise.

Once spotted the pursuers quickly converged to box her within the confines of a square block. The girl, of medium height, about 18 or 19 years old and wearing a dark blue shift, was finally cornered in an alley a block and a half from the center.

The apprehension was made by three civilians and one of the private guards who dragged her to one of the Government station wagons. Pushing and kicking as best she could, Etta was stuffed into the front seat of the Government vehicle. She was flanked by the driver and one civilian who restrained her legs. The other civilian aid and the guard held her head against the back of the seat from the second seat of the wagon.

Off the station wagon roared toward the rear of the Job center, paying little or no heed to an intervening stop sign. Once adjacent to the wall, Etta was removed from the vehicle feet first. With two men at her feet and two at her arms and head, Etta was carried, her dress well above her knees, behind the wall and to an unknown fate.

Two residents, observing from a discreet distance, said that the activity which they had just witnessed was the first such event to take place during daylight hours.

"It's not unusual to have these people running around at night in their cars—without lights turned on—looking for someone. It's a real hazard to the old people of this neighborhood," said one of the men.

The other man volunteered a report on an experience he had had a week previous. "I heard a noise from my garage," he said "and when I looked, I found four men waiting there—obviously to catch somebody. I told 'em to get out, and stay out. The next time I'll use my shotgun."

After pausing for a moment, he continued. "One of 'em said 'that's all right, I've got a .38 and I'll use it.' This just isn't the place for this center and it's a waste of the taxpayers' money."

Just about that time a city police cruiser came through the alley, in apparent response to a call that there was a "berserk girl" in the neighborhood. Seeing nothing untoward at that location, the police car went on its way.

Outwardly everything was calm and serene again and this reporter resumed his seat in the lobby of the Job Corps Center to await the opportunity to talk to a responsible official of the center. (We had waited an hour and a half before the woman hunt.)

During the course of this reporter's interview with Joe D. Mills, assistant superintendent in charge of adult and vocational education of the Pinellas County Board of Police Instruction, and members of the Job Corps Center staff, a reporter from the St. Petersburg Times entered the room. He had been assigned to check out the report heard over the police radio system about a "berserk girl" at the center.

Mills denied the police report and said nothing unusual had happened at the center. Thus, most of the residents of St. Petersburg never learned what happened after frantic call echoed through the lobby of the old Huntington Hotel.

JOB CORPS CONTROVERSY, II: CRITICISM IS JUST "POLITICS"

(By Ray Martin)

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.—What happened to Etta, the girl who attempted to flee from the Women's Job Corps Center, after she was carried behind the wall will probably never be known.

After Joe D. Mills, assistant superintendent of the Pinellas County Board of Public Instruction, and his aids denied police reports of the incident to a reporter for the St. Petersburg Times some insight was gained to the center's relations with the news media.

While answering questions dealing with operational matters candidly, officials tend to dismiss criticisms and actions of the Board of Public Instruction and the St. Petersburg City Council as the result of "politics."

Mills expressed the opinion that private contractors had greater leeway in operating Job Corps centers than did the school board in Pinellas County. The local center is regarded in a sense, he said, as an extension of the school system and certain rigid rules are applicable. These same rules would not apply to private enterprise operations, he added.

School Superintendent Floyd J. Christian explained that the county entered into the $2,464,407 agreement to operate the center on two bases primarily. "We thought we were qualified by personnel and by operation of the previous program that we had (presumably a reference to the Manpower Development Training Act program at the Maritime Base). And we looked at the economic boost to the county by 130 additional employees adding money for this county," Christian said.

Originally scheduled to open March 22 and reach its capacity of 300 girls within 3 weeks, the St. Petersburg Job Corps Center for Women received its first arrivals April 6. It made its public debut May 17 with 87 girls enrolled.

The 256 girls now at the center, approximately one-third white and the remainder Negro, are quartered two and three to a room in the 132-room, four-story hotel. Equipped with bunk beds, the rooms are modestly furnished and are considered to be on a par with any good girls' school. The center's operation is thoroughly integrated, including sleeping facilities.

Each girl on arrival is issued $60 worth of surplus clothing from the women's armed forces, remodeled by hired seamstresses. She gets $140 in charge accounts for the length of her stay—estimated to be 1 year—and to be used only with adult supervision.

The enrollees receive a living allowance of $30 a month, plus room, board, clothing, and medical and dental care. Fifty dollars a month is set aside for each girl during her stay as terminal pay to allow her to pay her own room and board and buy her clothes after graduation while she is looking for a job.

In addition, incentive awards reaching a maximum of $15 a month may be made for outstanding achievement in academic work or community service. Miss June Henry of the OEO office in Washington, who is project manager in St. Petersburg, said that the $15 could be awarded to every girl at

the center if it was deemed to be deserved. The girls are eligible for a round trip home at Government expense during their stay.

Joseph Ems, director of the center, who has submitted his resignation, said he believed the center could be run better for less money. He said also that he was surprised at the quality of the first enrollees. A third were high school graduates and some had had a year or more of college.

Dr. Charles J. Crist, medical director of the center, gets $1,000 a month to examine incoming girls for major diseases and to be on call for emergencies.

A major purpose of these examinations, Dr. Crist said, is to rehearse the girls for visits they then make to other doctors who charge the center their regular fees for more thorough examinations.

The doctor said many of the girls have then been referred to specialists, including psychiatrists. Many of the girls, he said, more than half of them Negro, are presumed never to have seen a doctor before.

The center's total budget for health services is $221,800 for the first 18 months. To which Dr. Crist responds, "Sure it's expensive, but over there they don't seem to care about that."

An internal analysis of Women's Job Corps costs, based on a three-center average which takes into account some estimated per capita costs even higher than St. Petersburg's arrived at a total cost of $507.20 a month for each girl. This figure included prorated capital outlay.

An analysis of the St. Petersburg budget, assuming Mills is correct in foreseeing that the entire sum will be spent, yields a minimum actual average cost of $730 a month for each girl for the first 18 months and a minimum of $638 if the center were to be operated on the same budget but at peak capacity, with no dropouts.

The St. Petersburg analysis includes prorated capital outlay including $8,000 budgeted for remodeling the former luxury hotel leased at $12,500 a month to house a maximum of 262 girls and a few of the center's 120 employees.

Although county tax records indicate the Huntington Hotel is worth about $205,000, the Job Corps will pay $225,000 to use it for 18 months. Federal law that limits the amount of rent the U.S. can pay to 15 percent of appraised value per year doesn't apply here. The United States is paying the bill but the contract is with the local school board.

OEO officials were so anxious to get the St. Petersburg center into operation that they waived for 90 days some Federal requirements on buying and bidding. During this period Representative WILLIAM C. CRAMER, a Republican from Pinellas County, received the job laundry services after three phone calls were made to his and calls were made to his and two other laundries.

Some of the outlays contributing to the budget analysis, estimated over the 18-month contract period, are $9,500 for rental of kitchen and dinning room linen, $21,000 for staff members' travel expenses, and $12,000 for maids' salaries.

An arrangement has been made with Sun State Academy of Cosmetology under which enrollees may take a 1,200-hour course which extends a year. The center will pay $185 per student if the student completes the course. A $50 downpayment will be paid first and the girl will be supplied a kit. If at the end of 30 days the academy doesn't feel the student is qualified, she won't go on. If she does go on, the remaining $135 will be paid. If the student drops out before finishing 500 hours, the academy refunds $35 to the Job Corps and the kit becomes Job Corps property.

Food service at the hotel is one of the topics which has come under scrutiny. Initially, food was being prepared by participants who were learning to be chefs. To use Mills' words. "It was fit for a king." Changes had to be made, he said, because the costs were running too high.

There was no immediate estimate available as to the cost of the private guard service, which was instituted within the last month. At times as many as six uniformed guards were observed on the premises.

Mills explained that the guards were retained after the Job Corps Center became a "tourist attraction" and a "point of curiosity." Their function, he said, is to keep traffic from stopping in front of the center.

JOB CORPS CONTROVERSY, III: CENTER SOURCE OF CONFLICT

(By Ray Martin)

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.—The belief apparently held by some of the enrollees at the Women's Job Corps Center that it is meant to be a date bureau and a vacation resort has generated problems for the center and community alike. There have been charges of immorality.

Mrs. Marvalene Styles, basic education director, explained that the girls are not assigned homework.

"We hope they will become motivated to push themselves along faster of their own accord," Mrs. Styles said.

The girls have no required activities after supper or on weekends, for the same reasons. A lobby bulletin board does, however, list a myriad of activities available to the girls.

In the formal classes, there are no grades of passing or failing.

On the subject of dating, the center's handbook of rules gives "house closing" hours of 10 p.m. Sunday through Thursday and midnight Friday and Saturday. Over the Fourth of July weekend, however, the rules were changed in the face of newly discovered problems. The 10 p.m. curfew will apply every night.

Boys are restricted to the public areas of the hotel premises.

It has been alleged that former jail inmates were present among boys invited to a party at the center May 17, for which the center hired a $100 band. This gave rise to the charge that the girls' dates was not screened. A major source of dates for the girls is a Federal training project, located nearby, for school dropouts in the same age group—16 through 21—many of whom have cars.

A receptionist in the lobby of the Job Corps Center is supposed to keep a logbook of what girl has a date with what boy.

To counteract the criticism on not screening dates, center officials have instituted a "clearance" form which each visitor must complete. It calls for routine information and is designed to determine whether the visitor has a questionable background. Theoretically, the forms are supposed to be subject to checking and clearance with law enforcement officials.

Edward A. Turville, attorney for both the school board and the Job Corps Center, recently told the board of public instruction about legal services he's been providing the girls that he didn't think the board realized.

He said, "These legal problems come up and these counselors can't give them legal advice so they bring them in to me. Although they were supposed not to be married, there are divorcees and matters of child support."

There were recurring reports that narcotics and a dope addict had been detected in the Job Corps Center as word spread on the Fourth of July that six girls were being expelled for being drunk.

Four other girls left the center on the Fourth of July. This brings to a total of 37 the number of girls who have left the center since it started operation in April. Most, it was said, have gone home voluntarily.

Office of Economic Opportunity headquarters in Washington has been officially notified by the Pinellas County Board of Public Instruction that it wishes to be released from the contract to operate the St. Petersburg Women's Job Corps Center at the end of 18 months.

However, in Washington, the OEO said somebody should have told the board the contract isn't for 18 months but runs through July 31, 1968.

Milton Fogelman, chief contracting officer for OEO, said any contract can be terminated any time. "The best interest of the Government, however, may very well require that the Government be reimbursed for what it has put in fixing the hotel, training the staff and other costs that have been generated based upon a lengthy relationship," he added.

School board approval of Superintendent Floyd J. Christian's proposal to terminate the Job Corps program was unanimous among members present. One member had left before the matter came up.

Mrs. Mildred Day, member of the board, said, "I think this whole program not only has been mislocated but has been misrepresented to us and I think that the sooner we terminate the contract the better. I don't think we should wait 18 months."

Christian said, "I will see if there is any possibility of doing it sooner."

Last week St. Petersburg city councilmen voted 6 to 1 to inform the Pinellas County School Board that the council is "dissatisfied with the present location of the Women's Job Corps" and believes the project should be moved "outside the city limits as soon as possible."

Only Mayor Herman Goldner, after an impassioned speech, voted against the resolution. He agreed, however, that the project is in a "bad location."

The Greater St. Petersburg Chamber of Commerce has sidestepped the basic issue. "It is hoped that in the future," Walter Jerkins, executive vice president, said, "when any matter of such impact on the economic character of the community is under consideration by public bodies, the chamber of commerce * * * would be invited to participate in the analysis, feasibility or advisability of such programs."

While the two government bodies have been having their say, three staff members of the Women's Job Corps center staff were dismissed. When the director, Joseph Ems, learned of the action, he tendered his resignation.

Assistant School Superintendent Joe D. Mills summed up the whole problem in this fashion:

1. It's a wrong location, but Washington insisted that it be in the city proper. More suitable locations were already preempted by the Federal Government for other projects.

2. The program had to be moved too fast, not allowing for the best staffing available.

Horton Salutes Opening of Captive Nations Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, Captive Nations Week is being observed in our Nation this week. It marks the U.S. commitment to full and final freedom for the enslaved peoples of Eastern

Europe and others held in human bondage by ruthless Communist masters.

Just yesterday, I had the honor to participate in a ceremony that heralded the opening of Captive Nations Week. It was a program held across from the United Nations Plaza in New York City and sponsored by the Assembly of Captive European Nations.

At the start of the ceremony, the flags of nine nations—Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Rumania—were raised to half-staff in token of the subservience of these once free countries to the Kremlin. Americans whose national ancestry ties are to the captive nations and exiles of these countries were among those gathered for the ceremony, and native costumes were worn by some of those present. As each flag was raised, the national anthem of the captive country was performed.

Those assembled then heard from Vasil Germenji, chairman of the Assembly of Captive European Nations. I am pleased to include his statement with my remarks at this point in the RECORD:

ADDRESS BY VASIL GERMENJI, CHAIRMAN, ASSEMBLY OF CAPTIVE EUROPEAN NATIONS, AT THE FLAG-RAISING CEREMONY, AT ACEN HOUSE, ON SUNDAY, JULY 18, 1965

We are assembled here to inaugurate the seventh Captive Nations Week—a symbol of free people's solidarity with their captive allies.

This year marks the 20th anniversary since the end of the war and the signing of the United Nations Charter. But the continued captivity of East-Central Europe is a solemn reminder that today's peace is not genuine and that the world organization has failed in one of its paramount duties.

Our captive peoples fully subscribed to the ideas and principles that animated the founding of the United Nations 20 years ago. We have supported the world organization's struggle against colonialism and have welcomed the emergence of new states. But we must raise our voice in protest against the persistence of foreign imposed rule in our countries. We must repeat that the men who claim to represent our nations across the street are mere imposters—and the United Nations cannot afford imposters at a time of crisis.

Today our first thoughts go to those who during the dark decades of oppression have nutured the flame of liberty in captive Europe. That is why we dedicate this year's Captive Nations Week to the unknown political fighter and unveil a plaque honoring him. The plaque reads:

"IN MEMORY OF THE UNKNOWN FIGHTER AGAINST COMMUNISM

"One of the millions who have died resisting Communist aggression and tyranny.

"One of the countless who have perished in East-Central European and Siberian labor camps, the victims of Soviet genocide in the Baltic States, those who have fought gallantly in the hills of Korea, the marshes of South Vietnam, and the streets of Budapest and East Berlin.

"Assembly of Captive European Nations.

"New York City, Captive Nations Week, 1965."

To memorialize the undying spirit of the unknown fighter against communism, the assembly of Captive European Nations also announces the setting up of a scholarship, beginning with the school year 1966–67. The recipient of the scholarship will be selected from among the immediate families of those who have died fighting Communist imperialism. The scholarship will not be restricted to East-Central Europeans, the family members of all who qualify under the wording of the plaque will be eligible.

I have the honor to present the plaque to the two Congressmen who are with us today as elected representatives of the American people. We ask you to keep it in trust by placing it at one of the U.S. national shrines until such time when it can find a permanent home in the first East-European capital to regain its freedom and independence.

Mr. Speaker, another eloquent participant in yesterday's gathering in New York City on the opening of Captive Nations Week was Msgr. John Balkunas, president of the Conference of Americans of Central and Eastern European Descent.

With Chairman Germenji and Christoper Emmet, chairman of the American Friends of the Captive Nations; Monsignor Balkunas has authored a Captive Nations Week manifesto that should have the attention of all people who desire the liberation of those held in slavery by the Soviet Union and other Communist captors. This meaningful and moving expression also is included with my remarks at this point:

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK MANIFESTO, 1965

The undersigned organizations dedicated to the restoration of freedom in the captive nations, call attention to Public Law 86–90, unanimously adopted in 1959 by the Congress of the United States, by which the third week of July of each year was designated as Captive Nations Week.

In our manifesto last year, we deplored the tendency in the West to exaggerate the changes which have occurred in some of the captive nations, and to misinterpret their cause. We warned that despite some relaxation of police state rule, some increase in consumer goods and some indications of increased independence, there had been as yet no basic political change in Eastern Europe or elsewhere in the Communist world.

This remains true today. None of the fundamental political rights for which mankind has struggled through the ages has yet been restored to any of the captive peoples, including those within the Soviet and Chinese borders. We welcome such gains as there are because they reduce the immediate sufferings of the people, but the gains could disappear overnight.

During the past year, overoptimism in the West has increased in regard to Eastern Europe. It is now often assumed that the trend toward freedom and independence in Eastern Europe has been clearly established and has become irreversible. Many talks as if the return of freedom to the captive peoples is assured without further effort in the free world to protest the violation of solemn treaties, or press for the restoration of human rights. The same Communist satellite leaders who helped betray their countries to Soviet rule are now often pictured as patriots and nationalists who deserve our support.

Instead of continuing an economic and political policy of pressure on the Soviet Union and the Communist governments of Eastern Europe to live up to their agreements, including the U.N. Charter, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, more and more Western countries are extending long-term credits without political conditions. Such a policy ignores the historical fact that it was outside pressure, coupled with the resistance of the captive peoples, and the continuing economic, and especially agricultural difficulties, which Communist rule produced which forced the Communist regimes to grant the much lauded concessions to their peoples.

Long-term credits are a form of foreign aid. Whatever their immediate purpose, they help to finance economic development in Communist-ruled countries geared overwhelmingly to a rapid growth of the power sector at the expense of the consumer goods output. Thus, unless credits from the West are conditioned upon further concessions to the peoples of the Communist-ruled lands, they will serve to strengthen the peoples' chains, and simultaneously augment the threat to the security of the West. If the credits the Communist governments are seeking are granted without conditions, what incentive is there for the Communist regimes to make political concessions or to substitute for policies geared to the accumulation of power, policies aimed at the welfare of their subjects?

The unconditional long-term credits granted by some European countries direct to the U.S.S.R. are even less defensible, since they increase the ability of the Kremlin to finance its arms race with the free world as well as its worldwide subversion and "wars of liberation." We applaud the fact that the U.S. Government is opposed to such credits, and we earnestly hope that it will vigorously maintain this stand.

It has also become fashionable to assume that the split between the Soviet Union and Communist China makes China the Kremlin's No. 1 enemy; hence, the danger of Soviet aggression toward the West is over, at least for the present. This assumption has helped to further the complacency which has contributed to the division and decay of NATO.

It also encouraged the belief that the Soviets would restrain, rather than abet the aggression of Hanoi and Peking in Vietnam. But events have proved otherwise. It is now clear that the Russians are trying to prove that they are more effective instigators of worldwide subversion than the Red Chinese themselves.

As for the satellites, only one country, Romania, has made even a gesture of political independence from Moscow in matters of foreign policy, which is what most concerns us. In the others, support of Soviet foreign policy has been just as slavish as in the past, and the denunciations of the United States in connection with Vietnam and the Dominican Republic have been even more vicious.

The satellite governments, which we are now urged to trust with credits, continue their support of the Cuban economy in partnership with the Soviet Union. They continue to contribute to the training and arming of Latin American subversives, for whom Cuba is the base.

In Poland, the bitter protest of Cardinal Wyszinski and the Polish intellectuals, testify to the further erosion of the limited freedoms won in 1956. The clock has been turned back and the supposed "trend" reversed. In Russia itself, Stalin has been partly rehabilitated, anti-semitism has been stepped up, and the quarrel with Red China has been softened.

In these circumstances, we must repeat our appeal to the governments of the West to stand by their solemn promises to defend freedom where it still exists, and to extend it wherever possible. We call for no wars of liberation, but we do call for an unyielding military defense, plus a political and moral offensive to compel the Communists to uphold their treaty obligations and keep their promises of self-determination to the captive peoples.

We express our warm support for President Johnson's courageous stand in Vietnam and in the Dominican Republic. Only by an absolutely firm military defense against the expansion of communism by force, combined with a political offensive on behalf of freedom, can we encourage the resistance by the captive peoples within the Soviet and Chinese empires, and by the threatened peoples along their borders.

In commemoration of Captive Nations Week:

We accuse the Soviet Union of violating its solemn promises of freedom and independence to the nine nations made captive after World War II—Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Rumania;

We further accuse the Government of the U.S.S.R. of forcibly depriving the captive non-Russian peoples within its own borders of the promised rights of self-determination and of destroying the formerly independent states of Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, and others:

We urge that the Hungarian question be retained on the United Nations agenda until the U.N. resolution on Hungary have been complied with.

We urge the Governments of the United States and its allies:

(1) To declare, in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries, adopted by the United Nations on October 14, 1960, their support of the right of self-determination of all peoples held in captivity by the Communist imperial system and, consequently, make this issue the permanent concern of the United Nations;

(2) To recognize that any relaxation of tensions can only follow, not precede, the realization of self-determination through free elections in these captive nations; that there can be no end to the cold war as long as an Iron Curtain divides Europe;

(3) To refuse to sign any nonaggression pact based on the present status quo, because this would legitimize and perpetuate the present injustices, and would be interpreted by the captive peoples as their final abandonment by the West;

(4) To be always mindful of the proven fact that the Soviet Union and the satellite regimes seek to draw as much of the Western economic strength as they can from trading with the West. Accordingly, the West should use the tremendous bargaining power their economic strength provides in order to exact meaningful political concessions for the captive peoples and for the entire free world.

We appeal to the people of the United States of America, during Captive Nations Week, July 18–24, 1965, to manifest their awareness of the importance of their silent allies in the Soviet-subjugated lands to the worldwide conflict between the forces of liberty and Communist tyranny, and to pledge themselves to help them in their struggle for freedom and independence.

CHRISTOPHER EMMETT,
Chairman, American Friends of the Captive Nations.

VASIL GERMENJI,
Chairman, Assembly of Captive European Nations.

Msgr. JOHN BALKUNAS,
President, Conference of Americans of Central and Eastern European Descent.

JUNE 21, 1965.

Mr. Speaker, another highlight of yesterday's events in New York City for the opening of Captive Nations Week was the solemn high mass which was celebrated by His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman at St. Patrick's Cathedral. I had the pleasure of visiting with Cardinal Spellman after this moving service and learned from personal discussion of his devotion to the cause of freedom for those in the captive countries.

At the flag-raising ceremony on the U.N. Plaza, I was joined by our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. WOLFF], and, together we accepted from Chairman Germenji, the plaque which his remarks described. Both of us, I can assure the House of Representatives, regard our having been entrusted with this plaque as a matter of utmost importance and additional inspiration to work for a permanent place of honor for this plaque in the capital of a now-captive nation.

All Members of the House would have been proud of Mr. WOLFF's presentation and the dignity which he represented the Congress. I take pleasure in sharing his speech with the Members of the House:

MY FELLOW FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM

Tyranny is as old as man's struggle for freedom. Few nations have been spared the curse of invasion and subjugation. There have always been captive nations.

Yet, when the spirit of freedom remains unquenched in peoples who have known repression and captivity for decades, it is fitting that we salute the sacrifice and inspiration these peoples give to the entire free world.

We come here today to raise a flag to fly over a land that has known the blessings of liberty for almost two centuries. Yet, we must note with sorrow, that such flags of freedom do not fly everywhere on this divided globe.

We are here today to honor those whose freedom was wrested from them by murder subversion, terror, and political opportunism, yet whose steadfast hopes and efforts toward eventual freedom from bondage command the respect and support of all of us fortunate enough to live in a country where the will of the people still governs.

The prevailing wind of human progress has been toward individual liberty. The political history of the modern world, despite setbacks, has shown a gradual increase in man's freedom of choice.

Unfortunately, that spirit of human progress received a crushing blow when the repressive, terroristic forces of communism, smoldering for decades, finally burst upon the world, in the chaos of World War I. We honor today those peoples whom that despotic force has consigned to a life of bondage and oppression. And pledge that we will continue to fight that they, too, shall someday be free.

We must remember that the Russian people themselves were the first victims of communism, the first captive nation of the Bolsheviks, the first people to feel the heavy heel of Communist tyranny.

After World War II, during which period another form of tyranny was finally scourged from the earth, an avalanche of oppression descended over Eastern Europe as the Communist menace (Soviet Union), by terror and subversion, gained control over the peoples of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslavakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Rumania.

A great champion of freedom, Winston Churchill, summed up the situation well, and forecast the Communist pattern for the emerging cold war. "The Soviets do not want war," he said. "They want to benefit from the fruits of war."

The scavengers of international communism does not dare to risk global war against the combined might of the free world, yet they still seek to benefit from the fruits of war, wars of stealth and subversion, so-called wars of national liberation they provoke in peaceful countries, wars like the conflict going on today in Vietnam.

We meet here today as yet another free nation is engaged in deadly combat with an enemy who would crush that freedom as ruthlessly as the freedom of the captive nations was crushed by the Soviets.

I know that you, my friends, do not mistake the nature of the struggle in Vietnam. It is a frontline battle in the decades-old conflict between communism and the various other forms of government based upon the theory that the people, the individuals, not the state, are supreme.

The free world lost the brave nations of Eastern Europe to the Communists 20 years ago. We must not let another free country slip into the Communist orbit of oppression. For surely we have learned that such appetites feed upon success.

Nor is the Communist effort directed alone at political control—they also seek to crush the cultural and spiritual traditions from the nationalities they dominate. All of us here have good reason to know of the cruel repression of religion in countries under the Soviet boot.

America's responsibilities to the captive nations is clear. As a chief guardian of liberty, with strong family ties to the people of Eastern Europe, we must continue to support the hope of the captive nations and encourage their faith that the future holds out the substance of freedom and national independence.

This responsibility goes beyond an annual celebration of Captive Nations Week. It goes beyond the passing of freedom resolutions and the making of stirring speeches. One effort I have made was to introduce in the House of Representatives in January of this year a resolution to establish a Special Committee on the Captive Nations. The purpose of this committee will be to explore those means by which the United States could assist the captive peoples in their aspirations to regain their freedom and national independence. I will continue to work untiringly on behalf of our friends who are unjustly imprisoned in their own countries.

Last Wednesday, an eloquent voice, ever raised in defense of the freedom of all men, was forever stilled. Adlai Stevenson knew communism, knew what it conspires to do to the human spirit. He was optimistic about the eventual triumph of freedom over tyranny. The curtain will never come down upon the spirit of freedom Adlai Stevenson articulated. His words will live forever as a monument to liberty.

The right of national self-determination is an established principle of international justice. It is the cornerstone of America's foreign policy. Throughout our history we have opposed the domination of one country by another. Observance of Captive Nations Week is yet another manifestation of that opposition. By keeping alive the concept of freedom in the hearts and minds of men everywhere, America is fulfilling a small part of her great obligation as a leader of freedom, liberty, and justice in the world. Let us carry forth the torch of freedom together.

Profiles of Wyoming Greatness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, in honor of the 75th anniversary of the statehood of Wyoming, I am presenting the second in a series of portraits featuring outstanding Wyoming citizens who made vital contributions to the welfare and progress of Wyoming.

FIRST WYOMING GOVERNOR

Francis Emroy Warren, the first Governor of Wyoming and one of its first U.S. Senators, was born in Hinsdale, Mass., June 20, 1844. Senator Warren

was reared on a farm and educated in common schools and an academy. When he was 18 he enlisted in the Federal forces of the Civil War and at the siege of Port Hudson distinguished himself in action. His bravery was recognized by an award of the Congressional Medal of Honor. But Senator Warren would not talk war for publication. Some of his closest friends in the sunset years of his life were Confederate veterans.

BUILDS HIS CAREER

From the day he arrived in Cheyenne in 1868, a young New Englander in search of fortune and adventure on the Indian frontier, Mr. Warren was an outstanding figure in public affairs. Through his incorporated holdings he probably was the State's largest owner of real estate, both urban and rural, and its largest livestock owner. His capital supported scores of important developmental enterprise. Most likely, he was Wyoming's first millionnaire. He invested his fortune where he made it—in Wyoming. Warren money did more than any other to build Cheyenne.

At 29, Senator Warren became president of the Wyoming Legislature, serving a 2-year term. He served the Council of Cheyenne as a member for two terms and then become mayor. He was appointed Governor of the Territory by President Arthur in 1885, serving through 1886. He was reappointed by President Harrison in 1889, serving until Wyoming acquired statehood, when he was elected the first Governor.

He was a member of the Wyoming delegation to the Republican National Convention in 1889 and was chairman of the Wyoming delegation at four others. He was elected as one of the first Senators from the State and took his seat on December 1, 1890. The only break in his senatorial service since that time occurred between 1893 and 1895, when a deadlock in the State legislature caused the seat to be vacant.

It has been said of Wyoming that with Mr. Warren and his Democratic colleague John B. Kendrick, it was, in the Senate, the best represented State in the Union.

During the last 8 years of his life, Senator Warren was chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, which, under his guidance, supervised the expenditure of about $40 billion. With Senator Warren's direction this committee became the one great nonpartisan committee in Congress, as bills reported out of Appropriations usually had clear sailing.

Senator Warren was an orthodox Republican but during World War I he threw the weight of his influence behind President Wilson. He made a strong fight in the Senate for irrigation and reclamation of western lands. He also devoted his attention to projects for bettering livestock and the conditions of packinghouses. Recalling his own service as a private and corporal in the 49th Regiment, Massachusetts Militia, in the Civil War, Senator Warren supported the selective service wartime act. He also was among the earliest supporters of equal suffrage for women.

WYOMING FRONTIERSMAN

Senator Warren was the physical marvel of Washington. Though born in Massachusetts he looked every inch the western mountaineer. There was not a wrinkle in his face. His snowy white hair, the big bristling white mustache, the bowlegs that came from a life in the saddle, the springy step, made him a prominent figure signifying the strength of the frontiersman. To his last day in the Senate it was his habit to walk up the steps, sometimes almost taking them on the run, to the Senate floor.

Senator Warren married, on January 26, 1871, Miss Helen Marie Smith of Middlefield, Conn., who died on March 28, 1902. One of their children married Gen. John J. Pershing. Mrs. Pershing died, with three of her children, in the fire at the Presidio, San Francisco, in 1915. The Senator married again on June 28, 1911, his bride being Miss Clara LaBaron Morgan, of Groton, Conn., a niece of former Justice Brown of the U.S. Supreme Court.

DEAN OF THE SENATE

At the time of his death, he had served in the Senate longer than any other man in American history and was the last Union survivor of the Civil War in Congress. The span of his service in the Senate totaled 38 years, 11 months, and 22 days. He was known to his colleagues as the "Dean of the Senate" and the "Father of the Senate." On his 85th birthday, June 20, 1929, he was accorded a nonpartisan demonstration with every Member of the Senate participating. Every President from Cleveland to Hoover was his friend.

The news of Senator Warren's death on November 24, 1929, dazed Wyoming, according to the New York Times:

> The tenor of telegrams of regret, pouring into the Capital from ever section of the State, is that there is no one who can adequately take Senator Warren's place, and that no matter what the future history of the State may be, there never will be another Wyoming citizen looming so large in the affairs of the Nation.

As soon as he was informed that the Nestor of the Senate had died, President Hoover expressed his sorrow; Hoover said of Warren:

> Mayor of his city, Governor of his State, Senator for nearly 40 years, every stage of his life was marked by devotion to national welfare. His span of life covers a generation fast passing, among whose leaders he played a great part, and to whom we of this generation owe much of our splendid inheritance.

Wyoming is indeed fortunate to have been served by such men as Senator Francis E. Warren whose courage, physical strength, business sense, and bipartisan devotion to public welfare have inspired Wyoming's citizens through 75 years of statehood.

Surprise in Wheat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Agriculture has voiced its approval of the omnibus farm bill which should before the House for action in the next few days. This measure deserves the overwhelming approval of the House.

Probably the most controversial section of this bill is the proposed extension of the voluntary certificate program for wheat. I was pleased to read in the Washington Evening Star on last Friday an outstanding editorial on the subject of the voluntary wheat certificate program. The Evening Star has virtually no farm readership and no ax to grind on the subject. I think this makes even more significant their appraisal of the way this program has worked during the past year. I urge the attention of my colleagues to this editorial, which follows:

SURPRISE IN WHEAT

The wheat certificate program, which completed its first year June 30, suggests that the reports of its death have been much exaggerated.

Despite a good many gloomy predictions at its inauguration, the program is thriving. Agriculture Secretary Freeman declared wheat farm income for the 1964 crop year will be some $450 million higher than would otherwise have been possible if no stopgag had been attempted. Consumer prices have remained stable, with bread now selling for about the same as it did 12 months ago.

The explanation behind all this lies in Federal market supports. If certification had not been adopted last year, the price support would have dropped from about $2 to $1.25 a bushel after farmers rejected marketing quotas in a referendum. Like the Federal cavalry thundering over the hill at the last moment as the Comanches surround the wagon train, the certificate scheme has rescued farmers from a 50-percent parity support.

The fact that bread prices have not risen is good news to consumers. The fact that wheat farmers are enjoying an unforeseen prosperity augurs well for a segment of the economy. Perhaps equally important, wheat exports in fiscal 1965 are the second largest in history.

Confounding forecasts that the American consumer would be the ultimate victim of this program, the wheat certificate plan is bringing stability to an inherently erratic situation.

It would be more to our liking if a free market could be given play in wheat production. But American overproduction in this commodity is a premise on which we must build our planning. And in that context, the wheat certificate scheme seems to be as good a solution as any.

New York Times Endorses Labor Secretary Wirtz on Effort To Improve Status of Domestic Farmworkers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, a nation dedicated to abolishing poverty cannot continue to neglect the most elementary rights of the most deprived group in its work force.

In these strong and unequivocal terms, the New York Times yesterday editorially endorsed the magnificient effort of Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz to

improve the working conditions, raise the standard of living, and upgrade the status of America's long-neglected and long-suffering domestic farmworkers.

That the Secretary's efforts have met with success is indicated by the fact that U.S. citizens today have jobs, and are performing the work that last year at this time employed more than 65,000 foreign nationals on farms across the country.

In fact, in my home State of California alone, where last year there were over 36,000 foreign agricultural workers, last month there were fewer than 2,000, and today I understand there are none.

This means that job opportunities for our own men and women have greatly increased as a result of Congress' refusal to renew the foreign agricultural labor importation program under the now-expired Public Law 78, and Secretary Wirtz' untiring effort to fill the gap by providing outstanding leadership in this year's Federal-State-local program to attract a sufficient number of skilled and dependable U.S. fieldhands to meet critical harvest-time needs.

Secretary Wirtz gave a fine example of this leadership, and at the same time, furnished an excellent outline of his proposed new domestic farm labor program in his recent address before the Los Angeles "Town Hall."

Here the Secretary noted that the "encouraging lesson" learned so far this year in the transition from the use of foreign agricultural labor to U.S. farmworkers "is that the laws of economics, of supply and demand, supplemented by special recruitment efforts, do work in the agricultural industry just as in any other. Workers are available if the prices and conditions are right."

Mr. Wirtz also outlined his three-point proposal for a permanent solution to the farm labor problem.

First. "Agricultural employment must be recognized—departing from some stubborn myths—as being essentially like other kinds of employment," and that agricultural workers, like other workers, should be paid fair wages and be protected by State and Federal laws regarding minimum wages, health and sanitation, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, and collective bargaining;

Second. A great deal more can and must be done to develop substantially year-round employment opportunity for agricultural workers. Until this done, efforts to bring decency into the lives of these laborers and their families, and stability into the farm labor supply situation will be essentially futile.

Third. There must be a more effective mobilization of public opinion regarding the farm labor situation.

Mr. Speaker, I was also deeply impressed by Secretary Wirtz' "Town Hall" comments on how the currently developing political situation in the United States should be of real assistance in improving the status of our domestic farmworkers.

On this somewhat controversial subject, Mr. Wirtz declared:

So far as the specific matter of the labor laws are concerned, the exemptions of farm labor are undoubtedly an anachronistic carryover from the period of disproportionate political influence by rural voters, especially propertied voters.

The national acceptance of the principle of one man, one vote, foretells the end of the exclusion of agricultural employment from the coverage of State and Federal laws regarding minimum wages, health, and sanitation, employment insurance, workmen's compensation, and collective bargaining. Farm machinery is paid for at rates comparable to those for factory machinery. So should farmworkers be paid at comparable rates, and accorded comparable working conditions.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD at this point yesterday's New York Times editorial entitled "Better Day for the Migrant," as well as the text of Secretary Wirtz' June 30 "Town Hall" speech:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, July 18, 1965]

BETTER DAY FOR THE MIGRANT

More than a half year has passed since Congress cut off the mass inflow of foreign labor willing to work at starvation wages to harvest American crops. Despite continued expressions of anguish from many large farmowners, the transition to total reliance on domestic workers has been encouraging. Only 1,500 foreign workers are now engaged in offsetting local labor shortages on American farms, compared with more than 54,000 at the same time last year.

A sterner test may come in September and October; but thus far the evidence is strong that the Nation's food needs can be well met without reopening the floodgates for low-cost labor from Mexico, the West Indies, and other areas. Secretary of Labor Wirtz deserves credit for his refusal, under incessant political pressure, to yield to the warnings of disaster with which California growers bombarded him. He stood courageously on the principle that enough domestic labor would be found if wages and living conditions for fieldworkers were brought up to a level of decency.

The interesting fact is not only that he has been proved right on this score but also that fruit and vegetable prices have not skyrocketed as a result of the bettered labor standards. A Labor Department survey over the past 9 weeks indicates that most farm products have been selling in the wholesale market at prices below those of 1964. The spread between what the housewife pays and what it costs to pick most fruits and vegetables is so great that even a doubling of farm wages would have only a slight direct impact on market-basket prices.

The need now is to extend to migratory American farm laborers some of the protections that are basic for virtually all other American workers. Mr. Wirtz has told a Senate subcommittee of his strong personal support for the inclusion of farmworkers under both the Federal minimum wage and the stautory guarantees of freedom to bargain collectively. But he emphasized that there was no official administration position in favor of either of these highly salutary objectives. There ought to be.

A nation dedicated to abolishing poverty cannot continue to neglect the most elementary rights of the most deprived group in its work force.

THE MARCH OF TRUTH

(Address by Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz before the "Town Hall," Los Angeles, Calif., June 31, 1965)

My first visit to "Town Hall" was in 1952 when I came here with the speaker of the day, a candidate at the time for the national Presidency. Those of you who are veterans of this distinguished forum may recall that he opened his remarks by referring to a still earlier speech made here in 1942 by Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox. The 1952 speaker, explaining that he had been working, 10 years before, in Secretary Knox's office, advised you that his would be a better speech than the Secretary's had been. He should know, he said, because he had written both of them.

Today, it is once more the Cabinet's turn. But I must warn you that my speech will not measure up to the one you heard here during the 1952 campaign; and I should know, for I wrote both of them.

You will question the good judgment of my coming here to discuss the California farm labor situation. So do I. Having walked last March through the Central and Imperial Valleys of the shadow of disaster, and having developed cauliflower telephone ears and protective callouses of one sort or another fighting this issue out in Washington, I can only think, in explanation of coming here now, of Washington Irving's advice: "I have found," he said, "in traveling in a stagecoach, that it is often a comfort to shift one's position and be bruised in a new place."

Perhaps, too, Mr. Murphy is right—accidentally—in his perceptive observation, applying the accumulated wisdoms of years in the theater to California agriculture, that—as he puts it: "people are never so happy as when you tell them they are ruined." I refer, of course, to the 18th century British actor and playwright, Arthur Murphy.

Enough of that. If anything said here this noon seems personal, it will not have been so intended; with two exceptions:

I want to thank the members of the California working press for the fairness and the competence with which they have covered this developing story during the past 6 months. If there has been a predominantly critical position taken by the editorial writers, that is what the editorial pages are for; and I suspect the Republic is safer whenever the power of the press is alined against the power of government.

It is also appropriate to mention, in personal terms, the three Californians who have served so faithfully and independently on the California Farm Labor Advisory Panel—Benjamin Aaron, Daniel Aldrich, and Arthur Ross. Facing a seemingly impossible job, it has been part of their strength that they had absolutely no idea it couldn't be done—so they have done it.

The present situation can best be summarized briefly, with the thought of getting on quickly to what lies ahead.

At this time last year there were 36,300 foreign nationals working on California farms, under the terms of Public Laws 78 and 414. Today there are 1,964.

In the country as a whole, there were, on June 30, 1964, 65,218 such foreign farmworkers. Today there are 2,587.

By this time last year, Mexican nationals who had come in under Public Law 78 were working in 13 States. This year, none have been used in any State except California.

There are today Public Law 414 foreign farmworkers in only two other States: 452 British West Indies national in Connecticut, and 171 in Massachusetts.

I want to interject here a heartfelt expression of appreciation and admiration for the position taken throughout this transition period by the Government of Mexico. Its representatives have cooperated in every way and sometimes under very difficult circumstances. I hope and believe that when this changeover is completed it will prove to have resulted in the removal of weaknesses—in long-range terms—in both Mexico's labor use and our own.

The rest of this year's story, so far, is one of very substantially increased use in California and U.S. agriculture of domestic workers; of greatly enlarged work opportunites this summer for high school and college students; of millions of dollars staying in this

country, and being spent here to create still other jobs; of some temporary crises in labor supply situations, but no serious shortages; of some small crop losses, responsibility for which a more objective judge would have to assess to growers, governments, or God; of a significant increase in worker earnings, and better working and living conditions; of larger than normal gross and net profits per acre this year on most crops.

A special word is appropriate about prices, for it appears now that one of the still unresolved aspects of this changeover is what kind of bill is going to be presented for it to the consumers of fruits and vegetables.

It would be futile to argue about whether increases in farm labor costs resulting from increased wages and improved working conditions could be absorbed out of profits. They won't be.

Neither is it possible to suggest any precise price tag which could be considered legitimate, so far as consumer prices are concerned, for bringing the terms and conditions of seasonal farm labor in this country up to generally established standards of equity and decency. Time will have to work out this answer, with confident reliance in the long run on the proven good sense of the American housewife.

In the shorter run, however, there is already evidence of the possibility of exploitation of this situation, and of attempts to blame on changed labor policy price increases for which there are other reasons—or none at all.

Lettuce prices went up recently in east coast grocery stores to 49 cents, or about 20 cents above normal. The reasons for this, which included a temporary shortage of lettuce because of the effects of weather on the various growing areas, became evident when the price dropped back to normal two or three weeks later.

In the meantime, however, there was a widespread and obviously planned program of propaganda designed to persuade people that the increase was because of a labor shortage and higher labor prices resulting from the cutting off of the bracero program. The 20 cents increase, it was implied, was going into the domestic worker's pocket.

My first reaction was to think of one of President Johnson's favorite stories, about the minister who was approached by an Internal Revenue agent and told that one of the church elders had reported, for tax purposes, that he had contributed $500 to the church. "Has he?" the agent asked. "I don't know," the minister answered slowly, "but I can tell you this: If he hasn't, he will."

The facts never catch up with a lie. The facts are that the field laborers got, this spring, 1 to 1½ cents per head for picking lettuce; that every lettuce grower in the country has had at all times this year all of the labor he could use; and that the harvest has been—except for these 2 or 3 weeks—above normal.

In general, prices this year for fruits and vegetables have not risen or fluctuated any more for crops which braceros used to pick than they have for other food prices.

If there should be any more of this tampering with the truth about fruit and vegetable priecs, or evidence that prices are being raised unduly, the public is going to be fully and quickly advised. It has a right to know.

In the meantime, I suggest this as a guide to the purchasers of fruit and vegetables: The cost of bringing seasonal agricultural wages up to the $1.25 to $1.40 an hour level is equal to, in very rough terms, about 1 cent per unit for most vegetables and fruits—per pound or per dozen or per head or whatever the ordinary unit may be. (This is higher in the case of strawberries—about 6 cents a pint—and asparagus—about 4 cents per pound.) If retail prices go up more than that and if the increase is blamed on rising labor costs in the fields, the American housewife is being denied her right to have the truth.

Now of the future of the farm labor situation.

So far as California is concerned, there will have to be unrelenting attention to the labor supply situation throughout the next 4 months.

The prospects right now are good; but that could be as deceptive as April's more forbidding prospects proved to be.

July and August should present no serious problems. We are more dependent than usual on the high school and college boys who have gone into the fields. There are 10,000 more of them this year than last. This will be a tough summer for some of them, with its full rewards coming in the future. The evidence is clear, however, that they are proving themselves as responsible citizens and good workers. The A-team and other similar programs are experiments in both economics and democracy, and we have a great deal riding on them.

September will bring the special demands of the tomato harvest. California's total seasonal farm labor needs jumped last year from 129,200 in August to 160,800 in September. Over 27,000 more braceros were here in September than in August.

The tomato growers and canners and the other producers with September and October harvests acted with confidence in putting aside their doubts at planting time about the harvest labor supply. They have given full evidence of good faith assumption of primary responsibility for obtaining that supply, to the maximum possible extent from domestic sources. There will be full cooperation from State and Federal employment agencies and from the various private groups who have been so helpful. Watchful attention will be paid the developing situation to assure, so far as this is possible, that if supplementary labor is needed, despite maximum efforts, it will be available.

What is most worth thinking and talking about is the longer range future of this situation.

This year's assignment was to make the transition from foreign to domestic workers. This was and it remains a major operation: not because of the different nationality of the workers or their alleged propensities for stooping over to work (especially in those date palm trees in the Coachella Valley); but because what was involved here was a basic changeover from a situation of a virtually Government guaranteed—and relatively fixed cost—seasonal farm labor supply to a situation in which labor has to be obtained in this industry the same way it is in all others.

The encouraging lesson of the year is that the laws of economics, of supply and demand, supplemented by special recruitment efforts, do work in the agricultural industry just as in any other. Workers are available if the prices and conditions are right.

But this is only the start of it. Using domestic instead of foreign workers isn't the point or anything like the ultimate purpose. What is the goal is to develop an agricultural labor situation which will serve all the interests of the growers, the workers, and the public.

The title of these remarks today reflects the deep conviction that this broader goal is now attainable, that where once the grapes of wrath were stored, the truth—His truth—is now marching on.

But even the truth needs a battle plan if it is to carry the day—or the decade.

I suggest a three-point approach to the migratory, or seasonal, farm labor problem. It proceeds from moral commitment, without stopping to moralize about what is obvious, to what I think are the essential economic and political dynamics of the matter.

First, agricultural employment must be recognized—departing from some stubborn myths—as being essentially like other kinds of employment.

Every industry is different from every other industry. But there are basic similarities, and the time for denying this as far as agriculture is concerned is passed. There may have been sounder reasons in some earlier period for the arguments that agriculture deserves, for some unidentified reason, a Government guaranteed foreign labor supply—that normal personnel policies don't apply here—that the farm produce market won't support fair wages—that farm employment must be excluded from the coverage of laws regarding employment generally. But if there were once good reasons for these attitudes, they are now covered deep with history's dust.

So far as the specific matter of the labor laws are concerned, the exemptions of farm labor are undoubtedly an anachronistic carryover from the period of disproportionate political influence by rural voters, especially propertied voters. The national acceptance of the principle of one man, one vote foretells the end of the exclusion of agricultural employment from the coverage of State and Federal laws regarding minimum wages, health and sanitation, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation and collective bargaining.

If this means readjustments in the prices of food, it must be the national consensus—if it matches the national conscience—that the price will be paid. Farm machinery is paid for at rates comparable to those for factory machinery. So should farmworkers be paid at comparable rates, and accorded comparable working conditions.

It will be suggested that agricultural employment is different because it is so largely seasonal. So are a great many other industries. And this is no reason for charging the price of this to those who harvest, or hoe, the crops.

My second point is that a great deal can and must be done to develop substantially year-round employment opportunity for agricultural workers. Until this is done, efforts to bring decency into the lives of these laborers and their families, and stability into the farm labor supply situation, will be essentially futile.

A very substantial part, perhaps as much as half, of the unemployment problem in this country involves seasonal or part-time work. A good many different kinds of labor demand are for services during only part of the year, or part of the week, or even part of the day. There is this in common between migratory farmworkers, domestic day help in large cities, building and construction trades workers, maritime workers, musicians, and other seemingly unrelated groups. Each of these situations involves the fact of a person's being needed only part of the time. Each of them has presented special unemployment and wage rate problems. Some of them have been worked out reasonably satisfactorily, I think, for example, of the decasualization of longshore employment. Others, including seasonal farmwork, have not been.

What starts out as a private and economic difficulty becomes also a public and social problem. An employer needs a man for 7 months, but cannot use him the other 5. He pays him what may be a fair hourly rate. But the man's annual earnings leave him below the level of self-sufficiency, especially if he heads a family. So he pays no taxes and he and his family may become part of the local welfare burden. The children must go to the local schools.

Frankness compels recognition that the attraction of the bracero program lay not only in the fact that the men were easy to get but in the additional facts that they came without their families and could be sent away as quickly as they had been called.

The farm communities shared, understandably, the growers' preferences.

These problems are not easily met. Yet not to meet them would mean that the termination of Public Law 78 was at best a pyrrhic victory and at worst a tragic half step across a deep chasm.

It is essential to develop year-round work opportunities for all those who are needed to farm the Nation's produce. This can be done either by working out year-round work programs for workers who will "follow the crops," or by developing industry in the farm areas which will occupy, off season, the men and women who will come to the fields when the local crops need help.

There is increasing evidence of both developments.

A few individual, but unusually large, growers have already developed plans for moving their workers, with the seasons, to their farms in different geographical and climatic areas.

There is enough variation in the crop seasons in California that the growers could well consider an organization of their efforts which would result in the more efficient movement of workers from one area to another. There are obvious possibilities of expansion of the State government's labor and employment services in this connection.

The opportunities for national development—either private or, if need be, public—of year-round farm employment programs for individual workers have been explored so far in only a timid, tentative way. A little has been done by some of the private, not-for-profit organizations who are concerned principally with reducing the human misery of migratory labor. The annual worker plan developed by the Department of Labor through its Bureau of Employment Security is on the right track but hasn't a full head of steam up yet. We work each year with hundreds of growers and with now almost 200,000 workers, matching together the needs of growers in various States and the movement of migrant workers. The results are encouraging but still meager compared with the need.

Perhaps it only illustrates the possibilities, and lacks practicality, to conjecture about whether it would work at all to set up a large-scale national employing corporation which would hire farmworkers, arrange for their transportation (with their families) from one area to another, and for their housing; and then contract with growers to supply their services. Yet this is, at least in part, what the small-scale labor contractor does—often very badly. And such an operation would be not unlike, either in nature or scope, what was done under Public Law 78 with Mexican workers.

The better way, though, to whatever extent it is practical, would be to remove the migratory element as largely as possible from the picture. This, more than anything else, perpetuates the worst human frailties of the migrant population, for it deprives their children of the roots they need to put down someplace if they are to grow properly. Surely it is a proper charge on any community which depends upon having workers there part of the year to try to develop industries which could use them the rest of the year.

This second point obviously proceeds from a recognition of the importance not only of the American farmworker but from the importance of his family. It will be a test of the sincerity of our intentions whether, as we move back to the fuller use of domestic farm laborers, we make provision for the decent living of their families. The first order of business must be the development of family housing adequate to meet the needs of farmworkers who want to live, as the rest of us do, where there is at least love and human affection.

Third, and finally, there must be a more effective mobilization of public opinion regarding the farm labor situation.

Books and television documentaries won't do this job. John Steinbeck's barely fictionalized "Grapes of Wrath" and Edward R. Murrow's "Harvest of Shame" pricked the Nation's conscience. But it went back to sleep. The people who read and watched developed a strong feeling about an obviously serious moral issue, but no idea of what to do about it. The lesson of experience is plain: that so long as the migratory labor problem is conceived of primarily in moral terms, not much, not nearly enough, will be done about it.

Perhaps there is encouragement in the ending of the bracero program. It has been noted in the California press that:

"The departure of these people will imply a new domestic policy for many of the farmers and fruit raisers of this State. They have depended mainly on the [foreign workers], who readily move, like armies, come when called for, and depart when their mission is accomplished. Farmers must now look to a normal population * * *. The change should not be viewed as a calamity. It may be inconvenient at first, but after a few years no doubt the places now held by the [foreign workers] will be filled by a more desirable laboring population."

But this comment appeared in the Pacific Rural Press. The foreign workers referred to were Chinese, soon to be barred under the Chinese Exclusion Act. The date was 1882.

There is reasonable basis, nevertheless, for the conviction that despite the sobering lesson of history, the public will express itself this time in significant action.

The adoption of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 reflected a new determination to write the dictates of individual consciences into the laws of the Nation. The declaration of a national war on poverty, and the almost unbelievable advances which have already been made on that front, mark the adoption of the Golden Rule as not just a personal but a national ethic. America's ideals are finding their muscles, and their hands and their feet.

The farm labor problem will not, however, be resolved in Washington. To the extent that this problem—like almost everything else—is largest in California, it is vastly important that Californians take a great and increasing pride in this State. My mail has reflected in unmistakable terms the fact that the agricultural labor situation has chronically troubled California consciences. A recent letter from a businessman in an agricultural community reported a common local concern that the publicly owned farm labor camps, which were built in the 1930's to get the migrant workers off the ditch banks, have been permitted to deteriorate so badly that they are themselves a problem.

This sentiment needs a catalyst. It must come from local and State leadership. I don't presume to suggest its particular form. I am asking the members of the California Farm Labor Panel, set up to advise me in connection with the administration of Public Law 414, to turn their attention to the broader aspects of this matter and to make whatever suggestions are appropriate regarding possible future cooperation on the part of the Department of Labor.

I note, in conclusion, what seems to me the central element in the development of an effective public opinion regarding farm labor or any other matter.

There are two views of man's role in the determination of his own future. One is summarized in the phrase "the inevitability of progress." That is a horrible phrase. It deadens the purpose to even try to make things better. It includes the attitude that there is nothing an individual can do about something like the disgrace, the human disaster, of migratory farmworkers living below the surface of decency.

Another, very different view, was suggested by Mr. Justice Holmes in his essays, published in 1915, entitled "Ideas and Doubts":

"The mode in which the inevitable comes to pass is through effort. Consciously or unconsciously we all strive to make the kind of world we like. And although with Spinoza we may regard criticism of the past as futile, there is every reason for doing all that we can to make a future such as we desire. There is every reason also for trying to make our desires intelligent."

This is the view which commends itself to those who prefer to believe that the perfectability of life is within the human competence, and that this is not heresy but rather the fullest reverence. It is the view which finds the present farm labor situation man's fault, and therefore within man's capacity to cure.

Arab Information Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, in order that different viewpoints may be presented on a subject of general interest, I include a release dated July 14, 1965, from the Arab Information Center:

RELEASE FROM THE ARAB INFORMATION CENTER

In the course of a discussion in the U.S. Senate on July 8, certain statements were made by some honorable Members regarding Arab information activities in the United States attributing to the Arabs, among other things, anti-Semitic motivation and intent. In particular, a compilation entitled "Arab Anti-Jewish Activities in the United States," prepared by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, was entered in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and formed the basis of unfriendly remarks about some Arab leaders and Arab policies.

While these remarks are much to be regretted, they indicate the need for a restatement of the basic objective of the Arab Information Center in the United States. Established in 1955 with offices in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Dallas, and Washington, D.C., the center functions as an agency of the governments of the League of Arab States and thereby reciprocates the activities of the U.S. Information Agency which maintains 22 offices in the Arab States. With regard to the Senate discussion under previous reference, the following points bear repeating:

1. The primary objective of the Arab Information Center is to promote a climate of improved understanding between the Arab world and the United States. By utilizing available media and accepted modes of communication to the extent possible, it seeks to acquaint the American people with the hopes and aspirations of the Arab people and their governments.

2. Within the framework of this objective, information supplied by the Center includes material on Israel and the plight of the Palestine Arabs which is made available partly to counter the effect of Israel-Zionist propaganda, the extent and influence of which were recently revealed in the published hearings of the U.S. Senate Com-

mittee on Foreign Relations (May and August 1963).

3. In this connection, publications of the Center demonstrate the fact that it carefully distinguishes between Zionists as protagonists of Israel and Zionist ideology on the one hand, and Jews as adherents of a particular religion and citizens of their respective countries. Responsibility for whatever confusion may be evident as between these two terms rests squarely with Israelis and Zionists. Thus, it may be pointed out that the text of the declaration of the establishment of Israel refers to it as the State of "the Jewish people." The "Eichmann Trial Judgment" affirms that Israel "is the sovereign State of the Jewish people." And as recently as May 5, 1965, Israel Premier Levi Eshkol declared, inter alia, "The Jews of the Soviet Union are a quarter of our people."

4. For their part, Arabs respect Judaism as a universal creed as distinguished from Zionism, a hostile political movement. This distinction is one of the fundamental aspects of Arab policy vis-a-vis the Israel-Zionist complex. Otherwise, it would have been quite impossible for any Jews to have remained in the Arab world, after 1948, as citizens with equal rights.

Finally, it must be pointed out that the charges contained in the Anti-Defamation League study, so-called, can only be regarded as part of the continuing Zionist attempts to divert attention from the ugly facts of robbery and persecution surrounding the establishment of Israel, for reasons that must be obvious to the most casual observer.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

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10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

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The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

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12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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Appendix

Adlai Stevenson Meets the Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, less than a month ago on June 27, 1965, our late Ambassador to the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson, appeared on "Meet the Press." On that occasion Governor Stevenson ably defended the role of this country in Vietnam and gave unqualified endorsement to the United Nations on its 20th anniversary.

I commend the transcript of that interview to the attention of our colleagues:

"MEET THE PRESS"

(Produced by Lawrence E. Spivak; guest, Adlai E. Stevenson, U.S. Representative to the U.N.)

Mr. BROOKS. "Meet the Press" comes to you today from San Francisco, where the United Nations is celebrating its 20th anniversary.

Our guest is Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, who played a leading role in the formation of the United Nations and is now this country's U.N. Representative. Ambassador Stevenson heads the U.S. delegation to the anniversary celebration.

Now, we will have the first question from Lawrence E. Spivak, permanent member of the "Meet the Press" panel.

Mr. SPIVAK. Ambassador Stevenson, after 20 years the United Nations is believed by many both here and abroad to be in serious crisis and on the verge of complete collapse.

What shape do you really think the U.N. is in today?

Ambassador STEVENSON. I think it is in much better shape than your question would indicate. Actually, the United Nations is a reflection of the situation that exists in the world. If the world is tense, there will be tension in the United Nations. I think that if the United Nations ever ceases to reflect the situation that prevails in the world, then is the time when one had better begin to worry about its demise.

Mr. SPIVAK. But, Mr. Ambassador, isn't one of the purposes of the United Nations to relieve the tensions of the world, not merely to reflect the tensions or to add to the tensions?

Ambassador STEVENSON. Yes, most certainly it is; it is to dissolve the disputes that create the tensions, but that it hasn't always succeeded in doing this is small wonder, given the divided world, given the existence of national rivalries, uncontrolled, unbridled, given all the circumstances with which we have had to deal in these past 20 years.

Mr. SPIVAK. I would like to take up one or two particular things. The General Assembly has been paralyzed for many months now because of article 19 and the refusal of the Soviet Union and France to pay the peacekeeping assessments.

Will the General Assembly remain paralyzed much longer, or do you see a solution to that problem?

Ambassador STEVENSON. I certainly hope not. I think it is imperative that the Assembly, when it reconvenes, conduct its business in the normal way and that the deadlock that has paralyzed it during this past session must be broken. I believe it will.

Mr. SPIVAK. How will it be broken?

Ambassador STEVENSON. I think it will be broken by an action taken by the General Assembly itself to determine what it wishes to do with respect to the application of article 19 or with respect to the assessments for peacekeeping operations.

It has been the view of the United States, and I think of the vast majority of the membership, that they should be financially responsible. That is to say, that if they authorize a peacekeeping operation, the members should pay for it, especially peacekeeping operations of which they themselves approve.

Mr. SPIVAK. Do you think that the financial problems are going to be solved through the enforcement of article 19 or just by forgetting it?

Ambassador STEVENSON. I don't think anybody wants a confrontation over article 19 any more now than we did when the last Assembly convened the first of last December. How it will be done, I don't yet know. A subcommittee of the United Nations, called the Committee of 33, representing 33 states has been considering this matter for some time. I suspect it will have to consider it somewhat further.

Mr. SPIVAK. Great Britain, Mr. Ambassador, and Canada, and some of the Scandinavian countries, have made voluntary contributions in order to break the paralysis. Is the United States prepared to make voluntary contributions in the same way?

Ambassador STEVENSON. I can't answer that question, obviously, because that would depend at least to some extent upon the Congress, what the attitude of the Congress is, and the matter has not been presented to the Congress. They would have to provide the money.

Mr. SPIVAK. On article 19, I believe you led the fight to apply article 19. Now are you going to abandon that fight?

Ambassador STEVENSON. This is a decision that if we had made it, I wouldn't be at liberty to tell you, but I don't think that this decision has been reached by any means.

Mr. LISAGOR. There seems to have been considerable disappointment among the United Nations delegates here that President Johnson didn't come to forgive the delinquents their back dues or make some other dramatic proposal.

Were you led to believe that he might, in fact, say something about article 19 which would change the U.S. position on it?

Ambassador STEVENSON. I thought the President had made it clear even before he came that he didn't expect to make any dramatic announcement here, that he looked upon the meeting in San Francisco as a birthday, as a ceremony, a commemorative ceremony on the 20th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and not an occasion for negotiation or for dispute.

Mr. LISAGOR. Why, then, did almost all the delegates seem to expect him to make some kind of spectacular proposal?

Ambassador STEVENSON. Sometimes the wish is father to the thought.

Mr. LISAGOR. To follow up Mr. Spivak's earlier questioning, isn't it a fact that the United States will have to abandon its position on the back assessments if the U.N. General Assembly is going to be viable?

Ambassador STEVENSON. It has always seemed curious to me that they ask the United States, which has met every one of its commitments to the United Nations, which has by far been its most generous contributor, its consistent, unqualified supporter from its inception to this date—that we should always be called upon to make concessions, especially if we are trying to establish in the United Nations a constitutional institution which has respect for both its charter and its terms and for the organs that it has created, including the World Court, which had handed down advisory opinion that these assessments for peacekeeping operations are costs of the Organization and, therefore, payable by all of the members. Somebody has to stand fast for this concept of constitutionalism.

I can't answer your question as to what we are going to do finally, but I am surprised that they always ask us to do something. And it is not only us; it is virtually all the West Europeans, all the Latin Americans and so on, that share these views.

Mr. LISAGOR. But what the Russian delegate said here, which was that the United States had created—artifically, he suggested—a financial crisis in the UN. Doesn't it then follow that the United States will have to change its position?

Ambassador STEVENSON. I don't know that it follows, because we haven't created an artificial crisis. The crisis was created by the non-payment of the assessments levied on the Soviet Union, France, and the other Communist states, and it is interesting to note, if I may add this, that the Soviet Union itself voted for the Congo operation that it now refuses to pay for.

Mr. FRYE. Mr. Ambassador, may I ask you to turn for a minute to the problem of Vietnam. President Johnson appealed to the U.N. individually and collectively to put pressure on Red China and North Vietnam for peace talks. Does the United States really want the U.N. collectively, as he put it, to intervene in Vietnam, and if so, why don't we make some move to bring the subject before the UN?

Ambassador STEVENSON. You have a couple of questions. I think in the first place one must bear in mind that neither Communist China nor North or South Vietnam are members of the United Nations, that last year at the time of the Tonkin Gulf incident when I did bring it to the United Nations, to the Security Council, it invited North Vietnam to come to the table to present its case, and it declined to come. Ever since then it has sarcastically rejected any—even the propriety of any concern by the United Nations in the conflict in Vietnam.

The Chinese, of course, have done likewise. Indeed they are doing their very best to destroy the institution of the United Nations.

In addition to that, it is problematical as to what—if it were possible to bring them all before the United Nations even though they are nonmembers and have indicated that they will not come—the United Nations could do in the present circumstances. But I shouldn't leave you with the idea that the United Nations is not interested in it. Actually it sent a commission there at the time of the trouble between the government and the Buddhists, if you will remember, a human rights commission. And last year, at the insistence of Cambodia it sent a commission to Cambodia and to South Vietnam, the United Nations did, to see if it could

resolve the border dispute between those two countries. I have no doubt that if a peaceful settlement is arrived at in due course to stop fighting in Vietnam—and pray to God that it is—the United Nations will have an important role to play in the future in policing compliance with any agreement that is reached with respect to Vietnam.

Mr. FRYE. You have mentioned the absence of Red China as a handicap to U.N. activity in the Vietnam business. Do you mean to imply that you feel Red China should be invited and seated as a full member?

Ambassador STEVENSON. I didn't say that—I don't believe I said that or hinted at it, did I?

Mr. FRYE. A number of delegates did in the past few days.

Ambassador STEVENSON. Yes; I know many do. The trouble with that, of course, is that the Chinese have made it very apparent that the only terms and conditions on which they would come into the United Nations would be through the expulsion of Taiwan, and they have refused to renounce the use of force with respect to Taiwan and made conditions virtually impossible.

Miss FREDERICK. Why has the United States not been willing up to this time to have Secretary General Thant issue a cease-fire appeal to all parties in the Vietnam war?

Ambassador STEVENSON. I am sure if he felt it was time to do it or that that was the best thing to do that he would do it. I think perhaps there have been other tracks that have been pursued during this interval. Having offered to go to Hanoi, having been told to stay home, that they didn't care to see him; having offered to go to Peiping, having been told that he would not be welcome; I think he has concluded that perhaps these other tracks—and there have been some 13 or 14 of them that have been attempted in the past year, some of them through other channels, not just the United States by any means—had to be exhausted. Whether or not such an appeal by the United Nations would elicit any more affirmative response than the other tracks have failed to elicit, I very much doubt.

Miss FREDERICK. Would the United States be willing to accept a cease-fire if the other side does, if U Thant made such an appeal?

Ambassador STEVENSON. Oh, I wouldn't have any doubt that—the President has already suspended the bombing on one occasion. He has offered to negotiate without preconditions; he has pursued every conceivable avenue to open negotiations. Were it possible to bring the fighting to a stop pending some, at least, discussion of the possibility of negotiations—you would find the United States very responsive if the other side complied. One problem, of course, would be, how would you determine compliance?

Miss FREDERICK. Governor, with all due respect to your knowledge, I believe that in the President's speech at Johns Hopkins University he offered unconditional discussions, not negotiations, and Ambassador Lodge has pointed out a difference. Would you say there was a difference?

Ambassador STEVENSON. This quarrel about—this semantic argument about discussions and negotiations, frankly, has never—perplexes me.

Miss FREDERICK. Would the United States be willing to negotiate with the National Liberation Front, the political arm of the Vietcong?

Ambassador STEVENSON. I don't think the question is properly addressed to the United States. After all, this is a problem for South Vietnam, for Saigon, for that Government.

Miss FREDERICK. Isn't the United States a party to this conflict?

Ambassador STEVENSON. Oh, very much so. Do you mean as to what the U.S. position would be?

I think it would depend, as I tried to indicate, very much on what the position of South Vietnam would be, whether it would choose as a sovereign government to deal with rebels in its own lands.

Miss FREDERICK. According to information that has come to Secretary General Thant, as I understand it, the Chinese Communists have said that the Viet Cong are the proper interlocutor for such negotiations. So, consequently, wouldn't this seem to indicate that if the United States were willing to talk to the Viet Cong, there might be more chance to open discussions than there have been up to the present time?

Ambassador STEVENSON. It might be, and I think we have indicated—I am not too sure about this, but I think we have indicated that it is for Hanoi to determine whom it wants to sit at its table. If it wants to include a representative of the Viet Cong among their delegation to any conference, that would be for them to determine. We would have no objection.

Mr. SPIVAK. Governor, I don't like to labor the financial problem, but I would like to ask one more question on it.

Ambassador STEVENSON. It has been labored pretty thoroughly.

Mr. SPIVAK. On June 17th at Harvard, referring to the U.N., you said, and I quote: "I believe its financial trouble may soon be over."

You must have had something specific in mind because I know you don't generalize upon occasions like that. What did you have in mind?

Ambassador STEVENSON. It has to be resolved in the course of this summer before the Assembly reconvenes. The financial solvency of the organization has to be reestablished. It seems to me pitiful that an organization which was created by the responsible leaders of virtually all of the countries of the world to keep the peace must be begging for the means of keeping the peace. This is a paradox that seems to me intolerable and a solution must be found.

Mr. SPIVAK. To come back to it again then, a majority of the Senate Republicans called upon the President either to seek the enforcement of article 19, which you fought for, or publicly acknowledge that article 19 is a dead letter.

Is the financial situation going to be resolved by either one of these?

Ambassador STEVENSON. I can't answer that, because I don't think that decision has been made.

It might be resolved that way; it might be resolved by perhaps the debtors paying up.

Mr. SPIVAK. A decision made by whom, by the United States do you mean?

Ambassador STEVENSON. By the United States.

Mr. SPIVAK. By the President then?

Ambassador STEVENSON. I think he would have to do it in cooperation with the Congress and with the executive branch. I am sure he would want to consult.

Mr. LISAGOR. Governor Stevenson, to get back to President Johnson's call on U.N. members individually and collectively to help out to bring the Communists to the conference table, do you see any realistic diplomatic intervention by any member of the United Nations which would produce the result the President called for?

Ambassador STEVENSON. Yes, I can't—even in such a lawless world as we live in, I can't but believe that virtually any state—perhaps I should express it as a hope—would respond to the collective opinion of the world, were it made emphatic, were it made clear and were it made with virtually unanimity—that this would be a mighty influence on the Viet Cong and on Hanoi.

Mr. LISAGOR. Can I ask you a rather blunt question about the United Nations and the Vietnamese situation?

If a vote were taken in the U.N. today——

Ambassador STEVENSON. I know you would ask a blunt question whether I gave you permission or not, so go ahead.

Mr. LISAGOR. If a vote were taken in the U.N. today on American action in Vietnam, would the United States be condemned?

Ambassador STEVENSON. I don't think they would be condemned for trying to defend South Vietnam from aggression from its northern neighbor. I think there would be a good deal of feeling in the United Nations that the bombing was a mistake.

Mr. LISAGOR. Many of your liberal friends, as you know, appear to feel that you oppose American policy in Vietnam and in fact have called upon you, a few have, to resign your position and to speak out.

I would like to ask you first whether you do oppose American policy in South Vietnam?

Ambassador STEVENSON. No, I think we have to hold the line somewhere. After the war it was largely the United States, happily with the cooperation of many other countries, that established and made the containment policy effective. We are now confronted with a similar situation in southeast Asia and the United States, having the power and having the will, has seen fit to try to hold the line against Communist expansion, or domination by China in that area, and I think that this is probably something in the long run which will be in the interests of peace in the world and security for all of us.

The problem of how to do it and the problem of dealing with the type of intransigence we have encountered there is, of course, exceedingly difficult and complicated. I don't want to leave the impression, if I have, that I am opposed to this policy. I suppose every one of us would disagree on details about anything, virtually anything, and I don't hesitate to say that as to every detail of the conduct of our policy, I am not always in agreement, nor, I suspect, are any of our responsible officials, and that is what you have a President for. He is the one who has to make the final decisions, however uncomfortable and distasteful they may be.

Mr. FRYE. The Russian delegate has been giving you personally rather a hard time of late, especially in the Security Council. He called you a "reptile," I believe, at one point. You appeared to attribute this at one stage to a revival of Stalinism. At another point, to Red Chinese pressure.

To what extent do you feel there has been a revival of Stalinism in Moscow, and how deep has been the impact of Chinese pressure on their policy?

Ambassador STEVENSON. This is purely speculation, of course, but it is very obvious that the Chinese are now challenging the Russians for the leadership of the Communist Parties throughout the world and that naturally enough the Russians are going to contest any challenge to their leadership very vigorously, so that what you have is the United States often emerging as the scapegoat between these two contending forces.

In other words, it is competitive whipping of the United States for the attention of the Communist Parties, and I think here has been a good deal of that.

Mr. FRYE. President Johnson also asked for individual pressure on Hanoi and Peiping, which pressure obviously could only come from Moscow. Is Moscow privately being helpful to any extent in bringing about a Vietnam peace negotiation?

Ambassador STEVENSON. I can't talk with confidence about that because I don't know. I am very sure that the Soviet Union is anxious to avoid any dangerous escalation of this war and that it doesn't want to see it pass on into higher and higher levels of threat to all of humanity any more than we do.

Miss FREDERICK. Both the Soviet Union and the United States have now invoked regional alliances in entering, respectively,

Hungary and the Dominican Republic. Do these precedents set by the two big powers give the green light to any original group to take enforcement action although the Security Council is supposed, under the charter, to approve such enforcement action?

Ambassador STEVENSON. I don't consider that this was enforcement at all.

Miss FREDERICK. Do you mean the OAS force is not down there keeping the peace?

Ambassador STEVENSON. It is not enforcing anything.

Miss FREDERICK. Isn't that a peacekeeping——

Ambassador STEVENSON. Enforcement—we have always interpreted the charter and I think virtually all of the membership, Miss Frederick, interprets that language, that word, as enforcing a decision.

We are down there to keep the peace, to prevent one party from enforcing its will on the other.

Miss FREDERICK. The United States is keeping——

Ambassador STEVENSON. The OAS, the Inter-American Peace Force.

Miss FREDERICK. But if shooting breaks out, the OAS Force led by the United States is supposed to try to stop it, isn't it? Doesn't that make it enforcement?

Ambassador STEVENSON. No; that is not our interpretation of what was intended by that language of the charter at all.

Miss FREDERICK. In other words, the OAS has the primary role in the Dominican Republic, whether you call it enforcement action or what. How does this affect other possible regional organization actions, such as the Arab League, or the Organization of African Unity, stepping into areas in their regions?

Ambassador STEVENSON. Yes; I think you raise a very good point there, and I think it is a serious one that causes us a good deal—at least me—a good deal of anxiety.

Those organizations, the OAU and the Arab League, of course, are not as well developed by any means, nor do they have the historical experience that the OAS does, that the Organization of American States does, but when the Organization of American States undertook to prevent, to stop the bloodshed, and prevent these people from getting at each other's throats indefinitely in the Dominican Republic, it did undertake an action which I suppose is nonexclusive, and that means that others could do likewise.

Mr. SPIVAK. Ambassador Stevenson, the Soviet Union has exercised its veto power 104 times, and we haven't exercised it at all. Would you be in favor of abolishing the veto?

Ambassador STEVENSON. No; I think not at this stage because I am afraid—if I would say it, it would be meaningless. The Soviet Union would never assent to it. I am not even sure our own Senate would assent to it. I am happy to say we have been able to persuade the majority in the United Nations from the beginning to go along with us and therefore have not needed to use the veto.

Mr. BROOKS. I am sorry to have to interrupt, but I see that our time is up. Thank you very much, Ambassador Stevenson, for being with us.

A Washington Institution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, in view of the current discussion in Congress of basic changes in the form of government for the District of Columbia, which could have profound effects on the business life of the community, I thought it would be timely to place in the RECORD the history of one of the oldest institutions in the city—the Riggs National Bank.

The story of this bank's development has so closely paralleled the history of the Nation and its Capital City that I believe it would be of interest to readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I, therefore, ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a summary of data furnished me by Mr. E. Wiley Stearns, Jr., vice president and cashier of the bank.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POTOMAC PORTRAIT, 1836–1965

William W. Corcoran's decision to found an "exchange and brokerage business" on Pennsylvania Avenue near 15th Street NW., after "Old Hickory" closed the Second Bank of the United States in 1836, may be described as the "first fount" and actual beginning of the Riggs Bank.

The formation of the partnership of Corcoran & Riggs 4 years later is in many respects comparable to the early junction of the north and south branches of the Potomac. With the capital furnished by young Riggs' father, who was a leading banker in New York, the firm began to function as a full-fledged bank of deposit, and soon numbered among its clients President John Tyler and the great statesmen, Daniel Webster and Henry Clay.

National recognition came in 1947 and 1848, when, on the guarantee of the elder Riggs, Corcoran & Riggs purchased the entire U.S. Treasury bond issue offered to defray the cost of the Mexican War.

In 1854 Corcoran retired and George Riggs continued the firm under the name of Riggs & Co., opening a branch * * * in New York to accommodate the clients of his late father. This branch was continued until 1888 and served many notable clients, including the great Mormon leader, Brigham Young, who dealt with them from his colony in Great Salt Lake City.

During the Civil War, Lincoln and most of the members of his Cabinet were Riggs' customers, and on August 11, 1863, Lincoln wrote his famous check for five dollars payable to a "Colored man with one leg."

The Confederate leader, Jefferson Davis, kept a balance in the bank until the day of Lincoln's first inauguration.

After the war, th bank performed one of its most illustrious services for the U.S. Government, when, in 1868, it supplied the $7,200,000 "in gold" paid to imperial Russia for the purchase of Alaska. Secretary of State Seward, who negotiated the treaty of purchase, gratefully tendered his personal check on the bank the following Sunday for the rental of his pew in nearby St. John's Church.

After a long and notable career, George Riggs died in 1881 and his son, E. Francis Riggs, succeeded him in the firm until 1896. On July 1 that year, Charles Carroll Glover, who had entered the bank's employ in 1866, became the first president of the new Riggs National Bank, thus formalizing the name "Riggs Bank", under which the private firm had been known for nearly half a century.

During the Spanish-American War, the bank's roster of famous clients included the hero of Manila Bay, Admiral Dewey, "rough-riding" young "Teddy" Roosevelt and the conqueror of yellow fever, Capt. Walter Reed. Shortly before the turn of the century ground was broken for the building at 1503 Pennsylvania Avenue, which, with considerable extension and improvements, houses the main office today.

(Others who have served as president of the bank: Milton E. Ailes, Robert V. Fleming, Hulbert T. Bisselle, and the incumbent, Richard A. Norris.)

Looking back over our 129-year history, we can be justifiably proud of our accomplishments. With total deposits now, as of June 30, 1965, amounting to $638,000,000 and total resources, as of the same date, at $709,921,000, and under our capable and experienced leadership, we look to the future with confidence in our ability to remain Washington's largest bank—in size and service.

Frances Spatz Leighton—Writer and Artist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Frances Spatz Leighton is the Washington correspondent for This Week magazine and she is doing a splendid job in this capacity in the Nation's Capital. She has also written for one of our country's great newspapers, Chicago's American, in my own city of Chicago.

In addition to being an outstanding contributor to news publications, Mrs. Leighton has established herself as a successful writer of books dealing with life in Washington, D.C., and also as an artist of noteworth accomplishment. She is indeed a young woman of almost limitless talent and versatility.

Under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following article from the July 1965 issue of the Washington World. It is a tribute to Mrs. Leighton's highly effective efforts at depicting the Washington scene in a way that is known and appreciated by so many of us. The article follows:

FRAN LEIGHTON BOOK SOLD TO HOLLYWOOD

(By Scott Hart)

Frances Spatz Leighton, Washington author of nine books and of magazine articles beyond count, decided to use three magic elements in her 10th book: Washington, D.C., a woman, and a psychiatrist.

Hollywood's Joseph E. Levine will produce the film for Paramount; Peter Sellers is being sought for the role of the psychiatrist; and it's a certainty some of the production scenes will be shot in Washington.

Says Mrs. Leighton: "Whenever my phone rings, it's likely to be a friend who wants to be an extra. And I'll try to arrange it; they stood by me back in those days."

"Those days" were the days when Fran Leighton wore the earphones of a dictation girl at a typewriter in the newsroom of the furiously paced Washington bureau of Hearst's International News Service, taking stories over the phone from correspondents scattered over the city. She had no idea then that years later a book titled "I Married a Psychiatrist"—which she would coauthor with a real psychiatrist's wife—would be bought by Hollywood for a large sum. She did know that she wanted to write and didn't like being a dictation girl.

On weekends she sent story ideas to the Hearst-owned American Weekly Sunday supplement. Some were accepted and some of her stories were printed. The editors there had no idea she was a dictation girl, a minuscule part of the vast Hearst organization.

"Anyway, my boss here found out, and I believe he was impressed," Mrs. Leighton remembers. "He put me on a beat few reporters want * * * Interstate Commerce Commission, Federal Communications Commission, and Treasury. Once I got the daily Treasury receipts total wrong and probably wrecked the numbers gambling racket that day."

Later American Weekly made her its Washington correspondent, a relief to the gambling syndicate and a joy to Mrs. Leighton. She concentrated on the White House, and has become almost a part of its identity.

"The greatest pleasure came last Christmas," she says. "I had done a free-lance booklet titled 'Christmas Traditions at the White House.' It told such things as how conservationist Teddy Roosevelt would not allow a Christmas tree in the White House; F.D.R. started the Christmas Eve practice of calling in all the White House help; President Hoover had the Dickens story read to him; and Jackson had a party for the city's orphans. I regarded it as just a little booklet. Then last Christmas at a White House party, Mrs. Johnson had a pile of the booklets for her personal gift to the guests. Nothing I have ever written is so treasured now."

The new book, "I Married a Psychiatrist," was done "as told" to Mrs. Leighton by Louise Pfister—the maiden name of the wife of the Washington analyst. A few chapter headings are: "Never Date a Psychiatrist * * * Unless You Need to Have Your Head Examined"; "A Psychiatrist Builds a Dream House With a Split Personality"; "How to Get Along With a Relaxed Husband"; "Come to Our Office Party But Don't Lie on Our Couch"; and "Chaos Spelled Backwards."

Mrs. Leighton's other coauthored books include, "They Call Her Lady Bird"; "White House Chef"; "My 30 Years Backstairs at the White House"; "I Married the Veep"; "I Was Jacqueline Kennedy's Dressmaker"; "White House Menus and Recipes"; and "I Prayed Myself Slim."

An extrovert with exploding energy, Mrs. Leighton jumps from bed at 5:30 a.m. daily in her Woodner Hotel apartment. Soon she starts beating the shaky keys of a 1920-model Underwood typewriter which was old when she bought it.

"Writing is hard work," she says. "The best I can do is 6 hours at a time. Before noon, I need a nap. Sometimes I go to a park bench, and nod."

She often paints in the afternoon for relaxation. A Connecticut Avenue physician recently commissioned her to do five paintings to hang on his office walls.

"I am a gregarious person, and this life of a writer can become awful," she says. "Working in the early hours of day is like writing in a tomb of silence. It breaks after noon when I go to the drugstore to browse the magazines or drink some coffee."

The New York Times called her "a gal with about 100 irons in the fire at any given time." She interrupts the writing of a book to do magazine stories, or paint, or write a poem, or correspond with publishers for more work to pile on already-toppling loads.

Better Living Through Resource Conservation—Secretary Freeman's Speech Commemorating 50th Anniversary of the Cook County Forest Preserve

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, it is no secret that this Nation has a heritage of seeking ways to better the lives and economic opportunities of its citizens. One of these ways is through the protection and improvement of natural resources.

Few countries have been endowed with such an abundance of land resources as the United States. The great outdoors with its seemingly unlimited land resources made it possible for the early settlers who migrated to all corners of the land, to develop and build this Nation.

Today, the great trek is not to seek new land. Today more than 130 million Americans are on the move searching for places to swim, hunt, fish, picnic, and places to play, relax, and enjoy natural beauty, fresh air, and sunshine.

On Sunday, June 27, 1965, the 50th anniversary of the Cook County Forest Preserve District was celebrated at the Chicago Zoological Park in Brookfield, Ill. Such an anniversary is evidence of the great leadership and foresightedness of Cook County people in regard to better living through conservation.

Mr. Orville Freeman, the Secretary of Agriculture, addressed that meeting. His remarks were of such significance and bear so directly on this Nation's need for conservation unity of action and purpose, that they should be read and thoughtfully considered by all.

I therefore ask unanimous consent that the speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. ORVILLE L. FREEMAN, SECRETARY, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

It is an honor to participate in this 50th anniversary celebration.

On behalf of President Johnson, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and the entire Johnson administration, I extend congratulations and best wishes to the Cook County Forest Preserve District, to the board of commissioners, and the 5 million citizens of this great metropolis who both enjoy and support these wonderful facilities for recreation and re-creation. Here you have opportunity for casual fun and for spiritual regeneration.

This is not only a beautiful and useful public asset, not only a monument to the foresight of leaders who established and developed this area—it is an example to all who live today, proof that the battle against ugliness and noise and pollution can be won.

Here is proof that men and women with vision and determination can build for themselves and their descendants a better place in which to live. This is a challenge to you and to me.

The challenge is the more real because your success came hard. The example you offer is one of hard work and perseverance as well as achievement.

In the U.S. Department of Agriculture Library, we have a good deal of historical literature about this forest preserve district. Scanning it we are reminded that your success was achieved against great odds. In the late 1800's Chicago was growing at a terrific rate in size, population, wealth, and complexity—and also in its output of smoke and sewage, in creation of slums, in problems of health, education, and recreation. Some people who made their fortunes in Chicago moved elsewhere to enjoy life.

Complicating the situation was the influx of foreign-born people, many of whom were poor and disadvantaged but who were accustomed in their old countries to publicly supported parks.

A leader of that period—Dr. John Rauch—wrote vigorously of the need for parks, saying "* * * we want not alone a place for business, but also one in which we can live."

Fortunately, good citizens took an interest. Many of the famous names of Chicago history are associated with the forest preserve. Also by good fortune, the forest preserve had the benefit of competent metropolitan planning.

Very early, according to the records, the Special Park Commission of the Municipal Science Club recommended (and I quote): "Instead of acquiring space only, the opportunity exists for reserving country naturally beautiful."

In 1909 the "Plan of Chicago" prepared under the direction of the Commercial Club stated that "nearby woodlands should be brought within easy reach of all people, and especially the wage earners," because of the restorative value of natural scenery to city dwellers.

While areas have been allotted for the zoo, playfields, golf courses, picnic grounds, and other important intensive uses, the emphasis through the years has remained on natural forests, natural beauty.

As Anton J. Cermak said in his report as president of the board of commissioners in 1925: "This has been a unique venture in combining the beautiful and the practical."

In the 1921 report is the record of a meeting honoring the memory of the first president of the board, Peter Reinberg. On the cover of the book is a poem:

"The kindest thing God ever made,
His hand of very healing laid
Upon a fevered world, is shade.

"Green temples, closed against the beat
Of noontime's burning glare and heat
Open to any pilgrim's feet.

"'This is God's hospitality,
And whoso rests beneath a tree
Has cause to thank him gratefully."

The need for natural beauty is not new. It is very old.

Recognition of the need is not new either.

But we do have a new expression of that need—a new call to action—a new challenge.

We are rich and powerful and advanced in scientific achievement, yet we continue—thoughtlessly or ruthlessly—to pollute and despoil the earth on which we live. We foul our environment to such an extent that we rob our lives of the joys that could easily be ours—the simple joys of being alive, of being human, of being children of God in the universe of His creation.

Today we cannot even be sure we are fulfilling the most elementary animal instinct—the preservation of species. For the would-be human population of the future may find an earth not only bleak and bereft of joy but unfriendly to life itself. Destruction and pollution and uglification of our vital resources are the suicidal, manmade enemies of man.

And if the richest Nation on earth—blessed with democratic institutions—cannot build for the future, pray tell, what hope is there for the earth as a whole?

Fortunately, the Nation is awakening to the danger and facing the challenge. President Johnson with his genius for expressing the will of the people has called for a new drive to regain and retain the natural beauty of our country.

As he stated it in a recent message to the Congress:

"The beauty of our land is a natural resource. Its preservation is linked to the inner prosperity of the human spirit."

In this statement, President Johnson has not merely expressed his own philosophy—although he has done that in admirable fashion—but he has sensed and put into words that you and I would have been proud to utter the feelings, belief, and determination of the whole people.

We recognize that the love of beauty is one of the most fundamental attributes of human nature—one of our finest attributes. We recognize also that natural beauty is one of the most important dimensions of our practical goal of conserving and revitalizing our natural resources.

It is suddenly clear to us that our concept of conservation has been growing and taking new form, escaping old cubicles and dividing lines, emerging as a new philosophy.

The new concept is characterized by unity.

No longer can there be separate compartments in the conservation world—no compartment for soil conservation apart from beauty preservation, no longer a wall between wildlife protection and agricultural conservation, no longer a forestry objective separate from the interests of the grasslands, no longer a policy question as to multiple use of water resources, and, finally, no more a disunity between city and open country.

Perhaps there is symbolic significance as well as practicality in the fact that the Secretary of Agriculture is Chairman of the Recreation Advisory Committee of the U.S. Government.

The conservationist of 1965 is an exponent of natural beauty in its many forms for the enjoyment of all the people—he is an enemy of preventable ugliness.

The modern conservationist is a proponent of the principle of sustained economic use of resources—an opponent of mere hoarding, and an enemy of waste—waste in any form, including erosion, fire, or uneconomic production.

The conservationist of 1965 is an advocate of open space and quiet areas—an enemy of crowded slums, filth, and air filled with stench, poison fumes, and fallout.

The true conservationist of today sees the union of resources and values on which humanity depends, and he would preserve that union. He sees the world of conservation as one world.

The love of natural beauty is a great unifying force in the modern conservation movement. As President Johnson said, "* * * we can introduce into all our planning, our programs, our building, and our growth a conscious and active concern for the values of beauty." In agricultural terms, we can express this ideal as a concept of multiple-use management. Under multiple-use management, natural beauty can be developed and maintained; food, fiber, wildlife, recreation, forage, and timber can be provided; soil and water can be conserved.

In our national forests—which comprise 19 percent of our country's commercial timberland—we no longer think of ourselves merely as custodians and protectors. We practice multiple-use management to the end that the greatest possible number of people may benefit.

In community programs such as small watershed projects on private land, we combine flood control with municipal water development, recreation, and farmland conservation.

In our public partnership with farmers for conservation work on individual farms we encourage the use of practices which not only conserve soil and water for agricultural use but also provide better conditions for fish and wildlife and recreation for the public.

Let me give you some illustrations of our multi-purpose conservation activities.

Here in Illinois 50,000 to 60,000 farmers do partnership work with you every year through the agricultural conservation program. With cost-sharing assistance from you and the rest of the taxpaying public, they build ponds which are a boon to waterfowl, and aid in flood prevention, and a means of helping maintain the ground water table. They establish grassed waterways to dispose of runoff water without the erosion of soil. They plant trees.

Down in Johnson County last year 150 farmers—every farmer in one particular area—cooperated in a special pooling of funds under the agricultural conservation program—and they built 80 ponds and established a protective grass cover on 3,000 acres. The result was a great boost in conservation—and in beautification.

A similar project is under way this year in Clark County.

In Henderson County, along the Mississippi River, we have a special ACP project under way to heal the ugly gullies in the bluffs and to reduce the siltation of streams and reservoirs below.

In my home State of Minnesota, farmers in one county, in just 1 year recently, planted well over 3½ million trees on 3,000 acres. They did this with the help of the ACP.

The farmers in Minnesota and other nearby States are being encouraged to plant oats for wildlife on land diverted from market crops under the feed grain program. This should make a lot more good cover for nesting birds and a lot of feed for them as well.

In projects of this kind we have the cooperation of several agencies and many people—the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, which administers the program through the farmer committee system; the Soil Conservation Service, which provides technical assistance; the Federal-State-county extension service, which carries out educational responsibilities; the Farmers Home Administration, which makes loans for conservation and development, including recreation, to eligible persons and groups; State agencies responsible for work in forestry, and in fishing and wildlife; soil conservation districts; conservation organizations; local civic organizations; business and professional people; and, of course, the farmers themselves.

Here in Illinois, 99 percent of the farms are in locally organized soil conservation districts that have been set up under State law. Our technical assistance is provided through those districts in which there are 65,000 cooperators. The Department also works with local groups, usually soil conservation districts, in planning and developing small watershed projects for flood prevention, water supply, recreation and other public purposes. In your State, local groups have made formal application for 56 of these watershed projects, and so far 9 have been approved for operations with 17 more approved for planning.

In Lake County the regional planning commission and other local agencies are using for urban purposes the soil survey maps that were made primarily for soil conservation use on farms. These maps have been used to help prevent the location of home developments where basements will flood or where soil is not porous enough for septic tanks or for drainage of lawns and gardens. They are also used to help roadbuilders avoid unstable soil and to help in selection of trees and shrubs that will do well.

You have seen from a hilltop or from an airplane the graceful lines of crops planted on the contours of sloping fields. This beauty came about for a practical reason: We had to fight erosion. Farmers and public together have done it, the public providing the technical, educational and cost-sharing help that the public interest justifies—farmers providing their labor and a big share of the dollar cost. We now have 40 million acres, nearly a tenth of our cropland, on the contour.

In our agricultural extension work with 95,000 4-H Clubs, and with home demonstration units, garden clubs and other organizations, we provide and emphasize education on beautification of home and community.

Our agricultural research people do a great deal to improve varieties of ornamental plants and their culture. Our loans for rural telephone and electric systems are used increasingly for lines that run underground rather than on poles that are sometimes very noticeable and unsightly.

We have credit programs that enable many people on farms and in rural towns to build new homes to take the place of rundown houses and shacks.

Since 1962 we have made loans to 133 nonprofit rural associations to build community recreation facilities and to 375 farmers to develop income-producing recreation facilities.

In 616 small watersheds we are working with local groups, largely soil conservation districts, to build dams and develop the resources for flood prevention, watershed protection, erosion control, municipal water supply, fish and wildlife, and recreation. In these projects, the public provides technical help and part of the dollar costs; the local groups provide the rest.

We have cooperative forestry work involving the U.S. Department of Agriculture, State and local agencies and individual owners of woods and forests. The people working in this field report that in the 12 months just past about 950 million seedlings were planted on well over a million acres, and fire protection was provided for well over 400 million acres.

You undoubtedly know a lot about the national forests. There are 154 of them and 19 national grasslands, all owned by the public and managed by the Department of Agriculture. We recorded 134 million visits by persons seeking recreation last year. The national parks administered by the Department of the Interior enjoyed similar popularity. As it is here in Cook County, some of the visitors to public lands wanted strenuous activity; others—or the same persons at different times—wanted just to enjoy quiet and beauty. Not incidentally, the national forests include thousands of miles of free-flowing wild rivers and 14½ million acres of primitive areas and wilderness.

I have given you examples and an abbreviated checklist of activities in which the Department of Agriculture is involved to indicate in general what can be done for natural beauty and conservation when the public cares enough.

In a democracy we tailor method to the job. In the Cook County Forest Preserve District and in the national forests, we see public ownership. In some of our watersheds we see teamwork between Federal agencies and legally constituted local groups. On our millions of farms, we see the individual in league with the public through local, State and Federal agencies.

Much is being done to benefit the people of both city and country. Much that is being done contributes not only to our material welfare but also to our enjoyment of beauty and our opportunities to re-create our inner lives.

The programs through which we are making this kind of progress have had the support of most of your Members of Congress, even when ill-informed people and mass media at times labeled them as Government interference, or subsidy farm program. I salute them for their courage and farsightedness.

But so much more needs to be done.

And right now we have a tremendous opportunity to take another gigantic step forward. The proven philosophy and principle of unity and use in conservation can, if we are wise and alert, be constructively applied once more—this time in the Great Society farm program now pending before the U.S. Congress.

We are in the vortex of an amazing technological revolution. Science and capital in combination enable our farmers to keep on increasing output of crops year after year. We are diverting surplus acres by means of our feed grain program and other commodity programs as a means of holding back surpluses that otherwise threaten the Nation's economic well-being and the welfare of the farmer. But as we take out of production the land not needed in producing food, let us use our commonsense and—rather than merely retiring this land or banking it—put it to use.

Right now Congress has before it a proposed cropland adjustment program recommended by the President and the Secretary of Agriculture and various public-spirited organizations, including conservation and wildlife groups.

This program would provide good uses for as much as 40 million acres of surplus cropland. These are opportunity acres for the public. We can put them to use as forested and grass-covered watersheds producing clean water, reducing the erosion of soil and sedimentation of streams. We can use them to create more open space near cities. In fact, one feature of the proposed program would provide direct help for cities in acquiring surplus cropland to meet their needs for parks and open spaces.

We can also benefit as citizens when farmers devote more of their surplus acres to ponds and lakes, hunting areas, hiking trails, and other recreation opportunities open to the public. And as we do this, we will benefit from reduction in government costs of protecting the economy against the effects of surplus production. Truly, in this program the basic concepts of modern conservation—of unity and of use—can and must be put to work. I commend this program to your study, and I hope you will give it your wholehearted support as a means of carrying out your objectives toward conservation, recreation, and beautification.

Do not be misled by those who narrowly and spitefully attempt to plaster the label "farm subsidy" on this legislation. It is all to the good that it will help meet our commodity problems and help to improve the farmer's income. The main thing is that at the same time it will accomplish improved use and preservation of our national resources. It deals with a whole union of values. It is of interest to every conservationist, whether on the farm or in the city, no matter from which part of the old conservation world he emigrated to the one world of today.

Just as truly as it is agricultural, it is urban legislation. As surely as it is a farm bill, it is a beautification bill.

Fortunately for us and those who will live after us, our Nation has the opportunity to choose paths we wish to take toward the future. Despite neglect and waste, we still have tremendous resources. We have a large measure of prosperity. We have pride in our Nation, a feeling of citizenship in the world community, and a sense of stewardship as temporary users of the resources of Creation.

Like those who had the vision and the fortitude to establish this forest preserve district 50 years ago, we today seek to do our bit toward the building of a Great Society.

In this anniversary celebration, we find good cause to take heart. For here we celebrate a triumph of conservation over despoliation, of beauty over ugliness—a triumph of the spirit with which man was endowed by God.

Supplemental Labor Ball Game Not Over

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, I note a number of my colleagues from urban areas recapping some of the successes of the Department of Labor in producing labor for the 1965 harvest season.

Lest we count our chickens before the ball game is over, I wish to remind my colleagues that we are still 45 days away in California from the peak harvest demands for agricultural labor.

Current reports from almost every area in the State are favorable, both with respect to the harvest, labor available, wages, and prices being received by producers.

The following is a recap of the situation in northern California recently filed with the U.S. Department of Labor by Mr. Ruben J. Lopez, secretary-manager of Yolo Growers, Inc.:

STATEMENT TO SUPPORT REQUEST FOR THE USE OF FOREIGN LABOR SUBMITTED BY RUBEN J. LOPEZ, SECRETARY-MANAGER, JULY 12, 1965

A survey concluded on April 24, 1965, indicated that tomato acreage either planted or contemplated by members of our association was down 34 percent from acreage planted in 1964. During this time there was growing concern that supplemental foreign labor might not be available for the coming season, and for this reason growers indicated their reluctance to plant the actual necessary acreage.

Ironically, on this date the Secretary of Labor announced his intention to permit the employment of supplemental foreign workers for the Stockton and Salinas areas. This announcement gave growers the assurance, that by meeting the Secretary of Labor's criteria, they would be permitted the use of supplemental foreign workers. So with this assurance they continued to plant additional acreage to where now the total acreage planted stands at approximately 14,969 known acreage. Last year the total planted acreage for our members was approximately 15,224 or a very slight drop from a year ago. Few machines were used last year so that our labor needs peaked at 6,202 on September 4, 1964. This year, 32 machines will be hopefully used in an effort to harvest approximately 3,200 acres. If all goes well in machine harvesting, our request for supplemental foreign labor will be diminished so that our total need for the remaining acreage will be in the neighborhood of 4,508 workers. An additional 200 workers is hereby requested to meet the needs of harvesting 300 acres of cucumbers for a total request of 4,708 workers.

The number of domestic farmworkers presently employed far exceeds that of any previous year and probably numbers in the neighborhood of 700. Approximately 75 percent of these domestics are so-called green cards who have migrated into our area from Texas and New Mexico. In past years many of these had migrated to other States but due to crop losses in this State have ended up in our backyard. There is no question in our minds that the tremendous publicity given the anticipated labor shortage in California also contributed to this great influx. One would be naive to deny that the raise in wages did not attract at least some of the workers. However, a survey of these workers indicates that only about 70 percent will remain to help us in the harvest of our tomato crop. Many have indicated that they will migrate to areas needing peach and pear pickers. Others, as they have in the past, will travel to areas for the harvest of grapes. This will obviously present a severe shortage of workers for the harvest of the tomato crop.

Since we have experienced this tremendous influx of domestic farmworkers, there has been little need for an intensive recruitment program so far this year. Our growers have, of course, as in past years recruited workers from the skid row areas of Sacramento, both by day hauls and camp jobs. One of our larger labor pools which services approximately 50 growers, has done extensive recruitment on behalf of their members, by means of posters—distributed in Marysville, Sacramento, Yuba City, and Woodland—and radio advertisement. Spot radio announcements started in early May and are still continuing. They have reported good success with this recruitment effort, and this can be attested by the number of domestic farmworkers to be found in the camp. They have consistently averaged from 150 to 200 workers per day. (Copy of spots enclosed.)

In the questionnaire being completed by the individual grower, one will note that many growers did not answer the first question asked. This is due to his past reliance on its parent association or his crew leader for the obtainment of his labor needs. It will be found that traditionally most associations take on the responsibility for the recruitment of domestic farmworkers for its grower members. The reason is obvious. Cost of recruitment, transportation and overall organization can best be handled through one central agency. It also provides the domestic farmworker with a variety of farm jobs, skilled and unskilled, and most important it provides for continuity of employment.

Recruitment of domestic farmworkers is not new to the association. To bear this out I feel compelled to submit a copy of the results of our voluntary recruitment undertaken in 1961, together with an authentic copy of a contract used. The obvious reason for this recruitment effort was an attempt to determine if a reliable labor force could be developed due to the mounting opposition for continued use of supplemental foreign labor. This attempt was later dropped due to the end results of this project. Since 1961, with the cooperation of the California Department of Employment, we have maintained a positive recruiter at their offices in Sacramento for the purpose of employing any qualified domestic farmworkers seeking employment in agriculture. Employment of youths have also been intensified during the past 2 years. We are also

submitting for your information the results of a 15-day day haul out of Sacramento which is self-explanatory.

As to future recruitment plans, we have already advised Mr. Albert Tieburg, director, California Department of Employment of our intention to open an office in Sacramento for the exclusive employment of youths. Since A-teams are not expected to be available from out of State, due to the opening of schools, youths within the State of California will be given an opportunity to harvest tomatoes in this general area. In an effort to attract and hold these youths, some growers have indicated a change in their methods of harvesting. Buckets will be made available by some and others will continue to harvest in boxes, but retain stand-by loaders to stack the boxes as they are filled. This method of harvest, we believe, may attract even housewives, so that perhaps more community efforts will be forthcoming.

We are already in communication with station KKIS, of Pittsburg, Calif., for the purpose of developing some spot announcements as to our labor needs. We expect to contract with local Spanish-speaking radio stations, and of course run advertisements in both Spanish and English newspapers.

As has been the custom in the past, wages for tomato picking will be paid in accordance with the California Tomato Association proposed pay scale. This has been a very successful formula of pay in that it affords a good worker the opportunity to earn 30 to 40 percent above the minimum hourly wage. This year's scale has been revised, as is done every year, and the revision is designed to return qualified domestic farmworkers an average hourly wage of approximately $1.75 per hour, or well above the Secretary of Labor's recommended $1.40 per hour.

No change is contemplated in the payment to loaders at this time. Payment this year will vary from 2 to 3 cents, depending upon size of crew and picking conditions. Loaders, it may be noted, last year averaged in excess of $2.50 per hour, also well above the Secretary of Labor's minimum.

Since cucumbers have not been grown in this area for many years, I am not too familiar with the wage rates to be offered. However, the grower who will need these workers for the harvest of cucumbers has indicated that he will pay his pickers one-half of his gross receipts, or if the prevailing rate is different, he will then comply with this prevailing rate. However, even with the former method of payment, the grower will offer the minimum guarantee of $1.40 per hour.

Housing and transportation has not been a problem area and have always passed our rigid State housing and transportation regulations. Vehicles presently are being inspected by officers of the California Highway Patrol and our housing is being prepared for inspection by the California Housing Authority. However, some growers will provide television and writing facilities as they have in the past, and others who have not had this type of facilities are indicating their intent of doing so. Still others who have adequate grounds will provide athletic equipment, especially as it concerns the employment of youths.

As an association, in addition to recruitment, advertisement, etc., we will travel to other areas where youth are employed to determine what has been done by growers who have been successful in the employment of youths. By so doing, a more successful youth employment program can be developed for the betterment of all concerned.

In short, we are making this urgent plea on behalf of our grower members, because we sincerely feel, from past experience, that sufficient workers will not be available during our peak months of August, September, and October 1965.

The following is a schedule of projected need, as given to us by grower members:

Week:	Number needed
Aug. 1–7	432
Aug. 8–14	645
Aug. 15–21	1,198
Aug. 22–28	775
Aug. 29–Sept. 4	818
Sept. 5–11	210
Sept. 12–18	325
Sept. 19–25	105

Respectfully submitted.

RUBEN J. LOPEZ,
Secretary-Manager,
Yolo Growers, Inc.

NEA Salutes Sisseton, S. Dak., Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article which appeared in the Aberdeen-American News, of Aberdeen, S. Dak., be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD regarding the designation of the Sisseton Public Schools, of Sisseton, S. Dak., as our State's "Pacemaker" in educational improvement in nationwide school recognition sponsored by the National Education Association and Parade, the Sunday newspaper magazine.

This citation was presented at an awards banquet in New York City during the 103d annual NEA convention on June 30. Schools in 46 States, in addition to Sisseton, and the District of Columbia received this award for "leading the way to better education for America's youth."

I salute the educational leaders who have overcome existing obstacles to provide better education for Indian and white children on one of our South Dakota Indian reservations.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SISSETON PUBLIC SCHOOL HAS PACEMAKER HONOR

NEW YORK.—The schools of Sisseton, S. Dak., have been designated as South Dakota's 1965 "Pacemaker" in educational improvement in a nationwide school recognition sponsored by the National Education Association (NEA) and Parade, the Sunday newspaper magazine.

The citation will be presented at an awards luncheon here Wednesday during the 103d annual NEA convention. It recognizes the leadership of Sisseton in developing guidance and remedial reading programs.

Schools or school systems in 46 other States and the District of Columbia, along with the Sisseton schools will receive plaques for "leading the way to better education for America's youth" from Parade Editor Jess Gorkin and NEA President Lois V. Edinger.

The Sisseton school population, like the town's, is about 22 percent Indian. Patrons of three Indian day schools nearby are planning to dissolve their schools and join with Sisseton in an enlarged reorganized district and when that happens the percentage of Indian students will be substantially increased.

A guidance program in high school was begun in Sisseton on an experimental basis 5 years ago, and the remedial reading program began a year earlier.

The guidance counselor, Murdean Olson, had been junior high school English and history teacher before taking on the guidance assignment. He had had some training in the guidance field and is now working toward his master's degree in that subject.

The guidance program is concentrated among 148 students in the seventh and eighth grades. Olson spends one period each week in group counseling in each of five homerooms, aiming to teach topics not covered in the regular curriculum.

The classroom work deals with such matters as health, school, home, getting along with others and getting along with one's self. The course is geared to problem areas discovered in a questionnaire answered by students. Anything that a student thinks is a problem is accepted as suitable material to work with.

Olson has a free period daily for individual conferences with students seeking his advice. Students, in an informal survey, rated the program interesting and valuable and asked for more time in the homeroom guidance classes.

The remedial reading program is conducted in the elementary school by Mrs. Jeanne Westby, who has taken special training in that subject.

Of 255 students tested this year in grades 3 through 6, 72 were found to be in need of remedial reading. Students are grouped into small classes, usually about six, according to their reading achievement, whatever their grade level may be.

A recent test disclosed that the 72 had improved substantially not only in reading, but also in other classroom work.

Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, the President has designated the week of July 18 to July 24 as Captive Nations Week. I should like today to remind the people of the United States and of all the world's free nations that there still exists many states which are under foreign domination; it is the responsibility of all free men to study the plight of these states and to pledge support to all those struggling to become independent.

We are all familiar with the histories of the unfortunate nations which have been subjected to Communist Chinese domination. We recognize Red China's intention to extend the Bamboo Curtain further to include South Vietnam and Laos, and eventually, all southeast Asia. We are aware of their efforts in Africa to take advantage of the unstable political and economic situations of newly independent states and to overthrow the existing governments.

But we have been lulled into ignoring the conditions in the nations of Eastern Europe, lulled by the Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence with the West.

Pleased by advances in our relations with the Soviet Union, we have forgoten that there remain many states under Soviet imperialistic control. Recently, we have begun to detect the enormous tensions that exist today within the Soviet bloc, particularly in southeastern Europe, caused by people who have ceased to be intimidated by Communist techniques and who are now rising to claim autonomy for themselves.

Yet the Iron Curtain is only weaker; it is not yet broken. It still oppressively shuts off many nations, particularly the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Lithuania, for example, a powerful independent state from the Middle Ages until 1775, had long been trying to resist Russian domination. After a too brief period of independence between the two World Wars. and great suffering in World War II, it was reoccupied by the Red army in 1944 and swallowed by the Soviet Union.

The Lithuanians are not voluntary allies of Soviet Russia: even under the terrorist conditions of Communist rule, the farmers of Lithuania in 1949 conducted and organized campaign to resist the collectivization of agriculture. They were punished with mass deportation, the same treatment they were given when the Russians took control in 1944. Soviet techniques in such matters have changed, but Lithuania remains a subject nation, firmly guarded from contacts with the free world or with its Baltic neighbors. Until 1959, no Western observers were permitted there and even today only one city is open to visitors.

It is people such as these in all the captive nations to whom we should extend all possible encouragement, to those who are forced to ignore their nationalist feelings, forced to submit to the rule of an alien people. Mr. Speaker, we, the possessors of the priceless gifts of freedom and democracy, must do all in our power to support the attempt of any people who seek to throw off the yoke of foreign domination.

Walter Lippmann's Tribute to Adlai Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, Walter Lippmann's tribute to Adlai Stevenson, written for Mr. Lippmann's column entitled "Today and Tomorrow," and published in the Washington Post today, is a moving, critical, yet hopeful concept of our country's promise. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I join the distinguished Senator from Kentucky in his request that the article be printed in the RECORD. Like him, I was much impressed, and like him, I believe it is well worthwhile having it placed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TODAY AND TOMORROW—ADLAI STEVENSON

(By Walter Lippmann)

We must wonder whether we have buried with Adlai Stevenson some element of the promise of American life. For in this generation he has stood apart, not only for his deeds and his words and his wit and his lovableness, but as somehow a living specimen of the kind of American that Americans themselves, and the great mass of mankind, would like to think that Americans are.

He was not a common man or a typical American of our times or, indeed, of any other time. But he evoked for us the mystic chords of memory, because he touched again the better angels of our nature. From Lincoln to Adlai Stevenson the heritage is direct and unbroken, a family tradition which began with his great-grandfather. Like Lincoln, he made men feel what this Nation had to be if the American experiment was to succeed. Like Lincoln, he was what the prairies and the New World had made of the educated Englishmen who led this country in the 18th century.

This Lincolnian American is, as compared with Washington or Jefferson, the first authentic American, the new man of the New World. Before Lincoln, the distinguished Americans were transplanted Englishmen. Since Lincoln there has existed the idea of a special American type which is excellent and admirable and holds the promise of a better human future. Adlai Stevenson was a rare, perhaps a late-blooming example of such an American. He was admired by the discerning all over the world and greatly loved. An essential ingredient of the admiration and the love was the knowledge that only Americans could have produced him, and that this revealed what America really was.

The question is now whether this country is still devoted to the American idea which he embodied. No one supposes, of course, that the country can be filled with Stevensons any more than a hundred years ago it was filled with Lincolns; any more than Britain is filled with Churchills. It is only occasionally and for a while that nations are represented by their greatest men. The question is whether in our critical moments the better angels of our nature respond to our authentic ideals.

For there is abroad in this land today a very different spirit contending for the soul of our people. The original American has had for a central idea, as Lincoln said at Gettysburg, that America was an experiment of consequence to all mankind and that, primarily, the influence of America was its example. The new spirit among us is imperious and assumes that our influence is measured by our money and our power.

The struggle between the two spirits has appeared and reappeared throughout our history. But with the enormous and sudden increase of our power and wealth, the stress and strain of the struggle for the American soul has become fierce. It is the uncertainty as to which spirit will prevail that divides, more than tactics or manners or policy, the American people among themselves and from the world around us.

Adlai Stevenson's enemies were not men whom he had injured. He injured no men. His enemies were men who recognized that he did not share and was a living reproach to the new imperiousness of our power and wealth, that he was a deeply established American who had no part in the arrogance of the newly rich and the newly powerful and the newly arrived. His very presence made them uncomfortable, even abashed, all the more because he was so witty when they were so hot, so elegant when they were making a spectacle of themselves.

Shall we see his like again? Or was he the last of his noble breed? On this question hangs the American future. On one course we shall plunge ourselves into the making of a ramshackle empire in an era when no empire can long survive, and we shall wave the flag to cover our spiritual nakedness.

Or, we shall, as Adlai Stevenson would have done, remain true to our original loyalty, and transcending assertiveness, vulgar ambition, and the seductions of power, we shall make this country not only great and free but at peace with its own conscience.

Big City Poor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, Walter Rugaber, Detroit Free Press writer, has written a series of five articles on the problems confronting the poor of Detroit. The second article follows:

POVERTY'S PORTRAIT IS DULL BLUR OF BOREDOM, DESPAIR

(By Walter Rugaber)

(NOTE.—Who are the poor? What are some of the sights and sounds of the areas in which they live? For 2 weeks Free Press Staff Writer Walter Rugaber lived in one of Detroit's poor neighborhoods. This, the second in a series of five articles, is a tour of part of the area and an introduction to some of the people he met there.)

With synchronized signals and light traffic, you can drive from the advanced architecture at Wayne State University to the spreading water elms about Cass Park in a couple of blurred minutes.

In between there is only the confused, uncertain mish-mash of Third Avenue. Even if you are more watchful that most, the brisk ride can scarcely project more than a surrealistic portrait of decay and poverty:

The old men in an endless shuffle past the array of bars and laundromats and cheap hamburger joints.

The young-old women, fat and staring, perched on the stoops of grimy tenements while their children ride tricycles over the broken sidewalks.

The signs: Work Pants 25 cents. Get Right With God. We Accept Food Stamps. Apartment for Rent. Special Rates for Pensioners. Beer and Wine To Go.

I saw all this up close during the 3 weeks I lived on Third Avenue gathering information for this series of articles on the poor in Detroit.

But the obvious scenes that passersby remember were almost immediately forgotten. I began to overlook them as the switch from tourist to resident took hold.

The everyday realities were much less picturesque.

I found that even the superficial features of my new neighborhood are interpreted—like a modern painting—in different ways by different people.

The outsider, even the rather perceptive man once a resident of the area, has a less urgent, less focused view than the man—or woman—who lives there today.

The growing isolation of the poor—the absence these days of much real contact with the middle class—is reflected in the casual generalization of an outsider who believes he knows what the area is really like.

I asked a man who once lived there just what he thought of the neighborhood today.

"Well, I don't know," he said, "(the people who lived there then) just seemed to be in a better bracket than the ones there now."

Every now and then, on his way in to the Masonic Temple, he turns off the freeway just to see how the old neighborhood looks.

"Oh boy," he said, "it's pitiful."

It's pitiful all right, and especially for the people who live there.

This is a story of how a poor neighborhood looks when you're on the inside and can't get out.

The people I met there faced—every day—the things that make their neighborhood "pitiful."

Some of them get to know those things pretty well.

Stella knew them very well.

The area's decline was real to Stella—first because she had had four or five beers already, and second because she still lives not far from the building the former resident abandoned a long time ago.

Stella is short, neatly dressed, and a respectable 58—there are thousands like her at any Hudson's sale. Her language is terrible, but that's to be expected in her part of town.

She is very proper and polite, and comes to the tavern around the corner more to chat with her friends than to drink beer. Her observations were detailed and tell volumes.

"It ain't the prostitutes so much. You know, there are a lot of prostitutes that are maybe better than you and me—at least they'll take care of you sometimes when nobody else will.

"The ones you got to watch out for are the thieves. If you look like you got anything you better watch it. One of these winos will bump you from behind and another one will bump you from the front. And before you know it, they've got it.

"They can cut your whole hip pocket off before you know it. Don't ever carry nothing in your back pocket. Oh, some tobacco if you want; let them get that and smoke it.

"But if you've got any money, the best thing to do is throw it down the front of your shirt and belt it. Belt it so it won't fall out. That's the best place.

"This is a rough damn place to live. You've got to watch yourself."

The area bounded by Woodward, Third, Willis, and Ledyard must be one of the most polyglot neighborhoods in the city.

There are whites and Negroes and Orientals, migrants from the South and second-generation Poles, hopeless derelicts and proud old men.

Traditionally, this is where the newcomer settles and tries on the city for size. Often, if it fits, he moves somewhere else.

Burton Elementary School has one of the heaviest turnover rates in Detroit. It averages 100 percent every year. But that means half the school turns over twice.

The other half stays put. People who think that nobody endures the area for long are mistaken. I met a woman who has lived in one of its worst tenements for 23 years.

There are plenty like her, although most of them move from one apartment building in the area to another as rents or friendships change.

There are Negroes living here and there throughout the neighborhood, but there is a kind of segregation-by-building and few Negroes, if any, live in buildings occupied by whites.

One woman explained: "A lot of the places around here won't put out vacancy signs because that's the only way they have of keeping out the colored."

The racial attitudes were summed up this way:

"The older colored are all right. They don't bother you a bit.

"If one of them comes in here (a tavern) and sits down beside you, he won't say nothing unless you say something to him first. The older ones are all right.

"It's these younger ones, these young punks. They're the ones that are causing all the trouble. They don't give a damn about nothing."

The area is, all in all, a boring place.

The men you see ceaselessly walking the streets do so only because they lack something more entertaining to do. They're not really going anywhere.

Most of them shun their rooms as much as they can, and after just one day in the area I could understand why: They are depressing at best, and about the most exciting activity is slapping cockroaches.

Few of the nicer places will accept children. The landlords complain that they scrawl on the walls, whoop up and down the corridors, and make life miserable for everyone except their parents.

The tenements that do rent to families with children are almost always the worse for it. In addition to the noise and destruction, it complicates everyday life. A set of rules in the lobby of one building warned:

"If you are going to sit around in your underwear, don't leave your door open so children can see in."

The absence of churches is quite noticeable. There was an old church on the east side of Cass Park that offered people a dry porch when it rained, but it's been torn down.

There are a striking number of dogs. The older people have found the animals to be good company and good protection. They also help to fill the hours.

"Sometimes he (the dog) has to go out at 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning," one woman told me. "But it isn't as bad as you might think.

"I've found I can take him out and walk him around the block and then come back and be tired enough to sleep most of the rest of the morning."

The bars are some relief, but too many seem just alike. You can walk out of one and into another without, I'm sure, missing a single note from the raucous juke boxes.

In one establishment I saw a waitress empty an ashtray by tossing its contents on the floor.

In another I saw a bartender take a used glass from the bar, plunge it out of sight for an instant (presumably into a sink), and return it to a tray of "clean" ones.

At a table on the other side of the room a customer was hacking loudly and spitting repeatedly on the floor.

In most places it's possible to have a quiet glass of beer, watch television, complain to the bartender, and debate with friends. Once I heard someone say indignantly:

"We asked the British to help us out in Vietnam, and that British senator—what was his name?—anyway, he told us to go to hell."

At some of the bars the customers seemed nearly outnumbered by prostitutes, and at others the neighborhood trade abandoned the field to the derelicts.

The most hopeless creature I saw in the neighborhood was a woman named Sarah. She was perched on a bench in Cass Park with two empty quart-size beer bottles beside her and a third in her hand.

She talked to herself in a steady and obscene monotone that was mostly gibberish. Once she waved her beer bottle languidly and announced:

"I—been—sittin' here—all—day."

Sarah was of indeterminate age, and while she might once have been a reasonably handsome woman, she was a dead end mess when I saw her.

She was dressed in a tattered print dress that fell well below the knees, and over it she wore a man's suit coat. Her hair was matted and stringy.

In a side pocket of the suit coat Sarah kept a bottle opener on a string. Periodically, and without looking down, she would produce the opener and another quart of beer from a seemingly inexhaustible sack beside her.

When something in the park caught her attention, Sarah would snap out of her reverie with surprising ease. Once, when a boy of about 7 walked by, she stopped him and, in a melodic voice said:

"How many shoes did you shine today? (There was no visible evidence that the boy had shined any.) Only two? that's too bad. Well, maybe you'll do better tomorrow."

aLter when a man in very dark glasses and carrying a white cane came past, Sarah looked at him in disgust.

"You ain't blind," she sneered. "You ain't blind."

He wasn't.

Suddenly, without getting up or even interrupting her disjointed muttering, she urinated. The urine ran down through the slats of the bench and splashed onto the ground while all the people nearby tried to look away.

A man who lit her cigarette and seemed to be an acquaintance asked Sarah where she was living.

"Here," she told him. "In the park."

"That's too bad," the man said.

"No, no," she said firmly. "There's worse."

Only the hard-core alcoholics take their plight so casually.

More typical was a 57-year-old man whose name I never knew.

He wore a light brown sweater over a starched white shirt and one of those wide-brimmed hats like the ones popular with cops on postmidnight television.

Once he worked as a bookkeeper in one of the biggest banks in Chicago. Later he lived in one of the nicer sections of northwest Detroit.

In 1952, his only child, a 23-year-old son, was shot down on a mission during the Korean war. He still remembers the date the telegram arrived, for that was the beginning of disaster.

His wife, hit hard by the tragedy, started drinking heavily and eventually jumped from a tall building. He lost his job, and has been looking for another one ever since.

For a time he lived at the Salvation Army Mission. "The people there were very kind," he said. They gave him good food and clean clothes and $5 a week to work in one of their stores.

Still, he didn't stay there long. For one thing, he said, "a little church does any man good, but not all the time. They want you to go all the time."

Mainly, though, $3 isn't much money and certainly not enough for him to ever regain his former eminence, not even "if I worked there all the rest of my life."

So, a couple of weeks before I met him he struck off on his own. He had picked up an occasional odd job—landscaping, wall washing, painting—but it wasn't enough.

When I talked with him he had $1.84 and was trying to sell an old overcoat ("I bet I haven't worn that coat more than half a dozen times") for enough to pay his rent.

The $1.84, he said, was needed for cigarettes and a glass or two of beer in the evening. The extravagance kept him civilized. I was about to ask him if he ought not to save the money to eat on when he said:

"If you stay away from the restaurants you can eat pretty cheap. I go over and get me a couple of those little cans of pork and beans and have one in the morning and one at night.

"It's not so bad, really. I get a bottle of catsup to put on them and that makes them

go down a lot better than they would by themselves."

He said he liked to go into a bar every day around 5 o'clock to watch a travel program on television. When I said I had never seen it, he enthusiastically described one of two recent programs.

It made his whole face brighten, and for a minute I could see what a supremely happy guy he once had been.

I asked him if he didn't have some relatives who might be able to help him.

Yes, he said, there was a brother in business outstate and a sister married to a successful physician.

"But I don't want them to know—you know, that I'm like this. When I see them again I want to be fixed up nice and have some money in my pockets."

Later, after I moved out of the neighborhood, I tried to trace him through his hotel. The lady manager said it was impossible.

"There are lots of guys like that down here," she said. "How do I know which one you mean?"

Undocument Charge Against the American Friends Service Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, last week the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, of which I am a member, published a study which impugned the integrity and the loyalty of the American Friends Service Committee. This study, written by a French journalist, accused the American Friends Service Committee of being "well known as a transmission belt for the Communist apparatus." I issued a statement at that time in which I condemned this reckless charge against one of our Nation's finest humanitarian organizations. I ask unanimous consent that my statement, an editorial on this matter which appeared in the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin of July 16, 1965, and a statement by Mr. Colin W. Bell, executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, be inserted in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and statement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HUGH SCOTT

A study of "Techniques of Soviet Propaganda" just issued by the chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, of which I am a member, gives what I believe to be a shocking description of the American Friends Service Committee. The author, Suzanne Labin, describes this humanitarian organization, whose record of good works needs no elaboration by me, as being "well known as a transmission belt for the Communist apparatus."

I do not always share the views of the American Friends Service Committee. But I cannot stand silently by in the face of this unfortunate and undocumented charge contained in a study issued by a subcommittee of which I am a member.

The views expressed in this study are not the views of the subcommittee as a whole because the subcommittee as a whole did not confer on the study's release. They are essentially the views of Mrs. Labin.

MCCARTHYITE REPORT

A 1958 Bulletin editorial said of the American Friends Service Committee: "It can get in with its ministrations where many other organizations cannot penetrate because it is well known to have no political objectives. It is one organization nobody wants to investigate—it operates in a goldfish bowl."

Now somebody has "investigated" the AFSC, if it can be called that. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has put out a 64-page report dealing with Communists and propaganda. One undocumented paragraph in it makes out that the American Friends Service Committee is "a transmission belt for the Communist apparatus."

The paragraph says the AFSC "shelters half the pacifist groups." Lest there be any doubt, the AFSC is a pacifist organization. It has been devoted to the cause of peace since its founding. It denies "sheltering" any organization. But what does the charge mean, anyway? There's no explanation.

One Marion Miller, a former FBI undercover agent in the Communist Party, is quoted as having testified that "much of the propaganda literature of the Peace Committee was writen within and distributed by this AFSC, well known as a transmission belt for the Communist apparatus."

Miss Miller's testimony is well known to the AFSC. She related that Communists used AFSC literature in the early 1950's because of the respectability of the AFSC and its separation from the Communists. The AFSC brought all its major publications of that time to her and asked her to identify the one or ones that had been so used and she could not, says Colin Bell, AFSC executive secretary.

The service committee believes it possible that some Communist-connected group could have used its literature. It doesn't know one way or the other. Neither, apparently, does the Senate subcommittee, or it would have said so. Even if this could be proved, however, what would it tell us about the AFSC? It would simply prove that Communists use other people's pacifist literature.

Innuendo-laden charges of the sort found in the subcommittee report deserve the most meticulous documentation. None is supplied. The result is the McCarthyite smearing of an honorable organization.

STATEMENT OF COLIN W. BELL

A report of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, whose chairman is Senator EASTLAND of Mississippi, has just been published. It is entitled, "Techniques of Soviet Propaganda," and is written by a French journalist, Suzanne Labin, who is a writer of anti-Communist books.

One small paragraph of this 64-page report impugns the integrity and the loyalty of the American Friends Service Committee, which the author states is "well known as a transmission belt for the Communist apparatus." This charge is completely untrue and undocumented.

The AFSC was formed in 1917 by a group of distinguished members of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers). It is a corporation of over 200 Quakers drawn from many of the society's yearly meetings across the country, and controlled by a board of 55 Friends, though it is not an organ of any one yearly meeting.

For 300 years Quakers have prayed and worked and witnessed for the nonviolent ordering of human society, and have done so out of deep religious conviction concerning the nature of the Christian message. That we have failed so far is evidenced by history, but history has also recognized the sincerity of our belief and much of what Friends have stood for in the past has now been accepted by society.

The AFSC is an emanation of these religious convictions. We have tried to heal the tragedies caused by war in a great number of countries for 48 years. Our only criterion in relief work has been dire human need, and we have been and are supported in this work by countless Americans of many faiths. Although carried out in situations of grave political tension, we have never to our knowledge caused offense to the governments of countries in which we work, or to our own Government, to which we have always related openly and harmoniously through succeeding administrations.

But it is basic to our beliefs that we are impelled to try to prevent the breakdowns into violence which cause human suffering and degeneration of soul. Violence begins in the hearts of men and takes many forms—greed, tyranny, social injustice, racial and religious prejudice, the denial of rights and the forfeiture of responsibilities. These are our problems, and the problems of our fellow men, and many of our programs in this country and elsewhere are disinterested efforts to involve ourselves and others in human betterment, in the establishment of just conditions for all, and in a greater understanding of the common dilemmas of men.

We believe that a citizen's deepest spiritual insights form the true basis on which he may know how best to serve his own country and all men. Many among us are pacifists; that is, we do not believe that violence, of which war is the ultimate expression, can achieve the good life and the freedom of spirit to which all men have the right. Insofar as the violence in our own natures allows, we must witness to that belief. In a world such as we now live in, the moral dilemmas of the pacifist are very great. Perhaps they are only exceeded by the moral dilemmas of the nonpacifist.

When we speak, write, or distribute literature, we do so under our own banner. We expect there have been occasions in nearly 50 years when others over whom we have no control and with whom we have no relationship have used our material to their own ends.

We have no activities to hide from anyone who genuinely seeks to know the truth, and we are neither beholden to nor affiliated with any group, party, or movement in ways that are not open for all to see.

We do believe that where there are gulfs of hatred, misunderstanding, cruelty, ignorance, prejudice, indifference, or absence of normal human relations, it is both a religious and a democratic duty for men to seek ways of bridging those gulfs. We have not deviated from this concern, although in the vicissitudes of history our aims have often been misunderstood. We have been called, at different times, adherents of the "America First" concept when we advocated noninvolvement in war; unpatriotic when we opposed universal military training; pro-Japanese when we worked for justice for Japanese-Americans; pro-German when we fed German children; pro-Communist when we seek to understand the minds of those from whom we are estranged by an ideology in many ways utterly alien to our hopes for the ordering of human affairs.

We do not accept at all the concept that ideological opponents have a diabolical cunning against which our citizens have no intellectual defense or spiritual stamina, and we consider that this concept subverts the vigor of our democratic processes. Indeed, we have faith in the constructive results which can flow from real communication across barriers; and the higher the barrier the greater the need.

We shall have to bear this situation today as we have in the past. We expect to support and work with and for our Government, as we always have done, and are now doing (in numbers of our programs). We expect to make clear and open criticism of national policies whenever it seems right, and therefore truly patriotic, to do so. And we expect to continue following the same cause though

the tides of history and the moods of men change their allegiances, their fears, and their hopes.

We are weak and fallible humans, and we make mistakes as all others do, but we are not ignorant of the world and its ways, we are not seeking our own benefit at the expense of others, and we are free to do our best as God helps us to do it.

Results of a Public Opinion Survey Taken in North Carolina's Eighth Congressional District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I am including the results of my annual public opinion survey among residents of the Eighth Congressional District of North Carolina.

I would like to express appreciation to all those who took the trouble to inform me of their stands on some of the important issues before this session of Congress. A total of 12,067 persons completed questionnaires and mailed them to my Washington office—a return of approximately 12 percent. Although this is a somewhat smaller percentage return than last year, considering that this is a nonelection year I am highly pleased with the interest demonstrated by Eighth District residents in national issues.

One especially gratifying aspect of this year's questionnaire is that so many persons—I would estimate a majority—added comments elaborating their views on one or more of the questions or on some other issue of concern to them.

Some of the questions, current when they were drawn up and when the majority of questionnaires were filled out, have been resolved by action in Congress. Nonetheless, I think the attitude expressed by the citizens of my district on these questions is worth noting. It is my judgment that the response recorded here is a fair reflection of the thinking of Eighth District residents. Questionnaires were mailed to the broadest possible cross section of district residents.

The answers were tabulated by Data Management, Inc., of Washington, D.C., by the use of data-processing equipment.

I am listing below the questions asked, the total number of replies received to each question, and a percentage figure for each answer. Before submitting this listing I would like to call particular attention to certain of the results.

For instance, the returned questionnaires reveal broad support for continuation of legislation designed to eliminate the advantage foreign firms once enjoyed under the two-price cotton system. At the same time, a majority of those responding—52.7 percent—do not favor continuing the present farm support programs, while 27.1 percent would continue them.

I think it is interesting to note that Federal aid to education on the elementary and secondary level, with provisions for some forms of assistance to nonpublic schools, was disapproved by Eighth District residents by a 2-to-1 margin, 62.7 percent opposed and 29.8 percent favoring.

The question receiving the clearest expression of opinion has to do with the United Nations financial crisis. Almost 84 percent of those responding feel this country should insist that all nations meet their financial obligations, even to the point where nations in arrears might withdraw. Only 9.3 percent opposed this position while 6.8 percent of those returning the questionnaire expressed no opinion one way or the other.

I would point out with regard to the question on Vietnam that most of the questionnaire responses were made in March, before the tempo of our involvement increased to the extent we know it today. I would interpret the results to mean that residents of my district give considerable support to the President's increased use of American power to halt Communist aggression in South Vietnam.

While the original medicare bill has been much modified already by Congress, it is worth noting that the administration bill first introduced this year received support from only 10.3 percent of those answering my question about health care for the elderly.

On one of the major legislative battles shaping up for this session, the proposed repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, Eighth District residents have a clear opinion. Those responding to this question opposed repeal of this section which permits right-to-work laws, such as North Carolina has adopted, by a 5-to-1 margin. Fifteen percent would repeal the section while 75.1 percent oppose repeal and 9.9 percent expressed no opinion.

Residents of the Eighth District split almost evenly on the controversy about the apportionment of State legislatures. While 43.8 percent would approve a constitutional amendment permitting States, with the voters' approval, to apportion one house of the legislature on factors in addition to population, 42.6 percent oppose this. Another 13.6 percent did not reply.

In view of my long-standing campaign to induce the Federal Government to take steps to reduce the national debt and the resulting interest burden, I naturally was pleased that 81.3 percent of those replying to my questions on this subject are alarmed about the continuing debt increases. Only 6 percent say they are unworried while another 9.5 percent would have the Government spend without reference to the size of the debt. Just 3.2 percent had no opinion on this question.

Following are the questions asked in my 1965 poll and the response received, by numbers and percentages:

1. Do you favor continuing present programs of price supports and acreage controls?

	Percent
Yes (3,266)	27.1
No (6,356)	52.7
No answer (2,445)	20.2

2. Do you favor extending existing legislation designed to eliminate the two-price cotton system?

	Percent
Yes (6,552)	54.2
No (2,354)	19.6
No answer (3,161)	26.2

3. Do you favor the President's proposal to authorize production and marketing limits of tobacco on an "acreage-poundage" basis?

	Percent
Yes (3,063)	25.3
No (5,577)	46.3
No answer (3,427)	28.4

4. The President has recommended an appropriation of $1 billion to provide assistance to public elementary and secondary schools serving "children of low-income families," with a requirement that in order to receive funds school districts must have provision for shared use of their facilities and special educational services by children who attend nonpublic as well as public schools. He has also recommended grants to the States for the purchase of textbooks, library books, and instructional materials for use by children who attend both public and nonpublic schools. Do you favor these proposals?

	Percent
Yes (3,589)	29.8
No (7,568)	62.7
No answer (910)	7.5

5. Do you think the United States should seek to expand trade with Communist countries?

	Percent
Yes (3,204)	26.6
No (7,783)	64.4
No answer (1,080)	9.0

6. Should the United States insist that all nations discharge their financial obligations to the United Nations even if it results in the withdrawal of those nations in arrears?

	Percent
Yes (10,120)	83.9
No (1,126)	9.3
No answer (821)	6.8

7. With respect to South Vietnam, do you think the United States should (choose one):

(a) Continue as at present? (558), 4.6 percent.

(b) Extend the war as necessary to halt the flow of supplies and materals to the Vietcong? (6,690), 55.4 percent.

(c) Seek a negotiated peace? (3,236), 26.8 percent.

(d) Withdraw U.S. troops from South Vietnam? (910), 7.5 percent.

No answer (673), 5.7 percent.

8. Indicate which of the following plans under consideration in Congress you prefer:

(a) The "medicare" plan would provide limited hospital and posthospital care (in a nursing home affiliated with a hospital), outpatient diagnostic services and home visits by a nurse to all persons 65 and over regardless of need. This plan would be financed by increased social security taxes on workers, employers, and self-employed, and by raising the taxable base from $4,800 to $5,600. (1,237), 10.3 percent.

(b) The "eldercare" plan would provide private health insurance policies, on a voluntary basis, to persons 65 and over, covering hospitalization, nursing home care, doctor and surgeon bills and medicine. This program is, in effect, an expansion of Kerr-Mills assistance under which policyholders would pay all, part, or none of the premiums depending on their income and with deficits made up out of Federal-State matching funds from general revenues: (9,892), 82 percent; no answer (938), 7.7 percent.

9. In his state of the Union message the President stated: "As pledged in our 1960 and 1964 (Democratic) platforms I will propose to Congress changes in the Taft-Hartley Act including 14(b)." Section 14(b) is the one which authorizes States to enact right-to-work laws. Do you favor repeal of section 14(b)?

	Percent
Yes (1,815)	15.0
No (9,067)	75.1
No answer (1,185)	9.9

10. The present immigration laws are based upon a national origins quota system. The President has proposed to change this by substituting a system under which first preference will be granted immigrants with needed skills without requiring that they have an employer here before they can enter, second preference to persons with close relatives who are citizens or permanent residents of the United States, and to admit others in the order of their applications. Do you favor this change in our immigration laws?

	Percent
Yes (4,473)	37.1
No (6,489)	53.8
No answer (1,105)	9.1

11. Do you favor a proposed constitutional amendment permitting States, subject to approval by the voters, to apportion one house of the legislature on factors in addition to population (such as geography)?

	Percent
Yes (5,279)	43.8
No (5,136)	42.6
No answer (1,652)	13.6

12. The national debt, which now requires 12.3 percent of the net budget receipts for the annual interest payments has increased in recent years as follows: January 1961, $290 billion; January 1962, $296 billion; January 1963, $304 billion; January 1964, $309 billion; January 1965, $319 billion. Please answer one of the following:

(a) Are you alarmed at this trend? (9,816), 81.3 percent.

(b) Are you unworried about it? (720), 6 percent.

(c) Do you think Government spending should be increased without reference to the size of the debt? (1,144), 9.5 percent.

No answer (387), 3.2 percent.

Confidence for Rent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the National Observer of July 19, 1965:

CONFIDENCE FOR RENT

Rent subsidies soon will become part of the seemingly endless bounty the Federal Government will provide for one group of citizens at the expense of others.

The scheme, approved last week by the Senate and previously by the House, thrusts the Government into a new mode of social assistance. It calls in part for payments to families with incomes the Government decides are low, who have been living in housing the Government decides is substandard.

As in all such schemes, bureaucratic arbitrariness is built in. Two people, for example, who earn no more than $2,400 would be eligible for rent benefits in Port Arthur, Tex., but a couple in Boston could earn as much as $4,400 and still be eligible. Neither would get a cent of course, if their income exceeded the prescribed Government "ceiling" for the area by even a dollar a year.

Whimsical as such standards are bound to be, they are no less fanciful than the figuring on what this new venture will cost. The administration originally had asked $200 million for a 4-year program; when it appeared the Congress would balk, the word went out that a mere $150 million would do. That's really only the start. One of the jokers is that the Government is authorized to enter into 40-year contracts with private builders to construct housing for families eligible for rent subsidies. So the 4-year program is, in truth, a 40-year commitment.

Some people may benefit from this program, if being kept by the Government can be counted as a benefit. For ourselves, we have known too many men from simple and humble surroundings who have managed by their own efforts to improve their station. They made it themselves and thereby acquired what no government can ever subsidize: A confidence in their own abilities to take care of themselves and their families.

Let's Talk "Cents" About Bread

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL C. JONES

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, one of the best, most logical and commonsense articles I have read, and which answers those critics of the pending farm bill, who have conjured up the false propaganda embodied in the so-called bread tax argument, appeared in the July 1965 issue of the Missouri Farmer. The article was written by Mr. Fred V. Heinkel, president of the Missouri Farmers Association, one of the recognized leaders in American agriculture, who asks the pertinent question, "How could an increase of less than a penny in the price of wheat result in a bread tax of 2 cents?"

Under leave to extend my remarks I am including the article referred to:

LET'S TALK "CENTS" ABOUT BREAD

(By F. V. Heinkel)

Rallying around the battle cry of "bread tax," those opposed to new wheat legislation have organized to arouse public opinion against the farm bill.

The lobbying group, called the Wheat Users Committee, consists mostly of the giant corporations who dominate the bakery industry in this country. Among the companies supporting the move are National Biscuit, Pillsbury, Ralston Purina, Kellogg, and Sunshine Biscuits. Also two large bakery employee unions are backing the committee.

Their story is that proposed wheat legislation to increase the price of wheat sold domestically would tax the consumer—2 cents on every loaf of bread, they claim. They've used this to set up several scarecrows—that this will work a hardship on low-income families, will decrease the consumption of wheat, is a subsidy for a few big farmers—to help frighten and pressure consumers and Congressmen.

Whether these false alarms will have any effect is open to question. But farmers ought to get hoppin' mad about it.

One of the amazing tricks about this carnival act is the 2-cents-a-loaf bit. Proposed legislation would raise the cost of domestic wheat about 55 cents per bushel. Because of the other ingredients in bread, it doesn't take a pound of wheat to make a pound of bread. So the increased cost as a result of new legislation could not amount to more than a penny.

Then where does the "2 cents" come from? This is a question this group had better prepare to answer. And while they are at it, they may want to reveal just what costs make up the price of a loaf of bread. I doubt they'll be anxious to do this, though, for the records verify that the price of wheat has had little to do with the price of bread.

This seems strange at first, for what is bread if it isn't wheat and a little eggs, sugar, and yeast.

Well, the facts are that the ingredients are only a small part of what goes into a loaf of bread. The big cost is in the services involved—the baking, packaging, transporting—and the margins taken along the way.

Here's a table that shows how the costs build up after the wheat leaves the farm:

[Cents per pound loaf of bread]

	1947–49	1950	1955	1960	1965 [1]
Farm value:					
Wheat	2.7	2.5	2.7	2.3	2.7
All ingredients	3.3	3.0	3.2	2.9	3.3
Baker's cost:					
Flour	3.5	3.4	4.0	3.9	4.1
All ingredients	5.1	4.7	5.4	5.3	5.5
Wholesale price	10.8	11.4	14.6	16.5	17.0
Retail price	12.7	13.5	16.8	19.5	21.0
Marketing spread	10.0	11.0	14.1	17.2	18.3

[1] January through March.

Notice that back in 1947–49 the retail price of a loaf of bread was only 12.7 cents. The farm value of the wheat in that loaf was 2.7 cents. It's still 2.7 cents. But the price to the consumer—to the low-income family the Wheat Users Committee is so concerned about—has climber to 21 cents. That is an 80-percent increase, or an average of more than 4 percent per year.

The spread between the cost of ingredients to the baker and the price to the wholesaler (grocer) has increased from about 6 cents in 1947–49 to 11.5 cents in the first quarter of this year.

That is a 100-percent increase.

The margin between the cost to the wholesaler and the price received from the consumer moved up from about 2 cents in 1947–49 to 4 cents this year.

That is a 100-percent increase.

Average hourly pay of bakery workers increased from $1.15 in 1947–49 to $2.33 (in 1963). And that is a 100 percent increase, too.

It isn't hard to see what's really behind the trumped-up charges of this group. These interests have been smarting over the progress made in stabilizing wheat production and improving farm income. They'd like to see farm programs tossed out the window. But if that doesn't happen, then they have established an excuse for a 2-cent price hike in bread.

One thing is most apparent. They are no friends of the wheat grower. And this is a shame. Agri-business is quite willing to be referred to as a partner of farmers when praise is forthcoming about the wonderful performance of American agriculture. But when they engage in such shenanigans as this, their fangs show.

Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES M. HANLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, it is in the nature of things that from time to time, men of prominence and renown pass from the national and world scene. On such occasions, it is traditional for Members to speak in praise of the accomplishments of the well-known figure and to lament his loss. Too often, in the sadness of the moment, we are given to somewhat overstating the importance and influence the individual had on events and the times in which he lived. However, in a few rare instances, when one of the greatest of men passes from our midst, attempts at exaggerating his importance and influence would be superfluous since a simple recounting of his life and deeds is sufficient to remind us of the loss that is ours because of his death. Such is the case today when we are called upon to observe the passing on Wednesday last of Adlai Stevenson, of Illinois.

When the history of this generation is written, the words and achievements of Adlai Stevenson are destined to be looked upon as the accomplishments of one of the truly great men of our time. Then, when lesser men who have imposed themselves on the center of the world stage have been forgotten, Adlai Stevenson will still be remembered.

Born into a heritage of public service, with a former Vice President of the United States as a grandfather, and a father who served as secretary of the Illinois State Senate, Governor Stevenson continued an admirable family tradition and devoted his life to the service of his State, Nation, and fellow man. His public career spanned more than three decades, beginning with his appointment as Special Counsel to the Agriculture Adjustment Agency in 1933 and continuing until the time of his death on a London sidewalk a few days ago. In each of the positions in which he was called upon to serve, Governor Stevenson did so with the dignity and grace that earned him the respect and admiration of friend and foe alike.

Of all the titles Mr. Stevenson held by virtue of his numerous positions, he was proudest of being called Governor—for, as he said, a Governor is elected by the people. His respect for and faith in the people never faltered and his every action seemed to be done with the understanding that their well-being was the primary objective of a democratic society.

When the people called, Adlai Stevenson answered. His administration of the Illinois statehouse was such an impressive display of leadership and competence that Governor Stevenson achieved national recognition, culminating in his nomination for the Presidency of the United States. Although he received less votes than his opponent each time he ran, his electoral defeats were not necessarily losses.

One of Governor Stevenson's greatest talents was his facility with words. During his two presidential campaigns, he used this talent to raise the dialog of American politics to new heights in the tradition of Lincoln and Wilson, two of his personal heroes. His refusal to "talk down" to the American people caused him to be criticized in many quarters. But his faith in the intelligence and integrity of the American people as well as his own personality made him willing to accept the possibility of losing some votes rather than sacrifice his belief that in a system such as ours, where the people ultimately decide who shall lead, candidates for office should inform as well as cajole the electorate. For Governor Stevenson was a man of the people, although not one of them—no great man ever is. By definition, he stands apart and above the rest.

Although he wasn't given the opportunity to serve in the highest office in the land, Governor Stevenson continued to exercise a significant influence on the affairs of this Nation. In the years when he was without an official position, Adlai Stevenson spoke out on the great issues facing our country with such eloquence and clarity that his words and ideas were listened to and admired by leaders throughout the world.

When John Fitzgerald Kennedy ascended to the Presidency, Governor Stevenson was again called upon to serve in an official capacity. As Ambassador to the United Nations for the past 4½ years, he served with unexcelled distinction and honor. In most instances, a man is elevated by the institution of which he becomes a part, but in this case, the man brought greater prestige to an already prestigeous organization merely by his participation in it.

Throughout his life, Adlai Stevenson championed the cause of peace. It is indeed fitting that he should spend what turned out to be his last year leading his country's delegation in an organization who primary objective is the preservation of peace in the world. America and the world will be forever in his debt for his indefatigable efforts in behalf of such a noble cause.

Over the entrance to the National Cathedral where the Governor's body lay in state while in Washington was the inscription, "The Man of Peace". This seemed most fitting as a description of the character of this truly universal man who now has become part of the history he played so great a role in shaping.

Tocks Island On the Horizon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Record, of Hackensack, N.J., one of my State's leading newspapers, has recognized the great possibilities that now loom through House approval of the Tocks Island National Recreation Area. So that my colleagues can learn of the great benefit that is anticipated through this action I would like to insert at this point an editorial that recently appeared in that newspaper:

OUT ON THE HORIZON THAT'S NO MIRAGE

Let there be cheers for the House of Representatives passing a bill authorizing $56 million to develop 60,000 acres of land in northwest New Jersey and eastern Pennsylvania as a national recreation area. Such a major recreation resource in Bergen County's backyard, so to speak, can make accessible immense benefits to the county and the cities and counties in surrounding areas. It will mean swimming, boating, picnicking, fishing, and camping facilities available to 30 million persons within 75 miles of the Delaware Water Gap.

Planning for development of the Delaware River Basin has been late and slow, beginning in 1961, when Congress gave consent to an interstate and Federal compact creating a regional commission administering the water resources of the basin. Part of the commission's plan for developing the area called for a dam 5 miles north of the Delaware Water Gap, which would create a 37-mile man-made lake—the Tocks Island Reservoir—suitable for recreational uses. The Army Corps of Engineers, which will manage the construction of the dam, would acquire the land and transfer a portion to the reservoir. The area embodies about 50 natural lakes.

The project spells boom for Passaic, Morris, and Sussex Counties. Already a congressional committee has been urged to investigate the skyrocketing price of land in the area, especially land that might be acquired for the recreation site. Land values in surrounding areas in Pennsylvania are reported going up.

Tocks Island will be reached easily on completion of Route 80 from the George Washington Bridge to the Delaware Water Gap. But that superhighway may be overcrowded, as have been other highways, the day it opens, especially if the day is fine. One-sixth of the Nation's population lives within a 2-hour drive—100 miles—of the area. A third—63 million—lives within a day's drive. Communities, counties, and States should be thinking now about access to the area, about land for highways. The Garden State Parkway 10 years ago made the New Jersey shore easily accessible to millions. But any weekend now the road is clogged and traffic crawls at 20 miles an hour on a highway designed to handle normal flow at 60.

Development of the 40-mile Tocks Island area is going to be an economic boon, but it also is going to call for careful planning, and it's none too early to begin thinking about this. The project will be ready in 10 years. By that time millions will have been added to the population in the metropolitan area. There will be more older people and more younger people and more people with more leisure time. They'll be heading for Tocks Island. It will be ready for them. Shall we be ready for it?

Uniformed Services Pay Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. J. OLIVA HUOT

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday July 19, 1965

The House Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under con-

sideration the bill (H.R. 9075) to amend title 37, United States Code, to increase the rates of basic pay for members of the uniformed services.

Mr. HUOT. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 9075, legislation I consider essential to restore financial security to our servicemen in uniform. The Committee on Armed Services has held extensive hearings and has conducted research to determine the disparity of compensation to members of the Armed Forces as compared with civilian employment. During the past 12 years it was discovered that the pay of military personnel has increased an average of 33.9 percent; Federal civilian employment pay, 46.3 percent; and wages in private industry 60 percent.

On the average, a graduate engineer will begin his career in civilian life at a salary of $7,152, while a first lieutenant in the military would receive approximately $3,500. This same military pay deficiency may be found in any step of military classification when it is compared to a similar position outside the service.

The proposal now before us would increase the wages of members of the armed services 10.6 percent; with officers receiving an average 7.2 percent, and enlisted men, 12.1 percent. The pay of the first lieutenant I mentioned earlier would be increased nearly $1,000 under this plan.

In the light of our apparently increased commitment in Vietnam, it is absolutely essential to our national security that this country be able to maintain at the highest possible level, an experienced, well-trained military force. And yet the committee report clearly shows that under present pay scales it has become increasingly difficult to induce servicemen to reenlist. In 1962, 20.1 percent of all Army inductees reenlisted upon completion of their obligation. By 1964 the reenlistement figure had dropped to 3.6 percent. These are men in whom we have invested thousands of dollars worth of training, and as the committee points out: "(I)t is evident that this continued drop in the reenlistment rate of inductees is costing the taxpayers of America many millions of dollar." Figures show that the same unhappy situation prevails in the Navy, Marines, and Air Force.

The minority report points out that the retention problem differs among the various services. In particular, the report cites the problem of the Navy where skills are more marketable than in the other services. This, however, is no argument against the across-the-board pay increase. The situation is specifically dealt with by the variable reenlistment bonus proposed by the President and adopted by the committee. Indeed, the committee has improved upon the recommendation by providing that the bonus be spread over the term of reenlistment thus softening the tax blow. Certainly this variable reenlistment bonus gives the services the needed flexibility to allow each service to tailor bonuses to their individual needs.

The proposal also allows for an annual review by the President of the entire military pay scale, and for a comprehensive review every 4 years. These reviews are necessary to avoid any future substntial lag in the military pay structure.

Mr. Chairman, I represent the First District of New Hampshire. In that district we have servicemen of the Air Force, Navy, and Marines at bases in the seacoast area. Many of them and their families have written me and discussed personally, the hardships they encountered as servicemen, both enlisted men and officers, in the face of the spiraling cost of living. It is no secret that in many parts of the Nation members of the Armed Forces require relief food in order that their families might subsist.

I cannot stress too strongly, the importance of this legislation. Our military need for trained personnel are higher now than for any period since the Korean conflict. It is absolutely necessary that we take every step to insure that we are able to maintain the high level of skills necessary to meet our commitments in Vietnam and throughout the world.

The Crystal Springs Creamery at Kimballton, Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the cooperative movement has been invaluable to the development of the American economy. Richard Osterholm has written in the Omaha World Herald about one of these progressive groups in southwest Iowa.

The experience of the Kimballton, Iowa, creamery is an excellent example of the contribution of our co-ops to a better community. Mr. Osterholm's column follows:

KIMBALLTON CREAMERY OLDEST SUCH IOWA CO-OP

(By Richard Osterholm)

KIMBALLTON, IOWA.—Coincidence played a partial role in making the Crystal Springs Creamery here the oldest cooperative creamery in Iowa.

Only the chance arrival of two Danish immigrants who were buttermakers helped Kimballton become the birthplace of creamery cooperatives in 1890.

"They were heading for Nebraska, but they stopped off here for a visit with friends and relatives at about the time a group of farmers and businessmen were making plans to open a creamry," explained John I. Petersen, manager of the firm since 1926.

"They never did get to Nebraska. The creamery backers talked them into staying here. Chances are if they hadn't, the creamery might not have got started as soon as it did."

Although the cooperative idea was new to Iowa at the time, it was a familiar one for Kimballton area farmers, who had seen it in practice in their native Denmark.

Proof of its success, here at least, is the fact that the Kimballton creamery has begun its 76th year.

"A creamery in northern Iowa is about a year older, but it didn't start out as a cooperative," noted Mr. Petersen.

The firm's annual butter output is about 100 times greater than it was when the two immigrant buttermakers went to work.

Production last year amounted to about 2,250,000 pounds. Most of it was shipped to eastern markets.

"It's a big business for a small town," said Mr. Petersen. "Our annual payroll is close to $200,000 and we paid out about $1,250,000 last year to dairymen."

Mr. Petersen said the creamery was served by farmers in only three townships when he became manager in 1926 and that some of the milk was still being hauled here by horse and wagon.

"As our production capacity increased, so did our cream routes," he said. "Today we have to go into 19 counties to get enough cream to keep things going.

"Of course, this is due partly to the fact that so many farmers have gotten out of the dairy business."

Buttermaking here is aided with water piped into the creamery from a spring, which led to a change in names. The firm originally was called the Danish Separator Creamery Cooperative.

"We have a couple of wells, too, but we only use the water for cooling," said Mr. Petersen. "It isn't nearly as good as the spring water."

One byproduct, indirectly associated with the creamery, is no longer available.

"It's a good thing, too, because it was pretty powerful stuff," chuckled Mr. Petersen.

"Years ago, we used to get our buttermilk barrels from liquor distillers and the barrels weren't always empty when they got here.

"Ask any oldtimer here about 'creamery whisky' and he will know what you're talking about," he laughed.

Mr. Petersen, who has been manager longer than any of his predecessors, plans to retire early next year.

"My father and I are going to have a double celebration in Copenhagen," he grinned. His 90th birthday and my retirement."

That Quick Trip to Paris

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's decision to send Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY and the Gemini astronauts, James McDivitt and Edward White, to Paris for the International Air and Space Show in June was certainly an inspired one.

Their appearance in France created a tremendous amount of good will for the United States at a time when our country well needed it. The American press has generally been most laudatory of the President, Vice President HUMPHREY, and the intrepid Gemini astronauts for their part in this mission of good will.

I would like to include in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial from the St. Paul Pioneer Press of June 19, 1965, which assesses the value of that quick trip to Paris:

[From the St. Paul (Minn.) Pioneer Press, June 19, 1965]

THAT QUICK TRIP TO PARIS

President Johnson's decision to send America's two Gemini heroes to Paris accompanied by Vice President HUMPHREY may have

seemed like an impulsive, spur-of-the-moment move.

But we doubt that it was.

The decision could have been made several days ago and for several reasons.

One was to counteract the impression made by the Soviet Union at the International Air and Space Show with its huge transport plane capable of carrying more than 750 passengers. How better to meet Soviet "show stealing" than by sending the Gemini twins abroad for a public appearance?

But the President, we suspect, was thinking far beyond the immediate public relations gain from the trip. The visit might remind Europeans that America is not only a major military air power but also a power committed to peaceful scientific developments in air and in space.

The administration undoubtedly has been stung by the growing European criticism of American foreign policy in South Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. The President would like to alter the U.S. image on the continent and the best place to start with that job is in Paris and with President Charles de Gaulle.

If the American image in Europe is tarnished, if our prestige has sagged, it is in no small measure due to De Gaulle. A substantial amount of anti-American criticism has come from Paris and the French President. Not only has he attacked our southeast Asian policy and our move into the Dominican Republic, he has threatened to withdraw from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and has caused considerable trouble in the international financing by withdrawing large amounts of gold from U.S. reserves.

There have been some indications—although just barely visible—that De Gaulle may recognize the need for improving relations with Washington. He did not reject, out of hand, a recent U.S. proposal that a select committee be set up within NATO to discuss possible future multinational planning and control of nuclear defenses. And, he decided to repay about $150 million in post-World War II debts in advance. His foreign minister also made some friendly political gestures this week.

The trip of the astronauts provides an excellent opportunity for President Johnson to test French attitudes without appearing to do so. The Vice President makes a courtesy call on the French President. It's all very informal and off the record and friendly. No commitments are asked for or made. A meeting between Presidents Johnson and De Gaulle may be arranged.

The Vice President's mission is a clear indication that Washington recognizes the need for a rapprochement with De Gaulle. It also marks the reappearance of Mr. HUMPHREY in the foreign policy field, an area in which we believe he can be used effectively.

The State Department Security Scandal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

THE STATE DEPARTMENT SECURITY SCANDAL

After 3 years of hearings and a million and a half words of testimony and documentation, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has released the first installment of its account of how Otto F. Otepka was fired as Chief of the Evaluations Division of the State Department's Office of Security.

It is almost unbelievable that so much time and effort had to be devoted to what is essentially a simple case. But the facts as they emerge will, we are certain, have a profound impact on the American public. For this is a story of high-level intrigue, of deceit and evasion by the people's servants in high places, and of shameful retaliation against an honorable man simply because he told the truth to a committee of Congress, as by law he was required to do.

As Chief of Evaluations, Otepka's job was to separate the wrong guys from the right ones seeking employment and assignment by the Department. He was charged with informing his superiors whether an applicant or an existing employee was a loyalty or security risk. He did so conscientiously, but his findings were ignored. The wrong guys were posted to handle the sensitive diplomacy of the United States, while the right guy—Mr. Otepka—found himself out of a job.

He had the right to appeal his dismissal, and did, but for close to 2 years the State Department has refused to give him a hearing. So he remains on the payroll, collects his salary, but is confined to a cubbyhole, in effect cutting up paper dolls. For his patriotism and his adherence to truth, he is ostracized by the brass and rankers of the Department, who operate on the code that loyalty to the Department comes before loyalty to the country.

Secretary of State Rusk and his bureaucracy can't afford to give Mr. Otepka his hearing, for to do so would expose the curious values that prevail in the Department, where men of dubious reliability are to be protected, as "members of the club," at all costs.

Otepka fell into disfavor after he was summoned by the subcommittee to assist in a study it had undertaken of security practices in the Department. He testified about "quickie" clearances designed to bypass security rules. One of the Department officials attracting the notice of the Senators was William A. Wieland, a foreign service officer of the first class, who has been paid $20,000 a year but has just been appointed chief American consular officer in Australia, at a salary advance of another $4,000.

It developed that Wieland had once lived in Cuba under the name of Montenegro, but concealed the fact in his job application, which exposed him to prosecution for perjury. In his testimony before the subcommittee, he admitted having seen Fidel Castro only once, but Otepka testified to six meetings. Wieland was a consistent apologist for Castro while presiding over the State Department's Caribbean desk.

His appointment to that post shocked William D. Pawley, former Ambassador to Brazil, under whom Wieland had served. By cutting off the supply of arms to Cuba, Wieland helped bring about the downfall of the Fulgencio Batista government and assisted the rise of Castro. Every intelligence report demonstrating that Castro was, and always had been, a Communist was disregarded, denounced, or sidetracked by Wieland. Robert C. Hill, a former Ambassador, told the Senators that Wieland was either " a damn fool or a Communist."

The subcommittee's first report deals with the Wieland case. Yet this man enjoys favor in the State Department and has been publicly defended by no less august a person than the late President Kennedy, while Otepka and his security staff have been rendered impotent and have been disgracefully hounded out of their protective office. It is an all but incredible story, but it is true. How long will the people tolerate these betrayals?

Kissing Bridges: Festival in Indiana's Parke County Salutes Area's 38 Covered Spans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, Parke County, Ind., has become nationally famous over the past few years for its annual Covered Bridge Festival.

With 38 covered bridges, more than any other county in the United States, Parke County, located along the scenic Wabash River, is attracting more attention each fall with its rustic celebration, set this year for October 8–17.

In recognition of the national interest, an interesting feature on the Covered Bridge Festival appeared Sunday, July 18, in the New York Times.

This article will be of interest to vacationers and travelers throughout the United States. The article follows:

KISSING BRIDGES: FESTIVAL IN INDIANA'S PARKE COUNTY SALUTES AREA'S 38 COVERED SPANS

(By Ruth Burnett)

ROCKVILLE, IND.—Visitors to Parke County, which lies along the Wabash River, will find that it has more covered bridges than any other county in the United States.

Elsewhere across the country, old bridges have been razed in the name of progress; Parke County, however, has quietly been preserving its 38 covered spans. Indeed, each fall the county holds a special Covered Bridge Festival—this year's is set for October 8–17—but now, or at any season, the spans are equally in evidence and equally attractive. Routes to them are marked with metal directional signs.

Visitors here this summer will find special activities August 7–14, when the annual county fair is held, and on August 28, when the National Society for the Preservation of Covered Bridges will convene in Rockville. In honor of the occasion, a mutt show, grasshopper races—with real grasshoppers—and a market day are being staged.

PRESERVATION MOVEMENT

How is it that this movement to preserve covered bridges has come about? In 1956, a few far-seeing and bridge-minded individuals convinced the residents of Parke County that caring for today's traffic was no real excuse for tearing down priceless old spans. They argued that the wooden structures could be maintained in some way, perhaps by an annual festival that would meet the expenses of repairing, painting, and preserving them.

The first covered bridge festival was held the following autumn. A tent was put up in the yard of the county courthouse here in Rockville to serve as headquarters for the 3-day event, and 2,500 visitors came from outside the county to see what a covered bridge festival was like.

Today, Parke County's unusual festival draws thousands of vistors from all over the country. The entire courthouse block is put under canvas for the affair.

However, big as the festival has become, it has never been commercialized and its basic program remains the same. It is the annual effort of Parke County's residents to preserve the county's heritage. There are no ballons, cheap souvenirs or carnival rides. Nor are there lotteries or beauty queens.

After arriving at Rockville, the festival visitor registers and is given a program and a map. The map describes the four bus or car routes that one can take to see the county. Each route covers about 40 miles through open woods, down narrow country roads and across several of the cherished covered spans. A first trip through a covered bridge is invariably a delight for children.

A guide on the bus trip retells events in Parke County history and provides special information about the bridges. Farmers along all four routes brighten the roadway with their best scarecrows, and each bus passenger votes for his favorite.

BURR-ARCHED SPAN

All 38 of the covered bridges are in good repair, and the abutments of native stone have withstood the years well. Burr-arched spans—they are named for Theodore Burr, an early bridgebuilder—are particularly famous. With their great timbers of chestnut and poplar curved in perfect arches, they make the inside of many of the spans objects of beauty.

The question most often asked of the guides is why the bridges were covered. It is explained that wood was the common building material and that the spans had, of necessity, to be built of it. But the planks, exposed to the weather, soon rotted. The covers were built to retard the decay and rotting of the planks.

GOOD SHELTERS

Covered bridges soon proved good shelters in time of storm, and a cool place to rest one's horse in the summer heat. For obvious reasons, the spans, belonging as they do to horse-and-buggy days, were often known as "Kissing Bridges."

Once the tour has ended, the visitor usually returns to Rockville and wanders about the great tent awhile. Here, items such as bittersweet, persimmons, squaw corn, pawpaws, hickory nuts and black walnuts are for sale. One can also buy maple sirup or sorghum, hedge apples, or home-cured Parke County tobacco.

Dozens of Parke County citizens sell their own produce, and the antiques section, although small, may boast treasures ranging from a German helmet of World War I vintage to a sturdy, high-backed rocker.

There is nothing, the festival committee maintains, quite like the big farmers market, and the visitor, especially the one who was born and bred in the Middle West, is likely to agree.

One can see butter being churned and sausage being made, and can take a turn at stirring apple butter with a long wooden paddle. Or, one can watch knitting or rug-weaving or the making of jelly and preserves.

MANY CRISES

In just 8 years, Parke County's festival has become both successful and popular, but many crises have occurred in connection with the bridges. In 1960, when a contract was let to build the Mansfield Dam nearby, the Army Corps of Engineers ordered the big Portland Mills covered bridge destroyed to make way for Racoon Lake. Just about the same time, a group of boys burned a span known as the Dooley Mills Bridge, and so the doomed Portland Bridge was moved to that site.

MOVED TO GOLF COURSE

Scarcely had that crisis been passed than the Catlin Bridge, built in 1907, had to go because the county commission could not purchase a new right-of-way. However, that span was saved by being moved to the county golf course where it was placed across a creek near the first tee. It now serves as a shelter there.

Moving a covered bridge often presents problems more difficult than moving a dwelling. Powerlines must be cut, and motorists must wait long periods of time while the span negotiates difficult right-angle turns on country roads.

Captive Nations Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES M. HANLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, this week we celebrate the seventh annual observance of Captive Nations Week. It was my distinct pleasure last Sunday evening to initiate the observance in Syracuse with an address before the Syracuse and Onondaga County Captive Nations Committee. Considering the importance of this observance, I am including herewith the text of my address:

ADDRESS OF HON. JAMES M. HANLEY

Ladies and gentlemen, we are gathered this evening in observance of Captive Nations Week. On this solemn occasion we acknowledge a responsibility which we bear to the millions now enslaved behind the Iron Curtain. To these millions we are bound by ties of friendship, of blood, and of national origin. These ties demand that we concern ourselves with the tragic state of affairs existing today in Eastern Europe—that we not forget—nor let the world forget—the plight of men, once free, and of nations, once self-determining.

The year 1965 marks the 25th anniversary of the Soviet invasion, occupation, and incorporation of the Baltic Republics. Let us remember their tragic fate. The suffering of their people marks one of the grimmest chapters in modern history. It reveals the full enormity of Russian imperialism and of Communist tyranny.

At the time of their annihilation, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were sovereign states, nations in themselves with a rich heritage and a proud history. Each state had won its independence through force of arms, and the independence of each was recognized by the Soviet Union in sacred treaty. In the interwar years, the Baltic Republics were "going concerns"—progressive, prosperous, and peace loving. Two decades after achieving their hard-won freedom, they were invaded by 300,000 Red army troops. Their legitimate governments were unseated. They were robbed of their independence and transformed into colonies of the Soviet Union.

Today the Soviet Union pursues a policy of russification aimed at the total obliteration of the national character and the will to survive of the Baltic peoples. By means of mass deportations, Russian immigration and forced resettlement. The U.S.S.R. is attempting to break down the ethnic structure of their captives. A recent Soviet census illustrates the brutal efficiency of this policy; between 1939 and 1959, the population of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania declined by nearly 1 million out of a total population of 6 million. It is estimated that 10 percent of the population—600,000 people—were deported in 1949 alone. The Baltic Republics are losing not only their population but their culture. Russification threatens the very life of their religion, their language, and their literature. In Lithuania, 300 priests, pastors and rabbis have been arrested, killed or deported to Siberia. In Latvia, the number of churches has declined from 300 in 1939 to 110 in 1963. The Russian language now predominates in transportation and communications. One cannot even send a registered letter without addressing it in Russian. In the schools, Russian has replaced the native tongues as the language of instruction.

The United States has not, nor will it ever recognize the forcible incorporation of the Baltic Republics into the Soviet Union. Seventy resolutions relating to the status of the Baltic Republics have been introduced in the Congress this year. I voted for passage of House Concurrent Resolution 416 as an expression of my deep concern over the fate of the Baltic nations. This resolution urges the President to direct the full attention of world opinion, with all appropriate means, to the denial of the right of self-determination, and to bring the force of this opinion to bear on behalf of the restoration of this right to the Baltic Republics.

The Baltic Republics are not the only vicitms of Russian imperialism and Communist tyranny we remember tonight. The Poles, the Czechs, the Hungarians, the Yugoslavs, the Albanians, the Rumanians, the Bulgarians, the Ukrainians, and the Armenians all suffer equally under the yoke of communism. Isolated from the West by a barrier of barbed wire and minefields, their governments still managed from Moscow, these people exist in a limbo of frustration, of bitterness. Their only consolation is that, unlike the Baltic States, they have been spared the fate of wholesale incorporation into the Soviet Union. Over the past 20 years, their people have been subjected to treachery, aggression, subversion, and tyranny, and their history has been one of economic exploitation, religious persecution, expropriation of property, incessant brainwashing, terror, purge, imprisonment—finally death.

It is argued that the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe have changed, that political prisoners have been freed. They say that now one can buy more consumer goods, that one can listen to Radio Free Europe—unjammed. Perhaps. But answer me this: Does the press print the truth? Do the people speak without fear? Is the government elected by the people and responsible to them alone? Are the churches allowed their freedom? Emphatically no. These so-called changes are only sops thrown to the people by regimes whose sole motivations are fear of revolt and an all-consuming sense of self-preservation. While the outward trappings of repression may be disappearing, the people of each of these countries continue to live under totalitarian rules. The basic tenets of communism as practiced in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe remain unchanged.

Let us not forget that wherever and whenever it exists, communism remains dedicated to the destruction of the individual, while in America, the purpose of government is to serve the individual—to protect the individual's life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. In America, the purpose of government is to ensure that all individuals are accorded an equal opportunity to fulfill themselves. Behind the Iron Curtain, however, the purpose of government is to strip men of all individuality, to destroy the church, the family, and property and to reduce man to a robot—automatically, mechanically, and mindlessly obedient to the will of the state. The Communist dreams of a world in which the fate of men will hang on the whim of the government.

Now we ask ourselves: Have the Communist regimes behind the Iron Curtain realized their objective? Have they succeeded in crushing the spirit of liberty?—The Hungarian Revolution, the Polish October Days, the Berlin Wall, and the recent Prague demonstrations offer singular, negative testimony. From all indications, the people of Eastern Europe remain antagonistic to the Communist regime, its methods, its purposes, its international connections. They are un-

convinced. They are disenchanted. They are hostile. Twenty years of political education have failed to win youth to the side of communism. In Eastern Europe, Communist ideology meets sarcasm, a contemptuous shrug of the shoulders or a yawn from the young generation. And more important, communism has failed to destroy the national identity of the captive nations. The countries of Eastern Europe are rich in national history. Each cherishes its own tradition, its dress, its language and literature. Each treasurers the memory of its heroes, of Kossuth, of Masryk, of Kosciuszko and Shevchenko. To the peoples of the captive nations, communism remains an alien ideology—imposed by Russian arms, and maintained by the brutal efficiency of totalitarian regimes.

What, then, can we, as Americans, do to aid in the restoration of national sovereignty and of personal freedom behind the Iron Curtain? Our policy toward international communism must have two main objectives: 1. To prevent the Communists from extending their domain and to make it costly, dangerous and futile for them to try to do so; 2. to encourage trends within the Communist world toward national sovereignty.

Join me tonight in urging that the United States never accept the status quo in eastern Europe. Let me demand that the United States press further its campaign to secure the power of self-determination for the nations now enslaved behind the Iron Curtain. Let us demand that America avail itself of every opportunity to expose the methods, the implications, and the consequences of Soviet colonialism in Eastern Europe.

If the cause of liberty is to be truly served, let us continue to demand the freedom of the Poles, the Ukrainians, the Czechs, and the Hungarians.

With particular reference to the Ukrainian people, I would like to make a few remarks. The Ukrainians, despite Russian claims to the contrary, are not Russians. They have a proud history, culture, and tradition all their own, separate and distinct from any other nation. They were an independent people, free and proud.

The Communists, in the name of Pan-slavism, overran and subverted the independence of the Ukraine, they now try to claim that the Ukrainians are actually Russians, that, in effect, they are one. Let this claim not go unanswered.

Let us press on with a demand that the Reds pull out of the Baltic States, that they return to the Bulgarians and Rumanians the reins of their own government, and that they remove themselves from the Balkans.

We are a world leader. Let us not fail to act like one.

If there were no hope that our goals of liberty could be realized, none of us would be here tonight. If there were no basis to our cause, my address tonight would be hollow. But our goals can be realized and our cause is right.

To the Russian Communists, I say you cannot succeed in stamping out the national spirit of your slaves. To our allies, I say the Russians must not succeed. To you I say, they will not succeed.

There are those who question the need for Captive Nations Week observances. Let them look at the howls of indignation arising from the Kremlin.

There are those who would maintain the status quo in Europe. Let them look at the aims of communism.

There are those who would appease. Let them look to Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Vietnam.

And if after searching, they do not see, let them look to their Creator, for they are blind.

And so, in closing, as we gather here and meditate on the lot of our brothers behind the Iron Curtain, we must resolve that their fate is not sealed, that they are not doomed to an endless hell on earth, that they will not be forgotten, for in a very real sense, their bravery is our strength and their determination is our own will to survive.

Joseph L. Milhender, President of Milhender Distributors, Inc., Boston, Mass., Completes 50 Years in Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in January 1965, the New England Housewares Club gave Joseph L. Milhender their Man of the Year Award. He is considered the "dean" of the housewares and electrical housewares industry; housewares manufacturers continually seek his advice in the packaging and marketing of their products. In recognition of his contribution to the growth of the housewares and electrical housewares industry, the leading manufacturers at their National Housewares Show in Chicago presented Joseph L. Milhender with their Merchandiser of the Year Award.

September 1, 1965, will mark the 50th anniversary for Joseph L. Milhender in business. The life story of Joe Milhender is like a reflecting pool of our American way of life, where every individual is a freeman and has the right to pursue whatever economic endeavor he chooses.

Joe Milhender chose to establish a small business as a young man. Through the years he has labored at developing this business so that he could better serve his community and better provide for his family. Under our American freedom of enterprise, the public is free to accept or reject the services and products of any business concern. Joe Milhender's business, like all other business concerns, was judged on its ability to anticipate, to meet, and to satisfy the public's wants. We know that Joe Milhender's business has been well accepted by the people it serves, the public, because Milhender Distributors, Inc., has grown to be a leading business in the State of Massachusetts and a major outlet in its industry.

In commemoration of his 50th anniversary in business, Joe Milhender will, on September 18 and 19, 1965, run a housewares and electrical housewares trade show at the War Memorial Auditorium at the New Prudential Center in Boston.

Joseph L. Milhender is a successful man. Not only has he mesaured up to excellence in his business endeavors, but he has also measured up to excellence in our best American traditions for his philanthropic and charitable work. He has contributed his time, his energy, his talents, and his money generously to the good of mankind.

The life story of Joseph L. Milhender is the noblest testimony for the free enterprise system. It is people like Joe Milhender that assure the continuance of our American way of life.

Military Praised

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK E. EVANS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply impressed by the dedicated and able assistance given by the men in our military services during the recent June floods in Colorado.

There were many men and women, both military and civilian, and many organizations such as the Red Cross, that gave significant aid, but I especially want to cite the contributions by the men of the U.S. Air Force Academy, Ent Air Force Base, Fort Carson, the Pueblo Army Depot and the National Guard for their missions of mercy during the devastating floods that hit portions of Colorado.

The combined efforts of our military and civilian personnel teamed to quickly mobilize forces that include air police, communications, civil engineering personnel, ambulances, bulldozers, emergency vehicles, temporary housing to assist in areas nearby, hard hit by flood and wind damage.

Many comments of thanks and praise have been directed to our military leaders.

We are particularly indebted to you for your fine work in saving the dam at Monument Lake.

The mayor of Colorado Springs wrote the Fort Carson commander.

Without your untiring efforts, the situation in Colorado Springs might have been desperate.

"Boy, we would never have made it without the National Guard," was the statement of a county civil defense director in the southeastern part of the State.

Air Force Academy personnel responded quickly to pleas for help in the Palmer Lake area and in Pueblo, the Pueblo Army Depot provided urgently needed assistance.

Air Defense Command's Ent Air Force Base was a major contributor to the rescue and recovery efforts. From June 15 to 22, Ent Personnel, equipment and facilities were thrown into the all-out effort to save lives and property. For some time, the only communications in the Lamar area was a mobile unit of the 4600th Air Base Wing.

It is impossible to cite all of the actions of many groups and individuals involved in the extensive operation to assist the flood-damaged communities, but the personnel at the military installations in Colorado played a noteworthy and significant role in this humanitarian effort.

In the finest American tradition, the men in the military service rolled up their sleeves and worked around the clock in many instances, to aid the people and the communities hard hit by this disaster.

They deserve our thanks—and our gratitude.

The Fight on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the July 14 issue of the Thomasville (Ga.) Times-Enterprise carried a timely editorial on the fight against poverty. I commend it to my colleagues for its logical evaluation. While the editors support the humanitarian aspect of aid to the underprivileged they point out the likelihood of pulling down one group in the effort to lift another. This is a matter of great concern that I share with a majority of the citizens of the Second District of Georgia.

THE FIGHT ON POVERTY

While the so-called war on poverty has hardly begun already there is talk of doubling the amount of money to be used in the various phases of this battle.

The fact the Government has now set about to be godfather and patron saint for millions of people, who for one reason or another find themselves outdistanced in the battle for a fair share of the jobs, the food supplies, the modern conveniences, and other things, not the least of which is the right to a good education and adequate housing facilities, still remains to be seen how long a program of this magnitude can be carried on without seriously endangering the financial stability of the Nation.

As far back as recorded history goes, people in different parts of the world have suffered from poverty. Millions of people have lived and died in an environment of poverty. The law of the jungle was a hard one, because only the fittest might survive. But it had merit.

However, efforts to alleviate human suffering from hunger and disease, as an experiment in humanitarianism is commendable and we believe has the blessing of God himself. But Government largesse has not always been productive of the desired results, and in many instances many have refused to help themselves because they could count on help from the Government.

This program involves a broadening of the plan to take from the haves and give to the have-nots, through any one of many devices. It envisages more and more taxation and the use of artificial stimulants to try and correct the imbalance in society, which witnesses prosperity for so many on one hand and poverty for so many others.

Unfortunately it is not always possible to improve the lot of one segment of the population by destroying incentive and initiative in others through excessive taxation which takes from the willing worker and the creator of wealth that which his talents have provided for him.

There can be little question that much individual initiative has been destroyed. There can be no doubt that we live in a great make-believe era of unprecedented prosperity in which we defy established economic laws which are immutable and unchanging in their operation.

In this rich country, no one should suffer for lack of food, and it is desirable that all shall have a good education, a good house in which to live, and a job at a scale of pay that will provide a decent livelihood. And we believe most people want just that. But we also know there are many who are unwilling to work for and support their own families, who have no personal pride and prefer to let others do the job they should be willing to help do.

It should be remembered the Government cannot give to anyone anything that it doesn't first take from others through taxation and other means. And the more it takes from one segment to give to another, the greater the likelihood of pulling down one group in the effort to lift up another.

The philosophy of helping people from the cradle to the grave, while noble and commendable, will hardly solve the problem. Much remains for the individual to do. To help those who can and will help themselves is best.

The Late T. A. Thompson, a Representative From the State of Louisiana

SPEECH

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, may I on behalf of the Louisiana delegation in the House of Representatives express our deepest appreciation for the kindness and generosity of the remarks made concerning our late colleague, ASHTON THOMPSON. It is quite fitting that he be remembered in the words that have been uttered here today.

I also want to say to you, Mr. Speaker, in joining my colleague from New Orleans, Congressman BOGGS, on behalf of the Louisiana delegation, how much we appreciate the efficient manner in which Ken Harding handled the funeral arrangements. This was a great source of consolation to the family and to the members of the delegation.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include with my remarks a tribute that has been sent to me from the Governor of Louisiana, the Honorable John J. McKeithen.

EULOGY SPOKEN BY THE HONORABLE JOHN J. MCKEITHEN, GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA, UPON THE UNTIMELY DEATH OF THE HONORABLE T. A. THOMPSON

It is given to few men the opportunity to voice a people's aspirations, their hopes and desires. T. A. THOMPSON was one of the chosen few, and he accepted the duty with honor and humility. Charged by destiny with the leadership of his people as a Member of the Congress of the United States, he acquitted himself admirably in that ancient institution, rising to meet his responsibilities with a deep reverence and respect for the commonwealth we all serve, and bringing honor to the name of his people.

Representative T. A. THOMPSON passed this way briefly, and we are all the wealthier in the spirit for his sojourn here. That he passed so suddenly and so tragically is the Nation's loss. We feel the heavy weight of sorrow and lonelines his widow and his children know at this sad moment, for he too is our loss. We were bound to him as surely as if by blood or by vows.

We are richer today for having had him serve us. We are better men and women for having known him. Today, though his voice is stilled, though his presence has fled, this land continues a better place in which to live because he labored to increase its abundance, to quieten its hostilities, to perfect its justice.

T. A. THOMPSON's life was his own greatest tribute. No man can utter better than this: He was called to the service of his people; he harkened to their voice; he served them well. Pray his soul rests now in the bosom of the Father of us all.

Again let me say to the Members of this body and to all those who participated in the ceremony that this was in keeping with what ASHTON lived and believed in.

The Late Adlai Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in expressing a profound recognition of loss over the unkind passing of Adlai Stevenson.

His monumental presence at the United Nation provided a true sense of security for all America, and, indeed, most of the world.

His death leaves me, most of his fellow Americans, and many peoples of the earth less secure, less hopeful, less confident that the miasma of international tensions somehow will be purified.

Adlai Stevenson was the "great purifier" of our time—whether it was State or National politics, international diplomacy, literature or language, oratory or the arts.

He was, is, and will be held in affectionate admiration by his neighbors in Wisconsin.

One of these neighbors, the Milwaukee Journal television station, WTMJ, eulogized Governor Stevenson the day after his death. Without objection, Mr. Speaker, I request that this eulogy be printed in the RECORD:

The world at large will remember Adlai Stevenson an an articulate champion of great causes. The manner in which he carried his party's banners, even in defeat, in a presidential campaign will be remembered. There will always be debate as to whether he spoke over the heads of the people whose vote he sought—but he gained more votes in defeat than virtually all Presidents before him had counted in victory. The argument becomes academic in light of the fact that Ambassador Stevenson happened to encounter in the two presidential campaigns a war-hero Republican who was the champion vote getter of his party in this century. Fortunately for his memory, and for his country, he had an opportunity to practice his gifts as our ambassador to the United Nations—a position he filled so well a full appreciation does not develop until now, with his passing.

Our ambassador to the U.N. must speak our cause well-eloquently when this is required, forcefully when that is the need. No one will ever forget his blunt question to the Russian representative in 1962 to answer "yes or no" as whether Soviet missiles were being installed in Cuba. He knew when to skip the diplomatic niceties. He could represent us to the smaller nations in the growing U.N. organization as no other representative before him.

We have also lost a neighbor, and a former Governor of Illinois. We have lost a man who dedicated himself to seeking solutions to the problems of his country and the world. We regret his passing. Selfishly, we regret we are denied the further con-

tributions that were in the Stevenson reservoir. Charateristic of the man's belief in the democratic process was his answer to the question of which title he preferred. He said "Governor, because it came from the people."

A Tribute to Adlai E. Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, Adlai E. Stevenson loved Illinois and Illinois loved him. The closeness of their attachment was most poignantly depicted in the beautiful address of Gov. Otto Kerner at the memorial service for Governor Stevenson on Saturday, July 17, in the State Capitol rotunda in Springfield, Ill. His remarks follow:

REMARKS OF GOV. OTTO KERNER

We are gathered here this morning to honor a son of Illinois who, through a brilliant life of service and dedication, honored our State.

Adlai Ewing Stevenson loved Illinois, and though his responsibilities took him to many parts of our country and to all corners of the earth, he was able to say, in his unique and highly effective way, that "shamelessly and sentimentally * * * my heart will always be here in Illinois. Here five generations of my family lived and prospered. My roots are deep in our prairies and I owe Illinois a great debt. I have tried my best to discharge that debt honorably and well."

"Honorably and well." How perfectly these words express the life and deeds of the 33d Governor of Illinois, the gentleman of wisdom and wit.

Speaking about Abraham Lincoln, he could say what others are saying about him: "Lincoln was more than a writer, a spokesman. What endears him in the minds of all freedom-loving people as the greatest democrat in our history—or any history—was his own faith in democracy, in the ability of the people to govern themselves."

He reminded us that "* * * we see ourselves in Lincoln, as he saw himself in people. That greatness in him—is there not some of it in my neighbor, myself, my son? Of course there is, we tell ourselves, for Lincoln was all of us—the spokesman for all that went before him in the building of America and everything we have fought since to preserve."

He dearly loved the time he spent here as Governor. And though other honors and titles came to him, he preferred being called Governor, even when his title was "Ambassador," for the title reminded him of his State, his people, and the many happy years he spent here.

And so he has returned to the "Land of Lincoln." He will sleep in Bloomington—in the heart of the State not far from Lincoln's Springfield—where Lincoln spent many hours and days, and where he had many, many close friends, including Jesse W. Fell, Adlai Stevenson's great-grandfather.

He is returning to the central Illinois community where he said, "Here from my parents and grandparents, from * * * the friends of my boyhood * * * I have learned that good government is good politics, and that public office doubled the responsibility that a man felt in his own home, his own neighborhood, his hometown. I can remember the great truths that seem so obvious in Bloomington but so obscure in other places."

Adlai Stevenson remembered the great truths wherever fate and duty took him. And we shall remember him. His name is written indelibly into our history. His memory and spirit we shall carry in our hearts.

We miss him; but we are proud that to us came the honor, the rare privilege, the fortunate circumstance that made a period of our own lives coincide, in part, with his.

We lived in the shadow of greatness, a greatness which somehow seemed to bring to each of us a special feeling, a particular kind of pride, a sense of satisfaction, that we lived in the world of Adlai Stevenson. This is a world that is better because of the life he lived, the deeds he performed, the words he spoke and the examples he set.

Now he has come home, to his Illinois, to take his place with our other heroes—Lincoln, Douglas, Grant, Altgeld.

His name, his deeds, give new meaning, new significance, to lines from the song that we heard here this morning:

"Not without thy wondrous story, Illinois, Illinois,
Can be writ the Nation's glory, Illinois, Illinois."

He has come home and will rest from his weary tasks and awesome burdens. Adlai Stevenson of Illinois has returned.

Flogging With Feathers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from Aviation Week and Space Technology of July 5, 1965:

FLOGGING WITH FEATHERS

(By Robert Hotz)

The U.S. supersonic transport development program is being flogged to death with feathers. This is the meaning of President Johnson's announcement last week that airframe firms will spend another 18 months in design studies while engine builders will develop test stand demonstrator engines. Since President Johnson said he was following the recommendations of the special committee headed by Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara, we can only concluded that this represents another example of the Secretary's by now well-defined propensity for postponing hard decisions under the guise of further study. It is a policy that will waste money in the critical development phase and may easily lose the production jackpot to international competitors.

The Johnson-McNamara decision really means that the critical decision to proceed with building one or more supersonic transport prototypes has been postponed another 18 months. It would be difficult indeed to find any of the industry's engineers or managers associated with this program who believe this additional 18 months of paperwork design studies is really necessary. The current plan will not come to grips with any of the major unsolved technical problems of supersonic transport development and will only pour another $220 million down the drain in a wasteful holding operation.

There is no question that there are many unsolved technical problems along the development path of an operationally successful supersonic transport. But the solutions to these problems can be found only in the air by flying protoypes. They no longer can be solved effectively on the drawing board and slide rule or in the wind tunnel and on the test stand. These useful tools have served their purpose in the early development phase. But further reliance on them without the hard experience of flying experimental prototypes is a waste of time, money, and technical talent.

Funding two engine contractors, General Electric Co. and Pratt & Whitney Aircraft, with $50 million apiece to produce demonstrator engines of their divergent design approaches, conveys a false sense of progress. We think both contractors would agree that the critical problems of the supersonic transport engine will not begin to appear until these engines are installed in an airframe and flown in their operational environment through the full range of speeds and altitudes that their arline operations will require. These installed-engine problems cannot be simulated fully in any ground test rig. There is little technical doubt that both contractors can produce a supersonic transport engine that will be capable of propelling this vehicle through its complete operating regime. But whether or not these engines will achieve the required operational economy and which design approach will do it best can be answered only by a thorough flight test program with the proposed airframes.

Many knowledgeable engineers working on the supersonic transport program believe that the engine inlet and nozzle designs will make or break the econonics of the supersonic transport. These are problems that can be solved only in the air.

The Johnson-McNamara program radiates the same aura of false economy and technical timidity that was proved so erroneous in the early approach of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to the Gemini program. By abandoning this philosophy, primarily because of the prodding of President Johnson, NASA now has acquired far more manned space data at much less cost in two Gemini missions than it would have in six at the old pace. It is ironic that President Johnson now is turning to the philosophy in the supersonic transport program that he forced NASA to abandon in Gemini.

If the United States were developing its supersonic transport program in an international vacuum and planned to sell its wares only to domestic airlines, the pace of this development effort might be unimportant. But such is not the case. The Anglo-French Concorde, now that its initial political problems are solved, is proceeding at a rapid pace. Anyone who saw the extent of the component hardware shown at the recent Paris Air Show must realize this. The Concorde already enjoys an 18-month lead over the U.S. project; Johnson and McNamara have handed it another 18 months of headway.

The Soviets have revealed their basic supersonic transport design in the Tupolev Tu-144 and have scheduled the first prototype flight for 1968. It appears to be impossible for the United States to avoid being third in the air with a flyable supersonic transport. This sequence in itself would not be significant economically. What will be significant is the length of the gap between the Concorde's appearance on the market as salable hardware and the time that the airlines of the world believe the United States will reach a similar stage of development.

The airline business is a highly competitive enterprise. No matter how patriotic its basic motives, no airline can afford to wait too long to match or surpass its competitor's equipment. Every month that the U.S. supersonic transport program is stretched will mean larger sales of its Concorde competitor. If stretched sufficiently, the program would leave the United States with an unprofitable

Edsel in a market already saturated by the Anglo-French Concorde.

Estimates of the international supersonic transport market have been rising rapidly since the first ultraconservative forecast of 300 aircraft. Most airline economists now agree that 500 is a more realistic figure. But we venture to predict that when the supersonic transport order books are closed there will be close to 1,000 sold. The economic leverage of this market, both domestically and in the international balance of payments, will be far more significant than even the rosiest current estimate.

We think the President Johnson-McNamara supersonic transport development program is pennywise and pound foolish. It will cost this Nation heavily unless it is accelerated to a more realistic technical pace that will offer potential customers some solid assurance of not being left at the post by competitors flying foreign equipment.

Now only Congress can change the shape of this program. We hope that before Congress appropriates another nickel for supersonic transport development the legislators dig to the heart of this matter. They should demand either an affective program with a development cycle that offers a better chance to hit the international jackpot or cut our losses and scrap the program now.

Profs Called On To Be Dynamic Anti-Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, has long been a forceful and articulate spokesman against communism and Communist sympathizers. In the following article from the July 17, 1965, Indianapolis Star, Mr. Meany eloquently refutes those who call on us to abandon the cause of freedom and desert our friends.

PROFS CALLED ON TO BE DYNAMIC ANTI-REDS

(By George Meany)

(NOTE.—America's "Mr. Labor"—George Meany has been in the hustings for months, taking issue with the academic critics of U.S. policy in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. Thus he has been under constant attack by Sino-Soviet-Cuban propagandists abroad and by many critics at home. Victor Riesel, who writes "Inside Labor" for the Indianapolis Star, asked the president of the AFL-CIO why his organization takes the position it does. "Mr. Labor" replies in the following article.)

WASHINGTON.—The booing and the brawls on a college campus here and there cannot hide the fact that the American people, in their vast majority, support President Johnson in his determined effort to have our country meet its international responsibilities.

American labor takes pride in the consistent, unequivocal, and vigorous support which it has given to the President's basically sound foreign policies—particularly in his course toward the Vietnam and Santo Domingo crises. We have done so out of our own experience and conviction. We realize what is at stake in these bitter tests of will and strength and we know the nature, aims, and methods of communism.

The membership and leadership of the AFL-CIO have a deep sense of responsibility as citizens and as trade unionists. American labor has demonstrated this responsibility through its active efforts to help make our country's foreign policy democratic and ever more effective.

What is more, it has been tireless in carrying the message of freedom to the workers of every continent, creed, and color.

On the occasion of this year's Lincoln's Birthday luncheon at the White House, President Johnson very appropriately remarked that "history and our own achievements have * * * thrust upon us the principal responsibility for the protection of freedom on earth * * * No other people in no other time has had so great an opportunity to work and risk for the peace and the freedom of all mankind."

Organized labor in the United States has always known that its very existence depends on democracy. American labor has secured great social, economic, and political achievements through devotion to and reliance on the democratic processes. Thanks in no small measure to American labor's all-out support of democracy against fascism, nazism, falangism, Peronism, communism, and every other type of tyranny, the workers of many other lands are increasingly turning away from totalitarian movements and rallying to the cause of freedom.

What is this freedom that is so vital to our survival as citizens of a democracy and as trade unionists? To the AFL-CIO, freedom is more than a multiple-party system with free and secret universal suffrage for men and women of every race, color, religion, and national origin. In the philosophy of American labor, freedom is a way of life.

Experience has taught that any movement which opposes freedom of association, conscience and worship, any government which denies its people these basic human rights, any regime which prohibits free trade unions is hopelessly reactionary—regardless of how radical it may pretend to be or how revolutionary its slogans may sound.

The Communist movement, Communist regimes, and those who knowingly support them are really ultrareactionary. They are the worst enemies of freedom and justice.

No liberal can be loyal to his ideals and truly effective unless he is in the front ranks of the fight against communism and all other reactionary forces. That is why the AFL-CIO has never been neutral in the struggle between human freedom and tyranny—regardless of how far left the propagandists and supporters of dictatorship may claim to be.

And when we work and fight for freedom, we work and fight for freedom for all the people and not only for labor. American labor knows very well that it cannot enjoy democracy for itself and then deny it to others.

Even those who have never been allowed to taste freedom, even those who have been subjected to indoctrination in the dogmas of dictatorship, yearn for freedom and fight for it in the face of severest hardships and dangers. This accounts for much of the spreading disenchantment with communism especially among young people and intellectuals behind the Iron Curtain. Here is the reason why there are so many young men and women among those who risk their lives to flee from the yoke of dictatorship to countries where the people enjoy freedom.

Our university professors and students would serve their country and profession with fruitful distinction if they were to study this historic development and become not only academic but dynamic fighters against the Communist drive to dominate the world and impose on all mankind the Soviet system of tyranny.

Responsibilities of Press?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, a few ago, the news media were full of stories about an alleged showdown to be staged on the Washington social scene between the New Frontier and the Great Society.

Many of us who read these accounts could not believe our eyes. Surely grown-up and responsible people would not behave in a manner described in those stories.

A few days later, some light was thrown on this subject in a column written by a respected Washington reporter, Miss Betty Beale. Miss Beale exposed the earlier stories as sensation-seeking fabrications, and after chastizing the members of her own profession for an asinine performance, she raised a question which has very serious and far-reaching implications:

"If anything ever illustrated some people's assumption," she wrote, "that reporters get their greatest indoor exercise from jumping to conclusions, this did. It also gave this writer real concern over the reliability of the reporting business. It makes her wonder what to believe in the reports about Vietnam and other serious topics around the world on which she does not have a ringside seat."

This question, of course, is of concern to every American. What can people believe about the things they read? Our boys are fighting and dying in Vietnam. Surely their families and neighbors are entitled to expect the truth—rather than fabrications—from our news media.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert the pertinent part of Miss Beale's "Washington Letter" of July 3 at this point in the RECORD.

BETTY BEALE'S WASHINGTON LETTER, WASHINGTON, D.C., JULY 3, 1965

DEAR ———: Of all the asinine performances this columnist has ever witnessed, last week's action by her own profession takes the cake. In her 20 years of having a ringside seat on the Capital social scene she has never before observed the news meida go out on such an absurd limb as it did over the fabricated competition between Perle Mesta and the EDWARD KENNEDYS.

If anything ever illustrated some people's assumption that reporters get their greatest indoor exercise from jumping to conclusions, this did. It also gave this writer real concern over the reliability of the reporting business. It makes her wonder what to believe in the reports about Vietnam and other serious topics around the world on which she does not have a ringside seat.

It all happened because Perle Mesta gave a dinner for Senator and Mrs. Mike Mansfield. There is nothing extraordinary about this. Two years ago I attended a dinner in her apartment for Senator and Mrs. Mansfield, who have also been her guests at Sunday luncheons. It so happened that the Massachusetts Senator and his beauteous wife Joan had a dance the same night—but it was arranged after Mrs. Mesta's dinner and did not compete with it because a dinner

does not compete with a dance anyhow, it's a customary adjunct. In having dancing after dinner with about 30 more guests invited later, Mrs. Mesta was only following her usual pattern of entertaining. She never expects the hard working, ranking guests to linger long after dinner under any circumstances.

The fact of the matter is, Mrs. Mesta invited only 4 Senators and their wives—only 4, mind you, out of 100—who were also invited to the Kennedy dance. And of the four, Senator ELLENDER regretted the dance because he never stays up that late—the other three Senators, MANSFIELD, and Senator and Mrs. Eugene McCarthy and WARREN MAGNUSON—went on to the Kennedy dance afterwards. How this perfectly normal behavior on the part of three men could represent a showdown for Capitol Hill attention between the New Frontier and the Great Society—or a conflict—or a tug of war—all of which it was billed as being, is beyond the comprehension of all people concerned.

But what tests the imagination to its wildest extremes is how this simple occurrence could have caused Senator MANSFIELD's, Mrs. Mesta's, and the Kennedy's telephones to ring all day with queries from the wire services, the networks, the New York papers and others, and caused the unsensation-seeking New York Times to send a reporter and photographer to Mrs. Mesta's apartment while the party was in progress.

When this big so-called showdown was even reported on a TV broadcast of world news, Mrs. Mesta's long-time Negro maid was moved to comment: "When there are so many serious things in the world, why do they talk about such small things?"

Mrs. Mansfield confided to this reporter during the dinner that it had been very hard on her husband to have to answer the phone all day on something this flighty when he had problems of national importance to handle.

But the sweet-natured Senator took it in his stride. He arose at the end of the Mesta meal, followed her toast to, "one of the most beloved men in the Senate," to give a play-by-play account of the arrangements for the now-famous party. The date, he said, had been set 3 months ago, at which time the Democrats' $100-plate dinner was scheduled for June 3. Then, he said, the Democratic dinner was switched about a month beforehand to the 24th of June. But as Mrs. Mesta had already invited all her guests, he told her he would come to her and go to the Democratic party next year.

But, he continued, she said, "We're both good Democrats. We should go to the dinner and not disappoint 'MAGGIE' " (Senator WARREN MAGNUSON who was chairman of the fundraiser). So they settled on the next night instead.

"Now that's the true story of this dinner," said MANSFIELD, who toasted Mrs. Mesta as still "the hostess with the mostes'."

The Spanish Ambassador and the Marquesa de Merry del Val, who were also invited to the Kennedy dance, said Mrs. Mesta's telegram asking if the 25th would be satisfactory instead of the 24th, arrived before the Kennedy's invitation.

Said Perle, "The whole thing is most ridiculous. I didn't even know about the Kennedy dance until the day before our parties. I like and admire Joan Kennedy, and TEDDY too, and the farthest thing from my mind would be to interfere with any party they were having. The whole thing is absurd. Dinner parties don't conflict with dances anyhow."

How right she was. The Mansfields and McCarthys who lingered for awhile at Perle's still arrived at the Kennedy dance in plenty of time. In fact, they arrived there before the guests of honor, BOBBY and Ethel Kennedy.

So there are the facts on the most ado about nothing that Washington society can remember in decades. The reaction of the press shows once again how excited it gets over conflict, just as the biggest news that was reported on the enormously successful, top quality White House Festival of the Arts was the refusal of 1 man to participate rather than the 99 percent who took part and made it a fascinating cultural event.

If these are the "true" pictures being presented to the public, how does one assess the news out of Vietnam and the Dominican Republic? You've got me.

Eulogy to the Honorable T. Ashton Thompson, Representative From the Louisiana Seventh District

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, this Chamber is no longer to benefit from the presence of the Honorable T. ASHTON THOMPSON of Louisiana, who has been taken from us by the cruelest act of fate.

We who worked with him and knew him as a colleague and a friend are equally bereft as his constituents, for whom he gave the utmost of his time and his energy. All who knew him even slightly were stunned at the awful news of his demise in the realization that the people of Louisiana, the Congress, and the Nation itself had lost a fine and gallant leader, capable of noble ideas and high accomplishments.

T. ASHTON THOMPSON entered the public service in the year 1934, as traveling auditor for the Louisiana Highway Commission. From then until the day of his death he worked for no other employer save the government of the State of Louisiana and the Government of the United States, both of which he loved with all his heart and was willing to serve with everything at his command.

Although T. ASHTON THOMPSON was for many years associated with the finances of the State of Louisiana, this was by no means his only area of competence or interest. On the contrary, they ranged far and wide. As an Air Force officer in World War II he became exceedingly knowledgeable in the fields of aeronautics and military strategy. As a longtime State official, he developed a keen awareness of the value of public works programs, and as a citizen of a State bordering on the sea he was all his life familiar with nautical affairs.

In line with these interests T. ASHTON THOMPSON was appointed to the House Committee on Public Works and the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, in both of which bodies he performed with a great enthusiasm matched only by his skill.

Although myself a member of the political party opposed to that of T. ASHTON THOMPSON, I found in him a splendid man and a splendid politician, for he was one of those to whom the word, "compromise," was more than just a word. He was truly concerned for effective, workable legislation, and partisanship was simply not a major part of his nature.

The House of Representatives will miss this man of great ability, almost to the same extent as will his friends and family.

Indeed, he was a tribute to his district, his State, and the Congress, itself.

Day Urges Merchant Ships To Patch Up Rivalries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STANLEY R. TUPPER

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, as some of my colleagues may know, the Honorable James V. Day, of Kennebunk, Maine, was today administered the oath of office for a second term as a member of the U.S. Maritime Commission, in ceremonies at the White House. We in Maine are naturally proud of the contributions to good government made by Vice Chairman Day.

A recent article in the Portland Sunday Telegram written by May Craig is an excellent profile of Commissioner Day:

DAY URGES MERCHANT SHIPS TO PATCH UP RIVALRIES

(By May Craig)

WASHINGTON.—James V. Day, the Kennebunk, Maine, Republican just renominated by President Johnson as a member of the U.S. Maritime Commission, disapproves of unpleasant rivalry between merchant ships.

Patch up your differences and rivalries and work for the prosperity of American merchant ships and for the business of carrying America's $36 billion foreign trade, he advised the American Merchant Marine Institute in a recent meeting here.

Day was guest of honor and principal speaker.

"Splits between subsidized and unsubsidized carriers must be healed," he told the Institute.

"Rivalry between conference and nonference lines must be justly and equitably regulated. Controversies between tankers and bulk carriers must be resolved, and our labor difficulties should be replaced with a mutuality of respect."

Johnson announced from Texas last weekend that he was naming Day for a second 4-year term on the Commission. Day has been serving as its vice chairman. He was appointed to the Commission by President Kennedy in 1962.

The Commission is made up of a chairman and four members. It regulates foreign and coastal shipping. It also regulates rates; agreements and practices of carriers, terminal operators, and freight forwarders; and licenses the last.

It makes rules, holds hearings, handles investigations, makes inspections, administers rates, and watches any foreign discriminations. It attends interagency meetings.

Also, it helps industry solve shipping problems, develops U.S. foreign trade; and is charged with protecting fair competition.

The chairman of the Commission, Rear Adm. John Harllee (U.S. Navy, retired)

also was reappointed for a 4-year term. He says he told the White House the best thing he ever did was to make Jim Day vice chairman, and that Day had done "superb job" as vice chairman in the past year.

Day was the first Republican of the Commission to be vice chairman and was entrusted with the responsibility of operating the Commission during Admiral Harllee's absences in Europe and outlying states and territories on Commission business.

Day is an excellent speaker and has traveled from Alaska to the southernmost States for the Commission.

He was public relations director for the American Legion here both before he was appointed to the Maritime Commission and after, continuing to hold both jobs until he was made the Commission's Vice Chairman July 24, 1964.

Day is always managing something. For example, this year it was the reception for Maine Cherry Blossom Princess Sally Allen of Skowhegan at Kenwood Country Club, given by State of Maine Society. Representatives of a score of Embassies were there to eat Maine chicken, along with representatives of big food chains and the presidents of the Washington Hotel and Restaurant Associations. It was the first time Maine State Society had switched from lobster at its annual dinner. Day thought it was time to launch Maine chicken on the gustatory scene, as well as blueberry pie and Maine potatoes.

Day was pleased with the variety, and foreign visitors were surprised and enthralled by the Maine men, cooking chicken in pits, right there. Day's assistant, Edwin Stetson, said the great thing about working for Day is his superlative ability to seize directly and immediately the essence and overall significance of matters coming before the Commission and to do something positive about them. President Johnson is that kind of a man, too, which may be partly responsible for his clinching Day in the Commission for another 4 years. Stetson is of Damariscotta and Bangor and is a Bowdoin graduate.

The entire Maine congressional delegation, Democratic and Republican, wrote to the President in favor of the Day reappointment. Democratic Senator MUSKIE, of Maine, issued a press release saying, in part: "I know that Jim Day will bring to his new assignment the same vigor, intelligence, and mature judgment he has displayed in all his endeavors. It is gratifying to have Maine's interest in maritime affairs recognized in this appointment."

Day has been active in Maine community affairs, service programs, and political affairs and has held various elective offices in civic and service organizations ever since he graduated from college.

He did lose, narrowly, in a Republican primary for Congress against Representative Robert Hale in 1956.

In 1953, at age 37, he was elected Maine Legion commander, youngest in history. He received in 1961, the President's Award of the American Legion Press Association for a better informed America. When he resigned as the Legion's national director of public relations, a resolution was passed by the national public relations commission saying that under his guidance and presentation to the public of Legion policies, the Legion policies and programs reached heights nationally never before attained.

Day was educated in Brewer High School and Washington State Teachers College, majoring in education. He went into the U.S. Army as a private in September 1941, came out a first lieutenant, and served on the staff of Gov. Frederick G. Payne.

He is an experienced businessman in firms from Florida to New Jersey, and was in the hotel business with his brother.

Day is a member of Holy Trinity Roman Catholic Church here, in the Georgetown section of the city, the church attended by the late President Kennedy, from the time Kennedy came here as a House Member. Beside the brick wall of the parish hall is a brick walk, shaded by a high hedge, where President Kennedy used to walk and meditate, before and after going to church.

Now called the Kennedy walk, it is hidden from all except those who know, by the high hedge. Once when I made a speech in the parish hall, at Day's invitation, he took me to the walk and we paced there a few minutes alone, remembering.

Day never forgets Maine. He was influential in having the nuclear ship *Savannah* come to Maine; he has been president of the State of Maine Society and attends its meetings; he keeps in close touch with the Maine congressional delegation and helped arrange the tribute to Maine newspapers, first in a list of papers honored by the National Press Club here.

At the meeting here of the American Merchant Marine Institute, Day took opportunity to stress the need for publicity for the merchant marine, and for strong promotional programs to nurture shipping consciousness in this country.

Believing not only that trade is essential to the prosperity of the United States and that American ships are necessary, he also believes in American shippers giving preference to American ships.

He believes in keeping our own ports prosperous, and that means ships coming and going—and the cargoes coming and going to attract the trade. He expressed much interest in the recent visit here by longshoremen from Maine to see the Maine congressional delegation about more business for the ports. All agreed that cargoes must be stimulated, ships will not be there unless the cargoes are there.

Uniformed Services Pay Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9075) to amend title 37, United States Code, to increase the rates of basic pay for members of the uniformed services.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 9075 and I commend the distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Committee and the ranking minority member as well as the other members of the committee for their legislative efforts.

There can be little argument that the men and women serving in the military are entitled to and should receive an increase in pay. It is due them by reason of their service for our country, particularly at a time when crisis challenges and confronts us. It is also due them because, in almost no other industry in this Nation do so many people do so much for so little.

A private who may be called upon to risk his life in battle receives no more than someone working in the poverty program here at home.

In fact, a private in our Army does not even receive $1.25 an hour, the minimum wage scale across the United States.

The increase called for in H.R. 9075 will raise the pay of our military to a more reasonable level. It will help bring pay scales more in line with the present cost of living. It will help establish a pay scale which will help keep competent trained men and women in the military.

It is good legislation, it is needed legislation, and it is legislation which I am pleased to support. Our military deserve no less than what they will receive as a result of its passage and indeed it can be argued that they are deserving of a good deal more.

Dad Explains What It Means To Fight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego Union of July 18, 1965:

DAD EXPLAINS WHAT IT MEANS TO FIGHT

Eight-year-old Theodore Schelin, Jr., has found it hard to understand why his daddy has been gone away from home so long, and what his daddy is doing on that big ship so very far away.

But Bud, as he is called by his family and friends, understands a little better today because he has received a special letter from his father.

Dad is a chief data systems analyst aboard the attack aircraft carrier *Oriskany* (*CVA 34*). Schelin left their home at 559 Madrona Street, Chula Vista, in early April for a Western Pacific cruise.

On Independence Day Bud's father wrote him a letter explaining why Americans are dying in Vietnam and why "it is better to die fighting than to live without freedom."

Being 8 years old, Bud still can't comprehend the importance of everything his father tried to tell him but he has a much better understanding of what his daddy is doing than most boys of his age.

Excerpts from the letter show why:

"Dear Bud: Today is Independence Day, a day when we usually go somewhere to watch a fireworks display * * * We can't go anywhere to watch the fireworks while we are on the ship but our airplanes will fly over Vietnam and drop bombs on the Communist Vietcong later today. Then the Vietcong, whom we believe are the bad guys, will be able to see all kinds of fireworks * * *

"On Independence Day we celebrate the day our country became free from England almost 200 years ago. 'Independent' means 'free.'

"Today there is a group of countries in the world which would like to take our freedom away. They are called Communists. One of these countries is North Vietnam, and the men in their special kind of army are called Vietcong.

"North Vietnam would like to take away the freedom of the people of South Vietnam, so they have sent their army into South Vietnam.

"The people of South Vietnam were having trouble fighting the Vietcong and they asked the United States to help them in their fight for their freedom.

"Someday they would be strong enough, after taking over a lot of small countries, to fight a war with the United States. Presi-

dent Kennedy, and later President Johnson, decided it would be best if the United States helped the people of South Vietnam to fight for their freedom.

"Now soldiers from the U.S. Army, airmen from the U.S. Air Force, marines from the U.S. Marine Corps, and sailors, like me, from the U.S. Navy are in Vietnam helping the people fight for their freedom.

"Sometimes these Americans are killed in the fighting. Sometimes very many Americans are killed all at once. Always the Americans fight side by side with our friends, the soldiers and sailors of South Vietnam, and when we have to, we die together.

"There are many Americans here, many are fathers like I am with sons like you. Because I would rather die fighting than live without freedom, I am proud to be one of the men assigned to help the South Vietnamese.

"If I die here I want you to remember when you grow up that when a man or a country or a group of countries try to take freedom from you, or from your country, it will then be your turn to fight.

"You must fight these people with all that is in you, and if you must also die for freedom for your mother or your wife, remember that it is better to die fighting than to live without freedom.

"Love,

"DAD."

Two Articles From Young Voice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, a group of young people in our District issue a little magazine under the title of "Young Voice."

In the last issue there was an article by Kathy Leonard, a senior at Woodside High School, on "Pornography" and an article by Karen Setterfield, a senior also at Woodside High School, on "Peaceful Coexistence."

Both of these articles are worthy of note, and they follow:

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

(By Karen Setterfield)

Throughout history great philosophers have advocated peace as the ideal for all people. The stoic philosophers and the Buddhists taught that all men are brothers, and that peace should be maintained among states and nations as well as among families and communities. The Judeo-Christian concept of peace, derived from the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," has spread throughout the world.

Today, because threats to peace have become so intense, the ideal of peace has become more precious, and ways for maintaining or securing peace are of great concern to individuals and nations around the world. The cold war has generated much talk about peaceful coexistence bringing about a rise of many new pacifist organizations. Young people are especially attracted by these movements; they realize the world's future is being determined by today's actions and as future citizens want a world secure for peace.

As highly desirable as peace may be, Western ideology maintains that it should be a peace of freedom, not tyranny or slavery. Peaceful coexistence has also been a propaganda line of Communists for years. For Americans and most Western nations peaceful coexistence means that each proponent will exist without interference in the affairs of the other and dealings between them will be conducted with equality and honesty for their mutual interest. But what does this term mean to the Communists? The December 6, 1963, issue of Pravda explained, "The Marxist-Leninists understand the policy of peaceful coexistence as the strategic line designed for the whole period of the transition from capitalism to socialism (communism) on a world scale." An Estonian Communist stated in October 1963, "In the view of the Communists, peaceful coexistence between the two systems is certainly not a passive process in which there is some sort of parallel development between capitalism and socialism but an active and intense struggle, in the course of which socialism irresistibly attacks, while capitalism suffers one blow after another." The Communists intend to use peaceful coexistence not as a step toward peace but as strategy in their war against capitalism and freedom, and to the "total establishment" of world communism.

An important aspect of the program for "peaceful coexistence", is the cultural exchange program, a campaign which increasingly takes the form of persuading people the Communists really are people just like ourselves—peace loving and reasonable. Every day there are articles in our news media about exchanges with the Soviet Union from visiting Communist diplomats to Russian ballet companies. New attempts to make our economy, or more often the economies of underdeveloped nations, in small ways dependent on the economy of the Soviet Union or Red China through peaceful competition and trade are encouraged. Youth leaders around the world are prime targets of these cultural exchange programs as they are enticed into Communist-inspired youth festivals like that held in Vienna.

We must make ourselves more aware of these fronts of peace and realize the Communists real purposes and goals, and we must extend our friendliness not to the Communists but to the good people enslaved behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains by preparing a world of freedom for their children rather than a world of communism for ourselves.

PORNOGRAPHY

(By Kathy Leonard)

Words universally express man's thoughts and man's feelings. Freedom to express these thoughts and feelings is essential to man's whole free existence. Therefore, these thoughts and feelings should never be restricted in any way, or in any degree.

But how far can this freedom of communication be allowed to extend? Shouting fire in a crowded theater, falsely testifying on the witness stand, and spreading vicious lies and slander surely will never be an acceptable part of this freedom.

So then, if crowded theaters, people's reputations, and justice are protected from the abuse and overextension of this freedom shouldn't the minds and morals of our adults and our young people also be protected?

In the modern, progressively affluent 20th century, we find a definite need for protection from the smut and filth in our literature, commonly called pornography.

Pornography has found itself an accepted and revered object of our "mature" adults' reading matter, thus leaving the bookstores, and newsstands profusely supplied with a wide variety of pornography. Our reading matter is not the only source of communication in which pornography has infiltrated, and expanded. It can be abundantly found in the "raw, unabridged" so to speak, audio and visual portion of our lives.

Because of our adults' reading habits, not only has our literature become saturated with its presence, but more important, the minds of our young people are being strongly affected.

The child's whole attitude toward maturity leans away from love and morality and to perversion and indecency.

And still more important, rapes and illegitimate pregnancies are taking a sharp toll in our cities and suburbs today.

Past solutions to pornography have been few and repititious. In the past we have vacillated from one extreme to another, never offering a completely effective solution.

Previously we have thought of banning every form, shape, and degree of pornography. We have thought of banning such books as "Tarzan and Jane," because they were not legally married, Shakespeare's plays because of his detailed love scenes, "1984," for some reason or another, and "Little Red Riding Hood" because she was alone in the forest with a male wolf and after all what would the neighbors say. When such news of the banning of a particular book reaches the public, it is an overnight success.

By the mere suggestion of total abolition of pornography, the United States would once again be in a prohibition situation, that would only cater to the need of forbidden fruit in man. And most assuredly such an act would be infringing upon the right of man's freedom of communication.

Previously we have thought of letting all forms of pornography go untouched and unnoticed, thus denying no aspect of this freedom to anyone. We have been subjected to the advice of our adults who maintain they read smut when they were children that would make today's filth seem like a fairytale. We can let the adults have what they want leaving our young people free to discover the worlds of pornography on their own.

These solutions have not worked, and for the present, I offer two relatively new solutions:

It truly would be infringing on the rights of man if our adults were denied the rights of choosing their reading materials, but we can do all that is necessary to make sure that our young people do not follow the same road. We can voluntarily, communally, and locally ban pornography from those people under 21. To appease skeptics who say what young people cannot have, they too will eventually get, we can follow this measure up with the involvement of interested church groups, school groups, and most important—interested parental groups. The community and the parents must make the child realize that pornography is not an accepted habit after one reaches adulthood.

Or, we can give pornography the label of being immature, ridiculous, and something to be observed only by the foolish. Perhaps we can make it seem as ridiculous and as nugatory as it really is, thus making our young people turn away from this literature, and making our adults feel as cheap as their reading habits.

Realistically, this is a most serious problem that cannot be totally solved by writing a few solutions down on a piece of paper. The seriousness of pornography has already been proved by rapes, by the illegitimate pregnancies, and by the actions of our young people in today's world. Now, the solutions need only to be applied realistically and with energetic enthusiasm.

If we can, in both previous solutions stop the pornographic tendencies when a person is young, perhaps there will be no problem when he is mature.

It has always been somewhat reluctantly believable, that a young immature child would want to explore the world of pornography when he is young, but when the adults in our society relish it, it not only becomes unbelievable, but very sad. But then it is accepted knowledge, that evil comes to those who evil think.

Adlai E. Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, Adlai E. Stevenson is now returned to a quiet place in Illinois. There, in his own country and among his own people, mourning has etched a lonely weekend across the prairie landscape. I was among those many thousands from his own land who joined, in sorrow and in humility, in this last farewell. Here, five generations of Governor Stevenson's family had lived and prospered and lent their names to history. Here, he had served the people of Illinois and had grown large in their affections and here, too, he had joined the great ventures that catapulted him into the hearts and minds of men and women throughout the world. The feeling that surrounded the final rites for Adlai Stevenson demonstrated a great love for this man. In this feeling and in this setting I could not but think of a similar sadness on the same soil 100 years ago, when Abraham Lincoln was returned to Illinois.

Though the final homage belonged to the people of Illinois, the last remembrances belong to the Nation and to the world. For though Adlai Stevenson is now home, it has been demonstrated to us in these 6 days since his death that he was a citizen not of one place alone, but of the world. From London, to Washington, to Springfield, to Bloomington, and in New York and Tokyo and Karachi and Khartoum—wherever he had touched the minds and hearts of men—we have heard and read laudatory testimony to Governor Stevenson's presence among us. In measuring the man and the huge strides he took for us and with us during the past 20 years, we have summoned what eloquence we have to honor the memory of this most eloquent spokesman of our times. Somehow our language is inadequate; we must rely on our feelings for an awareness of our true affection. As he had said on Churchill's passing, there is an empty place against the sky. That place will not be filled by words. Still, we yearn for a definition of Adlai Stevenson's meaning to us, and I am grateful for the contributions of three men toward that definition. I wish to submit for the RECORD the eulogy delivered by Judge Carl McGowan at the National Cathedral in Washington, which speaks to and for all who were friends of Adlai Stevenson; an article written by Richard N. Goodwin, special assistant to President Johnson, which does much to capture the greatness of this man, and a moving article written by Richard Christiansen of the Chicago Daily News

[From the New York Times, July 17, 1965]

TEXT OF THE STEVENSON EULOGY BY JUDGE CARL MCGOWAN NATIONAL CATHEDRAL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

We are a vast company, we friends of Adlai Stevenson. Only a few of our total number are met here in Washington today to mourn him. More will come together for the same sad purpose in his homeland in Illinois. But all taken together will be but a very small part of the whole.

This is because in his case the word friend has a staggering sweep. It comprehends those who have had the benison of his personal presence to delight as well as to inspire. But it also includes literally millions in this country and abroad to whom he is only a voice.

It is a voice, however, to which they have listened since he began speaking in the accents of reason to the American people and as he has continued to do to the peoples of the entire world in the United Nations.

These people have in all their sorts and conditions of life, of high and low degree, of varying color and religions, listened to that voice with unabated interest and with undiminished respect. They have heard in it the unmistakable intonations of friendship. They have responded with the gift of their affection to a man most of them have never seen.

They are of our company of friends today, as much as any one of us here. We have all heard the same voice.

ECHOES IN HISTORY

That voice is still now. But its echoes are likely to be sounding down the corridors of history for a long time. For it is the essence of faith to believe that the world in its advancing age will set no less score than have we upon reason, upon intelligence, upon gaiety, upon charity and compassion and grace—all these things and more of and with which this voice has spoken to us so often and so clearly in the past.

We do not need now to be reminded of what we have lost. That hurt is deep and no one of us is too old to cry. We may better then, give thanks for what we have had and rejoice in our recollections of how our good fortune came to be.

Many have asked how it was that a man of Governor Stevenson's sensibilities could have intruded himself into the dust and heat of politics. We may think, I believe, that it was simply his joyous response to one of his deepest instincts—that for public service.

He knew that the greatest opportunities for effective public service lie in elective office. The shattering disappointments that beset that way of life can also dissolve in the satisfaction of feeling the reins of political power in one's hands harnessed to good and just ends.

The disappointments were his in cruel measure. But the satisfactions were his as well. We need not fear that he ever looked back with despairing regret at the way the final balance was struck.

FAMILY BENT FOR POLITICS

There was a strong family bent for politics and Adlai Stevenson was of a generation of Princeton students who thrilled to the saga of Woodrow Wilson—that figure in our history in whom the contrasting worlds of the university and the precinct have had their most dramatic conjunction.

In this cathedral the spirit of Woodrow Wilson is always very close. Surely it has never been more so than at this moment. the youthful admirer has completed the course with honor and is at rest with the admired.

The two have often been compared; although there are obvious disparities in temperament, there are many similarities in political styles. Above all, they had a common vision of a just society at home and a peaceful one abroad. Both were agreed that the mobilization and direction of political power was a pursuit from which no man should turn away or of which he should be ashamed.

And who can say that the dream of the youthful Stevenson in terms of a world made safe for democracy did not include a happier ending, if only the rocky road to political power could be traversed once more by a man with the same vision.

Adlai Stevenson enjoyed politics. He relished the infinite variety of people he met there. He found them to be, as in other walks of life, of all descriptions, good and bad, and, more frequently, partly good and partly bad.

He had a particular liking for these last, for he knew that most of us, including himself, are in that group. He sensed that strain of sentimentality which is always just under the surface of political relationships and which binds together in a tacit brotherhood all those who live and die by the ballot box.

He brought to this highly emotional environment his own warm responses, shaped by those qualities which, beneath all the surface toughness and cynicism, it valued the highest, a cheerful lightness of spirit, a gift for undemanding friendship, a sympathetic understanding that most politicians have creditable reasons for worrying about the day after election day.

He had the expert political leader's sure instinct for trying to identify the other fellow's problems and pressures before passing judgment upon him. The Stevenson story has now become a legend. The glories of it are many, but none shines more brightly than the sight of him putting to work at the United Nations these very qualities which rocketed him to the foreground of domestic politics.

It was as if he were fated to move through personal disappointment to the very center of the problems that assail all people and upon which depend the survival of civilization itself.

LIFETIME OF PREPARATION

His whole life has been a preparation for events of this scale of importance. And our sense of the fitness of things must be touched by this completely civilized man doing battle for the persistence of the very idea of civilization. For our biggest stake we put forward our best. And he met the challenge, to our and his eternal honor.

If there is reason to be despairing on this day it is because this man has been removed from the important work of war and peace. But he who knew the perils ahead better than most, was undaunted by them.

In virtually the last of his magnificent speeches he gave to the world he said: "For all our desperate dangers I do not believe in the words of Winston Churchill that 'God has despaired of His children.'"

Wherefore, then, are we now to falter and be faint of heart. We have lost a friend; but all the world has lost one. And that friend has left us in the fullness of his powers and secure in what he must have known to be a farflung respect and affection.

He died as he would have wished, engaged in his country's business, and mankind's.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 18, 1965]

HE NEVER LEARNED TO HIDE HIS SOUL

"We shall not come again
We never shall come back again
But over us all, over us all,
Over us all is—something."

—THOMAS WOLFE.

(By Richard N. Goodwin)

Twice he had come as close as a man could come to leadership of the American Nation. Yet no one noticed as, for a moment, Adlai Stevenson looked toward the caped statue of Franklin Roosevelt, walked a few hundred yards, grasped the thin steel columns of a sidewalk railing, and died.

Questions of man's survival, of war, and of human progress had very nearly rested on the qualities of his personal mind and will. The destiny of every man and woman he passed that afternoon was almost placed in

his hand. Yet no one cheered or waved or even turned to stare.

For he had escaped power. And for a politician, power is the tool which etches out one man's figure from among his companions.

IMPRESSIVE QUALITIES

Would he have been a good leader of his country, or a great one? We will never know. Many deny it. And they give reasons which start to persuade, until we remember that they—or their counterparts in other years—had said the same of past leaders such as John Kennedy and Franklin Roosevelt, and, most violently, of Abraham Lincoln.

The fact is no man who has not been President can survive analysis of his capacity for the task. Nor can we predict his qualities until they pass through the purification of power and responsibility. We do know he had more promise than most. We do know the impressive qualities of mind and spirit his career permitted him to reveal. We also know he was ambitious. For you do not run for President unless your ambitions are greater than those of other men.

Was that ambition tinged with self doubt? It is for every man except the very dangerous. Did he have the courage of decision? His own words, public and in private conversation, cloud judgment. But perhaps they only mask the fact that never in his public life did he fail to decide when it was time to decide; except in 1960 when the shameful prospect of leading his party to a third defeat postponed judgment beyond the reach of action.

Where public issues were concerned he spoke—on the platform and in the meeting room—with a clarity of conviction few had courage to match. And on this question the judgment of those who knew him is disfigured by the tortured musings of a man who had never quite learned the trick of hiding his soul; whose confidence had been twisted and battered by defeat and by the indifference and contempt of lesser men, which finally killed him.

He was not, as some have said, marked by fate or failure. He was the victim of less mystical forces: bad luck, poor timing, unfortunate issues, a party too long in office, and an opponent who could not be defeated. Had 6 percent of American voters switched to him in 1952 then all the hesitation and humility would today be regarded as the skillful genius of a master politician.

So we do not know, and will never know, if Adlai Stevenson would have been a good President of the United States. But we must be reluctant to believe that the judgment of so many who had desired his victory so furiously could have been so wrong.

Great men of affairs are either kings or prophets. Very few are both. And honor comes more reluctantly to prophets because they touch us more deeply. Adlai Stevenson never became a king, but he was a prophet. Death is already beginning to dissolve the masks of public failure and private personality which hide that recognition. It will become clearer as the self-justifying commentaries of those who scorned him in life begin to fade.

SEED ON UNPLOWED GROUND

I knew Adlai Stevenson as a colleague in my work for President Kennedy and, more recently for President Johnson. Both valued him most highly. Both had worked for his election to the office which they, not he, were to hold. Both knew, as others did not, what it took to bare yourself—ambitions and hopes—to the faithful, the indifferent and the hostile alike.

Many others in Washington, in these years, looked at him with a certain condescension. At times, thankfully only a few times, my own instinct was submerged in the need to be fashionable. But Adlai Stevenson will be mourned more deeply and remembered longer than any of these. It is not that millions loved him and millions more admired him. It is that closeness and ambition, envy and rivalry obscure the heart's truth. Yet that is the truth that finally matters; which selects the man from among the shadows, sadly past the hour when recognition might bring personal joy.

But though I knew him and admired him, opposed him in 1960 and occasionally worked with him thereafter, many can speak far more intimately than I.

I remember best the Adlai Stevenson I never knew, when the world was young and the ringing phrases tumbled like the sowers seed on the unplowed ground.

In the fall of 1952 I was a senior in college in Massachusetts. John Kennedy was a young Congressman I had never met now running for the Senate. And Lyndon Johnson was the uncertainly familiar name of a Senator from Texas.

But Adlai Stevenson was my hero and my leader and my candidate for President of the United States. I never met him or even saw him nor had I read the carefully crafted texts of his speeches. But something was in the air. My tiny world suddenly seemed to widen. Events and the course of history were drifting back within the reach of a man's skill and brains. The pursuit of power, and its use, were not solely the object of greed and "vaulting ambition" but infused with service and nobility and the love of others.

It wasn't that he talked sense or spoke the truth harshly. It was the more profound act of telling us—my generation—what we knew but didn't realize. He revealed a world we already sensed was there, bared challenges we were aching to undertake. The words were the words of sacrifice but the music sang of meaning and purpose to a young man.

As much as any, he was the end of postwar America and the beginning of a time still nameless. We knew and still repeated the old political phrases and the outworn battle cries. But we did not understand them because the lines had been drawn in a different war, and it was not our war. Now finally, there was a language we could understand and make our own.

THE ELEVATED INTELLIGENCE

Eight dreary, near-tragic years were to pass before that prophesy was to be fulfilled by different men. It is hard to overstate the extent to which he helped shape the dialog, and hence the purposes, of the New Frontier and then the Great Society. He dissolved the old, unserviceable simplicities and taught us to apply to the world the complex wisdom we have used so triumphantly in the affairs of our Nation: We could seek peace while resisting danger. Everyone who was not a friend was not an enemy. Agreement and accommodation could come from self-confidence as well as fear. By helping others we could strengthen ourselves. Particular problems could be resolved, but we must learn to live for generations with a troubled world. The contest was not simply between our system and communism, but between those who found security in dominion and those who found it in a world of strong and diverse lands.

And all these principles, and many more, he suffused with another welcome and shining truth: the pursuit of national self-interest was not inconsistent with the desire for justice and dignity and well-being for all the people of the world—that there was no basic unresolvable contradiction between realistic policies and high ideals.

To our domestic problems he brought the same elevated and critical intelligence. He told us our sights were too low, the course we had charted too narrow. In every area of our national life we not only could do more than we were doing but more than we thought. And he taught that wealth was not excellence, power was not greatness, the pursuit of abundance was not the pursuit of happiness.

After he spoke, no leader of his party nor the dialogue of democracy itself, would ever sound the same again. He was eloquent and acclaimed for eloquence, but finally it was not how he spoke but what he said that mattered. Others would bring new accents and perhaps even greater powers to leadership. But it had all begun in Springfield, Ill., in that hopeful dawn year of 1952.

CITIZEN-POLITICIAN CREATED

The most farsighted policies molder and dissolve, lose content and direction, in the hands of the mediocre and the indifferent. The Nation rests on the quality of its public men, and they in turn are shaped by the quality of American politics. Adlai Stevenson brought many individuals into government who have enriched the administrations of President Kennedy and President Johnson. But this is the least of it. More than any man, he created the citizen-politician. He told an entire generation there was room for intelligence and idealism in public life, that politics was not just a way to live but a way to live greatly, that each of us might share in the passions of the age.

My first experience in national politics was in an overflowing, chaotic room of the volunteers for Stevenson. Many thousands had the same initiation. Today, the citizens groups, the volunteers, the clubs to discuss issues and the clubs to reform politics, are a force which every politician must confront, and which the best will welcome. Thus, he changed the face of American politics; enriching the democracy, providing a base on which talent could aspire to power, opening a gateway to public life through which many who never heard his voice will someday enter.

All these—ideas and men—are contributions to be remembered. But there was something more to Adlai Stevenson, a quality that resists thought and language alike. For none of this explains the fierce desire millions brought to his cause, the disappointed tears of many who never knew him, the deep impulse which could make ever experienced politicians forget commitment and interest alike to be at his side.

It was not the first time we have seen this quality, nor the last. But how rare it is in those who find their way to power.

Part of it was in his lesson. It was not a new lesson. It runs like a vein of light through the dark history of the race. It suffuses the religion and beliefs of every people. It says that man is more than the sum of his needs and desires and fears. It ennobles those who look beyond their own interest to great principles. It acclaims, not wealth and power, but the charity of the spirit and the reach of the heart.

LOVE FELT BY MILLIONS

This is what he wanted for the American people. And although we may never be equal to it, many loved him for thinking we could.

The rest was the man himself. You didn't need to know him to feel it, although knowing brought confirmation. There was a gentleness, a spaciousness of sensibility, a love which in unseen ways was felt by millions. He could laugh and be cynical. If he read these words he would joke about them, and he would deride this writing with soft self-depreciation. But all the wonderful humor, the urbanity, the captiousness was, in large part, a mask to protect himself from a world which so easily confused humility with weakness, sentiment with unreality, amplitude of understanding with failure of will. Many who met him were fooled. Millions who never met him, knew the truth.

This is the secret of today's mourning and to his place in the play of passion clothed in fact which is history. People return what

they receive. They believe in the man who believed in them and thus made them believe in themselves. They love the man who loved them and thus let them love themselves a little more. They honor the leader who told them they were better than they were and, in so doing, made it so.

He has often been compared to Hamlet. And those who make the comparison do so as a metaphor of irresolution. Hamlet is the story of a man who tries to understand and reach for certainty before he strikes. But he does strike: and for justice loses kingship and life while the election lights on a young and valiant captain.

Our judgment must echo Shakespeare's own when the new king stands beside Hamlet's body, saying:

"Let four captains
Bear Hamlet, like a soldier, to the stage;
For he was likely, had he been put on,
To have prov'd most royally."

A FEW LAST WORDS FOR AN OLD FRIEND

(By Richard Christiansen)

I am trying very hard now to understand why the death of Adlai Stevenson has shaken me so much. I never knew him, I never covered any of his campaigns, and I saw him in person only twice, the first time at a 1952 political rally in St. Paul, when I was in the last row of the auditorium and had to use binoculars to make sure he actually was there. Yet when Harriet Brickman, our office girl, came in here Wednesday morning and said, "I heard someone say Adlai Stevenson's dead," I dropped my work, rushed out to the newsroom and found myself near tears. I still cannot get over it.

He was my first political hero. I remember being sprawled out on our living room rug in front of the television set that summer night in 1952 and hearing his acceptance speech, the noblest political address I've ever heard. It hit me with thunderbolt force.

That fall I put a huge "Madly for Adlai" poster on a wall of my room at college, I campaigned loudly and foolishly in many a campus debate and I had regular near fist-fight battles with my roommate, who thought he was soft and fuzzy-minded. On the night after I had cast my first presidential vote, I mourned, I mean I really mourned, when his defeat came so quickly.

A few months later, when he was traveling in Europe, I saw his picture again on a newspaper's front page, and I felt so pleased that he was still around, that an old friend had not been forgotten.

In 1954, when he delivered the Godkin lectures at Harvard, I stood in line in the rain for three hours (something I have never done before or since) to make sure I got a front seat. That was the speech in which he warned about the dangers of unreason and extremism, but what I recollect most clearly was that he first made a litle joke in Latin about "Eggheads of the world, unite," and we all laughed and cheered like mad, not so much because it was so terribly witty, but because, even in that light remark, he truly did want to make us feel united and purposeful and important in this world.

I don't remember much of the 1956 campaign, except that I went to a movie on election night, certain that he was going to lose and despairing nevertheless when the election returns posted in the lobby confirmed that he actually was losing.

But I do recall very strongly a little TV news segment in February 1960, when he was still considered a likely three-time candidate. A group of reporters jammed around him, asking him about his presidential hopes, and he predictably dodged all the questions. But when he had thanked them for coming out to meet him, and just as they were ready to leave, he said to them, with great disappointment in his voice, "You haven't asked me how it feels to have passed my 60th birthday." They asked him of course, but I don't know what he answered, because I was thinking then about what a remarkably open, guileless and friendly thing that was for him to say.

I remember other things: the 1960 convention, when I kept hoping for the impossible miracle of popular sentiment that would push him over Senator Kennedy's pushbutton machine; the scenes in the U.N., when the old eloquence flared up, and always his laugh, which, whenever I saw and heard it, immediately made me for him and with him all over again, wherever I was and whatever I was doing.

They tell me that his defeats were all for the better, because he probably would not have made a good President, and perhaps they are right, for I always believed he was a gentle and honest man, and maybe that's not the kind of man to run the world today.

But for me he was truly a leader. Every time he spoke, I knew he was speaking to me, telling me that we were both men living in a challenging age and that it was our mission and privilege as God's children to help create a just and peaceful world for all.

That's what he was saying to me in his last speech: "We travel together, passengers on a little spaceship, dependent on its vulnerable reserves of air and soil; all committed for our safety to its security and peace; preserved from annihilation only by the care, the work, and I will say the love we give our fragile craft. We cannot maintain it—half fortunate, half miserable, half confident, half despairing, half slave—to the ancient enemies of man—half free in a liberation of resources undreamed of until this day. No craft, no crew can travel safely with such vast contradictions. On their resolution depends the survival of us all."

I read those words over again, and I realize quite clearly that his death is a terrible, terrible personal loss to me.

USDA: Consumer Friend—USDA Helps American Housewives Take Advantage of "Good Buys" in Food

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR CALLAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, each day housewives all over the country consult the food pages of newspapers—or listen to the radio—to find out what foods are a "good buy" this week. I cite this as one of the popular and important—but little known—services of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Through its plentiful foods program, USDA has for many years been supplying information on good food buys to the food trade and the news media, in the interests of consumers, business, and farmers.

Here is how it works.

Each month commodity specialists in the Department collect all the available information about supplies of various foods—both present supplies and those projected for the near future. Then the Department puts out a list of foods expected to be in especially heavy supply in the next few weeks. This information is widely published through the cooperative efforts of all parts of the food industry and the news media.

Such a service is especially valuable to low-income families and those who need to stretch their food dollars to the limit. But it also helps families not on a strict budget. It alerts housewives to foods that are seasonally plentiful and at their best in quality.

Farmers and the food trade like this service, too. By stimulating sales of plentiful foods, it helps prevent serious price and supply troubles that would hurt not only farmers and business but in the long run consumers as well. Reasonably stable prices help everybody except speculators. Erratic food prices, on the other hand, can ruin farmers, imperil sound competition in the food trade and result in higher prices overall for consumers.

Sometimes the supply of a commodity gets into particularly serious trouble. Then the USDA pulls out all the stops in its plentiful foods program and gives an all-out promotion. This was done this spring when many egg producers were experiencing great price difficulties. Consumers responded to the promotion. They got an especially good buy in eggs for a couple of months. Prices to producers have now improved. But consumers are still getting eggs at reasonable prices.

I am happy to take this opportunity to commend the Department of Agriculture for helping American housewives take advantage of "good buys" in food.

He Was a New Kind

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, millions of people claim some sort of national allegiance and a large number claim no nationality, but there are very few men who tenaciously hold to their national citizenship and yet hold a place within the hearts of all the world. This aurora has come to be called world citizenship. Adlai Stevenson was such a man, far ahead of his times and yet living and actively participating within the present.

I request that the following editorial from the Jersey Journal, of Jersey City, N.J., be included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD because the author, my good friend, Mr. Eugene Farrell, points up Mr. Stevenson's role as a world citizen and his contributions as such:

HE WAS A NEW KIND

Adlai E. Stevenson was a rare kind of man. Who else could warm the heart of the world by sitting on a speaker's platform with a hole in his shoe while running for President? That was a part of the down-to-earth man who spoke with literary beauty about things everyone could understand. It was this quality which brought him a greater prominence in defeat than many men achieve in victory. A nation which would not accept

him as its President got to know and like him well enough to want him somewhere in its service all the time.

And so, as our Ambassador to the United Nations, he found a unique role. His warm, humor-sprinkled talk could charm delegates. But when the occasion demanded, he could be righteously wrathful with aggressors and obstructors to world peace. "Truly," as President Johnson said, "we have lost a great voice."

We also have lost one of the rare men of a new kind. They are are men who remain citizens of a nation, patriotic as the most parochial Fourth of July orator, and yet are in tune with the whole world. The United Nations has produced the few the world knows best and Adlai Stevenson properly belonged in the company that includes Trygve Lie, Dag Hammarskjold and Ralph Bunche—all men pointing the world along a new path of peaceful cooperation toward a society in which the many individual nations also are aware of their collective welfare.

Adlai Stevenson, who captured the Nation's imagination (if not its votes) with his unforgettable acceptance speech when nominated the first time, kept his place in the public eye through his great performances at the United Nations. There he fought for peace, yet never once could be accused of appeasement toward aggressors. There he fought for world order, yet never once could be charged with failing to keep the interests of the United States paramount.

His death fits the pattern. En route home from Switzerland he stopped over in London. There in one of those streets lined with the cleanest, neatest, flat buildings in all the world, he collapsed a short distance from our imposing Embassy facing on Grosvenor Square where the heroic statue of Franklin Roosevelt stands. He died, a busy American on the go for world peace, respected by his countrymen as highly as any man who ever did win the office he sought twice without success.

Adlai E. Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, eulogies, editorials, and comments are abundant with praise for the devoted and outstanding service Adlai Stevenson rendered to his country. He gave unselfishly of his time and talent, matched by few. It can be truly said that Mr. Stevenson will never be replaced—only succeeded.

Under unanimous consent, I wish to include a fine editorial on Mr. Stevenson which appeared in the Buffalo Evening News, Buffalo, N.Y., on July 16, 1965:

ADLAI E. STEVENSON

Whatever their political inclinations, there are few Americans who failed to respect and admire the ability and character, the brilliant mind and wit, most of all the great and sensitive conscience, of Adlai E. Stevenson who died suddenly yesterday in London.

Respect was given for his willingness to serve his country in any capacity that was asked of him. In recent years it was as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. His brilliant mental faculties were more than a match for the cold war foes in debate and action. His ripostes to charges of "imperialistic aggression" and other accusations against the United States were in many cases devastating.

Politically, his career was both rewarding and frustrating. He was elected Governor of Illinois in 1948 with little experience in the art, science, or backroom fencing of politics. Twice he was Democratic candidate for President of the United States; twice he lost—in 1952 and 1956. It was his fate to be matched against the only Republican in 36 years that the Democrats have never been able to beat. He may have been disillusioned but never bitter. It hurt too much to laugh, he said, but he was too old to cry.

Mr. Stevenson played a prominent part in the creation of the United Nations Charter in San Francisco in 1945 and later assumed the role of U.S. delegate to the first General Assembly in London. Immersed as he was in the history of the organization and—supported by eloquence and wit—he was an able representative of his country in that body when President Kennedy appointed him to head the vast American Embassy there. He fulfilled the ambassadorial function admirably.

Mr. Stevenson used his sometimes acid comments on events and situations to deflate opponents, whoever they were, and he rendered great service to his country in many capacities. The sudden extinguishment of his career is like a light going off on the world stage. He was a presence in our midst who will be greatly missed, not only by those who numbered themselves among his loyal and devoted political followers, but by all Americans who respect the too rare qualities of mind and conscience, of civilized wit and sophistication, that he epitomized in American public life. And it may be that the best heritage of all those he left his countrymen was the esteem in which he, as America's spokesman, was held by literate people throughout the world.

Adlai Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, among the most perceptive, probing commentaries on the death of Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson is the following column by Walter Lippmann from this morning's Washington Post. In raising questions about the America and Americans of today and tomorrow, he reminds us once again of the deep significance of Ambassador Stevenson's life and legacy:

ADLAI STEVENSON

(By Walter Lippmann)

We must wonder whether we have buried with Adlai Stevenson some element of the promise of American life. For in this generation he has stood apart, not only for his deeds and his words and his wit and his lovableness, but as somehow a living specimen of the kind of American that Americans themselves, and the great mass of mankind, would like to think that Americans are.

He was not a common man or a typical American of our times or, indeed, of any other time. But he evoked for us the mystic chords of memory because he touched again "the better angels of our nature." From Lincoln to Adlai Stevenson the heritage is direct and unbroken, a family tradition which began with his great-grandfather. Like Lincoln, he made men feel what this Nation had to be if the American experiment was to succeed. Like Lincoln, he was what the prairies and the New World had made of the educated Englishmen who led this country in the 18th century.

This Lincolnian American is, as compared with Washington or Jefferson, the first authentic American, the new man of the New World. Before Lincoln, the distinguished Americans were transplanted Englishmen. Since Lincoln, there has existed the idea of a special American type which is excellent and admirable and holds the promise of a better human future. Adlai Stevenson was a rare, perhaps a late-blooming, example of such an American. He was admired by the discerning all over the world and greatly loved. An essential ingredient of the admiration and the love was the knowledge that only America could have produced him, and that this revealed what America really was.

The question is now whether this country is still devoted to the American idea which he embodied. No one supposes, of course, that the country can be filled with Stevensons any more than a hundred years ago it was filled with Lincolns, any more than Britain is filled with Churchills. It is only occasionally and for a while that nations are represented by their greatest men. The question is whether in our critical moments the better angels of our nature respond to our authentic ideals.

For there is abroad in this land today a very different spirit contending for the soul of our people. The original American has had for a central idea, as Lincoln said at Gettysburg, that America was an experiment of consequence to all mankind and that, primarily, the influence of America was its example. The new spirit among us is imperious and assumes that our influence is measured by our money and our power.

The struggle between the two spirits has appeared and reappeared throughout our history. But with the enormous and sudden increase of our power and wealth, the stress and strain of the struggle for the American soul has become fierce. It is the uncertainty as to which spirit will prevail that divides, more than tactics or manners or policy, the American people among themselves and from the world around us.

Adlai Stevenson's enemies were not men whom he had injured. He injured no man. His enemies were men who recognized that he did not share and was a living reproach to the new imperiousness of our power and wealth, that he was a deeply established American who had no part in the arrogance of the newly rich and the newly powerful and the newly arrived. His very presence made them uncomfortable, even abashed, all the more because he was so witty when they were so hot, so elegant when they were making a spectacle of themselves.

Shall we see his like again? Or was he the last of his noble breed? On this question hangs the American future. On one course we shall plunge ourselves into the making of a ramshackle empire in an era when no empire can long survive, and we shall wave the flag to cover our spiritual nakedness.

Or, we shall, as Adlai Stevenson would have done, remain true to our original loyalty, and transcending assertiveness, vulgar ambition, and the seductions of power, we shall make this country not only great and free but at peace with its own conscience.

The Statue of Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 23, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, America was colonized by people seeking

liberty. And, having landed here and having established that freedom for themselves, they offered it to the rest of the world.

In October of 1886 a symbol of that freedom, the Statue of Liberty, arose in New York Harbor and has quickened the heartbeat of millions of immigrants—and homeward bound Americans—ever since.

In the July issue of Mainliner, published by United Airlines, is an excellent story on the Statue of Liberty—"La Liberte Eclairant Le Monde"—which I commend to my colleagues as restating the principles which have made the United States the hope of the world.

The story follows:

She is 81 years old now—but the years have been kind. She stands erect and unbowed. With untiring constancy she beckons with her lighted torch the homeless, the hopeful, the oppressed of the world. On her island pedestal she is a welcoming symbol of the greatest dream of man—liberty.

How many hearts have gladdened at the sight of her? How many millions have felt their prayers answered upon arriving in her presence? How many refugees have felt secure at passing behind the folds of her robes? To millions of immigrants she represents a new beginning—her torch the flame of opportunity.

Perhaps it is fitting that she, too, is an immigrant. Born in Paris in 1884, she was named "La Liberte Eclairant Le Monde." A gift of the people of France she came to this country at an early age and assumed her vigil in New York Harbor in October 1886. Her creator, Auguste Bartholdi, chose the site with the thought of "liberty enlightening the world." Designed to celebrate American liberty and the friendship of two nations, she became a symbol of hope to people the world over.

The American people immediately shortened and anglicized her name and accepted her into their hearts. Tens of thousands visit her on her island each year. There, high above the waters of the bay, the panorama of Metropolitan New York unfolds in unparalleled splendor. There the visitor can follow her gaze seaward in search of incoming ships. To others she seems to wave a bon voyage with best wishes for a safe return.

Her dimensions are awe inspiring. Standing on her 150-foot pedestal, she towers yet another 150 feet to become a significant part of the New York skyline. Her skeleton framework, designed by Gustave Eiffel, supports some 200 tons of copper and steel. The tablet, inscribed July 4, 1776, which she holds in her left hand measures an immense 23 feet. Everything about her is colossal.

And yet perhaps it is the distant view which sets her in the proper perspective. Watch her someday from the deck of an inbound ship or from the window of a circling jet airliner. Or stop someday in Battery Park in Lower Manhattan and watch her across the bay. See her in the fullness her creator intended. Gracious, proud, and radiant, she stands amid the fruits of a society founded in her name.

But if Americans have adopted her as their own, it is their hope and dream that someday she will embrace all mankind. In her name the sacrifices of our forefathers are being repeated today in all corners of the world.

We have many memorials immortalizing the deeds of our Founding Fathers. Yet she is our only national monument to the motivating ideals they so cherished. "An empty shell of copper and steel," the realists will say. But if no heart beats within her, she is herself the heartbeat of America. For she is liberty.

The Real Alabama—Part XXX

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, located in the First Congressional District of Alabama, which I represent, is one of the Nation's outstanding educational institutions. I feel that the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will be interested in reviewing the following historical and organizational information on Spring Hill College:

SPRING HILL COLLEGE

Spring Hill College, having the distinction of being the oldest institution of higher learning in Alabama and the third oldest Catholic boarding college in the United States, was founded on its present site in Mobile on May 1, 1830. Bishop Michael Portier, founder of this outstanding liberal arts college, was granted the State charter in 1836. Since 1847 when the fathers of Lyons Province in France were asked to assume operation of the college, Spring Hill has continued under Jesuit administration.

Spring Hill College has been tempered by the storms and tests of time. In 1861, while Alabama troops trained for battle, Spring Hill College continued to train men in wisdom and knowledge. Refusing to concede its educational responsibilities to the hysteria of emotions, Spring Hill College maintained regular classes throughout the Civil War. Spring Hill survived the war only to fall victim to a destructive fire in 1869 which destroyed the main building of the campus. This interruption lasted only as long as it took the students and faculty to move to St. Charles College in Grand Coteau, La. Undaunted by this misfortune, Bishop John Quinlan and other benefactors reopened the Mobile college within the same year.

As enrollment steadily increased, Quinlan Hall, St. Joseph Chapel, Byrne Memorial Library and Mobile Hall were erected. Subsequent additions include a physics and chemistry building, a men's dormitory, and a women's dormitory.

In 1963, Spring Hill College had a total enrollment of approximately 1,500 students. Supervising this large student body were 115 members of the faculty and administrative staff. Of these leaders, 55 were priests, 2 were brothers, and 58 were lay teachers. They held 26 doctoral, 8 professional, and 53 master's degrees. The college is governed by a president who is appointed by the general of the Society of Jesus, and by the board of trustees. The president is the religious superior of the Jesuit members of the faculty, and ex officio chairman of the board of trustees. The president's advisory council consists of businessmen who advise in legal and financial matters. Administrative officers include a president, the dean of the college, a secretary, treasurer, dean of students, assistant dean and director of the evening division, director of the summer session, and the registrar.

The financial obligations of Spring Hill are met primarily by the income from student tuition. Tuition covers about two-thirds of the cost of a student's education. The remaining balance is met by income from a small endowment, gifts from alumni, and benefactors, and by contributed services of the Jesuit faculty.

In the tradition of a liberal arts curriculum, Spring Hill offers courses in philosophy, theology, literature, history, and foreign languages. A major program may be chosen from any of 25 fields of advanced study offered by the 10 departments of instruction. Spring Hill offers courses leading to the B.A. or B.S. degrees with majors in accounting; the liberal, and fine arts; natural, political, and social sciences; business administration; elementary and secondary education; industrial management; mathematics; medical technology; psychology; and modern languages. The M.A. in philosophy is conferred on Jesuit seminarians. Preprofessional programs include dentistry, medicine, law, and basic engineering.

Among the college facilities are 95,000 volumes in Byrne Memorial Library and 25,000 volumes each in the Grand Coteau Library and the Jesuit house of studies, as well as 816 annually received periodicals. There is a seismograph center, one of a chain of stations operated throughout the world by the U.S. Government.

The college is an accredited member of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and is certified by the Alabama State Department of Education for training primary and secondary school teachers. It is approved by the American Medical Association, and holds memberships in various educational associations, including the Association of American Colleges, American Council on Education, and National Catholic Educational Association.

Spring Hill College is truly a part of the real Alabama story.

Captive Nations Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, this week we as citizens of a truly free nation pause to observe Captive Nations Week. Throughout our Nation, this week is marked by ceremonies, statements by many State and local officials, official State proclamations, and the annual proclamation of Captive Nations Week by the President of the United States. All of these add up to a total national observance that is indeed great in scope and encouraging in comprehension. That so many of our citizens are thus made more aware of the sad circumstances of these captive nations is a result that should please us in the Congress of this great Nation and the peoples of both the free world and the captive nations. At the same time, it should caution the leaders of those nations striving for world domination that they are encountering a dedication to freedom, an understanding of their insidious methods, and a resistance to tyranny that will prove ever greater.

The peoples of the captive nations have been victims of an imperialism that has spanned a period of some 45 years. In this time, we have seen the leaders of this imperialism change, we have heard various refutals and alterations of ideology and dogma, methods and means, yet the ultimate goal of these haters of freedom has remained unchanged. That their subtle nets have reached out into much of the world, causing unrest, strife, and bloodshed, and that their overt military

gestures and occupations have resulted in captivity and misery for many of the world's peoples, we are well aware. Yet, we are fortunate that the scope of the interest aroused by and the activities carried on in conjunction with Captive Nations Week have so successfully increased our awareness of the plight of these nations and the nature of the enemy we face. An educated public, fully aware of the intentions of the international menace we are dedicated to resisting, with such examples of gross, ugly imperialism and tyranny before them, cannot but be better equipped to insure the ultimate victory of freedom, truth, and peace.

We have, indeed, been given some great and inspiring examples of the strength of mankind's dedication to freedom by the unfortunate peoples of the captive nations. We share in their dedication to this most basic right of man, and we honor them for their long fight against tyranny and the many sufferings and privations that they have undergone.

Captive Nations Week is a time for us to offer to these peoples, wherever they may be throughout the world, our assurances of understanding and our sincere hopes for a future of true freedom for all men.

What About Section 14(b)?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 30, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, the move to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act is a most controversial issue, involving as it does the question of whether or not union membership shall be made compulsory across the Nation. It is my belief that compulsory unionism is not a right—it is a privilege which is currently granted to unions by a majority of the States. I intend to support either the retention of this specific section or other legislation which will protect the rights of the worker, the union, and the State.

The 10th amendment to the Federal Constitution—the last portion of the so-called Bill of Rights—very simply states:

> The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people.

Clearly, although the intent of the 10th amendment has been eroded over the years by actions of all three branches of our Federal Government, this amendment spells out the fundamental principle of the sovereignty of the several States. It enables the States to enact legislation best suited to that State's needs, provided such laws are not in conflict with the Constitution or with Federal statutes. And it also limits Federal jurisdiction to certain, specified areas.

The Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 is unique among legislative enactments of the Federal Congress in that it clearly restates the principle of the 10th amendment. Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley states:

> Nothing in this act shall be construed as authorizing the execution or application of agreements requiring membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment in any State or territory—

And I emphasize—

> in which such execution or application is prohibited by State or territorial law.

Speaking in the U.S. Senate on June 6, 1947, the late Senator Robert Taft, coauthor of the act, explained the purpose of section 14(b):

> Many States have enacted laws or adopted constitutional provisions to make all forms of compulsory unionism illegal. It is not the intent of Congress to deprive the States of that power.

The right of States to prohibit compulsory union membership has been challenged repeatedly, but that right has been upheld consistently by the judiciary—including the U.S. Supreme Court.

Nineteen States have laws prohibiting compulsory unionism—laws which repeal of section 14(b) would wipe off the books. Proponents of repeal would scream to the high heavens if Congress attempted to pass legislation forcing the other 31 States under right to work. These advocates of repeal would invoke States rights—which they deny here—and attempt to use the Constitution and all other arguments they could muster to uphold the 31 States—yet they would deny this same protection to the 19 States that have right-to-work laws.

No name in the history of the American labor movement is more revered than that of Samuel Gompers, whose sincere concern and efforts for the welfare of the worker caused him to become the father of unionism in this country, and to gain renown as one of our greatest humanitarians.

But now those who enjoy positions of leadership in the great movement he founded disregard his advice and concern for the worker, and, apparently, there are even certain forces determined to expunge some of his statements from the record.

At page 132 of the 1925 edition of Gomper's autobiography he wrote:

> I want to urge devotion to the fundamentals of human liberty, the principle of voluntarism. No lasting gain has ever come from compulsion. If we seek to force, we but tear apart that, which, united, is invincible. * * * No man shall be deprived of livelihood for his family because of employment conditional upon membership in any union.

These statements by Gompers were completely deleted in the 1957 edition of the same book.

Section 14(b) is the greatest protection of basic rights that a worker has. In States having right-to-work laws the union leaders are, of necessity, more responsive to the desires of the union membership. They must make their unions attractive in order to gain and hold membership. The same holds true in a non-right-to-work State which could enact such a law should labor abuses create an intolerable situation.

Again, I believe grave constitutional questions would be raised by repeal of 14(b) as previously listed in the instance of the 10th amendment. In addition the first amendment, among other things, guarantees to every American the right to freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. In compulsory unionism neither can be guaranteed. In this connection, I believe it is extremely interesting to note that the Charter of the United Nations, to which the United States and top labor leaders have ascribed, also upholds the "right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association." Those words are contained in section 1, article XX, of the charter. Section 2 of article XX states:

> No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

On December 10, 1918, speaking before the Council of Foreign Relations, Samuel Gompers said:

> There may be here and there a worker who for certain reasons unexplainable to us does not join a union of labor. This is his right no matter how morally wrong he may be. It is his legal right and no one can or dare question his exercise of that legal right.

I have received communications from a number of individuals and religious groups protesting the move to compel union membership. Some are in opposition because of the deprivation of the freedom to choose, others because personal convictions prevent their joining a labor union at all; a situation that would force many to seek another means of livelihood. We recognize the right of the conscientious objector in our military service—surely, we can do no less in the matter of whether or not to join a union.

It is indeed ironic that a significant number of the proponents of repeal of 14(b) are extremely active in the civil rights field, demanding the expansion of certain rights to all while at the same time refusing to recognize the right to be gainfully employed and to support one's family, which is the highest civil right of all. The repeal of 14(b) is equal to the imposition of involuntary servitude which is prohibited by the 13th amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

The Honorable James F. Byrnes, former Supreme Court Justice, Secretary of State and Govrnor once said:

> A workingman must have the right to join a labor union. It is equally important that a worker have the right to refuse to join a union and no government or union should have the right to force him to join in order to get a job.

My position is not antiunion, it is pro-Constitution. The workingham must be protected. We cannot—we must not—allow the basic rights guaranteed to each and every American under that Constitution to be destroyed.

Hon. T. Ashton Thompson

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANK M. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked when I learned of the untimely

passing of my good friend and colleague, T. ASHTON THOMPSON. I considered him to be a real personal friend, and a warm friendship grew as a result of our close association for many years on the House Committee on Public Works and the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. He was a fine American and a dedicated legislator. I shall miss his friendship, and my deepest sympathy goes to his family.

The Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD material pertaining to S. 559, the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act: an article appearing in the New York Times on July 14, "Advertising: Scorn for Cigarette Label Bill"; and an editorial in the Washington Post on July 16, "Veto in Order."

Both the New York Times article and the Washington Post editorial set forth excellent reasons as to why the President should veto S. 559. The legislation jeopardizes the health of American young people and threatens the independence of the regulatory agencies.

The crucial aspect of S. 559 is that it bars the Federal Trade Commission for four years from requiring a health hazard warning in cigarette advertising. Studies show that 4,000 to 5,000 youngsters start smoking every day. Based on such trends, 1 million youngsters now in school will die prematurely of lung cancer.

The cigarette industry will successfully remain above public regulation if S. 559 is signed into law. That is certainly the candid view of some advertising agencies with cigarette accounts:

Advertising agencies with cigarette accounts generally thought they got off pretty easily in the bill Congress sent to the President requiring a health warning on cigarette packages.

"The bill doesn't mean a damn thing," was the way one agency spokesman put it. "Congress took the cigarette industry off the hook by making the bill meaningless."

"The first thing you learn about labels in this business," one agency executive commented, "is that people don't read them."

S. 559 more than jeopardizes the health of American youngsters who smoke. It undermines our long established independent regulatory agencies. The Washington Post editorial points out the basic issue involved.

There is no sound reason for excepting this one industry from supervision by appropriate authority. If every new discovery about substances that are menacing the health of the Nation were to be nullified by legislation, the basic philosophy behind the Food and Drug Act and the Federal Trade Commission Act could be undermined.

[From the New York Times, July 14, 1965]

ADVERTISING: SCORN FOR CIGARETTE LABEL BILL

(By Walter Carlson)

Where there were smokes on Madison Avenue yesterday, there really wasn't very much fire. Advertising agencies with cigarette accounts generally thought they got off pretty easily in the bill Congress sent to the President requiring a health warning on cigarette packages.

This reference was to the provision of the bill that would bar the Federal Trade Commission from carrying out, at least until July 1, 1969, plans to require health warnings on cigarette advertising.

WORDING OF WARNING

The bill, which was passed by the House yesterday requires that after next January 1 all cigarette packages bear the following warning:

"Caution: Cigarette smoking may be hazardous to your health."

Some Members of Congress asserted the warning was barely a whisper and worse than no bill at all.

The ad men, of course, did not go that far, although they doubted generally that the warning would have any great effect on sales of cigarettes.

"The first thing you learn about labels in this business," one agency executive commented, "is that people don't read them."

The executive said he found a "certain element of silliness to this thing. It presumes that no one has ever read anything about this."

IMPACT ON PUBLIC DOUBLED

"This issue," he added, "has been so thoroughly thrashed out in public that I can't believe that anyone's mind will be changed with a few words on a label."

A spokesman for a major tobacco company, however, said that even though "on one hand you might think it won't affect business, on the other hand, if you're in the tobacco industry and see such a label, it's kind of frightening."

"To anyone in the business," he added for emphasis, "it's not anything you treat lightly."

The Tobacco Institute, Inc., spokesman for the industry, declined to comment on the passage of the bill.

INDUSTRY'S ARGUMENT

The industry, however, has maintained that no coution requirement of any kind is necessary on the ground that a direct link between smoking and cancer has not been scientifically established.

Among the advertising agency officials who were willing to comment on the bill—and many declined—this aspect was not discussed. But it was contended that warnings such as the one contained in this bill would ultimately degrade the meaning of warning labels.

"You just can't put a skull and crossbones on everything or yellow caution lights on every street corner," one ad man said.

[From the Washington Post, July 16, 1965]

VETO IN ORDER

The bill to regulate the labeling of cigarettes, which Congress has sent to the White House, is itself mislabeled. It would be more appropriately called a bill for relief of the tobacco industry. For its effect will be to revoke an order by the Federal Trade Commission requiring a warning against the health hazards of cigarettes in advertising as well as on the packages. That order was to become effective on July 1. The bill which Congress passed would postpone the effective date so far as advertising is concerned until July 1, 1969.

Representative Moss made the point which seems to us most vital in regard to warning the public about the dangers of smoking. The mild caution which Congress would require on all cigarette packages would necessarily be addressed to current smokers—the men and women who are already hooked, as the Congressman put it. His major concern was for the warning of the 4,000 young people who start smoking every day. Instead of requiring an effective warning to these young consumers, Congress would strip the FTC of the authority it now has to require a proper relation between cigarette promotion and the health problem.

In these circumstances the best course would be for President Johnson to veto the bill. There is no sound reason for excepting this one industry from supervision by appropriate authority. If every new discovery about substances that are menacing the health of the Nation were to be nullified by legislation, the basic philosophy behind the Food and Drug Act and the Federal Trade Commission Act could be undermined.

Mr. Richard Wagner's Address to the Plenary Session of the International Labor Organization Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, for the past 6 years, Mr. Richard Wagner, of Farrington, Ill., has served with distinction as an employers' representative to the conferences of the International Labor Organization. I call your attention to his last speech before this body. Here, he answers with great dignity the verbal attacks upon our Nation that he has listened to while serving as a delegate. In this speech, Mr. Wagner gives an excellent defense of our free way of life, explaining the differences between our economic system and the Communist system and pointing out the need for a factually accurate international dialog. Clearly, he has shed some light on the troubled international scene.

The speech follows:

ADDRESS BY RICHARD WAGNER, U.S. EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE TO THE 49TH SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION CONFERENCE, GENEVA, SWITZERLAND, JUNE 1965

There are great opportunities for constructive action by this conference. The director-general's report covers in excellent form many areas of interest. The most important of these are, first, how to develop programs of action to stimulate economic growth all over the world and particularly in the emerging and developing nations. Second, the promotion of programs of technical assistance to help develop skills, both managerial and labor, which must be adequate if economic growth is to be a reality. Third, the necessity for the improvement of the environment under which labor lives and works all over the world.

Mr. President, I had fully intended to spend the time allotted to me to a broad discussion of these matters in which all delegates should be vitally interested. It has been my privilege over most of the past 55 years to conduct the operation of an enterprise which with its own capital has been engaged in creating and managing other successful enterprises.

These have added to the economic well-being of my country and have created thousands of job opportunities for labor and supervisory operating personnel. These enterprises include construction, shipping, manufacturing, the extractive industries, banking, and others. Among them my company financed and built the longest and largest natural gas line in the United States.

I do not mention these matters to boast, but rather to indicate to you that, based upon these experiences and under proper conditions here, it might have been possible for me over the past 6 years to contribute more constructively to your deliberations.

Whether we are believed or not, it is a fact that the U.S. employers have a positive desire to assist in every way possible to bring about rapid economic and social progress in all the countries that have so little and need so much.

However, beginning in 1960, I have sat in this plenary six times and have heard my country maligned and viciously attacked in parliamentary, unparliamentary, and abusive language. One year it is to smear us as monopolists, imperialists, money-hungry capitalistic denyers of human rights; another year as colonialists, neocolonialists (whatever that means); then we are charged with giving aid to other nations because we have selfish designs upon those nations.

The millions of American taxpayers who have contributed over $120 billion—I repeat, over $120 billion—for assistance to other nations have reaped no special advantages for themselves, but have achieved an imbalance in the international balance of payments as a result of this largess which is of considerable concern.

Now we are accused of aggression by the very masters of aggression. We have not forgotten Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Tibet, and many others. Have you? The fact is that every year we have heard the party line repeatedly incorporated in practically every speech made by representatives of the Soviet imperial colonial empire and those who have been misled or forced into being their puppets.

I have been disturbed and upset by these speeches. It is not the fact that the Soviets and their satellites make them that disturbs me. From long ILO experience I realize that the Communist world is on the defensive and propaganda is its effort at destructive achievement.

To succeed, communism believes it must violently challenge all nations which possess true democracy and where people are truly free. The real and only reason I am upset by their violent, organized, correlated, and collective attack is because I have noted reactions here which indicate that some of you may have been taken in by these vicious and planned efforts to create confusion and to obscure the basic purposes of the conference.

So again, as in past sessions, I am forced to waste precious time which might have been used for constructive suggestions—yes, I am forced to point out to you the speciousness of the invective against my country and the real differences in their form of society and ours.

What I am going to say, fellow delegates, does however have a direct and fundamental relation to the future of the ILO and it has a specific relation to the question of progress for emerging and developing nations.

Whether you like the United States or not is your own personal concern, a matter of your personal emotions. But you come here at great expense to your governments and to the ILO for the sole purpose of helping mankind, and particularly the people of your own countries, to solve big social and economic problems. You leaders of the emerging and developing nations, particularly those from Africa have much to lose as and if the ILO continues to degenerate further into a propaganda forum.

You have much to gain if the United States and other highly developed, truly democratic nations continue to support an organization dedicated to social objectives and economic achievements, provided it is so conducted.

Despite that fact that Communist agents and sympathizers circulate in practically all nations, most of you know perfectly well what would be the consequences of Communist control and Communist dictatorship in your nation. Actually people everywhere want freedom. Not for one moment can anyone believe that a Communist takeover in his country would produce freedom and independence.

Let me stress again to the uncommitted nations that once you go down the Communist road there is not alternative choice, no turning back. But if you choose the free private enterprise form of society, or even a so-called mixed economy, you can always change your mind. If you choose communism, you cannot return to the ILO as freemen, with free minds and a free choice to act on ILO documents in what you believe to be the real interests of your people. You must always act according to the dictates of the central controlling Communist power or go home and suffer serious consequences. The record proves that this is the Communist way of life—adhere, conform, follow the party line or be ostracized or worse.

This is not an idle slur. Even in small matters the iron control is evident. For example, the radio reported last Friday an incident in Yugoslavia. A prominent writer was sentenced to 9 months in prison for insulting the Soviet Union. What had he done? He had visited the Soviet Union and had written about conditions there. Among other things he stated that living standards in the Soviet Union were only 40 percent as good as those in Yugoslavia. His report was not refuted or denied, but all the same he is in prison.

A prominent Communist official made the boast that communism would bury the United States. He has been relegated to the status of a nonentity now, but not for making that statement. Communism cannot bury the United States—if it could it would bury the whole free world. Ironically the totalitarian nations of Eastern Europe have increasingly shown that trade agreements with the free world are most necessary to them; that they need the free world and its gigantic economic capacity.

Do I need to prove again by resorting to the obvious comparisons, that the United States and other free industrialized nations have achieved tremendous economic progress; that this has been made possible by free people, free trade unions, and free enterprise, achieving the world's most massive economic capacity, the highest standards of living, and the greatest opportunity for people in every walk of life? Do I have to recite figures again to show you that communism does not meet the economic needs of its people, and certainly not their economic desires? Must I again suggest that you take a look at East Germany which under Communist domination is in a very sorry state, while West Germany is a thriving, happy, free country? Must I again remind you of the almost daily slaughter of courageous persons, fleeing East Germany, leaving their possessions behind, fleeing because they love freedom and are willing to risk their lives for it?

But enough of these comparisons. Let us examine another facet of this strange phenomenon of slander and invective promulgated by the Communists. In the 6 years I have been coming here I have been perplexed by the constant barrage of vituperative words against my country. Certainly the Soviets do not indulge in this just because they want to hear themselves talk or for altruistic reasons. They always have an objective in mind.

What is their objective? I believe I'm beginning to understand it. They have sought to dominate this organization. In this they have failed and will continue to fail, because domination by them would end the constructive work of the ILO for labor everywhere. So now they have the vain hope that because of the constant attacks they make upon the United States, my country in disgust will withdraw from the ILO. And they have the vain hope that this will cause the collapse and demise of the ILO. Then they appear to think they could blame the United States and at the same time be freer to ply their aims at world domination.

Despite an occasional relapse into a softer line, they have at no time given up this major objective, world domination. It is, of course, apparent to you that they are very active in their efforts to subvert the newer nations to their ideology.

I believe another reason for their desire to cause the collapse of the ILO is that it is no longer a profitable platform to them for propaganda purposes. People here are becoming increasingly aware of the Communist economic failures in agriculture, in living standards for their people and their inability to provide even an adequate supply of basic consumer goods.

The great economic expansion in the Common Market and in EFTA has been a thorn in their side. They have frequently asserted that capitalism is decaying and will soon disappear. Unfortunately for the Communists, stubborn capitalism not cooperative and persists in proving them wrong constantly.

So again we hear the same old nonsensical eliches about monopolists, imperialists, colonialists directed against the United States. They know, of course, that these charges are false. They know full well that they, not the United States, are the monopolists, the imperialists and colonialists. No country that they have taken over by force or by infiltration has ever been freed from their oppression and repression.

The Communists come here and talk glibly about human rights, freedom of association and all the other fine principles of this organization, while denying the enjoyment of these rights and privileges to the many millions of people under their domination. They even advocate resolutions against other nations for violation of ILO principles, when in fact they, the Communist countries, are themselves far more guilty of such violations. They must think that you and I are but children who will be impressed by their propaganda, and that by pointing their finger at others they can conceal their own shortcomings.

With reference to their attack on us for our efforts to help South Vietnam repel aggression from the North, I would suggest that it would become them better if they would prevail upon their aggressor Communist brothers in Hanoi to come to the conference table as the President of the United States has so often requested. As to the Dominican Republic, they may dry their crocodile tears when it becomes plain to the world by irrefutable documentation that Communist incitement was the major cause of the debacle there. Judge them not by what they say but by what they do.

There are some among you may have honest differences of views about American foreign policy. But I remind you that the United States citizenry is made up of people from every country represented here or by their offspring. They support overwhelmingly the specific policies of their Government in Vietnam and Dominican Republic and may I remind you, also, that within certain fair limitations, you can enter the United States and stay here if you wish, or you may leave

freely without having to climb a barbed wire covered wall under machinegun fire.

Please understand that I do not hate the people who live under communism. Even among those who come here I find, when they are not on the platform inveighing against my country, a number who are attrative personalities. My opposition to communism as a form of society is based upon my conviction that it does not work in the interest of people. No system of society can endure if it fails to meet the economic needs of its people. But notwithstanding, I desire to give credit where credit is due. I would like to compliment Mr. Bogacki of Poland for his restrained speech. I agree with much of what he said about the necessity for improved world trade as being the road to better things for the emerging and developing nations. However, since this is his first attendance at an ILO conference and because he may not know all of the background of the free employers rejection of the applications of so-called employers from Communist countries, I shall try once more to make the matter clear.

There is apparently no question about his qualifications as a manager. But that is exactly what he is, a manager of a business owned by the government which is the real employer. The government determines the wage rates, the conditions of employment and he dare not oppose their conclusions.

In Communist countries workers are not allowed to strike if their desires are not met. There is absolutely no similarity of employer-labor relations in a Communist country with those prevailing in an open, free society. Since so-called Communist employers always vote with their governments on ILO instruments, their presence on the employer benches seriously lessens the impact of free employer votes on ILO matters. The employers from the free countries have no antipathy against individual Communist managers, but they do want to remain an effective voice in this tripartite consideration and debate.

Of course, I have listened to the charge that managers from nationalized industries in other countries do sit on the employer bench. This is true in some instances, but there is a great difference. Those people are from mixed economies, where there are also private enterprise employers. It is these latter that set the conditions of employment and the standards for workers. The nationalized industries in such countries conform to the decisions of the private sector. There is no such equalizing force in the Communist nations.

I will be glad to visit with Mr. Bogacki or other so-called Communist employers, if they so desire.

(Mr. Wagner ended his address with an ad lib statement.)

SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENT

In conclusion, Mr. President, since this will be the last ILO conference I shall attend, I may be forgiven for injecting a personal note. I thank the Almighty and the Founding Fathers of my country for making me a free man. I thank them also for making the fine labor delegation and the excellent Government delegation free men—free, all of us, to agree or to disagree with each other, without fear of reprisal or punishment, while, at the same time, even if we disagree, we remain good friends. I thank the Almighty also for giving me, the son of poor, immigrant parents, opportunities for moderate economic success but, more particularly, for the opportunities to serve my fellow man. In parting, I extend to all of you the wish and the hope that, if you do not now enjoy the blessings and opportunities of freedom, and in this I include those from the Communist countries, it is my prayer that you will soon attain these blessings so that we can go hand in hand in friendship and in understanding along the road to better things for all mankind.

The Late T. A. Thompson, a Representative From the State of Louisiana

SPEECH

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, this time has been requested and granted in order that the colleagues of ASHTON THOMPSON may have the opportunity of paying him a final tribute here today.

As Members will recall, our colleague was the victim of a traffic accident in North Carolina some 2 weeks ago. Today we come together to pay our final tribute and our final respect to his memory.

I shall be pleased to yield to any Member of this body who desires to pay tribute.

At this particular time let me preface the recognition of those Members desiring recognition by recalling the colleague who lived among us. He was a dynamic man. He was a man who enjoyed the dramatic and revelled in living the life he lived in this body.

I believe that on occasions of this nature there are some symbols and some things more far-reaching, more expansive, more significant than the final tribute we pay a departed colleague. We respect his memory at a moment when we recall the memory and the respect we owe all colleagues who have left this body.

In these aisles have walked the great of history. In the Speaker's chair have sat men who have written American history, whose voices are now stilled but whose memory remains alive.

This Nation is a nation founded under God.

This Nation is a nation believing in the concept we now read over the Speaker's chair—"In God we trust." Each time we pay tribute to the memory of a departed colleague, we restate that concept and reexpress our belief. We declare to the world that we reject a godless ideology and draw again close to us the ideology of eternity and of immortality. If we did not, we would not appear here today to speak in memory of those who have departed. Hollow would it be to recall the greatness and the contributions of those who have left us if we did not believe in the immortal soul and in life eternal.

So we rise here today to speak again of our most recently departed colleague. In speaking of him and renewing that bond between this earth and that which is before us, we speak also to those others who have left and who dedicated their lives.

May I recount and recall at this moment the words which I believe suit ASHTON THOMPSON more than anything else, the words in that great fraternal order which so aptly say: "The faults of our brothers we write upon the sands; their virtues on tablets of love and memory."

So be it with ASHTON THOMPSON.

Thank You, Mr. Dulski

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, the July issue of Postmasters Advocate pays tribute to my colleague the Honorable THADDEUS J. DULSKI, Representative of the 41st District of New York, for his diligent efforts in seeking to obtain a 5-day week for postmasters.

The magazine placed Mr. DULSKI's picture on the cover of this issue and conferred on him the accolade of "Friend of Postmasters" in appreciation of his sponsorship of H.R. 1771, which due to his hard work was passed unanimously by the House of Representatives.

This salute has certainly been well earned by Mr. DULSKI, who as chairman of the Subcommittee on Postal Operations has repeatedly demonstrated his expertise in postal affairs.

"TAD" DULSKI is one of the most beloved public servants in Buffalo. Hard-working, experienced, and warm-hearted, he is affectionately referred to as "the peoples' Congressman." He has befriended me—a freshman—and helped me in many, many ways.

The text of the Postmasters Advocate's cover story follows:

THANK YOU, MR. DULSKI

Advocate polls show that postmasters want the 5-day workweek more than anything else at this time—and, oh yes, even more than a raise in pay.

If this legislative goal is attained this year—and we're most hopeful—this month's cover subject, Congressman THADDEUS J. DULSKI, Democrat, of Buffalo, N.Y., will probably be adjudged the most responsible for the beneficial legislation.

For it was this northern liberal Congressman who originally introduced H.R. 1771, the bill to establish the 5-day week for postmasters in the House of Representatives. Assigned to the Subcommittee on Postal Operations of which he is the chairman, DULSKI guided the bill through the consideration by the full House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. After successfully leading the measure to favorable consideration by the full House committee, he had the measure brought out onto the floor of the House of Representatives. He organized his campaign for consideration of the bill so skillfully, that he was rewarded with a unanimous vote in favor of his bill—H.R. 1771—by the lower House.

It is felt that this unanimous vote by the House will help induce favorable consideration by the U.S. Senate when a companion bill is introduced in the upper Chamber. Psychologically, it is a great advantage for a bill to be passed unanimously in one of our national legislative bodies—for the other Chamber feels this "groundswell" when they consider it. And it is felt that President Lyndon B. Johnson will sign any bill the Senate and House can agree on.

Congressman DULSKI initiated the action—he "pioneered" it. It is always easier to continue a bill in consideration than to start it out "cold" like DULSKI did.

We salute you, Congressman—and thank you most sincerely. We're counting on your help to eventually get postmasters of fourth-class offices included in the law that we hope will ensue.

Congressman DULSKI is outranked in seniority in the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service (on the Democratic side) by only two other Congressmen; Chairman TOM MURRAY of Tennessee and Congressman JAMES H. MORRISON of Louisiana. DULSKI's chairmanship of the Subcommittee on Postal Operations is a very important post. Should DULSKI's constituents in Buffalo see fit to continue him in his House seat long enough, one could easily foresee the day when he'd become the chairman of the full committee, for the Congressman is only a young 50 years old.

Born in Buffalo, he attended Canisius College and the University of Buffalo, and became an accountant and tax consultant. He was appointed to the Bureau of Internal Revenue in 1940 and later resigned to enter private practice. He is a veteran of World War II and was recalled in 1951 to serve as special agent in the Price Stabilization Administration. In 1953 he was elected as councilman in the city of Buffalo and was re-elected in 1955. He was first elected to Congress in 1958 and has continued to be re-elected in each successive Congress. The Congressman is married and has five children.

In you, Congressman DULSKI, postmasters know they've found "someone in their corner"—regardless of what happens to this legislation this year.

The Postmasters Advocate therefore confers on you its highest accolade:

"Friend of Postmasters."

The Camel Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I call the attention of my colleagues to an excellent editorial which appeared in the July 15 edition of the Sylvester, Ga., Local. While the editorial specifically refers to the creation of a Department of Housing and Urban Development at the Cabinet level, its message may be applied to a majority of the legislation passed this session.

The mesage is clear and concise. The Federal Government, like the camel, just gets its nose in the tent at first. But soon the whole tent is filled.

The editorial follows:

THE CAMEL AGAIN

The bill for creating a Department of Housing and Urban Development at the Cabinet level, in the form in which it has passed the House and is now before the Senate, is a fairly mild sort of proposal. Its principal effect would be to combine certain activities now carried on by existing agencies.

But, it seems very clear, this is intended to be only a start. For, as one of the bill's principal congressional supporters sees it, the new department would ultimately be responsible for "all activities and problems making up the life of the city dweller."

This is quite a mouthful. The city dweller's problems run a wide spectrum indeed—traffic congestion, air pollution, recreational wants, unemployment, soaring local taxes, and so on and so on. Is the Federal Government to assume the responsibility of trying to solve them all? If so, we might as well abandon city and other local governments and hand Washington a blank check.

The camel, one remembers, just got his nose into the tent in the beginning, but before long he filled the whole tent. The current bill looks like an example of that.

The Problem of Water Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. FALLON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, there is a fortunate and commendable awareness among our congressional colleagues that conservation of our national water resources is vital for our American future. All know that there is widespread activity in seeking solutions to the problem. Paramount to success is what we do to prevent water pollution and are doing to rectify what damage has been done.

No one is more qualified to summarize these efforts than the very able Representative JOHN A. BLATNIK, of Minnesota. A member of our Public Works Committee he has devoted years of study and effort in this field. In the certainty that his recent speech before the 52d national convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress will be welcomed for its wealth of information, I include it in the RECORD:

THE PROBLEM OF WATER POLLUTION

(By Representative JOHN A. BLATNIK, of Minnesota)

Thank you very much, President Buckman, and good morning, or good noon distinguished guests, officers, delegates and friends at the 52d annual convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress. President, I do hope you'll accept my tardy slip and the absence slip in the last few days. I wanted very, very much to be at some of your work sessions, where the real nuts and bolts work of the conference were carried out. I figured I missed not being with the Committee on Industrial Uses of Water and Water Pollution, and I appreciate Judge Sturrock taking over, and my other good friends on the subcommittee. We have been quite tied up with long sessions in the committee, and with floor work. But I'm pleased to be here. You practically made a speech—in fact, you did make this speech, and I'll try to make mine as brief as I possibly can.

It's a real honor, and a privilege and a personal pleasure over these years to have been associated with the National Rivers and Harbors Congress. You've been dedicated to the utilization of water and all of its uses, as well as its conservation and its preservation. This is my 19th year now that I've sat on the House Public Works Committee, sat as chairman for the past several years of the Rivers and Harbors Committee, and very active on the flood control subcommittee, and, of course, about 10 years ago, introduced what became the first real significant Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1956, and subsequently amended in 1961, and now again in the process of further being amended by the Water Quality Act of 1965.

There is testimony to the ever-growing awareness throughout the land on the part of our citizens and industry, groups of all different sectors, conservation, industy people, recreationists, you name it. And in this battle, it is your organization that has made one of the major contributions, and constantly, in a solid, actual, learned and informed way calling attention to the Nation and to your representatives in the Congress about the importance of paying attention to this ever-growing problem which only recently is receiving the serious consideration that it deserves.

You recall, earlier, in the early stages, many people believed the problem was serious, but they tended to regard it as somewhat as Mark Twain referred to the weather—everybody would talk about it but nobody did anything about it. Well, we have been doing something about it, and have been continuing to do something, and a considerable amount, but as the President said so accurately, a great deal more remains yet to be done.

And your informative monthly Reporter noted last December that the ever increasing need for some real advance toward solutions of problems of water pollution is rapidly emerging as the most insistent of our needs in the water use and conservation. In the April issue, it put the urgency of the problem before us in these well chosen words, and I quote. "The times are pregnant with a new concept, the realization that an ample supply of water of suitable quality to assure the forward progress of the United States can no longer be taken for granted. Only an adequate and sustained mobilization of brains and action can do this."

When the National Rivers and Harbors Congress was founded in 1901, there were about 77 million Americans. Fifty years later, the population had doubled to 154 million. But in that same period of 50 years, of one-half a century, the water use in the United States increased by fivefold, or five times, from somewhat about 40 billion gallons a day in 1901 to over 200 billion gallons a day 50 years later. The estimated population now is about 194 million people. I recall in the years since I've been here since 1947, it has increased, I judge, close to 45 million people. Elmer Staats, the distinguished Director of the Budget, or Associate Director might help me. Am I correct? Is the population of France about 45 million or in that range? I was thinking of West Germany. But practically a whole new nation. We've added 45 million new people, who not only need water, but more water per capita than before.

Now with this estimated population of 194 million, water use this year was forecast at about 372 billion gallons a day. Now water resource development projects, to which this organization lends valuable, not only guidance, but support and leadership in their adoption and execution, can be expected to increase the dependable supply of fresh water from about 315 billion gallons a day to 515 billion gallons a day by 1980, and 650 billion gallons a day by the year 2000. By 1980, and that's only 16 years away, not very far—it's amazing how fast time goes—by 1980 we will have approximately 515 billion gallons day of water, but by that time in 1980, experts today predict that water use will have risen to as much as 600 billion gallons a day. In other words, we're going to have a deficit of 80 billion gallons of water. I'm not going to belabor you with the details. We saw this way back in 1955, 10 years ago.

We drew a very simple chart you can visualize on the screen behind us, a white chart with a straight line, somewhat inclining toward the right. That would be labeled the available supply of water. It's fairly constant. Then you take a lower curve, beginning lower down in the left-hand corner and sweeping sharply, rapidly upward, and about 1980 you have the intersection between the demand for water, both human and industrial, and agricultural, and the availability. At that point, around 1980, we knew that the sands in the hourglass would have run out, the bells would have rung, and the red lights flashed, we would have been in a crisis.

Now we've already got a shortage of water. You take what used to be the water-rich Northeast, critically lacks enough water right now for the ordinary uses of its population. Who in the world would have ever thought not long ago that we'd be able to drink ourselves out of water? It reminds me of the story my father used to tell me when he was a young man. We live up in northeastern Minnesota. And as they enter the Canadian border to pay a visit, he recalled this great big billboard sign advertising a well-known beverage, a soft drink. It says, "Drink Canada Dry." He says, "We tried and never made it."

He had a story of one man who was a little more addicted to the use of ethyl hydroxyl, more commonly known as alcohol in a different form. And he was overdoing it, and his poor wife, Mary, at her wits end, finally on a dark summer evening took him on a hill that overlooked a lovely valley below where at one end was a distillery with all of its lights ablaze, and the smoke belching forth full steam. And Mary said: "Look, John, for 20 years you've been trying to drink them dry, but can't you see you'll never catch up to them." And he looked down with admiration and self pride and he said: "Yes, Mary, but I've sure got them working overtime."

But getting back to the simple taking for granted commodity of water, as we have taken for granted air, both becoming more and more critical problems. One of the most complex and insoluable things. There's no substitute for this. You know my Irish friends claim they do find a substitute on St. Patty's Day for awhile. It doesn't last too long. You can't squeeze it. You can't squeeze a drop of water out a glass of water. You can't find a synthetic. You can do it for gasoline, for rubber, as we did in World War II. You can develop new alloys as we've done in very recent years, in high-temperature, high-heat-resistant alloys have made possible these fabulous high thermo propulsion engines that send up the missiles. You develop new types of fuels and synthetic fuels, both liquid, gas, and now solid, that will eventually project a vehicle up to space. About 5 years ago I made this statement, and it didn't seem to cause much attention or interest.

My background being science, by way of explanation, my big love always was. I was good in science. I did very well in school. I must be honest though. I flunked English. You can't be strong in all categories, as some of the able, brilliant administrators we have here. But I made a statement in 1958 or 1960, as we were approaching the amendments of 1960, that technology and the effort and the energy and the financing and the total overall effort which we will exert and put behind the space program, as we did behind the atomic and the thermo nuclear or hydrogen program earlier, that that effort will place an American or Americans on the moon, and return them to earth safely long before we shall have solved the problem simply of having a good supply of water of quality and quantity to meet the many multivaried needs of this ever-growing and becoming more complex society of ours. And President Buckman pointed out very clearly. And I still repeat that statement.

Now it isn't that it can't be done. It just will require a greater effort, as the President said, as your own magazine article last April said. We've been aware of this. We've been trying to push ahead. There are those who say we can't afford to spend the billions of dollars that the whole program will cost. Well they said the same thing about the housing program. They said the same thing about the urban redevelopment program, and I see many mayors and local officials at this conference.

They said the same thing in early days about the atomic and hydrogen program, and later on the jet aircraft program, and then the $20 billion program for space exploration. More intimately with which I am familiar, the highway program. We can't afford $1 billion for roads.

Why we can't afford it. We'll go bankrupt. We're finding out we're going to be saving over $7 billion a year in economic savings alone because of the efficiency and safety with which we have this mass flow of goods and services and human beings across the United States, connecting every major metropolitan and populated city of the country. Not only the safety and ease and efficiency, but look at the lives we're going to be saving, perhaps as high as 9,000 to 10,000 lives a year. We killed last year, I believe, close to 46,000 men, women, and children, all civilians, maybe a few military mixed in, combined in with them. And it hardly stirs a ripple in the newspapers. Why that's 10,000 more innocent civilians, given our highways, and byways and roads and streets 10,000 Americans and civilians, including women and children that were killed in the 42 months of Korea, back in 1951 and 1952, and 1953. And they were military men. Yet they say you can't afford it.

Why, of course, you can afford it. You have to. And it's got to be done. And I want to express my public appreciation and commendation to my colleagues that have worked with me in the House Public Works Committee and others in the House on both sides of the aisle, those who work on the Appropriations Committee, particularly my very dear friend for many, many years, my mentor and tutor, so to say, Chairman MIKE KIRWAN, who will be most appropriately, truly justifiably named, I understand, at a luncheon this afternoon, for a most significant award.

So water—this whole problem can be licked and it will be licked. We've done a tremendous job. I recall in the early years when we suggested grants, Federal grants to municipalities, and they were bona fide arguments raised by people who really believed—and experienced people—believed that this would slow up the program.

On the contrary, it accelerated the program. To the everlasting credit of the local municipalities, I want to commend and to pay public tribute, and to call public attention to local officials, to mayors and the councils, and city engineers, and to health authorities, and to the citizens that supported them. In 1955 and the 3 years previously the total national average expenditure for water pollution and treatment plants was at a $222 million level, and began gradually to inch upward to over $400 million—$450 million—$480 million, more than double. We passed the Blatnik public works accelerated program, I believe back in about 1961 or 1962, and a good deal of that money went into pollution treatment facilities. We finally reached a little over the $800 million level.

It has slipped down some now to about the $660 million level. We should be around the $800 million plus—$850 million plus level of spending, to a little better than hold our own, to hold our own, and to close the gap that has been increasing wider each year. You know, even now the gap is a little bit wider. We have more polluted water than we had the year before, not only more polluted water, but more complicated pollutants. It's not just a matter of health now, with new synthetics, new plastics, the radioactive materials the President referred to.

I want to make just one little statistical—refer to a statistical fact in the field of medicine, with which I have a special interest and a rather limited familiarity. In medicine, if there is an advance made in biochemical research, it is somewhat indicative of an advance leading to chemistry of synthetics and textiles, in dyes and plastics, and many other areas.

In medicine today, three-fourths—you heard me, over 75 percent—of the prescriptions written by doctors every day are for medications and for medicants that were not in existence in 1948, way after World War II. It shows you the incredible advance in the chemistry of matter and breaking up the atom, realining them and creating new substances. You know it's been more than just the human pollutants in the water. We've got into pesticides, and it is now getting more and more complicated. We need to know more about the water, and that's why we authorized seven regional laboratories, and a fresh water laboratory.

I wondered who in the world had to study fresh water. I thought water was water. I never realized the amount of graduate training, years in chemistry, how much we didn't know about water and how much we had to learn. And the reason I clung to that is because we're going to have to work in a joint effort as we worked so beautifully with municipalities on the Federal level, and bring the States in a joint effort to start to work on water quality criteria and standards. I pay tribute, and every bit of it justified and sincere to the municipalities, because of this grant money, instead of swelling their program, for every $1 of Federal money—every Federal dollar went into the treatment plant, the local municipalities on an average raised up $4 to $4½ to $5 and $5½, averaging over 80 percent of the financial burden to be carried on their own shoulders. We gave them just enough of an assist to either stimulate them or motivate them or help them over a hump, to get local public support for a bond issue, or whatever it may be. But it worked. And because it worked so well, we've increased the present $100 million a year authorization by 50 percent in the current bill now in conference in the Congress to $150 million.

I also want to say publicly, and although critically, I hope it will be taken in a positive sense, the one area where we've failed the greatest and received the least amount of support, and undoubtedly in some areas perhaps they couldn't give all the support they could, and others they just, for some reason wouldn't, and that's on the State level. The States have got to do more. And I commend Governor Rockefeller, even though I'm a strong Democrat. He came forth and said there ought to be a revolving program, meaning if the Federal Government would promise later on to reimburse us, we'll bond ourselves today when the costs are lower and the needs are greatest.

The States have got to do more, both in terms of assisting and getting the principal plants, but also in enforcement. Because I'm not going to be satisfied, and Senator MUSKIE and his colleagues, and my colleagues are not going to be satisfied with merely waiting until a stream is all fouled up, until it stinks to high heaven, and it's so awful and so messy and so miserable that any 6-year-old kid wouldn't go in it, and no puppy dog would walk nearby to lap a little water. We're too intelligent for that.

The minute you see a development in a basin authority knowing the quantity of water and the drainage, and we've got excellent statistics from geological and meteorological and the Corps of Engineers and other agencies, we know pretty well how much the tolerance of a river can be, and when you see the type of use developing, whether it's residential or essentially an industrial, and the type of industrial, or a combination, or residential and industrial, you ought to know and we ought to have a control level, just as you have levels on river gaging, you know, low tide and high tide, we've got to now begin to work on preventive measures. No one can reach up to these tolerances. In other words, we've got to think now and we serve notice in a friendly and positive way because we'll work with them in a helpful way, to the municipalities, but particularly to these in-

dustries, and above all to the States, to pay more attention and to utilize the talents of informed and skilled public officials in the field of water utilization, and the research people in the field of water, to utilize and to work out preventive measures, to work out water quality criteria and standards.

Mr. President, you've been more than generous with the time you've alloted me. My fellow Members of the Congress, and my good friends, you have been most patient and most kind with your attention. I appreciate it. I thank you each and every one of you, and I bid you all good luck.

Uniformed Services Pay Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9075) to amend title 37, United States Code, to increase the rates of basic pay for members of the uniformed services.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Chairman, I rise to voice my support of H.R. 9075, the Uniformed Services Pay Act of 1965. The issue raised by this bill is not a limited one of concern to only a small group, but rather one which will affect all Americans. At stake is the defense of the United States and the entire free world and on trial is our willingness to bear the burdens which this task involves.

We have spent, and will continue to spend, vast sums of money for the development and production of new guns, planes, ships, and missiles. But dedicated and capable personnel are no less important than the weapons they employ for the defense of ourselves and our allies, and the deterrence of would-be aggressors. Thus, just as we have been prepared to bear heavy expense for new armaments, so must we be realistic in our appraisal of the expenses which must be borne if our Armed Forces are to attract and retain men and women of the caliber required by a modern military force-in-readiness. The advance of modern technology does not lessen this need; on the contrary, it increases it. There is little hope of attracting skilled and specialized personnel if salaries of the Armed Forces are held below those for comparable civilian jobs, or if increases in military pay lag behind the yearly increase in the demand for such qualification, or behind the rise in the cost of living.

While this bill entails an increased Federal expenditure, in the long run it will lead to considerable saving, for it will help reduce the waste involved when the armed services spend large sums of money in training personnel who subsequently leave the forces because of inadequate salaries.

During the last century, we have fought two world wars, expended hundreds of billions of dollars on defense, and suffered huge numbers of casualties in the cold war, all for the preservation of our freedom and our way of life. At this very moment, in South Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, our fellow Americans are risking their lives for the preservation of our liberty.

The expenses entailed by the bill I am supporting are negligible compared with the losses which would be involved if, by an immoderate desire for economy, we jeopardized all that we seek to preserve. We cannot buy a 20th century defense with 19th century wages.

Passage of this bill is not only crucial to the national interest, but is essential if we are to give fair and equitable treatment to those serving in our Armed Forces. The bill seeks to do no more than give them wages comparable with those which they would receive for their skills in civilian life. In view of the greater risks, responsibilities and importance of the military jobs which they hold, this criterion of comparability is a moderate one indeed. Let us give a fair salary today to those who may give their lives tomorrow.

We cannot juggle the books with our national security, for they will be mercilessly audited by the Communist aggressors. We must not shrink from the burden which both justice and self-interest demand we bear. Eternal vigilance, the condition of liberty, means Armed Forces composed of capable men receiving just compensation.

Passage of this bill is demanded by our responsibilities to our fellow citizens, and by our obligations to those Americans who are bearing and will continue to bear arms in the common defense.

Citation for Distinguished Service Given to Mr. Orlando Garcia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, the Secretary of the Interior recently conferred the highest honor of the Department of the Interior on one of its outstanding employees, Mr. Orlando Garcia.

Mr. Garcia's distinguished record compiled during his 40 years of outstanding service with the Bureau of Indian Affairs certainly entitles him to the honor which he has received. I include herewith, Mr. Speaker, the citation signed by the Honorable Stewart Udall, Secretary of the Interior, which accompanied this award:

CITATION FOR DISTINGUISHED SERVICE: ORLANDO GARCIA IN RECOGNITION OF 40 YEARS OF EXCEPTIONAL SERVICE WITH THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Mr. Garcia has served with the Bureau continuously since January 1924, when he was appointed financial clerk at Haskell Institute. He progressed to positions of increasing administrative and supervisory responsibility at the Pawnee, Papago, and Colorado River Agencies, and since June 1957 has been area field representative at the Riverside Area Field Office in California. He retired on February 29, 1964. He was a highly qualified administrator, and an exemplary employee. He always strived to protect the rights and interests of the various Indian groups with whom he worked. His definitiveness in approach, ability to make decisions, initiative, resourcefulness, and ability to promote harmony have been of inestimable value. He helped establish the Colorado River Tribal Office and the Fort Mohave Tribal organization. He made important contributions to the formulation of local policies in such fields as Navajo colonization, farming leases and assignments, Indian employment, tribal investments, and attorney representation. Under extremely difficult conditions, he made remarkable progress in improving relations between the Bureau and the 30 separate bands of Indians in the Mission Area of California. Through his exceptional leadership, some of the groups have adopted organization documents and enrollment regulations. He also rendered valuable assistance in meetings relating to the proposed settlement agreement of cases pending before the Indian Claims Commission. For his long career of outstanding service as an administrator with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Mr. Garcia is granted the highest honor of the Department of the Interior, its Distinguished Service Award.

STEWART L. UDALL,
Secretary of the Interior.

Emergency Highway Relief Fund (H.R. 6790)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, I support H.R. 6790, which passed on Monday, July 19, which will increase the amount of funds available to States for emergency repair and reconstruction of highways and bridges damaged or destroyed by major natural disasters, such as floods, earthquakes, and severe storms.

Last March testimony before the Public Works Subcommittee on Roads revealed the $30 million authorized by existing law for emergency highway relief far from adequate to meet current repair needs. At that time requests from States for funds to make necessary repairs to highways damaged by recent major disasters, already exceeded the amount of funds available.

Subsequently, large-scale flooding in Colorado and Kansas left hundreds of miles of highways and roads in need of repair. Bridges and bridge approaches were washed away by floodwaters. In my district in Kansas, the Army Corps of Engineers estimate the total flood damage in the Arkansas River Basin to Great Bend, Kans., at $19 million. Total damages downstream from Great Bend are estimated at $13 million and much of the damage in this area is in rural areas, to crops and county roads. Of these area totals, reports from the Bureau of Public Roads indicate, and reports on highway and roadway damages are by no means complete, permanent repairs on Federal-aid secondary highways, that is, county roads and farm to market roads, will amount to $1,700,000. To make tempo-

rary repairs on Federal-aid primary highways, the Bureau estimates $150,000. These reports, though incomplete, are indicative of extensive highway repair needs which must be met in part with emergency highway relief funds.

The Northwest Disaster Relief Act of 1965, recently enacted, responds to existing nationwide needs for necessary highway and bridge repairs by authorizing a $50 million increase in the emergency highway relief fund for fiscal 1965 and a $20 million increase for fiscal 1966. These funds are authorized to be used on a nationwide basis by the Secretary of Commerce for emergency road repair wherever and whenever the need has arisen.

However, when major disaster strikes it is necessary that adequate emergency funds be available to give States prompt assistance for highway repairs. This bill would provide an annual increase of $20 million in available emergency highway relief funds for fiscal 1965 and each succeeding year. Its enactment will make funds available more nearly commensurate with projected needs and costs of emergency highway repair and will serve to minimize the need to authorize special legislation for relief of unforeseen disaster situations.

Coinage Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 8926) to provide for the coinage of the United States.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Chairman, the Coinage Act of 1965 proposes that the U.S. subsidiary coins, presently made with a 90-percent silver compound be changed to consist chiefly of a cupronickel composite.

This change in the composition of our subsidiary coinage has been made necessary by recent increases in the use of silver for industry and defense purposes; a concurrently increasing need for subsidiary coins in the American economy; and the failure of silver production on the world market to keep pace with these increasing needs. In the last 6 years world silver consumption has more than doubled, while production has increased less than 15 percent.

The effect on the U.S. Treasury, as the market price of silver began to equal the monetary price of $1.29 a troy ounce, has been to make the Treasury a supplier of residual silver from its stockpiles to industry. The latest Treasury statement shows that the Treasury's silver stockpile is down under 1 billion ounces.

Those opposed to this bill state that we should maintain a coinage that has intrinsic value. This point of view is simplistic. Money is whatever commodity is acceptable in performing certain basic functions, including serving as a medium of exchange and providing a useful means for calculating values. At times in the history of the world silver and gold have been employed as this commodity because they are scarce, durable, and portable.

A history of money in the United States shows that silver, although it has an intrinsic value, has a highly fluctuating value in market terms. When Alexander Hamilton established our monetary system on a bimetallic basis, he put the ratio of silver to gold at 15 to 1. In a short while it was edging toward 16 to 1. In the pre-Civil War period the market value of silver was such that Congress, in 1853, set the silver content of our lesser silver coins at 7 percent below the fine grain content of the silver dollar. This prevented the subsidiary coins from disappearing. In 1879, the price pendulum swung abruptly in the other direction with the price of silver falling when its ratio to gold suddenly changed, over a 5-year period, from 16 to 1 to 19 to 1. From that time forward, until within the last 4 years, we have been subsidizing the western silver producers either by setting by statute the amount of silver dollars to be minted or by standing ready to purchase silver from the mines at $1.29 a troy ounce. During this latter phase, the intrinsic value of silver in the coins has varied from 9 cents in the half dollar in 1933 to its present point where market pressures are pushing it close to the Treasury price. If the market price goes beyond the Treasury price, silver coins will disappear from sight.

We cannot permit the scarcity of precious metals in relation to the monetary and industrial uses to exercise a tyranny over the money supply. The dual demand for precious metal means that it will increase enormously in value with a consequent reduction in the general price level. We are compelled to find a low-priced commodity to use as money or suffer the economy to grind to a halt.

The bill now before us, H.R. 8926, would provide us with a durable subsidiary coinage that will be legal tender, can be used in vending machines, will constitute an adequate coinage, and at the same time stem the drain on the Treasury's silver stocks. The American producers are protected by the fact that the Treasury will hold the market price of silver at its present level of $1.29 plus per fine troy ounce, with a minimum guaranteed purchase price of $1.25 per ounce on all domestically mined silver. The silver dollar will remain our standard coin at 90-percent silver, but none will be minted for at least 5 years.

I am happy to support passage of this bill.

Morristown National Historical Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in a recent edition of the Paterson, N.J., Evening News an interesting article by Dorothy Patterson on the Morristown National Historical Park which is located in the district which I represent.

The article follows:

MORRISTOWN NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

(By Dorothy Patterson)

Less than an hour's drive from downtown Paterson, but almost 200 years back in time, is Morristown National Historical Park, nerve center of the American Revolution.

The park offers an ideal setting for family outings, from the Ford Manison headquarters of Gen. George Washington and the adjoining historical museum in Morristown center to the Jockey Hollow campgrounds about 4 miles west.

GRAND TOUR

The entire grand circle tour covers about 9 miles, most of it along pleasant moderately traveled roads, shaded by trees that were old when the Continental Army marched under them.

Entrance to the Jockey Hollow area is off Route 202 (Mount Kemble Avenue) but is not well marked and can be easily missed. When driving, watch for the large overhead directional sign indicating "New Vernon." The park entrance is at this crossroad, directly right, when driving westbound as you would be coming from this area. It's worth watching for. The National Park Service has mapped out an easily followed tour that begins at the Wick House, a colonial farmhouse that served as military quarters for Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair during the Continental Army encampment of 1779–80.

The farmhouse has been restored and furnished in the period fashion, and a guide from the National Park Service is on duty to answer questions. At the entrance to Wick House, what looks like an old covered cistern is actually a record player that, when a button is pressed, relates the story of the farmhouse and its sprightly daughter, Tempe Wicke.

Tempe was a spirited girl who remained cool and self-possessed when a band of mutinying Continentals accosted her while she was riding to bring a doctor for her ailing mother, and demanded her horse. While the men swarmed around her and clutched the horse's bridle, Tempe agreed to give up her horse. In the brief moment they let go the reins, she dug her spurs into the horse's flanks and set off at a flying gallop toward her home. The story goes that she brought the horse right into her bedroom to hide him from the soldiers had they come after her. A road linking Highway 202 with New Jersey 24 has been named in her memory. Tempe Wick Road makes a nice alternate for the trip back to Morristown through the scenic rolling hills of Morris County. This is hunt country, where the horsy set rides to the hounds, and lives in the spacious mansions that are hidden behind winding tree-shaded drives.

WALKING TOURS

Those who like to walk may park their cars at the Wick House parking area and cover the Jockey Hollow Campground on foot, along easy, well-marked trails.

One of the most interesting points on the tour is the Bettin Oak, a towering, gnarled tree that shades the grave of Capt. Adam Bettin. During the winter of 1781 the Pennsylvania Line had its encampment in this area. Their morale broken by the bitter cold, shortages of food and inadequate clothing, they mutinied, and struck out for Philadelphia, then the Capital, to put their complaints before the Congress. Captain Bettin sought to halt the mutiny but was struck down by his own men. He was buried under the oak tree, and the Daughters of the American Revolution have placed a granite marker on the site.

The main body of the Continental Army spent two rugged winters in the hill country

around Morristown. The troops spent the winter of 1779–80 in Jockey Hollow. It was here that General de Lafayette arrived with the happy news of the second French expedition to aid the hard-pressed Continentals. The campground is much as it was then.

OLD GRAVESITE

The National Park Service has constructed a representative camp hospital from original plans prepared by Dr. James Tilton, troop surgeon in 1779–80 and later Surgeon General of the U.S. Army. This is the second point of interest on your park tour along the old camp road. Directly across is an old burying ground where 100 some soldiers who could not survive the bitter winter were buried. Up on a hill overlooking the parade ground, the Park Service has carefully reconstructed several log huts, typical of those used by the officers during that bitter winter. There are no statistics on how many might have gone up in smoke, but the log chimneys look anything but fireproof. From here, you continue along Wick Road, to Sugar Loaf Road, back to Wick House and out.

The Ford mansion in Morristown was constructed by Col. Jacob Ford, Jr., an iron manufacturer, just before the start of the war. The building, in excellent condition, was partially restored by the National Park Service in 1939 and is furnished with authentic pieces of the period, including some of the original furniture in use in the mansion when Washington stayed there. One historic piece is the tall secretary desk at which the Commander in Chief penned his orders and some of the most important documents of his military career.

LECTURES GIVEN

The museum is directly behind the mansion. Here are many original objects, mementoes of the Continental Army's winter encampments at Morristown. These are supplemented by photographs, arms collections, prints, and Colonial artifacts. Lectures, illustrated by colored slides, are given in the museum auditorium.

Wick House in Jockey Hollow Park is open Tuesday through Saturday from 1 to 5 p.m., and on Sunday from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. There is no charge for admission to the farmhouse or Jockey Hollow Park. The Ford Mansion and historical museum are open Tuesday through Sunday, 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Admission is 50 cents for adults. Children under 16 or groups of children under 18 accompanied by adults are admitted free.

There are picnic grounds in Jockey Hollow for those who wish to bring their lunch. But no fires or cooking are permitted in the 957 some acre park.

Actual mileage from downtown Paterson, using scenic route 202 through Wayne, Lincoln Park, Towaco, Boonton, Parsippany-Troy Hills, Morris Plains, and Morristown, is 35 miles one way. This can be shortened somewhat by using Route 46 to Route 202 at the Parsippany-Troy Hills intersection.

Help the Baltic States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, on numerous occasions, I have expressed my shock, concern, sympathy, and intention to continue to assist in every way possible the oppressed people of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia who are currently suffering under the yoke of Communist tyranny.

These gallant peoples with their appealing, inspiring history and devotion to the principles of freedom have made it clear to the whole world time and time again that they intend to continue their fight, and to die if necessary, for their national independence and freedom.

This Nation maintains diplomatic relations with the governments of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and has consistently refused to recognize their seizure and forced incorporation into the Soviet Union.

A select committee of this House has found that the incorporation of these nations was contrary to established principles of international law. I will go further and state that the oppression that they have suffered since that incorporation is brutal, unspeakable, inhuman, and violative of human rights.

It was contemplated and agreed at international conferences between the Soviet Union and the Allies during World War II that plebiscites would be held to allow subject peoples affected by the executive agreements if they chose to set up their own independent governments under principles of self-determination.

These agreements, like many others, have not been kept by the Soviet Union. To the contrary, they have been grossly violated by imposing upon these helpless peoples dictatorial control of their lives and affairs, and in many cases forcing them into exile and imprisonment in Siberia and other slave labor camps in the Soviet Union.

Obviously, this Government should not and cannot condone this illegal, inhuman conduct, and neither can it continue to ignore the sorrowful plight of these peoples and other similarly afflicted peoples who are being ground down under the heel of Soviet tyranny, denied their basic rights as free men and women, and held captive under dictatorial masters.

I hope that our Government will urge, not only in the United Nations, but on its own account, an end to these conditions, and a fair, honest, opportunity for these peoples to vote upon their status, and determine once and for all whether they propose to remain by force in the Soviet orbit, or whether they want to establish their own free, independent government, a right that was granted to them under international agreements and is one of the sacred rights of man.

I am greatly concerned about the plight of these peoples to whom I have alluded, Mr. Speaker, and I trust that our Government will make it very clear to the Soviet Union, our allies, and to the world, that we stand wholeheartedly, firmly and irrevocably for all those who are being held captive throughout the world by the armed might of the Communist conspiracy and we will do everything in our power to assist them.

Men are born free and none of them must be kept in chains.

RESOLUTION TO HELP THE BALTIC STATES

Whereas the greatness of the United States is in large part attributable to its having been able, through democratic process, to achieve a harmonious national unity of its people, even though they stem from the most diverse of racial, religious, and ethnic backgrounds; and

Whereas this harmonious unification of the diverse elements of our free society has led the people of the United States to possess a warm understanding and sympathy for the aspirations of people everywhere; and

Whereas so many countries under colonial domination have been or are being given the opportunity to establish their own independent states, while on the other hand, the Baltic nations having a great historical past and having enjoyed the blessings of freedom for centuries are now subjugated to the most brutal colonial oppression; and

Whereas the Communists regime did not come to power in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia by legal or democratic process, and in fact took over these countries by force of arms; and

Whereas Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians desire, fight, and die for their national independence; and

Whereas the Govrenment of the United States of America maintains diplomatic relations with the Governments of the free Baltic republics of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and consistently has refused to recognize their seizure and forced incorporation into the Soviet Union; and

Whereas the select committee of the House of Representatives, created by House Resolution 346 of the 83d Congress to investigate the incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union, found that the incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, was contrary to established principles of international law: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the U.S. Congress, That the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America request the President of the United States to bring the Baltic States question before the United Nations and ask the United Nations to request the Soviet Union to do the following:

1. To withdraw all Soviet troops, secret police, agents, colonists, and all controls from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia;

2. To return to their homes all Baltic exiles and deportees from Siberia, prisons, and slave-labor camps in the Soviet Union; and be it further

Resolved, That the United Nations conduct free elections in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia under its supervision and punish all Russian Communists who are guilty of crimes against the peoples of the Baltic States.

JUNE 28, 1965.

Mr. LEONARD VALIUKAS,
Los Angeles, Calif.

DEAR LEONARD: I was glad to hear from you.

I may state that I have exerted very extensive efforts in the House and elsewhere in behalf of the liberation of the Baltic States and other states similarly oppressed, over a long period of time.

My thought was, in response to your request, that you should direct this resolution to your own Congressman and that is a procedure required by the traditions and practices of the House of Representatives.

I may state that I am in complete agreement with the objectives of the resolution anyway but I think you should follow the procedures and present this matter through your own Congressman since I have already introduced the resolution.

Warm regards and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

PHILIP J. PHILBIN.

P.S.—I am enclosing some of my recent speeches in these matters.

AMERICANS FOR CONGRESSIONAL ACTION TO FREE THE BALTIC STATES,

Los Angeles, June 17, 1965.

The Honorable PHILIP J. PHILBIN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: Your letter of June 14, 1965, was received and greatly appreciated. I am sorry to say that your letter does not satisfy us.

For your information, we have a considerable number of members who are from the Third Congressional District, State of Massachusetts. In other words, they are your constituents. We have received a good number of letters from these members (your constituents) who are asking us whether or not you have introduced a resolution concerning the Baltic States. We have been writing to them and telling them that you most likely would do that. From your letter of June 14 it does not seem to us that you are in a mood to do that.

By introducing a resolution you would not lose anything; on the contrary, you would gain a great deal. First, you would further the freedom cause for the Baltic States; secondly, you would make many new friends and supporters among the Baltic Americans in your Congressional District. Again, we ask you kindly to introduce a resolution that we are mailing to you as a House Concurrent Resolution. We hope that you will do it without further delay. Thank you.

With all good wishes and regards,

Sincerely,

LEONARD VALIUKAS,
Chairman, Board of Directors.

JUNE 14, 1965.

Mr. LEONARD VALIUKAS,
Chairman, Board of Directors,
Los Angeles, Calif.

DEAR LEONARD: I appreciated your letter of some time ago which was lost in my heavy volume of mail and has just come to my attention.

As you know, I have been very active in endeavoring to help your cause ever since I was elected to Congress and propose to continue my efforts.

With reference to the resolution, I think you should refer it to your own Congressman if you have not already done so because it would seem more appropriate that he should introduce it.

Please know I will continue my efforts for the cause of the oppressed Baltic States.

Warm regards and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

PHILIP J. PHILBIN.

AMERICANS FOR CONGRESSIONAL ACTION TO FREE THE BALTIC STATES,
Los Angeles, March 12, 1965.

Hon. PHILIP J. PHILBIN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: Thanks for your excellent remarks that you made recently in the U.S. Congress in commemorating the Lithuanian independence day.

As you know, the Baltic States have been suffering in the Soviet slavery since June 15, 1940. We, as leaders of the free world, should go ahead and help the people of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia to get rid of the Communists yoke there. Unquestionably, we can do that through the United Nations.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing a resolution which I kindly ask you to introduce in the U.S. Congress as a concurrent resolution. The action that our country can take is embodied in this proposed legislation. By introducing this resolution in the U.S. Congress, you would further greatly the freedom cause of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. I hope that you will do it at your earliest convenience.

When this cry for liberty legislation is introduced and ready for distribution, please mail me several copies of it. Please mail me also at least four prints of your picture. I will see to it that this matter gets some first-rate publicity in all major Baltic-American newspapers that are read by many of your constituents. Thank you.

Sincerely,

LEONARD VALIUKAS,
Chairman, Board of Directors.

Hanoi May Have Built Its Own Pandora's Box

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, Americans were outraged at the brutal execution of Sgt. Harold Bennett. By this action the Vietcong may have inflamed American public opinion to the point where instead of calculated escalation the United States will be even more resolute in Vietnam, forcing the Communists to more expensive capitulation.

The Tampa Times, an articulate medium of opinion in Florida, printed an editorial discussing this aspect of the war in Vietnam. I ask that the Tampa Times editorial of June 26 be included in the RECORD at this point.

The editorial follows:

CRY "HAVOCK" AND LET SLIP THE DOGS OF WAR?

The North Vietnamese Communists threw all the rules of civilized behavior out the window when they executed Sgt. Harold George Bennett this week. Sergeant Bennett was technically a prisoner of war, captured December 29 during vicious fighting at Binh Gia in South Vietnam. He was killed, according to announcements from North Vietnam, in reprisal for the execution of several Red terrorists by the South Vietnamese Government.

This wanton act brands the North Vietnamese regime totally criminal. It is certain to increase demands in the United States that the Johnson administration abandon its calculated escalation policy, aimed at forcing Reds to the peace table, and launch an all-out war against North Vietnam with the ultimate goal nothing short of total victory.

These demands, while premature, may be difficult to resist. The memory of Korea is still fresh in the minds of many Americans and there is no desire here to become involved in another war we have no intention of winning.

President Johnson has repeatedly stated his willingness to negotiate a peace in southeast Asia based on the simple solution that North Vietnam cease its attacks on South Vietnam. But his offers have been spurned. British Commonwealth leaders have formed a peace team in an effort to cool off the heated situation in the Far East. But it, too, has been rebuffed by communism.

The Reds are moving inexorably toward a bitter showdown which would invite a full nuclear response by the United States. It is unrealistic to imagine that this country would commit itself to limited war against the ceaseless tides of manpower available to Red China. It is also unrealistic to expect that the United States and its allies in South Vietnam will retreat before threats and intimidation implied in the murder of Sgt. Bennett. Hanoi has its hand on a box containing far more evils than Pandora ever released.

If the Communists are not students of Shakespeare, they should be. There is a lesson in the resentment generated in Mark Antony by the assassination of Caesar—an anger not unlike resentment generated now by the brutal murder of Sgt. Bennett.

As we recall, Antony declared:

"Woe to the hand that shed this costly blood.

"Over thy wounds now do I prophesy,

"All pity chok'd with custom of fell deeds:

"And Caesar's spirit, ranging for revenge,

"With Ante by his side, come hot from hell,

"Shall in these confines, with a monarch's voice,

"Cry 'Havock,' and let slip the dogs of war;

"That this foul deed shall smell above the earth

"With carrion men groaning for burial."

Food Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, on June 25, 1965, I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, on page A3345, a table of comparative food prices for May and June 1965, compiled by U.S. News & World Report.

The table documented the enormous food price increases which occurred during just the 1-month period between May and June, and which every housewife has experienced. The poor with large families suffer most of all when food prices go up.

The Department of Agriculture and the Department of Labor are the most culpable contributors to these inordinate price increases.

At this very moment, the two Departments are shamelessly conspiring to gain congressional approval of two bills which would result in even higher food prices—to the further detriment of the poor, as well as the taxpayer.

First. The omnibus agriculture bill would provide additional subsidies for some farmers—and increase the price of bread to consumers. The legislation could not stand on its own merits.

Second. The administration and some of my colleagues are beholden to the leaders of organized labor and thus are committed to repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act which permits the individual States to enact so-called right-to-work laws. It appears, however, that they do not now have suffcient votes for repeal on its own merits.

Therefore, the administration plan is, in effect, to combine the farm bill and repeal of 14(b) into a single package. Members of Congress from agricultural areas are being asked to vote for repeal of 14(b) in return for promises that Members from the cities will support the farm measure.

Such "logrolling" legislative maneuvers are detrimental to nearly everyone—the taxpayer who pays the subsidies, the worker who does not wish to be forced into union membership to hold his job, and the consumer who requires bread as an essential part of his daily diet.

Mr. Speaker, when food prices go up again—as they surely will—the blame must be assigned to those who are responsible—the administration, the Departments of Agriculture and Labor. All of the welfare and poverty programs in the world will not keep pace with the

food price increases directly attributable to present administration policies.

Several people who reside in the District of Columbia have written to me advising that food prices in June actually were even higher than those quoted in the U.S. News & World Report article. A typical letter from a sincere, concerned lady appears at the end of my remarks. She also might write to Labor Secretary Wirtz, Agriculture Secretary Freeman, and the President.

The full text of the letter, with name of sender omitted, follows:

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
July 16, 1965.

Hon. BURT L. TALCOTT, OF CALIFORNIA,
House of Representatives.

DEAR SIR: I read with interest your extension of remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 25, 1965, vol. 111, No. 115, pages A3345 and A3346 on "Higher Prices of Food Hurt the Poor Most of All."

The little chart which compared May and June food prices was a comparison chart in its own way, but—the prices that I have seen in one major chainstore in Washington, D.C. is way above the prices in the chart, i.e.:

Sirloin steak (pound)	$1.39
Sirloin tip (pound)	1.39
Porterhouse steak (pound)	1.39
Chuck roast (pound)	.69
Ground round (pound)	.89
Pork chops (pound)	1.09
Bacon (pound)	.95
Green beans (2 pounds)	.35
Pork sausage (pound)	.79
Potatoes (10 pounds)	1.50
Lettuce (head)	.29

I am not the richest person in the District of Columbia, nor am I the poorest, but it gets discouraging to even go into a store, and try to make up a meal. Cabbage and potatoes and hamburger used to be a poor man's diet. Now even the rich can't afford them.

Something should be done. The food stamps being issued to welfare people so that they can get decent food can't possibly go too far on the prices prevailing in the chainstores that they should go to.

It is unbelievable that 2 pounds of bacon can be 79 cents 1 month and the next month it jumps to $1.15 (A&P).

If we are to be a healthy nation and are to eat proteins, vegetables, fruit, etc., prices must be reasonable.

As I am a Washington, D.C., resident and have no representation except all the Members of Congress, etc., I feel that I can write to any one of them and be heard (maybe that's even better than one Representative).

What the FSA Can Do

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, the Free Society Association has been much discussed. The following editorial from the Arizona Republic, in my opinion, puts the association and its founders in proper context. Therefore, I include it in the RECORD under authority previously granted.

WHAT THE FSA CAN DO

The Free Society Association has received more brickbats than bouquets since it was launched by Barry Goldwater last month. Ray Bliss, Republican national chairman, doesn't like it because he is afraid it will drain off contributions that might otherwise go to the national committee. Liberal Republicans criticize it as being "divisive" and say they are opposed to splinter organizations. Some Democrats have dismissed it as a vehicle for right-wing extremism.

Phoenix Attorney Denison Kitchel told a press conference this week that the FSA hoped to further the principles of conservatism in both the Republican and the Democratic parties. However, he said, the organization would probably have more effect on the Republicans, who tend to be more conservative than Democrats. But the main objective, he said, would be to "enable the American voter, operating within the framework of our two-party system, to make political decisions which will be, once again, based on principles."

In one of its earlier statements, the Free Society Association listed among its goals: (1) To promote understanding of the principles of constitutional government; (2) to suggest how the problems of today fit into the Constitution; (3) to draw a clear distinction between the principles of a free society and the tenets of irresponsible leadership.

In commenting on these objectives, Judd Arnett wrote in the Detroit Free Press: "It certainly does no harm for groups of citizens, of whichever political persuasion, to study their government and worry about it.

"What this country lacks is dedicated opposition, on an increasing scale, to deficit spending, burgeoning centralization of government, and a tendency to be expedient every time a new crisis arises. If the Free Society Association can do anything to stiffen the backbones of those who have doubts concerning current trends, there is a place for it."

So far as we are concerned, we think the FSA ought to be given a chance to see what it can do. Goldwater has said it won't endorse candidates, so maybe Bliss is wrong in foreseeing a loss of GOP revenue. What the Free Society Association will do, as we see it, is try to explain the philosophical basis for conservatism. That is indeed a logical goal, and one that receives all too little attention across the country.

Most of the Nation's intellectuals are committed to the liberal cause. You can count conservative eggheads almost on the fingers of one hand—at least those who are willing to stand up and defend the conservative cause. The reason probably is that they have virtually no base for operations. The liberals have a lively and energetic press going for them. They have such effective opinion-molders as the Fund for the Republic and a host of other platforms sponsored by the big foundations. The vast majority of academic types are on their side.

And yet, no one with a sense of history can honestly believe that all wisdom and sound judgment lie to the left of a political spectrum. The conservatives need, and should have, a means of creating and disseminating ideas. We hope the Free Society Association will give it to them. As for direct political action, that can best be left to the regular party machinery.

Divided Loyalty an Undivided View

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, in this changing world I believe that the views of the military and of civilians, as well, are important. The adequacy of national strength must remain a legitimate topic of political debate. I do not believe, however, that disputes should publicly be aired. The statements of military men who appear not to be under effective control inspire mistrust at the very time that peaceful solutions demand the greatest degree of mutual confidence. Similarly, in a shrinking world, the Communist bloc often is given much aid and comfort by the public criticisms of administration policy uttered by civilians in high places.

I feel that military views in time of war, whether it be hot or cold, should be given careful consideration before policy decisions, which are based upon military factors, are taken. To do less can endanger the preservation of our Nation's security.

I would like to include in the RECORD the following well-written article by Lt. Col. A. R. Richstein, U.S. Army:

[From Military Review, August 1965]

DIVIDED LOYALTY AN UNDIVIDED VIEW

(By Lt. Col. A. R. Richstein, U.S. Army)

Carl Sandburg tells a story about President Abraham Lincoln's relationship with Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan. The latter occasionally made political statements on matters outside the military field, and, after one such occurrence, someone asked Lincoln what he would reply to McClellan. Lincoln answered:

"Nothing, but it reminds me of the man whose horse kicked up and stuck his foot through the stirrups. He said to the horse, 'If you are going to get on, I will get off.' "

In these days of sudden crises and threatened holocaust, when the nature of war as we know it is changing, we can ill afford any uncertainty as to the direction in which military loyalties lie.

If, indeed, as suggested by the author of a recent article in the Military Review, there are competing legal demands by the President and the Constitution upon the loyalties of military officers, the situation is deserving of further analysis.[1]

The problem, as seen by this particular author, can be summarized in certain quotations taken from his article:

The first allegiance of all Americans can only be to the Constitution, "the law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace."

Our forefathers * * * created a constitutional form of government in order to safeguard the powers which by nature they possessed. But what would be the consequences if those who derive their authority from the Constitution to direct the military forces of the country step outside the limiting bounds of their constitutional authority?

LIMITS OF AUTHORITY

To determine the consequences, it is necessary to determine the limits of the constitutional authority which restrains military decision. The historical forces which influence the concept of war power under the Constitution are twofold:

The founders of the American Republic were aware that again and again in the course of human affairs liberty had been destroyed by military dictatorship. In drafting the Constitution, therefore, they sought to establish—quite firmly—the supremacy of the President and the Congress over the military arm of the Government.

The experience gained in war. This concept of the war power rests, as pointed out by Dean Eugene V. Rostow, "on basic political principles which men who endured those

[1] Lt. Col. Thomas H. Reese, "Divided Loyalty for the Military Officer," Military Review, October 1964, pp. 15–20.

times of trouble fully discussed and carefully articulated." This experience undoubtedly motivated Alexander Hamilton to say:

"Of all the cares or concerns of government, the direction of war most peculiarly demands those qualities which distinguish the exercise of power by a single hand."

PRESIDENTIAL OBLIGATIONS

The President alone is singled out by the Constitution to take an oath that he "will faithfully execute the Office of the President of the United States, and * * * preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." Apart from this oath, the President is separately required by article I, section 3 of the Constitution to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and [to] commission all officers of the United States."

These Presidential obligations, imposed by the Constitution, strongly motivated President Harry S. Truman in his decision to relieve Gen. Douglas MacArthur during the Korean war. In his "Memoirs," President Truman, referring to General MacArthur, recalls:

"Now at last, his actions had frustated a political course decided upon, in conjunction with its allies, by the Government he was sworn to serve. If I allowed him to defy the civil authorities in this manner, I myself would be violating my oath to uphold and defend the Constitution."

What of the responsibility of those who direct the military forces of the country? In most situations, the exercise of authority in the name of military necessity will not present a controversy for judicial decision. Some actions, though, considered a necessary exercise of the war power or proper use of the military arm, do involve the type of conflict over property or personal rights which can be presented to the courts.

In one case, the Supreme Court clearly stated that the circumstances surrounding the exertion of power over private constitutional rights "is necessarily one for judicial inquiry in an appropriate proceeding directed against the individual charged with the transgression." Although the relationship of civil to military authority is not often litigated, the Court's few declarations on the subject have furnished certain definitive guidelines.

DONIPHAN EXPEDITION

A landmark case is one which arose out of the Doniphan expedition during the Mexican War. The plaintiff, a U.S. citizen engaged in a trading expedition to Mexico, had been permitted to follow Gen. Stephan W. Kearny's troops as they moved into New Mexico and to trade freely in the rear areas.

Subsequently, after command of the troops had passed to Col. Alexander W. Doniphan, the plaintiff, who wanted to leave the Army and trade with the inhabitants, was forced to accompany the troops. All his property was lost in battle or on the march. He brought an action against the defendant, a lieutenant colonel of the U.S. Army who had seized the property, for its value and damages.

In its opinion, the Supreme Court of the United States recognized that:

"There are, without doubt, occasions in which private property may lawfully be taken possession of or destroyed to prevent it from falling into the hands of the public enemy; and also where a military officer, charged with particular duty, may impress private property into the public service or take it for public use. Unquestionably, in such cases, the Government is bound to make full compensation to the owner but the officer is not a trespasser."

However, the Court was clearly of the opinion that in all such cases, the danger had to be immediate and impending. In affirming the lower court's findings for the plaintiff, the Court indicated that mere action to promote the public service, in the absence of an immediate and impending danger, is not sufficient to avoid liability.

In World War II the Supreme Court had opportunity further to examine the scope of the war power under the Constitution. In a series of cases arising out of wartime treatment of Japanese aliens and citizens of Japanese descent, the Court laid down the general rule that, in determining legality, it would seek to ascertain whether the danger existed and whether the action taken was the appropriate means to minimize the danger.

LEGALITY OF ORDERS

The liability of the officers or members of the military services called upon to carry out an order must also be considered. In an early case, the Court said significantly:

"The first duty of a soldier is obedience, and without this, there can be neither discipline nor efficiency in the Army. If every subordinate officer and soldier were at liberty to question the legality of orders of the commander, and obey them or not as he may consider them valid or invalid, the camp would be turned into a debating school, where the precious moment for action would be wasted in wordy conflicts between the advocates of conflicting opinions."

The Court laid down the rule— which has generally been followed in cases involving criminal liability—that, unless the act is "a plain case of excess of authority where it is apparent to the commonest understanding that the order is illegal," the law should excuse a military subordinate when acting in obedience to the order of his commander.

The foregoing rule has recently been reaffirmed by a California court in the following language:

"It is established that a member of the Armed Forces may not be held liable to a civilian for injuries resulting from his act in carrying out the orders of a superior unless the order is not only illegal but its illegality would be at once palpable to one possessing the knowledge which is to be expected to him who obeys it."

In the case which arose out of the Doniphan expedition, the defendant, who was held liable for the damage sustained by the plaintiff, had acted pursuant to orders given by his commander, Colonel Doniphan. The Supreme Court, in its opinion in the case, implies that "it can never be maintained that a military officer can justify himself for doing an unlawful act by producing the order of his superior."

The basis for its decision, however, was a finding that:

"The defendant does not stand, in the situation of an officer, who merely obeys the command of his superior. For it appears that he advised the order and volunteered to execute it, when, according to military usage that duty more properly belonged to an officer of inferior grade."

It is the President of the United States who is the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces; who is required by the Constitution to take an oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution; and who is required by the Constitution to take care that the laws be faithfully executed and to commission all officers of the United States. In determining the constitutionality of action taken under the war power, the courts will ascertain whether a threatened danger was imminent and whether an action taken was the appropriate means to minimize it.

Unless the act of a subordinate officer is such that a man of ordinary sense and understanding would know that it was illegal, in most cases an act performed in good faith and without malice would not incur liability.

Under those circumstances, officers should readily find their oaths to support and defend the Constitution completely compatible with loyalty to their Commander in Chief. Any other solution would defeat the very purpose for which they are commissioned.

It has been emphasized by Secretary of State Dean Rusk that:

"The Nation looks to the President to play the primary role in deciding the types and scale of military power it needs to defend itself and support its policy. He must look to the morale of our fighting men, assure them of the Nation's appreciation and support. On the other hand, he must firmly assert the principle that the first mission of a man in uniform is to do what he is told to do, regardless of the number of stars on his shoulder, and that the military establishment is an instrument, not the master of policy."

The American tradition of civilian control is strong, and the tradition of loyalty among professional officers has always been high. The legal basis for these traditions has long been settled.

Florida Press Cites U.S. Efforts in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the Florida press has reflected much of the public feeling for the President taking a stand in Vietnam. A State which has new citizens from many States, and which plays host to visitors from many other States, Florida is exposed to many cross currents of American public opinion.

It was therefore significant when the Miami News, one of Florida's leading newspapers, editorialized on the President's efforts to reach some sort of peaceful solution to Vietnam without endangering the U.S. position of firmness there.

I include the Miami News editorial of June 27 in the RECORD at this point:

FRUSTRATION CALLED VIETNAM

It is only natural that our long involvement in South Vietnam should produce varying views by leading Democrats and Republicans alike in Congress. The pleasant aspect is that President Johnson's policy has brought so little public criticism.

Seldom, if ever, in our history has a President been confronted with such a frustrating problem. We were committed to help South Vietnam resist a Communist takeover during the Eisenhower administrations. We sent military advisers to aid the South Vietnamese Army resist attacks by Communist Vietcong guerrillas. The late President Kennedy inherited the problem and under him and President Johnson our assistance has been stepped up.

President Johnson has invited a negotiated settlement, he has stepped up American participation in the hope of persuading North Vietnam and the Vietcong that they cannot win. Thus far negotiation has been spurned by the Communists.

Probably the most clearheaded appraisal of the situation was given by Senator WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in the Senate the day after he conferred with President Johnson.

Senator FULBRIGHT urged a "resolute but restrained" holding action in Vietnam until

the Communists see the futility of trying to win a military victory and agree to negotiate.

With this objective in view we have committed American forces to combat. Our military strength in Vietnam is more than 60,000 and is expected to reach 100,000 shortly. After a pause in our bombing of North Vietnam military objectives, in the hope negotiations might be initiated, we resumed the bombing.

Just how much pressure we must employ to accomplish a negotiated settlement is still unclear. Certainly such a policy is to be preferred to all-out war, with the Communist Chinese joining in, or a withdrawal which would doom all of southeast Asia to Communist conquest.

We Refuse To Be Drowned

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK E. EVANS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, following the June floods that lashed at some areas in Colorado, I have been dramatically reminded of the fighting spirit of our people during times of crisis and disaster. The following editorial "We Refuse To Be Drowned," by the Fred Betz family, publishers of the Lamar Daily News, graphically expresses this spirit.

WE REFUSE TO BE DROWNED

There is little doubt that the flood of June 18 was about the worst catastrophe which has hit this community in a half century. Hardly a home or business house in Holly, Granada, and Lamar escaped without some damage. Even those spared by the raging floodwaters meant a loss for someone interested in the property.

But even mightier than the flood is the spirit of the people as they begin to dig out and to rehabilitate homes, stores, plants, and to reinstate the normal operations which mean their livelihood.

Brave words, smiles and bantering, in many instances, are being used to cover monetary losses which can eventually mean the loss of a home, a savings account, or even a business establishment. In some cases the flood came as the crowning blow on almost 4 years of drouth.

However, one gradually gets an understanding of the composite spirit of the people of the area, who are determined that they will survive. Because of the lack of communication, many persons outside the immediate area have not as this is written, understood how heavy a blow has been dealt and what its implications could be. But those who are engaged in the day-to-day struggle to lift themselves out of the morass of water and mud present a heroic picture equal to that of their frontier ancestors.

In the past half century this area has withstood the Pueblo flood of 1921, the dust storm era of the 30's, the influenza epidemic of World War I days, and drouths of varying length. After each of these we have witnessed a recovery based upon faith, sheer courage, and determination to not be destroyed.

In keeping with this spirit this newspaper with its plant built over many years into one of the better small city daily operations in Colorado wishes to walk shoulder to shoulder with the people of this area. The publishers have this day signed contracts involving many thousands of dollars for the installation of complete new printing equipment of the most modern type. Manufacturers are cooperating and it is our hope that in a matter of days we will be able to help with the restoration of a greater Arkansas Valley.

FRED M. BETZ, Sr.
FRED M. BETZ, Jr.
MRS. LENNIE M. BETZ.
MRS. BARBARA LEE BETZ.

Adlai Stevenson's Last Visit to Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the passing of our beloved Ambassador to the United Nations, Adlai E. Stevenson, brings back memories of his third and last visit to Hawaii in March 1953. He was honored on that occasion by island Democrats at a luau—Hawaiian feast—where I had the privilege of meeting him. His brilliance of expression and his personal charm wowed the people of Hawaii, and he in turn seemed to enjoy the friendly and relaxing atmosphere in which he found himself.

Adlai Stevenson's 1953 visit to Hawaii is reviewed in a newspaper article which appeared in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin on July 14, 1965. I am sure that the article, a reprint of which follows, will be of great interest to my colleagues:

[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, July 14, 1965]

ADLAI'S 1953 VISIT HERE WOWED DEMOCRATS

Adlai E. Stevenson's visit to Honolulu March 7–9, 1953, was a smashing success for island Democrats, even though their man had been defeated at the polls only 4 months before.

The highlight of Stevenson's trip was a luau at the jampacked American Chinese Club on Kapiolani Boulevard.

It seemed to take an hour for local Democrats to escort Stevenson to the head table that evening and Democrats were ecstatic.

Everywhere he was greeted by reaching hands.

The trip was Stevenson's third and last. He had visited Hawaii in 1933 as a tourist-businessman, and in 1942 he was here as an Assistant Secretary of the Navy, accompanying Secretary Frank Knox on an inspection tour of the war zone.

Stevenson arrived here in 1953 on the liner *President Wilson*. He was making a 4-month world tour with three companions, his secretary, William Blair, Barry Bingham of the Louisville Courier-Journal, and Prof. Walter Johnson of the University of Chicago.

Loaded down with leis on arrival, Stevenson said, "I smell like an undertaker's establishment."

At the luau, Stevenson opened with the comments, "After hearing all the lovely things that Governor Long had to say about me I can hardly wait to hear what I'm going to say."

Seeing the joyous faces at the luau, Stevenson asked, "How many days does this go on?"

Someone yelled, "The next President of the United States."

Stevenson answered, "I have not yet accepted the nomination."

He said he was "sort of between jobs as results of a misadventure that overtook me last fall."

His serious comments referred to the Pacific becoming the hub of the universe and of Hawaii lying in the path of the center of political gravity that was moving constantly westward.

Among the Republicans to greet Stevenson at the luau was Mrs. Walter F. Dillingham, a cousin of Blair.

When he looked down at the kalua pig in front of him Stevenson said, "I have particularly enjoyed this animal that lies prostrate here before me as I was assured when I came in and examined him that he was a roasted Republican."

Washington Post Editorial Backs Teacher Fellowship and Teacher Corps Proposals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post of July 20, 1965, carries an editorial which strongly endorses the concepts of a national teacher fellowship program and a National Teacher Corps.

The General Education Subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee and the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee are now considering such proposals, and President Johnson on July 17, 1965, called on Congress to enact teacher fellowship and teacher corps programs during this session.

The editorial follows:

ARCHITECTS OF THE FUTURE

It can hardly be doubted that the chief architects of the American future, as President Johnson put it in advocating a National Teacher Corps, are the country's teachers. Yet very little has been done to improve the caliber of these architects or to recruit enough of them to meet the enlarging challenge of the country's schools. The most tragic consequence of America's three-decade neglect of its public school system is to be found not in the antiquated and inadequate school buildings which so many American children are obliged to attend but in the deficient preparation and professional shortcomings of so many of their teachers.

The President gave some figures on this point—shocking figures. Only one-fourth of the country's public school teachers have a master's degree; a year of graduate work in educational theories and methods together with some advanced training in the teacher's subject ought to be a pretty general standard of qualification, at least for teachers at the high school and junior high school levels. Almost 10 percent of the country's teachers, according to the President, have less than a bachelor's degree, and almost 5 percent—85,000—lack adequate certification. This is to say that in a great many instances the vital business of education is entrusted to the uneducated.

Senators NELSON and KENNEDY have been talking for some time about a national teacher corps, patterned in some degree upon the Peace Corps. Mr. Johnson has taken their proposals, enriched them with related ideas from several other legislators and presented to Congress a rounded and realistic

bill to let the Federal Government help local school systems raise the quality of their teachers. He is quite right to call upon Congress to do something about this at once—during the present session. For it is really indispensable to the rest of his education program and it is unsurpassed in importance by any other national need.

In brief, the proposed Teaching Professions Act of 1965 would create a program of fellowships for elementary and secondary school personnel designed to lift their qualifications; it would also create a National Teacher Corps in which experienced teachers and teacher-interns with a bachelor's degree but no teaching experience would work together in institutions of higher education, engaging at the same time in an in-service teacher training program for the teacher-interns. This would operate like the master-of-arts-in-teaching programs provided currently by a number of leading universities.

Schoolteaching needs to be professionalized—lifted in dignity and prestige as well as in pay. For far too long, the profession has been the province of unmarried women reluctant to leave home for the rough competition of business in the big cities, and of married women seeking to supplement their husbands' incomes with a teaching stipend. More men are needed, especially in high schools. And high professional standards should be applied to men and women alike in this most influential of callings. We think the President's program is a most imaginative and constructive approach to an urgently needed revitalization of the teaching profession.

Opportunity in the Air

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year Mr. J. W. Rosenthal, chief of the Routes and Agreements Division, Civil Aeronautics Board, delivered a very illuminating speech on the great opportunities for expanding air passenger travel in all segments of the airline industry. In order that my colleagues may have an opportunity to read this address, I ask that it be inserted in the RECORD:

OPPORTUNITY IN THE AIR

(Remarks of J. W. Rosenthal, Chief, Routes and Agreements Division, Civil Aeronautics Board, before the National Industrial Recreation Association—Travel Council—Las Vegas, Nev., Feb. 18, 1965)

I am sure that most of you have noticed that motion pictures usually contain a legend at the beginning, that "Any resemblance to living persons or actual events is purely coincidental."

Staff members of a government agency have a similar caution when they undertake the hazard of public expression of their views. Thus, let me state accurately and completely that I personally prepared, and am solely responsible for any facts, opinions, interpretations, and predictions which may be buried in my ensuing remarks. Further, let me say that I reserve the right to change my mind, with or without the receipt of additional facts, on any of the conclusions of which you may wish to find me guilty.

Let us begin.

Most analysts agree that there are two relatively distinct markets in air transportation—a business travel market, and a personal and recreational travel market.

A significant part of the business travel market is seeking simply better personal communication. The sole purpose of this travel is to bring individuals face to face. This objective accounts in part for the rapid growth of the airport motel, and for the traveler who seldom strays to town.

But the growth of business travel is not only tied to growth of business activity; it is directly threatened by revolutionary innovations in communications technology. The face-to-face meeting made increasingly possible by increased aircraft speed and availability may in the future, at lesser cost, be accomplished through phonovision. Accordingly, one must approach a long-term forecast of growth based upon business travel with somewhat greater caution than has heretofore been the case.

Communications technology will also affect the desire for pleasure and personal travel—but not to the same degree. After all, the telephone, with or without a picture, is hardly a substitute for home cooking, and it cannot take the place of a visit in person for courting, weddings, births, or burial occasions. Nor can it provide an opportunity to ski, swim, golf, tour new and strange places, or just plain getting away from it all—including the telephone.

All of the transportation surveys suggest that there is a tremendous and as yet untapped potential for personal travel. At least one such survey suggests that the great bulk of our people, including many who can well afford to do so, almost never travel more than 200 miles from home.

And as the standard of living increases in this country and in the rest of the world, the number of persons having discretionary income, and the amount they have increases geometrically. Accordingly, one may almost assume that there is an almost unlimited expansion potential in the market for personal travel.

However, the competition for this discretionary part of the consumer dollar is fierce. To name just a few, the automobile concerns, the appliance makers, the furniture dealers, the fashion purveyors are all heavily engaged in the exercise of ingenuity to corral our uncommitted cartwheels.

Historically, airline thinking, while not monolithic, has been dominated by operations and finance people. The basic sales effort has been to attract traffic from existing travel markets; to divert existing common carrier surface traffic to air, and to capture air traffic from competitive air carriers.

Symptomatic of this approach has been the frequently expressed thought of a few years back that air traffic growth would be largely unresponsive to changes in fare levels but would respond directly to growth in GNP. Such assumptions restrict progressive development of airline fare policies; they lead to the almost reflex conclusion of some airline executives that every industry financial crisis can be best solved by a fare increase. Also affected is airline policy toward travel agents and credit availability. After all, if the business is largely going to come to you anyway, why pay someone to sell it, or someone else to finance it.

But change is in the air. In recent years, several of the large airlines have hired marketing specialists from other industries with a stronger merchandising background. Their initial approach is fresh. They accept the thought that air traffic growth—at least the part which is nonbusiness travel—is elastic. They argue that the air carriers and their hotel and tour allies are in competition with other entrepreneurs for the consumer dollar.

We can only guess that the carriers' current greater willingness to experiment with reduced promotional fares is attributable, in part, to the new enterprise of the marketing men. We can be sure that they upheld the passengers' rights to a choice, rather than just one class of service; to the greater availability of credit; and to the recent more sympathetic airline approach to travel agents.

But the battle is far from over. There is still opposition within the ranks to the new effort.

We are once again hearing that in the next few years the carriers' jet fleets will expand faster than anticipated traffic growth. Only recently have load factors started to move significantly above the 50 percent mark. Should the direction change, the resulting financial crisis should be solved—it is said—by fare increases.

Sometimes, I wonder just how high fares are now. Just how much is the public paying, over and above what would be considered reasonable, if airlines were subject to the same economic forces as are other industries? Of course, a lot of arguments may be validly made as to why it would be inappropriate to test the efficiency and economy of airline managements—subject to public regulations and imposed service obligations—by the standards of another industry. However, it is more difficult to challenge a comparison of their performance today with that of the prejet era.

For example, let us assume that the airlines were today operating the more efficient jets at the same utilization rate and load factor as they operated their piston equipment in a comparable period of economic activity. On that basis an overall 25 percent cut in fares could be passed on to the public.

Certainly, we are entitled to question whether it is reasonable for the public to be asked to pay this kind of a premium for further equipment expansion. This is particularly true when the air carriers' own forecasts are for further reductions in an already low rate of use of very costly equipment.

This brings me to the role of the supplemental air carriers and charter service.

For some years, we have pointed to the value of the transatlantic charter program as demonstrative of the availability of a mass travel market—at a price—and as both incentive and prod to the scheduled carriers to reduce fares to serve this new public.

Let us attempt to evaluate this contribution. Of course, one must recognize that in a complex business situation it is difficult, if not impossible, to attribute any result to a single cause. Nonetheless, it is most interesting to contrast domestic and transatlantic fare levels in the year 1955 with those in 1965. As you may recall, 1955 was the year in which the major nonsked transcontinental operator was put out of business by court order. It was also the year in which the Board inaugurated the transatlantic charter program. In 1955, the DC-6 transcontinental round trip coach fare was $198.00, and a lesser $160.00 excursion fare was available on certain days of the week. In 1965, the jet coach fare is $290.20, 46 percent higher than the 1955 level; moreover, in 1965 there is no lower price excursion fare available. In 1955, the on-season New York/London round trip coach fare was $522—and there was no excursion or group fare available. In 1965, the on-season New York/London economy fare is under $500 but, more significantly, the carriers offer a $300 round trip 21-day excusion fare, as well as a low group fare.

Equally pertinent is the fact that the domestic trunk revenue yields per passenger mile have increased since 1955, while the U.S.-flag international yield has declined substantially. In fact, in 1965 Pan American for the first time had a lower system yield per revenue passenger mile than any one of the three domestic transcontinental trunks.

It may interest you to know that the value of the supplemental and the transatlantic charter program to the Board's effort to

secure reasonable rate levels was recognized by the Inter-agency Committee on International Air Policy. They recommended to the President that our national air policy favor continuation of charter competition by supplemental carriers in order to assure pressure on the fare structure and a yardstick as to the economics of air transportation.

Interestingly enough, the group faced the question of what policy should be followed when international air fares were reduced. The answer was not then to curtail charter activity by these carriers—but to expand their competitive opportunity. The purpose here was to assure that these carriers remained economically viable in the market so that their withdrawal would not precipitate a return to a high-fare policy over the Atlantic by IATA.

This leads me to certain recent developments in charter policy. As you will recall, IATA in 1962 initiated group fares in the transatlantic area. It was clear that this was a competitive response to the charter program. Although the Civil Aeronautics Board had specifically sought this objective, it did not react to its attainment, with a tightening up of its transatlantic charter standards. On the contrary, it liberalized them. Thus, part 295 was modified to eliminate the 20,000-member limit on size of groups eligible for charter. IATA has, of course, retained this limit except for universities and employee groups. Part 295 was also revised to allow a travel agent better to assist in a group's charter organizing activities. However, IATA did not follow our lead; in fact, it maintained as requirements in resolution 045 restrictions abandoned by the Board. The Board also, in granting to Capitol and Saturn 5-year certificates of public convenience and necessity for transatlantic charter service, authorized these carriers to provide split charters.

Moreover, there is still pending before the Board the question of whether Capitol and Saturn should be authorized to provide charters to travel agents for the sale by such agents of all-expense tours for nonaffinity groups.

In just the last few weeks the Board has confirmed the grant of temporary operating authority for transpacific affinity charters for World Airways and Trans International Airlines. In taking this action, the Board specifically called attention to its hope that a charter program would be as successful in the Pacific as it was in the Atlantic in stimulating fare reductions.

The Board has also proposed to broaden the definition of charters to be performed by supplemental carriers in the domestic market to include charters to travel agents for the provision of all-expense tours for nonaffinity groups. In proposing this expanded charter authority, the Board has been mindful of the need of the supplemental air carriers for an increased opportunity for commercial business. However, even more significantly, in my judgment, has been its awareness of the fact that the all-expense tour approach opens the possibility of a greatly expanded recreation travel market.

In this connection, we must take note of European experience. Thus, we are told that in 10 years time all-expense tour traffic between Scandinavia and the Mediterranean increased from 10,000 to 400,000 passengers annually, while individually ticketed travel continued to grow at about 15 percent per year.

It is clear that domestic all-expense tour charters can, by making the "See America First" program a better travel bargain, contribute in a constructive way to our President's efforts to solve the gold-flow problem.

Of course, one must not get the impression that the Board's sole concern in regulating air transportation is to reduce fares or to assure the economic health of the supplemental air carriers. It is not. A primary objective of the Board must be, and is to assure the continued economic well-being of the basic industry—the trunk carriers, the U.S.-flag carriers, the cargo carriers, and the local service industry. Without economic viability these carriers would be unable to discharge effectively the heavy burden of public service imposed upon them. They would be unable to make the equipment and service innovations that we have come to expect of them. Nor would they be able to sustain and expand the superb air service network which makes our country the envy of every other nation.

Its concern in this regard leads the Board to so regulate the charter program as to limit its potential diversion from the individually-ticketed service provided over our basic system. This then is the reason for the specific rules which have developed over the years for transatlantic charter service, and which are applied administratively in other international areas when our approval is sought.

On the other hand, the domestic charter program has had a different evolution. Historically, there has been no requirement for prior administrative approval of domestic charters by licensed carriers. Nor has there been until recently any significant volume of domestic charter traffic by supplemental air carriers.

Under these circumstances, it had been possible to permit these charters to be conducted without specific delineation of the applicable rules. As many of you know, until recently, practically the only firm prohibition was against the direct charter to a travel agent or for the solicitation of the general public. But in 1963, there arose for the first time a need on the part of certain supplemental carriers to develop domestic charter business. At the same time, relatively high fares in certain significant recreational travel market provided an economic incentive for hotel operators and travel agents to utilize charter travel as a competitive and promotional vehicle. The service, initiated in 1963, expanded greatly in 1964. As it did, the situation deteriorated rapidly. As a result, the Board promptly took action to stop the advertising of individual charters in mass media as a key factor in what appeared to be widespread evasion of the basic charter prohibition—sale of charters to the general public.

Almost concurrently, a local Federal court in Boston, without opposition from the Board, granted almost unprecedented temporary injunctions which effectively stopped all charter operations to Miami and Honolulu for three of the largest supplemental carriers.

We are hopeful that, as a result of these developments, any slide toward wholesale departure from sound organization rules for affinity charters will have been contained.

We now look forward to the termination of the Supplemental Air Carrier Case, Docket 13795, in which there is pending both the question of the carriers to receive permanent charter authority and the nature of that authority.

The staff objective in that case is to obtain a consistent definition of affinity charters which could be applied with little, if any, distinction for charters to be conducted from New York to Tokyo or Paris, as well as from Chicago to Las Vegas. Within that objective we intend to recommend the establishment of charter rules which will, insofar as possible, protect the basic transportation system from undue diversion without unduly complicating the organization of a charter by legitimate groups.

Since there is a measure of contradiction in these objectives, I am almost positive that if we do our job well no single group will be completely satisfied.

Let me now turn to some predictions for the future:

That affinity charters will continue, and that this market domestically and internationally will show strong growth among large industrial organizations, universities, and fraternal groups;

That all-expense tours will tap new markets, including, but not limited to people in smaller business concerns, colleges, fraternal groups, and honest nonjoiners who were not before able readily to organize a charter;

That the scheduled carriers will compete effectively in the expanded market for personal and recreational travel with lower no-frill service, new promotional fares, and increased incentive-type agency commissions;

That with greater leisure time in an affluent society the public will benefit from an enhanced opportunity to travel quickly, comfortably, and safely by air to more and more distant and attractive destinations.

Coinage Act

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 8926) to provide for the coinage of the United States.

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Chairman, I rise to urge the passage of H.R. 8926, the Coinage Act of 1965.

As you know, President Johnson has strongly recommended prompt congressional action on this legislation to prevent a crisis in our silver supply. In his message of June 3, 1965, he stated categorically that "Silver is becoming too scarce for continued large-scale use in coins."

I agree with the President that the worldwide shortage of silver, together with rapidly increasing consumption of that metal for defense, industrial, and coinage purposes, have created an emergency situation which necessitates the first important change in the Nation's coinage since 1792—a substantial reduction in the silver content of the denominations of U.S. coins—dimes, quarters, and 50-cent pieces—now using silver as a major alloy ingredient.

Since 1958 alone, world demand for silver has more than doubled, while production has increased less than 15 percent. As a result, Treasury Department authorities predict at the present rate of silver consumption in the United States, chiefly for coinage, this Nation will run out of silver within 2 or 3 years.

However, Mr. Speaker, I also believe it is important to our national prestige and to continued world confidence in the essential soundness of our currency system to retain a certain basic minimum silver content in all our major coins.

For this reason, I voted to support the amendment just offered to provide that quarters and dimes retain a silver content of 40 percent, thus maintaining the principle of a coinage system with actual intrinsic value.

Although I regret that this amendment failed to secure a majority vote of the Members, I nevertheless, feel the urgency of the legislation requires that we now join in support of the President in his ef-

fort to adapt our Nation's coinage to meet the needs and demands of modern conditions.

Under the bill as it now stands, the silver content of half dollars will be reduced from 90 to 40 percent, and silver will be eliminated entirely from dimes and quarters.

This drastically reduced use of silver in our coinage will, according to expert testimony before the Committee on Banking and Currency, offer a permanent solution to our silver crisis, and provide the basis for carrying out the President's recommendation to change our coinage system "to meet new and growing needs."

The new dimes and quarters will have a solid copper cores, with "sandwich" covers of cupronickel. So these smaller coins will have the same kind of face material as the present 5-cent piece, with the copper core visible as a reddish line on their rims. The new half dollar, containing 40 percent silver, would look about the same.

All the new coins would be similar in design to the present coins of the same denominations. They will be legal tender for all debts, public and private. The Secretary of the Treasury has assured us he is confident they will meet the test of public acceptability as a medium of exchange, that they can be efficiently and rapidly manufactured by the mints from available materials—in fact, the Bureau of the Mint plans to turn out 3.5 billion coins in the first year, and double this production in the year thereafter—and that their size, weight, and electrical properties make them fully compatible with silver coins and able to work in all existing vending machines and other coin-operated devices.

Another commendable feature of this bill is its authorization for the San Francisco Assay Office, which was deactivated as a mint in 1955 after more than 100 years of continuous operation at a time when coin demand was only a fraction of present needs, to continue its gold and silver refining operation and also to reactivate its coin-production facilities until such time as the Secretary determines that the mints of the United States are adequate to produce ample supplies of coins.

I am particularly pleased, Mr. Speaker, that the President has now proposed reactivating the historic century-old San Francisco Mint to help ease the transition to the new coinage system, and as a significant step toward alleviating the increasingly critical coin shortage that has been plagueing businessmen and individuals across the country.

With all other U.S. mints presently working on a full-time 24-hour-a-day, 7-day-a-week basis, reopening the additional San Francisco minting facility will be a big help during the transition period, and will be the quickest, cheapest, and most efficient way of expanding the inadequate supply of small change now in circulation.

I have a rather personal interest in the President's plan to reactivate coin production at San Francisco, because it follows my nearly identical proposal of a year ago, made in an effort to again provide a west coast mint to supplement those now located at Philadelphia and Denver.

We in Los Angeles, as well as citizens throughout the State of California, have a vital stake in this matter. As residents of the Nation's fastest growing metropolitan area, and what is now the largest State in the Union, we have already felt the adverse effects of the current acute shortage of coins.

In fact, the situation has become so serious that many local Los Angeles retailers and merchants are reporting considerable difficulty in keeping an adequate supply of change on hand to operate their businesses properly and provide the kind of service their customers have a right to expect.

If the Treasury Department's Bureau of the Mint now moves on a crash-program basis, and fully utilizes the minting capacity of the San Francisco facility, we should be able to make a successful transition to the new coinage system, and at the same time, be assured of the pennies, nickels, dimes, quarters, and half dollars so essential to the smooth functioning of our booming commercial economy.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, let me again urge the Members of the House to join in support of the President by voting for the passage of H.R. 8926, the Coinage Act of 1965.

One-Track Minds Try To Railroad Us Out of Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the Savannah News recently carried an editorial entitled "One-Track Minds" which brought in lucid fashion that those who have repeatedly opposed U.S. involvement in Vietnam have put forward no practical solution to the Communist aggression in southeast Asia.

The Savannah News editorial voices unequivocal support for the President's taking a stand in Vietnam, and I include the editorial of July 3 in the RECORD at this point:

ONE-TRACK MINDS

Have you noticed how most of the protesters of our involvement in the fight to keep South Vietnam free come up with only one proposal—"Get out of Vietnam."

Where are their alternatives? Where are their solutions to how communism can be stopped from new aggression? How do they propose to halt this evil force if a stand isn't taken somewhere? Do they suggest that the best policy of the United States would be to let the entire world—except our own Nation—fall into Communist hands and then let blood and destruction befall our own shores at a last ditch stand?

If the United States were to adhere to the wishes of the "get out" boys, it might someday watch the same protesters picket the White House with signs of "Get out of the United States."

We are mighty wary of the motivation behind those protesters who offer only one suggestion—surrender. This is the line communism suggests.

President Johnson is right in taking a stand and committing the United States to help keep South Vietnam free.

"Lingo Tech"—The Defense Language Institute at Monterey, Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important institutions of the Department of Defense is the Army Language School at Monterey, Calif., technically the Defense Language Institute West Coast Branch, DLIWCB, or "Lingo Tech."

If our military is to be truly a "profession of peace," our soldiers must be able, at least, to speak the language of our allies and friends. Great advantage would accrue if our militarists, and ambassadors, could speak the language of our adversaries and enemies.

A first step toward better world understanding is better oral communication.

Soldiers who have a second language are "twice armed." Guns may be necessary, but language—"their language"—could be a superior weapon.

Our future military and diplomatic personnel will be required more and more to be fluent in foreign language.

The Army language school has developed the best methods of teaching foreign language yet devised. Many schools and universities are utilizing DLI techniques.

The DLI and its techniques should be enlarged on a crash basis. Every agency of the Government which deals with any foreign person should develop a high foreign language proficiency.

The Time magazine article tells part of the story, briefly:

LEARNING—LINGO TECH

In the jungle battlefields of Vietnam, knowing the Vietnamese language may be as important to a U.S. soldier as his accuracy in firing an M-14. Supplying American military advisers there with the right words is fast becoming the primary mission of what its graduates call "Lingo Tech": the west coast branch of the Defense Language Institute, located at the Army's historic Presidio in Monterey, Calif.

Operated for all the services by the Army Department, the institute had its modest beginnings in 1941 as an Army intelligence course in Japanese, now have five schools across the country. Of these, the oldest and by far the largest is the branch at Monterey, which trains up to 2,500 military personnel a year in 27 languages and 33 dialects, in courses that range from a 12-week quickie in Vietnamese to a full 47 weeks in Chinese, Russian, Arabic and some 13 other languages.

DON'T DROP A PENCIL

The language training at Monterey is the most intense in the United States, and students joke: "If you drop a pencil in class and take time to pick it up, you've lost an hour's material." Classes run for 6 hours a day, 5

days a week, interrupted by two 2-week vacations throughout the year. Students are expected to spend 3 hours or more daily on homework.

As at Berlitz, students are totally immersed in the language from the moment they enter class. No English is spoken, and students are assigned native pseudonyms by which they are known throughout the course. Starting first with the mastery of sound, they mimic every word of their instructors—most of them natives of the country whose language they teach. Gradually, students move up from sounds to basic grammar to sentences to conversation and writing. To supplement class work, they have textbooks written by Monterey's 381-man faculty, individual tape recorders, closed-circuit television films in the institute's elaborate language lab.

"Our real mission," says Dr. Erwin Gordon, an academic adviser to the institute, "is communication, not vocabulary or grammar." Monterey's students get heavy doses of local history and culture, often take time out to sample the native cuisine—if available—in San Francisco restaurants. To test a student's practical command of his language, Monterey has set up facsimile banks, post offices, and stores where he is forced to negotiate a bank loan, mail home a package, or shop for his dinner—all without lapsing into English.

ADVIROS IN BATTLE

Students of the institute have an additional exercise unavailable in other language schools: mock warfare is enacted on two sides of a partition, with the student adviros (advisers) talking back and forth on the telephone. At the end of the battle, students compare notes to see if they were successfully getting the messages across. By the time a student laughs at the same thing a native laughs at, Gordon figures, he is approaching mastery of the language. For Americans, gaining this kind of mastery in Vietnamese is especially hard. As in Chinese, the same word spoken at five or six different pitches has five or six different meanings. Moreover, Vietnamese has three dialects, of which Monterey teaches two: the classic dialect of Hanoi, with six tones, and that of Saigon, which has five.

To meet the heavy demands of the war, the institute now offers a 12-week crash program in Vietnamese, in addition to the standard 47-week course. Graduates will have a minimum vocabulary of 1,000 words—including all essential military terms. This year, Monterey will graduate 1,000 men from its Vietnamese classes, compared with 150 5 years ago. Some may not live long with their knowledge; a bronze memorial plaque, already inscribed with the names of 25 Monterey graduates, has been placed on the door of the Far East Division building.

Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, during this third week in July we commemorate the great tragedy of our times for we recognize, formally, that over one billion of our fellow men are enslaved. How ironic it is that an era marked by the war to end all despotism must be characterized by an even greater enslavement of the minds and hearts of men. How sad it is that so many millions must live a colorless life under governments of men and not of law, where conformity is the rule and there are no exceptions, where all blessings come not by the will of God but from the hand of the state, and where the truth is variable and fear is constant.

It is altogether appropriate, as our brothers' keeper and as the first champion of the right of self-determination, that we bring to the attention of men everywhere the facts of 20th century life for over one billion of their brothers, for no nation has a lifetime guarantee of freedom, and ignorance of their plight invites disaster.

We must observe Captive Nations Week because, as heirs of that first great revolution, we would betray it by condoning oppression. Furthermore, a desire for freedom and a love of liberty cannot spring eternally in the enslaved human breast. They must be nurtured by the knowledge that these captive peoples are not alone in their dark hours of tyranny, and that much of the world is actively engaged in efforts to hasten the day when all that has passed is but a dim memory of a distant nightmare. We must reaffirm our commitment to this end.

Finally, we should take the opportunity of this observance to give thanks for the blessings of liberty and for the opportunity afforded us to live under a government of laws and not men, where those who make and enforce the laws are responsible to the people and responsive to their wishes, where a man's grasp can exceed his reach, and where each is free to chart his own path to the stars.

Uniformed Services Pay Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9075) to amend title 37, United States Code, to increase the rates of basic pay for members of the uniformed services.

Mr. HAGAN of Georgia. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, we have too long indulged ourselves in false economy in the treatment of the military pay problem. We have broken faith with our service personnel. As our colleague, the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts, just pointed out, we have permitted pay scales to be increased far more in other segments of our economy than to those who have dedicated themselves to the service of our country. Quite apart from keeping faith with our people in uniform, however, the cold economic facts show that this failure to provide fair and equitable compensation is a gross practice of false economy.

Using the Air Force training costs as an example, the investment in training costs for an Air Force pilot is $96,000. It costs some $268,000 to train an F-1 pilot and $600,000 to train an F-105 pilot and more than $1 million to train a B-52 commander. The total investment cost of training just one electronics specialist is $23,000, one ballistic missiles launch officer $49,140.

The services in this complex missile-space age have an ever increasing requirement for officers trained in science and engineering. Likewise, the greatest requirement for enlisted personnel is in the technical fields.

It is in these very fields that the costs of training are the highest.

The Air Force alone spends $1,207 million to train replacements for the skilled men who leave.

Confronted with these figures, it takes no great venture in mathematics to prove that the failure to provide adequate compensation is false economy.

The existing military pay scale, in addition to creating problems in numbers of personnel, encourages mediocrity in quality. To use the Air Force as an example again, the inability to recruit adequate scientific and engineering officer personnel has led that service to reduce its standards. In 1959, 47 percent of the total officers entering the Air Force from ROTC were in the scientific and engineering category. By 1964, this percentage was reduced to 33. There has been a corresponding drop in the quality of officer candidates for the Air Force ROTC. In 1957, the average percentile score for entrance into the program was 63, but by 1962 this average had been reduced to 52.

Taking into account these staggering costs, we can readily see how foolhardy it is to maintain a pay scale that will neither attract nor retain skilled manpower.

Mr. Chairman, I believe the enactment of H.R. 9075 will enable the services to compete in the marketplace for qualified personnel. Comparing the costs of this pay bill with the staggering costs of training replacement personnel, the passage of H.R. 9075 is just plain economic commonsense.

Some Harvest Fundamentals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, the program under which Mexican nationals have helped to harvest many of our Nation's agricultural crops came up to an end this year. This program was bitterly criticized by many persons. As a matter of fact, the program was abused by certain persons and in certain areas, and such abuses gave ammunition to those who chose to criticize. However, in the main the program was well run, and contributed greatly to increased

understanding and friendship between the United States and Mexico. Also, it resulted in a better quality of fruits and vegetables for the American housewife to purchase at prices which she could afford.

Since the end of the bracero program, prodigious attempts have been made to find seasonal labor to take the place of the Mexican nationals. In Arizona many of our high school and college students were recruited and did outstanding jobs. However, this type of labor will not be available when the spring crop is ready to be harvested, as schools will be in full operation at that time.

In other words, the end of the bracero program has caused more problems than it has solved. In the first place, the lack of the dollars which the braceros earned and sent home is being felt in Mexico. In the second place, many farmers have curtailed their acreage from a fear that sufficient labor will not be available at harvest time. In the third place, a reduction in the supply of produce has caused the price to increase in the markets patronized by the American housewife.

The ending of the bracero program was supposed to provide employment for many people who would be otherwise unemployed. The facts are that most of the unemployed refuse to perform this type of labor, a fact which the Department of Labor should have known prior to the launching of their successful campaigns to end the bracero program. It is difficult to say what good has been accomplished by the termination of this program.

The whole matter is analysed in the following editorial from the Phoenix Gazette of July 16, 1965, which I include herein under authority previously granted. The editorial follows:

SOME HARVEST FUNDAMENTALS

All the sound and fury about the role of high school and college boys in the harvest fields of Arizona and California have obscured the fundamentals of a problem that has in no way been solved. Where is harvest labor to come from in the future?

It is as axiomatic as human nature that some of the boys who went into the fields this summer stuck it out, and some didn't. Some earned more than they expected to earn, others earned less. Some enjoyed themselves and some were miserable. Some liked their employers and some detested them. (Some employers were good, some were bad; that's life.)

It is possible to be proud of the young men who showed up well, to deplore those who goofed off, to admire the farmers who saw to it that their recruits were well taken care of, to condemn those who provided poor quarters and worse food—it is possible to do these things, and still recognize that the turmoil of such a program is both inevitable and insufferable.

From one side, it is a matter of most critical concern that the public schools should be turned into recruiting agencies, and their employees (athletic coaches) be almost coerced into becoming labor contractors at so much per head, on anything like a permanent basis. Such a system of government-organized work gangs composed of the Nation's young people smacks too much of Soviet practice to be adopted in America without the most serious of debate.

From the other side, it would be well if we recalled the beginning of the 1965 harvest turmoil, and the reason for those beginings. Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz started it when he cut off the program, embedded in tradition as old as the border itself, by which Mexicans came into the United States to help harvest the field crops. Why? Because Wirtz maintained that the jobs taken by the Mexican nationals were depriving adult Americans of work. (Labor union officials, unable to attract the Mexicans into their unions, long had advanced this argument.) It didn't work that way. The unemployed Anglos didn't want the jobs. So Wirtz and his aids in a frenzy of desperation sent out an emergency call to the high school and college set to bail them out of a political fiasco. No such thing had been contemplated at the start.

Predictably, the makeshift hasn't worked very well this summer. Probably it would work even less well a second time. Certainly no major section of the American economy should be required to call upon the public schools to organize its labor supply. Serious psychologists might even question whether the schools, by participating in such a scheme, were not encouraging their charges to join the very migrant labor ranks which eminent sociologists—and Secretary Wirtz himself, for that matter—have been deploring.

However, that may be, the fact remains that the reason which moved the Department of Labor to bar the Mexican field hands (braceros) from coming across the border has evaporated entirely. It has proved to be no reason at all. Finding out that it was theory rather than facts has cost American farmers thousands upon thousands of dollars, and will cost American consumers even more.

The administration has reaped one small political advantage from the student harvest program. A few hundred youths who otherwise might have shown up in the seasonal unemployment statistics have been transferred to the "employed" column, but even this is more seeming than actual. Left to their own devices, most of the young men would have found other work on their own any way.

But still the basic fact remains—the students are a political improvisation interposed between attempt and failure by Wirtz and those who influence him most. The failure remains. The braceros should be invited back.

Rent Subsidies Only Nose in Tent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, the Los Angeles Times has offered pertinent and timely comment on the housing legislation which recently was passed by the House of Representatives and the other body.

The editorial raises serious questions concerning the rent subsidy both as to its implementation now and the probability of further expansion of the program in the future.

The Times poses various questions about the rent subsidy proposal which merit serious attention. I sincerely hope that responsible voices such as this are heeded so that we avoid making costly mistakes.

Under leave to extend my remarks I submit the editorial from the July 19, 1965, issue of the Los Angeles Times for inclusion in the RECORD:

[From the Los Angeles Times, July 19, 1965]

RENT SUBSIDIES ONLY NOSE IN TENT

The $7.3 billion housing bill nearing enactment in Congress is the latest example of President Johnson's skillful use of the nose-in-the-tent technique.

Anxious to get started on his version of the Great Society but hesitant to tell the American people what the final price tag will be, he offers new welfare programs in easy-to-swallow spoonfuls.

Medicare and the Appalachia approach to regional redevelopment are just two examples of programs that are expected to balloon enormously in future years.

Another is included in this year's housing bill, similar versions of which have passed both House and Senate.

In addition to the traditional Federal housing programs, the measure provides for $150 to $200 million in rental subsidies over the next 4 years.

Federal money will be paid directly to low-income families who are unable to find adequate housing that they can afford. The subsidy will amount to that part of the rent which exceeds 25 percent of the breadwinner's monthly wages.

The bill is designed to encourage construction of private moderate-priced housing by cooperatives and nonprofit institutions.

Sponsors argue that public housing is reaching only a small percentage of low-income families. Besides, the hope is that the subsidized private housing will be geographically scattered, thus avoiding creation of new racial pockets and slums.

Well-intentioned though the program may be, you don't need a crystal ball to see the pitfalls.

What is the definition of "adequate" housing? Won't local officials, who set the standards, be under pressure to be generous with U.S. taxpayers' money?

Won't the program introduce a serious inflationary factor into the national housing picture, with the result that everyone will pay higher rents?

Can Washington withstand the pressure to extend the benefits to more and more citizens?

Does anyone seriously believe that $50 million a year will do more than scratch the surface of the problem it's intended to meet?

Congress, we fear, has bought the proverbial pig in a poke.

Well-Deserved Honor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, recently the people of Arizona honored, by a testimonial dinner, one of the State's worthiest citizens. The occasion was the 50th anniversary of his ordination as a priest of the Roman Catholic Church. However, the record of service of Father Albert Braun is so distinguished that a testimonial dinner in his honor would have been appropriate at any place or at any time. Arizonans of all faiths are proud of his accomplishments and grateful to him for the fine traits of citizenship which he has displayed in his long service to his church and to his community. The Arizona

Republic for Friday, July 9, included an exceedingly appropriate editorial which I insert in the RECORD under leave previously granted. The editorial follows:

WELL-DESERVED HONOR

One of Arizona's most distinguished citizens will be honored at a testimonial dinner in Del Webb's TowneHouse tonight. He is Father Albert Braun, a Franciscan, who won the Purple Heart in World War I, contracted beri-beri in a Japense prison camp in World War II, received the U.S. Legion of Merit for his missionary services with Mescalero Indians, and was voted the Arizona Medal of Honor by the State legislature last month.

Father Braun administered the oath of office to President Manuel Quezon of the Philippines on besieged Corregidor in World War II, and took part in the Bataan Death March when the American and Philippine forces surrendered. But the most enduring accomplishments of this 75-year-old priest have been in Arizona. He built St. Joseph's Church for the Mescaleros, helped St. Mary's become a fine parochial high school, started the Sacred Heart Parish and built its church, and established the Catholic retreat at Casa Paz y Bien near Phoenix. He has done much for the Mexican community in Phoenix, and tonight's dinner is being sponsored by the Sacred Heart Church and the Federation of Mexican-American Clubs. Few Arizonians have equaled the color of his career or the dedication of his life. Father Braun deserves all the nice things that will be said about him tonight.

Captive Nations Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, each year during the third week in July we observe Captive Nations Week, dedicated to the millions of people suffering under the yoke of communism in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe. This observance is by now almost a tradition dating back to July 1959 when Congress unanimously adopted a resolution designating this particular week as Captive Nations Week.

During these past 6 years no progress has been made in securing the right of self-determination of the peoples held in captivity in those countries by their Communist overlords. They remain under alien rule. They are still denied basic human rights. Consequently, our observance of Captive Nations Week and our association with these peoples in their struggle to attain their freedom and independence is as timely today as it was 6 years ago.

The hopes of the enslaved peoples must be kept alive, if they are to continue their struggle and their efforts for survival. By reaffirming our ideals embodied in the concept as represented by Captive Nations Week we encouraged these peoples and contribute toward the ultimate achievement of their goal. We help to lighten their burden of suffering and degradation.

Most of all, by our discussion of this problem and focusing attention on the treatment of these captive peoples by their Communist masters we help to expose the ruthless face and features of Communist imperialism for all the world to see. I have also introduced in March of this year a resolution to create a Special Committee on the Captive Nations in the House of Representatives for the purpose of conducting studies of the situation in the captive nations and seeking the means to assist them to regain their national freedom.

I am pleased to join in the observance of Captive Nations Week as a way of demonstrating our support of these nations in their efforts to fulfill their national aspirations of freedom. It is our way of expressing renewed assurance to all captive and oppressed nations of the world that we stand for freedom, justice, and human dignity for all mankind.

Project Head Start Near Tama, Iowa, Aids Indian Youngsters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives is due to vote this week on legislation to expand the war on poverty and, with this in mind, I would like to call attention to the success of an antipoverty project in my home State of Iowa.

The South Tama Community School District was awarded a Federal grant of $13,320 this spring by the Office of Economic Opportunity to help finance a Project Head Start for preschool youngsters.

This program is helping 76 children, including 47 Indian youngsters from the Sac and Fox Indian settlement near Tama, Iowa. The July 15, 1965, issue of the Cedar Rapids Gazette of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, carried an article describing the scope and success of Project Head Start in the Tama area.

Of particular interest is the benefit the program is bringing to the Indian youngsters. As the article points out, the Indian children entered the program with little knowledge of the English language, but are now being taught to overcome that handicap.

The article follows:

[From the Cedar Rapids Gazette, July 15, 1965]

INDIAN CHILDREN MAKE TAMA "HEAD START" UNIQUE: MUST TEACH ENGLISH TO SOME TOTS

(By Alice Witosky)

TAMA.—Operation Head Start in the South Tama school district is different from any other such program in the State of Iowa.

It is the only one in the State in which the majority of the preschool youngsters enrolled are American Indians. Of the 76 children, 47 are Indians from the Tama settlement.

None of the 76 children has ever attended school. They are 4, 5, and 6 years old. Some of them will enter kindergarten this fall, but the Sac and Fox day school on the settlement has no kindergarten, so the ones who will go to school there will enter first grade. A few of the Indian youngsters may attend kindergarten, if their parents wish, at either the Tama or the Montour center, depending on the room available.

Operation Head Start in South Tama is located in the primary school building at the Toledo attendance center. There are 19 children in each room, each with its own teacher.

Douglas Dunlap, school principal at Chelsea and Montour, is Head Start program director. The head teachers are Marjorie Hanifan and Alice Henline of Toledo, Joan Miller of Tama, and Georgia Gray of Traer. They have four assistants: Joyce Neville of Malcom and Lorraine Liedel of Sioux Rapids, who will be seniors in child development at Iowa State, Ames, this fall; Lois Heller of Toledo, who will be a junior at State College of Iowa, and Jane Kupka, Toledo, who will be a sophomore at Clarke College in Dubuque.

LANGUAGE HANDICAP

A bilingual, or language, handicap is the main problem of the Indian children. These small children, accustomed to hearing and speaking the Indian language in their homes since babyhood, do not understand the meaning of English words when they enter school and have trouble with reading and speaking. In many cases, these children fall behind in their schoolwork before this language deficiency has been overcome.

In Head Start, the children with a language problem receive special attention and instruction in the meaning of English words, starting first with saying a word only, then phrases and finally sentences. In the 3 weeks since the start of the program, remarkable success has been achieved. Some of the Indian children have learned words so rapidly that they are now beginning to converse in English with their classmates.

As an example, a little boy whose mother is dead and who is being raised by his 80-year-old great-grandmother, could not speak a word of English when he came to Head Start. His chief accomplishment was throwing things, anything, like toys, small articles of equipment, and water.

Now, he obeys simple commands, sits quietly in a chair when told, listens attentively, and can correctly name things in an ABC picture book. While walking down the hall, he pointed to a fire extinguished on the wall and to a visitor exclaimed, "Fire." He is alert and wants to please.

Noticing that another child had spilled a glass of water on the schoolroom floor, he quickly ran for a long-handled mop and did a good job of wiping up the water. However, when another boy ran across the area he had just mopped, he reacted like any 5-year-old boy and made a quick pass with the wet mop at the boy's head. Needless to say, his teacher quickly restrained him by retrieving the mop. The little Indian boy is learning self-confidence and pride of accomplishment as well as the English language.

INTERPRETERS

Each teacher has an interpreter to help her communicate with Indian children who are learning English. These bilingual associates are Ramona Sanache and Sherry, Rosemary and Katherine Davenport. Sherry Davenport is a graduate of Tama high school and attended Cook Christian Training School 2 years and Phoenix College in Phoenix a year. The others are graduates of Tama-Toledo high school. Their homes are at the Tama settlement.

The 8 weeks' Head Start program is sponsored by the Federal Government, which pays 90 percent of the cost. South Tama, for its 10 percent of the cost, is furnishing the building, lights, and other utilities and bus transportation for children who live too far to walk to the school.

Unlike most Head Start programs, the one in South Tama includes lunch.

A balanced meal is served which not only contributes to the health of the child but acquaints him with the school lunch procedure and the experience of eating with other children, which serves to make his school experience next fall less strange and less frightening. Lunch on Tuesday of this week includes roast beef, mashed potatoes and gravy, Harvard beets, bread and butter, frosted creams, and milk.

PSYCHOLOGY

Child psychology is practiced at lunchtime. Very small portions of each food are placed on the child's plate, the theory being that a child will quickly eat all of a small portion, but usually will not attempt to eat a large one.

However, small bowls of each food are then placed on the table so that each child may help himself to as much as he wants. The children proved to be good little eaters. They emptied the bowls time after time. Also, unlike the first days there, they now sit quietly at the table until the meal is finished. The teachers and their assistants sit at the table and eat with the children.

Ruth Kaisand, Toledo, cooks the lunches for the entire group.

PROGRAM

A day's program includes, first, 45 minutes of outdoor play followed by fruit juice and crackers. Then comes storytime or a film story, after which free play in the schoolroom is allowed.

After free play, the children have some form of music activity and then go to lunch, with each room at its own table.

Taft Grave

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, recently my colleague from Ohio, JACKSON E. BETTS, called attention to the complete lack of recognition being given the grave of President Taft in Arlington National Cemetery. According to Mr. BETTS, there has been no response from official sources. However, some concern is being expressed by persons who feel that an ex-President's grave needs better consideration.

The following editorial from the Cleveland Plain Dealer of July 19, 1965, is an example:

TAFT GRAVE

Representative JACKSON E. BETTS, of Findlay, is to be commended for calling public attention to the neglected condition of grounds surrounding William Howard Taft's grave in Arlington National Cemetery.

The grounds should be properly maintained and their location noted on cemetery maps for the convenience of visitors.

Disrespect for the dead as indicated in negligence of a burial place is intolerable no matter what the status of the deceased.

It is especially shameful when the grave is that of the 27th President of the United States.

BETTS deserves public support if he continues to press for tidying up and proper marking of the Taft grounds.

John Edward Martin, of Milwaukee, Wins Wisconsin Student Essay Competition for Essay Urging the Lowering of the Voting Age to 18

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, John Edward Martin, of 2853 North Summit Avenue, Milwaukee, has been selected recently as one of the two winners of a $1,000 scholarship award in the annual essay competition for Wisconsin high school seniors sponsored by the Thorp Finance Foundation.

John, a 1965 graduate of St. John Cathedral High School in Milwaukee, is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Lee D. Martin. I understand he plans a career as an engineer.

Together with 408 other youths, John wrote on the topic: "Should the Voting Age Be Lowered to Age 18?" His prize essay has since been read over Milwaukee television station WITI-TV as part of a public service program.

I should like to commend John Martin for his fine achievement and to bring his essay to the attention of the Congress. The text of the essay follows:

SHOULD THE VOTING AGE BE LOWERED TO AGE 18?

(By John E. Martin)

The right to vote is perhaps one of the most cherished rights of this democracy. The fact that this right has been upheld is probably because the American voter is a mature voter, who takes this duty seriously. This need for earnest concern in politics was no doubt taken into consideration by the leaders of this country when they drew up the Constitution in 1781. They bestowed the right to vote on the male, adult citizen of this country, and although suffrage has given women the right to vote, it hasn't changed the need for adult thinking.

In this country's youth, a boy emerged from puberty to adulthood when he could carry a gun and march off to war. Today the laws have changed; a boy is an adult when he reaches 21. On the other hand, our draft laws say that a boy of 18 can go out and defend his country. This doesn't seem like good military procedure—sending boys to do a man's job. During World War II and the Korean conflict, thousands of boys died defending what they knew was right; they died fighting for American rights that were being endangered. It seems ironic that these young men should be giving their lives for a right which they didn't even possess.

Voting is a great privilege; it has to be taken seriously in order to achieve the high political ideals for which this country has strived. People who support the 21 year minimum voting age suggest that "this 18 year old isn't mature enough to vote," that "he is given to rash decisions and immaturity." Yet a person who is rash and immature at 18 in many instances will still be rash and immature at 21. A young adult doesn't wake up on his 21st birthday bursting with mature concepts and logical answers to his problems, because mature thinking does not come with birthdays, but by responsibility.

The late teens are the most telling years of a young person's life. During these late adolescent years a person forms his ideals and approaches problems in an adult manner. Along with these ideals comes an eagerness to be responsible. Many people in their late teens have a very idealistic and avid interest in politics. If they see their desires and goals mirrored in a political candidate, they will wholeheartedly back him. Such political support was especially shown in the presidential campaign of 1964, when numerous youth groups zealously supported their candidate. This fact is even more evident when it was noted that both candidates took time to address these youth groups at universities throughout the country, although most of the audience was under voting age.

The acknowledgment of the teenager as a future voter shows that some people recognize the maturity that many older teens possess. If, then, this maturity and levelheaded judgment are found in a person 18 years old, and if the teens have and are still willing to prove themselves adult, adult rights should be granted them by lowering the voting age to 18.

The Hasty Antipoverty War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, as we prepare for debate on the bill to refund the so-called war on poverty, I believe this editorial, from the Savannah, Ga., Evening Press will be of interest to my colleagues:

THE HASTY ANTIPOVERTY WAR

The Federal antipoverty program is beginning to encounter a good deal of public skepticism now that it is being put into practice. One obvious weakness of the program is that it is trying to do too much too soon. In an effort to get some quick results and keep the thing from losing momentum. Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity is pushing out the money with more gusto than prudence in many cases. And in the stampede to get there firstest with the mostest, a lot of cities and towns are obviously coming up with some "shotgun" projects of questionable value.

The poverty cycle was part of American life long before it was "discovered" a couple of years ago. Breaking it, if that be possible, is contingent on things other than a blank check from the U.S. Treasury.

Criticism of OEO projects is not limited to any one geographic sector of the country. From Pittsfield, Mass., The Berkshire Eagle, commenting on the new Federal program notes "* * * it's also nonsensical to pretend that the problem in areas like this is comparable, either quantitatively or qualitatively, to what it is in the big urban centers. Here it takes some digging to find desperation proportionate to the money available."

Gov. Mark Hatfield, of Oregon, requested an increase in security forces at the Tongue Point Job Corps Center following two fights, described as "racial misunderstandings," in the boys' dormitory.

Sargent Shriver, head of OEO, made cryptic mention of a problem in a California Job

Corps center that was resolved only by dismissal of the director. And in New York, a member of the Neighborhood Youth Corps was charged with murder following the stabbing of a 16-year-old boy who tried to ward off a gang attack on his father.

The Richmond (Va.) News-Leader questions the wisdom of a proposal to establish a Job Corps center to accommodate up to 2,000 boys at Camp Pickett. After reciting various official views, the Virginia newspaper states: "Yet last fall an applicant for the position of camp director found that questions on the application form asked what he would do if thefts occurred in the camp; how he would handle the problem of homosexuality; how he would resolve a racial situation; what he would do in case of a knifing; and how he would respond to a call from the local police chief reporting the rape of a local girl by a Job Corps enrollee. This would seem to indicate that unusual problems of discipline can be expected to arise in Job Corps centers."

The Chicago Tribune comments: "If the fighters of poverty are determined to carry out this foolishness, they might at least have consulted with the fighters of depressed areas. St. Petersburg is not a depressed area. Neither are Los Angeles and Cleveland, where other Job Corps centers (for women) are to be opened. * * * As it is, we are spending millions of dollars to elevate depressed areas and millions more to depress other areas like St. Petersburg."

The controversy surrounding the location of a Job Corps center for women is a former resort hotel in St. Petersburg has been the subject of a series of special reports which is concluded in today's issue of the Evening Press. This series takes note of the action of the Pinellas County Board of Instruction, contractor for the Job Corps center, and the St. Petersburg City Council asking that the center be abolished. The leading factor in this decision was the physical location of the center—in the middle of a fashionable area of the city and in a neighborhood with the highest density of residents above the age of 65.

In a number of ways, the St. Petersburg location parallels the area surrounding the Oglethorpe Hotel, which recently was rejected as a site for a Job Corps Center for women by OEO. There is little doubt that location of such a project on Wilmington Island would have had a depressing effect on the surrounding property. OEO's action may have been a disappointment to some, but in the broad interest of the community it must be regarded as a blessing in disguise. The same may be said in regard to the earlier proposals to transform Hunter Air Force Base into a Job Corps Center.

Try as they might, the effort of some officials to sweep the failures of the poverty war under the rug has not succeeded. Under questioning by Members of Congress, Sargent Shriver acknowledged a unique manner of statistically minimizing the number of poverty war dropouts. (Nationally, the figure is reported to be in excess of 30 percent). Shriver's headcounters disregard all those who return home within a 30-day period—they're not really enrollees until after the orientation, says the OEO boss. Those expelled from the program at any time are not regarded as dropouts. Not included in the OEO tabulation either are those who take jobs or become members of the armed services. After excluding the exclusions, Shriver arrives at a dropout percentage of 3.1 percent. Statistical accounting such as this tends to show success for a program although it is a dismal failure.

There are pockets of poverty in this great Nation and they stem from a variety of causes. Practical and tangible methods must be found, in concert with the American tradition, to help the victims of such areas. As the evidence from St. Petersburg indicates, the compacting of persons with such an age span and from a wide variety of backgrounds and locales results in the creation of a barrel of TNT, with a lit fuse thrown in for good measure.

While Savannah and Chatham County may breathe a deep sigh of relief that the area has been largely bypassed by the OEO, an objective view must be taken of other areas of the country.

The facts developed through study of the St. Petersburg controversy suggest that a thorough investigation by an appropriate committee of the Congress might be in order. Certain aspects of the operations may properly come within the purview of Federal grand juries.

It may not be possible to halt this latest Federal juggernaut, but someone must assume the responsibility for writing rules which will keep the taxpayer from being fleeced, avoid community disruption, and end glorification of human failure.

USDA—Consumer Friend—USDA Regulatory Services Protect Consumers in the Marketplace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, during my service with the Committee on Agriculture, I was quite impressed with the work done by the Department of Agriculture, and by the many ways by which the Department is geared to protect the consumer.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture administers more regulatory statutes than any other Government department.

Every year, for the protection of consumers, producers, and marketers of agricultural products, the USDA checks thousands of carloads of produce, tests thousands of samples of seed, exercises daily surveillance over hundreds of large traders in commodity futures markets, licenses and inspects storage warehouses, and administers marketing agreement and order programs under which billions of dollars worth of agricultural commodities are marketed.

Carrying out responsibilities given it by the Congress, the USDA thus seeks to assure fair play and fair competition in the marketplace and safe storage of farm products in licensed warehouses. I want to go on record that the Department deserves a great deal of commendation for the way it fulfills its responsibilities in this difficult but important area.

Because our food comes from many sections of our vast country—beef from the West—broilers from the Southeast—fruits and vegetables from Florida and California—dairy products from the Lake States—our Nation has probably the most complex marketing system in the world. Yet it is undoubtedly the most efficient.

The regulatory acts administered by the Department play a vital role in keeping this system operating smoothly. By quickly settling disputes between buyers and sellers, these laws help cut down the risks of doing business.

Over 2,500 cases were handled last year under the Perishable Agricultural Commodities Act, a law that incorporates a code of ethics for the fruit and vegetable industry. These cases resulted in payments to interested parties of more than $1.7 million—money that did not have to be recovered from consumers in the form of higher prices.

The Packers and Stockyards Act helps preserve free and open competition in the livestock and poultry industries. Working closely with State governments and industry, the Department of Agriculture investigates and prosecutes alleged restriction of competition and price discrimination in livestock and meat marketing, and unfair practices in poultry marketing. This act also requires that charges for marketing livestock be fair and reasonable, and that livestock be correctly weighed on accurate scales.

In enforcing the Federal Seed Act—a truth in labeling law—the Department in 1964 made 43,000 separate tests on 16,000 samples of seed. It turned back about 3½ million pounds of seeds because of low quality or false labeling.

To maintain free and competitive pricing in the commodity futures markets at Chicago, New York, and other centers, the USDA last year exercised daily surveillance of some 900 large traders.

Another behind-the-scenes service of the Department of Agriculture is carried out under the U.S. Warehouse Act. This provides for voluntary licensing and inspection of warehouses, thus helping to assure safe storage of food supplies.

Marketing orders administered by USDA help provide a steady supply of milk and fruits and vegetables at stable and reasonable prices. Most of the milk and about two-fifths of the fruits, vegetables, and nuts produced are marketed under these orders.

The services of the U.S. Department of Agriculture made possible through the laws which I have briefly mentioned are a major reason why the American homemaker is blessed with such a variety of fresh foods at reasonable prices. Our complex and free marketing system, regulated to protect both buyers and sellers, coupled with the productive genius of the American family farmer, makes it possible for us to enjoy the highest standard of living in the world and at the same time pay a smaller share of our take-home pay for food than any other nation at any time in history.

The Late Honorable T. A. Thompson

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, ASHTON THOMPSON's tragic death was a deep shock to me. It has been my privilege to serve with him on the Public Works Committee and on the Subcom-

mittee on Roads for the past 2½ years. He was a hard-working, considerate legislator whose contributions to the work of the committee and the Congress will long be remembered. His death has cut short a fine career holding much promise for the future. Mrs. Cleveland and I extend our deepest sympathy to his wife and children.

Captive Nations Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, in this era of emphasis upon human rights, the term "Captive Nations Week" would seem an impossible anomaly had it not been for so long so bitter a reality that there are captive nations. Not only in the United States is this an era of stress upon the right to freedom and justice for the individual and upon the right to independence of all peoples, but, the world over, there is an ideological stirring and definite movement to promote respect for human rights.

The United Nations, since its inception in 1945, has sponsored and received worldwide support for various conventions designed specifically to prevent "man's inhumanity to man." There have been adopted conventions to liberate humanity from such shackles as still exist in the fields of slavery, forced labor, discriminations against women, and various other indignities to the individual

Yet during the very years of greatest activity to promote such freedoms we find the continuing denial of liberty to a whole body of nations. Those captive nations stretch from the Baltic Sea to the Mediterranean, from the Elbe to the Black Sea. Domination by the Soviet Union began in the early days of World War II. The Iron Curtain dropped across the middle of the continent of Europe by the U.S.S.R. to this day has not been lifted—though, happily, it has worn a little thin in spots.

For these were nations which fell behind it with a history of independence dating—with some unhappy intervals—from the Middle Ages. There were nations such as Poland, Lithuania, Hungary. There were nations of great modern development, such as Czechoslovakia. There were numerous other countries and peoples with records of national identity and independence well established in history. There were tens of millions of peoples who were by tradition, by training, and by inclination abhorrent to this sudden exposure to dominance from the outside; but who were, even collectively, unable to withstand the inroads of Soviet power.

Those tens of millons of people have been now for more than 20 years the victims of a nearly intolerable situation. The evidences among them of discontent and rebellion have taken various forms: some open and active; some more restrained but clearly recognizable; some latent but undeniable. There has been open defiance, such as that of Bulgaria in its recent dealings with Communist China. There has been, too, such a considerable degree of growing independence among them that the hope of a restoration of liberty—never dead—has risen higher and higher with the passing years.

More power to it. It is the spirit of liberty and the love of freedom in its perpetual effort toward accomplishment that we hail in Captive Nations Week.

Uniformed Services Pay Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9075) to amend title 37, United States Code, to increase the rates of basic pay for members of the uniformed services.

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer my wholehearted support for H.R. 9075, to increase the rates of basic pay for members of the U.S. uniformed services.

My only objection to this bill is that it does not, in my opinion, give sufficient increases to the lower pay grades, to the men who are the bones and sinew of our military machine.

The need for pay increases is graphically shown in reenlistment figures for recent years. Each of our military departments has shown a steady and consistent downward trend in the number and percentage of men who have reenlisted after completing their required service.

The greatest weakness of our Armed Forces is their inability to attract and retain adequate numbers of qualified career personnel. We can solve this problem only by offering compensation which compares with that offered by private industry.

Our Nation's defense efforts have definitely been hampered by our failure to raise military pay. Because many of the best qualified men leave the armed service, it has been necessary to reenlist second-rate personnel and borderline disciplinary cases in order to maintain force levels. This has put an extra burden on the remaining qualified men, and has been another factor in the decision of competent personnel to quit the service.

The Army reports that more than two-thirds of all enlisted men on duty today have less than 4 years of experience. The Navy has reported a shortage of more than 40,000 petty officers. The reenlistment rate among first-rate Air Force personnel has dropped to 25 percent.

There are other indications of the need for military pay raises. In the past year, the Nation's press has carried many accounts of the large number of military personnel who are forced to obtain second jobs to provide their families with adequate standards of living. It has been estimated that, during 1964, 34 percent of all enlisted personnel in the continental United States had outside employment at one time or another.

Another telling factor is the number of hardship discharges granted to military personnel. The figures rose from 9,533 in 1963 to 10,924 last year, and it is expected to reach 12,600 this year.

A significant provision in H.R. 9075 is the variable reenlistment bonus plan, which will provide the armed services with a flexible device to help retain personnel with needed skills.

This bill also will establish an annual Presidential review of the military pay situation, and a review each 4 years of the entire concept of military compensation.

Mr. Chairman, there is no doubt that an increase in military pay is urgently needed, and I strongly urge adoption of this bill as a vital tool in our national defense program.

Hawaii Leads Nation in Percentage Gain of Stockholders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the trained economist tells us that the well-being of a community and of a State may be measured in a number of different ways. In my layman's opinion, however, a healthy economy is one in which its members have sufficient income to meet their current living expenses and to build "a nest egg," whether it be for retirement, a long vacation, a son's or daughter's college education, or unexpected medical and hospital expenses.

The virility of the economy of the youngest State of our Union is reflected in a news article which appeared in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin on June 24, 1965. The statistics set forth in the article are noteworthy, to say the least. I commend the article for reading by all.

The news article follows:

STOCKHOLDERS IN THE NATION TOP 20 MILLION MARK—117 PERCENT RISE IN ISLES BEST IN THE UNITED STATES

That Hawaii's percentage gain in the number of shareowners in the past 3 years was the greatest among the 50 States surprised some of the brokerage executives in Honolulu.

Hawaii had an increase of 117 percent since the 1962 survey of shareowners by the New York Stock Exchange, compared with an increase of 18 percent for the Nation as a whole.

In numbers, the increase was from the 18,000 reported in 1962 to 39,000 in this year's survey.

This means that while 2.8 percent of the population owned stock in 1962, 5.5 percent of all Islanders now own stock.

So the percentage owning common stock in Hawaii is still low compared to other States, but the rate of increase is the fastest.

If the 117 percent looks formidable, a bigger surprise is the 400-percent gain made by the neighbor islands.

According to the figures, there were 2,000 shareowners on the neighbor islands in 1962. Today there are 8,000.

THERE ARE 31,000 ON OAHU

Oahu has shown a larger numerical increase—from 16,000 in 1962 to 31,000 today, or a gain of 94 percent.

This means 1 out of 18 persons on Oahu is a shareowner, compared with 1 out of 31 3 years ago. The State average is 1 out of 18 also.

Growth of shareowners on the neighbor islands is a result of education and service, says Joseph T. Ahuna, manager of Francis I. du Pont & Co. in Hawaii.

Du Pont is the only brokerage house with branches on Hawaii and Maui, he said.

With a direct wire to Hilo and Wailuku, a Big Island or Maui client can get a stock quote and news as fast as anyone on Oahu, he said.

BETTER PROGRAMS

"We have been offering better educational programs through the materials and advice of our account executives at these breaches," he said.

G. Richard Cronin, manager of Dean Witter's Ala Moana branch office, said the tremendous gain is a recognition given Hawaii by the member firms of the New York Stock Exchange.

Brokerage houses have increased their personnel here and they have made a great effort to make people aware of the value of common stocks, he said.

Cronin's own office has grown from eight account executives to 21 in 5 years.

He believes the Neighbor Islands will bear watching from now on because they have turned the corner and their population and income will begin to rise.

Denis Y. Wong, vice-president of McDonnell and Company, said "we have been experiencing a large growth in new stock ownership, a trend that has been helped by the growing affluence of islanders.

"With the increase in personnel income, the extra dollars appear to be finding their way into the stock market because of the growth potential of common stocks."

The Late Honorable Cleveland M. Bailey

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply saddened when I learned of the passing of my friend and former colleague, the Honorable Cleveland M. Bailey, of West Virginia.

For 16 years, Cleve Bailey served his constituents, his State, and his country, with honor and distinction, and was dean of the West Virginia congressional delegation during the latter part of his service. He was second ranking Democrat on the House Education and Labor Committee and was a leader in efforts to legislate Federal aid to education.

My friendship with Cleve began when he first came to Congress in 1945. I learned to know him as a man of integrity with a genuine desire to be of help in every way possible; a man who had a sincere interest in his fellow man and who performed his duties, as a Member of the House of Representatives, with a steadfast devotion.

I extend to Mrs. Bailey, his two sons and daughter an expression of my sincere sympathy in their loss and bereavement.

Good and Bad of the Liberals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, the article by John S. Knight, editor of the Knight Newspapers, which I include herein under leave previously granted, is entitled "Good and Bad of the 'Liberals.'" Perhaps an equally accurate title would be "What is a Liberal?" or "Where Have the True Liberals Gone?" In any event, the article points out in an admirable way the fact that many of those who profess to be liberals in this present day, in practice, have forgotten the intellectual tolerance which has always been a hallmark of true liberalism. The article which appeared in the July 11 issue of the Arizona Republic follows:

GOOD AND BAD OF THE LIBERALS

(By John S. Knight)

The old man and the boy were talking seriously about Vietnam, why the kids giggle and scream at the weird, long haired a-go-go types on TV and the hot pennant races in both major leagues.

Without warning, the boy turned to the old man and asked "Grandad, what is a liberal?" The old man thought a minute and said "Well, son, my dictionary explains that a liberal is one who favors reform or progress. The word liberal also suggests freedom from prejudice or narrowness, even generosity in praise of a rival. Liberals have long upheld the right of an individual to freedom of belief and freedom of association."

The boy said, "Well, is not that good?"

"Yes, indeed, son, but the liberals of today are forsaking the traditions of liberalism. Instead of upholding the true liberal concepts, they have become intolerant of the views of others and attempt to shout down anyone who may disagree with them."

The boy looked puzzled. "I do not get it," he said. "Explain what you mean."

The old man smiled and offered to give a few examples. "You see," he said, "we have the Taft-Hartley act which provides that the individual States may adopt laws which say a man doesn't have to join a union to hold a job.

"Such laws have been passed by 19 States and are in full force and effect. But the liberals want this changed by repealing the section of Taft-Hartley which gives the worker the freedom to join or not to join a union as he prefers.

"It is argued," continued the old man, "that a man can get another job if he does not want to join a union. But this is somewhat of a joke in the great industries and other highly unionized plants where you must belong to the union, or else.

"Now, we are at the point where the liberals, who originally believed in individual rights, see nothing wrong in suppressing such rights. Do I make myself clear?"

"Yeah, I guess so," said the boy, "but what else are the liberals doing?"

"Well, son," said the old man, "they want everything regulated. They push for every socialistic measure offered in Congress. They want more Federal controls over education and housing and urge new and largely unneeded Government agencies to direct the lives of every citizen. The huge costs of these projects never seems to bother them.

"They and the civil rights extremists hate everything in the South. Presently, they are trying to block the President's appointment of a distinguished southerner to this Federal court of appeals. This man, J. P. Coleman, is a former Governor of Mississippi whose moderate approach to civil rights produced impressive gains in better race relations for his State.

"Shall I go on?" asked the old man.

"Oh sure," replied the boy, "but you mentioned extremists. Are they liberals?"

The old man relighted his cigar, then observed "Well, they're what you might call the far out liberals—no balance, radical, confusion spreaders and often violent.

"They are the people, for instance, who are giving Mayor Daley of Chicago such a bad time by lie-downs in the streets and uncontrolled demonstrations because they don't like the superintendent of schools.

"We even see some of our preachers, who ought to know better, joining the mobs which flout law and order. And then they wonder why their churches are half-filled on Sunday."

The boy interrupted at this point and said: "But isn't Mayor Daley a big political boss?"

The old man laughed. "Yes, he's a boss alright but he is also a strong mayor who has done more for the Negro race, as Columnist Bill White said the other day, than any half-dozen of the Senate ultra-liberals who are beating the bushes for the Negro vote.

"Extremists never seek rational solutions to any problem. No matter what concessions are made to them, it is never enough. They generally discredit themselves after a time, but the harm has already been done."

"Then we have the extremists of the right. These hard-nosed 'patriots' are radicals who make a career of abusing anyone who believes there may be more than one side to any question. They are just as bigoted as the professional liberals, but work the other side of the ideological street."

At this stage of the conversation, the boy asked one of those delightfully direct questions which are so typical of youth.

"I think I understand what you have said, but don't the liberals do anything that is good?"

The old man flicked the ashes from what was left of his cigar. "Yes, son," he said, "they have. Through the years the liberals have spearheaded many needed reforms. The progressive measures advocated by such men as the older Robert Lafollette, the late Senator George Norris, and the two Roosevelts are now laws of the land.

"Moreover, the liberals have historically provoked many of the famous Senate debates on the great issues. Even the recent teach-ins, which aroused so much controversy on Vietnam, at least had the merit of getting both sides before the public.

"But most of today's liberals," continued the old man, "have gone back on their earlier teachings. They have become illiberal in their quest for the causes they foster. Present-day liberals prate about freedom of expression, but as every newspaper editor knows, they squawk and complain about every news story or editorial.

"With a doctrinaire liberal," spouted the old man, "you can never be half right. It's always their way, or nothing."

Noting that the old man's cigar was now but a stub, the boy spoke once more: "What you have explained," he said, "is that a liberal isn't really a liberal at all, but a guy

who goes around telling other people what they ought to do and then gets mad if they don't follow his advice."

The old man slowly rose from his chair. "Yes, son," he said, "I guess that's about the nub of it. So run along, and thanks for listening."

The Late Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I was greatly shocked and saddened to learn of the untimely passing of the Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson. He was a great American who wholeheartedly devoted his efforts to promoting worldwide peace and freedom.

In his capacity as U.S. Representative to the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson served with distinction and gave unstintingly of himself in the service to his country. He was indeed a great statesman and a true diplomat, who searched unceasingly for ways and means to make this a better world in which to live. His death is a tragic blow and a great loss to all mankind who strive for eternal peace, and although he is now gone from us his memory will live forever.

I extend to his sons, his sister, and his loved ones my sincere and deepest sympathy in their bereavement.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided*, That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

Appendix

Civil Defense in Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, one of the problems which we have all felt is an important one which should be managed essentially locally is civil defense. Recently a memorandum issued by the Massachusetts Civil Defense Agency at the request of Gov. John A. Volpe came to my attention which shows how this work is being carried on locally in the Bay State. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD as an example of the work that can be done by people working together on the important problem of civil defense.

There being no objection, the memorandum was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows: -

[From the Massachusetts Civil Defense Agency, June 10, 1965]

BAY STATE BUSINESS DEVELOPS COMPREHENSIVE PLANS TO RESTORE INDUSTRIES QUICKLY FROM NUCLEAR DISASTER

Purposely working away from the spotlight, almost unknown to the general public—

Several hundred top Massachusetts business executives, Federal and State officials, and disaster survival experts are carrying out—at the request of Gov. John A. Volpe, himself a business leader—one of the most urgent government-business partnerships of these nuclear-threatened times.

They are jointly developing practical proposals, based on business know-how, to save the complex Massachusetts industrial plant and its workers from nuclear extermination.

Ever since the cold war began, various programs of civil defense have been established—aimed primarily at rescuing people caught by some great catastrophe—like the Alaskan earthquake and recent Central States tornadoes. And always with an eye on possible nuclear attacks.

But now a new emphasis has been initiated along with normal civil defense life-saving preparations. That emphasis is on the absolutely necessary prompt industrial recovery from enemy attack, if America is to survive and win.

Businessmen by nature and training always look ahead. They are especially on the alert to the grim fact that Russia and now trigger-happy Red China are in possession of A-bombs. Therefore we cannot be tardy, negligent, or unwise in precautions by industry against blast, radioactive fallout, and the frightful carnage that would follow a nuclear Pearl Harbor.

Hence the new stepped-up activities by business leaders to add fast industrial restoration and reconstruction to regular civil defense rescue operations.

WARNINGS BY BAY STATERS, KENNEDY AND WEEKS

A farsighted President from Massachusetts, John F. Kennedy, encouraged stepped-up alert and declared, "We must develop a state of readiness with respect to all conditions of national emergency, including attack upon the United States."

Another Massachusetts leader, Sinclair Weeks, manufacturing tycoon, who was President Eisenhower's Secretary of Commerce, warned fellow businessmen:

"If an attack should be made, American industry naturally would be a primary target. We cannot afford to ignore this threat and we must make plans for dealing with such an awesome possibility.

"Freedom and life itself may depend on how well management meets this challenge."

MASSACHUSETTS COMPANIES IN LIFE-SAVING COURSES

Massachusetts business management today is meeting this challenge superbly by the many ways individual coporations, such as Raytheon, Western Electric, and Sylvania, are sending special groups from their plants to the Civil Defense Academy in Topsfield to take training courses on how to save life and property in nuclear assault or natural calamity such as hurricane, flood, fire, explosion, or earthquake.

Many smaller firms are cooperating with civil defense in giving disaster drills, medical self-help lessons, fire prevention courses, instruction on shelter against fallout and other life-preserving guidance.

But in addition to top priority naturally placed on human rescue, official attention now is being increased greatly as to swift industrial recovery, salvage, and reconstruction.

"Save life first," insists Civil Defense Director Allan R. Zenowitz, "then save livelihood."

To that end organized business now is creating an arsenal of readiness for Governor Volpe with all kinds of industrial repair and recovery blueprints.

GOVERNOR'S RESOURCES MANAGEMENT CONFERENCE

The scope of this huge salvage undertaking was revealed in detail at the recent Governor's resources management conference at Boston University (June 8, 1965) at which Governor Volpe, Director Zenowitz of the Massachusetts Civil Defense and Emergency Planning, and Federal officials from the President's Office of Emergency Planning, Washington, D.C., exchanged ideas and developed suggestions with the Massachusetts Resources Management business groups and the Governor's advisory committee on civil defense, Gen. Daniel Needham, chairman.

The Governor presented special commissions to 300 business executives, members of 13 task groups, representing the following major categories: communications, construction and housing, economic stabilization, electric power, food, gas, health, industrial production, manpower, petroleum, solid fuels, transportation, and water.

In particular they are hammering into shape for each group a comprehensive workable disaster plan to manage promptly limited resources and production interrupted in the event of general war.

DISASTER PLAN SPED UP WORCESTER TORNADO RECOVERY

They are aware of the value of such preparation from a striking case in recent Massachusetts history. Back in June 1953, an utterly unexpected violent tornado struck Worcester and left a shambles.

In the path of this fierce wind was a new $5 million plant of the Norton Co. (abrasives) which had only recently been completed. The force of the storm did very serious damage, but in less than a week after the tornado, 80 percent of the company's production had been restored.

This famous recovery was not automatic. Rather it was possible so quickly only because perceptive Norton management—far in advance—had carefully thought out and established a disaster plan for any great disaster.

Preparedness saved the day then—and still can.

GOVERNMENT-BUSINESS RECOVERY STEPS

On a much larger scale, covering all kinds of Bay State industries and commercial enterprises, anticipating even terrible thermonuclear blast ruin, are the disaster plans now being inaugurated by the volunteer business task groups mentioned earlier.

Government-business programs are being developed—ranging from shelters, arranged in advance, to post-attack recovery—for example, programs to: Try to save victims; clear away debris; create stopgap transportation, utilities and transportation; provide temporary medical aid, food and shelter; mobilize remaining resources; rebuild wrecked plants and houses; bring in machinery and materials from national stockpiles and distant sanctuaries; regroup scattered manpower; restart production; stabilize the economy; guide orderly distribution; progressively introduce other feasible recovery and reconstruction measures.

All of these emergency fields are absorbing the concentrated effort of an increasing number of businessmen and individual companies of all sizes.

FIRST INDUSTRIES TO RECOVER SPELL NUCLEAR VICTORY

More and more patriotic Commonwealth leaders of management, labor and government are working hard and fast as a team to save Massachusetts people from sudden death and factories from total destruction—spurred by this hopeful military estimate.

After nuclear powers may have mutually exchanged first blows of frightful damage, the nation that first gets back on its feet industrially can recover and go on to support such massive military power as can win nuclear war.

Governor Volpe and these volunteer industrialists want to make sure Massachusetts could quickly add its reconstructed strength to that national victory.

PERSISTENT LEADERSHIP MOST IMPORTANT

"Those who carry leadership and management responsibility in public or private life cannot turn their backs on reasonable measures to minimize loss of life under nuclear attack. Their leadership is particularly needed during quiet periods when little public enthusiasm can be expected for such activities. This takes persistence, courage and close cooperation."—JOHN F. KENNEDY.

TRAGEDIES CAUSED BY INDIFFERENCE

"The most deadly gesture of our atom-haunted times is not the shudder of fear but the shrug of indifference.

"History is filled with tragedies caused by indifference and ignorance and unbelief and neglect. These gaps resulted in dearth of safeguards and lack of preparedness. All of these disasters might have been prevented

by adequate foresight and resolute forearming.

"Because proper safety measures were not taken, 1,500 were drowned on the *Titanic* and close to 500 were burned to death in Boston's Cocoanut Grove fire.

"Along the American frontier, Indians massacred settlers who neglected to build and man blockhouses. The Dutch, Danes, and Norwegians escaped World War I. Thereafter they lived in false hope that they would be forever free. They ignored building adequate defenses. Then Hitler struck 'like a thief in the night'—slaughtering those unready neutrals.

"Failure to recognize danger brought disaster. But almost every catastrophe can be diverted or lessened by adequate preparedness—and so can nuclear attack."—JOHN A. VOLPE.

(Further information, if desired, may be obtained from the Public Relations Officer, Robert C. Jackson, Massachusetts Civil Defense Agency, Framingham, Cedar 7-0200 or 875-1381.)

Big City Poor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, in a series of five articles, Walter Rugaber, Detroit Free Press writer, has examined some of the problems of Detroit's poor. The third article, which follows, shows only too well the gouging of slum landlords. It is a better argument for the rent supplement program provided in the housing bill than was made on the floor of the House.

The article follows:

WHAT IT'S LIKE TO LIVE IN GRIMY SLUM TENEMENT

(NOTE.—Bad housing is something for the health department to inspect, the social worker to agonize over, the city to make promises about—and the poor to live in. Free Press Staff Writer Walter Rugaber spent 3 weeks in one of the city's poor neighborhoods. This, the third in a series of five articles, is a report on some of the places people live in and how they look from the inside.)

(By Walter Rugaber)

More than 4 months before I moved into a room at 3407 Third, a health department inspector visited the place and discovered 96 violations of the city code.

On the first page of his detailed report the words, rats interior, were stamped in bold black letters as an urgent reminder that the building required close attention.

Thus prodded, an inspector returned to 3407 Third on five occasions. Each time, however, he found the building in substantially the same appalling shape.

A court complaint was finally issued, but it was still pending when I moved in months later.

For 4 days I stared at the splattered, peeling walls, looked out the open, gaping hole that once held a window, and slapped great squadrons of cockroaches.

When I left and discovered the health department's report, the official explanations of how difficult it is to enforce the code seemed considerably less reasonable than they might have appeared before.

It is perhaps true that 4 months isn't long when you have to go through a complicated administrative and judicial procedure.

But even 4 days is a long time when you are living under some of the more grim conditions that the code was enacted to prevent and correct. And 4 months is intolerable.

A top official of the city administration, who asked not to be quoted by name, said of the enforcement problem:

"I do not know what they are not doing, or doing wrong; all I know is that it is not working, and I have told (Mayor Cavanagh) it is not working."

This is a story of how some of Detroit's low-income housing looks from the inside. It is based on 3 weeks I spent in an area of the city bounded by Woodward, Third, Willis and Ledyard, gathering information for this series of articles on the poor in Detroit.

The health department's 96 demands in its report on 3407 Third included these:

"Rid entire premises interior of rats and maintain in a rat-free condition at all times."

"Seal rat hole into sewer line under front steps."

"Repair stairway to third floor with sound material."

"Rid building of all roaches and maintain in a vermin-free condition at all times."

The inspector even had a few specific complaints about my room, number 16. His report said:

"Remove scaling paint from walls and ceiling throughout. Paint materials shall contain no more than 1 percent lead and no cadmium."

"Replace decayed, missing and dangerous flooring under radiators with sound flooring, properly installed. This floor shall be made sufficiently smooth and tight to enable the occupant to maintain a sanitary condition."

"Replace broken door jamb."

"Replace all broken window glass throughout; reputty all windows and make waterproof."

The building, which stands on the northwest corner of Third and Peterboro, is an old, 32-unit, three-story brick structure divided into three vertical sections, each with its own entrance.

The first time I saw it, 3407 Third looked like a building condemned and waiting for the wrecker.

It had that vacant, forgotten look about it—and two or three of the windows facing the street were completely gone.

It was my first day in the neighborhood—and I was walking up Third carrying a battered $1 suitcase, looking for a place to stay.

Perhaps if I had known of the health department's concern I would have passed it by. But I did not know, and there was a large sign in front that advertised "lighthousekeeping or sleeping rooms for rent."

The caretaker was a badly confused young woman with five frightened children. Four followed her everywhere she went while the fifth sat on the floor and screamed, loudly and incessantly.

The woman said that although she had been raised in the building it had been years since she had lived there and this was her first day as caretaker. She said she hadn't seen any of the rooms herself.

We looked at two or three and I picked what seemed to be the least grim. At one end of the room were a small wash basin, a stove and a refrigerator.

These made it a light housekeeping room and cost $2.50 a week more than the basic rental of $5. I gave the woman $7.50, then discovered that neither the stove nor the refrigerator worked.

There were cockroaches in the refrigerator to boot.

One of the first things I noticed about the room was that every wooden surface—even a piece of broomstick in the corner—had a sort of greasy feeling to it.

It felt as though the whole place had been painted with bacon fat.

The walls were a faint peach and the only thing on them—aside from assorted splatterings of food—was a calendar from a neighborhood liquor store.

The dates had bee torn away, but there was a picture of a pretty girl drinking a bottle of pop on an outing. Beneath her, a caption said, "It's no picnic."

In another room, one with a window overlooking Third, a woman of indeterminate age sat in an alcoholic stupor. On a table beside her were two empty bottles of Molly Pitcher Muscatel wine. A third was clenched in her hand.

From time to time she gave forth with long, moaning wails. Once I heard her shout, "Cut that out. Cut that out."

From another window a male voice asked, "Cut what out?" There was a pause before the woman answered, unevenly:

"I dont' know, I don' know."

One of the windows in my room—sash and all—was missing. But the cloud of insects that hovered about the ceiling would have have gotten inside anyway.

Landlords are not required by law to supply screens for their windows. So when it's too hot to leave them closed, the bugs get in.

In the winter, of course, a window would be somewhat more useful.

Soon after I moved in a carpenter appeared.

He was an elderly Negro with shaking hands and the unlit stub of a cigar clenched between his teeth. He brushed aside a few cockroaches and measured the window frame carefully.

Finally he stepped back and shook his head sadly. The window was 6½ feet high, he said, and it's hard to find a sash that large these days.

Besides, he said, "that window glass—that's a holdup." When I left the neighborhood 3 weeks later the window was still unrepaired.

Immediately beneath the window was evidence that a dog, probably a stray, had wandered in while the room was unoccupied. It was a suitable introduction to the floor in general.

Beneath a substantial layer of dirt and muck there were a couple of pieces of patterned linoleum, aged and fading, covering the boards.

Scores of burning cigarette buts had been flung on the floor and extinguished, leaving the wood and linoleum dotted with wall-to-wall scars.

Strewn here and there was an incredible miscellany: The label from a loaf of bread, countless bottle caps, a $1.09 cash register receipt, a heavy sash weight, a button—and a pair of old cotton trousers that cracked when I picked them up.

There was a fairly comfortable sofa standing in front of a bay window and across from it was a vintage bed that went "clanch" every time I sat on it.

On top of one of the most dubious mattresses in Detroit there was an assortment of equally dubious bedspreads, coverlets, and blankets. One blanket bore the initials: "USMC."

Cardboard trash boxes, left by previous tenants, contained a wide assortment of empty wine bottles. There were such exotic brands as 50 Grand American Muscatel and Italian Swiss Colony Silver Satin.

At night the room was more lurid looking than ever. There were two 25-watt bulbs that produced just enough light to cast some very sinister shadows.

The door was locked from the inside with a flimsy bolt. There were signs that at least five other locks had been battered off. The room was secured from the outside with a cheap padlock.

Over it all hung the powerful odor of sweat and urine.

The "bathroom" was a complex of three rooms down a long corridor toward the back of the building. Two of the rooms had only toilets, one of which was usually stopped up

and stinking. The third contained a toilet, wash basin and bathtub.

None of the rooms was lighted.

The owner of this astounding structure was identified by health department authorities as Louis Levenburg of 17198 San Juan, Levenburg admitted the building was his; said he owned three others in the area.

I asked him where they were.

He said he didn't know.

I asked him how long he had owned the building at 3407 Third.

He said he didn't know.

"My manager takes care of that," Levenburg spluttered. "Talk to him. I'm liable to tell you something that would not be right."

The lady caretaker had told me the owner of the building offered her a $60-a-week salary and a four-room, rent-free apartment—some indication of how lucrative $5-a-week rooms can be.

As it turned out, she got cold feet and quit the job in a few days. The board of health had threatened to condemn the place, she said, "and I can see why."

There is evidence that the sort of housing problems found in the building Levenburg owns may be fairly widespread in poor neighborhoods.

The Greenleigh report on low-income housing in Detroit said that of the poor homes it surveyed:

32.6 percent had a problem with rats or vermin.

20.1 percent did not have adequate heat last winter.

16.9 percent had falling plaster.

11.5 percent had broken flooring.

11.2 percent had faulty electric wiring.

10.4 percent had plumbing problems.

10 percent had hazardous or faulty heating equipment.

8.2 percent had poor ventilation.

7.8 percent had broken windows.

Many landlords will argue that it is the tenants who are responsible for the sorry shape of their buildings and in some instances that is obviously the case.

But the Greenleigh report declared:

"In spite of the fact that many of the buildings were in very bad condition, almost 90 percent of the (poor) households generally took good care of the homes within the limits of their financial resources."

From Levenburg's building I moved up the street to 3475 Third, a 21-unit brick structure on the southwest corner of Stimson and Third.

There were a few cockroaches. The stuffing was coming out of a chair. A child had left so many handprints on the walls it looked like a rendezvous of the Mafia. In all, it would not be the most ideal place to raise a bunch of kids.

But quite a few children have been raised there, and, while it might be unpleasant, it probably isn't entirely hopeless. The landlord at least offers the tenants a fighting chance.

The room was relatively clean—or cleanable. The linoleum was neatly laid. Both the stove and the refrigerator worked and neither was caked with dried egg.

The bathroom was private and the toilet worked. There was even a small but airy porch. The tenants were not permitted to do whatever they pleased.

"I don't mind a man taking a drink," the caretaker told me. "But for him to sit out on the steps drinking it out of the bottle—that looks bad."

I must have gone into nearly a dozen apartment buildings in the neighborhood. While one or two may have looked almost as ghastly as Levenburg's, most showed signs of some care. It was a losing battle perhaps, but a battle nevertheless.

Water and Air Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. Mr. President, one of the growing and gravest problems confronting the country today is the threat to our people from pollution of the air we breathe and the water we drink.

This is a problem that affects virtually every section of the country. It is becoming increasingly crucial as our population continues to grow and as our industrial complex continues to expand.

The pollution problem in Georgia is by no means as advanced as in some other sections of the country, particularly the Northeast. Nonetheless, it is causing increasing concern among our people—and well it should.

The press of Georgia has been in the forefront of the fight to protect our vital water resources and to alert the people against the perils of pollution of both water and air. One of our outstanding weekly papers to raise the warning is the South Fulton Recorder of Fairburn, Ga., which is located on the south side of Metropolitan Atlanta.

I was particularly impressed by the incisive comments on the pollution problem that appeared in the front-page column of one of the paper's editors, Bill Jones, in last week's edition. Mr. Jones' comments were aimed primarily at the growing problem of pollution of the Chattahoochee River, which serves as a major water supply and a prime recreation source for the 1.2 million people of Metropolitan Atlanta. But his views apply with compelling force wherever the pollution problem exists, and I ask unanimous consent that his article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BILL JONES SEZ

Much has been said in recent years about "population explosion" and all sorts of remedies suggested and perfected but the only real cure for overpopulation is being furnished by our own careless and negligent way of life.

We may have an excessive population growth today but in another few years we will be strained to find sufficient burial space in which to bury our dead. I do not want to be an alarmist but it will take a great deal more than this puny column to frighten the American public to the point of action.

What I am referring to is the growing pollution of our air and water. It is already at the danger point but nobody seems concerned about it except a few bureaucrats in Washington and as long as that situation exists, this pollution will get worse and worse until people begin to develop the new disease of "air poison" or "water poison"; then it will be too late. At that point those diseases will be fatal and our population will take a decided downward turn.

Most anybody who lives along the Chattahoochee River will tell you that it has been a long time since the fish in that river were edible, whereas it used to be one of the favorite fishing grounds in this area—and mind you, the Chattahoochee is the source of all of the water we use in this area, including our drinking water. The city of Gainesville alone dumps 2 million gallons of sewage into Lake Lanier per day. At one time the city of Atlanta, from whom we buy our water, had one of the best and purest water systems in the country and it still ranks among the best—thanks to the genial Mr. Paul Weir—but he cannot maintain that record. Lake Lanier is a veritable cesspool and even Paul Weir cannot purify water from a cesspool to the extent that it would be safe to drink. Not for me anyway.

I have used the Chattahoochee River as an example but the same conditions exist all over this country until it has reached the point of becoming a national scandal. Nearly all of our streams and lakes are polluted with human waste as well as industrial chemicals, waste, and refuse. Twenty million fish were killed from polluted water in our lakes and streams last year. Before long it will be people.

Next in danger comes the free air that we breathe. This condition follows a close second to water pollution. The air that is so vital to life is becoming more and more polluted with all kinds of poisonous gases and is fast becoming a real health problem. According to recent news, Atlanta is near the point of becoming a "smog" city as is Los Angeles already. Fumes from motor vehicles is blamed as the primary cause of air pollution.

I said in the beginning that I didn't want to be an alarmist but I do want to scare the "you know what out of you" to the extent that we will all rise up and demand a clean-up of our water and air.

As the result of water pollution, I drink less water than I have ever "drunk" but I just cannot cut down on my breathing.

Yes, we can settle our population explosion by simply doing nothing and let air and water poison do the job. It can and will do it if we remain complacent as we have become so accustomed to doing.

My kingdom for a drink of pure water and a breath of fresh air. These are two things that were available back in the "good old days" but no more.

American Security Council Salutes Captive Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, this week is Captive Nations Week, duly proclaimed by President Johnson. Noting the occasion, the American Security Council has devoted its current Washington Report to the following informative essay on the subject by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Professor of Economics, Georgetown University:

[From the Washington Report, July 19, 1965]

CAPTIVE NATIONS VERSUS RED STATES

What about the freedom aspirations of 17 million captive North Vietnamese? Will we subsidize the Red totalitarian economies of Eastern Europe so that they can more effectively support wars of national liberation in

Asia, Africa, and Latin America? When will we begin to focus the spotlight of world attention and opinion on the total breadth of Sino-Soviet imperio-colonialism? These and similar questions dealing with basic U.S. policy will be raised and discussed during the 1965 Captive Nations Week.

The week falls on July 18–24. As in previous years, this seventh observance will be held across the country and internationally. In the United States, Congress authorized the annual event through its 1959 Captive Nations Week Resolution. Signed into Public Law 86–90 by President Eisenhower, it calls upon the President to issue a proclamation "each year until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the catpive nations of the world."

Successive Presidents have fittingly proclaimed the week and, in the growing movement, over half of our Governors have regularly issued inspiring proclamations. The mayors of most of the largest cities in America also have observed the week and several, as in Chicago, New York, and Buffalo, officially sponsor citizens' activities during the period. In Congress the event is annually observed with prayers, addresses, and concrete proposals aimed at the eventual freedom of the captive nations, with about one-third of the membership of both Houses actively associated with the National Captive Nations Committee in Washington, in guiding the yearly observance.

Internationally, the observance has taken root in the Republic of China, South Korea, and the Philippines. In fact, the most outstanding single observance occurs year after year in Free China, where the entire week is filled with a variety of activities dedicated to the freedom of all the captive nations. Similar observances are being proposed in Turkey, West Germany, Canada and in other countries where citizen groups have organized themselves to commemorate the week with us.

AN OBJECT OF CONSTANT RED ATTACK

These facts are necessarily mentioned because in large measure they explain the persistent vehement opposition of Moscow, Peiping and their respective satraps to Captive Nations Week. It is not just a matter of their not liking the institution; they deeply fear it because of its enormous possibilities for psycho-political implementation.

Each year since 1959 the Red totalitarians have sharply attacked the week, at times maligning it as "a propagandistic trick of the American enemies of the freedom and independence of nations" and on other occasions pleading behind their deceptive mask of peaceful coexistence: "Is it not high time to discontinue the 'Captive Nations Week' in the United States?" Last year, for example the July 15 issue of Izvestia complained, "With every passing year 'Captive Nations Week' becomes a nuisance." It failed to indicate specifically for whom.

While many of our own people still have not grasped the meaning and significance of the week, Communist leaders have, and by every available means they have sought its liquidation. Well aware of the strength of symbols and words, they see in the week a moral symbol which works against both their tactics and strategy. Highly skillful themselves in propaganda and cold war education, they view the week as a threat to their chief psycho-political efforts.

In addition to being a moral symbol, the week unremittingly emphasizes the unlimited power of our nuclear spiritual weapons: personal liberty, political freedom, and national self-determination. As President Kennedy stated so well before his tragic assassination: "This country must never recognize the situation behind the Iron Curtain as a permanent one, but must, by all peaceful means, keep alive the hopes of freedom for the peoples of the captive nations." What better medium for such fixed nonrecognition exists in our country today than the week?—authorized by Congress, proclaimed by Presidents, Governors, and mayors, and conducted by free citizens. And not only for the captive peoples behind the European Iron Curtain but also for those behind the Asian Bamboo Curtain and Cuba's Sugar Curtain.

PERILOUS MYTHS ABOUT THE RED EMPIRE

In his timely 1965 Captive Nations Week proclamation, which was issued on the very eve of our own Independence Day, President Johnson urges all Americans "to give renewed devotion to the just aspirations of all people for national independence and human liberty." This obviously means all the captive nations. Such devotion, if it is to be sound and moving, must be based on an understanding of realities in the totalitarian Communist Empire rather than on the sands of wishful myths.

There are four outstanding myths circulating in this country that could have perilous long-run consequences for our position in the cold war. The first is the uncritical identification of the captive nations with the Red regimes. This mythical conception receives constant expression in such terms as "Communist nations," "nationalistic satellite governments," and "different Communist governments with peculiar national characters." Some writers and commentators have even gone so far as to portray the Red totalitarian Ho Chi Minh as a Vietnamese George Washington, Gomulka as a popular leader of Poland, and the blood-stained Kadar as a hero of the Hungarian people. The truth remains that, despite contrived appearances and gestures aimed at exacting more productive work and acquiescence from the captive populace, no Red state with its totalitarian Communist Party has attained any degree of legitimacy or popular representation through genuine democratic processes. Nor, in the very nature of things, could any even attempt this. To arbitrarily identify the captive nations—the peoples themselves—with the unrepresentative governments commits not only a grave injustice to these nations in their struggle against an imposed, oppressive regime but also a foolish error that can only produce a heavy handicap for our own psycho-political efforts.

A derivative of this myth is the second which holds that the nationalism of the satellite regimes in central Europe has provided grounds for the West to wean them away from Russian domination. This myth may well become the colossal illusion of our period. Those who disseminate it are invariably unfamiliar with Russian-non-Russian relations within the U.S.S.R. and Moscow's long experience in the exploitative manipulation of national symbols and forces. As two random examples: 20 years ago Stalin succeeded in ramming into the United Nations two puppets as original charter members on the basis of Ukrainian and Byelorussian nationalism; later, in response to subminimal Western interest in Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism within the U.S.S.R., Khrushchev spent many a moment mouthing the independence of Georgia, Armenia, Ukraine, Lithuania, and other captive non-Russian nations in this primary sphere of Moscow's empire.

Related to this second myth is that expressed by such terms as "polycentrism," "the disintegrative Titoist forces in the bloc," and "the crackup of the Soviet monolith in central Europe." It may surprise some to learn that the Soviet Union itself has never been a monolith. If because positive external pressure has been absent, the chinks there have been tolerable for Moscow, the appearance of similar nationalist cracks in the secondary sphere of its empire are not only tolerated but put to effective use as open economic windows for strategic imports from the West. As to polycentrism, the superior might and gross imperial product of the U.S.S.R.—close to $300 billion—exceeds those of all other totalitarian economies combined. In terms of ultimate survival, each Communist regime depends on the Russian center, this despite the so-called Titoist deviation and the Red Chinese rift.

The fourth persistent myth, for which we Americans are notorious, is that the Soviet Union is Russia and with this "powerful nation" we must at all costs coexist. How ludicrous this myth is can be gleaned from reading this example pertinent to our topic: "The active participation of Ukraine and Byelorussia in international relations is proof of the strengthening of the Soviet Republics and a convincing rejection of the provocative 'Captive Nations Week' proclaimed annually by the American President." (Ukrainsky Istorychyny Zhurnal, February 1965.)

REALITIES AND REALISTIC THEMES

Under the heat of realities in the Red Empire these myths melt away. No genuine freedoms have been or could be gained anywhere in the empire with its one party totalitarian regimes, state police control, and the virtual assurance of ineffectual western interest in the captive nations. Gestures of liberalization and the introduction of capitalist methods are clearly designed to solve numerous economic problems and to strengthen further the individual Red state and thus the empire as a whole. Economic determinists in our midst might well prepare themselves for an even more intense cold war struggle resulting from these developments and changes in the Communist empire.

Realities call for realistic themes that underscore the interrelated nature of all these phenomena. Foremost among those in the 1965 Captive Nations Week Observance are (1) peace with justice and freedom, emphasizing that strong support of all the captive nations is one of our most powerful deterrents against a hot global war; (2) complete support for U.S. actions in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic which have prevented an extension in the long list of captive nations; (3) full exposure, in the U.N. and elsewhere, of Sino-Soviet imperio-colonialism, concentrating especially on the captive non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R.; and (4) a trade policy toward the Red Empire based on political concessions. To avoid a world holocaust and to severely curb the Red Empire's cold war operations in the free world, these goals necessitate the cessation of a psychopolitical sanctuary for the Red totalitarians on their imperial terrain. During this Captive Nations Week we can begin to concentrate on the freedom aspirations of 17 million captive North Vietnamese, and, from there, on those of all other captive nations. Steadily growing insecurity in the Communist empire will insure the security and peace of the free world.

The 100th Anniversary of the Arrival in the United States of Ahapius Honcharenko

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILTON R. YOUNG

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, this year marks the 100th anniversary of the arrival of Ahapius Honcharenko in the United States. This

man, born in the Ukraine, was inspired by Taras Shevchenko, a famous Ukrainian freedom fighter whose statue was dedicated here in Washington last year.

In my State of North Dakota there are many fine Ukrainian descendants. Many of these people have families and friends living in California who knew Ahapius Honcharenko. In a recent letter, the president of the North Dakota branch, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., Dr. Anthony Zukowsky, has very effectively presented the achievements of Ahapius Honcharenko.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Zukowsky's letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA, INC., STATE BRANCH OF NORTH DAKOTA,
Bismarck, N. Dak., June 28, 1965.

Hon. MILTON R. YOUNG,
U.S. Senate Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR YOUNG: If you will recall the year 1964 marked an important milestone in the history of the American-Ukrainian people. In June 1964 over 100,000 Americans of Ukrainian descent and others payed tribute by erecting and unveiling of the monument of Taras Shevchenko, the Ukrainian poet, and world famous freedom fighter. This took place in Washington, D.C.

Today I would like to call your attention to another great historian Ahapius (also spelled Agapius) Honcharenko who came to America in 1865 which makes this the 100th anniversary of his arrival. He was inspired by the poetry of Shevchenko and the ideas of the Ukrainian Society of St. Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood, and especially by the U.S. Declaration of Independence. He was a follower of Shevchenko in fighting for freedom and liberty for all mankind.

Ahapius Honcharenko was born in Kiev, capital of Ukraine. In his early days he observed the oppression of the serfs, injustice, despotism, and feudalism which was predominant in Russia. Although he was educated in St. Petersburg for his diplomatic service and later in Kiev Theological Academy for priesthood, the belief in human rights, equality for all mankind, and the liberation of serfs became the dominating factors in his life.

He was an excellent linguist who mastered six other languages in addition to Ukrainian and Russian, so he was sent to Greece with a Russian on a diplomatic mission. While in Greece he was ordained as Orthodox priest and had an opportunity to become familiar with Russian revolutionaries and their tactics. With the aid of many influential people he fled to London. While there he soon learned that a killer was hired by the Russian counsel, so he immigrated to the United States. On January 1, 1865, Rev. Ahapius Honcharenko arrived in Boston on the ship *Yarington* and from there he went to New York.

While in New York he started as a street worker, but before long he was appointed by the Greek consul as Orthodox priest. He celebrated the first liturgy in New York Trinity Episcopal Church on March 2, 1865. He lectured at the St. John's Theological Seminary, collaborated with the Bible Society in an Arabic translation of the Bible, and translated the New Testament into church-Slavic. He established his own printing press. He was often invited to celebrate Holy Mass in many cities as far away as New Orleans. As Orthodox priests may marry, Father Honcharenko found among the Italian friends in Philadelphia an American girl, Albina Citti, and they were married in 1865.

To the millions of Americans of Ukrainian descent, Reverend Honcharenko is respected as the first political immigrant to the United States and we are proud that Ukrainian pioneers made a good contribution to the progress in the United States and Alaska. Reverend Honcharenko informed that Russia is a separate nation from Ukraine and worked for its freedom and independence almost a century ago. His influence in the purchase of Alaska is the most interesting: He became acquainted with the Secretary of State, William H. Seward, and offered his advice and knowledge in initiating the purchase of Alaska. Secretary William H. Seward appointed Reverend Honcharenko publisher of the Alaska Herald Svoboda (Liberty). His "Russian and English Phrase Book for Traders, Travelers, and Teachers" was published with Government funds for the military personnel in Alaska in 1868.

His publications had a good impression on the public which not only helped familarize the Alaskans with the American Constitution, bylaws, obligations, and privileges, but also helped to protect new citizens and their rights with the occupying military forces, as well as against monopoly and mistreatment practiced by certain companies and influential individuals. Reverend Honcharenko, as a good American citizen, conscientiously fulfilled his duty as an editor, taking the side of the truth against coercion.

He was editor of the Alaska Herald for a year, during which time he wrote the first American textbook for the territory of Alaska, entitled "The School and Family Russo-American Primer." When public criticism developed against the Federal Government for purchasing Alaska he defended the Government acting and spoke out aaginst the opposition. We heard critical statements such as, "Alaska is good for nothing, it's just made up of rocks and ice." Honcharenko spoke out in his newspaper, the Alaska Herald, to silence the opposition by announcing that there is "gold in Alaska." He wrote, "Gold is found both on the main peninsula and on the peninsula east of Cooks Inlet. Coal and copper are known to exist in rich paying veins." According to the Encyclopedia Americana, the panning of gold in one single year in Alaska brought in $40 million. He constantly defended the local population against the exploitation of commercial companies and certain individuals.

Reverend Honcharenko himself and his faithful American-Italian wife worked very hard, but they were poor and died in poverty.

In 1874 Reverend Honcharenko sold his printing shop and bought a 50-acre farm near Hayward, Calif., which he called Ukraina, and his cottage was named "Svoboda," or "Liberty." He built a chapel there and his wife conducted Sunday school. He had his own cave on his land, the "Pechera," where he served divine liturgy daily. He also organized the first Slavic library in America which was later donated to the Bencroft Library. He was quite active as a member of the highly respected California Academy of Sciences.

During his whole life Father Honcharenko protected and helped all political escapees, especially from Siberia. From free America he prepared "Fourth of July Letters" for the Ukrainian people in Kiev, Ukraine. He wrote, "How long, my countrymen, will it be before you will be able to celebrate your Fourth of July and have free press and freedom of religion?"

Reverend Honcharenko had many distinguished American friends; Horace Greeley, Charles A. Dana, Eugene Schuyler (the later Ambassador to Russia had learned to speak the Russian language from the priest), Hamilton Fish, George Kennan, General Halleck, Henry George, A. P. Swinford, and James Gordon Bennett.

Father Honcharenko is an outstanding and colorful personality in American history who contributed to America's progress. The United States did not forget this devoted adopted son. In 1944 a liberty ship of the United States was named *Honcharenko*.

But in spite of his contributions to the progress of America and his being instrumental in the purchase of Alaska, he unfortunately is almost unknown to most Americans, and we regret to say that we were unable to find any mention of him in the Encyclopedia Americana or in the Dictionary of National Biography.

It was through the research done by Professors Wasyl and Theodore Luciw, and from the director of the Slavic Institute of Marquette University, Prof. Roman Smal-Stocki, that the great work of this man was brought to light.

The 50 acres of historical land which he proudly named Ukraina near Hayward, Calif., are not available to the Ukrainians nor his relatives or friends. The historical graves of him and his wife are at the point of complete ruin. The present owner is using the area for pasture and will not allow anyone to visit the place. The historical house in which he wrote newspapers, books, and pamphlets for the United States and Alaska and against Russian tyranny is in complete shambles today. The library books were burned in 1956. His famous chapel "Pechera," in which the priest prayed daily, is covered with bushes.

In our great State of North Dakota we have the oldest Ukrainian settlement of which many people migrated from Kiev, Ukraine, and later some moved to California. Since many of these people knew Honcharenko, it was through them and the dedicated chairman, Mr. Theodore Luciw, that our organization learned these facts about Rev. Ahapius Honcharenko. These people have asked me to write to you and make this story known in their behalf. Many American-Ukrainian communities, organizations, and religious groups have commemorated this year as Centennial Year of the arrival of Father Honcharenko to the United States of America.

Therefore, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., State branch of North Dakota, in behalf of the millions of Americans of Ukrainian descent, are requesting you to pay tribute with a recognition of this American patriot on the floor of the Senate and insert your remarks, including this letter and the enclosures into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a matter of public record.

Since it can be recognized that Father Honcharenko led a colorful life and contributed to the progress of California and Alaska, we believe that the Senators representing those areas would be willing to assist in such recognition.

We have learned from Hon. John N. Pappas, mayor of the city of Hayward, Calif., that the city would make an effort to restore the farm and ascertain an appropriate and lasting monument to the Reverend Honcharenko. To date there has been very little or no progress made in that direction, so we feel that proper legislation should be enacted by the Senate to authorize the Department of Interior to acquire this land and place a historical shrine and public park which could be called the Honcharenko Ukrainian National Park and create a foundation under the auspices of the scientific societies and the Ukrainian Congress Committees of America, Inc.

It is not possible to give you all the details in this letter about Reverend Honcharenko; therefore I am enclosing a book entitled "Ahapius Honcharenko—Alaska Man" for your information.

We wish to thank you for your cooperation in the past and hope that you will continue to devote a little of your precious time in our behalf.

Respectfully yours,
Dr. ANTHONY ZUKOWSKY,
President.

Neither Bodies Nor Corps Rot at $1.75 an Hour

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I had occasion to call attention of the House in the Appendix of the RECORD to an optimistic report for supplemental labor in northern California primarily respecting the anticipated tomato harvest—the peak labor demand being about 45 days away.

The reason for the optimism is due to a very progressive grower attitude which is exemplified in the 1965 scales of pay agreed upon by the Tomato Growing Industry Council designed to produce $1.75 per hour for qualified workers.

The agreement has been set forth by the council as follows:

THE 1965 SCALES OF PAY FOR PICKING TOMATOES IN CALIFORNIA

It is anticipated that more domestic workers will be employed in the tomato harvest than in previous years. The Tomato Growing Industry Council has reflected this thinking in the following scale, by adjusting the piece rates to yield a minimum of $1.75 per hour for qualified workers. The adjusted rate is calculated to meet the criteria established by the Secretary of Labor. But more important, these substantial increases should enable the tomato industry to attract and hold a part of the 35,000 additional workers reported to be in California.

Each grower's interest is for an orderly harvest of his own crop. In past years the scale of pay has been one of the vehicles used to accomplish this orderly harvest. This year, with limited numbers of foreign workers, it becomes even more important to individual growers in particular and the industry in general that the harvest be accomplished with as little conflict as possible. Therefore the scale, which has proven itself in the past, is more important under these trying circumstances. We know that the greatest demand for workers occurs during the months of August, September, and October. The scales, as indicated, are designed to attract more of the so-called tree fruit workers into the tomato harvest. Quite conceivably we will attract women and minors to harvest activity; if so then we will have to make adjustments for their employment by providing suitable containers, by law they cannot carry standard 50-pound lug boxes.

Likewise the growers who will be harvesting with machines should know that their women and minor employees are covered under the Department of Industrial Relations, Industrial Welfare Commission Order No. 14–65 regulating wages, hours, and working conditions for women and minors in agricultural occupations. This order is in the process of being revised, and will be effective September 15, 1965. As soon as copies are available we will be mailing a copy to each machine owner.

1. The rates as shown on the scale are minimum rates only; such conditions as shown in No. 2 below will require adjustments from these minimums. While these required adjustments are in effect, you are still using the scale of pay.

2. This scale is for normal conditions of picking; such conditions as excessive weeds, small tomatoes, poor quality tomatoes, or other abnormal conditions will require adjustments.

3. This scale is for boxes of 50 pounds; other quantities in proportion.

4. The rates for picking other pear shape tomatoes will vary in different areas; the rate paid is dependent upon the method of harvest (pick or shake).

5. This scale is designed to provide a realistic basis for a fair day's work and a fair day's pay under the wide range of conditions found in tomato picking.

Sacramento Valley Counties

	Tons per acre on each day's pick				
	9 or more	7 or more	5 or more	4 or more	Less than 4
Round and red top tomatoes	*Cents* 17	*Cents* 18	*Cents* 21	*Cents* 24	*Cents* [1] 25

[1] And up.

San Joaquin and Stanislaus Counties

	Tons per acre on each day's pick			
	7 or more	5 or more	4 or more	Less than 4
Round and red top tomatoes	*Cents* 18	*Cents* 21	*Cents* 24	*Cents* [1] 25

[1] And up.

Santa Clara and San Benito Counties

	Tons per acre on each day's pick				
	12 or more	9 or more	7 or more	5 or more	Less than 5
Round and red top tomatoes	*Cents* 17	*Cents* 19	*Cents* 20	*Cents* 23	*Cents* [1] 25

[1] And up.

Monterey County

	Tons per acre on each day's pick			
	9 or more	7 or more	5 or more	Less than 5
Round and red top tomatoes	*Cents* 19	*Cents* 20	*Cents* 23	*Cents* [1] 25

[1] And up.

Merced and Fresno Counties

	Tons per acre on each day's pick			
	7 or more	5 or more	4 or more	Less than 4
Round and red top tomatoes	*Cents* 18	*Cents* 21	*Cents* 24	*Cents* [1] 25

[1] And up.

Alameda County

	Tons per acre on each day's pick			
	9 or more	7 or more	5 or more	Less than 5
Round and red top tomatoes	*Cents* 19	*Cents* 20	*Cents* 23	*Cents* [1] 25

[1] And up.

Ventura County

	Tons per acre on each day's pick				
	Over 17	11 to 17	8 to 11	5 to 8	1 to 5
Round and red top tomatoes	*Cents* 15	*Cents* 17	*Cents* 19	*Cents* 21	*Cents* 25
San Marzano tomatoes	17	19	21	23	27

Youth and the American Dream—"Teen Dem" Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, recently there was held in Marion, Ind., a "Teen Dem" dinner attended by my junior colleague [Mr. BAYH], Congressman J. EDWARD ROUSH, and others. Unfortunately, I was unable to attend, but I am sure that I was most capably represented by a young friend of mine from Elwood, Ind.

He is Rick Cannon, a 17-year-old high school graduate who is a fine representative of our youth. In November 1963, there appeared in the Appendix of the RECORD, at my request, an essay on "Our American Heritage" which won for Rick Cannon the Nathan Hale Youth Award in Indiana and also the Freedoms Foundation George Washington Medal. At that time he was president of his high school class and of the student council. Now he is graduated and is moving forward toward a career which I am sure will be one of usefulness to his community and Nation in whatever area he may choose.

Rick is an experienced speaker, having been a participant in oratorical contests, including the National Catholic Welfare Conference Oratorical Contest held here in Washington. Consequently, I knew that my invitation for him to represent me before his fellow teenagers was in capable hands.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the speech given on that occasion may appear in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY RICK CANNON, 17-YEAR-OLD HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE FROM ELWOOD, IND., FOR SENATOR VANCE HARTKE ON THE OCCASION OF THE TEEN DEM DINNER IN MARION, IND., JUNE 26, 1965

Senator BAYH, Congressman ROUSH, distinguished guests, parents, and fellow teenagers, Senator VANCE HARTKE asked me to represent him here this evening. He sends his sincere regrets that he is unable to attend due to a conflict in his schedule.

My purpose this evening is not to orate, or make a speech, but merely to talk to you about us teenagers, and our present and ever-growing responsibility to the great American dream.

Have you ever wanted something so badly you could taste it? Maybe it was the class presidency, or the honor of being cheerleader, or simply an A in advanced biology. But whatever it was, it was an ambition you dreamed of night and day. This dream became a living part of you. It took possession of your mind so that every act, word, and deed was directed toward the realization of your dream. You campaigned to become a class president, you practiced to become a cheerleader, you studied to earn an A in advanced biology. And when you achieved your dream it took still more practice to lead your class well, to be a good cheerleader, and to maintain your high grade average.

Through this exeprienced we learned that a dream can become a reality. And even more important, once we have achieved our dream it takes constant practice to maintain it.

To dream is one of the greatest freedoms Americans have. For in America, there is almost nothing that cannot be attained.

America was born with a dream; a dream of freedom for all men, everywhere. And throughout the 187 years of our country's history this dream has become the theme of our every congressional act, election, and military action. This goal of freedom is something Americans have dreamed about night and day from 1775 to 1965. Freedom for all men everywhere is the dream that became a living part of Americans through the colonial period, the Fair Deal, the New Deal, and the New Frontier. Today the American dream lives in the heart of the Great Society. Today our parents cradle this great dream in their hearts, nourish it by responsible citizenship, and constantly work to achieve freedom for all men everywhere. Tomorrow it will be our turn.

No generation of teenagers has ever been better equipped than we are to safeguard the American dream by being strong citizens. We face our responsibility with a sound educational background. We are well informed and eager to begin. We teenagers who take an active interest in the affairs of our Government, even before we can vote, are already feeling and living that dream.

Then, when one looks at the Berkeley campus in California, one sees a totally negative element of our generation. Here we can contrast the profanity and stupidity of the Berkeley students to the quiet, sensibility of you Teen Dems sitting here tonight. It is the civic minded teenagers, like you and I who express ourselves with dignity by supporting men and ideas in an organized and effective way, who will be holding the political and economic reins of our country in less than 20 years. It is teenagers like you and I who must begin now to live the American dream and help make freedom a reality.

For if the American dream should die in the hands of our generation; if we should fail in our everyday responsibility of being good citizens; we would be denying our children, and their children the most precious freedom they have: the freedom to dream, to plan and to work for an even better world for themselves and their children—for one does not long dream where there is no hope.

You and I and our generation are about to be entrusted with the American dream. It is up to us to cradle this great dream in a world free of our own hate and bigotry where our personal dreams and those of children can come true.

If our generation is to make any progress in converting the American dream of freedom for all men everywhere into a concrete reality, our responsibilities cannot be confined to a few hastily scrawled X's on a ballot sheet every time an election comes up, or a now-and-then letter to our Congressmen. No, our responsibility lies not only here, but in a completely different area. The success of the American dream depends, not on the percentage of eligible voters who vote—not on an increasing volume of letters to our Congressmen, but upon the daily attitude of each and every one of us.

Yes, the American dream can move closer to reality in the hands of our generation if—

If you are willing to let the Negro enjoy the bounties of his country, free of any personal hate and bigotry;

If you are willing to respect the dreams and desires of your enemies as well as your friends;

If you as an individual are willing to grant freedom to all men everywhere to dream and to plan for a better existence;

And—most important—if you never forget that in you and in you alone lies the only greatness of America tomorrow, and the only hope of a land of our dreams come true.

Memo to My Sons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, our support of the courageous decisions of President Johnson in meeting the threat of aggression in southeast Asia finds no more compassionate and humane expression than in the following editorial by John McCormally, editor of the Burlington Hawk-Eye. Ours is truly a troubled world, and our hearts indeed go out to the President in these hours of great decision. Here is what Mr. McCormally had to say on Sunday, July 18:

SUNDAY MEMO: MEMO TO MY SONS

Life is especially good to you these days. Our new job gives us security, our new home on the bluff by the river gives us comfort and beauty, which are the goals a father works for.

I hear your shouts from the recreation room where you're testing the second-hand pool table; I listened to you lusting for a Honda, and talking about new friends, and see you hunting for those jobs mowing lawns and picking tomatoes and putting up hay. I share your joy in the boat, down below the bluff at the landing, and am proud of the way you pitched in to fix the leaks.

Life is especially good. I sit listening to the band concert across the way, in the park, and see the changing lights in the fountain, and feel the first, cool breeze of evening, from the magenta of the western sky, driving off the humid day. This is the joy I imagined there could be, 20 years ago, when I came home from where I'd been.

And now I sit with the limp newspaper on my lap and an icy hand on my heart and want to weep because you may have to go there too. Especially the two older of you whose muscles are the match for any hay bale. And this, above all, 20 years ago, I hoped would never happen again.

You ask me why we are in Vietnam? You ask me to explain the right and wrong of it, the sense of it? And why—if it lasts long enough—you may have to go there? Why will it be you, and your generation, while your countrymen stay home; while the armorers thrive and the mothers mourn, and the multitudes scarcely notice the corpses and the cripples coming back?

I can't answer. Not with the certainty I had a quarter century ago, when my generation was your age, and France had fallen and Britain seemed doomed and the Japanese cast the blood-red rays of the Rising Sun down the Pacific.

Then I knew that we must go; and that going we would do a good thing, and it would be done forever, and I would earn this piece of time, this comfort and beauty in which to grow old amongst children in a peaceful world.

It is never forever. One's idealism is crusted over with the realities, the cruelties, the hypocrisies of life. Then suddenly he is sitting on a green and breeze-stirred evening, startled to realize that he must rediscover the idealism of his own youth, recapture how he felt when destiny called his generation to a rendezvous, remember how he felt so he can tell you how you must feel now.

We have to stay in Vietnam simply because there is no way to get out without abandoning our whole purpose in the world. That purpose is to try to make the world a place where people can improve their lives and hope for their children.

We might have decided a quarter century ago not to go to Britain, and missed the killing. But had we done so, I can't believe you would have the comfort and beauty you have now, nor would the world be as good a place as it is now.

We must do more than stay in Vietnam. We must, first, stop the war. The North Vietnamese and Viet Cong are not interested in stopping the war so long as they believe they are winning. We have to show them that they are not winning. This is a cruel and brutal task. But to avoid it is to leave the field to a cruel and brutal enemy. The next tasks are to help build stable government in Vietnam and bring the people better health, education, food and shelter, and above all hope for the future. These tasks cannot begin to succeed until the first is done.

This is why more Americans are going to Vietnam and why, in time, you may go. There will be no total victory. Only a massive Asian land war, and perhaps a nuclear one, could achieve that, and then the victors would be only the survivors in a wasteland.

But then, we didn't achieve total victory 20 years ago. We only thought we did. We didn't win peace. We only, finally, stopped the killing so that peace could be worked out. That is the only rational objective in Vietnam.

Of course, it will be argued—by those vocal picketers of your generation, among others—that we could stop the killing simply by getting out. But how, if we take that course, is peace to be worked at?

So your generation is going to war as mine did, perhaps you yourselves, if it lasts long enough. I will weep, not only to see you go, but to see my hopes go. But I know no other way. As you grow older you discover that the world is not as you wanted it to be, and even fought for it to be, but as it is—storm-tossed and treacherous, and offering only the enduring hope that after each storm the sky will be a little brighter.—JOHN MCCORMALLY.

Sit-in Demonstrations in Chicago—The Double Standard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, one of the best weekly news columns written in this country is produced by Mr. Thurman Sensing, executive vice president of the Southern States Industrial Coun-

cil. I have been impressed with his column of July 1, 1965, entitled "The Double Standard" and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENSING THE NEWS: THE DOUBLE STANDARD

(By Thurman Sensing)

When hundreds of demonstrators, protesting de facto segregation in Chicago's school, system descended on downtown Chicago and conducted sit-ins at busy intersections, Chicago policemen quickly packed them into paddy wagons and took them to jail. The Chicago Daily News, in a lead editorial, condemned the demonstrators. It said that they had no more right to block busy arteries than motorists had to stop their cars on expressways. The Daily News praised the Chicago police for prompt, efficient handling of the sit-in types.

Reading such comments, fair-minded Americans must be amazed at this example of a double standard in operation. The Chicago Daily News was among the newspapers that condemned the State of Alabama for its handling of sit-in demonstrators. Apparently it is all right to jail demonstrators in Chicago but unconstitutional to jail them in Alabama or Mississippi. But what's sauce for the goose should be sauce for the gander. If Chicago is to be permitted to take police action against those who use the streets for political demonstrations, then Southern cities should enjoy the same rights. Or are Southern cities to be regarded as second-class cities with fewer rights than municipalities elsewhere?

One wonders why the Justice Department didn't seek a Federal court injunction barring the mayor of Chicago from enforcing police regulations against the demonstrators, who want to get rid of the city's superintendent of schools? And where were the roving bands of liberal clergy who are so quick to buy tickets to Alabama or Mississippi for an easy martyrdom in front of the television cameras? Didn't they feel a call to witness for the sit-in forces in Chicago, or is sin supposed to be something that only happens south of the Mason-Dixon line?

Yes, fairminded Americans should ponder the two situations—the manners of treatment—the discrepancies in action on the part of the professed spokesmen for religion and social uplift. It is the South that is made the victim of a hypocritical double standard. However, hypocrisy cannot be overlooked in any section of the country. Hyprocrisy, on major issues, hurts the entire Nation. It divides Americans and makes good citizens properly resentful of those who in the name of social justice commit terrible injustice against one region of the country.

The double standard also should be borne in mind in connection with the treatment accorded the State of Alabama's recent effort to help the Nation's press gain and unbiased view of life in that State. The State of Alabama invited 1,700 newspaper editors to tour the State from the mountains to the sea, and look at what they wanted to look at. Only 50 newsmen accepted, and some of them promptly resorted to the double standard. The practitioners of the double standard among the 50 were bored with the progress achieved in Alabama. They showed scant interest in the new industries, the schools and hospitals in the State that serve all the people of Alabama. Their sole interest was to see strife and more strife, to talk to the spokesmen for social discord and to ignore those who gave evidence of cooperative action and community development. They chose to see nothing but evil. They arrived with prejudiced minds and wrote with a deep sense of bias against the host State. The obdurate foes of Alabama could not have treated Red Cuba with more disrespect than they treated Alabama.

The fanatical foes of Alabama—of all the Southern States—seem possessed by a demon within. They wanted to find the South hateful, and the want to write of hate. To be sure, hateful things and hate can be found in any part of this vast Nation. No community is free of some degree of evil. But the story of the modern South is a story of tremendous progress in the face of staggering economic and social problems. No part of the country, save the South, has been through a civil war. No region has suffered such poverty and done so much to pull itself up into contemporary prosperity through its own efforts. No region has more dedicated Americans, willing to fight for their country in time of war and defend its interests in time of peace. The South is not a region of gangsterism. It is not a region of appeasers. Steadily, it is working at its problems and seeking ways and means to develop a good life for all in terms of mutual respect and happiness. The South's record of achievement deserves better treatment than it receives at the hands of those who place the double standard ahead of the standards of honesty and fair reporting.

A Challenge for a Stronger America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of the House a thoughtful editorial from the July 18, 1965, Florida Times-Union, of Jacksonville, Fla. The editorial stresses the need to liberate the Communist-enslaved people of east-central Europe. During this Captive Nations Week we should be reminded that the United States is a world power and we are looked to for leadership, not only where our direct interests lie, but also in those countries under the influence of the Communist threat. The editorial writer wisely observes that leftwingers should observe carefully the fate of those nations which have been wallowed up by Russian imperialism.

It is reproduced here in full, as follows:

[From the Jacksonville (Fla.) Times-Union, July 18, 1965]

WE MUST FREE MILLIONS FROM THE REDS' YOKE

Today is the first day of Captive Nations Week, a 7-day period set aside by a joint congressional resolution for consideration of the need to liberate the Communist-enslaved people of east-central Europe.

All Americans may learn a vital lesson with an application to the current world crisis, if they will consider the fate of the captive nations and the historical chain of events which brought them to their present sad condition.

The captive nations under consideration today include Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, and Rumania. If the list were broadened worldwide, it would also have to include East Germany, mainland China, Cuba, and several other nations.

All of the east-central European countries mentioned above became captives of the Communist colonial expansion at the end of World War II. Their capture was the result of American inability to understand that wars must be won at the political as well as the military level if all people are to be free.

The captive nations have remained prisoners of the Reds because this Nation and its allies have lacked the fortitude to attempt to release them from their Communist jailers. U.S. foreign policy has generally been soft or based only on a "containment" theory and thus no one took advantage of the Hungarian revolt, the East German workers' revolt, or dissatisfaction in Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Leftwing elements in this country which protest American involvement in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, would do well to consider the fate of those nations which have fallen without opposition to the Communists. It is apparent that such a study should convince persons, who truly believe in democratic principles, of the need for containing Communists expansion and then liberating, by force if necessary, those nations now unwillingly wearing the Red yoke.

In Eulogy of Hon. T. A. Thompson

SPEECH

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, a sense of profound sadness overcomes us when we realize that T. A. THOMPSON no longer will be with us in this Chamber.

For some of us who served with the able gentleman from Louisiana on the House Committee on Public Works, our sense of personal loss is compounded by our realization of the great loss which the Nation itself sustains.

Not given to flamboyance or bombastic bursts of oratory, T. A. THOMPSON labored quietly and effectively in the less glamorous but often infinitely more productive realm of meaningful congressional activity involved with the mundane but highly necessary work of the congressional committees.

Those of us who had the privilege of serving with T. A. THOMPSON on the Public Works Committee enjoyed a rare opportunity to know a true legislative craftsman at his work. Without fanfare or self-congratulation, the gentleman from Louisiana made many long lasting contributions to the welfare of our Nation. The people of his congressional district have great reason for pride in the service he performed not only for Louisiana, but for the United States as a whole.

With the clear vision given to those who think earnestly of the future, T. A. THOMPSON many years ago saw the critical need for development and conservation of the Nation's water resources. He was a tireless and efficacious champion of pure, clear water to serve the water needs of this country.

His handiwork is ever apparent to those of us who observed his deep interest in the numerous pieces of landmark legislation which have provided dams and reservoirs throughout the Nation. With a resolute purpose, he worked incessantly for years to improve and strengthen the Nation's fight against pollution of the streams and

against other impediments to usage of this most primary resource, such as the water hyacinths which had infested the water surfaces in much of the Southland.

Only this year, his hand was ever evident in the perfecting of workable language for the Water Quality Act of 1965 which will greatly strengthen our efforts to abate pollution.

Coming to the Congress after years of practical experience in the administration of highway programs in his native Louisiana. T. A. THOMPSON played a prominent part in the enactment of the Interstate Highway Act of 1956 and the subsequent Federal aid highway programs which have saved many thousands of lives and speeded the Nation's commerce across broad ribbons of concrete. How ironic that his own life should have been sacrificed in a highway fatality.

Always considerate of his fellow man, T. A. THOMPSON was much beloved and appreciated by those who knew him best. We who served with him here day in and day out knew him as a man of infinite patience and reason, blessed with tolerance and understanding.

His shadow will linger long. His good works will continue to bless future generations of Americans. His example will remain with us who knew him.

Words are poor consolation indeed to his bereaved survivors. To them our hearts go out, even in the knowledge that what we say can scarcely solace or comfort them in so grievous a personal loss. Yet we know that there is for them the assurance of faith and the comfort of the knowledge that others would share their grief. There is also the legacy of the good deeds that he performed, the good life that he lived, and the services which endure to bless his fellow man.

A "Profile in Courage"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, it is with unusual pleasure I bring to the attention of this body an editorial which appeared July 14, 1965, in the Sheboygan Press, the largest daily newspaper in my district.

Entitled "A Profile in Courage," the editorial speaks well of the distinguished leadership of our assistant majority leader, HALE BOGGS.

The editorial also reflects, I believe, the increasing awareness of the people in the North of the problems of enlightened leadership in the South.

For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, I place the editorial in the RECORD:

[From the Sheboygan (Wis.) Press, July 14, 1965]

A "PROFILE IN COURAGE"

Most southern officeholders are quite obdurate in their stand against civil rights for the Negroes and are strongly opposed to the right of Negroes to vote in the South. It is therefore refreshing to note that there are some men who are courageous exceptions to this pattern.

Such a man is Representative HALE BOGGS, Democrat, of Louisiana, the assistant Democratic House leader, who voiced his views in support of a bill designed to sweep away the last resistance to Negro voting in the Deep South. Despite the fact that he voted against last year's civil rights bill, he told the House that, to his sorrow, there is discrimination against Negro voters in parts of the South.

Representative BOGGS then commented in these ringing words: "I shall support the bill, drastic though it may be, because I believe the fundamental right to vote must be a part of this great experiment in human progress under freedom which is America."

This brought the House to its feet in a rousing ovation for the Louisiana Congressman and spurred on the passage of the measure by a 333-to-85 vote. A total of 221 Democrats and 112 Republicans voted for it, 61 Democrats and 24 Republicans against.

Under the provisions of the bill, seven Southern States—Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, and parts of North Carolina—would have their voting rights literacy test suspended. Federal officials could be sent in to register Negroes. The bill also outlaws poll taxes in State and local elections.

The measure, a major followup to last year's sweeping civil rights law, now goes to a Senate-House conference committee to work out a compromise. The Senate passed a somewhat different version May 26.

This latest development would indicate that the cause of civil and voting rights for the Negro is progressing rapidly and is far from hopeless. Other recent trends in this direction support this optimistic viewpoint.

For instance, the FBI reports that obedience of the public accommodations law in restaurants, hotels, motels and other public places is quite widespread and without serious incidents. Then, just the other day, Mayor Paul Grody, of Jackson, Miss., directed that the American flag again be flown atop the Jackson city hall with the stirring comment: "Let it proclaim proudly this is an American city, facing the future unafraid. We cannot, we must not secede from the future."

Certainly such men, and many other southerners who have faced these trying times so admirably, are of equal stature to those who graced the pages of the late President Kennedy's famous book, "Profiles in Courage."

Captive Nations Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, since the end of the war the U.S. Government, with the wholehearted support of our people and in cooperation with the governments of the free West, has been doing its utmost to help the enslaved peoples in Europe. By 1959, when it was clear that all efforts were of no avail, and the Soviet Union proved most unwilling to relax its stranglehold over these peoples, we felt that other ways had to be found at least to keep this humane issue alive. The establishment of Captive Nations Week was the result. This move was made in a joint congressional resolution and by a Presidential proclamation in July of 1959.

These captive nations of Europe, containing a good portion of Europe's population and occupying areas in Central and Eastern Europe, extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea regions, had been living freely and independently before the last war. Most of them had regained their freedom and sovereignty after the first World War, and all of them had earned their right as members of the community of free nations. Soon after the outbreak of the last war their freedom was in jeopardy. In the course of that world catastrophe all these nations—Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians, Poles, Czechoslovakians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Rumanians—were involved in the war. All of them went through the ordeal, under indescribable hardships and abominable conditions, but they all hoped for their freedom at the end of the war. Their hopes were shattered by the inhuman intentions and diabolical designs of the men in the Kremlin.

Even before the end of the war the Red Army swooped over these countries, with the clear intent of making them part of the Soviet Union's sphere of influence. This was shocking to the leaders of the West's democracies, but they could do nothing effective to halt the Soviet onrush to these parts of Europe. And the West's inability to deal with the issue at the time led to the captivity and enslavement of some 100 million Europeans as captive nations. Today, after 20 years, the leaders of the free world, and the Government of this country, have not ceased to work for the eventual liberation of these nations. With patience and fortitude, we all hope that these nations will attain their goals and then live in peace in their respective homelands.

A Resolution by Americans of Baltic Descent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently New Jersey residents of Baltic descent gathered on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Soviet occupation of the Baltic States.

As a high point of their meeting, these concerned Americans unanimously adopted a resolution recalling Soviet aggression against these once free nations and the suppression of independence and freedom that followed.

In their resolution, the United States and all of the free world are asked to undertake all means possible to restore the right of self-determination for the Baltic countries.

Under unanimous consent I submit the entire resolution in the RECORD at this point:

BALTIC STATES RESOLUTION

We, Americans of Baltic descent, residents of the State of New Jersey, gathered on July 10, 1965, at Jerseyville, N.J., on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Soviet occupation of the Baltic States, are recalling the Soviet aggression against the Baltic States resulting in the suppression of their independence and freedom; considering that the continuation of Soviet colonial rule in the Baltic States is the denial of the right to self-determination and the prolongation of the Soviet genocide policy; remembering that the program of the Soviet Communist Party is to Russianize the peoples of the Baltic States; reminding that large numbers of Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian people are still being forcibly detained in Soviet labor camp regions;

Resolving:

1. To renew our solemn protest against the usurpation by the Soviet Government of the sovereign rights of the Baltic nations and the transformation of the once progressive and prosperous Baltic States into colonies of the Soviet Union;

2. To ask the governments of the free world, and especially that of the United States, to undertake all ways and means to restore the exercise of the rights of self-determination in the Baltic countries;

3. To urge the President of the United States to instruct the U.S. Mission to the United Nations to request that the abolishment of the Soviet rule in the Baltic States be included in the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations;

4. To urge the U.S. Senate to pass a concurrent resolution now pending before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations asking the President of the United States to direct the attention of world opinion at appropriate international forums to the denial of the rights of self-determination for the peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania;

5. To renew the dedication of the peoples of the Baltic nations to the cause of liberty and to reaffirm their determination to continue together with other captive nations of east-central Europe the struggle against Soviet occupation and oppression;

6. To forward copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, the chairman and all members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, all Senators and Representatives from the State of New Jersey, the Governor of New Jersey, and the press.

Unanimously adopted at a commemorative rally sponsored by the Joint Committee of Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians of New Jersey, on this 10th day of July 1965.

JUHAN SIMONSON,
Chairman, Estonian-American delegation.
ERNESTS DONIS,
Chairman, Latvian-American delegation.
VALENTINAS MELINIS,
Chairman, Lithuanian-American delegation.

The Late Neil Curry

SPEECH
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, yesterday this House was saddened by the news of the tragic death of an outstanding American, Neil Curry, of California.

Neil Curry was a citizen of great ability and distinction whose friends were legion, from one end of this country to the other.

One of the Nation's leading businessmen, Mr. Curry was active in many civic and public organizations and took an active role in public affairs.

He was a tower of strength in the Democratic Party, and one of its most effective and constructive leaders.

Neil Curry will be sorely missed by many who have known him as a warm friend and able fellow American.

My deepest sympathy goes to his family and loved ones.

John S. Knight Tells Inside Story of Stevenson's Near Miss in Acquiring Chicago News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under the headline, "Fate's Big Role in Adlai's Career," the Chicago Daily News of July 17, 1965, carries an article by John S. Knight that is entitled to high place in the literature that has attended the passing of Adlai E. Stevenson, of tributes to his genius and his character, and of the history of the times in which he lived and the incidents, small and large, that played their parts. The article follows:

FATE'S BIG ROLE IN ADLAI'S CAREER

The untimely death of Adlai Stevenson has ended a friendly and warm personal relationship of more than 20 years with a man I greatly admired.

It began in 1944 when we were both seeking to buy the Chicago Daily News from the estate of Col. Frank Knox who had died in the spring of that year while serving as Secretary of the Navy.

During much of Secretary Knox's time in the Cabinet, Stevenson was his assistant and counsel. In this capacity, he gained intimate knowledge of the colonel's hopes and plans for the future of the Daily News. He also enjoyed close association with the newspaper's top executives.

After the Knox funeral these department heads asked Stevenson to form a syndicate to purchase the controlling interest in the News from the estate. Stevenson then resigned from his Navy post and devoted the summer to reviewing the newspaper's financial structure and organizing a list of investors to supplement the resources of the employee group.

As Stephen Becker tells it in his biography of Marshall Field III, "Stevenson concluded, and his investors agreed, that Knox's stock was worth $12 a share. Knox's executors approved Stevenson's plans for financing and management, but wanted more money. On Stevenson's recommendation, his group raised its bid to $13 a share.

"That was Stevenson's limit; he was fulfilling Knox's desire for local ownership and continuity of management, but could not in all conscience recommend bidding more than $13.

"The executors asked him," says Becker, "to match still higher bids * * * but Stevenson withdrew from the bidding and recommended that the executors accept an offer of $15 from John S. Knight, and they did so."

This little-known episode in Stevenson's life is recalled only to show how fate can be the controlling factor in an individual's career.

Had Stevenson been successful in his quest for the Daily News, in all probability he would never have been Governor of Illinois, twice his party's nominee for the Presidency and then a distinguished Ambassador to the United Nations.

It is my own view that fate served him well.

Stevenson was admirably equipped by background and intellect for a leading role in journalism. For a time, he worked as a reporter and editor on the Bloomington Pantagraph, a newspaper in which he had inherited a substantial interest.

He was a facile and talented writer who once said that "the first principle of a free society is an untrammeled flow off words in an open forum."

Yet the loss of Stevenson to journalism was the Nation's gain. Few other men in our history have contributed so much to their country in diligent, unselfish public service.

Stevenson was not cast in the usual political mold. His objective quality of mind was such, as James Reston has said, that he won the respect of the intellectual and diplomatic communities while at the same time being unpopular with the most political elements of his party.

Under my editorship, the Chicago Daily News supported Stevenson for Governor of Illinois in 1948. This endorsement was something of a shock to the regular Republicans who had previously counted upon the News to favor their candidates for major offices since Colonel Knox had been the GOP vice-presidential nominee in 1936.

We never had cause to regret this action. The Stevenson administration was a good one, though marred by several scandals involving one of the Governor's subordinates.

In reply to a critical editorial written by me, the Governor wrote: "Your editorial grieves me and I am bold enough to say so. Because you as a journalist demand accuracy from your staff, I am sure you wish to be accurate yourself.

"I'm not asking for any 'correction' or that you take any particular notice of this letter. But I am sure you do not wish to merely parrot a Chicago Tribune line which both misrepresents an important strike against the hoodlums in Chicago and also disheartens the type of disinterested contributions to public service which I am sure you want."

Now here was no sulking, no loud blast from the Governor's office. Adlai Stevenson simply wanted the record set right, and we did just that.

It is well known that Stevenson never expected to be President in 1952 and perhaps his good judgment curbed any undue optimism in 1956.

Yet he fought with great gallantry for the ideals and principles in which he believed. He gave light to the Nation while knowing that most people preferred the more comfortable image of the grandfatherly Ike.

There were other disappointments, too. He wanted to be Secretary of State in the Kennedy administration, a post he could have had by declaring for Kennedy before the 1960 Democratic convention. This he did not do.

As Edwin A. Lahey has written: "Stevenson was in a brutal world, which he never quite understood. As late as 3 weeks ago, he still could not see why Kennedy had failed to give him the job."

Stevenson had more unhappy moments during the Bay of Pigs fiasco. Writers friendly to John Kennedy called Stevenson an appeaser, a term never repudiated by the President.

His relations with President Johnson were cordial on the surface. Yet Stevenson always lived with the discomforting knowledge that his suggestions were being discarded, his ideas ignored.

He was, as James Reston has said, "sad at the end, not because he was rejected for the Presidency by his fellow countrymen, but because his ideas were rejected by the leaders of his own party—President Kennedy and President Johnson."

The outwardly gay and witty Stevenson was a man given to self-doubt and much introspection. He earned a reputation for being indecisive and the allegation was not without some basis in fact.

I was told that he might well have been the successful bidder for the Daily News had he been more aggressive in the pursuit and less given to worrying about the inherent risks.

In 1952, Stevenson was a reluctant candidate. He asked the Illinois delegation to the Democratic Convention not to enter his name as a candidate. When asked what he would do if nominated, the Governor replied: "I think I'd shoot myself."

After his nomination, Stevenson said this to the convention: "I have asked the Merciful Father of us all to let this cup pass from me. But before such dread responsibility one does not shrink in fear, in self-interest or in false humility.

"So, if this cup may not pass away from me, except I drink it, Thy will be done."

By 1956, Adlai Stevenson had decided to capture the nomination. It was not much of a convention contest this time since few others wanted the dubious distinction of opposing the popular Eisenhower.

The last time I saw Stevenson was several months ago on a brisk winter night as we returned to the Waldorf Towers after the theater.

"Why hello there," he said. "This is a surprise. Why don't you and Beryl come by 42-A and have a nightcap?"

We quickly accepted, anticipating that the conversation would turn to a discussion of Vietnam or the acute money problems of the United Nations.

So what did we talk about for the next hour? The Daily News, and little else.

He looked well that evening, but spoke constantly of the past and the Chicago newspaper "situation."

This puzzled us at the time, but now we understand.

For Adlai Stevenson was sad—even before the end.

The Late Neil Curry

SPEECH

OF

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, it was with the deepest regret and sorrow that I learned of the death of a very distinguished American, Mr. Neil Curry. Several years ago, as chairman of the Western Interstate Highway Committee on Policy Problems, I had the opportunity of first meeting Mr. Curry. At that time he worked with Senator Collier's subcommittee to develop the reciprocity agreements which are now in effect throughout the Western States and have become, through subsequent legislative action in those States, a model of interstate highway cooperation and provide a pattern of harmonious transportation.

Mr. Curry not only was an extremely successful businessman, but he was equally distinguished for his leadership in the field of public affairs. As the majority leader has so ably stated, there can probably be no total estimation of his contribution to the welfare of children. Numerous boards interested in community programs and welfare are the richer for his service.

Every westerner, I know, today shares with me the deep sense of loss his passing means to our western land.

To his widow, his sons, daughters, and loved ones, my deepest and sincerest sympathy. Also, may I express my gratitude for having had the privilege of knowing and working with this unselfish American.

State of Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. BYRNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD a resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Council of the City of Philadelphia, at a meeting held July 15, 1965, pertaining to the State of Israel. The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION No. 135 OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, PA.

(A resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to enact legislation reaffirming American principles of fair and open trade and international cooperation in the marketplaces of the free world.)

Whereas the State of Israel is one of the United States stanchest and firmest friends in the near east; and

Whereas the State of Israel is a bastion of democracy in the near east; and

Whereas the Arab States are committed to a policy of boycoting all commercial and industrial business that do business with the State of Israel; and

Whereas this boycott and economic pressure against the State of Israel is not in accord with the American concept of fair business practices and our announced policy of economic cooperation as a means of establishing peace throughout the free world; and

Whereas the American concept of fair business practices has always been a policy of open and fair trade and international cooperation in the marketplaces of the free world; therefore

Resolved, by the Council of the City of Philadelphia, That we hereby memorialize the Congress of the United States to enact legislation reaffirming American principles of fair and open trade and international cooperation in the marketplaces of the free world.

Resolved, That certified copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Philadelphia members of the House of Representatives and to Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK and Senator HUGH SCOTT.

PAUL D'ORTONA,
President of City Council.

Attest:

NATHAN WOLFMAN,
Chief Clerk of the Council.

Minimum Wage Should Be $2 an Hour

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL J. KREBS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. KREBS. Mr. Speaker, if the affluent millions of Americans today keep their eyes fixed on the gyrations of the stock market, the nonaffluent millions, a fourth of America, are looking in the direction of Washington this summer for developments on the proposal to amend the fair labor standards law to extend coverage and to provide a minimum wage of $2 an hour, as well as for developments on the poverty program.

What is emerging from the carefully documented testimony before the Select Subcommittee on Labor of the House of Representatives is that the popular impression of the people who live on the other side of the poverty line is a patchwork of myth and misconceptions.

For example, it is generally believed that the poor of the United States are overwhelmingly nonwhites, the very old, rural people, and people in families that do not have a male wage earner.

The reality is quite different.

Two million full-time male workers with year round jobs in the United States are numbered among the poor who are the concern of the poverty program. They are poor not because of their sex, race, age or residence. They are poor because they are paid starvation wages.

Seven out of ten of these workers are white. Fewer than 1 in 25 are over 65. Eight out of ten of these workers live in nonfarm areas. Forty percent of the 15 million children who live in poverty belong to these families with fulltime workers receiving poverty wages.

From time to time, I hope to present additional facts to the Congress dealing with misconceptions about the poor among us.

But everything I shall have to say will deal with the central misconception, that the antipoverty program implies an elaborate application of social worker techniques to deal with the personal problems of the poor.

As we examine the statistics that are now being accumulated, it is perfectly obvious that the wisecrack to the effect that all the poor need is money embodies a significant element of social insight.

What most of the poor need is an opportunity to work at standard jobs that pay standard wages.

A beginning and substantial inroad on poverty can be made now by the extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act coverage to the people in agriculture, in services, and in retail trade who are not now covered.

Simultaneously, if the minimum wage were increased to $2 per hour, the dimensions of the poverty problem would begin to come down to a manageable size.

The Fair Labor Standards Act is less than fair today. It needs to be amended by this Congress to end the unfairness

to 5.4 million workers who are not now covered and to workers for whom the present minimum is economically out of date, socially inadequate, and morally unacceptable.

Canal Rights-of-Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVE MARTIN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill to correct problems which have come to light since enactment of Public Law 561 in the 88th Congress. That law was enacted to provide compensation, including severance damages, for rights-of-way acquired by the United States in connection with reclamation projects on which construction commenced after January 1, 1961.

Under the act of 1890, rights-of-way for canals and ditches constructed under the authority of the United States were reserved—with few exceptions—on all public lands west of the 100th meridian. Under the 1890 act, owners of land—with title subsequent to 1890—west of the 100th meridian were not compensated for their property when taken for a reclamation canal; while owners of land east of the 100th meridian, or of land west of the 100th meridian patented prior to 1890, were fully compensated.

The Commissioner of Reclamation informed us that a problem relating to canal rights-of-way has become apparent since the passage of the act of September 2, 1964. A number of western States have reserved to the United States rights-of-way for canals and ditches constructed under the Federal reclamation program. At the present time, the United States is required to pay for canal rights-of-way utilized under the 1890 act reservation but cannot pay landowners for canal rights-of-way reserved in State patents. Therefore, I have today introduced amendatory legislation which includes a reference to these State statutes.

This amending legislation would also permit district courts to assume jurisdiction to determine just compensation in those instances where the United States and the landowner could not reach agreement on the value of rights-of-way utilized in accordance with the provisions of the act of 1890 as amended by Public Law 88-561.

In view of the need for clarifying and technical amendment, I feel this is a worthwhile bill. I hope that it can be acted upon before the adjournment of this session. It would not add to the liability or expenditures on the part of the Government with respect to what was the original intent of the Congress in enacting Public Law 561 in the 88th Congress. It is wise, in the opinion of attorneys, that the proposed action be taken.

The Real Alabama—Part XXXI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the State of Alabama is indeed proud of the fine beginning of its newest college, the University of South Alabama, located in Mobile.

The progress made thus far and the promise for the future of this institution and its outstanding administration, occupies an integral part in the story of "The Real Alabama." With pleasure I include the following information concerning the university and its great president.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH ALABAMA

"We dedicate our efforts to those high purposes for which this institution was founded; to the banishment of ignorance, to the enrichment of personal life, to the development of those individual talents and skills that enable each person who studies within the walls of our university to serve to the fullest the needs of his fellow men," stated Dr. Frederick Palmer Whiddon, president of the University of South Alabama in his president's address during the dedication ceremonies of this institution on October 18, 1964.

With complete dedication to this high calling, the faculty and administration of the University of South Alabama have confidently inaugurated an undergraduate program that is not only capable of meeting the needs of the Greater Mobile area and of Alabama, but is also capable of making significant contributions to the ever-progressing and expanding Southland.

The University of South Alabama was created by act of the Alabama Legislature in May 1963. In selecting Mobile as the site for this educational institution, the University of South Alabama has the advantages of a progressive modern city with a rich and colorful historic background. With ample opportunity to banish ignorance and enrich personal life, the university is called on to serve a 200-mile district between the University of Alabama and the gulf. Strategically located in the Greater Mobile area which has a population of more than 980,000 within a 100-mile radius, the University of South Alabama stands as the only major public institution of higher learning on the upper gulf coast.

The 160-acre campus of the University of South Alabama is located in the residential area of west Mobile. The 750-acre municipal golf course and public park are adjacent to the campus; their recreational facilities are available to students. The first building, a combination classroom and administration facility, was erected with funds supplied by the Mobile County Foundation for Public Higher Education. Plans are presently underway for further construction. Additional facilities planned for the immediate future include dormitories, library, dining facilities, a science building, and a gymnasium.

The university, in assuming its role in the development of students, is keenly aware of its responsibilities in providing education for men and women who are capable of an enlightened evaluation of our complex world and age; men and women capable of developing standards and criteria for distinguishing the false from the true; men and women who can make intelligent efforts at solving human problems; men and women sensitive to and keenly aware of their responsibility, sensitive to and compassionately aware of other human beings. Above all else, the University of South Alabama accepts the basic responsibility of scholarship, which is essential to the foundation of excellence in any institution of higher learning.

The University of South Alabama, operating as a State institution of higher learning and financed in part by public funds, is governed by a board of trustees composed of 12 members from the 10 senatorial districts of south Alabama. The president of the university, Dr. Frederick P. Whiddon, appointed by the board of trustees, is responsible for the administration and management of the total university. He is assisted in this endeavor by the administrative staff and the faculty. Dr. Whiddon, only recently, was chosen as one of the four outstanding young men of Alabama. He is dedicated to the high calling of educating our young people.

Accreditation is measured by performance, and a new institution is obliged to operate its total program before candidacy is granted. The University of South Alabama having made the appropriate application for accreditation has been notified, with satisfactory assurance, that official accreditation will be granted within a reasonable time.

The University of South Alabama, conceived in the high purposes of human calling, has been faithful in its dedication to these purposes, continuing always to train men and women in knowledge and wisdom, in intellectual excellence and maturity, defining for itself a rightful place in the real Alabama.

The Federal Government and State of Ohio—Partners in Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to tell the Members of this House about the unfortunate partnership of the State of Ohio and the Federal Government in making Ohio gambling ripe picking for the mobs. If the Ohio and Federal Government would legalize and regulate gambling, its revenues could be made to work for the public good, but so long as they keep it illegal, and negligently allow the mob to reap the profits of illegal gambling, they will be partners in all the evil financed by mob gambling profits. So by their ignorance, the governments in Columbus and Washington will be partners in maintaining a multitude of sins.

Gambling is big business in Ohio. Last year, the parimutuel turnover came to $158 million. Illegal gambling is more extensive. Offtrack betting was estimated before the McClellan committee to be about $50 billion annually, and it was estimated that this was some 42 percent of the national illegal gambling total which would then be about $120 billion. On a population basis, Ohio's share of this amount would be $6.24 billion annually. The 10 percent of this turnover that stays in syndicate treasuries will finance a lot of crime. That 10 percent makes the joint negligence of the governments in Columbus and Washington cost about $600 million a year.

If Ohio would face up to the moral facts of life, it would cease to be a feeding trough for organized crime and gambling. Our States and Nation need government controlled and operated gambling to make gambling profits work for and not against the people. The best mechanism is a lottery.

Congress—What's That?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, critics of the administration have had much to say about Congress becoming an echo for the executive branch. I was surprised, however, to learn that discontent is now being expressed by those who normally support the President and most of his legislative programs.

An editorial from the July 19 edition of the Atlanta Journal illustrates my point. The Journal is an urban daily which generally lends editorial support to administration policies.

Without further comment, I invite the attention of my colleagues to the following editorial:

[From the Atlanta Journal, July 19, 1965]

CONGRESS—WHAT'S THAT?

If President Johnson could do as well abroad as he has been doing at home the situation in Vietnam could be resolved in our favor, General de Gaulle would be our best friend, and the Berlin wall would come down.

But President Johnson has been doing better at home than abroad. Maybe his reach is not long enough to twist arms overseas.

The success of the President's legislative program has been something remarkable. But all things come to an end. And perhaps Mr. Johnson's charm is wearing thin in Congress.

The President has worked Congress half to death during his relatively brief term in office.

Majority Senate Leader MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana, has been quoted as saying at this point there are rumblings among the Republicans and mumblings among the Democrats.

Over what? Overwork.

But still our tireless President pours on the coals, wanting more bills and more and more bills passed, including his administration's peculiar suggestion that the right-to-work laws of the States be overridden.

The signs indicate a congressional revolt against Presidential dictation.

In other times, we might have had such. Remember that the power in Washington is divided between the legislative, judicial, and executive branches of the Government, and that theoretically a balance is thereby provided.

But will Congress assert itself? Does the legislative branch of the Federal Government even remember how to assert itself?

We doubt it.

For a long time now the executive and judicial branches have been running the country. The legislative branch occasionally slows thing down a little.

But as for being an equal partner in the Washington trinity * * * it's been years.

The Gun Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, the constitutional right to keep and bear arms is before us for consideration in this session of the Congress. Whether the firearms control legislation proposed by Senator DODD is in keeping with this constitutional guarantee is of prime concern to many of us. One of my California friends has written a letter to me which presents an especially clear summary of some of the arguments on this legislation, and I hereby submit it for the benefit of my colleagues:

Congressman DON CLAUSEN,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR DON: I am genuinely concerned with Senator DODD's two bills—S. 1591 and S. 1592 relating to firearms registration and control. DON, this bill must not become law. For one thing its a direct violation of the Constitution which guarantees the citizen the right to keep and bear arms. Secondly, it is a step toward eventual confiscation of firearms which gun haters have been out to achieve for years. Thirdly, it is a police-state type of legislation which has led to the overthrow of governments in our time. It is just the kind of legislation the Communists would welcome, because when the opportune day arrives it will be relatively easy for them to round up every registered firearm in the country, and then we will be defenseless. Once the citizen is disarmed there could be no resistance to their every demand. I, for one, do not want to see Communists take over in America; we see what has happened elsewhere, regardless of how window dressing and propaganda is thrown at us. I sincerely believe registration of firearms and other legislation aimed at the honest citizen is the biggest boost to the world of crime we could possibly come up with. Do we want that? I don't. Also, it would be the first step in direction of a total dictatorship in America.

I am aware of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY's feelings too. True, his brother was assassinated with an imported mail-order weapon. But DON, murder lies in the heart of man—not in a gun, knife, or club. And had not Oswald procurred a gun through mail he would have bought one over the counter of any hockshop or stolen one. But suppose the President had died in a plane accident? Would you have supported a bill to restrict or outlaw the airplane? Or had he died in an auto or helicopter he used so often, would you do away with the auto and helicopter? No, of course not. Too many people enjoy and need them. Well, there are those of us who enjoy hunting, target shooting, or just collecting firearms.

Another bad feature of this law is that it would place in the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Treasury powers of legislation. I do not believe this to be the intent of the Constitution. Should the Secretary be a man personally opposed to firearms it is easy to see what could happen. Arbitrary rulings would be the order of the day; the flimsiest whim of an arrogant bureaucrat would thus become the law of the land. We see too much of this already in other departments of Government.

I agree that legislation aimed at the criminal should be enforced—but not to restrict honest citizens in ownership of guns. However, we have laws to this effect now, and if enforced would be sufficient. As to mail-order guns and sales—why not knives, hammers, scissors, baseball bats, etc. They are just as deadly. And I might add, if the criminal wants a gun he'll get one if he has to make it himself, which has been done. Recently, some hoodlums right here in the L.A. area disarmed two highway patrolmen and made off with their handguns. How about that? So this bill which Senator DODD has rather hysterically concocted as an aftermath of President Kennedy's murder, is not an answer to an age-old problem. Remember Cain did not have a gun, but he did murder his brother. Likewise Julius Ceasar died at the hand of an assassin—but not a firearm; it was a dagger.

DON, I know you to be a sensible, level-headed, and conscientious man, so I'm trusting that you will oppose this measure. Believe me, I'll vote and work for every politician who sees the inherent danger in S. 1591 and S. 1592 in their present forms, and pull for their reelection wherever possible.

Thanks, DON.

Sincerely yours, from a friend,
FLOYD W. RONGSTAD.

P.S.—DON, here is a scripture to think on: "For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies."—Matthew 15: 19.

No, DON, murder does not reside in an inanimate object—but the human heart.—F.W.R.

Captive Nations Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, a significant and succinct editorial in behalf of Captive Nations Week appeared in the July 17, 1965, issued of the Waukegan News-Sun, Lake County, Ill.'s, only daily newspaper.

I commend this editorial to my colleagues in the House and to the general public. It reads as follows:

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

Next week, we in the United States will again observe Captive Nations Week, as a reminder that the millions living in Communist captivity have not been forgotten.

Communist and neutralist nations, as well as some of our friends in the West, have lashed out at the United States for its policy of colonialism and imperialism—especially in Korea, Vietnam and the Dominician Republic.

The charges have an even more hollow sound when compared with the plight of those living in the countries of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Rumania. More than 100 million east-central Europeans are deprived of fundamental human rights and continue to suffer under regimes imposed by a foreign power.

The observance should have special meaning also in times like these when we are being told that communism is changing and may soon evolve into a popular liberal democracy; and that the monolithic Communist giant is crumbling, split on the one hand by the struggle for leadership between Moscow and Peiping, and on the other by a new independence among satellite nations. It is doubtful such claims could be taken seriously by those imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain.

Those who have succumbed to the notion that these people are not captives, should recall the East Berlin riots in 1953, the Hungarian revolt 3 years later, and that tangible evidence of stone and barbed wire—the Berlin wall.

A nationwide reaffirmation by the United States of the ideals embodied in Captive Nations Week would nourish the hopes of the enslaved east-central Europeans and greatly contribute to the ultimate goal, shared by the United States and its silenced allies there—a world based on freedom, peace and justice.

What Are We Going To Do for the Dropouts From the Dropout Schools?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include an editorial from the Gadsden, Ala., Times. This editorial puts in clear perspective some of the unrealistic and ridiculous uses for which we are squandering the peoples' money under the excuse of helping the poor. We can do more for the poor and for all the people of the United States by accepting our responsibility to be careful with the money we collect from the people in the way of taxes. We are not exercising that responsibility when we approve the big spending bills demanded by the President such as the Economic Opportunity Act Amendments for 1965 which is now being discussed by the House.

The Time editorial follows:

SHIVER SHIVERS

How's the antipoverty program coming along?

Well, it's backing up in some places.

Take for instance the $91,300 appropriated to teach 60 women in Gibson County, Tenn., how to cook. It was not announced how large a staff would be required to undertake this complicated program. But it's an even bet that the 60 students can already outcook the Government-employed cookers.

Then there is the case where one of the Youth Corps projects fell on its face. In Oklahoma City last May 300 youths were recruited in the employment program to work for the city and school system. Appropriated for this undertaking was more than $91,000. The project lasted 2 months and folded. The 300 youths are no better off than when they started. Out of work, they may or may not be looking for a job.

One of the pet projects of the antipoverty program is to start schools for high school dropouts. One such school was established in a southern city last spring. The enrollment was high. But 3 months hadn't passed until 30 percent of the students called it quits. It has been rumored that a dropout school for dropouts who dropped out of the dropout school will be started.

For 189 years, America has cared for its poor—better than any nation in the world's history. And it was accomplished through initiative and real concern for the individuals, but never through the channels of political expediency.

Defense Budget Realistic?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I call to the attention of my colleagues the following timely article by Marguerite Higgins on economies in the Department of Defense budget:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, July 19, 1965]

DEFENSE BUDGET REALISTIC?

(By Marguerite Higgins)

The redoubtable Secretary McNamara is going to have to eat at least some of his well-chosen, statistics-laden words about economies in the Defense Department budget.

A tireless triumvirate of his co-Republicans in the House of Representatives has established almost beyond a shadow of a doubt that the 1966 defense budget, now about $45 billion, will have to spurt at least $2 billion and probably more, and that the national budget must inevitably soar over the $100 billion mark from its present level of $99.7 billion.

The triumvirate—Representative GERALD FORD, of Michigan, Representative MELVIN LAIRD, of Wisconsin, Representative GLENARD LIPSCOMB, of California—has for once proved a match for the computer-minded McNamara because the three have been meticulous in doing their homework.

TERMED ILLUSION

Their endeavors were spurred by a McNamara letter to the chairman of the House Appropriations Committee dated June 9, 1965, in which the Secretary of Defense claimed: "To summarize, the fiscal year 1966 Defense budget request now before the Congress would provide all the funds we need at this time to continue the strengthening of our overall military posture and to carry out whatever combat operations our forces are called upon to perform during the next twelve months."

"In light of developments in Vietnam, we felt that this was totally unrealistic," LAIRD explained. "We felt this was economic sleight of hand designed, among other things, to foster the illusion that the national budget could stay under $100 billion when it plainly can't.

"House Republicans support the war in Vietnam. But it is our contention that the orderly prosecution and orderly planning for that war require a realistic exposition now of what additional sums will be needed so that they can be voted by the Congress this summer."

THE 1963 GUIDELINES USED

From evidence gathered both in House hearings and private investigation, the most telling point made by the Republican triumvirate is the fact that the 1966 budget was based on guidelines laid down in 1963 and never changed.

But in 1963, the WAR in Vietnam was marked by gains for our side. There was little prospect of the introduction of American combat forces into the fighting.

There was indeed foolish talk at the highest levels of the Defense Department that the United States could withdraw most of its advisers from Vietnam by 1965. But today the United States is talking in terms of 170,000 troops before the year is out.

Nonetheless, Major General Crow, comptroller of the Air Force, stated flatly to the House Appropriations Committee in March of this year, that the 1966 defense budget did not anticipate increased activities in Vietnam.

It would be fascinating to know why the administration's budget did not anticipate the increased activity in Vietnam. Was it because the White House believed that air strikes against Hanoi would bring Ho Chi Minh to the conference table and make American intervention unnecessary?

REPLACING EPUIPMENT

Whatever the reason, it is perfectly plain that the three Republicans are in the right when they state that a budget based on 1963 guidelines cannot possibly fulfill the grim requirements of today's realities.

Most of the equipment for Vietnam so far has come "off the shelf." But as it is chewed up by the attrition of war, it must be replaced.

According to the Republican triumvirate, the realities are that a supplemental addition to the budget will require $500 million for the new pay bill; more than $1 billion for replacement of material destroyed by war and for maintenance of the wartime effort; and another $500 million if the reserves are called up.

Bullets have a way of shooting holes in budgets, and there is substance to the argument that the sooner the finnacial truth is faced, the better.

L.B.J. Aid Describes How Adlai Shaped Ideas and Men

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of this distinguished body to a very fine article on the late Adlai Stevenson by my good friend, Richard N. Goodwin.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Goodwin who has been a special assistant to both President Kennedy and President Johnson, is to be commended for this excellent tribute which appeared in the Boston Globe, July 19, 1965.

The article follows:

L.B.J. AID DESCRIBES HOW ADLAI SHAPED IDEAS AND MEN

(NOTE.—Richard N. Goodwin, 34, of Brookline was one of the original New Frontiersmen.

He is a graduate of Tufts University and Harvard Law School and was summa cum laude in both classes.

Goodwin first gained notice as an investigator for a House subcommittee probing TV quiz show and payola scandals.

He later did speech writing and research for Senator John F. Kenedy and served as secretary general of the International Peace Corps Secretariat when Mr. Kennedy became President.)

(By Richard N. Goodwin)

Twice he had come as close as a man could to leadership of the American Nation. Yet no one noticed, as for a moment, Adlai Stevenson looked toward the caped statue of Franklin Roosevelt, walked a few hundred yards, grasped the thin steel columns of a sidewalk railing, and died.

Questions of man's survival, of war, and of human progress had very nearly rested on

qualities of his mind and will. The destiny of every man and woman he passed that afternoon was almost placed in his hand. Yet no one cheered or waved or even turned to stare.

For he had escaped power. And for a politician, power is the tool which etches out one man's figure from among his companions.

The fact is no man who has not been President can survive analysis of his capacity for the task. Nor can we predict his qualities until they pass through the purification of power and responsibility. We do know he had more promise than most. We do know the impressive qualities of mind and spirit his career permitted him to reveal. We also know he was ambitious. For you do not run for President unless your ambitions are greater than those of other men.

Was that ambition tinged with self-doubt? It is for every man except the very dangerous. Did he have the courage of decision? His own words, public and in private conversation, cloud judgment. But perhaps they only mask the fact that never in his public life did he fail to decide when it was time to decide; except in 1960 when the shameful prospect of leading his party to a third defeat postponed judgment beyond the reach of action.

Where public issues were concerned he spoke—on the platform and in the meeting room—with a clarity of conviction few had courage to match. And on this question the judgment of those who knew him is disfigured by the tortured musings of a man who had never quite learned the trick of hiding his soul; whose confidence had been twisted and bettered by defeat and by the indifference and contempt of lesser men, which finally killed him.

He was not, as some have said, marked by fate for failure. He was the victim of less mystical forces: bad luck, poor timing, unfortunate issues, a party too long in office, and an opponent who could not be defeated. Had 6 percent of American voters switched to him in 1952 then all the hesitation and humility would today be regarded as the skillful genius of a master politician.

So we do not know, and will never know, if Adlai Stevenson would have been a good President of the United States. But we must be reluctant to believe that the judgment of so many who had desired his victory so furiously could have been so wrong.

Great men of affairs are either kings or prophets. Very few are both. And honor comes more reluctantly to prophets because they touch us more deeply. Adlai Stevenson never became a king, but he was a prophet. Death is already beginning to dissolve the masks of public failure and private personality which hide that recognition. It will become clearer as the self-justifying commentaries of those who scorned him in life began to fade.

I knew Adlai Stevenson as a colleague in my work for President Kennedy and, more recently for President Johnson. Both valued him most highly. Both had worked for his election to the office which they, not he, were to hold. Both knew, as others did not, what it took to bare yourself—ambitions and hopes—to the faithful, the indifferent, and the hostile alike.

Many others in Washington, in these years, looked at him with a certain condescension. At times, thankfully only a few times, my own instinct was submerged in the need to be fashionable. But Adlai Stevenson will be mourned more deeply and remembered longer than any of these. It is not that million loved him and millions more admired him because they did not know him. It is that closeness and ambition, envy and rivalry obscure the heart's truth.

I remember best the Adlai Stevenson I never knew, when the world was young and the ringing phrases tumbled like seed on the unplowed ground.

In the fall of 1952 I was a senior in college in Massachusetts. John Kennedy was a young Congressman I had never met now running for the Senate. And Lyndon Johnson was the uncertainly familiar name of a Senator from Texas.

But Adlai Stevenson was my hero and my leader and my candidate for President of the United States. I never met him or even saw him nor had I read the carefully crafted texts of his speeches. But something was in the air. My tiny world suddenly seemed to widen. Events and the course of history were drifting back within the reach of a man's skill and brains. The pursuit of power, and its use, were not solely the object of greed and vaulting ambition but infused with service and nobility and the love of others.

It wasn't that he talked sense or spoke the truth harshly. It was the more profound act of telling us—my generation—what we knew but didn't realize. He revealed a world we already sensed was there, bared challenges we were aching to undertake. The words were the words of sacrifice but the music sang of meaning and purpose to a young man.

As much as any, he was the end of postwar America and the beginning of a time still nameless. We knew and still repeated the old political phrases and the outworn battle cries. But we did not understand them because the lines had been drawn in a different war, and it was not our war. Now finally, there was a language we could understand and make our own.

Eight dreary, near-tragic, years were to pass before that prophesy was to be fulfilled by different men. It is hard to overstate the extent to which he helped shape the dialog, and hence the purposes, of the New Frontier and then the Great Society.

He dissolved the old, unserviceable simplicities and taught us to apply to the world the complex wisdom we have used so triumphantly in the affairs of our Nation: We could seek peace while resisting danger. Everyone who was not a friend was not an enemy. Agreement and accommodation could come from self-confidence as well as fear. By helping others we could strengthen ourselves. Particular problems could be resolved, but we must learn to live for generations with a troubled world. The contest was not simply between our system and communism, but between those who found security in dominion and those who found it in a world of strong and diverse lands.

And all these principles, and many more, he suffused with another welcome and shining truth: The pursuit of national self-interest was not inconsistent with the desire for justice and dignity and well-being for all the people of the world—that there was no basic unresolvable contradiction between realistic policies and high ideals.

To our domestic problems he brought the same elevated and critical intelligence. He told us our sights were too low, the course we had charted, too narrow. In every area of our national life we not only could do more than we were doing but more than we thought. And he taught that wealth was not excellence, power was not greatness, the pursuit of abundance was not the pursuit of happiness.

After he spoke, no leader of his party nor the dialog of democracy itself, would ever sound the same again. He was eloquent and acclaimed for eloquence, but finally it was not how he spoke but what he said that mattered. Others would bring new accents and perhaps even greater powers to leadership. But it had all begun in Springfield, Ill., in that hopeful dawn-year of 1952.

The most farsighted policies molder and dissolve, lose content and direction, in the hands of the mediocre and the indifferent. The Nation rests on the quality of its public men, and they in turn are shaped by the quality of American politics. Adlai Stevenson brought many individuals into Government who have enriched the administrations of President Kennedy and President Johnson. But this is the least of it. More than any man, he created the citizen-politician. He told an entire generation there was room for intelligence and idealism in public life, that politics was not just a way to live but a way to live greatly, that each of us might share in the passions of the age.

My first experience in national politics was in an overflowing chaotic room of the Volunteers for Stevenson. Many thousands had the same initiation. Today, the citizens groups, the volunteers, the clubs to discuss issues and the clubs to reform politics, are a force which every politican must confront, and which the best will welcome. Thus, he changed the face of American politics; enriching the democracy, providing a base on which talent could aspire to power, opening a gateway to public life through which many who never heard his voice will someday enter.

All these—ideas and men—are contributions to be remembered. But there was something more to Adlai Stevenson, a quality that resists thought and language alike. For none of this explains the fierce desire millions brought to his cause. The disappointed tears of many who never knew him, the deep impulse which could make even experienced politicians forget commitment and interest alike to be at his side.

It was not the first time we have seen this quality, nor the last. But how rare it is in those who find their way to power.

Part of it was in his lesson. It was not a new lesson. It runs like a vein of light through the dark history of the race. It suffuses the religion and beliefs of every people. It says that man is more than the sum of his needs and desires and fears. It ennobles those who look beyond their own interest to great principle. It acclaims, not wealth and power, but the charity of the spirit and the reach of the heart.

This is what he wanted for the American people. And although we may never be equal to it, many loved him for thinking we could.

The rest was the man himself. You didn't need to know him to feel it, although knowing brought confirmation. There was a gentleness, a spaciousness of sensibility, a love which in unseen ways was felt by millions. He could laugh and be cynical. If he read these words he would joke about them, and he would deride this writing with soft self-deprecation. But all the wonderful humor, the urbanity, the captiousness was, in large part, a mask to protect himself from a world which so easily confused humility with weakness, sentiment with unreality, amplitude of understanding with failure of will. Many who met him were fooled. Millions who never met him, knew the truth.

This is the secret of today's mourning and to his place in the play of passion clothed in fact which is history. People return what they receive. They believe in the man who believed in them and thus made them believe in themselves. They love the man who loved them and thus let them love themselves a little more. They honor the leader who told them they were better than they were and, in so doing, made it so.

He has often been compared to Hamlet. And those who make the comparison do so as a metaphor of irresolution. Hamlet ies the story of a man who tries to understand and reach for certainty before he strikes. But he does strike: And for justice loses kingship and life while the election lights on a young and valiant captain.

Our judgment must echo Shakespeare's own when the new king stands beside Hamlet's body, saying:

"Let four captains
Bear Hamlet, like a soldier, to the stage;
For he was likely, had he been put on,
To have prov'd most royally."

Nomination for the Presidency of the Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson, Former Governor of Illinois, by the Honorable John F. Kennedy, U.S. Senator From Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of the address of the late President of the United States John F. Kennedy, when as U.S. Senator from Massachusetts, on August 16, 1956, Senator Kennedy placed in nomination the name of Adlai E. Stevenson for President of the United States at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Illinois.

The text of this address follows:

NOMINATION FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE HONORABLE ADLAI E. STEVENSON, FORMER GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS, BY THE HONORABLE JOHN F. KENNEDY, U.S. SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS

Hon. JOHN F. KENNEDY: Mr. Chairman, President Truman, Majority Leader and favorite son of Massachusetts, Congressman JOHN W. MCCORMACK, fellow Democrats, and fellow delegates:

We have come here today not merely to nominate a Democratic candidate, but to nominate a President of the United States. (Applause.)

Sometimes in the heat of a political convention, we forget the grave responsibilities which we, as delegates, possess. For we here today are selecting a man who must be something more than a good candidate, something more than a good speaker, more than a good politician, a good liberal or a good conservative. We are selecting the head of the most powerful Nation on earth, the man who literally will hold in his hands the power of survival or destruction, of freedom or slavery, of success or failure for us all.

We are selecting here today the man who, for the next 4 years, will be guiding, for good or evil, for better or worse, the destinies of our Nation, and, to a large extent, the destiny of the free world. I ask you, therefore, to think beyond the balloting of tonight and tomorrow, to think beyond even the election in November, and to think instead of those 4 years that lie ahead and of the crises that will come with them.

Of overwhelming importance are the ever-mounting threats of our survival that confront us abroad, threats that require a prompt return to firm, decisive leadership. Each Republican year of indecision and hesitation has brought new Communist advances—in Indochina, in the Middle East, in north Africa, in all the tense and troubled areas of the world.

The grand alliance of the West—that chain for freedom forged by Truman and Marshall and the rest—is cracking, its unity deteriorating, its strength dissipating.

We are hesitant on Suez, silent on colonialism, uncertain on disarmament, and contradictory on the other major issues of the day.

And, I regret to say, that once we are able to cut through the slogans and the press releases and the vague reassurances, we realize to our shock and dismay that the next 4 years of this hydrogen age represent the most dangerous and the most difficult period in the history of our Nation.

In such a period, one man, and one man only, can bear the full and final burden of responsibility and leadership—not his Cabinet, not his assistants, not his Vice President—but only the President of the United States, himself.

It is for these reasons that I ask this convention in its deliberations on the Presidency to consider those 4 troubled years that lie ahead abroad, and the necessity of selecting a President with the courage and the vigor and the vision equal to the task.

Consider, too, the 4 years that face us as a nation at home. For here, too, the absence of new ideas, the lack of new leadership, the failure to keep pace with new developments, have all contributed to the growth of gigantic economic and social problems—problems that can perhaps be postponed or explained away or ignored now—but problems that during the next 4 years will burst forth with continuing velocity.

The problem of the Nation's distressed farmers, the problem of our declining small business—the problem of our maldistribution of economic gains—the problem of our hopelessly inadequate schools—and the problem of our Nation's health—and many more face us.

Conferences are held, to be sure—commissions are convened—but no new steps are taken, and no bold programs are effected.

These are problems that cry out for solution—they cry out for leadership—they cry out for a man equal to the times. And the Democratic Party can say to the Nation today, "We have such a man."

We can offer to the Nation today a man uniquely qualified by inheritance, by training and by conviction, to lead us out of this crisis of complacency, and into a new era of life an dfulfillment. During the past 4 years, his wise and perceptive analyses of the world crises have pierced through the vacillations and the contradictions of official Washington to give understanding and hope to people at home and abroad.

And his eloquent, courageous, and experienced outlook on our problems here at home has stood in shining contrast to the collection of broken promises, neglected problems, and dangerous blunders that pave the road from Gettysburg to the White House.

Of course, in a democracy, it is not enough to have the right man—for first he must be elected, he must show the Nation that he is the right man, he must be a winner. And I say we have a winner—in the man who became Governor of this State in 1948 with the largest majority in the history of Illinois—in the man who in 1956 has shown in primary after primary that he, and only he, is the top vote-getter in the Democratic Party today.

Let us be frank about the campaign that lies ahead. Our party will be up against two of the toughest, most skillful campaigners in its history—one who takes the high road, and one who takes the low. [Applause.]

If we are to overcome that combination in November, this convention must nominate the candidate who can best carry our case to the American people—the one who is by all odds and by all counts our most eloquent, our most forceful, our most appealing figure.

These are, as I have said, critical times—times that demand the best we have—times that demand the best America has. We have, therefore, an obligation to pick the man best qualified, not only to lead our party but to lead our country. The Nation is entitled to expect that of us. For what we do here today affects more than a nomination, more than an election—it affects the life and the way of life of all our fellow Americans.

The time is ripe. The hour has struck. The man is here; and he is ready. Let the word go forth that we have fulfilled our responsibility to the Nation.

Ladies and gentlemen of the convention, it is now my privilege to present to this convention, as a candidate for President of the United States, the name of the man uniquely qualified—by virtue of his compassion, his conscience and his courage—to follow in the great traditions of Jefferson, Jackson, Wilson, Roosevelt, and the man from Independence.

Fellow delegates, I give you the man from Libertyville—the next Democratic nominee and the next President of the United States, Adlai E. Stevenson. (Prolonged applause and demonstration.)

County Commissioners Oppose Diversion of Funds for Beautification

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the members of the Board of County Commissioners of Morgan County and the Morgan County superintendent of highways with offices at Jacksonville, Ill., have written to me in opposition to the proposed diversion annually of about $100 million of the regular Federal aid secondary highway appropriation from the customary construction purposes to beautification projects.

Herewith is the text of their statement:

MORGAN COUNTY
HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT,
Jacksonville, Ill., July 16, 1965.

Subject: Morgan County, Ill., diversion of Federal-aid secondary funds.

DEAR MR. FINDLEY: We, the board of county commissioners and county superintendent of highways of Morgan County, wish to call your attention to the proposed highway beautification program to be financed by diverting annually 33⅓ percent or $100 million of the regular Federal-aid secondary highway appropriation to scenic roads and beautification projects.

We are definitely not against the construction of scenic highways or against the beautification of the Interstate Systems; however, we are against the diversion of any funds from the Federal-aid secondary allocations.

The average small county does not have sufficient revenue from any other source of funds to use in making up the 33⅓-percent loss, and since the average county does not have more than 25 percent of the main county roads improved under the Federal-aid secondary system, we feel that to curtail the program in the counties in order to beautify the interstate and major highways would be an act carried out by those in responsible positions who were poorly informed or not acquainted with local road problems.

It is our feeling that if the present administration desires to use $100 million for the purposes as proposed, that the revenue should be allocated from other Federal funds.

We feel there is no need in going into a great amount of detail in explaining further reasons against the diversion of the funds since you know the financial conditions of the counties in your district. We urgently request that you use your influence in protecting us against any decreases that might occur in the Federal-aid secondary funds.

Yours sincerely,

CHESTER A. THOMASON,
Chairman.

HARRY E. THOMPSON,
F. BYRON SMITH,
Commissioners.

M. J. BENSCOTER,
County Superintendent of Highways.

Passenger Transport Describes Urban Transport Research Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the July 16, 1965, edition of Passenger Transport carries an article on legislation (H.R. 9200) I have introduced to establish a 2-year, $20 million federally supported research program to achieve a technological breakthrough in the development of new urban transportation systems.

Ten other Members have joined as cosponsors: the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHLEY], the gentleman from Texas [Mr. CABELL], the gentleman from New York [Mr. FARBSTEIN], the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GILLIGAN], the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER], the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROSENTHAL], the gentlewoman from Missouri [Mrs. SULLIVAN], the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VANIK], the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. WELTNER], and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. YATES].

The article follows:

REPRESENTATIVE REUSS PROPOSES TRANSIT RESEARCH BILL—URGES 2-YEAR $20 MILLION PLAN FOR TECHNOLOGICAL BREAKTHROUGH

WASHINGTON.—A proposal to establish a Federal research program designed to achieve a "technological breakthrough" in the development of new urban transportation systems was presented recently by Representative HENRY S. REUSS, of Wisconsin.

Representative REUSS' proposal was originally introduced as a bill—H.R. 9200—on June 17, sponsored by Mr. REUSS and eight other big-city Democratic Congressmen.

Upon introducing the bill, Representative REUSS made a statement on the floor of the House explaining the plan, which calls for amending the 1964 Urban Mass Transportation Act to provide $10 million in fiscal 1966 and an additional $10 million in fiscal 1967 for conducting and providing for the proposed "additional technological research" toward betterment of transit.

H.R. 9200 subsequently was referred to the Subcommittee on Housing of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, since the legislation would amend the 1964 transit aid law. Representative REUSS told Passenger Transport that the committee has requested reports from the appropriate agencies, and "until those reports are forthcoming, it is doubtful that it will take any further action."

In the meantime, however, when the Subcommittee on Transportation and Aeronautics of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce resumed hearings the week of June 28 on H.R. 5863—the northeast corridor high-speed ground rail transportation bill—Congressman REUSS offered an amendment incorporating the intent of H.R. 9200. He made a statement before the Subcommittee on June 29.

The amendment, in effect, said that any research program undertaken by the Secretary of Commerce pursuant to H.R. 5863 should be devoted to the problems of intracity transport as well as to intercity transport. It further stipulated that funds appropriated for this research should be divided equally between the two.

H.R. 9200 proposes amending the 1964 Urban Mass Transportation Act so as to include: "In addition to projects undertaken under subsection (a) the (HHFA) Administrator shall undertake a program of research designed to achieve a technological breakthrough in the development of new kinds of public intraurban transportation systems which can transport persons in metropolitan areas from place to place within such areas quickly, safely, and economically, without polluting the air, and in such a way as to meet the real needs of the people and at the same time contribute to good city planning. There is authorized to be appropriated for the purposes of this subsection (c) $10 million for the fiscal year 1966, and $10 million for the fiscal year 1967. Any amount so appropriated shall remain available until expended; and any amount authorized but not appropriated for any fiscal year may be appropriated for any succeeding year."

Ill-Advised Partisanship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial from the Cincinnati Enquirer:

[From the Cincinnati Enquirer, July 20, 1965]

ILL-ADVISED PARTISANSHIP

At a time when he is depending more and more upon Republicans for support of his foreign policy, President Johnson, it seems to us, could not afford the unbecomingly partisan tone that dominated his declaration rejoicing over the passage of the voting rights bill in the House.

Mr. Johnson combined his congratulatory words with a condemnation of the House Republican leadership, which had submitted an alternative voting rights bill. This Republican measure, the President contended, "would have seriously damaged and diluted the guarantee of the right to vote for all Americans"—an assertion that is subject to serious challenge.

But Mr. Johnson went on to hail the final House approval of the administration bill as "a victory for the American Negro and the Democratic Party."

The implication is that the vote went strictly along party lines. The truth of the matter is that congressional Republicans have consistently given the administration better support on civil rights legislation than congressional Democrats, indeed, the administration's voting rights bill was even drafted in the office of Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, the Republican Senate leader, who was one of its most effective champions while it was under debate in the Senate.

Republicans were just as conspicuous in their support of the Civil Rights Act while it was under congressional consideration a year ago. Indeed, its principal architect was Ohio's Representative WILLIAM MCCULLOCH, a Republican, who now finds himself chastised by the White House for having suggested a substitute for the President's voting rights bill.

If Mr. Johnson really regards civil rights progress as a national obligation, he should spare no effort to keep it out of the partisan realm. His failure to do so in this instance not only flies in the face of the facts but weakens a civil rights coalition whose vitality it is important to maintain.

Build-Up in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to read in this morning's New York Times an editorial which shared the concern the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORD] and I have expressed for the past few weeks over the possibility of a large-scale ground war in the jungles of Vietnam.

The editorial quite correctly pointed out:

To send large numbers of American troops into the jungles to compete with the Vietcong in guerrilla combat would surely mean heavy losses, with doubtful prospect of discouragement to the enemy. A more promising strategy—and one more likely to hold down the toll in American lives—is that of utilizing overwhelming superiority in air and seapower to retain defensible areas along the coast.

The editorial went on to say:

Herein, of course, lies another danger, probably the most serious of all. As the American land force commitment in Vietnam increases, so does the likelihood of Communist military pressure in one or another part of the world where the United States is equally committed—and with better reason. If the United States does become enmeshed in this major land war in southeast Asia, the temptation is obvious to Communist China to exert pressure in Korea, and to the Soviet Union to do the same in Berlin—two tinderbox areas where the American commitment is even deeper than in Vietnam, and the American interest more vital.

Mr. Speaker, so that my colleagues who may have missed this highly significant editorial in the New York Times may have an opportunity to digest its contents, under unanimous consent, I ask that the editorial, entitled, "Build-Up in Vietnam," be placed in the RECORD at this point.

The editorial referred to follows:

[From the New York Times, July 21, 1965]

BUILD-UP IN VIETNAM

The most recent visit of Secretary of Defense McNamara and Ambassador-designate Lodge to Vietnam has come at a time when the Vietnamese war appears to be escalating to the proportions of a different and more sinister Korea. It comes, too, after both President Johnson and Mr. McNamara have warned the Nation that the limited reserve call-up, extension of enlistments, and increased draft calls might be necessary.

Plainly, the visit marks the failure of one policy and the substitution of another. Until now, the policy the United States has been following in Vietnam was based upon a plan evolved by Gen. Maxwell Taylor, who, when he was chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, vigorously opposed large commitment of American combat units to the Asiatic continent.

It is now clear that President Johnson is formulating a Vietnamese policy geared to the concept of committing increasing numbers of ground troops to offensive operations against the Vietcong in the south and to severing the Vietcong supply lines to the north. Public thinking is being prepared for a build-up of American military strength

in Vietnam to something in the neighborhood of 200,000 men, and there is no certainty that even that will prove enough.

Escalation has its own perverse logic; the less effective it proves, the more insistent become the demands to do more and more. This is among the greatest of the dangers against which the United States must guard as it starts down an increasingly perilous path in Asia. The bombing of Communist supply lines in North Vietnam has obviously failed to destroy the combat capabilities of the Vietcong—so now demands are heard for bombing Hanoi and Haiphong and thus vastly increasing the threat of direct intervention by Peiping and Moscow.

It is obviously futile to bemoan the past miscalculations that have contributed to making the present options so somber; the immediate problem is to make sure that new investment in men and materiel is made on terms that offer maximum hope for effectiveness at minimum cost in casualties and minimum risk of extending the war.

To send large numbers of American troops into the jungles to compete with the Vietcong in guerrilla combat would surely mean heavy losses, with doubtful prospect of discouragement to the enemy. A more promising strategy—and one more likely to hold down the toll in American lives—is that of utilizing overwhelming superiority in air and sea power to retain defensible areas along the coast.

The shakiness of the Government of Saigon and the terrible strain the long conflict has put upon the Vietnamese people complicate the difficulties; but they make even more urgent the broad endeavor this country has initiated to develop programs for raising economic standards in Vietnam and southeast Asia.

In the United States, now facing—as in the Berlin crisis—a limited mobilization, there must be immediate attention by Congress and the Pentagon to the serious personnel and materiel deficiencies, not only of the regular services but also of the National Guard and Reserves. The combat effectiveness and readiness of the Armed Forces and their reserves have been impaired for many reasons, including long overstrain and stretching available forces too thinly to cover too many commitments.

Herein, of course, lies another danger, probably the most serious of all. As the American land force commitment in Vietnam increases, so does the likelihood of Communist military pressure in one or another part of the world where the United States is equally committed—and with better reason. If the United States does become enmeshed in this major land war in southeast Asia, the temptation is obvious to Communist China to exert pressure in Korea, and to the Soviet Union to do the same in Berlin—two tinderbox areas where the American commitment is even deeper than in Vietnam, and the American interest more vital.

The Big Thicket

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, there follows a letter from a constituent of mine who requested that her ideas on the Big Thicket be called to the attention of the House of Representatives:

LA MARQUE, TEX.,
July 6, 1965.

Mr. CLARK W. THOMPSON,
House of Representatives,
Austin, Tex.

DEAR SIR: I am writing you and the entire House of Representatives about a problem that concerns many human lives, "the Big Thicket."

People are walking in there every day and are never seen again. Every day I read where they are draining out sand pits where one child drowned, or convicting a man who raped one small girl. This isn't a sandpit or a madman. This is much worse than either.

Have you any idea of the bodies that would be found in that overgrowth? Of the people who starved, were attacked by wild animals while lost, or perhaps even murdered in those woods. Have you thought of the families of those who disappeared into that trap—and that is what it is.

It may be a tourist attraction, but it is also a tourist trap. If the State of Texas needs tourist attractions that bad, let them build another "Six Flags." But for the sake of every man, woman, and child who travel the roads through that trap, please ask for something to be done, besides putting up signs. Signs do no good.

I would sincerely appreciate it if you could possibly in some way have this letter or my ideas shown or told to the entire House, in fact, I dare you.

Sincerely yours,

MRS. DAVID J. SMITH.

Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 13, 1965

The House had under consideration the conference report on the bill (S. 559) to regulate the labeling of cigarettes, and for other purposes.

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I rise to oppose the adoption of the conference report on S. 559, the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act, because I believe it is an ineffective approach to a most serious problem, and because I feel it will serve to prevent any other effective approach from being pursued either at the Federal, State, or local level.

More than 18 months ago, the Surgeon General of the United States and his Advisory Committee on Smoking and Health unanimously concluded that "Cigarette smoking is a health hazard of sufficient importance in the United States to warrant appropriate remedial action."

From this unanimous conclusion, that a serious health hazard is posed by cigarette smoking, arises the responsibility of Congress to take prompt and effective action to warn the American people of the dangers involved.

The health hazard primarily involves two groups: adults who have already acquired the habit of smoking and now find it extremely difficult to withdraw, and our young people who have not yet succumbed to the habit and who thus may be more easily deterred from taking it up in the first place.

However, statistics show that more than 4,000 young men and women in the United States start smoking every day—so this is the group in which we are vitally concerned, and which offers the greatest potential for success.

As background for consideration of the legislation before us, it should be noted that the Federal Trade Commission, pursuant to its statutory responsibility to protect the interests of America's consuming public, and acting in light of the clear weight of medical evidence and judgment, has issued regulations requiring smoking health hazard warnings on cigarette labels as well as in cigarette advertising.

Both the labeling and advertising warnings were set to take effect on July 1, 1965, but have been held up, in order that Congress would have an opportunity to review the entire question and take appropriate legislative action.

However, the conference report we are considering today requires only that, after January 1, 1966, cigarette packages will bear the rather innocuous and relatively inconspicuous warning: "Caution: Cigarette smoking may be hazardous to your health."

But spokesmen from the cigarette industry itself have admitted that a package warning would have little or no effect on the rate of consumption, and one advertising agency executive was even quoted as commenting, "The first thing you learn about labels in this business, is that people do not read them."

And I doubt if many Members here actually expect this label warning to have much real effect, particularly since it would be aimed at those who are already "hooked" by the cigarette habit.

As to cigarette advertising, the conference report provides that "no statement relating to smoking and health shall be required in the advertising of any cigarettes" prior to July 1, 1969—4 years from now.

In other words, the conference report which we are being asked to approve today, not only does not deal with the much more important question of a warning in advertising, it revokes the current order of the Federal Trade Commission requiring such a health hazard warning, and divests the FTC of its lawful function to protect the American consumer for 4 years, by flatly prohibiting it from requiring cigarette advertisers to refer to the well-established relationship between smoking and health.

Inherent, also, in this FTC prohibition is a clear and present threat to the integrity and independence of every Federal regulatory agency with the courage to attempt to fulfill its statutory obligations, without fear or favor, but with the public interest as its guiding principle.

In short, the conference report comes close to being a piece of special interest legislation, designed to protect—not the public health—but rather the economic health of the cigarette industry, by singling it out for special treatment by exempting this one particular industry from the supervisory jurisdiction of the appropriate regulatory authority.

If the conference report is adopted, we will have helped to undermine the basic philosophy behind the Federal regulatory system, and to have given a go-ahead signal to the lobbyists that the regulatory agencies are now open to attack and disablement by the very industries they were originally created to regulate.

On top of that, the conference report also prohibits all other Federal agencies such as the Food and Drug Administration or the U.S. Public Health Service, as well as all State and local authorities anywhere in the country, from taking similar action to require a health warning in cigarette advertising.

The net effect of this legislation, therefore, is to provide for a mild caution on cigarette packages, which would necessarily be addressed to current smokers—those men and women who already have the habit.

But with regard to our major concern—the 4,000 young people who start smoking every day, and who could still be influenced by mass media advertising—the conference report not only takes no action itself, it strips the FTC of its present authority to take such action, and, if that were not bad enough, it prevents anyone else on the Federal, State or local level from requiring an advertising warning to protect the health of the consuming public.

Thus, instead of protecting the health of the American people, this legislation would, for all practical purposes, prevent the American public, especially young people, from learning effectively about the dangers associated with cigarette smoking.

For this reason, I strongly urge this House to reject the conference report on S. 559 in the best interest of the health and future welfare of all our citizens.

Adlai Ewing Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the Springfield, Mass., Sunday Republican ran a masterful editorial on the late Hon. Adlai Ewing Stevenson, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, on Sunday, July 18. Under unanimous consent, I include this editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD:

[From the Springfield (Mass.) Republican, July 18, 1965]

ADLAI EWING STEVENSON

Adlai Ewing Stevenson was taken from humanity at a time when his extraordinary talents, energies, high purpose, and eloquence were most needed. He died at a juncture in history when his country is enmeshed in the gravest defense of freedom since the Korean war, and when the United Nations, which he helped found and for which he labored so tirelessly the past 4 years, is beset by severe crisis as well. Both his country and the U.N. needed the stable influence, the calming voice, the exquisite patience, and the composed leadership which Mr. Stevenson had unselfishly given to the world for a generation.

Mr. Stevenson was, in many respects, a tragic figure of the American political scene. He experienced many disappointments during his distinguished career, not the least of which were his two unsuccessful campaigns for the Presidency in the 1950's. He was a man who possessed a craving, and the requisite capabilities, to execute from a position of great power, but was denied this twice. Later, he sought to use his special abilities to make American foreign policy as Secretary of State, but instead he was chosen as the articulate voice to echo to the world polices formulted by other minds. This he did willingly as U.S. Ambassador to the UN, with a deftness and a sense of dedication which have had few parallels in the history of American diplomacy.

He was accorded the honor and respect of governments the world over, the small nations as well as the large, because he honored and respected them and their positions in the world order. He was honored for his unfathomable intellect, his adherence to reason and his unabashed and visionary devotion to human progress.

If Adlai Stevenson was somewhat of a failure as a politician, it was because he refused to bend to the baser elements of the political process. The mere thought of resorting to untruths and political cliches repulsed him. He would not stoop to the whims and threats of bossism, or sell out his abiding sense of high purpose for political gain. He admitted, for instance, in 1952 that Dwight Eisenhower would not only be a formidable opponent but told friends that Ike was a man who could help rebuild the Republican Party and take it away from the path of isolationism, a forign policy he despised more than he cherished the Presidency. He humbly looked upon himself with unwarranted self-doubt, and was self-crtical and uncertain about his capabilities.

Before he was nominated for the second time by his party as its standar bearer, Mr. Stevenson was warned by his political advisers that he should step aside and wait until 1960, because President Eisenhower was unbeatable in 1956. But Mr. Stevenson, while entertaining no buoyant notions of defeating Eisenhower, told his confidants that a man cannot pick his place in history, but that history picks it for him. He could not turn his back on his responsibilities to his party and his country in 1956, he said, even though he knew it meant his being relegated permanently to political oblivion.

This Nation has had few diplomatists in all its history with the manifold skills Mr. Stevenson possessed. Not only was his knowledge of foreign affairs broad and deep, but he cultivated and enjoyed harmonious diplomatic relationships with even the most hostile of governments in the world. In addition, Ambassador Stevenson brought to the realm of diplomacy a cardinal virtue, that of genuine, abiding patience, a virtue which is mandatory in an age when man holds in his very hands the power to destroy all humanity, and in a world where uncertain accommodations prevail over enduring solutions to grave problems.

Even though Adlai Stevenson was unquestionably a 20th-century figure and a dynamic spokesman for the modern world, he brought many of the virtues of the old world to our civilization. He was a diplomatist in the tradition of Castlereagh an orator and wit in the tradition of Churchill, a libertarian in the spirit of Gladstone, a philosopher in the spirit of John Locke, a visionary in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson, and a thoughtful pragmatist in the spirit of Disraeli. He was, as was the late John F. Kennedy in whose cabinet he served, a product of his age and yet a man for all ages, for like the late President, Mr. Stevenson looked upon the flow of human progress in his time as a mere stream which emptied into the ocean of history, and that man's mission was to keep that stream rich in resources and free of pollution so that future generations could use and profit from those waters as did his.

This Nation and the world will sorely miss Adlai Stevenson and we join with mankind in mourning his passing, for we have lost a fully civilized, enlightened and richly endowed statesman, who dedicated his life toward the establishment of a global society where freedom, justice, and tranquillity reigned. And while Mr. Stevenson did not live to see his dream fulfilled, those he leaves behind, in all the far corners of the earth, shall remember him as an eloquent and ardent advocate of man.

Aircargo's Bright Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, last spring Mr. J. W. Rosenthal, Chief of the Routes and Agreements, Civil Aeronautics Board, delivered a very illuminating speech on the great opportunities for expanding the role of aircargo in our transportation system. In order that my colleagues may have an opportunity to read this address, I insert it in the RECORD:

REMARKS OF J. W. ROSENTHAL, CHIEF, ROUTES AND AGREEMENTS DIVISION, CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD, BEFORE THE ASSOCIATION OF GROUP TRAVEL EXECUTIVES, PARK SHERATON HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, APRIL 8, 1965

It is a great pleasure for me to be here today. If for no other purpose, it is nice to know that there are so many able people interested in promotion of group travel. I recognize that you are not all directly involved in air transportation. However, I assume that by being here today you are expressing an interest in my field of specialization. On that premise, I intend to look a little into the future of air travel. Prediction and comment such as I intend here are uniquely personal matters, and I am sure that you will not regard what I say as reflecting any consensus of the views of the Board's staff, much less having any official status.

I will not dwell upon the coming technology or the assurance that each decade in the future will witness the revolutionary developments of the past in speed, comfort, and reliability. You all know too well, I believe, that as the midsixties have been made profit bright by the jets, the seventies will be certainly sparked by even larger and more economical aircraft. The supersonics may make the scene; and if the editors of Fortune are properly reading their crystal ball, even more far-out air, or air cushion vehicles will begin to come into use.

In short, I do not believe that we need be concerned about whether the designers and engineers can, or will produce the hardware. Nor do I believe that sources of capital for their purchase will be difficult to uncover.

However, I am concerned, and I am sure that you are too, about how we are going to go about finding enough passengers and cargo to use the equipment efficiently and profitably.

The cargo story, of course, is a most important one. In fact, by the seventies it may begin to rival passenger traffic in inter-

est to carrier management. But for the immediate future at least, the success of our air transport system is going to be judged largely on how well and how profitably it moves people.

To do this job is going to require a wholesale change in thinking. And I am not just referring to airline management. We are all going to have to dispense with, or at least modify some of our favorite shibboleths.

First of all, airline management will become less wedded to the idea that their line can prosper just by switching traffic from other carriers. Traffic control will become less, and traffic development more important. Frankly, an advertisement stressing that my jet is more powerful than yours won't add another passenger to the air travel market. A description, especially through a colored TV camera, of the scenic beauty of California or Florida, for example, is much more apt to do the trick. Accordingly, we may expect advertising to be more and more destination directed. It will seek to sell an exciting, status-satisfaction vacation, incidentally using a particular carrier. I said a status-satisfaction vacation, not a plane ride. I don't believe advertising the luxury of your service adds to the air travel market either.

Fear of the travel agent's interception of traffic will disappear, and along with it will go artificial barriers to his sales effort. The barriers will be replaced by graduated sales commissions designed to reward the agent for services rendered; lower commissions when his function is that of ticket agent or slightly more; a normal commission for customary service, and a sharply higher commission where he has succeeded in creating travel.

Sales of service on credit from all recognized credit sources will be actively promoted. After all, the other competitors for the consumer's discretionary income, the carmakers, furriers, fashion designers, and others extend ample credit. To compete successfully, so must the air travel hucksters.

Let's turn to the travel agent. In the first instance, let me say that, in my judgment, one of the most fortunate of happenstances is that the air carriers, unlike the railroads, have had their continued support and assistance. Over the past several years, I have watched this segment of our industry grow in maturity and independence of thought and action. They merit our applause. They also need our candor.

There are over 4,000 agency locations in the United States. I am told that on the average annual air sales commissions, including domestic and foreign travel, amount to only about $15,000 to $20,000. Certainly, this kind of a gross income, even throwing in other commissionable activities such as hotels and rental car reservations does not suggest this to be an outstanding business opportunity. Moreover, as the number of agencies continues to increase, there is further risk of dilution. Multiplication of small agencies adversely affects the sales potential of those agencies in a community which have both the will and the resources to go out and sell.

I do not believe that, as an industry, we can long afford this kind of nonproductive dilution. I never have. On the other hand, I do not believe that we need to place an artificial ceiling on agency locations through trade association or carrier agreements which are contrary to our national antitrust policy. This matter can be contained quickly, simply, and on a legitimate business basis.

I submit that, if IATA were to announce new rules for reduced rate travel for travel agents, the problem would be largely solved. For example, IATA could say that next year it would give travel agents a 50- rather than a 75-percent discount, and limit that discount to basic, as distinct from excursion or other promotional fares. If this were done, the torrent of interest of travel dilettantes in acquiring or operating agencies would fade to a trickle.

And even that trickle would cease, if IATA were persuaded to adopt the same free transportation program as the Board has authorized domestically. Under this program, travel agents ride free when a carrier, with the cooperation of a local chamber of commerce, hotel association, or similar group provide a specific sales orientation flight.

Now you and I know that even the most business-minded travel agent likes to travel—especially at a discount. Consequently, I do not look for any rush to adopt this proposal. But I am afraid that, without encouragement from some farsighted agents, the carriers are not about to take such steps. Nor would I want to encourage unilateral action on this matter in the face of a lack of understanding by the agents of its favorable aspects to their business future. But I am persuaded that this is the course which must be pursued if the agents are to receive the full measure of support and respect that they seek from their principals.

Let us turn now to what I regard as the most significant recent Government policy development for the achievement of the mass travel market of the future. I refer, of course, to all-inclusive tour charters. As you know, the Board last January issued a rule making proposal that supplemental air carriers be permitted to charter aircraft to travel agents for use in the sale of all-inclusive tours to the general public. Comments were due and received on February 19, and replies to such comments were filed on March 8.

A good deal of the comments were predictable but, on the other hand, many thoughtful suggestions were made. The comments will be carefully considered, and it would be hazardous at this time to predict what form a final regulation would take. However, it may be useful to discuss briefly some of the theory basic to the proposal in the light of some of the questions which have been raised about it.

As you know, the proposed rule would allow a travel agent, meeting certain qualifications and being able to post a specified performance bond, to set an all-inclusive tour covering a period of no less than 10 days and providing overnight accommodation at no less than three points each at least 50 miles from the others.

The first question I have been asked is why it is proposed to limit the tour operator to chartering a supplemental air carrier. In the first place, the question of whether additional classes of carrier should be permitted to participate in this activity is not closed. However, it is perfectly clear that the scheduled air carriers today can, and do offer discount rates for groups of such size as to be limited as a practical matter to travel agency sales. There is no reason to believe that this is not an attractive and reasonable alternative to all-inclusive tour charters for the route carriers.

Parenthetically, it is evident that the U.S.-flag carriers must find affinity group rates an attractive alternative to affinity charters; they have, as you know, largely abandoned affinity charters to the foreign-flag carriers and the supplementals during the peak summer season.

Second, I have been asked whether it would be possible, after the tour group is moved to the initial service point by the supplemental carrier, for a scheduled air carrier, such as a local service carrier, to provide service between the three tour cities? The answer is emphatically "Yes." The proposal contemplated regular air service, surface transport, or even "shanks' mare" for movement between the three points; it is the long haul to and from the start and conclusion of the tour which is the province of the supplemental.

I have been asked also whether it would be possible for a travel agent in Europe, or a foreign-flag carrier, to sell such an all-inclusive tour for a visit within the United States to a European national? I think that the answer here is equally clear—"what's good enough for our own folks isn't too good for our foreign friends." We are hopeful that the all-inclusive tour proposal will constructively assist our gold-flow problem by inducing more foreign visitors to come to the United States of America.

There are other questions which are currently the subject of consideration before the Board which it would not be appropriate for me to discuss at this time. These include the appropriateness of the proposed rate floor for the inclusive tour; the number of required stops on a tour and number of groups which can be served on an aircraft; the qualifications of the tour operator and his affiliations; the amount and type of the bond required; and similar matters of important detail.

There is, of course, in my mind a relationship between this proposal and the changes—wholesale—that I mentioned in industry attitudes. The all-inclusive tour charter program could be a crucible in which we distill the future. It will be sold, not by stressing the relative advantage of one air service over another, but by more modern marketing techniques designed to create desire for the end product. It will also be sold as a vacation "bargain" which, through its volume character, is something of greater dollar value than the price paid. It is a long time since a "See America" vacation has been a bargain relative to foreign travel. With this program coming into being, more and more Americans should be encouraged to see this country first.

The all-inclusive tour will be sold by a travel agent who, with or without associates, has a significant financial stake in the product being sold and whose prospects for profit will presumably be worth the risk. He will be an entrepreneur and entitled to the respect and profit of his position.

It is certain that rules for this service will be so circumscribed that existing recreational travel markets will not be significantly exposed to diversion. This will require its proponents to concentrate on expansion of the market. But as the national income level rises, the ability of that untraveled 70 percent to utilize these services creates an almost unlimited market potential. Accordingly, I anticipate that the European history with all-inclusive tour charters will be duplicated in the United States and that a substantial and growing new mass travel market will be created.

Moreover, this great new market for recreational travel will not become the exclusive preserve of any class of carrier; the individual thus exposed to air travel and the fun of far-away vacations will later seek less restricted opportunities using basic route services.

And, having had their fear of flying overcome by stronger stimuli, many of these individuals will become converts to air travel for other purposes. With increasing congestion on the highways, the attraction of air travel at the lower fares which will be made possible by more efficient equipment, planned high load factors, and no-frill service will serve to keep for the air media what all-inclusive tour charters have helped to start.

One last point. Of all the intangible benefits which I can see for this proposal, none is more significant than what I call the spur factor. We have the finest national air transportation system in the world. I am persuaded that it is staffed by people who are without peer in the transportation business. But there is no one whose performance cannot be stimulated to even higher levels when challenged. We look to the supplemental carrier to again be the catalyst, as it was for

all-cargo service, for coach service, for affinity charters, and for military augmentation airlift. We must find the means to assure that these carriers are able to continue their pioneering activity. But we must also recognize that the mass air market of the future must, in the end, be principally dependent upon carriers whose basic obligation is to provide route services for all the public.

We seek to restimulate the insights which strongly motivated the industry just a few short years ago. Let me quote some pregnant lines from a recognized industry leader which are as true today as when uttered 20 years ago:

"Everyone will gain when air travel is mass produced. The military folks will have a strong transport reserve without asking Congress for appropriations to support it. The public will get a cheaper fare. The airlines will have more employees and raise wages, the Government will collect more taxes and the stockholders will cut up bigger dividends.

"A 3-cent airline is more glamorous to me than all the glittering promises of jet-propelled cocktail lounges."

The designers and manufacturers are doing their part. They have produced the finest, fastest, and most efficient flying machines of our history. The challenge is to the rest of us to establish policies which will require that this equipment be so operated as to make this dream of 20 years ago a reality tomorrow, if not today.

Problems in Agriculture Are Many and Varied

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, one of the most noted writers on the problems on agricultural economics is Prof. Larry H. Simerl, extension economist, Agricultural Marketing, College of Agriculture, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

I recently asked Mr. Simerl to give me his evaluation of the problems of the American farmer and what to do about them. His answer is concise, challenging and, in my opinion, very sound and helpful. So that other Members and the public generally may have the advantage of this very excellent discussion of agricultural problems, I am presenting the text at this point:

COOPERATIVE EXTENSION SERVICE,
COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE,
Urbana, Ill., July 16, 1965.

Hon. PAUL FINDLEY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Since you are vitally concerned with pending farm legislation, I would like to offer some thoughts concerning farm programs and the people that are affected by them.

There is little that is really new in these suggestions. Two generations of Congressmen, farm leaders, college professors, and others have plowed each field several times over. If I can make any contribution, it will be toward a clarification and summary of the various problems and an outlining of the types of programs that seem to offer the best prospect of longtime success.

It would be helpful, I believe, for us to stop thinking and talking about the farm problem. Instead we should think and talk about the problems of farm people and others affected by farm legislation.

Farms do not have a problem, but farmers and other people have several problems of public concern. Following is a list of five major problems relating to farm prices and incomes in relation to people:

Problem 1: Many farm families have incomes so low as to be of concern to Congress and to a large number of other citizens.

Problem 2: Many Members of Congress and taxpayers are concerned over the high costs of present farm programs.

Problem 3: Government officials and many citizens are concerned by the conflicts of our price support and surplus disposal programs with our efforts to reduce restrictions upon and increase the volume of international trade, and to establish stronger ties with other free nations.

Problem 4: Mechanization in agriculture is reducing employment opportunities for both farm operators and hired labor. Many men who have been employed in agriculture are being forced to seek other employment, and a large majority of the young people now on farms will not be able to obtain satisfactory employment in farming.

Problem 5: Our national wage and fiscal policies puts farmers (and other businessmen, especially those in exporting industries) in a cost-price squeeze.

I. THE PROBLEMS OF LOW-FARM INCOMES

Many farm families have incomes that are so low as to be of public concern. But many other farmers have incomes that compare favorably with those of other citizens of similar talent, training and responsibility.

Speakers and writers often quote official figures showing that the average income of farmers is far below the average income of other groups. Averages, however, often are misleading. In this case they are highly misleading.

The incomes of farmers differ widely—far more than the incomes of any other major economic group in our Nation. Farmers' incomes differ greatly from one area to another, from small farms to large farms, and according to the managerial ability and the application of each farmer.

In 1963 realized net income per farm ranged from $811 in West Virginia to $27,293 in Arizona. The average for Arizona farms was 33 times that for West Virginia farms.

Some of the differences in farm incomes are related to the size of the individual farm business. The National Agricultural Advisory Commission found that 73 percent of the Nation's farm products were produced by 21½ percent of the farms. The operators of these farms had family incomes averaging $9,960 a year.

At the other extreme were 26 percent of the farmers with incomes averaging only $3,455 per family. They produced only 9 percent of the Nation's farm products.

Additional details about the relation of farmers' income to size of the farm business is shown by the following table, which is from the recent report of the National Agricultural Advisory Commission:

Proportions of farms and product sales in different classes of farms, together with average family incomes of operators, 1959—Continued

Sales per farm	Proportion of [1]—		Average family income [2]		
	Number of farms	Sales of products	From farming [3]	Off farm	Total
	Percent	*Percent*			
$40,000 or more	2.8	31.5			
$20,000 to $39,999	5.7	18.5			
$10,000 to $19,999	13.0	21.9			
$10,000 or more	21.5	71.9	$7,982	$1,978	$9,960
$5,000 to $9,999	17.6	15.4	3,451	1,567	5,018
Less than $5,000.					
Mainly farming [4]	26.1	8.9	1,938	1,517	3,455
Part time and part retirement	34.8	3.8	579	3,521	4,100
All farms	100.0	100.0			

[1] From the 1959 Census of Agriculture.
[2] From "Food and Agriculture, a Program for the 1960's," USDA, March 1962, p. 50.
[3] Includes nonmoney income from food and housing.
[4] Farms with sales of $2,500 to $4,999, plus farms with sales of $50 to $2,499 whose operators were less than 65 years old and who either worked off farm fewer than 100 days, or, with other family members, had nonfarm income less than farm sales.

But differences in farm incomes are great even on farms that are much more uniform in size. A study of a group of tenants on average and larger farmers in Illinois showed that the lowest one-third received only 14 percent of the income while the highest one-third received 55 percent. The upper third had four times as much income as the lower third. These differences were largely related to variations in application and managerial ability.

While many farm families have inadequtae incomes, agriculture as a whole has not been depressed in recent years. This is shown by the strong rise in land values. Average prices of U.S. farmland went up 6 percent in the year ended last July, and they have advanced 22 percent since 1960.

II. THE PROBLEM OF FINANCING FARM PRICE AND INCOME SUPPORTS

Costs of farm price and income supports and related programs are of concern to many Members of Congress, administration officials and taxpaying citizens. Total costs since World War II must be near $50 billion.

Costs have fluctuated around $5 billion a year in recent years. These sums do not include amounts spent for conservation, REA, farm credit, research and education, public lands used for agriculture, reclamation, school lunch programs, or interest on the part of the national debt incurred to finance farm price support programs.

Our Nation is wealthy. It can afford this expenditure, and more. But the question is whether this is the best use of the people's money.

The Federal Government has been spending more than 10 times as much for farm price support as for education.

Money for farm price and income support may be more difficult to get from the taxpayer and Congress in the future. Heretofore many of our nonfarm citizens had been born and reared on farms and understood the farmer's problems. In the future few of our citizens will have firsthand knowledge of farming and the farmer's problems. Farmers will thus face increasingly less understanding and less sympathetic legislators in Washington, and in State capitals as well. This trend will be accelerated by the recent decision of the U.S. Supreme Court requiring equal representation of all citizens in State legislatures.

III. THE PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Programs for supporting prices substantially above market values conflict with our national goals of reducing restrictions upon and increasing the volume of international trade, and of establishing strong economic and political ties with free and friendly people of other nations.

Raising prices attracts imports, and leads to demands from our producers to increase tariffs and establish other restrictions on imports. If the administration or Congress accedes to these demands, it places us in a weak bargaining position when we ask other nations to reduce, or avoid increasing, restrictions on our exports to them. Familiar examples include our restrictions on imports of dairy products, and the recent controversy over beef imports. (While cattle prices are not supported directly, they are influenced by price supports for feed grains.)

Price supports tend to make our products too costly to sell readily in other countries. When we try to counteract this by subsidizing exports we become vulnerable to charges of dumping and other unfair practices. Our vast wheat surplus disposal programs, for example, have been viewed as unfair competition by Canadians and Australians.

In another case our subsidized exports of rice greatly weakened a ruling regime in an important friendly foreign country, Thailand. The Government of that country depends upon exports of rice for revenue. When our subsidized exports of rice lowered world prices, the ruling party and the entire economy of Thailand were weakened and made susceptible to Communist takeover.

IV. THE PROBLEM OF DECREASING EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Declining employment opportunities in farming create serious problems for many farm families. Many farmers are being forced to seek other employment and most farm youth must find employment outside of farming.

Employment in farming has decreased from 10.5 million in 1940 to around 5 million. This reduction in labor requirements has been brought about by the use of larger capacity field machinery and by the mechanization of many operations formerly performed by hand.

The use of larger capacity field machinery permits one man to cultivate more land. This reduces the needs for hired labor, and encourages the merger of farms and displaces farm operators.

The mechanization of livestock operations on many farms fosters greatly increased output on these farms and correspondingly reduces the number of livestock enterprises that are needed to supply the market. One result is that many general diversified farms are being converted to cash crop production and merged with other farms to provide profitable units. Both hired workers and farm operators are displaced in this process.

Since the total employment in farming is declining quite rapidly, there are relatively few good opportunities for young men to enter farming, either as a hired worker or as a farm operator. Furthermore, the number of farm youth about to enter the labor force is much larger than the number of farmers about to retire. In 1960 there were more than twice as many boys 10 to 19 years of age living on farms as there were men 57 to 66 years of age.

Studies of this topic indicate that no more than 1 of 5 farm boys, perhaps as few as 1 in 10, can find a good opportunity in farming, either as a hired worker or a farm operator. The other 80 to 90 percent will have to seek nonfarm employment.

Many of the established farmers and farm youth who must find nonfarm employment are not qualified for the better paying positions in nonfarm business. Farmers as a group are less well educated than nonfarmers. And the youth of rural areas are not so well trained as the young people of most urban communities. This is because the schools in rural areas and small towns generally do not match those of city and suburban areas.

For more than a century there was a huge migration from farm to factory. Young men from the farms made good factory hands. They were needed to man the rapidly spreading network of industry.

In recent years, however, the number of factory jobs has been declining. Furthermore, many of the remaining jobs in factories require skills which farmers have not acquired, and do not have a good opportunity to acquire.

V. COST-PRICE SQUEEZE: WAGE AND FISCAL POLICIES

Our national wage and fiscal policies have put farmers at a serious disadvantage compared with industrial workers. These policies are: (1) to increase wage rates and other costs of labor faster than the productivity of labor increases and (2) to maintain a high level of employment by deficit spending.

Either one of these policies alone might not be so serious. But together they hit farmers with cost inflation from three sides. Prices of his products do not increase proportionately, for reasons that will be explained later.

The exact amount of increased costs for labor is subject to some debate. Many labor spokesmen, though not all, deny that labor has received excessive wage increases. This denial is, of course, to be expected. In general, however, it appears that since World War II costs of labor have increased considerably more than the productivity of labor has increased. Labor productivity, output of labor per hour, has increased around 3 percent a year in recent years. Labor costs, however, have been increased 5 or 6 percent. The difference of 2 or 3 percent is made up by increased prices for goods produced and services provided by labor.

The situation has varied from one industry to another, but that is not the important point. The overall situation is the one that affects farmers adversely.

The cost-inflationary rise of price cuts farm income in three ways:

1. Boosts in labor costs increase the costs of processing and marketing farm products. Most of these costs are subtracted from the amounts paid to farmers. This reduces the cash receipts from the sale of farm products. Farmers now receive only about 38 cents of the consumers dollar spent for food.

2. Higher costs for labor raise the prices of farm equipment and supplies. This reduces the net income of farmers. About 70 percent of the farmer's cash receipts are taken for production expenses.

3. Finally, higher labor costs raise the prices of the products and services that farm families buy. This cuts the buying power of each dollar of net income earned by farmers. It also reduces the real value of savings such as life insurance, bank deposits, Government bonds, and social security credits.

Industrial workers argue that high wages for them makes high prices for farmers. This might be true if U.S. wage earners bought all of the products of American farms. It might be true if the United States were surrounded by an iron curtain that kept out all products from other countries.

In practice, prices of most U.S. farm products are not "Made in the U.S.A." Prices of most of our farm products are made largely in international markets, or at least by international pricemaking forces. Our farmers sell their products in markets where supplies come from many countries. The American wage level is only one factor in determining the level of prices in these markets.

The United States is the world's largest exporter of farm products, and also the world's second largest importer of agricultural products. The market for our products is largely an international market.

In the fiscal year 1964, ended last June 30, the United States exported $6.1 billion worth of farm products. A large share of every major cash crop is exported. In 1963 exports represented 68 percent of the wheat sold by farmers, 53 percent of the rice, 42 percent of the soybeans (including oil), 28 percent of the corn and sorghum grains, 27 percent of the cotton, 24 percent of the tobacco, and 19 percent of the barley.

The produce of one harvested acre of every four went for export in 1963–64. Our exports represented one-fifth of the world trade in agricultural products.

Prices of U.S. farm products are also influenced by imports of agricultural products. The value of our agricultural imports was $4.1 billion in 1963–64, as we received one-sixth of the world trade in agricultural products.

Thus, while farm marketing costs and farm operating expenses are largely "Made in the U.S.A," prices of our major crops, and to a lesser extent prices of our livestock and livestock products, are based on relatively lower international values. This situation has placed all of our farmers, small and large, at a definite price disadvantage. It is a disadvantage that cannot be easily overcome with production controls or other forms of price support.

Our wage-cost inflation is an agricultural problem—but it is more. It also places producers of many industrial and manufactured products in a similarly disadvantageous position. And it is a principal cause of the troublesome drain on our gold reserves.

Money, dollars, and gold, is spent and sent wherever it can get the best deal. Dollars are spent for goods wherever prices are lowest, quality and convenience considered. Dollars are sent for investment wherever they can get the largest returns—the highest rate of interest or greatest profit.

By virtue of our wage and fiscal policies we have high costs and low profits, relative to conditions in other countries. The results are squeezes on farmers and many other businessmen, and the loss of our gold reserves.

DESIRABLE DIRECTIONS FOR FARM POLICIES

Sudden changes in national farm policies and programs are neither possible nor necessary. But some gradual changes should and will be made. I would like to list a few such changes for consideration:

1. Commodity programs should be reduced. This would restrict the benefits flowing to the larger high-income farmers, including farming corporations, who have no legitimate claim to such public aid. It would also reduce the burden on taxpayers and reduce costs of food for consumers.

2. Programs dealing with rural people—individuals, families, and communities—should be increased. Some people should be helped to develop more profitable farm businesses. Others should be helped to obtain part- or full-time nonfarm employment. This would include helping people appraise their economic alternatives, providing general educational opportunities and vocational training, and providing employment service. It should also provide some financial aid—loans and grants—to help individuals and families relocate in more advantageous areas.

3. Price support levels should be gradually adjusted downward toward international market values. This has been done for wheat—with no serious consequences. Reducing prices to or near world market values reduces the need for restrictions on international trade, gives us a more realistic picture of the value of our products and permits more efficient use of our resources.

4. Price supports should be replaced with direct payments. This has been done with wool, and to a considerable extent with wheat and feed grains. Direct payment programs are simpler to operate and provide little or no interference with market processes. Furthermore, they allow clear and easy determination of costs of any program. Finally, the flow of benefits to producers can be better controlled with direct payments than with price supports.

5. Payments to producers in connection with commodity programs should be limited to an amount that would be a moderate proportion of the income on a typical family farm. Such a limitation would reduce the burden on taxpayers and place the ordinary farm family in a stronger competitive position against the big-scale farmers and farming corporations.

6. The acreage under land diversion programs should be reduced gradually. The aim should be to reduce costs without stimulating a sudden increase in the acreage planted to major field crops.

I hope that the above comments and suggestions will be interesting and useful to someone. If anyone would like to have further explanation or discussion of any topic mentioned, I will be pleased to have the opportunity to present additional material.

Very truly yours,

L. H. SIMERL,
Extension Economist, Agricultural Marketing.

Phil Lee Retires From the North Adams Transcript

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I am certain there are many of us in this body who have had occasion to count among our blessings the many outstanding newspapers and newspapermen back home. I certainly feel the debt I owe to these institutions in my own district in Massachusetts, not only for the thorough coverage they give to local events which provides me with invaluable insights and information about my constituents, but for the return flow or coverage to my constituents about my activities here in the Congress.

I have had a number of occasions to take particular cognizance of the high order of journalism exemplified in so many of the fine community newspapers, both large and small, in my district. It has been my distinct privilege to work with the men and women who are the lifeblood of this profession, both as a reporter in my younger days, and as their Congressman in recent years.

It is therefore especially gratifying to me to take note now of the retirement of one of the foremost practitioners of the craft in the First Congressional District of Massachusetts. His career has not only been long and fruitful, but has been marked by an unusual degree of dedication and loyalty. I am speaking of my good friend and neighbor, Philip Lee, of North Adams.

Philip Lee exemplifies all the grand traditions and lofty motivations of the journalism profession. Throughout his long career, which culminated as managing editor of the North Adams Transcript, he has set a standard which few who will follow can ever match.

Phil Lee retired recently after 48 years of service to his newspaper and to his community. His devotion to both over the years survived the siren lure of more glamorous jobs in more glamorous surroundings and at far more glamorous salaries. His skills and integrity earned him the respect of all who knew him, both his professional colleagues and his many friends and neighbors whom he served so will through the pages of the Transcript.

Phil was born in North Adams. He grew up there and worked all of his life in that community—with time off for military service in two World Wars. He devoted his life to making his town a better place in which to live. And I know he has succeeded mightily.

He brought a new energy and a new degree of editorial leadership to his paper. His own publisher, Mr. James Hardman, credits Phil with almost singlehandely making the Transcript one of the best small dailies in the Commonwealth. He developed an aggressive style that was infectious and, as a result of his tutelage, Transcript reporters won five separate awards for journalism in northeastern contests last year alone.

Phil knew the business inside and out and from top to bottom as few men do these days. He worked out of virtually every slot and covered every kind of story. He was a strict grammarian and a rigid stylist—elements which are indispensable to the formation of a newspaper's character and personality. He leaves a wealthy legacy on the Transcript and, I think, a kind of challenge to those who will follow him. Whatever comes next, I know that the North Adams Transcript and this Congressman will miss the wise counsel of Philip Lee.

Under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD at this point, Mr. Speaker, a news story concerning Phil Lee. It was published in the Transcript on Saturday, July 17—Phil's last day on the job. The story was written by Jim Hardman, publisher of the Transcript, and attests to Phil's accomplishments far more authoritatively than I could:

PHILIP A. LEE, TRANSCRIPT'S MANAGING EDITOR, RETIRES; 48-YEAR CAREER

(By James A. Hardman, Jr.)

Transcript Managing Editor Philip A. Lee was at his desk this morning—as on every other morning—long before his sleepy-eyed reporters started straggling in for work around 7 a.m.

And it is a good bet that he will still be at that desk this afternoon long after the rest of his staff has left the office, its day's work done.

But when he does send the last piece of carefully edited advance news copy for Monday's paper to the printers in the composing room, he will be ending a newspaper career that began in the Transcript office 48 years ago.

For tomorrow Phil Lee—always a stickler for style, he would strike out the Phil and substitute a Mr. if he were editing this story—will begin a 2 weeks' vacation and his retirement will be effective when it ends August 1.

JOINED STAFF, 1917

He joined the Transcript staff as a cub reporter following his graduation from Drury High School in 1917, and his service to the paper—and its readers—has been continuous except for leaves of absence for military service during World Wars I and II.

In that period he has reported or directed the coverage of virtually every news event, important or routine, that has occurred in nothern Berkshire County, ranging from club meetings and personal paragraphs to murders, floods, fires, and election contests. And during that time he has worked at one time or another at virtually every news department job, including coverage of all city news beats, 2½ years as Adams reporter, stints in Williamstown and Shelburne Falls and finally 15 years as city hall reporter, covering all branches of the municipal government. Also, before he took on the full responsibility for the paper's news content when he became managing editor in 1939, he was a regular contributor to the editorial column.

Over the years, Phil Lee has won recognition in New England newspaper circles as a newspaperman of dedication and outstanding ability. He has had opportunities to transfer his talents to larger fields, but has preferred to continue to work in the city of his birth, and on the newspaper where he learned his business. As managing editor he has broken in numerous young and beginning reporters and there are men today who have won success in journalism and allied fields from Washington, D.C., to San Francisco, Calif., who will tell you that the training they received under him contributed in no small way to their success.

Phil Lee's outstanding characteristics, as viewed by those who work with him, are dedication to the craft of newspapering, a complete loyalty to the Transcript and the readers it serves, a perfectionism in regard to complete and accurate news coverage, and a deep respect for the English language and its proper usage.

ARMY SERVICE

He twice interrupted his newspaper career for service in the Army. In September 1918, he enlisted and was accepted for the Student Army Training Corps Battalion at Williams College. In 1924 he was given a direct commission as a second lieutenant in the Military Intelligence Corps of the Army Reserve and held the appointment for 10 years. After Pearl Harbor he again volunteered his services and in October 1942, was commissioned a first lieutenant and called to active duty. When he was released in April 1946, he held the rank of major. He accepted an appointment in the Army Reserves at that time and continued until he was placed on the retired list at his own request in 1955 with the rank of lieutenant colonel.

He is a member and former director of the North Adams Chamber of Commerce and a member of the New England Society of Newspaper Editors and the New England Associated Press News Executives Association.

He and Mrs. Lee, the former Edith M. Greer of this city, who reside at 41 Marion Avenue, have no specific plans for the future.

Congress Needs a Vacation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the July 21 edition

of the New York Times makes commonsense to me. The time to act on their suggestion is now. Perhaps the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress can help in this. I hope so.

CONGRESS NEEDS A VACATION

Congress is beginning to show the usual symptoms. Tempers are growing a bit short. Speculation about "when we'll get out of here" is the staple of daily small talk. The pressure rises to postpone all but the most urgent bills. This syndrome is indicative of that well-known summer ailment, adjournment fever.

It is highly contagious and makes its sufferers only mildly uncomfortable, but it is fatal to much good legislation. The remedy is one which any doctor would immediately prescribe but which Congressmen are strangely reluctant to accept.

Congress should take a regular 6-week vacation from July 31 to approximately September 15. This would enable Members to leave Washington when its weather is hottest. It would also permit those who have children to take family vacations while school is out.

The time has long since passed when service in the House and Senate was a part-time assignment. The Members recognize this themselves since they frequently stay in session throughout the year. Yet the annual drive for adjournment persists. It is an outworn ritual; it creates a specious drama and a false psychology. The time to abandon it is now.

Congress ought to take a proper summer vacation and, shortly after Labor Day, go back to work like everyone else.

Keeping Faith With the Retired Military Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, retention of qualified military personnel has become a source of great concern, particularly to members of the House Armed Services Committee. One of the most important factors involved is keeping faith with the retired military man.

For this reason I feel that all of my colleagues will be interested in the following remarks made by Robert W. Nolan of the Fleet Reserve Association:

STATEMENT OF ROBERT W. NOLAN, EDITOR OF NAVAL AFFAIRS MAGAZINE, FLEET RESERVE ASSOCIATION, BEFORE THE CABINET COMMITEE ON FEDERAL STAFF RETIREMENT SYSTEMS

Mr. Chairman, my name is Robert W. Nolan. I am the editor of Naval Affairs magazine, the magazine for career enlisted men of the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps which is the voice of the Fleet Reserve Association. The Fleet Reserve Association is an organization of more than 63,000 career enlisted personnel, active duty and retired, of the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps.

The Navy and Marine Corps have a component unique from the other armed services in that when a career man retires with less than 30 years of active duty service he does not actually retire but is transferred to the Fleet Reserve or the Fleet Marine Reserve segment of the Navy or Marine Corps and is in a retainer status subject to recall to active duty within a 24-hour period. He remains in this segment until he has completed 30 years of service when he is placed on the retired rolls. Our association takes its name from this segment of our naval forces. I explain this to clarify our status and enable you to understand the salient points of our testimony.

We feel that this distinguished committee, in reviewing Federal staff retirement systems, should be apprised of the career enlisted men's viewpoints on three prime areas concerning military retirement. They are (1) the duty of the Federal Government to keep faith with the military retirees, (2) the policy of 20-year retirement for military personnel, and (3) the fallacy of the high cost of military retirement. Allow me to discuss each of these briefly.

KEEPING FAITH WITH RETIREES

The career enlisted man is particularly concerned with the trend in the Federal Government today of executing a breach of contract in its dealings with the military retiree. The first such breach of contract was in 1958 with the abolition of the time-honored practice of basing military retired pay on current active duty pay scales. In that year Public Law 422 granted active duty personnel of our Armed Forces an average 10-percent raise in compensation. The retirees' pay was not computed on the new pay scales but rather an across-the-board 6-percent increase was given to them. In 1963, Public Law 132 completely abolished the original concept by placing military retirees' pay on a periodic cost-of-living increase based on a cumulative 3-percent rise of the Consumer Price Index. This issue was hotly debated in the U.S. House of Representatives at the time and the House Members voted in favor of recomputation of retired pay by a large majority. The Members of the Senate eliminated this provision of the bill and it was stricken completely during the conference committee of the two bodies. A feeble effort to compensate for this loss was made by the granting of a 5-percent increase in retired pay. This, despite the fact that a Department of Defense study showed a 26-percent disparity between military pay and the pay of other Federal employees had occurred between 1952 and 1963.

The loss of this historic principle has cost the retiree a 12-percent loss in retired pay since 1963, and cost him all hope of joining in the damatic rise in the standard of living of the past few years. To this 12-percent loss we must add the increase of the pending military compensation legislation plus all that come after.

In summary, this treatment is not in keeping with the moral agreements understood by each retiree at the times of his reenlistment.

This new philosophy and practice of military retired pay has resulted in six different categories of retired pay. This inequitable state will grow even worse because each time a new military pay law is enacted, it will establish another pay category for future retirees.

The second precedent that has been shattered, again breaking faith with the Nation's dedicated military, is the curtailment of medical care in retirement for the retiree and his dependents. This is a most flagrant breach of contract inasmuch as personnel of the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps paid into a Government-administered hospital fund a monthly sum of 20 cents for a period of 144 years. This fund was abolished in 1943 and these personnel were given care the same as the other services. In 1956, the Congress provided for this care to continue by placing a statutory provision in Public Law 569, the Dependent's Medical Care Act. In 1961 the Appropriations Committees, in the conference report on the military construction appropriation bill for that year, directed the Department of Defense not to program space for retired bed needs in new military hospitals. No retiree beds have been provided since that date.

Both the Department of Defense and the House Armed Services Committees held comprehensive investigations on this subject. The House subcommittee hearings included, in a detailed report (1) that 10 percent of beds programed in new military hospitals should be for retirees; (2) the Department of Defense should promptly submit to Congress legislation to resolve the military health care problem and (3) that such legislation be considered promptly by Congress.

The Department of Defense study concluded, "that there is a strong moral obligation on the part of the Government to continue to provide medical care by some means for the retired military population, including dependents".

The Secretary of Defense in recent hearings before Congress stated that a firm policy on this problem must be established. Everyone agrees this injustice must be corrected but 4 years later, the problem still exists.

These two problems are of prime importance to the military retiree. He wonders why his Government has broken faith with him after he has kept his part of bargain. This poses a most serious morale problem to the servicemen still on active duty. He is hesitant to choose a military career when he sees this shocking proof of breach of contract with those already retired.

THE POLICY OF 20-YEAR RETIREMENT

It is important to understand that early retirement in the military is a byproduct of the system designed to build a young, combat ready active force. Some who do not understand the military system make the mistake of assuming early retirement is merely a nice fringe benefit available if a man wants it. Actually, early retirement was instituted for the Government's benefit, not the individuals. The military retirement laws have always been used primarily as a tool to enhance the quality of the active duty force. This has resulted in relatively early retirements. This philosophy is not new; war has always been a young man's game.

Twenty year retirement is absolutely the very best retention tool. The services highest reenlistment rates start at the 8- to 10-year period. This is because the serviceman can look forward to a not too distant retirement. In last month's hearings on military pay legislation the Department of Defense witnesses, to a man, testified that if it were not for the draft law we could not induce a young American to voluntarily enlist for a period beyond his period of obligated service. Mr. McNamara stated that it would cost from $4 to $5 billion dollars to abolish the draft. We are confident that you could not induce these young men to make a career of the military service if you increase the retirement provisions. We admit that it would appear money could be saved if the retirement eligibility was increased. But this savings would be offset by the billions spent on the retraining of personnel costs and added benefits to induce men to make the military their career. All enlisted retired men agree that the 20-year retirement was the big factor in their decision to stay.

The cost of retiring is increasing, we admit. But the cost of foreign aid, overall defense and every other Government operation has increased proportionately since World War II. The present cost rise will taper off by 1975 when the peak of World War II retirees will have been reached. The price of military retirement is but another portion of the cost of keeping ourselves and the free world free. It is, like veterans benefits, part of the cost of war—the cold war as well as the past hot ones.

Please remember, that the Navy is in a unique position. Naval service is far more

rigorous and demanding of its personnel. Admiral McDonald, Chief of Naval Operations, in testifying before the House Armed Services Committee last month, said that 78.1 percent of enlisted men in the Navy today are married. He added, "In the past 4 years, our fleets have averaged in excess of 60 percent of their time away from home port."

A married man might be induced to serve 20 years in the Navy knowing he can then retire. I doubt if he would stay for 25 or 30 years. Early retirement is not new to the Navy. It has had a 20-year retirement plan since prior to World War I whereas the Army gained its 20-year retirement just prior to World War II. The sailor of today spends far more time away from his family than did the active duty sailor who served between the two World Wars.

THE FALLACY OF THE HIGH COST OF MILITARY RETIREMENT

It is assumed by many that the military man receives higher retired pay than that of the civil servant. The comparisons vary slightly, of course, but almost in each case the above is not true. The big difference between the two systems is that the military retiree does not have the survivors' benefits for his beneficiaries whereas the civil servant's widow receives approximately 55 percent of his annuity in the event of his demise. Unless the serviceman elects to participate in the retired serviceman's family protection plan, at substantial expense to himself, his widow receives nothing from his retirement. The military man has no equity in his retirement. If he chooses to leave the service before retirement he cannot receive an equitable portion of the retirement that the Government supposedly has built up for him. This, despite the fact that he has contributed to this retirement by working for substandard wages all through his career. If the civil servant leaves his employment at any time he can withdraw his retirement. If the military man retires and within a short period of time dies, for example in an auto accident, his retirement compensation stops.

The military retirement system does not cost more than the civil service system. Government liability to both is about the same, approximately $60 billion, including funded and unfunded portions. Also, the military system doesn't cost more in terms of numbers of individuals involved. The civil service system does not cost less because the employee contributes to his retirement. Within 3 years after his retirement, the civil servant has received back every cent that he has paid into the retirement fund. We maintain that military retired pay is "earned" pay and that the serviceman does contribute to his retired pay because the Government considers retired pay, and its costs, in establishing active duty pay scales.

Military retired costs as a percentage of the Department of Defense budget is less now than it was in the thirties and forties. It is true missiles have increased weapons costs enormously. But as a percentage of the fringe benefits costs, retired pay cost is actually below what it was in 1937. In recent years it has been increasing at only a fraction of a percentage point each year.

In closing, I wish to state that there is a lesson in the personnel actions of the last decade that should not be lost on the legislative and executive branches of the Government: the changing of benefits for personnel—even at times when done as attempts at improvement—can often have as adverse an effect on morale as the loss of them. What the serviceman, active duty and retired, wants is not just to receive his just due, but to be assured that he will continue to receive it.

I wish to thank the committee for allowing me to present the enlisted man's view. It has been a privilege for me to appear, especially so, as I know you will give our viewpoints careful consideration.

Thank you.

Egypt in Decline

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, the latest issue of Prevent World War III—No. 66, summer 1965—published by the Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc., 50 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y., contains an illuminating study of the political and economic crises which are plaguing the Nasser regime. For years, the American people have been told that Nasser and what he stands for represent the "wave of the future" in the Middle East. It was because of this assumption that some of our policymakers have persistently stressed the importance of U.S. aid to Egypt as a means of strengthening ties with a "sure winner." Recent developments show that the assumption is based on myth and that in reality the Nasser regime is in the midst of grave difficulties. Moreover, it is American aid which, in a large measure, continues to shore up this bankrupt regime. I think that all American taxpayers are entitled to know the facts and so, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the article "Egypt in Decline":

EGYPT IN DECLINE

It is assumed in some leading circles in Washington that by virtue of her internal coherence, historic role and strength of leadership, Egypt exercises an unchallenged influence among the states of the Middle East, It is on that assumption that U.S. policy continues to tread lightly in its dealings with Cairo. Whatever truth one might have found in this concept in the past, the situation in the Middle East has been rapidly changing_although this has not been reflected in State Department policy. The decline in Egypt's preeminence among the Arab States is now dramatically revealed by the economic malaise which has not only affected domestic affairs but has also gravely undermined her position vis-a-vis other Arab States.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

There are a number of basic economic facts which dramatically delineate the declining fortunes of the Egyptian economy. Some of these were revealed in a recent analysis of economic developments in the Middle East by Oded Remba, an expert on Middle East economics. (See "Special Survey," published by Near East Report, March 1965). Of 18 countries in the Near East and north Africa, Egypt ranks fourth from the bottom in terms of per capita income. According to Mr. Remba, the per capita income in Egypt is $123 on an annual basis. Though there has been a small percentage increase in the real annual per capita income since 1952, it is still below the average for the whole area. Moreover, in comparison with the Egypt of 1913, the average Egyptian is worse off today—this in spite of the grandiose projects and reforms which the Cairo government continues to trumpet.

It is true that there have been certain reforms, particularly with regard to the distribution of land. But as we pointed out in the No. 65 issue of Prevent World War III ("Nasserism Without Illusions," p. 17), land reforms have only brought a superficial change in the conditions of the Egyptian peasants. As a matter of fact, the majority of farm workers who have no land whatsoever, are relatively worse off today because of soaring prices and rising unemployment. If, on the one hand, a few thousand big landlords have been deprived of their vast estates, it is, nevertheless, a fact that the productivity of millions of subsistence farmers has not improved.

On the surface, the situation of the urban workers has somewhat progressed but, here again, the gap between the few and the many has hardly narrowed. In our previous references to this situation, we indicated that only a small percentage of the Egyptian population has truly benefited from Nasser's much advertised "socialism." According to Mr. Remba, the total of this group whose core is the government bureaucrats and army officers, lies "between 113,000 and 500,000 depending upon how broadly it is defined." When one compares these figures with the fact that the Egyptian population has increased to 28 million souls, then one can appreciate the anemic impact of Egyptian reforms.

PROMISE VERSUS PERFORMANCE

The significance of the lag between promise and performance becomes all the more appalling when it is seen that Egypt officially spends 7 percent of its gross national product on defense where England, with far greater resources, spends only 6.5 percent. Actually, no one knows how much the Egyptians spend for military purposes since the Nasser government conceals part of these expenditures in other budgetary items, such as "economic development."

The crushing burdens of military expenditures, the rising costs of maintaining Nasser's bureaucratic machine, and all sorts of prestige projects to which dictatorships by their very nature must resort as part of the public reltaions effort, have worked havoc with the Egyptian economy. Needless to say, the Egyptian masses must bear the brunt. Already in December of last year, reports from Cairo refer to the flourishing black markets in food. A dispatch in the New York Times (Dec. 9, 1964) noted that food prices in Egypt had increased by 20 percent over the last 3 years. This in itself stimulates black-markeetering while, at the same time, it increases food shortages. The Times noted that grumbling among the Egyptian masses had become more open and widespread. In this connection, the Times referred to a newspaper cartoon showing a housewife at the end of a food line quipping to a friend: "It is a good thing this is a long line. Maybe the prices will go down by the time we reach the end."

The black market has extended into all sectors of the Egyptian economy, and shortages, according to a report in the Christian Science Monitor (Dec. 11, 1964), have been accentuated by "mismanagement and corruption." In this growing corruption, the military brass seems to be playing a prominent role. This has become so blatant, the Christian Science Monitor reported, that even a Cairo Deputy to the "National Assembly" had publicly wondered about the army's so-called nonmilitary duties. The pervasive influence of the military has reached the point, according to this Egyptian, where, even when telephone communications in Cairo are disrupted, it is the army which undertakes the repair work. This same Deputy critcized the fact that high ranking officers were on the board of directors of companies. "The army," he said, "should interfere only to protect the republic." It

is rare, indeed, that such criticisms should be made public, particularly when they are directed toward Nasser's military setup. However, the fact that it did come to the surface must in itself indicate how profound the rot has eaten away at the Egyptian economy.

Last year, Egypt's balance-of-payments deficit amounted to $300 million. Her gold resources have rapidly dwindled. It is also pointed out that Egypt's short-term debts, that is loans which are due in less than a year, were "estimated by some at $225 million and by others at $600 million" (New York Times, Jan. 15, 1965).

A report by Omer Anderson (NANA, Feb. 3, 1965) disclosed that Cairo was now insolvent and that the bills were piling up while Nasser's reserves in gold and foreign currency were virtually exhausted. In this connection, Mr. Anderson wrote that about 150 factories have had to close down for lack of foreign exchange to buy raw materials and spare parts. He quoted the statement of a foreign diplomat as saying, "Nasser has got himself badly overextended. He is trying to build expensive missiles and at the same time jet aircraft; he is trying to fight a war in Yemen; and in addition to all this, he is trying to build the Aswan High Dam and to push through a lot of other expensive industrialization projects. Nasser simply is spending himself broke."

The crisis compelled the Egyptians to close the stock exchanges in Cairo and Alexandria for a few days last January. The confidence of investors in government guaranteed issues covering a number of enterprises including steel, cement, ceramics, and porcelian products, was visibly shaken. The London Times' financial editor, commenting on this unusual episode, wrote: "Egypt's financial position is known to be precarious" (Jan. 5, 1965).

ARAB REACTION

As the Egyptian ship of state begins to wobble, innumerable signs appear that some of its passengers are preparing to leave the sinking ship. This is first of all reflected in the reassertion of independent thinking on the part of a number of Arab leaders who have heretofore avoided any head-on clashes with Nasser. For example, Tunisia's President Bourguiba has bluntly challenged the Nasser policy which is based on the pursuance of political objectives by military means. It is true that in some Arab quarters there was an outcry over Bourguiba's call for a peaceful solution of differences between Israel and some of her Arab neighbors. But the denunciations hurled at President Bourguiba came, as was to be expected, from Cairo in the first place and from those regimes which are virtual satellites of the Nasser government.

On an overall basis, however, one can say that Bourguiba's views reflected the growing disenchantment with the bullying, strong-armed, imperialistic tactics of Nasser. In an interview with the French newspaper Le Monde (April 1965), Bourguiba said that "reason must prevail over sentiments and hatred" in a search for a solution of the differences between Israel and neighboring Arab States. "We must take into consideration changed worlds, have a humane sense and not let sentiments and hatred supplant reason." While Bourguiba appeals to reason and for peace, Nasser persists in his policy of belligerency. (See New York Times, June 1, 1965.)

CRUMBLING UNITY

Bourguiba's challenge is a major thrust at the wall that Nasser has so assiduously tried to build around the Arab States. However, there are other fissures in this wall. The Saudi Arabian Government, Iran, Ethiopia, and other Arab States are beginning to oppose Nasser's Diktat. This was made clear during the recent conflict between Cairo and Bonn over relations with Israel. Try as he did to stampede the Arabs into a unified front, Nasser's efforts fell wide of the mark when such states as Morocco, Libya, and Tunisia refused to carry out Nasser's wishes. What is more significant is the fact that even in those countries which are closely tied to Nasser, there is also a growing disillusionment, partially motivated by fear and by the conviction that Egypt's ambitions are far greater than her pocketbook.

Last December, for example, it was announced that Iraq and Egypt had prepared plans that would lead both countries into full political union before the end of 1966. President Arif, of Iraq, was so anxious to gain such support from Nasser since his seizure of power was engineered by the Nasserites and for this reason he is hardly regarded as a hero by the Iraqi masses. Therefore, the Iraqi President regrads these unity plans as a plan of bolstering his own position. Now, reports indicate that this unity plan excludes an economic tieup. After all, Iraq has precious oil resources which the Egyptians lack, and no matter how loyal Arif may be to his master in Cairo, he does not dare to mortgage the oil, for he knows that the opposition to his rule is profound, just as that same opposition bitterly opposes union with Egypt.

In a revealing article on this matter, the London Financial Times (February 25, 1965) reported that in the inner circles of the Iraqi military brass there is profound division "on how fast, or how far, the union with Egypt should go." Obviously, they know full well that Egypt has little to offer Iraq in the way of profitable projects. The total trade between the two countries last year amounted to a mere £2 million "and recent increases in it have been due to a political decision by both parties to pay uneconomic prices for each others exports in some cases." Thus, there is an unmistakable hesitancy in Iraq to accept the embraces of Nasser for there is a widespread realization that the bankrupt Egyptian economy requires huge injections of gold to stay afloat. It is doubtful, to say the least, whether the Iraqi masses are prepared to make the necessary sacrifices.

A few years ago, a similar union was set up between Egypt and Syria but the Syrians subsequently found out that the love affair with Egypt did far more harm than good. The Syrian economy seems to be on the upgrade today and is unburdened by the grasping ways of Cairo. True, Nasser has not given up the hope that some day he might regain what he lost in Syria, but as long as Syria's prosperity continues, it is doubtful that the Syrian people in any large numbers will allow themselves to be ensnared by Nasser's enticements.

A GOLDEN OASIS

In the crisis that Nasser faces, there has been one bright spot. This pertains to the enormous sums of money that the small state of Kuwait has turned over to Nasser. Kuwait's wealth derives from her great oil resources which bring that little state an annual revenue of at least $600 million. Kuwait has been called Nasser's golden nugget. The so-called Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development granted Egypt a loan of over $27 million. However, the Kuwait Government itself gave Egypt another loan (interest free) of another $70 million. On February 24, 1965, the New York Times reported that Kuwait, the "rich uncle" of the Arab world, "has helped bail Ghamal Abdel Nasser out of financial difficulties by providing him with $98 million in badly needed hard currency." This deal which is actually an outright cash grant, has been placed in the hands of the Egyptians without any announcement in the Egyptian press. According to the Times, observes were puzzled why Kuwait and Egypt "were so anxious to keep their transaction private."

Even though Nasser has been receiving tens of millions of dollars from Kuwait, he cannot be sure that this golden flow will continue. As a matter of fact, there are already indications that Kuwait is beginning to wonder whether it is pouring its gold into a bottomless pit. It remains to be seen if the Kuwait authorities will finally rise to the occasion and put an end to this blackmail racket. Nasser is by no means oblivious to Kuwait's reluctance to keep him solvent with blank checks. Thus, the New York Times (Jan. 15, 1965) reported that "if Kuwait should become recalcitrant, President Nasser, goaded by economic difficulties, might combine with Iraq to try to take over Kuwait." As matters now stand, it is far more convenient for Nasser to allow Kuwait to hand over these millions voluntarily. Nevertheless, the example of Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, and Morocco may finally move the Kuwaiti to put an end to this extortion game.

THE LIFEBELT

Ironically, while Nasser is desperately trying to hang on to his position as leader of the Arab world, and while he finds that position being steadily undermined by a combination of domestic crises and a growing opposition to his leadership in the Middle East, our State Department persists in treating him as though he were still the wave of the future. It is a sad fact that Nasser's economy and his military aggressions abroad could not be maintained without the tremendous economic support of the United States. For example, Egypt's food imports jumped by 46 percent between 1962 and 1963. That deficit has been largely met by American wheat shipments. The London Financial Times (Jan. 11, 1965) wrote editorially that the United States could make it quite difficult for Nasser "because over half the country's cereal needs have been supplied by American imports in recent years."

It has been estimated that since 1952, American aid to Egypt totals $1,200 million. A few months ago, Nasser expressed his appreciation for that aid by publicly telling Americans in the presence of a top Moscow commissar, that the United States could jump in the river with its aid. But somehow our State Department is always ready to find an excuse for these outbursts. Already, Phillips Talbot, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, has had long talks with Nasser and other Egyptian officials who are requesting $500 million worth of American foodstuffs for the next 3 years. To underline the importance of bailing out Mr. Nasser, a dispatch from Cairo which seems to have been inspired by our embassy there, reported in dark tones that, unless the United States comes quickly to the aid of Mr. Nasser, the Soviet Union would move in and "reap a large propaganda advantage in Cairo."

Speaking of propaganda advantages, on the very day that this dispatch was written from Cairo, the Government-controlled newspaper Al-Akhbar wrote that "the liquidation of Israel depends first and foremost on the complete liberation of various parts of the Arab world from imperialism and monopolism. Foreign military bases in Aden, Libya, and Cyprus are frontline aggressive bases serving Western imperialists." We wonder whether Mr. Talbot is interested to ascertain Egypt's "friendlier" attitude toward our country.

In this connection, we are reminded of the article written in Foreign Affairs (January 1965) by the former U.S. Ambassador to Egypt, John S. Badeau. In that article, Mr. Badeau took note of the inordinate expenditures by Egypt for military and propaganda purposes. He observed that Egypt could not afford "the role of a dominant or dominating power in the area and at the same time win its internal fight again ignorance, poverty, and backwardness."

Indeed, Mr. Badeau, who should know, conceded that it was problematical "as to

whether the Egyptian economy can permanently bear the burden." He then asked an intriguing question. "Why does the United Arab Republic insist on incurring a high bill for activities abroad when at least some of this money is desperately needed at home?" We think we can supply that answer very quickly for Mr. Badeau. It is precisely because our State Department has year after year given assurances to Nasser that no matter how blatant his aggressions, no matter how arrogant his anti-U.S. activities, he can be sure of our generosity.

EXCERPT FROM THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, MARCH 19, 1965

President Gamal Abdel Nasser has been a busy man in these past few months. He has fomented war in the Congo, waged a humiliatingly inconclusive one in Yemen, and conducted a diplomatic game with West Germany which will probably have far-reaching effects. But how well the United Arab Republic has fared in all of this frenzied personal statecraft is another matter.

It is a curious series of episodes in the history of diplomacy and it suggests that Nasser is better at devising means of annoying other nations than of helping his own.

Fortieth Anniversary of Yivo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, this year the Yivo Institute for Jewish Research celebrates its 40th anniversary. This unique institute was founded in 1925 in Vilna, Poland, as an academy for the study of all aspects of Jewish cultural life in eastern Europe. By 1939, the Yivo Institute had published important books of historical, sociological, linguistic, literary, and economic studies of eastern European Jewry. Its periodical publication, the Yivo Bleter, attracted worldwide attention, and Yivo was able to establish branch organizations in many cities throughout the world.

With the destruction of eastern European Jewry by the Nazis, Yivo's headquarters moved to New York City, where it has been located for the last 25 years. Today, Yivo conducts research into the past and present social, economic, and cultural life of Jews the world over. It is recognized as the world center for the study of the history and development of the Yiddish language and of Yiddish literature. It maintains a library of more than 300,000 volumes and a collection of over 2 million individual items documenting Jewish life. And it continues to publish and distribute studies on a myriad of Jewish subjects. This year, in connection with its 40th anniversary, Yivo plans to publish a new Yiddish-English and English-Yiddish dictionary by Uriel Weinreich and a long-awaited "Geshikhte fun der Yidisher Sprakh"—"History of the Yiddish Language"—by Maks Vaynraykh.

Mr. Speaker, I wish the Yivo Institute a hearty "mazl tov" on its 40th anniversary—may it enjoy many more productive years.

Captive Nations Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, since the end of the last war the Soviet Union has become the captor and oppressor of millions of peoples in Europe. As a matter of fact, even before the war was over some peoples in Eastern Europe, such as the Baltic peoples, had already been drawn within the Soviet network. Although both of these peoples and their sympathizers in the West had hoped that the end of the war would bring freedom for them, events took a turn sadly detrimental to democracies. Instead of succeeding in their attempt to free the tens of millions who by the end of the war were imprisoned behind the east-west line, the governments of the West witnessed the postwar enslavement of still more people such as the Czechoslovaks and Hungarians. The Soviet Government then lowered the Iron Curtain, effectively separating these captive nations, with a population close to 100 million, from the free world. But as the East German disturbances of 1953, the Polish uprisings in 1956, and the Hungarian revolt of 1956 proved, these peoples have not lost their love for freedom.

In our efforts to help these nations attain their freedom, we have done everything humanly possible, except resorting to the use of force. But as none of our efforts has brought about the desired result, we are determined to keep the issue of the captive nations alive. For the last 6 years we have been observing the Captive Nations Week with that in mind, and on this seventh observance we are resolved to mark Captive Nations Week until the last of the captive nations is freed from Communist totalitarian tyranny.

This week is Captive Nations Week, and it is a time to let the prisoners of communism know that we have not forgotten them and that we propose to do everything we can, consistent with international law, to assist in the liberation of the captive nations. And, most important, we must do all in our power to make certain that no other nations become captives of communism. I have never been able to understand, for example, how the U.S.S.R. can raise such violent protests over U.S. involvement in Vietnam when the Soviet Union itself is so heinously guilty of enslaving most of Eastern Europe.

I hope that Captive Nations Week will be observed this year by all Americans, and that it will be observed solemnly and prayerfully. I want the enslaved nations of the world to know that the American people believe each one of them will, in time, achieve independence. Already there are signs and portents that independence behind the Iron Curtain is growing. Let us encourage this growth. Let us show the world that global freedom is our objective, and not the continuance of a divided and dangerous world.

Tribute to Neil J. Curry

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, we are saddened by the passing of Neil Curry. Neil Curry was a creative genius, a man who served his fellow man in so many different capacities that it is difficult to comprehend the full extent of his accomplishments.

In but 56 years, he achieved the highest stature in his business, our community and our Nation. Neil was not only the president of his own trucking firm, one of the largest in the western United States, but he also served on the board of directors of more than 30 leading corporations. He was a past president of the American Trucking Association and held numerous other important posts within the trucking industry.

Yet this activity was only part of Neil Curry's contribution. He served as a director of the National Safety Council and as a trustee of the City of Hope Medical Center. For 4 years, Neil was president of the California Racing Commission. His work in public affairs included a long and constructive record as a supporter of the Democratic Party.

Neil Curry's life and work constitutes an outstanding example of the vigor, intelligence, and humanity which one man can bring to the work of building and strengthening our free way of life.

Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in expressing our sense of loss and bereavement upon the passing of Neil Curry and in voicing our profoundest sympathy to his widow and his family.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Senate passed five sundry bills and worked on D.C. home rule bill, agreeing to vote on passage on Thursday, July 22.

House worked on antipoverty bill.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 17054–17089

Bills Introduced: Six bills and one resolution were introduced, as follows: S. 2312–2317; and S. Res. 131.

Page 17055

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows:

S. 1588, authorizing funds for research and development in high-speed ground transportation to improve the national transportation system, with amendments (S. Rept. 497);

H.R. 6097, to make it a Federal crime to assassinate or assault the President or Vice President, with amendments (S. Rept. 498); and

H.R. 903, to add certain lands to the Kings Canyon National Park, Calif. (S. Rept. 499). Page 17055

Bills Referred: Four House-passed bills were referred to appropriate committees. Page 17054

Public Land—California: Senate passed without amendment S. 1735, limiting use of certain University of California lands donated for a marine biological research laboratory. Pages 17066–17067

Virgin Islands: H.R. 8721, providing for payment of legislative salaries and expenses by the government of the Virgin Islands, was passed without amendment and cleared for President. Pages 17067–17068

Guam: Senate passed without amendment and cleared for President H.R. 8720, providing for payment of legislative salaries and expenses by the government of Guam. Page 17068

Forests: S. 1764, authorizing acquisition of certain lands within the Uinta National Forest, Utah, by the Secretary of Agriculture, was passed with committee amendments. Pages 17101–17102

Public Lands—Maryland: Senate passed with committee amendment S. 1988, to convey to the State of Maryland certain land located on the campus of the University of Maryland. Pages 17068–17069

D.C. Home Rule: Senate worked on S. 1118, proposed D.C. Charter Act, taking the following actions on amendments before the bill was read for the third time prior to final passage:

Adopted: Committee amendment (in nature of a substitute) as amended on Tuesday, July 20; and

Rejected: By 37 yeas to 57 nays, Dominick amendment to provide for nonpartisan rather than partisan elections; by 37 yeas to 58 nays (motion to reconsider tabled), Dominick amendment to make Hatch Act applicable to Government employees in elections, political management, and political campaigns under the bill; by 20 yeas to 75 nays, Morse amendment to provide that veto power of President does not extend to legislative acts of the D.C. Council, signed by the mayor; by 29 yeas to 66 nays (motion to reconsider tabled), Lausche amendment to provide that voters in elections in the D.C. shall have reached 21 years of age rather than 18 as in the bill; by 38 yeas to 48 nays (motion to reconsider tabled), Dominick amendment providing that the formula for Federal payments to D.C. shall be subject to annual appropriation; and on division vote, Lausche amendment respecting jurisdiction of D.C. courts.

Yeas and nays on question of passage of the bill were ordered and by unanimous consent it was agreed that the vote will be taken at 11:05 a.m. Thursday, July 22, after a brief quorum call.

Pages 17089–17101, 17102–17112, 17113–17136, 17139–17144

Legislative Appropriations: Senate cleared for White House H.R. 8775, fiscal 1966 appropriations for the legislative branch, when it adopted conference report thereon and concurred in House amendment to Senate amendment No. 38 (funds to finance additional police personnel for Capitol duty during tourist season).

Pages 17136–17139

Golden Spike Monument: S. 26, authorizing establishment of the Golden Spike National Monument, Utah, was cleared for White House when Senate concurred in House amendment thereto. Pages 17138–17139

Appendix

Nation's Press Acclaims Goldberg Choice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, no appointment to a high and noble mission in my memory has met with more universal acclaim than that of Associate Justice Arthur J. Goldberg as the successor of Adlai E. Stevenson as the voice of America and of peace at the United Nations.

Justice Goldberg is a resident of the Second Congressional District of Illinois, which I have the honor to represent in this body. He and Mrs. Goldberg long have been warm and vibrant personalities in our community. Hanging on the wall of my office in the Rayburn Building is a framed photograph of Justice and Mrs. Goldberg with Rabbi and Mrs. Jacob Weinstein, of Temple KAM, on the occasion of an anniversary banquet honoring one of our country's outstanding spiritual leaders.

In the district from which I come is a strong sentiment for peace. Since the announcement of the selection of Mr. Justice Goldberg as the successor of Adlai E. Stevenson, I have heard by telegram and telephone from a fair cross section of my constituents, and the general feeling among the men and women who know the Justice as friend and neighbor is that the cause of peace on earth and understanding among the nations of the world will continue to be carried on magnificently in the finest tradition of Adlai E. Stevenson.

Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks by including the full text of David Lawrence's article in today's Washington Evening Star, as follows:

GOLDBERG APPOINTMENT HAILED

(By David Lawrence)

President Johnson made a wise choice in selecting Associate Justice Arthur J. Goldberg of the Supreme Court to become U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations to replace the late Adlai Stevenson. The President recognized the need for a man of national and international stature—someone who could carry on extemporaneous debate in the United Nations General Assembly or the Security Council and make an effective impression with his words.

Another basic reason for Johnson's decision undoubtedly was Goldberg's keen perception of the many legal questions that affect governments throughout the world today in their relations with each other.

Goldberg has spoken often before national and international law organizations here and abroad. While the United Nations has among its ambassadors from other countries men who are versed in diplomacy, some of those who have proved most effective in the past had a deep insight into international law.

Goldberg's appointment could result in a new emphasis on law in the councils of the United Nations. This would be a significant change. President Johnson said he had asked the Justice to serve because there was no more important task ahead today than the achievement of "a world where all men may live in peace with the hope of justice under the rult of law." He added:

"Committed as we are to this principle and to this purpose, it is fitting that we should ask a member of our highest court to relinquish that office to speak for America before the nations of the world."

Also, in the area of mediation and negotiation, Goldberg will bring to his new task an ability which he used successfully as a labor lawyer. Many labor lawyers naturally become masters of a kind of diplomacy in dealing with labor-management disputes which enable them in many cases to end strikes or to prevent them. They use well-balanced phrases in proposed agreements that must meet the tests of public opinion both inside and outside of the labor unions.

Goldberg's willingness to leave the Supreme Court has caused many Members of Congress to wonder why he would abandon a lifetime position for something else in Government. But there are some men who find that, while the service of a Supreme Court justice is intensely interesting, there are in critical times other fields to which duty calls them.

James F. Byrnes, for example, had served in the Senate before President Roosevelt appointed him to the Supreme Court of the United States in June 1941. But when war broke out, Byrnes was called, in October 1942, to take over the job of director of economic stabilization and then was appointed director of war mobilization in May 1943. There was talk of nominating him for Vice President in 1944 instead of Harry S. Truman. Upon becoming President, the latter appointed Byrnes as Secretary of State, a post in which he served effectively in a critical period in American history.

Goldberg, in reaching his decision to leave the Supreme Court, may just possibly have thought that, with only a few years of service in the United Nations, he could achieve a position which would entitle him to consideration for a higher office in the country. Seven years hence, it would not be at all surprising to find him active in politics if he has made a good record in the United Nations and the country has come to know him through the numerous exposures he will have on TV. It will be recalled that in 1960 Henry Cabot Lodge, while serving as Ambassador to the United Nations, was nominated for the vice-presidency by the Republican convention.

Goldberg's previous indentification with the labor movement could be an important asset. Not only was he general counsel of the United Steelworkers Union—winning the respect of many of the men on the management side of the steel industry—but he also was able in his post as Secretary of Labor in President Kennedy's cabinet to make his influence felt even further. This is a background which can be useful to him in his new post in the United Nations. For in many countries the labor problem has become more and more significant in its relation to national government policies.

On the whole, it would seem apparent that, since there was no one sufficiently outstanding on the diplomatic side to impress foreign governments, Johnson came to the conclusion that he could add to the prestige of the United States at the United Nations by selecting a man from the highest court in the land.

Mr. Speaker, I am also extending my remarks by including the following editorial from today's Washington Evening Star:

AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG

Some of the comment on the selection of Arthur J. Goldberg to succeed Adlai Stevenson as our Ambassador to the United Nations has dwelt on resemblances between the two men. And this may be justified in terms of intellect, outlook, and human sympathies. But in other respects the President could have searched far and wide without finding two more dissimilar men.

Mr. Stevenson, with all of his talents, was a rather diffident, introspective man—a man not given to aggressive self-assurance. Mr. Goldberg is cut from a different pattern. His long climb up the ladder from abject poverty as a child in Chicago instilled in him, and rightly so, a notable confidence in himself and his abilities. After his experience as a topflight labor lawyer, as a trouble-shooting Secretary of Labor, and as an "activist" member of the Supreme Court, it could hardly be otherwise. The Russian or other anti-American delegate who elects to cross verbal swords with him in the U.N. will quickly discover that he has taken on a formidable opponent. This is not to suggest that Mr. Goldberg, with his independent turn of mind, will always be in accord with every word of the fine print in American foreign policy. But his differences of opinion, if and when they arise, will be argued out within the administration. He must be in full sympathy, however, with the basic policies which our Government has been advocating in the U.N. Were it otherwise, the President would not have appointed him, nor would Mr. Goldberg have accepted the appointment.

Some wonderment has been expressed as to why the new Ambassador would give up a lifetime seat on the Supreme Court to take a post in which he will serve at the pleasure of the President. His reduced salary—$9,500 less in the ambassadorial post—is offset at least to some extent by the perquisites that go with the position. But money could not have figured importantly in the decision.

As a member of the High Court, it could hardly be said that Mr. Goldberg was cabin'd, cribb'd, and confined by the traditions of that institution. There is, however, reason to believe that he chafed under such mild restraints as his judicial status imposed upon him. Furthermore, at 56, he can reasonably look forward to a long and rewarding future. One of these rewards lies in the opportunities for service which will be open to him in this new assignment. He can be expected to serve with distinction, and the President has done well to give him the chance.

The new Ambassador and his lady will be missed in Washington. But this entire community wishes them well as they enter a new phase in their productive lives.

Adlai Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, there have been many fine tributes to Adlai Stevenson. Mr. Harry Ashmore wrote a moving tribute for the Arkansas Gazette, and the Gazette also published an excellent editorial.

I ask unanimous consent that both these items be published in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Arkansas Gazette, July 15, 1965]

THE GREAT LEGACY OF ADLAI STEVENSON

Adlai Stevenson's gifts were such that if fortune had set his hour a little differently he might have become one of those great Presidents who tower over the pages of American history.

As it was, Adlai Stevenson was just ahead of his time, just ahead of the emergence of the American people toward a new political maturity. As it was, he was twice Democratic nominee for President. It was his destiny to run for the office at a time when the American people were not yet ready to heed his prophecies or accept his great ambitions for the Nation.

Now he is dead, stricken at London without warning in the performance of his task as Ambassador to the United Nations. Behind him he leaves a rich heritage of public service to his country, and to his State, where his service as Governor brought him to national attention. He leaves a Democratic Party that grew in stature during his years as its leader, and a body of brilliantly articulated thought on national and world issues. He leaves a record of service to the cause of world peace and security which he was almost uniquely able to perform, in the United Nations, because of his enormous international prestige.

Stevenson's death shocked and grieved millions in this country and abroad. The sense of loss is especially acute for that considerable body of Americans who formed a personal following of almost unparalleled dedication. For them there will ever be the poignant memory of the opportunities that the country lost in his presidential candidacies.

Stevenson once quipped, when his arrival for a Washington speaking engagement had been delayed by a Charles de Gaulle motorcade, that "some war hero is always getting in my way." There was, of course, more than that to explain his losses, even to such a popular figure as General Eisenhower. He made his bids for the Presidency against a national mood of self-satisfaction, in a time of consolidation after two decades of change and development in Government, and after a world war. There were new realities to meet—in world communications, in nuclear warfare, in emergent communism, and in a wide swath of domestic problems ranging from economic growth to the establishing of civil rights. But there was little disposition nationally to do more than apply old formulas, with a minimum of modification. In 1956 Candidate Stevenson called for leadership to control nuclear testing, and, although a testing treaty lay only a few years away, he probably lost votes in his appeal. He sought national action in many other areas, domestic and foreign, but the national mood was not ready for it, even though the cauldron of civil rights denial was beginning to seethe and even though the Nation was getting a recession about every third year. Stevenson himself summed it up in the 1956 Democratic Convention when he said that the country was "stalled—stalled in the middle of the road." The assault on the metaphor of the middle way was itself poor politics, but here again there was prophetic meaning in what he had to say. In the fifties the Nation was in a mood for resting, but rest was never Stevenson's way.

There may be some question in history whether Adlai Stevenson left his greater impression upon his time in his work in the United Nations or in his two candidacies for President. He was one of the figures at San Francisco who helped bring the U.N. into existence, and, beginning in 1961, for more than 4 years he represented the United States as its U.N. Ambassador. These were years of stress and strain that never eroded his confidence and belief in the United Nations as an indispensable agency.

In Arkansas only a little more than a month ago, Stevenson made, at Hot Springs, one of his last assessments on the U.N. and its place in this apprehensive world: "The simple truth is that as long as the world is in crisis, the U.N. will be in crisis. * * * It has always been my hope that the United Nations over the years would find ways of being increasingly useful to the world, that it would have a steady growth, and that gradually the whole of the U.N. would become greater than the sum of its parts. This I think has pretty much happened. And much more will happen because this shrinking world, enveloped in the nuclear shadow, cannot get along without it."

These are words of hope and reassurance offered at a time when they are needed, and all of us may hope that they bear the prescience of what he said in other forums, on other issues, in earlier years.

It is our own appraisal that Stevenson's largest achievements were in the influence he wrought on American thinking, in his campaigns and in between. He brought to the presidential campaign scene a rare dignity and sense of fairness, along with a Lincolnesque sense of humor. He would not demean himself nor his principles in the quest for office. Even in races that he was inexorably destined to lose, given the times and the popularity of his opponent, he helped to wear away the American distrust of intellectual excellence, a distrust that is one of our painful sources of national immaturity. On the great issues themselves, he applied a perspective and eloquence that have fashioned American thought and given the Democratic Party stars to steer by. He was a powerful force in shaping fresh ideas that are bringing national achievement now, not long after those memorable years when he stumped the country "talking sense to the American people." What he did and said in those years remains Adlai Stevenson's greatest bequest to the United States and the American Nation, which he loved and served to the end.

[From the Arkansas Gazette, July 15, 1965]

FRIEND RECALLS WIT, IMAGEMAKING, THINGS HE WOULDN'T DO IN 1956 RACE

(NOTE.—Harry S. Ashmore, staff director of Adlai E. Stevenson's 1956 presidential campaign and a close personal associate of his for years, wrote this appreciation of Mr. Stevenson at the request of the Gazette. Ashmore took leave from his job as executive editor of the Gazette to work in the 1956 campaign. He is now on the staff of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, Calif., and is special projects director for Encylopaedia Britannica.)

(By Harry S. Ashmore)

They will, of course, remember Adlai Stevenson's wit.

It became his trademark and there are those who say it cost him the Presidency.

I suppose it is true that his humor was out of phase with his times. It had substance, and relevance, and he had to direct it to audiences conditioned on one side by the banalities of television and on the other by brittle sophisticates who demanded blood as the price of laughter.

Adlai was without cruelty and so, more often than not, the joke was on himself. And somehow his gaiety was touched by the melancholy that often darkened his serious passages; he could never divorce his delight in the antic quality of the human condition from his abiding compassion. On the occasion of his first great defeat, he reached into his endless store of Lincoln apochrypha to quote a little boy who said he was too old to cry and couldn't laugh because it hurt too much.

His critics embroidered his natural self-depreciation into the Hamlet legend and said the American people could never trust a man so beset by indecision. The contrast was marked, certainly, when he went forth to campaign against a confidently smiling symbol of certitude and pedestrian virtue. I remember riding behind his open campaign car with James Reston of the New York Times, who pointed out the contrast between Adlai's diffident wave and Ike's spread arms flung overhead in V for victory. "The difference can beat him," Scotty said, and maybe it did. There was, God knows, a mighty effort to change the image. Professionals from Madison Avenue and volunteers from Hollywood and Broadway and the upper reaches of television flocked in to plead with him to watch his timing, take his laughs and project for the cameras. City ward heelers and county bosses gave him instruction in hand shaking, bagel eating, and the proper tilt of a cowboy's Stetson. He asked for advice on these matters and he may even have listened to it.

Once when we were whistlestopping down the spine of Florida in the 1956 primary, he turned to me as we drove out of a little town and asked how he had done. "Well," I said, "it wasn't bad. But when you are shaking hands in a supermarket and a little girl in a starched dress steps out of the crowd and hands you a stuffed alligator, what you say is, 'Thanks very much, I've always wanted one of these for the mantlepiece at Libertyville.' What you don't say is what you did say, 'For Christ's sake, what's this?' " He was delighted and recounted our conversation at the next stop—and probably lost a hundred votes to Estes Kefauver, who was born knowing how to react to an out-thrust alligator.

Yes, we all tried but the image endured, about as I first saw it in Springfield, Ill., when the brilliant young Chicago lawyer came out of nowhere to the Governor's office. He never did learn to put a hat on right, not even when his ambassadorial duties required him to escort the dowager Queen of England.

I think it was this delighted appreciation of the preposterous quality of the presidential campaign that sustained him through those interminable ordeals, when physical exhaustion was compounded by the unspoken certainty that we were losing. Yet he took his obligations with dead seriousness and he did in fact talk sense to the American people. It is my own view that he probably went down, if I were to ascribe a single cause, because he told the people hard truths his opponent pretended did not exist and his listeners did not want to hear.

Yet, my sharpest memories today are of things he did not do—of times when those

bright, blue eyes grew hard as he glared stubbornly across that marvelously twisted nose.

I think of him up in Minnesota, at bay before a circle of Corn Belt politicians led by HUMBERT HUMPHREY. He was through, they argued, unless he came out without qualifications for farm price supports at 100 percent of parity. He wouldn't do it, Adlai said—he grew corn himself on his farm in Illinois and he knew the price-support program wasn't working and he'd be damned if he would endorse something that simply didn't make any sense. And he didn't. And Estes Kefauver took Minnesota in the first critical primary of the second campaign. I remember him in Oregon, refusing to support the demand for punitive action against the Southern States in the mounting segregation crisis, and in San Francisco and Los Angeles standing by his moderate statement in the face of hysterical pressures from Negro and liberal white supporters. And then, of course, going to Little Rock in his first southern campaign appearance to warn bluntly that there could be no compromise on full, and immediate civil rights for the Negro citizens of the Old Confederacy.

I remember quiet moods of introspection, when he talked out loud about his inner doubts and fears. One of these came at the time when there was a great backing and filling by speculative political writers over his appointment by President Kennedy as Ambassador to the United Nations.

"The point is that Jack Kennedy is going to make his own foreign policy, as he should, and there simply isn't enough in his record to indicate how much of it I might agree with," he said. "And yet, if I accept this appointment I am committed to support him this side of treason or madness. There is no way for a man as prominent as I am to quietly step down. If I were to resign, no matter the excuse, it would be a signal of a major break over U.S. policy."

The time came, at the Bay of Pigs, when he had to measure his loyalty in terms of the deepest personal humiliation. It has not been much better in these last days, when it was his daily duty to go forth to the United Nations and defend American policy in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

I last saw him a little over a month ago in New York, at breakfast in the elegant ambassadorial quarters which his presence somehow reduced to genteel comfort. It was, he said, the roughest season he had known in the United Nations. His daily duels with the Russians over Vietnam were compounded by the onslaught of former allies who had been shocked by the return of U.S. Marines to the Caribbean.

BIG BULLY WEARING TEX HAT: THEN A GRIN

"The issues are hard and sharp enough," he said. "But now there is an added emotional dimension. We are playing the game of symbols and we are cast as the big bully wearing a Texas hat. It's all forensic, without real substance, like an endless courtroom argument. Well, anyway, I'm turning out to be a pretty good lawyer."

Then the famous grin.

"But I'd better not say that or somebody will suggest that I go back to private practice."

If it was rough inside the U.N., it may have been rougher outside. In the Assembly and the Council he faced old, familiar adversaries. Outside the hall he was caught up in the tide of bitter, unreasoning criticism directed at policy he did not make but was bound to conscience to support.

And it was the more passionate of his old admirers from the intellectual community who turned on him now with the special fury reserved for the presumed apostate. I am sure this drumfire of simplistic moralism wounded him but he had endured it before when he matched his soaring gift for words with his politician's genius for compromise.

I left him deeply concerned but not unhopeful. The main thing, he said, was to find a channel for negotiation. He was on duty when he died in London, a city that became him.

The verdict may be that it was not only his wit but his psyche that was out of phrase with the times. He remained a gentleman in the face of a declining political market for civility. He considered courage a virtue to be practiced, not talked about; loyalty a matter of course, not of complaint.

Patriotism, he once told the American Legion, can be the last refuge of scoundrels. It also can be, as it was for Adlai Stevenson, a shining mantle.

Good—or Bad—Neighbor Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, one of our most highly esteemed observers of the national scene is Raymond Moley. He has distinguished himself in many fields including government and journalism. His column in Newsweek magazine is read by millions each week.

A column by Mr. Moley which appeared in the July 11, 1965, edition of the Los Angeles Times is a particularly cogent commentary on the current farm labor problem—emphasizing the effects of administration errors of commission and omission on relations with our Mexican neighbors.

The full text of the column by Mr. Moley entitled, "Braceros Formed a Free Peace Corps" follows:

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, July 11, 1965]

BRACEROS FORMED A FREE PEACE CORPS

(By Raymond Moley)

The denial of the help of bracero labor—Mexican workers—to California's great agricultural industry threatens critically serious consequences to the State. But there are problems in human relationships involved which are moving and internationally significant.

I have a letter from a friend in Texas who has given his time and substance for several years to the improvement of the relations between the citizens of his State and their Mexican neighbors. He is Neville G. Penrose, of Fort Worth.

He says that the termination of Public Law 78, known as the Bracero Act, has not only greatly injured the economy of his State but has ended what he calls "a natural peace corps which costs us nothing."

LONG-ESTABLISHED TRADITION

Up to the time of the termination of the law permitting Mexicans to spend a part of each year working in American agriculture, "the going and coming of Mexican labor was just as traditional, but possibly not so romantic, as the mysterious visits of the swallows of Capistrano.

"The seasonal flow of this class of labor has through many, many years been just as normal and as natural as the flight of ducks and geese which fly South in the fall and return in the spring."

Penrose says further: "The feeling between American citizens and Mexican citizens has never been as friendly as now. I have always felt that the braceros had a lot to do with this fine relationship."

AIDED NATION'S RELATIONS

"In their coming and going they generated the finest and most valuable public relations by returning to their homes in the humble little villages throughout Mexico—at the grassroots, man-to-man—telling their friends and neighbors just what happened to them on their trips to Texas and other States, telling them what kind of people we were, what we did, what we said, how we live. Also, they would tell what they made in the States and how they earned it.

"Not infrequently the bracero brought back, besides his pocketful of pesos, gifts to his family and neighbors, little trinkets to remind them of the United States."

Penrose also recalled the immense economic advantage of labor imported from Mexico in the early years before the flow of European immigrants through Ellis Island. These people did the pick-and-shovel work on the railroads, the highways, and building construction in new and growing cities.

NEED GROWING LESS

Because of mechanization in the United States, the need for farm labor has decreased in recent years. But more of this kind of work is now to be found in Mexico, where a considerable number of American growers have established large farms. In 1960, 450,000 braceros came up from Mexico, while in 1964 there were 182,000. But they were essential to the gathering of the crops in Texas and the Southwest.

This year there was tragedy for many of these people when they sought to return and found the way barred. Many were illiterate and had no radios. They did not know of the exclusion until they reached the border. So they had to return home, many on foot, with no money to help them care for their families in the year to come.

This has been brought about by a regime in Washington which makes loud noises about the necessity of winning the good will of foreign peoples by pouring out billions in aid to nations in which the people themselves get precious little of what we send.

It would seem useless to talk about a good neighbor policy in the light of this treatment of our nearest neighbors south of the border.

Government Snooping and the Right of Privacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD V. LONG

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, the hearings now being held by the Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure show clearly a need for all Americans to be concerned for their right of privacy.

DRIVE recently sponsored an essay contest among members of the Teamsters Union on the subject of Government snooping. The winning essay from Missouri was written by Thomas B. Hayes of local 367, St. Louis. The essay leaves no doubt that many Americans are seriously concerned over Government actions that invade privacy.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the essay be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HERE IS MY THINKING ON INVASION OF PRIVACY

All the world hates a snooper, whether he peeks through venetian blinds as you bring home the groceries or at your deposit slip at the bank counter.

When your Government snoops into your private life, it is worse still. Because your Government, especially of late, talks big about privacy and freedom, but, alas, it is with tongue in cheek. This Government snooping is small, is low, is envious, is un-American, is treacherous, is hateful.

So speak up then, everybody, in order that "government of the people, by the people, and for the people may not perish from the earth."

Defense Procurement Practice Bypasses Private Innovator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, a very meaningful article was recently written for the monthly publication of the Western Electronic Manufacturers Association, the Westerner, by Mr. John C. Beckett, Government relations manager of the Hewlett-Packard Co.

Mr. Speaker, I submit Mr. Beckett's article in the belief that it is so timely and important that it should be read by every Member of Congress:

DEFENSE PROCUREMENT PRACTICE BYPASSES PRIVATE INNOVATOR

(By John C. Beckett)

The stress on increased competitive bidding by the Defense Department has encouraged contracting officers to avoid standard commercial catalog equipment, even though commercial equipment is often technically more advanced and less expensive. The Defense Department is not solely to blame. The GAO has repeatedly advised Government agencies to avoid brand name procurements and prepare detailed specifications on products which are already developed at private expense and available off the shelf.

Until recently, brand name or equal procurement has been considered a form of noncompetitive buying by most Government agencies. The forces of the open competitive market on a brand name product are all too often ignored in judging the competitiveness of commercial versus Government-specified products. It is common practice in Government circles to assume that the amount of competition is directly proportional to the number of bids received, regardless of the commercial market. Some of the bids may be nonresponsive or from poorly qualified firms. Nevertheless, the record looks good if there are many bidders.

In the commercial market it is not unusual for a manufacturer to take a significant lead over competition by innovating a better product for less money. Potential competition may be discouraged by the low price and great acceptance of an established product. However, the Government buyer will ignore this background and insist on a competitive picture of bidding based on prepared detail specs that fit no available commercial product and require engineering a new item. The cost of preparing the detailed specs and the lost time in procurement is never charged in the final cost tallying to the Government.

Brand name or equal procurement is not an easy buying technique, but it is the best method for buying standard commercial products that are timely and reasonably priced. This method requires careful judgment in stipulating salient features and in anticipating evaluation requirements of the "or equal" bids. The procurement agency must be technically equipped to evaluate all bids to insure that they are responsive.

Brand name or equal assumes that the commercial products offered will differ in minor respects; i.e., they are not identical. This method of procurement is described as "descriptive but not restrictive." If the procurement agency is not well staffed technically, the interpretation of "what is equal" can fall far short of the desired item. In this case the agency is better advised to go sole source than risk the confusion and protests from poor evaluation.

Bid samples are justified as an aid in evaluating commercial products. However, the same requirement of procurement agency technical competence is present with bid samples as with other techniques where products are not identical. When the procurement agency and user are widely separated, as often happens in Government procurement, the evaluation process suffers.

This problem has added to the avoidance of the privately developed product. But the fault isn't with the brand name or equal purchase technique; it's with the procedure for technical evaluation. This technical requirement is present to an even greater degree in the preparation of detailed specifications because the product described usually has not experienced the shakedown of commercial use and acceptance. Thus, the technical back-up in Government procurement can't be avoided but must be better prepared and planned.

If "brand name or equal" procurement is to maintain its respectability, some measures must be taken to assure that the "or equal" alternative is consistently and clearly defined. For example, it must be made clear that the stipulation of salient features is to emphasize requirements which "may not be obvious" and that this stipulation does not relieve the "or equal" bidder from meeting the obvious requirements of an equal product.

The first step in reestablishing commercial catalog products as a desirable purchase by Government agencies may take place in the next few weeks. The ASPR Committee will consider a proposal to place brand name or equal procurement as the first choice in the selection of a buying technique for the procurement of privately developed catalog products. Heretofore, it has not been clear that brand name and sole source procurements are acceptable methods. The built-in competitive forces to insure a fair price to the Government have not been fully recognized. This acceptability will be blessed if these proposed revisions are adopted.

Sole source procurement is recommended where an item must be identical, and licensing will be encouraged where production capacity of an identical items is in question. The use of brand name or sole source procurement technique assumes that there is either inadequate technical information or inadequate time to procure through detailed specifications. This is often the case with electronic equipment.

The private innovator has had a difficult time with Government buyers. The emphasis on price competition and the frequent assumption that the Federal Government has a monopoly on research in electronics has seriously hampered the opportunity for the independent developer and producer. Incentives are needed to invite advanced technical products. The incentive of knowing that there is a ready market is strong persuasion. It needs to be nutured and cared for. A change in the attitude of many Government agencies towards commercial products is long overdue.

Academic Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, the Arkansas Gazette on June 29 published a fine article by a former colleague the Honorable Frank P. Graham. This is such a perceptive article that I think it should be inserted in the RECORD.

The Gazette on the following day published an excellent editorial on the same subject and I commend it to the Senate.

I ask unanimous consent to insert both of these items in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Arkansas Gazette, June 29, 1965]

ARGUMENTS FOR FREEDOM ON THE COLLEGE CAMPUS

(By Frank P. Graham)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Frank P. Graham, former president of the University of North Carolina, former U.S. Senator and U.N. mediator, is a key figure in the development of the University of North Carolina into one of the three or four outstanding southern institutions of higher education. In a talk Friday at Manteo, N.C., Graham talked about academic freedom and the North Carolina law prohibiting Communists and pleaders of the fifth amendment from speaking at any State institution. Some of his remarks follow.)

The issue here is not the employment of a teacher who is a member of a party whose line automatically shifts with orders from above, contrary to the principles of academic freedom, the open forum and the American Bill of Rights. Rather, the issue is the right of a responsible faculty and student committee to invite speakers to open forums for hearing all points of view, including the extreme right, conservative, liberal, moderate, and the extreme left, all subject to cross-examination and reply. Such open forums are a part of the educational process for equipping students for understanding our own democracy and for informed grappling with the problems of the present age.

Such open forums also are of the very substance of academic freedom, our historic civil liberties, and the American Bill of Rights. The free market of ideas in the historic American view is a basic part of the American tradition of free enterprise. Gag laws repressing the freedom of assembly and speech are expressions of the totalitarian way and are contrary to the American way—explicit in our heritage of freedom and our hope for the preservation of the very civil liberties which not only gave birth to our Republic but also provide the foundations for the survival and progress of a free society in the modern world.

The "gag law" is a reflection on the intelligence of youth and the responsible freedom of students in the State's colleges and an expression of a lack of faith in the robustness of our democracy.

It is historically anomalous that the State of North Carolina, which refused to ratify the Constitution of the United States, until after its leaders, in line with Jefferson's strategy, were given assurance that at the earliest opportunity the Bill of Rights would be made a basic part of the Constitution is the very State which adopted a "gag law" in violation of the Bill of Rights. To her shame, as an educational, agricultural, industrial, and humane leader of the risen South, North Carolina now has a statute which constitutes a political interference with the responsibility of the boards of trustees of the university and the State colleges for the responsible intellectual freedom and moral autonomy of the State's educational institutions as basic parts of the human liberties of our free society.

There will be a continuing rallying of not only almost all the newspapers, the presidents and chancellors, the faculties, students, the alumni, and alumnae, not only of the State institutions, but also of the church-related colleges, as boldly expressed, for example, by Wake Forest, and Davidson, and of the privately endowed national Duke University, as eloquently voiced at Chapel Hill by president Douglas M. Knight, in moral support of the responsible freedom of all our colleges and universities.

As in the past, when basic liberties and far-visioned State undertakings were in issue, so again there will surely be organized a statewide movement of the people of North Carolina, rolling on in gathering power from the mountains to the sea, to redeem and refurbish her great name, and, in this case, to bring to an end this misrepresentative reaction against our American heritage and this violation of the American Bill of Rights, which North Carolina had a part in making one of the foundations of the greatness of a free America and, in turn, the United States had a part, under the leadership of a noble American woman, in making a part of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations.

[From the Arkansas Gazette, June 30, 1965]

SOME SAGE COUNSEL FOR THE U. OF A.

North Carolina has a well earned reputation as the most progressive of the Southern States and yet it is afflicted with one of the worst State laws constricting academic freedom. This law is under attack by North Carolina educators and newspapers, among others, and the issue is essentially the same as one that has been stirring debate in Arkansas.

The offending North Carolina statute prohibits speaking appearances by Communists or fifth amendment pleaders at any State insituation. Blessedly, Arkansas has no such statute but, on the record of University of Arkansas policy, the absence of such statutory prohibition may be of no immediate import. In the celebrated affair of the visiting Bulgarian, the use of a university facility was denied a foreign governmental attaché who had been invited by a student group to speak. The reason for denial was the visitor's membership in the Communist Party. Later the University of Arkansas, in another disputed decision, sought to block a speaking appearance by a leader of the California student protest movement. Against this background we have no doubt that the Fayetteville policy would embrace North Carolina's preclusion of fifth amendment pleaders or almost any other class of controversial speakers.

Many of us in Arkansas and elsewhere have argued the case for academic freedom, but we doubt if anyone has presented the case more clearly and eloquently than has Frank Graham, distinguished North Carolina educator, in remarks that we published yesterday in the columns across from the editorial page. Mr. Graham, former president of the University of North Carolina and former U.S. Senator, has been a key figure in bringing his university to national eminence. His credentials are the finest, and his logic is unassailable, as in this excerpt from his remarks (made in a talk at Manteo, N.C.), which we commend to the University of Arkansas president and board of trustees:

"The issue here is not the employment of a teacher who is a member of a party whose line automatically shifts with orders from above, contrary to the principles of academic freedom, the open forum, and the American Bill of Rights. Rather the issue is the right of a responsible faculty and student committee to invite speakers to open forums for hearing all points of view, including the extreme right, conservative, liberal, moderate, and the extreme left, all subject to cross-examination and reply. Such open forums are a part of the educational process for equipping students for understanding our own democracy and for informed grappling with the problems of the present age.

"Such open forums, also, are of the very substance of academic freedom, our historic civil liberties and the American Bill of Rights. The free market of ideas in this historic American view is a basic part of the American tradition of free enterprise. Gag laws repressing the freedom of assembly and speech are expressions of the totalitarian way and are contrary to the American way * * *."

The Sows, Seed, and Cement War in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, our newspapers are filled each day with stories of the fighting in Vietnam. Behind these headlines, however, is a remarkable story of progress on other fronts.

The following first-hand account by a woman who knows Vietnam well is a poignant story of what our foreign aid representatives and private American organizations are accomplishing behind the battlelines. It is a description of another war against the poverty and hunger of a people who have known little else than war.

Mrs. Werner J. Blanchard, the author of this article which appeared recently in Presbyterian Life, has just finished 2 years in the Peace Corps, where she was a volunteer teacher in the Philippines. A member of the United Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, Juliet Blanchard is a writer and world traveler.

The article follows:

THE SOWS, SEED, AND CEMENT WAR IN VIETNAM

"This war is not lost." The big, balding American pounded his fist on the rail of the pigpen. Hugging an enormous cauliflower under his arm, he munched on a handful of peanuts grown and seasoned by Vietnamese farm women.

"Pigs," he said, "that's how we'll win it. We imported 150,000, gave 2 piglets to a farmer, and a boar to each hamlet. A farmer can make 7,000 piasters a year with pigs, more than the value of his whole rice crop. And he won't stand for the Vietcong stealing 'em." The sow rolled over on her clean fat side and grunted contentedly with a Kansas drawl.

That's the seldom-told story of the war in Vietnam: a farmer will fight for his pigs. That was the reason for the Agricultural Extension Prize Award ceremony at Bien Hoa village. On the grandstand, decked with bright yellow, red-banded flags of Vietnam flapping in the warm winter sun, sat national, local, and foreign officials. Several hundred farmers and their families faced them silently while plump brown babies in shirts and no pants played on the grass.

The Minister of Rural Affairs spoke at the microphone. "I am very much moved at seeing our compatriots of all social classes gathering so numerously as such; and I am sincerely gratfeul * * *". The written English translation handed to guests continued, but the speaker's voice was lost in the roar of planes from Bien Hoa military airport. The minister waited, aware, as was his audience, that the sounds of security take precedence over all other sounds in this country.

The shooting war in Vietnam we know well. From a comfortable distance of 10,000 miles we are mildy concerned with the fate of people we scarcely know, in a country we cannot visualize, one with which before 1945 we had little trade or policical connection. We are deeply distressed at finding ourselves involved in a cause with no assurance of success, fighting alongside people who do not seem to be sure what they want, people without a clearcut conception of freedom, who lack stable institution of representative government.

In January 1965, the news seemed to indicate near collapse of the country, and I felt constrained to make my third trip to Vietnam to see for myself what civilian life under siege was like, and how Vietnamese friends and American advisers felt about the situation.

That's how I happened to be present at the agricultural fair, reading the minister's speech as he continued: "As all of us know, Vietnam is an agricultural country where 80 percent of its citizens are farmers. The Government is convinced that most of the farmers are living under the Vietcong everyday direct menace, both at the material and mental viewpoints. Consequently, the Government is confident that in oredr to defeat the Vietcong, it must conquer the rural people's feeling and consider the countryside as a base for our work of national salvation and reconstruction."

The people didn't seem much impressed by this policy statement, but they did understand the awarding of prizes. Pigs and poultry were presented to oustanding farmers by local officials and by American and Chinese (Taiwan) advisers. Bags of fertilizer, cement, insecticide, and sprayers were gifts from notables and industrialists.

On exhibit were results of crop improvement and diversification: thin, tender sugarcane, cassia, cauliflourer, corn, peanuts, onions, ginger root, and improved varieties of rice. Youngsters proudly demonstrated care of animals under a familiar green and white flag on which 4-T had replaced the 4-H which American agricultural experts have introduced around the world.

As the formalities came to an end, we drove back toward Saigon along the edge of the airport where only a few weeks before the Vietcong had launched a surprise attack, destroying half the aircraft.

"This area isn't exactly secure, is it?" I asked Vladimir Lehovich of U.S. Operations Mission (USOM, our economic-assistance program).

"Not exactly," he replied politely, exhibiting no amusement at my ignorance which assumed that civilians stayed out of Vietcong territory. I was to learn that this war looks less like a patchwork quilt than a

sieve, with fluid seeping in and out, and neither side able to strain the other entirely out of any area.

"But the Government of Vietnam has better control here than in many areas," the tall young man from New York City went on to explain, "because there are a lot of resettled refugees from the north. They are the backbone of counterinsurgency. They know what they are fighting against."

"And for," added the pig expert.

The agricultural fair and the airport together illustrate the two-pronged objectives of U.S. policy in Vietnam, and the reason for our presence there in response to requests repeated by consecutive governments: First, counterinsurgency to defeat the Communist offensive; second, nation building or the development of an economic and social structure which will improve relations between the Government of Vietnam and its citizens and eventually enable the country to be self-sufficient. Programs directed to the two objectives are not only intertwined; they are inseparable.

Before the recently stepped-up military offensive, over half of our aid was for economic and social purposes. Examples of these various kinds of assistance and of the coordination of counterinsurgency and local development work can be seen well in the province of Tay Ninh. Here nation building is going on right in the midst of Vietcong territory. The capital city of Tay Ninh is a 20-minute flight west from Saigon and lies within a few miles of the jungle headquarters of the Vietcong. Tourists do not fly to Tay Ninh these days to see the fantastic temples of the Cau Dai religious sect which combines the teachings of Buddah, Moses, Christ, and Confucius. But the airport, fortunately near the center of town, is busy with helicopters, cargo planes, and small craft which deposit their business passengers and return quickly to the relative safety of Saigon.

Affairs in the province are administered by the Province Chief, the commander of Vietnamese military forces, working closely with the representative of USOM and a team of the Military Advisory Command in Vietnam (MACV, pronounced "MacVee"). Eduardo Navarro. Filippino-American citizen, our province representative, is concerned with the welfare of the 250,000 inhabitants. As a retired colonel in the U.S. Army, he has a soldier's respect for discipline.

"What makes people fight?" he asked a group of civilians and soldiers. "What makes men go forward into danger? Quiet, peaceful people who only want to be left alone? It's either tough discipline—which these raw troops don't have—or it's strong motivation, that's what parents have for the school they build with their own hands. The Vietcong promise schools. We build them." Frankly he puts more faith in his PTA "troops" than in the Vietnamese local militia.

Mr. Navarro and the province chief are proud of over 100 "unfunded" schools which have been built without outside financing except for cement and roofing supplied by the United States.

We watched the PTA members building. Mothers in black trousers, short Chinese-style overblouses, and conical hats carried wet cement in skin buckets on a pole slung over the shoulder to fathers who laid a wall of single bricks. They smiled at us as they worked in the tropical sun. Across the field came the sound of children's voices chanting their lessons in other classrooms built with U.S. assistance. Their teachers were some of the 198 who have recently been trained. It is easier to get teachers to take training now that the pay has been raised to about $150 a year, which is considered a living wage. American assistance is also given to private schools and orphanages.

Health services include a new surgical wing at the province hospital, staffed with a team of 15 Filipino doctors, nurses, and technicians paid by the Republic of the Philippines. Malaria eradication, well on its way before 1960, has been seriously hampered by the Vietcong, but clinics stocked with U.S. pharmaceutical supplies serve the local needs.

While lunching with the province chief, Mr. Navarro received word that one of his Jeeps had been ambushed by the Vietcong, but the driver got away. "Those blank Vietcong," he exploded. "We've got to get right out there and tell the people the medical supplies on that Jeep were from their government before the Vietcong distributes them as their own good deed." He sighed, "Who will they believe?"

That's just one of the unanswered questions in this strange, mixed-up contest for the loyalties of peasants who have never been disturbed by political ideologies or the surge of nationalism, and who merely want to raise their rice and their children in peace, with as little regulation and taxation as possible. The greatest desire of these people is for land. A sound program of land reform was begun under Diem, similar to that which has been so successful in Taiwan, whereby farmers can buy the land they till over a 7-year period, and landlords receive some recompense. But this is poor competition against the Vietcong, who simply kill the landlord and tell the peasants to take the land.

The province chief seemed optimistic, nevertheless, as he explained the development program by which it is hoped to get or keep the hamlets out of Vietcong control by assuring security and helping the people achieve a life worth fighting for. This is called the new life hamlet program. It attempts to salvage something from the strategic hamlets of the Diem regime. That grandiose scheme, promoted by Ngo Din Nhu, was supposed to relocated peasants in thousands of hamlets which were defensible. But the double fences of barbed wire or crisscrossed sharpened posts, which I saw on the road to Dalat, gave no protection against the modern weapons increasingly used by the Vietcong. The local defense forces and the embryonic councils were easily infiltrated by the Vietcong, and a hamlet could be subverted at will by the simple expedient of murdering the officials, doctors, and teachers, and threatening the leaderless people with similar treatment. If they resisted, the hamlet was burned; the able-bodied men were kidnapped or "persuaded" to join the Vietcong.

Now the Vietnamese American advisers, both civilian and military, work together to build communities one by one. In the Tay Ninh area, 21 of the 109 hamlets are considered "new life" and secure. They have the beginnings of local government. Self-help projects, such as markets, roads, schools, and clinics, are encouraged by U.S. supplies of dried milk, bulgar wheat, corn meal, oil, and other items in our Public Law 480, or surplus commodity, program. An essential part of the general plan is the routing out of Vietcong agents who can only be identified by the local people.

It is a painfully slow, often discouraging process, seriously hampered by lack of trained and dependable public officials and police. The Vietcong began their offensive before 1959 by assassinating 10,000 local officials. The country has never receovered from that blow to orderly and effective government. In fact, it is easy to feel that this attempt to build a country while under attack is impossible, but the attitude of Americans on the spot is "when have we retreated from the impossible?"

From technicians, specialists, and advisers of every kind one hears, "This can be a great country—if we only had security" or "We'll be here a long time." Or, "No matter how it looks from the United States, we are laying the foundation for the future of a people." And in a chorus, "We're sticking." I didn't find one single person who wanted to come home. Certainly no one with a spark of compassion would of his own will walk out on harassed, desperate, bewildered people who have known no peace for 20 years, who fought the Japanese, fought the French, and are fighting their own people for the right to choose how they shall live.

This feeling was reflected by the wives of Americans right up to the moment they were brought home. In Saigon these women gave me a whirlwind tour of welfare institutions where they were giving service and financial aid. Mrs. William Westmoreland, wife of the commanding general of MACV, not only served personally in the hospitals, but trained hundreds of Vietnamese women in "Gray Lady" work which was an entirely new idea to them. At the Caritas Home for the Undernourished Children in a building built and equipped by the American Women's Association, Eleanor Elson Heginbotham, daughter of the pastor of the National Presbyterian Church in Washington, D.C., discussed Vietnamese needs with nurses in French. Most Americans in our agencies in Vietnam speak either French or Vietnamese. Elly's husband, Erland, is in the economic section of USOM. His parents, themselves in Government service overseas are both active Presbyterians. There are many others with similar background and motivation, and we can be proud of the kind of people who are serving in Vietnam with dedication and a buoyant goodwill. There is no Peace Corps there, for the country is considered too dangerous, but a large corps of young men in International Voluntary Service (a private church-initiated organization under Government contract) is giving valuable assistance in remote areas.

Our economic assistance to Vietnam for 10 years has been not merely anti-Communist, but rather primarily propeople, and it covers the whole spectrum of the everlasting war on poverty, disease, ignorance. Evidence is widespread: wells and water tanks, toilets and insecticides, training for doctors, teachers, police. Most recent are the beginnings of basic industries such as textiles, roofing, cement, and sericulture (the production of silk).

A war cannot be won by compassionate civilians with sows, seed, and cement. But this war cannot be won without them. The use of these kinds of weapons is too little, but it is not too late. If we could find courageous personnel and part with the funds, it could be multiplied many times. The Government of Vietnam might be persuaded to distribute land much faster, on easier terms. And the proposals, coming from many sources, that the mammoth development of the Mekong River region be rapidly stepped up might be an inducement to the nations of that region torn by strife and hatred to cooperate for their own collective interests.

But none of these possibilities can become realities until aggression by mass terror is stopped. For a long time responsible Vietnamese insisted that the only way to do this was to attack the source of control and supplies in Ho Chi Minh territory. Now this is taking place, and peaceseeking Americans are divided between enthusiastic support, violent opposition, and doubts. We face the terrible choice: by bombing we risk immediate widening of the conflict; by not bombing we risk uncontrollable spread of creeping aggression.

Avoiding arguments on strategy, senseless name calling, all-or-nothing demands, academic solutions, or facesaving devices, as Christians and responsible citizens, we want to know whether our effort is justified. If we believe that freedom is a God-given right for all men, must we not fan its flame, however weak, wherever it is possible to do so?

Being practical people, we want to know whether our cause has a chance to succeed in Vietnam. In trying to see our way clear in this situation, it would help if we had a more complete picture of the people we are fighting and working with. Granting the information we get is true, it should be balanced with less known but no less valid facts. For instance, to have some perspective on student opinion, we should know not only that students sometimes break windows in the Abraham Lincoln Library in Saigon, but that inside the library the seats are filled with students of all ages taking advantage of books, films, displays, and English classes. It is worth noting that in the traffic circle in front of that library a huge billboard showed the progress of the campaign for flood relief with the flags of 27 nations which were helping, and that the students were stopping cars as they entered the city to collect contributions for flood victims.

When we feel that we are alone in support of South Vietnam and are incurring ill will of other countries in so doing, we should know that 24 other nations, including Japan, Taiwan, Thailand, the Philippines, Korea, and Australia are assisting with supplies and personnel.

The picture of villagers sullen and unappreciative "of all we have done for them" should be accompanied by a picture of children bowing over folded arms to Americans who are supplying basic needs, and by many pictures of Americans moving freely in the back country in immediate danger of ambush, kidnaping, death by the Vietcong, but trusting the people with whom they work to protect them.

For those who claim that Vietnamese don't care about freedom, do not even know its meaning, and are not worth fighting for, I covet the friendship of just one of the uncounted Vietnamese who do care, like Vu Ngoc Dai. Dai is a Catholic whose mother was killed and whose father died during the Communist revolution in the North. He teaches economic and political science in three high schools in Saigon and was a UNESCO scholar at the University of the Philippines, where I helped him with English. He adopted me as his foster mother, and my family was suddenly enlarged by a delightful and devoted son, daughter-in-law, and two loving grandchildren—another is expected soon. In our conversations we probed the meanings of freedom, dictatorship, and communism. When Dai returned to Saigon, he refused to cooperate with the Diem regime, knowing well the risks to himself and to his family. His first question the last time he met me was, "Ma'am, are the Americans going to get out?"

"Not as long as you want us to stay," I replied.

A moment of tense silence and then, quietly, "I have escaped the Communists twice; now there is no place else to go. The Americans are our only hope. I must leave my students and go into battle."

Back at the agricultural ceremony, the country woman, with a face like tooled leather, bowed over her folded hands, thanking the officials who were presenting her with a pig in a crate. When she lifted her eyes, they were dulled by the years of struggle, disaster, and terror she had known, but she must have been clinging to a small hope—that the pig would live to grow up and be food for her family.

"It's What's Happening, Baby"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from one of my younger constituents, which I believe will be of interest to my colleagues:

JULY 5, 1965.

Representative LAURENCE J. BURTON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE BURTON: I am writing for two reasons. First, to thank you for "The American Creed" that I received at the time of my graduation, and second, to ask you if you have seen the CBS report, "It's What's Happening, Baby?" This report, I understand, was geared for kids between the ages of 16 and 22. I tuned in to this program in hopes of finding a job, Sunday, July 4, at 10:30 p.m. But to my dismay I found that Youth Corp opportunities were only open to dropouts and people who were being given second chances because of lack of money and other personal poverty reasons. I would like to know if this program was paid for by the taxpayers' hard-earned money, because if it was, I would like to protest and say that my father, although not a poverty victim or a welfare dependent, finds the way to support seven children and a wife.

I also attended the youth opportunity conference, on Wednesday, June 30, from 9 a.m. to 12 p.m., held at Weber State College. I know that all the kids that attended this conference were not dropouts, but now because of this conference wish they had quit school instead of finding determination in overcoming difficulties to attain the high school diploma. To add to my disgust, the entertainment furnished by the sponsors of this gathering were degraded delinquents dressed in skintight pants, dirty sweatshirts, and long, unkempt hair. Their actions, to me, conveyed immoral ideas and thoughts. They called themselves "The Wild Ones," and in this one area I agreed with them. Their instruments were turned on full and they screamed to get attention. People who didn't want to listen or wanted to talk had to grin and bear it until they rested. For 3 hours I listened to men tell the teenage dropout what a bright future he had in store. The high school graduate was never mentioned once and when questions were asked pertaining to the graduate, the questions were unheeded because of lack of information.

Now to get back to my previous complaint about the show, "It's What's Happening, Baby." I found this 90-minute program to be a waste of time for everyone except the slum victim or the poverty-ridden dropout. What happens to the graduate looking for work who is confronted with dropouts who are also looking for job opportunities but didn't have the incentive to stay in school and finish? How can the graduate further his education without money or the job experience he needs? Where can he go? The employment agency has plenty of jobs but these jobs are for the experienced person and not a young educated person. On this CBS report were rock-and-roll artists who had received fame since the Beatles made their debut. Among them were: Herman's Hermits, the Four Tops, the Miracles, the Supremes, Gary Lewis and the Playboys, Dave Clark Five, the Cannibals, the Headhunters, the Righteous Brothers, and Jan and Dean, just to name a few. The jerk was portrayed by dancers who seemed as though they had just received a fix or a goofball. It seemed we had reduced ourselves to the animal stage, and at one scene, the dancers were looking out of cages in a zoo and this, I feel, is just where they belong.

What are your views on the subject?

Sincerely yours,

MISS MARIECHEN NELSON.

OGDEN, UTAH.

Protecting Our Natural Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, all Americans are proud of the accomplishments of organized labor. They are proud, too, of the things labor stands for. One cause which America's trade unions have supported over the years is the protection of our natural resources.

We have reached a critical point in American history today. There is a dangerously diminishing amount of land and water available for outdoor recreation, while the demand is rapidly growing.

Last week, the United Auto Workers testified in support of the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore in a subcommittee of the other body, which approved a similar bill in the last Congress. The House of Representatives, I trust, will soon act on this legislation. I sincerely hope we can conclude action on this most worthwhile legislation in the 89th Congress.

Labor's interest in conservation is not something which happened overnight. Several important statements by leading exponents of labor on conservation have been uttered which deserve the attention of House Members.

During the White House Conference on Natural Beauty in Washington earlier this year, the UAW president, Mr. Walter P. Reuther, rose from the audience in a panel discussion on "townscaping" or "making cities better places to live in" and said things which captured the imagination of all who heard them.

Many Members have received copies of an attractive booklet called "In Pursuit of Greatness" which contains major portions of President Johnson's message to Congress on natural beauty. This handsome booklet was prepared as a public service by the United Auto Workers and contains a most thoughtful foreword by Mr. Reuther.

Labor has no special ax to grind on conservation. What organized labor does to win approval of more parks will add nothing to the paycrecks of its members. It does mean much to the great multitude of Americans who thirst for a

place to relax and partake of the beauties of nature.

For these reasons I insert Mr. Reuther's statement to the White House Conference on Natural Beauty, the AFL-CIO Executive Council statement on "Enhancing Our Living Environment," and Mr. Reuther's foreword to the booklet "In Pursuit of Greatness" in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

STATEMENT BY THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, "ENHANCING OUR LIVING ENVIRONMENT," BAL HARBOUR, FLA., MARCH 1, 1965

President Johnson's special message to Congress on natural beauty is in the mainstream of progressive American efforts throughout our history to develop our natural resources and enhance our living environment. Its stress on the beauty and wholesomeness of our surroundings gives it an essential place on the agenda of public and private actions that must be taken to realize the Great Society, since such a society must sustain the spirit as well as concern itself with the material well-being of its citizens.

The President's message has the special merit and urgency of calling for a "new conservation" concerned not with nature alone but with "the total relation between man and the world around him." Within that broad context, it comes to grips with what the President calls "the darker side" of the new technology; the threats to life, health, and enjoyment of its uncontrolled or inadequately controlled waste products; it calls for priority attention to the needs of a growing population increasingly concentrated in metropolitan areas; and it goes beyond a superficial cosmetic approach to call for the introduction of "a conscious and active concern for the values of beauty" into "all our planning, our programs, our building, and our growth."

We support the President's intent—to be implemented where necessary through specific legislative requests in the near future—to beautify our system of roads and highways, to improve and extend our network of scenic roads and parkways, and to undertake a cooperative Federal-State-local program to create a national system of trails for walking, horseback riding, and cycling. This program will serve the three-fold purpose of enhancing the beauty of our environment, rendering highway travel less monotonous and dangerous, and contributing significantly to the volume of employment.

We welcome the President's proposal for broadening the open-space program to permit grants to help city governments acquire and clear areas to create small parks, squares, pedestrian malls, and playgrounds; and we support his request for authority for a matching program for installation of outdoor lights and benches and creation of attractive cityscapes along roads and in business areas.

We strongly support the President's intention to expand our present system of parks, seashores, and recreation areas to meet the growing needs of expanding population.

We call for prompt enactment of the water pollution control bill (passed by the Senate as S. 4) to expand Federal water pollution control activities, in line with the President's recommendations.

With respect to air pollution, we call for prompt congressional action to strengthen the Clean Air Act in line with the President's recommendation that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare be given authority to investigate potential air-pollution problems before pollution occurs, and to make recommendations for prevention.

We stress the importance of the President's allocation of additional funds in the budget to assure greater knowledge and control of pesticides and his request for additional funds for the Department of Agriculture for research into a regulatory control over toxic chemicals. We favor the intent of legislation being prepared in the Department of Agriculture for tightening control over the manufacture and use of agricultural chemicals, including, the President reports, "licensing and factory inspection of manufacturers, clearly placing the burden of proof of safety on the proponent of the chemical rather than on the Government."

The AFL-CIO will cooperate with the Government and join with all concerned groups in undertaking what the President terms "the large campaign of public education which is needed to alert Americans to the danger to their natural heritage and to the need for action."

STATEMENT BY WALTER P. REUTHER AT WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON NATURAL BEAUTY, 1965

I am Walter Reuther, and I am here as president of the United Automobile Workers and also chairman of my neighborhood conservation and beautification committee. I had the privielege of hearing President Johnson's inspiring address at the University of Michigan when he called upon Americans to join in the building of the Great Society. I was most impressed when he said, "As members of that great society, we would need to be more concerned with the quality of our goals than the quantity of our goods." That is what this Conference is about.

This Conference is about how a free society, within its value system, can harness the rising star of science and technology to provide the higher and higher levels of economic abundance, but also use that abundance consistent with basic human values to satisfy both man's material needs and the needs of the human spirit.

To me, this Conference is about how we build a tomorrow in which we can have not only more bread, but also more roses. Satisfying our material needs is a very simple thing with our advanced technology, but if we stand committed almost exclusively to the expansion of man's material well-being and neglect his spiritual well-being, then I think we will fail to achieve that Great Society.

What is our basic problem? As I see it, it is summarized in the remarks you made, Mr. Chairman. You said because a sewer collapsed in Philadelphia you had an opportunity to build a garden path and you wanted to make that garden path the way garden paths should be, with flagstones and with nature. Instead of that, you got blacktop.

Why is it that we get unlimited blacktop. It is because we have limited budgets. We have limited budgets because we give lip-service to our value system, but we are not acting true to those values.

If we are to build an America in which bread and roses can be achieved in their proper balance, not in the lives of a few, but in the lives of many, then we have a practical job of raising the level of understanding of these intangible, human values that we associate with beauty.

The problem is not that we lack the know-how. We have plenty of know-how. We have plenty of resources.

Our problem is that we have not as a nation, accepted these values and prepared to commit ourselves and our resources to their achievement.

I think we have a tremendous job of public education and I hope that as a result of this conference and the great national attention that will be brought to bear upon the problem, that we can mobilize the trade unions and the churches, and the other great organizations. If we do so, public planners, architects, and other people who really determine the physical environments of our society will respond to the discipline of an aroused public understanding. I believe that this is the key to whether we can build the Great Society in which man can have both bread and roses.

"IN PURSUIT OF GREATNESS," THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE ON NATURAL BEAUTY

"To protect and restore the natural heritage of a free people."

(Foreword by Walter P. Reuther)

The American heritage of spacious skies and amber waves of grain is rapidly disappearing. In place of America the beautiful, we have a honky-tonk jungle in most American cities and in much of our countryside.

President Lyndon B. Johnson's message to Congress on natural beauty this year is a reminder that precious little time is left to save our land from becoming, as one commentator rightly warned, "God's own junkyard."

If we act quickly and with intelligence and if we commit ourselves and make a national effort equal to the dimensions of the challenge and the opportunity, we can restore America's beauty and have a heritage for future generations worthy of the children of free men.

President Johnson's challenge to beautify America embraces the total of our living environment. He has called upon us for a total national effort to preserve our forests—our primitive cathedrals—to beautify and purify our streams, to replenish and protect our wild life, to expand our park system and preserve our seashores, to enable increasing millions to share the excitement and joy of contact and communion with nature in its primitive strength and its breathtaking beauty. He urges that we work in our urban areas—our own local communities—in our very backyards if we are to make America beautiful. Seventy percent of the American people live in our great urban areas of congestion which require action bolder and broader than the traditional battle lines on conservation.

We must examine the entire suffocating problems of air and water pollution, traffic congestion, population density, urban sprawl, billboard jungles, auto junkyards, unsightly utility poles, and the woeful lack of planning which results in ugliness and a living environment that does offense to man's dignity and is unnatural in his relationship to nature.

The Great Society envisaged by President Johnson is compassionate. People must be free from the bonds of poverty. Man's spirit can then best soar to heights of greatness in a natural, wholesome environment in neighborhoods with trees, parks, playgrounds, grass, clean air, and water.

The 20th century technological revolution has given us the tools of automation and economic abundance with which we can conquer man's ancient enemies—poverty, ignorance, and disease. We can free the human family from material poverty. We must also work to create a living environment of beauty which will liberate man from the spiritual poverty of ugliness and urban light.

We have mastered the scientific, technical, and productive know-how to satisfy man's material needs. We must now make a comparable effort to master the human, social, and moral know-why essential to achieve man's higher purposes and to relate him to nature as he searches for fulfilment.

President Johnson's call to build the Great Society is a society where men are more concerned with the quality of their goals than with the quantity of their goods.

The good life is more than money in the bank, food on the table, and a roof over the head. The good life is also a place for all children to play and breathing space to live in and grow strong in body, mind, and spirit.

President Johnson's program to beautify America is filled with challenge, inspiration and excitement that should spur us all to action. It is our duty now to carry out these ideas in practical ways through social action in our communities, States, and Nation. We can make beauty flourish in our land. We can escape and conquer the ugliness in our cities. We can purity the air we breathe and the water in our lakes and streams. We can build an America where we can share the advantages of the material progress of the 20th century without the corrupting and corroding influences of neglect and indifference and public apathy which, if unchecked, will create a chrome-plated wasteland.

The hour is late.

The challenge is exicting.

The rewards are rich with opportunities for beauty and human fulfillment.

WALTER P. REUTHER.

U.N. Southeast Asian Solution Explored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, thoughtful people in the free world are exhausting the available chess moves in an effort to avoid an Asian land war. The free world thought is motivated not by fear but out of a desire to thwart aggression by peaceful means.

I would suggest that the pacifists direct some of their good intentions toward Hanoi, Peiping, and the NLF, the political entities that appear to be voiceless and tongueless on this issue. With the free world attempting to exhaust every peaceful alternative and articulating well their positions, I would think that well-meaning pacifists might well question publicly the Communist motive and sincerity.

Typical of American policy expression is the following letter received from Assistant Secretary of State Douglas MacArthur II indicating the U.N. stalemate. It may well be that article 19 denying a member a vote due to nonpayment of peacekeeping activities assessments to neutralize Communist aggression destines the U.N. for the historical scrap heap anyway:

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington.

Hon. ROBERT L. LEGGETT,
House of Representatives.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN LEGGETT: Thank you for your letter in which you request information concerning the utilization of the United Nations in the conflict in Vietnam.

There are a number of roles which the United Nations might conceivably play in the Vietnam situation, among which are the provision of peacekeeping forces, a channel for diplomatic discussions, a forum for negotiations, and a coordinator of regional economic development. It is important to assess the practicability of these roles both in conjunction with movement toward a peaceful settlement and in relation to the attitudes of Hanoi and Peiping toward U.N. involvement. The United States has attempted more than once to use United Nations machinery to help resolve various aspects of the Vietnam situation. Unfortunately, in recent months we have witnessed the contemptuous rejection by Peiping and Hanoi of any U.N. role in the Vietnam situation and of one proposal after another to move the Vietnam situation to the conference table.

In May 1964, Cambodia complained to the United Nations Security Council of South Vietnamese military incursions into Cambodian territory. At that time, the United States and the Republic of Vietnam suggested several variants of a U.N. peacekeeping body which might be established on the border. The Security Council sent a mission of three of its members (Brazil, Ivory Coast, and Morocco) to examine the border situation and make recommendations as to how these incidents could be avoided.

Hanoi and Peiping condemned even this limited United Nations initiative in southeast Asia. The Vietcong warned that they could not guarantee the safety of the Mission that would not accept its findings. South Vietnam welcomed the Mission and noted that the incidents resulted only from the Government's defensive actions against Vietcong military activities in the border area. Cambodia ultimately rejected the Mission's report and recommendations to the Security Council.

In August 1964, the United States requested a meeting of the Security Council to consider the serious situation created by the North Vietnamese torpedo boat attacks on two U.S. destroyers in international waters. In accordance with article 51 of the United Nations Charter, the United States reported the defensive measures it had taken in response to these attacks. The Council invited both North and South Vietnam to provide such information relating to this issue as they desired to make available, either by taking part in the Council's discussions or in a form they might otherwise prefer. The Republic of Vietnam expressed its readiness to offer the Security Council its full cooperation. However, the North Vietnamese maintained that the Security Council "has no right to examine the problem" and replied that any illegal decision on the U.S. complaint by the Security Council would be considered null and void by the North Vietnamese authorities.

In early April 1965, there were press reports that UN Secretary-General U Thant had offered to visit several capitals of the world to discuss the Vietnam situation. In Peiping, the official People's Daily editorialized: "Mr. Thant wants to come to China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to seek a settlement of the Vietnam question. Obviously, he is knocking at the wrong door * * * the Vietnam question has nothing to do with the United Nations."

On June 25, 1965, in a speech at San Francisco on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the United Nations, President Lyndon Johnson called upon "this gathering of the nations of the world to use all their influence, individually and collectively, to bring to the table those who seem determined to make war. We will support your efforts, as we support effective action by any agent or agency of these United Nations." On June 29, the People's Daily commentator in a broadcast from Peiping replied to the President's speech by stating again that "the United Nations has nothing to do with the Vietnam question and has no right to intervene in it."

If the Vietnam question were brought before the United Nations at the present time, any proposal to establish a U.N. peacekeeping force or to otherwise assign military responsibility in Vietnam to the United Nations would not receive necessary support among members of the Security Council or the General Assembly in the absence of agreement from the Communist side.

This is not to say, of course, that the United Nations has no value in meeting certain of the problems of southeast Asia. For instance, the Secretary General has indicated his availability as a channel for discussion of a peaceful solution in Vietnam. We appreciate his suggestions and hope that the channel will remain open.

The United Nations is already deeply involved in international development programs in southeast Asia, with 9 U.N. agencies represented in South Vietnam and 12 U.N. agencies involved in the planning and early operating stages of the Mekong Coordinating Committee. President Johnson, in his speech of April 7 at Johns Hopkins University, expressed the hope that the Secretary General could initiate with the countries of southeast Asia a plan for increased development. The President also pledged $1 billion in support of this undertaking. Mr. Eugene Black was subsequently designated as the President's Special Representative and has already held consultations with United Nations officials.

Nor do we exclude the possibility that if, as, and when there is a peaceful settlement of the war in Vietnam, the United Nations might well sponsor peacekeeping machinery which could be useful in assuring that all parties kept faith with that settlement.

I hope that this information will prove helpful to you and that you will write again if we may be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

DOUGLAS MACARTHUR II,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

Adlai Stevenson: Advocate of Freedom, Citizen of the World

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, we are joined today in universal sorrow at the death of one of the free world's greatest citizens.

Adlai Ewing Stevenson was a man of consummate grace and intelligence.

He became a spokesman for the Democratic Party at a time when our party needed an eloquent voice. No man could have given more dutifully of his personal energies.

Somehow those years seem far, far away in our history.

We say them, now, and they almost have the ring of another century. Nineteen hundred and fifty-two was a time of great transition and grave change. Nineteen hundred and fifty-six brought us nearer the threshold of the dream of peace we hold forever as part of our democratic system.

How thankful we should be, now—how grateful we should have been, then—for that single, lonely voice that spoke to us in the midst of our complacency.

He came to the platform in Chicago on July 26, 1952. The harsh lights of the television crews and the exploding flashbulbs did not flatter his receding hairline; they put an added highlight in his eyes; they made him seem a little older, a trifle smaller in stature, a good deal more subject to caricature than he really was.

And then he spoke these words:

Let's talk sense to the American people. Let's tell them the truth, that there are no gains without pains, that this is the eve of

great decisions, not easy decisions, like resistance when you're attacked, but a long, patient, costly struggle which alone can assure triumph over the great enemies of men—war and poverty and tyranny—and the assaults upon human dignity which are the most grievous consequences of each.

Few people in his audience had ever been exposed to an orator like Governor Stevenson. His voice was clipped and measured; it had none of the florid, flowing effusiveness of the old-fashioned political speaker.

It was the voice of a teacher who loved children.

It was the voice of sanity and reason.

It was the voice of rational, intelligent dissent.

The level of American political debate was elevated immeasurably by that one speech. It grew and matured with each new one he gave during the course of that ill-fated campaign.

No man in our modern history presented a more complex and varied personality to his listeners.

He was a man of culture and we should be proud, as a people, that he was, for he brought a new dignity, a new public notice to the intellectual that a climate of fear had stifled and denied him.

The sum of a man's life is counted in many things.

Adlai Stevenson was a great speaker. He was an accomplished writer. He was a genuine and witty commentator on his country, its minor foibles and its occasionally pretentious politicians.

More than everything else, he was a true American patriot.

In New York City in August 1952, he gave this definition of his own ideal kind of patriotism when he said:

> A patriotism that puts country ahead of self; a patriotism which is not short, frenzied outbursts of emotion, but the tranquil and steady dedication of a lifetime.
>
> When an American says that he loves his country, he means not only that he loves the New England hills, the prairies glistening in the sun, the wide and rising plains, the great mountains, and the sea. He means that he loves an inner air, an inner light in which freedom lives and in which a man can draw the breath of self-respect.

No man since Thomas Jefferson has so clearly enunciated a meaning for personal patriotism.

No man of modern times has more definitively lived up to his own aspirations.

Adlai Stevenson truly lived a life of tranquil and steady dedication to America's cause and America's people.

Many of us drew strength and inspiration from him.

We have a lifetime of memories and a lot more self-respect to show for that.

Captive Nations Week

SPEECH

OF

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with Public Law 90 of the 86th Congress, President Johnson has declared this week as Captive Nations Week.

Every year since 1959, the Congress has paused in its deliberations to consider the tragedy of those nations who have been swallowed up by Communist imperialism. Today, no less than 180 million of our fellow human beings are prisoners of the Soviet system.

We in the 14th District of New Jersey are fortunate to have as neighbors many fine American citizens who are fugitives from Soviet oppression. I use the word "fortunate" because those who know slavery and tyranny firsthand are the most vigorous supporters of freedom and the dignity of man. No foreign invader has violated continental United States since 1815 and no native American now living has had to exist under the conqueror's heel. We who were born in this great Nation have an unfortunate tendency to take the blessings of liberty too lightly. This is not so with those who know firsthand what it is to live in a police state with the ever-present dread of the midnight visit by the secret police. To these newer Americans, freedom is a cherished thing and they bring to these shores a love of liberty which is an inspiration to all Americans.

On this seventh observance of Captive Nations Week there is little encouragement we can give to those whose fortune it has been to be imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain. But we do know that in God's time the Poles, the Czechs, the Hungarians, the Rumanians, the Ukrainians, the Latvians, the Lithuanians, the Estonians, the Albanians, the North Koreans, the North Vietnamese, and all the other prisoners of international communism will know what it is to step out of the shadows of slavery into the bright sunlight of freedom.

Mr. Speaker, it is a solemn duty for us to continue to press for the liberation of all captive nations. Let us pray that before too many of these observances have passed we may see these captive nations taking their rightful places among the truly sovereign peoples of the world. It is vital that we always keep the cause of self-determination for all nations constantly before us. We must never—even for a moment—allow ourselves to forget the cause of those who are denied the most basic of freedoms.

Time for Government Action To Halt Crime in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, in the next few days J. Edgar Hoover will release the crime report for the United States in 1964. We are certain to learn from this report that the crime rate has increased in the last year over 1963.

We now know that since 1958 crime has increased six times faster than our population growth. This, to me, is alarming, and something must be done.

Something that can be done immediately is the calling of a White House Conference on Crime Prevention and Juvenile Delinquency. In February, I introduced House Joint Resolution 321 calling for such a White House Conference, which would bring together the creative thinking of law enforcement officers, teachers, State and local officials for the purpose of adopting a program of crime prevention to rid the country of this No. 1 domestic problem. The problem of educating our children is the problem of teaching them to live good lives, and we must do something about it by cutting down the crime rate.

A provocative editorial in the July 19, 1965, Jacksonville, Fla., Journal calls for action on the Federal, State, and local levels to make our cities and towns safe places in which to live, and I commend it to your attention. The first step needed is to gather our best minds in the field together to work out a plan of concrete action, and I urge the Congress to adopt my resolution for a White House Conference on Crime Prevention and Juvenile Delinquency. The editorial follows:

[From the Jacksonville (Fla.) Journal, July 19, 1965]

A CIVIL RIGHT

Recent news stories of brutal killings and attacks throughout the Nation, including the murders here in Jacksonville of a shoe store owner and a 14-year-old boy, put new emphasis on the mounting problem of crime.

President Johnson is said to be seriously considering the appointment of a special crime commission for Washington, which has become a cesspool of muggers, rapists, and murderers.

This Commission would recommend measures for better law enforcement in the Capital and presumably work with the existing agencies.

It is apparent that the time has come for some sort of reenforced police action in Washington, New York, and the other "melting pot" cities throughout the country. But it is also a growing problem in cities such as Jacksonville.

The Tampa Tribune last week reported a story illustrating the contrast in American crime and that of European countries.

A college girl, just returned from a tour of Europe, was asked how she and three companions had existed on such a modest budget during their trip. She explained that the four of them had toured by a camper-bus in which they rode by day and slept by night. For sleeping purposes at the end of the day, she said, they merely pulled off the road anywhere they chose.

She was asked if four girls would have dared sleeping in a camper by the roadside in this country. The girl assured her interviewer that they couldn't think of such a thing. In Europe, she said, they had no fear of criminal attack.

Other stories seem to bear this out. People don't fear to stroll along the streets and rivers at night in Europe. It is getting to the place where they would be crazy to do it over here.

We submit that crime in this country has reached the place where its correction and prevention should take precedent over any domestic issue now pending.

Civil rights is the great political expediency of our time. It has the most effective lobbyists ever known in the history of our Congress. But isn't the safety of the lives of all decent Americans just as much a civil right?

The time is overdue for our Government to step in on city, State, and Federal levels if need be and crack down on the criminals, the perverts, and the nuts that roam our streets, threatening our children, our women and yes, even the men.

What about this civil right, Mr. President?

The Real Alabama—Part XXXII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, on July 20, 1965, I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article outlining the historical and organizational aspects of Spring Hill College. I have become aware that this institution will select 20 students to participate in its first honors program this fall. The honors program will enable the qualified student to review and study recorded knowledge, unavailable on the regular college level, with the guidance and stimulation of this college's professors. With consideration of the past and emphasis on the future, Spring Hill College has declared for itself a significant place in "The Real Alabama."

I insert herewith details of this program as described in the following article which appeared in the Monday, June 14, 1965, edition of the Mobile Register:

FIRST HONORS PROGRAM FOR FRESHMEN TO BE INAUGURATED AT SPRING HILL

Twenty-four Mobile area Spring Hill College freshmen are candidates for the first honors program to be inaugurated this fall at the college.

The Mobile area students are among 46 outstanding students being considered for the program which by the school term, after various examinations and interviews, will be limited to 20 during the 1965–66 academic year.

The program, developed under the chairmanship of J. William Rooney, assistant professor of history at Spring Hill, working in close cooperation with the Reverend George T. Bergen, S.J., dean of the college, has been described as "a liberalizing plan which requires less regular class attendance and offers top-ranked freshmen students ample opportunities for extensive reading and research and provides for special lectures in many areas of learning by faculty specialists.

Rooney, in explaining his plans for the program, said, "Studies will encompass history, literature, philosophy, art, and expression, not as separate phases of intellectual inquiry but as interrelated knowledge, as man's overall experience."

The honors program chairman said, "Freshmen who participate this fall probably will continue the program for at least four semesters."

It was pointed out by Rooney that "the honors program is undertaken as a pilot project encompassing studies which mature the mind and character of man and activate his imagination, broaden his perspective, and gives his life direction and purpose. It has been designed to give particular challenge to the above-average or honor student. This has been accomplished by the appointment to the committee of professors who have been primarily involved either in instructing freshmen or instructing lower division students."

Rooney said: "There will be a maximum of 20 students enrolled in the program and these will be selected upon a basis of college boards and/or American college testing programs, high school grades, personal interviews, and a final screening process administered during Freshman Orientation Week which should demonstrate the students ability in reading comprehension, logic, and expression."

Working with Rooney on the freshman honors committee are: Dr. John R. Conover, literature; Paul A. Feldhaus, art; Rev. Thomas J. Madden, S.J., philosophy; and Robert J. Zietz, librarian.

Mobile area students and their schools are as follows: Alexis Joan Brown, Bishop Toolen; Linda Sue Brown, Vigor; Angele E. Calametti, Bishop Toolen; Cheryl Susan Diamond, Bishop Toolen; Carol Elaine Dunklin, Convent of Mercy; Joseph M. Elixon, Jr., McGill; Michael G. Grogan, W. P. Davidson; Lea Mallon Hackmeyer, Bishop Toolen; Harriet Ann Lawson, Murphy; Carol Ann Lindzay, Bishop Toolen; Rose A. McPhillips, Convent of Mercy; Katherine Anne Molony, Semmes; Joseph Rodney Moring, Murphy; Kenneth F. Nelson, Jr., McGill; Joseph J. Patterson, McGill; Anabeth Jane Slaughter, Baldwin County High School; Frank S. Staarup, McGill; Mary D. Stevens, Bishop Toolen; Albert H. Tenhundfeld, Jr., McGill; John T. Toenes, Jr., McGill; George A. Vella, McGill; Victor J. Walsh, McGill; Robert M. Zietz, McGill, and Gerald V. Rodgers, UMS.

Twenty freshmen students in the new honors program at Spring Hill College during the fall semester will read more widely in the classics and related fields than many college graduates will in a lifetime.

A booklist for required reading in the first semester, released during the past week in a special report by the honors committee, includes works of 18 writers and philosophers, among them Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Pericles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Plato, Aristotle, Marcus Aurelius, Suetonius, Virgil, Seneca, Ovid, and St. Augustine, as well as a number of modern writers in the fields of classical literature, history, and other liberal arts area.

J. William Rooney, Jr., Spring Hill faculty member and chairman of the honors program, points out that "a heavy, but certainly not impossible, schedule of reading is one of the features of the honors program. Through reading, seminar discussions, and lectures by faculty members in areas of knowledge in which they specialize, these students will enjoy a rare, intellectual atmosphere; one, we believe, unique in the academic circles."

At least 20 members of the Spring Hill College faculty will lead discussions in their special fields and participiate in a weekly colloquium scheduled for the honors group. Rooney also has announced off-campus specialists will be invited to offer special lectures in art, music, law, history, etc.

At the present time, 24 Mobile area Spring Hill College freshmen are among 46 students from seven States who are candidates for the program.

Rooney, working under the direction of the Reverend George T. Bergen, S.J., Spring Hill dean, has developed the honors program with the following committee: John R. Conover, literature; Paul A. Feldhaus, art; Rev. Thomas J. Madden, S.J., philosophy; and Robert J. Zietz, librarian.

Rooney said the 20 students enrolled in the program this year will be selected on the basis of college boards and/or American college testing programs, high school grades, personal interviews, and a final screening process during the freshman orientation week.

New Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. IRVING WHALLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. WHALLEY. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of my fellow Members the following editorial from the Altoona Mirror, of Pennsylvania:

[From the Altoona (Pa.) Mirror, July 10, 1965]

NEW INDUSTRY

We were just talking. The conversation started out when a man who was a stranger to the writer congratulated him on the announcement of another new industry for the Altoona area. Naturally we thanked him for his interest in our city.

He asked about some of the other new industries that had come here within recent years. We were glad to answer his questions. Then he asked about the supply of office workers in the city and we were glad to tell him of the good supply of trained office help in this city. About this time we began to suspect that we were being interviewed.

He knew about the fine facilities at the Penn State campus, he said, because his company had hired three recent graduates of Penn State who had spent their first 2 years at the Altoona campus. He also knew something about the competence of the Altoona School of Commerce because they had a man and four women in their offices who had been trained there.

He was interested in the new shopping plaza now under construction at Plank Road and Goods Lane. He asked some leading questions about the plans for the revitalization of our downtown shopping area.

He asked about housing. He mentioned the long dry spell here in the east and asked about the local water supply. He remarked about the courtesy shown him by an Altoona policeman from whom he had asked directions. In about 30 minutes we had covered the waterfront and as he left he said, "Thank you, I hope to see you soon again."

It was our turn to ask a question. We asked him how he liked our city, "I like it fine," he answer. "This is my first trip here but I expect to be living here in a few months. My company has been impressed with the progress your people have made in the past 5 years and we plan to open a branch here this fall. We will employ from 15 to 20 of your local people."

Less than an hour later a representative of one of the nationally known life insurance companies asked us for information along the same lines. They also plan a district office for this city which will employ from five to nine persons.

This is how a city grows. Industrial payrolls attract the service industries and sometimes the service industries attract new industries. One of our rapidly growing service centers, the Altoona campus of Penn State University, will add 10 to 15 new faculty members to its staff this fall. The swelling enrollments there enhance our potential for attracting new industry and new service centers, because they provide an excellent source of well-trained future employees.

The expansion of vocational training programs in the area also is attracting much attention. Business and industry are built by capable people. They are the result of careful planning, the availability of working capital, and natural resources. Locations close to a natural market for the product are also desirable. The choice of location

often is determined in the last analysis by the observations of trained men and women sent into a community to examine its attitudes as well as its aptitudes.

We have, of course, our fair share of inveterate knockers. They seem to delight in extolling the shortcomings of the community in which they live. They delight when some outstanding citizen makes a mistake, for they hate those individuals who have made any kind of success in life. They even invent lies to liven up the conversation when facts are unavailable to them. They are incapable of building a sound structure for themselves, so they spend a miserable life butting their heads against the sound foundations built by those they envy. Fortunately, they are detected easily by those who have been trained to measure accurately the true worth of a community.

While they squander their inept lives and waste the precious minutes, hours and days allotted to them upon this sphere, the real workers and builders of a better world move forward, happy in the knowledge that this world will be a slightly better place because of their efforts.

Let them rant and rave and someday, like the unclean spirits that were cast into swine, they will plunge themselves over the precipice with no one to mourn their passing.

A Strong U.S. Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, I know that all of us here are interested in a strong U.S. merchant marine. I wish to call to the attention of the distinguished Members of this Congress the views of some of the officers of U.S. flag merchant ships, expressed in a letter to our colleague, the Honorable HERBERT BONNER, chairman of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. A copy of the letter was sent to me and to other Members of Congress, and, as a member of the Merchant Marine Committee, permit me to state that I think my colleagues will find the views expressed enlightening:

HOUSTON, TEX.,
July 15, 1965.

Hon. HERBERT C. BONNER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We the undersigned captains and officers of U.S.-flag ocean going merchant ships having become alarmed at the recent rapid decline of the American merchant marine, have taken this opportunity to acquaint you with some of our personal views. We respectfully call to your attention that we are all residents and taxpayers of various coastal cities and that all of us are responsible citizens in that most of us have served 20 to 40 years in the merchant marine, have reached command positions and most of us have served nearly our whole careers with one of two steamship companies.

Although all of the great U.S. military leaders and strategists since the time of Admiral Mahan have emphasized the importance of a strong U.S.-flag merchant marine, we have been caught unprepared for defense during World Wars I and II, and during the Korean war. During the Suez crisis American shippers and industries were caught in an economic war when ocean freight rates skyrocketed due to a shortage of U.S.-flag ships.

In recent years the Communist governments have given great emphasis to having a large, fast Red flag merchant marine and have publicly stated that after 1970, when they expect to have the largest fleet afloat, they intend to launch an economic war. In this respect we respectfully refer to the article in Atlantic magazine entitled "Red Flag on the High Seas" and to various shipping magazines, notably the British publication Fairplay Shipping Journal.

As you undoubtedly know, almost every nation in the world has some sort of program to financially assist and foster a national merchant marine and we in the United States have the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 whereby the Maritime Administration was created and which assisted in our great war effort in the years 1939–45, assisted the merchant marine through the postwar years, developed the world's first nuclear powered merchant ship, the *Savannah* and laid the groundwork for the present merchant fleet replacement program.

We now note with dismay that the present Maritime Administrator, Mr. Nicholas Johnson has publicly stated that we do not need a U.S.-flag fleet and that we should rely on our allies for ocean transportation. In addition, he has carried on a constant harassment of steamship companies, ports authorities, rates conferences, etc., and has even gone so far as to suggest that U.S. naval auxiliaries be built in foreign shipyards.

We think that although the subsidy paid to U.S.-flag shipowners is one of the smallest of the Government's programs, it probably benefits the American people more than any other since U.S. shipowners are required by law to employ U.S. citizen crews and are not allowed to spend 1 dime overseas except for seaworthy operation of the ship. In addition to the business generated in allied industries the corporate and personal income taxes paid by ships and seamen provide a sizable recapture to the Government and the payment of freights to U.S. shipowners must have a sizable effect on the much publicized balance of gold in the U.S. Treasury.

We think that so-called flags of convenience or runaway ships are a discredit to American industry and that the owners of these ships are competing unfairly with legitimate U.S. ships, since they are evading safety regulations and U.S. taxes and are contributing to the adverse gold flow. The idea that these ships are under effective U.S. control is erroneous. Any student of maritime law knows that interfering with a ship under a neutral or foreign flag is considered piracy. Many millions of dollars are being diverted from U.S. industry and labor for the construction and operation of these ships.

We respectfully call to your attention the statistics on merchant ship casualties which clearly prove that U.S. ships, officers, and crews are the safest and finest in the world and we are sure that comparison of company earnings will show that the U.S.-flag operators are the most efficient.

It is apparent now that intensified effort on the part of the steamship operators, maritime administration, and all maritime unions is paramount toward resolving our differences, establishing peace and harmony in the industry, and in furthering the progress of our Nation's merchant marine—both from a standpoint of national economy and national defense. To this end we respectfully request that you give the foregoing your utmost consideration, and if possible, utilize whatever influence at your command to further our common interests.

In conclusion, copies of this correspondence, as indicated, are being mailed to our various Government representatives, requesting their consideration and support.

Respectfully yours,

H. Magarian, Master, Beeaire, Tex.; John A. Madison, Master, Knife River, Minn.; H. G. Beck, Master, Houston, Tex.; Frank E. Johnson, Master, Houston, Tex.; Quinn N. Tompson, Third Mate, Houston, Tex.; J. R. Mason, Jr., Master, Houston, Tex.; Thomas E. McBride, Chief Mate, Houston, Tex.; Harold V. Evensen, Master, Houston, Tex.; Milton L. Gaasland, Master, Dickinson, Tex.; George R. Roberts, Master, Houston, Tex.; James W. McClurkin, Master, Beaumont, Tex.; Chester J. Ben Ben, Chief Mate, Houston, Tex.; Paul L. Skrable, Chief Mate, Houston, Tex.; Dale L. Bloomquist, Chief Mate, Houston, Tex.; R. Ferris, Second Mate, Houston, Tex.; F. Borup, Master, Houston, Tex.; Paul L. Gagnon, Master, Old Bridge, N.J.; Samuel T. Clark, Second Mate, Houston, Tex.; G. T. Boyett, Master Sour Lake, Tex.; Y. E. Jacobs, Master, Houston, Tex.; R. L. Herbst, Master Houston, Tex.; W. D. Forse, Third Mate, Houston, Tex.

(NOTE.—Above signatures are true copies from the original letter addressed to the Honorable H. C. BONNER, chairman, House Merchant Marine Committee.)

One of the Boys

SPEECH

OF

HON. DAVID N. HENDERSON

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, a lot of nice things have been said about Gene Zukert upon the occasion of his departure from his position as Secretary of the Air Force. Having a major Air Force installation located in my congressional district, I had occasion to visit him personally numerous times to discuss with him matters of mutual concern. Without exception, I found him to be courteous, cooperative, understanding, and willing to work with me in solving various problems.

I believe his attitude is best exemplified by an editorial that appeared in the Goldsboro, N.C., News-Argus at the time of Secretary Zukert's visit in my congressional district.

The editorial is as follows:

ABOUT MR. ZUCKERT

For a fellow born in New York City and educated at Yale, Eugene Zuckert turned out to be a down-to-earth regular fellow.

The Air Force Secretary visited Wayne County this week on a tour of Seymour Johnson AFB.

Civilians and military folks alike were on their P's and Q's.

When he hopped, bearheaded, off his airplane and walked up to microphones set up by TV newsmen, reporters prepared for a formal, stilted press conference.

But Zuckert walked right past the microphones and came over to shake hands with the reporters. "I just wanted to meet you

fellows," he smiled; and right off you felt he was genuinely friendly and not another politician trying to butter up the press.

When lunch time came, Secretary Zuckert ate with the noncommissioned officers—and he ate the same food everyone else was being served.

Later, at Sleepy Creek, he became just another member of the group digging out barbecued pig tenderloins with his fingers and gnawing a rib.

That night he was guest of honor at a formal dinner at the officers' club. Now we're sure Mr. Zuckert, whose record of public service is not matched by many, was a perfect and appreciative guest of honor.

But we have a suspicion that, had he had his "druthers," Mr. Zuckert would still have been messing around with the boys out at Sleepy Creek—chewing on barbecued pig skins, gnawing on ribs, and getting all greasy mouthed.

He's our kind of folks. Even if he was born in the big city and went to Yale.

The Cost Is No More Than the Job Is Worth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, the unanimous 410 to 0 vote of the House of Representatives for the military pay bill leaves no doubt about this body's solidarity on the need for this legislation.

I am sure that the Members who supported this bill generally feel that the cost is no more than the job is worth.

In this connection, I would like to point out an excellent editorial concerning the military pay bill which appeared in the July 28, 1965 issue of the Air Force Times.

Under unanimous consent, I submit that editorial herewith:

THE PRICE OF PEACE

As another way of looking at the economics of military pay, it might be interesting to consider this proposition.

Assuming it were possible today to contract out the job of defending America to some completely disinterested force, what would it cost? The question assumes that the United States would furnish the weapons, equipment and supplies—everything but the manpower.

It is possible that a good contractor could shave costs here and there and, perhaps, offer the same protection with fewer men than the services now feel they need. He might also save a bit on labor by not being quite as particular about the quality of manpower in certain of the less technical areas.

Even so, try to imagine what sort of wages he would have to pay to duplicate the manpower in the services today. What, for instance, is the going rate for a general with the combined responsibilities of a corporation president, a college dean, and an ambassador? The contractor would need to furnish at least 1,000.

What would he expect to pay for pilots whom he could trust with a multimillion-dollar weapon and the lives of anywhere from one to several hundred million people? He'd need 50,000 to 100,000 of these.

What is the open market price of at least half a million technicians, backed with 2 years' training and experience on missiles, electronics gear, complex jet engines, and the like?

Fortunately, of course, America does not need to hire its fighting men in the literal sense. It can still recruit a large force of volunteers and supplement it with the draft. It has some retention problems but it could probably get by without raising pay, perhaps even hack away a few more of the present benefits.

We wonder, however, just how far the idea of setting the minimum price possible for defense can be carried. Is it really good economy to fix pay scales at precisely the level it takes to get and hold the barely essential force? Is it so smart to offer a man less than he could expect elsewhere and count on his dedication or his retirement equity to counteract the attraction of the civilian job? Is it right to count on the power of the draft to supply men who could not be attracted at twice the salary without such pressures?

As debate over the military pay bill shifts to the Senate, we expect to hear new arguments about the poor economy of raising salaries above the levels which might be adequate to attract and hold the needed numbers. We would like to hear someone point out that the United States, which expects the best in weapons and equipment and won't settle for second place in space regardless of cost, also expects the best available talent in uniform and is willing to pay for it.

It seems to us not only a moral obligation but good business by anybody's definition to base a man's pay on the job he does and the responsibility he carries. In our view the best proposals we've seen are no more than the job is worth.

Great Society Draining American Initiative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include a fine editorial from the Gadsden Times, newspaper published in my hometown of Gadsden, Ala. The editor wisely points out that through the rent subsidy program and other projects the Federal Government is taking away from the people their most priceless ingredients, initiative and ambition.

The editorial follows:

[From the Gadsden (Ala.) Times, July 18, 1965]

COME ON, FOLKS, IT'S ALL FOR FREE

It seems certain that the controversial rent subsidy program for so-called low-income families will become law since it has now won approval of both branches of Congress.

Even Thurman Sensing, executive vice president of Southern States Industries Council, didn't think it could happen. And Sensing, like most of us who have watched a bewitched Congress bow to the whims and fancies of the President, has come to expect most anything out of Washington that deals with giving people money.

He said in a recent editorial, "With massive majorities in both houses of Congress, the Johnson administration's legislative proposals have had smooth sailing—all but one. The exception is the plan for Federal rent subsidies. Even a rubberstamp Congress seems reluctant to go along with a program so patently designed to injure self-reliance and to penalize hardworking people."

The rent subsidy bill is one of the sicker pieces of legislation desired by President Johnson.

It would require $500 million in outlays of Federal money the first year, with the idea of helping people who earn too much to get into Federal housing projects but who allegedly cannot afford decent housing.

The bureaucrats figure that there are around 4 million families that would be affected—the majority earning from $3,000 to $6,000 annually.

This proposed housing dole is the most preposterous hunk of socialism yet to be devised.

Admittedly, families with incomes $3,000 to $6,000 can't afford private swimming pools, country club membership, and mink. But many of them, through careful planning, do live in residential sections which provide good housing and where acceptable neighbors have made their homes.

We are not so shortsighted as to ignore the fact that probably the lower income group, on the other hand a ridiculous and dangerous cycle of extreme demands could be set in motion with the Government pushing for every possible control over the American people.

The character and independence of the American people is steadily being drained. This gave them a reason for living. Life had a meaning. But under the Johnson "take" society, initiative, and ambition is slowly but surely being destroyed.

The people of this country have permitted all of these socialistic handouts to occur. They have allowed deficit spending to run into the billions of dollars. And, encouraged by this passive acceptance, the Federal Government now has little to stop it from a roller coaster ride into financial oblivion.

A Record of Achievement for a Great Public Servant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the House of Representatives an editorial in the July 24 edition of the publication, Labor, which is an international weekly newspaper published in Washington, D.C.

This lead editorial is devoted to the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, the beloved chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House of Representatives. I shall let the editorial speak for the way many of us feel about the great work of this devoted public servant who has been a great American as well as a great Texan during his magnificent career in the House of Representatives since 1928.

The editorial follows:

A RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT BY A GREAT PUBLIC SERVANT

One of the most forceful and effective public servants in Washington is the Congressman from Texarkana, Tex., named WRIGHT PATMAN. We were reminded of this fact anew last week when the House Banking Committee reported out by 27 to 0 a Patman bill to

close a gaping loophole in the Bank Holding Company Act.

That bill, and an earlier companion bill that was reported out by 21 to 4, are of special interest to railroads because they would—among other things—force a splitup of the great Du Pont estate empire in Florida. That empire controls the struck Florida East Coast Railway.

But PATMAN's public service extends far beyond these two bills. As chairman of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, he has helped guide the administration and Congress toward an expansionary economic policy.

As chairman of a foundations subcommittee, he has exposed the machinations of some tax-exempt foundations and opened the way toward reforms.

As chairman of the House Banking Committee, PATMAN in 1965 alone has steered through that committee 11 major bills, including the big housing bill recently passed by the House.

Over the years of his service—which go back to 1929—PATMAN has put through the House the Robinson-Patman Act and the Small Business Act, two Magna Cartas for small businessmen; the Veterans Emergency Housing Act of 1946, and the Employment Act of 1946—which first made it a duty and policy of our Federal Government to spur full employment.

PATMAN's greatest campaign, however, has been his fight against the money trust of big Wall Street bankers and their Washington allies. PATMAN believes in low interest rates and ample credit—a vital element in creating a full-employment economy.

Some commentators try to belittle PATMAN as "just an old-fashioned Populist." We say, if that phrase fits WRIGHT PATMAN's views and accomplishments and his fighting heart, then God grant America many more such old-fashioned Populists. The Nation is lucky to have WRIGHT PATMAN where he is.

Captive Nations Week

SPEECH

OF

HON. LYNN E. STALBAUM

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, my presentation under special order of July 21 on Captive Nations Week included a speech which I delivered at Kenosha, Wis., last Sunday. Since that time I have received a complete transcript of a speech made by Petras P. Dauzvardis, counsul general of Lithuania at that same commemoration.

I am pleased to insert his speech into Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD because of the valuable message offered. Consul General Dauzvardis was described by my good colleague, Congressman ROMAN C. PUCINSKI, of Illinois, the main speaker, as a living symbol of the efforts of the Lithuanian people to preserve their identity and to fully regain their freedom from the Soviet tyranny. Congressman PUCINSKI, I point out, was selected by Mayor Richard Daley, of Chicago, as a member of the honorary committee for Captive Nations Week, as was the consul general.

The full text of Consul General Dauzvardis' speech follows:

REMARKS OF HON. PETRAS P. DAUZVARDIS

This significant gathering is organized and conducted in the spirit of the Fourth of July, and the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence of the United States. This gathering, on the first day of Captive Nations Week, affords the opportunity to register a strong protest against the Soviet Union for its illegal seizure of Lithuania and the robbing and enslaving of her people. It provides the opportunity to express thanks to the U.S. Government for not recognizing the grab and incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union.

The United States recognized Lithuania de jure on July 28, 1922, and firmly maintains this recognition, considering Lithuania an independent state temporarily occupied by Soviet armed forces (a situation similar to that of Hitler's occupation of many nations during the war).

Soviet Russia had recognized Lithuania as an independent sovereign state on July 12, 1920. However, it did not live up to its obligations and agreements: it wantonly violated all of them. September 28, 1939, Soviet Russia colluded with Hitler to divide Lithuania. In June of 1940 it seized Lithuania, deposed her lawful government, and imposed an illegal Soviet puppet regime which, on July 21, 1940 (the third week of July), passed a resolution to incorporate Lithuania into the Soviet Union.

The United States denounced these acts on July 23, 1940, when Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles called them the devious processes and predatory activities. America refused to recognize the armed seizure of Lithuania and its illegal annexation, and it does not recognize these Soviet acts of subterfuge and armed aggression today.

These facts clearly illustrate the great contrast between American and Russian foreign policy. America supports small or weak states and abides by its pledges. Soviet Russia grabs and exploits small states and violates its pledges—in fact, totally disregards its given word. Soviet leaders say one thing and do exactly the opposite, as is plainly shown in the case of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Soviet leaders talk about "national liberation" and independence for colonies of Africa but they themselves enslave and denationalize independent states in Europe, converting them into Russian colonies. When Lithuanian patriots demanded national liberation, they were sent to Siberia. Soviet Premier Kosygin demands the withdrawal of American troops from the Dominican Republic, but says nothing about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Lithuania and the other Soviet-occupied countries.

Soviet Russia grabs and annihilates countries and their peoples. In Lithuania they have slain or deported to Siberia approximately half a million Lithuanians. The Soviets continue committing this genocide to this day. So far this year they have taken four large groups of Lithuanian youths to the far northern reaches of Russian, and more such shipments are planned. Meanwhile, Russians are being brought into Lithuania from Russia. Denationalization, Russification, communization, and colonization are going on in full swing. Religion and the religious are being persecuted and derided; atheism is being infused.

All this is evident not only to the Lithuanians, but to impartial leaders and statesmen as well as to news media. In connection with the tragic 25-year anniversary of the Soviet seizure and occupation of the Baltic States, the House of Representatives of the United States conducted a hearing of witnesses on May 17 and 18, and on June 21 adopted a resolution condemning the illegal Soviet acts against the Baltic States and their people.

This was done with the approval and support of the Department of State. Shortly thereafter, on June 23, Secretary Dean Rusk received a six-man Baltic delegation to whom he gave reassurance that America stands firmly for the independence of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—that the policy of nonrecognition of the Soviet occupation will continue.

Captive Nations Week was initiated by the U.S. Congress, its annual observance is proclaimed by the President, and is supported by Governors, mayors, and all freedom-loving people. We are grateful to them.

The total aim of all these measures and efforts is the liberation of the presently captive nations and the restoration of their rights and freedom to them.

Freedom, independence, and sovereignty are rights which belong to Lithuania and the other Soviet-held states. They demand the restoration of these rights. The Soviet Union has no legal ground nor right to refuse them.

The Lithuanian people justly and resolutely say that without a free Lithuania there can be no just or lasting peace. Lithuania must be liberated from the present Soviet occupation and colonialism and restored to the world community of free and independent nations.

Free Mail From Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill which would provide free mailing privileges for members of the Armed Forces in Vietnam, and also permit air shipment of parcels chargeable at fourth-class postal rates to servicemen stationed in Vietnam, for such period as the President deems appropriate.

The difficulties experienced by our servicemen in this area, in mailing letters to their families and in receiving packages from home, call for speedy consideration of this legislation. Under unanimous consent, I wish to include an editorial which appeared in the Buffalo Courier-Express, Buffalo, N.Y., on July 20, 1965, emphasizing the urgent need for such action.

The editorial follows:

URGENT NEED FOR FREE MAIL FROM VIETNAM

Men serving with U.S. forces in Vietnam have not been accorded free mailing privileges and relatives in western New York report complaints that this is a hardship not only because of the cost but because of difficulty in obtaining and preserving stamps for future use under conditions prevailing at their stations.

According to the Defense Department, legislation introduced in Congress to allow free mailing is being reviewed. The Department, according to a spokesman, strongly favors passage and expects adoption soon of a measure to meet the need. An administration bill is expected to be introduced soon after its review by the Budget Bureau. A bill also has been introduced to provide for reduced postage rates for air shipment of small parcels to members in the Armed Forces in Vietnam.

Apparently plans for a buildup of American forces in the Asian theater have been in the works for many weeks, and in the inter-

est of the men who have been sent there and their families, it appears that provision should have been made simultaneously with their commitment to the theater for ready mail communication with their homes. Certainly Congress lost no time in responding affirmatively weeks ago to President Johnson's request for additional funds to prosecute the war even though the need for the money was not immediate.

If ever there was an instance when attention to the welfare of the men serving overseas in the Armed Forces should have been given priority, the expeditionary venture in Asia is it. The distance and the nature of their assignment make their sacrifice peculiarly burdensome to the servicemen and their kin.

Anchorage Is 50 Years Old

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH J. RIVERS

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. RIVERS of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, 50 years ago this month the transformation of a temporary tent town on Ship Creek, Cook Inlet, Alaska, into the largest city in Alaska had its beginning. It was on July 10, 1915, that the Alaska Engineering Commission made 655 sales of lots in the townsite it had drawn to replace the tent town. About 3 weeks later, an election was held and the people chose the name for their new town. They called it Anchorage.

In these 50 years, the tent town of 2,000 persons has become a bustling modern city. Within its boundaries live 50,000 people, and, in its immediate area, another 50,000. It is not only the largest city in the State, but one of the fastest growing. I agree with Martin Ridener, who said in his article in the Anchorage Daily Times of July 10:

Anchorage is going into its second 50 years with high prospects that its future will be even brighter than its glamorous past.

Mr. Ridener's article is part of a special edition prepared by the Anchorage Daily Times to mark this 50th anniversary. Because it tells so well of the town's beginnings and of the city the town has now become in this vital era when Alaska—as the 49th State—is often in the spotlight, I insert it here:

AT THE RATE OF ONE EVERY 90 SECONDS, LOTS IN THE NEW TOWNSITE WERE BOUGHT

(By Martin Ridener)

Anchorage is 50 years old today.

At 2 p.m., July 10, 1915, more than 2,000 residents of a temporary tent town on Ship Creek began bidding on lots in the newly cleared townsite which today is the center of Anchorage.

Today's issue of the Anchorage Times includes a 32-page special section devoted to the history of Anchorage.

The Times celebrated its own 50th birthday June 5. A half century ago on that date volume 1, No. 1, of the Cook Inlet Pioneer & Knik News was published. Printed once a week on a job press in a tent, it soon became a daily with a new name, the Anchorage Times.

At the land auction, there were assurances from the auctioneer, Andrew Christiansen, that the townsite was planned as a permanent community. With that word, the bidding enthusiasm mounted.

After 2 days of selling the 50- by 140-foot lots at the rate of 1 every 90 seconds, Christiansen had recorded 655 sales at a total price of $148,000.

Construction of permanent business buildings along Fourth and Fifth Avenues, a top what was then known as the South Bluff of Ship Creek, began at once.

Residences, mainly tents and log cabins, were built on lots just out of the business district. By August 16 the entire old tent town, which had been built without planning or even permission in what is now the Alaska Railroad terminal yards, was gone.

Construction of the railroad had sparked a nationwide rush to Alaska in 1915. Finding nothing permanent when they arrived, the newcomers pitched tents near the dock and waited to find work.

The Government had taken over a private railroad which had started from Seward, so the construction boom which might have resulted in expansion of the Resurrection Bay community occurred, instead, at the mouth of Ship Creek, a center point between Seward and the intended terminus at Fairbanks.

Officials of the Alaska Engineering Commission, which was constructing the railroad, received authorization from President Woodrow Wilson to plan the townsite, because the tent city was both overcrowded and was located on land needed for the railroad.

Although establishment of the townsite on July 10 was clearly the start of Anchorage, it did not receive its name until August 9, 1915, when an election was held to decide what the new town should be called.

The choice was among nine names—Ship Creek, Alaska City, Winalaska, Gateway, Lane, Terminal, Homestead, Matanuska, and Anchorage.

There was no official notice of today's 50th anniversary. The formal city celebration will take place next month on the 50th anniversary of the election to decide the name.

In the years that followed the land auction, Anchorage has grown in remarkable spurts.

In 5 years the townsite of Anchorage became an incorporated city.

Within that same short span oceangoing vessels began docking at Anchorage, railroad service between Seward and Anchorage had been established and such citified refinements as annual winter sports carnivals and agricultural and trade fairs were begun.

By 1923 the Railroad was not only completed—with the last golden spike hammered in place by President Warren G. Harding—but the town also had a municipal airport and a city council.

The roaring twenties didn't roar too loudly for Anchorage as the boom days were over, but settlement of the Matanuska Valley in the midthirties renewed interest in this settlement on Cook Inlet.

The real push in growth—the start of Metropolitan Anchorage—came April 29, 1939, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued an Executive order withdrawing 50,000 acres of land near Anchorage for a future military use—now Elmendorf Air Force Base and Fort Richardson.

The withdrawal ousted some homesteaders from long-held farms, but resulted in a new and permanent economic base for a community with no local industry.

The crisis of World War II made America aware that Alaska could be reached only by sea—or by limited commercial air service available at that time. With back-straining precision, the Government plowed into construction of the Alcan Highway, known today as the Alaskan Highway. It has provided a rough but permanent link with the South 48.

Since the end of the war hundreds of thousands of would-be Alaskans have nursed their cars, trucks, and trailers over that still unpaved road to the last frontier, which in 1959 became the 49th State. So many stayed that Anchorage—the most modern stopping point available—that the town has become a city.

Accessibility has become the city's strong suit.

Domestic and international airlines use Anchorage hourly. The fort of Anchorage is booming. The highway is open and well traveled the year around.

Anchorage is now the hub of a growing, thriving State. The surrounding country is rich in oil and rich in human and natural resources. Centered in a land of natural beauty, tourism is ever increasing.

A city of 50,000 in metropolitan area of at least 100,000, Anchorage is going into its second 50 years with high prospects that its future will be even brighter than its glamorous past.

A Well-Deserved Tribute to Congressman Tenzer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, among the the new Members of the 89th Congress we are fortunate to number several outstanding individuals who have already made deep impressions upon us in the House. One of those who has gained recognition for his diligence, broad span of knowledge, coruscatingly brilliant grasp of the law and legislation is Representative HERBERT TENZER of the Fifth Congressional District of New York.

No matter what recognition we accord such a man as Congressman TENZER here in Washington it cannot rival the appreciation which is felt for him in his constituency at home. I recently had the good fortune to read an editorial in the Leader, a widely read newspaper in Nassau County, N.Y.

The editorial follows:

OUR CONGRESSMAN—HON. HERBERT TENZER

This editorial about Congressman HERBERT TENZER (Fifth Congressional District) is not motivated by politics, but it is inspired by close observation of the endeavors of a man who serves as our Representative in Washington.

Any dictionary will tell you that a representative is one who represents, or stands for a class of people.

HERBERT TENZER is such a man. He represents the people of our district regardless of their race, creed, color or political affiliations.

When Mr. TENZER first campaigned for office, many people mistakenly thought it was just a toy, a symbol of added prestige wanted by a rich man. They forgot that HERBERT TENZER was really a wealthy man—wealthy in human compassion—wealthy with a close insight of all walks of life—wealthy with a sincere love for mankind.

His qualifications and achievements are almost incomparable. He's a successful lawyer—a top-notch business executive—a sincerely religious man—a respected and loved family man and a philanthropist.

He has traveled the world and has an intimate knowledge of the philosophy and problems of most all minority groups.

His commendable character and personable attributes are matched only by his humbleness and modesty.

During his term of office, his deeds have more than proven his sincerity in striving to serve as a representative of all the people at all times.

Even in Freeport, he qualifies this by recently appointing some of our leading citizens to serve on his various committees—without any thought of their national political affiliations.

More of our elective officials should follow this practice.

A man should be judged according to his qualifications—not by his political party membership.

If you'll notice, fortunately, this practice is becoming more and more common on all levels—National, State and local.

We have heard many good reports in recent months from all types of people who have called on Mr. TENZER for assistance of one sort or another. They have found his staff to be most polite and cooperative and they have found Congressman HERBERT TENZER to be a real Representative who takes a personal interest in their problems regardless of their nature.

We are proud to pay public tribute to our Congressman at this time because, as we initially said, this editorial is not politically motivated, nor requested, nor expected.

It is our way of thanking a great public servant for his tireless efforts in our behalf.

Congressman HERBERT TENZER should enjoy a brilliant career and should reach the greatest heights because his entire mode of operation is based on sincerity.

EDDIE VASIL.

Letter From Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD H. CALLAWAY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Speaker, a recent letter to the editor in a Georgia newspaper makes a point that should be noted by all Americans: it gave a fightingman's reaction to the peace movements that are today taking place in America and throughout the world.

It would be well for each of us to note his words, Mr. Speaker, but I especially wish that they could be read by those who would have us desert our mission in southeast Asia:

MARINE ON THE SPOT PRESENTS VIET VIEWS

The EDITORS: I have been in Vietnam since December 28, 1964, and have been reading the papers from home and all around the United States. Most of us marines over here in Vietnam keep our mouths shut but now I think it is about time that the public back home got a real look at the situation here on how marines feel about our job that we are doing over here.

Our day starts with reveille at 0530. We usually eat chow at 6 or 7 a.m. We have only one messhall for the BLT (battalion landing team) and it takes time. We go out on patrol all day and run ambushes at night. The next day is the same.

We don't really mind the heat or sun or sweat because we feel we are serving our country and keeping our families safe.

We thought we had a purpose or cause to fight for until the papers came out with all of this propaganda about the "mad dogs" and "killers" in Vietnam. Then the colleges around the United States started their marches for peace in Vietnam.

If those 19- and 20-year-old punks who know nothing about the situation regarding fighting over here could come over here for 2 months and stay in our foxholes with us or go on patrol with us, I think then they would go home and thank God for the men over here now.

They would have a different outlook on life and death. I doubt if any of them have ever shot a rifle, much less been shot at with one. But I can tell you it isn't like the movies, and it isn't funny.

I believe in the Marine Corps and also what we are fighting for. I want my wife and children to live in a free country, not in a Communist way of life.

If these people (Vietcong) get Vietnam, there will be a world war III. This would be a stepping stone for them to reach the Philippines—and you can get four out of two plus two. There isn't any reason we can't stop them now.

This is about the only chance a "small man" can speak his piece about how we feel. I just hope this will show the people back home what it is like and what we are fighting for.

This isn't all of the things that I could say, but my outfit is going out this afternoon again. Even Sundays are filled with work.

A TRUE MARINE.

Vietnam.

A Leader Speaks Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, when it comes to military affairs no Member of Congress is better qualified than Representative GERALD R. FORD to speak out. That is a fact well recognized in the Pentagon and by the Members of Congress on both sides of the political aisle.

Recently, the Grand Haven, Mich., Daily Tribune, in its July 10 issue, commented editorially regarding certain criticism that has been leveled at the minority leader of the House of Representatives.

The editorial follows:

WITHOUT PORTFOLIO?

The Detroit Free Press doesn't like it because Representative GERALD FORD advocates bombing the North Vietnamese missile sites. "As a military strategist, Representative FORD is a good politician," the Free Press editorializes.

The implication is that Congressman FORD is building a campaign issue for 1966. "We prefer to think it was a campaign issue, because as a strategian without portfolio, General FORD makes us hope that the Nation is in better hands," the Free Press declares.

We don't know how the Free Press rates itself as a "general without portfolio." But as minority floor leader of the House, Representative FORD has every right to speak out and with some inside knowledge too. The Fifth District Congressman, who is known to many people personally in this community, has served on numerous important committees, including those concerned with the Armed Forces, and has shared in various military discussions of a highly classified nature. We doubt if there are many men in the United States better able to evaluate strategy than Mr. FORD. His own World War II record, his long tenure in Congress, and the confidence even the political opposition places in him are recommendations enough for us.

We don't pretend to know whether Representative FORD is right. But we certainly feel the Free Press misses the mark in attributing his outspoken views on the Vietnamese war as shabby politics.

Quite the contrary is true. During the last political campaign even the mention of the crisis developing in Vietnam was unpopular. Candidate Goldwater might have made a better showing had he refrained from so much as mention of the steps needed to bring an American victory in Vietnam. So we can't imagine that Mr. FORD gained political strength by his announced position on this war.

The Free Press admits that the Vietnamese war "is going badly as it is." Are we willing, then, to settle for defeat because of a concept that Soviet missile sites are to be constructed without interference?

Congressman FORD, as the minority leader, has given what he feels is utterly necessary to avert total defeat in this war. It is a nasty war, which any sane American devoutly wishes could be terminated. But only with honor. And only if we are assured that the Philippines or some other strategic area won't be involved next.

We must expect our leaders to speak out if their considered opinion concludes that our strategy is wrong. GERALD FORD evidently feels that way. He sees any other course as even more disastrous than the course he proposes. One may not agree with him. But we believe that the Free Press, in slurring him, has undermined one of the most honest and thoughtful leaders in Congress.

The Captive Nations

SPEECH

OF

HON. PAUL J. KREBS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. KREBS. Mr. Speaker, it is with necessarily mixed feelings that we this week recognize the captive nations and join in extending our hopes as a free nation for a future of greater freedom and increased felicity for their people. On one hand, we welcome this chance to witness to our common dedication to truth and freedom, and to assure the peoples of the captive nations of our continued interest and sympathy. On the other hand, we are saddened that again, this year, it is necessary. We would have certainly been much more pleased to be able to instead congratulate the peoples of these nations on having joined us in the world community of truly free nations.

Unfortunately, the tangled net of Communist domination is not an easy one to escape from, no matter how strong and diligent the efforts are that are made to do so. We are encouraged, however, that there has recently been some indication of a significant lessening of the stranglehold that international Communist imperialism has put upon these unfortunate peoples. Yet we still look forward together with the peoples of these nations to a further relaxing of the restrictions and controls that have been

imposed upon them through force and fear by an unscrupulously imperialist power of hate. When, once again, these nations can join us in the exercise of their rightful sovereignty and freedom, then we shall be able to say that we are happy to be able to celebrate Captive Nations Week, for it will have been transposed from a day of the sad recollection of past tragedies and the subtle fortitude of hope into one of rejoicing over freedom regained and hopes realized.

More than solely with hopes and dreams, we must remember that the peoples of these captive nations have sustained themselves by a dedication to freedom that has been so strong, even so fierce, that they have been willing to sacrifice their very lives for their freedom, even when the possibility of thereby securing it for their families and homelands was slight indeed because of the sheer enormity of the forces of oppression arrayed against them. Thus we may say that we can understand and share their dedication to freedom, for we have faced and do face dangers of immense proportions, and many of our finest men have willingly given their lives to defend the rights to freedom that were theirs, their families' and their country's, and that indeed are the natural rights of all men.

However, we must realize that the nature of the dedication of these brave peoples is inherently different from ours, for with the superior might of the world's greatest forces for freedom to back us up in our every move, we most certainly are in a different position than they, supported as they are only by the courage in their hearts, the strength of their bodies, and their deep dedication to the freedom that is man's by birth.

Who are the captive nations? I am sure that you have all seen the various lists prepared and published by various groups and official organizations. Rather than to attempt to list here by name those that I would include, I would rather state my conviction that every nation in the world that suffers from external control or influence to the degree that it is not free to determine its own path and its own future is a captive nation.

Further, and perhaps more importantly, every nation that is controlled by a government that restricts or even eliminates the freedom of its subjects in their own private and domestic lives, regardless of how sovereign that nation is in the international arena, is likewise a captive nation. Whether the people of a nation are oppressed by those of a different national origin or those of the same is of secondary interest. What is of primary concern is their freedom, not who has deprived them of this most precious right.

It is, however, easier for us as outsiders to identify an aggressive, imperialist power than an equally insidious and unscrupulous domestic oppressor. While, therefore, we specifically dedicate this week to studying and recognizing the plight of the captive nations entangled in the international Communist web, and extend to them our sincere sympathy and hopes for a future of greater freedom and happiness, we certainly also extend these to all the nations throughout the world in which men are denied their natural freedom and their sacred rights. Our heartfelt sympathy, our sincere hopes and wishes, our common bonds of commitment to the freedom of mankind, we extend to all those who suffer in bondage. This week, especially, we honor and commend them, and thank them for their courageous examples.

Captive Nations Week

SPEECH

OF

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, I welcome the opportunity to join my colleagues in observing Captive Nations Week.

This observance presents a clear and decisive opportunity for us to emphasize the right of self-determination for all people, and to publicize the facts about Soviet colonialism and betrayal.

Congress has a moral obligation to recognize and publicize the facts about the captive nations. In some of them—Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia—there have been mass deportations, suppression of basic rights and imposed Russification. In others, treaties have been violated, lands occupied and tiny minorities of collaborators thrust into power.

The hypersensitivity with which radio Moscow and the controlled satellite press greet Captive Nations Week should be enough to jar those public officials here who are inclined to be indifferent or who merely pay lipservice.

It would be a mistake for Congress to ignore the plight of the captive nations in the interest of "political realism" or accommodation. We should view the present plight of Eastern Europe neither as irrevocable nor as unworthy of discussion.

It is also a mistake to believe that things will steadily improve in Eastern Europe. While on the whole there have been improvements, there have also been setbacks. For example, Poland has experienced a slide since those heady days that followed the October revolution of 1956. Moreover, the men who lead the nations of Eastern Europe today are often the same men who betrayed their countries to Soviet domination after World War II.

There is little to be gained, in my judgment, by ignoring the fact that the Communists imposed regimes upon unwilling people, that no self-determination exists, and that the ballot box claims of Communist governments are a mockery and a fraud.

A growing percentage of the world's population had not been born when the events of Soviet suppression and perfidy took place. In fact, a growing percentage of U.S. members did not exist as nations when these events took place. In some quarters, therefore, there is a scarcity of knowledge and a scarcity of interest on the plight of these people. We have an obligation to speak out.

Most of the concern in the United Nations, with its changing geographic and racial character, seems to be with injustices committed by whites against nonwhites. But injustice knows no color line—and the injustice committed against the peoples of eastern Europe is long standing and cruel. It behooves all men to care.

History teaches us that seldom can the people of a once-proud nation be made over in a generation. Culture, language, religion, nationalism, struggle and survive in even the bleakest of circumstances.

Most of the nations behind the Iron Curtain have a history of independence going back to the Middle Ages. By inclination and tradition, they are antagonistic to foreign—that is—Soviet domination. Yet, here they are, 20 years after World War II, unable to free themselves from Soviet domination except through the long, tedious and uncertain process of changing the face of communism itself.

From time to time, events occur in eastern Europe which show the tremendous endurance of deep-rooted nationalism and independent spirit. Freemen welcome these manifestations and look for more.

On this occasion, let us give encouragement to the restive people of the captive nations. We look forward to the day when they will genuinely control their own destinies.

The Crisis in Greece

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, a deep crisis has developed in democratic Greece. It is probably the most severe disturbance to face this nation since its fight against the Communists in the civil war of 1949.

The history of modern Greece is filled with painful episodes of republican versus royalty strife from the time the great powers imposed a royal family on Greece in 1842. I regret this reopening of deep wounds and I am further concerned with the apparent involvement of the hitherto neutral military in political affairs.

Press, radio, and TV coverage here has been sketchy. The first significant analysis to appear is an editorial in the Baltimore Sun, July 18. Putting the crisis in historical perspective, it discusses the issues with impressive clarity. Under leave to extend, the editorial follows:

GREECE IN TURMOIL

The Greek political crisis centering around the dispute between King Constantine and ex-Premier George Papandreou is unquestionably the most serious threat to that nation since the Communist civil war.

It promises little good for the future of Greek democracy and regrettably adds another imponderable ingredient to the already troubled political situation in the eastern Mediterranean.

What is basically at issue is whether the Greek Premier has the right to decide who his Ministers will be or whether such decisions are subject to the King's veto. This question came to a head last week when Mr. Papandreou's plans to purge rightwing army officers allegedly disloyal to his middle-of-the-road regime were opposed by Defense Minister Petros Garoufalias. The King backed Mr. Garoufalias and refused to sign a decree submitted by the Premier calling for the Defense Minister's removal.

Mr. Papandreou then declared he would resign, and before he could do so formally, the 25-year-old monarch took unprecedented action by hastily swearing in a new chief of state. The departing Premier called this move by the palace a blow to democracy and vowed to regain office.

Greece's internal situation is now so serious because the King's rift with Mr. Papandreou may once again set the long-latent controversy between Republicans and Royalists. During the early part of the century, this dispute brought down governments and split the nation into two hostile camps.

While the present crisis is overtly constitutional and raises questions concerning the advisability of the monarch to dabble in ministerial changes, there are several underlying issues which may have affected Constantine's decision to oppose the duly elected Premier.

For instance, there have been warnings that any weakening of rightist elements in the traditionally conservative army might pave the way for unopposed leftist expansion. This scare was recently reinforced by disclosure of a small, secret political organization called Aspida (shield) composed of leftwing army officers.

Conservative political forces may have been hesitant to allow the Papandreou government latitude in rearranging the army's top commands; a move the Premier deemed necessary to democratize the military.

Immediate political developments are not encouraging, since they indicate the rapid breakup of Mr. Papandreou's moderate Centrist Union Party. Many party members have joined the new government headed by George Athanasiades-Novas, himself a Papandreou political supporter. This party split may conceivably force new elections.

If the situation eventually becomes uncontrollable then the entire question of the monarchy's role or even existence may dominate the Greek political arena. A still greater threat is that heated debate may then deteriorate into open royalist-republican strife.

It is sufficiently disturbing that Greece, a genuine democracy painfully working toward economic stability, is threatened with political collapse. Of equal importance is the crucial position this nation of 8 million holds within the Western alliance. Along with neighboring Turkey—whom she is currently at odds with over Cyprus—Greece forms the NATO alliance's vital southeastern tier.

Further, the long-range implications of any protracted instability in Greece are ominous when viewed in the context of the quiet but still simmering Cyprus question. High hopes for solving that thorny dispute were predicated on the existence of a stable and moderate Greek Government. The Papandreou regime met these qualifications, constantly holding in line extremists both in Cyprus and Athens.

With a political breakdown in Greece and civil rule in Turkey subject to military whim, chances for an immediate Cyprus settlement are dim.

It now seems that the only hope for those desiring Greece's best interest is that the nation's democratic fabric may prove sufficiently viable to withstand this most severe political tremor. If the politicians can agree on a mutually satisfactory solution to immediate problems, then the King's controversial role in making and breaking governments may be subjected to a badly needed constitutional analysis under more favorable conditions.

Economic Opportunities Act Amendments of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of the programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Chairman, I am not one of the ministers who are participating in the debate on this amendment, and I shall not deliver a sermon, but I do think a few things ought to be said.

I respect the gentleman from Alabama who sponsored the amendment. He serves on a committee with me, and I respect his ability and I am his friend. But I think his amendment is bad and it ought to be defeated.

For better or for worse, we are engaged in this war on poverty. The act that we passed last year says we shall take community action to mobilize all resources public and private. By his amendment we would say that we are going to put in the ball game everyone but our best players. I say that because in my judgment and in my observation the people who know what to do and the people who work with dedication and the people who have the background and who have the competence really to do the job are the people who are associated with the fine church organizations in this country.

We have heard a lot of talk about politics in poverty. If there is one group that will keep politics out of poverty, it will be the group composed of the dedicated ministers who have worked among the poor and who have worked among the Indians and the various other deprived groups in this country.

One of the very first poverty grants made by the Office of Economic Opportunity was to a church group in Arizona which works on Indian reservations. I said at that time if I had $1,000 to fight poverty and I wanted to squeeze the most good out of it and the most Christian kindness and uplift for these poor people, I would give that $1,000 to the kind of ministers who operate these little churches out on Indian reservations and in other poor areas of my State.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. UDALL. I yield to the Speaker.

Mr. McCORMACK. As a matter of fact the question of the separation of the church and state is not involved in this legislation. It has been injected into it by the amendment offered by the gentleman from Alabama, and due to his extreme fears. If we are going to legislate based on fear, we would never get anywhere. Furthermore, the ones who are dedicating themselves are to a great extent people with a very deep faith and a fine moral outlook without regard to religious conviction but with a constructive missionary state of mind. They are the ones who are interested, as well as others. So the question of separation of church and state is not involved and has been injected into the matter by this unnecessary and unwise amendment.

Mr. UDALL. The Speaker has stated the matter far better than I could.

I hope the amendment will be rejected.

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Chairman, this amendment would strike a serious blow at the very concept of community action programs. Even worse, it would hamper, if not cripple, many of those programs which have been launched during this past year or are just getting underway.

When the Congress endorsed community action as a basic principle in the Economic Opportunity Act, it embraced an American principle which was as old as the Pilgrims and as modern as our united community funds. It is the principle of total mobilization of the resources of a community to solve its problems of poverty and need.

In this country we have never excluded any group willing to extend a helping hand. We have never felt the strife of clericalism and anticlericalism which rent France during the 19th century. We have sensibly accepted the contributions which every group could bring to our common efforts and have thus avoided any danger that one faction would dominate others.

Without this principle, community action would wither in many parts of this country. Our churches were our earliest educators and they are also our oldest private agencies giving aid and hope to the poor. In Alaska today there would be no community action program without the initiative of the Salvation Army, which is establishing in small villages a day care program to enable mothers to earn added income during the fishing and canning season. Our migrant workers throughout the western part of the country would be virtually nonexistent without the planning and impetus which the migrant ministry has brought into many farm areas where these workers are employed. Throughout the South and in many of our big cities churches and church schools are serving thousands of children in the Head Start program. We literally cannot duplicate or find substitutes for their contributions to the war on poverty. They are a substantial part of the total effort to date.

Why should the poor forgo all these benefits and those provided by hundreds of other church-operated community action programs? There is no reason. Certainly the poor do not share the concern of the gentleman from Alabama. Certainly they are not asking to be saved from this badly needed help.

Nor are they being threatened with conversion through alms to a faith which they have not freely chosen. The Office of Economic Opportunity is sensible to the constitutional and other problems

that any excess missionary zeal on the part of religious groups could create. It has adopted admirable rules to ward off any danger of this sort. These rules are in the form of conditions applicable to every community action program which uses church-related schools or involves activities by a church or church-related organization.

Mr. Chairman, these conditions have been universally accepted and widely applauded. They are intended to secularize every aspect of church-conducted community action programs under the Economic Opportunity Act, and to make the sponsoring groups of these programs merely the agencies of a wholly nonreligious effort. They enable this country to utilize the experience, the skills, the energy, and the other magnificient resources which the churches and sectarian groups of this country can and want to contribute to the war on poverty.

To forbid these contributions and banish these groups would be to violate the basic principle of community action. It would be heartless and needless. It would be wasteful. Let me remind the gentleman from Alabama that this act is intended to unite America against a common problem, but his amendment could easily become the lever for dividing America and creating new problems. Where do we stop when once we begin to sort and choose the types of beliefs which we will accept in our ranks? I hope we will not embark on that course today but will remain united in our faith in true community action.

Fair and Open Trade in the Marketplaces of the Free World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD, Resolution 135, by the Philadelphia Councilmatic Body, memorializing the Congress of the United States to enact legislation reaffirming American principles of fair and open trade and international cooperation in the marketplaces of the free world:

"RESOLUTION 135

"Resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to enact legislation reaffirming American principles of fair and open trade and international cooperation in the marketplaces of the free world

"Whereas the State of Israel is one of the United States stanchest and firmest friends in the Near East; and

"Whereas the State of Israel is a bastion of democracy in the Near East; and

"Whereas the Arab States are committed to a policy of boycotting all commercial and industrial businesses that do business with the State of Israel; and

"Whereas this boycott and economic pressure against the State of Israel is not in accord with the American concept of fair business practices and our announced policy of economic cooperation as a means of establishing peace throughout the free world; and

"Whereas the American concept of fair business practices has always been a policy of open and fair trade and international cooperation in the marketplaces of the free world: Therefore

"*Resolved by the Council of the City of Philadelphia*, That we hereby memorialize the Congress of the United States to enact legislation reaffirming American principles of fair and open trade and international cooperation in the marketplaces of the free world; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That certified copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Philadelphia Members of the House of Representatives and to Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK and Senator HUGH SCOTT."

Certification: This is a true and correct copy of the original resolution adopted by the Council of the City of Philadelphia on the 15th day of July 1965.

PAUL D'ORTONA,
President of City Council.

Attest:

NATHAN WOLFMAN,
Chief Clerk of the Council.

Assault on Ignorance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, in a recent article in Weekend, the Saturday magazine of the Record, a leading New Jersey newspaper, Feature Writer Veronica Collings describes the missionary work to be undertaken by a young priest from my district, the Reverend Jude Pansini, O.S.B.

This young Benedictine monk will leave the comparative comforts of urban life to spread the Christian message and bring part of our own heritage to the Catholic Indians of Guatemala.

His work is adequately described in this article which I now place in the RECORD:

ASSAULT ON IGNORANCE

(By Veronica Collings)

An Odyssey of faith begins this week for the Reverend Jude Pansini, O.S.B. The Benedictine monk is preparing to drive from Cresskill to Guatemala, by way of Kansas City, Mo., and Mexico City. Purpose: to found a new Benedictine community among Guatemala's Indians.

The son of Mr. and Mrs. Michael Pansini, of Cresskill, Father Pansini will make the 5,000-mile trip in a jeep for which about $1,000 of the $1,600 purchase price has been raised by friends and well-wishers as a parting gift. The jeep will also provide his transportation while he is living in Guatemala.

The 36-year-old Father Pansini's last few days at home have been full of priestly duties: saying mass at his home church, St. Therese's in Cresskill; being on duty in the emergency room of Teaneck's Holy Name Hospital to give solace to those who need it; and attending to the many details of getting ready for the Central American adventure.

There have been things like getting an oversize gas tank for his jeep. "I'll need a cruising range of some 400 miles," he says, "because when you're in four-wheel drive pulling a plow, or acting as an ambulance over jungle trails, or hauling building materials, you don't get any gas mileage at all."

And there have been interviews with medical suppliers, plus all the other things that take up a busy man's time. The result?

"I've hardly seen my parents at all," he says ruefully. But he's determined to make up for that. "Tomorrow, after mass, we're going to take off for a ride and I'll spend as much of the next few days with them as I can."

Father Pansini said his first mass in St. Therese's Church in Cresskill after his ordination in May 1961. His father, who has lived in Cresskill since 1952, was custodian of the church for 10 years.

Father Pansini will be the first missionary sent from Conception Abbey, Conception, Mo., to Central America. He has studied anthropology and Asian affairs at the University of Hawaii in Honolulu, and at Sophia University in Tokyo. During his 4 years in the U.S. Air Force, from 1951 to 1955, he was stationed in Japan, Korea, and the Philippines.

"I can read Spanish," he said recently, "and I think my knowledge of Italian will help in Guatemala, where Spanish is the official language."

However, he is aware that the Mayan Indians among whom he will work speak mostly in native dialects. Almost all of them are illiterate, Father Pansini said.

His jeep will have no special equipment other than the usual four-wheel drive, Father Pansini said. As for his accommodations along the way, he said: "I'll sleep in churches where I can, and use a sleeping bag where I have to." Reminded that the open air in the jungle is not necessarily the most hospitable environment, he replied, "I'm used to shifting for myself, but I'm not a reckless man."

He will go first to the Benedictine community in Esquipulas, 225 miles south and east of Guatemala City, near the borders of Honduras and El Salvador.

"I will stay there during the dry season from November to May. At that time each year 250,000 Indian pilgrims come on foot to the shrine. When the rainy season starts I'll travel to find a suitable location for a new Benedictine center. Then other monks will be sent to join me."

Father Pansini spoke with enthusiasm of his project of founding a Benedictine seminary.

"Education will have to start with the children," he said. "I hope it will be possible to form a catechetical school for gifted Indians to train priests from the local population.

"The shortage is so acute that many villagers see a priest only once a year. Worship takes the form of rosary recitation and the cult of saints. The basic need for liturgical worship led by an ordained priest is not met."

He spoke of the practice of syncretism, the blending of old religious practices with Christian worship. "But my anthroplogical studies have trained me to value the truly sacred signs in all religions," he said.

"Once the community is established," he said, "I hope that priests in training who intend to work in Spanish-speaking communities in the United States will spend some time there."

He seemed undaunted by the dangers involved, and his parents expressed no worry. Mr. Pansini said that, before coming to the United States from Italy in 1930, he had himself traveled throughout Europe.

Father Pansini has been teaching Scriptures and liturgy for the past 3 years at St. John's Archdiocesan Seminary, Omaha, Nebr. He was born in Hoboken and attended St. Peter's College in Jersey City.

Potomac River Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 29, 1965

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced three bills dealing with the Potomac River which flows through my congressional district. When I came to the Congress in January, I carried with me the same strong devotion to finding solutions to the problems of the Potomac River that I felt during the decade I served the people of Prince Georges County, Md., in the Maryland General Assembly. This devotion has not wavered—but instead has been buttressed by the great interest that President Johnson has exhibited in the Potomac River. The President's proclamation that he wants the Potomac River to serve "as a model for the entire country" finally ended years of ignorance by official Washington of the problems endangering the river which flows virtually right under our noses. What has developed since the President's announcement is a concensus that in order to revive, preserve and make the Potomac a model, there must be a concerted Federal-State cooperative movement. Happily this movement is shaping up on both levels. Concerned State officials in Maryland have taken the lead among the States bordering the Potomac. Interior Secretary Udall has geared up his experts into task forces which will propose programs for the river in a year and a half, but what happens in the meantime? Are we to allow the conditions to become more and more critical? I should hope not, and that is why I am offering the measures which I have introduced today.

The first one is a bill to increase the authorization for purchase of land at Piscataway Park, across the river from George Washington's Mount Vernon home. The status and future of the Piscataway Park is now in a critical period, and I predict that all will go for naught if the Congress does not take immediate steps to increase the authorization for purchase of the remaining riverside property at this parksite. The history of this park goes back to 1961 when the Congress passed a joint resolution which became Public Law 87-362 authorizing an 1,152-acre park in Prince Georges County along the undeveloped riverside and on Piscataway Bay across from Mount Vernon. The action was motivated by proposed construction of a sewage treatment plant on Mockley Point in the Potomac, the construction of which would have ruined the view that Washington cherished. The Congress authorized appropriation of $937,600 for purchase of approximately 586 acres at Piscataway Park with the understanding that about 566 more acres would be donated. The law also authorized acquisition of an additional 2,596 acres by donation of scenic easements on land adjacent to the 1,152 acres. As a result of the measure, the Federal Government purchased 97 acres on Mockley Point, forcing the sewage plant inland and out of sight, and the Accokeek Foundation—headed by the gentlewoman from Ohio—donated 151 acres on Piscataway Bay. The Alice L. L. Ferguson Foundation has donated 91 acres. Altogether, a total of 345 acres are committed for donation to the United States by private owners, and 521 acres remain to be purchased. It is most encouraging that I am able to report that landowners holding property in the Piscataway Park area have agreed to donate more than 120 scenic easements covering more than 850 acres within the authorized scenic easement area of the park.

These scenic easements in effect mean that the United States holds the development rights to more than 850 acres, thus preserving the natural beauty of the park without additional appropriations and without forcing homeowners off the property they rightfully own. What is looming over the horizon is the simple fact that we may lose everything that has been accomplished so far at Piscataway Park except for the 97 acres on Mockley Point that the Government has purchased. The reason is that the deed conveying the 151 acres from the Accokeek Foundation to the U.S. Government contains a reversionary clause which states the property will revert back to the foundation if the United States does not acquire sufficient lands or interest in lands "to establish the proposed park" in 5 years from the date of the deed. It is dated August 8, 1962, which means that it will expire—so to speak—on August 8, 1967. This is little more than 2 years from now. To make the problem more serious, the more than 850 acres under donated scenic easements will also be affected if the park is not established according to Public Law 87-362. These scenic easements also have clauses which require the Government to fulfill its obligation or else lose control of the development of these tracts. It is obvious to practically everyone—and particularly to my colleagues on the appropriations subcommittee on the Interior Department and related agencies—that the $544,493 remaining out of the original authorization of $937,600 is totally inadequate to purchase the remaining property at Piscataway Park. Therefore, I have introduced a bill to increase the authorization from $937,600 to more than $3.5 million. I firmly believe that we have an obligation to finish the work that we have started at this park and to stand by the prior commitment to preserve the view from historic and beloved Mount Vernon. In order to do it we must act soon, before the 1967 reversion clause goes into effect and before we have negated all that has been accomplished at Piscataway Park.

Recent newspaper articles have pointed out the alarming rate at which land values are climbing in the Accokeek-Piscataway area. For example, some property tax bills down there were from 400 to 500 percent higher this year than last. And this is for property that is primarily rural and undeveloped. Farms are selling up to $3,000 an acre, far above the $1,600 an acre which was authorized in Public Law 87-362. The rising land prices indicate to me that this scenic land is on the verge of higher density development—which is exactly what the Congress has indicated it does not want to happen across from Mount Vernon.

Secretary Udall stated in testimony last February:

> We have an ongoing problem opposite Mount Vernon * * * We need additional authorizing legislation.

It must be made clear that my bill does not set a price for the Piscataway property that remains to be acquired. If this authorization is increased, prices will be negotiated as usual within the framework of the law.

There is a phrase which I have mentioned repeatedly so far: It is scenic easements. A major portion of the Piscataway Park project is the securing of donated scenic easements to the U.S. Government. Many persons concerned with open spaces, recreational areas, and proper land development are watching this aspect of the Piscataway Park project very closely. If the U.S. Government can successfully convince many private landowners that it is in their best interests and in the best interests of their county, State, and Nation to donate the development rights to their land toward preserving the natural beauty and open character of an area, then a giant step has been taken for the future. We all know that land prices are skyrocketing. The demand for high-density development is evident in practically every urban, suburban, and rural area. The shorelines along our rivers are threatened and urban encroachment is placing growing responsibilities on our local and State governments to plan and zone intelligently—not for any special interest group and not for any official and not just for the sake of adding to the tax base. In some respects this means that local and State agencies must stand pat—must stop development threatening in some areas so that all available land will not be eaten up with buildings. It is the increasing land costs that are giving some local and State governments the biggest headaches and causing the greatest pain in their purses. As every day passes, they see land prices rise to a point of no return. What they wanted to buy for parkland and open spaces has given way to development because costs were so high to already hard-hit governing bodies.

And this is where the scenic easement comes in. The scenic easement is an instrument whereby a private landowner can donate or sell his property's development rights to his local, State, or Federal Government, thereby preserving the natural beauty of his property and preserving it from high density development which might be deleterious to his whole neighborhood. I am pleased to see that the use of the scenic easement is being recognized more and more as the instrument through which many of our goals for open spaces and preservation of natural beauty can be realized without gigantic expenditure of public funds. But I was somewhat distressed to discover that apparently no one in the

U.S. Government is in a position to accept the donation of a scenic easement if it were offered, say, along the shoreline of the Potomac River, unless the donation was specifically authorized in legislation. There is, to my best knowledge, no general authority invested in a U.S. official to accept, in the name of the U.S. Government, such a donation. Therefore, I have introduced today a bill authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to accept on the behalf of the United States, at his discretion, any donation of an easement.

The possibilities of this measure, if enacted, are many. It could mean that the Interior Department, or some other agency, would be in a position to carry out a campaign of attempting to secure scenic easements donations along our rivers, streams, and lakes, and other areas where we feel we must keep natural beauty in its status quo, where we must continue to allow landowners to reside on their property, and where we cannot afford gigantic spending for the purchase of this property.

I believe that the future of the scenic easement is practically unlimited. My bill does not authorize the Secretary to acquire scenic easements or expend any sums because I feel these authorities must continue to rest with the Congress. Instead, here is an opportunity for the citizen landowner to play a major role in the national campaign for natural beauty. Donation to the Federal Government or to a State or local government of a scenic easement does not mean that there is a public right-of-entry to one's property. It is a recognition of the need for orderly planning and development within the limits of logic, reason, commonsense, and with an eye toward the esthetic values inherent in natural beauty. The Federal Government does not have enough money to purchase the whole shoreline of the Potomac River and I doubt that such authorization would ever come out of the Congress. But property owners of Virginia and Maryland can, through donated scenic easements, do their share toward keeping the shoreline in its natural State between the parks and parkways which the Congress has authorized so that we can say, after pollution has been abated and a water supply established for future generations, that the Potomac River is in fact a model for the whole country.

The third measure I introduced today is a bill directing the Secretary of the Army to remove from the Potomac River the more than 100 abandoned World War I hulls which are floating in Mallow's Bay in Charles County, Md., and at Wide Water, Va., below Quantico. The reason I have offered this bill is because these hulls have to be removed from the river and because the Federal Government has taken a very limited attitude toward its responsibility for these hulls. Admittedly they are abandoned and are no one's property. However, they were originally owned by the Federal Government and were used as World War I troop carriers. In 1922, they were sold for salvage at Mallow's Bay, Charles County, but unfortunately, the job was never completed.

Later, in 1936, the Maryland Court of Appeals held that they were legally abandoned. Since then, these hulls, ugly and rotting, have been wallowing in accumulating silt and sediment which forms around such objects in the water. At least one of them is believed to have caused a person's death because it floated out of the little bay and into the Potomac River channel, colliding with a small boat. The Corps of Engineers disclaims any responsibility except for making certain they remain within the corral of piles to which the hulls are tied in Mallow's Bay.

The citizens of Charles County have been trying to get some action on these eyesores and have had noticeably little success. The hulls are still on view daily on the Potomac River for any passing boats and ships. Now is the time for Congress to take direct action by forcing the Federal Government to remove and destroy these vessels it once owned. I have made provision in my bill for the Secretary of the Army to accept any contribution which the State of Maryland may want to make toward the costs of this project. Since we who are devoted to the interests of the Potomac River have entered the arena of Federal-State cooperation in solving these problems, I see no reason why the State should not want to assume at least a partial financial responsibility for the removal and destruction of these hulls.

There is the potential for a great future in store for the Potomac River. It can be realized with the strong support of President Johnson, his administration, the Congress, and the States and local jurisdictions which border the river. The lessons we learn in making the Potomac a model river can be applied to the other great waterways in the United States. They may also signal a new public awareness of what may have been taken for granted too long and too lightly. This project is not one that will benefit only a single area or a single jurisdiction. Its benefits are for everyone.

Captive Nations Week

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, I proudly join the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD] in the serious recognition of our continuing responsibility to the countless thousands of people who are denied freedom in the captive nations throughout the world. To them I pledge, as have many of my fellow Members of the House of Representatives, that we have not and will not forget their plight. The very principles upon which our Nation was founded constitute our commitment to their eventual liberation.

Remarks by Hon. Henry H. Fowler, Secretary of the Treasury, Before the Virginia State Bar Association, July 10, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following address delivered by the distinguished Secretary of the Treasury, the Honorable Henry H. Fowler, before the 75th annual meeting of the Virginia State Bar Association at Hot Springs, Va., on July 10, 1965. Secretary Fowler's address concerns recent attempts to secure improvements in international monetary arrangements, and the related importance of maintaining a stable dollar to insure world liquidity.

The address follows:

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE HENRY H. FOWLER, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, BEFORE THE VIRGINIA STATE BAR ASSOCIATION

For a Virginian, the honor of sharing in this 75th annual meeting of the association is exceeded only by the pleasure of seeing so many old friends of my native Roanoke and my adopted home of Alexandria.

For an erstwhile lawyer, the privilege of speaking to this distinguished bar, including most notably the 14 life members, is surpassed only by the temerity of choosing international monetary problems as a subject for discussion. But Virginians have always been heavily concerned with and leaders in providing for the United States an appropriate role in international affairs. And Virginians have in this century made notable contributions to and set high standards for the conduct of public financial affairs.

For a Secretary of the Treasury from Virginia, this is a welcome opportunity to pay tribute to two great living Virginians who bear heavy national responsibilities in the fields of finance, taxation, money, credit, and banking, holding two of the most important posts in the U.S. Congress in these areas. I refer to Senator HARRY BYRD and Senator WILLIS ROBERTSON, who serve the Commonwealth and the Nation with distinction and dedication as chairmen of the Senate Finance Committee and the Senate Banking and Currency Committee respectively. No other State is represented by two Senators whose influence and prestige exceeds their seniority by so great a margin. As chairmen of the two committees with which the Treasury, acting for the executive branch, has most of its dealings with the Senate, I am indebted to them for their constant courtesy and their impeccable fairness.

They carry on the tradition of an earlier national statesman from Virginia in the field of public finance in this century, namely, Carter Glass. His service, both in the Congress and as Secretary of the Treasury, is particularly remembered throughout the world of financial affairs. He contributed in a major way to the creation and development of the Federal Reserve System which served to correct many of the outstanding defects of the preexisting national financial arrangements which in many ways find their counterpart in the international financial world of today.

It is to these international financial problems that I would direct your attention this evening.

We have all heard or read a great deal in recent months about the problem this Nation faces in its balance of payments and about the need for the nations of the free world to move toward agreement on ways of assuring the financial resources needed to support increasing international trade and development.

Indeed, world financial questions have never occupied a more prominent place in public discussion than they do today. But to most Americans, I suspect, these problems still seem rather remote from their daily lives and labors—rather unrelated, even, to the other national and international events that engage so much of our interest and our concern. Nor is it unnatural that they should pale beside events such as those in Saigon or in Santo Domingo.

But we must never forget that America's ability to succeed in its difficult and demanding role as leader of the free world—that all the political, diplomatic, and military resources at our command—depend upon a strong and stable American economy and a sound dollar.

We must never forget that our lives can be vitally affected, not only by the events in Saigon or Santo Domingo, but by such apparently far removed occurrences as the outflow of American gold and dollars abroad.

For the role of the dollar as the most widely used international currency is part and parcel of America's leading role in the free world—politically, economically, militarily. More than any other single factor, it is the strength and the soundness and the stability of the American dollar that serves as the essential underpinning of the entire free world monetary system through which the interdependent nations of the free world have fashioned their awesome economic accomplishments of the past several decades.

The solution of our balance-of-payments difficulties and the strengthening of the international monetary system are thus far more than merely arid economic exercises. They are crucial matters which must deeply concern—for, in a broad but very real sense, they deeply affect—not just bankers and businessmen and economists, but every American in every walk of life.

What, then, is our balance-of-payments problem? Why is it so important that we solve it?

Since 1949, the United States has had balance-of-payments deficits every year except for 1957—when our exports soared as a result of the Suez crisis. During that first postwar decade—up until 1958—those deficits were little cause for concern, for they were simply the counterpart of our effort to help rebuild a Europe laid waste by war. Our vast outpouring of dollars was the essential source-spring for replenishing the reservoir of international reserves and liquidity required by a western Europe and a Japan whose financial, as well as physical, resources war had drastically depleted.

Under the Marshall plan and other programs, we furnished some thirty billions of dollars in grants and loans to help put the economies of Europe back on their feet again. With the recovery of Europe, we turned more and more of our dollars toward aiding the underdeveloped countries of the world. We also sent dollars abroad to support large military forces and furnish military aid essential for the defense of the free world.

These measures were eminently successful. By the mid-50's the economies of Europe and Japan were strong and growing, controls and restrictions on trade and payments were being progressively dismantled, and in 1958 external convertibility of the leading European currencies was restored.

But this progress was accompanied by other developments that led to U.S. balance-of-payments deficits far larger than Europe required and than we could live with indefinitely. Rising prices in this country had weakened our competitive position at a time when Europe and Japan had once again become a formidable competitive force in world markets. At the same time, the strength of Europe's economic resurgence and its new-won financial stability began to attract growing amounts of American capital abroad.

Thus, beginning in 1958, things changed—and more swiftly perhaps than most people realized. The dollar shortage which Europe had suffered in the early postwar years was fast disappearing.

During the 7 years 1950–57, our deficits averaged only $1.5 billion a year—and at the end of that period our gold stock amounted to about $22 billion, or more than a third larger than the total volume of dollars held by all foreigners.

Yet over the next 3 years—1958–60—our balance-of-payments deficits averaged almost $4 billion a year. Other countries found their dollar holdings growing more rapidly than they wished, and our gold began flowing abroad in much greater volume—roughly $5 billion in 3 years.

That was the situation that confronted us in early 1961, when we launched a strong and sustained effort to move our international payments into balance once more.

Over a period of 4 years—1961–64—we achieved substantial improvements in many separate accounts entering into our balance of payments, including: a $900 million gain in our commercial trade surplus—those not financed by Government—making it a record $3.7 billion in 1964; a $400 million cut in the dollar outflow as a result of foreign aid; a cut of nearly $700 million in net military dollar outlays despite rising costs abroad; a $1.6 billion rise in our earnings from past private foreign investments.

Simply as a matter of arithemetic, those gains were enough—all else being equal—to have given us virtual balance in our payments last year. But all other things were not equal. Instead of approaching the vanishing point, with the $3.9 billion deficit of 1960 being absorbed by these gains in particular sectors of our payments totaling $3.6 billion, our deficit in 1964 was in fact reduced by a net total of only $800 million to $3.1 billion.

We incurred that deficit—despite 4 years of real and lasting progress—primarily because of a drastic deterioration in the one major area of our balance of payments which our programs had not yet effectively reached in a comprehensive way—the area of private foreign investment outflows.

In 1964, the outflow of private capital abroad reached the $6½ billion mark—more than twice the size of the deficit and up over $2 billion from 1963 and over $2½ billion from 1960. That outflow reflected a variety of causes—including the drive by American business to stake out a claim in the rapidly growing and seemingly highly profitable European markets. But, to a very large degree, the accelerating outflow had its source in the marked disparity that had long existed between European capital markets and our own—a disparity in size and scope and facilities that led borrowers in other countries to tap our market for a large share of their capital requirements. The United States had often enough called attention to this disparity and urged its European friends to expand and improve their markets. But their progress in that endeavor had simply not been large and rapid enough, and we had passed the point where we could sustain the huge drain of capital which that disparity entailed.

We had to act. We had not only to intensify the efforts already underway in other sectors of our balance of payments, but to extend those efforts to include comprehensive curbs upon private capital outflows. It had become abundantly clear that to restore balance to our payments once more we had to attack our deficit on all major fronts simultaneously. President Johnson launched such an attack with his February 10 message to Congress on the balance of payments. The heart of that message was the call to arms of America's businesses and banks—the call to join voluntarily in a national effort to curb the outflow of dollars abroad, while preexisting programs were intensified.

That call has been heard—and heeded. After a bad start in January, our balance of payments improved in February following the President's message and showed a surplus in March, in April, and in May.

Thus we are off to a good beginning, but—let there be no mistake—it is no more than a beginning. Let no one think that a few months of apparent surplus—a surplus purchased only through extraordinary and temporary measures—can suffice.

The likelihood of a surplus in the second quarter of this year does tell us that we are moving in the right direction—that our current measures can turn our deficit into a surplus. But the big job—the job that remains—is for us to demonstrate that we can sustain equilibrium through these measures as well as the longer term measures inaugurated since 1961. We must maintain those extraordinary measures in full force until rising returns from past private investment abroad, our improved climate for domestic employment of capital, enlarged availability of capital in markets abroad, and growth in our trade balance—which requires that we maintain our excellent record of price stability—place our accounts securely in equilibrium.

It is imperative not simply to reach balance in our payments for a quarter or two, or even for a year, but to sustain equilibrium over time. The reasons are clear. Our 14 years of deficits have resulted in a large outflow of dollars to the rest of the world. Because there is worldwide confidence in the stability of those dollars and because they are convertible into gold at the fixed price of $35 an ounce, those dollars are widely used to finance international transactions, and other countries hold them alongside gold in their official reserves.

Today, those dollars—some $27 billion—account for a major share of the international liquidity that sustains the growing free world economy. Some $12 billion of those dollars are in official reserves, while the remainder serve to support growing world trade and investment. Thus, it is essential to the viability of the international monetary system as it exists today that the usefulness and value of those dollars remain unquestioned throughout the world. And, whatever changes might be introduced into that system, the dollar will have to continue to carry a heavy burden as a reserve currency.

If we allowed our deficits to continue, or if we lapsed back into prolonged deficit after a brief period of surplus, we would undermine world confidence in the dollar and impair its usefulness as a world reserve and leading currency. Dollars would return to our shores as claims on our gold, thus depleting instead of supplementing world financial resources. To prevent such a contraction in world liquidity and the widening circles of deflation and restriction that would surely follow, we must reach and maintain equilibrium in our payments as a matter of the highest national priority, along with sustaining the economic advance that has marked the last 53 months.

The paradox is, therefore, that the very increase in official foreign dollar holdings that has fueled so much of the growth in world liquidity in the past—and has thus helped support the growth in world trade—can no longer by allowed to continue if current international liquidity is to be protected. Yet without additions to the reserve dollars that our deficits have so long sup-

plied, the world will need a new and assured source of growing liquidity to support increasing world trade and investment.

This, in a nutshell, is what the issue of world monetary reform is all about. It is to assure ample world liquidity for the years ahead that the United States, in cooperation with other leading financial powers, is seeking workable ways of strengthening and improving international financial arrangements.

For several years now the essential laying of the technical groundwork has been underway as the United States has joined with other major countries in comprehensive studies of the international monetary system—its recent evolution, its present effectiveness and its future. An early conclusion was that there are two elements in international liquidity; on the one hand the more conventional reserves of gold and reserve currencies and on the other hand the ready availability of credit facilities for countries in need of temporary assistance.

As long ago as 1961 the 10 major industrial nations, now known as the Group of 10, negotiated with the International Monetary Fund a so-called general arrangements to borrow whereby the 10 nations agreed to lend to the IMF up to $6 billion should this be necessary "to forestall or cope with an impairment of the international monetary system." That arrangement was activated last December and again this May in order to provide a part of a $2.4 billion drawings from the IMF on the part of the United Kingdom.

On the credit side, also, the members of the International Monetary Fund have now agreed to support a 25-percent general increase in IMF quotas. This 25-percent increase, plus special increases for some 16 countries, will raise total aggregate quotas from $15 billion to around $21 billion. The Congress last month approved a $1,035 million increase in the U.S. quota.

Meanwhile, the Group of 10 and the International Monetary Fund have been continuing their studies of the future course of world liquidity. Deputies of the Group submitted a comprehensive report on the problems involved last August. In their ministerial statement last August, the Group of 10 stated that while supplies of gold and reserve currencies are fully adequate for the present and are likely to be for the immediate future the continuing growth of world trade and payments is likely to require larger international liquidity. While they said that this need might be met by an expansion of credit facilities, they added that it may possibly call for some new form of reserve asset.

A study group was set up "to examine various proposals regarding the creation of reserve assets either through the IMF or otherwise." The efforts of that group have culminated in the so-called Ossola report, submitted to the deputies of the Group of 10 on June 1 of this year, which exhaustively examines, with all their promises and pitfalls, the possible paths to the creation of reserve assets.

Now for the first time in 4 years we are confronted by the happy concurrence of three crucial facts:

1. The U.S. balance of payments is approaching an equilibrium and the executive branch, the Congress and the private sector, including industry, banking and labor, have mounted a program that makes unmistakably manifest our determination to keep it that way.

2. Evidence is accumulating of a rising tide of opinion in many knowledgeable and influential quarters in the free world, private and public, that our international monetary arrangements can and should be substantially improved, building on the basis of the International Monetary Fund and the network of more informal international monetary cooperation that has marked recent years.

3. The completion of technical studies necesary to give a thorough understanding of the problem and various alternative approaches to solution on the part of those at the highest levels of government who must ultimately make these decisions.

We have now reached the moment which President Johnson had in mind when in speaking of new international monetary steps he said: "We must press forward with our studies and beyond, to action—evolving arrangements which will continue to meet the needs of a fast growing world economy. Unless we can make timely progress, international monetary difficulties will exercise a stubborn and increasingly frustrating drag on our policies for prosperity and progress at home and throughout the world."

In taking office, I described this as "the major task facing our Treasury and the financial authorities of the rest of the free world in the next few years."

In recent weeks we have moved beyond the plane of hope and technical studies toward the prospect of more conclusive negotiations from which alone solution can emerge. I met last week with the British Chancellor of the Exchequer James Callaghan and we exchanged preliminary and tentative views on the subject of international liquidity.

Next week I hope to have the pleasure of informal discussions with the Japanese Minister of Finance, Takeo Fukuda, in connection with the Joint Cabinet sessions of the United States-Japan Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs.

Both before and after the scheduled meeting of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank in late September, I expect to visit ranking financial officials of other group of 10 countries, to ascertain firsthand their views on the most practical and promising ways of furthering progress toward improved international monetary arrangements. We must not only be prepared to advance our own proposals, but to carefully consider and fairly weight the merits of other proposals. As Congressman ROBERT ELLSWORTH, of Kansas, in discussing this subject recently remarked: "We must appreciate that if we wish a strong Europe it must be a Europe strong enough to look upon an American proposal as merely one among many possible solutions—all of which will be reviewed together. If we wish their partnership, we must treat them as partners."

Already your Government is engaged in an intensive internal preparation for these bilateral meetings and multilateral negotiations that should follow. In addition, so that the Government may have the benefit of some of the expertise and experience outside the Government in this highly technical area, President Johnson has accepted my recommendation and announced creation of an Advisory Committee on International Monetary Arrangements which includes as its Chairman the former Secretary of the Treasury, Douglas Dillon, and a distinguished group of experts including Robert Roosa, former Under Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs; Kermit Gordon, former Director of the Bureau of the Budget; Edward Bernstein, economic consultant specializing in international monetary policy; Andre Meyer, of the investment banking firm of Lazard Freres; David Rockefeller, president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, and Charles Kindleberger, professor of economics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

With the their help and that of many others who will be consulted including, particularly, many well informed members of the appropriate committees of Congress we shall constantly seek a comprehensive U.S. position and negotiating strategy designed to achieve substantial improvement in international monetary arrangements thoroughly compatible with our national interests. In the various proposals which have and will be made we must determine those which will be acceptable to the United States, those which are entirely unacceptable, and those which may well be appropriate for negotiation.

There will be an initial meeting of the Advisory Committee on International Arrangements on July 16. Hearings are planned before the International Finance Subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee under the chairmanship of Congressman HENRY REUSS, of Wisconsin, to obtain various private and organizational points of view. These hearings and the reports of the commitee will be of great value, together with those of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress and the International Finance Subcommittee of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee under the chairmanship of Senator EDMUND MUSKIE, of Maine.

I am privileged to tell you this evening that the President has authorized me to announce that the United States now stands prepared to attend and participate in an international monetary conference that would consider what steps we might jointly take to secure substantial improvements in international monetary arangements. Needless to say, if such a conference is to lead to a fruitful and creative resolution by some of the free world's monetary problems, it must be preceded by careful preparation and international consultation.

To meet and not succeed would be worse than not meeting at all. Before any conference takes place, there should be a reasonable certainty of measurable progress through prior agreement on basic points.

Our suggestion is that the work of preparation be undertaken by a preparatory committee which could be given its terms of reference at the time of the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund this September.

The United States is not wedded to this procedure nor to any rigid timetable. I shall exchange views with my colleagues in Europe and elsewhere, as well as with the senior officials of the International Monetary Fund, on how best to proceed. The point I wish to emphasize here is that the United States is determined to move ahead—carefully, deliberately—but without delay. Not to act when the time is ripe can be as unwise as to act too soon or too hastily.

We are, therefore, moving ahead—and we are making progress. But we must be aware that the issues involved are complex, and they raise basic questions of national interest. It is not, therefore, easy to arrive at the degree of international consensus we must have for any workable reform of the international monetary system. We can expect no overnight solution—but only patient exploration of the alternatives with our trading partners in a spirit of mutual cooperation. This is the course we are now pursuing.

As we move ahead, we will do well to remember that the existing international financial system has successfully financed an unparalleled expansion in world trade and payments. We have also done much in recent years to strengthen that system. The need now is not to start all over again, to move in a completely new direction. Rather, we must move once more to strengthen and improve the existing arrangements.

And while we proceed solidly and surely toward international agreement on the problems of world liquidity, we in this country must keep ever before us the present and pressing need to protect the existing international payments system by maintaining a strong, sound, and stable dollar.

First things must come first. We are bringing our own payments into equilibrium and we must keep them in equilibrium. By resolutely shouldering that responsibility we will preserve the foundation upon which must rest all efforts to assure free world growth in the years ahead—the monetary system that has served the free world so well in the past.

Labor Union Communists and Our Vietnam Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, I have recently received a very thoughtful letter from two of my constituents in which several very pertinent and pointed questions are raised; and in which are also stated some very fundamental beliefs—beliefs which I feel are shared, in a large part, by a vast majority of Americans.

Under leave to include extraneous material, I am including at this point, the letter:

MOUNTAIN HOME, IDAHO,
July 13, 1965.

Hon. GEORGE HANSEN,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HANSEN: Enclosed is our American Legion magazine vote concerning foreign aid. Also, we wish to comment on the recent Supreme Court decision concerning the holding of labor union offices by Communists, and the policy in Vietnam.

Mr. HANSEN, we wish to know how, if at all, a private citizen can influence a decision of the Supreme Court? It seems that some of the recent decisions have been a tremendous victory for the criminals and Communists. The latest example is the decision of the Supreme Court concerning the holding of labor union office by Communists as shown in the attached newspaper clipping.

It is taught in general ethics that an assailant bent on murder temporarily yields his right to life to that of the person being attacked. We believe the same logic holds true of the American Communist who seeks his constitutional rights of holding labor union leadership. We believe that a person belonging to an organization dedicated to the overthrow of the U.S. Government yields any rights given to him by the Constitution.

We did not vote for President Johnson in the last presidential elections but support fully his strong efforts in stemming the tide of the Communists in southeast Asia and the Dominican Republic.

But why must the United States be so involved with our own fighting troops in Vietnam? Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has been and is willing to fight the Communists. If but a small part of our foreign aid is shunted over to him, it seems that Americas' armed participation would be greatly reduced.

We are against repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, section 14(b). If 14(b) is repealed, the political future of America is at stake, domination of our Government by union officials. In view of the Supreme Court decision mentioned above, it would make one shudder at the thought of our Nation being paralyzed by a general strike perpetuated by Communist union officials.

In these days of Communists, criminals, and leftists demanding their constitutional rights, how about a common ordinary citizen asking for his constitutional rights and ask that he continue having the choice of joining a labor union or not?

Respectfully yours,
Mr. and Mrs. JOHN BARRUTIA.

Bread Tax?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STANLEY L. GREIGG

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. GREIGG. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the RECORD a fine editorial from the highly respected Midwestern magazine, "Wallaces Farmer".

I wish the RECORD to show this fine statement which denounces the false issue of "bread tax" in reference to the farm program.

BREAD TAX?

We have some real questions on the desirability of pegging the price of wheat used in the United States at 100 percent of parity (around $2.50 a bushel). But we also feel that the "bread tax" arguments being used against the proposed plan to do so are lacking in integrity and commonsense.

The bread tax claim was first raised last year when the present certificates plan was proposed and passed. Put in effect for the 1964 crop, the wheat plan required millers to buy "certificates" costing 70 cents per bushel for all wheat processed for domestic consumption.

Since the loan price plus direct payment was lowered 70 cents, the cost of wheat to millers was left at substantially the same level. Even so, the 70-cent certificates were labeled "bread tax" by farm program enemies. no price boost or bread tax was involved.

The figures for the past year prove that no price boost or "bread tax" was involved. Consumer prices for wheat products remained stable over the past year. All that happened was that some $300 million of producer income was charged to consumers instead of taxpayers.

The cry of "bread tax" is being used again this year to fight the proposed boost in the value of wheat certificates to $1.25. Main push is coming from a new lobbying group called the Wheat Users Committee, which is supported by 23 commercial baking companies.

There's a bit more basis for the bread tax claim on the 50-cent boost in the cost of wheat certificates. Even so, the claims are vicious and for practical purposes, fictitious.

The Wheat Users Committee claims the boost would raise bread prices 2 cents a loaf. Fact: it would raise them only 0.7 cent per loaf. A tax on poor people? It would raise bread costs only about $1.60 per year for the average family. And genuinely poor people are eligible for free flour from surplus commodity distributions of low-cost food through the food stamp plan.

The bakers have their hopes set on $1.25 wheat, of course, the present national average loan price. This would drop the cost of their major purchases around 37½ percent from present levels, and 50 percent from the levels proposed in the new farm bill.

Would this bonanza end up in the pockets of the poor people for whom WUC seems to have so much concern? Of course, not. But it would provide some nice boosts in profits for people in the baking business, and without any painful raising of prices.

Captive Nations Week

SPEECH

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, our observance of National Captive Nations Week this year takes on added significance for Americans, coming as it does so soon after the passing of one of our more enlightened champions of world peace and freedom, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson. It is hardly necessary for me or any Member of this body to recall the lofty dedication and total commitment of this gifted and courageous man. We mourn his passing with the certain knowledge that we can ill afford to lose his vision and leadership in these troubled times.

Our observance is also marked by the 20th anniversary of the end of the European war in 1945. It was just 20 years ago that the last trace of Hitlerism was, as Winston Churchill had so often prophesied, burnt off the face of Europe. It has been 20 years since the scourage of Nazi tyranny was eliminated, since men again could lift their heads from the dust and rubble without fear of having them shot away. It has been 20 years since men began again to cast fresh dreams and new hopes for the world. And, ironically, it has been scarcely less than 20 years since a new, more subtle yoke of enslavement has settled about the necks of so many of our European neighbors.

As in each of our observances of Captive Nations Week since it was inaugurated by act of Congress 6 years ago, there will be many moving and impassioned tributes made in this body and elsewhere with respect to the plight of these satellite nations and their captive peoples. We will listen to eloquent words uttered by sincere and high-minded men. Speaking for myself, I welcome this utterance. I welcome the testimonials of sympathy and praise that will surely be made. I welcome the exhortations that will be extended to the captive peoples to cling to their faith, to go on believing and hoping for the deliverance that will one day make them free to chart their own destinies, to choose their own form of government and their own way of life.

But I also seek more than oral tribute, no matter how sincere or well meant it may be. I think it is high time we provided some action to go along with the brave words. I submit that there is no more fitting time to launch such action than right now.

I am speaking, of course, of the action which I and other of my colleagues in this body have long advocated to establish a Special Captive Nations Committee in the House of Representatives. I submit that there has never been a clearer need for the added focus such a committee would provide, nor a better time to take advantage of the reassuring impact such a gesture will have on the people under the

Communist yoke in the subjugated nations.

We are reading and hearing a great deal these days of the increasing ferment within the Communist bloc—of the Sino-Soviet rift, of the unrest and frustration of farmers and consumers in Russia, and of the increasing independence of satellite Communist governments from the influence of headquarters in Moscow. We are encouraged by reports of imminent revolution and seething resentment in many of these captive satellites. We are optimistic over the threatened defection of China from Kremlin leadership and the possible internal rupture that could hasten the downfall of both governments. We are anxiously hopeful over signs that a measure of freedom is being restored through such minor incidents as the sudden resumption of the sale of western newspapers in Bucharest. We are hopeful that these are all genuine signs of the hastening doom of world communism and Red totalitarianism.

If these are genuine indicators of such a trend; if, indeed, we can believe our eyes and ears, what better way to expedite the process than by demonstrating our concern and anxiety through establishment of a Special Committee on Captive Nations. We can solidify and strengthen the natural bonds that connect us with these eastern and central European peoples. We can encourage them to press further, to demand the rights of freemen, to demand the right to choose their own government. And, perhaps most importantly, we can forge a two-way link of communication between ourselves and these peoples. We can provide a national focus to better assess these events, to better judge the mood and tenor of their society, to know better how and where we can apply peaceful pressures to hasten their deliverance.

There is, naturally, a counterbalance of opinion that suggests these so-called changes behind the Iron Curtain are mere propaganda, false and distorted rumors designed to lull ourselves and the rest of the free world into mood of optimistic complacency. The claim is made that, from a practical point of view, things are no different in Poland, Hungary, Rumania, or anywhere else in the Red sphere than they were almost 20 years ago. Certainly there is ample evidence to support this contention.

Free elections are proclaimed, but the list of Communist candidates leaves little to choose between. Freedom of speech is proclaimed, but we listen in vain for the voices of dissent. Self-determination is proclaimed but we wait in vain for our friends and loved ones to cross the frontiers. Symbolically and actually, the Berlin Wall still stands.

So the point remains, I say, that no matter how you gage events inside the Communist satellites, inside Russia, and inside the entire Communist orbit, it is vitally important that we strengthen our knowledge of these events. It is important that we know what is going on there, not only out of sympathy for the captive people within—who are in fact mother and father, brother, and sister to so many of us in the United States—but from the very practical position of our own national security.

It should not be necessary any more to emphasize the significance of internal events behind the Iron Curtain with respect to our national security. The threat of world communism is a genuine, demonstrated reality. We have heard with our own ears the outrageous threats from Communist leaders that they will bury us, and that our grandchildren will be Communists. There can be no mistaking the intent of world communism.

And there is no better way to assess the next manifestation of that intent, or to gage the determination and depth of the next thrust, than to know what is going on behind the Iron Curtain. We cannot ignore the captive nations of Europe any more than we can ignore the future of our own Nation.

The captive nations movement is grounded on the exhaustive exploitation of all possible peaceful means to bring about the liberation of these people. The word peaceful should be emphasized. Among this arsenal are economic weapons of devastating impact. Propaganda devices of frightful power, and the more subtle tactics involved in such things as international trade fairs where the observers from Iron Curtain countries can see for themselves the tremendous outpouring of consumer goods from free capitalist societies.

A Special Captive Nations Committee in this body would go a long way toward improving our activities in all these areas and bringing them into sharper focus. We must keep a clear and alert eye on these nations, in spite of the desparate need for vigilance and preparedness in Vietnam and the rest of southeast Asia. This focus, this important link could be forged in this body through action on House Resolution 140 which I have introduced in the present Congress.

Whatever assessment we make of the political and social climate in Europe today, I think we must agree that the rock of international communism has been nudged a little. Now is the time to put every shoulder against it to keep it moving, to push it over the brink of oblivion. We must not turn our backs and expect it to roll away of its own accord. There are strong forces on the other side who are pushing just as hard to roll the stone over us.

George McLain

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, the recent death of George McLain was a great loss for senior citizens all across this country. He devoted his life to their causes. A resourceful man, he mastered the techniques of legislative advocacy, which he practiced in both Sacramento and Washington, D.C., to the immense benefit of all senior citizens. His death was not only a great shock to his many, many friends, but to all those who worked so hard for and with him in his battle for senior citizens, and to all those who benefited from his great work.

The Other Side of the Coin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Much has been said for wilderness areas and wild rivers programs, often at the expense of the idea of the development of water resources; and overlooking the wonderful job done by our Bureau of Reclamation and other water resource agencies over the years.

I am not opposed to wilderness areas, nor am I opposed to wild rivers. However, I think it is important that we not forget the other side of the coin which I believe was well illustrated in a recent editorial published in the Eastern Idaho Farmer, Idaho Falls, Idaho.

The editorial follows:

[From the Eastern Idaho Farmer, June 10, 1965]

Amid all of the chatter about the preservation of "wild rivers," the U.S. Interior Department has just published a brochure titled "Lake Powell, Jewel of the Colorado."

That brochure prompted John Corlett of the Boise Statesman to make this pertinent observation:

"It is time the people of this Nation were properly educated and told that reclamation and dam building has done more for recreation, benefitting all people, in the West than any other role performed by Government.

An the same recreation benefits exist on the large reservoirs behind private power dams."

It's a point which is generally overlooked. A "wild river" is an inaccessible river. Only 900 people, before Lake Powell, traversed that stretch of the Colorado River. Today, the lake's entire 1,860-mile shoreline is accessible—and millions of people will see it.

What will they see? Floyd Dominy, U.S. Commissioner of Reclamation, has a few words on Lake Powell in that brochure. He calls it an "aquatic wonder," emphasizes the fact that the lake's water is blue and crystal clear and then he adds:

"You have a front-row seat in an amphitheater of infinity. The bright blue sky deepens slowly to a velvet purple and the stars are brilliant—glittering in that vast immensity above. Orange sandstone cliffs fade to dusky red—then to deepest black. The fire burns low, reflected in the placid lake. There is peace. And a oneness with the world and God.

The point which Mr. Corlett make is pertinent. If river areas are to be opened to general public enjoyment, damns and reservoirs provide the way to do it. In eastern Idaho, Island Park and Palisades Reservoirs are perfect examples.

It reminds us, too, of this crazy concept of setting wilderness areas aside. For what? For those few who will undergo the rigors of primitive camp life to see what's locked up so far as the general public is concerned.

Wild rivers are fine—if you don't want anybody to see them.

The Larger War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, it is obvious that our policy in Vietnam has been a failure. It has failed to either contain communism or strengthen democracy. The administration is currently conducting high-level discussions seeking to develop either new policies, or better ways of implementing the old policies. The consequences of the discussions now going on could be either a new world war, or major progress toward world peace. Every Member of the Congress should be deeply concerned about the decisions being made in the name of the United States, decisions which, insofar as they involve the United States in a state of war, are the constitutional prerogative of the Congress.

Columnist Walter Lippmann points out the complexity and delicacy surrounding any decision that is made in his article published in today's Washington Post. I hope that every one of my colleagues will take the time to read this column, which I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks. Mr. Lippmann does his usual excellent job of pinpointing many of the questions to which we should devote our attention most seriously during the next few days.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Post, July 22, 1965]

THE LARGER WAR

(By Walter Lippmann)

Secretary McNamara's return from Saigon has set the stage for a decision which has been anticipated for a long time. Ever since it has become evident that the air strikes would not bring the Indochinese war to an end, it has been virtually certain that the American troop commitment would be greatly increased.

The air strikes were tried out as a relatively cheap and easy way of compensating for and covering up the defeat of the South Vietnamese Army. In the past 6 months the plight of the Saigon Army has become worse and worse, and today its reserves are used up, its troops are deserting in masses, the villages from which it could draw new recruits are in Vietcong hands, communications with the few centers that it still holds are substantially cut.

The decline of the South Vietnamese Army has gone so far that President Johnson is confronted with the question of waging an American war. The crucial question which has to be decided is not how many more American soldiers shall be put ashore in Vietnam. Although this question is of enormous importance to the men themselves and to their families, although Congress and the country are vitally interested because it is certain to involve at least a partial mobilization, the crucial question nevertheless is what the President intends to ask this large American Army to do. Will he give it a mission that can be accomplished? Or will he send it on a fool's errand as all our previous missions in South Vietnam have proved to be—the conquering and occupation of the villages and the countryside by American soldiers?

There is no indication as yet that the President has reached a decision on this fundamental strategic issue. The buildup of American forces does not decide the issue—which is whether the troops are going ashore in order to affirm the American presence during a negotiation for a political settlement, or whether they are the vanguard of a crusade to push communism back of the 17th parallel, to teach China a lesson, to prove that Americans always win their wars. This is the issue that has to be decided, and in a self-respecting free society it would now be soberly and gravely debated.

The President has said enough to keep open his own power to choose. He has often said that he wants a limited war and a negotiated settlement. But again and again he has resorted to the hot slogans which, if taken at face value, would mean not a limited war but a total war. There is no assurance that the country will not be nudged and jostled as it has been for a decade in Indochina—until it slithers and slides into a total war.

We are now in sight of a total war. We shall be much nearer the brink if we transform our intervention to help the Saigon Government into an American war against the Vietcong and Hanoi. For with the crumbling of the Saigon army, with the defeat of the Saigon Government in almost the whole territory of South Vietnam, with the corrosion and corruption of the government in Saigon itself, we are confronted with the proposal to replace the South Vietnamese with Americans, to replace our advisers, and to take command of the war, and—inevitably as a result—to establish an American military government in Saigon to rule the native politicians and generals.

Can there be any serious question that such an expansion of American military power on the Asian mainland is likely to mean a war to the bitter end, not only against the Vietcong and Hanoi, but against China as well.

This is the point on which the country needs to be informed. It needs to be assured from the President himself that we are not enlarging our troop commitment in order to fight an Asian war with an American army and an American command and a military government. For on what terms would we fight such a war, and where could it end? It is too late in the day to worry about protocol, about consulting the United Nations or about consulting Congress and the people. But it is not too late, though it is the 11th hour, to ask and be told whether this is still to be a limited war.

Captive Nations Week

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this time to express my deepest congratulations to my neighbor, the Congressman now in the well, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD].

As he is honored tonight by the Captive Nations Assembly, certainly they pay honor to a man who has done more in my judgment than any single individual in either body of this great Congress to keep alive the light of conscience and the light of hope for so many people over whom has descended the long night of darkness.

It is a great pleasure for me to extend these compliments to my friend from Wilkes-Barre.

Mr. Speaker, I want to close by saying when they do honor tonight to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Congressman FLOOD, they do honor to the effort he has made to try to bring the hope of freedom to these people who exist today in slavery in much of the world.

Five Wishes for My Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, recently, an essay was brought to my attention which was composed by Miss Geraldine Marie Crowle, a 10-year-old student of the Village School, San Lorenzo, Calif. This essay was written to be entered in the annual American Legion essay contest which is intended to encourage patriotism among school children of our Nation.

Miss Crowle's essay won first prize in her own school district and placed second in the State competition. It is entitled "Five Wishes for My Country," and I think her remarks are a very warm and distinct tribute to our Nation and its ideals.

I am very proud to think that a young lady of Miss Crowle's years demonstrate so much interest in her country and its greatness. It is for this reason I would like to share this essay with you and my colleagues:

FIVE WISHES FOR MY COUNTRY

(By Geraldine Marie Crowle, San Lorenzo, Calif., March 15, 1965)

Our country has many wonderful resources and we have ideas about the use of these resources. In order to have a more perfect country we need many ideas in the hope that some day the best ideas will be carried out. The following are my five ideas or wishes for my country.

My first wish is that our country will always be free. This would mean that every person would be free to think and say and do as he thinks best. We don't realize how valuable this freedom is until we read about other countries that have lost it or where it has been lost in our own land.

My second wish is for prosperity. People need to have plenty to eat, a good place to live and warm clothing. People need these things to be healthy and happy.

A third wish is that everyone who wants to work could find employment. People need to work in order to feel useful to their fellow men and to make a living for themselves and their families. Keeping everybody at work will help make our country prosperous and more happy.

My fourth wish is that all children may go to school at least through high school so they will have a good education. Also, I hope that many young people will be able to go to college. This will train our scientists, doctors, teachers, lawyers, engineers, ministers, and others we need to keep our country great.

My fifth and last hope is for peace. A peace-loving nation is respected by all other

nations. Wars destroy homes and property and people and make everyone sad.

Since travel is getting faster the world is getting smaller. Before we go to other countries or to other planets to tell people there how to live we should know the secret of happiness ourselves.

The Young Republican National Platform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, the Young Republican National Federation recently met in their biennial convention at Miami Beach, Fla., and adopted a platform in which I think Americans all across the land can take pride.

It is a comprehensive statement of principles that reiterates the basic rights of the individual—at the local, State and National levels. These outstanding young people, I am proud to say, realize the vital importance of free enterprise, the necessity of maintaining a strong two-party system, and the continued support of strong American leadership within the established alliances among nations of the free world.

The young leaders of the Republican Party—and we must remember that these generations are the homeowners, consumers, and taxpayers of tomorrow—indicate in their platform that the Federal dole is not the answer to alleviating poverty, unemployment, and other ills of our society. Their concern about fiscal responsibility and their support for programs that will help Americans help themselves, instead of turning always to the Federal Government, I think, point to the trend of national leadership that American youth is going to demand in years to come. They call for a reduction in the national debt and for a tax system which provides incentives instead of penalties for those who progress economically.

The delegates to the convention—representing over 500,000 Young Republicans—show their concern for not only the future of the free citizens of America but the free citizens of the world and the destiny of mankind. They want to guarantee that the cherished freedom they inherited will be preserved as a prized possession for future generations.

I congratulate the members of the platform committee, chaired by Allen Jones, of Georgia, and the delegates to the 1965 convention for their keen insight into problems facing our country today. It gives me great pleasure to present to the Congress and the American people the entire text of the Young Republican's national platform.

I am informed by the Government Printing Office that this material runs over two pages and will cost $230 to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Therefore, under unanimous consent I place the platform in the Appendix of the RECORD:

PLATFORM ADOPTED BY YOUNG REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION, MIAMI BEACH, FLA., JUNE 14–19, 1965

PREAMBLE

The Young Republican National Federation reaffirms its faith in constitutional government and justice for all mankind. We invoke the blessing of our Creator and offer the following principles and platform to all Americans.

We believe that every individual has the right to govern his own affairs, to establish his own goals, and to seek his own destiny free of paternalistic government.

We believe that the Constitution of the United States was secured to insure the blessings of freedom and equal opportunity for all Americans. Any attempt to alter the intent of the Constitution by other than explicit and authentic act of the people will lead to the eventual destruction of our liberties.

We believe that great power, whether government or private, potilical or economic, must be checked, balanced, and restrained. And where so necessary, dispersed as to prevent it from becoming a threat to freedom any place in the land. We believe in returning to and maintaining a distinct division of powers between the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the National Government.

We believe that Federal Government must exercise fiscal responsibility, and to that end must use restraint in its demands upon the resources of this Nation.

We believe that debt passed to future generations abridges the freedoms of our posterity.

We demand that the Federal Government adhere to the Constitution by maintaining the common defense against totalitarian governments who would deprive us of our liberty and sovereignty as a free nation.

We believe in the inherent worth and dignity of each individual and that this country can reach its full strength only when there is an opportunity for each individual to employ his talents to the full extent of his ability.

We believe that primary goals of the Young Republican National Federation are to educate American youth with the principles of the Republican Party, to encourage the active participation of American young people in the Republican Party, as well as to foster the growth and unity of the senior Republican Party through close liaison and cooperation with it.

FISCAL POLICY

In the framework of a free economy, we believe the following policies are essential to: foster higher employment, stability of the economy, a sound American dollar, and eradicate the corrosion of inflation.

1. All Government expenditures must meet the test of a true contribution either to national security or to areas of economic progress that cannot be fulfilled by the individual or free enterprise.

2. Gradual reduction, rather than raising, of the national debt in these prosperous times. We must pay for Federal expenditures out of tax revenues.

We must improve our tax system to provide more incentives for economic progress to make it fairer for the individual who is willing to put out great effort to prosper. We favor reward for the man who achieves more, rather than the penalty of a high tax rate. We recognize that the hardest hit group is the middle income group, from which the majority of the tax revenue is obtained, and that a revamping of the tax system is long overdue.

We believe in the privilege of building up a tax-free saving reserve.

Democrats have attempted to make the Federal Reserve Board a political plum, and force it to foster the equivalent of printing press money. We deplore this policy and favor a strict credit policy by an independent Federal Reserve, mindful of the classical restraints of free interest rate trends and gold movements. This is most needful for the furtherance of international trade as inflation pushes up our prices and makes it difficult for us to compete with the rest of the world.

INCOME TAX

Tuition tax credit

We Young Republicans rely on the individual's right and capacity to advance his own economic well being, to control and enjoy the fruits of his labor and to plan his own and his family's future.

We support tuition tax credits for higher education.

The tuition tax credit program would in turn provide continued diversity, equality, and advancement of our culture of which education is the main factor.

Deduction

We recommend an increase in the basic individual exemption from $600 to $1,000.

We reject the philosophy of taxation for the purpose of redistributing wealth. The steeply rising rate of the progressive individual income tax is inequitable and is damaging to individual freedom and the economic well-being of the Nation.

BUSINESS

We stand for a free enterprise system. We believe in profit, and that those who will expend the effort in study and practice to become a better producer whether he is the man on the line or the business owner, should be rewarded by a freedom from governmental intervention, and by a favorable tax structure.

The national Democrat administration believes and fosters constant suspicion of the free enterprise system, and believes that it should operate only under close Government supervision.

The Young Republicans believe that the free enterprise system offers the greatest basic strength for America. We have an abiding faith in the private enterprise system as a force for good and the only lasting prosperity. We firmly believe that its principles are not only right, but that regulation should be no more than is necessary to protect the interest of all Americans.

To that end we demand an immediate halt to the accelerated growth of Federal interference. We urge the orderly withdrawal of the Federal Government from competition and involvement in those areas of our Nation's productive economy which are more naturally and properly the province of private enterprise.

The Republican Party is proud of its heritage and its record in promulgating antitrust legislation. We urge continued use of this legislation when in the best interest of American citizens—and not as a blackjack in the hands of power-hungry Democratic administration.

LABOR

As free men, Americans have the right to negotiate with their employers either as individuals or collectively, and likewise employers with their employees, in order to obtain terms of employment which are beneficial to both labor and management. An important corollary of this freedom is the right of men to withhold their labor in an effort to obtain an agreement more beneficial to themselves.

The proper role of Government in labor-management relations should be to protect the rights of both labor and management, not to grant favors to one at the expense of the other or of the entire Nation. It must see that the terms of contracts are kept and that law and order are maintained at all times.

We further believe that section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law should be retained. Approval and enforcement of contracts is constitutionally and traditionally the domain of the States. It is therefore consistent that each State legislature, representing its populace, should continue to have right-to-work laws. Such diversity of authority in this field as in others, prevents all Americans from suffering for the errors of any one governing body.

It is not necessary, then, that the Government disrupt the workings of the free market. It need only perform vigorously its proper task of protecting the life, property and freedom of the people, whether they be the worker or the employer.

AGRICULTURE

We favor a policy of withdrawal from the regulation of agriculture by the Federal Government and the eventual restoration of a free market.

We propose an end to the continuing depressed market conditions brought about by huge Government-held surpluses and parity programs designed to maintain control over the individual farm family.

We propose the following steps to achieve these ends:

1. A gradual elimination of farm surpluses presently held by the Government through available means except the open market itself, thus encouraging the operation of a free commodity market operating without the depressive effect of huge governmental commodity sales.

2. A commodity by commodity elimination of Government farm subsidies and controls.

3. Encouragement of independent farming by sponsoring the increased availability of private credit.

The natural operation of a free market will quickly return a long-awaited prosperity to the general agricultural economy. Adjustments will take place automatically under the free enterprise system and the individual farm family can be freed from bureaucratic planners.

HEALTH

As Young Republicans, we proudly commend the doctors and medical services of this country, whose initiative and self-sacrifice in the interest of their profession, has provided the American people with the highest standard of health care.

We oppose any attempt to bring our private system of health care under the control and domination of the Federal Government. We recognize that the elderly and the indigent may need assistance in attaining proper and adequate medical care. However, we also believe that the spirit and intent of our Constitution is to encourage local solutions to these problems in the field of medical care as they arise.

EDUCATION

We encourage the adoption of responsible State and local government programs in the field of education.

We believe that continued progress in education is vital to the future growth and development of this country and all of its people. We are convinced that education holds the solution to many of today's seemingly insolvable problems.

We refuse to accept the premise that our educational progress can only be achieved through increased Federal aid to education, conversely, we believe that individual citizens can and should meet the financial needs of State, local, and private school systems and institutions of higher learning without Federal aid.

We applaud and call for the extension of more individual privately financed student loan programs.

We believe that our educational system must continue to operate in an atmosphere of freedom and enlightenment—removed from the burden of Federal control and unwarranted intervention.

WELFARE

Our standard of living and economic prosperity are the creation of free enterprise not of government; of freedom, not of force. Personal responsibility and initiative have always been our national characteristics, providing in large measure our progress in human welfare.

We believe in the principle of helping individuals to help themselves.

We encourage charity as a voluntary private affair promoted by individuals and families, by churches, community charities and other similar institutions that have been established for this purpose. Charity in its rightful form can fulfill this responsibility when political considerations are removed from welfare programs.

In case the voluntary agencies cannot fulfill these needs, it is within the province of the government at the most local level to help the individual help himself.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

We oppose any extention of legislation that will impede the lawful pursuits of Americans in their constitutional right to purchase, own and transport firearms.

We favor positive antigun legislation. We urge the adoption of legislation that will strengthen already existing laws—not disarm Americans.

We favor legislation which will deter and prevent minors, convicted felons, and the mentally ill from obtaining concealable weapons.

We recognize that we are a nation of sportsmen—many of whom are engaged in the legitimate pursuit of marksmanship, hunting, and firearms collecting.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The 1964 Civil Rights Act is the law of the land and, therefore, we support it. In addition, we support the Republican voting rights bill which insures every eligible American the right to vote.

Civil rights involve equal protection under the law and freedom of action in the conduct of one's life and the right of qualified citizens to vote. Moreover, public facilities and institutions should be equally available to all.

Government should adhere firmly to the principle that the rule of law is supreme and that every individual, regardless of his race, religion, or national origin, is entitled to equal protection of the law and equal rights under the law. Government should take effective action to deal with persons or groups who use force or threats to obstruct lawful court orders.

We pledge to support the principle of equal enforcement of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution to every citizen and to support such legislative actions as may be required to end the denial, for whatever unlawful reason, of the right to vote.

The effective exercise of the franchise is the true defense of all other rights. We urge that Federal, State, and local governments faithfully execute and enforce the law so that every eligible citizen shall be able to register and to vote without impediment or intimidation.

Government cannot impose brotherhood by force. It can, however, by protecting the lives, rights, and property of all citizens, maintain that climate of freedom in which progress can take place.

FOREIGN POLICY

The protection of America, American interests, and freedom must always be the primary objective of our foreign policy. The free world is threatened by international communism. Therefore, it is essential that the clearly stated prime goal of our foreign policy be the attainment of freedom for all the citizens of the world.

Alliance with free world nations must be strengthened as major bulwarks against Communist aggression. Such groupings as NATO and SEATO are the first line of defense. Furthermore, the United States must assume the role of leadership among free world nations in seeking peace—not a peace of surrender, but a peace in which freedom and justice will predominate.

Communist China

Inasmuch as Communist China has illustrated itself to be a nation opposed to the freedoms of mankind as manifested through its aggressions against the peaceful governments of Tibet and India, its refusal to join or honor the multilateral atmospheric test ban treaty, and its prolonged opposition to and intervention in the freedom of governmental choice in South Vietnam, we believe the United States must be committed to the termination of Communist China's global aspirations and designs. The United States must stand opposed to extending diplomatic recognition to Communist China and to its admission to the United Nations and must not establish any trade with Communist China.

Foreign trade with Communist countries

It is our belief that trade with Communists nations strengthens tyranny's hold over its enslaved subjects. Such intercourse with Communist tyranny lends prestige to our enemies and disheartens its victims. Trade with our enemies is contrary to American principles of humanity and free world interests in the cold war.

We, as Young Republicans, emphatically oppose such trade and urge a principled effort to employ the resources of the free world to defeat the Communist enterprise in all its phases.

Vietnam

The Young Republican National Federation gives its support to the present U.S. policy and traditional Republican policy in Vietnam and at the same time we should never dismiss our ultimate aim of victory over communism. We believe that this intent of victory would never be served by the establishment of a coalition government including the Vietcong Liberation Front. It is our belief that the key to victory lies in the increase of American air power, thereby reducing the needless sacrifice of the lives of thousands of American soldiers who serve as ground forces.

Moscow Nuclear Test Ban Treaty

The 1963 Moscow Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was negotiated on the same premise of mutual trust with the Soviet Union as were all the now defunct agreements made at Tehran, Yalta, Potsdam, and Geneva.

The recent Soviet atomic testing, which violated the treaty, exemplifies the continuing deception by the Soviets at the bargaining table. The best interests of the free world demand that the United States formally rescind its participation in the nuclear test ban treaty, and immediately resume development of its nuclear retaliatory capacity.

Dominican Republic

The Young Republican National Federation supports any U.S. military action in Latin America which upholds the Monroe Doctrine. We are opposed to any military action which aids in the establishment of a neutral or leftist government in Latin America.

We are convinced that friendship of other nations cannot be bought, but that those who experience democracy in action here almost uniformly return to their own countries as unofficial ambassadors for the United States. We urge therefore that an appropriate portion of Alliance for Progress funds be utilized to bring future Latin American

leaders here for 1 to 2 years of Government-supported academic training.

United Nations

To the extent that the U.N. serves the ideals of freedom and sovereignty of nations, it deserves the support of the United States. However, the U.N. should not make U.S. foreign policy, it must be developed by our Government. At present the U.N. is not supporting freedom and sovereignty of the individual nations, therefore, we propose the reevaluation of our support and suggest withdrawal until and unless these conditions are met.

At any time, voting privileges must be limited to peaceful nations which meet their financial obligations of membership.

Puerto Rican statehood

Since the people of Puerto Rico are loyal American citizens with whom we have shared the same toll of suffering and bloodshedding in the defense of democracy and liberty; since the transitory commonwealth status of Puerto Rico is being used as a propaganda tool against the United States in this hemisphere swept by subversion and red infiltration; and finally since 97 percent of Puerto Rico's electoral population has supported a permanent union with the United States, we believe that any undue delay at this time could only harm our Nation, for increasingly the numbers in this hemisphere who believe that the United States would never grant statehood to a people of Latin blood and heritage mounts. Statehood would make possible a greater participation of the people of Puerto Rico in national affairs with the understanding that whatever differences are between us are those of nature and circumstances bestowed by God and history—understood by all and appreciated as such.

This act shall come at a precise time in history when this commitment of brotherhood will belie all the rumors and put them to rest in the very act. Therefore, the Young Republican National Federation strongly recommends that Puerto Rico be admitted to the Union as the 51st State as soon as a referendum is celebrated in Puerto Rico.

Cuba

Since Fidel Castro first assumed power, Communist Cuba has been the base for a string of subversive activities against its neighbors, starting with the armed invasion of Panama in 1959; including aggressive actions and subversive activities by Castro-led Communists in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, British Guiana, Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, Puerto Rico, Venezuela; and ending with today's aggressive intervention in the Dominican Republic.

Recognizing that Communist Cuba poses a direct threat to the security of free people throughout the hemisphere, we would end the silence of the present administration on Communist Cuba, and we would implement immediately:

A halt to the present administration's interference with the efforts of the Cuban freedom fighters in their attempts to liberate their country.

We believe that the United States must support any people striving to overthrow tyranny, and we would assist the Cuban freedom fighters in every way possible to expedite their overthrow of the Communist Government of Cuba. We would recognize and extend assistance to a Cuban Government in exile.

We would discontinue economic and military aid to any nation that carries on trade with Communist Cuba.

We believe that in order to promote the cause of freedom, the United States is morally bound to stop Communist intervention in Cuba.

Captive Nations Week

SPEECH

OF

HON. J. WILLIAM STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, I should like today to draw to the attention of the people of the United States and of all free nations around the world the plight of those countries still held in subjugation by the Communist powers of the world. The President has marked this week of July 18 to July 24 as Captive Nations Week; I urge freemen everywhere to devote time to the study of those people less fortunate than they.

In this time of Communist propaganda which decries the supposed imperialistic tendencies of the Western nations, we should stop a moment and consider the true world situation. The Communist claim that imperialism exists is unfortunately true; yet it is time to realize that the true imperialists of the 20th century are the Soviet and Communist Chinese Governments.

Russia's imperialism in Europe was accomplished during the first half of this century; during more recent years it has been effectively contained. However, the conditions behind the Iron Curtain remain the same; the free world tends to lose sight of the continued existence of Soviet imperialism. More attention should be devoted to the plight of the Baltic and eastern European States, many of which are nations famous in past history for their just and democratic way of life. Every day in eastern Europe there appears a new sign of the will of the people to reassert their own national values. The nations under Russian domination are struggling to reestablish their freedom; it is the duty and the privilege of all freemen to encourage these brave people in their pursuit of independence.

Yet in other areas of the world the Communist domination is growing rather than diminishing: Communist China does not for 1 day pause in its determined course of imperialism. The nations of Asia are constantly menaced by Red Chinese advances into their territory, whether in the form of massive propaganda campaigns or of armed guerrillas seeking to overthrow the existing government. Recently the Chinese Communists seized Tibet; today, under the cover of most unconvincing propaganda, they are struggling to extend the Bamboo Curtain to Laos and South Vietnam. They have been extremely active in Africa as well, determined to take advantage of the political instability and the economic weakness of newly independent states.

It is our duty—and that of all freemen as defenders of freedom throughout the world—to aid and encourage the struggle of these people under Communist control or threatened by Communist takeover to achieve and to preserve their independence. Let us turn our attention toward freedom; let us appreciate fully our most treasured possessions of autonomy and democracy; let us hope that all peoples of the world succeed in their pursuit of these most priceless gifts.

Measure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, I join KSL radio and TV, Salt Lake City, Utah, in asking: "Is the United States destined to stand alone as an island of cumbersome backwardness"?

In a recent editorial, KSL pointed out the rediculousness and awkwardness of the system of weights and measurements used in the United States—and in some other backward countries. However, the editorial notes that some of these countries are moving ahead; moving into the 20th century by adopting the metric system.

The United States, Mr. Speaker, has a metric monetary system which, I believe we will all agree, is the simplest, most workable, easiest to learn and use system possible. When will we apply this same system to our weights and measurements?

The KSL editorial follows:

MEASURE

How many thousand paces is it to the moon?

What fraction of the width of a man's thumb is allowable tolerance on a computer circuit?

How many thousandths of a milk pail of serum should a man be given to protect against poliomyelitis?

Ridiculous questions? Of course. But how much more ridiculous than trying to operate in the space-atomic age with a system of weights and measures little removed from the stone age?

Consider the origins of our present units of measure. The mile is based on a thousand (mil.) paces by a Roman soldier. The inch is the width of a man's thumb. The gallon is the size of a French milk pail. And so on.

How do we manage to get satellites into orbit using such primitive measures? The answer is, we don't The world of science, including American science, has long since switched to the logical, easily assimilated and handled metric system. Others are doing so, including the pharmaceutical industry and, now, the military.

But the schools still teach our present disorganized weights and measures system, meaning that a new system must be learned when a man goes into some occupations. And our business and industrial community still uses the old system, placing a heavy burden of conversion on world trade.

Long ago, we should have switched to the metric system. Not having done so then, we should now; every year we delay increases the ultimate cost when we inevitably do switch.

Britain, hardly famed for rushing off in radical new directions, has decided to switch, making the change gradually over the next 10 years. India is switching now. Most

Commonwealth countries are expected to follow.

Is the United States destined to stand alone as an island of cumbersome backwardness? Perish the thought. Let's not be the very last nation intelligent and courageous enough to switch to metrics.

Reject Repeal of Section 14(b)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I have repeatedly stated my opposition to President Johnson's demand for repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act; the section which permits States to have right-to-work laws.

My home State of Iowa made its decision a number of years ago, and an overwhelming majority of the people of the State have indicated their support of the Iowa right-to-work law. This year, the Democrat-controlled State legislature rejected legislation to repeal the law.

Among the many Iowa newspapers which have urged retention of section 14(b) is the Mason City Globe-Gazette. Following is an excellent editorial which appeared in a recent issue of the newspaper:

Freedom of association is the key to the forthcoming debate and vote in Congress over repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law. This section allows States to have right-to-work laws.

Organized labor has fought to abolish the right-to-work laws, State by State, but Iowa and 18 other States still have them.

Failing in this approach, organized labor now is driving for repeal of section 14(b) so that present State right-to-work laws would be invalid.

This would mean that the union shop would be legal in all States. In other words, once a union wins recognition as bargaining agent for employees in any company, it would be mandatory that all employees join the union within a specified period of time.

Suppose a union wins a recognition election by a 55-percent vote. Under the union ship arrangement, the other 45 percent of the employees would have to join the union whether they wanted to or not.

This represents a severe restriction on an individual's freedom of association.

Many unions have won the equivalent of union shops in Iowa industrial plants, not through compulsion but by convincing employees and management that this is the wisest course.

The Iowa Federation of Labor, AFL–CIO, however, long has wanted to go a step further. It made repeal of Iowa's right-to-work law its primary objective in the recent legislative session.

Organized labor, in Iowa strongly backed the Democratic Party last November and apparently had a big head start toward repeal of the law when the Democrats swept both houses of the Iowa Legislature.

Union leaders had the advantage, too, of a reapportioned legislature that was far more responsive to population than to area.

Yet, the union bid for repeal of the right-to-work law foundered in the senate despite a 34-to-25 Democratic majority.

We believe this is a proper matter for the States to decide.

There is no oppression of the individual here, no denial of rights that would require Federal action.

In fact, the right-to-work law defends the right of an individual to determine whether or not he wants to join a union.

There will be free riders under such freedom of choice, just as churches and chambers of commerce and farm organizations have free riders.

The way to overcome foot dragging, however, is by performance and persuasion, not by compulsion.

Arthur Goldberg, now a U.S. Supreme Court Justice, dwelt on this point in 1962 when, as Secretary of Labor, he explained to the American Federation of Government Employees why the union shop was not for them:

"In your own organization, you have to win acceptance not by an automatic device which brings a new employee into your organization, but * * * by your own conduct, your own action, your own wisdom, your own responsibility, and your own achievements."

Inflation Pattern

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, the lead editorial in the Sidney (Ohio) Daily News of July 17, 1965, is entitled "Inflation Pattern."

Notwithstanding the fact that more people are now employed at higher wages than ever before in our history, the deficit for the last fiscal year was $3.8 billion. With new and additional authorized spending, and more to come before Congress adjourns, the deficit for the new fiscal year is sure to be greater than in the year just ended.

Of course, added to normal spending will be the greatly increased war—Vietnam—time spending.

Inflation, in its early stages, is so pleasant, yet so dangerous, that constant warnings of its destructive effect should be read by everyone.

The editorial follows:

[From the Sidney (Ohio) Daily News, July 17, 1965]

INFLATION PATTERN

In a recent announcement, President Johnson said the expected deficit for the fiscal year which ended June 30 is $3.8 billion instead of the previously estimated $6.3 billion. He gave credit for the reduction to increased tax revenues along with reduced spending.

It goes without saying that any improvement in the Government's fiscal position is good news. But the fact that a deficit of several billions has occurred during a time when business activity, purchasing, the gross national product and all other economic factors have been at record levels should give us reason to pause.

One seriously questions what would happen if the country should undergo even a moderate recession. If the budget cannot be balanced in a period of unprecedented boom, when can it be?

In the meantime, deficit financing continues to produce its inevitable corollary—inflation. It is true that the month-by-month increases are small, but cumulatively they mark a further serious degradation of the value of the dollar.

They fall hardest on people of small means, whom Government policy is supposed to help. Preserving what is left of the dollar's worth by eliminating deficits certainly should be a major order of business in Washington.

The Nation Is at War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, July 16, there appeared an editorial in the Nashville Banner of Nashville, Tenn., an outstanding newspaper of this Nation, relative to our situation in Vietnam.

The editor of this paper is Mr. James G. Stahlman. He is certainly supporting President Johnson in every respect in this conflict. This editorial is to the point and is so outstanding I thought it should be brought to the attention of the Congress. The editorial follows:

[From the Nashville Banner, July 16, 1965]

WAKE UP AMERICA: THE NATION IS AT WAR

It's an odd menagerie from which raucous voices rise—and screams in the night; for purpose of infection with their own virus to defame and divide America. They run the gamut, from intellectual harpies to the conglomerate addicts of beatnik pills—but despite diversity of feather and frock, they are one in contempt and their target of hate. To whatever cause they feel allegiance, it is not the United States of America.

They assemble, as in that Harvard teach-in Wednesday night, to dissemble; and read the riot act to U.S. policy. There ragtag luminaries chanted their theme song—the borrowed equivalent lyrics of "Yankee, Go Home"—interspersed with vicious slurs at President Johnson, questioning his sanity.

Character assassins come in various mental sizes, types, and settings; but are recognizable by sight as well as sound and smell. There's a strips running from head to tail. They are beloved only of their own kind, with whom they fraternize; a fifth column on whatever premises they trespass, whether they preach sedition, per se, or engage in verbal assault on the Nation's Chief Magistrate.

The outrage at Cambridge was characteristic of this strip, and an audience of decency would not have kept its seat for such a tirade of venom spewed on the President—man and office. These characters would have relied, for protection of the "right" they claimed, on the very institutions of Government they were abusing. In their contempt for authority, they would crumble the every law which is the instrument of individual and public defense. The ignoramus might not know that, but college professors should—and do. An author, of whatever dimension in public repute, like Norman Mailer, unquestionably should, and does.

America cannot countenance, by ignoring it, this affront—climaxing the series of episodes in a campaign of brainwashing addressed to insurrection. It owes no such considerations of tolerance to those who—whether merely stupid, or purblind "celebrity" dupes, infaturated with their own

IQ—in time of war give aid and comfort to the enemy.

Make no mistake about it, America is at war, and that war is escalating.

The conflict in Asia is no less real because it has not been formally declared by Congress. We are at grips with the enemy there—with American sons on that firing-line, in a number approaching 100,000; and an additional mobilization of 200,000 in prospect for security readiness wherever the need exists.

Regardless of the nomenclature employed to date—for lack of precise definition—that isn't a "police action." Bearing in mind the scope of enemy aggression built and building for a test of American initiative, courage and resolution in the defense of freedom to which there it is committed, the dimensions of threat exceed the one met in Korea.

The cost of that stand will be in blood and substance; but American men there sent know that the ultimate sacrifice would be greater if—failing to meet in full strength the Communist challenge, we merely postponed the eventual showdown.

Awesome decisions rested on realization of that, and realism abandoned the no-win policy that prevailed too long. President Johnson acted as national honor and free world survival decreed; with courage, and with confidence in the patriotic response of a people equally concerned—when they know the score—with freedom's future.

They need to be told that score in all its stark reality; not in spoon-fed doses, to awaken by degrees and stages to the full picture.

The war is going on in Asia—in Vietnam and on its perimeter northward where the enemy is entrenched; and it must be won there, before it spills over from that to another continent—namely our own.

It is not an engagement for timidity and mincing steps of Nice Neilleism, sensitive to the possibility of offending the enemy. The war is of that enemy's making—and there must be no repetition of the retreat and appeasement and privileged sanctuary business that made for disaster in Korea, as well as that which permitted establishment of Castro's Communist bastion with its Russian missiles in Cuba.

The American people never have failed to rally solidly to the flag—and follow where it leads—in times of military crisis. Historically, they have awaited only trumpet call sounding no uncertain note. When it is made abundantly clear by our policy spokesmen, it actually will confirm what concerned millions have known all along—that sooner or later this showdown was inevitable; and that there is no substitute for victory.

The American people by and large know which side they are on—and it isn't that of the enemy, or the putrid pipsqueaks addicted to that side of global obsessions contemptuous of their country, affinity with the brainwash technique to the point of borderline treason; or for ideological kicks.

To even the casual beholder it must be significant that these oddballs expend no vituperation on the enemy. They reserve it for the President of the United States, and his military and foreign policy advisers; and they spew it in compounded doses when the policy formulated begins to knock with real meaning on the enemy's door. The insult they magnify embraces every mother's son now fighting where he was sent by his Government—and they spit upon the graves where brave men sleep.

No American in his or her right mind will fail to register repugnance at such an exhibition. Let it be said that in this spectacle of contempt, the contempt is mutual—and the would-be brainwashers need a laundering not only of brain but soul. They are celebrities only in the sense that a tumblebug is the cynosure of curious eyes before he gets stepped on. It's stepping time.

Notwithstanding the doodlebug riffraff, this is not a divided country, with the realities of war registering and mounting daily. It can be and will be a more solidly united country, on the issues involved, when the facts of military crisis are fully submitted for its total enlightenment.

The President of the United States has awesome responsibilities, indeed. The people share with him the ultimate responsibility—and need to be told, insofar as security considerations permit, the whole story.

The day cannot be far off when President Johnson must appear before Congress and there present formally the case of and for this confrontation. At the first available moment he should do that.

The Chief Executive, the parents, wives, sweethearts, brothers, sisters, friends, and associates of the thousands of Americans are ready in Vietnam, and the other countless thousands who will see service there and elsewhere before it is concluded—should be spared the indignities, the tortures, the discouragements being heaped upon them by blatherskites in Washington, the phony protests of the collegiate leftists, the raucous rantings of paid professional rabble rousers mouthing the Commie line of retreat and get out.

This is the time for unity.

The United States cannot afford division against the common enemy.

It is time to shut up, stand up, and put up. This war must be won.

Mort Levine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the city of Milpitas, Calif., located in the Ninth Congressional District of that State, is well known for its democratic, progressive atmosphere. It is noted especially for its success in integrated community living.

Milpitas is extremely fortunate in having the Milpitas Post as its local newspaper. The concern of the Post is not only with community service and activities, but with broader issues as well. The editor, Mr. Mort Levine, is to be particularly commended. In 1964, Mr. Levine was presented with a merit award from Gov. Edmund G. "Pat" Brown for his outstanding editorials.

In addition, Mr. Levine is greatly appreciated for his longtime efforts to improve recreational opportunities for the people of Milpitas and Santa Clara County. The Milpitas Post on June 23, 1965, announced an award of commendation to Levine from the National Recreation Association. I am proud to call my colleagues' attention to the unceasing work of this man, Mort Levine:

POST PUBLISHER HONORED

Post Publisher Mort Levine has received an award from the National Recreation Association in recognition of his "outstanding contribution to the recreation movement in America."

Mr. Levine was recognized for his work as a member of the original Milpitas recreation commission, for his 7 years as a county parks commissioner, and for the Post's furthering of recreation in Milpitas.

The city school recreation commission presented the award to Mr. Levine Monday at a meeting of the Milpitas Rotary Club.

Captive Nations Week

SPEECH

OF

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, we are once again at a most important and noteworthy occasion. I refer to Captive Nations Week, a week dedicated to the memory and a renewed dedication to the nations held captive by the Soviet Union. We have come to a time of renewed dedication and increased perseverance to the dual task of resisting imperialism and of developing positive methods for dealing with it. We have also come to a time for remembering and celebrating the great national traditions of those countries of Eastern Europe who, though languishing under the yoke of an imperialistic power and ideology, are yet still alive and vibrant today with trends toward freedom and democracy.

There has been a marked increase in the feelings of democracy and freedom in these nations. One of the reasons, I am sure, is the increased trade with the free world, and particularly with the United States, which has developed over the last few years.

This developing trade is a great weapon in the hands of the free world. As the captive nations become more and more economically independent of Mother Russia, the greater chance freedom and democracy has to flourish within these nations.

One of the most effective means which the Soviets employed to subjugate the nations of eastern Europe was to make them economically dependent upon Russia. A nation whose economy is controlled by another can never be said to be really free.

These economic ties with the captive nations must be carefully analyzed while being fostered. It must be remembered that most of the captive nations of Eastern Europe are decisively controlled by Soviet Russia through the use of armed force. In fact, most of the so-called free nations of Western Europe do not have their own armies. We should not allow Russia to gain by this increased trade with the satellites. Economic liberation is a step by which the free world, led by the United States, can help these nations to gain freedom.

Another effective and so far very successful means of prying Russian influence from the captive nations is through the medium of the cultural exchange. By cultural exchange, the peoples of the captive nations are allowed to view firsthand the culture and heritage of the free world. By viewing the culture of the West, the people of the captive nations

will surely see the contrasts presented by their own cultures and in this manner it will become clear and more visible. This process will prevent the Soviets from stifling the separate heritages of these nations and enveloping the people in a foreign and completely different cultural milieu.

The emptiness of the repeated Soviet expressions of belief in self-determination at the United Nations becomes obvious from one swift glance at Eastern Europe. Prior to World War II, all of the now captive nations of Eastern Europe were independent states which recognized the individual liberties of their citizens. Today, they are satellites of the Soviet Union. Their rulers dictate with the blessings of Moscow. Their economies are patterned on the centralized planned economy of the Soviet Union. Their foreign policy is determined with the help of the central power in the Kremlin. The Communist Party is synonymous with the Government, and political choice is nonexistent.

This, then, is the plight of the captive nations of Eastern Europe. Nations yearning for freedom, yet deprived of those rights by force, both economic and armed.

Perhaps, too, the whole history of the captive nation should be the mirror that truly reflects just how much people have to say in peoples' republics.

During this week of commemoration, we must not only renew our determination to help free our friends in the captive nations, but we must also renew our determination to prevent any other nation from becoming a captive nation of either Soviet Russia or Red China. We should dedicate again the principle of self-determination, whether it be in southeast Asia, South America, Africa, or any other spot on the globe.

Finally, during these Captive Nation Week observances, let us demonstrate our sympathy for the captive peoples and our faith in their eventual liberation.

Let us constantly remind the captive European nations, and indeed, all people who are kept from true freedom and democracy, that we are on their side.

Neil J. Curry

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I join my many colleagues in expressing shock and sorrow at the death of Neil J. Curry. Most of us had the pleasure of seeing our good friend when he was in Washington, D.C., in connection with his duties as chairman of a recent Democratic fundraising dinner here.

His activities in California and national politics were legion. His public service included acting as a director of the National Safety Council, and as a trustee of the City of Hope Medical Center in Duarte, Calif.

He was also past president of the American Trucking Association, the California Trucking Association, and the Western Highway Institute.

To his wife and three children I extend my sincere sympathy.

Adlai Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, with the death of Adlai Ewing Stevenson, our Nation lost one of the great men of this 20th century. Like the late President Kennedy, Adlai Stevenson was more than a national political figure. He was known and respected throughout the world.

The career of this talented and dedicated public servant carried him from the governorship of Illinois to two unsuccessful bids as a Democratic nominee for President of the United States. It was at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1952 that I first met him. His simple eloquence won him not only this nomination but in years to come many millions of devoted admirers.

His public life was capped by his great career at the United Nations. His dedication to the cause of justice and of peace, his concern for freedom, for human dignity and for a reasonable and rational discussion of the dangers of the nuclear age will live on for generations to come. Today the United Nations is stronger because Ambassador Stevenson served it faithfully and well. In championing high ideals as representative of the United States, he won the respect, admiration and affection of the world Assembly.

Those of us who had the privilege of knowing him were not surprised by his ability to communicate to men of diverse cultures and beliefs. Besides his brilliant mind, he possessed the common characteristic of all truly great men; a compassionate understanding and willingness to help the less fortunate.

It was this trait which endeared him to the world. His belief in democracy can best be expressed with his own words:

> Trust the people. Trust their good sense, their decency, their fortitude, trust them with the facts, trust them with the great decisions.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I include the following editorial from the Pottsville, Pa., Republican:

AMERICA'S FINEST VOICE

It must be left to future historians to make a final assessment of the character and accomplishments of Adlai Ewing Stevenson.

He was too complex a man, the times in which he lived and worked are as yet so unsorted out, he fell so suddenly in full career, that we can do little more than mourn the loss of an immensely respected and valued public servant.

What marks Stevenson left on history are still obscure, as was the man himself to many Americans.

He was a politician, and at the same time a contradiction of the popular image of a politician. He was the despair of party bosses, yet won election to the governorship of Illinois in 1948 by the greatest landslide in that State's history.

It was, however, the only election he ever won.

His admirers saw in him the intelligence of Jefferson, the integrity of Lincoln, and the idealism of Woodrow Wilson. To others he was an aloof and disturbingly superior man, inbued with an intellectual humor and seriousness many could not appreciate.

Born only a month after the 20th century began, Stevenson was one of the few men in our history who nearly reached the highest office in the land by not seeking it, at least in the beginning.

That was in 1952, when he was suddenly projected into the national limelight by his unexpected nomination for President by the Democratic Party.

We can only speculate on what turn history would have taken had his opponent been someone other than the enormously popular Dwight Eisenhower.

Only in recent years, since his appointment as Ambassador to the United Nations by President Kennedy, have we come to realize that Adlai Stevenson was far more than the man who was defeated twice for the Presidency.

Only now do we realize how long and how close and how vital was his association with the U.N., which he maintained, through every crisis that assailed it, was "the hope of the world."

He was involved with it from the very start, when in 1945 he was appointed Special Assistant to Secretary of State Stettinius to assist in the planning of the world body. In 1946-47, he served as a delegate to the General Assembly.

It was as Ambassador, however, the post he held from 1961 until his death, that Stevenson's stature as a statesman of the highest rank and his eloquent fitness as spokesman and defender of his country and the free world became impressively evident.

More than an American has passed. A citizen of the world—the world of today and the world we hope to build—is gone.

More than a nation is stunned. A world grieves.

Mr. Speaker, praise and commendation for Adlai Stevenson also came from the Sunbury, Pa., Daily Item in its July 15 issue.

The former U.N. Ambassador was lauded in an excellent editorial, entitled "Thoughts in Passing," which I include with my remarks:

THOUGHTS IN PASSING

Adlai E. Stevenson, whose death Wednesday in London shocked admirers over much of the free world, was a public figure for many years whose talents came to be appreciated more with the passing years.

He had been elected Governor of Illinois and was chosen when Harry Truman occupied the White House to represent this Nation in a number of international conferences. This was the beginning of his lengthy period of devoted service to the United States.

He was thrust into national prominence in his two unsuccessful campaigns for the Presidency as the Democratic nominee opposing Dwight D. Eisenhower.

He fulfilled many more missions for his Government before he was made U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations by the late President John F. Kennedy. He was one of the architects that founded the United Nations 20 years ago in San Francisco, and he was firm in his belief that the U.N. could be the

greatest body to insure world peace that man has known to date.

He was articulate and self-possessed, and came to symbolize the "egghead" intellectuals who served as consultants to Washington administrations. He was a liberal, and although some of his ideas drew fire from conservative ranks, his sincerity was never doubted.

Mr. Stevenson was at his best in some of the rough and tumble debates in the U.N. with Russian delegates. In leveling accusations against Soviet subterfuge and sham, he pulled no punches. Nor was he at a loss to respond when Russians mouthed ideological prattle from the forum of the U.N. He had enormous energy that carried him to many parts of the world and he was conversant with many of the problems that arose in the United Nations.

The passing of this diplomat is sincerely mourned by men of both political faiths in Washington. They know that he was a patriot, one who was devoted to America's interests.

Mr. Speaker, I also wish to include the tribute to Adlai Stevenson published in the July 23 issue of Life magazine which follows:

AMERICA LOST ITS FOREMOST ADVOCATE AND ITS MOST ELOQUENT SPIRIT: STEVENSON OF ILLINOIS

Among the things that gentle Adlai Stevenson hated in this life were injustice, bigotry, cruelty—and cliches. One may search his words in vain for the facile and banal. He would no doubt have been amused to read his own obituaries. One can imagine him wincing, meanwhile ducking his head like a schoolboy uncertain as to his shoeshine and his buttoning, at such triteness as this: Stevenson was from Illinois, heartland of America, and was its stanch and incorruptible Governor; he was a rallying point, a gallant loser, a standard bearer of wit and wisdom in a wintry time. All this, of course, he was.

He had thought, after his campaigns for the Presidency against a war hero, that he was doomed to the obscurity reserved for those who ran against General Grant. He survived to become what President Johnson called America's "foremost advocate and its most eloquent spirit." Somehow in his uncompromising, witty, and human appeal to Americans he touched what Lincoln called "the better angels of our nature." Although he was often accused of Hamlet-like indecision, he revealed as U.N. Ambassador a toughness that stirred his country as he denounced the lies of its enemies. In a time marked by anti-intellectualism, he became—without willing it—the voice of thought and grace in his own Nation and in the world.

Captive Nations Week

SPEECH

OF

HON. GALE SCHISLER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. SCHISLER. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join my colleagues in marking the observance of the seventh annual Captive Nations Week. It is well for us to remind ourselves of the hundred of millions of people enslaved behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains and in Cuba. The citizens of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Georgia, Idel-Ural, North Caucasians, Democratic Republic of the Far East, Ukraine, and Turkistan have not enjoyed the basic rights of liberty and freedom, so much a part of our way of life, for over 40 years. The Baltic States of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia have been subjected to the harshest forms of Soviet domination for over 25 years. More recently, Albania, Bulgaria, Outer Mongolia, the Serb, Croat, and Slovene sections in Yugoslavia, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslavakia, North Korea, Hungary, East Germany, mainland China, Tibet, North Vietnam, and Cuba have all fallen under Soviet or Chinese Communist domination. The conquerors have used the most ruthless and vicious means known to man to perpetrate this mass outrage.

It is well known, Mr. Speaker, that the great majority of these enslaved millions still yearn for the return of their freedoms. Uprisings in East Germany in 1953, in Poland in 1956, and the heroic Hungarian revolution of the same year are testimony to the fact that these freedom-loving people have not voluntarily relinquished their sacred rights of free speech, religion or association.

Captive Nations Week must serve as a reminder to all Americans that love of freedom and desire for liberty still burn in the hearts of the enslaved millions around the world. It is fitting that on this occasion we rededicate ourselves to the support of the people of these captive nations in their quest for the human rights and dignity of which they have been so mercilessly deprived. Let us at this time, Mr. Speaker, renew the pledge of our Government to work toward and for the liberation of these brave millions and, by so doing, obtain a meaningful and lasting peace.

Potato Production: Idaho Plays "Second Fiddle" to No One

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, I have many good friends among people from Maine, and I have the very highest regard and respect for my colleagues in the Congress from that State. In addition, I will be the very first to concede that Maine is one of the most beautiful States in the Union—almost, in fact, as beautiful as my own State of Idaho. I will also concede that Idaho cannot compete with Maine in the production of lobsters.

But—and I cannot emphasize this too strongly—when we leave the clutches of the lobsters and enter the world of potatoes, Idaho will play second fiddle to no one.

It took some doing to convince individuals on the Arthur Godfrey show of this, however, and I'm sure the following article from the Idaho Potato and Onion News, official publication of the Idaho Potato and Onion Commission, will provide interesting reading for all:

GODFREY TAKES SLAP AT IDAHO POTATOES, USING STATE OF MAINE FIGURES

(On network radio, Monday, June 21, Arthur Godfrey said the following:)

Mr. GODFREY. "I found out something else I didn't know * * * that Maine shipped 92 million hundredweight of potatoes last year to the rest of America.

"I didn't know that. You know all this baloney I've been listening to about Idaho potatoes * * * I found out that the whole State of Idaho couldn't keep the United States in potatoes 1 day. I didn't realize that before. Idaho potatoes are fine, but they are only a small part of our diet. Maine put out 92 million hundredweight of them last year."

VOICE IN THE BACKGROUND. "That's maybe why you see those red, white, and blue boxcars on trains that say "Maine potatoes" across the side of them * * * four or five of them at least every train."

Mr. GODFREY. Most of the time when you're enjoying a baked Idaho, it came from Idaho, Maine. And Idaho's a gorgeous State too, but I mean it's nothing against that beautiful place, but let's give the devil its due. Also, I found out that there are 30 million pounds of blueberries shipped out of the State of Maine every year.

WE ANSWERED BACK

BOISE, IDAHO,
June 21, 1965.

ARTHUR GODFREY,
CBS Radio Network,
New York City, N.Y.:

We are sure you wish to be correct in statements you make to millions of Americans. You have said many kind things about Idaho potatoes in years past.

This morning, June 21, about 10:30 a.m., over KBOI radio, you said some kind things about Maine potatoes, but in so doing, you grossly misquoted facts that we believe should be corrected. First, that Maine shipped 92 million hundredweight of potatoes each year. The fact is that Maine produced only slightly over one-third of that amount. Were the other two-thirds made up of those famous Maine rocks? The U.S. Department of Agriculture statistics 5-year average, 1958 to 1962, inclusive, shows Idaho with an average yearly production of 45,022,000 hundredweight. The same 5-year average shows that Idaho produced an average of one-sixth of the total U.S. potato crop last year. Could there only be a 6-day supply if what you say is true that the whole State of Idaho couldn't keep the U.S. in potatoes 1 day? Come, come, Arthur, your arithmetic should be better than that or you should send your writers to grammar school.

The Maine fact is that Idaho is the potato leader and you should make some Maine faces red by quoting the real facts.

STANLEY I. TRENHAILE,
Committee of Agriculture, State of Idaho.

ARTHUR GODFREY,
CBS Radio Network,
New York:

Those derogatory statements about Idaho are bad enough, but the figures you cite are worse. You credit Maine with shipping 92 million hundredweight of potatoes last year. Department of Agriculture figures for the 1963–64 season show Idaho and Maine combined produced only 91 million hundredweight. Idaho produced 53 million of these, Maine 37 million. Idaho is down during present seasons because of bad frost, but Maine still doesn't approach that figure.

Five-year figures for 1958–63 show Idaho averaged nearly 9 million hundredweight more production each year than Maine.

Yes, some potatoes labeled Idaho spuds really come from Maine. That's because some business people around the country

will go to any length to capitalize on Idaho name.

DICK EARDLEY,
KBOI News, Boise, Idaho.

HE TAKES FOOT OUT OF MOUTH 2 DAYS LATER

Mr. GODFREY. "He said, 'Why Maine potatoes. Didn't you eat a Maine potato'? I said, 'No, not that I knew of. The only potatoes that I've ever known of were Idaho potatoes.' 'That's just what burns me,' he said, 'Why last year we put up 92 million hundredweight of potatoes out of the State of Maine.' He sez, 'Why, Idaho didn't have enough potatoes to feed the country for 1 day.' Well, man, you should see what I heard from Idaho today."

"One nice think about this program is, if you're wrong, you soon find out. Well."

ORSON BEAN: "State of Maine potatoes are big. They have a huge crop of them."

Mr. GODFREY. "Yes, but the Idaho people say they got the biggest crop and I got all kinds of telegrams and I've been trying to get the Commissioner of Agriculture of the State of Maine on the telephone, but he's out of town. I couldn't get him."

Mr. BEAN: "Well, they got a big crop up there, I can tell you that."

Mr. GODFREY. "But I did hear from Idaho from several people. One of them comes from Boise, in fact, they both come from Boise. One of them sez, 'We are sure you wish to be correct in statements you make to millions of Americans. You have said many kind things about Idaho potatoes in years past. This morning, June 21, about 10:30 a.m. over KBOI radio you said some kind things about Maine potatoes, but in doing so, you grossly misquoted the facts that we believe should be corrected. First, you said that Maine shipped 92 million hundredweight of potatoes last year. Fact is, Maine only produced slightly over one-third of that amount. Were those other two-thirds made up of those famous Maine rocks? The U.S. Department of Agriculture statistics 5-year average, 1958 to 1963 inclusive shows Idaho with an average yearly production of 45 million hundredweight and Maine with a paltry 36 million. The same 5-year average shows that Idaho produced an average of one-sixth of the total U.S. potato crop each year. Could there only be a 6-day supply if what you say is true, that the whole State of Idaho couldn't keep the United States in potatoes 1 day? Come, come, Arthur, your arithmetic should be better than that or you should send your writers to grammar school. The Maine fact is that Idaho is the potato leader and you should make some Maine faces red by quoting the real facts.'

This is signed by the Commissioner of Agriculture, State of Idaho, Stanley I. Trenhaile.

Mr. BEAN. It must have cost them a fortune.

Mr. GODFREY. Well, it did. But not only that. Dick Eardley, KBOI news, sends another one starting out. "Those derogatory statements about Idaho potatoes are bad enough but the figures you cite are worse."

I didn't make any derogatory statements about Idaho potatoes. I've been eating Idaho potatoes all my life, or what I thought were Idaho potatoes. According to my friends, they're Maine potatoes, but I didn't say anything about 'em. I still think Idaho is one of the most beautiful States in the Union. I love it and I love the potatoes, whether they come from Maine or Idaho, potatoes are a staple in my diet. But anyway, he goes on to say, "Sure, some potatoes labeled Idaho really come from Maine. That's because some business people around the country will go to any length to capitalize on the name Idaho." This from Dick Eardley from KBOI news in Boise, Idaho.

Mr. BEAN. Well, Idaho potatoes are big baking potatoes and Maine potatoes are boiling potatoes. That's the difference. You can get three * * * maybe Idaho has a certain amount of potatoes, but if you get a basketful you have more Maine potatoes in a basket than you have Idaho potatoes.

Mr. GODFREY. How do you like those apples?

Mr. BEAN. Wait a minute. Don't confuse the issue even more.

Mr. GODFREY. Really, I don't know. I've eaten many a baked Maine potato. Sure, Idaho potatoes are s'posed to be big, but I'm sure there're also little ones. You have to be little before you can be big, and the little ones are what you call new potatoes, no?

Mr. BEAN. They're little tiny red buggers.

Mr. GODFREY. Yeah. Let's talk about Swiss chard. Anyhow, it's great to have Maine and Idaho fighting here about who raises the most potatoes. I'm sure that Idaho's not going to argue with them about lobsters. Idaho lobsters? No. But Maine lobsters, blueberries * * *. I'm sure they have blueberries in Idaho, too. They must have. But I tried to find my friends in Maine on the phone. They all went fishin' someplace. They didn't want to answer the phone.

Mr. BEAN. I had a relative in Maine. He spent 3 years trying to cross a jellyfish with a shad with the hope of winding up with boneless shad. The experience went eschew, and the experiment wound up with bony jellyfish.

Also, Mr. Speaker, contained in the same issue of Idaho Potato and Onion News is a poem by a young lady from Idaho which I also believe makes interesting reading. The poem follows:

NO SUBSTITUTE

(By Norma Jean Clemons)

When I was just a little girl,
And food was passed around,
I reached first for mashed potatoes;
What a creamy, steamy mound.
Then I grew up and married,
And learned to cook myself,
From lots of fancy recipes,
I kept upon a shelf.
Well, I'd heard on a commercial,
That "Variety is nice."
So I started making dishes,
Fixed with noodles and with rice.
Till my husband got discouraged,
As most husbands would,
And said, "Now, honey, why
Waste time on something half as good,
As an Idaho potato,
If it's mashed or baked or fried,
The other things are substitutes,
No matter how you've tried.
Well, now I've learned a lesson,
One that every wife should know—
That nothing ever tastes as good
As a spud from Idaho.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to repeat the respect and admiration I hold for my colleagues from Maine. I would also like to extend to them an invitation for a cooperative dinner of Maine lobsters and Idaho potatoes—a repast worthy of royalty. My suggestion is that they and I furnish, respectively—and on a pound-for-pound basis—sufficient Maine lobster meat and Idaho russets for the meal.

Big City Poor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, in a series of five articles, Walter Rugaber, Detroit Free Press writer, presents some of the basic problems of the poor of Detroit. The fourth article follows:

THE POOR LINE UP FOR MEDICAL CARE

(By Walter Rugaber)

Going to Receiving Hospital is something like taking an Army physical—only it's not nearly so thorough.

You're standing at a desk and the doctor is very impatient—there are a lot of people behind you—and if there's anything wrong with you, you had better spit it out in a hurry.

The doctor at Receiving was very young, and if he was enjoying his internship at the most unmanageable hospital in Detroit neither his face nor his manner betrayed it.

"What's your trouble?" he asked me.

"Back trouble," I blurted. "My back hurts."

He looked distantly pained.

"I don't have time to examine anyone here," he said. "I can give you an appointment for one of the clinics on Monday."

"I can't come Monday," I said.

He hesitated. I mumbled a few sentences about a lung that collapsed once and maybe this is the same thing again and I just wanted to see for sure.

The doctor fiddled indecisively with his stethoscope for a minute and then, with a resigned sigh, hauled back a curtain on the other side of his desk.

"OK," he said. "Step back there and take off your shirt. I'll look at you in a minute or two when I get a chance."

Dressed in well-worn clothes, I went to Receiving Hospital as a patient near the end of a 3-week stay in one of Detroit's poor neighborhoods.

I lived during that time in an area bounded by Woodward, Third, Willis, and Ledyard, talking with dozens of people—in their own terms and with their own limitations—about some of the realities of poverty.

City institutions like Receiving Hospital have an immense impact on the poor. The quality of service, good or bad, has an immediate importance to the aged, the unskilled, the unsupported.

There are scores of community services. This is a story of how the poor sometimes fare in three loosely related fields: Medical care, schools, recreation.

Receiving Hospital is the major source of health care for Detroit's poor. Almost 250,000 men, women, and children received medical service there—on an outpatient basis—in the past year.

I was one of them.

The emperious lady in the severe black dress asked me how I was supporting myself.

Not "Where do you work?" or "Do you have enough money to pay for this service?" but "How are you supporting yourself?"

I told her I did odd jobs, but that I hadn't been able to fine one in a week.

She handed me a registration card that classified me as a "public charge" and told me to go sit in line.

When the line moved, it moved very rapidly. But when it stopped, the delays were monumental. One doctor, his time apparently up, hurried away before a replacement arrived. The line stopped for nearly an hour.

No one complained. No one even asked a reason for the delay, or when a doctor would be available. They simply waited.

There were about 30 patients, most of them Negroes and most of them women. Although it was almost 2 p.m., some had been at the hospital since early morning.

After one long delay an elderly woman, carrying a cane, got up from her seat next to me, said something to a nurse, and was admitted to the examining room out of turn. There was a murmur of dissension.

"We know she's sick," a man complained. He was indignant. "We're all sick. We wouldn't be down here unless we was sick. It ain't right for me to be waiting down here all day and then have somebody else just get up and go in like that."

The grumbling went on until the woman emerged, which was only a minute or two later. She came back to her seat for a package, hesitated a second, the told me:

"You see, I'm a diabetic. I can go just so long without my insulin and then I start to get sick."

A squad of nurses worked very hard at keeping the line closed up and each narrow chair occupied. When a whole string of patients stood away from the line of seats, a nurse hurried over and demanded that they sit down.

They refused. The nurse was threatening drastic measures when one of the patients, an elderly Negro woman, whispered an explanation. The nurse turned and stared at a grizzled, half-asleep white man, about 50, who seemed unaware of the commotion.

"Sir, would you come with me?" she asked, and hustled the man away. I didn't know what had happened until I heard a Negro girl, awe in her voice, say:

"I saw them jumping off his collar."

The man had lice. A Negro woman seated next to me dramatized the danger. She began to squirm and scratch. It was infectious. Soon everyone was scratching imagined vermin.

"I can feel them," the woman cried. "I itch all over." She began to recall, in fearsome detail, an attack by lice suffered some time ago by her husband.

"They got all over him. They even got down in the little holes in his skin where he couldn't get them. It was worst in his ears, though. Man, they really got in that man's ears."

A recent survey of community services conducted by Greenleigh Associates, Inc., took a grim view of such incidents:

"The conditions in the outpatient department, even on a fairly quiet day, can only be described as disgraceful. Young children can be seen side by side with seriously ill, confused and bleeding patients," it said.

There is no dignity in being poor.

After hours at the hospital, waiting patiently and risking lice (or worse), the sick were forced to stand at the doctor's desk and—within arm's reach of the man or woman waiting behind them just outside the open door—describe the troubles that had brought them there.

There was no concern whatever with privacy, and not much with personal feelings. While I waited behind the curtain, two more patients were admitted to the examining room.

Both were women, and both were required to discuss with the doctor rather intimate medical problems. The woman who came in immediately after me asked:

"Is that man who was ahead of me still here?"

"Yes," the doctor said, "I still have to look at him." She had no choice but to go ahead and explain her problem: A sore back. She began to expound on the trouble, but he quickly cut her short.

"Are you a doctor?" he snapped. "Are you a doctor? If you're a doctor why don't you stay home and take care of yourself?"

"Well, you asked me what was wrong. I was just trying to tell you." A few more sentences were exchanged, and the doctor said he thought the woman needed to see a psychiatrist.

"No I don't," she said firmly. "That's what I did last time. I saw the psychiatrist last time. He said I didn't need to see the psychiatrist. He said there was no reason for me to see the psychiatrist."

The woman grew almost frantic.

"I want to be admitted to the hospital. That's the only way I'm ever going to get better is if I can be admitted to the hospital and get some real care and attention."

She was not admitted.

After the doctor at Receiving pronounced me well, I asked a nurse how much it would cost.

"You don't pay here," she said kindly. But I went outside the examining room and asked again at a desk. The nurse there seemed dumbfounded. She called over another nurse.

"He wants to pay," she said. It was as though I had asked for a fast kidney transplant. The second nurse told me again that I need not pay.

"We never see any money down here," she said, and laughed.

Only a fraction of the poor not even all those who are sick—come to Receiving Hospital. The impact of the school is far more general.

Burton Elementary School is an old, cramped, brick structure at Cass and Peterboro. It has 590 students in the kindergarten and the 6 regular grades, a turnover rate of about 100 percent, restrooms in the basement only, and an acute lack of playground area.

From the outside, a teacher suggested, it looks like a factory. But the interior is not bad—if you concentrate on the freshly painted walls and fluorescent lighting and ignore the old immobile desks still in several classrooms.

The school is predominantly white. A 1964 racial census showed 440 whites and 142 Negroes.

I asked a tenant in an apartment building at Third and Stimson whether children who lived there attended the James Couzens School, a modern structure only a block away.

"Oh, no," he said. "That's a colored school."

The district line between Burton and Couzens is drawn to separate virtually all-white Third Avenue from virtually all-Negro Fourth Avenue.

For a great many children from poor neighborhoods, the Greenleigh report said, "school is a new, strange, and hostile experience; adjustment to it and communicating in it are difficult—often impossible."

The teachers struggle with these confused and often terrified youngsters as best they can. The results are almost impossible to measure, but the effort bubbles with almost evangelistic intensity.

"I wouldn't go to any other school," one veteran teacher said. "I know it might sound silly, but I feel almost like a missionary here."

For all the dedication and imagination, there are small but persistent reminders that Burton is a school in a poor and uninfluential neighborhood.

The administrative office is a large, open room which everyone shares. Miss Monica Mullally, the school principal, has a desk right out with everyone else's.

Counseling is difficult. If Miss Mullally wants to talk with a youngster about some problem, she must do so where everyone else in the room can see and hear.

A partition would be a relatively simple and inexpensive addition, and Miss Mullally has asked for one. She has asked several times.

But it is one of those things dedication won't buy.

In the entire area bounded by Woodward, Third, Willis, and Ledyard, there are exactly two public recreation areas.

Across from the Masonic temple is Cass Park. It is a refuge for little girls who want to swing and old men who want to play pinochle on the picnic tables with their friends. The park is practically the only relief in the whole dreary area, and it is often packed with people.

The other park is on the south side of Willis between Second and Third. An official of the city recreation department described the spot as a "postage stamp." It measures about 40 feet wide and 120 feet deep.

I walked past this so-called tot lot several times. There was never anyone playing there. The kids seemed to prefer an alleyway across the street. Someone must venture onto the tot lot occasionally, however, for it was always littered with trash.

Howard Crowell, general superintendent of the department of parks and recreation, stepped to a map in his office and pointed at two widely separated spots.

"There isn't but one hardball diamond between here (Northwestern High School) and here (Belle Isle)," Crowell said. The one is at Northwestern High School, more than 2 miles from Burton School.

Baseball diamonds, it is said, are expensive undertakings. They are expensive, and there are more than 110 of them in the outlying areas of the city.

Other recreation efforts have a limited impact in poor neighborhoods.

The Boy Scouts, for instance, have trouble organizing because of the lack of adult leadership. Percentage membership rates on the lower West Side are only a little more than half those in the northwest section.

There is a full Scouting program at Burton School, with 78 members in 3 units. But a teacher there, asked about the activity, said thoughtfully:

"It's hard to get a kid interested in something like Scouting. He can have more fun out on the street. It's more of a challenge.

"It's more of a challenge for him to steal a car than it is to mess around with something like Scouts that he sees isn't going to get him anywhere anyway."

Captive Nations Week

SPEECH

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, it is most appropriate that we set aside a week to remember the fate of those peoples who remain dominated by Soviet or Chinese colonialism. In a very real sense, any nation ruled by a small oligarchy of Communist leaders is truly a captive nation. People without the freedom to choose

their own leaders, even their own form of government, are prisoners. In this sense, the Chinese and Cuban people are captives of their Governments just as the East Germans or the Hungarians.

Nevertheless, Communist regimes most often result from outside forces, from a new type of colonialism. It is ironic that today the Soviet Union remains the only nation practicing the type of imperial colonialism which Lenin so roundly condemned. Lenin contended that the worldwide proletarian revolution in modern industrial nations, so confidently predicted by Marx, had been temporarily avoided by the capitalist countries in the early 20th century through an exploitive technique of imperialism. Lenin's argument was that the capitalists had been able to buy off a large section of the skilled proletariat by allowing them some of the profits gained from exploiting underdeveloped colonial territories. By exploiting the profits on cheap raw materials and new markets in the underdeveloped areas, the capitalists, according to Lenin, would be able to forestall the inevitable proletarian revolution for a few years. Today, any serious economist will tell us that Lenin was dead wrong, economically as well as historically.

The hard fact is that far from living off the fat of lucrative new markets, most modern industrial nations have been losing money on their colonial possessions ever since the turn of the century. The only really good market for a modern industrial nation is another industrial nation; an African earning less than $100 a year is not going to be able to purchase a new Ford, or even a Volkswagen. Similarly, in an age of synthetics, the once valuable raw materials of the underdeveloped nations are quickly losing their market value. When one considers the administrative and material costs of maintaining a colony—not to mention defending it—one can understand the fallacy of Lenin's argument.

I mention these facts in order to demonstrate why Soviet colonialism is of a type quite different, and yet strangely related to the situation which Lenin described. The Soviets have actually reversed the situation by occupying and colonizing modern industrial nations. When the Russian Army occupied Eastern Europe at the end of World War II there occurred perhaps the most incredible plunder of national economies ever witnessed in modern history. Livestick was simply removed from farms and shipped by rail to Russia. When a trainload arrived, the Soviets often kept the train as well. Entire factories were simply dismantled and transported to be rebuilt in the Soviet Union. The ravishment accomplished, the Soviets have continued a long period of exploitation of the industrial and agricultural output of their victimized colonies. In the most perverse way, the Soviets were able to make colonialism work to their advantage.

But if Soviet colonialism was intended to achieve economic advantages for the Russian homeland, it was also expected to achieve new political and ideological victories. It is in this sense that it has proven such a failure. The failure of Communist internationalism to compete successfully with nationalism was apparent as early as the First World War, when the vast majority of European Communists deserted the party to fight for their homelands. It was not until after the Second World War that the Soviets were able to persuade any nations to join the international movement. That persuasion was and still is the armed might of Soviet occupying forces.

The Communist International had always been primarily and ancillary arm of Soviet foreign policy, designed to further the interests of the Soviet Union. Relations with the new satellite states proved to be no exception to the rule. The new peoples democracies, classified as a step below Socialist nations by the Soviets, were ruled by puppet leaders who considered the interests of the Soviet Union first, and their own nations second. For the captive nations, the dictatorship of the proletariat meant the despotism of Soviet functionaries whose rule remained subject to the whims of their superiors in Moscow.

It is hard to believe that the Soviets actually expected to gain the loyality of their subject peoples through the suppression of national as well as individual freedom.

The political experience of the Western democracies has represented a long history of attempting to find the proper balance between freedom and authority. The essential problem from Western democracy was that of giving man enough freedom to realize his creative potential while providing the necessary authority to prevent man's abuse of his freedom at the expense of other members of the political community. Usually this has been most successfully provided by laws developed through national consensus, and promulgated by responsible representatives of the people.

The original failure of theoretical Marxism was to deny that there was need for authority in a Communist society. The great human tragedy of modern communism has been to deny all individual liberty in order to develop a totalitarian authority. Far from developing a system where no central authority was necessary, the Soviets found that a communistic state could not survive without the iron rule of a totalitarian dictatorship.

In the captive nations this has meant not only dictatorial control over the people but over the national governments as well. The Soviets were well aware that a Communist colonial empire would be a good deal more difficult to control than a single Communist nation.

Yet despite the iron hand of Stalin's personally ruled Cominform and Soviet troops employed to retain party discipline, by Khrushchev, the Soviets have not been able to still the quest for freedom in captive nations. Far from an empire of faithful buffer states surrounding the Russian heartland, the Russians find themselves facing civil unrest and hostility when their authority is forcefully exercised, and new Communist power centers challenging their leadership when it is not.

Whether it be the brave tragedy of the Hungarian revolt or the histrionic polemics which pass between Peiping and Moscow, it is apparent to even the most casual observer that the great experiment in proletarian internationalism has failed—and failed miserably. On the one hand, communism simply has not been able to still man's deep desires for freedom and national independence; on the other, it has fallen victim to the struggle for power inevitable in all tyrannical systems.

Theoretically and practically, Communist economics and politics have represented a history of cruel mistakes, failures, and hypocrisy. The great tragedy lies in the fact that millions of brave peoples of proud nations remain captives of the Soviet Empire. Eastern Europe has now been exploited for 20 years, the Baltic nations for a quarter of a century, the Moslems of Central Asia for much longer.

We do not want this sorry record to continue. We must not allow it to spread. The captive nations of the world deserve a better fate; the free nations of the world must be kept free. That is why it is appropriate that we observe Captive Nations Week; that we remember our own political tradition; that we recognize the fallacies and hypocrisies of communism, and above all, that we remember the brave people of the world who continue the fight for freedom and independence in the captive nations.

Free Enterprise and Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the strength of America and appreciation of its magnificent free enterprise system has its foundation at the grass roots level. I am especially pleased to note when an outstanding local publication in my district comments editorially on the virtues and contributions of free enterprise.

The Pointer, serving Riverdale, Dolton, and South Holland, Ill., contained such an editorial in its July 15 edition, and under unanimous consent I place it in the RECORD at this point:

FREE ENTERPRISE AND EDUCATION

More and more business leaders have been expressing deep concern over what they feel is a lack of understanding of the workings and values implicit in our free enterprise system of doing things. This worry is based, in substantial part, on surveys that indicate a woeful misconception of what that system has achieved, particularly among young people.

An eloquent appeal for better understanding was made by Robert C. Kirkwood, chairman of the board of the F. W. Woolworth Co. Addressing a group of business and professional men, he set his stage in these words: "Those who have enjoyed the tremendous benefits of the free enterprise system would be particularly remiss if, at this

critical point in the Nation's history, they failed to speak out in support of the concept that has made possible the highest standard of living achieved by any nation at any time in history."

Mr. Kirkwood fully realizes that the system is not perfect. But it has done an outstanding job of correcting deficiencies and righting wrongs. It is, in his words, "the most remarkable method ever devised for producing and distributing wealth, goods, and services." As examples, he cites the fact that more than 70 million people are employed, despite the growth of automation; that our Nation produces more than one-third of all the manufactured goods in the world; and that our investment in capital plant, including such institutions as schools and hospitals as well as factories, is about three times as great now as when we entered World War II.

Despite all this, misinformation concerning our system abounds. Here Mr. Kirkwood also cites examples. Only one person in three thinks that investment in factories and machinery makes a major contribution to economic growth. More than half of the adult population believes that net profits of most business firms are equal to or exceed total wages paid, while fewer than one-tenth know that payrolls substantially exceed profits. And a survey of high school seniors showed that too many of them thought American business was monopoly-ridden and that profits were exorbitant.

These errors of belief matter deeply, in Mr. Kirkwood's view, "because if the United States is to maintain its economic leadership, the private enterprise system must be permitted to function freely. And, since the attitude and action of present and future Government administrations and Congress are actuated by public opinion and political pressure, it is essential to muster active and constructive support for the free enterprise system." Also, he says: "And not the least important point in the case for economic literacy is the fact that, in the final analysis, the economic decisions made by the Federal Government are of the greatest moment in the personal life of the individual citizen."

What can be done? Mr. Kirkwood suggests that business and professional people work more closely with the school systems. He points to the need for maintaining a climate of opportunity, that being basic to the system. And he praises the various existing programs which provide training and knowledge to young people.

At the end Mr. Kirkwood restates his theme in these words: "If we are to insure that our free enterprise system is going to continue without restrictive regulations that would smother it, we must be willing to speak out, so that the people of the United States will understand and appreciate the system's contributions and its important role in today's society."

Delegate Warfield Named General in Air National Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, it is my great pleasure to join with the other citizens of Maryland in congratulating Edwin Warfield III, chief of staff of the Maryland Air National Guard, on his promotion to brigadier general.

Mr. Warfield is a member of an old and distinguished Maryland family. I am delighted to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a brief news story from the Sykesville Herald which recites his notable services to the United States and his native State of Maryland:

Edwin Warfield III, Maryland Air National Guard chief of staff, was promoted to brigadier general in ceremonies on the flight line at Travis Field on July 2.

General Warfield, a resident of Florence, represents Howard County in the house of delegates. Delegate "Teddy" had previously refuted rumors that he would resign from the House if promoted, saying he would "serve the people of Howard County as long as they want me."

He began his military career as a private in 1942 and served in World War II. He was shot down on a raid against Japan and spent 4 days in a life raft before being rescued by a submarine. A member of a distinguished Howard County family, Mr. Warfield is publisher of the legal paper, the Daily Record.

Russ Industry Can't Deliver; Here's Why

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Columnist J. A. Livingston, writing in the July 15 edition of the Chicago Daily News, provides a very timely, penetrating commentary on the weakness of the Soviet industrial position. When we recognize the people in the Soviet Union are captives of a false ideology and include millions who are of non-Russian background, we can further see the reasons for the economic problems facing the Communists.

The article follows:

RUSS INDUSTRY CAN'T DELIVER; HERE'S WHY

(By J. A. Livingston)

Nikita S. Khrushchev could not overcome low worker productivity when he was head of the Soviet Union. Now his successors, Alexei N. Kosygin and Leonid I. Brezhnev, are contending with the same industrial inertia, low morale, and inadequate incentive.

Khrushchev took a gamble. He gave workers an advance payment on higher living standards. He reduced the workweek first from 48 to 46 hours and then to 41 hours. He raised wages. But he didn't deliver.

Instead, he inflated buying power. He increased consumer pressure for goods and services and did not get the hoped-for increase in output. He strained an already strained economy. Ultimately, he had to renege on promises—because of low productivity.

In steel, the Soviet worker turns out about 60 percent as much as the U.S. worker; in coke 50 percent; in metalcutting machine tools 62 percent; in synthetic rubber 12 percent; in cement 35 percent; cotton fabrics 42 percent; dairy products 51 percent. And so on.

To be sure, American workers have more modern machines and better working conditions. They work fewer hours and have a higher standard of living. Taking everything into account, the average Soviet worker is only 35 percent as productive as the average American worker.

This lag bugs Khrushchev's successors. In a speech to the graduates of Soviet military academies, Brezhnev, as first secretary of the Communist Party, declared that "radical improvement in the system of planning and management is now being carried out in industry and production." This is backhanded recognition of shortcomings.

The Joint Economic Committee of Congress notes: "The continued annual recruitment . . . into industry does not seem to be sufficient to alter the lagging relative position of the U.S.S.R. as an industrial producer. If anything, the mechanical practice of feeding a maximum of additional labor into the favored branches of production has tended to minimize the pressure for more efficient methods of labor utilization and, therefore, to delay progress."

Heretofore, Soviet planners could count on lifting total production—if not productivity—by drawing more labor into industry from agriculture. But this ready supply has been depleted. The falloff in farm output demands increased productivity in agriculture, or more labor, or both.

The reduced birth rate during the war compounds the problem for Kosygin and Brezhnev. The net increase in the labor force has dropped from 1.9 percent a year to 1.4 percent. This retards gains in total output.

But the system is productivity's worst enemy. The Soviet economy functions by command. What the boss man wants, the boss man gets—at a price.

The plan—with a capital P—assigns the most successful factory managers, the best engineers, the finest technicians and the asked-for quantity of labor and materials to space, national defense, and research and other high-priority projects. These projects flourish—but at the expense of other production, especially consumer goods.

Why should these favored factory managers strive to conserve labor or material? Why bother with efficiency when the resources of production, by order of the boss man are provided by decree.

In the United States, the labor unions take care of this by bargaining for higher wages. When wages go up, the incentive to introduce labor-saving devices—to substitute capital for manpower—increases. High wages are conducive to high productivity. And industries that need workers can bid up the price of labor in a free, open market.

In the Soviet Union, prices and wages are fixed. The system has no give, no freedom. The preferred industries can get resources. Yet, these are the very industries in which the top personnel has the capability—but not the incentive—to increase efficiency.

The planned economy—with prices and wages fixed—is unresponsive to supply and demand, to market forces, to the will (the consumption habits) of people. This has led to low productivity, strain, and a declining rate of economic growth. These are apparent in the statistics. The low morale among workers isn't.

The Current Era in Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, it was with great interest we all noticed the remarks of our irrepressible Vice President, HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, at the

White House Conference on Education on Wednesday, July 21.

At least the Washington Star reported the remarks were prepared for delivery. They reported this way back on page 12, and the Washington Post did not report them at all the next morning; so—not having been invited—I am not sure they were made.

If they were so made, I congratulate the Vice President and say in that connection that my only disappointment is, first the remarks did not get the front page headline they deserved, and second, they were not made by the same distinguished gentlemen several years ago when they were first needed.

The Star reported the remarks in part as follows:

Debate and reexamination of American educational policies cannot escape from our common obligations to preserve the processes of democracy and the rule of law.

The current era in education seems to be one of walk-outs, sit-ins, sit-outs, teach-ins, picketing, threats and a general debate over educational policies and practices.

We need not agree with the form some of today's educational ferment has taken.

No responsible person condones violence or the violation of laws. No responsible person advocates actions which endanger the civil peace of our local communities or our college campuses. And no one supports forms of irresponsibility and immaturity which foster dissension and chaos for their own sake.

Captive Nations Week Observance

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, 6 years ago the Congress unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the President to designate the third week of July as Captive Nations Week. This observance was first proclaimed by President Eisenhower and each succeeding President has followed suit.

This frank, outspoken, and courageous resolution stated that the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led, through direct and indirect aggression to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, North Vietnam, and others.

Mr. Speaker, the resolution called on the President to proclaim the observance each year until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world.

The high sounding goals embodied in the resolution have not yet been attained. Therefore, this week we are observing Captive Nations Week to show to the people living in the slave nations of the world that the American people support the idea that each one of them will, in time, be free and their country independent. There are some signs that freedom behind the Iron Curtain is increasing, and because of this let us encourage this growth and show the world that global freedom is our aim—not a world divided.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I ask to be placed in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Seattle, Wash., Times on Monday, July 12, in observance of Captive Nations Week.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

Americans who are weary of the everlasting Communist propaganda din about "imperialism" will have formal occasion next week to examine the true face of modern imperialism.

By unanimous declaration of Congress in 1959, the third week in July annually is Captive Nations Week.

This will be a formal reminder that some 100 million East-Central Europeans remain locked behind the Iron Curtain, which descended 20 years ago at the end of the Second World War.

The amelioration of living conditions in the satellite countries is not a reason to shrug off Captive Nations Week.

The same can be said in regard to the lessening of police-state terror and the carefully circumscribed flickerings of independent foreign and economic policy to be seen in some satellite capitals.

No matter how much conditions vary in east-central Europe—and life can be vicious as at the Berlin wall or even gay as at the Black Sea beach resorts—ultimate power through the area rests with the Soviet Army.

But human situations are never static. Eventually, shifting political and economic tides within the Soviet Union or in the world at large could diminish that power or the threat of its use.

Until that happens, the solemn annual observance of Captive Nations Week will help to keep alive the hopes of 100 million victims of modern-day imperialism.

Eulogy of Hon. T. A. Thompson

SPEECH

OF

HON. PHIL M. LANDRUM

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Speaker, tragedy is always shocking and, when its hand moves in to take away the life of a friend and colleague so recently a cheerful and lively member of our group, it is indeed painful and oppressive. I can recall with vivid recollection the quiet, instantly friendly young man from Louisiana who came to the Congress with me as a freshman in 1953 and remember well our early efforts to learn firsthand the duties of one charged with the responsibility to represent a constituency, a State and a Nation in this great deliberative body. He was immediately popular with all of us because of his genial attitude and, as our responsibilities here mounted, this admiration and respect multiplied manifold for the fine qualities he possessed. It was a great pleasure to have enjoyed his friendship and it has been an honor indeed to serve with him in the House of Representatives. I join his many friends in this House in an expression of anguish over his sudden and untimely passing and extend to Mrs. Thompson, his family and his loved ones my genuine sympathy.

Wyoming Civil Air Patrol

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial by Hod Campbell, editor of the Laramie Daily Boomerang, on July 9, 1965, spotlights the efforts of Wyoming's Civil Air Patrol while searching for a light plane missing on a flight from Casper to Denver. Wyoming CAP wings put 30 craft into the air, 19 from Casper and 11 from Laramie. While on a mission, the members of the Wyoming CAP pay all their own expenses, except for gas and oil provided by the U.S. Air Force. Searchers flew more than 100 hours in 1 day with each plane covering 100 square miles.

I place this editorial in the RECORD as a tribute to the endurance and self-sacrifice of the members of the Wyoming Civil Air Patrol and as an indication of what cooperative action on the local level can do to assist others:

THEIR ONLY PAY IS A THANK YOU

They're ready at a moment's notice to stop what they're doing and take to the air to search for a missing plane. They're ready to help in any other type emergency if their services are required.

They're the men of the Wyoming Wing of the Civil Air Patrol. Men who over the last 2 days have given of their time and their efforts, hoping to find some trace of a light plane missing on a trip from Casper to Denver.

This time they don't have much to go on. They know the plane left Casper. They know it didn't arrive in Denver. No flight plan was filed, so they have to assume that it was to be a direct flight to Denver. At the same time, they must assume that the pilot may have deviated from such a route.

Search planes have been busy from Casper to Denver. The Wyoming Wing has been searching section by section over the entire area from Casper to the Wyoming border, flying west of Rawlins and to the eastern border of the State. A segment of the search is being made by planes from Casper. Another part of the search is being made from Laramie.

It's a hard search to make because of the lack of a flight plan. If such a flight plan had been filed the CAP pilots could follow the designated route, then if that proved fruitless, they could swing out in an ever widening flight pattern along that same route.

There's a possibility with no flight plan that the pilot may have changed his mind. He may have chosen another landing area, far from Denver or Casper, or the route connecting them. If he had no flight plan, he might have thought it unnecessary to report a change in plans.

The men flying the search are looking for the needle in the haystack. They must fly areas covered by dense timber where a plane could go in and leave such a small swath of destruction that it might not be seen from the air.

In the meantime, members of the CAP are losing money. They're losing it on wages

missed, they're losing it on business connections that might be missed. They're losing on use of their planes. And all of the time they don't know where to look for the plane, except along a general route.

The men of the CAP are making an all-out search. Chances are they won't find the plane, even if it did crash. In the meantime, they're willing to give of their time and their service in an effort to track down a plane that might not even be down.

The men of the CAP are quick to volunteer in other searches. It was through their efforts that a helicopter came to the area a week ago from Camp Carson, Colo., to join in the search for a missing Cheyenne 4-year-old. The helicopter didn't happen to be the finder of the girl's body, but eventually discovery would have probably been made from one of these units if a woman on horseback hadn't spotted the body.

We all owe a big vote of thanks to the men of the CAP. They do a job when it has to be done, no matter what the cost.

Captive Nations

SPEECH

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, we have set aside this week to pay tribute to those peoples who share the common misfortune of being held captive in their own lands by the most diabolical tyranny of modern times, communism.

It is not an exaggeration to say that theirs is a terrible fate. It is so because they live a life deprived of liberty. We all know that man enjoys the natural and inalienable right to be free. This is a right granted by his Creator. It is this principle upon which American democracy has been based. It is this principle that motivated our American Revolution. It is also this principle that motivated the great French Revolution.

Now, the Communists claim that they alone bring freedom to mankind. Every book, pamphlet, periodical, or official statement of any kind on the matter of human liberty makes the claim that communism is the promise of the future and that its message is that of freedom for all mankind.

We of the free world know, of course, that communism brings not redemption to man but rather enslavement. We know that whatever communism obtains as a political system it has brought with it all the terrible instruments of tyranny and imposed them upon the people. We have seen this in our lifetime—in Russia, the Baltic States, Eastern Europe, China, North Korea, North Vietnam, and Cuba.

Yet where there is tyranny there also lies the seeds of freedom; for the very reason for being of tyranny is to prevent the eruption of liberty. It is, therefore, a fact of life, a reality we must all understand, that in these captive nations of communism there are millions of people who hope and seek genuine freedom. We would do a great disservice to ourselves and a dishonor to these people if we had failed to make the distinction between them and the government that oppresses them. As children of God, they seek the free expression of their own souls, and it is for us to understand this deep-rooted natural inclination and to do whatever is in our power to encourage their hopes.

This is, of course, the purpose of Captive Nations Week: it is simply to provide an opportunity for all Americans to register their protest against the tyranny of communism and to give voice to their profound hopes and sympathies for those peoples that one day they will be able to enjoy to the fullest extent the freedom which they deserve.

Majority Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID E. SATTERFIELD III

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. SATTERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, a casual reading of certain publications in this country might lead one to believe that the great weight of student opinion in the United States is opposed to our southeast Asian policy and in favor of our withdrawal from Vietnam. We read a great deal of student groups marching, singing and sitting-in to show displeasure with our current policy. Their goal, of course, is to convince the formulators of that policy that students in general would like to see President Johnson call off the effort in support of South Vietnam, even though such action would result in the delivery of southeast Asia to the Communists.

I am not satisfied that these demonstrations accurately reflect the true opinion of the majority of students in this country and I was pleased, therefore, to read recently of the formation of a new student group—a group established to support this Nation's foreign policy and its dedication to our fight for the freedom of Vietnam. In so doing it will demonstrate the great weight of student support for our position.

A report on this new group was carried in a recent editorial from the Richmond, Va., News Leader, which I would like to insert at this point in the RECORD. I am convinced that leadership of this kind will clearly illustrate the broad backing for President Johnson's firm position in opposition to Communist aggression.

The editorial follows:

MAJORITY REPORT

Perhaps you missed it * * * the announcement of another student group concerned with the war in Vietnam. Actually, the item didnt get much space, not nearly as much as the student peace marchers, the antiwar group, that marched in Washington back in April. It figures. This latest group is supporting President Johnson's policy in southeast Asia. Not only that, it wants the United States to stay in the fight and win. Its name? It has the unwieldy title of the student ad hoc committee to support the President's policy in Vietnam.

If the name is a big mouthful, the group's organizers are certain their organization's voice will be equally large when they get moving next fall. According to its chairman, Alfred S. Regnery, a graduate of Beloit College, Wisconsin, the committee plans a widespread campaign of support for the administration's policy on college and university campuses at that time. He and cofounder David Keene of the University of Wisconsin believe they will achieve wide support. It is their view that the majority of American students actually do support national policy, contrary to widespread publicity to the contrary. Those opposing the Vietnam action are merely an outspoken, highly organized minority.

The 14-man steering committee says it hopes to attract students of every political persuasion, both liberal and conservative. It wants such broadly based support and membership, because it feels the administration policy is in the mainstream of American political thinking.

Their immediate plans call for meetings, speakers, and other programs on campus in the fall. There is a possibility of a big national meeting as well. In any event, the ad hoc committee will perform a valuable service: By its very existence, it can provide a forum for the delivery of what is, after all, a majority report from the Nation's colleges.

South Bend Tribune Urges Support of Deepwater Port and Lakeshore Park in Northern Indiana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD an editorial from the July 18, 1965, South Bend, Ind., Tribune urging congressional action to authorize Federal participation in the development of a public deepwater port at Burns Ditch in northern Indiana as well as the creation of the Dunes National Lakeshore Park.

The editorial follows:

ENCOURAGING

The outlook for Federal participation in the development of a public deepwater port at Burns Ditch is glowing somewhat brighter as a result of action by the Senate Public Works Committee last week.

The committee approved the project, but with a stipulation that none of the $25 million in Federal money authorized by the bill under consideration be spent until creation of the Dunes National Lakeshore Park is secure. Even so, it appears to be a significant gain for Indiana in its attempt to persuade the Federal Government to play its traditional role in the development of such facilities.

Slowly but surely, the compromise providing for industrial development as well as creation of an 11,000-acre recreational site on Lake Michigan appears to be paying dividends.

The Senate has passed the bill providing for the lakeshore park, which would include the existing Indiana Dunes State Park. The measure is now before the House Interior Committee with hearings scheduled for later this year.

Progress toward getting the Federal park and the public deepwater port, too, with Federal help has been frustratingly slow, from the Hoosier point of view. That some progress is being made, however, is the fact of

over-riding importance, now that there is broader agreement that Indiana should have both.

There is many a slip between the lip and the cup, to be sure, but the latest development in the Senate is quite encouraging.

As the only State bordering on the Great Lakes without a public port, Indiana should receive Federal aid for the project despite the admirable display of Hoosier determination to go it alone if necessary. That aid now appears to be closer to reality than at any time in the past.

Adlai Stephenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID N. HENDERSON

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, in the days since the death of Adlai Stevenson, I have pondered how best to offer him a proper tribute. Today my problem was solved when I read an editorial which was broadcast over radio station WBT and television station WBTV, Charlotte, N.C.

It expresses my sentiments more simply and completely than I have been able to do, and I offer it for the RECORD:

ADLAI STEVENSON

Adlai Stevenson, who died suddenly on Wednesday, gave distinguished service in an appointive position after having been defeated twice for the Presidency of the United States.

As American delegate to the United Nations, he protected this country's interests well, without indulging in rabid nationalism or in hostility to other members of that international organization, even to those that declare there can be no world peace until the United States is destroyed.

He had the difficult task of making calm and objective replies to the most vicious attacks that any great power has even had to take in a world forum. His even tempered but pointed langauge in those exchanges served on many occasions to smooth over delicate situations that could have become dangerous. He never wavered in his firm defense of American policies, even when large number of the people and some representatives in Congress were sharply critical.

His success as ambassador to the United Nations is the more impressive, because he earlier had the reputation of being an internationalist who might have been too sympathetic to foreign viewpoints.

He had many critics who could not forget that when he returned from a visit to Russia after his second defeat for the presidency he used much of the same stereotyped language as that broadcast almost daily by Radio Moscow in advocating peaceful coexistence.

During the election campaign of 1960 it was frequently said that, if Kennedy were elected, Stevenson would be appointed Secretary of State, and he would not talk back to the Russians. He was not appointed Secretary of State and he did talk back to the Russians in the United Nations post to which he was named. He pinned them to the wall so effectively that the Soviet delegates knew that they had tangled with a master controversialist.

He had been well prepared for this role. As chief adviser to the United States delegation to the organizational meeting of the United Nations at San Francisco, he was well familiar with the whole history of the world forum in which he was to be the chief debater during nearly 5 eventful years.

He was reared on and in public service. His grandfather was a member of Cleveland's Cabinet, and Adlai Stevenson himself served in several capacities in the State Department and on its foreign missions besides having two terms as Governor of Illinois.

His failure to achieve the office of Presidency does not detract from the fine record he made in upholding the interests of his country and the cause of world peace in a time that has been anything but peaceful. To these efforts he gave his best, and his native land will remember Adlai Stevenson with gratitude.

Is the Big Issue Money?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, the Waterloo, Iowa, Daily Courier, in an editorial in its July 14 issue, raises an interesting point as to why union leaders are pushing so hard for repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The big issue, the Courier suggests, is money. With repeal of section 14(b), thousands of workers in the 20 States with right-to-work laws would be forced to join unions. This, of course, would fatten union treasuries and eliminate the problem of retaining members.

I commend the Courier editorial to the attention of my colleagues:

Repeal of Iowa's right-to-work law was approved by a substantial margin in the House of Representatives last spring but defeated by a narrow margin in the Senate.

In Congress, the situation on repeal of the Federal authorization for State right-to-work laws is reversed. The Senate is expected to vote repeal by a large margin. The vote in the House is expected to be close.

In supporting repeal of the Federal authorization, union spokesmen will use the "free rider" argument—that those who allegedly benefit from the activities of unions should be compelled to share the cost.

But that is an argument pushed much more vigorously by paid union officials than by rank-and-file union members. Polls in Iowa show that a majority of union members favor retention of the right-to-work law on the grounds that the voluntary right to join or not join gives them protection which they can obtain in no other way.

After all the pro and con arguments are considered, it is apparent that the big issue is money. Local unions collect between $1 and $35 a month in dues, with the average being about $4. For a half-million workers, that is $24 million a year in additional revenue. In addition, unions charge from $1 to $1,400 in initiation fees, with the average being about $10. For a half-million workers, that is another $5 million. Unions also sometimes charge transfer fees and impose assessments which run into more millions of dollars if nonunion workers can be forced to join.

We don't know how many workers would be forced into unions if right-to-work laws in the 20 States were outlawed by Congress. But a half-million workers is probably a conservative estimate, assuming that new contracts would be negotiated requiring a union shop. If that estimate is correct, the stake in repeal of the Federal authorization is at least $24 million a year. It might be much more.

No wonder union leaders want repeal of the Federal authorization. It would fatten up union treasuries and eliminate the problem of retaining members.

But we have seen no pledges that union dues would be reduced if the right-to-work laws are banned. Without such reductions, the rank-and-file union member has nothing to gain by repeal and the "free rider" argument is proved to be a fraud.

Captive Nations Week

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, it is gratifying indeed to note the increasing recognition being given Captive Nations Week in its seventh year of observance. During this week, there is a more concentrated discussion of the situation of the various countries under totalitarian rule. In a time of increasing Soviet and Communist Chinese agitation, it is important that free people everywhere be made more aware of the conditions of oppression which exist in other parts of the world.

The purpose of Captive Nations Week is threefold. First, it is an expression of deep sympathy and compassion, from the hearts of the American people, to those who have suffered and are suffering under the yoke of tyranny.

Secondly, it is an expression of support to those within and without their captive homelands, assuring them that the citadel of freedom has not turned its back on their just aspirations for freedom and national unity in a moment of political expediency. It is one of the cardinal rules of a totalitarian regime that the spirit of resistance must be crushed. We must seek, by whatever way possible, to thwart this goal. That our moral support of such resistance strikes home to the rulers of the Kremlin has already been demonstrated in the past. What effect the proclamation of Captive Nations Week earlier this month by President Johnson will have remain to be seen. But surely we can do more than simply memorialize the occasion. We can urge that all instruments for disseminating information to the peoples beyond the Iron Curtain be used to convey our message of hope, and we can unceasingly bring the Soviet Union before the court of moral world opinion whenever the question of the rights of man is raised. Furthermore, we can strengthen and revitalize world organizations to promote the freedom of men and to work for the release of those now suffering under the bonds of totalitarianism.

Lastly, we must not forget that the list of captive nations, numbering not less than 25, is not a closed list as far as the Soviet Union is concerned. From Vietnam to the Congo, the struggle for the minds of men and the control of

nations continues. We should use Captive Nations Week to remind ourselves that we must correct our past mistakes, and strive to prevent the subjugation of new areas of the world. A nation that condones indifference to past oppression cannot remain just and, at the same time, a nation that condones indifference to future oppression cannot remain free.

District 65's Proposal to Adjust the Statutory Minimum Wage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues a significant statement made by Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer, District 65, Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union, to the General Subcommittee on Labor of the Committee on Education and Labor, on June 8, 1965:

In testifying on proposals to extend the Fair Labor Standards Act, Cleveland Robinson pointed out that the Fair Labor Standards Act makes it an unfair method of competition for industries to permit the existence of conditions detrimental to the health, efficiency, and well-being of workers. As an enlightened labor leader, he pointed out the effect on employers who have entered into collective bargaining agreements, only to face cutthroat competition from unorganized employers.

He also recommends that the statutory minimum wage be adjusted annually on January 1 to equal 75 percent of the average hourly earning of the manufacturing production worker as computed by the Secretary of Labor for the preceding October 15.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that his recommendations should be given serious attention by the Members of the House.

The text of his remarks follows:

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY CLEVELAND ROBINSON, SECRETARY-TREASURER, DISTRICT 65, RETAIL, WHOLESALE & DEPARTMENT STORE UNION, TO THE GENERAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ON JUNE 8, 1965, IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

My name is Cleveland Robinson. I am secretary-treasurer, District 65, Retail Wholesale & Department Store Union. I am appearing in place of David Livingston, president of our union, who is unfortunately confined to a hospital bed. District 65 has 35,000 members who are employed in department stores, wholesale and retail trade, light manufacturing, and in the industries servicing New York's vast garment complex.

To these 35,000 members whose contractual minimum is $1.75 per hour, substantial improvements in the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act is no mere academic matter. Nor is our concern limited to the humanitarian concepts involved.

Our need for these substantial improvements is urgent and immediate because of the deteriorating competitive status of the employers with whom we have contractual relations.

It is appropriate to quote from section 2 of the Fair Labor Standards Act: "The Congress hereby finds that existence in industries engaged in commerce or the production of goods for commerce of labor conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standards of living necessary for health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers * * * constitutes an unfair method of competition in commerce."

My union suggests that this portion of the congressional intent originally formulated in 1938 has been virtually ignored by succeeding Congresses. This omission by the Congress of the United States, unless corrected in the very near future, will have disastrous results for many of this Nation's employers who are signatory to a collective bargaining agreement.

One of many examples is the direct mail industry of the New York metropolitan area. In this industry district 65 has managed to organize 3,000 of the 6,000 member labor force. The contractual minimum for the organized one-half is $2.06 per hour. Hardly a magnificent wage.

We are prevented from achieving a decent minimum because in the unorganized one-half of the industry the minimum is $1.25 per hour.

It is quite obvious that unless Government intervenes, employers in the direct mail industry will go to the wall. After all, it is not the function of the union to negotiate wage cuts.

Nor is it the function of Government to stand by idly while legitimate and decent employers are destroyed by their sweatshop competitors.

It is apparent, then, that in pleading before this honorable body today, we are also advocates of the interests of those employers who are signatories to a collective bargaining agreement.

It is equally apparent that a statutory minimum of $1.25 per hour violates section 2(a)(3), that part of the Fair Labor Standards Act which was designed to protect employers as well as employees.

Our first recommendation, then, is that this Congress implement the promise of the original act.

Our second recommendation is that this Congress enact a formula which would remove minimum wage changes from the legislative-political area where it sometimes seems we get too much heat and not nearly enough light.

District 65 recommends that the statutory minimum be revised annually based on a formula which is objective, accurate, and equitable.

We recommend that on January 1, of each year, the statutory minimum be adjusted to equal 75 percent of the average hourly earning of the manufacturing production worker as computed by the Secretary of Labor for the preceding October 15.

This objective formula has several advantages.

1. As previously stated, it would remove minimum wage changes from the legislative-political area.

2. The employer signatory to a collective bargaining agreement would enjoy a larger degree of protection against sweatshop competition than he presently enjoys.

3. By spreading out over the years the inevitable boosts in the statutory minimum, employers will be able to more accurately anticipate labor costs and plan accordingly.

4. It would guarantee automatically that the inarticulate, unorganized worker would have at least partial protection against the attrition of his purchasing dollar.

5. It would also guarantee that the unorganized worker would share to at least a minimal degree in the productivity gains of our Nation.

Specifically, this formula, if enacted in 1960, would have provided for a statutory minimum wage of $1.70 per hour on January 1, 1961; $1.76 on January 1, 1962; $1.80 on January 1, 1963; $1.85 on January 1, 1964; and $1.90 on January 1, 1965.

These small annual hikes can easily be managed by any reasonably competent employer.

It should be noted that the manufacturing production worker rate is not necessarily precisely the average of all workers. It excludes the relatively higher paid construction worker, the truckdriver, and longshoreman, to mention only a few.

That particular index has been selected because it is generally agreed that it is the most accurate one available and, in any event, we have to start some place.

In the area of exclusions, my union deems it criminal to deny to a single worker the protection of minimum-wage legislation, inadequate as it may be at the present time.

The exclusions serve the purpose of perpetuating the vicious cycle of grinding poverty, and all its inevitable consequences. The exclusions mock President Johnson's war on poverty.

Those who argue for the continuation of a single exclusion, and those who, wittingly or unwittingly, succumb to those arguments, are perpetuating virtual slavery, 20th century style.

It is not accidental that the principal proportional victims of the exclusions are the black workers.

My union does not intend to fight for the right of the black worker to be served at the hamburger counter only to find when he gets there that he doesn't have the 50 cents to pay for the hamburger. A social right secured is meaningless unless implemented with economic wherewithal.

My union does not believe it unreasonable to demand that those who are sincere and energetic advocates of civil rights be no less zealous in the campaign for economic rights.

In deference to rule XI of the House of Representatives and, more important, in appreciation of the enormous demands made on the time available to the Members of this honorable body, we omitted from our statement extensive remarks. These additional comments will be made available to you in the near future and we respectfully request that these be included in the record.

In the meantime, we would like the record to indicate that district 65 supports without reservation the position taken by the AFL-CIO.

Adlai Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, all men of good will mourned the sudden death of Adlai Stevenson. And all men hope and pray that his ideals, the ideals of peace and enlightened understanding, will endure.

But peace can be achieved only through the cooperative efforts of countless diverse citizens of this world. Through his dedicated service in the United Nations, Ambassador Stevenson greatly encouraged international understanding and cooperation. Thus there is no more appropriate memorial to this great man than the Adlai E. Stevenson Fellowships announced yesterday by President Johnson. These fellowships will bring young people from throughout the world to the

United Nations, there to study, learn, and gain an increased understanding of each other and the problems common to all nations of this globe. These fellowships are an investment in the future leaders of the world, and they serve notice to all lands that Ambassador Stevenson's nation intends that his spirit shall endure.

After Apollo—Then What?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the July Industrial Research magazine outlines with great clarity the alternatives available to us in exploiting the broad base now being developed in our national space program by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. We are at a crossroads in time with respect to the decisions that we must make to fully utilize our now broad space capabilities. I commend this editorial to your reading as a succinct summary of the decisions that face us in our continuing a successful national space effort:

AFTER APOLLO—THEN WHAT?

Recent successes of the Soviet Voskhod-II flight in March and our own dramatic Gemini-IV walk-in-space 77 days later have renewed planning efforts both within and without NASA circles toward future space goals.

NASA and the rest of the industrial research community have a variety of goals to contemplate. All of them are tied inexorably into international political motives and deployment of manpower, as well as scientific and pure adventure considerations. They seem to break down into these alternatives:

(1) Devote primary space energies to exploring the moon and developing a lunar scientific colony and space port;

(2) Land men on Mars or Venus or both;

(3) Explore the asteroids and perhaps utilize their materials;

(4) Stress orbiting physical and astronomical laboratories;

(5) Work on all of these other space objectives somewhat equally and simultaneously; or

(6) Deemphasize space entirely and shift national scientific and industrial efforts to undersea technology, cancer and other health research, or other large nonspace projects.

Excellent reasons seem to abound for any of these alternate directions, but it is the opinion of this staff of editors that the United States should stress the first five goals in the order listed. The race for the moon should not cease with a few manned landings; lunar development, exploration, and colonization is potentially profitable, scientifically beneficial, and far-reaching into all of the disciplines of science.

The moon not only provides a large and steady airless base from which to observe the universe—as orbiting laboratories do not—but can become a natural low-gravity space port for accomplishing other solar system objectives. As for suggestion No. 6, we believe it would be foolhardy to abandon mankind's greatest scientific adventure after the first cosmically tiny step has been taken.

As editor Neil P. Ruzic explained in his series "The Case for Going to the Moon," "practical scientific, industrial, and humanitarian reasons for developing the moon include employing its unique environment for research and vacuum manufacturing; mining it for useful materials and significant geological knowledge; locating on it meteorological and astronomical observatories, hospitals, and biological laboratories; developing it as a space port from which to explore the solar system and the rest of the universe; and utilizing the byproduct of space technology to massively stimulate our economy and to help prevent war."

Former President of ABAC Now Works for Mr. Peanut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, in my section of the country, the name of Dr. George P. Donaldson is closely associated with the peanut industry.

"Mr. Pete," as he is affectionately known, is dedicated to making the world more peanut conscious. As executive secretary for the Georgia Agricultural Commodity Commission for Peanuts, Mr. Pete travels thousands of miles a year promoting our important agricultural product.

A feature article appearing in the July 20 edition of the Albany, Ga., Herald, points out that Mr. Pete is going strong in his second career, having retired 4 years ago as president of Abraham Baldwin Agricultural College at Tifton.

I would like to share the following article with my colleagues:

REMAINS ACTIVE AT 71; FORMER PRESIDENT OF ABAC NOW WORKS FOR "MR. PEANUT"

TIFTON, GA.—The old adage about "would rather wear out than rust out" would surely apply to Dr. George P. Donaldson, of Tifton, nationally known speaker, educator, and agriculturist.

"Mr. Pete," as he is affectionately called, is so busy working for the Georgia peanut farmers and promotion of peanuts that he has no time to "rust out." He gives no indication at wearing out either, because at 71, he is forever on the go, traveling thousands of miles a year trying to make the world more peanut conscious.

When Dr. Donaldson retired as president of Abraham Baldwin Agricultural College 4 years ago at the age of 67, he quickly and effectively made the transition from college to peanuts. He began working the next day after retirement as executive secretary for the Georgia Agricultural Commodity Commission for Peanuts.

Mr. Donaldson will tell you that consumption of peanut butter has gone up 44 percent during the past 5 or 6 years, even though the population has increased only 8 percent.

He said the Alabama Producers, the National Peanut Council of Peanuts, manufacturers, shellers, and other groups have also been promoting peanuts.

QUALITY PRODUCT

"The commission feels that it has certainly had a part in seeing a better quality product produced and the yield has steadily grown in our State from 1,210 pounds per acre in 1961 to 1,680 pounds in 1964," Dr. Donaldson said. "Georgia is the largest peanut-producing State in America and the commission has worked steadily to continue to hold its position."

One of the most valuable facets of the peanut commission's work is that it has given new encouragement and incentive to the peanut farmers.

"They feel a sense of satisfaction in knowing that they themselves are now able to do something about marketing their own product," Dr. Donaldson said. "This they are doing through the peanut commission which they support and direct."

Every week Dr. Donaldson receives letters from farmers and farm groups stating their delight over the progress of peanuts and the peanut program. Responses also from the manufacturers and shellers indicate that the industry as a whole things the peanut commission is performing a valuable service.

The scope of the commission includes research, education and promotion.

Week by week Dr. Donaldson goes to meetings of agricultural groups, peanut shellers and processors and attends other conventions and civic club meetings telling about peanuts. He has spoken in about 14 States, traveling about 25,000 miles a year, mostly by plane.

ATTENDS CONFAB

Only recently Mr. Pete attended the Southeastern Peanut Association Convention in New York City and was master of ceremonies of a program in observance of National Peanut Day. Other members of the peanut commission were there, along with the Georgia peanut princess.

Acting on behalf of the commission, Dr. Donaldson works with an advertising agency in New York to promote consumption of peanuts. The agency provides peanut and peanut butter recipes and feasures for newspapers and magazines over the Nation, provides four home economists who work with school lunch supervisors and other groups, and otherwise publicizes peanuts. The commission sends thousands of small packages of peanuts to local, State and national levels, and some to foreign countries.

All this promotion is getting results. In 1964, 48,000 tons of peanuts were exported and the commission feels that its promotional activities had a part in the increased export trade. Dr. Donaldson said, "this is the largest number of peanuts exported within a decade."

On the homefront the commission has been cooperating with research stations in controlling various types of diseases and insects that attack the plant, and they always are exalted when they get results in the participation they have done in fighting nutgrass.

The rsearch of the commission is also in finding new uses for peanuts. A full-time home economist is employed for this purpose, and this program has resulted in development of new peanut butter ice cream.

Dr. Donaldson is associate editor of the Southeastern Peanut Farmer, gets out a monthly trade letter called "Straight From the Vine," and has a monthly column called "Peanuts and Progress" in 44 newspapers.

Captive Nations

SPEECH

OF

HON. BILLIE S. FARNUM

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, the people of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovaka, Hungary, Poland, and Rumania

continue to live under totalitarian rule.

None of the basic rights which we hold to be self-evident have been restored. If there has been any improvement in their condition, it is like the improvement that may be found in a skillfully run penal institution.

It is our duty to remember this—to keep in mind that so long as any once-free nation remains captive, all the free people of the world share in that captivity. The bell that tolls for liberty tolls for liberty everywhere.

USDA—Consumer Friend—Cotton, Wool Become New Fabrics of the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I call to your attention that research conducted by the U.S. Department of Agriculture is helping the American housewife get more for her clothing and fabric dollar. Cotton and wool have been used for thousands of years, but now USDA scientists are giving them new 20th century properties for the comfort and convenience of consumers.

Almost every American consumer is familiar with wash-and-wear shirts and blouses—which, among other advantages, are easy to launder and reduce the ironing chore for the lady of the house. The Department helped pioneer the development of these wash-and-wear finishes.

Stretch socks, slacks, and underwear made of a new stretch cotton are the result of another clothing advance from USDA laboratories. Stretch cottons are now fashion leaders in women's and girls' casual clothing.

These new fabrics have many uses. They are ideal for upholstery and slipcovers. Consumers can now buy all-cotton stretch materials as piece goods. A recent extension of the process gives an added look of richness and depth to inexpensive cotton lace.

The Department has also developed processes for making cotton fabrics oil and water repellent. USDA flameproofing treatments are widely used on cotton and wool going into draperies, upholstery, and rugs. And new processes perfected by USDA scientists are adding weather and rot resistance to cottons used in awnings, tents, and tarpaulins.

The newest clothing development on the market—shrink-resistant wool—is also a USDA achievement.

The new Wurlanized wool—the name is derived from USDA's Western Utilization Research Division—can be machine washed without shrinking and matting. This means that skirts, slacks, sweaters, socks, and blankets with complete launderability, and needing only slight pressing afterward, will soon be widely available to consumers.

All-wool stretch fabrics produced by a USDA process are also the market, as are woolen garments with permanent creases and pleats.

Consumers can look ahead to further advances in these time-honored fabrics. They can expect improved all-wool stretch fabrics, wools that resist soiling and wear, and wool more effectively mothproofed. As for cotton, USDA scientists are making excellent progress in new processes which will give wash-and-wear cotton increasing durability and life.

The development of cotton and wool materials with new convenience properties is a significant contribution by which USDA scientists are helping consumers to take better advantage of the American age of abundance.

The American City: Problem and Promise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, on July 6, the Honorable Arthur Naftalin was inaugurated for his third term as mayor of the city of Minneapolis—the city which I am honored to represent.

I was very pleased to be present to hear the inaugural address by Mayor Naftalin, for he spoke not only of the problems of our city but also of its promise.

Minneapolis has made great strides under his administration—in transportation, urban redevelopment, human welfare, and a host of others. Much remains to be done, however, and the mayor's speech reveals that he has given this task his careful thought. Because American cities share many problems in common, this message by our capable and articulate mayor will be of interest to other Members of the House. I have unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the full text of Mayor Naftalin's inaugural address which follows:

INAUGURAL MESSAGE OF ARTHUR NAFTALIN, MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS

Governor Rolvaag, Congressman FRASER, Mr. President of the council, honorable members of the council, fellow public officials, fellow citizens and our most honored guest, former mayor of Minneapolis, Vice President of the United States, the Honorable HUBERT H. HUMPHREY: Twenty years ago, almost to the day, HUBERT HUMPHREY stood where I am standing now and took the oath of office as mayor of Minneapolis. On that day began a procession of events that has witnessed the rise of one of the greatest men of our time. The people of our city are justifiably proud that they were the first to recognize the magnificent talents and the great leadership abilities of the man who honors us today by his presence.

This is for me a sentimental moment that I shall always cherish. I was with HUBERT HUMPHREY when he took office 20 years ago, serving him then as his secretary and working with his as a disciple and as a friend.

Over these years he has been teacher, counselor, mentor, and at the same time taskmaster, disciplinarian and prodder of my conscience. My association with him has been a privilege for which I shall always be grateful.

Through these years HUBERT HUMPHREY has been an unflagging champion of morality and equal justice. Wherever men have struggled to improve their human plight they have had in him an effective ally. He is a leader in the finest tradition of democratic statesmanship. We are indeed honored that Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY is with us this morning.

It is especially appropriate that he be with us today. He is here not only to mark the 20th anniversary of his own inauguration as mayor but also in his role as President Johnson's liaison representative with the municipal governments of the Nation.

Some weeks ago President Johnson asked Mr. HUMPHREY to assume the liaison role to assist the mayors of our cities in making most effective use of federally supported programs, especially those dealing with the war against poverty, civil rights, housing, urban redevelopment, and the beautification of America.

Already in a few short weeks Mr. HUMPHREY has established a close relationship with the mayors and is giving us effective assistance as we seek to help our cities deal with their problems.

In his work with the mayors and by his presence here today Mr. HUMPHREY emphasizes that, however wide in scope may be the Federal programs, the basic responsibility for meeting the problems of our cities lies with us.

My appearance here today is in effect a plea to you that we join in a more complete discharge of that responsibility. In making this plea at the outset of a new term I do so in the spirit of a new beginning.

It is my earnest hope that we will develop a more effective relationship and, in cooperation with other agencies of government, will make a significant impact on our growing problems.

By now these problems are well known. An acute financial crisis, mounting traffic, the pressure of exploding suburban population, overburdened services, a shrinking tax base, rising crime and delinquency, fragmented government, the continued plight of older citizens living on small fixed incomes, pockets of poverty in the midst of general prosperity, inequalities and discrimination, and neighborhoods threatened by blight and deterioration—these conditions, among many others, demand that we fashion programs that will provide a meaningful attack.

This attack, I believe, should be aimed at five interrelated objectives:

First, meeting our financial crisis; second, sharpening and strengthening our efforts in planning and community development; third, expanding and improving our programs for social planning; fourth, initiating a program to beautify our cities and to preserve historic sites; and fifth, a concerted effort to strengthen the procedures and structure of our Government.

I. MEETING THE FINANCIAL CRISIS

With respect, first, to the financial crisis, our first need is for a complete analysis of where we stand with respect to the balance of this fiscal year. A further critical requirement is the effective coordination of financial policymaking on the part of the several independent boards and the city council. We need at this point to begin, on a coordinated basis, a clear-cut budget proposal for 1966 that comprehensively deals with all of our city's needs.

Recognizing that the primary responsibility for financial planning is vested in the city council, I wish to assure you of my complete cooperation. My office is prepared to

assist in the fashioning of an overall budget, to help with a citywide financial study that might serve as a basis for specific legislative recommendations, to participate as a member of the council's bipartisan legislative committee, or to assist any study aimed at discovering possible savings in present operations.

The mayor's office will be responsive to any request from the city council for leadership, direction or assistance. I ask only that such request be accompanied with assurances of adequate staff support.

With respect further to finances, I should note that it is generally agreed that we cannot further burden property taxpayers and that it is imperative that we develop a tax source for city financing. We must be prepared, in the event of a special legislative session, to present a program that offers some prospect of financial relief, and, in any event, to begin at the earliest possible moment to prepare for the 1967 legislative session.

With respect to nonproperty tax sources I give you this assurance, that I am prepared to consider any proposal that does not impose unfair burdens on any group. I am prepared, working with other representatives of our government and with our civic leadership, to examine anew our financial dilemma and, on a bipartisan basis, to seek an effective solution.

II. PLANNING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

In recent months there has been a quickening of concern over whether we are moving rapidly enough to deal with the forces of change that surround us. There is mounting pressure for land uses at higher densities. Residential areas are increasingly invaded by traffic and threatening blight. Progress in freeway construction continues to be a concern. The harsh winter highlighted the city's lack of paved streets. We are increasingly more aware of the need for redevelopment that will open our land to new commercial and industrial uses.

Thus, within the broad field of planning and community development there are a host of complex and interrelated problems that require ever more intensive study.

Fortunately, we now have a vast storehouse of information, the result of the work of our city planning commission in diagnosing our needs and resources. There will soon be before us the findings of the community improvement program, our comprehensive community renewal project which was conducted by the planning commission over a 3-year period largely with Federal funds. The Minneapolis project has received nationwide attention, because of its broad scope and its effective citizen participation.

It covers such widely ranging but related factors as housing, commercial and industrial development, improvement of public facilities, urban design, relocation, the improvement of social services, transportation, new jobs and investments, new uses of urban renewal, and the planning of parks, libraries and schools.

The community improvement program findings constitute a framework within which the city council and other public bodies can make policy decisions of immense importance to our future, which in the immediate period ahead presents us with an unprecedented opportunity.

Through good planning we can achieve within our city a vast expansion in the "brain" industries that require human talent and skill combined with high quality education. To assist this growth we should place high on our agenda the redevelopment of the related Cedar-Riverside, Industry Square, and Southeast University areas.

By the selective use of urban renewal, combined with imaginative planning by the University of Minnesota and by private enterprise, we can evolve an integrated plan for a city within a city, one that will serve as a great educational, medical, and cultural crossroads for the entire Twin Cities area.

As this program proceeds it must, on the basis of concern and goodwill, protect the interests and equities of those who will be effected—homeowners, businesses, the educational and medical institutions—at the same time insuring that the entire community will be benefited.

I am aware that this program is already beset with controversy. Yet, I cannot conscientiously avoid speaking out on a matter of such fundamental importance to our future.

The University of Minnesota plays a vital role in the life of Minneapolis. We have not always appreciated the degree to which the high quality of that institution has been reflected in our lives. We have not always understood the importance of its presence to our economic growth and to our educational and cultural development. Today it is most urgent that we acquire a proper appreciation of what the university means as a community resource, because never before has the university been under such enormous pressure to expand and to open new and greater educational opportunities. This expansion represents a great opportunity for the people of Minneapolis, and we must in our own self-interest take full advantage of it.

Meantime we are making excellent progress in our programs of urban renewal and public housing. As a result of the excellent work of the Minneapolis Housing and Redevelopment Authority today we are in the forefront of American cities for our progress in revitalizing the downtown, in removing blight from vast sections of the city, and in providing attractive new homes for a larger number of low-income families and elderly people.

Thus, we face a challenge of community development against a background of significant progress. The pressing need now is for greater coordination in the planning area. These responsibilities are now shared by the city council, the city planning commission, the capital long-range improvements committee, the Minneapolis Housing and Redevelopment Authority, the school system, and by the other boards and commissions, all of whom must work closely with county and State agencies and with the planners for private enterprise.

I believe the mayor's Office can be helpful in achieving this coordination. Here again primary responsibility is vested in the city council, but I will be pleased to respond promptly and enthusiastically to any request for assistance in setting goals, resolving conflicts, mediating among agencies, or program building. Again I ask only that such request be accompanied by an assurance of adequate staff.

III. PROGRESS IN SOCIAL PLANNING

The great strength of our planning has been its emphasis on both physical and social needs. We have long recognized the importance of enlarged educational opportunities, of conscious attention to the elimination of discrimination, of programs of training and retraining, of building into our welfare programs techniques and approaches that help persons now dependent to become self-sufficient.

In this broad field at least four areas should have our attention: (1) the continued implementation of the Economic Opportunity Act, (2) further improvement in the city's relief program, (3) enlargement of the work of the mayor's commission on human relations, and (4) further professionalizing of our law enforcement activity.

The Economic Opportunity Act is an effort in depth to reach persons who are in need—the handicapped, the dispossessed, the uneducated, the unskilled, the high school dropout, the youngster from a culturally deprived home, the older person with years of productive life remaining.

We have made excellent progress in implementing this act, and for this progress we are indebted to the Community Health and Welfare Council of Hennepin County for the excellent management and direction it has given the program.

At my request, the council appointed a countywide committee which assumed direction of all matters that come under the broad-ranging titles of the act. Thanks to this organization's leadership, our programs have been singularly free of conflict, controversy, or criticism. We have pushed steadily forward so that today we have in operation 9 major projects that are helping more than 5,000 individuals with Federal grants totaling $750,000.

Similarly, in our human relations and law enforcement activities and in the programs under the board of public welfare there is a deepening appreciation of what we must do to achieve a stable social pattern. Despite our financial crisis, it is imperative that we give these crucial programs adequate support.

It is also encouraging to note the extent to which our neighborhoods are recognizing the importance of planning. We now have a large number of dynamic neighborhood organizations seeking ways to promote wholesome growth and to check physical and human decay.

I note especially the emergence of the council of councils, a citywide movement embracing all the neighborhood organizations and representing a major new dimension in overall social planning.

Our beautiful city of Minneapolis can become the model city of America. It is within our reach to remove the remaining pockets of blight, to banish poverty, at least in its most extreme forms, to establish a pattern of genuine equality and justice in all our human relations, to develop programs that reach and help everyone in need, and to extend further our already high cultural and educational level until it pervades and permeates the community, infusing all of us with the common purpose of achieving the highest quality of human expression.

IV. BEAUTIFYING OUR CITY

It is appropriate here to mention the national program recently launched by President Johnson to preserve and enhance the beauty of this country.

Because of our rich endowment of natural beauty and because of our unusual consciousness of the qualitative aspects of community life, we have a special obligation to participate in this program.

We should undertake a three-way approach:

First, we should seek to preserve and enhance the beauty of our river and its banks, our waterfalls and streams, our parks and trees and boulevards, to protect and preserve the water levels and the natural beauty of our lakes, to add new garden areas, and to seek in all ways to heighten, brighten, and intensify every corner that can yield a bit of visual joy.

Second, we should move to preserve historic sites and other identifying landmarks. There is a grave danger that, with the onrush of freeway construction and urban redevelopment, we will heedlessly erase objects of historic interest or natural beauty. I have already begun to shape action in this area and I hope to be able to report significant progress soon.

Third, as planning and redevelopment proceed, we must pay close attention to the overall urban design that emerges. In this connection I am pleased to note that one of the related components of the community

improvement program is an urban design project.

In cooperation with leading civic, cultural, and educational organizations, this project seeks to develop an overall design policy for the city, enabling a better coordination of basic urban functions and insuring the most esthetically satisfying image of the city.

Here again it is my hope that, with the city council's cooperation, we will be able to achieve a pattern of activity that will bring forth creative new ideas that will be useful not only for us but for cities elsewhere in the Nation and the world.

V. STRENGTHENING OUR GOVERNMENT

All of this adds up to an enormous burden for our Government and for us as individuals If we are to be responsive to these needs and if we are to have a reasonable measure of success in carrying out essential programs, we must have an improved structure of the government, not only at the city level but also at the county and metropolitan levels.

Our efforts today to meet our financial crisis and to achieve the broad goals of community improvement are frustrated in part by the diffusion of responsibility within our city structure and by the fragmentation of authority among the many separate governments that serve the county and metropolitan area.

In my view the time is at hand for a basic restructuring of municipal and county government. As a city we are, of course, limited in what we can do directly to effect such change, but certainly we owe it to ourselves and to the metropolitan area of which we are a part to do all we can to achieve more coordinated and more responsive government. A first step should be improvements in our structure of government that will enable us to proceed more effectively.

Two years ago I accepted the mandate of the public in its rejection of the charter reform proposal. I said in my last inaugural that I intended to work within the framework of the existing charter. This I have done and I shall continue to do so until such time as changes can be brought about.

I must, however, assert again my deep conviction that the present structure of Minneapolis government is not adequate to the challenges we face.

It is my hope that, through intensive consultation, we can discover a new approach to charter reform that will have the widespread public support that is essential for its adotpion. At the proper time I should like to suggest, perhaps in the form of a special message to the City Council, certain possibilities that I believe may be promising in this area.

I have sought in this message to convey my strong conviction that the next 2 years offer us an opportunity to develop creative plans and programs that will influence the character of our City for many years to come.

The plans, however, require imagination, boldness, courage and determination because on all sides there will be resistance to change on the part of those who feel that particular plans will affect them adversely. Often those who resist are more vocal and more determined than the large numbers who would benefit from particular projects. We must rise above narrow political concerns, we must reject cynicism, indifference and pittiness.

We will properly discharge our responsibilities only if we proceed with a large view of our potential and with a deep and passionate concern for the welfare of everyone.

I offer you my assurance that I will do all I can, within the limits of my authority, to advance the goals that I have set forth and, with your cooepration, to push on to ever higher levels of public service.

The School With the "Plus" Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, sound education and proper training of our youth is uppermost in our minds—and rightly so. The future of our country and the welfare of its citizens demand that responsible decisions be made today by community leaders and teachers.

Ten years ago, the principle of the City Park School, Athens, Tenn., Mr. Harold Powers, had a dream of total citizen effort to turn raw bricks and mortar into a recreation center. Knowing that a sound body is essential to young and old alike, the community undertook a comprehensive program to transform ordinary facilities into excellent recreational and camping resources. Their success is a tribute to a man with vision and to a community willing to meet its responsibilities.

I know my colleagues will profit by reading about the City Park School's program of physical education plus, and under unanimous consent I insert an article on the popular year-round center in the Appendix of the RECORD:

THE SCHOOL WITH THE PLUS PROGRAM

(By Harold Powers)

Ten years ago I walked the grounds of the City Park Elementary School. The playground was red clay, which I knew would in the fall turn to a sea of mud, but it was a beautiful setting for a school—14 acres of level land located near the center of a pleasant, middle class community.

It was soon to be my school, for I had just been selected as its new principal. It was soon to be our school, for it had been designed from its very beginning as a community center.

As I looked up at the worker painting the flagpole, I realized what an opportuinty for service this position offered. A new school, new building, new principal, new teachers—nothing to live up to and nothing to live down. Here some new ideas could be carried out without the refrain that Mr. So and So never did that. Walking inside where men were busy laying tile, I began to realize both the challenge and the fear. There was the challenge to do something great—knowing full well that the doing would have to be a total faculty project. I was a new principal; I knew I could teach, but could I lead others to help make a dream come true?

TEN YEARS LATER

Almost 10 years have passed, and it is a joy to look back at what has been accomplished. The faculty, working with the fine people of a good communty and with the complete cooperation of the superintendent and the board of education, has done much. Many of the accomplishments have resulted in better recreational facilities for the whole community, and these I want to share here.

The 14-acre playground that once was a sea of mud has now become a beautiful, tree-lined, grassy community play center. What used to be a hayfield is now a 2-acre lighted park, complete with outdoor grills and tables for picnicking, and 40 9-year-old maple trees. Close by is a covered shelter with lighted board and tennis courts. There is a 150-foot square concrete play area for skating, basketball, or hopscotch. This, combined with six softball fields, a swimming pool, and general playground equipment makes up a community center for recreation.

The most remarkable thing about this whole area is that it is the result of real community effort. It would be difficult to find a single organization in our community that has not helped in some way. Garden clubs helped plant trees, civic clubs helped with making the concrete area, Boy Scouts planted grass over the area, and the youngsters who attend City Park School put in hours of labor.

SUMMER PLAYGROUND

The area is used throughout the year. From June through August, two full-time directors work with the youngsters of all age groups. There is free play for all, softball for girls, baseball for boys aged 6 to 15, tennis instruction, crafts instruction, quiet periods of story telling, and opportunity to browse in the school library.

Our future plans call for planned recreation during the school year, from 3:30 to 6 on these grounds and in the gymnasium. Included in the program will be such games as touch football, vollyball, basketball, softball, and tennis. Emphasis will be on participation by all children, rather than on school teams. The program will be planned for everyone in the community, and will include such special events as father and daughter square dances, dad and son volleyball games, and games of low organization for the little folks.

SCHOOL CAMPING

Into our program in its first year went a new activity to Tennessee—school camping. It has been an experience for children that combines physical education, recreation, and conservation. At the same time, it has meant enrichment in all subject matter areas. Youngsters now learn firsthand about the biology of a fish, the composition of water, the identification of flowers and shrubs; they learn how to compute the board feet in a tree and they write a theme on some real life experiences in the out of doors.

The school camping program has expanded through the years. We now conduct two school camps per year, one in the eighth grade and one in the fifth grade.

Ten years ago, in an eighth grade classroom, we launched our first plans for a school camp. From the beginning the students agreed to accept responsibility for helping to plan the program and to finance the camp. The mistakes made in that first school camp were many—but we went camping, and we learned.

The program was carried out with meager resources. Selection of the campsite is an example of how we operated. The nearest State park with facilities to accommodate our group was 75 miles away, but closer by was another camp, with fewer facilities, where we could have our program at half the cost. The students agreed: "Let's go camping. What we don't have to have, we will do without, and what we must have, we will provide through our own efforts."

The problems of that first camp were too numerous to even list here, but the students came up with solutions. The next eighth-grade group anticipated camping and were eager to begin with the plans. Since the first year, the job has not been a matter of selling school camping—but only of directing the enthusiasm.

Two things we learned early. First, the students must help in planning the camp. If they make the rules, they will not break

them. Second, the students must be prepared for a camping experience. Time must be taken in the classroom, and preliminary field trips into the out of doors are essential.

We learned also that what makes or breaks a school camp is its program. Children want activity, and if the right activity is available, the camp will run smoothly. In a good outdoor program, students are shown how and then allowed to do things for themselves. The learning experiences must be varied, and the special events (such as cookouts, vesper services, campfire ceremonies) must be well planned.

FUTURE CAMP PROGRAMS

Realizing the need for better facilities in school camping, we have acquired a tract of land on Watts Bar Lake on which we are now developing a group camp. Here again the community is pitching in and helping. The men of our PTA have had workdays to clean the area and bring in water. Three civic clubs have built cabins and are sponsoring camps for youngsters who probably would not otherwise have the opportunity for camping experiences.

This new camp is to be used for school camping, but, looking into the future, we see it also as a summer camping program for all the children of our community.

SWIMMING

When a new community swimming pool was built just off our grounds, we saw another opportunity to help our students. Two years ago, the learn-to-swim program was started at City Park School. A Red Cross instructor trained interested teachers and mothers to carry on the program. Our goal was to have every child a swimmer before he left the eighth grade.

First, we secured use of the pool for the month of September. Second, we surveyed the fifth through eighth grades to find out how well pupils could swim. Our main concern was with the nonswimmers, and we found in these grades 60 youngsters who could not swim. For 2 weeks, we had learn-to-swim classes for this group.

Altogether, we gave instruction to more than 200 students, helping all of them to improve their swimming skills.

After 2 years of the program, every boy and girl in our eighth grade can swim. In our files, we have dozens of letters from parents expressing their appreciation for this program.

This past year, because of interest from the faculty, we also conducted a teacher learn-to-swim program. Ten of our teachers learned how to swim.

And these are examples of what we at City Park School choose to call "physical education plus."

Adlai Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES L. WELTNER

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Speaker, during recent days I have read many tributes to the late Adlai E. Stevenson. Yet, none seems more appropriate than the following, written by my constituent and friend, Sara V. Craig, of Atlanta. I include it in the RECORD.

The late Edward R. Murrow said of Winston Churchill during World War II that he marshaled the English language and sent it to war.

No less did Adlai Stevenson marshal the English language and send it on the quest for peace. He used it as a bright lance to challenge apathy in the affluent fifties. He fashioned it to sound America's call to greatness in the troubled sixties.

If we remember Adlai Stevenson only in political defeat, we overlook the greater victory which was his life.

To be sure, there was defeat at the polls for him and for the party which nominated him twice for the presidency. But there was victory for the democratic process in his words in accepting his party's first nomination in 1952:

"Better that we lose the election than mislead the people; better that we lose than misgovern."

And there will be other victories for Adlai Stevenson beyond the sound of his remarkable phrases. Wherever the voice of reason shall stay the hand of brutishness, whenever grace and civility shall triumph over bombast and bravado, there will be found the influence, the spirit of Stevenson.

Last week in London on yet another mission of peace, Adlai Stevenson's life on his earth ended.

A grateful Nation, a sorrowing world knew at last that his favorite prayer, that of St. Francis of Assisi, had been answered:

Lord, make me an instrument of thy peace.

Inside Cuba: Russia Extends "Oceanographic" Investigations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the July 9, 1965, Free Cuba News:

INSIDE CUBA: RUSSIA EXTENDS "OCEANOGRAPHIC" INVESTIGATIONS

A new group of Soviet technicians flew into Havana last month to work in what are regarded as mysterious explorations of Cuban and adjacent waters.

The new arrivals are assigned to the so-called Havana fishing terminal and to the oceanographic investigations headquarters located on the premises of a one-time weather station at Carapachibey on the Isle of Pines, south of Cuba.

For the past 8 months Soviet maritime investigations have increased their activities in the Caribbean, the Gulf of Mexico, and even nearby U.S. territorial waters. (See "Soviet Buildup in Cuba Includes Underwater Explorations," FCN, vol. 2, No. 9, Sept. 8, 1964).

Last November the Russian oceanographic vessel *Kovalienski* cruished the Gulf of Mexico for some 30 days before returning to its bases on the Isle of Pines and in the Cuban capital.

On the other hand, Soviet trawlers, frequently seen off the Florida east coast in nonfishing waters near Fort Lauderdale and Fowey Rocks, have created suspicions as to the legitimacy of their operations.

Renewed Russian activity in waters south of western Cuba, especially in the Cayo Largo area and near the Soviet military-naval base at Siguanea, Isle of Pines, has also been reported. It is recalled that for the past 3 years the Russians have been working, uninterruptedly, at Cayo Largo.

Meantime, two more boats have been assigned to the Russian oceanographic explorations which started in August 1964 with the Soviet mother ships *Mikhail Lomonosov* and *Kovalienski* and two Cuba vessels, *Fidias* and *Delfin*. The Soviet Union has given great importance to the maritime investigations. Today, the Castro regime has publicly admitted to more than 100 Russian scientists involved in the operation. The actual number probably exceeds this many times over.

It has been repeatedly pointed out that the military objective of the Soviet investigations is more than obvious, since the Russians have chosen an area which is, significantly, near the Cape Kennedy missile center.

While the Russians have intensified their maritime explorations, they have also stepped up scientific activities on the island.

After inaugurating in Havana last January an oceanographic institute equipped with 28 modern laboratories for maritime investigations, the Russians began construction of a powerful radio station with 5,000 watts on each of several frequencies. The station is now nearing completion.

Several meteorological stations have been set up at various coastal points throughout the island. In addition, the controlled Cuban press recently announced Government plans for immediate construction of two installations for high atmosphere research, some mobile meteorological stations with long-range raido transmitters, radar, and other scientific equipment. None of these are related to purely Cuban needs.

It was also announced that the Soviet Union will commence observations of artificial satellites from its base in Cuba. It is well known that for the past 2 years preparations have been underway at missile-tracking stations at the San Antonio de los Baños airbase in Havana Province.

Captain Antonio Núñez Jiménez, president of the Academy of Sciences of Cuba, has also announced that a missile-observation station will be inaugurated on July 26.

With the Castro regime still impotent to emerge from economic chaos and start on its own feet after almost 7 years in power, establishment of costly scientific installations in Cuba would have been impossible without Soviet aid.

Thus, Russia's intensification of oceanographic, barometric, and space research in the Caribbean, the Atlantic, and the Gulf of Mexico—plus the existence of her three or four submarine bases in Cuban waters—is regarded as part of a long-range military plan aimed at one major objective—the United States.

Apart from scientific investigations, the Soviet Atlantic Fishing Fleet is also playing a key role in smuggling Cuba-trained guerrillas into Latin America.

An erratic contraband service from Cuba to Islas Mujeres off the Mexican coast in 1961 has emerged today as a perfectly run organization of espionage and subversion with the support of a large number of Russian and Cuban vessels.

Recently over 300 Cuba-trained guerrillas and terrorists were smuggled into Islas Mujeres, Cozumel Island, and other Mexican coastal points en route to Guatemala and other Latin American areas.

Russian and Cuban fishing fleets freely operating in Mexican territorial waters—up to 60 boats have been seen fishing at one time—have made it much easier to smuggle guerrillas into Mexico or pick up contraband cargo off the Mexican coast.

Castro's 75-foot Lambda-type boats also have been used to transport guerillas and other subversive agents from the Soviet military-naval base at Siguanea, Isle of Pines, to Caribbean and South American countries. It is known that, before reaching their respective destination points, the guerillas are transferred from the Lambda-type boats to native fishing vessels awaiting the subversive human cargo.

Some 5,000 Latin American Communists trained in Cuba during the past years have been smuggled back into their respective countries abroad boats used by Castro and the Russians for fishing. Upon his return each guerrilla trains 10 others. The goal is to able to handle future guerrilla trainees in their homelands. The frightening implications of this plan are that we may soon face a self-propagating army of Communist guerrillas in this hemisphere—an army independent of its Cuban base.

The Cuba-trained Latin American agents have returned to their homelands from the Cuban ports of Batabanó (on the south coast of Havanna Province), Cienfuegos (on the south coast of Las Villas Province), Siguanea (Isle of Pines), Aserradero, Bahía Larga, Uvero, and other points on the south coast of Oriente Province.

The ports of Mariel and La Fe on the north coast of the extreme western province of Pinar del Río and the Soviet submarine base on the north coast of Oriente have also been utilized to ship guerrillas to Latin America.

Faced with such a steady flow of subversive agents, guerrillas, and terrorists coming from Cuba, Latin American governments have found it difficult to put an end to Communist subversion in their respective territories. With massive Soviet support to Cuba, the task has now become almost hopeless.

Skybus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join with Congressman REUSS and 19 other House Members in the introduction of legislation for a massive research effort designed to achieve a technological breakthrough in developing new transportation systems for urban areas such as Pittsburgh.

I would note that Skybus, to be inaugurated soon for a trial run in South Park, Allegheny County, Pa., is one example of the type of creative thinking that must be applied to help solve urban transit problems.

If we can spend billions of dollars to send a handful of Americans into space, we surely can afford $20 million for an effort that could provide safe, rapid transit for millions of Americans. Skybus may be the answer for some areas, but we must undertake this research program to prove the worth of this and other systems that may be devised in order to meet the differing types of urban transit needs.

The legislation introduced today provides for a 2-year, $20 million research program looking toward new transit systems designed to carry people safely, quickly, and economically from place to place within urban areas, without polluting the air and in a way that would meet the needs of the people for individual transportation while also contributing to good city planning.

Skybus, or transit expressway, developed by Westinghouse Electric Co., Pittsburgh, uses lightweight automated vehicles operating singly or in trains on a lightweight electrified roadway which can be built a ground level, above ground level, or below ground level.

Westinghouse developed this new system in an effort to provide flexible train or single car schedules operating efficiently, comfortably and safely 24 hours a day at costs substantially below those of a conventional transit system. This is the first significant new development designed from the ground up for its intended purpose—efficient use of modern equipment and techniques for the continuous movement of people in urban areas.

New Education Method Proposed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Jerrold R. Zacharias, physics professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, outlined a bold, new concept of education recently at the White House Conference on Education.

It is my feeling that this new learning by teaching approach to education should be examined by Congress and the American people at this time, and I submit for the RECORD this article from the Pittsburgh Press of July 21, 1965:

LEARN BY TEACHING—NEW METHOD OF EDUCATION URGED BY PROFESSOR: INNOVATION FOR ALL AGE GROUPS TOLD AT WHITE HOUSE PARLEY

(By Ann Ewing)

WASHINGTON, July 21.—A bold, new concept of education, called learning by teaching, was urged here today as a powerful method of educating youngsters, youths and adults.

Learning by teaching involves students taking part in the education of other students, either younger or the same age. How such a program would work was outlined to the White House conference on education by Dr. Jerrold R. Zacharias, physics professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

"All of us have had the experience of learning something by doing it. This is the method of choice, the most powerful method of all," Dr. Zacharias said.

However, he noted that all of us have also had the experience of learning something by teaching it to someone else, or by helping someone else to learn it. This, Dr. Zacharias said, also is a powerful method of education.

He suggested, as an example of the program, that a good way to begin a college course on the properties of light would be to have the college students teach children about light.

"We can see an object, not by having something more from the eye to the object, but by having something go from the object to the eye.

"But what goes from the object to the eye? How does it go? In straight lines? * * * And when?"

By finding the answers to such questions, and others that would occur as these were being answered, Dr. Zacharias said, the 10-year-olds and the 18-year-olds will not just be learning facts. They will be learning how to learn, how to see, and observe, how to reason, and they will be learning something about the properties of light.

Though this particular course is not now being tried, Dr. Zacharias noted that it is similar to courses going on in several colleges.

Using students as teachers has a second virtue, he reported.

"So far I have been talking about a student learning a subject by teaching that subject, but the student-as-teacher, of course, is also learning how to teach.

"And he is learning this by the most powerful of all methods, learning by doing," Dr. Zacharias said.

Such a program, he predicted, "Would result not only in an immediate improvement in the education of the 10-year-olds and 18-year-olds involved, but also in the recruiting of a new group of enthusiastic teachers."

Students teaching other students their own age would be "especially valuable in (the) communication arts of speaking, listening, reading, and writing," Dr. Zacharias noted.

"My proposal is that a fair number of universities and colleges—the academic as well as education faculties—high schools and elementary schools work together to devise experiments in learning by teaching. We need a large variety of attempts.

"Naturally, some of these should be in science and mathematics. But we also need experiments in social studies, in the arts, in vocational education—in any field in which someone finds the inspiration that provides the courage to try something new," Dr. Zacharias concluded.

Everhart Saved by a Belt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, again and again, the value of seat belts in automobiles has been proved by the facts. In support of recent congressional probing into the necessity of increased safety factors in automobiles, I am delighted to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, a real life story published recently in the News-Advertiser and Joppatowne News that emphasizes once more the life-saving value of having seat belts in your car and using them.

EVERHART SAVED BY A BELT

Saved—by the belt rather than the bell—is the theme of a recent automobile accident involving the life of an Aberdeen Proving Ground employee.

Clarence E. Everhart, of 304 Fifth Avenue, Landsdowne, Pa., is the man who lived to tell the story. Assigned to the post Engineer Support Services Division here, Mr. Everhart was driving to work behind two other drivers; with the lead car traveling 30 miles an hour center lane, in a 50-mile zone.

Approaching the beltway exit to Pulaski Highway, Mr. Everhart was forced off the road by another vehicle. He hit a concrete bridge abutment head on.

The sedan doors flew open and pieces of metal, wheels, and engine shot like missiles through the air.

"All that was left in one piece," relates Mr. Everhart, "was me and the seat belt which had unquestionably saved my life. The car was just a flattened-out piece of junk."

Tunnel police and an ambulance came clanging to the scene while the middle of the roader took off at about 90 miles an hour.

At the hospital, X-rays showed that Mr. Everhart had come out of the accident unscathed, except for a surface cut on his chin and a revved-up blood pressure count of about 230.

Mr. Everhart's 12-year-old daughter, motherless since the recent death of Mrs. Everhart, answered the State trooper's telephone call announcing the accident.

"My father, my father," the child screamed to the policeman. "Now I have nobody."

"It's not that bad, honey," he told her.

"You still have your father, because he remembered to use his seat belt when driving."

National Education Association Endorses Teacher Fellowship Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to see in a special report dated July 14, 1965, prepared by the Division of Federal Relations of the National Education Association, the following summary of the National Education Association's endorsement of my proposal to establish a national teacher fellowship program, and a summary of the bill (H.R. 9627):

NEA BACKS NATIONAL TEACHER FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM IN HOUSE TESTIMONY

In hearings on the National Teacher Fellowship Act of 1965 (H.R. 9627) on July 13 before the House General Subcommittee on Education, Dr. Martin Essex, a member of the National Education Association's Legislative Commission placed the 940,000-member organization on record in support of such legislation. In his July 2 address to the annual convention of the NEA in New York City, President Johnson endorsed the concept of the proposal sponsored by Congressman JOHN BRADEMUS, Democrat, of Indiana, and Senator WAYNE MORSE, Democrat, of Oregon, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Education, who is sponsor of similar legislation in the Senate.

Dr. Essex, who was accompanied by Dr. Edward Pomeroy, spokesman for the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, and Dr. Ellis F. White, representing the Association for Higher Education, a department of the NEA, told Chairman CARL PERKINS' subcommittee, "No Congress has become more mindful of the educational demands of our Nation than the 88th and 89th. Urbanization, technological progress and the growing concerns for employability have made evident the need for strengthening elementary and secondary education in our country. Nothing is more fundamental to the improvement of instruction, however, than the availability of well-qualified teachers. The teacher-fellowship bill is designed to meet three specific needs in the area of teacher personnel. First is the need to overcome the acute shortage of qualified and suitable teachers. A second need to be served by this bill is that of upgrading teachers already in service. The most imposing phenomenon of our remarkable space era is the dynamic expansion of knowledge. The new knowledge is expanding in geometrical proportions. It is a challenge to practitioners in every field, but most of all to those of the mother profession, who are charged with teaching all the others. The third need to which I refer is that of specialization. Like most other fields in skilled manpower is engaged today, the field of education is becoming one of specialists—not only in subject matter but in related services. The master's degree has become the minimum qualification in most States for such specialities as school administration, guidance counseling, school librarians, school psychologists, and other technical disciplines. By including these ancillary fields, this bill can go far in encouraging able, experienced classroom teachers to extend their skills and abilities in higher specialties.

"Presently, we must not be unaware of the fact that fewer than three-fourths of the graduates in teacher education actually enter teaching. Nearly one-third are lured away to other pursuits. An analysis of the sheer numbers of teachers that are needed and will be needed brings a frightening revelation. In 1960 the schools were manned by 1,500,000 teachers. By 1970 at least 2,255,000 teachers will be needed, an additional three-quarters of a million teachers. This bill is a move not only for quality but toward the numbers needed. Thus, this bill is directed toward a most promising means of meeting the new, urgent educational demands of our times, by opening new opportunities for professional advancement to our Nation's teachers. By helping them master the many new developments in curriculums and instructional techniques, as well as probing more deeply into the content of expanding knowledge of their fields, Congress can have far-reaching effects on the development of children and youth for a changed and changing world."

SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR PROVISIONS OF "NATIONAL TEACHER FELLOWSHIP ACT OF 1965" (H.R. 9627)

Purpose of the legislation

The purpose of the legislation as expressed in the declaration of policy is to improve the quality of education offered by the elementary and secondary schools of the Nation by improving the quality of the education of persons who will be teaching in the elementary and secondary schools or who will be performing professional roles related to the elementary and secondary schools process. The purpose is to be accomplished by the awarding of fellowships for graduate study leading to the masters degree for experienced and prospective elementary and secondary school teachers and leading to the master's or doctor's degree for persons who plan to be training, guiding or supervising such teachers.

The master's fellowships are also open to persons in such related fields as library science, school social work, guidance and counseling, educational media, and special education for handicapped children.

Fellowships for graduate study toward master's and doctor's degrees

Fellowships to be awarded by the U.S. Commissioner of Education:

Fiscal year:	*Master's*	*Doctor's*
1966	25,000	1,000
1967	30,000	1,500
1968	35,000	2,000

Fellowships to be given recent graduates and experienced teachers

Two-fifths of the fellowships awarded in any fiscal year would go to recent graduates and the remaining three-fifths would be available for persons with experience in the elementary or secondary education field, or persons with bachelor's degrees who have been engaged in another profession or occupation, who intend to enter or reenter the teaching field. Twenty percent of the fellowships awarded to recent graduates could be in the fields ancillary to elementary and secondary education as described earlier.

Distribution of fellowships and approval of fellowship programs

The criteria for approval of fellowship programs is designed to assure attainment of the objective of improving the quality of education of elementary and secondary school teachers or teachers of teachers or those in ancillary fields and that a high quality program be in effect at the applying institution, readily attainable, or be attainable by the granting of such fellowships.

An equitable distribution of fellowships throughout the Nation is required except that the Commissioner shall give preference to applicants already serving or who intend to serve in elementary or secondary schools in low-income rural or metropolitan areas.

Stipends

"Recent graduate" fellowships carry with them the following academic year stipends: First year, $2,000; each dependent $400. Second year, $2,200; each dependent $400. Third year, $2,400; each dependent $400.

For "experienced teachers": $2,000 plus $500 for each year of teaching experience and $400 for each dependent.

In addition to the above stipends, this act would pay to the institution of higher learning in which each awardee is pursuing his course of study the sum of $2,500 per academic year. Charged against this $2,500 award would be any amounts charged by such institutions for tuition and fees.

Assembly of Captive European Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, last night I and other Members of this House were privileged to attend an event of particular significance to the free world. I refer to the Captive Nations Week dinner at the National Press Club in Washington. The occasion was held in commemoration of Captive Nations Week, the third week of each July, which was so designated by unanimous approval of the Congress of the United States in 1959.

The whole significance of Captive Nations Week came poignantly to the fore last evening. The ceremonies and the speeches were rich with incisive thought, which I know is of particular interest to my colleagues at this time. For that reason, I would like to relate some of the evenings events.

The highlight of last night's function, which was sponsored by organizations dedicated to the restoration of freedom in the captive nations, was the presentation of the ACEN Award to Edward R. Murrow—posthumously — Representative GERALD R. FORD, JR., Republican of Michigan, and Representative DANIEL J. FLOOD, Democrat of Pennsylvania.

Recipients of the ACEN Award are selected by the Assembly of Captive European Nations, which brings together exile leaders from nine east central European countries and which is one of the three sponsors of Captive Nations Week. The other two sponsoring two sponsoring organizations are the

American Friends of the Captive Nations and the Conference of Americans of Central and Eastern European Descent.

The award consists of a plaque surmounted by the flags of the nine east-central European nations at present under Communist control.

The award to Mr. Murrow reads:

To Edward R. Murrow, trail-blazing reporter and commentator, eloquent friend of truth and tolerance, foe of tyranny, in posthumous recognition of his proven concern for the Communist-enslaved nations of East-Central Europe and his consistent support of their freedom goal.

ASSEMBLY OF CAPTIVE EUROPEAN NATIONS.
WASHINGTON, *July 21, 1965.*

Donald M. Wilson, once Mr. Murrow's Deputy at the U.S. Information Agency, accepted the award on behalf of Mrs. Murrow.

Speaking of Murrow, Wilson said in part:

Integrity, idealism, and devotion to the truth were nowhere better exemplified in Ed Murrow's life than in his deep and abiding interest in the fate of the peoples of Eastern Europe.

If, as a reporter, American citizen, and man, Ed Murrow had become better aware of Eastern Europe, its peoples, it history, and its hopes, than most of his countrymen, as Director of the U.S. Information Agency, he entered upon duties which gave him an opportuinty to translate that awareness into action. In his activities as Director, he was particularly conscious of the need to maintain the links between America and the peoples of Eastern Europe and to do what he could to strengthen and expand them. He was a bridge builder.

Representative DANIEL J. FLOOD, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, called the observance of Captive Nations Week a most fitting occasion to express support for President Johnson's activities in Vietnam and in the Dominican Republic.

He said:

Had he (the President) not taken these courageous steps, we would certainly have two more victims added to the long list of captive nations. The President's decisions in both areas have precluded Communist imperialist takeovers.

Congressman FLOOD also stated that the United States would stand pat on the principles of independence, personal liberty, and human dignity for all nations, "despite the propaganda and diplomatic pressures of the Communist regimes."

World developments demonstrate more and more the urgent need for us to support to the maximum psychopolitical extent the freedom aspirations of all captive nations—

Congressman FLOOD continued:

The avowed enemy must not be allowed to enjoy any psychopolitical sanctuary in his imperial domain. A virtually guaranteed security there means an increased insecurity in the free world as he relentlessly pursues his strategy of supporting so-called wars of national liberation. One of the most effective paramilitary means of curbing this pursuit and thus preserving global peace is to further the freedom goals of all the captive nations.

The award to Congressman FLOOD bears the following inscription:

To DANIEL J. FLOOD, Member of Congress, jurist, civic leader, legislator, in grateful recognition of his active concern for the victims of Communist aggression and tyranny, his forceful advocacy of policies apt to advance the cause of freedom and his tireless leadership of movements to create a special committee of the U.S. House of Representatives on the captive nations.

ASSEMBLY OF CAPTIVE EUROPEAN NATIONS.
WASHINGTON, *July 21, 1965.*

Representative GERALD R. FORD, Republican, of Michigan, House minority leader, spoke of the significance of Captive Nations Week in the context of current international developments.

Congressman FORD's award reads:

To GERALD R. FORD, Member of Congress, jurist, sailor-soldier, legislator-fighter with a heart, in grateful recognition of his never-flagging concern for the peoples of the Communist-subjugated lands in the eastern half of Europe and his forceful championing of policies and strategies designed to make certain that freedom will prevail.

ASSEMBLY OF CAPTIVE EUROPEAN NATIONS.
WASHINGTON, *July 21, 1965.*

One of the highlights of the dinner was an explanation of the failings of communism by Monika Flidr. Prior to the presentation of the ACEN awards, Monika Flidr and two other speakers who have recently arrived in the West from east-central Europe, spoke of conditions in Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Lithuania.

Miss Flidr had taught Russian and Czechoslovakia at a high school in Usti nad Labem, one of the more important cities in Czechoslovakia. During a bus excursion last New Year's Day from Prague to Vienna, Austria—one of the few opportunities the Czechoslovakia regime offers people who wish to visit the West—Miss Flidr and her mother decided to stay in the free world. She came to the United States only a month ago and hopes to qualify for a teaching position.

Miss Flidr said that for young people life in Czechoslovakia offered few challenges. Uniformity, regimentation, and boredom have become the unwanted companions in a young man's and woman's daily grind.

She said, in part:

A typical example is the manner in which the regime handles a so-called spontaneous demonstration. When I was a teacher at a high school in Usti nad Labem, we had to take part in the annual celebration of the Bolshevik Revolution. The principal would call in all the teachers, brief them on the modus operandi, and charge them with the task of insuring the largest possible attendance by the pupils. Attendance at all these events was in fact compulsory, and few were willing to risk official displeasure by failing to show up. I remember that my pupils would often try to stay away from these demonstrations by claiming illness, but they had to substantiate their excuse by a doctor's certificate.

There is a ferver among Czecholsovak youth to travel, to learn about the West, to read books by Western authors, and see plays by Western playwrights. They are tired of the stereotype, run-of-the-mill forms of art sponsored by the regime. When a Czechoslovak author or playwright comes out with something that is even slightly nonconformist, he is an instant hit with the youth.

To see foreign lands is probably the most ardent wish of a young Czechoslovak boy or girl. They resent the regime's restrictions on travel and say: If capitalism is that bad, why don't they let use see that for ourselves?

My fellow teachers at school, as well as my other friends, have often told me how tired they were of the unending stream of false claims by the regime. "How can you take those people at their word," one of them said to me. "You read in the papers that production plans have been fulfilled, then you go to a store and try to buy this or that item and they'll tell you it's not available. The same with food. The collectivized agriculture is supposed to work out just fine, but when you go to market you'll find that they don't carry many of the items you need."

Young people in Czechoslovakia, as probably young men and women everywhere, want things the regime cannot or will not provide. The same Marxist doctrine that not too long ago had some fiery advocates among young Czechoslovak intellectuals, is greeted today by young men and women with a contemptuous shrug and, at best, by a yawn.

By trying to suppress individuality, by offering regimentation and boredom instead of new visits, communism has failed dismally with the younger generation in Czechoslovakia.

Monika Flidr was followed by two other speakers who had recently come to the free world. Both these men were born in the United States and both had spent many years in prison and labor camps when they returned to the country of their fathers.

John Carja, 42, was born in West Virginia, but was educated in Rumania and lived there from the age of 5 until last May. A former newspaperman, he was arrested in 1949 and sentenced to imprisonment in the infamous Danube-Black Sea Canal extermination camp, where tens of thousands of Rumanians have lost their lives. Released in 1954, he was again arrested in 1959 and sentenced to 10 years. The Rumanian regime's aim was to prevent Carja from seeking repatriation to the United States. During his confinement he was repeatedly tortured to make him confess to espionage on behalf of the United States. In July 1964, after serving 5 of his 10-year sentence, Carja was released. In reprisal for Carja's efforts to seek repatriation to the United States he was kept unemployed until he finally secured an exit visa in May 1965.

Alfons Milukas, 54, is a native of Philadelphia. In 1920, his entire family moved to Lithuania. In 1947, Milukas took steps to reclaim his American citizenship. He was arrested the following year. He was sentenced to 25 years and sent to a labor camp near Vorkuta—the notorious "deep-freeze" camp in the U.S.S.R. near the Kara Sea. When German prisoners of war returned home in 1954, they told newsmen and the authorities that an American by the name of Milukas was still being detained in a Siberian labor camp. Released in 1956, Milukas tried in vain for the next 9 years to obtain an exit permit. In March 1965, he was at last allowed to leave Lithuania, where he had lived since his release.

Roscoe Drummond, the noted columnist, presided at the dinner, which began with an invocation delivered by Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the U.S. Senate.

Vasil Germenji, chairman of the Assembly of Captive European Nations—ACEN—started the proceedings by brief introductory remarks on the importance of this year's Captive Nations Week.

The dinner came to a close with the benediction by the Right Reverend Monsignor John Balkunas, president of the

Conference of Americans of Central and Eastern European Descent.

Another "1929"?—Why There's Little Chance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article discusses the differences between the current economic situation and that of 1929, and points out why there will not be another economic disaster such as occurred that year.

The article appeared in the U.S. News & World Report on June 21, 1965, and follows:

ANOTHER "1929"?—WHY THERE'S LITTLE CHANCE

As the boom ages, many wonder if it could end in a depression, as in 1929. Actually things are vastly different now, as this report shows.

Is another 1929 becoming possible? That question has been raised by William McChesney Martin, Jr., chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

What are the chances? Are a crash and then a deep depression now possible?

There has been a sharp fall-off in stock prices of late. A speculative bubble burst recently in one phase of Western Europe's land boom. A bank scandal in Switzerland followed. Japan has been going through a financial crisis.

REASONS FOR CONFIDENCE

Yet all seems calm in the attitude of businessmen, leading bankers, high government officials—both in the United States and abroad.

Why? Why the confidence that events are not now, or later, to lead to another 1929-type crash and depression?

You get the answer in an outline on these pages of 11 basic differences between then and now.

The world, economic analysts say, little understood the forces of depression at work in and after 1929, and lacked the means to counter them.

Now all is said to be different. Governments everywhere are armed with machinery that can be used against deflationary influences.

In the United States, in particular, it is said, the past 30 years has brought a revolutionary change in attitude and in machinery for countering forces of depression and recession.

ROLE OF WORLD TRADE

As the world's great creditor nation, the United States now is inclined to act the part rather than, as in 1929, acting as a debtor nation when actually a creditor. A basic cause of upset in the world economy was said to have been the Smoot-Hawley tariff of 1930, which increased barriers to imports into the United States. This country, however, had become a great creditor nation in World War I and needed to accept goods in payment of debts.

As U.S. tariffs mounted, other countries imposed barriers to trade and defaulted on debts to the United States. These activities brought stagnation to world trade.

Today, the Government's efforts are aimed at expanding world trade rather than restraining it.

BUILT-IN DEFENSES

Many other factors also are present today that were absent in 1929.

The Government is committed to a policy of promoting expansion and avoiding depressions, and it is armed with many tools to carry out that policy. One recent example is last year's $11.5 billion tax cut, which is credited with sparking the business expansion that still is going on. Now there are plans for excise tax cuts and stepped-up social security payments to keep business activity from slowing.

The country also has 'built-in stabilizers" that tend to soften any downturns. These include unemployment benefits, price supports for farmers, insurance for bank deposits, guarantees for mortgages, pensions for the elderly. The Government can speed public works to offset slack in private business.

Then, too, there is much more world cooperation to keep business stable. Leading industrial countries act in concert to maintain stable currencies. The International Monetary Fund stands ready to help. Recently steps have been taken to protect the British pound and to bolster the U.S. dollar.

The Government's own operations act to prevent depressions. The Federal cash budget of more than $120 billion a year is itself a stabilizer. And Federal spending automatically goes up when business slackens, thus tending to offset the slowdown.

WEATHER VANES TO WATCH

Both business and Government now have a lot more information about the American economy than was available in 1929. A whole array of economic indicators tests the pulse of business. When these indicators flash danger signals, officials are prepared to act promptly.

Actually, the Preisdent's economic advisers—and many business economists—believe that deep depressions of the post-1929 variety are phenomena of the past. The President's advisers go as far as to say that even recessions are not inevitable, although they are not yet ready to proclaim that occasional dips in activity can be avoided.

In 1929 and 1965—then and now—the differences are vast

Money—A Managed Abundance

Then: Money was tied rigidly to gold. This limited moves by the Government to ease money. Money and credit contracted sharply. Interest rates went up. Financial crisis developed.

Now: Tie to gold has been ended. Money supply is more readily controlled by Government. Credit is pumped out as necessary. In hard times, interest rates are reduced, new borrowing promoted by official policy.

Government Spending—An Important Cushion

Then: $10.5 billion a year in Federal, State, local cash spending. Federal spending, at $3 billion, was only $1 out of each $29 of national income, thus had limited importance in total economy.

Now: $176 billion—Federal, State, local. Federal cash spending alone is $121 billion, or $1 out of evry $4 of national income. In a downturn, this spending rises. Federal outlays are a tremendous force in U.S. economy.

Deposits—Now They Are Insured

Then: People got panicky as things went from bad to worse in early thirties. Runs developed on banks across the country. Failures were widespread, and there was no insurance on deposits.

Now: Accounts in banks and savings and loan associations are insured up to $10,000. Result: Even in a severe business setback, wholesale withdrawals of deposits, such as took place 35 years ago, would be unlikely.

For the Unemployed—A Promise of Help

Then: When a worker was laid off, he was on his own. There was no Government program to tide people over while they looked for new jobs. By 1933, one worker out of four was unemployed.

Now: About 49 million workers are insured during periods of unemployment. This means weekly benefits, for half a year in most States. In addition, many companies provide supplemental benefits for their own empleyees during layoffs.

Old People—The Offer of Security

Then: There was no social security to help in old age. Few companies offered pensions to employees after retirement. People had to rely on their own savings or help from relatives.

Now: Nine out of ten workers are covered by social security. Typical worker also has company pension. Medicare is on the way. Trend is to earlier retirement, opening up more jobs for younger people in the labor force.

Wages—Pay Rates to Stay High

Then: When times got tough, employers cut wages time and again. Labor unions were weak, had little voice on pay rates. Few workers were protected by wage contracts. No wage minimum was set by law.

Now: Workers have a whole system of protection built in. Wages are supported by powerful unions. Millions work on long-term contracts providing stable or rising pay rates. A minimum wage is provided by Federal law.

Farmers—Support for Prices

Then: There was little or no protection for farmers against collapse. At the mercy of the marketplace, with no system of price support, farmers saw prices fall 65 percent between 1928 and 1933.

Now: Prices of major farm commodities are supported by the Government. Over the years, huge surpluses have grown up to burden the market, but farmers are protected against anything comparable to the collapse of the 1930's.

Home Loans—Easy Mortgage Payments

Then: Home buyers and lending institutions were vulnerable. Mortgages were short-term, 3 to 5 years, with no insurance or guarantee from Government. Many thousands lost their homes.

Now: It's a different story. Home loans are stretched out, many for 30 years or longer, with payments much like rent. On $69 billion in home mortgages, or 35 percent of the total, loans are underwritten by Government.

Stock Market—Not So Wild This Time

Then: It was a frenzied market. People went in over their heads, many buying on credit. Some paid 15 percent interest on borrowed money subject to call at any time. Thousands got in real trouble.

Now: Stock prices are about as high relative to earnings as in 1929. But there is much less speculation, and relatively little credit in stocks. Typical investor today owns his stocks outright. Margin requirement: 70 percent.

Money Trouble Abroad—Less Danger of Crisis Now

Then: When nations ran short of gold and could not pay bills abroad, they had nowhere to get help. In such cases, nations were forced to devalue currencies, raise tariffs, curtail buying abroad.

Now: International Monetary Fund provides aid to nations in temporary difficulty. Other kinds of cooperation have developed. Result: some protection for United States and other nations against contraction of trade due to financial crises.

Expansive Policy—It's Required by Law

Then: Government was committed to a minimum role in private economy, deliberately kept hands off. Pump priming was not accepted. In depression, Government still tried to balance the budget.

Now: Federal law calls on Government for whatever steps are necessary to reverse a downturn. This means promoting jobs, pushing public works, pumping out money—anything to put life in business. Budget deficits are part of the plan.

Appendix

A Salute to Ethiopia on Her National Holiday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 23, 1965

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, in 1961 I had the privilege and distinction of visiting 15 countries in Africa. One of the most picturesque and interesting was Ethiopia, characterized by its high sloping mountain plateaus and deep river valleys. Today, it is an honor to salute this fine country on its national holiday commemorating the birthday of its esteemed Emperor, Haile Selassie.

I have followed with continued interest Ethiopia's progress in achieving social and economic reforms, especially in the fields of education and health. Our close ties with this striving nation date back to 1903 and has grown steadily ever since. A number of treaties between our two countries has made possible valuable projects contributing to Ethiopia's economic development. It is indeed fitting that tribute be paid to this friendly and trusted nation on its national holiday. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a background sketch of Ethiopia be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BACKGROUND NOTES—ETHIOPIA

Capital, Addis Ababa; population, 20 to 22 million.

Ethiopia is bounded on the north by the Sudan and the Red Sea, on the east by French Somaliland and the Somali Republic, on the south by Kenya, and on the west by the Sudan. The area totals about 460,000 square miles—roughly equal to the combined areas of Texas, Oklahoma, and New Mexico. The capital, Addis Ababa, has a population of about 450,000. Asmara, Ethiopia's second largest city, has approximately 130,000 inhabitants.

The dominant feature of the topography is the high central plateau, varying from 6,000 to 10,000 feet, which is cut by numerous rivers—notably the Blue Nile rising from Lake Tana—and is split diagonally by the Y-shaped Great Rift Valley. This feature is traced by a chain of lakes starting in the southwest and opening out onto the low, dry Danakil Plains in the northeast. The elevation of the two halves of the plateau is generally highest just before the point of descent, via precipitous escarpments, to the Rift Valley. The transition to the lowlands of the Sudan on the west and the Somali-inhabited plains to the southeast is accomplished by generally more gradual slopes.

The climate is hot in the lowlands and temperate on the plateau. In Addis Ababa and Asmara, both at approximately 8,000 feet, maximum temperature is about 75° F., and the minimum temperature about 47° F. The seasons are divided between wet and dry. The wet season is subdivided into the period of the "little rains," intermittent showers occurring between February and April, and the "big rains," which begin toward the end of June and end by mid-September.

THE PEOPLE

The population, estimated to be between 20 and 22 million, is of a mixed character with Semitic, Hamitic, and Cushitic peoples predominating. More than 40 different tribes and people are represented, the most important of which are the Amhara, Tigreans, Galla, and the Somalis. It is estimated that over a third of the people are Christians—the Ethiopian Orthodox Church has long and close ties with the Coptic Church—but there are also a large Moslem population and a considerable number of pagans. In general, the Christians inhabit the highlands and the Moslems and pagans inhabit the coastal and lowland areas.

GOVERNMENT

The Government of Ethiopia is a constitutional hereditary monarchy. Ethiopia's first constitution was promulgated by the Emperor in 1931. Although it provides for a senate and chamber of deputies, sovereignty is vested in the person of the Emperor, who has supreme authority and combines the powers and duties of chief of state and head of government. Members of the senate are appointed by the Emperor, as were members of the chamber of deputies until 1955 when the Emperor promulgated a revised constitution, which provides for the popular election of members of the lower house. The first nationwide election was held in the fall of 1957, the second in the summer of 1961. There are 125 senators and 251 deputies.

Members are elected to the lower house, the chamber of deputies, by universal adult suffrage from candidates, male or female, who are Ethiopian citizens by birth and not less than 25 years of age. All candidates must be residents of their respective electoral districts.

All Ethiopians by birth, regardless of sex, who have reached the age of 21 years are entitled to vote for deputies from the electoral district where they reside. Elections are held once every 4 years. The system of voting is secret and direct.

The Empire of Ethiopia is divided into 100 electoral constituencies, each having approximately 200,000 inhabitants. Each electoral district is represented by two deputies. Each town with 30,000 inhabitants or more has one deputy and one additional deputy for every 50,000 of the population in excess of 30,000.

Members of the upper house, the senate, are appointed by the Emperor for 6 years from among distinguished persons, Ethiopian by birth, who have rendered outstanding service to the country. A senator's minimum age is 35 years. The number of senators shall not exceed one-half of the total number of deputies.

Both Houses are in session from November until June the following year.

The Constitution may be amended by joint resolution adopted by three-fourths of the Members of each chamber in two separate sessions of Parliament and proclaimed with the approval and authority of the Emperor.

The Prime Minister and members of the Council of Ministers are appointed by the Emperor and are directly responsible to him and not to the Parliament. Moreover, ministerial appointments are not subject to parliamentary approval. The day-to-day administration of the Empire is conducted by the Council of Ministers, which is presided over by the Prime Minister.

Certain of the functions usually performed by a cabinet in forming government policy are carried out by the Crown Council, a traditional institution composed of the Crown Prince, the Archbishop of the Ethiopian Church, the President of the Senate, and other dignitaries the Emperor designates. The Crown Council is convened from time to time by the Emperor to consider important policy measures.

The revised Constitution provides for the succession to the throne by the eldest male son. Previously, in the absence of a clear rule of succession, several claimants to the throne have been known to appear on the death of an emperor, with civil disorder as a result. Emperor Haile Selassie's oldest and only surviving son, Assfaw Wossen, is the present Crown Prince and heir apparent.

The Constitution provides for a Supreme Imperial Court. A system of courts had already been established by the Administration of Justice Proclamation of 1942. Judges are appointed by the Emperor. The revised Constitution of 1955 makes no provision for judicial interpretation of the Constitution or for judicial determination of the constitutionality of laws, proclamations, and decrees.

The status of federation between Eritrea and Ethiopia, established by resolution of the U.N. General Assembly in 1950 and effected on September 15, 1952, by decree of the Emperor, was dissolved on November 14, 1962, when the Eritrean National Assembly voted for union with Ethiopia. Eritrea is now a Province of Ethiopia.

The 13 Provinces of the Empire are administered by Governors-General appointed by the Emperor.

ETHIOPIAN OBJECTIVES

The primary objectives of the Ethiopian Government might be said to include: (1) the continuous improvement of the governmental structure and internal administration; (2) the improvement of economic and social conditions within the country; (3) the adherence to the policies of nonalinement and the right to judge each issue on its merits; (4) support of the United Nations and the principle of collective security; and (5) progress toward African unity.

UNITED STATES-ETHIOPIAN RELATIONS

The primary objectives of U.S. policy with respect to Ethiopia include (1) maintenance of friendly, cooperative relations between the two countries, (2) prevention of Soviet or Communist influence over the country, and (3) encouraging and assisting the economic and social development of Ethiopia.

United States-Ethiopian relations have long been amicable, dating back to the first treaty between the two states in 1903. After World War II the ties between the two countries grew steadily closer. This trend was exemplified by the signing on June 16, 1951, of a general technical assistance agreement which has provided the basis for the numerous projects of economic development currently underway. Of equal importance was the signing of the Treaty of Amity and Economic Relations on September 7, 1951. On May 22, 1953, two agreements were signed. One was the Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement, by which the United States agreed to furnish Ethiopia with a limited amount of military equipment for its internal security and to train the Ethiopian

Army in the use of this material. The second agreement regularized the existence and operations of the U.S. Army communications relay station (Kagnew Station) at Asmara.

In May 1954 Emperor Haile Selassie visited the United States and made a 5-week goodwill tour of the country. Vice President Nixon visited Ethiopia in March 1957. The Emperior made a second, week-long state visit in October 1963. In the following month he returned briefly to Washington to attend the funeral of President John F. Kennedy.

The Appointment of Justice Goldberg to the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson made a brilliant choice this week when he picked Justice Arthur Goldberg to succeed Adlai Stevenson as our Ambassador to the United Nations.

The following column by Roscoe Drummond indicates Justice Goldberg's background and his eminent qualifications for this highly important post. The column appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of July 21, 1965, and follows:

JUSTICE GOLDBERG: ADLAI'S SUCCESSOR—IN HIS OWN IMAGE

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—President Johnson has chosen a man as nearly as possible in the image and likeness of Adlai Stevenson to succeed him as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

In my judgment, the President has chosen very well indeed.

Of Justice Arthur J. Goldberg, who is willing to give up a lifetime appointment to the Supreme Court because of his dedication to the U.N. and his sense of duty to the President, Mr. Stevenson's sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Ives, said: "He understood Adlai and his aims."

He also understands the aims and hopes and—as in Vietnam—the courage of the American people.

The significant fact is that Goldberg has qualifications in the field of foreign affairs which would not be immediately visible from the record of his public service—a distinguished and respected labor lawyer, skilled negotiator, one of the best Secretaries of Labor the Nation ever had, and Supreme Court Justice.

I offer a pertinent appraisal of Goldberg from one who during the past decade has known well more men in public life than most any other American.

Soon after the 1960 election, when he was writing his book, "Six Crises," and President-elect Kennedy was selecting the top people in his administration, Vice President Nixon remarked to one of his closest collaborators:

"Many of these same men would have been in my Cabinet if I had been elected. But I would not have made Arthur Goldberg Secretary of Labor. I would have made him Under Secretary of State."

Nixon's judgment was that Goldberg deeply understood the issues and pitfalls of the cold war and would not be misled by surface developments.

Since becoming a member of the Court, Justice Goldberg has traveled widely abroad to speak before jurists and has become personally acquainted with a considerable number of world leaders.

It is unusual for a President to turn to the Supreme Court for an appointment of this kind. But Mr. Johnson does not blanch at the unusual and his decision reflects his high regard for the United Nations and his hope that its capacity to keep the peace can be strengthened.

It is evident that the President had this prescription in mind as he searched for Stevenson's successor:

He wanted a man who had already attained public stature.

He wanted a man who had some of his own credentials to speak for his Government and who would not have to rely wholly on the credentials which come from the position.

He wanted a man deeply devoted to the cause of world peace whose very presence at the U.N. would underline the President's own dedication to trying to bring about both peace and justice under the rule of law.

From my knowledge of Justice Goldberg I would say that he hates war and believes that the failure to resist aggression is the most likely way of getting into war.

This is the viewpoint he will, I think, bring to the councils of the administration. As with Adlai Stevenson, he will be a member of the Cabinet and at the center of U.S. foreign policy formulation. He will be a source of strength—as well as unity—to the administration team of Rusk, McNamara and McGeorge Bundy.

No one in our time can fill Adlai Stevenson's place. He was unique.

But in Justice Goldberg the President has not only made a surprise appointment but a superb one.

The 100th Anniversary of the Arrival in the United States of Ahapius Honcharenko

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILTON R. YOUNG

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 23, 1965

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, on July 21 I had the opportunity to call attention to the fact that this year marks the 100th anniversary of the arrival of Ahapius Honcharenko in the United States.

In 1964, Prof. Roman Smal-Stocki, director of the Slavic Institute at Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wis., published an article dealing with the life of Ahapius Honcharenko. Professor Smal-Stocki describes Father Honcharenko as "an outstanding and colorful personality in American history, who contributed to America's progress." This fine article was brought to my attention by Dr. Anthony Zukowsky, president of the North Dakota Branch, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Professor Smal-Stocki's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA MEETS THE FIRST SHEVCHENKOITE: FATHER HONCHARENKO

(Marquette University Slavic Institute Papers, by Prof. Roman Smal-Stocki, director Slavic Institute, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis., 1964)

The modern space research beams by special apparatus vibrating rays to the planets of our solar system and gets back an echo in the sender's place and country. Ideas as well have the power to radiate in this manner from the place of their conception all over the world, and then, finally to echo homeward.

The American Declaration of Independence and its ideas have been and still are radiating throughout the entire world. Upon hearing these ideas many became champions of the American ideal by joining in the struggle for their realization in the American Revolutionary War. Men Like LaFayette, Steuben, Kosciuszko, and Pulaski were reached by the American ideological "beams" and came to America to fight for the ideas of the American Declaration of Independence. Others, like Schevchenko, were later reached by these same ideas but remained in their native countries proclaiming to their fellow countrymen Washington's "new and just law." These radiated American beams to foreign countries soon started to return to America in the form of political emigrations of many fighters for freedom and champions of the new law: America for these men, was a refuge in their fight against tyranny.

We have earlier in this paper presented facts about how Taras Shevchenko came in contact on four occasions with America and its spirit while still living in the Russian Empire. But when did America meet here on her own soil the first Ukrainian who was a Shevchenko enthusiast in search of that freedom promised by "Washington's law" which Shevchenko praised so highly?

The first man who represented the direct response to the radiation of "Washington's new and just law" from Shevchenko's Ukraine to the United States of America was the Reverend Ahapius Honcharenko (1832-1916).

It is true that Father Honcharenko was not the first Ukrainian to reach American soil. Some trace the date of this back to Capt. John Smith, the founder of the English settlement in Jamestown, Va., who is known to have traveled through Ukrainian lands in 1603 and to have brought to America settlers with Ukrainian surnames like Bohun, Nemyrych, Hrabowsky, and others.

But Father Honcharenko was the first Ukrainian who grew up in the Shevchenko era and was dedicated to the Shevchenko ideology. He was born in the Kiev province of Ukraine, in a Cossack family. Educated in the Kiev Theological Academy, he became a deacon. Still in the seminary, Honcharenko became an enthusiast of Shevchenko and the principles of the Sts. Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood, and he felt a mission to continue Shevchenko's fight against Russian czarism. As an excellent linguist who by the end of his lifetime had mastered, besides Ukrainian and Russian, old and modern Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, Italian, and English, he was sent to Greece in a Russian theological mission attached to the Russian Embassy in 1857. He contacted by mail Alexander Herzen, the famous Russian exile and publisher of the Northern Star and The Bell, and who was a promoter of the Decembrist traditions. A fighter for the emancipation of the serfs in Russia, Herzen was also the initiator of the land and freedom movement and the founder of populism.

Father Honcharenko became a secret contributor to The Bell, the London-based magazine published by Herzen, and later au-

thored among other things the eulogy which appeared in that magazine for Shevchenko. He also attacked serfdom, especially as it existed for the church-owned serfs, and absolutism. Russian spies discovered this link between the priest and Herzen, and he was arrested to be brought home for trial. He was fortunate enough to escape, then went to London in 1860 to join Herzen's circle. He became acquainted with Nicholas Ogarev, Michael Bakunin, also with Giuseppi Garibaldi (1807–82), and Giuseppi Mazzini (1805–72), as well as other revolutionaries. He worked in the British museum as a classifier of numismatics and as a teacher.

As the Russian liberal leadership then consisted of atheists, Honcharenko left Herzen and joined the deligious Italians who were the leaders of the "Young Italy" movement. Mazzini had also given him addresses and recommendations to introduce him to revolutionary friends in America. This surely was the origin of Father Honcharenko's plan to emigrate to the United States.

But before leaving for America returned to his beloved adopted country, Greece, where he accepted Greek citizenship, visited Hermopolis where he published a Latin-Greek Lexicon, and went also to Smyrna where the Polish exiles welcomed him with a banquet, and then to the famous Orthodox Mount Athos. At this final stop he was ordained a priest and he then made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The Russian bishop and consul there attempted to have Honcharenko arrested, but the Russian Catholic Prince, Ivan Gagarin, protected him through the Catholic Patriarch, Calerggi, and helped him to obtain a teaching position in the Jesuit school at Ghazik, Lebanon. The Russian consul and his spies forced Father Honcharenko to flee through Syria to Alexandria but while there, the Russian consul. Lagodowsky, hired gangsters to kill him. The priest was only wounded in the attack, but, when the hired killer was caught, he confessed that he was in the pay of the Russian consul. Father Honcharenko returned to Athens. Even there he felt in danger from the Russian intelligence service and so he decided to emigrate to the United States.

On January 1, 1865 Father Honcharenko arrived in Boston on the *Yarington* and went immediately to New York City. There the Greek consul took him under his protection, and appointed him priest to the Orthodox Greeks in that area. He lectured at St. John's Theological seminary, collaborated with the Bible Society in an Arabic translation of the Bible, and translated the New Testament into Church-Slavic. He even established his own printing shop. He was often invited to celebrate Holy Mass in many cities as far away as New Orleans. As Orthodox priests may marry, Father Honcharenko found among the Italian friends of Mazzini in Philadelphia an American girl, Albina Citti, and they were married in 1865.

In 1867 Alaska was sold to the United States and Father Honcharenko expressed the desire to be with the free people of Alaska because he suspected that many of the so-called Russians there were political Ukrainian exiles. Therefore, he hoped through these people in Alaska to reach the political exiles in Siberia. He gradually developed the plan that America should also acquire Siberia and coupled with Alaska the United States could form a buffer state to protect itself from Russian imperialism which he expected soon again to expand in the direction of North America.

Father Honcharenko established a contact with the Secretary of State, William H. Seward, the initiator of the purchase of Alaska, and went to Washington, D.C. His "Russian and English Phrase Book for Traders, Travellers, and Teachers," was published with government funds for military personnel in Alaska in 1868. He also got from the Secretary of State the promise of a subsidy for the publication of a bilingual paper for the citizens of Alaska.

The priest left with his wife for San Francisco, the gateway to the West, and soon after arriving in California, began organizing the Sts. Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood. He also established the first Orthodox church there and started publishing the Alaska Herald in 1868 and later in 1873 the Alaska Herald-Svoboda (Liberty). In the newspaper's first issue Father Honcharenko published in English an article titled "Curious Ideas of the Poet Taras Shevchenko" and in the second issue there followed excerpts from the revolutionary poems of Shevchenko in the Ukrainian language. This was the first time that Shevchenko's name was mentioned on American soil.

Father Honcharenko managed to organize among the exiles in Siberia a secret distribution of 500 copies of his newspaper—a paper that was totally dedicated to the waging of a cold war against Russian absolutism and imperialism, to the popularization of the American way of life, and of the American Constitution, which was translated in the first issue of the first paper. This Ukrainian immigrant to America is credited with popularizing the American Constitution throughout Siberia.

The czarist Russian Government was immediately alarmed and sent to San Francisco for a counteraction a special Russian priest who had financial assistance from the czar to build the second Orthodox church there, one that was loyal to the Russian czar. This was in 1868.

Naturally, the Russian czarist regime became alarmed by the activities of Father Honcharenko because there were in exile in Siberia rather large groups of revolutionaries from all the captive and oppressed nations of the Russian Empire, especially from Poland and Ukraine. The priest had boldly written in his newspaper in 1870 that: "It (this paper) is published in order that the Sibiriaks (the population of Siberia) may hear over the ocean the free serene song from free America."

The anticzarist articles of the Alaskan Herald-Svoboda were used repeatedly by the Russian Embassy in Washington for protests at the Department of State. The English-printed articles enlightened the American public opinion about the Russian feudal Empire, its absolutism, the oppression of the non-Russian peoples, and the crimes committed by the regime against the common people.

In many articles which were concerned with specifically Ukrainian problems, the priest-editor would publish excerpts from Shevchenko's poetry condemning the czar. In fact, his paper was, beside being the first Slavic paper to be published in America, the first Slavic trilingual paper to be published here. It appeared with not only Russian and Ukrainian, but Sirbian as well as English contributions.

Honcharenko also organized the first Slavic Library in America which was later donated to the Bencroft Library.

In 1872 he sold his printing shop and became after 1873 quite active as a member of the highly respected California Academy of Sciences.

Summing up his own life experiences, he wrote in 1872: "During my last 12 years since my emigration of all the Slavic nationalities which I have met, only the Ukranians and Poles were mature enough for self-government and democratic rule." He bought a 50-acre farm which he called "Ukraina"; his cottage there he called "Svoboda" or "Liberty." He also built a chapel there; his wife conducted Sunday school, and he enjoyed the old Ukrainian specialty, an apiary. After the death of his wife, he was grief stricken and died soon afterward in 1915.

During his whole life Father Honcharenko protected and helped all political escapees from Siberia or Sakhalin and petitioned the American Government not to extradite them. He also defended the local population of Alaska against the monopoly exploitation by the Alaskan Commercial Co. and showed great feeling for social justice always practicing Christian charity. "Brotherly love and the rights of all is our cherished motto and will be the principle of our loyalty as American citizens," he wrote in his recollections which were published by Ukrainians under Austrian rule with whom he established close contact.

Honcharenko had many distinguished American friends: Horace Greeley, Charles A. Dana, Eugene Schuyler (the later Ambassador to Russia had learned to speak the Russian language from the priest), Hamilton Fish, George Kennan, General Halleck, Henry George, A. P. Swinford, and James Gordon Bennett.

And from free America he prepared "Fourth of July Letters" for his Ukrainian people in Kiev. "How long," he wrote, "before you in Russia will be able to celebrate your Fourth of July, a free press, and free religion? How long, my countrymen, will it be before you receive these things?" An American journalist, George C. Mansfield, who had visited Honcharenko in the Hayward Mills, wrote about these letters in the San Francisco Chronicle on July 23, 1905.

Thus Honcharenko worked his whole life for the aim of a Fourth of July for Ukraine. That, indeed, would be the realization of Washington's "new and just law" as it was glorified by Taras Shevchenko.

America did not completely forget this devoted adopted son. In 1944 a Liberty ship of the United States was named *Honcharenko*.

Surely, Father Honcharenko is an outstanding and colorful personality in American history, who contributed to America's progress. Continuous persecutions, shadowing, attacking by the tsarist spies, and even harassment by Foreign Service agents did not break him. He conducted his own continuous "cold war" against imperialist Russia in the name of the ideas of the American Declaration of Independence and of our American Constitution. With his newspaper he was able to carry this fight into Siberia and through an extensive correspondence into his native Ukraine. Because all of his struggle was directed not only against Russian absolutism but also against Russian imperialism and colonialism and for the liberty of the oppressed captive nationalities, Honcharenko's name has been systematically disregarded in the publications of the history of Russia which have been published in recent years in America by the Russian imperialist school of East European history.

This is an injustice to his memory for these reasons:

(1) The same action which wealthy Herzen conducted against Russian absolutism and imperialism with his the Bell newspaper from London in the West and financed by his own money was duplicated by Honcharenko against tsarism from America through Siberia. This great achievement was done almost entirely through Honcharenko's own earnings which only served to emphasize the priest-editor's dedication to the spirit of Shevchenko, to the principles of the Cyrilo-Methodian Brotherhood, and even to the Southern Decembrist traditions.

(2) Honcharenko's contacts with the leaders of "Young Italy," a part of the "Young Europe movement," are most interesting and deserve to be further investigated.

(3) He elaborated on the concept of a "free Siberia" which is still worthy of discussion.

(4) His courageous struggle for social justice for the workers and native population of Alaska and his fight against the monopoly of one trading company is quite remarkable.

(5) He gave America its first English-Slavic language newspaper. In addition, he also organized the first Slavic Library, built the first Orthodox church in the San Francisco area, and he was, in fact, the first American Slavicist of Slavic descent. Furthermore, Father Honcharenko published the first Old Church Slavic Bible in the United States.

Nevertheless he is ignored by the Russian imperialistic historians in the United States because he was really an American Democrat propagating the application of American principles to the Russian Empire. He called his farm "Ukraina," his home "Svoboda" which means "Liberty," and he always insisted, "I am not a Russian."

This American citizen found not even a note in the Encyclopedia Americana or in the Dictionary of National Biography.

But I do have hope that the younger generation of Americans will do him justice. If not because of these enumerated reasons, then possibly for the following pragmatic reasons: when after purchase of Alaska started public criticism against the Federal Government, criticism which held that "Alaska is good for nothing," that "Alaska is nothing rocks and ice," that "there is no population except a few Indians and no resources in the country,"—then Honcharenko spoke out in his newspaper, the Alaska Herald, to silence the opposition by announcing on October 15, 1868 for the first time the news that there is "gold in Alaska." He wrote: "Gold is found both on the main peninsula and on the peninsula east of Cooks Inlet. The native women wear necklaces composed of beads of gold strung on string. No mining has been done, but lumps are simply picked from the surface of the earth. Coal and copper are known to exist in rich-paying veins. When we are in receipt of definite information, we will give out the cheering cry of 'Gold.' We are already certain of the existence, but must await the results of the first pioneer mining company." According to the Encyclopedia Americana, the panning of gold in one single year in Alaska brought in $40 million.

Honcharenko himself and his faithful American-Italian wife died penniless.

From the political point of view, it is easy to see that the isolationist America of Honcharenko's time did not understand him. He is not the first nor the last naturalized American citizen who was wasted by American political shortsightedness.

Neither Bodies Nor Crops Rot at $1.75 an Hour

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I had occasion to call attention of the House in the Appendix of the RECORD to an optimistic report for supplemental labor in northern California primarily respecting the anticipated tomato harvest—the peak labor demand being about 45 days away.

The reason for the optimism is due to a very progressive grower attitude which is exemplified in the 1965 scales of pay agreed upon by the Tomato Growing Industry Council designed to produce $1.75 per hour for qualified workers.

The agreement has been set forth by the council as follows:

THE 1965 SCALES OF PAY FOR PICKING TOMATOES IN CALIFORNIA

It is anticipated that more domestic workers will be employed in the tomato harvest than in previous years. The Tomato Growing Industry Council has reflected this thinking in the following scale, by adjusting the piece rates to yield a minimum of $1.75 per hour for qualified workers. The adjusted rate is calculated to meet the criteria established by the Secretary of Labor. But more important, these substantial increases should enable the tomato industry to attract and hold a part of the 35,000 additional workers reported to be in California.

Each grower's interest is for an orderly harvest of his own crop. In past years the scale of pay has been one of the vehicles used to accomplish this orderly harvest. This year, with limited numbers of foreign workers, it becomes even more important to individual growers in particular and the industry in general that the harvest be accomplished with as little conflict as possible. Therefore the scale, which has proven itself in the past, is more important under these trying circumstances. We know that the greatest demand for workers occurs during the months of August, September, and October. The scales, as indicated, are designed to attract more of the so-called tree fruit workers into the tomato harvest. Quite conceivably we will attract women and minors to harvest activity; if so then we will have to make adjustments for their employment by providing suitable containers, by law they cannot carry standard 50-pound lug boxes.

Likewise the growers who will be harvesting with machines should know that their women and minor employees are covered under the Department of Industrial Relations, Industrial Welfare Commission Order No. 14–65 regulating wages, hours, and working conditions for women and minors in agricultural occupations. This order is in the process of being revised, and will be effective September 15, 1965. As soon as copies are available we will be mailing a copy to each machine owner.

1. The rates as shown on the scale are minimum rates only; such conditions as shown in No. 2 below will require adjustments from these minimums. While these required adjustments are in effect, you are still using the scale of pay.

2. This scale is for normal conditions of picking; such conditions as excessive weeds, small tomatoes, poor quality tomatoes, or other abnormal conditions will require adjustments.

3. This scale is for boxes of 50 pounds; other quantities in proportion.

4. The rates for picking other pear shape tomatoes will vary in different areas; the rate paid is dependent upon the method of harvest (pick or shake).

5. This scale is designed to provide a realistic basis for a fair day's work and a fair day's pay under the wide range of conditions found in tomato picking.

Sacramento Valley Counties

	Tons per acre on each day's pick				
	9 or more	7 or more	5 or more	4 or more	Less than 4
Round and red top tomatoes	*Cents* 17	*Cents* 18	*Cents* 21	*Cents* 24	*Cents* [1] 25

[1] And up.

San Joaquin and Stanislaus Counties

	Tons per acre on each day's pick			
	7 or more	5 or more	4 or more	Less than 4
Round and red top tomatoes	*Cents* 18	*Cents* 21	*Cents* 24	*Cents* [1] 25

[1] And up.

Santa Clara and San Benito Counties

	Tons per acre on each day's pick				
	12 or more	9 or more	7 or more	5 or more	Less than 5
Round and red top tomatoes	*Cents* 17	*Cents* 19	*Cents* 20	*Cents* 23	*Cents* [1] 25

[1] And up.

Monterey County

	Tons per acre on each day's pick			
	9 or more	7 or more	5 or more	Less than 5
Round and red top tomatoes	*Cents* 19	*Cents* 20	*Cents* 23	*Cents* [1] 25

[1] And up.

Merced and Fresno Counties

	Tons per acre on each day's pick			
	7 or more	5 or more	4 or more	Less than 4
Round and red top tomatoes	*Cents* 18	*Cents* 21	*Cents* 24	*Cents* [1] 25

[1] And up.

Alameda County

	Tons per acre on each day's pick			
	9 or more	7 or more	5 or more	Less than 5
Round and red top tomatoes	*Cents* 19	*Cents* 20	*Cents* 23	*Cents* [1] 25

[1] And up.

Ventura County

	Tons per acre on each day's pick				
	Over 17	11 to 17	8 to 11	5 to 8	1 to 5
Round and red top tomatoes	*Cents* 15	*Cents* 17	*Cents* 19	*Cents* 21	*Cents* 25
San Marzano tomatoes	17	19	21	23	27

Space Minded Bishop John J. Wright of Pittsburgh

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in June of this year, Bishop John J. Wright, our space-minded bishop

from Pittsburgh, delivered a fine sermon in St. Paul's Cathedral at the Golden Jubilee of ordination of long-time Pittsburgh priest-educator, a pioneer in national Catholic education programs and reforms, and the pastor of St. Lawrence Church, Msgr. Paul J. Campbell.

Bishop Wright of the Diocese of Pittsburgh, took the occasion to comment on the "chilly caution" expressed by Father Karl Rahner, theologian and writer, of Innsbrük, Austria, towards current space projects.

The bishop found Father Rahner's negative reactions to the race to the moon in widely quoted excerpts from an interview in America, national Catholic weekly. He linked his own reflections to the relation between liberal studies and the new scientific breakthroughs.

Bishon Wright asserted that increased technology and heavy thinking in the head had proportionately increased the need for bolder imagination, deeper poetic intuitions and richer mystical thinking in the heart.

Hence, he concluded, the stepped-up importance of contemplation in all its forms, whether in retreat houses, schools, symphony halls, libraries or wherever else the soul is nourished and stimulated to leap beyond the technical limitations and the science of each generation.

Bishop Wright stated:

The poets, artists, musicians, and religious mystics have always been light-years ahead of the technicians in seeking out new worlds to explore, to conquer and to enjoy. The Hebrew psalmists were only a few of the poets directing men's gaze to the depths beyond the stars while the technicians were still engrossed in the practical possibilities of the mere wheel, the simple lever and the power production of the running brook, the horse or the ox.

Greek and Roman satirists were hard at work on fantasy journeys to the moon when technicians were precariously venturing out into the Mediterranean. Vivaldi and later musicians made imaginative rides among the planets and caught the music of the spheres before the scientists had discovered the energy in steam kettles or had hit on the mathematics needed before engineers could physically follow the artists' imaginative trips into space.

Today's science is yesterday's science fiction. Tomorrow's engineering and technical advances will have been sparked by the dreams of today's poets and the speculations of today's mystics.

That is only one reason why many must have found unduly bleak Father Karl Rahner's negative reactions, as reported in "America," to the time, money, and talent expended on space ventures, all symbolized in the present drive to walk on the face of the moon.

One now suspects that it may not have been only conservative theologians who took a dim view of Isabella, the Catholic, using crown funds to finance Columbus' madcap and expensive dreams of explorations and discovery in the New World. In the long view, the poor of Europe were well served (far better than the rich, as it finally turned out) as a result of the decisions of Isabella's advisers to go along with Columbus' project and the seeming direction of God's Providence.

All this makes it hard to explain the reserves of Germany's renowned theologian, usually so positive, in the face of those American and Russian exploits which most others find so exciting and so welcome.

Father Rahner, prior to his interviews in Washington or New York, may perhaps have been overexposed to the selective newspaper coverage of present-day poverty and population problems. His normally progressive and venturesome spirit would possibly have been better able to resist the pessimism of the exploding population propaganda if he had read more news on the war on poverty, the Peace Corps programs, the unprecedented sums being devoted to strictly humanitarian purposes here and all over the world (by no people proportionately more than by his own Germans), and the race to improve education, provide improved housing, old-age care, and the Lord knows what else not, all out of the same tax funds which are also opening up the human conquest of space.

Father Rahner's unexpected melancholy will be eased a bit, one hopes, when he gets away from the large print of the scarey headlines and back to the small print of the history book. This may recall the lesson that human culture has never been advanced (nor, in fact, have the human problems of the poor been solved) by dispirited civilizations inhibited by fear of life, fear of love, fear of freedom, or fear of the bold action that seeks to achieve ever-increasing scope and purpose for life, evermore room for love, wider range for freedom—in fact, more of everything that is yes, that is good, that is dynamic.

Administrator Eugene P. Foley Emphasizes Varied Contributions of Small Business Administration Programs in Strengthening the National Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 23, 1965

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the Small Business Administration, particularly in the last 12 months, has been doing a magnificent job in carrying out its assigned task of protecting and assisting the interests of small independent enterprises. This is true in West Virginia.

One of the programs of SBA is the making of economic-opportunity loans to poorly financed small businesses under the President's antipoverty program. Numerous small businesses, communities, and individual workers in my own State and other States soon will be reaping benefits from this program.

Another important SBA program is the community development loan program or the "502" program, named for the section of the Small Business Investment Act that authorized it. Under this program, corporations formed by public-spirited citizens to attract new industry, or to expand existing industry to provide job opportunities, may obtain financial help from SBA. For every $2 the corporation raises to complete its project, it may obtain $8 from SBA.

And then there is the small business investment company—the SBIC—program. An SBIC is a privately owned and privately operated investment company which has been licensed by SBA to provide venture capital and long-term loans to small firms. An SBIC, through Government loans, can obtain two-for-one leverage on as much as $700,000 private capital. There are more than 700 SBIC's all over the country. Already, they have provided an immense stimulus to our economy, nationally and locally.

On June 28, Eugene P. Foley, able Administrator of the Small Business Administration, gave a speech in Bedford Springs, Pa., before the Washington Board of Realtors & Mortgage Bankers. Because I believe its contents will be of interest to the Members of Congress, and our citizens generally, I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY EUGENE P. FOLEY, ADMINISTRATOR OF SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, BEFORE WASHINGTON BOARD OF REALTORS & MORTGAGE BANKERS, JUNE 28, 1965, BEDFORD SPRINGS, PA.

As mortgage bankers and real estate brokers in the Nation's Capital you are very influential people.

You are also responsible citizens, concerned over your city's welfare. I need not remind you that Washington is growing rapidly, as are all of our urban areas. Seventy percent of our population now live in cities, and by 1970 it has been estimated that 85 percent of our people will live in urban areas.

Growth is fine, but it does, as you well know, bring problems. And the most urgent problem of all is how do we Americans guarantee basic rights, dignity, and a reasonable subsistence to all our citizens?

In a society that has so much wealth, each have-not indicts us all. In a society whose traditions of decency and justice put down their first roots in Biblical times, the denial of a basic right to one citizen denies that right to us all.

In this connection the President has called upon Government and business to provide a minimum of 500,000 additional summer jobs for youth as part of his national youth opportunity campaign. He has asked that Government agencies and business concerns hire at least one youth for the summer for each 100 employees and that smaller firms take on at least one additional summer employee or trainee. I am proud to report that our agency has reached this goal and want to urge that all of you join in this campaign, which is vital to our national welfare.

I know that some of you are now fumbling for your programs and thinking "I thought this fellow Foley was head of the Small Business Administration. When is he going to knock off this talk about poverty, human rights, and youth opportunity and get down to talking about the things we are interested in?"

We in the Small Business Administration are very much concerned with these basic problems of poverty and it is relevant, therefore, to speak frankly about them.

SBA, as you know, is charged with making economic opportunity loans to poorly financed small businesses under the President's antipoverty program. These loans may be for as much as $25,000 and run for as long as 15 years.

The people we are helping here are those who do not have access to normal pools of credit. If we were content to run our economy like a countinghouse, we would not make these loans.

But our philosophy is derived from an old, solid, American tradition. In frontier days a man was judged by his character and what he could do and not whether or not he was welcomed at a bank. That is how we judge people who apply for these small loans.

We keep in mind, always, that we are lending public funds. We don't dribble your

money and mine away needlessly. Once we have decided a businessman is a potentially good risk, we take out what you might call a form of insurance. It works like this:

Basic to our small loan program are small business development centers. These are locally-organized, locally-run groups that offer top-quality management counseling to the small businessmen who obtain economic opportunity loans. These centers draw upon all forms of community leadership and experience. They are run by people from banking, business, industry, education, labor, and the churches—as well as by representatives of those who are being helped.

We have learned that a promising businessman, with enough capital to meet his needs, plus expert counseling, is a good risk. He is likely to make great gains in self-confidence and make a success of it. Without the encouragement and counseling offered by the SBDC, he would most likely fail. We know this is a higher risk program, but we believe the good accomplished more than offsets the additional risk.

We have an active SBDC in Washington, and it is doing a good job of screening small businessmen seeking economic opportunity loans. But we can always use more help. The antipoverty war is going to be a long one and we need to enlist the active support and interests of groups like you mortgage bankers and realtors.

Our economic opportunity loan program is just getting underway, but we think we are building a solid foundation, with strong backup community organizations to make it a success.

The economic opportunity loans are only a small part of our lending program. Last year we helped nearly 11,000 small businesses with loans totaling about $426 million. The small firms receiving these loans were unable to obtain help from a bank, but in many cases a bank joined with us and took a share of the loan.

More than 5,000 banks, mostly in the smaller towns and cities, have cooperated with us in making loans to small businesses. We encourage this bank cooperation and would like to have at least one bank in every town acting as a sort of representative of the SBA in helping local small firms.

SBA's loan applications contain a clear statement that the agency can make loans to business enterprises only when financial assistance is not otherwise available on reasonable terms, and that it can make loans in cooperation with banks or other lending institutions.

Therefore all applicants are required to reveal what efforts they have made to obtain a bank loan within the 60 days prior to the filing of their application with SBA.

An applicant seeking a direct SBA loan must show that his bank of account has declined his loan request.

If the applicant lives in a city with more than 200,000 population, refusal letters are required from two banks; in smaller cities, only one bank refusal is required.

From this I think it is clear that SBA does not compete with the banks. Instead we seek to cooperate with the banks in every way possible.

The credit we furnish, either with bank participation or directly, is different from that normally provided by commercial banks. It is long-term credit—up to 10 years. This is the kind of financial help many small businesses need.

We have developed a program very well adapted, we think, to assist banks in taking the lead in providing this type of credit. We call this our loan guarantee plan, and here is how it works:

Guaranteed loans are made and disbursed by the bank. The SBA guarantee agreement provides that upon 90 days' default as to principal or interest it will purchase an agreed percentage of the unpaid balance of the loan. However, the bank must take at least a 10-percent share of a guaranteed loan.

SBA makes a small charge to the banks of one-half of 1 percent a year on the amount of the loan SBA is guaranteeing.

These loans offer a bank many advantages. The bank may carry the SBA portion of the loan as a nonrisk asset; there is a liquidity provision under which a bank may obtain temporary advances from SBA up to 90 days a year, prior to SBA purchase of its guaranteed portion of a loan; the loan is comparable to a secondary reserve item on SBA's guaranteed portion; where State law permits, the SBA portion of a loan may be carried by banks without being chargeable against legal lending limitations; and SBA's guarantee agreement and the note may be used as security for a Treasury tax and loan account.

In the last year we have put much stress on helping the very small business—those generally unable to obtain bank financing and those needing management training and counseling.

At the same time SBA can also take care of the needs of medium-size firms which often need long-term credit in larger amounts.

We hope to make continued progress in obtaining bank participation in our business loans—an important factor in providing the larger loans.

For instance, through our loan participation plan a long-term loan can be provided for as much as $700,000, if a bank take a 50-percent share, or more if the bank's share were larger. Under the guaranty plan a bank is substantially protected against loss because we can guarantee loans up to 90 percent, but not to exceed the $350,000 ceiling on SBA commitments.

It is our desire to put as much of the financing of small business in the hands of private banks as possible. Since the first of the year we have conducted a campaign to sell our seasoned loans to the banks. We now have 25 retired bankers in our employ and their job is to make regular visits to the banks in their area and try to sell our loans to the banks, and to acquaint them with our loan guaranty plan and the advantages it offers them. So far we have sold more than 900 loans to the banks for more than $30 million.

If any of you investment bankers are interested in looking over the loans we have in the Washington area that are up for sale, this is your invitation to do so. I am sure you will find many good seasoned loans in our note case, and you can acquire them without any cost of putting them on your books.

We do not make business loans for real estate development and investment purposes. But we do make loans so a small firm can build its own office or factory. The owner must occupy more than half of the space in such buildings, but he may rent to others the remaining space.

Also, we can make construction loans if the contractor has a take-out commitment effective upon completion of the construction.

I also would like to discuss with you the possibility of real estate financing by the small business investment companies.

First of all, what is a small business investment company, commonly called an SBIC?

An SBIC is a privately owned and privately operated investment company which has been licensed by the Small Business Administration to provide equity capital and long-term loans to small firms. There are now more than 700 of these companies located in all parts of the country. The SBIC's enjoy certain tax advantages, granted by Congress as an incentive for providing venture capital for small business. Another principal advantage is the fact than an SBIC, through Government loans can obtain two-for-one leverage, on as much as $700,000 in private capital.

I want to stress that the SBIC's are completely separate from the other kinds of SBA financing I have been discussing. The SBIC's are private companies, under the regulatory jurisdiction of the Investment Division of SBA, headed by Dick Kelley. We believe that the present SBIC's may be the nucleus of a fourth banking system for the United States, to provide venture capital for small business.

Now as to the extent to which these SBIC's can participate in real estate financing. First of all, the Government is not prejudiced against the real estate industry—rather it is a major supporter of it. Six Federal agencies, other than SBA, now lend support to the real estate industry.

In view of the amount of support for the industry from other Federal agencies, however, it seems clear that Congress never intended the SBIC program to become primarily a tool for real estate financing. For that reason, we are now requiring new entrants into the SBIC program, to keep their real estate investments below one third of their portfolio.

Now as to how we define the real estate business for the purposes of the one-third limitation. Our definition includes the following principal categories:

Real estate operators: These, in general are small concerns which devote almost all their energies to buying and selling real estate for a profit.

Lessors of residential hotels, apartment buildings, and nonresidential buildings: In general these are people who own and operate buildings to make a return on their investment.

Operators of residential hotels, apartment buildings, and nonresidential buildings.

Subdividers and developers.

Operative builders: These are generally builders for speculation, who build for their own account.

There are various kinds of similar investments which we do not class as real estate investments, and these do not come under the one-third rule. In other words, an SBIC, new or old, is not limited by this rule on how much it may put into these other types of investments.

These investments include:

Investments in contracting firms: These small businesses build, repair, or renovate for the account of others.

Investments in hotels, rooming houses, camps, and other lodging places: These small businesses generally require more active management than apartment houses.

Investments in loans secured by real estate where the loan proceeds are not used for investment in real estate. We look to the end use of the funds. For example, a working capital loan to a manufacturing concern which is partly or fully secured by a mortgage on real estate is not considered as a real estate investment under the one-third rule.

I do not have time to go into every detail of our policies about real estate investments by SBIC's. However, one way to summarize it is to say that the Small Business Administration from the start has not permitted so-called passive real estate investments by SBIC's, including investments to finance holding for speculation. We are putting into effect more clearly stated and more restrictive rules on passive investments.

However, let me assure you again that our attitude and that of various other Government agencies toward the real estate industry is a friendly one, and the SBIC's, within certain limitations, are definitely authorized to give support to your industry.

I would like to mention very briefly, one other SBA program and I might add, one of the most important programs the agency conducts. This is our community develop-

ment loan program or "502" program. The "502" derives from the section of the law that authorized the program.

Under this program corporations formed by public spirited citizens to attract new industry or to expand existing industry to provide job opportunities may obtain financial help from SBA.

For every $2 the corporation raises to complete their project, it may obtain $8 from SBA. The loans may be for as much as $350,000 for each small business assisted and for as long as 25 years and bear a maximum interest rate of 5½ percent.

The corporation may use the funds for plant construction, conservation, modernization or expansion, and for the purchase of land, equipment, buildings, and machinery. I mention this program because I believe it is of interest to you inasmuch as in many cases the corporation's plan is based on the acquisition of land for a new or expanded plant facility.

We work closely with the bank on these 502 loans and frequently the bank or bank officials are instrumental in leading the way in these community betterment projects.

Over the years the SBA has developed a very fine working relationship with the American Bankers Association. In fact, our loan guarantee plan was developed with the help of ABA's small business credit committee, and has the endorsement of the ABA.

We seek constantly to improve this relationship in any way we can and to obtain more bank participation in our loans. We know that the credit needs of all businessmen can be best served by having a close relationship with a local bank. We think of our loan guarantee plan as an effective method of developing that kind of relationship.

We would welcome any suggestion from you of the mortgage banking fraternity as to how we can mutually strengthen the small business segment of the economy and help assure the continued growth of our American free enterprise system.

The Need for the Revision of the Copyright Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, after 10 years of preparatory work by the Copyright Office of the Library of Congress, congressional hearings began on May 26 on a bill introduced by Representative CELLER, H.R. 4347, to revise our basic copyright law which dates back to 1909. As President Kennedy's Adviser on the Arts, August Heckscher, stated in his 1963 report to the President on "The Arts and the National Government," the outcome of this revision "will be of major significance in determining the degree of encouragement or discouragement this Nation offers to the creative arts."

On the opening day of the hearings on the Celler bill before Subcommittee No. 3 of the House Judiciary Committee, there appeared among others the Librarian of Congress, L. Quincy Mumford; the Deputy Register of Copyrights, George D. Cary, and a group of distinguished authors representing the Authors League of America. My colleague from Wisconsin, ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER, presided at the hearings that opening day in the absence of Subcommittee Chairman Representative EDWIN E. WILLIS, of Louisiana. The full statement of these witnesses on the opening day were too lengthy and detailed to be reported here but I should like to present for the information of my colleagues certain extracts which highlight the great importance of this measure.

Excerpts from significant statements follow:

L. QUINCY MUMFORD, LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS

The bill that you have before you, for the general revision of the copyright law, is one that I believe to be of urgent national importance.

The copyright law of our country was originally passed by the First Congress in 1790, and has been completely revised only three times in the century and three-quarters since then. Ninety-five years ago, in the second general revision of 1870, administration of the copyright laws of the United States was entrusted to the Librarian of Congress, and the administration of the American copyright system has been an integral part of the Library's functions ever since. As most people realize, the copies deposited for copyright registration have furnished the backbone of the Library's collections. What is not generally realized, however, is that the copyright law is directly responsible for the very creation and publication of our country's literature, art, and music. As a symbol of America's cultural life, it is fitting that the Library of Congress is also the focal point of its copyright activities.

As Librarian of Congress I am confronted daily with what are now being called the information explosion and the communications explosion. It is obvious to me that these revolutionary developments carry with them a profound challenge to creative endeavor, and that our antiquated copyright law must be revised to meet this challenge. The longer this task is delayed the harder it will be to accomplish, and the more serious will be the loss for future generations.

The present bill reflects 10 years of concerted effort on the part of the Copyright Office, and the representatives of the many groups and interests directly concerned with copyright, to reconcile differences and seek solutions to the multitude of problems in this field. The bill is a tribute to the patience, persistence, and hard work of Arthur Fisher, the late Register of Copyrights who planned the revision program and who died in 1960, and of Abraham L. Kaminstein, the present Register who has carried these plans forward and whom, I greatly regret, illness prevents from being here today. If, as I believe, a civilization lives on in future generations through the works of its creation, and if, as I also believe, an effective copyright law is essential to promote creative activity, then the revision of the copyright law may well represent one of the most important pieces of legislation to come before the Congress this year. I believe this to be true, and for this reason I urge your favorable consideration of H.R. 4347."

GEORGE D. CARY, DEPUTY REGISTER OF COPYRIGHTS

Copyright is one of the oldest continuing matters on which the Congress has legislated. The first copyright law was enacted in the very first session of Congress in 1790. Since then it has been revised generally only three times, the last being in 1909. Parenthetically, that year might be noted as being a part of the horse-and-buggy era. It was long before our technological development of radio, television, Telstar, tape recorders, longplaying high-fidelity phonograph records, video tape recordings, electronic computers, xereographic copying machines, and Cinerama motion pictures in full color.

Copyright as we know it is basically the statutory right afforded to an author which protects his writings—be they books, poems, dramas, musical compositions, motion pictures, paintings or other forms of artistic or literary expression. In essence the right is a form of exclusivity for a specific period of time. So at bottom what we are really talking about today is in fact protection for authors, using that word in its generic sense. But if that were all we were discussing here today it would probably have been inappropriate for me to appear before you. While it is correct to say that the protection of the author is the essence of a copyright law, there is far more to the picture than that bare statement. The Constitution itself made it clear that the purpose of this protection for authors was to promote the progress of science and the useful arts, which is simply another way of saying that the protection was to be in the public interest.

In the final analysis attention must be concentrated upon whether the bill or its separate provisions will act as an incentive for the creative mind to produce immortal verse and prose, inspiring paintings, sculpture and other works of art, reflective dramas, timeless and ennobling musical works and the like. Of course, not every creator is endowed with the qualities of genius, but a country which nurtures and encourages the creative spirit will reap a richer harvest than one which neglects that broad view. Of course, in the process much will be created that fall short of these high hopes, but immortality does not come easily or with great frequency. If in encouraging this creative spirit we find that much of the product might to some be considered beneath the dignity of the creative mind, in that it finds favor with a great mass of the public, we should remember the comment of Mr. Justice Holmes:

"The taste of any public is not to be treated with contempt. It is an ultimate fact for the moment whatever may be our hopes for a change."

REX STOUT, PRESIDENT OF THE AUTHORS LEAGUE OF AMERICA

The revision bill would rewrite the laws of literary property in the United States. It provides for basic revisions of the present copyright law whih has been in effect without substantial alteration for more than half a century. It would also abolish the exclusive, perpetual property rights which authors now have in their works, under the common law. It affects all who are authors in the copyright sense of the word, i.e, writers, dramatists, poets, composers, painters, sculptors, architects, choreographers, and other creators of artistic work.

Large sums of money are being spent on cultural centers to aid performing arts, and on libraries and museums to house books and paintings. But improvement of the copyright law is surely the most decisive step Congress can take to aid the creative efforts of the indivdual authors who produce the books, plays, music, paintings, and other copyrightable works which constitute the art created by our society.

Copyright is the legal foundation on which rests the author's right to earn his living. He must, for a reasonable time, possess the exclusive rights to publish, perform, and otherwise present his work in order to obtain compensation. These are fundamental rights to which he is entitled under the Constitution and at common law. If these rights are diminished by exceptions to his copyright, so is his livelihood. And, the public's interest in copyright is frustrated. For the public, too, has an interest which is served by adequate copyright protection.

In our society, the incentive and reward for creativity depend solely on the author's literary property—his copyright. If it is di-

luted by exceptions that permit uses to be made of his work without his consent and compensation, incentive and reward for creative effort are diminished, and society is deprived of its most effective means of encouraging and aiding the creation of literary, dramatic, musical, poetic, and other artistic works.

HERMAN WOUK, NOVELIST

A copyright I suggest is a shorthand word that described the restriction of the right to copy and the restriction of the right to copy is what writers and thinkers live by. It is all we have to earn our bread and to support our families.

This restriction of the right to copy is not as old a property right as many of the property rights that you deal with in law, gentlemen. It started in the 18th century. Before that there was no restriction of the right to copy, and the intellectual and artistic community was not the kind of community that exists today. The man of intellect was either a cleric supported by the church or he was the pet and dependent of a rich man or a prince; or he was one of a group of embittered starvelings.

The free and independent artist and thinker standing on his own feet as a member of the polis begins with the restriction of the right to copy. It gives him his living.

In the 18th century, too, a very simple principle became the basis for the founding of a free community. The principle was stated in five words: "taxation without representation is tyranny," something we all learned as schoolboys. On the basis of that phrase a new nation came into existence.

The restriction of the right to copy may be phrased so: "Copying without compensation is piracy." On this simple basis that copying without compensation is piracy, the free community of the arts and the intellect arose, and exists to this day. It was great wisdom in the British legislators to restrict the right to copy, a wisdom which was followed throughout the Western World and then throughout the civilized world, and which was taken over into the Constitution by the proviso that the Congress had the duty to protect and restrict the right to copy—that is, to make laws covering copyright.

I am not here to plead poverty personally. I am, as John Hersey said, and John is like me in this, one of the very fortunate few who can live wholly by what we write. John gave you a statistic that $3,000 a year, perhaps a little more, is what the average author earns. But the successful author and the average author may well not be the most important author. The most important authors almost by definition cannot show up at a hearing like this, because we don't know who they are. There is a permanent lag in recognizing the unacknowledged legislators of mankind, the poets and the original thinkers who are coming up and defining the life that we live and the world around us. But to these obscure thinkers and writers and poets the marginal moneys that come in from the restriction of the right to copy are the difference between their writing and their not writing, possibly the difference between their existing and not existing.

When James Joyce was changing the face of world literature, when he was already very well known, he was living from hand to mouth on royalty checks received in a few pounds and in a few dollars, coming from this restriction of the right to copy.

When you were reading Thomas Wolfe, famous as he was, he was living from hand to mouth on small royalty checks.

A community of art and intellect that stands wholly on its own feet, that supports itself by its earnings from the restriction of the right to copy, is something that you find only in the free world.

We are not dependent on the state. We are not dependent on patrons. We live by this restriction of the right to copy. We ask only that the well-considered measure of the Copyright Office which carries this duty of protecting that right, we ask that this measure be passed because as a result of our most earnest study we find it protects us as we wish to be protected.

Roland M. Sawyer Dies in Pittsburgh

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the death of Mr. Roland Sawyer has saddened all of us who were his friends. He was a distinguished figure in the fields of housing, planning, and labor and intergroup relations—a member of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing, and a board member of NAACP, the National Housing Conference and many other groups dedicated to the public interest. I should like to include at this point in my remarks a tribute to him published in the July issue of Steel Labor.

The article follows:

ROLAND M. SAWYER DIES IN PITTSBURGH

Roland M. Sawyer, housing consultant for the United Steelworkers of America and a nationally recognized authority in this field, died June 13 in St. Francis Hospital, Pittsburgh, Pa., after a long illness. He was 54.

Mr. Sawyer became associated with the United Steelworkers in 1958 after a brilliant career in the housing field on local, State, and nationwide levels. His services were sought by the Steelworkers to aid the union's determined efforts to provide better housing for all citizens.

During and immediately following World War II, Mr. Sawyer served his country at home and abroad as recruitment officer and supervisor, U.S. Employment Service and War Manpower Commission in Pittsburgh from 1937 to 1945. He was assistant director for finance and administration and acting director, French Occupied Zone of Austria, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in Innsbruck, Austria.

With the Steelworkers, Mr. Sawyer authored several booklets on public housing which won recognition as virtual textbooks in the field. Demand was so great from municipal governments and authorities, schools and colleges and social agencies that reprints were necessary many times over.

He was a man of great energy and deep belief in the worth of what he was doing. Only shortly before reentering the hospital, he undertook a trip to the Pennsylvania State capital in Harrisburg to further the cause of good housing for Negroes and all citizens forced to live in slum areas.

USWA President I. W. Abel, commenting on Mr. Sawyer's passing, said:

"We are deeply grieved by the untimely passing of Roland Sawyer, who during his all too short tenure with us had achieved great stature as a humanist and as a valued consultant in the highly specialized field of public housing.

"Mr. Sawyer had achieved national recognition in this area before he chose to join with the United Steelworkers in a concentrated effort to provide better housing for all of our citizens forced to endure substandard conditions. He gave virtually his last breath for this objective. He will be sorely missed. We share the sorrow of his family in the passing of this truly splendid citizen and man."

Born in Springfield, Mass., March 14, 1911, Mr. Sawyer was educated in public schools there and was graduated from Springfield College where he won his master's in education a year later.

He took additional graduate work at the University of Pittsburgh, American University, Washington, D.C., and Penn State University (extension) while he served as director of health education, Center Avenue YMCA, his first association in what was to be a long and distinguished career in Pittsburgh.

Among the many important posts in which he served in addition to his regular duties were associate director, ACTION-Housing; executive director, Pittsburgh Housing Association; member, President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing; member, executive board, Pittsburgh Branch, NAACP; member, National Board, Americans for Democratic Action; member, AFL-CIO Housing Committee; director, National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing and alternate director and member of the Committee on Program Planning, Four Freedoms, Inc.

There were many more important assignments he undertook in his unflagging zeal for the betterment of his fellow man.

Mr. Sawyer's survivors include his widow, the former Aileen Eckstein; a daughter, Stephanie Ann, who graduated from Schenley High School last month; his mother, Mrs. J. S. Sawyer, of Springfield, Mass.; and a brother, Raymond A., of Mt. Vernon, N.Y.

Funeral services were held June 17 in Holy Cross Episcopal Church in Pittsburgh and interment followed in Homewood Cemetery, Homewood.

Among the many messages of sympathy sent after Mr. Sawyer's passing was a telegram directed to USWA President I. W. Abel by top officers of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

The telegram said Charles Abrams, president; Algernon D. Black, chairman, the board and staff were "deeply grieved" by the death of Mr. Sawyer, "one of our most valued members and stanchest friends. His contribution in all efforts * * * won him the respect and gratitude of his countrymen and honored the tradition of your great union."

Neil J. Curry

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the untimely death of Neil J. Curry is a shock to both the trucking industry, in which he stood sovereign, and the many people who were privileged to know and work with him during his brilliant and many-faceted career.

I am one of these fortunate people, for I knew Neil through his work for California and for the Democratic Party. Although expert in the specialized field of transportation, he recognized a responsibility to bring his considerable organizational and promotional talent to work for what he believed in. As such, he served his beloved city of Los Angeles on the chamber of commerce and spearheaded the fundraising

campaigns for both John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

Whenever called, Neil Curry served—as a representative on the U.S. Senate Advisory Committee studying transportation problems, as a member of the President's Committee for Traffic Safety throughout the last two administrations. All this he did while continuing as the vigorous leader of the American Trucking Association and participating on the executive level in numerous other organizations—and he did everything thoroughly and well.

A breeder of thoroughbred horses, Neil Curry was a distinguished leader in the horseracing world. Chairman of a committee to codify national racetrack rules, past chairman of California's State Horseracing Board, and past president of the National Association of State Racing Commissioners, he was dedicated to furthering the sport of horseracing throughout the free world. Only a few short weeks ago he was honored by the leading owners, breeders, trainers, and riders of the country at a testimonial dinner given by the Horsemen's Benevolent & Protective Association where he was named as "Man of the Year." He not only used his talent to further domestic horseracing, but also was very influential in giving the sport the worldwide recognition it deserves. He loved the sport of thoroughbred racing and did not want to see its image tarnished. He worked actively to sustain horseracing as one of the world's great and most popular sports.

The executive in today's contracting world must be more than an administrator; he must be a man aware—of the continual and rapid changes around him, of the intricate interplay between Government and industry, of the needs and wants of the vast number of people directly, or indirectly, affected by his business. Neil Curry was responsive to all these challenges; his knowledge of administration, public relations, and Government relations served to make him the outstanding leader that he was.

Yet, in his own words, he was first of all a trucker, and in 1956 the industry honored him by creating a new position of chairman pro tem of the executive committee of the American Trucking Association. No greater tribute can be bestowed than that of one's fellow workers, and I can only second their praise for a giant of his times, the remarkable Neil J. Curry.

California Finds Key to Future World Water Supply Using Economic Nuclear Power for Sea Water Conversion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, the recent news of a serious water shortage in the northeastern States has again emphasized the need for a long-range national planning and development effort to provide an adequate supply of pure water to meet the greatly increased future demand we anticipate for municipal, industrial, and agricultural uses in the years ahead.

In this connection, I think we all can profit by the example of outstanding leadership in water resource development provided by my home State of California, in cooperation with our neighboring States and the Federal Government.

So, I was pleased to note that the Washington Evening Star has given its editorial approval to one of California's most recent planning efforts: an intensive study now being conducted to determine the feasibility of constructing what would be the largest nuclear-fueled combination sea water conversion and power-producing plant in the world.

Because of the importance of this subject to every American, I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point the Washington Star editorial, entitled "Precious Commodity," as well as two press releases—one put out by the U.S. Department of the Interior, and the other by the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California—announcing the highly encouraging findings of the preliminary feasibility study report on the proposed atomic energy power and water plant.

The items follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 12, 1965]

PRECIOUS COMMODITY

As the Nation worries about its water supply—a subject well elucidated yesterday by our Orr Kelly—an encouraging note has been sounded, of all places, in California. A study by the Bechtel Corp. reveals that where an atomic energy plant is coupled with desalination, sea water can be converted to potable water for the low cost of 22 cents per 1,000 gallons.

According to the study, a very high volume of water conversion would be necessary to achieve that figure, perhaps 150 million gallons a day, or enough for a city the size of Louisville, Ky.

Nevertheless this offers a promising future in an age where the expansion of thirsty metropolitan areas has become commonplace. Metered households now pay a national average of about 40 cents per thousand gallons.

The solution envisioned by the Bechtel study is not for every community—at least not without some kind of massive aid. A plant to purify this volume of water would cost some $300 million, according to the study.

Nevertheless, given the willingness to invest in a future supply of clean water, the wherewithal to make this possible, and the market to consume such volume, a solution apparently lies ahead. Beleaguered areas such as New York City can take hope.

[News release from the U.S. Department of the Interior]

STUDY SHOWS DESALTING COST OF 22 TO 30 CENTS PER THOUSAND GALLONS IN 150-MILLION-GALLON-PER-DAY COMBINATION PLANT

The possibility of a large-scale nuclear-fueled plant for southern California to produce 150 million gallons of fresh water a day along with 1,800 megawatts of electricity loomed larger today as the result of a preliminary feasibility study presented to a task force representing the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California (MWD).

The report, which indicated that fresh water could be produced from the sea at a cost of from 22 to 30 cents a thousand gallons, was prepared by Bechtel Corp. of San Francisco under joint sponsorship of the three agencies. Cost of such a combination plant was estimated at $300 million.

Representatives of the three agencies termed the report generally acceptable. It is expected to be presented to the MWD board of directors Monday, July 12. If the preliminary report is accepted by the MWD board, Bechtel is scheduled to complete its final report by October of this year. It then would be up to the Metropolitan Water District to determine whether it wants to proceed with such a project. Possible Department of the Interior-AEC participation will be evaluated in relationship to developmental opportunities.

The Bechtel report included the following principal conclusions and recommendations. They are:

Production of 150 million gallons per day of desalted water at a seacoast location is feasible.

Cost of desalted water at the seacoast plant site is 22 to 30 cents per thousand gallons ($70 to $96.50 per acre-foot), depending on the powerplant size. Costs of conveying the production water to the Diemer filtration plant is slightly less than 5 cents per thousand gallons ($15 per acre-foot).

A two-unit nuclear power plant combination with the desalting plant offers the opportunity for the lowest cost water and minimum capital investment.

Based on engineering feasibility and the results of the analysis of comparative costs of alternate sites, and artificial island site off shore from Sunset Beach, is recommended.

In addition to the artificial island site, land sites at Irvine Ranch and Dana Point are technically feasible for location of the dual-purpose plant.

Production of 150 million gallons of fresh water per day would approximate 7 percent of the current consumption of water supplied by Metropolitan Water District to its customers. Cost of converting water would compare favorably with current costs in the Los Angeles area.

A desalting plant producing 150 million gallons of fresh water daily would be nearly 50 times larger than the largest existing desalting plant, located on the Caribbean island of Aruba. That plant now produces 3.5 million gallons a day. Output of the proposed southern California plant would be sufficient for a city of 750,000.

A power output of 1,800 megawatts would exceed the Hoover Dam output of 1,300 megawatts and could take care of a city of 2 million persons. The report estimated that power from the plant could be sold for 4 mills or less per kilowatt hour, which is competitive with present prices.

In the plant proposed by the report, nuclear fuel would be utilized to produce energy for the generation of electricity. Surplus energy would be used to distill water in the desalting plant.

Three basic uses have been indicated for desalted water produced by such a plant in California. They are:

1. Use of the water to blend with water presently being supplied by MWD. This would have the effect of improving the quality of present water supplies as well as in effect lowering the cost of desalted water by stretching it further.

2. To fill the gap in the demand for water between 1970 and 1972, when other incremental sources are expected to be available to southern California.

3. To gain construction and operating experience in such a large-scale plant so that long-range planning may be done.

The Bechtel study is being done at a cost of $492,000, with each of the three participating agencies sharing jointly in the cost.

[News release from the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California]

SEA WATER CONVERSION PLANT

A $300 million, nuclear-fueled sea water conversion plant on the Orange County coastline could produce fresh water at a cost per 1,000 gallons of from 22 to 30 cents at the plant site as compared with a minimum of $1 for existing desalting plants.

This sharply lower cost estimate is a highlight of a report prepared by the Bechtel Corp. under a contract between the metropolitan water district and the Federal Government, represented by the Department of Interior and the Atomic Energy Commission.

The contract provides for a study of the engineering and economics of what would be many times over the biggest sea water conversion plant in the world.

The cost per 1,000 gallons of the Colorado River water the district now supplies is approximately 10 cents. The cost of northern California water, delivery of which will commence in the early 1970's, will be about 20 cents per 1,000 gallons. However, in both cases, this includes the cost of distribution by the district through an extensive system serving its 4,500-square-mile area.

The report stated that three Orange County sites are "technically feasible" for the huge plant which would also generate large amounts of electricity.

They are an artificial island which would be part of the proposed Sunset Harbor marina development 4,000 feet offshore between Seal Beach and Huntington Beach; Pelican Point on the Irvine Ranch 1 mile below Corona del Mar; and Dana Point 6 miles below Laguna Beach.

Bechtel recommended, however, that the plant's preliminary engineering design, which will be the final section of the study, be based on the artificial island site. Building the plant there would cost $13 million less than at Pelican Point and $33 million less than at Dana Point, the report said.

Bechtel stated that both the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the Orange County Harbor District have expressed great interest in incorporating the island as a part of a 4-mile breakwater for the Sunset Harbor development. A bridge would link the breakwater to the mainland.

The report also held that "the lowest cost water and minimum capital investment" for the district would result from construction, ownership, and operation of the nuclear power facilities by local electrical utilities.

The Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, Southern California Edison Co., and San Diego Gas & Electric have offered to join in this manner in the dual-purpose desalting and power project.

The power output, under the proposal by the electrical utilities, would be 1,800 megawatts.

Bechtel engineers noted that preference was given to Orange County locations because of their proximity to the district's filtration plant near Yorba Linda where the desalted water could be blended with other supplies.

Transporting the water from the coast to the plant would cost an additional 5 cents a thousand gallons, the report estimated.

The desalting plant would produce 150 million gallons of water a day or enough for a city of 750,000 population. The largest existing sea water conversion plant produces 3.5 million gallons daily. It is on the island of Aruba in the Caribbean.

The district is currently delivering 1 billion gallons of Colorado River water a day to its service area in six southern California counties. MWD also has contracted with the State for the ultimate delivery of nearly 1.8 billion gallons daily of northern California water.

The district serves 9,500,000 people, or one-half the population of the entire State of California.

The Bechtel study will be completed by the end of the year.

Silver Coin Hoarders Betting Against Odds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the very able financial writer Sylvia Porter has written an excellent analysis of coin hoarding, outlining the reasons why the recent action of Congress should not lead to hoarding of those silver coins which are to be replaced by cupro-nickel coins. I include Miss Porter's report as published in the July 21 issue of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette:

SILVER COIN HOARDERS BETTING AGAINST ODDS

(By Sylvia Porter)

A hoarding problem faces the United States on the eve of its first complete overhaul of the Nation's currency in 173 years. Under the new coinage law nonsilver copper-nickel "sandwich" coins will be produced in place of today's familiar silver dimes and quarters. By yearend, hundreds of millions of new silverless coins will begin to circulate.

While the switch will offer permanent relief from today's chronic coin shortage and will release vitally needed silver for industrial use, it also threatens to bring out coin hoarders and collectors in droves.

Behind the hoarding threat is this simple arithmetic: if today's Treasury-supported silver price of $1.29 an ounce were to rise to $1.38, it would become profitable to melt down coins for their silver content.

GRESHAM'S LAW RECALLED

Also behind the threat is the 407-year-old "Gresham's LAW": production of the new coins with less "intrinsic value" (i.e., silver) will drive the "more valuable" silver coins out of circulation and into the hands of hoarders and speculators.

Money collectors and speculators already have stashed away more than 400 million silver dollars and 250 million new Kennedy half dollars.

What are the payoff prospects of coin hoarding today?

Fact 1: The Treasury's present silver supply, just under 1 billion ounces is enough to last well beyond the 3-year changeover—even assuming earmarking of 1965 million ounces as a defense reserve. Quite possibly the supply could be stretched almost indefinitely.

Fact 2: There are now 12.4 billion silver dimes, quarters and 50-cent pieces in circulation, containing another 1.5 billion ounces of silver.

"With that much silver as a cushion, why would anybody pay a premium price for ordinary coins?" asks Treasury Assistant Secretary Robert A. Wallace. "The silver coins will be available at their face value at any bank."

FUTURE PRICES EASE

Fact 3: Prices of silver futures—the price traders and others commit themselves to pay for silver in the open market at a future date—actually have nosedived since last fall from $1.38 an ounce to today's $1.29. This downtrend reflects the growing realization among experts that the Treasury is determined to hold the price of silver at $1.29 for the foreseeable future.

Fact 4: If hoarding does develop into a major problem, the Treasury has the standby authority to prohibit melting and exporting of coins, so that even if the price of silver rose above $1.38 an ounce, hoarders could not make a profit legally.

Fact 5: Unless and until the lid comes off the price of silver, hoarders must forfeit any earnings on funds they put into coins—and you can get well over 4 percent a year on simple savings accounts in institutions from coast to coast. Moreover, because of the recent rash of coin-collection thefts, big holders are being forced to buy costly insurance policies on and safes for their collections

Unquestionably, the long-range pressure is for a rise in the price of silver. Under the new law a Joint Commission on the Coinage will review the whole situation 3 years from new, decide whether the Treasury should continue to sell silver, at what price and to whom.

But, warns Reno Odlin, president of the American Bankers Association: "It is going to be a long time before speculators stand a ghost of a chance of turning a profit" on hoarding of coins.

Good Foreign Loans, Bad Foreign Loans, and Guidelines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, our balance of payments is a matter of urgent concern to all of us. As a member of the International Finance Subcommittee of the great Banking and Currency Committee of this House, I have been in constant touch with the problem and can therefore understand the administration's anxiety to reduce the deficit and reach equilibrium in our balance of payments. However, the RECORD will show that I have in the past called for the exercise of great care in the molding of policies to deal with the situation. For the complex web of our international trade relations is one of delicate and often unseen relationships. There is great danger that action taken to correct an obvious problem may well have results which are both unforeseen and unwanted. Last month I pointed out areas where I felt some of our negative policies to rectify the balance-of-payments situation were producing negative results. This was especially true in the case of guidelines placed on banks for foreign lending. As is already well known, the Government in general and the Federal Reserve in particular have laid down guidelines which stipulate that a bank's foreign loans should not exceed the total

of such loans on its books at the end of 1964 by more than 5 percent.

Unfortunately, the Government apparently has included all foreign loans under its guideline without effectively distinguishing between those loans which accompany and assist our flow of exports and the short-term, so-called hot money which flows out of the country into foreign capital markets independently of trade. Granted that the latter type loans have contributed heavily to our balance-of-payments deficit. But the former constitutes a major tool in the drive to promote our exports. And, as I have pointed out many times before, we may attack the balance-of-payments problem from every conceivable angle, but its ultimate solution lies in the continued growth of our balance of trade. Therefore, I have vigorously supported positive programs to increase the volume of our trade, especially our exports, and just as vigorously opposed all proposals aimed at restricting trade. I believe that the guidelines as presently drawn do restrict our exports, producing an adverse rather than a corrective result. For exports, like domestic goods, must be financed to be sold, and the flow of exports directly relates to the flow of finance. Indications are that as loans to finance our exports have been cut down; naturally, so has the volume of our exports been cut down.

To my way of thinking, there is, in the context of our present balance-of-payments difficulties, a distinction to be made between "good" foreign loans which assist the flow of our exports and "bad" foreign loans which flow independently of trade. In the case of a good foreign loan, the dollars involved do not leave the country and, therefore, do not pose a threat to our gold supply; such dollars go directly to the American shipper, and his foreign customer repays the bank. Thus a good foreign loan helps rather than hurts our balance of payments. The Government has recognized that fact only by giving this type of loan top priority, but such loans must still be kept within the guideline. I believe, however, that these loans should be encouraged and not guidelined under. The Government should, therefore, consider redrawing the guidelines to include only those loans which do not directly assist the flow of our exports and giving free rein to those which do.

It may cause discomfort in some circles to point out another aspect of the flow of hot money unrelated to trade, Mr. Speaker, but this matter is so serious that we cannot cover candor with timidity. This flow is separate from bank loans but of competitive importance, large liquid holdings of corporations have been channeled by company comptrollers to whatever depositories in the world yield the highest returns. There is a ready admission that the practice of depositing company funds in foreign institutions exists and the practitioners claim their responsibilities require them to seek the greatest earnings independent of national policy in these matters. Strangely enough, these are in many cases companies whose long-term strength and earnings are intrinsically and indivisibly entwined in the strength of our national and international economy. How long we can entertain the irresponsibility on short-term deposits by those who are in many cases the strongest critics of our long range balance of payments problem is an item that should receive administration scrutiny and critical analysis.

If there are no objections, Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert into the RECORD a thought-provoking, highly informative article on this subject which appeared in yesterday's Wall Street Journal and is entitled "Balky Bankers":

BALKY BANKERS: FEW RUSH TO COMPLY WITH FED'S EDICT CURBING FOREIGN LOANS

(By Lee Silberman)

"I don't know a single bank that's yet complying with the Federal ceiling on foreign loans. Our bank certainly won't get its foreign loans down under the guidelines until fall, and frankly we're hoping that by then the Government will have gotten some sense and raised the limit, at least on loans to finance exports."

This candid assertion by an official of a leading internationally minded New York bank is no isolated case. It's typical, rather, of a continuing undercurrent of opposition to the administration's program to check the outflow of dollars and gold abroad by prevailing on the Nation's banks and corporations to keep or bring greenbacks home.

In the 5 months since President Johnson called for "voluntary" restraints on lending and investing overseas, the Nation's chronically adverse international payments balance, to be sure, has shown a burst of improvement. William McChesney Martin, Jr., Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, recently reported that this balance—measuring the outflow of funds from the country against receipts from all foreign sources—in the last few months actually has been "in equilibrium." But there are doubts if the improvement can be long sustained. Meantime, the mood of the business community in the period doesn't appear to have brightened commensurately.

Says a top partner of a leading New York investment banking firm close to the financial planning of a number of national corporations:

"Everybody applauds the objectives of the voluntary restraint program just as they favor motherhood, two cars in every garage and the full dinner pail. The problem is, however, that the program creates circumstances that may redound to the disadvantage of business and the economy over the long pull."

Secretary of Commerce Connor, in applying the President's program to the foreign activities of U.S. industrial concerns, asked 600 larger companies to take measures to show a 15 to 20 percent improvement in their own balance of payments this year over last, such as by reducing foreign capital spending and bringing overseas earnings home faster. Corporations generally assured the Secretary they would do everything possible to accede to the request. But many also have forewarned stockholders that the scaling down of expansion plans abroad would probably put a crimp in their foreign and overall earnings.

BANKS UNDER CLOSE SCRUTINY

The foreign activities of U.S. banks have come under even closer scrutiny than those of the corporations. The Federal Reserve System, which administers this phase of the program, has stipulated that a bank's foreign loans shouldn't increase by more than 5 percent over the total of such loans on its books at the end of 1964. Among foreign loans, banks have been urged to give top priority to those to finance exports and secondly to loans for use in less developed countries. But in any event, the banks must report every month to their district Federal Reserve bank on whether their foreign loans outstanding are still above the 105-percent guideline, and what measures they're taking to get under the ceiling. (Typical remedial steps would be to limit new foreign loans while pressing for speedier repayment on existing ones.) Finally, the guide rules require that the banks' foreign loans be brought below the 105-percent limit by no later than March 1966, a year after they were enunciated.

At the same time that commercial bankers thus were directed to justify foreign lending activities to Government controllers, President Johnson acted to bring foreign bank loans under the interest equalization tax—and thereby, in the eyes of many bankers, added injury to insult.

The tax was initially imposed as a gold-saving device in July 1963, principally on Americans' purchases of foreign securities from foreigners. But President Johnson, early this year, extended the tax, which can boost borrowing cost by as much as 1 percentage point, to bank loans of over a year in the wake of a sharp surge in banks' foreign loans; the magnitude of the increase last year and in the first few weeks of 1965 left little doubt that foreigners who didn't want to bear the cost of the added tax by offering securities in the U.S. markets had been going to U.S. banks for help—and finding their demands there amply met.

The combination of foreign-loan guidelines and the interest equalization tax has been especially irksome to bigger U.S. banks with foreign branches. The interest equalization tax, under the broadened law, applies to bank loans in dollars whether made in a bank's overseas branch or at home. As a consequence, U.S. bankers complain, competing foreign-owned banks now can charge less interest on dollar loans than U.S. branches overseas. "It's an advantage that foreign banks are working hard to exploit," confides a New York banker. "If the situation continues much longer, we could be squeezed out of a number of important markets we've worked hard to develop."

So far, U.S. bankers with interests abroad haven't particularly broadcast their fears of losing ground in European financial centers. But they've joined the growing lament that the voluntary restraint program could contribute to a sharp reduction in the Nation's trade surplus this year—and thus, ironically, lead to a possible worsening of the overall payments balance which the program, of course, is meant to help.

Uncle Sam's balance-of-payments deficit of $3.1 billion last year would have been measurably worse if the 1964 trade surplus—the excess of merchandise exports over imports—hadn't amounted to a record $6.9 billion. For the first 5 months of this year, however, U.S. exports slipped to a seasonally adjusted annual rate 1 percent below a year ago while imports forged 11 percent ahead. Most authorities anticipate that for the year as a whole, the 1965 trade surplus will be around $1 billion less than last year.

The consensus among bankers, moreover, is that if exports do drop, the fault will lie mainly with the Federal Reserve Board's inclusion of loans to finance such shipments in the 105 percent guidelines. "Last February when the Fed set up the guidelines, foreign loans on the books of the Nation's banks already were almost $500 million or 5 percent above the yearend figure of $10 billion outstanding, and we had commitments in the pipeline for almost another $500 million, much of it for exports," says the head of the international department of a large U.S. bank. "It seems obvious on the face of it that the banking system couldn't turn its back on much of this business, as required under the guidelines, without seriously undermining exports."

Some bankers insist, too, that the principle of restricting export loans is wrong because it doesn't help the dollar-outflow problem.

Says a New York banker: "If the idea of the restraint program is to keep dollars out of the hands of foreigners who might convert them into gold, then the Federal Reserve, by insisting that exports be kept under the guidelines, is fighting the battle with the wrong weapon. When we finance exports, the dollars usually go directly to the shipper of the goods in this country, a U.S. corporation, and his foreign customer repays the bank. The law, of course, prohibits U.S. nationals from owning gold."

THE FED'S POSITION

The Federal Reserve Board thus far has stood firm against these complaints. Member J. L. Robertson, who runs the voluntary restraint program for the Board, declared recently it had no intention of heeding appeals—reportedly submitted in writing by some larger banks—to excuse exports from the guidelines. He argued that if U.S. banks were free to make export loans without limit, "foreigners would naturally couch all their appeals for funds in terms of export credits," thus seriously weakening the program.

Commercial banks are accustomed, of course, to being rebuffed from time to time by the Federal Reserve System, although the Nation's central or Government bank prides itself usually on not being arbitrary in its dealings with the private banking community. Commercial banks, however, frequently borrow funds from district Reserve banks at the discount rate, and aren't particularly offended when the district bank occasionally asks probing questions about their financial affairs, just as the banks do their own debtors.

But while there has long been close rapport between the Federal Reserve System and its member banks, the bonds clearly have been put under strain by the voluntary restraint program. This stems in part from the vigorous steps some district Reserve banks have taken in policing the commercial banks' foreign lending activities.

Commercial banks are not only required to file monthly reports of their foreign business but for every month that the amount of foreign loans outstanding remains above the guidelines, their top officers may be called to give a personal explanation to the president and senior officers of the district Reserve bank. The regional Reserve banks also have been issuing a steady stream of guidance circulars to the member banks defining foreign loans. Commercial bankers have been cautioned, for example, to make discreet inquiries into the purpose of any loans requested by U.S. subsidiaries of foreign corporations lest the proceeds wind up overseas.

Private bankers make no secret of the fact that they find some of this advice unnecessarily gratuitous. "Maybe it will come as a surprise to some of our friends at the Fed, but we never let any of our money get out unless we have a pretty good notion how it will be used," says a New York banker.

In any event, Federal Reserve officials have been heartened lately by the published statistics on the course of bank loans to foreigners.

These show that U.S. banks' loans to foreigners in March, the first full month the restraint program was in effect, rose $131 million, a substantial improvement over a $361 million increase the month before. But in April, the latest month for which figures are available, bank loans to foreigners fell $132 million, according to a Federal Reserve Board compilation of reports from commercial banks.

HOW ENDURING THE IMPROVEMENT

Even if this improving trend should continue over coming months, commercial and central bankers concede it's unrealistic to expect such retrenchment in foreign lending and investing to continue very long.

Ralph A. Young, Director of the Federal Reserve Board's division of international finance, sums up the situation this way: "The new program appears to be working well, and seems likely to reduce the payments deficit significantly in 1965 and 1966. A voluntary program, however, is necessarily a temporary program. The question, therefore, remains: How many underlying forces work to resolve the payments problem, and what financial policies are needed?"

Few commercial bankers pretend to have all the answers. George Champion, chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank, New York, for one has bitterly criticized "government-by-guideline" and joined in urging such permanent steps for recitying the payments deficit as curtailing military spending abroad.

Others, like John Exter, a senior vice president of First National City Bank, New York, contend that elimination of the deficit depends principally on the Federal Reserve's acting to tighten monetary policy in the United States, thereby allowing interest rates to rise to levels here that would be increasingly attractive to foreign capital.

Bankers who agree with all or some of these aims know they involve large policy decisions that might take time to implement. As a practical matter, most bankers thus are pressing for changes in the guidelines that the Federal Reserve can put into effect with little delay. Most of all, commercial bankers would like to see export loans removed entirely from the guidelines, but if that isn't feasible, they would like to have the ceiling on foreign lending lifted to 110 percent from 105 percent of 1964 year-end levels, so that their banks' foreign business won't be too drastically suppressed.

Nevertheless, at this juncture, there's little reason to believe that the Federal Reserve Board is considering any guideline relief. A number of influential banks, however, apparently remain convinced that the Reserve sooner or later will give their representations another hearing. Until then, whether due to circumstances or design, they seem to be playing a waiting game.

On the Death of a Great Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, last week's news of the death of Adlai Stevenson deeply saddened me. The American people justifiably mourn the sudden loss of their supremely articulate and courageous spokesman.

As reform Governor of Illinois, as leader of his party, as thoughtful advocate of an enligstened foreign policy, as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations—Adlai Stevenson symbolized the best in American life and served our country and the world with a rare idealism and realism.

Little can be added to the words of praise which have poured from the heart of a world which has sensed the death of a truly great man, Mr. Speaker. I wish, instead, to call attention to the last major public speech given by the Ambassador. The occasion was the 20th anniversary celebration of the signing of the U.N. Charter on June 26.

I shall let his words speak for themselves. They are eloquent testimony to the man we mourn.

The full text of that moving speech follows:

THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, STATEMENT BY HIS EXCELLENCY ADLAI E. STEVENSON, PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. President, this is the end of a commemorative occasion. Some of us here today who were midwives at the birth of the United Nations can never forget those days here in San Francisco in the twilight of the war, when an old world was dying and a new world was coming to birth.

We shared an audacious dream—and launched a brave enterprise.

It seemed so easy then—when all was hope and expectation I remember my own sense of pride, of history, of exultation—and the special responsibility that fell upon the host country to that historic conference.

Inescapably I remember, too, both the triumphs and the failures. For over these churning, fearful, and expectant years, we have been up and we have been down.

II

But up or down, my Government and my people have never lost faith in the United Nations.

The hope, the expectation, was mirrored by the vote—89 to 2—by which the U.S. Senate approved the ratification of the Charter of the United Nations in 1945—a few weeks after the charter was signed here in San Francisco in this very hall.

And our Congress only this week—in a rare mood of unanimity—reaffirmed that support and dedicated this country, once again, to the principles of this organization.

This concurrent resolution referred specifically to this twentieth anniversary event, to International Cooperation Year, to the "important and, at times, crucial role" which the United Nations has played in defense of the peace—and to its other "valuable service" to human rights and the fight against hunger, poverty, disease, and ignorance.

The resolution then stated: "Now, therefore, be it *Resolved*, That it is the sense of the Congress that the United States of Americe rededicates itself to the principles of the United Nations and to the furtherance of international cooperation within the framework of law and order."

Thus in this week of memory and anticipation did the representatives of our democratic diversity declare again our unity and our commitment in matters that touch the peace of the world.

III

We welcome the counsel of all our brethren, large and small, on this long, rough voyage to world community.

We make no claim to omniscience or omnipotence; we, too, believe that to the humble many things are revealed that are obscure to the mighty.

Out of 20 years of humbling experience, we all know that we need the United Nations more today than we needed it 20 years ago—that we shall need it more 20 years from now than we do today—that the United Nations is a simple necessity of our times.

We know that the issue therefore is not one of survival but of how rapidly or how slowly, how surely or how hesitantly, how skillfully or how clumsily, we shall get on with the work we took up here so short a time ago.

IV

And the record of the United Nations is full of evidence of skillful action by men and women of many nations.

There is time, even in a short address, to salute the Secretary-General and the international civil servants of the U.N. family of agencies who pioneer day in and day out in our emerging world community.

We have time to extend our congratulations to those delegates from the younger nations who have joined our ranks since the charter first was signed—who have added diversity to our company—who have given us all an intimate sense of wider community—who have contributed their minds and talents, their vision and wisdom to the conduct of our affairs.

We have time, too, to pay our respects to those hundreds of men of the United Nations who have given their lives in the cause of peace—to those tens of thousands from 54 countries who have helped the United Nations keep the peace—and to those other thousands of Blue Berets who at this moment stand guard for peace in Gaza, Cyprus, and Kashmir, even as we meet here, peacefully, in San Francisco.

We have time here to offer thanks to those unsung heroes of the United Nations who are responsible for curing 37 million children of the yaws, and 11 million more of trachoma, and another million of leprosy—and to those who have protected 162 million people against tuberculosis, and lowered the incidence of malaria by over a hundred million people a year—and to those nameless men and women of the United Nations who have helped find new homes and new lives for more than a million refugees.

These are a few—and only a few—of the things that we the people of the United Nations have done together in the time-speck of 2 tearing decades.

V

In the bright glow of 1945 too many looked to the United Nations for the full and final answer to world peace. And in retrospect that day may seem to have opened with the hint of a false dawn.

Certainly we have learned the hard way how elusive is peace—how durable is man's destructive drive—how various are the forms of his aggressions.

We have learned too how distant is the dream of those better standards of life in larger freedom—how qualified our capacity to practice tolerance—how conditional our claims to the dignity and worth of the human person—how reserved our respect for the obligations of law.

Our world is still as brave, though not so new, as it seemed in this place 2 decades past. But the world's leaders, and their peoples, are deeply troubled—and with cause:

There is war in Vietnam—and in other places, too.

There has been revolution and bloody violence in the Dominican Republic—and in other places, too.

There are still border troubles in Kashmir, communal bitterness in Cyprus, violence in the Congo.

There is shattering ideological conflict; there is subversion and aggression—overt and clandestine; there is tension and mistrust and fear.

The nuclear threat is spreading and the means of self-destruction are still uncontrolled.

Meanwhile the economic gap between the developed and developing nations grows wider. Human rights and political rights and self-determination are cynically denied. Hunger, disease and ignorance still afflict the majority of God's children.

I agree with Ambassador Bindzi of the Cameroon that these are symptoms of an unstable, dangerous world—too dangerous and too unstable, for the General Assembly to remain in its present deadlock.

We all know that the deadlock must be broken before we sit down again in the General Assembly 9 weeks hence.

VI

If there be disputes which keep us apart—there is much, much more to be done which draws us together.

Change, guaranteed by the inventions of science and the innovations of technology, accelerates, threatens, and promises.

Already science has destroyed any rational excuse for war between states.

Already science induces statesmen to reach for national prestige not in the conquest of someone's territory, but in the conquest of everyone's environment.

Already science and technology are integrating our world into an open workshop where each new invention defines a new task, and reveals a shared interest, and invites yet another common venture.

In our sprawling workshop of the world community, nations are joined in cooperative endeavor: improving soils, purifying water, harnessing rivers, eradicating disease, feeding children, diffusing knowledge, spreading technology, surveying resources, lending capital, probing the seas, forecasting the weather, setting standards, developing law, and working away at a near-infinitude of down-to-earth tasks—tasks for which science has given us the knowledge, and technology has given us the tools, and commonsense has given us the wit to perceive that common interest impels us to common enterprise.

Common enterprise is the pulse of world community—the heartbeat of a working peace—the way to the Great Society.

VII

Yet we are all impatient. We are all concerned that the scope of our work is still too narrow—that the pace of our work is still too slow—that our best efforts to date risk being overwhelmed by the enormity of the tasks and challenges that press upon us from all sides.

We need time to perfect our peacekeeping machinery to the point where no nation need use its own armed forces save in the service of the international community.

We need time to adjust to the thundering impact of science and technology upon human society and human tradition.

We need time to get on with international cooperation toward disarmament, toward a decent world diet, toward peaceful exploration of outer space, toward international development.

And, we, the members of the United Nations need time at home to struggle with all those great domestic tasks of welfare and justice and human rights which cry out for the priority attention of all national leaders, regardless of the size or the wealth or the social system of any particular country.

VIII

Is there no way to quicken the pulsebeat of our common enterprise? Is there no shortcut to a better world society? Is there no way to make time our ally—and use it better to serve us all?

Of course there is. For the enemy is not change but violence. To induce needed change without needless murder what we require above all is a truce to terror. We need a moratorium—a breathing spell free from acts of international violence.

We need—all of us—a respite from the malignant claims which violence levies upon our energy and our attention and our resources.

There is not a single dispute in this world—however sharply the issues may be drawn—which would not look different two decades from now, after time and change have done their erosive work on the sharpest corners of conflict.

If we could somehow bring about a truce to terror we would soon discover that world order will come not through the purity of the human heart nor the purge of the human soul, but will be wrought from a thousand common ventures that are at once possible and imperative.

Mr. President, on behalf of my government, on behalf of my countrymen, let me say this:

We believe in the United Nations; we support the United Nations; and we shall work in the future—as we have worked in the past—to add strength, and influence, and permanence to all that the organization stands for in this, our tempestuous, tormented, talented world of diversity in which all men are brothers and all brothers are somehow, wondrously, different—save in their need for peace.

For all our desperate dangers, I do not believe, in the words of Winston Churchill, "that God has despaired of His children."

For man in his civil society has learned how to live under the law with the institutions of justice, and with a controlled strength that can protect rich and poor alike. This has been done, I say, within domestic society. And in this century, for the first time in human history, we are attempting similar safeguards, a similar framework of justice, a similar sense of law and impartial protection in the whole wide society of man.

This is the profound, the fundamental, the audacious meaning of the United Nations. It is our shield against international folly in an age of ultimate weapons. Either we shall make it grow and flourish, arbitrator of our disputes, mediator of our conflicts, impartial protector against arbitrary violence, or I do not know what power or institution can enable us to save ourselves.

We have the United Nations. We have set it bravely up. And we will carry it bravely forward.

Captive Nations Week

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, we commemorate in this Chamber today the observance of Captive Nations Week throughout the 50 States of the United States of America.

We deplore the denial of freedom which prevails behind the Iron Curtain. This annual commemoration of the violent actions which enslaved millions is an observance which proclaims to the free world, as well as to the Communist world, that America's position remains unchanged.

A second generation of people born into political and physical captivity is now reaching maturity. The promises which were shouted to the world by the Communst invaders years ago have not materialized. There are no free elections behind the Iron Curtain. People have no voice in their Government. They cannot worship their God. They may not establish friendships readily. They are not permitted to speak or to write or to paint or to compose except in accordance with rules laid down by the Communist state.

There has been a concerted effort on the part of the Kremlin to stifle creative human thought and consistently to deny the value of individuals in the machine states of the Communist world.

In the midst of this bleak existence, however, an abiding and unquenchable faith remains that a better world exists. Regardless of the obstacles to their freedom, the people of the captive nations remain united in their devotion to liberty.

Liberty—the right to think your own thoughts, select your own government, decide for yourself your own place in society—is the primary force behind the ever-widening cracks in the wall of hostility erected by the Communists years ago.

The free world, throughout these long years, has managed to communicate with those still held captive. By means of trade fairs, cultural exchange programs, photographic exhibits, radio broadcasts, theatrical tours, our essential message has been received. It consists of one all-encompassing word: Hope. We hold out to our neighbors still in bondage the promise of a better world if, by preserving in their devotion to the dream of justice, they continue striving for self-determination.

To augment our efforts to assist by every peaceful means possible the achievement of this self-determination, I have introduced a measure in each Congress since 1959 which would establish a Committee of the House of Representatives on the Captive Nations. It is my hope we will obtain favorable consideration of this bill in the near future. Many of my colleagues have sponsored similar measures, all designed to call attention to the plight of Eastern Europe and to demonstrate unequivocally our concern and our faith in the ultimate victory of those who cannot speak for themselves.

Through our observance of Captive Nations Week in the House of Representatives today, we reaffirm our dedication to liberty as the keystone of civilization.

In 1941, in a special message to Congress, President Roosevelt said:

> In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want—everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear—everywhere in the world.

In this year of 1965, America continues to proclaim this pholosophy to the world. As long as there are human beings sharing this planet who are denied the right to speak for themselves, we will continue to proclaim it.

Scranton's Popularity on the Rise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, our Pennsylvania Governor Bill Scranton is doing so well in advancing Pennsylvania progress that I believe his work should be called to the attention of the American people.

I am including Charles Bartlett's article which appeared in the July 22 issue of the Washington Evening Star:

SCRANTON'S POPULARITY ON THE RISE

(By Charles Bartlett)

HARRISBURG, PA.—Gov. William Scranton celebrated his 47th birthday last July in the ashes of his defeat at the Republican convention in San Francisco. He reached 48 this Monday amid circumstances that are startingly rosy for the lameduck Governor of an industrial State.

Scranton, barred by Pennsylvania's constitution from a second term, is moving into his last 18 months in office on an impressive surge of popularity. The 1-term limitation consistently has damaged Pennsylvania Governors in their closing years and no one since Edward Martin in 1947 has left the paneled office in high repute.

Unless his political fortunes are struck by scandal or unexpected mishap, the young Governor seems likely now to move as an unchecked and undiminished figure through the rest of his term. He has a budget surplus and he has acquired the knack of living gracefully with a lower legislative chamber dominated by Democrats.

The Democrats' control of the House, acquired in the Johnson landslide of 1964, has been an actual boon for Scranton. His image as an agile and imaginative leader has been enhanced by the clumsiness of the Democratic legislators, whose orders derive from the party organization in Philadelphia and whose postures and positions frequently have been maladroit.

Scranton was even enhanced by his short, violent and disastrous struggle with Goldwater. The polls taken in May 1964, just before he entered the Republican presidential fray, showed that about 61 percent of Pennsylvanians approved his performance as Governor. The next State poll, taken 9 months later, showed that the approving percentage had risen to 71 and the latest poll, taken in June, puts the figure at 78.

These are professional polls taken by E. John Bucci for the Republicans, but Democratic polls show that Scranton is regarded by every group except the Democrats and Negroes as a better Governor than his Democratic predecessor, David Lawrence. Even labor ranks Scranton higher.

A key ingredient of Scranton's popularity is the emergence of Pennsylvania from a deeply depressed economic condition. Only West Virginia had a higher unemployment rate when Scranton took office in 1962 but the June figure for Pennsylvania, 3.8 percent unemployed, is below the national average.

This economic revival is clearly hinged to the national economy and to the demand for steel as much as it is to Scranton policies. But his efforts to attract new industry and to change the business climate have gained him a large measure of credit for the prosperity.

The Republican Party in Pennsylvania bears little semblance to its tattered mother. Scranton has worked with striking success at uniting the fractious elements and at imparting a progressive cast to the party of Joe Grundy and Joe Pew. He and his State chairman, Craig Truax, have invoked a range of schemes and gimmicks to bring in the youths and bring back the Negroes.

But Scranton obviously remains more appealing to Pennsylvanians than his party and this fact lends fascination to the question of his future. He talks occasionally of teaching and he has rarely seemed inclined to spend the rest of his life in politics. But his success as Governor and the plight of his party have clearly caused him at least to contemplate a race for the Senate seat held by JOSEPH CLARK, a Democrat who may decide to retire in 1968.

The possibility of a larger role, a second try for the Republican presidential nomination, is hinted by the Governor's interest in the national Republican scene. He seems frustrated by the drift of the party and anxious to find solutions for its difficulties. He talks with enthusiasm of his hard, bumpy road to the convention in 1964. His attitude leaves an impression that he may regard the events of that year as unfinished business.

He is surrounded by the same hustling staff of aids who drew less approval than criticism for their maiden venture into national politics. Now they play a different role. They are not urging Scranton to run, as they did before, because they know the decision must come wholeheartedly from Scranton. He will have to run early and hard, as John Kennedy did, to correct the impression of diffidence that he left with his faltering start in 1964.

Scranton is not a personally ambitious man and he will be 18 months out of office when the next Republican convention meets. But he will have as much of a base as Richard Nixon, who looks now like the frontrunner. His lack of official responsibilities will leave him free in conscience to perform the travels that an earnest quest of the Presidency requires.

His deep Republicanism, which induced him to campaign for Goldwater last fall, may be the force that will start him once again down the long road. His challenge will be to gain the standing in the Nation that he has achieved in Pennsylvania.

High Bread Cost Laid to Processing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, a syndicated column by Sylvia Porter, which appeared locally in the Evening Star on July 22, 1965, reports that the cost of ingredients in an average priced, 1-pound loaf of bread is but a fraction of the total cost of the bread.

The article points out that processing clearly represents the major cost of the bread, and also underlines the major force behind rising bread prices.

The column follows:

[From the Evening Star, July 22, 1965]

HIGH BREAD COST LAID TO PROCESSING

(By Sylvia Porter)

Of the average 20.7 cents you pay for a 1-pound loaf of bread today, only 3.2 cents go for all the ingredients in it, including 2.5 cents for the wheat. The overwhelming balance of 17.5 cents represents the cost of baking, milling, transporting and selling the loaf to you.

You probably are well aware that the total price of bread has been rising at a pace about twice as fast as overall food costs in recent years. Your awareness is understandable: we consume 16 billion pounds of bread each year, 82.4 pounds per person.

But are you aware of who gets what share of the 20.7 cent average bread price? Or of what factors are responsible for bread's high price? Or of what is being done to put a

ceiling on the price of this key staple? Almost surely you are not aware, so here goes.

Of the 20.7 cents, these sources get: baker-wholesaler, 11.4; retailer 3.7; farmer 3.2; transportation-handling 1.5; miller 0.9.

Just this simple breakdown underlines the major force behind rising bread prices: the fact that more than half of the total cost is absorbed by processes ranging from preparing ingredients to wrapping.

But why is this so, and what other factors are there? From Albert S. Schmidt, chairman of the American Bankers Association in Chicago, and from the Department of Agriculture comes these answers:

Unlike other foods, including many perishables, virtually all bread must be sold the same day it is delivered. What doesn't end up on the quick sale counter is returned to the wholesaler. One industry estimate puts "stale returns" at a whopping 7 percent of bread delivered to the store.

The process of making bread is, says Schmidt, "the most complicated of any food product"—involving at least two dozen separate steps. First, the wheat is grown and harvested on farms and delivered to a grain elevator for storage until it is sent to a flour mill. At the bakery there are 10 to 15 more major steps before the slicing and wrapping operations and transportation to the stores. Other basic ingredients of bread—milk, shortening, sugar—also are put through a series of processes before the final products emerge.

By contrast, milk is delivered from farm to plant where it is pasteurized, packaged, and dispatched to the consumer. Meat goes from farm to feedlot to packing plant, where it is slaughtered, dressed, cut, and made ready for the store butcher.

The tremendous competition bread faces—directly at the point of purchase—has forced bakers into a vast expansion of their product lines. A casual glance at the assortments in the bakery section of your supermarket easily illustrates this.

Admittedly, the average price bakers receive for a pound of bread has climbed 55 percent since 1947–49, but hourly earnings of inside bakery workers have jumped 108 percent in the same period. Bakers' profits are down to 2.5 percent of sales against 6 percent of sales in 1947–49. Flour millers too are in a squeeze: per capita consumption of flour has fallen from 137 pounds a year in 1947–49 to 116 pounds today, while the number of flour mills in operation has shrunk from 412 to about 200. The farmer isn't the only one struggling.

What, then, is being done by bakers to put a ceiling on bread prices and ease the pinch on themselves? Of course, they are automating their processing equipment. But the newest and most important developments are "freezing operations" to slash the high cost of perishability.

Frozen baked goods are among the fastest growing segments of the whole frozen food industry. Freezing well may be the key solution for the breadmaker, breadseller, and bread consumer.

Meanwhile, this breakdown suggests we may be thankful bread is still as cheap as it is.

U.S. News & World Report Interview Discusses Transportation Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the July 26, 1965, edition of the U.S. News & World Report carries an interview with two authorities on transportation—Dr. William W. Seifert, assistant dean of engineering and Dr. Robert J. Hansen, professor of civil engineering, both of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The interview deals primarily with improving intercity ground transportation, particularly along the Northeast corridor running between Boston and Washington. But during the interview they also discuss some of the problems connected with intracity transportation.

Recently I introduced legislation (H.R. 9200) to deal with the problems of intracity transportation. The measure would set up a 2-year, $20 million research program designed to achieve a technological breakthrough in the development of new systems of urban transport.

Twenty other Members have introduced identical legislation: the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHLEY], the gentleman from Texas [Mr. CABELL], the gentleman from New York [Mr. FARBSTEIN], the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. FRASER], the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GILLIGAN], the gentlewoman from Michigan [Mrs. GRIFFITHS], the gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN], the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. JOELSON], the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. LONG], the gentleman from New York [Mr. MCCARTHY], the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. MINISH], the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORHEAD], the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER], the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROSENTHAL], the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RONAN], the gentleman from California [Mr. ROOSEVELT], the gentlewoman from Missouri [Mrs. SULLIVAN], the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VANIK], the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. WELTNER], and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. YATES].

Following are excerpts from the interview relating to the problems of intracity transportation:

TRAINS AT 300 M.P.H.—WHAT TRAVEL OF FUTURE WILL BE LIKE

Question. What needs to be done to meet the problem?

Dr. HANSEN. The first step is to establish some kind of national transportation policy. Up to now, some people have been pushing for better highways, some for improved air travel, some for better trains. No single group in authority in the Government has looked at transportation as a total system, with all its parts interrelated.

We know that no single method of travel will do the whole job. Autos, airplanes, trains, buses—all will be needed. But we will also need some radically new system of rapid travel.

There must be a system that will allow for very high speeds and that will be able to handle both long-distance travel between cities and short-haul commuting between the suburbs and the downtown areas. This system probably will have to go underground for long stretches, at least in the most densely populated areas.

* * * * *

Question. If we get the kind of high-speed system you are talking about, will there be any use for autos for commuting?

Dr. HANSEN. Certainly, for the foreseeable future, automobiles will continue to be the dominant means of commuting in most areas. When and as advanced systems are introduced, you might want to use a special vehicle, not the present automobile. It might be one that could be driven on local streets and also go on an automated system. You would drive this car on regular streets for limited distances, then enter the automatic network for the major part of your trip at very high speed. It is quite conceivable that these special vehicles would be constructed by the present motor industry—thus, the introduction of a new high-speed, ground-transportation system would not hurt our present industries.

Question. You would still have the problem of parking the car somewhere downtown—

Dr. HANSEN. Carry this a step further: Do you really need to own the vehicle you commute in? If not, we open up a whole new range of possibilities. We could have a system something like auto rentals. You would rent a small personal vehicle when you want it. When you get to your destination, turn the vehicle back, so that it can be rented to someone else.

If you leave the vehicle on the high-speed, automatic system, it won't need a driver, but can travel right along to the point where some prospective customer is waiting.

Question. But isn't it going to need to be parked sometime?

Dr. HANSEN. There will be marshaling yards for that purpose. But there will not be so many vehicles to park, if you don't have large numbers sitting idle, waiting for their owners to return from the office or from lunch or from shopping.

Question. Are you saying that people will not need a family car?

Dr. HANSEN. I don't think you'll get that far. You'll still be using cars on many family trips. If you're going on vacation, carrying children and the family dog and a boat, you may not care too much about going several hundred miles an hour on an automated system. You will probably get more pleasure out of setting your own pace.

There are many places—particularly the less populated areas—where the family car is going to continue to be the prime means of transportation.

Question. Could a time come when motorists will have to be banned from downtown streets?

Dr. HANSEN. It's conceivable that the day will come when this will happen. It would be a bold step for any politician to contemplate, but the problems facing the cities may force drastic action.

* * * * *

Question. Is there any doubt that our transportation system is going to be radically revamped?

Dean SEIFERT. None at all. There is a tremendous interest all over the country and in Federal Government today in finding better means of transportation.

As our present system becomes more and more clogged, pressure to change it radically is bound to build up. But we shouldn't wait for a crisis to arrive. We must begin now to develop the new system we will need in what is, really, just a few years.

No Sanctuary for Communists in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives an editorial in the July 16, 1965, Washington Daily News unequivocally stating one vital aspect of U.S. policy toward the war in Vietnam.

Citing the words of President Lyndon Johnson and Secretary of State Dean Rusk, this editorial makes clear our determination to deny sanctuary to the Communist Vietcong invaders in South Vietnam through our bombing of their staging and supply areas in the north.

Under unanimous consent, I submit that editorial herewith:

NO SANCTUARY

In Vietnam, President Johnson said, we will "do what is necessary."

And, unlike the war in Korea, the aggressors will be protected by no sanctuary, Secretary of State Dean Rusk said.

"It is important," Mr. Rusk said, "that they (the North Vietnamese Communists) discover that they are not going to be permitted to send tens of thousands of men into the south to attack South Vietnam and still live in safety and comfort at home. The idea of the sanctuary is dead in this situation."

The late General MacArthur always argued that the refusal to permit him to bomb the staging areas and sources of supply beyond the Yalu River cost him not only an early victory in Korea but many lives.

The purpose of the military action by the United States and the South Vietnamese is to put a stop to the invasion from the north. The North Vietnamese Communists will get the message only as their safety and comfort in North Vietnam are put in jeopardy.

Henry T. McIntosh, 1874–1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I was saddened to learn of the recent death of Henry T. McIntosh, of Albany. Mr. Henry, an outstanding newspaperman, civic and religious leader for many decades, died at the age of 91.

His impact in the field of journalism, spanning some 70 years, was felt not only in his region but also nationally. As editor emeritus of the Albany Herald, he remained active in newspaper work until just 1 year ago. The son of a pioneer Georgia journalist was known throughout the South for his Herald columns of human interest.

Everyone who knew Mr. Henry recognized his outstanding qualities. But perhaps his successor as editor of the Herald, James H. Gray, is the most qualified person to eulogize our beloved friend. Mr. Gray's editorial from the July 21 edition of the Herald follows:

HENRY T. MCINTOSH, 1874–1965

His was the finest quality of mind and spirit, a wisdom tempered with wit and gentleness. His effort of thought, ever forward-looking, was a constant inspiration to the many thousands who read his daily newspaper writings and listened to his church teachings. In an age of opportunism, his was the language of conscience. In an age of excess, his was a chastened sense of self. In an age of cynicism, he stressed the importance of dreams.

He had the understanding and perception of a truly civilized man. He learned from the past for application to the future. He avoided partisanship, and although he was a Democrat by persuasion he surmounted doctrine to be friendly to differing opinions. He had a delicious humor which could leaven the most serious discussion. He was as much a beloved father to his colleagues as to his immediate family.

He greatly respected intellectual honesty; this made him a strong champion of intellectual freedom. He believed deeply in the vitality of informed comment about public affairs. He seldom felt it necessary to give orders because he recognized that example was the essence of true leadership. He supported the considered judgments of his subordinates, insisting only that these judgments be based upon the full facts as nearly as they could be ascertained. He did not seek fights, but he was never afraid of battle in a righteous cause. He sought to insure the financial stability of his newspaper, but then dedicated it to the public trust. He always cherished and took pride in its independence.

The hallmark of his lengthy, rewarding career was integrity. That quality was inherent in every service that he rendered his newspaper and his region. No decision that he made, no objective that he sought, no standard that he set, in these long and critical years, failed to reflect a deep and abiding faithfulness in his work, in his purposes, in his straightforward handling of the news.

He lived much of his life in a time of disruption and change, in which many of his valued convictions came under severe challenge. A devout follower of Christ, he saw the anti-Christ stalk the world, smashing the lamps of civilization. An advocate of personal freedom, he saw whole peoples disappear from view under the weight of a malign totalitarianism. A believer in peace and the primacy of human nobility, he saw old loyalties savagely assailed and revolutions send forth their flames the globe around.

And yet the encroaching darkness never could blind his eyes. He always watched for the dawn, eager and hopeful. It was his high sense of responsibility to his Maker and his own manhood that lent him the courage to walk in serenity while the storms raged. His life was a tranquil and steady dedication to principle.

Now the light has gone out, but the vision remains.

JAMES H. GRAY,
Editor.

California Leads the Nation in Development of Vital Water Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, water has always been vital to the development of the Western States, but never more so than at the present time when they are experiencing such phenomenal growth.

For example, in the last 25 years the population of California has nearly tripled—going from 6.9 million to about 18.7 million. And in the next 25 years, the State's population is projected to double to more than 36 million.

With a growth rate like this, we in California cannot afford to take the risk of inadequate planning for the future.

To illustrate the kind of long-range thinking, planning, and water resource development necessary to assure an ample supply of good water to meet our rapidly expanding needs, I would like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the introductory chapter of the 1965 report on the California State water project.

This chapter summarizes the construction, operation, financial planning, and management of the largest single integrated water development and transportation project yet known to man.

And it may give some indication of the direction we as a nation must go if we are to prepare adequately now to develop the necessary water resources to meet the increased demands of a population predicted to top 300 million by the end of the century—a short 35 years from now.

The 1965 California State water project summary follows:

[Introductory chapter of the 1965 report on the California State water project, released by Mr. William E. Warne, director, State department of water resources, Post Office Box 388, Sacramento, Calif.]

CHAPTER I. THE CALIFORNIA STATE WATER PROJECT IN 1965

California is constructing the largest single integrated water development and transportation project yet known to man. California is building the State water project to meet the requirements of the State's continuing dynamic growth.

In the last 25 years, the population of California has grown from 6,900,000 to about 18,700,000. In the next 25 years, the population is projected to 35,300,000. It will swell to 54 million by the year 2020, 55 years hence.

With less than 3 percent of the Nation's farm units, California accounts for 10 percent of the gross cash value of U.S. agriculture. Annual farm production currently totals almost $4 billion. Another $2 billion in value is added in processing. The top 3, 6 out of the top 10, and 15 out of the top 20 ranking agricultural counties among the 3,072 counties in the United States are in California.

The preeminence of California counties in the top 20 results from irrigation, long growing seasons, intensive cultivation of high-value crops, and the progressive nature of the State's farmers. Ninety-five percent of the crop tonnage in California is grown on land that is irrigated.

It is currently estimated that every resident of California requires in an average day almost 200 gallons of water for domestic and industrial usages and 1,300 gallons for agricultural usages. This means that under present conditions, almost 28 billion gallons of water are used in California every day, or about 31 million acre-feet of water on an annual basis. The State's developed annual water supply must be increased by at least 10 million acre-feet by the year 1990 if California is to provide for its expanding population and to maintain its position of leadership in agriculture.

California's growing demands have created increasingly difficult and complex problems in the conservation and transportation of new water supplies. The State has sufficient natural supplies to meet the projected needs. However, most of the precipitation falls on the State during the winter months and is concentrated in the north coastal area and the mountainous watersheds of the Central Valley. This maldistribution of water was painfully evident during the recent Christmas 1964 floods in which 24 lives were lost and over $140 million in damages were suffered. More than 10 million acre-feet of water flowed wastefully into the Pacific Ocean from streams along the north coast within a 6-day period, an amount more than double the annual quantity which will be conveyed to the water deficient southerly areas of

California under full development of the State water project.

The Federal Government has, in recent years, spent about $100 million annually on water projects in California, and local districts have also invested heavily to meet their own needs. These two levels of government, however, cannot develop water fast enough to keep pace with the State's booming growth and economy.

Californians have decided that the State itself must finance and build an integrated system of major projects which involve large-scale conservation and transportation of water supplies and which are outside the purview of Federal and local agencies. The legislature in 1959 enacted the California Water Resources Development Bond Act, commonly referred to as the Burns-Porter Act, to provide funds to assist in the construction of a State water resources development system. The Burns-Porter Act was adopted by the people in the general election of November 8, 1960. It authorized the issuance of $1,750 million of general obligation bonds of the State for the construction of the initial works of this system, identified as the "State water facilities" in the act, and of certain additional facilities. The State water project covered in this bulletin consists of the State water facilities and one additional project conservation facility, all of which are described in chapter III.

The State water project is capable of annually conserving and delivering 4,230,000 acre-feet, an amount estimated to be sufficient to satisfy the needs of project service areas in the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys, the San Francisco Bay and Central Coastal areas, and southern California until about 1990. Presently unused yield of existing Federal and local projects and capabilities of future projects of Federal and local agencies, projected for completion before 1990, are estimated to total roughly 6 million acre-feet per year. Thus it appears that the State water project together with Federal and local projects will satisfy the projected increase in the State's annual water demand during the next 25 years, previously indicated to be about 10 million acre-feet.

The design and construction program of the department for the State water project has had as its first objectives the progressive completion of reservoirs in the upper Feather River area beginning in 1961 and the completion of the South Bay Aqueduct, except for Del Valle Dam and reservoir, into Santa Clara County in mid-1965. The next major objectives are the completion of Oroville Dam and reservoirs in 1967 and the delivery of project water to Kern County in the San Joaquin Valley by 1968, and to Los Angeles and Riverside Counties in southern California by 1971 and 1972, respectively. Construction contracts are now underway from the northern edge of the Sierra Nevada to the southern edge of the Tehachapi Mountains. The value of construction completed or underway on the main-line features of the project passed the one-quarter point at the end of 1964. Work was on established schedules to meet the deadlines.

The State water project will solve many of California's water problems. While the main water problem in California is that nature has not provided the right amounts of water in the right places at the right times to meet the growing needs of the population and agriculture, there are many other water-associated problems including flood control, drainage, and water quality control. The State water project, in addition to solving a number of these problems, will provide additional benefits including hydroelectric power generation, recreation, and fish and wildlife enhancement.

Some significant benefits of the project are already being realized.

Agencies in Alameda and Plumas Counties have been receiving a water supply through project facilities since 1962, and initial deliveries to Santa Clara County will commence by the summer of 1965.

Frenchman Dam and Lake in the Upper Feather River Basin, which in 1961 was the first unit of the State water project to be completed, has been providing recreation and fish and wildlife enhancement benefits beyond all expectations. Public use of the reservoir in 1964 amounted to 320,000 visitor-days. In 1963, the yield to anglers was nearly 60 pounds for each acre of water surface. This rate of harvest is among the highest recorded in California for a reservoir trout fishery. Antelope Dam and Lake, also located in the Upper Feather River Basin, was completed in the summer of 1964. This lake, created solely for the purposes of recreation and fish and wildlife enhancement, is expected to have a banner year in 1965.

The State departments of parks and recreation and of fish and game are cooperating with the Department in the planning of recreation and fish and wildlife enhancement developments at all facilities of the State water project. In addition, recreation planning along the California aqueduct is being accomplished in coordination with advisory committees composed of representatives of county, Federal, and State agencies having a direct interest in recreation development along the particular reach of aqueduct involved. These recreation developments, the total costs of which are estimated to aggregate about $200 million, are financed from funds other than those provided by the Burns-Porter Act and are therefore not covered in this report.

Oroville Dam on the Feather River, which will be the world's highest zoned earth embankment dam when completed in 1967, averted a reoccurrence during the Christmas 1964 floods of the disastrous Christmas 1955 flood in which 36 lives were lost in the Yuba City area. The unfinished dam effectively reduced the record peak flow of the Feather River by 100,000 cubic feet per second. The U.S. Corps of Engineers estimated that this reduction in peak flow prevented $30 million of damages, more than the contributions received to date from the Federal Government for the construction costs of Oroville Dam allocable to flood control.

The water supply programs of the project are included in on massive operating utility. Thirty-one agencies have executed long-term contracts with the Department assuring repayment of the costs allocable to the purpose of water supply. These agencies are organized in the State water service contractors council which has met regularly with the department of water resources on a monthly basis since July 1961. The council is an effective instrument for exchange of information among contractors and between the contractors and the Department.

The utility committee was established within the department on May 20, 1963 by order of the director of water resources with membership as listed at the beginning of this report. Its purpose is to analyze and review major decisions affecting policy and operations of the utility programs of the State water project. This committee, which previously held periodic meetings, has met on a weekly basis since March 1, 1965, reflecting the growing scope of operational considerations.

A total of $350 million of general obligation bonds authorized by the Burns-Porter Act has been sold to date. Favorable interest rates have been received. The net interest cost of these sales, including the bond anticipation notes issued in the latter part of 1963, has averaged 3.531 percent. The total net interest cost of all general obligation bonds required to finance the State water project is now estimated to be 3.7 percent, rather than 4 percent as previously assumed. Marketing of bonds under the Burns-Porter Act is administered by the California Water Resources Development Finance Committee. This committee consists of Edmund G. Brown This committee consists of Edmund G. Brown, Governor and chairman; Hale Champion, director of finance and vice chairman; Bert A. Betts, State treasurer and member; Alan Cranston, State controller and member; and William E. Warne, director of water resources and secretary. John E. Hunt, financial adviser of the Department, is assistant secretary.

Last year's report referred to a number of crucial decisions or actions regarding the State water project to be made in 1964. These were:

1. The minimum project yield had to be committed so that certain features could be sized as rapidly as possible.

2. Decisions needed to be reached concerning features and construction agencies for the delta facilities and the San Joaquin drainage facilities.

3. Contracts for the sale of power from the Oroville powerplant had to be negotiated and executed as rapidly as possible to realize the full revenue and financing potential.

The most critical item was reported to be the final sizing of the California aqueduct through the Tehachapi tunnels. These capacities had to be established by early fall of 1964 if the objectives of the construction program were to be met. At the time of last year's report, requests for additional water under the water supply contracts far exceeded the portion of the annual minimum project yield of 4 million acre-feet remaining uncommitted. Compounding the problem of aqueduct sizing at that time was a certain loss of 662,000 acre-feet annually in the existing supply to the project service area in southern California due to the decree of the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of *Arizona* v. *California*.

The necessary decisions were made and the necessary actions taken, keeping the construction program on schedule.

The requests for option water by the contractors were analyzed and granted for those agencies demonstrating that such water could be put to beneficial use by the year 1990. The remaining portion of the minimum project yield was reserved for the metropolitan water district of southern California, the contractor whose supply was affected by the Court's decree. A decrease in metropolitan water district's future supply which could not be met by other means still was forecast. Therefore, the department pursued a crash effort and enlarged the minimum project yield to 4,230,000 acre-feet which will insure a water supply to meet all projected demands of the contractors until the year 1990.

On September 11, 1964, the California Water Commission approved the department's request for enlargement of the minimum project yield.

On September 28, 1964, 21 contractors, representing 99.6 percent of the entitlement under the enlarged project yield, signed contract amendments in approval of the project enlargement.

On the same day the director signed a project order establishing the maximum annual quantities of water to be delivered from the California aqueduct. This order permitted design to proceed on schedule.

Thus the water contracting program for the project, which began in 1960 with the development of the prototype water supply contract, was effectively completed. This unprecedented program is more fully discussed in chapters II and VI.

A definitive plan for the construction of the San Joaquin drainage facilities has been published in a preliminary report of the department, design and right-of-way acquisition activities have commenced, and negotiations of a State-Federal agreement on the sharing of costs of the joint facilities are

nearing completion. The department will be the constructing agency in accordance with these negotiations. The department has assisted the State Water Quality Control Board and the California Water Commission, in response to requests of those organizations, by recommending a plan of investigation of San Francisco Bay and tributary watersheds in relation to water quality and waste disposal.

A general plan for the coordinated development of the delta facilities was presented in a final report in January 1965, by the Interagency Delta Committee. This committee was formed on September 15, 1961, for the purpose of coordinating the broad interrelated problems involved in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta. At that time, there were over 30 separate Federal, State, and local agencies concerned with water activities in the delta, as well as numerous other special interest groups and individuals. The department has adopted the concept of a peripheral canal, recommended by the committee, as the general framework for the joint delta facilities and is undertaking definitive studies and actions toward that end. Active participation by the Federal agencies primarily concerned, the U.S. Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation, must await congressional authorization, however.

Concerning the sale of power to be generated in the Oroville-Thermalito power facilities, the Department made an offering on December 15, 1964, to some 45 potential customers for wholesale peaking power. Five applications and 10 letters expressing an interest in purchasing a portion or all of the output have been received. The Department is now negotiating terms and conditions of its sale and delivery.

Other significant actions have been taken which were unforeseen in last year's report.

The alinement of the west branch of the California aqueduct was shifted from Elizabeth Lake Canyon to the Piru-Pyramid alinement. This change was due to the increased requirements for reservoir storage on that branch caused in turn by the increased water deliveries under the option and request provisions of the original 4 million acre-feet minimum project yield. Additional storage capacity can be more economically obtained on the new alinement.

Considerable progress was made in securing the tremendous amount of power required to pump project water.

Options on 300,000 kilowatts of Canadian entitlement power from the Pacific Northwest and on intertie transmission capacity sufficient for delivery thereof were obtained by the department. Negotiations of contracts to formalize the specific details of arrangements have commenced.

Negotiations with the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission resulted in a memorandum of understanding, which became effective on January 1, 1965. This covered joint participation by the department and the commission in the construction of a nuclear powerplant. Though technical difficulties have recently arisen in the design of the long-life reactor core being developed by the commission, the department still plans to use nuclear power since studies show that such power will result in lower project costs. Since the State must insure that electrical power is available for project pumps in accordance with the water supply contractors' needs, the department is currently negotiating with the major electric utilities of the State toward contracts assuring a power supply that will take care of project needs for an extended period of time. These contracts with the utilities will include the principle that the State will be free, upon due notice, to obtain power from other sources including construction of nuclear facilities of its own or in cooperation with others.

Numerous details were also attended to during the year. For example, an architectural motif was developed for use on all State water project structures so that they will convey a unifying appearance throughout the project and will present a pleasing image of the public. Two amphibian trucks were provided by the department as an emergency flood transportation system across the Middle Fork of the Feather River. They were in heavy use during the December 1964 flood, conveying residents of the upper Quincy Road area above Bidwell Bar in the Oroville Reservoir area.

These have been but a few of the events concerning the State water project which have occurred since last year's report. A more complete history is described in chapter II.

Much, however, remains to be done. Although design or construction of most of the facilities between the delta and the south portal of the Carley V. Porter Tunnel in the Tehachapi Mountains is progressing, similar activities for works south of the Tehachapis have yet to be commenced. Power sales and purchase contracts must be executed.

Furthermore, the department of water resources is preparing for the awesome population projection for the year 2020. While the State water project has been designed to meet the demand for water throughout much of California until 1990, experience has shown that a leadtime of 25 years is needed to plan, obtain authorization and financing, and design and construct a major project. California, while faced with completing the construction of the greatest water project of all time, must also be planning the second giant step in the development of the State water resources development system. The department is working diligently on the evaluation of future demands for water throughout the State and on the formulation of a staged plan of development to meet these future demands when and where they occur.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

A Salute to Wright Patman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a salute to WRIGHT PATMAN.

At the recent meeting of the Small Business Administration's National Advisory Council, Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY paid a glowing tribute to our esteemed colleague from Texas, WRIGHT PATMAN.

The Vice President praised Mr. PATMAN as the champion of a competitive economy and the preserver of a strong business community, so important to our economic well-being. Mr. HUMPHREY went on to state the importance of small business in the recent successful orbits of Gemini III; over 3,000 small defense contractors were part of the Gemini program.

Mr. Speaker, I have served many long and happy years in the House and on the Subcommittee on Small Business of the House Banking and Currency Committee with WRIGHT PATMAN and like Vice President HUMPHREY know him to be a true friend of the small business community and a truly great public servant.

I hope that the Members will take the opportunity to read the Vice President's excellent speech:

ADDRESS BY HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, VICE PRESIDENT, TO THE JOINT SESSION OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL OF THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION AND TOP DEFENSE PRIME CONTRACTORS, WASHINGTON HILTON HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Thank you very much. Thank you very much my friend, Cortland Silver; Congressman WRIGHT PATMAN, the friend of independent and small business and one of the the great representatives of our Government; Mr. Foley, my esteemed friend and the Administrator of our Small Business Administration; and a special word of congratulations to the couple that I have been privileged to be seated alongside, Mr. and Mrs. Dominic Donatello.

Now, I come to you to speak about the program in which you are so deeply involved, and to thank you once again as I have on other occasions for the splendid service that you give to your country through the Small Business Advisory Council. I know how much this council means to the Small Business Administration and I have some appreciation of what it means to the entire economic structure of this Nation. I served for 16 years, or about that period of time, on a committee in the Congress related to the activities of small business: first, the Small Defense Plants Committee and then, later on, the Small Business Committee of the Senate. I felt a kinship and a closeness to this organization of yours, the council, and to Small Business Administration, and I'm happy to say that a Minnesotan, Mr. Silver, has done a good job as your chairman, and a Minnesotan, the Administrator of this Agency, has done a very good job as your Administrator.

I'm so pleased that the President also feels so strongly about your work. This gives you encouragement and, I think, demonstrates to you how important your service is. Let me underscore that. We need your help.

Now I know that we are meeting today not only with the Council but also with some of the representatives of the largest defense contractors. And this is as it should be it. I think few people in this country realize the extent to which you work together and depend on each other. You are doing a job, a real job, that neither of you could do alone.

I serve as Chairman of the Space Council and I'm familiar with the projects of NASA and the Defense Department. I think the Gemini project is a good example of cooperation between small business and larger defense contractors. More than 3,000 subcontractors—large and small—worked on the Gemini spacecraft production—and what teamwork. In fact, one of the most thrilling experiences I've had was to be present when Gemini 3 was put into orbit. I saw the project functioning—the launching of the rocket—the projection of the capsule. It was thrilling to be a part of it, at least as an observer, and as an interested public official. The success of that mission was based on real cooperation on the part of Government, and business and labor, on the part of the scientists in and out of Government, in our universities, and in our private sector. Now Gemini will be followed by other projects which will require the same kind of cooperation, even a little more so. I mention this interdependence theme between big and small business. Of the $27 billion the Department of Defense spent on defense and space procurement last year, my research tells me that some $4 billion was subcontracted to small firms. Now, big and small business are engaged today in a partnership which on its face and in depth benefits both—just as we see in the Nation as a whole—a constructive partnership for prosperity between private initiative and sound Government economic policy. Our Government economic policy is directed toward creating conditions which will lead to long-term economic health.

Now a good part of this economic well-being that I speak of depends upon a competitive economy and the preservation of a strong small business community. And that's why we have an SBA. That's why we have a WRIGHT PATMAN. That's why we have a Justice Department. That's why we have a Federal Trade Commission. That's why we place emphasis in this Government upon fair competition. And that's why we give encouragement to the maintenance of a strong, healthy, small business community. We need small business if we are to maintain this broad base of economic support. We need the independent man in our economy. He is important to our national character. We need enterprising, imaginative, small firms and leaders in small firms to give us new ideas and new competition. Some of the best ideas of merchandising, of manufacturing, or improvement of efficiency come from small firms. Maybe it's because of the necessity of making savings and improving productive efficiency. Many of the great corporations that are represented here today started as small, independent firms. They were aggressive, they offered something, and today they are great national assets. Now we must make certain that the door remains open for others to follow. Thus, we have undertaken and we will continue to undertake programs which help small business maintain a strong place in our economy.

Now, in the first 8 months of this fiscal year, for instance, over $100 million in Defense Department contracts went to small business as the result of an SBA program to locate new suppliers for prime contractors represented here today. Under the new procurement set-aside policy, we believe that small business will have added opportunity for help. Under this new policy, and it was strongly advocated by Mr. Foley and the council here, a small business spokesman will sit at the table when broad procurement policies are set for Federal agencies, such as the General Services Administration and the Defense Department. The time to be present is when the policies are being written, before they are promulgated. Today both big business and small business benefit from the atmosphere of mutual trust that exists between the private sector and Government.

We are now in the 51st consecutive month of economic expansion. I know you've heard it but let it sink in because if somebody were to tell you that a new continent was discovered today and it was headlines, it could be no more sensational news than 51 months of consecutive economic growth and expansion. It has never happened before. It is the first. You've lived through it. No other generation in recorded history can say that they were part of such development.

The average length of expansion over our history has been between 26 and 28 months. This is the longest peacetime prosperity period that we have ever had and it is the strongest. Unemployment is at its lowest point in 7½ years. Industrial production and retail sales and dividends and profits and wages are all moving up; investment in new plant and equipment is running at the rate of over $50 billion in 1965. That's 12 percent higher than last year and 45 percent higher than 4 years ago. And every forecast indicates that it will continue.

During the past quarter, our national economy has advanced as much as it has in any comparable time since the expansion began and I hear people say, "But it just can't continue. It never was before." Well, there are a lot of things that never were before. What this Nation needs is a spirit that we can do whatever we will to do. Do the impossible—and we will. We can do things with our economics and we are. We've learned a great deal. We are learning that we can do things and that we can maintain prosperity. Now I would like to remind you that this economic growth that we have has been accomplished within a framework of price stability unequalled in any country. In fact, the per-unit cost has gone down in manufacturing.

I just want to note for you something that came to my attention at the Cabinet meeting the other day, and I'm sure many of you have seen it, but it tells a story that you might want to think about a little bit.

It's premature, of course, to say that we can avoid all ups and downs in our economy—but we can cushion them. The benefits of a sustained economy and a sustained expansion, I think, are pretty clear. Here's the report of the Council of Economic Advisers: The GNP—gross national product—in the first quarter of 1965—had it followed the old patterns that everybody was taught to believe in—would have been about $610 billion instead of $649 billion. Federal revenues on a national accounts basis would have been $104 billion, instead of approaching $120 billion. And the Federal budget would have been running at a deficit rate of $15 billion, instead of moving toward a balance. These are some figures that need to be understood. Now, this can't all be an accident because you've had 51 months of this policy. Now this achievement has replaced this postwar pattern which we lived with and which we readily accepted—if not readily, at least we accepted—of no less than four economic recessions and three of them in the 8 years before 1961.

Now, I believe that business has confidence in the Government and in the Johnson administration, but I know one thing for sure—this administration has confidence in the vitality and the know-how and the ingenuity of American business. You know what has been done already in this administration. The 7-percent tax credit for new business and investment. The sweeping reform of tax treatment of depreciation and liberalized gain this year, the tax cut which President Johnson signed into law a little more than a year ago, the biggest corporate and individual tax cut in our history. Now, these measures cut corporate taxes this year by some $5 billion. These measures raised the profitability of business investment, these measures have helped this administration prove its faith in the free enterprise system. These measures have increased Government revenues far beyond our fondest expectations. Well beyond it, actually about a billion and a half dollars more than anybody dreamed in the most optimistic estimates. Now, we demonstrated the faith in these economic policies again this month with our proposal to cut excise taxes which can help both the producer and the consumer. If you are a retailer, I can tell you that it will be a blessing, because I can remember I used to complain like fury, and my father before me, for having to make every retailer a tax collector for the Government and then have the Internal Revenue Service in on you about exery other 6 months to make sure that you had been collecting the taxes. So when those excise taxes are removed, there will be a good deal of the hallelujah chorus in this country.

This administration has been working hard to unleash the full productive force of our private economy. But, we've also been working hard to economize in Government and if you haven't received this pamphlet or seen it I want you to get a copy of it. It is called "War on Waste." We have in the White House a man who symbolizes his frugality, as some people say, by turning off those lights; he may be turning out a light bulb in the White House, but he is turning on a lot of lights throughout the Nation I can tell you, in terms of new jobs and new business opportunity. My daddy and mother brought me up doing this business of turning out the lights. I can still hear my mother saying, "Boys, turn out the lights." You'd think that was going to bankrupt the family if that light bulb, that 40-watt or 60-watt, was left on. But it was one way that Mom had of reminding us that money didn't grow on trees and that it ought not be looked upon as if it was going out of style and you just had to get rid of it.

We wage today a war on waste in this Government and the President of the United States, this President, in the last two budgets, has demonstrated that he knows how to do it. The average increase in the Federal budget for the preceding 10 years was $3 billion a year. This man came into the White House and he said, "Look, we're going to do something about it," and the budget has been increased only a billion dollars a year in the last 2 years and we haven't had recessions. Well, in all truth, we have waged war on waste. And the President has let it be known to Mr. Foley and to others that each Government program must be justified in itself and he will not tolerate fat or waste in our Federal Government and he is at it at every Cabinet meeting—every meeting—and there is a report from a Cabinet officer every meeting as to what has been done to reduce cost—to eliminate obsolete programs—to eliminate duplication.

Your Government today has 25,000 fewer Federal employees than it had a year ago, 23,000 fewer than it had 2 years ago. And, yet there is a bigger country and a bigger economy. Now, as a result of this, these things and other things that have happened, you see a sound Federal budget which allows us to save where we can in order to spend where we must. And I'm proud of the fact that this administration has been able to keep Government expenditures in check without denying essential defense needs and human needs.

Your defense today is stronger than it has ever been. I don't have the time here but I hope before you leave here you will all get that little pamphlet that the Defense Department puts out that shows where your defense dollar has gone and what comes out of it. Mr. McNamara and company have eliminated over $3 billion of obsolescence in the Defense Department and it hasn't hurt your strength one bit. In fact, it has improved it. We are making it a much more productive and efficient establishment. Well, we have been able to reduce certain budget costs and, as I said, at the same time we've left room for things that we must do to keep this country strong and productive. And let me just run them over quickly. The maintenance of the strong Defense Establishment, second to none in the world—and I would like to drive that home in this period of uncertainty and trouble. The investment of more than $1½ billion in education—additional investment this year and this is a basic investment. We are going to have a doubling of our poverty program, provision of proper medical care for the aging generation, comprehensive attacks on heart disease, cancer and stroke.

We are trying to make our cities better places in which to live and to work and we are advocating a broad program of urban rehabilitation. We have programs to preserve this country's natural resources and natural beauty. Why a poverty program? Why a greater investment in education? Why a fight for voting rights? Well, let me give you one other little figure that was brought to our attention by the Council of Economic Advisers the other day. The cost of discrimination in employment—taking out the educational attainment of a colored person and a white person, side by side—the cost of discrimination is estimated to have cost the American economy $20 billion. Now, that is a rough estimate. Maybe it's only $15 billion, maybe it's 25, maybe it's only 5, maybe it's 30, but it's too much.

This country needs all the strength it has. It has the whole burden of humanity on its shoulders. We're leaders and when you are a leader, you don't have an opportunity for pleasure. A leader has burden and duty and responsibility.

Fifty percent of the world's gross national product is in the United States of America. Did you know that? We—194 million people—have 50 percent of the total production of the world. Four years ago, we had only 45 percent of it. That's how we've been improving. The rest of the world gets along on the other 50 percent—and we have ours. Is it any wonder that some people expect a great deal from us? And, is it any wonder that we are able to do great things? Is it any wonder that we can really talk about the Great Society and know that it's within our limits—it's within our power? And a Great Society isn't the quantity of goods—it's the quality of our lives and we are going to do something about that and we are—each of us individually—and in terms of community.

Well, we have this war on poverty and this effort for education. We do these things for one purpose: So that every man and woman in this society can have the opportunity to contribute to this society—to help. There will be a return tomorrow on our investments today. I believe that we reap what we sow. The investment we make determines the product that we get.

How many of us have thought of these figures? The average expenditure for education in the United States for your youngsters is $500 a year—elementary and secondary schools. The average school dropout costs you $1,800 a year; costs you four times as much to have them drop out of school as it does to keep them in. The inmate in the State penitentiary costs the American taxpayer $3,500 a year—$3,500 if you lock them up and $500 or less, $450 if they go to school. I sometimes wonder if we don't have our values upside down. We ought to be spending a little bit more on the schools so that we wouldn't have to spend so much in aggregate or individually in the institutions.

Now, to conclude, let me just point out that this administration has pledged not only for a richer society economically but a society of opportunity for everyone. We don't want a welfare state in America where the Government says it owes everybody a good living. But what we want above all and what we ought to have is a state of opportunity where the Government says that it's going to do everything it can, in cooperation with the private sector, to see to it that every person has an opportunity to make a good living.

Now some people may squander that opportunity. Sometimes in our own families, our own children squander opportunity—sometimes we do. But that doesn't violate the principle—the principle is that every person in America regardless of race, color, or creed, national origin, religion, or whatever his background—should have an opportunity to make something out of his life, to enrich that life to be a participating member of this society. That is what the war on poverty is all about. That is why we're reaching out to the youngsters. We know that certain families have had relief patterns for three generations. We are trying to get at the cause of that. At least, we can see that the children that come from those families do not fall into that vicious cycle and circle of dependency. Operation Head Start, Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, the VISTA program.

I was at my own University of Minnesota yesterday recruiting people to give a year of their lives—the students—1 year of their lives—to their country. You get paid only $50 a month and only board and room, but, as I told them, every one of you have been subsidized. You all have been at a State university. None of you paid for your education. Somebody told you you did, but you didn't. How can you pay for the works of art, the books in the library, the accumulated culture of 10,000 years? How can you pay for the inspiration of a teacher? How can you pay for an education? It's impossible. And those of us that have had the privilege of higher education, we'll never be able to pay back our debt to society. But, I said you ought to get a start on it, at least make a downpayment or two on the interest.

And we're going to try to inspire people to lift their country. We're going to try to

help people help themselves. We're going to get people away from this idea of dependency. We're going to help them feel independent. That is one of the things we try to do in our economic policy for our economic structure and it sure is one of the things that we seek to do on our social policy for our social structure.

The investments we make to create opportunity will be mighty small in the long run compared to the prices that we pay for poverty, for ignorance, for disease—and for discrimination and for crime. And I call upon this wonderful group of business people to enlist in this battle. Here's a war that you can afford to accelerate. As I told those students yesterday, if you want to demonstrate and parade, parade against poverty, demonstrate against inequity, seek to lift the standard of American democracy a little higher. Help the fellow down the street, get to know him, get to know your America. It's a priceless and wonderful place but we can even make it better. A better America, better education, better health, better sense of social service and justice, better opportunities, better people. These are goals that I think are worthy of us and I ask you to join in the fulfillment and the attainment of them. Thank you.

Resolution of the Arkansas Legislature Regarding Reduction of the Army Reserve

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, the Arkansas State Legislature has recently adopted a concurrent resolution setting forth views in opposition to the termination or appreciable reduction in the Army Reserve program. I ask unanimous consent that a copy of the resolution be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 3 CONDEMNING THE TERMINATION OR APPRECIABLE REDUCTION IN THE ARMY RESERVE PROGRAM

Whereas the maintenance of well-trained professional Armed Forces supported by such civilian components as the Army Reserve and the National Guard has proven wise throughout the history of this country; and

Whereas although our standing professional Armed Forces are the best in the world today, the people of this country will not tolerate, and it is not economically feasible, to maintain full-time professional Armed Forces adequate to meet any crisis that might arise; and

Whereas our standing professional Armed Forces can provide this country with an adequate defense only when supported by well-trained civilian components such as the Army Reserve and the National Guard; and

Whereas the Secretary of Defense of the United States has recently instituted a program which, if carried into effect, may result in abolishing the Army Reserve and in a substantial reduction of the National Guard program; and

Whereas it is believed that the termination of the Army Reserve program and the National Guard program would seriously endanger the defense of this country: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the 1st extraordinary session of the 65th General Assembly of Arkansas (the Senate concurring therein):

Section 1. The Arkansas General Assembly hereby expresses its sincere opposition to any action which will or may result in the termination of the Army Reserve program and/or any action which will result in any appreciable reduction in the National Guard.

Section 2. The secretary of state is hereby directed to transmit a certified copy of this resolution to the Secretary of the Senate of the United States, the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States, and each member of the Arkansas congressional delegation.

ORVAL E. FAUBUS,
Governor.

NATHAN GORDON,
President of the Senate.

J. H. COTTRELL, JR.,
Speaker of the House.

Success of Operation Head Start in Ottumwa, Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my fellow Members to an excellent article from the July 21, 1965, issue of the Ottumwa, Iowa, Courier describing the Operation Head Start program being conducted by the Ottumwa Community School District.

The article was written by Mr. R. O. Wright, director of the Ottumwa Operation Head Start program. It explains in detail the operation and purpose of this program, which is helping 60 preschool youngsters from the Ottumwa area.

There have been some doubts expressed about the value of Operation Head Start. The Ottumwa Courier takes note of this in an editorial statement preceding the article, but adds:

If all local programs are organized and operated as the Ottumwa program seems to be, great good can come from Head Start.

The Ottumwa Courier has performed a real public service by publishing Mr. Wright's article, and I hope it will receive close study by some of my colleagues who may have misgivings about Operation Head Start.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I hereby include the article and the editorial statement preceding it:

A STATEMENT BY THE EDITOR OF THE OTTUMWA COURIER, WEDNESDAY, JULY 21, 1965

Have you had your doubts about the Federal educational program Head Start? Many of us have, and the Courier believes the following report by a veteran Ottumwa educatior will help us understand it.

If all local programs are organized and operated as the Ottumwa program seems to be, great good can come from Head Start.

Says R. O. Wright, the retiring curriculum director of the Ottumwa school system who is currently directing the Head Start program:

"The long educational career that your director has pursued has not brought him into contact with an educational program as valuable as this one. He is convinced that President Johnson is right for establishing this war on poverty. This is the key to the future education of these children."

OPERATION HEAD START: VALUABLE EDUCATION OR BOONDOGGLE?

(By R. O. Wright, Director, Head Start program)

Head Start is a preschool child development program for children from homes with low income. This program is designed to improve the social, health, and basic education background for these children.

This is not a new program. There have been hundreds of prekindergarten schools, even dating back many years. It is from these private and public schools that the idea has emerged. The experiences and learning situations were so successful that the people responsible for this program felt that to make our Nation stronger, educational opportunity must be made more equal.

This is no babysitting job. Iowa's Congressman H. R. GROSS, referred to the program as a high priced babysitting grant. Had Congressman GROSS understood child development and the things basic to education, he would not have made such a statement.

Some of the learning experiences used in the Ottumwa program are:

The social development program consists of role playing, taking turns, table manners, self-discipline, planning together and learning to converse with other children. Very close attention is paid to defective speech which is a major factor in social development.

The health factor is a very important part of the program. Ottumwa's fine doctors and dentists are cooperating with our school nurse, Frances Stefanko. The doctors are giving these children physical examinations and immunizations. The dentists are cooperating with the nurse in compete dental examinations and some minor corrections. The work is done at a very nominal fee.

The snack food program helps these children toward a steady growth and better health—milk, juices, meat, peanut butter, bread, celery, and carrots. Butter, flour, and dried milk are furnished from the Federal surplus foods program.

The basic education program is helped by teaching the understanding of many words that children should know to be successful in the kindergarten of regular school procedure. There are approximately 500 words that need to be understood for a successful approach to entering kindergarten in a regular school program.

The parent program is one of the fine features of Head Start. Approximately 40 parents attended the first program. The program consisted of a movie on the "Safety for Children" attending school and a talk by Psychologist Harley Brucker on "Facing Your Responsibility as a Parent." The second program last Thursday presented the movie on a "Vassar College Prekindergarten School." It showed the parents the various experiences their children are to have in the Ottumwa school. A morning coffee was held where parents and teachers worked together supplying family information for the Washingon, D.C., office.

Your director, R. O. Wright, discussed plans for a farm trip and asked for volunteers to help with the trip; six or eight mothers quickly volunteered to help. The cooperation of the parents is most gratifying. The program for next week will involve two home economists, Mary Sue Salmon, county home economist, and Mrs. Corinne Helgerson, high school teacher. These teachers will discuss adequate foods and child care.

The educators see in this program a deterrent of early "dropouts." It is the frustrated child in early regular school that becomes the dropout. These children in our Head Start program soon gain a sense of belonging to the group as well as meeting many successes in the experiences afforded by their

teachers. Dropouts come from the frustrated and the socially deprived child. Let's prevent it.

HOW CHILDREN WERE SELECTED

The children for Head Start in Ottumwa were selected as follows:

The Wapello County social welfare office, under the leadership of D. B. Arnold, assisted by Mrs. Ralph Asnestad, went all out to help us locate and register the children for the school. Their officeworkers spent many hours on this project. This office came up with 54 children. Since this was short by six the number of children contracted for, and article was run in the Ottumwa Courier stating this. The next day our quota was reached. The rules from the Office of Economic Opportunity allow 15 percent of our children to come from the middle economic families. This proved to be quite an asset, having these children to help socialize the group.

OUR TEACHING STAFF

Our professional staff are all certified personnel. Our teachers' aids are all college level students. Our paid neighborhood workers are hard working, honest people who have children in the program. Our regular volunteers (working 20 hours or more) are college, high school and junior high school persons of the highest caliber. All of our professional staff took special training for 6 days at Iowa State University.

THE COSTS

Starting a new program costs more the first year because it involves buying equipment and setting up experimental conditions. The selecting and training of personnel involves expense; however, assessing our cost, we find it to be quite comparable to new situations in the public schools, for instance, opening a new school building. Our payroll consists of 17 individuals. These persons are people prevented from joining the unemployed during the summer. Three college students will be able to continue in college; four neighborhood workers are finding confidence in themselves and are being concerned that they can succeed in a job.

Our project grant is $11,694 which is being dispensed locally. The salaries paid our personnel are in line or below what is paid locally. For instance, the teachers get $100 per week. They spend on the average 4 hours a day with the children and another 3 or 4 hours in preparation.

Each classroom will have an average of 16 hours of help per day from aids, neighborhood workers and volunteers. To be conservative, let's say 20 hours per day is spent in each classroom, plus the time of the nurse, psychologist, and director. So 20 hours per day times 30 (number of days of session) equals 600 hours for each classroom. There are 4 classrooms; therefore, 2,400 hours are given to these 60 children. This means that it is possible for each child to have 40 individual hours allotted to him.

Those of you who are doubtful about Head Start spend a day with us at Anne G. Wilson School. Take a close look—let us point out the advantages for these children in a program like this.

A Danger of the Government's Limiting Shipbuilding to a Few Yards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. McINTYRE

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter which speaks for itself.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OGUNQUIT, MAINE,
July 16, 1965.

DEAR SIR: As you know, Electric Boat Co. of Groton, Conn., has been on strike for the past 2 weeks, and the end is not in sight. On July 2, Portsmouth Naval Shipyard was asked to send two busloads of mechanics to take over repair on the U.S.S. *Dace* which had been in Groton, and towed across the river after the strike. Portsmouth had been slated to install a new battery but will now do the whole package.

The United States is now engaged in a mounting war, unofficial though it may be. I can think of no more graphic example than this, of what can happen when the Government puts nearly all of its shipbuilding eggs in a few baskets.

We of the naval shipyards, which as of now includes Portsmouth, cannot, of course, strike. With the curtailment of Navy yards you can see what could happen if unfriendly labor leaders were to gain control of the private shipbuilding labor force.

Also, without the Navy yards, there can be no real cost comparison. Despite the antitrust laws, bid prices of corporations have a strange way of being in close proximity to each other. In effect, they can say, "This is our price, take it or leave it." Does the Government really want to put itself in this precarious position? The answer rests with you in Congress.

Yours truly,

ROSCOE DOUGLAN, Jr.

Still Time for a Summer Recess

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, through the years I have made an effort to have the Congress take a short vacation during the summer months so Members might spend some time with their families while school is out. It now appears we have missed that opportunity in 1965, although there is talk about recessing in September—when school begins—and returning in October.

Recently I inserted an article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by Dr. Stanley F. Yolles, Director of the National Institute of Mental Health. Dr. Yolles said in his article:

Father has it in his power to reduce delinquency and youthful crime—

But only if he should—

spend more time at home, both in body and spirit. Include the children in the dinner-time conversations, in most weekend plans and in vacations. Don't encourage family vacations that leave you behind.

Another summer passes and Members of Congress will not spend any time with their families on vacation. My family, as in years past, are vacationing in North Carolina without Dad.

An editorial in the July 26, 1965, Washington Post suggests that "Congressmen need vacations no less than other people." But the writer calls for a post-Labor Day vacation, when school is in session and characteristically such timing provides no real "vacation" time for the average Congressman who would find it necessary to use such time to serve constituents in his district and to campaigning. The best time for a vacation, the editorial accurately suggests, is in late summer, with the Congress returning after Labor Day. I, too (am for that, and I don't believe it is too late for Congress to take a summer vacation while school is out but, being a realist, I don't think we will get any real vacation this year. I commend the editorial to the House, and I am hopeful that in the future we can follow Dr. Yolles' ideas for building a better family life. The able editorial reads as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 26, 1965]

LEGISLATIVE HOLIDAY

The growing demands of Congress for a vacation have been left on an "iffy" basis, and the uncertainty is multiplied by the prospect of a fight over Senator DIRKSEN's proposed reapportionment amendment to the Constitution. President Johnson and the congressional leaders agreed on adjournment by Labor Day if work has been completed on major legislation. The view of what constitutes major legislation may be very different at that time on Capitol Hill from the view at the White House. And we should not be surprised if the congressional view should prevail.

Congressmen need vacations no less than other people. The best arrangement, in our view, would have been a respite in the late summer and a resumption of the session after Labor Day for completion of the session's unfinished business. The opportunity for such an innovation has been allowed to pass. But there is not much prospect of finishing the important work of the session in the next 5 or 6 weeks. The best hope now would seem to be a temporary adjournment beginning with Labor Day and a resumption of the session sometime in October.

With adjournment fever mounting, the breathing spell cannot be long delayed without straining the relations between the White House and Congress. Congress has done very well to date. Its good work should be recognized and rewarded by a holiday of reasonable duration. But our now-high-salaried Congressmen should not expect a 4-month interval between sessions in non-election years when there is still much legislative work to be done and many grave national problems demanding attention. Let the legislative branch have a post Labor Day vacation and then come back to work.

Death of Henry T. McIntosh, One of Georgia's Foremost Editors and Publishers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. Mr. President, on July 20, death came to one of Georgia's foremost editors and publishers, Henry T. McIntosh of the Albany Herald.

"Mr. Henry," as he was affectionately known to countless friends and admirers,

had been active in the newspaper field for 70 years. He was 91 when he died.

He had been associated with the Albany Herald, which his father established, since 1892 and became editor and publisher in 1925. He continued in that capacity until 1946 when he sold the paper to its present publisher and editor, James H. Gray. Mr. Henry served until his death as editor-emeritus, and continued to write a widely read editorial column until a year ago.

Under his guidance, the Albany Herald became a major and respected voice in Georgia journalism and exerted great influence over a wide section of southwest Georgia. As an editor, Mr. Henry was fearlessly independent. But he viewed his position as one of public trust, and under his leadership the news columns and editorial policy of the Herald reflected a high measure of responsibility.

A powerful and eloquent editorial tribute to Mr. Henry apeared in the Herald of July 21, written by his able successor, Mr. Gray. In salute to a great editor and to a beloved friend of mine, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Gray's editorial, and a news story from the Herald of the same day concerning Mr. Henry's passing, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Albany (Ga.) Herald, July 21, 1965]

HENRY T. MCINTOSH, 1874–1965

His was the finest quality of mind and spirit, a wisdom tempered with wit and gentleness. His effort of thought, ever forward looking, was a constant inspiration to the many thousands who read his daily newspaper writings any listened to his church teachings. In an age of opportunism, his was the language of conscience. In an age of excess, his was a chastened sense of self. In an age of cynicism, he stressed the importance of dreams.

He had the understanding and perception of a truly civilized man. He learned from the past for application to the future. He avoided partisanship, and although he was a Democrat by persuasion he surmounted doctrine to be friendly to differing opinions. He had a delicious humor which could leaven the most serious discussion. He was as much a beloved father to his colleagues as to his immediate family.

He greatly respected intellectual honesty; this made him a strong champion of intellectual freedom. He believed deeply in the vitality of informed comment about public affairs. He seldom felt it necessary to give orders because he recognized that example was the essence of true leadership. He supported the considered judgments of his subordinates, insisting only that these judgments be based upon the full facts as nearly as they could be ascertained. He did not seek fights, but he was never afraid of battle in a righteous cause. He sought to insure the financial stability of his newspaper, but then dedicated it to the public trust. He always cherished and took pride in its independence.

The hallmark of his lengthy, rewarding career was integrity. That quality was inherent in every service that he rendered his newspaper and his region. No decision that he made, no objective that he sought, no standard that he set, in these long and critical years, failed to reflect a deep and abiding faithfulness in his work, in his purposes, in his straightforward handling of the news.

He lived much of his life in a time of disruption and change, in which many of his valued convictions came under severe challenge. A devout follower of Christ, he saw the anti-Christ stalk the world, smashing the lamps of civilization. An advocate of personal freedom, he saw whole peoples disappear from view under the weight of a malign totalitarianism. A believer in peace and the primacy of human nobility, he saw old loyalties savagely assailed and revolutions send forth their flames the globe around.

And yet the encroaching darkness never could blind his eyes. He always watched for the dawn, eager, and hopeful. It was his high sense of responsibility to his Maker and his own manhood that lent him the courage to walk in serenity while the storms raged. His life was a tranquil and steady dedication to principle.

Now the light has gone out, but the vision remains.—JAMES H. GRAY, Editor.

[From the Albany (Ga.) Herald, July 21, 1965]

H. T. MCINTOSH SUCCUMBS AT 91

Henry T. McIntosh, the Herald's editor emeritus and an outstanding newspaperman, civic, and religious leader for many decades, died here last night following a lingering illness. He was 91.

"Mr. Henry," as he was affectionately called, remained active in newspaper work until a year ago. He was known throughout the South for his Herald columns of human interest. They were a regular feature on the Herald's editorial page for years.

Mr. McIntosh's impact on the field of journalism, spanning some 70 years, was felt not only in this region but nationally. His earthy, homespun articles were widely quoted, and he often was called on to address or advise various journalistic organizations.

BORN IN QUITMAN

Mr. Henry, as he was known to the scores of persons who were employed at the Herald throughout many decades, and to his thousands of friends throughout Georgia and the United States, was born in Quitman, Ga., June 17, 1874. He was a son of the late Henry M. and Annie White McIntosh.

The elder Mr. McIntosh was founder of the Quitman Free Press, but moved to Albany where he founded the Albany Herald in October 1891.

Mr. Henry joined his father on the paper in April 1892, and served on the staff until 1925. Following the death of his father in 1925, he became editor and publisher. He sold the newspaper to James H. Gray in December 1946.

RELIGIOUS WORK

A deeply religious man, Mr. McIntosh joined the First Presbyterian Church at the same time his bride, the former Alice Cheatham, of Edgefield, S.C., transferred her membership.

He held every post in the church except that of minister, including senior ruling elder. He taught the HTM Bible class, which began as a Baraca class and later was named for him, for 45 years. He retired as a teacher in 1957, but on occasion, taught for several more years.

Mr. McIntosh was a veteran of the Spanish-American War, in which he served as a second lieutenant. He won many medals as a rifle sharpshooter, and held the Georgia State rifle championship as long as he chose to defend his title.

Mr. Henry, after becoming editor emeritus of the Albany Herald, continued writing his columns.

MANY POSTS

A dedicated public servant, Mr. McIntosh served as president of the Albany Board of Education for 17 years. He served also on the Dougherty County Board of Education for 24 years, and was chairman of that board for 22 years.

He was founder and first president of the Albany Young Men's Christian Association. He was a charter member of the Albany Elks Lodge and the Albany Rotary Club, and served as its third president.

In State and National fields, he served as a trustee of Agnes Scott College, and on the board of the State eleemosynary institutions from 1931 to 1933. He served as regional adviser for the Public Works Administration in 1933–34, and district chairman of the National Planning Board, which included seven States, in 1934. He served as chairman of the State planning board from 1937 to 1945, and also was a member of the Georgia Agricultural and Industrial Development Board.

WINS HONORS

Mr. McIntosh won many honors for citizenship, including the Albany Exchange Club's Golden Deeds Award for 1954, and the Thronateeska Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, Award of Merit for 1956. He was named by Dixie Business magazine to the South's Hall of Fame for the Living, an award based on high standards of citizenship.

Mr. McIntosh was possibly the oldest living member of the Georgia Chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, honorary journalism fraternity.

An outstanding collection of Indian artifacts now on display at the Albany Junior Museum is attributed to Mr. Henry's many years of studying Indian lore as a hobby. His collection is one of outstanding proportions and value. In years past, due to his knowledge of where Indian villages were located, and his knowledge of Indian lore, he served often as a guide to Boy Scout troops and other young people, directing them to the best spots for finding Indian relics.

Great Society: Phase II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, we in the Congress have become accustomed in recent years to the hue and cry sometimes raised in the press and elsewhere over our alleged inability to get anything done. We have been accused from time to time of everything from slothful lassitude to deliberate obstruction. We have been prodded mercilessly from one or another segment of society or special interest group who are nervously impatient to see some new proposal enacted into law.

The criticism has perhaps been justified in some instances. I have raised my own voice in this regard when I felt the charge could be justified. The reaction has led to a widespread mood of congressional reform, with many of our own colleagues espousing such ideas as removal of the seniority system, adoption of a mandatory retirement age, and longer terms of office for Members of this body.

With respect to the present session of the 89th Congress, however, I suggest that such concern for obstruction and inaction have been conspicuously absent. No one, certainly no Member of this body

can honestly accuse us of dragging our feet.

Indeed, a small but growing voice of concern is being raised over quite the contrary. We are beginning to detect signs of alarm and concern over the headlong pace with which we are dealing with so many of these so-called Great Society programs. The press, too, is beginning to sense some of the atmosphere of panic with which so many of these measures are ramed through the Congress.

It seems we barely reach a hasty vote on one so-called must bill, before we are answering the bells to vote on another. Debate has been shamefully limited on many of these proposals, and seldom conducted in an orderly, constructive manner. The closed rule has been permitted to apply far too often and on far too many important bills. We are dealing away vital issues like seeds on the wind.

I, for one, despair that we are doing the country or ourselves any good by blindly answering all the edicts from the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. In spite of the tremendous pressures that I know are being brought to bear every day, particularly upon my esteemed colleagues on the other side of the aisle, I suggest that we restore that vital measure of honest concern for the future as well as the present, that we give ourselves a chance to do a little homework on some of these proposals before we are called upon to vote them up or down.

I request unanimous consent at this point to insert in the RECORD an editorial from the pages of the Christian Science Monitor of July 22, 1965, which deals specifically with the situation in the present Congress and with the present administration. I commend it to the attention of all my colleagues on both sides of the political fence.

The editorial follows:

GREAT SOCIETY: PHASE II

It now seems likely that governmental pressures on behalf of President Johnson's Great Society goals will be fully as intense in 1966 as they have been in 1965. Indeed, they may even be more so. For an almost unprecedented number of experts, committees, conventions are at work drafting plans for what has been called "phase II" of the Johnson program.

It is clear that the White House is convinced that this is a strategically favorable period in which to push through massive measures designed to make over many aspects of American life.

Among these subjects are such mammoth ones as urban renewal, transportation, adequate, and pure water, Negro progress, growth in crime, joblessness, regional poverty, and continued economic growth.

The problem, of course, is to make sure that such challenges are solved in the right way and in the most efficient manner. No one denies that they exist. But their is honest disagreement over how best to tackle many of them.

It seems to us that three factors ought to be borne in mind in this regard:

The Nation should be certain that it is well on the way to solving those problems which it has already taken up, before scattering its fire by taking up a whole batch of new ones. It is, of course, politically tempting to dash from one problem to another rather than to concentrate on those already tackled. This wins headlines, and gives wide scope for speechmaking, but it does not necessarily insure either the swiftest or the solidest achievement.

The wisest course is not to begin solving a problem until it has been thoroughly studied and understood. Here, again, this tends to cut down on headlines and opportunities for speechmaking, but it lays a firmer base for progress.

Experience has shown that, while today's problems demand Federal help to a greater degree than formerly, many of these problems can best be solved on local and regional levels. Even if endowed with the best will in the world, the Federal Government just does not have either the intimate local knowledge or the capacity to solve problemlems which, in essence, are local in nature. This has been shown in the experience of the antipoverty program where it became quickly apparent that, without local direction and participation, nothing solid could or would be done.

It seems to be true that the larger a nation becomes the more numerous and complicated its problems get. By the same token a hasty or wrong decision as to how to solve one of these problems has a correspondingly more harmful effect. For this reason, if for no other, we hope that the White House will resist any temptation to ride off in all directions at once and make sure that it can see a long way down a path before starting on it. This will save retracing many steps.

Edward Teller Discusses Implications of Chinese A-Bomb

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, no informed American should neglect the thoughts of Dr. Edward Teller on matters nuclear. The July 26 Washington Report of the American Security Council consists of the views of Dr. Teller regarding the Chinese accomplishment, its implications, and what we should do about it. The report is as follows:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Edward Teller)

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE CHINESE NUCLEAR BOMB

There are some clubs in which a new member can be admitted only by unanimous consent. The nuclear club is different. Admittance does not require the consent of a single old member. The latest unwelcome member to this club is Red China.

The Chinese explosions were not particularly big. We do not know how soon the Chinese can produce a multimegaton explosion and in all probability they do not as yet have a good means of delivery. We do not know how soon they will perfect these means. It is quite possible that within the next few years the Chinese will develop rockets that can carry thermonuclear warheads to a distance of 2,000 miles and place them on a target with moderate accuracy.

Chinese military progress may upset any precarious stability that might be established in Asia. Even more may be at stake. As soon as the Chinese can fire missiles from oceangoing vehicles, there will be no country in the world which would be safe from Chinese blackmail.

Perhaps the most significant result of the Chinese explosions will be an indirect one. China is not a highly developed country. The fact that they could perfect a nuclear bomb will convince many technical experts and many politicians that nuclear weapons can be produced with much less difficulty than was heretofore assumed. More and more countries will come to the conclusion that what the Chinese are able to do, they also can and must accomplish. For two decades we have hoped to avoid proliferation of nuclear weapons. Now this hope appears to be less justified than ever.

That changes will come can be foreseen. On the other hand, these changes will probably take a few years which gives us time to adjust our behavior to the new circumstances. The fact that we have some time left makes it all the more important that full use be made of this time by reasonable and appropriate action.

The most obvious response that one can think is to step up our efforts to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. The weakness of such a suggestion has always been that we do not possess the proper framework and the proper tradition on the basis of which international behavior can be effectively regulated and enforced. International agreement without the possibility of enforcement is likely to be as self-defeating as was prohibition in the United States. A law that cannot be enforced and is not enforced decreases respect for legality and gives more power to the lawless element.

If one looks for simple solutions, another possibility presents itself: The Chinese nuclear installation could be demolished by an aerial attack. This has been suggested by some who feel that Chinese nuclear power cannot be tolerated. One can argue that such a violent action will constitute a positive step in the enforcement of international stability. However, there are most serious objections that must be raised.

There does not appear to exist a clearcut legal basis to justify an attack on the Chinese nuclear plants. There will be some who will claim that a moral basis does exist. However, morality needs wide consensus to crystallize it into law. Without such a consensus a violent action is bound to appear to many people as arbitrary and even tyrannical. I believe that bombing of the Chinese plant would create discord, hate, and it would plant the seeds of disorder that point the way toward law. One also has to raise the question, whether we open the door for Russian interference in the affairs of other nations whenever the Russians consider themselves to be threatened. The precedent of an action directed against the Chinese might be used in the future by the Russians to justify an attack against the French or the West German Government.

Furthermore, the bombing of the Chinese atomic plant might fail to accomplish its objective. China probably could and would rebuild its atomic installation and would try to do so in utmost secrecy. A few years hence we may discover that the Chinese have stockpiled nuclear explosives of considerable power, have secretly developed means of delivery while in the meantime we will not have prepared for such an eventuality.

There is a very different approach toward the problem of the Chinese power and the related problem of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, which is particularly strongly represented in circles close to the French Government. This approach considers proliferation both inevitable and, contrary to general belief, favorable to a stable peace. The idea behind this thesis is that the new members of the nuclear club are likely to acquire enough weapons to deter aggression directed against them, but that they are not likely to feel strong enough to start a nuclear conflict. In particular, adherents of General de Gaulle have openly advocated the distribution of some nuclear weapons to members of the North Atlantic Organization.

The De Gaullists maintain that in case of Russian aggression against (to mention an unlikely instance) Denmark, the United States will be able to help only by using its strategic bombs. Such action, however, would bring about Russian retaliation against American cities and the United States can hardly be expected to take such chances. On the other hand, a few missiles tipped with very powerful nuclear explosives in the hands of the Danes could be used to destroy Leningrad and Moscow, and this threat will be sufficient to deter Russian aggression. According to this view, nuclear explosives may serve as "equalizers" which will abolish the effects of the difference between the strong and the weak.

From the point of view of abstract logic, this thesis can be defended. Unfortunately we must recognize a technical development which probably will nullify the deterrent power of small nations. The Russians have boasted of an effective missile defense. In the past, Russian claims concerning nuclear developments have proved to be justified. It must be assumed that the Russians have partially succeeded in developing an antimissile system. It may be very difficult or even impossible to establish an effective missile defense against the massive retaliation which the United States could hurl against Russia, but to defend oneself against a small number of missiles is a much easier matter. It is possible, and one even has to consider it as probable, that Russian missile defense will be able to deal with any threat or retaliation from the Danes. Thus on closer examination the difference between the strong and the weak has not disappeared. The strong can afford a massive attack and can also develop at least a limited defense capability which is likely to suffice against a few missiles. In these respects he has a decisive advantage against a weak nation.

From this it follows that distribution of small retaliatory forces will probably not lead to stability. It also follows that we can find another approach that will greatly diminish the Chinese threat. We must take full advantage of the fact that we are strong and that our strength can be used for military defense. Empty legislation against proliferation is useless. Violent suppression of new members in the atomic club carries the seeds of hatred and discord. An optimistic encouragement of proliferation for the purpose of deterrence is dangerous, but peace probably can be secured by appropriate defensive power in the hands of those who do want to secure peace.

Specifically, the United States should, without delay, put the greatest possible stress on the defense against missiles. At present we are spending on this important enterprise less than 1 percent of our military budget. By appropriate research and by reasonably early installation of units near our big population centers, we can secure the lives of the great majority of the American people against a Chinese attack and we can make sure that the less cautious partner of the Communist axis will not be able to cripple the United States by a surprise move. In this way we can remain safe from the Chinese for at least two decades. We shall also be safe from any additional powers that are going to acquire nuclear explosives in the coming years.

The development of missile defense may not be effective against a massive Russian attack. It may not secure us against other attacks for an unlimited period, but we can rely on it to give us much more time in which to influence both the Chinese and others who might disturb the peace. No military or political solution has ever proved to be final. We cannot be so immodest as to demand a final solution to our present problems.

At the same time there is reason to look into further consequences of a developing American missile defense. One important consequence will be the effect which such a defense is bound to have on the Atlantic Alliance. If we develop a missile defense for New York, Washington, and all the other vital centers in the United States, but leave London and Paris undefended, this will probably have a most disheartening, perhaps even a disastrous, effect upon NATO. I think that there is a positive approach by which this disastrous eventuality can be avoided and which indeed will direct the great abilities which can be found in the Western democracies into most useful channels.

I believe that the time has come when we must find a way to collaborate with our allies in a meaningful manner. We must find a gradual way in which we can share with them, ultimately, the responsibilities of a common defense. The fact is that none of us can survive without the other. And we should be able to convert the free, democratic part of the world into a real unit. It is an immensely difficult task, and I will not attempt to give you a complete answer on how it should be done. I do not know the answer.

But our present difficulties clearly indicate a positive step which we can take at this time. Our survival and their survival may depend on the development of a missile defense. No one has a really good missile defense yet. What we would urgently need is meaningful research to establish such a missile defense. Why don't we do it together? The best missile defense that I can think of is based on a rocket which need not hit the incoming missile in order to destroy it, but which can destroy the missile if it merely approaches it. This can be done by a nuclear explosion. A good missile defense demands advanced nuclear technology. Our allies, even the British and the French, do not have this advanced technology and will not have it for many years. We do have it, but many other details of the missile defense remain to be worked out, and there the scientific, technical, and industrial capacity of Europe could come in as an extremely important help to our own effort.

In case we succeed, it will become necessary to establish defenses in allied countries. I claim that this can be done without the real danger of proliferation; that is, without danger that decisions which will then depend on many nations, may lead accidentally or by miscalculation to nuclear war.

For example, let us consider that we establish, say in Brussels, an antimissile unit. If the commander in authority in Brussels sees a flying object coming, he will not pick up the phone and call Washington and ask for permission—he will authorize the firing himself. But this defensive unit can be wired up in such a manner that if he fired it, it will explode at a safe distance from the ground and over Belgian territory. We can give our allies instruments which cannot be used in any other way except in self-defense. And if somebody wants to change the wiring he will destroy the rocket and no harm will be done. We will know that our agreement has been violated and the violator will have no advantage.

That the Chinese bomb is a real threat to peace, no one can doubt. Yet, if it elicits the correct positive response from us, we might find ourselves in the end in a much improved situation. We may have started a development that could conceivably lead to a defense even against a massive attack. In addition, a common effort with our Western allies may lead to an advance toward peace in a field where, in recent years, we have seen nothing but retreat and disintegration.

Hardly Anyone Hears the Shots Nowadays

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. GEORGE W. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am privileged to insert in the RECORD an editorial written by the Reverend N. G. Barron, pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Eufaula, Ala., which appeared in the Eufaula Tribune on July 22, 1965, entitled "Hardly Anyone Hears the Shots Nowadays." I hope every Member of this body will read the timely editorial:

[From the Eufaula Tribune, July 22, 1965]

HARDLY ANYONE HEARS THE SHOTS NOWADAYS

(By Rev. N. G. Barron, pastor, First Presbyterian Church)

Ralph Waldo Emerson immortalized the little band of New England militia who faced the British regulars on the village square of Lexington, April 18, 1775, in these words:

"By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard around the world."

Many school boys have stood and recited this verse in the last century; but America grows weary of international involvements and most Americans would rather forget about the sordid and expensive demands of war; so we do not require of our little lads today as we once did that they pay homage to whom homage is due, and honor those who have left their farms, their stores, their factories, their schools, their professions and their homes to stand with the Lexington farmers of the long ago in the spirit of defense at all costs of the freedoms that they and we deem dearer than life itself.

As a lad I remember World War I; as a responsible adult I recall World War II; as a physical reject I stood on the sidelines of the Korean "police action"; and now hiding behind the comfortable cloak of age that makes me too old for combat I read with alarm and concern of the dirty little war in Vietnam. Why is it that we give great publicity to and proclaim patriotic loyalty to those who represent us in the "big wars"; and practically ignore the equally courageous young men who live and die in the fetid jungles half way around the world simply to give other people a chance, and to keep the insidious venom of communism from poisoning the minds and souls of folks right here at home. It is certainly better to dam this polluted river afar off than to allow our children to drink of it as it flows unchecked in America the beautiful.

One of the most reassuring thoughts that came to me in the days when I was lonely and far from home was the reminder that I was remembered by the church of my youth, where I had made my profession of faith in Christ as my Saviour when I was only a lad; that I was remembered in the only church that I had served as minister; that I was remembered by the church where my father worshipped while I was away; three churches remembering me in prayer—how many of us have written to the young men of our own community and/or church who are living out their lonely months of loyalty in Vietnam?

The schoolboy of another generation may have recalled the "shot heard round the world," but most of us are too deaf today because our ears can only hear the cash regis-

ter or the call to recreation to hear the shots fired daily in the battle between political slavery and the freedoms inherent in democracy. These things should mean something to us; they mean a great deal to some of our own. With shame I confess that I have not told the young men of my own church how very much I am concerned for them; how earnestly I pray that "the Lord will watch between thee and me while we are absent one from the other, and will bring them safely home when their tour of duty is completed."

Mike Dixon is in Saigon now; Bobby Moulthrop has orders to be in South Vietnam before this month is ended. Just yesterday they were boys in Eufaula or students at Auburn; now Lieutenant Dixon and Major Moulthrop are going half-way around the world in order that your world and mine may go on in its uninterrupted way. How calloused can we get? If you know one of these unsung heroes far from home, won't you just drop him a note or a postcard saying, "We remember you—we remember you in prayer."

The Real Alabama—Part XXXIII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, tourism in Alabama is perhaps one of the least known activities of our State but is a strong and growing part of what Alabama offers the Nation.

The State's tourist attractions and related activity have been described in a recent edition of the Alabama Market News and I call attention to the material here as many Americans plan their vacation trips for this summer. Alabama welcomes all visitors.

The article follows:

ALABAMA'S TOURIST INDUSTRY

(By Pat Houtz)

Tourism is an industry—a great, multimillion dollar one. Aware of the terrific impact it can have on the economy, almost all States are sparing neither effort nor money to attract their share of a business of boundless potential.

Alabama's present administration, always on the lookout for ways of bringing more people, more jobs and more money to the State, has been quick to stake out claims to the tourist bonanza. And although at present we have only a modest tourist promotion program going, it has already lured out-of-State visitors to spend $200 million here during the last year.

It is agreed that to make known our impressive industrial sites, our bountiful natural resources, our beautiful gulf area, our unsurpassable mountain lakes region and our many natural and manmade wonders, we must tell people about them. Whether the State government tells the story, or industries and individuals band together in an organization for attracting people here, it is a job that must be done.

When a visitor crosses the line into Alabama from any major highway, an attractive, air-conditioned wayside welcome station, staffed by pretty girls, should be the first thing he sees. Here he and his family should be welcomed to the State, given a cool drink, free maps, and invited to use the sparkling clean restroom facilities. He should also see on the walls huge, colored pictures of nearby attractions and be given brochures that emphasize these attractions. This attention may make him pause in his pell-mell trip across Alabama en route to vacation spots in Florida.

The travel people in Montgomery have estimated that the average tourist spent only 1.8 days in Alabama last year. If we could have kept these passers-through 1 extra day each, there would have been $111 million added to the economy of this State.

Surely it would pay us to invest a little money in showing hospitality to these visitors right at the borders of our State, as many other States are doing. And each one of these welcomed visitors to Alabama will go back home with a good impression.

ALABAMA LAKES PROVIDES GOOD WEEKEND TRIPS

A fresh-water lake appeals to vacationers of all ages. Alabama is liberally sprinkled with lakes of all sizes, from the TVA system in the Tennessee Valley to the fresh-water lakes in Gulf State Park.

Campsites are open year round in many places, including the State's national forests, and many private campsites have been opened at resorts and tourist attractions.

Tennessee Valley Authority lakes represent for recreational facilities an investment of more than $156 million by States, counties, cities, and private individuals and companies Boats now kept on TVA lakes number 52,000.

There are 13 State parks in Alabama; 66 municipal and county parks and 350 boat docks and resorts.

Alabama Power Co. lakes also provide additional shoreline for weekend living by many town and city dwellers. Wind Creek Park on Martin Lake draws visitors from all States. Martin Lake, at one time the world's largest artificial lake, has 760 miles of shoreline.

Bankhead Lake, near Bessemer; Lake Eufaula; Lake Jackson, near Florala; Weiss Lake in Cherokee County; and Lay and Mitchell Lakes near Clanton; Lake Jordan near Wetumpka provide many ideal sites for weekend family recreation, and attract hundreds of out-of-State tourists annually.

ALABAMA SPENDING FOR DOMESTIC TRAVEL TOPS NATIONAL AVERAGE

Alabama travelers spent $350 million in the Heart of Dixie in 1964, showing once again the tremendous economic value of the travel industry. Travelers from outside Alabama spent $200 million last year, 9 percent above 1963.

Alabama's travel trade is centered in the groups of businesses catering to the needs of people away from home—lodging, eating, and recreational facilities; automobile services, rail, bus, and air passenger facilities. The $706 million travel service and transport business accounts for nearly a fifth of the State's retail business, and the travel business as a whole gets about half of its receipts from away-from-home travelers.

There are 13,000 firms in the travel business creating 58,500 jobs for Alabamians, 14 percent of the businessmen and nonfarm employees in the State, with payroll and other personal income of $202 million. Income received from the travel business amounts to 29 percent of sales while purchases by travelers create enough business to provide 19,000 jobs with personal income of $66 million.

Besides creating a market for a large volume of goods and services, 21 percent of the receipts of the travel business is collected as some kind of tax. Alabama collected $100 million in gasoline, sales and business taxes from firms in the travel business—30 percent of the $332 million State tax revenue.

Active in the promotion of Alabama travel are many men and women—a great number of them members of the Alabama Travel Council, the sparkplug of the travel trade. Others are managers of hotels and motels, tourist attractions, members of the press and individual promoters.

It would be impossible to list all whose efforts have been noteworthy, but few have rendered more productive service than J. William Graham, executive director of the Alabama Travel Council.

Others are Fred W. Holder, Alabama Travel Council president, and general manager of Bellingrath Gardens since 1955; W. G. McGrady, manager, St. Francis Hotel Courts, Mobile, a past council president and very active in all travel promotion efforts in the State; Holley Midgely, manager of the Guest House, Birmingham, who is currently serving on a committee to coordinate this fall's tour of travel editors and counselors in Alabama; Ed Ewing, director, State Publicity Bureau, Montgomery; Julian McGowin, State Chamber of Commerce president, and others.

ALABAMA'S GULF COAST

Here are miles of dazzling beaches and clear blue water—deep sea, river and lake fishing—historic sites—scenery—star attractions. In a 50-mile radius of the tradition-rich Mobile area the vacationer spends no dull days wondering what to do—or traveling miles to see a historic site or a place where the fishing and swimming are good.

There's history at Fort Morgan near Gulf Shores—the massive, five-pointed fortress constructed in the 1700's that has served under seven flags. Fort Gaines, a major landmark, built on beautiful Dauphin Island during the Civil War.

The U.S.S. *Alabama*, one of the world's mightiest battleships which served in every major engagement in the Pacific in World War II is now established as a shrine in the Mobile causeway.

Beauty at every season of the year is found at Bellingrath Gardens and Home, at Long and Clarke Gardens, at Oakleigh.

Mardi Gras, the Azalea Trail, America's Junior Miss Pageant, fresh water fishing rodeo, blessing of the shrimp fleet at Bayou la Batre, speckled trout rodeo, Oak-lined Government Street, old homes, days full of exciting events, days of rest and recreation.

COOSA RIVER CAMPSITES

Chilton County now has underway the development of the recreational potential of the Coosa River.

The public launch site on Lay Lake was completed and paved last year and a new launch site at the old picnic grounds on Mitchell Lake is now ready, the Chilton Chamber of Commerce and the Alabama Power Co. having pushed these two projects for several years.

Launch ramps were installed by the Alabama State Department of Conservation, Claude D. Kelley, director; sites were donated under a lease at a nominal charge by the Alabama Power Co., called by residents one of Chilton county's best corporate friends and supporters.

The Board of Revenue and Control has announced plans for two more public parks to be developed and opened to the public this summer, one of 45 acres adjacent to Folsom Bridge at the Coosa on Highway 22. A beautiful rocky beach on the river extends along most of the property's shore line. The county received a patent to the land from the Department of the Interior, and it was one of the few pieces of land in Chilton County which has never been homesteaded by settlers.

Judge Thomas Hayes says plans are to develop the area north of the bridge as a picnic area, initially. Judge Hayes said rock formations on the property are beautiful and as soon as park trails are cleared there will be available an unspoiled area for hiking and picnicking, easily accessible by paved highways. Another park of 20 acres is being purchased from the Government by the Board of Revenue and Control in District

1 on Lay Lake. This property is heavily timbered in places with the original stand of virgin pines, mountain laurel, and rhododendron.

Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, no nation can or should continue to endure when on one side the streets are lighted, and on the other side they are darkened, and while on one side of the streets the children sleep in comfort and are well fed, on the other side of the streets the children go to bed hungry, to awaken to another day of hunger and want.

No nation can or should continue to endure that does not make an honest, an exhaustive to the point of sacrifice, effort to eliminate pockets of poverty.

If there is poverty anywhere, there is poverty everywhere, for the influences, either harmful or beneficial, that originate in any segment spread to all segments.

As a people we are very closely bound together. The land to which we live is an abundant land. The Lord of our creation has given us a wealth of blessings never equaled in richness and in number. Are we worthy if we falter because of selfishness or timidity or just plain blindness in our lack of faith? Are we worthy if we falter in the fight to put a curb to poverty? Are we worthy if we accept any but a resounding negative to the question, Must little children always go to bed hungry because they live on the darkened side of the street, must there always be men and women and children who are underprivileged in a land that God has made so fertile and that man has so richly developed?

The enactment of the Economic Opportunities Act was a brave and inspiring start in a war on poverty that cannot halt until it has reached its full objective. That objective is the emancipation of all the American people from the bondage to poverty, with all its limitations on opportunities and all its cruel denials of rich fullness in the living of normal lives.

Human nature is not perfect. If it were poverty in a world of plenty never would have had its beginning. In all our programs that look toward the heights of human contentment we learn from experience. If we are to attain the goals of our dreams there must be no backward steps. Every step will be a forward step, every step will carry us toward the sunshine, if the mistakes that now and then we make are spurs to our redoubled effort.

Our beloved majority leader, Mr. ALBERT, told us that the Economic Opportunity Act had brought hope and a share in the riches and fuller life to 6 million underprivileged American youth. Someone on the other side of the aisle, who with a few others seemed to be carrying on a delaying action with no hope of prevailing, questioned the 6 million figure. He advanced the thought that the figure was closer to 2 million.

Why he would have ended and crushed to earth a program that had brought hope and a share in better things to at least 2 million underprivileged American youth he did not attempt to explain. If he did, I could not follow him.

If but one American youth had been lifted from despair to hope, if but one American youth had been lifted from the hopeless, hopeless sands of the desert to a firm footing on the threshold of a useful and purposeful life through education and training, I would say, Mr. Speaker, that the program had been worthwhile.

If to 2 million American youths, as the opposition I understand now acknowledges, has come this blessing, I can only say "blessed, blessed is the day; blessed, blessed is this program."

I am voting for this good bill. I could not live with my conscience if I voted to close the door of opportunity on the underprivileged youth of my country. In a world of plenty there is no room from poverty. Whatever the causes of poverty they can be removed, and though the fight is hard and long this country of ours with God's help and the prayers and work of our people will prevail in its holy crusade to end for all time the ills, the cruelties, the waste, and hopelessness of poverty in all its forms and in all its manifestations.

Ethiopia's Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, an ancient and colorful kingdom celebrated its Independence Day last Friday. The kingdom of Ethiopia, described by Herodotus in the 25th century B.C., has existed for centuries in the east African highlands. A long tradition of independence has made Ethiopia an important member of the world's nations. One of the original signatories of the U.N. Charter, Ethiopia has been active in its support of that organization. In 1951, she sent combat troops to help the U.N. cause in Korea. And in 1960, Ethiopia provided troops for U.N. service in the Congo.

Emperor Haile Selassie I, has provided leadership in the movement for African unity, and the Capital of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, is the seat of the Permanent Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity.

The Government of Ethiopia is a constitutional hereditary monarchy. Sovereignty is vested in the person of the Emperor, who appoints the various ministers and the Members of the Senate. Since 1957, however, the Members of the Chamber of Deputies have been chosen by popular election. Though more than 40 tribes and people are represented among Ethiopia's 20 million inhabitants, all Ethiopians by birth, regardless of sex, who are 21 years of age are entitled to vote for Deputies from the electoral district where they reside.

Almost 90 percent of the population of Ethiopia is engaged in farming or the raising of livestock. Coffee constitutes more than 50 percent of its value of exports. In addition, however, Ethiopia has been carrying out developmental programs with the help of foreign aid and loans. The Government's Ethiopian Air Lines, operated under contract by Trans World Airlines, has been a major factor in this development.

I want to extend my congratulations and best wishes to the people of Ethiopia and to their Emperor, Haile Selassie I, on this occasion.

Great Society: Phase Two

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACKSON E. BETTS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, before the administration proposes any new programs to Congress for the Great Society, it should carefully and thoroughly study their effects on the complicated world in which we live.

The highly respected Christian Science Monitor has made this the subject of the following excellent editorial which appeared in its issue of July 22, 1965:

GREAT SOCIETY: PHASE TWO

It now seems likely that governmental pressures on behalf of President Johnson's Great Society goals will be fully as intense in 1966 as they have been in 1965. Indeed, they may even be more so. For an almost unprecedented number of experts, committees, conventions are at work drafting plans for what has been called phase two of the Johnson program.

It is clear that the White House is convinced that this is a strategically favorable period in which to push through massive measures designed to make over many aspects of American life.

Among these subjects are such mammoth ones as urban renewal, transportation, adequate and pure water, Negro progress, growth in crime, joblessness, regional poverty, and continued economic growth.

The problem, of course, is to make sure that such challenges are solved in the right way and in the most efficient manner. No one denies that they exist. But there is honest distagreement over how best to tackle many of them.

It seems to us that three factors ought to be borne in mind in this regard:

The Nation should be certain that it is well on the way to solving those problems which it has already taken up, before scattering its fire by taking up a whole batch of

new ones. It is, of course, politically tempting to dash from one problem to another rather than to concentrate on those already tackled. This wins headlines, and gives wide scope for speechmaking, but it does not necessarily ensure either the swiftest or the solidest achievement.

The wisest course is not to begin solving a problem until it has been thoroughly studied and understood. Here, again, this tends to cut down on headlines and opportunities for speechmaking, but it lays a firmer base for progress.

Experience has shown that, while today's problems demand Federal help to a greater degree than formerly, many of these problems can best be solved on local and regional levels. Even if endowed with the best will in the world, the Federal Government just does not have either the intimate local knowledge or the capacity to solve problems which, in essence, are local in nature. This has been shown in the experience of the antipoverty program where it became quickly apparent that, without local direction and participation, nothing sold could or would be done.

It seems to be true that the larger a Nation and participation, nothing solid could plicated its problems get. By the same token a hasty or wrong decision as to how to solve one of these problems has a correspondingly more harmful effect. For this reason, if for no other, we hope that the White House will resist any temptation to ride off in all directions at once and make sure that it can see a long way down a path before starting on it. This will save retracing many steps.

The Challenge of Kiwanis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, I recently read a most stirring address which was delivered by the Honorable Shields Sims to the Kiwanis Club of Columbus, Miss. Mr. Sims is lieutenant governor of district 10, Louisiana-Mississippi-West Tennessee District, Kiwanis International. He is also a prominent attorney and a leading citizen of the city of Columbus.

In his speech Mr. Sims has presented a challenge worthy of the consideration of the Members of this body, as well as of every American. I include it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

THE CHALLENGE OF KIWANIS

President Slaughter, fellow Kiwanians and guests, it's a great pleasure for me to be with you today, not only in my official capacity as your lieutenant governor, but as a Kiwanian who enjoys always visiting with you and sharing your wonderful fellowship. I want to spend a few moments talking to you about a subject that appeals very strongly to me, "The Challenge of Kiwanis."

A little story is told in the Kiwanis booklet on the work of the new club sponsoring committee—I've had reason to read it again in recent weeks because of the new club activity in Oxford. The story goes like this:

Five years ago, there was apathy in Xville. The townspeople had no evening Little League game, because there were no lights in the ball park. Halfhearted cheers at halftime greeted the high school band, which paraded without uniforms. There were no village concerts, there was a less-than-sensational turnout of voters at elections, the Boy Scout troop was languished for lack of interest and leadership. Few unifying social events were held, even on an annual basis. Worst of all, the citizens either weren't aware of what they were missing, or they didn't care.

In the fall of that year, a Kiwanis Club was born in Xville. For several months, the project was lost in quiet organizing, as men with temporary energy burned out, and the dependable ones were revealed. Despite growing pains the club conducted a Pancake Day and a concert, but these were insufficient to make the group's potential known.

However, when the lights were installed in the Little League Park in the spring, thanks to Kiwanis efforts, Xville citizens began to realize that the town had an asset. The realization grew by leaps and bounds as the ballot battalion stirred the voters, the band obtained uniforms, the boy scouts were befriended and given leadership and social affairs were not only suggested, but were actually successful. How did this happen? It happened because other Kiwanians, anxious to share their fellowship and dedication, brought Kiwanis to Xville."

Over simplified? Perhaps—yet in essence, this story has been repeated some 5,400 times throughout the world during the past 50 years. This is the challenge of Kiwanis in its simplest terms. And this challenge is being posed to us today, just as it will be posed to our today's Key clubbers tomorrow.

I remember once hearing Past District Governor Arnold "Red" Pyle say that, "Kiwanis has never really known a period of normalcy—it has had to survive two terrible wars, a strength-sapping depression, and now a period of increasing government control." How true this is. Kiwanis came into being in Detroit, Mich., January 21, 1915. Much of the world was already at war, and we were on the threshold ourselves. Yet, Kiwanis filled a need of the times—a need for an organization, through which men of good will could bring their businesses and professions onto a higher plane. In 1916, there were 20 Kiwanis clubs, and they met for the first time in convention at Cleveland and fathered the idea of an international organization. By the time World War I was over, Kiwanis had grown to 138 clubs and some 15,000 members. For the next decade—known as the Roaring Twenties—the peoples of the world seemed to have forgotten the ancient rules of hard work, honest endeavor, public and private morality—flaming youth was in the ascendancy, prosperity was rampant, materialism was at its peak. It was against this background that Kiwanis, at the 1924 convention in Denver, adopted the six objects of the Kiwanis—the same objects that are the basis for our organization today. How radical they must have seemed to that generation:

1. To give primacy to the human and spiritual rather than the material values of life.
2. To encourage daily living of the Golden Rule in all human relationships.
3. To promote the adoption and application of higher social, business and professional standards.
4. To develop, by precept and example, a more intelligent, aggressive and serviceable citizenship.
5. To provide, through Kiwanis Clubs, a practical means to form friendships, render altruistic service, and build better communities.
6. To cooperate in creating and maintaining sound public opinion and high idealism, which make possible the increase of righteousness, justice, patriotism, and good will.

No wonder Sinclair Lewis, and others of the new cynical school of writing, ridiculed the service club as being out of step with the times. Yet, this is still one of the essences of the Kiwanis challenge—being out of step with the times, being a little ahead of the rest of the Nation. And this challenge had an appeal to men who wanted to build soundly for the future, because by the end of the roaring twenties, Kiwanians numbered over 100,000 and we had nearly 1,900 clubs. Then came the black decade of depression—with its enervating effect on the peoples of the world—discouraged, heartless, obsessed with the need to survive, many turned not unto themselves, but unto their governments, seeking a way out of their misery. Totalitarianism gained the upper hand in some parts of the world—many intellectuals maintained that a dictatorship was the only efficient way to solve economic problems. Even in our own Republic, the idea of big government was born and nurtured. And because Kiwanis continued to stand for constructive concepts, for spiritual values, for high standards among individuals and governments, its popularity waned—clubs ceased to exist, members drifted away—in fact, Kiwanis membership dropped to a low point of 75,000 members. But a hard core of dedicated men remaining in Kiwanis wouldn't give in to discouragement—they believed that their organization was founded on truth, and that this truth would survive the bleakness of the depression years. Their faith was justified, for when the decade was over, Kiwanis had staged a comeback, surpassing the level of the twenties—2,100 clubs with nearly 110,000 members were in existence. But now, another World War was upon us, followed closely by the Korean war. Once more, the free peoples of the world fought to save their own freedom and that of their neighbors.

A strange alliance with one dictatorship was made in order that we might subdue other dictatorships—and when this was accomplished, we found ourselves still faced with militant, dictatorial powers in the world, with whom we have maintained an uneasy truce. Throughout these years, Kiwanis continued to grow, as wartime needs fostered community conditions that only organized efforts could overcome. By 1950, there were over 3,100 Kiwanis clubs and nearly 200,000 Kiwanians.

Since then, we have been dominated by two philosophies—the age of science and the era of big government. Many people say that only science can save us from destruction—that science will eventually discover all of the secrets of the universe, even the secret of life itself—and that these discoveries will eventually obviate war and bring us the peace, prosperity, and comfort we so earnestly desire. Yet somehow I think of Aldous Huxley's "Brave New World"—with its clinical, planned, unfeeling society—and I wonder if this is what man was created to achieve. Others say that science is a wonderful tool, but salvation lies in the hands of the Government. The Keynesian economist tells us that government spending is the flywheel that keeps our economic engine operating—the modern sociologist tells us that evolution is too slow, that government must force things to happen by law and directive—the political scientist tells us that centralization of government is the only way to meet the needs of the people—the jurist tells us that government must consider the ends only and not the means. But through this babble of voices still comes the quiet challenge of Kiwanis, urging the spiritual rather than the material, urging an aggressive, informed citizenship, urging altruistic service—sound public opinion—high idealism. And Kiwanis continues to grow—today we number 265,000 Kiwanians serving in 5,400 clubs.

Of all the philosophies we have endured as a nation, I think that Kiwanians should fear most the concept of big government. Red Pyle, in the speech I alluded to a moment ago, also said, "The Government seems

to be taking over many of the areas that Kiwanis used to work in. The welfare check has replaced the Christmas tree and the Thanksgiving basket. Public charity is replacing the Kiwanis program of helping people to help themselves. Eventually, there may be nothing left for Kiwanis to do, because the Government will be doing everything." I think Red may be right, unless our philosophy of government is changed.

The lessons of history are clear and unmistakable. Two thousand three hundred years ago, the historian, Isocrates, wrote to describe the sad days upon which Greece—the first free nation—had fallen. He said: "The poorer citizens have captured the government and have voted the property of the rich into the coffers of the state, for distribution among the voters. Politicians have strained their ingenuity to discover new sources of public revenue. They have doubled the indirect taxes—they have continued the extraordinary taxes of wartime into peacetime—they have broadened perilously the field of the income tax, as well as the property tax. One of our (Greek) statesman says: 'When I was a boy, wealth was regarded as secure and admirable, but now a man has to defend himself against being rich as if it were the worst of crimes.' Athletics have become professionalized; young citizens [of Athens] who once thronged the playgrounds of the gymnasium, now exert themselves vicariously by witnessing professional exhibitions. Philosophy has struggled to find in civil loyalty, or in natural ethic, some substitute for the Divine Commandments and the surveillance of God." The words of Isocrates sound strangely familiar, don't they?

Two hundred years ago, the great historian, Edward Gibbon, in his monumental work, "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," had this to say about the Greek civilization: "When the Athenians finally wanted, not to give to society, but for society to give to them, when the freedom they wished most for was freedom from responsibility, then Athens ceased to be free and was never free again." And, speaking of both the Greeks and the Romans, he said, "In the end, more than they wanted freedom, they wanted security, they wanted a comfortable life, and they lost it all: security, comfort, and freedom."

This longing for security is understandable for we live in an age of restlessness and insecurity. Split atoms and split personalities characterize our times.

Automation has brought depersonalization. Life has lost meaning for many and if they cannot find security they have nothing. Add to this the fact we live on the brink of annihilation. At any moment we are 12 minutes from destruction—12 minutes being the time required for a missile to travel from a base in Russia to a target in the United States. No wonder our generation is fraught with fear and seeks security.

These are no idle words—they are written on the gravestones of the two great experiments in freedom that preceded our own. So often, we hear, "But it can't happen here—we have too many safeguards." Alas, it can and it will, if our people persist in their apathy. Socialism isn't new in America. Over 100 years ago, Abraham Lincoln spoke out against the embryo socialist doctrine in these United States. He said: "You cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift. You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong. You cannot help the wage earner by pulling down the wage payer. You cannot further the brotherhood of man by encouraging class hatred. You cannot help the poor by destroying the rich. You cannot keep out of trouble by spending more than you earn. You cannot build character and courage by taking away man's initiatvie and independence. You cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves." Nineteenth century thinking? Yes, but I prefer to believe that it has significance for us in the 20th century, too. Isocrates, Gibbon, Lincoln—all were concerned in one way or another with the unending battle that rages in a free society—the battle between freedom of the individual on the one hand and meeting the so-called collective needs of the majority on the other. And history tells us which way the battle will go, unless strong leaders place themselves on the side of the individual.

Now, you may say that this is all very interesting, but how does it apply to Kiwanis—to us here in Columbus—today? Where does the Challenge of Kiwanis fit into this picture? I submit to you that the answer lies in our international theme for 1965—"Community Service—We Build." Let's consider this theme for a few moments.

The first call to personal service is to the Creator of all mankind—to rededicate Kiwanis to God's will—demonstrate our support of spiritual values—reaffirm our belief in religious liberty. Today, for the first time in our history, there appears to be a concerted effort to eliminate God from our Nation's life. Supreme Court decisions in recent months—under the guise of protecting the separation of church and state—are beginning to nibble away at our tradition of being "One Nation, Under God." The invocation of divine guidance is frowned upon as an invasion of the rights of the godless. And, as God is driven out of our public life, the apathy of the people increases—less and less are we shocked by the decay of national ideals—more and more have we accustomed ourselves to every form of political chicanery, graft, and corruption. Some time ago, the Reader's Digest published an item from a church bulletin that went like this: "Last Sunday, I voted to close the church—not maliciously or intentionally, but thoughtlessly, lazily, indifferently. I voted to close its doors, that its witness and its testimony be stopped. I voted to close the Bible on the pulpit, voted for our minister to stop preaching the glorious truths of the Gospel, voted that the children of the Sunday school no longer be taught the stories of the Bible and the songs of God's love. You see I could have gone to church last Sunday, and I should have gone, but I didn't. I stayed away, and by my laziness and indifference, I voted to close the church." Before we start out to reform the world, we must first reform our own standards—a call to personal service—to the Creator of all mankind. First ourselves, then our neighbors—eventually our Nation.

The second call to personal service is to youth, to whom the future belongs—motivate youth to achieve excellence—create within them an understanding of responsible citizenship, principles of free enterprise, and values of our spiritual heritage—provide community service opportunities to our youth by actively sponsoring Circle K and Key Clubs. Freedom is not for our generation alone. We are the caretakers of a heritage, and we must pass it on to those generations which succeed us. It is not enough that we say, "Here it is—take it and Godspeed"; we must prepare our youth for the responsibility we are about to thrust upon them. We must challenge them to accept the principles which undergird freedom in any age: Faith in God, the rewards of excellence, freedom of individual enterprise, and the responsibility of the individual citizen. Kiwanis is unique in its program for youth—if we have one claim to immortality, it is our Key Club and Circle K program. We have a wonderful opportunity to guide and mold the young leaders of our community—they, in turn, will guide others of their generation. But, let's not waste this opportunity by passive sponsorship. These young men need your interest, your advice, your guidance, your example—they can receive this only if you participate with them in their activities. A call to personal service—to youth, to whom the future belongs.

The third call to personal service—to the world in which we live—work toward peace and understanding among individuals of all nations—develop by precept and example international good will, based on the Canada-United States relationship, throughout all areas of Kiwanis influence. Just as we do not seek freedom for our generation alone, neither do we seek it for our Nation alone. Can you imagine the effect that inviting a foreign student to have dinner in your home will have on his understanding of us—on your understanding of him? What will he say to his fellow countrymen, when he returns home, about the kind of people we are? This seems like a little drop of water in a great ocean—but multiplied by hundreds of thousands of Kiwanians, this could generate a wave of understanding throughout the world. A call to personal service—to the world in which we live.

The fourth call to personal service—to our nations—freemen all—respect, nurture, and defend constitutional government and the basic principles of individual and national freedom—vigorously combat excessive government expansion, controls, and regulations. Here, perhaps, is our greatest challenge. We have seen how neither freedom nor democracy has long endured where the rights of the individual have been subordinated to the whims of demagogs; neither can endure where individual freedom continuously is eroded by the encroachment of government controls and regulations. No ordinary effort can reverse the trend of recent years—nevertheless, I am convinced that extraordinary possibilities reside in ordinary men. I would challenge you to develop a burning sense of righteous indignation—indignation over the betrayal of public trust by public officials—indignation over policies of expediency instead of statesmanship—indignation over subservience to pressure groups, no matter what cause they may espouse—I would challenge you, further, to be knowledgeable—to know what is being proposed in our legislative halls, what is being decreed by Executive order, what is being promulgated by judicial decision—to understand what motivates our public servants. Finally, I would challenge you to be vigilant—let not an encroachment go by default—expose demagoguery for what it is—don't be lulled into a sense of false security by platitudes and free spending. Harry Hopkins once said that the secret of a successful political dynasty was to "Tax, tax, tax—spend, spend, spend—elect, elect, elect." This is the raw truth of politics—spend tax dollars in the popular places and perpetuate yourself in office.

Where does reform start? It starts at home with you. Washington won't be changed until Columbus is changed, until Mississippi is changed. A call to personal service to our Nation—freemen all.

The fifth call to personal service—to our fellow citizens whom we serve—exemplify individual initiative and the dignity of work as essential to a serviceable life—commit ourselves to high moral principles—combat vice and lawlessness and those other forces adversely affecting our citizens, both young and old—conserve life, property, and natural resources for the benefit of mankind. There is great potential leadership in Kiwanis—leadership that has never been fully awakened. This can be our greatest hour, if we break the dam and let this leadership flow into the mainstream of our community life—to set the standards by which our community is known. Are you concerned about rampant vice—about pornography on our news stands—about school dropouts—about dishonesty and immorality? I challenge you

to do something about it—I challenge you to oppose evil because it is evil, and to support what is good simply because it is good. A call to personal service—to our fellow citizens whom we serve.

Finally, we have a call to personal service—to Kiwanis through which we serve—expand community activities—attract service-minded men—adopt and work toward golden anniversary goals. Every so often, it behooves each of us to ask—Why did I join Kiwanis? What would your answer be? For myself, I sought out Kiwanis because I had an inner urge to do more than make my livelihood here—I wanted to participate in activities for the betterment of my community—I wanted to join with men of a like mind, so that together, we could accomplish more than we could do alone. I have not been disappointed. But I have found, as you have, that the benefit I derive from Kiwanis is directly proportional to the effort I put into Kiwanis. I challenge you to seek men—men with a zeal for crusading—to join with you and thus enlarge our sphere of influence for good in our community. A call to personal service—to Kiwanis through which we serve.

This, then, is the challenge of Kiwanis—clothed in new words, but still the same challenge of the past 50 years—a call to personal service and to community service. If our method is to be strong—if our people are to be free—if our children are to realize their heritage—it will be because of our answer to this challenge. I urge you, accept this challenge, because it is later than we think. I am always deeply moved when we sing the first verse of "America" to open our meetings. But once in awhile, I would like to hear Kiwanis sing the last verse, because this truly is our prayer for the future of our land:

"Our Father's God, to Thee,
Author of liberty,
To Thee we sing.
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light.
Protect us by Thy might,
Great God, our King."

New Literacy Test

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. GEORGE W. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, the Supreme Court of Alabama has promulgated new literacy tests to be used in Alabama for the registration of voters. These questions relate to the Constitution of the United States. As I understand it, all an applicant desiring to register has to do to become qualified is to answer three questions correctly. These questions to not apply to nine counties in the State because Federal courts prohibit registrars in those counties from using literacy tests.

Mr. Speaker, I think you can see from the questions that morons can register and become legal voters even under Alabama law. There is no question that this is true under the 1965 Voting Rights bill passed by Congress recently.

Following the list of questions I am inserting an editorial entitled "New Literacy Test," which appeared in the Dothan Eagle Friday, July 23, 1965:

LITERACY TEST

To: Members of the Legislature of Alabama
From: Martha Witt Smith,
Voter Registrar Consultant,
State Sovereignty Commission

The Supreme Court of Alabama has promulgated new literacy tests to be used in Alabama in the registration of voters.

The tests were given to 2,400 sixth graders. They passed 95 percent of the tests. Approximately 9,000 tests were given these children.

The new tests each contain a paragraph about the U.S. Constitution and give five questions, the answers to all of which are in the written material. An applicant passes if he gets three answers correct.

In Alabama's tests used since August 1964, answers to four of the eight questions are in printed material on the test sheet, but this fact has been cited in nationwide criticism of the tests as too difficult. Also, adults with no more than fifth and sixth grade education have been passing the tests all over the State, in spite of the fact that some lawyers have termed the tests too hard for them to pass.

These new tests are similar in form to tests which have been used but they have been made simpler and will reduce time in registering.

In the new tests, certain printed material will be given to the applicant to copy. The applicant will then be given five questions. The answers to the questions appear in the printed material. Twelve examples of questions are attached.

The new test, passed at the rate of 95 percent by sixth grade children should not be above sixth grade level for an adult who, even if he finished only the sixth grade, has had at least 10 years to use such education to further improve his reading ability.

It is almost impossible to tell whether or not the reading tests which have been used since 1964 are above sixth grade level. It is believed they are not. For example, earlier this month, one Alabama applicant swore under oath in answer to an oral question that she had completed the 11th grade, but then admitted that she could not write her name.

Examples of the printed material from the U.S. Constitution and a typical question based on each, as included in the new tests, follow:

1. (Preamble) We, the people of the United ed States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Question: Insuring domestic tranquillity is one of the purposes of the U.S. Constitution. (True or False) _____.

2. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

Question: Congress is composed of two bodies, the House of Representatives and the _____

3. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second year by the people of the several States.

Question: A Member of the U.S. House of Representatives is elected to a term of 2 years. (True or False) _____.

4. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof for 6 years.

Question: A Senator who serves in Congress is elected to a term of: ___ 2 years, ___ 4 years, ___ 6 years.

5. The Congress shall have power to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excise, to pay debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States.

Question: Who has the power to levy taxes for the U.S. Government? _____.

6. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of 4 years.

Question: The executive power of the United States is vested in the _____.

7. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, tnd of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States.

Question: Who is Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States? (Check one) ___ the President, ___ the Vice President, ___ the Secretary of Defense.

8. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.

Question: The term "judicial power" refers to the courts. (True or False) _____.

9. The president shall nominate and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States.

Question: Are judges of the United States Supreme Court elected or appointed? _____.

10. The Senators and Representatives and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

Question: All public officials are required to support (check one) _____ a national religion, _____ the national Constitution, _____ the U.S. Treasury.

11. The U.S. Constitution can be changed, or amended. A change, or amendment, can be proposed by Congress. Two-thirds of the Members of each House of Congress must vote for the proposed change. A change can also be proposed by the legislatures of the States.

Question: There is only one way to propose a change in the Constitution. Congress must propose it (true or false) _____.

12. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for redress of grievances.

Question: Congress can make no law against three freedoms. They include freedom of religion and freedom of speech. What is the other freedom? (check one) _____ freedom from want, _____ freedom of press, _____ freedom from fear.

[From the Dothan Eagle, July 23, 1965]

NEW LITERACY TEST

A new and simpler literacy test for prospective voters went into effect Thursday for Alabama replacing the present one, which already is under attack in Federal court.

It can't be used in Bullock, Macon, Elmore, Montgomery, Perry, Wilcox, Sumter, Dallas, and Choctaw Counties, because Federal courts forbid registrars in those counties from using a literacy test at all without court approval.

The test was so easy that 95 percent of 2,400 sixth grade pupils made a passing grade when it was tried on them. And 60 is considered a passing mark. Unless further restrictions are imposed—and there is no assurance that the agitators won't find this too complicated—here's how the new literacy test will work:

A prospective voter must still deal with the U.S. Constitution. The test requires him (or

her) to copy the constitutional provision in his own handwriting and answer questions from what has been written.

Example of constitutional provision to be copied: "All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives."

Here's an example of the question that must be answered: "Congress is composed of two bodies, the House of Representatives and the _____."

Another example of the provision to be copied: "The Congress shall have power to levy and collect taxes, duties, _____."

Question the prospective voter is required to answer: "Who has the power to levy taxes for the U.S. Government?"

As we indicated, this test, too, might be found so complicated that further simplification would be ordered by the court. Things could even reach a point where the Constitution will be laid aside as an instrument with which to sound the prospective voter's knowledge. If such should come to pass, and some knowledge of American history is still required, the following questionnaire is suggested:

1. In what year was the War of 1812 fought?
2. When do we celebrate the Fourth of July?
3. Who is buried in Grant's Tomb?
4. What color was General Lee's white horse?

If this is too complicated, it can be simplified further by allowing a passing grade for the right answer to any one of the four.

Employment of Mentally Retarded in the Federal Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, the Medical Director of the Civil Service Commission, Dr. Melvin T. Johnson, recently gave a presentation of the Government's new program of hiring the mentally retarded. His remarks were delivered at the convention of the American Association on Mental Deficiency.

Dr. Johnson has been largely responsible for the development and success of this program, and I am pleased to say that he is a former resident of the district I have the honor of representing. Dr. Johnson was born in Kanawha, Iowa, and practiced medicine in Lake Mills, Iowa.

The text of his presentation follows:

EMPLOYMENT OF THE MENTALLY RETARDED IN THE FEDERAL SERVICE

The Civil Service Commission has had an active program for the placement of handicapped employees in the Federal service since the early 1940's. The basic premise on which this program rests is that we will require for employment only those physical and mental capacities which are actually required in the performance of the duties of the job to which the employee is assigned. Prior to the establishment of this program the physical requirements bore little relationship to what was actually required in the work situation. Good vision in each eye was required where only one eye was needed. Mobility was required for stationary jobs. Additional educational levels were sought for jobs which could be performed by the uneducated. Basic mental ability was required at levels above the needs for routine repetitive jobs.

At the beginning of this program most consideration was given to those who were handicapped by static - visible orthopedic handicaps. Later, as the program proved its worth and was receiving increasing acceptance by appointing officials, it was expanded to include medical handicaps, nonvisible and nonstatic. This immeasurably broadened the scope of the program. In developing this program we attempted to create a favorable climate for its acceptance. We also were very quick to take advantage of changes in the climate that were brought about by changes in attitude of the public and of appointing officials in the Government. The acceptance of those who had recovered from a significant mental illness was slower than the acceptance of those who were handicapped by a physical or organic impairment. We still have some resistance to the employment of those whose only handicap is that they once were ill but that resistance is diminishing. We hope that we will eventually reach the stage where the attitude toward those who have had a mental illness will be the same as the attitude toward those who had heart attacks and diabetes.

Most appointments to the Federal service are based upon a type of examination which evaluates the abilities and the qualifications of the applicant. These examinations are not perfect but they do produce realtively well qualified individuals for all levels of Federal positions. These examinations measure skills and abilities but are not very effective in measuring motivation, dependability, social adaptability in the work situation and a continuing interest in the job to be performed, the areas in which the retardate often excels. The mental retardate is at a disadvantage in this examining procedure even though he may be able to perform the duties of the position well. This disadvantage in the usual examining procedure is so great that few of the retardates can do well enough in the examination to meet the qualifications for appointment. Thus a different procedure was needed to enable the Federal Government to utilize the services of the retardates. A special appointing authority was issued by the Commission which authorized Federal agencies to appoint individuals who are retarded to positions suited to their abilities. The mechanics of this procedure are as follows:

To accomplish the Commissions' objective of facilitating agency programs for the employment and utilization of the mentally retarded, it executed written agreements with any agencies desiring to use the new schedule A authority. Such an agreement, to be submitted by the agency, will include the following:

1. A statement by the agency of its support of the program and a statement as to the specific positions, titles, grades, and tasks to be assigned the mentally retarded to be employed or a statement that such arrangements will be worked out at the local level in conjunction with the appropriate State vocational rehabilitation agency and full details reported to the Commission through the agency's central office, to become a part of the agency's agreement.

2. A statement by the agency that prior to employing a mentally retarded person it will have obtained a certificate from the appropriate State vocational rehabilitation agency that the retarded person (a) has the ability to perform the duties of the position; (b) is physically qualified to do the work without hazard to himself or to others; and (c) is socially competent to maintain himself in a work environment and, either independently or with such continuing help as has been provided for him, in after-working-hours living.

3. A commitment by the employing agency that it will fully utilize the assistance of the State vocational rehabilitation agency for advice to the employee's immediate supervisor in the training and supervision of the employee, and for postplacement counseling to the employee.

(NOTE.—These services are a normal part of the followup process of State vocational rehabilitation agencies. Agency coordinators for employment of the handicapped will work closely with the State vocational rehabilitation agency representative in this followup program.)

4. A statement that the agency will not terminate a mentally retarded person's employment without prior notification of the counselor concerned.

(NOTE.—This provision will insure that necessary immediate arrangements are made for the employee for continued rehabilitation and other assistance.)

Utilizing this procedure vocational rehabilitation agencies having qualified retardates ready for work contact the Federal agencies in their communities seeking suitable employment for these retardates. Also agencies having vacancies in positions which can be properly filled by a retardate seek suitable candidates from the vocational rehabilitation agencies. This procedure is working well although there continues to be problems. In some areas there is an insufficient supply of properly trained retardates to meet the potential demands. In other areas there are retardates who are suitable for employment but there are no vacancies available. The supply of vacancies has been limited by budget restrictions, personnel ceilings, closings of Government facilities making it necessary to employ the displaced people from these facilities in the vacancies available elsewhere.

When this program was first inaugurated our concept of the number and types of positions that they could fill was relatively limited. As the program progressed the list of positions being filled satisfactorily by retardates increased markedly. As of May 20, 1965, 35 Federal agencies had signed agreements with the Civil Service Commission to use the schedule A authority for the employment of the mentally retarded. These agencies have hired a total of 519 nationwide with 221 placements in Washington, D.C., and 298 in the field. At the present time retardates are successfully employed in 40 different job categories. I will not read the entire list of these categories but I will give you the titles of those that have the largest number of retardates employed: building maintenance worker, clerk, food service worker, janitor, laborer, laundry worker, mail clerk, messenger, office machine operator, substitute mail handler. In these positions the retardates are performing well, their turnover rate is lower than the average for the nonretardates in these same categories. Their attendance is superior and above all their supervisors are pleased with them and want more of them.

Questions have been raised concerning the Government's quest for quality in its employees and the effects of this program. The performance of these people has demonstrated beyond question that the employment of the retardates properly trained and properly placed is entirely consistent with the quest for quality. These people by their performance, attendance, punctuality, dependability are the best that can be hired when properly selected and properly placed. I would like to discuss very briefly a few individual placements and their performance.

1. Housekeeping aid, WC-1, Civil Service Commission: She has been a very dependable employee; arriving 20 to 25 minutes before work time; has taken annual leave only when

prearranged, and has not taken any sick leave even though she has had medical and dental care during this period. She has learned her routine work and kept her schedule written for reference. She is eager to learn new duties; disposition is very good, and takes corrections well. She has been transferred to a full-time position in the Department of Commerce.

2. Clerk, GS-1, Peace Corps: He has complete charge of the Xerox machine, operating and maintaining it; he does regular clerical work, including filing, assembling, and rubber stamping mailing material in the office where invitations are mailed to his agency's applicants whose talents match host countries' requests for workers. He puts in a full working day, and is punctual. His coworkers like working with him.

3. Office machine operator, GS-1, Commerce Department: She has proven to be a valuable asset to this agency, freeing several GS-6 secretaries for more demanding duties. She works tirelessly and conscientiously seeing that the copies made on a Xerox machine are made and assembled according to their urgency; distributing the mail within the office, very capably answers the telephone when alone in the file room, and provides messenger service. She has a most pleasant disposition and a desire to please; and has never missed a day reporting for duty and is always on time. She would be difficult to be replaced. She received a $200 cash award for sustained superior performance.

4. Messenger, GS-1 to GS-2, Securities and Exchange Commission: He has continued to perform his duties in a highly satisfactory manner. He not only performs messenger duties, but he also operates an addressograph machine. He is extremely neat, courteous, and cooperative; speaks and expresses himself well; and effective February 2, 1965, he was promoted to a GS-2, office machine operator.

The future of this program is extremely bright. The initial authority of these appointments was limited to 1 year. The program has been continued for an additional 3 years and I am confident that it will become a permanent part of the employment practices of the Federal Government. The program is already succeeding beyond our best expectations and is still gaining momentum. It snowballs. The supervisor who works with a retardate becomes sold on the program and wants more employees of the same category. As the agency's understanding of the program grows, as placement practices improve, and as the retarded appointees continue to prove their worth, more and better appointments will be made.

I have been associated with programs for the employment of the handicapped in the Federal service for many years. I have supported the programs enthusiastically and with confidence that the handicapped people could produce well. Support of the program for the employment of the mentally restored is such that 17 percent of the employees in the Medical Division of the Civil Service Commission have recovered from a significant mental or emotional disorder and are performing in a superior manner. While I supported these programs enthusiastically I can even more enthusiastically support the program for the employment of the retarded. These people have a tremendous ability to perform satisfactorily in a wide variety of properly selected jobs when they are properly trained and properly placed. They can contribute markedly to the total productivity of our society and deserve the employment opportunities which will allow them to become useful citizens.

Straw the Outlaw

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FLOYD V. HICKS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents is a self-proclaimed outlaw. He is "Straw the Outlaw"—Mr. C. F. Straw, operator of a plumbing and heating concern in Tacoma, Wash., and "outlaw" only because he holds and articulates very definite views which are not always popular.

A letter I recently received from Mr. Straw expresses some of his very definite views—views with which I, Mr. Speaker, in most part disagree. But they are the views of one of my constituents who does not perhaps always believe that I properly represent him in this body, and consequently, I wish to afford Mr. Straw an opportunity to disseminate what he believes.

With that in mind, and with my disagreement to many of his views established, I place Mr. Straw's letter in the RECORD:

CONGRESSMAN HICKS: The issue before you on section 14(b) Taft-Hartley Act is one which is of grave concern to everyone and directly involves not only individual rights but States rights. To infringe on either is contrary to all basic principles as set forth by the founders of this Nation.

While it is true that many States which have so-called right-to-work laws do promote industrial and business development due to same, they do have a qualified, equitable labor force to man such industries. These people are in many cases more qualified and do better work than those of so-called organized labor. Why should not any locality advertise and promote industry on this basis? Is not our Nation based upon competition? Please note I did not use the word "fair" competition, for Government has made this a bad word as well as "profit."

It appears that Government is once more delving in the area of misinformation and promoting items which directly affect our gross national product very seriously. Statistics show and prove that we in small business are carrying the load of employment, gross national product, and taxes yet because of not being organized to the fullest, and promoting a strong lobbyist program with pressure tactics, our basic rights are one by one being denied or taken away, 14(b) so denies.

It cannot be denied by anyone in Congress that they have refused to consider or pass the legitimate and proper laws which would place organized labor on equal footing with management; namely, placing labor under antitrust laws. Nor will they deny that one worker can apply for and receive the fullest action under the NLRB. Yet small buisness is denied that right unless they do $250,000 interstate commerce and then they may or may not receive justifiable action under the laws governing same.

The facts at hand show and prove that small business is the rightful backbone of our economy, yet is not receiving full protection under the law. Facts prove that organized labor is not living up to its sworn and basic obligation in the area of "looking the other way" when its members hold down two or more jobs, moonlight and do not fulfill proper work qualifications all of which are direct violations of basic principles of true unionism.

It is the request of you in Government and mainly President Johnson that industry hire or create at least 300,000 new jobs yearly, to maintain a required employment; yet even government employees are moonlighting. They demand equal pay for equal jobs, yet as an average they do not perform equal work in any given area. Many are now organized although they cannot strike, therefore the pressure is increasing for fringe benefits, etc. Someone must pay for these items now. We cannot run our individual lives borrowing more than we can produce, yet Government is and has been so doing. The practice of loophole law is not only aiding but abetting this practice as you well know.

To properly understand the true meaning and picture of organized labor, one must read the history of Samuel Gompers, understand why he was the father of organized labor and what basic principles he stood for. Today heed must be given and required steps taken to get this group back on the right path as originally intended.

In many areas of trades, Government is sanctioning and paying for trade schools which are a direct use of school funds, yet are "closed shop" agreements. If a shop desires to place apprentices therein, they must be a signer of an agreement with organized labor—or no school facilities or aid. Place this in your so-called civil rights area of action and see where it leads. For no nation is stronger than its true tradesmen and small businesses.

To ask you men who have the facts at hand, "What total percentage of the work force in the United States is now under closed shop agreements?", brings the problem in true perspective. Check the figures of Boeing Co. in Washington State alone, then check the area of construction trades, one- and two-man shops. These two items will prove a major area of employment. The smaller the business the less able to operate and truly abide by union regulations and pay.

I cannot legally under a union agreement work with the tools except for repair work, if I sign an agreement, they will "look the other way" until a complaint is made by another shop or an employee, then I am subject to a fine and much pressure. Unions cannot man the workload across the board, during heavy work periods, so you must hire anyone who can get the work done. When slack periods arise, then you are expected to lay off those who served when needed, and hire men from the union, who will leave when work they prefer comes along again. Is this fair and legal even under the Taft-Hartley Act—No. Yet to date no solution is forthcoming.

You people are thinking and talking of double time for overtime, cutting the work day to 6 hours to gain more employment overall. The true picture is that business today is actually getting 6 or less hours of work per man. Take off the driving time to and from jobs, coffee—newspaper—breakfast, lunch and other lost time items and the net productive worktime is a true factor. So once more we talk of "curing the surface and not the source." Someone must pay for these items, business is not getting adequate and fair raises to cover so is being gradually squeezed via profit squeezing. This item has now reached and passed the danger point as bankruptcy count will prove.

If you will check the record—under NRA and the Roosevelt administration the profit margin was approximately 25 percent, controls came off under Truman and the margin dropped to 15 percent, under Eisenhower they dropped to 10 and they now stand on an average of 5 percent according to trade journals and surveys I have read. The men and industry that are doing the basic work are not receiving justifiable profit for the work performed. This is especially true in the construction industry. With every squeeze, ways must be found to cut costs, the main cost now is labor in many areas.

Once more I must warn all in Congress, commonsense gives us the who, what, where, when, why, and how of any problem, to find the proper and fair answers we must get to the basic factors of trouble—not pass more laws to becloud the issues. We desperately need more enforcement of all existing laws—not new laws.

There is no area of government which is covering properly the enforcement of delegated authority, including Congress to date. The apathy which is growing daily, will get out of hand if you do not immediately counteract same with the authority given you under oath and law. Disrespect for law and order, much less our Nation and flag, is of major concern to every true American. We all need to practice and force others to respect these items now.

"You get only that which you pay for" is applicable to all areas of government also, yet every citizen today is now wondering just what they are getting. The old fallacy of "Ignorance of the law is no excuse" is one readily questionable when even our courts are in doubts as to true meaning of any given set of circumstances and laws applicable thereto. As a former superior court judge, you need not be reminded of these facts, nor can you ignore them.

I cannot understand when you have basic facts to go on (check the Mandate American Way Ballots), on this and other issues, why the way is not clear and the route to take is not marked for action. These basic unbiased reports are not prejudice nor biased, but a true cross-sectional vote of over 200,000 small business and professional men. They equal the equivalent voting power of at least 400,000 votes. These men are thinking concerned Americans who donate their time, efforts and money to aid government. The files are open to all members of government in all areas of our Nation.

Labor today is the villain and management the lamb—the opposite of the time when the Taft-Hartley Act was adopted. I know for I have been through every phase of both sides of the picture. We have been and are now placing our Nation's future above all else—which is more than many are doing today. We demand the right to aid in this effort.

I request that you meditate the history of other great nations who have gone down this rocky road before us. History does repeat itself. Check the record to date and try to find the answer—many of us have. We do not like what we see. Every elected official is directly accountable to the American public for same. The issue before you is another pitfall which must be solved in an unbiased, fair and impartial manner, placing our country and its future above all.

It is my sincere belief that you and Congressman PELLY are the two true representatives of the people of this State. I show no regard for political parties as a true independent, but respect the man who holds the office, for what he is and tries to be. The above issue goes beyond party lines and vote or fund obligations. While pressure lobbyist tactics are to be considered, let them clean their own house before asking for favors not justly deserved. The area of government favoring one group over another must stop. Labor has been coddled by government for over 20 years. This is not true representation of all the people as per law and oath.

I sincerely believe in organized labor, however, cannot condone same as it exists today. Let them pay their way also, they are not privileged and are are adding daily to costs of all areas of government and livelihood.

Very sincerely,

C. F. STRAW.

Restive Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, no one has dared label the 89th Congress a "do-nothing Congress." It is likely that no similar period of time since President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "hundred days" has seen such an outpouring of beneficial social legislation. More has been done since Congress convened in January than in any other year in memory.

Yet, the fight is by no means over. There are many bills yet to be considered which have been labeled top priority and which should be passed before Congress adjourns. In the fields of immigration, mass transportation and aid to depressed areas—to name three—important legislation should not be shelved for another term.

At this point, I wish to insert an editorial which appeared in Saturday's Newark, N.J., Star-Ledger, which discusses this situation in depth and which perceptively analyzes the problems involved.

The editorial follows:

RESTIVE CONGRESS

Congress is getting restive, and so is the President, but for different reasons. The legislators want to go home, the Chief Executive wants them to stay and pass his entire legislative program this year .

This is not unusual. It's the time of year when tempers get shorter, but not the speeches.

This congressional legislative record thus far has been a good one, but, as the President pointedly observes, it could be better.

On the credit side are such important pieces of domestic legislation as voting rights, Appalachia, medicare-social security, school aid, and housing. Appalachia and school aid are law, the others are in process of passage.

But there are other important legislative actions initiated by the executive branch that are still up for consideration—rapid transit, higher education, immigration, highway beautification, arts and humanities, military pay, creation of an urban affairs department, repeal of right-to-work laws and aid to depressed areas.

Mr. Johnson, a tough taskmaster, has intimated he would hold Congress to November to get his full legislative package enacted. This has brought, as Senate Majority Leader MANSFIELD noted, "deep rumblings from the Republican side and loud mumblings among the Democrats."

Mr. MANSFIELD says there's no reason why all the bills should be passed this year, and he's so advised the President. The response was a "long silence," liberally interpreted as meaning Mr. Johnson wants more action; he's looking for enactment of a hundred bills before Congress adjourns.

It is highly doubtful Mr. Johnson will get his whole legislative package through Congress this year. But he has been around the legislative gristmill for enough years to know he stands a better chance of getting bills through before adjournment than after. There's a psychological factor that weighs in favor of legislative enactment, getting things done before closing shop. When Congress returns next year, it's more apt to procrastinate than it would now.

Tiffin, Ohio, Searchlight Program Praised

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACKSON E. BETTS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, we hear a great deal about the need for citizen initiative at the community level to undertake a wide range of civic projects and solve many local problems. Far too often the "let George do it" attitude prevails or some Government officials here in Washington want to take over local responsibilities. I am proud that among the many civic organizations in the United States and in the Eighth District of Ohio is the group known as the Jaycees. The junior chamber of commerce in the city of Tiffin was recently recognized in an article in the July 1965 issue of Future and JCI magazine, the official publication of the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce. The "Civic Searchlight" programs in Tiffin are a wonderful example of what young men can do to support worthy projects in their hometown.

I am including the text of this article so my colleagues may take note of civic leadership in action:

TIFFIN, OHIO'S JAYCEES PRESENT CIVIC SEARCHLIGHT

A community's master plan, an airport and a proposed vocational school. The Tiffin, Ohio, Jaycees have brought these timely subjects into sharp focus in their city through a program entitled "Civic Searchlight," a project which brings together community citizens and community leaders in an apparently successful attempt to erase the confusion which always surrounds major civic changes.

Originally conceived as a means to acquaint Jaycees with the plans for their city's growth and development, civic searchlight grew from an interclub information session to a town meeting attracting over 100 persons.

Plans at first called for the Jaycees to invite local leaders involved in important areas of Tiffin's growth to Jaycee meetings for intimate face-to-face confrontation. But realizing that the lack of information which Jaycees felt about many civic projects was probably communitywide, the local decided to open the doors of its civic searchlight meetings to the general public.

To handle the mechanics of presenting the civic searchlight programs the local appointed Jaycees Michael B. Lange and Eugene Stacy as chairman and moderators for the project. Working together with otherer Jaycee members these men were charged with obtaining the topic and speakers for the

sessions and handling the physical arrangements and scheduling premeeting publicity.

Also, to make the sessions available to even more Tiffin residents, Jaycee reporters from the local radio station and newspaper, WTTF and the Advertiser-Tribune, agreed to provide full news coverage of the meetings, including stories, pictures, and a 15-minute broadcast of taped excerpts from the meetings.

The programs are divided into two parts. First, the speaker or speakers present a short introductory talk on the subject to be discussed; following this, the audience is invited to question the speaker on any area of the subject.

Perhaps the most important rule established for the programs was that while no audience debate was to be permitted, there would also be no bars on what questions could be asked of the speakers. Before taking the platform every speaker was informed of, and agreed to this rule. One of the co-chairmen always acts as moderator for the "Civic Searchlight," and sees to it that the rules are followed.

How can the Tiffin Jaycees measure the success of the "Civic Searchlight" project? Attendance at the first program, held at the regular Jaycee meeting place, saw an overflow crowd hear the explanation of the city's master plan. This marked the first opportunity the public had been given to question the master plan firm's resident freely, and it came at a time when the plan was nearing completion and had been read and published.

To accommodate the expected large crowd for the second program, featuring persons involved in raising local funds to build an airport for Tiffin, the Jaycees reserved a larger meeting place. The advance planning paid off, as over 100 persons filled the meeting room on the night of the program. Many rumors and questions had been circulating about the airport proposal, and since this project's success was dependent on public support and public finances, the airport proponents were happy to have an opportunity to present their case to the people and clear up any misunderstandings. Today that airport project has advanced to the construction stage, with the Tiffin Jaycees helping to raise the necessary funds.

Very little had been said or was known publicly about the most recent "Civic Searchlight" topic, a proposal for an area vocational school involving the Tiffin school system. Would Tiffin's school system join the proposed plan, and what would the plan be? These questions, previously unanswered, were answered through "Civic Searchlight."

"Civic Searchlight," now being held once a month, has provided many persons in Tiffin with a sense of activity and contribution of ideas in community affairs that was lacking before its conception. And the Tiffin Jaycees feel, and are recognized as, young men of action and a positive, moving force in their community.

A Tribute to the Honorable Leslie C. Arends, Minority Whip

SPEECH

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the distinguished majority whip.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I should like very much to concur in the expressions that have been made in reference to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ARENDS], my counterpart in the minority party. I have worked with him a long time. He has been a friend. He is not only a man of ability but he is a man of great honor and integrity. He is beloved by Members on both sides of the aisle.

The Late Neil J. Curry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Morning Telegraph:

ONE OF RACING'S LEADING SPOKESMEN—NEIL J. CURRY DIES; EX-NASRC HEAD

(By Leon Rasmussen)

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., July 20.—Neil J. Curry, 56, one of the most influential and effective leaders in the administration of horse racing and prominent in the trucking industry and in Democratic Party ranks, died unexpectedly here early this morning at his home on West Eighth Street in the Wilshire district.

Death was attributed to a heart attack, although Mr. Curry had stayed home 3 days last week to recover from a virus ailment. According to his family and close friend, Cliff Bailey, he had no previous history of heart trouble.

Mr. Curry had attended the yearling sales at Hollywood Park on Sunday and appeared in fine spirits, and Bailey said he appeared most cheerful and well on Monday.

Mr. Curry telephoned a doctor himself at about 3 a.m. today, and his death occurred at about 3:30.

Mr. Curry, who was a member of the California Horse Racing Board and was a former chairman of that body, also served two terms as president of the National Association of State Racing Commissioners. He was also a member and an influential spokesman on racing's Industry Advisory Committee to the Federal Communications Commission.

The rosary will be recited at 8 p.m., Thursday, at the Cathedral Chapel, 927 South La Brea, Los Angeles, and a requiem mass will be celebrated at 10 a.m. Friday at the Cathedral Chapel. Callan Mortuary, 1031 North Western Avenue, is in charge of funeral arrangements.

Mr. Curry is survived by his wife, Esther R. (Connie), whom he married on March 31, 1930; three children, Robert A. Curry, Mrs. Patricia A. Thompson and Mrs. Jane F. Tichenor, and seven grandchildren, Robert, Jr., Neil, Patricia, Marcia, and Michael Curry, and Scott and Mark Tichenor. Also surviving are a brother Philip, of Los Angeles and a sister, Mrs. Mary Loretta McBrien of Fresno, Calif.

Mrs. Curry, also enthusiastic about racing, bred the stake-winner Count Charles, among others. Count Charles brought $22,000 as a yearling at Del Mar, and was one of the sales toppers.

Daughter Pat, an expert equestrienne, is also actively engaged in the thoroughbred operation at Ridgeley Farm, which is managed by her husband Jim Thompson.

Death came to Mr. Curry just 5 days before his 57th birthday. He was born July 24, 1908, in Oil City, Pa. He was a graduate of Villanova College and came to California in 1936, at which time he was associated with Tidewater Associated Oil Co.

HEADED TRUCKING CO.

At his death, Mr. Curry was also president of the California Cartage Co., one of the largest trucking firms in the western United States and of Pacific U-Drive. He also was a director of Avco, Crossley Broadcasting, Farmers Insurance, and Straza Industries. Additionally, he served as a director of the National Safety Council and as a trustee of the City of Hope Medical Center in Duarte, Calif. He also was a past president of the American Trucking Association, California Trucking Associations, and the Western Highway Institute.

Mr. Curry, whose litany of accomplishments for the welfare of racing throughout the Nation and in his own State of California, in particular, is almost without parallel, was the prototype of the dedicated, unselfish public citizen. He accomplished important things in a quiet, assured manner. He never sought the limelight, but his deeds manifested themselves in such a strong, fundamental and productive way that he was honored and respected by persons in all branches of the sport.

He received many honors, the most recent coming a few weeks ago when he received the Man of the Year award from the Horsemen's Benevolent and Protective Association at the annual awards dinner in Los Angeles on June 28, more than 1,000 horsemen, racing officials, track executives, and officials of the Federal Government, took part in honoring him.

Mr. Curry had a long-time interest in racing, but it was not until 1951 that he first raced some horses in a partnership under the name of the Blue Grass Stables.

ACCEPTS APPOINTMENT

After several offers of the chairmanship of the California Horse Racing Board, Mr. Curry, in 1959, accepted Governor Edmond S. (Pat) Brown's appointment for a 4-year term. He was reappointed chairman in 1963, but resigned in 1964 because of pressure of business activities, while remaining on as one of the commissioners.

Curry's grasp of racing's needs and his ability to get things done was quickly recognized nationally and in 1963 he was named president of the NASRC, a position he held with distinction while guiding the group through one of its most productive eras.

Mr. Curry was also a leading business executive and civic leader.

Herve Racivitch, president of the HBPA, in paying homage to Mr. Curry in June, said: "In his chosen field of transportation he has gained national recognition. He is a former president of the Motor Transport Association and is chairman of the executive committee of the American Trucking Association. He serves as chairman of the board of the Truck Insurance Exchange, and he is a director of many large business corporations, including Avco Corp.

"As a public-spirited citizen he devotes his time and talents to eleemosynary and educational institutions. He is a member of the trustees of the City of Hope Hospital, a former director of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, and on an advisory committee of Northwestern Universary."

Mr. Curry played a key role in the security of the late President John F. Kennedy when he came to Los Angeles and he was a member of President Kennedy's Survey Committee on Mass Federal Transportation System, and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce Committee on Transportation and Communications. He was also a personal friend of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

President Johnson sent the following telegram to Racivitch at the HBPA dinner:

"May I join you in saluting my good friend Neil Curry. I know you are enjoying a most pleasant evening. My very best wishes to Neil and all of our good friends." (Signed) Lyndon B. Johnson.

Another wire was sent by E. William Henry, Chairman of the FCC, who caller Mr. Curry, "* * * our very good friend and horse race broadcast expert."

Mr. Curry was the first racing commissioner to receive the coveted HBPA award.

In his tenure as chairman of the California board and as one of its commissioners, Mr. Curry was instrumental in eliminating the 48-hour medication rule in California; played a vital role in the settlement of the serious parimutuel strike; improved back stretch conditions; was a tireless worker in the interests of uniform rules for the sport; and constantly attacked the multiple-gambling gimmicks, calling them a threat to racing as a sport. He argued that the turf faced dark days if racing's image as a sport were ever lost.

His own philosophy and his attitude toward racing was probably best expressed in a statement he made to the Morning Telegraph Columnist Oscal Otis in 1960.

He said:

"Although as a member of the racing board I represent the State, the State also represents the people, and I believe my appointment to the board carries with it the responsibility to see the best interests of State, citizen, and industry are attained."

BACKED FREE ENTERPRISE

"It is also my firm conviction that the tracks in the State while operating always under the supervision of the California Horse Racing Board—should always remain private enterprises subject to no pressure other than the best interests of thoroughbred racing."

Mr. Curry fought for racing and repeatedly excoriated the State's bleeding of racing, taxwise, and repeatedly implored the various segments of racing to use their political influence to prevent excessive tax "bites."

Racivitch also noted, "Neil J. Curry loves the sport of thoroughbred racing and he does not want its image tarnished. He feels the millions of racing fans are its strongest political resource and as long as racing is preserved as a good clean sport, the fans will mobilize themselves and public opinion for the preservation of their sport.

"While this great leader has accomplished so much for the thoroughbred industry in America, the horsemen considered the successful fight to preserve the right to broadcast and televise horseracing his greatest achievement. It was because of his persuasion that the Federal Communications Commission adopted a policy not to inhibit the broadcasting of any horserace of interest to the listening public or of national importance."

Mr. Curry's avocation was breeding thoroughbreds. In this respect he took the timeworn adage of "improving the breed" seriously. At his impeccable Ridgeley Farm in Hemet, he was building one of the finest broodmare bands in California.

LOVED BREEDING

This was the part of racing he loved more than any other. While his business activities and public-spirited endeavors kept him away a good deal of the time, he always made an effort to be home on the weekends so that he could spend a quiet Sunday at the farm inspecting the bloodstock, tabbing future runners among the yearlings, and watching the weanlings grow. His wife shared his enthusiasm for the farm.

The Nasrullah stud Nagea, winner of a Del Mar Derby; the Bold Ruler stallion Neke, winner of the Hollywood Juvenile Championship, and the Alibhai horse, Mr. Consistency, winner of the Santa Anita Handicap and many other rich fixtures, stand at Ridgeley Farm.

In 1964, Mr. Curry was the honored guest and principal speaker at the annual dinner of the National Turf Writers' Association held in Louisville at Derby time.

The NTWA cited Mr. Curry "as one of the outstanding surf leaders of his era, who has revitalized the work and stature of the California commission and has been equally as effective as leader of the commissioners' national organization."

Another of his notable contributions was his work on the soon-to-be-released Stanford Research Survey and study of the racing picture in the State, a 6-month project which it is hoped will guide legislators in Sacramento in any decisions regarding the sport.

It was at Mr. Curry's personal instigation that the racetracks, the breeders, and others in racing raised the money necessary to finance the important survey.

A Job Chicago Should Have

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, some few days ago, I commented on research and development contracts for ground transportation. In those remarks to the House, I referred to the great railroad center in Chicago and the research that is being done in at least two great research centers there.

On July 21, the Chicago American included an editorial in the edition of that day entitled, "A Job Chicago Should Have." I believe this editorial is pertinent in every way to the observations which I made to the House a few days ago.

The editorial follows:

A JOB CHICAGO SHOULD HAVE

Chicago is the greatest railroad center in the world and the best of the railroad research facilities are in the Midwest, but Massachusetts Institute of Technology apparently is about to get the research contracts for ground transportation studies. Representative WILLIAM L. SPRINGER, senior Republican member of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, says this is in accord with the administration's policy of discriminating against the Midwest in research contracts. He said the policy will injure the Midwest's economic growth.

As SPRINGER said, the Association of American Railroads' Research Center and Northwestern University's Transportation Center are Chicago institutions, and the University of Illinois, Ohio State and Purdue Universities all have important research facilities for railroad research. But Massachusetts Institute of Technology has no special standing as a researcher of railroad transportation.

The coming study of ground transportation will be important—it will concern the development of high speed railroad transportation—and it is to be financed by the Federal Government.

On the sensible theory that the research contracts should be let in the region where the most is known about railroads and where the most important research centers are, most of these should be let in Chicago, but the preliminary studies were made by MIT.

SPRINGER said he hoped midwestern Congressmen can do something to get some of the contracts for the Midwest and so do we.

Increased Military Pay a Must

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, prior to the debate on the military pay raise, legislation in the House of Representatives, my colleague, the gentleman from the Fourth District of Kansas, the Honorable GARNER SHRIVER, made a strong case for the increase for military personnel in his weekly newsletter to his constituents.

The logic of his arguments for the pay increase provided the basis for an editorial in the Junction City, Kans., Daily Union on Wednesday, July 21.

Inasmuch as I also supported the military pay increase, and since this editorial appeared in the district I represent, I feel that it should be brought to the attention of my colleagues.

Under leave to revise and extend my remarks, the editorial follows:

INCREASED MILITARY PAY A MUST

It is strange, indeed, remarks Congressman GARNER SHRIVER, that under pay scales now in effect a private in the army who may be called upon to risk his life for his country receives substantially less pay than a Job Corps enrollee in the antipoverty program.

Representative SHRIVER, who represents the Kansas Fourth District in Washington, pointed out that legislation providing an average 10 percent pay increase for members of the Armed Services had been approved 34 to 1 by the House Armed Services Committee. He added:

"Each of the military services has reported difficulty in attracting and retaining adequate numbers of highly qualified career personnel. Departmental statistics reveal large percentage of military personnel are forced to obtain a second job to provide their families with an adequate standard of living.

"There is no question that the men and women serving in the military services are entitled to, and require adequate compensation. They are making substantial personal sacrifices to help insure the security and strength of America and the free world.

"Neither is there any question that an increase in military pay is needed in order to make such service more attractive to prospective servicemen and to those already serving.

"It is strange, indeed, that under pay scales now in effect a private who may be called upon to risk his life for his country receives substantially less pay than a Job Corps enrollee in the antipoverty program here at home.

"This is hardly an incentive designed to attract men to serve, or reenlist, in the U.S. Armed Forces.

"The present system of promotions in the military services also fails to make service in the Armed Forces attractive to young men. Congress should give immediate consideration to the improvement of the present structure of promotion.

"There also are inconsistencies which need to be corrected in the way the Department of Defense has applied combat pay provisions of present law. I have introduced legislation to provide special hostile fire duty pay for all military personnel serving in Vietnam.

"Shortly after I introduced the combat pay bill, the Department of Defense made 75 percent of our forces in Vietnam eligible for such benefits at the discretion of the Secretary. In view of the growing buildup of troops in Vietnam, the combat pay provision should be applied across the board in that theater of activity.

"These are some of the steps which should be taken to help correct present inequities. Every American owes a debt of gratitude to the men and women who are loyally and sacrificially serving and defending the freedom and liberty we enjoy."

Overseas Travel Aids Congressional Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, Malcolm S. Forbes, publisher and editor in chief of Forbes magazine, has released an editorial in the July 15, 1965, iss of the publication, which should be read by all Members of the 89th Congress.

Entitled "Junket Time," this editorial provides a minority point of view which will boost the morale of those traveling Members whose trips away from Washington have been assailed by less kindly writers.

For those who have not read the editorial, I quote:

JUNKET TIME

It's getting to be the time of year when some members of many assorted congressional committees travel abroad to see at first hand what the Congress hath wrought. Such recent overseas ventures have included a 7-member group of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on a European study mission of 9 countries; a delegation of House and Senate Members who attended the Interparliamentary Union Conference in Dublin to discuss economic and internal problems with delegates from the 75 member nations; 5 members of the House Subcommittee on Foreign Agriculture who visited 13 African nations while checking into U.S. surplus-food distribution and observing African agriculture.

As inevitable as these congressional travels is the rash of annual editorials which will deplore these junkets and their cost.

Forbes would like to lodge a minority opinion.

We think such field trips by Senators and Congressmen are overwhelmingly valuable. Scenes and people, countries and governments seen first hand are infinitely more valuable for the forming of opinion and judgment than most compilations served up in printed form of committee hearings.

Sure, an occasional "Capitol Hiller" sounds off in a stupid or insulting fashion in some land he is visiting and complicates life for the State Department.

This danger, and the cost of congressional travel, is however, very heavily offset by the great pluses of having those who legislate on our relations abroad getting as much first-hand knowledge as possible.

Gag Rule, New Style

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, 19 seconds per Member is not much of a time allocation for use of each Member of the House in expressing his views on the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law.

This has very aptly been called a new form of gag rule by columnist Roscoe Drummond. His analysis of this more appears under the heading "Gag Rule, New Style" and follows:

GAG RULE, NEW STYLE

(By Roscoe Drummond)

When you read about "gag rule" in Congress usually it's about political conservatives who want to bottle up legislation they don't like and keep it from coming to a vote.

Now the other side of the coin is coming into view.

This time it is the Democratic liberals who want to rush through the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law by using a form of "gag rule" to deny adequate debate and consideration of significant amendments.

It is in the power of the majority of the House of Representatives to prevent it. The decision is imminent. Congressmen ought to be on notice that they are being watched as to how they vote.

Surely repeal of that part of the act which permits the States to outlaw compulsory union membership must be deemed important legislation—whether you are for or against it.

This is no routine decision. It should be taken only after adequate debate and freedom to consider valid amendments on the floor of the House.

What will prevent it? Here's what's happening and how it comes about:

When Congress convened last January, Democratic and Republican liberals joined in passing a new House rule—and a good one. This rule provides that if the Rules Committee has kept a bill for more than 21 days, any member of another committee that has considered it may call it up before the House.

Good. A handful of Congressmen should not have the power to deny the House the right to consider legislation.

Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, Democrat of New York, chairman of the Labor and Education Committee, proposes to use this new rule shortly to bring before the House a bill to repeal section 14(b) of Taft-Hartley.

He is proposing a 2-hour limit on debate; 2 hours that is, not even 2 days— less than 19 seconds for each of the 435 Members of the House to discuss this significant action.

He is proposing such a tight limit on the right of Congressmen to offer amendments that the House is, in effect, restricted to repealing section 14(b)—POWELL's way or not at all.

No wonder the entire House Republican leadership from GERALD FORD of Michigan to CHARLES GOODELL of New York—neither of whose States has enacted right-to-work laws—is asking every Republican and as many others as agree with the leadership to vote against this kind of inadequate consideration of alternatives.

The GOP leadership is not, per se, asking Republicans to vote against repeal but to vote against POWELL's rush-it-through tactics.

The House has wisely ended gag rule by the Rules Committee.

It ought not to accept gag rule on the floor.

U.S. Rabbis Speak in Moscow Pulpit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of the House and of the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD generally to an historic event which took place yesterday in Moscow. A delegation of American rabbis visited the Moscow Central Synagogue, and three of them addressed the congregation.

The first speaker on this occasion was Rabbi Israel Miller, president of the Rabbinical Council of America. Rabbi Miller is one of my most distinguished constituents and I am privileged to call him my friend. The Kingsbridge Heights Jewish Center, under his spiritual leadership, is a major force for good in Bronx County, N.Y.

Rabbi Miller has been one of the leaders in the widespread movement in the United States protesting the treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union and demanding that the Jewish community there be permitted to carry on its traditional religious observances. While yesterday's event was a moving one in reestablishing long-severed contacts between the American Jewish community and their brethren in the Soviet Union, it does not of course mean any major change in the policies of the Soviet Union which amount to official anti-Semitism. As I feel sure Rabbi Miller will say when he returns to this country, the fight to mobilize world opinion so as effectively to induce the Soviet leaders to modify these policies must continue.

Under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include herewith the account of yesterday's events in Moscow as reported in today's New York Times, and also a profile of Rabbi Miller appearing in the same edition.

U.S. RABBIS SPEAK IN MOSCOW PULPIT—THREE FROM VISITING DELEGATION EVOKE SOBS IN SYNAGOGUE WITH PROMISE OF UNITY

(By Peter Grose)

Moscow, July 25.—The isolation of Soviet Jews from Jews overseas was lifted for a moment of deep emotion yesterday as three United States rabbis were permitted to address a crowded congregation from the pulpit.

Sabbath worshipers at Moscow's Central Synagogue rose and surged toward the platform as the visitors spoke. They applauded, there were tears and many sobbed openly at the Yiddish words of greeting from Jews of the United States.

Not for a decade had there been such a close and moving contact between the two Jewish communities.

NEW YORKER HEADS GROUP

It was the visit of a little-publicized official delegation from the Rabbinical Council of America that offered the opportunity for Russian Jews to hear Western rabbis.

The Reverend Israel Miller of New York, president of the Rabbinical Council, left Moscow today with eight other rabbis after a 5-day visit.

Rabbi Miller announced that the council, which represents more than 900 American orthodox rabbis, had officially invited the chief rabbi of Moscow, the Reverend Yehuda-Leib Levin, to visit the United States next year.

The American rabbi also discussed plans to continue contacts between Soviet and American Jews.

At the Sabbath service, with the Americans present, elderly Jewish worshipers were astonished to see a bar mitzvah ceremony—a scriptural reading by a 13-year-old boy, his initiation into Jewish manhood. It was a rarity in a society where the spiritual upbringing of youth of all religions is discouraged.

A hint of the excitement that was to follow came when Rabbi Miller and the other Americans followed Rabbi Levin into the congregation as the Torah scroll was paraded through.

Though the Americans had not yet been introduced, worshippers reached out to touch their arms and clothes, to kiss their hands, to ask where they were from.

The word spread that they were Americans; from all sides people whispered to them the names of relatives or friends in Brooklyn, in Chicago, in Michigan.

POLITICAL TOPICS BARRED

Last Thursday, Rabbi Miller asked Rabbi Levin if the visitors could extend greetings to the congregation. The last time an American rabbi spoke from the pulpit was 10 years ago, when a similar delegation visited Moscow.

Friday night Rabbi Levin said permission had been granted. It seemed to be a decision of the Government and not of the synagogue. Three of the rabbis were to speak for 5 minutes each, and they were not to touch on any political topic.

The synagogue Saturday morning was crowded with 500 or 600 men, almost all of them older than 50.

"We have with us distinguished guests from America," Rabbi Levin began. Soon the whole congregation was crowded against the pulpit. "We are pleased to have them extend greetings to us."

The crowd started to applaud, but Rabbi Levin quickly reminded them that they were in a holy place on the Sabbath.

Rabbi Miller spoke first, followed by the Reverend Bernard Poupko, of Pittsburgh, and the Reverend Bernard Bergman, of New York.

Alongside were the other members of the delegation: The Reverend Samuel Chill and the Reverend Samuel Turk, both of Brooklyn; the Reverend Alex Weisfogel, of Springfield, Mass., the Reverend Azriel Reisman and the Reverend Bernard Twersky, both of New York, and the Reverend Rafael Grossman, of Long Branch, N.J.

A PLEA TO ALMIGHTY

The rabbis noted that the prayer just read had begged that "the Almighty should fulfill all the requests of our hearts for good."

"Your requests and our requests are one and the same," Rabbi Miller told the congregation. "We have not come to speak politically, but to seek our brethren for you to know that we consider the Jewish people all as one."

When the last American had finished, there was a hush in the synagogue. Rabbi Levin spoke again, paying what seemed to be a price for letting the Americans talk.

"Take back to your homes the wishes of the Soviet people for peace," the Russian rabbi said. "And specifically for the suffering peoples of Vietnam."

DOWN-TO-EARTH RABBI: ISRAEL MILLER

He is outspoken, yet soft-spoken. He pores over the Talmud almost daily, yet also reads "Franny and Zooey."

He is scholarly and serious, yet delights in trooping with his family into Central Park, spreading out a blanket and enjoying a picnic dinner at dusk while waiting in line for Shakespeare in the park. As president of the largest Orthodox Jewish clerical group in the country, the Rabbinical Council of America, the Reverend Israel Miller is also a traveler who makes numerous visits overseas—visits that rarely attain the emotional impact and poignancy of the one in Moscow on Saturday.

In the climax of his 5-day visit, Rabbi Miller, heading a council delegation, addressed a crowded congregation at Moscow's central synogague. It was, in the tenuous relationship between Jews and the Soviet Government, a rare and electric moment.

"Our purpose in coming," he said, "was to let the Russian Jews see that they are not alone or forgotten. We came on a purely religious mission, with no specific cultural or political goals."

A MAN OF APLOMB

If Rabbi Miller displayed strong emotion at the Moscow Sabbath service, his friends in New York would be surprised. "Rabbi Miller is a very calm, very serene man," according to the Reverend Emanuel Rackman, former president of the Rabbinical Council and the New York Board of Rabbis.

"He's not flippant," Rabbi Rackman observed, "but he's not pompous. In fact, he's the very antithesis of pompousness."

"He's the type of man I could very easily ask to join me in a bike ride through Central Park," said Mrs. Carol Twersky, the wife of the Reverend Bernard Twersky, who was in Moscow with Rabbi Miller.

Despite Rabbi Miller's formality—he recently volunteered to help a dinner hostess with the dishes—the rabbi, in the pulpit, is a strong and forceful speaker.

In a highly publicized Jerusalem speech in 1961, he warned the Conservative and Reformed Judaism—branches of the religion that are less rigid than Orthodoxy in adhering to ritual—"can only serve as a divisive influence" in Israel and "will not strike roots" there.

On other controversial matters, Rabbi Miller has accused West Germany of a failure to stem "manifestations of anti-Semitism," and he has taken sharp issue with Msgr. John Paul Haverty, secretary of education in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York, who described the U.S. Supreme Court last year as "the greatest evil in the country today."

Israel Miller was born in Baltimore on April 6, 1918, the son of Tobias and Bluma Miller. He still visits his parents there about once a month.

The rabbi received a bachelor of arts degree from Yeshiva College in 1938 and a master's degree 3 years later. On May 24, 1942, he was named rabbi of the Kingsbridge Heights Jewish Center in the Bronx. He remains in that post.

In his sermons, Rabbi Miller has stressed the role of science in religion and has termed indifference and neutrality two of the chief foes of faith.

"Indifference is the problem which assails us," he said in 1958. "If the 'religious revival' has meant anything, it has revealed to us that the intellectual battle against the anti-religious has been largely won."

He added: "We are now faced with the more difficult task of waging war against the smug and apathetic, the spiritually listless and morally neutral."

CHAPLAIN TO COLLEGIANS

Slim, bespectacled and of medium height, Rabbi Miller has been described by friends as very soft spoken.

The rabbi was named president of the 900-member Rabbinical Council a year ago yesterday. He has served as counsel to the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation at Hunter College in the Bronx and has been associated with the Jewish War Veterans, the New York Board of Rabbis, the Association of Jewish Chaplains, the Jewish Education Committee of New York, the Boy Scouts of America, and other civic groups. He was also president of the Rabbinic Alumni of Yeshiva University.

In 1945 Rabbi Miller, then a chaplain in the Army, married Ruth Goldman of Hartford. They have four children—Judith, David, Michael, and Deborah. The family lives on Davidson Avenue in the West Bronx.

Beautification—St. John, Mo.: An Example

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, following are my remarks on the occasion of St. Johns, Mo., receiving the national award of the Men's Garden Clubs of America for community beautification, Sunday, July 25, 1965, Endicott Park:

Fellow citizens, fellow estheticians, fellow horticulturists, fellow floriculturists and, I presume, a few fellow olericulturists, because it is primarily in the field of cultivating vegetables and that limited to the easiest of all to tend—the tomato—that I qualify in the fellowship here assembled.

I want to assure you that it is a great pleasure to me to participate in these ceremonies, first to honor a community which has honorably lived up to what we all would wish our communities would live up to—so I call attention to the broad fellowship of citizenship here assembled; second, to honor a noble human aspiration, the desire for beauty, to honor the esthetic values of life. Third, to honor a specific area of esthetics, that of working with rather than against the splendors of nature. It is the belief of horticulturists, and certainly the floriculturist, that man can pursue his economic endeavors, not only in harmony with nature and its beauties, but in a complementary fashion that enhances both economic values and esthetic values. Fourth and last, but possibly most important, to honor the voluntary, rather than the compulsory, cooperative efforts of men and women. You volunteers of St. John, you members of the Ritenour Men's Garden Club, you members of the Men's Garden Clubs of America have the understanding that it is by persuasion and example that lasting human values move forward.

Our constitutional forefathers grasped that basic truth when they referred to the pursuit of happiness, not happiness itself, as a proper objective of the governmental mechanism within a society—the compulsory mechanism within a society.

After all, when all is said and done, is not the essence of government the right of the majority to bind, in a compulsory fashion, the minority? A necessary element in man's efforts to work together for a common goal

and yet an element which, as much as possible, should be minimized to allow for the working together voluntarily whenever and wherever this can come about. And this does come about through specialized knowledge becoming what we call, but fail so often to ponder its true meaning, commonsense (and I am accenting the adjective common to mean within the grasp of almost all).

I will dwell on this point a bit more because it needs to be more widely understood itself, so it too will become commonsense. Before Galileo, commonsense was that the earth was the center of the universe around which the sun, the moon, the planets and all the stars orbited. Indeed, is this not so? Common observation confirms it. Yet specialized knowledge, not yet commonsense, based upon special observation, not common observation, told men differently. It was only when enough men led by those, persuaded by those who had made the special observations, made these special observations themselves that it became common knowledge that the earth went around the sun. So we are constantly in the process, through education, of rendering specialized knowledge into common knowledge.

I might state that, as far as I am concerned, how a television set operates among so many common things in our life today is still specialized knowledge, not common knowledge. But it works and there are enough people who are gainfully employed because it works to make its working, if not the details, common knowledge.

So it is with beauty. There is much specialized knowledge in the broad field of esthetics, but there is also much common knowledge about beauty, and the amount of this knowledge is constantly increasing in our society. However, it moves and must move voluntarily, not compulsorily. If this movement seems slow, we must exercise patience. Government can help, just as the wise city fathers of St. John have helped the volunteer efforts of its citizens. So, rightfully, they—in behalf of all the citizens of St. John—are receiving a national award from a volunteer group with specialized knowledge in an important field of esthetics. But what has the city of St. John really done? What it really has done is to assist in efforts already being made. It has removed impediments to the pursuit of beauty; it has smoothed the path. It has created the climate so the voluntary efforts could root, could grow and be productive.

I think many of you are beginning to grasp the fundamental point I am trying to make. Here I am, an official of the Federal Government in Washington, D.C., participating in the ceremonies honoring voluntary activities and local governmental activities. I am happy to participate, but the main function I can serve is to call attention to what has been done and is being done without the use of the powerful mechanism we call the Federal political government. The yet unanswered question I raise and leave for study is, Where can the Federal Government help in these efforts and, conversely, where can it hurt in these important voluntary and local efforts?

There are too many people today, either through laziness, lack of concern or because they think they know the answers with sufficient certainty, to compel others to pursue the course they lay out, who think we can attain beauty or happiness through the majority imposing its will on the minority. Is compulsion the real way to make specialized knowledge common knowledge? I doubt it deeply.

I would observe, as Justice Brandeis observed, about knowledge in the field of political science: we have 48 State laboratories to test out ideas about how to run government—48 laboratories in which to experiment. The 48 have now become 50, but good people of St. John, I would observe that there really are 100,000 laboratories in the United States today to test out theories in the field of political science. There are 100,000 taxing authorities in the United States run by boards of aldermen, trustees, and councilors elected by the people who make up the school districts, the fire districts, the sewer districts, the counties, the municipalities and the States, all experimenting in the field of government—the field of how men and women work together.

And here, I am so proud to say, is one of the 100,000 laboratories, here in my congressional district, where the workers, the scientists, if I may say so, have brought forth results which point the way for others to emulate in the important field of esthetics.

This is not St. John's first national award in this field. It is its second. We, your neighbors, are all mighty proud of your achievement. But my pride comes mainly, as I have sought to stress, from the example it sets of how our society really moves forward, through the voluntary efforts of 190 million people, through efforts based upon common understanding. It is common sense in St. John that beauty is important.

Grave Questions Posed on Reserve-Guard Merger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the editorial pages of the Long Beach Independent-Press-Telegram deserve commendation for raising certain grave questions relative to the proposed merger of Reserve and National Guard forces in the following editorial in its July 20 editions:

SOME GRAVE QUESTIONS

Grave questions are involved in the proposal by Defense Secretary McNamara to merge the Reserve units of the Armed Forces into the National Guard structure of the various States.

These questions led Representative L. MENDEL RIVERS, of the House Armed Services Committee, and others to demand hearings. While the exigencies of the situation in Vietnam make understandable the position of the defense boss, it is nevertheless an issue that should be given cautious consideration.

The merger would leave the country with virtually no Federal Reserve and only the National Guard available for Federal callup.

Stripping the States of their own Guard forces and recalling them to active Federal duty could leave domestic affairs in a state of chaos particularly in view of their demonstrated need in the areas of civil rights strife.

This could be particularly damaging in California should the Guard be needed.

If the California National Guard were called to active Federal service there would be no backup men for the State to call on in case of civil strife.

Only 2 weeks ago Lt. Gen. Roderic L. Hill, chief of the California National Guard, announced that he had inactivated the California State Military Reserve—backup for the National Guard—for lack of funds.

The 900-member group with units in 48 communities was supposed to provide internal security when the State's National Guard was called to Federal service.

These points suggest the necessity of a thorough examination of Secretary McNamara's proposal.

Proposed Amendment to Section 271 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, it is anticipated that a bill, H.R. 8856, to amend section 271 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 will be considered in the House shortly. This bill pertains to the supply of electric power to the Government's Stanford linear accelerator via a powerline through the town of Woodside and the county of San Mateo in California.

In connection with this matter I wish to insert in the RECORD at this point the attached letters to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy from the Atomic Energy Commission, the Department of Justice, and the Federal Power Commission, dated July 14, 16, and 21, 1965, respectively:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Washington, D.C., July 16, 1965.

Hon. CHET HOLIFIELD,
Chairman, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Congress of the United States, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in response to the request of counsel for your committee for our views as to the propriety of changing the language of section 271 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended (42 U.S.C. 2018), despite the fact that its interpretation is presently before the courts. We have also been asked for an estimate of the time required to resolve this question in the courts, assuming further proceedings are to be taken by the Federal Government, in the absence of clarifying legislation.

The proposed legislation now under consideration is intended to clarify the law in order to make clear the original intent of Congress in enacting section 271. We are informed that the Atomic Energy Commission is of the opinion that its program requires that the transmission facilities become available without further delay and that the Commission supports the early passage of this bill because of its impact on the national defense and security. In view of this, the enactment of the proposed legislation at an early date would not be improper despite the fact that further judicial review of the Ninth Circuit decision could yet be sought and would provide the only means of meeting the emergency situation.

The time involved in seeking further judicial review of the court of appeals decision absent clarifying legislation can only be estimated. Though such petitions are normally denied, there is a possibility that the court of appeals might grant a petition for rehearing. The Government has until August 18, 1965, to file such a petition. A decision by the court of appeals as to whether to grant any such application might reasonably be expected within 10 days or so after the filing of a petition for rehearing. If such a petition were granted, additional time for briefing might be allowed and thereafter a date for oral argument would be set by the court of appeals. A ruling could reasonably be expected within about 30 days after the oral argument.

If the court of appeals denies a petition for rehearing, or if it is granted and the decision is unchanged, further judicial review of the decision by the court of appeals could be had by the filing in the Supreme

Court of a petition for a writ of certiorari. The time for filing such a petition would expire 90 days after final action by the court of appeals. The Supreme Court would probably not act on a petition for a writ of certiorari until some time between December 1965 and February 1966, depending upon the time consumed by the foregoing processes. If certiorari were granted, considering the time required for briefing and argument, it is possible, under normal procedures, that the court would not dispose of the matter until June of 1966, or, under some circumstances, until the latter part of 1966. Thus, absent clarifying legislation, the delay in pursuing further judicial review would be substantial.

Very truly yours,

EDWIN L. WEISL, Jr.,
Assistant Attorney General.

FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., July 21, 1965.

Hon. CHET HOLIFIELD,
Chairman, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN HOLIFIELD: This is in response to your inquiry about underground electric power transmission lines operating at 220 kilovolts or more; and their cost as compared with equivalent overhead 220 kilovolt lines.

Our information is that there were about 25 miles of underground circuits at 220 kilovolts and higher in the United States at the end of 1964, and preliminary indications are that another 25 miles will be installed during 1965. There are many hundreds of miles of circuits at lower voltages.

The cost of a high-voltage line depends to a considerable extent upon the type of ground along the right-of-way, the congestion associated with the right-of-way, accessibility, the ruggedness of the terrain, and other variable factors, but the comparative figures of $50,000 per mile for overhead circuit and $500,000 per mile for an underground circuit are reasonably representative. Such a comparison assumes that the underground cable is not so long—say not more than 10 or 15 miles long—as to require expensive supplementary aboveground facilities for compensation of charging currents which, unless compensated, would seriously limit the capacity of the cables.

We have no actual records of the operating and maintenance costs of 220-kilovolt underground transmission lines. However, in a brief preliminary discussion of this subject by our recently formed Industry Advisory Committee on Underground Transmission, the consensus seemed to be that these costs would be relatively minor. Maintenance has not been a major problem on the more than 1,500 miles of underground cables now in service in the general range of 69 to 138 kilovolts. Nevertheless, when trouble develops on an underground circuit, considerably more time and expense is generally required to locate the point of failure and make repairs than would be the case for an overhead line.

At the present there is no basis for making a reliable projection of the time and effort that will be required to effect substantial reductions in the cost of underground high-voltage transmission. This is one of the principal assignments we have made to our Committee on Underground Transmission. A number of novel concepts for improvement of underground construction offer the possibility in the future for reduction in cost, but none has yet been proven to be feasible, and even if they prove feasible they do not seem likely to afford revolutionary cost reductions. The electrical and physical characteristics and the distances usually involved in high-voltage underground transmission differ greatly from those experienced in underground distribution. Thus, the success in recent years in lowering greatly the costs of underground low-voltage distribution should not be regarded as promising a similar trend for high-voltage transmission.

Your letter asks my opinion as to whether placing high-voltage transmission lines underground for scenic purposes only is justified at this time. Many thousands of miles of overhead high-voltage transmission are in operation today in areas of scenic interest, and many more thousands of miles are under construction or in the planning stage. It would be economically impossible on the basis of the present cost outlook to put much of this underground.

As I stated in my remarks as a member of the Panel on Underground Installation of the White House Conference on Natural Beauty, the present state of the art and the relative economics of high-voltage underground transmission seriously limits its application. While I look forward with hope to the future, opportunities for reasonable application at present must largely be limited to areas of relatively high population density and to areas of exceptional scenic beauty or historical value. The potential impact of a sharply expanded program of undergrounding on electric power costs is so serious that undergrounding should not be considered in a particular situation if it would set a broad precedent, but only where there are distinctive features to set it apart from the usual transmission line problem. I am not undertaking here to advise whether any given transmission line or segment possesses such distinctive features.

Undergrounding is not necessarily the only way to meet objections to overhead structures. Much can be done to improve appearance of facilities, and to minimize their obtrusiveness by exercising greater care in their location and in the treatment of rights-of-way. The industry has made progress in this direction in recent years, and is focusing on such ameliorative measures as the only generally available response to complaints about overhead construction.

I regret that I cannot be more definitive in responding to your questions.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH C. SWIDLER,
Chairman.

U.S. ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., July 20, 1965.

Mr. JOHN T. CONWAY,
Executive Director, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Congress of the United States.

DEAR MR. CONWAY: Your letter of July 15, 1965, requested AEC's comments on Mr. Younger's remarks pertaining to the urgency for bringing power to the Stanford linear accelerator made during the debate in the House on July 12.

To the best of our knowledge, no AEC or Stanford representative stated a year ago that power would be needed for the Stanford accelerator within 6 months.

Information on the need for power, as stated by AEC and Stanford during the past year, is summarized as follows:

At the hearing of January 29, 1964, Dr. Panofsky presented a curve, shown on page 19 of the hearing record, which indicated that the accelerator would require an additional source of power by mid-1965. On February 17, 1964, Mr. Younger and Mr. Hosmer attended a meeting at the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center to discuss the possibility of a joint sharing of the extra cost of building an underground transmission facility. Our San Francisco Operations Office, SLAC, P.G. & E., San Mateo County, and the town of Woodside were all represented. At that meeting it was stated that SLAC would require additional power by July 1, 1965. In November 1964, SLAC prepared a new power demand forecast based on more detailed accelerator test procedures and a reevaluation of early operating requirements made possible by increased knowledge and actual test of two sectors of the accelerator. This new forecast indicated a delay in demand of approximately 6 months when compared with the earlier forecast. The Joint Committee was so advised by letter dated December 3, 1964; we stated in this letter:

"Therefore, the 60-kilovolt line can be counted on for firm power to meet all SLAC demands until January–February 1966."

At the hearing before the Joint Committee in May 1965, Dr. Panofsky stated:

"The Pacific Gas & Electric Co. is committed to supply us with 18 million volt-amperes over existing service and can probably supply us with 30 million volt-amperes over that service on a contingent or an 'as available' basis. Our demand would thus exceed the committed capacity of the line at the end of this calendar year, and the contingent 30 million volt-amperes capacity by March 30, 1966; this latter date represents the scheduled date for initial operating tests of the completed 2-mile installation.

"Postponement of the 220-kilovolt service to a date later than March 1966 would progressively impair the research effectiveness of the SLAC laboratory by forcing operation at lower energy and lower data rate and by making it impossible for us to serve multiple users."

Of course, as the report on the bill to amend section 271 indicates, and as AEC has endeavored to make clear, the principal need for the clarifying legislation is the potential adverse effect of an erroneous interpretation of section 271 on the broad spectrum of AEC's activities, rather than merely on the SLAC problem.

If we can be of further assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely,

E. J. BLOCH,
(For General Manager).

Bread Tax: Those Tears for the Poor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROLLAND REDLIN

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. REDLIN. Mr. Speaker, a concise rebuttal to charges that the wheat certificate plan proposed in the omnibus farm bill, H.R. 9811, appears in the viewpoint and comment section of the July 17 edition of the Farmer, a magazine widely read by farm families in a 6-State upper Midwest area. I insert these comments in the Appendix of the RECORD:

BREAD TAX—THOSE TEARS FOR THE POOR

The proposed wheat program which is having a rough go of it in the Congress has some faults, but being a bread tax as claimed by the newly formed "Wheat Users Committee" is not one of them. Claim is that if the wheat program passes, the price of bread would be increased 2 cents per 1-pound loaf, and thus would be a tax on the poor.

There are two flaws in the contention.

First, an increase in price of domestically consumed wheat such as proposed should not result in a 2 cents per 1-pound loaf increase in bread price, because the wheat component of the bread doesn't amount to that much. Second, the tear-shedding comes with poor grace from the bakeries. It is pointed out by the National Association of Wheat Growers that since 1947 millers' share of the retail price of a loaf of bread has increased from 6 cents to 9 cents; bakers' and wholesalers' share has increased from 5.7 cents

to 11.4 cents; retailers' share has increased 1.9 cents to 4 cents; labor's hourly wage rate has increased from $1.15 to $2.33 per hour, an increase of 111 percent. During the same period farmers' share decreased 8 percent, from 2.7 cents a loaf to 2.5 cents.

Questions: Why weren't organizers of the wheat users committee wet-eyed and kicking up a fuss as bread prices were being increased the past 18 years, and why are they so very concerned about the prospect of a bread price increase now?

Independence Day in Liberia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I am proud today to honor the 118th anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Liberia which lies on the West Coast of Africa. With so much attention currently being paid to the so-called emerging nations and those just gaining their freedom from colonialism in Africa, it is amazing to realize that this country, which was never actually a colony of a great power, has enjoyed independence for only 71 years less than our own country.

The Republic of Liberia had its origin in 1816 when the American Colonialization Society was given a charter by the Congress to send freed slaves to settle on the West Coast of Africa. The country was first settled in 1822 with the financial assistance and encouragement of President James Monroe. Its capital, Monrovia, bears his name. The first arrivals settled along the coast, gradually securing additional territory from the tribal chieftains. In 1847 a free and independent republic was established. Although surrounded by vast territories belonging to the French and British Empires, Liberia struggled to maintain its borders and remain free of encroachment by these great European powers during the first 100 years known as the "century of survival." Today, Liberia is about the size of the State of Ohio with a population of somewhat over a million.

Liberia has always shared a common heritage with the United States, not only because of our assistance in its founding, but also because its constitution and system of government are modeled after ours. English is the official language and American currency is used. Our two nations have constantly maintained close economic and cultural contacts. Evidence to this closeness is the fact that the descendants of the original founders are known as Americo-Liberians.

Despite its Western heritage Liberia exhibits an identity that is completely African. As a small but effective leader among free nations it is strongly anti-Communist, a faithful ally of the United States and the free world, and an active member of the United Nations.

A country rich in natural resources of rubber, iron ore, timber, and other raw materials, Liberia today faces the task of reconciling the old tribal society and mores with a new expanding economy which is seeking to modernize and raise standards of living, education, and public welfare. Increasing nationalism has caused the Americo-Liberians to begin identifying with their African rather than Western heritage, and to push for greater integration of all levels of culture and society in the country. On its own initiative, with financial and technical assistance from the United States and United Nations, Liberia is making a major effort to upgrade its economy and provide materially for a better life for its people. Under the very able leadership of President William V. S. Tubman the country has been making great strides forward, especially during the past 20 years, to create a viable modern society with the materials at hand.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend this Nation for its contribution to an expanding, modern world. Without any strife or violence, backed by 118 years of independence, Liberia too is an emerging nation. It is emerging as an advocate of freedom for all people, international cooperation and world peace, a leader in the use of self-help to combat the age-old enemies of ignorance, superstition and economic dependence that has long plagued Africa, and a prime example of a combination of the best of old and new operating effectively in our time.

Adlai Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES M. HANLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, the death of Ambassador Adlai Stevenson has evoked thousands of tributes to the man and his work. One such tribute by Stephen K. Bailey, dean of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, appeared recently in the Syracuse Post-Standard, and I commend it to my colleagues:

ADLAI STEVENSON

The following tribute to Adlai Stevenson was submitted to the Post-Standard yesterday by Dean Stephen K. Bailey of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University:

"DEAR HUMAN BEING: I have just learned of the sudden and sad death of your brother, Adlai Stevenson.

"It is never easy to know what to write at times like this. A death in the family is an intimate thing. It is hard to know how to be helpful. I am sure in this case that you, as the next of kin, must feel this loss with acute anguish and grief. For you have lost not only a brother, but a friend who worked untiringly for you, and who literally died in your service.

"It was my great personal privilege to have known your brother. He was the most truly civilized man I have ever met. He hated bigotry and ugliness and ignorance and poverty. Above all he hated cruelty and tyranny and war. He loved language and honor and country. He delighted in beauty and fun and good deeds.

"Above all, he loved you.

"With all of his sensitivities and sensibilities he was a man of exquisite moral courage. You and I have seen him more than once stand up to bullies and liars—gathering to his side by his powers of persuasion and his personal integrity all men of reason and good will.

"His vision of the future was radiant: a lawful world in which our international squabbles could be settled without violence; a prosperous world from which hunger and squalor and disease had been banished; a just and joyful world in which no one in the human community was denied dignity and opportunity.

"You have sustained a great loss. I send you my deepest sympathy in a grief which I share. I would only remind you that we have been left memories which, if seriously pondered, can fashion a new civilization.

"Sincerely,

"STEPHEN K. BAILEY,
"*Dean.*"

Senator George Murphy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, there is no greater champion for California agriculture than Senator GEORGE MURPHY. For months he has worked to solve the critical shortage of harvest labor caused by the decision made by Secretary of Labor, Wirtz, to ban Mexican bracero workers.

Senator MURPHY's constructive criticism of the current administration's ill-conceived domestic farm-labor policy, and his sound suggestions for solving the California farmer's harvest plight in my opinion will, if heeded by President Johnson and Secretary Wirtz, ultimately prove to be the only logical and reasonable solution to the crisis.

The following San Diego Union editorial for Monday, July 19, gives the lucid picture of the nearing farm crisis and Senator MURPHY's position:

FARM CRISIS NEARS

Evidence continues to grow as summer progresses and crops ripen that there is not enough domestic labor to fill the needs of California's agriculture.

For reasons of his own, however, the Secretary of Labor continues to ignore the hard facts. If he continues to turn a deaf ear to the needs of agriculture it may take years to undo the damage.

The hard facts are that there are not enough enough adult domestic workers to harvest California crops and those in other States. It also is true that the use of high school youths on farms during the summer is an inadequate and impermanent solution.

Senator GEORGE MURPHY has documented on the Senate floor that only about one-fifth of the adults hired for farm work stay longer than a month. New problems are created when large groups quit.

With all due credit to the youths, it is evident they create additional transportation, supervision and clerical problems for farmers, which is reflected in the increasing price of produce and fruit. Large numbers

of the young men also stay on the crews only a short time.

Furthermore, the youths will not be available at the end of August and during September when about 100,000 acres of tomatoes ripen. It is estimated at least 30,000 farm workers will be needed in California to harvest this crop.

Incidentally, Senator MURPHY points out that the tomato plantings are down this year from 143,000 in 1964 because of labor uncertanities. In addition he said strawberry shipments are $6.5 million lower in 1965.

Whether he likes it or not, Mr. Wirtz will have to permit use of foreign labor if he is to meet the need. The sooner he does, the better agriculture will fare.

The Timmy Walsh Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, every 2 years a new group of Congressmen take the oath of office as Member of this House. Out of every such group there are a few who are destined to become leaders in this House.

It is a great source of pride to me to know that one of the new Members of this House, who has already distinguished himself as an excellent Representative is a colleague from my own State of New Jersey.

JAMES J. HOWARD, who was an outstanding educator before becoming a Member of Congress, brings to this House a high degree of dedication and idealism. I would like to insert at this point in the RECORD a story which was published in This Week Sunday supplement on July 18, 1965. The story shows why New Jersey and the Nation can take pride in the performance of JAMES J. HOWARD who has received more deserved national acclaim than any other freshman Representative in my memory. The people of Ocean and Monmouth Counties have sent a very brilliant and devoted young man to Congress. We shall be hearing a great deal more from this able legislator in the years to come. I urge all Members to take a few minutes to read this heartwarming story.

The story follows:

THE TIMMY WALSH STORY

(NOTE.—Today a 9-year-old boy is slowly but surely recovering from a tragic accident. It took skilled doctors and ultramodern medical know-how. It also took an energetic Congressman, scores of friends and neighbors, and the U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force. The story begins in the spring of 1965, in Neptune, N.J.)

(By Thomas J. Fleming)

Thursday, March 4, 4:30 p.m.: 9-year-old Timmy Walsh and his older brother Kevin were trying to burn some trash in their back yard. A gasoline can exploded in Kevin's hands, and Timmy was engulfed by liquid fire from the waist up. He was rushed to Neptune's Fitkin Hospital. Dr. Frank Zimmer, who took charge of Timmy, later said: "He had burns on 65 percent of his body area, and much of his skin had been destroyed. His condition was extremely critical."

Dr. Zimmer told Timmy's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Francis J. Walsh, that the first 24 to 48 hours would be crucial. Massive burns, such as Timmy had received, often cause kidney failure and death. In the operating room, Dr. Zimmer performed emergency surgery, and Timmy was placed in Fitkin's intensive-care ward, where he was treated by the most modern methods—dressings on his hands, the rest of his body open—no bandages, but everything, from bedsheets to nurses' gowns, sterilized against infection, another potential killer for the seriously burned.

Fitkin did everything that any first-class hospital would and could have done for Timmy. Timmy was alive—barely. But when Francis Walsh conferred with Dr. Zimmer, he realized that the 48-hour crisis was only the first of many deadly hurdles that his son would have to surmount in the months to come. For weeks, infection would be a continuing threat. Thereafter he would need months of highly specialized care.

Meanwhile, dozens of friends called Walsh, offering sympathy and advice. From one, a just-retired Army lieutenant colonel, he heard that Brooke Army Medical Center, in San Antonio, Tex., was world famous as a "Burn Center." "It sounded like the perfect place for Timmy," Walsh said. "I decided to call our Congressman and see what he could do."

The Walshes' Congressman is JAMES J. HOWARD. A real-life "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington," Howard is an ex-school principal, elected in 1964 against a veteran opponent in a campaign he financed entirely from his own small savings. During the race Howard often stressed his belief that big Government—and no one will deny our $100 billion Federal Government is big—should respond to the needs of ordinary citizens. When HOWARD got Walsh's call, relayed from his district office in Asbury Park, he realized instantly that here was a challenge to his political philosophy, if there ever was one.

"I want to do everything possible—and impossible—to help this boy," HOWARD told Timothy Sullivan, his administrative assistant.

Friday, 11:28 a.m.: A furious five-hour battle began between HOWARD and his staff and official Washington's labyrinth of red tape. The first call went to Maj. Harry M. Funk, the Air Force liaison officer on Capitol Hill. Was it possible to get an Air Force plane to fly the boy to Brooke? Air Force policy did permit such a thing, Funk said. But only when a human life was at stake. He emphasized that it was not a routine procedure. The order would have to come directly from the office of the Secretary of Defense.

"We'll get it," HOWARD said.

One freshman Congressman against the Pentagon! To any veteran observer of the Washington scene, the mere idea was ludicrous. Freshman Congressmen carry notoriously little weight in the first place. You have to come back for two, three, four terms before the hundreds of bemedaled and beribboned colonels and generals in that magnificent bureaucratic fortress begin to take you seriously. To make matters even more complicated, the Air Force and the Army, two services not noted for their friendliness, had to be persuaded to work together. The Army controlled Brooke Medical Center, the Air Force the means of getting Timmy there.

"We had only one thing going for us," Congressman HOWARD says. "And that was Timmy. Every time we told his story to one of those supposedly hard-nosed warrior types, they went all out—not for me—but for him."

Friday, 11:45 a.m.: HOWARD's team buttonholed another legislative liaison officer, Maj. Walter Williams, at the Pentagon. Williams was sympathetic—but he demanded a vast amount of information about the case. The Air Force Surgeon General would have to decide, first, whether there was a life at stake. Then they would need to know whether there was room at Brooke—and whether Brooke, too, agreed that Timmy's life depended on their expert attention. Finally, there was the question of money. The law stated very plainly that in civilian evacuation cases, someone had to pay every cent of the cost of putting a hospital plane in the air at $434 per hour.

"Let's find out if it can be done, then we'll worry about the money," HOWARD said.

Now came a wild series of phone calls in several directions—to New Jersey to get Walsh family and medical data, to Texas to get Brooke Army Medical Center into the act, to the Pentagon to get Army permission for Timmy to enter Brooke. HOWARD's team did learn Walsh had a fine service record both during and after World War II—he had been an Army Air Force technical sergeant and had won the Air Medal with four oak leaf clusters. This helped. But it took at least a dozen more phone calls before HOWARD got the Secretary of the Army Ailes' signature on an order admitting Timmy to Brooke.

But he was not in yet. The telephone wires hummed between Washington, Texas, and Neptune as the medical men questioned Dr. Zimmer minutely on Timmy's condition. They even had an Army doctor from nearby Fort Monmouth doublecheck them. After at least an hour of consultation back and forth, they decided that Timmy qualified for Brooke. In Fitkin, meanwhile, Timmy remained extremely critical, but was holding his own.

Friday, 2 p.m.: The operation was nearing the "go" stage. But the biggest snag remained: money. Both the Air Force and the Army said nothing could move until they found out who was paying. Back to New Jersey now for more consultations with Francis Walsh. As sergeant at arms in the Monmouth County district court, his salary was a little less than $4,000 a year with variable commission income from his additional post as court constable. How could he say yes? "The Air Force called us at least three times about the money," HOWARD says. "We were concentrating so hard on Timmy we kept forgetting about it. But the people in Neptune didn't."

On the previous night, Walsh's friends and neighbors had assured him that they were going to begin a fund to help him pay for Timmy's medical bills. Thus Walsh was able to honestly say he could pay both for the plane and Timmy's care at Brooke. "I told the Congressman I didn't care how much it cost," Walsh recalls, "I'd pay it somehow, if it took us the next 10 years."

All sides were now in agreement and the final order was hand-carried through the Pentagon's winding corridors to Secretary McNamara's office.

Friday, 4:37 p.m.: The Air Force called Congressman HOWARD to tell him that their MATS wing (Military Air Transport Service) had been ordered to contact Brooke Medical Center and arrange to fly a "burn team" to New Jersey immediately. But the drama was by no means over. The order reached the airfield in Texas at 4:15, Texas time.

Friday, 6:15 p.m.: The plane was airborne with the Brooke burn team, headed by Capts. William Mills and Dora Harris, aboard.

Saturday, 1:35 a.m.: The plane landed at McGuire Air Force Base in New Jersey, and the burn team immediately contacted Dr. Zimmer, who was well into his second sleepless night at Timmy's bedside. Before takeoff from Texas, the plan had been to fly Timmy out later in the morning. "But when we discussed his case after the burn team landed," Dr. Zimmer said, "I recommended immediate evacuation. We had his body fluids pretty well stabilized. But I did not know

how long we could maintain this condition."

Word was flashed to Timmy's parents, who rushed to the hospital. Meanwhile, the burn team boarded a UH2A helicopter at McGuire and headed for Fitkin. The chopper developed a hydraulic leak, and was forced to make a emergency landing at Lakehurst Naval Air Station. This gave the Navy a chance to give Timmy a hand and they did not hesitate for a moment. Two lieutenants from Helicopter Utility Squadron 2 were routed from their beds and the burn team was soon airborne again.

At Fitkin, meanwhile, doctors, nurses, orderlies and administrators on the night shift were summoned to the parking lot at 4 a.m. They formed a large circle with their cars and turned on the headlights. For 2 hours they waited patiently.

Saturday, 5 a.m.: The helicopter finally came swooping down out of the dark sky onto this improvised airfield, and Captains Mills and Harris hurried into the hospital to examine Timmy and prepare him for the flight to Texas.

Saturday, 6:25 a.m.: Timmy was on his way to McGuire. "They told me," Mr. Walsh says, "that he might not be alive when they got to Texas. That's how close it was."

Another problem now arose. It developed that the smaller Navy copter could not take Timmy's parents, who had received permission to fly with the burn team to Brooke Medical Center, so that it was only after a frantic race by automobile that Francis and Joan Walsh boarded the MATS plane just as the engines began warming up.

Saturday, 12:35 p.m. cst: The plane landed at San Antonio and Timmy, still very much alive, was rushed immediately to the operating room at Brooke Medical Center, where he would begin his treatment.

"Our first concern," says Dr. Mills, "was dealing with the burn shock. Once Timmy's fluid balance had returned to normal, we began the other phase of the treatment that we have worked out for such seriously burned patients." There was no time to lose.

Timmy was placed in the burn ward's intensive-care section which is equipped with special electric beds that are turned periodically so no part of his burns received too much contact with the sheets. Twice a day his burns were coated with an antibacterial cream that the laboratory at Brooke Medical Center has developed specifically for preventing infections in burn cases. Each day he also received hydrotherapy treatment in a specially designed tank. This washes off "eschar"—loose dead tissue which always follows third degree burns. At the end of the third week Timmy received "homografts"—skin from dead donors, which protected his burns and promoted healing until he was strong enough to tolerate removing skin from the lower part of his own body for the final grafts.

As of this writing, the skin grafts of his own skin have been completed. An exercise program is making him ambulatory again, in preparation for his transfer to a Boston hospital for plastic and reconstructive surgery. Timmy is definitely on the road back.

In Neptune, meanwhile, Francis Walsh's friends are making good on their pledge to pay in full the cost of the mercy mission Congressman HOWARD organized. With the help of the local Junior Chamber of Commerce the "Timmy Walsh Fund" (c/o Neptune Junior Chamber of Commerce, Post Office 184, Neptune, N.J.) has raised over $5,500. They hope to double this sum, at least. The bill from the Air Force alone was $5,950.94. Timmy's care at Brooke Medical Center cost $42 a day. There will also be expenses in Boston.

"We've gotten donations from all over the State," says Joseph McArdle, a Walsh neighbor who has been in charge of the fundraising. "Its amazing, the way people have responded to Timmy's story.

"You read a lot of flag waving stuff about what a great country this is. But when you see the Government do something like this for a 9-year-old kid, you say to yourself: 'Hey, it really is true.' "

"That's what I'm down here to prove," says Congressman HOWARD.

Pressure Kept on Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNN E. STALBAUM

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my fellow Members of the House an editorial in the July 19 edition of the Milwaukee Journal, discussing the possibilities of Congress adjourning by Labor Day. It is a very discerning editorial which points out the record of the 1st session of the 89th Congress is regarded as a productive one.

The full text of the editorial reads as follows:

PRESSURE KEPT ON CONGRESS

Congressional leaders have been saying that they hope to go home by Labor Day. But President Johnson, who already has won more from Congress than any President in three decades, still has so much work to be done that he thinks the legislators may have to stay around until November.

The list of major bills the President has succeeded in getting through both Houses is amazing—medicare, Appalachia assistance, elementary-secondary education aid, the coffee agreement, foreign aid, presidential continuity, voting rights, gold reserves, excise tax reduction, omnibus housing.

He seems almost certain to get his programs for higher education, immigration, department of housing, minimum wage. He may get a right-to-work repeal and a farm program.

Even if Congress went home tomorrow it would have had a successful session for the administration by past standards. But the President isn't slowing down on his demands. He recently gave Vice President Humphrey a list of 22 bills he wants passed before Congress adjourns, and he let congressional leaders know that he expects passage. He has some critical words about Congressmen who leave Washington on Thursday night and come back Tuesday morning and don't carry their workload.

Why has this been such a highly productive session? For one thing the Johnson landslide was a message to Congress. It brought into Congress many new Members dedicated to his program and swept out many who opposed it. Too, the bulk of this program has been espoused in whole or in part by Democratic Presidents—Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy—for years and its time had arrived. But credit must still go to the President. He is an infatigable worker. He knows his way through the Halls of Congress. He knows how to collect political debts and make political compromises. He can bring pressure if necessary.

The Johnson honeymoon may be growing a bit tempestuous but it continues to run.

The Wonders of the "Wundees"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the Members of this House a very interesting article by James Kilpatrick which appeared in the Washington Evening Star of Friday, July 16. It deals with the rent supplement program recently—and unfortunately—passed by this House. Mr. Kilpatrick's writing is, of course, in the vein of satire, but there is a very disturbing possibility that we will come to regret the coming of that about which he writes.

The article follows:

THE WONDERS OF THE 'WUNDEES'

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

Winston and Sally Belle Smith were married in the spring of 1966, a few weeks after he had been booted out of this third Job Corps encampment and she had been sent home from the girls school in Florida. They had grown up together, more or less, in the same public housing project; they had dropped out of school together. They had the same ambition, which was to stay well fed without really working, so it was natural to find them at last man and wife.

Winston worked part time in a service station and Sally Belle worked part time in a barbecue and grill, but these were merely avocations. Their real job, which occupied them increasingly as the years went on, was simply to stay poor within the P. & R. It was a lot of work, what with all the forms and things.

The "P. & R." of course, were the procedures and regulations established by the Administrator. These had first been established in the summer of 1965, 9 months or so before the young couple were married, but by 1966 they had become a way of life. Rent supplements, it will be recalled, were only the beginning. "The amount of the annual payment with respect to any dwelling unit shall not exceed the amount by which the fair market rental of such unit exceeds one-fourth of the tenant's income as determined by the Administrator pursuant to procedures and regulations established by him." That was the way the law first read, in the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965.

Winston and Sally Belle qualified at once for a rent supplemental. They were among the 300,000, who came in as the one-oh-one-one-dee's, soon shortened to the Wundee's, a diminutive taken from the act's definition under the so-called Stephens amendment of those eligible for help on their rent. This made the supplemental available to any family whose income was within established levels for public housing, provided that such a family, under section 101(1)(D) were then occupying "substandard housing." Winston and Sally Belle were living in an ordinary walk-up flat, not too good, not too bad, but after Sally Belle broke out the windows with a beer bottle, they were officially substandard; so they went down and signed up.

By the summer of 1968, when the time came for the first recertification of income under the P. & R., the Smiths were a little uneasy. They had been earning $3,200 between them when they moved into the new apartment in the co-op, where the fair market rental was $125 a month or $1,500 a year. The taxpayers had been kicking in

$700 a year as the difference between one-fourth of their income and the fair rent, but lately the Smiths accidentally had been earning a little more and they were afraid the P. & R. man would catch up with the situation.

As it turned out, they didn't need to worry, for that same summer—the summer of 1968—Congress added another section at the President's request. This brought Winston and Sally Belle into the wonderful world of the one-oh-one-one-ee's, or Wunnys as they were called, in which rent supplementals were extended to any persons "socially or culturally disadvantaged." The Wunnys were permitted to qualify if they earned as much as 50 percent above the maximum permitted for occupants of public housing, and with all that Job Corps background, there was no question of Winston's making good. He had only to keep failing.

It wasn't easy, for money somehow kept coming Winston's way, but Sally Belle helped by leaving the bar-b-q and devoting her full time to the P & R. The amendments of 1970 spread the principle of supplementals to clothing, transportation, and food. That year Winston took in $6,000—he couldn't seem to help it—and while this naturally left him safely "poor" under the P & R, it complicated the bookkeeping. The trigger points were 25 percent on rent, 20 percent on food, 15 percent on transportation, and 8.3 percent on clothes, and Sally Belle never could learn to multiply by 8.3 percent. She had determination, though, and after a while, what with further amendments of the law, they were getting $1,000 toward rent, and $800 toward food, and $500 toward payments on the two cars, and the P & R had been revised to cover a coat of imitation mink. What with Sally Belle's unemployment compensation, it all added up.

Winston retired in 1980, at the age of 34, his active working life behind him. Thereafter the Smiths earned no income, by which they qualified for 100-percent supplementals including a swimming pool not to exceed 20 by 40 feet. Here the poor fellow drowned, 4 years later on a cold afternoon in April when the clocks were striking 13. The coffin supplemental, under the P & R, covered the full expense.

The Unseen Drama

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, I know that many of us in the House have wondered where so many of the ideas for the Great Society originate, and it appears that Mr. Joseph Alsop has found the secret.

He states in his column published in the Washington Post on July 23 as follows:

The President's reported instructions to his staff to collect the recommendations of "every screwball, every nut, every guy with a long beard who can't find his way across the sidewalk without getting hit by an automobile—they'll just as likely have more ideas than the rest of us put together."

His whole article follows:

THE UNSEEN DRAMA

(By Joseph Alsop)

The script is by no means finished yet, but the policy drama that is now being written in the White House, in the customary obscurity, has high promise of long-range historic significance.

Unless the Vietnamese war prevents, President Johnson's next legislature program—the first to be truly his own—is likely to impose a new direction on the future development of this country.

The drama in question, of course, is the preparation of that program. It is a dramatic business, in the first place, because the President and his advisers are beginning with nothing more than a general sense of this new direction.

"In other periods of challenge and forward movement we have had a fertile advance ground of thought toward which the Government (itself) could move * * * today * * * this is not true."

The quotation is an undelivered passage in a recent speech by one of Lyndon Johnson's chief program planners, young Richard Goodwin. Goodwin noted an exception or two to this confession (which is also an implied indictment of America's intellectual advance guard) that he could find no coherent body of ideas anywhere about further governmental progress. With justice, some of the proposals put forward by J. Kenneth Galbraith and Michael Harrington were specially singled out.

With Goodwin's confession, one must contrast the President's reported instructions to his staff to collect the recommendations of "every screwball, every nut, every guy with a long beard who can't find his way across the sidewalk without getting hit by an automobile—they'll just as likely have more ideas than the rest of us put together."

The more pompous asses in the intellectual community may deplore the mode of expression; but they cannot complain of any Presidential hostility to new proposals, from whatever source. In this programmatic semi-vacuum, the choice of a new direction seems to be gradually maturing.

The main drama of the matter lies in the new direction's very novelty. If you analyze the U.S. Government's ever-expanding activities in the last half century, you find that all sorts of new areas of action have been boldly entered, ranging from energetic regulation of the national economy, to aid for public education.

But you also will find that very little indeed has been done about the human environment in America. There have been patchy and sporadic efforts to set aside national parks, for instance, or to provide minimal housing for the very poor. But the poisoning of the air and the water has been freely permitted; the transformation of the great cities into asphalt jungles has been passively tolerated; the ugly sprawl of half-slum suburbs has been almost welcomed.

There would be little chance of such problems being tackled, of course, if the U.S. economy were in the condition that President Kennedy inherited. But Mr. Kennedy and now Mr. Johnson have worked wonders with their probusiness keynesianism (for want of a better phrase). This year it has produced a rate of growth of no less than 5 percent in real terms and 6.5 percent in unadjusted money terms.

Thus the old passionate emphasis on growth alone has become a thing of the past, as the leaders of the Council of Economic Advisers freely admit. "We're only just beginning to discover what normal, steady growth can do," one Council member remarked the other day. "And that frees us to take other things in hand."

The problems of the American environment promise to be the chief things that are taken in hand—unless the President decides in the negative at the last moment. Maybe he will decide in the negative.

He values his good relations with the business community. The business community not only dislikes Federal Government's entry into new action areas; many businessmen will also be offended by antipollution measures, for examples. In addition, the Federal investments to improve the American environment will seldom be seed investments.

Yet Lyndon Johnson's boldness is the equal of his caution. The two qualities alternate, in fact. He now wants a bold program for next year—every bit as big, he somewhat alarmingly told a caller, as the unprecedented program he is putting through the present congressional session. And he is the sort of man who would like to be remembered for having made America visibly, tangibly, physically a better country to live in.

An In-Depth Analysis of the Proposal To Repeal Section 14(b)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished Utah scholar and businessman, Dr. Obert C. Tanner, professor of philosophy at the University of Utah, and founder and president of an important manufacturing concern in my State, has sent me and other Members of Congress a thoughtful analysis of the proposal to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

ANALYSIS OF THE PROPOSAL TO REPEAL SECTION 14(b) OF THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

(By Dr. Obert C. Tanner)

I have been asked for a more careful analysis of 14(b).

In doing so, it may be relevant without apology, to mention my background.

I am professor of philosophy at the University of Utah, member of the Utah Bar, founder and president of O. C. Tanner Co.—the largest company in its field in the United States—the manufacture of industrial service emblems.

One other preliminary: I do not feel any real business interest in 14(b). My company employs many people, all of whom freely and independently decide for themselves the basis of our labor-management relations.

Like all great issues, 14(b) has two sides, strongly defended, deeply felt, and far-reaching in consequences.

Hopefully and modestly, the following may pinpoint, and also explain:

1. Why 14(b) is so controversial.

2. Why the main issue of 14(b) is important to (a) the success of the American labor movement, (b) the success of American democracy.

14(b) raises many issues. Some of them are:

1. The right to work.
2. The free rider problem.
3. Majority rule of union democracy.
4. Federal versus States' rights.
5. Economics of right-to-work laws.
6. Political obligations, either way.

14(b) is the old-age problem of individualism versus collectivism.

Some favor, in the repeal of 14(b), what they believe is the larger social gain of a stronger labor movement. Some favor, in retaining 14(b), what they believe is the greater importance of individual freedom.

Questions the Congress, and all of us ask of 14(b), are these: Which side is right—or more right than wrong? Which side is best for American labor? Which side is best for our democracy?

Whatever the answer, 14(b) should be carefully examined for one great purpose: its meaning in the daily lives of the people involved.

Such an approach, if carefully done, may aid in clarity, and possibly also, in understanding.

I. To begin with, the first part of the meaning of 14(b), for the worker involved, may be explained by the concept of institution-joining.

This concept of institution-joining, if clarified may get at the controversy, and also explain the main problem of 14(b).

All institutions, and all institution-joining, for simplicity, may be roughly divided into two kinds:

First, there are those institutions which do not deeply affect the individual lives of their members—institutions necessary for some services, that are dues-collecting, and which impose certain obligations, but institutions which do not penetrate deeply into an individual's life—his ideas, emotions, and personal convictions.

Then there are other institutions, whose requirements are intended to deeply involve the inner life of individual members. Such depth-institutions, to be successful, must profoundly affect a member's way of life—approving certain ideas while condemning other ideas, praising some attitudes and condemning others, calling at times for great personal sacrifices.

A labor union, if considered carefully, is the second of these two kinds of institutions. It is necessarily a depth institution, deeply and rightly affecting each conscientious member's ideas, emotions, convictions, freedoms and responsibilities.

Perhaps next to religion, good unionism involves the individual with more total commitment than any other institution.

Joining a union, however lightly done by many, is eventually no surface affair of paying dues in return for benefits received.

Unionism, both in the joining and belonging, becomes an attempt to solve many of life's great personal and social problems: The struggle for bread, the fight for justice, the rivalries for leadership, the arguments of policy, the uses of power, the payments of dues, the sacrifices of strikes.

Responsible union-joining is no light decision, with easy obligations, and indifferent consequences. Perhaps no institution-joining will more profoundly affect a person's ideas, emotions, and way of life.

This fact involves 14(b) in the ultimate issue of real freedom, the freedom of the inner life, of the mind and spirit of man. This fact involves the Congress with the problem of a great freedom in American life.

Some freedoms are not so important, such as choices of economic opportunities and surface decisions of every-day living. Other freedoms are about a person's ideas, private judgments, individual preferences, personal convictions—here is the greatest freedom, or the greatest coercion.

A labor union, and therefore 14(b), is involved with both these freedoms—economic freedoms, but also the inner freedoms that are intellectual or moral or spiritual.

The free rider argument is the simple justice that he who receives a benefit from the efforts and expense of his fellow-workers, should help to pay for it. When this fact is established, he should pay his share—in money or effort—but not in lost personal freedoms of the mind—that or a lost job. Money justice is an easy problem for legislation. The vastly greater problem in 14(b), is the preservation of personal dignity.

So when the Congress decides 14(b), it will be involved with the meaning of depth institution-joining for an individual worker, the meaning this has for the inner life of personal freedom.

The above analysis, the meaning of 14(b) in the daily lives of working people, this is only partly explained by the concept of institution-joining.

II. The other part of the meaning of the issue of 14(b) in the daily lives of millions of Americans, is the kind of coercion involved.

All agree that 14(b) is mainly a concern about coercion. But what kind of coercion? How much coercion? What is the nature of this coercion? How powerful?

To be sure, all agree that the cause of unionism is one that requires a strong collective unity. To achieve this, great individual pressures are necessary.

The question of 14(b) is this: How far, how much, how deep, may a majority of union members go, in order to achieve the solidarity required for success? What pressure applied against a minority is legitimate? What pressure applied against a minority is excessive?

14(b) becomes the grave issue of whether the power of jobholding, and the power of joblosing—such a power used by a majority in coercing a minority—whether this is excessive.

The argument used so widely by those who would repeal 14(b), is that a majority rule is sound democracy. Is it? What is the majority trying to do? How much rule, how much coercion—in what realms, and by what degree of coercion?

Whether a majority should rule, depends upon what the ruling is about, and how the ruling is used.

Perhaps next to force, the threat of losing, or the promise of keeping a job, is the ultimate coercion. Life's great struggle is for bread. Life's great fear is poverty. Few powers can match the threat of failure, or the promise of success, in breadwinning.

14(b) already permits many unions to bargain for the great power of a job, or no job.

The issue of repeal of 14(b) is whether the Congress, our Federal Government, over the expressed wishes of 19 States—whether the Congress should now make such a powerful coercion universal in American life. It is one thing for a partisan group to pressure their minority, it is a more serious matter for the government of a free people to legalize this partisan coercion against a minority, involving perhaps millions of otherwise unwilling Americans.

The conclusion is that 14(b) joins two important elements in the lives of working people: (a) Their inner personal convictions, (b) their success or failure in breadwinning.

These two elements involve two of the most important freedoms in their daily living: 1. Their freedom of mind, of decision. 2. Their freedom of economic opportunity, of keeping their jobs.

Repeal of 14(b) would make a national policy, namely, that economic opportunity for millions of Americans will be dependent upon that kind of institution-joining that profoundly affects the inner lives of these same millions of Americans.

III. Finally, the last important question of 14(b), is whether the American labor movement will be helped or hurt by its repeal. Wherein lies the success of the American labor movement?

With the health and well-being of the American labor movement in mind, how may the issues raised by 14(b), be most wisely decided?

With apology, I attempt my reply from the background of my dual professional life—a professor of philosophy and president of a large manufacturing company. This background necessarily colors my views, so is important that it be mentioned.

What follows would be my reasoning, if I were a Congressman attemping to solve 14(b) both for the best interests of our democracy, and also the best interests of the labor movement. As a student of democracy, I have reached one rather firmly held conclusion, if a free people would remain free from within, if they would avoid internal corruptions and internal tyrannies.

Here is my conclusion: To remain free and healthy, the government of a democracy must firmly insist that all institutions, all special interest groups—including business and labor—all must live and prosper, if they can, by the hard and difficult tests of free, open, and fair competition.

The pin-point of the wrong, if 14(b) is repealed is this: Our Government would, in this case, abandon the healthy competition of persuasion, for an unhealthy coercion, within the labor movement.

In earlier years our labor movement needed special Government protection and encouragement. Today, under the present NLRB, unions are able to compete very successfully, not as fast and as much as they desire, yet very successfully.

A healthy labor movement will therefore be more successful if it faces the following hard and difficult, yet healthy competition of the following three forms:

1. Winning individual memberships and personal loyalties, by persuasion, rather than by the coercion involved in the repeal of 14(b).

2. Winning union elections, in competition with nonunion companies, whose management tries to outdo the unions in benefits to workers. Our democracy gains by this wholesome competition.

3. By proving with persuasion, the value of unionism, in right-to-work States.

(The above three forms of competition are understandably not favored by union leaders. Very naturally they will avoid the harder laborers of unionism by persuasion in favor of easier success, if 14(b) is repealed. But their choice is not the last word for a Congressman or Senator. The last word is the ultimate freedom and health of our democracy.)

While unionism will be strengthened in numbers, finances, and political influences, if 14(b) is repealed, the big question for Congress is this: Will unionism, in the long run, be healthier if it grows (a) by persuasion? (b) or by coercion?

Which of these two kinds of unionism is healthier for a democracy, the persuasive or the coercive?

The moral, spiritual, political issue of repealing 14(b) is this: Since the health of a democracy is the highest possible degree of individual freedom, and since the sickness of a democracy is the unnecessary increase of individual coercion, is there now great urgency for the Congress to greatly increase the total amount of coercion in American life?

Finally, how far, how deep, how powerfully, will the Congress decide to invade the personal life of an individual? All the freedom there is, is known only by an individual.

It is appropriate to conclude by a reminder, that that the Bill of Rights was added to the Constitution, after it was fully realized that a majority could tyrannize over a minority, quite as much as an aristocracy or a single dictator.

Club Internationale

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, regardless of how much money we spend on foreign aid, there is no guarantee that any positive good is accomplished unless we make a sincere attempt to foster bet-

ter people-to-people relationships here and abroad.

One way of accomplishing this, of course, is by encouraging Americans to see the world and to enable them to meet citizens of other countries on a personal level. This way, through mutually reinforced friendships, international understanding will prosper and we will develop, so to speak, a corps of good-will ambassadors.

A new nationwide organization, Club Internationale, is forming to encourage members to participate in an education and travel program in an effort to widen their scope of interests and to instill in them an international spirit. Ultimately, the club expects to form chapters in other countries, so that members there may more easily come and see America.

I include at this point in the RECORD an article which appeared in the Perth Amboy, N.J., Evening News of July 20, which notes that Mr. Marvin Rosenblum, of Edison, N.J., has been named director of the Central Jersey chapter of Club Internationale.

The article follows:

EDISON MAN HEADS AREA TRAVEL CLUB

An Edison man has been named director of the new Central Jersey chapter of Club Internationale.

Marvin Rosenblum has been named director of the chapter of the nationwide, nonprofit club. The chapter, which covers Middlesex, Monmouth, and Somerset Counties, is the first to be chartered in the Northeastern United States.

The only organization of its kind in the United States, it is modeled after the Club Mediteranee, which has been operating abroad for 15 years.

The purpose of the club is to enable its members to save, through weekly deposits, for a grand tour of Europe. The members also receive bonus vacations in the interim.

In addition to these vacations, the club offers its members a program of parties, dances, lectures, discussions, and other activities.

The club also features instruction in golf, tennis, and foreign languages.

The club was commended on the floor of the Senate and House of Representatives as "being in keeping with President Johnson's request for travel by U.S. citizens."

Dr. Laurence G. Paquin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, as the Nation's sixth largest city, Baltimore has experienced many of the problems of large urban centers. Not the least of these involves its school system. A key ingredient in the solution to this problem is leadership, a quality which Dr. Laurence G. Paquin, the new superintendent of schools, most competently exhibits. In light of the widespread interest in education, I call your attention to the excellent article by Joann Rodgers profiling Dr. Paquin which appeared in the Baltimore News American on Sunday, July 25, 1965:

DR. PAQUIN: NEW BREED OF SCHOOL CHIEF

(By Joann Rodgers)

"If I were asked to say which training has most helped me in my career as an educator, I would have to say it was the training I received in government, sociology, economics, law, history, and politics."

Dr. Laurence G. Paquin, Baltimore's new superintendent of schools, thought he had filled out a "routine biography" with that statement. Instead, he had defined a new breed of big-city school chief, of which he is certainly one.

The big-city schools—and the big cities themselves—are everywhere in trouble, and a modern superintendent is in the middle of it. In Chicago, demonstrators demand his ouster; in California, he is embroiled in political turmoil; in New York, he was forced out.

No mere educator or administrator will do any more, whether in Chicago, California, New York—or Baltimore. The inbred professional, concerned only about what happens in his classrooms, day to day, cannot ease the school's troubles or solve its problems.

And Baltimore, as the Nation's sixth largest city, with a $100 million-a-year school system and attendant urban upheavals, has its share of those troubles.

RACIAL IMBALANCE PLAGUES SCHOOLS

Racial imbalance plagues most of the city's 200 schools; teacher shortages often border on the critical as the city fights to keep its wage scale competitive: ignorance, neglect, and lack of funds have left the inner city with crumbling buildings, outdated books.

Dropouts, vandalism, the disadvantaged student, the problem child, the handicapped and mentally retarded, growing teacher militancy, civil rights demonstrations—the list of headline problems is endless.

An estimated quarter of the 200,000 child school population can be classified as crippled readers and an exploding population has created the need for half-a-dozen new schools to be built yesterday—not tomorrow.

Add to this the 7,000 teachers who must be kept apprised of better ways to teach and what to teach and the system's problems become outrageous.

Within the next few months, the 51-year-old Dr. Paquin will become familiar with those problems and his talents as politician, sociologist, economist, lawyer, historian, and educator will be constantly taxed.

For the sum of $35,000 a year, he will spend most of his waking hours overseeing Baltimore's sprawling educational system.

AN EDUCATIONAL SYMPHONY

Like an orchestra leader, he will be expected to know all the parts; know how to play all the instruments; know what all his musicians can do and conduct the educational symphony so that the end product harmoniously enlightens the whole audience back to the last row.

Dr. Paquin reflected on all this during an exclusive interview with the News American at the conclusion of his first week as Baltimore's 13th school chief.

He could not, he said, speak specifically about Baltimore's difficulties so soon ("Give me at least another 24 hours," he quipped).

But much about the man—particularly his expressed philosophy of education, his ideas about the role of the superintendent and educational innovations indicates what Baltimore might expect from this frank and alert New Englander who quotes poetry profusely, reads voraciously (including mysteries) and delights in a challenge.

On education and the superintendency

"There are no pat answers to any of these problems. I can't divine a set of immutable 'answers' and 'decisions' and use them as a blanket to cover every situation. That would be the easy way, but there is nothing easy about this job.

"Every superintendent must serve all the children of all the people—the bright ones, less bright ones, weak and strong, tall and short. Moreover, the term 'public education' involves their parents, too.

School problems linked to others

"If public education fails, then the burdens of failure fall on every phase of life for every one of the million people here. If the schools can solve some of its problems, problems outside will be pleased as well.

"The most important job of a superintendent is leadership—coordinating resources, searching out expertise, and making decisions. He himself cannot be an expert on everything—but he must know where to find the expert.

"If a superintendent is ineffective as a leader, it is because he attempts to appease or straddle when there is a decision to make. A superintendent is paid to make decisions and he can't wait forever to make them, either."

The school board and the superintendent

"Officially the school board sets policy and the superintendent carries it out. Practically speaking, the superintendent is like the thumb of the hand and the school board the four fingers. Separately they can do certain things, but together, they can do great things. I know this sounds corny, but it's true.

The superintendent and the community

"Cooperation is important—I don't mean that if I do something, everyone should stand up and cheer. I do mean that out there is a wealth of talent, experience, and creativity that can and must be tapped. This is one of the goals I've set for myself."

The citizens school advisory committee

"That report is important and the department of education should say where it stands on it. It is too good to be forgotten. To file and forget that report would be a major tragedy."

Racial imbalance

"Let me repeat gain. My job is not, I repeat not, to bring white and Negroes together physically. My job is to improve education for all, by whatever means. As for racial imbalance, we must ask ourselves what the educational implications are. They are great, of course.

Many things spill over into education

"But so are the implications of poor housing, unemployment, crime, and taxes. All these things spill over into education.

"As for protest demonstrations over civil rights, racial imbalance, or anything else, I will say this: There is no question of the right to protest, but I would take a dim view indeed of any efforts to interfere with the smooth administration of the school system.

"If demonstrators did interfere with that operation, they would, in my view, be hurting education in Baltimore, not helping it.

"Moreover, I can often see no need for them to dramatize something that is already dramatic enough. We all know what the problem is."

On Federal aid

"Let's be sensible. On a strictly economic level, we need it. The city of Baltimore must find more money. The point of saturation for the property tax is coming. The Federal Government has the broadest based tax."

On reading

"I am very concerned with those who cannot read well, of course, but of equal concern are those who can read, but don't. When I was a newsboy in New England, everyone read a newspaper. They don't anymore. It's easier to turn on the television."

READING NEEDED FOR OUR SURIVIVAL

"That's a symptom of the overall problem at a time when reading is necessary to survival. A lot depends on the home. If parents read, children will, too."

On culturally disadvantaged children

"That is a patronizing term. Our culture may be different than the so-called culturally deprived, but not necessarily better. I hope we can restore our pride in cultural differences. I have walked through your inner city neighborhoods and I found hope, not resignation. Those of you who fled to the suburbs will miss the fun of rebuilding a great city."

Interscholastic athletics

"I would hope these would be self-supporting, the real question is, Should education be broadly interpreted as to include all peripheral activties?"

On preschool education

"Baltimore has been in the vanguard here. We have enough experience to know it pays off."

The community school

"Hopefully, the school should become the center of all neighborhood activity for education, health and recreation."

His career

"I never started out, to be a teacher, I was in a prelaw program. But the depression intervened and in 1932, you might say I drifted into education. I taught history and English at first."

DOCTOR RECALLS HOW CAREER BEGAN

In reminiscing, Dr. Paquin said he remembered "the time I had to abandon all thought of a law and political career. I felt some regret because they held great attraction for me. But I now find I have the best of both possible worlds. For education has much to do with government and the human involvement in the political process. And a superintendent must work within the political structure."

That, he said, is not easy or popular. But he recalled some advice from a salty New England superintendent named John Bosshart. I'll never forget it.

" 'In public life,' he said 'remember, you're being paid. Gratitude and appreciation is the last thing you'll get—so don't expect it.' "

Ethiopia's Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, July 23, Ethiopia celebrated its day of independence, and I think it appropriate that on this day we salute the long struggle for progress and the achievements of this nation. We all know of the terrible aggression suffered by Ethiopia in 1935, and are aware of the fierce and proud struggle made by the Ethiopian people to prevent domination by Italy.

Less, Mr. Speaker, is known of Ethiopia's strong efforts of progress and peace since World War II. Emperor Haile Selassie and his nation have shown great interest in the Pan African movement through the sponsorship of the Conference of African Chiefs of State in Addis Ababa in May 1963. Addis Ababa is now the seat of the permanent Secretary of the Organization for African Unity. This step, I think, signifies the growing importance in responsible development of the national cooperation and democratic progress which has so characterized Ethiopia for many years.

Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. SAM GIBBONS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill H.R. 8283 to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opporunity Act of 1964.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, a great deal continues to be said by the Republicans about a so-called secret list of OEO consultants. These master sleuths claim to have brought to light a list which no one else knew about or could obtain.

Nothing could be farther from the truth. The listing of consultants which appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD was prepared by the Office of Economic Opportunity at the request of the General Accounting Office. The listing was furnished to the GAO as a result of that organization's receiving the request from an unnamed Congressman. OEO would have furnished this information directly to the Congressman should the request have come directly to the OEO. There is nothing classified or secret about the listing, as this type of information is prepared upon request from any responsible source. Because it is not the type of detailed information normally required for management reports it did require a special compilation.

Previously, similar although not identical information was submitted to the Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittee. This information contained biographical sketches on all of the key officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Also, the statistical information of the number of consultants at each level of compensation was provided.

The only reservation maintained about the furnishing of names and home addresses of Federal employees is that Federal employees may become the prey of those who make their living by compiling mailing address lists. It is normally preferred that only official addresses be used, however, since the request was for home addresses they were furnished by the OEO.

Introduction of the list by the Republicans, which contained some 400 names and the salaries being paid, was meant to convey the impression that the biggest beneficiaries of this great program are the privileged few on its high-level payroll.

The gentleman who introduced the list would have us believe that the program has become a haven for jobseekers. Or, there were innuendos of dark misdoings. There were charges that a disproportionate amount of appropriated funds are bulging the pockets of antipoverty officials, rather than helping to eliminate pockets of poverty. There was sketched a picture of consultants featherbedding on public funds. And in a followup telegram, it was even hinted that these positions are being used by consultants to build political machines.

These gross distortions must be corrected. Let us examine that list a little more closely.

Now, their salaries range from $35 to $100 a day—that makes a range of about $9,000 to $26,000 annually. Certainly $26,000 is a good salary. But is it a boon to those drawing it? The facts show clearly that it is not. Right at the top of the list is the name, Holmes Brown. Mr. Brown is an assistant director at OEO in charge of public affairs. In order to take this job, he resigned as director of public relations at the Martin-Marietta Corp., where he drew an annual salary of $50,000. This means that he is now making a little over half of his previous salary—and this is not to mention the stock options and other benefits he has lost.

Then there is the case of David Salten, a Community Action program adviser. He had been superintendent of schools in Rochester, N.Y., at a salary of $30,000.

In the Job Corps program, there is an adviser named Milton Katz pulling down the sum of $70 a day. Before joining OEO, he was a research psychologist earning $100 a day.

Thaddeus Higgins now earns $14,300 as a VISTA consultant. Formerly, he was a business executive in Pittsburgh earning $20,640. And Charles Chong took a pay cut of more than $3,000 to give his services to VISTA.

Mr. Speaker, the consultants who have made financial sacrifices to work in the antipoverty program are too numerous to specify here. The list is long and impressive.

It should also be remembered that the men and women in those positions have been working long and gruelling hours ever since the program started. They are paid a 5-day week, but most of them, I am assured, put in 6- and 7-day-weeks—working days that often run far into the night.

As far as the political springboard charge is concerned, I would point out to the Members that every consultant is governed by the Hatch Act, which prohibits political activities while in service.

I have previously mentioned the long list of people who are giving their time and energy free of charge and I have placed this list in the RECORD. And I mean people of distinction; people who are great successes in their own fields, with great talents to contribute; people who have done so simply because they believe in the program, and want to help it succeed.

Mr. Chairman, let us look at the whole picture. The program needs the best talents it can get, and I believe it is getting the best available.

Attached is the list of paid consultants of OEO and their previous employment as of the date this report was submitted to the GAO:

Current full-time consultants as of date submitted to GAO

Name	Date of appointment	Salary	Organization	Duty station	Previous employment
Brown, Holmes M.	Oct. 12, 1964	$100	Public affairs	Washington, D.C.	Director of public relations, Martin Marrietta Corp., $50,000 per annum.
Elwell, Richard R.	Nov. 30, 1964	65	do	do	Evaluator, U.S. Peace Corps, $17,000 per annum.
Masters, Peter F.	Oct. 26, 1964	60	do	do	Self-employed, design partnership, $15,336 per annum.
Gross, Ernest	Dec. 7, 1964	60	do	do	Public relations consultant, New York State Labor Department, $15,000 per annum.
Moss, Edward K.	Apr. 1, 1965	75	do	do	Owner, Edward K. Moss International, $25,000 per annum.
Maguire, Francis X.	Oct. 26, 1964	50	do	do	Director of program development, $325 per week.
Miller, Harry J.	do	50	do	do	Accountant executive, Darcy, Bush & Osborne, Inc., $9,500 per annum.
Wright, Dale R.	Jan. 5, 1965	60	do	do	New York State Commissioner for Human Rights, $15,890 per annum.
Ellis, Garrison M.	Dec. 28, 1964	60	do	do	Associate, Earl Newsom Co., $11,000 per annum.
Williams, Joan	Apr. 12, 1965	50	do	do	Information office, United Nations, $770 per month.
Van Doren, Ronald R.	Nov. 8, 1964	65	do	do	Staff writer, the Arizona Republic, $7,500 per annum.
Allott, Patricia A.	Dec. 29, 1964	35	do	do	Commercial artist, Kaufman Associates, $6,500 per annum.
Doherty, James E.	Nov. 8, 1964	35	do	do	Assistant instructor, Spanish language program for the blind, $5,500 per annum.
Hughes, Eleanor P.	May 5, 1965	50	do	do	Women's editor, $21,000, per annum.
Tait, Pauline W.	Apr. 29, 1965	50	do	do	Director, public affairs, Kennedy Center for Performing Arts, $12,000 per annum.
Michaels, Anna M.	May 3, 1965	50	do	do	Account coordinator, Edward K. Moss International, $100 per day.
Roddy, Robert	Feb. 15, 1965	60	VISTA	do	Industrial relations consultant, Minneapolis Hospital Services Association, $14,000 per annum.
Price, Gary	Oct. 26, 1964	55	VISTA	do	Executive director, SAAC, New York City, $14,800 per annum.
Weatherford, Willis, Jr.	do	70	VISTA	do	Associate professor, Swarthmore, $15,000 per annum.
Constable, Elinor	do	35	VISTA	do	English Institute, University of Honduras, $14,800 per annum.
Guskin, Alan E.	do	50	VISTA	do	Consultant, President's task force.
Long, Lewis M. K.	Jan. 18, 1965	60	VISTA	do	Supervisory clinical psychologist, chief, $12,170 per annum.
Carter, Charles A.	Dec. 1, 1964	40	VISTA	do	Counselor, Howard University, $8,200 per annum.
Hutchinson, John G.	Oct. 26, 1964	50	VISTA	do	Administrative Officer of Peace Corps, $10,650 per annum.
Gerson, Richard I.	Oct. 20, 1964	75	VISTA	do	Chief, Southeast Asia project, Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs, $17,600 per annum.
Higgins, Thaddeus F. X.	May 10, 1965	55	VISTA	do	General manager and executive vice president of BBB in Pittsburgh, $20,640 per annum.
Blackburn, John J.	Oct. 26, 1964	55	VISTA	do	Pastor, $14,200 per annum.
Chong, Charles	Nov. 23, 1964	50	VISTA	do	Assistant to president of American Federation of State, City and Municipal Employees, $16,111 per annum.
Parsons, Arch	May 24, 1965	65	VISTA	do	Assistant foreign editor, Los Angeles Times, $325 per week.
Rantane, Bruno	Feb. 15, 1965	50	VISTA	do	International representative, American Federation, State, County and Municipal Employees, $10,500 per annum.
Sill, Maurice L.	Nov. 17, 1964	70	VISTA	do	Director, research and evaluation, Appalachian Youth, Inc., $17,000 per annum.
Baker, Robert N.	Dec. 10, 1964	60	Job Corps	do	Manager, American Machine & Foundry Co., $13,500 per annum.
Huntington, Haskins	Dec. 31, 1964	70	do	do	Staff director, Department of Commerce, $16,000 per annum.
Healy, Edward P.	Oct. 26, 1964	90	do	do	Consultant NS, Office of Education, $75 per day.
Woodard, Anola F.	Apr. 21, 1965	40	do	do	Senior psychologist social worker, UCLA, $9,060 per annum.
Pulakos, Milton	Jan. 4, 1965	50	do	do	Associate director, Lower East Side Neighborhood Association, New York, $11,500 per annum.
Brashears, Benjamin S.	Dec. 17, 1964	45	do	do	Social science research analyst, Department of Labor, $8,945 per annum.
Eigen, Lewis D.	Oct. 26, 1964	85	do	do	President, Program Committee Institute.
Troutman, John E.	Mar. 25, 1965	70	do	do	Vice president, Elec. Teaching Lab.
Gottlieb, David	Oct. 26, 1964	70	do	do	Associate professor, Michigan State University, $11,500 per annum.
Stellwagon, Walter R.	Jan. 3, 1965	70	do	do	Associate professor, Michigan State University, $15,700 per annum.
Katz, Milton S.	Apr. 26, 1965	70	do	do	Supervisary research psychologist, $100 per day.
Levine, Stanley	May 10, 1965	70	do	do	Vice president, Training Systems, Inc., $17,000 per annum.
Gillis, James C., Jr.	Oct. 26, 1964	55	do	do	Assistant director of recruitment, $50 per day.
Sexton, Brendon	Nov. 30, 1964	100	CAP	do	Director leadership studies center, U.A.W, $13,500.
VandenHeuvel, William	Dec. 3, 1964	100	CAP	do	Deputy campaign manager, Robert Kennedy, $20,000 per annum.
Bohrson, Ralph G.	Apr. 5, 1965	80	CAP	do	Director, Rocky Mountain area, $13,500 per annum.
Ross, Elizabeth H.	Nov. 9, 1964	65	CAP	do	Consultant on dependency, $13,115 per annum.
Rauh, B. Michael	Apr. 26, 1965	60	CAP	do	Regional coordinator, $250 per week.
Bass, William H.	Dec. 14, 1964	60	CAP	do	Field officer, USDA-ORAD.
Moore, Robert N.	Dec. 8, 1964	60	CAP	do	Administrative assistant, Congressman Joel Evins, $13,900 per annum.
Cotton, Mello	Nov. 23, 1964	55	CAP	do	Advanceman, $12,500 per annum.
Ben-Ami, David Z.	Apr. 25, 1965	50	CAP	do	College instructor, Temple Emanuel of Ironde Court, $10,000 per annum.
Drake, Charles H.	Nov. 9, 1964	50	CAP	do	Director, Fryburg Academy, $1,000 per month.
Salett, Stanley J.	Oct. 26, 1964	45	CAP	do	Expert, Official of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, $33.28 per day.
Wickland, Roger F.	Nov. 3, 1964	65	VISTA	do	Project manager, Youth Opportunity Board, $15,000 per annum.
Johnson, James E.	May 5, 1965	60	VISTA	do	Field representative, National Urban League, $11,000 per annum.
Alexander, Alan A.	Oct. 26, 1964	50	MGMT	do	Director, English language service, $12,500 per annum tax free.
Paynter, David H.	Jan. 18, 1965	90	Job Corps	do	Superintendent of Schools, Simi, Calif., $20,500 per annum.
Stuck, Harry W.	do	40	do	do	Superintendent, Nevada Girls Training Center, $12,000 per annum.
O'Hare, Thomas J.	May 17, 1965	50	do	do	Superintendent of training and education, $8,840 per annum.
Diener, Charles L.	Nov. 29, 1964	40	do	do	Director, teacher education, Fort Lewis College, $7,500.
O'Callaghan, Donald N.	Nov. 8, 1964	65	do	do	Director, health and welfare, $15,120 per annum.
Keating, Raymond F.	Dec. 14, 1964	50	do	do	Education consultant, educational research service, $1,000 per month.
Wilkins, William, D.	Jan 11, 1965	75	do	do	Professor of education, $16,000 per annum.
Schima, Marilyn E.	Oct. 26, 1964	60	do	do	Health education consultant, Great Neck Public Schools $10,000.
Hall, C. Mitchell	Jan. 18, 1965	75	do	do	Directorate of facilities, $16,965 per annum.
McConnell, William A.	Jan. 4, 1965	50	do	do	Lieutenant Colonel, USAF (material), $1,190 per month.
Ferlo, Virgil J.	Dec. 10, 1964	45	do	do	Special Assistant, Peace Corps, $10,970 per annum.
Garofalo, Dominic G.	Mar. 22, 1965	50	CAP	do	State director, $8,500 per annum.
Palmour, Claire T.	May 10, 1965	50	CAP	do	Commercial manager, WDUN, Gainesville, Ga., $9,200 per annum.
Fox, Lester J.	Feb. 1, 1965	60	CAP	Atlanta, Ga.	Associate director, $12,000 per annum.
Sasaki, Tom T.	Jan. 21, 1965	60	CAP	New Mexico	Associate professor, New Mexico University, $13,000 per annum.
Stocks, Donald M.	Apr. 19, 1965	50	CAP	Washington, D.C.	Attorney adviser, HEW, $10,600 per annum.
Eldred, Philip H.	Mar. 22, 1965	45	CAP	Yakima, Wash.	Ordained minister, Assemblies of God, $500 per month.
Oliveo, Jack J.	May 11, 1965	45	CAP	Washington, D.C.	Attorney, Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, $9,000 per annum.
Cosgrove, Thomas S.	Nov. 30, 1964	70	CAP	do	International education director, Federation of State, Country, $10,000 per annum.
Lucas, Jane M.	Apr. 28, 1965	40	CAP	do	Attorney-advisor, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights $7,560 per annum.
Fallon, Vincent	Mar. 19, 1965	60	CAP	do	Associate director, Catholic Charities, $13,000 per annum.
Rainey, Virginia	Mar. 14, 1965	45	CAP	do	Administrative assistant, ICA, Washington D.C., $7,425.
Richmond, Julius M.	Feb. 2, 1965	100	CAP	do	Dean and professor Upstate Medical Center, $20,000 plus.
Spickler, Martin W.	Feb. 28, 1965	60	CAP	do	Psychologist, Montana school system, $11,000.
Balzer, Franc	Apr. 16, 1965	50	CAP	do	Director research demonstration project, Junior Village, $12,075.
Sadow, Sue	Feb. 23, 1965	50	CAP	do	World affairs lecturer, $10,000.
Lowe, Roger D.	Apr. 5, 1965	50	CAP	do	Self-employed, business insurance.
Darlington, Alice	Mar. 22, 1965	40	CAP	do	Director, Board of Education, Chicago, Ill.
Lewis, Joan D.	Apr. 8, 1965	45	CAP	do	Test development examiner, $8,560 per annum.
Hunter, Gertrude T.	Apr. 12, 1965	50	CAP	do	Research physician, $8,840.
Fogg, Betty L.	Mar. 1, 1965	50	CAP	do	Child development specialist, $7,900 for 195 days.
Terris, Shirley D.	do	50	CAP	do	Director, Holy Comforter Service, volunteer.
Blaylock, Marilyn J.	Apr. 5, 1965	45	CAP	do	Child development specialist, $5,735.
Aguirre, Humberto	May 3, 1965	45	CAP	do	Junior high vice principal, $5,800 per annum.
Heller, Adele R.	Mar. 22, 1965	40	CAP	do	Music teacher, $10 per hour.
Martin, John A., Jr.	Apr. 17, 1965	50	CAP	California	Assistant secretary YMCA, $10,302 per annum.
Goodwin, James C.	May 24, 1965	50	CAP	do	Legal editor, Bancroft, Whitney Publishing Co., $8,000 per annum.
Hyman, Milton	May 10, 1965	60	CAP	Chicago	Associate director, Joint Youth Development Committee $15,000 per annum.

Current full-time consultants as of date submitted to GAO—Continued

Name	Date of appointment	Salary	Organization	Duty station	Previous employment
Williams, Robert E	Apr. 6, 1965	$60	CAP	Chicago	Associate professor, Chicago Teachers College, and associate director, Woodlawn Organization, $17,076.
Mehlberg, Wallace L	Apr. 21, 1965	60	CAP	do	Director of Land Conservation, Department of Agriculture, $16,500 per annum.
Jordan, Vernon E	May 20, 1965	60	CAP	Atlanta	Assistant executive director, Southern Regional Council, Inc., $10,500 per annum.
Lesser, Saal D	Apr. 19, 1965	60	CAP	New York	Executive director, Encampment for Citizenship, $12,500 per annum.
Nieves, Josephine	Do.	60	CAP	do	Acting project director, Puerto Rico Forum, $17,000.
Hanan, Thomas M	Feb. 23, 1965	35	CAP	do	Representative, Warner-Chilcott Laboratories, $8,000.
Stack, Michael J	Mar. 22, 1965	65	CAP	Washington, D.C.	Self-employed lawyer, $20,000-plus.
Collins, Raymond C	Apr. 26, 1965	50	CAP	do	International relations officer, State Department, $9,945.
Rhine, Earl R	Apr. 16, 1965	45	CAP	do	Development officer, AID, $9,945.
Burns, Robert J	do	50	CAP	do	Student, U.S. Army Infantry Center, $630 per month.
Oliver, Barbara J	May 24, 1965	50	CAP	do	Executive director, Bloomingdale neighborhood conservation assistance, $9,375.
Ramirez, Lorenzo	May 23, 1965	45	CAP	do	Relocation officer, Urban Renewal Agency, $7,000.
Golatz, Helmut J	Dec. 28, 1964	60	CAP	do	Head, Department of Labor Education, Penn State University, $14,500.
Stenson, Kiernan F	Apr. 5, 1965	100	CAP	do	Director, Mayor's Commission on Human Development, Philadelphia, $16,000.
Salten, David G	Apr. 14, 1965	100	CAP	do	City superintendent of schools, Rochester, $30,000.
Bernstein, Jerome S	Dec. 30, 1964	70	CAP	do	Research coordinator, $14,000.
Hymes, James L	Feb. 16, 1965	90	CAP	do	Professor of education, University of Maryland, $12,900 per academic year.
Morris, Dudley E	Oct. 26, 1965	40	CAP	do	Correspondent, Time, Inc., $925 per month.
Williams, J. Earl	Jan. 27, 1965	85	CAP	do	Director, Southern Rural Training, National Share Corp., $20,000.
Shovell, William L	Feb. 16, 1965	70	CAP	do	President's Commission on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime.
Haddad, William F	Jan. 18, 1965	90	Office director	do	Consultant, Westinghouse Electric Corp., $150 per day.
Walsh, Ira P	Feb. 23, 1965	75	do	do	Public Relations director, Hearst Publications, $24,000-plus.
Yette, Samuel F	Nov. 29, 1965	70	do	do	Executive secretary, Peace Corps, $13,000.
Cahn, Edgar S	Oct. 26, 1964	70	do	do	Attorney, Justice Department, $10,000.
Radler, D. H	May 16, 1965	70	do	do	Division of information, Democratic State Committee, $18,500.
Zagorin, Ruth K	Oct. 26, 1964	40	do	do	Consultant, World Universalist Service, $10,000.
Clampitt, Robert H	Feb. 5, 1965	70	Inspections	do	Public affairs supervisor, Western Electric, $17,400.
Brown, E. Wayles, Jr	Apr. 1, 1965	75	do	do	Economist, Antitrust and Monopoly, U.S. Senate, $19,167.
Ximenes, Vincente T	Feb. 26, 1965	70	do	do	National coordinator, Democratic National Committee, $17,200.
Smilen, Kenneth B	Feb. 9, 1965	60	do	do	Division of Market Analysis, New York, $15,000-plus.
Williams, John C	Feb. 19, 1965	55	do	do	Assistant city manager, Rochester, N.Y., $12,147.
Beasberg, Emanuel	Dec. 21, 1964	50	Interagency relief	do	Attorney, private law firm, San Francisco, Calif., $850 per month.
Keville, Maurice L	Apr. 19, 1965	50	General counsel	do	Consultant, Washington representative for New York, $15,000.
Murphy, John C	Mar. 29, 1965	60	do	do	Association lawyer, covering Burling Co., District of Columbia, $11,250.

Current intermittent consultants

Name	Date of appointment	Salary	Organization	Duty station	Previous employment
Temko, Francine S	Dec. 1, 1964	$75	General counsel	Washington, D.C.	Consultant, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, $50 per day.
Prentice, Edward S	Apr. 26, 1965	100	Program planning	do	Economist, First National Bank, New York, $28,000 per annum.
Williams, Walter	do	60	do	do	Associate professor of economics, University of Kentucky, $13,000 per annum.
Watts, Harold W	do	70	do	do	Associate professor of economics, University of Wisconsin, $15,000 per annum.
Delo, David A	Feb. 1, 1965	70	do	do	Market research specialist, Palos Verdes, Calif., $15,000 per annum.
Donvito, Pasqual A	Feb. 9, 1965	70	do	do	Economics consultant, $125 per day.
McNeil, Donald R	Apr. 1, 1965	50	VISTA	do	Special assistant to president, University of Wisconsin, $19,500 per annum.
Sonnenfeldt, Marjorie H	Apr. 20, 1965	40	VISTA	do	Editor, Trade Talk, $35 per day.
Porter, Douglas	Oct. 26, 1964	65	Job Corps	do	Assistant professor and research associate at Harvard University, $9,500 per annum.
Trautman, Ray L	May 24, 1965	70	do	do	Professor, Columbia University, School of Library Services, $15,000 per annum.
Geis, Gilbert	Jan. 13, 1965	55	do	do	Fellow in law and sociology, Harvard Law School, $12,040, 9 months.
Cohen, Martin A	Apr. 5, 1965	100	CAP	do	President, Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, $25,000 per annum.
Walden, David C	Mar. 31, 1965	90	CAP	do	Self-employed, consultant, $19,500 per annum.
Notkin, Herbert	Apr. 12, 1965	100	CAP	do	Assistant professor, College of Education, Temple University, $10,300, 10 months.
McNiven, High G	Nov. 9, 1964	50	VISTA	do	Associate research assistant, University of Pittsburgh, $11,800 per annum.
Noble, Lindsley H	Feb. 4, 1965	50	Management	do	Deputy assistant, postmaster general and controller, $20,000 per annum.
Hall, Clifton	Mar. 23, 1965	75	do	do	Accountant, Office of Budget and Affairs, District of Columbia, $17,210 per annum.
McAlister, Glendon H	Nov. 29, 1964	40	Job Corps	do	Reading supervisor, Walpole Public Schools, Massachusetts, $9,100 per annum.
Hughes, Calvin C	do	40	do	do	YMCA, executive secretary, Miami, Fla., $6,800 per annum.
Kauffman, Joseph F	Jan. 4, 1965	90	do	do	Director, higher education services, American Personnel and Guidance Associate, $20,000 per annum.
Schreiber, Daniel	Jan. 25, 1965	75	do	do	Director, school dropouts project, NEA, Washington, D.C., $18,500 per annum.
Barberis, Sister Francetta	Mar. 11, 1965	75	do	do	President, Webster College, St. Louis, Mo.
Smiley, Marjorie B	do	70	do	do	Professor of education, Hunter College, $15,200 per annum.
Soldwedel, Bette J	do	70	do	do	Associate professor, New York University, $15,000 per annum.
Weaver, Ella H	Apr. 16, 1965	70	do	do	Assistant professor of speech and director of clinical practice, $13,000 per annum.
Shelden, Miriam A	May 19, 1965	75	do	do	Dean of women, University of Illinois, $16,750 plus expenses.
Keyser, Stephney J	Apr. 12, 1965	60	do	do	School social worker, Baltimore, Md., $780 per month.
Mansfield, Jack P	Feb. 1, 1965	60	CAP	do	Director, special project development of North Carolina Fund, $14,060 per annum.
McConnell, Beatrice	Feb. 5, 1965	50	CAP	do	Deputy Director, Women's Bureau, Washington, D.C., $27,500 per annum.
McEvers, Charles L	Jan. 17, 1965	45	CAP	do	Indian Education Section, Seattle, Wash., $8,190 per annum.
Goldberg, J. R	Mar. 12, 1965	100	CAP	New York	Executive director, Wel-Met Camps, New York, $27,000 per annum.
Rendon, Gabino	Mar. 15, 1965	45	CAP	Washington, D.C.	Research assistant, University of Colorado, $255 per month (part time).
Goble, Dorothy Y	Mar. 21, 1965	45	CAP	do	Member, Citizen's Advisory Committee on Migrant Labor Problems.
McConnell, Beverly B	Mar. 22, 1965	50	CAP	Pullman, Wash	Assistant reemployment officer, Welfare Department, California, $600 per month.
Jager, Oscar	Jan. 11, 1965	70	CAP	Washington, D.C.	Director of publications and public relations, AFL-CIO, District of Columbia, $14,000 per annum.
Henderson, Vivian W	Apr. 22, 1965	50	CAP	do	Professor and chairman, Department of Economics, Fiske University, $12,000 per annum.
Stone, L. Joseph	Apr. 19, 1965	100	CAP	do	Prof., Vassar College, $20,000 per year.
Ozer, Ann T	Mar. 25, 1965	40	CAP	do	Child development specialist, $4,000 per year.
Wegman, Myron E	Mar. 8, 1965	100	CAP	do	Dean, University of Michigan, $30,000 per year.
Maggen, Donald L	Mar. 9, 1965	100	CAP	do	President, Butler Maggin Corp., $25,000 per year.
Kolberg, Rosemond M	Feb. 3, 1965	40	CAP	do	Head teacher, nursery and kindergarten, $20 per day.
Allen, Rebecca B	Feb. 10, 1965	40	CAP	do	Editor, Parent Cooperative Preschools International, WOC.
Cooke, Robert E	Mar. 28, 1965	100	CAP	do	Professor of pediatrics, $30,000.
Ornati, Oscar	Feb. 1, 1965	100	CAP	do	Professor, new school of sociology research, New York, N.Y., $12,750 per 9 months.

Current intermittent consultants—Continued

Name	Date of appointment	Salary	Organization	Duty station	Previous employment
Georges, Thomas W	Apr. 2, 1965	$100	CAP	Washington, D.C	Assistant professor of medicine, Temple University, $18,000.
Reader, George G	Apr. 1, 1965	100	CAP	do	Professor of medicine, Cornell Medical Center, $22,000.
Roessel, Robert A., Jr	Nov. 9, 1964	70	CAP	do	Director, Indian Education, Arizona State University, $16,000.
Duckrey, Marjorie E	Apr. 5, 1965	60	CAP	do	Deputy director, community development, $13,000.
Rein, Martin	Feb. 15, 1965	60	CAP	do	Associate professor, Bryn Mawr College, $12,000.
Silcott, T. George	Jan. 11, 1965	60	CAP	do	Director, Springfield College Guidance Center, $11,800.
Smith, Hilda W	do	50	CAP	do	Contract writer, U.S. Public Health Service $040 per pamphlet.
Hicks, Florence J	May 10, 1965	45	CAP	do	Develop, Health Aid for HEW, $8,500 per year.
Gallen, Elizabeth M	Apr. 16, 1965	60	CAP	do	Superintendent, kindgerarten and primary grades education, $12,000 per year.
Malmborg, Eleanor D	do	45	CAP	do	Staff associate, elementary and secondary education, $8,000 per year.
Parsons, Thomas S	May 3, 1965	75	CAP	do	Owner, Community Education Association, $12,000 per annum.
Bevis, Donald D	Apr. 16, 1965	65	CAP	do	School services coordinator, $13,500 per year.
Brown, Milton A	Apr. 5, 1965	70	CAP	do	NEIGH: Services dir, Community Progress, Inc., $16,500 per year.
Lazar, Irving	do	85	CAP	do	Executive director of Neumeyer Foundation, $15,000 per year.
Bers, Melvin K	Apr. 16, 1965	60	CAP	do	Associate professor of eocnomics and management, University of Denver, $13,125.
Plumer, Stephen B	Apr. 5, 1965	50	CAP	do	Assistant professor progressive administration of social welfare, $11,000.
Seessel, Thomas V	do	50	CAP	do	Community Progress, Inc., New Haven, Conn., special assistant, $11,000.
Bennett, George	do	95	CAP	do	Manpower director, Community Progress, Inc., $16,500.
Scheirbeck, Helen M	Dec. 7, 1964	40	CAP	do	Professional staff, U.S. Senate Judicial Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, $9,800.
McKinley, Francis	Feb. 1, 1965	50	CAP	do	Assistant director, Indian education, Arizona State University, $8,000.
Donovan, Ronald	Dec. 28, 1964	50	CAP	do	Associate professor, N.Y. State School of Industry and Labor Relations, $12,000 per annum.
McCollum, John W	May 3, 1965	80	CAP	do	Senior consultant, development mortgage research studies, $17,000.
Dowdy, Richard S	Mar. 1, 1965	60	CAP	do	Part-time consultant, human relations, $5,000.
Reiner, Janet S	Feb. 1, 1965	50	CAP	do	Director of housing and physical environment.
Barr, Sherman	Mar. 17, 1965	55	CAP	do	Assistant chief, Mobilization for Youth, New York City, $13,100 per annum.
McAndrew, Jordan L	Jan. 25, 1965	55	CAP	do	Director, Learning Institute, $18,000 per year.
Simmons, James E	May 3, 1965	45	CAP	do	Executive director, independent schools talent search program, Massachusetts, $9,000.
Allen, Curtis C	Mar. 28, 1965	75	CAP	do	Professor of economics, $17,000 per year.
Kreps, Juanita M	Apr. 29, 1965	75	CAP	do	Associate professor of economics, $11,000 per year.
Smith, Mildred Beatty	Apr. 14, 1965	55	CAP	do	General elementary consultant, $11,000.
Ginsberg, Mitchell I	Apr. 25, 1965	85	CAP	do	Associate dean, Columbia School of Social Work, $20,000.
Strakhovsky, Ivan L	May 18, 1965	60	CAP	do	CBS–TV.
Berman, Jack D	Apr. 6, 1965	60	CAP	do	President-owner, Jack D. Berman Co., $15,000.
Flowers, Charles	May 9, 1965	40	CAP	Baltimore, Md	City hall reporter, Baltimore Sun, $170 per week.
Keat, James F	do	50	CAP	Washington, D.C	Editorial writer, Baltimore Sun, $10,500.
Krumlauf, Alfred C	May 20, 1965	40	CAP	West Hollywood	Manager, sales department, National Cash Register, $8,400.
Witherspoon, Ralph	May 10, 1965	100	CAP	Tallahasse, Fla	Professor and director, Florida State University, $18,000.
Lispen, Zel E	Apr. 26, 1965	50	CAP	Washington, D.C	Staff assistant, Carl Elliot, Member of Congress, $12,000.
Casey, John J	Apr. 28, 1965	50	CAP	New Orleans, La	Account executive, Alen Johnson & Associates, $100 per week.
Bird, Robert S., Jr	May 23, 1965	25	CAP	Baltimore, Md	Reporter, Morning Sun (Baltimore), $100 per week.
Winters, Bruce M	May 9, 1965	45	CAP	do	Political writer, Baltimore Sun, $165 per week.
Davis, Thomas L	May 23, 1965	65	CAP	Selma, N.C	President and publisher, The Johnstonian, $16,000.
Clifford, George E	Mar. 15, 1965	50	Inspections	Washington, D.C	Sports columnist, Washington Daily News, $240 per week.
McKay, Martha C	Feb. 23, 1965	50	do	do	Self-employed; volunteer activities, $5,200.
Lefkowitz, Gary	Feb. 16, 1965	45	do	do	Consultant, Western Electric Corp., $50 per day.
Swit, David A	Mar. 9, 1965	60	do	do	Consultant, Peace Corps, $50 per day.
Jacobson, Gershon	Feb. 7, 1965	45	do	New York	Staff correspondent, Day Publishing Co., $9,500.
Engle, Robert V	Feb. 18, 1965	60	do	Washington, D.C	Newsweek cover director, $20,500.
Jackson, Bernard H	Feb. 19, 1965	50	do	do	Lawyer Dyett, Alexander & Dienkins, $10,000.
Eldridge, Lawrence	Feb. 12, 1965	60	do	do	Consulting psychologist, $30,000.
Seaton, David L	Feb. 19, 1965	50	do	do	Promotion copywriter, $11,000.
Forrest, Robert A	Feb. 8, 1965	55	do	do	Television executive, Medallion TV executive, $500 per week.
Nichols, William B	Feb. 25, 1965	75	do	do	President, T. V. Packaging Co., $500 per week.
Stupay, Arthur M	Feb. 11, 1965	50	do	do	Senior economic analyst, American Canning Co., $11,000.
Egan, Robert J	Mar. 9, 1965	45	do	New York	Attorney, Gardner, Poor & Havens, $9,600.
Martin, Robert L	Feb. 15, 1965	60	do	Washington, D.C	Attorney, Western Electric, $14,900.
Rostopulos, Nicholas P	Apr. 13, 1965	70	do	do	Broker, Consolidated Investment Services, $35,000.
Petit, Donald Raphael	Mar. 14, 1965	65	do	do	Campaign manager, Senator Holland, $300 per week.
Berle, Peter A	Mar. 2, 1965	45	do	do	Attorney, Paul, Weiss, Rifkino, Wharton, Garrison, $9,000.
Klein, Elihu B	Feb. 8, 1965	60	do	do	Reporter, New York World Telegram & Sun, $300 per week.
MacLean, Hugh D	Mar. 24, 1965	40	do	do	Columnist, Washington Daily News, $13,000.
Kelly, Thomas V	do	50	do	do	Reporter, Washington Daily News, $12,600 per annum.
Parker, Joseph Ross, Jr	Mar. 30, 1965	45	do	do	Reporter, News & Observer Publishing Co., $12,800.
Peasinger, Charles W., Jr	Apr. 7, 1965	65	do	do	Partner, Merchandise Advertiser, Omaha, Nebr., $15,000.
Park, Darragh A	Feb. 14, 1965	40	do	New York	Acting principal, Unitarian Christian Conference, Sierra Leone, $3,000.
Robins, Leurs	Apr. 2, 1965	60	do	Washington, D.C	Author, Marsh Pierce Co., $35,000.
Lipsen, Charles P	Apr. 19, 1965	70	do	do	Legislative representative, Retail Clerks International Association, $18,000.
Brenner, Clifford J	Apr. 22, 1965	70	do	New York	Deputy general counsel, New York, $16,100.
Patrick, C. B	Apr. 26, 1965	55	do	Glenview, Ill	Lieutenant Colonel, U.S. Army Intelligence, $13,250.
Prial, Frances J	Mar. 27, 1965	45	do	Washington, D.C	Reporter, World Telegram & Sun, $10,400.

Current full-time experts

Name	Date of appointment	Salary	Organization	Duty station	Previous employment
Macomber, John Z	Mar. 16, 1965	$60	Public affairs	Washington, D.C	Staff assistant to executive vice president, Curtis Publishing Co., $17,500 per annum.
Robinson, Wade M	Oct. 26, 1964	100	Job Corps	do	Executive director, Harvard University, $14,500 per annum.
Wynne, Edward	Mar. 21, 1965	50	do	do	Consultant, General Counsel, NLRB, $50 per day.
Clay, Ozzie	Mar. 1, 1965	40	do	do	Professional football, Redskins, $12,500 per annum.
Sanders, Lonnie	do	40	do	do	Professional football, Redskins, $15,500 per annum.
Marley, Frederick H	June 14, 1965	60	do	do	Lieutenant colonel, U.S. Air Force.
Devlin, John R	Oct. 26, 1964	50	do	do	Treasurer-president of E. S. Delvin Co., $56 per day.
Moretton, Ernest R	Jan. 4, 1965	50	do	do	Superintendent of Boys Ranch, $12,315 per annum.
McDaniel, Linwood	do	50	do	do	Field officer, Peace Corps, $10,500 per annum.
Spector, Sidney	Mar. 8, 1965	50	Management	do	Director, field division, Metro Auto Rental, $20,000 per annum.
Wilson, Wilbur	May 13, 1965	65	Job Corps	do	Assistant to to Chief of Staff, Force Development, $15,000 per annum.
Holman, William G	do	65	do	do	Research analyst for Silver Users Association, $13,000 per annum.
Donahue, Joseph P	Apr. 19, 1965	45	do	do	Deputy Attorney General and Chief Attorney General, Military Personnel Division, Army, $585 per month.
Merrill, Keith W	Apr. 9, 1965	60	do	do	Resident OB-GYN, George Washington University Hospital, $275 per month.
Johnston, Robert W	Mar. 19, 1965	35	do	do	Flight control coordinator, National Air Carrier Association, $650 per month.
Brewer, Harold E	Dec. 1, 1964	100	do	do	Area director, employee relations, I.T. & T., $37,000 per annum.
Pines, Marion W	June 7, 1965	50	do	do	Planning Association of Health & Welfare Council, $1,000 per month.
Halsey, Maxwell	May 24, 1965	50	do	do	Traffic safety consultant, $40 to $75 per day.
Svenson, E. V	Feb. 23, 1965	80	do	do	Associate director, University of California Extension, $15,700.

Current full-time experts—Continued

Name	Date of appointment	Salary	Organization	Duty station	Previous employment
Flaherty, Thomas F	Mar. 29, 1965	$60	Job Corps	Washington, D.C	Resident physician, $800 per month.
Arndt, William F	Feb. 28, 1965	60	do	do	Associate professor, preventive medicine, Georgetown University, $13,200 per annum.
Magovern, Thomas F	Apr. 12, 1965	60	do	do	Medical doctor, Maryland, $20,000 per annum.
Marlow, John L	Apr. 1, 1965	60	do	do	Resident physician, George Washington University Hospital.
Giordano, Louis W	Apr. 9, 1965	60	do	do	Resident physician, $800 per month.
Mermel, John F	Apr. 1, 1965	60	do	do	Resident physician, $8,500 per year.
Gering, Henry S	Apr. 12, 1965	60	do	do	Resident physician, Georgetown University Hospital, $4,000 per annum.
Wieneke, Karl F	Apr. 1, 1965	60	do	do	Resident in surgery, $3,500 per annum.
Dean, John	Apr. 8, 1965	50	CAP	do	Program officer, African-American Institute, $10,500 per annum.
McMillan, Eldridge	Mar. 17, 1965	45	CAP	Atlanta, Ga	Resource visiting counselor, Atlanta public schools, $7,600 per annum.
Wilms, Edward G	Mar. 22, 1965	70	CAP	Washington, D.C	Executive director, New Jersey Democratic State Committee, $15,000 per annum.
Ellington, Betty	Mar. 17, 1965	50	CAP	do	Assistant executive director, Washington State Nurses Association, $615 per month.
Barksdale, Marie C	Feb. 23, 1965	45	CAP	do	Assistant director, Women in Community Service, $35 per day.
Chayes, Kitty Torch	Feb. 8, 1965	50	CAP	do	Private law practice, $10,000 per annum.

Playing With Your Money? The Government Hasn't Any

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN R. DAVIS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, there appears to be a prevalent "don't care" attitude, in the Nation's Capital, relating to the people's money. However, there are thinking, responsbile, people throughout the country who do care. One of these people is the longtime publisher and editor of the Oconomowoc Enterprise—one of the real "voices of conscience" of the Ninth Congressional District of Wisconsin.

I commend one of Mr. Brown's recent editorials to my colleagues for consideration and meditation.

PLAYING WITH YOUR MONEY? THE GOVERNMENT HASN'T ANY

Few people should or probably do oppose the objectives of President Johnson's Great Society, but—

It is the "but" that creates the opposition and concern. Here are some of the reasons:

Lack of concern over constantly increasing national debt and no interest in ending it or reducing the debt in times of prosperity.

Fear from knowledge that recessions and depressions have always occurred and there is no reason to believe that they will not occur again. And when they do debt pyramids for everyone. That is history.

The forcing of uncancelable ever-increasing costly multibillion dollar aid programs on all people whether they need it or not (the great majority don't), yet not providing enough aid to people over 65 years of age and none to those under 65 years of age who do need it.

The fact that the cost of new Government programs once started cannot be abandoned thereby anchoring a permanent and ever increasing dollar load on the taxpayers and the economy that may force skyrocketing additional debt and/or devaluating the dollars which creates:

Inflation that shrinks the buying power of the dollar and the worth of every bank account, insurance policy, bond, savings account, mortgage, etc. (inflation in France went the equivalent of 1 cent on the dollar. Germany's inflation was worse).

The Government's foreign spending resulting in the Nation's gold being constantly drained from the country which jeopardizes the soundness of the American dollar and the currency of all nations of the world. A speaker for the American Bankers Association has said that proposed measures to stop the loss of gold will not provide a long-run answer and that fundamental correctives will have to be found elswhere, that failure to do so could cripple the international monetary system and consequently undermine economic progress in the free world.

Centralizing powers in Washington with ever increasing controls over the individual, business, States and the lesser units of government.

It is not the objectives of the administration that it feared. It is the do-it-all-now "on the cuff" attitude, "tomorrow, the day of reckoning, never comes." No business, no family and no individual with commonsense would dare practice such fiscal irresponsibility as is pursued at Washington But why should Washington care? It's not its money, it's yours.

Outstanding Laymen in Nation Visiting Sister in Chelmsford

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, recently a lady who is known throughout the country for her outstanding work on behalf of the American Diabetes Association visited relatives in the Greater Lowell, Mass., area and told of her work through the years in service of this cause.

Mrs. Helen T. Whitney of Louisville, Ky., although blind, has looked after herself and given inspiration to thousands of sufferers from this disease.

Under unanimous consent I include a fine article written by Marguerite Lyons in the Lowell Sun on July 19 in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Her visit to Lowell will no doubt be an inspiration to the local group, headed by John Pearsall, to continue its valuable and important work:

OUTSTANDING LAYMAN IN NATION VISITING SISTER IN CHELMSFORD

(By Marguerite Lyons)

CHELMSFORD.—Thousands have been convinced that their plight is not such a sad one after all, because Mrs. Helen T. Whitney, of Louisville, Ky., a gallant lady who has literally given her all to the cause for which the American Diabetes Association stands, has been a living inspiration to them, despite diabetes and blindness.

Recipient of national recognition, June 20, when she was presented the Outstanding Layman in the Nation Award by the American Diabetes Association in New York, the 68-year-old Mrs. Whitney is presently visiting her sister and brother-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hope, of 18 Donna Road, Chelmsford.

Last Friday afternoon she graciously received a group of Greater Lowellians including Seth Ames, volunteer in the United Fund public relations department; John Pearsall, of the Lowell Diabetes Society; Albert E. Holdsworth, a member of the board of directors of the local society, and this writer, to tell them the story of her most interesting life in hope that it could in some way help other diabetics to adjust, and live with the disease which she prefers to so many others with which one can be afflicted.

"My birth was a mistake," said she smiling. "I was due in July but came so unexpectedly in April that my improvised crib was a regular size cigar box." After all this and a few chuckles Mr. Pearsall asked if she smoked. Answering, "Yes, only OP's" she turned her head from side to side actually sensing that all four of us were looking at each other in search of the odd brand name and she quickly explained, "that means other peoples."

Mrs. Whitney has lived through many a disappointment. Her first job was one. Unknown to her mother she answered an advertisement "wanted to pump a piano" and was immediately hired. Proudly seated at the player piano in the window of a downtown Omaha, Nebr., store, she was recognized by a neighbor who ran to the nearest telephone. In short time her mother was on the scene and put a quick end to what she then thought could be a most fascinating career.

One of a family of three sisters and one brother, Mrs. Whitney was born Helen Saffold, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. B. W. Saffold. They moved from Omaha, Nebr., to Louisville, Ky., where she began a career of 43 years in the insurance business. She started as an office girl in 1920 and was promoted to the position of assistant to the manager in the company's offices in Louisville, and later in St. Louis, where she fell in love with her husband, the late Aylett H. Whitney, and with the St. Louis Cardinals.

"My husband and I had the same box seats at the Cardinal games for 17 years," said she, "and I still keep up with the team and listen to the games every chance I get."

She later managed insurance offices in Indianapolis, Little Rock, New Orleans, and Birmingham before returning to St. Louis in 1953. Following an accident in January 1949, and a heart attack in July of the same year, Mrs. Whitney, while undergoing tests discovered that she had diabetes. After a period of hospitalization she resumed her work and travels and became actively engaged in the work of lay diabetes organiza-

tions. Complete loss of sight forced her retirement from the insurance business in 1957 but she redoubled her efforts in behalf of diabetics, helping them by every way imaginable.

She gave her lovely home to the Diabetes Association for its office. She makes and receives countless calls to and from diabetics every day. She has written a cook book with attractive recipes for diabetics and she keeps in constant contact with the discouraged among them, never giving up until she has converted them to her philosophy. She gives regular talks on the local radio station in Louisville, heads the Diabetic Detention Drive, is secretary of the Louisville Association for the Blind and membership chairman of the Diabetes Society.

Mrs. Whitney is so well known that letters from everywhere in the country find their way to her without an address. One time an inquirer tried to make a long distance phone call to her and succeeded when he asked the operator to put his call through to the Diabetes Lady. Without name, address, telephone number or delay the call was placed.

Though she cannot read, Mrs. Whitney can write and type. She can cook, keep her house, go down town and travel extensively without the least difficulty. "People are very kind to the blind," said she.

The gracious and gallant lady who has poured generous contributions into the cause of the welfare of diabetics was most stylish to behold in a pretty crisp, white and blue check sheath dress with matching jacket, a summer white necklace and earrings. The latter according to Mrs. Whitney do present a trifle of a problem, when she is selecting a pair. Her brown reddish hair was freshly waved and her long fingernails were meticulously done in a red that matched her lipstick.

A firm believer that every prayer is answered, Mrs. Whitney is one of those people to whom the Christmas story has a very special meaning. After 4 years of complete blindness, sight in her left eye was restored some 4 percent Christmas eve of 1963. She has had that degree of vision ever since. Though it is far from enough to distinguish people or objects she is grateful beyond words for this gift of God, a miracle, which according to her still holds good.

Blessed with a marvelous sense of humor which has been a reviving tonic to those diabetics and others who sometimes find things a little hard to bear, she refers to her many colorful and collapsible canes as Hildegarde, Penelope, Priscilla and Clarabelle. On these she leans as her faithful guides. She loves her independence, but is not too proud to ask for assistance when she finds herself in a predicament. She is then invariably reassured for wherever she goes she has friends, and these are multiplied as often as people make her acquaintance.

Captive Nations Week Observance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. BATES

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, throughout the United States this past week has been observed the seventh Captive Nations Week, and while many words have been spoken here on this subject, I feel that too much cannot be said about the deep compassion all Americans have for those enslaved people who have had their freedom taken from them by Communist dictators. It is because of that feeling that I introduced one of the pending resolutions, House Resolution 417, calling for the establishment of a Special Committee on the Captive Nations.

In accordance with the following proclamation by Gov. John A. Volpe, there was widespread recognition of the plight of the captive nations in my home State of Massachusetts:

Whereas the basic rights of freedom and justice are circumscribed and, in many areas of the world, depriving countless persons of their national independence and their individual liberties of religion, speech and communication with their friends and relatives who live in the free world; and

Whereas the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of peoples in these subjugated nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to any ambitions of tyrannist leaders to initiate a major war;

Whereas the freedom-loving peoples of the captive nations, many of whom are linked by family bonds to American citizens, look to the United States as the citadel of human freedom and to the people of the United States as leaders in bringing about their own freedom and independence; and

Whereas our country's abiding commitment to the principles of independence, personal liberty, and human dignity makes it appropriate and proper that we manifest to the peoples of the captive nations our sympathies and prayers for their freedom and national independence, and that we recognize and encourage constructive actions which foster the growth and development of these rights: Now, therefore

I, John A. Volpe, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusets, do hereby proclaim the week of July 18–24, 1965, as Captive Nations Week and urge all citizens of the Commonwealth to take cognizance of this observance, in recognition and support of the just aspirations of all people for national independence and human liberty.

Newspapers joined in this observance with appropriate editorial comment and special articles, and I believe that one of the most effective editorials was the following, which appeared in last Saturday's Christian Science Monitor, published in Boston:

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

This year, as every year since 1959, the third week in July is being observed in the United States as "Captive Nations Week." The lands referred to are the nine smallish countries of Eastern Europe (excluding East Germany and Yugoslavia) now included within the Soviet bloc.

As in the past, the Assembly of Captive European Nations seeks to remind the world that some 100 million Europeans live under an alien rule imposed from without and which they would not have chosen through a free vote. The assembly also hopes to convince the free world that the latter has a continuing obligation not to forget those lands and peoples and to do whatever is feasible to speed their independence.

It is impossible not to feel a deep sympathy for the hopes and efforts of the assembly. Communist control of Eastern Europe is far and away the greatest and brutalest example of imperialism and colonialism on the face of the globe today. While the often-berated West has been freeing one colony after another, Communist colonialism has shown not the slightest intention of following suit.

But, while agreeing with the assembly's assessment of the tragedy of Communist colonialism and while regretting that this colonialism is not following the more enlightened example of the West, we believe that there is greater hope for the captive nations of Eastern Europe than at any time since Communist hegemony was established following World War II. This does not—at least as yet—forebode an early end to Communist control. But there are multiplying signs that both an individual and a national impulse toward freedom is making itself increasingly felt.

Police control, while oppressive by freedom's standard, is less harsh and arbitrary. Governments are feeling a greater obligation—or necessity—to provide a more comfortable life for the average citizen. Nationalism, as contrasted with unthinking subservience to Russia, is on the rise. There is greater travel both into and out of the Communist lands of Eastern Europe.

All of this must have its long-range effect upon Communist control. This control may not, at least for an extended period, be shaken off. But it may well be greatly modified.

Furthermore, there is general agreement that the peoples of Eastern Europe feel a rising desire for closer relations with the countries and peoples of Western Europe, and that, within limit, this desire is shared by most of the Eastern European governments. Thus, slowly but steadily, there is a drawing together of the two great divisions of Europe. We doubt if, on the long pull, anything can halt this process.

Change in Eastern Europe—I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, during the last few years, several changes have taken place in Eastern Europe—changes which have serious implications for the foreign policy of the United States and which, therefore, are of considerable interest to Members of Congress who are called upon to pass on legislation relating to this subject.

Recently, three excellent articles on "Change in Eastern Europe" were written by Mr. John N. Reddin, of the Milwaukee Journal.

Mr. Reddin, I may mention, just completed a 2-month study and reporting mission throughout central and Eastern Europe. He spoke with American diplomatic representatives, journalists, foreign government officials, and people in many other walks of life. I understand that he filed some 60 stories in the course of his travels. He summarized his observations and findings in the three articles which I wish to place in the RECORD and commend to the attention of my colleagues.

The first of the three articles is entitled "Communists' Tarnished Promises Draw Sneers in Satellite Countries." Its text follows:

CHANGE IN EASTERN EUROPE—COMMUNISTS' TARNISHED PROMISES DRAW SNEERS IN SATELLITE COUNTRIES

(By John N. Reddin)

The Polish teacher looked around slyly and asked:

"When will Cuba become a fully socialized state?"

He answered his own question:

"When it has to import sugar."

This sums up what most people think in eastern Europe and what many officials and experts admit indirectly—that the Communists have proved bad economists and planners. In a mad rush toward construction of heavy industry and in mismanagement of agriculture to the point of failure, they have brought a degree of economic stagnation.

These things seem true of eastern Europe as a whole:

The Communist controlled nations are going through a technological revolution, still far behind the West but real.

There is a basic contradiction between industrialization, which increasingly requires decentralization of planning, and the centralization of political power. To the degree that industrial planning decentralizes, political centralization is weakened and thus Communist control is threatened.

There is conflict between the dogmatism of the older, revolutionary Communists who are in political control and the pragmatism of the young Communists and technicians. The latter group wants results, not political slogans. As the elders die off and younger men move in, revolutionary communism should wither away.

Nationalism is proving stronger than communism. And in East Europe, where nationalism and religion have always been strong, most people are unaffected intellectually and emotionally by Communist theory.

President de Gaulle of France was right when he said that "doubtless the Communist regime recognizes that, while it may be ruling Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Yugoslavia, Prussia, and Saxony, it has not won the people over, and that there is no doubt that if the populations of these countries could express themselves freely, they would reject this regime by a tremendous majority."

Yet, while freedom of expression has grown, it is hardly safe anywhere in the area to attack the leadership directly or undermine the party. The favorite story of Janos Kadar, head of the Hungarian Communist Party, is said to be this:

A man was asked his opinion on something by the chairman of his Communist unit and he said, "Well, as Marx said——"

The chairman said, "We want your opinion, not Marx's."

The man squirmed and said, "Well, as Lenin wrote——"

The chairman broke in again and said, "We want your opinion."

The man thought and said, "Well, before I give this purely personal opinion, let it be understood clearly that I do not agree with it."

INCENTIVE LACKING

Communism has failed to give the masses the one thing men need for achievement—incentive.

While the nations of east Europe—except Poland—can boast of full employment, the truth is that they suffer from widespread underemployment and human waste. A man or woman who devotes the day caring for a single cow has a job—but little incentive or production to show for it. A woman sweeping a street day after day has a job—but one hardly conducive to hope of a better life.

People throughout the bloc are eating better now and have access to adequate clothing. The contrast in East Germany and Poland with conditions 3 and 4 years or more ago is striking. But even so, variety is limited. There is widespread longing not only for more consumer goods but for better quality. Throughout the area the quickest way even now to draw a crowd in a hurry is to park an American car on the street.

Uniformly, particularly since Vietnam became a major issue and our forces intervened in the Dominican Republic, the governments of eastern Europe have issued anti-American propaganda. It does not seem to have any effect at all on most people. The American and his way of life stand high in popularity.

The cousin in Milwaukee, or Dearborn, Mich., is a better propagandist using truth in letters than all the Communist radio stations. Even officials, who castigate America for its allegedly "imperialist" policies, talk wistfully of the day when their country can approach the American standard of living and urge greatly increased trade unhampered by political strings. They ape the strange logic of former Premier Khrushchev and say that it is necessary to borrow workable methods from capitalism in order to bury capitalism.

All of this points to a weakening of communism, further rents in what has long been called the Iron Curtain, and lessened control over the bloc by the Soviet Union.

Yet in each of these countries Communists—often old line, revolutionary minded Communists—are in control. While police terror is a thing of the past, they still control the police—secret, civil, and military—and have it in their power to crack down if they feel the need.

And while communism has not won the allegiance of the masses it is supposed to "save," most people like some things about socialist programs. Free medical care, a chance at a higher education, low rents, automatic pensions are popular.

What people do criticize in these areas is the quality of services. They like low rents, for instance, but are bitter about the kind of housing they get.

HOUSING BIG PROBLEM

If the Communist countries have a single major problem in common it is housing. People, given the promise of a better life, are sick and tired of being packed together in small and inadequate quarters—married children living with parents and grandparents, in one, two, or three rooms, dozens sharing a bathroom if they are lucky enough to have one.

Transportation is another major problem all share. In most of the area the governments are working hard to improve public transportation. And all are under tremendous pressure to provide more automobiles for purchase.

A car is the goal of millions and is the top status symbol behind the curtain. People make amazing sacrifices to get a car.

Almost universally the Communist countries are rushing to provide more housing. A capitalist tinge of sorts is changing the housing picture. Increasingly regimes are turning to cooperative housing instead of public housing—apartments in which people can buy their own unit under a long-term payment program, with the right to pass it on to their children or sell it. An economist told me this:

"We find that in state housing people are careless and often do not maintain their apartments well. When they own their own they keep up maintenance, treat the property with care, and have pride in it."

In other words, they have personal incentive—the lack of which has proved fatal to so many Communist government projects.

There is growing concern in the bloc over the quality of public services generally. Waiters, clerks, officeworkers are often indifferent, slow, inefficient. Again, they lack incentive.

A German friend was hunting for the police station in Poznan to register and was helped by a passing Pole, who led him to it and showed him the right office. He thanked the Pole and asked if he might buy him a drink. The Pole pointed to a building down the street and said:

"Yes, we can get coffee, tea, chocolate or beer there—and beer is the only warm drink they have."

These is great diversity among the East European countries. Bulgaria is a peasant nation and looks it. There is little sophistication. The babushka is the common headwear for women. Agriculture is the backbone of the economy.

In Czechoslovakia, on the other hand, the streets of Prague are much like those of a West European city. Many people are chic and well dressed. Store windows show modern fashions. This has long been a highly industrialized nation.

STAGNATION RESULTS

"What communism has done," says Paul Collins, research director of Radio Free Europe in Munich, "is to raise up Bulgaria a bit and drag down Czechoslovakia. It has moved a sophisticated nation down toward a plateau while raising a peasant nation up toward it—and in the end both have attained stagnation."

The role of the Soviet Union in the bloc varies greatly. It has great political influence on the leaders of Bulgaria and almost none on those of Rumania. East Germany gives it some competition in trade, but Hungary is tightly tied to the Soviet Union economically—much as it would like to squirm loose and find trade with the West.

The Soviet Union gives Hungary most of the oil it uses, 79 percent of the timber, 78 percent of the iron ore, 54 percent of the coke, a great deal of electric power. It takes from Hungary large quantities of bauxite and uranium.

Hungary would wither if it were cut off from the Soviet Union suddenly. Bulgaria, too, has strong economic ties and has literally been subsidized by the Soviets.

A major sign of change in Eastern Europe is that more and more people are being allowed to travel abroad, even to the West. Czechs and Hungarians seem most able to travel. But not just anyone can leave any of the area countries. Often parents must leave children behind—as a form of hostage. A big bar to extensive travel is the lack of foreign exchange. Bulgaria is leery about letting its people travel and normally requires them to go in closely supervised groups.

But all of these nations are rushing facilities to attract foreign tourists, particularly from the West, so that they can earn hard currency. It is paying off. Last year Bulgaria—with about 8 million population—had 1 million visitors, almost half from the West. In 1960 it had only 8,000.

All of this has political effect. People traveling abroad or coming into contact with Western tourists and businessmen in their own countries have a window to the world opened to them. They have a means of comparing their own and Western life—and reason to be dissatisfied.

Even if the contact is distant, it has effect. Jaroslav Mrnka, writing in the Czech weekly Kulturna Tvorba, complains that he went to a resort in the mountains and not only was poorly treated by waiters who lavished attention on Western tourists but was told that the breakfast rolls were "reserved for the foreigners, unless some are left over."

A Bulgarian complained that apples served at one hotel were only for foreigners.

It becomes obvious that foreigners live better, even in Eastern Europe.

There is great change and ferment in what was once called the Soviet bloc of Europe. It comes from the twin forces of nationalism and the growing demand for a better life. It comes, unfortunately, at a time when the West is divided on how to exploit it and when Vietnam revives the cold war.

But it is coming, nonetheless. And unless disaster turns back the clock, freedom in the end will be the gainer.

Congress Giving Up Control of Purse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, every Member of this body knows that one of the principal powers of the legislative branch under our form of Government is control of the purse strings. Every Member also knows that this power has been steadily eroding away in recent years.

In an illuminating article which should interest every Member of this body, one aspect of this steady loss of power was discussed by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. DAVIS].

Under unanimous consent, the article by the gentleman from Wisconsin, entitled "Congress Giving Up Control of Purse," which appeared in the July 24 issue of the Milwaukee Sentinel, follows:

CONGRESS GIVING UP CONTROL OF PURSE

(By GLENN R. DAVIS, U.S. Representative, Ninth District, Wisconsin)

Acting in the light of their British colonial experiences, our Founding Fathers sought to make certain that their elected legislative representatives—their Congressmen—controlled the Federal purse strings.

Hence, section 9 of our Federal Constitution provided: "No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law."

Sadly, and ominously, Congress has slipped into the slovenly habit of appropriating large sums of money, mostly in accordance with the patterns and amounts set in the executive budget, without proper concern for when the money will be spent, and without adequate post appropriation surveillance of the expenditure of the money.

In short, Congress is turning over too many signed checks to the President and his appointees.

In the fiscal year just begun, July 1, the President has said he will spend, that is, withdraw from the Treasury, $99.7 billion during this and the succeeding 11 months. As you will note from the upper chart, he has asked Congress to authorize the spending of $106.4 billion in this and subsequent fiscal years. Thus nearly one-third ($34.4 billion) of this year's appropriated funds would be spent at the discretion of the President in future years.

At the same time, the President will drain off $27.6 billion of prior years' appropriations.

At the end of this fiscal year—June 30, 1966—there will be $101.5 billion available for expenditure by the executive departments of the Government. What a bundle of blank checks. And the signer of the checks, the Congress, has relinquished possession and control of them.

And this is only part of the true spending picture. Through Government trust funds, another $28 billion will be taken out of the Treasury in this 12-month period. Such trust funds include social security, medicare (when authorized), and the interstate highway fund, to name a few.

As an instrument of further executive control of spending, the President has recommended several new user taxes, the proceeds of which would likewise go into trust funds to be disbursed by executive appointees without congressional appropriations.

Examples of such new sources of revenue, spendable without appropriation by Congress, are the proposed doubling of the aviation gasoline tax, the establishment of a new soil conservation revolving fund, and the enhancement of transportation taxes payable into the interstate highway trust fund.

It is obvious that a supine Congress—and the 89th Congress seems to be even more supine than its predecessors—is rapidly relinquishing control of the public purse.

Unless that control is reasserted, and soon, the Members of Congress will be reduced, along with their constituents, to begging for political and economic crumbs at the back door of the White House.

Representative James Roosevelt Calls for Research Into New Mass Transit Systems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday, July 22, Station KFI of Los Angeles broadcast a news brief on the introduction of legislation (H.R. 10004) by the gentleman from California [Mr. ROOSEVELT] to set up a 2-year, $20 million federally sponsored research program to achieve a technological breakthrough in the development of new systems of urban transportation.

The legislation is identical to a bill I introduced (H.R. 9200) on June 17. Identical bills have also been introduced by 19 other Members: the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHLEY], H.R. 9201; the gentleman from Texas [Mr. CABELL], H.R. 9202; the gentleman from New York [Mr. FARBSTEIN], H.R. 9763; the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. FRASER], H.R. 9995; the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GILLIGAN], H.R. 9826; the gentlewoman from Michigan [Mrs. GRIFFITHS], H.R. 9996; the gentleman from New York [Mr. KALPERN], H.R. 9997; the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. JOELSON], H.R. 9998; the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. LONG], H.R. 9999; the gentleman from New York [Mr. MCCARTHY], H.R. 10000; the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. MINISH], H.R. 10001; the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORHEAD], H.R. 10002; the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER], H.R. 9203; the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROSENTHAL], H.R. 9204; the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RONAN], H.R. 10003; the gentlewoman from Missouri [Mrs. SULLIVAN], H.R. 9205; the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VANIK], H.R. 9206; the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. WELTNER], H.R. 9207; and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. YATES], H.R. 9208.

Following is the text of the broadcast:

NEWS BROADCAST OVER STATION KFI, LOS ANGELES

California Congressman JAMES ROOSEVELT, of Los Angeles, today trumpeted a call for the Federal Government to initiate research in determining what type of potential transit systems would get people within a city moving around in a faster, cheaper, and more efficient way.

Congressman ROOSEVELT, simultaneously with today's statement before the House of Representatives, introduced legislation which would provide the Housing and Home Finance Agency with an additional $10 million to undertake such a research program. The bill amends the Mass Rapid Transit Act which Congress passed last year.

"Unfortunately," he said "the present Mass Rapid Transit Act can only help cities purchase buses and replace obsolete subway cars * * *. No substantial research is being sponsored by the Federal Government in an attempt to provide urban commuters with a technological breakthrough in intracity transportation.

"We should," Congressman ROOSEVELT explained, "be spending at least as much money on research to provide whole new systems which would move people about within cities rapidly, faithfully, economically, and efficiently, as we are in research on other modes of transportation."

"People need quick and safe ways to get about a city," he continued, "and new systems based on modern technology would help alleviate smog and contribute to the economic growth of cities and communities which they support."

Congressman ROOSEVELT pointed out that it was the responsibility of the Federal Government to initiate such research, but cities themselves should supplement the effort.

"A primary concern of mine, as a Los Angeles Congressman," ROOSEVELT said, "is to insure that there is an adequate intracity transportation system to relieve traffic and parking congestion and offset the inability of freeway systems to meet the onslaught of more automobiles."

For KFI news, this is Richard Barton from the Washington office of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.

Draft Dodging in South Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, yesterday's issue of the Washington Post July 26, 1965, contained a number of significant reports concerning the situation in South Vietnam. I would like to call to the attention of my collagues the Reuter dispatch concerning efforts to draft more Vietnamese youth into the Saigon Army. Apparently a substantial number of the young men prefer death to fighting against the Vietcong. The story also includes this statement:

Military sources said dodging the draft has turned into open rebellion.

This type of information, coupled with the statistics on the current desertion rate in the Saigon Army, may offer some clues as to the possibility of a military victory by the Saigon Government.

The pertinent portion of the article follows:

Meanwhile the death of 39 young Vietnamese who drowned when they jumped from a boat taking them to do compulsory military service focused attention on the government's growing recruitment problem.

The dead youths were among 50 who leaped from the naval vessel bound for a training school east of Saigon with more than 300 draftees aboard, Reuter reported.

Military sources said dodging the draft has turned into open rebellion. While the government is trying to build its forces from half

a million to 660,000 by the end of this year, an entire new class of draft-evading, cafe-lounging "cowboys" has emerged in Saigon.

To escape the regular police roundups they hide, dress up as girls, or even mutilate themselves.

Ripon Society—Fracturer of GOP

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN R. DAVIS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, if the Ripon Society continues as it has been acting recently, it will not need a very large mold in order to contain the surviving remnants of the Republican Party.

I fail to preceive that devine right or knowledge which gives to this rump group, with headquarters somewhere in an obscure college in an obscure State, the privilege of its constant carping of the leadership of House Republicans.

If they in good faith seek Republican unity, they might try, for a change, to attempt to unify with the responsible, frontline leadership of the Republican Party—the leadership which is operating in the Senate and the House of Representatives.

A recent editorial in the Milwaukee Sentinel is in line with the above comments and has prompted these frankly disgusted remarks:

SPLINTERS HURT

The Ripon Society, a splinter group in the leftwing of the Republican party, is hard at work seeing to it that the GOP stays hopelessly fractured.

Latest divisive effort by this group of self-styled liberal Republican intellectuals is a newsletter taking to task Representatives LAIRD, of Wisconsin, and FORD of Michigan, House GOP leaders, for playing politics with Vietnam.

LESSON OF 1964 IS IGNORED

The only hope for a Republican comeback rests in coalescing the right and left wings of the party into a united force capable of offering at least a little challenge to the common enemy, the Democrats. That was the lesson of 1964, but the Ripon Society shows no sign of having learned it. So detrimental to coalition is the Ripon Society's efforts that one is led to suspect that it is a Democratic front designed to keep the Republican party deeply divided. If that is so, it is probably unnecessary, for the Goldwater wing remains as opposed as ever to yielding in order to achieve the essential GOP coalition.

It is somewhat ironic that the Ripon Society should be criticizing LAIRD for what it calls following the Goldwater line. Only a few days ago, LAIRD was, in effect, criticizing Goldwater for splintering the GOP with the Free Society association.

All of this public Republican political quarreling must comfort Lyndon Johnson. He's got his hands full with dissension and power struggles in the Democratic ranks, but he enjoys the advantage of heading a party that knows the importance of coalition and how to achieve it on the surface, however turbulent things may be underneath.

Meanwhile, the Republicans go on killing each other off.

War Criminals in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I am confident that Members of this House share in the widespread admiration of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States for its alert and continuing interest in matters pertaining to our national security.

In accordance with such a policy, the VFW has become an effective spokesman for the men in our Armed Forces.

Recently our Nation, and the free world, were shocked by news of the murder of Sgt. Harold G. Bennett, who was a prisoner of the Communists in South Vietnam. Since then other stories of atrocities against U.S. servicemen captured by the Communists have come to our attention.

The national commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Mr. John A. Jenkins, immediately issued a public statement calling on the U.S. Government to notify all concerned, including the Communists, that they would be held strictly accountable for killing and torturing any of our servicemen.

It was a powerful statement made on behalf of the 1,300,000 overseas combat veterans who comprise the membership of the VFW and under unanimous consent I include it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD following my remarks:

WAR CRIMINALS IN VIETNAM

WASHINGTON, D.C., July 8.—The national commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Mr. John A. Jenkins, of Birmingham, Ala., today urged that Communists in South Vietnam be held "strictly accountable for murders and torturing of U.S. prisoners." The VFW commander, who recently returned from an extensive trip through southeast Asia, including the combat areas of South Vietnam, said, "the U.S. Government should serve formal notice on the Communists in South Vietnam—and all those backing them, including Hanoi, Red China, and the Soviet Union—that before this war is finished, we will insist upon prompt and full punishment of those responsible for killing U.S. military and civilian prisoners."

Explaining the VFW position, Commander Jenkins continued, "the execution, for instance, of Army Sgt. Harold G. Bennett was nothing but cold-blooded murder. The U.S. Government has an obligation to the memory of Sergeant Bennett and every other one of our citizens killed or tortured by the Communist bandits and terrorists in South Vietnam. This obligation requires us, as a nation, to bring to justice and punish all those who help commit these evil deeds."

Conmmander Jenkins further stated that the VFW believes that our Government should keep an accurate record, available to the public, of all such atrocities against our citizens in South Vietnam. "We cannot," the VFW commander said, "let this war end without settling the account with the murderers of our patriots like Sergeant Bennett."

"Those terrorists are war criminals and they must realize that the United States will make it certain they suffer the punishment of war criminals."

Concluding, Commander Jenkins said "The murder of Sergeant Bennett is another reason why President Johnson is absolutely correct in refusing to negotiate with the Vietcong. The VFW unswervingly supports President Johnson in his position. We of the VFW realize that to negotiate with the Vietcong would mean doing business with those whose hands are dripping with the blood of American patriots."

Wisconsin Legislature Joint Resolution Memorializes Congress on Firearms Act Amendments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, the Wisconsin State Legislature in Senate Joint Resolution 75 memorialized the U.S. Congress to reject the pending amendments to the Federal Firearms Act—S. 1592. Under unanimous consent, the Wisconsin State Legislature's Senate Joint Resolution 75, which was passed by both houses of the Wisconsin State Legislature, follows:

S.J. RES. 75

A joint resolution to memorialize the U.S. Congress to reject the pending amendments to the Federal Firearms Act (bill S. 1592—89th Cong.)

Whereas said proposal, while attempting United States is bill S. 1592—89th Congress, to amend the Federal Firearms Act; and

Whereas said proposal, while attempting to prevent recurrence of the unfortunate events which tragically climaxed in the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, would have the effect of drastically limiting the privilege of every responsible American citizen to purchase hunting and sporting small arms, which privilege is inherent in the constitutionally guaranteed "right of the people to keep and bear arms"; and

Whereas the sportsmen of Wisconsin have been traditionally opposed to registration of small arms now proposed by S. 1592—89th Congress; and

Whereas said proposal, by requiring license fees of $500, not only would force many small, independent businesses out of existence, but would also make it impractical for the sportsman to reload cartridges for his own use and that of his friends; and

Whereas said proposal extends Federal regulation into an area in which the States themselves have already taken the initiative of most careful regulation, as witnessed by the provisions in the statutes of this State pertaining to reckless use of weapons under sections 941.20 to 941.24, and pertaining to machineguns under chapter 164: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the senate (the assembly concurring), That the Congress of the United States be and it is hereby respectfully memorialized to reject bill S. 1592—89th Congress in its present form, because said proposal places the enforcement emphasis on availability and possession of arms rather than on the reckless or criminal use of arms; and be it further

Resolved, That duly attested copies of this resolution be transmitted to the Secretary

of the U.S. Senate, to the Chief Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives and to every member of the congressional delegation from Wisconsin.

Change in Eastern Europe—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, has communism succeeded in forming, in eastern and central Europe, an entirely new society based on dialectical materialism?

Have the Communist regimes in east and central Europe succeeded in building the "new man"—in transforming the people of those countries into a model fashioned after the Communist philosophies of Marx, Engels, and Lenin?

Did the Communists win the allegiance of the young generation—have they managed to alienate it from the traditions and the culture of its ancestors?

These are among the questions which are dealt with in the second of three articles by Mr. John N. Reddin, of the Milwaukee Journal. The article concludes:

Reds [are] losing out on future as youth rejects communism.

Its text follows:

CHANGE IN EASTERN EUROPE—REDS LOSING OUT ON FUTURE AS YOUTH REJECTS COMMUNISM

(By John N. Reddin)

Every generation loses its youth to some degree. But the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe have lost their youth almost entirely. This may, in time, be the most significant fact in European politics.

It is a basic tenet of communism that it can build the "new man"—that by indoctrination it can form an entirely new society based on dialectical materialism and the philosophies of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

Eastern Europe has had a whole generation in which to build the new man. It has failed.

In Cracow, Poland, Representative ZABLOCKI, Democrat, of Wisconsin, was accosted a few days ago by a young man who had heard through Radio Free Europe that ZABLOCKI was in town. The youth and half a dozen companions met the Milwaukee Congressman at Walwel Castle. They had been hunting for him for half a day.

The young man pinned a badge on ZABLOCKI with the letters "PW"—standing for Polska Walczaca, or Fighting Poland. It was the symbol of resistance during the Nazi occupation.

"WE WILL BE FREE"

"We will be free again," the young man said.

"If we had known earlier of your visit, instead of 7 of us we would have had 8,000 young people to honor you. We know, in spite of the refusal of our Government to tell the people, the great help the United States has been to our people. We are friends of the United States."

And he produced a photographer to record a repinning of the "PW" on the Congressman.

"It was an act of courage," ZABLOCKI said.

It was also symbolic of the youth of Poland and much of Eastern Europe. Not in every country could young people be that open in stating their views, and even in Poland it is still dangerous to go so far.

Not all youth is concerned with political freedom or with politics at all. Many, maybe most, reject politics completely and either want an education and a chance to move west or have turned materialists. They seek everything Western—music, dances, literature, cameras, transistor radios, pictures of movie stars.

MOVIES FROM WEST

When I visited Prague, most of the movies being shown were from the West. On St. Wencelas Square, the beautiful shopping and promenade street, a man set up a table as I passed one day and covered it with pictures of an American, the star of a Western picture. He was swamped by young buyers.

In Poland especially, American dances are the craze. In city after city, restaurants and night clubs are filled with gyrating young Poles who can equal any Americans in the watusi, frug, the twist, or what have you.

In Budapest and Poznan, at two international fairs, young people swarmed around musicians playing popular American music and around replays of television programs featuring Dinah Shore, Frank Sinatra and others.

Plastic construction hats stamped out by an automated machine at the American exhibit in Budapest were so popular and drew such crowds that the machine had to be decommissioned.

U.S. AUTO AN ATTRACTION

An American car draws youngsters like flies. At both exhibits young people climbed over medium priced cars, looked under them and pressed faces against windows to see inside.

There are youngsters who are loyal Communists, of course. But few of them are concerned with old cliches and dogmas. Many are sincerely concerned with basic problems of social justice, equality and peace—much as socially conscious American students are. Their interest is mankind and its problems.

The youth of 20 years of age and under are different from the young people of 30 and older. This last group went through the Communist takeover and was shocked out of any ideals it may have had by the de-Stalinization movement after 1955. It lived through the liberalization period of 1956 only to be frustrated and disillusioned in later years.

Yet debate about communism is veiled.

MUTED IN POLEMICS

Herbert Reed, in a study for Radio Free Europe, writes:

"If this most explosive aspect of current generational conflict—youth's lack of faith in essentials of Communist doctrine—has, understandably, been muted in open polemics, what issues, then, have been the focal point of open debate?"

There is, for one thing, the older people's concern about the complete indifference of the young toward politics, their lack of sense of social responsibility and their alleged total preoccupation with material things, particularly the attractive features of a western type consumer society.

"To be sure, much the same can be heard from critics in the west, but behind this criticism in Eastern Europe there must surely be much bitterness on the part of the Communists over their inability to create—out of human material which, theortically, they were in a position to mold from the very beginning—that 'new man' who was to be born out of the new social and economic relations."

OLDSTERS JARRED

The young are rocking the older generation, Communist and non-Communist alike, by their sharp questions on Stalin and Stalinism. They blame their parents for having looked on and done nothing about the atrocities and terrible conditions that existed in Stalin's day throughout the bloc.

They ask, much as some German youth asks its elders about naziism: "How could you let it happen?" Clear answers are impossible, and the elders have lost authority.

"Youth mercilessly measures the behavior of its parents through that (Stalin) period by absolute standards of morality," Reed says.

"The older generation, including those who genuinely regret whatever role they may have played under the Stalinist regimes, feels that it is grossly misunderstood by the young."

Part of the real dissatisfaction of the youths who are Communists comes from the fact that the road to promotion is closed by older Communists, who are often incompetents. This is particularly true in Czechoslovakia, where old party hacks are legion.

LESS DOGMATISM AHEAD

What happens when the older generation dies off or retires? What happens when the young intelligentsia takes over, as it must in time?

Reed believes that we will at least see "the growth of a more pragmatic, less dogmatic brand of communism" and further challenge to long cherished doctrines.

Youth's revolt is not uniform throughout the bloc. In Bulgaria, youth's protest has been muted. Yet as early as 1962 the regime reported with alarm that some Communist local organizations had not recruited new young people in several years.

Most protest in Bulgaria has come from young writers, as, indeed, it has elsewhere. Some go pretty far. Karol Nikolov, a Bulgarian, published a poem recently that blasted the Stalinist years and said among other things:

"Years will be needed to heal
The cronic hunger for freedom,
The fatal anaemia of justice
And the unnatural death of beauty."

NOVOTNY ISSUES BLAST

Czechoslovakia's young writers are more outspoken and brought this blast from Antonin Novotny, the Communist boss:

"Some articles by young authors show a hidden or even open current of inadmissible opposition, insidious digs at politics and other matters which anger our functionaries, party members and other honest citizens.

"The spirit of some of them is destructive. The party work is being pictured as a continuous chain of errors. And this in spite of the fact that many an author of such malicious remarks has not yet quite outgrown his baby slippers."

Of concern to leaders also is what the Eastern European intelligentsia calls "alienation" of middle aged and older people.

The word began to be used in Hungary. It involves rejection of politics, of communism, through disillusionment. It weakens the government regimes.

A Tribute to the Honorable Leslie C. Arends, Minority Whip

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRINGER. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DERWINSKI].

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join in this discussion of the merits of our great minority whip. Perhaps it is well he is not present at this time, since his great modesty would cause him to blush at these eulogies.

Mr. Speaker, our beloved colleague "LES" ARENDS is one of the few men to whom we can accurately apply the description "a legend in his own lifetime." "LES" ARENDS is known to all of us as a most dedicated Member of Congress, dedicated not only to the people of his district and his responsibilities as ranking member of the House Armed Services Committee and his responsibilities as Republican whip, but above all dedicated to the effectiveness and great traditions of our legislative branch of Government.

"LES" ARENDS is known throughout the United States as one of the great legislative leaders of all times. He is respected, I am sure, by Democrat Members and revered by his Republican colleagues. As a Member from Illinois, I have been aided and counseled by "LES" ARENDS, who gives special attention to those of us from his home State and advises us in a very effective and fatherly fashion.

This afternoon as we take proper notice of his 30 years of congressional service, we all thus recognize this figure of strength among us and the contribution he has made on behalf of the people of his district to the progress of our Nation.

Mormon Pioneer Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, Saturday last—July 24, 1965—I was accorded the high honor of acting as grand marshal in the Pioneer Day parade in Idaho Falls, Idaho. In addition, I was fortunate in being able to participate in a Pioneer Day celebration in Pocatello.

Pioneer Day, 1965, Mr. Speaker, marked the 118th anniversary of the yesterday when President Brigham Young of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, from a canyon ridge overlooking Salt Lake Valley, gazed thoughtfully into the valley for a number of minutes and then, with satisfaction in his voice said: "This is the place, drive on."

This, then, was the end of months of rugged, dangerous travel across desolate and unfriendly country, a feat strikingly similar to the great Oronca of Moses and the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt to the promised land. The pioneers accompanying Brigham Young had found their promised land—a place where they could fulfill the predictions of the Prophet Joseph Smith, and become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains.

But, having settled and laid the foundation for a great city on the shore of the Great Salt Lake, these pioneers were not content to rest. For them, the end of the long, arduous journey was just the beginning of their work. It was the start of the colonization of an entire area—an area which had been described by a U.S. Senator as not worth a "pinch of snuff". It is true that the land was forbidding looking. There was little vegetation save for sage, greasewood and saltgrass. And there was little water.

But for dedicated men and women it was a challenge which they were more than willing to meet. What water there was, was captured and used—used to bring forth crops where there had been nothing but desert. With the crops, other cities, communities, and developments came into being. And, to supply the needs of this expansion, more crops were produced.

The growth of the area, Mr. Speaker, was not explosive. But it was steady. And, with the same pioneering spirit, the contemporary inhabitants of the area are continuing that growth.

This story illustrates in a most unusual and dynamic way the spirit of the American heritage—that the settlement of Idaho, the West, and even our original colonies was largely accomplished through the spirit of religious freedom and devotion. It is my most sincere hope and wish, Mr. Speaker, that the spirit of our pioneers may never die nor languish—and that many times 118 years from now, Pioneer Day will still recall the words—"This is the place, drive on."

New England T. & T. Co. Given Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I have learned about a major award being presented to the New England Telephone & Telegraph Co.

The company was recently presented a Silver Anvil Award for its outstanding work with the news media in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont.

It won the award in national competion in the business-industry category.

The annual contest is sponsored by the Public Relations Society of America. Judges are leaders from many walks of life in our Nation.

This is the second major award for New England Telephone this year. Several months ago, the New England Press Association honored the utility for its outstanding press work.

Knowing the interest of President Allen G. Barry and Vice President-Public Relations Thomas M. Hennessey in civic affairs and service to customers and communities, these awards are in keeping with the company's reputation.

Others who have worked to build a solid reputation among New England newspapers, radio and television stations are hundreds of employees throughout the region; Timothy P. Mannix, assistant vice president; Paul H. Spiers, Jr., general news manager; and Richard B. Flynn, public information supervisor.

A Close Look at the Court of Military Appeals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, our former colleague, the Honorable Paul Kilday, of Texas, commanded the respect of all of us when he served so ably as a Member of the House and the Armed Services Committee. His knowledge of military law stamped him as one slated for even greater responsibility.

Paul Kilday has assumed that responsibility as one of the three judges on the U.S. Court of Military Appeals and he continues to distinguish himself.

Knowing that his many friends in Congress will be interested in his progress, I submit herewith an article on the Court of Military Appeals by Mr. Macon Reed which appeared in the July 21 issue of the Family magazine:

COURT OF MILITARY APPEALS—A CLOSE LOOK AT THE COURT, IT'S OPERATIONS AND JUDGES, REVEALS HOW IT PROTECTS RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS

(By Macon Reed)

When the court of military appeals was set up one hot June day in 1951, many military people, especially older ones, were darkly sure it wouldn't last.

But 14 years and 18,000 cases later, we see it did last and will. Looking back, one sees the court as simply a next step in a long trend toward more judicial procedure at courts-martial, courts that used to be looked upon by commanders as their personal instruments for enforcing discipline.

The all-civilian, three-man court at the top permits the court-martial convict to appeal outside the military. Through these appeals and certain automatic reviews the court imposes the rules and what it believes are the standards set for courts-martial by the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

The court has gained acceptance but critics still make two complaints:

The court has imposed too many niceties or technicalities that hamper court-martial prosecution.

It has done so by setting aside convictions of men obviously guilty and due for punishment.

As to the first complaint, you probably couldn't get everybody to agree on where safeguarding of basic rights ends and hair-splitting begins.

As to the second, a closer look at the court and its work might help.

Of its 18,000 cases (up to the end of 1964) about 2,100 were important enough to bring written opinions. In about half of these, the court reversed some court-martial's or military commander's acts.

The reversals are the ones you hear about. They are the teeth of the court. They make law and they straighten out officials. They make commanders all over the world pay heed to the three white-haired men in the

mellow, old-fashioned building on Judiciary Square in Washington.

Helping the judges are 12 lawyers (the 10 senior ones are called commissioners) and an administrative staff of 25, with an annual budget of $530,000.

The judges receive $33,000 a year, as do judges of the U.S. courts of appeal, with whom they rank in judicial hierarchy.

But they have 15-year terms instead of the life tenure of other Federal judges.

By law, two kinds of cases come automatically to the Court of Military Appeals: convictions with death penalties and those touching a flag or general officer.

The court has affirmed 23 out of the 33 death cases in 14 years; 10 of the 23 were put to death. Twelve death sentences were imposed in 1 year of the Korean war, none since 1961.

One Navy flag officer (retired) came up on automatic appeal for a morals conviction, one Army general on a conviction of breaching military secrecy through an indiscreet diary. Both convictions were affirmed.

Unusual, too, is this court's power to hear an appeal by the Government from an adverse legal ruling somewhere down the line in the court-martial system. Any service Judge Advocate General may certify a case to the high court for ruling on a close question.

But the great majority of the court's customers are individuals, court-martial losers sentenced to either a year in prison or a bad discharge (called "dismissal" if it happens to an officer.) Lesser sentences cannot be appealed.

MOST ARE ENLISTED

Most appealers are enlisted, and the court makes itself easy to appeal to and acts swiftly, for a court.

The appellant's conviction will have been approved, at least in the main, by the commander who appointed the court-martial and by an all-lawyer board of review at the head office of the service in Washington. Most board members are military officers, though the Navy and Coast Guard have some civilians.

These boards are no rubber stamps. They have power to set aside verdicts, and they know if they don't call the shots right the court will reverse them.

There is a kind of falling domino effect here: court falls on boards, board falls on commanders, commanders fall on courts martial.

The convicted man's lawyer has 30 days from the date of the board approval to file a petition for review by the court of appeals. The lawyer will claim that police, commanding officer or court-martial violated the code or misapplied the law and so denied defendant a fair trial.

Whether he broke the law is not at issue now; it is whether he was tried according to law

The Government lawyers have 20 days to counter his claims and insist that either all corners were squared or if they weren't the flaws were minor and did no harm.

From the day of the Government's answer, the court has 30 days to act. That's by law. And therein this court differs from most, if not all others. It can't delay on these petitions, and all the followup steps it doesn't.

Its first decision is whether to grant or deny a "petition for review." The words are misleading, however, because grant or deny, the case gets reviewed.

* * * * *

That is where the staff of 10 commissioners (senior lawyers with sharp eyes for flaws in a record) first get into the act. One commissioner, with at least one other checking him, reads the whole record, from the dawn of suspicion in the heart of the MP to the tagline of the opinion of the board of review.

The commissioner makes a summary, pointing out anything he thinks the judges ought to know, and makes recommendations. The summary, plus the record, goes to each of the three judges.

At the end of this road the court will, almost 9 times out of 10, "deny" the petition for review. But the man has had his review. His appeal has been fully considered. The denial means simply that the defense lawyer didn't have a substantial claim of "error." Nor did the commissioners or the judges find any that he missed.

ORAL ARGUMENT

In about 12 cases out of a hundred, the court finds something at least questionable enough to warrant oral argument and a formal decision. In these cases it "grants" the petition. About two-thirds of the grants are based on errors claimed by the defense lawyers, about one-third on possible errors found within the court's own review system.

If any one of the three judges wants it granted, granted it is. His brothers—judges always refer to other judges on the same court as "brothers" or "brethren"—will always go along with him that far as a matter of courtesy.

With the petition granted, the defense and the Government file written argument on the limited and carefully specified questions at issue.

In about 50 days the cause comes on to be heard, as the lawyers say, and each side gets 30 minutes to talk. It used to be 45 minutes, but the lawyers felt they had to fill up the whole time whether they had that much to say or not, which they usually didn't.

A uniformed lawyer out of the Judge Advocate General's Office speaks for the Government. Usually another, or a civilian, speaks for the defense. Over 12,000 civilian lawyers are eligible to appear before this court.

The judges wear black robes. They are on a raised platform behind a dark wood bar, each one ready to cross-question the lawyer because he (the judge) is either interested or bored, or just on general principles.

The speaker's lectern is of dark wood, and so are the pew-like benches for spectators. Otherwise the room is light and airy, with a high ceiling—a pleasing and dignified chamber.

After 25 minutes, the pleader gets a green light. After five more, he gets a red light. And if that doesn't do it, the Chief Judge Robert E. Quinn, turns him firmly but gently off with a few well-chosen words.

But the chief isn't tough. If the lawyer has lost a lot of time answering judge's questions, he will get a little extension.

The judges hear three cases in a morning, then duck out behind the black curtain and across the corridor to a conference room. They take off their robes, get comfortable, eat lunch at a big table and talk cases.

HOUR OF DECISION

The three are alone now. This is the hour of decision. No outsider knows what is said.

In general, they deal the cases around, in turn. But if the judge to whom a case falls cannot get at least one of the others to see eye to eye with him on how it should be decided, then he is going to be a dissenter on that case and not the "author judge" speaking for the majority. So the case passes to one of the others.

It may take the judges all afternoon to thrash out their points of view and get each case assigned to an "author" with at least one concurrer. Usually that fixes the decision. But the opinions have to be written, and it sometimes happens that an "author judge" or dissenter, when he starts to put it on paper, realizes that the logic or the legal precedents don't back him up as well as he first thought.

He may change his mind.

The decision can get unstuck at any time, and becomes final only when signed, mimeographed, and made public.

This is not to stay the judges are wishy-washy. They are strong-minded men. They have been around. All three have been practicing politicians and lawyers. Two have been trial court judges.

Quinn at 71 is a stubby, vigorous outdoor type, with ruddy complexion, thick white hair and strong hands. He was Governor of Rhode Island and later a State judge. He is a Naval Reserve captain.

Half a mile of book cases (law books) in his office is covered by framed and autographed photos of political and military notables. He claims latter day golf balls don't have the resilience of those a few years back and are good for only 150 yards where he used to get 200.

Judge Homer Ferguson served two terms as a Republican Senator from Michigan and before that 12 years as a superior court judge in Detroit. He has many of his own pictures on display—not pictures of him, but by him. At 72, 4 years ago, he took up oil painting. Twenty-two of his amazingly good landscapes and still lifes hang in his office.

Of the three judges, he most often votes for reversal; Quinn, least often.

Swing man is the soft-spoken Judge Paul Kilday, 65, who served for more than 22 years as Congressman from the San Antonio District of Texas. He became an influential member of the Armed Services Committee and helped write the code.

He practiced law 13 years and was public prosecutor for 3.

Quinn is the only original member of the court and his 15-year term expires May 1, 1966, when he will be 72. If a new judge is appointed, will he carry on in Quinn's tradition? Or in Ferguson's? Or Kilday's?

Ferguson's term expires May 1, 1971, and Kilday's, May 1, 1976.

What kind of an error in the legal process leads the court to upset a conviction?

It is rarely a simple or easily stated one. On an obvious error the law officer (a sort of trial judge) or the president of the court-martial would blow the whistle, or the reviewing officer or the board of review would reverse.

Only fine points and close questions get to the top. But underlying issues might be something like these:

Did the MP's have a warrant or the proper permission when they searched the barracks bag of the accused and found the stolen radio? If they didn't, it was an "unreasonable search and seizure," forbidden by the Constitution, and the evidence springing from it may not be admitted at the trial. If it was admitted, you can look for a reversal.

Or when the investigators interviewed the knife wielder after the brawl, and wrote down his confession, did they first assure him of his right to keep silent? If not, the confession is not legally admissible as evidence. If it was admitted, it's a reversible error.

If the Old Man gave any of the court-martial members a broad hint that he wanted this particular offender made an example of, that is "command control" and the high court will set aside the verdict.

Maybe it is a question whether the law officer made clear that the man over the hill for a year is still not a deserter unless there is proof he intended to stay away permanently.

If the man is obviously guilty, who cares about technicalities like these?

The judges do. They can't reach out and punish the policeman who rides roughshod over, or gently tips around, or carelessly stumbles over, a citizen's constitutional guarantee. They can't strip any braid off a commanding officer who ignores the rules laid down by the code.

But they can set aside the findings of the court-martial and the sentence. When they do so, they are giving a lesson in law not

only to the authorities involved in this case but to all others.

And that brings up a much misunderstood point. What is the effect of a reversal? As far as a particular case is concerned you can't tell from the court record, as a rule. In 99 cases out of a hundred, when the high court reverses, it authorizes the service to try the man again on the same charges.

Sometimes he will be tried again, sometimes he won't. Maybe the only evidence against him was declared inadmissible by the high court and he can't be convicted.

Some men convicted on a retrial have come back for a second appeal. A very few have won a second reversal. So far as court observers remember, no case ever came back for a third round.

Many a reversal upsets only one of several charges on which the man was convicted. Here the service can cure the error by simply forgetting that charge. It will cut the sentence back accordingly, put the remaining sentence into effect and guard against that particular error in the future.

Seldom does the story end with the high court's ruling. For the finish you would have to find out how the service followed through.

But the court has the power to reverse and order the charge dismissed. Then the man couldn't be tried again on that charge and the story would end right there.

In its 14 years the court has resorted only 66 times to outright dismissal, which is its most drastic recourse against bad judicial behavior in the services.

It also has a tap-on-the-wrist power of denouncing an error but labeling it harmless. Small technical mistakes at a trial are sometimes treated in this way. The judges don't expect a command out in the boondocks to put on a trial of perfect polish, but they insist that the police, courts martial, commanders, and review authorities comply with the code.

Distorted Story of California Farmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, hundreds of journalists have spent a day or two in California's speciality crop fields or have devoured the handouts of organized labor and propaganda from various social action groups and have proceeded to write as though they were experts on the subject of farm labor. I will always believe that these journalists, though probably sincere, did not do enough personal legwork and homework to justify the distorted story of the California farm labor picture that they have given the American public.

The editor of the California Farmer, Mr. Jack T. Pickett, is a man who has a lifelong knowledge of California agriculture. He has lived with it and he knows the problems of California farmers because he spends time with them. Mr. Pickett is a respected and objective journalist who has never written a line which, to my knowledge, has not been the explicit truth. I commend Mr. Pickett's article in the July 17 issue of the California Farmer, entitled "The A-Team Deal Is a Mess," to the objective study of every Member of the House and Senate. We have seen too little of the truth in official statements from the Labor Department and the public press and I sincerely hope this article will make readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD realize that there is another side to the story:

THE A-TEAM DEAL IS A MESS

(By Jack T. Pickett)

On June 23, we slipped the leash and belted down to Salinas. We wanted to talk to some of the "Salinas Tigers," those young fireballs we had met on our People-to-People tour of Europe and Russia.

Our first stop was the Bruce Church farms run by Tom McNamara. Tom looked rather haggard. He has broken his hump trying to comply with the shifting terms coming out of Secretary Wirtz' office.

The latest trial by fire is, of course, the so-called A-teams. These were supposed to be high school athletes accompanied and supervised by their coach. Tom had, on that date, received 614 A-team kids and had surrendered 600 braceros. That was a losing swap.

Of the 614 kids that he had received on that date, 243 had quit and gone home. In attempting to train these kids, Tom and his capable staff had given them 2 days of training and 5 additional days on trial at full scale of $1.40 guaranteed. After that period, Tom was asking the boys to sign a waiver where they had to pick piece rate and earn the wage of $1.40 or more. However, at that time he was still trying to negotiate this point.

How come there was such a high turnover of kids? First of all, the kids were oversold on the recruitment end. One group got a glowing description of how they would be able to go over to Big Sur during the weekend and play on the beach. There was some hang-up on the food. The food was good and wholesome, but cooks who had cooked for braceros for 12 years found the teenager a different kind of animal. Diets have been changed and the food is no longer an important difference of opinion.

Work such as picking strawberries is deadly monotonous. The true high school athlete looks forward to "hard work" to build up his muscles, but picking berries is not so much hard as it is monotonous. Now McNamara and his men are thinking of producing a film which will show exactly what is expected of the strawberry picker, and the recruiters were warned to undersell the job in that the problems would be very frankly discussed. At the time of our visit Tom had lost $10,464 from hiring A-teams.

It's funny the things that will upset kids—a small thing like the lack of screw-in plugs for electric light outlets so they could play their radios. This lack was quickly corrected.

In some instances, kids came from towns where there were some jobs available, but this business of going to California had glamour. When they tired of the work here, they quickly pulled up stakes and went back home. On the other hand, kids from towns where there wasn't anything doing at home were much more apt to stick it out.

When the first A-team quit, Tom picked up the tab for their return home, although the criterion read that the grower paid the transportation out if the kids completed half their contract and paid the return fare if they completed the entire contract. But after several teams had quit after a very short stay, Tom knew he could not continue putting up an average of $100 a head for transportation if these kids were not going to produce. So a bunch of boys from Wyoming quit and Tom's losses were mounting so fast he refused to pay their way home (and he was in no way obliged to do so) but the hometown folks got white-hot mad and the businessmen raised $1,000 to pay the kids' way home. You can imagine what this did to everyone's public relations.

And, speaking of public relations, this A-team deal is creating bad feeling all over the United States. Back home the folks have been getting phony reports of knifings and shootings in the camps. In fact, some of the Governors of States east of here got so alarmed that one guy said he wouldn't be too surprised to look up and see the Governor of x State come riding in the gate with an empty bus to take his boys home.

Maybe one of the things that threw a scare into home folks was the fantastic experience that some of these growers have had with recruiting Indians. We will take the Bruce Church ranch again for our example.

Tom got a bunch of Sioux Indians, right out of the tough bunch that wiped out old Custer. The first payday Tom asked permission to send most of their pay back to the reservation, but the brass monkeys running the deal said no. So along comes payday and the mighty braves make a beeline for the "redeye" shop. A brave full of redeye is bad medicine, to coin a phrase, and they started the celebration by kicking all the windows out of the bunkhouse. In fact, it was left a shambles.

After wrecking their quarters, they started in on each other. One brave reported to the local clinic with his ear practically bitten off. Another guy lost part of his nose. Those boys play real rough when they get into booze. Maybe it was this local massacre that threw the Easterners into such a flap.

Let's talk some more about public relations. According to the "Stalinlike" directive from Wirtz' office about kicking out one foreign laborer for every A-team kid hired, that procedure was receiving some qualifications when we were in Salinas.

For example, there were a bunch of Japanese on hand that had been kept from working by the lousy weather. The repercussions from lying around camp for about a week had run clear back to Tokyo and back to our own State Department. The same thing was true of some Filipinos on hand. We couldn't get hold of Tiger Milt Auker to find out how he was getting along with the crew that he had financed from Guam.

So a long with all his other disruptive forces, maybe we will see the spectacle of Willard Wirtz starting what kind of war? War with the redskins? East versus West A-team War? War with Japan? Friend Palmer Mendelson puts it pretty well. He says, "In a simple sentence, you can conjugate the national labor problem: Worse, Worser, and Wirtz."

Selective Statistics Influence Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I have been greatly disturbed for many months over the difficulties I have experienced in obtaining objective and complete information about our situation in Vietnam. The State Department seems devoted to providing innocuous generalities tailored to the particular bias of the listener. The Department of Defense has a propensity for providing glad tidings, when available,

and when you seek information of a sort that might not be quite so "glad," it generally turns out to be classified.

Mr. Jack Foisie, a distinguished correspondent for the Los Angeles Times, has written an extremely valuable article on this information problem, pointing out the tendency to use "selective statistics" to support a policy position already agreed upon. He cites an incident involving 82 Vietcong "deserters" being used in Washington as proof of deteriorating Vietcong morale. Investigation by correspondents revealed that the "deserters," instead of being hardcore Vietcong, were "farmboy recruits impressed into the Vietcong but a few weeks before."

Mr. Foisie recently spent a week in Washington. Perhaps it was fortunate for him that it was only a week, because, despite his ability to adjust to Vietnam, he did not seem to have the fortitude for the battles on the Potomac. He wrote:

It was a disillusioning week in Washington. One comes away from the confusion of Saigon hoping to find clarity among the planners in the Nation's Capital. Perhaps that was too much to expect. To substantiate opinion, I heard only the well-worn, highly polished figures that had been refined in Saigon and made even more palatable in the chambers of Washington before presentation to the men in high positions.

The full text of the article, as printed in the Washington Post, on Sunday, July 25, 1965, is as follows:

SELECTIVE STATISTICS REPORTED INFLUENCING POLICY ON VIETNAM

(NOTE.—The writer, a regular Saigon correspondent, is returning to South Vietnam after a stay in Washington.)

(By Jack Foisie)

PARIS.—Wherever you went for discussion on the Vietnamese problem in Washington—in the anterooms of Congress, or the offices in the Pentagon or State Department—there was use of selected figures to prove a point.

This also was true in Paris when lunching with officials of the French Foreign Ministry.

Policy on Vietnam seems too much influenced on belief in selective statistics. Statistics which do not support the policy arrived at are downgraded, regarded with suspicion, or ignored.

Officialdom seems to have embraced a statistic because it bulwarks its thinking. For example, take the report of 82 Vietcong who came over to the Government side en masse about 6 weeks ago in one of Vietnam's central provinces. I heard that figure cited twice in Washington, once by a rather high official in the State Department, once by hardly a lesser official in the Pentagon.

PHONY INDICATOR

They were men who formulated policy. I was surprised they had even heard of the incident, much less grasped it as an indicator of progress in the war in Vietnam.

For in fact, it was partly phony as reported and a trifling happening at best. An indicator of nothing significant, my own and the investigation of other reporters had shown, after it was first announced in Saigon.

The deserters were not hard-core Vietcong as indicated in the original report. They proved to be but farmboy recruits impressed into the Vietcong but a few weeks before.

The American command had hailed the mass desertions as significant indication of declining Vietcong morale. But when correspondents sought to interview the young turncoats, the Vietnamese Government suddenly found it inconvenient to allow the press into the interrogation camp.

And yet, two high policymakers in Washington were citing this accident of war as something very meaningful, a weakening of Vietcong willingness to fight.

It would have been just as ridiculous for Chinese Communists to hail the refusal of an American officer on Okinawa to join his special forces unit in Vietnam as indicating that American military were fed up with the U.S. involvement in southeast Asia.

DISILLUSIONMENT IN DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

It was a disillusioning week in Washington. One comes away from the confusion of Saigon hoping to find clarity among the planners in the Nation's Capital. Perhaps that was too much to expect. To substantiate opinion, I heard only the well worn highly polished figures that had been refined in Saigon and made even more palatable in the chambers of Washington before presentation to the men in high position.

However realistic in generalities, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara may speak, based on his latest visit to Saigon, the figures that seem to be in general circulation accentuate the positive. I never heard the negative—how many miles of roads and railroad we have lost in the last 6 months for example.

Although the decision to commit large-scale American combat units in Vietnam is apparent, and is obvious to the enemy through the buildup of logistical bases on the central coast, authorities in Washington try to pretend that we really are not committed to land warfare in Asia, to casualties as large or larger than suffered during the Korean war.

FRENCH PESSIMISM

Here in Paris, the prevailing opinion is that American forces have no chance of winning over the Vietcong. The argument boils down to the belief that Americans cannot win in Vietnam because the French did not win there.

It is a human argument, a mixture of pride and patriotism and a larding of parallels between the Vietnam of the present and the military situation of the French just months before their surrender.

While American officials in Washington grasp at plus factors, the negative figures are cited by French officials including those just booted out of Saigon through Prime Minister Nguyen Cao Ky's flamboyant and rather meaningless cutting of diplomatic relations already severed at higher levels.

The fact remains that the most interesting point about the French position is not their pessimism but their seeming decision to withdraw totally from Asian affairs, regardless of the outcome in Vietnam.

The Honorable T. A. Thompson

SPEECH

OF

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. OLSEN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, the tragic death of our colleague, the Honorable T. A. THOMPSON, was a grievous loss to this House and to the Congress.

T. A. and I served together on the Public Works Committee. We were usually of the same mind. His devotion to his work was an inspiration to all who knew him. No district has elected a man with more pride in his district and more concern for his people, his constituents. My friend Congressman THOMPSON loved people. He was compassionate and of good humor. He was a wonderful father and a good husband. Truly few men could better epitomize an American citizen and a Congressman in the finest tradition of our great Nation.

Congressman THOMPSON was more than a distinguished and conscientious legislator. He was a Christian who attempted to carry his philosophy actively into every minute of his public and private life. His work was not only diligent and constructive, but always sincerely concerned with the well-being of his fellow men. T. A. was both amiable and devoted; steadfast and sympathetic. He had quickly developed invaluable expertness in State finances, public works, economic development, merchant marine, and fisheries. His experience and counsel is as great a loss as his personal ability as mediator and conciliator. His energy and devotion to a cause once illuminated by thorough investigation was ceaseless.

I extend my heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Thompson and her loved ones. We all share her grief, if only in some lesser fashion.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Senate adopted conference reports on housing and three public health bills and continued on legislative reapportionment proposal.

House debated bill repealing right-to-work provisions of National Labor Relations Act.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 17552–17599

Bills Introduced: Six bills were introduced, as follows: S. 2327–2332. Page 17555

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows:

S. 489, authorizing establishment of the Pig War National Historical Park in the State of Washington, with amendments (S. Rept. 510);

S. 1088, authorizing construction of the Touchet division, Walla Walla project, Oregon and Washington, with amendments (S. Rept. 511);

S. 625, authorizing sale of isolated or disconnected tracts of land, with amendments (S. Rept. 512);

H.R. 6622, eliminating statutory limitation on the number of permanent employees in the Postal Field Service (S. Rept. 513);

H.R. 1771, to establish a 5-day week for postmasters, with individual views (S. Rept. 514); and

H.R. 8111, authorizing the establishment of the Herbert Hoover National Monument in Iowa (S. Rept. 515). Page 17555

Bill Referred: H.R. 8283, to expand the war on poverty, was referred to Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Page 17551

Health: Conference reports were adopted on the following three bills respecting matter of public health:

H.R. 2985, proposed Community Mental Health Centers Act Amendments;

H.R. 2984, proposed Public Health Services Extension Amendments; and

S. 510, proposed Community Health Services Extension Amendments. Pages 17597–17599

Housing: Senate adopted conference report on H.R. 7984, proposed Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. Pages 17630–17637

Reapportionment: Senate continued consideration of S.J. Res. 66, designating a National American Legion Baseball Week, debating Dirksen amendment (in nature of a substitute) proposing a constitutional amendment that would allow a State, by referendum vote, to apportion one branch of its legislature on geography and political subdivisions, in addition to the factor of population. Pages 17599–17609

Confirmations: By 76 yeas to 8 nays, Senate confirmed nomination of James P. Coleman, of Mississippi, to be U.S. circuit judge for the fifth circuit.

Senate also confirmed the following nominations: A. Ross Eckler, of New York, to be Director of the Census; Theodore Tannenwald, Jr., of New York, to be judge of the Tax Court; Penelope Hartland Thunberg, of Maryland, to be a member of the Tariff Commission; and numerous postmaster nominations. Pages 17646–17647

Nomination: One judicial nomination was received. Page 17646

Record Vote: One record vote was taken today. Page 17627

Program for Tuesday: Senate met at noon and adjourned at 6:01 p.m. until noon Tuesday, July 27, when it will continue consideration of Dirksen reapportionment amendment as a substitute for S.J. Res. 66, to designate "National American Legion Baseball Week." Page 17646

Committee Meetings

(*Committees not listed did not meet*)

FARM LOANS

Committee on Agriculture and Forestry: Subcommittee on Agricultural Credit and Rural Electrification, in executive session, approved for full committee consideration with an amendment H.R. 4152, to provide for loans to production credit associations by Federal intermediate credit banks without the necessity of collateral.

APPROPRIATIONS—DEFENSE

Committee on Appropriations: Subcommittee continued its hearings on H.R. 9221, fiscal 1966 appropriations for the Defense Establishment, receiving testimony

Appendix

Parke County Covered Bridge Festival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BIRCH E. BAYH

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, Parke County, Ind., is noted for its covered bridges. Thirty-eight of these historic wood structures have been preserved there by the foresight and efforts of its residents, more such spans than exist in any other county of the United States. Each year a special Covered Bridge Festival is celebrated at the county seat, Rockville, which attracts thousands of people who tour by bus or car the four planned routes which traverse the county and lead through all 38 of the covered bridges.

Recently an excellent article describing the Parke County covered bridges and its noted festival was published in the New York Times. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this article entitled "Kissing Bridges" be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article as ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, July 18, 1965]

KISSING BRIDGES FESTIVAL IN INDIANA'S PARKE COUNTY SALUTES AREA'S 38 COVERED SPANS

(By Ruth Burnett)

ROCKVILLE, IND.—Visitors to Parke County, which lies along the Wabash River, will find that it has more covered bridges than an other county in the United States.

Elsewhere across the country, old bridges have been razed in the name of progress; Parke County, however, has quietly been preserving its 38 covered spans. Indeed, each fall the county holds a special Covered Bridge Festival—this year's is set for October 8–17—but now, or at any season, the spans are equally in evidence and equally attractive. Routes to them are marked with metal directional signs.

Visitors here this summer will find special activities August 7 to 14, when the annual county fair is held, and on August 28, when the National Society for the Preservation of Covered Bridges will convene in Rockville. In honor of the occasion, a mutt show, grasshopper races—with real grasshoppers—and a market day are being staged.

PRESERVATION MOVEMENT

How is it that this movement to preserve covered bridges has come about? In 1956, a few farseeing and bridge-minded individuals convinced the residents of Parke County that caring for today's traffic was no real excuse for tearing down priceless old spans. They argued that the wooden structures could be maintained in some way, perhaps by an annual festival that would meet the expenses of repairing, painting and preserving them.

The first Covered Bridge Festival was held the following autumn. A tent was put up in the yard of the county courthouse here in Rockville to serve as headquarters for the 8-day event and 2,500 visitors came from outside the county to see what a Covered Bridge Festival was like.

Today, Parke County's unusual festival draws thousands of visitors from all over the country. The entire courthouse block is put under canvas for the affair.

However, big as the festival has become, it has never been commercialized and its basic program remains the same. It is the annual effort of Parke County's residents to preserve the county's heritage. There are no balloons, cheap souvenirs, or carnival rides. Nor are there lotteries or beauty queens.

After arriving at Rockville, the festival visitor registers and is given a program and a map. The map describes the four bus or car routes that one can take to see the county. Each route covers about 40 miles through open woods, down narrow country roads, and across several of the cherished covered spans. A first trip through a covered bridge is invariably a delight for children.

A guide on the bus trip retells events in Parke County history and provides special information about the bridges. Farmers along all four routes brighten the roadway with their best scarecrows, and each bus passenger votes for his favorite.

BURR-ARCHED SPAN

All 38 of the covered bridges are in good repair, and the abutments of native stone have withstood the years well. Burr-arched spans—they are named for Theodore Burr, an early bridgebuilder—are particularly famous. With their great timbers of chestnut and poplar curved in perfect arches, they make the inside of many of the spans objects of beauty.

The question most often asked of the guides is why the bridges were covered. It is explained that wood was the common building material and that the spans had, of necessity, to be built of it. But the planks, exposed to the weather, soon rotted. The covers were built to retard the decay and rotting of the planks.

GOOD SHELTERS

Covered bridges soon proved good shelters in time of storm, and a cool place to rest one's horse in the summer heat. For obvious reasons, the spans, belonging as they do to horse-and-buggy days, were often known as kissing bridges.

Once the tour has ended, the visitor usually returns to Rockville, and wanders about the great tent awhile. Here, items such as bittersweet, persimmons, squaw corn, pawpaws, hickory nuts, and black walnuts are for sale. One can also buy maple syrup or sorghum, hedge apples or home-cured Parke County tobacco.

Dozens of Parke County citizens sell their own produce, and the antiques section, although small, may boast treasures ranging from a German helmet of World War I vintage to a sturdy high-backed rocker.

There is nothing, the festival committee maintains, quite like the big farmers market, and the visitor, especially the one who was born and bred in the Middle West, is likely to agree.

One can see butter being churned and sausage being made, and can take a turn at stirring apple butter with a long wooden paddle. Or, one can watch knitting or rug-weaving or the making of jelly and preserves.

MANY CRISES

In just 8 years, Parke County's festival has become both successful and popular, but many crises have occurred in connection with the bridges. In 1960, when a contract was let to build the Mansfield Dam nearby, the Army Corps of Engineers ordered the big Portland Mills covered bridge destroyed to make way for Raccoon Lake. Just about the same time, a group of boys burned a span known as the Dooley Mills Bridge, and so the doomed Portland Bridge was moved to that site.

MOVED TO GOLF COURSE

Scarcely had that crisis been passed than the Catlin Bridge, built in 1907, had to go because the county commission could not purchase a new right-of-way. However, that span was saved by being moved to the county golf course, where it was placed across a creek near the first tee. It now serves as a shelter there.

Moving a covered bridge often presents problems more difficult than moving a dwelling. Powerlines must be cut, and motorists must wait long periods of time while the span negotiates difficult right-angle turns on country roads.

Captive Nations Week

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, as we pause to observe Captive Nations Week, let us recommit ourselves to the principle that the peoples of the Captive Nations have an inalienable right to choose their own governments and to live once more under freedom. They do not enjoy such freedom today.

Why do they not? Is there one Member of Congress who cannot supply the answer? Is there any doubt in anyone's mind as to who and what is responsible for the tyranny which prevails in Eastern Europe today? Is there anyone here who cannot get to his feet and say plainly and flatly without any hesitation that it is communism which tyrannizes the captive nations and that it is the armed might of the Soviet Union which assures the continuance of Communist tyranny in the captive nations?

I doubt it. Six years ago, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, in the first proclamation marking Captive Nations Week, stated:

Whereas many nations throughout the world have been made captive by the imperialistic and agressive policies of Soviet communism; and

Whereas the peoples of the Soviet-dominated nations have been deprived of their

national independence and their individual liberties; and

Whereas the citizens of the United States are linked by bonds of family and principle to those who love freedom and justice on every continent; and

Whereas it is appropriate and proper to manifest to the peoples of the captive nations the support of the Government and the people of the United States of America for their just aspirations for freedom and national independence; and

Whereas by a joint resolution approved and requested the President of the United States of America to issue a proclamation designating the third week in July 1959 as Captive Nations Week and to issue a similar proclamation each year until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world:

Now, therefore, I, Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week beginning July 19, 1959, as "Captive Nations Week."

I invite the people of the United States of America to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities and I urge them to study the plight of the Soviet-dominated nations and to recommit themselves to the support of the just aspirations of the peoples of those captive nations.

President Eisenhower expressed it most succinctly: it is Soviet imperialism, it is Soviet domination, it is Soviet communism, which is responsible for the absence of freedom and liberty in the captive nations.

This year's proclamation, signed by President Johnson, says in part:

Whereas all peoples yearn for freedom and justice; and

Whereas these basic rights unfortunately are circumscribed or unrealized in many areas in the world; and

Whereas the United States of America has an abiding commitment to the principles of independence, personal liberty, and human dignity; and

Whereas it remains a fundamental purpose and intention of the Government and people of the United States of America to recognize and encourage constructive actions which foster the growth and development of national independence and human freedom:

Now, therefore, I, Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week beginning July 18, 1965, as Captive Nations Week.

I invite the people of the United States of America to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities, and I urge them to give renewed devotion to the just aspirations of all people for national independence and human liberty.

Mr. Speaker, there is much concern in our country today about the civil rights and the human dignity which the Constitution guarantees to all Americans. I believe that every American should have these rights and should enjoy such dignity. But what about the civil rights and the human dignity of over 1 billion people in the world who labor and toil and suffer under communism? They too deserve our attention, our sympathy, our assistance.

I believe that one of the best ways to help the captive nations is to create a congressional Committee on Captive Nations. I am in complete accord and sympathy with the formation of such a committee. I supported it on the floor of the House when it was first introduced this year. I earnestly hope that the House and the administration will endorse it.

We must demonstrate to the valiant peoples of the captive nations that we do not accept Communist control of their homelands.

A congressional Committee on Captive Nations would assemble and utilize all the truths and facts about the tragic conditions of these subjugated nations.

Such a committee would help disseminate information about the brutal suppression of these nations to the whole world.

Such a committee would place the Soviet Union and all Communist nations on notice that the United States is not beguiled by soft words in the face of the hard and cruel acts of communism and of the continuing oppression of 100 million people in Eastern Europe.

Let us thus prove that we are determined that the captive nations and indeed all nations of the world shall one day enjoy self-determination. Let us here rededicate ourselves to the proposition that man was created to be free.

Patterns of Excellence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, a singularly perceptive column appeared in the Washington Evening Star of July 7, 1965. Written by Max Freedman, the article was a magnificent tribute to one of our most distinguished former colleagues, the late Senator William Borah.

Mr. Freedman's comments on Senator Borah are well made, for he was, indeed, one of those towering figures of a not too distant time. I ask unanimous consent that the column by Max Freedman be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BORAH AN IMMENSE PERSONAL FORCE

(By Max Freedman)

We are admonished to remember the famous dead so that patterns of excellence can be kept before us and we in our own day can strive for greater achievement. This obligation rests with particular force on us as the custodians of the reputations of our statesmen. If we forget them, their deeds become as vanished bubbles and their fame as the idle wind.

The other day, to the almost total indifference of the public, a little ceremony took place in Washington to keep alive the memory of Senator William Borah. From 1924–33 Borah was chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and during that entire period he was a constant, and sometimes decisive, influence on the shaping of U.S. foreign policy.

With the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt as President, he was succeeded as committee chairman by Senator Key Pittman of Nevada but he remained the dominant figure. It is probably no exaggeration to say that no other Senator in this century has rivaled Borah in exerting so continuous an influence over foreign policy.

Sometimes that influence was blundering and disastrous. At the mention of his name most of us think of his most mischievous period when he set his own judgment, with obstinate folly, against the information available to the State Department that Hitler and Mussolini were driving Europe into war.

Were all of us so much wiser than Borah? He derived his power not so much from his position in the Senate as from the general knowledge that he expressed the convictions of millions of Americans on world affairs. We have forgotten that John Foster Dulles, just before the war started in 1939, was expressing views on European policy not altogether different from those of Borah; and yet he grew to be a considerable Secretary of State indeed. Borah was too old to change and he was cut off before the challenge of a new age could have brought him to wider horizons.

It is wrong however to think of Borah only in the context of foreign policy. On many domestic issues he was a brave, independent and constructive spokesman for causes that have since won their way to the statute books. The central theme of his philosophy was a concern for the rights of the individual, so easily threatened by the big State or the big trust or the big union. This scale of values did not blind him to the need for reform but it did make him the enemy, unsparing and vigilant, of all attempts to strengthen the authority of the State as an end desirable in itself.

Even in foreign affairs, he was often a prophetic voice. He pleaded, for example, for a more generous policy of cooperation with Latin America. The fertile stupidities of the nonrecognition of the Soviet Union won his deserved scorn. Though unrelenting in his opposition to the League of Nations, he foresaw the dangers of the arms race and of a world fevered by economic nationalism. He is much more than a pathetic figure overwhelmed by the tide of events and swept into the margins of American history. It is much closer to the mark to think of him as a flawed but great American, often helping by his genius to build a future which his own limitations of philosophy and temperament forebade him to enter.

Above all, Borah was an immense personal force. He did his own thinking, read widely and with profit in the political classics, and spoke in debate with a towering eloquence and distinction of phrase completely unknown in the Senate of our day.

In his centenary tribute, a thoughtful and memorable speech, Senator FRANK CHURCH recalled that George Bernard Shaw, no easy critic, said of Borah:

"He is the only American whose brains seem properly baked; the others are either crumbs or gruel."

The same note of respect sounds through the contemporary criticisms by Walter Lippmann. Invariably men recognized that Borah, for all his faults and defects, often touched the superlative and deserved to be judged by the highest standards.

Yet now his name gathers dust and only the two Senators from his own State of Idaho—CHURCH and JORDAN—were generous enough to do him reverence.

Must we accept this oblivion with no protest?

Why do men labor in Congress at tasks at once difficult and remote from public view?

It is surely not simply for personal power or for the assured satisfactions of reelection. One must be curiously indifferent to the values of Senators and Congressmen to fail to realize that across their minds flashes the ambition to be remembered as public servants. That hope makes sweet the drudgeries in office and the stealthy injustices of politics. Yet a giant fell not so long ago when Borah left us, and now even his colleagues in the Senate have failed to mark the lonesome place in the sky.

To be remembered with honor is the statesman's victory over the grave. The Senate can take no pride in the casual and conventional way in which it observed the Borah centennial year.

Connecticut Wants To Save Its Poultry and Egg Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, the House Agriculture Subcommittee on Dairy and Poultry started hearings this morning on several bills aiming to establish a nationwide marketing order for table eggs, among them my bill H.R. 7008 and the bill by our colleague from New York, the Honorable JOSEPH Y. RESNICK, H.R. 7481.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the statement I presented to the subcommittee this morning. In addition, I wish to insert the brief statements presented by Mr. Emanuel Hirth, representing the members of the Central Connecticut Cooperative Farmers Association, and Mr. Max Girshick, of the Connecticut Poultry Association. Poultry and eggs are a vital segment of the Connecticut farm economy and we are extremely anxious to help this industry in its struggle for survival under the present trying circumstances.

The three statements presented to the subcommittee are as follows:

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE, SUBCOMMITTEE ON DAIRY AND POULTRY, HOUSE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, JULY 26, 1965

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, the legislation on which your committee is holding hearings this morning includes also my bill, H.R. 7008, which provides for a nationwide marketing order for table eggs. These bills would provide nothing more than access to means of self-expression and self-determination for egg producers. On this question I wish to stand up, not only to be counted, but also to explain how I reached my position. After explaining the basis for reaching my position, I shall point to an assumption—a mistaken assumption—which I think forms the basis of the thinking of some of the people that come to a view opposite from mine.

I want to thank you gentlemen of the committee for your consideration in giving me time to present the facts that relate to this situation, particularly as it affects the egg-producing poultryman in Connecticut. You gentlemen have had continuous presentations made to you, I am sure, telling that eggs are one of the few food items for which both wholesale and retail prices are lower now than a decade ago. For that reason, I will only hastily summarize that, despite the declining breakfast and the cholesterol scare, the egg remains a basic item in the American diet, and, in fact, it is not overproduced: Production in 1965 will support an average consumption of 307 eggs per person for the year. This is considerably less than the proverbial egg-a-day and it includes eggs partaken invisibly—in commercial baked goods, in noodles, in prepared mixes.

Not only is this per capita consumption figure less than an egg a day, it is smaller than at any time during the 1950's. Total annual production of eggs is about steady at the level of the past 10 years. This suggests that the problems of the industry do not stem from any sudden net moves toward overproduction on a national basis.

At the same time, I get the impression that this industry is efficient. Producers in my district tell me that where a family 20 years ago had 3,000 hens, they now have 10,000, and that now they get 25 or 30 eggs more per year from each hen than 20 years ago—but they earn less from the enterprise now than they did then.

In New Jersey, where the organization of egg production is somewhat similar to Connecticut, the U.S. Department of Agriculture estimates that a representative producer in 1964 had a net cash farm income of $1,296 from 4,700 layers.

From these foregoing observations, we can arrive at only one conclusion: here is an industry that produces a socially desired good, the egg: it produces it efficiently; and yet the proprietors in the industry have incomes that, if not supplemented by off-farm work or by living off the depreciation of their buildings and equipment, would put them among the economically disadvantaged.

This is my idea of a paradox: an efficient industry, producing a good the public wants, yielding a substandard return. It seems to me that a nation that can orbit a man in space could also figure out a solution to this dilemma.

It also seems to me that a government that can orbit a man in space could give egg-producing poultrymen the opportunity to act together to find a resolution to this dilemma. As I understand the Resnick bill, this is exactly what it provides. It is enabling legislation that permits (not directs) egg producers to operate under a program, if certain conditions are first satisfied: those conditions include—

(a) The holding of appropriate hearings upon a proposed order;

(b) The approval of an order by two-thirds of the producers casting ballots; and

(c) The approval of the provisions of the order by the Secretary of Agriculture.

With these safeguards, an order does not stir within me any fears regarding regimentation, limitation of initiative, or stifling of growth. I think that efficient operators whose enterprises—despite their efficiency—yield them as little as $1,300 per year are entitled to the benefits of programs to improve their position, even if the improvement may involve some minor burdens. I would hope that a program can be devised to remedy the situation I describe. I have confidence that sufficient expertise exists in the U.S. Department of Agriculture, in the State colleges, and in the farm organizations, to devise a more equitable and satisfactory system than the one now prevailing.

Opponents of this bill fall into three classes:

1. Those that would deny egg-producers the opportunity to devise an economic program and submit it to referendum;

2. Those who do not realize what the bill provides; and

3. Those who claim a program wouldn't work.

I have a critical word for opponents of the first category, and guiding words for opponents in the second and third categories. These guiding words, indeed, may convince some of these folks to join me in my support of the bill.

With opponents in the first category I can find no common ground. If a program is devised and found wanting, I would say it should be every man's privilege to vote against it. But a negative attitude now, at the present stage of the game, is tantamount to saying: "I don't want you to devise a proposal, nor to submit it to a referendum of interested parties." This amounts to a suppression of expression which I could never endorse. The second category of opponent is one who has been misled on what the Resnick bill provides. A person in this position could have read, for example, in the July 19 Poultryman (a trade newspaper) that, "Stripped of its superfluity of legislative jargon, Representative JOSEPH Y. RESNICK's H.R. 7481 boils down to setting an egg quota and a quota of hens to fill it." Reading further in the same issue, and still on page 1, "Allotments of hen and egg quotas would be made to producers, and handlers would be told how many eggs they could handle."

This casts the proposition as if the passage of H.R. 7481 is tantamount to the imposition of quotas. Not so. The Poultryman recognizes not so, but only on page 12. Too many poultrymen get their information from page 1, where no footnotes appear to indicate that the paragraphs I read you are subject to any qualifications. As a matter of fact actions such as those paragraphs describe could be part of a proposed order under an amendment such as the Resnick bill permits, but so could a lot of other features likewise be proposed, and many of the other features are less drastic than the possibilities the press chose to dramatize.

So, to those who are startled by what they think is in the bill, I urge you to read the bill, rather than read what somebody else wrote was in the bill. You will find it to be enabling legislation, not directive legislation; it enables poultrymen to do any or all of certain things, listed in the legislation, if they conform to certain provisions. These provisions have already been listed: they include approval at a referendum, and concurrence by the Secretary of Agriculture.

Now I will demolish the third possible basis for opposition to the measure. It is a concern, that can be well-intentioned, about the practicality of stabilization measures for eggs. At the proper time, this would be a valid question. But the proper time is when there is a proposed program on the table. The Resnick bill is not a proposed program: it is authorization toward submitting a program to referendum, but that proposed program is yet to be drawn up.

When a program is drawn up, calling upon the vast talent in USDA, it then becomes the right time to judge it. But that time is not yet. People calling "no" at this point are declaiming against something they haven't seen, and which in fact doesn't yet exist.

The poultryman may again be a factor in this sort of opposition to the Resnick bill. The July 9 issue of that weekly paper reported a NEPPCO banquet addressed by an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, and he was quoted as having allegedly said—I stress the word allegedly—"a nationwide order for eggs is simply not practical because," and there follow, still within direct quotes, items related to the word "because."

People have confidence in the analytical abilities of the Department of Agriculture and of the Department's assistant secretaries. They also have confidence in The Poultryman, which is the foremost weekly circulating among egg producers. So when they read on such high authority that a program is not practical, egg producers are likely to be guided accordingly. But is this faith in the printed word placed on a sound basis? I fear not. Assistant Secretary Mehren met on July 15 with a group of poultry leaders, and he encouraged them to develop a stabilization program for their industry, even offering the Department's help toward that end. That does not sound like the advice of a man who is quoted as judging orders to be impractical. Indeed, the reports I have had of this meeting led me to expect that a denial of the remarks attributed in print to the Assistant Secretary might even be expected, and perhaps the Department witness might help to clarify this situation.

We could run on for quite a while discussing some of the principles that are relevant to the situation for which the Resnick bill would permit some help. But if we spend much more time discussing principles, not too many Connecticut poultrymen will be around to appreciate the conclusions. In 1960, the Connecticut Extension Service counted 981 egg-producing flocks in the State with 1,000 or more birds. In 1963 this number had dwindled to 527. Attrition since then has reduced it further.

As further evidence of the squeeze among Connecticut egg producers, the Department of Agriculture estimated that Connecticut poultrymen raised 4 million chickens in 1963 for laying flock replacement. In 1964 this dropped 10 percent, to 3.6 million. The 1965 estimate is less than 3½ million. Gentlemen, at the rate this decline proceeds, it suggests that people who would delay a self-help program for egg producers are presiding over the extinction of a large part of the egg industry not only in Connecticut, but in other States where egg production is organized on an independent family-farm basis.

STATEMENT BY EMANUEL HIRTH, REPRESENTING THE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL CONNECTICUT COOPERATIVE FARMERS ASSOCIATION, INC., OF MANCHESTER, CONN.

Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, my name is Emanuel Hirth, general manager of the Central Connecticut Cooperative Farmers Association, Inc., of Manchester, Conn. Our membership represents the majority of the table egg producers in the State of Connecticut. We also operate an egg processing plant in the city of Willimantic, Conn.

From year to year the economics of egg production become more chaotic and the independent farmer finds himself in a tighter squeeze. And, thus, each year, or each time a census is taken, we find that the number has shrunk. Not the number of hens but the number of families who find their freedom to exist under a chosen way of life, being denied them.

In a census taken, county by county, by the Connecticut Extension Service in 1960 there were 981 egg producers. Three years later, in 1963, a similar census was taken by the same agency and it disclosed that 46 percent of these egg producers went out of business; only 527 were left.

But the number of hens on farms had increased from 3,500,000 to 3,800,000.

The price of eggs the last 10 or 12 years has declined sharply. During the 5-year period, 1952–56 the price of eggs averaged about 42 cents per dozen. The next 5 years the average price of eggs was about 36 cents per dozen, and the year 1964 saw the decline continue with an average price of 33.4 cents per dozen.

The independent egg producer finds himself running hard in order to stay in one place. Those who had the capital or credit have kept increasing their volume of production in order to compensate for declining prices.

This process is continuing and being aggravated by the advent of huge integrated operations supported and financed by the giant national feed, hatchery and equipment companies. In many cases with unwarranted credit practices. To the point that the independent producers are running out of capital and find it difficult to get the credit to continue as independent businessmen.

It is obvious that the poultry industry cannot find within itself the means to "put its house in order" and that those who will be the victims of disorder will be the independent family units who have been the mainstay of agricultural free enterprise.

History has shown that the producers of other agricultural commodities, when provided by legislation with the tools of self-help have been able to discipline their industries and provide an economic and production atmosphere wherein their independence prospered and their industry was stabilized.

We, in the poultry industry are entitled to have made available to us the same tools that have already been provided to other segments of agriculture. We ask the right to develop a program for self-help; the right to have regional hearings under the auspices of the Department of Agriculture; and, above all, the right to vote for an independent family oriented stable poultry industry. And, this last I want to repeat and emphasize; the right to vote, to decide for ourselves while many of us still have our independence.

In order to make it possible for us to have these rights we urge the adoption of the Resnick bill, H.R. 7481, or the St. Onge bill, H.R. 7008, at this session of Congress, while there is still time to save those who have not succumbed to integration.

Thank you for your permission to present this testimony and for your courtesy in listening to my presentation.

STATEMENT OF CONNECTICUT POULTRY ASSOCIATION, INC.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, my name is Max Girshick. I am a member of the board of directors of the Connecticut Poultry Association and have been authorized by its president, Harold Liebman and the board of directors to make the following statement.

On behalf of the poultrymen in Connecticut, the Connecticut Poultry Association goes on record as favoring H.R. 7008 introduced by Congressman WILLIAM ST. ONGE; and, also, H.R. 7481 introduced by Congressman RESNICK.

This legislation simply amends the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1937 to include poultry and eggs in its provisions. It does not establish marketing orders, production controls or any other program within the industry as its critics suggest.

Inclusion of poultry and eggs into the provisions of this act would permit the producers of these products to formulate a program, or programs, designed to stabilize the chaotic economic conditions that have plagued our industry for years. Once formulated, this act would not go into effect until producers, falling under the provisions of this projected program, voted in the affirmative for it.

It is hard for us, here in Connecticut, to understand why we cannot be extended the same privileges in determining the future course of our industry as are extended to other areas of agriculture.

We have fought for this legislation for many years and have appeared before this committee to this end on many previous occasions.

The problems of the producers have worsened during this time.

The control of production facilities have moved steadily into fewer and bigger hands and the pattern of contract serfdom established in the broiler industry is rapidly being duplicated in the egg industry.

Give us the opportunity to formulate our own destiny.

Thank you for your courtesy of listening to my statement.

Wheat Certificates Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, the Washington Evening Star on July 16 carried a very fine editorial on the first-year results of the voluntary wheat certificate plan.

The editorial points out that wheat producers' income was maintained at a level $450 million above what would otherwise have been possible; that bread prices did not rise, and that wheat exports during the 1964 marketing year, in which the plan became effective, were the second highest on record. It adds:

Confounding forecasts that the American consumer would be the ultimate victim of this program, the wheat certificate plan is bringing stability to an inherently erratic situation.

Mr. President, when Senator MCGOVERN of South Dakota first proposed voluntary wheat certificates in July 1963, he predicted almost precisely the results that the Evening Star notes, after a year of operation, in its editorial.

Significantly, the Senator from South Dakota this year has proposed, with the support of several of us from the Great Plains, an increase in the value of certificates issued against domestic food wheat to reflect 100 percent of parity return to the producers. This will mean an increase in return to the farmers of 50 cents to 57 cents per bushel on 45 percent of their wheat crop, much needed additional income.

I would like to recommend to those who are again predicting dire consequences from wheat certificates that they read the Star editorial, representing the view of an objective, metropolitan source, recall the erroneous predictions made a year ago, and judge today's propaganda about a bread tax and disastrous consequences of Senator MCGOVERN's new proposal accordingly.

I ask unanimous consent that the Star editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 16, 1965]

SURPRISE IN WHEAT

The wheat certificate program, which completed its first year June 30, suggests that the reports of its death have been much exaggerated.

Despite a good many gloomy predictions at its inauguration, the program is thriving. Agriculture Secretary Freeman declared wheat farm income for the 1964 crop year will be some $450 million higher than would otherwise have been possible if no stopgap had been attempted. Consumer prices have remained stable, with bread now selling for about the same as it did 12 months ago.

The explanation behind all this lies in Federal market supports. If certification had not been adopted last year, the price support would have dropped from about $2 to $1.25 a bushel after farmers rejected marketing quotas in a referendum. Like the Federal cavalry thundering over the hill at the last moment as the Comanches surround the wagon train, the certificate scheme has rescued farmers from a 50-percent parity support.

The fact that bread prices have not risen is good news to consumers. The fact that wheat farmers are enjoying an unforeseen prosperity augurs well for a segment of the economy. Perhaps equally important, wheat exports in fiscal 1965 are the second largest in history.

Confounding forecasts that the American consumer would be the ultimate victim of this program, the wheat certificate plan is bringing stability to an inherently erratic situation.

It would be more to our liking if a free market could be given play in wheat production. But American overproduction in this commodity is a premise on which we must build our planning. And in that context, the wheat certificate scheme seems to be as good a solution as any.

Conservation Awards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, this spring dedicated men and women from all sections of the country came to Washington to participate in the White House conference designed to gain public recognition of the need for conserving and beautifying our country. They left here in a highly enthusiastic and determined mood, and I am convinced that America will profit by this commendable spirit.

A lady from a small country town told me at the close of the meeting:

Since our children married and left home I am afraid that my contribution to society has amounted to little or nothing. Now I think that I can do something worthwhile in the few years that I have left on earth. I almost feel important, and I know that what I will be doing from now on in getting my friends and neighbors interested in this program will be very important.

A laudatory objective, Mr. Speaker, and my observation was that this attitude was general among those who took part in the conference. Yet you and I know that the success of the program to conserve and to beautify our country will depend largely upon the interest that is generated by the press and other communications media. For this reason I am especially pleased that the National Wildlife Federation and the Sears, Roebuck Foundation have joined in formulating a program of National and State awards to recognize and encourage outstanding contributions in conservation and the preservation of natural beauty.

The program has been explained by Louis D. McGregor, of Flint, Mich., president of the federation, and James T. Griffin, of Chicago, president of Sears Foundation:

We believe this new awards program will stimulate efforts at the local, State, and national level to more wisely use all our natural resources, as well as preserve or restore the natural beauty of our countryside.

Financed by grants from the Sears-Roebuck Foundation, the awards program will encourage renewed dedication and action among professional and citizen conservationists throughout our land. We trust this recognition of conservation leaders will likewise stir a new awareness among all Americans of the need to conserve and wisely manage our soils, waters, forests, rangelands, plant life, and wildlife upon which the Nation's economic and social well-being are based.

This new program will also recognize outstanding contributions to conservation being made by public communications media, for without public interest and understanding conservation efforts cannot succeed. Awards will be made to newspapers, radio and television stations, magazines, broadcasters, outdoor writers, and other communicators who help spread the conservation message throughout America.

Although this cooperative program has been in the planning state for many months, it has been initiated in immediate response to the President's White House Conference calling for public recognition of the need to conserve and beautify our country.

The awards program will be conducted on both State and National levels. Each cooperating State affiliate of the National Wildlife Federtion will establish its own awards program, with recognition of individuals, groups and organizations for outstanding effort in 10 categories:

First. State Conservationist of the Year.

Second. Wildlife Conservationist of the Year.

Third. Soil Conservationist of the Year.

Fourth. Water Conservationist of the Year.

Fifth. Forest Conservationist of the Year.

Sixth. Youth Conservationist of the Year.

Seventh. Conservation Educator of the Year.

Eighth. Legislative Conservationist of the Year.

Ninth. Conservation Communications Award of the Year.

Tenth. Conservation Organization of the Year.

Mr. Speaker, the details of this meritorious program should be circulated as widely as possible. It is my intention to send that portion of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD covering this message to every newspaper and radio and television station in my congressional district, and I invite you to do likewise. I shall also send copies to the White House and to the Secretary of the Interior in hopes that they will help in making the news available to all interested parties.

I congratulate the National Wildlife Federation and the Sears, Roebuck Fountain for undertaking this important and exciting awards program.

Vietnam: Four Steps to Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following address delivered by the distinguished Secretary of State, the Honorable Dean Rusk, before the American Foreign Service Association at Washington, D.C., on June 23, 1965.

Secretary Rusk's address reaffirms the threefold objectives of U.S. policy in Vietnam as set forth by President Johnson, to wit: "determination against aggression, discussion for peace, and development for the human hopes of all."

The address follows:

VIETNAM: FOUR STEPS TO PEACE

(Text of an address made by Secretary of State Dean Rusk before the American Foreign Service Association at Washington, D.C., on June 23, 1965)

It is a very great pleasure for me to be here. It is a privilege for me to salute my colleagues, present and retired, of the Foreign Service and to express to you the gratitude of President Johnson and of the American people for a service which is marked by so much competence, dedication, and personal commitment.

Two and a half months ago President Johnson spoke to the world about Vietnam at the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. Today I wish to talk to you on the same subject—to you who know that such problems have deep roots, to you who have lived through and worked upon such problems before, and to you who know that such matters can gravely affect the future of our Nation and the prospects for general peace.

The struggle in Vietnam has continued since April and indeed has grown the more severe. The harsh resistance of the Communists to any form of discussions or negotiation continues. The effort to destroy the freedom of Vietnam has been expanded. The trial by fire of the people of Vietnam goes on. Their own resistance has been courageous, but the need for American resolution and for American action has increased.

AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH

The root of the trouble in Vietnam is today just what it was in April and has been at least since 1960—a cruel and sustained attack by North Vietnam upon the people of South Vietnam. Now as then, it is a brutal war—marked by terror and sneak attack, and by the killing of women and children in the night. This campaign of terror has continued throughout the spring.

Those of us who have not served in Vietnam may find it hard to understand just how ugly this war of aggression has been. From 1961 to the present date the South Vietnamese Armed Forces have lost some 25,000 dead and 51,000 wounded. In proportion to population, these South Vietnamese losses are 10 times as great as those suffered by Americans in the Korean war, and larger than our losses in World War II.

Even more terrible than these military losses are the cruelties of assassination and kidnaping among civilian officials and ordinary citizens. In the last 18 months, for example, more than 2,000 local officials and civilians have been murdered. When an official is not found at home, often his wife and children are slain in his place. It is as if in our own country some 35,000 civic leaders or their families were to be killed at night by stealth and terror.

These are the methods of the Vietcong. This is the test to which the people of Vietnam have gallantly responded.

Meanwhile, from the North, heavy infiltration has continued. Intelligence now shows that some 40,000 had come down before the end of 1964. Toward the end of that year—well before the beginning of our own air operations against North Vietnam—the infiltration of regular North Vietnamese army units was begun, and important elements of that army are now known to be in place in South Vietnam and Laos, where they have no right to be.

And so we face a deliberate and long-matured decision by a persistent aggressor to raise the stakes of war. Apparently this was their answer to our own repeated affirmation that we ourselves did not wish a larger war. Apparently a totalitarian regime has once again misunderstood the desire of demo-

cratic peoples for peace and has made the mistake of thinking that they can have a larger war without risks to themselves. And hence the airstrikes against military targets in North Vietnam.

These actions have made infiltration harder. They have increased the cost of aggression. Without them South Vietnam today would face still stronger forces from the North.

These measured air operations have done what we expected them to do—neither more nor less. For air attack alone cannot bring peace. I cannot agree with those who think it wrong to hit the logistics of aggression. It is the aggression itself that is the wrong. Those who worry about bridges and barracks and ammunition dumps would do well to give their sympathy instead to the daily victims of terror in South Vietnam.

EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE

The other side is obviously not yet ready for peace. In these last months, the friends of peace in many lands have sought to move this dangerous matter to the conference table. But one proposal after another has been contemptuously rejected.

We and others, for example, have sought to clear a way for a conference on Laos, and a conference on Cambodia—two neighboring countries where progress toward peace might be reflected in Vietnam itself. But these efforts have been blocked by North Vietnam and by Communist China.

Twice there has been an effort at discussions through the United Nations—first in the Security Council after the August attacks in the Tonkin Gulf, and later this April, when Secretary General U Thant considered visits to Hanoi and Peiping to explore the possibilities of peace. But in August there was a refusal by Hanoi to come to the Security Council. And in April both Hanoi and Peiping made it clear that they would not receive U Thant, and both regimes made plain their view that the United Nations is not competent to deal with that matter.

Repeatedly our friends in Britain, as a cochairman of the Geneva Conference, have sought a path to settlement—first by working toward a new conference in Geneva and then by a visit of a senior British statesman. But the effort for a conference in Geneva was blocked, and the distinguished British traveler was told that he should stay away from Peiping and Hanoi.

Twice in April we made additional efforts of our own. In Baltimore the President offered unconditional discussions with the governments concerned. Hanoi and Peiping called this offer a "hoax." At that time the 17 nonalined nations had appealed for a peaceful solution, by negotiations without preconditions. This proposal was accepted on our side. It was rejected by Hanoi and by Peiping. And some of its authors were labeled "monsters and freaks."

The President of India made constructive proposals—for an end of hostilities and an Afro-Asian patrol force. To us this proposal was full of interest and hope. But by Hanoi and Red China it was rejected as a betrayal.

Our own Government and the Government of South Vietnam, in May, suspended air attacks on North Vietnam. This action was made known to the other side to see if there would be a response in kind. This special effort for peace was denounced in Hanoi as a "wornout trick" and denounced in Peiping as a "swindle." To those who complain that that so-called "pause" was not long enough, I would simply report that the harsh reaction of the other side was fully known before the attacks were resumed. And I would also recall that we held our hands for more than 4 years while tens of thousands of armed men invaded the south and every attempt at peaceful settlement failed.

HANOI'S RESPONSE

Reports in the first half of June have confirmed that all these violent rejections are in fact what they appear to be—clear proof that what is wanted today in Hanoi is a military victory, not peace, and that Hanoi is not even prepared for discussions unless it is accepted in advance that there will be a Communist-dominated government in Saigon, and unless too—so far as we can determine—American forces are withdrawn in advance.

So this record is clear. And there is substance in Senator FULBRIGHT's conclusion that "It seems clear that the Communist powers still hope to achieve a complete victory in South Vietnam and for this reason are at present uninterested in negotiations for a peaceful settlement." For the simple truth is that there is no lack of diplomatic there is no procedural mircale through which a desire for peace can be registered—that there is no procedural miracle through which peace can be obtained if one side is determined to continue the war.

As I have said, Hanoi is presently adamant against negotiation or any avenue to peace. Peiping is even more so, and one can plainly read the declared doctrine and purpose of the Chinese Communists. They are looking beyond the current conflict to the hope of domination in all of southeast Asia—and indeed beyond. But one finds it harder to understand Hanoi's aversion to discussion. More immediately than the Chinese, the North Vietnamese face the costs and dangers of conflict. They, too, must fear the ambitions of Communist China in southeast Asia. Yet they are still on the path of violence, insisting upon the forceful communization of South Vietnam and refusing to let their brothers in the south work out their own destiny in peace.

In recent weeks, after 2 months of reduced activity, the enemy has sharply quickened the tempo of his military action in the south. Since early May, major Vietcong units have returned to the battlefield, and already a series of sharp engagements has shown us that the fighting through the summer may be hard. Setbacks have occurred and serious defeats have been avoided only by the combination of continuing Vietnamese bravery and effective air and other types of support.

Losses on both sides have been heavy. From April 1 to date, we have had confirmed reports of almost 5,000 Vietcong dead, almost 3,000 South Vietnamese, and almost 100 Americans. We must expect these losses to continue—and our own losses may increase.

ROLE OF U.S. FORCES

Since March we have deployed nine battalions of fighting men to South Vietnam. Six more are on their way. For as the President said in April, "we will not be defeated. We will not grow tired * * *. We will do everything necessary * * * and we will do only what is * * * necessary."

Our own battalions in South Vietnam have three related tasks. Their first assignment was and is to guard such major installations as the airfield at Da Nang. A second and closely related task is that of active patrol in nearby areas. And the third is to join in combat support of Vietnamese forces—when such help is requested and when our commander, General Westmoreland, believes it should be given.

American forces so committed will carry with them the determined support of our people. These men know, as all our people know, that what they do is done for freedom and peace, in Vietnam, in other continents, and here at home.

SUPPORT FOR U.S. ACTION

In authorizing combat missions for our ground forces in Vietnam, the President acted to meet his constitutional responsibilities as Commander in Chief. He has recognized the obligations of this nation under the Southeast Asia Treaty, which the Senate approved by a vote of 82 to 1. He has acted under the joint resolution of August 1964, which passed the Senate by a vote of 88 to 2—and passed the House with no opposing vote. This resolution expresses our national readiness—as the President determines—"to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States" and "all necessary steps, including the use of armed force" to help Vietnam and southeast Asian members of the SEATO who ask for help to preserve their freedom.

The President has acted on the unanimous advice of the American leaders in Saigon and his senior civil and military advisers in Washington.

He has acted in full consultation with the Government of South Vietnam.

And he has acted on his own considered judgment of what is necessary at this time to stop aggression.

This decision—like all of our decisions in Vietnam—is open to review by Members of the Congress and open to reversal if it does not have their support. But the leaders of the Congress have been kept in close touch with the situation, and no such prospect should stimulate the hopes of enemies or the fears of friends. For America is not divided in her determination nor weak in her will.

In Vietnam today we face one more challenge in the long line of dangers we have, unhappily, had to meet and master for a generation. We have had to show both strength and restraint—courage and coolness—for Iran and for Greece, for Berlin and for Korea, in the Formosa Strait, and in the Cuban missile crisis. We mean to show the same determination and coolness now.

In 1954 President Eisenhower pledged our support to the Government of Vietnam, to assist that Government, as he put it, "in developing and maintaining a strong, viable state, capable of resisting attempted subversion or aggression through military means." And this determination was reaffirmed again and again by President Kennedy. "We are going to stay here," he said. "We are not going to withdraw from that effort." And that is our position still.

FIRMNESS AND RESTRAINT

Now, as in April, as the President put it, "We will use our power with restraint and with all the wisdom that we can command." For it is others, and not we, who have increased the scale of fighting. It is others, and not we, who have made threats of gravely widened conflict. The firmness with which we resist aggression is matched by the firmness with which we will refrain from ill-advised adventure.

A few—a very few—may believe that unlimited war can take the place of the sustained and steady efforts in which we are engaged, just as there may be a few—a very few—who think we should pull out and leave a friendly people to their fate. But the American people want neither rashness nor surrender. They want firmness and restraint. They expect courage and care. They threaten no one. And they are not moved by the threats by others.

ROLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM

This contest centers in the defense of freedom for the people who live in South Vietnam. The sustained and increasing infiltration from North Vietnam has required the measured use of air attack on military targets in the north. We alone cannot determine the future—could we do so there would be a prompt peace. The other side, too, must decide about the future. And we must hope they know—as we do—that increased aggression would be costly far beyond the worth to the aggressor.

The political turmoil in South Vietnam has continued. It is easy to be impatient

with our friends in Saigon as they struggle to establish and sustain a stable government under the stress of war. We see there the ferment of a society still learning to be free, even while under attack from beyond their borders.

We must remember that this ancient people is young in its independence, restless in its hopes, divided in its religions, and varied in its regions. The turmoil of Vietnam needs the steadfastness of America. Our friends in Vietnam know, and we know, that our people and our troops must work and fight together. Neither of us can do the work of the other. And the main responsibility must always be with, and is fully accepted by, the South Vietnamese. Yet neither of us can "go it alone." We would not be there without the urgent request for assistance from those whose land this happens to be. We have a tested faith in the enduring bravery of the people of Vietnam, and they, in turn, can count on us with equal certainty.

FORMULA FOR PEACE

The people of Vietnam long for peace. And the way to peace is clear. Yesterday the foreign minister of South Vietnam set forth the fundamental principles that can provide a "just and enduring place." Those principles, in summary, are:

And end to aggression and subversion.

Freedom for South Vietnam to choose and shape for itself its own destiny "in conformity with democratic principles and without any foreign interference from whatever sources."

As soon as aggression has ceased, the ending of the military measures now necessary by the Government of South Vietnam and the nations that have come to its aid to defend South Vietnam; and the removal of foreign military forces from South Vietnam.

And effective guarantees for the independence and freedom of the people of South Vietnam.

Now these are the fundamental steps. This is what the arguing and the fighting is all about. When they are carried out, we can look forward, as we have stated previously many times, to the day when relations between North Vietnam and South Vietnam can be worked out by peaceful means. And this would include the question of a free decision by the peoples of North and South Vietnam on the matter of reunification.

This forthright and simple program meets the hopes of all and attacks the interests of none. It would replace the threat of conquest by the hope of free and peaceful choice.

A LOOK TO THE FUTURE

And even while these hopes of peace are blocked for now by aggression, we on our side and other nations have reaffirmd our deep commitment to the peaceful progress of Vietnam and southeast Asia as a whole. In April the President proposed to the nations of Asia and to the United Nations that there be constructed a new program of support for Asian efforts and called upon Mr. Eugene Black to assist them. Now in June this work is underway. The Mekong River project has been given new life. A new dam is ready to rise in Laos. A billion-dollar bank is in the making for the development of southeast Asia. And in Vietnam itself new impetus has been given to programs of development and education and health.

So let us call again on other nations—including the Soviet Union—to join in turning this great region of the world away from the waste and violence of a brutal war. For the hope of Asia is not in relentless pressure for conquest. It is in unremitting hope for progress—a progress in which rice production could be multiplied manyfold, where the expectation of life could be doubled, the education of the young could be tenfold what it is today, and there could be an end of cholera and tuberculosis and intestinal parasites and other human afflictions.

In April the President offered determination against aggression, discussion for peace, and development for the human hopes of all. And in June we reaffirm that threefold policy.

Aggression has increased, so that determination must be greater than ever.

Discussion is rejected, but our efforts to find a path to peace will not be stopped. We have welcomed the new initiative of Prime Minister Wilson and the Commonwealth conference and regret that it has received so little reception on the other side.

Beyond the terror of the aggressor and the firmness of our defense, we must, nevertheless, look to the day in which many new dams will be built, and many new schools opened, and fresh opportunities opened to the peoples of southeast Asia. For we must look beyond the battle to peace, past fear to hope, and over the hard path of resistance to the broad plain of progress which must lie ahead for the peoples of southeast Asia.

Memorial Ceremony for Adlai Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, the late Adlai Stevenson was actively involved in the establishment of the United Nations in 1945. From that time on, the United Nations formed one of the most prominent strains in his life. He was there, in sentiment and in spirit, if not always in person, from its beginning to the time of his death.

It is fitting and proper that of the most eloquent eulogies to him, four should have been delivered before the United Nations on the day of his funeral in Illinois. There spoken by Secretary General U Thant; Carlos Sosa Rodriguez, former President of the General Assembly; Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and Archibald MacLeish, all of whom believed in Stevenson and in the United Nations. The addresses follow:

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY GENERAL AT MEMORIAL CEREMONY FOR ADLAI STEVENSON, JULY 19

When I first was told last Wednesday, a little before 1 p.m., that Ambassador Stevenson had died in London, I could not believe my ears. I had seen him only recently, in Geneva, less than a week before and he was so alive, and looked so well. When the news was confirmed, it took me some time to accept the fact that Adlai Stevenson had really passed away.

My first thought was to send a message of condolences to President Johnson. In my message I referred to the respect, admiration, and affection of all of his colleagues at the United Nations which Ambassador Stevenson had earned over the last 4½ years by reason of his extraordinary human qualities.

The same afternoon I referred, in a public statement, to my sense of grief and shock because, suddenly and without warning, death had struck and we had lost a good friend and a highly esteemed colleague. As I stated in that tribute, in his years at the United Nations, Ambassador Stevenson had demonstrated with rare distinction how it was possible to combine the highest form of patriotism with loyalty to the idea of international peace and cooperation.

When on December 8, 1960, it was announced that Mr. Stevenson was to be permanent representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, it seemed to everybody to be such a natural and right appointment. He was, in truth, one of the founding fathers of the United Nations, having been present at the signing of the charter in San Francisco in June 1945, and also having been closely associated with the negotiations leading up to that historic event.

Thereafter, he was the head of the U.S. delegation to the Preparatory Commission and Executive Committee of the United Nations in London, and I believe his offices were located in Grosvenor Square, close to the very spot where he collapsed last Wednesday.

Subsequently, of course, he had entered domestic politics and his direct association with the United Nations was only intermittent. But I have no doubt in my own mind that his presence at the birth of the United Nations was an important factor in the evolution of his own political thinking and in his own dedication to the noble principles and purposes of the charter.

I remember how many tributes were paid to him when he took over his duties at the United Nations. There were so many encomiums, both within and outside these walls, that they could have turned the head of a lesser man. Not so with Ambassador Stevenson. On one occasion he observed: "Flattery is like smoking—it is not dangerous so long as you do not inhale."

During the 4½ years that he served at the United Nations, he stood as the embodiment of dedication to the principles of the United Nations. His many speeches, which expressed so well his whole mental and intellectual approach, in the championship of fundamental rights, in defense of the dignity and worth of the human person, in support of the equal rights of nations large and small, were cheered and applauded by all sides of the house. He not only spoke with a rare gift of phrase, but with such an obvious sincerity that his words carried conviction.

My first contact with Ambassador Stevenson came about in 1952 when I was one of the members of the Burmese delegation to the Seventh General Assembly. This was at the time when he was the Democratic candidate for the Presidential election. His speeches were naturally fully reported in the newspapers, and I followed his campaign closely. His speeches were not only masterpieces of oratory, they were also the incisive reflections of a great man and of a great mind, in line with the best traditions of American liberal thought.

There were some during his lifetime, of course, who rated him as too liberal and too far ahead of the times. Others sought to discount his effectiveness on the score that he was too much the idealist and therefore not practical enough. This does him injustice.

The line of distinction between idealism and vision is obscure at best. Vision, certainly, is an essential attribute of statesmanship, and he was a fine statesman. In any case, what a dismal world it would be, and how unpromising its future, without spiritual lift given to mankind by the idealists who, in the courage of their conviction, chart the course and mark the goals of man's progress.

At that time I did not have any personal acquaintance with Mr. Stevenson. For me the chance came a year later when he visited Burma in 1953. On that occasion I had the opportunity to talk to him and to discuss with him many issues of current interest. Again I was greatly impressed, not only by the depth of his intellect, but equally by his breadth of vision.

From the time that Mr. Stevenson became the permanent representative of his country at the United Nations and while I was still the permanent representative of Burma, we

developed very close ties of friendship. These ties became even closer toward the end of the year when I assumed my present responsibilities, and continued to be so during the last 3½ years. I found it easy to discuss with him any current issue of importance with complete freedom, and in full frankness and friendliness.

No one can serve his country in the United Nations for long without having his moments of frustration. Ambasador Stevenson had his share of such moments, and on such occasions he confided to me his innermost thoughts, and I was struck by his completely human approach to our common problems. He seemed not only to think about them, but also to feel about them as a human being. In all such discussions I was repeatedly impressed by his dedication to the basic concepts of peace, justice, and freedom.

So many tributes have been paid to Mr. Stevenson since his sudden and tragic passing away. So many of his friends and admirers have eulogized his fine intellect, his modesty, and humility. Many have praised his felicitous style and his ready wit. Tributes have been paid to his great learning, which he carried so lightly because he was truly an educated man, a cultured man, a civilized man.

Speaking in San Francisco on June 26, 1965, on the 20th anniversary of the United Nations, Ambassador Stevenson said:

"Some of us here today who were midwives at the birth of the United Nations can never forget those days here in San Francisco in the twilight of the war, when an old world was dying and a new world was coming to birth.

"We shared an audacious dream—and launched a brave enterprise.

"It seemed so easy then—when all was hope and expectation. I remember my own sense of pride, of history, of exultation." He went on to reflect:

"In the bright glow of 1945, too many looked to the United Nations for the full and final answer to world peace. And in retrospect, that day may seem to have opened with the hint of a false dawn.

"Certainly we have learned the hard way how elusive is peace—how durable is man's destructive drive.

"We have learned, too, how distant is the dream of those better standards of life in larger freedom—how qualified our capacity to practice tolerance—how conditional our claims to the dignity and worth of the human person—how reserved our respect for the obligations of law."

He then proceeded to restate, on behalf of himself, his Government and the vast bulk of his countrymen, his faith in the United Nations in the following words:

"We believe in the United Nations; we support the United Nations; and we shall work in the future—as we have worked in the past—to add strength, and influence, and permanence to all that the organization stands for in this, our tempestuous, tormented, talented world of diversity in which all men are brothers and all brothers are somehow, wondrously, different—save in their need for peace."

And he concluded by saying:

"We have the United Nations. We have set it bravely up. And we will carry it bravely forward."

Unfortunately, Adlai Stevenson is no longer with us to keep step with us in the march forward to the goals he had stated so well.

On this occasion when we are paying homage to the memory of one who has left us so large a legacy, it is fitting, I believe, to give some thought to the momentous questions of war and peace which were so close to his heart.

In my view, many governments, while unwilling to wage war, and at the same time unable to make peace, seem to have resigned themselves to the prospect of an interminable cold war. While admittedly the cold war cannot bring down the physical holocaust on our heads, it has nevertheless already inflicted on us a tremendous moral and psychological injury which is intangible but equally destructive. The long, uneasy cold war has destroyed and mutilated not our bodies, but our minds. Its weapons are the myths and the legends of propaganda.

It has often been said that in war, the first casualty is truth. The cold war is also capable of inflicting the same casualty. The weapons designed and utilized to crush and mutilate the human mind are as potent as any of the weapons designed for physical destruction. The weapons of the cold war contaminate our moral fiber, warp our thinking processes and afflict us with pathological obsessions. These are the invisible but, nevertheless, the most devastating effects of the cold war on humanity. I believe Adlai Stevenson, in his innermost thoughts, realized these truths.

There is no doubt that Adlai Stevenson has earned a place in history—not only a place in the history of his own country, but a place in the history of this world Organization. He brought to international diplomacy, in his dignity, his gentility, and his style, a speical dimension. Even more, he has earned the admiration and affection of millions of people to whom he was but a name and a legend.

This was so, I think, because so often his voice rang true as the voice of the people, his eloquence expressed the hopes and aspirations of the common man the world over. He was, in our times, in a quite unique way, the people's friend. Equally, he has earned a permanent place in the hearts of all those who knew him, and today I mourn his passing, not just as a great historical figure, a famous man, but as a true and trusted friend. As the poet says:

"Friendship is a nobler thing;
Of friendship it is good to sing."

STATEMENT BY CARLOS SOSA RODRIGUEZ (VENEZUELA), PRESIDENT OF THE 18TH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, AT THE MEMORIAL CEREMONY FOR ADLAI E. STEVENSON

Mr. Secretary General, Mr. Secretary of State, fellow delegates, ladies, and gentlemen, it is sometimes difficult to put into words the true magnitude of a feeling, the sorrow that takes hold of the spirit in the face of the irreparable, the sadness that invades the soul in the face of hard reality. And yet, we must find words to reflect the pain that grips us at the loss of a friend who knew how to win our hearts, of a colleague who know how to conquer our admiration, for such was for us Adlai Stevenson, the Governor, as we, his friends, used affectionately to call him.

The impact of the unexpected news, while I was on holiday in Madrid, was a hard blow for me: "Adlai Stevenson died suddenly in London." Only 3 weeks earlier we had been together in San Francisco at the commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the United Nations, and he appeared so jovial, as ever, so full of life.

Why is it that it is the good men, the men necessary to mankind, that we lose so suddenly? We must bow, however, before the inscrutable dictates of providence and resign ourselves to the will of God. Yet the vacuum left by the death of a friend we cannot but feel profoundly. We, his colleagues in the United Nations, have lost a dear and admired friend. But America has lost one of its most enlightened sons, and the United Nations one of its most faithful champions.

In this time of mourning, in which gathered here in the General Assembly, witness to so many of his brilliant interventions, we pay tribute to his memory, it seems to us that we still hear the echo of his eloquent and tempered words, the expression of a noble spirit and a high culture placed at the service of his country, but placed also at the service of the ideals of peace and justice, advocated in the United Nations Charter.

Of the many qualities that adorned the shining personality of Adlai Stevenson, perhaps the most outstanding were his moderation and his profound human feeling. Perhaps this is the reason why he never inspired hatred but only affection, and always respect. Adlai Stevenson, like all public men, has been known to have devoted admirers and formidable adversaries, but he has never been known to have enemies. And it is because the goodness and sincerity that flowed from his personality could not allow for feelings of enmity to be forged against him.

In his distinguished public life, and especially in the United Nations where we better knew him, Stevenson always highlighted the great sense of equanimity and his constant preoccupation with the search for truth and justice. Perhaps these qualities, combined with so vast a culture which perforce opened for him horizons of doubt, at times deprived him of the necessary impetus for political triumph, but gave him instead the universal and broad understanding of the problems of our time and an acute and penetrating vision of the future, clouded neither by prejudice nor by preconceived notions.

Adlai Stevenson was a great patriot. He placed at the service of his country, unstintingly and unsparingly, the full fountain of his extraordinary intelligence, of his profound culture, and of his personal charm. And while in the service of his country he was struck down by death.

Adlai Stevenson lived and died for his country. Perhaps better than any other public figure, Adlai Stevenson gave the world an image of a modern and liberal North America conscious of the outstanding role it is called upon to play in history and conscious of the enormous responsibility derived for her from her great military and economic power. It would be difficult to classify Adlai Stevenson, from the political standpoint, as a man of the right or a man of the left. Stevenson was a liberal in the true sense of the word. He was a man free of extremism, ever respectful of the opinions and viewpoints of others, but always convinced of the force of reason, not of the reason of force. His liberal spirit was reflected in all his acts as a public figure and especially in his performance as a diplomat.

For him, negotiation and conciliation were the methods par excellence for the attainment of his aspirations, and he never lacked moderation, patience, and understanding in the fulfillment of the delicate functions entrusted to him. As an orator he was brilliant, eloquent, witty. When it was necessary to enter into polemics he could be sharp and even ironical, but at all times courteous and considerate. Socially, he was a man of the world, of great personal charm, with the simplicity and the natural manner of great men.

Adlai Stevenson leaves of his passage through life a profound imprint. He leaves in his country that owes him so much a profound mark. He leaves a mark in the United Nations which he so vigorously defended. He leaves a mark in the world which he understood so well. He leaves his imprint in the hearts of his friends who will never forget him. The death of Adlai Stevenson opens a great vacuum in the intellectual world, in the world of letters, in the world of politics, in the world of diplomacy. It leaves a vacuum in his country and it leaves a vacuum in the world.

His understanding of the true causes of present-day problems, his great concern with social affairs, his untiring defense of peace and concord among nations, his knowledge of man and his stanch defense of the ideals in which he believed—all of this manifested in his public acts, in his words, his writing

and his actions—had made of him the prototype of the intellectual who uses his culture for the benefit of mankind.

Stevenson was not happy with the egotistical pleasure of having a vast culture for himself. His constant preoccupation with the well-being of the less favored in the world and with the true grandeur of his country made him at all times place that culture at the service of others. That is why he will always be remembered with admiration and respect, both by his partisans and his adversaries.

The death of Adlai Stevenson will be felt most especially in the United Nations, where we had become used to having him as head of his country's delegation. There were those who agreed with the views he upheld and those who did not, but no one can deny that Stevenson, because of his great love for peace, his profound human feeling and his faith in negotiation, was at all times a guarantee in the most difficult situations. It will not be easy to fill the void that he leaves with his death.

To the great American people, to President Johnson, to Mr. Stevenson's family, I convey my words of condolence. May the good and generous man, the true and sincere statesman, the refined diplomat, the perfect gentleman, who was Adlai Stevenson rest in peace.

May these words of mine be accepted as the modest tribute of a sincere friend to the great man whose memory will continue to guide future generations in the search for peace and justice in our world.

ADDRESS BY ARCHIBALD MACLEISH AT A MEMORIAL CEREMONY FOR AMBASSADOR ADLAI E. STEVENSON, IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY HALL, UNITED NATIONS, MONDAY, JULY 19, 1965

I am deeply conscious of the privilege of speaking of Adlai Stevenson in this company and in this place, this room which has heard his remembered voice so often.

I am conscious too of the responsibility and burdened by it, for it is here, and perhaps only here, that something might be said of him which would touch, or almost touch, the indefinable, rare thing he was. When Adlai Stevenson spoke at the memorial service for Eleanor Roosevelt who had come home, he said, to the Rose Garden at Hyde Park for the last time, he told her friends that it was not her life they had lost—she had lived that out to the full: it was the thing she was "* * * And who can name it?"

Who can name what he was? Not I certainly. But if there is a room anywhere in which it can be spoken of, it is this one. Not because—not only because—the United Nations was, for so many years, the center of his life and of his concern, but for a different reason: because the Organization itself, the nature of the Organization, creates a perspective in which a life like Adlai Stevenson's might perhaps be seen—in which it might assume the nobility, the significance, which are its inward form.

In the ordinary context, the context to which our age is increasingly accustomed, a life like his becomes a puzzle, a contradiction, which even those who love him—and this room is full of those who love him—cannot readily resolve. Our generation, and not in the United States alone, not only in the United States—is obsessed by a view of human life which leaves no room for any human greatness or magnificance but one. Power fascinates us, and the exercise of power, and we judge our public figures by the power they dispose of, by the offices they hold which give them access to the thrust of power. Adlai Stevenson cannot be measured by these measures: cannot be known or recognized by them or even named.

He had no taste for power, no desire for it. The unforgettable speech in which he accepted the inevitability of his nomination for the Presidency was a portrait of himself as ill-advised politically as it was personally honorable. And the two disastrous and superb campaigns which he conducted were proof that his reluctance at the start was not the reluctance of political calculation but of passionate belief. When he said, years afterward, that he would like to be remembered for those unsuccessful ventures, for those two defeats, he meant that there are some things in the life of a democracy more important than to come to power—more important ultimately than the possession of the power.

And yet, as the last few days have demonstrated, it is in terms of power or of the failure to come to power that his life is still most commonly conceived. In the shock and sorrow of his sudden death, the minds of those who wrote and spoke of him went back again and again, over and over, with admiration and regret and more sometimes than admiration or regret, to what were called the contradictions and the paradoxes of his history. He was, we were reminded, a great political figure who had never held a great political office; a master of the art of government who had governed only in his own State; a public man unsuccessful somehow in public life—too fine for it, perhaps; a Hamlet who thought too long too deeply, who doubted too scrupulously, who could never permit himself to be as sure as an American politician in the fifties were supposed to be sure, that that voice beneath the battlements urging to violence and revenge was the king his father's voice.

Well, it was true in part of course—true that he thought long and deeply—true that he had the courage of his doubts—true, too, that he was skeptical of hatred and its prophets in a day when the great majority of his fellow citizens were listening to those prophets and believing them. But the conclusions most often drawn from these observations are not true. Hamlet dies to those heartbreaking words in which the pity overwhelms the grief: Good night, sweet Prince. In Adlai Stevenson's death there is no room for pity. Those of us who mourn him and will always mourn him think of him not as a man defeated in his purpose but as a man victorious in it; not as a man whose life was a contradiction and a paradox but as a man whose life had a particular singleness, an unusual wholeness, its own law.

And it is here in this room, I think, that that wholeness best appears. For the United Nations, though it knows and suffers from our contemporary trust in power, is dedicated to another end: the subordination of power to the hope for peace—which is to say the hope for humanity. Those qualities in Adlai Stevenson which seemed, in other surroundings, to be traits of character, attributes of personality—his warmth, his charm, his considerateness, his intelligence, his humor, his devotion, his incisiveness, his eloquence—were fused here, in their employment in the noblest of all causes, to compose a complete man, a man so balanced, so harmonious as a human being, that his greatness passed almost unnoticed while he lived.

His effectiveness here, his services to this organization and to the country to which his life was given, others have spoken of and will speak. They were great services, greatly rendered. But the most important thing about them, or so it seems to me, was their humanity. It is not, in the long history of civilization, the accomplishment which counts but the manner of the accomplishment. Works of will are notoriously short-lived and even works of intellect can fail when the intelligence is cynical or dry. It is only when the end is reached through the human heart as well as through the human mind that the accomplishment is certain to endure. And it is for that reason that Adlai Stevenson seems certain of remembrance.

His great achievement was not political triumph or, indeed, triumph of any kind. His great achievement was the enrichment of his time by the nature of his relationships with his time. If his intelligence was remarkable it was remarkable, even more than for its clarity, by its modesty, its humor, its total lack of vanity or arrogance. If he was one of the great articulators of his time, one of the few, true voices, it was because the words he spoke were the words of his own thought, of his deepest and most personal conviction. It was himself he gave in word and thought and action, not to his friends alone but to his country, to his world. And the gift had consequences. It changed the tone and temper of political life in the United States for a generation. It humanized the quality of international exchanges throughout a great part of the world. It enlightened a dark time.

Which means, I suppose, that Adlai Stevenson's great achievement was himself. What we have lost as he said of his friend, Mrs. Roosevelt, is not his life. He lived that, if not to the full, at least more fully than almost any other man. What we have lost is himself. And who can name the warmth and richness of it?

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN RUSK AT A MEMORIAL CEREMONY FOR AMBASSADOR ADLAI E. STEVENSON IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY HALL, UNITED NATIONS, MONDAY, JULY 19, 1965

Colleagues and friends, his family and his fellow countrymen are grateful that so many from so many lands are gathered in this great hall to pay respect to Adlai Stevenson. Today he returns to the soil which gave him birth—as we gather here at the United Nations which had become the very fiber of his life.

We have been deeply moved by what has been said here today—and by the messages which have come from all over the earth. For these are messages which leap over the frontiers of nation, cultural tradition, or ideology, messages which brush aside the passing differences of present controversy and recall that Adlai Stevenson's hopes, dedication, and passionate concern encompassed all mankind.

You and we who have worked alongside him day by day have lost a talented colleague in our most stimulating profession—a profession corporately bound together in the unrelenting search for peace. And what an inspiring colleague he was.

His restless conviction that things were never good enough sustained his zest and joy in public service. But his exultation in a further step toward peace was short lived, for there was always the unfinished business still to be done—the next step which consumed his energy and imagination.

Adlai Stevenson deeply respected the colleagues with whom he labored in this United Nations and treasured the friendships nourished in this place. It is true that he had the capacity for forceful advocacy—when advocacy was needed. But he also had the perception to see that all issues worthy of debate are complex and are seen differently—and honestly—from other points of view. Thus, if his talents blazed bright from the public platform, his skills were no less luminous in the professional arts of quiet diplomacy. For he had the wisdom to seek always to see problems as they are seen by others, even though he might himself not be able to share their view.

He had the discrimination to separate the important from the unimportant. And he had the endless patience—the tolerance and restraining moderation—to sustain him through the sometimes exhausting work of mediation and accommodation.

He knew, as do all who are schooled in the great traditions of diplomacy, that it is never too early to anticipate difficulty in order to

prevent it and never too late to lay the hand of reason upon a crisis in order to solve it.

His colleagues were never bored; perhaps it was with Adlai Stevenson in mind that one editor defined a liberal as "independent and surprising." In private this public man was a warm and entertaining friend, perceptive of the ironies of politics and statecraft, given to illuminating shafts of sardonic wit, obviously worried about the behavior of nations but deeply confident about the nature of man. Because he believed so thoroughly in what he was doing and enjoyed so immensely the doing of it, he poured out his energies to the full—and to the very end.

In these past few days it has been said, over and over again, that Adlai Stevenson was a universal man. And so he was. But not merely because he was informed, well traveled, urbane, sophisticated, eloquent, and gifted; he was all of these. But his universality did not rest upon his being a prince among plain men, but upon his being a plain man even among princes. His was the simplicity of fundamental human values—with what is common in the midst of diversity—with what is permanent in the midst of change: the love of peace; the instinct of tolerance; the feeling of compassion; the devotion to human rights; the urge to act for human welfare.

This philosophy which animated Adlai Stevenson lay deep in him—permanent and indestructible. Perhaps this is what attracted him so powerfully—almost irresistibly—to the United Nations and its noble tasks. For he was committed to the principles of the charter before it was written. The preamble and the first two articles of the charter put into words what had already guided his life. And so it seems most natural that he should have spent so much of his energies in the cause of the United Nations.

He began in 1945 as an assistant to the Secretary of State and adviser to the U.S. delegation at the Charter Conference in San Francisco. He was the chief of our delegation at the Preparatory Commission in London, then a delegate to the first and second sessions of the General Assembly. It was altogether fitting that his lifework was crowned in these halls—that his last mission was to the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

The words of the charter—and his own ringing phrases which will live in literature—were more than symbols to him. They were calls to action. He used language as few men have—but used it to summon himself and others to work.

The work to which he summoned our reason and our feelings remains still to be done. The charter he kept on his desk contains only 5 pages of philosophy, followed by 50 pages of procedure.

He knew that the philosophy could lift men's vision and sustain their energies. But he also sensed that its meaning was contained not in eloquent words but in agreed procedures, in workable machinery, in arrangements that enabled the nations to work together on particular tasks—while continuing to argue about why they are working together and why they sometimes disagreed.

He had early learned the dictum of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes that general propositions do not decide concrete cases, and he worked hard and long to build that executive machinery for peace which is the real alternative to the system of war by which men and nations have always lived—by which they no longer dare to live.

And so we pay tribute to a working colleague—to a professional diplomat—to a practitioner, a craftsman, an indefatigable worker for peaceful change. And in honoring him we are affirming our determination that the peace of the world will be secured.

You and I, who worked with him, will remember Adlai Stevenson not only as an inspired voice of the conscience of man; we shall remember him and miss him and honor him, as well, as a valued professional colleague—as a brilliant public servant in the broadest and noblest sense of that term.

There is no institution which deserves such talents more than the United Nations; it calls out for the best that can be produced by the societies of man. Three Presidents of the United States sent Adlai Stevenson to the United Nations. They sent you our best.

Now that he is gone I think of the line from "Pilgrim's Progress": "So he passed over and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side." Yet something of him remains with us in this great Assembly hall.

Buildup in Vietnam: Some Pointed Questions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, two recent editorials by the New York Times raise important questions and cast the present conflict, along with any new U.S. buildup in Vietnam, in essential perspective.

As the New York Times wisely suggests, between complete and immediate withdrawal and forcing Hanoi to sue for peace on American terms, "there is a whole gamut of possible settlements that would not be at all dishonorable to any except those demanding a complete victory over the Vietcong and North Vietnam."

It is in this context, as the Times indicates, and as I have pointed out on previous occasions, that positions standing on "American honor" and "our word" must be seriously questioned.

And, as the Times quite correctly points out, if the United States should become engaged in a major and protracted land war in southeast Asia, "the temptation is obvious to Communist China to exert pressure in Korea, and to the Soviet Union to do the same in Berlin—two tinderbox areas where the American commitment is even deeper than in Vietnam, and the American interest more vital."

Mr. Speaker, these are pointed and pertinent observations that deserve our thoughtful attention.

The articles follow:

[From the New York Times, July 21, 1965]

BUILDUP IN VIETNAM

The most recent visit of Secretary of Defense McNamara and Ambassador-designate Lodge to Vietnam has come at a time when the Vietnamese war appears to be escalating to the proportions of a different and more sinister Korea. It comes, too, after both President Johnson and Mr. McNamara have warned the Nation that the limited Reserve callup, extension of enlistments and increased draft calls might be necessary.

Plainly, the visit marks the failure of one policy and the substitution of another. Until now, the policy the United States has been following in Vietnam was based upon a plan evolved by Gen. Maxwell Taylor, who, when he was Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, vigorously opposed large commitment of American combat units to the Asiatic continent.

It is now clear that President Johnson is formulating a Vietnamese policy geared to the concept of committing increasing numbers of ground troops to offensive operations against the Vietcong in the south and to severing the Vietcong supply lines to the north. Public thinking is being prepared for a buildup of American military strength in Vietnam to something in the neighborhood of 200,000 men, and there is no certainty that even that will prove enough.

Escalation has its own perverse logic; the less effective it proves, the more insistent become the demands to do more and more. This is among the greatest of the dangers against which the United States must guard as it starts down an increasingly perilous path in Asia. The bombing of Communist supply lines in North Vietnam has obviously failed to destroy the combat capabilities of the Vietcong—so now demands are heard for bombing Hanoi and Haiphong and thus vastly increasing the threat of direct intervention by Peiping and Moscow.

It is obviously futile to bemoan the past miscalculations that have contributed to making the present options so somber; the immediate problem is to make sure that new investment in men and materiel is made on terms that offer maximum hope for effectiveness at minimum cost in casualties and minimum risk of extending the war.

To send large numbers of American troops into the jungles to compete with the Vietcong in guerrilla combat would surely mean heavy losses, with doubtful prospect of discouragement to the enemy. A more promising strategy—and one more likely to hold down the toll in American lives—is that of utilizing overwhelming superiority in air and sea power to retain defensible areas along the coast.

The shakiness of the Government of Saigon and the terrible strain the long conflict has put upon the Vietnamese people complicate the difficulties; but they make even more urgent the broad endeavor this country has initiated to develop programs for raising economic standards in Vietnam and southeast Asia.

In the United States, now facing—as in the Berlin crisis—a limited mobilization, there must be immediate attention by Congress and the Pentagon to the serious personnel and materiel deficiencies, not only of the regular services but also of the National Guard and Reserves. The combat effectiveness and readiness of the Armed Forces and their reserves have been impaired for many reasons, including long overstrain and stretching available forces too thinly to cover too many commitments.

Herein, of course, lies another danger, probably the most serious of all. As the American land force commitment in Vietnam increases, so does the likelihood of Communist military pressure in one or another part of the world where the United States is equally committed—and with better reason. If the United States does become enmeshed in this major land war in southeast Asia, the temptation is obvious to Communist China to exert pressure in Korea, and to the Soviet Union to do the same in Berlin—two tinderbox areas where the American commitment is even deeper than in Vietnam, and the American interest more vital.

[From the New York Times, July 22, 1965]

AMERICAN HONOR IN VIETNAM

Speaking of Vietnam in a recent press conference President Johnson said: "Our national honor is at stake. Our word is at stake." It was not the first time that the administration has taken this position, but the emphasis and the timing of Mr. Johnson's remark gave it special importance.

The commitment involved in the President's statement is so portentous that it deserves careful examination. Obviously, if the honor of the Nation is at stake to such a degree that American aims must be achieved, then the struggle is a war to the finish whatever the cost. If the United States were to lose its honor in Vietnam it would lose its predominant place in world affairs, while the Communist bloc would win a victory of staggering proportions. This, clearly, would be unacceptable.

But the question does arise whether the honor of the United States is at stake in such a drastic and precise sense of the word. If the United States were to give up, pull out of Vietnam and leave the country to its fate there would, of course, be a loss of honor—but very few Americans would argue for such a solution today. Between doing that and forcing Hanoi to sue for peace on American terms there is a whole gamut of possible settlements that would not be at all dishonorable to any except those demanding a complete "victory" over the Vietcong and North Vietnam.

A statement like the one Mr. Johnson made arouses uneasiness because of its categorical nature. The stakes in the Vietnamese conflict are being raised steadily. The Vietnamese conflict—and no one needs to tell this to Washington—holds within it the possibility of a war with Communist China and a world war.

It is neither cynicism nor appeasement to point out that the word "honor" is not a scientific but an emotionally charged term of very high voltage. If President Johnson means that Americans would not accept a defeat so humiliating that it represents a loss of national honor, he is right. The risk comes in determining when, if or how honor would be lost. There are even such things as honorable defeats and dishonorable victories. And in between are all kinds of compromises that are neither one thing nor another—but sensible and realistic.

In international politics it is wise to avoid extreme positions. American honor must by all means be preserved; it should, however, be given a reasonable connotation.

A Statement of Peter W. Rodino, Jr., in Commemoration of the 13th Anniversary of the Puerto Rican Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, we commemorated the 13th anniversary of the constitution of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. In doing so, we recognize the quality of a people who have proved themselves capable of governing themselves through representative institutions.

Any people who have undertaken and advanced the industrial development of their land by their own initiative as have the people of Puerto Rico must be qualified likewise to take responsibility for their own political affairs.

In a few decades the Puerto Rican people have increased the industrial productivity of their land many times over. They have done so not by means of totalitarian control over the minds and bodies of persons, but by the exercise of personal freedom and initiative.

And their industrial accomplishment, which renders their initiative and intelligence apparent for all to see, has enhanced in the people of Puerto Rico that self-confidence which is the indispensable foundation of democratic self-government.

In 1940, Puerto Ricans lacked three factors essential to production. They lacked capital; they lacked raw materials; and they lacked technical know-how.

The Economic Development Administration, popularly called Fomento, is a public agency established in 1942 which has invited, encouraged, and fostered private enterprise on the island. It does so by helping manufacturers find investment funds. It rents factory buildings at low rentals with a view to eventual purchase by producers. It makes studies to determine advantageous possibilities of production. It gives workers the opportunity to acquire skills needed by industry.

In 1949, there were 52 factories in Puerto Rico. At the present time, there are more than a thousand.

Industrialization is making up more and more for the island's lack of materials for manufacture. It is doing so in two ways: first, by increasing exports so that more materials for industry can be imported; second, by producing such materials as chemicals and textiles.

As far as scientific and technological know-how is concerned, Puerto Ricans have displayed a remarkable determination to acquire vocational training and higher education. Many hundreds of Puerto Ricans are taking vocational training courses today, and enrollment at the University of Puerto Rico has increased more than four times over since 1940.

The sense of responsibility with which Puerto Ricans face public issues, and the praiseworthy degree of voter participation, render meaningful their step-by-step advance toward political autonomy.

By the Foraker Act of 1900, Puerto Ricans had the right only to elect their representatives in the lower house of the legislature. The President of the United States appointed the members of the upper house, as well as the Governor and his cabinet.

The Jones Act of 1917 granted U.S. citizenship to Puerto Ricans and the right to elect the members of the senate as well as the house of delegates.

An amendment to the Jones Act in 1947 provided for popular election of the Governor. The people elected as their first Governor the man who had shown the way toward economic development, social justice, and political liberty—Luis Muñoz Marin, leader of the Popular Democratic Party.

The constitution which the Puerto Rican people adopted and which went into effect on July 25, 1952, provides for popular self-government with respect to insular affairs and provides at the same time the advantages of Federal union. The political status of Puerto Rico is unique. It is that of an associated free state—Estado Libre Asociado.

I am sure that I speak for all members in congratulating Governor Roberto Sánchez-Vilella; the distinguished Resident Commissioner, SANTIAGO POLANCO-ABREU, and the people of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico on this anniversary commemoration of their constitution.

Bank Hosts Bay State's Counterpart

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, recently, 14 members of the Partners of the Alliance Committee in Medellin, Antioquia, Colombia, visited the United States to attend the first Inter-American Partners of the Alliance Conference here in Washington and to visit their counterpart Partners Committee in Massachusetts.

One of the leaders of the Massachusetts committee has been John A. W. Richardson, vice president of the International Division of the First National Bank of Boston.

The recent house publication of the bank described the visit of the Antioquians to Massachusetts and outlined the outstanding program arranged for them by committee chairman, Anthony Faunce.

Under unanimous consent I include the article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

BANK HOSTS BAY STATE COUNTERPART

Fourteen Colombian businessmen and educators were guests of the Bank last month during their visit to Massachusetts as part of the Massachusetts-Antioquia Partnership for Progress. Antioquia is one of the leading departments ("state" in this country) of Colombia and is similar in many ways to the Bay State

The Colombians returned a visit to Antioquia made last winter by a group from Massachusetts. They were greeted in Washington on the first leg of their journey north by Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY (Democrat of Massachusetts), and by Representative F. BRADFORD MORSE (Republican of Lowell), chairman and vice chairman respectively of the Massachusetts committee of the Partnership for Progress, and John A. Sisto, assistant vice president.

ATTEND CONFERENCE

During their 2-day stay in the Capital, the Colombian businessmen attended the first inter-American conference of the "Partners of Alliance," and met with State Department officials. Highlight of the conference was an address by Secretary of State Dean Rusk who was introduced by John A. W. Richardson, vice president, of the International Division, and a member of the Massachusetts committee.

Purpose of the trip to the Bay State was to study modern industrial and educational techniques.

TOUR BANK

On their itinerary was a tour of the data processing center, where they were also guests of the Bank for lunch, plus a study of the Head Office.

Part of the Alliance for Progress, Massachusetts-Antioquia is designed to help Colombians compare their activities with

those of a political subdivision similar to theirs.

Massachusetts and Antioquia industrialized early, have heavy investments in the textile industry, and "have business groups which have won success through hard work, imagination and judgment."

SAME PROBLEMS

Moreover, the states face similar problems in areas of water pollution, industrialization, automation, and unemployment.

Antioquia itself is 1 of the 17 departments of Colombia, having 2.5 million people out of a total Colombian population of 17 million and comprising 5½ percent of the nation's total area. Its capital, Medellin, has a population of 780,000. The climate ranges from tropical along the coast to pleasant 70-degree year-round temperatures at Medellin.

INDUSTRIALIZED EARLY

There are over 2,200 miles of roads in Antioquia which produces 75 percent of the gold and 85 percent of the silver output of the country. There are also large coal resources and an oilfield within the department.

Because of the early importance of mining, the poverty of the soil, potential power sources, and early trade contacts, Antioquia turned to textiles, their leading products, and is now the No. 1 manufacturing center in Colombia.

Like most Latin American nations, Colombia faces severe problems of economic growth, monetary stability, and the balance of international payments. Unlike many nations, however, Colombia has a highly developed private sector. Domestic private investment is more extensive than in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, or Venezuela. Local private capital controls 17 of the top 32 enterprises in the country.

Medellin, as the industrial center of the nation, has a particularly well-developed private enterprise system. Large-scale industrial enterprises were first started in the 1920's, not by the men of landed gentry, but by mule drivers, printers, coffee merchants, and small industrialists.

Change in Eastern Europe—III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the economic life of eastern and central Europe is undergoing significant transformation. The Communist model of a collectivicized, party run, and centrally directed economy has not been able to withstand the test of time. Economic stagnation is driving the regimes of that area to discuss and even to adopt economic ideas, techniques, and methods prevalent in the West.

Where will this change lead? What are its symptoms—and its significance?

These and related questions are asked, and answered, by Mr. John N. Reddin, of the Milwaukee Journal, in the third and last article summarizing his impressions of "Change in Eastern Europe." The article is entitled "West's Economic Ideas Being But To Use by Reds." Its text follows:

CHANGE IN EASTERN EUROPE—WEST'S ECONOMIC IDEAS BEING PUT TO USE BY REDS

(By John N. Reddin)

"The consumer should have the right to decide what, and what amount and quality, he wants to buy."

Government should keep hands off prices because "the mechanism of competition solves the problem of prices with a sufficient degree of accuracy."

Government should interfere with the economy "only when the operation of competition or of the law of supply and demand is violated."

"It is not the business of the central authorities to decide what should be produced and in what quantity. This is a matter for industry to decide."

These statements could come from almost any American businessman. But they come from Eugen Loebl, a Czechoslovakian economist and longtime Communist. They are widely discussed with interest in Eastern Europe, and indicate an upheaval of economic theory.

POLITICAL EFFECT SEEN

Loebl's ideas have not all gone into practice. But that they are considered seriously is striking, for they would turn the Iron Curtain to lace.

This an an upheaval that is bound to have far-reaching political effect. If the Communist Party gives up centralized economic controls, it gives up a major base of power.

To talk with east European economists is a revelation. A Yugoslav says: "We had to change economic theory because our chickens came home to roost."

A Hungarian asks: "What are interest rates in Rumania?"—and interest rates used to be Communist anathema.

A Czech says: "We have got to rely on the profit system to give people incentives."

A Rumanian says: "We were wrong to try to copy the Soviet Union's economic policies."

CONSUMER GAINS STATURE

Suddenly the consumer has become a very important man. He has been ignored and neglected to the point where he was becoming politically dangerous and unproductive. Throughout the bloc for two decades, planners tired to run economies from the top. They relied on production quotas rather than on the law of supply and demand. As a result, goods were inadequate, defective and not consumer oriented.

Various publications ridiculed these conditions. A cartoon in a Czech paper showed a factory manager telling a workman: "Now that the plan is being overfulfilled, we will need bigger warehouses in which to store defective unsold goods."

Too many factory managers have not been qualified. They got jobs because they were Communists. Arthur E. Stejskal, another Czech, wrote that if the state planned to give more responsibility to factory managers, as it does, it must do something about finding qualified people. Only 23 percent of present factory managers are qualified, he said, and 30 percent of engineers. Only 14 percent of foremen have been trained adequately. And "60 percent of the leading personnel are inadequately qualified" in the overall economy.

The tendency now is to tell factory managers that they must make a profit and compete in the marketplace. Some have latitude in setting wages and so can give workers incentive to produce more and of better quality. These things, standard in the western world, fly in the face of Communist theory. Even Neanderthal Walter Ulbricht, East German Communist boss, talks of supply and demand as though it were a Socialist discovery.

BUSINESS "REPRIVATIZED"

A horrible, but important, word in the eastern bloc is "reprivatization." It means return of activities from the public to the private sector of the economy. It certainly is not yet widespread. But it applies in some degree to artisans and craftsmen. It is virtually impossible for some people to find anyone to fix a television set, an electric iron, plumbing.

In Poland, a number of areas are "reprivatized"—including furniture, optical and precision instruments, service establishments. The state leases restaurants to some private operators and lets them hire up to 15 employees—30 if it is a resort cafe operating only in summer. The Czechs have reprivatized laundries, shoeshining, small tailor shops, carwashing, catering, and hairdressing. Hungary is extending areas where private operators are allowed.

There has been an artisan underground, with men working on the sly on their own time to furnish repair services. Most such violations are overlooked.

BANK PRACTICE CHANGED

All the nations save Poland, where most farms are in private hands, face the embarrassing fact that small private producers turn out much more production proportionally than state farms. There is talk of relying more on private farmers, although mechanization may increase state output if the governments are willing to put many present farmers out of jobs.

Yugoslavia has decentralized its banking system and has local banks which can extend credit directly to enterprises. The banks have directing boards who, when approving loans, must make sure that they are sound and profitable. Firms unable to get credit because of unsound practices will go out of business, officials insist. Other East European nations are beginning similar steps in one degree or another.

Carried to a conclusion over a few years, the result of all this must be a system not unlike that of the West. Professional managers will run factories. Boards dominated by local persons will supervise the managers. Factories will compete for raw materials, labor, production efficiency, and customers. The process of achieving all of this probably will have fits and starts and may not get far off the ground in some nations. But starts have been made.

SEEK WESTERN TRADE

The East bloc nations are increasingly interested in cooperation with Western firms. The Czech Government trade enterprise Kovo now has an association with the British firm of A. E. Callaghan & Sons, producers of textile machines.

Yugoslavia has contracted with Pan American World Airways to run a hotel in Zagreb. Poland has been dickering with the once despised Krupp combine of West Germany. Hungarian officials think that West Germany and France, because of labor shortages, might subcontract to Hungarian firms and say they have 200 projects under consideration. West European businessmen are swarming through East Europe.

Shades of Stalin, Marx, and Lenin—and of all living oldtime Communists. Their theories and doctrines are being turned inside out. That capitalism is coming to Eastern Europe officials indignantly deny. They are just "borrowing" proved methods and economic practices. But they are on the road to some form of capitalism.

UNITED STATES PRODUCES "BEST"

A further spur in this direction is inherent in the frantic desire of all these countries to trade with the United States. Except for Yugoslavia and Poland, the nations

are denied the most favored nation status. All are hampered by export controls and licensing and reluctance to grant long-term credits.

All through the bloc, nations want American chemical and other plants and techniques—because, as economists tell you, "They are the best, and even if they cost more, why should we start with second best if we want to compete in the economic world?"

Trade with the West is vital if Eastern Europe is not to remain dependent upon the Soviet Union and the nations continue to take in each other's washing. And the day that trade really comes—as the President's Commission on Trade With Eastern Europe recently said that it should, in time, the walls of Eastern Europe will come tumbling down.

Building the City of the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, with the passage of the bill establishing a Cabinet Department of Housing and Urban Development, this House recognized the urgent need for planning in the development of our new metropolitan communities.

Dr. Constantine Doxiadis, head of Doxiadis Associates of Athens, Greece, world renowned consultants on development and Ekistics, has long advocated infusing the human element in scale and design into the growth of our cities. In a recent speech before the Industrial Designers Society of America, Dr. Doxiadis put forward several interesting and stimulating proposals as to how we can make our cities of the future more convenient, more exciting, and more beautiful places to live.

Excerpts from this speech follow:

BUILDING THE CITY OF THE FUTURE

(By Dr. C. A. Doxiadis)

(An address to the Industrial Designers Society of America upon receiving the award of excellence, Apr. 30, 1965)

Living conditions in the great cities have become dangerous for man. The air we breathe is contaminated, the water of rivers and lakes is polluted; the city is noisy and smells of exhaust. Distances, in spite of high speeds, are much longer, people see each other less. There is no art in our streets and squares; as with people and flowers, it too, had to flee inside buildings. We build an inhuman and ugly city even if some of its components, as some buildings, machines and fixtures are human and beautiful.

Our entire creation does not make any sense; many examples can illustrate our failure. We now build cars and machines to run at higher speeds than before, but the result we get is strange; the higher the speed of our machine, the longer it takes the average man to reach the center of a great city. Before the discovery of machines the average time was 5 minutes; when cars ran at 30 miles an hour, the time was 10 minutes. Now that cars runs at 100 miles, the actual time is 30 minutes. At present we have higher speed of machines but less service to man in the only thing that really counts for him: time. We are proud of having reduced the number of work-hours per week, but we forget to count the number of hours we add in commuting. We are proud that we clean the air in our factories but we throw the waste out, and we breathe it in our streets and squares, while taking our refreshing strolls.

Whenever I speak in these terms, I am often asked: "Why should you worry? After all, this situation exists only in the cities." But it is right there that we live; and the fact that the air on the Himalayas is still pure cannot be any consolation to us.

Neither man nor our great cities can survive if they remain as they are. The conception and structure of the great cities of today correspond to a completely different era, the era of small cities inhabited only by human beings. We now expect them to function properly in spite of their much greater dimensions and the fact that they are inhabited more by machines than by men. It is like expecting a car of 1900 to run at a record speed of some hundreds of miles. Our cities cannot operate efficiently; they are cities doomed to death by self-strangulation.

The problems of our cities are due to their size, to the dangerous dimensions of all their problems as well as to their dynamic evolution. A great city often grows in total economic potential (population, production, income, area and investment) by 10 percent a year which means that it doubles in about every 7 years. There is no single reason, however, why man cannot deal with larger sizes. He does so in industry and war where the rate of growth is much larger than in cities. The reason why he fails in cities is not because of their size but because of man's failure to recognize its importance and to deal with its dynamic change.

The city of the future is not going to be smaller, but much larger than the greatest of the cities we know of; it will interconnect all major urban areas into a continuous, universal city. Great cities of the past, like Rome and Peiping which may have reached 1 million inhabitants, will be tiny spots within the city of the thousands of millions, while New York, London and Tokyo are to be mere neighborhoods of it. This universal city will present forces and problems of a greater magnitude than those of the cities of today. Machines of all sorts will create such problems that the present traffic congestions will look ridiculously simple.

Our cities are not satisfactory any longer due to their dimensions. What is more so, is that they will continue growing and such a growth will lead them to their death. It is about time we ask ourselves the question: are we going to let our cities get out of control and thus drive man and our civilization to death, or are we going to react?

It is due time we understand that we cannot eliminate the great cities and return to Walden, the forests and green pastures. This would not only be utopian but also wrong. We need the great cities in order to increasingly develop our civilization for the benefit of man. We need them for economic as well as for social reasons. It is only in them that we can increase our total productivity and at the same time provide man with the maximum services and facilities for education, health, leisure, and entertainment. Great cities are a natural phenomenon and a necessity for the continuation of our civilization, and as long as we want to extinct poverty and backwardness, we cannot reasonably talk about their elimination. On the contrary, we have to understand that they are only the forerunners of an even greater city to come.

Our real challenge is not to prevent the great human city to come, but to turn our present cities into properly functioning parts of it. This city in spite of its size, must turn into a unified organism, operating smoothly and providing happiness and security for all its inhabitants. Our real challenge is to make man's universal city better, more beautiful and more human than the small cities of the past.

But we fail to conceive and build the great city of man. We do not have the courage to dream of it and defend it. We prefer to evade this basic issue and let the city happen; thus it takes the worst possible form and eventually it will be led to self-elimination. This is our real failure: the lack of courage to dream, conceive and realize our dreams, "with reason and vision," as a great poet said.

It is time for man to reverse the trends and instead of letting the city emerge by itself, decide to build it with courage and belief in his own future. To achieve this, man must learn to anticipate and foresee the problems caused by dynamic growth and be prepared to face them by conceiving the city of the future.

Such a conception of a much more complicated organism requires a different system of planning for man's future. The criteria cannot be only economic any more. These may be good enough when we only try to produce food and items indispensable for our survival, but not when we build a much more complicated system to live in. We have to devise a new system based on the three criteria: economy, time, and satisfaction. The simple example that it is better for a person working 8 hours a day to commute for 10 minutes in a very small car than for 3 hours in a luxurious train or car, can help us understand the meaning of such a planning system.

If we now think in a systematic way, we will find that we are entering a new great era of man's history. After the great era of the nomadic man, the agricultural man, and finally the urban man who lived in cities and created civilization, we now enter the era of the universal or ecumenic city—interconnecting all major cities of the world—the era of ecumenization which may differ from civilization as much as civilization differed from the era before cities, more than 6,000 years ago.

The greatest characteristic of the era of ecumenization is going to be the elimination of many of the notions of the past, like the central importance of some cities within national states. The days when London was the only center for a whole empire are over; and the best illustration of this is the existence of the Comsat system of telecommunications. The whole surface of the earth now becomes our world, a world without a central location—how could there be any in the burning heart of our earth? The thin skin of our earth—16 feet thick—which we inhabit, is going to be covered by, many networks of traffic lines (our circulatory system), of power lines (our nervous system), etc.

We cannot let the networks control the very thin human crust of the earth. Man cannot continue surviving on this earth unless all networks (traffic, water, power, communications, etc.) indispensable to his city, are buried under the skin of the earth exactly as all corresponding systems of our own body are under our skin and inside our body. This is our primary task. Unless we achieve it, we will never have clean air and water on the earth, and freedom also to move on it; thus we will tend to hide ourselves inside the buildings.

But even though it is indispensable that man should travel underground within his city, he should also spend traveling as little time as possible and should be able to enjoy this time. This requires a different conception of the transportation system, probably with plastic bubbles which are going to be the human containers allowing us to sleep, sit, read, or work, irrespective of whether our container is inside our home, in a van moving to the airport, the customs, in a plane or rocket. Thus to build a new human sys-

tem of transportation becomes our second task.

We can now turn toward the third and most important task of all: the creation of the city of man on the surface of the earth, the city in which he is going to spend almost all his life. This city, now that all networks are buried underground, can be considered as human again. Freed from machines, exhaust, and noise, the surface of the earth will be a continuous natural landscape, influenced by man, only in the built-up areas. Such a landscape has the same chances of becoming a work of art, as a Japanese garden has, at the same time turning into a series of cities with a human scale just as any beautiful city of the past. The difficulty of huge dimensions should not frighten us. We can create the large city of the future as a system of hundreds or thousands of cells, each one corresponding to the best cities of the past and all of them interconnected into a hierarchial entity.

Thus we can create the ecumenic city of man—ecumenopolis—with man in control again, in a human surrounding on the surface of the earth, while machines move underground, under the skin.

The conception sounds satisfactory but can we ever implement it, or is it another utopia? The answer is that we can, not overnight, but over a period of several generations, perhaps in a hundred years from now. One proof is that man is going to build in the next 35 years, that is, up to the end of our century, as much as he has built from the beginning of civilization, 6,000 years ago. Such an activity, though, could also lead to disaster, if it were not to follow a very specific plan. This is why we should act now, otherwise our increasing production will work against and not for our human city.

How are we going to achieve this difficult goal after we complete our conception, plan, and design and we decide to act? The answer is through science, industry, machines, and automation. But machines are another cause of our problems; can they also be a solution? The answer is definitely "Yes," because it is not the machine that causes the problem, but the inability of man to use it in the most profitable way. Why is the contemporary elevator far more satisfactory than the subway, and the telecommunications more than the highway networks? The answer is not less machines but more and better ones, as long as they are used in a way profitable to man.

We live in what Arnold Toynbee called a permanent industrial revolution which we must expect to be intensified in speed and importance. We should guide it in order to help ourselves build the great city of man. We can only create the city by industrial processes. Everything else is going to be completely unrealistic.

We should mass produce in the greatest possible variety all needed elements, from underground systems and tunnels to complete houses, rooms, panels, furniture, and fixtures. In this way people can buy the last model and fix it either in a pigeonhole of a skyscraper or in an open field, or even assemble the parts they need and build them like a meccano. Thus, we will be able to provide the cheapest service of the highest quality to all people at the same time giving them the opportunity to express themselves, in a personal way.

In this way the responsibility now placed on industry is much greater than is usually thought; this is why industry has to show much greater imagination for quantitative and qualitative production than at any other time before. On it depends the realization of our dreams. When serving it we should not forget that we need a much greater production of much better goods.

Our imagination should not, though, tend to cause changes where they are not necessary. We should approach the city of man with great wisdom. As a whole this city should be completely new and different from the present big cities, but when we enter its neighborhoods, streets and squares, we should not forget that the greatest achievements that have not been surpassed are to be found in the past. It is there we should turn in order to learn what we have forgotten. We should be both conservative, where the past has created values which we cannot easily surpass, and revolutionary, where new forces require new solutions.

In dealing with production we should not forget that man alone is our measure, and that the closer we come to him the smaller can be the changes. We cannot change the sizes of our clothing nor of the items we touch, like drinking glasses or forks. I think that we can accept as a rule that the closer we are to man and his senses, the smaller we should expect the changes to be in the sizes of our accessories, rooms and spaces.

The same does not hold true for forms and materials. We should strive for much more human forms in many of our products. The changes in the materials we use and our conception about them may in many respects be of revolutionary importance. Is there any reason, for example, why we should not cover many of the machines hurting us with rubber or plastic?

Improved forms and materials should tend to serve our senses best, and not our eyes only as they usually do, because esthetics should not only be limited to the visual appearance of things. Esthetics is the discipline dealing with our senses—and we must please all of them.

We can improve our production enormously if we always think and believe in man, providing the best quality for his senses, intellect, body and movements. The story of a Chinsese dancer should remind us that walking is not a burden as it is thought of by some of the modern centaurs, who are half-men and half-cars. This dancer visited an old temple upon a hill. He walked up a long flight of steps and than ran down them. Up he walked again carefully and down again he ran. "What is wrong?" the monks asked him. "There are two steps missing" he answered; and when they protested that nothing was missing from their monument, he asked them to dig up the start of the steps where they found the two missing ones covered by the soil. The stairs were designed in a way to correspond to a rhythmical movement of man helping him not to walk, but subconsciously dance. Man has been able in the past to create much more refined surroundings than at present. We should reconquer this ability and even surpass it.

It may look quite strange to some to expect these fine esthetic achievements through industrial production, which they easily connect with artless forms. Trying to create our entire city or the major part of it with all its elements—big and small, stable or mobile—through industry frightens many people because of two dangers: first, because of the uniformity of the final snythesis due to the mass production of all its parts, and second, because of the lack of art due to the impersonal industrial process. It is worth discussing these two problems.

Industrial production by itself does not necessarily lead to uniformity. What it does is a guided industrial production which creates certain items as decided and desired by a few people only. Then, even if these items are excellent, we have by necessity a total synthesis lacking variety and interest both for the individual user, who has no choice for selection, and for the whole community which must live within a uniform surrounding. The means to avoid this danger is through free competitive industry, which thus appears to be indispensable not for economic reasons only but also for esthetic ones.

The second danger, the lack of art, is not related to the impersonality of the industrial process at all, but only to the people who guide industry and design for it. We simply notice the lack of art in the industrial products because we see them more often and by necessity discuss them more than the nonindustrial goods or expressions of art. What we need is the right people to guide our production, the right leaders in industry, and the right designers.

The discussion about the lack of existence of art in the industrial production brings us close to the broader question of the art which man produces today and its crisis. It is a fact that we are in a crisis due to the transitional period we are passing through; we have broken the statues of the gods of the past, but we cannot agree on the new ones to be erected. Everyone has his own god, everyone tries to erect his statue—sometimes to his god, sometimes to himself.

This is a real problem: our art has turned into a very personal affair. Some try to express their emotions and feelings; sometimes they are understood and some other times they are not; and as those who are not understood by far outnumber those who are, our art becomes more and more personal. Real art, however, art which has led to orders and styles was always understood and respected by society as a whole; it was not personal but impersonal or social art. When the ancient Greeks or the Renaissance Italians created a new temple or palace, this was an evolution of previous styles, an evolution which was sometimes so small that it was not understood by the nonexperienced. It took generations for the creation of a style, and every artist was simply serving an evolutionary process with full respect to both the past and the future. When a builder created a house in a city, he had to achieve the best under the prevailing conditions; otherwise, the next project was given to someone else. The growth of the city was so slow and its size so small that everybody had the time to criticize the newest creation. Any change in the new buildings had to be completely understood and justified by the community. Through trial and error man rejected the solutions which could not help him and developed those that served him best. Through this process great styles were created, which belonged to the whole community. They were impersonal. Now every one of us wants his own style overnight. And thus we go wrong.

In our critical period, the great size of our cities and the speed of their growth do not allow the normal process of trial and error to operate easily in every case. Industrial production of goods can help us not only produce a more useful and better environment for man, but also clear the confused situation of our art. Industrial production is by necessity impersonal both because of the mass production process, where many and not one are the decision makers, and because of the marketing process of goods. During the whole process of production and use many forces balance the final choice. Such participation of the whole community in the decisionmaking about industrial products is exactly a repetition of the age-old evolution of art which led to the creation of natural styles.

And how about the designers themselves, how about their ego and their self-expression, how about their personal art? Are they ever going to be satisfied by serving a process? I learned in my life that every time I was able to understand a problem and help in its solution, I was more and more a simple catalyst between the forces that created the problem and those that could solve it. I very often felt like a trunk of a tree which connects the soil and the roots with the foilage and the fruit. The more I learned from the past and the present, the more I forgot my presence in the process, the better were the results.

Such statements will be completely understood by those who successfully struggle for the solution of many problems. They must have discovered by now the secret of real creation. And I hope that they will also be understood by those who are only now starting their career. Such truths are not unique in the design process; other artists have also found them; I will mention a similar conviction of a great poet, T. S. Eliot: "The progress of an artist is a continual self-sacrifice, a continual extinction of personality."

Technology and Connecticut Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the text of an address by Arthur B. Bronwell, dean of the school of Engineering, University of Connected, located at Storrs, in my congressional district. The address was delivered last April at the conference on scientific and technological briefing for management held at the university.

Entitled "Changing Horizons in Technology," it discusses the course of technology and its effects on industry and our Nation's economic development in the future. I am pleased to commend this address to all my colleagues and to the public generally because it contains some very interesting views and thoughts. It reads as follows:

CHANGING HORIZONS IN TECHNOLOGY

(By Arthur B. Bronwell, dean of engineering, University of Connecticut)

In the course of a nation's development there are turning points when new outlooks, new perspectives and new goals are needed. I believe that today we are at one of those turning points, and that the future course of technology, as well as of industry and of our Nation's economic development, will be profoundly affected thereby.

We in Connecticut live in a prosperous State which has a thriving technologically oriented industry. Connecticut, perhaps as much as almost any State in the Union, has profited by the bounties of modern technology. A quick run-down on some of the products—electronics, chemicals, atomic powered submarines, jet engines, helicopters, metals, nuclear power, plastics, infrared, space exploration, and fuel cells—provides convincing evidence of this fact. A strongly science-oriented company doesn't necessarily have to be a large company, for some very successful and aggressive ones are small companies. But it must have certain ingredients, among these being a management that understands modern technology and gives it full support; a research-oriented program staffed with alert, competent and creative engineers and sicentists; and an organization throughout that can successfully implement technological goals.

It is becoming increasingly clear that large segments of our Nation's industries are technologically impoverished, and that this is a matter of grave national consequence. The major impact of technology has been in those industries that are either military or space oriented. In industries such as electronics, chemicals, aeronautics, and the space sciences, the billions of dollars of Federal support have produced miraculous transformations. These industries boast of the finest research laboratories in the world staffed by the ablest scientific and engineering brains that money can buy.

Nothing succeeds like success is the age-old maxim. And success can compound itself rapidly when it is backed by the multibillion dollar military preparedness program and the equally beneficient space exploration program.

But the lost voice is that of the civilian industries that have been bypassed by the onrush of science and technology. These industries constitute a large segment of the total of our Nation's economy. Some of them have stood on the sidelines and watched the technological procession go by. Today they are vulnerable to the ravages of foreign competition or of competition from those companies which have shared generously in the Federal bounty.

Survival of the fittest is the law of nature, and likewise it is the axiom of economic survival. Why worry about industries that fall behind? But the problem isn't this simple. The issue bites deeply. Our Nation's technological growth has been tipped on end and severely warped by the decisions of Government, primarily the decisions to build an invincible military power and to be first in the race to the moon. It is difficult to dispute these goals. Survival is our Nation's No. 1 goal, for without this all else dissolves into meaninglessness.

At a time when approximately 70 percent of the Nation's total research and development costs are supported by the Federal Government, one might well ask what happens to those companies that are not on the receiving end of this pipeline? Most of these companies have not built up research capabilities that will enable them to use modern technologies—indeed they know very little about modern technology. Yet they form a large part of the backbone of our Nation's industry and its economy.

In Connecticut, we have seen enough of the bitter sting that accompanies the flight of American industry to foreign lands to know something of its consequences. The closing up of the watch manufacturing industry as it took flight to Switzerland; the extinction of much of the typewriter industry, which has now gone off to Sweden and Italy; the flight of the textiles to Japan and England have all taught us a bitter lesson of the consequences of lagging technologies—and there are others that are now in just as precarious circumstances.

This is a compelling national problem. It is in critical need of national policy. It is all well and good for those in the industries which have built up enormous technological power through Government financed military and space contracts to boast about the invincibility of American industry in competition with foreign industries. But perhaps this is like that poetic quip: "The rain falls upon the just and the unjust. But the just get wet because the unjust have borrowed their umbrellas."

At present, we have no national policy respecting this vital sector of American industry. The "haves" and the "have nots" are pulling farther and farther apart, and the situation is growing increasingly precarious for the "have nots." Furthermore, it is not an easy matter for a company or an industry that has had no tradition in technology to suddenly launch out into research. They wouldn't know where to start, and it is unlikely that anything of consequence would be produced. Many companies are too small to support research. They acquire its benefits as a fallout from association with larger research-oriented companies.

It seems timely that we recognize that some segments of American industry are seriously lagging in technological development, and that this is an unhealthy situation for our national economy, as well as a threat to the continued survival and prosperity of these industries. Just as an example, how would one go about automating a textile company, using the latest automation and computer methods, such as those that might be employed in an automobile manufacturing plant? This would require a whole new approach, probably entirely new designs of the machinery of production, the methods of material handling, the use of computers in scheduling and controlling machines, and a vast array of other innovations.

Indeed, automation itself is going through rapid obsolescence, as is becoming quite evident to many machine tool manufacturing companies. Computers are now used to direct, schedule, and control intricate sequential operations that in earlier days of automation were handled by relatively simple and unsophisticated methods. Automation today requires a much higher order of technological knowledge than that of even a decade ago. This is the inevitable price of progress.

We are at a turning point in industrial growth. It is the problem of inculcating research and technology in companies and whole industries that know very little about the modern technologies. To a person skilled in the advanced technologies, the difference between a science-oriented company and one which has had no research tradition is as the difference between night and day. But it is very difficult to bring on the dawn in companies that may not even be able to see the importance of technology in their own future.

I have intimated that this will become a matter of national policy. Immediately the free enterpriser recoils—government interfere with private enterprise? We'll have none of it. So let me be more explicit.

1. We must clearly recognize that there are industries in which there exists a high degree of technological vauum and that these industries must either mount vigorous technological offensives or face economic strangulation.

2. There is no easy road in acquiring technology. It is a long, difficult climb. But its ingredients will certainly require at least the following:

(a) Technological knowledge: Management itself must become broadly knowledgeable about modern technology. Engineering staffs must crawl out of their shells of empiricisms and enlarge their outlooks with respect to the modern technologies. Frankly we haven't done a very good job of communicating information about technology and its promising new developments. Entirely new approaches are needed.

(b) Educational programs, conferences, and workshops will be needed for management and engineering staffs. Effective means must be found to bring the vast storehouse of knowledge of the new technologies, acquired in federally sponsored research programs, into better focus.

(c) The companies themselves must clearly understand the imperative need of employing highly creative engineers and scientists to undertake research, and then avoid the temptation of circumscribing their activities too closely. Research must be given a dignified, top-level position in the company—not merely tacked on somewhere as an appendage.

(d) Industrywide research may be necessary in order to gain rapid momentum. Research is big business. Seldom does a small company have the resources to mount a vigorous research program. The exception, of course, is the company that deals in a specialized scientific product where the president has a Ph. D. degree and is far ahead of the game. And don't be afraid that the other fellow will steal your secrets. This is a defeatist policy, as the science-oriented industries found out rather early. A company has far more to gain than to lose by throwing open wide the doors and windows to knowledge.

(e) Bring in consultants—people who are intimately acquainted with the newer tech-

nologies and who can translate this knowledge into the particular industry's problems. They will think differently. Listen to them.

(f) As much as possible of this effort should be through the initiative of private enterprise. Tax incentives—generous, encouraging, and stimulating tax incentives—will be needed. No company ever acquired technology on a shoestring, and this problem will not be licked on an austerity budget. But we must remember that some of the companies are now hanging over the cliff financially. Tax incentives are meaningless to a company that doesn't have enough earnings to pay taxes.

(g) Let us make no mistake about the order of magnitude of this undertaking. This is a big program; it will be a long-range program; and the costs will be high. Government will have a role to play, and so will the universities. Government has played quite a role in the science and technology buildup of those companies that have participated in the military and space programs. This year alone, over $5 billion will be poured into these companies for research and development. Let's face it—Government financing is today a prime mover in our Nation's scientific and technological progress. Just contemplate for a moment what would happen to the research staffs of any one of the 20 largest companies of the Nation or what would happen to our universities if Government were to suddenly withdraw all of its research and development support. Many company executives and university officials have had nightmares over this problem. The initiative and the performance, however, must largely rest with private enterprise—and the universities.

(h) It would be a tragic mistake for Government to establish research laboratories to solve industry's problems.

(i) The universities will have an important role to play. Their engineering and science faculties are working at the very frontiers of knowledge. Through their research programs, they are contributing significantly to the development of new technologies. But above all, they are educating the people upon whom industry must depend for its technological leadership. Evening graduate study programs, such as those of the University of Connecticut—which today enrolls over 700 graduate students from industry, all of whom have completed bachelor's degrees and are working toward their master's degrees in graduate centers in Hartford, New London, Stamford, Waterbury and on the Storrs campus—provide a powerful leverage for technological advance. Research and doctoral degree programs on the university campus are contributing greatly to the discovery of new knowledge and the education of people who can provide our Nation's technological leadership. The universities will provide the focal center of much of the educational work that will be needed. But much of this will be a whole new order of magnitude of responsibility for the universities and it will require organization, manpower, and money.

Let us take a few moments to examine some of the other technological deficits that our Nation faces.

Certainly one of these which stares us in the face is the technological depravity of virtually all of our Nation's large cities. With our ICBM missiles, we can hit a gnat's eyebrow at a range of 5,000 miles. But the population living in the suburbs of any one of our major cities every day of the week is fighting a battle of hopeless confusion, congestion, and frustration in going to and from work in public transportation, much of which was technologically obsolete a quarter of a century ago. High speed, nonintersecting, luxurious public transportation that would whisk the people from their suburban homes into the center of large cities at speeds upwards of 150 miles per hour is technologically feasible today. In fact, in Japan and Europe such public transportation systems are operating. When one stops to consider the problem of instituting such systems in all of our Nation's major cities—New York, Boston, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Baltimore, Philadelphia, etc., the order of magnitude of the technological effort becomes self-evident; indeed, this item alone could easily consume a good fraction of our Nation's total technological manpower.

Coupled with this transportation problem is another of grave consequences. Most of our large cities are plagued with densely populated slums, of which the holocaust of Harlem is a prime example. Here millions of people live in culturally depraved, poverty and disease ridden communities, where they and their children so often cultivate diseased minds. We can airlift a whole army half way around the world, if necessary, to win a war, but we are powerless to lift the million or so people out of the inferno of Harlem and give them the kind of community life in which there can develop hope and visions, and which will give them the chance to contribute their talents to the betterment of mankind. Our Nation sorely needs bold new technological innovations on a large scale to develop the low-cost housing that will make the decentralization of populations economically feasible. Only in this way can we hope to reduce the cancerous blight that is eating away at the heart of all of our great cities. Although this problem may seem to be primarily political, sociological, and economic, don't overlook the contribution which modern technology can make in enormously reducing housing costs, and in providing commuter transportation for decentralization of the populations.

Every nation in the world is plagued with this large city slum problem. No nation has yet successfully combated it. But the promises of low cost housing, combined with high speed urban transportation, made possible by bold new technological ventures, can provide the greatest hope that mankind has ever had for decentralizing its populations and lifting the masses out of the smoldering ashes of desecrated cities.

The medical care of our people is a problem in which there is dire need for extensions of technological knowledge. Hospital and medical costs have skyrocketed, and only technology can restore them to reasonableness. Vastly improved diagnostic methods and computer interpretations will provide far more detailed and precise information as to the nature of physical ailments. Indeed, one can imagine a completely computerized and automated diagnostic clinic that would make all of the diagnostic tests, interpret the information, and yield the prognoses for final scrutiny and interpretation by the doctor. Today the electroencephalograph and electrocardiograph are being computerized in many medical centers to yield such interpretive information, and the information they yield often goes far beyond the physician's interpretative ability.

Just as one example, the problem of picking out defective hearts in a grade school or high school of 10,000 children can consume the time of several doctors and nurses for weeks, and even then the human fallibility in such routine diagnostic work is high. A recent invention of a former student has yielded a small instrument that makes this process completely automatic. A lamp lights up whenever a defective heart is encountered, and the testing can easily be administered by the physical education staff with accuracy far better than that possible with nurses and doctors. This would eliminate the need for most of the doctors and nurses in this part of the examination.

Artificial organs and implants, such as artificial hearts, lungs, kidneys, ears, larynxes, feet, legs, hands, arms, etc., are all possible today only because technology has been applied to the medical problem. It is not at all farfetched to imagine a factory that would build replacement parts for humans about like we now produce replacement parts for automobiles, although one would hope that they would be installed by someone other than a greasemonkey.

But I spoke earlier of a turning point. Let me now define this more clearly. This turning point has been clearly recognized by the Engineers' Joint Council in a far-reaching study of the trends in technology, as well as by legislation which has recently been introduced into Congress at the suggestion of the U.S. Department of Commerce.

The time has come when our Nation must redirect its visions, its efforts, and its technological goals. The deficits in technology in many of our civilian industries, in public transportation and urban development, and in numerous other segments of peaceful purposes are becoming so urgent and so imperative that we can no longer ignore these needs. A massive new offensive is needed in directions which are quite distinct from the military and space programs that have up to this time preempted so much of our human engineering and scientific resources. Perhaps this is less glamorous than the conquest of space and it certainly has less scare appeal than the military. But it is a compelling national problem that is in critical need of national policy.

Yes, we are at a turning point in technology. It is the problem of getting on with the business of accelerating the technological growth of industry and our public needs to better serve mankind. I have mentioned only a few of the aspects of this many faceted problem. One could go on and on, into all of the ramifications of technology—of accelerating fundamental and applied research so as to translate ideas into new technologies, of developing new resources, of developing the extractive technologies for recovering oil, metals, and other substances from the oceans, of accelerating atomic power and the uses of atomic sciences.

I have said nothing of the technological needs of underdeveloped nations, which in themselves are imperatives so gigantic that it could easily preempt all of the scientific and engineering manpower of the world, working through the most powerful instruments of industry and yet, after one generation, still leave most of the job undone. The fateful spectre of populations growing so fast that they eat up all the gains, is not a comforting thought. If one seriously explores the technological needs in all of its dimensions, as has been done by the Engineers' Joint Council, one soon gains the quite definite impression that the tasks ahead are of enormous dimensions.

Our patterns of technological growth are twisted and distorted, with great momentum and acceleration in certain areas, but with lethargy and instransigence in others that vitally affect our well-being and our national economy. We must seek to understand this distorted unbalance and find ways of achieving a more rational balance so that all sectors of technology will go forward with reasonable speed and in concert with the needs of our Nation and of humanity.

The Only—But Difficult—Alternative in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, the July issue of War/Peace Report contains several excellent articles

on the Vietnam problem, as have most of its recent issues, and a thoughtful editorial analyzing the courses currently open to the United States.

The sponsors of War/Peace Report are practical men, but men dedicated to progress toward a world of law and order. In a very real sense, the only practical course for men of good will in the world today is to devote all their efforts to achieving progress toward a world of law and order.

I would like to encourage my colleagues to read the entire July issue of this valuable publication. Because of its timeliness, I am including herewith the contents of the editorial, entitled "The Only—But Difficult—Alternative in Vietnam":

THE ONLY—BUT DIFFICULT—ALTERNATIVE IN VIETNAM

There are still three basic courses open to the United States in the Vietnam war:

1. Quit, and bring the boys home.
2. "Win" the war.
3. Negotiate an end to the war.

However, there are nuances in each option. To consider the three in order:

QUIT?

1. A strong case can be made that the United States never should have gone into Vietnam in the first place. If President Roosevelt had lived longer, as is suggested in Professor Battistini's historical recapitulation in the preceding pages, the French might have been halted in their efforts after World War II to reestablish their Indochinese colony. The result could have been a Tito-like regime under Ho Chi Minh, independent of Chinese and Soviet power. In the 1954–56 period the United States worked with Ngo Dinh Diem to undermine the 1954 Geneva Agreement, which provided that free elections were to be held July 20, 1956. Ho undoubtedly would have won this election and, again, he probably would have established a Tito-like regime. There were two main reasons why Ho could have been expected to set up an independent, albeit Communist regime: First, life Tito, he was a national hero who had won his own revolutionary war, and second, the Vietnamese people have a profound antipathy for the Chinese dating back many centuries.

But all that is in the past. The United States did go in, backing the Diem tryanny and its many successors. Despite these grievous mistakes of the past, the United States as a great power simply will not admit defeat before the world and withdraw its forces. The fact is that great powers just do not do that sort of thing. Besides, through wise diplomacy the United States can still help the non-Communist South Vietnamese people, as well as maintain a better American strategic position than would result from withdrawal. Therefore, from a practical standpoint, the option of straight withdrawal by the United States must be rejected.

WIN?

2. There are still some who believe the United States can "win" the war. Among them is Herman Kahn, who in the preceding pages remarks that "the best thing to do if it is possible is to win, and, in some meaningful sense, I would guess it can be done." Playing down the ideological factor, he suggests that such gimmicks as giving "battlefield commissions to especially effective enlisted men" might bring the needed improvement in morale of the Saigon forces. We suggest that the ideological factor cannot be left out; it is, in fact, the heart of the problem. Why should a man go out and get killed for a corrupt, dictatorial, reactionary regime in Saigon? We wonder if in all Mr. Kahn's broad studies he has ever found a single instance in history of a successful guerrilla operation in which the fighters did not believe devoutly in their cause and in their leadership. Who would willingly lay down his life for the new Premier, Air Vice Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky, who has ordered the building of public execution posts throughout the country to dispose of those who disagree with him? There is even less reason for Vietnamese to die for the foreigners, the Americans. Small wonder it is, then, that when the Saigon forces went on patrol seeking the Vietcong in the dangerous "Zone D" recently, they returned to their homebound pickup point 7 hours early.

Malcolm W. Browne, in his comment on Kahn's observations, makes it clear that Kahn has not offered any helpful answers. Browne says: "Give me a man with a rusty dagger, dedication, and a good knowledge of the techniques of 'dirty' political and military infighting, and I'll give you back your B-52s and divisions." It seems Browne is already being proved right about the airplanes and white-skinned troops. But, again, where would the dedication of the ground fighters come from? He suggests it might come from "a social and educational revolution at the rice roots of this unhappy nation." But could this be carried out by the military Saigon government or imposed from the outside by the Americans? Especially, could this be done with the war still going on? It seems exceedingly unlikely.

It would always be possible, in theory at least, to send in the 10 or 20 American divisions Kahn mentions to occupy Vietnam. China could be expected to enter that kind of conflict, and probably the Soviet Union, too. Even if a third world war could be avoided in such a situation—which seems doubtful—the United States would have to run a police state and practice genocide against the Vietnamese remaining in opposition.

Thus, it appears that none of the prescriptions now being offered for victory make any more sense than any of the others advanced in the last 19 years. Fortunately, the Johnson administration now seems to understand this, even though for diplomatic reasons it does not say so out loud. Secretary of Defense McNamara's press conference of June 16 was in itself a sufficient indication of this. He estimated that the regular combat forces of the Vietcong totaled 65,000 men and that in addition there are between 80,000 and 100,000 irregular guerrillas, making a total of perhaps 165,000 men. He continued: "The South Vietnamese regular and paramilitary forces facing the Vietcong total something in excess of 500,000 men. And they're facing, as I mentioned, about 165,000 guerrillas, a ratio something on the order of 4 to 1. That's considerably less than is recognized as required to effectively deal with guerrillas."

McNamara did not proceed with his arithmetic because it would have been embarrassing, but surely he has done it in private. If one uses the figures mentioned by Kahn, of 20 to 1 as the going ratio to defeat guerrillas, this would mean that an army of 3,300,000 is required to eliminate the present Vietcong force. Even with the 100,000 troops being added to the South Vietnam army and the 75,000 GIs expected to be in Vietnam soon, McNamara is still short 2,625,000 men. Should the 400,000 trained guerrillas of North Vietnam come into the war, the United States would need to add (using the same ratio of 20 to 1) an army of 8 million, which is more than three times the total number now in all U.S. services. And if the Chinese began to send in guerrillas—well, our computer got stuck on that one.

NEGOTIATE?

3. If the United States can't go home and can't win the war, that leaves only the third alternative: negotiation. However, this is not a simple procedure. Since the United States now recognizes it cannot win, it genuinely seems to want to end the war. But the other side, since it is winning the war, is quite naturally less eager to negotiate. What the United States must offer is the prospect of a reasonable settlement that will be more appealing to the insurgents than a continuation of the war.

President Johnson has gone part of the way toward making negotiations possible, but he must go still further. In commenting on the pressures that have pushed him this far, he lamented in his press conference of June 18: "You remember first we had no policy. Second, we wouldn't explain it. Third, we ought to negotiate. Fourth, we ought to have a halt in the bombing of the North. These things originate and in about a month they come to us. You will find a good deal of it in the next few weeks—negotiate directly with the Vietcong.

Johnson was quite right. The pressure to include the Vietcong (more correctly, the National Liberation Front) in negotiations increased, and the administration has gradually been responding to it. Secretary of State Rusk, replying to a question on July 4 as to whether any direct talks with the Vietcong could be held, said. "Yes, they can walk into the capital tomorrow and say, 'We are prepared to be like other South Vietnamese and discuss problems of South Vietnam on a political basis, rather than by arms.'"

Johnson could have spoken more about pressures on him, for it seems likely that at least one more must be effective if negotiations are to materialize. As Walter Lippmann put it: "In the months to come he (Johnson) will have to consider whether the only course still open to him is to encourage the Vietnamese—Hanoi, Saigon, Vietcong—to negotiate with each other. If they could work out a deal among themselves, it would no doubt mean that our influence had sunk to a very low point, except as we recovered some of it in assisting the reconstruction of the country. But there may be some consolation in the fact that a Vietnamese solution made by the Vietnamese might lay the foundations of an independent Vietnam, independent of the United States to be sure, and, in some measure, independent also of China."

The comment of Huynh Tan Phat, secretary general of the National Liberation Front, made in the interview with him in this issue is revealing on this approach. He said: "What we reject is a conference without us. We have no confidence in that. But if the interested powers agree to attend a meeting of all the Vietnamese factions, letting them freely settle all their own affairs, we would not make any objection. On the contrary. The foreign powers should confine themselves to giving suggestions, taking note of the agreement arrived at by the Vietnamese and guaranteeing its implementation."

This seems reasonable enough. After all, it is their country.

In the light of this analysis, what should the United States do now? Militarily, as Senator FULBRIGHT recently suggested, the United States should fight a holding operation until the National Liberation Front (NLF) sees it cannot force a complete U.S. withdrawal. The United States should make clear that the NLF will be included in any negotiations and, in fact, that the NLF can at some point deal directly with the Saigon government to determine the future course of South Vietnam. Once this announcement is made, it may be possible to go to the next step—a cease-fire, perhaps one of limited duration. This might be done most effectively in Moscow, since the United States, the NLF, North Vietnam, China, and the Soviet Union all have high-level representation on the spot. Saigon could be represented by the United States. Other means of achieving a cease-fire might

be through a tour of key capitals by U.N. Secretary General U Thant or the mission of the Commonwealth prime ministers. If the cease-fire could be achieved, the Saigon government, which still represents about half the people of South Vietnam, would probably require a period during which to create a representative nonmilitary government to negotiate with the NLF.

The Saigon Government and the NLF could determine whether they wanted elections in the South (which seems most likely) or in all of Vietnam. In any event, the southerners would work out what relationships they wanted with the North. Supervision on the ceasefire, and eventually the election and the withdrawal of all foreign troops, could be supervised by the U.N., or if the NLF and Hanoi balked at that, by an ad hoc international body for that purpose. As soon as possible, and this need wait for nothing, international economic aid programs should be undertaken throughout Indochina.

In this manner, or in something approximating it, the war might be brought to an end. The people of Vietnam would have peace after a generation of war. The North would have a Communist system, which it already has, but it would be enabled to keep freer of Chinese hegemony. Who can tell what government would develop in the south? If a free election were held, that alone would represent the greatest expression of freedom in all its history. It is possible that a leftist but non-Communist regime would emerge, as there are a great many non-Communists in South Vietnam not only on the government side but in the Vietcong as well. The very worst that could happen, in Western eyes, would be the south falling fully under the sovereignty of Hanoi. This seems unlikely in view of southern nationalism, but even if it did occur, the probability is that Hanoi's efforts to remain independent of China would be strengthened.

The alternative to negotiation remains open-ended escalation. So the pressures must be kept against all sides—Communist, anti-Communist, and neutral—to press on for a solution.

What's Bad for TV Is Worse for Advertising

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, some years ago, the then able Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, Mr. Newton Minow, called television a vast wasteland. The charge touched a raw nerve in the broadcasting industry and found genuine acceptance with the public. There were assurances of review, reconsideration, and reform. Perhaps there has been reconsideration and review. There has been little reform.

One of the most perceptive students of the broadcasting scene is Mr. Fairfax M. Cone, chairman of the executive committee of Footee, Cone & Belding. He has made a very important contribution to the discussion of the problem in the article he has written which appears in Fortune magazine for July 1965, which I urge my colleagues to read. It follows:

WHAT'S BAD FOR TV IS WORSE FOR ADVERTISING

(By Fairfax M. Cone)

Television has grown big and rich and flabby.

Some of my best friends are in the broadcasting business and while I wish them well, I am also distressed at what I perceive to be television's uneven success. Never have profits been better for the operators and never has the product of television, which is programing, shown less imagination or less promise. During television's 20 years, entertainment, which is the principal element in programing, has rarely been explored beneath the surface of old vaudeville routines and motion picture forms. And only the prospect of repeating all of last year's monotonous attempts at amusement could be more dismal than the prospects for entertainment in the upcoming season.

Gone entirely is the old excitement about great new things to come. (They rarely materialized. But that isn't the point.) The satisfaction of the majority of broadcasters with things as they are is clear. None of the networks has scheduled a single experimental program for this summer. To be sure, CBS has begun the trial run of a twice a week nighttime feature based upon an old daytime soap opera called "As the World Turns." But this hardly an innovation. ABC pointed the way with "Peyton Place," a serial drama that has knocked out its competition twice each week. "Peyton Place," by the way, is to be shown henceforth in three weekly segments instead of two. Otherwise there will be no tests. My friends in broadcasting have again cast their lot with mediocrity.

It is no wonder, I think, that serious critics call this a dark outlook. And while I would like to be concerned with it as they are, wistfully, on purely artistic and intellectual terms, there is another side to the matter that I cannot overlook.

This is the conviction on the part of almost all viewers that there is nothing wrong with television that can't be blamed on advertising. As a result, criticism of advertising grows louder and it is more persistent than any other complaint about current business practice. Television is seen as the helpless victim of advertisers' cupidity. It is the advertisers, most people believe, who initiate all program changes; and who but the advertisers, they ask, are the perpetrators of those ghastly commercials?

To suggest that such questions may be a soothing accompaniment to the march of the broadcasters to the vaults is simply to point out the obvious. Advertising is a ready scapegoat. But advertisers must accept half the blame and most of the consequences. Advertising and television are tightly interwoven.

SEVEN OUT OF TEN OBJECT

When Newton Minow, as chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, called television "a vast wasteland" several years ago, this caused some brief consternation in both industries, in advertising and broadcasting. But Minow went back to his private law practice and the hubbub subsided.

Since then questions of any kind about the makeup and the level of entertainment schedules have simply been ignored. Only a few independent station owners and operators appear to be concerned. For the rest, questions about programing are invariably shut off by referring to the audience measurements. The public, it is said, is the sole arbiter of what it shall see and hear: the program schedules are determined by tune-in and tune-out as calculated in the Nielsen Television Index. This, I must admit, is true. The trouble is that audience ratings are based entirely on the programs that are available. They suggest little or nothing about the interests or wishes of nonviewers of the material surveyed.

Acceptance of television advertising by the general public is measured by a similarly defective standard. When people are asked whether the showing of commercials is a fair price to pay for the privilege of watching television, they reply in the affirmative in the ratio of 4 to 1. However, this scarcely means approval of television advertising in toto.

Elmo Roper & Associates recently completed a study for the Television Information Office in which a large sample of the public was asked: "Which one of these four statements comes closest to describing how you feel about commercials on television?" Each person was then shown a card that listed the four choices corresponding to the attitude range. These are the results from the total sample:

	Percent
I dislike practically all commercials on television	10
While some of the commercials on television are all right, most of them are very annoying	26
There are some very annoying commercials on television, but most of them are perfectly all right	35
The commercials on television seldom annoy me—in fact, I often enjoy them	23
Don't know or no answer	6

While this study can be read to say that favorable attitudes toward TV advertising outstripped unfavorable attitudes by 3 to 2 (and this is exactly what the Television Information Office does say), the answers may also be interpreted to mean that 7 out of 10 people find at least some commercials objectionable. The reasons given for these objections are "too noisy and loud," "many are done in poor taste," and "there are far too many commercials." The study indicates also that while it is agreed that commercials "frequently provide useful information about new products," they often advertise things that should not be advertised." Altogether, then, it would seem that a considerable part of the U.S. viewing public finds fault with TV advertising on several grounds. This is too bad.

There are unmistakable indications that among college and university students rejection of all advertising is growing; and, of course, there is a great deal of evidence that this is encouraged by teachers. But too few television officials and television advertisers give any evidence of being alert to the hazard involved. If they did, one of the first things they would do would be to outlaw the ubiquitous weasel. The weasel is the flaw in the advertising proposition that makes its promise fuzzy. For instance: BBB tires are the largest selling tires in the world with their exclusive nonskid tread that gets you there safely in all kinds of weather. This seems to say that BBB tires have overtaken all other similar tires in popularity and in use. But does it? It does not. It merely says that these tires are the only tires with their own particular tread; so, of course, they are the largest selling in this category. The weasel rests on a slippery claim that is technically correct, and it is a favorite device of foxy TV advertisers.

Another of the indefensibe practices of advertising on television is the high level of sound that makes many commercials much louder than the programs in which they are carried. Perhaps even more unpleasant and unnecessary is the quarrelsome nature of so many commercials for headache and stomach ache remedies and deodorants and detergents wherein various competitors virtually accuse each other of lying. Denigration is something that surely should be barred from the air.

The greatest offense by television advertising just now, however, is the nonsense with which it is concerned. The only real purpose of advertising is to bring sensible proposals to large numbers of people. And while black eyes suffered in defense of a smoker's choice of cigarettes may call attention to a brand, it is hardly a convincing bit of business. At present, advertising is full of such conceits, and not all are as easily dismissed. While most such indulgences are harmless in themselves, this is not a good excuse. Advertising, by television or otherwise, was invented to present news about products, or to be a pleasant reminder. When it fails in either of these assignments it has little to recommend it to anyone. Furthermore, the end result of massive advertising campaigns based on exaggeration could conceivably be hazardous far beyond the limits of television.

The danger lies in the invitation to the public to be indifferent to advertising. If this were to become widespread, as well it may, the result could be that for a period of time, perhaps years, many products would be bought on experience or word of mouth alone. This would be a huge penalty for business to pay for its apathy in the face of peril, and television would have to look desperately (and probably in the direction of Washington) for support. The economy in which we live, and which most of us would like to maintain, cannot function successfully without advertising. It helps us to choose, and we must be able to do this with confidence. Otherwise advertising will be of no value, and U.S. business will have lost its unique sales tool.

YOU CAN'T FOOL THE CUSTOMERS

Before the intrusion of radio and television into most of our lives there was more than a little outrage at the ethics of advertising as practiced by makers of patent medicines and vendors of questionable goods and services by mail. Caveat emptor as an acceptable policy in business was beginning to be disputed, and several agencies of the Government, together with the postal authorities, were actively engaged in running down frauds.

Moreover, the growth of national manufacturers and distributors had from the beginning the requirement that customers be satisfied. The chainstore was also an important factor. For all these businesses depended upon the good will of the ultimate consumer. Most products introduced through the supermarket system today are planned for a 2- or 3-year payout, and this can be accomplished only if a growing number of purchasers become steady customers. This is a fact that is sometimes overlooked by critics of both advertising and marketing. It is advertising that makes the first offer and the initial sale. After that the fate of every product lies in its own performance. No one has yet discovered an advertising mechanism or technique that is more powerful than an unhappy experience. So customer satisfaction is, in effect, part of the guarantee of advertising.

While fraud had been largely eliminated from manufacturers' advertising in all media, television developed brand-new areas of dissatisfaction, as we have noted. Almost all viewers of television who view it with anything less than complete devotion blame advertising for their discontent. They are all aware of the inexorability of the Nielsen averages, and they blame advertising not only for what television does that they object to, but also for what television doesn't do that they want it to. They hold advertisers responsible for the dreadfully low standards of the most popular programs and they hold them accountable for the dearth of art and intellectuality on the new color tubes.

This is on the program side. And it follows that the same critics object vigorously to what they consider to be a carefully calculated commercial exploitation of a struggling captive audience. It isn't only that the pauses for commercials in most TV programs come at exasperating intervals; or that certain messages seem interminable. While it is doubtful that the average television viewer is unduly concerned with matters of taste (if he were he could hardly qualify as an average viewer), he can be insulted, and his wife, if she is an average viewer, too, can think, and may very well think, that an awful lot of TV advertising is pretty silly.

Anyway, the chief reason why television advertising arouses such acid indigestion is its utter inescapability. A dull or unbecoming or unpleasant advertisement in a magazine or newspaper can be dismissed with the quick turning of a page. Unattractive television advertising is impossible to avoid. The result is that a large part of television advertising refers cunningly to just those products that most people find it easy to disregard in print. Understandably, this causes some viewers acute discomfort.

This is not to say that such advertising is likely to be unproductive. On the contrary, it is apt to be extremely successful. It gets through apathy and ennui. Dull repetition and ugly mutations notwithstanding, it can pay out handsomely. To expect television to conform to any other purpose would be to ignore a basic fact. Television is a moneymaking institution; and the institution is doing very well. Nevertheless, the moguls have been known to make changes, however, reluctantly.

A BACKWARD STEP

What is most disappointing to someone who has no wish at all to deprive the majority of their choice in entertainment is that there is so little attempt made to exploit the full potential of the medium. Only the documentaries cross the soporific line in regularly scheduled midevening programs. And these, of course, are not entertainment; for the most part they are treatises in words and moving pictures. However well they are done, they do little to fill the entertainment void.

The principal difficulty both for networks and stations in satisfying me and other wishful viewers with experimental programing lies in what the broadcast people believe to be their own rigorous competitive position. If they lose audience, they face the loss of advertisers, for the advertisers themselves are in fierce competition; everybody in the business wants to be on top.

In the early days of television the advertisers participated in almost all programing, continuing a practice that began with radio broadcasting. The television industry embraced this participation at the outset to help share the financial risks. But as television found its audience, the risks disappeared, and the networks and stations reasserted control over programing. Today the advertisers' participation in programing is almost nil. But their shadow looms menacingly. Probably the strangest suggestion made to date to meet the current criticism of programing is attributed to FCC Chairman E. William Henry. The Commission has urged that 50 percent of programing be turned over to the advertisers and their agencies. Certainly this would be a backward step. The influence some advertisers and their agencies even now exert is largely responsible for the present sad state of affairs.

THE MAGAZINE APPROACH

I suggest that we can live with the economic realities and at the same time achieve a reasonable increase in intellectual and experimental programing under a plan that has come to be known as the magazine approach to television programing and advertising. When an advertiser contracts for a schedule in a magazine he knows that his copy will appear in certain issues—but where in these issues is not a consideration (except for a few premium positions such as the back and inside covers). Over succeeding issues his advertisements are rotated through the magazine's various features from the first page to the last.

The same procedure could be applied to television's prime time. There are no premium positions in television; within specified hours all time periods are priced alike. So, in a matter of 13 weeks, which is a typical television contract multiple, a weekly advertiser might cover as many as 13 different sets of viewers. If one of these, or perhaps two, were decidedly smaller than average because the network was experimenting or because it had scheduled an unusually selective subject, I think the problem of the low ratings could be offset somewhat by the attraction of new audiences.

Peak-time viewing turns up about 60 percent of U.S. television sets, and over the season in most areas this is divided pretty evenly in the course of a week among the three networks. Without doubt, any substitute for the conventional television diet in any prime-time segment would result in a loss of habitual viewers. However, I believe there is a compensating factor in the 40 percent of families who are not tuned in to any station during the average nighttime period. But let us not be concerned now with the number. Rather let us consider that here every night is a group of men and women not usually attracted by formula television, but certainly important to the success of any large sales objective (even for aspirin). If television can attract a fair number of them no more than twice a week, this will help solve its most pressing problem.

The argument that magazine scheduling is impossible in television is absurd. Right now, many advertisers place commercials in a collection of programs, instead of sponsoring single shows. There is no reason why the networks cannot direct the same kind of placement on an impartial basis in groups of programs (for example, comedy, variety, drama, children's, etc.). Applying this principle to program categories would preclude the placing of advertisements in entirely inappropriate places. So powerful a medium is television that such a plan could only slightly reduce its effectiveness to the advertisers who pay the bill—and if this were reduced, it would be reduced by the same amount to each one. What seems more likely is that they would find themselves doing business profitably with a number of people who are now tuned out to all their messages.

So there is a way to make a place in the network schedules for some of the subjects of restricted interest and for experimentation with new talent and new ideas. This system might not settle every one of television's problems, but it would put some muscle where there is so much flab today.

Majority Rule Is the Basic Issue Involved in Proposal To Repeal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Congress is now studying a proposal to repeal section 14(b) of the Labor-Management Relations Act. This section permits individual States to enact their own State laws dealing with membership in unions.

The national law provides that where a majority of workers in any establishment have voted—in a secret election conducted by the National Labor Relations Board—in favor of a union as their collective bargaining agent, within 30 days after certification, all workers in that plant must join the union.

Conversely, the Federal law also provides that where a majority of the workers in an establishment vote against a union, then none of the workers shall belong to the union because no union shall be certified in that particular establishment.

Thirty-one States now follow the Federal standards, including Illinois. Repeal of section 14(b) would have no effect on labor-management relations in the State of Illinois because Illinois has not enacted its own membership standards under section 14(b). In Illinois, when a majority of workers vote for or against a union as their collective bargaining agent, the majority rule prevails. All the members of a particular establishment must join a union if the majority of the workers have voted in favor of such a union. Likewise, no union is recognized if the majority votes against a union and none of the workers is compelled to join a union.

Nineteen States have chosen to take advantage of section 14(b) and have adopted their own State laws regarding membership in unions. In these States, the law provides that only those workers who want to may join a union, even though a majority of the workers have voted for a union.

The President has proposed repeal of section 14(b) in order to establish a uniform national policy regarding membership in unions which would apply to all 50 States.

Repeal of 14(b) will in no way alter the basic provision that membership in a union shall be compulsory only when a majority of the workers in a given establishment have voted in favor of a union. Nor will the repeal of section 14(b) in any way alter the provision that when a majority of the workers vote against a union, none of the workers of the establishment will have to join a union.

Arguments against repeal of 14(b) include a claim that compulsory unionism violates a worker's right to hold a job even though he does not want to join a union. This is why supporters of section 14(b) have called this provision a right-to-work law because it permits a worker to continue working even though he chooses not to join a union.

Opponents of 14(b) argue that the title "right-to-work law" is a misnomer because section 14(b) does not guarantee any worker the right to a job if an employer has no need for his employment.

Opponents argue further that permitting members not to join a union, even though a majority of their fellow workers in a given shop have voted for a union, creates what the labor movement describes as free riders. That is, nonmembers share the same benefits won by a union at the collective bargaining table even though they do not contribute toward the financial support of the union activities which have made it possible for the union to negotiate such benefits.

The administration claims that by having a single national policy under which all 50 States will be governed by a uniform law dealing with membership in unions, we will reduce considerably the competition which now exists between the States for attracting American industry.

There is no doubt that in the 19 States which have created their own labor standards under section 14(b), the unions have had less success in organizing. This is because, even though a union succeeds in persuading a majority of the workers to vote for a union, many workers in the same plant continue to enjoy the benefits carved out by the union without actually belonging to the union or paying dues.

It is not long before the entire membership of the union falls apart under these conditions. As a result, union organizing drives, particularly in the 10 Southern States which have so-called right-to-work laws, have been ineffective. Opponents of 14(b) claim this is why these Southern States have been able to attract considerable industry from the North by advertising—"Build your plant in such-and-such State, where the labor climate is favorable." By a "favorable labor climate" they mean, of course, no unions.

Recent studies have shown that weekly earnings of industrial workers in so-called right-to-work law States are substantially lower than the national average. In the 10 Southern States which have discouraged unionization through 14(b), the weekly average salary per industrial worker is $77 as compared to a weekly average of $103 in the remaining 40 States.

Those who oppose repeal of section 14(b) argue that the Southern States have been traditionally behind the Northern States in industrial development and that the average weekly wage gap is being closed.

Those who urge repeal of 14(b) argue that by prohibiting effective unionism, the right-to-work law States keep salaries depressed and the rest of the Nation must make an abnormally high contribution to these States in the form of various social welfare programs.

A recent study showed that the 10 Southern States which have their own right-to-work laws receive 33 percent of all Federal grants for relief, education, and so forth. The remaining 40 States—most of which are highly unionized—divide the remaining 67 percent of Federal grants among themselves.

It is argued that the disproportionate distribution of Federal aid is not fair to the taxpayers of northern industrial States.

It is interesting to note that Louisiana recently repealed its own right-to-work law permitted under section 14(b) when they discovered that, by barring unions, the State was unable to attract skilled workers. As a result its industrial growth was seriously impeded. It is generally agreed that highly skilled industrial workers tend to prefer areas where they can get union protection for their jobs and seniority.

The entire debate on repeal of section 14(b) is now under careful scrutiny by Congress. It can be seen from the remarks above that this is a very complicated subject. Both sides feel strongly in support of their respective views. The issue is further complicated by a sincere belief among some people that repeal of 14(b) affects their basic right to employment and, as a result, this has become an extremely emotional issue, as well.

Congress is now trying to resolve this issue in a manner which will serve the best interest of the United States. In the search for appropriate action, Congress is further mindful that some people do not want to be compelled to join unions because of religious beliefs. This aspect also is receiving careful consideration. There is no question that this entire subject will be fully debated in Congress.

I believe it is only fair to point out that when all of the arguments are reduced to the lowest common denominator, the one question remaining to be answered by the Congress is whether or not the United States will have a uniform labor policy dealing with membership in unions based on the concept of majority rule.

The President of the United States serves in office on a basis of majority rule; the Supreme Court of the United States frequently hands down split decisions by a vote of 5 to 4 and because of a majority of one, this decision guides the destiny of our entire nation; a Congressman represents an entire district simply because a majority of people have elected him.

The whole basic structure of American government is based on a concept of majority rule.

The Congress—a majority of the Congress—will have to decide whether the same principles shall apply to membership in unions. Thus, the decision here is whether or not all 50 States shall be guided by Federal law, which provides that if a majority of workers in a given plant want a union, the remaining members of that plant must join. Conversely, if the majority decides it does not want a union, there can be no union.

I believe that after all the debate is concluded, Congress will respond to the best interest of the United States.

Coney Island: After a Century of Fun, the Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article discusses the history of Coney Island as an amusement center, and expresses concern for its future, occasioned by the closing of Steeplechase

Park. It emphasizes the desirability of maintaining Coney Island as a recreational area, a desire which I share with many thousands of other New Yorkers.

The article appeared in the New York Herald Tribune on June 27, 1965, and is as follows:

CONEY ISLAND: AFTER A CENTURY OF FUN, THE CRISIS

(By Barrett McGurn)

"Frankfurters, Coney Island bloodhounds, Coney Island chickens.

"Rabbit fur, Coney leopard, Coney mole.

"The room where police administer the third degree, Coney Island"—All one definition in "The American Thesaurus of Slang," 1942.

Whether it's thugs expressing their misery as they prepare to undergo cross-questioning, or poor men making fun of their poverty, "Coney Island" is the image which leaps to mind. Coney is dramma. Coney is poor, and now there are some who think that soon Coney may be no more.

Coney's future is in the headlines now because Steeplechase is closed and soon may be replaced by a housing project, a bathhouse, a parking lot, a department store, a dog track, a motel, or a combination of two or three of these. Because of its size (two city blocks) and its location (at the heart of Coney opposite the fisherman's pier), the fate of the site tends to determine that of Coney itself. Unbelievably, after nearly a century as the most famous seaside resort of the world, there is a danger that the Coney of the honky tonks, the Coney of the amusement area, will go the way of the Manhattan Island elevated railroad and of the cigar store Indian.

There is even a more distant peril—that Coney Island will evolve into a private bathing place just as Brighton and Manhattan Beaches, next to it, have tended to do over the past half century. Apartment houses at Brighton Beach marched to the shore's edge, squeezing out the 16 million residents of the Greater New York area who are not lucky enough to have flats in them. Month by month the same fate edges nearer for Coney as more and more high rises inch oceanward from the "island" peninsula's north and west sides.

Already some 40,000—a little city—occupy Coney high rises, some of which are 22 stories tall. In the May issue of the Trump Village News, a monthly published in one of the developments, you can read it spelled out in so many words that "many political leaders" believe that three great Coney cooperatives—the Trump Village, Luna Park Houses, and Warbasse—"hold the key to (political) success in the new (55th—Coney Island—assembly) district." In other words what the high rise dwellers want they can have. And one of the things very many of them desire already is clear: less competition with outsiders for parking spaces, less honky-tonk noise, less sidewalk jostling with swarms of poor whose sole chance for a day in the sun is at the end of a 15-cent subway ride to Coney Island.

Should the Steeplechase site be kept for amusements? Dr. Irving Herzenberg, president of the Coney Island Community Council, coordinator of 55 neighborhood groups, is neutral. If it becomes one more housing project that is fine with Dr. Herzenberg; if it is saved for entertainment, that is okay, too.

The mere thought of such a casual acceptance of another shrinkage of the amusement zone is appalling to many of the members of a rival group, the Coney Island Chamber of Commerce. A large share of the leadership of the latter is convinced that any more progress in erecting a housing Chinese wall along the 3-mile Coney Island boardwalk will thrust the playground into deeper decline, and may eventually compromise Coney's future as a unique New York City recreational asset.

In this muted struggle between the residents and the amusement men the latter have several strong allies. One is Lawrence Stevens, Assistant Director of the Interior Department Outdoor Recreation Bureau. He told the Herald Tribune in a telephone interview from Washington that if it ever becomes clear that housing is shutting Coney's beach off from New York's millions that Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall will intervene. A fund of $125 million will be available in the year starting July 1 to help save priceless national assets like Coney's beach. Mr. Stevens said. Three years from now the sum will be greater—$200 million a year. But, the Federal officer said, New York's State government will have to intercede to tap the funds.

Other friends of Coney as a regional playground as distinguished from Coney as a local housing preserve are the bulk of the specialists on the staff of the city planning commission. They are well aware of the many proposals now being made by friends of the Coney playland that New York City start buying the empty lots, the boarded-up frame buildings and the noisome slums which cover much of the peninsula, including even parts of the boardwalk frontage. This, say the plan's advocates, would give the beach needed "backup area," and would guarantee the resort's future as a unique watering place for the subway rider and for the New York tenement dweller.

The commission staff makes no public comment on the land pool proposal, but Sid Frigand, the commission's director of public relations, indicates plainly how the thinking is on the commission's "working level." Worry is the keynote.

"Coney has been going downhill for the last several decades," Mr. Frigand says. "It is not just a question of yesterday. I think it has been accelerated since World War II.

"There is no adequate parking at Coney Island. There are no modern bathhouses. There are no public facilities that usually go with a beach. All the other beaches—Riis Park, Jones Beach and so forth—all of them have better backup facilities. Yet this is the only fully accessible beach in the metropolitan area, the only large one reached by one-fare rapid transit. It is the only one available to the very New Yorkers who most need a day in the sun away from the tenements."

In Mr. Frigand's mind there is no question about the undercover war between the local residents and the friends of a great public playground.

"It's that way wherever people live in proximity to a beach—whether it's the Bronx, or Manhattan Beach, or Breezy Point," the planning officer says. "The local people always feel they have a vested interest in maximum privacy. They treat the beach as a private preserve. They resist having it available to all the people. If there's no adequate backup area there's difficulty. It's the city's duty to preserve accessibility."

Will Coney be all right if the city government "continues with it's laissez-faire attitude?"

Mr. Frigand, for one, does not think so.

"At the planning commission," he comments, "we look on Coney with a great deal of concern. If it's left to its own devices—if the city keeps hands off—it looks as if Coney will go to hell. It is already well on the downgrade."

What's wrong with Coney?

"It's developed a psychotic personality," the planner says. "It's not even meeting the needs of the person who wants a honky-tonk atmosphere."

When a reporter told Fred Moran, board chairman of the Coney Island Chamber of Commerce, and coproprietor of the Thunderbolt roller coaster ride, that he had not seen much of Coney Island since his high school days a third of a century ago, Mr. Moran urged him to come see the resort again.

"You won't just be surprised," he said. You'll be shocked."

For one who use to love to listen to the barkers and read the "valentines" on which the sideshows advertised their wonders (the pin-headed man, Albert-Alberta-half-man, half-woman, the fat woman and the bearded lady; the tattooed woman and the wild man from Borneo; the blue man and the one who could tear up two telephone books simultaneously), a return visit was dismaying indeed.

A third of a century ago the Coney amusement area ran from the subway almost to Sea Gate at the island's west tip, and historians of Coney tell of an even more extraordinary era 6 or 7 decades ago when the amusement zone reached all the way through Manhattan and Brighton Beaches to Orient Point next to Sheepshead Bay. Those more ancient days were the time of the three great Coney race tracks which made the area America's racing capital. That was the time of the huge wooden hotels at Brighton and Manhattan beaches (summer headquarters of the Union League Club). It was the era of P. T. Barnum, John Philip Sousa, Victor Herbert, John L. Sullivan, Jenny Lind, Diamond Jim Brady, Lillian Russell, Gentleman Jim Corbett, Leonard Jerome (Winston Churchill's grandfather), Ruby Robert Fitzsimmons, Angelo Siciliano (a Surf Avenue janitor, famous later as Charles Atlas), stilt-walking Archie Leach (subsequently renamed Cary Grant for the movies), Harry Houdini, Phil Silvers (discovered as a boy singer on Coney's beach by Gus Edwards) and Al Capone (a Bowery bouncer, just getting his start in a life that led to crime's jackpot.)

Spectators, or performers, crooks, or celebrities, few New Yorkers miss Coney in the course of a century. There is good reason, according to Edo McCullough, Coney's historian, to think that Henry Clay and Daniel Webster plotted passage of the Missouri Compromise as they strolled Coney's sands, and there is now doubt that London's Lord Mayor reached for his shiniest superlatives as he praised the strand in 1913. Said the Lord Mayor:

"There is nothing in the world like Coney Island. It it 10 Lord Mayor's shows, 20 Earl's Courts, and 30 Brightons, all rolled into one."

Even as late as 35 years ago when a high school boy paraded on the boardwalk toward Sea Gate there were wonderful free shows like the one near the Half Moon Hotel where a bushy-haired man sold medicine and burst steel chains with his swollen chest.

But that's not Coney now.

Coney still has hot dogs, hot roasted corn "with pure butter," frozen custard, hot knishes (and now frog's legs, shrimp and lobster as well). It still has a miles-long beach which holds 1 million on a hot summer's day. (Since a great storm in the '50's when the water washed all the way across the four-block-wide Coney peninsula, the beach actually is bigger than ever; the park department spent $900,000 to widen it.)

But it isn't the Coney of the old days.

One of the most startling changes to one who has been away for a third of a century is what has happened to the Half Moon Hotel. Once the jewel of the boardwalk, a promise of an ever-brighter Atlantic City sort of Coney future, it is now an old folks' home. One after another of the pools and bathhouses along the boardwalk have vanished or have been milked into decrepitude. There is not one modern bathhouse. Tawdry signs offer pawnbroker loans ("no loan to (sic) large, no loan to (sic) small". Beer cans and corn cobs clutter the sand where the vast Ravenhall's pool and bathhouse burned down some years ago. Besides some of New York City's worst slums (summer

shacks, now used year-round), and some of New York's most nervous and hard-pressed businessmen (shopkeepers along much of Mermaid Avenue), new sights face the returned traveler at former great landmarks. Luna Park is a housing development. Feltman's famous restaurant (where the hot dog was invented about 1871) is "Astroland," an amusement park specializing in space travel rides.

The Bowery where Capone did his bouncing is a shriveled relic of the lurid, grand days.

"High wages and construction costs have pushed up the prices—it is 75 cents on some of the rides," Mr. Frigand said. "A kid who comes down with 30 cents for the subway and 20 cents for a frankfurter, can not afford one of the rides."

Still, some of the old "valenties" are out. You can see some splendidly horrendous ones at the Spookorama:

"World's largest spook ride. Frankenstein grunting and groaning. Jungle monster and human mate. Beheading of the ghoul. Hangman's delight. Ghoul Hideaway. Illusions."

But it is all much reduced and after half a dozen intervening wars some of the horrid old charm is gone.

"I tell these (sideshow) people what is wrong," Emanuel Weisfeld said at Astroland. I tell them 'you have changed nothing in 30 years'."

Its been one long milking maneuver in a steadily shrinking resort area. That is Mr. Weisfeld's judgment.

Mr. Weisfeld's comment is important, for he is part of the new Coney, which is resolved to preserve what is vital in the old playground. He is president of the Astrotower and of the Swiss Sky Ride inside the new $2.5 million Astroland development. Astroland is evidence that some men with capital think that the amusement area can survive. Mrs. Weisfeld visited Copenhagen's Tivoli Gardens for new recreational ideas, and the Astroland park is crowded with rides lifted from world's fair midways and from the pages of science fiction.

"I do not think we are on the way out; I think we are on the upgrade," Mr. Weisfeld says stoutly.

On the weekends now almost 50 percent of Mr. Weisfeld's customers are Negro and Puerto Ricans, about the Coney average. Weekdays the area population is more heavily Jewish. About three-quarters of those in the high rises are Jews. It is all a mirror held up to the face of a changing New York and a changing Coney. But Mr. Weisfeld's money is down on the bet that people are the same, that Coney will always respond to identical deep human recreational needs, and that somehow the men with subway and hot dog money will find 75 cents for a ride. Mr. Weisfeld's 250-foot tall Astrotower carries 60 people at a time up in a slowly revolving car nicknamed "the flying bagel."

Astroland on Feltman's old location is sure to be one of the lasts of Coney Island's future. There are some who say that construction and wage costs have doomed chute-the-chutes, roller coasters, and other typical rides. As obsolescence overtakes them there will be no capital pool large enough to provide replacements. With Coney earmarked as the poor man's playground, a gap between costs and what the traffic will bear is sure to widen fatally. That is the pessimists theory and there are columns of figures to prove it. Mr. Weisfeld bets his own money on the contrary. Coney's friends will watch his experiment with interest.

Coney is for the poor man who comes by subway, not really for the man in the automobile. Is that the way it should be? Ought the magnificent beach and boardwalk be abandoned to a single part of the city population—to the man who comes wearing his bathing suit under his shirt and trousers? An army of men in the Coney recreational area insist that it should not be that way at all, and many point fingers at Robert Moses as one of those most responsible for the one-class Coney of the present.

When Robert Moses took over the control of Coney's beach and boardwalk in the late 1930's, a double-decalog of prohibitions went up on great black tablets erected in the sand at 100-yard intervals:

"No," the signs say in immense silver letters. Beside the negative injunction runs a long list:

Ballplaying.

Acrobatics (a perilous Coney marvel in the early 1930's).

Newspapers "other than reading."

Dressing or undressing.

Digging of holes (a child's Coney joy in the 1920's).

Boats beached or launched.

Sitting on steps or railings.

And in case there is any confusion great signs inside the fine modern park department toilet houses on the sand advise the visitor with blunt directness that he is not to change his bathing suit there.

With places like Ravenhall's gone, what is a Coney bather to do? He can visit relatives in the new high rises if he is lucky enough to have any there, but even that, according to Coney leaders, is no long-range helpful plan. Similar inundations of beachbound brothers-in-law, aunts and nephews have helped push many Brighton Beach apartment houses toward slum levels. The bather can change quickly under the boardwalk, as many do. Or he can go home in a sticky chafing bathing suit.

For this reason Nathan Handwerker, president and founder of "Nathan's Famous" hot dog stand, and other Coney amusement area leaders, are agitating for the purchase of Steeplechase for a municipal bathhouse and parking lot. So far a debt-weary city has not responded.

Parking is another chronic Coney crisis. When Murray Handwerker, Nathan's son, and former president of the Coney Island Chamber of Commerce, several weeks ago asked Traffic Commissioner Henry A. Barnes to build a city parking lot on abandoned old Railroad Avenue near the center of the recreational area, Barnes said that the city has lost money on other recent parking lots and won't go into another now at Coney. Visitors take their chances with $15 parking fines or with ramshackle vacant lot operations which are frighteningly shabby.

Robert Moses, favorite whipping boy of so many dissatisfied New Yorkers, takes a few licks at this point too. Murray Handwerker says that for 12 years the Coney Island Chamber of Commerce has appealed to Mr. Moses and his aids and successors to put up adequate signs on the belt parkway notifying drivers when they reach Coney. Coming east from New Jersey across the Verrazano Narrows Bridge, it is a short run now, but there is no sign pointing to Coney. Drivers who miss the exit are tempted to go further out on the island to Mr. Moses' rival resorts at Jones Beach and elsewhere.

Coming west there is a small Coney Island sign now, though the Coney men do not consider one 4-foot subtitle at Cropsey Avenue adequate for cars moving at 50. And if anyone does venture off, he drives over an unpaved road past a nasty garbage dump. It's true that there is a sign threatening a $500 fine for further dumping, but the Coney Island Chamber of Commerce has been clamoring with little success for a cleanup and paving of both main automobile entrances to the resort.

Old Coney's in a bad way, but Interior Department money, capital such as the money poured into Astroland, proper housing to replace slums, and grit of the kind which, for instance, transformed Nathan's hotdogs from a $300 stand into a 500-employee operation over the course of 49 years, can still save and improve it. A city with mounting recreational needs for all classes must not lose this playland and southern-exposure safe bathing beach area, a natural resource any other community in the world would treasure.

A Well Deserved Tribute to Maritime Editor Helen Delich Bentley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, if it were not for the fact that the shipping industry in Baltimore, and, in fact, the shipping industry along the whole east coast, would suffer a tremendous loss, were she to leave her present position as maritime editor of the Baltimore Sun, I would take the lead in recommending Mrs. Helen Delich Bentley to the President, who is searching for qualified women for high Government positions.

As the article in the Port of Baltimore Bulletin so well states, Mrs. Bentley has won her spurs in a man's world and deserves the many honors she has received on numerous occasions.

I believe her story will be of interest to all of the members and therefore I am placing it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

LIKE HER HATS, HELEN IS UNIQUE

(By Albert Dennis)

Perhaps no two professions are more completely dominated by men than journalism and the shipping industry; the intrusion of a woman is almost universally scorned and rejected by both. But, ironically, there is probably no name more respected—and sometimes feared—on the American waterfront than that of a Baltimore journalist known as Helen Delich Bentley.

The Baltimore paradox is almost as elusive as the legendary Flying Dutchman; her arrivals and departures, her whereabouts at any given moment are uncertain—even to her employers.

But one thing is certain: wherever big news is breaking in the maritime world—whether it be aboard a ship at sea or in the office of a New York shipping executive—Helen Delich Bentley suddenly comes sailing over the horizon.

And one other thing is equally certain: as dependable as the schedule of any large ocean-going liner. Mrs. Bentley will always arrive before deadline in the city room of the Baltimore Sun, where she plies her profession, telling the world what is happening in shipping circles.

It is not unusual for her appearance in the city room to cause sudden and unnatural silence. The clattering cacophony of typewriters and telephones is suddenly interrupted while hard-nose reporters and cynical city editors stop and stare to see what she is wearing.

What she's wearing depends on where she's been. If she's wearing slacks, an old sweater and boots, she probably just jumped off a tug or a freighter that had steamed into the Chesapeake Bay; if she's wearing a smart two-piece outfit or chic dress, she probably just flew in from New York or California; and if she's sporting a colorful chapeau, it's

a sure thing the she is coming from one of her TV shows, which she produces, or a maritime convention where she has just delivered a speech.

Quite possibly, she has done all these things. And all in the same day. If she has, then she will be carrying a large, combination pocketbook-traveling bag, which she used constantly for carrying clothes changes enroute.

One other thing about the hat: you can be sure that, like its owner, it's unique. The only one of its kind.

Mrs. Bentley's stature in the maritime community was again made quite obvious May 12 in Boston, where she was presented with a plaque by the North Atlantic Ports Association in recognition of her outstanding reporting of the recent longshore strike, and for her superior maritime coverage in general.

But for Helen Delich Bentley, the dynamic Sunpaper reporter who became the Nation's only female maritime editor while carving her career out of a man's world, it was just another in a long series of honors.

Combining an almost extra-sensory grasp of the far-flung maritime industry with a fantastic memory and a penetrating mind, her aggressive digging and reporting has resulted in several national "scoops," at least one expose, and gained for her the respect and friendship of many of the Nation's top shipping experts and executives.

Yet it is more than just journalistic ability and knowledge of the industry that enables Mrs. Bentley to move so freely in a man's world. Her independence, initiative and willingness to expect no favors because of her femininity has also won for her—sometimes grudgingly—the admiration of even the toughest longshoremen and seamen.

A favorite tale around the Baltimore waterfront relates how Helen once suddenly disappeared from the S.S. *Gulfbeaver* during a shakedown cruise.

"It's impossible," yelled Yale Merrill, Bethlehem Steel's then public relations head, when told Helen had just left his ship in the middle of the Chesapeake Bay and gone ashore. "I just left her below in the chief's cabin."

But it was true. Eager to cover two maritime hearings in Washington after getting her story on the *Gulfbeaver*, Helen Bentley had seized the initiative—as usual—and hailed a passing tugboat to take her ashore.

By the time the *Gulbeaver* returned to Baltimore late in the afternoon the ubiquitous Helen had been to Washington, covered the annual board meeting of the American Association of Port Authorities and also attended a hearing of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. All three stories were filed the same evening.

Doing 3 days' work in one is typical of the stamina, drive and personality that has made Helen Bentley a success.

But that is only side of the coin: her unique personality is such that men feel at home in her presence. No one calls her Mrs. Bentley. It's always Helen Delich, or Helen Delich Bentley; or, among her many maritime friends, just plain "Helen." Conversely, she is able to get on a "first name" basis quickly, even with the giants of the industry and many prominent Washington figures, including Congressmen and high Government officials.

Many times these friends will give Helen valuable tips which enable her to break big stories of national and even international importance.

In August 1962, she was the first reporter to break the story of proposed restrictions against Cuba; both in July and November 1962, she scooped all other papers with stories concerning strikes aboard the nuclear ship *Savannah*, even though the ship was thousands of miles from Baltimore.

Perhaps one of her most sensational stories was an exclusive which revealed the settlement of negotiations for the exchange of the Bay of Pig prisoners by Edward Donovan. It was Helen Bentley who first reported that the *African Pilot* was ready to move with the first cargo of ransom goods.

Always searching for new outlets for her vast knowledge of the industry, Baltimore's maritime editor branched out into the field of electronic journalism in 1951 by inaugurating the television series "The Port That Built A City."

Again, she demonstrated her business acumen and drive by making a success of the venture completely on her own.

She lined up the sponsors, planned the shows, directed their production, edited the film, wrote scripts and hosted and conducted the various interviews while continuing to produce a martime section in the Sun which has been acclaimed by maritime officials as the best in the Nation.

In 1954, she became the first and only woman to address the national conventions of both the American Association of Port Authorities at San Francisco and the Propeller Club of the United States at Miami.

Her speech before the Propeller Club was so hard-hitting the convention voted it be immediately reproduced and sent to all steamship executives—the first time this ever happened at that organization's convention.

After breaking just about every tradition along the country's waterfront and becoming a figure of national prominence, Helen Bentley has still retained an informal approach to people.

The is always available at the Sun's city room to anyone who has a maritime problem, a beef, or simply needs information. Whether it's a shipping executive, a Government official, or a lowly tugboat hand, she's always ready to listen.

But no matter who comes calling, if they happen to arrive at deadline time, they will just have to sit back and wait, while Helen files her story. And that can be quite an experience.

Sitting before a battery of telephones on a desk piled high with a hodge-podge of papers, the Baltimore whirlwind makes her calls to all parts of the country, usually dialing from memory—she never seems to consult a directory.

Then, while holding two conversations with two parties at the same time, talking to first one and then the other, she gets both sides of her story, typing with lightening rapidity between sporadic bursts of conversation. This is an almost nightly ritual, often occurring a mere half-hour from deadline.

And how did Helen Bentley become a maritime editor?

One slow day in 1948, the city editor called over a young female reporter who had been with the Sun about 2 years.

"Go take a look at the waterfront," he said brusquely, "and see what's doing."

The result of that casual assignment has made journalistic history.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch, New York Times, and Louisville Times Urge Prompt House Action on Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, on the weekend of July 10 and 11, the Indiana Dunes State Park became so crowded that the approach roads to it had to be closed off. This incident shows how important it is for this House to act promptly to approve the legislation to establish the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore to meet the great and growing recreational need in the area.

The dunes should be preserved for their esthetic and scientific values also. They represent a unique national asset, of which we should save as much as we can at this late date.

Recently, three leading newspapers have published editorials urging that the House follow the other body in approving the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore bill.

I include these editorials and commend them to the attention of the Members:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, June 27, 1965]

SECOND VOTE FOR THE DUNES

Senate passage of the bill to protect the unique Indiana Dunes on Lake Michigan as a national lakeshore puts the issue squarely up to the House. Senator Douglas bill has the support of both Indiana Senators and of the Johnson administration, and might be expected to be passed quickly. Yet the Senate approved the bill last year and it went nowhere. The House was rushing for adjournment and contended it had no time for the dunes. That excuse is lacking this year. The House has time for ample consideration of the dunes and should act to save them.

[From the New York Times, June 24, 1965]

HOPE FOR THE DUNES

The Senate the other day quietly passed a bill to make more than 11,000 acres of duneland along the shores of Lake Michigan into a national lakeshore, forever protected against commercial exploitation.

Given the long and stormy history of the struggle to save the Indiana Dunes, the passage of the bill on a voice vote with no debate and no opposition was a remarkable achievement. It was a tribute most of all to Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, of Illinois, who with patience and acumen, persevered in fighting to save the dunes when almost everyone else thought the battle hopelessly lost.

But the final victory is not yet won. The bill on the House side is still resting in subcommittee. Surely as the unanimity of the Senate's action demonstrates, there is no need for still further study of this much-studied issue. If Chairman ASPINALL and his colleagues on the House Interior Committee add their prompt support, the Nation will thank them for bringing this long story to a happy ending.

[From the Louisville Times, July 1, 1965]

DUNES FATE NOW UP TO THE HOUSE

For the second time within less than 12 months a bill to establish a lakeshore national park in the Indiana Dunes off Lake Michigan has won Senate approval. The once hotly debated measure glided through without fuss of fanfare, thanks largely to a compromise that removes any conflict with plans for a State-operated port in the same area.

The issue is now up to the House, where a similar bill died in committee last year. Its fate this time is uncertain. Republican Representative CHARLES HALLECK, in whose district part of the park area lies, has chosen to oppose the measure despite the great recreational and tourist benefits it promises his State and district.

A duplicate of the Senate-approved bill has been before a House Subcommittee on In-

terior for months without budging an inch. The Senate's action now removes any semblance of excuse for inaction. Too, the time element is more favorable this time than was the case last year. The Senate then was late in acting. Not until late in September did it pass the bill. By that time the session was nearly over, so it didn't take long for the measure to die in the House.

Not only has the upper Chamber, by acting early, made it hard to forestall a House vote again, supporters of the park-port compromise, including Indiana's Senators HARTKE and BAYH, have an ace in the hole in that a companion bill to provide Federal financial aid for the port construction has yet to pass in either House. The latter could run into trouble at the hands of park advocates if their own bill should bog down.

Said Senator BAYH following Senate passage of the park bill: "We are closer than ever before to achieving both the national park and a deepwater port. Those of us who have long advocated the project know well enough the chances of realizing one without the other are extremely slim."

That is something for Representative HALLECK and others to think about lest their single-minded concern for industrial development in the dunes area blight the compromise and leave Indiana holding an empty bag.

Crossing Over the Line and Terror From the Left Is Right?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following articles from the July 3, 1965 edition of the New York Journal-American. The first article, "Crossing Over the Line," concerns the demands of conscience and the moral responsibility for decisive positive action when necessary. The second article, "Terror From the Left Is Right?" concerns the necessity of opposing Communist aggression as firmly as Fascist and Nazi aggression was opposed.

The articles follow:

[From the New York Journal-American, July 3, 1965]

CROSSING OVER THE LINE

(By Fulton J. Sheen)

Do men suddenly become wicked or evil? Edmund Burke, in one of his classical speeches of English political literature, discusses this in relation to the decline of virtue in a politician:

"I believe," he wrote, "the instances are exceedingly rare of men immediately passing over a clear and marked line of virtue into declared vice and corruption. There are a sort of middle tints and shades between the two extremes; there is something uncertain on the confines of the two empires which they must first pass through, and which renders the change easy and imperceptible.

"There are even a sort of impositions so well contrived that, at the very time the path of rectitude is quitted forever, men seem to be advancing into some higher and nobler road of public conduct."

Not only in political but in social activity as well, there is a kind of a no man's land between goodness and wickedness; one does not go to bed one night a saint, and wake up the next morning as a devil. Between the realms of black and white there is the gray confusion of a barely perceptible decline. Samson, after many moral lapses, was unconscious that his strength was lost.

Moral decline often brings with it mental indecision. This is illustrated in the history of the Israelites at the time they were led by the great prophetess, Deborah. Barak, the great soldier that he was, refused to lead the 10,000 men against the enemy unless Deborah went with him to victory.

But there was one town, Meroz, which hung back and refused to fight. Hidden away in a safe valley, it ignored patriotic duty even in time of danger. The Angel of the Lord pronounced a curse upon that village which had neglected its duty:

"Curse ye the land of Meroz. Curse the inhabitants thereof because they have not come to the help of the Lord, to help His most valiant men."

The land of Meroz was not a traitor, nor a spy, nor did it aid the foe. It did not quickly pass from light to darkness, but rather it slowly took a position in which it was neither on this side nor that. It did nothing. And for that reason will it always appear as a shirker. Vice sometimes conquers because the virtuous are inactive.

In the life of every character there is an hour of crucial test, when the line is crossed without any great fanfare or open decision, but where the hidden state of the soul remains manifest.

Many lose their peace of soul on earth and their soul for eternity, not just because of the evil they have done, but also because of the good that they have left undone. A man who is poisoned may have the antidote alongside of his bed, but if he neglects to take it, he perishes.

The muscles unused stiffen, the talents unused are taken away, flight from battle turns into defeat. The self-indulgent indolence makes one indifferent to duty and eventually prepares for that slow descent into the region of the darkened spirit.

Nations and persons do not become reprobates and delinquents all at once. The process of decay is usually gradual and proceeds from one lost opportunity to another, until the fate is sealed and the doom goes forth. "Curse ye Meroz."

Could this be the reason that the last judgment is pictured in Scripture as sudden and without warning—because there had been so many little twinges of conscience ignored, that a great warning would not change them any more than it did the multitudes at the time of the flood?

There may be a profound spiritual therapeutic in the nightly examination of conscience: it enables us to take two steps backward for the one we stepped forward to the abyss.

[From the New York Journal-American, July 3, 1965]

TERROR FROM LEFT IS RIGHT?

(By Paul Roberts)

A puzzling aspect of the "intellectual" opposition to American involvement in the Vietnam war is the absence of alternatives that are being offered by the loudest and most articulate protesters. But an even more baffling factor is the total inability of many ranged in such opposition to equate Communist aggression in the sixties with Fascist and Nazi aggression in the thirties and forties.

There is little doubt that large numbers of those now urging the United States to "get out of Vietnam" would have been in the forefront of any movement for the United States to get into any struggle against aggression directed by a rightwing government. If military actions now being carried out by the Vietcong, and supported by Hanoi and Peiping, were creations of a latter-day Adolf Hitler, the "get out of Vietnam now" chant would be raised, in identical voice, to very positive "get into Vietnam now" chorus.

Let us go back to the thirties when bastions of freedom and democracy crumbled from Austria to Abyssinia, from Czechoslovakia to Changhai. During that era national sovereignties were under as severe and determined attack as they are today. But there were no anguished cries from the campuses to ignore this brutalization of international conduct, nor should there have been.

On the contrary, there was considerable advocacy from these quarters to stand firm against aggression, to honor commitments abroad and, if necessary, actively oppose such military banditry.

When the full might of German armies was hurled against the democracies of Western Europe, the intellectual community was in the vanguard of those who appreciated the significance of this in its relation to the preservation of international order and sanity. But a uniform adorned with a red star is somehow thought of in totally different terms than one bearing a swastika, even when it is a symbol of identical military rapacity.

This stubborn refusal to equate aggression from the left with aggression from the right is a persistent and incredibly naive feature of much of the so-called egghead world. Why this should be so mystifies some of its most perceptive observers.

Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that much of the brutality carried out by the right in recent history was committed against the left, creating the spurious logic that if the right is bad, the left must be consequently good.

But it is a fact of life in Europe that some of the more hideous practitioners of the Nazi and Fascist arts transferred their talents with ease to the service of Communist masters behind the Iron Curtain. These interchangeable parts have cropped up in the secret police forces of many "People's Republics," with particular emphasis on East Germany, where the repressive agencies of the Soviet Union found suitable recruiting material among former ardent Nazis.

There is, in fact, no ideological difference between the partisans of communism and nazism, as is demonstrated by their identical practice of foreign policy through force of arms.

Arthur Goldberg—A Wise Choice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I rise to congratulate the President of the United States on his choice of Justice Arthur Goldberg as U.S. representative to the United Nations.

Arthur Goldberg, who succeeds the late Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson as Ambassador to the United Nations, brings to this body the same dedication to world peace and the same understanding that in this world we must recognize and respect the individual dignity and the inherent right of people to govern themselves in their own way.

From his boyhood days, Arthur Goldberg knew what it was to struggle and work in order to succeed in his aspirations. By his own initiative and efforts, he graduated from Northwestern University with one of the highest scholastic

records achieved at the university. The son of Jewish immigrants, he rose from poverty to a position of national and international eminence. All his life he has been guided by the precepts and principles of individual freedom and the inherent dignity of man. It is on these cornerstones that the United States has grown and prospered. Justice Goldberg's background reflects this American way and it is a way of life that this Nation hopes to make possible for all mankind.

In the responsible positions he held as Secretary of Labor and Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Arthur Goldberg distinguished himself as a man of sharp intellect and clarity of speech, and demonstrated his great skill as a negotiator who strove always to be judicially impartial. As counsel to the AFL–CIO, Mr. Goldberg won and retained the respect of the businessmen with whom he dealt. He is also widely credited as having been the main instrument in the AFL–CIO drive to purge its ranks of Communist influence.

I was privileged to represent the United Steelworkers at the same time that President Murray selected Arthur Goldberg to become general counsel of that great organization and I am therefore personally acquainted with his persuasiveness, his ingenuity, and his ability to compromise without sacrifice. I know that these qualities will serve him in good stead in the difficult and challenging role he has undertaken in the United Nations.

Arthur Goldberg brings to the United Nations a renewed determination that people must live together in world peace through the rule of law, and he has pledged himself in his own way "to help keep the candle of peace burning."

Congressman Bennett Praises President's Crime Commission Appointment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to congratulate President Johnson on the appointment of a 19-member National Crime Commission to study all aspects of crime and juvenile delinquency and the administration of justice.

On February 16, 1965 I introduced legislation in the House of Representatives to establish a National Advisory Commission on Interstate Crime. At that time, President Johnson wrote to me and commended me for this, and on the introduction of two other bills in the anticrime field: Legislation calling for a White House Conference on Crime Prevention and Juvenile Delinquency and making grants available for college-level instruction in modern methods of crime detection and studies in the cause and cure for various types of criminal behavior.

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice will fill a gap in our national planning to cut into the rising crime rate, up 13 percent in 1964 over 1963. Under the strong and able leadership of the Attorney General, I believe this Commission will make concrete recommendations to the President for action to help stem crime and juvenile delinquency in America, which costs the country $27 billion annually.

The prime responsibility in the prevention of crime rests with the local and State governments. But, it is a national responsibility, too, and I believe positive legislation in this field and the President's action yesterday will provide for a safe society.

The voting rights legislation is a fact, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is in operation in all sections of the country, North and South, and now is the time for the Negro leaders to stop their marching in the streets.

It is time for these leaders and groups, who accomplish little but achieve great publicity, to start working on positive measures to educate and to train the less fortunate to be decent, hard-working Americans.

It is time for these leaders to put their energy into improving teaching and schools, working in the antipoverty programs in their local communities and helping to stop the rising juvenile delinquency and crime rates.

It is time that they realize the Congress and the people will not tolerate continued purposeless coercion and intimidation that is now being practiced in such diverse locales as Chicago, Ill., and Americus, Ga.

The voting rights legislation was passed because it was right for the country, and not that these Negro leaders were right in exercising their mob protests. Before the horrible events in Selma, Ala., I said a voting bill was needed, and I feel that any other really needed legislation can be enacted without mob support.

So, I say to these leaders of mob action, let us have a moratorium on your marches and demonstrations and let us do something to raise the level of education and job training among Negroes.

Now Try a Michigan Bean Sandwich

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, for more than half a century bean soup, made with Michigan beans, has been a daily item on the menu of the House restaurant. It is indeed a very popular item on the menu.

Now that you have partaken of Michigan bean soup have you tried a Michigan bean sandwich? If not, you have a real treat ahead. This is sandwich month, so why not try a bean sandwich.

Through the courtesy of the Michigan Bean Shippers Association I submit two bean sandwich recipes.

SNAPPY BEAN SANDWICH

½ cup dry Michigan navy beans
1 quart water
½ teaspoon salt
½ cup chopped sweet pickle
2 tablespoons chili sauce
1 teaspoon horseradish
2 tablespoons spicy French dressing

Soak beans in the water overnight. Cook in the soaking water till tender.[1] Drain well and add in all other ingredients. Mix thoroughly and mesh slightly. Makes enough filling for 6 sandwiches.

HOT BAKED BEAN SANDWICH

1½ cups canned baked beans
½ pound sliced American or Swiss cheese
6 slices bacon, fried crisp
6 slices of bread, plain buttered or toasted

Heat beans thoroughly and mash slightly. Spread beans on 6 slices of bread and top each with slice of cheese. Place on foil under low broiler flame till cheese begins to melt. Top with strip of bacon for 6 open face sandwiches. Serve with pickle and olives.

Other combinations: Baked beans with sliced olives, chopped egg, celery or dill pickles, piccalilli, catsup or chili sauce all make excellent fillings.

[1] Quick method which does not require overnight soaking. Bring beans to a boil and cook 2 minutes. Remove pot from heat and let beans stand 1 hour. Then simmer till beans are tender.

Youth Corps Is Good Investment for Cities and Boys

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, as we are unfortunately aware, the serious floods experienced this spring on the Mississippi River left a vast amount of destruction and debris. In an attempt to deal with this disturbing aftermath and at the same time to provide a valuable economic opportunity for many young people in the affected communities, a Neighborhood Youth Corps was established in Clinton and several other damaged Iowa communities.

I am extremely proud of the outstanding accomplishments of the Neighborhood Youth Corps in Clinton and I am pleased with the recognition they are properly receiving. I feel this is a tribute to the participants, the area supervisor, Lowell Phillips, and to this imaginative program developed by the Office of Economic Opportunity to provide assistance to communities and the youth of our Nation.

I would like to include at this point in the RECORD an excellent description of the fine work performed by the Clinton Neighborhood Youth Corps this summer and the welcome response which this has prompted from the community. The following article appeared in the Clinton Herald on July 23, 1965:

AN EXPERIMENT PAYS OFF: YOUTH CORPS IS GOOD INVESTMENT—FOR CITIES AND BOYS

(By Lee White)

Hard work, often under a relentlessly hot sun and considerably less than favorable conditions is the lot of the Clinton's Neighborhood Youth Corps.

When it was announced that a Neighborhood Youth Corps was to be formed a lot of skeptical eyebrows were raised.

"What? Not another WPA," were the exclamations of those whose memories go back 30 or 35 years.

It was explained that flood cleanup work would be assigned to the youths, most of whom would be recruited from families which suffered from the historic 1965 Mississippi River flood or were economically disadvantaged.

So, the Neighborhood Youth Corps was organized in Clinton and half a dozen other flood-damaged Iowa cities and $315,000 provided to finance it.

Clinton has 56 youths enrolled. It was supposed to have 80 but some cities which came into the program late were given the remainder of the quota.

"You realize," says Area Director Lowell Phillips, "these boys are performing the work which had been laid out for 80."

But it is difficult to realize that is what happened unless you go out on the job and see for yourself just what is going on.

"First," explains Phillips, "many of these boys have had no previous work experience. Many of them are school dropouts and often there has been no incentive for them to get a job and hold it."

"Then, too," says Phillips, who is a Clinton High School instructor, "many of the boys have not been given the encouragement necessary to stimulate their interest in work."

Keith Holdridge, another Clinton High School instructor, who is a group supervisor, took time out while supervising a group on the Camanche River front, to give his views.

"You'd be surprised," Holdridge said, "how quickly these boys respond to a bit of praise and recognition.

"Not long ago," Holdridge continued, "an article on the corps was published in the Herald and mentioned the work the boys were doing in South Clinton.

"The next day," Holdridge went on, "half a dozen of the boys were overheard to comment 'did you see that one about us in the paper last night.'

"It probably was the first time in the lives of some of these boys that they had ever received any recognition," the supervisor declared. "And they responded to it."

"These boys take pride in what they are doing" remarked Warren Haffner, another high school instructor who was supervising a crew working along Elk River in northern Clinton County.

"And," continued Haffner, "they do their work well."

Ample evidence of what the boys can do was seen in the cleanup they had performed in the tangled undergrowth beneath the tall timber bordering the stream.

Huge piles of flood debris had been collected and prepared for burning. Some of it already had been burned.

Piling that debris hadn't been easy. First the youths had to hack their way through the undergrowth with razor-sharp machetes and when they did they uncovered the tangled debris washed into the area by the flood. It had crept up the valley as the backwaters of the Mississippi spread into Elk River.

Complicating it all was the work of the busy beaver. The whole timbered area is studded with the stumps of trees, large and small, which had been felled by the gnawing animals.

Trained in the use of chain saws, the Youth Corps boys sawed the beaver logs into sizes small enough to handle and tossed them on the piles to be burned. Some of them were well over a foot in diameter.

Problems of the youths were complicated by human litterbugs. Through the years the narrow area between the road and Elk River has been pretty much of an area dumping ground.

Just about all the kinds of junk that humans throw away was uncovered as the underbrush and tangled vines were chopped away. Constant vigilance had to be exercised to avoid contact with broken glass, jagged tin cans, wire and discarded pieces of steel. Parts of a washing machine, an old automobile door, a section of a barn window, and an old farm wagon axle with two broken wheels turned up.

Strangely, in spite of the thick growth, only a few nonpoisonous snakes have been found.

"It may be different next week," remarked Haffner, "as we'll be working around the Bulger Hollow area. There may be some rattlesnakes there."

Most of the cleanup work in the flooded South Clinton area had been completed by midweek. The boys then were shifted to Riverview Park and the Turtle Creek area.

Along the riverfront the youths were removing flood debris lodged in the riprapping by force of the flood current. A partial cleanup had been staged before the riverboat days celebration but more driftwood was revealed as the river level continued to drop. In addition, it was found that the strong flood current had dislodged even big rocks in the riprapping.

It was all handwork. Sweat and muscle were the only tools the boys could use on the steep bank and they had plenty of both with temperatures well into the 80's and the humidity almost as high.

Two groups were working in the Turtle Creek area. One, under the direction of Tom Sharples, a University of Iowa student, was reworking a front yard. It had been the site of a dike erected to break the current sweeping in from a wide stretch of open river. The ground was so hard a pick penetrated but a few inches.

The job was to rework the soil, level out the humps and bumps resulting from operation of sand trucks and get the yard ready for planting new grass seed.

Another Turtle Creek crew, under direction of Charles Pelton, also a University of Iowa student, was assigned to the task of removing flood debris from beneath the railroad bridge spanning the stream.

Turtle Creek now carries but a trickle of water but at the crest of the flood it had spread out to depths of as much as 5 feet over a stretch of several blocks.

Cleaning out from beneath the bridge was a highly unpleasant job. The banks are steep and muddy. Brush and driftwood had lodged on the upstream side of the bridge timbers and clogged the normal channel, carrying the threat of a backup in the stream in case of heavy runoff following a rain.

Similar conditions exist in the troublesome stream all the way to the North Second Street Bridge and it will be the job of the Youth Corps boys to correct them as far as possible. And they'll have to battle heat, mud, mosquitoes, and other insects to do it.

When the Neighborhood Youth Corps was being organized, Mayor Lewis Westgate, of Camanche asked for help. He said much of the Camanche riverfront was clogged with debris washed in by the flood and left behind when the water receded.

Mayor Westgate's description was modest in the extreme.

Because of the Camanche shoreline contours, the driftwood had jammed solidly. And, worst of all, an ancient boat dock, dislodged far upstream by force of the current had piled in on top of it. Some big trees had lodged against the steel framework of the dock in front of the Camanche Public Library. The whole thing presented a formidable task for any group, let alone unexperienced boys 16 to 21 years of age.

It was necessary to get the Civil Defense "duck" to remove the trees lodged against the dock framework. A tractor was used to drag other big trees far enough up the bank so they could be worked up with a chain saw.

The old dock presented another problem. It had timbers 16 to 18 inches square and 15 to 20 feet long. They had been water-soaked for years and were as heavy as lead. It was fortunate the dock lodged where it did because it could have carried away the dock if its huge weight had crashed against it while being carried along by the strong flood current.

It was a big job to rip the dock apart because it had been held together with big spikes and pins. Then the timbers had to be moved into position for being cut up with the chain saws. The final job was to stack the pieces for disposal by burning. They made a wonderful fire.

Willows and other brush had grown along the Camanche shoreline and it, too, had to be removed as it helped to cover driftwood. Wielding axes, hatchets, and machetes the youths worked it all down to ground level.

"The riverfront looks the best it has in 20 years," commented one Camanche resident.

"Twenty years," snorted another, "it looks the best it ever has."

Considerable work remains to be done along the Camanche riverfront but Supervisor Holdridge predicts it will be completed before the Neighborhood Youth Corps is disbanded by mid-August.

"The boys have done better than anyone expected," comments Area Supervisor Phillips, "and it looks like many of them will be benefited by their work experience."

Right-To-Work Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT T. SECREST

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. SECREST. Mr. Speaker, on November 4, 1958, the voters of Ohio were given an opportunity to vote for a constitutional amendment that would make legal a right-to-work law in Ohio. They voted against the amendment overwhelmingly. The total vote for the amendment was 1,160,324. The total vote against the amendment was 2,001,512. The vote by counties is set forth in the following table:

County	Yes	No
Adams	3,023	4,072
Allen	14,316	19,452
Ashland	7,492	7,611
Ashtabula	11,753	20,311
Athens	3,656	11,291
Auglaize	5,930	6,795
Belmont	6,654	27,250
Brown	2,894	4,917
Butler	20,645	40,433
Carroll	2,704	4,439
Champaign	4,904	4,820
Clark	15,872	23,053
Clerrmont	6,718	14,887
Clinton	4,973	3,783
Columbiana	13,246	24,232
Coshocton	4,865	7,281
Crawford	8,532	7,887
Cuyahoga	170,393	379,465
Darke	7,849	7,917
Defiance	3,884	6,271

County	Yes	No
Delaware	7,200	5,724
Erie	8,410	10,626
Fairfield	8,418	14,801
Fayette	4,613	2,949
Franklin	93,297	96,188
Fulton	4,646	4,271
Gallia	3,403	4,543
Geauga	6,789	7,606
Greene	9,545	12,101
Guernsey	4,414	9,236
Hamilton	109,994	187,855
Hancock	9,125	8,179
Hardin	5,088	5,452
Harrison	1,989	5,473
Henry	4,310	4,156
Highland	5,453	4,607
Hocking	2,430	5,192
Holmes	2,966	2,048
Huron	5,948	7,234
Jackson	3,353	7,590
Jefferson	8,415	28,924
Knox	5,637	10,117
Lake	14,509	28,821
Lawrence	3,130	12,978
Licking	10,868	18,610
Logan	5,909	6,082
Lorain	21,270	38,199
Lucas	51,128	114,352
Madison	4,326	3,646
Mahoning	32,842	67,715
Marion	8,989	12,067
Medina	8,192	10,227
Meigs	2,309	5,083
Mercer	3,882	7,226
Miami	11,436	12,721
Monroe	1,757	3,431
Montgomery	53,541	91,319
Morgan	2,106	3,261
Morrow	3,309	3,774
Muskingum	10,171	19,165
Noble	1,808	3,172
Ottawa	4,710	7,043
Paulding	2,246	3,011
Perry	2,566	8,375
Pickaway	5,377	4,640
Pike	2,486	4,480
Portage	10,161	19,748
Preble	4,695	5,228
Putnam	3,504	6,122
Richland	15,138	18,169
Ross	6,925	9,091
Sandusky	8,944	8,776
Scioto	11,095	22,614
Seneca	8,584	12,806
Shelby	5,276	6,841
Stark	48,345	76,660
Summit	49,420	124,372
Trumbull	20,890	44,322
Tuscarawas	8,763	20,829
Union	4,824	3,723
Van Wert	4,942	5,824
Vinton	1,235	3,103
Warren	6,516	11,758
Washington	6,461	8,859
Wayne	11,878	10,413
Williams	4,614	4,815
Wood	9,477	13,295
Wyandot	4,024	3,707

I am convinced that when the wishes of a constituency are known beyond a shadow of a doubt, that these wishes should be respected.

Those who voted against the right-to-work proposal in Ohio represent every segment of our population. They far exceed the total number of laboring people. Many rural counties voted against the proposal as solidly as did the voters from industrial counties. Labor unions, farm organizations, religious groups, and many others joined hands in opposing the right-to-work proposal. I believe their views should be respected and for this, and many other valid reasons, I intend to vote for the repeal of section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. Some provision should be made to protect religious groups and I am certain this will be done before repeal of 14(b) becomes final.

The Real Alabama—Part XXXIV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the economy of Alabama is in the midst of a great changeover from a 1-crop system to one which combines diversified agriculture with varied industrial enterprises.

The change is going ahead with steady confidence and consistency. It was discussed in a recent publication of the Gulf States Paper Corp., and portions of that material follow:

When DeSoto and his goldseekers first set foot in Alabama in 1540, they'd found El Dorado without realizing it. Unknown to them, the fertile soil, deep rivers, vast forests, and mineral deposits were a storehouse of much greater wealth than the gold they sought.

Today, more than at any time in the State's history, the potential of this wealth is being realized. Alabama provides such a wide variety of agricultural and manufactured products that economists say every known necessity and luxury could be supplied without importation.

The change from an agricultural to an industrial economy has also seen changes within the industrial community. Alabama's first industrial boom was in a few basic, extractive industries. Today however, Alabama's industry embraces a great range of products, and the trend is toward finished goods, rather than raw material processing.

Traditional leaders in Alabama industry, such as textiles, lumber, iron, and steel, have been challenged by new and rapidly growing ones, including aluminum products, metal fabrication, chemicals, pulp and paper, fertilizers, rubber, and processed foods.

The stepped-up tempo of Alabama's industrial development is evident in such economic indicators as new jobs, increased tax revenues, the rapid expansion of communication, transportation and other service businesses. Along with this development there is a corresponding increase in total volume of business and retail trade, and in total purchasing power. The total 1964 capital investment of $751 million in 614 new and expanded plants employing more than 42,000 people makes the State a leader in the South in this respect, and 1964 a record business year.

Several of the foremost reasons for progress in industrial development have been availability of labor raw materials, power and fuel, capital, a favorable governmental climate and tax structure, availability of transportation and markets.

One of the State's chief assets is the more than 3½ million people who supply an intelligent, native labor force, trained in skills, quick to adapt, loyal and efficient. Two of every nine of the State's employed people are in Alabama industry, and $1 of every $5 of income is derived from manufacturing payrolls. Alabama manufactured products are valued at more than two and a half billion dollars annually. Because Alabama industry is not concentrated in any one location, all the people of all counties share in industrial job opportunities.

In addition to its raw material abundance—products of mines, forests and farms—the State occupies a favorable position in the production of electric power, coal and coke. Natural gas is available to people and industry in almost every section of the State. Alabama is presently producing oil and gas valued at $22 million a year.

While capital from outside the State plays an important part in its industrial development, there is more local capital today than ever before in the State's history. Alabama citizens participate in numerous and widely varied businesses.

The State has 10 class 1 and 12 class 2 railroads with a total of 5,316 rail miles. There are more than 30,000 miles of paved highways and five regularly scheduled airlines. These facilities along with 2,000 miles of navigable rivers, and a modern port, give Alabama excellent transportation and availability to domestic and foreign markets.

A favorable tax structure helps place Alabama in a good competitive position, and the attitude of government on the local, county, and State levels has been favorable to industry and conductive to further legislation advantageous to industry.

The State's 27 institutions of higher learning are turning out men and women with the latest ideas—developing men and women for managing, producing, selling, and making more effective use of the State's resources. Alabama has reached the stage in its development where brains and skill have taken over from brawn and inexperience.

Alabama is a leader in research. In addition to research in colleges and agricultural experiment stations, private industries operate their own research units. The Southern Research Institute in Birmingham makes research facilities available to industry, government, foundations, and individuals.

While working for a high standard of living, the people of Alabama don't neglect their spiritual needs. Sundays find them attending churches of their choice—Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish—to gain inspiration for the coming week.

The apparent absence of gold in Alabama provided only disappointment to De Soto and his explorers. But the people of Alabama recognize that human intelligence and initiative are more important than any tangible wealth. For with intelligence and initiative they have made their State proud, progressive, and highly productive, with increasing promise of success and happy living.

IN THE NEW ALABAMA—PEOPLE USE LAND MORE EFFECTIVELY

A transition has taken place within the State, changing it from an agrarian to an industrial economy. The agricultural economy has shifted from cotton dominance to a varied production encompassing corn, cotton, timber, livestock and poultry. Modern mechanized equipment and chemicals have enabled the farmer to increase his planted acreage and reduce his labor requirements. From small operations with small profits, farms have gradually changed into big business. Change is also noticeable in the shift from a rural to an urban State. The day of the tenant farmer has ended.

A long growing season in a temperate climate, combined with the modern farming practices and improved machinery, brings in at present more than $630 million in farm income annually. Row crops—including cotton, corn, peanuts, potatoes, soybeans,

truck crops and hay—brings in more than $285 million. Imported midwestern grain is being converted into valuable new crops—livestock and poultry. Alabama has become one of the leading livestock producing States, with a livestock production value of more than $166 million annually, and rapidly increasing. Poultry-raising has developed into a major commercial operation, ranking third in the Nation, with gross annual receipts in excess of $177 million.

Alabama's green gold, its annual timber harvest, is worth more than a billion dollars each year, with a potential of double that figure. The State is a pioneer in reforestation with more than a million acres planted in trees in the past decade.

Alabama acres can produce up to a cord and a half of wood each year, as compared with one-half cord per acre annually in Northern States with the best forest management. The pine growing stock surplus is 30 percent greater today than 10 years ago, even though cutting has doubled.

This tremendous forest reserve attracts a vast forest products industry. Pulpwood is now the dominant forest product of Alabama. The State is the second largest pulpwood producer in the Nation, exceeded only by Georgia.

Wood-using industries expanding southward include those producing pulp, paper and lumber, the three major products of the forest. Pine plywood, a rather new product, can compete with Douglas fir in construction grade and interior paneling-grade plywood.

Over 30 minerals are found within the State, the only area in the world where the principal ingredients for making steel are found within a 25-mile radius. Ten percent of the Nation's mineral resources are found in Alabama. Included are coal, underlying about 7,000 square miles, iron ore, limestone, marble, gravel and building stone, oil and salt.

Alabama abounds in fresh water lakes and coastal waters. These provide fishing and other recreation, as well as beauty for the people of the State. Plentiful wildlife in the forests makes it a hunter's paradise. Eleven State parks are scattered over Alabama, with overnight camping facilities at seven.

From the mountains and lakes in the north, through the rich industrial and mineral section, into the fertile black belt, all the way to the beaches and flowerland along the coast, Alabama is a favored land.

War on Initiative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter to the editor which appeared recently in the Ogden Standard-Examiner:

WAR ON INITIATIVE

Editor, Standard-Examiner: The Bible tells us that there is a season for everything, and I feel that now is the season for all thinking Americans to speak out against the social giveaway programs of our present Federal administration.

I have been sick at heart at some of the things I have read and heard lately, but an article in your paper Tuesday evening has made it impossible to keep my silence any longer. Let me quote a few statements from this article, "Neighborhood Youth Corps Goes to Work in Ogden City."

"Candidates must be school dropouts or high school graduates not planning to go to school this fall. They must be between the ages of 16 and 21. They should also be from low-income families.

"Pay is $1.25 an hour.

"A number of applications have been received, but the quota is not filled and more applicants are welcome.

"Mr. Eide said it (the program) is designed to give young people 'a record of work.' Many of them have difficulty getting a job because they had had no work experience."

It would seem that America no longer places a premium on integrity or hard work. A student graduating from high school and planning to go to college must go begging for work, or work at jobs paying much less than $1.25 an hour, while the less-gifted or ambitious youth has everything going for him.

Let me refer to the above quote that many applications have been received but the quota is not filled. I know of one girl who applied for a job who was an honor student in high school and in her first year at college. Although from a large family, she was told she could not qualify for one of these jobs because her father made several hundred dollars a year more than he should in order for her to be considered from a low-income family.

It is further stated that the Youth Corps program is designed to give young people a record of work. What about the high school graduate or college student? Don't they require a work record?

I think the war on poverty could more aptly be called the war on initiative.

It is time for us to raise our voices and protest such unfair and un-American programs.

Mrs. ILENE S. COOK.

District of Columbia Administrative Procedure Act

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN DOWDY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, Subcommittee No. 4 of which I am chairman, devoted considerable attention to H.R. 7067, and determined that the legislation embodied therein is much needed in the District of Columbia.

For the information of the Members, I should like to give some of the background of and precedents for this legislation, as well as offer a section-by-section analysis of H.R. 7067 as reported:

BACKGROUND

Since 1956 legislation similar to the reported bill has been introduced, considered, and modified in an effort to prescribe definite administrative procedures for the District of Columbia government.

The adoption by the Congress in 1946 of the Federal Administrative Procedure Act (60 Stat. 237), covering the Federal Administrative agencies, set the pattern for many of the States to follow. Thus far, the following 19 States have adopted a State Administrative Procedure Act, or portions thereof; guaranteeing minimum standards of fair administrative procedure:

Arkansas.
California.
Georgia.
Illinois.
Indiana.
Maine.
Maryland.
Massachusetts.
Michigan.
Missouri.
North Carolina.
North Dakota.
Ohio.
Oklahoma.
Pennsylvania.
Rhode Island.
West Virginia.
Wisconsin.
Virginia.

The reported bill is based upon the model act for administrative procedures in the States, approved by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws. However, it has been modified and adjusted by the Administrative Law Committee of the District of Columbia Bar Association, and by subcommittees of your committee, to embrace the functions of the District, which operates sometimes as a State, sometimes as a city, sometimes as both. Obviously, all the provisions of the usual model State Administrative Procedure Act may not successfully be applied literally to the varied operations of the many different administrative agencies in the District of Columbia. Hence, the model act has been revised in many respects to meet local conditions, so the reported bill is well developed and provides a comprehensive District of Columbia Administrative Procedure Act.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF H.R. 7067

SCOPE OF THE STATUTE

Section 2 provides that the act shall supplement other provisions of law relative to procedures to be observed by the agencies covered, but provides that the act supersedes any such law or procedure if there is a conflict.

DEFINITIONS

Section 3 defines the statutory terms, such as "party," "contested case," "independent agency," "licensing," and "sanction." The definition of "contested case" has been drafted so as to exclude administrative functions traditionally nonsusceptible to application of the process of adjudication, such as inspections, tests, elections, etc., and where generally no hearing is expressly or implicitly required by any other law.

PROCEDURAL RULES

Section 4 provides for the establishment of rules of procedure, including, but not limited to, rules of practice before each agency and allows for supplementing such rules by descriptive statements for the assistance of interested persons.

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION

Section 5 provides that the Commissioners shall publish the District of Columbia Register at regular intervals in which rules of the agencies of the District of Columbia are to be published; provides that the courts are to take judicial notice of such published rules; and provides that other matters of public interest, codifications of rules, notice of public hearings, etc., are to be published in the District of Columbia Register.

PUBLIC NOTICE AND PARTICIPATION IN RULEMAKING

Section 6 requires public notice prior to the adoption of rules or proposed rule changes to be listed in the District of Columbia Register, so as to afford interested parties the opportunity to submit their views.

In the case of an emergency requiring immediate adoption of a rule, then the rule shall be valid without notice if, thereafter, all the provisions of the act are met within 120 days of its adoption.

FILING AND PUBLISHING RULES

Section 7 provides that within 30 days of the effective date of the act, each agency shall file a certified copy of its rules with the Commissioners. No rule, except an emergency rule as referred to in section 7(c) of the act, adopted after the effective date of the act shall become effective until after its publication in the District of Columbia Register.

COMPILATION OF RULES

Section 8 provides that rules in effect at the date of the enactment of this act shall be compiled, indexed, and published in the District of Columbia Register, together with all those meanwhile adopted and in effect at such time of compilation. It is further provided that compilations shall be supplemented or revised to reflect new rules or changes in rules. Your committee believes that for the purpose of compilation, a continuing publication in looseleaf form will suffice. Hence the amendment to this section striking out the requirement of publication every 5 years in the Register.

DECLARATORY ORDERS

Section 9 provides that the Commissioners or an agency may issue, upon the petition of an interested person, a declaratory ruling deemed necessary to terminate a controversy or remove uncertainty, and review of such a ruling may be pursued in the same manner prescribed for decisions in contested cases. The refusal to issue a declaratory order, however, shall not be subject to review.

CONTESTED CASES

Section 10 provides that reasonable notice of hearings be given in any contested case, as defined in section 2(8) of the bill; that the proponent of a rule or order shall have the burden of proof; that before any final decision the record shall be read by a majority of those rendering decisions, and that any adverse decision shall state findings of fact and conclusions of law. Findings of fact and law shall be supported by and be in accordance with reliable, probative, and substantial evidence. Material facts not appearing in the evidence but with respect to which the agency has taken notice must be included in the record serving as the basis for the order or decision.

Section 11 states that any person adversely affected or aggrieved by an order may petition for review and prescribes the powers of review with guidance for their exercise by the District of Columbia Court of Appeals and, in a few specified instances, by the U.S. Court for the District of Columbia. In general, the standards of judicial review set forth in section 11 are identical with those found in the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946, and as developed by controlling decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States and of the lower Federal courts.

U.S Foreign Policy: New Myth and Old Realities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, last week we again observed Captive Nations Week.

As part of the observance the Captive Nations Assembly held a dinner at the National Press Club on July 21, and heard an address by Representative GERALD R. FORD of Michigan.

Mr. FORD's remarks follow:

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY: NEW MYTHS AND OLD REALITIES

I am honored to be here tonight and to receive this Captive Nations Award. Your organization has a great mission. You help keep alive the hope of freedom for the captive peoples under communism. With a deep sense of humility, I thank you—and salute your efforts.

Tonight I would like to discuss new myths and old realities affecting U.S. foreign policy. American fighting men are at this moment in a hot war in Vietnam. They are there to help roll back the tide of Communist aggression. If they are to succeed, here at home we must face up to the true nature of the enemy—communism.

The theory has grown in recent years that this enemy is changing and mellowing. We are told that the Communist world is splitting up. We are advised by so-called experts that the Soviet Union wants peaceful coexistence. These experts say that we should encourage such change by a more tolerant attitude toward communism.

This has been a dominant theme in recent American foreign policy. Unfortunately, it is a theme based on hope, not evidence—on myth, not reality.

For example, there has been an effort to pull down a verbal Iron Curtain on any discussion of the captive nations under Communist rule. Some misguided spokesmen have even opposed the idea of having a Captive Nations Week. They claim it rubs the Kremlin the wrong way and therefore blocks American-Soviet understanding.

That is the myth—but what is the reality? It is that in Eastern Europe tens of millions of people live under Communist repression. No democratic elections are permitted in these countries. The principle of national self-determination is ruthlessly denied.

The myth says that the United States should furnish trade and aid to help the economics of these captive nations. We are told that in this way the Communist monolith will break up.

That is the myth—but what is the reality? The truth can be learned by studying this Nation's policy toward Hungary. We are being told now that the Communist rulers of Hungary are changing. We are being told now that they too are mellowing. We are being advised by the so-called experts that the United States should consider a large-scale trade and aid program to Communist Hungary. The theory is that we can help liberalize Hungary's domestic and foreign policies.

That is the theory. But what is the reality? The reality is that the people of Hungary today remain under a brutal Communist dictatorship. The regime there was brought to power through bloody repression of the Hungarian people—and it remains in power by threat and coercion.

We will pay dearly for such mistaken theories. We have paid dearly for them in years past. Three times in this decade the old realities of communism have fomented major world crises.

There was the reality of the Berlin wall in 1961. Today, 4 years later, the wall stands as a symbol of Communist aggression. The outrage of Western statesmen has been forgotten—as the Communists knew it would. But the wall remains. As with the captive nations, we are not supposed to mention the Berlin wall anymore. To do so, we are told, is an unnecessary irritation of the Soviets.

Thus does the spirit of false coexistence march on. It callously ignores all proof of Communist aggression. It deceives its followers—and it betrays the cause of freedom.

Thus, in 1962, came the reality of the Cuban missile crisis. That crisis should have upset the theories of our mythmakers. Communist deceit and aggression were made plain for all to see. Despite this fact, the reality of the Cuban missile crisis soon gave way to myth.

Again, the apostles of coexistence at any price did not admit their mistake. Instead, they began arguing that the missile crisis advanced the cause of American-Soviet understanding. Why? Because, they said, it proved to the Russians that the United States will stand firm when our vital interests are at stake.

But we might ask why Khrushchev and his military advisers ever believed otherwise? What led them to think that the United States would ever tolerate Soviet missiles in the Caribbean?

The answer is that the Communists concluded—as the late Robert Frost quoted Khrushchev—that America had become too liberal to fight.

Our lesson in Cuba ought to guide us during the third great crisis of this decade—in Vietnam. In Cuba, our early vacillation encouraged the Communists to bolder-and-bolder aggression.

We cannot—we dare not—lead them to repeat that mistake in Vietnam.

The Communist leaders in Moscow, Peiping, and Hanoi must fully understand that the United States considers the freedom of South Vietnam vital to our interests. And they must know that we are not bluffing in our determination to defend those interests.

Mao has said that America will soon tire of the war in Vietnam. It is President Johnson's grave responsibility to convince Mao and his Communist allies otherwise.

Our power is known to the enemy. The enemy must be convinced of the fact that we will use that power to meet the threat of aggression.

Toward this end I recommended a short time ago that we intensify our air strikes against significant military targets in North Vietnam. Predictably, I was denounced by armchair theorists. Many of these same spokesmen have given the President only half-hearted support in his Vietnam policy. Many have openly attacked the President's firmness—and called for a retreat out of Vietnam.

My purpose was—is—and will continue to be—to strengthen the President's effort to convince the enemy of our firmness. But many of his ostensible political allies are in fact weakening his hand in this crisis.

Let me repeat what I have said before: Here at home, President Johnson need not fear that the opposition party will ever undercut his efforts to be firm against Communist aggression in Vietnam, or elsewhere. We have backed these efforts—and we will always put national interest above narrow partisan interest.

But the President's worst opponents here at home are those critics within his own party who are undercutting his credibility in enemy capitals.

Before the Cuban crisis, Khrushchev was misled into believing America would not stand firm. Today, Mao is being misled by the cut-and-run speeches made by members of the President's own political family.

Mao hears the clamor for negotiation-at any-price—from members of the President's own political party.

Mao hears the clamor to retreat to high ground or to Saigon— or even to Waikiki—from members of the President's own political family.

Mao hears vague talk of "political solutions" and de-escalation—from a U.S. Senator who not long ago occupied a powerful policymaking position in our Government. And, he too is a member of the President's political family.

Along with the President, we wonder what some of these recommendations mean. But Mao believes he knows their meaning. To him and his allies, they mean America is divided. To Mao and his allies they mean

that this country will abandon its policy of firmness in Vietnam.

These then are the irresponsible critics of the President's Vietnam policy. Not those of us—Democrat and Republican alike—who want it known that the United States will defend our vital interests.

These then are the irresponsible critics. Not those of us who urge that the President act to convince the Communists of our resolve.

These then are the irresponsible critics. Many of the same irresolute voices led us to near disaster in Cuba. Now they argue that our fight in Vietnam is the wrong battleground—in the wrong place—at the wrong time.

But the vast majority of Americans know that the defense of freedom is the highest calling of a great nation. And we believe that the time we help protect a free people from Communist aggression we are meeting our responsibilities at the right time—in the right place.

This does not mean—as some cynical spokesmen claim it does—that we must undertake a holy war against communism. But it does mean that we must respond to communism's own "unholy war" against human freedom.

What then are the vital interests we must defend in Vietnam?

Up to now, the public dialog has been concerned with escalated means. Perhaps the time has arrived when the President, and those of us who support him, must escalate not means alone—but the ends for which we fight.

Is it enough to say that we are fighting to get the enemy to come to a conference table? The enemy himself is fighting for well-defined objectives. He wants to drive us out of Vietnam, conquer the people and dominate the land.

If we are to defeat this enemy objective, we too must define our goals in Vietnam. Our military commitment has increased. Now the President must detail the vital interests we are fighting for in that part of the world.

With the one exception of Korea, the United States has fought every war with clear objectives. These goals served to guide and sustain our fighting men and our people. The national frustration suffered during the Korean war resulted from our lack of clear objectives.

It is not enough to tell a free people that they are fighting a war only to achieve a stalemate. It will not be enough to gain in Vietnam the same kind of negotiated settlement reached in Laos.

The negotiation in Laos opened the borders of South Vietnam to Communist aggression. We cannot fight in Vietnam to negotiate a settlement that will simply open the rest of southeast Asia to aggression and subversion.

We do not choose to be in Vietnam. We would not be in Vietnam if the Communists would only leave their neighbors alone. But it is not in the Communist nature to leave their neighbors alone. The fate of the captive peoples throughout the Communist world proves this fact. To believe otherwise is to believe a myth—not reality. It is a myth which might lead the world to the darkness of tyranny—or the horrors of a global holocaust.

John Ruskin said:

"You may either win your peace or buy it; win it, by resistance to evil; buy it, by compromise with evil. You may buy your peace with silenced consciences; you may buy it with broken vows—buy it with lying words—buy it with base connivances—buy it with the blood of the slain, and the cry of the captive, and the silence of lost souls over hemispheres of the earth, while you sit smiling at your serene hearths, lisping comfortable prayers morning and evening, and so mutter continually to yourselves, 'peace, peace,' when there is no peace; but only captivity and death for you as well as for those you leave unsaved; and yours darker than theirs."

We will win our peace by resistance to evil. We will not buy it by compromise with evil. That will remain our purpose in Vietnam and throughout the world—wherever brave men resist tyranny and long for freedom.

Dante Alighieri Commemorative Stamp

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, on the morning of July 19 at the main post office in Chicago over 300 people gathered at colorful ceremonies, sponsored jointly by the Post Office Department and the Joint Civic Committee of Italian-Americans, to mark the issuance of the Dante Alighieri commemorative stamp.

This year, Hon. John A. Gronouski, the Postmaster General of the United States, designated a stamp in honor of the great Italian poet, Dante Alighieri, in order to commemorate the outstanding contributions Dante has made to the arts and to literature. Dante Alighieri, born 700 years ago, wrote with inspired vision and profound wisdom. To this day his works have universal appeal and he is a poet as immortal as Shakespeare.

At the impressive ceremonies honoring Dante, the Filippo Mazzei Post, Italian-American War Veterans of the U.S.A., posted the colors, and Rev. Salvatore Devita, provincial superior, Scalabrini Fathers, gave the invocation, after which Harry Semrow, postmaster of the Chicago Post Office, welcomed those present.

It is my pleasure to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the remarks made on this occasion by Col. Frank W. Chesrow, president of the Chicago Metropolitan Sanitary District, Vincent E. Ferrara, president of the Joint Civic Committee of Italian-Americans, and by Hon. Alexander Napoli, presiding judge of the Criminal Division, Circuit Court of Cook County, Ill.

The remarks of these distinguished Chicagoans follow:

REMARKS BY COL. FRANK W. CHESROW

I am very pleased and proud to participate in these ceremonies to launch the sale of a new commemorative stamp honoring Dante Alighieri. This is a fitting tribute to a great son of Italy and the universal contributions of "an illustrious man who belongs to every age and to people of all ages," as President Johnson said recently.

As reported in San Francisco, where the new stamp went on sale on July 17, 1965, Mr. Edward D. Re, Chairman of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, indicated that President Johnson, in groping for ways to deal with the problems of presidential politics, occasionally studies the writings of Dante.

In a letter released by the White House staff, the President indicated, "Dante's immortal 'Divine Comedy' is the best known and most widely respected work. But for those who are charged with administering their nation's affairs, his provocative political ideas, expressed in his other literary masterpieces, have enduring meaning and significance."

I am indeed thrilled that so many of our judges, political leaders, and fine representatives of our community have gathered here to pay tribute to Dante. The Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans, the Federal Government, and the post office of Chicago are to be commended for their leadership in focusing attention on this great man on the 700th anniversary of his birth.

I congratulate all of you for your participation.

REMARKS BY VINCENT E. FERRARA

It is with great pride that the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans participates in these ceremonies, jointly with the Post Office, to launch the sale of the new Dante postage stamp, commemorating the 700th anniversary of one of the greatest Italians in history. As Time magazine stated in last week's issue, "Dante is a man for the ages."

Judge Napoli will later present the main address, in which I am sure he will discuss in a most eloquent manner the great literary contributions of Dante Alighieri, and his tremendous impact upon world literature and world civilization. I shall not infringe, therefore, upon the judge's topic for two good reasons. First, because he will do so much more brilliantly than I can, and, secondly, because I do not wish to be held in contempt of court.

But, seriously, my task as president of the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans is to express to all of you our profound thanks and deep appreciation for joining with us on this unprecedented occasion. This is the first time, to my knowledge, that such an occasion has taken place in the city of Chicago. Not for lack of leadership or organization among our people, but simply because great Italians have rarely been honored by the Federal Government through this wonderful device of a commemorative stamp issue. I understand that only three other Italians have been so honored—Columbus, Verrazano, and Garibaldi. Let us hope that this day is a beginning. Let us hope that more Italians who have enriched world civilization will be given this type of recognition. Let me assure you that the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans will devote its energies and its leadership to bring about this type of recognition, aided, of course, by our political leaders and by our business and professional men and women.

At this point I wish to pay special tribute to those persons who assisted the joint civic committee in its efforts to have this special issue of the Dante stamp. First, we wish to express our gratitude to the Honorable John Gronouski, Postmaster General of the United States who readily approved our recommendation which was brought to his attention by our esteemed and brilliant political leader, Senator PAUL DOUGLAS. Senator DOUGLAS, who has a great love for Italy and its people and culture can always be counted upon to help us promote such activities, and so to Senator DOUGLAS, we say "thank you" from the bottom of our hearts for his intervention on our behalf.

I also wish to express our deep appreciation to our own beloved leader, Congressman FRANK ANNUNZIO, for his enthusiastic support in connection with this measure. As you all know, this competent and dynamic Representative of this, the Seventh District, always goes out of his way to give vigorous leadership to every liberal and enlightened cause for the welfare of his constituents and for the American people as a whole.

I also wish to express thanks and appreciation to Prof. Joseph Fucilla from Northwestern University for conceiving the idea of a Dante commemorative stamp. He pro-

posed the idea to the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans which in turn set the wheels in motion to achieve this objective. Professor Fucilla, chairman of the Department of Romance Languages at Northwestern University, and a member of our committee, has devoted a lifetime to scholarly research. His publications and his achievements are too numerous for me to mention under these circumstances, but I assure you that they are recognized by his colleagues in the academic world.

Last, but not least, I wish to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to Postmaster Harry H. Semrow, our genial and capable host, for his efforts in permitting us to join with the post office in this celebration, and in making all of the arrangements, in which he was ably assisted by his capable "alter ego", the Director of Operations, William Boschelli and the Director of Office Administrative Services, Philip Lazzara.

There are many other persons who quietly and behind the scenes assisted the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans in achieving its objective of having issued a Dante commemorative stamp. But time does not permit a complete enumeration. But to all those who assisted, and to all of you present here today I wish again to express our appreciation for your participation in these ceremonies.

It is very important that we as Americans of Italian extraction participate in civic, educational, and cultural ventures of all kinds. Participation in positive and constructive activities is necessary if we are to preserve and strengthen our Democratic way of life, and it is of paramount importance that our Americans of Italian extraction be especially active because we have many talents and abilities which can be utilized to enrich our American way of life.

This, finally, is the basic purpose of the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans—to mobilize our leadership and our resources for a better life for our children, our local community and our Nation for a greater America.

And in conclusion, I wish to announce that the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans will, this morning, purchase $1,000 worth of the Dante Stamp. I sincerely hope that all of you will manifest your interest in similar fashion. I thank you.

DANTE "A MAN FOR THE AGES," ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE JUDGE ALEXANDER J. NAPOLI

Ladies and gentlemen, the 700th anniversary of the birth of one of the world's greatest and most sublime poets, Dante Alighieri, is being celebrated this year in all civilized nations.

Commemorations honoring him have already been held in many places in our United States, including Chicago; but today we Americans are paying him a very special tribute, a tribute which is usually reserved for our own Presidents and men of genius, but seldom, if ever, accorded to those of foreign countries. As you all know, a special commemorative Dante stamp has been issued and goes on sale today for the first time.

To tell you in some detail why all these homages are being rendered to Dante, and why they are due to him would require volumes and many hours of our precious time. But I am afraid that in the few minutes allotted to me there is little else I can do beyond merely enumerating, with few comments and observations, the extraordinary achievements of this greatest of all Italian poets, who is also unanimously considered the father of the melodious language of Italy.

The most important events of his life briefly are these:

Dante was born in the latter part of May 1265 in Florence (which means the city of flowers), then a free city-state, which had been enjoying a democratic government with a parliament long before King John signed the famous Magna Charta. The name given to him was "Durante" (or long lasting), of which Dante is a shortened form. His education was undoubtedly the best that could be obtained in the 13th century. After studying with Brunetto Latini, the well-known author of "Il Tesoretto," a sort of medieval encyclopedia, Dante attended the University of Bologna, where he eagerly absorbed the history, philosophy, theology, and the natural sciences with which his works, most especially the "Divine Comedy" are top-heavy. No book on earth displays such vast and thorough knowledge. Dante also learned riding, fencing, painting, and singing.

In 1289 he had a taste of war, for he fought with the Florentine Army in two short wars; against Arezzo and Pisa. In order to be able to enter politics, he enrolled in the corporation or guild of physicians and druggists. He held several offices, including the important offices of Priore and Florentine Ambassador to Pope Boniface VIII. Although he fell in love with Beatrice, he married Gemma Donati, from whom he had several children. When the Black Guelphs won the elections in 1301, Dante, a White Guelph, was exiled together with the leaders of his party; later he was condemned to pay a fine, and when he refused to do so, he was condemned in absentia to death by being burned alive. He died in Ravenna after 20 years of wandering throughout Italy, for ever-longing to return to his "bel San Giovanni"; i.e., the city of his birth.

Dante wrote very fluently in Latin, Italian, and even Provencal. In medieval times Latin was considered by all the appropriate language of scholars, the sole language to be employed in writing about serious matters. Hence, it was natural for him to write in Latin some of his most important works. In Latin are "De Vulgari Eloquio," a very interesting treatise about the emerging language of Italy; "Quaestio de Aqua et Terra," a discussion on geophysics; some eclogues; some epistles of political nature; and "De Monarchia," a very provocative treatise on government and political theory. We know that he had begun to write in Latin even his masterpiece, the "Divine Comedy," because of the sublime nature of its subject matter, but that he soon switched to Italian in order to reach a greater number of readers.

As a political theorist Dante towers far above the thinkers of his age, and for this alone he deserves all the honors and homages we are paying him in this 700th anniversary of his birth. He was indeed the great prophet and visionary; he was 700 years ahead of his time, for he believed in a one-world and one-world government. He firmly believed, and he was led to this by the sorrowful experiences of his days, that only a world state or government could keep a stable order with peace and justice all over the world.

He reasoned syllogistically more or less in this fashion: man is a rational or reasoning animal, and his natural function is rational or intellectual activity; but this function can be properly exercised only if peace is maintained; therefore man needs a government which will preserve peace on earth, in other words, a world government.

We who live in the nuclear age, can appreciate Dante's political theory a great deal better than his contemporaries; and to avoid future catastrophies, we have already taken a step toward world government by establishing the United Nations. It matters not that Dante theorized that the head of the world government should be an emperor, and that his seat should be in the "giardino della Europa"; namely, Italy; what is relevant and material is the idea of a world state, or world government; and Dante must be given full credit for it, as indeed he is by all scholars.

Dante loved and cherished the wisdom and the beauty of the ancient Greco-Roman classics, such as Homer, Livy, Horace, and Virgil; his love and admiration for Virgil is so great, that he refers to him as "il mio maestro e il mio autore" (my teacher and my author), and made him his guide through hell and purgatory.

This pervasive feeling, this strong affection and deep veneration of Dante for the writers and thinkers of the ancient classical world make Dante a forerunner of Renaissance and humanism, that great period of history when the best of Greek and Latin civilization, literature and science was resurrected from the dead by the Italians, and made to live again and become a very important and fundamental part of the education of the modern man.

Of course, Dante is best known for his writings in the vernacular, namely Italian. He wrote in this beautiful and melodious language: "Vita Nuova" or ("The New Life"), a prose and verse story of his love for Beatrice; "Il Convivio," (or "The Banquet"), a philosophical treatise also in prose and verse; and finally "La Divina Commedia" ("The Devine Comedy"), the greatest poem ever written, the most often printed, translated and written about book, next, of course, to the Bible. There are some 77 translations of it in the English language alone.

By writing these works in the vernacular Italian, Dante accomplished three very unusual and important things: (1) he immortalized the dolce stil nuovo or sweet new style of love poetry; (2) he gave a new life and stature to a vernacular, that up to that time had not been used in writings of a serious nature; (3) he became, ipso facto the father, the creator of the Latin's first born daughter; the beautiful and melodious Italian language.

Dante's glory, however, rests chiefly, as you all know, on the "Divine Comedy," a long poem in three parts or cantiche, dealing with his imaginary journey through the world beyond: Inferno, Purgatorio, and Paradiso. This poem is at once the strangest, most sublime, most beautiful, and most difficult of all poems. It is a deep, through study of man at his best and at his worst; it is the fascinating story of mankind as it actually is and as it ought to be; the story of man's redemption and final salvation. Yes, the whole wide world is somehow in it; thieves, murders, traitors, counterfeiters, atheists, epicureans, etc., but there are heroes such as St. Francis of Assisi, St. Benedict, Peter Damian, Joachim da Fiore, etc. Because all knowledge is the province of the "Divine Comedy," the poem is akin to the encycolpedias of the Middle Ages, called Summae, such as the Summa of Thomas Aquinas. To read it with profit and enjoyment, one who is not acquainted with history, astronomy, music, philosophy, mythology, poetry, and theology, must constantly refer to explanatory notes.

The language is compact and concise, rivaling and at times, surpassing Horace and Tacitus. The tone is, at various times, prophetic, violent, and exquisitely sweet. Everything is proportionate and symmetrical; there are 33 cantos in each cantica (or part) and 1 canto, the first, as a sort of introduction, making thus a total of 100 cantos; a perfect number according to numerology. Each cantica ends with the words "A riveder le stelle," to see the stars again.

The numerous similes and other figures of speech are incontestable evidence of Dante's vast and deep knowledge of man and nature. There is an intensity and earnestness in this marvellous epic, which is unequaled in any other poem. Its sublimity is such that a later generation added the word Divine to what Dante had simply entitled Commedia.

Dante himself rightly calls his poem, the poem, "a cui han posto man e cielo e terra," the poem on which both heaven and earth have labored.

Planting Our Flag Without Marines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, one of the most creative and dedicated men in Government today is Mr. Eugene P. Foley, Administrator of the Small Business Administration. Many of his innovations have borne fruit in terms of greater opportunities for small businessmen.

One of the most imaginative and promising of the new approaches used by Mr. Foley has been his plan to bring together small businessmen in foreign nations with American small businessmen in joint business ventures abroad. In this way our free enterprise system can play an important role in economic development of other nations while expanding American foreign trade.

The most dramatic chapter of this effort is unfolding in Tunisia where American and Tunisian small businessmen are engaged as partners in business ventures. Mr. J. A. Livingston, a distinguished columnist for the Washington Post, has written an informative article explaining this pioneering venture and its significance.

I ask unanimous consent that this column be reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD, believing it will be of widespread interest to millions of small businessmen throughout the Nation.

The column follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 23, 1965]

PLANTING OUR FLAG WITHOUT MARINES

(By J. A. Livingston)

Perhaps a dozen Americans—well, maybe 20—have heard of Sotad. It's a newly formed corporation fathered by three American small businessmen disparately located in Waynesboro, Va., Dallas, and Milwaukee. You can't help wondering how they got together.

What daring, what aspiration. You might even call it impertinence. A tiny, untried American enterprise on the African shores of the Mediterranean puts itself in a class with Texaco, Socony, and Alcoa—all billion-dollar operations—by using a corporate acronym. Will it live up to its pretension?

Sotad is French alphabetics for Tunisian-American Small-Business Development Corp.—Societe Tuniso Americaine Developpement. It's capitalized for $75,000 in all—$15,000 in hard American dollars and $60,000 in counterpart Tunisian dinars advanced by the Agency for International Development (AID). Already it has put $45,000 in Claude Gozlan's financial pot.

Why? Because Gozlan is a rarity—a Tunisian with entrepreneurial zest, a yen to own and operate his own business.

In 1956 he sold his automobile for $2,000, got a small shop, hired three employees and started manufacturing tables, chairs, and other simple items of furniture of metal and wood. For locomotion, he bought a motor scooter.

He now employs 170 persons. This year he expects to gross $800,000 (in dinars), a $200,000 gain over last year. His capital is stated at $250,000, on which he nets $80,000, or better than 30 percent. Not bad.

That high earnings potential and the challenge—the chance to implant American know-how where it will be effective politically and economically—lured the three Americans into Tunisia. They are:

Charles Eckman, whose Virginia Metalcrafters, Inc., makes lawnmowers and garden tractors and whose Williamsburg Reproductions manufacturers brass and other metal products. He is working with Gozlan on the use of Eckman parts in the manufacture of tractors and in fashioning brass products for export, largely to the United States.

Dan Varel, who will work with Gozlan in producing oil-well bits, the mainstay of his Varel Manufacturing Co., in Dallas. He also has plants in Paris and Algeria.

Robert Moon, soon to make his fourth trip to the Gozlan works. His Lakeside Manufacturing Co., Milwaukee, specializes in sheetmetal products—tables, chairs, and other items. This, as noted, is what Gozlan got started in. Moon hopes to cut costs and improve designs.

Gozlan is completing a tour of the plants of his three partners to see firsthand the how and why of their methods and techniques. He was brought together with his American coadventurers by Eugene Foley, head of the Small Business Administration, who feels that underdeveloped countries don't—can't—develop giant industries overnight. They need small businesses. Foley sponsored a trip of small businessmen to Tunisia.

Theory: Who can better teach developing businessmen in developing countries than men who, perforce, are versed in small business problems—production, distribution, sales—from the raw materials up.

To be sure, many underdeveloped countries tend toward socialism—state ownership of enterprise. This is hard to avoid in an era of automation, requiring heavy investment. In primitive societies, individuals don't amass wealth—capital. Nor do they develop entrepreneurial skills. So the government usually has to buy the machinery and provide the management.

But once businesses get started, the managers often become property minded and pragmatic. Foley hopes—through American know-how and collaboration—to foster this pragmatism where and when it's located. In Eckman, Varel, and Moon, Foley found three Americans willing to take a 10-percent stake in Gozlan's business.

If the Gozlan venture succeeds, Sotad will explore other joint ventures. "We don't lack for opportunities, for offers," Moon told me.

But Eckman, Varel, and Moon are true American businessmen. They're in Tunisia for profit. They don't intend to lose their stake or AID's either.

They're also in Tunsia for kicks. It's their way—and Foley's—of planting the American flag abroad without using the marines. Call it technological infiltration—if you will.

Let's hope Sotad grows up to its acronym.

The War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable John L. Niblack, judge of the Marion County Circuit Court, in Indianapolis, Ind., has had a long and distinguished legal career in the Hoosier State. His concern with the welfare of his community has made him one of the most outstanding civic leaders in Indianapolis, and his comments on the war on poverty which appeared in the July 25, 1965, Indianapolis Times reflect a lifetime of experience and perceptive observation.

His comments follow:

THE WAR ON POVERTY

(By Judge John L. Niblack)

It is hard for me, born in rural America in another century, and reared in a national tradition that our country was the land of opportunity and freedom, to witness the surrender of liberty and the degradation of the individual that is now taking place.

When I was young, the Bible, the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, Ben Franklin's Almanac, Abraham Lincoln's biography and Horatio Alger, Jr., were required reading for youth and largely formed their ideals.

Children were taught to stand on their own feet, to work, to save their money and to make a place for themselves in the world. Ninety-nine percent of the leaders and rich folks sprang from poor families.

There has been a continual war on poverty going on in the United States since the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth. They almost starved to death. Other than some old recluse, I have never heard of anyone who starved to death, even in the great depression of the middle 30's.

We have county homes, welfare departments, old age assistance, social security, day nursery, Flanner House, united fund, slum clearance, school aid and many other local agencies catering to the unfortunate.

The Center Township Trustee's office alone has 5,000 families on direct food, rent and medical aid beyond the welfare department, which spends $20 million a year in keeping and rehabilitating dependent people.

This Federal war on poverty is a silly waste of public money by our National Government in Foggy Bottom, Washington, D.C., a Government that has no money, is $350 billion in debt, takes $125 billion a year in taxes and deductions from you and me and borrows the rest from us—to help us.

This war on poverty of course appeals to the best that is in people. The local committee is a good one. I appointed Mrs. Coapstick (a representative of the welfare board on CAAP) to the welfare board and backed Richard Lugar (another CAAP director) for the school board. Many others on it are fine people and my friends. Yet it has no real authority and the whole idea is a needless duplication of local effort.

In my time since I was a reporter on the Times and attending night law school (at my own expense) I have seen the terrible slums along Fall Creek in Nels Wells' "black bottoms," where many cabins had dirt floors, abolished by local effort in slum clearance project A.

There are no such slums now. The great majority of colored people live in good middle-class homes and many live in the finest homes in town and country, through their own efforts.

What Indianapolis needs is a central clearing office to find out the problem families in this county and recommend it to our committee on poverty. Eleven percent of children entering the first grade are not capable mentally of going on to high school. Drunkenness, gambling, and divorce lead to a great percentage of impoverished families, crime, and juvenile delinquency.

All cases coming under juvenile court; criminal and municipal courts; civil courts of divorces with children, child support, reciprocal runaway puppy cases to other States, insanity inquest and retarded children; all welfare department cases; school dropouts,

hookey players and class failures; county health cases; condemned dwellings; township relief cases and police and sheriff's reports on cases, except minor traffic violations, should be noted and sent to the central clearinghouse for a card index cross file. A constant study should be made of all such families. Then relief could be devised for these community problems. Instead of treating symptoms as now, we could begin to treat causes.

Finally, a chief objection to this Federal war on poverty, for example: take the operation Head Start program for preschool children. Now the Federal agents arbitrarily elect families who are not competent to give their babies preschool training. The next logical step will be to take such children away at birth and place them in a competent home or asylum such as the Knightstown home for war orphans, a very successful operation.

Later the ultimate step, of course, under such a dictatorship as is developing over our lives, will be to select persons who are deemed unfit to propagate and they must be sterilized. Thus Government will benefit the entire Nation. Local government and freedom of the individual will be more—maybe rightly so.

Report of National Projects Committee to the National Rivers and Harbors Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT T. SECREST

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. SECREST. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD the report of the national projects committee which was unanimously adopted by the recent 52d national convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress held in Washington, June 8 to 11, 1965.

The operative committee of the congress, the national projects committee, consists of an outstanding expert on water resource problems from each of the major drainage basins of the United States. They serve without compensation of any kind whatsoever and bear all of their own expenses when coming to Washington and while serving here on this committee.

The committee's purpose is to assist the sponsors of projects in preparing and presenting their data, so that they may be placed in line for approval. The committee does not originate action on any project but acts only on applications which are presented to it. The projects recommended by the committee and endorsed by the congress are vigorously pressed for inclusion in the Government's public works program and appropriations or allocation of funds sought therefor.

We are grateful to the members of this committee for their public-spirited service in an effort to assist the Congress of the United States and the governmental agencies charged with the responsibility for these public works, as well as the people in the areas to be served thereby.

The members of the committee who served at its recent session are as follows:

COMMITTEE ON PROJECTS

Representative ROBERT T. SECREST, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. (Home: Senecaville, Ohio), chairman.

William H. Webb, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C., secretary.

MEMBERS

New England division: John J. Halloran, general manager, Boston Maritime Association, Boston, Mass.

North Atlantic division: Malcolm Pirnie, Jr., consulting engineer, New York, N.Y.

South Atlantic division: Col. George W. Gillette, U.S. Army, retired, Wilmington, N.C.

Lower Mississippi Valley division: Hu B. Meyers, Baton Rouge, La.

Southwestern division: Dale Miller, Washington, D.C.

North central division: Al Hansen, Minneapolis, Minn., cochairman.

Missouri River division: Dan S. Jones, Jr., Lincoln, Nebr.

Ohio River division: J. I. Perrey, Indianapolis, Ind.

North Pacific division: Herbert G. West, Walla Walla, Wash.

South Pacific division: Vice Adm. Murrey L. Royar, U.S. Navy, retired, Washington, D.C.

Pacific Ocean division: Robert T. Chulk, manager-chief engineer, Division of Water and Land Development, Department of Land and Natural Resources, State of Hawaii.

Western intermountain region: Harold H. Christy, Pueblo, Colo.

REPORT OF THE PROJECTS COMMITTEE TO THE 52D NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL RIVERS AND HARBORS CONGRESS

JUNE 11, 1965.

Mr. HENRY H. BUCKMAN,
President, National Rivers and Harbors Congress, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In pursuance of the call of the President, your projects committee met on June 9, 1965, to consider projects submitted since the last session of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress. Hearings were afforded all who made appearance.

The committee at this session has examined 71 proposals embracing all resource improvements with which this Congress is concerned, including navigable waterways, harbors, flood control, hurricane protection, soil conservation, reclamation, and water conservation.

Of the proposals examined, this committee is convinced that 40 constitute projects sound in conception, needful, and sufficiently advanced in status to warrant endorsement, involving a total estimated cost of $1,936,-542,000. Nine proposals appear to be without sufficiently advanced development to warrant project endorsement at this time, but are believed to be meritorious and entitled to further consideration by this committee, if and when additional information may be adequate to warrant an endorsed status. We find that on 20 proposals, surveys have been authorized but the reports of said surveys have not been completed and we therefore recommend in these cases that Congress appropriate sufficient funds to permit completion of these surveys as soon as practicable in order that action may be taken toward classification by this Congress. We find two proposals which on preliminary examination appear to be desirable and needful, and we accordingly recommend that engineering and economic investigations of survey scope be made in these cases with a view to developing projects for subsequent authorization.

Appendix A of this report sets forth in detail a list of all proposals and projects examined and the action taken thereon.

The water resources projects now in operation by the Corps of Engineers have reduced transportation costs and flood damages and provided electric energy, improved water supplies, public recration, and benefits from the preservation and enhancement of fish and wildlife resources.

In calendar year 1963, the waterborne commerce of the United States amounted to 1,174 million tons, consisting of 555 million tons on coastal harbors and channels, 188 million tons on the Great Lakes, and 431 million tons on inland and intracoastal waterways. Each of these three systems has, by savings in transportation costs, more than justified construction and operating costs. Coastal harbors and channels are being progressively improved to provide the greater depths required for ocean carriers of today. Depths of 35 feet now generally prevail at major harbors on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, ranging up to 45 feet in New York Harbor. Depths of 30 to 40 feet are generally available along the Pacific coast. Harbors and channels of lesser depth also have been provided for commercial fishing, recreational boating, and harbors of refuge. Great Lakes harbors joined by the connecting channels, provide a low-cost transport artery that permits movement of materials and products in huge quantities to advantageously located industrial areas. Controlling depths in the connecting channels are now 27 feet in both upbound and downbound channels. There are some 60 harbors on the Great Lakes with authorized project depths of 18 to 27 feet. The Federal Government has improved in varying degree some 22,000 miles of inland waterways, of which about 19,000 miles are currently in commercial use. Commerce on the inland and intracoastal waterways increased about 4 percent during the past year, to establish a record of 139 billion ton-miles.

The authorized flood control program, including the Mississippi River and tributaries project, is estimated to cost $9 billion. Since 1936, the Corps of Engineers has completed nearly 500 projects having a cost of about $3 billion. Projects having an estimated cost of $5 billion are under construction, and many of these have been advanced to the point where they are at least partially effective for flood control. The remainder of the active flood control programs, estimated to cost $2 billion, has not been started. Many multiple-purpose reservoir projects with power also provide important flood control benefits. A total of almost 825 Corps of Engineers projects of all categories are now fully or partially effective for flood control.

Corps of Engineers projects have been highly effective in reducing flood damages. During the limited period they have been in operation, they have prevented flood damages of almost $12.5 billion. More than $650 million of flood damage was prevented during fiscal year 1964. The Nation will remain vulnerable to severe flood damages from major floods until an adequate degree of protection is achieved. This goal may be reached through orderly prosecution of existing flood control plans, expanded to meet economic development taking place in flood plains. The results from operating flood-control projects prove that much of the flood damage now experienced can be economically prevented.

Heavy snows and rain in December 1964 caused disastrous flooding in northern California and Oregon, Washington, Idaho and

Nevada. In the latter part of January 1965, a combination of rain and snowmelt caused further flooding in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho with extensive damages. Damages are currently estimated at $480 million. Under authorities available to the Corps of Engineers the sum of about $40 million was expended for flood fighting, provisions of emergency protective works, health and sanitation measures, debris clearance, and the necessary rehabilitation of existing Corps of Engineers projects.

Following the time when Alaska was rocked by an earthquake of March 27, 1964, the Corps of Engineers was requested to assume responsibility for much of the repair and restoration work in the earthquake disaster area. The sum of about $90 million was provided to the Corps for this work.

April 1965 rainfall, combined with delayed melting of the heavy snowpack in Iowa and Minnesota, caused major flooding in southern Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, and parts of Wisconsin and Illinois. Many thousands of people were evacuated and property damage is expected to run into many millions of dollars. Rivers crested at record or near-record stages. At Mankato, Minn., the Minnesota River crested at 29.1 feet (only 0.8 feet below the 1881 historical record stage); and at St. Paul, Minn., the Mississippi River crested at 26 feet (about 4 feet above the record 1952 stage). Record and near-record stages also occured on the Mississippi River from Fort Ripley, Minn. to Keithsbury, Ill. The Army Corps of Engineers initiated preparatory measures early in March, when the dangerous flood potential became apparent, and actively promoted adequate advance preparation on the part of the States and local interests. Corps personnel advised on flood fighting measures, and provided feasible assistance to supplement local resources and capabilities. The vigorous flood fights made at St. Paul, Mankato, and Winona in Minnesota, at La Crosse in Wisconsin, and at Dubuque in Iowa are notable examples of coordinated Federal, State and local efforts. Preliminary estimates indicate that about $40 million of damages were prevented by existing flood control projects of the Corps of Engineers, and about $95 million damages could have been prevented by projects that have been authorized but not yet constructed.

The position of hydroelectric power development in the program has grown with the increasing needs of the Nation for electric energy, and the expanding Federal interest in its development and use. The construction of reservoirs has afforded wide possibilities for the development of water-power. Hydroelectric power production at corps projects in operation during fiscal year 1964 amounted to 33 billion net kilowatt-hours of electric energy. This represents about 18 percent of the hydroelectric power production, and about 3 percent of the total electric production, from all public and private electrical generating plants in the Nation.

The Corps of Engineers is presently operating about 2.3 million acre-feet of water supply storage space in 27 reservoirs, which supplements the water supplies for over 2 million people in 72 towns, cities, and rural areas. It is estimated that a dependable supply in excess of 1,300 million gallons per day is available from water supply storage space now in operation. There is presently about 3.5 million acre-feet of water supply storage space under construction in 21 reservoir projects.

Conservation releases and releases from hydropower generation improved the quantity and quality of downstream flows, benefitting water supplies, recreation, and fish and wildlife.

The civil works program contributes to the Nation's outdoor recreational opportunity through the development of water resource projects. The construction of reservoirs, harbors, and waterways, and the protection of coastal beach areas foster increasing recreational benefits. Public use visitation at reservoirs and certain waterway projects reported for calendar year 1963 was 147 million, an increase of 16 percent over the preceding year. Our expanding population with more leisure time, more purchasing power, and more mobility continues to seek more opportunities to enjoy the outdoors, and quickly takes advantage of the new artificial lakes created through the construction of reservoirs. This is evidenced by the peak-day attendance of 3,350,000 persons using the facilities and 178,000 watercraft in operation on these waters. Recreation has become so extensive a use of water resource projects that it can now be considered a factor in the economic justification for construction of multiple-purpose dams and reservoirs.

Your committee requests that the Congress take particular note of the increased number of reclamation projects upon which appearances were made this year. It has been many years since we have noted this degree of interest and support before the projects committee on behalf of specific reclamation and irrigation developments.

In total, eight projects or units of projects were considered and of these seven have been endorsed (class I) and one was found to be meritorious (class II). These projects, when authorized and constructed would provide, in addition to needed irrigation service for diversified crop production, substantial supplies of municipal and industrial water in the Western States. They would also provide many multiplepurpose corollary benefits through fish and wildlife enhancement and increased outdoor recreational opportunities.

The committee wishes to emphasize for the information of the Congress that a distinct trend toward multiplepurpose use of water and related land resources is evident in the projects considered by the committee this year. We find that these developments have been carefully planned with a high degree of awareness for local, regional, and national needs. Particular attention has apparently been given to projects which would feature municipal water supplies, supplemental irrigation to preserve existing economies threatened with decline due to overdeveloped ground water tables, utilization of hydroelectric power for peaking purposes as distinct from baseload operations, justifiable flood control, and other recognized modern planning concepts.

In classification of these projects, the committee has been mindful of the often heard apprehension that federally supported project-type irrigation development is inconsistent with the national interest from the standpoint of well-known commodity surplus problems. Analysis of the projected achievements and impacts from this year's docket of reclamation projects will indicate that the agricultural production from these undertakings would not, indeed, have the effect of worsening crop surpluses. In many notable cases, the opposite effect would occur as a result of small grain acreage being converted to forage and specialty crops. In other cases, the crop production benefits stem from highly specialized crops not now or foreseeably in surplus.

Legislation concerning recreation has been introduced as H.R. 5269, 89th Congress, 1st session, cited as the Federal Water Project Recreation Act. The Bureau of the Budget has advised that it expects the agencies concerned to implement immediately the policies and procedures set forth in the proposed act. Fundamentally, the proposed act provides for a substantial level of Federal participation in the cost of development for recreation and fish and wildlife enhancement features of water resources projects if non-Federal interests agree to administer project land and water areas for these purposes, bear not less than one-half of the separate project costs allocated thereto, and bear all the costs of operation, maintenance, and replacement of recreation and fish and wildlife lands and facilities. The proposed act includes provisions responsive to problems of adjustments to a new policy with respect to participation by non-Federal interests at various stages of project planning.

Since enactment of the 1962 and 1963 Rivers and Harbors Acts, the corps has completed and submitted to Congress for its consideration about 80 reports, many of which have been considered by your projects committee. At the request of the Senate Public Works Committee many of these reports have been testified on by the Corps of Engineers in anticipation of a 1965 omnibus rivers and harbors and flood control bill. In addition, there are about 100 reports in process to the Congress.

The Senate has passed a 2-year monetary authorization bill which is now before the House. It is anticipated that before the closing of this National Rivers and Harbors Congress that this bill will be before the President for approval. To carry out the large planning program, the President's budget for fiscal year 1966 includes over $17 million for general investigations. These funds would provide for continuing 209 navigation, flood control, and beach erosion control studies and the initiation of 41 others. A total of 64 of these studies will be completed with the funds made available in fiscal year 1966.

Respectfully submitted.

ROBERT T. SECREST,
Chairman.

NOTE A

A project which has been placed in class II, III, IV, or V by the committee may be reexamined from time to time upon due application and the submission of material supplementary information, with a view to advancing its classification; but no project will be reported upon by the committee more than once in each calendar year.

NOTE B

Attention is called to the fact that when a project is once put in class I—endorsed, such status continues and it is unnecessary to follow up at subsequent sessions with new applications. All projects "endorsed" by the Congress, upon the recommendations of the committee, retain their status until finally constructed, unless such action is rescinded by the Congress, and the Congress stands pledged to do everything possible to assist in reaching that goal.

APPENDIX A

APPLICATIONS FOR APPROVAL OF PROJECTS RECEIVED BY THE PROJECTS COMMITTEE

(NOTE.—Letter "R" following the project number indicates revision of a previous application.)

DIVISION I—ENDORSED

Endorsed: This means that it is the judgment of the committee that the project is sound, needful, and sufficiently advanced in status; and that its construction is justified by the public interest it will serve.

Docket No.	Name of project	State or States	Division
820-R	Dana Point Harbor	California	South Pacific.
852-R5	Channel to Newport News, Norfolk Harbor, and Thimble Shoal Channel, Va	Virginia	North Atlantic.
885-R	Manteo (Shallowbag) Bay (continuation of project 885 classified division I, 1954)	North Carolina	South Atlantic.
970-R3	Ocracoke Inlet to Beaufort Inlet, N.C. Combined hurricane-protection and beach-erosion-control project (Portsmouth Island, Core Banks, and Shackleford Banks).	do	Do.
1157-R5	Waikiki beach improvement	Hawaii	Pacific Ocean.
1164-R2	Rouge River flood control	Michigan	North central.
1168-R5	Haleiwa beach-erosion project	Hawaii	Pacific Ocean.
1169-R5	Honolulu Harbor—Deepening and widening of harbor and survey for a harbor at Barber's Point.	do	Do.
1170-R5	Harbors for light-draft vessels, coast of Hawaiian Islands	do	Do.
1175-R2	Port Jefferson Harbor	New York	North Atlantic.
1193A-B-R3	Savannah Harbor (pt. II, tidal gates and sediment basin)	Georgia	South Atlantic.
1220-R3	Cape Fear River, N.C., above Wilmington	North Carolina	Do.
1222-R	Red River below Denison Dam, navigation and bank stabilization	Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana.	Lower Mississippi Valley.
1271-R	Animas-La Plata project, Colorado and New Mexico	Colorado, New Mexico	South Pacific (WIM).
1288-R2	Modification at Kawaihae Harbor, Kawaihae, Hawaii	Hawaii	Pacific Ocean.
1303-R	Dolores project, Colorado	Colorado	South Pacific (WIM).
1312-R	Clifty Creek Reservoir on Clifty Creek near Hartsville, Ind	Indiana	Ohio River.
1317-R	Patoka Reservoir on Patoka River near Jasper, Ind	do	Do.
1323-R	Honokahau small-boat harbor	Hawaii	Pacific Ocean.
1330-R	Touchet division, Walla Walla project, Oregon-Washington	Washington	North Pacific.
1331	Central Utah (Bonneville unit), initial phase	Utah	South Pacific (WIM).
1337	Program of small navigation projects under authority of sec. 107, River and Harbor Act of 1960	North Carolina	South Atlantic.
1340	Mermentau River navigation	Louisiana	Lower Mississippi Valley.
1341	Morgan City and vicinity hurricane protection	do	Do.
1342	Monroe floodwall, Ouachita River	do	Do.
1343	Replacement of Caddo Dam	do	Do.
1345	North Loup division, Missouri River Basin project	Nebraska	Missouri River.
1346	Midstate division, Missouri River Basin project	do	Do.
1347	Hanapepe shore-protection project	Hawaii	Pacific Ocean.
1348	Alum Creek Reservoir	Ohio	Ohio River.
1349	Athens local protection	do	Do.
1350	Chagrin River	do	North Central.
1351	Chillicothe local protection	do	Ohio River.
1352	Mill Creek Reservoir	do	Do.
1353	Channel to Newport News and Norfolk Harbor, Hampton Roads	Virginia	North Atlantic.
1354	Small-boat refuge harbor (Conneaut Marina)	Ohio	North Central.
1356	Wichita River projects, Red River Basins	Texas	Southwestern.
1357	St. Clair River-Lake St. Clair-Detroit River level control	Michigan	North Central.
1362	San Felise—Division Central Valley project	California	South Pacific (WIM).
1363	Missouri River, Sioux City to Kansas City, navigation project	Iowa, Missouri	Missouri River.

DIVISION II—MERITORIOUS

Meritorious: This means that the committee believes that although the project is not sufficiently advanced in status to warrant its present endorsement, it is meritorious and that the committee is willing to consider in due course, its advancement to Division I upon presentation by its sponsors of additional evidence justifying such action.

Docket No.	Name of project	State or States	Division
590-R	Lake Erie-Ohio River Canal	Ohio	Ohio River.
1279-R	Devils Jump Reservoir, Big South Fork, Cumberland River	Tennessee, Kentucky	Do.
1332	Dallas Creek project	Colorado	South Pacific (WIM).
1333	Outer banks of North Carolina between North Carolina-Virginia State line and Hatteras Inlet (combined hurricane protection and beach erosion control project—Kitty Hawk, Kill Devil Hill, and Nags Head beaches and others).	North Carolina	South Atlantic.
1334	Bogue Inlet to Moore Inlet (Topsail Island)—Combined hurricane-protection and beach-erosion-control project (Surf City and Topsail Beach and others).	do	Do.
1336	Program of small flood control projects under authority of sec. 205, Flood Control Act of 1948, as amended.	do	Do.
1338	Beaufort Inlet to Bogue Inlet—Hurricane protection to mainland areas contiguous to sounds and estuaries (sound and rivers in Carteret County).	do	Do.
1344	Bayou Bodcau, Red Chute, Loggy, Black, and Cypress Bayous	Louisiana	Lower Mississippi Valley.
1359	Hatteras Inlet and related channels	North Carolina	South Atlantic.

DIVISION III—EXPEDITIOUS REPORT ON AUTHORIZED SURVEY REQUESTED

Expeditious report on authorized survey requested: This means that the committee believes that the National Rivers and Harbors Congress should request the engineering authority to expedite any report on any authorized investigation or survey of the project to the end that appropriate further action may be had thereon in regard to its classification.

Docket No.	Name of project	State or States	Division
744-R4	Oregon Inlet and related channels (continuation of project 744-R3, classified division I, 1951)	North Carolina	South Atlantic.
1158-R5	Iao Stream, Maui, Hawaii	Hawaii	Pacific Ocean.
1163-R4	Palolo-Manoa Valley	do	Do.
1172-R5	Port Allen Harbor modification, Kauai	do	Do.
1174-R5	Explosive-handling facilities within Hawaii harbors	do	Do.
1177-R	Rampart Canyon hydroelectric power project	Alaska	North Pacific.
1219-R4	Kohama Stream flood control	Hawaii	Pacific Ocean.
1227-R	Hilo Harbor and Hawaii lava barrier	do	Do.
1273-R2	Kuliouou Stream flood control	do	Do.
1297-R	Pensacola Harbor improvements	Florida	South Atlantic.
1298-R	Santa Rosa Peninsula Channel to connect East Bay with Santa Rosa Sound	do	Do.
1299-R	Yellow River Dam and Lake	do	Do.
1319-R	Waipio River, Kohala-Hamakua coast	Hawaii	Pacific Ocean.
1324-R	Maalaea small-boat harbor	do	Do.
1325-R	Hilo tsunami protection	do	Do.
1335	Cape Fear Inlet to South Carolina line—Combined hurricane-protection and beach-erosion-control project (Yaupon Beach, Long Beach, Holden Beach, Ocean Isle Beach, Sunset Beach, and others).	North Carolina	South Atlantic.
1339	Waimalu Stream flood control	Hawaii	Pacific Ocean.
1358	Local flood-protection project, Marion	Indiana	Ohio River.
1360	Logan Reservoir	Ohio	Do.
1361	Saline River Basin	Illinois	Do.

DIVISION IV—PROJECTS RECOMMENDED FOR SURVEY

Recommended for survey: This means that the committee believes that sufficient showing on behalf of the project has been made to warrant further examination in the form of an adequate survey by an appropriate agency of the Federal Government.

Docket No.	Name of project	State or States	Division
1300-R	Point Washington Cut—Channel from Choctawhatchee Bay to Gulf of Mexico	Florida	South Atlantic.
1355	Brunswick-Hanover-Pender maritime area	North Carolina	Do.

Maritime Industry Strike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, the vital national interests of the United States can only be served if the strike that has stopped work in the maritime industry for more than a month is brought to an end.

The current strike is having adverse effects on the national economy and on our national defense establishment. It is essential to the public welfare that we bring about a settlement of the maritime industry's manning disputes.

The eight strikebound steamship companies recently sponsored a full-page space advertisement in six major daily newspapers in the United States. It appeared yesterday in the Washington Post and I know that many of my colleagues have already had an opportunity to see it. I would like, however, with your permission, Mr. Speaker, to have the text of the advertisement brought to the attention of all my colleagues through the Appendix of the RECORD. Also, I would like to call my colleagues' attention to a letter I received yesterday from Mr. W. B. Rand, president of United States Lines. Mr. Rand's appeal for help in arriving at a solution to the current maritime strike should be read by every Member of the House. With your permission, I insert the contents of this letter in the RECORD along with the text of the steamship companies' informative advertisement:

UNITED STATES LINES CO.,
New York, N.Y., July 23, 1965.

Hon. THOMAS N. DOWNING,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR TOM: As you probably realize eight subsidized steamship lines operating from the east coast and from the gulf are now about to complete the sixth week of a complete work stoppage. Secretary of Commerce Connor has described the situation as intolerable.

The issues have been narrowed. The one issue which is the greatest block to settlement is that of manning the new automated ships. In 1963 industry, upon its own initiative, agreed with labor on a reduced crew for their future vessels to be built as replacements for the present fleet in order to make American ships more competitive in world trade. The U.S. Government which is the chief beneficiary of such crew reduction, as it pays approximately 72 cents on the dollar toward crew wages, had no hand in this. As a result of these negotiations we were able to reduce our manning on automated cargo liner from 49 men per unit to 35 men per unit.

On November 12, 1964, we received from the Sun Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co. the first of these vessels, and we now have four in operation. This type is an excellent 21-knot cargo vessel with all modern improvements. From a manning point of view it has worked out beautifully. We have provided very comfortable air conditioned quarters, facilities, et cetera, and there is no work done by any individual which exceeds that done on the older ships. However, the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association has harassed us since the delivery of the first vessel to the point of tying up our ships, threatening a tieup of our entire fleet which, in fact, has finally been accomplished with the termination of our contract with the MEBA on June 15, 1965.

The MEBA is insisting upon the freedom to place aboard these new ships of ours, as well as those of other companies with the same type vessels, additional engineers as they see fit—who are not needed. If we were to allow the MEBA to have its way in this we are convinced that the other unions aboard these ships would be knocking on our door tomorrow with the demand that more of their members be placed aboard the ships. This is a manifestly false issue which now prevents a contract.

We have offered to submit any direct or indirect manning disputes for final determination binding on all parties to a board set up by George Meany, president of the AFL–CIO, of which MEBA is a member, with the approval of the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Labor. This has been turned down.

I appeal to you to tell me how we could have made a fairer offer without jeopardizing the future of the American merchant marine, as we are certain any increase in the manning represents the death knell for automation at sea, as well as the American merchant marine.

We have tried to assist the Government in the dollar deficit in every way possible. We have been successful in obtaining many new customers for the American merchant marine on an appeal by the President of the United States to help remedy the balance-of-payments problem. As a result we now have a real human problem in that many small exporters and importers who have demonstrated a very patriotic feeling in shipping on American-flag lines now see their cargo tied up at the pier with no hope of release until this infamous strike is over. Many of these unfortunate people will go out of business.

My question in its simpliest form is this—where do we go for help?

Sincerely,

W. B. RAND,
President.

LET US SETTLE THIS STRIKE

For over a month, an irresponsible strike has crippled the maritime industry. This is the latest pathetic example of years of interrupted service through labor squabbles which have resulted in continuous tieups, loss of cargo, loss of U.S. revenue and loss of American prestige. Our objective is to bring this whole disastrous course to an end—not merely to settle a dispute.

To achieve this, we, the eight strikebound steamship companies, have offered to submit any direct or indirect manning disputes on automated ships to a factfinding body for final determination binding on all parties. We have suggested that this body be set up by George Meany, president of the AFL–CIO (of which the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association is a member) under a plan to be approved by Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz and Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor. Until permanent machinery is established we have asked MEBA to continue the present manning on these new ships.

MEBA has turned down this proposal. MEBA has refused to accept the ultimate responsibility of labor to put its house in order. MEBA has also refused to agree to the naming of an impartial arbitrator. They won't listen. They must listen because American shipping must survive—

To maintain a lifeline of urgently needed materiel to our Armed Forces throughout the globe (this has been dangerously delayed during the last month).

To continue carrying international commerce in American vessels (now being transferred to foreign-flag carriers).

To comply with President Johnson's balance-of-payments proposals (now being undermined by idle ships, picketed piers, and warehouses).

To put back to work 10,000 officers and seamen (on the beach against their wishes).

To put back to work the many more supporting workers ashore (now unnecessarily without income by a senseless maritime strike).

MEBA, for your sake, for our sake, and above all, for our country's sake, accept these proposals. Let us get our ships underway.

Bloomfield Steamship Co., Farrell Lines, Inc., Grace Line, Inc., Gulf & South American Steamship Co., Inc., Lykes Bros. Steamship Co., Moore-McCormack Lines, Inc., Prudential Lines, Inc., United States Lines Co.

The Serious Side of Broadcasting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE W. GRIDER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. GRIDER. Mr. Speaker, radio station WDIA in Memphis is a truly remarkable operation.

It commands the highest ratings and provides entertainment for thousands in its broadcast area.

Its many activities include aiding the needy with food and clothing, promoting recreational activities for youngsters, providing college scholarships, and furnishing transportation for crippled children. WDIA provides a serious side of broadcasting as it talks over the problems of the community with the community.

Under the leadership of Bert Ferguson, its executive vice president and general manager, WDIA, has become one of the leaders in shaping thought and opinion in our part of the South.

Under unanimous consent, I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point the following article:

THE STORY OF WDIA'S EDITORIAL PROGRAM

(By Bert Ferguson)

("Opinions cannot survive if one has no chance to fight for them."—THOMAS MANN.)

Community interest is the first rule of thumb for WDIA editorials.

Anything that helps the city of Memphis, and its surrounding area, to develop economically, educationally or aids in promoting harmony among those living in and around Memphis is of primary interest to the WDIA editorial program.

This does not mean that WDIA editorials will always support majority opinion in the community. Sometimes majority opinion is contrary to the long range community good; and, sometimes, a majority fails to consider property the needs of the minority group in the community.

It also does not mean that WDIA editorials will, as a matter of course, support the minority viewpoint. It is traditional for some of the finest American editorials to take up the the fight for the underdog. But WDIA's editorial program fights for the underdog only when he appears to be right. There are times when minority opinion is wrong and, if allowed to preserve, is detrimental to the community's best interest.

The WDIA editorial program tries to judge each issue, or situation, on the facts known at the time of its emergence, or happening.

WDIA believes that the best editorials are those which deal with problems which affect its listeners.

Since a high percentage of WDIA listeners are Negro, this means that the majority of WDIA editorials are concerned with problems that concern the Negro.

But it does not mean that WDIA, necessarily, takes the Negro viewpoint.

Here are stands taken in the past by WDIA editorials. They do not mean, however, that, at some future date, WDIA will not change its editorial position on a given issue, if such a change seems necessary:

EDUCATION

WDIA is concerned with the future of the Memphis city school system. Former School Board President William D. Galbreath testified before the U.S. Civil Rights Commission in June, 1962, that 84 percent of Negro teachers in the city school system had failed to make a median grade on the national teachers examination.

WDIA is concerned, with increased integration, whether—based on Mr. Galbreath's testimony—there are enough Negro teachers qualified to meet the growing challenge.

WDIA believes that the Negro teacher, when trained at such institutions as Memphis State, has shown that he or she can make a median grade, or better, on the NTE. WDIA believes that, in the future, the city school system should apply the same tests and requirements to both Negro and white teacher applicants, and that ability should be the main interest in hiring new teachers.

WDIA believes that no more teachers, white or Negro, should be hired who cannot make a median grade on the NTE. As of November 1, the city school board has adopted such a cutoff point for permanently hiring new teachers.

WDIA believes that preschool education is essential for poor children in the community. A Memphis State University survey has indicated there are, at least, 10,000 such students in Memphis.

The U.S. antipoverty program, under direction of R. Sargent Shriver, has instituted Operation Headstart in Memphis and Shelby County, as well as the rest of the Nation. Under this plan, kindergarten-type centers were established for 8 weeks, largely with Federal funds, and poorer children (almost 7,000 in Memphis and Shelby County) received training designed to get them off on a more even footing with other children, who enter first grade with some training behind them.

WDIA believes that the city school system should give more time and thought to the reasons behind the high rate of failure in the first grade; also to the reasons behind the fact that Negro children in the first four grades in the city school system are able to keep up with national standards in reading, writing, and arithmetic, but, in the grades after the fourth, they begin to slip and fall several years behind the national average.

WDIA believes that everything should be done to curb school dropouts. But it also believes that Memphians appear to be more aware of this problem than may be true in other cities.

ECONOMIC AND JOB OPPORTUNITY

WDIA believes that all citizens of Memphis and its surrounding area—both Negro and white—should have equal job opportunity.

But this always must be based on the ability to do the job.

WDIA's editorial program has taken the position that Negroes have no chance of finding equal job opportunities unless they also get an equal chance at job training. WDIA has urged labor unions to open their apprenticeship programs to Negroes. It has urged that firms and factories in the Memphis area go out of their way to encourage Negroes to apply for job training.

It has editorially supported Public Works Commissioner Pete Sisson's order that all construction firms, doing work on city jobs under his department, must adopt a policy of hiring without regard to race or color.

WDIA's editorial program has urged the city of Memphis to begin moving toward a $1.25 hourly minimum wage, as urged by State Representative A. W. Willis, Jr., of Memphis. It has supported Commissioner James Moore's position that employees of city of Memphis hospitals be raised toward the $1.25 hourly minimum, as soon as possible.

In order to have jobs for those who are trained to fill them, a city must have the businesses, factories, and distributors which require workers. WDIA, editorially, has urged that everything, within reason, be done to encourage new industry, or businesses, to establish in the Memphis area.

LAW ENFORCEMENT IN THE COMMUNITY

WDIA, as said earlier, aims in an editorial program that deals with the everyday problems of its listeners. There is small comfort in an editorial dealing with the United States-Soviet moonrace to a man who is worried about something that happened to him, or to a member of his family, on Memphis streets.

WDIA, on the question of law enforcement, has taken the position that no citizen should resist arrest. If he feels he is being arrested, wrongly, he should leave the decision to the court.

WDIA has also come out strongly against any hint of police brutality.

WDIA has urged Negroes, some of whom appear to be reluctant in the Memphis area, to apply for positions as policemen. Its editorials have pointed out that the good policeman is a force for good in his community.

WDIA has advocated the abolition of capital punishment. A bill passed the Tennessee senate but failed by one vote in the house.

HOME AND FAMILY LIFE IN THE COMMUNITY

Homelife is a particular problem for the Negro family because a high percentage of Negro mothers work all day.

WDIA has urged its listeners to know where their children are when they go out at night. And also has urged them to see that the children are required to be home at a reasonable hour.

It has been stressed, through editorials, that love is a basic requirement for the happy family group. And that each child should be made to know that he is an esteemed and valued member of the family. But, WDIA also has stressed that discipline must be maintained. And the child must know, if he does wrong, he is certain to be punished.

It has urged parents—who feel that the schools try to tell them, too often, how to bring up their children—that they should join the Parents Teachers Association and discuss personal family problems with the teachers.

In the field of juvenile delinquency, which is closely allied to family problems, WDIA has urged that problem children be handled, as much as possible, before the problems begin. And that love, security and firmness, in most cases, heads off the problem of children who can't get along within the rules of society.

COURTS

WDIA has supported Juvenile Court Judge Kenneth Turner in his determined campaign to make fathers, separated from their families, support their children, or go to jail. WDIA also has backed Judge Turner in his efforts to make the fathers of illegitimate children support their offspring; and Judge Turner has been supported in a move to give a legal name to children born outside any formal marriage.

But, as an example of WDIA's belief that the situation determines the stand, WDIA editorials have not supported Judge Turner in his belief that children as young as 14 years old should be tried as adults in criminal courts for serious crimes.

WDIA's editorial program opposed Judge Ray Churchill's belief that municipal traffic courts should have the final say in such serious cases as drunk driving and be allowed to sentence defendants up to 15 days in jail on the charge.

WDIA has advocated that police officers, testifying as prosecutors in city court cases, be required to refer to all defendants, Negro or white, as "Mr. Jones, rather than Jones, or even, Thomas, or William." Many officers, WDIA found, omitted the "mister" if dealing with Negro defendants but always applied it for white defendants. Thus, said a WDIA editorial, implying an unfair distinction between the two defendants.

It commended Judge Ray Churchill for taking the trouble to explain to defendants just what their rights are before the law. This is especially necessary in municipal courts because many defendants do not have legal counsel.

ON INTEGRATION OF PUBLIC SWIMMING POOLS

WDIA has taken the position that Memphis city swimming pools should be opened, immediately, on an integrated basis.

It has supported, editorially, such organizations as the Unitarian-Universalist Fellowship, which also urged opening of public pools.

The Park Commission has responded by opening at least six pools for the summer of 1965.

ON NEGRO MORALE AND NEGRO HISTORY

A sound editorial program must meet the needs of those it deals with. Ninety-eight percent of WDIA's listeners are Negroes. Most expert observers agree that the Negro suffers from a low personal morale. He tends to believe many of the things which his critics have said about him. WDIA believes it has a duty to aid the Negro in his search for the route to the mainstream of American life. In a deliberate attempt to boost the Negro's pride in himself and his race, WDIA has stressed prominent figures of American Negro history. It has also stressed, whenever possible, achievements of Negroes in current society. Some critics might label such efforts as propaganda. But WDIA's editors believe that the Negro has much to be proud of that he doesn't know about because little is taught in public schools about Negro history; and that he has the right to know. And to be proud.

ON LEGAL ISSUES OUTSIDE THE COURTS

WDIA took issue with the Memphis and Shelby County Bar Association when the association failed to vote to allow Negro attorneys to be members. The second time around the association changed its position and WDIA, editorially, expressed its approval.

It editorially chided Negro attorneys when few of them took advantage of their newly won opportunity to join the bar association.

ON POLITICS AND THE CITIZEN'S INVOLVEMENT

WDIA has advocated that the Negro in Memphis first register and then vote. The Negro vote, in Memphis, came of age in the last elections: national, statewide and county. The Negro vote was decisive in winning the congressional race for Congressman GEORGE GRIDER and, in Shelby County, for the edge given to Senator ROSS BASS. For the first time since early in the century, a Negro, A. W. Willis, Jr., was sent to the State legislature. And a Negro, H. T. Lockard, was the first of his race in many years to be elected to Shelby County court.

WDIA has urged the Negro to vote not as a bloc but as voter who has his interests uppermost in mind. It has urged such winners as Willis and Lockard to remember that they represent all the people, and not a minority of the people.

ON CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE NEGRO CITIZEN

WDIA's editorial program has supported the Negro's fight for equal status as an American citizen.

It blamed all citizens of Mississippi, even the so-called good citizens, when NAACP Field Director Medgar Evers was assassinated. It pointed out that those who closed their eyes, or refused to speak out, against such acts were also guilty in the opinion of all moral people.

It has recommended, along with opening of swimming pools, that all other public facilities in Memphis be opened to the Negro. And such facilities have since been opened.

WDIA has argued that white churches, particularly, should welcome Negro visitors. And white churchgoers should visit Negro churches. It opposed the Second Presbyterian Church which, for some weeks, refused to admit a mixed racial group of Sunday visitors.

WDIA, editorially, has maintained that the Negro must be given the means—equal education and equal job training and job opportunity—to establish a strong Negro middle class. Because only through such a middle class will the Negro find his way to stable community standards.

The above paragraph might be described as the hard core of WDIA's viewpoint on the so-called Negro question, which, as President Johnson has said, is, really, an American question.

WDIA, as said earlier, does not always agree with all Negro policy in the civil rights area. Recently, it opposed Dr. Martin Luther King's determination to call an economic boycott against the entire State of Alabama. It supported Whitney Young, Jr., director of the National Urban League, who said, "The good guys should not be hurt with the bad guys."

WDIA believes that the instruments of mass media have a responsibility for leadership in their community.

It tries to speak out and, at the same time, to be responsible in its editorial program.

Sealab Crewmen Bow at Ceremony

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego Union of July 24, 1965:

SEALAB, CREWMEN BOW AT CEREMONY—10 WILL LIVE UNDERWATER OFF SAN DIEGO; EXPERIMENTAL VEHICLE IS CHRISTENED

(By Bryant Evans)

LONG BEACH.—Sealab II and the 10 men who will occupy this Navy-built home under the sea for 15 days next month were introduced formally at a ceremony at the Navy shipyard here yesterday.

Capt. George Bond, head of the Navy's man-under-the-sea program, announced the first team that will participate in the 30-day program of submergence 3,000 feet off the Scripps Institution of Oceanography pier starting August 16. Five of the ten are residents of the San Diego area.

SAN DIEGANS

The five are Comdr. M. Scott Carpenter, 40, astronaut, who now lives in La Jolla; Thomas A. Clarke, 24, a graduate student at the Scripps Institution; Earl A. Murray, 37, a Scripps Laboratory technician; Jay Skidmore, 36, a Navy photographer who lives in Chula Vista, and Lt. Robert E. Sonnenburg, U.S. Navy, 27, a medical diving specialist, of East San Diego.

Other first team members are Berry L. Cannon, 30, Panama City, Fla.; Billie L. Coffman, 36, Tucson, Ariz.; Wilbur H. Eaton, 39, Fort Lauderdale, Fla.; Frederick J. Johler, 39, Buffalo, N.Y.; and Cyril J. Tuckfield, 43, Miami, Fla.

The first team is scheduled to stay submerged about 15 days. Then a second team, as yet unnamed, will enter the Sealab. Travel between the vehicle and the surface will be accomplished in a diving bell.

LIKE CAR

For the first time Sealab II, flying its red, white, and blue flag with symbols representing man descending beneath the waves, was shown at a press briefing before its official christening. For the first and perhaps last time before submergence, reporters and photographers were permitted to enter its spic and span, highly instrumented interior.

From the outside the Sealab II looks like an oversized railroad tank car, complete with central tower. The tower and hatch beneath it are used for loading equipment while the Sealab is still on the surface. The hatch will not be opened while submerged.

The structure is cylindrical, 57 feet long and 12 feet in diameter. It weighs 200 tons, is built of mild steel and withstood pressures of 180 pounds hydrostatic pressure in Navy tests.

Under the water the hull will be under no pressure. Inside the air pressure will be maintained at 97 pounds a square inch but this will be exactly equal to the surrounding sea pressure at 210 feet under the ocean surface. This is 6.6 times the pressure of the atmosphere at sea level.

POINT STRESSED

This matter of atmosphere, Bond explained, is of the utmost importance. Men are being put under this pressure to match the sea so that they can work on the sea bottom, but if they were put under compressed air of a pressure of 97 pounds a square inch it would kill them.

This is the reason for the many valves and pipes that were visible in the Sealab. They are used to supply the ingredients for the artificial atmosphere which human beings can tolerate at that pressure. It is made up of 4 percent oxygen, 16 percent nitrogen, and 80 percent helium.

The oxygen level, only a fourth of that in air, is so low that there will be no smoking in Sealab II once it is submerged. There is no rule against smoking but cigarettes will not burn. The burners on the electric stove will cook but it will not glow. Bond said that because of this there is a danger that aquanauts may burn their hands on the black-hot burners.

BOTTOM WELL

Entrance to the Sealab is through a well in the bottom. This well will never be closed. There is no need for closing it because the pressure inside the lab will keep the water from rising in the well.

Directly inside the well, the visitors went through the change room where aquanauts will take off their scuba diving gear, get a warm shower and proceed into the laboratory for tests and inside work. Inside the temperature will be kept at 88 degrees because the helium-rich atmosphere conducts heat away from the body much more readily than natural air.

The work and test requirements will be so heavy, Bond said, that he does not see how the aquanauts will get much sleep. Breath volume, heart rate, blood and other physiological parameters will be under constant surveillance.

PURPOSE CITED

After all, Bond said, the purpose of the experiment is to see how well man can tolerate life under the sea. The tests as well as a closed circuit television will keep the scientists on the surface informed.

The middle part of the Sealab is, accordingly, laboratory space and is fitted with a large number of instruments to monitor the men and the Sealab environment in which they live.

Sides are painted white and illumination comes from overhead semispherical electric fixtures fed from a 75-kilowatt power supply fed by an umbilical cord attached to the surface vessel.

SLEEPING PLACE

In the extreme end from the entrance well—there seem to be no fore and aft—are the sleeping quarters for the aquanauts. These are furnished with bunks that are folded up when not in use. Beside the lower bunks are spacious portholes that look out into the sea. One can imagine the experience of an aquanaut, who, on awakening, finds a fish staring at him through the window.

Reporters also visited the *Berkone*. This is a huge catamaran made by putting a bridge across two steel barges. This will be the surface ship for servicing the Sealab II. It was named for Capt. Walter Mazzone, technical projects officer, and John Berkich, range engineer for the Navy Ordnance Test Station in Pasadena who helped arrange the vessel.

The *Berkone* will receive the upper end of all communications from Sealab and support the umbilical cord that maintains communications, electrical supply and gases. Information will be fed by cable from the *Berkone* to a command post on the Scripps campus.

In case anything should fail in the communications between the *Berkone* and the Sealab, Bond explained, the Sealab will have enough gas and food to wait for 54 days for a repair.

The Sealab will be brought to San Diego for its final testing about August 1.

Roy W. Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday Roy W. Johnson, the head of our Nation's first space agency, died in Stamford Hospital after a 5-week illness.

Mr. Johnson was a self-made man. He started out delivering papers and groceries. He worked his way through college on a string of part-time jobs. He made his mark in the business world on salesmanship and rose by his own efforts to the top rung of the Nation's largest electrical firm.

And then in 1958, one year after the alarm touched off by the Russian sputnik, he gave up his position as a $160,000-a-year vice president at General Electric to become the $18,000-a-year head of the Advance Research Projects Agency, the forerunner of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

That is the kind of person Mr. Johnson was. And that is why I know my colleagues will be interested in the following editorial from the Stamford Advocate of July 24, 1965:

ROY W. JOHNSON

Roy W. Johnson, who died Friday, denied with his way of life the caricatures which have been drawn of the American industrial manager. In a way, he was the classic example. He was born into a "poor but honest" family. He was a newspaperboy. He worked his way through the university. He rose through his own efforts to become the executive vice president of the largest electrical company in the world. He was an engineer, a businessman, an organizer and a salesman. He was the big business executive living in suburbia.

This much we learn about him and his peers through the smart writings of those somehow dissatisfied with our way of life. But this was only a part of the life of Roy W. Johnson. He was also a patriot who gave up a high paying job in industry to set up our first Federal space organization. Having done his job he returned to suburbia to work in a wide variety of fields.

He was a sturdy pillar of his church. He contributed his executive skill to the cause of higher education. He not only almost made a vocation of his avocation of painting but used his business training to aid the advancement of other artists. It is also pertinent to call attention to the fact that this man of many accomplishments retained the ability not only to laugh at the vicissitudes but at his own occasional vagaries.

Roy W. Johnson by his life pointed out that those who succeed spectacularly in classic American fashion are not single-minded freaks out of a Henty book but are whole men devoted not only to our production system but to God, our country, the arts, and our whole society.

Progress of Small Business Administration Assistance Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the White House press secretary recently released a summary of a report made to the President by Mr. Eugene P. Foley, Administrator of the Small Business Administration.

There is no question but that SBA now has the most effective small business assistance program in the Nation's history—and this dimension of our history dates back to the early 1800's when Paul Revere, the famous patriot, borrowed $10,000 from the Government with which to help build a copper processing plant.

The White House press release speaks for itself, Mr. Speaker. It tells a story of progress and adjustment to the needs of small businessmen today.

Because of its broad and general interest, I include the press release as a part of my remarks:

[Press release from the Office of the White House Press Secretary, July 11, 1965]

REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT ON THE OPERATION OF THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

During the past year, the Small Business Administration streamlined its operations to get maximum value for each dollar spent.

At the same time, SBA expanded services offered to America's 4.7 million small businesses. Small businesses make up 95 percent of all businesses. They provide 40 percent of America's jobs; produce a third of America's goods and services.

Previously, SBA operations centered in Washington. Field offices across the country had little authority. Now, these offices make final decisions. When reorganization began a year ago, annual savings because of increased efficiency were estimated at $1 million. Now that reorganization is completed, conservative estimates put the saving at $2,200,000.

SBA Administrator Eugene Foley has a basic management philosophy: Time is an expense item. Time saved is money saved. Time saved also increases efficiency. A basic element in SBA's reorganization was elimination of duplication. Now, work done in the field is not done again in Washington. And in the field, procedures have been simplified. The job is done better; faster.

One striking example of streamlining to increase efficiency: Since June 1964, 714 forms have been eliminated. Less paperwork means more real work.

There are other significant savings. When Government contracts are let, SBA makes sure a share of the total is set aside for small businesses. Previously, Government contracting agencies processed individual contracts to guarantee small business' share. Then, the same contracts were reprocessed by SBA representatives. This duplication has been eliminated.

These goals will assure small business an even greater share of the Government's contracting dollar. The new program needs fewer people; costs less to operate. Estimated annual savings: $500,000.

Businesses borrowing from SBA pay back principal plus interest. Reasonably, they should help pay part of the cost of processing and closing loans as well. SBA recently began charging a nominal closing fee. Estimated annual yield: $100,000.

SBA is now processing loans more efficiently. Three years ago 50 percent of SBA's loans took 3 weeks each to process. Today, 50 percent are processed in a week or less. Loan processors are also working more efficiently. Three years ago, each was expected to process the equivalent of 6½ loans a month. Today, each processes the equivalent of 8½ loans a month.

SBA continually seeks new ways to offer expanded services to small businesses efficiently and economically. Just established, SBA's data bank uses computers to provide management information, and to evaluate SBA programs.

The information system will be especially useful to SBA's top management as a tool for program and operations evaluation. For example, it will be possible to analyze effectively the loss rate differentials among various regional offices. Loss rates can be analyzed by type of business, type of loan, quality of collateral, and so forth. Greatly improved analyses of workloads, SBA response rates to loan application, and other operations activities will be made possible by the system.

The data bank will also provide, for the first time, an economic profile of small business in America. The small business community will know exactly what its strength—and weaknesses—are.

During the past 3 years, America's economy has boomed, and the number of business loans made by SBA has soared by 43 percent. In 1963 there were 6,073 totaling $314 million; 1965 estimates: 13,000 loans totaling $415 million.

When natural disasters—flood, tornado, earthquake—sweep away homes and businesses, victims need help to rebuild to become productive citizens again. SBA provides an important part of the Government's disaster relief program.

Here also, totals have climbed. In 1963, SBA loaned $26 million to disaster victims. Estimated total of 1965: $54 million.

SBA's response to the Alaska earthquake shows how effective the disaster program can be. In the 2 years and 4 months since the earthquake, SBA has received 1,662 loan applications, totaling $111,601,403. Altogether, 1,521 have been approved, totaling $74 million. Eventually, SBA expects the total to come to $90 million. The importance of this help to Alaska can hardly be overstated. The Alaska Legislature has expressed the thanks of the whole State to SBA for its timely and effective action.

During the period SBA's workload has mushroomed, increase in SBA staff has been small. Number of employees has increased only 261, from 3,239 to 3,500. Each employee does more work, and SBA is organized more efficiently. It offers more services at proportionately less cost to taxpayers. The speedup in loan processing time and efficiency brings savings—and faster, better service.

Imagination can often substitute for dollars. Many small businessmen need guidance, not loans. Poor management causes 95 percent of all business failures. Many small businesses need but can't afford professional business consultant help. A year ago, SBA Administrator Foley launched a new, imaginative program called SCORE—the Service Corps of Retired Executives.

Retired businessmen, able and experienced, volunteer management advice to small businesses. Today, more than 2,000 work across the country. They have helped 5,000 small businessmen. Cost to the government is nothing, but benefits to business and to the economy are enormous.

Working with the Office of Economic Opportunity, SBA seeks out and helps very small businessmen who operate on the brink of poverty. They get loans and sound professional guidance. Many are members of minority groups, which previously received little help. Results of a pilot program run by SBA in Philadelphia illustrate this dramatically. In the 10 years prior to the program, only seven loans had been made to Negroes. In the year since the special program began, Negroes received 113 loans.

And SBA's revised small loan program operates within the regular loan program, stressing the needs of very small businessmen. During the 12 months before the program began in May 1964, SBA made 3,414 loans of less than $25,000. In the year the small loan program has operated, 9,793 loans have been made—an increase of 187 percent.

Sustained economic growth, creates new jobs and a broader tax base in America's communities. SBA's local development company program helps build that growth. Working in their communities, citizens form local development corporations to help small businesses. These citizens set their own

goals and raise part of the capital they need. For each $2 they invest, SBA loans an additional $8. The local corporations then loan to enterprises that bring new production and new jobs to the community. In an average situation, the full amount loaned by SBA comes back to public treasuries in the form of local, State, and Federal taxes and savings within 3 to 5 years. And the loans themselves are repaid with interest.

The local development company program is expanding vigorously. During the past year, loans were made to 270 companies—more in 1 year than in the previous 5 years the program has existed. SBA's share of the almost $54,000,000 loaned was almost $40 million. Most important, 9,289 new jobs were created.

Power Pole Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, a considerable number of articles have been published in newspapers concerning the matter of overhead powerlines for the Atomic Energy Commission's Stanford Linear Accelerator in California. Many of these articles completely ignore the available facts on the matter.

I am very pleased to report the recent publication of an article which obviously shows the author took the time and effort to find out what some of the factual considerations are in the controversy concerning the installation of an overhead line for the Stanford accelerator.

The article to which I refer was written by Mr. Robert C. Toth, Times national science correspondent, and published in the Los Angeles Times of July 21, 1965. Mr. Toth took the time to find out what the situation is concerning the installation of powerline poles in the area; he took the time to find out what extensive, and I might add expensive, measures the Atomic Energy Commission has taken for the sake of preserving the beauty of the town of Woodside which adjoins the Stanford accelerator; he studied the recent recommendations of the White House Conference on Natural Beauty concerning powerlines; and he found out the cost to the taxpayers of the various considerations.

I especially wish to call your attention to two very cogent remarks made by Robert Toth:

The overhead line must be built if the 2-mile-long Stanford accelerator, most costly scientific tool in history, is not to lie fallow for the 18 to 24 months that would be needed to put the line underground. During that delay, overhead costs of the idle machine would be $1.5 million per month.

Burying low-power lines in Woodside would cost about $30,000 a mile (or about $150,000 for the 5-mile route), while burying high-power lines costs $500,000 a mile.

This cost relates to a single high voltage line of approximately 180 kilovolts.

I highly commend this entire article to all of my colleagues:

CAN WASHINGTON SOLVE POWER POLE PROBLEM?

(By Robert C. Toth)

WOODSIDE, CALIF.—Standing out against handsome oaks and redwoods in this town of 4,300 are thousands of unsightly utility poles which carry electricity and phone lines, often past horse stables, to fine homes.

With more than one ugly pole for every two affluent residents, it is difficult to work up sympathy for the community's fight to prevent the Federal Government from erecting a few more to carry high-voltage power to a $114 million atom smasher at Stanford University.

The Atomic Energy Commission, which is paying for the scientific project, wants to put up a total of 36 pole structures—3 in town limits, 10 in contiguous San Mateo County, and the rest on Stanford property.

This is hardly a "rape of the landscape," as Woodside complains, particularly since the town had permitted 26 poles to go up between June 1963, when the controversy began, and April 1964, when the town passed a rule requiring underground lines only.

And even more damaging, the town has granted exceptions to that new rule for the erection of at least five poles by residents in the last year.

Still, the blight of the existing poles is a strong argument against erecting any more, regardless of the flaws in Woodside's case.

It is an argument for conservation of natural beauty, one that will be heard increasingly in the future as the Nation recognizes that technological progress need not, and should not, mar the land unnecessarily.

Freeways of the future should be better hidden. Auto junkyards can be removed from well-traveled roads. Air pollution can be reduced.

Only last May a White House Conference on Natural Beauty drew national attention to the question of esthetics versus these visible scars of mechanized civilization.

Given that interest, why can't the Federal Government, which spends billions in space and foreign aid, absorb the extra cost of between $1.6 million and $4 million to put the Woodside power lines underground?

Obviously it can afford the money, but can it afford the precedent it would set?

It is hard to justify laying out tax funds to help Woodside residents who, with a median income of almost $10,000 a year, can well afford to help themselves—but who have not done so.

Moreover, it would be like removing a splinter from a finger when the patient is riddled with buckshot, and the Government might be expected to pay for similar surgery in other areas around the country.

Actually, the AEC has gone far in trying to meet Woodside's objections to the powerlines.

When the 5-mile line is finally strung—and few doubt that it will be, despite the fight—the wires will ride on tapering metal poles which are shorter than the usual filigreed towers for high-power transmission and far more graceful than either the towers or the many-armed wooden poles.

The wires will be strung by helicopters to keep heavy machinery from cutting swaths along the slopes. Trees and shrubbery under the wires will not be cleared. Shrubs will be planted to help mask the bases of the poles.

All this will raise the cost to the Federal taxpayer from $660,000 to over $1 million for the line.

These moves have not satisfied Woodside, where the poles have become the focus of the community's frustrated opposition to encrochment of modern society.

The Government, now suffering the image of Goliath challenged by David, might salvage the situation, however, and in the process lay down the principle of how it will respond to future situations of this kind.

It could offer to bury the high-power line (which would go along roads rather than the mountainside route of overhead line), but only after Woodside buried the low-power lines along the same roads.

The overhead line must be built if the 2-mile-long Stanford accelerator, most costly scientific tool in history, is not to lie fallow for the 18 to 24 months that would be needed to put the line underground. During that delay, overhead costs of the idle machine would be $1.5 million per month.

The Government would absorb the extra cost of tearing down the overhead line and laying it underground if Woodside went along with the scheme. But it would be cheaper than a delay (discounting the loss to science) and not very costly to Woodside.

Burying low-power lines in Woodside would cost about $30,000 a mile (or about $150,000 for the 5-mile route), while burying high-power lines costs $500,000 a mile.

The White House conference on natural beauty recommended that low-power lines be buried, but found that it was neither worth the cost nor was it technically advisable to bury high-voltage wires because of the elaborate cooling and maintenance difficulties.

Some may balk at the expense to the Government, but the plan would lay down the principle of self-help for other communities which do not like poles, but which, like Woodside, have done nothing about their problems until they have seen the chance that Washington would foot the bill.

The Danger of Political Clubhouses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, during debate on the antipoverty bill last week reference was made to the danger that Federal funds might be used for political purposes rather than to help the poor. Because of its description of what actually is developing in Chicago, I should like to call attention to the following article, by Joseph A. Loftus, which appeared in the New York Times of July 21.

The article follows:

DALEY IS OPPOSED ON POVERTY DRIVE: HIS POLITICAL CONTROL FOUGHT BY CLERGY AND THE POOR

(By Joseph A. Loftus)

CHICAGO, July 20.—One way into Chicago is the fabulous scenic lake route.

From Indiana, the Outer Drive, northbound passes sailboats dotting the placid water of Lake Michigan on the right. Sandy beaches and marinas line the shore. On the left, lovely parks, a golf course, tennis courts, a bandshell, and museums beckon.

Then the Dwight D. Eisenhower Expressway speeds traffic through downtown Chicago westward. After 5 to 10 minutes, any exit leads to Lawndale, a serene, pastoral-sounding name for one of America's suffocating slums.

Lawndale illustrates a common, big city struggle for power over millions, probably billions of dollars.

Thirty-six percent of all Federal antipoverty money—totaling $680 million—is ticketed for "community action programs," as distinguished from the Job Corps and other projects administered from Washington. The law says these programs shall be

"developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served."

DIFFERENT VIEW BY DALEY

The intent of these words, say the drafters, was to put an end to the ancient rule of political paternalism. The poor were to exercise a large measure of self-determination in the use of money marked for their benefit.

Mayor Richard J. Daley has his own ideas. As a result, blocks of poor in Lawndale, dependent on his paternalism, are challenging his system. Leading churchmen of all faiths have joined them. The issue is being booted to Washington. The odds favor Mayor Daley, whose power does not falter at the city line.

"Hell, Daley vetoes Washington," snorted an anti-Daley pessimist.

The mayor's power in Chicago's antipoverty drive is almost absolute. Federal dollars fortify his political organization and the voltage generated by every dollar follows powerlines that lead back to city hall.

To Mayor Daley, antipoverty money is a power tool. It makes jobs. Chicagoans employed by city commissions at various kinds of social work are moving into higher salaried jobs in the federally financed operations. All along the line the faithful move up.

A THOUSAND REPRESENTATIVES

Poor people, many of them on the public assistance rolls are being hired as "community representatives" at $4,070 a year. Their job is to find out what the other poor people need and to report back to an urban progress center.

By the end of 1966, a thousand or more of these "community representatives" will be strategically placed.

Each urban progress center has a director at $12,400 and a salaried staff appointed by the mayor's deputy who also has a staff. The director of the center serving Lawndale is paid $3,000 more than he got at the Chicago Youth Welfare Commission.

"These jobs," said Rev. Douglas M. Still, director of social welfare of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, "could be used to buy off any potential dissenter. A man or woman developing into a strong leader with a flair for making trouble for city hall might be wooed into silence by a well-paying job."

The mayor's deputy, Dr. Deton J. Brooks, Jr., reports to a citywide supercommittee and a smaller citywide steering committee, all appointed by Mayor Daley. They have received $16.4 million in antipoverty money from Washington.

No committee member lives in a poverty area. No resident of a poverty area is known to have been consulted by the steering committee.

PROBLEMS WITH CHAIRMEN

Each community advisory council has, or will have, a chairman selected by the mayor's deputy. The chairman is eligible for membership on the steering committee. No community chairman has yet attended a steering committee meeting.

The company employing the Lawndale chairman will not let him off to go. Another chairman quit. Three others were not selected until this week.

Businessmen, like the mayor, recognize the potential threat of the slums to the established order. They have actively joined the mayor in resisting this threat.

One reported example involves a community action training program for the West Side, which includes Lawndale. The program is being sponsored by the Interreligious Council on Urban Affairs, embracing the three major faiths.

This half-million dollar antipoverty proposal would develop community leadership and militant democratic organization.

But according to a distinguished Protestant clergyman, a banker, Donald M. Graham, told the executive director of the Church Federation (Protestant), that if he pressed the training proposal "the federation might have its water cut off." The federation head so reported to his staff, the clergyman said.

The "water" amounted to $65,000 last year. The Protestant Businessmen's Organization raised that for the Church Federation.

Mr. Graham is treasurer of the business group and also of the Church Federation. He is vice chairman of the board of directors of Continental Illinois Bank.

He says the story is not true.

It is well understood that if the training proposal was approved, the West Side Federation would invoke the organizing genius of Saul Alinsky, a man no literate Chicagoan is neutral about. A criminologist by formal education, he is in practice a professional trainer of agitators. He believes democracy is something to be taken literally and vigorously.

One Alinsky-type of organization on the South Side is a bristling refutation of the argument that the poor are incapable of leadership and self-determination. This is the Woodlawn organization whose founding Mr. Alinsky directed with $50,000 supplied by the Roman Catholic Church and with reinforcements provided by the Protestants.

SLUM NEAR LAKEFRONT

Woodlawn is another of those one-word poems for a falling down slum. It lies 2 minutes west of that lovely lakefront around 63d Street, near the University of Chicago.

The Woodlawn organization opened a fresh war on Mayor Daley yesterday, charging that he had been "deceitful" in setting up the advisory council for Woodlawn. The organization had submitted 21 names for the council, expecting that the mayor would appoint 13 to 15 of them to a council of 25. Instead, the mayor set up a council of 75, giving the Woodlawn organization less than a third of them.

Msgr. John J. Egan, urban affairs director of the Roman Catholic archdiocese, believes with Mr. Alinsky that "unless serious and drastic steps are taken at the present time I believe participation of the poor in the future will be a mockery."

Mr. Alinsky believes that the Woodlawn organization called TWO because of its initials, is strong enough to survive but he is worried about other community groups.

"The poverty program is a green flood that's going to drown these small groups," he said. "It's a knife at the jugular of every community action group."

Dr. Brooks, the mayor's deputy, holds that "we have total involvement of the poor" through community advisory councils and the urban progress center staffs.

But Mr. Alinsky says:

"The big issue is not whether these councils are one-third poor but who picks them. Representation requires an organized base."

Dr. Brooks, a research man by experience and temperament, is a coiled spring under challenge.

"What they're talking about is a political power struggle, not helping the poor," he explained.

To the Reverend Lynward Stevenson, president of the Woodlawn organization, the antipoverty drive is "a war against the poor insofar as it excludes the poor from planning the program.

"It's a struggle basically between the power structure and independent militant groups such as TWO," he said.

ROCK 'N' ROLL TRAINING

The advisory council that serves Lawndale has vetoed the community action training proposal. On the other hand, Dr. Brooks this week approved $4,250 for a Lawndale program to "assist in the development of choral groups including rock 'n' roll, gospel, and classical singing."

Powerful resistance to the training project comes from Sears & Roebuck, and Ryerson Steel Cos., both large employers in Lawndale.

Both have representatives on the local advisory council. Both have for years subsidized the Greater Lawndale Conservation Commission. The advisory council has assigned 25 neighborhood Youth Corps members to work with the conservation commission.

Eventually the project will go to Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, a Chicagoan who has already tasted Mayor Daley's power.

Big City Poor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, Walter Rugaber, Detroit Free Press writer, has written a series of five articles on the problems of the poor in Detroit. The final article follows:

REGULAR PAYCHECK A RARITY—HOW POOR OBTAIN MONEY—AND LOSE IT

(By Walter Rugaber)

An employment agency that supplies Detroit area plants with "temporary industrial help" pays its workers with unsigned checks.

The checks are passed out daily to the 100 or so men who are awarded a day's work by Extra Labor Power of America, Inc., at 515 Grand River.

Most of the men are among the city's able-bodied but desperate poor. The source of their desperation may vary, but the result does not: They will do almost anything for money.

The checks they receive at the end of an 8-hour day are made out for $10.40. But without a signature, they are worthless at a bank, and just about everywhere else as well.

To cash his check, the worker goes to a bar a few doors away. The bar is operated by a man with a major financial interest in the employment agency.

At the bar the employee may exchange his check for cash. The price of his first drink—usually the first of at least three or four—is deducted automatically.

This unusual combination of paymaster and bartender was only one of the employment schemes I encountered during a 3-week stay in one of the more deprived areas of the city.

Dressed in shabby clothes and speaking with an exaggerated drawl, I posed as a newcomer looking for a job and living in an area bounded by Woodward, Third, Willis and Ledyard.

I saw firsthand some of the ways the city's poor obtain money—and lose it. This is a story about a few of the methods.

Unemployment in Detroit is lower today than it has been in years. The Michigan Employment Security Commission (MESC) reports 3.2 percent of the work force is out of a job.

Still, even during exceptionally flush times, it is often difficult and sometimes impossible for the hard-core poor to find and hold a steady job with adequate pay.

With the incompetents, the alcoholics, the dropouts, and the aged, agencies such as Extra Labor Power of America, Inc. (Extras, Inc., for short) are popular.

Extras, Inc., was organized less than a year ago to supply short-term workers for businesses suddenly hit by absenteeism or a special production need.

The men are employees of Extras, Inc., and are almost invariably paid a flat $1.30 an hour whether they mow grass or operate a punch press.

The agency is popular because it pays 5 cents an hour more than most of its competitors and because it pays each day rather than once a week.

I spent much of a day loitering about the storefront headquarters of Extras, Inc., waiting for a job that never came. Half a dozen others waited with me.

Many of the men who obtained work seemed like reasonably sober and responsible people. One of them, a neatly dressed man carrying a lunch pail, came in only to accompany some friends to a job.

"I don't work out of here anymore," he announced proudly. He named a large machine shop in the area and said he had been placed on the regular payroll there.

"It's not easy to get on," he told me. "I went out of here every day for 7 weeks. But if they see that you want to work they'll try to get you on regular."

For every optimist there was an older man. They were usually beyond 45 or 50 and almost without chance of success. It wasn't only a problem of age, one man said.

"Nowadays these places want you to have a college degree almost—and even then they won't hire you half the time."

Once, during the morning, there was an opportunity to help unload a truck. A man of about 60 won the job and I heard him say, fervently:

"I hope it ain't like the last load I worked. These hundred-pound bags of concrete are heavy."

There were a number of men in the agency's office with bandaged hands. I counted three in only a few hours of one afternoon. One man said his finger had been amputated.

Another worker said he was once sent into a factory to run a punch press and discovered that on every seventh operation the huge machine crunched down automatically.

He said that when he complained of the malfunction a foreman, pressed for production, suggested that the worker keep count of the cycle and dodge the seventh operation.

The man walked out.

"I came in here with all 10 fingers and I'm leaving with all 10," he said.

A significant fraction do not. The momentarily sober drunks, the functional illiterates, the newly arrived migrants may never have been in a plant before.

Motors whine, wheels turn, belts flap—and the man makes a mistake. The machines are unforgiving, and most of the mistakes are very costly.

Nick Schembri, operator of the Manhattan Bar at 529 Grand River, denied he was the owner of Extras, Inc. "I just finance it," he said.

Schembri said the employment agency is paid an "average" of $1.65 an hour by the business firms to which it sends temporary workers.

The profits, he insisted, are not very great: Only about 2 or 3 percent. The workmen's compensation insurance rates are very high, he explained.

Nevertheless, Schembri later said he had loaned Extras, Inc., enough money to open its doors and that the agency was paying 6 percent interest on the loan.

The tavern operator also said he was "keeping" some stock in the firm. "You know—it's like collateral," he said.

The agency is a "necessary evil" for men who are unable to find jobs anywhere else, Schembri said. He pointed to a 61-year-old Extras, Inc., worker seated at his bar.

"I have a lot of respect for people like that," he said. "They ask nothing from nobody. * * * We're taking a load off welfare."

Extras, Inc., workers are not required to cash their paycheck in his bar, Schembri said. If they want a signed check they can ask for one at the agency down the street and then cash it anywhere.

Bringing the unsigned check to the Manhattan Bar saves a man the 15 cent fee that most banks would charge, Schembri said. "This way it doesn't cost them nothing."

He conceded that most of the men bought "three or four" glasses of beer, but denied there was "anything irregular" about the procedure.

There are at least four or five other agencies that offer men "spot jobs" at wages from $1.25 an hour and up.

The MESC operates a public agency at 3471 Grand River, and an official estimates that between 1,000 and 1,500 men find work there every month.

I met several men, all but one of them over 40, who were entirely dependent on a single part-time job. It was most often "landscaping work" on the weekend only and it paid them $20 at most.

In desperation, some men will beg. Others will engage in a little part-time stealing. I had repeated offers of fast deals. One man was trying to sell an electric frying pan.

"I ought to be able to bum a couple of bucks off a guy that runs a bar near here," an alcoholic told me. "Hell, I helped buy the place, he should give me a break."

Hundreds of individuals and families in Detroit have turned to a half-dozen or so public welfare programs. But they must be eligible, and the regulations are exacting.

An independent survey of low-income households by Greenleigh Associates, Inc. found that 47 percent of the poor weren't even aware that financial assistance could be available.

The report said:

"The public welfare system is operated within the narrowest concepts—providing financial assistance, and this is done through an amazingly complicated combination of State, county, and city offices and staff.

"An applicant for public assistance could not possibly know in advance at which office to apply. He may find it necessary to go from office to office before he can make application.

"This complicated and narrow program tends to increase dependency and perpetuate poverty."

One afternoon I visited the "control intake" of Detroit's Department of Public Welfare. I wanted to ask an innocuous question about the residence requirement for recipients of general relief.

The office, I discovered, closes at 2:30 p.m.

What do the Third Avenue poor do with what little money they get?

A large chunk of it, of course, goes for rent and food. However, they spend the rest, there is a very good chance that they will be cheated—or cheat themselves—while doing so.

Many low-income people gravitate toward the small corner grocery stores that dot the poor neighborhoods. There are many along Third Avenue and the nearby streets.

A shopper often feels more comfortable there than in the big, brightly lit supermarkets where there are a dozen choices to make for each item on the list.

The small storekeeper often becomes friends with the people in his neighborhood. A kid can come in with a few coins, ask for "some soap," and get the right kind because the grocer knows what the boy's mother usually buys.

The prices are almost always higher, so that the people least able to afford it often wind up paying more. A Detroiter long familiar with the consumer problems of the poor said that in many cases:

"The storekeeper takes advantage of his customers through higher prices, through stocking the more expensive cuts of meat, big red apples and other expensive fruits, and in many cases by offering a shoddy grade or quality and by misnaming cuts."

I ventured into a furniture store that I thought had advertised "three rooms" of furniture at an unusually low price.

The salesman was obviously reluctant to show it.

"Oh, you don't want to see any of that stuff," he said.

When I said I would indeed, just to get an idea of what it was like, he led me into a basement. There was a bewildering pile of old furniture, much of it in disrepair.

"When they find out we're going to repossess it they really give it a going over," the salesman said. I could pick my "three rooms" only from among these available pieces, he said.

"Why don't you let me show you some of those nice items upstairs," the salesman—suggested.

"It's brand new, real nice looking stuff. If you can't pay right away don't let that bother you. We can probably let you have some credit if you need it."

Sometimes, before they know it, a man and his wife wind up with a small print installment contract of as much as $1,000—and the furniture, or other merchandise, has fallen apart before it is paid for.

The poor are least able to absorb a mistake.

But not even the most unscrupulous merchant can qualify as the worst enemy of the poor.

The worst is the unbridgeable gulf that separates the man who is poor from his more fortunate neighbor.

Every so often there is a big event at the Masonic Temple and the rich come down in their big cars and fine clothes to sit in $12 seats and uplift themselves.

The people across the street in Cass Park haul their benches over to the sidewalk and watch everyone sweep in. It is a very grand and compelling show.

One evening I stood in worn old work clothes and watched hundreds file into the temple.

No one sneered at me, or tapped cigarette ashes in my direction, or looked as though they thought they might catch something if they passed too close.

Most of them never glanced at me, or at the people with me.

They didn't look and then glance away, embarrassed.

THEY DIDN'T SEE US AT ALL

Along lower Third Avenue the split-level life of suburban Detroit is ever-farther away, like a mirage in the Sahara. There are few people to teach the poor of hard work and middle-class ambition.

It's tough to pick up old-fashioned gumption when just about everyone who's got it has moved away. For many of the people on Third Avenue old-fashioned gumption is simply a forgotten talent.

The scandal of poverty is not that it exists. The scandal is that so few of the people in the other Detroit are crossing over into a better Detroit.

A woman whose husband recently underwent a heart operation works irregularly as a waitress at $1.10 an hour. She supports four young children, but it is a desperate business—and she knows there can be no false steps.

The woman is the prisoner of a rising cost of living and a basic lack of education (she finished the 11th grade). A strong back or willing feet are hardly enough in 1965, and the poor who have nothing else to offer are quite frequently doomed.

"We're locked in here, buddy," she said. "We ain't never going to get out. Not never."

The Dawn Will Be No Different

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, on June 6, 1965, Patrick L. O'Malley of Chicago, Ill., president of the Automatic Canteen Co. of America, a self-made man and an outstanding businessman, and a dedicated American, received the honorary degree, LL.D., from St. Joseph's College in Rensselaer, Ind.

Mr. O'Malley is an excellent example of a man who has taken advantage of equal opportunity afforded all Americans who have the ambition, vision, and determination to take advantage of the opportunity that exists under our form of government, and to progress as in the case of Mr. O'Malley, to high position in the business world.

On the occasion of the graduation exercises, Mr. O'Malley delivered the commencement address, a splendid contribution based on his own life and experiences.

In my remarks, I include the commencement address delivered by Mr. O'Malley entitled "The Dawn Will Be No Different":

THE DAWN WILL BE NO DIFFERENT

(Commencement address by P. L. O'Malley, St. Joseph's College, June 6, 1965)

Reverend fathers, honored graduates, members of the faculty, distinguished guests, parents, ladies, and gentlemen, I am delighted that the good fathers of St. Joseph's in their charity and generosity have seen fit to bestow upon me an honorary doctor's degree. I accept with a deep sense of humility, and honesty compels me to admit to a warm feeling of pride. It is a privilege to be a member of your alumni and I intend to wear this badge of recognition and acceptance as a realistic symbol of the accomplishment it represents in you, the true alumni of this great institution of learning. Truly this is a day you should indelibly inscribe in your memories—and as you accept membership in your alumni, never forget that you assume an obligation to dedicate some part of your life to St. Joseph's College—to remain loyal to its principles, and to assist in encouraging others financially and otherwise to enable them to share the privileges you have enjoyed during your undergraduate years. There are hundreds of ways in which the fulfillment of this obligation can be accomplished. But only you, after personal soul searching, can make this decision. The important point is that you fully recognize that you are now a full-fledged member of St. Joseph's alumni and as a member of this team, you must help carry the ball.

May I add my congratulations to the multitude of congratulations that are today being showered on all members of this graduating class. You graduates have successfully completed a most significant phase of your education, and this is an important accomplishment. You and those who have taught you, encouraged you, and helped you to enter adult life can be justifiably proud on this day.

It is a privilege to talk to you on the eve of your entry into the world of tomorrow. You have worked for and have been rewarded with a balanced education. You are men who recognize the presence of Almighty God in all things, and who know in your hearts, as well as in your minds, that faith and facts are alike incontrovertible. Indeed, if we learn anything from the sum of human knowledge and experience, it is that faith endures forever—immutably—while the facts we swear by today not infrequently become tomorrow's fallacies.

You have, gentlemen, the background, the opportunity and the solemn duty to make your lives a continuing demonstration and proof that the Christian College can inculcate the highest degree of intellectuality—and does so in a thoroughly religious environment—that your college equips men to live in our society in a manner that is a credit to God, the community, the family, and our business economy.

Today an inheritance has been given you. The true value and the nature of this inheritance are yet to be determined.

John Steinbeck told the story of a rather unusual inheritance.

An old lady had for years aroused the curiosity of her family regarding a most precious family treasure—a Lincoln letter.

No one had ever seen the Lincoln letter, but it was well known that the old grandmother kept it locked in a certain small black box. The old lady subtly used the Lincoln letter when she was occasionally vexed with a relative. Sometimes she would threaten to sell it to a museum. Sometimes she would offer to will it first to one member of the family, then another.

As the children grew older, their interest in the Lincoln letter grew sharper. Still, no one had ever seen it. But—it was the family treasure.

When the old lady died, some of the sadness was mitigated by the idea that now, at last, everyone would see the Lincoln letter.

The locked black box was opened with ceremony. Anticipation filled the air. Then, there it was. On top of a pile of trinkets, there was the Lincoln letter.

But it was not from Lincoln. It was to Lincoln, written by their grandmother in 1863.

It was a curious composite thing, filled with bits of advice, bits of information, some criticism, a few political opinions, and encouragement for the future.

It had never been mailed but had been simply kept all those years. It was a wonderful legacy—but of no definite market value. It had only a personal value to the family.

Today you graduates have received your legacy; and, like the Lincoln letter, it is a curious composite thing consisting of bits of advice, bits of information, some criticism, opinions, encouragement for the future, and all the other pieces that make up the whole of a formal education. You have your treasure, but like the Lincoln letter, your diploma is not a thing of definite value in and of itself. It has mainly personal value.

Tonight you can retire with a confident sense of achievement and the secure knowledge that you are now college graduates.

But tomorrow the dawn will be no different. The old patterns that you have already established will continue. Your toothpaste will taste the same. Breakfast will be the same. The mail will come through. Planes will fly. Trains will run. The Nation will go on just as it has. Business will not stop. War will not cease. Life will continue to beat out its measured cadence of tragedy and triumph.

And what of you? What notice will the world make of the fact that you have your legacy and are now a college graduate?

Statistically, the fact will be duly recorded.

Industry, educational institutions, graduate schools, government, and the professions will undoubtedly be pleased to note your new promotion; and they will offer you a whole host of opportunities to earn a living and to advance yourself. The economy will welcome your manpower and your buying power. Particularly, I daresay, the wedding bureaus will be delighted that you have graduated.

In a larger sense, however, the world will not move one cinder because you now have a diploma.

Being a college graduate is merely a state of existence for you, and the world is not much concerned with your new status.

Who you are depends on what you do.

Stephen Crane wrote these words, which I think sum up the matter:

A man said to the Universe, "Sir, I exist." "However," replied the Universe, "that fact has not created in me a sense of obligation."

The world is not committed to you. It is anxious, rather, for you to commit yourselves to it. And the world dares to hope, in this respect, that here in the new generation may be some who will act to solve the problems that beset mankind.

W. H. Auden has called ours the age of anxiety. But with you, perhaps a new age can be born and we can call it the age of commitment.

Truly, throughout history we have been committed to truth, beauty, and justice. But sinister forces have often conspired to inhibit these commitments just short of action, and so, like Hamlet, we have cried out again and again, "the time is out of joint."

Today, though, I think the time is right. All of history has been a mere prelude to now—the present. The age of commitment—commitment to action—can be ushered in today. The moment is ripe.

Science has brought us new discoveries that make the advancement of mankind more feasible than ever before. Certainly the implications of some of these discoveries are terrible. Yet the possibilities are inspiring.

Agricultural technology, wonder drugs, nuclear energy, and the computer—these all make possible a world in which there is food and care enough for a richer physical existence—free time enough for a richer cultural existence.

Education and modern communications have given us new powers that can be used to persuade and enlighten all peoples so that they may understand and strive toward a better life. The promise of Early Bird and other satellites of this type is that we may some day be bound into an international community dedicated to mutual understanding.

Even the machinery of Government has been improved so that now the tools, at least, do exist for the manufacturing of a world peace. I say, with full awareness of the situations in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, the universal tranquility has never been so possible.

I could go on to list endlessly the many devices of civilization that offer you limitless opportunities to commit yourself to action.

But it is not sufficient that you simply avail yourselves of the economic and social advantages that have already been created by previous generations.

It is not sufficient that you merely sit back and make value judgments about the emerging patterns of society.

It is what you do with the advantages—it is what you do to reshape the patterns—that matters. It is the kind of commitment you now make that will determine how the world will regard you.

This means that you must extend the contemplative life of the mind that you have begun here in college toward a complete existence wherein the life of the mind continues contemplating, weighing, and reexamining in order to determine a meaningful course of action.

This means that you have to evaluate so that you can make an intelligent commit-

ment to action. In many respects you are already bringing in the age of commitment.

From what I've been reading in the papers, your generation has already made certain value commitments. You have given an unsatisfactory rating to much of what you've found in the world.

Your generation has objected to the materialistic standards of my generation. The great depression of the 1930's left an indelible scar on my contemporaries, so that John Kenneth Galbraith is certainly correct when he pinpoints ours as "a society in which one of the principal social goals is a higher standard of living."

Your generation has judged this materialism and found it lacking. Your generation has passed judgment on our ethics, our morals, and our patriotism. And it is your duty to make these judgments. But for the age of commitment to mean anything, you have a further duty to submit a plan of action.

When you tear down old standards, you must replace them with something better. You must replace them with what Robert Ruark called several years ago something of value.

You have come to maturity in a time when material comforts have been commonplace—in a time when we are the richest, most powerful Nation that has ever been on earth. You have grown up in a century when, for the first time in the history of humanity, the value of life and the dignity of the individual have received more than token respect.

Perhaps all this has freed you—has permitted you to place goods and power in a more realistic perspective.

Perhaps all this has permitted you to dream loftier dreams. I hope so.

I hope, too, that you are prepared to find the ways and the means to bring about the great moral and spiritual changes that you have been demanding. Thorough evaluation and subsequent commitment to action is not easy. As a child, your duty in life was to look and learn.

I quote Dr. Seuss, the children's author:

"When I leave home to walk to school,
Dad always says to me,
Marco, keep your eyelids up,
And see what you can see."

Good advice. That's all a child need do.

As you entered adolescence, that marvelous time of fantasy without responsibility, your duty in life became infinitely more complex. You had to keep your eyelids up and you also had to evaluate what was worthwhile and what was not.

This evaluating goes on for the rest of life. Sometimes it is simply exercising selectivity.

For instance, yesterday I received one of those nice letters from a magazine. It began in a most personal fashion: "Dear Sir: Your subscription has expired and this is your last chance to—" and so forth.

Now I must tell you that I am extremely susceptible to this kind of advertising because always, somewhere in the brochure, they begin to tell me all I will miss when their particular magazine no longer brightens my life. They said: "Think of it: A side-splitting satire on American values, next to a stark pictorial study of Berlin, a city divided, followed by an exciting article on the last of the red-hot strippers, Blaze Starr."

Well—I don't want to miss all that. So, I subscribe, knowing full well that even now I have considerable difficulty scanning the Sunday New York Times and the 34 other magazines that I am not yet in danger of losing.

The variety in magazines poses no major problem, but it does indicate the variety of life, and the sheer variety of life is sometimes overpowering.

There is so much to see, so much to learn, so much to judge, that being selective is extremely difficult.

To a certain extent, during your adolescent years, under a prescribed curriculum, someone else has taken life and has done some of the selecting and some of the evaluating for you—as the editors of a magazine do.

But now, with knowledgeable maturity, your duties are awesome. You must still keep your eyelids up, you must judge, select, evaluate—all on your own. And then, based on what you see and based on how you judge, you commit yourself personally to responsible action.

In what areas have you already rendered judgments?

I assume that you have made judgments regarding government.

What do you intend to do about it?

I assume that you have made certain judgments regarding business and industry.

What do you intend to do?

I assume that you have made judgments regarding many things—from pop art and the New York Mets to a deep-felt concern for the human condition.

What do you intend to do?

As a starting course of action, may I suggest that you participate.

Often we hear people talk about the Government as some sort of outside force over which we have no control. It is a third person—a "they." Industry, too, often is referred to as "they." There is, I think, a kind of myth in circulation that some sort of establishment is running everything. This simply is not true.

"We" are the Government. "We" can be industry. "We" run things and, if we so choose, we can make them better.

Political parties are not closed. They are wide open. But if you want the President of the United States to listen to your ideas—start by proving your merit to the local political organization.

Industry is open. But if you want to reorganize General Motors, start by proving that you understand its present structure.

Your community is anxious for you to contribute time and effort. Schools want your assistance. All of life, in fact, is an open shop—ready and willing to welcome every active worker who is willing to prove his worth.

There are many things that are wrong and unjust. To right these wrongs, you must be in a participating position, utilizing existing channels to help reroute the course of history. I recommend existing channels, as opposed to revolution, because I don't want to lose the good things that we have.

Some years ago, Winston Churchill said that "Democracy is the worst form of government except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time."

This is not to say that you are bound by any set of rigid blueprints. Nor are there any set, established visions that you must aspire toward.

But I say use that which now exists in order to build an even greater existence.

Many modern Americans seem to have a terrible fear of conforming to established patterns.

Crusaders often seem to feel that they must work outside of society rather than within it.

And yet, in terms of set culture and community prejudices, Bohemia and Philistia are the same things in reverse—like the print and the negative of a photograph. In Greenwich Village and in Greenwich, Conn., there are undoubtedly an equal number of things the inhabitants wouldn't be caught dead wearing, or furnishing their houses with, or subscribing to as beliefs. The two places are even necessary to each other—one to stare, the other to be stared at.

It is the total you have to concern yourself with. In order to do so, you must be immersed in the totality of things—thinking, evaluating, and acting in the world—not outside of it.

Inside of and as a part of our functioning, changing society—there you will find recognition, and there you can create the better tomorrow that you want.

A man who eats health bread and reads the progressive is not more or less morally grand than the executive who eats steak and reads the Wall Street Journal. The moral grandeur comes in what the man does—how he fulfills his duty—whether he is committed to vague anxiety or to responsible action.

Today then I commend you, the new generation, to this new age of commitment. And let all generations work together to take up the causes that need to be advanced—to heal the sores of society—to enrich the humanity of man.

And perhaps while we are moving toward perfection, we can also still be tolerant of those foibles that make man a sinner, yes, but nonetheless a charming creature.

I think maybe we all took secret delight when Virgil Grissom and John Young revealed their thorough earthiness as they soared weightlessly into the unearthly regions of space—with a corned beef on rye safely smuggled abroad their capsule.

Life is, after all, as enjoyable as it is purposeful and precious.

In this free and great land of opportunity you can be successful in whatever your undertaking. Great success is within your power and grasp, but only you can do anything about it. If you will live under the guiding hand of God; if you learn to apply what you already know, to develop a rich, varied background that can be tapped for ideas; if you have the capacity to create alternatives or develop solutions; if you can be flexible enough to "spin around on a dime" to meet challenges; if you keep attuned with job and personal environment, making it possible to foresee and solve problems before they become serious; if you develop an eagerness for information, an ability to create what will become acceptable; if you can generate a sincere belief in yourself and the courage to withstand group pressures, whether social, political, or business; and if you can keep freedom from fear and the confidence to break away from traditional viewpoints—your success is assured.

Yes, at dawn tomorrow, nothing will change because you are a college graduate, except as you make it change. The future can be yours to shape and mold according to your highest hopes and heaven inspired dreams, or you may sit back and allow destiny to pass you by.

But, to justify your brief stay on this globe, you must commit yourself to action—action that will improve the lot of man.

God has lifted man above the animals to walk upon the earth and reflect the glory of the Almighty in word and thought and deed. The elephant is larger than man. The butterfly is more beautiful, and the mosquito is more prolific. But only man can act with reason. Only man can change the world, and so let the will of God prevail.

The Sanskrit contains this verse and it is appropriate for a commencement ceremoney:

"Listen to the exhortation of the dawn!
Look to this day!
For its is life, the very life of life.
In its brief course lie all the verities
And realities of your existence;
The glory of action,
The bliss of growth,
The splendor of beauty:
For yesterday is but a dream,
And tomorrow is only a vision;
But today, well lived, makes
Every yesterday a dream of happiness
And every tomorrow a vision of hope.
Look well, therefore to this day."

"Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report." Let us think and act on these

things and go forth to do what needs to be done for ourselves and for our children.

Graduates of St. Joseph's College—to these ancient words of action and hope, let me add nine more, congratulations, good luck and God bless all of you.

Lodge to Saigon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the Christian Science Monitor has recently published a pertinent editorial relating to the President's reappointment of Henry Cabot Lodge as Ambassador to South Vietnam. I believe that this editorial should be available to a larger audience and I include it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that its description of the problems and opportunities which are available to Ambassador Lodge will be fully appreciated:

MR. LODGE'S RETURN

We extend our warmest and most wholehearted wishes to Ambasador Henry Cabot Lodge in the difficult but constructive task which he is reassuming in South Vietnam. For we are encouraged by Mr. Lodge's emphasis on the need for major political and economic reforms in South Vietnam. In such reforms, coupled with strong military resistance, lies the best chance—perhaps the only chance—of success in that savage war.

It is no disrespect to a dedicated and intelligent public servant like retiring Ambassador Maxwell Taylor, to believe that the reappointment of Mr. Lodge has much to commend it. We are told that Mr. Lodge won considerable support and respect from the South Vietnamese during his earlier stay in that country. Thus he begins his new assignment under advantageous conditions.

Now, as during his earlier tour of duty, one of the urgentest needs is to reconcile often bitterly conflicting views among such groups as the military, the Buddhists, and the Roman Catholics. The inability of these groups to work in harmony has been a major cause of continuing governmental instability. Mr. Lodge was apparently able to work well with such differing viewpoints.

Most important of all, however, is the need—stressed by the new Ambassador—to give the average South Vietnamese the feeling that he was a real stake in the defeat of communism. Even after years of fighting and disappointment, the opportunity to do this still remains although it is glaringly apparent that only new inspiration, new ideas, and far stronger efforts can succeed in bringing this about.

So far as the fighting is concerned, this is a difficult moment for Mr. Lodge to return to South Vietnam. With the monsoon rain and clouds, there has come an upswing in Vietcong effort and success. To counter this, the United States is not only beginning to take an active shooting role on the ground but feels obliged to send more and more reinforcements.

With this turn of events has come further questioning of Washington's conduct of the war. Mr. Lodge, as a topmost Republican, will help reinforce that air of nonpartisanship on the war which President Johnson rightly seeks.

It is also interesting that Mr. Lodge's reappointment coincided with the first, faint evidence of willingness on North Vietnam's part to receive a Western emissary—in this case Prime Minister Wilson's friend, Harold Davies. While there is no reason as yet to see any connection between these events, each contributes to a feeling of somewhat greater maneuverability in Vietnam. This maneuverability must be encouraged if we are ever to see a negotiated end to the crisis.

Salvatore Esposito

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, July 20, Staten Island, New York City and the United States lost a great philanthropist, businessman, and patriot. Mr. Esposito was a tireless and productive member of our business, civic and religious community for all of his adult life. To his family and to his many close and personal friends, I offer my deepest sympathy and wish to include this obituary from the Staten Island Advance of Wednesday, July 21:

SALVATORE ESPOSITO, STRICKEN ON WAY TO CEREMONY FOR B.P.

Salvatore Esposito, Sr., Staten Island businessman, and leader in Italian-American affairs, suffered a heart attack in Borough President Maniscalco's limousine yesterday in Manhattan and died a short time later in New York University Hospital.

Mr. Esposito, 71, was on his way to the Italian consulate with the borough president; his son, Mario J. Esposito, and Councilman Robert G. Lindsay for the presentation to Maniscalco of Italy's Knights Officer in the Order of Merit.

Mr. Esposito was brought to Manhattan in 1906 from his native Italy and came to Staten Island more than 40 years ago. He lived at 111 Harvard Avenue, New Brighton. He was founder and president of the Canal Lumber Co. in Manhattan with a branch on Bay Street, Stapleton, and founder of the Cardinal Lumber Co., Stapleton.

During the past year, Mr. Esposito had retired from many of his activities. In June, he finished a 1-year term as national president of the American Parkinson Disease Association. He was the founder of the Staten Island chapter of the association, which was named for his wife, Elena, who died in 1961.

Last Thursday he presented a check from the association for $2,500 to Staten Island Hospital for the establishment of an outpatient clinic. He was to be honored next month by the association and his friends.

He was a former member of the board of directors, past vice president and treasurer and a founder of the Italian Club of Staten Island.

He was also a founder of the Greater New York Suburban Lumbermen's Association, of which he was vice president, and of the Italian Historical Society of Staten Island, of which he was a former director. He was a member of the Borough President's Advisory Council.

He retired last year as a trustee of Assumption Roman Catholic Church, New Brighton, and had served as building fund chairman for the parish school. He was consul-commander of the Manhattan Division, Woodmen of the World, and president and treasurer of the Italo-America Foundation of New York City.

Mr. Esposito was also a member of the board of directors of the Italian Hospital in Manhattan and had been a member of Staten Island Chapter, American Committee for Italian Immigration.

He is survived by five sons, Joseph, of Naughton Avenue, Dongan Hills; Albert, of Greenport Street, Dongan Hills; Mario J. and George, of the home address, and Salvatore Jr., of Cascade Street, New Dorp; two daughters, Miss Nancy Esposito of the home address, and Mrs. Sophie Maestrone, of Roderick Avenue, Grasmere; a brother, Aniello, of Italy, and 17 grandchildren.

The funeral will be Saturday from the Island Funeral Home, Dongan Hills, with a requiem mass at 10 a.m. in the Assumption Church. Burial will be in St. Peter's Cemetery.

Adlai Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, among the many tributes paid to the late Adlai Stevenson none, it seems to me, are more meaningful than those emanating from persons who frequently disagreed with him politically. Among such statements is that of my friend William H. Rentschler of Illinois, Republican candidate for nomination to the U.S. Senate in 1960. Mr. Rentschler's eloquence and sincerity are embodied in the following article:

Honors mount for Adlai Stevenson, of Illinois, fallen American statesman.

They come from all over the world, from the old countries in Europe and Asia, and from new lands hacked out of the African bush. They come from small towns and teeming cities in every corner of his native America. They come from the great and the ordinary, from people of every color and faith and political persuasion.

Some would deride as insincere the often effusive tributes from Adlai Stevenson's political foes, but they miss a fundamental point: that it is possible to honor and respect an adversary even as you strive mightily to defeat him. You admire his good fight, the talents he possesses that you may lack, his courage in the face of withering attack.

The widespread homage paid Adlai Stevenson reminds us of other significant facts of life in these United States: that most Americans pursue in their own strange ways the same objectives—peace, justice, equality, happiness, material well-being. And that most deep cleavages stem from conflicting notions of how to achieve those common ends.

I frequently found myself in disagreement with Adlai Stevenson on the means to reach goals we shared. I disagreed with what I felt was his tendency, lately somewhat tempered, toward accommodation in foreign affairs, and with his undue reliance on Federal solutions to most of our domestic ills.

But I respected him as a man who gave unstintingly of himself to public service; as one whose rare eloquence stirred his countrymen to high purpose; as a man of warmth and wit and compassion.

Who can forget his wry opening remark in a speech shortly after he had been buried by General Eisenhower beneath an avalanche of votes? "A funny thing happened to me on my way to the White House." A winning, even endearing comment by a man with heavy heart but a rare sense of irony and perspective.

We need in our land more men whose support of their convictions is stanch, fervent, even passionate. Stevenson was one of these. With a public eloquence surpassed in our time only by Churchill, Adlai Stevenson made his case with graceful, memorable phrase. The words were his, and he churned them out painstakingly, groping for the right adjective, changing, editing, fretting, for no speechwriter fully met his exacting standards. He presented his own, and often in the U.N., America's point of view with notable skill and distinction.

There is all too often a tendency for those who disagree with a particular line of reasoning to seek to demolish the man rather than the validity of his argument. This course usually cloaks the weakness of their case. If these dissidents were to be scrupulously fair, they would not attack or demean or seek to derogate their foes, but rather would articulate more forcefully, more effectively, more compelling their side of the controversy.

A thoughtful dialog between antagonists—who are quite likely to be seeking similar ends—pierces the murk, enlightens the audience, solidifies the objectives, clarifies the purpose, and strengthens the resolve. This is good. It is even necessary, where freedom of speech prevails. Our Nation is the beneficiary when there is searching give-and-take on the great issues of the day. Those who seek to stifle debate or force adherence to some "official" position do their country no service.

Surely it is better to light a candle than to curse the darkness. Adlai Stevenson sought always to throw shafts of light into dark corners. This was his great gift. He contributed notably to understanding on this shrunken planet of ours, and to enlightenment—of the American people, of all the peoples of the world.

This is Adlai Stevenson's shining legacy.

The Federal Government and State of Oregon: Partners in Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the Members of this House the regrettable and ignorant alliance of the Federal Government and the State of Oregon in keeping gambling illegal in that State. I say this because by keeping gambling illegal in Oregon, the two governments are keeping gambling ripe for plucking by the mob, so that gambling profits finance every variety of mob criminal activity.

Last year, the parimutuel turnover in Oregon came to $12.5 million. More meaningful, and also more dangerous is Oregon's undercover, illegal gambling. Testimony before the McClellan committee put off-track betting at $50 billion a year nationally, and other testimony indicated that this type of gambling accounted for only 42 percent of the illegal gambling total, which would then be about $120 billion a year. On a population basis, Oregon's share of this would come to $1.2 billion a year. Even if this is somewhat high, there is no doubt that illegal gambling is kicking in millions of dollars every year to the mob in Oregon.

To me, it is hypocrisy to keep gambling illegal so that it serves the mob's needs for operating revenues. Why should we allow illegal gambling to finance the underworld when Government-run gambling can make gambling revenues work for the people. Unfortunately, Oregon has proven itself long on hypocrisy. When rural Oregon bluenoses some years ago objected to Oregon's dograces, these objections somehow vanished when the county fairs got cut in on the take. I would like to see an end to this hypocrisy. I would like to see the Government take over gambling and make it work for for the people. I recommend a national lottery.

Millers, Bakers Cover Up Real Reason for Higher Bread Cost, Reports Tulsa Daily World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, it will not be too long before this House has before it H.R. 9981, the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965.

Title V of this bill authorizes continuation of the voluntary wheat certificate program for 4 years with modifications from current provisions aimed at boosting wheat farmers' income by about $150 million a year, reducing Government costs, and providing more freedom in the marketing system.

The significant change from current operations would provide for price support for wheat with domestic certificates at or near 100 percent of parity and eliminate the need for export certificates to supplement wheat farmers' income. The support price for wheat for domestic food use would be increased about 50 cents per bushel to around $2.50.

Mr. Speaker, an intensive lobbying campaign has been initiated from certain quarters against this title of the bill. I do not question the right of any group or interests to lobby against a bill before the U.S. Congress. However, I would like for all Members to have the opportunity to read an article which appeared recently in the Tulsa Daily World, of Tulsa, Okla., concerning the nature of this lobbying campaign.

Under leave to extend, the newspaper article follows:

[From the Tulsa Daily World, July 19, 1965]

FARMERS END UP WITH GOAT HORNS—MILLERS, BAKERS COVER UP REAL REASON FOR HIGHER BREAD COSTS

(By Herb Karner)

Mrs. housewife, you are being played for a sucker.

You are being told if proposed farm legislation passes it would constitute a 2-cent tax per pound loaf of bread which sells for an average price of 21 cents.

Making the "bread tax" charge is a group called the Wheat Users Committee. It is composed of 23 baking companies, one major miller, and two bakery unions.

They are basing their charge on the assumption that the current wheat certificate of 75 cents a bushel paid to farmers on domesticated wheat will be raised to $1.25 a bushel.

They are saying this additional 50 cents a bushel will raise the cost of bread 2 cents a loaf.

The Wheat Users Committee is distorting the truth. Lest fence talk be misunderstood, we make it crystal clear we are not enarmored of the wheat certificate plan. It is a bothersome, cumbersome, inefficient way of doing business. We believe there is a better way of raising farm income, which we will not go into now.

We readily agree with the milling trade that administration of the certificate plan is a nuisance.

But, we resent mightily distortion of fact by the committee in an effort to defeat the proposed wheat legislation.

What are the facts? Currently farmers get 75 cents a bushel for wheat used in domestic consumption, bringing the cost of wheat to millers to around $2 a bushel. Reason for the certificate plan is to bring wheat farmer income to a reasonable level compared with the rest of the economy.

Now, it is proposed the level is not high enough—that a 50-cent-a-bushel increase in certificate value would bring domestic wheat to near 100 percent of parity.

Fact is the farm value of wheat going into a loaf of bread is 2.5 cents—based on $2 a bushel wheat. It is significant that this is a decrease from 2.7 cents back in 1947. In 1947–49 the farmer's share of the retail price of a loaf of bread was 24 percent. This has declined to 14 percent.

Truth is if wheat is raised from $2 to $2.50 a bushel it would raise the cost of wheat in a loaf of bread one-half cent—not 2 cents as the committee claims.

A farmer could donate the wheat in a loaf of bread and it would not lower the price of bread appreciably. By the same token, if the price of wheat to a farmer was doubled, it wouldn't affect prices greatly.

Why does the committee distort facts? Because they've got something to hide—and what they are trying to hide from consumers is that the widening price spread between 1947–49 and now is due primarily to higher costs for baking and distributing bread.

Hourly earnings of production workers in bakeries in 1963 were $1.18 an hour higher than in 1947–49, increasing from $1.15 to $2.33 an hour. This 103-percent increase was passed along to consumers.

Again, make no mistake—we are not against increased wages to workers. We believe they should have adequate wages.

We do object to all sorts of red herrings dragged across the trail to make it appear that increased bread prices are the fault of farmers.

Here's a breakdown of what has happened to a 1-pound loaf of bread now retailing for 21 cents:

[Figures in cents]

	1947	1963
Wages, salaries, fringe benefits, social security, and officers' compensation	2.2	6.2
Packaging and wrapping	.5	1.4
Delivery, other than wages	.4	1.1
Advertising, promotion, etc	.2	.9
Profits after taxes (baker-wholesale)	.2	.2
Retail margin	2.7	3.6
Wheat cost (to farmers)	2.7	2.5
Other ingredient costs	.2	.2
Total	10.0	21.0

That's the story of the increased cost of bread. While farmers have been getting less, others have been getting more—and the increase, more than 11 cents a loaf during the period—is passed on to consumers.

Cold fact is, for bakers to justify a 1-cent raise in bread prices on the basis of wheat cost alone, the average farm price of $1.94 a bushel would have to be increased 40 percent—around $2.80 a bushel.

At the very minimum, let's stop trying to kid ourselves. The Wheat Users Committee has an ax to grind. We don't want it used on farmers when it is not their fault.

Amendment to Atomic Energy Act 1954 Clarification of Section 271

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the necessity for passing H.R. 8856 is affirmed by a letter from the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg.

He points out that AEC missions in many areas of national importance can be damaged.

He also points out that the use of the $114 million scientific device may be delayed for approximately 18 months at great extra cost to the Nation's taxpayers and denial of scientific activity.

The letter follows:

U.S. ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., July 14, 1965.

Hon. CHET HOLIFIELD,
Chairman, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Congress of the United States.

DEAR MR. HOLIFIELD: In reviewing the debate on the floor of the House last Monday concerning the bill to amend section 271 of the Atomic Energy Act, we noted confusion on the part of some participants concerning the urgency of the need for passage of this legislation.

I want to make clear that the Atomic Energy Commission is greatly concerned that if the bill is not passed, there may be, at any time, interferences with the conduct of major AEC program missions due to the limitations placed on this agency's authority by the decision of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Many AEC installations, including those involved in production of weapons and weapons materials, which are heavily dependent upon the availability of reliable sources of electric power, have been placed in jeopardy by that decision. The subject bill would remove that potential threat and restore to AEC the same powers possessed by other Federal agencies. The Atomic Energy Commission therefore supports the early passage of this bill because of its impact on the national defense and security.

Some of the confusion in the debate related to the urgency of the need for additional power for the SLAC project. Briefly the essential facts are as follows:

The existing 60 kilovolt power supply will be inadequate for project needs by the end of calendar year 1965. Construction of the accelerator is expected to be completed by March 1966. Unless 220 kilovolt power is available by then from an additional powerline, maximum scientific productivity of research from this $114 million national facility will not be obtained and will not be reached until adequate power is obtained. An overhead transmission line can be constructed in about 6 months' time. (An underground line will require approximately 24 months to construct. Even if started now, undergrounding of the line would result in a delay in commencement of productive operation of the accelerator by approximately 18 months.)

As you know, the Commission has already testified to the foregoing, but I believe it important to reiterate these points.

Cordially,

GLENN T. SEABORG,
Chairman.

Preservation of Long Island Wetlands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the Nassau County Planning Commission for adopting a resolution proposing the establishment of a conservation area embracing substantially all of Nassau County's wetlands along the south shore of Long Island, N.Y. The wetland area, about 15 miles long and about 3½ miles wide, extends from the Queens-Nassau County line on the west to the Nassau-Suffolk County line on the east. East Rockaway Inlet on the western extremity and Jones Inlet at about the midpoint lead to the open Atlantic.

Commission Chairman Franklin Baer of Baldwin, N.Y., announced the adoption of the resolution and stated that the commission recognizes the necessity for filling some of the wetland area for such urgently needed public services as a sewage disposal plant which will serve as a deterrent to further water pollution. The primary purpose of this resolution, however, is to stop the continued unprincipled exploitation of the wetlands for dredging purposes or for filling and construction and which should be preserved as a natural habitat for wildlife, a buffer against shore erosion, and for development of the area as a major recreation area.

The resolution has been forwarded by the planning commission to the Nassau County executive's office for development of a specific plan for implementation of the recommendations.

In support of the commission's recommendations, I am inserting at this point the text of the Nassau County Planning Commission resolution together with a statement of views of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service:

Whereas the planning commission has expressed its continuing concern with matters of conservation affecting Nassau County; and

Whereas various investigations affecting the wetland areas of the South Shore have brought to light practices detrimental not only to appropriate standards for business conduct, but which have resulted also in the despoliation of natural resources vital to the future well-being of Nassau County; and

Whereas the urgency to resolve the matter of conservation along shore areas of Nassau County must prompt immediate measures to insure the future availability of these highly productive resources for both conservation as well as recreation purposes; Be it

Resolved, That substantially all remaining wetland areas along the south shore of Nassau County be preserved in their natural state; that no more housing or other built-up uses, except for designated public purposes, be permitted; and be it further

Resolved, That a survey be made of all existing and potentially damaged bottom areas in the aforementioned wetland and bay areas by the New York State Department of Conservation, and that remedial action be taken to repair and improve natural drainage and ecological balances; and be it further

Resolved, That a moratorium on substantially all present dredging be imposed, subject to the completion of the aforementioned survey; and be it further.

Resolved, That every effort be made to expedite the construction of a sewage system and plant in order to protect those areas along the shoreline where potential pollution from seepage by septic tanks poses a growing problem; and be it further

Resolved, That any further dredging be thoroughly supervised, controlled and effected only in those areas which would tend to improve the character and the ecological balance of the affected conservation areas; and be it further

Resolved, That appropriate action be taken to establish a conservation area to embrace all of Nassau's remaining wetlands and offshore islands, to be administered either by Nassau County or by joint action of the towns of Hempstead and Oyster Bay, or by creation of a new administrative agency for the purpose of enforcing all appropriate conservation measures (in conjunction with the New York State Department of Conservation); and to be responsible for the survey recommended above; to supervise dredging operations; highlight the advantages, including the commercial and esthetic values, of the wetlands area as a recreational facility; and to promote the purposes of conservation generally in Nassau County; and be it further

Resolved, That the Nassau County attorney's office be requested to develop a specific plan whereby the aforementioned recommendations may be implemented.

Approved July 13, 1965.

FRANKLIN BEAR,
Chairman.

ANTHONY MAZZOCCHI,
Vice Chairman.

THEODORE W. BARBER.
DONALD J. SUTHERLAND.
JOSEPH MONTEMARANO.

VIEWS OF THE U.S. FISH AND WILDLIFE SERVICE IN REGARD TO WETLANDS OF LONG ISLAND, N.Y.

For many years, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior has been actively engaged in the study and evaluation of wetlands, including those of Long Island, N.Y. These latter wetlands extend the entire length of the island—thousands of acres of tidal flats, shallow pools, and marshy islands, interlaced with numerous inlets and streams. They form a natural and unique ecological zone between the fresh water streams of the uplands and the salt waters of the Atlantic beyond the dunes. Increasingly, we are impressed with the overall values of these wetlands to finfish, shellfish, waterfowl, and many other birds and animals which in turn are of great importance to people.

In 1961, in cooperation with the New York State Conservation Department, the Service published the results of a joint study started in 1957, entitled "Preservation of Hempstead and South Oyster Bay Wetlands." The study was conceived in response to requests for a basic upon which the towns of Hempstead and Oyster Bay could plan for future public needs and yet retain much of their irreplaceable wetlands. Support for this effort came through enactment of New York's Long Island wetlands bill in 1959. Over the past 7 years, numerous local groups have become interested in this matter.

Now, even more people are concerned with these wetlands; their interest intensified by pressures of an increasing population and its concomitant increases in water pollution, housing development, industrial complexes, marinas, parks, and recreational areas. These factors have already destroyed large amounts of wetlands and constitute a serious threat to the remainder. Although, individually, projects involving wetlands may seem inconsequential, collectively, the total effect has been disastrous. But what are the values of these wetlands? Just how does dredging, drainage, and the disposition of spoil affect wetlands? What difference does the loss of wetlands make, anyway? Let's look at the facts.

More than 60 species of fish use the bay habitat for at least part of each year. Sport fishermen seek the winter flounder, striped bass, black sea bass, and summer flounder, to name a few. Tidal areas are extremely important to nine fish species taken in oceanic waters; these include Atlantic menhaden, scup, fluke, flounder, and striped bass. In addition to these, important bait fish species are collected in these wetland areas.

The shallow bay waters and mudflats are productive habitat for shellfish which are sought by both sport and commercial interests. Some of these are blue-claw crabs, bank mussels, blue mussels, oysters, scallops, soft-shell clams, and quahogs, or hard-shell clams.

The south shore bay complex of Long Island comprises the most important coastal waterfowl area in the North Atlantic States with over 5 million waterfowl-days of use each year between October 1 and April 30. In addition to wintering populations, black ducks, mallards, Canada geese, and wood ducks breed in the area. More than 55 species of other waterfowl and shore birds, rails, and herons are commonly seen.

All of these living natural resources are valuable to people. The populaton of the metropolitan New York area seeks and obtains recreation and seafood in the bays and wet lands of Long Island. Nearly all who come there do so for fishing, hunting, boating, nature study, and other living resource-based activities. In 1958, the sport fishing alone on South Bay waters accounted for expenditures in excess of $3,500,000 between April 20 and Otocber 30. Each year, several hundred thousand dollars worth of shellfish are taken in just Hempstead and Babylon. Hundreds of thousands of dollars also are spent by waterfowl hunters. These are some of the economic values of wetland resources. Impressive as the figure are, the intangible values of outdoor activities related to these waters and wet lands are even more so.

For these reasons, the effects on wet lands of dredging, channelization, drainage, filling, and spoil disposal, which are direct, usually destructive, and often final, are of vital concern to us. An aquatic community is as highly variable as the particular bottom soil, water nutrients, water depth, climate, and plant-animal associations dictate, but disturbances of one or more factors spell change. Lowland filling by spoil disposal means total destruction of wet lands. The effects of silt, stirred into motion by channelization and dredging, may be spread over many square miles by the tides and winds. The fine waterborne particles prevent photosynthesis in aquatic plants, and as they settle out, they smother not only plants but the myriad of organisms composing the food chains of all living things.

A change in water salinity can result in unalterable substitution of an unwanted plant-animal association for a desirable one previously present. Water temperature changes, likewise, often bring about biotic changes. These changed conditions often accompany widened channels and inlets to tidal waters and wet lands. Man has learned much about the biological controls and balances at work in aquatic communities, but only in rare instances has he been able to restore large areas of unwanted aquatic plant-animal associations to a desirable community. In nearly every case where this has been done or attempted, complete control of waterflows has been necessary and expensive.

The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service believes, as do countless thousands of the general public, that man does not, and cannot, live by bread alone. Man's health and welfare is inescapably meshed with the complex environment of minerals, plants, and animals. He is becoming aware of his choices and their effects upon this environment. Somehow, the society he has created must rise to meet the challenge of maintaining a habitat desirable for himself in the face of problems for which he, also, is responsible.

And when will this destruction of water and wetlands habitat end? It will end when a majority of our people recognize the problem and insist that these habitats and all their related natural resources be preserved or restored. This is partly a matter of education, and some progress has been made in this direction. The growing interest in conservation in general, and wetlands in particular, is evidence of this fact. Long Island has been fortunate in having so many dedicated workers.

Interest must, of course, be translated into action through the town, county, State, and National Governments. There is no substitute for a combination of able and active offic' 's backed by aroused citizens.

Neither the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service nor the New York State Conservation Department can force their recommendations, as contained in the 1961 report, upon any town. The decision will, as it should, rest with the town officials as representatives of local citizens.

There is a good deal of misunderstanding regarding the powers of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service in preventing dredging. The U.S. Corps of Engineers must issue permits covering any dredging in navigable waters. The Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife and the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, both of this Service, by law advise the corps as to the effects of any dredging or other work affecting such waters. The Service can and does recommend that permits for work destructive to fish and wildlife be denied, or issued only with stipulations designed to prevent or minimize damage to these resources. Recommendations of the Fish and Wildlife Service need not be accepted, however, as its role is an advisory one. Unhappily, permits rarely have been denied the applicant, or even issued with needed stipulations based on consideration of fish and wildlife.

And what does the future hold? The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service will continue every posible effort to assist in the preservation and management of Long Island's south shore waters and wetlands. The success of this effort, and that of every other individual and organiztaion with a stake in these natural areas, really will be determined, however, at the town and State level by informed citizens who care enough to become involved.

In his message to the Congress on natural beauty on February 8, 1965, President Johnson said:

A beautiful America will require the effort of government at every level, of business, and of private groups.

I have inserted the foregoing resolution and statement of views because I suport those who are striving to preserve our natural resources, our areas of scenic beauty, our recreation areas, our marine, and wildlife, our waterways, and our conservation areas.

Through such efforts we can answer the President's call for a new conservation.

Gulf States Paper Corp. Curbs Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, one of the major industries of the Fifth Congressional District of Alabama, which I have the privilege to represent, is Gulf States Paper Corp. Gulf States, under the able leadership of my good friend, Jack Warner, is an important factor in the economic picture of west Alabama.

The Gulf States plant in Demopolis, Ala., recently unveiled a new mill waste system aimed at curbing pollution by reducing the flow of waste products into the Tombigbee River. The system cost over $1 million and will require an annual expenditure of $48,000 in operating funds. Although there is no immediate expansion planned for the Demopolis facility, the waste disposal system is designed to take care of future increased loads.

Mr. Speaker, I congratulate Mr. Jack Warner, president of Gulf States; Mr. Robert L. Yoder, resident manager of the Demopolis mill; and all others connected with the industry for this progressive step taken by Gulf States Paper Corp.

The following article from the July 11, 1965, edition of the Tuscaloosa News gives an excellent description of the new waste facility:

DEMOPOLIS PAPER MILL PROGRAM—MILLION SPENT TO CURB POLLUTION

(By Ed Watkins)

DEMOPOLIS.—Pollution of rivers in Alabama by industries located on their banks is on old problem.

Wildlife groups have long sought better stream protection to safeguard fish. Most industries have fought stronger polution measures because of the vast expense involved.

Now, Gulf States Paper Corp. has taken a giant step in stream pollution control at its Demopolis mill. Last week, Gulf States took the wraps off a new mill waste system that aims a three-pronged attack at stream pollution.

The unique installation divides liquid waste products into three different channels, to be treated according to type and strength before flowing into the Tombigbee River.

More than a hundred representatives of State and local governments, industry and wildlife groups toured the mill and saw the new system in action.

The guests ate lunch at the Demopolis Country Club and heard talks by Jack Warner, president of Gulf State Paper Corp., Robert L. Yoder, vice president of the paper board division and resident manager of the Demopolis mill, and Dr. Ira Myers, State health officer and a member of the Alabama Water Improvement Commission.

Warner said stream pollution is not an insoluble problem but compromises must be made by the two extreme groups. He also

said more dams are needed to help in the low flow periods on the river.

Warner pointed out that conditions change with the times. He said if the Tuscaloosa plant were to be built today it would be constructed below the city, not at its present location. He also said the Warrior Lock and Dam should have been located farther down stream below the industrial plants.

Yoder pointed out that the new system at the Demopolis plant was constructed in spite of the fact that no immediate expansion is planned and that the mill was under no pressure to improve its waste disposal system.

The system involved an investment of over a million dollars. Operating it and monitoring the river require an annual expense of $48,000.

Dr. Myers said it was gratifying to see such a major step taken on pollution.

The mill, located about 8 miles south of Demopolis, is surrounded by elaborate ponding and clarifying facilities each dedicated to the treatment of a specific type of waste water from the various stages of manufacture. Into one lagoon goes water that contains no harmful materials but which needs to be cooled before returning to the river.

In a second facility, a huge clarifier, 266 feet in diameter, removes solids such as wood fibers that would otherwise flow into the river.

The third operation involves a 56-acre lagoon which impounds waste water containing non-fibrous material from the wood that could be harmful to the stream. This effluent can be retained for periods up to two weeks, during which time its harmful properties are dissipated. It is then metered back into the river at a rate determined by the flow of the stream.

Even before water needed by the mill is sent to the waste treatment plants, it has been used over and over throughout the mill. The mill uses 16 million gallons of water daily, but if it were not for this recycling at various stages of production, the demand would be 25 million gallons a day.

Although no mill expansion is planned at Demopolis, the new waste treatment system is designed to take care of a greater future load.

To the east of the mill a small lake allows the cooling of water that has become heated in condensing steam produced in the chemical recovery section of the mill. This lagoon also serves as a safety check to guard against any mishaps that might endanger the condition of the river. Should such upset conditions occur, a sensing system automatically sounds an alarms and shuts off the discharge valve at the lagoon.

Four million gallons of water can be processed daily here. Now covering nine acres with a 20-million-gallon capacity, the pond can readily be enlarged to 25 acres with a 105-million-gallon capacity.

On the opposite side of the mill is the clarifier which handles 10 million gallons of water a day. Water fed into this system contains solid materials such as fibers, lime, and clays that have slipped through in the washing, bleaching, and forming processes. Such materials, if allowed to flow into the river, would use up vital dissolved oxygen and create sludge beds.

The clarifier is a huge, dish-shaped installation, 266 feet in diameter and 15 feet deep at the center. Mill water is pumped to the center surface, from which point it flows outward to the rim, spilling over the edges. In the meanwhile, 99 percent of the solids have settled to the bottom, where long scraper arms concentrate the sludge in the deepest part. Heavy-duty pumps then remove the sludge.

These concentrated solids are pumped to a nearby filter house where more water is removed, leaving a wet cake of solid material to be dumped in a nearby impoundment. At present there is no practical use for these solids, but experiments are being conducted to see if they can be transformed into a useful byproduct.

Behind the clarifier stretches the 59-acre surface of the strong waste lagoon. Here is collected effluent that has a stronger concentration of oxygen-absorbing materials. The wastes are held for a period up to 2 weeks, during which time areation and bacterial action reduce the oxygen demand.

At the end of the treatment period the water is released to the river at a carefully controlled rate. The strong waste system is designed to be modified as technical advances are made in the field of effluent control.

In addition to the three-way treatment system and the constant checking and double-checking that goes on at the plant, Gulf States technicians keep a close watch on the river itself. Daily checks are made on the river's flow and of the dissolved oxygen content of the water.

In periods of low water this monitoring process becomes almost constant and the lab boat travels 50 miles downstream from the plant and 5 miles upstream. Samples of water are taken at 16 different points and 5 tests are made on each sample.

The Demopolis mill was built in 1957 and produces up to 400 tons of gleaming white board daily, chiefly for the folding carton industry.

Repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, one of hundreds of letters I have received on the subject of repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act came from the Western States Meat Packers president, Mr. L. Blaine Liljenquist. I ask leave to have this letter, which outlines, the feelings of this important association, placed in the Appendix for the edification of my colleagues.

WESTERN STATES MEAT PACKERS ASSOCIATION, INC.,
Washington, D.C., July 26, 1965.

Hon. LAURENCE J. BURTON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BURTON: Please vote against repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

This is the recommendation of the Western States Meat Packers Association.

It is an American tradition not to force citizens to join any organization—lodge, club, church, association, or labor union.

Freedom to choose for oneself is a principle which has been instrumental in making the United States the richest Nation on earth. Let's not give up this great freedom.

Responsible labor unions win their membership by constructive leadership. It is not essential to the success of labor unions to have mandatory membership.

Labor unions have continued to grow powerful under the Taft-Hartley Act. As you know, labor organizations are not subject to antitrust laws. Repeal of section 14(b) would give them an added monopoly to the detriment of the public welfare.

Your vote against repeal of section 14(b) will be greatly appreciated.

Respectfully yours,

L. BLAINE LILJENQUIST,
President and General Manager.

Cuba's Road To Ruin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego Union of July 24, 1965:

CUBA'S ROAD TO RUIN—CASTRO PROMISES BRING ENSLAVEMENT

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The Very Reverend John J. Kelly, of St. Augustine's high school, San Diego, lived in Cuba from 1943 to 1959. For 9 years, until he was forced out by Prime Minister Fidel Castro in April 1959, Father Kelly was president of the Catholic university there.)

(By the Very Reverend John J. Kelly)

Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro celebrates his 12th anniversary of his revolt on Monday.

On July 26, 1953, about 100 idealistic young Cubans attacked a military barracks in Moncada, Santiago de Cuba, in an unsuccessful and apparently scatterbrained attempt to open armed hostility against the government of Fulgencio Batista. A small hard-core group escaped, including Fidel and his brother, Paul. They surrendered and their lives were saved through the intercession of the archbishop of Santiago, the Most Reverend Enrique Perez Serantes.

The Batista government pardoned and exiled these conspirators in 1955, only to have the pardoned exiles return 18 months later from Mexico for a new armed invasion, December 2, 1956. The group of about 90 was detected and almost annihilated by the Cuban armed forces, but again, Fidel, Paul and the hard-core group escaped into the hills of the Sierra Maestra in eastern Cuba.

There they managed to hold out for 2 years, while the Cuban people became increasingly dissatisfied with the Batista administration.

Although Cuba was never so prosperous economically as in 1957–58, Cubans looked for someone to lead them in a political revolution to overthrow Batista. In spite of his known criminal record, Fidel Castro became accepted as the ideal leader for that revolution, and he sat defiantly on his mountain top, very inacessible to the armed forces of Cuba, but readily accessible to that sector of the world press which wittingly or unwittingly favors leftist causes.

The vast majority of Cuban people supported Castro then because he promised free elections, honesty in government and a return to the constitution of 1940. These promises were deliberate, calculated lies, such as his shortwave clandestine broadcast:

EVIDENCE LACKING

"We are not a Communist group. The government accuses us of that to get your support; we are Cubans who hate Batista more than you do and want to get him out and restore free elections, honesty and the constitution to our nation."

Much of the propaganda of the Castro military victories was of like nature. There is no evidence that Castro won any decisive, large-scale military victory; there is much evidence to the contrary that the Cuban armed forces, by and large, were demoralized, corrupt and unwilling to fight.

The victory over Batista was not Castro's so much as it was that of the Cuban people. Professionals, students, middle class and upper class were conned into helping Castro. He had no proletariat, no union help. The

U.S. State Department formulated policy which favored Castro over Batista.

RESULT OF REVOLT

What has been the result of this "revolt" and the one-sided policy of the State Department? In some 6 years Castro has parlayed his easy victory into a full-fledged Soviet satellite, 90 miles from the U.S. mainland.

For Cubans this Soviet aggression on the Americas has brought the same enslavement of the people, the same destruction of a sound economy, the same misery, hunger and death that it has visited upon the peoples of Eastern Europe and China.

It also has brought to Cuba Soviet troops and war materials that openly threaten the security of the Americas, as well as a tactical training center of subversion aimed at underminng all Latin America.

Many observers think that the road the United States chooses with Cuba will determine the fate of Latin America, and ultimately the fate of the United States.

Hon. Cleveland M. Bailey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT T. SECREST

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. SECREST. Mr. Speaker, on July 13, my friend, and our former colleague, the Honorable Cleveland Monroe Bailey, passed away. He was born in St. Marys, W. Va., and was a graduate of Geneva College, Geneva, Pa., an Associated Press editor of the Clarksburg Exponent, an assistant State auditor, a State budget director, a schoolteacher, and finally a Member of Congress for 16 years.

From the day he came to Congress, the membership sensed, both Democratic and Republican, that here was a man born to lead and not follow. He espoused clearly and without fear the principles and beliefs on which his political philosophy was based. As he so often said, my first two names should indicate the party of my choice. Cleveland Bailey was a kindly man under that outward rough exterior, and his word was his bond. I can remember as if it were yesterday, when we talked of our respective States, that he told me, "Remember BOB, what is good for one part of your State is good for all the State, regardless of whether or not it is your own district." Many a freshman Member of Congress will recall his words of wisdom and guidance in their legislative actions. The statute books bear evidence of his record in the Congress, and every child in America can thank him for his foresight in the field of education and every working man can thank him for his friendship to labor.

In the spring of 1965, Midwest City, Okla., paid him tribute when he went there to dedicate the Cleveland M. Bailey School. I can mentally picture him and imagine the personal pride he took in being told that a school was being named in his honor and that he was to make the dedication.

Every State in this great Union of ours sends a distinguished son to the Congress. West Virginia can take great pride in knowing that it has contributed one of her sons to the Congress of the United States, in the person of the late Honorable Cleveland Monroe Bailey. Both Mrs. Secrest and I extend our deepest sympathy to his wife, Maud, and his sons, Joslyn and Donald, and his daughter, Wanda, and his many grandchildren.

Patman Jabs at Martin Carry Little Weight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, July 7th, Mr. Thomas J. Foley of the Los Angeles Times wrote an article which was published in the Washington Post setting forth his views on the disagreement by Congressman PATMAN with Chairman William McChesney Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

The article follows:

PATMAN JABS AT MARTIN CARRY LITTLE WEIGHT

(By Thomas J. Foley)

When William McChesney Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, was asked to comment the other day on Representative WRIGHT PATMAN's demand that he resign, a smile broke across his face.

Despite differences, Martin said in all good humor, "I'm always able to maintain friendly relations with Mr. PATMAN and I hope to continue to do so."

"I'm always pleased," Martin said, "when Mr. PATMAN shows interest in the Federal Reserve."

ALWAYS SHOWING INTEREST

Martin, of course, was being a gentleman. But to those acquainted with him and his relations with Mr. PATMAN, the comment had a barb, because PATMAN, the 71-year-old Texas Democrat, who heads the House Banking and Currency Committee is always showing interest in the Federal Reserve.

Martin's tone, and his smile, moreover, were something more than condescending. And well they might have been.

For Martin knew, and his immediate listeners knew, that despite PATMAN'S seniority—only three Congressmen in the 435-Member House have served longer than his 36 years—and despite PATMAN'S position as chairman of the Banking Committee, the Congressman's demand for Martin to resign carries about as much weight as the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on which it was printed.

The incident serves as an example of how potential power can be diluted, as PATMAN'S has over the years.

KNOWS HIS STRENGTH

It is doubtful, of course, whether a demand from any Member of Congress right now would prompt Martin to resign. He knows his strength, which is considerable, and his standing in President Johnson's eyes, which is also considerable.

This is no reflection on PATMAN'S integrity, which is high, nor does it bear on the merits of his case against Martin.

LITTLE ATTENTION PAID

What it does mean is that PATMAN has rebuked and berated big bankers in general and the Federal Reserve Board in particular so often and so bitterly that scarcely anyone pays much attention to him any more.

Seldom a week goes by, it often seems, that PATMAN does not inveigh at length against them.

The main thrust of his arguments is always the same—that these groups want high interest rates and that these rates are the ruination of everything that is good.

Again, whether this is true is beside the point. The repetition of the argument, and usually in strong uncompromising terms, has cost PATMAN his audience.

RECOGNIZES PROBLEM

PATMAN himself—to his credit—recognizes to some degree what the problem is. In the speech, he also said "think hard, think long, my colleagues. I am not making a plea for a pet peeve of WRIGHT PATMAN'S."

At another point, he said, "well, you will say, this is another one of PATMAN'S diatribes against William McChesney Martin—we have been hearing the same for many years."

But his pleas went largely unheeded for that very reason—his audience has been hearing the same thing for many years.

One Man, One Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the Michigan Democratic State Central Committee has officially gone on record in opposition to current legislative efforts to upset the Supreme Court's historic one-man, one-vote decision on apportionment of State legislatures.

I thoroughly agree with the position taken by the State central committee and consider it a privilege to call to the attention of my colleagues the resolution adopted by the committee on July 18.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION OPPOSING DIRKSEN AMENDMENT

Whereas the Congress of the United States is presently considering Senate Joint Resolution 2, commonly known as the Dirksen amendment, proposing an amendment to the U.S. Constitution to reverse the U.S. Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision, so as to authorize legislative apportionment on any basis in the second house of a bicameral legislature; and

Whereas such proposal is contrary to all precepts of democracy assuring majority rule and equal voice in their Government to all citizens, without discrimination on account of race, sex, or residence; and

Whereas such proposal is transparently but a smoke-screen to perpetuate malapportioned legislatures, which are not only unconstitutional and unfair, but also indifferent and unresponsive to the needs of our citizens, particularly urban and suburban dwellers; and

Whereas fair and effective people representation has now been secured to Michigan by the courts; and our equitably apportioned one-man, one-vote legislature has demonstrated that people representation is responsive and responsible to the needs of all citizens, and such legislature has made dramatic progress in meeting the social needs of our citizens; and

Whereas the Nation is facing an unprecedented constitutional threat in the Dirksen amendment, which would for the first time in the Nation's history take away fundamental rights of citizenship: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Democratic State Central Committee condemn the Dirksen amendment, vigorously resist its passage, and forthwith urge the Michigan Legislature to appropriately memorialize Congress in opposition thereto.

Cameron Voting Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, my third rollcall report of the 89th Congress includes a brief discussion of the following legislative matters which the House has considered: the foreign assistance authorization bill, appropriations for the Department of Agriculture, the repeal and reduction of excise taxes, extension of the Area Revelopment Act, the housing and urban development bill, the Voting Rights Act, the cigarette labeling and advertising bill, and amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act.

ROLLCALL NOS. 109–110—FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

Mr. Speaker, in my view this year's Foreign Assistance Act represents a new high in careful planning and allocation of funds. The administration presented Congress with the lowest appropriation request since the beginning of our foreign aid program in 1948, and the House bill authorized slightly over $3.3 billion or $12.7 million below the administration's request.

I am especially pleased that this year's program emphasizes a greater reliance on private initiative and private enterprise in the development of needy nations, restresses the importance of multilateral assistance, and reaffirms our insistence that all aid is dependent upon self-help and performance. This continued insistence is reaping rewards, for our most recent statistics show that every dollar of U.S. assistance is being matched by $6 from the country receiving the aid. Most of this year's appropriation will be devoted to economic assistance—to the development of new educational and industrial facilities, new agricultural, health, and sanitation programs—all in countries which need them desperately.

The remaining funds will go for military aid to free world nations, including an open ended, standby authorization for use in Vietnam, certainly a necessary requirement in our effort to build a solid military establishment in areas immediately threatened by overt Communist aggression.

Mr. Speaker, House passage of the foreign assistance act occasioned more discussion about the basic structure of our foreign aid program, and the possibility of its termination as presently constituted, than has ever been the case before. During debate I sensed that perhaps an important justification for foreign aid is being forgotten as a result of a multitude of short-term considerations. Though this justification has been articulated many times before, I want to present it here again because I am convinced that the broad view must be constantly maintained while debating points of method and order.

Our country gives aid with an ultimate view of securing a life of dignity, plenty, and freedom for all men. From a humanitarian point of view, foreign assistance needs no further justification. From the point of view of the national interest of the United States, foreign assistance means our realization that such a life cannot be achieved and maintained for some while others live in the grip of tyranny and poverty.

When men are denied a decent way of life and yet are acutely aware that a life of abundance can be achieved, they will attempt to create a better life through any means. Despite the lesson of Cuba, they naively believe that what can be achieved by orderly evolution in 50 years can also be achieved by totalitarian revolution in 50 days. Their desire to bridge the gap from poverty to affluence can be made with our help or in the face of our indifference. If we are indifferent, our totalitarian foes will be only too happy to point this out and help in our stead, naturally assuming a dominant role in the political and economic formation of the country. If we offer our aid, resources, and knowledge, we will have the opportunity to exert a positive stabilizing influence in their development. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Latin America today. Through foreign aid, we make an effort to see that the transition from an underdeveloped state to an industrialized, educated, hopefully democratic state is made without brutality, suppression of liberty, and loss of human life. This, in brief, is the essence of our foreign aid or mutual security program, a program which over the years has repeatedly proved its worth.

ROLLCALL NOS. 112–113—AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. Speaker, in voting to defeat H.R. 8370 I expressed again my complete dissatisfaction with the Nation's present agricultural program. Today's farm policy was designed to meet the needs of a farm community buffetted by the destructive winds of the great depression. Continuation of this policy in the 1960's is a dangerous anachronism for the program works to the benefit of the large corporate-type farming complex while being maintained at great expense to the taxpayer, consumer, and small farmer.

The corporate complex, with its modern equipment, large capital and scientific expertise, has unprecedented productive capacity. I certainly have no objection to farms becoming larger and larger if they grow within the context of the free enterprise system and if such growth is in response to reasonable laws of supply and demand. But I cannot sanction the corporate farm growing ever larger through the artificial support of the Federal Government. In many cases there is nothing to prohibit these large producers from growing enormous supplies of crops—not for sale or consumption—but for storage at the expense of the taxpayer. There is nothing to prevent them from buying great new land tracts to be paid for by the Government while they remain fallow. The list of recipients of price support loans published by the Commodity Credit Corporation shows many thousands of dollars given to single producers for agricultural goods for which the American consumer has no need. In my judgment, an entrepreneur capable of producing such quantity should also be capable of adjusting to the competitive market and doing without the largess of the Federal Government.

On the other hand, we have the small family farmer for whom the price support program was originally designed. This is the man who must farm his plot from fence to fence from sunup to sundown to maintain an existence for his family and to produce a bit extra to sell in the marketplace. He does not have productive capacity or land holdings adequate to participate in the elaborate soil bank program or price support system of the Federal Government. The program should be reconstituted to insure that support is limited to those who actually need it, the family farmers. We must deemphasize the wasteful incentives which lead to all-out production goals for big producers. We must attempt to conform to more logical laws of supply and demand.

It is unfortunate that H.R. 8370 contained provisions for the very useful food stamp and school lunch programs which I have supported separately in the past. While I would have liked to have approved the $275 million for these programs, I could not in good conscience approve the $5.4 billion demanded for the rest of the poorly conceived farm program.

It was of great dismay to me that the agricultural bill was not allowed to stand or fall on its own merits but was propped up by two worthwhile, but unrelated, programs. This strategy was obviously used to lure votes for the bill's passage and it was to my chagrin that the bait was swallowed by so many of my colleagues.

Before the regrettable passage of the bill, the House rejected a motion to recommit H.R. 8370 to the Appropriations Committee with instructions to add an amendment banning sale of U.S. agricultural commodities to the United Arab Republic and Indonesia. Since on January 26 of this year the House approved a similar ban with my support, I voted against recommittal on the premise that failure to include the amendment would make final passage of the bill more difficult. Unfortunately many Members who are opposed to aid to Nasser and Sukarno switched from their earlier position and support the measure because of strenuous pressures applied by the farm lobby.

ROLLCALL NO. 119—EXCISE TAXES

Mr. Speaker, the overhaul of our Nation's outdated excise tax structure was long overdue. In addition to straightening out an unstructured, illogical excise tax system and correcting many inequi-

ties in its application, I am convinced that the reduction will aid in sustaining the healthy expansion of our economy.

In a biting summation of the unfavorable aspects of the excise tax structure the committee report noted that the taxes were regressive, absorbing a larger share of the earnings of low-income persons than high income; they placed arbitrary burdens on persons and firms which depend on the taxed items, exempting those who did not; they created heavy compliance burdens for retailers and manufacturers in relation to revenues produced by taxed items; and perhaps most important, the discriminatory taxes reduced sales and hence income, profits, and jobs in industries which produce taxable items, ultimately interfering with the free play of the competitive market.

The evidence was overwhelmingly in favor of the action which was taken by the Congress in the passage of the excise tax reduction bill. We acted with moderation and reason in retaining taxes on such items as alcohol and tobacco, and continuing the regulatory levies on narcotics and gambling. It was also wise to secure from the President assurances that he intends to hold Federal expenditures at the lowest reasonable level to help compensate for the loss of immediate revenue incurred through the reduction. I am convinced that, with proper restraint of expenditures, excise tax repeal and reduction will have a salutory effect on our economy similar to that made by the tax reductions of 1964, a powerful stimulus to the longest peacetime economic expansion in our country's history.

ROLLCALL NO. 155—AREA REDEVELOPMENT

Mr. Speaker, it was with regret and disappointment that I voted against extending the Area Redevelopment Act. I did so regretfully because I recognize the urgent need for the economic development of depressed regions in our Nation, the need for the creation of new jobs to absorb our ever-growing body of unemployed, the need to give humanitarian assistance in the form of new educational and vocational opportunity to those in our country who live constricted by the bonds of poverty.

It was because I was concerned with the problem of poverty that in 1963 I voted for the Area Redevelopment Act amendments; for 2 years ago the act represented the weak but earnest beginning of a national awareness of previously unacknowledged but widespread poverty. In theory it promised to build new industry where industry was needed and to create jobs where there was unemployment.

However, from 1963 to the present day the ARA, in my judgment, has been beset by poor administration, lack of sufficient study and planning, lack of adequate technical support, and inefficient internal organization. The General Accounting Office has prepared numerous reports on the malfunctioning of the ARA—the overestimation of jobs which would be provided through its program, the habit of rendering industrial aid in direct competition with private enterprise in the same region, the overextension of its program, the donation of funds to areas which do not meet the criteria for a distressed area.

Thus, while I do approve of what the Area Redevelopment Act intended to accomplish in theory, in actual practice there has been hopeless mismanagement, and I could not vote for its continuation. Had the act not been extended, I am confident that the new programs prescribed by the administration in the war on poverty would have very effectively fulfilled the purpose of the ARA, a purpose which in my opinion will never be fulfilled by the ARA itself.

Roll call No.	Date	H.R. No.	Vote				Brief description
			R.B.C.	Yea	Nay	Not voting	
106	May 24		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Adair, Republican, of Indiana. (81 Members absent.)
107	May 24		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Hall, Republican, of Missouri. (80 Members absent.)
108	May 25		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican, of Iowa. (46 Members absent.)
*109	May 25	7750	Nay	178	219	36	Motion to recommit foreign assistance authorization bill.
*110	May 25	7750	Yea	249	148	36	On passage of foreign assistance authorization bill.
111	May 26		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Bow, Republican. of Ohio. (40 Members absent.)
*112	May 26	8370	Nay	187	208	38	Motion to recommit Department of Agriculture appropriation bill.
*113	May 26	8370	Nay	354	41	38	On passage of Department of Agriculture appropriation bill.
114	May 27		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Cederberg, Republican, of Michigan. (53 Members absent.)
115	June 1		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Pelly, Republican, of Washington. (70 Members absent.)
116	June 1	8639	Yea	322	60	51	Appropriations for Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce.
117	June 1	3584	Yea	335	43	55	To amend the Federal Coal Mine Safety Act.
118	June 2		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Wydler, Republican, of New York. (41 Members absent.)
*119	June 2	8371	Yea	401	6	26	Repeal and reduction of excise taxes.
120	June 3		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Hall, Republican, of Missouri. (51 Members absent.)
121–143	June 3–16		Absent				During this period there were 12 quorum calls and 11 rollcalls. R.B.C. was in California.
144	June 21		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican, of Iowa. (134 Members absent.)
145	June 21	7743	Yea	300	0	134	To establish loan system for students attending vocational and technical schools.
146	June 21	8620	Yea	296	2	136	To provide Government payments to certain farmers because of floods and other natural disasters.
147	June 21	H. Con. Res. 416.	Yea	298	0	136	Accusing Soviet Union of oppressing Baltic peoples and urging President to bring issue before United Nations.
148	June 22		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Everett, Democrat, of Tennessee. (47 Members absent.)
149	June 22		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Quie, Republican, of Minnesota. (40 Members absent.)
150	June 22		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Burton, Democrat, of California. (43 Members absent.)
151	June 23		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Pelly, Republican, of Washington. (37 Members absent.)
152	June 23		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican, of Iowa. (35 Members absent.)
153	June 23	9221	Yea	407	0	27	Appropriations for Department of Defense.
154	June 24		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Grover, Republican, of New York. (48 Members absent.)
*155	June 24	H.J. Res. 541	Nay	224	167	43	To extend Area Redevelopment Act for 2 months.
156	June 28		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican, of Iowa. (92 Members absent.)
157	June 28	H. Res. 425	Yea	230	115	89	To permit consideration of H.R. 7984, housing and urban development action.
158	June 28		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Stanton, Republican, of Ohio. (82 Members absent.)
159	June 29		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Cederberg, Republican, of Michigan. (34 Members absent.)
160	June 29		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Waggonner, Democrat, of Louisiana. (29 Members absent.)
161	June 30		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Hall, Republican, of Missouri. (26 Members absent.)
*162	June 30	7984	Yea	240	179	14	Amendment limiting eligibility for rent supplement provisions in Housing and Urban Development Act.
*163	June 30	7984	Nay	202	208	19	Motion to recommit to kill rent supplement provisions.
*164	June 30	7984	Yea	245	169	17	On passage of Housing and Urban Development Act.
165	July 1		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Long, Democrat, of Maryland. (73 Members absent.)
166	July 6		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Haley, Democrat, of Florida. (80 Members absent.)
167	July 6	H. Res. 40	Yea	308	58	68	To permit consideration of H.R. 6400, Voting Rights Act of 1965.
168	July 6		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican, of Iowa. (71 Members absent.)
169	July 7		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Arends, Republican, of Illinois. (38 Members absent.)
170	July 7		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Collier, Republican, of Illinois. (35 Members absent.)
171	July 8		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Pelly, Republican, of Washington. (28 Members absent.)
172	July 8		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Hall, Republican, of Missouri. (26 Members absent.)
173	July 8		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Rumsfeld, Republican, of Illinois. (25 Members absent.)
174	July 9		Present				Quorum call by Mr. McClory, Republican, of Illinois. (20 Members absent.)
*175	July 9	6400	Nay	253	165	16	On acceptance of Cramer amendment to outlaw paid registrars under Voting Rights Act of 1965.
*176	July 9	6400	Nay	155	262	16	On acceptance of Boggs amendment to permit termination of voter registration listing, procedures under certain conditions.
*177	July 9	6400	Yea	202	216	14	On acceptance of Gilbert amendment regarding literacy in native language.
*178	July 9	6400	Nay	171	248	15	Motion to recommit Voting Rights Act of 1965 and substitute with alternate bill.
*179	July 9	6400	Yea	333	85	15	On passage of Voting Rights Act of 1965.
180	July 12		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Ashley, Democrat, of Ohio. (62 Members absent.)

See footnote at end of table.

Roll call No.	Date	H.R. No.	Vote				Brief description
			R.B.C.	Yea	Nay	Not voting	
181	July 12	8856	Yea	216	139	78	To amend Atomic Energy Act to permit construction of overhead transmission lines (⅔ vote needed; measure failed).
182	July 12	242	Yea	336	22	76	To more equally apportion summer civil service jobs in Washington, D.C., among young people of all the States.
183	July 12		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Hall, Republican, of Missouri. (71 Members absent.)
184	July 13		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Devine, Republican, of Ohio. (38 Members absent.)
*185	July 13	S. 559	Nay	285	103	44	Acceptance of conference report on Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act.
186	July 14		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican, of Iowa. (30 Members absent.)
187	July 14		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Hall, Republican, of Missouri. (30 Members absent.)
188	July 14	8926	Nay	187	218	29	Coinage Act of 1965, amendment to maintain silver content in dimes and quarters.
189	July 14	8926	Yea	255	151	27	On passage of Coinage Act of 1965.
190	July 15		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Roudebush, Republican, of Indiana. (39 Members absent.)
191	July 15		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Berry, Republican, of South Dakota. (39 Members absent.)
192	July 19		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican, of Iowa. (97 Members absent.)
193	July 19	9075	Yea	410	0	23	On passage of military pay bill.
194	July 21		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Cederberg, Republican, of Michigan. (26 Members absent.)
195	July 22		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Pelly, Republican, of Washington. (25 Members absent.)
*196	July 22	8283	Nay	178	227	28	Motion to recommit Economic Opportunity Act amendments.
*197	July 22	8283	Yea	245	158	30	On passage of Economic Opportunity Act amendments.

*Items so marked are considered to be of greater significance, and a brief explanation is included herein.

Keep 14(b) Alive

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, I have listened intently to the debate on adoption of the rule for consideration of H.R. 77, to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. The arguments on both sides have been impressive. However, I believe the Cleveland Press, one of my hometown newspapers, has very succinctly "hit the nail on the head" with an editorial entitled "Keep 14(b) Alive." Believing my colleagues will be interested in reading this editorial, I include it as part of my remarks:

[From the Cleveland Press, May 19, 1965]

KEEP 14(b) ALIVE

The Press believes that labor unions, honestly run, perform valuable service for their members, the community and the country.

But this newspaper also favors keeping alive the principle of freedom of choice in an increasingly regimented world.

For both these reasons, this newspaper urges Congress not to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which permits States to pass so-called right-to-work laws barring compulsory union membership.

When the question of right-to-work arose in Ohio in 1958, the Press vigorously led the fight which kept it from being the law of the State. Yet the Press believes that voters in every State should be allowed to decide this—as Ohioans decided—for themselves.

Section 14(b) has been denounced by labor leaders as a death blow to union organizing drives. It has been sanctified by antiunion employers as a magna carta for their employees. Since it was enacted 17 years ago, it has been the target of more hot air from both sides than almost any other piece of legislation within memory.

Using official Government statistics, it can be "proved beyond doubt" that workers in the 19 States with right-to-work laws are: (a) moving faster economically than those in States without them, or (b) falling behind the employees in the 31 other States. What is "proved" depends on the preconceived point of view.

The fact is that section 14(b) is neither as bad as its opponents claim nor as effective as its supporters pretend. It does not prevent unions from organizing every worker in the United States if they are able to do so. Conversely, it neither grants the right to work to anyone nor gives Federal sanction to union busting anywhere.

What it does is simple. It says that a State, if it wishes, may pass a law forbidding union membership as a condition of employment—in other words, barring anyone from being forced to join a union in order to hold a job.

Professors Back President Johnson's Vietnam Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, it was encouraging and refreshing to see the following editorial in the Washington Evening Star on Tuesday, July 20:

VIETNAM AND THE PROFESSORS

Despite some impressions to the contrary, not all college and university professors are alienated from the real world or lost in a fog of doctrinaire absurdities. There are important and numerous exceptions. This has been made abundantly clear by a group of 67 of them who have issued an excellent statement strongly supporting what our country is doing in an effort to save southeast Asia from Communist engulfment.

The group—made up chiefly of political scientists, historians, and economists with a special understanding of Asian affairs—has left no room for doubt about its endorsement of that effort. Its words deserve to be quoted at some length: "We believe the U.S. policy * * * is consistent with the realities * * * and the peace and freedom of South Vietnam." Accordingly it is necessary to "dispel the notion that any small but active and vocal groups of teachers and students speak for the entire community" on this issue. "We reject the bizarre political doctrine that President Johnson or his principal advisers have special obligations to the academic community. Obviously, the administration has obligations to explain its policies to the American people. But to suggest that some group of university professors has a 'right' to a special accounting is as outrageous as to suggest that the corporation executives of America, the plumbers, the small businessmen, or the barbers have special claims on the Government and its principal spokesmen."

Well said. So well said, in fact, and so sensibly, that it should be circulated throughout the academic world, at home and abroad, where too much poisonous nonsense is being written and spoken about the fight for freedom in Vietnam.

Korea: America's Gallant Little Neighbor in the Pacific Community

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 12th anniversary of the armistice which ended the conflict in Korea. Once unknown to most of us, Korea now stands as a symbol of American resolve not to let free peoples fall under the tyranny of Communist armies, not to allow the Far East to fall under the domination of a single power, and not to let a friend down no matter how small. But Korea is much, much more than a symbol. The Republic of Korea has become one of America's best friends, one of our good neighbors in the Pacific community. On this occasion, I feel that it is appropriate to take a fresh look at this little republic to examine its place in the world and in the Pacific community.

Certainly, the past 12 years have not been easy ones for the Republic of Korea and her people. Although the guns have officially ceased fire, the war has not really ended, as two still very hostile armies confront one another across the now famous DMZ each actively probing the heavily fortified lines of the other for weak spots. South of the DMZ, the Korean people have faced 12 years of hardship in reconstructing a war-devastated homeland. They have suffered political instability marked by corruption, riots, and coups d'etat. They have undergone 12 years of economic difficulties and natural disasters such as the

floods of a week ago which claimed so many lives. Too, Korea today is afflicted with the classic problems of a developing nation: A rapidly increasing population, a maldistribution of employment between the agricultural and industrial sectors of the economy, a lack of diversification in agricultural production which has resulted in the economy's heavy dependence on the annual rice crop, a lack of entrepreneurial initiative and corporate organization of industry due in large part to the extended family tradition which discourages cooperation outside the formal family organization, an absence of a sense of community endeavor both within the agricultural sector in such areas as cooperative marketing and credit arrangements and within the urban regions in such areas as the building of sewers. As if all of this were not enough, Korea also faces serious monetary problems characterized and compounded by inflation, a shortage of capital, and an unfavorable balance of trade with other countries.

Despite this plethora of seemingly insurmountable problems, rays of hope are continually breaking through Korea's cloudy economic sky. After the armistice went into effect a determined Korean people turned to the task of reconstructing their war-ravaged nation. With the assistance of the United Nations and the United States they cleared the rubble and built new cities, enacted land reforms, and transformed the countryside from barren, trench-scarred hills to a checkerboard of rice paddies and rural towns. When they finished with reconstruction, the Korean people, aroused by the determination to secure a better life for themselves and for their children, went right on working to build a base from which they could modernize their economy. They began building the power and transportation facilities necessary to a modern economy. They opened a factory for the manufacture of freight and passenger railroad cars to meet one of Korea's greatest transportation needs—the lack of adequate rolling stock. They increased production of electricity from 900 million kilowatt hours in 1954, to 2 billion in 1962. Most significantly, the Korean people undertook a great educational endeavor, they became a nation going to school. Today, some 3,000 adults attend evening folk schools for literacy training and there are over 2 million students enrolled in primary, secondary, and higher educational institutions. As a result of the intensified educational effort in Korea some 85 percent of the people have achieved literacy. This accomplishment in addition to the natural knack of the Koreans for careful, detailed work has given Korea one of her greatest assets—a highly trainable, effective labor force.

Moreover, the Korean Government, sensitive to the people's desire for a better life, is looking to the future and making a frontal assault on Korea's problems in a series of 5-year development plans. Like many developing nations, Korea has two major economic goals: A more rapid increase in gross national product and a higher standard of living for all her people. The Korean Government formulated these development goals in its first 5-year plan—1961–66—a plan which does not set absolute volume production goals but which indicates priority industries and sectors for government credit and assistance. Three major areas of priority in the first plan are energy production—primarily electrical and coal—agricultural production with emphasis on the fertilizer industry, and the building of social overhead capital such as roads, multipurpose dams and urban public works. Another major objective of the present plan is to reverse the existing unfavorable balance-of-payments situation, by making an increase in exports one of the nation's primary goals.

Moreover, the government has taken several varied approaches to alleviate the shortage of capital in the country. These have included a limitation of the use of foreign exchange to those commodities which are fundamental to capital producing industries and a proposal for a domestic commercial Bank of Korea to be located in the United States. The bank was originally suggested by a group of American businessmen of Korean extraction and was envisioned as a cushion in Korea's international financing. Not only would the bank facilitate international exchange but half of the capital would be furnished by the Korean-American community and the other half by the Republic of Korea. The proposed bank would be strategically located in southern California, an area which already carries on a lively trade with Korea. This trade is certain to grow with the establishment of the bank and with the growth of Korea's developing economy.

As a result of her efforts and achievements of the past 12 years, Korea today is visibly moving forward. Her growth rates have been high and are getting higher year by year. In 1961—the first year of the plan—the growth rate was 4.8 percent. It slipped in 1962 to 3.5 percent due to a bad harvest the year before. In 1963 it soared to a vigorous 6.8 percent and last year went up even further to 6.9 percent. And although the agricultural sector is growing slowly, at 2.7 percent, the industrial production index has bounded upward at 12.8 percent per year for the last 3 years. Finally, exports last year rose 39 percent to $119.1 million, a continuation of a 3-year trend.

Although classified by the economists as a developing nation, Korea's determination to move up the ladder and her recent successes in doing so mark her as a peninsula of opportunity for her neighbors in the Pacific community. Indeed, Korea has already become a vigorous participant in the Pacific community of forward-moving nations. Traditionally, a buffer state between Japan and China and known throughout Asian history as a "Hermit Kingdom," Korea today is very much aware of her dependence on foreign trade for her success in economic development and looks to the Pacific community for markets and supplies. The bulk of Korean export trade is carried on with Taiwan, Hong Kong, Thailand, the United States, and Japan. The latter is Korea's most important trading partner outside the U.S.-AID program, supplying 47 percent of Korea's non-AID financed imports and receiving 25 percent of her exports.

The major suppliers for two of Korea's newest and most rapidly growing light industries, the rubber tire and plywood industries, are all from the Pacific community—the United States, Malaysia, the Philippines, and New Zealand. Most of the capital machinery as well as the key mechanical inputs for public works construction come from the Pacific Community, primarily from Japan and the United States. Pacific businessmen, recognizing the potential in the highly trainable and low-cost Korean labor force, are utilizing that potential through what is known as bonded trade. For example, Japanese businessmen import raw goods, primarily textiles and crude rubber, which are then processed in Korea. The processed goods are then exported by the supplier who distributes the finished commodities through his established markets. Korea now maintains a lively bonded trade with such Pacific neighbors as Vietnam, Hong Kong, and Japan.

But the present is only prolog for richer opportunities as Korea seeks to achieve the objectives of her development plans. One of these objectives is the attainment of self-sufficiency in food production by 1969. That means a growing market for the tools Korea will need to modernize her agriculture and improve her productivity—irrigation equipment, farm machinery, farm chemicals, and agricultural technology. Moreover, until that objective is attained, Korea will continue to have to import foods to feed her people from outside. That means a continuing market for foods produced by American farmers who sold in calendar year 1963 over $100 million worth of foodstuffs to the Korean people.

Another objective is the development of industries for the production of machinery, chemicals, iron, steel, and related products. That means markets for sophisticated capital equipment and for industrial know-how. Enterprising and imaginative American businessmen have already recognized their own opportunities in Korea's industrial future. The Gulf Oil Co. and a consortium of Skelly Oil Inc. and Swift & Co. have each contracted with the Korean Government to build a fertilizer plant, each of which will produce some 180,000 metric tons of compound fertilizer and some 84,000 metric tons of urea fertilizer annually. Moreover, as Korea grows and develops, an expanding economy will mean expanding personal incomes which in turn will mean a growing market for consumer goods as Korea's 30 millions of people reach for a better, richer life for themselves.

So, as Korea forges ahead, her requirements will be America's opportunities. But let us not take those opportunities for granted. Let us not rest on the present advantage tendered our traders by the American AID program. For as the Korean market develops with that nation's advance, competitors will surely seek to capture it for themselves with

highly sophisticated commercial weapons. Our traders must be prepared to counter with aggressive sales and market penetration techniques, good service and sound but liberal and imaginative credit arrangements. Moreover, we should not forget that a richer Korea means a richer, stronger Pacific community through trade, which in turn means greater prosperity for America. We must therefore continue to encourage Korea's development and the growth of prosperity for her people. At the same time, we ought to promote increased participation by Korea in the affairs of the Pacific community.

In this regard let us continue in the forefront of those who advocate the creation of an Asian Development Bank which will encourage nations like Korea to help themselves by providing the means with which to do it. Let us continue to encourage the growing rapproachment between Korea and Japan and the high statesmanship demonstrated by the governments of both of those nations in coming to agreement on normalizing their relations. Let us also seek to multiply our own commercial and cultural ties with Korea by expanding our currently inadequate cultural exchange program, by working to increase tourism in both directions, by encouraging such ventures as the Korean Bank to be located in Los Angeles, by promoting joint scientific and cultural projects of mutual benefit which will increase the store of human knowledge in such areas as oceanography, art, and archeology. As neighbors in the Pacific community we ought to get to know each other much better than we now do. Korea and the United States have enjoyed a close international friendship for 20 years. Let us strengthen that friendship with the cement of people-to-people understanding—personal knowledge by our peoples of each others people, culture, and land.

Few nations in history have come to so much grief so often as has Korea. Cursed by geography as a strategically located buffer state at the feet of three giants, she has known in the past century only war, intrigue, revolution, subjugation, colonization, and now tragic partition.

But today, on this 12th anniversary of the armistice, we can see that the southern half of this tiny Asian peninsula is at last beginning to glow, however faintly, with the promise of a brighter future for 30 millions of people. We cheer this progress and hope that the sparks we see will soon burst into the flame of prosperity.

A Salute to Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, on July 25, 1952, the island community of Puerto Rico attained Commonwealth status.

Some critics have complained that since it is neither a territory nor a State, Puerto Rico enjoys the advantages of Federal services without paying taxes.

But this is far from a onesided relationship. The more than 2 million residents of the island community have a voice, but no vote, in Congress. They have little say in determining their fate.

And they have served our Nation well in time of need. Some 60,00 Puerto Ricans—90 percent of them volunteers—were members of the Armed Forces during the Korean war.

And it is a happy relationship. In the 1960 elections in Puerto Rico, candidates favoring retention of Commonwealth status outdistanced by nearly 2 to 1 statehood advocates. Those favoring independence lagged far behind.

And so we take this occasion to salute Puerto Rico and its unique status, a status that has enabled the island to demonstrate to the world the progress and growing prosperity it has made as a workshop for democracy in Latin America.

Excise Tax Reduction Seen as Savings to Consumers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call to the attention of this body an ad which appeared today in the Cleveland Press, with which Sears, Roebuck & Co. becomes the first retailer in the United States, to my knowledge, to use the excise tax reduction for positive consumer advertising.

In this full-page ad, Sears, Roebuck & Co. started by saying:

> You can count on us. Sears prices have been reduced on merchandise covered by the recent repeal of the manufacturers' Federal excise tax by Congress. You can also save 10 percent on all items that carried the retailers' Federal excise tax. You can count on Sears to pass the new Federal excise tax savings directly on to you.
>
> The number of merchandise items is too lengthy to list in one advertisement. However, here are some of the categories on which you can expect manufacturers' Federal excise tax savings at Sears.

These creative advertisers at Sears went on to list approximately 50 categories of items in which the consumer could expect a savings to be passed on to them at the Sears stores. These items mentioned included refrigerators, electric blankets, electric irons, electric frying pans, electric waffle irons, electric door chimes, electric food choppers and grinders, electric hedge trimmers, electric lawn mowers—with less than 30-inch cut—cameras, business machines, playing cards, phonograph records, tennis equipment, golf balls, pool tables, and many other items.

The Sears advertising men went on to picture specific items of consumer interest with each model number, pre-excise-tax prices, and their post-excise-tax prices as well as their sale prices in certain instances so that the consumer could tell at a glance exactly where and how the excise tax was being passed on.

I wish to congratulate and commend the management of Sears, Roebuck & Co. for this splendid example of creative advertising in utilizing the excise tax reduction to the greatest extent possible. In this instance, the consumer cannot be misled or confused and has no reason to mistrust the honesty of this retailer because excise taxes are being passed on. In this full-page ad, the consumer can see where and how.

It is my hope that other retailers will follow Sears' lead in clarifying this question of how and where the excise taxes are being passed on to the consumer as well as if the excise tax reduction is reflected in lower retail prices.

Far From Home and the Red Bluebeard Recalls First Wife

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following articles from the July 23, 1965, edition of the New York Journal-American. The first article, "Far From Home," an editorial, concerns the action of 10 members of the U.S. Women's Strike for Peace. These misguided women signed a joint statement with a delegation of Vietcong women deploring U.S. "military aggression" in Vietnam.

The second article, "The Red Bluebeard Recalls First Wife," by John Chamberlain, concerns the "celebration" of the 25th anniversary of the incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia into the Soviet Union.

It is ironic that little of the population that was incorporated in 1940 is left in these Baltic States. The Soviet Union has pursued a policy of genocide by diffusion, scattering the Baltic inhabitants and replacing them with Soviets and Ukrainians. It was a bitter anniversary "celebration" for Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. The parallel needs no amplification.

The articles follow:

FAR FROM HOME

Ten members of the U.S. Women's Strike for Peace signed a joint statement in Jakarta, Indonesia, with a delegation of Vietcong and Communist North Vietnamese women deploring U.S. "military aggression" in Vietnam.

The statement urges American women "to work with dedication to stop the war in Vietnam."

Doesn't it occur to these misguided women that something must be wrong if they are in such agreement with the Communists?

THESE DAYS—THE RED BLUEBEARD RECALLS FIRST WIFE

(By John Chamberlain)

The three Baltic countries of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have been "observing"

the 25th anniversary of their incorporation into the Soviet Union. The highlights of the celebration were speeches by Premier Kosygin (who told "tens of thousands" of Latvians in Riga that the United States was an aggressor in Vietnam) and top Soviet theoretician, Mikhail Suslov (who chose Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, for a harangue that echoed Kosygins opinions).

For Moscows Communists to choose Riga and Vilna as sites to denounce any other aggression than their own is, in the light of any objective history, a most synical business. It is precisely as if Bluebeard were to celebrate the anniversary of his original wedding 25 years later in the presence of his eighth wife, who might legitimately wonder what her spouse would be up to next.

The Bluebeard parallel is apt in every way. For, like the wives who had been done away with by Bluebeard under grisly circumstances, not many of the Baltic States' inhabitants who were originally "voted" into the Soviet Union in 1940 by the action of stooge parliaments are around today to do any celebrating. The "eighth-wife" "Latvians," and Lithuanians" who were addressed by Kosygin and Suslov must have included thousands who are not even of Baltic blood.

For 25 years Ukrainians and Russians have been systematically moved into the Baltic States. And the original Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians have been subjected to a calculated policy of "genocide by diffusion." Mass deportations have been carried out ever since the first year of Soviet occupation. In 1940–41, the year in which the Stalin-Hitler pact was in force, 34,000 were either murdered or deported from Latvia; 48,000 from Lithuania; 60,000 from Estonia. Then the Germans moved in.

In 1945, when the Soviets returned, any peasant who resisted the seizure of his ancestral farmland could count on being subjected to "voluntary leave to workplaces essential to the fatherland," which usually turned out to be Siberia. About 10 percent of the total population disappeared in this way. And a million Russians seeped in to take the places of the displaced Balts. Today, non-Balts constitute about 20 percent of the Baltic lands population.

What the little Baltic States had to celebrate on the 25th anniversary of their forced marriage to the Soviet Bluebeard is meager enough. Take agriculture, for example. It's a picture of old men on the collective farms in Baltic lands that were cultivated by the young 25 years ago. The young who resisted Sovietization of their acres have gone to the virgin lands of Siberia, there to lose their national identity. Those who decided to live on terms of amity with the new masters and become Russified have gone into the cities, where the pay is better and where is is possible to get a sauna bath on Saturday night.

Kosygin and Suslov had the gall of two brass monkeys to choose the Baltic cities of Riga and Vilna in which to complain about American "aggression." But who in the West has even bothered to notice it? Only a few Americanized Balts who wonder where the old post-World War II enthusiasm for Captive Nations Week has gone.

The Omnibus Farm Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STANLEY L. GREIGG

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. GREIGG. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this fine resolution of the Farmers Grain Dealers Association of Iowa, adopted by the association on June 30, 1965, at Des Moines, Iowa. I feel it further indicates the unanimity of Midwest farm peoples for the retention of the feed grains section, as well as the entire omnibus farm bill:

We, the board of directors of Farmers Grain Dealers Association of Iowa (cooperative), do hereby urge Iowa's honorable Senators and Representatives to give an affirmative vote for the omnibus farm bill.

We further urge that no change be made in the minimum resale price of feed grains, now set at 105 percent of support plus carrying charges.

We believe raising feed grain resale prices would:

1. Discourage participation in the feed grain program; thereby reduce farm income over a period of time.

2. Create a wide fluctuation in feed prices, which would have an adverse effect on livestock supplies and prices.

We feel Iowa's farmers understand the need to bring feed grain supplies into proper balance with domestic and foreign markets, and therefore, desire to have the present feed grain program continued.

USDA: Consumer Friend—Food Programs Bolster Health of One in Five Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK E. EVANS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, food assistance programs of the U.S. Department of Agriculture are helping provide well-rounded diets to almost one-fifth of the American people. Included are schoolchildren, low-income families, the destitute, and victims of disasters such as floods and tornadoes.

The Department estimates that during fiscal year 1965, some 40 million men, women, and children benefited. They shared in our country's agricultural bounty through USDA programs drawing upon surplus farm commodities and furnishing other foods to maintain and improve the Nation's health.

Total cost of these USDA programs during the fiscal year just ended was over $800 million. According to 1961 hearings before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, at least five times that amount per year goes into illegal offtrack betting on horseracing alone.

Here are some examples of how USDA food assistance programs return dividends to our people far in excess of the investment:

Seventy-one thousand public and nonprofit private schools in all States, the District of Columbia, and U.S. territories are taking part in the national school lunch program to which USDA contributes leadership, funds, and foods. About 36 million of our children attend these schools. Thus, hearty lunches are available to about three-fourths of the Nation's 48 million schoolchildren, either at extremely moderate prices or free.

Of some 2.9 billion lunches served each year to about 17 million children under the national school lunch program, 1 out of 10 is served free to a needy child whose parents cannot provide any money at all for a midday meal at school. As a result of special efforts to extend the lunch program to schools in depressed areas, during the past year approximately 170,000 needy children in about 1,200 schools have been receiving ample lunches at very low prices.

Some 14 million children, in addition to those benefiting from the lunch program, are getting fresh milk at reduced prices made possible by the special milk program of the USDA.

About three-quarters of a million Americans earning meager incomes are getting improved diets—in particular, more meat, poultry, dairy products, fruit, and vegetables—through the greater purchasing power they receive by taking part in the food stamp program. Today this program is operating in 116 areas in 31 States and in the District of Columbia.

Increasingly, cities and counties are participating in USDA's food donation program. USDA distributes surplus foods through State and local governments. During 1965, these food supplies are being channeled to nearly 19 million schoolchildren, 5.8 million needy persons in family groups, and about 1.3 million in charitable institutions.

This, in brief, is one of the many ways in which USDA is converting the abundance of America's farms into the most valuable resource of all, well-fed healthy people who make up a dynamic Nation.

Secretary Udall Shocks Business World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Duke Power Co. is seeking permission to spend a grand total of $910 million to develop the Appalachia region; $700 million is planned for Duke's proposed Keowee-Toxaway projects alone. Permission to begin this complex was filed with the Federal Power Commission on January 4, 1965. Secretary Stewart Udall filed an intervention with the Federal Power Commission to prevent Duke from spending this $700 million in Appalachia. Secretary Udall's action came as a shock to the people of the Southeast and alarmed businessmen throughout the United States.

Mr. Speaker, the following editorial about Mr. Udall's incredible action appeared in the Wall Street Journal on Tuesday, July 20:

PRIVATE BUSINESS BE DAMNED

Let's suppose some company, anticipating an increased demand for its product over the next few years, has announced plans to build a big new plant at such-and-such

a place. And let's suppose a Federal agency, apprised of those plans, declared that it foresaw no increased demand and that it would take steps to see that the new plant was not built.

If that happened, you'd probably say it was an extraordinarily arrogant way for any Government agency to behave.

Something even more extraordinary, however, is happening in the case of the plans of Duke Power Co., of Charlotte, N.C., to build a $700 million power-generating complex in northwest South Carolina.

Now you might expect the Duke project to be opposed by some of the federally subsidized rural electric cooperatives in the area, and it is. For the co-ops hope that the Federal Government will build a powerplant there some day from which they could get preferential treatment.

You might also expect the Interior Department to intervene in the case, inasmuch as establishment of a game refuge and recreational areas is involved, and it has intervened. Not content to concern itself with conservation aspects of the power company's proposal, it is going further. Indeed, it is trying to tell the company how to run its business.

In asking the Federal Power Commission to allow his agency to join in the FPC's hearings on the Duke proposal, Interior Secretary Stewart Udall says flatly that the power company "has no need for the * * * power that could be produced by the project." Backing up a little, he adds that any needs the company may have can be met by the Federal Government's own power projects in the area. In short, Mr. Udall not only is telling the company that it should not build its own powerplant, but also is telling it that if it wants more electric power to get it from the Federal Government.

No company is going to assume the risk of investing $700 million in new facilities without some solid assurance that its product is going to be bought. So it seems more than a little presumptuous of the Interior Department to imply that the power company's plans for the future are all wrong. Moreover, it surely should not be the prerogative of the Department to tell any company from whom it shall buy.

Perhaps the Federal, State, and local Governments can get along without the $42 million in taxes the power project would generate every year. However that may be, one thing is sure: The Nation's economy can get along very well without a governmental attitude that is, in effect, "Private business be damned."

Basic Essential Skills Training Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, much criticism has been leveled at some of the training programs conducted by the Office of Economic Opportunity. One of the programs that I know of operating successfully and overlooked by the Office of Economic Opportunity is a basic essential skills training program being conducted in the city of New York. In an effort to describe to the House a successful, well thought out, and well operated plan, I would like to describe this BEST training program for some of the underprivileged, unskilled, and unemployed people in my city.

Actually the name of the program is BEST which stands for basic essential skills training program. This program was derived through the cooperation of the New York City Trucking Authority of which Hugh Sheridan has been chairman for over two decades; with the Empire State Highway Transportation Association whose managing director is Joseph Adelizzi; by the Teamsters Unions involved; and by the many private operators who have realized from experience that there is virtually no labor pool of skilled small, medium, or heavy truckdrivers, or truck maintenance men in the New York area. Acting city Labor Commissioner James J. McFadden was very instrumental in setting up this course of instruction. Private operators have found that in order to qualify a man as a truckdriver they actually have to put him in their own kindergarten, and let him work his way up in an area where there is no apprenticeship program and consequently at great expense to the employer. The Port of New York Authority has cooperated magnificently with the city of New York and with the industry and labor organizations involved to finance, organize, and direct a training program wherein the instructors receive no compensation for their efforts. The curriculum and program of instruction are outlined below. I commend this program to your attention:

Mayor Robert F. Wagner and Paul R. Screvane, president of the council and chairman of the antipoverty operations board, have arranged with the Port of New York Authority's executive director, Austin J. Tobin, for the largest basic trades training program in the country as part of the city's campaign against poverty. The program will train 6,000 individuals in 1 year, with preference given to the unemployed and those receiving public assistance, and will utilize existing port authority training facilities.

The entire project will cost $2,240,289 and is financed by funds allocated by the city.

Mayor Wagner, Mr. Screvance, and James J. McFadden, acting commissioner of the New York City Department of Labor, and New York City Trucking Authority for driver training initiated the joint program with the antipoverty operations board, the port authority, and Commissioner Dumpson of the city's welfare department.

Thomas J. Riley, supervisor of maintenance skills training for the port authority, will serve as executive director of the BEST program (basic essential skills training) at no cost to the city.

Six free courses will be given in occupations wherein research indicated jobs are presently unfilled in the city due to lack of skills and increased job complexity. The areas covered by the BEST program include heavy vehicle driver training; general maintenance; oil-burner repair and installation; building and grounds sanitation; window and package air-conditioning repair and installation; and gardening.

Registration and classes will be conducted at BEST offices, Port Authority Building, 30 Church Street, New York, telephone: 233-1800.

Classes begin on Monday, June 7, 1965, Monday through Friday, 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Through sound trade skills, the indigent and deprived of the city may achieve a brighter financial future and become economically contributing citizens, as one segment of the city's all-out attack on poverty.

The curriculum for the various courses is as follows: Heavy vehicle driver training (320 attendance hours):

This program is designed to prepare trainees for positions in the transportation field and to pass the New York State Motor Vehicle Bureau's test for chauffeur in the following categories: Tractor trailer, bus operation, heavy vehicle (over 18,000 pounds), diesel tractor trailer.

Requirements: Grammar school or equivalent, operators' license, physically fit and 18 years of age.

General maintenance (480 attendance hours): A training program designed to assist trainees in preparing for jobs in general maintenance fields. It is a practical course covering 21 basic skills including painting, carpentry, electricity, plumbing and sheet metal.

Requirements: Physically fit and 17 years of age.

Building and grounds sanitation (320 attendance hours): Instruction covers all aspects of the duties of an operator in a building and grounds sanitation program including buffing, stripping and refinishing of floors; carpet cleaning; metal maintenance; policing of areas and relamping light fixtures.

Requirements: Physically fit and 17 years of age.

Oil burner repair and installation (320 attendance hours): Trainees receive instruction in the basic knowledge and skills required for the installation, maintenance, and repair of oil burner units. Stress is given to aspects such as blueprint reading; installation procedures and codes; installation of conversion burner and motor transformer principles.

Requirements: High school or equivalent, 18 years of age, physically fit.

Window and package air-conditioning repair and installation (320 attendance hours): This practical course provides knowledge of the operation, maintenance, repair, and installation of air-conditioning units. Curriculum covers 14 study units, including fundamentals of refrigeration; installation and servicing of window and floor units; blueprint reading, and duct installations.

Requirements: High school or equivalent, 18 years of age, physically fit.

Gardener's helper (320 attendance hours): Curriculum covers various skills required to assist the gardener in his duties. Program comprises 13 study units including repair; operation and maintenance of gardening equipment; policing of grounds; preparation and use of spray solutions and emulsions.

Requirements: Physically fit, 17 years of age.

(NOTE.—Every course, listed above, also includes 160 hours of remedial instruction in trade English and mathematics.)

Mr. Speaker, this is an example of solid accomplishment in training and teaching impoverished youths in vitally needed skills. It bridges the gap from common labor to the Government's apprenticeship training program which is geared more to the highly skilled groups. It is a continuation of a program conceived more than 4 years ago at the local level by industry and municipal officials working jointly to solve its own problems in job placement.

This program should certainly be investigated by the Office of Economic Opportunity so that it can contribute to one of the most meaningful, effective programs that is off the ground, already organized and operating for the unemployed and people who certainly qualify under this act. I urge Mr. Shriver and his appropriate officials to act in this manner.

Economic Opportunity Act Amendments of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 8283) to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of the programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, when the Economic Opportunity Act was originally passed, the Congress, by a vote of both Houses, included certain language which is being deleted by the language contained in the lines I would strike out.

My purpose in offering this amendment is to retain a protection which is in the present law against possible Communist subversion of this program. The committee, through the language I would strike, seeks to take out the requirement that the recipients of these funds swear that they are not members or do not support any organization that believes in or teaches the overthrow of the U.S. Government by force and violence or illegal or unconstitutional means.

Now I have searched the hearings meticulously in an attempt to find some basis for deleting this protection. Unfortunately, I could find no discussion on the part of any members of this committee of the reasons for taking this language out. There is a recommendation by the agency that a qualifying oath should be brought in line with the oaths taken by certain other governmental groups. Except for this, they gave no reason for requesting its deletion, nor did they take a position in objecting to the language that was approved by the Congress.

There is quite a bit of difference taking an oath to support the Constitution, and swearing that a person is not a member of the Communist Party or any other group that seeks to overthrow the United States by force or violence.

We have had an experience, as I related a day or so ago, down in the State of Mississippi where known Communists have been seen coming and going from the headquarters of the Headstart project at Mount Beulah. I do not know whether these people are on the Federal payroll or not. But under the present law, if the present law stands, and this language is not taken out, then any funds that these people would draw certainly would be illegal; and if the committee bill stands as it is there is no prohibition against Carl and Ann Braden and their other fellow Communists and fellow travelers drawing funds from this program.

Mr. Chairman, we are dealing here particularly in the VISTA and in the Headstart programs with economically deprived people. The unfortunate people with whom we are dealing here, the poverty stricken and the culturally deprived, are particularly susceptible to the influence of Communist teachings if we are to believe the arguments advanced for the passage of other programs designed to fight the encroachment of communism, such as foreign aid and others. Unless some protection is kept in this act, this program provides a fertile ground for sowing the seeds of communism in the United States. While American boys are fighting and dying fighting Communists in Vietnam, I think the least we can do is to retain this protection against Communist infiltration here within the United States.

Mr. Chairman, there is nothing in the hearings that indicates this oath is or has been difficult of administration. So far as we know the agency has not shown that there is any reason why this protection should be taken out. They simply say they would like to bring it in line with an oath that is taken in other agencies of Government. I say, yes, let us impose both oaths. Let us be doubly safe that we are not providing Federal funds that might finance a Communist foothold within our own borders.

U.S. Aid and Electric Co-Ops Challenge Extremism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a heartening article which appeared in the July 1965 issue of Rural Electrification.

This article tells the dramatic story of how AID support in the form of a loan agreement for the establishment of a rural electric cooperative won a victory against political extremism in Sevilla, Colombia. In this Sevilla-Caicedonia area where since 1948 more than 300,000 people have been killed and where this violence had caused landowners to move to larger cities, this victory will bring a better way of life for 75,000 rural people.

The Colombian Government took the first step by having the violence suppressed by the Colombia Army personnel. Already some of the landowners are returning to their farms. Now that the Municipal Council of Sevilla has approved by a formal vote the building of the electric cooperative, there is hope that not only the level of living for people in this area will be improved, but also that the social unrest will be relieved.

I am sure that you will be as encouraged as I to read how farmers from surrounding areas traveled over the mountainous roads repeatedly in order to show their support for the cooperative. Their help in winning this victory over political extremism not only seconds the report of Mr. J. K. Smith, manager of the Kentucky Statewide, that one of the three things villagers want most is electric power, but also proves that where self-help efforts are supported by AID funds, the battle against political extremism, social injustice, and poverty can be won.

The article follows:

ELECTRIC CO-OPS: A CHALLENGE TO EXTREMISM

Cooperativism has challenged extremism in Sevilla, Colombia, and won the victory. It is a victory that will bring a better way of life for 75,000 rural people.

Sevilla, a frontier-type village of more than 30,000, is the coffee capital of Colombia. It is headquarters for a rural electric cooperative which will include all villages and rural areas in the two municipios of Sevilla and Caicedonia. Located in a mountainous area almost five times the size of Washington, D.C., it has been plagued by social unrest and violence.

MORE THAN 300,000 PEOPLE KILLED

This is one reason why the Sevilla-Caicedonia rural electric cooperative was selected as a pilot project. It is estimated more than 300,000 people have been killed in Colombia's violence since 1948. The Sevilla-Caicedonia area has been one of the hardest hit sections of the country. In the past, some parts of the cooperative area were completely under the control of bandits and declared independent of national administration.

Violence in rural areas caused landowners to move to larger cities. Now that violence has been suppressed by Colombia Army personnel, some landowners are returning to their farms.

These are the circumstances prompting the Colombian Government to express its hope that the rural electric cooperative could improve the level of living for people in the Sevilla-Caicedonia area. This would relieve the social unrest.

LOAN AGREEMENT SIGNED

In May 1964 a loan agreement was signed by the United States and Colombia whereby the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) would lend $1.3 million to build the cooperative distribution system. Colombia's CVC, an organization similar to TVA, is the power supplier in the cooperative area. It helped organize and did much of the groundwork for the cooperative. A provisional manager has been selected and a cooperative office opened in Sevilla. All the preliminary work—organization, mapping, line design, and staking was coordinated through the office. By November 1964 almost all the conditions precedent to the release of funds had been met by the cooperative. As soon as funds could be released, the cooperative would begin construction.

Only issue remaining was disposal of the antiquated distribution system in Sevilla. CVC proposed replacing the system with a new one built by the cooperative. The existing system was losing an estimated 40 percent of the energy passing through the line. In addition, according to figures released by Sevilla's fire department, ten fires were caused by short circuits in 1964—some because of primary line failure.

LITTLE OPPOSITION TO CO-OP

There had been little opposition to formation of the electric cooperative. It was anticipated city council would readily permit the cooperative to build a new distribution system. But those concerned with development of the cooperative had overlooked the power of politics.

Feasibility of the project that would serve 12,500 consumers within 3 years was based on including the city of Sevilla in the cooperative. It was imperative the municipal council approve, by formal vote, replacement of the existing municipal system by the cooperative system. Under Colombian procedures, the 16-member council would need to vote three times on the issue.

FIRST VOTE UNANIMOUS

On the first vote in November 1964 the council voted 8 to 0 in favor of the cooperative. This opened the issue for debate. It soon became apparent that three council members of the political party representing the extreme left were opposed to the cooperative. Two council members of the extreme right also fell in line and the combined strength of the extremists was five.

There was a great deal of campaigning by the opposition. One of the five council members opposed to the cooperative owned a radio station; another edited a newspaper. In addition to radio and newspaper campaigning, the opposition handed out leaflets to oppose the cooperative. But they gained little support.

EIGHT TO FIVE IN FAVOR OF CO-OP

On the second vote the council voted 8 to 5 in favor of the cooperative. This was thought to be the critical vote. It was understood that party headquarters in Bogotá had sent word for extremists not to oppose the cooperative any longer. But if there was such a message, the council members did not heed their instructions. Opposition became more intensified.

In order for the cooperative to win support on the third vote there had to be a two-thirds approval or 11 of the 16 council members in favor. This meant that if the five in opposition could convince one more member, they could block the cooperative. And operation of the entire cooperative depended on its approval in Sevilla.

In addition to political philosophy, two of the five members had personal reasons to be concerned. It seems they felt the cooperative would be sure to meter service and their bills would be much higher than the flat rates they were paying to the municipality.

OPPOSITION FILIBUSTER

Twice the council met to vote on the issue for the third time, but the opposition managed to filibuster and prevent a vote. At another meeting, not all of those in favor of the cooperative were present. Farmers from the surrounding areas traveled over the mountainous roads repeatedly in order to attend the meetings and show support for the cooperative. It was estimated about 150 farmers attended each of these meetings. They showed their support by chanting "Querem os luz." (We want lights.)

TWO-THIRDS APPROVAL

The third vote was called for March 8. All members of the council approving the cooperative were able to attend the meeting. Those opposed realized they were defeated and did not attend. Thus, the cooperative issue passed by the required two-thirds approval. Final vote was 11 to 0 in favor of the cooperative building a new distribution system in Sevilla.

The challenge and victory of cooperativism over political extremism in Sevilla belongs to the past. It is only a prolog to other victories * * * to the victories over economic backwardness and rural unrest. It is a prolog to social justice and a better way of life.

President Johnson Addresses the White House Conference on Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, on July 21, President Johnson delivered a timely and inspiring address before the White House Conference on Education. The Conference of 700 participants, representing a substantial part of the leadership of American education, approved the goals envisioned by the President and the commitment of the Federal Government to their attainment.

While expressing his concern about the serious defects of the present system and the remedies that must be applied if we are to meet the challenges of the future, the President paid tribute to the faith and belief with which Americans have invested their skills, energies, and resources in building an educational system broad enough to serve the needs of all people.

I believe everyone will concur in his view that "no investment has ever been more wisely made and none ever resulted in more abundant returns, either to a people or nation" than this commitment to education.

Mr. Speaker, so that all Members of the Congress and everyone concerned with improving our education may have the benefit of the President's thinking in this important area, I include the full text of his remarks to the Conference below:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE DELEGATES OF THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION

Mr. Gardner, distinguished members of the Cabinet, distinguished Ambassador to the United Nations, ladies and gentlemen, I want to welcome all of you to the first White House teach-in.

I want to thank all of you for the work that you have done over the past 2 days on this most important of American problems—the education of the American people.

I have kept you waiting for some time, while I have listened to your panel chairmen review with me their impressions of the fruits of your labors for the past 2 days.

Education will not cure all the problems of society, but without it no cure for any problem is possible. It is high among my own concerns, central to the purposes of this administration, and at the core of all of our hopes for a Great Society.

Belief in education is, of course, not a new belief. It is a faith as old as the Nation—the faith that the progress of America and the possibility of democracy depended really upon the education of our citizens. And so, through the generations, we have gone along investing our skill and our energy, and much of our resources, to build an educational system that is really broad enough to serve all the needs of all of our people. And I think no investment has ever been more wisely made and none has ever resulted in more abundant returns, either to a people or to a nation.

This central faith remains an unchallenged tenet of the American way of life. Your concern, and mine, is how can we remedy the serious defects of our present system, and how can we equip it to meet the new challenges which are already engulfing our Nation and engulfing the world.

Every aspect of our national life—from the office and factory to the doctors' offices and the halls of government—has become much more complex and intricate than ever before. Thus we must train more people in more skills if they are to really find fulfilling work and to make their proper contribution to this land that we love.

Many already spend more time not working than at their work, and the amount of leisure time is going to continue to rise in the days ahead. So we must open up new horizons of interest and creativity if periods of rest are not to become feared periods of sterile boredom.

Exploitation of the challenges, and escape from the perils of modern life demand new leaps of imagination and creativity. And thus we need education which will stimulate and which will energize the free spirit, rather than to crush it and dampen it as is so often true.

Most of all we need an education which will create an educated mind. This is a mind not simply a repository of information and skills, but a mind that is a source of creative skepticism, characterized by a willingness to challenge old assumptions, and to be challenged, a spaciousness of outlook, and convictions that are deeply held, but which new facts and new experiences can always modify. For we are a society which has staked its survival on the rejection of dogma, on the refusal to bend experience to belief, and on the determination to shape action to reality as reality reveals itself to us. This is the hardest course of all for us to take. For without education it is really an impossible course, and all of this means not merely more classrooms and more teachers, although we need them—and we are going to have them—but it means a fundamental improvement in the quality of American education. It means an educational system which does not simply equip the students to adjust to society, but which enables the student to challenge and to modify, and at times reject, if necessary, the received wisdom of his elders.

We are far too easily satisfied when we know that a child has a desk in a classroom with a teacher to instruct him. But it is what happens inside that classroom that really counts, and that is finally what is really important. And far too often what does happen is sadly unequal to what we have a right to expect.

That is why I am so glad that this conference did not spend its time passing and mimeographing detailed resolutions and making a host of specific recommendations. We asked you to come here to stimulate some fresh thinking, not just talk about old ideas. I plan to take your proceedings and read them myself and to circulate them to every office of government concerned with this subject. I want them to use your thinking as a basis for the evolution of new programs and new actions, new legislative proposals wherever such proposals are appropriate.

In addition, I charge your executive committee to review the record and to constitute themselves a continuing task force on this most critical subject. So it will be their job to make sure that this conference does not come to an end today, that we have a continuing flow of new ideas from universities and private groups into the central processes of government.

For really we are quite busy catching up with our past failures, and we do not intend to fall behind again.

There is one specific proposal which I have mentioned and discussed with your leaders, and which I hope we can carry out. And that is the proposal to establish a series of Adali Stevenson fellowships to enable a selected group of young men and women from all over the world to serve as internes in the organizations of the United Nations. This will not only be a great memorial to Adlai Stevenson, but it will be an indication of the interest of this Nation in the enlightenment of all mankind.

Of course this will not be the only memorial to Adlai Stevenson. It is just one of many. In fact, I have already asked Secretary Willard Wirtz, a former law partner to Governor Stevenson, to meet with members of the Stevenson family to discuss appropriate ways to pay adequate tribute to his memory. But there can be none more fitting, and I know you will agree, than the training

of future leaders in the wondrous works of peace and compassion.

I had to go to the Supreme Court yesterday and ask one to leave that High Tribunal to come and lead us down the road to compassion and to peace in the world, and I am so happy that he could be here with you today, and I want to ask him to stand just now so that we can all acknowledge his presence and his great sacrifice. Justice Goldberg.

I think most of you know the enveloping role which education has played in my own life. It really was the instrument which took a boy from the countryside of Texas and opened to him the boundless dreams and the opportunities of American life.

And I not only learned, but I taught, and I saw for myself how the light of learning could brighten the path of the humble.

But my profound concern with education does not spring simply from the accidents of my youthful circumstances. It has, it is true, always existed. But the office that I now hold has deepened and widened and contributed greatly to the urgency of that concern. For it was only after I could become President of this country that I could really see in all of its hopeful and troubling implications just how much the hopes of our citizens and the security of our Nation, and the real strength of our democracy depended upon the learning and the understanding of our people.

A great public servant in the early days of the republic of my State said: Education is the guardian genius of democracy. It is the only dictator that freemen will recognize, and the only ruler that freemen will accept.

This Nation has really always been an experiment—an experiment in the capacity of a whole people, ruling its rulers, to deal with changing peril and with shifting expectations. And every single time we think we have proved the success of that experiment, the scene changes, and America sets forth on a very different course.

And this is true again as we meet here today, but the stakes are really higher than they have ever been before, and I know now with greater certainty than I have ever known it before, that leaders can lead, they can set goals, they can make speeches and teach their people, but in our democracy, they cannot make people what they are not. They cannot exceed, in achievement or understanding, the best qualities of the American mind. And that, in turn, is the charge of those who teach the young, and who thus hold in their hands the possibilities of this President, and of many Presidents to come.

The Tomato Industry—A Hard Look at Some Economic Facts of Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, farm produce is harvested throughout the year in many sections of California. During the fall, the big crop is tomatoes.

The growing, shipping and processing of tomatoes contributes more than a quarter of a billion dollars to the economy of California, according to information developed by the 20,000-member Council of California Growers.

Mr. Speaker, the council has reported the results of a recent survey of the California tomato industry in the July 26, 1965, issue of its newsletter, and I ask unanimous consent to include the full text of the report at the end of my remarks.

Of paramount concern to tomato growers is the availability of competent supplemental farmworkers. The CCG Newsletter points out that "the tomato industry customarily has been the largest user of supplemental workers in recent years." The California Tomato Growers Association estimates that at least 65 percent of the 1965 tomato crop must be harvested by supplemental workers.

Mr. Speaker, the Secretary of Labor has given positive assurances that supplemental labor will be available for the tomato harvest if needed. The growers will not be forced to employ A-teams because most A-team members will have returned to school by September. We shall follow the situation, as it develops, with great interest—hoping above hope that we will not witness a repetition of the manmade disaster which befell our strawberry industry due to the severe shortage of competent farmworkers.

The CCG report, entitled "The Tomato Industry—A Hard Look at Some Economic Facts of Life," follows:

THE TOMATO INDUSTRY—A HARD LOOK AT SOME ECONOMIC FACTS OF LIFE

The next big challenge to the ingenuity of growers and government will be finding a solution to what Director of Employment Albert B. Tieburg called "the most massive agricultural manpower need in California history."

Reasons for State officials—and Federal, too—having a deep-rooted interest in California's tomato crop are not hard to find. This one crop represents more than a quarter of a billion dollars to the economy of California.

Seeking all the facts in this complicated picture, Newsletter conducted a survey. Consulted were experts from the California Tomato Growers Association—government officials, both State and Federal—and experts from the university; in addition, every available written statement by anyone concerned carefully was read for both obvious and hidden meanings. This, then, is the result of that survey—a study of the tomato industry.

For instance, the 1964 crop was worth just under $78 million to growers and, with somewhat higher prices this year, the 1965 gross could climb to almost $90 million, highest since 1962. These figures, of course, bear little or no relationship to the net growers will receive.

Also interested in a healthy tomato harvest are cannery workers and the people who supply materials to the canneries. Processing plants paid $16.8 million in wages last year to cannery workers. At the same time they bought $54.8 million worth of cartons, bottles, cans, lids, labels, and other materials from suppliers.

The smaller planting estimated for 1965 will reduce these figures somewhat. It is now estimated that cannery workers will get $14.2 million—and suppliers $46.6 million—both of them still substantial figures.

In addition to these direct benefits, impressive as they are, many other individuals and businesses participate in the boost to the economy generated by this 1 crop out of 230. These direct benefits amount to $120 million, the California Tomato Growers point out. Added together this means the tomato industry contributes nearly $270 million to the economy of the State.

The importance of this single crop to the economy is a matter of concern to public officials as well. Official awareness of the problem was indicated recently in a statement made to growers—a statement in which a State official pointed out that unharvested tomatoes meant reduced cannery payrolls.

"We are concerned," he said, "that cannery workers may not work sufficient hours to qualify for their customary unemployment benefits. This could mean an additional burden on public assistance programs this winter."

Certainly Secretary of Labor Wirtz showed some knowledge of the problem when he said in Los Angeles a few weeks ago that "September will bring the special demands of the tomato harvest." He also promised that, "Watchful attention will be paid the developing situation to assure, so far as this is possible, that if supplementary labor is needed, despite maximum efforts, it will be available."

On the other hand, very knowledgeable political observers in Washington have warned that this awareness, the cautious promise of help, will not take precedence over the national administration's commitments for social and economic change.

In the meantime * * * Director Tieburg called together leaders of the tomato industry and managers of key labor associations in the central valleys. At this meeting the director made some announcements of his own, designed, he said, to insure that every possible effort is made this year to utilize every potential domestic tomato picker.

Among the procedures the director announced, procedures which represent a departure from existing practices, was a requirement that growers must provide buckets or similar small containers, so that women and minors can be encouraged to try their hands at tomato picking. To carry this thought further, Tieburg said growers must offer weekend employment to students. He said growers must be prepared to supply swampers, or some equal system, to make it possible for people picking in buckets to dump into boxes conveniently close.

Of course, all of these requirements apply only to those growers who believe they may not be able to find an adequate supply of domestic workers and who feel they may be forced to seek relief in the form of supplemental workers.

When we consider that the tomato industry customarily has been the largest user of supplemental workers in recent years that the tomato growers estimates that, at best, some 65 percent of the 1965 harvest must be accomplished by supplemental workers then we recognize the facts which must guide growers.

Tieburg has announced that he is forming an advisory committee among Mexican-Americans in an effort "to draw more of our own Mexican-American citizens back into the tomato harvest." This, apparently, is in response to the frequently made claim by some Mexican-American action groups—the claim that there are "100,000 Mexican-Americans available to do farm work"—if the conditions are right. Up to this point, every effort to employ members of this supposed pool of labor has met with extremely modest success.

One final fact, which should be causing considerable concern to those responsible for encouraging growers to plant tomatoes this year, is the lateness of many of the plantings, up to 30 days or more later than normal. Early in the season, growers, uncertain about their harvest labor supplies, had held back, unwilling to plant tomatoes and to invest close to $200 per acre in a crop which, conceivably could not be harvested.

The Secretary of Labor took a hand in the affair. In a television interview with a California Congressman, and later in a message relayed through the State board of agriculture, the Secretary said, "If I were a tomato grower, I would plant." Of course, he is not a tomato grower, and it is unlikely he ever

will be, but a large number of people who are tomato growers accepted his statement as an indication that the Secretary intended to insure an adequate harvest force for tomatoes.

Last season was an open season; tomatoes were harvested into November. But such seasons are rare. Rains in late September or early October, early frosts, none of them unusual, could catch many of these tomatoes still on the vines unharvested. If this turns out to be the case, look for Mr. Wirtz to claim that these tomatoes were lost, not to labor difficulties, but to weather. Look for the claim that growers knew the risks they took and planted anyway. The fact remains, if it were not for the uncertainy over labor supplies, tomatoes would have been planted in normal fashion, according to normal schedules, and only a limited acreage would have been dependent upon good weather late in the season. And, if it had not been for the Secretary's implied assurances, they would not have been planted at all.

Certainly the Secretary should be joining with tomato growers in hoping for a mild fall and an extended harvest season, for he must bear some of the responsibility for the fact that tomatoes were planted in spite of an early reluctance by growers.

Address of Hon. John A. Blatnik to the Great Lakes Commission, July 22, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, last week the Great Lakes Commission met in Duluth, Minn., continuing its service as a public forum and advisory body on the problems facing the States who share the largest body of fresh water in the country. Appropriately, my good friend and colleague, the Honorable JOHN A. BLATNIK, was present at this gathering to present his views and the views I believe, of the Members of Congress interested in forging ahead on problems of water pollution, water resources, shoreline use and recreation, fishers and wildlife, navigation and commerce. Mr. BLATNIK pointed out the steady progress being made by the States and Federal Government in this area. However, he did not dwell on past accomplishments, but rather presented in clear and incisive terms the work ahead for the States and Congress. His speech was warmly received and indicative of the new role of partnership which must continue if the Great Lakes States will be able to surmount the challenges ahead.

The speech follows:

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE JOHN A. BLATNIK AT THE SEMIANNUAL DINNER OF THE GREAT LAKES COMMISSION, DULUTH, MINN., THURSDAY, JULY 22, 1965

Ten years ago the Great Lakes Commission came into being. Its establishment by interstate compact was a response to the need of the member States for a forum and a mechanism for the exploration of matters of common concern relating to the vast resource which is the foremost natural endowment of our region.

The commission is strengthened by the participation now of all of the eight States which border on the Great Lakes. In the exercise of its advisory powers under the compact, the commission has rendered a decade of useful service to the people of the member States, and to countless others outside the region, who benefit from the wise use and development of the Great Lakes system. The problems and programs which were the subjects of your discussions earlier today indicate the breadth of your concerns: pollution control, water resources, shoreline use and recreation, fisheries and wildlife, and the seaway, navigation, and commerce. I congratulate you on the work of the past 10 years. As a Member of Congress, and the ranking majority member of the Committee on Public Works, I stand ready to assist you as you look to the future.

The past decade has been an exciting period in the long history of the Great Lakes. With the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway to shipping the inland seas have become a fourth seacoast. It is fair to state that the problems and the promise of the lakes are increasingly the objects of national attention.

It is 1,160 miles from Duluth to the St. Lawrence. The chain of lakes—Lake Superior, Lake Michigan, Lake Huron, Lake Erie, and Lake Ontario—which with their connecting waters make up the Great Lakes system, comprise the greatest source of fresh water on the face of the earth, nearly 95,000 square miles in area. Their association with the Indians, with the French explorers, with the English who contended with them, and with the growth of our Republic, is an oft-repeated story. Duluth and Superior, Milwaukee, Chicago, the Calumet region of Indiana, Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, Erie, Buffalo—what lake State cannot boast of communities which were founded and thrived because Great Lake waters washed their shores? The lakes have given us their water to drink, turned the wheels of industry, served as highways for the transport of the products of our farmlands, factories, mines, and mills. Fish have abounded in their waters, giving livelihood to the commercial fisherman, delight to the sportsman, nourishing food to consumers. The scientist is intrigued by the wonders of the lakes and their shorelines. Visitors from the region's crowded cities and vacationers from afar have drawn rich enjoyment from the lakes, swimming, boating, fishing, water skiing, hiking and picnicking by their shores. And for beauty beyond measure, what exceeds the sight of a vast lake, its blue waters stretching toward the horizon?

It is not necessary to convince this audience that the five Great Lakes have served us well. Nor is it necessary to convince you that their fullest potentail is not yet realized. And finally, it is not necessary to point out to you that many of their values will be lost to us and to succeeding generations without action, now, to conserve, develop, and in some instances, to restore the mighty, but not inexhaustible resource which is our heritage.

As a U.S. Representative, I have particular responsibility to give attention to those aspects of Great Lakes development which touch on Federal activity. Vessel pollution, not a new problem, but one aggravated by the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway, is one such matter. Federal authority for vessel pollution is divided. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, through the Public Health Service, enforces interstate quarantine regulations. Areas in the Great Lakes and connecting waters adjacent to domestic water intakes have been designated thereunder as among those areas in which vessels operating on fresh water lakes or rivers are forbidden to discharge sewage or ballast or bilge water. Proposed changes in the regulations, applying to vessels operating in interstate traffic under their terms, would require that wastes be treated or collected and held, have been under review for some time. The Department of HEW, in its administration of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, conducts in cooperation with other Federal agencies, a program for the control of pollution from Federal installations, which has been held to include Federal vessels, as well as shore installations. The Department of the Army, through the Corps of Engineers, exercises jurisdiction over oil pollution, but the Oil Pollution Act of 1924 is limited in application to navigable coastal waters, excluding the Great Lakes.

The Army also administers the Refuse Act, which forbids the discharge of refuse into navigable waters. The Secretary of the Army is also empowered to prescribe regulations governing the dumping into navigable waters of refuse materials whenever, in his judgment, the regulations are required in the interest of navigation. Another broad authority empowers the Secretary of the Army to prescribe regulations for the use, administration, and navigation of navigable waters which, in his judgment, the public necessity may require for the protection of life and property, covering all matters not specifically delegated by law to some other department. The St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, under its statutory authority, has adopted regulations for vessels using the seaway which recommend that septic tanks be used where vessels are not already equipped with sewage containers. Further, the deposit of specified substances and other materials in canal waters or on canal property, and their deposit so that pollution of canal waters could result, is forbidden by regulation.

Representatives of HEW, the Army, the Navy, the Coast Guard, and the Maritime Administration met during 1958 and 1959 to discuss the vessel waste disposal problem, made more serious in this area by the opening of the seaway. From their discussions the Advisory Committee on Sewage and Waste Disposal From Vessels, an interagency group, evolved. Its first meeting was held on May 6, 1960. Its most recent meeting, I am told, was held on February 17, 1964. Three meetings were held between these dates, in other words five meetings in 5 years. I am constrained to say that this record does not bespeak a sense of urgency about a problem which is of legitimate concern to us. A sense of urgency—dictated by considerations of international relations—caused the Navy to take immediate and drastic remedial action when an unfortunate Navy man touched the wrong gadget and sent thousands of tons of oil spewing into the waters near the Riviera, blackening the beach at Cannes. I approve of the speed in that instance. I cite it only by way of contrast with what would appear to be the leisurely pace of interagency conversations on difficulties closer to home. There is something wrong with the system, I believe, not with the good intentions or the capacities of the officials in the several parts of Government which share responsibility in this area. I urge that streamlined procedures and stepped up activity be introduced promptly.

Bills introduced in the Senate and the House of Representatives this year have for their purpose the control of vessel pollution on the Great Lakes, their harbors and ports, and other navigable waters of the United States. These bills, the Navigable Waters Pollution Control Act of 1965 (S. 1908, Senator NELSON, and H.R. 7976, Mr. STALBAUM, H.R. 8421, Mr. DINGELL, H.R. 8744, Mr. McCARTHY, and H.R. 8801, Mr. ASHLEY), would give the Secretary of HEW authority to establish reasonable regulations respecting facilities on and treatment and disposal of oil, sewage, and refuse from vessels on U.S. waters of the Great Lakes and other navigable waters of the United States, and procedures for carrying them out by the Coast

Guard. The Secretary would act with the assistance and cooperation of the Army, the Coast Guard, and the Commerce Department. The Oil Pollution Act of 1924 would be extended to navigable water generally, bringing the Great Lakes within its scope, and would be made to apply to shore installations and terminal facilities. Anyone discharging oil would be required to remove it or to reimburse the Federal Government for removing it. Administration and enforcement of the act would be transferred from the Corps of Engineers to the Coast Guard. The Oil Pollution Act of 1961 would be amended to make the same transfer of administration and enforcement. The Refuse Act would be amended to remove the present exemption of refuse matter flowing from sewers in the liquid state, and to transfer administration and enforcement from the Corps to the Coast Guard. The sponsors of the legislation believe that more effective enforcement would result from giving the Coast Guard responsibility for recommending prosecution of violators to the Department of Justice. Present law requires the Coast Guard to notify the Corps of violations, which then prepares the case for prosecution by Justice.

I have not given the study to these proposals which the importance of the subject to my constituents and the Nation demands, but I intend to weigh them and any alternatives brought before the Congress most carefully. The House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries has jurisdiction over this aspect of pollution legislation. There is much interest in the bills, and in other proposals relating to the Great Lakes. The Senate Committee on Commerce has approved a bill on oceanography (S. 944) which would include the Great Lakes in the broad activities relating to the marine sciences which the bill would authorize. Oceanography has some of the excitement of outer space as a frontier for exploration and development. It is significant that the secrets of the Great Lakes, as well as of the oceans, would be fathomed under the expanded oceanographic program which the legislation would authorize. Bills to authorize a study of means of making the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence Seaway available for year-round navigation are again before the Congress.

Congressional initiative and impetus were behind the reference to the International Joint Commission in the matter of the levels of the Great Lakes, and the reference in the matter of the pollution of Lake Erie, Lake Ontario, and the international section of the St. Lawrence River.

We are within a few days of the ninth anniversary of the signing of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1956, the first permanent law to authorize a comprehensive national water pollution control program, and but 2 days past the fourth anniversary of the signing of the far-reaching 1961 amendments to that act. Its impact on the Great Lakes region has been notable. I will not repeat statistics which have only recently been put on record, and will simply call attention to the breadth of program activities in our area.

As Gordon McCallum annually states in his presentation to the Appropriations Committees, "Enforcement lies at the very heart of any effective program for the prevention and control of pollution." The Federal enforcement conference on pollution of Lake Erie, to meet at Cleveland on August 3 and at Buffalo on August 10, can put into motion machinery which can be of tremendous support to the people of the Lake Erie States who are determined to stop the defilement of its waters and to restore them to their former degree of purity. The benefits of the Federal abatement procedure have already been extended to the lower end of Lake Michigan, the heart of a great industrial complex, and to the Michigan waters of Lake Erie. A monumental study of the qaulity of the waters of the Great Lakes, undertaken by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1961, will close with the development of a comprehensive program for the Lake Superior Basin, the last to be studied. The Great Lakes Basin has shared in other activity under the Federal law: grants for the construction of municipal waste treatment works, a tremendous success here as elsewhere in the Nation, grants to the States for strengthening their water pollution control programs, research grants, the regional water pollution control laboratory for the Midwest, scheduled for completion in 1967 on the campus of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, and the national water quality laboratory, for which ground will be broken tomorrow here in Duluth. I am confident that the Water Quality Act of 1965, the bill to further amend the act, which has passed both Houses of the Congress, will likewise serve the interests of our part of the United States.

The value of water to man is beyond estimation. Those of you from New York and Pennsylvania do not contemplate that fact this summer with any detachment. "The free water frontier has passed. Additional water can no longer be taken heedlessly or effortlessly. The United States is squeezed between the pincers of inadequate water development and rapidly increasing water requirements, while pollution makes more and more of our available water unfit for human or industrial uses." Thus wrote four far-sighted Members of the Senate in 1961 in their supplemental views to the report of the Select Committee on National Water Resources. Wise water management means the discovery of ways to turn sea water to fresh water at a reasonable cost. It means the development of engineering works to water the dry lands, hold back the floods, make the wheels of industry go round, clear the routes of commerce. It means the pursuit of feasible means to regulate lake levels, a course of demonstrated worth here on Lake Superior. Finally, it means the prevention, the control, and the abatement of water pollution.

New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota share a glorious legacy in these Great Lakes. Through all but one of them runs the line which binds us to the great free land of Canada. Our bonds are many. A transplanted Scotsman came to us from Canada, and here in Duluth and Superior built many of his whaleback freighters to ply across Great Lakes waters. Our greatest days and our most complex tasks lie ahead of us. You will do your part within your respective States, and through your participation in the Great Lakes Commision. I will do my part as a Member of the Congress of the United States.

For myself and my constituents, I thank you for coming to our district. Let us all work together to fulfill the bright promise which the Great Lakes have given to this, our region, which bears their name.

Secretary Udall and "Dr. Couchmaster"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Secretary Stewart Udall filed an intervention to prevent Duke Power Co. from spending $700 million in Appalachia.

Holmes Alexander wrote a most interesting article about the Secretary's action which appeared in the Greenville News, Greenville, S.C., on July 22, 1965. I commend this column to the attention of the Congress and to the people of the country:

UDALL MOVED BY RUNNING WATER

(By Holmes Alexander)

WASHINGTON.—"Mr. Secretary, you say you don't have any trouble keeping your hands off tobacco and liquor, or off other people's women and money," resumed Dr. Clarence W. Couchmaster to the lean, outdoorsy-looking dignitary on the psychiatrist's couch. "But when it comes to a river."

"That's my weakness," declared the distinguished member of the Presidential Cabinet. "The sight of a purling stream arouses the bureaucratic beast in me."

"You want to grab it?"

IN SOUTH CAROLINA TOO

"Yes; I am like an Arabian sheik at the sight of a shepherd's veiled daughter. I must have her for my harem at the Department of Interior. Recently I grabbed the Green River of Wyoming for my wild rivers system. It raised a heckuva howl from Governor Hansen, Senator SIMPSON, and most of the good people out there.

"Now I've gone and done the same thing—only worse—in South Carolina. The Governor, both Senators, all the Congressmen, and half the Southern press are yelling for my official blood."

"Tell me about South Carolina," said Dr. Couchmaster, who knew a great deal concerning the insatiable appetites which rage in men of bureaucracy. "What river in that State excites your riparian passions, Mr. Udall?"

"The Keowee River," said the Secretary, breathing hard as he pronounced the luscious name. "It is not an interstate waterway and not subject to congressional regulation. But any private company that wants to build a dam there must get a license from the Federal Power Commission. I can't abide the thought of private industry making an investment in even the most modest of river valleys."

Overwhelming desire—"That is why you intervened before the Commission to prevent the Duke Power Co. from building a $700 million hydro steam plant?"

"I couldn't help myself," exclaimed the patient. "The sight of moving water, unpossessed by the Interior Department, sets me wild. I realize that the Duke firm is a highly responsible institution. It has planted over 30 million trees in this area, eliminated erosion on thousands of acres, created many recreation facilities, and is responsible for 55 percent of the new industry in the Carolinas during the past 5 years.

"Undoubtedly, every new dollar the Duke people put into these counties of the Piedmont area (which is part of poverty-hit Appalachia) will create three more dollars of investment. The finished plant will supply electricity to home and factory. It will yield $24 million a year in Federal taxes, plus another $20 million in State and local taxes. And yet——"

"Yes, Mr. Secretary?"

All he wants—"And yet, I want that little river. I must have it for my domain. You see, the rivers of America are the key to the American commonwealth. Nobody can call me a Socialist. All I want to control is conservation and beautification, the irrigation ditches and the floodgates, the wilderness and the sand dunes.

"Nobody can call me a monopolist. All I want is a hand on the switch of the Federal dams with their enormous generating capacity. I want control of the cross-continent transmission lines so that no industrial wheel

will turn unless the Interior Department says so. Nobody can call me greedy. All I ask for is rivers."

During this outburst, Dr. Couchmaster was sadly shaking his head. He had seen many men go off their rockers with Federal authority and the ambition to rule other people's lives. The psychiatrist reached for a telephone and dialed 456-1414.

"Mr. President," said Dr. Couchmaster. "I have one of your Great Society cases here. The only cure for him is a hot, dry climate. Yes, sir, his home State of Arizona is where Stewart Udall belongs."

Another 1929?—Why There's Little Chance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article discusses the differences between the current economic situation and that of 1929, and points out why there will not be another economic disaster such as occurred that year.

The article appeared in the U.S. News & World Report on June 21, 1965, and follows:

ANOTHER "1929"?—WHY THERE'S LITTLE CHANCE

As the boom ages, many wonder if it could end in a depression, as in 1929. Actually things are vastly different now, as this report shows.

Is another 1929 becoming possible? That question has been raised by William McChesney Martin, Jr., Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

What are the chances? Are a crash and then a deep depression now possible?

There has been a sharp fall off in stock prices of late. A speculative bubble burst recently in one phase of Western Europe's land boom. A bank scandal in Switzerland followed. Japan has been going through a financial crisis.

REASONS FOR CONFIDENCE

Yet all seems calm in the attitude of businessmen, leading bankers, high government officials—both in the United States and abroad.

Why? Why the confidence that events are not now, or later, to lead to another 1929-type crash and depression?

You get the answer in an outline on these pages of 11 basic differences between then and now.

The world, economic analysts say, little understood the forces of depression at work in and after 1929, and lacked the means to counter them.

Now all is said to be different. Governments everywhere are armed with machinery that can be used against deflationary influences.

In the United States, in particular, it is said, the past 30 years has brought a revolutionary change in attitude and in machinery for countering forces of depression and recession.

ROLE OF WORLD TRADE

As the world's great creditor nation, the United States now is inclined to act the part rather than, as in 1929, acting as a debtor nation when actually a creditor. A basic cause of upset in the world economy was said to have been the Smoot-Hawley tariff of 1930, which increased barriers to imports into the United States. This country, however, had become a great creditor nation in World War I and needed to accept goods in payment of debts.

As U.S. tariffs mounted, other countries imposed barriers to trade and defaulted on debts to the United States. These activities brought stagnation to world trade.

Today, the Government's efforts are aimed at expanding world trade rather than restraining it.

BUILT-IN DEFENSES

Many other factors also are present today that were absent in 1929.

The Government is committed to a policy of promoting expansion and avoiding depressions, and it is armed with many tools to carry out that policy. One recent example is last year's $11.5 billion tax cut which is credited with sparking the business expansion that still is going on. Now there are plans for excise tax cuts and stepped-up social security payments to keep business activity from slowing.

The country also has "built-in stabilizers" that tend to soften any downturns. These include unemployment benefits, price supports for farmers, insurance for bank deposits, guarantees for mortgages, pensions for the elderly. The Government can speed public works to offset slack in private business.

Then, too, there is much more world cooperation to keep business stable. Leading industrial countries act in concert to maintain stable currencies. The International Monetary Fund stands ready to help. Recently steps have been taken to protect the British pound and to bolster the U.S. dollar.

The Government's own operations act to prevent depressions. The Federal Cash budget of more than $120 billion a year is itself a stabilizer. And Federal spending automatically goes up when business slackens, thus tending to offset the slowdown.

WEATHER VANES TO WATCH

Both business and Government now have a lot more information about the American economy than was available in 1929. A whole array of economic indicators tests the pulse of business. When these indicators flash danger signals, officials are prepared to act promptly.

Actually, the President's economic advisers—and many business economists—believe that deep depressions of the post-1929 variety are phenomena of the past. The President's advisers go as far as to say that even recessions are not inevitable, although they are not yet ready to proclaim that occasional dips in activity can be avoided.

In 1929 and 1965—then and now—the differences are vast.

MONEY—A MANAGED ABUNDANCE

Then: Money was tied rigidly to gold. This limited moves by the Government to ease money. Money and credit contracted sharply. Interest rates went up. Financial crisis developed.

Now: Tie to gold has been ended. Money supply is more readily controlled by Government. Credit is pumped out as necessary. In hard times, interest rates are reduced, new borrowing promoted by official policy.

GOVERNMENT SPENDING—AN IMPORTANT CUSHION

Then: $10.5 billion a year in Federal, State, local cash spending. Federal spending, at $3 billion, was only $1 out of each $29 of national income, thus had limited importance in total economy.

Now: $176 billion—Federal, State, local. Federal cash spending alone is $121 billion, or $1 out of every $4 of national income. In a downturn, this spending rises. Federal outlays are a tremendous force in U.S. economy.

DEPOSITS—NOW THEY ARE INSURED

Then: People got panicky as things went from bad to worse in early thirties. Runs developed on banks across the country. Failures were widespread, and there was no insurance on deposits.

Now: Accounts in banks and savings and loan associations are insured up to $10,000. Result: Even in a severe business setback, wholesale withdrawals of deposits, such as took place 35 years ago, would be unlikely.

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED—A PROMISE OF HELP

Then: When a worker was laid off, he was on his own. There was no Government program to tide people over while they looked for new jobs. By 1933, one worker out of four was unemployed.

Now: About 49 million workers are insured during periods of unemployment. This means weekly benefits, for half a year in most States. In addition, many companies provide supplemental benefits for their own employees during layoffs.

OLD PEOPLE—THE OFFER OF SECURITY

Then: There was no social security to help in old age. Few companies offered pensions to employees after retirement. People had to rely on their own savings or help from relatives.

Now: Nine out of ten workers are covered by social security. Typical worker also has company pension. Medicare is on the way. Trend is to earlier retirement, opening up more jobs for younger people in the labor force.

WAGES—PAY RATES TO STAY HIGH

Then: When times got tough, employers cut wages time and again. Labor unions were weak, had little voice on pay rates. Few workers were protected by wage contracts. No wage minimum was set by law.

Now: Workers have a whole system of protection built in. Wages are supported by powerful unions. Millions work on long-term contracts providing stable or rising pay rates. A minimum wage is provided by Federal law.

FARMERS—SUPPORT FOR PRICES

Then: There was little or no protection for farmers against collapse. At the mercy of the marketplace, with no system of price support, farmers saw prices fall 65 percent between 1928 and 1933.

Now: Prices of major farm commodities are supported by the Government. Over the years, huge surpluses have grown up to burden the market, but farmers are protected against anything comparable to the collapse of the 1930's.

HOME LOANS—EASY MORTGAGE PAYMENTS

Then: Home buyers and lending institutions were vulnerable. Mortgages were short-term, 3 to 5 years, with no insurance or guarantee from Government. Many thousands lost their homes.

Now: It's a different story. Home loans are stretched out, many for 30 years or longer, with payments much like rent. On $69 billion in home mortgages, or 35 percent of the total, loans are underwritten by Government.

STOCK MARKET—NOT SO WILD THIS TIME

Then: It was a frenzied market. People went in over their heads, many buying on credit. Some paid 15 percent interest on borrowed money subject to call at any time. Thousands got in real trouble.

Now: Stock prices are about as high relative to earnings as in 1929. But there is much less speculation, and relatively little credit in stocks. Typical investor today owns his stocks outright. Margin requirement: 70 percent.

MONEY TROUBLE ABROAD—LESS DANGER OF CRISIS NOW

Then: When nations ran short of gold and could not pay bills abroad, they had

nowhere to get help. In such cases, nations were forced to devalue currencies, raise tariffs, curtail buying abroad.

Now: International Monetary Fund provides aid to nations in temporary difficulty. Other kinds of cooperation have developed. Result: some protection for United States and other nations against contraction of trade due to financial crises.

EXPANSIVE POLICY—IT'S REQUIRED BY LAW

Then: Government was committed to a minimum role in private economy, deliberately kept hands off. Pump priming was not accepted. In depression, Government still tried to balance the budget.

Now: Federal law calls on Government for whatever steps are necessary to reverse a downturn. This means promoting jobs, pushing public works, pumping out money—anything to put life in business. Budget deficits are part of the plan.

Alameda County Central Labor Council Wages War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, last month the Central Labor Council of Alameda County was awarded a unique grant by the Office of Economic Opportunity to utilize 16 presently unemployed adult union workers to give meaningful work experiences to 200 unemployed young men and women.

This is one of the first programs of its kind in the war on poverty. It is one of the first projects ever to be awarded to a labor organization. And, it is one of the finest examples of what initiative, imagination, and hard work can accomplish.

I have now received a first month progress report and I include it for our colleagues' consideration and attention. It reflects real progress and accomplishment and I want to extend my congratulations on an important job well done.

The progress report follows:

OAKLAND SUMMER WORK PROJECT
CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL OF ALAMEDA COUNTY, AFL–CIO,
Oakland, Calif., July 21, 1965.

Hon. JEFFREY COHELAN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN COHELAN: Today marks the completion of 1 month's operation of the Alameda County Central Labor Council's summer work program. Since you served as midwife in the delivery of this lusty infant, I'm taking this opportunity to give you an account of this program's sturdy development and progress.

As you well know this work experience program for unemployed union craftsmen and impoverished youth of the ages, 16 to 21 is unique in the relatively short history of the Economic Opportunities Act.

On June 21 of this year, we assembled 200 youths (140 males and 60 females) and assigned them to 16 adult foremen drawn from the ranks of unemployed unionists. Our 200 youths had been selected from a list of 700 applicants (signups occurred in a period of 2½ days) drawn from areas in the city of Oakland where there was an average unemployment rate for this age group of 15 percent. These young people were referred to us from agencies such as the employment service, welfare department, schools, unions, parole and probation departments. Our project sought out those youths who are not likely to qualify for any other programs funded through the EOA.

These young people, in basic crews of 12 under the direct supervision of an adult union foreman who possesses a background of experience relating to the particular assignment, were sent out to a variety of jobs for nonprofit agencies.

These assignments included research, clerical tasks, traffic checks, weed removal and cleanup, landscaping and minor projects requiring painting plumbing, roofing and other construction type skills.

Our main objective in this program is to give a work experience to these young people. Many of these youths come from families that cannot give them the slightest indication of what is required of a worker when he reports for a job, let alone how to keep it.

So far the thesis of the labor council, that the best type of program is a work experience program whereby the youth are in close and constant contact with an experienced worker, is holding up.

The youth are placed in actual job situations. They are required to report on time, if they are late they are docked. Two days of unexcused absences are cause for dismissal. They must respond to instructions and orders from their superiors, be they leadmen or the foreman. If they do not, after an interview with the human resources director, they are subjected to dismissal from the job.

My feeling that the work experience type of program as operated by us is productive, can be borne out by some of the following facts and experiences:

Of 200 youth hired, at this time, only 7 have dropped out and 3 have been fired.

The youth constantly ask their adult foremen what does the future hold; example—some stated they would drop out of school, so they could continue to work for us. They were quickly informed in no uncertain terms that this program was established so that they could stay in school.

They have asked about the opportunity to engage in some type of combined schoolwork program. The high school graduates have asked for vocational and educational counseling. Some of the dropouts have indicated a desire to return to school, some dropouts will never be able to return to school and they will have to be directed into some other phase of the antipoverty war programs.

Indicating the attitude of the youth is the story of one young man, who, like many of us, at one time or another, told a white lie about his age. On his work application he indicated he was 16 (actually he will be 16 in September) but the school department who was to issue his work permit notified us that he was not. Reluctantly we were compelled to drop him—to compound the tragedy it turned out that he was the hardest worker in his crew. Incidentally, this particular crew of youngsters, comprised of 12 of the toughest kids in East Oakland, has been doing such a fine job at the 45th Avenue YMCA that the Y director had called the local paper, which has been critical of the antipoverty program, and requested them to send a photographer and reporter out, so credit could be given where it was due.

The performance of the young people has been most gratifying but equally impressive, if not more so, has been the response of the adult foremen. These people have been drawn from the officeworkers, retail clerks, teachers, steelworkers, carpenters, municipal employees, plumbers, and construction laborers' unions. They have had no training in social work, psychiatric counseling, etc. They are just everyday workers. When I hired them, I told them that this would not be a babysitting operation. We had to be fair and firm, otherwise we would be defeating our very purpose of creating a realistic work experience project. The adults have responded in a manner to indicate a mature concern for the youth and a dedication to the purpose of the project. Many of our foremen are construction trades union members. After the recently concluded settlements in the construction industry, they could go to work in the private sector and receive higher wages than they will get working on the project. Because of their dedication to the program, they are staying and, if there is a followup of this program, they have indicated they will continue.

An interesting observation is the response of the business community. At the onset of the project, I had to contact various businessmen in order to lease furniture, office equipment, vehicles, etc. After identifying myself, we always became involved in a friendly discussion of the project and its purposes. Without an exception, everyone of these businessmen commended the undertaking, usually commenting upon the problems they had with young people, who did not know what was required of them on the job. The response of the business community always reminded me that outside of the money expended for various taxes, every cent allocated to us is and will be funneled into the economy of this city.

The labor council is sponsoring this work experience project because many of us in the labor movement, as you well know, have always felt that if a man or woman could experience the dignity of constructive work and be paid for it, he would be able to make his responsible contribution to our society. Many of the programs, funded by EOA, are geared to various types of counseling. I don't intend to be critical of this type of program, but on the basis of our experience in Oakland, the consensus is that there is a very definite need for expansion of our type of program. These young people have dealt with social welfare workers, probation officers, parole officers, etc., all their lives. They know the answers to the questions and what they want out of life now is money they have earned in their pockets, so they can buy the things they need and want, just like you and me.

I had hoped to make this a short letter, but many things have transpired in the past month, and I know that after I mail this, I'll remember something I should have put in.

Thanking you again, for our 200 young people and their foremen, for your efforts, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

PAUL KATZ,
Project Director.

Findley Kindles Debate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks there has been a great deal of discussion, on both sides of the Atlantic, by officials of government as well as in the press, with respect to U.S. relationships with our European allies.

Certainly one of the principle reasons that this significant national discussion has been rekindled was the recent Republican factfinding mission to NATO headed by our able colleague, the gentleman from Illinois, Congressman PAUL FINDLEY, and their constructive report on their return to the United States.

On July 11, 1965, the Illinois State Journal of Springfield, Ill., commented editorially on the Findley mission and I wish to call it to the attention of the Members:

FINDLEY KINDLES DEBATE ON NATO POLICIES

U.S. Representative PAUL FINDLEY has kindled a national discussion that could make a substantial contribution to an improvement in the somewhat deteriorating relations between the United States and its European allies.

FINDLEY was chairman of the Republican factfinding mission to NATO, which recently made a trip to Paris to talk with French leaders concerning differences that have arisen between this Nation and France.

Upon return the group of four Congressmen issued a report of their findings, which is impressive not only for a high quality of scholarship but in the challenging recommendations it makes for strengthening NATO itself.

The report is being discussed on a national scale and has understandably stirred some criticism from the State Department. FINDLEY himself has welcomed criticism, as well as discussion of the report. This was, in fact, one of the aims of the trip—to bring about a review of present NATO policies.

One of the goals was to attempt to counter the division that appears to be growing between President Charles de Gaulle and President Lyndon Johnson. A sincere effort was made at the grassroots level to straighten those historical ties between Americans and Frenchmen who have always shared a common devotion to freedom.

This may turn out to have been the greatest single achievement of the mission. For there are indeed occasions when diplomacy can be better practiced at the grassroots rather than the summit level.

The way may have been paved for the carrying out of one recommendation in the committee's report, a friendship visit to France by President Johnson some time in the not too distant future.

Recommendations that the United States should welcome a stronger and more independent role for France in NATO have stirred strong and expected criticism. There is concern that the proliferation of nuclear powers could not help but increase the danger of a holocaust.

There are many who feel that President de Gaulle has turned his back on the United States and that because of his criticism of our policies in Vietnam and elsewhere he is not to be trusted and should not be strengthened in any way.

Nevertheless the findings of the Findley group as to De Gaulle and the entire NATO relationship are not to be lightly dismissed. States the report:

"De Gaulle is not a lonely anachronism. His policies are not apt to disappear from the world scene when he leaves office.

"De Gaulle actually rides powerful currents of opinion which flow throughout all of Western Europe and the problem powered by his challenge of U.S. policies is only partially to be formulated in exclusively French terms."

The Findley report notes that the European nations with which the United States is allied in NATO "are not those of 1949."

The time may indeed have come for a broad review of U.S. policies toward France and all of Europe. FINDLEY through his leadership in the factfinding venture may well have provided a start for such a discussion.

To Encourage Drunken Driving

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, a problem which many of us have assailed time and time again is the fact that New York State continually refuses to correct the dangers of her system allowing 18-year-old young people to buy and consume alcoholic beverages in public places.

As Congressman representing the Sixth District of Connecticut, the area of my State which has the greatest geographical area contingent with New York, I am acutely aware of this problem. It is a situation which causes many highway deaths each year as a result of young people traveling to bars just inside the New York State line and then attempting to drive back to their homes.

The Waterbury Republican is aware of this problem, and with the permission of the House, I would like to have a recent editorial which appeared in the Republican included in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Waterbury Republican, July 26, 1965]

TO ENCOURAGE DRUNKEN DRIVING

Port Chester, N.Y., which lies close to the Connecticut border, is a city of about 25,000 residents. But it has 60 bars—1 for every 415 men, women, and children.

The explanation, of course, is that New York permits 18 year olds to buy liquor while Connecticut sticks to the 21-year rule. In addition, the bars in New York don't close until everyone had drunk up all the drinks he could buy before 3 a.m. In Connecticut, bars close considerably sooner. Hence, the Port Chester booze joints are filled with Connecticut kids who are too young to drink in their home State and who would have to quit for the night at a much earlier hour if they were drinking in their home State, anyway.

Port Chester's reputation has suffered as a result—particularly in Connecticut, where it is looked upon as a menace and a poor kind of neighbor. Connecticut youngsters are killed every year as a result of the Port Chester tavern owners' invitation to drive over and get drunk. And the Port Chester city government is trying hard to improve the situation.

When the New York Legislature refused to change the 18-year-old drinking age law, Port Chester city officials tried to clamp down on local gin mills by restricting parking permits and invoking limits on the number of people allowed at one time in a place of public business. But the New York State Supreme Court hasn't been any more helpful than the legislature was. The court has just ruled that it would be unconstitutional to impose the type of restraints proposed in Port Chester. Rather sarcastically, it seems to us, the court asks why Port Chester didn't invoke such limitations years earlier if the danger of crowding is so serious.

The court knows well enough why Port Chester is trying to apply restraints. And it seems to us a pretty hypocritical sort of jurisprudence that worries most about the constitutional rights of gin mill operators to induce teenagers into situations where they will have to drive under the influence of liquor—a violation of New York law as well as Connecticut's. The New York State Supreme Court would not have had to stretch its interpretations of the law at all to make the protection of young lives the primary consideration.

Ted C. Connell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, every so often in a lifetime it becomes one's pleasure to meet and subsequently work with an individual who is generous with his time and assets for the benefit of his country and his fellowman. Such a person is Mr. Ted C. Connell, of Killeen, Tex., and it has been my distinct pleasure to have known Ted for a good many years and to have worked with him on too numerous occasions to mention.

Mr. Thomas Turner, of the Dallas Morning News, has written a fine article on Ted Connell which appeared in the July 25 issue of his paper, and I wish to include this article in the RECORD so that all who care to may read of a truly wonderful American:

HE WAS JUST ANOTHER GI—AMBITION HELPED TO PUSH KILLEEN MAN TO SUCCESS

(By Thomas E. Turner)

KILLEEN, TEX.—He rode into the bustling Army town of Killeen on Tuesday, May 18, 1946, just another of the millions of GI's home from the war without much plan for the future.

His tangible worldly wealth consisted of his war bond bankroll of $1,840, and a 1938 Ford. The intangibles were there, too—long acquaintance with hard work, ambition, friendliness, a yearning for knowledge, an innate shrewdness, and a dormant interest in politics.

What those intangibles did for Ted C. Connell, or what he did with them, constitute one of this State's great success stories.

When 21-year-old Ted Connell rattled into Killeen that day 19 years ago, he knew one person there. His older brother, Jimmy.

Ted was a former Army sergeant, a Merkel High School dropout.

He didn't know another GI in town. In the political realm, he couldn't have told you the town constable's name. Conversely, no political figure in the land knew then who Ted Connell was.

Not a whole lot of years later, the situation is this:

Connell is one of the State's biggest Chevrolet dealers. Worth more than $1 million—with two car agencies, several service stations, hundreds of houses and apartments, a motel, and interests in a cleaning shop, a bowling alley, a bank, and other property.

He was the second youngest national commander in the history of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. He was awarded a major's commission in the Army Reserves, with a Pentagon assignment.

He is mayor of Killeen; a former member of the State veterans affairs commission; and is a member of the veterans land board.

He played a key role in the election of Lyndon B. Johnson to the Presidency, and was one of the original backers of Gov. John Connally. He is one of Texas' real political "insiders," on a first-name basis with as many National, State, and local political leaders as anybody in the State.

Connell, at a youthful 40 years of age, is a man to watch. He has already declined some appointive political plums, well-earned by his skillful personal political work and expert money raising. He says he's happy in Killeen, and content to work on the political sidelines. But time and circumstances could push him further into the political arena, voluntarily or not.

The Connell family has made a unique contribution to the automotive and military worlds. Austin A. Connell, Sr., an auto dealer, after having half a dozen sons in a row said he and his wife just decided to "raise a baseball team." That they did—nine sons. All but the oldest served in World War II; six in the Army, one in the Navy, and one in the Air Force. One saw service in Korea.

In 1955, the year that 30-year-old Ted Connell became the youngest commander in chief the Texas VFW ever had, his mother was named as the State VFW's Mother of the Year. She lived at Tyler then; today she and her retired husband live in Elm Mott, a Waco suburb. They have sons selling Chevrolets, Fords, and Buicks.

When Ted joined the Connell stag collection the family was living in west Texas. He attended school at the farm community of White Church, and then high school in Merkel. He left school a year before graduation.

This lack of higher education was later to plague the rapidly rising Connell, as he became a leader in business, veterans affairs, politics, and civic and social life. Nobody was more conscious of his academic shortcomings than was Connell, and he worked hard to make up for it.

He had taken Army correspondence study after being drafted. He completed his high school diploma requirements while stationed on Guam—and didn't even know it until after the war.

In his postwar career, when he had to make speeches, it was at first a painful, self-conscious effort. But Connell licked that problem. His extensive library contains virtually every book ever printed on speechmaking. Today he is an effective, confident speaker, and is still improving.

After leaving school at 16, he joined one of the nomadic threshing crews which worked the Midwest, all the way to Canada. It was hot and heavy work, but it sharpened his mechanical skills, helping keep all the vehicles going. He acquired his own first car, a Model T Ford, in Pierre, S. Dak. Cars have been a big part of his life since.

The threshing business was a seasonal one, and young Connell moved on to Los Angeles, where a brother was working for a firm building the country's first synthetic rubber plants.

His Army career started in 1943. And in September he embarked on a 30-month tour of the South Pacific. His basic training had been at a hot, dusty tent city at Camp Hood, Killeen, a spot Connell never thought he'd see again.

Connell is the first to concede that he had an unglamorous, unheroic Army career, in one of those supporting units which made their unheralded contribution to the war. He shipped overseas in a tank destroyer battalion of the 98th Division; most of his service was in a "support artillery group." Their job was mainly to keep the "big" guns of that day—the 105's and 155's—in good shape.

Connell's mechanical abilities soon made him a master sergeant supervising a big vehicle and gun maintenance operation. He saw service on Guam, Tinian, Saipan, and Okinawa.

Says he, "We got there after the first action, of course, and things were usually quiet. Dodging a few sniper's bullets was about as close as I ever came to getting shot."

He was discharged at Fort Lewis, Wash., after having spent about 3 months in Japan on occupation duty, in January 1946. He had a brother working in Seattle then, and Connell looked around there for something to do.

"I became the 'assistant shop foreman' in a Hudson agency," he recalls with a grin, "which was a pretty fancy title, since the only other guy in the shop was the 'foreman.'"

He couldn't see much future to that job, so some 4 months later he headed for Killeen, to join his brother, Jimmy.

The start of the Connell used-car business, which was to become one of the "Big 15" Chevrolet dealerships in the Dallas district, could hardly have been less impressive.

"With my war bond savings and Jimmy's money, we had a total of about $3,000 and 2 cars. My 1938 Ford and his 1940 Chevrolet were our inventory. There weren't many used cars available, so we scoured the State to find a few, to bring back to Killeen," recalls Ted.

"We rented a lot with an old service station. I was the mechanic and Jimmy handled most of the selling. We didn't have a garage, but we worked out a deal to use one across the street, owned by Jack and Wayne Shapland. In return for using their tools and garage, I worked on their cars."

Today the Shaplands run the Dodge agency in Killeen. The Connells and Shaplands are not what you could call cutthroat competitors.

The hardworking, shrewd-selling Connells began to make it, as Killeen began to boom as an armored training center. By 1957 Connell Chevrolet Co. was grossing $3 million a year. Last year it sold 1,584 units—new and used cars and trucks.

His important entry into the new car busines came in July, 1955, when he bought out Killeen's established, but not booming Chevrolet dealership. Charles Levy, Connell's general manager at the car agency, sums up the Connell influence: "When Ted took over we were selling 9 or 10 cars a month. Within 3 months we hit 99 sales a month."

The road upward wasn't without its detours. In 1952, when the Korean war was on, the bottom fell out for Connell, who had been putting most of his profits back into property and other investments.

"I wasn't just broke, I was $100,000 in the hole," he remembers grimly. "I had $50,000 worth of property, but then it was worth about $20,000."

That brought on an incident which Connell's friends cite to illustrate his pride and persistence. He was living in a fancy new home when the bubble burst. He sold it, for about half price, to an Army officer with the stipulation he could buy it back some day. Three years later he did.

By judicious juggling of what assets he had, by selling just enough to keep going, and refusing to panic, Connell hung on and rode out that crisis.

He is, in the words of a fellow townsman, "a sharp trader, with unusual ability to keep a close eye on every dollar of his operations every hour. He will out-trade you, but he won't skin you. And nothing makes him unhappier than an unhappy customer."

In 1957, when the 2d Armored Division was getting ready to return to Fort Hood from Germany, Connell went to Germany and set up shop there. He provided the soldiers with valuable advance aid on securing living quarters back in Killeen—and, of course, a good Chevrolet.

His rise in veterans' affairs, the basis of his nonbusiness success, was typical of his zeal. When the new Killeen VFW chapter was organized in 1947, Connell was the chaplain.

"They needed somebody to say grace at the luncheons," he explains.

Two years later he was the post commander. He rose steadily upward through the State offices, until reaching the top in 1955. Then he worked his way on up the ladder of national offices to the national commander's post in 1960.

A few months later, at a formal ceremony at Fort Hood, a major general and Connell's wife pinned a major's leaf on his new officer's uniform. There were some eyebrows raised at this jump from master sergeant to major, but this didn't faze Connell.

"Actually, I had been making Pentagon trips almost monthly for a long time in connection with veterans affairs and other duties," he points out.

His political career followed the same pattern. Politics had always intrigued him so he simply stepped in at the bottom level and worked his way upward.

He hung posters and did legwork for local officials; worked for a State senator's candidacy and speedily became recognized as a natural at that kind of work. He helped Price Daniel in his first governor's campaign, and was one of the first to urge John Connally to come home to Texas and run.

Connell has been a sergeant-at-arms for virtually every State Democratic convention since 1948, and last year was named a member of the Texas delegation to the national convention.

It was more or less inevitable that he would finally dive into the political swim himself, and in 1958 he lost a close verdict to a highly popular Killeen mayor, John C. Odom. In 1962 he ran again and won without an opponent. Last year he was reelected, over one opponent.

Last September he asked for a leave-of-absence as mayor so he could head up the "Veterans for Johnson" part of LBJ's highly organized campaign. The request threw the Killeen council into something of a tizzy, since the city charter doesn't provide for a leave-of-absence, but Mayor pro tem Bill Baumann took over and Connell hurried off to the political wars.

He was, as usual, eminently successful in his assignment. He headed an informal but effective veterans force which had a chairman in every State. Connell hustled around the Western and Southern States and played a role well-known now in Washington.

Meanwhile, back home, the Waco area was raising about $16,800 for the Johnson-Humphrey campaign—with $14,200 of it coming from Killeen citizens. Connell also was on the National Committee of Mayors for Johnson-Humphrey.

He is married to the former Edith Duty of Killeen. They have a son, 17, and daughter, 14.

She was a civil service employee at Fort Hood when they were introduced by another couple. This was about June, 1946; it was followed by a double date with the couple, and in November Ted and Edith were married.

That was one of the best selling jobs I ever did," he said, grinning. "There was plenty of soldier competition around, you know."

Connell's many activities keep him on the move a lot now, but every day at 6 p.m. he checks in to see how business at his big Chevrolet agency is going. He's a rabid and rapid reader; four papers a day, magazines, and nonfiction books. He's learned to dictate correspondence on the move, how to dress and talk, and is at home with a mechanic, a car buyer, a Congressman—or a President.

He displays no veneer of mock modesty, but does say that along with the hard work there has been some luck.

"Lydon Johnson has said that success is a lot of matter of being in the right place at the right time. I guess that's about my story," he says.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey

Aiken, George D., *Vt*
Allott, Gordon, *Colo*
Anderson, Clinton P., *N. Mex.* 6 Wesley Circle
Bartlett, E. L., *Alaska*
Bass, Ross, *Tenn*
Bayh, Birch E., *Ind*
Bennett, Wallace F., *Utah*
Bible, Alan, *Nev*
Boggs, J. Caleb, *Del*
Brewster, Daniel B., *Md* 1327 33d St.
Burdick, Quentin N., *N. Dak.*
Byrd, Harry Flood, *Va* The Shoreham
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Dirksen, Everett M., *Ill*
Dodd, Thomas J., *Conn*
Dominick, Peter H., *Colo*
Douglas, Paul H., *Ill*
Eastland, James O., *Miss* 5101 Macomb St.
Ellender, Allen J., *La*
Ervin, Sam J., Jr., *N.C*
Fannin, Paul J., *Ariz*
Fong, Hiram L., *Hawaii* 5519 Uppingham St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Fulbright, J. W., *Ark*
Gore, Albert, *Tenn*
Gruening, Ernest, *Alaska*
Harris, Fred R., *Okla*
Hart, Philip A., *Mich*
Hartke, Vance, *Ind*
Hayden, Carl, *Ariz*
Hickenlooper, Bourke B., *Iowa.* 5511 Cedar Parkway, Chevy Chase, Md.
Hill, Lister, *Ala*
Holland, Spessard L., *Fla* Sheraton-Park
Hruska, Roman L., *Nebr*
Inouye, Daniel K., *Hawaii*
Jackson, Henry M., *Wash*
Javits, Jacob K., *N.Y*
Jordan, B. Everett, *N.C*
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Kennedy, Edward M., *Mass*
Kennedy, Robert F., *N.Y*
Kuchel, Thomas H., *Calif*
Lausche, Frank J., *Ohio*
Long, Edward V., *Mo*
Long, Russell B., *La*
McCarthy, Eugene J., *Minn.* 5916 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md.
McClellan, John L., *Ark*
McGee, Gale W., *Wyo*
McGovern, George, *S. Dak*
McIntyre, Thomas J., *N.H*
McNamara, Pat, *Mich*
Magnuson, Warren G., *Wash.* The Shoreham
Mansfield, Mike, *Mont*
Metcalf, Lee, *Mont* 453 First St. SE.
Miller, Jack R., *Iowa* 5417 Kirkwood Dr., Bethesda, Md.
Mondale, Walter F., *Minn*
Monroney, A. S. Mike, *Okla.*
Montoya, Joseph M., *N. Mex.*
Morse, Wayne, *Oreg* 4000 Mass. Ave.
Morton, Thruston B., *Ky*
Moss, Frank E., *Utah*
Mundt, Karl E., *S. Dak* 122 Schotts Court NE.
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Muskie, Edmund S., *Maine*
Nelson, Gaylord, *Wis*
Neuberger, Maurine B., *Oreg.*
Pastore, John O., *R.I*
Pearson, James B., *Kans*
Pell, Claiborne, *R.I* 3425 Prospect St.
Prouty, Winston L., *Vt*
Proxmire, William, *Wis*
Randolph, Jennings, *W. Va* 4608 Reservoir Rd.
Ribicoff, Abraham A., *Conn*
Robertson, A. Willis, *Va*
Russell, Donald S., *S.C*
Russell, Richard B., *Ga*
Saltonstall, Leverett, *Mass* 2320 Tracy Pl.
Scott, Hugh, *Pa*
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Smathers, George A., *Fla*
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Sparkman, John, *Ala* 4928 Indian Lane
Stennis, John, *Miss*
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Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 4852 Hutchins Pl.
Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut Ave.
Mr. Justice Harlan, of New York, 1677 31st St.
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Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Brennan. Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virgin Islands.

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Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, Wyoming.

Appendix

Highway Funds for Mass Transit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced a bill, H.R. 10126, which is designed to permit States and localities to use some of the Federal highway subsidies for purposes of mass transit. The same measure was introduced in the Senate by Senator JOSEPH D. TYDINGS, of Maryland.

I believe that our colleagues and other readers of the RECORD might be interested in the joint statement which Senator TYDINGS and I issued to explain the background and purposes of this measure.

The full text of our statement is as follows:

JOINT STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN JONATHAN B. BINGHAM AND SENATOR JOSEPH D. TYDINGS CONCERNING A BILL TO PERMIT A STATE TO ELECT TO USE FUNDS FROM THE HIGHWAY TRUST FUND FOR PURPOSES OF URBAN MASS TRANSPORTATION

We are today introducing legislation which, if passed, would give State governments the authority to use Federal highway subsidies for either road construction or mass transit in whatever proportions they find appropriate to meet their problems. This is based on our conviction that a balanced urban transportation system is clearly the best way to meet our burgeoning transportation needs.

We do not oppose the construction of highways. To the contrary, we support highway construction. However, we do not believe that automobiles alone can adequately handle the job of moving large numbers of people back and forth from their homes to jobs, schools, and marketing. In great metropolitan areas highways must be a part of a balanced transportation system.

The purpose of this legislation is no less than the survival of our cities as we now know them. For it is becoming increasingly clear that if we are to retain the centralized, core city—such as the business district of New York, or the governmental complex of Washington—we must develop more flexible means of access and egress than we possess today. Our cities cannot continue to be the shopping, cultural, and professional centers they are today if they are inaccessible. And there are indications that they are becoming inaccessible.

Indeed, it is our hope that this legislation will help significantly to make the downtown areas of our cities more pleasant places to work and live. The ideal urban transportation plan, we are convinced, would combine a rapid transit system of high quality with a freeway system adequate to carry the balance of the traffic. Paradoxically, however, the nature of present Federal aid has been such as to predetermine that every community will best be served by a basic reliance on highways. It is our goal to correct this clear imbalance.

By 1980, in just 16 short years, the population of our Nation will have reached 245 million people. This is an increase of virtually one-third over the existing population. Ninety percent of these people will live in metropolitan areas.

If present trends continue, the number of automobiles will increase from 80 million in 1963 to 120 million by 1980, or an average of one car for every two people. But for most of our cities we can expect very little increase in the surface area available for auto transportation in the near future. And the cost will be staggering: one estimate places the cost of a crosstown expressway in Manhattan at $100 million per mile.

The facts are inescapable:

1. Our cities are losing commerce and industry because adequate transportation is not available.

The August 9, 1964, edition of the New York Times notes that in the past 4 years 34 companies left New York Cty in favor of industrial parks on Long Island. One of the main reasons given for the move by company executives was insufficient parking and traffic congestion. The president of one company said: "If we had a plant where we wouldn't have to fight traffic and parking problems every day, we wouldn't have left the city."

The January 1965 report of the Federal Reserve bank notes that department store sales in downtown Washington from 1960–64 were up only 3 percent, compared to an increase of 38 percent in suburban Washington. Robert Levi, president of the Retail Federation of America, made the following statement about the situation in Washington:

"If this city's dispersal continues at its present rate, and its revitalization program for the central city is delayed, as it has been in the past, the major portion of new investment of all business will be devoted to where there is growth."

2. Americans traveled an estimated 687 billion miles by car last year, at a total cost of nearly $70 billion.

Over 85 percent of the daily travel in most urban areas today is by car. A typical one-car family driving 10,000 miles a year spends more than $1,000 a year for automobile travel—or about 10 cents per mile.

Denied efficient mass transit service, the commuting public merely has avoided public transportation, and the highways and streets are swollen with their cars.

The result has been a monumental coast-to-coast traffic jam costing this Nation an estimated $6 to $8 billion a year in lost time and wages, higher accident rates, loss of retail business, extra vehicle wear and tear, all on top of personal exasperation and frayed nerves.

One Chicago planner has estimated that it takes 5 million square feet of offstreet parking space to handle additional auto traffic brought in by a single new expressway lane.

Another aspect of cost is what the freeway does to local tax rolls. Washington, D.C., for example, had 2,100 acres of highly taxed downtown land on its rolls in 1960. Construction of all highways then proposed would have reduced the taxable downtown area by 375 acres or 17 percent.

3. The social costs of unchecked freeway development are enormous.

In the wake of urban highway construction, neighborhoods are destroyed, families are uprooted, taxable land is wiped out, and a mammoth downtown parking problem is produced.

Freeway proposals for the District of Columbia, before they were scaled down, called for the displacement of 33,000 people—almost 5 percent of the District's population.

Freeways sometimes cut suburbs in half or amputate a neighborhood from the main community.

The historic landmark and the public park are other frequent victims of the freeway. A study made for the Minneapolis Board of Park Commissioners in 1960 revealed that the Interstate System planned to invade 15 Minneapolis park properties and that other State and county highways were scheduled to invade an additional 13.

4. Air pollution is another disturbing repercussion of the onslaught of automobiles into our cities.

An article in the June 23, 1965, edition of the Washington Evening Star noted a report by a special New York City Council committee which concluded that New York's air is a contributing factor in an increasing death rate from respiratory diseases, including lung cancer. The committee said that the air is damaging buildings, ruining crops on Staten Island, and killing parkway trees and shrubs contaminated by auto exhaust fumes. The committee said that breathing the city's air causes as much inhalation of benzpyrene, a cancer-inducing hydrocarbon, as would result from smoking two packs of cigarettes a day.

The Division of Air Pollution of the U.S. Public Health Service made the following statement concerning this problem:

"Abundant evidence exists which demonstrates that certain forms and systems of transportation may play a significant role in the production of air pollution problems. These problems are particularly related to the increase in individually owned and operated vehicles in urban and metropolitan areas.

"The Public Health Service, therefore, from the standpoint of air pollution control, looks with favor on the utilization of mass transportation systems utilizing common carrier means."

Flexibility, we are convinced, is the keynote to the successful revitalization of our paralyzed urban transportation facilities.

Yet, ironically, at a time when mass transportation service should be improving it is deteriorating at a frightening pace. And it is the Federal Government which is largely to blame.

The Federal Government encourages highway construction by providing States with 90 percent of the funds for highways in the interstate ssytem. Mass transit at the State level, however, is the recipient of virtually no aid whatever, and as a result there is nothing being done.

The Federal Highway Trust Fund has been in existence since 1956. It has annually pumped billions of dollars into interstate and local highways, eliciting counterpart State expenditures ranging from as little as 10 percent to as much as 50 percent. In the 3 years 1964–67 the ratio of Federal aid for highways is scheduled to be 30 times as much as for urban mass transit ($12 billion to $360 million). We do not believe that this is

justified any more than we would support the reverse.

Unless there is a change in the existing law, by 1972 the Federal Government will have contributed more than $46 billion, in just 16 years, to help build highways, compared to only one-third of a billion dollars for mass transit.

In the Baltimore area alone there is $815 million worth of urban highway construction on the planning boards at an estimated cost in excess of $10 million per mile. Little or no attention has been paid to the development of mass transit, however.

A mass transit line, whether subway or bus, is far more efficient than the automobile.

San Francisco's 75-mile BART line (Bay Area Rapid Transit) will cost $13 million per mile. It will have a peak hour capacity of 30,000 seated passengers in each direction. A comparable $13-million-per-mile 8-lane expressway would have a peak hour capacity of only 7,000 or 8,000 cars (10,000 or 12,000 passengers) before congestion began to slow travel down. And the rapid transit line, of course, requires a much narrower right of way and no costly and wasteful parking facilities downtown.

Let there be no doubt that people will patronize improved transit systems. In recent years improvements in the New York subway systems have brought about an increase of 20 million additional passengers a year. Modernization of Philadelphia's commuter system has resulted in a 44-percent increase in ridership over the past several years. Changing the Highland Branch in Boston from a commuter railroad to high-speed transit in 1958 has resulted in a 1,000-percent increase in ridership.

What must be done in order to provide for an integrated transportation system is to correct the gross inequity which exists between the funds available for highways and those available for rapid transit.

Federal aid is required and has, in fact, been given. Right now, however, these huge sums are appropriated exclusively for highway transportation, while there is only nominal aid given to mass transit.

This is inconsistent with the principle that communities should be encouraged to devise their own plans based on factors of special relevance to each. The Congress cannot design a transit plan that will meet the needs of every city in the United States.

We are not unmindful of the fact that the basic source of funds for the highway trust fund are taxes levied on automative parts and gasoline. However, studies show that the motorists who actually use interstate highways pay only about a third of the costs of construction of the roads. The balance of these taxes are paid by automotive users who do not ride on the subsidized highways. In an analysis of the 15-mile Kennedy Expressway in downtown Chicago, prepared by the New York engineering firm of Parsons, Brinckerhoff, Quade & Douglas, this fallacy becomes apparent:

"The Northwest Expressway was built at a cost of $238 million. If placed on a financing basis equivalent to that presently typical for public transportation improvements, allowing interest at 4 percent and depreciation over 50 years, capital charges can be said to amount to $11.1 million a year. It is estimated that fuel and other related taxes paid by vehicles operating over the expressway will amount to approximately $3.8 million a year."

Where does the rest of the money come from? "The balance of the capital, maintenance and operation costs must be met," the Parsons, Brinckerhoff, Quade & Douglas analysis continues, "by taxes on fuel consumed by vehicles operating over roads and streets already completed, some for decades."

An even higher estimate has been made by the Regional Plan Association for the Greater New York area, based on studies by Prof. William Vickrey of Columbia University:

"The subsidy to rush hour motorists or typical urban expressways and streets is about 10 cents a mile per automobile. The person driving 25 miles to work during rush hours in a metropolitan area is subsidized about $5 a day (or perhaps 50 cents or $1 less if he passes toll gates) * * * if (commuter) railroad or subway riders received the same subsidy as automobile commuters, the Government would have to pay each rider handsomely to get onto the train."

Against this background, the need for a transit subsidy becomes more understandable. A transit system, no matter how popular, how badly needed, or how well planned and operated, can hardly be expected to woo commuters off the expressways without a subsidy so long as the urban freeways themselves, and the parking at their downtown end, continue to be lavishly subsidized.

We can see real benefits to those who do use highways if the volume of traffic is reduced. Installation and/or modernization of rapid transit facilities in our metropolitan areas will go far to reducing the paralyzing congestion which presently hinders our automobile transportation.

What we are proposing today is in the interest of every automobile owner in every city and metropolitan suburb in the land, whether or not that person would utilize a new or improved mass transit system in his area or not. If he continues to use his automobile he will find that the mass transit system reduces the number of cars on the road, and thus makes his trip safer, faster, more comfortable, and in every way a more pleasant experience. If he drives to a transit station, he will have discovered a fast, efficient, comfortable, and inexpensive means of transportation to and from the central city.

Nobody Can Pay Bills With Bottle Caps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILWARD L. SIMPSON

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, Dr. Felix Morley, writing in the July issue of Nation's Business magazine, draws some particularly salient conclusions in an article entitled "Nobody Can Pay Bills With Bottle Caps." Dr. Morley traces the decline in the intrinsic value of our currency and the manipulation of our monetary structure in an article which I commend to the attention of my colleagues. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOBODY CAN PAY BILLS WITH BOTTLE CAPS

(By Felix Morley)

With the close of the fiscal year on June 30, the Federal Government recorded its fifth straight year of deficit financing.

Much is made of the fact that we went in the hole less deeply than was anticipated when the budget for fiscal year 1965 was drafted. But this pleasant circumstance is overshadowed by the general acceptance of ever-mounting debt as something normal and officially unperturbing even during a stretch of unprecedented prosperity.

Of the 20 years since the close of World War II only 6 have seen us in the black and that mostly by relatively small amounts. Another heavy deficit is anticipated for the fiscal year now opening. It will further inflate a national debt which is already over $316 billion. So Congress has been instructed by the Treasury to raise again the highly elastic debt ceiling. This is now only a reminder that the American people once really held the power of the purse.

No private business with a similar financial record could expect to survive, let alone pay dividends to its stockholders. But Washington poses as an exception to the rule of covering expenditures with receipts. For all its monstrous debt, which will take $11.5 billion in interest alone during fiscal 1966, wholly unearned dividends, in the form of countless subsidies, are constantly increased.

To the uninformed it must seem as though Uncle Sam had rediscovered the secret of fabulous King Midas, to whom the gods temporarily gave the gift of turning everything he touched to gold. Yet there is actually no mystery about the ability of modern governments, whether of Soviet Russia, the United States, or hybrid socialisms in between, to spend continously more than they take in.

It is not done with mirrors but by a device essentially similar to the trick of the emperors in the time of Rome's decadence, when they clipped the coinage in order to provide the popular circuses which the Senate refused to sanction. The managed currencies which are the space age form of coin clipping have all been more or less legalized. The result, however, in the form of consequent depreciation in the value of money, is much the same.

One might even surmise that the managed currency racket, for a racket it essentially is, traces back to the Midas myth. At a time when gold was the universal measure of value some imaginative Greek dreamed up a ruler who could create purchasing power at will. Now we achieve the same end by putting the fable in reverse. Rulers dispense with gold by telling their subjects that pieces of paper, nicely engraved and printed, are all that we need for money.

Thus the $10 Federal Reserve note states on its face that the United States "will pay to the bearer on demand ten dollars." Try to secure this redemption and probably you will receive a duplicate note, perhaps a little cleaner but otherwise identical. Conceivably two $5 bills might be substituted.

Alongside this hocus-pocus the fable of King Midas seems quite contemporary, not less so for the snapper with which it ends. Because his food turned to inedible metal as it reached his lips, the monarch starved. In other words, there is no way in which real value can be created by governmental fiat. The moral is one on which the Keynesian economists might profitably brood.

Since the United States turned to irredeemable currency, in 1933, the paper dollar has lost so much of its value that an annual income of $12,000 is now needed to equal the purchasing power of one of $4,000 then. This is coin clipping as extreme as anything practiced in ancient times. Nevertheless, those who have been able to up their incomes in proportion have not been injured. Some less appreciated results of managed currencies are more universally damaging. A loss affecting every citizen is that "power of the purse" which our forefathers strove so valiantly to achieve. Subordination of the monarch to elected representatives of the people, in determining the amount and direction of governmental expenditure, was one of the great landmarks on the road to freedom. It is embodied in our Constitution by the provision that: "No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law."

While technically observed, this prohibition actually became a dead letter when

the dollar ceased to be redeemable. That now discarded safeguard provided an almost automatic check on governmental extravagance. The mere possibility of redemption meant that money would not be created, whether by printing press or in the more refined form of monetized debt, beyond the limitation of the gold reserve and the anticipated demands for redemption.

The clever but fundamentally immoral device of irredeemable currency has changed all this. It has again placed the power of the purse in the hands of nonelected officials, just as it was when the *Mayflower* sailed. There is certainly irony in the effort to guarantee votes for everybody, after the vote has become worthless as a control over any form of Federal extravagance.

It cannot be said that any Communist genius planned the substitution of irredeemable currency with the clear purpose of making centralized dictatorship easy. During the lifetime of Karl Marx, indeed, all the more important nations adhered scrupulously to the gold standard, the more so for the record of disaster that in the long run has always ruined countries that failed to protect the value of their money.

But Lenin publicly welcomed the change when the staggering costs of the First World War undermined the gold standard in all of Europe, Russia included. And there was further Communist approval in 1933 when President Roosevelt "made the manipulation of the value of the currency an open and admitted instrument of public policy." The quotation is attributed to Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, in his famous "Diaries."

There are, of course, many effective criticisms that can be made of the old gold standard, though it is noteworthy that most of them have been thought up since redeemable currencies were abandoned. Undeniably, however, the age of modern dictatorships began when this great change was made.

This is no mere coincidence, even though the connection is concealed by the well advertised social purposes to which the usurped power of the purse is put. From Moscow to Washington, traveling either east or west, it is argued in almost every capital that the great virtue of unlimited government is its alleged ability to improve the lot of the people. Undoubtedly this official claim is often sincerely made. But it is disconcerting to see both "slave" and "free" worlds in such complete agreement on the importance of irredeemable managed currencies for the creation of great societies.

Indeed there is now only one outstanding chief of state who argues without equivocation that civilization would be in better shape if the great trading nations would restore the time tested gold standard, which perhaps should be done in concert if it is done at all. President de Gaulle of France is often accused of having dictatorial leanings. But the charge is blunted by his demonstrated willingness to subject the spending of his government to wholly nonpolitical controls. That is the practice of democracy, as contrasted with mere lipservice.

The manipulated currency systems of the principal trading nations have now been coordinated and fairly well stabilized by a whole network of intricate intergovernmental arrangements. One serious difficulty, however, remains essentially unsolved and, for our own country, is perceptibly moving toward crisis proportions.

It is not difficult for powerful government to declare anything legal tender in the territory which it controls. Instead of irredeemable paper it could decree the use of bottle caps, as was suggested in a science fiction story not long since. All that is needed is complete governmental control of what passes for money.

The hitch comes when traders under another sovereignty are asked to accept dubious payment for the goods they sell abroad. Compensation in international transactions must be acceptable to the seller, or he will simply decline to sell. The bottlecap currency worked, in a very readable story, only because it was used in a community having no contact with the outside world.

In the last analysis gold remains, as it has always been, the one enduringly acceptable form of settlement for international balances. Appreciation of this forced the United States to continue to redeem paper dollars in gold when demanded by foreign central banks, even though identical dollars became irredeemable when held by American citizens at home.

With our continuous deficit financing now seemingly settled policy, foreign doubts as to the future worth of the dollar have naturally increased. They are reflected in the persistent drain on what has now become a very emaciated gold reserve. It is a highly unwelcome situation, which half measures may not suffice to meet. And those who regret the passing of the old gold standard are entitled to draw the obvious moral:

Gold still stands up, when faith in irredeemable paper currency grows as thin as the paper on which Government can so easily stamp arbitrary values for domestic purposes.

Thailand: Next Vietnam?—An On-the-Scene Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD (DICK) ICHORD

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, a few months ago the little nation of South Vietnam was as remote to most Americans as the planet Neptune. Today South Vietnam, and what happens there, is the direct concern of every American.

The U.S. News & World Report which hit the newsstands July 26 contained an article worthy of the attention of the Members of Congress and of policymakers in all branches of Government. Sol W. Sanders, a U.S. News & World Report staffer, is a reporter with considerable experience in problems dealing with southeast Asia. Mr. Sanders was stationed in South Vietnam during the early stages of that conflict. He is now reporting activities in Thailand, a country known to many Americans as Siam. Sanders sees much evidence of the Vietnamese situation reoccurring in Thailand. The political situation is not stable, the geography is very similar, and the Communist subverters and insurgents are endeavoring to create another Asian sore for the free world.

The Communist professionals have been hard at work in Thailand for many years but possibly there is still time to head off another so-called war of liberation before it reaches its final bloody stage. Those who make policy must come to understand that reaction to aggression is no longer enough. We must use the initiative and drive which made our country great and direct it toward halting Red subversion before widespread warfare develops as in South Vietnam.

We must stand fast in South Vietnam to avoid similar developments in Thailand. But the problem is much broader than southeast Asia for even if we contain the Reds in South Vietnam they will incite more revolutions in southeast Asia, in Africa, and in Latin America. If our dream of peace, lasting and secure, is ever to be realized we must reevaluate those policies which have been ineffective or downright failures and initiate new forwardlooking policies which will discourage the present methods employed by the Communists.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly recommend to my colleagues this fine article and hope that it will stimulate you to take a hard, realistic, unfogged, look at our present situation. The author describes the situation much as I saw it when I visited Thailand last month.

THAILAND: NEXT VIETNAM?—AN ON-THE-SCENE REPORT

(By Sol W. Sanders)

BANGKOK.—Is another Vietnamese-style war building up for the United States in Thailand?

That is the question you have to ask after making a 1,000-mile jeep trek over dusty, sometimes muddy, roads in northeast Thailand.

For a reporter who has seen the early stages of the war in Vietnam, as I did, there is a frightening similarity in what he sees in this country. Thailand, like Vietnam, has its isolated villages and jungled mountains just made for guerrilla redoubts. There is sanctuary across the border where, as in the Vietnamese war, trained Communists can inspire and supply the insurgents.

Back here in the capital, there appears to be the same lethargy as in Saigon—the hope that the threat will blow away while the potential for chaos in the Government develops.

REDS: HOW NEAR?

Most foreigners here do not believe the Communists—directed from Red China and North Vietnam—are making their maximum effort yet. One American official said:

"Any time the Communists want to, they can turn on a full-fledged campaign of subversion, infiltration, and insurrection in the northeast."

When I asked a Government police official in the provincial capital of Nakhon Phanom in the northeast how close the Communists were, he held his hand close to his chest. I could see what he meant.

From his office on the banks of the huge Mekong River, we looked across the river into Laos.

Not more than 10 miles beyond the opposite bank, I had spent a week in 1962 with American advisers to the Royal Laotian Army—facing Communist Pathet Lao and North Vietnamese troops who were guarding the flank of the Ho Chi-minh trail. It is down that route that trained cadres and supplies move to guerrillas in South Vietnam.

Now the positions that we had occupied in 1962 are in Communist hands. It is an open secret here that Reds in civilian dress come into the Laotian town of Thakhek, just across the Mekong River from Thailand.

GUARDING THE BORDER

The police official pointed out to me that there are 240 miles of the Mekong River—dividing Thailand and Laos—to guard in just this one Province.

There are only 28,000 Thai policemen for a country bigger than France, and in the northeast they don't average more than one for 3,000 people. And they have to police isolated villages, separated by jungle, over roads often impassable in the rainy season.

It is this factor, among others, that is making the northeastern part of Thailand so vulnerable to infiltration by the Communists.

The northeast, as one American official puts it, is a lot like the U.S. West of the 1870's.

It is a huge territory, bigger than the neighboring nation of Cambodia, or than Minnesota or Utah in the United States.

Its population, about 4 million, mostly speaks Lao. For centuries it has been cut off by mountains from central Thailand, and its main centers are just across the river from Laos.

Unlike most of the rest of Thailand, the northeast's soil is poor. It has insufficient rain for 6 months of the year, and monsoon floods, which quickly drain off, during the rest of the year.

As a result, average income is less than half that of the rest of the country. And only in the last few years has the government been turning serious thought to raising living standards.

A roadbuilding program, including the Friendship Highway to the Laos border built with U.S. aid, has begun to open up the area. But the Thai are finding that the roads are also making it easier for lawbreakers and the Communists to operate.

A TROUBLE SPOT

The northeast has been the center for a movement to detach the area from Bangkok's rule. Two years ago the Bangkok Government executed a leader of the separatist movement who was promoting a Unity Party to include the Communist Pathet Lao across the border.

In recent months, the Communists seem to have taken emphasis off the separatist aspect of the movement. No longer do they preach on a clandestine radio from Laos about a united Laos including the Laotians living in northeast Thailand. Instead, a liberation movement for all Thailand has been launched. By Vietnamese standards, this movement is minor. About 200 men are in the hills—and perhaps 75 of them are trained guerrillas. They come mostly from one or two villages in Nakhon Phanom Province. Yet the implications are becoming clear.

Thai police have discovered packing cases in the mountains which contained 3,000 guns. Guerrilla communications are good. When a U.S. Information Service team visited the home village of one of the guerrillas, the clandestine radio broadcast a denunciation within a few days.

U.S. observers in the area say that young men are being recruited in Thailand for service with the Pathet Lao forces which are run by Hanoi-sponsored Reds in Laos.

In one district, a local Thai official told me he had proof that villagers had gone to Yunnan Province in South China where there are some Thai-speaking tribesmen and where a "Free Thai" organization has operated for 10 years.

It is generally assumed in Bangkok and in Vientiane, the captal of Laos, that the Communist missions in "neutral" Laos are directing this subversion.

The Chinese Communist Embassy in Vientiane is largely staffed with Chinese who either have lived in Thailand or speak its language. North Vietnam also maintains an embassy in Vientiane, and recently a man who said he was transmitting messages to South Vietnam on behalf of the North Vietnamese Embassy surrendered to Laotian police.

CONTROL BY TERROR

In northeast Thailand, the Communists are operating with well-established techniques of terrorism and infiltration.

In one district, over the past 2 years, 11 village chiefs, police, and police informers have been killed. One police official told me that in the Na Kae district, he estimated 70 of 113 villages are under Communist control. In the same district the Communists have published a list of people they intend to kill. Already they have assassinated a police corporal, and the commanding police captain and his sergeant are next on the list. An official said grimly:

"So far the Communists have done just what they say they will do."

Here in Bangkok, the tendency has been to play down the whole threat.

Interior Minister, Gen. Praphas Charustathien, after an extensive swing through the northeast, reported there were only 1,000 Communists there. Foreign observers, remembering that any effective ratio of Government troops to guerrillas must be at least 10 to 1, believe that even this estimate is alarming.

ACTIVE FIFTH COLUMN

The North Vietnamese already have a built-in fifth column in the northeast.

Officially, there are about 40,000 Vietnamese still living there. Many of them were born in northeast Thailand. In fact, North Vietnam's leader, Ho Chi-minh, is said to have conducted his anti-French campaign during the 1930's from a northeast Thai village for a time.

These original Vietnamese were increased by an influx of war refugees after 1948.

Today the North Vietnamese community in northeast Thailand is a tightly organized extension of Hanoi's police state.

An American in the area told me he knew an 11-year-old Vietnamese boy who described his training as a guerrilla and messenger for the North Vietnamese Reds. Able to read a map, he knew the route from northeast Thailand to Hanoi, and explained in detail how to set up one of the murderous bamboo-spoke traps used by Red guerrillas. When his friendship with the American became known, he was packed off to Hanoi.

It is known that the North Vietnamese maintain a radio-communications network in the area. Their control is so effective that when a movie house in Odorn showed a South Vietnamese propaganda film, the local Vietnamese enforced a boycott that is still effective after 2 years.

VIETNAMESE REMOVED, BUT—

The Thai are aware of this threat, and, since 1959, a repatriation to North Vietnam was under way until a few months ago when Hanoi said American bombing had made the movement "unsafe."

Informed Americans and Thai in the northeast area say that repatriation was worse than a farce.

Instead of the 70,000 North Vietnamese officially supposed to be living in the area in 1959, they say, the real figure was closer to 120,000. Thirty thousand, officially, were moved out—but I heard reports that some had already returned over trails from North Vietnam.

Furthermore, an American pointed out that the Communist-dominated North Vietnamese community probably chose for repatriation only those people it didn't trust, so they would be sent back to Hanoi. And the North Vietnamese Red Cross offices which dot the northeast towns have given the Reds a legal network of control to reinforce their already effective underground.

"Any time Hanoi wants it, they already have a well-disciplined, trained nucleus for a guerrilla movement," a foreigner in the area said.

So far, there is no indication that the North Vietnamese in the northeast are working with the Thai guerrillas. However, it is assumed that a working arrangement between the two groups could be brought into action at a moment's notice with an order from Hanoi.

The northeast is only one of the potential trouble spots for the Thai.

CHINESE REDS DUG IN

In the extreme southwest, along the Malaysian border, a remnant—estimated by the British at 600—of the local Chinese Communist guerrillas who fought in the 12-year Malayan emergency are dug in. Now, as part of the campaign to chew up Malaysia, the Indonesians also have been sending infiltrators into the area. Most of the people in the four southern provinces of Thailand are Malay-speaking Moslems, and the Indonesians are trying to stir them up against the Thai Government.

Here in Bangkok, itself, there is a potential for trouble.

A large part of the city's population is Sino-Thai, or citizens whose ancestors came from China. Earlier this year, Peiping announced that it was sponsoring a campaign to bring down the "reactionary" Thai Government, and it was speculated that this was aimed at the local people of Chinese ancestry—a warning to get on Peiping's bandwagon.

TIES TO PEIPING

No one is sure just how effective Peiping's campaign is going to be. The local Chinese have profited more than any other Thai, as merchants and artisans, from the phenomenal prosperity here since World War II. They are considered to be largely nonpolitical. But the pull of a powerful and threatening China is tremendous.

Furthermore, Bangkok is getting all the problems of a developing city in an underdeveloped country—problems that could aid the Communists.

Appetites for higher standards of living have been fed by modernization. There are widespread corruption and inefficiency. Living costs continue to rise dramatically. Trade unions are illegal, but there has been a series of student strikes.

Thailand has been ruled by a military dictatorship since the early postwar years. After a scandal over the embezzlement of large sums of money by the late Prime Minister, Gen. Sarit Thanarat, the military men promised the country a constitution, now being drawn up.

Few people believe that Thailand is going down the drain inevitably, despite signs of growing Communist activity.

THAI GOVERNMENT STIRRING

Belatedly, the Government is trying to develop the northeast. In this year's capital budget, the northeast is getting six times as much as it did 5 years ago. Two-thirds of the $16.8 million in U.S. grants to Thailand is devoted to the northeast.

A few weeks ago, the Thai signed an agreement with the United States to train police. It includes plans to increase the marine police patrol along the Mekong River.

To attack insurgency, so-called mobile development units of the armed forces and police move into an area where trouble may start.

ATTEMPTS TO HELP

The mobile groups set up a social welfare program, work out new security provisions, and try to raise the standard of living. In theory, these units are followed by projects of rural development to which the United States is contributing $7 million.

So far this program has had more form than content.

I visited one of the mobile development units in the northeast and found it operating well below strength. The Interior Ministry had not yet gotten around to supplying the police detail—perhaps the most important element in the operation.

In 25 months, the unit had been able to produce real results in only one village. Another village remained 100 percent Communist, a local officer said. In two other villages, the Government program was considered to be only holding its own.

You get some idea of how effective the Government's program is by the fact that a popular song at present sweeping Bangkok night spots ridicules a village chief named Li—his lack of knowledge of the villagers' real problems, his embezzlement of funds sent by Bangkok for rural development, and his high-flown but impractical schemes.

PICTURE NOT BRIGHT

Experience in Vietnam has proved just how difficult it is to combat insurgency in this part of Asia. With the potential for trouble in isolated areas, with the Communists' expertise gained in Vietnam, and with the still-fumbling efforts of the Bangkok Government, the picture here is not bright.

One top-ranking Thai official in the northeast told me:

"Our people here are on the fence. I think we can still pull them over to our side. But the Communists are making a big effort, and we'll have to work harder and do better if they're not to succeed."

General Eisenhower's Role in Nuclear Understanding With Soviet Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, despite the mounting crisis in Vietnam, and our difficulties in the Dominican Republic and elsewhere, the United States has achieved a certain degree of understanding with the Soviet Union on the role and meaning of nuclear weapons. This understanding is due in no small measure to the efforts and perceptiveness of General Eisenhower during his years in the White House.

An article by Chalmers M. Roberts which appeared recently in the Washington Post furnishes an excellent analysis of General Eisenhower's role in opening the way to this understanding, and I ask unanimous consent that this article be inserted in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WORLD STILL OUGHT TO LIKE IKE

(By Chalmers M. Roberts)

Since the 1962 eyeball-to-eyeball Soviet-American confrontation over Cuba the world has been living largely in a mood of detente, convinced that a nuclear holocaust can be avoided, or at least indefinitely postponed.

This assumption of well-being, certainly a dangerous one, lately has come under considerable strain because of the spiraling war in Vietnam. The Soviet Union contends that while it wants to continue the detente, the U.S. action in Vietnam is making it exceedingly difficult. The United States is determined to keep the detente, despite Vietnam, and the official view here is that is is quite possible.

Of course, a great deal will depend on the outcome in Vietnam. At any rate, it is a remarkable fact that one of the world's two major nuclear powers is bombing an ally of the other major power without provoking a response. That says much about the strength of the detente.

It may be instructive, then, to raise one's sights above that immediate southeast Asian horizon to examine the detente. The word, common in diplomacy, simply means "a relaxing, as of strained relations between nations."

EISENHOWER AND DETENTE

How have we reached this international state of affairs?

In the 20 years since Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the only use of nuclear weapons, a remarkable degree of understanding of their meaning has been achieved—certainly by the United States and the Soviet Union, by Britain and by France, and possibly considerably more so by Red China than Peiping's bellicose pronouncements would indicate.

If war is indeed an extension of politics or diplomacy, then one must look at both the political and military nature of the road to understanding. Along that road a central figure is the much too often berated and frequently badly understood President Eisenhower. This is emphatically not to say that his insight into or management of foreign affairs fully met the needs of the times; in many respects they clearly did not. But the failings and failures are not the central point, as the current involvement in Vietnam indicates. The central point is that he was the American most responsible for the detente. Whether its possibilities are adequately explored and seized upon now is the responsibility of another President.

Exactly 10 years ago today the 1955 summit conference opened in the old League of Nations Building in Geneva. That conference, and former President Eisenhower's key role in it, have been much maligned. General Eisenhower deserves far more credit than it is the fashion to grant him in the conduct of foreign affairs. What he did was a central factor in reaching the detente which exists today and on which the world pins so much hope for the future, even for the continued existence of mankind itself.

After that 1955 summit conference it soon became fashionable to denigrate the so-called spirit of Geneva which so briefly arose from the 6-day gathering. It is true that the followup Big Four Foreign Ministers Conference broke up in the hopeless deadlock which remains to this day over the issue of European security and German reunification.

But in retrospect those arguments were not the historically relevant factors at Geneva. What was relevant was the breakthrough in Soviet-American relations, up to then frozen in nearly a decade of intense cold war, plus the hot war in Korea.

SUMMITRY PROPOSED

A bit of history is vital to an understanding of what occurred.

Those uneasy wartime allies, the United States and the Soviet Union, soon were impelled into a cold war by Stalin's tactics. What Winston Churchill termed the Iron Curtain soon divided Europe from Stettin on the Baltic to Trieste on the Adriatic.

Stalin's death on March 6, 1953, only 45 days after President Eisenhower's first inauguration, was to alter East-West relations drastically. Mr. Eisenhower, in April, made a conciliatory foreign policy speech and on May 11 Prime Minister Churchill proposed "a conference on the highest level" between "the leading powers," a speech in which he first used the word "summit."

Stalin's successors did not directly respond but they did move to liquidate his error in Korea. The truce came on July 27. Churchill's summit call had been made partly in anticipation of the signing. But in October, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles was in London telling Churchill (so I heard Dulles explain later) that the summit idea was an opiate which almost surely would lead to a breakdown in Western defenses. When Churchill proposed going to Moscow alone, Dulles told him he would be looked upon as a middleman. The Prime Minister abandoned the idea.

The West by now was consumed by its own internal argument over creation of an integrated European army, the EDC scheme, which Moscow helped to defeat by use of the French Communist Party. Summitry did not emerge again until 1955.

Meanwhile, there had begun, apparently in 1954, a serious secret Soviet discussion of the meaning of nuclear weapons. In part, this was an effort to get away from Stalin's attitude, expressed in 1946, that atomic bombs "are intended to frighten people with weak nerves, but they cannot decide the outcome of a war since for this atomic bombs are completely insufficient." This was said, of course, in the period of the American monopoly. The sly Soviet dictator, however, coupled this public front with an intensive nuclear program which produced the first Soviet atomic device test in 1951 and the first hydrogen bomb test in 1953.

As the Soviet stockpile increased, the Kremlin discussion broadened to not only the adequacy of Soviet deterent power but also to include the political question of whether the new weapons made necessary, or even vital, an accommodation with the West, above all with the United States.

On March 13, 1954, Georgi Malenkov said publicly in a speech something that no Soviet official had ever said out loud before: that a nuclear world war would "mean the destruction of world civilization." This sentence was censured in the version printed in Pravda and the doctrine was publicly repudiated by Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov a few days later. Molotov reiterated the Stalinist dogma first enunciated in 1949 by Malenkov himself when he had said that "only the imperialists will perish in an atomic war, but not civilization" itself.

In time, Nikita Khrushchev, who ousted Malenkov, nonetheless publicly accepted the Malenkov formulation. In 1957, he said "millions upon millions" would die and in 1963 in defense of his withdrawal of the missiles from Cuba he put the potential casualty figure in a nuclear exchange at 300 million. He made it clear that Communists as well as capitalists would be the victims.

The first solid reflection of this altered view came at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1961. There Khrushchev pronounced the new dogma of the noninevitability of war between the Communist and the capitalist nations, a dogma quickly reiterated by the men who, in turn, ousted Khrushchev in October 1964.

These Khruschevian views were to become a major doctrinal difference with Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist Party. For years, Mao told non-Communist visitors (two Asian leaders have personally repeated to me such Mao remarks) that while a nuclear war might well mean some 200 million or more dead Chinese it would also mean the end of U.S. imperialism.

Soviet military thinking, though obviously in ferment during the 1954–57 period which coincided with the rise of Khrushchev to undisputed power, did not have to develop a fully new doctrine until the advent, in 1957, of Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles. The first of these was tested in August 1957, about 6 weeks before the Kremlin startled the world and shook the United States by launching the first sputnik.

But if a full formulation of a new nuclear doctrine did await the coming of the ICBM's, Soviet leaders in 1954 and 1955 began to move with great vigor on the political-diplomatic front.

We do not know the whole Kremlin story but we do know that Molotov, among others, opposed the April 1954, reversal of Soviet opposition to accepting the Austrian state treaty. In this, Khrushchev's hand was powerful.

In his April 16, 1953, speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington, President Eisenhower had posed the question: "What is the Soviet Union ready

to do?" And he had said that the United States cared nothing for mere Soviet rhetoric, that "we are only for sincerity of peaceful purpose attested by deeds." He specifically suggested that among the "clear and specific acts" the Soviet Union might take was signature to the Austrian treaty. It was signed on May 15.

The Kremlin thus knew that signing the treaty would open a new diplomatic vista with Washington, and talk of an East-West summit revived.

On the afternoon of October 19, 1954, President Eisenhower accompanied Dulles to Constitution Hall in Washington to pass out awards to outstanding State Department employees. The President, when called on to speak, uttered off the cuff the declaration that "since the advent of nuclear weapons, it seems clear that there is no longer any alternative to peace if there is to be a happy and well world."

Seven months had elapsed since Malenkov stated the quickly repudiated view that a nuclear war would "mean the destruction of world civilization."

Eisenhower was always at his best off the cuff, either in speeches or at press conferences, because he was free of the formal diplomatic words drafted for him by Dulles. His syntax often was atrocious but his meaning usually came through, especially when the old soldier talked of war and peace.

VITAL SIXTH SENSE

At one 1955 press conference, for example, he said that his "sixth sense" told him that world tensions were abating. At another just before the summit he told reporters that "there is a change going on" and "there is something different in the world."

Dulles, on the other hand, sought neatly to balance risk and opportunity. He constantly stressed the thought that an ill-prepared summit could lead to great public disappointment. He also worried that the mood created even by talk of a summit could crumble the cement of fear of the Red army which held together the Atlantic Alliance.

Mr. Eisenhower had the greatest respect for Secretary Dulles as a master of tactics and strategy in world politics and he generally bowed to his advice. In the spring of 1955, for example, the Gridiron Club, a select group of Washington correspondents, proposed inviting Marshal Georgi Zhukov to the annual dinner, along with the President who had known him and grown fond of him in the early postwar days in Berlin. Mr. Eisenhower told a club delegation it was all right with him but to "check with Foster." Dulles said it would be wiser not to invite Zhukov; that it might be misunderstood. He was not invited.

But the facts were closing in on Dulles just as Mr. Eisenhower's sixth sense was impelling him to the summit.

In March 1955, Zhukov wrote the first of a series of private letters to President Eisenhower, obviously with Kremlin approval. And at a June party at the British Embassy in Moscow, Zhukov remarked to American Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen that some people in the Soviet Government still did not understand the meaning of nuclear weapons.

In April 1955, Anthony Eden replaced Churchill as Prime Minister. On May 10, the Soviets put forward without warning a completely new disarmament proposal going far beyond anything previously offered. American officials considered this the first negotiable Soviet disarmament offer in history.

By now, too, the Western European union had been created and West Germany admitted to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, thus shoring up Western defenses after the EDC debacle.

THE NEW WAVE

As Mr. Eisenhower later wrote in his memoirs, "in early spring, 1955, there seemed to arise a new wave of interest" in summitry. The Soviet reversal on Austria made it inevitable and Dulles worked out the details with Molotov.

Agreement came on June 13. Nine days earlier, his memoirs reveal, Mr. Eisenhower had written an old friend that while he did not expect "any spectacular results" he did think "that Foster and I should be able to detect whether the Soviets really intend to introduce a tactical change that could mean, for the next few years at least, some real easing of tensions. If we do not obtain some concrete evidence of such a tactical change, then, of course, the effort must be to determine the exact purpose of recent Soviet suggestions for conferences and easing of tensions and so on."

But Eisenhower also revealed that Dulles feared that he "would raise the hopes of our people, who might subsequently suffer widespread disillusionment when they realize that no tangible results could come for a year or more, if there were any tangible results at all."

Mr. Eisenhower had sensed a mood of movement on the other side, though he did not know the reasoning. He sought, however, to exploit it. Dulles, too, sensed the movement but he feared it was only another zig in the ancient zig-zag of Soviet tactics without heralding any meaningful change.

Both were right. But Mr. Eisenhower was the wiser; he knew the world expected him to probe any opening, whatever the perils, and he genuinely hoped to create at least a lasting detente.

Dulles worried over appearances; I heard him speak privately at the time of a fear of giving respectability to the Kremlin leaders, of ushering them on to the world stage with fanfare, of giving them a position of parity with the United States in the world arena which he felt they did not deserve either morally or militarily.

Ten years ago, the very idea of a conference with Soviet leaders was anathema to many Americans. Mr. Eisenhower had himself been elected on a Republican Party platform calling for the repudiation of alleged wartime Yalta Conference secret commitments. Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, then Senator, was almost a lone voice in arguing that "we need not tremble at the thought of sitting face to face with the Soviets at the conference table."

The Berlin blockade was then only 6 years behind, the Korean war had ended only 2 years earlier. The butchery of Budapest was yet to come. Not until Khrushchev accompanied his then partner, Nikolai Bulganin, to Geneva in 1955 had any major Soviet leader breathed the free air of the West in such a manner.

But such factors as those worrying Dulles did not stop Mr. Eisenhower. He was the old soldier who felt that the arms spiral could no go on forever without catastrophe; he sensed that the post-Stalin Kremlin leadership had come to understand the meaning of nuclear weapons, to understand above all that an H-bomb had no dialectical coloration.

Molotov clearly opposed the whole idea of summitry. Zhukov, by now an alternate Presidium member, seemingly spoke warmly of his old friend. Khrushchev appears to have been the pragmatist: what had to be had to be. His denunciation of Stalinism and his enunciation of the nonevitability of war dogma was still nearly a year off.

In retrospect, Khrushchev and his allies abandoned the black-and-white Stalin-Molotov view of the world—a nation was either pro-Soviet or anti-Soviet—much as Dulles was forced to abandon a doctrine he had once advanced: that neutrality was per se immoral. Instead, the new Khrushchev majority created the third world concept. They proposed to deal with non-Communist leaders as the first step in destroying Western influence in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, leaving actual communization until later on—another of the formulations which later became an issue with China.

The most spectacular move in this field came in secret even as the summit conference was gathering: the Soviet arms deals with Abdel Gamal Nasser's Egypt. Dulles was outraged that it had been made behind his back. At any rate, that Soviet move and the reiteration of backing for wars of national liberation demonstrated that Soviet aims remained unchanged; that only tactics had changed, as Dulles had suspected.

The tactical change, however, was of immense importance to both Soviet-American and Sino-Soviet relations. In Washington, Mr. Eisenhower responded to the change and the two nuclear giants at least began to engage in a dialog. In Peiping, Mao grew more and more outraged and the Sino-Soviet dialog became embittered.

These Soviet tactics had changed essentially for two broad reasons: the growth of nuclear weapons and the Soviet necessity for dealing with the internal economic mess left by Stalin.

Of course, it can also be argued with considerable validity that Khrushchev, once in control, found a breathing spell with the West, an absolute necessity to put his own house in order and figured he would end that breathing spell at the earliest possible moment. Some cite the 1962 Cuban confrontation as proof. Yet, as far as anyone now knows, the Soviet missiles were sent to Cuba, aside from any desire to protect Fidel Castro from an American attack as Castro has claimed, chiefly in an effort to close the Soviet missile gap.

It also can be argued that Khrushchev withdrew his missiles only when he was convinced that President Kennedy had the will, not just the means, to fight—and that he withdrew because he knew a nuclear clash might destroy the Soviet Union as well as much of the United States. In other words, the Cuban case demonstrated beyond doubt that the Soviet leaders did indeed understand the meaning of nuclear weapons.

DECISION FOR SUMMITRY

But all this, in retrospect, only serves to illuminate the meaning of Mr. Eisenhower's agreement to go to the summit.

First of all, that decision for the first time since the onset of the cold war told the world that the United States would indeed, in his phrase, "go the extra mile" to seek reapproachment.

Secondly, that decision represented the American acceptance of what now is considered commonplace; the belief that while the Soviet Union is less powerful than the United States militarily or economically, it is the only other superpower because it has the ability to kill millions of Americans in their homeland in any nuclear exchange. At the time, the Pentagon believed that the long-range Soviet bomber fleet was far more significant than we now know was the case. At any rate, the coming of Soviet ICBM's 2 years later confirmed the Soviet power status although here, too, the false missile gap thesis overstated that power.

Thirdly, that decision accepted as an international political reality what Dulles long hoped to avert: recognition of the Soviet Union as a great power with worldwide interests, however malevolent the dogmatic purpose of the Kremlin and mischievous its activities in the third world. But without acceptance of that reality, no negotiation was likely to be meaningful. Dulles's hopes of imposing a settlement, or his dreams of a Soviet breakup, simply were not realistic.

AN AMATEUR'S INSTINCT

All these are basic matters dependent less on individuals than on the facts of international life. Of course, it is vitally important that the individual have the ability

to understand and act on such facts rather than on his personal likes or attitudes.

Personal diplomacy by chiefs of state and heads of government (an American President is both) has long been criticized. The standard view of the diplomats, Western style at least, was stated in 1939 by Britain's Sir Harold Nicolson who wrote that "it will always be desirable that the foreign policy of any great country should be carried out by professionals trained in their business. Amateur diplomatists * * * are proven to be unreliable."

There is merit in this view, especially as to amateur aids to a President, but it is difficult to consider a President an amateur. Many diplomats did look upon Mr. Eisenhower that way in 1955. But the professional was Dulles the moralist, the unrelenting hardliner who, had he prevailed, quite probably would have perpetuated the frostiest part of the cold war just as some of his opposite numbers in Moscow doubtless wanted to do. President Eisenhower had the instinct to sense that the time and place had come to make a change.

Presidents and Premiers often talk in grand terms of ideals and ideology and Eisenhower and Khrushchev were no exceptions. However, such men are essentially prisoners of their times and, nowadays, of the weaponry. Their areas of movement are circumscribed—but as leaders of great powers they do have such areas. It is to General Eisenhower's credit that he used the area open to him, though perhaps not as much as he might have or should have. That he did so to the degree he did was essentially the act of an old soldier whose visceral reaction to events on the other side turned out to be sounder than the cold-minded logic of Dulles and others who looked with such suspicion at his gamble.

OUR OWN SHRIMP

It has been argued since the summit that the stamp of approval given the Soviets by the United States opened the door to that third world for the Communists. The fact, however, is that the first major Soviet vault into that world was the Egyptian arms deal, a deal which was underway even as the summit was being organized and one that would doubtless have taken place, summit or no summit. It was made possible by Dulles' earlier refusal to grant arms to Nasser lest it start a new Middle East arms race.

At best, Mr. Eisenhower's decision to go to the summit led to a tacit Moscow-Washington agreement that neither could afford to use nuclear weapons to settle their differences. It did not produce an agreement to call off mutual efforts at subversion or proxy wars or wars of liberation.

That all this was Khrushchev's understanding of Geneva may be seen from his remarks to some East Germans 2 months after the summit that "we are in favor of a detente, but if anybody thinks that for this reason we shall forget about Marx, Engels, and Lenin, he is mistaken. This will happen when shrimps learn to whistle."

Nor, of course, were Americans about to "forget" Washington, Lincoln, the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution. We have our own shrimp.

American policy toward the Soviet Union since World War II, or at least since the 1948 Czech coup which produced NATO, has been founded on containment of Soviet power. But nations cannot stand on military lines alone; the great powers above all others must deal with one another. They dare not without the greatest peril, as Mr. Eisenhower wrote in a 1958 letter to Bulganin, "end up in the ludicrous posture of our just glaring silently at each other across the table."

At Geneva 10 years ago, President Eisenhower, in essence, worked at the task of peeling off from the cold war nearly a decade of encrustations on Soviet-American relations. It was, in a way, his second "crusade in Europe" and perhaps it may even appear in history to be the more meaningful of the two.

That neither the summit itself nor the subsequent foreign ministers meeting produced agreements on Germany or European security is regrettable. That the verbal "spirit of Geneva" soon vanished is also a fact. But looking back on the intervening decade neither seems as important as the fact that Eisenhower, despite Dulles and with a division of public opinion here at home, willingly risked his great public stature to begin a meaningful dialog with the Kremlin.

IN IKE'S FOOTSTEPS

At the end of the Geneva summit, Eisenhower declared that "the prospects of a lasting peace" were "brighter" and "the dangers of the overwhelming tragedy of modern war are less."

Since then, nuclear war has been averted. One can argue with some conviction that the brink was avoided over Cuba because Khrushchev had been helped to understand Mr. Kennedy by meeting him in Vienna and that he had gained considerable understanding of the United States because Mr. Eisenhower had invited him here for a visit whose impact was enormous both in the Kremlin and in terms of Sino-Soviet relations.

It can be argued, too, that much of the change in Soviet-American relations in the decade 1955–65 would have occurred no matter who was President; that the dynamics of post-Stalin Russia made such changes inevitable. Quite probably that is true. It also is true that President Kennedy and President Johnson both have followed the Eisenhower approach.

The point, however, is that someone in the United States, and it could hardly be other than a President, had to make the start. And the man who did it was President Eisenhower.

Because he did, Mr. Johnson today finds it easier to talk, for example, of "building bridges" to the nations of Eastern Europe and to negotiate a consular agreement, as he did, with the Soviet Union. The Kennedy test ban agreement flowed logically from the Eisenhower initiative, however much the Sino-Soviet row contributed to the Soviet decision to agree.

The result is todays prospect for a continuation of the Soviet-Amercian detente, the very existence of which has permitted the United States, as well as the Soviet Union, to give more attention to their respective positions in Asia and their relations with China.

Once Vietnam is resolved, assuming, as Washington expects, that it is resolved without destroying the detente, it will be possible to tackle other Soviet-American problems.

This will not be easy for Soviet aims and American aims remain antithetic. But they can be manageable. And such a prospect springs in its lineage from the changes in post-Stalin Russia and, in turn, from General Eisenhower's sensing of those changes and acting upon them.

Head Start Director Sees Project Aiding Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, the war on poverty which is being waged has received more unfair criticism than nearly any other legislative program within memory. Sets of spurious statistics, slanted interviews and gross overgeneralizations were bandied about with reckless abandon. Opponents of the program yelled "boondoggle," scoffed at the poor and generally offered no constructive alternatives. They closed their eyes to the jobless, to those forced to leave school because of unfortunate financial circumstances. They ignore the underprivileged child who starts school with no preparation, the child whose home has not given him the basic rudiments of language or components of diet. If they had their way, the student who needed funds to continue college would be denied the opportunity and the number of drop-outs would be replenished and regenerated.

One of the most beneficial programs of the war on poverty is Project Head Start. Preschool children from disadvantaged homes will now be able to receive the benefits that hundreds of more fortunate children accept as matter of course; the benefits of a hot meal, love and attention.

An excellent article in the Daily Home News of New Brunswick, N.J. of Monday, July 26, 1965, decribes the advancements being made under the Head Start programs in Jamesburg, N.J. This is but one of the forward-looking projects currently in effect in New Jersey under the Economic Opportunity Act.

The article follows:

HEAD START DIRECTOR SEES PROJECT AIDING EDUCATION

(By Janie Bell)

JAMESBURG.—When kindergarten starts this fall in the public school's regular session, teachers may find themselves with classes unusually full of ready and eager pupils.

If that happens, it will affirm that the borough's Project Head Start has been a success.

Under the Federal Government-sponsored program, 30 children are getting a preview of what education is about in 8 weeks of morning sessions at John F. Kennedy School.

MOST FROM LARGE FAMILIES

Most of them come from large families or from homes where both parents work—in any case, from situations which haven't allowed them such advantages as travel, summer camp, and other experiences that can prepare children for coping with the world away from home.

School and its competitiveness can be an intimidating experience for such children.

But Head Start graduates, says program director Al Kurowski, will have something to talk about next fall, just as do the children who have been to summer camps.

"I think it's the best thing that has happened in education," he says. "We've been neglecting the neglected child; too much concerned with getting students into college. We've finally got down to doing something."

What the program is doing, specifically, ranges from acquainting children with everything from airports to cheese rarebit, giving them dental and medical checkups and immunizations, and identifying any problems they may have such as speech or hearing defects.

TYPICAL CHILDREN

Two head teachers, assistants, aids, and volunteers who include parents of the pupils see to it that the two classes, whose sessions last 4 hours a day and include a hot lunch, include just about everything but neglect.

Says one teacher, Mrs. Melinda Powell, keeping an eye on her roomful of active,

well-mannered, 3-, 4-, and 5-year olds: "They're just like other children. But maybe no one's ever sat down with them and said, 'This is red, this is green.' "

At a slight prompting from their teacher, the pupils greet a visitor with a unison "Hello" and return to such duties as finger-painting or drawing—at least temporarily. They demonstrate a general urge for carrying their work to the teacher so it can be properly admired. They also show a strong respect for the rules their teacher has laid down, sometimes combined with a tendency to argue their way around them.

And at lunchtime the pupils assigned to help serve are seriously concerted with seeing that everybody has a napkin, plate, and glass of milk.

One boy, carrying around lunchplates to contemporaries whose attention was occupied elsewhere, put the plates in place and then carefully touched each recipients's shoulder to point out that lunch had been served.

One of the rules the children must obey is a restriction to two at a time on a ladder, a piece of play equipment. The ladder was fully occupied when a little girl felt the need to climb.

"Joseph, will you give me a chance now?" she begged. Joseph didn't respond, but a little later he climbed down, obviously with the intention of going right back up again.

"Somebody's off now," observed the little girl, grabbing her opportunity and starting up the ladder simultaneously with Joseph. Mrs. Powell told her to come down, because the other two children had asked permission to climb, and she obeyed.

LOTS OF ACTIVITY

Classroom activities include listening to music and stories, singing, art work, even cooking. The storytelling's a little difficult, Mrs. Powell says, because of the pupil's short attention spans. "Maybe someone will just get up and wander away in the middle of a story," she says, "but as long as they don't disturb anyone, it's all right."

The children are allowed to proceed according to their own interests. They are learning the names and colors and do some counting, but learning the alphabet, for example, will wait until kindergarten unless a child shows an interest in the ABC's. One little girl has inquired about that area of knowledge, but so far she's been content just knowing "A," Mrs. Powell says.

Lunch dishes are planned for variety to acquaint children with new tastes. The first week, one boy had a stomach ache at mealtime every day. "School alone was enough of a new experience," says Mrs. Powell. But now, in the third week of classes in the program, the aches have disappeared.

The school has only a hot plate for food preparation, but it benefits from the help of volunteers. One day Mrs. Kurowski, the director's wife, prepared Spanish rice for the group. The children themselves have helped fix carrot sticks and baked a cake.

Shyness, like stomach aches, also has largely disappeared. A few pupils were homesick at first. Their parents were asked to stay at the school and help in the classrooms until, by the end of 2 weeks, the children had adjusted.

Sessions also include out-of-door games and rest periods and every Friday, there is a trip, such as the one to Princeton Airport. A picnic in Thompson Park, visits to the borough fire department and first aid squad, and possibly a nature study walk are in the offing.

Kurowski has nothing but praise for the parents of the program's pupils and for the staff and volunteers. "These people are wonderful. Without them we would probably have a problem," he says.

Parents, along with other volunteers, serve lunches, make sure the children eat properly, and teach them how to use fork and spoon correctly, he says.

Mrs. Helen Oliver is the other head teacher, and Bonnie Massey and Thomas Kerwin are their assistants. Volunteers include Mrs. Jean Rahl, Jacqueline Kress, Teresa Moore, Jennifer Jones, Denise Yablonski, Eleanor Ladd, Elaine Jackson, and Sandra Koenig.

"We are always open to suggestions as to how we can better ourselves," adds Kurowski. "This is just a start. We are sure we will make mistakes.

"I hope we will continue next year," he concluded.

Communist Infiltration and Influence in the So-Called Civil Rights Movements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the News of Lynchburg, Va., has published in its July 8, 1965, issue an editorial commentary on the question of Communist infiltration of and influence in the so-called civil rights movements. The editorial is entitled "The Righters' Red Records." I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this editorial be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE RIGHTERS' RED RECORDS

A special committee of the Alabama Legislature last week accused three so-called civil rights organizations of following and promoting the Communist line. The organizations: Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), James Farmer's Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headed by James Foreman and John Lewis.

Immediately, King, Farmer, and company branded the Alabama accusations "lies," "rubbish," "witchhunting," "namecalling," and "a typical response from a typical southern legislature."

There the matter might have remained, in the noman's land of doubt between charges and denials, but for Mayor Richard J. Daley, of Chicago. For, on the very next day after the Alabama committee made its charges, Mayor Daley declar. 1 that the recent rights demonstrations in his, northern, city had been aided and influenced by Communists. Chicago police officials said that at least 11 Communists had taken part in the Chicago demonstrations.

King, Farmer, Foreman, and Lewis were strangely silent in the wake of Daley's charges. But an official of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said he was shocked that Mayor Daley would say such things. He demanded to know the names of the Communists who took part in the demonstrations.

Hardly had he spoken, than the Communists themselves jumped into the act. Of course we took part in the Chicago demonstrations, boasted Communist Party spokesmen James West and Claude Lightfoot. What's more, they indicated they were proud of their part in the assault on law and order in Chicago. The Communists' admissions substantiated Mayor Daley's charges and silenced the righters denials.

Communist infiltration of the rights movement has been thoroughly documented in testimony before congressional committees and by various State legislative committees. Despite this overwhelming mass of evidence to the contrary, high Federal Government officials have repeatedly denied that the Reds exert any influence in the rights groups. The latest to do so was Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, who said that the Communists had been "remarkably unsuccessful" in influencing any decisions of the rights leaders.

The facts prove otherwise. And the Attorney General cannot claim he was misinformed. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation—the investigating agency of Katzenbach's Department of Justice—has repeatedly warned of Communist infiltration of the rights organizations. He has stated that the young Negro leaders of SNCC are definitely leftists and are strongly influenced by Communist ideology. Some of these leaders made a trip to Communist-controlled Ghana last year when they discussed with Ghana's Communist President Nkrumah, among other things, ways and means of holding an African-style revolution in Mississippi this summer.

Within the past few weeks, Mr. Hoover told the House Appropriations Committee that the Communist Party "plans to hold a training school for youth in New York City in the summer of 1965. In addition," he said "certain Communist Party, U.S.A., youths will be asked to go to the South during the summer of 1965 to work with civil rights organizations."

Mr. Hoover also revealed that the Communists had played a large part in the student demonstrations which disrupted the University of California earlier this year. The FBI Director stated that 49 persons with Communist backgrounds—including 5 professors—and all of them connected with the university, played active roles in the campus rioting.

Martin Luther King's close relationship with Communists and Communist-front organizations is a matter of record.

For years, King's chief lieutenant was Hunter Pitts O'Dell, a Negro Communist. When O'Dell's Communist affiliations became generally known, King had to let him go. But whom did he choose as a replacement? None other than Bayard Rustin, former member of the Young Communist League, convicted sex pervert, and World War II draft dodger who refused to fight the Nazis. Rustin is still one of King's top aids. King also has spoken to Communists at the Communist-oriented Highlander Folk School in Tennessee, where photographs show him surrounded by notorious Reds.

In the face of these irrefutable facts, King continues to deny that he and his SCLC are promoting the Communist line. But then, what can one expect of the man whom J. Edgar Hoover—whose reputation for telling the truth is unblemished and who backs up his statements with facts—has called the most notorious liar in America?

The Proposed Rampart Dam on the Yukon River in Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH J. RIVERS

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. RIVERS of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, before the year ends a special task

force appointed by Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall will make recommendations to him regarding the construction of the proposed Rampart Dam on the Yukon River in Alaska. Those recommendations are, of course, eagerly awaited by all of us who are aware of the growing needs for low-cost power in Alaska and the Pacific Northwest.

Though the task force has not completed its work, there are, efforts made, from time to time, to deny the importance of the Rampart project, and to insist that wildlife along the Yukon River flats cannot be saved if the project goes ahead. One such recent attempt, an article by Paul Brooks in the May issue of the Atlantic Monthly, was answered fully by Alaska's distinguished junior Senator ERNEST GRUENING in the July issue of the Atlantic, and his reply was inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Senator GRUENING's knowledgeable analysis of the Paul Brooks' criticism of Rampart, and his response to Brooks' claims, figured in an excellent editorial in the Anchorage Daily News recently. As the News' editor Joe Rothstein correctly concludes:

Rampart makes sense, both economically and as a matter of public worth. And it makes more sense every time we read the strongest arguments its opponents raise against it.

So that others may read this editorial, I insert it here:

THE RAMPART BATTLE: GETTING MORE SERIOUS

Alaska is receiving almost as much continuing attention these days as it did in the days prior to statehood. And, in the next year or so, Alaska will be embroiled in a battle that may equal that of statehood in intensity and effort.

The subject is Rampart Dam, a once breathtaking dream that is slowly, but perceptibly, moving toward a do-or-die stand in Congress.

Rampart Dam would be the largest hydroelectric project in the free world. It would turn the indisputable ugliness of the upper Yukon Valley into a productive area, one with both industrial and recreational values it does not now have.

In the July edition of the nationally respected magazine, "Atlantic," Senator ERNEST GRUENING answers an attack on Rampart by one of its frequent critics. The argument against the project boils down to this: Valuable resources would be flooded, valuable fish and wildlife would be destroyed, native inhabitants would have to relocate, and the power, if available, could not be marketed.

As Senator GRUENING points out, it was not until the Rampart project was conceived that anyone even suggested that the area had basic resource value. It is a barren wasteland on which hardly anything thrives, least of all the people who live there.

The only serious question that has been raised is the future of the area as an important waterfowl nesting ground. But a great deal of study has been done in recent years and it seems improbable, given the necessary research and the 18- to 20-year period in which the flats would slowly be flooded, that sufficient alternatives cannot be found.

The opportunities available to those presently inhabiting the valley area would clearly improve with development.

And the power, as the internationally respected Development and Resources Corp. of New York discovered during a comprehensive study, would be fully utilized as soon as it became available.

The arguments against Rampart sound vaguely like the uninformed echoes of the statehood fight.

Rampart makes sense, both economically and as a matter of public worth. And it makes more sense every time we read the strongest arguments its opponents raise against it.

Preserving Peace in the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the latest issue of Prevent World War III—No. 66, summer 1965—published by the Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc., contains a timely and informative article on the explosive situation in the Middle East. This article, entitled "Preserving Peace in the Middle East," very clearly points up the fact that if the United States "with all of its material and intellectual resources cannot find a way to halt the galloping deterioration in the Middle East today, then the price we shall have to pay later, will burden generations to come."

The time for the United States to act is now before the shooting starts, and death and destruction are once again let loose on that ancient and troubled area. But U.S. diplomacy continues to react rather than to act, and our diplomats continue to be shocked and surprised when easily foreseen crises fall upon them. I ask unanimous consent that this article be inserted in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESERVING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

It has been said by wise men that it is easier to stay the hand of a would-be aggressor than it is to end a war once it begins. We have always assumed that this was one of the cardinal principles of farsighted diplomacy, but it does not seem as though our State Department shares this view.

AN INQUIRY

Last February, we addressed a letter to our U.N. representative (Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, regarding reports that a so-called Palestine Liberation Army, consisting of Arab refugees, had been organized for the expressed purpose of launching a military attack against the State of Israel. We informed Ambassador Stevenson that the society was deeply concerned over this development because the formation of this aggressive military machine violated the basic principles of the United Nations Charter, threatened peace in the Middle East, and could erupt into a war of major proportions, thereby inevitably involving vital interests of the United States.

We inquired what our Government was doing to curb these aggressive activities before they expanded beyond control. In his reply, Ambassador Stevenson assured the society that both the State Department and the U.S. mission to the United Nations were closely following events in the Middle East and that our Government was opposed to "bellicose statements and actions." Concluding his letter, Ambassador Stevenson wrote: "In the event of aggression, whether direct or indirect, we would support appropriate measures in the U.N. and other appropriate courses of action to prevent or put a stop to such aggression." In other words, Ambassador Stevenson seemed to be saying that the State Department preferred to wait until the guns began to shoot before our Government would move in. But we fear that it would then be too late, for by that time the fires of war would be raging. The time to act is now, before death and destruction take their toll.

THE FACTS

What are the facts concerning war preparations? In September of last year, the New York Times (Sept. 11, 1964) reported that "President Nasser had put territory in the Sinai Peninsula and Gaza strip at the Palestine refugee army's disposal for training purposes. The aim of the force would be to regain the territory of Palestine from Israel. The spokesman said that 'studies on the formation of the Palestinian Army will be supervised by the unified Arab command.'" On September 14, 1964, another Times dispatch from Cairo referred again to the "Palestinian Liberation Army" which was being primed for armed attacks. The self-styled chairman of the "Palestine Liberation Organizations." Ahmed Shukairy, declared: "There is no hope that the Palestine issue will ever be solved through the United Nations. The liberation of Palestine will be realized only on Palestine territory and with Palestinian hands."

It is not surprising that Mr. Shukairy should speak in this vein for he established a notorious reputation, while representing certain Arab governments in the United Nations, as an avowed enemy of the U.N. Charter and a fanatical hater of the United States. In January of this year (New York Times, Jan. 21, 1965), Shukairy boasted in a magazine article that the Palestine Liberation Army was being set up on "the pattern of the Algerian Liberation Army." In April (Apr. 19, 1965), radio Cairo quoted Shukairy as staying that the Palestine Liberation Army was "being trained in accordance with the most modern methods and is being equipped with the most modern weapons in preparation for the liberation battle."

On May 1, 1965, the UPI reported a declaration by Shukairy that a war of liberation was the only solution. Shukairy who is charged with the responsibility, among other things, of gathering support from other countries, spent some time in Communist China for that purpose. In March of this year, the Chinese Communists gave him a lavish welcome for they quickly understood that the real target of Shukairy's plans was the United States. He was honored at a banquet in Peiping by the president of the Chinese Peoples' Institute of Foreign Affairs.

Shukairy's speech warmed the hearts of his audience. U.S. imperialism, he shouted, was the true enemy of the Palestine people and Israel was but a mere puppet for Washington's designs. "We are not afraid of Israel, nor of the United States. * * * The United States will learn about our efforts by our deeds and not by words." Referring scornfully to the United Nations whose rostrum he employed for diatribes and slanders against the United States, Shukairy announced to his listeners: "My life in the United Nations has ended. I prefer to be a soldier rather than a lawyer at the United Nations." Then, in conclusion, marked by a burst of applause, he shouted, "I stand here to salute the people of China and all principles that China stands for. China and the Arab people have a common enemy, the United States."

NASSER SPEAKS

Shukairy, of course, is one of President Nasser's mouthpieces and whatever he says carries the imprimature of the Egyptian dictator. Nasser himself, perhaps in more sub-

dued tones, has also made it clear that war was his objective. In a speech delivered last November, Nasser called for the destruction of imperialism. When he got down to specifics, he identified imperialism with the United States and Britain whereas, in contrast, he expressed his profound gratitude for the help he has received from Moscow.

In December, Nasser addressed a public rally in which he vowed to defeat imperialism and Israel which he charged was its instrument. "We must have war factories." he exclaimed. "We must make our own planes, guns, and artillery. * * * We must work in the fields of rocketry. We must work in the atomic fields." Apparently, this program of military buildup has been geared to a precise schedule for in February of this year Nasser declared that 1965 would be "the most crucial year in the Arab struggle" (New York Times, Feb. 27, 1965). This seemingly vague warning was clarified shortly thereafter when Nasser declared "We shall not enter Palestine on a path of sand and flowers. We shall enter Palestine on a path of blood."

Nasser's pronunciamentos have been echoed elsewhere in the Arab world. For example, President Arif of Iraq, Nasser's faithful collaborator, told a public gathering in Baghdad that "firm plans" had been prepared for "liberating Palestine." He said "the existence of the imperialistic pillar (Israel) in our lands is unnatural and constitutes a source of trouble not only for the Arab nation alone but for the entire Middle East." It was for this reason, President Arif asserted, that Iraq is lending all of its support to the Palestine Liberation Army. The New York Times (Feb. 27, 1965) brought President Arif's views up to date when it quoted these lines from one of his broadcasts: "There is no doubt that the final battle with Israel is coming. It is inevitable."

Not to be outdone by the war inciters from Egypt and Iraq, influential Syrian circles have also been beating the war drums. Thus, the ruling Baath Party in Syria has made it clear that Syria will not accept a peaceful solution in the Middle East. It will not accept the U.N. Charter's concept of peaceful coexistence. On the contrary, it is necessary to go over to the offensive regardless of the sacrifice. As reported by the London Observer's Middle East Correspondent Patrick Seale: "It is ruinous folly, the Baath believe, for Syria to continue spending 60 percent of her budget on defense with no more ambitious objective than the preservation of the status quo" (May 9, 1965).

OPERATION VIOLENCE

Already the violent threats of the Nassers and the Arifs are being implemented by deeds. Units of the Palestine Liberation Army are being trained in Kuwait whose government is swimming in a sea of gold derived from oil revenues. Meanwhile, the Syrian Government has publicly boasted that its "storm troops" (so designated by the Damascus radio) have carried on armed raids into Israel. The Washington Post (Apr. 4, 1965) described the campaign of sabotage and terror which has been unleashed by these storm troops. Indeed, these storm troops have begun to issue public communiqués describing their murderous ventures against the territorial integrity of a neighboring state.

The steady buildup of the agressive forces controlled by Nasser and his collaborators revolve around the projects currently planned to counter Israel's Jordan irrigation program. The society has dealt with this subject in detail in previous issues of Prevent World War III (see No. 64, "Peddling Falsehoods," p. 5; No. 65, "Soviet Distortions," p. 5). We have shown that the irrigation plan worked out by Israel, does not harm Arab interests. On the contrary, it could contribute to a general improvement of the economic conditions in the entire area. However, under the steady prodding of the Nasserites, certain Arab leaders are moving ahead with schemes that would divert the waters of the Jordan and contribute to a chaotic situation so that, in the last analysis, all of the Middle Eastern states in the valley of the Jordan would be hurt.

Obviously, it is impossible for any of these states to survive without sufficient water supplies. Therefore, it is clear that, should these waters be deliberately diverted, there is bound to be tremendous pressure, particularly in Israel which would be the first to suffer. To put it another way, the training of the so-called Palestine Liberation Army is geared to the plot to deprive Israel of the precious waters from the Jordan River. It is a monstrous provocation, a violation of international law and a flagrant defiance of the United Nations Charter. It can only lead to an explosion. The Arab leadership which shows itself totally irresponsible, is well aware of the consequences and it is for this reason that they are preparing their people psycologically for the test to come. They have said so in their press, on the radio and in public gatherings. They are proving it by the accelerated buildup of their military arsenals.

WAR DANGER

The rising temperature in the Middle East has been admitted by sundry sources. An unnamed Western diplomat was quoted in Newsweek (Mar. 8, 1965) as saying, "2 years ago I was sure that a final Arab-Israel showdown could be averted, but now it seems to be approaching at an accelerated pace." Even Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara admitted that "violence may flare up at any time" over Israel's irrigation project (New York Times, Feb. 27, 1965). The London Times which is not given to hyperbole, summed up the situation in these words: "Once again the Middle East comes to look—notwithstanding Vietnam—the most explosive area in the world. The pace of the arms race there is quickening" (Feb. 12, 1965).

In short, all of the elements leading to a tremendous explosion are present today in the Middle East. And yet, the State Department shows an amazing complacency as though all is well. Thus, when one of our spokesmen tried to talk to one of the members of the U.S. mission to the U.N. on the Middle East crisis, he was asked the rhetorical question "What crisis?" This rather surprising—and shocking—response was the essence of Secretary Rusk's observations following conferences with other American diplomats stationed in the Middle East. When asked whether he had noted any indications of increasing tensions in the Middle East, Secretary Rusk replied, "we did not see signs of it in the Middle East" (New York Times, Apr. 11, 1965). The posture of our State Department reminds us of the classical three monkeys who heard not, saw not and spoke not. It is hardly the kind of posture which breeds confidence among security-minded Americans.

The U.S. spokesman at the U.S. mission to the U.N. to whom we referred above, assured us, however, that, while the United States had no intentions of doing anything now to check the deteriorating situation in the Middle East, it would act if an opportunity arose. Is it not astonishing that the greatest military power in the world with vast interests in the Middle East, and which is so concerned with the problems of maintaining peace there, must confess its inability to act now or to take some initiative that will reduce the tensions? While paralysis seems to plague the State Department now, we recall that not long ago the State Department was most active in discouraging a number of countries in the United Nations from carrying through a resolution that would have called for negotiations among the Middle Eastern states under U.N. auspices.

THE ROLE OF THE REFUGEES

In our original letter to Ambassador Stevenson we called attention to the fact that U.N. assistance to the Arab refugees was largely based on U.S. contributions. Of the estimated half billion dollars given so far to rehabilitate Arab refugees, 70 percent comes from the U.S. Treasury. Therefore, we asked Ambassador Stevenson what our Government was doing to make sure that these funds were not directly or indirectly helping the Palestine Liberation Army. Unfortunately, Ambassador Steven's reply was couched in vague assurances.

However, the American people can no longer accept Government evasion on the question of Arab refugees. Ever since the refugee problem came to the fore in the Middle East, the United States, through generous instinct and the desire to help those who were really the victims of Arab power politics, has paid the lion's share for the upkeep of these people. But as the years have gone by, it has become a notorious fact, confirmed in the official reports of UNRWA, that the refugee problem has become a pawn of Arab power politics. No one knows how many people are really entitled to U.N. help. Indeed, the rolls of the refugee population have been inflated to such an extent that it is generally conceded that there are hundreds of thousands who should not be receiving U.N. help. Falsification of lists and other questionable practices have made a scandal of the whole situation and it is high time that the U.S. Government should demand a strict accounting.

This becomes all the most urgent when it is now clear that the plight of the refugees and the subsidies granted by the U.N. are being used by those Arab leaders who want to convert the refugees into cannon fodder for their aggressive designs. The society believes that humanitarian considerations make it necessary that our country contribute to those programs that will improve the conditions of the deserving refugees. However, if the American taxpayers are asked to contribute to support UNRWA, then they, in turn, are entitled to expect that U.S. funds will not in any way, directly or indirectly, perpetuate the present scandalous situation.

This means, that our Government should insist that the neighboring Arab States take direct responsibility in absorbing their refugee populations in the full life of their countries. This is not only practicable but morally right.

Our Government should also demand that all activities which contribute to inciting hatred among these refugees against other peoples, be strictly prohibited.

Finally, our Government must make it clear that not one dollar will be contributed to UNRWA as long as the refugee camps continue to be used as recruiting bases for any military or paramilitary purposes which threaten the security of other states.

We submit that these are minimal demands which will be supported by all security-minded Americans.

PROPOSALS

The society is aware of the complexities surrounding the Middle East crisis, but this should not be cause for inaction. On the contrary, it should stimulate our Government to seek ways and means of resolving these knotty problems before they are "settled" on the battlefield. It was with this in mind that we suggested to Ambassador Stevenson the following actions which could be taken by our Government:

"(1) To appeal to all our NATO allies and, indeed, to all members of the United Nations to withhold all forms of military aid to those countries in the Middle East which pursue a policy of belligerence toward their neighbor or neighbors and which participate in the organization of armed forces which are being primed for aggressive purposes;

"(2) That the President publicly appeal to all nations in the Middle East to settle their outstanding differences through peaceful negotiations."

The President's appeal, however, should be coupled with a statement that the United States will take appropriate countermeasures against violations against peace in the Middle East from whatever source.

We must report that there was no response to these suggestions; nor have Government spokesmen provided us with their own ideas as to how to tackle the crisis.

We have laid this record bare before our readers because we believe they are entitled to know why it is that American diplomacy always reacts rather than acts; why it is that Americans are surprised when the crisis falls upon them with blinding speed. The old cliche that, to be forewarned is to be forearmed, holds true in modern diplomacy and if the United States with all of its material and intellectual resources cannot find a way to halt the galloping deterioration in the Middle East today, then the price that we shall have to pay later, will burden generations to come.

Federal Agencies Struggle for Control of $9 Billion Prize

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, one out of every four dollars which the American public spends on medical and hospital care is filtered through the hands of the Federal Government. The distinguished gentleman from Missouri, Mr. DURWARD HALL, who also is a surgeon, has pointed out to the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee that the more than $9 billion a year which the Federal Government will soon be spending in the field of medicine as a result of several new and pending laws is the basis of a behind-the-scenes power struggle between the social workers and medically qualified personnel in Government.

Our colleague has suggested a moratorium against any new legislation in this field until an investigation can be conducted by the Congress to determine whether the social workers or professional medical personnel will control and manage these Federal programs.

If the Federal Government is to be our "brother's keeper," as the Johnson administration seems bent on accomplishing, then at the very least we ought to make certain that the competent personnel administer these programs.

A solution suggested by our colleague from Missouri, who as I say is a distinguished surgeon and medical practitioner, is a separate department of health to be staffed by U.S. Public Health Service physicians and others expert in medical matters, embracing all medical programs in which the Government is intervening, and closely coordinated with State health departments.

I commend the remarks of our colleague, Dr. HALL, to the attention of all Members of the House of Representatives:

REMARKS BY CONGRESSMAN DURWARD G. HALL, REPUBLICAN OF MISSOURI, BEFORE THE HOUSE INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE COMMITTEE, JULY 23, 1965

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, because I am a physician, medical legislation becomes my personal concern—especially in this session of the Congress marked by a pell-mell rush to enact legislation injecting the Federal Government dominantly into medicine.

Though I have stated and voted my opposition to Government medicine through the social security medicare program, I am prepared to advocate cooperation by the medical profession with all Federal laws duly enacted by Congress affecting medicine. In fact, this was my role at the New York City meeting of the American Medical Association last month. Whatever laws pertaining to medicine are enacted, they deserve to be carried out in such a fashion as to produce the best possible quality medical care to the American people, which those laws permit. If proved bad, they should be repealed in an orderly manner, after thorough trial and due process.

The proposal presently before this committee is, in my opinion, a faulty proposal, which would result in making more acute the present shortage of general practitioners, otherwise known as the family physicians. Should this bill be enacted, new medical school graduates will gravitate to large centers in an even greater degree. The creation of medical centers as envisioned by this legislation would offer no new panacea in medical treatment or new armies of medical personnel—we will still have the same medical armament and the same number of physicians.

But, I have not obtained time to testify at these hearings primarily to attack the bill before you; I appear for another and, in my opinion, a far more important purpose. This committee's jurisdiction has, over the years, encompassed the spectrum of Government medical programs, exclusive only of those of the military services, social security taxes, and the Veterans' Administration. Your jurisdiction encompasses, in addition, the Food and Drug Administration, all U.S. Public Health Service programs, including those at the National Institutes of Health, medical programs of the Indian Health Service, the grant-in-aid programs of Hill-Burton, research construction, the various disease control programs to aid State health departments and the vocational rehabilitation program, to mention but a few.

Mr. Chairman, as the junior member of the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress, currently holding hearings; I am regular in attendance and I believe perceptive and delving re content of the multifaceted witnesses. I conclude there is an area of jurisdictional question in both bodies concerning the legislative (or authorizing) committees, and the appropriation (or operative) committees. It's time this was resolved, at least to the point that the letter not lean on the "lame crutch" that, while exerting operative oversight, they are not required to appropriate for all that is authorized—or else the legislative committees must take the "bit in their mouths" and desist from blanket authorizations in the vain hope that it will not be entirely appropriated for.

Over the years the U.S. Public Health Service and the Social Security Administration have lived under the same roof—first at the Federal Social Security Agency and then, starting in 1953, in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. During all this time, these two activities—Social Security and Public Health Service—have been in a power struggle, each seeking to be dominant in the control and administration of whatever medical programs are established within the Government.

If this committee is not aware of this inner-department struggle, I urge that you launch an investigation. Employees in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare may not wish to risk the security of their positions by openly testfiying—but you on this committee surely have second- and third-layer employee acquaintances, here as well as back home in public health work, who are involved in medical programs and who would readily confide information concerning the inner struggle to which I refer. I have several friends in the Public Health Service and many in State and local health departments who admit of their disappointment that both branches of Congress have passed social security medical legislation in which trained medical personnel are excluded in favor of social workers in the control, operation, and management of medical benefits to be provided. They believe that if the Federal Government is to enter medical care in a big way, the medical departments and medical personnel within government (at all levels), should administer such programs. With their contentions I agree; that is, if government is to enter the field, surely the educated and trained physicians of government are much more qualified in medical matters than are social workers.

Surely, if this legislative proposal, which you are today considering, represents the hastily concocted counterthrust of the Public Health Service to regain parity, or assume dominance, of the medical matters; in retaliation to the social security bill which favors "social worker" control; then this effort of theirs must be rejected, because in its haste (or for other reasons) it fails to produce good results by offering anything tangible or new in medical advance, by offering no new treatments or examinations not now being offered, by operating with the same number of trained physicians and technicians now actively and visually engaged, by threatening to draw skills away from needy areas not adjacent to the large medical centers which it proposes to establish, and by surely producing a "siphoning off" of young general practitioners from rural and semirural areas, compounding many problems of physician shortages well projected to all of you, although the ratio of physician to patient remains the same, thanks to a self-policed medical profession.

The committee should be aware that errors are important and existent in a game where the stakes are high, and Federal medical expenditures of taxpayers' moneys total 25 percent, or $9 billion of the total $36 billion our Nation annually spends for health, and both figures are and will accelerate rapidly.

May I suggest to this committee that it declare a moratorium on any medical legislation until opportunity has been provided the committee with ample time to examine closely this power struggle. I suggest that you consider conducting an extensive investigation. Your action will be applauded by public health personnel in all levels of government. Though I remain stanchly opposed to the Federal Government moving in on the private practice of medicine, as a legislator, I feel a responsibility to assist in coordinating Government activities in health, to produce the best results. It is not fair to the American taxpayers, nor is it fair to the best interests of persons in need of health services, that Federal agencies in this field be permitted to engage in power struggles for power's sake. Finally, let us allow time to see the effect such as abuse factors, doctor (medical student) recruitment and others incident to the implementation of H.R. 6675, as amended.

Long ago, Congress should have defined clearly the role of physicians in Government service. Long ago Congress should have elevated a single service of Government physicians to that of a Department of Health and turned over to it the administration of all Federal medical programs with a single exception of military medicine.

Had this been done, we would not today be faced with the possibility that an agency with no medical expertise would be taking over the operation of a program beyond their competence; nor would this ill-conceived legislation be before you today. Reflect on the fact that currently the best medicine

of a public health nature, or preventive nature, such as we truly envision in the war on stroke, cancer, and heart disease, occurs when administered by and through the various departments of health in the States of the Union. They are set up separately, have the tradition, are staffed with medics and proper ancillary personnel (including trained medical social workers), and habitually coordinate with the U.S. Public Health Service personnel and Federal Government. This is as it should be at all levels. I urge your pensive consideration and withholding of precipitous action at a time when sacred cows are choking channels of good government, preempting professional prerogatives, and robbing breakthroughs in research—to say naught of bankrupting the Nation.

Economic Progress in Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, under the leadership of Gov. William W. Scranton, my Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has been making great economic and industrial progress. Unemployment in the Johnstown area of Pennsylvania has, for example, dropped from 15.4 percent in January 1963, to 4.4 percent in May 1965. I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from remarks by Pennsylvania Secretary of Commerce John K. Tabor to Johnstown industrial leaders on July 22, be inserted in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS BY SECRETARY OF COMMERCE JOHN K. TABOR TO INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT LEADERS, JOHNSTOWN, PA., JULY 22, 1965

Secretary of Commerce John K. Tabor called Johnstown's economic recovery "the most dramatic in the Commonwealth," but added that "much remains to be done." He pointed to the State-Federal Appalachian program as "another valuable tool to create permanent jobs for this area" which had already, under Governor Scranton's leadership, provided a new Appalachia development highway as in Route 219 from the Maryland border to Johnstown.

Speaking of Johnstown's recovery, Tabor noted:

"Unemployment in the Johnstown area had dropped from 15.4 percent in January 1963, to 4.4 percent in May 1965; the greatest drop of any labor market area in the State during that 29-month period.

"At the same time, the labor market has been slowly but steadily increasing—meaning the drop in unemployment has not been merely by outmigration. Such a pattern, said Tabor, is indicative of 'true economic health.'

"In just the past 12 months, 3,100 more jobs have been added in the Johnstown area."

He noted that statewide "there are today 389,000 more men and women at work than in January 1963; unemployment has been cut from 9.4 to 4.4 percent; and the State's unemployment rate for 4 consecutive months has been below the national unemployment rate—the first time this has occurred since labor statistics began to be kept in 1949."

Tabor attributed the dramatic resurgence here and statewide to (1) excellent industrial development tools provided by present and previous legislatures and private action; (2) a vastly improved business climate, developed in the past 2 years; and (3) a dynamic partnership forged between private citizens and groups on the one hand, and the State, on the other, illustrated by the Governor's council of business and industry (of which Mr. Walter Krebs is a member), the 100,000 Pennsylvanians, development credit corporations, and the outstanding job done by local industrial development groups, such as the Johnstown Chamber of Commerce, working with PIDA. These three things enabled Pennsylvania to "take full advantage of, and even outpace, the national economy."

As Governor Scranton's representative to the Appalachian Regional Commission, Tabor then reported that in the Appalachian program, in the next 2 years, "The first Appalachian development highway segment to be built in Pennsylvania will be at Johnstown on Route 219; Pennsylvania would receive $55 million of the first $200 million for development highways to be matched by a nearly equal amount from the State; the Appalachia development highway system in Pennsylvania will include Route 22 from Greensburg to Harrisburg, Route 219 from the Maryland border to Johnstown, and Route 220 from the Maryland border to Williamsport; Pennsylvania will receive $11.8 million for mining area restoration—being 100 percent of the initial allocation of funds; Pennsylvania will receive $1.172 million for access roads into industrial parks and sites, to be matched by $502,000 from local municipalities."

Tabor said he was greatly heartened by the seriousness of purpose of the 11 member States of the Appalachian Commission, and their "determination to date, to make the Appalachian dollars build well-placed capital assets (such as roads, sewage treatment plants, vocational education structures, and restored mining areas) which would strengthen the capacity of key points in Appalachia to grow and generate enduring private sector jobs."

Tabor also noted that under the administration's $10-billion, 10-year highway program, Cambria County would gain the following:

	Million
Primary roads	119.0
Secondary roads	41.7
Total investment	160.7

Otherwise, construction would take 53 years to complete.

Sugar Brinkmanship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, last month on June 30 a new daily newspaper covering Latin American affairs appeared on the American scene. President Johnson called the Latin American Times "a path-breaking venture in American journalism." Its early issues have occasioned endorsement from many government and business leaders alike. The paper is an English language daily, circulated throughout the world and devoted entirely to news of Latin America—business, political, cultural, and commerical news. In its issue of Monday, July 19, the Latin American Times ran a lead editorial entitled, "Sugar Brinkmanship." I think it fitting to read at this time, to take a look at the sugar situation, and this editorial appears to cover the problem in a way that we can all understand.

The editorial follows:

SUGAR BRINKSMANSHIP

World sugar prices have collapsed. And Latin American sugar producers are beset with fear that U.S. indifference to their plight may abandon them to a severe economic depression as a result.

The question of how much sugar the United States should import—and from whom—is complex. The various aspects of the problem are best examined one at a time.

The overall situation is that 16 Latin American countries that produce sugar and sell it to the United States feel their sugar producing industries are threatened by action the U.S. Congress may take. The Congress will soon begin elaborating a new sugar act which will determine the countries' sale to the U.S. domestic market. The most galling of several unfavorable measures that may go into the new bill is a sugar import fee.

Our Latin American suppliers are today fulfilling their quotas in the U.S. market at approximately 6.75 cents a pound for their sugar. The world price is around 1.9 cents a pound.

To produce sugar at all, even for their home consumption, Latin American countries have to sell in both the United States and the world markets. Latin America is producing its sugar today at costs close to the average between what they get in world markets and what they get from the United States.

For this reason, the proposed import fee of about 20 cents per 100 pounds on sugar brought into the United States will cause them to lose money on all their sugar production.

Many arguments will be marshalled, as many have already been, to justify this import fee, which comes on top of a traditional tariff or import tax on foreign sugar.

U.S. beet sugar producers want a larger share of the U.S. sugar market, though their production costs are so high they have to be subsidized by the U.S. Government.

The only other U.S. sector that will be gratified by the effects of the sugar import fee are certain anonymous official policymakers buried deep within the U.S. State Department.

These are members of the so-called one world group, who would like to break up gradually the existing system of sugar import controls under which the United States assigns sugar import quotas at guaranteed prices to traditional overseas suppliers. Many of these suppliers, of course, are in Latin America.

The national and international interests that will suffer injury if the import fee is levied far outweigh the above in importance.

To begin with, the extremely difficult job of the State Department's own Bureau of American Republics, headed by Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America Jack Hood Vaughn, will be made much more thorny if the sugar import fee that harms Latin America is part of the forthcoming sugar law.

Sixteen Latin American governments are already upset over the State Department's apparent support of the import fee. Among them are those countries that have given the United States its main support in the tragic Dominican episode.

To these governments, that have just rushed to Washington's aid in a serious crisis,

the apparent decision on sugar is a distinct slap in the face.

Next, the U.S. Alliance for Progress is an effort to help develop Latin American economics. U.S. leaders speak early and often of encouraging the Latin Americans to help themselves. Yet the Latin Americans will be crippled in their endeavors to do so if Washington pulls the rug out from under so important an industry as Latin American sugar production.

Finally, there can be no sale of U.S. exports to Latin America unless the United States spends dollars buying from Latin America. Across the United States, industries in virtually every State will feel it if Latin America's sugar economies are torpedoed by shortsighted, nationalistic, or highly theoretical U.S. policies.

The new U.S. Sugar Act regulating sugar imports still remains to be written. The Congress must weigh carefully its actions on this issue. Direct foreign aid is coming under closer congressional and public scrutiny each year. It would be rash for the Congress to threaten the survival of our neighbors' sugar industries at any time. It would be reckless to do so when the world sugar market has collapsed and the pinch is developing over foreign aid.

Civil Rights Comments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, Mr. Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, recently offered some noteworthy comments on the direction of the civil rights movement in this country. In particular, he cautioned that the civil rights movement could weaken its effectiveness in discharging its major responsibility by attempting to become the vehicle of opinion for other subjects. His immediate concern centered around statements by certain civil rights leaders with regard to American policy in Vietnam. As the American involvement in Vietnam continues, there will be even greater temptation to speak out on this issue. With this in mind, Mr. Wilkins' views may well be of special interest to Members of Congress. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that his column, as it appeared in the July 21 issue of the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, be entered at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CIVIL RIGHTS AND VIETNAM

NEW YORK.—If the civil rights movement should go off on a foreign policy kick it will weaken its effectiveness in discharging its major responsibility here at home.

The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., driven by his great personal devotion to peace and nonviolence and, no doubt, by the advice of aids in the civil rights cause, has proposed that the United States withdraw from Vietnam and negotiate a peace.

At the preesnt time, the score is 2 to 1 against the King proposal. The 2,000 delegates to the NAACP convention did not consider such a resolution and several hundred CORE convention delegates voted against it. The National Urban League and SNCC are not recorded.

FITS ALL ISSUES

The argument that it will be futile for civil rights groups to struggle for equality if nuclear war is to be loose in the world can be made for the supporters of birth control or for the crusaders against air and water pollution, for those seeking wildlife and forest conservation, or for workers in a hundred other causes. Under such reasoning practically all human activity should cease unless allied with the peace movement.

There are, of course, many kibitzers in the civil rights campaign whose No. 1 objective is not the attainment of the civil rights of Negro citizens. Nor do their hearts bleed for the Vietnamese. Nor do they hate colonialism in its pure form; they hate certain of those whom they label as practitioners.

DISSIPATION OF ENERGY?

And, too, Negro Americans should be wary of the race and color gambit. Last week I received a letter from an interested white person objecting to my belief that civil rights tasks in America should be separated from foreign policy in Vietnam. He concluded by asking my stand on "shooting my colored brother" in Asia.

In the broadest sense, all men are my brothers, but Premier Chou En-lai, for example, is no close relative. At least, he and his are not close enough for me to ease my fight here against racial bigotry in order to enter into a foreign policy matter that seems to be of more than passing interest to Communist China.

To tie a whole movement for domestic citizenship equality to the military operation in Vietnam strikes many people as a costly dissipation of energies and resources.

All over this land of ours, not in a faraway corner of Asia, there are 20 millions of Negro citizens, several millions of Spanish-Americans and numerous other deprived groups awaiting upgrading to better opportunities and richer lives in the world's richest country. By dint of strategy and sacrifice and struggle and suffering, both the moral and the practical arguments for equality have been driven home.

EFFECT ON OTHERS

The three branches of our Federal Government have fashioned new tools to effect change, the voting bill passed by the House last week being the latest exhibit of concern. The three great religious faiths are diligently at work. The college students are fired and determined upon this issue. Finally, the Negro citizens themselves are at last aware and aroused.

It would be a tactical error at this crucial point to change course or to take on another objective. For us here, Selma is just as important as Saigon (or have we forgotten so quickly?). Hattiesburg is as much a challenge as Hanoi. Chicago and Boston school segregation is right under our noses. Racial unemployment and racial ghettoes stare us in the face.

East Texas, central Louisiana, rural Georgia,, and the hinterlands of Alabama are closer than Cambodia. Besides, they contain our fellow citizens and our real relatives. Dilution of the civil rights drive is not in order.

Cost of Living Allowances for Federal Employees in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, on July 1 of this year an Executive order was issued which nearly wipes out the cost of living allowance for Federal employees in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. This is an allowance that was first established under the Brookhart Act in 1930, and is now being granted to Government workers in Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

Based on reliable reports furnished to me, the cost of living in these four areas has differed little, and I am unable to understand why the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico were singled out for such a drastic reduction in cost of living allowance.

I am also strongly opposed to a bill, H.R. 8390, which would further decrease this meager allowance.

Mr. Speaker, cost of living allowances have served a constructive purpose. They have provided incentive for attracting desirable employees, and stabilized personnel in nonforeign areas.

The Civil Service Commission's action in cutting the cost of living allowances in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands will undoubtedly aggravate existing problems which have necessitated special attention from the Post Office Department, particularly since the transfer of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands from the jurisdiction of the Atlanta to the New York post office region.

There are also serious political implications involved in this action to reduce the cost of living allowance. It is apparent that the Civil Service Commission took this action solely on the basis of its assumed obligation to administer cost of living allowance under Executive Order 10000. However, this is bound to have some significant and direct effect on the political situation in Puerto Rico, particularly—both internally and externally. Historically and culturally, Puerto Rico has close bonds with all of South America. In view of the recent development in the Dominican Republic, we should not underestimate the adverse propaganda effects of reducing the cost of living allowance. Puerto Rico is a showcase of democracy in action. What happens there is bound to affect the major effort we are making in South America under the Alliance for Progress program. Puerto Rico, itself, is split into three major political movements, oriented toward preservation of the Commonwealth status, statehood, and independence, the latter sparked by a strong nationalist movement.

Large numbers of Americans of Puerto Rican descent feel strongly that they are victims of racial discrimination in a number of major areas, such as employment, housing, and education. They respond strongly to any move which, from their point of view, adversely affects their status—political, economic, or social, whether in Puerto Rico or in the United States.

Mr. Speaker, in February of last year, hearings were held on a bill, H.R. 7401, similar to the one that is now proposed. With respect to this bill, Chairman John W. Macy, Jr., of the Civil Service Commission, stated in part:

We urge enactment of this proposed legislation in order that the pay principles of the Federal Salary Reform Act may be properly applied in the areas where the allowances are now paid.

On June 1, 1965, testifying before the House Subcommittee on Compensation, Chairman Macy frankly conceded that the pay recommendations of the administration could, at best, be expected to hold the line and prevent a worsening of the gap in comparability with respect to pay for postal and Federal employees as of the survey taken March 1964. He further conceded that an increase of at least five-tenths of 1 percent would be necessary to reach real comparability, and even this would have a 1-year gap built in.

When it comes to reduction of the cost of living allowance, the Commission has moved most resolutely and on this aspect, alleged comparability must be absolute and current, as distinguished from the Commission's approach to pay.

Mr. Speaker, I challenge the surveys that were used in arriving at the Commission's conclusions, with respect to the necessity for reducing the cost-of-living allowance. To the best of my knowledge, all that the Commission has presented to substantiate its fiscal conclusions are summaries of the results of surveys taken in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. No representative of affected employees was ever consulted or advised concerning specific methods and criteria utilized in the survey. Further, the Bureau of Labor Statistics was cited as the authority for surveys taken earlier this year in Hawaii and Alaska, but neither the Commission nor the Bureau was involved in the most recent survey of Pureto Rico and the Virgin Islands. In these instances, I understand the Department of State conducted the survey, and this Department has no particular mission in this area. Surveys conducted by representatives of the affected employees show that actual living costs in San Juan, for example, are 20 percent above costs in the Washington, D.C., area. It is quite possible that the difference is accounted for by the fact that the State Department's so-called survey compared unlike things, such as hamburgers with steaks.

The president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Mr. David Dubinsky, was recently quoted, from a statement he made before a Senate labor subcommittee, that the cost of living in San Juan was 29 percent higher than in Washington, D.C. A conservative survey taken by employees themselves last year shows cost 20 percent higher in San Juan as against Washington, D.C.

The following is a quote from Chairman Macy's letter with respect to H.R. 7401 last year:

> You will see that the survey findings show that private enterprise salary rates in Alaska are rather substantially above mainland private enterprise averages. On the other hand, in both Hawaii and Puerto Rico the private enterprise salaries are shown to be generally less than those on the mainland.

It will be noted that this year the Commission found grounds for excluding reduction of cost-of-living allowance in Hawaii. It is difficult to believe that the cost of living in Hawaii has increased abnormally in past months as against that of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. I am not opposed to the maintenance of the cost-of-living allowance for Hawaii, as well as Alaska, but this emphasizes the distinction that has been made.

In that same letter, Chairman Macy also stated, with reference to the phasing out of cost-of-living allowance over a period of not to exceed 6 years:

> We believe that even where increase base rates are not warranted, the allowances can be terminated through a series of small reductions so that, with very few exceptions, no employee will receive less gross compensation than he is now getting, provided that statutory adjustments are made annually to reflect Bureau of Labor Statistics findings on national averages of private enterprise salaries.

Mr. Speaker, utilizing step 7, level 4 of the Postal Field Service as the median, postal employees in Puerto Rico face a net loss of $600 in take-home pay in this first year, with reduction of cost-of-living allowance from 12½ to 5 percent. Virgin Island employees with a reduction from 15 to 5 percent face an even greater loss in net take-home pay between now and July 1, 1966. It should be noted that the Virgin Islands must import virtually all manufactured and finished products, with a significant increase in cost for even the smallest household item of daily use.

In the case of Puerto Rico, residents suffer certain financial disabilities by virtue of their Commonwealth status, which places them at a distinct disadvantage as against residents of the mainland. A new Chevrolet, for example, costs over $1,000 more in San Juan than in the United States. In addition, the purchaser must pay from $200 to $300 for the license plates in the first year, plus proportionately reduced amounts in the years following. Further, residents of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands are denied, for example, the benefits of recently reduced excise taxes on automobiles, TV sets, and so forth.

The reduction of the cost-of-living allowance at this time has created much bitterness among the affected employees. They consider it highly discriminatory. Newspapers in San Juan have given it considerable prominence in recent months. From an editorial point of view, they are universally indignant. For example, a typical comment appeared in the San Juan Star on July 15, 1965, under the headline "Blue Collar Pay Rates Are Hiked," which read:

> As down goes the cost-of-living allowance for white collar Federal workers in Puerto Rico, up goes the pay for the blue collar workers for the Navy.

The item stated further that 942 employees at Roosevelt Roads, and the Naval Station in San Juan, would receive a 7.7-percent raise, starting with the first pay period after July 14.

This is to point out that while the Commission has been quick to equate postal employees in Puerto Rico with those on the mainland, distinct differences are being ignored. Postal employees in Puerto Rico, especially letter carriers and window clerks, must be able to speak both English and Spanish. Unless they are able to do so, and this applies only somewhat less to other employees, they cannot possibly be of any value. Apparently, the Commission regards this unusual requirement quite casually. There is no such requirement on the mainland. Has this been taken into consideration by the U.S. Civil Service Commission?

Mr. Speaker, my purpose in bringing this inequity to the attention of the House is to urge my colleagues to seek immediate action on H.R. 568, which would terminate the economic injustice imposed by the Commission, and provide for a proper survey which would include appropriate consultation with the representatives of affected employees.

The Real Alabama—Part XXXV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the history of Alabama is rich with courageous deeds, foresighted actions, and of sturdy people who through hard work have built a State of which we are proud.

The State's history can be summarized in the history of its counties. And as part of this series, over the next few days, I wish to convey outlines of the stories of the six counties of Alabama's First Congressional District.

The first of these is Choctaw County which is located between the Tombigbee River and the western border of the State. A brief summary of the history of the county follows:

CHOCTAW COUNTY, ALA.

The southwestern part of the State is the location of Choctaw County. It is bounded by Sumter County on the north, on the east by Marengo and Clarke Counties, on the south by Washington County, and on the west by the Mississippi line. Choctaw County was created by the legislature on December 29, 1847, from territory taken from Sumter and Washington Counties. Choctaw has a land area of 918 square miles, and its county seat is Butler.

Betcha Chukka was an Indian village at the site of the present Tuscahoma, and a Choctaw village site was called Chickasabays, where stands the present Ararat. On the west bank of the Tombigbee River opposite the northwest corner of Clarke County was a large Choctaw village called Faulukabunna or "Fork Laid Across." Okegaya was settled in 1763 by Kosati and Okchayi Indians for only 4 years—this was on the Tombigbee at the site of the present West Oakchi. Okahapassa was another Choctaw village on Capassa Creek. Puskus Piaya was near Pusscuss Creek, 3½ miles east of the present Emory. At the site of the present Naheola was another Choctaw town. And early Indians before the Choctaws left their marks in various ceremonial and burial mounds to be found in Choctaw County.

Timber is the main income product of Choctaw County, but many possiblities lie in

the numerous minerals to be found here. For instance: gypsum lignite, buhrstone, chalcedony, clay, soft limestone, glauconite, marcasite, petroleum, natural gas, fossil resin, salt brine, and sand. The first oil well was brought in in 1944 at Gilbertown Oil Field. Wells drilled since have produced either oil or natural gas. The history of Choctaw County seems to be just starting.

Choctaw County has 41 elementary schools, 7 junior high schools, and 4 senior high schools. The Livingston State Teachers College is 36 miles north of Butler, and 66 miles further takes you to the University of Alabama. Recreational facilities are many and very good, with a 70-acre lake one-half mile west of Butler and 89 other private lakes and public lakes. Fishing is excellent. Game is so plentiful that there are 15 private hunting clubs with hunting preserves amounting to approximately 80,000 acres in Choctaw County.

Section 14(b) Safeguards for Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD, an editorial contained in the July 27 issue of the Washington Daily News.

The editorial outlines some of the basic points of concern that are shared by many Members of Congress on the retention or repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

I submit this editorial to my colleagues for your personal edification and information:

SECTION 14(b) SAFEGUARDS FOR WORKERS

It now appears evident the administration has the votes both in the House and the Senate to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Before that happens, the leadership should take a look at proposed safeguards for rank-and-file workers who may be forced to join unions once repeal takes effect.

One of these would require ratification by secret ballot of any union shop agreement, in place of the present arrangement under which the union simply shows signed pledge cards representing a majority of workers in a plant.

This makes considerable sense. If a contract is to bind every employee to pay union dues whether he likes it or not, is it too much to ask for a secret ballot to make sure the union, at least, has majority support?

So does the proposal for tighter restrictions on use of union funds in politics. The Supreme Court has ruled that a union member's dues cannot be used for political purposes against his will. But, in practice, without specific legislation, it is almost impossible for an individual worker to get his money back.

Also meriting serious consideration are curbs on union disciplinary powers over forced members and a ban on union shop contracts where racial discrimination is practiced.

Proponents of repeal deny it will result in any enslavement of workers by union leaders. They should write into the law guarantees to make sure they're right.

Self-Sacrifice at OEO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, on page A4061 of the Appendix of the RECORD of July 26, the majority floor manager of H.R. 8283, the so-called war on poverty bill, has been kind enough to provide a chart. This chart shows the names of consultants and experts in the Office of Economic Opportunity, their current per diem wage, their previous places of employment and in most cases, their previous incomes.

I certainly want to say how much I appreciate this information. It is exactly what I have wanted OEO to supply me for many months. I believe that its introduction in the RECORD is a service to the Members of the House and the American people as a whole.

Unfortunately, the interpretation which accompanies the chart seems faulty. The interpretation says that so-called consultants and experts have taken great salary cuts to join the war on poverty forces. It is intimated that they have done so at great sacrifice and hardship. A few scattered samples, chosen from the list at random, are cited to support this contention.

I believe that we must look at the entire chart to find the real answer. It takes only a 20-minute analysis of this chart, using the figures supplied in the interpretation which accompanies it in the July 26 RECORD, to find the following facts:

Of the 278 persons named on this chart, only 45 receive less wages from OEO than from their previous or regular places of employment. In many cases, the cut is negligible. Just 30 receive about the same amount. For 12, no previous income is listed.

Mr. Speaker, that means that of the 278 persons, 191 receive more wages from OEO than from their previous or regular places of employment. In most cases this is a substantial increase.

Of that group listed as "full-time consultants," just 21 make less money at OEO than in their previous jobs. Sixteen receive about the same and there is no previous wage record for six. Of the 131 persons in this category, 88 receive substantially more than on their previous jobs.

Mr. Speaker, in the group listed as "intermittent consultants" there are 114 names. Of this group, just 17 receive less money on days when they work for OEO than for a day spent at their regular employment. Ten receive about the same and there is no previous wage record on four of them. That means that of 114 persons, 83 receive more working for OEO.

Of the group listed as "full-time experts," seven receive less than in their previous jobs. Four receive about the same; there is no record of previous income for 2, and 20 receive substantially more.

Of those receiving the OEO top salary of $100 per day, or according to the figures provided in the interpretation in the RECORD of July 26, a total of $26,000 a year, 7 took a cut in salary to work for OEO, but this wage represented an increase of up to 50 percent for 13 individuals.

Mr. Speaker, to me this does not indicate any great degree of sacrifice.

It is also interesting to note some of the people who are included on the list, and some of the titles they are given. For instance, in the case of one consultant we learn he was previously "Director of program development, $325 per week." But we are not told for whom he directed program development. We find another consultant listed as "Director, Rocky Mountain region" but we do not know of what. We find another listed as a "State director," but once again do not know what he was directing. There are several such cases.

Then, we are interested to find that the deputy campaign director for Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, Mr. William Vanden Heuvel, has moved up from his $20,000 a year job as a politician to $26,000 a year as a poverty warrior.

It is also interesting to learn that the former director of the leadership studies center for the United Auto Workers, Mr. Brendon Sexton, has left that paltry $13,500-a-year job to earn $26,000 a year as a poverty warrior.

It was heart warming to learn that Vincente T. Ximenes, formerly national coordinator of the Democratic National Committee at $17,200 a year, now makes $18,200 as a poverty warrior. The chart tells us that he is one of the OEO staff member in charge of "inspections."

It was equally interesting to learn that Mr. D. H. Radler took a cut in pay from $18,500 as an employee of the Democratic State committee—way down to $18,200 a year as an "office director" at OEO.

Mr. Speaker, such examples of self-sacrifice should warm the hearts of all. I am sure that many of my colleagues will find names and other information supplied by this chart equally heart warming and so I am again introducing it in the RECORD, for handy reference.

For the sake of convenience, I might point out that $35 a day represents an annual income of $9,100; $40 a day equals $10,400 annually; $45 a day equals $11,700 annually; $50 a day equals $13,000 annually; $55 a day equals $14,300 annually; $60 a day equals $15,600 annually; $65 a day equals $16,900 annually; $70 a day equals $18,200 annually; $75 a day equals $19,500 annually; $80 a day equals $20,800 annually; $85 a day equals $21,900 annually; $90 a day equals $23,400 annually; $95 a day equals $24,700 annually; and $100 a day equals $26,000 annually.

Mr. Speaker, it is interesting to compare these figures against the chart offered by the majority:

Current full-time consultants as of date submitted to GAO

Name	Date of appointment	Salary	Organization	Duty station	Previous employment
Brown, Holmes M.	Oct. 12, 1964	$100	Public affairs	Washington, D.C.	Director of public relations, Martin Marrietta Corp., $50,000 per annum.
Elwell, Richard R.	Nov. 30, 1964	65	do	do	Evaluator, U.S. Peace Corps, $17,000 per annum.
Masters, Peter F.	Oct. 26, 1964	60	do	do	Self-employed, design partnership, $15,336 per annum.
Gross, Ernest	Dec. 7, 1964	60	do	do	Public relations consultant, New York State Labor Department, $15,000 per annum.
Moss, Edward K.	Apr. 1, 1965	75	do	do	Owner, Edward K. Moss International, $25,000 per annum.
Maguire, Francis X.	Oct. 26, 1964	50	do	do	Director of program development, $325 per week.
Miller, Harry J.	do	50	do	do	Accountant executive, Darcy, Bush & Osborne, Inc., $9,500 per annum.
Wright, Dale R.	Jan. 5, 1965	60	do	do	New York State Commissioner for Human Rights, $15,000 per annum.
Ellis, Garrison M.	Dec. 28, 1964	60	do	do	Associate, Earl Newsom Co., $11,000 per annum.
Williams, Joan	Apr. 12, 1965	50	do	do	Information office, United Nations, $770 per month.
Van Doren, Ronald R.	Nov. 8, 1964	65	do	do	Staff writer, the Arizona Republic, $7,500 per annum.
Allott, Patricia A.	Dec. 29, 1964	35	do	do	Commercial artist, Kaufman Associates, $6,500 per annum.
Doherty, James E.	Nov. 8, 1964	35	do	do	Assistant instructor, Spanish language program for the blind, $5,500 per annum.
Hughes, Eleanor P.	May 5, 1965	50	do	do	Women's editor, $21,000, per annum.
Tait, Pauline W.	Apr. 29, 1965	50	do	do	Director, public affairs, Kennedy Center for Performing Arts, $12,000 per annum.
Michaels, Anna M.	May 3, 1965	50	do	do	Account coordinator, Edward K. Moss International, $100 per day.
Roddy, Robert	Feb. 15, 1965	60	VISTA	do	Industrial relations consultant, Minneapolis Hospital Services Association, $14,000 per annum.
Price, Gary	Oct. 26, 1964	55	VISTA	do	Executive director, SAAC, New York City, $14,800 per annum.
Weatherford, Willis, Jr.	do	70	VISTA	do	Associate professor, Swarthmore, $15,000 per annum.
Constable, Elinor	do	35	VISTA	do	English Institute, University of Honduras, $14,800 per annum.
Guskin, Alan E.	do	50	VISTA	do	Consultant, President's task force.
Long, Lewis M. K.	Jan. 18, 1965	60	VISTA	do	Supervisory clinical psychologist, chief, $12,170 per annum.
Carter, Charles A.	Dec. 1, 1964	40	VISTA	do	Counselor, Howard University, $8,200 per annum.
Hutchinson, John G.	Oct. 26, 1964	50	VISTA	do	Administrative Officer of Peace Corps, $10,650 per annum.
Gerson, Richard I.	Oct. 20, 1964	75	VISTA	do	Chief, Southeast Asia project, Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs, $17,600 per annum.
Higgins, Thaddeus F. X.	May 10, 1965	55	VISTA	do	General manager and executive vice president of BBB in Pittsburgh, $20,640 per annum.
Blackburn, John J.	Oct. 26, 1964	55	VISTA	do	Pastor, $14,200 per annum.
Chong, Charles	Nov. 23, 1964	50	VISTA	do	Assistant to president of American Federation of State, City and Municipal Employees, $16,111 per annum.
Parsons, Arch	May 24, 1965	65	VISTA	do	Assistant foreign editor, Los Angeles Times, $325 per week.
Rantane, Bruno	Feb. 15, 1965	50	VISTA	do	International representative, American Federation, State, County and Municipal Employees, $10,500 per annum.
Sill, Maurice L.	Nov. 17, 1964	70	VISTA	do	Director, research and evaluation, Appalachian Youth, Inc., $17,000 per annum.
Baker, Robert N.	Dec. 10, 1964	60	Job Corps	do	Manager, American Machine & Foundry Co., $13,500 per annum.
Huntington, Haskins	Dec. 31, 1964	70	do	do	Staff director, Department of Commerce, $16,000 per annum.
Healy, Edward P.	Oct. 26, 1964	90	do	do	Consultant NS, Office of Education, $75 per day.
Woodard, Anola F.	Apr. 21, 1965	40	do	do	Senior psychologist social worker, UCLA, $9,060 per annum.
Pulakos, Milton	Jan. 4, 1965	50	do	do	Associate director, Lower East Side Neighborhood Association, New York, $11,500 per annum.
Brashears, Benjamin S.	Dec. 17, 1964	45	do	do	Social science research analyst, Department of Labor, $8,945 per annum.
Eigen, Lewis D.	Oct. 26, 1964	85	do	do	President, Program Committee Institute.
Troutman, John E.	Mar. 25, 1965	70	do	do	Vice president, Elec. Teaching Lab.
Gottlieb, David	Oct. 26, 1964	70	do	do	Associate professor, Michigan State University, $11,500 per annum.
Stellwagon, Walter R.	Jan. 3, 1965	70	do	do	Associate professor, Michigan State University, $15,700 per annum.
Katz, Milton S.	Apr. 26, 1965	70	do	do	Supervisary research psychologist, $100 per day.
Levine, Stanley	May 10, 1965	70	do	do	Vice president, Training Systems, Inc., $17,000 per annum.
Gillis, James C., Jr.	Oct. 26, 1964	55	do	do	Assistant director of recruitment, $50 per day.
Sexton, Brendon	Nov. 30, 1964	100	CAP	do	Director leadership studies center, U.A.W, $13,500.
VandenHeuvel, William	Dec. 3, 1964	100	CAP	do	Deputy campaign manager, Robert Kennedy, $20,000 per annum.
Bohrson, Ralph G.	Apr. 5, 1965	80	CAP	do	Director, Rocky Mountain area, $13,500 per annum.
Ross, Elizabeth H.	Nov. 9, 1964	65	CAP	do	Consultant on dependency, $13,115 per annum.
Rauh, B. Michael	Apr. 26, 1965	60	CAP	do	Regional coordinator, $250 per week.
Bass, William H.	Dec. 14, 1964	60	CAP	do	Field officer, USDA-ORAD.
Moore, Robert N.	Dec. 8, 1964	60	CAP	do	Administrative assistant, Congressman Joel Evins, $13,900 per annum.
Cotton, Mello	Nov. 23, 1964	55	CAP	do	Advanceman, $12,500 per annum.
Ben-Ami, David Z.	Apr. 25, 1965	50	CAP	do	College instructor, Temple Emanuel of Ironde Court, $10,000 per annum.
Drake, Charles H.	Nov. 9, 1964	50	CAP	do	Director, Fryburg Academy, $1,000 per month.
Salett, Stanley J.	Oct. 26, 1964	45	CAP	do	Expert, Official of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, $33.28 per day.
Wickland, Roger F.	Nov. 3, 1964	65	VISTA	do	Project manager, Youth Opportunity Board, $15,000 per annum.
Johnson, James E.	May 5, 1965	60	VISTA	do	Field representative, National Urban League, $11,000 per annum.
Alexander, Alan A.	Oct. 26, 1964	50	MGMT	do	Director, English language service, $12,500 per annum tax free.
Paynter, David H.	Jan. 18, 1965	90	Job Corps	do	Superintendent of Schools, Simi, Calif., $20,500 per annum.
Stuck, Harry W.	do	40	do	do	Superintendent, Nevada Girls Training Center, $12,000 per annum.
O'Hare, Thomas J.	May 17, 1965	50	do	do	Superintendent of training and education, $8,840 per annum.
Diener, Charles L.	Nov. 29, 1964	40	do	do	Director, teacher education, Fort Lewis College, $7,500.
O'Callaghan, Donald N.	Nov. 8, 1964	65	do	do	Director, health and welfare, $15,120 per annum.
Keating, Raymond F.	Dec. 14, 1964	50	do	do	Education consultant, educational research service, $1,000 per month.
Wilkins, William, D.	Jan 11, 1965	75	do	do	Professor of education, $16,000 per annum.
Schima, Marilyn E.	Oct. 26, 1964	60	do	do	Health education consultant, Great Neck Public Schools $10,000.
Hall, C. Mitchell	Jan. 18, 1965	75	do	do	Directorate of facilities, $16,965 per annum.
McConnell, William A.	Jan. 4, 1965	50	do	do	Lieutenant Colonel, USAF (material!), $1,190 per month.
Ferlo, Virgil J.	Dec. 10, 1964	45	do	do	Special Assistant, Peace Corps, $10,970 per annum.
Garofalo, Dominic G.	Mar. 22, 1965	50	CAP	do	State director, $8,500 per annum.
Palmour, Claire T.	May 10, 1965	50	CAP	do	Commercial manager, WDUN, Gainesville, Ga., $9,200 per annum.
Fox, Lester J.	Feb. 1, 1965	60	CAP	Atlanta, Ga.	Associate director, $12,000 per annum.
Sasaki, Tom T.	Jan. 21, 1965	60	CAP	New Mexico	Associate professor, New Mexico University, $13,000 per annum.
Stocks, Donald M.	Apr. 19, 1965	50	CAP	Washington, D.C.	Attorney adviser, HEW, $10,600 per annum.
Eldred, Philip H.	Mar. 22, 1965	45	CAP	Yakima, Wash.	Ordained minister, Assemblies of God, $500 per month.
Oliveo, Jack J.	May 11, 1965	45	CAP	Washington, D.C.	Attorney, Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, $9,000 per annum.
Cosgrove, Thomas S.	Nov. 30, 1964	70	CAP	do	International education director, Federation of State, Country, $10,000 per annum.
Lucas, Jane M.	Apr. 28, 1965	40	CAP	do	Attorney-advisor, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights $7,560 per annum.
Fallon, Vincent	Mar. 19, 1965	60	CAP	do	Associate director, Catholic Charities, $13,000 per annum.
Rainey, Virginia	Mar. 14, 1965	45	CAP	do	Administrative assistant, ICA, Washington D.C., $7,425.
Richmond, Julius M.	Feb. 2, 1965	100	CAP	do	Dean and professor Upstate Medical Center, $20,000 plus.
Spickler, Martin W.	Feb. 28, 1965	60	CAP	do	Psychologist, Montana school system, $11,000.
Balzer, Franc	Apr. 16, 1965	50	CAP	do	Director research demonstration project, Junior Village, $12,075.
Sadow, Sue	Feb. 23, 1965	50	CAP	do	World affairs lecturer, $10,000.
Lowe, Roger D.	Apr. 5, 1965	50	CAP	do	Self-employed, business insurance.
Darlington, Alice	Mar. 22, 1965	40	CAP	do	Director, Board of Education, Chicago, Ill.
Lewis, Joan D.	Apr. 8, 1965	45	CAP	do	Test development examiner, $8,560 per annum.
Hunter, Gertrude T.	Apr. 12, 1965	50	CAP	do	Research physician, $8,840.
Fogg, Betty L.	Mar. 1, 1965	50	CAP	do	Child development specialist, $7,900 for 195 days.
Terris, Shirley D.	do	50	CAP	do	Director, Holy Comforter Service, volunteer.
Blaylock, Marilyn J.	Apr. 5, 1965	45	CAP	do	Child development specialist, $5,735.
Aguirre, Humberto	May 3, 1965	45	CAP	do	Junior high vice principal, $5,800 per annum.
Heller, Adele R.	Mar. 22, 1965	40	CAP	do	Music teacher, $10 per hour.
Martin, John A., Jr.	Apr. 17, 1965	50	CAP	California	Assistant secretary YMCA, $10,302 per annum.
Goodwin, James C.	May 24, 1965	50	CAP	do	Legal editor, Bancroft, Whitney Publishing Co., $8,000 per annum.
Hyman, Milton	May 10, 1965	60	CAP	Chicago	Associate director, Joint Youth Development Committee $15,000 per annum

Current full-time consultants as of date submitted to GAO—Continued

Name	Date of appointment	Salary	Organization	Duty station	Previous employment
Williams, Robert E	Apr. 6, 1965	$60	CAP	Chicago	Associate professor, Chicago Teachers College, and associate director, Woodlawn Organization, $17,076.
Mehlberg, Wallace L	Apr. 21, 1965	60	CAP	do	Director of Land Conservation, Department of Agriculture, $16,500 per annum.
Jordan, Vernon E	May 20, 1965	60	CAP	Atlanta	Assistant executive director, Southern Regional Council, Inc., $10,500 per annum.
Lesser, Saal D	Apr. 19, 1965	60	CAP	New York	Executive director, Encampment for Citizenship, $12,500 per annum.
Nieves, Josephine	Do.	60	CAP	do	Acting project director, Puerto Rico Forum, $17,000.
Hanan, Thomas M	Feb. 23, 1965	35	CAP	do	Representative, Warner-Chilcott Laboratories, $8,000.
Stack, Michael J	Mar. 22, 1965	65	CAP	Washington, D.C	Self-employed lawyer, $20,000-plus.
Collins, Raymond C	Apr. 26, 1965	50	CAP	do	International relations officer, State Department, $9,945.
Rhine, Earl R	Apr. 16, 1965	45	CAP	do	Development officer, AID, $9,945.
Burns, Robert J	do	50	CAP	do	Student, U.S. Army Infantry Center, $630 per month.
Oliver, Barbara J	May 24, 1965	50	CAP	do	Executive director, Bloomingdale neighborhood conservation assistance, $9,375.
Ramirez, Lorenzo	May 23, 1965	45	CAP	do	Relocation officer, Urban Renewal Agency, $7,000.
Golatz, Helmut J	Dec. 28, 1964	60	CAP	do	Head, Department of Labor Education, Penn State University, $14,500.
Stenson, Kiernan F	Apr. 5, 1965	100	CAP	do	Director, Mayor's Commission on Human Development, Philadelphia, $16,000.
Salten, David G	Apr. 14, 1965	100	CAP	do	City superintendent of schools, Rochester, $30,000.
Bernstein, Jerome S	Dec. 30, 1964	70	CAP	do	Research coordinator, $14,000.
Hymes, James L	Feb. 16, 1965	90	CAP	do	Professor of education, University of Maryland, $12,900 per academic year.
Morris, Dudley E	Oct. 26, 1965	40	CAP	do	Correspondent, Time, Inc., $625 per month.
Williams, J. Earl	Jan. 27, 1965	85	CAP	do	Director, Southern Rural Training, National Share Corp., $20,000.
Shovell, William L	Feb. 16, 1965	70	CAP	do	President's Commission on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime.
Haddad, William F	Jan. 18, 1965	90	Office director	do	Consultant, Westinghouse Electric Corp., $150 per day.
Walsh, Ira P	Feb. 23, 1965	75	do	do	Public Relations director, Hearst Publications, $24,000-plus.
Yette, Samuel F	Nov. 29, 1965	70	do	do	Executive secretary, Peace Corps, $13,000.
Cahn, Edgar S	Oct. 26, 1964	70	do	do	Attorney, Justice Department, $10,000.
Radler, D. H	May 16, 1965	70	do	do	Division of information, Democratic State Committee, $18,500.
Zagorin, Ruth K	Oct. 26, 1964	40	do	do	Consultant, World Universalist Service, $10,000.
Clampitt, Robert H	Feb. 5, 1965	70	Inspections	do	Public affairs supervisor, Western Electric, $17,400.
Brown, E. Wayles, Jr	Apr. 1, 1965	75	do	do	Economist, Antitrust and Monopoly, U.S. Senate, $19,167.
Ximenes, Vincente T	Feb. 26, 1965	70	do	do	National coordinator, Democratic National Committee, $17,200.
Smilen, Kenneth B	Feb. 9, 1965	60	do	do	Division of Market Analysis, New York, $15,000-plus.
Williams, John C	Feb. 19, 1965	55	do	do	Assistant city manager, Rochester, N.Y., $12,147.
Boasberg, Emanuel	Dec. 21, 1964	50	Interagency relief	do	Attorney, private law firm, San Francisco, Calif., $850 per month.
Keville, Maurica L	Apr. 19, 1965	50	General counsel	do	Consultant, Washington representative for New York, $15,000.
Murphy, John C	Mar. 29, 1965	60	do	do	Association lawyer, covering Burling Co., District of Columbia, $11,250.

Current intermittent consultants

Name	Date of appointment	Salary	Organization	Duty station	Previous employment
Temko, Francine S	Dec. 1, 1964	$75	General counsel	Washington, D.C	Consultant, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, $50 per day.
Prentice, Edward S	Apr. 26, 1965	100	Program planning	do	Economist, First National Bank, New York, $28,000 per annum.
Williams, Walter	do	60	do	do	Associate professor of economics, University of Kentucky, $13,000 per annum.
Watts, Harold W	do	70	do	do	Associate professor of economics, University of Wisconsin, $15,000 per annum.
Delo, David A	Feb. 1, 1965	70	do	do	Market research specialist, Palos Verdes, Calif., $15,000 per annum.
Donvito, Pasqual A	Feb. 9, 1965	70	do	do	Economics consultant, $125 per day.
McNeil, Donald R	Apr. 1, 1965	50	VISTA	do	Special assistant to president, University of Wisconsin, $19,500 per annum.
Sonnenfeldt, Marjorie H	Apr. 20, 1965	40	VISTA	do	Editor, Trade Talk, $35 per day.
Porter, Douglas	Oct. 26, 1964	65	Job Corps	do	Assistant professor and research associate at Harvard University, $9,500 per annum.
Trautman, Ray L	May 24, 1965	70	do	do	Professor, Columbia University, School of Library Services, $15,000 per annum.
Geis, Gilbert	Jan. 13, 1965	55	do	do	Fellow in law and sociology, Harvard Law School, $12,040, 9 months.
Cohen, Martin A	Apr. 5, 1965	100	CAP	do	President, Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, $25,000 per annum.
Walden, David C	Mar. 31, 1965	90	CAP	do	Self-employed, consultant, $19,500 per annum.
Notkin, Herbert	Apr. 12, 1965	100	CAP	do	Assistant professor, College of Education, Temple University, $10,300, 10 months.
McNiven, High G	Nov. 9, 1964	50	VISTA	do	Associate research assistant, University of Pittsburgh, $11,800 per annum.
Noble, Lindsley H	Feb. 4, 1965	50	Management	do	Deputy assistant, postmaster general and controller, $20,000 per annum.
Hall, Clifton	Mar. 23, 1965	75	do	do	Accountant, Office of Budget and Affairs, District of Columbia, $17,210 per annum.
McAlister, Glendon H	Nov. 29, 1964	40	Job Corps	do	Reading supervisor, Walpole Public Schools, Massachusetts, $9,100 per annum.
Hughes, Calvin C	do	40	do	do	YMCA, executive secretary, Miami, Fla., $6,800 per annum.
Kauffman, Joseph F	Jan. 4, 1965	90	do	do	Director, higher education services, American Personnel and Guidance Associate, $20,000 per annum.
Schreiber, Daniel	Jan. 25, 1965	75	do	do	Director, school dropouts project, NEA, Washington, D.C., $18,500 per annum.
Barberis, Sister Francetta	Mar. 11, 1965	75	do	do	President, Webster College, St. Louis, Mo.
Smiley, Marjorie B	do	70	do	do	Professor of education, Hunter College, $15,200 per annum.
Soldwedel, Bette J	do	70	do	do	Associate professor, New York University, $15,000 per annum.
Weaver, Ella H	Apr. 16, 1965	70	do	do	Assistant professor of speech and director of clinical practice, $13,000 per annum.
Shelden, Miriam A	May 19, 1965	75	do	do	Dean of women, University of Illinois, $16,750 plus expenses.
Keyser, Stephney J	Apr. 12, 1965	60	do	do	School social worker, Baltimore, Md., $780 per month.
Mansfield, Jack P	Feb. 1, 1965	60	CAP	do	Director, special project development of North Carolina Fund, $14,000 per annum.
McConnell, Beatrice	Feb. 5, 1965	50	CAP	do	Deputy Director, Women's Bureau, Washington, D.C., $27,500 per annum.
McEvers, Charles L	Jan. 17, 1965	45	CAP	do	Indian Education Section, Seattle, Wash., $8,190 per annum.
Goldberg, J. R	Mar. 12, 1965	100	CAP	New York	Executive director, Wel-Met Camps, New York, $27,000 per annum.
Rendon, Gabino	Mar. 15, 1965	45	CAP	Washington, D.C	Research assistant, University o. Colorado, $255 per month (part time).
Goble, Dorothy Y	Mar. 21, 1965	45	CAP	do	Member, Citizen's Advisory Committee on Migrant Labor Problems.
McConnell, Beverly B	Mar. 22, 1965	50	CAP	Pullman, Wash	Assistant reemployment officer, Welfare Department, California, $600 per month.
Jager, Oscar	Jan. 11, 1965	70	CAP	Washington, D.C	Director of publications and public relations, AFL-CIO, District of Columbia, $14,000 per annum.
Henderson, Vivian W	Apr. 22, 1965	50	CAP	do	Professor and chairman, Department of Economics, Fiske University, $12,000 per annum.
Stone, L. Joseph	Apr. 19, 1965	100	CAP	do	Prof., Vassar College, $20,000 per year.
Ozer, Ann T	Mar. 25, 1965	40	CAP	do	Child development specialist, $4,000 per year.
Wegman, Myron E	Mar. 8, 1965	100	CAP	do	Dean, University of Michigan, $30,000 per year.
Maggen, Donald L	Mar. 9, 1965	100	CAP	do	President, Butler Maggin Corp., $25,000 per year.
Kolberg, Rosemond M	Feb. 3, 1965	40	CAP	do	Head teacher, nursery and kindergarten, $20 per day.
Allen, Rebecca B	Feb. 10, 1965	40	CAP	do	Editor, Parent Cooperative Preschools International, WOC.
Cooke, Robert E	Mar. 28, 1965	100	CAP	do	Professor of pediatrics, $30,000.
Ornati, Oscar	Feb. 1, 1965	100	CAP	do	Professor, new school of sociology research, New York, N.Y., $12,750 per 9 months.

Current intermittent consultants—Continued

Name	Date of appointment	Salary	Organization	Duty station	Previous employment
Georges, Thomas W	Apr. 2, 1965	$100	CAP	Washington, D.C	Assistant professor of medicine, Temple University, $18,000.
Reader, George G	Apr. 1, 1965	100	CAP	do	Professor of medicine, Cornell Medical Center, $22,000.
Roessel, Robert A., Jr	Nov. 9, 1964	70	CAP	do	Director, Indian Education, Arizona State University, $16,000.
Duckrey, Marjorie E	Apr. 5, 1965	60	CAP	do	Deputy director, community development, $13,000.
Rein, Martin	Feb. 15, 1965	60	CAP	do	Associate professor, Bryn Mawr College, $12,000.
Silcott, T. George	Jan. 11, 1965	60	CAP	do	Director, Springfield College Guidance Center, $11,800.
Smith, Hilda W	do	50	CAP	do	Contract writer, U.S. Public Health Service $940 per pamphlet.
Hicks, Florence J	May 10, 1965	45	CAP	do	Develop, Health Aid for HEW, $8,500 per year.
Gallen, Elizabeth M	Apr. 16, 1965	60	CAP	do	Superintendent, kindgerarten and primary grades education, $12,000 per year.
Malmborg, Eleanor D	do	45	CAP	do	Staff associate, elementary and secondary education, $8,000 per year.
Parsons, Thomas S	May 3, 1965	75	CAP	do	Owner, Community Education Association, $12, 000 per annum.
Bevis, Donald D	Apr. 16, 1965	65	CAP	do	School services coordinator, $13,500 per year.
Brown, Milton A	Apr. 5, 1965	70	CAP	do	NEIGH: Services dir, Community Progress, Inc., $16,500 per year.
Lazar, Irving	do	85	CAP	do	Executive director of Neumeyer Foundation, $15,000 per year.
Bers, Melvin K	Apr. 16, 1965	60	CAP	do	Associate professor of eocnomics and management, University of Denver, $13,125.
Plumer, Stephen B	Apr. 5, 1965	50	CAP	do	Assistant professor progressive administration of social welfare, $11,000.
Seessel, Thomas V	do	50	CAP	do	Community Progress, Inc., New Haven, Conn., special assistant, $11,000.
Bennett, George	do	95	CAP	do	Manpower director, Community Progress, Inc., $16.500.
Scheirbeck, Helen M	Dec. 7, 1964	40	CAP	do	Professional staff, U.S. Senate Judicial Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, $9,800.
McKinley, Francis	Feb. 1, 1965	50	CAP	do	Assistant director, Indian education, Arizona State University, $8,000.
Donovan, Ronald	Dec. 28, 1964	50	CAP	do	Associate professor, N.Y. State School of Industry and Labor Relations, $12,000 per annum.
McCollum, John W	May 3, 1965	80	CAP	do	Senior consultant, development mortgage research studies, $17,000.
Dowdy, Richard S	Mar. 1, 1965	60	CAP	do	Part-time consultant, human relations, $5,000.
Reiner, Janet S	Feb. 1, 1965	50	CAP	do	Director of housing and physical environment.
Barr, Sherman	Mar. 17, 1965	55	CAP	do	Assistant chief, Mobilization for Youth, New York City, $13,100 per annum.
McAndrew, Jordan L	Jan. 25, 1965	55	CAP	do	Director, Leorning Institute, $18,000 per year.
Simmons, James E	May 3, 1965	45	CAP	do	Executive director, independent schools talent search program, Massachusetts, $9,000.
Allen, Curtis C	Mar. 28, 1965	75	CAP	do	Professor of economics, $17,000 per year.
Kreps, Juanita M	Apr. 29, 1965	75	CAP	do	Associate professor of economics, $11,000 per year.
Smith, Mildred Beatty	Apr. 14, 1965	55	CAP	do	General elementary consultant, $11,000.
Ginsberg, Mitchell I	Apr. 25, 1965	85	CAP	do	Associate dean, Columbia School of Social Work, $20,000.
Strakhovsky, Ivan L	May 18, 1965	60	CAP	do	CBS–TV.
Berman, Jack D	Apr. 6, 1965	60	CAP	do	President-owner, Jack D. Berman Co., $15,000.
Flowers, Charles	May 9, 1965	40	CAP	Baltimore, Md	City hall reporter, Baltimore Sun, $170 per week.
Keat, James F	do	50	CAP	Washington, D.C	Editorial writer, Baltimore Sun, $10,500.
Krumlauf, Alfred C	May 20, 1965	40	CAP	West Hollywood	Manager, sales department, National Cash Register, $8,400
Witherspoon, Ralph	May 10, 1965	100	CAP	Tallahasse, Fla	Professor and director, Florida State University, $18,000.
Lispen, Zel E	Apr. 26, 1965	50	CAP	Washington, D.C	Staff assistant, Carl Elliot, Member of Congress, $12,000.
Casey, John J	Apr. 28, 1965	50	CAP	New Orleans, La	Account executive, Alen Johnson & Associates, $100 per week.
Bird, Robert S., Jr	May 23, 1965	25	CAP	Baltimore, Md	Reporter, Morning Sun (Baltimore), $100 per week.
Winters, Bruce M	May 9, 1965	45	CAP	do	Political writer, Baltimore Sun, $165 per week.
Davis, Thomas I	May 23, 1965	65	CAP	Selma, N.C	President and publisher, The Johnstonian, $16,000.
Clifford, George E	Mar. 15, 1965	50	Inspections	Washington, D.C	Sports columnist, Washington, Daily News, $240 per week.
McKay, Martha C	Feb. 23, 1965	50	do	do	Self-employed; volunteer activities, $5,200.
Lefkowitz, Gary	Feb. 16, 1965	45	do	do	Consultant, Western Electric Corp., $50 per day.
Swit, David A	Mar. 9, 1965	60	do	do	Consultant, Peace Corps, $50 per day.
Jacobson, Gershon	Feb. 7, 1965	45	do	New York	Staff correspondent, Day Publishing Co., $9,500.
Engle, Robert V	Feb. 18, 1965	60	do	Washington, D.C	Newsweek cover director, $20,500.
Jackson, Bernard H	Feb. 19, 1965	50	do	do	Lawyer Dyett, Alexander & Dienkins, $10,000.
Eldridge, Lawrence	Feb. 12, 1965	60	do	do	Consulting psychologist, $30,000.
Seaton, David L	Feb. 19, 1965	50	do	do	Promotion copywriter, $11,000.
Forrest, Robert A	Feb. 8, 1965	55	do	do	Television executive, Medallion TV executive, $500 per week.
Nichols, William B	Feb. 25, 1965	75	do	do	President, T. V. Packaging Co., $500 per week.
Stupay, Arthur M	Feb. 11, 1965	50	do	do	Senior economic analyst, American Canning Co., $11,000.
Egan, Robert J	Mar. 9, 1965	45	do	New York	Attorney, Gardner, Poor & Havens, $9,600.
Martin, Robert L	Feb. 15, 1965	60	do	Washington, D.C	Attorney, Western Electric, $14,900.
Rostopulos, Nicholas P	Apr. 13, 1965	70	do	do	Broker, Consolidated Investment Services, $35,000.
Petit, Donald Raphael	Mar. 14, 1965	65	do	do	Campaign manager, Senator Holland, $300 per week.
Berle, Peter A	Mar. 2, 1965	45	do	do	Attorney, Paul, Weiss, Rifkino, Wharton, Garrison, $9,000.
Klein, Elihu B	Feb. 8, 1965	60	do	do	Reporter, New York World Telegram & Sun, $300 per week.
MacLean, Hugh D	Mar. 24, 1965	40	do	do	Columnist, Washington Daily News, $13,600.
Kelly, Thomas V	do	50	do	do	Reporter, Washington Daily News, $12,600 per annum.
Parker, Joseph Ross, Jr	Mar. 30, 1965	45	do	do	Reporter, News & Observer Publishing Co., $12,800.
Peasinger, Charles W., Jr	Apr. 7, 1965	65	do	do	Partner, Merchandise Advertiser, Omaha, Nebr., $15,000.
Park, Darragh A	Feb. 14, 1965	40	do	New York	Acting principal, Unitarian Christian Conference, Sierra Leone, $3,000.
Robins, Leurs	Apr. 2, 1965	60	do	Washington, D.C	Author, Marsh Pierce Co., $35,000.
Lipsen, Charles P	Apr. 19, 1965	70	do	do	Legislative representative, Retail Clerks International Association, $18,000.
Brenner, Clifford J	Apr. 22, 1965	70	do	New York	Deputy general counsel, New York, $16,100.
Patrick, C. B	Apr. 26, 1965	55	do	Glenview, Ill	Lieutenant Colonel, U.S. Army Intelligence, $13,250.
Prial, Frances J	Mar. 27, 1965	45	do	Washington, D.C	Reporter, World Telegram & Sun, $10,400.

Current full-time experts

Name	Date of appointment	Salary	Organization	Duty station	Previous employment
Macomber, John Z	Mar. 16, 1965	$60	Public affairs	Washington, D.C	Staff assistant to executive vice president, Curtis Publishing Co., $17,500 per annum.
Robinson, Wade M	Oct. 26, 1964	100	Job Corps	do	Executive director, Harvard University, $14,500 per annum.
Wynne, Edward	Mar. 21, 1965	50	do	do	Consultant, General Counsel, NLRB, $50 per day.
Clay, Ozzie	Mar. 1, 1965	40	do	do	Professional football, Redskins, $12,500 per annum.
Sanders, Lonnie	do	40	do	do	Professional football, Redskins, $15,500 per annum.
Marley, Frederick H	June 14, 1965	60	do	do	Lieutenant colonel, U.S. Air Force.
Devlin, John R	Oct. 26, 1964	50	do	do	Treasurer-president of E. S. Delvin Co., $56 per day.
Moretton, Ernest R	Jan. 4, 1965	50	do	do	Superintendent of Boys Ranch, $12,315 per annum.
McDaniel, Linwood	do	50	do	do	Field officer, Peace Corps, $10,500 per annum.
Spector, Sidney	Mar. 8, 1965	50	Management	do	Director, field division, Metro Auto Rental, $20,000 per annum.
Wilson, Wilbur	May 13, 1965	65	Job Corps	do	Assistant to to Chief of Staff, Force Development, $15,000 per annum.
Holman, William G	do	65	do	do	Research analyst for Silver Users Association, $13,000 per annum.
Donahue, Joseph P	Apr. 19, 1965	45	do	do	Deputy Attorney General and Chief Attorney General, Military Personnel Division, Army, $885 per month.
Merrill, Keith W	Apr. 9, 1965	60	do	do	Resident OB-GYN, George Washington University Hospital, $275 per month.
Johnston, Robert W	Mar. 19, 1965	35	do	do	Flight control coordinator, National Air Carrier Association, $650 per month.
Brewer, Harold E	Dec. 1, 1964	100	do	do	Area director, employee relations, I.T. & T., $37,000 per annum.
Pines, Marion W	June 7, 1965	50	do	do	Planning Association of Health & Welfare Council, $1,000 per month.
Halsey, Maxwell	May 24, 1965	50	do	do	Traffic safety consultant, $40 to $75 per day.
Svenson, E. V	Feb. 23, 1965	80	do	do	Associate director, University of California Extension, $15,700.

Current full-time experts—Continued

Name	Date of appointment	Salary	Organization	Duty station	Previous employment
Flaherty, Thomas F	Mar. 29, 1965	$60	Job Corps	Washington, D.C.	Resident physician, $800 per month.
Arndt, William F	Feb. 28, 1965	60	do	do	Associate professor, preventive medicine, Georgetown University, $13,200 per annum.
Magovern, Thomas F	Apr. 12, 1965	60	do	do	Medical doctor, Maryland, $20,000 per annum.
Marlow, John L	Apr. 1, 1965	60	do	do	Resident physician, George Washington University Hospital.
Giordano, Louis W	Apr. 9, 1965	60	do	do	Resident physician, $800 per month.
Mermel, John F	Apr. 1, 1965	60	do	do	Resident physician, $8,500 per year.
Gering, Henry S	Apr. 12, 1965	60	do	do	Resident physician, Georgetown University Hospital, $4,000 per annum.
Wieneke, Karl F	Apr. 1, 1965	60	do	do	Resident in surgery, $3,500 per annum.
Dean, John	Apr. 8, 1965	50	CAP	do	Program officer, African-American Institute, $10,500 per annum.
McMillan, Eldridge	Mar. 17, 1965	45	CAP	Atlanta, Ga	Resource visiting counselor, Atlanta public schools, $7,600 per annum.
Wilms, Edward G	Mar. 22, 1965	70	CAP	Washington, D.C.	Executive director, New Jersey Democratic State Committee, $15,000 per annum.
Ellington, Betty	Mar. 17, 1965	50	CAP	do	Assistant executive director, Washington State Nurses Association, $615 per month.
Barksdale, Marie C	Feb. 23, 1965	45	CAP	do	Assistant director, Women in Community Service, $35 per day.
Chayes, Kitty Torch	Feb. 8, 1965	50	CAP	do	Private law practice, $10,000 per annum.

The Case of William Wieland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the American people have a vital stake in the outcome of the case of William Wieland. To quote a recent editorial in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat:

It is perfectly astonishing that a man of the force and strength of President Johnson will permit Wieland to continue in a position of any importance in the State Department. If he cannot be fired, and if he obviously is incapable of doing any good, he can at least be sequestered where he cannot do any harm.

I commend this editorial from the July 20 edition of the Globe-Democrat to the attention of all.

WALLOWING IN A MORASS: THE CASE OF WILLIAM WIELAND

The case of William Wieland illustrates graphically the basic trouble which has plagued the State Department for the past 30 years—the inability of our Presidents and our Secretaries of State to get sound, reliable judgments from some career members of that Department on which decisions of transcendent importance to the United States could be based.

Wieland illustrates this rottenness. A career man for almost 25 years, he specialized in Central and South America intelligence. It has been testified by two of our Ambassadors that Wieland, while in Colombia as vice counsel, knew Castro when he was leading the riots there and broadcast over a captured radio station, "This is Fidel Castro. This is a Communist revolution."

With this background, Wieland must have known that Castro was a Communist; yet he never passed his knowledge on. The unanimous appraisal of Wieland's judgment and integrity by a subcommittee of nine Senators, Democrats and Republicans, was:

"He never told his superiors officially or wrote in any State Department paper, down to the very last day when Fidel Castro stood before the world as a self-proclaimed Marxist, what he told friends privately as early as 1958—or earlier—that Castro 'is a Communist' and 'is surrounded by commies (and) * * * subject to Communist influences.'

"To Mr. Wieland's desk came, over a period of years, great quantities of solid intelligence respecting the Communist nature and connections of the Castro movement, of Castro himself and his principal lieutenants.

"The committee was unable to document a single instance in which Mr. Wieland passed any of this material up to his successors or mentioned it as credible in any report or policy paper."

Beyond this Wieland was charged by an American Ambassador with deliberately "wrecking" an intelligence briefing given Dr. Milton Eisenhower by the Embassy staff. An Air Force attaché who was there stated that Wieland was "either a damn fool or a Communist."

Four American Ambassadors who served under both Presidents Truman and Eisenhower stated under oath that Wieland, on his record of serving the cause of our enemies, "is either one of the most stupid men living or he is doing it intentionally."

Wieland comes back into the news now because a man of great honor and probity, Otto F. Otepka, wanted Wieland discharged because he lied to his superiors about the number of times he communicated with Castro when the latter was in Washington in 1959.

Wieland has been cleared, and Otepka is still under investigation. What a wretched state of affairs when cheats and liars are exonerated and honest men pilloried.

Today Wieland is still a grade 1 Foreign Service officer at about $23,500 a year. He has a title of Administrative Specialist in the Office of the Deputy Under Secretary of State. He has a secretary, an assistant, several clerks, and access to classified documents.

Perhaps, most importantly of all, he cannot be fired because he is under civil service, and protected by other frozen-in State Department employeees who nurture each other with ferocious zeal.

A President or a Secretary of State or others in policymaking positions are like a computer—in at least one respect—that they must act upon the evidence presented to them.

This is where Wieland and too many others like him have made, over the years, the State Department into a den of confusion, of apology, of appeasement, and of misinformation at the lower echelon.

Successive Presidents and Secretaries of State of unquestioned good will have found the underechelons of the State Department—like wallowing in a morass—a quicksand of bad information given them by bad people whom they cannot fire and who continue on from Secretary to Secretary.

Wieland's is not by any means the only one, but he serves as a case in point.

It is perfectly astonishing that a man of the force and strength of President Johnson will permit Wieland to continue in a position of any importance in the State Department. If he cannot be fired, and if he obviously is incapable of doing any good, he can at least be sequestered where he cannot do any harm.

Until forceful action is taken against the Wielands in the State Department, and the whole rotten mess is cleaned out, the United States will find itself embroiled in future and successive "Bay of Pigs" operations with even more calamitous results.

Support for H.R. 5047, the Teachers Sabbatical Leave Program Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to note that, in a special report, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, has reiterated its support of H.R. 5047, the teachers sabbatical leave program bill, which I have sponsored. Announcement of that fact, and the federation's reasons for its support are contained in the following letter from Mr. Carl Megel, Washington representative of the federation:

JULY 27, 1965.

Hon. PATSY T. MINK,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MRS. MINK: You will be interested in a special report, issued today, in support of the sabbatical leave bill, H.R. 5047, which you have sponsored. The report concerns the action of the American Federation of Teachers' Executive Council which approved support of your bill.

In so doing, the executive council called attention for a mandate of the American Federation of Teachers' national conventions, which repeatedly has approved resolutions supporting sabbatical leave for teachers.

It was by this authority that I, Carl J. Megel, Washington representative of the American Federation of Teachers, under date of July 13, 1965, testified before the House General Subcommittee on Education in support of H.R. 5047.

At that time I stated that the American Federation of Teachers, a classroom teachers' organization, is mindful of all efforts to enhance the stature and dignity of the classroom teacher. The recently passed Elementary and Secondary Education Act contributed to this objective. The establishment of a sabbatical leave program is educationally sound and opportunely supplements this law.

The American Federation of Teachers has constantly maintained that the classroom teacher is the heart and soul of a good school system. Brick and mortar and a good paint job do not of themselvs constitute a good school. A superior school system is attainable only when classrooms are staffed with superior teachers.

Superior teachers must have:

(a) A thorough knowledge of their subject matter;

(b) High morale;

(c) A feeling of dignity in their own profession;

(d) An understanding of the needs of the students they serve, and

(e) The ability to fulfill these needs.

It is true that 4 of these traits represent individual personality characteristics. Nevertheless, knowledge of subject matter is of major importance. It is in this area that the sabbatical leave program can offer greatest assistance.

Recently, Dean Wey of the University of Florida's School of Education said that: "You can no more teach what you do not know, than you can come back from a place you have never been."

The amount of new knowledge being made available each hour of the day is unbelievable. A few examples:

(a) Ninety percent of all drugs used today were unknown 10 years ago.

(b) Seventy-five percent of the people working in our factories 10 years from now will be making products unknown today.

(c) More changes in our way of life have taken place during the past 30 years than in all the generations since the time of Christ.

(d) Knowledge and science have doubled each 10 years during the 20th century.

Changes and advances have been made so rapidly that any conception of our world only 20 years ago seems medieval today. Unknown in 1945 was the entire field of plastics and nylon with their thousands of uses. Frozen food and TV from faraway dreams. Polio was still an autumn source because Salk vaccine was only an idea. Automatic transmissions and tubeless tires, spin washers and dryers, jet airplanes; atomic submarines; moon rockets and astronauts—were all comic book fantasies.

Except for a few totally inadequate in-service training programs, there has been no coordinated effort made to encourage or to assist teachers in continuing education through which they may keep abreast of the forward surge of scientific, cultural and educational advances. By and large, teachers are left to shift for themselves, to take advantage of inadequate summer programs.

The legislation under consideration, modest though it is, represents the first effort on the part of the Federal Government to provide continuing educational encouragement to elementary and secondary teachers.

We believe the establishment of a Federal sabbatical leave program will add to the dignity of the teaching profession. The program will give teachers an opportunity to avail themselves of new teaching techniques as well as information in advanced teaching subject matter, all of which will redound to the advantage of the boys and girls they teach. We support the program and sincerely hope for early enactment by the 89th Congress.

My very good wishes.

Sincerely,

CARL J. MEGEL,
Washington Representative.

Handouts Have Destroyed the Will To Toil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the Atlanta Journal publishes a letter from Piney Woods Pete as a daily front-page feature. The readers do not know the identity of this country cousin of the Journal editors, but they understand his homespun philosophy. Piney Woods Pete is well known for his ability to analyze a situation and arrive at the proper answer.

I invite the attention of my colleagues to Pete's words of wisdom appearing in the July 26 edition of the Journal:

PINEY WOODS PETE SAYS

DEAR MISTER EDITOR: While unemployment and relief rolls remain high, jobs go begging. Hugh Park's story about the plight of peach growers who were losing their crop for want of pickers was an eyeopener. Where hundreds were needed at good pay, only a few could be rounded up. Many of these slipped away when they had collected enough to buy a snack and a drink. U.S. handout checks have destroyed the will of thousands of able-bodied to toil.

Plenty of jobs for skilled, too, go unfilled. A large ad by Lockheed-Georgia Co., in an eastern paper, begged for engineers, some positions requiring experience, others merely qualifying degrees. No racial barriers.

Education and a desire to earn one's own way are today's magic combination. And not so magic, at that—just grit and git-up-and-go.

Yours truly,

PINEY WOODS PETE.

Protest Still in Order

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial from the July 22, 1965, edition of the American Examiner.

Israel Ambassador Moshe Bartur, before the U.N. Economic and Social Council, pointed to the continuing discrimination by the Soviet Union against its large Jewish minority. We must continue to protest vigorously such actions until the Soviet Union changes its anti-Jewish policy.

The article follows:

PROTEST STILL IN ORDER

Israel Ambassador Moshe Bartur, speaking before the U.N. Economic and Social Council meeting in Geneva, effectively gave the lie to the myth entertained by some, either out of ignorance or naivete, that the Jews in the Soviet Union are receiving the same treatment as all the other minorities there. Said Mr. Bartur, among other things:

"There seems no reason, in general, to question the performance of the Soviet Union for cultural and linquistic rights of national, cultural, and ethnic groups. However, there is the striking, puzzling, and extremely moving exception of its large Jewish minority. May I illustrate by some facts? In 1962, 109 books were published in the Soviet Union in the Yakut language, a linguistic group of 236,000 persons; 116 books in the Bashkin language, an ethnic group of 989,000 persons. There is not one single daily journal in Yiddish or Hebrew. There are no textbooks at all available either in Yiddish or Hebrew, nor even in Russian, on subjects of Jewish history, culture, or religion; and, obviously, such books are prevented from being published. No school, not a single class in Yiddish or Hebrew, can be taught. This, in spite of the fact that about 500,000 Jews according to the Soviet Union's census of 1959, declared that Yiddish was their mother tongue.

It was to have been hoped that the Soviet delegate in his reply would take up these charges and attempt to refute them on factual grounds. He did nothing of the sort.

What was more significant, however, than this irrelevant harangue by the Kremlin's mouthpiece—after all, we're quite accustomed by now to this sort of thing—was his concluding statement that the Soviet Government does not intend to change anything in the status of the Jewish minority in the U.S.S.R.

We still think, despite Dr. Goldmann's appeal for soft talk, that loud and persistent protest is the only thing that may possibly move the Soviets to modify their anti-Jewish policy.

No Holiday for Death on Highways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR CALLAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, highway accidents are of concern to all of us and I believe the conscience of the Nation should be stirred by an editorial in one of the finer newspapers in Nebraska, the Schuyler Sun. I include it in the RECORD at this point for that purpose:

NO HOLIDAY FOR DEATH ON HIGHWAY

Highway accidents over the July 4 weekend claimed the lives of 557 persons.

It is indeed a grim record. The National Safety Council call the toll a "hideous mutilation of one of our most sacred holidays."

The 557 killed was the highest total ever recorded for a 3-day observance of the Independence Day holiday. The previous record for a 3-day July 4 was 510 and that was last year; the holiday began Friday and continued through Sunday.

What will happen over Labor Day is already of concern to traffic experts.

Last year the 3-day Labor Day holiday claimed 561 lives.

Last year's death toll from traffic accidents was 47,800, and it is estimated that more than 50,000 men, women, and children will be traffic fatalities this year.

Congress is showing concern. Auto manufacturers were called to Washington recently for a hearing to determine if cars can be made safer to drive. It is pretty generally agreed that the auto industry alone could not prevent accidents, no matter how many safety features were installed, that there is not and never will be a completely safe automobile. Improper driving and not mechanical failure is responsible for 90 percent of the accidents, it was testified. Seat belts, now standard equipment, are in constant use by only 36 percent of car owners, according to a Gallup poll.

Howard Pyle, president of the National Safety Council, has warned: "The attitudes and skills of too many drivers are failing to meet the exacting demands of billions of miles of high-pressure driving." His recommendation: "Every driver should begin at once to sharpen old skills and develop new ones through available driver improvement programs."

Our Merchant Service Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, since the early days of our Republic, America has been a leader in merchant commerce. That position is gravely threatened today. The following remarks by Vice Admiral Deutermann, of the Merchant Marine Academy, Kings Point, N.Y., to the corps of cadets on June 2, 1965, succinctly states the present unfortunate condition of our merchant service, and I believe the admiral's remarks should be brought to the attention of all Members:

REMARKS BY VICE ADM. H. T. DEUTERMANN

For the past several years, I have been watching the units of your wonderful regiment participate in the Armed Forces Day Parade on Fifth Avenue. It has always been a most inspiring sight. Admiral McLintock knows this very well from the many high tributes and compliments paid him. Today it is a special honor and a proud moment for me to witness the whole resident regiment on dress parade.

Soon almost 200 of you will be graduated and headed for sea. This is always a very exciting and thrilling stage of your careers.

You have been well grounded in the technical aspects—in navigation, in the many seagoing phases of engineering, in metacentric heights, in damage control, electronics, thermodynamics, hydraulics, calculus, and all that goes to make up your degree, and, more important, a solid foundation for your professional careers.

It is regrettable, however, that the platform from which you would ply and project your profession, the U.S.-flag merchant marine, is not on as firm a foundation. From the high seas and, more important, from the minds of our American citizenry, as you have probably been studying and worrying about, our merchant flag seems to be disappearing. Worse than that, it is being replaced chiefly by that of the Soviet Union and her bloc countries.

Only a month ago, there were some 650 oceangoing ships on order and under construction for the Soviet Union while there were only 16 ships of similar size under construction for the United States. This has been a trend now for too many years and it can only lead to one sad conclusion: soon there will be practically no more; soon there will be too few of our ships at sea and altogether too many of theirs.

This is not just a matter of numbers of ships, their tonnage, their speed, nor their age. It has two other more important implications.

First, as you know, well over half of the world is just emerging into modern new political entities. These parts of the world, including most of Africa and a good part of Asia, are well stocked with precious raw materials and growing populations. Now the old trade routes must change to adapt to the new ones, new routes which are dictated by these new raw materials and emerging people. The real intent and long-range hope of the Soviet Union is to lay out these new trade routes, to capture these new countries for commerce and trade, and to replace us in their new world. The Soviets know that as a capitalist nation we cannot live nor long survive without this seapower, this commerce—this trade. And so they have done their homework well.

The other and more potentially dangerous implication is that these emerging people will orient their markets and industries to the Soviet Union, who will, therefore, deny them to us and, in the process, communize that part of the world. Cuba and Zanzibar are just a few sample specimens of Soviet successes already achieved.

And so gentlemen, as you go forth deeply imbued with the technical aspects of your profession, don't lose sight of the overriding and growing importance of the strategic aspects. You know well how apathetic our citizenry is about matters of the sea and how much lipservice and little attention is paid to seapower at the citizen level.

We need a live, apostolic group of burning young zealots to go forth and preach the gospel even as was commanded 2,000 years ago. Who else, but you, in this world, has more at stake in the business? Who else could be better qualified, and certainly better motivated and equipped, than this group of bright young men standing here before me? Go ye forth, therefore, and preach the doctrine, the gospel, the truths, the merits and, yes, the importance to our salvation: seapower.

Summertime in New Orleans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, one of the best known and best liked writers in the city of New Orleans is Thomas Griffin.

Tommy writes a daily column for the New Orleans States-Item, entitled "Lagniappe." In this highly readable column, Tommy discusses people, places, and activities, but mostly Tommy writes about that wonderful subject, New Orleans.

In a recent column, Tommy pointed out that New Orleans is a great place to be in during the good old summertime.

I am including extracts from Tommy's column in the RECORD, and I hope my colleagues will heed this siren's song to come and visit, way down yonder in New Orleans:

SUMMER FESTIVAL

(By Thomas Griffin)

Summertime, and the livin' is lazy—in New Orleans.

If New York can advertise itself as a summer festival, why not New Orleans? It's hot. So what? It's hot everywhere. And I'll wager New Orleans is a more completely air-conditioned city than any other in these United States All a tourist has to do to cool his brow while meandering around the French Quarter is to duck into any bar, restaurant, or shop for a moment.

But the French Quarter is not only our sole appeal. There's Lake Pontchartrain, a natural asset.

The river is something else. Here's an attraction that never fails to impress anyone viewing the Mississippi for the first time, 2,200 feet wide at the foot of Canal Street. Do you know enough water flows past that point to slake the thirst of the entire United States? We drink it after it has been purified in the city's reservoirs—while four Eastern States are at present on short rations for water. At this writing, water is no longer served in New York restaurants unless requested.

A stroll along the docks can also be rewarding to a tourist. At the wharves one may hear Negroes chant melodious tunes as they unload boats. There's also the possibility of catching the fire tug *Deluge* in one of her firefighting demonstrations. It's capable of pumping thousands of gallons of water a minute out of the river in strong sure sprays to battle a rampaging blaze on a ship or dockside warehouse.

The Mississippi is also romantic. Its muddy, swirling waters have provided inspiration for songs, poems, novels, and plays. Young folks may still fall in love on moonlit dance excursions which take place on Friday and Saturday nights on the steamer *President*.

There's also a daylight sightseeing cruise which is the most informative way to grasp the immensity of the port. The steamer sails a distance of 15 miles up and down the river, 30 miles in all, affording a view of the ships in port, many of which fly foreign flags.

Tourists who have heard of bayous and have never seen one can be accommodated on either one of two smaller steel crafts, the *Voyaguer* or the *Mark Twain*. Each cruises through Bayou Barataria, the legendary hideout of the pirate Jean Lafitte and his cutthroat band of buccaneers. The novelty of passing through the Algiers locks—and the sight of fishermen and trappers' ramshackle homes along the banks of the bayou also afford experiences one may not find in other cities.

Entertainment? Perhaps nothing on the scale of the Dallas or St. Louis light opera seasons, but we do have the summer "pops" on weekends, featuring name entertainers from mid-June through July. (Marguerite Piazza, the opera and supper club star, is current attraction.) There's also jazz on Sunday afternoon served up by the New Orleans Jazz Club through August. And let's not forget the Blue Room where a good floor show is more the rule than the exception—and Leon Kelner plays the sort of music one can dance to.

Need I add the variety available on Bourbon Street, where talent is not an unknown quality any more? Pete Fountain's, Al Hirt's, the 809 Club, the 544 Club, Pat O'Brien's, the Famous Door, the Paddock Club, Preservation Hall, Dixieland Hall, are all worth a visit.

Visitors may dine al fresco in the open air at Commander's, Broussard's, and the Court of Two Sisters; or drink mint juleps in the beautiful patios of Brennan's and Pat O'Brien's. And food? Well, that's what we're famous for.

Yep, we've got a lot to sell New Orleans as a summer festival.

Tribute to Secretary of the Air Force Eugene Zuckert

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, this country is indeed fortunate in having many dedicated and able people who are willing to devote their careers to Government service. It takes a great amount of human talent in all branches and at every level of administration to operate our democratic system of government.

I would like to join in commending the Honorable Eugene M. Zuckert who will soon retire from his position as Secretary of the Air Force after a long and distinguished record as its civilian leader. He is the seventh Secretary of the Air Force and has held that position for over 4 years, a longer tenure than any of his predecessors.

But his Government service goes back much farther. He has served in the executive branch under our last five presidents, starting as an attorney with the Securities and Exchange Commission in 1937.

Three years later he joined the faculty of the Harward Graduate School of Business Administration where one of his fellow professors was Robert McNamara. During his academic career Mr. Zuckert became assistant dean and did his first work with the Air Force as a consultant and teacher in statistical controls.

Since then Mr. Zuckert has compiled an impressive record of public service, providing that rare combination of a doer and a thinker, the practical and the theoretical.

He was a special assistant to STUART SYMINGTON when the Air Force became a separate service, then becoming the Assistant Secretary of the Air Force. He played an important role in organizing the Department of the Air Force.

In 1952 he became a member of the Atomic Energy Commission for 2 years. His service with the Air Force and the AEC made him an expert in nuclear weapons and atomic power. In 1956 he coauthored the book, "Atomic Energy for Your Business."

When he was selected for the job as Secretary of the Air Force in 1961 by President Kennedy, there was no one better qualified in experience or knowledge. He has done a superb job. He deserves the gratitude of the Nation and I wish him well in his future pursuits.

London Sunday Express Hails America's Action in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KEN W. DYAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. DYAL. Mr. Speaker, I rise to commend our President on his remarks of today and his blueprint for the future of the Vietnam problem. His speech showed admirable restraint and that coupled with the remarks of our Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY last night testifies to our sincerity and our desire to seek peace but our determination to allow no further Communist encroachment. Consonant with the restraint used by the President in his remarks is the excellent editorial by the London Sunday Express supporting our policy in Vietnam. The editorial is entitled "The Gentle Giant," which I insert at this point:

THE GENTLE GIANT

Did you see the picture of that burned and wounded child being carried out of the bomb shambles in Saigon?

Cradled in a man's arms, he stares—wide eyed, rigid with fear—upon horrors utterly beyond his comprehension.

Just one of the victims of the latest act of Communist terrorism which killed or wounded over 100 people, Americans among them.

What a dirty, dirty war.

But let us never forget where responsibility for all its tragedy and heartbreak rests.

It does not rest with the Americans.

They are not the aggressors. They are simply combating aggression. There could be peace in Vietnam tomorrow were it not for the brutal insistence of the Chinese and North Vietnamese that the whole country must go Communist first.

There should be not only sympathy for the United States. There should be admiration too—for her exemplary restraint.

Here leftwing critics may call shrilly for the ending of American bombing raids on the North.

But the fact is that in Vietnam the United States is behaving like a gentle giant.

If she wished—using only conventional weapons—she could destroy Hanoi in hours, occupy all North Vietnam, and go on to crush China too.

America commands incomparable armed power. Her forbearance in using it should command the praise and respect of the whole free world.

I'm Just Not the Type

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. WILLIAM STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, last night after the House adjourned, I sat down to write in detail my position on the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. I would like to submit my statement for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that my constituents and other interested parties will know my feelings on this highly controversial matter.

I have often heard the expression that an airline pilot really earns his pay about 3 minutes a month. As I sit here in my office alone tonight, I realize that tomorrow when I cast my vote on section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act I will feel very much like that airline pilot.

I find that my problem tonight is not one of indecision on how to vote, but the fact that my conscience dictates to me that I must cast a vote that is contrary to the strong convictions of many of my personal friends, the majority of the members of my political party and even against the opinion of some members of my own staff. There is also no doubt in my mind that whatever I say in explanation of my vote will not be acceptable to a great many of these wonderful people.

For a reason that has eluded me for 6 years the subject of right to work has evoked passionate support and equally intense opposition. As a result, the facts will be lost in this strong field of emotion, and many good intentioned people will have serious doubts about the person they sent to Congress.

Despite this, however, those who agree or disagree are entitled to an explanation and I can say in all modesty that anyone who knows me well, will know that I always have a good reason for voting one way or another. For that reason, let me try to explain why I shall vote for repeal of section 14(b).

In 1958 the subject of right-to-work laws in my State of Ohio was the No. 1 issue facing the voters. At that time, although I was not up for election for any office, I thoroughly studied the pros and cons of this issue, devoid of all emotional aspects. I came to the conclusion that a union cannot bargain for just its own members alone. It must give equal benefits and equal protection to all. If this were true, then it must logically follow that it is unfair to deny a union the right to seek a contract which requires all of those whom it protects to carry their fair share of the cost. Having reached this decision I informed representatives of local district 50 of the United Mine Workers and the local labor secretary in my home county of my feelings. This was many months before the issue came to a vote in Ohio and is today, I presume, still a matter of public record.

I never regretted this decision. I have often felt, however, that the final vote on this issue in Ohio would not have been so overwhelming against right to work if the people had been less passionate in their outlook. Against the pleading of Ray Bliss, a group of people, some of whom secretly desired to ruin the labor movement, fully committed the Republican Party to a subject that right fully belonged between employee and employer. The unions, on the other hand, fought back with all their might and I am sure that many a laboring man became wrongly convinced that the establishment of a right-to-work law meant the absolute end of union seniority. Both sides went too far.

When it became apparent that the repeal of a State's right to enact a so-called right-to-work law was to come before this Congress, I felt it was necessary to look at this issue from an entirely different approach. While Ohio has settled this issue once and for all, one must ask oneself the fundamental question, Did not Ohio have the right to decide? Should not other States? Is not States rights a major issue involved in this vote? For one who strongly believes in a political philosophy of States rights this became the predominate subject in my decision and I know I would vote for or against repeal mainly on this issue.

In arriving at my decision I can honestly say that I feel I have read as much testimony of the hearings, examined the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act as closely, and received the vast amount of literature available on this subject, as any other Member of the 89th Congress. Here was my conclusion.

The fundamental purpose of the Taft-Hartley Act was to establish a uniform, national policy in the area of labor-management relations. The law itself provides safeguards for employers against certain types of union activities, such as secondary boycotts, jurisdictional strikes and certain types of picketing. It outlaws the closed shop.

Along with this national law, the Landrum-Griffin Act applies national standards to outlaw hot cargo contracts, protects union funds against misuse, erects safeguards to insure fair elections

and provides a procedure for the removal of union officers by the union membership.

Every single section of both laws is applicable to every State in the Union with one exception—14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. This section should apply equally, in my opinion, to all States. In fact, this inequality definitely gives an unfair competitive advantage to those States, which seek to improve their economic fortunes at the expense of labor, over those States which seek to achieve the highest labor standards consistent with sound industrial development. A person cannot argue 1 minute that a voting rights bill was unfair because it did not apply equally throughout our country and, at the next minute, say that our national labor laws should not apply to all 50 States.

Many people have written that a vote against repeal of 14(b) would be a vote against the freedom of an individual. If I thought this was true I would not vote for repeal. Nothing is more sacred to me than my responsibility to protect the rights of an individual. The growth of welfarism and socialism is my biggest fear. To stop the growth of centralized government with its accompanying power over the individual freedom of man, and his right to lead his life as he sees fit I consider one of my main objectives in life.

I am a firm supporter of both the Taft-Hartley and the Landrum-Griffin Acts. The repeal of section 14(b) would result in no fundamental or significant modification in the structure and safeguards which these acts have made available to rank and file union members, employees, and employers.

I will, in the future, support labor legislation which would provide the proper climate for fair collective bargaining. Possession of excessive power by either labor or management can lead to nothing but disaster for both. Recent national labor elections, especially the recent steel election, points out that certain loopholes exist that might deny a union member to participate in fair and honest elections. Legislation hsould be considered to close these loopholes.

I wish to make it clear, Mr. Speaker, that I was personally disappointed that certain amendments that were to be offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. GRIFFIN] and the gentlewoman from Oregon [Mrs. GREEN] were blocked by legislative procedures from receiving the full attention, discussion, and debate of this body. I feel Mrs. GREEN's amendment that protects people who cannot join a union due to religious belief has much justification. The Amish and Seventh-Day Adventists in my district would have been helped by such an amendment. Mr. GRIFFIN's amendments, as they involve civil rights and the use of employee's dues for other than union activity as defined by law, wages, working conditions, and so forth, merit consideration by Congress. If given a chance to vote to send back the bill to committee so that these amendments can be considered I will do so.

In conclusion I would like to repeat how sorry I am that there are so many of my friends who disagree with me on this subject. I can honestly say, in all fairness, that I know none of them have given this subject as much thought or did as much research on labor laws as I have. The easiest and most politically expedient vote would be to vote against repeal. The same people who worked so passionately against the right-to-work issue in 1958 have put tremendous pressure on me. Some letters have been quite abusive and threatening. On the other hand, except for a few letters, I have had very little pressure from labor leaders back home. District 50 of the United Mine Workers has not expressed an opinion one way or another, nor has the vast majority of unions.

Only one reason keeps me from voting "no." Tonight I have to go home and sleep with my own conscience. If I vote not to repeal section 14(b), it would be only due to political pressure and not what I honestly think is the thing to do. Life is too short for that. I am just not the type.

Above Reproach?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, the attempts of myself and other Members of this House to provide constructive amendments to the extension of the Antipoverty Act were completely overridden. The merits of these amendments, in the light of the maladministration of the present act, should most certainly have been nonpartisan consideration. However the administration juggernaut was pointed in our direction and we were crushed.

I firmly believe the administration forces were ill advised on this project. Next year, they will no longer be able to apologize for their mistakes by claiming that they should not be subject to judgment because of the little time that they have had to put their plans into operation.

The present program will do nothing but perpetuate the errors of the past and we will find the public rising in anger at the boondoggling activities of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Perhaps then the Members of the majority will realize that the Republican Members were attempting to help the administration by improving the Antipoverty Act. The objectives of any antipoverty bill is so worthy that politics should be set aside.

The Akron Beacon Journal editorial page writers, supervised by the most able editor, Robert H. Stopher, are noted for their objective evaluation of national and international news have prepared an editorial on this subject.

The editorial follows:

ABOVE REPROACH?

The antipoverty program has one striking similarity to the foreign aid program.

Because the purpose is noble, the administration seeks to override all criticism of the way in which the money is spent.

Critics who point out waste, inefficiency, and political shenanigans are howled down as being hardhearted pennypinchers.

So it was last Thursday when the Democratic leadership rammed through the House a $1.9-billion bill to extend the drive against poverty.

Even some of the members of the majority party objected vociferously to the way the measure was railroaded. Representative PAUL C. JONES, a Missouri Democrat, speaking of the way proposed amendments were being discarded, said that Members didn't know what was being considered and that "they march down the aisle like a bunch of lambs going to slaughter."

The closest anyone came to derailing the steamroller was when Akron's Representative WILLIAM H. AYRES offered an amendment to retain the existing right of Governors to veto projects in their States which they deemed to be unnecessary or undesirable .

AYRES, whose background shows a sympathy and understanding of the problems of the underprivileged, said that Governors of both parties had informed him that they thought it wise to retain some local control over projects.

His amendment was a small effort to limit total control of the project from Washington. But it was rejected by a narrow 155-to-150 teller vote.

As an example of politics in the efforts to help the needy, AYRES told the House that appointments of helpers in the Barberton post office had to be cleared with the local Democratic leader.

This was under the National Youth Program, not technically a part of the antipoverty program, but closely affiliated in purpose and spirit.

These apopintees, it developed, had to have the OK of Democratic Chairman E. E. Leonard. The only conclusion to be reached is that the Democratic Party is not only determined to spread as much largesse as possible but to be pretty discriminating as to who gets it.

Sure, there's much that's worthy about the big, broad scheme of making work for unemployed teenagers and improving the skills and opportunities of underprivileged persons of all ages.

We'd feel better about it if the bureaucrats didn't insist that "Washington knows best" and if the administration loosened the reins enough so that there could have been full and free debate in the House .

Is there a chance that the Senate, known as the greatest deliberative body in the world, will take a closer look at the program?

Cameron Voting Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

ROLLCALL NOS. 162–164—HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to vote for the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 because I believe it is one of the most important and comprehensive pieces of legislation yet considered by the 89th Congress. The need for the measure can hardly be questioned. The present public housing program has simply not met the re-

quirements of the low-income families of this country. Today in the United States there are 3 million families in substandard houses who cannot find adequate housing within their means, and 2 million of our senior citizens are similarly deprived of safe and decent housing.

The bill as presented to the House was of tremendous scope, providing among other things for housing for disadvantaged persons, for urban renewal grants, for college housing loans, for grants to help localities construct community facilities, for funding urban beautification and improvement programs. In particular I approve of the authorization for local housing administrators to purchase, rehabilitate or lease existing privately owned housing for public use. An alternative approach to meeting the housing crisis, it will give the individual city greater flexibility in planning and spending. Believing in Federal aid only as a supplement to self-help, I supported provisions for qualified homeowners to finance repairs and improvements necessary for them—through their own effort—to bring their homes up to standards required by the community.

I also voted for the amendment limiting the eligibility for rent supplements. The rent supplement provision was certainly the most controversial feature of the proposal and it received the most criticism from the minority. Although I favor the rent supplement program because it will provide an extremely useful tool in phasing out public housing ghettos, I was disturbed by what seemed to be a lack of adequate safeguards against misuse of the subsidy program. As originally set forth in the bill offered to the House, low- and moderate-income families could receive rent supplement payments not to exceed the difference between 25 percent of the family income and the rent for their residence.

The Stephens amendment, which I favored, tightened the eligibility requirements by limiting supplement payments only to those persons who qualify for public housing under the rigorous requirements of the Housing Act of 1937.

It is very clear that only the lowest income families will benefit from rent supplements, families which cannot live in a decent fashion without some assistance.

Since 1937, when the concept of public housing was translated into an action program, the Government has been able to build only 580,000 family units. But while these units were intended to replace ghettos they in turn have become ghettos simply because we have taken the disadvantaged and lumped them together in vast housing complexes.

Hopefully, the rent supplement program will mark the gradual phaseout of public housing and all the social ills that it helps perpetuate. If the new program is administered according to legislative intent, and I am optimistic that it will be, the thousands of disadvantaged Americans now on waiting lists for public housing will be able to avail themselves of private housing in decent neighborhoods with decent public schools. They will become residents of respectable communities and thus escape the stigma and adverse social conditions of the public housing ghetto.

I am confident that this new approach for providing decent housing for low-income families marks a healthy start in relying more heavily on private enterprise to create a better standard of living for thousands of Americans who have no desire to become wards of the State.

As the conservatively oriented National Association of Home Builders properly pointed out in urging support of the bill, "such financial tools will enable private enterprise to produce more economically and more quickly the homes needed for neglected families at a reduced cost to the American taxpayer."

ROLLCALL NOS. 175–179—VOTING RIGHTS ACT

Mr. Speaker, I supported the Voting Rights Act of 1965 because it is designed to insure that all Americans, irrespective of race or color, may exercise their right to vote under the Constitution's 15th amendment. It is regrettable but true that the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, and 1964, and innumerable Supreme Court decisions have been unable to rid our Nation of discriminatory procedures at the ballot box.

It is for this reason that we must applaud the thorough and specific provisions of H.R. 6400: the automatic trigger which provides for Federal supervision of elections where voter discrimination is evident, prohibition of discriminatory literacy tests and taxes on the right to vote, the provisions for Federal examiners, and the prohibition against conspiracy to violate voting rights.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, the key vote came on the motion to recommit H.R. 6400, a product of the Committee on the Judiciary and replace it with a weaker measure offered by the minority party and strongly supported by certain southern Democrats whose dedication to the cause of human equality is still subject to proof. While I do not question the sincerity of my Republican colleagues in their advocacy of civil rights, the great weakness in their substitute proposal was the removal of the "automatic trigger" which is absolutely essential if we are to effectively secure ballot box equality. H.R. 6400 permits the Attorney General to automatically employ Federal examiners where fewer than 50 percent of the adult population were registered to vote in the 1964 election, whereas the substitute proposal provided that in each political subdivision of a State 25 persons would have to file charges of voter discrimination with the Attorney General before a hearing could be held to decide if Federal examiners could work in that subdivision.

Under this provision the obvious would occur: Citizens who were being denied the right to vote would have to face physical, psychological and economic reprisals in their attempt to register—before the merits of their complaint could even be discussed. Nor did the substitute bill contain a provision to prohibit the levying of taxes on the constitutional right of citizens to elect their officials. And it did not make provision for nonresident Federal examiners and election observers.

Mr. Speaker, two of the amendments offered to H.R. 6400 also deserve brief comment. The so-called Cramer amendment was particularly deceptive on superficial examination and I want to make clear its implications and why I voted against it. The amendment was presented by the gentleman from Florida as an antifraud provision which would prevent the stealing of ballot boxes, vote buying, and use of false absentee ballots—worthy goals which all of us support and encourage.

But, as is the case in many legalistic documents, there was a kicker in the fine print which I found totally unacceptable. The wording was such that anyone who accepts payment for registering voters—such as deputy registrars in my county of Los Angeles—would be subject to prosecution. The antifraud provisions were merely a vehicle for carrying this fine print since vote buying, fraudulent ballots, and so on, were effectively dealt with in another section of the bill. It was quickly evident to the discerning legislator that the true purpose of the amendment was to frustrate the voter registration efforts underway today in certain sections of the country. Theoretically, the amendment was phrased in such a way as to possibly prohibit even the lawful efforts of the Democratic and Republican Parties to conduct voter registration drives.

The Gilbert amendment, on the other hand, was an attempt to strengthen the bill by correcting an inequity which exists for certain Spanish-speaking citizens. Many of our people are American citizens by birth and are educated in American schools where the official language language, sanctioned by the Government, is Spanish. These citizens have every opportunity to keep informed through Spanish-language newspapers and books, and Spanish-speaking radio stations. They have access to the same information that every other voting citizen considers when he makes a political decision. However, in certain areas of the country these Latin Americans are precluded from voting because of English literacy requirements. The Gilbert amendment, unfortunately defeated on a very narrow vote, would have voided such requirements.

ROLLCALL NO. 185—CIGARETTE LABELING

Mr. Speaker, the Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act can only be interpreted as ineffective legislation designed to pacify the enormously powerful tobacco lobby. The crippling limitations which the bill places on the Federal Trade Commission and State governments render the measure completely ineffective for solving the grave health problem it was intended to help remedy. I vigorously urged defeat of the measure.

The Surgeon General's report established beyond a reasonable doubt that cigarette smoking is associated with lung cancer, chronic bronchitis, and is closely related to pulmonary emphysema. It is associated with a 70-perent increase in age-specific death rates of males—the greater the number of cigarettes smoked, the higher the death rate. Cigarettes are a proven major menace to the person who smokes them. The proven danger clarifies the necessary course: we must

educate the presmoking and smoking public to the dangers of smoking, reform cigarette advertising, and place warnings on cigarette packages. To warn, to educate, and to reform—all three courses are necessary.

The only positive provision in S. 559 is that each cigarette package shall carry a warning declaring that "Cigarette smoking may be hazardous to your health." Granted, this is a step in the right direction. However, this labeling affects only the people who already smoke, who have purchased a package and are about to light up. Most likely, they already know that cigarette smoking is dangerous and have in their minds somehow rationalized the habit.

But what about the nonsmokers, particularly the young people who take up smoking unaware of the danger? One-half of our high school seniors now smoke, 10 to 15 percent of all 13-year-olds smoke, and they are steadily smoking more. Millions will have their lives shortened horribly by cancer, bronchitis, or emphysema. How are we going to make these young people consider the grave consequences they are likely to face when they light an innocent looking stick of tobacco when daily, through the mass media, they are seduced by the most highly skilled, persuasive, appealing advertising that cigarette producers can buy? With a virile actor in enviable surroundings speaking for a brand of cigarettes, what effect will the small warning on the package have on an impressionable youth? It is obvious that the Federal Trade Commission must have some jurisdiction over cigarette advertising. Such enormous power over the conscious and unconscious minds of young Americans must not be allowed to go unchecked.

The Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act contains some of the most irrational qualifications I have ever encountered. It does not allow State or local government to in any manner regulate cigarette advertising for the next 3 years; it protects cigarette companies from lawsuits filed by cigarette users; it prevents the Federal Trade Commission for the next 3 years from limiting misleading advertising. This bill is the creature of the tobacco industry, and its lobbyists were elated with its passage, having urged Members of Congress to support it. They knew that they made a good deal and that sales will not suffer as long as they can keep the public bombarded with ads cleverly implying that cigarette smoking is the thing to do.

Mr. Speaker, I voted against the labeling bill because it was hopelessly inadequate to warn the American people of the dangers of smoking. Had the bill not been passed, the Federal Trade Commission could have initiated its more effective regulations, or a more thorough bill could have been introduced in Congress this session. As it now stands, to quote the gentleman from California [Mr. Moss] we have stripped "every other agency, every other jurisdiction, Federal, State, or local, of the right to do that which we are too timid to do. I do not think, if that is our course, that we meet our responsibility, that we fulfill the demands that the American public has the right to make on us."

ROLLCALL NOS. 196–197—ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Mr. Speaker, Adlai Stevenson once said of Eleanor Roosevelt that she was the kind of woman who would rather light a candle than curse the darkness. It strikes me that the same expressive compliment can be given a nation which honestly and vigorously attempts to provide equal economic and cultural opportunity to all its citizens rather than merely bewail the crime rate, unemployment, juvenile delinquency, school dropouts, and ghettos of the poor.

The Economic Opportunity Act is evidence that as a nation we recognize that the development of a juvenile delinquent can be effectively arrested by opening legitimate channels to a respectable, responsible position in life; that unemployment is effectively countered not through mass relief but through increasing opportunities for technological training; that a potential dropout may remain in school if he is given an educational boost before he enters school and into competition with more culturally advantaged classmates.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has been officially launched for only 9 months and the administrative difficulties encountered by this multifaceted program to deal with an extremely complex problem have been understandably great. However, it was established during House hearings that even in these first difficult months the OEO has made great advances. Just a few of the many examples presented during House debate speak well for the OEO:

Project Head Start is giving preschool training in more than 13,000 centers throughout the country this summer, assuring medical care, balanced diets, and special instruction to small children from underprivileged homes. In my congressional district alone, more than 1,000 children are participating in the program being sponsored by eight school districts and one private organization.

More than 11,000 young men and women are now enrolled in 50 Job Corps centers with an enrollment of 40,000 anticipated by the end of the first year of operation. The Job Corps provides disadvantaged youngsters between the ages of 16 and 20 with a 2-year program of educational and vocational training and work experience.

Nearly 1,200 VISTA volunteers, sometimes called the domestic Peace Corps, will be on the job by the end of this summer working to combat poverty through local economic opportunity programs.

In this summer alone, 40,000 college students from 750 colleges will benefit from a work-study program which enables them to work in areas related to their college studies while continuing at school. Again, in my district, students at La Puente's Bishop Amat High School are today working at Queen of the Valley Hospital, earning money so that they can continue their studies and perhaps go on to college.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the worthwhile goals of the Economic Opportunity Act and in view also of the substantial success that it has thus far achieved in its attack on the origins of national poverty, I heartily endorsed the authorization of $1.8 billion for the next 2 fiscal years. For the same reasons, I rejected the motion to recommit because it would have cut in half the amount of the authorization and crippled OEO efforts to build upon the productive program which it has started.

GOP Looking for New Ideas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most hopeful signs in the Republican Party today is the dedication and diligence of many of our young professional, academic, and business leaders on behalf of new and creative programs and policies for our party.

One of the leading spokesmen for this thoughtful group of people is the Ripon Society of Cambridge, Mass.

Recently, the Ripon Society cooperated with the Republican Governors' Association in developing a paper on proposals for tax sharing between the Federal and State Governments. This paper has been widely acclaimed and I ask unanimous consent to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a fine column by Robert Healy in the Boston Globe, an editorial from the Bangor, Maine, Daily News, and the comments of nationally syndicated columnist Roscoe Drummond.

Emphasizing the traditional Republican principle of local responsibility and local control, the Ripon Society has made an important contribution to the public debate in this area. I hope they will keep up the good work.

The articles follow:

[From the Boston Globe, July 19, 1965]

GOP LOOKING FOR NEW IDEAS

(By Robert Healy)

It is refreshing to see the Republican Party looking at its policies and programs for new ideas.

The postmortems are certainly all in on the 1964 election, but if the Republican Party is to turn the corner it will have to have some new direction.

With this in mind, the Ripon Society, started in the academic community in Cambridge, has published a study for the Republican Governors' Association.

It deals with taxes—the so-called Heller proposal to distribute some Federal income tax revenue to State governments on a "no strings" basis.

Dr. Walter Heller, who served as chief economic adviser to both President Kennedy and President Johnson, advanced the idea in the beginning of 1964. It won applause from an unusual mixture of both liberals and conservatives.

The Ripon Society report says support grew quickly and there were predictions of congressional approval. "But the prediction was never tested."

The report goes on to say the President did an about-face in mid-December last year. "He was irritated, he told reporters at a back-

ground conference, because the favorable recommendations of the Pechman task force (which studied the proposal) had been leaked to certain newspapers. He was annoyed because the leak had generated criticism. Angrily, and without any reference to its merits, he shelved the proposal—its widespread support notwithstanding."

Republican Governors and the Ripon Society support the Heller plan to send Federal money uncommitted back to the States.

"Exploding population, rapid urbanization, higher prices and advanced technology are placing enormous pressures on State and local governments."

The report says the States have had to bear the brunt of the population explosion. "In fact, vast new sums are necessary if even the most ordinary, ongoing functions are to be adequately maintained. Programs such as education, fire and recreation, welfare, water and transportation must not be cut back. Nor can we safely allow control of such concerns to slip further into Federal hands."

The argument presented, of course, has application broader than Massachusetts. But certainly it is a carbon of the Massachusetts problem. Property taxes, it says, have been overused; many States are looking to the sales tax and costs are rising faster than revenues.

It points out that the Federal Government has been a help to the States with grant-in-aid programs but many of these programs require State contributions. Federal grant programs waste money on outdated operations while real needs are unmet. Moreover, the States are forced to reproduce Federal errors and to match Federal blunders. It suggests that some States are so tied to existing programs they are frequently unable to find matching funds for the more important new Federal grants.

The report specifically describes how the unconditional grants would be returned to the States (1 percent of all income tax revenues or a total of $2.5 billion this year and $3.5 billion by 1970). The only restriction on spending would be a ban on highway and public building construction.

The bold tax cut proposed first by President Kennedy in 1962 has worked better than most had hoped. Treasury receipts rose by $4 billion and when the Government books were closed at the end of June this year it was the smallest deficit since 1960, less than $1 billion.

Now there is a chance of Federal surplus. So the real need is in the States. As the report states the matching fund programs are not the complete answer.

Politically, the Ripon Society has made an enormous contribution to the Republican Party. For these are things about which the party should start thinking and debating.

Slogans about choices and echoes don't fill the bill as 1964 proved. The political fight in this country is for the great middle and the Republicans had better start getting wet in that mainstream right now.

[From the Bangor Daily News, July 16, 1965]

GONE WITH THE WIND—AFTER THE ELECTION

The Republican Governors Association and the Ripon Society, a GOP research organization, want to know what has happened to President Johnson's plan to give the States a percentage of the Federal income tax revenue—with no strings attached.

It is a good question. The Republicans say Johnson cast the idea aside from "personal peevishness" provoked when a favorable report on the plan was leaked to certain newspapers.

We wouldn't know about that. We do know, however, that the plan was publicly endorsed by the President during the election campaign. And that nothing has been said about it since.

To our way of thinking, the plan has solid merit. It would check, if not reverse, the present trend toward an ever stronger Central Government. States today are becoming fiscal slaves of Washington, forced to bow to Federal regulation to get needed Federal funds and often to come up with matching funds or lose Federal grants.

The closer to home tax money is spent, the better. Local officials are more familiar with local problems. Bureaucratic waste is reduced.

The protesting Republicans just may have come up with an effective campaign issue for the future.

[From the New York Herald Tribune, July 18, 1965]

SHARING TAX MONEY

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—Good issues are in short supply with the Republicans. When they get one, they ought to run with it—fast.

The Republican Governors' Association has come to life with an admirable initiative. It isn't being scared away just because President Johnson once supported it.

The GOP Governors strongly endorse the project, which had its origins within the Johnson administration, that the Federal Government share unconditionally with State governments substantial Federal tax revenue.

The purpose: to strengthen government at the State and local levels, which bear the brunt of the most acute problems of the exploding population and massive shift to the cities, by helping provide revenue where it can best be collected—at the Federal level. The proposal is not new. The initiative of the Republican Governors is new—and timely. Their plea, in effect, is that the Republican leaders in Congress join with them in making this revenue-sharing plan a major Republican cause and to generate such public support that the Democrats will also find it irresistible.

It seems to me that this is a good Republican enterprise.

It is sound government. It is sound politics.

It is progressive in that it seeks to equip State and local government to deal effectively with massive problems of urbanization—transportation, education, health, technology—not neglect them.

It is conservative in that one of its end results would be to arrest the flow of political power to Washington.

It would unite all wings of the Republican Party on at least one major issue at a time when GOP unity is so elusive. Barry Goldwater supports the plan and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller supports it. So do all the Republican Governors in between. Here a Republican consensus ought to be possible and once the Republicans start working together, who can tell—they might like it.

Gov. Robert E. Smylie, chairman of the Republican Governors' Association, calls the proposal to share Federal revenue with the States "the first really workable suggestion advanced in many years to correct the developing imbalance in the revenue structure of government at all levels."

Dr. John S. Saloma III, president of the Ripon Society, a Republican research group which helped prepare the study paper for the Governors, says that "strengthening State and local governments will be one of the great challenges of a new and exciting political era."

If the Republican Governors and the Republican leaders in Congress can join forces on this program, they will be showing the country that they can overcome one of the most serious deterrents to action.

The distaste for giving up control of Federal programs administered through the States isn't something which prevails only in the executive branch of the government. It is shared by Congressmen. They hesitate to yield their role and their control in these matters. There is no doubt that the Governors will have to demonstrate decisive public demand to win Congress—and the President—to their side.

President Johnson once supported this plan and maybe he will again. Its merits haven't changed.

"The revenue-sharing proposal," Governor Smylie's report concludes, "can help to prepare our political system to meet the onward rush of events. It can help us to put into practice all that we mean when we speak of 'cooperative federalism.' It can help us build government for tomorrow."

Workshop Activities for Retired

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, community participation adds depth to activities for the aging. I am delighted to note the concern and initiative displayed by Mr. Harry Shealey, of Dundalk, Md., in providing outlets for the interests and activities of the older citizens. Terming his program "Pride in Retirement Plan," Mr. Shealey has offered the complete facilities of his workshop to older citizens. The Commission on Aging for the State of Maryland has accepted his plan.

The full story of Mr. Shealey's constructive collaboration with aging citizens is contained in the Community Press of Dundalk. I am proud to include it in the CONGRESIONAL RECORD:

WORKSHOP ACTIVITIES FOR RETIRED

A pride in retirement plan, proposed by Harry Shealey, of 259 Colgate Avenue, was accepted by the commission for the State of Maryland on the aging as a worthwhile and desirable project for retired men.

The commission, under the direction of Gerald Monsman, executive director, and L. B. Twist, county contact officer, invited Joseph J. Luddy, representative of the Baltimore County Senior Citizens Board, and Guy Stapleton, county chairman to a firsthand inspection on July 8 of the facilities offered under Mr. Shealey's plan.

Mr. Stapleton gave his full endorsement to the proposed program and stated that he would officially inform the State office to that effect.

The pride in retirement plan as proposed by Mr. Shealey, would make available to senior citizens who are retired, the complete facilities of his workshop. The only cost would be the material necessary for each individual's project.

Complete woodworking facilities, information on finishing, metalcraft, upholstering, machine work, and leather crafting will be available.

As the program progresses, other arts and crafts in which sufficient interest is shown will be introduced. A lounging area for reading enjoyment and discussion is planned.

Representing the retired senior citizens at the meeting were Ben Seawell, Al Baines, and J. Markel.

The Community Press and Eastern Beacon are proud to have reported the conception of "pride in retirement" and hope for its continued success.

Racehorse Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Maryland has a great tradition as horse-racing and hunt cup country. In recent years, several stud farms in Harford County, in my congressional district, have added luster to this tradition by opening a "racing frontier" through their breeding and training of racehorses. It is my pleasure to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the story of this expansion of an old and honored Maryland tradition as told in the Aegis of Bel Air, Md., for July 22, 1965:

RACEHORSE COUNTRY

The rolling hills of Harford County have long been known as horse country. From the early days of farming, to the first racetracks, to the breeding of turf champions, Harford has set a name for itself in the racing world.

In early years horses were used primarily for transportation, but with the invention of the automobile, the horse became obsolete in that sense and was kept more for pleasure riding.

At that time horse racing existed, but mostly on a small scale. Though county fairs and cross-country courses were the first racetracks much of racing was confined to wealthy society circles.

The development of American racing and the American thoroughbred followed logical steps to its present status; it borrowed a large amount of English tradition (for racing was in full swing there), but it did assume its own characteristics as well.

Industrialization accelerated the growth of the sport. Harford played a substantial part in opening the "racing frontier" especially for Maryland breeds. At one time there were two racetracks in the county making it one of the only counties in the country to have more than one. Bel Air and Havre de Grace Racetracks, no longer in existence, put Harford on the racing map.

Now, the racehorse only knows Harford through the numerous farms around the county where thoroughbreds are bred, raised, and trained:

Country Life Farm, owned by John and Joseph Pons, is located on Route 1 near Bel Air and is one of the county's largest and most well known farms. It is recognized all over the east for its six stallions. Heading that list is the celebrated Saggy, sire of the great Carry Back, next is Big Brave who has not sired any horses that have raced as yet, but reports say that his yearlings look very promising. Rash Prince, Dark Ruler, and Final Ruling are all well established sires and Multnomah is the most recent addition to Country Life. He is a three-quarter brother to the famous Cicada, the world's leading money winning mare.

The Pons regret that they must obtain another sire in the near future to replace an old standby, Occupy, who died at the age of 24 recently. He had many winners, however, and will live on in his offspring.

Country Life is primarily a breeding farm but many racehorses are turned out in the pastures to recover from ailments and exhausting racing campaigns. Many mares are also boarded at the farm all year long, and twice as many stay there during the breeding season.

Mr. James Richardson, Jr., is the owner of Panorama Farm at Forest Hill. The farm is approximately 160 acres large and boasts three studs; Gangway, Toy Weight, and Newbus who are well regarded by horsemen.

Mr. Richardson trains racehorses while he manages his farm; he handles them there and then ships them by van to the tracks where they are to run. He contends that a horse can be trained on a farm, just as easily as it can be trained on the track.

In view of the fact that Mr. Richardson has only been at Panorama for 5 years, the excellent changes and improvements that he has made already, indicate that he will make the farm a showplace before too long.

One of Harford County's newest farms is Wit's End Farm located on Calvary Road near Bel Air. It is owned by Mr. C. R. Hunt who has other farms along the east coast.

Wit's End is managed by Mr. Robert Young, who handles all the training. They have one stud, Mon Triumph, who has sired a number of good prospects, and intends to buy another stud very shortly.

The only training track in the county is located at the farm; it is one-half of a mile oval with well placed turns and a four-horse starting gate. The combination provides an ideal setup for breaking yearlings, training racehorses, and boarding horses just to get them in shape.

Wit's End is a young farm and will soon be making a big name for itself as its potential is unlimited.

Mr. Peter Jay, of Havre de Grace, is one of Maryland's most noted horsemen. Mr. Jay owns Windmill Hill Farm and is considered to be one of the foremost breeders in the State. Evidence of this is the recent victory of Repeating in the rich Monmouth Handicap. Repeating is by Double Jay and was bred by Mr. Jay and his wife.

Windmill Hill is a "model" horse farm standing two studs, Right Proud and Peveron who are revealing their fine capabilities, having sired some of the best looking young horses in the area. Their offspring have not yet set any records at the tracks, but very few have reached racing age.

Mr. Jay, besides running his farm, is president of the Maryland Horse Breeders Association. That appointment alone would indicate the caliber of Windmill Hill and the ability of the horseman who owns it.

Col. L. S. MacPhail's Glenagus Farms is probably one of the area's most attractive farms. It is located near Bel Air and is extremely well suited for horses. Colonel MacPhail is well known in the racing world for the horses he has bred. At that farm, however, the emphasis seems to be upon breeding as opposed to racing.

These are only a few of Harford County's thoroughbred horse farms. There are countless others operating on a smaller basis.

Racing is a growing industry and if the number of Harford farms continue to increase in size and quality the county may soon become Maryland's breeding center.

Valuable Resource

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR CALLAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, a concise commentary on the need for water conservation appeared recently in one of the finest newspapers of Nebraska, the Norfolk Daily News, of July 17, 1965. I include it in the RECORD at this point because of our dependence on water resources and the fact that this is, and will become a nationwide problem in the future:

VALUABLE RESOURCE

Eastern State residents, especially those in the larger cities like New York and Philadelphia, are finding out what a valuable resource water is. Some areas have seen water supply reservoirs reduced to near disaster levels by a 4-year drought.

Those old enough to remember the early 1930's in the Midwest can understand some of the suffering that accompanies prolonged periods of dry weather. Since that era, shelterbelts have cropped up to halt wind erosion on dry soil, farm dams have been built to hold the water where it falls, and other water conservation measures instituted.

Today's plight of the easterners should be a reminder that not enough has been done in this field. More work needs to be done to reduce the amounts of runoff, and to hold the water where it falls so that the water tables which supply the irrigation, household, and industrial uses will not be depleted.

Nebraskans are fortunate to have an abundant supply of underground water—but it is not inexhaustible.

Abolishing Capital Punishment in the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following WTOP editorial broadcast on July 26 and 27, 1965. The editorial supports my bill, H.R. 559, to abolish capital punishment in the District of Columbia.

The recent statement by the Department of Justice supporting my bill is cited, and is noted as a step of great significance.

The editorial follows:

WTOP RADIO AND TV EDITORIAL

(By Jack Jurey)

For some months this station has hoped that Congressman ABRAHAM MULTER's bill to abolish capital punishment in the District of Columbia would attract the attention it deserves. This rather obscure piece of legislation seemed to us to be a peg—a rather small peg, to be sure—upon which to hang a review of the ethics and deterrent effect of executions.

Our best hopes have now been realized, thanks to a statement of Justice Department policy by Ramsey Clark, Deputy Attorney General. In a letter to Chairman JOHN MCMILLAN, of the House District Committee, Mr. Clark says in part: "We favor the abolition of the death penalty. Modern penology with its correctional and rehabilitation skills affords greater protection to society than the death penalty which is inconsistent with its goals." The Deputy Attorney General continued: "This Nation is too great in its resources and too good in its purposes to engage in the light of present understanding in the deliberate taking of human life as either a punishment or a deterrent to domestic crime."

Mr. Clark then went on to suggest that capital punishment should not be abolished "piecemeal," in just this one Federal juris-

diction. He proposed instead that the death penalty might be abolished for all Federal crimes everywhere and suggested that the matter should be studied both by the District of Columbia Crime Commission and the National Crime Commission.

Frankly, this statement of position is far better than we had hoped. For the first time, the Justice Department has taken a public position against capital punishment, which is by itself a step of great significance. If the Department wants a survey of the entire capital punishment problem, then it probably will be provided—especially since Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach is chairman of the National Crime Commission. The important thing is that the Justice Department, the chief law enforcement arm of the Federal Government, already has spoken out on the subject.

The Reapportionment Ball Game

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the "ball game" presently being played in the other body on the subject of reapportionment prompts me to include with these remarks the following resolution adopted in the New York State Senate on May 3, 1965:

SENATE RESOLUTION 168 ADOPTED IN NEW YORK STATE SENATE MAY 3, 1965

Concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of New York memorializing the Congress of the United States and the legislatures of all the States to oppose efforts which are being made to promote an amendment to the Constitution which would permit one house of a bicameral legislature to be apportioned on a basis other than equal treatment of citizens or residents

Whereas efforts are being made in the legislatures of the several States and in the Congress of the United States to promote an amendment to the Constitution which would permit one house of a bicameral legislature to be apportioned on a basis other than equal treatment of citizens or residents; and

Whereas such an amendment would partially nullify the historic and salutory decision of the U.S. Supreme Court that people must be given equal privileges of representation regardless of their place of residence, by permitting an unrepresentative house to veto the actions of a more representative house; and

Whereas the unequal representation of States in the U.S. Senate is not pertinent in this connection because the States were sovereign and independent entities whose equal representation was naturally demanded and necessary in order to create a Federal Union and there is no such sovereign status in the districts of a State legislature; and

Whereas there are at least as many special interests requiring representation in proportion to population in the thickly settled areas of the States as in the sparsely settled areas; and

Whereas the principle of majority rule requires that districts with a minority of the people of a State should not be able to outvote in a legislative body districts with a substantially greater number of people, as has often happened in this and other States and will happen again if the proposed amendment should prevail: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Legislature of the State of New York strongly opposes the proposed amendment and supports the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court requiring equal treatment of a State's people in its representative bodies as a fundamental bulwark of democratic self-government; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Governors and the majority and minority leaders of the legislative bodies of all the States and to all Members of the Congress of the United States.

By order of the Senate.

GEORGE VAN LENGEN,
Secretary.

The Easy Chair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, one of our vital foreign aid programs today is the Alliance for Progress. It has benefited many people in Latin America, and has helped to win for the United States many new friends. However, some self-imposed critics of our aid programs have unjustly commented about the work in Latin America of the Agency for International Development, and about the Alliance for Progress.

Clarence Moore, publisher of the Times of Havana, in exile, has captured, in a recent column in his newspaper, the unfairness of these critics. His brilliant, almost classic commentary on the Alliance, and on a speech by James H. Boren, director of Partners of the Alliance Programs, ought to be read by all, and I therefore, commend it to your attention:

THE EASY CHAIR

(By Clarence Moore)

Apt quotations are always a pleasure to discover and a further pleasure to pass along. One of these turned up the other day in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, that compendium of words good and bad.

It caught the fancy of President Johnson who used it a week or two later in partial form in a speech and, in turn, must have impressed Time magazine since it chose to quote Johnson's speech, including the words I found and liked. My earliest attribution is to an AID official speaking before the Connecticut Partners of the Alliance early in May of this year. Where he came by his source is not known, but he told the Partners with some bitterness of earlier experiences.

He had formerly been assigned with AID in Peru. He had worked long hours in the slums and the barriadas in close touch with the federations of campesinos. It was back-breaking work that took him into the source waters of the Andes where he came down with chills and fever. Later, back in the United States, he was suddenly seized with chills and, on his way to a doctor, turned on his radio to a well-known commentator. The commentator described all AID officials as vagrants who drank martinis before breakfast and then went to plush offices where they thought up ways to waste the U.S. tax dollar. After announcing his pride at being an official of AID and his enthusiasm for his job, the AID executive told the Partners a story from long ago:

"To that commentator, and to those armchair critics who parrot his cliches, I say with Gen. Lucius Paulus, as he said in the second cenutry B.C. 'commanders should be counseled chiefly by persons of known talent and those who are present at the scene of action.' General Paulus went on to say:

" 'If, therefore, anyone thinks himself qualified to give advice respecting the war which I am to conduct, let him not refuse the assistance to the state, but let him come with me into Macedonia.

" 'He shall be furnished with a ship, a tent, even his traveling charges shall be defrayed. But if he thinks this is too much trouble, and prefers the repose of a city life to the toils of war, let him not on land assume the office of a pilot.' "

The Alliance is surrounded by an extraordinary number of critics who have no hankering to go to Macedonia. These persons are quite willing to take their soundings from the repose of their city rooms. Few of them have ever pitched their tents outside the limited jurisdiction of their own circulation managers.

The general seems to have had them pegged pretty well over 2,000 years ago. If he were around today, he would find that it can still be awfully lonely in Macedonia.

As Mr. Moore's column indicated, Mr. Boren has been among our ablest workers for AID. I understand that two American coworkers of his in Lima, Peru, Dr. Keating and Dr. Mike Chiappetta had given him the quotation "come with me into Macedonia." Mr. Boren found it useful in encouraging friends and visitors to see Lima as well as the rural countryside. In fact, the quotation has proved to be so meaningful that other Government officials who saw it on his wall, where he fittingly had framed it, have besieged Mr. Boren with numerous requests for copies, which he has supplied. Hopefully, armchair critics of AID will soon become acquainted with this quotation, too, and paying its heed, would learn about AID firsthand by going, "into Macedonia."

Mr. Wilkins Is Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following is a WABC radio editorial delivered on July 15, 16, and 17, 1965 by Walter A. Schwartz, vice president and general manager of WABC in New York. The editorial concerns the statement by Roy Wilkins of the NAACP that civil rights groups should confine their attention to civil rights, and not involve themselves in the Vietnam issue.

It is desirable that civil rights groups direct their energies to the attainment of their original goal, that of winning equal rights for Negroes in this country. Their purposes become confused when these organizations take stands on international problems.

The editorial follows:

WABC RADIO EDITORIAL: "MR. WILKINS IS RIGHT"

Roy Wilkins of the NAACP makes great sense in discussing the true role of local and national civil rights groups. The NAACP

and other rights organizations, he insists, should stick to civil rights and stay away from the issue of Vietnam. There is a rising ferment in some of the local rights organizations to get involved in the so-called peace movement over Vietnam. We believe, as Mr. Wilkins, that the mission of civil rights organizations is to win equal rights for Negroes in this country and not to settle international problems. Certainly the members of rights organizations have every right as individuals to take positions on the war in Vietnam, but they should not use their organizations for this purpose. The public becomes confused over the true role of civil rights groups when they divide their energies between domestic and foreign problems. Let the civil rights groups devote themselves to their original goal: of ridding their localities and the Nation of job discrimination, housing, and school segregation. Let them leave Vietnam to others.

The Gardner Appointment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, the appointment of John W. Gardner to be Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare comes as a pleasant surprise. I have had the pleasure of coming into contact with Mr. Gardner at many education conferences and can personally confirm the words of praise delivered by President Johnson in announcing his appointment.

Mr. Gardner is an outstanding figure in the education world. He is an original thinker, a persuasive advocate and a perceptive critic. He is also a Republican, but so are some of my best friends.

The appointment of Mr. Gardner undoubtedly signifies that greater emphasis will be given to the education aspect of the Department's affairs. And this is as it should be. Educational opportunity is probably the strongest single factor in breaking the perpetuating cycle of poverty. Educational opportunity is the key to a prosperous and healthy economy.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following editorials from the New York Times and Herald Tribune:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times]

THE GARDNER APPOINTMENT

The surprise appointment of John W. Gardner as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, is another demonstration of President Johnson's new-found ability to look in unconventional places to find the indisputably right man for an important job at the moment that job most needs doing right. In the Department's short 12-year history, five Secretaries have struggled with indifferent success to transform a collection of bureaucracies into a cohesive unit. They were hampered not only by the relatively recent elevation of these vital concerns to Cabinet status but even more by the many vested political and bureaucratic interests that blocked strong executive leadership.

The accent tended to lean heavily toward health and welfare, with education often a pious afterthought. Anthony J. Celebrezze, an amiable politician devoid of expertness in any of the fields under his direction, was ill equipped to reform the Department's operations or sharpen its goals.

The importance of that mission is now beyond question. As the President has taken special pains to point out in virtually every discussion of his domestic program, education has moved to the center of the national stage. It is the heart of the "war on poverty," just as it will be a key instrument in any attempt to assure economic health and expansion. And it is the rational basis of any promise of social justice and equal opportunity to racial minorities.

Mr. Gardner has long been a sharp and impatient critic of softness and lack of purpose in the use of education, both in the Government and in the academic community. He has made it the main business of his hardheaded advice and of the foundation dollars at his command to elevate education to a place of national priority. By avoiding personal publicity, he has given a special persuasiveness to his ideas and policy guidelines.

President Johnson, impressed by Mr. Gardner's effectiveness in presiding over the task force that shaped recent advances in educational legislation, now clearly is giving the new Secretary a mandate to raise education to Cabinet rank, in fact as well as name.

In the end it may take more than a mere reorganization of the department to achieve this objective. For the moment, there can be no doubt that the business of Health, Education, and Welfare, with a staff of almost 90,000, with annual funds of close to $30 billion and with influence over many times that amount, calls for the kind of unsentimental pursuit of excellence in vision and policy planning that has long been Mr. Gardner's personal and professional quest.

[From the New York Herald Tribune, July 28, 1965]

EXCELLENT CHOICE TO BUILD EXCELLENCE

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, often called the Department of Headaches, is getting its sixth Secretary in a dozen years. President Johnson designated John W. Gardner, president of the Carnegie Corp., to succeed Anthony J. Celebrezze, the former five-term Cleveland mayor, who leaves bureaucratic puzzlements for the serenity of a U.S. Court of Appeals judgeship.

Secretary Celebrezze, for all his talents and diligence in a complicated job, had been reported less than happy. Some of his predecessors felt equally frustrated. He was in departmental charge for 2 years in an unfolding era of great future changes for American education and health, and leaves with the customary high praises. But Celebrezze's departure is hardly surprising.

The Gardner selection is superb. As the President put it, "he is regarded by his peers as one of the most knowledgeable men in the field of U.S. education." Not only that, but Gardner has been long recognized as a prime mover in the educational field. The phrase, "pursuit of excellence," title of a Gardner report, is a slogan imbedded in language and thought. He is a man of action, an original thinker, and a thorough independent. Probably no one person is more important in American education. It's a piquant detail that Gardner is a lifelong Republican, but this wasn't a political choice. In a world where declining quality and the counterweight of excellence are great issues, the President said: "I know of no one who is better suited by temperament, experience, and commonsense intellectualism to confront these issues and bend them to the national desire."

To pick individual excellence for high Cabinet rank in the development of national excellence is obviously logical. The stimulus and the promise of fulfilled goals must hearten every citizen. For excellence is a matter of practice. President Johnson is to be congratulated for putting an outstanding example of excellence in charge at Health, Education, and Welfare.

The Town Woke Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, since I have been pleased to support the concept and activities of the peace ever since its inception, I was particularly happy to discover recently that one of my own constituents, Mr. Neal Jacobs, of North Adams, Mass., is participating in an especially noteworthy project on an island off the coast of Panama.

Neal's work is described in an article from the June–July issue of the Peace Corps magazine, Volunteer, written by a friend and coworker, Tony Masso. I think this little article amply demonstrates the dedication and resourcefulness shown by these two young men and the results which their efforts have brought to the Bocas del Toro area. Neal and Tony cannot be considered atypical of our Peace Corps volunteers and I suggest that their work is further proof of the value of the Peace Corps.

I should like to share this article with my colleagues, Mr. Speaker, and with unanimous consent, place it in full at this point in the RECORD.

The article follows:

THE TOWN WOKE UP

(By Tony Masso)

Albeit rather unusual for Peace Corps service, tourism is my main concern in Bocas del Toro, a town on a beautiful tropical island off the Caribbean coast of Panama.

Along with volunteer Neal Jacobs (North Adams, Mass.), we have begun a tourism promotion project that is well underway. With nationwide publicity a number of successful tours have already been conducted. Recently we formed a tourist cooperative that is now running its own tours bringing in 70 to 80 people on each trip, and on its way toward being a financial success.

This activity began by inviting other volunteers in Panama for a weekend on the island. (Actually, it was a little lonely on this isolated island, so we decided to have some company.) Many volunteers turned up and enjoyed their stay. After realizing what potential the area had, we met with local businessmen, formed the co-op, and set up and ran tours. Since then, the Bocas Tourist Cooperative, with its Peace Corps advisers, has run two tourist weekends offering water skiing, lobster barbecues, and moonlight cruises around the isle-studded bay.

Aiding the town economically and raising the community spirit of the villagers are primary objectives of the program. The town's response has been incredible: the park was painted and relandscaped for the first time in 10 years; the streets were scrupulously cleaned; houses were painted; yards were cleaned; the beaches were bulldozed and raked; in essence, the town woke up.

Economically, the town's revenue has been greatly augmented. On one excursion alone, tourists spent approximately $3,000. This dollar influx reached the shoeshine boys, waiters, and fishermen, as well as the more affluent cantina owners and hotel proprietors. Jobs were created and filled.

What started out for me to be a leisurely hobby of stuffing alligators, iguanas, and tropical sea life turned out to be a worthwhile Peace Corps project for the town's businessmen who easily sold all their products to the "new" tourists.

Tourism has created a new way of life for the people of Bocas del Toro. The tranquil island has changed, but from the response of its inhabitants we feel confident that it has been a good change.

Weak Spot in Our Defenses—The Maritime Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, much has been said of the deficiencies in our maritime policy, and in connection therewith I include the following article entitled, "Weak Spot In Our Defenses," written by Rear Adm. John D. Hayes, historian and free lance writer who was formerly editor of Shipmate, which was published in the July 24, 1965, issue of America magazine:

WEAK SPOT IN OUR DEFENSES

(By Rear. Adm. John D. Hayes)

Since Korea, our country's share of world shipbuilding has dwindled to a mere 5 percent. And 85 percent of our merchant ships are now over 20 years old. Perhaps, the author suggests, the struggle in Vietnam is going to bring us a nasty moment of truth.

At the opening of the Korean hostilities, the U.S. merchant marine, although its ebb had already set in, was still the greatest the world had known. Its quiet, effective service made that war appear logistically easy and gave rise to the dangerous assumption that the United States would have little trouble conducting limited wars overseas. Today, it is difficult to see how the residue of that once great fleet can properly support our present commitment in Vietnam—soon to be 100,000 troops, the South Vietnamese forces and an enlarged Seventh Fleet.

If military operations in Vietnam are allowed to expand even to the extent of the Korean War, we must be ready to accept severe and lasting strains in our economy and foreign relations. For we do not have now, as we had in the similar situation in 1950, the merchant shipping under our own flag to carry on a major overseas campaign.

A few figures sufficient to describe the changed situation. In 1950, the United States had 3,400 relatively new merchant ships. Half of these were then in active service, carrying our domestic and 40 percent of our foreign trade, plus Marshall plan aid and much needed coal for Europe. Today, American-flag merchantmen are carrying only 9 percent of the country's seaborne trade. In 1950, U.S. tankers were bringing in 53 percent of our petroleum imports; they haul only 5 percent today.

The anomaly is that the United States still has the world's largest merchant marine. Of the ships that compose it, however, 85 percent are now 20 years old; they are slow and unfit for military operations. The only section of U.S.-flag shipping in any state of health is the subsidized liner fleet composed of about 300 ships built since World War II. But if these ships are withdrawn from their present established routes for military purposes, maritime countries will eagerly move in to capture this last vestige of our foreign trade still under the U.S.-flag.

It was the Marshall plan, beginning in 1948, that revived the ancient craft of shipbuilding in Europe, and the Korean war proved to be another Marshall plan, in this regard, for Japan. Shipbuilding in the United States, however, was not correspondingly stimulated. The Suez crisis, too, stimulated shipbuilding but little in the United States. As a result, the average age of the fleets of the maritime nations is around 10 years. Today, only 5 percent of world shipbuilding is being done in the United States.

While the American people and the U.S. naval profession allowed the U.S. merchant marine to decay, world seaborne trade has been increasing. Since 1951 it has doubled; indeed, the movement by sea of petroleum—the lifeblood of modern industrial economy and of modern war—has tripled. Much is heard these days about air movement of troops, and this form of military transport is bound to increase. But the giant jet aircraft that will do this work are insatiable consumers of fuel, which must be transported overseas to their terminals. Airlift, instead of easing the shipping problem, will augment it in the area where we are most vulnerable, the tanker fleet.

How much shipping will be needed for support of our Vietnam commitment? I suspect that Pentagon planners do not know. In view of the successful support of the Korean war, the present demands appear easy to meet; but logistics for the affluent U.S. Armed Forces have a way of ballooning. The tonnage required for Korea in 1952 equaled that for the entire Pacific operations of the last year of World War II. It is not unrealistic to expect that the tonnage required for Vietnam will reach the Korean figure.

To support 500,000 men in Korea, half of them Americans, a daily supply of 20,000 tons of dry cargo and 125,000 barrels of petroleum products (full loads for two standard dry cargo ships and one tanker) had to be transported across 6,000 miles of ocean. For this, 350 ships were needed in the trans-Pacific supply line, as well as 250 more in the Western Pacific for troop movements and support from Japan.

Where are ships in such numbers to come from, today? Neither our mothball nor subsidized fleets can provide them. They must therefore come from the same source that is carrying our normal seaborne trade, namely, foreign-flag ships of the traditional maritime nations and the American owned flag-of-convenience fleet.

To envision how grave this military predicament is, the lay reader may imagine the United States turning over responsibility for ground, naval or air defense to a foreign country without even protection of treaties or compacts. Because we have to depend on chartered foreign shipping to support our military operations, we have lost our freedom of action to control and use the seas in the cold war. Without such control, we have no sea power, despite a Navy that includes a nuclear carrier and Polaris missile submarines.

Columnist Raymond Moley (Newsweek, May 17, p. 112) calls attention to the fact that while our military policy in southeast Asia is now more in tune with geography and reality, we are nevertheless still not using the most effective tool against North Vietnam—a blockade. Any small-scale map will reveal that the only way for sizable shipments of arms to reach that country is by sea, and Moley mentions 201 ships entering its ports in 1964. In my opinion, the reason we are not blockading is simply the likelihood of protests from our friends, who must make their living from the sea, and who oppose restrictions of any sort on seaborne traffic. The open reluctance of the British to join in an economic blockade of Cuba should be fresh in American minds.

There remains to us, then, the American-owned flag-of-convenience fleet (whose bulk cargo types could possibly fill our petroleum needs for Vietnam, though not our dry cargo needs). A Panamanian or Liberian flag flying from the stern of a gaint modern tanker or ore carrier is a common sight in U.S. ports. Chances are one in four that such a ship, manned by a foreign crew, is American-owned. Although she is a contribution to our economy that is not costing the American taxpayer one dollar, she is not legally a U.S. vessel.

In the case of a flag-of-convenience ship, a citizen of one state uses the nationality of another state for private purposes. The seas are free for all to use, but international law requires that a ship, like a person, have nationality. Some small states choose to use their rights to the sea to gain revenue by allowing shipowners of other countries to register under their flag. The shipowners thereby avoid their own country's restrictive maritime laws, high taxes, and labor costs. Prime users of the flag of convenience are American oil, steel, and aluminum companies. This legal expedient, however, is not popular with traditional maritime countries nor with U.S. searfaring unions.

The concern of Americans generally should be whether the availability of such ships under flags of convenience is certain in any national emergency. Agreements for their return to the U.S. flag have been made with the owners, though only tacitly with the countries of present registry. By virtue of these agreements, the Navy Department and Maritime Administration claim they have "effective control" over these ships, but there are some Members of Congress who doubt this. The right of transfer of flag between belligerent and neutral has never been definitely settled in international law, and our relations are not good with one flag-of-convenience country, Panama. Our need for foreign shipping to support the Vietnam operation could give the European maritime countries a lever for checking this American practice.

Finally, the Soviet Union has both a large submarine force and a growing merchant marine, which in a decade may be among the world's largest. With its increased interest in maritime law, it may be expected to be heard from in the not too distant future on the touchy subject of the flag of convenience.

The threat to our commitment in Vietnam portends a far more ominous danger: a decline in U.S. sea power. Unless steps are soon taken to improve our alarming maritime position, the United States might well become a second-rate or third-rate power early in the 21st century. For a historical analogy, we need only remember Spain in the 17th century after her greatness in the previous one, and what has happened to Great Britain in little more than a generation.

The American economy now devours 50 percent of the world's raw materials. Until World War II, most of what the nation required was found within our own borders, but 60 years of accelerating economic progress and two world wars have levied a severe drain on our forests and minerals. By 1980, the United States may be one of the world's poorest nations in highgrade ores. Our country, which too many Americans still think of as a rich heartland, is in fact fast becoming an industrial island, depending increasingly on imports from overseas and forced to compete with other areas demanding a larger share of the earth's resources.

Our seaborne trade is made up of two separate and unlike segments: importing of raw materials and exporting of processed goods. The import segment is by far the more important, for it is part of our basic industries and essential to our economic life. The bulk-carrier ships that bring these vital necessities to our shores are almost all under foreign flags. The largest and most automated ships being built in foreign yards are of this type, but a bulk-ore carrier has not been built in a U.S. shipyard in 20 years. Our laws require that a ship, to fly the American flag, must be built in the United States.

American sea communications are vulnerable in another area, or what is sometimes called noncontiguous shipping. The new State of Hawaii is overseas, and so is populous Puerto Rico. Alaska is virtually so. These outlying areas are just as much parts of the United States as Virginia and Iowa, but unlike the latter they must depend on overseas shipments for their necessities of life. The sea lines to them are exposed not only to the submarine but also to the perhaps more dangerous long-range, jet-powered, rocket-armed, land-based aircraft. Should the sea lines to the State of Hawaii be cut, those islands would be on short rations within a month.

Americans are not a sea-minded people, and these facts of life do not disturb them. When we think of our merchant marine at all, it is with a feeling of annoyance at its apparently insoluble troubles. Our national character has not been formed by the sea around us, and so we do not know what it offers, what it can deny, what must be forced from it. Even our statesmen give evidence of not comprehending seapower and the Nation's need for it, and the U.S. naval profession has not tried very hard to make it understandable.

A shipping crisis over Vietnam would be a blessing in disguise; for only a near disaster will expose and dramatize this Achilles' heel of American greatness, and awaken the American people to the imminent peril that want of a fourth arm of defense poses to their national security and way of life. A sensational disclosure of our inability to conduct military operations in southeast Asia without the aid of foreign ships may goad Congress into action.

Farmer Opposes Omnibus Farm Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, a farmer in my district has stated briefly but succinctly the case against H.R. 9811.

This is the omnibus farm bill, and in my view it is against the interest of American agriculture as well as all taxpayers and consumers:

GOOD HOPE, ILL.,
July 27, 1965.

Congressman PAUL FINDLEY,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am writing in regards to the farm bill, H.R. 9811 proposals. I am not in favor of this bill because it will adversely affect our farming operations and many others in this area, as I understand this bill is very similar to the one that was voted down by the referendum in 1963. Wheat farmers would not be allowed to vote on this extension. The Secretary could continue to dump stocks of wheat, as he has the last 2 years, to depress wheat prices received by the farmers in the marketplace, this hurts both the compliers and noncompliers. Rigged wheat would also cause more wheat to be forced in feed grain market and this hurts the grain producers and livestock producers operation. We could only receive 45-percent certificates and normally 70 percent goes into domestic uses.

Soybeans may be considered as a part of the permitted feed grain acreage but this could encourage an overproduction and the shifting of surplus problem from one crop to another.

I feel as many other farmers, that this is a bad bill for farmers, and consumers so therefore please keep in mind that a poor farm program may increase the food costs of voters in this area.

Very truly yours,

CLEO H. AMOS.

Testimony of Harold W. Glassen, of Michigan, Before the House Ways and Means Committee on Firearms Control Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, we have all had many letters from constituents relative to pending proposals to amend firearms control legislation. Among the witnesses appearing before the House Ways and Means Committee was Harold W. Glassen, of Lansing, Mich., whom I have known for many years. Mr. Glassen is a practicing attorney, but for more than 20 years he has been very active as a nonprofessional conservationist. He served for many years as Michigan State commissioner of conservation. He is chairman of an important committee of the International Association of Fish, Game, and Conservation Commissioners, and is the vice president of the National Rifle Association of American, and vice president of the Michigan United Conservation Clubs, and active in other State and National conservation groups.

Not only was his testimony before the committee a new and refreshing approach to the issue of controlling firearms, especially for those States where game hunting is closely allied with the tourist industry as in Michigan and many others, but with his background, Mr. Glassen's comments should be of particular significance.

Therefore, under unanimous consent I include his testimony in the RECORD and I commend it for your study:

COMBINED STATEMENT OF RALPH A. MACMULLAN, DIRECTOR, MICHIGAN DEPARTMENT OF CONSERVATION AND HAROLD W. GLASSEN, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FISH, GAME AND CONSERVATION COMMISSIONERS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ON PROPOSALS RELATING TO FIREARMS CONTROL

Gentlemen, I am the appointed spokesman for the International Association of Fish, Game, and Conservation Commissioners and the Michigan United Conservation Clubs. Dr. MacMullan, represented here today by David Arnold, has been designated the representative of the Michigan Department of Conservation and the Association of Midwest Fish, Game, and Conservation Commissioners. As requested by your council, Mr. Irwin, we have consolidated our testimony.

I am an attorney by profession. I am a former chairman of the Michigan Conservation Commission and have been an active member, director, or an officer of a large number of local, State, and National conservation and sportsmen's organizations. Dr. MacMullan is director of the Michigan Department of Conservation; Mr. Arnold is a member of his staff.

Since the organizations we jointly represent are concerned with the conservation and management of natural resources, I will speak primarily on the effects that firearms control could have on these matters. I believe that this is an aspect which has not been properly stressed or considered in other testimony. I feel that it is also appropriate to point out that State conservation departments have an obligation to their hunters to protect them against unreasonable regulations which may prevent hunters from freely enjoying their sport, but which may completely fail to accomplish the primary purpose of the regulations; i.e., lower the crime rate or protect game resources.

Hunters have contributed more toward outdoor recreation programs at the State level than any other group. Their tax and license dollars have provided many projects of lasting benefit, not only to game, but to the general public as well. I would like to emphasize that this money has been available from no other source, and no substitute revenue appears forthcoming in the foreseeable future.

The last Congress was properly known as the conservation Congress. No previous Congress had given as much consideration to, or accomplished so much in, the field of conservation and recreation. Since hunting and shooting are an integral part of the overall recreation program, the organizations for which I speak today offer their help and assistance to the present Congress toward preventing it from taking any action which would nullify any part of the fine advancements which have been made.

Any legislation which inadvertently reduces the sales of sporting arms and ammunition may not only depress license sales, but may also significantly reduce collections of excise taxes which are the source of revenue for the highly important Pittman-Robertson program for wildlife restoration. Since 1955, the taxes on sporting arms and ammunition have yielded an annual average of $14.8 million, which is reallocated to the States. Since the beginning of this act in 1937, there has been collected and disbursed for conservation practices $268,401,966 which represent sales of more than $2½ billion in sporting arms and ammunition.

The accomplishments of the Pittman-Robertson program are noteworthy. During its first 25 years, 580,000 acres of hunting lands were acquired in the Midwest. Most of this is in areas where public hunting grounds are at a premium. This land has been developed primarily for the hunter and at his expense, but fishermen fish the impoundments, nature enthusiasts enjoy the wildlife, photographers film the birds, campers and picnickers enjoy the freedom of the areas. Nonhunting uses of these areas in southern Michigan alone amounted to over 1,600,000 manhours in 1962. This was 1.6 times as great as the time spent by hunters; and the nonhunting use increases annually.

It follows that State conservation departments are universally short of funds because public demand precedes planning for recreation and conservation, and planning always

seems beyond available monetary means of accomplishment. This is as it should be, because it would be a sad day if income caught up with and exceeded planning.

Even though hunters provide much recreational opportunity to the general public, benefits to the hunter are provided wholly from his license fees and arms taxes. The thinking sportsman would have it no other way, for he knows he could not hope to secure an equal amount from general tax funds. And he realizes, too, that management of the game which is his primary interest is a complex matter, dependent upon many interrelations: economic, biological, and social. In practically every conservation department hunting license fees furnish an important part of all funds, not just for hunting, but for fishing, conservation education, law enforcement, and frequently the administrative expense for all activities of the department.

In many States hunting is a potent force in shaping the sociology. Michigan is an excellent example. Combined sales of small game and big game licenses have totaled over a million annually since 1950. One out of every five adult males in the State is a deer hunter. One out of every 12 persons hunts deer at least once every 5 years. The hunter's contributions to Michigan's resource management and recreation programs amount to over $5 million a year. Surveys show us that the Michigan deer hunter pumps about $30 million into the economy each year. The small game hunter generates another $40 million. Nationwide, hunters expend about $1.5 billion on all the things they do in connection with their sport.

However, in spite of the popularity of hunting and the considerable sums of money involved, the "loyalty" of many hunters is a fragile thing. It is the fickleness of the "first-day hunter" and the competition from other types of recreation that concern us. There is evidence at hand to warn us that the inconvenience caused by unwarranted firearms regulation could result in a significant decline in hunter numbers.

The more than 20 million persons who buy hunting licenses each year are not all dedicated or even enthusiastic sportsmen. In Michigan we find that of our hunters who seek pheasants, far and away the most popular game bird, 43 percent hunt not more than twice during the annual season. We also find that 7 percent of the deer hunters hunt not more than 1 day, and another 15 percent not more than 2 days. The days hunted are not necessarily the opening days, and the hunting is not limited because of success or its lack in killing game. We have an annual turnover of 30 percent in deer hunters. These people just mentioned are the undedicated minority who, if subjected to an added inconvenience, will stay at home and watch TV or take their wives to Aunt Martha's.

A conservative estimate in the Midwest is that one-third of the hunters are casuals, and that any fetters placed on them will discourage a substantial number from buying a license. Legislation pertaining to acquisition of a gun is a most sensitive area because most hunters, even the most indifferent, usually buy rather than borrow their guns and other equipment.

The organizations for which I speak today oppose legislation which is likely to cause any potential hunter not to indulge in his sport and hence not to buy a license. We hold no brief for the cheap weapon, and we do not support the sale of cheap handguns at any level, but we cannot say that all guns sold by mail order are unsuitable for hunting because we know otherwise. Game hunting in this country, as distinguished from Europe and other foreign countries, has not been confined to the rich but appeals to members of all economic levels, perhaps more to the lower income group because hunting has been more readily available to them. We know that many firearms, especially those used in deer hunting, are of the mail-order variety.

The concern I express in respect to depressed license sales is shared by leaders in the conservation field. Last September the International Association of Game, Fish, and Conservation Commissioners passed the appended resolution in opposition to anti-firearms legislation.

A similar resolution passed by both houses of Michigan's legislature this session emphasized the need for adequate penalties for the misuse of firearms, asks that authority not be given at any government level to prohibit the purchase and ownership of firearms by law-abiding and responsible citizens, and points out that 1½ million sportsmen in Michigan alone could be adversely affected by improper legislation.

The Integrated State Bar of Michigan last year passed a resolution in opposition to S. 1975 after it had been amended to include shotguns and rifles. The bar believes that such "legislation will not be a deterrent to crime but will constitute a useless annoyance to our citizens and an unnecessary restriction of their basic legal rights."

The Michigan United Conservation Clubs with 360 affiliates and over 60,000 members is unqualifiedly opposed to some proposals under consideration; S. 1592 is particularly objectionable. During informal discussions with members of Michigan law enforcement agencies, it has been universally agreed that the problem firearm is the concealable weapon, not the sporting firearm. The Ingham County sheriff, a respected, experienced, and trained law enforcement official, appeared on a panel in protest to a version of S. 1592, and stated that his firearms problems were not with sporting firearms.

The American Legion of Michigan on July 18 unanimously passed a resolution opposing S. 1592 even with the recent amendments proposed by the Treasury Department. This group does, however, support the King-Hickenlooper bill, which incidentally is acceptable to me and those I speak for.

In addition to the organizations named above, there are the Federation of Humane Societies and scores of local conservation clubs throughout Michigan, which have passed resolutions against S. 1592 on the basis of its content and probably most important, on its philosophy.

It will be noted that the International Association offered no opposition to firearms legislation comparable to S. 1975 before it was amended following the great catastrophe of November 22, 1963. All organizations for which I speak do not oppose legislation of the King-Hickenlooper type and could and would support such reasonable legislation at this time. I am not unmindful that homicides are sometimes committed with the shotgun and the rifle, but it is exceedingly rare that sporting firearms are used in such felonies as armed robbery, burglary, and similar crimes committed by experienced felons. There will always be homicides of passion, and these will result whether or not a firearms is available. Such crimes of passion are very frequently committed with a knife, often with kitchen variety. Just as it is not practical or reasonable to restrict the ownership of all knives because some are used in homicides, so it is not practical or reasonable to restrict the acquisition of the sporting rifle or shotgun merely because a miniscule number are involved in homicides of passion.

If we were to ban all guns, not just the mail-order source, we wouldn't stop this type of violence. To stop mail-order sales of sporting firearms will inconvenience thousands of legitimate sportsmen without a ghost of a chance of accomplishing the intended purpose.

Professional conservationists and sportsmen in general as husbands, fathers, good citizens, and taxpayers are interested in curbing crime and juvenile delinquency. No opposition need be anticipated from these groups to legislation properly designed to accomplish this purpose. Conservationists and sportsmen generally, however, will disagree with legislation which they feel unnecessarily restricts them.

As an officer of the Michigan United Conservation Clubs, I have frequently spoken in favor of S. 14 prior to the introduction of S. 1592. When speaking in favor of S. 14, I have frequently seen sportsmen's opposition and suffered rebuff because sportsmen generally can see no reason for restrictions on the rifle and shotgun.

Our chief concern and main reason for being here is to help formulate sound legislation which will not interfere with the activities of the legitimate hunter and shooter; which will, in turn, not have a deleterious effect on our ability to manage our wildlife, forests, and our outdoor recreational facilities; and which will still be effective in stopping the misuse of firearms.

While hastily conceived legislation will inconvenience and discourage the hunter first and directly, I would like to emphasize in summary that the hunter has been a key provider in the outdoor recreation field. Discourage the hunter and nearly all users of the outdoors will suffer eventually. Hunting licenses and arms taxes provide recreation for fishermen, boaters, hikers, campers, berrypickers, dog trainers, wildflower fanciers, and countless others. Legislation which dries up the funds provided by hunters can have far-reaching social and economic repercussions.

I suppose there is enough "early American" in me and the organizations and sportsmen I represent to make me resent unnecessary and capricious regimentation. We all know that more and more people means more and more restrictions. But perhaps the unencumbered right to purchase and own a gun represents a symbol of my heritage of personal freedom. I would give up that right if I were convinced that it would prevent the tragedies attributed to lack of firearms regulations; but I am not convinced.

RESOLUTION NO. 17: OPPOSITION TO ANTI-FIREARMS LEGISLATION

Whereas proposals have been introduced in State legislatures and in the Congress which, if enacted, would impose greater restrictions on the purchase, possession and use of firearms ordinarily used in the pursuit of outdoor recreation by hunting or shooting; and

Whereas such restrictive legislation, if adopted, would seriously hamper the pursuit of outdoor recreation by hunting; and

Whereas such restrictive legislation would be inconsistent with the present and future programs of the States and of the United States in increasing and improving opportunities in the pursuit of outdoor recreation by hunting; and

Whereas the cause of conservation would be seriously jeopardized if such restrictive legislative proposals were enacted into law, either by States or by the Congress; and

Whereas statistics and studies have proven that such proposed restrictions with respect to firearms ordinarily used in hunting would in no way affect or reduce the crimes committed by the use of such firearms but, to the contrary, would unnecessarily disarm peaceful and law-abiding citizens to their disadvantage; and

Whereas the right to keep and bear arms has been considered a natural and basic right of citizens throughout the long development of the common law, and is guaranteed in such documents as the English Bill of Rights of 1688, the American Bill of Rights, namely the second amendment to the Federal Consti-

tution, and the constitutions of about 35 States, the preservation of which is important to citizens as the primary rights of personal security, personal liberty, and of private property; and

Whereas the right to keep and bear arms is a personal one accorded to the individual and is not simply a collective right reserved to the militia as an organization: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the International Association of Game, Fish and Conservation Commissioners, That legislative proposals at all levels which require a license or permit to purchase or possess a firearm ordinarily used in outdoor recreation by hunting or shooting, or which leave the right to possess such a firearm dependent upon the whim or will of a public officer, or which require the registration of such a firearm, or which impose a confiscatory tax or unreasonable regulation on such firearms, or which totally prohibit the possession of such firearms—all such proposals should be vigorously opposed and rejected; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution should be sent to all State legislatures, to the Senate Committee on Commerce, to the House Ways and Means Committee, and to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

RESOLUTION

Whereas the State Bar of Michigan is an integrated bar an speaks officially through its duly elected commissioners; and

Whereas the citizens of this State look to the bar for guidance on the import of legislation at any level; and

Whereas proposed amendments to the Dodd bill (S. 1975) now before Congress contemplate certain additional restrictions on the sale of firearms for hunting; and

Whereas Michigan is one of the leaders in the sale of hunting licenses, and the restrictions proposed would hamper persons engaged in this outdoor recreational sport and thus adversely affect the best interests of the State; and

Whereas the State bar feels that the proposed amendments to the Dodd bill are not in the best interests of our citizens and are an invasion of their constitutional rights in that:

1. The State bar believes that such legislation will not be a deterrent to crime but will constitute a useless annoyance to our citizens and an unnecessary restriction on the exercise of their basic legal rights.

2. The proposed legislation is in violation of the second amendment to the U.S. Constitution and the right to bear arms is a basic right. We believe that the right granted under the second amendment is one granted to the individual and not to the militia as an organization (*United States of America* v. *Jack Miller*, 83d Law Ed. 1206), it is the view of the State Bar of Michigan that any law restricting rights granted under the second amendment is not a function of Congress but that any necessary regulation should be made by State statute under the police power which rests in the States and not in the Federal Government; and

Whereas the Dodd bill prior to November 22 was directed only to concealed firearms and directed to the misuse thereof; and

Whereas, said bill as amended is directed to sporting firearms, all rifles and shotguns: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the State Bar of Michigan oppose any amendments proposed to be made to S. 1975 since November 22, 1963;

It is further resolved, That congressional representatives of this State be notified of this action.

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 115

(By Representatives Goemaere, Snyder, Constantine, Cater, Fitzgerald, Walton, Ensign, Slingerland, Morrison, Ford, Spencer, Dingwell, Woodman, and Anderson)

Concurrent resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States regarding the antifirearms bill

Whereas the antifirearms bill currently before the Congress of the United States propose Federal control of firearms in the hands of civilians, and as curently written, constitute violation of the second amendment to the United States Constitution that "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed"; and

Whereas admittedly, controls are necessary due to irresponsible or criminal elements in society illegally using firearms. That such controls should be the prerogative of State and local agencies of government, that such controls properly should not be a matter for Federal control are acknowledged and forthrightly stated by the Nation's foremost experts in government, including opinions publicly stated by men of the caliber of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover; and

Whereas the consensus of expertise in this field is that State and local laws imposing harsh and certain punishment for crimes committed with armed, combined with effective law enforcement, and firmly supported by no-nonsense courts and juries, provide the most certain combination for adequate control; and

Whereas as to statutes; laws should prohibit sale of firearms to felons, drug addicts, habitual drunkards, juveniles and mental incompetents; laws should invoke strict penalties against the possession of firearms by criminals and irresponsible persons. Laws should permit responsible, law-abiding adults to own and use firearms for legal purposes; laws should not require law-abiding adult citizens to register shotguns and rifles; and laws should not grant authority to any jurisdiction, police or otherwise, at any government level, to prohibit the purchase or ownership of firearms by law-abiding and responsible citizens; and

Whereas in Michigan, alone, more than one and a half million sportsmen would be adversely affected by legislation proposed and now before the Congress—a figure that applies substantially to most of the other States of the Union: Now, therefore be it

Resolved by the house of representatives (the senate concurring), That the Michigan Legislature respectfully memorialize the Congress of the United States to defeat the currently proposed antifirearms legislation of S. 1592; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this memorial be transmitted to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to each member of the Michigan delegation to the Congress of the United States.

RESOLUTION

Whereas the membership in attendance at this annual meeting of the State of Michigan American Legion is well informed of the detail and provisions of the so-called Dodd bill being S. 1592; and

Whereas the membership is likewise informed of the latest proposed amendments made by the U.S. Attorney General at the hearing before the Ways and Means Committee in the U.S. House of Representatives within the past 2 days; and

Whereas said proposed amendments do not meet the basic objections of the Michigan members of the American Legion to this restrictive gun legislation in that the said bill:

1. Will make it impossible for any individual, no matter how good a citizen he may be, to purchase any sporting gun via mail order;

2. Is unnecessarily restrictive of the citizen's right to keep and bear arms granted under the Constitution of the United States in support of which our members have offered their lives in two world wars;

3. Will interfere with hunting and shooting sports in which so many of our members participate by: (a) Hampering the ordinary citizen in the acquisition of a low-cost firearm; (b) provide the Secretary of the Treasury with broad authority which could include registration of firearms and a police or other permit to purchase; (c) requiring a permit to be issued by the Secretary of the Treasury to an individual carrying a firearm across a State line on a hunting trip or shipping same for repairs; and

Whereas we resent the attempt of Government to further involve us in administrative detail by making us file applications for permits and the like believing as we do that such proposed legislation will not curb crime and that the criminal will acquire his weapon be it knife, ice-pick, or firearm and that only the law-abiding citizen will be disarmed; and

Whereas we are convinced that the King-Hickenlooper bill (H. 1965) will accomplish the professed desires to satisfactorily supplement existing firearms control laws: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the membership be recorded as:

(a) Being unalterably opposed to S. 1592 assuming adoption of proposed amendments thereto;

(b) Being in favor of the King-Hickenlooper bill: Be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forthwith furnished all Michigan congressional Representatives, the President of the United States, and the Honorable WILBUR M. MILLS, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Woodbine Cow Is Notable Producer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Carroll County, in my district, is one of the leading dairy counties in the Nation. Under careful supervision by the University of Maryland and in conjunction with the Holstein-Friesian Association of America, a registered Holstein cow in Woodbine, Md. has produced more than twice the U.S. average in pounds of milk and pounds of butterfat. I am delighted to include the story from the Sykesville Herald of July 22, 1965, concerning this record:

WOODBINE COW IS NOTABLE PRODUCER

A 5-year-old registered Holstein cow owned by Charles L. Hardesty, Woodbine, has produced a noteworthy record of 16,290 pounds of milk and 601 pounds of butterfat in 346 days.

The University of Maryland supervised the production, weighing, and testing operations, in cooperation with the official breed improvement programs of the Holstein-Friesian Association of America, Brattleboro, Vt.

This level of production may be compared to the average U.S. dairy cow's estimated annual output of 7,880 pounds of milk containing 285 pounds of butterfat.

New Hampshire General Court Urges U.S. Copyright Law Changes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, on June 30, the New Hampshire General Court adopted a concurrent resolution calling upon the Congress for revisions in the copyright laws to provide better protection than is now available for creators of original work. I concur in the position taken by the legislature of my State and submit a copy of the concurrent resolution for the RECORD.

In addition, under unanimous consent, I include a versification of the problem authored by the Honorable Margaret DeLude, of North Charleston, one of the principal sponsors of the resolution in the New Hampshire House of Representatives. As a writer as well as a legislator, she presents her views with poetic perception which I would like to share with my colleagues.

The material follows:

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION—SECURING RIGHTS AND BENEFITS TO AUTHORS

Whereas New Hampshire was the fifth sovereign State to recognize the indisputable justice of protecting authors' works by enacting State copyright laws; and

Whereas this act passed by the council and house of representatives in the fourth session of our legislature on November 7, 1783, was entitled "An Act for the Encouragement of Literature and Genius, and for Securing to Authors the Exclusive Right and Benefit of Publishing Their Literary Productions, for Twenty Years," and stipulated that there was no property more peculiarly a man's own than that which is produced by the labor of his mind; and

Whereas the present copyright laws adopted by Congress in 1909, allow only 8 years more protection to authors, unless renewed, than that authorized by the sovereign State of New Hampshire in 1783; and

Whereas there is pending before Congress H.R. 4347, an act to secure more adequate protection of the property rights of authors in this advanced technological era: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the here assembled members of the General Court of New Hampshire, be recorded as supporting a revision of our Federal copyright laws in a manner which will carry forward the spirit of safeguarding the rights of authors and providing adequate encouragement to them—a movement which was so ably fostered by New Hampshire at the very inception of its sovereignty; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the members of the New Hampshire congressional delegation, the Honorable Chairman of the House Judiciary, and the Honorable Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee of the Congress of the United States.

The concurrent resolution was adopted.

MEMO TO ALL PERSPICACIOUS AND SAGACIOUS CONGRESSMEN—RE H.R. 4347

(By Margaret DeLude, North Charlestown, N.H.)

Gentlemen:

It's with a bit of hesitation,
That I add my attestation,
For amending laws of nineteen hundred nine.

Through your discerning cogitation,
I know you need no remonstration,
To enact a law that lives beyond our time.

There's no whit of fabrication,
In our composers' compilation,
Of the facts about our copyright revision.

I know you've seen the simulation,
Scored the unfair despoilation,
Of the selfish ones who'd fight your just decision.

I can't conceive a reservation,
When it comes to preservation,
Of our music—be it classic, "pop" or folk.

Yet I have a realization,
That the weird insinuations,
Of our foes are Machiavellian and no joke.

The present laws are strangulation,
They've aortic amputation,
Of the lifeblood of us authors and composers.

These laws cause total deprivation,
Of our just remuneration,
And we cannot pay our bills with smiles and roses.

I'll not give elaboration,
For this problem of vexation,
On our copyright amending is well known.

I'll just wait with expectation,
For this law's rejuvenation,
And then my creditors can darn well stay at home.

Another Retailer Uses the Excise-Tax Reduction Positively

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, today the Hecht Co. of Washington, D.C., placed an ad in the Washington Post which shows how a retailer can creatively use the excise-tax reduction to assist the public in understanding to what degree they can expect to save because of the excise-tax reduction recently passed by Congress.

The ad read:

The recent repeal of the excise tax prompts us to issue to our customers this declaration of interdependence. That's right, interdependence. We think a big store and its patrons owe something to each other over and above the exchange of merchandise for money. For example, good faith, loyalty, honesty, friendship, and a square deal. The excise tax is a case in point. Thanks to the President and to Congress, the tax repeal made possible the lowering of prices on a multitude of categories of consumer goods. The idea, of course, was to pass these savings right back to the consumer and to the credit of the retail industry, we believe most good stores are doing just that.

As an example, we're listing here just a few items, selected at random, to show how the Hecht Co. is passing these savings on to you.

The Hecht Co. proceeds to list approximately 60 items from golf balls with a savings of 88 cents per dozen to the consumer to a famous women's perfume at a savings of $1.75. Similar to Sears Roebuck & Co.'s ad, which appeared in yesterday's Cleveland Press, the Hecht Co. lists the items, the retail price before the excise tax repeal, the retail price after the excise tax repeal, and the savings to the consumer.

I wish to applaud this effort in creative advertising. I commend this effort as a prime example for other retailers to follow so that consumers will no longer be confused as to whether they are receiving the proceeds of the recntly passed excise tax reduction law.

Hawaii's Riley H. Allen Saved 780 Children Stranded in Siberia During Russian Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the indomitable spirit and courage of Riley H. Allen, a distinguished citizen of Hawaii, is the theme of an amazing stranger-than-fiction saga which is told in a new book, "Wild Children of the Urals," by Floyd Miller.

The principal characters in the story are 780 children, who were trapped in Siberia after the outbreak of the Russian Revolution, and Allen, who was then on leave from his duties as editor of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, a leading Honolulu daily.

It was in 1918, when Allen was a member of the American Red Cross Relief Commission in Siberia, that the tragic plight of these children came to his attention. The children, whose average age was between 12 and 13, had been sent by their parents to mountain camps when they became trapped behind the lines in the war between the Red Russians and White Russians. Overcoming seemingly insurmountable obstacles, Allen led the children on a journey of several months over land and sea, covering almost three quarters of the globe, until the children crossed the Russian-Finnish border and were reunited with their parents.

I cannot help but wonder how many of these children, now adults if still living, remember Riley Allen and the events of that long homeward trek of 1918. As for Allen, now retired, a typical response was elicited: "Floyd Miller gives me too much credit. It was a Red Cross team effort." Hawaii is indeed proud of Riley H. Allen.

I commend the following review of the book to my colleagues for inspiring reading:

[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, July 21, 1965]

HOW ISLANDER SAVED 780 CHILDREN IN SIBERIA

(By Chuck Frankel)

The dramatic story of 780 children trapped in Siberia after the Russian Revolution is told in a new book, "Wild Children of the Urals," by Floyd Miller.

The hero of the story is Hawaii's Riley H. Allen, who took a couple of years out of his active career as editor of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin to work for the American Red Cross in Siberia in 1918, 1919, and 1920.

It was his imagination, determination, and fight that enabled the children to be rescued from starvation, to be gathered together, to be placed on a Japanese freighter and carried three-fourths away around the world to be reunited with their parents.

"The Wild Children of the Urals," published by E. P. Dutton & Co., is an exciting story of man's triumph over bureaucracy and of the heart's victory over politics.

These were the years of the great Red scare in the United States, but Allen refused to capitulate to hysteria and insisted that the Red Cross fulfill its obligation to return the children to their parents.

"The files of the Red Cross are full of stories about human courage, sacrifice and devotion, but none of them quite compares with the amazing saga of the Petrograd children," says Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, former president of the American Red Cross.

REDUCED TO BEGGING

Sent by their parents to mountain camps when war danger and privation swept Petrograd—formerly St. Petersburg and lately Leningrad—in the summer of 1918, they were trapped behind the fighting lines. In the bleak winter that followed, they were reduced to begging and were on the point of starvation when members of the American Red Cross Relief Commission to Siberia heard of their plight.

Siberia at that time was a battleground between the Red Russians and the White Russians—plus troops from the new nation of Czechoslovakia, France, Britain, Italy, Canada, Rumania, Serbia, Poland, Japan—and the United States.

Miller notes:

"There was interference with the political sovereignty of Russia. There was intervention in her internal affairs and impairment of her territorial integrity. And out of it all came a military debacle and a political blunder of such dimensions as to sharply influence decades of future history."

Most Americans don't realize that U.S. troops once invaded Russia—but Russians are often reminded of this fact.

The Red Cross attempted to give help to all in Siberia, regardless of politics and nationality, but it was accused of taking sides.

ALLEN'S PLAN

It was in this atmosphere that Allen brought up the suggestion that the trapped Petrograd children be rounded up by the American Red Cross and returned to their parents.

The Red Cross workers collected the starving children at Tyumen, Shadrinsk, Irbit, Petropavlovsk, Kurgan, Troitsk, Ouiskala, and other places with strange names. One Red Cross worker told the children:

"The American people are going to take care of you. You're going to have warm new clothes and all the food you can eat and plenty of firewood to keep you warm."

And most important, the children were told, they were going to be reunited with their parents.

"The Red Cross was plunged into a policy crisis," Miller notes. "There were those who advised that the children simply be abandoned, but this was stoutly opposed by Riley Allen.

"He maintained that having saved these children from death, the Red Cross was committed to keeping them alive and returning them to their parents."

He proposed that the children be gathered in the comparative safety of Vladivostok until the Russian civil war was ended and the Trans-Siberian Railway repaired. "Allen held firm to his simple principle that whoever won the war, Red or White, the children should be reunited with their parents."

SCHOOL ORGANIZED

In Vladivostok the Red Cross organized a school for the Russian children.

The Children's Colony arrived in Vladivotok on three different trains in the first week of September in 1919. The children's weekly consumption included 2,000 eggs, 2,000 pounds of meat, 1,600 pounds of cabbage and 1,600 pounds of onions—a formidable supply, in a wartime city.

The Communists started to cite the American control over the Russian children in their propaganda, but Allen resisted State Department pressure for counterpropaganda.

"It had become clear by now that the Allied intervention in Siberia was a shambles," Miller writes.

But while the European and American allies started to withdraw, the Japanese expanded their area of control.

The American troops left Vladivostok on April 1, 1920, but the American Red Cross and its Russian children remained behind, still unable to use the Siberian railroad.

"At all costs we must keep the children out of Japanese hands," Allen told a meeting of his Red Cross staff.

"That may not be easy with American troops gone," a Red Cross worker replied.

Another said, "Riley, we've done all we can for the children."

DETERMINATION GROWS

Miller writes:

"Allen raised his eyes to look at the speaker. 'Have we?' he said. There was an edge to his voice, a steeliness that no one had ever before heard.

"This man of gentle persuasion had altered. The pressure of events had not softened him but fused him to a new hardness.

"And if all the logic of the situation was against him, he would simply stop being logical, he would substitute a fierce stubborness. Whatever else, he would not surrender.

"The staff sat silent and slightly ill at ease. After several moments he said, quite matter-of-factly, 'Since we're cut off by land, there is only one thing for us to do. We'll put to sea.' "

Allen tried to get a ship from the United States, but the Army, Navy and private lines refused to send him one or let him charter a ship to Petrograd.

"We are exceedingly sorry that our War Department could not be induced to furnish us a boat to take the children home," Allen wrote bitterly to the American Red Cross in June 1920. "Aside from the Red Cross, I think it would have been good advertising for both the War Department and the State Department."

So Allen chartered a Japanese freighter, the *Yomei Maru*, despite the fierce Japanese-Russian hostility of the day.

It was a costly venture for the Red Cross. Estimates, which proved to be low, were $4,500 a day to charter the ship; alterations to the ship to accommodate its strange cargo, $100,000; food, $75,000, and salaries and equipment of Red Cross personnel, and their fares home, $75,000.

Boarding the ship were 428 boys, 352 girls; 17 American men and women; 85 Russian adults, and 78 former prisoners of war.

The average age of the boys and girls were between 12 and 13; the oldest was 20 and the youngest 3. Nationalities other than Russians were 15 Poles, 8 Letts, 5 Estonians, 2 French, and a Lithuanian, Finn, Persian, Swiss, and English.

The children were members of various segments of society, and were not aristocrats, as they were sometimes pictured in the anti-Bolshevik press of the time.

LEAVE VLADIVOSTOK

The ship left Vladivostok on July 12, 1920. It was no pleasure cruise.

Captain Kayahara and Allen clashed frequently; one of the crewmen attacked one of the girls, and there were ugly incidents between other crewmen and the Russian youth.

But there was also songs and laughter.

Miller writes:

"The songs were darkly textured, rich with human longing and need. And coming now from the voices of these children adrift on a great ocean, the innocent victims of war and revolution, they were deeply moving."

The ship, after stopping at Muroan, Japan, arrived in San Francisco on August 1, where the local chapters of the Red Cross had prepared an elaborate welcome. The ship set sail for New York, via the Panama Canal, on August 4, but Allen had left the ship to do battle in Washington.

Robert E. Olds, Red Cross European commissioner, urged that the children be sent to France, instead of Russia, and in those days of rampant anti-Bolshevism, his argument carried much weight.

ARRIVAL IN NEW YORK

The arrival of the *Yome Maru* in New York on August 28 caused much competition among the various Russian groups, but even anti-Communist groups were aghast at the idea of sending them to France, then considered an enemy of the Russian people.

The Division of Investigation of Department of Justice—the forerunner of the Federal Bureau of Investigation—kept close tabs on the children during their stay in New York. Miller is particularly critical of the agents who ruled that there be no fraternization between the children and New York residents during a visit to the zoo, when a "Justice Department agent dashed away to intervene between an 8-year-old girl and a bag of gumdrops."

The New York police tried to get Allen to halt a Madison Square Garden rally for the children, arguing that it would be Communist controlled. Allen said it wouldn't be. But Allen was wrong, as speaker after speaker denounced the Red Cross and the United States. "They are hostages in the criminal conspiracy to smash the motherland," one speaker said.

The passions of the Madison Square Garden mounted, and there were fears of a clash between Reds and Whites.

One of Allen's children, one of the older boys, saved the day for the Red Cross with a stirring speech in its defense.

"We trust the American Red Cross because of what they have done for us," He said. "We were starving in the Ural Mountains when they found us. They fed us and clothed us and let our teachers teach us. And they always promised they would return us to our parents.

"And we believe them. We would not be alive and here today but for the American Red Cross."

The ship sailed from New York on September 11, with the question of its final destination still undetermined. The ship anchored off Brest, but Allen insisted that it proceed northward.

The *Yomei Maru* finally docked at Helsinki October, 6, but Allen's days of diplomacy were not yet over. He had to convince the Finns that they should cooperate in this mission of mercy, and he had to deliver the children to Russia. He insisted that the parents approve of the children's return—

only one parent requested that a child be sent elsewhere. The first children walked across the Russian-Finnish border on November 10.

Miller writes:

"At last Allen's responsibility was ended, but he was surprised to discover that he felt not relief but loss. For an irrational moment he almost wished they could have all stayed together * * * but he was immediately ashamed of the thought, for it was a selfish one.

"No, he had done the right thing by uniting the children with their parents, but he realized now that this did not mean he would be free of them.

"For the rest of his life, he would feel concern for these children, he would constantly speculate on what they might be doing.

"Their lives would hold pain and joy, despair and hope, for that was the destiny of all men, but he hoped the good would overbalance the bad, and he hoped they would remember the time they had together."

Suggestions for Amity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the New Bedford Standard-Times on July 1 of this year praised the initiative of four Republican Members of the House, Mr. FINDLEY, of Illinois, Mr. KEITH, of Massachusetts, Mr. PIRNIE, of New York, and Mr. MARTIN, of Alabama, in going to Paris in an effort to contribute to greater understanding between the United States and France.

The chairman of the group, Mr. FINDLEY, of Illinois, is one of the most knowledgeable men in the House on the Atlantic Alliance problems. His leadership in undertaking this trip is to be commended.

I am particularly pleased that my colleague from Massachusetts, Mr. KEITH, made the trip. In the words of the Standard-Times:

Congressman KEITH and his colleagues have done the United States a service.

I ask unanimous consent to include the full text of the editorial in the RECORD following my remarks.

[From the New Bedford Standard-Times, July 1, 1965]

SUGGESTIONS FOR AMITY

A significant contribution to better understanding between France and the United States has been made by the visit to Paris of four Republican Congressmen, including HASTINGS KEITH, of Massachusetts' 12th Congressional District.

United States-French relations have been at a low point for years, stemming mainly from President de Gaulle's aspirations to raise the Fifth Republic to a position of world prestige. In making this climb, De Gaulle has antagonized half a dozen nations, including the United States, because of an unreasonable attitude on the part of the French chief executive.

As the GOP representatives suggest, one way to relieve the strain, and to open up new areas of cooperation and communication, is for President Johnson to visit De Gaulle in Paris.

Probably there are several levels of objections to this proposal, including most likely one that Vice President HUMPHREY went to France for high-level discussions, and it is De Gaulle's turn to open the diplomatic door further by paying a return call to Washington. It would be an unfortunate turn for Western solidarity if rapproachment were hung up solely on a matter of protocol.

Other parts of the Congressmen's report also have validity. The formation of a Diplomatic Standing Group as a complement to the permanent military agency in NATO would permit an instant and constant review of United States-French problems before they grow out of proportion. Indeed, the Congressmen have proposed a wide range of changes in order to strengthen NATO.

One recommendation is on less secure ground. This is the suggestion to coordinate fully the nuclear capabilities of France and the United States. Cooperation takes many forms, and the United States has made it repeatedly and unmistakably clear that it is committed to the total defense of France and Western Europe—by treaty as well as by past performance.

The Congressmen have presented no overwhelmning reasons for changing the Atomic Energy Act which generally forbids the United States to reveal military information to other nations. Nor have they shown how France has been adversely affected by Washington's desire to retain the nuclear grip on U.S. nuclear weapons.

Certainly, further exploration in the field of nuclear weapons is not foreclosed, and Congress itself might initiate hearings to determine if a revision of the Atomic Energy Act is in order.

Congressman KEITH and his colleagues have done the United States a service by making this meaningful report. It is worthy of high consideration in the Capital.

The Plight of Refugees in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, the United States fortunately has always shown its concern for the misfortunes of others, especially in the wake of war. One of the many misfortunes of war is the plight of the refugee.

This problem has existed for as long as there have been political and military upheavals. Today in Vietnam we once again have a problem of refugees.

The war is daily rendering hundreds of innocent civilians homeless, without food or shelter or hope of resettlement.

The International Rescue Committee is helping to provide part of the solution. The following news story written by Mr. Leo Cherne, very well describes the tragic Vietnam refugee situation and how the International Rescue Committe is helping out:

[From the Des Moines Register, July 6, 1965]

THE PLIGHT OF REFUGEES IN VIETNAM

(By Leo Cherne, North American Newspaper Alliance)

SAIGON, SOUTH VIETNAM.—Vietnam has become a nation of refugees. Some 380,000 peasants and villagers have crowded into the coastal towns as a result of Vietcong harassment.

Wherever the Vietcong have struck or threaten to strike—and this covers much of the countryside right up to the edge of Saigon—the Vietnamese people are often uprooted, homeless, ill or wounded, hungry. They are in desperate need of the essentials of life—food, clothing, shelter, medical care.

VOTING WITH THEIR FEET

The refugee problem is nothing new for Vietnam. In the summer of 1954, shortly after the defeat of the French and the signing of the Geneva agreement which partitioned the country along the 17th parallel, a massive flow of refugees from the Communist north had already begun.

The International Rescue Committee (IRC) set up an emergency program to aid these people who were voting for freedom in the only way they would—with their feet. Eventually almost 900,000 Vietnamese cast their lot with freedom by making the trip from the north.

The direction of the refugee flow clearly contradicts the claim that the Vietnamese do not understand the nature of the struggle against communism or are indifferent to the rule by the Communist north. Only about 10,000 Vietnamese crossed the 17th parallel heading north and many of those were Vietcong cadre returning home for more training.

THEY MUST FLEE AGAIN

Many who escaped south 10 years ago, now must flee again. They are the peasants and the villagers of Vietnam, the very people the Vietcong are supposed to have won to their side. My observations and conservations with Vietnamese and Americans here have convinced me that the Vietcong have so savagely terrorized the peasantry that they have made them their mortal enemies.

I helicoptered from Saigon to Dong Xoai shortly after the siege which resulted in 33 American and 650 Vietnamese casualties. The Vietcong had burned out a large portion of the town. For a brief time, they had occupied the village. They entered every household and stripped it of every scrap of food and every piastre which could be used to buy food.

When the Vietcong retreated, they left Dong Xoai a smoldering ruin and streets filled with broken, smashed bodies (many of them women and children)—some dead, others dying, still others condemned to live the rest of their lives horribly maimed.

U.S. RESCUE MISSION

The dust of battle had hardly settled when personnel from the U.S. operations mission (USOM) (our civilian aid program) and the U.S. Army civil affairs officers entered the town to take an inventory of needs.

It was arranged to fly in 5,000 kilos of rice. On behalf of the IRC, I undertook to obtain 500 kilos of protein-rich fish and 50 pounds of salt, also to be flown in by U.S. Army helicopter.

These supplies, together with some powdered milk which the Vietcong somehow missed, kept the people of Dong Xoai from starving in a country in which starvation is rare.

Emergency medical treatment was begun immediately.

I have read much about our military involvement in Vietnam. But at Dong Xoai

I could not help thinking that much of our work in Vietnam is not military in the strict sense, that much of our efforts are constructive, even life-sustaining.

The children are a very special part of the tragedy of Vietnam. I have seen more horribly injured, broken, maimed children in a week in Vietnam than in my lifetime. There are perhaps 100,000 war-orphaned children in Vietnam.

EMERGENCY FUND DRIVE

We in the IRC have set an emergency fund goal of $2.5 million—the highest in our 33-year history. The majority of these funds will go to aid the orphans. We also have undertaken a program to provide an initial $500,000 in medicines to aid the Vietnamese. We hope to get a large measure of support from the American people.

The task of raising this kind of fund is herculean, but it is only a small part of what must be done to aid this nation of refugees. If we fail to alleviate the pain and suffering of these people, no matter what the outcome of the war in Vietnam, we will have failed in our purpose as Americans and as human beings.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided*, That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order of arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Both Houses cleared for President measure continuing appropriations.

Senate cleared for President bill on social security—medicare and debated legislative reapportionment proposal.

House passed right to work repeal bill.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 17823–17841

Bills Introduced: Four bills and one resolution were introduced, as follows: S. 2338–2341; and S. Res. 133. **Page 17832**

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows:

H.J. Res. 481, expanding the types of equipment and the number of electric typewriters furnished Members of the House of Representatives (S. Rept. 516);

S.J. Res. 89, extending for 1 year authority for the erection in the D.C. of a memorial to Mary McLeod Bethune, with amendments (S. Rept. 517);

S. Res. 120, providing an additional $25,000 for expenses of Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure of the Judiciary Committee (S. Rept. 518);

S. Res. 130, providing an additional $15,000 for expenses of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare (S. Rept. 519);

H. Con. Res. 364, to print as a House document revised edition of "The Capitol" (S. Rept. 520);

S. Con. Res. 11, authorizing printing of compilation of hearings, reports, and studies of the Subcommittee on National Security Staffing and Operations of the Committee on Government Operations for the 88th Congress, with amendments (S. Rept. 521);

S. Res. 129, to print as a Senate document a study on "U.S. International Space Programs With Texts of Executive Agreements, Memorandums of Understanding, and Other International Arrangements, 1959–65" (S. Rept. 522);

H.J. Res. 324, providing for reappointment of Robert V. Fleming as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution (S. Rept. 523);

S. 903, relating to the painting, illumination, and dismantlement of radio towers (S. Rept. 524);

S. 1554, designating Secretary of Defense to receive official notice of filing of certain applications in the common carrier service (S. Rept. 525);

H.R. 7954, making technical amendments to the Communications Act to implement the provisions of the London Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea (S. Rept. 526); and

S. 1948, relating to commissioners, employees, and executive reservists of the FCC, with amendments (S. Rept. 527). **Pages 17823–17824**

Bills Referred: H.R. 3329 and H.J. Res. 397, passed by the House, were referred to Committee on the District of Columbia. **Page 17803**

Continuing Appropriations: Senate passed without amendment and cleared for President H.J. Res. 591, making continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1966 through August 31, 1965. **Pages 17804–17806**

Social Security—Medicare: Senate cleared for President H.R. 6675, increasing benefits under the Social Security Act, and to provide a hospital insurance plan for the aged under that act, by adopting, by 70 yeas to 24 nays (motion to reconsider tabled) conference report thereon. **Pages 17803–17812, 17813–17823**

Water Pollution: Senate insisted on its amendments to S. 4, Water Quality Act of 1965, asked for conference with House, and appointed as conferees Senators Muskie, Randolph, Moss, Boggs, and Pearson. **Pages 17841–17843**

Reapportionment: Senate continued consideration of S.J. Res. 66, designating a National American Legion Baseball Week, debating Dirksen amendment (in nature of a substitute) proposing a constitutional amendment that would allow a State, by referendum vote, to apportion one branch of its legislature on geography and political subdivisions, in addition to the factor of population. **Pages 17854–17863, 17878–17883**

Urban Mass Transit: At request of Senator Tydings it was agreed, by unanimous consent, that his bill S. 2339, relative to urban mass transit, be referred to Committee on Public Works, and that when it is reported by that committee it then be referred to Committee on Finance. **Pages 17832–17839**

Bankruptcy: On motion of Senator Mansfield two bills as follows were taken from calendar and referred to

Appendix

Father Agapius Honcharenko

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILTON R. YOUNG

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, last week I brought to the attention of the Senate a letter and an article concerning Father Agapius Honcharenko. In this, the 100th year after his arrival in the United States from the Ukraine, I believe it is appropriate to focus attention on the achievements of this outstanding individual.

On October 10, 1914, an article written by Irvin E. Thompson was published in the Epworth Herald. This excellent article presents some of the history and highlights of Father Honcharenko's life in California. His home was near Hayward, Calif., and Mr. Thompson was pastor of the Methodist Church in Hayward. It was here that he became acquainted with Father Honcharenko.

This article was brought to my attention by Dr. Anthony Zukowsky, president of the North Dakota branch, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Thompson's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HONCHARENKO, PATRIOT, EXILE

(By Irvin E. Thompson)

It was a real California morning, that morning, when 19 Epworthians started on their pilgrimage to see Honcharenko. The day seemed made for the trip and the spirits of the crowd mounted higher as they rode around and over the hills 5 or 6 miles in a big bus drawn by four horses. What a view lay before them. The bay of San Francisco with is silver expanse stretching as far as the eye could see, the acres and acres of orchards and farms, the thousand hills covered with grazing cattle, until one of the boys exclaimed as his attention was called to it, "Why, that is in the Bible." One could use pages in describing the wonderful scenery but I started out to tell you about Honcharenko.

Who is Honcharenko? The most interesting person in northern California. You do not believe it? Wait then until I tell you about him.

He is a Ukrainian Cossack, a native of Kiev in southern Russia, a regularly ordained priest of the Greek Orthodox Church who was banished from his native land and has lived in exile for over 50 years.

What was his crime? Only that he denounced human slavery in the church and state. For this he has gone through persecution and trials such as would do credit to the early Christians. His motto is the motto of the martyr: "Tribulations are my distinction and poverty my glory."

On the morning of our visit he came hobbling out to the gate to meet us, greeting us with hearty words of welcome, "Come in my children, come in." His long, flowing white beard, his fur cap, and somewhat bent shoulders gave him a venerable appearance that recalled the patriarchs of the Bible. He is now nearly 82 years old and his sight is not so good as it once was, but here in this retreat named "Ukraina" he has lived for 41 years, laboring with his hands for food and clothing for himself and wife.

Close to the little 3-room cottage with its motto "Liberty" (in Russian) over the door, is a tall pine tree nearly 3 feet in diameter, which Honcharenko brought in a little flowerpot when he came 41 years ago. He still has the flowerpot to show to visitors. Right by the house is a huge grapevine that came from Mount Lebanon, and in the house souvenirs and clippings that are priceless. Here is the table used when the liturgy of the Greek Church was celebrated for the first time in America by Honcharenko, in Trinity Chapel, New York City, by permission of Bishop Potter. This occurred on March 2, 1865. Here, too, is the printer's "stick" presented to him by Horace Greeley. One could take a long article to describe the interesting relics in this quaint old house, where he and his wife live alone.

When he found that I was the pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Hayward he exclaimed, "I am so glad to meet you. Come and I will tell you what the Methodists have done to me." And leading the way he proceeded to tell of how Dr. Long and others connected with the American Bible Society had employed him to translate the Scriptures into Slavonic, so that the poor people of his country could get God's Word at a reasonable price. Then in 1867 he came to San Francisco, where "Hallelujah" Cox, pastor o f the old Howard Street Church allowed him to use the Sunday schoolroom of the church, in which to hold services for his people. Here the Methodists collected money enough to help him publish the first tract ever and as he said, "to establish Russian printing in the United States." Now there are over 100 Russian papers devoted to the cause of liberty and to the Methodists belongs the honor of starting the noble work.

The first tract published was: "Come to Jesus." Only one copy is extant and Honcharenko says he would not take a thousand dollars for that. He later published the Alaska Herald in the two languages for a period of 8 years. At the request of the authorities in Alaska he printed a Russo-American primer for the children there. Six hundred copies were issued at a cost of $200, of which the author received $21.75 for his labor. The lessons were original to say the least. No. 3 is a temperance lesson. There is a picture of five bottles in a row and underneath these words:

"Here you see five bottles of whisky. It is strange that wild men will not drink whisky, because they say it is fire poison. A great many men drink it and ruin themselves. Whisky corrupts people and makes them very bad. Good people never take the poison." Isn't that pretty good temperance teaching?

Father Agapius Honcharenko was educated at the University of St. Petersburg, where he graduated with honors and was sent with the Russian embassy to Athens. He read to us in Greek and then translated for us the address which he made before King George of Greece, who died only a little more than a year ago. It was while in Athens that he was accused of treason and an attempt made to carry him off into exile in Siberia. Through the intervention of the British Ambassador he was released and given his freedom at Constantinople. Later he had a miraculous escape into Jerusalem, where he had been visiting the Holy Sepulcher. For 2 weeks he was hidden from his pursuers under a bed in the residence of the bishop of Jerusalem. Many times his life was attempted and so he came to America to labor here for his people.

Honcharenko's connection with Alaska and its purchase is very interesting. He was the man more than any other who made it possible for the ignorant Russians to become respectable citizens. One day in Market Street, San Francisco, he was struck down by thugs who wanted some fine gold specimens from Alaska, which were in his possession only a few minutes before. He still has the handkerchief, stained with blood, which was used to stay the wounds. Honcharenko did much to call the attention of the Government to the value of Alaska and has a letter signed by Secretary Seward in regard to the matter. Holding out the blood-stained handkerchief he said, "Upon that blood $300 million in gold has been brought to the United States." His service has been so great that the Government ought to pension him in recognition of his labors.

I wish I had space to tell you all about this wonderful man who speaks and reads 13 and 14 languages, of his connection with the great men of Europe and America, for as Honcharenko says, "I am better known in Europe than I am in Hayward, where I now live. Tolstoi. Yes, I knew him intimately for many months. He was not a good man."

That day, after we had eaten our lunch all gathered around and listened as he told the story of his eventful life and exhibited many precious documents. Then we visited the cave in the hillside where the aged priest says his prayers and where he has baptized more than a hundred Russian children and two American children. After this there was a trip to the fine mineral water spring and last of all a visit to the spot where the final resting place of our famous host is prepared, waiting the call into another life.

Time to go home. It came all too quickly and very reluctantly, indeed, we started on the return trip, voting this the finest day's outing ever planned by the department of recreation and culture of the Epworth League.

A few days later Father Honcharenko in the regalia of his office, told the people of Hayward from the pulpit of the Methodist Church how much he and his cause owed to the Methodist people. When that grand old hymn "Faith of Our Fathers" was sung, he exclaimed, "Fifty-five years ago I heard the same hymn sung in the Methodist Mission in Bulgaria, only in the Bulgarian language. I am so glad I am here." And we were all glad too, for the very countenance of this saintly servant of God seemed to be a benediction and many an eye was moist as the story was related in a straightforward, but simple manner. His life has been full of service for humanity and there is surely a crown laid up for him in that better land, where there is no slavery or cruelty and where truth prevails. One must be better for having come in contact with such a life. (The Epworth Herald, Oct. 14, 1914.)

The Reverend Agapius Honcharenko (1832–1916) first known educated Ukrainian patriot was a neighbor and friend of Taras Shevchenko (1814–61).

He came to America on January 1, 1865, and worked for the American Bible Society

in New York, translating the Bible into church Slavonic, into Bulgarian and into Arabic. He taught at St. Johns Episcopal Seminary at New York and officiated at the first Divine Liturgy at the New York Trinity Episcopal Church on March 2, 1865. Later that year on April 16, he laid the cornerstone for the first Greek Orthodox Church at New Orleans, La.

Moving to San Francisco in 1867 he established a church there. Appointed by Secretary Seward, asan editor of the Russo-English semimonthly Alaska Herald in which he often wrote about his subjugated Ukrainian nation, and his friend, Taras Shevchenko (1868–76).

He was the first man to write a Russian-English grammar book (March 1868) "The Russian and English Phrase Book," which was used by the U.S. armed services in Alaska. He was influential in Americanizing Alaska.

He organized the first Slavonic St. Methodius Benevolent Society at San Francisco and helped countless refugees from Russian Siberia.

On his land, following the earthquake at San Francisco, hundreds of people, involved in the tragedy stayed at his ranch "Ukraina" near Hayward, Calif.

He had his own cave on his land, the Pechera, where he served Divine Liturgy daily. Many influential Americans including General Halleck, Secretary Seward, Horace Greeley, J. Bennet were his personal friends, yet he worked hard, was poor, and died in poverty.

On his land he had many tents where each year hundreds of tuberculosis patients came to be cured.

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Father Honcharenko died on May 5, 1916, and is buried on his land, "Ukraina" as is his wife, who passed away Mar. 21, 1915.)

Case for the Inclusion of Hotel and Restaurant Employees Under the Fair Labor Standards Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, the Fair Labor Standards Act is now up for revision in the House Education and Labor Committee. The able organizational director of local 118 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, Mr. Benny Aulino, has prepared a comprehensive statement on this subject.

Mr. Aulino's remarks follow:

The case for covering the hotel, motel, restaurant, and all other food and lodging employees in the Fair Labor Standards Act has been debated since 1938. Never has the need for their inclusion been so desperate as now. Millions of workers in the industry are left in the position of having to pay 1965 prices for consumer goods on depression day's wages. Not only are we undermining the general prosperity of our Nation, which rests upon consumer purchasing power, but we are allowing millions of workers to remain in the depressed class, who cannot afford the bare necessities of life. We are actually promoting the spread of slums, crime, disease, and all other ills that grow from hopeless poverty. Ironically, the groups not now covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act are the ones that really need the protection of the act. This group includes many racial minorities and handicapped groups who, because of inadequate education and job training, language barrier, speech impediment, or physical handicap can not move into other jobs. These are good citizens, living and working under handicaps, many of which are imposed by society itself.

The Great Society cannot blossom to its fullest extent, while these inequities are allowed to exist. We are being hypercritical by passing legislation that we must recognize, and help the handicapped, the elderly, racial and minority groups, while we keep many of them excluded from the Fair Labor Standards Act, a law that can put them partially on equal financial basis with citizens of the $1.25 wage bracket. There are millions of these people who are maids, porters, doormen, busboys, dishwashers, bellmen, waiters, waitresses, laundry workers, kitchen helpers—yes, even cashiers, hostesses, desk clerks, and clerical workers who need this coverage and need it now. Many of these people must work two jobs in order to exist, and the more unfortuante ones must continue to line up at the welfare agencies when extra help is needed such as hospital, doctor, dental care, or clothing. People who are a "drag" on the community (always on welfare) will hardly ever be accepted by society regardless of how many laws we pass. It is our duty to get them out of the poverty class and give them a chance in life by including them in the FLSA.

I must also state that this discriminatory exclusion from the act is deeply resented by the workers and their families who are viewed as second-class citizens. I respectfully ask that the employees of the food and lodging industry, and also the laundry workers be included in the Fair Labor Standards Act as soon as it is humanly possible.

Our Government is spending huge sums on programs such as Manpower Training and Development Act, Job Corps, medicare, and antipoverty. I do not think these programs will ever be completely successful if millions of the people these programs are meant to help go around with empty pockets because they earn from 40 to 75 cents per hour. This country is wealthy enough, and our economy is healthy enough, to support their inclusion in the act. Also, the food and lodging business has become one of the giants in U.S. commerce. It is estimated that the industry does between $15 to $25 billion a year gross sales. That means it is a far bigger busines than dozens of others that have been covered under the wage and hour law. I say that the hotel and restaurant industry should have to stand on its own two feet, and should stop being subsidized by low-paid employees, and the generous public. The argument that this law will cause prices to rise, business to decline, and workers to lose jobs is worn out and does not ring true; you have only to refer to the States of California and Washington, where the minimum wages of $1.25 now exist.

We should not exclude any establishment from coverage by this act, because of the dollar volume they do. The reason for the law's protection is the worker's need, and the need is the same no matter how large the place where he works. Everyone in the hotel and restaurant industry should be covered by the act. This should also hold true regardless of classification in the industry, specifically the workers who receive tips. To exclude these employees would be absolutely unfair. It must be remembered that many waitresses and other tip employees work as curb girls or boys, and in small coffee shops and cafes, drug store counters, concession stands, hamburg and hot dog restaurants, where $2 a day in tips is considered a good day. Most people like to judge all waiters and waitresses with the ones employed in the gourmet restaurants. These employees would then average $7 or $8 a day in tips, plus receiving $1.25 per hour in wages (if the minimum wage law included them), and what is so sinful in earning $17 or $18 a day in this day and age of the great year of 1965. You must remember that no one guarantees the $7 or $8, or makes up the difference if he or she gets only $3, $4, or $5, so let the employer at least guarantee the minimum wage.

In conclusion, I ask that the proper agency study the feasibility of the following suggestion: When these workers are included in the Fair Labor Standards Act, and the minimum wage should increase upward from $1.25 per hour, I suggest to the Federal Government that the hotel and restaurants be allowed to pay 25 or 30 cents per hour less than the increased minimum wage, if the 25 or 30 cents is spent to buy long overdue benefits such as hospitalization, sick benefits, life insurance, pension plans, unemployment benefits, job training and placement, and public relations. These programs to be administered jointly by employer and employees' groups, and not by the Government or any other agency. This program will do more to help these people to become first-class citizens with security like millions of other workers. This will also eliminate much of the welfare claims and job shifting, and the employer will have employees more dedicated to their jobs. The money spent to buy the benefits should be tax free, and should encourage the employer to accept such a program. May I make it clear, this program should start only after the workers are earning $1.25 per hour, today's minimum wage of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Brooklyn Library Pioneer Effort

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, in the past several months we have observed the growing success of the Library Services and Construction Act of 1964. A very interesting and imaginative result of this act has recently been brought to my attention. With funds made available through the act, the Brooklyn Public Library, in cooperation with other libraries in the New York City area, has sponsored a pioneer series of short promotional radio announcements designed to publicize the services offered by the city's libraries in an appealing, attention-getting manner.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the text of several of these radio announcements which have been brought to my attention by John A. Humphry, director of the Brooklyn Public Library.

There being no objection, the announcements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(Sung by youngsters:)

Oh, the place for you and the place for me
Is the local public liberry
They have books and things that they lend for free
It's the latest, its the greatest, it's the liberry.

They have mysteries, they have histories
And for mother, books of recipes
See a movie show, hear a symphony
It's the latest, it's the greatest, it's the liberry.

ANNOUNCER. Yes, it's the public library—no matter how you say it, there's a branch near you, with a lot to offer you—and every member of your family. Books, periodicals, recordings, films, special collections and special activities and services * * * and all free.

It's the latest, it's the greatest, it's the liberry.

How long since you visited your liberry—er—library?

OSCAR BRAND—60-SECOND SPOT

Strums: Hi, this is Oscar Brand with a brandnew old folksong.

Sings: The place for you and the place for me is the local public library.

True, it isn't really an old folksong, but it has the basic folk quality—it's simple, direct, meaningful—and has an important message for all you folks. The public library is one of the greatest institutions in American life. For education or information, you can't beat it. And it's all free—and you know you can't beat that. In New York's five boroughs, in Nassau and Westchester Counties, visit the library nearest you. All you need to borrow books, motion pictures, recordings (folk music and all other kinds) is a library card. If you haven't got one—get one.

Sings: They have books and things that they lend for free—

It's the latest, it's the greatest, it's the library.

If you haven't been there for a week or so, you've missed a lot.

ETHEL MERMAN—30-SECOND SPOT

This is Ethel Merman. I've played many kinds of roles in my career. But I'm here to say a word about a career that I think is an especially rewarding one—one that I'd like to urge bright young college men and women to look into. The career I'm talking about is that of the librarian. As a librarian you'll have the satisfaction of helping people to discover the wonderful world of books.

Check into it. Thank you.

ALAN KING—30-SECOND SPOT

Hi. This is Alan King. And what are you doing listening to the radio? You should be reading a book I speak as an author. I don't write as an author, I just speak as an author—and also as somebody who knows where you can get the greatest books in the world—absolutely free.

First chance you get, hop down to your nearest public library and dig into some of those wonderful books they've got there.

By the way—when was the last time you went to the public library?

Views on Congressional Actions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, in The Washington Star of Wednesday, July 28 there were three articles which to me, are most interesting. The first was a news dispatch from London, by Eddy Gilmore which may well be a prelude to what we are going to encounter in this country under the present housing law, which so far as I know, does not prohibit a rich relative from living with a poor relative who is eligible for housing.

The other two articles are columns by David Lawrence and Richard Wilson, both of which are timely and have a bearing on our present congressional actions.

The three articles follow:

RICH BRITON'S CASTLE IS SUBSIDIZED HOUSE—$7-A-WEEK RENT

(By Eddy Gilmore)

LONDON.—A British businessman with a yacht and two cars today defended his right to live in a Government-subsidized house that costs him only $7 a week.

"Of course I could afford to buy a big house with a swimming pool and a double garage," said Dan Tobin, 44, "but I'd feel uncomfortable in such a place."

Tobin, a former bus driver, started in business with capital of $2.45. He now owns a string of bingo parlors.

HAPPY WHERE I AM

"I know that people in this town have been upset about where I live," he said, "but I'm happy where I am and I think I've a right to live there."

Tobin and his widowed mother, 79, live on a housing estate in which the rents are subsidized by the Port Talbot County Council, the house is in his mother's name.

Complaints about a "rich man" living on the housing estate began when Tobin was granted permission to build a garage beside the house for his two cars.

One taxpayer wrote to the council:

"Any man able to afford a yacht and two cars should be denied a subsidized house."

MOTHER, SON REHOUSED

Housing Manager T. A. Collins said Tobin and his mother previously lived in a cottage that rented for 74 cents a week.

"We had to rehouse Mrs. Tobin and her son because the cottage where they lived was being demolished under a mandatory clearance order," said Collins.

"Mrs. Tobin is the tenant. It is no legal concern of the council how much money her son has."

Said Tobin:

"I like sailing. I like my cars and I'd like a rich expensive meal occasionally, but my tastes are generally modest. I'm no snob."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 28, 1965]

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC CASE POINTS UP AID FOLLIES

(By Richard Wilson)

One of the least selfish acts of government at any time is title II of the enactment known as Public Law 480, which authorizes the President to supply emergency and relief assistance to friendly peoples, without regard to the friendliness of their governments.

This is a pure act of generosity. We not only supply the food to fight famine but pay the ocean freight. It is a way to dispose of our surpluses, but we could find other ways. We suffer insults in silence from world statesmen whose people are starving, and we feed them.

Under the full powers of Public Law 480 the United Arab Republic, whose President flouts and insults us, has received from the United States commodities valued at more than $700 million.

In addition, believing that the people of the United Arab Republic were threatened with imminent famine because of crop failure, we shipped to Egypt in 1961 about 186,000 metric tons of corn costing more than $23.7 million.

There was no crop failure. We shipped the corn after it was known there would not be a crop failure. President Gamal Abdel Nasser sold some of the corn commercially. The sales of at least $9 milion can be traced. Nasser needed funds at the time for arms to be used to frustrate U.S. policy in the Congo.

When the Comptroller General of the United States confronted the Agency for International Development and the State Department with the plain facts of their own incompetence in making this shipment when there was no need for it, the response of those agencies was the familiar bureaucratic fog-up of facts.

But one statement of significance emerged. The State Department asserted that the needless gift to avert famine "coincided with a conscious effort to improve United States-United Arab Republic political relations * * * because of the United Arab Republic leadership role in the Near East, its geopolitical importance, the part it played in assuring peace and stability in the Near East." It is not merely that there is no provision in law for the use of these funds in this manner. Government agencies operate on the theory that what is not specifically prohibited may be permitted. The judgment of AID and the State Department was wrong. United States-United Arab Republic relations were not improved. They grew worse.

Some of the corn, possibly one-fifteenth of it, was distributed free to individual recipients. But what became of the rest of it, except for 14,500 tons verified as having been sold, is a mystery.

A good deal of it piled up in ports and was not unloaded, the last anyone here knew, and large amounts became infested by weevils.

If this were just one incident of incompetence and folly in this and other programs of AID it might be accepted as the inevitable byproduct of bureaucracy. But the files of the General Accounting Office are burdened with incident after incident of waste, corruption, arbitrary excess of authority, incompetence, and blunders.

Corruption in the use of American AID funds in Vietnam is an openly accepted scandal. It is accepted as something unavoidable under the circumstances.

When global-minded Congressmen read these reports of the Comptroller General of the United States they become exasperated. Foreign aid with strings tied to it doesn't work too well and it doesn't work too well without strings tied to it. We are moving into a period when famine in large parts of the world may be commonplace because population is so rapidly outgrowing the ability of backward nations to produce food.

This is an opportunity and a challenge to the United States to use our surplus food producing capacity in a constructive way.

But a higher level of competency will be required than in the case of the corn shipments to Egypt.

EXAMPLE OF CONFORMITY BY COERCION

(By David Lawrence)

America is about to give the world an example conformity by coercion—how intolerant majorities in Congress and in labor unions ride roughshod over dissenting minorities of wage earners and compel them to surrender their "freedom of belief" and "freedom of association."

The House of Representatives and the Senate are engaged now in the process of passing a law taking away from the 50 States of the Union their constitutional right to protect minorities in their employment opportunities.

For, under this measure, unless a person agrees to join a labor union which has a majority status in a plant, he can be dismissed from his job after 30 days. Nineteen States of the union have forbidden this form of compulsion. But, even in this age of demonstrations for so-called "civil rights," a basic human freedom of the individual—

the right to a job without being forced to sacrifice his beliefs—is about to be taken away.

The general public isn't informed on the issue. If it were, the voters would be protesting now to Congress, and every single Representative or Senator who has supported such a discriminatory measure would be marked for defeat in the next election.

The argument usually advanced is that the employer and the labor union would merely be entering into a "voluntary" agreement for a "union shop" and that the law doesn't actually require either the union or the employer to make such an agreement. This is a superficial rationalization. For everybody knows that, when a labor union demands a contract stipulating that a worker must be fired unless he joins the union, the employer has a choice between an expensive strike, with the possibility of being forced out of business, and surrendering to the demands of the labor union. In 99 percent of the cases, the employer recognizes the facts of modern "democracy" and yields to coercion.

But what of the individual? Where can he get protection? The courts offer him no help as yet because the agreement is supposedly "voluntary" even though, in fact, it obviously isn't.

There are some groups in America which insist that to join a union is contrary to their religious beliefs. Yet the proposed legislation ignores this contention, and efforts made to amend the bill to safeguard "freedom of belief" have been unsuccessful.

In the Soviet Union employment opportunities are to a certain extent controlled by the Communist Party. In America, a political organization maintained by the labor unions has contributed financial support to the campaigns of enough Members of Congress to compel a majority to vote as the labor unions dictate to them. Observers in other countries, who are often told that the American system permits "freedom of belief" and "freedom of association," will soon be in a position to ask some embarrassing questions when the new law, which plainly authorizes compulsory unionization, is enacted.

The language of the bill is sweeping. It provides:

"That nothing in this act, or in any other statute of the United States or in any constitution or law of any State or political subdivision, thereof, shall preclude an employer from making an agreement with a labor organization * * * to require as a condition of employment membership therein * * * if such labor organization is the representative of the employees * * *."

But the Supreme Court of the United States in 1937, in upholding the right of a majority of the employees to designate a union to bargain collectively for them, said specifically that the rights of the minority as a group or as individuals were not to be disregarded. Congress is about to brush aside this interpretation of the Constitution by the highest Court. Passage of the new law will mark the loss of minority rights and the emergence of the intolerance of majority rule. All this is happening even though the right to work and to keep a job has always been recognized as an individual relationship between employer and employee.

This was supposedly protected from the earliest days of the Republic. The Declaration of Independence sets forth that "all men are created equal" and that among the "unalienable rights" with which they are endowed are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The Constitution forbids "involuntary servitude." To be compelled to join any organization—social or religious or political or economic—as the price of a job in free America is certainly a form of involuntary servitude.

Federal Government and Massachusetts: Partners in Crime and Vice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to tell the Members of this House about the ignorant partnership of the Federal Government and the State of Massachusetts in keeping Massachusetts a gambler's treasure chest. I say this because the two governments have kept gambling illegal in Massachusetts, but they have not by any means eradicated it. The result is that gambling emphatically exists, and as a mob monopoly that bankrolls every depth and degradation of crime and vice.

The Puritan fathers would roll over in their graves if they could see Massachusetts today. From Beacon Hill to Great Barrington, from Nantucket to Newburyport, from one end of storied Boston to the other, Massachusetts crawls with illegal gambling, set at a statewide total of better than $2 billion a year by the State of Massachusetts' very own crime commission. So incredible is the race of gambling in Massachusetts that the State crime commission decided that Bay Staters spent much more each year on gambling than on groceries. Perhaps this will help to make the point I have long been trying to make about the American hunger for gambling. That hunger has reached vast proportion in Massachusetts. The story of Massachusetts gambling is the statewide biography of a bookie joint.

The parimutuel turnover in Massachusetts last year, representing legal gambling, came to $100 million. This is the small part of the iceberg that is above the surface. The State crime commission concluded several years ago that illegal gambling was at least $2 billion a year. Using estimates presented to the McClellan committee several years ago, it is possible to compute the national illegal gambling total at $120 billion, and Massachusetts' share of this, computed on a population basis, is $3.36 billion a year. This may be the case. Massachusetts is the Nation's "gamiest" Commonwealth. Radio news programs in the Bay State seem to have more scandals than commercials, and this is not unrelated to the vast profits that gambling syndicates take out of illegal gambling, some of which is used to corrupt the governmental process. The syndicates generally get to keep about 10 percent of the gross take, which could put mob profits in Massachusetts at a level of $200 million a year or higher. That will finance a lot of vice—and probably does.

To my mind, the answer in Massachusetts as elsewhere is government-run gambling, which will make gambling profits work for the people. I think that State and National lotteries are the answer.

The Real Alabama—Part XXXVI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the history of Alabama records some of the most interesting Indian lore of our country. Typical of the State's Indian history, and also of today's contributions to the State and to the Nation, is Clarke County.

I want to share the following summary of Clarke County history which provides a brief look at this part of Alabama.

CLARKE COUNTY, ALA.

Located in the southwestern part of the State, Clarke County is bounded on the north by Marengo County, on the east by Wilcox and Monroe Counties, on the south by Baldwin County, and on the west by Washington and Choctaw Counties. It lies in the angle formed by the junction of the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers, its western border being the Tombigbee, and the southeast border is the Alabama River. Clarke County was created by the Mississippi Territory Legislature on December 19, 1812. The county seat is Grove City.

Clarke County is very rich in Indian history, with one of the most noted controversial (as to exact site) spots in Alabama history supposed to have been in the triangle at the meeting of the lost town of Mauvilla (Mabila) which is thought to have been in the triangle at the receding of the Tombigbee and Alabama rivers. Here at Mauvilla was fought one of the bloodiest battles with Indians in our history. These Indians were determined to defend their homes against the European invaders—DeSoto and his fellow explorers. These Europeans seized their corn and made slaves of Indian men and women.

The battle was fought October 18, 1540. The Indians waited until the Spaniards reached Mabila for a large battle because DeSoto's men were on horseback (the Indians had no horses—no Indians had horses in the New World until Europeans brought them in). They had muskets and light armor. Chief Tuscaloosa (Black Warrior), the proud giant for whom a river, a city, and a county of Alabama have been named, led the Indians of Mabila. When one of DeSoto's men seized Tuscaloosa from his high throne after the first friendly gestures, the Indians were ready to fight. They rushed out of the houses of the walled town and fell on the white men both inside and outside the wooden walls. Even Indian women and children joined in battle, and it lasted the whole day. As it became certain that the Spanish crossbows and muskets were winning, some of the Indians committed suicide rather than face slavery. The Spaniards set fire to the town. DeSoto was wounded but fought on—still mounted on his horse. Twenty Spaniards were killed and dozens wounded. Fire burned the pearls they had collected, and what remained of their gunpowder went up in smoke, plus many horses and much clothing. At least 2,500 Indians were killed, and perhaps more.

Mounds in various places along the river show the existence of a very early aboriginal history. At Thornton's Upper Landing, on the Tombigbee near Coffeeville, was located Fakitchipurta (Little Turkeys or Tombigbee Turkey Town) on both sides of the river—it was ceded in the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1820. Four miles south of Jackson,

a fort was built in 1813, as defense against the Indians, and in 1812 Fort Cata was built near the present Coffeeville. Then there was Fort Curry and Fort Ensley, all built within this period in Clarke County. Redoubt Pass and Landrum's Fort, Fort Lavier, and Fort Madison, Mott's Fort and Fort Sinquefield, Turner's Fort, and Fort White were other defenses built at the time. However, Fort Gullett, 4 miles south of Jackson, was a Confederate fortification built on a pioneer fort, for protection of the salt well and works nearby. The fort was erected to keep Federal gunboats from coming up the Tombigbee River (Fort Hawn is the same as Gullett's Bluff).

Cattle raising and timber growing, plus sawmills, make up a large part of the economy of Clarke County, and with such water power, such marvelous recreational facilities as this section is noted for (fishing and hunting), this county is really growing.

Jackson, Grove Hill, Coffeeville, and Thomasville are some of the cities in Clarke County. There are excellent schools which will compare favorably with any county, especially those classed as rural. Thomasville has been selected for one of the new State trade schools, which will give the people of the county additional opportunity in the field of education.

Congressman Mathias Gains Editorial Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. HARVEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my fellow Members of the House an editorial in the July 8, 1965, edition of the Daily Mail, Hagerstown, Md., praising our colleague, Congressman CHARLES MATHIAS, for his voting stand on the housing bill. The newspaper rightly cited Congressman MATHIAS for his sound reasoning. The people in Hagerstown, Md., and many other places in our country, should rightfully ask why they should subsidize the income of those earning as much as $11,000 in areas such as New York City. The rent supplement section as amended is a massive $6 billion program that leaves American homeowners wondering and questioning why they scrimped and denied themselves and family so much while working hard to get a home.

Following is the fine editorial on Congressman MATHIAS' position on this issue:

MATHIAS AND RENT SUBSIDIES

Congressman CHARLES MATHIAS has shown sound reasoning in his explanation for voting against the rent subsidy bill of the national administration.

He noted that people living in New York City might qualify for public housing and rent subsidies even if they were making as much as $11,200 a year.

That is a lot more money than most people in Hagerstown are making who would be paying taxes to contribute to the rent payments the Government would make to others.

Congressman MATHIAS made another point when he said that private ownership of homes is a bulwark of responsible citizenship, and that any program which defeats the aim of private ownership and encourages the populace to seek out and depend upon Government subsidies for housing weakens that entire structure.

The great problem with such a program is that it has a tendency to expand, and with each expansion a greater and greater number of people will come to depend upon the taxpaying ability of fewer and fewer to support the plan.

Gadsden Acts To Help Negroes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, to the many critics of the South in its relationship between white and Negro citizens, I would like to call attention to a recent action by my own city, Gadsden, Ala. This week the mayor, Les Gilliland, and the city council announced the construction of a $115,000 gym to help provide equal recreational opportunities for the Negroes of the community. While many of our northern friends march, demonstrate and urge the breaking of law, but offer no concrete programs to solve some of the Negroes' problems, we of the South continue to live and work together, striving for the best interest of all our people.

While we have not attained perfection, as no human institution is perfect, there is more genuine brotherly love and understanding and cooperation between the races in the South than in many northern cities where Negroes are tolerated but there is little concern for them as individuals except to get their votes.

I venture to suggest to the agitators, the sponsors of street demonstrations and law violations that they might serve a more useful purpose if they put into practice some of the good intentions they claim when marching and demonstrating.

The following editorial from the Gadsden Times, describes the way my hometown and many southern communities express concern for their Negro citizens:

GYM AND FIELDHOUSE A GIFT OF CITY

The city commission has taken another impressive step in its efforts to not only improve recreational advantages in Gadsden, but to provide equal oportunities for the Negro community.

A $115,000 gym and fieldhouse will be constructed at Tuscaloosa Avenue and Valley Street, and it is exected to be in use in about 150 days.

Tennis courts, volleyball, and badminton courts will be located at one end of the fieldhouse, located behind the new Drake Elementary School, and near the new Negro trade school under construction.

A lighted ballfield will be at the other end.

Financed entirely with city funds, Mayor Gilliland and the two commissioners have once again shown that through proper use of the taxpayers' money, a city or community can provide its own needs without seeking Government handouts on every possible occasion.

They have also given an example of southern consideration for Negro citizens without intervention by the Federal Government.

Support Our President

SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHARD (DICK) ICHORD

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newspaper editorial which appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat on Tuesday, June 29, 1965, entitled "Support Our President." The editor took the position that those who demonstrate against U.S. policy in Vietnam do a disservice to the country, aid the Communists, and prolong the war. He urged all people to stand behind the President in this time of national crisis:

SUPPORT OUR PRESIDENT

Every effort made by the President of the United States, the British Commonwealth Prime Ministers, and others to bring about a conference to end the war in Vietnam has failed.

The Vietcong and their Russian and Red Chinese allies have contemptuously spurned each proposal for two major reasons.

First, they think they are winning the war. And they are.

Second, even though President Johnson has expressed himself in the most unequivocal terms that we will not fail—we will not withdraw—we will not become tired—and we will persevere to a just peace, they simply do not believe him.

They disbelieve him because of the noisy efforts of a few to pull the rug out from under the President.

These include * * * the clamor of a handful of left-wing, appeasement-minded, no-win newspapers, the work of assorted groups of pacifists, civil righters, Communists, the National Council of Churches and groups of university professors—all demanding that we, in effect, throw in the sponge and consign the people who love liberty and freedom in South Vietnam to the barbarous fate which inevitably meets those who oppose Communists and lose.

The time has come for America to unite behind our President and support him to the utmost extent in our foreign policy.

We are all in this together as Americans. It has been proven beyond all chance that the soft approach and the desire for sweet reasonableness falls on utterly barren ears so far as the Communists are concerned.

Thus, negotiations are completely out of the question now. There is no one to negotiate with.

The alternatives are to turn the tide of victory and to negotiate for peace from strength, or to pull out altogether under terms dictated by the Communists which would be complete surrender.

This would mean consigning the Vietnamese to live a life of slavery for those who survive, and would cause the collapse of all southeast Asia, with Thailand, Burma, India, Malayasia, and the Philippines all sure to be gobbled up by the insatiable Communist juggernaut.

This is something which no decent American wants.

Our only choice is to persevere the way to victory, or at least until negotiation on hon-

orable terms for a free Vietnam becomes possible.

It most assuredly will not be possible while the Vietcong have substantial reason to doubt the determination of the President, yet they have exactly these doubts as they listen to the loud claque demanding abdication of our responsibilities.

We cannot negotiate until we stop half-fighting the war and begin to win it.

This does not mean the involvement of ground troops, but it does mean the utmost utilization of our sea and air striking potential against meaningful targets.

It means air strikes and naval bombardment against major targets of opportunity, including the Red missile bases.

* * * * * *

For the President not to attack these Red installations, even if it means killing Russian advisers as the Reds have killed our advisers, would be to repeat the disastrous mistake of President Kennedy in failing to attack or secure withdrawal of Soviet missile bases in Cuba. We think President Johnson is far too hard minded to permit another possibly fatal error of this sort to be made.

It means also attacking Vietcong troop concentrations and probably the seat of government itself in Hanoi. The Vietcong have stepped up treacherous attacks against the seat of government in Saigon, including the U.S. Embassy. Why should we let the enemy have sanctuary for their government offices and communication networks when they grant us none?

Eventually, if the Red Chinese continue to supply the Vietcong, it may be necessary for the President to say very plainly to the Peiping government in effect: "We have given you every opportunity to achieve an honorable peace, and you have rejected every overture. Unless you call off the war in the next short period of time, we are going to attack all Communist bases supplying this war and destroy them by whatever means necessary."

It is useless to argue at this late stage, with 70,000 American ground forces soon to be in Vietnam, that we should not be there at all. That bridge has long since been crossed. The troops went in there in 1954 following the collapse of Dienbienphu. We filled a vacuum of power and, following the Geneva Convention, we transported 800,000 Vietnamese to South Vietnam because they wanted to live a life of liberty and freedom.

The trickle of advisers under Eisenhower became a stream under Kennedy, and a torrent under Johnson. It has always been our belief that all three Presidents did what was necessary and that the only mistakes in American policy has been in not doing enough, soon enough, and effectively enough, under all three.

It is preposterous to lose a war to the North Vietnamese, and yet we are in grave danger of this because, unlike Forrest who was there "fustest with the mostest," which is the first concomitant of victory, we have been consistently getting last with the least.

This policy has to be changed. We must win. We cannot win by half measures. We must have peace, and we can only negotiate for peace from a position of strength.

The President must set the stage, through strength and victory, for successful negotiation. He cannot do it when the voices of defeatism and despair undercut our Commander in Chief and make these negotiations impossible. The pacifist leftwingers and the great enemies of America, for, in their misguided efforts to end a war, they prolong it.

Now is the time for every decent American to rally behind our President to make victory and peace possible.

Speaker John McCormack and Majority Whip Hale Boggs Greet 52d Annual Convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert in the RECORD messages sent from our distinguished Speaker, JOHN W. MCCORMACK, and the gentleman from Louisiana, our distinguished majority whip, HALE BOGGS, to the recent 52d annual convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress:

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., June 3, 1965.

Mr. HENRY H. BUCKMAN,
President, National Rivers and Harbors Congress, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BUCKMAN: I take a great deal of pleasure in extending greetings to the 52d annual convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress.

I have long been cognizant and deeply appreciative of your valuable efforts in forwarding the cause of orderly development of one of America's most vital resources.

Water resources, once so plentiful throughout our great Nation, have been shamefully treated for many years. They have been wasted, polluted and ill-used. Your progressive and effective work in seeking to correct this situation has played a vital part in the growing public understanding of the necessity for intelligent planning and coordination of the efforts of all responsible public agencies in the comprehensive development and husbanding of a resource we know to be finite and for which there is no substitute.

Please extend to the membership my warmest greetings and best wishes for a future as productive and successful as has been your past record.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN W. MCCORMACK.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., June 8, 1965.

Hon. HENRY H. BUCKMAN,
President, National Rivers and Harbors Congress, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BUCKMAN: It is always a great pleasurae for me to salute the National Rivers and Harbors Congress for the exemplary work which its officers and members have done through the years for the benefit of our country.

The fact that I represent the State of Louisiana in Congress makes me keenly aware of the service which your organization has rendered for the development, conservation, and control of the water resources of our great country. The mighty Mississippi River and its tributaries cut through my State; and your pioneering efforts to launch the Federal Government's flood control program in 1936, which since then has realized so much progress in the harnessing and directing of that great river, have in turn enhanced the continued growth and prosperity of Louisiana and of all those States in the lower Mississippi Valley. It has been my privilege and honor to work closely with Bill Webb, your executive director; and with my colleagues, Congressmen BOB SIKES and JOHN BLATNIK and others, all of whom have contributed so much to the farsighted program of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress.

Through your assistance and guidance and the fine work of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in constructing so many navigation and flood control projects, my work in obtaining in the Congress, approval for various projects in Louisiana and in securing the necessary appropriations to complete them, has been made much easier. Of all the things which I have been able to do for the people of the Second Congressional District over the years, none stands closer to my heart—and none have been more valuable to the prosperity of the area—than do the navigation and flood control protection now provided along the lower Mississippi River, around Lake Pontchartrain, along Bayou Barataria and Barataria Bay, and along other bodies of water. The National Rivers and Harbors Congress has contributed to the realization of these projects and to countless others throughout our country, and I am happy and proud to salute your organization on the occasion of your 52d convention.

I also am quite pleased that your organization will award to the late William G. Zetzmann Sr. of New Orleans, who was a good friend of mine and whose family I am close to today, the Willard J. Breidenthal Medal. Mr. Zetzmann was for so many years treasurer of your organization, and I know he did a great deal to enhance the continued progress of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress. Bill Zetzmann has many friends among us, and we all miss him.

Mrs. Boggs joins me in commending your organization for its splendid service to our country and in wishing for the National Rivers and Harbors Congress a most successful convention this year and your continued success in the years to come.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

HALE BOGGS.

USDA, Consumer Friend: Homemaker Spends Less—Enjoys Shopping More

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, not even a meat expert can look at a steak lying in the retail meat case and be sure it will be tender and juicy. What chance has the homemaker?

You cannot tell much about the interior quality of an egg by looking at the outside. How can the housewife get the quality she wants?

Foods of all kinds are canned, frozen, packaged, hidden from view. How can consumers learn about their quality?

The answer is simple—by using U.S. grades as a guide to food quality. Real food quality experts from the U.S. Department of Agriculture grade much of our food to help the American homemaker make good selections.

In 1964 these experts graded about 55 percent of the beef produced in the

United States; half of the lamb; half of the butter, cheese, and nonfat dry milk; two-thirds of the ready-to-cook poultry; one-fifth of the shell eggs; three-fourths of the frozen fruits and vegetables; and one-fourth of the canned fruits and vegetables.

These U.S. grades are published standards of quality. They are applied by skilled official graders. The grade mark on a food product is the consumer's guide to greater value per dollar.

Take beef, for example. Since the age of the animal has a bearing on tenderness, the grader examines carcasses or wholesale cuts. This enables him to evaluate age along with the other quality factors. Then he rolls the grademarks onto the meat. In most cases, the grademark stays on the individual cuts right into the retail meat case.

The housewife then can use the grademark to get the quality she wants. If she needs an absolutely topnotch roast for that big dinner party, she may select U.S. Prime, the tenderest and juiciest beef of all. It is also the most expensive to produce. U.S. Choice is the most popular grade, still tender and juicy, but more economical than Prime.

For a stew, she can use a lower grade—U.S. Good or U.S. Standard—which will be less tender than the top two grades.

Thus, the grademark is the consumer's guide to quality.

The U.S. grades are provided for voluntary use by the food industry, and USDA cooperates with State departments of agriculture to make Government graders available in all parts of the country. Wholesale buyers and sellers find the grading useful enough that they pay the costs of the service. Grades help the whole marketing process function more efficiently. Since they are based on nationally uniform Federal standards, they mean the same thing in all parts of the country, in any season, in any store. In short, they take the guesswork out of buying and selling not only for the final consumer but for wholesalers and retailers all along the line of marketing.

USDA food grades, in my opinion, are among the most valuable of the more than 50 separate categories of services which the U.S. Department of Agriculture provides for American consumers.

Reserves Already in It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, there appears an editorial in the August 1965 issue of the Reserve Officers Association magazine, The Officer, that I trust every Member will read.

Entitled, "Reserves Already In It," the editorial comments on the role of the citizen-soldier. The powerful part played by the Reserve in the defense of this Nation clearly justifies the recent action by the House of Representatives in striking out funds for the merger of Reserve and National Guard units and then passing the 1966 Defense Appropriation bill by the resounding vote of 407 to 0.

The editorial follows:

RESERVES ALREADY IN IT

Some of the boys who like to handle their news in the managed manner are writing that there is no prospect, no matter how intense the Vietnam war becomes, that the Pentagon will call up the Reserves.

It is a sign of the times that we must accustom ourselves to inability to reconcile what is being said, and what is being done. The technique is to tell the people what they want to hear, presumably, said telling having little if any relationship to what the action is.

The fact is—and any citizen with but a second thought should know it—is that the Reserves are deeply into whatever national defense problems exist—and they have been for a full quarter century.

Since 1940, when the national defense buildup began, the Nation has built its defense forces around the citizen-soldier. The great and honorable George C. Marshall was lavish in his praise of the Reserves, and in recognition of their service. He said repeatedly, both to the Reserves and to anyone else including the Nations' lawmakers, that but for the 150,000 trained Reserve officers available in 1940 it was questionable if we could have prepared quickly enough to win World War II.

To the 150,000, were gradually added about one million citizen-officers, and it was they who gave their lives for our freedoms. As we reminded the delegates to the ROA national convention, more than 98 percent of the officers killed in action in the name of freedom were reservists.

For one 12-month period, the Army alone sustained during World War II 9,285 officers killed in action or died of wounds received in action.

Of these 8,949 were Reserve officers. Regular and National Guard sustained each 168 officer deaths.

The comment in our report was:

"The fact that there were in service, in the Army, 614,767 citizen-soldier officers, alongside 19,048 National Guard officers and 16,026 Regular officers only makes our claim to our day in court all the more binding."

At our national convention, six Air Force reservists—officer and enlisted—were presented the Expeditionary Medal for outstanding services as volunteers in the Vietnam war. The Air Force issued 300 of these medals and strangely enough the service which their presentation represented, although it is the very essence of the patriotism which guarantees our surviving an aggressor's attack, received very little notice, either officially or unofficially although we sought to give it widest possible attention.

The many volunteers from the reservists who are serving in Vietnam or in support of that operation are not to be confused with the reservists in the active duty forces.

In the Army alone, for instance about 60 percent of all the officers are Reserve officers * * * something more than 55,000 who are in all echelons of the Army. A substantial percentage of Reserve officers also comprise the leadership of the Navy, the Air Force, the Marines and the Coast Guard.

Thus, it is no empty boast to assert that the citizen-reservist today is making a substantial contribution to our security.

The backup or the Reserve forces always have been vital to our national survival. The national consensus and the national law have clearly recognized this fact.

Former Army Secretary Brucker, who during one critical period in our Nation's life gave inspirational leadership to the military services, talked at our national convention about the Reserves and what they have done. He spoke of the manner in which his fellow townsmen had permitted the Reserves to be libeled and cried, "Shame!" for the dereliction of failing to defend them.

On June 5, a C-119 aircraft—assigned to the 446th Air Reserve Wing and manned by personnel of this outstanding Reserve unit—went down, disappeared on an official mission over the Caribbean. They have not been heard of since. Even the fact that the reservists have been serving in national crises has been kept almost an official secret.

We do not believe the United States—either its Government or its people—have such a cavalier feeling toward the Reserves.

We say to Mr. McNamara and his minions—no matter what their preoccupation—"Shame, shame."

The Reserves require no more attention than any other component: however, we view with distaste the thought that they would be ignored because it was embarrassing to give them recognition.

Salute to Dahomey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on the first of August the people of Dahomey will be celebrating their fifth year of independence. On this great occasion, we wish to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Sourou-Migan Apithy, president of the Republic of Dahomey; and to His Excellency Louis Ignacio Pinto, Dahomey's Ambassador to the United States.

The people of Dahomey have begun an auspicious new enterprise in self-government, one not so different from that faced by this Nation not so very long ago.

Located on the Gulf of Guinea between Nigeria and the Republic of Togo, Dahomey is one of the smallest states of western Africa in area but it is one of the most densely populated. Dahomey's geography and demography sum up its greatest problem: a limited amount of land and a large, increasing population. It is to the credit of the farseeing leaders of Dahomey that they have recognized this problem and have begun to work for its solution.

By the close of 1961, the government of Dahomey recognized that in spite of the initiatives and progress of the last 2 years, Dahomey was still faced with the difficult problems of a fundamentally underdeveloped country. The government frankly stated:

> We have been aware that after political independence, the only battle worth while is the unrelenting and rational struggle against underdevelopment in order to gain our economic independence.

The goal of the 20-year national development plan of Dahomey, begun on January 1, 1962, would seem difficult enough for a Western state, that is, to double the per capita income of the nation in the next 20 years. But for a nation faced with an underdeveloped economy and a population that is expected to more than

double by 1985, the task is a staggering one. With a demographic increase rate of 3 percent, this would mean a minimum national income increase of 6 percent. To do this the people of Dahomey have been willing to take the initiative themselves, to cultivate new farm lands, to diversify crops, to set up experimental farms, and to raise the educational level and skills of the farmers themselves. The determination of the government of Dahomey to help itself while at the same time cooperating with advisers from the United Nations and Western nations presents a fine example, one to be emulated by other nations facing similar problems.

Greater strides are being made in public health; yaws and yellow fever—once the scourge of the nation—have almost totally disappeared. Striking progress has been made against sleeping sickness, malaria, spinal meningitis, and tuberculosis.

In addition to the struggle against disease and poverty, the Government of Dahomey has begun a far-reaching program to increase education at all levels. Recognizing that the future of the nation depends on the ability of its own people, Dahomey is one of the few African nations which spends a quarter of its budget on education alone. At the same time, the educational system is being reformed to provide for more technical and agricultural instruction.

Dahomey has been independent for only 5 years; yet, it is already moving in the right direction, that of devoting its energies and skills to bettering the standard of living and welfare of its people. Will you join with me in wishing them the best of fortune on their brave young enterprise?

Brave Fishermen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STANLEY R. TUPPER

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, along the coast of Maine there are a great many men who make their living engaged in commercial fishing and lobstering. These men constantly brave the elements and often risk their lives to bring in their catch. Sometimes the lives of others are spared due to the compassion and bravery of these men who make their living from the sea.

Recently two fishermen from my hometown of Boothbay Harbor, Maine, Mr. Martin Brewer and his nephew, Mr. Wayne Brewer, were responsible for rescuing Dr. and Mrs. Richard Guerin and their 10-month-old son, of Brunswick, Maine, when their small boat capsized.

At 10 o'clock at night, on a sea buffeted by high winds, these two fishermen were searching for herring, when they heard cries of help. The Guerin's boat had nearly submerged and all three were at the mercy of the angry Atlantic Ocean when the Brewers located them and pulled them from the water to safety.

Seafaring men are an unassuming and modest lot as a rule; they seek no recognition and look upon such incidents as commonplace. However, I do not believe these events should pass unnoticed. We constantly read accounts of citizens who witness the injury or death of their fellow man and stand passively by, when it might be in their power to prevent tragedy. It is well to occasionally remind ourselves that there are still Americans who do care what happens to others, to the extent that they will act in a positive way to help them.

Oregon Medical Association Urges Delay in Consideration of S. 596 and H.R. 3140

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, Dr. James H. Seacat, president of the Oregon Medical Association, has written to the Honorable OREN HARRIS, chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, urging the committee to delay further consideration of S. 596 and H.R. 3140 until a thorough study of the legislation can be made by an appropriate subcommittee. I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Seacat's letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

OREGON MEDICAL ASSOCIATION,
Portland, Oreg., July 20, 1965.

Hon. OREN HARRIS,
Chairman, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HARRIS: The Oregon Medical Association vigorously exhorts you to have your Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce delay any further consideration of S. 596 and H.R. 3140 until a thorough study can be made by an appropriate subcommittee. The implications in these legislative proposals is for the ultimate destruction of the gains which have been made in recent years in the wide distribution of the high quality and quantity of health care personnel and services. Therefore, this association recommends that this legislation not be finally considered by your committee until all aspects of the subject have been thoroughly studied including the recognition and assessment of the gains which have been made especially in the last decade.

Speaking of gains, your attention is especially called to what has been accomplished in this State. The Oregon Medical Association through its physician placement service has stimulated the growth of almost every medical community. Through this activity, specialists in every field of medical practice are widely distributed throughout the State and more and more complete medical communities are being established each year. Paralleling this effort is the encouragement of general physicians to establish their practices in all areas.

The fostering and support of expanding hospital and related facilities and the construction of new institutions have also been major objectives of the association. This activity along with our efforts to increase our medical personnel has been planned deliberately to bring a broad spectrum and high quality and quantity of health care to all our citizens in their own home communities. We believe this is imperative. In contrast the provisions of S. 596 and H.R. 3140 propose to bring the patient to a vast medical complex far from his family and friends where the care and service of necessity will be impersonal.

In volume II of the report of the President's Commission on Heart Disease, Cancer, and Stroke on page 280 states:

"In the face of the rising demand for physicians in every field of service, it is futile to think of diverting physicians into heart disease, cancer, and stroke programs; to do so would be catastrophic in a Nation in which faulty distribution of physicians and increasing abandonment of general practice is already posing serious, if not critical problems for the provision of medical care."

You will observe at once that the report is unrealistic in this respect. Objection is expressed to diverting physicians for the treatment and care of those three disorders into the special facilities proposed. Yet this is exactly what would occur. Few physicians would be attracted to independent practice in other communities and situations if they were to become only feeders to the special medical facility established under this proposed program. Furthermore, physicians would be stimulated to seek specialty training and would be concentrated at the medical center. Moreover, this concentrated trend toward specialization will discourage physicians from entering general practice, a field so greatly needed today, both in urban and rural areas.

The President's Commission report also laments the present situation with respect to the dissemination of the newer and rapidly increasing knowledge and information in the field of medical science. It is true, as the report states, that "the pace of investigation has accelerated progressively so that, seen in retrospect the total body of knowledge has doubled approximately every 10 years." It is also true that the means of disseminating this information to physicians has increased markedly.

Physicians are continuously seeking avenues for learning. More and more physicians are attending more and more postgraduate and continuing medical education courses. Local, State and National medical associations are expanding their scientific activities constantly. Hospital and medical staffs are increasing their activities in this area and many are employing full-time directors of medical education. The latest means of disseminating information are being used. For example, this association is now planning a weekly closed circuit television program utilizing the physical facilities of the Oregon State system of higher education. In addition to these continuing medical education activities, our University of Oregon Medical School offers an excellent series of postgraduate education courses annually.

Any discussion of the postgraduate and continuing medical education opportunities and demands would be incomplete without mention of the quality and broad scope of their offerings. In this State, as is true elsewhere, in addition to presentations and discussions by our own members who are interested and especially qualified, many highly recognized medical teachers are brought to Oregon from the leading medical centers of our Nation and not infrequently lecturers from foreign nations who have made significant contributions to the advancement of medical science are presented. It is especially noted that in these programs physicians are seeking, demanding and receiving information regarding the most recent scientific advances.

For these reasons, the Oregon Medical Association is firmly convinced that this legislation (S. 596 and H.R. 3140) should not be considered hastily by your committee. We

urge that you prevail upon the members of the committee to defer any action upon it until the thorough study which we recommend has been completed.

Respectfully,

JAMES H. SEACAT, M.D.,
President.

The Water Supply Situation in the Washington Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks citizens of the Washington metropolitan area have been distressed by the possibility that they too, along with citizens in the drought-stricken region of the Eastern United States, may face a critical water shortage in the near future. With the broad Potomac River flowing nearby, many felt that a water shortage could never affect the Washington area. However, a lack of regulation of the flow of this great river, combined with the rapid population growth in the Potomac Basin, has created a potential water shortage which will continue to increase in magnitude in the years to come.

Recently Roy L. Orndoff, the director of sanitary engineering for the District of Columbia, who has devoted his career to assuring proper water supply and use in the Washington metropolitan area, addressed the Civitan Club of Washington at the Mayflower Hotel concerning this important problem. From his address we can learn much about the vital need for long-range planning and regulation of the Potomac River.

Mr. Orndoff's address follows:

CURRENT WATER SUPPLY SITUATION WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA

(By Roy L. Orndoff)

As one of those who have spent careers in matters of water supply and water use in the Washington metropolitan region, an invitation to present the picture in 15 to 20 minutes becomes something of a challenge. It is a subject with many ramifications and the best we can hope to do is to touch on the high spots.

Perhaps it would be well to look at the subject from two directions—first from the standpoint of prospects for this summer and fall, and then as a long-range planning project.

In recent weeks the fact has been publicized that some water supply officials of the area are concerned at the possibility of a water shortage in the Potomac later this summer. You may properly ask: Why? What is it all about? And what is being done about it?

The answer, is simplest terms, is that the District system, along with two smaller systems, which together serve the majority of the area population, are dependent upon the unregulated flow of the Potomac and, because the Potomac Basin has suffered a succession of years of deficient rainfall, its flow has been at an alarmingly low figure.

The key to the problem is that word "unregulated." The flow of the Potomac River is almost completely unregulated. You may wonder why this is so important. A few figures will provide a focus. The annual average daily flow in the Potomac coming into the metropolitan area is about 7,200 million gallons. The present annual average withdrawal by the three area systems which depend upon the Potomac is less than 200 million gallons per day. Thus, if there were such a thing as an average day of river flow coinciding with an average day of water use we would need, on that day, less than 3 percent of the river's flow. To put it another way, on a year-round basis, we use for water supply only 3 percent of the river's flow.

Our problems arise from the fact that average conditions seldom if ever obtain and that people need water under all conditions, average and extreme. The Potomac is a flashy river. In times of flood, usually in the early spring months, we may have daily flows in the hundreds of billions of gallons, while in the summer and fall months they are likely to drop to a few hunderd millions of gallons. On the lowest day of record, the flow was 508 million gallons.

Against this wide fluctuation in riverflows, we have, also, a fluctuation in the water use pattern but, unfortunately, the two are in opposite phase. The flow in the river is high in winter and spring but low in summer and fall. But water use is low in the cool, wet months and high in summer and fall. The maximum use in any one day thus far was 320 million gallons. The systems are capable of processing 420 million gallons daily now and later this year this capacity will become 470 million gallons daily. If we have a hot, dry summer it must be anticipated that demands will approach the systems' capacities.

The facts, then, are that we have a possible demand of over 400 million gallons daily to be obtained from a river whose flow has been known to be as low as 500 million gallons daily. Since we are dealing with a substance which is an absolute essential to the life and health of the community, this relationship alone is alarming. But to magnify our concerns, we find that in late June and early July of this year the riverflows were the very lowest ever recorded for this season of the year. Normally, the seasonal pattern shows high flows through June, with a sharp decline through July and August and continued lows through the dry fall months. Thus, if we enter the summer with flow at an unheard of low and if the almost invariable pattern of decline follows, it is clear that late summer flows may drop even lower than the previous record. This explains our concern in recently weeks. Fortunately, the last 10 days have brought some fine rains and, for the time being at least, the situation is somewhat more comfortable. We may not relax, however, because the pattern over the years shows that short rainy periods in summer have only a temporary effect upon the riverflows.

As a consequence of the several years of drought over the basin, ground water has been depleted, its level has fallen to an unprecented low and, consequently, the river has lost its source of dry weather supply. This long dry period would indicate that we are in the dry portion of a long-time weather cycle and we have no reliable information on its probable length.

Many people are wondering why, in view of the possible shortage, we are not now requesting the users to practice conservation of water. On account of the absence of storage on the Potomac, conservation at this point would serve no purpose. Any water not used would simply flow past the intakes and into the estuary. Only when we approach the point where use will equal flow will conservation or restrictions on use be of value. Much has been said recently about water restrictions in effect in New York City. There the system is supplied largely from reservoirs on the Delaware and its tributaries and any use now represents loss of water which would otherwise be held available for use later in the summer and fall.

So much, then, for the immediate prospects for this summer. Let's look now at the long-range Potomac picture.

First, we must recognize that the Potomac means many things to many people. In the area of my job responsibility, it means primarily the source of water supply for the metropolitan area and, secondarily, a receiving stream for the area's stormwater runoff and treated waste water. However, there are many jurisdictions, agencies, and interests that have a variety of uses for this magnificent river and these uses are, to some extent, necessarily competing and mutually incompatible.

I think it fair to say that we are at this moment at a very important crossroads in planning for utilization of the total resources of the Potomac. In spite of its reputation as the most studied river in America, it probably is also the least developed major river. We have tended heretofore to study and discuss its values and its utilization, but have deferred those final decisions and commitments which are necessary for construction of developmental works. But now it seems that time is running out on us—as we have seen, this very year the summertime water supply needs of the region conceivably may exceed the reduced river flow, and 10 years is probably the shortest practicable leadtime between planning decisions and availability for service of the works which may be decided upon.

This urgency is brought about by several factors, the most important of which is the population growth—past, present, and future—in the Washington metropolitan region. At the end of World War II the population of the region was less than 1½ million, now it is over 2½ million and in the year 2000 it is expected to be 5 million. Bear in mind that the water requirement to be faced in providing for all these additional people is not simply to supply the 200 to 300 gallons per day of potable water that each person will need in summer months. All other facets of the water resources problem will be similarly affected. The quantities of treated sewage to be disposed of will be more than double what they are now. The demand for water recreational opportunities will increase, not only in proportion to the population increase, but by a further factor representing the ever-increasing affluence of our society with more and more leisure time and more and more means to use it for recreation.

The present urgency for decisions in water management in the Potomac has not appeared overnight. For a number of years it has been a matter of increasing concern in Congress and in the various agencies and jurisdictions involved in the situation. A major step was taken in 1956 when Congress directed the Corps of Engineers to make a study of the Potomac River in order to develop a plan for flood control, recreation, water supply, and water quality control. The study was participated in by all Federal agencies having responsibilities in these and related fields.

The report was completed in 1964 and has been widely discussed, but has not yet been submitted to the Congress for approval and implementation. Although the recommended plan of development, including 418 headwater reservoirs and 16 major impoundments would appear to adequately meet the intended purposes on the basis of accepted civil engineering and economic concepts, the report has encountered strong opposition from affected local interests, recreation and conservation groups, and from others who believe esthetic considerations were slighted.

The opposition includes, also, some who believe the plan relied too heavily on traditional engineering concepts to the exclusion of more advanced methods which, albeit, are at best in the research or experimental stage at this time.

The President now has asserted a strong interest in the Potomac and, in his message on natural beauty to the Congress last February, indicated his wish that the Potomac serve as a model of scenic and recreational values for the entire country. He has designated the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Stewart Udall, to review the Corps of Engineers' plan and to work with the affected States and other agencies to prepare a Potomac program for the President's consideration.

Secretary Udall has assembled, from over the Nation, a task force of eminent experts in various aspects of the study and has announced that the river plan, the initial draft of which is scheduled for completion by November 1 of this year, will be planned in cooperation with Federal, State, and local agencies throughout the river basin.

To the agencies which have heretofore been frustrated in efforts to secure the coordination of viewpoints necessary for decisions in comprehensive planning for the Potomac River, this action by the President is a most welcome milestone, indeed. They anticipate that the plan which will be forthcoming will become a springboard from which constructive action may be begun to give the people of the basin the means of utilizing the river for the purposes and the extent the people wish.

It is here that you members of the Civitan Club have an opportunity and a duty to act in your accustomed role of responsible citizens and civic leaders of the Metropolitan area. As I have pointed out, there are many interests, many uses and many viewpoints involved in the future of the Potomac. Because to some extent these are not mutually compatible, the decisions which the task force, Secretary Udall and the President, in turn, will have to make are going to be difficult for them and momentous in their impact on the region. Certainly, it may be assumed that the wishes of the citizens of the basin and the region—you, your friends, your neighbors—will be given maximum consideration. It behooves each of us to become informed, weigh the various possibilities, make his own judgements, and exert his influence at each opportunity.

Where choices must be made among uses which appear to be in conflict with each other, judgments will be largely personal, but in our free society we believe the best public decisions to be those which reflect the greatest citizen participation. My plea to you then is, above all, to exercise your opportunities in molding these decisions which will be so very important to you and to future generations in this valley.

I hope it is not presumptuous for me to mention that, in the context of my own professional responsibilities, the provision of an assured, suitable and adequate water supply for the present and future population of the region is paramount. Of only slightly less importance are provisions for treated waste disposal, silt control and flood protection. I hasten to add that, in my advocacy of these essential, practical uses of the river, there is no intention of deprecating the esthetic, recreational and what are termed conservation uses with which they may be conflict. There probably are some here who hold opinions of the Potomac's values which differ from mine. We can only hope that the eventual decisions will provide for the best possible uses of the total potential of this great and beautiful river.

Hawaii's Watercress Farms Show Remarkable Growth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the story of the successful operation of a watercress farm, spanning two generations and perhaps a third, is told in a recent issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin. The farm, a familiar sight to thousands of our military personnel who served in Hawaii before, during, and after World War II, is located along Kamehameha Highway, the arterial highway which leads to Pearl Harbor from Honolulu.

The story has a refreshing crispness that almost matches that of the vegetable about which it is written.

I commend the newspaper article for the reading enjoyment of all:

[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, July 21, 1965]

WATERCRESS FARMS AT PEARL HARBOR

(By Betty Boxold)

It seems unlikely. But there it is. A watercress farm in the heart of the industrial area on Kamehameha Highway near Pearl Harbor.

Egrets know the way. The graceful white creatures wing in over the traffic-congested highway, sometimes singly, often in pairs. They search for insects in the cool running springs and gravel beds in which watercress thrives.

Pointing toward two grass shacks, Masaru Sumida, owner-manager of the 11-acre watercress farm, said "We're trying to preserve the old Polynesian effect.

"It takes time, but we're going in the opposite direction of the concrete jungle.

"Trees like those will never come down," he nodded in the direction of a huge monkeypod.

"The coconut shacks are just for esthetics. We're also planning a Filipino village for the wrokers. They are really happy about it.

"I showed them the plans. The houses will be much more attractive than drab barracks-type buildings," he said.

SUMIDA HEADS WATERCRESS GROUP

The enthusiastic Sumida is president of Watercress of Hawaii, Inc., a group of 20 farmers who produce more than 90 percent of Hawaii's watercress.

Most of the cress is grown on 27 acres of semi-swamp on the fringes of Pearl Harbor below Aiea.

However, negotiations are being concluded in Waiawa for leasing 60 acres for 35 years. "This will allow us to concentrate on the million-dollar west coast market.

"It's not profitable for us now, because we can only ship about 2 tons a week," he said.

Sumida's farm was started in 1928 by his father. The land lies directly above Kalauao Springs, with a measured flow of 27 million gallons a day.

RUNNING WATER VITAL FOR PLANTS

Clear, cold running water is vital for the growth of watercress. In all, some 80 million gallons of water flow into Pearl Harbor each day from several underground springs in the area.

Sumida estimates that the industry produces about 3 million pounds of watercress annually, bringing in more than $300,000.

Sumida recognizes happily that the demand for watercress is on the upswing.

He explained. "It's mainly due to the shift toward diet foods. People are watching their waistlines, and in a search for variety, discover that watercress peps up salads and a number of foods."

Most of the watercress grown in the area is on the market within 24 hours after harvesting.

VACUUM COOLER PREVENTS LOSSES

Losses are negligible. This is due to a $75,000 vacuum cooling plant installed in 1960.

"The losses were terrible before the machine. Machines are wonderful," Sumida said.

Watercress turns yellow and wilts quickly after harvesting. With the cooling plant, however, the cress stays fresh and crisp.

As the cress is brought in from the 40- by 80-foot beds, it is washed by hand ("We'll have a machine soon," said Sumida), packaged, placed in crates and put in the plant.

After the 4,000-pound door is automatically sealed, the temperature in the vacuum cooling plant drops to 37 degrees in less than 30 minutes.

SEVERAL TONS PROCESSED DAILY

Sumida said the plant processes 5 or 6 tons daily, 1 ton at a time.

Upon removal of the cress from the plant, the cress is transferred immediately by a forklift truck to a drive-in refrigerator.

Another reason production is up, Sumida said is due to a "new, but proven technology."

"We now use what we call 'ratoon cropping'. We used to clean out every plant, but now we cut off the watercress, leaving enough of the plant so that a new crop will spring up."

Apparently the trick is to control the water. Sumida said that young shoots used to be drowned in the water.

WATER CONTROL DEMONSTRATED

He demonstrated how easily the water can be controlled. Each bed, lined with gravel, is surrounded by a low tile wall. There are 2½ miles of tile walls or walkways on the Sumida farm. At intervals in the wall, tiles with holes are placed. When no more water is wanted in a particular bed, Sumida or a workman turns the tile so that the solid side prevents water from entering the bed.

While Sumida is supervising the growing and processing of watercress, his wife, Norma, takes care of the office work.

The oldest of the couple's four children, Charlotte, is a senior at Stanford, majoring in biology.

Stephen, a premedical student, is in his sophomore year at Amherst College in Massachusetts. David, 15, is a junior at Mid-Pacific Institute, and Barbara, 11 is a sixth-grader at Aiea Elementary School.

The Sumida children often help on the farm. "We lead an interesting life around here," Sumida said.

"You know, watercress and how it's grown attracts a lot of interest.

"Only this morning a man from Brazil was here, and tomorrow four ministers of agriculture from Japan are coming in."

Sumida calls watercress the "king of greens," because it has a distinctive, refreshing flavor all its own, and also, he said "no other vegetable has so many uses."

He pointed out that it can be used in hors d'oeuvres and desserts—and in just about everything between—such as soups, salads, meat and vegetable dishes, stuffings, sauces, sandwiches and omelets.

Adlai E. Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following from the Lewiston, Idaho, Tribune, Thursday, July 15, 1965:

I should have preferred to hear those words uttered by a stronger, wiser, better man than myself. The burdens of the Presidency stagger the imagination. Its potential for good and evil now and in the years of our lives smothers exultation and converts vanity to prayer.—Adlai E. Stevenson.

For millions of Americans and for uncounted millions more around this troubled world there is a sudden, yawning gulf now in the years of our lives.

Adlai E. Stevenson, surely the greatest American political leader never elected President in this generation, died as he lived—in the ceaseless, selfless service of humanity. If there exists in all this rich, resourceful land a stronger, wiser, better man than he the Nation and the world will need him now.

Stevenson's speech accepting the Democratic presidential nomination in 1952 probably was one of the most influential political speeches of this century. The doubters may dispute this assessment in the future as they did at the time Certainly the appraisal was not sustained by the election results that November. Yet, the effects of that speech profoundly influence national and world affairs even today. The Nation was introduced that historic evening to one of the great statesmen of the world.

For American liberals, longing since the death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt for a leader to express their principles and aspirations in articulate, inspiring language as well as protect them with sturdy deeds of the salty Truman years, the voice of Stevenson came as an electric shock. Here, obviously, was a great new orator. The magnificent prose enveloped complexities and subtleties long unfamiliar in American political campaigns. Here at long last was a spokesman for liberalism who seemed capable of illuminating the most intricate nuances of complex public issues without listing his directions or his faith in the capacity of the public to understand. The Stevenson acceptance speech created almost instantaneously the nucleus of perhaps the most devoted band of political followers as ever assembled in the 20th-century America.

Some of the eggheads in the liberal audience already knew, of course, the potential of this transcendent political personality. And the realists among them knew, even as they thrilled to his words, that he had only the remotest chance of defeating the beloved and trusted war hero, Gen. Dwight D. Eisensower. But they also knew that here was a man who would make a lasting impression upon the world, however, the election turned.

He made that impression in two major ways.

First, he elevated the style of American political campaigning even though he lost two presidential elections. The public might prefer for a time the homily verities, the oversimplification of complex issues into reassuring promises of peace and prosperity—at least if Mr. Eisenhower expressed them. But, millions of Americans had been captivated by the eloquence, wit and wisdom of Adlai Stevenson. Any presidential candidate who presumed to lead American liberals was obliged to sit awhile at the feet of its most articulate champion.

The scoffers derided this candidate who spoke over the heads of the public, of course, and Stevenson compromised his intellectual approach to a degree in his second campaign. But those two lost crusades were not really lost. They set the stage for the philosophy, the style and the political program of John F. Kennedy. Adlai Stevenson, more than any other American of this generation, raised the political maturity level of the American people.

His second great contribution, of course, was to the people of the world through the United Nations. He was superbly prepared for this role through long and brilliant service in the American Government and through penetrating studies in other lands. When he became U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations the smaller nations especially sent their representative to him as a warm and wise friend. He proved repeatedly in the fateful confrontations with the Communist bloc that he could be a stern defender of the free world's vital interests as well as the eloquent pleader for its ultimate dreams. This Nation and the whole free world's vital interests as well as the eloquent pleader for its ultimate dreams. This Nation and the whole free world tended to take him for granted, but the world sensed then and understands now that his was the greatest voice in the council of the nations.

So he labored, day after stormy day. He struggled ceaselessly with crises which threatened the survival of the world we know. He conferred endlessly with President Kennedy, President Johnson and Secretary of State Dean Rusk, speaking as a respected equal in the formulation of policy and espousing it with unmatched eloquence once a consensus had been reached. He worked constantly with delegations from all over the world. And he continued to present outside the United Nations those wise and witty speeches which audiences throughout the Nation and the world continued to demand.

It was too much to give, and so that marvelous intellect and deep compassion will live now only in his words and in the memories of the countless million who loved him. The President described him well: "A friend and guide to all mankind."

At the outset of his political career, impatient with the foolish critics who indiscriminately belabor politicians, Stevenson declared that politics is "the noblest career anyone can choose." He pledged to devote his life to "honest, sincere, courageous performance" for the public.

Now his life is ended, and millions who knew him or felt they knew him grieve. He was loved as much for his humility as for his nobility, and surely he hoped even at the last that "a stronger, wiser, better man" might stride forward to champion the cause of freedom in the council of nations. He hoped in vain. The world has lost one of the great men in history.

Calls Jersey Poverty War Best in United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to read in Wednesday's Newark Star-Ledger that New Jersey's antipoverty program has been called the best such program in the Nation by one of the leading urban study centers in the Nation.

This is nothing less than a testimony to the fine executive leadership of our Governor, the Honorable Richard J. Hughes, and to the high level of administration and innovation of the State Office of Economic Opportunity under the able guidance of Mr. John Bullitt.

With the poverty program under subjective attack from so many corners, it might be beneficial for the Economic Opportunity offices of other States to emulate the fine example set by New Jersey.

The article follows:

[From the Newark (N.J.) Star-Ledger, July 28, 1965]

CALLS JERSEY POVERTY WAR BEST IN UNITED STATES

New Jersey has the best antipoverty program of any State in the Nation, says the director of the Urban Studies Center at Rutgers.

John E. Bebout made the statement yesterday at the fourth annual National Community Development Conference at Rutgers.

Bebout noted that one of the reasons for the excellence of New Jersey's program is the amount of prestige bestowed on the State Office of Economic Opportunity by Governor Hughes.

"You are dealing with strong-minded people in the communities," said Bebout. "You must be on an equal basis in speaking with them."

Bebout also said the State antipoverty men have "raised other levels of State government by their presence here."

He later said he did not mean to reflect on the "excellence of other State agencies."

The conference continues through tomorrow.

Who Leads the Demonstrations?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks we have seen the exposure of a number of those who were prominent among those who have been leading the demonstrations and violence in the South. There have been molesters of young girls and others charged with embezzlement. Now, from the Mobile, Ala., Press-Register, I would like to include an editorial showing two more of the do-gooders as peddlers of dope.

NEW LIGHT ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Even though the whitewash has been applied heavily to silence stories reflecting upon the nature and conduct of civil rights invaders of Alabama and Mississippi, some evidence of substantiation is bobbing up these days.

Up in Rochester, N.Y., a young female teacher who went to Mississippi to "reform" its people has been arrested and charged with being part of an interstate narcotics ring which supplied marijuana to college students in the South and in Massachusetts.

According to Joe Giulioti, writing in the Record American, Boston, Susan Ryerson, 22, teacher in an exclusive Harley private school at Rochester, and Peter DeLisovoy, 22, a writer from Chicago, have been nabbed

following a 2-week investigation by police and postal authorities.

Giuliotti wrote, in part:

"During the investigation Det. Supt. Lucian DiGiovanni, of the Rochester vice squad, said his men uncovered a diary which told of sex and dope orgies in Mississippi during last summer's civil rights demonstrations.

"Also recovered was printed material and correspondence described as 'having strong left wing feeling.' "

The investigation was launched after postal authorities in North Carolina detected the smell of narcotics in letters mailed from Rochester.

This is all a matter of record. It makes those who scoffed at Representative WILLIAM L. DICKINSON's charges of indecent conduct by those on the Selma-Montgomery march look a bit silly.

Some do-gooders in this country had better look to their own way of living.

Supreme Court's Rulings a "Substantial Factor in Our Losing Crime War"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, on July 16, Prof. Rex A. Collings, Jr., a professor of law at the University of California Law School, known as Boalt Hall, spoke to the Commonwealth Club of California on the subject of "Supreme Court's Ruling a 'Substantial Factor in Our Losing Crime War.' "

Excerpts from his address, as published in the Commonwealth, follow, and I hope the new Crime Commission appointed by the President will give thought to the suggestions of Professor Collings.

[From the Commonwealth, July 26, 1965]

SUPREME COURT'S RULINGS A "SUBSTANTIAL FACTOR IN OUR LOSING CRIME WAR," SAYS PROFESSOR COLLINGS

(From address by Prof. Rex A. Collings, Jr., professor of law, University of California, Boalt Hall)

Not our trial courts but our supreme courts appear to be a substantial factor in creating the crime problem. How do we know there is a crime problem?

In 1954, the crime index (major crimes per 100,000 persons) in California was 1,062. By 1963 it rose to 1,726.5 or an increase of some 63 percent.

Crime in California is increasing over three times as fast as the population increases. The 1964 California figures are unavailable, but preliminary national figures show an increase of 13 percent over 1963.

One out of every 50 persons (counting infants) will commit a serious crime this year—murder, rape, robbery, burglary, aggravated assault, larceny, or auto theft. During the 1954–63 period adult arrests for all felonies increased only 14 percent and complaints filed 12 percent on the basis of population. It cannot be questioned that we are losing the crime war.

CRIME INCREASED SINCE "EXCLUSIONARY RULE"

Why choose the 1954 base? They are the statistics of 10 years ago, but they also represent what was going on before California adopted the exclusionary rule; the doctrine that evidence obtained by an illegal search and seizure is no longer to be admitted in a criminal trial: "illegality" being determined after the fact and after considered judicial determination, and not in the light of what the peace officer was trying to do in an emergency situation.

Peace officers are required to play by the rules of the game, but the rules are often overturned by the courts.

MARQUIS OF QUEENSBURY RULES FOR CRIME

Yet catching criminals is not a game to be played by arbitrary rules, especially developed by judges with no down-to-earth contact with the problems involved. It is war—any attempt to apply Marquis of Queensbury rules to crime is utter naivete. Peace officers need workable rules—not constant change.

The Chapman decision set the climate. The landlord noticed an odor of whisky mash. The lease permitted his entry to the apartment. He notified police. But a mistrial was declared due to unreasonable search and seizure—peace officers should have had a warrant. In the words of Mr. Bumble: "the law is a ass—a idiot" in permitting such a situation. I could cite hundreds of equally absurd cases.

Last year, during a talk to a group of arson investigators, I raised looks of doubt when asking them if they'd ever considered that they might not have the right to enter a burning building to look for evidence of arson—or especially the next day.

WHY PUNISH ALL?

Several weeks ago my daughter came home saying she had to write a 1,500-word theme to turn in the next day—everybody in the class had the same assignment. When asked why, she said it was because one boy in class had been causing trouble. Why punish everybody for the mistakes of one person? And why punish all citizens because of the mistake of one peace officer?

Mallory v. *McNab* involved a case where a woman who was doing laundry in the basement of her apartment building was forcibly raped. Three youths, similar in appearance, lived in the basement. The woman told officers that her assailant looked like one of these boys.

CONFESSION DISALLOWED

The youths were caught about 4 p.m. the following day. Following a 2-hour delay, during which police were trying to find a polygraph operator, the boys were subjected to a polygraph test. After 8 hours (including time spent looking for the polygraph operator) the woman's assailant confessed.

He was booked about midnight and arraigned the following morning. Later the Supreme Court held that his confession was inadmissible as evidence—that "arraignment should be done without unnecessary delay."

By this judge-made rule, Mallory went free to rape again—which he did—subsequently being convicted and sentenced to 20 years.

Even if police practices were wrong in this case, why punish all of us? The Mallory decision has not been applied to the States. Do you want to bet it will not be, by a 5-to-4 decision of the Court?

California's Supreme Court overturned another decision: In the case of Morse, where the defendant killed his mother and then his sister, the judge instructed the jury to be mindful of the fact that the defendant could be paroled after a 7-year waiting period. The California Supreme Court called for a sentence review. Now, by extension, all prisoners on death row could get new penalty trials.

COURT ABOLISHES DEATH PENALTY

Judges no longer believe in capital punishment, apparently. The supreme court did what the legislature has been unable to do—put a moratorium on capital punishment.

The courts are supposed to enforce the law, not be a second legislature. Consider the effect on the morale and work of our law enforcement people of this kind of judicial obstruction. Each reversal of a judicial decision means a new penalty trial taking 6 weeks or more.

In some cases the courts call for retrials as many as three times. District attorney personnel throughout the State are concerned—they can be used for better purposes than retrials.

All of us remember the Chessman case—he was sentenced in 1948 and executed in 1960. He had numerous retrials, many of them on the basis of mere technicalities. Justice Douglas declared that Chessman was "playing a game with the courts while facts were growing old."

The writ of habeas corpus is unavailable to convicts in England. It has been made available to U.S. convicts by the U.S. Supreme Court. Thus there is a lack of finality in our judicial system. The defendant can appeal and obtain writs time after time. And why should a Federal trial judge review actions of a State supreme court?

In England trials are prompt and seldom go on to retrial. If they do, hearings are prompt.

BRITISH JUDGES MORE REALISTIC

England has no crime problem comparable to ours. It has no federal system and no supreme court engaged in a struggle to substitute all-powerful central government for local autonomy. And British judges are too realistic to enforce their rules arbitrarily. They treat them as guides for police rather than as an attempt to cut down on the power of trial judges. Rejection of a confession made in violation of the rules is rare and never automatic. There must be some showing of unfair or oppressive police activity.

A case can go all the way to the House of Lords and be decided in 6 months.

In one area, our courts have practically wiped out police activity—and that is obscenity. Obscenity has been defined by the courts as being "utterly without redeeming social importance." On this basis the courts held that Henry Miller's "Tropic of Cancer" was not obscene.

I could write a novel of nothing but descriptions of sex acts. As long as I made the character repent on the last page it would have redeeming social importance. Things like the topless and bottomless bathing suits and the filthy speech movement at Berkeley grow out of court decisions such as these.

CONVICT DOESN'T KNOW RIGHTS?

In the Dorado case, the Supreme Court of California reversed the death penalty conviction. Dorado, a lifer, maliciously assaulted a fellow convict who died and the death penalty was mandatory. The ground for reversal was that he had not been properly warned of his rights to counsel and to remain silent prior to his confession and that as a result his confession was not admissible in evidence.

I doubt if there's a person in San Quentin who is not well aware of both rights.

Our California constitution (and all of the justices are sworn to uphold it) provides in article VI, section 4.5, that a conviction cannot be set aside on the ground of improper admission of evidence unless, after examining the entire case and the evidence, the court feels that an alleged error has resulted in a miscarriage of justice. The three dissenting justices in Dorado thought that the new rule, assuming it to be law, did not justify setting aside the conviction. The majority refused even to consider this question.

Recently a very distinguished legal scholar, Bernard Witkin, told students at Stanford that our courts have adopted a new doctrine of reversible error per se. They reverse convictions of a guilty person because of minor errors in apprehension and prosecution. He said that courts should not try to reform police practices in this way. Such practices

if wrong should be reformed administratively.

OUR PARKS ARE GONE

Twenty-five years ago I, or a girl for that matter, could with complete security walk around Lake Merritt or through the Berkeley campus late at night. Around the same time, I used to wander around Washington, D.C., at night with a feeling of complete security. Today only a fool would attempt this. Is there a member of the Supreme Court of the United States or of California who dares to try any of these things today?

Our parks are gone. Murders are being committed in Central Park in New York City in the daytime. Are not these the prices of Cahan, Dorado, and their ilk?

Recently U.S. News & World Report reported that the Supreme Court of the United States has made arrangements to see that their secretaries who work at night will be accompanied to their homes by police officers.

Our courts should quit having their weird and wonderful solicitude for criminals and work toward a goal of creating a safe community to live in.

ANSWERS TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS FROM FLOOR

Question. Doesn't policeman have to be a lawyer now?

Answer. Yes, almost has to be. Trying to keep abreast of new decisions and inform officers a huge task.

Question. How assure citizen constitutional treatment in jail?

Answer. Question whether it's unconstitutional or not. Supreme Court creating new constitutional rights. Haven't allowed duress for 30 years.

Question. Distortions of truth by police and defendants sometimes goes both ways?

Answer. Occasionally defendants tell truth and police stretch it. Courts usually adept at ascertaining truth.

Question. Courts losing sight of article 4.5?

Answer. Recently 10 cases reversed on basis of Dorado decision; two cases where courts refused a reversal. Supreme Court will probably rescind the latter actions.

Question. Constitutional amendment to restore latitude to State courts?

Answer. It's already there—the forgotten 10th amendment.

Question. Capital punishment a deterrent to crime?

Answer. Probably but not when it takes 12 years to be effective.

Question. How protect public from unconstitutional search and seizure?

Answer. As police administration improves, no reason can't control this. Exclusionary rule probably here to stay. Probably 90 percent of police officers in California now have malpractice insurance.

Lavish Brochure Shows Beauty of Lake Powell on Colorado

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to place in the RECORD an article from the Palo Verde Valley Times in Blythe, Calif., concerning a booklet being distributed by the Palo Verde Irrigation District. This booklet is certainly worthy of attention. It shows the natural beauty of Lake Powell and the Colorado River area.

I hope as many people as possible get the opportunity to view this area either in person or through this magnificent brochure.

The article follows:

LAVISH BROCHURE SHOWS BEAUTY OF LAKE POWELL ON COLORADO

A lavishly illustrated 32-page booklet now being distributed by the Palo Verde irrigation district expounds the beauties of Lake Powell.

Termed in the U.S. Government booklet as "jewel of the Colorado," Lake Powell, formed by water backed up into Utah by Glen Canyon Dam, not only holds working water but is also a beautiful recreation area.

NAMED FOR EXPLORER

The manmade lake, part of the water storage for a project encompassing four States, was named for John Wesley Powell, who explored the length of the "Big Red" as early as 1869.

Stewart L. Udall, secretary of the U.S. Department of the Interior, writes in his foreword: "Once in a blue moon we come upon almost unbelievable beauty. Such was my reaction at my first sight of Lake Powell and its setting of incomparable grandeur. Lake Powell holds working water, but it also is a new and major national recreational area. The blue waters and the sculptured shore hold something for all—the fun and excitement of fishing, boating and water sports, or healing solitude in the midst of natural beauty."

Opposite Udall's comments is a verse by Gordon Michelle, which is a fitting comment on the many color photographs portraying the lake and its surroundings, as well as an answer to critics who deplore the changing natural settings.

"Dear God, did you cast down 200 miles of canyon and mark: 'For poets only'? Multitudes hunger for a lake in the sun."

RIVER TAMED

The text of the brochure points out that the western land as it is known today would be a barren waste if it weren't for man's development of the Colorado River. Not until the 20th century was the river tamed so that its water could be stored and regulated.

Glen Canyon Dam, which made Lake Powell possible, is 1 of 4 main water storage and regulating units, and 11 smaller projects. The system, now nearly complete, will store 35 million acre-feet of water and be able to generate 1.3 million kilowatts of electric power. The brochure explains that this will be no burden on the American taxpayer, as more than 90 percent of construction costs will be paid for by water and power sales and be returned to the U.S. Treasury. With completion of the entire Colorado River storage project, floods of any kind will be impossible.

WINS AWARD

The brochure points out that 186-mile long Lake Powell is now filling behind Glen Canyon Dam, which rises over 500 feet from the canyon floor. The dam was winner in national competition for an engineering achievement award in 1964.

The shoreline of the lake will total 1,860 miles, and will make possible the development of 10 recreation centers by the National Park Service, including famous Rainbow Natural Bridge, formerly almost inaccessible. Hundreds of side canyons can now be explored because of their proximity to the lake.

AREA'S FUTURE

Also brought up is the future of the area, involving water needs for an area which has been experiencing a population explosion.

Financed by the sale of power, consideration of other dams, Bridge Canyon and Marble Canyon, is under study by Congress. It is pointed out that neither project will be harmful to the grandeur of Grand Canyon.

Lake Powell, a photographer's paradise, as shown by the illustrations in the brochure, is just another step in the complete taming of the Colorado.

Repeal of Section 14(b) of the Labor-Management Relations Act

SPEECH

OF

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 77) to repeal section 14(b) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended and section 705(b) of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 and to amend the first proviso of section 8(a) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Chairman, this is a day I have long awaited. While I would like to have the opportunity to cast a vote repealing the Taft-Hartley Act completely, it is somewhat satisfying to be able to vote for the repeal of section 14(b) which permitted States to pass legislation to outlaw organized labor.

Today the majority of our people who make up the work force of our Nation enjoy good working conditions, vacations with pay, holidays, a 40-hour week, premium pay for overtime work, workmen's compensation coverage as well as unemployment compensation—should they be forced to give up a job—and many other benefits too numerous to mention.

And, today, almost all of our people have better living conditions, better educational opportunities, better health facilities, and a better life during retirement. For those who have been less forunate this Nation has gone on record and declared "war on poverty" and their future will be brighter with each passing year. I often wonder, Mr. Chairman, how many people realize that many of the benefits we accept so readily are the results of many years of work on the part of organized labor?

In the early thirties this Nation—with its unemployed, its soup kitchens, its breadlines, its general financial decline, its business failures, its bank closings, its destitute outlook—its people, at that time would have accepted any form of government as did the people of Germany, Italy and other foreign nations.

However, our leader—President Roosevelt—believed in capitalism and free enterprise. He wanted to keep it and make it work. With the passage of the Wagner Act, our people were permitted to organize labor unions and bargain collectively and share the profits of their work. The working people of America then became a part of our capitalistic system, and they, too, wanted to see it work.

Organized labor is not just interested in wages and hours—it works just as hard to improve the conditions affecting the young and the old. It endorses and fights for legislation to help the unorganized worker just as much as it does

for the organized worker. It knows that the Nation cannot grow and prosper if the people of the Nation are denied the necessary opportunities.

The expensive and concerted campaign of those opposing the repeal of this section of the Taft-Hartley Act cannot succeed. This is no time to turn back the clock—nor even maintain the status quo. If poverty is to be eliminated and our economy continues to expand, the right to organize and bargain collectively, must be assured. This is what the working people of America want and I trust the Members will get the message.

Surplus Federal Lands for Park Use

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

MEMORIAL TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

To the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States in legislative session assembled: We, the cities of Bremerton, Everett, Seattle, and Tacoma and the counties of King, Kitsap, Pierce, and Snohomish, comprising the membership of the Puget Sound Governmental Conference, respectfully represent and petition as follows:

Whereas the President has said: "We must make a massive effort to save the countryside and establish—as a green legacy for tomorrow—more large and small parks, more seashores and open spaces than have been created during any period in our history"; and

Whereas within urban areas, open space which can readily be converted to park and recreational uses has become nearly nonexistent; and

Whereas it is extremely difficult and costly to everyone involved to convert highly developed land to open space use; and

Whereas Federal law even now provides for grants to cities and counties in urban areas to aid in creating parks, squares, malls, and playgrounds: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Puget Sound Governmental Conference, That the Puget Sound Governmental Conference respectfully petition the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States in legislative session assembled to enact the necessary Federal laws or amendments to existing Federal laws to provide that: When Federal land, especially land used for military reservations, is declared surplus to the needs of the Military Establishment and thus becomes available to be disposed of by the General Services Administration; and when that land lies within urban areas; and when that land is admirably suited to park, recreation, open space or other public uses; and when the city and/or county wherein it lies has a comprehensive plan and the ability to develop the land for those purposes, that the land then be made available to the city and/or county with a public benefit allowance of up to 100 percent.

Adopted by the Puget Sound Governmental Conference this 8th day of July 1965.

Dr. Walter Heller's Talents Continue To Serve America in Recent Chicago Speech

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Walter Heller, former chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers and presently Professor of Economics at the University of Minnesota, made a stimulating and penetrating speech on "The Future of Our Fiscal System" to the 14th annual Business Economists Conference in Chicago recently.

Dr. Heller made an outstanding record as economic adviser to two Presidents; his active participation in the income tax reductions in 1964 is also well known and appreciated.

In this forthright and brilliant analysis of our present economic position and a prognosis of future development, Dr. Heller outlines a good many ideas on achieving full employment goals, problems created by increasing Government revenues in a boom period, recent effects of tax cuts, and future tax cuts and tax reform. Much needed attention is centered on Federal revenue transfers to State and local governments, greater Federal aid to air and water pollution control, urban blight, and the removal of the curse of poverty which has spawned crime, illiteracy, and decay in American life.

Mr. Speaker, I believe Dr. Heller's lucid and timely statement will be of interest to many Members.

The statement by Dr. Heller follows:

THE FUTURE OF OUR FISCAL SYSTEM

(An address by Walter W. Heller, professor of economics, University of Minnesota, to the 14th annual Business Economists Conference, University of Chicago, April 29, 1965)

To speak on "The Future of Our Fiscal System" is clearly biting off more than one can chew—especially after a good dinner. Yet, a time when professional economists are basking in the warm glow of a tax-cut prosperity which may have raised our stature even more than it raised the gross national product may be precisely the time when we should look to our laurels and ask:

First, what unfinished and recurring fiscal business should we be getting on with?

Second, what future shifts in fiscal direction and emphasis may be needed, e.g., should the relative shift in national—and, especially, Democratic—economic policy emphasis since 1960 from expenditure increase to tax reduction and from consumption stimulus to investment stimulus be maintained, modified, or perhaps even reversed

As we tackle the fiscal issues that now confront us, we can draw on some rather impressive assets and gains achieved in recent years:

A 4-year demonstration that policies to serve different economic goals need not work at cross-purposes—that with a proper mix of consumption and investment stimulus, an expansionary fiscal policy can move us toward full employment and faster growth and at the some time further the ends of price stability and payments equilibrium.

Most dramatically, the demonstrated success of a tax cut which symbolizes the shift from an antirecession, shock-absorbing fiscal policy to an antigap, economic-propulsion policy. Business Week said it this way last month: "It isn't often that the United States can look back on a major change in Government policy and find absolutely no grounds for criticism."

A growing confidence—indeed, in part, self-confidence—in the economists' ability to estimate the U.S. economy's potential and its performance gap, its growth rate, its income-consumption and demand-unemployment relations—a confidence based increasingly on the test of the marketplace, the policy firing line, though note that I do not extend my claim to gross national product forecasting in spite of the Government's on-target forecasting record since 2 years ago this month when the 1963 forecast was revised to $583 billion.

A growing acceptance of the essential role of Government in influencing the level of demand through positive fiscal and monetary policies, and a recognition that this can be done without destroying, endangering, or in any way limiting individual freedom of choice—and the resulting development of a closer government-business partnership.

An ebbing of fears that so often in the past caused our economic policy "to be sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought."—the fear that budget deficits necessarily spell inflation, insolvency, and irresponsibility—the fear that a growing national debt would burden our children and grandchildren and bring on national bankruptcy, even though it has shrunk from 116 percent of gross national product in 1947 to under 50 percent today, the fear that fiscal planning, however prudent, necessarily spells growing centralization of power in Washington.

These advances give us guidance and encouragement in coping with our future fiscal problems—but they don't solve those problems for us.

We have moved steadily and strongly toward fuller resource utilization and faster growth without any of the inflation, the structural bottlenecks, and the excesses feared by men of little faith in the power and resiliency of the American economy.

But we are not yet at full employment, we face a vast inpouring of new labor, new plant capacity, and new technology that must be matched with rising demand, we have a fiscal system which generates such fast-growing revenues at the Federal level that our economic health is threatened by a recurring "fiscal drag," and such slow-growing revenues (relative to needs) at the State-local level that our political health is threatened by a recurring fiscal lag.

We may well find that today's mix of consumption and investment stimulus, of tax cuts and spending increase, of payroll tax increases and income tax cuts does not fit tomorrow's economic needs—nor tomorrow's citizen preferences.

We have much yet to do to free our tax structure—and especially our income tax—of its impediments to an efficient flow of capital, its unlike treatment of like incomes, and its excessive burdens on small incomes.

We have yet to gear both our tax legislative process and our executive spending process—including, in part, our social security system—to the swift actions and shifts that may be needed to deal with surprises in an imperfect economic world, and in particular, to forestall recessions or nip them in the bud.

If this list of unfinished and recurring business seems to write a tough agenda for my remarks this evening, it is meant to.

THE FEDERAL FISCAL BALANCE

Let me plunge into the midide of today's fiscal policy problem by stating my belief that there is a rather strong presumption

for maintaining roughly the recent degree of fiscal stimulus; i.e., a fiscal policy geared to maintaining roughly a balanced budget at full employment and calling for further fiscal action to cut excise taxes and boost expenditures in line with President Johnson's recommendations. Three considerations lead me to this belief.

First, we are approaching our full employment target from below—from a job picture that may be the best in 7 years, but one that still finds us with 3½ million, or 4.7 percent of our labor force unemployed. Perhaps I should put it this way: Under these conditions, a budget that is too stimulative for full-employment-equilibrium growth will simply get us there sooner, while too restrictive a budget will not get us there at all.

Second, I am reassured by the record of this past year of the tax cut: We moved briskly toward full employment—as gross national product rose $40 billion and unemployment dropped from 5.4 percent to 4.7 percent, representing an increase of more than 1.6 million jobs—while maintaining an excellent record of price stability and wage moderation.

Obviously, at 4.7 percent unemployment, we cannot say we have a conclusive test of our 4-percent full employment bench mark and its attendant Phillips curve assumptions. What we can say is: So far, so good, adding that the 5 percenters have already been proved wrong, while we, interim 4 percenters, have not. And the progressive step-up in man power programs to shape our square pegs to fit into round holes rather than simply to force them in by aggregate demand measures alone, may well be reducing the critical unemployment level at which we have to choose between further shrinkage of unemployment and untenable increases in the price level.

Third, bitter experience shows that there is nothing easier than letting the full employment surplus grow. Time, in the guise of ever-increasing productivity and rapid additions of young new workers to the labor force—from over 77 million today, the labor force will rise to 86 million by 1970 and 101 million by 1980—will rapidly raise the full-employment surplus unless deliberate and repeated steps are taken to prevent it.

The situation, in short, is decidedly asymmetric—time works against the correction of overly restrictive plans and for the corrections of overly stimulative ones.

Whether budget balance at full employment, rather than a deficit or surplus, will continue to be the right policy target in the years ahead, I am not prepared to say. For one thing, I assume that Jim Tobin settled that question at this afternoon's session, which I had to miss. Second, I do not believe that proper policymaking forces us to decide now which is the right target for later years. If we continue moving toward full employment, waiting will provide much of the information that analysis can at best approximate.

Thus, by 1968 we will be in a much better position to assess the strength of investment demand for 1969 and 1970 than we are now. We will also know by then whether the better balance-of-payments situation we expect will, in fact, materialize, and thereby give us greater freedom to choose, if we wish, an easier monetary policy combined with a tighter budget policy. And we will know whether the harvesting of our postwar baby crop, economically speaking, will boost our propensity to consume. But as a current working assumption, I will stick to the present standard of a balanced budget at full employment.

Looking backward to 1960 for a moment, we find that the full employment, or potential surplus had grown to an estimated $13 billion, a level that not only had a lot to do with the 1960 recession but threatened to hold unemployment at high levels. To achieve full employment with a potential surplus of that size, I estimate that business fixed investment would have had to be about 12.3 percent of potential gross national product, or roughly 40 percent higher than its actual rate of $47.3 billion in 1960. This is an investment fraction entirely out of line with our relevant experience.

But starting in 1961, substantial expenditure increases and tax reductions began to remove the fiscal overburden. Defense and space spending rose sharply, and public sector civilian programs rose more modestly. At the same time, the 7-percent investment credit and liberalized depreciation stimulated capital formation and productivity growth in the private sector. These measures cut the potential surplus in half, to $6.5 billion, by 1962.

Yet by mid-1962, it was clear that the potential surplus was still far too large—and this conclusion was underscored by the faltering pace of economic expansion. Major income tax cuts were the next big fiscal step, coupled with some further rise in spending. Delays in enacting the tax cut let the potential surplus rise again during 1963, but the tax cut—worth $14 billion in terms of this year's incomes—brought full employment revenues down to the level of full-employment expenditures.

In passing, let me hand a bouquet to the consumer, whose performance was the statistical bedrock on which our forecasts of the tax cut's impact were founded. His remarkable steadiness in spending between 92 and 94 percent of his disposable income year in and year out since 1949—in years of rising income, falling income, rising taxes, falling taxes—was the prime basis for our projection that a $10 billion tax cut, at 1962–63 income levels, was the right amount to bring out the bounty of higher output, jobs, and profits without arousing the beast of inflation. The consumer has maintained his splendid record with a savings rate in the past five quarters which moved from 7 to 7.9 to 7.1 to 8 to 6.8 percent. He not only stayed within his reliable range, but responded to increases in disposable income with less delay than many expected.

But fiscal dynamics are such that we could not rest on our oars for even a single year. To keep a new full-employment surplus from slowing down expansion, the President's fiscal programs for calendar 1965 provided:

Tax cuts which are releasing about $2 billion into private hands this year, $1 billion of it via the second stage of the corporate income tax cut and another $1 billion through new excise tax cuts.

Expenditure increases of $5 billion in the form of added social security benefits and higher Government purchases and grants.

The total of these two roughly matches the trend growth of Federal cash receipts.

FISCAL DRAG AND FISCAL DIVIDENDS

Last year's tax cut and this year's projected fiscal program, then, have largely removed the full-employment surplus. But next year, and the year after, and the year after that, it will again and again rear its ugly head in the form of a growing fiscal drag, or its lovely head in the form of recurring fiscal dividends. I refer here, of course, to the automatic growth of Federal revenues, not to such occasional jolts as the prospective rise of payroll taxes by $5 billion a year next January 1.

The crux of the matter is that, at existing Federal tax rates, our normal economic growth of about 4 percent a year in real terms—about 5.5 percent in current prices—currently generates added cash receipts of about $7 billion a year, rising to nearly $9 billion a year at the end of the decade. Of this amount, perhaps $1.5 billion today and nearly $2 billion a year by 1970 will be absorbed by the roughly 6 percent annual growth in social security benefits under existing programs. So we are dealing, on an administrative budget basis, with an average automatic growth of over $6 billion a year in Federal revenues.

Existing tax rates would produce nearly $35 billion more in revenue in 1970 than they do today. Apart from the debt retirement that will become appropriate as demand again strains our productive resources, this huge growth will enable us to declare generous fiscal dividends in the form of support for vital new or expanded Federal programs, well-timed tax cuts, more generous transfers of funds to hard-pressed State and local governments, perhaps even a helping hand to the social security system.

The choices we make among these alternatives will profoundly affect the future of our fiscal system.

Expenditures

I start with the basic assumption that added civilian expenditures will absorb perhaps half of the automatic increase in revenue—or somewhere between $15 and $20 billion of the $35 billion available to us between now and 1970. My figure is based partly on a projection of the past increases in civilian expenditures—outlays for purposes other than defense and space have risen by an average of about $2 billion annually, whether measured from 1953 or 1960 to the present. To this I add an allowance for the pickup in tempo implicit in the programs for the Great Society. It is worth noting that even with a $3 billion annual increase, or roughly 3 percent annually, Federal expenditures would continue to decline as a percent of gross national product, having already declined from 17.2 percent in fiscal year 1959 to 15.2 percent in fiscal year 1965 on a budget basis and 20.3 percent to 19 percent on a cash basis.

But I will not take refuge in mere projections. The polluted air I breathe in many large cities, the polluted Lake Michigan and Puget Sound beaches I used to swim in as a boy—here, I see the problem as one of affluents versus affluence—progressive urban decay, the blight of human poverty amidst plenty, the vanishing wilderness, the uneven struggle between beauty and ugliness in American life, the excessive incidence of illiteracy, crime, and delinquency—not to mention more mundane things like the flooding Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers and the bumps and potholes in Minneapolis streets—all these reach out for a larger share of that $6 billion-plus annual dividend, either by direct programs or by more generous transfers to State-local government.

How else are we going to gain control of our public environment, rather than letting it control us in a "half-finished society," to use the graphic phrases of Faltermeyer's recent Fortune article? How else can we make progress toward a society that will not only be large and productive but great and good?

But the matter goes beyond your value preferences and mine. It asks also whether our growth targests require that we put more of our savings into public investments—both in intangible investments in education, research and development, and technological advance and such tangible investments as atomic energy, urban and regional development, conservation, and other public works. To strike the optimum balance with out increment in private fixed investment—which now appears to be hitting close to 10 percent of gross national product in response to new investment stimulating policies and higher levels of demand—may well require higher public investment.

Transfers to State-local government

And since I have just mentioned the claims of the State and local governments, let me briefly plead their case and, in the process, pose a basic question about the future of our national fiscal system.

The essence of the case is a fiscal mismatch:

The supply of readily available Federal revenues is rising faster than the demands on the Federal purse.

The State-local situation is reversed—expenditure demands are rising faster than the readily available revenue supply.

Evidence? While Federal outlays have been rising more slowly than Gross National Product, State-local expenditures rose nearly 9 percent per year, or almost double the Gross National Product rise from 1953 to 1963. They rose from $28 billion in 1953 to $65 billion in 1963. State spending alone rose from $12 billion to $28 billion.

No let-up is in sight:

Demography burdens State-local budgets, not just by the 19 percent overall population increase from 1953 to 1963, but the 40 percent rise in the 5 to 19 age group and the 29 percent rise in the over 65 group.

Mobility and urbanization call for even more new schools, sewers, roads, parks.

Prosperity generates demands for better schools, roads, mental hospitals—faster than it generates new State-local revenues.

Price trends, for example, on construction and the services of teachers have also worked against State-local budgets.

Looking ahead, Joseph A. Pechman at Brookings has projected State-local expenditures at a possible $103 billion in 1970—a 7 percent growth rate—with receipts, including "normal" growth in Federal grants, rising only to $88 billion. This would leave a $15 billion gap to be closed by new State-local tax boosts.

No doubts, State and local bodies can and will do more to tax themselves—e.g., States doubled the collections from their own sources between 1953 and 1963. But their handicaps are serious: Limited jurisdiction, less-than-optimal administrative size, and constitutional barriers; interstate competition, the fears of driving out or keeping out industry and wealth; great disparities in economic and hence taxable capacity; already heavy reliance on tax sources that are not very responsive to economic growth.

Yet, in the face of these barriers, the fact remains that many of functions essential to a great, good, and growing society are carried out by State-local government: education, community development, mental and physical health, recreation, welfare, the list is not short.

On simple grounds, then, of redressing the fiscal balance there's much to be said for a more generous allotment of Federal funds to the States and localities by methods which will strengthen their independence as well as their capacity to serve their citizens.

But more than that, what kind of a fiscal system do we want? One in which—to put it in extremes—we dismantle the progressive and comparatively equitable Federal income taxes while we lean ever more heavily on regressive and comparatively inequitable State-local property, sales and excise taxes? Or one which relies on fiscally potent Federal income taxes to relieve some of the pressure on our weaker and poorer taxes?

Social security support

A similar question arises in relation to social security payroll taxes. How far should we go in further income tax cuts, side by side with payroll tax increases which bear most heavily on lower-income groups and on consumption and which increase employers' costs of providing jobs? I do not deny that if these taxes have to be paid to achieve protection against the vicissitudes of old age, unemployment, and ill health, they are indeed a good bargain for those who are protected.

But as leeway develops in the Federal tax system, strengthening our system of income maintenance without correspondingly increasing payroll taxes deserves serious consideration as an alternative to deeper income tax cuts. In particular, a program to strengthen unemployment compensation by tapping the income tax as a revenue source—at the same time, tightening unemployment standards to end abuses—has much to recommend it as a means of strengthening the economy and easing burdens on small incomes without boosting business costs.

Tax cuts

We are paying roughly $17 billion less in income taxes on this year's income than we would have without the 1962 and 1964 tax measures, which cut both corporate and individual income taxes by nearly 20 percent. No such massive cuts are in the cards for the next 5 years. But even with generous provision for the dividend claims already reviewed, the $35 billion potential revenue growth by 1970 leaves room for tax reduction—not just this year's $2 billion or more of excise tax cuts, but further income and excise tax cuts in the future.

I need not dwell on the claims of the tax cutters of the future. They will take care of themselves. They will point out—and rightly so—that tax cuts will boost private demand, vitalize free markets and private incentives, provide added funds for private capital formation, and lubricate further tax reform. To this, I am moved to reply: "I know, I know—yet as a teacher, I can only hope that the tax cut lesson has been learned wisely, but not too well."

The choices among the various forms of fiscal dividends won't be easy, but they must be made one way or another, or the potential dividends will disappear in economic slack and slowed growth.

They are essentially pleasant choices, aimed not at the lesser evil but the greater good, to borrow a phrase.

In part, they are economic choices because some pack more punch than others, dollar-for-dollar, in acheiving full employment and growth. But in greater part, the proper mix depends on the country's social and political priorities rather than on its economic priorities.

CHANGES IN TAX STRUCTURE

Some changes in tax structure are implicit in the ways we choose to declare fiscal dividends. And an atmosphere of further Federal tax reduction will facilitate other changes in the interest of both equity and economic efficiency. Let me comment on a few issues of tax structure and reform that should command our attention.

Distribution by type of tax and income size

Our choices among alternative tax forms and alternative burden distributions under the income tax will depend, as we all know, on our equity preferences, our economic objectives, and our appraisal of the effectiveness of various tax measures in achieving them.

Vertical equity

The Revenue Act of 1964 made a negligible change in the progressivity of the individual income tax. Yet cutting this tax while raising others reduces overall tax progressivity—and we are not only boosting State-local sales, excise, and property taxes but raising Federal employment taxes from 7¼ percent to 8.7 percent next year and to a projected 10 percent by 1970. I see no reason to accelerate this trend by installing a broad-based consumption or value-added tax, as some are proposing, at the Federal level.

Indeed, we should be more concerned with the provision of tax relief for low-income taxpayers. Not only has the gradual price creep made our exemption levels inadequate, but rising productivity and rising average standards of living continually raise the level of income which we regard as too small to warrant an income tax liability, especially in the light of mounting payroll and indirect taxes.

So I agree with Douglas Dillon that, in addition to the 1964 action on a minimum standard deduction and splitting of the first bracket, "both interests of tax fairness, as well as the need to lighten the burden of true poverty, call for further action."

Economic efficiency

Economic efficiency in taxation is in part a matter of removing unwanted interferences with the free and efficient flow of resources. I say "unwanted" because the Nation obviously wants to use its tax mechanism to stimulate resource flows into certain uses—e.g., philanthropic undertakings, plant and equipment, and home ownership—and is willing to pay subsidies for the favored pursuits at the cost of higher taxes on the non-favored ones.

But these subsidies, like those made through the appropriations process, should be subjected to periodic, if not continuous, review and revision as priorities change.

Secretary Dillon last month also urged that we adopt constructive realization of capital gains at death to remove a distortion in the efficient flow of investment funds (as well as to gain a fairer sharing of burdens). Again, I fully agree.

And Richard Goode has made a persuasive case for deductions or amortization allowances to students for their intangible investments in higher education or vocational training.

Special capital gains preferences, depletion allowances, and a host of other income tax differentials also call for continuing review—as to their economic rationale and effectiveness as well as their equity implications. All this is an old story—but worth constant retelling, lest we forget.

A newer story is the shift of national and Democratic policy toward private investment stimulus in response to these inescapable facts of economic life:

The pressing need to deepen capital to step up productivity and thereby serve the ends of faster growth, price stability, and international competitiveness.

The need to widen capital, to enlarge capacity to accommodate a rising rate of growth of total demand and of our labor supply.

In the face of these needs, the post-1957 sag of new direct private investment from its earlier postwar levels of 10 percent and 11 percent of gross national product to only 9 percent of gross national product.

My guess is that these and related factors should keep tax policy tilted somewhat toward investment stimulus—of course, not neglecting the role of markets as the ultimate incentive for investment—for some time to come. But we should not rule out eventual shifts:

We seem to have climbed to the 10 percent of gross national product level, as already noted.

The Hickman study, for one, suggests that a falling capital-output ratio may weaken full-employment investment demands.

But this study—by Bert Hickman for the Brookings Institution—has not yet produced a consensus on the rise in productivity of capital goods. Hickman himself considers a range of alternative assumptions about things such as replacement rates and the relative price of capital goods, and the implications for investment demands turn out to be quite sensitive. There have also been other studies of the investment demand issue with somewhat different results.

In our present situation, a move to full employment should find investment demands stronger than their trend values. We started from a long period of excess capacity in most industries during which capital formation had clearly not proceeded at its full-employment rate. As a result, the actual capital stock is further from the desired stock than it would otherwise have been. I don't claim that we should expect to make up all the investment we have missed since the mid-fifties, but neither

would I expect to find that the desired full-employment capital stock had been adjusted down to the actual stock through all these years. Also, as already suggested, with labor force growth accelerating, the share of investment in gross national product will be larger than projections from earlier and slower potential growth periods would suggest.

So, I repeat: today's and tomorrow's investment needs continue to call for the more solicitous tax treatment of recent years. But we should keep in mind the possibility that the day after tomorrow's economy may again call for tipping the balance, relatively, toward consumption.

Our net assessment of these investment factors will also have obvious and important implications for the size of the full-employment surplus or deficit. But that is another story.

Horizontal equity

The Revenue Acts of 1962 and 1964 reversed a long unbroken trend toward more and more income tax preferences. The overall tax cut-tax reform ratio of the 1964 act is not especially impressive: $745 million of base-tightening revenue increase versus over $10 billion of tax cut (1962 income levels—Pechman adaptation of U.S. Treasury figures). But it was a step in the right direction. And much of the reduction itself contributed to greater equity—$455 million of it in specific measures to improve horizontal equity, while such other steps as splitting the first bracket and cutting the ridiculous top rates also clearly qualify as structural improvements, as does the narrowing of the gap between regular and capital gains rates.

But we still have a long and tortuous path to travel since the dream of a once-for-all huge base tightening in exchange for sharply lower rates seems to have faded.

This consideration has led to the proposed shortcut to horizontal equity in the top brackets proposed by Senator LONG. Let me say just two things on this:

First, if we follow this path, let us be sure that the benefit of the tax cut is limited to the nonavoiders, that the loophole users truly do not participate.

Second, that this benefit to the top income groups be balanced by tax relief at the bottom of the tax scale.

CONCLUSION

Time and space limitations—and perhaps the obvious nature of what I would recommend—lead me to say little about fiscal measures designed to recession-proof the U.S. economy. I do not say that we can, in a single jump, move from a recession-prone to a recession-proof economy. Neither our wisdom nor the state of our economic art—nor, perhaps, our luck—is yet that good. But to make our economy recession-repellent is a most reasonable objective. And we should bend every effort, first, to improve the timing of our longer run expansionary measures, second, to speed up the congressional tax-cutting process when recession threatens or hits, and third, to speed up the executive spending process as well.

What encourages me most is that we can get on with the fiscal job in an atmosphere of greater understanding and consensus—of less and less doctrinaire position-taking—than ever before. We may not agree on the precise balance we seek among the different goals of economic policy, nor on the exact blend of policies to get us there. But as long as the proportion of prejudice, misplaced fear, and misunderstanding continues to decline while the proportion of analysis, fact, and comprehension continues to rise, we can be optimistic about the future of our fiscal system and its impact on economic growth and stability.

Hawaii Shows the Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, gun dealers in Hawaii have decided to do something about the nationwide problem of illegal use of firearms. Recognizing the urgent need for some sort of arms control, gun dealers in the city and county of Honolulu have adopted a voluntary measure that will bring the sale of rifles and shotguns under control for the first time.

Under the plan, which was proposed by the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, purchasers must first obtain a police clearance before dealers will sell them rifles or shotguns.

In the hope that other States may find merit in Hawaii's way, a newspaper story of this unusual voluntary curb on the sale of firearms is presented for the RECORD:

GUN CONTROL PLAN ADOPTED

(By Wes Young)

The sale of rifles and shotguns on Oahu went under control today with a cooperative plan adopted by local gun dealers and police officials.

The plan goes into effect immediately, Police Chief Dan Liu said.

Purchasers must get a police clearance before dealers will sell them rifles or shotguns.

The plan brings rifles and shotguns under control for the first time. It is similar to controls on handguns now governed by State law but the plan was adopted voluntarily by Oahu's gun dealers.

"The dealers are to be commended for taking this voluntary measure as a real community service toward the fight against illegal use of firearms," Liu said.

The dealers now will require all customers, except persons known to be above those of long standing or reproach, to present an abstract of their police record, if any, prior to the purchase of any rifle or shotgun.

Police Capt. Henry Ho, head of the records division and a member of a five-man committee elected to hammer out a control plan, said the abstract including fingerprinting and checks "will take about 10 minutes."

Bernard Thom, president of King Sporting Goods and chairman of the committee, hailed the plan as "a step forward."

"It is not the ultimate but it will certainly help," he said.

H. R. Cooke, president of Honolulu Sporting Goods and another member of the committee, said "if it saves one life it will be worth the extra time and effort."

Both men, two of the largest gun dealers in the State, went on record at the beginning of the drive in support of the police-clearance plan.

The lone holdout at this time is Sears, Roebuck and Co. But local store officials expect word momentarily from head offices on the mainland.

Edward Hitchcock, one of the main forces behind the drive for police clearance, saw the plan not only as a safeguard for the community but as protection for the dealers.

Hitchcock, a former Honolulu police captain who is now head of a private detective agency, a private gun dealer, and president of the Hawaii Rifle Association, said "this puts us on solid legal grounds."

Under the State's existing firearms law, no person convicted of a crime of violence or who is a narcotics offender, can own, buy or possess any firearm.

Under another section of the law, any person—dealer or private citizen—who sells or gives any firearm to anyone barred from possession of a gun, can be imprisoned up to a year and fined up to $1,000.

Rice Chair To Honor Representative Albert Thomas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, I know the Members of this body will be proud to know of the great honor that has been bestowed on our colleague and friend, Representative ALBERT THOMAS.

A grant of $500,000 has been made to Rice University in Houston to establish the Albert Thomas Chair of Political Science. The grant was announced by Mr. George R. Brown, a lifelong friend of my colleague, who is a member of the Brown Foundation making the grant and board chairman of Brown & Root, Inc.

Both of these distinguished men were classmates at Rice. Mr. Brown is now the chairman of the board of trustees at the university—and the accomplishments of my colleague from Texas are known to all the Members of this body.

I am indeed happy to bring to the attention of ALBERT's many friends in Congress this singular honor that has been paid one of the great statesmen of our time:

RICE CHAIR TO HONOR REPRESENTATIVE ALBERT THOMAS—$500,000 GRANT

(By Zarko Franks)

Rice University will establish the ALBERT THOMAS Chair of Political Science with a $500,000 grant.

The grant, honoring THOMAS, U.S. Congressman from this county for the past 28 years, was made by the Brown Foundation.

George R. Brown, board chairman of Brown & Root, Inc., is a member of the foundation established in 1951. He also is chairman of the board of trustees at Rice.

Brown, one of the wealthiest men in Texas, and THOMAS, one of Capitol Hill's most influential Congressmen, were freshmen at Rice in 1916.

Since their college days the two men have been steadfast friends.

When THOMAS came to Rice from the piney woods of east Texas, he was tall and thin, Brown recalled Saturday.

"We used to kid him about being as tall as a pine tree," Brown said.

"He has proven in life that he is a tall man in every way."

Ailing Representative THOMAS, in his Washington office, reacted with humility at news of the grant honoring him.

"This is truly a wonderful honor," he said, "and I am the least deserving of men for such a tribute."

The old politico—he was 67 last April 12—took time to reminisce about his old friend, George Brown.

"I knew back in Rice he was going places. He had a lot of energy and ambition. He was a real hustler," THOMAS said.

Brown, today a white-haired industrialist, had the good looks of a movie matinee idol in those days.

It's an old story in this community how George joined his older brother Herman, who entered the construction business on a shoestring and a team of mortgaged mules.

They ran the shoestring and the mortgaged mudes to headspinning financial success. A published report several years ago said Brown & Root had done $1.5 billion worth of business.

The lives of Brown and THOMAS have been interwoven. George Brown was born March 12, 1898, in Belton, Bell County. A month later, April 12, ALBERT THOMAS was born near Nacogdoches.

NASA ROLE

Four years ago Rice honored THOMAS at a testimonial dinner for his then 25 years of service as a Congressman. The tribute was also for his major role in landing the $60 million NASA Manned Spacecraft Center for Houston.

On the night before John F. Kennedy was slain, the President praised THOMAS here as a man "old enough to dream dreams and young enough to have visions." He spoke at a testimonial dinner for THOMAS on the night of November 21, 1963.

Of his friend, THOMAS, Industrialist Brown said:

"I think it fitting that Rice should honor its alumnus ALBERT THOMAS by establishing a professorship in political science in his name. The science of politics is the science he has practiced so well for the benefit of Houston and the Nation for the past 28 years."

DEPARTMENT DUE

The Brown Foundation grant, said Rice President Kenneth S. Pitzer, will make it possible for Rice to bring an eminent scholar to the campus.

Rice has a political science course, but it is under the history department at present. The grant will enable Rice ultimately to create a political science department.

THOMAS, second ranking member of the House Appropriations Committee (he has served on it since 1941), has for years been recognized as one of the most powerful men in Congress. He is chairman of the Independent Agencies Subcommittee, which handles funds for most of the agencies in the executive branch.

The gift to Rice in honor of THOMAS is the second large contribution the Brown Foundation has made to the university in the last 2 years. In 1963 the foundation created in 1951 by the late Mr. and Mrs. Herman Brown and by Mr. and Mrs. George R. Brown, gave $1 million to build the Margarett Root Brown College for Women. This building, named for Mrs. Herman Brown, will be completed in September.

Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to facilitate cooperation and coordination among Federal, State, and local governments, to strengthen our State and local governments in meeting the growing and diverse needs of the American people, and to achieve equity and consistency in the treatment of the mounting numbers of people and businesses displaced by intergovernmental programs.

President Johnson has strongly emphasized the necessity of improved collaboration among Federal, State, and local governments in his messages on the state of the Union, the budget, natural beauty, and the city and the suburbs. In his message on the "cities," for example, he called for strengthening "the constructive relationships between Nation, State, and city—the creative federalism which is essential to progress." This bill is a contribution toward building a truly creative partnership in which each level of government performs best its proper functions and in which all levels make the most meaningful contributions to overall governmental policies and programs.

Several major trends have marked intergovernmental relations in the United States in recent years. One is the continued growth in number and complexity of Federal grant-in-aid programs. Another is the ever-increasing complexity of intergovernmental problems in our exploding metropolitan areas. A third has been the increasing displacement of people and businesses by major Federal grant-in-aid programs, such as highways and urban renewal, and the inconsistent Federal policies in assisting relocation of those forcibly displaced. These relocation difficulties have their major impact on low income and minority groups.

The Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1965 will establish practical and realistic new Federal policies and procedures to achieve effectiveness and responsiveness in our American federal system.

This proposed act consists of six major substantive titles: Improved administration of grants-in-aid to the States; congressional review of Federal grants-in-aid to States and to local units of government; permitting Federal departments and agencies to provide specialized or technical services to State and local units of government; coordinated intergovernmental policy and administration of grants for urban development; acquisition, use, and disposition of land within urban areas by Federal agencies in conformity with land utilization programs of affected local government; and establishing uniform Federal relocation practices.

Many of the provisions grow out of recommendations of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, which was established by the Congress in 1959 for the express purpose of making continuing studies and recommendations for the strengthening of our federal system.

Grants-in-aid to State and local governments are the National Government's principal intergovernmantal instrument for accomplishing national legislative objectives, while at the same time maintaining the strength of State and local governments. Without the support of these grant-in-aid programs, the vitality of State and local governments would be greatly diminished. On the other hand, it would be difficult and highly undesirable for the National Government to establish its own direct operating programs in each of the more than 100 grant fields with consequent expansion in the size of the Federal Establishment.

In view of our increasing dependence on grants-in-aid, it is very important that the efficiency, integrity, and public acceptability of the grant-in-aid device be safeguarded and its effectiveness preserved and improved. Yet studies of the Advisory Commission and others, and the experiences of officials and citizens at all levels of government, reveal that a tangle of confusion and inconsistent procedures have been established, often pursuant to or required by law, by many Federal departments and agencies administering these grant-in-aid programs.

Many programs, once established, have not been adequately reviewed and revised in light of constantly changing needs. Federal agencies often lack authority to provide technical services to State and local agencies that would produce savings for all three levels of government. In our urban areas some Federal agencies have shown too little regard for overall local goals and desires; individual agencies sometimes overlook the interdependency of their program with other Federal, State, local, and private activities. Some Federal programs have supported or encouraged the creation of special districts, further complicating the pattern of local government, and there is insufficient recognition in Federal grant-in-aid programs of the need for many governments in our metropolitan areas to work together on common problems. Finally, Federal grant-in-aid programs causing major displacements of people and businesses are inequitable in the treatment of those displaced and inconsistent among themselves, as well as in relation to State and local programs causing displacement.

The first substantive title of this bill authorizes Federal departments and agencies to make full information available to the Governors on funds granted within their States, and provides for more uniform administration of Federal grant funds. It also improves the scheduling of Federal transfers of grant funds to the States, resulting in a saving in Federal interest costs; permits the States to budget Federal grant funds in much the same way as they budget other revenues, facilitating their overall financial planning; and permits simplified organizational arrangements at the State level for administering grant-in-aid programs.

The next title provides for systematic review of new Federal grant-in-aid programs so that they will be revised and redirected as necessary to meet the growing and changing needs which they were originally designed to support. A manifestation of both the basic importance and the wholesome character of the grant-in-aid device in our federal system is the fact that organizations of State, county, and municipal governments—

the grant recipients, so to speak—strongly support this provision for the systematic congressional review of new grant programs.

Another title authorizes Federal departments and agencies to render technical assistance and training services to State and local governments on a reimbursable basis, where such services are not conveniently available through ordinary channels. This will enable State and local governments to avoid the expense of unnecessary duplication of specialized or technical services, and at the same time permit more economical use of Federal facilities. Congress has already authorized such arrangements in the case of the Bureau of the Census, the Internal Revenue Service, and certain other agencies.

The next title establishes a coordinated intergovernmental urban assistance policy. It also requires local government review of certain applications for Federal programs and encourages a broader approach for review, at the metropolitan area level, of applications for loans as well as grant projects affecting urban development. Urban renewal and public housing are not included among the activities subject to review, however, since at the present stage of urban development they are usually of primary concern to only one unit of government, namely, the central city. The title basically serves to strengthen metropolitan planning machinery and encourages more orderly metropolitan growth. It also favors the eligibility of units of general local government—cities, towns, and counties—in contrast to special-purpose districts and authorities.

Another title amends the Federal property and Administrative Services Act by prescribing a uniform policy and procedure for urban land transactions and use undertaken by the General Services Administration. By requiring acquisition, use, and disposal of land in urban areas by this agency to be consistent, to the extent possible, with local zoning regulations and development objectives, this title will also help make urban planning more effective.

The final title establishes a uniform Federal policy of relocation payments and assistance for all persons, businesses, and farm operations displaced by direct Federal programs and by programs conducted through Federal grants-in-aid to State and local governments. It requires all such grant-in-aid programs to assure that standard housing is provided or being provided for those displaced, and provides for full Federal reimbursement of the first $25,000 of any relocation payment and Federal sharing of any cost beyond that amount on the basis of the regular cost-sharing formula of the grant program.

As I stated at the outset, President Johnson has stressed the need for creating a new dynamic federalism and the vital role of State and local governments in achieving our goals. He has said:

What much of the world has still to learn—and we must not forget—is that levels of government must function interdependently if they are to succeed independently. Ours is a system of interdependence. Authority is divided not to prevent action but to assure action.

This bill is a major step on the road to improving our interdependent system. The major organizations of governmental officials in this country—the Governors' conference, the National League of Cities, the National Association of Counties, and the U.S. conference of mayors, support the principles embodied in this legislation. They are deeply interested in action by the Congress to improve intergovernmental relations. Various Federal agencies and departments have also expressed interest and support for different provisions of the bill. I look forward to prompt and thorough hearings on this important legislation.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the text of the bill in the RECORD immediately following my remarks:

H.R. 10184

A bill to strengthen intergovernmental relations by improving cooperation and the coordination of federally aided activities between the Federal, State, and local levels of government; to provide for uniform and equitable relocation procedures under Federal and Federal grant-in-aid programs; and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1965".

TITLE I—DEFINITIONS

When used in this Act,

State

SEC. 101. The term "State" means any of the several States of the United States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, any territory or possession of the United States, or any agency or instrumentality of a State, but does not include the governments of the political subdivisions of the State.

Political subdivision or local government

SEC. 102. The term "political subdivision" or "local government" means a local unit of government, including specifically a county, municipality, city, town, township, or a school or other special district created by or pursuant to State law.

Unit of general local government

SEC. 103. "Unit of general local government" means any city, county, town, parish, village, or other general-purpose political subdivision of a State.

Special-purpose unit of local government

SEC. 104. "Special-purpose unit of local government" means any special district, public-purpose corporation, or other strictly limited-purpose political subdivision of a State, but shall not include a school district.

Grant or grant-in-aid

SEC. 105. The term "grant" or "grant-in-aid" means money, or property provided in lieu of money, paid or furnished by the United States under a fixed annual or aggregate authorization—

(A) to a State; or

(B) to a political subdivision of a State; or

(C) to a beneficiary under a State-administered plan or program which is subject to approval by a Federal agency;

if such authorization either (i) requires the States or political subdivisions to expend non-Federal funds as a condition for the receipt of money or property from the United States; or (ii) specifies directly, or establishes by means of a formula, the amounts which may be paid or furnished to States or political subdivisions, or the amounts to be allotted for use in each of the States by the States, political subdivisions, or other beneficiaries. The term does not include (1) shared revenues; (2) payment of taxes; (3) payments in lieu of taxes; (4) loans or repayable advances; (5) surplus property or surplus agricultural commodities furnished as such; (6) payments under research and development contracts or grants which are awarded directly and on similar terms to all qualifying organizations, whether public or private; or (7) payments to States or political subdivisions as full reimbursement for the costs incurred in paying benefits or furnishing services to persons entitled thereto under Federal laws.

The term "grant" or "grant-in-aid", as it is used in title I of this Act, shall also include payments made under research and development contracts or grants which are awarded directly and on similar terms to all qualifying public organizations.

Specialized or technical services

SEC. 106. "Specialized or technical services" means special statistical and other studies and compilations, development projects, demonstration projects, technical tests and evaluations, technical information, training activities, surveys, reports, documents, and any other similar service functions which the Secretary of any department or the administrative head of any agency of the executive branch of the Federal Government is authorized by law to perform.

Comprehensive planning

SEC. 107. "Comprehensive planning", except in title VI, includes the following, to the extent directly related to area needs or needs of a unit of general local government: (i) preparation, as a guide for long-range development, of general physical plans with respect to the pattern and intensity of land use and the provision of public facilities, including transportation facilities, together with long-range fiscal plans for such development; (ii) programing of capital improvements based on a determination of relative urgency, together with definitive financing plans for the improvements to be constructed in the earlier years of the program; (iii) coordination of all related plans of the departments or subdivisions of the government concerned; (iv) intergovernmental coordination of related planned activities among the State and local governmental agencies concerned; and (v) preparation of regulatory and administrative measures in support of the foregoing.

Metropolitan area or area

SEC. 108. A "metropolitan area" or "area" means either (1) a standard metropolitan statistical area as defined by the Bureau of the Budget, except as may be determined by the President or by the Bureau of the Budget as not being appropriate for the purposes of this Act, or (ii) any urban area, including those surrounding areas that form an economic and socially related region, taking into consideration such factors as present and future population trends and patterns of urban growth, location of transportation facilities and systems, and distribution of industrial, commercial, residential, governmental, institutional, and other activities, which in the opinion of the President or the Bureau of the Budget lends itself as being appropriate for the purposes hereof.

Urban area

SEC. 109. "Urban area" means—

(1) any geographical area within the jurisdiction of any incorporated city, town, borough, village, or other unit of general local government having a population of 10,000 or more inhabitants;

(2) that portion of the geographical area within the jurisdiction of any county, town, township, or similar governmental entity which contains no incorporated unit of general local government but has a population density equal to or exceeding one thousand five hundred inhabitants per square mile; and

(3) that portion of any geographical area situated adjacent to the boundary of any incorporated unit of general local government which has such population density.

Areawide agency

SEC. 110. "Areawide agency" means an official State or metropolitan or regional agency empowered under State or local laws or under an interstate compact or agreement to perform comprehensive planning in an area, or such other agency or instrumentality as may be designated by the Governor (or, in the case of metropolitan areas crossing State lines, any one or more of such agencies or instrumentalities as may be designated by the Governor of the States involved to perform such planning, which agency or instrumentality is, to the greatest practicable extent, composed of or responsible to the elected officials of the units of general local government within whose jurisdiction such agency is authorized to engage in such planning.

Urban development

SEC. 111. "Urban development" means all projects or programs for the planning and carrying out of urban renewal, the acquisition, use, and development of open-space land, the planning and construction of hospitals, airports, water supply and distribution facilities, sewerage facilities and waste treatment works, transportation facilities, highways, water development and land conservation, and other public works facilities.

Hospital

SEC. 112. "Hospital" means any public health center or general, tuberculosis, mental, chronic disease, and other type of hospital and related facilities, and central service facilities normally operated in connection with hospitals, but does not include any hospital furnishing primarily domiciliary care.

TITLE II—IMPROVED ADMINISTRATION OF GRANTS-IN-AID TO THE STATES

Full information on funds received

SEC. 201. Any department or agency of the United States Government which administers a program of grants-in-aid to any of the State governments of the United States shall, upon request, notify the Governor or other official designated by him, or the State legislature, of the purpose and amounts of recommended or actual grants-in-aid to the State. No act of Congress shall be construed to prevent the Governor or other designated officer from participating in the State's determination of its financial needs in the same manner as he does with respect to the budgeting of State funds.

Subject only to the procedures here enacted, nothing contained in this law shall limit the authority of any department or agency of the United States to make grants-in-aid to the States.

Uniform handling of grant funds

SEC. 202. Notwithstanding any other Federal law, each grant-in-aid to a State shall be paid to the State treasurer or other officer that may be designated by the legislative authority (or by the Governor in the absence of a designation by the legislative authority) to receive said funds and appropriate accounting advice with regard to the transmittal of funds shall be provided to such State officers as may require the data for purposes of financial management and control. The State may provide for or continue providing for the direct receipt of Federal funds in the case of State institutions of higher learning.

State salaries paid from grants-in-aid

SEC. 203. After July 1, 1967, and except as specifically authorized pursuant to State law and agreed to by the Federal agency concerned in accordance with regulations promulgated by the President, no Federal grant-in-aid to a State shall be used to pay a salary in excess of the regular salary standards applicable to State employees generally, nor shall a grant-in-aid be used to pay all or part of a salary the full-time equivalent of which is in excess of the normal annual salary rates of employees of the State or of State institutions of higher learning.

Deposit of grants-in-aid

SEC. 204. Notwithstanding any other provision of Federal law or regulation, no grant-in-aid to a State shall be required to be deposited in a separate bank account apart from other funds administered by the State. All Federal grant-in-aid funds made available to the States shall be properly accounted for as Federal funds in the accounts of the State. In each case the State agency concerned shall render regular authenticated reports to the appropriate Federal agency, covering the status and the application of the funds, the liabilities and obligations on hand, and such other facts as may be required by said Federal agency.

Scheduling of Federal transfers to the States

SEC. 205. Notwithstanding any other provision of Federal law, heads of Federal departments and agencies responsible for administering grant-in-aid programs shall schedule the transfer of grant-in-aid funds consistent with program purposes and applicable Treasury regulations, so as to minimize the time elapsing between the transfer of such funds from the United States Treasury and the disbursement thereof by a State whether such disbursement occurs prior to or subsequent to such transfer of funds. States shall not be held accountable for interest earned on grant-in-aid funds, pending their disbursement for program purposes.

Eligibile State agency

SEC. 206. Notwithstanding any other Federal law which provides that a single State agency or multimember board or commission must be established or designated to administer or supervise the administration of any grant-in-aid program, the head of any Federal department or agency may, upon request of the Governor or other appropriate executive or legislative authority of the State, responsible for determining or revising the organizational structure of State government, waive the single State agency or multimember board or commission provision and approve other State administrative structure or arrangements: *Provided*, That the head of the Federal department or agency determines that the objectives of the Federal statute authorizing the grant-in-aid program will not be endangered by the use of such other State structure or arrangements.

TITLE III—CONGRESSIONAL REVIEW OF FEDERAL GRANTS-IN-AID TO STATES AND TO LOCAL UNITS OF GOVERNMENT

Statement of purpose

SEC. 301. It is the purpose and intent of this title to establish a uniform policy and procedure whereby programs for grant-in-aid assistance from the Federal Government to the States or to their political subdivisions which may be enacted hereafter by the Congress shall be made the subject of sufficient subsequent review by the Congress to insure that (1) the effectiveness of grants-in-aid as instruments of Federal-State-local cooperation is improved and enhanced; (2) grant programs are revised and redirected as necessary to meet new conditions arising subsequent to their original enactment; and (3) grant programs are terminated when they have substantially achieved their purpose.

Expiration of grants-in-aid programs

SEC. 302. Where any Act of Congress enacted in the Eighty-ninth or any subsequent Congress authorizes the making of grants-in-aid to two or more States or to political subdivisions of two or more States and no expiration date for such authority is specified by law, and such grant is not specifically exempted from the provisions of this title, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations shall, not later than June 30th of the fifth calendar year which begins after the effective date of such Act, make reports to Congress on such programs. In reviewing such programs, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations shall consider, among other relevant matters, the criteria set forth in section 303 of this Act.

Committee studies of grant-in-aid programs

SEC. 303. Where any Act of Congress enacted in the Eighty-ninth or any subsequent Congress authorizes the making of grants-in-aid over a period of three or more years to two or more States or to political subdivisions of two or more States, then during the period beginning not later than twelve months immediately preceding the date on which such authority is to expire, the committees of the House and of the Senate to which legislation extending such authority would be referred shall, separately or jointly, conduct studies of the program under which such grants-in-aid are made with a view to ascertaining among other matters of concern to the committees, the following:

(1) The extent to which the purposes for which the grants-in-aid are authorized have been met;

(2) The extent to which such programs can be carried on without further financial assistance from the United States;

(3) Whether or not any changes in purpose, direction, or administration of the original program, or in procedures and requirements applicable thereto;

(4) The extent to which such grant-in-aid programs are adequate to meet the growing and changing needs which they were designed to support.

Each such committee shall report the results of its investigation and study to its respective House not later than one hundred and twenty days before such authority is due to expire.

Records and audit

SEC. 304. (a) Each recipient of assistance under (1) any Act of Congress enacted after the effective date of this Act which provides for a grant-in-aid from the United States to a State or a political subdivision thereof, or (2) any new grant-in-aid agreement, or extension, modification, or alteration of any existing grant-in-aid agreement pursuant to existing law shall keep such records as the Federal agency administering such grant may prescribe, including records which fully disclose the amount and disposition by such recipient of such grant-in-aid, the total cost of the project or undertaking in connection with which such grant-in-aid is given or used, and the amount of that portion of the cost of the project or undertaking supplied by other sources, and such other records as will facilitate an effective audit.

(b) The head of the Federal agency administering such grant and the Comptroller General of the United States, or any of their duly authorized representatives, shall have access for the purpose of audit and examination to any books, documents, papers, and records of the recipients that are pertinent to the grants received.

TITLE IV—PERMITTING FEDERAL DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES TO PROVIDE SPECIALIZED OR TECHNICAL SERVICES TO STATE AND LOCAL UNITS OF GOVERNMENT

Statement of purpose

SEC. 401. It is the purpose of this title to encourage intergovernmental cooperation in the conduct of specialized or technical services and provision of facilities essential to the administration of State or local governmental activities, many of which are nationwide in scope and financed in part by Federal funds; to enable State or local governments to avoid unnecessary duplication of

special service functions; and to authorize all departments and agencies of the executive branch of the Federal Government which do not have such authority to provide specialized or technical services to State and local governments.

Authority to provide service

SEC. 402. The Secretary of any department or the administrative head of any agency of the executive branch of the Federal Government is authorized within his discretion, upon written request from a State or political subdivision thereof, to provide specialized or technical services, upon the payment by the unit of Government making the request, of the salaries and such other cost to the department or agency for performing such services: *Provided, however,* That such services shall include only those which the head of the Federal agency concerned determines are not reasonably and expeditiously available through ordinary business channels.

Reimbursement to appropriation

SEC. 403. All moneys received by any department or agency of the executive branch of the Federal Government, or any bureau or other administrative division thereof, in payment for furnishing specialized or technical services as authorized under section 402 shall be deposited to the credit of the principal appropriation from which the cost of providing such services has been paid or is to be charged, or to the appropriation currently available for the cost of similar services.

Reports to Congress

SEC. 404. The Secretary of any department or the administrative head of any agency of the executive branch of the Federal Government shall furnish annually to the respective Committees on Government Operations of the Senate and House of Representatives a summary report on the scope of the services provided under the administration of this title.

Reservation of existing authority

SEC. 405. This title is in addition to and does not supersede any existing authority now possessed by any Federal department or agency with respect to furnishing services, whether on a reimbursable or nonreimbursable basis, to State and local units of government.

TITLE V—COORDINATING INTERGOVERNMENTAL POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION OF GRANTS FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Declaration of urban assistance policy

SEC. 501. (a) The economic and social development of the Nation, its strength in world affairs and the achievement of satisfactory levels of living depend in large degree upon the sound and orderly development of urban communities. In pursuit of this basic objective, the President may establish rules and regulations for uniform application in the formulation, evaluation, and review of urban development programs and projects for the provision of federally aided urban facilities, and Federal projects having a significant impact on the development of urban and urbanizing communities. Such rules and regulations shall provide for full consideration of the concurrent achievement of the following specific objectives of urban development, and to the extent authorized by law reasoned choices shall be made between such objectives when they conflict:

(1) Appropriate land uses for residential, commercial, industrial, governmental, institutional, and other purposes;

(2) Wise development and conservation of natural resources, including land, water, minerals, wildlife, and others;

(3) Balanced transportation systems, including highway, air, water, pedestrian, mass transit, and other modes for the movement of people and goods;

(4) Adequate outdoor recreation and open space;

(5) Protection of areas of unique natural beauty, historical and scientific interest;

(6) Properly planned community facilities including utilities for the supply of power, water, and communications, for the safe disposal of wastes, and for other purposes; and

(7) Any other objective through which urban development activities can contribute to the economic, social, and cultural development of the Nation, its strength in world affairs, and the achievement of enhanced levels of living.

(b) All viewpoints—National, regional, State, and local—shall, to the extent possible, be fully considered and taken into account in planning urban development programs and projects. Regional, State, and local government objectives shall be considered and evaluated within a framework of national public objectives, and available projections of future national conditions and needs of regions, States, and localities shall be considered in plan formulation, evaluation, and review.

(c) To the maximum extent possible, consistent with national objectives, all Federal aid for urban development purposes shall be consistent with and further the objectives of State and local government comprehensive planning for urban development. Consideration shall be given to all developmental aspects of the total urban community including but not limited to housing, transportation, economic development, natural resources development, community facilities, and the general improvement of living environments.

(d) Each Federal department and agency administering an urban development aid program shall, to the maximum extent practicable, consult with and seek advice from all other significantly affected Federal departments and agencies in an effort to assure fully coordinated programs.

(e) Insofar as possible, systematic planning required by individual Federal programs (such as highway construction, urban renewal, and open space) shall be coordinated with and made part of comprehensive local and areawide urban development planning.

Favoring units of general local government

SEC. 502. (a) Notwithstanding any Federal law providing that special purpose units of local governments are eligible to receive loans or grants-in-aid for urban development, units of general local government (cities, counties, towns, and townships) acting singly or jointly, shall be eligible to receive such loans or grants-in-aid. Heads of Federal departments and agencies shall, in the absence of substantial reasons to the contrary, make such loans or grants-in-aid for urban development to units of general local government rather than to special purpose units of local government.

(b) In the event that a loan or grant-in-aid is made to a special purpose unit of local government, the chief executive officer or the governing body of each unit of general local government in which the loan or grant recipient is located or which would be affected by the loan or grant-in-aid project:

(1) shall be notified of the purpose, amounts, or other factors related to the proposed or actual loan or grant-in-aid to such special purpose unit of local government;

(2) may participate in such normal procedures as relate to budgeting of said loan or grant-in-aid; and

(3) shall have the opportunity to have their comments made a part of the application for such loan or grant-in-aid.

(c) Notwithstanding any other provision of Federal law, joint sponsorship of a project eligible for grant or loan funds by two or more units of general local government, two or more special purpose units of government, or any combination thereof, shall not limit the total amount of the loan or grant-in-aid to less than the aggregate available to the participating units of general local government and/or special purpose units of government acting singly.

Consistency with plans and objectives of general local governments

SEC. 503. Notwithstanding any other provision of Federal law, any application for a loan or grant made after June 30, 1966, for construction of hospitals, airports, water supply and distribution facilities, sewerage facilities and waste treatment works, water development and land conservation within any metropolitan area subject to the provisions of this title, shall be submitted to the unit of general local government with authority to operate in the area within which the project or facility is to be located. No action shall be taken by any Federal agency upon such application unless the governing body of the unit of general local government certifies that such project or facility is consistent with its planning objectives. If said unit does not act on an application within thirty days after its submission, the application shall be deemed approved by said unit. The certification shall accompany the submission of such application to the areawide agency pursuant to section 504 of this title. The foregoing requirements shall not be applicable in the case of applications from units of government larger than and encompassing the unit of general local government within which the project or facility is to be located.

More effective utilization of certain Federal loans or grants by encouraging better coordinated local review of State and local applications for such loans or grants

SEC. 504. (a) In order to assist Federal, State, and local governments to increase their economy and efficiency of operations in meeting the governmental needs of the increasing concentration of population in metropolitan areas; to facilitate the coordination of intergovernmental relationships and activities on a continuing basis; to provide more effective exchange of information among the governments concerned at the earliest possible stage of planning and throughout the planning and development process; to encourage areawide compresensive planning on a continuing basis; and to encourage State and local governments to establish or improve facilities for coordinating areawide development, all applications made after June 30, 1966, for Federal loans or grants to assist in carrying out open space land projects or for the construction of hospitals, airports, water supply and distribution facilities, sewerage facilities and waste treatment works, highways, transportation facilities, water development and land conservation within any metropolitan area shall be subject to the provisions of this title.

(b)(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2) of this subsection, each application for a loan or grant of the type described in subsection (a) shall be accompanied (i) by the comments and recommendations with respect to the project involved by an areawide agency designated to perform metropolitan or regional planning for the area within which the assistance is to be used, and which is, to the greatest practicable extent, composed of or responsible to the elected officials of the units of general local government within whose jurisdiction such agency is authorized to engage in such planning; and (ii) by a statement by the applicant that such comments and recommendations have been considered prior to formal submission of the application. Such comments shall include information concerning the extent to which the proposed urban development project or program is consistent with comprehensive planning developed or in the process of development for the metropolitan area and the extent to which such project or program contributes to the fulfillment of such area-

wide planning. The comments and recommendations and the statement referred to in this section shall, except in the case referred to in paragraph (2) of this subsection, be reviewed by the agency of the Federal Government to which such application is submitted for the sole purpose of assisting it in determining whether the application is in accordance with the provisions of Federal law which govern the making of the loans or grants.

(2) An application for a Federal loan or grant need not be accompanied by the comments and recommendations and the statement referred to in paragraph (1) of this subsection if the applicant certifies that a plan or description of the project, meeting the requirements of such rules and regulations as may be prescribed under subsection (c) hereof, or such application has lain before an appropriate areawide agency or instrumentality for a period of sixty days without comments or recommendations thereon being made by such agency or instrumentality.

(3) The requirements of paragraphs (1) and (2) shall also apply to any amendment of the application which, in light of the purposes of this title, involves a major change in the project covered by the application prior to such amendment.

(c) The Bureau of the Budget or such other agency as may be designated by the President is hereby authorized to prescribe such rules and regulations as are deemed appropriate for the effective administration of this title.

TITLE VI—ACQUISITION, USE, AND DISPOSITION OF LAND WITHIN URBAN AREAS BY FEDERAL AGENCIES IN CONFORMITY WITH LAND UTILIZATION PROGRAMS OF AFFECTED LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Amendment of Federal Property and Administrative Services Act

SEC. 601. The Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended (40 U.S.C. 471 et seq.), is amended by adding at the end thereof a new title as follows:

"TITLE VIII—URBAN LAND UTILIZATION

"Short title

"SEC. 801. This title may be cited as the 'Federal Urban Land-Use Act'.

"Declaration of purpose and policy

"SEC. 802. It is the purpose of this title to promote more harmonious intergovernmental relations by prescribing uniform policies and procedures whereby the Administrator shall acquire, use, and dispose of land in urban areas in order that urban land transactions entered into for the General Services Administration or on behalf of other Federal agencies shall be consistent with zoning and land-use practices and shall be made to the greatest practicable extent in accordance with planning and development objectives of the local governments and local planning agencies concerned.

"Disposal of urban lands

"SEC. 803. (a) Whenever the Administrator contemplates the disposal for or on behalf of any Federal agency of any real property situated within an urban area, he shall, prior to offering such land for sale, give reasonable notice to the head of the governing body of the unit of general local government having jurisdiction over zoning and land-use regulation in the geographical area within which the land or lands are located in order to afford the government the opportunity of zoning for the use of such land in accordance with local comprehensive planning.

"(b) The Administrator, to the greatest practicable extent, shall furnish to all prospective purchasers of such real property, full, and complete information concerning—

"(1) current zoning regulations and prospective zoning requirements and objectives for such property when it is unzoned; and

"(2) current availability to such property of streets, sidewalks, sewers, water, streetlights, and other service facilities and prospective availability of such services if such property is included in comprehensive planning.

"Acquisition or change of use of real property

"SEC. 804 (b) In the acquisition or change of use of any real property situated in an urban area as a site for public building, the Administrator shall, to the extent he determines practicable—

"(2) comply with and conform to zoning regulations of the unit of general local government having jurisdiction with respect to the area within which such property is situated and the planning and development objectives of such local government.

"(1) consider all objections made to any such acquisition or changed use by such unit of government upon the ground that the proposed acquisition or use conflicts or would conflict with such regulations or objectives; and

"(a) To the extent practicable, prior to a commitment to acquire any real property situated in an urban area, the Administrator shall notify the unit of general local government exercising zoning and land-use jurisdiction over the land proposed to be purchased of his intent to acquire such land and the proposed use of the property. In the event that the Administrator determines that such advance notice would have an adverse impact on the proposed purchase, he shall, upon conclusion of the acquisition, immediately notify such local government of the acquisition and the proposed use of the property.

"Definitions

"SEC. 805. As used in this title—

"(a) 'Unit of general local government' means any city, county, town, parish, village, or other general-purpose political subdivision of a State.

"(b) 'Urban area' means—

"(1) any geographical area within the jurisdiction of any incorporated city, town, borough, village, or other unit of general local government, except county or parish, having a population of ten thousand or more inhabitants;

"(2) that portion of the geographical area within the jurisdiction of any county, town, township, or similar governmental entity which contains no incorporated unit of general local government but has a population density equal to or exceeding one thousand five hundred inhabitants per square mile; and

"(3) that portion of any geographical area situated adjacent to the boundary of any incorporated unit of general local government which has such population density.

"(c) 'Comprehensive planning' includes the following, to the extent directly related to the needs of a unit of general local government:

"(1) preparation, as a guide for long-range development, of general physical plans with respect to the pattern and intensity of land use and the provision of public facilities, including transportation facilities, together with long-range fiscal plans for such development;

"(2) programing of capital improvements based on a determination of relative urgency, together with definitive financing plans for the improvement to be constructed in the earlier years of the program;

"(3) coordination of all related plans of the departments or subdivisions of the government concerned;

"(4) intergovernmental coordination of related planning activities among the State and local governmental agencies concerned; and

"(5) preparation of regulatory and administrative measures in support of the foregoing."

Wisconsin American Legion and American Legion Auxiliary Sponsor Annual County Youth Government Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, efforts to foster understanding and interest on the part of young people in the operation of government at all levels will help assure the continuing strength of our democracy.

For nearly a decade, the American Legion and the American Legion Auxiliary have been playing an important role in these efforts in Wisconsin. They have sponsored the excellent program of County Youth Government Day, which does much to enlighten youths about the operation of their county governments. As a former county commander of the American Legion and as Milwaukee County executive, John Doyne has been a leader in creating and carrying out this program.

Recently, Clavia M. Tews, vice president of the Wisconsin department of the American Legion Auxiliary, wrote a summary of the County Youth Government Day program. I take pleasure in including it:

COUNTY YOUTH GOVERNMENT

The American Legion and the American Legion Auxiliary in the State of Wisconsin having a definite interest in the education of their youth, with the assistance of other organizations in some instances, has sponsored County Youth Government Day for approximately 10 years.

Students are elected in their schools to fill the various county offices. A day is spent at their county seat at which time informative general sessions and moot courts are held. Each youngster is given an opportunity to work directly with his cocounty officer to learn the duties of the office. Certificates of participation are given to each student with a request that they report back to their respective schools. The interest of the students together with the enthusiasm and cooperation of the county officials is remarkable.

This past year there was 100 percent participation of the counties of the First, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Seventh, and Ninth Congressional Districts. A large number of counties initiated this program for the first time.

A Message to the National Rivers and Harbors Congress From the President and Vice President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I enclose herewith for reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a message from the President and Vice President of the United States to the 52d Annual National Convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress in Washington:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, June 8, 1965.

Mr. HENRY H. BUCKMAN,
President, National Rivers and Harbors Congress, Orange Park, Fla.

DEAR MR. BUCKMAN: Please accept my sincere congratulations on the occasion of the 52d Annual Convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress.

The Rivers and Harbors Congress has rendered great service to our Nation for over half a century. I highly commend the vision and leadership which have inspired the cooperative, productive effort of our Federal, State, and local agencies, and private interests, in support of essential programs for the development of our precious water resources.

While flood control projects already built are protecting many areas, two major flood disasters since your last convention have emphasized the necessity for effectively advancing the work of further curbing the destructive power of our rivers.

We must also encourage the adoption of realistic measures to conserve our available supply of good water to abate the pollution of our streams, to expand and improve our navigation systems, to develop more fully our Nation's hydroelectric power potential, to provide increasingly for healthful outdoor recreation, to conserve our fish and wildlife heritage, and, in seeking these objectives, to preserve and enhance the beauty of our land.

I am fully confident that the National Rivers and Harbors Congress will continue to play a forceful role in the attainment of all these vital national goals.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE VICE PRESIDENT,
Washington, June 2, 1965.

Mr. HARRY BUCKMAN,
President, National Rivers and Harbors Congress, care of the Honorable Robert Sikes, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BUCKMAN: My congratulations to you on the occasion of the annual convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress.

Our President has stressed the importance of improving and beautifying our waterways as an integral part of building the Great Society. Your tireless efforts in this direction are most gratifying.

With best wishes for a successful convention.

Sincerely,

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY.

Looking Into Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial from the July 28, 1965, edition of the Washington Post.

The creation by President Johnson of the Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice is a good step in the right direction. The Commission will be concerned with organized crime and the national aspects of criminality, in addition to the causes from which crime springs. In the area of the protection of citizens in a civilized society, there is wide scope for Federal research and leadership, which this Commission will provide.

The editorial follows:

LOOKING INTO CRIME

The new Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice is another indication that President Johnson is not merely mouthing words when he talks about the Great Society. His administration has undertaken a systematic attack upon the weaknesses of our social structure. If the amenities of life in these United States are to be enhanced, lawlessness must yield no less than poverty, ignorance and disease. By launching what he has called a "war against crime" the President has significantly broadened the scope of his demand for a rising level of civilization.

It should not be supposed that the President intends by this action to center responsibility for the administration of justice in the Federal Government. His creation of a national commission to probe into the depths of the crime problem follows his announcement of a similar but local body for the District of Columbia. The national commission headed by the Attorney General will necessarily concern itself with organized crime and the national aspects of criminality in addition to the grassroots from which crime springs, which hold a common interest for all law-enforcement agencies.

This body will have the best opportunity ever opened to any group to probe into the causes of crime. For this task it should assemble the ablest experts in the land. Indeed, the greatest contribution of this nationwide study may come in the sphere of correcting conditions that lead to lawlessness. Certainly in this area there is wide scope for Federal research and Federal sponsorship of long-range amelioration efforts.

The basic task, as the President noted, is to provide for the safety of citizens in a civilized society. A country which records 2,604,426 serious crimes in a single year, including 326,461 crimes of violence, has fallen woefully short of a satisfactory performance. Disregard for human life, safety and property simply cannot continue to grow as fast as it has been growing in recent years without imperiling the basis of our free society.

But the President is asking for a comprehensive analysis of the whole problem—not just a crackdown on the criminal elements. No doubt the Commission will study such questions as the abolition of capital punishment, which has already been approved by the Department of Justice. Thought may also be given to compensation of the victims of crime. If tax money were used to pay for the depredations of hoodlums, citizens might well be more cooperative in the gigantic task of law enforcement. The control of firearms will be another "must" for the Commission.

The study may well show that vast increases in policemen, judges, parole supervisors, counselors and psychiatrists are essential. We think the public should be prepared for some drastic shifts in the direction of criminal justice and the treatment of prisoners as well as in the attention that is given to these problems. The growing affluence of our society is almost certain to encourage further increases in crime unless new and more effective remedial measures can be devised and systematically applied. Wise and authoritative leadership is needed and there appears to be good reasons for hope that it will be forthcoming from the Katzenbach Commission.

Arthur J. Goldberg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my fellow members to an excellent editorial that appeared in the Decatur Review on July 26, 1965, in behalf of our new U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, the Honorable Arthur J. Goldberg.

There is no question in my mind, Mr. Speaker, that Ambassador Goldberg's ability to express his ideas in a forceful and fluent manner will undoubtedly command respect in the fulfillment of his goals at the U.N.

The editorial follows:

MAN OF MEDIATION GOES TO U.N.

It will likely take some time for the rest of the world to get to know him, but Arthur J. Goldberg should be a valuable and valued addition to the councils of the United Nations.

Justice Goldberg's experience cannot be summed up by such terms as diplomatic service, international relations or foreign policy but, rather, under such titles as negotiator, arbitrator, interpreter and mediator.

Finding solutions through negotiation and settlement rather than force or smashing victory has been Arthur Goldberg's forte. As counsel for the United Steelworkers Union, as counsel for the Congress of Industrial Organization, as U.S. Secretary of Labor and as an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court his chief success has been in bringing accord out of division.

As Secretary of Labor—Mr. Goldberg brought a new concept to the Federal role in labor-management disputes. Instead of considering solely the merits of the immediate issue he introduced the long-view criteria of what is best for the total national interest.

These are qualities that are in all to scarce supply in the United Nations. Of division there is no lack. For more accord there is desperate need.

The long view, the view of what is best for the total national interest rather than what might seem best at the particular time on a particular issue, could prove to be a real asset in U.N. negotiations.

The initial reaction of U.N. representatives has been to take a "wait and see attitude." Justice Goldberg is not that well known abroad and judgments are apparently being reserved until they have some factual basis on which to be made.

The new U.N. Ambassador could expect no more than this. It is certainly a better start than he has undoubtedly experienced in some labor-management disputes.

The world, as does the Nation, awaits the entrance of a proven negotiator into the stalemate-to-end-all-stalemates that is at the moment the United Nations.

Ambassador Goldberg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 7, 1965

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, the editorial in Newsday of July 22, 1965, published in Long Island, N.Y., states is succinct and striking terms the admiration and tribute which we all feel toward our new Ambassador to the United Nations, the Honorable Arthur J. Goldberg.

This distinguished American, by accepting this position of great importance to our Nation, the free world and the cause of world peace, strengthens our confidence and faith in the United Nations. His appointment gives new hope to the ideal of peace through understanding and a world of justice and law. He will bring to the world conference table the skills of an outstanding mediator and worldwide respect as a man of reason and understanding. His will be a voice of dignity and clarity, of eloquence and conscience. May the Almighty give him the strength to speak for freedom, justice, and peace and bless him with good health for long years to continue our important mission at the United Nations.

The Newsday editorial follows:

[From the Newsday (L.I.) July 22, 1965]

AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG

Supreme Court Justice Arthur J. Goldberg—a splendid judge, a fine citizen, and a skilled mediator with a brilliant mind as well as abundant patience—has been named by President Johnson to succeed Adlai E. Stevenson as Ambassador to the United Nations.

A successor to Stevenson would under any circumstances pose a difficult problem of choice, but the designation of Justice Goldberg is brilliant precisely because it is original. He is a true and typical American product. He grew up in the slums of Chicago, distinguished himself in college, and from 1929 through the 1950's distinguished himself a a labor lawyer and an advocate of reform legislation before becoming Secretary of Labor under President Kennedy. In August 1962, he succeeded Felix Frankfurter on the Supreme Court, in this new post comporting himself both with dignity and compassion in his interpretations of the law.

To move from the remote quiet of the Court to the hurly-burly of the U.N. from the contemplative life to the active advocacy of American diplomatic positions, from a sympathetic environment to one in which he will constantly be subject to challenge by those who disagree with the positions of the United States—that was a great sacrifice for Justice Goldberg and for his family as well. He has surrendered a lifetime job for one that can at any time be subject to the vagaries of politics or to shifts in Presidential thinking. He has done so because he is a great patriot and a notable citizen, a worthy successor to Adlai Stevenson. We wish him well.

Beauty Losing Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, in the recent rush to pass the administration's endless supply of bills, one area of important legislation has been neglected by this Congress and seemingly by our President. Many words have been spoken about the beautification of America and the despicable conditions of pollution of both air and water which we see every day. Despite these words, Congress seems to want to let this important area of legislation slide by again. An editorial in the Christian Science Monitor on July 27, 1965, expressed my feelings on this subject so well, Mr. Speaker, that I wish to insert it into the RECORD. It expresses the feelings of a growing number of people across this land who are becoming tired of looking at the unsightly waste we constantly see before us. The blame for this terrible situation cannot easily be affixed, and to simply say that we must stop is not looking at the issue in its complexity. Congress should consider this important problem as soon as possible.

The article follows:

BEAUTY-LOSING CONTEST

In the contest for priority legislative attention, beauty is losing out. President Johnson's much heralded highway beautification program is in serious difficulty. The House Subcommittee on Roads is unwilling to divert funds from the interstate highway construction program. With some justification is recognizes defense, safety, and convenience as having priority over beauty.

The House Ways and Means Committee has yet shown no willingness to appropriate additional funds for highway beautification. The administration has not pushed it to do so. Certain interest groups are lined up against the program.

In his February address on natural beauty, the President also called for decisive action to reduce air pollution. Here the administration's program has likewise bogged down. The auto industry has stoutly opposed provisions to control auto exhaust fumes pending "further research."

The coal and oil industries have adamantly opposed the stiff air pollution control standards for new Federal installations set by the Public Health Service. In each case industry is troubled by the added costs involved.

If roadside billboards and junkyards, if polluted air and water, which make such an outstanding contribution to the building of an ugly America, are to be brought under effective control, it will take a concerted effort on the part of individuals, private groups, and government far greater than the present half-hearted endeavor.

Beautification of the cities and the landscape was hardly one of the blessings of the industrial revolution. We have become all too callous to ugliness, accepting it as a fact of modern life. The time has come to restore to beauty the high priority it had in the days of the golden age of Athens. It is not too late to help beauty win this contest.

World Law Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the President signed a proclamation on July 8, 1965, which proclaimed September 13, 1965, as World Law Day.

In these times when individual liberties are threatened by communism throughout the world, the American people reaffirm their faith in the ultimate rule of law as the only firm basis for peace and justice among men.

Mr. Speaker, the President has affirmed this faith eloquently in his remarks at the signing of this proclamation. I offer them to my colleagues for their attention:

WASHINGTON, D.C.

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON

President Lyndon Baines Johnson proclaimed September 13, 1965, as World Law Day at a White House ceremony, July 8, 1965. In his remarks to representative law leaders of the United States, the President said, "Today we are meeting in this manner to observe the signing of a proclamation which, in its way, expresses something of the greatst importance about the purposes of the American people and the purposes of the American nation. And that is our commitment to, and our quest toward, a world where all men may live in peace with the hope of justice under the rule of law.

"That goal cannot be made real by any proclamation that I issue or sign, it cannot be attained by the observance of any single day of the year. But I do believe that by observing together one day designated as World Law Day we may remind ourselves, and we hope call to the attention of others, that a decent world ruled by just law is not a vain dream.

"It can be real. It will be true—if the peace-loving peoples uphold the beginnings of world law with the same resolve as they defend the end of individual liberty.

"This century has really seen the beginning of a will and an effort to establish respect for the rule of law over the conduct of the nations of the world.

"And by faithfully honoring our agreements, by faithfully keeping our treaties to which we are party, we seek to assure substance for the dream of a world that is ruled by law.

"This year, in September, the leaders of the law for many nations will assemble here in Washington. In observance of this International Cooperation Year they will confer on this most vital and on this most basic subject of strengthening the hope for world peace by strengthening the rule of law among nations of the world.

"And so to honor this significant occasion, I am today proclaiming September the 13th,

1965, as World Law Day. In so doing, I would call upon citizens throughout the land to join in appropriate observances on that day to reaffirm our abiding American goal of a world where all men live in obedience to the rule of laws that they have chosen, rather than in subjugation to the rule of men that they have not chosen."

Immigration Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, the overwhelming popular support of American citizens for the programs of President Johnson was again demonstrated this week with the published results of the Gallup poll on proposed revision of the immigration laws.

The results of this poll printed in the July 25 New York Herald Tribune indicated that 7 out of 10 Americans support the basic plan of President Johnson to change our immigration laws to reflect an emphasis on job skills and an abandonment of the old national origin system. As the article pointed out:

If the public were drafting the new law, its provisions would be along the lines President Johnson has suggested.

I believe this legislation is good, is necessary, and should be passed before this session of the 89th Congress finishes its business.

Under unanimous consent I insert the Herald Tribune story in the RECORD:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Herald Tribune, July 25, 1965]

PUBLIC BACKS JOHNSON ON IMMIGRATION REVISION

(By George Gallup)

PRINCETON, N.J.—One of the measures President Johnson hopes to see passed at this session of Congress is a revised immigration law. A feature of the present law which he is hoping will be eliminated is the so-called national origins system, limiting the number of immigrants from some countries more than others.

The system has been criticized as discriminatory and undemocratic, and President Johnson's two predecessors both asked Congress for revision, without result. But now committees in both the Senate and the House are holding hearings on revisions in line with the President's recommendations, and Washington observers believe a new bill may be passed.

If the public were drafting the new law, its provisions would be along the lines President Johnson has suggested—no national origins quota system, and no increase in the total number of immigrants admitted each year. In a recent survey, Gallup poll interviewers across the Nation asked a representative cross-section of adults a series of questions about immigration.

All persons in the survey were asked how important they considered job skills, country of birth and having relatives in this country in determining whether or not an immigrant should be admitted to live in this country. About seven persons in ten said job skills were important, while only one in three felt the country of birth was important.

This was the wording of the question:

"How important do you think each of the following factors should be in determining whether or not a person from another country be admitted to live in the United States—very important or not very important? That he have occupational skills? That he have relatives who are American citizens with whom he can live? The country in which he was born?"

Have occupational skills?

	Percent
Very important	71
Not very important	21
No opinion	8

Have relatives who are citizens?

	Percent
Very important	55
Not very important	38
No opinion	7

Country where he was born

	Percent
Very important	33
Not very important	56
No opinion	11

Though a majority of the people favor liberalizing the law in terms of the country of origin, they are not in favor of increasing the number of immigrants admitted.

The question asked: "Should immigration be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?"

Level of immigration

	Percent
Should be kept at present level	39
Should be increased	8
Should be decreased	33
No opinion	20

This Is Really War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, over the past several months, I have taken the liberty of expressing my concern, on numerous occasions, about the developments in Vietnam.

I was heartened by the President's reiteration in his speech yesterday of his desire and his willingness to continue to explore ways and means of negotiating this conflict, and feel that this public commitment will react favorably on the United States.

I was interested in the editorial which appeared in this morning's New York Times, and would like to call it to the attention of my colleagues.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include the editorial herewith:

THIS IS REALLY WAR

The President's measured speech to the Nation yesterday could leave no doubt about the seriousness of the situation in which this country finds itself today in respect to the war in Vietnam.

The United States is now fighting a land war in Asia—a limited one so far but nevertheless a war on the Asiatic Continent. It is a war to which more men, materiel and money must daily be committed—not to achieve an evanescent victory but to prevent further deterioration in the American military position. It is a war in the jungles of Asia against an ever-growing and well-trained guerrilla force that is fighting in its own kind of country among its own people to overthrow a government of no popular standing or strength, with which the United States is allied.

It is a war the primary goal of which now—so far as the United States is concerned—is to convince the Communists that they cannot achieve their aims in Vietnam by force of arms. And it is a war which, as both the President and Ho Chi Minh have indicated could go on for months, years or decades.

Despite the deep difficulties of the present and the tremendous implications for the future, few Americans will quarrel with President Johnson's determined conclusion to hold on in Vietnam. This is quite different from saying we will bring the other side to its knees.

The President is now encouraging Ambassador Goldberg to see what the United Nations or any member country can do to bring about negotiations. It is vital to keep open the door to a parley, and Mr. Johnson specifically mentioned his willingness to discuss Hanoi's own proposals. The possibilities of utilizing the 1954 Geneva agreement need further exploration, as the President again indicated. However, it should be recognized that the breakdown of the 1954 treaty was as much the fault of Saigon and Washington as it was of Hanoi.

But—no doubt because of the deteriorating military situation which President Johnson has just taken steps to arrest—the Communists in recent months have shown no indication whatsoever of a willingness to negotiate. Therefore, the problem that faces the President and the American people today is to convince the Chinese and Vietnamese Communists that, as Mr. Johnson said, "a violent solution is impossible." This goes for both sides. The Government of the United States knows this and publicly recognizes it, and is ready "to move from the battlefield to the conference table" without preconditions.

The President made it very clear yesterday that he intends a controlled and severely limited operation on the part of the United States; and this is as important a point as could be made. It is fruitless at this stage to argue over errors of past policy, going back to 1954 and even further beyond. What is vital is that this war of the United States in Vietnam be held down to the absolute minimum necessary to prove to Hanoi and Peiping that military aggression is not worthwhile and never will be.

Wake Up, America: The Nation Is at War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted, I submit, for reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, a thought-provoking editorial from the Nashville Banner of July 16, 1965, entitled "The Nation Is at War." The publisher of the Nashville Banner, Mr. James G. Stahlman, is one of America's most responsible and best-known newspapermen.

WAKE UP, AMERICA: THE NATION IS AT WAR

It's an odd menagerie from which raucous voices rise—and screams in the night; for

purpose of infection with their own virus, to defame and divide America. They run the gamut, from intellectual harpies to the conglomerate addicts of beatnik pills—but despite diversity of feather and frock, they are one in contempt and their target of hate. To whatever cause they feel allegiance, it is not the United States of America.

They assemble, as in that Harvard teach-in Wednesday night, to dissemble; and read the riot act to U.S. policy. There ragtag luminaries chanted their theme song—the borrowed, equivalent lyrics of "Yankee, Go Home."—interspersed with vicious slurs at President Johnson, questioning his sanity.

Character assassins come in various mental sizes, types, and settings; but are recognizable by sight as well as sound and smell. There's a stripe running from head to tail. They are beloved only of their own kind, with whom they fraternize; a fifth column on whatever premises they trespass, whether they preach sedition, per se, or engage in verbal assault on the Nation's Chief Magistrate.

The outrage at Cambridge was characteristic of this stripe, and an audience of decency would have not kept its seat for such a tirade of venom spewed on the President—man and office. These characters would have relied, for protection of the "right" they claimed, on the very institutions of government they were abusing. In their contempt for authority, they would crumble the very law which is the instrument of individual and public defense. The ignoramus might not know that, but college professors should—and do. An author, of whatever dimension in public repute, like Norman Mailer, unquestionably should, and does.

America cannot countenance, by ignoring it, this affront—climaxing the series of episodes in a campaign of brainwashing addressed to insurrection. It owes no such considerations of tolerance to those who—whether merely stupid, or purblind "celebrity" dupes, infatuated with their own IQ—in time of war give aid and comfort to the enemy.

Make no mistake about it, America is at war, and that war is escalating.

The conflict in Asia is no less real because it has not been formally declared by Congress. We are at grips with the enemy there—with American sons on that firing line, in a number approaching 100,000; and an additional mobilization of 200,000 in prospect for security readiness wherever the need exists.

Regardless of the nomenclature employed to date—for lack of precise definition—that isn't a "police action." Bearing in mind the scope of enemy aggression built and building for a test of American initiative, courage, and resolution in the defense of freedom to which there it is committed, the dimensions of threat exceed the one met in Korea.

The cost of that stand will be in blood and substance; but American men there sent know that the ultimate sacrifice would be greater if—failing to meet in full strength the Communist challenge, we merely postponed the eventual showdown.

Awesome decisions rested on realization of that, and realism abandoned the no-win policy that prevailed too long. President Johnson acted as national honor and free world survival decreed; with courage, and with confidence in the patriotic response of a people equally concerned—when they know the score—with freedom's future.

They need to be told that score in all its stark reality; not in spoon-fed doses, to awaken by degrees and stages to the full picture.

The war is going on in Asia—in Vietnam and on its perimeter northward where the enemy is entrenched; and it must be won there, before it spills over from that to another continent—namely our own.

It is not an engagement for timidity and mincing steps of Nice Nellieism, sensitive to the possibility of offending the enemy. The war is of that enemy's making—and there must be no repetition of the retreat and appeasement and privileged-sanctuary business that made for disaster in Korea, as well as that which permitted establishment of Castro's Communist bastion with its Russian missiles in Cuba.

The American people never have failed to rally solidly to the flag—and follow where it leads—in times of military crisis. Historically, they have awaited only trumpet call sounding no uncertain note. When it is made abundantly clear by our policy spokesmen, it actually will confirm what concerned millions have known all along—that sooner or later this showdown was inevitable; and that there is no substitute for victory.

The American people by and large know which side they are on—and it isn't that of the enemy, or the putrid pipsqueaks addicted to that side out of global obsessions contemptuous of their country, affinity with the brainwash technique to the point of borderline treason; or for ideological kick.

To even the casual beholder it must be significant that these odd-balls expend no vituperation on the enemy. They reserve it for the President of the United States, and his military and foreign policy advisers; and they spew it in compounded doses when the policy formulated begins to knock with real meaning on the enemy's door. The insult they magnify embraces every mother's son now fighting where he was sent by his Government—and they spit upon the graves where brave men sleep.

No American in his or her right mind will fail to register repugnance at such an exhibition. Let it be said that in this spectacle of contempt, the contempt is mutual—and the would-be brainwashers need a laundering not only of brain but soul. They are celebrities only in the sense that a tumblebug is the cynosure of curious eyes before he gets stepped on. It's stepping time.

Notwithstanding the doodlebug riffraff, this is not a divided country, with the realities of war registering and mounting daily. It can be and will be a more solidly united country, on the issues involved, when the facts of military crisis are fully submitted for its total enlightenments.

The President of the United States has awesome responsibilities, indeed. The people share with him the ultimate responsibility—and need to be told, insofar as security considerations permit, the whole story.

The day cannot be far off when President Johnson must appear before Congress, and there present formally the case of and for this confrontation. At the first available moment he should do that.

The Chief Executive, the parents, wives, sweethearts, brothers, sisters, friends, and associates of the thousands of Americans already in Vietnam, and the other countless thousands who will see service there and elsewhere before it is concluded—should be spared the indignities, the tortures, the discouragements being heaped upon them by bellowing blatherskites in Washington, the phoney protests of the collegiate leftists, the raucous rantings of paid professional rabble-rousers mouthing the Commie line of retreat and get out.

This is the time for unity.

The United States cannot afford division against the common enemy.

It is time to shut up, stand up, and put up.

This war must be won.

Repeal of Section 14(b) of the Labor-Management Relations Act

SPEECH

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 77) to repeal section 14(b) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended and section 705(b) of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 and to amend the first proviso of section 8(a)(3) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Chairman, section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law has been a source of great controversy for many years. Specifically, it states:

> (b) Nothing in this Act shall be construed as authorizing the execution or application of agreements requiring membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment in any State or territory in which such execution or application is prohibited by State or territorial law.

The manner in which the legislation to repeal this section of the law is being considered is a somewhat sad commentary on the procedures of the House of Representatives, although it is not unlike the "ram it through" legislative operation which has characterized this session of the 89th Congress. As one of the liberal newspapers in the country observed with regard to the procedure on this bill:

> This is not a routine decision. It should be taken only after adequate debate and freedom to consider valid amendments on the floor of the House.

The gentleman from New York, Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, chairman of the Labor and Education Committee, has proposed such a tight limit on the right of Members of this House to offer amendments that it is restricted to repealing section 14(b) in the chairman's way or not at all.

There is great misconception in some quarters that the so-called right-to-work laws in 19 States deny any worker the right to join a union. Perhaps this is not widespread, but it is an opinion which has been expressed in mail which I have received from some of my constituents. Of course, nothing could be farther from the fact.

The State legislatures in each of the 50 States have been given the responsibility and the authority to enact laws with regard to union and open shop policies. In 31 States today legislatures have adopted union shop laws. Certainly the Federal Government should not have the right to enact any legislation that would wipe out these laws. In the same consistent conviction that the Federal Government has no right to obliterate those laws which are constitutional and which have been adopted and passed by the States, I contend that the repeal of 14(b)

is fundamentally wrong. Bear in mind that the laws in all of the 50 States with regard to organized labor have been placed on the State statutes by men and women selected by the electorate to exercise this judgment in their behalf. Whether we agree with their judgment or not, the fact remains that any invasion by the Federal Government in these areas certainly nullified the right of the electorate in those States to provide State laws which are their responsibility.

In other words, we cannot consistently take the position that the Federal Government has no right to tamper with the union shop laws enacted by 31 States, and I believe in this principle; but by the same token, then, the Federal Government does not have the right to tamper with those laws in 19 States which are both proper and constitutional.

I believe that the issue before us can be summed up in the words of an editorial which appeared in the Washington Post yesterday and which certainly generally reflects my views on it. It should be stated that the Washington Post has never been in any manner antilabor and has, in fact, been regarded as one of the great liberal newspapers of the country. The editorial follows:

REFORMING TAFT-HARTLEY

The question of repealing section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act will presumably be decided by the House today under very unfavorable circumstances. We think the House was well advised to move the issue to the floor under the new 21-day rule after the Rules Committee failed to give it clearance. The Rules Committee had to be notified that the House will not tolerate its obstructionism on this or any other measure. It does not follow, however, that the House should hasten to give its approval to the bill. On the contrary, we think the best interests of the country would be served by laying this bill aside until a more comprehensive modification of the Taft-Hartley Act can be undertaken.

The bill before the House has the narrow purpose of nullifying the so-called right-to-work laws now in effect in 19 States and of forbidding the passage of similar State measures in the future. No doubt there is much to be said for a national policy of tolerating or not tolerating the union shop in industries affecting interstate commerce. In passing the Taft-Hartley Act, Congress compromised on this controversial issue by letting the States set up their own separate policies. Someday it may wish to return to a uniform national policy, but we doubt that the time is now ripe, and the vehicle being rushed through Congress is far from being an appropriate one.

Some weeks ago Senator JAVITS pointed out that there are many weaknesses in the Taft-Hartley Act which ought to be corrected. Though he favored repeal of section 14(b), he wanted to make it part of a package of Taft-Hartley reforms. Especially vital is the improvement of that section of the law which deals with national emergency labor disputes. Hope of getting this and other parts of the law overhauled would be weakened by passage of the present bill.

With all its faults, the Taft-Hartley Act strikes a balance between management on one side and organized labor on the other. It is a delicate and complicated balance. If it is going to be altered, we think the changes should come after a comprehensive survey of the entire structure. Both the administration and the House Labor Committee failed to provide any leadership in such a venture. No comprehensive bill in such a complex field could be written on the floor even if the opportunity to offer amendments had not been narrowly restricted. Consequently it would be desirable if the House would tell the administration and its own Committee on Education and Labor to try again.

One other aspect of the situation before the House is troublesome. Reports of heavy logrolling have come from Capitol Hill. Midwestern Democrats, many of whom are lukewarm or hostile toward the repeal of section 14(b), have been importuned to vote for it in return for support of the farm bill. Most of the big-city Democrats who rely heavily upon the votes of organized labor and look askance on the farm bill have also been urged to exchange favor for favor. No doubt this logrolling device is as old as legislatures, but it is a discreditable practice and often produces bad legislation.

Both the farm bill and modification of the Taft-Hartley Act should stand or fall on their own merits. It is curious indeed that the proposed repealer of the right-to-work laws should be wholly divorced from other pertinent Taft-Hartley reforms to which it is closely related and yet should be linked, in political strategy, to the farm bill in a totally different area of policymaking. This alone would seem to be ample cause for laying the proposed repealer aside until a better approach can be made.

A Good Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following is a WABC radio editorial delivered on July 9, 10, and 11, 1965, by Walter A. Schwartz, vice president and general manager of WABC in New York. The editorial concerns New Jersey's new law to deal with drunken driving by teenagers. Any teenager convicted of drunken driving would have his or her driving license suspended until age 21. This law is part of New Jersey's attempt to deal with the mounting death toll on its highways and is one which other States would do well to enact. We should also try it in the District of Columbia.

The editorial follows:

[WABC Radio editorial, No. 39, 1965]

A GOOD LAW

New Jersey's new law to curb drunken driving by teenagers is a tough one and a good one. Its aim, as Governor Hughes said in signing the bipartisan measure, is to get off the road any teenager convicted of drunken driving. His, or her, license would be supended until age 21 if convicted in a court for driving a car while intoxicated. The law also, we are pleased to note, calls for suspension of a youth's driving license if he is convicted of driving while under the influence of narcotics or other habit-forming drugs. This is New Jersey's answer to the rising toll of deaths and accidents on its highways involving young people under the influence of alcohol. It was prompted partly by New York's refusal to raise its legal drinking age to 21 so that teenagers would not come into New York to buy drinks. We congratulate the Republicans and Democrats who pushed this bill through the legislature. We commend the Governor for signing it into law. We urge parents to warn their children of its severity. We feel that New Jersey's lead is a good one for other States to follow.

Propaganda Sliced Thin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COMPTON I. WHITE, JR.

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, the plight of the American wheat farmer is not being made easier by propaganda linking the farm bill with a bread tax. Expenditures for food in the United States increased $105 per person in the last 15 years, and of this total, marketing firms received $104 and the farmer only $1. A proposal to give the farmer a fair slice of the bread dollar wisely has been included in the farm bill. Therefore, it is indeed unfortunate that American consumers are being deluged with bread tax leaflets manufacturers are placing in bread loaves.

On July 1, 1965, the Idaho Observer printed an editorial on the bread tax by Mr. Perry Swisher of Pocatello, publisher of the Intermountain. I call it to the attention of the Members.

[From the Idaho Observer, July 1, 1965]

PROPAGANDA SLICED THIN

(By Perry Swisher)

This young man who works with me walked up with a leaflet in his hand and held it up indignantly. "Guess where this was." "I took a loaf of bread home tonight and this thing was right in between the slices. Not in the wrapper but tucked clear inside the loaf. What nerve."

What nerve. The butter-on-bread handout was entitled, "Help Beat the Bread Tax." It invited the consumer to "write your Congressman today and tell him what you think" about "shifting the cost of the Government farm program directly to the consumer."

While unsigned, the propaganda is from the milling industry which would be required by the 1965 wheat bill to pay 50 cents a bushel outside the present price program. I have seen estimates ranging from three-fourths of a cent to 2 cents a loaf as the impact of this requirement, and I'm sorry I am not better qualified to nail it down.

But what should be nailed down is the argument that present policies should not be changed in any way that would increase even by a fraction of a cent the cost of a farm commodity-end product to the buying public. If painful, the truth nevertheless is that there is really no other long-term alternative to the perennial billions of dollars in farm subsidies.

We are better off to meet the farmer's need directly in the marketplace than to go on relying on an approoach that adds so much to the Federal budget and to its debt-interest load.

You would think the first to agree with this point of view would be the American Farm Bureau Federation, supposedly the great advocate of farmer independence from Federal control. But a pattern that is as old as the Farm Bureau emerges once again in this test of the outlook of the Farm Bureau's national leaders.

Quite consistently the national organization has sided with the processors, not with the farmers producing a particular commodity, when the two have been in conflict. General Mills, General Foods, and so forth, have had many a Farm Bureau assist.

Charles B. Shuman, national Farm Bureau president, spoke in this area last week. He opposed the new program which would add vital dollars to the income of wheat farmers

who have been in real price trouble—and now many of them in credit trouble—since Farm Bureau led the successful campaign against the high support wheat referendum 2 years ago.

Well, to me the truly vital statistics in this argument are these, and Mr. Shuman did not dwell on them: In 1947 wheat sold for $2.75 a bushel, and a loaf of bread for 12.7 cents. In 1964 wheat sold for $1.75, and bread was 20.7 cents a loaf. That is, with wheat off a dollar bushel from 1947 prices, bread has risen by 8 cents a loaf.

Granting all the inflation in production, packaging and distributing costs since 1947, can this spread between the cost of the chief ingredient and of the end product be justified? I do not believe so, not if the individual farmer is to survive in the marketplace. And that is where he alone, among those who share in the consumer's dollar, continues to be unable to bargain for his price.

That remains true no matter how you slice, what kind of propaganda you put between the slices, or how hard Mr. Shuman stumps for the miller's point of view.

S O S for Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the disastrous 6-week maritime strike which is seriously jeopardizing the American-flag merchant marine must be resolved, and the sooner the better.

The American flag has not appeared in South American ports and American passengers have been forced to sail on foreign-flag vessels that do not have the same safety standards that American ships must adhere to.

The New York World-Telegram in an editorial on July 29 endorsed a measure introduced by Senator DANIEL B. BREWSTER, of Maryland. Senator BREWSTER I know is aware, as I am, that something must be done to break this impasse.

Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I commend this editorial to my colleagues:

S O S FOR CONGRESS

The 6-week maritime strike, senseless from the start, has finally prompted the intervention of Labor Secretary Wirtz. If he's a miracle man, he has come to the right place.

Even more pertinent, perhaps, is a proposal by Senator DANIEL B. BREWSTER, Maryland Democrat. He says Congress should consider requiring no-strike guarantees from unions manning ships subsidized by the Federal Government.

These subsidies go mainly to support wage scales substantially higher than those of foreign fleets. In other words, all these jobs would otherwise price themselves and the American merchant marine out of competition.

Under the circumstances, Congress would be wholly justified in requiring a no-strike pledge from the maritime workers in return for the subsidies that make their jobs possible.

This, in turn, would make the merchant marine one thing it is not now—dependable, for travelers and commercial shippers alike. Without dependability, there can be only eventual oblivion for the fleet—and for all its jobs.

Doctor to Doctor International

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an outstanding group of doctors in Miami who are carrying out their own goodwill program by making visits to Central and South American countries.

These doctors are led by a dedicated oral surgeon, Dr. Robert L. Cherry.

They have lectured and held clinics for the physicians and dentists of these areas. They have also gathered several hundred pounds of drugs and donated them to the poor in charity hospitals in the cities they have visited. At present this group has invitations to visit several Central and South American countries, the Philippines, and India.

The work of these dedicated men was noted by one of Miami's leading newspapermen and his account of their work follows:

[From the Miami (Fla.) Herald]

FROM FLORIDA TO ECUADOR—AS A START: THE DOCTORS' DO-IT-YOURSELF ALIANZA

(By Bert Collier)

A group of Dade County physicians and dentists have just returned from Quito, Ecuador, with a gleam in their eye.

They believe they have discovered a form of foreign aid that doesn't cost the taxpayers a penny, that goes directly to those who need it and pays rich dividends in human health and happiness.

As a result they are chartering an organization to be known as Doctor to Doctor International. It will have chapters in as many cities as wish them, consisting of doctors and dentists who will adopt their colleagues in a Latin American city.

They will exchange visits, give lectures, and arrange brush-up courses in newer health techniques.

Most important of all, they will find ways to get equipment and drugs to their adopted brothers of the medical and dental profession.

"This work will be personal, private, and informal," says Dr. Robert L. Cherry, a Coral Gables oral surgeon who serves as president. "Every member pays his own way and takes time from his own busy practice to visit the adopted city. He not only has the personal satisfaction of helping others less able to help themselves but of spreading understanding of our country in areas where this has been sadly lacking."

These precepts of Doctor to Doctor International were well illustrated in Quito where 24 Dade Countians, with Coral Gables Mayor Joseph H. Murphy as their guest, spent several days.

They met with Ecuadorean doctors and dentists, visited hospitals and clinics where they exchanged ideas with members of the staffs, and donated drugs worth thousands of dollars.

Typical reaction was expressed by Dr. Guillermo Acosta Velasquez, director of the Eugenio Espejo Hospital in Quito as he accepted a gift of medicines and hospital supplies:

"In the past, great nations have usually conquered smaller nations. But this is not the way of the United States, which sets an example of liberty and justice for all.

"This donation of drugs demonstrates the North American spirit. It is that of the big brother who has much and uses it to help his little brother."

In addition to Dr. Cherry and Mayor Murphy, the Dade party included Dr. W. D. Bleser, Dr. L. L. Lund, Dr. A. E. Akers, Dr. B. L. Wilkerson, Dr. C. D. Hall, Dr. L. F. Jourdan, Dr. W. H. Fountain, Dr. Henry Renedo, Jr., Dr. W. F. Briggle, and Dr. H. V. Briggle, dentists.

The physicians were Dr. R. F. Dickey, Dr. J. W. Dix, Dr. J. B. Liebler, Dr. H. E. Danielson, Dr. J. J. Groom, Dr. M. A. Larkin, Dr. George Williams, Dr. B. G. Lary, Dr. R. K. Acton, Dr. R. L. Smith, and Dr. C. S. Kellogg.

Jacksonville was represented by Dr. Roger M. Hehn, dentist, and Dr. Emmett Ferguson, physician.

The trip to Quito was not the first and will not be the last for the Dade doctors. The idea began years ago as an outgrowth of the sister city program between Coral Gables and Cartegena, Colombia.

In an exchange of visits the special need for help in meeting health problems was discovered. Dr. Cherry and some of his colleagues responded with exchanges of ideas and donations of drugs.

The result was so constructive that annual visits have continued, to cities in Colombia, Costa Rica, and now Ecuador.

Previous visits have won commendations from Congress and from the White House.

"We found an amazing reservoir of friendship for the United States, but an almost total lack of communication on the personal level," Dr. Cherry said. "Ordinary people in these cities do not know of the aid that flows between governments. They do not understand that the American people want to help them improve their own standards of daily living and have no ulterior motives in doing so."

Before going to Quito the Dade Countians collected hundreds of pounds of drugs, antibiotics, special baby foods, and other items.

To make sure that these got in the proper hands and that the recipients knew where they came from, Dr. Cherry and the others rode in delivery trucks and personally handed the boxes to the staff members at the hospitals.

"These people aren't looking for a handout," said Dr. Cherry. "They are proud, dedicated professional men and they ask only for the tools with which to serve their patients better.

"We hope to expand until the doctors and dentists of every major Latin American city have colleagues in a North American city to help them.

"When that is accomplished we believe we will have formed a bond that is deep and lasting on both sides."

Florida's Heritage Enriches the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted, I submit, for reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, a very interesting editorial which appeared in the Florida Times-Union on Saturday, July 24, 1965, entitled "Florida's Heritage Enriches the Nation":

FLORIDA'S HERITAGE ENRICHES THE NATION

Discovery of a deposit of early Spanish colonial artifacts near Port St. Joe by a team of Florida State University archeology students led by Dr. Hale Smith adds still another dimension to Florida's rich Spanish

heritage currently being honored in the St. Augustine Quadricentennial celebration.

The FSU students, digging on the remote northern end of St. Joseph Peninsula, across St. Joseph Bay from Port St. Joe, have uncovered hundreds of artifacts typical of the early 18th century, indicating it to be the site of a Spanish settlement of that era.

Extant documents refer to the establishment of such an outpost as early as 1701. Dr. Hall called the discovery of numerous examples of pottery, clay pipe, musket balls, glass and tile, significant not only for fixing the location of another Spanish site, but because "it extends history backward."

The discovery recalls an anecdote told by a Jacksonville teacher of Florida history, who was once hostess to a Virginia friend. The visitor from the Old Dominion, where local history is a point of personal pride, commented wryly that "teaching Florida history must be easy, since there is so little of it." The Virginian was quickly reoriented in her historical values when her hostess noted that St. Augustine was a thriving city with a library of several thousand volumes when the first parmenant English settlers landed at Jamestown.

The new find in the Florida panhandle offers additional evidence that Florida is truly the cradle of history on the North American Continent, and that its rich Spanish cultural heritage, epitomized in the ancient city's current observance, is a vital part of the infinite variety which is the source of national strength and pride.

What Is a Liberal?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLETON J. KING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, our forefathers came to this country not to have the Government do things for them, but to get a chance to do things for themselves. Yet, many today either in ignorance of history or in the naive notion that history does not apply to us, believe the way to expand freedom and improve man's life in dealing with every problem is to increase the power of government over him.

An article which appeared recently in the Troy Record newspaper written by its distinguished columnist, Mr. Dwight Marvin, points out the definition of a "liberal." With the liberals in control of this Congress by better than a 2-to-1 majority, Federal spending has been increasing at an unprecedented rate for a variety of Great Society programs. At the same time we have been obligating the Federal Government for these increased expenditures, taxes on a number of items have been either decreased or eliminated entirely. The end result of this fiscal irresponsibility should be a vital concern to everyone.

Because I believe Mr. Marvin has given an excellent definition of "What Is a Liberal?" I include his article in the Appendix of the RECORD:

WHAT IS A LIBERAL?

(By Dwight Marvin)

There has been a great deal of talk lately about liberals in politics. It has been difficult to define the term. Many a liberal is denounced, in some circles, as a radical. Many a mere temperate liberal is denounced, in other quarters, as rank conservative. What is the true meaning of the word?

Those of us who have been studying the political language of the day are anxious to find some likeness among so-called liberals which is so general and so evident that we can use it safely.

There is such a definition. Liberals in one respect are all alike. They want to spend money. They see no progress without lavish expenditure and they demand it for all purposes. They are never discriminating. The money must be spent, everywhere. If we haven't got it, borrow it. It is lesse majeste to mention that fact that borrowed money must be paid back. The liberal denounces anyone who tries to remind citizens of this fact.

This single attitude fits each and every political liberal in the land. Not one of them is interested in budget balancing. Not one ever looks favorable on the old mortality which would limit so-called progress to the values we can pay for.

We have a good example of this in the quiet, but evident, feud between the Kennedy clan and President Johnson. There are wide differences in their positions on many matters—although, in a properly political way the differences are not often openly expressed.

But they are all liberals. The President turned, upon becoming President, from an admittedly conservative, often narrow, career; and he accepted liberalism as his new code. He has done a stanch and steady service in such quarters. The Kennedy group, Bobby in particular is evident willing to undercut the presidential program and to offer a somewhat different approach.

Yet they are all liberals. They all believe in spending. None of them is interested in economy. The President may talk about holding budgets down; but he doesn't perform as he talks. He is a spender of the first water. So are the Kennedys.

There are many conservative Democrats, millions of them. In the South they have entire control. And all over the country there are Democrats who believe in a balanced budget—as neither Johnson nor the Kennedys do. Not now; just far enough ahead, if at all to affect the 1968 election.

Many Republicans, of course, are liberals. They shouted and defected in 1964. We are not discussing partisan politics. We are merely asserting, with no fear of contradiction, that the one sure similarity, the only one, about present day political liberals is that they all want to spend money—of course for worthy purposes. You don't spend money for anything less. And they want to spend it whether they have it or not. The United States is rich. It can borrow for anything it wants.

What the American Flag Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article from the July–August 1965 edition of the Empire State Mason. An excellent choice of subject was made for this year's annual essay contest sponsored by New York's Grand Lodge Committee on Youth.

The subject of the essay was, "What the American Flag Means to Me," and the 1965 winner was Karen E. Reinhart, of Johnson City, N.Y.

Her essay is included in the article which follows:

ARTICLE BY R. W. HORACE S. EVANS

From Johnson City, from St. Johnsville, and from Verona come the three winners of scholarships in the annual essay contest sponsored by the Grand Lodge Committee on Youth.

The scholarships, made possible through the Frank M. Totton Memorial Committee, headed by R. W. Fred S. Lawler, were won by Miss Karen E. Reinhart. 509 Ivy Place, Johnson City, first; Miss Crystal Settle, R.D. 1, St. Johnsonville, second; and Fletcher A. Brothers, Box 125, Verona. Miss Reinhart, who has been accepted at State University of New York at Geneseo, will be awarded $500; Miss Settle, who has been accepted at Wagner College of Staten Island, will receive a $300 scholarship; and Mr. Brothers, accepted at Houghton College, will be awarded $200.

In announcing winners of the scholarships, Past Grand Master Nathan Turk, youth committee chairman, declared the contest this year attracted far more entrants than were expected. The subject "What the American Flag Means to Me" was quite a challenge to the contestants, all of whom wrote amazingly fine essays.

The Empire State Mason here publishes Miss Reinhart's prize winner:

"WHAT THE AMERICAN FLAG MEANS TO ME

"The American flag means freedom to me. It is a symbol, not only of the freedoms which are guaranteed by the Constitution, fought for by my father and his father before him, but the God-given freedom which promotes the dignity of man.

"The flag represents the right to choose my own way of life. This is precious to me because it means that, as long as our beautiful ensign waves, I have the right to aspire to greater heights and to think my own thoughts without apprehension.

"Our flag is a symbol of my right to worship as I choose, without fear. This was most important to those who sailed, in tiny ships, to this great land many years ago to escape persecution for their beliefs. Religious freedom continues to be important today as people throughout the world struggle for human dignity.

"The American flag means more to me than just a pretty, red and white striped, piece of cloth billowing in the breeze. It is the banner of a free Nation that desires to be a friend and brother to all. This powerful Nation does not want to rule the world; it simply wants to extend the rights of 'Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness' to every man everywhere.

"The American flag bears witness to all that, it is an emblem of peace and liberty with honor, and remains the flag of free hearts. It inspires me to love of God and country, for it is under God that the Stars and Stripes continue to wave 'o'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.'"

Memorial for Adlai E. Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest tributes to the late Adlai Stevenson was delivered recently by the distinguished former Governor of Penn-

sylvania, the Honorable David L. Lawrence. I include it at this point in my remarks:

MEMORIAL FOR ADLAI E. STEVENSON

(Remarks of former Gov. David L. Lawrence at the United Nations Association of Pittsburgh, Pa., July 25, 1965)

When we think of Adlai Stevenson, how many different memories pass before the mind's eye, how many thoughts, happy and proud, come flowing forth, how many characteristics of human warmth and greatness are recalled. And all this, of course, deepens the sorrow, while at once enlarging the gratitude for those of us who lived in an era with him, who rejoiced in knowing him, personally or from afar, who admired him, followed him, yes and loved him.

He brought to us all, of varying ages and of different backgrounds, from places distant to this as well as here in his homeland, a pride in humanity which sometimes is hard to come by and difficult to admit.

He gave substance to the yearnings for a better world and a more perfect humanity, yet he achieved this in us through an appeal to intellect and reason and high purpose, rather than a playing on emotion or the using of guileful deceit.

He was a man of reason, yet he saw no conflict between reason and faith, between idealism and the obtainable, between courage and compassion.

He brought to our political thinking a decency and a devotion that elevated thought and advanced our goals. Yet he was twice denied the office of national leadership where he would have had the responsibility—the heavy burden of responsibility, as he described it—to guide our political destinies and to help shape the future of mankind.

But the failure of candidacy did not mean loss of purpose—nor, indeed, of his service. What he said and did as a presidential nominee helped create the philosophy and actions which now guide us, and in these past years he had the duty to represent us in the world forum and to express, in far more than words alone, the views and the hopes and the determination of this Nation.

And he did represent America—he represented our firmness in devotion to freedom's cause, our concern for mankind's progress, our generosity of heart as well as pocket toward those less fortunate, our obligation to peace and our dedication to the survival of civilization and its flowering.

He was a thoughtful man, thoughtful of others, respectful of their views, aware of their feelings, attentive to the common lineage of humanity. He was thoughtful, as well, about ideas and actions, weighting arguments and observant of alternatives and differing approaches, yet he was not, as some have suggested, a man of indecision or of inaction. He believed decision, to be correct, must of its very nature be fed on thought and reason. Having done that, having satisfied that elemental requirement, action was firm and purpose was certain.

There is nothing incompatible between inquiry and decision, between principle and action, between conscience and performance. Adlai Stevenson proved that reason is not a frailty and that trust is not a weakness.

He helped remind us that words of eloquence are weapons of force and persuasion, when they spring from conviction and result from searching thought.

Above all else, he made us aware of the place and the role of civilized man in the world today, despite its harshness, its danger, its violent and coercive elements. He reminded us of the virtue of principles and the strength of thought, of the warmth of knowledge and the enrichment of culture, of the wisdom of reason and the persuasion of truth.

His was the way of civilized man in its very best description. He was kind to others, yet firm in his convictions and sure in his purpose. He was aware of the shortcomings of the human being but respectful of the human spirit and confident of the human aspiration. He had the patience of a man of history, yet this never tempered his zeal as a man anxious and determined to undo wrongs and serve justice.

His was a perspective, neither of the starry-eyed nor of the despondent. It was the perspective that came from honest appraisal and confident faith—the perspective of a man of thought as well as action, of one who dared dream bright dreams and sought then to bring them into form, not just as a matter of desire but of duty.

Yet he was also very much the realist, as when he said in 1954, that "the quest for peace and security is not a day's or a decade's work. For us it may be everlasting." And he devoted himself to that work, not for a day, not for a decade, but for a lifetime. What he did, and the causes he served, did not fall with him on a London street. He taught us better than that.

We shall never see the likeness of him again, yet he shall never be gone from us because his thoughts and his work were too important, too well-conceived, too nobly performed to be that transient or that transparent.

They are his memorial, which will grow more beautiful and more significant still as they are served by those left behind in the years ahead.

No one, as Justice Goldberg has remarked, can replace him. But neither can any of us ever forget him.

That is why the work goes on.

That is why it will succeed.

That is why we remember him with not just respect and affection, but with a willing acceptance of responsibility which is his legacy to mankind and the world of tomorrow.

How honestly and vigorously we pursue that responsibility will be the measure of our memory of him, and our belief in what he stood for and fought for.

Indeed, it will be a testing of the validity of his life and the value of his thoughts.

No memorial could be more fitting, none more challenging, none more glorious to erect in the society of man.

Let us do it with sureness and devotion, and in gratitude for the greatness we have had the fortune to know in the life and deeds of Adlai Stevenson.

VA Closings: The Battle Is Yet To Be Won

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. J. RANDALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to be invited to make the keynote address at the opening of the recent State encampment of the Department of Missouri, Veterans of Foreign Wars, at St. Louis, Mo.

At that time the theme of my talk centered around the order closing 32 veteran facilities last January and a discussion of the modifications proposed in June by the President's Special Committee on Veterans' Facilities.

In the course of my remarks I emphasized our Government's traditional policy of adequate veteran care and benefits. It was pointed out the closing order was founded upon a premise of false economy and that many arguments advanced at the time of the June compromise were fallacious.

I have asked leave at this time to extend my remarks made in St. Louis in order to call to the attention of my colleagues in the House the fact that although H.R. 202 was favorably reported by the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs almost 2 months ago, it has not been granted a rule. It is no nearer consideration by our body of the Congress than when it was reported early in June.

It is my hope some of the thoughts expressed at St. Louis may be meaningful to those Members who have suffered the loss of a VA facility in their districts. I remain equally hopeful that portions of those remarks might serve as a reminder to Members of Congress who believe that care for our veteran population should not be reduced or downgraded. They should be reminded that the battle has not been won. There must be a reversal of the January decision. Now it appears it will be necessitated by the intensification of our military efforts in southeast Asia. Following is the text of my remarks:

VA CLOSING: THE BATTLE IS YET TO BE WON

Commander Chrisco, Ambassador Davis and my fellow members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars; this morning, unlike some who bear the burden of the description of "public servant," I am going to try to say exactly what I mean and mean exactly what I say.

I want to discuss the subject that is close to your heart and undoubtedly the overriding issue of the convention—the pending closing of some 17 Veterans' Administration facilities, including our regional office in Kansas City, Mo.

My comrades, I have never been more proud of the Veterans of Foreign Wars than I have been since January 13, the date the proposed closing of 32 VA facilities was announced. Your leaders at all levels have put up a magnificent fight.

If you had not moved into the vacuum quickly and decisively, all 32 VA installations would have been closed rather than only 17.

If there is one thing that comes out of this whole episode, it is the fact that by your valiant fight the powers that be in Washington are now fully aware that this Nation's veterans are not sleeping but are alert to the dangers that exist and will be ready to challenge at a moment's notice any further closings that may be proposed.

Some people in Washington think the veteran no longer exists, but instead is a meaningless statistic to be fed into a computer. Thank God most Americans do not feel that way.

Our Government's traditional policies have been to provide adequate benefits for war veterans, especially for those who carried their wounds home and for those with families who never returned.

The fact of the matter is there were benefits for veterans in this country even before there was a United States of America. Long before the Constitution was ratified, the Pilgrims of the Plymouth Rock Colony wrote into law that any soldier injured while fighting "shall be maintained completely by the Colony during his life." Several Colonies established similar laws.

The recent order closing these veterans facilities is more than just a routine veterans problem. It is more than a medical matter, more than a social problem, and even more than an economic matter. In truth, many of the closings involved a moral and an ethical question.

Congress after Congress has stated and restated and then ratified again and again the proposition that both service and nonservice-connected veterans would be given the best care possible.

In effect, there was a contract between the Congress and the VA on the one hand and our veterans population on the other. The directive of January 13 ordering the closing of these 32 hospitals and administrative facilities is nothing more or nothing less than a breach of this implied contract.

In spite of the greatest era of prosperity in this country, the Veterans' Administration has settled for reducing and curtailing their measure of service to the worthy and needy veterans of this Nation. This reduction is proposed at a time when we are shoveling billions of dollars around the world in a foreign aid program to recipients who reward our efforts with ingratitude and hostility, expressed by the destruction of U.S. property abroad.

On the afternoon of June 8, a messenger hand delivered to my office in Washington a copy of the Presidential order implementing the report of the Special Committee on Veterans' Facilities. This meant that President Johnson had just placed his stamp of approval on the committee's recommendation that 5 of the 11 hospitals, 2 of the 4 domiciliaries, and 8 of the 17 regional offices ordered closed on January 13 would be permitted to continue in operation.

Some of the administration's stalwarts pointed out that this reversal of the January decision should make us all grateful and cause us to cease our protest against the remaining closings.

Is is my opinion an even better argument can be made that this was just a crum tossed out to those who rightfully deserve a whole loaf. The order left standing more than half the unwarranted original decision to close or consolidate 32 veterans' facilities.

I don't know how the President could have been talked into approving the original closing order in January. Even the worst soothsayer would certainly have been able to predict the embarrassment these decisions would present to the current administration.

We must speculate that he has been so busy that he was unable to devote his full and undivided attention to the problems surrounding the proposed closings. He must have been completely preoccupied with military events in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, where he has shown such great energy, skill, and judgment in defense of freedom.

Whatever the reason, the President has already found it necessary to reverse 15 of the original decisions, and we all hope and pray that there will be more reversals in the near future.

Some of us in the Congress intend to see to it that legislation is passed requiring further reversals.

No one is in a better position than the President to realize that the conduct of war is inseparable from the problem of adequate veteran care. If we intensify our efforts in military objectives in southeast Asia and other parts of the globe, it will be necessary to expand—not contract—our veterans' programs.

Today, now, is no time to consider or even hint at reversal of the time-honored plan that our veterans should receive the best care possible.

The Chief Executive in his letter to Administrator Driver expressed concern that no action should be taken that is not fully justified in terms of "sound economy and compassion for our veterans." I submit that neither of these criteria can be met with respect to either the original decision or the closings approved on June 8.

There is no sound economy in either of the President's closing orders. There is only the false economy which transfers costs and inconvenience to the shoulders of the individual veterans in no financial condition to bear these costs.

Nor are these decisions very compassionate. There is no way the closings can be sugar coated or dressed up to merit that designation. The closings are callous and cruel in their disregard for the need of the aged veterans who deserve much better.

I submit to you this morning that you can search and search in vain to find one logical forthright statement of justification or adequate explanation of these closings. Instead, you will be given one after another contradictory reason for closing a particular facility.

Let us look at a few of these contradictory statements.

First, the VA said it was necessary to close hospitals because new construction was bringing additional beds into use and total number of beds was limited by law to 125,000.

The truth is there were only 119,000 beds in use when this statement was made, and that left a margin of 6,000 beds to be taken up in construction. The further truth is it will require several years of new construction to use up that margin.

Second, the VA tried to justify closing some of the hospitals by saying staffing was a major problem.

The truth is the VA recruiting bulletin put out just a few months ago listed only 8 vacancies for all 11 hospitals and the 4 domiciliaries listed in the closing order. How can anyone believe there are difficult problems in holding staff?

Third, the VA is inconsistent on the issue of hospital size.

I say to you that it is a transparent inconsistency for the VA to try to shove down our throats the proposition that good medical care can only be provided by big hospitals while at the very same moment HEW continues almost every single week to distribute money under the Hill-Burton Act to assist in the construction of hospitals smaller than the VA proposes to close.

We know what happens when a veterans hospital closes, but what is the impact of the closing of a regional office? What does that really mean?

Among other things, it means the claimant may find it impossible to appear before a rating board, and it means that many individual veterans will have increased expenses in connection with their claims.

It is hard to find a parallel, but I guess about as good a comparison as we could find would be to close all the civil courts in a given area and transfer their activities to centralized courts, thus requiring attorneys, defendants, plaintiffs and witnesses to travel great distances for every court appearance.

If this were to happen, you would hear a cry that would be heard clear around the world. Everyone would scream that justice had become a luxury and only those with abundant time and money could ever seek her ear or receive her smile.

Yet the administration's proposal will create a similar situation for many veterans who seek to pursue a claim with the VA.

Let me tell you the VA has carefully and utterly avoided important facts in attempting to justify the closing of regional offices as well as hospitals.

For instance, they have tried to make us all believe that 90 percent of all contacts in these regional offices are made through correspondence, rather than through personal contacts.

Our great VFW truth squad caught them redhanded on this one.

As to mail contact, the truth squad found they had included annual questionnaires, separate letters relating to a single claim, returned form letters, and even personal mail received by employees.

But when personal contacts were counted, visits to service officers of veterans' organizations and visits to operating officers of the regional office were ignored.

To me, that is hardly an example of fair play.

I am sure we could go on and on finding breaches and even great, gaping holes in the explanations the VA uses in attempting to justify these closings. The public record on this controversy is full of them.

Well, perhaps we cannot undo what has been done to us at Kansas City or the other places to be closed, but we certainly can put some law on the statute books to prevent it from happening again.

We can pass legislation which will not only require the VA to notify Members of Congress in advance of proposed facility closings, but will also require that such proposals receive the proper consent of appropriate Congressional leaders prior to such closings.

On the very day of the order of the closings, the House Veterans' Affairs Committee met and reported out such a bill, H.R. 202, which had been pending before the committee since the original order of January 13. This bill was unanimously reported by the committee just about an hour away from the time the President chose to make public his order to stand fast on half of the closings ordered last January.

It is a bill of great and vital importance to the welfare of our Nation's veterans, and you should all be made familiar with its provisions.

Briefly, H.R. 202 provides that new hospitals costing more than $100,000 or alterations to existing hospitals costing more than $500,000 may not proceed unless authorized by a resolution of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

It further provides that alterations in excess of $200,000 but less than $500,000 can be carried out only after the VA submits its prospectus to the Veterans' Affairs Committee and if a period of 60 days passes when there is no resolution passed by the committee in opposition to the change.

Another provision of section 1 provides that no hospital or domiciliary in operation on the date of enactment of the bill and over which the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs has jurisdiction shall be closed until the Veterans' Affairs Committee gives its explicit approval through a resolution.

These provisions follow the model established for projects under the jurisdiction of the Public Works Committees of Congress. That law has been found workable with respect to most buildings constructed or sought to be closed and abandoned by the General Services Administration.

Had such a statute been on the books last January, both the President and the Congress would have been spared much of the travail and heartache of the last 6 months.

The President could have made his proposal to the Congress and the Committee on Veterans' Affairs could have examined it thoroughly under more auspicious and less emotional circumstances.

I have no doubt that the Congress would have found acceptable those proposals which were directly in the interest of the welfare of our veterans.

No person who is truly concerned with the plight of our aged or disabled veteran should be deluded into believing that H.R. 202 will be quickly or even easily passed into law.

It will be opposed by the administration. It will be scorned by the liberal press. It is even conceivable that it could be hindered or delayed by the leadership of the House.

Yet I firmly believe that our colleagues on both sides of the aisle—both liberal and conservative—will not let opposition or pressure deter them from responding to the call of duty.

I believe that H.R. 202 will pass by a fair margin.

I hazard a further prediction that in the event of possible Presidential disapproval, a strong reaction would be created which would invite passing the bill again by an even healthier margin.

Yet H.R. 202 is by no means a perfect bill. It will need amendment on the floor of the House, and it will have to be supplemented

by vigorous awareness and political activity on the part of veterans' organizations.

The version reported by the committee applied only to hospitals and domiciliaries and does not include regional offices. In my opinion, that is a significant and a regrettable omission.

I pledge to you today that if there is any parliamentary tactic available in the books, I will personally propose an amendment to include regional offices.

H.R. 202 is urgent business. It is an immediate defensive measure to cope with the current closing orders and to prevent further closings from being executed without Congressional approval.

But uppermost in the minds of everyone this morning is the question of a long-range solution. Just how can the tragedy of the dismemberment of the VA system be arrested or stopped?

The answer I propose is directly tied to another one of the principal objectives of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the drive for enlistment of the maximum number of eligible veterans in the ranks of our great organization. The most effective deterrent to hasty reductions in veterans' rights in the future would be an overwhelming influx of veterans into veterans' organizations.

Edmund Burke, the noted British statesman, wisely stated a long time ago that "all that is required for the triumph of evil is that good men remain silent and do nothing."

I would paraphrase that quotation with the comment that all that is required for the triumph of the statistical, computerized approach to veterans' welfare is that the friends of veterans remain silent and do nothing.

It is not just my personal judgment, but that of our great Commander in Chief Buck Jenkins that if our own VFW could boast a total of 5 million members within its ranks we could easily have saved all 32 of the installations proposed to be closed.

On the other hand, if our membership remains static or if it should happen to dwindle, all we have gained in the past will stand in constant jeopardy.

The veterans of the United States deserve no less than the best efforts from you, their leaders, buttressed and sustained by elected representatives in the Congress who are willing to stand up and fight.

Fixer on the Bench

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is becoming more obvious that President Johnson is operating the White House in the same manner as the old-fashioned big city politicians ran city hall. The President is especially interested in promoting his old friends to high positions, the only yardstick being personal service they have rendered to him.

The Chicago Tribune editorializes this morning on the appointment of Abe Fortas to the U.S. Supreme Court. The editorial speaks volumes, properly emphasizing the President's politics-at-all-costs philosophy.

The article follows:

FIXER ON THE BENCH

Abe Fortas, the man President Johnson has appointed to the seat vacated by Arthur J. Goldberg on the Supreme Court, has been a political fixer around Washington since the earliest days of the New Deal more than 30 years ago. He has run some important errands for Mr. Johnson and has had a somewhat dizzying record defending loyalty and security risks.

When, last October, at the height of the presidential campaign, Lyndon Johnson found himself deeply embarrassed, he turned instinctively to Fortas. The embarassment was occasioned by the disclosure that Walter Jenkins, Mr. Johnson's most trusted White House assistant, had been arrested for a second time by Washington police on a morals charge.

Jenkins, aware of Fortas' close relationship with Johnson, anticipated the President by telephoning Fortas with the word, "I'm in terrible trouble." Fortas arranged for Jenkins to meet him at the Fortas home in Georgetown, when he poured out his story. The newspapers had got hold of the facts.

Fortas immediately called Clark Clifford, another lawyer with clout, an intimate of Presidents Truman and Johnson, and together they made the rounds of the Washington newspapers, seeking to get the story suppressed. But Mr. Johnson, in New York, learned that the story would shortly move on the wire services. He called Fortas at once and assigned him to go to the hospital where Jenkins had been put in storage and get his resignation. Fortas was able shortly to report that the mission had been accomplished, and Mr. Johnson was able to wash his hands of a scandal.

In previous time Fortas helped Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White, Soviet agents, to draft the United Nations Charter. He appeared as counsel for Owen Lattimore when that "expert" on the Orient had to rush home from Afghanistan to face charges by the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy that he had been promoting Communist objectives in Asia.

Lattimore termed Fortas a "solid rock" in helping him through his ordeal. Fortas' services did not, however, save Lattimore from being indicted on seven charges of perjury arising from his testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, nor did it prevent the committee from pronouncing that from around 1930 Lattimore had been "a conscious, articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy."

Liberals, however, know their way around Washington, and a Federal judge of that persuasion was easily induced to get Lattimore off the hook by finding that the indictment lacked clarity. The Department of Justice had suggested that the judge disqualify himself for reasons of manifest bias, but the suggestion was spurned and the case never went to a jury to be heard on its merits. Fortas and his associates represented Lattimore.

The appoint of Fortas has two advantages in the eyes of the administration. It provides the White House with an astute and trusted agent with a sharp instinct for the political angles on the highest Court in the land, and it perpetuates the liberal majority which holds forth under Chief Justice Earl Warren. If it also pays off a few political debts, who, among friends, is to cavil about that?

The President's Speech: A Determined Stand for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the President of the United States once again carefully outlined to the world, friend and foe alike, why the United States is involved in the conflict in Vietnam. He again announced that American policy, with which I strongly concur, is committed toward a careful exploration of every possible road to peace.

He restated American determination not to abandon South Vietnam to Communist tyranny, and called upon the United Nations to exert every effort toward bringing to bear its good offices in effecting peace.

It was an impressive speech, and I believe the editorial from today's New York Times, which I insert in the RECORD, is an able commentary on this most important address:

THIS IS REALLY WAR

The President's measured speech to the Nation yesterday could leave no doubt about the seriousness of the situation in which this country finds itself today in respect to the war in Vietnam.

The United States is now fighting a land war in Asia—a limited one so far but nevertheless a war on the Asiatic continent. It is a war to which more men, materiel, and money must daily be committed—not to achieve an evanescent victory but to prevent further deterioration in the American military position. It is a war in the jungles of Asia against an ever-growing and well-trained guerrilla force that is fighting in its own kind of country among its own people to overthrow a government of no popular standing or strength, with which the United States is allied.

It is a war the primary goal of which now—so far as the United States is concerned—is to convince the Communists that they cannot achieve their aims in Vietnam by force of arms. And it is a war which, as both the President and Ho Chi Minh have indicated could go on for months, years, or decades.

Despite the deep difficulties of the present and the tremendous implications for the future, few Americans will quarrel with President Johnson's determined conclusion to hold on in Vietnam. This is quite different from saying we will bring the other side to its knees.

The President is now encouraging Ambassador Goldberg to see what the United Nations or any member country can do to bring about negotiations. It is vital to keep open the door to a parley, and Mr. Johnson specifically mentioned his willingness to discuss Hanoi's own proposals. The possibilities of utilizing the 1954 Geneva agreement need further exploration, as the President again indicated. However, it should be recognized that the breakdown of the 1954 treaty was as much the fault of Saigon and Washington as it was of Hanoi.

But—no doubt because of the deteriorating military situation which President Johnson has just taken steps to arrest—the Communists in recent months have shown no indication whatsoever of a willingness to negotiate. Therefore, the problem that faces the President and the American people today is to convince the Chinese and Vietnamese Communists that, as Mr. Johnson said, "a violent solution is impossible." This goes for both sides. The Government of the United States knows this and publicly recognizes it, and is ready "to move from the battlefield to the conference table" without preconditions.

The President made it very clear yesterday that he intends a controlled and severely limited operation on the part of the United States; and this is as important a point as could be made. It is fruitless at this stage to argue over errors of past policy, going back to 1954 and even further beyond. What is vital is that this war of the United States in Vietnam be held down to the absolute

minimum necessary to prove to Hanoi and Peiping that military aggression is not worthwhile and never will be.

Age Discrimination in America: Too Old To Work, but Too Young To Retire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. J. RANDALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, in the 67 years since it was founded, the Fraternal Order of Eagles has successfully sponsored Federal and State legislation sought by the workingman in his struggle for social justice.

Eagles were in the very forefront of the battle for old-age pension laws and for the establishment of workmen's compensation. The Social Security Act of 1935 was enacted after a 14-year fight under the leadership of the Eagles and organized labor.

In recent years, the FOE has turned its attention to mitigating the cruel economic discrimination exercised against workers who seek new employment in the years of their maturity. Through a jobs-after-40 campaign, Eagles have sought to affirm the propositon that a prospective employee ought to be judged by his previous work experience, by his capabilities, and his willingness to work—but not by the arbitrary yardstick of his chronological age.

Their concerted efforts have led to the enactment of 23 State laws which prohibit employment practices that arbitrarily discriminate on account of age. In turn, these laws created a climate in which President Johnson could issue Executive Order No. 11141, banning the use of age limits in advertising or in employment practices by any contractor or subcontractor doing business with the U.S. Government.

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of Aerie No. 385, I had the pleasure to address my Brother Eagles in Independence, Mo., on the subject of jobs-after-40 legislation. Under previous leave granted me, I am inserting the text of that speech at this point in the RECORD:

THE EAGLES' JOBS-AFTER-40 CAMPAIGN

It is always a pleasure to address my Brother Eagles. Other fraternal orders promote good fellowship, do good deeds, and do them well. Other fraternal orders provide death payments or other benefits to their members. But the Eagles go further than that. They reach outside their own ranks to promote the welfare of all mankind.

As an Eagle—and as your Congressman—I am praticularly interested in accomplishments of the Eagles in fostering timely legislation to alleviate pressing social problems.

Certainly no legislative efforts could be more appropriate and more timely in this age of automation than the national Eagle program to eliminate job discrimination against men and women after they reach the age of 40.

Did you ever stop to think about the pleasant anomaly involved in the Eagles' legislative efforts?

Here we are—an organization that is scrupulously nonpartisan and in which no man's religion is permitted to count either for or against him—and yet the Eagles have religiously supported highly political legislation. No matter how formidable the opposition or how charged the issue, if proposals are in accord with the lofty ideals we profess then we march straight to the legislative barricades.

THE EAGLES' LEGISLATIVE RECORD

Look at our record of accomplishments:

The first Mothers' Pension Act in the United States was enacted by the State of Missouri in 1911 because of efforts by the late Judge E. E. Porterfield, a brother Eagle from Kansas City who had observed the plight of needy widowed mothers in his courtroom.

Eagles helped steer this pioneering Missouri law through the State legislature at Jefferson City in 1911, just as they are working hard to steer the jobs-over-40 law through the same body today.

It was an Eagle in Montana who drafted the first State old-age pension act, the model for old-age pensions enacted by the other States of the Union. When the 1933 national convention of Eagles was held, delegates were able to view with great pride the 20 pens that had been used by the same number of Governors to sign State pension plans into law.

In the early 1930's the Fraternal Order of Eagles became the first major people's lobby in Washington.

Our Washington dreams were big, and yet we somehow were able to fulfill them. The Eagles campaigned for nothing less than enactment of a national social security act. After 14 years and a million dollars in educational efforts, such a bill was signed into law.

More recently, beginning in 1957, we have seen the start of another major legislative effort by the Eagles—the jobs-after-40 campaign. It is due to the widespread effect of this FOE campaign that public attention has been focused on unjust discrimination in employment because of age.

A DUAL AGE STANDARD

It is a sad commentary on our society that employers usually consider their older workers to be the most valuable workers because they possess skills, good judgment, loyalty and dedication to their vocation. Yet the minute they begin to think about hiring new men, they toss these considerations to the wind.

Consider the disparity in the fact that most of those persons chosen to guide the affairs of state are older men and women.

For instance, the average age of Senators in the current 89th Congress is 57.7 years, and the average age of my colleagues in the House of Representatives is 50.6 years. Even the present so-called freshman class in this 89th Congress has an average age of 43.8 years.

These same men—if they were unemployed today—would have a statistically difficult chance of finding new jobs in private industry. Yet they are members of an age group in which the voters of this country have just placed their stamp of confidence.

If political old age and economic old age were synonymous, the membership in the ranks of the U.S. Congress would be sadly depleted.

We are all familiar with the story of the middle-aged worker with children still in school who suddenly—because of technological unemployment, factory relocation, or structural unemployment—finds himself without a job.

What recourse does he have? Only one. He must seek new employment if he intends to continue to meet his financial obligations.

Yet because of the arbitrary factor of age the odds are greatly against his getting new employment either as quickly or at a salary level favorably comparable with his last job, when compared with the chances of a younger man.

Almost inevitably he is measured against the arbitrary yardstick of chronological age. And this is happening in a period in which the 40-to-65 group is one of the fastest growing segments of our population.

SOME MEDIEVAL MYTHS

Why cannot these individuals obtain new employment as easily as the younger worker?

The answer is because of prejudice and ignorance—ignorance of the true facts, and a reliance on medieval concepts and beliefs about older workers.

Many firms and individuals are still convinced that older workers are more accident prone, that their absenteeism is higher, that because of age they are less productive, and also that they are more apt to leave their jobs to seek new employment. They also claim that costs and restrictions of industrial health and pension plans are often prohibitive.

Most of these claims are built on myths. They do not withstand the scrutiny of careful analysis.

For one thing, such workers bring the additional assets of experience and training, and the invaluable attribute of judgment to their jobs.

For another, older workers have fewer accidents, they are less likely to seek new jobs, and their absenteeism decreases as they grow older.

It is clear we need to revive our national spirit and revise our attitudes toward elder citizens. And the Eagles have taken a long, constructive, and dramatic step forward in this direction.

As a result of Eagles' activity some 23 States now have laws on the books which explicitly prohibit arbitrary discrimination in employment on account of age. And most of these laws have enough teeth in them to stimulate employers into responsive action.

CURRENT PROGRAMS NOT ADEQUATE

One reasonable question which should be raised is whether Federal and State efforts as now constituted are on a large enough scale, comparative to the magnitude of the problem of after-40 discrimination.

The answer, I am sorry to report, is a resounding "No." But we are making progress; and we may even be approaching a turning point.

In the decade of the 1950's very little was done for the over-40 group. The Government—and here I am indicting the administration, as well as Members of Congress on both sides of the political aisle—did not really understand the nature of the problem, much less feel any real responsibility for devising partial or full solutions for it.

During that period, when recession hit an area and industries were forced to close their doors, very little was done to help the individual worker except to pay him his unemployment compensation. There were no large-scale programs of training and other assistance to prepare the individual for the period after unemployment compensation ran out.

About the only progress made in Congress at that time was a rider attached to an appropriations bill in 1956 which prohibited use of maximum age requirements in hiring employees to serve in the Federal competitive civil service.

THE PROGRESS OF THE 1960'S

Federal legislative and administrative efforts to secure and protect jobs for workers over 40 began to pick up and accelerate with the start of this decade of the 1960's.

In 1961, the first White House Conference on Aging was held.

In 1962, the Manpower Development and Training Act was passed, and in 1964 and in

this very year of our Lord 1965 amendments to that act were passed which increase the Government's ability to alleviate long-term effects of structural or technological unemployment on a community. Already, 320,000 trainees have been enrolled in programs under this act—many of them over 40 years of age.

The Eagles and older workers everywhere won a real victory in February of 1964 when President Johnson signed Executive Order No. 11141, banning use of age limits in advertising or in employment practices by any contractor or subcontractor doing business with the U.S. Government.

That order covers virtually every major corporation in the United States. The only exceptions allowed are for maximum age limits which are bona fide occupational qualifications or which are associated with retirement plans or are required by Federal statute.

Few persons are aware that the antidiscrimination provisions in title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, relating to employment practices, extend to discrimination on account of age and sex as well as to race or national origin. Discrimination in employment on account of sex is prohibited outright, and age discrimination is taken under congressional advisement. Under the terms of section 715, Congress required the Secretary of Labor to make a full study of age discrimination and to make recommendations for appropriate legislation to prevent such arbitrary discrimination n employment.

EXISTING FEDERAL PROGRAMS

In preparing my remarks this evening, I checked with officials of the executive branch to find out just how these programs are working out.

My first check was with the war on poverty, but the results of that inquiry were not as fruitful as I might have expected. As currently constituted, the economic opportunity program is slanted towards maximum impact on youth.

The real creative work on older persons' employment problems is being developed in the U.S. Department of Labor. As a result of experience from the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Manpower Utilization Service of the Department of Labor has amassed a great deal of experience in handling the employment problems of persons over 40 or 45.

Although they have yet to launch any major national older worker program, their training, counseling and referral programs are open to all eligible individuals, regardless of age. Moreover, through a Division of Special Services, the Department is trying to increase the assistance given explicitly to older persons.

I will not attempt to describe in detail the activities of the U.S. Department of Labor, but I would like to summarize some tentative conclusions about handling problems of workers in the over-45 group which resulted from my discussions with labor officials.

STATE JOBS-AFTER-40 LAWS USEFUL

First, State laws fostered and promoted by the Fraternal Order of Eagles to prohibit discrimination in employment on account of age are by and large beneficial.

Sometimes you hear it argued that age discrimination is so hard to pin down that laws can be evaded by employers. That is only true if you assume bad faith on their part.

The experience of many States is that when such laws exist and when they have sanctions and regular enforcement personnel associated with them, employers can be induced to change their hiring practices.

Jobs-after-40 laws create a climate of opinion and a moral atmosphere in which businessmen are more responsive to the needs of older job applicants. Such statutes alert the public to the existence of the problem, stimulate creation of local civic groups to foster fairer employment practices, and encourage personnel men to judge applicants on the basis of ability alone.

The example of California is illustrative of the impact of educational campaigns on hiring practices. Between 1959 and 1962, 3 short years, the placement of older workers increased some 90 percent. This increase may in part have been the result of population growth, but in greater measure it reflected the success of an Eagles' jobs-after-40 campaign.

EMPLOYER ATTITUDES CAN BE CHANGED

A second general finding is that improvement in employment prospects for older workers can often be achieved through educational efforts organized locally with assistance from the U.S. Employment Service.

In Arkansas, for instance, an Employer Institute was organized to provide basic information about the capabilities and capacities of older workers. Discussion among the 40 or more individuals who attended revealed that each individual employer had been passing the buck under the mistaken assumption that older men turned down by him would be able to find work elsewhere. Everyone assumed that other things were equal, and then took the younger applicant.

Once they discovered their collective error, the companies participating agreed that in the future they would at least interview older applicants and take them seriously. A followup survey 6 months later indicated there had in fact been an increase in the number of older persons hired in the area.

Similarly, experience has shown in Pennsylvania that when panels of six or seven employers can be organized to counsel older men and advise them about how best to seek employment, the result is often job offers for the applicants and a change in hiring practices by the companies involved.

To cite another example, many different kinds of private, nonprofit organizations have been established to help older workers help themselves in creating new jobs and services, and to open up new opportunities for over-40 workers in existing positions.

GOVERNMENT HAS A RESPONSIBILITY TO ACT

Third, we now recognize the important role which government must play when sudden, large-scale unemployment impacts a community.

Retraining programs, counseling and guidance services, strong local initiative to seek new industry, and basic education of workers about alternative employment opportunities are all necessary to minimize economic chaos that can hit communities like a bolt of lightning out of the blue sky.

WORKERS' ATTITUDES ARE IMPORTANT

Finally, we have learned that older workers themselves share part of the burden and blame for job discrimination on account of age. Often the older worker is unemployable only because he stoically refuses to adapt and change his own attitudes toward employment and career prospects.

Many older workers could and would find suitable employment in their chosen fields if they would do two things—face their problems squarely, and be willing to pull up stakes if necessary.

A special study is now being conducted to explore the different effects of worker mobility on employment. For obvious reasons, the older a man is, the more ties he has to his community and to his home and the more reluctant he is to go where the work is.

Unfortunately, we live in a highly mobile society and younger persons often work in several different cities before they finally settle down. Right now sociologists and economists are trying to find out what impact immobility has on employabiltiy. They already know that refusal to move often means that a man unnecessarily barely makes it, or just gets by, when he could be earning a decent wage elsewhere.

But the psychological factor is even more important in finding new jobs after the age of 40. It is incredibly difficult to find within yourself the initiative and the inventiveness that leads to employment if you are convinced deep down inside that somehow the old job is going to return. Yet time and again speed in seeking new employment—before financial resources are exhausted and skills have begun to dwindle—is the key to reemployment.

LABOR DEPARTMENT TO REPORT

The Secretary of Labor's mandatory report to Congress on job problems of the older worker is scheduled for release on June 30 of this year. Because of the way such reports are prepared and evaluated in the executive branch, the contents will not be revealed until that date. As you know, our President is so impressed with the notion that he is captain of the ship of state, he has taken extraordinary steps to plug all the "leaks" in it.

However, we may speculate that the report might comment on several bills now pending before the House Committee on Education and Labor. Some of these bills seek directly to prohibit age discrimination in hiring practices through timely amendments to the National Labor Relations Act or the Fair Labor Standards Act.

BUREAU OF OLDER WORKERS

One of the best of the bills now in the hopper is H.R. 2062, a problem-solving bill which would elevate a branch of the Labor Department's Division of Special Services to the status of a Bureau of Older Workers.

This Bureau would coordinate the activities of all Federal agencies in preventing discrimination on account of age by the Government itself.

It would investigate and propose changes in tax policies, pension programs, wage systems, and collective bargaining agreements which might foster employment of older workers.

It would conduct a basic education program among employers to explode popular myths about skills and capabilities of older workers.

Such a bureau would also have specific responsibilities to cooperate with other agencies, first, in assisting older workers to find reemployment whenever major plant shutdowns occur, second, in developing retraining programs designed for older workers, and third, in stimulating the development of local voluntary nonprofit employment counseling services for workers over 40.

When the Congress finally begins to tackle problems of the aging worker head-on instead of through piecemeal amendments to bills on other subject matter, it will no doubt incorporate features from each of the proposals in committee.

An appropriately constituted Bureau of Older Workers will be necessary in order to secure middle- and long-range stabilization of the employment problem.

But a flat prohibition of unfair hiring practices will be needed to shift a substantial share of the burden of action to the private employer. We must forget that a change—either voluntary or involuntary—must take place in fundamental employer attitudes toward hiring older workers if the efforts of State, Federal, and local government are to be effective.

Brother Eagles, we all remember the Biblical quotation "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." Now is the time to render unto the older worker the things that are rightfully his—an equal opportunity for employment.

Surely we can all support programs to curb employment policies based on age that are highly discriminatory, economically wasteful, socially harmful, and morally wrong.

The U.S. Coast Guard at 175

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, on its 175th anniversary, the U.S. Coast Guard is still expressing the dynamics of youth.

This is clearly reflected by the recent article by Adm. E. J. Roland, Commandant of the Coast Guard, which appeared in the current August issue of Navy magazine. The technical advances by this vital service to cope with newly arising problems are in keeping with the highest Coast Guard traditions and its motto "Semper Paratus"—always ready.

I commend this article to my colleagues and ask unanimous consent that it be included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THE U.S. COAST GUARD AT 175: COMMANDANT REVIEWS PROGRESS, LOOKS AHEAD TO NEW ADVANCES BY THE "ALWAYS READY" SERVICE

(By Adm. E. J. Roland, Commandant, U.S. Coast Guard)

If I were asked to name the most important recent development in the 175-year history of the Coast Guard, I would say it is the speed with which we are moving toward our goal of a completely modernized establishment by the midseventies.

We have given boldness and imagination a free hand in revitalizing this Service, which has behind it a century and three quarters of experience as an armed force and as our chief maritime safety agency. Always before us is the objective of a service fully responsive to the increasingly complex needs of our times.

One of our big targets is in the area of ship replacement where we are moving ahead at a brisk tempo. Our goal over the next decade is the construction of 36 high-endurance cutters, 378 feet in length. They will be our largest and most versatile ships. Two are being built and the first, the *Hamilton*, is scheduled for delivery in September 1966. Two others are expected to join the fleet in the fall of 1967.

MEDIUM CUTTER PROGRAM

Our most striking advance in fleet modernization has been in the medium endurance, 210-foot cutter class. Three of the new vessels, *Diligence*, *Reliance*, and *Vigilant* are already in operation, and a fourth, *Active*, will join the fleet late this fall. We anticipate that 29 will enter the fleet in the next 10 years. Designed to carry the amphibious HH52A helicopter, they will add new scope and efficiency to Coast Guard operations.

Our air arm is being strengthened by the acquisition of additional HH52A helicopters. These aircraft have already proved themselves exceptionally well suited to Coast Guard requirements. Currently, we are investigating the possibility of using a twin-turbine helicopter for longer range missions requiring greater carrying capacity. Also under consideration is the use of V-STOL (Vertical—Short Take off and Landing) aircraft. We are following closely Department of Defense studies of this new type.

Coming in for its share of scrutiny is our shore establishment. Current and future planning calls for augmenting certain rescue stations, closing and opening others in line with the change in demand of the maritime public. Special effort will be made to provide additional housing for personnel. In recent months, steps have been taken to consolidate most of the Coast Guard's New York City facilities on Governor's Island (formerly U.S. Army Fort Jay).

"NORTHWIND'S" BIG JOB

We are now on the threshold of what could be our most rewarding decade in marine research. As part of our stepped up program, we are equipping our ocean station vessels in the Atlantic and Pacific with the most modern instrumentation. This will enable the vessels to carry on continuous marine observations. To date, about 60 percent of the weather ships have been fitted out with the new equipment; the program is scheduled for completion by 1966.

History will be made this summer by the Coast Guard cutter *Northwind*. During July, August, and September, she will conduct oceanographic studies in the remote Barents and Kara Seas north of Norway and the Soviet Union.

This year's International Ice Patrol, a Coast Guard responsibility since 1915, will make important new contributions to our knowledge of northern waters. Although the Patrol's primary mission is to protect shipping in the North Atlantic against floating icebergs and other hazards, it is also carrying out major marine research. In 1965, Coast Guard scientists will conduct marine studies from Greenland to Iceland and from Iceland to the Orkney Islands. They will study the interchange between the Norwegian Sea, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Denmark Strait. During the postseason cruise of the oceanographic ship, *Evergreen*, an effort will be made to determine the origin of the Labrador Current which carries icebergs calved off Greenland into North Atlantic shipping lanes.

Our ships and aircraft continue to guard the southeastern approaches to the United States. Since 1958, our Cuban Patrol has kept a watchful eye on the situation in the Straits of Florida. It is constantly on the alert for refugees and for possible sneak attacks by anti-Castro elements on Cuba. The patrol has picked up more than 8,000 refugees since its inception more than 7 years ago. Its work constitutes a major contribution toward the maintenance of stability in the Caribbean.

FOR SEARCH AND RESCUE

To most people, the Coast Guard and search and rescue are synonymous. Modern search and rescue is a complex function, involving the closest cooperation between Coast Guard air, sea, and shore units. Our most current means for attaining this coordination is through the Automated Merchant Vessel Report System (AMVER) established in 1958. Nerve center for AMVER is the Coast Guard's Rescue Coordination Center in New York City. The program has proved so successful that it will be extended to the Pacific. Under AMVER procedure, vessels voluntarily report their positions periodically to the Coast Guard. These data are processed by an electronic computer and provide the most current information for Coast Guard rescue coordination centers. Thousands of foreign and U.S. vessels are taking part in the program and the number is growing steadily.

What could be the first step toward a global search and rescue system was taken in New York City in May 1965. At that time, the Coast Guard's eastern area commander invited operating personnel of countries of the North Atlantic Ocean basin to study means of speeding the exchange of information and coordinating data on overdue aircraft and ships. These and other problems were considered at the conference attended by representatives from Canada, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, France, Spain, and West Germany.

Offering great promise in search and rescue is the new datum marker buoy. This is a device similar in size to a droppable sonobuoy. It carries a small, battery-powered radio transmitter incorporated in a bomb-like container. It can be dropped from aircraft at a height of 1,000 feet. On entering the water, the buoy floats and transmits a radio signal. This makes it possible for search and rescue aircraft to home in on it, using radio direction finders.

TESTS ARE SUCCESSFUL

Its use will be to mark the scene of a distress or an estimated area of distress. Once in the water, the buoy drifts at the same rate as a man. Where an actual area of distress cannot be pinpointed, it will become possible to drop a buoy at the best estimated position and determine possible drift.

The buoy has been successfully tested and is now undergoing operational evaluation. Recent studies show that the buoy can be operated for over 50 hours and its signal can be picked up by aircraft at a distance of 50 miles.

From the very beginning, law enforcement has been a primary function of the Coast Guard. It includes enforcement of international treaties to preserve valuable marine resources in North American waters. Due largely to Coast Guard efforts, the valuable seal herd on the Pribilof Islands off Alaska is thriving once again. These animals were on the verge of extinction at the turn of the century at the hands of American and foreign hunters. The same experience holds true for valuable species of fish to which mankind may turn increasingly as it seeks new sources of high-quality protein.

Last May, three U.S. officials, including a Coast Guard officer, boarded the Soviet tug *Stremitelniy* at Halifax to undertake a first-hand observation of Soviet law enforcement techniques in the Grand Banks area. Later in the month, three Russian officials boarded the Coast Guard cutter *Acushnet* for a similar period of observation. Following the observation, they were taken on a tour of the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries and of Coast Guard law enforcement units in the vicinity of Boston, Mass. There activities were conducted pursuant to the International Convention for Northwest Atlantic Fisheries (ICNAF).

SAFETY WORK EXPANDING

Maritime safety is a basic Coast Guard responsibility. This function now absorbs about 20 percent of Coast Guard officer personnel. Its objective is to prevent disasters at sea. It includes an intensive merchant vessel inspection program, extending from the blueprint stage through the construction and operation of the vessel. Periodic reinspections are made to assure continued compliance with U.S. safety standards, the highest in the world.

As an important by-product of the atomic age, the Coast Guard may be expected to play a growing part in setting up safety standards for transporting radioactive materials, disposing of radioactive wastes, and related matters.

Shipment of industrial chemicals by water has risen sharply in recent years, creating new hazards for operating personnel and for communities along routes of shipment. To prevent catastrophes, we maintain a nucleus of technically trained personnel who are constantly in touch with the situation.

The Coast Guard is taking a new look at its responsibilities toward recreational boating safety. The phenomenal growth in boating is continuing. Increased leisure time and newly developed inland waters have contributed to this growth, until today there are more than 7,700,000 pleasure craft in the United States. Our insistence on compliance with Federal safety equipment regulations will continue, but we are placing new emphasis on the use of safety patrols to deter, detect and report unsafe boating practices.

NAVIGATION AIDS NUMBER 42,000

Water pollution is another area in which Coast Guard activity is likely to grow in coming years. The problem is of increasing concern to local, State, and Federal authorities. As a remedial measure, the Coast Guard is planning to install shipboard disposal systems on its entire fleet. Here, as in other fields, we must keep abreast of technological developments if we are to maintain U.S. leadership in marine safety.

Our aids-to-navigation program constitutes a major contribution to marine safety. The operation of a system of more than 42,000 aids of all types including buoys, lights, sound signals and electronic devices poses many problems. With the view to continued efficient operation of the system, we are regularly engaged in test and development to improve reliability and increase effectiveness.

In addition, we are endeavoring to determine ways and means of reducing the cost of operation and maintenance. Improvements to the system along the foregoing lines have included better lighting equipment and power sources for use in shore aids as well as in buoys, increased utilization of transistorized and solid state circuitry, automation of isolated lighthouses, and improvements to buoys and daymarks, including use of lightweight, high-strength materials in fabrication to increase signal effectiveness.

In cooperation with the Atomic Energy Commission, we are engaged in tests to ascertain in the application of nuclear generators to provide power for lights on buoys or at isolated sites. Two such test units, one installed in a buoy and the second in a lighthouse, both near Baltimore, are in experimental operation. Here, as in other areas, we are attempting to utilize the latest new and improved technological advances for the future benefit of mariners.

IMPROVED LORAN DUE

Loran (Long Range Aid to Navigation) is a valuable electronic navigation aid with which the Coast Guard has been prominently associated since World War II. Loran installations generally extend from the Equator to above the Arctic Circle, throughout the Western Hemisphere. This very reliable electronic system has important peacetime and military uses.

Loran-A, in addition to being useful for general navigation, is a part of the navigation systems of the International Civil Aeronautical Organization (ICAO) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In recent years, we have undertaken the development of the more advanced Loran-C. Altogether, 25 Loran-C stations have been constructed and a 26th is now being built.

The most recent entry into the Loran picture is Loran-D. Designed primarily for tactical use, it can be employed by vessels, vehicles or aircraft. Weighing approximately 30 pounds, the highly miniaturized and compact portable Loran-D receiver, can be used at speeds up to 2,000 miles an hour. Loran-D is capable of locating a given point with repeatable accuracy of 60 feet at 250 miles and to no more than 600 feet at 500 miles. Tests on the new receivers will begin in December and will extend over 6 months.

The Coast Guard is a member of an interagency committee looking into the feasibility of establishing a nonmilitary navigational satellite system.

As a military organization, the Coast Guard must be capable of responding instantly to emergencies. This was dramatically illustrated by the assignment of Coast Guard fleet units to the waters off the Republic of Vietnam. The vessels will be under the operational control of the U.S. Navy and will assist the Republic of Vietnam in naval operations to counter Communist infiltration from the sea.

In summation, I believe that the years ahead will be among the busiest and most exciting in our 175-year history. They will be years of growth and development. As always, the Coast Guard can be counted upon to dedicate all its resources, human and material, to the service of the American people.

Is Civil Rights Movement a Blind for Socialist Revolution?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to include the following article from the Christian Science Monitor which was reprinted in the Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser of July 26, 1965:

RIGHTS AND MODIFIED SOCIALISM

JACKSON, MISS.—There have been angry charges in recent days, both in the North and South, that Communists are taking part in civil rights demonstrations.

FBI agents in Mississippi say it is so, but add that they are not yet alarmed by it.

Chicago's Democratic mayor, armed with reports from his police department's so-called "red squad," and smarting from the first strong Negro opposition since he was first elected a decade ago, has issued strong accusations.

His words echoed those of some political leaders in this State in recent months.

Few civil rights leaders deny that professional Communists have infiltrated their movement. But they counter that Communists have also jumped headlong into other liberal causes since depression days—with little success.

There is a large gap, the Negro leaders argue, between Communist participation and Communist control. And such charges, they say, are like condemning an entire family when one member goes astray.

So Negro leaders contend the accusations are a smokescreen to slow down desegregation, to alarm would-be supporters.

The civil rights issue also is further beclouded by other factors.

One is the recent alinement of the civil rights movement with other liberal causes, including the "peace movement."

Another is the "modified socialism" many civil rights workers feel is necessary to "right 300 years of white wrongs."

Several civil rights leaders have privately told this reporter that they believe the peace movement to be the logical extension of the nonviolent philosophy, among others, the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King.

It would be inconsistent, they argue, for Dr. King and others in the civil rights movement to feel otherwise. For if civil rights leaders preach nonviolence in national policy, then they must stand for nonviolence in the international arena.

But the modified socialism one hears about, especially from those affiliated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), is more difficult to pin down.

This is partly because SNCC and other civil rights leaders hesitate to talk about it. Many Americans, they explain, recoil at the word "socialism," including northern liberals who have financially supported the civil rights drive in the past. Furthermore, large numbers of Americans equate socialism with communism.

But by sitting in civil rights offices and freedom houses for hours in both northern and Mississippi, cities, often talking far into the night, it is possible to gain insight into the question.

Some young, white civil rights workers say they are filled with despair over the tremendous poverty they find in Southern States. While many express concern for poor whites, it is the plight of the Negro that most disturbs them. For the white should, through education and ambition, be able to shove his way up into the middle class, they argue.

For proof, they point to white immigrants of past years, who lived in poverty for a generation or two, but found it possible to climb the social ladder by working hard, going to school, and learning the American way of doing things.

"But at least they had white skins," explains one rights worker. "Give one a bath, a haircut, and a $100 suit; teach him to clean under his fingernails, the language, and some manners, and he is accepted almost anywhere.

"But it is different for a Negro. A black skin has made him undesirable—except as a servant or laborer for white bosses—for 300 years.

"You can't scrub away the black skin. You can't hide it under a $300 suit."

Few civil rights workers can explain what they mean when they talk about modified socialism.

Some say it involves making up for the wrongs of the past 300 years through extra free education, liberal welfare payments to improve the Negro standard of living until he can compete for jobs on an equal basis with whites, and forced hiring and training, even when a Negro isn't qualified for a job.

Almost all agree it would require stronger Federal controls.

Clearly, these are things hard for many Americans—both North and South—to accept.

A Fair Immigration Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in the Philadelphia Inquirer on Saturday morning, July 24, 1965:

A FAIR IMMIGRATION LAW

The restrictive national origins quota system which has governed U.S. immigration policy for 41 years appears, finally, to be on the way out, to be replaced by a system more nearly in accorance with American traditions of justice and fair play.

It has taken 3 years and scores of hearings to get a reform measure out of a House Judiciary Subcommittee, where it has reposed since its introduction. But when the vote came on a favorable report to the parent Judiciary Committee, it was 8 to 0 and, with bipartisan congressional support and the backing of the White House, there is a good chance of its passage.

The immigration law now on the books sets a quota of persons admissible to the United States divided among countries according to their share of the U.S. population in 1920. The effect, and the intent, of the law have been to deal unfairly with those seeking to come to this country from areas outside of northern Europe.

Large quotas, which have never been utilized to the full, have been assigned to England, Germany, the Scandinavian countries,

etc., and no transfer of unused quota numbers from one country to another has been permitted.

The new law would do away with the quota system and the national origins discrimination. Visas are to go to the former quota countries on a first-come, first-served basis up to an annual ceiling of 170,000 admissions.

The law now in effect has resulted in long waiting lists of would-be immigrants in some countries—more than 100,000 at one time, for instance, in the case of Italy.

A change in this unfair system is long past due.

Speech of Representative H. Allen Smith, of California, on Communist Attempts To Undermine U.S. Policy in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, on July 24 our colleague, Representative H. ALLEN SMITH, of California, delivered the main address before the annual convention of the Virginia Department of the American Legion at Roanoke, Va.

In the address he discussed the efforts by Communists and Communist sympathizers here in the United States to undermine U.S. policies aimed at stopping Communist aggression in Vietnam.

The information presented on the subject by Representative SMITH, who is knowledgeable and well informed on the subject of Communism, is very pertinent and timely. It gives new insight into the part being played by the Communist Party in the United States to help further the advance of international communism.

I believe the Congress and the public will want to have an opportunity to read Representative SMITH's comments. Under leave to extend by remarks I submit the speech for inclusion in the RECORD:

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE H. ALLEN SMITH, CONGRESSMAN FROM CALIFORNIA, BEFORE THE ANNUAL CONVENTION, VIRGINIA DEPARTMENT, AMERICAN LEGION, ROANOKE, VA., JULY 24, 1965

It is an honor and a privilege to be the guest this evening of the Virginia Department of the American Legion. As I look out over this distinguished audience, I see friends of long standing. Your hospitality has certainly made me feel right at home—you know, like being in California.

This Nation is fortunate to have the men and women of the American Legion. As a citizen and Member of Congress, I know firsthand the tremendous work you and your associates are doing to keep this Nation strong and free. You stand for the principles which have made America great. Never has there been a time when Americans need more to know what patriotism, courage and love of country really mean. It is a thrilling experience for me to feel your enthusiasm, fervor and dedication to the principles we all so deeply believe in. America is a better nation because there is an American Legion.

At this hour American stands in mortal danger. We face an enemy which seeks to destroy everything we cherish. This enemy already controls one-third of the world's peoples and one-quarter of the land surface of this planet. He is propelled by a ruthless, atheistic ideology which will stop at nothing less that total world conquest. You, in the American Legion, know this enemy. You have fought it for an entire generation. You know what it intends to do to us.

These are no wild words. Communism is today killing American boys. Some of your sons may be in South Vietnam risking their lives that freedom be preserved. They may be lying in swamps or climbing through tangled undergrowth. They may be riding in helicopters or standing guard at remote airbases. These boys are marked men—marked because communism has set a price on their heads. The Communists say, "Go home, Yankee, let us dominate this part of the world."

I have supported the President's policy in Vietnam. I—as all Americans—do not want to see our boys go to foreign lands to fight. But we have a vital national principle at stake here—we must support freedom and prevent the Communists from conquering yet another nation. If we withdraw from Vietnam, the next day, the next year, the Communists juggernaut will roll on in southeast Asia.

Let's not be fooled by talk that the so-called split between Russia and China means a lessening of the danger to us. Undoubtedly, there is cleavage between Moscow and Peiping but not on whether this country should or should not be destroyed. A cardinal facet of Communist policy, both Russian and Chinese, is that this country must be liquidated. The dispute is not whether it should be done, but how it can best be achieved. The Communist world, despite its differences, is united in its hostility and hatred toward us. If we forget this basic fact of international life, we jeopardize our national security.

Perhaps no event since the Korean war has better illustrated the strength and danger of the Communist enemy inside this country than our involvement in South Vietnam. Not since 1950 has this country been more viciously, bitterly, and treacherously assaulted by the Communist Party, U.S.A., its fronts and sympathizers.

If ever there were any doubt that communism had a fifth column inside this country, it should now be fully and completely dissolved.

Following carefully formulated Communist tactics, the party in this country has consistently supported the operations of the Vietcong in South Vietnam, denouncing this Nation as an "aggressor," a "dirty imperialist," and a "warmonger." The party has demanded that American troops leave South Vietnam. It has accused our military forces of perpetrating atrocities, but says nothing about the Vietcong invasion from North Vietnam, about Vietcong illegal operation, or its policies of terror against defenseless villages or its dastardly bombings in Saigon.

As far back as March 1964, for example, the party's national headquarters in New York City sent a directive entitled "The United States and South Vietnam Developments" to all its districts. Party members were urged to sent telegrams of protest to President Johnson, to place advertisements in newspapers throughout the country, to organize protest meetings and picket lines and to enlist the support of non-Communist groups.

The party subsequently commissioned Margrit Pittman, a longtime member of the party, to prepare a discussion outline on the topic of "Vietnam and Peace." Incidentally, Margrit Pittman was in the Soviet Union from 1959 to 1962, when her husband, John Pittman, was the Moscow correspondent for the Communist newspaper, the Worker.

In this outline, Mrs. Pittman characterized the war in South Vietnam as a war of aggression by U.S. "imperialism," while the Vietcong was described as fighting a war of national liberation. Mrs. Pittman used this outline to urge telegrams, letters and resolutions, meetings, marches and other forms of demonstrations to demand U.S. withdrawal from South Vietnam.

As time went on, the Communist attack increased in tempo. In November of last year Arnold Samuel Johnson, the party's top public relations man, suggested to a confidential party meeting that the party prepare a definitive document on Vietnam and distribute 50,000 copies. This document was prepared and circulated. All the time national headquarters urged party districts to step up the propaganda and agitation, seeking to undermine the American position.

The trigger, however, which really set off the party's current assault occurred last February when the President ordered air bombardment of North Vietnam military targets. Within minutes after announcement of the air attacks, the party swung into action. Gus Hall, general secretary of the party and actually the No. 1 Communist in the United States, bitterly condemned the American action as "an act of brutal aggression which horrifies the world." In Chicago, for example, a party meeting was interrupted and blank telegram forms distributed. Comrades were instructed to write and sign telegrams to President Johnson condemning the air strikes. At another top level party meeting a few days later strategy was mapped to intensify the propaganda and agitation. Robert Thompson, organizer of the party's New York district, suggested that attempts should be made to involve trade union people in the anti-United States campaign, while Gilbert Green, a member of the party's national secretariat, commented that the situation in Vietnam demonstrated that the Chinese Communists were not warmongers since they had acted responsibly under great provocation.

Now don't misunderstand me. There are individuals in this country who, for their own personal reasons, disagree with our policy in Vietnam. These persons are not by any stretch of the imagination Communists or even sympathetic with the Communist position. We must be extremely careful not to label all opposition to America's foreign policy in Vietnam as "Communist." This would be wrong. My emphasis this evening, however, is to show how a small minority of Communists, completely loyal to a foreign government, is trying to embarrass this country, to undercut our foreign policy, to sow seeds of dissension and, above all, to support an enemy who is tonight killing American boys.

I think our people should know about this fifth column. Only in this way can they protect themselves.

The devious hand of the Communists can be seen in many places—in demonstrations, protest marches, picket lines, and rallies. Let me mention just a few. On February 8, 1965, for example, a large rally of some 1,300 students was held on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley. This campus, as you know, was almost constantly disrupted by disorders during the last school year. Who was one of the speakers at this rally? None other than Herbert Aptheker, a member of the party's national committee. Incidentally, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, the distinguished Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, recently reported to the Congress that individuals with subversive backgrounds who participated in the Berkeley demonstrations included 5 faculty members and 38 individuals who were students or connected with the University of California in some capacity.

One of the most concentrated Communist efforts occurred much closer to Virginia—that is, in Washington, D.C. Last April 17, a student march on Washington was held, in which some 15,000 persons protested Amer-

ican policies in Vietnam. While the march was not Communist initiated, dominated, or controlled, party members from throughout the Nation participated. Among top Communists present were Arnold Johnson, Michael Zagarell, and George Meyers. Zagarell is the party's national youth director and Meyers is in charge of the party's southern region. At a subsequent meeting of the party's national committee (where, incidentally, the key party decisions are taken), Zagarell claimed that the Communist Party played a decisive role in the march on Washington. Johnson praised the march and said that party people from all over the country participated.

No wonder Mr. J. Edgar Hoover recently commented that the Communist Party in this country was in a highly optimistic mood. Not for 15 years has it had such a field day for propaganda and agitation.

A key target, of course, is young people. For the past several years the party has been operating a program of sending party speakers to college and university campuses. The very highest party officials, including Gus Hall and Herbert Aptheker, have spoken to thousands of our students and faculty members. These speakers have denounced this country, extolled the merits of communism and urged support for the Soviet position. At a "teach-in" at the City College of New York, for example, Herbert Aptheker severely criticized our Vietnam policies. James Jackson, the editor of the Worker, just recently completed a tour of colleges in the State of Washington. Using false accusations and downright Communist deceit, he did everything possible to discredit this country. It is simply amazing how the party has been able to gain platforms of respectability to spew forth its subversive vitriol.

Another weapon of the party—very much in evidence—is the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, the party's front group for young people. This group bears careful watching. Founded a year ago by the party, it has gained surprising strength. Membership is today estimated at some 1,000 with chapters on campuses throughout the country. It is highly dynamic and aggressive.

Last March, the national office of the DuBois Clubs sent a document entitled "Emergency Memo on Vietnam Crisis" to all its chapters. The memo called upon DuBois chapters, members, and friends to join with other groups and individuals in a "stepped-up campaign to end the war in Vietnam."

Note, if you will, this persistent Communist effort to entice the support and assistance of non-Communist groups. Here is one of the party's chief tactics—that is, to hoodwink and dupe non-Communists to do the party's work. It reminds me of the often quoted remark that communism must be built with non-Communist hands. Here is a danger of great magnitude.

In Chicago, for example, DuBois members participated in anti-Vietnam demonstrations, as well as in Los Angeles, Newark, N.J., and Portland, Oreg. In Portland, Richard Healey, the son of Dorothy Healey, chairman of the Communist Party's southern California district, was one of the key leaders. In Berkeley, Calif., Bettina Aptheker, daughter of Herbert Aptheker, is a top DuBois leader and one of the key agitators in the university demonstrations.

In addition to the Communist Party and DuBois Clubs, we find also a number of Communist splinter groups involved in the Vietnam agitation. It is, in fact, almost startling to see the impact of Marxist-line organizations in the country today. Among these Communist splinter groups are the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Workers World Party, Youth Against War and Fascism, the Progressive Labor Party, and the May 2 Movement.

But even this is not the full picture. There are other organizations which we might call extremist groups with proclivities for radicalism and rebellion. Probably the most prominent is the Students for a Democratic Society or SDS. This group is the youth affiliate of the League for Industrial Democracy, successor to the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, which was founded shortly after the turn of the century. The SDS claims some 2,000 members in 70 chapters. This organization was the sponsor of the April 17 student march on Washington.

Just a few weeks ago, the SDS held a 5-day national convention in Michigan. Actually, the delegates met in a Bohemian-type atmosphere, many going barefoot and dressing in dirty clothes—really beatniks, if you please. Students from many top-ranked colleges were present.

During the convention, many statements indicating a desire to alter our democratic way of life were made. One of the SDS's top officials, for example, stated that acts of civil disobedience were no longer effective, because police authorities were gaining experience in handling them. What was needed, asserted this student leader, was an organized violation of the 1917 Espionage Act which makes it a violation to urge soldiers to desert or to jeopardize the war effort in any way.

Another group, known as the Committee for Nonviolent Action, along this line, has originated and instigated the distribution of a petition entitled "Declaration of Conscience." As members of the American Legion, who have risked your lives to preserve this Nation, you will be deeply incensed over this type of propaganda. This so-called declaration of conscience—and this group is eager to secure signatures to it—declares, among other things:

"We hereby declare our conscientious refusal to cooperate with the U.S. Government in the prosecution of the war in Vietnam.

"We encourage those who can conscientiously do so to refuse to serve in the Armed Forces and to ask for discharge if they are already in;

"Those of us who are subject to the draft ourselves declare our own intention to refuse to serve;

"We urge others to refuse and refuse ourselves to take part in the manufacture or transportation of military equipment, or to work in the fields of military research and weapons development;

"We shall encourage the development of other nonviolent acts, including acts which involve civil disobedience, in order to stop the flow of American soldiers and munitions to Vietnam."

The May 2 Movement, which is an affiliate of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), an extremely militant leftwing organization supporting the position of Red China, is also urging that American boys disobey the draft. A recent issue of Progressive Labor, official publication of the PLP, commented that "the May 2 Movement is spearheading the resistance of American students to support that war." The article then continues:

"We are organizing a petition campaign calling on young people of draft age to refuse to fight in Vietnam; we are calling on servicemen to refuse to fight; we are appealing to all Americans to refuse to support the continuation of Johnson's war in Vietnam."

The May 2 Movement has also shown on college campuses a film entitled "Heroic Vietnam 1963." This film, reportedly made by the Vietcong, contains violent anti-U.S. propaganda. Allegedly, the film was smuggled into the United States by American students after an unauthorized trip to Cuba in 1963.

In the last year an ugly mood has erupted on many of our campuses. At no time since the founding of the party in this country in 1919 have more students and faculty members been bombarded by Communist propaganda—much of which is so subtle and clever that it is accepted as fact. Actually, not long ago, a professor at one of our most distinguished universities, making a speech denouncing our policies in Vietnam, commented:

"I should like to testify as a historian that this DuBois Club publication (and he mentioned a propaganda release issued by this Communist front) seems to me the best analysis of the war's origins produced by any of the antiwar groups."

Surely, Communist propaganda has been able to make an impact on academic minds which should know better.

Again, I want to stress that in the current public discussion on Vietnam and the Dominican Republic there are many individuals who for their own reasons vigorously oppose our actions. This opposition in itself, obviously, does not make them Communists. This point we must remember.

But, in recent weeks, it has become extremely obvious to the discerning eye that the Communist are deeply imbedded in this agitation, are calling key signals and planning many of the antigovernment attacks. In fact, the emotional feelings which the Vietnam crisis has provoked in this country have enabled the Communists, utilizing skilled tactics, to exploit this situation for their own selfish advantage.

As Americans, we must remain constantly alert. We must not allow the Communists to trap us into supporting their position.

On May 3, 1965, I made a speech before the House of Representatives on the subject "The Communist Campaign To Oust the United States From Vietnam." Among the many responses I received was a letter dated July 8, 1965, from Saigon, Vietnam. Without identifying the writer, I am quoting the letter. It shows how one real American feels:

"Recently, I received a copy of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD dated May 3, 1965, in which your speech 'The Communist Campaign To Oust the United States From Vietnam' appeared, and it gave me a great deal of pleasure to read your comments contained in this publication.

"As a former FBI agent who has been working in Vietnam for the past 13 months in an effort to strengthen the counterinsurgency capability of the Vietnamese National Police, it does my personal morale, and I'm sure the morale of every American working in this vital effort, good to know that we are supported by some of our more enlightened Representatives back home.

"We who have seen first hand the terrorism and the misery brought upon the valiant people of South Vietnam by this Communist conspiracy, know full well the importance and the value of the American efforts in this country. We also realize that the sacrifices we must make here are in a real sense sacrifices that eventually would have to be made by many more Americans, much closer to home, if we were to turn our backs on the people of South Vietnam and give the Communists the political victory they seek here, as elsewhere.

"Many times we out here have occasion to read articles, quoting the so-called experts and authorities, who propose appeasement in one form or another, and it makes one's blood boil to realize that statements like these, unchallenged, will eventually lead our great country down the road to disaster and eventual Communist enslavery. There is only one solution to the problem in Vietnam now, and that is total defeat for the Vietcong. Let them have a victory here, either partial or complete, and the world will see these acts of terrorism and barbarism repeated again and again in every corner of the globe.

"Speaking for myself, and I'm sure many of my colleagues, I'd like to say that Viet-

nam today is not an easy place to work, or to live in either for that matter, but this country, and these people richly deserve and appreciate our support. They are good people and have been fighting a hard and dirty war for the past 20 years. Many of them are tired of war, as we all are, but I'm confident that with out continued support they will fight until victory is theirs.

"I personally am very proud to be serving my country here in our efforts to help these people and we Americans out here are all proud to know that some of our most able leaders in the U.S. Congress are behind them in this vital struggle for peace and security for the whole of southeast Asia.

"Sincerely yours,

"_____ _____."

I happen to represent the school of thought that Old Glory is to be reverenced, that love of country is a deep and abiding emotion. That lump in the throat, that tingle down the spine at the singing of the National Anthem means a nation of freedom to me—a nation, I openly confess, I love and will defend to the best of my ability.

As Legionnaires, you have defended this Nation around the world. You are still on the front lines. It is your beliefs, your principles, your ideals which are today being attacked.

You must fight—and fight hard—if they are to be preserved. The Communists are not only in the Soviet Union, in Red China, in Vietnam. They are here in this country—dangerous, aggressive, deadly. Unless we stand up and combat this virus, we will be destroyed.

I know I speak for every Legionnaire in this room—and for patriotic Americans across the country—when I say, "You can count on me in this fight."

Thank you for your kind attention and for permitting me to be with you this evening. God bless you and goodnight.

Adequacy of Air Trunkline Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, recently, hearings were held by the Aviation Subcommittee of the Senate Commerce Committee on the subject of the adequacy of trunkline service in various parts of our Nation.

Oakland, Calif., has an airport that is very historic. It was constructed in 1927 and enjoyed steady growth in air traffic until World War II. Unfortunately, following the war, when the commercial carriers were developing service based upon larger aircraft, they began concentrating their landings and takeoffs at San Francisco, which is immediately across the bay.

In order to compete in this situation, Oakland began a remodeling and expansion project for its airport. When the alterations of the airport were completed and it was renamed the Oakland International Airport, a great struggle resulted to make certain that adequate service was provided by commercial carriers.

This struggle is still continuing. However, the testimony presented by Mr. Ben E. Nutter, executive director of the port of Oakland, before the aforementioned subcommittee on July 9, 1965, explains the marked degree of success which Oakland has been having in its efforts to reestablish a position as one of the country's outstanding air terminals. I am pleased to insert in the RECORD Mr. Nutter's testimony:

STATEMENT OF BEN E. NUTTER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, PORT OF OAKLAND, BEFORE THE AVIATION SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE COMMERCE COMMITTEE ON THE ADEQUACY OF TRUNKLINE SERVICE, JULY 9, 1965

INTRODUCTION

My name is Ben E. Nutter. I am executive director of the Port of Oakland, Oakland, Calif. I appreciate the opportunity to appear here today and to discuss with you Oakland's relatively recent experience in undertaking to obtain adequate airline service through the Metropolitan Oakland International Airport.

The Port of Oakland is an independent department of the city of Oakland. Exclusive control and management is vested in the Board of Port Commissioners, consisting of five members appointed by the city council upon nomination by the mayor. The Port of Oakland's enterprises include marine terminals, industrial and commercial development, and Metropolitan Oakland International Airport.

The Port of Oakland, the city of Oakland, and the Oakland Chamber of Commerce in May 1961, filed under section 404 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 an adequacy complaint and petition for investigation of the scheduled air transportation service provided through the Oakland International Airport. This complaint and petition was supported by the State of California Aeronautics Commission, Alameda, Contra Costa, and Solano Counties and numerous cities, chambers of commerce, and other organizations in the east bay area. A list of the East Bay parties which supported the complaint and petition follows:

State of California: California Aeronautics Commission.

Counties: Alameda, Contra Costa, Solano.

Cities: Alameda, Albany, Antioch, Berkeley, Brentwood, Concord, El Cerrito, Emeryville, Fremont, Hayward, Hercules, Livermore, Martinez, Newark, Piedmont, Pinole, Pittsburg, Pleasanton, Richmond, San Leandro, San Pablo, Stockton, Union City.

Chambers of Commerce: Alameda, Bethel Island, Brentwood, Castro Valley, Fremont, Hayward, Livermore, Martinez, Newark, Niles, Oakley, Pleasanton, Richmond, San Leandro, San Pablo, Union City, Walnut Creek.

Other organizations: Contra Costa County Development Association, Emeryville Industries Association, Industrial Traffic Managers Aviation Council.

Following the filing of the complaint, meetings regarding the quantity and quality of service at Oakland were held between representatives of the Oakland parties and the certificated air carriers serving Oakland. These meetings were held pursuant to permission granted by the Civil Aeronautics Board and under the auspices of the Director of the Civil Aeronautics Board's Office of Congressional and Community Relations. Following these negotiations and on April 3, 1964, the Oakland complaint and petition was dismissed by the Civil Aeronautics Board at the express request of Oakland.

The purpose of Oakland's appearance today is to present the facts concerning the negotiations with the air carriers and the results achieved through the mutually cooperative efforts of the Oakland parties, the air carriers, and the Civil Aeronautics Board. Briefly, air services through the Oakland International Airport have improved and, in turn, the carriers have benefited from the substantially increased number of passengers enplaned and deplaned at Oakland. While scheduled air service continues in our opinion deficient in certain significant respects, we at Oakland feel that the settlement of the adequacy complaint through informal negotiations with the carriers represents a mutually acceptable solution and that it avoided protracted and undesirable litigation. In short, Oakland can cite with approval the language of the Civil Aeronautics Board in its order E-20643 granting Oakland's motion to dismiss its adequacy complaint: "The objective approach to the problem by the air carriers and the Oakland officials in the instant case has permitted the satisfactory resolution of adequacy problems without resort to time consuming and expensive formal proceedings. * * * The result of these patient efforts offers tangible evidence of the fact that informal negotiations can result in mutual accord as to the level of airline service to be offered at a given place."

HISTORY OF AIR SERVICE AT OAKLAND PRIOR TO FILING FORMAL COMPLAINT

Oakland's airport was constructed in 1927 and enjoyed steady growth in air traffic until World War II. When the war ended, the commercial airline industry was moving from the DC-3 type of aircraft into four-engine transports. In the bay area, the airlines serving both Oakland and San Francisco airports began to concentrate their best service at San Francisco, and the deterioration of Oakland schedules was underway. The economies of serving only one airport in the bay area complex were evident and, understandably, the airlines didn't want to incur the cost of flying large aircraft on short hops across the bay.

Following World War II, meetings were held with the individual carriers and many letters were written to obtain improved air service for Oakland. These efforts were largely to no avail and Oakland's service pattern continued to deteriorate and relationships with the various airlines reached a low ebb.

During the postwar years, Oakland participated in numerous route cases, hoping that its support of a given carrier, or competitive service, would bring about needed service improvements. Our representatives attempted to show that the pattern of service was never adequate to develop the full traffic potential of the east bay area. Lack of frequency, poor timing, inferior equipment, or circuity were factors which contributed to the failure of the Oakland service pattern to attract the substantial volume of passengers who, in fact, can travel most conveniently through Oakland International Airport.

In the early 1950's, passenger traffic at Oakland reached highs of more than half a million passengers a year. However, most of them were military passengers returning from the Korean conflict and flying on so-called CAM flights, which were charters, and not on scheduled services of the certificated airlines.

In 1953, a $10 million bond issue was approved by the voters of Oakland to finance expansion of the airport, including terminal facilities. Construction started in 1955 and as it proceeded, requirements changed. The runway was initially planned for 8,600 feet and that was changed to 10,000 feet. The cost also went up from the initial estimates of $11,500,000 to a final figure of some $20 million which was composed of the $10 million general obligation bond funds voted by the people in 1953, $7 million in Federal aid, and $3 million from revenues and revenue bonds issued by the port of Oakland itself.

During the construction period, jet aircraft came into service. As jets replaced propeller aircraft, our airline service deter-

iorated further. By the time the expansion program was completed, in September 1962, Oakland's outbound flights were down to 14 per day by scheduled airlines and all were with propeller aircraft. Furthermore, the pattern was virtually unusable, especially by businessmen.

In the first full month in the new terminal, October 1962, scheduled airlines carried only 14,429 passengers in and out of Oakland.

Oakland's efforts to obtain service were underway constantly during all this period. Although we sought meetings with the airlines, most of the carriers were reluctant to hold such meetings and the few held were unproductive.

In 1960, about 30 persons from all parts of the east bay area came to Washington to make an informal presentation to the Civil Aeronautics Board. Shortly after that, the Honorable William F. Knowland, former U.S. Senator from California, organized and accepted the chairmanship of the Regional Committee for Better Service at Oakland International Airport.

MEETINGS WITH THE CARRIERS AND THE DIRECTOR OF THE BOARD'S OFFICE OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS

In May 1961, the adequacy complaint and petition previously mentioned was filed. The Civil Aeronautics Board, in an order issued in August 1961, deferred action on the Oakland pleading and referred the matter to its Office of Community Relations. The Board called attention to the fact that it had recently established this office to work with the communities and carriers to adjust service complaints, if possible, without resort to formal proceedings.

There followed a series of individual meetings between the Oakland representatives and each carrier authorized to serve Oakland, presided over by Col. John W. Dregge, the Director of the Office of Community Relations. While these meetings developed a better understanding of the problems involved, it was apparent that no solution was attainable immediately. At this point, a survey of potential Oakland traffic was conducted jointly by Oakland and the carriers to determine the extent of the undeveloped Oakland market.

After further meetings with the Director of the Board's Office of Community Relations, Oakland requested that the Board permit informal meetings between Oakland officials and all the air carriers authorized to serve Oakland. The purpose was to explore specific solutions of the manner in which Oakland could be served, including the number and timing of schedules, equipment to be used, and the markets to be served. The Board, in December 1962, authorized the carriers to meet collectively with Oakland representatives and to discuss scheduling and other ways to provide better air service to Oakland.

As a result of these negotiations, the carriers instituted for Oakland certain new and improved service. This new service is discussed hereinafter.

WORTHWHILE SERVICE IMPROVEMENTS FOR OAKLAND HAVE RESULTED FROM THE COOPERATIVE EFFORTS OF THE CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD, OAKLAND, AND THE CARRIERS

The first results of our negotiations with the carriers following the filing in May 1961, of our formal complaint were the scheduling, in June 1963, of one transcontinental jet flight, one jet to Portland and Seattle, two Electra and two jet flights to Los Angeles, three propeller flights to Sacramento and Reno, and a propeller flight to Phoenix and the Southwest, plus the previously scheduled local service patterns.

Since then, more service improvements have been made. Now there are two more transcontinental jets, one to Denver and New York, and another, just inaugurated July 1, to Chicago and Washington. Service to the Southwest now is provided with jet equipment. We now have 14 daily flights in each direction between Oakland and Los Angeles, and more on weekends. The intrastate airline, Pacific Southwest Airlines, has reentered the Oakland-Los Angeles service and their schedules are included in the totals given. PSA also is serving San Diego from Oakland.

OAKLAND HAS BEEN, AND IS, ENGAGED IN A SUBSTANTIAL PROMOTIONAL CAMPAIGN TO PROMOTE AIR TRAFFIC

Since the scheduling of new and improved service Oakland has been engaged in a promotional campaign. In May 1963, advertising was started in newspapers, radio and television in the Bay Area and in newspapers in other cities served by the new schedules. Local business firms wrote letters to persons in other cities urging them to use service direct to Oakland on future trips. We produced and distributed air schedules, bumper strips, stickers, window posters, table tents for restaurants and hotels, airport brochures, and other materials.

Perhaps, the most unique phase of Oakland's promotional effort was the establishment of the fly Oakland desk. This is an information and reservations system. Its purpose is to advise callers of the service available at Oakland International and to actually book their reservations with the airlines. The caller is then advised to pick up their ticket from a travel agent or the nearest airline ticket counter. Our information and reservation service provides information on schedules for all airlines and, when Oakland service is not convenient, they advise callers about San Francisco service, helicopter connections, etc., and assist in any way possible.

We also established an OAK Club. You're familiar with the Ambassadors, Admirals, Red Carpet and other rooms which the airlines operate at major airports, but none had one at Oakland, so we established our own in the terminal building. We award membership cards in recognition of valuable contributions to the development of commercial air transportation at Oakland Airport.

A member of the port staff visits airline reservations offices in all cities served to familiarize airline personnel with the service to and from Oakland.

Between May 1963 and December 1964, the port expended $312,418, in promoting scheduled air transportation at Oakland International.

The Port of Oakland has established a budget of $324,000 to continue this program during this fiscal year.

TRAFFIC HAS INCREASED SUBSTANTIALLY AT THE OAKLAND INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT FOLLOWING THE SERVICE IMPROVEMENTS

The results have been gratifying. Our total traffic in 1962 was 312,884. In 1963, when the improved service was in effect for 7 months, our passenger total was 425,650. In 1964, it was 491,730. For the first 5 months of 1965, we had 320,539, compared to 193,372 in the first 5 months of 1964, an increase of 65.8 percent. In May our traffic was up 103 percent over May a year ago and it appears the June figures will be as good or better.

CONCLUSION

We would be less than truthful if we said we are satisfied with the service as it is today. There are many important areas and cities still not served adequately from Oakland, including Salt Lake City, New York, Denver, the Southwest and South. We need expansion of services to the Northwest and transcontinentally. However, the trend has been reversed and today Oakland can look forward, as equipment becomes available and as demand warrants, to an ever-increasing volume of schedules and passengers. The airlines have participated in joint advertising with the port and have given Oakland service a fair share of their own advertising expenditures. They have cooperated fully in working with us to encourage their reservations, ticket and sales personnel to sell Oakland service. A friendly atmosphere of mutual understanding and respect has been established with the airlines from local sales representatives to the executive level.

Not all community-air service problems can be solved as satisfactorily as Oakland's. The bay area population totals more than 4 million and it is split geographically by San Francisco Bay. By 1970, the bay area population will exceed 5 million. The ultimate need for a second major airport always has been apparent, but the productive use of Oakland might still be some time in the future if it had not been for the actions taken by the Civil Aeronautics Board and the patience and persuasiveness of Colonel Dregge.

Senator Knowland, John C. Houlihan, the mayor of Oakland; and the members of the board of port commissioners have provided leadership, and many hundreds of business leaders and individuals have given, and are giving, support to our efforts to obtain new and improved service for the entire east bay area through Oakland International Airport and to develop new passengers and added revenues for the air carriers.

In conclusion, Oakland is of the opinion that—at least in Oakland's specific experience—cooperative efforts between the Oakland parties and the air carriers, under the auspices of the Civil Aeronautics Board, have resulted in an amelioration of its problem of inadequate service and that such an approach has been preferable to formal litigation.

Thank you for permitting me to appear.

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PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

The Research and Development Pork Barrel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 30, 1965

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, the Atomic Energy Commission now is in the process of selecting a site for the proposed new National Accelerator Laboratory.

I am advised that the Commission has virtually completed the initial phase of its evaluation of the 118 proposals submitted to it. Within a few days we can expect a report from the Commission on the results of the preliminary site proposal review. This matter is also being studied by the National Academy of Sciences, which has created a site evaluation committee for this purpose.

Probably every Member of the Senate is interested in one or more of these site proposals. This competition has become a matter of great interest to civic organizations and to academic groups throughout the Nation. In many areas, a feeling of bitterness and frustration already exists because of the unequal distribution of Federal research and development funds during the past decade. Whether these trends in public opinion become a matter of intensive congressional activity will depend somewhat on how this site is selected and where this new AEC facility is located.

Pointing up the public policy issues involved in this selection is an editorial in the July 2 edition of Science, the magazine of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. This editorial is signed by the editor, Mr. Philip H. Abelson, and I believe it merits the attention of every Senator interested in the current AEC site evaluation.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PORK BARREL

Distribution of research and development funds is becoming a major political issue. One reason is that present distribution is very uneven. In 1963 one-half of the 50 States received 96.8 percent of all Federal research and development funds while the other 25 divided the remaining 3.2 percent. The 50 Senators from the have-not States may be expected to attempt to improve their States' share. This tendency will be reinforced by a growing general awareness of the role of science and technology in our changing civilization.

The extent of the beneficial effects of Federal funds is not clear, though in some instances the economic stimulus has seemed disproportionately large. In other instances benefits were nominal. However, many of the States whose economies have grown rapidly are recipients of large sums of Federal research and development funds. In contrast, some regions of this country not receiving large research and development contracts seem on the road to becoming new Appalachias.

In a recent speech at a Midwest Governors' conference, Charles Kimball, president of the Midwest Research Institute, outlined problems of one such area. His institute had made a study of a six-State region, including Arkansas, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, and Oklahoma. During the decade 1950–60 the number of jobs in the area had increased only 2.3 percent as against 14.5 percent for the Nation. The average family income is now much below the national figure. At the same time more than a million people moved to other parts of the country. Although total population increased slightly, the increase was much less than the national average.

Contributing to discontent over uneven distribution of research and development funds is growing frustration over a Middle West "brain drain." For instance, in Iowa the two major universities estimate that from 55 to 75 percent of the graduates leave the State for their first jobs. The States in which the big 10 universities are located produce about 40 percent of all scientists and engineers with advanced degrees, but this region receives only a small fraction of Federal research and development funds. To apply their training many of the scientists must migrate; their migration represents an economic loss to a region which yearly spends huge sums on higher education.

Some of the frustration felt in the Midwest was expressed recently by President Harrington of the University of Wisconsin, who said:

"Failure to provide for geographical spread of Federal defense and space contracts has brought our Nation face to face with a most serious kind of overconcentration:

"Overconcentration of our working scientists and engineers by region; overconcentration of our industrial and defense strengths by region.

"If these tendencies continue in the award of Federal research, development, and production contracts, we are on the road to manpower chaos, economic chaos, social chaos, defense chaos."

The feelings expressed by President Harrington are not unrelated to pressures now evident with respect to the proposed new 200-billion-electron-volt accellerator (Science, June 18, p. 1571). Major midwestern universities have agreed to support whatever midwestern site appears to be most in the running after initial screenings. If the region exerts its maximum potential pressure, Washington will find it difficult to place the facility elsewhere. Whatever the outcome, politics is destined to be a crucial factor, and an important precedent will be established. The influence of political and geographical considerations on the allocation of research funds is certain to increase.

Democratic Self-Government Throughout the World Must Be the Aim of U.S. Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, recently the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. FRASER] gave an eloquent speech on U.S. foreign policy. He cited three ways in which this Nation should encourage the spread of democratic self-government throughout the world.

This important address to the national convention of the American Veterans Committee in Atlantic City is worth our attention. I have asked unanimous consent to insert it in the Appendix of the RECORD.

It follows:

ADDRESS BY MR. FRASER

Recognition of the right of people to choose and operate their own governments has been an implicit—and occasionally—an explicit goal of American foreign policy as we have aimed at the development of a world community of democratic nations within an international framework of law and order.

At the same time that we have recognized this right of self-government, we have recognized the practical difficulties of implementing this right—the practical difficulties of establishing and maintaining democratic institutions in societies with few traditions or little experience in the exercise of self-government.

The wide disparity in wealth in Latin America and the overwhelming problems facing the new nations of Asia and Africa have led us to believe that the growth of democratic institutions has to be accompanied or even preceded by economic growth. Somehow, along the way, we have transformed a realistic appreciation of these difficulties into a false acceptance of the need to first solve the other problems which confront these nations.

We have concentrated instead on the problem of health, education, and economic growth in the hope that democratic institutions will follow as a natural consequence of this effort.

Now, I strongly favor our economic and technical assistance programs. In fact I believe we should do much more. Economic growth is needed to complement the growth of democratic institutions. But I believe that the two go hand in hand and that the growth of democratic concepts need not wait for a full stomach or a good standard of living.

We must work directly at bringing and strengthening self-government in the lives of these people as an integral process in achieving this growth.

I wish to make three suggestions for action by the United States. First, in our aid

program we must help these people learn to organize on their own behalf at the community level. Second, we need to find ways to train local leaders in political techniques of self-government. Third, at every opportunity the United States must demonstrate its belief in self-government for other nations. On this third point, I shall make special mention of the situation in the Dominican Republic.

ORGANIZATION FOR SELF-HELP

As to the first point of helping people learn to organize on their own behalf in their own community, I don't mean to gloss over what we are doing already. The American Institute for Free Labor Development is making important contributions by helping to train trade union leaders in Latin America. Peace Corps volunteers and persons trained in the cooperative and credit union movements are helping to demonstrate democratic concepts in self-help techniques. These have been important efforts, but they should be viewed as the forerunners for a major national commitment on our part. It is urgent that the concept of self-government and self-help be brought into every step of our efforts.

After all, we need only recall the role which democratic self-help concepts have played in the achievement of economic and social opportunity here in our own country. I can best illustrate my meaning by pointing to the civil rights movement in America. Had the Negro in America not finally taken matters into his own hands, how many more decades would have elapsed before he made measurable progress toward first-class citizenship and better economic conditions?

How long would it have taken the working people of America to achieve their present standard of living if they had not organized labor unions? How much further down the economic ladder would the American farmer be without cooperatives and the vigorous political efforts of farm organizations? Is there any reason to believe that the trickle-down theory will work any more effectively in developing countries than it works here in the United States?

Nor should I omit the example of education in the United States. I believe that the American system of primary and secondary education became reasonably universal because of the local interest and support of schools. Remember, that although Europe led the United States in the development of social welfare legislation, we were far ahead of Europe in establishing universal education. It has turned out, of course, that education is the major source of economic growth in a nation.

DEVELOPING POLITICAL SKILLS

Let me turn then to a second way of promoting self-government. Introducing the ideas of self-help and organization into developing countries is not all that needs to be done. We need to accelerate the evolutionary development of political skills and understanding.

At the heart of democratic societies is political organization. But political organization takes political leadership by individuals. Leadership and political skills in our country emerge in an unplanned manner—but we are steeped in the traditions of our society and our citizens are involved in myriads of organizational efforts. Consider the numbers of people involved in local elections—for mayor, school board, city or town council, State legislature—along with all the groups organized to lobby or to influence local government.

But in developing countries why leave political education and the emergence of effective leadership to chance?

Why not establish an Inter-American Institute for Self-Government, headed by Latin Americans, staffed by them, and supported by foundations or by a group of governments. This Institute could teach the practical aspects of political organization and provide opportunities for stimulation and broadened experiences.

I want to push these ideas a step further. In Vietnam we have struggled vainly for 10 years to help the South Vietnamese build a base of support for the Government of South Vietnam which could withstand the blandishments and terror tactics of the Vietcong. It is perhaps no coincidence that several of the most knowledgeable persons about Vietnam, including Ambassador Lodge and General Lansdale, have urged the development of political activity at the grassroots built around the concepts of self-government and community organization. One stressed the importance of the idea of self-government, the other the need to use political organization as the framework within which to provide economic and medical aid as well as security.

A major obstacle to progress along these lines has been the lack of personnel trained in political organizing who could execute such a program.

Our State Department might be thought of as the operating political arm, but its work consists primarily of observing, predicting, reporting, and negotiating. These are not the roles of a political organizer who has a sense of how to organize a precinct, or perhaps more meaningfully, how to teach others to do this. This suggests very strongly that if we are serious about implementing the idea of self-help and self-government at the community level in countries coming under insurgency attack, we should begin now to bring together people trained in political organization to design and implement such a program.

In my judgment, this effort should have the highest priority in our Government.

OUR COMMITMENT TO SELF-GOVERNMENT

Finally, I believe, as my third point, that our Government must use every opportunity to act clearly on the side of self-government and to help people who have placed their confidence in democratic procedures when they are in danger of losing their right to govern themselves.

The most vivid example of our failure to keep our commitment to self-government came with our intervention in the Dominican Republic earlier this year.

What I find highly objectionable about our role in the Dominican Republic was our lack of purpose once we arrived in force. We should have immediately announced our intention to impose a cease-fire and submit the matters at issue to the people of the Dominican Republic through the ballot box, inviting the U.N. or the O.A.S. to conduct the referendum or election. But instead we sought to manipulate the leadership of the junta to make it more acceptable. Then we sought to obtain agreement on a coalition government which by its very nature would have a precarious purchase on life.

We finally came to the idea of elections but after such a long delay that even agreement on that has become difficult. My own view has been consistently that the elections should proceed whether the factions agree or not.

If U.S. international policies were more clearly wedded to the development and protection of the right of self-government, then our purpose in intervening in the Dominican Republic would have been much clearer in our own minds as well as throughout the world. Perhaps even more significant, we might have acted in the fall of 1963 to support the constitutional regime of Juan Bosch.

The difficulties in the Dominican Republic in recent years could have been an opportunity for the United States to demonstrate its willingness to protect the right of people of other nations to govern themselves.

Instead our actions have become a source of deep distrust about our motives and wonderment at our ineptitude.

I believe that a vigorous assertion of our commitment to self-government offers a more powerful idea to those in the developing world than the appeals of the Communists. A reality in the world which we often overlook as we travel about in our modern, air-conditioned society is that ideas can move men more strongly than tangible things. This has been demonstrated repeatedly in history, and is being proven today in Vietnam.

The common aspirations which are held by men everywhere include reasonable security for themselves and their family, increasing economic opportunities, more education and a brighter future for their children and freedom from arbitrary and oppressive rule.

We must help others learn that self-government is the best path toward these goals.

Last week the 750th anniversary of the signing of the Magna Carta was celebrated at Runnymede. Western democratic values stem from a long history of evolutionary development. These values have a fundamental appeal for all of mankind. Even the totalitarian nations preserve the forms if not the substance of these Western values.

I cannot trace out all the implications which should follow if we fully embraced the idea of self-government as the major thrust of American policies. Like every other principle it cannot be pursued in isolation or without reference to the higher demands of survival. But it is the most powerful idea at work in the 20th century, and it suggests an active role for the United States consistent with our history. This may be the approach which in the long run offers the best hope for mankind.

South Dakota Poll Favors Retention of Right-to-Work Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 30, 1965

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, there appeared in the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, South Dakota's largest daily newspaper, on Wednesday July 28, the results of the South Dakota poll which was conducted on the question of repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

You will note from the results that in South Dakota our citizens by a margin of 3 to 1 are opposed to repeal of 14(b). They want the States to retain their prerogative in determining whether or not there should be operative right-to-work laws in a State.

Mr. President I ask unanimous consent that the South Dakota Poll be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the poll was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Taft-Hartley's section 14(b), commonly referred to as the right-to-work clause, enables a State to pass a law barring the union shop system within that State. The union shop system permits union shop contracts between management and labor, which contracts require all workers to join the union after they have been hired for work in a unionized business. Nineteen States, including South Dakota, have laws prohibiting union shop contracts. (The closed shop, which requires union membership before a worker is hired for work in a unionized business, is banned in all States by Federal law.)

Were section 14(b) to be repealed by Congress, persons in South Dakota who choose to work in a unionized business where the union shop arrangement has been agreed upon by management and the union would be required to join the union after being employed.

On the proposal now before Congress to repeal this section of the Taft-Hartley Act, three-fifths of the persons polled were opposed, about one-fifth favored repeal, and the other one-fifth indicated they had no opinion or that they did not understand the issue. The response was as follows:

	Percent
Favor repeal of section 14(b)	21
Oppose repeal of section 14(b)	60
Do not understand issue	10
No opinion	9

In general, farmers and residents of the West River country were strongest in their opposition to the repeal of section 14(b). Some 63 percent of the farmers polled opposed repeal, only 12 percent favored repeal, and another 25 percent either did not understand the issue or had no opinion. In the West River region 59 percent opposed repeal, and only 14 percent favored it.

Rather interestingly, more persons in small towns than in the cities favored repeal of section 14(b), as the figures below indicate.

	Percent
Favor repeal:	
Farm	12
Town	40
City	21
East	23
West	14
Oppose repeal:	
Farm	63
Town	50
City	63
East	60
West	59
No opinion or do not understand issue:	
Farm	25
Town	10
City	16
East	17
West	27

Three questions closely related to that of the repeal of section 14(b) were also answered in the poll: (1) Do you believe that a worker should be required to join a union in order to work in a unionized factory or business? (2) Do you believe that a nonunion worker in a unionized factory or business should enjoy benefits resulting from the business being unionized? (3) In general, do you approve of labor unions?

The answers to these questions ran as follows:

	Percent
Question No. 1:	
Yes	22
No	71
No opinion	7
Question No. 2:	
Yes	29
No	55
No opinion	16
Question No. 3:	
Yes	59
No	36
No opinion	5

Finally, the poll showed South Dakota Democrats favoring repeal of section 14(b) by a relatively close margin, while Republicans were overwhelmingly opposed to it.

	Percent
Favor repeal:	
Democrats	48
Republicans	12
Oppose repeal:	
Democrats	39
Republicans	67
Do not understand issue:	
Democrats	5
Republicans	12
No opinion:	
Democrats	8
Republicans	9

Job Corps Admissions to Veterans' Administration Hospitals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, during recent weeks there has been considerable concern expressed over the admission to Veterans' Administration hospital of a small number of merchant seamen and Job Corps trainees.

The Administrator of Veterans' Affairs assures me that no veteran is being or will be deprived of needed hospitalization because of the admission of a merchant seaman or a Job Corps trainee and that no such beneficiaries will be granted any priority whatsoever over any eligible veteran on a waiting list at any Veterans' Administration hospital.

It should be understood that this policy of examining possible Job Corps trainees and hospitalization of Job Corps trainees is a program which is not restricted to the Veterans' Administration alone but involves all agencies of the Federal Government which have medical facilities.

The number of merchant seamen and Job Corps trainees who have been admitted to Veterans' Administration hospitals is indeed small in proportion to the total number of patients. I will include at the end of my remarks the text of the circular directing the Veterans' Administration hospitals to make these facilities available, as well as the actual number of examinations and hospitalization cases which have occurred. The Veterans' Administration is reimbursed for this care.

As is indicated in the chart which will appear at the end of my remarks, as of July 9, 1965, a total of 2,241 Job Corps applicants have been given a physical examination in Veterans' Administration facilities over an approximate 6-month period. This stands in rather sharp contrast to approximately 2½ million visits by veterans to these same clinics during this same period of time. Fourteen Job Corps trainees have been hospitalized for 168 patient days during this 6-month period. Five Job Corps trainees remained in the VA system on July 9. During this same period the Veterans' Administration has hospitalized an average of 109,000 veteran patients each day.

With regard to merchant seamen, 67 have been admitted to Veterans' Administration hospitals since the Public Health Service hospitals at Chicago and Memphis discontinued their admission of such patients. These admissions were divided among 7 Veterans' Administration hospitals and 21 seamen were hospitalized as of June 30.

Not the least important aspect in this question is the fact that some 13,000 veterans during the 1965 fiscal year received care in Federal hospitals other than the Veterans' Administration hospitals—hospitals operated by the Army, Air Force, Navy, and Public Health Service. This is a situation which has long been in existence and which has had complete acceptance. In some instances preference has been expressed by veterans to go in one of the hospitals operated by another agency. In addition, 11,000 veterans in fiscal year 1965 were hospitalized on a contract basis in State, local, and private hospitals.

Mr. Speaker, I include as part of my remarks the text of the Veterans' Administration regulation directing the examination and hospitalization of Job Corps trainees and the distribution of such examinations and hospitalization by the various Veterans' Administration stations:

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION,
DEPARTMENT OF MEDICINE
AND SURGERY,
Washington, D.C., January 18, 1965.

Circular 10-65-13.

Subject: Physical examinations of Job Corps applicants and short-term hospital care for Job Corps members.

To: Area medical directors, directors of VA hospitals, domiciliaries, and VA outpatient clinics, and managers of regional offices with outpatient clinics.

1. General: Section 102. Public Law 88-452, Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, established the Job Corps. To assist in the physical examination of applicants and the provision of short-term hospitalization of enrolled members, VA hospitals and clinics may be used to the extent that there is no interference with the care and treatment of veterans.

2. Request for service: When such services are necessary, Job Corps or its designated agent will authorize the nearest appropriate Federal medical facility to arrange for physical examination of an applicant. Travel costs to and from the VA medical facility will not be paid by VA.

3. Clinical report: The results of physical examinations performed in accordance with instructions attached to the letter of authorization will be recorded on SF 88 (original and two) and SF 89 (original and one). Explanatory information provided on an examination is often of key significance in determining medical clearance for an applicant. Special attention should be given, therefore, to complete item 40 of SF 89. The proper completion of SF 88 includes the signature of the reviewing physician who certifies that the report is adequate and that instructions have been complied with. Field stations will transmit completed reports promptly to the requestor, who will forward them to the Job Corps.

4. Charges: Charges will be made in accordance with instructions contained in D.M. & S. Circular 10-64-218 for Federal agencies.

5. Billing: Requests for reimbursement for services rendered should be made on standard form 1080: Voucher for Transfers Between Funds and Appropriations. The original of the authorization from the Office of Economic Opportunity must accompany the standard form 1080. These forms should be mailed to Budget and Finance Division, Office of Economic Opportunity, 1200 19th Street NW., Washington, D. C., 20506.

By direction of the Chief Medical Director:

M. J. MUSSER, M.D.,
Deputy Chief Medical Director.

Physical examinations and hospitalization provided by VA to Job Corps applicants and members

Hospitals, domiciliaries, and outpatient clinics	Number of physical examinations provided to Job Corps applicants and members	Number of Job Corps members admitted to VA hospital	Number of patient-days of care provided these members from Jan. 18 through July 9, 1965	Number of such members remaining in VA hospital on July 9, 1965
Total, all hospitals	2,241	14	168	5
Psychiatric hospitals, total				
General hospitals, total [1]				
Psychiatric hospitals:				
American Lake, Wash				
Augusta, Ga.[2]				
Battle Creek, Mich				
Bedford, Mass	3			
Brecksville, Ohio				
Brockton, Mass	33	1	8	1
Canandaigua, N.Y				
Chillicothe, Ohio				
Coatesville, Pa	2			
Danville, Ill	17			
Downey, Ill	15			
Fort Lyon, Colo				
Fort Meade, S. Dak	5			
Gulfport, Miss				
Jefferson Barracks, Mo				
Knoxville, Iowa				
Lebanon, Pa	4			
Lexington, Ky				
Los Angeles, Calif.[3]				
Lyons, N.J	3			
Marion, Ind	2			
Montrose, N.Y				
Murfreesboro, Tenn	50			
Northampton, Mass	6			
North Little Rock, Ark				
Northport, N.Y	154			
Palo Alto, Calif. (Palo Alto division)				
Palo Alto, Calif. (Menlo Park division)				
Perry Point, Md				
Pittsburgh, Pa				
Roseburg, Oreg	2	1	19	
Salem, Va				
Salisbury, N.C				
Sepulveda, Calif				
Sheridan, Wyo				
St. Cloud, Minn				
Togus, Maine	8			
Tomah, Wis				
Topeka, Kans	43			
Tuscaloosa, Ala	3			
Tuskegee, Ala	14			
Waco, Tex				
Outpatient clinics in regional offices and independent outpatient clinics:				
Atlanta, Ga				
Baltimore, Md				
Boston, Mass	173			
Brooklyn, N.Y	10			
Columbia, S.C				
Honolulu, Hawaii	21			
Indianapolis, Ind	8			
Los Angeles, Calif				
Louisville, Ky	18			
Lubbock, Tex				
Manila, Philippines				
Milwaukee, Wis	27			
Montgomery, Ala				
Muskogee, Okla				
Newark, N.J				
New York, N.Y	41			
Philadelphia, Pa	45			
Pittsburgh, Pa	10			
Portland, Oreg	32			
Providence, R.I	61			
Roanoke, Va	13			
San Antonio, Tex				
St. Paul, Minn	16			
St. Petersburg, Fla	17			
Syracuse, N.Y				
Winston-Salem				
Juneau, Alaska				
Waco, Tex				
General hospitals:				
Albany, N.Y	3			
Albuquerque, N. Mex	8			
Alexandria, La				
Altoona, Pa				
Amarillo, Tex				
Ann Arbor, Mich		1	2	1
Atlanta, Ga				
Augusta, Ga.[2]				
Baltimore, Md.[4]				
Batavia, N.Y	9			
Bath, N.Y	10			
Bay Pines, Fla				
Beckley, W. Va	16			
Big Spring, Tex				
Biloxi, Miss				
Birmingham, Ala				
Boise, Idaho	9			
General hospitals—Con.				
Bonham, Tex	19			
Boston, Mass				
Brecksville, Ohio [4]				
Bronx, N.Y	11			
Brooklyn, N.Y				
Buaffalo, N.Y	5			
Butler, Pa.[4]	7			
Castle Point, N.Y.[4]	13			
Cheyenne, Wyo	37			
Chicago, Ill. (west side)	29			
Chicago, Ill. (research)				
Cincinnati, Ohio	29			
Clarksburg, W. Va	77			
Cleveland, Ohio				
Columbia, S.C				
Coral Gables, Fla				
Dallas, Tex				
Dayton, Ohio				
Dearborn, Mich	4			
Denver, Colo				
Des Moines, Iowa				
Dublin, Ga	6			
Durham, N.C				
Dwight, Ill				
East Orange, N.J	1	1	41	
Erie, Pa	8			
Fargo, N. Dak	1			
Fayetteville, Ark	42			
Fayetteville, N.C				
Fort Bayard, N. Mex	8			
Fort Harrison, Mont	5			
Fort Howard, Md				
Fort Thomas, Ky				
Fort Wayne, Ind				
Fresno, Calif				
Grand Island, Nebr				
Grand Junction, Colo				
Hines, Ill				
Hot Springs, S. Dak	4			
Houston, Tex				
Huntington, W. Va				
Indianapolis, Ind.[5]	21	7	40	2
Iowa City, Iowa	2			
Iron Mountain, Mich				
Jackson, Miss				
Kansas City, Mo				
Kecoughtan, Va	4			
Kerrville, Tex				
Lake City, Fla	14			
Lincoln, Nebr	25			
Little Rock, Ark		1	36	
Livermore, Calif				
Long Beach, Calif	42			
Los Angeles, Calif.[3]				
Louisville, Ky				
Madison, Wis	1			
Manchester, N.H				
Marion, Ill				
Marlin, Tex				
Martinez, Calif	51			
Martinsburg, W.Va	84	1	14	1
McKinney Tex				
Memphis, Tenn				
Miles City, Mont				
Minneapolis, Minn				
Montgomery, Ala				
Mountain Home, Tenn	3			
Muskogee, Okla				
Nashville, Tenn				
Newington, Conn				
New Orleans, La				
New York, N.Y				
Oklahoma City, Okla				
Omaha, Nebr	10			
Oteen, N.C				
Philadelphia, Pa				
Phoenix, Ariz				
Pittsburgh, Pa.[6]	45			
Poplar Bluff, Mo	89			
Portland, Oreg	6			
Providence, R.I				
Reno, Nev	22			
Richmond, Va	7			
Rutland Heights, Mass	10			
Saginaw, Mich	17			
Salt Lake City, Utah				
San Francisco, Calif				
San Francisco, Calif	11			
San Juan, P.R				
Seattle, Wash				
Shreveport, La				
Sioux Falls, S. Dak				
Spokane, Wash	1			
St. Louis, Mo	54			
Sunmount, N.Y				
Syracuse, N.Y				
Temple, Tex	21			
Tucson, Ariz				
Vancouver, Wash	95	1	8	

Footnotes at end of table.

Physical examinations and hospitalization provided by VA to Job Corps applicants and members—Continued

Hospitals, domiciliaries, and outpatient clinics	Number of physical examinations provided to Job Corps applicants and members	Number of Job Corps members admitted to VA hospital	Number of patient-days of care provided these members from Jan. 18 through July 9, 1965	Number of such members remaining in VA hospital on July 9, 1965
General hospitals—Con.				
Wadsworth, Kans				
Walla Walla, Wash	53			
Washington, D.C	245			
West Haven, Conn				
West Roxbury, Mass				
Whipple, Ariz	5			
White River Junction, Vt	1			
Wichita, Kans	12			
Wilkes-Barre, Pa				
Wilmington, Del	73			
Wood, Wis				

[1] Includes tuberculosis hospitals denoted by footnotes 4 and 5.
[2] Psychiatric division.
[3] General division.
[4] Denotes tuberculosis hospital.
[5] Includes the Tuberculosis Hospital, Indianapolis, Ind.
[6] Includes the General Hospital, Aspinwall, Pa.

Source: RCS 10-64-65S, D.M. & S. Circular 10-65-206, July 12, 1965.

A Voice That Spoke to All Humanity—Tribute to Adlai Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 30, 1965

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "A Voice That Spoke to All Humanity," published in the Louisville Courier-Journal on July 15, 1965, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The editor and the publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal, Barry Bingham, was a close friend of Adlai Stevenson, and the editorial is illuminated by his knowledge of his friend.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A VOICE THAT SPOKE TO ALL HUMANITY

One summer day a number of years ago, Adlai Ewing Stevenson delivered a eulogy at the funeral of an old personal friend. The scene was Libertyville, in the green valley of the Des Plaines River. The speech was entirely extemporaneous.

In reciting the virtues of a friend who was gone, Stevenson began to develop a far broader theme. His tribute to one individual spread to a sort of prose poem. It became a paean to the Illinois fields his friend had known all his life, the America whose traditions had nurtured his mind, the horizons of freedom that open outward from all our western world. Nobody who heard that impromptu hymn of praise has ever forgotten its impact.

Such eloquence in the service of good causes was one of the many gifts Adlai Stevenson brought to his country. It was he who was called on to read the oration at the funeral of his devoted friend Eleanor Roosevelt.

Admirers all over the world will struggle to express their feelings about this remarkable man with some touch of the nobility of language which he himself commanded. They will not succeed.

For all his eminence, there was a modesty about him that made him signally different from most practitioners of the art of politics. His best jokes were always the ones he told on himself.

IN THE MIDST OF ADULATION

In the midst of adulation such as few men have enjoyed, he kept both his sense of humor and his sense of balance. ("Flattery never hurts a man," he joked, "unless he begins to inhale.")

Under the sharp arrows of criticism that rain down upon a man who storms the heights of political preferment, Stevenson never allowed bitterness to obscure his cloudless vision.

This was an American who sprang from a long history of America and a long tradition of public service. Twice his party's nominee for President, he twice met the invincible candidate, Dwight D. Eisenhower. It is a measure of Stevenson's quality that his prestige only grew in political defeat.

He might have made his whole later career as a public speaker. It was the deeply thoughtful content of what he said, however, which will endure long beyond the magic of his oratorical skill. He was the spokesman par excellence of an American point of view—rational, civilized, enlightened—which never before had found such powerful articulation.

It was a wise act of the late President Kennedy to ask Adlai Stevenson to serve as our country's top representative at the United Nations. It was wise of President Johnson to keep him there. He enjoyed the respect of every delegate of every country. His personal friendships opened doors that might have been slammed shut by the passing winds of international politics.

A frequent world traveler, Stevenson served as a super-Ambassador of the United States. Everywhere he managed to speak directly to the consciousness of the masses, not merely to their government officials. People listened to him. His gravely courteous manner was the same in addressing a chief of state or a peasant beside a dusty roadside. His was the truly democratic spirit we like to identify with America.

We can never know what record Adlai Stevenson might have made if he had been elected President. His successful term as Governor of Illinois suggests unusual executive gifts.

Major figures in the American story are not all Presidents, however. Some others with qualities of greatness have influenced our national life without speaking from the White House. The parallel of Adlai Stevenson and Benjamin Franklin is interesting—both men were spokesmen for their country before the world, both inovators, both practical idealists.

It is too early to come to grips with the problem of replacing this man at the United Nations. Quite simply it must be said that no American now living can rival his qualifications for that highly exposed and responsible position.

WHAT THEY WILL REMEMBER

What everybody will now remember will be the human side of Stevenson's career. He was a man who could call forth laughter by the sunny glint of his wit. He could provoke tears, as in the words he spoke on the night of his defeat in 1952. Most of all, he could move people of all kinds, from the simplest to the most elevated, to a warm respect for his own character and for the Nation he interpreted so eloquently before the world.

Born in the early weeks of 1900, Adlai Stevenson was in every sense a man of the 20th century. The century is less likely to go down as the one that brought disaster to the human race because of this lonely, devoted, and inspiring man.

Marshall as Solicitor General

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's determination that only the best men and women shall serve our Federal Government is again demonstrated in the pending appointment of Thurgood Marshall as Solicitor General of the United States.

Certainly the law has had no finer advocate than that of Thurgood Marshall. As attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mr. Marshall did as much as any man to advance the cause of civil rights and to strengthen civil liberties.

The office of Solicitor General demands a person of Thurgood Marshall's capability. I trust that the Senate will act swiftly in reaffirming its confidence in President Johnson's choice for this position.

The confidence of the Nation has been expressed in many newspaper articles and editorials. One such editorial was in the Oil City Pennsylvania Derrick of July 23. I include this editorial at this point in the Appendix of the RECORD:

MARSHALL AS SOLICITOR GENERAL

Too many, Thurgood Marshall is a symbol—a symbol of the Negro's legal fight for equality. That's understandable. But it is too often forgotten that, aside from civil rights, he is a lawyer of impressive prowess.

This should be recalled now that he has been nominated by President Johnson as Solicitor General. The Senate, which took a year to confirm him as a judge on Second

Circuit Court of Appeals, will take only a small fraction of that time, it is hoped, to confirm his new appointment.

Judge Marshall will be returning to what seems his truest native ground in the law.

Temperamentally, he is an advocate. In that role he argued 32 cases before the Supreme Court and won 29 of them, including the historic *Brown* v. *Board of Education* case which mandated the end of school segregation.

When Mr. Marshall joined the Second Circuit Court, its chief judge, J. Edward Lumbard observed that "during the past 20 years few, if any, members of the American bar have had so varied an experience in the Federal trial and appellate courts of many Federal circuits."

Southern opposition to the appointment, which has begun already is to be expected. It should not deter the ratification.

Information on Medicare and $3 a Month Voluntary Medical Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, "Will medicare pay my hospital and doctor bills if I get sick next year?" Many persons 65 or over will ask that question now that we have passed the social security-medicare law of 1965.

A TYPICAL EXAMPLE

In explaining the new law to the people of my district, Minneapolis, Minn., I have found it is helpful to give a typical example of how the new law will work. Suppose Mr. Hanson is already 65 and receiving a monthly social security check at the time medicare goes into effect next July 1, 1966, and has signed up for the $3 a month voluntary medical plan, too. Suppose he is hurt in an accident or takes ill on July 4, 1966, and goes to the hospital and stays for 28 days. Will medicare pay his hospital and doctor bills?

In a case like this, Mr. Hanson would pay about $40 to the hospital and about $140 to his doctor. The social security fund would pay the balance of the hospital bill. The new voluntary medical plan would pay the balance of the doctor's bill.

Here's how Mr. Hanson can figure how much of his hospital and doctor bill would be paid for by medicare and the voluntary plan. He is in the hospital for 28 days.

The medicare law has a $40 deductible feature, so Mr. Hanson pays the first $40 of his hospital bill. If he is in a ward at, say, $22 a day, medicare will pay the other $576.

If his doctor bill runs to $500, Mr. Hanson pays the first $50 and an additional $90 while the voluntary medical plan pays the remaining $360. The law sets the deductible sum at $50 and requires a person to pay 20 percent of the balance of his doctor's bill too.

WHERE TO PHONE FOR INFORMATION ON MEDICARE

This is a simple example. Many other possibilities arise for different lengths of stay in the hospital and types of medical services. I am urging all people in my district to contact the social security office directly with their questions. In Minneapolis it is in room 230 of the Federal Courts Building at 110 South Fourth Street. The telephone number is 334-2701. Excellent help can also be obtained from the AFL-CIO community services office at 404 South Eighth Street, Minneapolis. The telephone number is 332-5275, extension 212 or 210.

WALLET SIZE MEDICARE CARDS WILL BE SENT IN THE MAIL

Men and women who are covered by the hospitalization feature of medicare will receive a wallet size card in the mail in the coming months. The Social Security Administration will also send out applications automatically to let retired people sign up for the $3 per month voluntary medical plan if they want to. Information pamphlets are now being written and will be sent in the mail, too.

NO COVERAGE UNTIL JULY 1, 1966

Medicare does not go into effect for almost another year. Both the voluntary plan and the basic hospitalization start next July 1, 1966. Hospital bills and doctor bills incurred from that day on will be paid in part for those 65 and over who are covered by the law. Until next July everyone will have to rely on his own hospital or medical insurance—Blue Cross, Blue Shield, or whatever he is paying for. Needy oldsters can apply for medical assistance to the aged through their county welfare board, of course.

BASIC PLAN—HOSPITAL INSURANCE

ELIGIBILITY FOR PROTECTION UNDER THE BASIC PLAN

All persons aged 65 or over now entitled, or who will be entitled, to monthly social security or railroad retirement benefits. In addition, persons not eligible for such monthly checks who reach 65 within the next few years or who are now aged 65.

BENEFITS

First. Inpatient hospital charges for up to 90 days in each spell of illness with patient paying $40 for first 60 days and $10 a day after that.

Second. Nursing home care for up to 100 days during any spell of illness with the patient paying $5 a day for each day after 20 days.

Third. Home health service for up to 100 visits after a hospital stay of 3 days. Patient must be under a physician's care.

Fourth. Outpatient diagnostic services with the person paying the first $20 and 20 percent of the cost above that for all services rendered in a 20-day period.

Fifth. Psychiatric hospital care for up to 190 days during a lifetime.

COST

These benefits are paid for through the social security system by payroll deductions. There is no "means" test.

HOW TO ENROLL

No special action to enroll is necessary. Those who are eligible will be covered automatically.

VOLUNTARY SUPPLEMENTARY MEDICAL INSURANCE PROGRAM

ELIGIBILITY

All persons age 65 or over, regardless of whether or not they are eligible for social security, railroad retirement, or other benefits who wish to be covered.

BENEFITS

First. Physicians' and surgeon services furnished in a hospital, clinic, office, or in the home. Such specialists as dental surgeons, radiologists, and pathologists are included, but chiropractors and podiatrists are excluded.

Second. Home health services for up to 100 visits during a calendar year without being first hospitalized.

Third. Additional medical and health services, provided in or out of a medical institution, including diagnostic X-ray and laboratory tests, electrocardiograms, basal metabolism readings, and other diagnostic tests, X-ray, radium, and radioactive isotype therapy; ambulance services under limited conditions; surgical dressings, splints, casts, iron lungs, oxygen tents, artificial limbs, eyes, and so forth.

Fourth. Benefits under this program are subject to an annual deductible amount of $50. Then the program will pay 80 percent of the patient's bills above the $50 deductible.

COST

If a person chooses to participate in this program, it will cost $3 per month. The Federal Government will match this with a $3-per-month payment.

If you receive a monthly social security or railroad retirement check, the premiums would be deducted from your check. Others will pay their contribution directly into a special trust fund.

The premium cost rises if you delay signing up for this program.

HOW TO ENROLL

First. Regulations will be issued by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare establishing procedures for enrolling in the program.

Second. Persons 65 or over before January 1, 1966, may enroll prior to March 31, 1966.

Third. Persons who become age 65 after January 1, 1966, may enroll during a 7-month period that begins 3 months before their 65th birthday.

Fourth. There will be a general enrollment period during the period of October 1 to December 31 of each odd-numbered year beginning with 1967.

Fifth. You cannot enroll more than 3 years after the close of the first enrollment period in which you were eligible.

OTHER SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS PASSED BY CONGRESS

SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

Provides a 7-percent increase in all old-age, survivors, and disability insurance benefits. There is a minimum increase of $4 a month. Increases are retroactive to January 1, 1965.

BENEFITS FOR WIDOWS AT AGE 60

Widows will now have the option of receiving social security benefits at age 60, with a reduction of benefits they would otherwise receive at age 62.

CHILD'S INSURANCE BENEFITS

A child's insurance benefits would continue to be paid until the person reaches age 22—instead of age 18—if the child is attending accredited school or college as a full-time student after he reaches age 18. This provision will be effective as of January 1, 1965.

BENEFITS TO PERSONS AT AGE 72 OR OVER

Liberalizes eligibility requirements by providing a basic benefit of $35 a month at age 72 or over to certain persons with a minimum of 3 quarters of coverage under the Social Security Act, acquired at any time since the beginning of the program in 1937.

RETIREMENT TEST

Liberalizes the social security earned income limitation. Beginning January 1, 1966, a person receiving a check will be able to earn $1,500 a year without having his check reduced.

DISABILITY INSURANCE BENEFITS

Liberalizes the eligibility requirement and the waiting period for persons covered by the disability insurance provisions of the Social Security Act.

MISCELLANEOUS AMENDMENTS

Other amendments authorize benefits to certain divorced women, coverage of physicians, coverage of cash tips received by employees after 1965, and an exemption from social security of self-employed persons of certain religious sects.

MEDICARE BRINGS A NEW ERA OF SOCIAL LEGISLATION

It is no wonder that passage of the medicare bill has been said to open a new era in social legislation in the United States. I am proud to have been one of the cosponsors of this important new law. I trust that it will help relieve our older citizens of the fear and financial burden of illness and hospital care.

President Johnson Makes Another Major Contribution to Alliance for Progress Success in Central America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, the Alliance for Progress has moved another important step toward the achievement of its goals.

In a White House ceremony attended by the Ambassadors from the six Central American countries, President Johnson signed a loan agreement under which the United States will lend $35 million toward the initial financing of the Central American Fund for Economic Integration.

These funds will be used to further the goals of the Central American Common Market by financing needed regional projects.

The progress of the Central American Common Market has been outstanding.

These small countries, which individually found that their size greatly inhibited their ability to form viable societies, decided to organize into a single Common Market in order to develop better their resources.

Since 1958, trade among these Common Market members has increased fivefold—from $20 million in 1958 to over $105 million in 1964.

The resulting stimulus of this trade has produced a gross national product increase in Central America of almost 7 percent a year.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly recommend to my colleagues President Johnson's comments on the occasion of the signing of this new agreement, as well as the response of Dr. Delgado, President of the Central American Bank for Economic Integration.

The remarks follow:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE SIGNING OF THE $35 MILLION LOAN TO THE CENTRAL AMERICAN BANK FOR ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

Distinguished guests, members of the diplomatic corps, Members of Congress, I regret that these days and nights I am usually an hour late and a dollar short, but it is good to finally be here with you, and this house is honored today by the presence of such distinguished company. I am deeply privileged to extend to each of you a very warm welcome.

For all Americans of all the Americas, today is a very proud occasion. I believe we realize the real meaning of this moment as much more than just signing the papers that are before us. In a real sense by what we have come to do we really honor the spirit—the new and the soaring spirit—that is stirring throughout the length of this young and this proud and this newly hopeful Western Hempishere of ours, and no cynicism can corrode the promise that is beginning to gleam so brightly in the sun of this New World's new day, for we are thinking as we have never had cause to really think before as Americans, as peoples, as nations, sharing not just a common history or even a common geography, but sharing a common vision and possessing common aspirations.

That spirit was brought to life here in this room 4 years ago when a good many of you heard President Kennedy speak his hopes and speak the hopes of his countrymen, that the Americas could ally themselves together in peace to better the life of man in all of the Americas.

We see that spirit gaining substance and reality now, and in a good many, lands. But nowhere do we see it more than in the lands of Central America—Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica. They have, in a series of acts of the highest statesmanship, embarked upon a process of integrating their economies, which is one of the really most exciting undertakings of our world today. Together these nations have created a common market. They have leveled their trade barriers. They have coordinated their efforts in higher education. They have done the same for their tax systems and their development planning. And they are all making an effort to cope with the problems created by the ancient enemies of all mankind—disease, poverty, and illiteracy.

And the results are already apparent and already gratifying. Trade among these nations amounted to $20 million in 1958, but reached $105 million last year, and the gross national product is rising at close to 7 percent a year. In support of these historic advances a key role is today being filled by the Central American Bank for Economic Integration. It is represented here today by its able and dynamic president, Dr. Delgado.

This bank is capitalized by equal contributions from the five Central American countries. But as the Governments have pledged mutual support to each other, so the members of the Alliance have pledged support to them.

In March 1963, in Costa Rica, our late beloved President John Kennedy, pledged this country's support. And so today we have come here to fulfill that pledge by signing this loan agreement for $35 million.

Yes, great progress has been made in Central America, but the future offers greater promise both there and throughout the hemisphere. The Central American republics are providing all their neighbors and all the world what I would think is a very stirring example of what can be accomplished by free men with vision, and with wisdom, and with courage. And we of the United States are very proud to be fortunate enough to work with them in this very hopeful enterprise. We are so grateful for your friendship, for your loyalty, for your cooperation in trying to solve the problems of this hemisphere and trying to be equal to the challenges of the 20th century. And we want you to know that, and we want your Governments to know it.

And so this morning, to the distinguished representatives of Central America that may be present on this historic occasion, I would affirm again my country's deep respect and admiration and support for your efforts. And likewise, to the distinguished representatives of the Organization of American States, the CIAP, the Inter-American Development Bank, I would reaffirm the interest and the support of the United States of America for economic integration throughout this hemisphere.

In all the world there are no dreams so stirring or so exciting or so inspiring as those that we can dream realistically and reasonably now in our own hemisphere. The day is no longer so dim and distant as once it seemed to be when those dreams begin to reach the lives of all our people, for we can truly believe that that day has already dawned and we are now working in its early morning. Long before the twilight of this century has come, we may believe that men and women of the Americas will come to know a much better life, a life of peace, a life of social justice, a life of liberty, a life of independence, a life where reason rules and where tyranny is vanquished.

And it is toward this happy hour that we work together now with a steady purpose and with a rising confidence and with a deep appreciation of what friendship and understanding really means.

I'm sorry I was late. Thank you so much for coming.

REMARKS BY MR. DELGADO

Mr. President, your Excellencies, distinguished guests, I wish to express our deep appreciation for the honor you have conferred upon us by personally signing the loan of $35 million to our Bank from the Agency for International Development. This is a moment of great satisfaction for me, a satisfaction that I know is shared by the distinguished Ambassadors from the five Central American countries.

This occasion stands as the culmination of long and sustained efforts to establish the Central American Integration Fund, efforts that were initiated between the meeting of the Presidents of the Central American Republics and the late John F. Ken-

nedy, whose memory is so close to the hearts of Latin Americans. These resources, matched with the contribution of $7 million already made by the Central American governments, will serve to initiate a vast program of necessary regional public works. Central American integration is thus advanced and economic and social progress enhanced.

We Central Americans are indeed achieving a sustained rate of regional growth, showing that the 15 years we have devoted to the creation of an operating regional common market are bearing fruit.

The awakened spirit of entrepreneurship, which is creating an entirely new generation of business and institutional leaders, undoubtedly constitutes one of the most striking phenomena in our region today. Equally striking, however, is the awareness that social progress is as important as industrial progress. We Central Americans take pride in these developments.

After more than a century of darkness and disunion we are pleased with this opportunity to bring directly to all of you the voice of a Central America reunited by common ideals and purposes.

The support of the United States to Central American economic integration has been strong and continuing. The Inter-American Development Bank has also provided important financial support.

We must also thank the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and our agencies of the Western Hemisphere, the Organization of American States, CIAP and ECLA for the special interest they have taken in the economic and social development of the Central American countries.

The Alliance for Progress to be successful requires confidence in its principles and a firm determination to overcome whatever obstacles may conspire to prevent us from achieving our ultimate goals. Much work remains to be done and we are determined to do it—through the multilateral mechanism of the Alliance and within the framework of our regional integration.

Thank you, Mr. President.

A Few Barkers, But No Biters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COMPTON I. WHITE, JR.

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, the rehabilitation of wayward American youth at the first Job Corps center in Idaho was graphically outlined in a recent article in the Lewiston Morning Tribune. Reporter Bill Hall, by interviewing enrollees, was able to write with insight into reasons these youths had failed to build constructive lives, and to describe what the Job Corps is doing to inspire rebuilding of the individual.

I submit the Tribune article for the RECORD and call it to the Members' attention:

IDAHO'S FIRST JOB CORPS CENTER FOR SCHOOL DROPOUTS IN COTTONWOOD

Earnest Gomez, an 18-year-old high school dropout from Denver, arrived last week at the new Cottonwood Job Corps Center, where he hopes to prove to his stepfather that he isn't a bum.

Gomez said he joined the Job Corps, "because I had problems at home with my father. He said I was gonna hit the streets or something. He said I was gonna be a bum, and I want to show him.

"And I wanted to help my mom. She's going to have another baby next month (the eighth), and I want to help my little sister. She was a premature baby. She's 2 years old, and she can't walk, and I want to send part of my pay ($30 a month) for the hospital.

"It's the first time I've ever been this far from home, and I think I'll like it, all the trees and everything. And I get more to eat than I used to. My stepdad used to bawl me out if I ate too much."

William Valentine is a 19-year-old high school dropout from Los Angeles who has hardly stopped talking since he arrived with the first contingent at the new camp June 24.

"I was out of a job, and the rent was due on my apartment," he explained. "I went to my mother's apartment to see what to do, and she read in the paper about the Job Corps and that all you need is the clothes on your back. I went down the next day and joined.

"I dropped out of school in my senior year because my mother was sick and I had to start work to keep everybody happy. She said it would just be a couple of months until she got better, but I never went back.

"I got my own apartment because I couldn't get along with my mother. My stepfather told me I'd never amount to a hill of beans, and I want to show him."

John Elliott, 17, is from Bald Knob, Ark. He is devoted to his father, his mother, and three older sisters.

But his father has only one usable arm, and John missed much of his early schooling helping his father farm cotton, potatoes, and strawberries on their 80-acre plot. He left school for good in the seventh grade.

When you ask Elliott where he's from, he answers with a drawl so heavy that it's hard to understand, so he was asked to spell the name of his hometown.

"I'm sorry, sir; I can't spell," he said. Elliott can't read or write, and that's why he's at the Cottonwood Job Corps Center.

"My father wanted me to get an education, and I figured if I couldn't do it for myself, I could do it for my father."

There are other stories at the center, many of them involving broken homes. One boy said he couldn't take seeing his father beat his mother. Another told of being hospitalized from a beating at the hands of his father. And a third boy told of calling the police when he found his brother-in-law beating his sister in the stomach, hoping to make her lose an unwanted baby during the seventh month of pregnancy.

Valentine, Elliott, and Gomez dismiss reports that the camp is filled with young toughs from the big city streets.

"That's a bunch of bunk," said the talkative Valentine. "There are a few barkers, but no biters."

Elliott conceded there are a few "smart alecks," but he said most are there to make something of themselves.

Most fall into the general qualifications, or lack of qualifications, set down for admittance to the corps. They must be school dropouts, unemployed and between 16 and 21 years of age. They must be from indigent or nearly indigent families, and they must have no substantial criminal record. Most in the program have a reading and writing skill below the seventh grade, and approximately 10 percent can neither read nor write. However, most are of average intelligence, and some are above average.

The program is patterned roughly after the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930's with several major improvements. Camp Director Robert R. Lusk said the initial goal is to give the boys a change of environment. Beyond that, they are given about 8 hours of education a day, winter and summer, except the days they are involved in conservation work in the forest.

There are no formal grade levels at the camp, and the shelves are filled with booklets aimed at every level of learning in reading, writing, mathematics, social studies, and vocational studies.

If a boy can't read, he starts out with basic material. If he is at approximately the level of someone halfway through the fourth grade, there is a booklet for exactly that level. The graduated booklets have the added advantage that a boy never falls behind the class. He can be out in the forest on a work project for a week, and return to take up where he, not the class, left off.

At the same time, the corps attempts to teach the boys good work habits and good citizenship.

If the Cottonwood center does nothing else, it will give the boys the promised change of environment. It is located in the pine mountains at the old Air Force radar station, about 7 miles west of the town of Cottonwood. A second camp is under construction at Cedar Flats, near the Fenn Ranger Station on the Selway River.

The Cottonwood camp has approximately 100 corpsmen now and expects a total of 200 by the end of the summer. There is a staff of approximately 40, including 5 teachers, 2 counselors, a recreation specialist, 8 resident workers who live with the boys, 8 work supervisors, a nurse, an office force, and 4 cooks. Lusk is assisted by a deputy director for work, a deputy director for education, and an administrative officer.

The boys enlist for 6 months, and are permitted to reenlist three times for a maximum of 2 years in the program. They are free to leave at any time, and the first bout of homesickness already had eliminated some by the second week of the Cottonwood operation.

The corpsmen receive clothing, room, board, and $30 a month. A value is attached to the clothing, room, and board, and that is figured in the income tax they pay.

In return, the corpsmen handle conservation work. Hopefully, they will produce a far greater return by becoming responsible, tax-paying citizens.

Valentine, Gomez, and Elliott already have some definite ideas of their future.

Gomez wants to learn the basics of auto mechanics at the Cottonwood camp shop and then go into the Army as a mechanic.

Elliott wants to go directly into the Army from the corps, "so I can get that out of the way before I get married."

He said his father has promised him some land on the family farm.

"I'm going to build a house, get married, settle down, and then work in the forest or on heavy machinery."

What does Valentine want to do?

He wants to become a member of the staff at a Jobs Corps center.

President's Choice of Arthur Goldberg as U.N. Ambassador

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am pleased to include editorials from both major daily newspapers in Sacramento, Calif., reflecting the general opinion of excellence in President Johnson's choice of

Arthur Goldberg as Ambassador to the United Nations:

[From the Sacramento Union, July 24, 1965]

U.N. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG

In appointing U.S. Supreme Court Justice Arthur J. Goldberg as Special Representative of the United States to the United Nations, President Johnson seems to have made a selection as inspired as it is unusual.

Goldberg has not been in the diplomatic or international fields before, so that his capacity in his new role is yet to be proven—but he brings with him a notable record of public service, an excellent legal background, experience in negotiations, and a sense of dedication.

Only his concern for the Nation's welfare could have prompted him to surrender the prestige, greater financial compensation and security of being a member of the Supreme Court.

His idealism was shown in his acceptance of this new challenge when he described efforts to have rule of law govern the relations between sovereign states as "the greatest adventure in man's history"—and when he added, "It is that or doom."

As a labor negotiator, Goldberg has had his idealism refined by hard realism. He should have developed the patience, persistence, and analytical reasoning that can stand a U.N. Ambassador in good stead in his monumental tasks for bargaining and persuasion.

Whatever else, Goldberg is not likely to be pushed around easily or duped. While his participation in world affairs is limited, he is knowledgeable and has the capacity which can prove most valuable to this country.

[From the Sacramento Bee, July 21, 1965]

GOLDBERG'S APPOINTMENT TO U.N. IS IMPRESSIVE

President Lyndon B. Johnson's appointment of U.S. Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg as the successor to Adlai Stevenson as Ambassador to the United Nations is dramatic and impressive.

Goldberg should make an eloquent and effective spokesman for the Untied States, and more than incidentally, for world peace through world order.

He has talent, experience, and conviction. He has courage. He has imagination. He has all of these things in abundance—and all of these are necessary to the office.

Goldberg's first words after receiving the appointment were indicative both of his approach to the new job and of his concern for methods. He promised to make an attempt to bring "the rule of law to relations between the various nations—it is this or doom and we all know that."

And of course the success or the failure of the United Nations in the end will depend upon whether it can impose world law, and thereby world restraint, upon the predatory, and whether the justice of its arguments is of the mortar of law or of the straws of expediency and selfish interests.

In essence, the U.N. is but a creation of mankind's hope for world peace, through world law, and so Goldberg, as he leaves America's highest court, quite correctly sees his new taks to be that of helping to make the U.N. the bulwark of law and justice it must be.

There are two other recommendations Goldberg takes with him to his new ambassadorship. The job of U.S. Ambassador demands, in the same man, the justice of law and the imagination of the arbitrator and the negotiator. Goldberg's record, in both, is secure, just as is his record of concern for the law.

By circumstance the United Nations is a forum for the expression of opinion. It is, in a real sense, a gigantic, chrome and glass bargaining room where differences can be hammered out legitimately, with concern for truth and right.

Few men, as Goldberg proved both as a private advocate in labor relations and as Secretary of Labor, have his talent for hard bargaining room where differences can be stating a case. He is a man who first builds his argument, then expresses it in pithy eloquence.

As the successor to a notable Ambassador, Adlai E. Stevenson, Goldberg takes office with the hopes and prayers of all, from the President on down, and with some sympathy, for his job is Herculean.

Amendment to Section 271 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 8856) to amend section 271 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, it is my purpose during the time allotted me to devote myself primarily to the question of separation of powers which is involved and also to the question of constitutionality. I am not going to discuss the beautification issue or the technical aspects of this underground powerline.

The previous speaker, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANDERSON] and also the gentleman from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD], seem to have pinpointed their argument on the thesis that we are here today to reaffirm the congressional intent of Congress in 1954. The gentleman from California has so stated. To paraphrase his statement he said:

> This is not the making of a new law—we are only reaffirming what a previous Congress meant.

Mr. Chairman, the 83d Congress adjourned sine die December 2, 1954. The House of Representatives is not a continuing body. On December 2, 1954, the record of the 83d Congress was written and it was final and it was not subject to second-guesses or afterthoughts.

Apropos right now is this quotation from the Rubaiyat:

> The Moving Finger writes; and, having writ,
> Moves on: nor all your Piety nor Wit
> Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line,
> Nor all your Tears wash out a Word of it.

We can write new law here today, and if this bill is passed, it will have a public law number and it will become a part of the statutes. It will be law. That is what we are doing. If this law were to apply to Woodside we would be writing ex post facto law. But we are not establishing congressional intent in 1954.

Mr. Chairman, congressional intent can only be established by a court and the only factors that a court can consider are the printed hearings, the report, the debate and the official documents pertaining to the passage of that bill.

Mr. Chairman, the courts have spoken in this case. They have upheld the Woodside ordinance as being consistent with the intent of Congress.

The United States Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit has so stated.

We cannot determine in 1965 what was intended in 1954.

Mr. Chairman, a letter from the Senator from Iowa cannot determine the intent in 1954. The feelings of the gentleman from California are not pertinent at this time, because the court is the only agency which has a right to determine congressional intent. Once a Congress has adjourned sine die, only the courts can speak.

Now, Mr. Chairman, it is up to us here today to ask ourselves if we are willing to write new law and assume the judicial power unto the legislative branch. If we legislate—and that is what we are doing—to undo a local ordinance which has been upheld by the courts, we legislate on an ex post facto basis.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, let us consider for just a moment this question of what the legislative intent was in 1954. I am willing to talk about it.

Let us read from the committee report:

> Because of these unique provisions in the act pertaining to AEC's licensing and regulation of persons operating reactors which could be used to produce electricity, there was some feeling of uneasiness among the drafters of the legislation over the effect of the new law upon other agencies—Federal, State, and local—having jurisdiction over the generation, sale, and transmission of electric power. It was recognized by the drafters that the authority of these other agencies with respect to the generation, sale, and transmission of electric power produced through the use of nuclear facilities was not affected by this new law; and that AEC's regulatory control was limited to considerations involving the common defense and security and the protection of the health and safety of the public with respect to the special hazards associated with the operation of nuclear facilities.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 5 additional minutes.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, I continue quoting from the report:

> Nevertheless, section 271 was added to make its explicit that licensees of the AEC who produced power through the use of nuclear facilities would otherwise remain subject to the authority of all appropriate Federal, State, and local authorities with respect to the generation, sale, or transmission of electric power.

Note the word "appropriate."

Mr. Chairman, I raise this question: Is the county of San Mateo, is the city of Woodside, an appropriate agency to grant a land-use permit in accordance with the laws of the State of California?

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for an answer to that question?

Mr. GUBSER. I shall yield to the gentleman in just a moment.

If it is not an appropriate agency then why did the AEC execute a contract with the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. which was subject to the ability of Pacific Gas & Electric Co. to secure a land use permit?

The very existence of that contract to which the AEC was a party presumes the right of the city of Woodside to reg-

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ulate the conditions under which the powerline could be built. And it naturally follows that if Woodside had the power to grant the land use permit it also has the power to deny it. The courts have upheld that right and if it is to be questioned further it should properly be carried to the U.S. Supreme Court on appeal.

Why are we asked to come here and legislate on a purely ex post facto basis? We are attempting today to undo something legislatively which was a right in accordance with the law passed in 1954, and which the courts of this Nation have said was a right.

Let us look at the bill for a moment. I am concerned with the word "any" on the first page. Let me read part of it:

Provided, That this section shall not be deemed to confer upon any Federal, State, or local agency any authority to regulate, control, or restrict any activities of the Commission.

That apparently means that local zoning ordinances are not worth a hoot. Does it mean, for instance, that the Atomic Energy Commission can dump raw sewage into a creek running alongside Woodside, in violation of the California pollution laws? I do not know. I am asking.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for an answer?

Mr. GUBSER. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. HOSMER. Of course it does not mean that. The only thing that the amendment of 271 is talking about is the transmission of electric power; 271 was put in to make sure that the local authorities could regulate the sale of electricity that was generated in nuclear power reactors. It had nothing to do with the AEC or this question of AEC buying electricity. The court said it has, so we are here to straighten this out, and give them that power.

Mr. GUBSER. I thank the gentleman. That is a clear-cut answer to my question, and it is satisfactory. But I point out that it establishes legislative intent prospectively, and does not assume the right to determine legislative intent retroactively. Either way one looks at this bill it follows a wrong course of action.

If we attempt to legislate the intent of a 1954 Congress in the year 1965 we are assuming a judicial prerogative in this legislative body.

On the other hand, if we pass a bill which retroactively undoes what the courts have upheld we are passing ex post facto law in defense of the spirit and perhaps the letter of the U.S. Constitution.

Minneapolis Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the city of Minneapolis was honored by the presence of the Vice President of the United States at the ceremony on the occasion of the swearing in of Mayor Arthur Naftalin for his third term.

Vice President HUMPHREY's visit was not only an honor for the city, Mr. Speaker, it was also a welcome to one of our city's own sons. Minneapolis was privileged to have HUBERT HUMPHREY serve as its mayor for several years previous to his election to the Senate. Exactly 20 years ago the Vice President was sworn in as mayor for his first term.

In recognition of the Vice President's visit, the City Council of Minneapolis passed the following resolution of appreciation. I have asked unanimous consent that it be included at this point in the RECORD.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION BY CITY COUNCIL OF MINNEAPOLIS

Resolution extending the appreciation of the city council to the Vice President of the United States for his visit

Whereas it is an unusally high honor for the city council to have as its distinguished guest the Vice President of the United States; and

Whereas his presence has given greater stature to the governing body of the city of Minneapolis; and

Whereas his tireless energy and personal dedication to public service is exemplary to all: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the City Council of the City of Minneapolis, That it extend its appreciation to the Vice President of the United States, HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, for his visit and offer its best wishes as he continues to bear the awesome burden of his office.

Passed July 6, 1965:

GLENN G. C. OLSON,
President of the Council.

Approved July 9, 1965:

ARTHUR NAFTALIN,
Mayor.

Attest:

LEONARD A. JOHNSON,
City Clerk.

We Need More, Not Fewer, Reservists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith for reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a timely editorial from the Florida Times Union on July 19, 1965:

WE NEED MORE, NOT FEWER, RESERVISTS

The fate of Defense Secretary Robert McNamara's plan to merge the Army Reserve and Army National Guard rests in the hands of a House Armed Services subcommittee which is scheduled to meet today in Washington. Fate of the proposal is in doubt at this time.

When Secretary McNamara first proposed the merger, he said that it was offered as the best available means for strengthening the national defense establishment. He said that although the total Reserve military force would be cut, the action would produce a larger number of combat-ready divisions.

Opponents of the proposal pointed out that commonsense would seem to dictate a need to revamp the entire setup, but in such a fashion as to increase the total Reserve strength in men and units rather, than reduce either factor in the military equation.

Time and the growing crisis in South Vietnam seem to be proving the wisdom of the opponents of the merger. Only last Tuesday, President Lyndon Johnson suggested that a limited callup of reservists might be necessary in the near future. Such an act would now be extremely complicated if Secretary McNamara had got his way earlier this year.

Members of the Ready Reserve of the Army Reserves may be ordered to duty by the Pentagon with little difficulty, but it requires a Presidential declaration that an emergency exists to federalize the National Guard for duty in the United States, and it might require a declaration of war to send them to combat duty in Vietnam or anywhere else. It should also be remembered that guardsmen are called up in units and not as individuals.

A growing possibility exists that the Russians may be planning to creat a minor crisis in Berlin in an effort to draw off U.S. attention from southeast Asia. If this should take place, then this country will need an even larger reserve force, not a smaller one as advocated by Secretary McNamara.

It should now be apparent, once again, that our Government's built-in system of checks and balances—in this case congressional control of the pursestrings—has operated to the benefit of the Nation by preventing hasty or arbitrary actions. The results might not please the Defense Secretary but they appear to be good.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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Appendix

A Speech by Mrs. Helen K. Leslie, National President of the Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., of the United States of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, on the evening of the 29th of July, Mrs. Pepper and I had the great privilege of attending the final banquet of the National Convention of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., of the United States of America. We were especially proud to be able to see a great and gracious lady of Florida, Mrs. Helen K. Leslie, of St. Petersburg, Fla., installed as the national president of this splendid organization of 175,000 outstanding business and professional women of America. Mrs. Leslie symbolizes in every way a broad understanding of the vital role of women in the life of our country and in dedication to the public interest, the high ideals and aims of this organization which means so much to our country and to humanity.

As a token of my appreciation of Mrs. Leslie and her great work and as an expression of esteem which I think this House would wish to share, I am having a flag of the United States flown over the Capitol and Mrs. Pepper and I are giving it to Mrs. Leslie as president of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., of the United States of America.

Mrs. Leslie, upon her inauguration, delivered a particularly excellent address reciting the accomplishments of this organization in the past and outlining its high aims and aspirations for the future. I commend to my colleagues in the Congress, and to all who read this RECORD, Mrs. Leslie's significant address, and ask leave that it be incorporated in the RECORD.

The address follows:

SPEECH BY HELEN LESLIE, NATIONAL PRESIDENT, FEDERATION OF BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS

There are many things I would like to say tonight. My heart has never been fuller nor my words so inadequate.

I would like to review the past—and the fine accomplishments of the federation—not only during the past year, but during all the years back to 1919. Certainly such a review would be interesting and worthy of your time.

I would like to enumerate the many things done by our illustrious past presidents because I have been inspired and challenged by their stalwart approach to the problems facing women, and by their courage to carve out the rich history which has spelled the advancement of business and professional women.

I have sought their advice, and cherished their friendship.

I could tell you how hard it will be to fill the shoes of one who has done such a fine job as our leader during this past year. This convention has been most outstanding and some of the thing done here have been just short of fantastic.

I could tell you how humble I feel in the presence of so many tonight who have meant so much to me.

While all these thing are in my heart and on my mind I am going to ask you to look with me into the future, that great, dark, frightening, but tremendously challenging, void which holds the destiny of the world and each of us who is privileged to share in it.

We live in a daring age. We live at a time unparalleled by anything our wildest imagination can envision.

In 1919 when we were founded, the speed record was broken by an airplane flying at the fantastic speed of 42 miles per hour. Today, we go around the world in minutes.

It took 100 horsepower to keep a plane flying in 1919, today 200 horsepower takes us to work or to the supermarket.

A few miles away from the spot in Florida where Ponce de Leon landed 400 years ago, we launch vehicles taking us to outer space.

Yes, times have changed. In St. Petersburg years ago, Eastern Air Lines approached our city fathers about establishing headquarters in our Sunshine City. Our city fathers unanimously turned this prospect down because they were convinced there was no future in this flying business.

We have planes now that can fly from New York to California in 3 minutes—if they could land softly.

We literally soar in orbit with the astronauts as we watch daring and fantastic acrobatics in space, feats that were not even thought of earlier in our own lives.

Yes, this is a daring age.

And, tonight I would like to dare you to move this federation forward at a pace befitting this supersonic age in which we live.

DARE TO SHARE

I dare you to open the doors of this organization to all business and professional women who want to share in our work and our aspirations, whether they live in our large cities or in the less populated areas; whether they are women who have been especially trained or whether they are women who have achieved through experience; whether they are top executives, or whether they are new in business and are reaching for the first rung on the ladder of success.

The strength and the force of this federation comes from its membership; from the fact that even though our avenues of employment run in different directions, we still share one common goal, and that is to elecate the standards of all business and professional women.

I dare you to open the door even wider to the young career woman, that door which Virginia Allan opened in Detroit in 1964, and which Dorothy Ford has kept wide open as we have worked as partners with youth. Share your experiences with them, and I am sure you, too, can learn from them.

Yes, I have the courage tonight to dare you to break the barriers, to tear down the walls, and to increase the membership of this federation by at least 10,000 members this year to a total of 185,000.

I would not only dare, but I would urge you to reach across boundaries and lines established by governments and share the rich rewards of membership with the business and professional women south of us. Opposition and differences are melted when women meet with common interests and common goals—that of promoting understanding between peoples and bringing peace to the world.

Our Florida federation trip to Guatemala is one example. When 77 people who represent all the range of interests covered by such varying positions as judges, lawyers, teachers, corporation executives, accountants, and officer managers found common interests, common problems, and common concerns with the business and professional women of Guatemala, we know that women of both countries benefited. More important, both groups learned to understand different points of view.

This need for understanding and friendship does not apply just to the countries in this hemisphere, even though I feel this is a particular responsibility of the United States. It applies to all lands, and particularly to those countries affiliated with our international federation.

When I visited West Germany in April as the guest of the German Government, I realized how much our friendship, our service, our loyalty, and our support are welcomed when we give it in the true spirit of friendship.

We owe a special allegiance to Helen Irwin, president, and Sally Butler, membership chairman, for their leadership during their service to the international federation.

Never before has the U.S. federation been more proud than it is at this time to entertain the international federation here in our Nation's Capital and here at our national federation headquarters in Washington, D.C. Helen Irwin and Sally Butler have been working hard to make this a memorable occasion and we are proud of both of them and of all the other members who have helped to plan the United States part in the international congress.

The opening session this afternoon was impressive, not only by the content of the speeches, but by the number of delegates, observers, and guests who attended the opening session.

We salute Helen Irwin as president of the international federation and compliment her for her contribution to international understanding.

Friendship and fellowship is the bond that holds us together in our clubs. It is the same bond that holds women together even when they don't speak the same language. The speed with which Ana Castro, who is president of the Guatemala City Club has learned English during her 4 weeks as a guest of the Florida federation, is one more demonstration of the power of friendship and fellowship to break down language barriers.

DARE TO SPEAK

Yes, I would dare you tonight to let your voices be so strong in seeking and upholding our legislative platform that there will be no doubt on Capitol Hill as to the desires of this federation as it relates to the laws that concern women. The record in the past has been impressive. The job is not yet done.

We have been the spokesman for employed women, and our work is not finished. However, I believe strongly that a leading example of the power and force when women do speak out is the establishment of 44 State commissions on the status of women. When the federation first offered to provide leadership in helping to establish these State commissions a little more than 2 years ago, it had to have faith in the ability of women to speak out and in the quality of the leadership it could bring. The action of Governor after Governor in establishing State commissions is evidence of how effectively you have spoken out. I dare you in the remaining States to speak out so that there will be a State commission in every State in the Union. But, the establishment of State commissions is only the beginning of my dare to you to speak out. For, the final evidence of your power to bring about results will be the payoff of the State commissions in needed legislation. There is still much to be done locally, in our States, and nationally. I think legislation is like peace. You never achieve it. It is never finished. It is a way of life.

We must always maintain a strong legislative program, and we must always remain united in speaking out to support legislation that is for the best interests of all women.

DARE TO SERVE

Indeed, service is the note that recurs again and again as we reflect on our plan for progress. One of our early founders, Adelia Prichard, said it more eloquently than I can possibly state it:

"Because each generation has had great women, women who caught the vision, who fought the fight, we stand where we do today, strengthened by bonds of friendship, broadened by our contacts with each other, prepared to meet courageously each and every problem that is ours. So it would seem that we should realize the wealth of this great heritage, the price that has been paid, the sacrifices that have been made; and that in that realization we should be very humble, very desirous for service, that we should be truly grateful for the privilege of this national organization with its wonderful opportunities, remembering always that our only right to existence is through service, and that always that service must mean building a finer, better world, creating in the minds of our people high ideals of government, true standards of living, sympathy without sentimentality and an intelligent understanding of the work we hope to do."

There is truly nothing women can't do, if they put their minds to it, and I would dare you tonight—and during the coming year—to apply your talents in service within your community, your State, and your Nation.

Each one of us cannot perform the same service—thank goodness. But, instead our effectiveness and our strength lies in the fact that when we combine our talents we have a cross-section of abilities which are characteristic of America and of the democracy we fight and die to uphold.

You all recall the Bible story of Martha and Mary at the household of Jesus, and the fact that Mary complained that she had to busy herself with household chores, preparing the meals, etc., while Martha only sat and visited with Jesus. Jesus' reply was, "Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things; but one thing is needful; and Mary hath chosen that good part which shall not be taken away from her." And this is a good lesson to remind us that each has his own niche, each has his special place of service. We do not propose to tell you how to serve, nor how much service you must give. That is your choice to make. We only hope to inspire you to apply your talents where they will do the most good, whether that talent is one, or many.

With our heads and our hearts in our homes, and our feet in the business world, we have the power to influence more people than any other group. Let us not misuse—nor waste that power.

DARE TO HAVE FAITH

I dare you to have faith in yourself, faith in others, and faith in a supreme being in whom we can find both the meaning of our lives and the power to live them.

Lack of faith can cause people to falter, and nations to crumble. Lack of faith has caused great companies to go bankrupt and likewise a deep and abiding faith can move mountains.

The true greatness of America lies not in her high rate of production, but in her ideals of freedom. Every citizen has the responsibility to preserve this legacy of freedom. It is yours to surrender, or to hold.

The power of women is great but like all other great powers, its power lies in its control. We must be informed. We must control with careful thought, and with dedication to the ideals of freedom, with true regard for our fellow man.

And so I ask you to wield that power to: Dare to share, dare to speak out, dare to serve, and dare to have faith.

There is an old Chinese proverb that goes something like this:

"If there is harmony in the home there is agreement in the state. If there is agreement in the state, there is order in the nation. If there is order in the nation, there is peace in the world."

Death of James M. Kemper, Sr., Business Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STUART SYMINGTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, in the death of James M. Kemper, Sr., the Kansas City area recently lost one of its most capable business leaders, an unusually effective worker for the development of the midwest, the leading banker of his area, and an outstanding American.

Jim Kemper was my friend for many years and I shall miss his wise advice and counsel, as will all of those who knew him.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial published in the Kansas City Times of Saturday, July 24, in tribute to Jim Kemper.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JAMES M. KEMPER, SR.

In the Kansas City of the last half century, James M. Kemper, Sr., will have to go down as one of the half dozen great leaders and builders. He was a commanding, imperial presence in both appearance and achievement. Visible for all to see is his greatest contributions—the revitalizing and rebuilding of the downtown area. Others had a part in the events that brought the North Side out of decay and dilapidation. But Jim Kemper was the realistic dreamer. More than that, he was the main force behind the monumental effort.

Not that he was a starry-eyed civic promoter. Far from it. The very image of the do-gooder, however motivated, horrified him. "Enlightened self-interest" is an overused cliche, but it fitted him well. "If the city goes ahead and progresses, the commerce and Jim Kemper will make some money, too," he used to say. And he meant it. It was a happy blending of intensely practical realism that made James M. Kemper so effective as a city builder.

He made the downtown reconstruction his personal project and he poured his own—and the bank's—money into it. Great structures rose under his guidance and he reached out and brought in big and successful tenants for them. It is almost impossible to evaluate the significance of this renaissance in these days when the centers of great cities are disintegrating.

Much of the groundwork was laid through the downtown committee which he helped create and led for many years. The new Commerce Tower—the tallest office building in the State—is the crowning monument of his work. It wasn't necessary, of course, to erect such a building with its fountains, art, and dramatic restaurants. But Jim Kemper knew it was time for something big downtown. He said about doing it with dash and a certain flair that were characteristic.

In his opposition last year to the Tenth and Main Corp.'s building, he made a wrong guess. He didn't think downtown could lose the board of trade but it did. This was an error that must be seen against a background of scores of successes.

Jim Kemper could be hard and tough; he could be diplomatic and courtly. He had guts, courage, and faith and the strongest loyalty to friends. He did limit his energy and leadership to the projects that interested Jim Kemper. In the most disarming manner he could say, "I know you gentlemen have given this a lot of thought, but this is the way it looks to me." And the way it looked to him often was the way it was. When he got an idea, things happened. He could refuse to get an idea, too. Then, nothing could stir him.

One of his greatest contributions—back in the middle 1930's—generally is unknown. It concerned a meeting of the town's businessmen with H. F. McElroy, the city manager when the Pendergast machine was riding high. In those days with the manipulation of tax assessments and other squeezes, few businessmen would stand in opposition. Resistance could be impractical.

At this particular meeting—the subject is forgotten—the city manager seemed unusually demanding and plain spoken. Everybody there got the point and for a few minutes there was silence. Then Jim Kemper slowly unraveled his 6-foot, 5-inch height, rose to his feet, and proceeded to take McElroy apart verbally. The group was stunned, for this took real courage and it was coming from a man who made no pose as a civic reformer. It amounted to a declaration of independence by business.

But from that moment on the stifling hand of the machine on business leadership began to relax. From then on, the voices in opposition began to multiply. It was a turning point in the history of Kansas City's struggle up from machine rule.

In his younger days Jim Kemper loved to ride with the hounds and play polo. He was social. He loved life and his friends. He was a demanding, magnificent battler in the arena of our times and he seemed to thrive on clash and controversy. Fifty years after the age of the business barons was past,

he had the commanding presence of the grand seigneur.

It is tragic that this physically powerful man met the end that he did. When cancer first struck him he met it head on. Over the years the disease spread; he took the amputation of an arm and then returned to riding, dancing, and dinners with friends. Seldom, if every, did he complain or show despair.

In recent months it had become obvious to Jim Kemper and his friends that the end was very close. There was no hope whatever and he often was in excruciating pain. He wasn't afraid to die. And that lack of fear was a key to the man.

He did great things for Kansas City while—as he put it—"making a few dollars for Jim Kemper." The community owes him much. He was one of our great builders.

Lest We Forget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the world situation that exists today, it is well for us to refresh our memory and keep definitely in mind the tragic events of only three decades ago when, due to weak leadershipship in France and Great Britain, the aggression of Nazi Germany under Hitler led to World War II with its terrible destruction of life and property.

In that period there were many who lived in "a dream world of hope." It is evident that if strong leadership existed then in Great Britain and France that World War II might have been averted.

The events that took place prior to World War II should convince any person that appeasement is the road to war, and that the calculated risks of inaction are greater and more dangerous than the calculated risks of action.

"Lest we forget" it is well for us to keep in mind facts and dates concerning the Saar, Austria, Sudetenland, and Poland which led to World War II.

THE SAAR

France, in 1934, agreed not to interfere with German activities in the Saar. Nazi propaganda, including threats and material support, was conducted during that year in the Saar, which influenced the people to such an extent that the result of the plebiscite in 1935 was an overwhelming vote in favor of the return of the Saar to Germany.

The aims of Hitler had already been known to France and England and the inaction of France could be taken as a sign of weakness, and in fact, encouraged Hitler to proceed with his plans of expansion.

AUSTRIA

Hitler proclaimed through his infamous book Mein Kampf and numerous speeches, his repudiation of the Versailles Treaty and intention of bringing all Germans under German rule. Preparations were made in 1934 for the absorption of Austria.

The assassination of Chancellor Dollfuss by an attempted putsch by the Austrian Nazis occurred in July of 1934. The putsch failed due to Mussolini who sent troops to the Austrian border to intercept any German troops that might attempt to cross into Austria.

However, in October 1936 Hitler and Mussolini signed an accord, thereby establishing the Rome-Berlin Axis. In the same year—1936—Hitler reached an agreement with Chancellor Schuschnigg. In return for Hitler's promise not to interfere in Austrian affairs, Schuschnigg would allow German social and cultural organizations to be established in Austria and that more political responsibility to Nazi sympathizers would be granted.

In 1937 Mussolini announced that Italy would no longer protect Austria against any German attempt to absorb that country.

In February 1938, due to Hitler's threats, Schuschnigg yielded to Hitler and appointed three leading members of the Austrian Nazi Party to the posts of Minister of Interior, Minister of Justice, and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The Austrian Chancellor announced on March 9, 1938, that a plebiscite would be held to determine whether the Austrian people wished to maintain their independence or become annexed to Germany.

On March 11, 1938, the Austrian Nazi leader, Seyss-Inquart, demanded Chancellor Schuschnigg's resignation and postponement of the plebiscite. This demand was backed up with a threat of invasion by German troops mobilized on the Austrian border.

Schuschnigg resigned and canceled the plebiscite. Seyss-Inquart became Chancellor and at once invited the German Government to send troops into Austria to preserve order.

On March 13, 1938, the German Government issued a decree that declared Austria to be a state of the German Reich, although union between Austria and Germany was forbidden by the Treaty of Versailles.

England and France formally protested the absorption of Austria but did nothing to preserve Austria's independence.

Thus, the annexation became complete without one of the Allied countries offering any assistance whatever.

With the annexation of Austria, the Czechoslovakian fortifications on the German frontier could be outflanked, thereby weakening any resistance to Hitler's plans for his next move, the absorption of a region in western Czechoslovakia—the Sudetenland.

Three million Germans lived in the Sudetenland and, of course, were under the jurisdiction of the Czech Government. The demands of the Sudeten German Nazi leaders with the full support of Hitler steadily became more increasing. In 1938 the demand for autonomy gave way to a demand for self-determination and union with Germany.

Notwithstanding France's military alliance with Czechoslovakia, the French and British Governments urged the Czech Government to make all possible concessions to the Sudeten Germans.

Following an interview on September 15 between Prime Minister Chamberlain of Great Britain and Hitler, the British and French Governments served what amounted to an ultimatum on Czechoslovakia—that is, to cede all areas under Czechoslovakian jurisdiction where the populations was more than 50 percent German. Both governments further indicated, if Czechoslovakia refused these concessions, they could not promise any aid.

The Czech Government capitulated and on October 1, 1938, Germans troops marched into the Sudetenland.

In March 1939 Hitler absorbed Czechoslovakia and the Slovak states in direct violation of the Munich agreement while France and Britain stood by, making no attempt to assist Czechoslovakia.

POLAND

Britain and France announced they would come to the aid of Poland on March 31, 1939, if Poland's independence were threatened. This guarantee was extended to Greece and Rumania following Mussolini's seizure of Albania in April.

In the same month, Britain and France opened discussions with the Soviet Union for the purpose of concluding a mutual assistance pact. The Soviet Union, in the meantime, entered into a nonaggression pact with Germany. On August 23, 1939, the nonaggression pact was signed between Germany and Russia with an accompanying secret protocol.

According to the terms of the protocol, Eastern Europe was to be divided into German and Russian spheres, the Russian sphere including Finland, Latvia, Estonia, and parts of Poland and Rumania.

In the spring of 1939 Hitler demanded the return of Danzig to Germany. On August 29, 1939, Germany served in ultimatum on Poland demanding extraterritorial rights in the Polish Corridor. Poland was willing to discuss the issue, but Hitler regarded anything other than complete capitulation as unsatisfactory.

On September 1, 1939, the German motorized armies invaded Poland preceded by the bombings of Polish cities by the German air force.

The Soviet armies advanced into Poland from the east on September 17, 1939. This turn of events ended the last hope of aid from Britain and France reaching Poland in time.

The conquest of Poland by the German army was over in less than 4 weeks.

Britain and France, in accordance with their pledge to Poland, declared war on Germany on September 3, 1939. However, it was too late to halt the German armies, and one country after another was conquered until Nazi rule extended from the Atlantic to the Volga.

ADDITIONAL FACTS

Hitler announced rearmament of Germany on March 16, 1935, and compulsory military training for male Germans. Britain, France and Italy protested and the League of Nations condemned these violations of the Versailles Treaty. No action was taken, however, to prevent these violations.

The Nazi government had been encouraged to take these steps due to the

weakness of the League of Nations and responsible statesmen of the leading powers in allowing Japan to seize Manchuria in 1931–32 and the aggression by Italy against the independence of Ethiopia in 1935–36.

No action having been taken to halt these aggressions, Hitler sent 20,000 troops into the Rhineland. Despite this violation of the Locarno treaty, France and Britain took no action to eject the German troops from this demilitarized zone, and the erection of Nazi fortifications, in the Rhineland, was at once begun.

Notwithstanding the condemnation of Italy's seizure of Ethiopia by the League of Nations, and certain sanctions imposed upon Italy, Britain and France made many concessions to Mussolini and refused to impose oil sanctions upon the Italian Government. In July of 1936 the League of Nations voted to end sanctions against Italy. Hitler, in the meantime, stood by and watched all opposition to Italy's aggression collapse.

Hitler and Mussolini signed an accord, in October 1936, which established the Rome-Berlin Axis. In 1937, Mussolini announced that the Italian Government would not assist Austria in the event there was any attempt by Germany to absorb that nation. This removed an important obstacle to Hitler's conquest of Austria.

The consistent policies of appeasement by Britain, France, and the free nations of Europe aided and assisted Hitler and Mussolini in their ruthless violations of treaties and their brutal conquests and enslavement of one country after another.

When Britain and France declared war on Germany at the time of her entry into Poland, it was too late to stem the flow of the German armies and thus the world witnessed the second greatest war within a quarter of a century.

Attack on Secretary of State Dean Rusk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, in addition to other harassments of American foreign policy, we now have what apparently is the first of the backstairs revelations from employees in the White House during the administration of the late President Kennedy.

I am referring to the series of articles appearing in Life magazine by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., who was a special assistant to the President, and now—for a fee—he is prepared to tell all. The late President had a particular aversion to this kind of postadministration gossip and he asked all employees, including butlers and maids, to sign a paper promising not to write about what they overheard in obviously confidential and personal conversations. Mr. Schlesinger, of course, did not take the butler's oath.

Notwithstanding the spirit of the late President's request, Mr. Schlesinger has written some gossipy little items which are most serious because they are accounts of supposed conversations with a man who is no longer alive and they are about people who are still alive and who hold, in some instances, positions of paramount importance to the security of the United States.

The most serious of these are the reflections about the person of Dean Rusk, who was then, and is now, the U.S. Secretary of State.

Mr. Schlesinger says of Secretary Rusk:

> His mind, for all its strength and clarity, was irrevocably conventional. He mistrusted what he called "the flashy or sensational" and rejoiced in the role of "tedium" in diplomacy. He seemed actually to prefer stale to fresh ways of saying things. One felt that he regarded novelty as an effort to shock or make mischief.

Then, Mr. Schlesinger says bluntly:

> By the autumn of 1963 the President had reluctantly made up his mind to allow Rusk to leave after the 1964 election and to seek a new Secretary of State.

This is a particular virulent attack on the man who is in charge of foreign policy at a time of free world crisis. It shakes world confidence in a man who cannot stop what he is doing to get into a debate with a gossip writer. And the President who is supposed to have "reluctantly made up his mind" is no longer alive to confirm or deny this serious allegation.

Much of Mr. Schlesinger's gossipy little stories are similarly difficult to document. They often attribute their source to "the President said to me one day," or "he would come back to the mansion at night and remark to Jacqueline." Others relate to conversations with eminent and conscientious persons like Washington Post publisher Philip Graham, who are not alive, to make reply.

But since these allegations are so serious, I hope that others mentioned in the articles would step forward and clarify just what was said and what did happen under the circumstances.

I am particularly concerned about another item in the article which refers to a speech made in 1963 by Averell Harriman. After the speech, Mr. Schlesinger writes that Mr. Harriman told him privately:

> Of course, I had to say all those nice things about the spirit in the State Department today, but it isn't so.

Mr. Harriman, who also holds a position of high authority in the present administration, is no hypocrite. It would help clarify history and remove the slur from persons mentioned in the articles if Mr. Harriman and others would set the record straight.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD comments from various publications about Mr. Schlesinger's articles.

There being no objection, the comments were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, July 28, 1965]

OLD RULE VIOLATED IN STORY ON RUSK

(By Ted Lewis)

WASHINGTON.—A valid case of indecent exposure of what went on in the back rooms of the White House could be made against Historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., for reporting that President John F. Kennedy intended in 1963 to fire Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

This sort of case against Schlesinger can be made because politics, of necessity a somewhat dirty game, has a few time-honored rules. One is that persons privy to a President's offhand comments, as Schlesinger was as a White House aid, have an obligation to respect such confidences.

This obligation holds true even after the death of the Chief Executive whom they served, if what was said reflects on any living political personage, especially one of the same team.

This is the rule that Schlesinger has violated, and in an arrogant, ill-mannered way by throwing in his estimate of Rusk in an effort to explain why Mr. Kennedy decided he wanted a new Secretary of State if he won a second term in 1964.

Schlesinger's insulting and intellectually venomous appraisal of Rusk appeared in the current issue of Life magazine, as an excerpt from the former Harvard professor's forthcoming book, "A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House."

The damage it will do to Rusk could be serious. Schlesinger must have been aware of this before his account of the Rusk-Kennedy relationship was published.

Did he intend making President Johnson's inherited Secretary of State even more ineffective and, in the process, take a veiled and vindictive jibe at Mr. Johnson for retaining a man Mr. Kennedy had planned to let go?

There is no argument that Rusk's usefulness as Secretary of State has been diminished by the Schlesinger article. Rusk's prestige in foreign capitals is hurt by the flat statement that Mr. Kennedy planned to get rid of him and put in his place "someone like Robert McNamara" who could take command and "make the Department a vigorous partner in the enterprise of foreign relations."

At home and abroad Schlesinger's appraisal of Rusk carries an admitted sting. Although it displays spleen, it emphasizes the very characteristics of the Secretary of State that have long been questionable. These characteristics have been pounced on by those within the Johnson administration, who have been working surreptitiously for some time to get rid of Rusk.

We refer to Schlesinger's clever word picture of Rusk as a man who, at White House conferences, "would sit calmly by, with his Buddha-like face and his half smile" and "rarely seemed to have strong views as to what should be done." And Schlesinger's impression that Rusk "lived under fear of inadequacy and humiliation" while at times "his colorlessness of mind appeared almost compulsive, his evenness of tone and temper purchased at inner cost."

It was for these and similar reasons, as Schlesinger figured it, that Mr. Kennedy reluctantly concluded that Rusk must go, and only after increased exasperation over the way the State Department was run and the Secretary's failure to press any strong policy views.

The hell of this inside the White House account of the Rusk-Kennedy relationship is that the one man who could put the entire affair into proper perspective lies in an Arlington grave. And his brother, ROBERT KENNEDY, who next to him would know just where Schlesinger has exaggerated or misin-

terpreted the situation, is not offering either clarification or criticism.

In the good old days it was not considered ethical for a White House aid to tell all in public, once the President he served was dead or retired. This was good manners, if nothing more.

A President has a right to let his hair down once in a while, and should feel that what he blurts out in a moment of temper is not going to be interpreted to posterity as meaning that he really thinks Cabinet member X is a stupid oaf or a two-faced s.o.b.

This was sound, politically and ethically. We know all that is worth knowing about F.D.R.'s regime, about Mr. Truman's, General Eisenhower's, even if we lack the juicy tidbits that their Presidential advisers could have supplied had they dared to take pen in hand.

But now it appears the Nation and the world are going to be treated to every big and little, whimsical and cozy, highlight in the big-time political career of John F. Kennedy.

In the process—as the first accounts appear from Schlesinger and Kennedy confidant Ted Sorenson—various living persons are getting the knocks that used to be withheld until they were dead.

Aside from the assault on Rusk by Schlesinger, we can also get along without the rehashes and elaborations on the Bay of Pigs fiasco, especially since they cast new slurs on the way Allen Dulles operated as Central Intelligence Agency chief.

And we dislike the recent Schlesinger effort to recite chapter and verse in an effort to show that Mr. Kennedy didn't really want Mr. Johnson as his 1960 running mate, nor did brother Bobby.

If true, the Kennedys were not the smart politicians they were supposed to be, because Richard Nixon would have won in 1960 without Mr. Johnson on the Democratic ticket.

There are some other books besides Schlesinger's and Sorenson's, coming out soon, that are supposed to give more inside lowdown accounts of Mr. Kennedy's days in the White House. The authors or coauthors include Pierre Salinger, Lawrence O'Brien and Kenny O'Donnell.

Let's hope that they don't intentionally besmirch the living or inadvertently reflect on the dead simply for the sake of making a fast buck.

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, July 28, 1965]

KISS AND TELL

"Kiss and tell" is something almost universally regarded with contempt. When the telling violates confidence and records offhand comments, it is unethical and badmannered.

When it takes advantage of a dead man who can neither confirm nor deny published statements, it becomes an extraordinarily dirty business—especially when it is done for personal profit and political revenge.

We have been furnished prime examples of tattling in the excerpts, appearing in national magazines, from books written by former White House aids Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and Theodore C. Sorensen.

Supposed to be inside accounts of the high and low spots of the Kennedy administration, these memoirs do a great disservice to the Presidency. No one can know whether what they reveal is the truth or not.

Because many of the statements are unverifiable, they leave defenseless the persons whose reputations they tarnish.

We are told, for instance, that President Kennedy intended to get rid of Secretary of State Rusk, and we are treated in the process to a venomous appraisal of the Secretary by Schlesinger. The damage thus done to Rusk, and to his continued effectiveness as head of the State Department, could be serious.

In other portions of the memoirs, the impression is given that Kennedy did not really want Lyndon Johnson as his running mate in 1960, and offered him the vice-presidential nomination in the expectation that he would turn it down. This is contrary to other accounts of the ticket-framing episode. It also downgrades the political wisdom of John F. Kennedy, who doubtless recognized the voting support that Johnson would bring to his ticket.

Sorensen and Schlesinger are only the first of a stream of writers eager to tell all that they saw and heard from various vantage points in the White House during the Kennedy administration. If the Presidency is degraded, if someone happens to be hurt by rumor and gossip, it is just too bad. The lure of the fast buck is often irresistible.

It would appear, in the case of the former White House assistants, that the power and the dignity of the Presidency, and their nearness to it, went to their heads. It is to be hoped that future Presidents will be spared this kind of arrogant conduct, and the mad rush to "tell all," for a price.

The President should not have to look behind curtains to make sure that some future writer of White House memoirs is not hiding there, notebook in hand. He should not have to worry about every remark he makes—and some not made at all—appearing later in a bestseller authored by one of his confidential aids.

The eruption of "inside stories" of the Kennedy years is not history. It is indecent exposure.

EXCERPT FROM AN ARTICLE BY RUTH MONTGOMERY

It is almost morbid, however, to plunge a knife into the hard-pressed Secretary of State while he is engaged in delicate maneuvers to try to prevent Vietnam from plunging the world into the holocaust of war.

Does it help American at this critical juncture to have Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., write a book in which he declares that Mr. Kennedy planned to replace Secretary Rusk because of "one muddle after another," at the State Department and Rusk's "reluctance to decide" questions of policy?

Schlesinger, a leading light in the left-wing Americans for Democratic Action, says Rusk's mind is an "irrevocably conventional" one that mistrusts "the flashy or sensational."

All we can say to that is, Thank heavens. Surely America is on a hot enough seat without having a Secretary of State who rejoices in "the flashy or sensational" approach to diplomacy.

The tattling Mr. Schlesinger writes that during the Kennedy administration Rusk lived "under the fear of inadequacy and humiliation." This would suggest that Rusk has remarkable foresight. Perhaps he had a premonition of what Schlesinger would try to do to him as soon as Mr. Kennedy's reins were removed.

The Real Alabama—Part XXXVII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the most populous county in the First Congressional District of Alabama is Mobile County.

The history of the county provides as fascinating a study as perhaps any county in the Nation. It is rich with Indian history, French and Spanish exploration and settlement, and Civil War activity.

A brief summary of the county's history follows here, and it is my hope that it may stimulate additional interest in Mobile County, where our citizens always extnd a cordial welcome to friends and visitors:

MOBILE COUNTY, ALA.

Mobile County is in the extreme southwestern corner of the State and is bounded by Washington County on the north, by the Mobile River (after the joining of the Tombigbee and the Alabama Rivers) and Baldwin County on the east, by Mobile Bay and the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and by the Mississippi line on the west. The county was created by a proclamation of Gov. David Holmes of the Mississippi Territory on December 18, 1813, soon after Gen. James Wilkinson took possession of the town of Mobile for the United States. The county was named for the Maubila Indians, called Mobile by the French, who named the post established in 1702 Fort Louis de la Mobile.

DeCraney's map of 1733 shows an Indian town, Nanihaha, probably built by Appalachees just south of the junction of the Mobile and Tombigbee Rivers on the Mobile River. Another town, Chacteaux, in the angle of the Dog River and Mobile Bay, was probably settled by Chattos Indians who were settled there by Iberville. Several other Indian towns were shown in regions where water surrounded the town on three sides. Many mounds containing interesting artifacts were found, also.

Fort Louis de la Mobile was located at Twenty-Seven Mile Bluff on the Mobile River, and Fort Louis de la Mobile 2d, located between Church and Eslava Streets extending from the riverfront to Royal Street in Mobile, was built by Bienville in 1711, after the French were driven from Twenty-Seven Mile Bluff by river floods. Fort Conde, where now the headquarters of the Colonial Dames of America stands, was built in 1717 by Crozat. To better understand how Mobile has been under five flags, a list of dates is helpful:

In 1702: Village established at Twenty-Seven-Mile Bluff (French).

In 1711: Village of Mobile moved to mouth of Mobile River.

In 1720: Capital of Louisiana Territory moved to New Orleans. (Mobile).

In 1763: By secret treaty, Mobile surrendered to English, October 20.

In 1779: Spaniards captured Mobile.

In 1813: United States takes possession of Mobile.

In 1817: Alabama becomes a State of the Union.

In 1864: A Confederate stronghold—the South's only major city that did not fall to the Union.

In 1865: Back in the Union.

The Battle of Mobile Bay during the Civil War was one of the very important happenings in the history of both Mobile and of the Civil War. The Federal fleet, consisting of 4 ironclads flanking 14 wooden ships of war lashed together in pairs as they sailed into battle, with Fort Morgan on the east and Fort Gaines on the west, sailed against the Confederate fleet of 1 ironclad ram and 3 wooden ships, and won the victory. It was after one of his ironclads had been sunk by Confederate mines that Admiral Farragut of the U.S. Navy, climbed into the rigging of his ship to see above the dense smoke of battle and yelled the now famous words, "Damn the torpedoes—full speed ahead!" Historians wonder why Admiral Farragut did not continue on up the bay and capture Mobile, but it was probably because

without being able to reach the gulf, Mobile was no longer useful to the Confederates.

There are so many histories within history, and so many famous people connected with Mobile that it would be hard to even begin saying which were the most important. There are many historical spots open to the public, including Fort Gaines, on Dauphin Island, and Fort Morgan, out on the point. But if one really wanted to see Mobile, the city, the time to get the proper atmosphere is during the annual Mardi Gras, started in 1831 (even before the one held annually in New Orleans).

Of modern Mobile County and City, there is much to see, too. The oil fields of Citronelle have opened up an entire new industry to Alabama and to the South east of the Mississippi. The State docks at Mobile ship Alabama merchandise all over the world, and included in shipments received, there are ores from South America for use in the steel mills of Birmingham.

The two main river systems of the State are the Alabama-Coosa-Tallapoosa, and the Warrior-Tombigbee. These two systems flow together just 45 miles north of the city of Mobile. A canal 125 feet wide and 12 feet deep at Mobile is part of the Intracoastal Waterway that stretches from Brownsville, Tex., all the way around the coast of the United States in the east to Maine. All this water and the gulf coast make recreation a delight, and industry boom. Mobile and Mobile County can go only one way—the way of prosperity.

The Kentucky Lineage of Adlai Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THRUSTON B. MORTON

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article prepared by Mr. J. Emerson Miller, secretary of the Dr. Thomas Walker Family Association, in which he traces the Kentucky lineage of the late Adlai Stevenson to Dr. Thomas Walker, the first white man to enter what is now the Commonwealth of Kentucky back in 1750.

In a note accompanying the article, Mr. Miller stated that Ambassador Stevenson "took a deep pride in his Kentucky heritage, and cherished an unvarying love and affection for this State and its people, and "liked to point out that he was a Kentuckian once removed."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE KENTUCKY LINEAGE OF ADLAI STEVENSON

(By J. Emerson Miller, secretary, Dr. Thomas Walker Family Association)

"Kentucky lost a great and brilliant grandson in the death of Adlai Stevenson," Gov. Edward T. Breathitt said in expressing his grief at Stevenson's sudden and unexpected death.

The man who was twice Democratic presidential nominee, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, and former Governor of Illinois, was indeed a grandson of Kentucky. There is no family more closely identified with the early history of Kentucky or whose roots go more deeply in the soil of the Bluegrass State than that of Adlai Ewing Stevenson. The Stevenson family tree spreads into all sections of the State and the late U.N. Ambassador's background is such that he was about as well known in Kentucky as he was in his native State of Illinois.

The first direct Kentucky ancestor of Stevenson's was Dr. Thomas Walker, a great-great-great-grandfather, who in 1750 crossed the Great Warrior's Path at Cumberland Gap with his exploring party, and became the first white man to set foot on our soil. He and his party camped for the night close to what is now the tannery near Middlesboro.

A paternal great-great-grandfather, Willis Green, born in 1752, removed to Kentucky from Culpeper County, Va., in 1779 by way of Cumberland Gap, represented this district in the general assembly, during the Revolutionary War served as ensign and lieutenant, and removed to the neighborhood of Stanford, in Lincoln County, where for many years he was the county clerk. He was married to Sarah Reed, daughter of the noted Indian fighter, Col. John Reed.

The next in line going back was Duff Green, who married as his first wife a Miss Barbour, while a daughter of his son Willis married Maj. James Barbour, who with his brother Richard Barbour owned the land where Barbourville now stands and which was named for them.

Duff Green married, secondly, Ann Willis, a daughter of Col. Henry Willis, founder of Fredericksburg, Va., who married Mildred Washington, only sister of Gen. George Washington.

Adlai's great-grandfather, Lewis Warner Green, noted clergyman and head of Centre College, Danville, married Mary Peachy Fry, a daughter of Thomas Walker Fry and his wife, Elizabeth Speed Smith.

Lewis Warner Green was named for his greater-great-grandfather, Col. Augustine Warner, Speaker of the Virginia House of Burgesses and his wife Mildred Reade, who was the 11th in descent from Edward III, King of England.

Martha, a sister of Thomas Walker Fry, married David Bell, of Danville, Ky., and was the mother of Josua Fry Bell, from whom Bell County was named. A great-granddaughter, Martha Bell Jackson, of Danville, represented Centre College at the Mountain Laurel Festival in 1933.

Another great-grandfather of Adlai Stevenson was Capt. James Speed, whose family was among the earliest settlers of Jefferson County. They came to Kentucky in 1782 and took a conspicuous part in the development of the State, Capt. James Speed assisting in the drafting of the State's first constitution. His sons and grandsons attained prominence in public life, the most eminent of these being James Speed, Attorney General in Lincoln's Cabinet, and Joshua Fry Speed, Lincoln's most intimate friend.

The Stevensons were among the first families to settle in Rowan County, N.C., where they lived as neighbors to Adlai Osborne, another ancester of the Illinois Governor, and whose name he bears. The family moved to Kentucky at an early date.

In 1852 Adlai's paternal great-grandfather, John Turner Stevenson, removed to Bloomington, Ill., from the family's old home near Hopkinsville. His son, Adlai Ewing Stevenson, born in Kentucky, and educated at Centre College, was a lawyer and a Democrat in a stanchly Republican district but he got elected to Congress and was elected Vice President under Cleveland in 1892. He married the brilliant Letitia Green, four-time president-general of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution and one of the founders of the Parent-Teachers Association.

Adlai's father, Lewis Green Stevenson, acted as secretary to Vice President Stevenson and served a term as secretary of State of Illinois. He ran for Governor of Illinois in 1916, and though defeated ran 60,000 votes ahead of Woodrow Wilson, the presidential candidate. He was married in 1892 to Helen Louise Davis, daughter of Pennsylvania-born Quaker, William O. Davis, publisher of the stanchly Republican Bloomington Pantagraph, one of central Illinois' richest and most influential newspapers.

Grandfather Davis married Eliza, daughter of Jesse W. Fell, who emigrated from Chester, Pa., in 1832, traveling part of the way on foot, and settled down to the practice of law. At Vandalia, first capital of the State, he met and roomed with a gangling young lawyer by the name of Abraham Lincoln, became his devoted friend, and suggested the Lincoln-Davis debates and played an important part in Lincoln's election.

Although a tyro in politics, as candidate for Governor of Illinois in 1948, Adlai Stevenson carried the State by a record 572,000 votes, the greatest plurality in the State's history, topping President Truman's State margin by more than a half million votes.

In 1955, Adlai Stevenson III, the late Ambassador's son, then a student at Harvard, met an attractive Kentucky girl, Nancy Anderson, studying at Smith College, daughter of Louisville advertising executive Warwick Anderson. Their marriage united two lineal descendents of Dr. Thomas Walker, Nancy's father being a great-great-grandson of the discoverer of Cumberland Gap. The couple have four children, Adlai Stevenson IV, age 9; Lucy, age 7; 5-year-old Kate, and Warwick Anderson Stevenson, 2, named for his maternal grandfather.

The Sky Cavalry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD H. CALLAWAY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Speaker, on last Thursday I spoke of the pride and confidence in which the people of my district hold the 1st Calvary Division—Airmobile—the outfit that has just been called upon to handle our efforts in Vietnam. On that same day a fine editorial appeared in the Atlanta Constitution by its Editor Eugene Patterson, describing the capabilities of the unit and voicing the hopes of all of us in the 1st Air Cavalry.

Under unanimous consent, I insert this in the RECORD and to verbally underscore Mr. Patterson's closing sentence, that "the State that cradled the sky cavalry sends it in with a salute and a prayer."

GEORGIA SENDS IN THE SKY CAVALRY

(By Eugene Patterson)

Once more Georgia sends a division into battle. Many have gone out to fight wars from our bases. But uncoiling from Fort Benning to strike in Vietnam now is the most radically different kind of combat division since the advent of paratroops.

Until last month it was called the 11th Air Assault Division. It was an experimental unit. For 3 years it had been developing and testing a new Army tactic in and above the pine thickets and scrub flats of southwest Georgia.

The tactical dream was to create a full 15,000-man division that could deploy itself

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into combat entirely by air, substituting helicopters for ground transportation and entering the battlefield in order—not scattered as parachute infantry sometimes is, and not dependent on Air Force aviation.

Commanded by Maj. Gen. Harry W. O. Kinnard, the experimental division was frequently levied upon for Army helicopter pilots to go to Vietnam. A large proportion of those pilots who have been transporting and supporting the South Vietnamese troops through the years came out of Fort Benning.

But the gaps were filled; other Army pilots poured into Columbus to man the division's 400 aircraft, most of them helicopters. Last month the experimental days ended. The division was christened with the honored name and the spectacular shoulder patch—black horse's head on a yellow field—of the 1st Cavalry Division.

Now this air mobile division is ready and headed for combat. With its own aviation it can pick itself up by its bootstraps and move into battle once the Air Force and Navy land it in Vietnam. The soldiers who will ride the helicopters into battle are air-trained and air-oriented. If any U.S. ground unit can take effect against the hit-run tactics of the Vietcong guerrillas in the Vietnamese delta or central highlands, this one will.

Not bound to movement by ground or road, it will be hard to ambush. Swiftly mobile, it can drop troops into swift counterstrikes wherever guerrillas strike. Trained as a unit, it can deliver blows in massive strength, even at night. It is not bound to foxholes in a perimeter, but can drop from the sky into any battlefield—and climb away from any battlefield into the sky. Large units can hedgehop into an enemy's rear, operate, then hedgehop out. It is the best strike force against guerrillas that the Army can devise. These will be the shock troops in Vietnam.

Now the brave young Americans of this newest U.S. assault force move away from their Georgia homes for their combat test. The State that cradled the sky cavalry sends it in with a salute and a prayer.

Abe Fortas Named to Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, some of my colleagues in the House of Representatives have expressed their criticism of the appointment of Abe Fortas to the Supreme Court. I want to go on record congratulating President Lyndon B. Johnson on his choice.

Mr. Fortas has been in the forefront of liberal causes for many, many years. It is common knowledge that Abe Fortas has argued and won legal cases which have become judicial landmarks. His varied legal experience, his brilliant intellectual background, and his accomplishments in Government can lead one only to the conclusion that Mr. Fortas is eminently qualified to assume the responsibilities of the high office to which he has been named.

It is my privilege to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial from the Washington Post of July 30 supporting this appointment.

The editorial follows:

MR. FORTAS TO THE COURT

A President may mold the course of national affairs for 8 eights, but the influence exerted by this appointments to the Supreme Court is more likely to be felt for decades or even generations. There can be no assurance that any appointee will measure up to the intellectual demands of the future, that he will exhibit the qualities of flexibility and empathy that are essential if the Constitution is to remain a living document. The President is compelled to base his critical decision on the candidate's past career, and by that standard his choice of Mr. Abe Fortas must be accorded a high rating.

The great strength of Mr. Fortas, who has for long been the President's intimate legal adviser, lies in the breadth of his experience and accomplishments. A brilliant law student and for a time a teacher at the Yale University Law School, he went on to a precociously successful career in the Government, first with the Securities and Exchange Commission and then as Harold L. Ickes' Under Secretary of the Interior.

After leaving the Government service, Mr. Fortas entered upon the private practice of law and soon rose to an eminent place in that profession. It is a tribute to Mr. Fortas' talents as a lawyer that his formidable reputation in the corporate world was acquired in spite of his attachment to various unpopular causes which challenged his inmate sense of justice. During the McCarthy era he was not afraid to raise a strong voice against those who were bent upon destroying civil liberties under the banner of anticommunism.

More recently Mr. Fortas argued and won two cases which have become judicial landmarks. The Durham case, which he argued before the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, has done much to make the legal concept of mental illness more compatible with modern views of psychiatrists. In the Gideon case it was Mr. Fortas' powerful brief that led the Supreme Court to reverse its previous position and rule that States must provide counsel for indigents under criminal charges.

Appointments to the Supreme Court rarely if ever command universal approval. There are those who had hoped that the President would appoint a legal philosopher, and others would have urged him to look among the distinguished jurists of the lower Federal courts. But since facile predictions about the role of new justices have often proven egregiously wrong, it is hazardous to argue that the Court can be balanced or consciously leavened with an appointment from a campus, a court, or the political arena.

Whether judged by his intellectual capacity, his legal experience, or his deep concern over civil liberties and civil rights, Mr. Fortas is admirably equipped to take his place on the Court, and there is every reason to believe that he will serve it with great distinction.

The World Population Explosion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, one of the most heartening things about this session of Congress is the sharpened interest in, and awareness of, problems posed by the world population explosion. Senator GRUENING is presently holding hearings in the other body on a bill introduced by himself and several of his colleagues. Nine of us have introduced substantially identical bills in the House of Representatives.

Public interest and awareness in the matter is growing. Increased discussion in the press and in Congress is having a good effect: In place of emotions people are now talking about the facts of the problem. The Nation is realizing, I believe, that the population explosion is one of the greatest challenges facing us today. It is a great pleasure thus to read in the Washington Post a new series of articles, entitled "Our Crowded Earth," by Jean M. White. I think these articles state well the problems and the prospects. I commend them to every thinking American.

The initial article follows:

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 1, 1965]

THE POOR ARE ENGULFING THE EARTH: THE "POPULATION EXPLOSION"—ACTUALLY, A HOLIDAY FOR DEATH—IS OCCURRING WHERE IT'S LEAST SUPPORTABLE

(By Jean M. White)

In just 35 years—when many of us still will be around—it is very likely that there will be twice as many people on earth as there are today.

The time to do anything about that, if we had wanted to, was yesterday. The population problem is here and now and grows bigger by at least 1¼ million people each week.

Population projections used to be interesting mathematical exercises enabling demographers to predict when a standing-room-only sign would be posted on a crammed earth. But today we are finding that runaway population is bound up with many of our big problems: hunger, poverty, illiteracy, economic stagnation, political instability.

It will touch the very quality of life for those being born today. Yet a recent Gallup poll showed that only 3 out of 10 Americans who had heard of the population problem were at all worried about it.

Why should we suddenly get excited about population growth? Here are some things to consider:

A NEW DIMENSION

The human family is growing at a faster rate than ever before in man's history. This is the new, alarming dimension of the population problem—the rate.

Human multiplication is self-accelerating, like compound interest. It spurts upward in geometrical progression: 2-4-8-16-32-64-128. The annual rate at which it is growing has doubled in the last decade, from 1 to 2 percent.

This increase may not seem extraordinarily high until you follow the spiral of geometrical progression. If the human race had begun with a single couple at the time of Christ and increased at a rate of 2 percent a year, there now would be 20 million people for every person now alive—or 100 people on each square foot of earth.

The current world population is 3.3 billion. It will take only 15 years to complete the fourth billion. The fifth billion will follow in just 10 years after that.

THE DANGER SPOTS

Most of this population growth is in the underdeveloped countries, which can afford it the least. There a powder keg of social unrest and political instability is building up as runaway growth smothers efforts to give a little better life to millions of people who are ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed.

Like the Red Queen, the poor countries have to run as fast as they can just to stay in the same place—bare subsistence for their people. By the time the Aswan Dam is com-

pleted, Egypt's population is expected to have grown so much that the new irrigated lands will merely provide food enough for the additional people.

PLENTY AND PENURY

At a time of "revolution of rising expectations," the world's poor are finding their hopes frustrated. The world is rapidly coalescing into widely separated groups of "haves" and "have nots."

In 1963, North America and Western Europe had 17 percent of the world's population and 64 percent of the world's income, as measured in the value of goods and services produced. Asia had 56 percent of the world's population and 14 percent of its income.

Today, roughly a third of the population is in the capitalist world, another third is in the Communist camp and the last third is uncommitted. In Latin America and the Far East, runaway populations are creating more poverty and misery in which communism can breed.

THE ROAD TO FAMINE

The world's already hungry countries are growing more people than food to feed them. Some demographers and agricultural experts are warning of the threat of serious famine by 1980.

In Latin America, Asia, and Africa, food production is growing only about two-thirds as fast as the population. Per capita food production is actually declining in many of these countries and has slipped below levels of 25 years ago.

When people have to eat what they grow just to survive, there is nothing left to invest in better seeds, fertilizers and pesticides to increase food production. What science might do with algae gardens and sea farms is too far in the future to fill bellies already gnawing.

The United States has long been helping to feed millions of Indians with its food-for-peace program. But the way the world is, there can be no common trough for all men.

Last March, B. R. Sen, director general of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, warned that the world must raise food productivity and curb population in the next 35 years or face "disaster of an unprecedented magnitude." The alternative, he added, is that "mankind will be overtaken again by the old Malthusian correctives: famine, pestilence and war."

A CRISIS AT HOME

For Americans, the population problem is not just that of faraway places. The United States is having its own troubles at home in its brave new urban world.

Think about 350 million Americans—nearly double the number today—using some 300 million cars at the turn of the century. (It is not that far away; children born today will be 35 years old then.)

Then think of the new classrooms, roads, jobs, houses, taxes for social services. Think of the jammed buses, lengthened commuting time, increased pollution of water and air, the search for precious open space and privacy.

Rapid population growth in the United States—we are growing at a rate 50 percent above that of Western Europe and close to the world pace—is aggravating urban ills and perpetuating poverty in the midst of abundance. Some see our high rate of growth as a real threat to the amenities and esthetics of our preferred way of life.

In its study of world population growth, the National Academy of Sciences emphasized the population problem in these words:

"Other than the search for lasting peace, no problem is more urgent. Nearly all our economic, social, and political problems become more difficult to solve in the face of uncontrolled population growth."

THE REAPER REPULSED

What is the reason for the speed of growth that lies behind these population problems? The answer is a matter of simple arithmetic: births minus deaths.

There has been no sudden burst of fertility to set off the "population explosion" (demographers cringe at the use of this phrase). Birth rates haven't gone up. But death rates have dropped dramatically.

Man now is practicing effective death control without balancing this with equally effective birth control. It is ironic that one of man's great humanitarian achievements—the control of "mass killer" diseases—has created a new critical problem of runaway population which, in turn, raises a threat to life.

The dilemma is neatly summed up by the National Academy of Sciences report: "Either the birth rate of the world must come down or the death rate must go back up."

The only choice—for the earth cannot contain or support population growth at the present rate over a long time—is between humane birth control and the cruel equalizer of death. In a way, the bogey of Malthusianism, apparently buried a century ago, has risen again.

ALL IN A DECADE

The sudden, spectacular drop in death rates, particularly infant mortality, has come chiefly in the developing countries. Indeed, the lowest death rates in the world today are not in the United States and Western Europe but in such countries as Malaysia, Taiwan, and Puerto Rico, with their younger populations.

Modern medicine, vaccines, and pesticides have sharply cut death rates in a matter of a few years. In Ceylon, after DDT spraying had largely eradicated malaria, the death rate fell 57 percent in less than a decade—while the population increased more than 80 percent and per capita income declined.

A low 20th century death rate (about 10 per 1000) is now combined with a medieval birth rate (40 to 50 per 1000) to send population spiraling upward.

Europe went through a "demographic transition" (changeover from high birth and high death rates to low birth and low death rate) before achieving its nearly stable population of today. But there the decline in the death rate came gradually over many decades starting with the early 19th century.

After about 1875 (France was earlier), birth rates began to drop in European countries. Over the next 60 to 75 years, millions of couples made personal decisions to limit family size against the opposition of both church and state. There had been no advances in contraceptives, so they relied on such folk methods as withdrawal. Marriages were delayed, particularly in Ireland.

To help it through its transition, Europe also had the safety valve of emigration. But the 34 million who emigrated from Europe to the United States from 1820 to 1955 represent less than a single year's population growth in Asia today.

A VICIOUS CIRCLE

Unlike Europe, the developing countries today don't have have time for gradual adjustments to balance birth and death rates. They are caught on a treadmill. Rapid population growth is blocking the modernization they need to achieve the conditions—industrialization, mass education, urbanization, literacy—to bring their birth rates down.

"The past is not relevant for the developing countries today," says Irene B. Taeuber, a noted demographer. "There must be a new pattern. Something has to happen that never happened before. They must cut birth rates either before or during the process of economic development."

President Eisenhower, who 10 years ago felt that birth control was not a proper concern of governments, has explained that he abandoned this view after seeing the erosion of foreign-aid programs by population growth.

In a recent speech on the 20th anniversary of the United Nations, President Johnson called for all nations to face "the multiplying problems of our multiplying populations" and pointed out that less than $5 invested in population control is worth $100 invested in economic growth.

ECONOMIC STALEMATE

If population is growing at a rate of 2.5 or 3 percent a year—as it is in many of the developing nations—it takes that same rate of economic growth to stay even. It comes down to a kind of holding operation at miserably low standards of living.

It takes 9 percent of capital investment to generate a 3-percent increase in income. It will take heroic efforts to achieve the United Nations' goal of 5-percent annual growth in underdeveloped countries in this "decade of development." Expanding population growth also brings a heavy burden of child dependency. In the developing countries, more than 40 percent of the population is under 15 years of age. It is 25 to 30 percent in the West.) That imbalance puts heavy demands on health and education services.

Once, the subject of population control—which imples birth control—was politically taboo and considered too sensitive for public discussion. Now governments are speaking out on the need for action.

President Johnson's historic 25 words in his state of the Union address lifted the hush-hush attitude of the U.S. Government. A Senate subcommittee under Senator ERNEST GRUENING, Democrat, of Alaska, is holding hearings on the need for birth control information here and abroad.

The United Nations will hold its Second World Population Conference in Yugoslavia late this summer. For the first time, family planning is on the agenda—by demand.

The developing countries themselves are acting. Egypt, India, Pakistan, Japan, and South Korea have made family planning a part of national policy. There are government supported or sponsored projects in Ceylon, Taiwan, Turkey, Tunisia, Thailand, Malaysia, Barbados, Puerto Rico, and Hong Kong.

Pope Paul VI has said that he hopes the Catholic Church can soon redefine its stand on birth control.

For whatever term is used—family planning, fertility control, population control, responsible parenthood—the issue comes down to the deeply emotional subject of birth control.

The issue touches the very fabric of society, centuries of cultural traditions and deeply held beliefs. There are many barriers to its introduction: illiteracy, nationalistic pride, the peasant desire for sons to work the fields and provide social security in old age, the low status of women, the tradition of early marriage, contraceptive costs.

People have always been ahead of governments in the limitation of family size. Government can help set the climate, but individual couples must make the final decisions—as they did in Europe.

Mrs. Taeuber, the demographer, feels that the change in attitude toward birth control has now reached the ordinary man as well as his governments.

"I have been to Indian villages," she says. "These people are shrewd. They have survived where we might not have. They pull out old maps of land holdings a century ago and the divisions today, with more and more children living. Population is no abstraction to them."

Attitude polls have shown that the Chicago slum dweller, the Mexican factory worker, and the Indian villager alike want to limit the size of their families. All want to give their children a chance at a better life.

CHEAP NEW CONTROL

Along with the change in attitudes is the recent progress in contraceptive technology. The intrauterine device—IUD—costs only a few cents and has proved dramatically effective in pilot projects. Once inserted, it can control fertility over months and years.

"Control" is an important word here. Frank W. Notestein, president of the Population Council, a private institution which has spent $20.4 million on the world's population problems, emphasizes that the object of a population policy is not to tell a couple how many children they may have. Rather, it is to give them "the basic right to choose freely."

Most population experts feel that population doesn't have to be stabilized to the point of no growth. They see it as a choice between uncontrolled growth and a gradual increase at a rate that will allow for improvement of the human lot.

Population projections are not predictions. If fertility is decreased, the United Nations has projected a possible 5.3 billion figure at the turn of the century rather than the 7 billion in prospect if current trends continue.

And once the break is made, the leveling off effect will be cumulative, just as the present rapid growth is self-accelerating.

Lobby Campaign Hurts Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM R. ANDERSON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speakr, I am very much disturbed about the lobby campaign being conducted by the milling, baking, and cereal interests against the wheat proposal contained in the farm bill. This amounts to still more fancy footwork designed to confuse the consumer and deprive the American farmer from sharing in our general prosperity.

Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman deserves huge thanks for his tireless and extremely able efforts in behalf of our farmers, indeed all rural Americans, and I would like to submit for the RECORD an excellent analysis of the proposed wheat legislation as discussed in one of our great newspapers, the Memphis Commercial Appeal.

It is high time to stop begrudging the 2 or 3 cents the wheat farmer gets out of a loaf of bread. The most dramatic success story of this century is not a story of military might, industrial production, or the conquest of space. It is the story of the American farmer—the only man the Russians and Chinese Reds have found it impossible to compete with.

The analysis follows:

THE BREAD SUBSIDIES

Chairman HAROLD COOLEY, Democrat, of North Carolina, of the House Agriculture Committee is worried that the opposition to the wheat proposal will bring about defeat of the new farm legislation which is expected to come before Congress shortly.

The wheat proposal would shift the cost of the subsidy on wheat that is used in the United States from the Treasury to the wheat processing industries through imposition of a processing tax. This would raise the farm price of such wheat by about 50 cents a bushel.

Some milling, baking, and cereal interests are campaigning strongly against the proposal, claiming it would increase the cost of bread by 2 cents a loaf. There seems to be little doubt that the measure would result in some increase in bread prices. Proponents of the measure claim the increase would be only a penny or less per loaf. It is difficult to arrive at an exact figure on this because neither side specifies whether it is talking about the 1-pound loaf of bread, which is considered the basic unit, or larger loaves.

In fact, it is difficult to discuss bread prices at all except in generalities because they vary considerably from place to place in the United States. Bread prices are relatively reasonably in the Midsouth where competition between big bakers is sharp. Bread prices in California, though, are another story. It is reported that wholesale bread prices there are a good deal higher than retail prices in this area.

In considering national legislation, therefore, about the best that can be done is to accept the figures of the U.S. Department of Agriculture which represent a national average.

These figures show that the retail price of a pound loaf of bread has crept up steadily each year since 1947 at least. The price in 1947 was 11.9 cents and in 1963–64 it was 20.7, according to the Department's figures.

Little, if any, of this increase can be attributed to wheat prices received by the farmers. The farm value of the wheat in such a pound loaf of bread has hovered between 2.3 cents and 2.7 cents through all those years.

So, if the new legislation causes a bread price increase due to higher wheat prices, it will be the first time in 18 years or more that the farmer will have received such an increase. The other increases have gone to pay higher wages to workers in the milling and baking industries, to pay for increases in costs of packaging and distribution and to pay higher prices for other bread ingredients.

Whatever the outcome of this debate, it has served to make one point more clear. That is that the farm subsidies as they have been paid for many years have also been consumer subsidies. They have been hidden and have been relatively small on each unit of food the consumer has purchased at the retail outlets, but they have been there all the time.

The Bracero Blunder

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I call the attention of my colleagues in the Congress to an excellent editorial by Raymond Moley which appared in the July 19, 1965, edition of Newsweek, entitled, "The Bracero Blunder":

THE BRACERO BLUNDER

(By Raymond Moley)

LOS ANGELES.—The scarcity of farmworkers is a hotter subject in California this summer than the weather in the Imperial Valley. This crisis in agriculture, California's largest industry, was caused by the termination of the bracero program on January 1. The program was adopted in 1951 as a means of regulating the movement of Mexican farmworkers, braceros, into the United States in the summer and fall. Under the plan, administered by the U.S Department of Labor and validated by the governments of the United States and Mexico, large numbers of such workers were admitted for a period of 6 to 12 weeks, were paid wages equal to those of Americans and were required to return after the harvest to their homes below the border. Most of the same workers returned year after year to the same employers. It was mutually profitable.

The pressure for the termination of the bracero program came from the AFL–CIO, largely because of its desire to unionize farmworkers. Liberals in Congress supported the termination of the program because of their deluded belief that it would reduce unemployment in the large industrial centers. Union labor has not been able to supply workers necessary to the harvest. And no unemployed worker now enjoying Government benefits is willing to migrate to another State for a temporary job.

HEADACHE FOR HOUSEWIVES

The impact upon California agriculture has been most severe. Many millions have been lost because of unharvested, rotting produce. And the flow of money into the State from exports to the East and abroad has been drastically curtailed.

As a result of this debacle, housewives elsewhere in the Nation have been confronted with rising prices for the many products imported from California and other States in the Southwest. In New York one purchaser of a head of lettuce after hearing the price asked that it be "gift wrapped." This rise in prices will continue as the various crops ripen on into September and October. And after that, the prices of canned goods will rise during the winter.

As the crops ripened this spring, the Department of Labor attempted to supply the need for workers by recruiting high school students in the States west of the Mississippi into what are called A-teams. Indians were bestirred from their abodes to the east and north and transported to the fields. But the high school boys—athletes back home—found the work too hard and the sun too hot, and the teams melted away. College students who a few months ago were standing up for their rights found stooping over in the fields to earn a few dollars quite another matter. Of 300 Indians recruited in the Dakotas who were flown in at a cost of $6,400 to Salinas growers, all but 20 vanished within a few days.

THE HUMAN SIDE

The cream of the comedy is a notice that the war on poverty program is spending $106,000 in Oxnard to educate and train 12 community advisers and leaders to train seasonal workers. According to the person doing the organizing, there isn't any teaching material ready, but that will be developed in time. It will take more uplifters to develop techniques. If workers were available, growers could easily enough tell them what to do.

A lasting loss to California is the trend of large growers to lease lands in Mexico and develop them along with Mexicans under more tolerable conditions in a country which has no Secretary Wirtz to "help" with their problems. California can ill afford this strain on its economy at this time because in several communities I have visited there are signs of declining business.

There is a human element in the termination of the bracero program. While the bleeding hearts in the Washington regime are spending billions to help the poor in Egypt, India, and elsewhere abroad, and while there is much talk about the Alliance for Progress, the Federal Government has visited a cruel hardship on the people of our nearest neighbor to the south. The termination of the

bracero program has hacked away the livelihood of tens of thousands of Mexican workers, for this visit to the north had come to be their way of life. Their feelings can well be imagined.

United States at War—Time To Beat Drums, Not Breasts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, if there is any confusion or misunderstanding in the United States over our objectives and aims in southeast Asia, it is among those clamoring so loudly for negotiations and withdrawal—the peace-at-any-price crowd. This is made quite clear in the following column by William S. White that appeared in the Monday, August 2, 1965, Washington Post:

UNITED STATES AT WAR—TIME TO BEAT DRUMS, NOT BREASTS

(By William S. White)

As the fog of war thickens over Vietnam, where by any standard a major American action at arms is now unfolding, other fogs of quite different ilk are lifting here at home.

The national atmosphere, though undoubtedly more dangerous than before, is at all events now burned free of a great deal of vaporous nonsense.

No longer can it be denied by any responsible public official or private man that the most vital of American interests are involved in this struggle against Asian Communist aggression. If 125,000 American troops standing in Vietnam are not enough to give somber refutation to this sort of pettifogging, there is in addition the solemn declaration of the President of the United States: "* * * this is really war."

No longer can it be suggested by any responsible American, public or private, that this country is somehow unreasonably refusing to "negotiate" with a Communist invader who a score of times has scorned any honorable discussion—and still does.

No longer can it be suggested by any responsible American, public or private, that the purposes and motives of the United States in Asia are somehow hidden and arcane and that the people of the United States are terribly, terribly "confused."

The position of the Government of the United States has, in President Johnson's address to the Nation by way of his press conference, again and for the umpteenth time been made plain as the noonday sun. We are determined to honor the pledges of three American Presidents to the people of South Vietnam. We seek no melodramatic total "victory." We seek only an end to aggression and invasion and a decent peace decently guaranteed. But these aims we not merely pursue but also demand; and these aims we shall achieve, come what might.

It is not we who will determine how big the war must get. It is the Communist adversary. And every American can only profoundly hope that our little band of fringe Democratic Senators crying "peace" where there is no peace will give that adversary no further cause to believe that this Nation really does not mean what it says when it says that aggression upon South Vietnam has got to stop.

Of all the moonshine so long spread by avowedly "liberal" splinters in the Senate and House, none has been more persistently spread than the claim that American aims are somehow tricky and that the American public is somehow in the dark. If American aims in fact suffer for credibility, it is from their simplicity and—yes—their honesty and altruism in a world where pseudo-sophisticates are forever on the lookout for the gimmick and the clever phrase to mask candid intentions.

As to the American public, there has not been in all these long months and years of the running Vietnamese crisis the smallest objective evidence of "confusion" as to what this Nation is about in Asia. Every national poll has indicated the exact reverse. Every one has clearly shown that the people know quite well what we are about and that while of course they are not madly gay about it, they fully recognize its necessities.

To this, this columnist can add a personal note. In a 2-week absence from Washington "out in the country" it seemed plain that the only people really "confused" are that minority of breastbeaters in Congress who profess endless "confusion" to avoid facing up to the central truth that we are in Vietnam simply because it is our duty to be there as the leader and guardian of the free world.

There is a time for the fullest debate, even for dog-in-the-manger debate, and for the longest and most pompous of "teach-ins." And these, Heaven knows, we have had in full measure. Then there is a time for a halt to logic-chopping and emotionalized appeals for a "peace" that would mean surrender and a betrayal of our responsibilities on this earth. This time has now arrived. For now, undeniably and beyond further quibbling, the United States of America is at war.

In the Nation: The Administration's GOP Salvage Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, on August 1, Arthur Krock, the famed New York Times columnist included comments on a very current and pertinent subject. I commend to my colleagues his able presentation of a subject that seriously concerns the national welfare:

IN THE NATION: THE ADMINISTRATION'S GOP SALVAGE CORPS

(By Arthur Krock)

NEWPORT, R.I., July 31.—The price demanded of President Johnson by organized labor for its intensive support, which materially contributed to his sweep of urban areas in 1964, was the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. But the crowning political irony is that when the President was unable to liquidate his IOU with his Democratic resources in Congress, the deficit was supplied by Republicans.

This was the cream of the jest which designates the Republicans as the party of the opposition, though it failed to attract much notice because it has happened so often before; and because the Republicans who have salvaged key legislative proposals of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations from defeat in overwhelming Democratic Congresses are usually the same individuals. But this Republican rescue act was something very special, considering the basic issues presented, and the general knowledge that repeal of the State right-to-work laws was repayment to organize labor of a promissory note by the Democratic President for its help in burying the Republican Party in a very deep grave.

TWENTY-ONE GOP VOTES

The House Republicans who covered Mr. Johnson's shortage of Democratic resources in that branch were 21 in number on the final vote, 221 to 203, by which the States may no longer ban labor-management contracts that make union membership a condition of keeping a job. If 10 of these Republicans had voted the other way, the tally would have been 213 to 211 in favor of preserving the State authority to ban or to permit such contracts that is reserved to them in section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. But, though the 21 Republicans are distributed among 8 States, 12 of them represent districts in New York and Pennsylvania. So that these would have been sufficient to make up the Democratic deficit on the repeal proposal, even if they had not been joined by three from Ohio, two from Massachusetts, and one from New Jersey, Wisconsin, Washington, and Maine, respectively. Consequently, the workers in 19 right-to-work States, who now—the Senate concurring—will have to join a union to hold their jobs if their employers and their plant unions so contract, have New York and Pennsylvania Republicans in the House to thank for it.

"GAG RULE" EMPLOYED

All but two of the GOP firemen who saved the Democratic President's child were so dedicated to their mission that they trampled on one of their most loudly professed principles on the way up the ladder. The other 19 opposed the motion of Minority Leader FORD, of Michigan, to recommit the repeal legislation because, under the "gag rule" imposed by the majority leadership, no amendments could even be considered. This "gag rule" was President Kennedy's ground in 1961 for proposing to enlarge the Rules Committee to prevent its use by the bipartisan conservative committee majority at the time. On that ground his proposal was saved from defeat in the Democratic House by the Republican bloc that made possible the repeal of section 14(b) this week through the employment of the identical "gag rule." This inconsistency enabled the Republican bloc, the President and the Democrats who voted for repeal to avoid taking a position on these propositions: to exempt from compulsory unionism the workers whose religion forbade it; to deny the benefit to unions which practice discrimination against Negroes, or use their funds for political purposes. A vote on such amendments was denied the House on the wholly specious, but authorized gag rule holding that they were "nongermane."

Frustrated once again by defections from their own ranks in the effort to establish a political opposition in fact, the minority leaders of the House face the same prospect in the next attempt. This, now being generated by Representative LAIRD, of Wisconsin, is to attack the President's position that the costs of the escalation of the war in Vietnam can be financed without any restriction on business as usual, and without any serious reduction of the present and planned program for the welfare State he has named the Great Society. According to LAIRD's rough estimate, the total amount of new spending, largely for this purpose, in all the administration's money bills now pending in Congress is $8.86 billion. He wants to establish a minority party from behind proposals to reduce some of these appropriations and defer the grant of others.

His concept is that this is a prudent fiscal cost for a Government which is progressively escalating its military force in what the President conceded the other day is actual "war," and maintaining meanwhile a huge military establishment as a deterrent to Communist aggression in other parts of the world.

LAIRD's argument for his plan is that it is necessary to awaken the American people to the realities of U.S. commitments that he believes the President's assurances of business as usual, and so forth, have submerged in the popular consciousness.

BUDGET REDUCTION TARGETS

The rough total of $8.86 billion is not all designed for welfare programs of the Great Society but the following, some of which LAIRD hopes the congressional minority will unite with him to reduce, are: antipoverty, $1.9 billion; housing, $1.56 billion; education, $1.876 billion. Also projected is an appropriation of $2.7 billion for river and harbor construction and improvement that it would be in line with LAIRD's reasoning to reduce.

But the breakdown of the list of the House Republicans who, in varying but sufficient numbers, have saved key measures on which the last two Democratic administrations gained and retained the party in national power, leaves small if any prospect that they will make an exception of LAIRD's proposal. To become a political opposition in the traditional and effective sense, the Republican party must first become a cohesive and courageous minority. And that day is not even in sight.

Bureau County War on Poverty Goes Well Beyond Poor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, Bureau County is a rural area in my 18th Congressional District. It has recently begun to participate in Project Head Start. This program was intended for the poor. An article which appeared in the Peoria Journal Star, July 30, 1965, however, indicates that OEO has deemed otherwise. Mr. Shriver has a habit of reading the law and then doing what he pleases.

The above mentioned article follows:

BUREAU COUNTY WAR ON POVERTY GOES WELL BEYOND POOR—KINDERGARTEN FOR ALL

(By John Bell)

A front of the war on poverty has been extended beyond the poor in Bureau County.

The U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity is financing a head start program for kindergarten-aged children in that county even though the children aren't poverty cases. They are simply boys and girls who live in school districts which don't operate kindergartens.

Over 150 children are enrolled in nine classes of the six Head Start centers in Bureau County. Requirements for admission provide only that participants must be ready to enter first grade this fall and live in a grade school area which has no kindergarten.

Head Start is one division in the Federal Government's war on poverty. It is intended to help preschool children of the poor to learn skills and gain experiences that will help them when they begin school. It is hoped that the program will help reduce school dropouts.

Normally the Head Start projects are intended for areas where at least 85 percent of the families have an average annual income of less than $3,000.

Joseph Newcomer, Bureau County superintendent of schools and sponsor of this Head Start program, said he got special permission from Washington to start it even though many of the children come from families with higher incomes than $3,000. The permission was granted, he said, because Bureau County has so few kindergartens of its own.

Newcomer reasoned with the Office of Economic Opportunity that without the kindergarten training these children will receive in Head Start classes they would have been "culturally deprived."

He also cited a clause in the application that denies anyone administering the program the power to discriminate on the basis of race, color, or creed and argued that neither should administrators be permitted to discriminate on the basis of a family's income.

Princeton, the county seat, has three public kindergartens and therefore has none of the Child Development Centers, as they are called by Head Start people. Single classes are held in the cities of Bureau, Arlington and Wyanet, with two classes each in Spring Valley, Manlius, and Ohio.

Director of the program is William Elmendorf, a Bradley graduate who teaches speech at Hall Township High School in Spring Valley during the regular school year.

Elmendorf said the program is intended to help the child go as far as he can with the skills he learns in the kindergarten-type classes. The popular conception of kindergarten as strictly a place to play is incorrect, he said, and that many children of the county's head start classes have acquired reading readiness skills, table manners, other abilities on the early first-grade level.

Each child development center has a teacher, an assistant teacher who is usually a college student majoring in primary education, and, in most cases, a parental volunteer.

Director Elmendorf pointed out that all but one of the instructors are certificated teachers who work in county schools during the rest of the year. School systems don't usually sponsor a head start program, said Newcomer (Peoria's is sponsored by the community council) but by doing so in Bureau County he felt he could secure the best possible instructors.

Elmendorf said the Bureau County program has a teacher-student ratio of about 6 to 1, enabling the instructors to spend more time for individual attention.

The program's staff also includes a school psychologist, speech therapist, nurse, and music consultant. The children have been given sight and hearing tests and medical examinations. Lunches as required by the State and bus transportation are provided. The program is costing the Federal Government $21,230 and the county $2,425.

Princeton, Depue, Ladd, Spring Valley, Sheffield, and Buda are the only county grade schools of the 23 which have kindergartens, but Elmendorf predicts that other county grade schools will soon have kindergarten classes of their own.

"This program has stimulated a lot of other schools into seeking the possibilities of getting their own kindergartens, and I think I can safely say that there'll be more public kindergartens in this county soon," he said.

International Youth Leadership Training Course

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS C. McGRATH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. Speaker, there is presently in progress at Camp Thunderbird, N. Mex., one of the most unique and important "people to people" programs in which Americans have ever been engaged. It is the international youth leadership training course, in which 40 young leaders from 15 nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are being taught the essentials of directing national youth-work programs.

The international youth leadership course has been established under the auspices of Sports International and Youth for Development, a private, nonprofit organization dedicated to fostering youth development on an international level through youth leadership and sports training programs.

I am proud to note that the founder and director of Sports International and Youth for Development is a constituent of mine in New Jersey's Second District, Dr. David Dichter, of Atlantic City, a former athlete and former U.S. Information Agency officer. Since its incorporation in Febuary 1963, Sports International and Youth for Development has been about the important work of exchanging athletic and youth leadership know-how quietly and without fanfare.

Sports International and Youth for Development has sponsored annual programs for foreign track and field athletes who visited the United States to "learn by doing" at American colleges, universities, and high schools. These programs, cosponsored by the host institutions and the U.S. Department of State, have proven of great benefit to the foreign trainees and have resulted in tangible improvements of the U.S. image in participating countries, Dr. Dichter reports. In helping emerging nations achieve the pride of nationalism without hostility, the programs help make clear that there is no inbred Western superiority in athletics—that excellence is achieved through hard work.

A variety of programs has been launched by Sports International and Youth for Development in its relatively short existence and still other, even more far reaching, are contemplated. But the international youth leadership training course underway in New Mexico is truly worthy of attention, I feel.

While the United States has long recognized the importance of individual initiative and dynamic leadership in national life, the international youth leadership training course is the first program of its kind to develop self-reliance, initiative, and confidence in foreign youth leaders.

Since World War II ended, there has been a growing interest among newly independent and developing nations in utilizing their young people for national development work. Youth of these nations now play important roles in many nation-building tasks. Sports International and Youth for Development feels it is essential that their youth leaders be able to cope with critical economic problems they face, such as rural backwardness, rapid urban growth, and serious underemployment. The IYLTC was devised to provide exactly such preparation.

"Learn by doing" is the program's underlying philosophy. Its threefold program includes classroom instruction

on the role and mission of a youth leader; technical instruction on such actual work projects as building roads, laying telephone lines, rearing fish in ponds as a food source, building small dams and schools, and so forth; and instruction on how to utilize the physical challenge of outdoor living in developing confidence.

After completing a 3-month course in New Mexico, the foreign leaders should have mastered many basic construction skills, be competent physical fitness instructors, and possess necessary self-confidence to effectively administer national youth service corps programs. Not only will they be competent organizers, skilled in imparting discipline and espirit de corps, but by their example they will also foster better citizenship in their own young people.

The program's instructors are among the world's most experienced and respected in the youth leadership training field. They include the former director of a Peace Corps training camp in Puerto Rico, a national official of England's Outdoor Activities Council, the Peace Corps director in Guatemala, and a former director of the Agency for International Development's youth conservation program in Turkey. They are joined by experts from the U.S. Forestry Service, the Soil Conservation Service, the Bureau of Fisheries and Wildlife, CARE, "Food for Peace," and the Population Council.

Because of its immediate practical nature, this Sports International and Youth for Development program will doubtless enjoy widespread applicability in the nations of the participants. As the 40 youth leaders who are spending the summer in New Mexico put into practice the experience they are acquiring, the International Youth Leadership Training Course will amply demonstrate its effectiveness as a vehicle for harnessing the energy and enthusiasm of youth in Asia, Africa and Latin America for productive, nation-building tasks.

At the same time, Mr. Speaker, I feel this program is a tribute to the willingness and ability of American citizens to dig in and do something to improve conditions in other parts of the world on a private basis and at a people-to-people level. Dr. Dichter and his colleagues deserve the admiration of all Americans.

Marshalltown Times-Republican Comments on Red China and the Vietnam Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my fellow Members to a perceptive editorial from the July 27, 1965, issue of the Marshalltown Times-Republican of Marshalltown, Iowa.

The editorial, which comments on Red China's relationship to the Vietnam situation, points out that hunger, as well as political ideology, can often be a cause of war.

There are some in the United States, as the editorial notes, who argue that free-world nations should not be supplying food to Red China. However, as the editorial also points out, southeast Asia can be a source of food for hungry Chinese.

In this connection, the Times-Republican editorial comments:

In trying to balance a variety of controversial opinions, the United States must plan on stopping Chinese military aggressions into southeast Asia. But at the same time the United States must help the Chinese people to get food.

The editorial discusses matters that merit close study and, under leave to extend my remarks, I hereby include it in the RECORD:

CHINA'S MOST POWERFUL WEAPON IS PROPAGANDA

As the Vietnam war grows more serious, it is necessary that the American people and their leaders give more consideration to Red China. Many Americans assume that, in fighting the Red guerrillas in South Vietnam, we are actually at war with Red China. It is definite that China support North Vietnam in the present war.

Ambassador Lodge, recently returned to second hitch in South Vietnam, said in a recent interview that China is supplying the weapons and ammunition to the Red guerrillas in South Vietnam and that China originally got these weapons from Russia. This would mean outdated weapons in a sense but the guerrillas use them effectively. Lodge also says that up to now, since the United States has actually been losing in the war, China sees no reason to enter the war actively and is perfectly willing to furnish the weapons while the guerrillas pay a heavy price in the brutal fighting.

This is the best answer available on what China is doing in the Vietnam war and it may be considered official. Actually, the American people know very little about Red China and what it is doing in the war.

China has had a long and unfortunate history of droughts and famines while its population continues to grow by leaps and bounds. This is probably the chief reason why it is a Communist nation today. Reliable reports show that in about seven of the Chinese Provinces a severe drought prevailed from November to April and so the wheat crop in all this area is very short. Even in Manchuria, the only section of China that produces surplus food, drought prevailed until May. Iowa farmers will be interested in the fact that China's soybean crop this year, due to widespread drought, got off to a poor start.

Free nations ship big quantities of wheat to Red China and this year such shipments amount to about 6,200,000 tons. Canada, Australia and Argentina are the chief suppliers of wheat to China and in 4 years China got wheat amounting to half of the annual crop in the United States.

The Sioux City Journal commented recently that free nations seem to be feeding the enemy while we fight them. Some sincere Americans say we ought to sell them wheat as much American wheat does reach China through Canada.

If Americans try to figure out why Red China is backing a war in South Vietnam, there are fertile lands in South Vietnam, in Burma and in most of southeast Asia and China's hordes of hungry people need that food. China takes communism along with it, but in trying to block the spread of communism in southeast Asia, the United States is also blocking the hungry Chinese from a natural outlet to get more food. It is a tough decision for Americans to make.

It is such dilemmas as the millions of starving Chinese which lead some very sincere leaders to urge some friendly approach to Red China. The noted historian, Arnold J. Toynbee, voices such a plea in the current Saturday Evening Post, bearing the title, "We Must Woo Red China."

In trying to balance a variety of controversial opinions, the United States must plan on stopping Chinese military aggressions into southeast Asia. But at the same time the United States must help the Chinese people to get food.

Until China starts sending armies into southeast Asia, or using nuclear weapons in that area, the United States should not try to stop our allies from shipping wheat and other food to China. Shipments of U.S. wheat to China through Canadian traders should not be stopped. One of the Nation's best historians, teaching in Iowa, has a book which purports to show that hunger is the thing that will drive Red nations to start a world war—will surely drive them to do it.

Experts say China can hardly send a big army into southeast Asia but its leaders may try in time. Various reports express a fear of China when it has a supply of nuclear weapons. A recent report shows that China is building submarines that can fire missiles to the U.S. mainland. China is big, tough, and enigmatic and its propaganda against the white race is its most dangerous weapon at the present time.

Salute to Jamaica

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, today August 2, Jamaica celebrates the third anniversary of her independence. On this occasion, therefore, I wish to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Alexander Bustamente, the Prime Minister of Jamaica; and to His Excellency Sir Neville Noel Ashenheim, the Jamaican Ambassador to the United States.

Jamaica's emergence from British colonial status into independence made her the first new state in the Western Hemisphere since the beginning of this century and the 14th member of the Commonwealth. Jamaica is a stable multiracial society with a history of democratic institutions. The Jamaican Government's efforts to industrialize were called laudatory in an article which appeared in the New York Times in January of this year.

To overcome the most pressing problems—a lack of investment capital and technical know-how—the Government offers incentives to new enterprises. The incentive law permits duty-free imports of machinery for manufacturing plants and of raw materials for products earmarked for export. One hundred and fifty of the 1,000 plants operating on the island came into being with the help of the incentive laws. The incentive program was aided by Jamaica's stable currency.

Of the $179 million the Government expects to spend in fiscal 1964–65, no less than $48 million is being poured into the economic-development program. This sum was decided on to help the gross national product grow by about 5 percent each year. Such a growth rate would be sufficient to increase the per capita income to $413 by 1967.

I referred to Jamaica's tradition of parliamentary democracy. To be more specific, I should say that Jamaica possesses a stable two-party system. Both party leaders are moderately left of center and party alinements are not based on racial factors.

Shortly after independence the Jamaicans drew up a 5-year independence plan. It is especially significant because it discusses political and social as well as economic goals and plans. I should like, in conclusion, to quote from Jamaica's plan, which is to extend until 1968:

> Present-day Jamaica is a microcosm of the world, mixing many of its peoples, having many of its problems, some of its fortunes, and endeavoring to answer the question that must concern every country today, large or small, namely: Can a small country achieve and maintain at once, parliamentary democracy, economic viability, and social justice?

Congratulations to the People of Liberia on Their Independence Day

SPEECH

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, July 26, 1965, marks the 118th anniversary of Liberia's achievement of independence. I would like to join in congratulating the people of Liberia and their government on this occasion. They have every reason to be proud of the fact that Liberia is by far the oldest independent republic of Africa and the only African nation with an unbroken history of independence and freedom. The day of independence came only 25 years after the American Colonization Society had established a colony for freed slaves. Thus the ideal of freedom that was growing in the United States played a part in the establishment of the Liberian republic.

In her long history Liberia has experienced all of the problems as well as the benefits of independence. As an underdeveloped country dependent upon outside support Liberia has gone through those difficult times which so many of the younger independent African nations are experiencing.

But since World War II there has been a remarkable economic upsurge and the achievement of political stability. The Government's income was eight times greater in 1960 than in 1950. A contributing factor was the "open door" policy of Liberia toward foreign investment. Monrovia, the capital, is a free port and many foreign businesses have shown their faith in Liberia's future by investing in mines and plantations.

National unity is another impressive achievement of Liberia on a continent where this seems to be the exception rather than the rule. There are 28 tribes in Liberia and 3 basic west African language groups. In addition to the tribal religions, there are large numbers of Christians and Moslems. Many Liberians are descendants of the original settlers from the United States. It is a tribute to the effective and farsighted leadership of President William V. S. Tubman that this nation of diverse peoples has enjoyed two decades of peace and harmony.

In its relations with other African nations Libera has consistently worked for African unity and for the dignity, independence and freedom of all African peoples and nations. She has taken the initiative in opposing South African apartheid and Portuguese colonialism. Liberia was the first sub-Saharan African nation to be elected to the United Nations Security Council.

Liberia has made an impressive record in diplomacy and domestic achievement. I am happy to salute this fine nation on its 118th birthday.

The White Committee Report on the Air Force Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an editorial from the June 1965 issue of Air Force-Space Digest discussing the fine report on the U.S. Air Force Academy recently released by the special committee headed by retired Air Force Gen. Thomas D. White.

The editorial follows:

CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM: THE WHITE COMMITTEE REPORT ON THE AIR FORCE ACADEMY

(By William Leavitt)

The five-man special committee—headed by Gen. Thomas D. White, retired Air Force Chief of Staff—which, at the request of the Secretary of the Air Force, analyzed the causes of the recent Air Force Academy cheating scandal, pulls no punches in its report.

"A remarkable document," the Washington Post called the 94-page report. "[It is] thorough, extensive, firm, and written in a clear prose too seldom found in official documents that deserve wide readership." We strongly agree.

In its investigation, the White committee interviewed scores of witnesses, including expelled cadets and their parents, Academy officials, Academy graduates now on active service, outstanding civilian educators, past and present Academy faculty members, high military officers and defense officials, as well as psychologists and psychiatrists.

In addition, the committee examined a mountain of written materials, ranging from the existing Academy regulations to a recent analysis of collegiate cheating prepared by the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University.

The committee's charter was "to analyze the basic causes of the cheating episode in terms of an evaluation of the structure and workings of the Academy." It approached this core question in terms of Academy staff and faculty leadership, academic and other pressures at the Academy, the proper role of intercollegiate sports, and the validity and workability of the Cadet honor code.

In blunt terms, the committee listed the underlying causes of the cheating episode as:

Confusion as to Academy mission among officers and cadets, leading to conflicts of loyalty.

Overconcern with "the symbols of achievement, sometimes at the expense of reality."

Rigid, centralized leadership combined with cadet failure to maintain morale in the face of such policies.

At the same time, the committee found the Academy's program "fundamentally sound." It said that "any notion that the * * * episode reflects either a major institutional collapse or requires a major overhaul of the Academy program may be dismissed as misguided." It rejected the suggestion that academic pressure on cadets played any significant role in the cheating episode. The Academy's shortcomings have been in how it approached its mission, the committee said, not in the mission itself.

The Committee laid to rest, we hope for all time, those criticisms of the Honor Code which have equated the honor system with "ratting" on one's buddies. It reported that "the heavy majority of graduates identified the Academy's honor system as having been of great value to them in their new Air Force careers." It went on to say that "indeed the (honor system) was singled out by most Academy alumni as having been of greater value than any other aspect of their Cadet military training experiences." The Committee further pointed out that "the strong feelings of Academy graduates about the Honor Code are shared in even greater measure by Cadets who are now at the Academy." The Committee emphasized, too, that the Columbia University academic cheating study had demonstrated that honor systems have tended to reduce the level of academic dishonesty at colleges where they are in force.

"The fundamental demand which an Honor Code makes on an individual is not that he be ambiguously good but that he be unambiguously strong; i.e., that he resist the easy temptation to use a shoddy means to attain a desired end," the Committee said.

"To suggest that such terms as 'squealer' or 'informer' are applicable is to indulge in a misconception. It suggests that future Air Force officers have no higher duty than loyalty to their personal friends even at the expense of loyalty to the Air Force or the Nation it is dedicated to serve. Such epithets are rightly applied only to those narrow relations between man and man in which larger interests and commitments are not involved."

While defending the validity of the Code and acknowledging the difficulty of its implementation, the Committee sharply criticized a tendency of the Academy administrative staff to use the Code to enforce military regulations that had nothing to do with matters of honor. This, it said, helped create an atmosphere which contributed to the genesis of the cheating.

The Committee criticized Air Force headquarters for lack of attention to the continuing needs of the Academy, and called for a permanent advisory board to aid the Secretary of the Air Force and Chief of Staff in matters of Academy policy.

It criticized the frequent changes of administration which, it said, have had a bad effect on cadets who have had to cope with sudden switches in philosophies of discipline ranging from permissive to rigid.

It criticized the treating of athletes as a separate group, citing the fact that more

than a third of the 109 expelled cadets were football players. These cadets apparently felt greater loyalties to the team with which they spent so much of their time than to the cadet wing. The development of U.S. Air Force officers is the mission of the Academy, the committee said, not bigtime sports.

"Plainly, intercollegiate athletics must be kept in perspective," the committee warned, saying that there was no provable relationship between excellence in sports and future military leadership. This may go down hard with many, but it is difficult to quarrel with the findings of a group as prestigious as the White committee.

While acknowledging the remarkable academic progress of so young an institution as the Academy, the committee criticized overly centralized control of the curriculum and the tendency to emphasize the trappings of achievement. In short, too much academic "front office" supervision, too many quizzes and examinations, and too much stress on standings.

The committee has done an excellent job in a tough assignment. We are sure that its findings will result in changes that will permit the Academy to do an even better job in the future than it has during its short, but illustrious past.

British Reassessment of Nkrumah

SPEECH

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include an article from the London Economist of July 24, 1965 that is of timely interest in view of the selection of President Nkrumah of Ghana as a member of the peace mission of the British Commonwealth to Vietnam. The article in the reliable and influential London Economist reflects an objective reassessment of President Nkrumah that seems to be taking place in England.

Concerning the peace mission the London Economist quotes President Nkrumah as saying:

> It would be unrealistic to suppose that the United States would unconditionally surrender in South Vietnam * * *. We must regard both the National Liberation Front and the Saigon authorities as rival governments engaged in a civil war which it is our object to bring to a negotiated close.

The London Economist comments:

> This is not the American position. It is, however, also a long way from being the Communists'.

With the opening of the Volta River hydroelectric power station this fall Ghana will be on her way to economic freedom from cocoa. It is to the credit of Ghana that she has met in full her obligations and commitments in connection with the Volta River project and that work is running ahead of schedule.

As one of the original advocates of the Volta River project, and among those who recommended our participation to President Kennedy, I am greatly pleased with the progress that has been made and the amity that has marked the relations of Chad Calhoun and other Americans with the Government of Ghana.

Ghana now is 8 years old, and the future certainly would not be as bright if it had remained wholly dependent on the cocoa market. The London Economist notes that the price of cocoa is now lower than for many years, and this is having serious repercussions. This I foresaw in my advocacy of the industrial development that would be assured by the Volta River project. There can be no stability in the economy of any country that rests on one crop, however much the United States with other countries may work, as they should, to fix world prices on an equitable basis. While the cocoa crop will continue to be a valuable asset to Ghana, happily with the completion of the Volta River project it will not be left alone to carry the economic load.

Here is the article from the London Economist that I recommend to the careful reading of my colleagues:

NKRUMAH'S RETURN: GHANA'S LEADER IS GETTING OLDER AND WISER—HE MAY YET CUT A FIGURE IN AFRICA, AND BEYOND

What can President Nkrumah of Ghana do for us? The old question has life in it yet. A few short insults ago Dr. Nkrumah was being written off, in Africa and countries beyond, as the politically bankrupt head of a bankrupt little West African Republic. With the summer, signs of revival have come. Given luck, the conference of heads of state of African countries due in Accra in September will in fact take place. A ripple of anxiousness to be fair to Dr. Nkrumah has been set up in Britain, started by the apology in the Daily Express on June 24. The newspaper had published a picture purporting to be of Ghanaian prisoners in chains; it was proved to be of Togolese.

But Dr. Nkrumah's real opportunity to be taken seriously again came on June 17, during the Commonwealth Conference. That morning, during a sunny garden party, Mr. Harold Wilson took Dr. Nkrumah by the elbow to a corner of the lawn of Marlborough House; that afternoon Mr. Wilson sprang on the assembled Prime Ministers his plan for a Commonwealth mission to Vietnam. Dr. Nkrumah was named as a member of the mission; he is still potentially a very important one.

Ever since he invented the Commonwealth mission Mr. Wilson has been able to produce a straw a week for everyone to clutch at. Last week's straw was the invitation from Hanoi to Dr. Nkrumah to pay President Ho Chi Minh a visit. On Tuesday Dr. Nkrumah's High Commissioner in London, Mr. Kwesi Armah (newly appointed Minister of Foreign Trade) set off for Hanoi via Moscow. By Thursday he was back in Zürich and it was still not certain whether he would get to Vietnam.

Whatever this produces for Vietnam, Ghana itself looks as if it is approaching a climacteric. The month to watch is September. If the African heads of state do materialize in Accra they will be trotted off to view the starting-up of the massive Volta River hydroelectric power station. September is also the month of Dr. Nkrumah's birthday. He will be 56, which makes him an elder statesman among the young Africans who govern most of the countries around him. Is age, plus the chastening experience of having been head of a country independent for 8 years (twice as long as most other black African states), starting to mature him?

There are signs that it may be. For evidence of the political middle age of an old revolutionary consider the statement Dr. Nkrumah issued in London on June 24. It would be unrealistic to suppose that the United States would unconditionally surrender in South Vietnam," he said, and added that he completely supported Mr. Wilson's chairmanship of the Commonwealth peace mission. He said more. For the purpose of the mission, "we must regard both the National Liberation Front (the Vietcong) and the Saigon authorities as rival governments engaged in a civil war which it is our object to bring to a negotiated close." This is not the American position. It is, however, also a long way from being the Communists.

The Nkrumah statement could have been drafted by one of Ghana's band of able, sensible, men—Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, for example (who is now President of the United Nations Assembly and becomes Ghana's foreign minister in September). Ghana has others. Not all of them have been able to stand the politically stifling climate of Accra, but a lot remain. It is this corps of skilled and experienced African diplomats and civil servants that is the first reason for thinking that Dr. Nkrumah is still able to become a figure of importance in west Africa, and beyond it too. The trouble in the past has been that, like the other rough radicals in his party, he has neither trusted nor heeded his intellectuals.

Dr. Nkrumah has given in to his rough side too often. He may have given in once again a week ago in order to improve his standing with Hanoi. His Minister of State for Party Propaganda, Mr. Nathaniel Welbeck, said at the World Peace Congress in Helsinki on July 14 that "it would be a mockery of justice to negotiate on whether America ought to continue in Vietnam." This is not what Dr. Nkrumah said in London. Maybe it is the sort of language calculated to open doors in Hanoi. Certainly it is the sort heard all too often in Ghana. Yet Dr. Nkrumah's ability to translate from West-language to Communist-language could help one day to do the trick over Vietnam.

The second reason for taking Dr. Nkrumah seriously again is that he is in economic trouble. It is an exaggeration to say that Ghana is on the point of economic collapse; but cocoa (which normally represents up to two-thirds of its export earnings) has now dropped disastrously, as explained on page 368. It is at its lowest since the slump of the 1930's. Since independence Ghana has spent the foreign exchange with which it was launched in 1957 on new schools, roads, factories, and a vigorous pan-African and foreign policy. To say that this has been the squandering of a cash-happy dictator is unfair. Ghana remains one of the richest west African countries and could almost afford the manner of life to which it has become accustomed if it were not for the mad vagaries of a world market in cocoa over which, in spite of supplying a third of the world's consumption, it has no control.

Thus Dr. Nkrumah's call to the Commonwealth leaders for a search for a way of stabilizing the cocoa price came from the heart; what he would like the West to do for him is to set up an international cocoa agreement. Meanwhile, he has appealed to the International Monetary Fund for help. Quite rightly, the IMF seems to have replied that first he must stop wasting money on Ghana airways; prune at least some of the 22 (out of 32) of his state corporations that are operating at a loss; reduce his spending on diplomatic missions abroad; and look again at defense spending (which takes roughly a seventh of Ghana's revenue).

To this Dr. Nkrumah can reply that Ghana is doing many worthwhile things. It has paid for the larger share of the Volta project from its own resources, and the bulk of the rest is coming from commercial-term loans. It is getting Africans involved in the workings of a modern society to an extent matched by no other black African country. The

West should recognize this, while never dropping its dislike of the many downright nasty and needlessly totalitarian aspects of Dr. Nkrumah's regime. And while it is right for the IMF to insist on the same sort of preloan economic reforms from Ghana that it would demand from any other applicant, it is also fair enough, in these dog-days, for Mr. Wilson, the horse trader, to assess the usefulness of Dr. Nkrumah and to ask himself: What can I do for the Osagyefo?

Adlai E. Stevenson: 1900–65

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, I submit to the RECORD an editorial by Mr. Lawrence S. Dietz which appeared in the University of Southern California at Los Angeles student newspaper of July 16, 1965. The author was not old enough to vote in the elections in which the late Adlai E. Stevenson was a candidate. But, like thousands of other young Americans, he was inspired by Mr. Stevenson's life and works. His article reflects the admiration and affection that these young people felt for Governor Stevenson.

The article follows:

ADLAI E. STEVENSON: 1900–65

Adlai Stevenson is dead. For those of us who grew up in the years when his vision and rhetoric were transforming American politics, the loss is as though a part of ourselves had been amputated.

We remember him, in 1952, refusing to pander to the fears of Americans, refusing to do any less than what he had promised in his acceptance speech, to "talk sense to the American people."

It has become fashionable, in recent years, for liberals to criticize Stevenson for being weak and indecisive. These are the people who have forgotten that, in 1952, when McCarthy was flaying every liberal he could find, Adlai Stevenson stood before the American Legion and condemned superpatriotism, saying: "To strike freedom of the mind with the fist of patriotism is an old and ugly subtlety."

It is doubtful whether his American Legion speech won him many votes. It is doubtful whether he won any votes by calling for an end to nuclear weapons tests in 1956. It was, however, characteristic of the man to follow his conscience.

One might, perhaps, believe that it was in keeping with American history that he was never elected to the Presidency. We have always treated our prophets cruelly until they have died, or been martyred.

Adlai Stevenson was, in fact, conscience to us all. He spoke of a world which could attempt to be at peace, but would never quite succeed, of an America of which many things would be demanded: "* * * a long, patient, costly struggle over the great enemies of man: war, poverty, tyranny, and the assaults upon human dignity which are the most grievous consequences of each." "The free world," he said, "implores us to be great, to lead with magnanimity, and above all, with patience. The very powerful, if they are good, must always be patient."

In a sense, the tragedy of Stevenson was that he was talking of virtues and concepts which we tend to ignore: patience, understanding, respect for international law, all have been tarnished by political leaders who put pragmatism first.

Stevenson even had to suffer his sense of humor, for Americans have still not taken kindly to statesmen who would gently mock the pretensions of other politicians: "If a candidate purported to know the right answer to everything he would be either a knave or a fool. If he even had an answer to everything he probably would be just a fool. If he had no emphatic views at all, he would probably be just untrustworthy. And if he was evasive he would probably be either cunning or a political coward, of which we have altogether too many.

"And, finally, if he should arrive at election time with almost everybody satisfied, then you should by all means vote against him, as the most dangerous charlatan of them all."

Above all, Adlai Stevenson believed in the American people, in our respect for our own traditions, in our limitless possibilities as a nation, in our infinite capacity for goodness.

Now he is gone, and to the extent that he even attempt to achieve the greatness in ourselves that he saw in us, we redeem the pledges he made in our name.

On election night, 1952, Stevenson stood before the television cameras to concede defeat. He quoted a story that Lincoln told about the boy who stubbed his toe, and I suppose what the boy said captures better than any other phrase how I feel today.

"I'm too old to cry, but it hurts too much to laugh."

—LAWRENCE S. DIETZ.

Auto Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, the problem of auto safety is rapidly becoming of increased concern, and earlier in this session, I introduced H.R. 8724, which was designed to speed up the adoption of safety standards by automobile manufacturers. As I said at that time, there is reason to believe that the adoption of such standards could save up to 10,000 lives a year.

Hearings are now being conducted in the Senate which are further contributing to our knowledge, and I am hopeful that constructive recommendations will be developed.

As an illustration of concern by a highly responsible newspaper in my district, I insert an editorial which appeared in the Battle Creek Enquirer & News:

TRAFFIC SAFETY IS NO LONGER AN INDIVIDUAL STATE PROBLEM

Michigan Secretary of State James M. Hare is quite right in warning that if the State does not adopt a strong, effective traffic safety program, the Federal Government eventually will step in and handle the safety problem on its own terms.

Like Mr. Hare, we are opposed to Federal intervention in what should be a State responsibility. We have, however, come to the conclusion that some degree of centralized authority over highway safety is mandatory if the annual traffic toll in dead and maimed is to be reduced or even halted at its present rate.

The secretary of state specifically fears the effect of a measure introduced in Congress by Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, Democrat, of Connecticut. The Ribicoff proposal would permit appropriate Federal officials to establish driver licensing and traffic controls wherever deemed necessary.

As an alternative, Mr. Hare has urged that Michigan set up its own traffic safety program. Mr. Hare wants legislation similar to that recommended by this newspaper for several years; i.e., a compulsory motor vehicle inspection law, a central accident record file, and measures to improve driver performance, highway design and maintenance, and traffic control plans.

If the legislature should really address itself seriously to traffic safety, it could unquestionably come up with a program equal to, or better than, any in the Nation.

But, the problem of highway safety no longer can be confined to the individual States. The private automobile has become a major means of interstate transportation, with more people traveling across country than are carried by railroads, buses, and airlines combined.

Therefore, if Michigan does adopt a strong traffic safety program, it should be flexible enough to meet Federal standards when they are put into force, as they must be eventually.

We believe that a principal cause of many highway wrecks is the lack of uniformity in traffic laws and driving patterns from State to State. Even the new Interstate Highway System, built mainly through Federal grants-in-aid, has speed limits ranging from 55 to 75 miles per hour, depending upon the States.

In some States, passing on the right side of another vehicle is sanctioned; in others it is prohibited. Traffic control devices, such as signal lights, vary from State to State and from city to city. A motorist accustomed to overhead traffic lights in the center of intersections often finds himself—when in another area—confronted with lights on the corners of intersections, if he sees them at all.

On highways passing through cities, a motorist will find some lefthand lanes that provide for both through and left turn traffic. Others will require a left turn only. The same often holds in righthand lanes.

Any motorist who has traveled widely is well aware of the confusion created by this lack of uniform traffic control standards. And, confusion leads to trouble.

The States obviously cannot get together on a uniform standard. Therefore, the Federal Government, it seems, will have to establish such standards sooner or later.

In the interest of public safety in interstate transportation, the Federal Government long ago was compelled to set up uniform regulations for all common carriers. Since the automobile has become, in essence, a common carrier, the same sort of safety standards are needed now.

Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 14, 1965

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, much has been said in recent days about the life and the works of Adlai E. Stevenson. Those of us who admired and revered him have recalled the qualities of humility, integrity, intelligence, and elo-

quence which made him one of the most distinguished public servants of our time.

When we think of Stevenson, we think immediately of the nobility of his character. But it was as a politician, when he was meeting his harshest disappointments, that Stevenson showed most clearly the height of his stature.

If there was one sentence that guided Stevenson's political life, it was his simple plea, "Let's talk sense to the American people."

Adlai Stevenson talked sense. He spoke candidly at a time when we sought complacency, offering challenges instead of reassurances and facts instead of platitudes.

When we asked for an easy solution to international problems, Adlai Stevenson said:

> The ordeal of the 20th century is far from over. Sacrifice, patience, understanding, and implacable purpose may be our lot for years to come.

When we demanded a simple formula for prosperity and comfort, Adlai Stevenson told us "that there are no gains without pains, that this is the eve of great decisions, not easy decisions."

Adlai Stevenson talked sense to the people. His words were profound and often difficult to comprehend. Yet he insisted on confronting us with a world that is complex and changing, where the challenges are great, the answers are difficult, and where patience is the indispensable virtue.

Today, we are beginning to follow the course that Adlai Stevenson charted. We are responding, in the words of John F. Kennedy, to "a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle." We are coming to realize that the world can no longer be understood in simple, easy terms. And with this realization, we are starting to move toward the path to a better world where Adlai Stevenson sought to lead us.

Adlai Stevenson talked sense to the American people. By doing so, he brought a new measure of awareness and understanding into our political life. We who stand in his shadow can do no higher honor to his memory or to ourselves than to follow his example.

Shakedown—1965 Model

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, it appears that an enterprising public relations consultant in Alabama has opened his own office of economic opportunity. A recent news dispatch from United Press International reported that Jacob James Israel, "a husky Montgomery Negro," is being paid to negotiate racial peace. He is quoted as saying there are about nine full-time employees in his office working on various disputes in five States.

While there is no news value in someone using the civil rights movement as a moneymaking enterprise, it is proper that this latest scheme should be exposed. It is a blatant example of blackmail being perpetrated on peace-loving citizens. The fact that Israel has a lengthy police record makes the situation even more abominable.

I invite the attention of my colleagues to the following article:

NEGRO IS PAID FOR SETTLING RACIAL CRISIS IN ALABAMA

(By James Felder)

MONTGOMERY, ALA.—A Negro public relations consultant says he has received $1,500—half of his $3,000 fee—for negotiating racial peace in a small Alabama city.

Jacob James Israel, a husky Montgomery Negro in his 40's, told UPI "this is nothing new with us" and said his office is working "on various disputes" in four other States.

He heatedly denied that his offer of racial peace for a price was a form of blackmail and said none of the money went to civil rights organizations.

Israel who has a prison record, said he has already collected $1,500 at Demopolis, a city of about 7,500 on the Tombigbee River about 100 miles west of Montgomery where civil rights demonstrations suddenly stopped last spring after 3 weeks of strife. Another $1,500 is due this fall, he added.

Demopolis Councilman John Coleman said Israel made arrangements with private merchants for payment of his fee of $3,000 after the city council turned down his offer to mediate racial peace first for $5,000 and then later at a reduced price of $3,000. UPI learned that 15 merchants put up $100 each.

"There is no doubt in my mind that 15 merchants in the town paid off," Coleman said. "They had a lot involved and hoped to hold off on some of those troubles."

The councilman denounced the arrangement as "blackmail, pure and simple."

"Of course it's not blackmail," Israel said. "I'm offering a service to these communities and I don't like violence."

Mayor E. B. Bailey declined to comment.

"This city is at peace and I want it to stay that way," the mayor said.

In an interview, Israel declined to identify other cities in which he and his associates are "working." But he said, without giving specifics, that as a public relations and labor consultant his office handles "various disputes in several States—Louisiana, Georgia, South and North Carolina." He said he has "about nine full-time employees."

Israel reacted angrily when his prison record was mentioned.

"Yes, I was in prison," he said, "but I was pardoned."

Records show that between 1940 and 1949 Israel was arrested six times on charges that included passing worthless checks, robbery and assault and battery. In 1949 he was sentenced to hard labor at Alabama's Kilby Prison on 22 counts of writing bad checks. He was released in 1953.

Israel said his prison sentence came about because he was president of a "press association and there were some bad checks passed and I took responsibility for them."

The record also shows that between 1956 and 1958 he was arrested four times in Montgomery for driving while intoxicated, interfering with an arrest, and resisting arrest. Since 1961 he has been arrested three times in Birmingham on charges of driving while intoxicated and contributing to the delinquency of a minor.

Israel said his main task is getting opposing factions together. He said he didn't know how many meetings he had conducted in Demopolis or exactly when his office began working there.

Coleman said Israel made his first offer "about 3 months before our trouble started. Then things got bad here, he made us the offer again. He told us, 'You thought you could do without me, didn't you? Well, you couldn't.' "

The councilman said Israel showed up at one meeting with a "beatnik who said he was from New York. This guy had a reddish moustache and had a button on his shirt. He said he was from SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee)."

In Atlanta, SNCC officials denied that any SNCC official had been with Israel.)

Israel said that none of his fees go to civil rights organizations.

S. 1592 and You

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article appearing as a guest editorial in Shooting Times magazine of August 1965, by Mr. Charles DuBuisson, vice president of Savage Arms Co.

This points out the iniquitous character and repressive nature of H.R. 6628 and S. 1592 now being considered by the Congress.

If this legislation becomes law honest sportsmen will suffer great hindrance in purchase and utilization of firearms for lawful purposes while the criminals will go about unhampered in pursuit of their nefarious business.

The article follows:

S. 1592 AND YOU

How will S. 1592 affect you? Look at the answers to these questions:

Order a gun by mail? Absolutely not. You will not be allowed to order a gun of any kind by mail or even, for all practical purposes, from a store in another State.

Ship a gun to someone in another State? No dice—you will be forbidden to send any gun to an individual in another State, even as a gift or loan to a friend or relative.

Send a gun in for service? Maybe. However, just to send a gun to the factory or gunsmith for authorized service you would have to fill out such forms as the Treasury Department might require (remember that income tax return?). There is no provision for sending a gun away for a ventilated rib, choke device, rebarreling or restocking.

Ship your gun ahead on a trip? Yes, but—if you wanted to send a gun or guns to your destination for hunting, a trap or skeet shoot, rifle or pistol match, you would have to fill out whatever forms might be required.

Buy your ammo when you get there? Better take it with you. The small town store where you used to pick up a box or two of ammo probably won't stock it any more. The $100 per year license fee will drive him out of the gun and ammo business—even .22 rimfires.

Have your gun fixed by a neighborhood gunsmith? He'll be out of business too. Same $100 reason.

Buy reloads at your gun club? Not much chance. They'll be subject to an annual $500 manufacturer's license fee, it would appear.

Buy a new gun without red tape? Are you kidding? The dealer must be positive of your true identity and place of residence;

that you're over 21 if buying a handgun, 18 for a shotgun or rifle; and that there is no State or local law that would bar you from buying the firearm. Are you prepared to prove all of this on the spot? The dealer will be a dope if he doesn't insist on proof. He's flirting with up to a $2,000 fine, as much as 5 years in the Federal pen, or both.

Profiles in Wyoming Greatness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, in commemoration of Wyoming's 75th anniversary of statehood, the following article is the third in my series on famous Wyoming citizens. Prior articles dealt with Joseph M. Carey and Francis E. Warren:

JOHN B. KENDRICK

A Democrat in politics, a cowboy for the love of it, and a millionaire in lands and cattle, John Benjamin Kendrick was often called the most popular man in Wyoming. Born in Cherokee County, Tex., on September 6, 1857, he went to grammar school at Florence, Tex., but educational facilities in those Civil War days were meager.

A cowboy from the age of 16, young Kendrick had only a will to work when he drove cattle from Matagordo Bay on the Gulf of Mexico to the Running Water River in northeastern Wyoming in 1879. The journey took 5 months and covered 1,500 miles.

UNTYPICAL COWPOKE OF HIS DAY

Unlike some cowboys, Kendrick avoided the saloons and gambling halls, choosing to study grammar, arithmetic, and history until he dozed off after a hard day's work.

He married his boss' daughter, Miss Eula Wulfjen, who taught school at Greeley, Colo. They settled at the O.W. Ranch, in Wyoming's Hanging Woman country. Mr. Kendrick had saved $150 on the trip from Texas and invested it in a small herd of cattle, establishing his own ranch. He drove the cattle 200 miles to the railroad in South Dakota. Later, the drive was reduced to 115 miles to cattle cars at Gillette.

THE COWBOY'S FRIEND

After the small start, the ranch gradually became a domain, but Kendrick never deserted his friends of earlier days. The cowboys knew, liked, and trusted him to such an extent that he became a youthful patriarch to the carefree ranch hands.

In 1910, he was elected a member of the Wyoming Senate and then elected Governor of Wyoming for the term 1915–19. In the primaries of 1916, Wyoming voters disregarded the name of the official candidate for the U.S. Senate and wrote in the name of Governor Kendrick, whose popularity was such that he was elected, and reelected for the second and third terms.

OUTSTANDING STAFF

John B. Kendrick did more to shape the future of Wyoming's Democratic Party than any other person in its history. During his term of Governor, he encouraged participation in political activity of a young newspaperman, Joseph C. O'Mahoney, who had just come West with a consumptive brother from Chelsea, Mass., hoping to find relief for the brother's tuberculosis. Kendrick took a liking to the young man and upon his election to the Senate, offered a position on his staff to O'Mahoney. This in turn made possible Joe O'Mahoney's education and launched his great career.

Another young news reporter and student in Wyoming those days was a redheaded young Scotsman named Tracy Stephen McCracken. He also was encouraged to political activity, and was hired as newspaperman on Senator Kendrick's staff following graduation from the University of Wyoming.

Senator Kendrick worked energetically in Washington to curb the power of big meatpackers. In 1919, he demanded Federal supervision of the meatpacking industry to reduce the high cost of living. His efforts resulted in passage of the Kenyon-Kendrick bill early in 1920.

EXPOSED TEAPOT DOME AFFAIR

When the Teapot Dome affair began, Senator Kendrick called for an investigation and made important revelations which resulted in the late Senator Walsh's historic report on the scandal.

During his later years in the Senate he worked tirelessly for the $23 million Casper-Alcova reclamation project which finally was approved by the Public Works Administration in the advent of the New Deal.

When Congress wasn't in session, he would return to his home in Sheridan, supervising his lands and cattle, more at home in the saddle than in the senatorial armchair. He had been president of the Wyoming State Cattlemen's Association and a president of the National Cattlemen's Association.

The Senator's daughter married the late Gen. Hubert Harmon, one of the first Commandants of the U.S. Air Force Academy. Mrs. Harmon is the mother of a son, Kendrick, and a daughter, Eula. The Senator's son and daughter-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Manville Kendrick, are the parents of a son, John III.

Partisan politics were minimal where Senator Kendrick was concerned. From all parts of the State his constituents, Republicans and Democrats alike, supported him in Washington.

So great was his following that in the months before his death on November 3, 1933, there was talk of putting him in the Senate by acclamation for his next term. Republican newspapers and party leaders discussed the possibility that no opponent would be nominated for the fall senatorial election.

Through a combination of initiative, diligence, and personal integrity, Senator Kendrick arose from humble origins as an uneducated cowboy to a place in history as one of our country's great leaders.

Through his appeal to men and women in all walks of life, Senator Kendrick made an everlasting contribution toward realizing the concept of true representative government.

Dahomey Celebrates Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate the Republic of Dahomey which celebrated its fifth anniversary of independence on Sunday, August 1.

Located in former French West Africa, Dahomey has a population of 2 million people, and an area of 44,000 square miles. The capital of Dahomey is Porto Novo.

The theme of Dahomey is economic progress, guided by President Sourou-Migan Apithy and the National Assembly. Dahomey's main exports are palm products and coffee. A 272-mile railroad connects the central city of Parakou with the coastal city of Cotonou, where a new $25 million artificial port is under construction.

In 1958, the Fifth French Republic made Dahomey an autonomous member of the French Community. On August 1, 1960, Dahomey achieved independence, and by September, was admitted to the United Nations. Dahomey belongs to the Organization of African Unity, the African and Malagasy Union, and to the Council of the Entente.

I take great pride, Mr. Speaker, in congratulating the Republic of Dahomey on 5 years of independence and progress.

Realities Ignored in Foreign Dealings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, it seems that the State Department refuses to learn from experience.

A recent editorial in the Lansing, Mich., State Journal points out the fact that the State Department is still trying to buy friends with dollars and with goods rather than giving constructive thought to the problems we face in the world.

Our colleague from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] recently criticized a proposal to sell a communications system to the Indonesian military, despite the fact that these same armed forces are currently engaged in border raids, infiltration and terror tactics against a much smaller neighbor, Malaysia.

In another instance, our congressional watchdog, the General Accounting Office, discovered that almost 8,000 tons of grain which was to have been distributed free to the starving in Egypt was actually sold, and there is no evidence that those in need of this grain ever received it.

I think we owe the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] a vote of thanks for his concern and his perception in criticizing this proposed sale.

On the other hand, somebody in the administration should be looking into what some of our Far East policymakers are smoking in their pipes. It does not appear to be tobacco.

I include the editorial in the RECORD at this point:

[From the State Journal, July 26, 1965]

REALITIES IGNORED IN FOREIGN DEALINGS

Two news stories last week provide fresh evidence that much of the criticism directed at America's foreign aid program and related operations in the past has had no more effect than water poured on a duck's back.

In spite of all that those in charge of distributing billions of dollars a year in taxes to other countries should have learned from the U.S. relations with President Sukarno of Indonesia, Representative WILLIAM S. BROOM-

FIELD, Republican, of Michigan, has found occasion to blast the State Department for seeking to aid Sukarno's troublemaking regime with strategic goods.

The Michigan Congressman said he was successful in having the Foreign Aid Act amended to cut off aid to Indonesia unless President Johnson deemed such assistance in the national interest and so informed Congress.

"But now," he said, "the State Department is seeking permission for the sale of certain strategic goods to Sukarno.

"Specifically, what is sought is permission by an American electronics firm to sell to the Indonesian military a highly sophisticated communications system called a 'tropho-spheric scatter system.'

"This $2 million very high frequency communications system bounces its signals off layers of atmosphere high above the earth. It can be accurately aimed, is virtually jamproof, and cannot be monitored."

BROOMFIELD said that if all-out war should erupt between Indonesia and Malaysia it would be difficult to conceive of a better means of communication for the Indonesian armed forces.

If Indonesia paid for the communications system it would not actually be a part of the foreign aid program that is a substantial portion of the U.S. tax burden. The consequences of such a deal could, however, be in direct conflict with the basic objectives of U.S. foreign policy and therefore against the interests of the American people.

The other news story did involve a situation that is a part of the U.S. foreign handout program.

General Accounting Office auditors reported to Congress that almost half of 16,000 tons of corn given to the United Arab Republic ostensibly for free distribution in 1961 was actually sold.

The corn, valued at $23.7 million, was provided under foreign aid programs on the basis of representations by Egypt that famine would occur as the result of crop failure.

The auditors said that the corn crop did not fail and no check was made by the distributing agencies to find out whether most of the donated grain ever reached the intended recipients. They charged that the grant was made without adequate verification of the actual need for the corn.

According to the GAO auditors, the State Department claimed the gift was justified on the basis of available information at the time and because of "a conscious effort to improve relations with the United Arab Republic, its geopolitical importance, and the part it played in assuring peace and stability in the Near East."

If United States aid to United Arab Republic President Nasser's regime has contributed to peace and stability anywhere it has escaped our notice. On the contrary, much of the aid to the contemptuous Nasser has been used by him to support causes in obvious contravention of American foreign policy.

Many of the actions of the State Department and foreign aid administrators are almost inconceivable, suggesting that they live in a dream world far removed from the realities of the international situation.

With the United States involved in a growing war in Vietnam, it is high time officials in Washington took a close look at the world scene and end the practices that waste this country's resources on nations whose rulers are, to put it mildly, unfriendly to America, and also strengthen characters like Sukarno and Nasser.

Commenting on the proposed deal with Indonesia, Representative BROOMFIELD said:

"On the one hand, we are urging our allies to stop doing business with the Vietcong. On the other hand, our own State Department is ready to approve strategic business with a nation which is a direct threat to one of our more trusted allies.

"Sometimes, it is difficult to determine who is throwing the rocks, and at whom."

Unfortunately it isn't at all difficult to determine that Washington has continued to throw many millions of tax dollars to some foreign governments that should have been booted off the American gravy train long ago.

The Resignation of Chairman Joseph Swidler From the Federal Power Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, in the Washington Post of July 30, a letter from William M. Bennett, commissioner, Public Utilities Commission, State of California, was printed.

This letter effectively calls attention to the need of encouraging Chairman Swidler to remain with the Federal Power Commission. If Chairman Swidler, for personal reasons, cannot continue his most effective service to the Nation, I hope that someone with his commitment to public duty will be chosen to replace him.

The letter follows for the benefit of my colleagues:

LETTER: SWIDLER PRAISED

It is now certain that Joseph Swidler will not return to his post as Chairman of the Federal Power Commission.

This is an event which has received relatively little public notice although it has been noted in the publications pertaining to the oil and gas industry.

As one who has had the privilege of representing the State of California before the Federal Power Commission for many years, I am keenly aware of the importance of Federal regulation over natural gas companies and the Nation's electric industry. Looking back to the Federal Power Commission as it became bogged down in a backlog of rate filings and exorbitant overcharges, I have a great sense of marvel at the accomplishments of Mr. Swidler.

You may recall that the Landis report, dealing with the Federal regulatory agencies and prepared at the direction of the late President John F. Kennedy, was highly critical of the Federal Power Commission and its lack of response to its public duties under the previous administration. All of that changed under Chairman Swidler when the Commission became current in meeting its responsibilities to the public interest and when it embarked upon a vigorous program of regulation of the electric industry, the ultimate public benefits of which can still not be measured.

The Federal Power Commission is now a far better agency because of the tenure of Mr. Swidler and his example of the highest dedication to public service.

WILLIAM M. BENNETT,
Commissioner, Public Utilities Commission, State of California.

L.B.J. Bread Tax Makes News in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the bread tax hike proposed by the Johnson administration makes news abroad as well as at home. Agra Europe is a news service publised in London, dealing primarily with European agricultural matters.

Its July 21 issue contained this international news:

PROPOSED INCREASE IN U.S. WHEAT AND RICE TAXES

(NOTE.—U.S. bushels are used throughout this article.)

The U.S. administration is pressing Congress for passage of a new farm bill that would, among other things, impose higher taxes on the processing of wheat and a new tax on rice, which would raise the price of bread by 1 to 2 cents (1 to 1¾ pence) a loaf and of rice by 4 to 6 cents (3¼ to 5 pence) a pound. This new move in the farm program is reported in the monthly economic letter of the New York National City Bank which states that these taxes will affect the poorer income group as these foods form a much larger proportion of the budgets of poor families than of higher income people, and the imposition of a heavier bread tax is especially incongruous at a time when the administration is trying to step up its war on poverty. The processing tax on domestic wheat would be increased from 75 cents (5 shillings 4¼ pence) a bushel to $1.25 (8 shillings 11 pence) while the new rice processing tax would amount to about $2.50 (17 shillings 10¼ pence) per 100 pounds.

The public has been slow to grasp the full import of the proposed farm bill, but protesting voices are now beginning to be heard. Agricultural programs have become so complicated and divorced from reality that only the affected farm groups can understand them. The new bill would not only add to the hardships of poor people but drive the farm economy further out of contact with normal market forces. This conflicts with the expressed aims of the President and his advisers to attempt to restore a free market for commercial agriculture and adopt a more realistic approach to the problems of rural America. In his farm message last February President Johnson stated that "we need to separate the social problems of rural America from the economic problems of commercial agriculture * * * our objective must be for the farmer to get improved income out of the marketplace, with less cost to the Government."

The chief features of the administration's farm proposals are to amend and extend the wheat and feed grain programs now in effect; to start a new certificate program for rice similar to that for wheat; to start a program to retire cropland through 5- to 10-year contracts with farm owners; to permit the selling or leasing of acreage allotments among farmers to encourage retirement of aged farmers and small operators. Though cotton legislation is also needed the administration did not make proposals of its own but is supporting a bill proposed by Representative HAROLD COOLEY, which would lower prices to world market levels and supplement grower's incomes through direct payments. The greatest attention is focused on

the programs for the principal grain crops—wheat, rice, and feed grains. The administration sponsored temporary legislation for the 1964 and 1965 wheat crops, which requires marketing certificates for wheat. For the 1965 crop, millers and other processors must buy certificates valued at 75 cents (5 shillings 4¼ pence) a bushel for wheat consumed domestically. Domestic annual consumption of wheat is estimated at about 500 million bushels, thus yielding an estimated amount of $375 million (£134 million), which in turn is paid to wheatgrowers complying with the program. The 75-cent domestic certificate payment (only 25 cents for export certificates) on top of the $1.25 price support loan provides producers with a total support of $2 (14 shillings 3¼ pence) per bushel on wheat consumed domestically. For the 1966 crop, the administration proposes to raise the cost of domestic wheat to $2.50 a bushel by increasing the price of domestic certificates to $1.25 but to discontinue the export certificate. For the same 500 million bushels of wheat made into bread, flour, and other products, consumers would be paying $625 million (£223 million) in processing taxes.

Since millers and baking companies already operate on extremely thin margins, the cost must ultimately be passed on to consumers in higher prices. This is why opponents of the program have characterized the domestic marketing certificates as a bread tax.

In fact the wheat processing tax is similar to an excise tax. Certain excise taxes, including those on furs and jewelry, repealed last month might have yielded as much as $618 million (£220 million) in fiscal 1966, that is roughly equal to the projected 1966 yield of the wheat tax of $625 million. Moreover, while these taxes were typically assessed at rates of 10 to 20 percent, the increased wheat tax would amount to roughly 100 percent of the basic farm price, thus almost doubling the price to the miller. The Agricultural Secretary, Orville Freeman, estimated that the new programs for wheat and rice would raise the cost of food 3.6 cents (3¼ pence) a week or $1.87 (13 shillings, 4½ pence) a year per capita, but he stressed that this should not cause any hardship as over the past 4 years the take-home pay of the average family has sharply increased. However, this hardly justifies price increases in the necessities of life.

A wheat tax undoubtedly strikes hardest at the poor; the lower the family's income the higher is the consumption of wheat products. This was confirmed by the Agricultural Department's survey of household food consumption conducted in 1955, and a similar survey is underway this year. The incongruity of imposing such a regressive tax at a time when the administration is stressing an antipoverty war needs no emphasis. It also contrasts with the President's promise of additional income tax cuts for "those taxpayers who now live in the shadow of poverty." That the aim in increasing the wheat-processing tax is to provide a better income for farmers has been revealed to be misguided in a Saturday Review article by the former Budget Director, Kermit Gordon, who stated that 80 percent of U.S. assistance goes to the 1 million farmers whose average income exceeds $9,500, while the other 20 percent of assistance is spread thinly among the remaining 2½ million. The farms that produce most of the Nation's food and fiber no longer fall into the lowest one-third of the Nation's income distribution, and though their success is not completely independent of Government commodity programs, these programs are no longer a means of distributing income to the neediest groups in the population. However, the administration in shifting the wheat subsidy from the taxpayer to the consumer makes it possible to show a reduction in Federal budget outlays for commodity programs, which in recent years have averaged close to $4 billion (£1,428 million) a year.

The feed grain program, like the wheat tax originally a temporary measure, is up for a 4-year renewal; its basic aim has been to divert acreage out of key feed grains and though feed grain stocks have been reduced by some 30 million tons in the last 4 years, it has proved to be very expensive. The total expenditure amounts to nearly $3.7 billion (£1,321 million), equivalent to about $3.65 (26 shillings) for each bushel reduced. The success of the scheme has further been reduced as prices have continued to be supported at levels attractive enough to spur farmers on to increase yields on the remaining acreage. Consequently, there seems an obvious need for a change in farm programs; the proposed cropland adjustment program can play a vital role in retiring whole farms out of surplus production, provided that the land is not used for other crops; efforts toward providing better training for farm people to speed their successful adjustment in industrial or service occupations are a move in the right direction and need to be expanded. But any new program should work toward gradually bringing about a shift of resources and an adjustment of farm production to permit the Government to reduce sharply its costly intervention in farm markets.

No Reasonable Alternative in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, in the wake of the criticism which has been leveled at U.S. policy in Vietnam by segments of the Nation's intellectual community, it was refreshing to read an article by the editor of one of the Nation's most prestigious journals, Mr. John Fischer of the Atlantic Monthly.

After giving the Vietnam situation a careful and reasoned assessement, Mr. Fischer has determined that the President's policies are the only reasonable alternative. Unlike some intellectuals, he has not allowed his emotions to sway him into advocating withdrawal from Vietnam.

He rightly points out that the only hope of ultimately "taming" China lies in containing its expansionist tendencies in Asia.

Mr. Speaker, I want to commend Mr. Fischer for the insights he has brought to the national debate on Vietnam policy, and for his wise support of firmness against Communist aggression in southeast Asia.

Because of my belief that this article will be of interest to my colleagues, I include it at this point as it appeared in the Milwaukee Journal of August 1, 1965:

NO ALTERNATIVE IN VIETNAM: POTENTIAL CRITIC TELLS WHY

(NOTE.—Last week as President Johnson announced large new commitments of U.S. troops to the war on Vietnam, the public debate over the administration's foreign policy continued. A teach-in at the University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee and a public hearing conducted by Representative KASTENMEIER, Democrat of Wisconsin, in Madison were among the activities. In the following article, John Fischer, editor in chief of Harper's magazine, tells why he must differ with some of his fellow intellectuals and support the administration policy. The excerpt is reprinted by special permission from the August issue of the magazine, just released.)

I should be listed as a potential critic of the administration's foreign policy. I share a good deal of the uneasiness expressed recently by scores of other writers, artists, and professors, many of them my friends. But perhaps not for the same reasons. I am worried about our involvements in Vietnam, for example, because basic American strategic doctrine ever since Admiral Mahan has held that we should never commit a major land force to combat on the Asiatic mainland. Nobody—certainly not President Johnson—has so far offered a conclusive argument that this doctrine has suddenly become obsolete.

Consequently it seems quite possible that the United States may soon find itself with a large share of its ready divisions bogged down indefinitely—in a corner of Asia remote from the enemy's vital centers, and facing the vastly more numerous manpower of China and its satellites. That could leave us stripped of the power needed to cope with a possible Communist thrust into Europe, the Middle East, India, or Latin America.

Yet I have refused to sign any of the manifestos attacking the administration's policy in Vietnam and Santo Domingo. For the time being, at least, I remain only a potential critic—for reasons indicated below.

In the case of Vietnam, I would feel freer to criticize if I could think of a reasonable alternative. None has been suggested, so far as I can discover, by the teach-in professors or the other intellectuals and artists who have been shouting "Hands off Vietnam." A slogan is not a policy; and they have not said what, exactly, they would do if they were sitting behind Johnson's desk.

THE MORAL ISSUE

After all, he didn't get us into the mess. He inherited it, from Eisenhower and Kennedy. If he simply pulled out all American troops, as some of his critics urge, he would not only be betraying an ally (and who would ever trust us then?), but he almost certainly would be turning over all of southeast Asia to the Chinese. They have, remember, always moved south whenever China was ruled by a strong dynasty.

Those who talk about "the moral issue" don't specify what is so moral about extinguishing the nascent democracies of Malaysia and India, or abandoning Thailand and Burma to foreign domination. And those who have any doubt about the intentions of the Chinese Communists toward these targets simply haven't paid attention to what Chairman Mao has been saying these many years—or how he has behaved in conquered Tibet.

The more moderate critics beg Johnson to try harder to negotiate a peaceful settlement—but, again, they don't say how. At this writing the North Vietnam Government and its Chinese allies have rejected every plea for negotiations—from the British, Canadians, French, as well as the White House.

Indeed, I can't see why they should consider negotiation, on any terms whatever, until September at the earliest. Undoubtedly they think they are winning the battle on the ground. If their rainy season offensive does overwhelm the South Vietnamese army and drives out or demolishes the American contingents (as the French were demolished at Dienbienphu) then they will have a political triumph far more resounding than anything they could possibly win by negotiations. So why not try for it?

If the offensive fails, they can always negotiate later—and against opponents wearier and probably more driven by internal disagreements than they are now. (The peace demonstrations in this country probably en-

courage the Communists in this intransigence, since they inevitably interpret them as evidence of American weakness and faltering nerve.)

REGIME MAY COLLAPSE

So the best the administration can hope for, apparently, is that the Saigon troops, with our support, can hold until the rains and heavy fighting stop. It may be a near thing. Indeed, it is entirely possible that either the South Vietnam Government or a considerable part of its army or both, may collapse before these words are in print; so at least, I am told by observers with long experience in that country.

But there also is a reasonable chance this will not happen—largely because our bombing of the North Vietnamese bridges, roads, and railways makes it difficult for the Communists to move in and to supply in prolonged combat any considerable number of regular Red divisions.

Without such additional stiffening from the north, the present Vietcong offensive is by no means certain to succeed. It will inflict heavy losses on us and our South Vietnamese allies; but the Vietcong losses are likely to be at least as large. And when a guerrilla force—any guerrilla force—suffers heavy and continuing casualties, without a major victory in return, its morale is likely to get pretty fragile; witness what happened in Poland and Russia during the early years of World War II, and in the unsuccessful Communist guerrilla wars against the Philippines and Malaya.

If, then, the Communists' summer campaign ends in a bloody deadlock, they may at last be willing to open negotiations, secretly and through a third power.

More probably, however, the fighting will simply dwindle away into an unspoken armistice. For, throughout their history, the Marxist states have always been reluctant to negotiate a formal cease fire except under two conditions: (1) When they are convinced that further fighting will cost them more than they can gain and (2) when they are pretty sure that they can win more at the conference table than on the battlefield. Such is the doctrine laid down by Lenin, and followed faithfully by his disciples all the way from Trotsky's 1918 negotiations at Brest Litovsk up to Tito at Trieste, the Chinese at Panmunjom, and the Pathet Lao in Laos.

Today, with the Russians and Chinese in desperate competition for leadership of the world Communist movement, it has become harder than ever for either camp to admit publicly that it is abandoning a "war of national liberation." Consequently, when the Vietcong and their big brothers to the north finally are convinced that they can't win, they probably will just stop fighting—as the Communist guerrillas did in Malaya, in Greece, in the Philippines, and in Venezuela—always with the thought that they may start again on a more auspicious day.

MAO NEEDS ENEMY

Such a lull could come this winter—or in 2 years, or 5. (In Malaya, after all, it took 10 years for the guerrillas to get discouraged.) And any slackening of American resolution or military pressure is likely merely to delay the coming of such a temporary de facto peace.

For genuine peace in Asia does not seem possible so long as the Chinese revolution remains in its virulent, aggressive stage. Chairman Mao urgently needs to get control of the surplus rice production in southeast Asia.

But what he needs more is a foreign enemy. Like other leaders of revolutions in this stage—Napoleon, Hitler, Stalin, even comic little Sukarno—he has found that nothing else will serve to keep his people keyed up, year after year, to the feverish zeal and endless sacrifice which his theology demands.

For the time being, therefore, any attempt to conciliate him is almost certainly hopeless. Even if the United States were to withdraw entirely from the Pacific arena, his need for a major adversary would still remain.

He probably would find it in Russia. India and the other border states are too impotent to look like convincing bugaboos; they are more likely to be cast in the role of quick and easy victims.

Someday the Chinese revolution can be expected to cool off, as the Russian revolution did; and then it may be possible for other countries to deal with China on something like normal diplomatic terms. Meanwhile, for perhaps a generation, the prospect for Asia is continual turmoil and bloodshed.

Nothing America can do will prevent it. But a policy of patient, steadfast containment might hasten its end, helping to bring the Chinese revolution a little earlier into its mature, less bellicose stage. In the case of Russia, such a policy has worked very well indeed—a fact easy to forget in the midst of our current troubles. All it took was 20 years of unremitting diplomatic, economic and military effort.

The lessons of history, therefore, seem to suggest that Johnson's basic course is probably right. So far as I can see, it is the least dangerous and ultimately the least costly of any of the alternatives open to him. And, as always in international affairs, a choice of the lesser evil is about the best anyone can hope for.

But this does not mean that the administration's day-to-day tactics should be exempt from criticism. Surely Johnson has been less than candid in explaining what we are getting into, and why. The contradictory statements flowing out of Washington and Saigon inevitably have stirred up confusion and mistrust, at home and abroad.

Domestic political considerations often seem to weigh too heavily in Johnson's decision—no doubt because his whole life has been drenched in domestic politics, so that he has little visceral understanding of the way foreigners think and feel. * * *

Criticism on matters such as these is the plain duty of the press, the political opposition, and the ordinary citizen who is interested enough to keep reasonably informed. Johnson would do well to listen to them, instead of howling like a cowhand with a centipede in his boot; maybe their comments could help him avoid fumbles in the future.

Another group of critics, however, need not be taken too seriously. It includes many (though not all) of the poets, pediatricians, novelists, painters, and professors who have been making so much noise during the last 4 months. Most of them are deeply humane people who loathe war and wish it would go away. * * * They have every right, of course, to express their views on matters of universal concern. But their professional eminence—Robert Lowell's in poetry, Mark Rothko's in painting, Dr. Spock's in medicine—does not automatically endow them with wisdom about foreign policy. Here their opinions are worth just about as much as Dean Rusk's views on poetry or Robert McNamara's on raising babies—which are also matters of universal concern.

Personally I am inclined to give more weight to the opinion of another rebellious intellectual who in addition to his scholarly accomplishments, has considerable experience in statecraft. He is Dr. C. Rajagopalachari, a leader in India's struggle for independence, a companion of Gandhi, a pioneer in civil disobedience, and an apostle of peace. He also served after independence as governor general of India. In a letter to the New York Times of June 6, he spoke to "the best brains of America" about their "criticism and ridicule" of the President's policy in Vietnam.

"There is not the slightest doubt," he wrote, "that if America withdraws and leaves southeast Asia to itself, Communist China will advance and seize the continent. All the people of Asia will soon be intimidated to pay homage to the Communist Parties in each of the regions of Asia. * * * There is no hope for freedom of thought in Asia if the hegemony, if not the empire, of China, is established."

Justice Goldberg to the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, by appointing Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, President Johnson has reaffirmed our basic commitment to that world body. Justice Goldberg is one of America's most talented public servants, a negotiator of unrivaled skill, and a seasoned and able leader of men. The Los Angeles Times, on July 21, expressed its editorial support for the President's outstanding nomination and, under unanimous consent, I include that editorial in the RECORD:

JUSTICE GOLDBERG TO THE U.N.

The voice that speaks for the United States in the forum of the United Nations must be articulate, persuasive, emphatic and reasoned. Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg, President Johnson's choice to succeed Adlai Stevenson as U.N. Ambassador, has such a voice.

Mr. Johnson's selection was, of course, a surprise. Speculation on a new Ambassador had naturally centered on persons with experience in foreign affairs and international diplomacy. Justice Goldberg's background, as lawyer, union counsel, Secretary of Labor, and High Court judge, touched but little in these areas. Yet his other outstanding qualifications would seem to far outbalance whatever lack of formal expertise he may have in the arena of world politics.

America's Ambassador to the United Nations, like the Ambassadors of all other countries, is not a policymaker. Policy is formed in the White House and State Department, and the task of the chief U.S. representative is to carry out these decisions, to serve as the spokesman and, if need be, the defender of official U.S. interests.

Justice Goldberg should be able to fulfill this need admirably. He is, above all else, an advocate, with great talents for presenting, arguing and upholding a case. His fine legal mind and debating skills, sharpened by years of labor negotiating, will be put to good use in the give-and-take argumentation of the Security Council, where the U.S. Ambassador is most on public display.

In less open U.N. forums, in the private meetings which are essential to the conduct of affairs, Justice Goldberg can also be expected to carry his own. Security Council proceedings are often adversary-type procedures, where an articulate toughness is the first need. But in the quiet, informal sessions where so much of the business of the world organization is transacted, debate must give way to a reasoned search for conciliation. The Ambassador-designate has qualities which suit him for both kinds of encounter.

It is probably not easy for Justice Goldberg to give up his place on the High Bench, a position that had been his lifetime ambition. In becoming what he called our Nation's advocate of peace in the council of nations he faces immense new challenges. He carries to these challenges not only the great prestige of his Supreme Court office, but innate talents that give every promise of serving him—and this Republic—well in the years ahead.

Project Head Start Going Wonderfully

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, President Lyndon B. Johnson openly declared war on poverty in America and recommended to Congress broad programs to cope with pockets of deprivation which exist throughout our society today.

Congress acted with all due speed and detailed deliberation to authorize steps which would assist the development of economic opportunity in America. One of the programs which has been fostered by this speedy attack on poverty is Project Head Start. I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article from July 15 issue of the Times-Star of Alameda, Calif., in my congressional district, which outlines how well the head start program is going in Alameda:

PROJECT HEAD START GOING WONDERFULLY

Project Head Start, designed to prepare preschool-age children to meet the demands soon to be placed upon them, is going wonderfully, according to Clarence Kline, Alameda's project director.

Head start, one of the programs sponsored nationally by the Office of Economic Opportunity, is open to children who will enter kindergarten or first grade in the fall. Nationally, the program is aimed at primarily the less wealthy elements of the individual communities in which it exists.

Thus far, 42 youngsters have been enrolled in the program. Total capacity at the two centers, located at Mastick and John Muir Schools, is 50 children. When the program began July 5, 37 children were enrolled. Kline said that family visitations are being made now, and "we have high hopes of fulfilling the capacity by the end of the third week."

Kline reported that dozens of people, including teenagers as well as older people, have offered their aid to the program. In addition, there are 4 teachers (ultimately to allow for 1 teacher for each 12 to 13 students) working with the youth. Three are at the Mastick Center and one is at John Muir.

Daily activities include everything from playing to listening to stories, working with arts and crafts, listening to music, and taking care of plants. The children from the Mastick group went to Ben Reimer's nursery yesterday and after a tour of the grounds, were each given an individual plant to care for.

Noting that "we still have dates available and we will remain very flexible in our program so we may meet the needs of the children and opportunities available," Kline stressed the importance of community participation in the program. For instance, he said that police and firemen will be requested to come speak to the children at a future date.

"Maybe the people assume the school does it all, or they must be approached first," he said, "but actually we would be very pleased to have them volunteer. Any one of a number of groups has a great deal to offer these children."

Doctor and dentist appointments have also been planned for the children and arrangements have been made for additional appointments, if they prove necessary.

Furthermore, nutrition programs are part of the daily schedule, allowing children to have not only milk, juice, and cookies, but other foods which many of them have never seen or tasted before as well.

Expressing pleasure with the parent participation in the program, Kline commented that "90 percent of the parents are responding well." Meetings with the parents are held on a regular basis, giving them an opportunity to discuss child development, nutrition, the progress their children are making, and other pertinent topics.

Memorial Service for Adlai E. Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, the funeral services for the late Governor Adlai E. Stevenson on July 19, 1965 which were held at the Unitarian Church of Bloomington, Ill., were simple, eloquent and beautiful in closing the last chapter of his book of life. I append them hereto for all members to read:

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR ADLAI E. STEVENSON, JULY 19, 1965 AT THE UNITARIAN CHURCH, BLOOMINGTON, ILL.

(Conducted by Robert Reed, Minister)

CALL TO WORSHIP

"In the time of trouble the Lord shall hide me in His pavilion * * * He shall set me up upon a rock * * * I had fainted unless I had believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living. Wait on the Lord; be of good courage, and he shall strengthen thine heart." (Verses from Psalm 27, Mr. Stevenson's favorite.)

Prayer: God of all, transforming spirit ever rising in the midst of life and in the hearts of men, persuading us, consoling us, and binding us to one another, our days are black with sorrow. Our father, brother, friend, trusted leader, knidred spirit, Adlai E. Stevenson, is dead. His voice is silent. And more than that for those assembled here he looks at us, he touches us, he walks with us no more. His wisdom and his wit, his deep concern for everyone, great and small, his design to serve the building of a world of freedom, peace, and and justice—all of these are with us still. The well is full. He left it so. But the water is strangely altered. Halted, humbled by this loss, a diverse people, bringing many faiths that we would hold as one, we turn to thee that we may accept his dying, be freed from bondage to despair, and see again the glory which makes life sweet among the living even with their dead. Amen.

SECOND READINGS

Here, on the prairies of Illinois and the Middle West, we can see a long way in all directions. We look to east, to west, to north and south. Our commerce, our ideas, come and go in all directions. Here there are no barriers, no defenses, to ideas and aspirations. We want none; we want no shackles on the mind or the spirit, no rigid patterns of thought, no iron conformity. We want only the faith and conviction that triumph in free and fair contests. (From welcoming address, July 21, 1952).

I have Bloomington to thank for the most important lesson I have learned * * * that in quiet places, reason abounds * * * that in quiet people, there is vision and purpose * * * that many things are revealed to the humble which are hidden from the great. (From the courthouse square in Bloomington, Ill., on the evening of September 15, 1948.)

I think that one of our most important tasks * * * is to convince ourselves and others—that there is nothing to fear in difference; that difference, in fact, is one of the healthiest and most invigorating characteristics without which life would become lifeless. Here lies the power of the liberal way; not in making the whole world * * * (adopt our ways), but in helping ourselves and others to see some of the possibilities inherent in viewpoints other than one's own: in encouraging the free exchange of ideas; in welcoming fresh approaches to the problems of life; in urging the fullest, most vigorous use of critical self-examination. (From a fairly recently letter, last year or so, to Senator MAURINE NEUBERGER.)

We travel together, passengers on a little spaceships, dependent upon its vulnerable reserves of air and soil; all committed for our safety to its security and peace; preserved from annihilation only by the care, the work, and I will say the love we give our fragile craft. We cannot maintain it—half fortunate, half miserable, half confident, half despairing, half slave—to the ancient enemies of man—half free in a liberation of resources undreamed of until this day. No craft, no crew can travel safely with such vast contradictions. On their resolution depends the survival of us all. (From Adlai Stevenson's final speech.)

PRAYER

Above the broad prairies rose the fragile vessel of a human life striving to realize the fullness of itself. Day by day his greatness grew from small beginnings hardly recognized by those close by steadily to become a giant among men everywhere. He stood among us as a beacon light unwavering for kindly relations among men, for words that took men seriously and enabled them to see more clearly, for gentle humor yielding a better perspective on things, for reason, conscience, and self-criticism, for personal integrity, for freedom and for justice, and for steadfast service to peace among men.

Shall all of this be lost with the sudden coming of his death? Dare we not instead believe that one so much involved in life as our beloved has long since won his place in the enduring heart of being. Dare we not believe indeed that his being lies within us still as a gift received by us from him, as surely as the grief we feel today because he has become so deeply a part of us. Dare we not believe that even such as we may learn more greatly to express the qualities that we have found so dear in him. Dare we not believe that the greatness of this man like the glory of the illustrious sons of man before him will continue to lead us on. O Thou Lord of Being-Without-End made known to us supremely through one another, teach us as he has taught that human life is sweet and purposeful even though it shall be lost, show us that we, too, may be confident of the ways of goodness if only we will give ourselves to doing good, and encourage us to serve more fully in ourselves the virtues disclosed in him. Amen.

CLOSING READINGS

May each of us live as a binder together of those who are divided, an encourager of

those who are friends, a peacemaker, a lover of peace, impassioned for peace, a speaker of words that make for peace. (From traditional Buddhist writings.)

The Lord bless you and keep you.

The Lord deal kindly and graciously with you.

The Lord bestow his favor upon you and grant you peace. (From 1962 Jewish Publication Society of America translation of "The Torah.")

Amen.

A TRIBUTE TO ADLAI STEVENSON

(By Dr. Dana McLean Greeley, President, Unitarian Universalist Association)

The very presence of this company speaks more eloquently and more tenderly than anything that we can say or sing. But here in the community and the church of his childhood and of lifelong associations, we pay to Governor Stevenson our most intimate and final tribute, in a time of lasting bereavement for all mankind.

Many of those who have loved him the longest and most dearly are with us, yet the larger company at Washington's National Cathedral bowed as reverently in his honor; and statesmen and the common people alike, the world around have taken him to their hearts, and will mold his memory into their own image of the best life and prophecy of America in the 20th century.

Adlai Stevenson was destined by his heritage and his own nature for public service. And although in moments he shrank from that role, he also thrived upon it. It was at once a bitter cup that he had to drink, and the elixir of life that lifted him to the fulfillment of his own powers. He may not have thought that he had accomplished enough, for there were disappointments, public and private, and yet unmistakably he was called to greatness; and the God that shines in the firmament of the heavens was radiant in his person and resonant in his voice. Neither ancient Israel nor modern New York could produce a more articulate spokesman for justice and the right. If Winston Churchill could turn a phrase as well, it was not to liquidate the empire, but to keep the past upon her throne, whereas Governor Stevenson undertook the tougher task primarily of persuading a nation to minimize its sovereignty and to merge its hopes and fears with those of other nations. In his own words his attempt was "to defrost a segment of the opaque window through which we see others and others see us," and thereby to increase understanding and fraternity among men.

He added very recently that change is not the great enemy of man, but violence is that enemy. If political success is to raise the level of the national debate and of the world's dialog; to make truly qualified people feel more at home in public life, and to influence one's country and mankind for good, then he achieved success emphatically and dramatically. We shall remember his combination of greatness and goodness.

We salute him for his modesty and his ambition, for his ability and his affability, for his wisdom and his wit, and for his failures and his successes. His mind was extraordinarily free from prejudice, and subservient to the truth. If at times he seemed to take longer to make decisions, it was because he sought the moral context for the workable answer.

He was a philosopher and a politician. All men counted with him, but none too much. He was an American, but he died in England. He was a Democrat, but his family newspaper, of which he was a part owner, is Republican. He was a Unitarian, but in our capitol his flag-draped casket lay fittingly before an ecumenical Episcopal altar. In the climax of his career he was an Ambassador to the United Nations, with strong convictions of his own, and with an unflinching fidelity to his country and his President. If there ever seemed to be contradictions in his life, Emerson's explanation is applicable, "to be great is to be misunderstood." He was not just an American or only a Democrat, or exclusively a Unitarian or solely an Ambassador. He was also always the universal citizen. His patriotism was intense, but it had no bounds. His politics were both purposeful and personal. And the cardinal principles of his religion were freedom and human dignity.

My friend and colleague Robert Richardson reminds me that their great-grandfather Jesse Fell, would be very proud to have us say that the Governor was truly Lincolnesque in his idealism, his integrity, his compassion, and his humor, as well as in his love of the State of Illinois. He was a devoted son, and brother, and father. He was a loyal friend. And he was a servant to all the children of men. In that distant day when nobody rattles a saber and nobody drags a chain, his name will shine with an ever-increasing luster.

He understood not only democracy and communism, but likewise the moving forms and shadows of a world revolution. He was not cowed by complexity, but kept his eye on the goals that he knew to be worth every effort that could be bent in their direction. He believed in a better world that we ourselves can and must create here an now.

A decade ago, with his friend Albert Schweitzer and Prime Minister Nehru, he was a prophetic advocate of a nuclear test ban treaty. How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that publisheth peace. G. K. Chesterton once said that if we only had more visionaries among our statesmen, we might get something really practical done. Adlai Stevenson was that kind of a statesman.

Thought there was a poignancy in his life that matched the hungers of his heart and the sensitiveness of his being, he had a faith that was greater than any problem or perils or defeat. And he was able to say with Esdras "Great is the truth and mighty above all things."

"The memorial of virtue is immortal because it is known with God and with men. When it is present, men take example at it, and when it is gone, they desire it. It weareth a crown and triumpheth forever, having gotten the victory, striving for undefiled rewards."

Realism and Prudence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, in his thoughtful column of July 30, the distinguished analyst and commentator, Walter Lippmann, has evaluated the meaning and significance of President Johnson's statement to the American people of last Wednesday.

Mr. Lippmann has pointed out that the President has decided, for the time being at least, to fight a limited war in Vietnam, to reject serious escalation, and to increase our diplomatic efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement. He has gone on to suggest that these decisions are "realistic and as a result the American position is strengthened and improved."

As I have stated repeatedly, Mr. Speaker, I believe our proper policy in Vietnam is a limited war designed to deter aggression and so-called wars of national liberation directed and supported externally; persistent efforts to achieve international negotiations based on the Geneva accords; and self-determination for the people of South Vietnam under United Nations' guarantees. In the difficult months which lie ahead I hope that these goals, which are consistent with those outlined by Mr. Lippmann, can be actively and aggressively pursued.

I include Mr. Lippmann's analysis for our colleagues' information:

[From the Washington Post, July 30, 1965]

REALISM AND PRUDENCE

(By Walter Lippmann)

The decisions taken by the President as the result of the review of the situation in Vietnam are, it seems to me, realistic, and as a result, the American position is strengthened and improved. The crucial issue which he had to resolve was what this country should do in view of the fact that the South Vietnamese Government has lost to the Vietcong the control of virtually all the highways and most of the villages and territory of South Vietnam. Should the United States volunteer to fight the war which Saigon has so very nearly lost, substituting American troops for the Vietnamese troops, taking military command of all the fighting forces and of the government in Saigon? Or should the United States defend its presence in South Vietnam for the purpose of negotiating a political settlement?

The difference between these two strategies is all the difference between, on the one hand, an unlimited and illimitable war that could escalate into total war, and, on the other hand, a limited war, as the President calls it a "measured" war, which is clearly within American military power, demands no exhorbitant sacrifice, and keeps the struggle within the possibility of diplomatic negotiations. The President on Wednesday announced, if I understand him correctly, his choice between these two strategies. Although he repeated the grand formulas of a great war, in fact his decision as of now is to fight a limited war. The size of the callup is in accord with this decision: the additional troops are sufficient, or can be made sufficient, for a limited and defensive strategy. They would be absurdly inadequate if our objectives were the reconquest of South Vietnam. Instead of 125,000 men, the troops needed would, according to the usual formula of 10 to 1 for guerrilla war, mean more nearly a million.

There is additional evidence from the official disclosures on Wednesday that the President has decided against a serious escalation of the war in North Vietnam. He has been under pressure to send the bombers into the heart of North Vietnam, into the area of Hanoi and Haiphong, where are the industries and the population centers of the country. While it is never wise for a commander to say what he will not do, there is considerable evidence that the administration has decided not to bomb the population centers, and to avoid putting Hanoi in the position where, having nothing to lose in the north, it uses its formidable army to invade South Vietnam.

Moreover, high U.S. Government officials have let it be known that we do not intend to comb the countryside to eliminate the Vietcong from the villages, but rather to confine ourselves to conventional military action.

Along with the decision to keep the war limited, the President has launched a strong diplomatic campaign for a negotiated peace. He has in the past proposed, or hinted at, most, perhaps all, of the elements of his campaign. But the combination he described on Wednesday is new and impressive.

in calling upon the United Nations and on all member governments, severally or jointly, to bring the fighting to an end, he has, for the first time I think, given the mediators something concrete to talk about with Hanoi.

The President has agreed that the principles of the 1954 agreements, which are the declared war aims of Hanoi, are an acceptable basis of negotiation, and that we are prepared in South Vietnam, or in all Vietnam, to accept elections supervised by the U.N. This is contrary to the position taken by Secretary Dulles 10 years ago, and the President's willingness to return to "the purpose of the 1954 agreements" opens the door wide in principle to a negotiated settlement.

Probably, Hanoi will still refuse to negotiate. For the Vietcong and Hanoi are within sight of a military victory, not over the United States but over the Saigon Government, and it is by no means certain that General Westmoreland with his reinforcements can prevent that. But even if he cannot prevent it, the strategy adopted by the President will leave the U.S. Army invincible in Vietnam, with the United States exercising an influence which cannot be ignored in the eventual settlement.

The Warsaw Uprising

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I feel that the Members of this body and all Americans should be reminded that August 1, designated Warsaw Uprising Day, marks the 21st anniversary of the historic act of Polish patriots to liberate their capital, the city of Warsaw from its cruel and inhuman Nazi occupiers.

In President Lyndon B. Johnson's impressive proclamation of last year, designating August 1 as Warsaw Uprising Day, the President acted on the premise that the American people regard the actions of the Polish patriots in the Warsaw uprising as a great manifestation of bravery and devotion to home and country. He urged that this historic effort should serve to inspire people everywhere to rededicate themselves to the cause of freedom and justice.

Mr. Speaker, the words of our President are just as meaningful a year later as they were when proclaimed. The importance of being reminded of the valiant and heroic efforts of a captive nation to overthrow its oppressors is vital to all of us living in the free world today.

Today the Nazi occupiers are but a recorded historic failure, but the memory of their cruelty, their arrogance and their lack of interest in humanity is as vivid as it was a score of years ago. Unfortunately the patriots of Poland who survived the punishments meted out by the Nazis to the Polish people, whether actually participating in the uprising or not, were not to enjoy freedom when the Nazi forces were finally subdued.

All too soon a new and sinister force took over the destiny of Poland and subjected its freedom-loving people to a life of privation and servitude under Communist leadership as bad as that of the Nazis.

Today the Polish people are still denied the right of self-determination. Today as in 1944 they are subject to the whims of an alien master. Today their lives are still regulated and nonconformity assures a swift and dire punishment.

So, Mr. Speaker, on this day 21 years after one of the greatest displays of a people's courage ever recorded anywhere on the pages of history, we must remind ourselves that the Polish people like all the people behind the curtains and the wall erected by Communist dictatorship are still held captive. They are held in bondage by those whose power can only be maintained as long as there are no free elections and no toleration of the people's voice and will.

On this day we pray that soon the conditions of the world may be such that those who love freedom may be able to assert themselves to the extent that domination of the weak by stronger, foreign powers will end and that all men may choose their own leaders, pursue their own choice of occupation, worship how and as they please, and be assured of living in peace and security. This goal to the pessimist is an impossibility; to the optimist a golden era; but to us as Americans it is but the practical attainment by the people of the world of but a fraction of what we in America have long enjoyed. May this anniversary remind us of our obligations as Americans and help us to rededicate ourselves to the attainment, worldwide, of liberty and justice for all.

Greater Air Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the House an announcement regarding a new national educational program to reduce general aviation accidents and promote greater air safety. As many Members of Congress know, general aviation includes private flying, business aviation of the type being employed by increasing numbers of U.S. corporations, crop dusting, and as a matter of fact all other types of flying being done in the Nation except that performed by the military services and the airlines. It is growing by leaps and bounds, both in hours flown and numbers of private and corporate aircraft involved.

Any sound program to promote greater safety in this segment of aviation and bring it up to the level of the U.S. commercial air carriers which are the safest in the world, deserves support and as an Air Force veteran of World War II, I salute all efforts such as this latest one to add to the fine work already being done by Government agencies, aircraft manufacturers and pilots, groups and organizations, and many others concerned with safety.

The Flight Safety Foundation, with headquarters in New York City, will carry out the new educational program on a national scale with the full backing of the Federal Aviation Agency. The Foundation is a nonprofit corporation, headed by a distinguished retired officer, Maj. Gen. Joseph D. Caldara, who has held the post of Director of Air Safety Research for the Air Force. I know personally one of its vice presidents, Ansel E. Talbert, who made a fine record as an editor and foreign correspondent in many parts of the world before he took up his present work; his family and ancestors have lived in my neck of the woods since before the Revolutionary War; and during World War II he was promoted from private to lieutenant colonel.

I believe that Members of the House of Representatives will be interested in following developments in this national safety educational program, which will affect many of their constituents as well as corporations located in their district.

FLIGHT SAFETY FOUNDATION UNDERTAKES NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM TO REDUCE GENERAL AVIATION ACCIDENTS

The Flight Safety Foundation will undertake an extensive new national educational program with the backing of the Federal Aviation Agency aimed specifically at reducing accidents in general aviation, Maj. Gen. Joseph D. Caldara, U.S. Air Force retired, president of the foundation, announced yesterday.

General aviation is the rapidly growing segment of the aviation community comprising all flying other than airline and military. It includes both private flying and business aviation, and such specialized fields as crop dusting.

General Caldara disclosed that the prime objective of the foundation's program would be to persuade pilots and others in general aviation to upgrade their flight proficiency and knowledge as the chief means of reducing the number of aircraft accidents.

He noted that the immense value, safety-wise, of a professional approach had been demonstrated beyond any possible doubt by the excellent safety record attained by corporations employing well-trained professional pilots, and stressing good maintenance at all times. This was comparable to the operational safety level of the U.S. airlines, he said.

General Caldara, who on March 1, 1964, became president of the Flight Safety Foundation, a completely independent, nonprofit, nongovernment organization—supported by more than 300 corporations located in the United States and many other nations—gave details of the new educational program to representatives of the aviation and daily press at special meetings held last week at the Wings Club (Hotel Biltmore, 43d and Madison in New York City) and at the National Press Club in Washington.

General Caldara reported that a mail campaign comprising a series of letters explaining objectives and details of the general aviation safety program would be employed at once to reach approximately 11,500 different aviation organizations and key personnel including State aviation departments, operators of fixed bases, and by private and business pilots, manufacturers and firms doing aircraft modification, flying clubs, airport managers, flying farmers, flying physicians, flying lawyers, and many others.

A "FSF flight safety kit," he disclosed, will be sent on a monthly basis to the same group. This will include a flight safety education cartoon, special aircraft accident sum-

mary and analysis reports, safety bulletins, and other items having a bearing on aircraft accident prevention.

The foundation, according to General Caldara, plans to provide and supervise the operation of at least 100 visual programing trainers. These electronic pushbutton devices allow a pilot to test and update his safety knowledge on a true or false question-and-answer basis, through films which will be changed at frequent intervals.

The Flight Safety Foundation, General Caldara revealed, will put out these devices on loan to facilities throughout the continental United States used by general aviation people. The devices will be in operation at least 8 hours a day.

The Flight Safety Foundation, according to General Caldara, will develop and conduct at least one flight safety rally of 3 days duration during the next year in a convenient location for pilots and other general aviation people in each of the following areas: Eastern region, New York City area; Richmond, Va., area. Central region, Wichita, Kans., area and Omaha, Nebr., area. Southwest region, Dallas, Tex., area and Oklahoma City, Okla., area. Western region, Los Angeles and San Francisco areas and Portland, Oreg.-Seattle, Wash., area. It plans to conduct special conferences on request and take part in aviation meetings sponsored by manufacturers, aircraft modification firms, State aviation officials and others.

There will be periodic safety presentations at each of the five FAA regional headquarters and the special Flight Safety Foundation staff working full time on the general aviation educational program will attend FAA meetings on safety as required. On a more personalized basis the general aviation safety project staff will provide a hot line advisory service for answering questions sent in by telephone, telegram, or airmail letter by participants in the program and it will conduct numerous field visits and make personal contacts with organizations and operators participating.

The full-time staff will be headed by Allen C. Miner, vice president, operations of FSF and a deputy; and will include research analysts, information and education specialists and an operation safety survey team.

FAA LAUNCHES SAFETY PROGRAM TO REDUCE GENERAL AVIATION ACCIDENTS

A far-reaching safety campaign to reduce general aviation aircraft accidents was announced yesterday by the Federal Aviation Agency following the award of a $268,635 contract to the Flight Safety Foundation, Inc., to launch Project GAPE—general aviation pilot education.

Object of the year-long project as stated by FAA will be to "develop and apply an educational program which will persuade the general aviation segment of the aviation community to upgrade its flight proficiency and knowledge in order to reduce the number of aircraft accidents."

The program, with the support of the general aviation industry, various general aviation organizations, the Civil Aeronautics Board and others, will supplement FAA's own extensive and continuing efforts in safety education.

General aviation is the largest segment of the aviation community. It includes all aviation except military and airline and is comprised of more than 88,000 active aircraft, and over 300,000 pilots.

Project GAPE will be directed to the solution of what has been the main problem behind most general aviation accidents in recent years—lack of pilot proficiency and knowledge of safe flight procedures and practices. These were the chief reasons for almost 80 percent of the slightly more than 5,000 general aviation accidents in 1964.

Scheduled to be kicked off immediately with reporting to FAA to begin October 1, the program will cover every facet of general aviation operations.

Some 11,500 different organizations and aviation industry personnel will be contacted and their cooperation requested in supporting a nationwide program of accident prevention through a vigorous publicity campaign, displays, meetings, seminars, special conferences, personal contacts, and similar educational activities.

A large variety of safety educational and promotional kits will be developed and sent to program participants on a regular monthly basis. The kits will consist of pilot news bulletins, accident summaries, safety education cartoons, "cause and cure" bulletins, posters, special accident reports, mechanics bulletins, and other safety material.

At least 100 film projectors will be rotated among various airports showing filmstrips on safety. These will be in operation 8 to 12 hours a day for a period of several weeks at general avaiation activity airports.

Flight safety surveys will be offered general aviation operators on their flight and maintenance operations. Three-day safety seminars will be conducted at key cities. Special conferences and meetings will be held with regional FAA officials, airplane and equipment manufacturers, State aviation officials, and others. Semiannual safety rallies for the flying public will be conducted on an area basis.

Flight Safety Foundation will furnish field personnel to help organize local programs and establish personal contact with program participants. FSF also will provide a hot line advisory service to answer questions from program participants in the field.

Quarterly progress reports will be submitted to FAA throughout the course of the program with a final summary report late in 1966.

Miami Newspapers Endorse President's Position in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, with good cause, the people of southern Florida, just as all Americans, are expressing great concern about the Nation's position and efforts in Vietnam. The United States has had a deep interest in the sovereignty of South Vietnam for more than a decade. Our nonmilitary economic aid in this time amounted to some $2.8 billion, and we have at the same time been involved in a military effort to one degree or another. Only in recent months, however, has this turmoil been so grave as to capture the attention and anxiety of all Americans. With President Johnson's message last week, it has become common knowledge that the Communist aggression in South Vietnam constitutes the United States most crucial problem on the international scene.

Editorial reaction to the President's message is contained in two of Florida's finest newspapers, the Miami Herald and the Miami News. Endorsing the President's decision both to build up our military involvement and simultaneously to plea for peaceful settlement at the conference table, these two editorials represent, I am confident, the consensus of the citizens of Florida's Fourth District and the United States.

For their lucid articulation of the position I share with so many Americans, I would like to bring to each Member's attention these two articles which appeared in the July 29, 1965, editions of the Miami News and the Miami Herald:

[From the Miami (Fla.) Herald, July 29, 1965]

WE'RE COMMITTED—PERIOD

Only in its moderation was President Johnson's announcement on Vietnam a surprise for the Nation.

In the past week Mr. Johnson has consulted scores and even hundreds of Congressmen, military advisers, aids and private citizens in the startling absence of national debate.

The people have been prepared for prodigies of national effort in southeast Asia. Yet when the President spoke from this product of decision-by-consultation he asked only for a doubling of the draft calls and the dispatch of some 50,000 more troops to Vietnam.

Thus, the effort will be partial and the physical commitment piecemeal—if more pacific schemes fail. For once, however, the purpose is clear. The President's "carefully measured" steps were described in carefully measured words which will permit little twisting abroad. He said:

"Our power is a vital shield (against Asian communism). If we are driven from the field in Vietnam, then no nation can ever again have the same confidence in our promise or protection. In each land the forces of independence would be weakened. And an Asia so threatened by Communist domination would imperil the security of the United States itself."

This is the premise of U.S. policy in southeast Asia. Thoughtful men may quarrel with it successfully, but the commitment it implies is now irrevocable.

In the name of the United States its President has proclaimed no surrender and no retreat. The escalation is on. It can be lowered or halted only by surrender or sincere negotiation on the other side.

To this end the President left a door open at the United Nations.

If the United States has been remiss in anything, it can be faulted historically for failing to go to the forum of nations before this time.

History may not show, however, that the U.N. is feeble and hamstrung by the Soviet veto. Thus in naked reality there has had to be recourse to other methods of determining a political issue. We hope that Ambassador Goldberg will move the world organization. But, in short, we doubt it.

There can be little doubt on the other hand of general public acceptance of Mr. Johnson's charge to the Nation.

He was clear, precise, forthright, humble, and convincing. He did not bluster, nor did he plead. He laid it on the line. It was, we think, the best performance of his political lifetime.

But it was also, in southeast Asia, a grim demarcation of the point of no return.

[From the Miami (Fla.) News, July 29, 1965]

ASKS U.N. AID: JOHNSON HOPES FOR PEACE, GIRDS FOR WAR

President Johnson's determination that democracy will triumph in the steaming jungles of southeast Asia is exceeded only by his patient efforts to secure peace at the conference table.

Before he announced his "agonizing and painful duty" to double the size of American military forces in Vietnam, the President

noted in somber tones that "15 efforts have been made to start discussions with the Communists"—all without response.

"But we will persist," he declared, a vow that he emphasized in his initial assignment to Arthur Goldberg, the new U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

Mr. Johnson sent a special message yesterday to U Thant, the U.N. Secretary General, urging that "all the resources, energy, and immense prestige of the United Nations be employed to find ways to halt aggression and bring peace in Vietnam.

Mr. Johnson's statement to the Nation was not totally unexpected although some observers thought he might call up the National Guard along with the Reserves. The decision to double the draft calls from 17,000 young men to 35,000 each month will have a great and immediate effect in homes across the land. But in a time of war this is a necessary evil.

The American public will applaud the President for his firm stand in the face of Communist tyranny and aggression. Certainly we are faced with doing more and giving more than we have ever done before in the preceding 11 years. This is the only course possible today.

Report From Washington: Speculates on Maneuvering To Get Abe Fortas on High Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, there is rightful concern across the country over the obviously political and personal motivation of the President in the appointment of his attorney and confidant Abe Fortas to the Supreme Court. Mr. Walter Trohan, the distinguished chief of the Chicago Tribune Washington bureau, in his report from Washington of Saturday, July 31, discusses some questionable aspects of the Fortas appointment:

REPORT FROM WASHINGTON: SPECULATES ON MANEUVERING TO GET ABE FORTAS ON HIGH COURT

(By Walter Trohan, chief of Chicago Tribune's Washington bureau)

WASHINGTON, July 30.—A most interesting point for speculation has been raised by the appointment of Abe Fortas, Washington influence lawyer, White House adviser, Great Society news manager, and personal attorney to President Johnson, to succeed Arthur Goldberg in the U.S. Supreme Court. The question is: Did Fortas from his place behind the throne counsel the appointment of Goldberg as Ambassador to United Nations in order to make room for himself on the High Court?

Perhaps we will never know for certain, but Fortas' operations in the past would indicate that there is a distinct possibility he did get the President to have Goldberg move over on the bench of the hierarchy of the Great Society. There is no question but that Fortas was consulted on the successor to Adlai E. Stevenson and on the successor to Goldberg.

It may be, as friends of Fortas insist, that he didn't want the appointment, but he took it. He didn't want an appointment to the Cabinet and turned that down without difficulty. Evidently he was aiming higher.

This is the first time in American history that a President appointed a personal attorney to the High Court. Fortas knows many Johnson secrets, including the growth of the family TV-radio fortune, the real facts of the Bobby Baker influence case, and the inside of the unfortunate and sordid sex scandal involving the top White House aid, Walter Jenkins, on the eve of the presidential election.

PROVES HE'S ADEPT NEWS MANAGER

Fortas represented Baker until Mr. Johnson became President. He then withdrew as counsel for Baker, making himself the more palatable for a high appointment, which has now come to him. In the Jenkins case, Fortas proved himself among the most adept of news managers. He persuaded or induced two Washington newspapers not to print a line on the scandal. He was working on the third when the story was disclosed by a news service.

The Fortas affinity for Communist associates is well known. He served in the Department of Agriculture in the early 1930's where his best friends were members of one or another of the Communist cells which were fermenting under the tender care of Henry Wallace, who later ran for President on a third party ticket dominated by Communists. As the member of a top Washington influence firm, Fortas represented a host of men accused of Communist connections or associations, not without considerable success.

FORTAS SLOW TO TAKE PART IN WAR

Less well known is the Fortas military record. At the time of Pearl Harbor, Fortas was 31 years old. Although he had pumped for the war, he was slow to take part in it. On October 29, 1943, he was inducted into the Navy, but he remained in service only a few hours. As soon as he reported for duty as an apprentice seaman, he popped right out again with the aid of the late Secretary of Navy Frank Knox and other New Deal admirers. They got him out of the Navy to act as civilian head of an alphabetical government mission to study oil reserves in Arabia.

When he returned, he went back into the Navy, but he was released on December 13, 1943, after serving 1 month as an apprentice seaman, 29 days of the month in the hospital of Camp Sampson Naval Training Station in New York. He was then 33 years old, married, and with no children. His wife was and is a highly competent lawyer, able to earn her own way as she now does. He was discharged because it was said he had an arrested case of ocular tuberculosis. Twenty-two years later the case is still arrested and hasn't interfered with a lucrative law practice or a High Court appointment.

Fortas recently purchased a home in fashionable Georgetown at a price running into six figures. This would indicate he will be one of wealthiest men ever to serve on the High Court. His appointment is expected to breeze through a Senate dominated by his client, Lyndon Baines Johnson.

The Independence Day of Dahomey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, on August 1, the Republic of Dahomey celebrated the fifth anniversary of its independence. The day was one of double national pride, for the people of Dahomey are not only commemorating 5 years of independence, but they are also dedicating the new port of Cotonou. On this occasion, I feel it appropriate to extend the congratulations and best wishes of the House to the Government, and people of the Republic of Dahomey.

The inauguration of the port is a fitting landmark to celebrate 5 years of national freedom. The opening of this deep-water facility signifies that Dahomey is making impressive progress in economic development. Now there is every reason to expect that Cotonou will become a growing center of transportation and commerce. Already a leader among west African nations for its level of education, Dahomey is now equipped to assume a position of growing importance in the field of transportation.

It is also fitting on this occasion, Mr. Speaker, to recall the development projects which have grown out of the cooperation between our countries. The United States, itself ounce a recipient of foreign technical and capital assistance, knows the value and importance of a nation's own contribution to its growth. In this spirit, we have supported Dahomean programs in agricultural training, highway improvement, telecommunications, and public health. The distinguished Dahomean Ambassador, His Excellency Louis Ignacio-Pinto, has done much to establish and maintain these friendly, cooperative relations between Dahomey and the United States.

When Dahomey gained full independence 5 years ago, many of us had mixed feelings of concern and hope. The turbulent years of the 1960's are trying times for any nation, especially so for a young one. But the hope that the spirit of youth and freedom would provide the strength for survival and growth has been justified. That same spirit enables the people of Dahomey to look to the future with confidence.

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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Ribicoff, Abraham A., *Conn*
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Saltonstall, Leverett, *Mass* 2320 Tracy Pl.
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Stennis, John, *Miss*
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Committee on Public Works

Messrs. McNamara (chairman), Randolph, Young of Ohio, Muskie, Gruening, Moss, Metcalf, Jordan of North Carolina, Inouye, Bayh, Montoya, Harris, Cooper, Fong, Boggs, Pearson, and Murphy.

Committee on Rules and Administration

Messrs. Jordan of North Carolina (chairman), Hayden, Cannon, Pell, Clark, Byrd of West Virginia, Curtis, Cooper, and Scott.

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Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel Sheraton-Park, Washington, D.C.
Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 4852 Hutchins Pl.
Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut Ave.
Mr. Justice Harlan, of New York, 1677 31st St.
Mr. Justice Brennan, of New Jersey, 3037 Dumbarton Ave.
Mr. Justice Stewart, of Ohio, 5136 Palisade Lane.
Mr. Justice White, of Colorado, 2209 Hampshire Rd., McLean, Va.
——— ———.

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Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 6004 Corbin Rd.
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JUSTICES ASSIGNED

TERRITORY EMBRACED

District of Columbia judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. District of Columbia.

First judicial circuit: ——— ——— ———. Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Puerto Rico, Rhode Island.

Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Harlan. Connecticut, New York, Vermont.

Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Brennan. Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virgin Islands.

Fourth judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia.

Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black. Alabama, Canal Zone, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas.

Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Stewart. Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee.

Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark. Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.

Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas. Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Guam, Hawaii.

Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, Wyoming.

Appendix

One Thousand One Hundred Youths Make Start at Camp Kilmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to read John Carmody's fine analysis and assessment of the Camp Kilmer, N.J., Job Corps in yesterday's Washington Post. Mr. Carmody calls the war on poverty program "happy and effective" and notes that the national Job Corps director periodically visits Kilmer "just to boost [his] own morale."

I am sure my colleagues will be interested in seeing the blueprints of a highly successful economic opportunity project.

The article follows:

ONE THOUSAND AND ONE HUNDRED YOUTHS MAKE A START AT CAMP KILMER

(By John J. Carmody)

The Job Corps training center at Camp Kilmer, N.J., works a lot better than it looks.

The neat huddle of one-story, whitewashed buildings that house the 1,100-plus youngsters there has the look of a prison colony.

Across the high fence and beyond the narrow highway stand dozens of lonely weathered World War II barracks on a hill high with yellow grass.

But Federal Electric Corp., the International Telephone & Telegraph Co. subsidiary that runs the camp for the Job Corps on an $11.5 million contract, has carved an apparently happy and effective training program out of this dreary pocket in the New Jersey megalopolis.

"I try to get up to Kilmer every couple of weeks or so myself," says Dr. Otis Singletary, director of the Job Corp, "just to boost my own morale."

COUNSELING SYSTEM

The heart of the successful Federal Electric effort lies in a group counseling system that occasionally looks like brainwashing.

Every afternoon, for at least an hour, groups of 12 or fewer youngsters gather in the barracks or outside under the trees for what are something more than bull sessions, skillfully led by their group leaders.

A group leader is a young man chosen by Federal Electric (his salary averages $475 a month) to live with his basic dozen during their free hours outside of classrooms, between 4 p.m. and 8 a.m.

The free wheeling sessions are where the Nation's poorest boys—one third of them Negro—from the slums and the tired farms, first learn how to live together. Here also they begin the long uncertain trip toward learning how to live apart again in the complex America of 1966 or 1967 when they leave Kilmer.

DEMOCRATIC DISCIPLINE

They begin by picking one another to pieces—and sitting still for it. This criticism has a very earthy touch, sometimes.

"You don't smell so hot, Weasel," one of them will say. "When you going to take a shower again?"

"Soon's you get laces for those funny looking shoes," replies Weasel, who loves the attention.

These afternoon seminars are where the barracks discipline is taken care of, by democratic vote. This is where "planning" for weekend trips is subtly fed into the group by Federal electric administrators through the group leader.

This is where discussions are held about the barracks baseball team or about the possible purchase of a record player for their new home—which leads naturally (our group leader at work again) to a display of mathematics and a round robin on "spending" philosophies.

UGLY WORD, DEFUSED

At these sessions the ugly word "nigger" is brought out in the open for the first time, almost as soon as the youngsters get to camp, to be examined and defused and put away with all the other petty offenses that city kids and farm kids can commit on one another without thinking.

This is where the "message" begins at Kilmer. The homesick youngster, the very first night in camp, is brought into a group of 12 to listen to older "veterans" tell why they are in Job Corps, and what are the realities of the vocational program, the virtues of the buddy system.

They learn the parrot phrases that are so remarkably effective—and moving, really—as they tell themselves and each other during the ensuing months: "I'm here to help myself to a better chance in life and I can do that by helping my buddy in the barracks."

The overall effect on morale produced by this system is evident. Integrated groups of white and colored youngsters are consistently more in evidence than at other camps recently visited. Brushfire behavior problems that flare in the afternoons get ironed out before they can erupt that night.

HIGH MORALE HERE

Of the three Eastern urban training centers I visited on a recent tour, Kfimer was the best disciplined, had the highest morale and seemed farthest along in its total program of vocational and social training.

This is the way Federal Electric planned it from the start, when last summer the firm first suggested to the Office of Economic Opportunity that it might have a place in Job Corps thinking.

Robert Chasen, its president, has been positively brazen about his company's motives.

"We're not in this for some 2 or 3 percent return on a $11.5 million cost-plus-fixed-fee contract to run one camp. We want the whole Job Corps pie. We are going to run the best camp and get the best job placement results and then we will submit a proposal in 18 months to take over the whole program.

BUILT DEW LINE

"I listened to a lot of the country's best economists at Columbia University last year and they agreed that the Federal budget was bound to swing away from a $50-billion-a-year defense pie. Defense is where Federal Electric has been. We built, and maintained trained help for, the DEW Line. We're all over the map.

"But you look at the $784 million poverty war budget and it makes our mouths water here at Federal Electric. We can do the job and we will. And in the meantime we are getting a hell of a charge out of helping some kids who have never been reached before. We're very exicted."

Federal Electric researched its program with a team of economists, sociologists and psychologists. "We bit the whole bullet," says John Kelly, Federal Electric's project manager.

They computerized the Kilmer project right down to the colorful blue and red and pink and purple doors on the otherwise grim barracks.

COUNSELORS AVAILABLE

A counselor is available for every eight youngsters at the camp at any time, and there is surprisingly little lag between a sudden rush of newcomers and additional staff to handle them.

The vocational shops are set up: clean, expensive automobile repair and body shops, kitchens, retail selling models. Of the total 127 vocational leaders ultimately needed, 32 teachers are already at work.

Their social education classes are fully and carefully manned with teachers willing to experiment. (One has found that a particularly cynical newspaper account of the Liston-Clay fight is an excellent introduction into daily newspaper reading for kids who will eventually need to know how to read want ads).

These teachers are tutored in how to give meaning to basic education courses. The basic intruction comes with the vocational training, i.e.: math is taught using situations that arise in the auto repair shop.

IDLE TIME UTILIZED

You don't see kids lying around bunks at Kilmer. The more that 1,100 ready there are kept busy from 6:30 a.m. until lights out at 10:30.

Plans are in the works for two or three counseling sessions daily for the next batch of trainees.

Kilmer has made imaginative use of the youngsters' idle weekend time.

This serves the dual purpose of coping with a generally unhappy community relations situation near the camp.

By taking hundreds of youngsters in buses to ocean beaches and New York City ball games, local incidents are being avoided this summer.

In the meantime, an understaffed and overworked public relations section is touring the countryside, trying to convince New Jersey communities that the youngsters should be included in local dances and are not, really, threats to the local romeos.

But Camp Kilmer is near Rutgers University at New Brunswick and the surrounding communities are more used to tweeds and pipes than to transistor radios and imported swingers from the near South Side of Chicago.

Failure to provide an easy relationship with the towns outside the gate has compounded the behavior problems in the camp. Youngsters of this Job Corps age level (16 to 22) are always on the go.

And despite an 8 percent dropout rate compared with the national 10.6 percent Job Corps rate, camp officials are worried about internal discipline problems when winter comes.

Kilmer has recently established a nearby "reception center" as part of a Job Corps requested experiment to blunt the effects of the haphazard recruiting and screening processes around the country.

The reception center idea has split the camp's counselors. To some it smacks of the military discipline that the Job Corps warns against.

Others feel it is a more realistic step toward final "socialization" that will help youngsters tolerate a hard-bitten shop foreman on a hot summer day—when they get back to a big city and steady paycheck for the first time in their lives.

Yet it seemed to me that it was tinkering ever so little with a system that has so far worked remarkably well.

The permissive language and the lazy slouches apparent in the group counseling sessions give a certain ring of sincerity to the constantly repeated statements by old hands at Kilmer that they "are learning to live together and respect one another."

Parroting, yes. But a very strong beginning for kids who half a year ago were either afraid of their own shadows or busy tracking somebody else's in the jungles of the Nation's big cities.

A Will To Defend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the State of Columbia, S.C., has printed an excellent editorial in its July 28, 1965, issue on efforts to change a will 134 years later in the name of so-called civil rights. This editorial is entitled "A Will To Defend." I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this editorial be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Columbia (S.C.) State, July 28, 1965]

A WILL TO DEFEND

Amidst all the civil strife and public disorder created by various civil rights groups in recent years, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has insisted that it stood four-square for law and order, and for due process of law.

The veneer is being peeled off of that boast in Philadelphia, where the NAACP has taken to the streets in a rowdy and sometimes riotous attempt to circumvent a legally established will. The will in question is that of Stephen Girard, an early American millionaire who left $2 million in 1831 for the founding of a school for "poor, male, white orphans."

Through the years, the Girard College (although not actually on the college level academically) has provided an education for some 17,000 young men, many of whom have gone on to make excellent records in business, professional, and civic life.

Most Americans would applaud both the institution for its work and its founder for his practical manifestation of compassion for unfortunate youths. But not the NAACP.

Like the proverbial dog in the manger, the NAACP in Philadelphia has sought to embarrass, to harass, and to hamper the administrators of Girard College. Some years ago, legal proceedings were brought against the college in an effort to upset the will. The courts, in a relatively rare display of reliance upon law, rather than sociology, upheld the validity of the Girard will. And the trustees of Girard College, much more devoted to principle than to prejudice, have declared their intention of standing by the provisions of the Girard will.

Today, the town is in a turmoil over the situation. Raucous demonstrations, inflammatory statements, and flagrant examples of disregard for the law are being fomented by the NAACP. Gov. William W. Scranton, Under Secretary of Commerce LeRoy Collins, Philadelphia Mayor James H. J. Tate and others are pressing for further legal review of the will.

But more than the future of Girard College is at stake. The pending question goes to the very heart of the American legal system. Bit by bit, the emotion-ridden racial question has eroded the property and personal rights of living American citizens. Now, under the prodding of the NAACP and with the concurrence of timorous politicians, the rights of persons long dead seem to be threatened.

Already, weak-kneed authorities of Tulane University, Rice University, and Sweet Briar College have turned their backs on the expressed desires of benefactors who specified that those institutions be operated for white students. It is to the credit of the Girard trustees that they are still holding true to their trust.

At this stage of the game, it cannot be predicted what the outcome will be in the latest drive to invalidate the Girard will. But this should be noted and noted well:

If the NAACP succeeds in nullifying the will which set up a school for "poor, male, white orphans," then lawsuits should be filed against every single individual, corporation, foundation or Government agency which today is discriminating against white students in favor of Negroes.

And that would prove to be a fertile field for litigation.

For a More Beautiful America—I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, one of the more perceptive delegates to last May's White House Conference on Natural Beauty was Mrs. Susan C. Stone of Urbana, Ill. Mrs. Stone is an ardent worker for a more beautiful America as vice chairman of the Champaign County Development Council.

Following her return from Washington Mrs. Stone wrote a series of three articles for the Champaign-Urbana Courier, the first of which I include below:

MRS. JOHNSON SETS CHALLENGE: CAN UNITED STATES CONSERVE BEAUTY?

(By Susan C. Stone)

The air in the lobby of the Mayflower Hotel was thick with it. To my surprise my bellboy talked about it constantly as he piloted my suitcase and me to the sixth floor.

"So you people are going to make things look beautiful. Sure could use some of that," he said. He went on to inform me (in greater detail than I had bargained for) about a new school that had been built in his neighborhood, only to be followed a year later by a new highway that cut off half of the school's front yard. "What we need is some planning," was his understated conclusion.

"Beauty" and "planning." Key words mouthed by nearly everyone of the 1,000 delegates to the White House Conference on Natural Beauty who gathered in Washington last May 24 and 25.

Why had President Johnson called such an unprecedented conference? Who came? What did they talk about? And what—if anything—was accomplished? These are questions which I hope to answer in these articles concerning those two tightly organized days of intensely serious, sometimes angry, always urgent discussion. (Urgent, as Senator GAYLORD NELSON of Wisconsin said, because "We have maybe a decade left to conserve what remains of America's beauty.") I'd also like to suggest what it all can mean to us in Champaign County.

CONFERENCE REPORT

In opening the first session of the conference at the State Department's auditorium, conference Chairman Laurence Rockefeller passed on to us President Johnson's instructions to him: "I want new ideas. I want to alert the American people to action."

Ideas and action were clearly the point of it all; both were required. Mr. Rockefeller went on to remind the delegates that "natural beauty must be an integral part of national life. It can't be a frill or an afterthought."

He offered us the grim figures that we were to hear over and over again from expert after expert: The United States is in the process of doubling its total existing building in the next 20 years; 1 million acres of open space are gobbled up each year for residential, commercial and highway construction; and, before the end of this century, 80 percent of our mushrooming population will be city dwellers.

We are no longer a rural, open space country. Thus, Mr. Rockefeller urged that enough open space and park land be preserved for the growing public and that the vast quantity of new building itself—which in many cases will amount to entire new cities and suburbs—be well planned and well designed.

On the eve of the conference the New York Times editorialized that the meeting had been misnamed. It was intended that discussion should focus on much more than just "natural" beauty. Cities and all that they contain are not primarily works of nature, but works of man, and it was what man does to create or to destroy beauty or to merely muddle through that was a key concern of the conference participants.

It could, perhaps, have been better named the White House Conference on Environmental Design. Regardless of its name, though, Mrs. Lyndon Johnson raised the big question at the very outset. I came perilously close to missing her remarks as a result of poor planning on my part which got me temporarily locked out of the auditorium. But I managed to convince a vigilant guard to let me back in in time to hear her say: "There is a growing feeling abroad in this land that ugliness has been allowed too long, that it is time to say 'enough' and to act. Can a great democratic society generate the concreted drive to plan, and having planned, to execute great projects of beauty?"

Mrs. Johnson set the challenge for government—at all levels—and for business, industry, and 190 million individual citizens.

WHO WAS WHO (OR WHOM)

Mrs. Johnson was an assiduous shorthand note taker and questioner throughout the 2 days of meetings. In fact, at one session on the Townscape, Prof. Robert Katz of the Department of Urban Planning, U. of I., who was also a conference delegate, looked up to see Mrs. Johnson being ushered to a seat next to him.

Of the 1,000 persons jamming into 3 auditoriums for 15 panel discussions and 3 general sessions, there were, perhaps, a dozen from the State of Illinois. Thus, I felt very lucky to have been invited as a "Mrs. Concerned Citizen" type, representing the Champaign County Development Council. Some States, such as California and New York had as many as 50 or 100 delegates, and it must be recognized that to some extent the number of invited participants reflected the degree of beautification—conservation activity within each State.

Parenthetically, it was gratifying to have such people as a city planner from Greensboro, N.C. and a landscape architect from Madison, Wis., ask how we in Champaign County had gone about organizing our development council, because they and others were anxious to start the same sort of coordinated citizen-local government action in their communities.

And it was rewarding to participate in a taped interview for a Department of Agriculture consumer-oriented radio program which, I was told, went to about 100 stations scattered across America. For about 20 minutes I had a chance to discuss how our League of Women Voters and chambers of commerce had sparked the beauty versus blight efforts underway in Champaign County.

How the 1,000 delegates were chosen could be a full story in itself. It was a tremendous job of arriving at a cross-section of those people with a demonstrated interest in American beauty. In addition to professionals and professors doing distinguished work in city planning, architecture, and allied fields, there were leading conservationists, citizen "doers," and a substantial number of government officials from the local, State, and Federal levels (including a number of Cabinet members).

Also, there were business executives at the highest corporate levels, such as Philip Tocker, chairman of the Board of Outdoor Advertising Association of America, and Walker Cisler, chairman of the Board of the Detroit Edison Co.

Farm group representatives were included, as were union leaders such as Walter Reuther who insisted that he was there on behalf of his neighborhood improvement association rather than the United Auto Workers. And Congressmen and Senators from both sides of the aisle participated.

The bipartisan or nonpartisan aspect should be stressed, especially in view of the fact that a decidedly Democratic President and his wife have been the prime movers in focusing national attention on these problems. Throughout the sessions there were panelists who prefaced their remarks with reminders of their own very conservative political orientation. (In some cases no reminders were necessary.) Always they stressed that harmonious order and beauty, trees and open space are neither Democratic nor Republican and that this is an area where political party labels are really out of place.

As a more specific guide to the kinds of people invited, I noted that identifying statements made by the first few who stood up to ask questions or make suggestions during one session I attended: the chairman of the Save the Redwoods League from California, the State superintendent of highways from Kentucky, the ex-mayor of Tucson, Ariz., the President of the National Association of Counties, a professor of air pollution from West Virginia, the chairman of the Women's National Farm and Garden Association, and a distaff member of the Alaska State Legislature.

THREE PROBLEM CATEGORIES

Three separate problem categories were isolated for conference concentration. These were:

1. The city, including the townscape, parks and open space, water and waterfronts;

2. The countryside, including the farm landscape (such as used up sand and gravel pits on which a design-research project is now underway at the U. of I.'s Landscape Architecture Department), the new suburbia, and landscape action programs; and

3. Highways, including their design, scenic roads and parkways, and roadside control, which, in plain English, means eliminating or at least limiting the billboard epidemic. (It is worth noting here the remarks of a top ad agency executive, David Ogilvy, who said he had "never seen a landscape that had been improved by a billboard" nor "any evidence that billboards could sell anything") which did not fit into one neat category, but which received the attention of individual panels, included: Automobile junkyards, underground installation of utilities, education, citizen action, and the Federal State-local partnership.

The Congress of Compulsion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I have been impressed with an editorial from the Richmond News-Leader of July 29, 1965, entitled "The Congress of Compulsion." Since this editorial is concerned with some very recent actions by the Congress in voting for compulsion as against freedom for our people, I think it merits the attention of every Member of the Congress.

I, therefore, ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CONGRESS OF COMPULSION

In the skirmishing that preceded yesterday's keenly regrettable vote in the House, proponents of right to work had sought desperately to hold 90 Democrats and 125 Republicans in favor of retaining section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. In the showdown, they got only 86 Democrats and 117 Republicans. The vote for repeal was 221 to 203.

The dozen votes that might have made the difference were lost to the cause of voluntary unionism in 3 weeks of brazen logrolling. Representatives from farm districts were told flatly that if they wanted the city votes to get favorable action on the pending farm bill, they would have to support repeal of 14(b). The administration twisted every available arm to keep its regulars in line. In the end, freedom lost, and compulsion won.

That was the sole issue in the fight on right to work—freedom or compulsion. The labor leaders who demanded repeal never attempted to make a convincing case that the right-to-work laws of 19 States have impeded commerce or caused serious friction in the labor force. All the statistical indexes proved the contrary. The brutal argument boiled down to a single proposition: In these 19 States, men could not be compelled, against their wishes, to pay tribute to labor unions; and the unions wanted this freedom stopped.

Yesterday's vote was in the pattern of this Congress of compulsion. The housing bill that has cleared both Houses is geared to the contingent device: Federal grants are contingent upon the localities' surrender of local decisionmaking to the mandates of the Housing Administrator. The voting rights bill, now in conference committee, imposes unprecedented restrictions upon half a dozen States, in a reckless reversal of the doctrine that men are considered innocent until proved guilty. The medicare bill will compel wage earners to bear some stunning new taxes in order to provide benefits for 2 million persons who will not have contributed a nickel to their own hospital care.

Land of the free? Lyndon Johnson doesn't know the meaning of the word. And the rubberstamp 89th Congress once more has demonstrated its spineless acceptance of the proposition that what Lyndon wants, Lyndon gets.

Life Without 14(b)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, there has been a good deal of controversy and discussion about the repeal of section 14(b). I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a fairminded and factual editorial entitled "Life Without 14(b)" which was written by Mr. John McCormally and appeared in the Burlington Hawk-Eye of July 30, 1965:

LIFE WITHOUT 14(b)

The House of Representatives has voted to repeal section 14(b) of the National Labor Relations Act, a move which will outlaw so-called right-to-work laws in Iowa and 18 other States. Senate passage of the repealer is expected after some heated debate.

So, right to work soon will be dead, as a matter of law; but it will remain very much alive as a political issue in the months between now and the 1966 elections.

The right-to-work lobby is powerful, and well heeled, with strong appeal to the emotions. It cannot be expected to take this defeat lying down. Neither will the unions rest on their laurels; they can be expected to work hard to consolidate this victory.

Iowa's six Democratic Congressmen who voted to get rid of right to work will be open targets for the big guns of the right-to-work lobby as they seek reelection. Whether or not any of them should be reelected remains to be decided in next year's campaign. But it will be a tragedy if their worth as Representatives is decided on the basis of this overblown emotional issue alone.

In seeking a proper perspective, it should be stressed that the repeal of right to work does not create a mandatory union shop. It merely returns us to where the matter of union shop is left to collective bargaining between management and labor, without interference by the Government.

While tears are shed and breasts are beaten by right to workers over the question of freedom for the workingman, that is largely window dressing for the real purpose of the movement. That has been to enlist the power of State government to enhance the profits of business by putting management in a relatively stronger position in its dealings with labor. Their concern for freedom of the workingman has not, for example, put national right-to-work leaders in the forefront of the fight for fair employment laws to protect Negroes and other minorities.

Right to work has been chiefly a creation of the Southern States, designed to keep organized labor out, keep wages low, and lure industry from Northern States like Iowa

where the standard of living, more than the union contracts, makes wages higher.

It is ironical that a few agricultural States like Iowa have joined this southern grant design to keep wages low. For, Iowa's wealth is chiefly in the high grade food it produces for the rest of the Nation. And that food is not bought by cheap wages.

His critics will ascribe all manner of motives to our Congressman for his vote on 14(b). Aware of his laboring family background, we're convinced he voted his personal convictions. Beyond that, he also voted for the best, long-range interests of Iowa.

We Vote for Dirksen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following editorial from the August 1, 1965, Sunday issue of the Washington Star. I have followed the lead of the distinguished minority leader from Illinois and have introduced an identical constitutional amendment. It is indeed a pleasure to insert this article which supports this legislation and points out the absurdity of opposition to the amendment on "liberal" grounds.

The editorial follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, Aug. 1, 1965]

WE VOTE FOR DIRKSEN

The Dirksen constitutional amendment, which would modify the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote ruling, is slated for a decisive test in the Senate this week. Senator DIRKSEN and Senator MANSFIELD, the majority leader, have agreed to seek unanimous consent tomorrow for a showdown vote on Wednesday. If the opponents think they can block the two-thirds Senate vote required for passage of the Dirksen proposal, they presumably will go along with the unanimous consent appeal. If not, if they do not believe they have the needed negative votes, then a prolonged "liberal" filibuster is to be anticipated.

We think the Dirksen proposal, in its present form, should be approved. For it has been significantly improved since it was first submitted.

At one time it was feared that the amendment, if finally adopted, would enable State legislatures controlled by members representing a minority of a State's population to apportion one branch of a legislature on factors other than population. In other words, one house of the legislature might continue to be dominated by a minority of the population over the objection of the majority.

This is not true. The Dirksen amendment contains two key provisions. First, assuming ratification of the amendment, a State legislature wishing to act under it would be required to submit two plans to the voters of the State in a referendum. One plan would have to embody the one-man, one-vote concept. The other would authorize apportionment of one branch of a legislature on such factors as the people "deem appropriate." In short, at the very outset a majority of the voters in each State would have to approve any modification of the one-man, one-vote rule laid down by the Supreme Court last year.

Furthermore, a recent change in the amendment stipulates that any plan approved in an initial referendum would have to be resubmitted in a new referendum every 10 years.

To us, it seems perfectly clear that the amendment, far from protecting entrenched minorities, would enable the people of the States to have a voice in choosing their own form of government, and to revise their choice should they see fit to do so at 10-year intervals.

What could be more reasonable, more consistent with our democratic process? To oppose it on "liberal" grounds is absurd. We hope the Dirksen amendment will be called up this week, and that the necessary two-thirds vote to approve it will be forthcoming.

Mid-Decade Census

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE R. POOL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, Representative ARNOLD OLSEN of Montana, chairman of the Census Subcommittee of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, has conducted many long hearings this session of Congress which has reflected the great necessity for a quinquennial census. The Washington Post ran the following editorial August 2, 1965, in strong support of this measure to modernize our census system which I feel will be of extreme interest to other Members of Congress:

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 2, 1965]

MID-DECADE CENSUS

Increasing support is building up for a mid-decade census. Such a census should have been taken this year, of course, but an off-year census next year would be better than waiting until 1970. After that the mid-decade census could be taken in each year ending in five to supplement the basic census taken every year ending in zero.

It is contemplated that the mid-decade census would take note only of population, housing, and unemployment, leaving the more extensive data to the decennial enumerations. If experience should prove the need for gathering additional information every 5 years, new questions could be added. At present there is clearly much demand for more accurate data on population movement and growth trends than can be supplied by the sampling method.

The need for enactment of one of the several mid-census bills before Congress may be seen in the estimate that 14 million persons have been added to the U.S. population since 1960 and that one person out of every five moves each year. Rapidly growing communities need to know what is happening to them.

Opposition to the proposed mid-decade census seems to be based solely on grounds of economy. But it is not economy for a great Nation to deny its people the information they need for wise planning and fair distribution of public funds. Change is too rapid these days to depend upon a head-count once in 10 years. We think the move to modernize the census is of sufficient importance to merit the support of the White House.

The Real Alabama—Part XXXVIII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, Monroe County occupies a key position in southwestern Alabama, providing transportation links between population centers, and also it is making sites available for the growing industrial activity in the State.

Following is a brief summary of the history of Monroe County:

Situated in the southwestern part of Alabama, Monroe County is bounded by Wilcox County on the north, Butler and Conecuh Counties on the east, Escambia and Baldwin Counties on the south and Clarke County on the west. It was created by proclamation of Governor Holmes, of the Mississippi Territory, June 5, 1815. Monroe County was named in honor of James Monroe, who at the time was Secretary of State in the cabinet of President James Madison. At the founding of the county, Fort Claiborne was named as county seat, but Monroeville became the county seat in 1832.

On the east bank of the Alabama River near Tinela are remains of a town of great antiquity with the name of Athahatchee. This was where DeSoto met Chief Tuscaloosa on October 9, 1540, and took the Indian chief prisoner as he departed from Mauvilla. Piachi, located on a bluff overlooking the Alabama River at the old town of Claiborne, was where DeSoto and his expedition stopped on October 13, 1540. The chief here tried to stop the expedition and as a result there were some bad moments and two of the expedition were killed.

There are several mounds and cemeteries of the aboriginal period along the banks of the Alabama River and pottery and shell ornaments have been found at these sites. At the opening of the Creek Indian Wars, General Claiborne, then on the Tombigbee River, marched eastward for a campaign against the Creeks in 1813. The Creeks had been attacking settlers and destroying property and the general built a fort after crossing the Alabama River to wait for reinforcements. This was Fort Claiborne. He was joined by Chief Pushmatahaw with his force of 150 Choctaw Indians, and the Third Infantry of the Regular Army. Two famous battles of the Creek War fought in Monroe County were "Burnt Corn" and "Canoe Fight." The Federal Road, which was built to Fort Claiborne, where it branched to St. Stephen and Mobile, was the scene of much activity during the Creek Wars.

Claiborne became a lively community of much political importance, and was visited by the Marquis de Lafayette in 1825. There are many historical homes and handsome places to see in Monroe County, and quite a few famous men came from here.

A number of minerals are found for commercial use in Monroe County, among them being brown iron ore containing limonite, a hydrous ferrous oxide, with several other minerals such as goethite and turgite—also buhrstone, brick and tile clay, and coal. Sand and sandstone and white limestone are others. The forest lands of Monroe provide materials for lumber businesses and products, and also turpentine. Water is plentiful with numerous lakes and rivers, and the Alabama River for transportation.

The school system of Monroe County consists of 27 elementary schools, 14 junior highs,

and 10 senior highs, and there are six colleges and universities within 100 miles. Hunting is ideal, in fact, one of the best in Alabama. "Field and Stream" magazine has said that more wild turkeys exist per square mile in Monroe County than any other part of the country.

For a More Beautiful America—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the second of three articles from the Champaign-Urbana Courier on the recent White House Conference on Natural Beauty. The author, Mrs. Susan C. Stone, was a delegate to the conference and is vice chairman of the Champaign County Development Council.

The article follows:

PLANNING BEAUTY ISN'T ENOUGH; GOVERNMENT MUST COOPERATE

(NOTE.—This article is the second in a series written by Mrs. Susan C. Stone. Mrs. Stone, vice chairman of the Champaign County Development Council, was a delegate to the May White House Conference on Natural Beauty. The articles include her impressions of the conference and possible suggestions for the area council.)

(By Susan C. Stone)

As one HHFA official put it to me: We're constantly threatened with hardening of the bureaucratic arteries at all levels." So one of the problems discussed at the Federal-State-local partnership sessions, as well as on other occasions was mechanics. That is, even with the motivation assured by an aroused public, a dedicated top level leadership, some congressional legislation already in existence and more on the way (on which I shall comment in my concluding article) the question remains: how to get the machinery to move and to move consistently at all three levels so as to maximize the effectiveness of beautification efforts.

There was delegate insistence on the need to inject all Federal agency programs with natural-beauty "shots" and to have all of them operating consistently and not at cross purposes with each other. Numbers of delegates blasted the Army Engineer Corps, as well as highway officials, for so often destroying that very beauty which other agencies were trying to preserve and develop. Only this week, a similar contradictory condition was pointed out by a Washington columnist who said that while Congress has been drafting a law to prevent industrial and municipal dumping of waste and human sewage into the Nation's waterways, the Federal Government itself turns out to be a water polluter through its dumping practices at Federal hospitals, penitentiaries, military bases, etc. The need to correct this kind of inconsistency was strongly underlined back in May.

Senator EDMUND MUSKIE of Maine said that the primary responsibility for carrying out beautification-conservation programs rests at the State and local levels, not because of "States rights" but because if these levels operate effectively we will get a better job done than from a Federal monolith.

Examples of effective State-level action were offered by Robert Edmon, chief official of the Minnesota Outdoor Recreation Resources Commission and by Philip Lewis of the Department of Resource Development of the State of Wisconsin. After pointing up the need for each of the three levels of government to have a clear understanding of its role in the partnership, Mr. Edmon urged that State and local open space land acquisition go hand in hand with comprehensive planning, zoning, and billboard control.

He offered other States the successful example of Minnesota, which has achieved one of the most comprehensive State planning systems. Through its statewide planning agency, set up 4 years ago under legislative authorization, Minnesota spurs regional and county planners to include comprehensive recreational planning at the county level along with the general county land use plan, in return for 50 percent State-aid in financing local land purchases.

Philip Lewis described a pioneer approach he used for the complete mapping of the State of Wisconsin's natural and manmade resources which then became the basis for informed land-use planning, purchase, and preservation throughout the State.

One of the most rewarding aspects of the White House Conference was the number of use-tested ideas which were put into the marketplace there and which can be adapted to local conditions in Champaign County and throughout Illinois.

FEDERAL TEAMWORK

Another significant stab at the problems of interagency coordination is underway at the Federal level via the Recreation Advisory Council which held an open meeting as one of the general sessions of the conference. Here the top brass of all Federal agencies concerned with recreation and natural beauty in their broadest senses meet regularly to advise the President. According to Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman, currently the chairman, the Council serves as a balance wheel, direction finder, and coordinator.

A number of pointed questiosn were leveled at the Council, including one from a delegate who asked: "Do you favor a Federal policy of no further expressway construction through city, State, and national parks?" Secretary Freeman responded: "Nobody ever asked the question. We never discussed it." Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall rejoined: "Maybe we ought to discuss it. I'd be glad to take the affirmative for the Council." Another questioner wanted to know if the Recreation Advisory Council could catalog the various Federal beautification, conservation, recreation programs and their application so that persons in the localities could see and understand the full range. Secretary Freeman favored this, but Housing Administrator Robert Weaver said it was so enormous a task as to be almost impossible.

Another Council member, TVA Chairman Aubrey Wagner, observed that there would have been no need for this conference or the billions of dollars that will be required to restore the face of America were it not for the unselective immigration policy of the Indians.

Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Anthony Celebreeze, kept silent until nearly the end of the Council session. He then observed that he was a good listener, saying "I have over 400 advisory committees in my Department so I have to be." He pointed up the need to change Americans' behavior habits in order to restore beauty. Merely changing vandalism habits would save enough money to have a great program. This educational process has to begin at the local level, he said, and he offered the statistic that in Cleveland, where he had been mayor, he could have built an extra 10 swimming pools each year with the money spent on repairing the effects af vandalism.

THE THREE R'S-PLUS

Secretary Celebreeze's point about education and behavior was reinforced during the education panel discussion where schools—from the nursery to postgraduate environmental design centers—were challenged to provide not only systematic infusions of beauty in the classroom curriculum, but exemplars of beauty in school design and grounds development. Walter Washington, Executive Director of the National Capital Housing Authority had offered elsewhere the proof that the intellect comes through for schoolchildren at a much higher rate in an airy, attractive environment than in a drab, depressed one.

Jane Jacobs, renowned commentator on American cities, was introduced as "not merely a person, but a 'force'." She further emphasized the importance of children's physical surroundings as part of the total educational process and urged the upgrading of park quality. She said that there is little point in acquiring more park land if we are unwilling to pay the admittedly high cost of developing parks imaginatively. At present "many city park departments have gotten to the point of looking only for the cheapest way rather than the best way. American playgrounds are designed for administrators, not for children." She offered some specifics for a program of Federal aid to local park departments for employment of additional park workers, for training in new park careers, for classroom parks, and for using parks experimentally.

Otis Singletary, Director of the Job Corps in the Office of Economic Opportunity, urged use of Neighborhood Youth Corps in cities throughout the United States for neglected and urgent public needs in city landscaping, maintenance, and other related programs. Local economic opportunity councils are logical vehicles for advancing this type of program with the help of Federal funds already authorized, and in cooperation with city and county planning agencies and citizen beautification groups.

Barbara Ward, outstanding British social critic, was the most electric member of the education panel. Describing the explosions of population, machines, and cities, she concluded that city patterns are breaking up all over the world and that city problems are similar all over the world. She stressed the need for laying before the citizens models of what communities could look like and what they could cost. She articulated the urgency of insuring a well-informed population on these matters "or nothing will happen. The untrained forces at work do not produce (or preserve) beauty."

In appraising the conference, Wolf von Eckhardt of the Washington Post, argued that "the nearly insurmountable obstacle to orderly land use and well-planned cities is not ignorance, but the fast buck. Our tax system favors the slum lord * * * it favors land speculation and urban sprawl and penalizes improvements * * * and sound building." He further criticized "the cockeyed values of 'economy' both public and private. We don't want to control free enterprise but we must give it incentives and motivations so that it works for, and not against, the public interest." Clearly, conference participants left that both "ignorance" and the "fast buck mentality" must be dealt with, and legitimate business interests should be accommodated and reconciled with sound planning and conservation practices.

Casey Stengel—Diamond of the Diamond

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, there are a great many sports fans in the country today, myself included, who sadly grieve

over the apparent passing of a great tradition—the baseball "superstar." As we look back over the history and lore of the national pastime, we are struck by the alarming dearth of modern-day heroes of the stature of Babe Ruth, Ty Cobb, Christy Matthewson, and Walter Johnson. To be sure, there are some who have earned an undisputed niche in the Hall of Fame, but their number is swiftly diminishing.

Ted Williams and Stan Musial have recently retired. Mickey Mantle and Warren Spahn are in the twilight of their brilliant careers. The candidates to replace these men are few and far between. The game will continue to be played and played well. But the men who play it will look more and more like Wall Street bankers than the colorful superheroes of a bygone era.

Among the great practitioners of baseball color—the only one whose career in this elusive sphere has spanned both the old and new generation of the great game—is Mr. Charles Dillon Stengel; the great and unpredictable "Casey" of the old New York Giants; and the shuffling, crusty genius who managed the New York Yankees to so many pennants and world championships.

Casey recently celebrated his 75th birthday, and I think it altogether fitting and proper that we take appropriate notice of that singular event in this body.

Throughout a long and illustrious career for the old New York Giants under the famous John McGraw, a superb world series performer for these same Giants, a coach, and most recently as a manager of four different teams, he has contributed as much as any man to the game and has enhanced its image and its legend.

His popularity with the New York Mets, perennial second division finishers in the National League, goes unchallenged. His skill in bringing 10 pennants in 12 seasons to the New York Yankees is also beyond dispute. At this point in his career, Casey has become a symbol of the Mets and almost synonymous with the game of baseball itself.

With this in mind, I was saddened to learn of his recent accident which resulted in a disabling hip fracture and which will probably keep him out of action for the remainder of the current season. Thus, with the best possible wishes to Casey, for a swift and full recovery, I ask unanimous consent to insert at this point in the RECORD an editorial from the Springfield, Mass., Daily News of July 17, 1965, entitled "Diamond of the Diamond."

The editorial follows:

DIAMOND OF THE DIAMOND

Anyone who believes in celebrating noted American anniversaries will certainly want to mark Friday as Casey Stengel Day. It will be the 75th anniversary of his birth.

In a nation which loves to honor success, Mr. Stengel seems to be making a success of failure. He appears to be guiding his New York Mets to their 4th straight 10th position in the National Baseball League. He thus proves that, even at the golden age of 75, a man can still give the type of leadership needed to secure the bottom spot in the standings.

As long as Stengel keeps managing, and the Mets keep losing, the faithful fans will keep buying tickets, it appears. Although this may be a bit difficult to explain to foreign visitors or even to your next-door neighbor, somehow it's part of the American dream.

Mr. Stengel is now hospitalized with a broken hip, and he won't be able to be with his team in Philadelphia on Friday. However, to honor their ailing boss, we expect them to lose gloriously that day.

State Department Dealings in Southeast Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, even Pavlov's dogs had the ability to learn by experience.

However, it seems that the State Department has not as yet acquired this talent.

At a time when the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] and myself were criticizing the State Department for considering the sale of a high-sophisticated communications system to the Indonesian military—the same military which, by the way, was busily engaged in guerrilla warfare and terror tactics against a much smaller neighbor, Malaysia—we find that a representative of the Government of Indonesia was making a trip to the State Department Building in Foggy Bottom.

His task was to pick up a check drawn on the Government of the United States in the amount of $350,000.

This tidy little sum of petty cash was for payment of one-half the cost of construction of a building to house an atomic reactor which our Government had so graciously supplied to Dictator Sukarno as a token of the esteem in which we held him for his misuse of American funds previously supplied to him and as a reward for his penchant for acquiring adjoining real estate by any means, including force of arms.

It is ironic that the name of the program under which these hard dollars were supplied to Sukarno was "Atoms for Peace" when Sukarno wants his neighbors' territory, not peace.

It is doubly ironic that Americans are required to undergo restrictions on what they buy overseas and are asked to refrain from unnecessary overseas travel so that we can straighten out our balance-of-payments problem caused by such foolish giveaways as this.

The State Department will argue, I am sure, that it had a "commitment" to supply these funds, that they were the result of promises made some years ago.

But what the State Department forgets, or never really learned, is that the really meaningful commitments we have in the world are not measured in dollars nor in the size of populations nor in paying off the blackmail threats of petty tyrants.

We have a commitment to ourselves and to our reason for being as a nation to protect freedom when it is threatened. We are not protecting freedom when we supply its enemies with the goods to help them overpower peaceful neighbors.

According to press reports, Indonesia recently purchased military rockets from Japan. We can be sure that the dollars we supplied the Indonesians just 2 weeks ago will help pay for those rockets.

We can be equally certain that these rockets, coupled with the $1 billion in military goods supplied in previous years to Indonesia by the Soviet Union, and joined with the lessons in guerrilla warfare and military tactics supplied by the U.S. Government to the Indonesian armed forces, will mean greater pressures against Malaysia and against the peace of the world.

It is no wonder that many of us wonder why the State Department Building is called Foggy Bottom. It seems that someone picked the wrong extremity.

It is almost inconceivable that the State Department persists in making the same mistake time after time in its dealings in southeast Asia. But it is happening, and it is costing our Nation in dollars, and it could cost the peace of the world unless we change our policies.

Federal Government and Nebraska: Partners in Crime and Vice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to tell the Members of this House about the spineless partnership of the Federal Government and the State of Nebraska in keeping gambling illegal in Nebraska thus making gambling's lucrative profits available to the exchequers of syndicated crime.

Last year the parimutuel turnover in Nebraska came to $48 million. More significant—and more menacing—is Nebraska's illegal gambling, which makes Nebraska a prairie favorite of the syndicate. Testimony before the McClellan committee indicated that off-track betting comes to bout $50 billion annually throughout the Nation, with this figure accounting for only some 42 percent of the national annual illegal gambling total, which would thus be $120 billion. On a population basis, illegal gambling in Nebraska would come to about $960 million a year. The mob cuts itself 10 percent of the illegal gambling take, which means that the syndicates are picking up a lot of bread in Nebraska. Government-run gambling would siphon these moneys from mob treasuries putting gambling revenues into needy public coffers.

The best way to make gambling work for the public good—since it is basically ineradicable—is a national or series of

State lotteries. If the State of Nebraska would wake up to social and financial reality, it would legalize, regulate and control gambling and make it work for the people.

For a More Beautiful America—III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Susan C. Stone, vice chairman of the Champaign County, Ill., Development Council, is the author of a penetrating series of articles in the Champaign-Urbana (Ill.) Courier on the recent White House Conference on Natural Beauty. In her concluding report below she describes how some utility companies have gone in for power styling to overcome objections to unsightly poles and overhead wires.

The article follows:

[From the Champaign-Urbana (Ill.) Courier, July 26, 1965]

IS TECHNOLOGY MAKING CLUTTER UNACCEPTABLE IN URBAN AREAS?

(By Susan C. Stone)

At the root of urban ugliness lie clutter and disorder. Advertising in the street trades on disorder and attracts attention by being disorderly, according to Harvard's Charles Eliot. A growing body of public opinion also rejects as unacceptable the maze of utility poles and crisscrossing overhead wires. And a growing awareness on the part of the utility companies—be they public or private—of esthetics as an integral factor in power service, has led to significant technological progress, along with such promotional terminology as "power styling."

Recognizing that the single biggest obstacle to getting the wires underground has been cost, the statement by Ludwig Lischer, vice president of Commonwealth Edison of Chicago, is cause for optimism. He noted that 10 years ago the cost of putting low voltage (residential and commercial use) wires underground varied over overhead installation by a factor of 10 to 1, whereas today, as a result of improved techniques, the difference is almost nonexistent. A growing number of power companies, such as one in Sacramento, Calif., are now offering subdividers the option of underground installation at no extra cost.

Samuel Nelson, general manager of the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power said that in 1962 only 20 percent of new residences in the Los Angeles area were served from underground facilities; by the end of 1965 this figure will exceed 60 percent. For subdivisions the change has been more spectacular: in 1962 less than 10 percent of all new subdivisions were served underground, and by 1970 almost 100 percent will be.

Furthermore, George Wilcox, executive vice president of Westinghouse Electric Co., said that his company had now developed transformers which could be either neatly pad mounted above ground much like a residential air-conditioning compressor, or could be flush mounted with only a grill at street level, or could be installed within the base of a street light. This, plus his report of a compact, completely enclosed, insulated power substation requiring only one-twentieth the space of standard ones, suggests a far less cluttered cityscape if power companies throughout the country install such improvements.

Two massive problems still remain: The first is to move existing overhead low voltage transmission wires underground in built-up areas, a costly process the burden of which might be relieved by cooperation among property owners, the community, and the power companies, as well as by Federal aid through tax incentives and FHA loans.

The second concerns high-voltage lines for carrying large blocks of power over long distances. Technology is still amost incapable of handling this underground, and the cost remains almost prohibitive. There was general recognition of the need to accelerate greatly both technological research and conversion of existing lines from overhead to underground. Mr. Nelson reported that in 1964, 24 utilities in 5 Western States organized a utilities appearance committee for a cooperative approach toward this end and for uniform styling of more esthetically pleasing equipment.

Walker Cisler, head of Detroit Commonwealth Edison, in speaking for the entire panel on utilities installation, advocated joint use of rights of way and a common trench and routing for communication, gas, water, sewer, etc. so that utilities and transportation would use up the minimum amount of land.

CITIZEN ACTION

The citizen action panel, chaired by Mrs. Arthur Whittemore of the League of Women Voters, aired a number of manageable smaller project suggestions. NBC's Nancy Dickerson urged an awards program to local TV stations for the best documentary programs on local beautification. She estimated that 60 percent of the country's TV stations would compete. She also suggested that throughout America every town have an active mayor's committee for beautification, with 50 Governor-sponsored competitions among each State's mayors for the best local projects.

Other participants proposed regional White House conferences, and already at least four State Governors have promised to hold them this year; a National Citizens Advisory Committee to the President to advance the best proposals into action and, perhaps, to serve as a clearinghouse for ideas; a permanent staff under Laurance Rockefeller to follow up on conference recommendations and to prepare legislation, etc., etc.

John Terrell of Sears, Roebuck & Co. stated that beauty is good business and recommended that top management in industry support the President's beautification program and that local businesses give financial backing to local citizens group projects.

The most dramatic quick result citizen action scheme was the Philadelphia garden block program described and illustrated by Mrs. James Bush-Brown, its organizer. Started in 1953 with 7 blocks in a slum neighborhood, this Garden Club-4-H project has grown to embrace 450 blocks where 100,000 people have built, planted, and maintained flower boxes, small front yard gardens, and vacant lot plantings. This project has called upon all age groups, developing new neighborhood esprit and leadership, with an upsurge of civic pride and citizen responsibility replacing apathy and hopelessness, and a lift to the physical appearance of blighted areas which, Mrs. Bush-Brown said, has carried over to more basic building and street repairs. The Philadelphia garden block program could readily be attempted in any locality with immediately realizable results. Before and after slides, available for use by interested groups throughout the United States compelled admiring attention.

Mid-afternoon, Tuesday, May 25, the 15 panel chairmen presented their recommendations to the entire conference delegation, following which we were squeezed into an armada of U.S. Army buses and driven into the south grounds of the White House where we were to have made our conference report to the President on the lawn. Rain forced a dignified stampede indoors where the East Room's walls failed to expand to accommodate all of us while we waited for the President and Mrs. Johnson to enter the room. After an hour and a few delegate dropouts, they arrived, and the recommendations were duly presented to the President. He replied with what turned out to be a major speech, followed by gallons of punch and the option of dancing to the strains of a U.S. Marine band.

The consequences of these highly concentrated hours of deliberation will hopefully now begin to be felt throughout America. The aftermath and significance, in legislative and other terms, will be discussed in a concluding article.

Food Prices and Iowa Income

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to your attention this fine editorial involving food prices and Iowa income which appeared in the Des Moines Sunday Register of August 1, 1965:

FOOD PRICES AND IOWA INCOME

Business Week magazine recently reported that personal income in Iowa in May showed a larger gain over a year ago than in any other State. A few days alter, the U.S. Department of Labor reported that sharply higher food prices had boosted living costs more in the April-May-June quarter than in any similar period since 1957.

This was no mere coincidence.

The higher income in Iowa this year is principally a result of higher farm income caused by bigger profits from livestock. In May, Iowa personal income was 11.6 percent higher than a year earlier. The increase for the Nation as a whole was 7.6 percent.

Iowa farmers enjoyed a 36 percent increase over last year in farm cash receipts, according to Business Week, with most of the gain centered in livestock.

The Department of Labor reported that retail beef prices were up 5.5 percent in June, pork 10.5 percent, and poultry 7 percent.

The main reason for higher livestock prices has been the reduction in marketings of hogs this year. Reduced production of pork has strongly affected prices of beef cattle and other meat animals.

Farmers cut back sharply on hog production this year after unfavorable prices in 1963 and 1964. The national feed grain program has checked the supply of corn available for livestock expansion. Also, high consumer income has supported demand for meat.

The strong general business situation in Iowa this year is a reminder of the importance to this State of high farm income. It also demonstrates the importance to general Iowa prosperity of the income from livestock production.

All Iowans have a stake in maintaining balanced feed grain and livestock produc-

tion and favorable prices for these important Iowa products.

It is well for consumers to remember, also, that even with this rise in food costs, they are getting the biggest bargain in food available on this planet. The steady rise in cost of living in the last 15 years has been mostly in services, especially medical care, and not in food. Whatever rises have occurred in food prices in these last 15 years have been almost entirely in costs of processing and distribution, not in what the farmer receives.

The rise in prices received by farmers in the first half of this year is the first substantial rise in the cost of the raw material in food products since the Korean war. Consumers surely will not begrudge the farmer that increase in his returns.

A Program of American-Grown Food for Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, Wisconsin, known as America's Dairyland, is justly proud of its tradition of supplying this Nation with its dairy needs.

The industriousness and capability of Wisconsin's farmers have attributed greatly to an abundance of dairy foods for Americans. That same industriousness and capability can be put to excellent use in also supplying dairy foods to the hungry people of the world.

The Wisconsin Legislature recently passed a resolution memorializing this Congress to consider all means in making use of Wisconsin's ability to supply dairy foods for hungry peoples throughout the world which also could improve world relations among nations.

Mr. Speaker, without objection, I request that this resolution be printed in the RECORD:

STATE OF WISCONSIN

(A joint resolution to memorialize Congress to use Wisconsin agricultural products in the food for peace, Alliance for Progress, and other foreign aid programs)

Whereas Wisconsin as America's Dairyland is justly proud of its industrious and capable farmers; and

Whereas the industry of the Wisconsin farmer and the ingenuity of the department of agriculture at the University of Wisconsin have increased the productivity of Wisconsin's soil and of its famous dairy herds many times over; and

Whereas Wisconsin's agriculture is justly famous for developing many new and healthful food products; and

Whereas in spite of the tremendous advances in agricultural technology in recent decades and the abundance of food in this country, food supply remains one of the most pressing problems of mankind; the world needs food; and

Whereas the Federal Government of the United States has frequently lent money to foreign nations, or granted them credit in the form of foreign aid, for the purpose of acquiring agricultural produce: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the assembly, the senate concurring, That this legislature memorialize the Congress of the United States to consider a massive program of American-grown food for foreign aid, to ameliorate starvation throughout the world: a program in which Wisconsin dairy and other agricultural products could be used not only to feed the children of the world, but also to teach them, in a most instructive way, the benefits to be derived when agriculture can freely develop through the industriousness of the individual in a democratic society; and, be it further

Resolved, That duly attested copies of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, and to the members of the delegation in Congress from Wisconsin.

ROBERT F. HUBER,
Speaker of the Assembly.
JAMES P. BUCKLEY,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.
PATRICK J. GLUY,
President of the Senate.
WILLIAM P. NUGENT,
Chief Clerk of the Senate.

Deficit Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, I have long been among those of a strong conviction that this Government should put its fiscal house in order. There is some excuse for deficit spending in time of war. Under no circumstances would I, as a Member of the House, hesitate to vote for every dollar needed to defend this great Nation from those who would make war on us and I would so vote irrespective of whatever deficit it might create. Also, there may be some justification for expenditures by the Government over and above income in time of panic or depression.

As a mature person during the thirties I know something of the great depression, the hunger and problems of our people of that time. I, therefore, subscribe to most of the extraordinary effort made by our President, Franklin Roosevelt, via various Federal programs, which necessarily produced deficits, to relieve that situation. I think, however, some of these programs could and should have been eliminated much sooner than they were.

But, Mr. Speaker, I just cannot subscribe to the poor job of fiscal housekeeping of which we have been guilty in most of the last 36 fiscal years. During that time we have had only 6 balanced budgets, 30 being in the red. All administrations, Democrat and Republican, are to blame. True, some of those were years of war and others were years of panic. But most of them were years of extraordinary prosperity.

We are now enjoying the most prosperous era in the long history of this great Nation. During these times we should be reducing our national debt. On the contrary we spend, spend, spend year after year and produce one deficit after another. This has become such a habit with us that when the deficit is not as high as anticipated by our Treasury experts—which means they are not very expert—statements are released from the high levels of our Government as though we have accomplished something. For instance, in recent weeks we were told that there should be shouting and joy throughout the land because the Federal deficit was only $3.5 billion, several billion less than had been anticipated.

I say, Mr. Speaker, that for us to have closed fiscal 1965 with any deficit whatever and without having paid something, during these highly prosperous times, on the stupendous debt of this Nation, should cause us to hang our heads in shame.

Mr. Speaker, much of this situation is encouraged by some of our people back in the States. Many honestly believe these Federal handouts are free—something for nothing. And we have encouraged them to believe they are free. So they beat paths to Washington from every State, county and city in this land, searching for free gold. We promote the projects and programs. Then here they come seeking their share.

Not only are they paying these dollars themselves but they are compelled by this Congress and Washington bureaucracy to subordinate much of their own rights and individual privileges to the Federal Government, else the money is withheld even though they have paid their fair share of the funds into the Federal Treasury through Federal taxes.

Mr. Speaker, editorials on the points I have made recently appeared in newspapers in my district, the Daily Corinthian, published in Corinth, Miss., and the Aberdeen Examiner, published at Aberdeen, Miss. The editorials are included as a part of my remarks and commended to the reading and consideration of the Members of the House.

The editorials follow:

A SMALLER DEFICIT BRINGS NO CHEERS

(The Daily Corinthian)

Preliminary figures indicate the Federal Government ended the last fiscal year on June 30 with the smallest budget deficit in 5 years.

The tentative figure, subject to change when complete data becomes available later this month, reflects a deficit of $3.6 billion.

Federal spending for the past fiscal year is estimated at $96.6 billion; Federal revenue at $93 billion.

The decreased deficit, when measured against the $8.3 billion deficit of fiscal 1964, is impressive. However, when the past 5-year record is compared with the 5 years preceding, the result is not so dramatic.

The last Eisenhower years included the largest peacetime deficit in history—$12.4 billion in 1959. Those years also included the last 2 surplus years 1956 and 1957. The sum of the deficits for the last 5 Eisenhower years was $14 billion.

By comparison, the sum of the deficits of the last 5 Kennedy-Johnson years was $28.3 billion. That might be called the excess cost of the New Frontier and the Great Society to date—an average of $5.6 billion a year.

Perhaps there ought to be something heartening about a deficit of only $3.6 billion, weighed against history. But, somehow, the heartening factor escapes us.

Particularly does it escape us when it's remembered that the $3.6 billion is added to the national deft and when it is further re-

membered that Congress just recently authorized another "temporary" increase in the permissible indebtedness of the Nation.

The United States of America, and the taxpayers who support the Government, make no real progress simply by decreasing the deficit. Only when the deficit is eliminated and only when surplus funds are used to whack away at the total debt, will there be any cause for cheers.

AFFLUENCE CANNOT BE "WISHED" INTO BEING

The man who insists that workers be paid $3 an hour when the workers are producing only $2 an hour worth of goods is no humanitarian.

If he were to have his way in one plant that plant would promptly go under. If he were to have his way in an entire industry, that industry would promptly go under. If he were to have his way in an entire country, the country would last only until printing presses were got to the point they could no longer print the trillions of dollars to fire runaway inflation.

For production cannot be decreed. The only real prosperity is based on increased production stimulated by our desire for more things.

Unfortunately, we have a lot of good people in this country who feel that people should be paid more than they are now making because they deserve more, because they ought to have more. They think of themselves as humanitarians.

Actually, they are taking the shortsighted view, like the man who jumps off a tall building to get a cooling breeze. The breeze is fine but the landing is catastrophic.

These people have never had experience in the economic facts of life that no more dollars can go out the front door than have come in the front door.

They are encouraged by the policies of the Federal Government, which seems to defy this law of economics. The Federal Government reduces incomes and raises expenditures.

Humanitarians were easily convinced when Socialist thinkers tell them that deficit financing might not be so bad—that it might, in fact, be beneficial to a country.

That our country has withstood the cure is a tribute to the basically free enterprise system of this country.

We locally are experiencing the effects of another of these humanitarian efforts, the antipoverty program. Its goals are laudatory, its methods ridiculous, and its outcome will be waste.

The pay for the young men and women in the Neighborhood Youth Corps is $1.25 per hour. This figure was determined by a survey of the average hourly earnings in this mid-South area. It was heavily influenced by union demands on the administration that no wages be paid below the wage-and-hour-law minimum.

So we have school dropouts, who need help and training, being paid the average hourly wage of experienced, trained workers. Young men and women who are in training in private business at a lower hourly rate must seriously ponder their situation. Should they have dropped out, too, so that they could make more while working less? "Am I a sucker to be ambitious?" They might well ask themselves.

Is it humanitarian to give a person a false sense of his worth? Is it humanitarian to waste money gathered from the citizens?

But much more importantly, is it humanitarian to weaken our country by encouraging the idea affluence can be granted, not earned?

The 1965 Questionnaire Response—New York Second District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, for the information and convenience of my colleagues and my constituents, I am pleased to submit the percentage analysis of responses to my questionnaire on vital issues of the day.

This year my questionnaire was prepared by the students of the political science department of Hofstra University, my alma mater, and the response analysis completed by them.

I am grateful to the university and its hard working students and pleased with the participation by my well informed constituency.

The percentage analysis follows:

	Percent			
	Yes	No	No opinion	No response
FOREIGN AFFAIRS				
1. Should Red China be admitted to the United Nations?	21.4	74.2	2.7	1.5
2. Should President Johnson extend diplomatic recognition to Red China?	20.8	73.8	3.3	1.9
3. Should our policy toward Red China be reevaluated to—				
(a) Include provisions for trade of non-strategic goods?	24.3	64.4	4.6	6.4
(b) Take into consideration that war with China is inevitable?	33.1	46.9	9.8	10.0
4. In Vietnam, should the United States—				
(a) Increase the military effort?	64.2	16.8	3.7	15.1
(b) Pull out of the war?	10.6	56.7	2.6	29.8
(c) Remain approximately at current levels?	19.0	37.7	4.9	38.2
5. Should the amount the United States spends for foreign aid be—				
(a) Increased?	4.5	50.2	2.6	42.5
(b) Decreased?	64.2	13.8	2.5	19.3
(c) Remain approximately at current levels?	21.6	30.8	3.7	43.6
6. Should the United States continue its aid program to—				
(a) Egypt?	12.4	77.6	6.9	2.9
(b) Indonesia?	9.0	81.0	6.4	3.4
7. Should the United States seek negotiations for disarmament?	53.3	39.5	3.8	3.1
8. Is a more inclusive nuclear test ban treaty needed?	60.8	24.1	9.4	5.5
9. Should restrictive measures on U.S. foreign investments be taken to curb the gold flow?	67.2	20.1	9.7	2.8
10. Should the Government lift its ban on travel to Cuba?	15.2	79.9	3.3	1.4
AID TO THE AGED				
11. Do you favor the medicare plan which provides for hospital and nursing home care for the aged, to be financed by increased social security taxes paid by both employer and employee?	43.9	49.1	3.6	3.3
12. Do you favor the elder-care plan for hospital and nursing home care, to be administered by the States on a voluntary basis?	40.8	42.6	9.7	6.7
13. Do you feel that most people can pay their bills through Kerr-Mills and existing private plans and that no additional legislation is needed?	28.7	51.8	12.1	7.2
LABOR				
14. Do you favor repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act?	13.4	71.2	11.4	3.8
15. Do you favor repeal of sec. 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act which allows States to pass right-to-work laws?	25.7	54.1	14.9	5.1
16. Do you favor placing greater restriction on organized labor?	70.7	21.6	4.9	2.6
WAR ON POVERTY				
17. Do you believe the Government should maintain the present billion dollar spending level for aid to depressed areas?	53.4	37.8	5.4	3.2
18. Do you favor the bill now before Congress which would substantially increase antipoverty spending?	32.8	57.2	7.1	2.6
EDUCATION				
19. There is a bill before Congress which would allow the Government to increase its aid to elementary and secondary schools. Do you favor this bill?	66.4	28.1	3.6	1.7
20. Are you in favor of provisions in current school aid measures which withhold funds from school districts which discriminate on the basis of race?	54.3	38.7	5.1	1.8
21. Do you favor Federal aid to private and parochial schools?	37.4	58.3	2.3	1.8
22. Do you favor Federal tax exemptions for tuition-paying college students?	81.1	14.5	2.4	1.7
23. Should the Federal Government award scholarships on the basis of need and ability?	72.4	21.2	3.8	2.5
24. Should the Constitution be amended to allow prayers in public schools?	68.8	24.9	4.7	1.4

	Percent			
	Yes	No	No opinion	No response
IMMIGRATION				
25. Should we change our present national origins system of immigration to one which would admit persons with needed skills, regardless of country of origin?	55.8	35.3	7.1	1.6
26. Should persons with relatives in the United States be permitted entry regardless of country of origin?	34.3	51.7	11.0	2.8
REAPPORTIONMENT				
27. Would you favor an amendment to the Constitution which would allow the several States to apportion at least 1 house on a basis other than population?	32.0	42.4	20.9	4.5
THE BUDGET, FEDERAL SPENDING, AND TAXATION				
28. Do you believe a tax cut should be instituted while Federal spending is maintained at present levels?	27.0	61.4	6.7	4.7
29. Do you favor the reduction or elimination of Federal excise taxes on such items as automobiles?	51.1	39.4	6.2	3.0
30. Should Federal funds be provided for the following:				
(a) A Cabinet level Department of Urban Affairs?	29.8	54.5	11.9	3.5
(b) Aid to the Nation's railroads?	48.5	40.7	7.5	3.1
(c) Increased aid to housing?	31.2	57.6	8.0	3.0
MISCELLANEOUS				
31. Do you favor a bill guaranteeing the right to vote to all citizens, regardless of race, providing the Federal Government with the means to support the bill?	77.5	15.2	3.3	3.8
32. Should the draft be ended?	18.7	71.0	7.6	2.5
33. Do you favor the creation of an interstate commission to build a bridge between Long Island and New England?	72.4	19.9	6.0	1.5

Servicemen's Pay Raise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, in light of the recent action taken by his body with respect to the Job Corps program, I felt that a recent editorial given over WANE-TV station in Fort Wayne was timely and raises a very important and basic question:

SERVICEMEN'S PAY RAISE

There's an argument underway in Washington over how much of a pay raise American servicemen should receive. The House has passed a bill providing an average 10 percent raise, ranging from about 7 percent for officers to about 13 percent for low-ranking enlisted men who have been in only a short time. For this latter group, the pay boost would be about $10 a month. Where they now get approximately $83 a month they would get approximately $93. The Senate, however, says that's too much. They're talking of a raise averaging only about 6 to 7 percent. And the Johnson administration thinks even that is too generous.

On the other hand, the administration saw nothing too generous and nothing economically unsound about requiring trainees in the Job Corps to receive the Federal minimum wage of $1.25 an hour. Now most of the young men who are in the Job Corps are there because they couldn't earn a living right now at even a dollar an hour. The purpose of the Job Corps is to provide them with on-the-job training and experience so that later they can earn an adequate living. Nevertheless, they must be paid $1.25 an hour. There's even a further irony. In Detroit, two Federal Job Corps projects are lagging because many of the youths refuse to work for that $1.25 an hour. The Youth Employment Program in Detroit was able to recruit only 30 of the 70 young men it sought for summer job training, and the neighborhood Youth Corps has found only 800 of the 1,500 it was seeking. A recruiter told of interviewing one boy who said, "You're crazy, man, I don't work for that kind of money."

In contrast, many of our servicemen, some of whom are dying or will die in Vietnam, have both the education and the ambition to be making a great deal more money in a much more comfortable way if they didn't have to serve their country.

So here's the picture. A boy who goofs off in school until he's 16 and then drops out to spend his time tinkering with a hot rod or lounging on a street corner is rewarded by the Government with a rate of $1.25 an hour for mowing a lawn—that is, if he'll work for that wage. Meanwhile, the boy who goes through high school and perhaps on to a college or trade school and who is ready to be a responsible citizen is drafted into the Army, whereupon the Government says $93 a month is too much to pay him. It makes you wonder.

Skullbonia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, there recently appeared in the Mid-South magazine of the Commercial Appeal, an outstanding newspaper of the Nation in Memphis, Tenn., an article on "The Kingdom of Skullbonia," by Thomas E. Michael, an excellent writer.

This article was reprinted in the Trenton Weekly Gazette, also an outstanding newspaper, of which Bob Anderson is the editor.

This article is very interesting and I would certainly like to bring it to the attention of the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article follows:

THE "LEGEND OF SKULLBONIA" IS TOLD—AND RETOLD—AND—

(EDITORS NOTE.—This story, about Skullbone and surrounding areas, and how the area derived its name, is reprinted from a recent article which appeared in the Mid-South magazine.)

Here among the green fields and wooded hills of northwest Tennessee, where the Milan and Shade's Bridge Road crosses the Bradford and Trezevant Road, lies Skullbone, the capital of the kingdom of Skullbonia.

Nothing is mythical about this kingdom and its capital. They are real as, for instance, Los Angeles County and Los Angeles, and in some respects more so.

Skullbonia's geographical limits have never been clearly defined, and have, at various times in history, expanded and contracted. This odd fact ties in with the way the place got its name, which is the key to the history of the kingdom and its capital.

We can start, then, with Skullbone itself (population 50 according to the current Rand & McNally Atlas). It lies a few miles east-northeast of Bradford, in the northeastern corner of Gibson County, 2 miles south of the South Fork of the Obion River. And now we go from geography to history.

Beginning in the early 1800's, and continuing for perhaps 90 years, it was a custom in the community to stage bare-knuckle boxing matches, under a set of rules that is surely unique in the annals of the sport. All blows had to be delivered to the head (or skullbone). Hitting below the collar was a foul. Each round lasted until one combatant was knocked down, and rounds continued until a fighter or his second called "enough."

These were organized bouts, with regular reciprocal dates and places. They were announced well in advance, and drew large crowds (there were few competing attractions).

Quite probably the first, history-making fight was between the acknowledged champion of the community that later became Skullbone, and a challenger from a nearby community—possibly from Goosefoot, or Big Buck, or Stop Off, or Frog Jump, or Goat City, or Bull Pump, all of which are nearby.

Then, as word of the fights spread, other challengers from other communities were put forward. Later on, Skullbone's best fighters might go to another community for a series of matches, with agreement in advance for a reciprocal series in Skullbone the following week or month.

As a community established itself as a part of these "fist and skullbone" fights, it became a part of the Kingdom of Skullbonia. On the other hand, if a community's fighters decided they had taken too many fists to the skullbone, and dropped out of the fighting, then the place would no longer be in the Kingdom of Skullbonia.

The late C. Reid Dowland, long-time mayor and chief historian of Skullbone (and Skullbonia), stated in a history of Gibson County ("Gibson County Past and Present," by Frederick M. Culp and Mrs. Robert E. Ross, both of Trenton, Tenn.) that the best fist and skullbone fighters of pre-Civil War days were the Groomses and Mitchells of southern

Weakley County, the Oxfords and the Bray Brothers from Benton County, and some of the Youngs from the Skullbone area.

Mayor Dowland died early this year and was succeeded by Jesse Landon Hampton, a cousin, who operates the store pictured at left. The store is the center of things cultural, political, and otherwise in Skullbone.

Mr. Dowland listed among the post-war best skullbone fighters Webb McCaleb, Jim Taylor, Jim Martin, William "Sallie Bill" Parker, "Big Bill" Dowland, and some more Youngs. Webb McCaleb was the best undefeated champion of Skullbonia, according to the area's historians, but he once fought a classic draw with Jim Taylor. The McCaleb-Taylor fight, which was 75 years ago, is still a topic of conversation in the area.

Skullbonia has other claims to fame. For one thing, it may well be the most politically conservative region in the United States. Its 17th civil district (of Gibson County) voted against Franklin D. Roosevelt every time he ran for president—by more than two to one—and against the more recent Democratic candidates by more than three to one.

Skullbonia produced so many fabulous characters, fighters and otherwise, that it would take pages merely to list them. But if one stood out from the rest, it would surely be "Uncle" Green Smith, who came to the Holly Leaf community of Skullbonia in 1805, when he was 5 years old, and died there in 1915.

Thus he lived to be 115. He said that in his lifetime he made at least eight flatboat trips along the Obion River to the Mississippi River and down to New Orleans. On one of these, he said, he stopped off at Memphis "when there was only one store, run by a Mr. Phillips."

An oldtimer is quoted in the Culp and Ross history of Gibson County as follows:

" 'Uncle' Green Smith told me he had made boat trips to New Orleans taking thousands of turkeys to sell there. He said the most interesting part of the trip was from Holly Leaf in Skullbonia to Hickman, Ky., a distance of 55 miles.

"He said he walked those turkeys every mile of the way; said he would be walking down those dirt roads and when the sun would go down and dusk approached, those turkeys would fly into the nearest trees and roost until daylight.

"Green just had to roost when the turkeys did, and in any place he could find near enough for the turkeys to wake him by gobbling around when they took the notion it was time to travel."

Of such was the Kingdom of Skullbonia.

Congressman Harsha Reports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. HARSHA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, periodically I report to my constituents various facts about our Government and the legislation that Congress is enacting. I do this through the media of a newsletter.

However, because the Congress, in recent days, has enacted legislation that has so many ramifications and will create such a change in our way of life, I am choosing this method to report to my constituents so that not only they, but other citizens as well, may have a better understanding of what their Government and the Congress are doing.

MEDICARE

Medicare has now become the law of the land. It applies to all over 65 regardless of whether they were previously eligible for Social Security benefits and regardless of need—millionaires are included. Thus it does too much for those who do not need it, and too little for those who do It is compulsory. It adds enormously to the payroll deduction of every wage earner, putting a burden on the younger people who are striving to support their families, pay for their homes, and educate their children. If these workers live to enjoy the benefits under this plan, they will have paid for them many times over.

The bill I introduced in Congress would have provided much better coverage and benefits, would have been voluntary, would have been financed by tax credits and the General Treasury, and therefore, would have been paid for by those most able to pay, easing the burden on those least able to carry it.

Above all do not cancel your hospitalization insurance yet because this legislation falls far short of covering the needs of the elderly and furthermore, it does not become effective until July 1, 1966, and some provisions do not become effective until January 1, 1967.

Following are the highlights of the new law: It provides for the following hospital insurance: 90 days of hospitalization in semiprivate rooms or wards with the patient paying $40 for the first 60 days and $10 a day after that. One hundred days of posthospital care in a skilled nursing home with the patient paying $5 a day for each day after 20 days. This provision does not become effective until January 1, 1967. Care and treatment of mental diseases or tuberculosis are not covered under this provision. Outpatient diagnostic services are provided with the beneficiary paying the first $20 and 20 percent of the cost above that for all services rendered during a 20-day period.

Nonhospital insurance. This coverage is to be obtained by the recipient paying a $3 monthly premium to be matched by an equal payment by the Government. The recipient must enroll in this program; he is not automatically covered. It provides for physician and surgeon services whether in hospital, home, or office. However, chiropractors and podiatrists are excluded. It also provides for diagnostic tests, surgical dressings, casts, and medical equipment such as oxygen tents. Besides the $3 monthly premium, beneficiaries must pay the first $50 of expenses during a calendar year and 20 percent of the total bills above that amount.

Important: This law does not go into effect until July 1, 1966.

Financing hospitalization and other social security benefits—under the present law the first $4,800 of your earnings are taxed annually at current rates for payments into the social security fund. This is referred to as the taxable base. Under the new law this base will be raised on January 1, 1966, to $6,600 and your tax rate increased to 4.2 percent each on employee and employer. The self-employed rate will rise to 6.15 percent on $6,600. The rate of taxation rises periodically until it reaches 5.65 percent each on employee and employer and 7.80 percent on the self-employed.

For a comparison of these taxes to be paid in future years see the following chart:

How your social security taxes will go up

Income	Under present law employee pays—	Under new law employee must pay tax shown (employer pays similar tax)						
		1966, 4.2 percent	1967–68, 4.4 percent	1969–72, 4.9 percent	1973–75, 5.4 percent	1976–79, 5.45 percent	1980–86, 5.55 percent	1987 (and after), 5.65 percent
$4,487	$162.65	$188.45	$197.43	$219.86	$242.30	$244.54	$249.03	$253.52
$5,000	174.00	210.00	220.00	245.00	270.00	272.50	277.50	282.50
$5,600	174.00	235.20	246.40	274.40	302.40	305.20	310.80	316.40
$6,000	174.00	252.00	264.00	290.40	324.00	327.00	333.00	339.00
$6,600	174.00	277.20	290.40	323.40	356.40	359.70	366.30	372.90

SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

Amendments to the social security law have been enacted that will raise benefits by 7 percent with a minimum increase of $4. This increase is retroactive to January 1, 1965, and beneficiaries should receive these benefits by September 15. The amendment I introduced called for a 10-percent increase, but the Congress held the increase down to 7 percent.

Effective January 1, 1966, persons receiving social security pensions will be able to earn $1,500 in wages a year without losing any benefits; present law limits this sum to $1,200. The amendment I introduced would have raised this exemption to $3,000 but, here again, the Congress held the increase down to a very meager one.

There are many other changes in the law such as reduced benefits for widows who choose to receive them at age 60 instead of 62; remarriage of a widow will not cause loss of her eligibility for her deceased husband's benefits, and children may continue to receive benefits to age 22 provided they are in school—and others. If there is any question about any of these changes or if any assistance is needed in obtaining benefits by those who feel they are entitled to them, I hope these people will call on me to help them. I am more than happy to utilize the complete facilities of my office to assist those who request it.

HOUSING

The Congress has enacted into law a new housing bill containing a completely new departure in housing legislation.

In addition to FHA housing, the law contains an authorization for the expenditure of $2.9 billion for urban renewal. Many complaints have been raised against urban renewal. The program became so questionable in the District of Columbia that a committee of the Congress conducted an investigation of urban renewal here in the District of Columbia. I served on that committee which held more than 130 hours of public hearings and six volumes of testimony were printed. This study revealed the following: First, although $130 million had been spent, not one unit of low rent or public housing had been built in any urban renewal area; second, while thousands of homes were demolished, the program failed to provide housing for low-income families and a critical housing shortage of nearly 10,000 units exists; third, the Redevelopment Land Agency illegally received and used $23 million in Federal funds; fourth, one project—cancelled after the committee investigation—which would have cost $22 million, was unjustified; fifth, that preferential selection of redevelopers resulted in windfall profits in some cases and in other cases the complete default on contracts after several years; sixth, it will be at least 33 years before the public will receive the first dollar in taxes above the cost of a completed project; and, seventh, that small businesses were essentially without any protection and were not given reasonable provisions for relocation.

The housing legislation contained one program heretofore undreamed of, opening such vistas of waste, favoritism and political power that I could not vote for the bill even though it continued programs I favor such as FHA loans to homeowners, housing for the elderly and for colleges.

The new program is called rent supplements or renticare. "Renticare" is a brand new miracle drug not just something warmed over from the New Frontier and the New Deal as are most of the ingredients of the Great Society. As it first came from the White House it was not aimed at low income families but those of middle income not eligible for public housing. It would provide more suitable quarters for a mysterious group of people referred to as the disadvantaged by paying part of their rent. This disadvantaged group was so susceptible of a wide variety of interpretations and so all inclusive that it provided for extending rent doles to about half the families in America. As a result it was modified to meet the same income qualifications that apply to public housing. But what most people do not understand is that this varies from place to place and under the amended language, people living in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, or San Francisco, can get rent supplements even though they earn as much as $11,200 or nearly twice the median national family income.

This renticare program kills the incentive of the American family to improve its economic status; it kills the incentive of home ownership; it actually places an incentive on poverty and it makes renters wards of the Government. Here is how the bill works. Under section 101(d) of the bill the Housing Administrator may subsidize a tenant's rent in an amount up to the difference between the fair market rental for the unit and one-fourth of the tenant's income. That formula kills the incentive of the American family to improve its living accommodations by its own efforts. A family with $3,000 a year income—$250 a month—could live in a $100-a-month apartment and pay rent of only $62.50 a month—one-fourth of income—with the Government providing a subsidy of $37.50 a month—difference between one-fourth of tenant's income and market rent for the unit. The disincentive of the family to improve its housing accommodations is readily apparent. Should that $250 a month family's income increase to $300 a month, its rent payment would increase to $75 a month and the Federal subsidy would drop to $25 a month. And, of course, if the family's income increased to $400 a month, it would pay the full market rent of $100 a month as one-fourth of family income of $400 a month would equal full market rent for the unit. In other words, the family with $250-a-month income has no incentive to improve its living accommodations by increasing its earnings to enable it to rent better accommodations. It can live in the same accommodations with $250-a-month income as it could if it increased its income to $400 a month. In other words, an incentive is placed on poverty, since the administration chooses to use the figure of $3,000 as being in the poverty classification.

The formula also produces another type of disincentive to a family improving its living accommodations by its own efforts. That $250-a-month-income family might decide it wants to live in a $200-a-month apartment instead of the $100-a-month unit. Under the formula it could do so. And under the other proposed provisions of this section, this still would be true. The primary requirement for a qualified tenant is that he be unable to obtain standard privately owned housing at a rental no more than one-fourth of his income. As far as the proposed law is concerned, that standard housing could be standard housing suitable to the tenant's needs or suitable to his desires. The Administrator could decide either way. The family would pay the same one-fourth of its income as rent or $62.50 a month and the Government would pay an increased subsidy of $137.50 a month to make up the balance of the fair market rent for the unit. Under the formula the way to better housing is increased Federal subsidy rather than increased individual effort.

Another example would be a family living in New York with a total family-annual income of $11,200. Under the housing law, up to $2,300 is allowed as exemptions, not countable in tabulating total family income. With the exemption, this leaves total annual income of $8,900. One-fourth of this is $2,225, a monthly figure of about $185. This family could live in an apartment costing $300 per month, and the Government would subsidize the difference between $185 and $300, or $115 per month.

When another head of a family earning $400 a month and paying $100 a month rent—without any help from Uncle Sam—saw that his neighbor, earning far less than he, was able to move into a much better apartment with no increase in his rent payments, he suddenly would wake up to the possibility of the formula. This family, otherwise eligible for rent supplements, by free choice could be living in standard but crowded quarters. The head of the family simply does not want to allocate more than $100 a month of his income to housing. With the balance of his income he prefers to enjoy other amenities of life, such as a second car or an extra week's vacation. Rent supplement is his easy way out. He would be eligible for subsidy in a more expensive apartment. He, too, would move to the $200-a-month apartment. He would continue to pay only $100 a month of his income as rent because the Government would provide the other $100 a month necessary to cover the market rent for the unit.

This formula is a formula for killing the American incentive system of improving one's lot by one's own effort. This would be keeping up with the Joneses via Federal subsidies.

To own one's own home, no matter how modest, is the goal of the typical American family. The rent supplement kills the incentive of a family to achieve that goal. Under FHA underwriting standards a family with $3,000-a-year income can afford to purchase a home costing 2½ times that amount or a $7,500 home. The housing cost of such a home would approximate $60 a month. But as noted in the illustration above, the $3,000-a-year family by paying $62.50 a month as rent could live in a partially federally subsidized $100-a-month rental unit. The cost of such a dwelling unit would approximate $12,500. Or, as above noted, that same family could also live in a $200-a-month rental unit and pay only $62.50 of its income a month as rent with the balance of $137.50 paid by the Government under the rent supplement formula. The cost of the $200-a-month rental unit would approximate $25,000. Why would a family strive to own a $7,500 home when for approximately the same monthly outlay for housing it could rent a $12,500 or $25,000 cost dwelling unit? Not only would the rent supplement proposal kill incentive for homeownership, it also would be a powerful incentive for a family to discontinue homeownership and become a renter on the Federal dole. That runs counter to the American way of life. Home ownership preserves family life. Home ownership can do more in a minute to keep communism from our shores than the FBI, the CIA, and the Un-American Activities Committee can do in a lifetime.

Proponents of this legislation claim that it has a price tag of only $7.5 billion but they are not taking into account the fact that these rent supplements are contracted on a 40-year basis at an annual authorization of $150 million—this

adds some $6 billion to the price tag or a total of over $13 billion.

RAPID TRANSIT

The House of Representatives has passed and sent to the Senate, where it undoubtedly will be approved, a rapid transit bill for the District of Columbia. This bill authorized the expenditure of almost $500 million to construct a subway system here in the District. The Federal Government is underwriting the total expense and even the proponents admit that this is only the first step. The system is to be expanded into Virginia and Maryland, adding considerably to the cost. The taxpayers of America are going to eventually foot this bill. Why should the taxpayers of the 6th District of Ohio have to subsidize the transportation of the citizens of Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia? A transportation system is like a utility and the users and those benefiting from it should have to pay for it, not the residents of Ohio or anywhere else for that matter.

FOREIGN AID

When the Congress considered foreign aid the Johnson proposal for $3.4 billion was labeled as a "bare bones" request. I challenged that position and stated that the State Department was misleading the American taxpayer. I pointed out that much more than this was being funneled into foreign aid and also called attention to the unexpended balances still in the fund. Recently, I received a letter from the Honorable OTTO PASSMAN, Democrat and chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Aid. Mr. PASSMAN is probably the most knowledgeable man in Congress on this subject of foreign aid expenditures. The following is his letter verbatim:

A great American once said: "It is true that you may fool all of the people some of the time; you can even fool some of the people all of the time; but you can't fool all of the people all of the time." This statement was made before America started the foreign giveaway program.

Requests for new foreign aid funds so far this year amount to $7,512,467,000. I am attaching, hereto, a list showing the 15 separate requests for foreign aid funds. Only the first item on the attached list is ever mentioned publicly as being foreign aid. The other 14 items are just as much foreign aid as your hand is a part of your body.

On June 30, 1965, unliquidated funds from prior years' authority to the credit of these 15 items amounted to $10,605,738,000. If the Congress approves the full additional $7,512,467,000 that the administration has requested in new funds this year, then there will be a staggering total available for disbursement in the amount of $18,118,205,000.

The $7,512,467,000 requested in new funds this year does not include an appropriation of $1.35 billion, tacked on to a recent appropriation bill for the International Monetary Fund so that it would apply to the fiscal year which ended on June 30, 1965, rather than to the new fiscal year. Neither does it include the $4 billion annual interest we are paying on the money we have previously borrowed to give away.

How any administration could dissipate America's wealth on foreign aid as we are doing is beyond the realm of sane, human understanding. I hope that the circulation of the startling information contained in this letter will be broad enough to cause the American people to demand an explanation as to why only 1 of the 15 requests is ever mentioned publicly as foreign aid.

Sincerely yours,

OTTO E. PASSMAN,
Chairman, Foreign Operations Subcommittee on Appropriations.

(Enclosure.)

New foreign aid funds requested so far in 1965

Foreign assistance requests, as amended (mutual security)	$3,459,470,000
Receipts and recoveries from previous credits	209,770,000
Military assistance advisory group	76,000,000
Export-Import Bank (long-term credits)	900,000,000
Public Law 480 (agricultural commodities)	1,658,000,000
Inter-American Development Bank (Latin America)	705,880,000
International Development Association (IDA)	104,000,000
Peace Corps	115,000,000
Contributions to international organizations	96,953,000
Permanent construction overseas (military)	85,986,000
Educational (foreign and other students)	69,200,000
Ryukyu Islands	14,733,000
Migrants and refugees	7,575,000
Atomic Energy Commission (overseas)	5,900,000
Inter-American Highway (Latin America)	4,000,000
Total new foreign aid request—1st 6 months of 1965	7,512,467,000

OTTO E. PASSMAN,
Chairman, Foreign Operations Subcommittee on Appropriations.

Mr. Speaker, is it any wonder that our cost of living continues to rise and the value of our dollar drops. Only last week the Government announced that the Consumer Price Index had risen to $110.1. The index means that it cost $11.01 to purchase items in June that cost $10 in the 1957–59 base period. The Labor Department reported this was the highest quarterly rise since 1957.

FOREIGN POLICY

Our State Department argues that if we grant Communist nations foreign aid and preferential trade conditions this will win the Communists to our side and draw them away from Russia and Red China. They say if we "sell" them surplus foods under Public Law 480 the captive people in these Communist nations will know it is America that is giving them the food. Incidentally under the "sales" of food through Public Law 480 this money does not come back to the United States but stays in the nation making the "purchase" and can only be used for programs to develop that nation or in some case for maintenance of our embassies, and so forth, in that country.

Recent newspaper reports indicate that Communist Poland has turned down the request for a U.S. delegation, headed by Vice President HUMPHREY, to attend the dedication of a new hospital financed by U.S. funds. A modern and expensive facility, with a price tag of $11 million; it was built in Krakow.

Financing of the hospital was through the accumulation of money paid by the Poles for surplus American foodstuffs, Public Law 480.

This is just one more example of the fallacy in the reasoning of those who believe that unlimited foreign aid funds can succeed in bringing Communists to the side of the West.

Here is another example of the fuzzy-headed thinking in the State Department. Everyone is familiar with the attacks of Sukarno and the Indonesians on the United States, its Embassies, its libraries, and their seizures of American-owned industries. Likewise are we familiar with Sukarno's efforts to destroy Malaysia and his honey-foggling with the Communists. In fact, Congress became so incensed with his activities that it amended the foreign aid bill preventing any further aid, both economic and military, to Indonesia, unless the President deemed it in the national interest. Everyone also is aware that Sukarno with the aid of the Communists is trying to take over southeast Asia.

But now in the midst of all this conquest and aggression by Sukarno and Indonesia, the State Department is urging a private U.S. firm to sell a highly sophisticated military communications system to the Indonesian Armed Forces. This system is difficult to intercept and monitor and is jam proof.

If an all-out war should erupt between Indonesia and Malaysia this would provide a decided edge to Indonesia. It is quite probable that Sukarno would turn this system over to Russia. After all, she is supplying Sukarno with military aid in enormous amounts. Or what is to prevent him from turning it over to the Vietcong to be used against American boys?

Yet, our State Department is pressuring a U.S. industry to make this sale. This is a foreign policy?

Great Myths of Agricultural Policy: Farm Prices Are Made in Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, the August 1965 issue of the Successful Farming magazine includes the first in a series of articles on "Great Myths of Agricultural Policy."

This first article has as its premise exploding the myth that "Farm Prices Are Made in Washington." The article is written by Don Paarlberg of Purdue University.

This appears to me to be a fair and thoughtful study of the effect of the Federal Government on farm prices. I commend it to my colleagues:

GREAT MYTHS OF AGRICULTURAL POLICY: FARM PRICES ARE MADE IN WASHINGTON

(By Don Paarlberg)

(EDITORS NOTE.—A myth has two features: (1) It is not literally true, and (2) it means something to the man who repeats it. Farm

policy has its share of myths—ideas supported by fragments of facts, venerated by many repetitions, held with different degrees of conviction. All are easy to understand and hard to refute. All appeal more to emotion than to reason. All have enough truth to make them convincing, enough untruth to be dangerous. All are used and misused in farm policy arguments. Here's the first myth we intend to explode: Farm prices are made in Washington.)

The element of truth which gives this myth its appeal is the simple, observable fact that the Government can legislate and administer a price for wheat or cotton which is different from the price that would otherwise prevail in the market. In fact, it has done so. The price of wheat has been dropped, through Washington action, from $2 to $1.40 per bushel. To the degree that farm prices are made in Washington they are unmade at the same address.

The element of untruth which makes the myth dangerous is the belief, implicit in the statement, that a government sympathetic to agriculture could establish any price it wished. It infers that Washington is responsible for whatever level of prosperity or difficulty agriculture is experiencing. This untruth is greater than the fragment of fact which the statement contains.

If one accepts and repeats the myth that farm prices are made in Washington, he reveals his belief that decisionmaking has been transferred from the individual to his Government and that centralized authority has replaced the market system. In short, he has written off the competitive economy and replaced it, in his mind, with a regimented society. For if Washington is to take over the job of establishing the price, Washington must also take over the jobs that price does. That is, Washington must regulate production, regiment the marketing process, supervise consumption, and take responsibility for the level of income.

A more accurate statement is: "Prices of certain farm products are influenced, within limits, by legislation enacted in Washington." But what this statement gains in truth, it loses in simplicity. As is so often true, the myth has more appeal than the fact.

What makes price? If prices are not made in Washington, how are they made?

To find out, you must know economic lesson No. 1. It's so basic that if you understand it, all else in economics becomes comprehensible. It concerns the laws of demand, supply, and price.

The law of demand is this: Other things equal, the quantity purchased will move in the opposite direction from price. Thus, if the price is raised and other things remain the same, a smaller quantity will be purchased. And inversely: People will clean out a grocer's steaks if he lowers them from 98 cents to 28 cents a pound.

The law of supply is this: Other things equal, the quantity offered for sale will vary directly with the price. Thus, if the price of soybeans goes up and other things remain the same, you'll try to produce more and the supply will be larger.

When supply and demand interact in a competitive market, price becomes established to equalize the two. Supply equals demand and the market clears. There is no "surplus" or "shortage." The price may be high or low, depending upon the respective levels of demand and supply.

If the price is low, the market is telling farmers to produce less and telling consumers to buy more. If the price is high, the opposite signal is being given. This is the mechanism by which the people jointly determine how land and labor and capital should be used. It is a remarkably orderly process, and functions effectively for the most part.

True, Government may stimulate demand, as, for example, through Public Law 480. And it may retard supply by land retirement programs. These operations may and do affect prices. But the range within which price may thus be manipulated is not as wide as many think.

UNHAPPINESS PREVAILS

No one is completely happy with the market system. Farmers wish the price was higher. The standard definition of a fair price, as the farmer defines it, is "10 percent more." Conversely, the consumer's definition of fair price is "10 percent less."

So the subject of prices is controversial. It always has been, and it always will be, because producers and consumers contend with one another. If the market is competitive, they contend in the marketplace. If the price is legislated, they contend in the Halls of Congress.

If one says "farm prices are made in Washington," he is really saying that the competitive market has disappeared and that we now have a government-made market. This is a gross exaggeration. Prices of livestock, poultry, most fruits, and vegetables are made competitively in the marketplace. These products bring in roughly 50 percent of the farm income.

Commodities whose prices are, to a degree, "made in Washington" bring in only about half of the farm income. And even for those commodities whose price is "made in Washington," the limits within which Washington can set the price are rather narrow. An administration and a Congress dedicated to high-price supports has had to reduce support levels for tobacco, wheat, cotton, and others. The market forces are powerful.

But the myth persists. Like an old Greek myth, it is more a reflection of a state of mind than an accurate portrayal of the real world.

Hawaii's Melting Pot Atmosphere Dilutes Jewish Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the effect of Hawaii's melting pot atmosphere on a so-called minority racial group, in this case Jewish, is related by Rabbi Roy A. Rosenberg, rabbi of Temple Emanu-El in Honolulu, in a recent newspaper interview.

Apparently the assimilative processes in Hawaii do not respect introduced distinctions in race, color, religion, or creed, however strong may be the desire to maintain such distinctions.

Rabbi Rosenberg's interesting comments on this intriguing subject are found in the July 31, 1965 issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin. The newspaper article follows:

ISLE "MELTING POT" ATMOSPHERE DILUTES JEWISH LIFE

(By William Jardine)

Assimilation, which some Jewish leaders see as a threat to Jewish life in America, is occurring in Hawaii.

Rabbi Roy A. Rosenberg, rabbi of Temple Emanu-El, was asked in an interview this week if he felt that Jews in Hawaii were drifting away from a religious affiliation because of Hawaii's melting pot atmosphere.

"That goes without saying," he said. "There are at least 2,000 people of Jewish birth here in Honolulu and our congregation numbers around 500.

"But, while Hawaii is not conducive to ethnic separation, I feel we have as great an opportunity as anyone to build our congregation.

"The population is having a slow growth. They come here and leave all the time. I only have two or three local marriages every year; that is, local people."

The rabbi was asked if the Jews in Hawaii form a separate community as they do in many of the large ctiies on the mainland.

"There is a tendency for the Jewish communities, as such, to form looser units as one travels west," he said. The Jewish communities in the east, New York for instance, will be very pronounced and will even have competition with each other.

"But, here in the west, and especially Hawaii, this isn't the case. There isn't one member of our congregation who lives within walking distance of the temple, and they certainly don't live together.

"We say we have a Jewish community here in the sense that the temple forms a unit."

The rabbi was asked if there is more assimilation here than on the mainland.

"I couldn't give you a learned answer on that one," Rosenberg said, "but if you want some figures, 18 percent of our congregation are mix-married.

"I perform mixed marriages all the time, but different rabbis have different rules. If a couple comes to me and wants to get married, I ask if the children will be raised Jewish, and if they say, 'Yes,' I marry them.

"Of course, I try to make as many conversions as I can."

Rosenberg was asked if there is "much antisemitism in Hawaii."

"No, I don't think so," he said. "I don't think there is much prejudice at all. This State is blessed that way."

The rabbi said he doesn't think the absence of antisemitism causes religious apathy here.

"There is a great deal of controversy now concerning the relationship of persecution to Judaism," he said.

"Some say that Judaism needs persecution to survive, and some say that the Jewish manner of banning together brings on persecution."

Some people find it strange that there are Oriental and Hawaiian Jews.

Temple Emanu-El, the only civilian Jewish congregation in Hawaii, has 10 nonhaole Jews "and to the best of my knowledge, they don't have any problems," Rosenberg, rabbi here since 1958, said.

Financial Plight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial which appeared in the July 28, 1965, issue of the Midland, Tex., Reporter-Telegram. The editorial follows:

FINANCIAL PLIGHT

Congressman O. C. FISHER, of San Angelo, sound, practical, and wise in his thinking, is an effective spokesman for the conservative cause in government.

And he is not afraid to criticize the administration or to vote against it when he

considers its programs unwise or too expensive.

Speaking in Odessa recently, FISHER warned against the financial plight of the Federal Government * * * brought about by tremendous spending program for those things we do not need.

That is the big problem in America today, and every citizen should ponder the implications of continued spending for things the Nation does not need and cannot afford. Americans surely must realize they must pay for these Federal programs. There still is no such thing as a free lunch. Someone, sometime must pay for it. Yet, there are those—all too many persons and organizations—who continually clamor for something free from Washington.

Congressman FISHER said such citizens "must reckon with the mounting public debt and the inflationary pressures that are being built up."

He further stressed the fact there is no "meaningful plan" to balance the mounting public debt in the foreseeable future.

He said economists warn that deficits account for inflation—"a disguised tax that reduces the purchasing power over everybody's money."

Inflation is a frightening, consuming condition which can bring America to its knees as surely and as effectively as any enemy from without. Americans must wake up to its dangers before it is too late.

Yet, right now, Congress is going all out in approving this and that spending program—all leading to increased public indebtedness and inflation.

Americans should consider, too, that with a critical situation existing in Vietnam, costs of stepping up the war effort quite naturally will mount rapidly. The extent of war spending, of course, will be tremendous. This is something which cannot be determined for sure at this time. But the powers that be in Washington, backed up by Americans generally, can and should make provisions for it by cutting back on unnecessary spending.

Among the nonessential programs mentioned by the San Angelo Congressman are housing, Federal aid to education, war on poverty, and medicare.

Politics enters into the picture in all too many instances in these and other administration projects. And this is no time for politics.

Congressman FISHER and others like him in Congress need all the help they can get from citizens throughout the land in fighting courageously and tirelessly to keep America strong and free.

A Fool's Paradise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the bureaucratic mess that is obvious in the so-called war on poverty has been so great that it is thus described by all objective observers. The Harvey Tribune, an outstanding suburban publication in south Cook County, Ill., comments in a very timely and precise fashion on phases of the program in its Thursday, July 29, edition, and I include the editorial in the RECORD with my remarks:

A FOOL'S PARADISE

There is still a lot of truth in the homely old adage that the Lord helps him who helps himself.

And it is beginning to look like neither the Lord nor Uncle Sam can do very much with those who are not inclined to help themselves.

That is being evidenced in some of the trial and tribulations being encountered in the antipoverty program.

We recall reading a recent piece on a situation in Detroit that serves as an example. There officials have been trying to set up a youth employment project and a neighborhood youth corps.

Officials of both groups reportedly canvassed the streets trying to interest dropouts in the programs after the potential candidates failed to make appearances on their own. Despite the official effort the canvass resulted in finding only 30 candidates for a project geared to 70 youths by the youth employment project. The neighborhood youth corps was somewhat more successful yet could line up only 800 out of a hoped-for 1,500.

YEP proposed to pay $1.25 an hour for a summer training program aimed at putting youths in better-paying full-time jobs after a training period of 15 weeks. Yet, one official quoted a youth he interviewed as saying "you are crazy man, I do not work for that kind of money."

The startled official reportedly observed "these kids are living in a fool's paradise." And that could be. However, it could also be that an end to Government-fostered "something for nothing" philosophy might help bring them and, perhaps their elders, back to the world of reality. Some people are becoming uncomfortably accustomed to getting things the easy way.

On the Line

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial from the July 29, 1965, edition of the New York Journal-American. The President made it clear that we intend to honor our pledge to protect freedom in Vietnam. Equally clear is our determination to seek an honorable peace. The President listed 15 efforts on the part of the United States to bring about discussions, all of which have been ignored by the Communists. He has directed Arthur J. Goldberg, our new Ambassador to the U.N., to present a letter to Secretary General U Thant requesting that "all the resources, energy, and immense prestige of the United Nations be employed to bring peace."

The President has stated our purposes in Vietnam for the world to know. While we will not falter in our commitment to freedom, we will always work toward securing peace.

The editorial follows:

ON THE LINE

President Johnson chose the hardworking atmosphere of a press conference—free from bombast—for one of his most important pronouncements on Vietnam. It was a good choice, for what the President had to say was serious and calmly purposeful.

The situation has made it necessary, he said, to more than double draft calls from 17,000 to 35,000 a month.

It has become necessary to immediately increase U.S. military strength in Vietnam from 75,000 to 125,000 with more forces to be sent later.

It has become necessary to seek more money, amount unspecified, but in the long run undoubtedly a lot.

It has become necessary to gird for what may be a long war—and the President did not hesitate to call it a war even though there are no battle lines, no clash of armies.

Why are we sending our young men to this lush edge of a peninsula thousands of miles away?

Because we cannot dishonor a pledge to protect freedom that three Presidents have underwritten. Because "if we are driven from Vietnam, no nation can ever again have confidence in our promise or protection." Because "an Asia threatened by Communist domination would imperil the security of the United States itself."

But, the President said, our purpose to stay is no stronger than our purpose to seek an honorable peace. He listed 15 efforts to bring about discussions, all of which the Communists ignored. We are willing to listen to Hanoi's terms provided Hanoi will listen to ours. We are willing that Vietcong guerrillas be represented by Hanoi at a bargaining table.

Finally—and this could be his ace card—the President directed our new U.N. Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, as his first act, to present to Secretary General Thant a Presidential letter requesting "all the resources" energy, and immense prestige of the United Nations be employed to bring peace."

So there it is, for all the world to study and for the Communists to ponder.

Amistad Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, July 31, 1965, ceremonies were held in Del Rio, Tex., which is in my congressional district, commemorating the first pouring of concrete in the Amistad Dam. The primary function of the Amistad Dam will be flood control and the United States share of the costs—56.2 percent—will total approximately $78 million. Construction will require the acquisition of nearly 61,000 acres of lands in the United States, the relocation of 14.3 miles of Southern Pacific railroad track, 19 miles of U.S. Highways 90 and 277, two electric transmission systems, and two telephone lines. These acquisitions and relocations are now almost complete. The construction of the dam itself is, today, 19 percent complete and on schedule. It will be about 6½ miles long and its top will extend 254 feet above the riverbed, creating a reservoir for 5,660,000 acre-feet of water. The dam is scheduled for completion in December 1968.

The joint construction of this dam is being carried out under an agreement with Mexico, approved by the Congress on July 7, 1960—Public Law 86-605. Before congressional approval was obtained for this undertaking extensive hearings were held in the House by the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The subcommittee chairman was my very good friend, the Honorable ARMISTEAD I. SELDON, JR., of Alabama. The citizens of both the United States and Mexico who attended these ceremonies were honored and pleased to have that able and distinguished Member of the House make the principal address at this historic event.

Mr. Speaker, the history of the efforts of the local citizens on both the American and Mexican sides of the Rio Grande truly reflect the very spirit of international cooperation and compromise. The joint engineering and other studies carried out by the various agencies of both the American and the Mexican Governments, which preceded the congressional approval, and the continuing collaboration during the present construction, is indicative of the achievements that are possible when nations can negotiate and work within the framework of friendliness and good will.

I believe that the remarks of our colleague, the Honorable ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, JR., bring into focus the advantages derived by nations working together and I commend them to the House:

THE AMISTAD DAM

(Remarks of Representative ARMISTEAD SELDEN, July 31, 1965)

I am extremely pleased that I could accept the cordial invitation to join with you today on this truly memorable occasion.

In this strife-torn world, borders bristle with armament. The Berlin wall and the Iron Curtain sever people with barriers of hatred and suspicion. Egyptian troops fight in Yemen, Indonesian troops in Malaysia, mercenaries in the Congo. Yet we meet here today, not to destroy, but to build; not to erect fortifications, but to inaugurate the construction of a peaceful enterprise destined to advance the welfare of people on two sides of an international frontier.

Mexicans and Americans can be justly proud. Throughout history two questions have persistently troubled relations between neighboring states—territorial disputes and questions of water rights. We have had our share of problems. With a 1,500-mile boundary, this is probably inevitable. But for several decades now, our record on both these potentially explosive issues has been exceptional.

The recent Chamizal agreement presents a heartening example of the determination to seek peaceful and just solutions to thorny territorial disputes. In the field of water distribution and conservation, Mexico and the United States have demonstrated the superb results of negotiations conducted in the spirit of mutual respect and consideration. We have only to recall the bitter dispute raging between Israel and the Arab States over Jordan River waters to realize how productive our own efforts have been. In the Middle East, where fertile land is scarce, the Jordan, if properly utilized, could make deserts bloom. Modern technology awaits only the decision of men to bury their grievances and recognize that their peoples are the losers so long as destructive political motives are permitted to outweigh human considerations.

Water has ever played a major role in the affairs of mankind. People must have fresh water to drink and water with which to grow their food. Where water is plentiful, communities flourish. Where water is scant, vast regions lie barren and inhospitable. No wonder men have fought ferociously to assure their domains an adequate water supply.

Yet water—so essential to life—can also be a powerful enemy. Throughout history, torrential floods have overflowed riverbanks, inundating crops and sweeping away livestock, houses, and human life. But however treacherous a river might be, where it is vital to existence men simply bury their dead, lament their lost crops and animals, and then set about to rebuild and replant the same hazardous area.

In this region you know well both the blessing and the curse a great river can bring. You have seen parched land turn fertile and productive with sufficient water for irrigation. And you have experienced tragic floods. The memory of the 1954 disaster must still be sharp in your minds. That year the Rio Grande lived up to its Spanish name—Rio Bravo, or fierce river.

Thanks to modern engineering developments, men no longer need to be helpless victims of rampaging water. And thanks to the determination and good will on both sides of the Rio Grande, Mexico and the United States are working together to use those modern techniques for the benefit of their people. The ceremony in which we have participated today marks the ceremonial beginning of a major step toward taming the once indomitable Rio Grande.

As designed, the new Amistad Dam will alleviate the recurrent floods along the 250-mile stretch from the dam site to Falcon Reservoir, affording increased protection to over 200,000 people who reside in Del Rio, Eagle Pass, and Laredo in the United States and in Ciudad Acuna, Piedras Negras, and Nuevo Laredo in Mexico, as well as to the irrigation developments aggregating over 90,000 acres on the two sides of the river. It has been estimated that the safeguards afforded by the dam will save over a million dollars annually in flood damage to property. But none can put a peso or dollar value on the protection the new dam will provide from the loss of life and human suffering.

I am deeply pleased to have played some role in this great achievement in international cooperation. It was my privilege to introduce legislation in the House of Representatives and to serve as floor manager for the bill which authorized U.S. participation in construction of the dam. In that capacity, and as chairman of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I have had ample opportunity to observe the constant, cordial, and constructive cooperation in which the Mexican and United States Governments engage. I realize that the commendable collaboration at official levels is made possible, in large measure, because those of you who live along the border—Mexican and American—set the example and the environment in which friendly relations can be conducted. The name "Amistad"—friendship—for the new dam is well chosen.

We all can take pride in the record and be grateful for the beneficial results in accruing to both sides of the border. Let us hope that the Amistad Dam will be but another link in a growing chain of cooperative ventures by means of which Mexicans and Americans alike will grow and prosper.

Supersonic Transport Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, in connection with material I have placed in the RECORD during the past 2 months, I would like to now invite your attention to an editorial entitled "Flogging With Feathers" by Robert B. Hotz.

Mr. Hotz is presently editor of Aviation Week, and has a rich background in aviation matters, not only as a former major in the U.S. Air Force, but also as a newspaperman and author.

Since the British-French Concord program appears to be in serious difficulty, coupled with the SST program underway in the United States, I commend the following editorial to the attention of the Members of Congress:

FLOGGING WITH FEATHERS

(By Robert Hotz)

The U.S. supersonic transport development program is being flogged to death with feathers. This is the meaning of President Johnson's announcement last week that airframe firms will spend another 18 months in design studies while engine builders will develop test stand demonstrator engines. Since President Johnson said that he was following the recommendations of the special committee headed by Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara, we can only conclude that this represents another example of the Secretary's by now well-defined propensity for postponing hard decisions under the guise of further study. It is a policy that will waste money in the critical development phase and may easily lose the production jackpot to international competitors.

The Johnson-McNamara decision really means that the critical decision to proceed with building one or more supersonic transport prototypes has been postponed another 18 months. It would be difficult indeed to find any of the industry's engineers or managers associated with this program who believe this additional 18 months of paperwork design studies is really necessary. The current plan will not come to grips with any of the major unsolved technical problems of supersonic transport development and will only pour another $220 million down the drain in a wasteful holding operation.

There is no question that there are many unsolved technical problems along the development path of an operationally successful supersonic transport. But the solutions to these problems can be found only in the air by flying prototypes. They no longer can be solved effectively on the drawing board and slide rule or in the wind tunnel and on the test stand. These useful tools have served their purpose in the early development phase. But further reliance on them without the hard experience of flying experimental prototypes is a waste of time, money and technical talent.

Funding two engine contractors, General Electric Co. and Pratt & Whitney Aircraft, with $50 million apiece to produce demonstrator engines of their divergent design approaches, conveys a false sense of progress. We think both contractors would agree that the critical problems of the supersonic transport engine will not begin to appear until

these engines are installed in an airframe and flown in their operational environment through the full range of speeds and altitudes that their airline operations will require. These installed-engine problems cannot be simulated fully in any ground test rig. There is little technical doubt that both contractors can produce a supersonic transport engine that will be capable of propelling this vehicle through its complete operating regime. But whether or not these engines will achieve the required operational economy and which design approach will do it best can be answered only by a thorough flight-test program with the proposed airframes.

Many knowledgeable engineers working on the supersonic-transport program believe that the engine inlet and nozzle designs will make or break the economics of the supersonic transport. These are problems that can be solved only in the air.

The Johnson-McNamara program radiates the same aura of false economy and technical timidity that was proved so erroneous in the early approach of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to the Gemini program. By abandoning this philosophy, primarily because of the prodding of President Johnson, NASA now has acquired far more manned space data at much less cost in two Gemini missions than it would have in six at the old pace. It is ironic that President Johnson now is turning to the philosophy in the supersonic transport program that he forced NASA to abandon in Gemini.

If the United States were developing its supersonic transport program in an international vacuum and planned to sell its wares only to domestic airlines, the pace of this development effort might be unimportant. But such is not the case. The Anglo-French Concorde, now that its initial political problems are solved, is proceeding at a rapid pace. Anyone who saw the extent of the component hardware shown at the recent Paris Air Show must realize this. The Concorde already enjoys an 18-month lead over the U.S. project; Johnson and McNamara have handed it another 18 months of headway.

The Soviets have revealed their basic supersonic transport design in the Tupolev Tu-144 and have scheduled the first prototype flight for 1968. It appears to be impossible for the United States to avoid being third in the air with a flyable supersonic transport. This sequence in itself would not be significant economically. What will be significant is the length of the gap between the Concorde's appearance on the market as salable hardware and the time that the airlines of the world believe the United States will reach a similar stage of development.

The airline business is a highly competitive enterprise. No matter how patriotic its basic motives, no airline can afford to wait too long to match or surpass its competitors' equipment. Every month that the U.S. supersonic transport program is stretched will mean larger sales of its Concorde competitor. If stretched sufficiently, the program would leave the United States with an unprofitable "Edsel" in a market already saturated by the Anglo-French Concorde.

Estimates of the international supersonic transport market have been rising rapidly since the first ultraconservative forecast of 300 aircraft. Most airline economists now agree that 500 is a more realistic figure. But we venture to predict that when the supersonic transport order books are closed there will be close to 1,000 sold. The economic leverage of this market, both domestically and in the international balance of payments, will be far more significant than even the rosiest current estimate.

We think the President Johnson-McNamara supersonic transport development program is pennywise and pound foolish. It will cost this Nation heavily unless it is accelerated to a more realistic technical pace that will offer potential customers some solid assurance of not being left at the post by competitors flying foreign equipment.

Now only Congress can change the shape of this program. We hope that before Congress appropriates another nickel for supersonic transport development the legislators dig to the heart of this matter. They should demand either an effective program with a development cycle that offers a better chance to hit the international jackpot or cut our losses and scrap the program now.

Henry Granofsky: Dedicated Federal Employee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, my contacts with Federal employees have convinced me that they are a hardworking group, intent on doing a good job for the Government and the people. However, occasionally one learns of an outstanding public servant, and such a one we have at the Bureau of Customs in Baltimore. His interest in his work as supervisory customs inspector and deputy collector extends far beyond the call of duty and has been recognized by the Bureau of Customs headquarters in Washington with a plaque and cash award.

An interesting account of his work and his hobby was printed in the August 1 edition of the Baltimore Sun and is worth the emulation of all Federal employees. Under permission to extend my remarks, I wish to insert the article in the RECORD:

TALKS ON CUSTOMS WIN HONOR FOR GRANOFSKY

(By Albert J. Dennis)

Many Baltimoreans are completely ignorant of the countless and important customs activities in Baltimore, but the after-hours hobby of Henry G. Granofsky is helping to educate them.

And his hobby has become extremely popular.

In fact, the demands for his slides and lectures have become so great, that his hobby could probably be converted into a successful commercial operation by an enterprising businessman.

WORK WON AWARD

His work—all done during off-duty hours—was so outstanding it won for him a citation from national customs headquarters in Washington, which presented him with a plaque and a cash award of $200.

For the last 6 years Granofsky has been presenting an entertaining and informative slide lecture on customs service operations to religious, fraternal, business, and educational groups.

As supervisory customs inspector and deputy collector of customs for Baltimore, the veteran inspector has combined a wealth of experience and knowledge about his subject with a talent for photography, and produced from the mixture a service that is sorely needed in the Baltimore area.

TEACHING FIELD NEED SEEN

Although his lectures are in constant demand, the customs official has noticed a special need for such a program in the teaching field.

Deploring the lack of information—especially concerning port activities—which is available to school teachers, Granofsky said during a recent interview:

"I would like to see some sort of school film prepared for public school educational uses; there is a definite lack of visual training aids for the teachers."

FINDS CHILDREN INTERESTED

The 56-year-old customs employee has given many of his lectures to children, and he has discovered they have an intense interest in waterfront activities.

The content of his presentations vary, depending upon the interest and age of the audience; normally, they consist of a brief introduction, then the showing of anywhere from 50 to 90 slides.

The topics covered includes baggage examination, vessel admeasurement, appraiser's work, laboratory analysis, searching of vessels, and other material which would be of general interest.

TOOK OWN PICTURES

All of the slides—many of which are in color—were taken by Granofsky himself, and he has even included on-the-spot shots of seizures and the fancy "chase," often dramatized on television and in the movies.

There are also slides of different kinds of cargo, including ore, sugar and petroleum, and even some showing the destruction of pornographic material and unclaimed liquor.

The customs headquarters in Washington has been so impressed with the educational job Granofsky is doing, it has launched a national program to encourage other employees to participate in similar activities.

A native of Baltimore, Granofsky has lived and worked around the waterfront most of his life. He entered the customs service in 1940 as a clerk-stenographer and became an inspector in 1946.

His parents are German and he speaks both this language and Spanish fluently; many times his linguistic talent has helped him in his work aboard many foreign ships, where he comes in contact with many nationalities.

"Between English, German and Spanish," he says, "I can usually find someone who speaks one of the three."

HAS HAD MANY EXPERIENCES

With a background of 25 years in the customs service, the versatile inspector could boast of innumerable experiences which sound exciting and even dangerous to the layman.

But his tendency to be modest results in his making light of a career which some would call glamorous.

As to big catches of smugglers, he replies that these are usually the result of tips from informers, who are looking for a fee for passing on the information.

The inspector did recall one experience which was more humorous than serious.

HAD RECEIVED TIP

The department had received a tip that the chief officer of a ship which had just arrived in port was smuggling opium.

A search of his cabin revealed—not only 6 pounds of opium, but the surprise catch of a girl friend—a stowaway whom the chief was hiding in his cabin.

Granofsky's quiet appearance is surprising when one contemplates his line of work, but he hastens to add most of it is as prosaic as any office job.

PRIMARY AMBITION

His primary ambition at the moment is to see a film or series of slides professionally prepared for schoolroom use.

He can neither afford the time nor the money to produce such a work, but he keeps hoping someone else will fill that void.

"It would be a very interesting project," he muses, "and it would also be a great service to the community and the port of Baltimore."

A Salute to Niger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, today, August 3, marks the fifth anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Niger. On this auspicious occasion, therefore, we wish to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Hamani Diori, President of Niger, and to the Nigerian Ambassador to the United States, His Excellency Ary Tanimoune.

During this period, we have seen the economy of this country increase by at least 6 percent per annum. Since its economy is chiefly agricultural, this growth represents a remarkable accomplishment. At the same time, Niger has been able successfully to avoid the sort of economic backslide which has been occurring with increasing frequency among the primary producers of the world.

Although Niger has registered a trade deficit every year since 1960, these deficits are being progressively reduced. The reductions have been largely due to the implementation of Niger's plan for raising crop yields and increasing the efficiency of the farmers and herdsmen. They also reflect a concerted effort at crop diversification—a move away from the exclusive cultivation of peanuts and toward the introduction of cotton. The exporting of animal hides has greatly increased, as has tin production. For a country which has practically no industry, where the most important factor determining successful crop production is the weather, and which is located 500 miles from the sea on the edge of the Sahara, Niger's economic progress has been exemplary.

In the political sphere, the Republic of Niger has made great strides toward the development of democratic institutions and increasing the participation of all groups in the life of the Nation. Under the inspiring leadership of Hamani Diori, Niger's able president, we have seen the development of a regime which is both pro-Western and progressive. This has occurred despite a vigorous campaign of subversion and terrorism inspired and financed by Peiping.

For example, during 1964 there occurred a series of sporadic attacks on village outposts. All the attacks were unsuccessful, largely because the Hausa tribesmen, upon whom the guerrillas had counted for sympathetic aid, were hostile to them. This reflects most qualifyingly the confidence of the people in their government and their unwillingness to participate in terrorism and other acts of violence against it. Such confidence is reassuring, faced as we are by so much unrest and instability in the "third world."

Niger's stability is obviously due to the popularity of its present government, and perhaps in part to the legacy of France. France's policies in sub-Saharan Africa were traditionally more benevolent, and the relationship between the colonies there and France were more equal than was the case in north Africa. The result has been that French influence in west Africa has helped to promote a rational outlook and greater stability in the post-colonial era.

We in the United States have also provided aid, because we feel that countries so dedicated to providing a better life for its citizens through economic and political development should be assisted. And, Mr. Speaker, on this fifth anniversary of Niger's independence, we consider it a privilege to congratulate its leaders and people on the progress they have made, and wish them our best for the future.

A Passing Season

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, if all the advice by self-styled educational experts could be channeled into constructive teaching and tutoring, most of the debated segments of our educational system could be cured. The Graphic Newspapers, serving southwest suburban Cook County, Ill., in an editorial Thursday, July 29, philosophies in a very objective and penetrating fashion on the operation of our school system, and I include it in the RECORD with my remarks.

A PASSING SEASON

The seasons of the year run their course swiftly. No one knows that better than our tens of millions of youngsters. For the summer vacation is already over half gone, and the beginning of the next school year approaches swiftly.

Many, perhaps most, will return to school with a feeling of regret. Summer vacation, with all its sports and many-sided attractions, is fun. It's only human nature to wish it could continue forever. But, for all of the labor-saving progress that has been made, we still live in a world in which work and knowledge are essentials. And the advances of science and technology have vastly increased the kind and amount of education that is needed if the young person is to have a successful and rewarding career as an adult. Little room is left for the uneducated and the half-educated. Those who lack at least a high school education face a tough road ahead. And college training is of necessity demanded by more and more employers.

Nowadays, stress is laid on physics, mathematics, the chemical arts, and other of the sciences. But the boy or girl who learns only a trade or a profession is but half a person. The finished student must have at least a fair working knowledge of literature, the other fine arts and economics. It is in this last classification that the schools, in too many instances, seem to have failed. Too many graduates leave the halls of ivy with an insufficient understanding of this country's economic system and the system of representative government it supports, which together have protected the individual's liberty and made this Nation great and powerful. Lack of understanding of the political and economic heritage by which we live is a most serious weakness in a world torn by conflicting and angry ideologies.

Let the student return to school with a will. And let his school properly prepare him for a constructive place in the world he will enter as an adult.

High-Speed Tube Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, the August 1965 issue of Scientific American included a fascinating article entitled "High-Speed Tube Transportation" by Mr. L. K. Edwards. Mr. Edwards proposes a system of rapid transit which would carry passengers from Washington to Boston in 90 minutes at speeds up to 500 miles per hour.

Mr. Edwards is well known to me as a top engineer in the space systems division of the Lockheed Missiles & Space Co. at Sunnyvale, Calif. His revolutionary concept of rapid transit was developed at Lockheed and is worthy of consideration by the entire Nation which so sorely needs improved transportation facilities.

The article follows:

HIGH-SPEED TUBE TRANSPORTATION

(By L. K. Edwards)

Contemporary technology can orbit an astronaut and send photographs back from Mars, but so far it has not been able to cope with the mundane problem of mass transportation. Proliferating superhighways are clogged as soon as they are built. Air travel is inefficient for short trips, and some air lanes are crowded to the danger point. Railroads move passengers no faster than they did 50 years ago, and they lose money in the process. Is it possible that the techniques and methods of the aerospace industry, and in particular the special approach known as systems engineering, could be brought to bear on the vexing tasks of moving passengers between the country's closely spaced metropolitan centers and getting commuters to work? This article will describe the evolution, findings, and potentialities of one effort to accomplish that end.

The effort began nearly 2 years ago when, as an engineer in the Space Systems Division of the Lockheed Missiles & Space Co. at Sunnyvale, Calif., the writer suggested: Why not develop airplane-speed surface transportation? Lockheed authorized a small group of us to consider the proposition. Our investigation was brought to a focus last fall by the Federal Government's desire to attack the problem of rail transportation in the "Northeast Corridor," the densely urbanized strip along the east coast from Boston through New York to Washington. After conversations with people in the Northeast Corridor transportation project of the Department of Commerce and in the school of engineering at the Massachusetts Insti-

tute of Technology, which is making technical studies for the project, we have evolved two specific proposals. One is a corridor system to provide intercity passenger service, downtown-to-downtown, for several thousand passengers an hour. The other, an urban system, is a commuter network. (Early this year Lockheed decided to concentrate on projects more closely related to its traditional activities; I obtained an option to acquire the company's interest in the transportation project and have since been proceeding on my own responsibility, although with some valuable technical support from Lockheed personnel.)

The general elements of the corridor design emerged rather quickly from a logical sequence based on commonsense and a few simple calculations. In retrospect, at least, the logic seems inexorable:

1. To compete with foreseeable improvements in air travel and its associated surface connections, the average speed along the corridor must be at least 200 miles an hour. Time must be allowed for intermediate stops in addition to those in Boston, New York, and Washington, so the cruising speed must be increased accordingly—to something over 400 miles an hour.

2. Such high speeds are unthinkable unless one protects the train from ice and from objects falling or thrown into its path. The vehicle should therefore travel through a continuous enclosure—a tube.

3. Drag forces due to air resistance are substantial at present-day railroad speeds; they increase with the square of the velocity, and they would be prohibitive in the case of aircraft speeds in air at sea-level density. Therefore most of the air should be pumped out of the tube.

4. Given external powerplants to exhaust the tube, why not make these the sole source of propulsive power for the train? It is only necessary to admit air at atmospheric pressure behind the train to accelerate it through the evacuated tube; similar pneumatic effects can decelerate the train to a stop.

5. For heavy, continuous traffic a pair of tubes is needed. Convenience of installation and maintenance suggests that they should be installed side by side. They can then be interconnected with controllable valves to improve the efficiency of airflow.

6. At ground level or elevated above it the tubes would be an unsightly nuisance. Moreover, a reasonable degree of straightness would call for large numbers of bridges or tunnels. (The high-speed Tokaido railroad between Tokyo and Osaka in Japan, with a design speed of 150 miles per hour, includes some 40 miles of tunnels—an eighth of its total length.) In the central districts of major cities there is no alternative to tunneling. One should therefore consider putting the tubes in a tunnel all the way from Boston to Washington—a little more than 400 miles.

At this point a practical person might well call a halt, pointing out that anyone with any sense knows that 400 miles of tunnel would be prohibitively expensive. The systems engineer is trained to ask, "Would it?" and to study the pros and cons before either discarding or accepting the idea. On investigation we found that the tunnel, at $4 to $5 million per mile including the dual tubes and valves, may well be less expensive than any other high-speed solution to the corridor problem. (According to an authoritative estimate it would cost some $6 million per mile to duplicate even the largely conventional Tokaido line in the northeast corridor.)

Several factors make the tunnel seem particularly attractive. Because pneumatic propulsion permits tubes of small diameter, the tunnel's cross-section area need be only about 270 square feet, smaller than some of the water tunnels supplying New York, only two-thirds as large as a two-track subway tunnel and only a third as large as a standard railway tunnel. Impressive new machinery has been developed for automatic tunneling through hard rock, and a corridor tunnel can be dug in bedrock most of the way. In the case of a tunnel, moreover, heavy right-of-way costs and real estate taxes would presumably be replaced by nominal payments for easements. Finally, at depths below 50 feet the temperature does not fall below the freezing point of water; it remains constant all year; there is no weathering. Transportation tunnels typically remain in use for at least a century, whereas most surface-transportation facilities survive only a few decades without substantial renovation.

We therefore decided in favor of the tunnel concept. Mounting the tubes in the tunnel calls for one of the few real innovations we considered necessary for a genuinely high-speed system. The maximum speed attainable in surface transportation is heavily influenced by the smoothness of the surface traversed, and the smoothness requirement becomes more stringent as speeds increase. The Tokaido railroad's operating speed has been significantly limited, for example, by uneven settling of the roadbed, although it was specially designed. "Smoothness" has two aspects: the initial, or no-load, condition and uniform compliance, or flexing, under load. The Stephensons learned about this when they first built railroads across England in the 1840's. In spite of expensive and time-consuming efforts to provide a level, solid support under every yard of rail, they found the smoothest ride of all was achieved where the tracks were virtually floated across a bog so soft that a man could hardly stand on it.

In the tube-transportation system we therefore propose to float the tubes in water throughout the level portions of the path. In the no-load condition the tube will be submerged in the water to a depth of about 20 inches (at left in top illustration on opposite page). Regardless of small shifts in the supporting earth, the rigidity of the tube and the self-leveling of the water will keep the alinement of the tube itself undisturbed. When a train comes along, of course, the tube will become heavier and must sink deeper into the water—9 inches deeper in the case of a typical train. The tube will not be seriously deformed by this further immersion, however. Since the water supporting each tube will be constrained in a trough, it will not be able to "seek its own level" under the speeding train; instead the water level will rise 7½ inches and the tube will actually settle only 1½ inches (at right in top illustration on opposite page).

This "dynamic flotation" in water can provide the ultimate in uniform compliance under load. It should also have advantages in shock absorption and sound deadening. It does raise a number of questions about the longitudinal water movements and stresses induced in the tube when the train passes and about corrosion, but these problems seem either to be inconsequential or to have ready solutions.

What should the train run on? For half a century patents have been granted on various ways of supporting a vehicle without wheels, and most advanced land-transportation concepts incorporate one or another of these schemes. Our investigation confirmed what railway engineers have known all along: with roller bearings a steel-rimmed wheel running on a steel rail is amazingly efficient. It takes only about 2 pounds of tractive force per ton of railroad train weight to overcome rolling friction—almost regardless of speed. Few airplanes can cruise with less than 130 pounds of thrust per ton of the plane's weight, of which half is chargeable to producing lift. In other words, the wheel-on-rail is more than 30 times more efficient than the airplane in this lift-to-drag relation; helicopters and ground effect, or hovering, machines tend to be less efficient than airplanes.

There are other advantages to wheels. They avoid the need for an air blower or other active lifting device aboard the vehicle. They position the vehicle in the tube more precisely than other systems can. And it is easy to gear shafts to the wheel axles as a source of auxiliary power for air conditioning and other requirements.

Can wheels run safely at very high speeds? The answer is yes. Specially built automobiles have exceeded 500 miles an hour in record runs on wheels with standard roller bearings; the bearings showed no signs of heating or incipient breakdown. An individual bearing on the tube train might suddenly freeze, but installing the bearings in pairs would allow for that eventuality; moreover, any wheel experiencing such a partial failure could be immediately and automatically lifted off the track for the remainder of the trip. Will the wheel rim fly apart? No, the circumferential stresses are less than those attained in the compressors of some turbojet engines. The wheels can be tested from time to time by "overspeeding" in a test pit, but in general trouble is unlikely—particularly if the wheels are not abused by having to transmit heavy propulsive and braking forces.

Do wheels not require springs? Hardly any, if the roadbed is really smooth. "Consider the billiard ball," an MIT professor once told his class. "It is a hard object rolling on a hard surface. But it does not need springs because the surface is smooth." Aerospace engineers have learned, moreover, that springs and shock absorbers often create more dynamic problems than they solve. (The tube train would, however, have rubber bushings at several points in the wheel mounts to absorb slight shocks and deaden noise.) The lubricants required for wheels will of course have to function in a low-pressure environment, but space technology has solutions available for any problems that arise. The final decision was to use wheels, old-fashioned though they may seem—double-flanged wheels running on continuous steel rails welded to the floor of the tubes.

The passenger car itself is remarkably simple: a 65-foot-long thin-walled cylinder with wells for four wheels. The loading on each wheel is well within present railroad practice. The coupling between cars is no more than a strong, flat faceplate with a number of pushbutton-operated bolts and with no provision at all for flexing. The rigid connection between cars assures pressure integrity throughout the train and keeps objects from falling to the tracks; it will also avoid the familiar car-to-car swaying motions, which get much worse as the speed increases. Rigid coupling is possible because the track is so straight: the sharpest curve through which the train must turn will have about a 5-mile radius, and even this will only be at reduced speeds. With nominal loads at the wheel flanges, the entire train will flex to conform to such gentle curves with much less induced stress than is applied to an airplane wing.

Construction of the cars will be considerably simplified by the nature of the stresses that will be encountered. The greatest loads will result from the maintenance of sea-level pressure inside the car as it moves through a low-pressure environment. These loads produce hoop tension in the circular wall, which is ideal. Even the longitudinal stresses turn out to be primarily tension rather than compression, since the train will be accelerated by low pressure in front of it and decelerated by low pressure behind it. The shell can therefore be sheet metal of moderate gage, with little bracing except at the doors and wheel wells.

At each end of the train we propose to place a special lead car. This car will have at its forward (or rear) end a pressure enclosure with an emergency exit through it and will include a compartment for the safety attendant, who replaces the conventional engineer or motorman, a battery-powered low-speed motor for emergency and in-station propulsion, batteries and generators, public telephone booths and perhaps lounge space and dressing rooms.

Entering a clean and quiet station that looks something like the lobby of a large office building, travelers will board the train through gates much like the outer doors of a modern elevator, behind which the openings in the train will positioned. (Passengers will not see the exterior of the train any more than a passenger sees the exterior of an elevator.) The openings in the train will be pressure-tight curved segments that retract into the top of the car, like the doors on some present-day airplanes. The entrance and exit will be on opposite sides.

The car's 9-foot-6-inch inside diameter will allow 2-plus-2 seating for 64 passengers with spacing comparable to that on luxury airliners. We have tentatively provided luggage space both above and below the seats in the belief that most passengers prefer to keep their luggage with them. There will, of course, be no windows. (There is growing evidence, incidentally, that looking out of windows while traveling on the surface at high speeds would make passengers dizzy, if not actually sick.)

The principle of pneumatic propulsion is obviously not new. Pneumatic delivery tubes were once common in department stores and are still in use in libraries and other institutions. Even pneumatic passenger transportation has a history. One of the oldest such systems on record was built in Ireland during the 1840's. The train was propelled by a piston that extended from the bottom of a car into an externally pumped tube, 15 inches in diameter, laid between the tracks. The train displayed speed, power, efficiency, smoothness, cleanliness, and silence far superior to the best steam railroads of the day, and similar installations were soon built in England. All were abandoned within a few years, however, because of one tremendous trifle: a leather flap, which ran the full length of the tube to seal the slot through which the train was connected to the piston, could not withstand the onslaught of the elements and of rats.

New York City's first subway was a pneumatic one, built in 1870 by a proprietor and editor of Scientific American, Alfred Ely Beach. In an effort to get a franchise for a subway running the length of Manhattan, he had a one-block tunnel dug under Broadway from Warren Street to Murray Street, using a cylindrical tunneling shield of his own design. A blower propelled the 18-passenger car through the tunnel in one direction and then reversed to suck it back. The subway ride was a popular attraction for a year, but Beach never got his franchise; the elevated railroads went up instead.

There is certainly no more attractive way to propel a heavy train at high speed than with the most available medium of all: free air. Sea level atmospheric pressure applied to the 10,000-square-inch cross section of the train yields a propulsive force of 140,000 pounds, or 70 tons. At only 50 miles an hour this matches the pulling power of five large steam locomotives. Better yet, air can continue to push with this force at speeds as high as 200 miles an hour—at which point the effective power level is 70,000 horsepower. Yet the only powerplant is a bank of perhaps four 2,500-horsepower electric motors driving air compressors at one or two points outside the tube. The explanation of this apparent inconsistency is that each train is accelerated for only about 2 minutes—whereas the external powerplant work more or less continuously, storing the energy in the evacuated tube to be drawn on when needed. This is the principle of the pneumatic catapults that launch missiles and torpedoes; a catapult's low-horsepower, long-duty-cycle engine and compressor store a great amount of energy for release in seconds.

In a sense, then, the tube train will be the world's largest catapult, but with a big difference: instead of being almost instantaneous, the acceleration will be gradual. In fact, the rate of both starting and stopping accelerations can be kept below those of jet aircraft and even below those of a compact car. No seat belts will be needed; even standees will not experience accelerations appreciably higher than in present rapid-transit systems. It is the rate of change in acceleration, something called "jerk," that is most critical to comfort, and "jerk" is low in the tube train because the acceleration continues for a comparatively long time.

We already have some experimental data on how a cylindrical object behaves when it is accelerated to high speed in an evacuated tube. For the past 5 years the Army Research Office in Durham, N.C., in conjunction with Duke University, has been working on a "vacuum-air missile boost system" designed to get missiles or satellite-launching vehicles moving fast before the first-stage rockets are fired. Tests have been conducted with metal cylinders in tubes ranging from 1¼ to 6 inches in diameter; a 6-inch, half-pound hollow projectile, for example, is accelerated to more than 750 miles an hour within the length of a 100-foot tube. The tests have shown that the compressibility of air, which degrades aircraft performance at high speed, actually assists in the operation of such a tube catapult. Another encouraging finding is that there appears to be an inherent centering effect that tends to maintain the projectile's stability and keep it away from the walls of the tube.

Although our tube train is driven by air pressure, no complicated air-lock arrangement is necessary for station stops. While the train is in a station, with its nose at the end of the tube, a large valve closes off the evacuated portion of the tube. Passengers leave and enter freely and then the car doors are closed pressure-tight. Now the valve close to the end of the tube is opened; atmospheric air forces the train into the near vacuum in the tube. (The radial clearance bentween the cars and the tube is to be about an inch; our studies incidate that the power loss through this space should be insignificant, but if experience proves otherwise a brushlike seal could be added at each end of the train.) As the train moves down the tube the valve is kept open for a time to allow continued acceleration at maximum rate. When the proper amount of air has been admitted, depending on the weight of the train, the valve is closed. This traps a slug of air in the tube behind the train, it expands, and in doing so it applies further, although decreasing, force to accelerate the train still more. Within the first 4 miles the train will have reached a speed of about 300 miles and hour.

The air behind the train becomes increasingly attenuated; the very-low-pressure air in the long tube in front of it is steadily compressed. After a while the pressures are balanced fore and aft; then the decreasing pressure behind the train begins to decelerate it. When the air ahead reaches atmospheric pressure, the valves at the destination end are opened; the train is brought to a stop—and the tube behind it has largely been restored to low pressure. If one ignores the losses due to the circulation of air through the tube and to the trifling amount of rolling friction, the train has had a free trip. In general, the magnitude of the compressor's task—which is to restore the initial near vacuum within the tube—is equal to the amount of these two losses. A normal surface vehicle, on the other hand, consumes energy in proportion to its weight in getting up to speed and then wastes that energy in the form of air turbulence and heat at the brakes before coming to a stop. Aircraft are inherently even more wasteful: a jet airliner consumes billions of foot-pounds of energy in climbing to cruising altitude, all of which is wasted by the descent at the end of the trip.

Pneumatic propulsion, then, is an effective and comparatively efficient means of transportation. When we came to deal with the longer and heavier trains required in the urban system, however, we found that satisfactory acceleration could not be achieved with atmospheric pressure alone. Fortunately another source of propulsive power is readily at hand—and as free as air. It is gravity. We decided to take advantage of the principle of the pendulum. As first-year physics students learn, a pendulum, in the course of a single swing, converts potential energy (the energy stored in the suspended mass of the pendulum) into kinetic energy (the energy of the pendulum's motion) and back again into potential energy. This double conversion is accomplished with a lovely 100 percent efficiency except for the tiny losses resulting from air drag and friction in the suspension. That is why a spring weighing 2 ounces can swing a 4-ounce clock-pendulum weight back and forth for 8 days; it would take a 300-pound spring to do the same job if the back-and-forth motion were entirely horizontal and wasted all its energy at the end of each stroke.

It was a simple matter to design a pendulum into our tube-train system. With the decision already made to put the tubes in a tunnel, it would add very little to the cost of the tunnel to slope it downward on both sides of each station. Leaving a station, the train is accelerated by the downgrade, and as it approaches the next station it is decelerated by the upgrade—interchanging potential and kinetic energy with the same high efficiency as a clock pendulum. In the case of the urban system the pendulum effect can contribute more than half of the total energy required by the tube train. The technique affords other important benefits:

1. It brings most of the tunnel down into deep bedrock, where the cost of tunneling—by blasting or by boring—is reduced and incidental earth shifts are minimized; the rock is more homogeneous in consistency and there is less likelihood of water inflow.

2. The nuisance to property owners decreases with depth, so the cost of easements should be lower.

3. A deep tunnel does not interfere with subways, building foundations, utilities, or water wells. The only really deep works of man in the corridor area, as far as we can determine, are two New York City water conduits. (They were dug as deep as 1,100 feet, incidentally, precisely to save money and insure long life.)

4. The pendulum ride is uniquely comfortable for the passenger. When a vehicle gains speed by coasting freely down a moderate slope, the passenger feels absolutely no sensation of fore-and-aft acceleration; he can stand up, write, and pour water without difficulty. The same thing is true as the vehicle loses speed by coasting uphill at the end of the trip. Tube-train riders will feel some vertical acceleration during brief periods when the path changes slope, but at rates well below the criteria for passenger elevators.

The amount of free speed available from the pendulum technique varies with the square root of the depth. At 1,000 feet it would be some 175 miles an hour; at 4,000 feet, nearly 350 miles an hour. We propose to have the corridor trains cruise at 3,500 feet, deriving 325 miles per hour of speed from gravity.

Is that too deep to go? We do not think so. The 12-mile-long Simplon Tunnel bores 7,000 feet below the surface of the Alps. (It has been giving good service for 60 years, incidentally.) Copper mines go down 5,000 feet and diamond mines 10,000 feet. The earth temperature at 3,500 feet in the northeast corridor area is unlikely to exceed 100 degrees fahrenheit; air conditioning, which would have to be installed in any case, will keep the passengers comfortable. In order to construct the tunnel, vertical shafts 15 feet in diameter would be sunk every 10 miles along the route and fitted with high-speed elevators; these could be left in place to serve as emergency escapes in the unlikely event of a train breakdown within a tube. In the event of an emergency, air would be admitted to the tube from the tunnel, which will be at atmospheric pressure, simply by opening valves along the top of the tube.

In the case of the trip from Philadelphia to New York, the two elementary sources of power, gravity and vacuum, would combine to propel the train 85 miles in 13 minutes, or at an average speed of 390 miles per hour, with a peak speed slightly above 500 miles an hour. A single train will make the run from one end of the corridor to the other in an hour and a half with seven intermediate stops en route, with New York just 45 minutes from either end. Spurs to Dulles Airport outside Washington and Kennedy International Airport outside New York may be desirable.

In our calculations we have provided for a peak capacity of 9,000 passengers an hour. This would be accomplished by running three trains per hour, each with seats for 1,500 people and liberal rush-hour standing room for another 1,500 who would presumably be willing to stand during such short segments as the Philadelphia-New York run. The capacity of the system could be doubled by running six trains per hour. (The regional plan association has predicted that the rush-hour demand for this system would reach 7,000 passengers per hour in the near future and that the system should be able in time to handle 15,000 per hour.)

A single train will be able to make a round trip in about 4 hours, thanks to the high speed and the fast "turnaround" (which will not involve turning but merely shunting from one track to another and reversing). The 3-trains-per-hour service could therefore be maintained with only 12 trains, plus some spare cars. This would mean a very low aggregate cost for rolling stock, crews and maintenance personnel, although individual employees would be highly trained and could be well paid.

In addition to carrying passengers the tube trains are designed to handle express cargo. This will be done during off hours, providing ballast for trains that would otherwise accelerate too fast when the passenger load is light. Express cars will have the same length and coupling faceplates as passenger cars but will be open, like hopper cars, to receive standardized, pressure-tight modules preloaded with mail, newspapers, and other high-grade cargo; the modules will be readily transferable to trucks. Any number of these express cars can be added to trains as the passenger load fluctuates.

As we were refining the corridor system we were urged by several concerned individuals and agencies to see what might be done with a similar approach to help solve the commuter problem, particularly in Metropolitan New York. The resulting urban network is based on the same techniques as the corridor system. Each urban train would carry 2,600 passengers seated and 3,400 standing; the size of the seats, the space allowance for standees and the proportion of seats to standees would all be superior to present-day rapid-transit systems. If the train stops about once every 8 miles, it can average 2 miles a minute—including the time spent in stations.

Urban-system lines might radiate in six directions from midtown New York. Each line would have two tubes, but there would be no need for cross valving. Since the urban tunnels would slope down and then up again, with no level run as in the corridor tunnel, floating the tubes in water would not work; instead they can be suspended on springs. With a train every 10 minutes, the capacity of a single tube would be 36,000 passengers per hour; the frequency could be doubled to handle 72,000 per hour.

Each train would be half a mile long. This unusual length has some interesting advantages. At each suburban station there would be a long, narrow parking lot directly above the train, with numerous access roads passing through it. This would decrease local congestion and allow each passenger to park or alight from his bus near the section of the train that would put him closest to his midtown or downtown destination. In the city, passengers would be released into a larger area than that of a conventional station, again relieving congestion.

Most commuters drive or take a bus to their suburban stations. The urban system would require that they drive a few miles farther. In return, however, they would find good parking, reliable round-the-clock service and a speed that would more than make up for the longer ride to the station and that would be far superior to expressway speed even under the best driving conditions. The system would also lend itself particularly well to feeder-bus service.

As now conceived, the New York urban commutation system would consist of 140 miles of dual tubes and 19 stations and would require 18 trains. The original cost would be about $1.25 billion. This is about 25 percent more than the amount that, according to one estimate, would be required for thorough modernization of the area's commuter railroads, which are under continual criticism for providing poor service, are losing money on passengers and are trying to get out of the passenger business. The urban system might well supplant these railroads; it would complement, rather than supplant, the existing subways. A similar urban system, scaled down somewhat, might make sense for Boston (Route 128 to downtown in 5 minutes), San Francisco (San Jose to downtown, with stops about every 8 miles, in 22 minutes) and other cities.

How close does the speed of the gravity-vacuum system come to the limits of what is practical in surface transportation of passengers? Consider a typical 8-mile urban segment. Imagine, first of all, a hypothetical vehicle built to travel horizontally with unlimited power. It would accelerate until it would have to decelerate again, accelerating and decelerating at 3 miles per hour per second, the top rate to which passengers are subjected in present rapid-transit practice. (Actually no existing system has the power to maintain such acceleration beyond 30 to 40 miles an hour.) The speed at midpoint would reach 295 miles an hour and the accelerations would be high and continuous. The elapsed time for the 8 miles would be 3.2 minutes, which must be about the theoretical limit for horizontal travel unless everyone is strapped into his seat. The power requirements would be prohibitively high.

Now imagine a passenger pendulum, a gravity train swooping through a 4,300-foot-deep tunnel with no air resistance. It would make the swing in only 2.1 minutes without consuming any power at all, and there would be no sensation of horizontal acceleration. The speed at midpoint would be 360 miles per hour. The steep slopes at each end of the trip are not suitable for mass transportation, however.

Finally, consider the proposed gravity-vacuum system with a fully loaded urban train (6,000 passengers and a gross weight for the train of 1.6 million pounds). Its path will partially parallel the pendulum's but will level off as it enters the stations, so the maximum depth of the tunnel will be only about 3,000 feet.

Pneumatic acceleration and deceleration will be added, with 1 mile of full-pressure air applied at each end. The gravity-vacuum combination will impart an "equivalent horsepower" of 275,000 during acceleration, but the actual horsepower requirement will be no more than 7,700. The acceleration during the first and last miles will be 2 miles per hour per second, two-thirds as high as the continuous acceleration in the hypothetical horizontal vehicle; during the remainder of the trip the acceleration will be negligible. The elapsed time of 3.2 minutes will nevertheless match that of the horizontal trip, with a speed at midpoint of 335 miles an hour. It seems reasonable to expect, then, that the proposed tube train will cover a moderate distance in an elapsed time that cannot be matched by any other vehicle traveling horizontally and accommodating standing passengers. No advances in propulsion or braking technology can avoid this conclusion, since human comfort is the critical factor.

The system I have proposed seems to offer a number of broad social and economic benefits in addition to convenience for travelers. Its construction would, of course, employ a large number of workers. It would cut down automobile traffic in the heart of a metropolis, thereby reducing air pollution and the intrusion of expressways and garages. (Each tube, with its capacity of 36,000 passengers per hour, would be equivalent to 14 jammed lanes of expressway.) The casualties from grade crossing, highway, and airplane accidents would be reduced. Subsidies to passenger-carrying railroads might be obviated and railroads, free to concentrate on freight, might compete more effectively with trucks. Finally, putting much of the surface transportation underground would beautify the countryside and make it possible to redeem blighted areas of many cities and smaller communities.

How soon could the corridor or the urban system be completed? The pace of the project would probably be set not by technological development but by the speed of tunneling; it would normally take perhaps 3 years from ground breaking to operational use. With strong leadership, the raising of capital and the necessary legislative processes might take as short a time as 1 year. If the best "concurrency" techniques of the weapons-system industries were brought to bear, then portions of either system could surely be opened for business on the 100th anniversary of the completion of the first transcontinental railroad. The golden spike was driven on May 10, 1869, ushering in a major era of growth in the United States.

Our forefathers built a great railroad system that is still suitable today for heavy freight, but not for passengers. Will we merely patch up the passenger system and hand it on to our children along with its marginal service, saturated capacity, and insatiable appetite for subsidy? Or will we select a new system with a new order of convenience, sound economics, and capacity for growth—and do it now, so that we can enjoy it too?

Independence of Dahomey

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, this week Dahomey is celebrating its fifth

year of independence. A former member of the French Union, Dahomey achieved its independence peacefully by a steady process of political evolution resulting finally in an official declaration of its complete independence on August 1, 1960.

Since that date its leaders have worked wisely to further the freedom and economic well-being of its citizens. The challenges which this young republic has faced have not been easy ones; nevertheless, its leaders have not hesitated to accept the challenges directly and face the future with resolution and optimism. The Government of Dahomey has rejected the easy cliches of anticolonialism in favor of rallying its citizens behind the less popular but more valuable struggle against disease, poverty, and ignorance. To this end they have expressed their desire to work with the West in conquering these ageless enemies of mankind. Let us express our support of their high purpose and extend our congratulations on this fifth anniversary of their independence.

What Price Housing?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial from the July 24, 1965, edition of the Kings Courier.

The editorial calls on New Yorkers to preserve Coney Island, Brooklyn's historic amusement park. Wrecking crews must not be allowed to destroy this famous recreation area. It would not be a sign of progress to let the "Playland of the World" be torn down to make way for housing. It is my hope that Coney Island will be maintained as a place for relaxation and recreation. The article follows:

WHAT PRICE HOUSING?

It was an "island" of gayety. First, there was the enormous Dreamland Park, which was a worldwide hallmark of beauty. Then, there was the excitement-filled world of Luna Park, an attraction that lured visitors from all over the world. And, there was the glorious, glass Steeplechase, the funny place, home of amusement and entertainment.

Dreamland is long since gone, and Luna Park is just a memory. Now, Steeplechase has also faded from the scene, leaving an incredible void in Coney Island.

There are still Astroland and the Bowery, the custard stands, the carousels, the various games. But Coney is in trouble. Closing in on the world's most famous playland from all sides are huge housing developments. They circle the resort and encroach into its area at many points.

The site that was Steeplechase has now been sold to Fred Trump, known as the guiding force behind some of the most stately apartment developments in Brooklyn. He has said that he would like to see the land retained as an amusement park, but that the plans could only be determined after study. But there is more than a slight possibility that the Surf Avenue strip will soon be the scene of new housing construction.

It must not happen. Although crowds have dwindled at Coney during the last decade and its glitter has tarnished in many places, the world's most popular amusement resort must not be allowed to disappear. It can be saved; it must be saved. And the initial step would be to prevent further apartment construction on the island.

It was not long ago that an evening stroll along the beautiful boardwalk that stretches from Sea Gate to Brighton was a delightful summer experience. It was not long ago that an evening of games and rides was the call to people from every point of the globe.

Coney must not be turned over to builders. Nor must it be allowed to become the property of vandals and delinquents. The playland of the world belongs to us—the populace of our great city. Not only has it brought money into our borough, but it has helped make Brooklyn one of the famous places in the world.

Progress, of course, is vitally important to the further growth of a city. And housing is one of New York's major problems. But the utter destruction of the city's most important amusement center cannot be a sign of progress, to any degree.

People must have a place for relaxation and fun. They cannot spend every night in their air-conditioned living rooms watching TV reruns. Coney can be revitalized once again. It belongs to us, and we must not let this landmark which has been the joy of so many people fall into the hands of a wrecking crew.

A Greeting to the National Rivers and Harbors Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, we are all familiar with the National Rivers and Harbors Congress and its endeavors. Many of us have attended its annual conventions and have been impressed with its dedication to the science of water use, control and conservation.

Our good friend the minority whip, LESLIE ARENDS, wrote a note of greetings on June 4 to Mr. H. H. Buckman, president of the Congress. Under leave to extend my remarks I include Mr. ARENDS' letter:

CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., June 4, 1965.

Mr. H. H. BUCKMAN,
President, National Rivers and Harbors Congress, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BUCKMAN: I extend to you and to all members of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress my personal greetings and a hearty welcome to our Nation's Capital.

Your contribution for the control and better utilization of our country's water resources, for the conservation of our farm and timber land, and for the preservation of the natural beauties, is a contribution beyond measure. More than any other single organization, you have brought about a national awareness of this rich heritage, not only to be used and enjoyed by us but to be so used that the heritage is enriched for those who come after us.

You have indeed accomplished much. But, knowing the National Rivers and Harbors Congress as I do, you are meeting here not in self-glory of what has been done but to explore what remains to be done.

My congratulations and best wishes for a most successful and enjoyable visit to Washington.

Sincerely,

L. C. ARENDS.

Address by Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor, Commencement Exercises, U.S. Merchant Marine Academy, August 2, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, at the invitation of Adm. Gordon McLintock, Superintendent, and as a member of the Board of Visitors to the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N.Y., I attended their commencement exercises yesterday, August 2, 1965. I want to take this opportunity to congratulate the 219 graduates on their academic accomplishments and to wish them good luck and Godspeed in their chosen profession.

Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor was the principal speaker, and under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include his address:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF COMMERCE JOHN T. CONNOR AT COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, U.S. MERCHANT MARINE ACADEMY, KINGS POINT, N.Y., AUGUST 2, 1965

I am happy that my first official visit to Kings Point occurs on this memorable occasion for you 219 graduates.

And coming as I do from New Jersey, I am proud to see that the No. 1 man in your class also is from my home State. So while I extend congratulations to all graduates, I want to compliment Roger Dreher in particular for continuing the outstanding academic work he started at Marist High School in Bayonne. I know Governor Hughes and the people of New Jersey are proud of Mr. Dreher.

Our country is proud of all of you here today. I know this sentiment is shared by all your relatives and friends—many of whom traveled very long distances to be present for this occasion.

You graduating cadets have today arrived at a long awaited destination. You conclude an eventful voyage and you embark on another that can be meaningful to you and your country. Shortly you will walk through Vickery Gate where countless liberty passes have been signed over the years. But I suppose some of you probably will go to Cleveland Hall and jump the fence from force of habit.

The cadets you leave behind must envy you, and so do I. I, too, am enamored of the sea. I do my sailing off Cape Cod but, I must confess, in a smaller vessel and with a rank greatly inferior to yours. In our 15-foot Cotuit skiff, my two sons are the skippers and they take enthusiastic advantage of the opportunity to order their crew around. I am the crew.

Despite my ordinary seaman's status, I find few experiences more exhilarating than feel-

ing the bow knife through the whitecaps. To my mind, man's sense of mastery over the elements cannot be equaled in any domain as at sea. So in addition to my best wishes, my heart is with you newly licensed officers today.

I don't need to discuss with you the purpose of the merchant fleet in war and peace. Neither must I expound the history of our country's oldest industry and the maritime tradition that is engraved in our national character. Nor is it necessary to elaborate on the exciting challenges that lie in your future.

You have been studying these things for 4 years, and if those years at this fine Academy had not been productive you would not be members of the class of 1965.

In the light of the maritime situation, however, I do want to reassert the Nation's interest in a strong, reliable merchant marine—and to emphasize the need for putting the national interest first.

Events in southeast Asia remind us dramatically of how indispensable it is to have a merchant fleet ready and able.

It is in time of peril that the sharpest focus is on our merchant marine. National survival has often depended upon our capability to move vast amounts of men and materiel to faraway places where freedom is challenged.

We have seen this urgency demonstrated forcefully within the memory of many of us here today, in the two World Wars, in Korea—and now in Vietnam. In that distant but vital area of southeast Asia, the United States is fulfilling its commitment to protect the right of people to live in liberty and dignity, free from subversion and naked aggression.

All of us are involved in the commitment.

The Maritime Administration already is reactivating ships from the National Defense Reserve fleets, at the call of the Military Sea Transportation Service. MSTS is chartering private vessels to supply our forces in Vietnam. The flow of essential materiel must and will go on.

And the requirements of Vietnam could very well determine your initial billets. So this is a crucial situation of distinct personal meaning to all of you.

But it shouldn't be necessary to cite crises in order to underscore the national interest in a healthy merchant marine. The vital, continuing function of the maritime industry is to transport people and products in intercontinental and coastal commerce. By all standards, this is a major industry.

By itself, the maritime industry accounts for $1.5 billion of our gross national product. It pays $75 million in Federal and State taxes. It employs 100,000 workers, who themselves pay $80 million in income taxes.

Moreover, the merchant marine is an essential element of the transportation complex which absorbs nearly 20 percent of the spending which goes into our total output of goods and srevices. In 1964 this added up to $120 billion, an amount substantially greater than the Federal budget.

This figure alone indicates just how much the cost of transportation affects the cost of everything we buy and just about everything we do. And that is why the Commerce Department is giving such high priority to transportation research. We want to improve the Nation's huge transportation system—and this includes the merchant fleet—in order to achieve significant economies in time, money, and efficiency. When we do so, we will be able to pour additional resources into a steadily growing economy and thus raise the American living standards higher.

A strong, competitive merchant marine also serves the national interest by helping to overcome the deficit in our international balance of payments, which in the last several years grew to serious proportions.

As a national concern, the balance of payments cannot be overstressed. The dollar must and will be maintained at full value and full strength.

Trade flows on confidence in the dollar, and trade is as essential to our domestic economy as it is to the world economy. Nearly 3½ million American workers owe their livelihood to exports. The role of the merchant fleet in world trade is obvious. And its direct benefit to our payments position is substantial. The U.S.-flag fleet conserves millions in dollar exchange every year.

And conserve we must—in every channel of business, banking, and commerce—for there must never be a doubt about the dollar. It is essential that we alleviate our payments deficit in order to maintain the strength of the dollar and curtail the drain in our gold.

Let's state the case unequivocally: the strength of our national economy and our defense posture rest squarely upon the strength of the dollar. In solving our balance-of-payments problem a healthy U.S. merchant marine can make substantial contributions.

We are making headway in easing the strains on the dollar. As you know, President Johnson developed a program of voluntary cooperation among business and banking executives to bring our international accounts into balance. Businessmen have voluntarily exercised restraint on the investment of dollars abroad, stepped up exports and taken other steps to improve their individual balance-of-payments ledgers. The results so far are promising. But parenthetically, I want to express regret that American traders who voluntarily committed themselves to a key aspect of the President's program have been thrown off stride by the shipping tieup. They are the ones who agreed to use U.S. vessels to keep their transportation dollars at home—and who were compelled to use foreign bottoms instead, or find their cargoes immobilized in strike-bound ships.

The expansion of world trade and its fabulous potential indicate the importance of maintaining a strong merchant marine. To fulfill that interest, we have a lot of ground to make up. President Johnson made this clear 2 weeks ago when he said our prosperity and safety through history have been linked closely to our role on the seas of the world, a role we can never neglect. The President added this:

"I believe," he said, "we are all increasingly conscious of the fact that as a great nation we have been laggard and we have been neglectful in many areas of our transportation responsibilities and our transportation opportunities.

"I am hopeful—greatly hopeful," the President went on, "that we can in the next few years shake off the effects of these neglected years and move forward to acheive the progress that we are so clearly capable of in every sector, from the highways on which we travel to the high seas upon which we sail."

As Secretary of Commerce, I take that to mean that you and I and everyone connected with the maritime industry are under orders to achieve the progress we are capable of in revitalizing the merchant fleet and enhancing its competitive capability through technology and modernization.

Regrettably, we must admit that the United States does not now rank where it should in merchant seapower. We have been neglectful. We have not acted to meet the challenges of change and our competition. When the world's most active trading nation employs its own ships for only 9 percent of its seaborne commerce, we are lagging behind our abilities as well as behind our competition.

The present state of the merchant marine requires this frank assessment of our maritime condition in view of an ever-increasing contribution in the form of subsidies. Since World War II operating subsidies have added up to $1.7 billion. And since the start of the fleet replacement program in 1955, construction subsidies have totaled $600 million.

Clearly, subsidies, in themselves, do not provide the answers to our maritime problems. We have witnessed a decline in our maritime industry despite an increase in subsidies.

President Johnson is determined to strengthen America on the seas. In his state of the Union message he promised a new maritime policy. That policy is developing. About a year ago the President appointed an advisory committee representing management, labor, and the public to make recommendations to the Secretaries of Commerce and Labor on matters of maritime concern. The recommendations are taking shape.

In addition, we have created an interdepartmental task force on maritime policy under the chairmanship of Alan Boyd, the Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation. The task force is working closely with the advisory committee, and on the basis of their respective findings Secretary of Labor Wirtz and I will soon be in a position to make recommendations to the President.

Secretary Wirtz has described the current weeks in which we have an unfortunate shipping strike as being crucial to the future of this industry. I agree. But I also want to assure you that, despite the enormous problems and despite the skeptics, we are moving toward the development of a more vigorous and versatile, a more efficient and competitive merchant marine.

Our goals must be to stabilize and then improve our merchant fleet.

Now any plan for improvement must be keyed to modernization. We possess the technological know-how to send to sea the mechanized ships so essential to compete with the vessels of other nations. By applying our technology, we hope to cut the costs of building, operating, loading, and unloading our ships. Mechanization aboard ship, of course, means a reduction in crews. But this should not obscure the need. For one thing, normal attrition already is reducing the seagoing work force. We'll have to recruit additional seamen. And for another thing, as we become more competitive with the ships flying the flags of other nations, and as our international trade grows, we will need more ships and thus more men—men building in the yards and sailing on the seas.

But isn't it the challenge of competition which has made this country the most productive and prosperous in the history of man? Isn't it the challenge of competition which has enabled our system to demonstrate its superiority, by allowing private enterprise to take risks and to exercise the initiative, imagination, and ingenuity to convert risks into success? Are we going to continue to be complacent about the fact that ships can be constructed and operated so much more economically by other nations, enabling them to take the shipping business away from us?

In the maritime industry, as in any other, private enterprise must bear the prime responsibilities for stability and progress.

As it is, these burdens are shared by management, labor, and Government. The immediate interests of each party are not always identical. Management and labor, quite naturally, are concerned with profit and wages. The Government's lasting obligation is to all Americans. But I want to emphasize this point: The ultimate responsibilities of each party, one no less than the other, are to the national interest.

In our system of free, competitive enterprise, I would prefer to see a diminishing Government role and an expanding private

role in the maritime industry. But so long as the Government is involved—so long, for instance, as the Government is called upon to pay 72 cents or more of every dollar in wages aboard subsidized ships—the voice of the Government must and will be heard.

Now, I think we can all agree that neither higher subsidies nor higher rates could, by themselves, enhance the fortunes of the merchant marine. Much more is required. As President Johnson said in exhorting us to achieve progress in our maritime affairs: "To do so will require much more than the answer of just money alone. So in all the fields of transportation, our future progress depends upon the willingness of many different groups and interests to cooperate in a manner to which they are not always accustomed."

Only with this kind of cooperation will the national interest be served.

Only then can each of us concerned with the standing of our merchant fleet be able to say he has done his utmost to shake off the effects of neglect.

As men directly concerned, as officers of the U.S. merchant fleet, you will bear high responsibilities. In your hands will be the security of your ship, your crew, your passengers, and the million of dollars in cargo that you carry. These are life-and-death responsibilities assumed by few other Americans. But your commitment does not end on the bridge or in the engineroom. I urge you to view your duties as far more than an exercise of professional skills. View them in the perspective of national needs and national purposes.

For only with that perspective can we truly restore America to its proper place in the high seas.

Thank you, good sailing, and godspeed.

A Soldier's View of the War in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, there has been brought to my attention a letter written to the editor of the Richmond Va., Times-Dispatch, some weeks ago, which I should like to share with other Members of this House.

It presents with great energy and conviction, I believe, the factors which are motivating our service personnel to dedicated investment of their skills and courage in a conflict of many frustrations.

The letter follows:

MESSAGE FROM A SOLDIER IN VIETNAM

SOME ADVICE TO THOSE WHO OPPOSE THE WAR

I'm writing this not because of the lack of work—quite the contrary—but with the sincere hope you'll pass on our feelings here on the ground with the people living and dying in South Vietnam.

Everyone is aware that it has long been the policy of military men to do the bidding of the American people and the Commander in Chief at any cost, as history clearly shows from the crack of the Liberty Bell to the present. The U.S. military power in South Vietnam is not a clandestine organization, but the direct representative of America and all the believers of democracy have ever stood for since our birth.

To the bearded sit-down "End the killing" and "No more napalm" mob without the common decency to discontinue a demonstration while a chief of state is visiting the "majority elect" President of the United States of America, we cannot figure. We know any true lover of peace, let them understand, would trade all them for one Captain Hackley, of Roanoke, my good friend (killed in action in South Vietnam) in order to return him to duty and family.

To the haters of non-lethal (clearly defined in Webster) chemical agents, such as tear and vomiting gas, which is self explanatory, doing what the names imply, and white phosphate, used in screening and marking. I've enclosed a picture of a bus. The bus was filled with women and children and an incendiary round fired from a Chinese rocket launcher triggered the ambush in which Sgt. Jerry Rose of Huntington, W. Va., left forever a wife of only 9 months and family.

To you "Mothers of Peace," or whatever you call yourselves, and the believers of only the United States are aggressors in what you call a civil war in Vietnam, there was no regard for the civilians in the bus. This attack in the central highlands of the south was initiated by a hard core line unit of North Vietnamese regulars.

To the providers of medical aid for the Vietcong, the American soldier here really has nothing but pity for you because of how misled and uninformed you are. For your convenience, I've enclosed a picture of a young mother killed by small arms fire from Vietcong weapons and her baby which survived through a night alone before she was picked up by what you call dowrongers American soldiers and taken to Pleiku. We are very happy to say the baby is much alive today, but without a family. This medical aid they wish to render, we cannot believe here in South Vietnam would be put to its best advantage by troops that would murder a mother and run away in the night leaving a baby to feed on a dead breast.

To all of the minority groups, as you return home tonight from your banner waving, sitdowns, protesting, and all the other pitiful demonstrating you have done today, as you retire in front of your TV's with coffee and family in your secure homes, I pray you'll take a couple of minutes to think. We are sure you'll say thanks for, above all, our God, health, country; President Johnson for carrying the weight of world problems and your petty grievances on his shoulders while you sleep; a powerful military of which over 400 already with such strong convictions have died in Vietnam, and for democracy whereby tomorrow you may return to your demonstrations.

We here in Vietnam will pray for the safety of our families and you, hoping that you, your children, and our sons will never see southeast Asia under any conditions other than peace, and we will remain forever if necessary to fulfill this goal—at any cost.

CHARLIE C. SCEARCE, Jr.,
5th Special Forces, Vietnam.
DON MANG YANE,
South Vietnam.

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Sergeant Scearce is the son of Mrs Emily Scearce of Richmond.)

Some Queries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN R. DAVIS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Loyal Meek, formerly on the staff of Senator JACK MILLER, of Iowa, did not leave his keen perception of our Nation's problems behind him when he left Washington to become the editorial writer on national affairs for the Milwaukee Sentinel. In a recent editorial, he has pinpointed our basic inconsistency in prosecuting the war in Vietnam. I commend Mr. Meek's penetrating queries to the thoughts of my colleagues:

SOME QUERIES

America's commitment to the war in Vietnam is sharply and ominously escalated by President Johnson's decision to double the draft call.

This must be done, Mr. Johnson tells the Nation. Whether the Nation is convinced of the necessity is by no means certain.

The President has endeavored to persuade the people that the United States must make the stand against aggression in Vietnam and that he and his advisers are doing everything that can be done.

Americans, with the exception of a few on the wild left, generally agree that Communist aggression must be stopped. But serious doubts remain whether the United States is doing all that can and should be done to halt the spread of the Red evil. Particularly, the question remains whether the United States has done everything it can short of taking the drastic step of expending more and more of "the flower of our youth" in those remote jungles.

For example, has the United States done enough to choke off the supplying of the North Vietnam war machine by sea?

According to unclassified figures available through Defense Department sources, 401 ships flying the flags of free world nations called at North Vietnam ports during 1964.

Disclosure has slowed down this traffic. Still, through June of this year, 74 free world ships visited ports of North Vietnam.

Representative CHAMBERLAIN, Republican, of Michigan, has pointed out that since World War II, the United States has given almost $41 billion in aid to the countries that have been carrying on this trade.

Even more astounding, he says, is the fact that the foreign aid authorization bill for the coming fiscal year proposes to give aid to six of the countries whose ships have been carrying cargos to North Vietnam during the first half of this year.

Before American young men are conscripted to risk their lives in Vietnam, at poverty level wages at that, shouldn't the United States forthwith stop putting money into the hands that are feeding the enemy?

Also, while we are bombing North Vietnam, why do we spare the harbors through which are passing thousands of tons of supplies necessary to sustain the Communist fighting forces?

Instead of listening to how grievous a decision it is to send young men off to war, we would like to hear the answers to these questions.

Special Aloha Is Given Military on Hawaii Stopovers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, a bit of Hawaiian aloha and hospitality is once more being offered servicemen and their dependents who are in Hawaii during

brief stopovers while traveling in the Pacific.

The aloha is in the form of pineapple juice, coffee, milk and cookies, as well as travel information, dispensed by American Red Cross workers and volunteers, composed of military wives and civilians.

Thousands enjoyed this hospitality during World War II and the Korean conflict.

The story on this commendable assistance program is told in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin for July 31, 1965. The story is reprinted below:

MILITARY GETS SPECIAL ALOHA ON HAWAII STOPOVERS

(By Mary Verploegen)

Many of the servicemen and dependents passing through Hawaii with brief stops ranging from an hour or two to a few days are accorded some Hawaiian hospitality and assistance.

This is through programs of the Hawaii chapter of the American Red Cross and its volunteers, composed of military wives and civilians.

Their assistance is in large part a continuing one similar to that provided during World War II and the Korean conflict, according to Gerald Coron, Hawaii chapter manager.

It was enlarged during greater demands and can be extended at this time if larger movements of military to or from Vietnam should deem it necessary.

Those traveling on ships coming from the mainland through Pearl Harbor headed for the Far East or those routed in the other direction through the Army pier, receive aid and hospitality from the Red Cross.

BOOTH ON PIER TO MEET SHIPS

The Red Cross field director on the installation is notified of the ship's impending arrival and the director and a corps of volunteers, usually from the area, staff a booth on the pier.

Juice, coffee, milk and cookies are dispensed along with material from the Hawaii Visitors Bureau and information about car rentals and the city.

The field director goes aboard ship to perform other needed services such as arranging for emergency leaves or communication with families.

Five cases of pineapple juice are donated monthly by Dole Corp. for this Red Cross activity, says Mrs. Leo Israel, chairman of volunteers for the Hawaii chapter.

A coffee firm used to donate this commodity but, since it is no longer able to do so, this and the milk now come from funds given the Red Cross.

Various groups and individuals, usually members of military wives clubs or wives of squadron members, spell each other off baking cookies to be served. Usually enough of these are donated to fill the needs for the canteen-type service.

Hospital planes landing at Hickam Air Force Base are met by the Red Cross representative and volunteers there.

"We're alerted to the planes arriving and are on 24-hour call," said Mrs. Israel. A booth is always there and it is staffed when needed. Mrs. William O. Farrior is coordinator of this.

'We usually go out in threes. Two stay at the booth and one goes aboard the plane with a basket containing cookies, juice, and milk," Mrs. Israel continued. Ambulatory patients come to the booth and are served refreshments.

Family Services and Air Force Aid, two Air Force groups with some 60 volunteers from both the officers and enlisted men's wives supplement the work of the Red Cross.

Early in February when families were evacuated from Saigon, Red Cross volunteers were on call around the clock for 10 days and met 14 flights with 582 evacuees.

At this time, the assistance was expanded much beyond the refreshment-dispensing routine and included helping tired mothers through customs, and giving a hand with babysitting, getting diapers, shopping, and lending a hand wherever there was a need.

Flaws and All, L.B.J. Is Strong Executive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, in a brief period in our Nation's history Lyndon B. Johnson has written a record unmatched in scope by any predecessor in the White House.

He has demonstrated strength, courage, ability, and the human qualities which add luster to men of strong and unusual character. An excellent evaluation appears in the Sacramento Bee's editorial columns for the issue of July 28, 1965.

The article follows:

FLAWS AND ALL, L.B.J. IS STRONG EXECUTIVE

A great deal of criticism of President Lyndon B. Johnson—virtually all of it involving the temper, manners and habits of the man and therefore about as personal as one can get—has been generated in the last weeks. Curiously, the Washington, D.C., press appears more concerned, so it sometimes seems, about what mood the President happens to be in or which aid he last bawled out, than with what he is urging upon Congress or what he plans to do in Vietnam. And a lot of that criticism has squared out as just plain tripe.

The point is: Lyndon B. Johnson is no less or no more Lyndon B. Johnson than he ever has been—as Congressman, as Senator, as his party's majority leader, as Vice President. He always has driven his staffs. He always has had a low boiling point when it comes to inefficiency or the ineffectively turned task. He always has been the complex, sensitive man he is as President, for all of his outward camaraderie and his sometimes offensive habits in speech and manner.

But he has been sound and fury signifying something: dedication to job, instinctively alert to the public will; an honest and not just a lipservice liberal when it comes to human rights; impatient with anything but the most thorough job.

It was inevitable, of course, that the Capitol press corps would find out that Johnson was just a man with a man's temper and a good man's earnest will. They were writing of him for months as something just short of the angels, and the man who always does the impossible and does it the day before yesterday. Now the same press is dealing petulantly with him about little things, and so feverishly it is neglecting to emphasize what the man is doing.

For the sake of truth the record ought now to be reexamined.

In the last Congress and in this Congress Johnson amazed the Nation by winning revolutionary civil rights legislation; historic public aid to education measures; congressional sympathy for a nationwide cleanup campaign—roadsides, villages, and cities; beginning reforms for foreign aid programs, plugging up gold leaks in the foreign exchange; enacting tax reforms. And in the works, and certain of success, are medical aid for the elderly tied in with social security, a new presidential succession law, voting rights reforms, reforms in immigration laws, etc.

The long look taken, the whole program reviewed, and recalling the vitality he has introduced to Government—the Nation has a strong man in there at the command post, flaws and all.

A-Team Project: Successful Failure?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, a news story and an editorial, on July 26, the other July 27, 1965, deal with the A-Teams high school students employed by the Department of Labor upon the farms of America in a very informative and interesting manner and I believe should receive the attention of the Congress and the country.

I ask unanimous consent that both appear at this point in the RECORD:

[From the St. Petersburg Times, July 26, 1965]

A-TEAM PROJECT: SUCCESSFUL FAILURE?

(By Peter Kramer)

The U.S. Labor Department's program of using high school youths on America's farms this summer has proven highly successful in increasing employment of U.S. farmworkers, although it has fallen far short of its intended mark in youth job placement.

That was the consensus last week of Labor Department and Florida farm labor officials in Washington and Tallahassee.

Werner Fornos, coordinator of the Labor Department's A-Team youth agricultural employment project, termed the program a terrific success. At the same time he reported only 3,190 A-team youths had been or were still employed on U.S. farms as of last Friday instead of 15,000 to 20,000 as originally anticipated.

Fornos also told the Times it is expected that no more than 5,000 high school youths will have found work by summer's end though the A-Team program (short for Athletes in Temporary Employment as Agriculture Manpower—although it also includes nonathletes).

He laid the blame for the project's failure in youth job placement on the doorstep of American agriculture, but noted this failure was also the program's major success.

Fornos explained the Labor Department—which under the leadership of Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz has been trying this year to reduce the number of foreign farmworkers employed in the United States and replace them with American laborers—instituted the A-Team project in late April as a crash program to meet an apparent labor shortage.

The move was precipitated, said Fornos, by the Labor Department's receipt of a request for approval to bring in 32,000 foreign workers for late spring and summer farmwork from 10 States—Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Montana, Nebraska, and Wyoming.

"After receiving this request and polling high schools in 25 States and the District of

Columbia, we were sure by May 4, when the A-team project was officially announced, we could raise a force of 30,000 to 40,000 youths and Indians—who are being used in a related program," said Fornos. "Thus, we announced expected work for 15,000 to 20,000 high school athletes and other students. But a month later, by June 5, we had to start pulling in our horns as the apparent worker shortage disappeared."

To illustrate his point, Fornos cited the case of Colorado.

"Colorado, which asked us to certify the use of 6,000 foreign farmworkers, was the first place we were able to refer A-teams this summer. Immediately upon receipt of the State's request the Secretary (Wirtz) replied Colorado could receive 6,000 A-team youths and Indians. Within 48 hours the State's foreign worker request was withdrawn. Its farmers had apparently found sufficient domestic workers."

Despite Labor Department jubilation over the apparent solution of farm labor shortages by the States on their own, the effect on A-team recruitment was disastrous.

Fornos said A-team experience in Florida was typical.

When the program was first anonunced, 96 schools throughout Florida indicated interest, Fornos said.

Representing 2,361 interested youths organized into 68 A-teams, this initial favorable response placed Florida fifth (tied with Wisconsin) in the number of schools responding and third—behind California and Ohio—in number of boys volunteering, said Fornos.

However, according to Ralph Moss, head of the Florida Industrial Commission's Farm Labor Division, "Precise information on the program was insufficient at first. So after the initial response, when these boys discovered they weren't going to work in California or the West, about one-third of them lost interest and dropped out."

The dropout toll rose as jobs failed to develop.

"The trouble was these A-teams were organized on the basis of what the Labor Department expected the farm labor need would be, but the jobs just didn't materialize," said Moss.

Consequently, according to Walter Cole, assistant chief of farm placement for the Florida Industrial Commission, as of last Friday, only 289 Florida youths had been placed in A-team jobs this summer.

Of this number, 237 high school youths from Tallahassee, Jacksonville, Belle Glade, Monticello, and the Pensacola area had either left or were to leave this weekend for Michigan to pick pickles for the Heinz Pickle Co. (Fornos said Labor Department figures show only 210 Florida boys had actually signed contracts with Heinz, reducing the total A-team employment thus far to 262.) The other 52 boys, 16 from Cantonment—near Pensacola—and the rest from Pahokee, were employed by U.S. Sugar Corp., Clewiston, in sugarcane preharvest work.

In addition, Cole reported, 400 A-team volunteers from low-level income families were employed on an individual basis by the Florida Forest Service and 15 volunteers from Pinellas High School, Clearwater, are working with Pinellas County's Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) program. Cole said an attempt will be made to employ an estimated 348 additional youths still seeking work in other Florida Neighborhood Youth Corps programs.

Fornos said the matter has been turned over to Neighborhood Youth Corps headquarters in Washington, which will try to place the high school youths from Jacksonville, Orlando, Leesburg, Panama City, Pensacola, Fort Myers, and surrounding areas with nine existing NYC projects in Florida.

Cole said the remainder of the 2,361 initial A-team volunteers in Florida "have either found jobs or lost interest."

Explaining the Florida troubles, Fornos said, "We expected to place 9,000 A-team youths and Indians in Michigan and additional boys in sugarcane preharvest work in Florida—where 814 British West Indian workers were employed last summer as of July 15." (Cole set the figure at 1,024.) "Had this materialized it would have taken care of the entire Florida A-team supply. But Michigan finally requested only 1,018 A-team youths after apparently coming up with sufficient adult domestic workers to fill their reported need. And according to the Florida Industrial Commission the availability of A-teams did not coincide with harvesting or other agricultural labor needs in Florida."

Fornos also explained Florida youths could not be sent to widely scattered areas of the United States because, "It would be unfair to a California or western grower to make him foot the bill for bringing boys all the way from Florida."

Cole said the main problem with the A-team program was, "It was too rushed and got off the ground too late. As a result, there was not enough precise information about the program at the beginning. It sounded more attractive to the boys than it really was. To do a job like this well takes a great deal of planning."

However, Cole added, "Still, we did a real good job with the time we had. It might work out real well for next year if the planning's started early. One thing's for sure. Although there have been a few bad reports, there have been many more good reports from all over the country about how well these youths are working out. It indicates a lot of seasonal farm jobs can be done, by youths. Thus, they represent a potential for use to meet critical labor shortages."

Admitting the validity of Cole's criticism, Fornos said, "This was a crash program designed to meet an instant need—or what appeared to be an instant need. In a crash program you use crash methods, which often have rough edges. We had no way, for instance, of initially measuring the validity of the labor shortages reported by States. But overall, I believe, the Labor Department and State employment services throughout the country proved they were able to meet an emergency through placement of A-teams."

In addition, Fornos said, the program's successes far outweigh its failures.

Specifically, he cited a general rise in youth employment in agriculture as farmers recruited youths on their own—at least in part—to avoid payment to A-Team supervisors of $4 per boy per week recommended by the Labor Department.

Supporting Fornos' contention on this point, Cole estimated youth agricultural employment this summer in Florida is 25 to 30 percent above last year. And Fred Sikes, vice president in charge of personnel for U.S. Sugar Corp., said in addition to 52 A-Team youths, his company "stimulated by the A-Team program," recruited 16 college youths from Alabama and Mississippi and approximately 80 boys from Clewiston and Moorehaven high schools—the latter on a day-haul basis.

Fornos also said in every part of the country where A-Team boys have been used—except around Salinas, Calif.—"the program has been a success."

He cited Yuma, Ariz., where 671 A-Team youths supplemented adult domestic workers to handle a melon crop harvested last summer by 3,800 Mexican workers. An additional 2,650 boys were recruited but never needed, Fornos noted. "And some Yuma farmers threw going away parties for their boys, gave them certificates of service, and invited them and their friends back next year," said Fornos.

Similarly, Sikes reported although eight college students and the Cantonment A-Team boys returned home after a few weeks' work, the remaining eight college students "are doing a fine job. The high school boys, while mischievous and not as productive as an adult, are working out fairly well and contributing to the success of our operation."

Fornos also attributed increased employment of adult U.S. agricultural workers to A-Team publicity. "The youths had a mushrooming effect," he said. "Wherever they went they were followed by droves of adult workers. Growers made greater efforts to recruit adults to avoid the greater responsibility the youths entailed. As a result, States like Nebraska, Wyoming, and Montana wound up with a labor surplus."

A-team publicity also served to focus more public attention on the U.S. farm labor problem and poor living and working conditions in places like Salinas, where the A-team dropout rate was equivalent to the entire rest of the United States, said Fornos.

"But the program's greatest value," said Fornos, "was for the first time it gave the Secretary of Labor the means to test the realness of the farmers' claimed need for supplementary foreign labor. When that need was challenged by the offer of A-team youths and Indians, 90 percent of it disappeared. We can assume from this that since sufficient domestic harvest workers have been found this summer, they will also be found in the future."

[From the St. Petersburg Times, July 27, 1965]

A SUCCESSFUL FAILURE

Seldom has there been such an anomalous "successful failure" as this summer's U.S. Labor Department program designed simultaneously to provide employment for around 20,000 vacationing high school students, and ease the widely heralded shortage of farm labor throughout the Nation.

The program was a flop in providing summer jobs for high school students and especially athletes—from which the project derived its A-team designation.

But it was a huge success in exposing the phony labor shortage claims which growers were using in an attempt to force Congress to reenact laws permitting the importation of cheap foreign labor from Mexico and the West Indies.

Response of the high school youths to announcement of the program of summer work was enthusiastic. In Florida alone 2,361 boys volunteered—more than any other State except California and Ohio.

All over the Nation there were enough volunteers that between 30,000 and 40,000 workers could have been secured.

But when it came for the farmers to sign up for the A-teams to replace the 32,000 foreign workers they had said were vital to their harvesting the needs, it was another story.

Strangely, the farmers suddenly discovered there was enough domestic labor. Or they signed up high school youths from their own neighborhoods.

When all the returns were in, the A-team project was able to place fewer than 5,000 boys in jobs. From Florida, just about one in 10 of the volunteers wound up with jobs.

It is too bad that this phase of the program was such a failure. Summer jobs for high school students are getting harder and harder to find.

But from the standpoint of exploding the cry for braceros and offshore islanders who will work for peons' wages, the project has paid real dividends.

It will be pretty hard for the agriculturists now to convince Congress that workers aren't available if they're simply paid fair wages and given decent working conditions.

Standardize Daylight Saving Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, the United States spins a web of confusion for its citizens by permitting the growth of a situation in which 110 million citizens observe daylight saving time while the other 80 million do not—in which 18 States have statewide daylight saving time while 14 States have partial daylight saving time and 18 States have no daylight saving time—and in which widespread wildcat times do not even conform to the conflicting laws already on the books.

The pending legislation would straighten out our time mess to a very substantial degree and I support the bill as one of prime national concern and potential national benefits.

The Committee for Time Uniformity recently brought to my attention a compendium of good examples of what happens each year when our annual orgy of clock-juggling begins.

During one period of the year, some west coast businessmen are getting ready to go to lunch when the east coast business day is over.

Radio and television network programs reach their audiences at different times during the year, according to the season and local time observances. Extensive and expensive video-taping is required to maintain some continuity in time of showing.

Marshal Tito arrived in the United States an hour early in 1963 because someone failed to note that particular area of Virginia had not yet joined the rest of the State in daylight saving time.

The 4 to 5 billion long-distance telephone calls in the United States each year of necessity across time zones or flow between different time standards within the same zone. This adds to confusion, increases caller demands on operators, make "time of day" service uncertain in some areas and contributes to increase in uncompleted calls. The snarl is particularly difficult when a consolidated telephone operation in a large community serves nearby areas observing a different time standard during various times of the year.

By passing the pending legislation, such examples can be eliminated in one bold stroke in the name of order and commonsense.

I would also like to commend to my colleagues an article that appeared in a major daily newspaper in my district, the Sacramento Bee, which points out the annual confusion over time changes which affect the patience and pocketbook of American citizens.

The article follows:

[From the Sacramento (Calif.) Bee]

ANNUAL CONFUSION OVER TIME CHANGE AFFECTS PATIENCE, POCKETBOOKS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS

(By Jack Vandenberg)

WASHINGTON.—Time marches on as usual but 100 million Americans have changed cadence, leaving another 90 million out of step.

The occasion is the start of daylight saving time in which clocks are set ahead 1 hour. Some of the 90 million will catch up later in the year. Others will ignore the switch and march to their customary cadence—standard time.

Those who changed to daylight time today lost an hour's sleep which they cannot reclaim until the clocks are returned to normal in the fall.

Of 31 States observing daylight saving, either statewide or by local option, 20 moved their clocks ahead today but only 15 will set them back on the last Sunday in October.

The others will switch back to standard time on dates beginning as early as August.

COST OF CONFUSION

The resulting confusion will cost the Nation an estimated $4.3 million. This is largely for printing new transportation schedules and countless personal inconveniences caused by missed trains or late appointments.

There is an almost unanimous feeling in the country that something ought to be done about the problem, but little agreement on what to do.

Senator NORRIS COTTON, Republican, of New Hampshire, has offered one partial solution, which he hopes will be enacted into law.

The main effect of his bill would be to require all areas using daylight time to start it on the same date in the spring and end it on the same date in the fall.

COTTON's aids concede the bill's chances are hurt by lingering opposition from previous efforts to change the whole country to one system. That opposition usually has come from farmers, outdoor theater operators, and ardent supporters of States' rights.

BEN FRANKLIN'S IDEA

If the bill is approved, it would represent the first peacetime agreement on the subject since the idea of daylight saving time was originated by Benjamin Franklin in Paris in 1784.

Franklin, who watched his pennies carefully, awoke one day at 6 a.m. to find daylight streaming into his room while most of Paris slept.

He figured out that Parisians would not have to light their candles so early at night if they started their day an hour earlier to take advantage of the early daylight.

Franklin, a candlemaker's son, wrote to The Journal of Paris that Parisians could save 96 million livres in candle costs if they just moved their clocks ahead 1 hour.

Paris was not ready for the proposal and still has not accepted it although other nations along the perimiter of Europe have, along with three countries in South America.

Soviet Russia, with 11 time zones, has started daylight saving time on a year round basis.

WARTIME REGULATION

The United States did not use daylight saving time until 1918 during World War I. Congress required the whole country to operate on daylight time to save fuel and electricity.

When peace came, the country split.

Congress repealed the nationwide requirement but industrial sections liked it enough to keep it. Farm areas returned to standard time. During World War II Congress again required the use of daylight saving time.

As soon as the war ended, the Nation returned to local options which resulted in time schizophrenia or worse.

For example, some of the offices in the Minnesota State Capitol observed daylight saving time one summer while other offices in the same building stuck to standard time.

In Iowa, there are 23 different combinations of dates on which communities shift to and from daylight time. In Central City, Iowa, the populace goes to bed on central standard time and gets up by central daylight time. In Hopkinson, Iowa, banks open on daylight saving time and close by standard time.

SPEEDY TRIP

COTTON recently told his constituents about the apprehension one traveler felt when he was told that a bus leaving for a 50 mile trip would arrive 5 minutes after its starting time.

Asked if he wanted a ticket for the bus, the man grinned ruefully and said:

"I don't want to ride it, but I'll wait around to see it blast off."

Interstate System Apportionment, 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise to commend the very able and distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. KLUCZYNSKI] for the excellent work he has done as the chairman of the Subcommittee on Roads of the House Public Works Committee.

The legislation under consideration by this body today, increasing the amount authorized for the Interstate Highway System during fiscal year 1967, is the result of the foresight and leadership of the gentleman from Illinois and the members of his subcommittee.

The increased funds will hasten the day when the I-system as presently planned will be completed, enhancing commerce, travel, and safety throughout our Nation.

It is my earnest hope that part of the increased amount will be allocated to the initiation of construction of I-794 in my own State of Wisconsin. This highway segment will provide a high-level bridge across the harbor of Milwaukee, linking the city's downtown with the spreading southern suburbs. The effect of the expressway bridge will be felt throughout the great manufacturing region of southeastern Wisconsin.

Further, this interstate highway segment is the first step toward a new link between Milwaukee and Chicago, specifically serving the traffic needs of communities close to Lake Michigan. Although the completion of this expressway must await the approval of a new interstate program, the initial planning already has begun both in Wisconsin and Illinois.

Of particular concern at the present time is the need for interstate funds to plan and construct the approaches to the I-794 segment in Milwaukee. The people of my district and Wisconsin are

looking to the Federal Government to make funds available to begin work on this needed project.

Operation Pebbles Ripples Across Plateau

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, too often, each of us are inclined to be over-critical of our Government programs. It is with real pleasure and pride that I direct your attention to the article appearing in the Nashville Tennessean written by my good friend, Nat Caldwell.

OPERATION PEBBLE RIPPLES ACROSS PLATEAU

(By Nat Caldwell)

COOKEVILLE.—The 13-year-old junior, junior miss looked at the yellow school bus door, then looked around to see who might be watching.

She sniffled. The girl behind her sniffled.

"Going home. It's almost like a funeral," she said.

The scene was slightly reminiscent of the last day of a June commencement week or the shady campus of Tennessee Technological University here.

But the graduates of the Nation's first Operation Pebble—183 strong—were at least 6 to 8 years younger than college graduates. And less than 10 days ago they had griped to this reporter about the horrible oppression of such things as two straight classroom hours of remedial reading.

Now, after 3 weeks with 5 straight days of 2-hour remedial reading classes each week, they were sad at the prospects of going home.

TRIO OF PH. D.'S

The trio of 35-year-old Ph. D.'s, Edell Hearn, Hoyle D. Lawson, and Robert G. Norred, watched the children's obvious reluctance to leave the campus with satisfaction.

It was a sign that the Federal Poverty Program's most unique vaccine against dropout-ism had taken. These 13-, 14-, and 15-year-olds had been given a shove that would carry many through high school, and a few, perhaps on to college.

Inside the bus, on a seat near the rear, the 13-year-old who had compared Operation Pebble leave-taking to a funeral had—as teenagers do—shifted moods.

"What about it?" she asked her freckle-faced friend. "Taking home two brandnew dressup skirts the Government gave us * * * all pressed like brand new."

The 183 participants in the poverty program's first Operation Pebble experience all were taking home items of new clothing just as precious as the little girls' new skirts.

All were from underprivileged families of the upper Cumberland—average annual income from $3,000 down. All but a very few had undergone the first dental work in their lives, had made as many as two trips per meal in the beginning days through Tennessee Tech cafeteria chowline. On the bus, riding home, after the first 3 weeks' trip of their lives away from home, all looked scrubbed and neat and moderately well dressed.

"And, most important," said Dr. Hearn, dean of Tennessee Tech's School of Education, "all looked just a trifle like conquering heroes, returning from their conquests, proud of what they would be able to tell their home folks."

"For, perhaps, the first time in their lives each had participated in an experience that placed them on a level with the more fortunate middle-class youngsters they saw in town on Saturday."

The departing 183 youngsters were split down the middle, about 139 boys, 145 girls.

The history of the Federal economic opportunity program has been filled with so-called quickie projects.

Operation Pebble also was rapidly generated. But there was lots of careful planning from the time that Dr. Hearn, Dr. Lawson, Dr. Norred, and Clifford Ingram sat down to brain storm Operation Pebble into the idea stage. Ingram is director of the L.B.J. & C. Corp., sponsor of economic opportunity projects in five upper Cumberland counties.

THE BUDGET

The three Tennessee Tech professors gave most of their time for the next 3 weeks along with other enthusiastic faculty members, to creating and discarding. A formal application was special delivered to Washington June 3. at the end of the 3 weeks.

On June 30, a total budget of $136,686 finally was approved. Of this Uncle Sam would put up $121,514 and Tennessee Tech would supply the rest. Tech's would be most an in-kind contribution of shelter, facilities, instruction, and supervision.

While the role of Tech in getting the project started had been that of conservative creation, that of Washington had been mostly wielding the blue pencil. At least that is what the correspondence shows.

All clothing, at first went down the drains. But, finally, the Washington poverty program planners were convinced that very few of the prospective enrollees had more than a single outfit of clothes they could wear. On some items Washington never did relent. Even the simplest cosmetics were trimmed from the slender budget.

In-kind contributions were far greater than the difference between Uncle Sam's share and the official project total. Cookeville doctors supplemented their tiny medical allowance with hours of free work along with that of their clinic staffs. Cookeville dentists averaged a contribution triple their fee per child. And Cookeville department and dry goods store owners slashed the prices of their clothing so that each little girl might have two new, neatly pressed dressup skirts to take home.

ONE TO FIFTEEN

Faculty and counseling staff was on a 1 member to 15 pupils ratio.

Dr. Norred, who was full-time director of Operation Pebble, said that the originators of the idea knew that teacher-pupil classroom ratios prevailing in the region obviously had to be sharply improved on.

"We had to have instructional and counseling strength or there would have been no chance of holding the kids here on the campus for 3 weeks," Norred said. "They had to have time to sit down and talk with each child, not once a week or once in 3 weeks, but three times a day if necessary."

GOOD RECORD

Pebble's record for dropouts, although most of the children came from the tiny villages of Overton, Fentress, Putnam, Pickett, and Cumberland Counties and Cookeville was the largest city they had ever seen, was only 16 percent.

Dr. Lawson suggested that few summer camps could beat the exceedingly low rate of leave-taking if their enrollees were all from underprivileged families.

He explained that the children were not forced to stay. "Transportation to their home community was available every day and the agencies that recruited them made no effort to persuade them to stay," he said.

WHY THE NAME?

Why the name "Operation pebble"? Dr. Hearn was asked.

"We realized that anything that might be done with children of families of $500 to $3,000 annual income—away from their homes—on the campus of Tennessee Tech must be considered a delicate undertaking," he said.

"We did not want to snatch a group of children from their homes, overstimulate them, and send them back to carp at their parents, dissatisfied with the world they might be forced to live in. That meant no boulders could be tossed into the lives of these kids to cast up a succession of angry waves of frustration.

"We tried to toss into the lifestream of these children a succession of tiny pebbles. Instead of waves, we hope, there will be ripples. We hope these will be continuing small ripples of crude childhood attempts at self-improvement."

A TEST FOR TECH

What will Tennessee Tech derive from the experiment?

Dr. Everett Derryberry, president of the institution, answered this one:

"We will have the opportunity of testing our own knowledge of the people of this area. And we will have the further advantage of having done something good for a group of our own young people. Some of them, perhaps, as a result of our efforts, might be university students on this very campus one day."

Dr. Hearn said that the second class of 200 youngsters will begin Monday. "We expect to have some more homesick, some more dropouts. But we are hoping the small total will surprise us again," he said.

Educational consultants of the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity may visit the institution during the second term of the school to study possibilities of launching similar programs in other areas.

Reserve Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I am greatly impressed by a sound and knowledgeable statement made by my distinguished colleague, the Honorable CHARLES E. BENNETT, of Florida, before the House Armed Services Committee recently. It deals with the important job of an adequate program for the Nation's Reserve Forces and deserves the attention of every Member of the Congress.

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN CHARLES E. BENNETT OF FLORIDA, TO THE RESERVES AND NATIONAL GUARD SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE, AUGUST 3, 1965

Mr. Chairman, I am grateful that you permit me to testify in support of the bill I have introduced to strengthen the Nation's Reserve Forces and to revitalize them in this time of great need.

I have been most sincerely concerned about this crisis for some time. My concern was intensified in recent days when the President of the United States announced a deeper

commitment in Vietnam, with a major buildup of our forces in southeast Asia.

We are involved in a complex war; the issues are complex, and from the standpoint of the fighting forces, the battle situation is indescribably complex. As members of this committee are aware, I know something about guerrilla warfare. In the Philippines up until almost the end of World War II, I lived and worked with the guerrillas, at one time having more than 1,000 under my leadership.

President Johnson commented the other day that we require a 10-to-1 ratio over guerrillas in fighting this sort of war. My own experience tells me he is right. The hit and run—the shrinking into the shadows—the changing of costume—the presenting of the false face—the alternate daytime and nighttime identities—all make the guerrilla effective and gives a single individual the ability to spread havoc in a compound, a base, or among a large group of his uniformed and fully armed enemy.

The plan to abolish the Army Reserves is a shocking proposal. To suggest the wiping out of the regional general officer training supervision of the Army's backup forces, and to place all of the remainder—the only Reserve the U.S. Army would have—under the various Governors is a major security mistake in itself. We need a National Reserve, national in every respect. This merger proposal goes far beyond anything which we should consider, even if we were in a time when minimum security forces are required. The merger plan appears to me to be highly dangerous—an almost unbelievable proposal—in this time when we are truthfully telling the American people we are in a national security crisis.

To consider carrying forward such a drastic reorganization in 1965—when the Nation is simultaneously being prepared for dramatic and heavy calls upon our manpower for military services—is folly of the highest order.

The principal element that goes into guerrilla war is trained manpower. Southeast Asia's terrain does not lend itself to use of much of our modern equipment—heavy tanks for instance. Manpower is the key to success. If we are going to have to outnumber the guerrillas 10 to 1, then we know that the buildup is going to continue and involve more and more men—trained men, not green recruits. Without revealing any classified figures, I know this committee knows we are a long way from any 10-to-1 ratio now, even with the announced buildup.

I applaud the determination of the Defense Department to take immediate steps to prepare some elements of the Reserve Forces for call-up. We perhaps should not even take time now to point the finger at anybody and ask why the Reserve Forces today are undermanned, and underequipped. What I do feel free in saying is, let us not permit this condition to continue a moment longer.

I think the American people properly expect action now. In my view, they are impatient because of the delay. I think many people are alarmed over the neglect of the Reserves, glaring shortages of equipment recently exposed, and the failure of the Defense Department to correct the deficiencies which this committee cited after long hearings in 1962.

As a citizen, as a Congressman and as a member of the House Armed Services Committee, I have spent many sleepless hours thinking of the problem our Nation faces today. The Congress—both as a body and as individual Members—carries the responsibility of providing for the national defense, and in regulating and prescribing strengths, and equipment levels, and training formula for the Armed Forces—both Regular and Reserve.

Because the issue before us has been that of the Reserves, I have talked with many reservists. They have a right to stability and relief from continued turmoil and continuing ill-conceived shake-ups. They have a right to know plans for their employment. We know that in a general war, they do most of the fighting and they do most of the dying. They have a right to realistic training. They have a right to be ready.

I have talked with the national staff of the Reserve Officers Association. I know these officers and I have a great deal of respect for them. The Reserve Officers Association, as you know, holds a charter from the Congress and under law is charged with working for "military policies which will provide adequate national security." ROA's attitude, in my observation, always has been to serve the interest of the Nation.

The bill, H.R. 10205, which I introduced yesterday in the House is based upon ROA's recommendations. These recommendations are based upon the findings and experiences of people with broad background both in the Reserves and in the Active Duty Forces.

My bill proposes a number of amendments to the Armed Forces Reserve Act, which was designed in the post World War II and post Korea period to give us the modern, vital Reserve that we should have today. The bill would provide essentially for the designation of "Selected Reserve Forces" in each component to be continually given intensified training, and maintained in a high state of readiness.

It would bring the Reserve Forces in line with the Active Forces, and have their strength established each year by the Congress just as is done with the Active Forces.

It would prescribe at least 48 drills per year and at least 2 weeks of intensive active-duty training with the Active Duty Forces.

The bill contains other important amendments to strengthen and clarify the Armed Forces Reserve Act.

I am concerned about the safety of our Nation, now that we are fully committed to a war which may require millions in manpower and many billions in dollars before we achieve a satisfactory result.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, let me emphasize my most earnest recommendation that you reject forthwith the merger proposal. If it had any ground for consideration in 1964, it has none now in 1965.

The Defense Department, in my view, should begin without another moment's delay improving the readiness of both the National Guard and the Army Reserve. New personnel must be recruited, new training programs instituted, new support in many ways provided. The crisis of today places urgent demands upon the 14 corps commanders whose professional leadership and training supervision are required as never before.

The 21 divisions—now admittedly starving from lack of support—can prove the difference between disaster and safety of our country. The 150,000 trained men it was thought last December we could do without may turn out to be the most indispensable members of our counterguerrilla teams.

Let us hope and pray that the Reserves have not been too discouraged so that they will tackle their new challenge with vigor and spirit. Let us hope that those who have been encouraged to drop out may come back. Our country owes a great debt of gratitude, an infinite one, to our Reservists.

Even if the Vietnam crisis were settled today, I still would say we need to improve our defense structure. The way of the world Communist conspirator is to entice us into relaxation. I hope we never again make that mistake. Our survival as a free nation is the stake. I would not surrender one of our freedoms for promise of $150 million—nor $150 billion.

As the late great statesman Bernard Baruch used to say, "I have no ambition to be the richest in the graveyard."

Voice of a Statesman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, the latest issue of Prevent World War III—No. 66, summer 1965—published by the Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc., 50 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y., 10019, carries a timely article dealing with Tunisia's President Habib Bourguiba's appeals for a peaceful solution of the present impasse in the Middle East. While the details of his proposals may be subject to question, one cannot deny the significance of his appeal for peace in the Middle East. His stature as an Arab leader emphasizes the importance of his stand and serves to encourage the forces which are trying to bring about peace in the Middle East. As the article points out, President Bourguiba has displayed statesmanship in this crucial matter and it is my hope that his appeals will now strengthen all efforts to work out mutually honorable terms for the solution of the Middle East crisis. Under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD the article, "Voice of a Statesman":

VOICE OF A STATESMAN

In these days of rampant demagoguery which characterizes the leadership of too many states, it is refreshing to find in the views of Tunisia's President Habib Bourguiba an oasis of statesmanship. Speaking to a group of journalists in the Jordanian sector of Jerusalem last March, President Bourguiba said: "There are those who believe that war and bloodshed solve problems, but war and bloodshed have never solved a single problem, and so, towards the end of the 20th century, we see a world wrecked by instability and feel that it is standing on the brink of war which might break out at any time. We expect it to break out in the Middle East, the Far East, or in Africa. I shall not here go into the many reasons for this, but I may say that the main reason is that the leaders in most states do not measure up to their full responsibilities." (From the Jordanian newspaper Falastin.)

Having touched on a cardinal factor which has contributed to the strife and turmoil of our times, President Bourguiba proceeded to unmask the folly and fanaticism which parades under the banner of Arab policy. Bourguiba was referring to the futile and dangerous activities of those who incite to hatred and belligerency as the "solution" to the present impasse between Israel and her Arab neighbors: "It is possible to cooperate with the Jews on the basis of mutual respect," Bourguiba declared. Deploring the needless bloodshed which has stained the Holy Land for centuries, Bourguiba then said, "In this land there is wide scope for ethnic communities and religions to live together in mutual respect and cooperation."

President Bourguiba's devastating critique found its target. Nasser and his camp followers were shaken with rage that one of "their own" should dare to defy the dogma of hate and war which are the twin pillars of Nasser's "policy." But the invective and abuse hurled at Bourguiba did not silence his voice. On the contrary, the very excesses of slander, distortion, and threats seem to have convinced the Tunisian President that

what he said was close to the truth. Apparently, this gave him new strength and determination to elaborate still further on his position and this he has done through an unprecedented series of speeches, talks, and interviews which have received wide attention in the Arab world as well as in the West.

Bourguiba's concepts proceed from the stark reality which he himself has admitted, that the Arab masses are groaning under the weight of military expenditures which consume as much as 70 percent of Arab government budgets. As President Bourguiba declared in his interview in Jerusalem, "to concentrate on armaments alone means undermining the strength of the Arabs and that would be a catastrophe."

How exhilarating it is to hear from a chief of state the admissions that huge armament budgets are in the long run not a cure but a curse.

In his specific proposals regarding Arab-Israeli relations, President Bourguiba called for the implementation of the original United Nations partition plan of 1947. Much water has passed under the bridge since then. Due to the unprovoked war launched by some Arab States in 1948–49, the U.N. plan for the partition of Palestine lost effect and was superseded by the realities stemming from that Arab aggression. Boundaries have changed and there has been a mass shift in populations. In these circumstances, the details of President Bourguiba's recommendations are subject to legitimate question.

But we are not concerned with details. It is the essence of Bourguiba's view—his plea for the resolving of all differences through peaceful negotiations which must be emphatically endorsed. By taking this stance, President Bourguiba has laid bare the portentious designs of Nasser which will inevitably entail needless suffering and sacrifice for the Arab peoples. By confronting Cairo with irrefutable logic which exposes the sterility of Nasser's leadership, Bourguiba has challenged that self-appointed guardian of the Arabs. In an interview with Le Figaro, President Bourguiba charged Nasser with "lack of realism and the wish to create a sham unity of the Arab League, with a common capital and under the leadership of a single man." President Bourguiba called this "daydreaming." Continuing his expose of Nasser's megalomania, President Bourguiba declared on May 2, "that at the bottom of all this is the (Nasser's) will to exercise an exclusive leadership in the Arab world in such a way as to appear uncontested master of its destinies, with all the advantages that (it) would bring." (New York Times, May 3, 1965.) In an interview reported in the New York Journal American (May 11, 1965), he said: "Seven years ago, Tunisia stood alone when we refused to accept Nasser's pose as leader of the Arab world. Our rejection of satellization reached the point of breaking diplomatic relations. But today we are no longer alone."

The latter point brings us to another important implication in Bourguiba's challenge. By his courage, example, and statesmanship, President Brouguiba has now shown the way for other Arab leaders to resist Nasser's ambitions and to preserve the sovereignty and freedom of their countries. It is to be noted that President Bourguiba admits that the violent hate propaganda spread by Nasser and mechanically initiated by some Arab leaders, has paralyzed their scope for action and flexibility. More than 8 years ago, "Prevent World War III" alluded to this factor as a fundamental impediment to the establishment of normal conditions in the Middle East. "Those leaders who purvey poisonous propaganda, help to create a climate of blind hatred which may prove to be uncontrollable among peoples who are kept ignorant as to the real state of affairs. As a result, a change from a policy of hostility to one of peace and mutual accommodation becomes virtually impossible, even when the long term interests of the country concerned require it. When a people are infected by artifically whipped up hatred, those who are responsible for this state of mind become prisoner of it. They are no longer able to act in a statesmanlike manner which is imperative if the country's welfare is to be safeguarded." (No. 49, winter-spring, 1957).

Though President Bourguiba acknowledges that it is difficult to dismount this tiger of irrational hatred, spawned by the Arabs themselves, it is imperative that it be done at once. That is why he now appeals for reason and calm deliberation. "As far as Palestine is concerned," he declared in an interview in Le Monde, the Arabs "must be realists and overstep the phase of recriminations. We must take into consideration changing periods, have a humane sense, and not let sentiments and hatred supplant reason."

In a lengthy interview with the French journal Le Nouvel Observateur (Apr. 15, 1965), President Bourguiba declared: "For 17 years the efforts of the Arabs were in vain." That is, during all of these years, the Arab masses have been obliged to shoulder enormous military burdens under the inducement that in the long run these sacrifices would pay off. Instead, this policy of belligerency has driven the Arabs into a blind alley of frustration. It has inhibited normal economic development and prevented a genuine amelioration in their living conditions.

President Bourguiba has referred to Egypt's military intervention in Yemen as a case in point. Speaking before the National Council of his party on May 21, 1965, he said: "For 2 years Egyptian troops have occupied Yemen under the pretext of fighting reaction. Their presence there is unwanted by everyone. Everywhere, we have had enough of this behavior of the Cairo leaders. It does nothing to serve the cause of unity and does not contribute to strengthening Arab ranks, nor to solving the problem of Palestine." President Bourguiba has now appealed to the Arab peoples to reject the force and violence preached by Nasser as a panacea for their ills. He has asked his Arab brothers to face the real world of the 1960's. He has called for coexistence which is the only moral and fruitful way for the Arab masses.

President Bourgubia has committed himself to a course which deserves the fullest support of all peace-loving peoples. In his statesmanship, in his courageous proposal for mutual accommodations between Israel and her Arab neighbors, Bourgubia has not only outlind the way to peace in the Middle East but he has also pointed the way to peace in the wider context of our troubled and wartorn world.

BOXNOTE

President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia is arguing that coexistence between Arab and Jew is necessary and possible.

As for Nasser, self-appointed Arab chief, his government-controlled newspapers called Bourguiba "raving maniac" and "backstabbing Judas." Only the conservative Arab monarchies of Saudi Arabia, Libya, and Morocco remained silent, presumably because they, like Tunisia, oppose Nasser.

Perhaps nothing can come of a plea like Bourguiba's. But its background, the confrontation between Israel and the Arabs, in which both sides share blame, looks more ominous just now than it has for years. Intensifying disputes over Jordan River water provide a plausible casus belli. Soviet artillery, tanks, and jets have given the Arabs an estimated 3-to-1 arms lead; Israelis talk nervously of preventive war. At this dangerous juncture, any counsel of peace and reason, on either side, serves our welcome and praise. (Life, May 7, 1965.)

BOXNOTE

"Bourguiba has gone mad."

Thus did one of President Nasser's Cairo house organs characterize the plea voiced by Tunisia's President Habib Bourguiba for direct Arab-Israeli negotiations. In Beirut the newspaper Al Moharren called Bourguiba's proposal high treason.

For what he is essentially saying is that Arab leaders must abandon their dream of destroying Israel; it is here to stay. To the demagogues and adventurers for whom perpetuation of tension and hysteria is the big business of Arab politics, such sober counsel is understandably offensive. But to millions of poverty-plagued Arabs whose living standards could be raised by the economic benefits of peace, his words may hold real meaning. Has Bourguiba "gone mad?" Or is he a lonely prophet of sanity on the Middle East's turbulent horizon? (New York Post, Apr. 25, 1965.)

Kern County Youth Are Outstanding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARLAN HAGEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, the strength of our great country is the quality of its people and the opportunity given them to develop their best talents to the utmost in an atmosphere of freedom and equality. Daily we are gratified by the achievements of our young people and I wish to present two illustrations of accomplishment from my congressional district.

The first of these was announced in the Bakersfield Californian of Saturday, July 10, 1965:

BAKERSFIELD COLLEGE SINGERS TAKE INTERNATIONAL CONCERT

Bakersfield College won the international trophy for mixed choirs yesterday at the Llangollen International Musical Eisteddfod (song and poetry festival) Wales although nearly half the singers had colds.

They competed before an audience of 10,000 against 15 of the world's best choirs, from 11 countries.

The change from Bakersfield's sunny climate to chilly, damp Britain gave many of the Bakersfield singers the sniffles.

But in spite of this, they piled up 263 points, one more than the Mariakoren Singers of Vasteras, Sweden.

Adjudicator Sir Thomas Armstrong suggested warm hearts must be behind the warm tones produced by the Bakersfield choir. "They at once thrilled us and engaged our sympathy," he added.

The choir may return home to national and State honors.

Art Boehning, civic leader and one of the sponsors of the Bakersfield College Choir's trip abroad, today sent messages to Congressman HARLAN HAGEN and Senators THOMAS KUCHEL and GEORGE MURPHY calling attention to the fact the choir's triumph in song was an interntaional triumph.

The victory brings attention to the cultural achievements of this country and of an American junior college.

He said college choir members achieved their triumph by steadfast devotion to their art. In addition, they worked hard at many endeavors to help pay their own expenses to the Eisteddfod.

"If they should be invited to Washington, D.C., to sing on the White House lawn for the President of the United States, or receive national recognition, it would mean much to these outstanding young people," Boehning wired.

Boehning said the international triumph for the Bakersfield College choristers was also a triumph for the State of California and the State will also play a role in their August 3 welcome home.

Senator Walter Stiern and Assemblyman John C. Williamson and Jack T. Casey will be among those to welcome home the choir, Boehning said. He reported an invitation is being extended to Gov. Edmund G. Brown to attend the welcome-home ceremonies.

The choir won its international triumph Friday and was awarded the international trophy along with a cash award of 450 pounds sterling (about $1,260). The director is Joseph Huszti.

Ray Petty placed second in the tenors' solo contest and Patricia Varney third in the altos' contest. The madrigal ensemble of the choir placed seventh.

The choir returned to London Friday to sing in St. Paul's Cathedral there. The choir will sing the Sunday Mass July 18 at the Munich Cathedral. Singing tours of Holland and Germany will follow with concerts at Bonn, and Heidelberg.

The choir is scheduled to give an open-air concert in St. Mark's Square in Rome and to sing in Florence. The singers will leave Italy July 29 and stop briefly in Switzerland and Paris before returning to New York August 3.

If a reception is held for the choir in Washington, D.C., it probably will be August 4, or even, August 3, depending upon the time of arrival.

Dr. Ed Simonsen, president of the Bakersfield College, when told of the international victory achieved by the choir said:

"I am very proud and happy, but not too surprised that they won. These young people put all their best efforts into this project for months. We know how hard they worked to make the trip, and in addition to the many long hours they rehearsed to become the champions they are. This victory brings not only great honor to Bakersfield College, but to Kern County and California and it is also a national honor.

"The singers and the college could not have achieved so much without the fine community backing given them. They were singing as much for their community as for their college."

Chaperons for the trip are choir director Joseph B. Huszti and Mrs. Huszti, Miss Maribelle Murray, Miss Helen Welsch, Roger Winter, and Mrs. Mary Ellen Braun.

Choir members are: Lana Sue Widener, Jane C. Chapin, Janet I. Cheary, Ashley K. Cooper, Patricia Ann Weisel, Helen Clanin, Ronald L. Henson, Joyce I. Caldwell, Robert E. Whitchurch, James D. Hamman, Charlie E. Walker, Kathleen Bulkeley, Edna L. Rollins, Patricia C. Varney, Laurel Ann Miller, Charlotte Gaines, Daniel K. Sniffin, Jordan L. Grant, Bonnye R. Conner, Roger W. Jobe, William R. Matlock, Mary Jane Anderson, Don Gilkison, Richard B. Dixon, Faye D. Mahoney, Robert W. Dallons, John A. Brady, Katherine Ann Clark, Roxanne A. Tigner, Margie N. Debord, Sara Lynn Kinney, Janice L. Stone, Eddie J. Murders, Frank L. Saxton, Marilyn J. Bauer, Ramona Forquera, Karen Hodson, Ray Petty, Vicki Leech, Lonni Rae Doss, Richard Paul, James Dunaway, William Grisham, Janet P. Plummer, Roberto Mendez, Alice G. Torres, Judith Ann Fryer, Jean Clark.

It is my understanding that the prize won by the Bakersfield College singers is the most signal honor to be won by mixed choirs and in further recognition of their achievement they will be received by President Johnson at the White House this Wednesday. It should be noted that Bakersfield College has only 2 years to build a choir by reason of the fact that it is a junior college with only a 2-year program. This fact, too, is a favorable commentary on the quality of education offered in California at all levels of training.

I now invite your attention to the commentary entitled "Pipefuls" by Jim Day which appeared in the July 23, 1965, issue of the Bakersfield Californian:

PIPEFULS

(By Jim Day)

Milton Reed, assistant publisher of the Taunton Daily Gazette of Taunton, Mass., writes Walter Kane about a recent experience which conveys a nice compliment to Bakersfield youngsters.

"I spotted two sightseeing buses parked at the center of Taunton, Mass. Upon seeing a large group of young people about them I sent one of our reporters over to see if there was a story and later I went over myself and gave them some copies of our paper to take home as souvenirs. As you can see by reading the story we were much impressed by the splendid behavior of this group. They were perfect ladies and gentlemen. It really was a pleasure to talk to such a fine group especially after reading about so many riots about the country during the last few weeks."

The report about the 86 California teenagers having lunch in Taunton is quoted in part:

"As a few of them stood on the sidewalk in front of the superior courthouse, they noticed a shaggy looking young man in loud clothes stroll by. They chuckled to themselves and referred to him privately as a pseudosurfer.

"Several of the young boys, all with carefully groomed haircuts, explained that the group is conscious of its tourist appearance. They told of one boy who had submitted to a haircut for the trip and of their policy to wear ties and jackets in the larger cities. The girls, they said, could not wear slacks in larger cities. Furthermore even at brief stops such as Taunton, shirt tails must be tucked in and feet shod.

"They found the South much friendlier than the Northeast. One boy commented about New York, 'In 3 days only one person smiled at us.' "

Further corroboration of the excellent impression the county's touring youngsters have made is contained in another letter to Publisher Kane from Robert B. Devine of Buffalo, N.Y., who is quoted in part:

"Many words have been written dwelling on the faults of our young people in their teens.

"May I call to your attention and to the attention of the citizens of Bakersfield the very fine impression we gained of your community from a group of your young people in this age classification.

"We were able to observe these young folks the evening of July 8, and during their departure at a motel in the Syracuse, N.Y. area. Their conduct and friendly manner was most heartening and this message is to commend these young men and women and the community of Bakersfield."

There are six adult leaders taking some 80 students on a 9,600-mile tour that was begun last June and which will be concluded this month. Migs Apsit of this city is a pioneer here in arranging and conducting such tours which he has headed for a number of years.

Jerome A. Muzinich, of this city, writes Walter Kane from Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, giving him a report concerning Steve Strelich of this city who was injured in an automobile accident in Dubrovnik while traveling with Dr. Chris Stockton, of Bakersfield. The car at the time was being driven by the mayor of Dubrovnik and was involved in a collision with a truck on a one-way street. Dr. Stockton was shaken up and severely bruised. Steve suffered more serious injuries but is making a good recovery in Yugoslavia. Dr. Stockton has returned here.

Mr. Muzinich writes in part:

"I was supposed to have met Steve in Belgrade, but found there after much statelike red tape, that he had been hit by a state truck in Dubrovnik, a 260-mile trip * * * I found him in high spirits and well on the way to recovery.

"Although he's covered in plaster from the chest down he will be out of his cocoon shortly after you get this letter. Some rest after that and he'll be in fine shape for dove season in California.

"I was certainly impressed with Steve's doctor. He's a fine gentleman reputed to be one of the best in Europe. At 36, he's second in command for this area and speaks seven languages just for the hell of it. We're going fishing together in the morning."

Incidentally I believe Dr. Stockton went fishing with the same doctor.

The foregoing favorable comment with respect to a touring group of Kern County high school students is a further apt reflection on a representative group of young people from my district and invites attention to a tour which is an annual event designed to better acquaint students with the virtues of America.

The tour is conducted annually by Mr. and Mrs. Marger Apsit, of Bakersfield. Mr. Apsit is a teacher in the Bakersfield high school system and is a former college and professional football player. I would recommend that other public-spirited citizens sponsor such tours. The young people participating return home with a better knowledge of their country and its history and institutions.

The World Population Explosion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, one of the most serious effects of the world population explosion is the desperate race now underway between increases in food production and spiraling population growth. A country, which by enormous effort manages to increase food production by 2 percent over a year's period, will find its population yet worse off than before, as long as the growth rate remains at 3 percent. This difficulty applies as well to capital investment in economically developing countries. Enormous efforts of countries to better themselves industrially are daily being eaten up by the growth of population.

The second article in the series "Our Crowded Earth," by Jean M. White, presently running in the Washington Post, discusses the problems and the solutions tried by India:

OUR CROWDED EARTH—II: TEEMING INDIA TRIES POPULATION CONTROL

(By Jean M. White)

An old Sanskrit medical text provides a simple if unappetizing remedy: Just drink 3-year-old ghee (a rancid cooking fat) for 15 days and you won't become pregnant for 3 months.

In Punjab on certain days, if the stars are right, a room with three beams is babyproof.

The Western-educated Indian official who repeats these old birth-control prescriptions is not poking fun at the ancient Hindus. He tells them to back up his argument that India's current policy of population control has some roots in tradition and does have a chance to succeed in the face of enormous obstacles.

India, more than any other country, dramatizes the problem of the world's rapid acceleration of population growth.

It is there in stark terms for the visitor to see when he steps over sleeping bodies on the streets of Calcutta. It is also there in the less dramatic but no less important story of a poor country trying to get going on economic development to give its people a little better life, only to find the gains wiped out in a flood of new population.

Most of the barriers hindering a workable family-planning program are also there—the pattern of village living; people who can't read or write, in a country with 14 main languages; the institution of early marriage, usually by 15 for girls; the tradition of big families, rooted in the instinct to survive and carried over from a time when death took many children; inadequate medical services; dark, overcrowded huts.

And, in India, there is the need for at least one son to light the father's funeral pyre.

India, the second most populated country in the world, grows by about 1 million people each month. Today it has some 475 million people—more than the population of North and South America combined. Before the end of the century, there probably will be 1 billion Indians, almost a third of the present population of the world.

India has tried, at least intellectually, to face up to these statistical realities. She was the first country to make the momentous decision that a government should try to control population and made family planning a part of national policy in 1952.

Early this year, at India's request, the United Nations sent its first technical assistance mission on family planning to look at the lagging program. After a 2-month study, Sir Colville Deverell politely praised India's intention. But he also urged the Government to drop "bureaucratic shackles" and to follow up words with action.

"Once I was worried about the villager in India. I'm no longer worried about him. It's the bureaucrat who worries me," observes one population expert with long, frustrating experience in India.

It is true that after a decade of family-planning policy, India has little to show in results, except for some special projects like Singur in West Bengal.

But nowhere in the world was there any relevant past experience to guide India. When Western Europe and Japan stabilized their populations to a large degree, it was under far different circumstances with a mature, urbanized, literate society.

"Intellectual acceptance of the program is not enough," Deverell told a news conference in April after the U.N. committee's 2-month study.

At one of his own news conferences, Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri also was asked about the population problem. He replied that he has six children himself and probably isn't in a position to advise anyone. After this light touch of humor, there was a single sentence in praise of the objectives of population control.

Most of the prodding for a speed-up in action is coming from Asoka Mehta, chief of the Indian Planning Commission. Shastri recently set up a special interdepartmental committee after complaints about time lost in sheepherding family planning projects through dozens of byways in the Health and Finance Ministries.

GOAL IS 50 PERCENT

India's goal is a 50-percent cut in birth rates over the next 10 to 15 years. Most observers would call it a major success if the birth rate dropped 10 points from its present 40 or 50 per 1,000 over the next decade. Even then the population will grow at a relatively fast clip.

A tiny spiral of plastic may give India's frustrated family planners their first big break.

A plant to turn out a million IUD's (intrauterine device) annually now is being tooled and should be in production soon. The factory will produce the Lippes loop, a double-S plastic twirl named after a Buffalo, N.Y., gynecologist. The Population Council, a private American foundation, is sending 600,000 Lippes loops to India as a starter.

The plant was due to get in operation early in June, but the manufacturer from Buffalo arrived to find his dies wouldn't work. He had been sent the wrong information on the machines available.

For villagers who can't read or write and live in crowded huts, the IUD offers advantages. Once it is inserted, the wife doesn't have to do a thing for a year or so. The foreign body in the uterus acts to prevent conception.

"You can't have a complicated thing for the masses of India," Nehru once said.

Conventional contraceptive methods just haven't worked in rural backward lands.

A 28-BEAD NECKLACE

When India started its campaign to cut population, family planning was confined to the rhythm method. A necklace of 28 beads was supplied to help the villagers keep track of the wife's fertile period: the green beads for "safe" days; and red beads for "baby days." The wife was to move one bead each day.

Soon came complaints from wives that they couldn't see the color of the beads at night, so the red beads were made round and the green beads were made square.

Then came complaints that the beads moved both ways. So a safety catch was designed to prevent two-way movement. Some women ended up using the beads as charm amulets to ward off pregnancy.

When foaming vaginal tablets were distributed at one clinic, one recipient came back to report that they didn't taste very good.

But the Indian villager should not be underestimated, veterans in the field warn. The peasants can see their village land being cut up as more children survive. Polls have shown that 75 percent of Indians want to know how to limit their families. The know-why is coming before the know-how in many cases.

At Singur, in West Bengal, not far north of Calcutta, a pilot project has shown that results can be achieved. Over a 5-year period, there was an 18 percent cut in birth rates.

HOMES VISITED

Fieldworkers came to families in their homes. They used flash cards and movies. They were careful to direct their family planning pitch to husbands as well as wives. In a male dominated society, husbands don't like to give their wives absolute control over anything, including pregnancy.

At men's meetings, however, workers found they had a hard time to keep the discussion on the subject. The men wanted to talk about irrigation and crops.

If family planning programs are to get off the ground in India and other parts of Asia, some hardheaded observers feel there must be more action and less sensitivity. They think contraceptive devices like condoms should be hawked by street vendors so people can get them easily and won't have to go to government clinics.

Donald J. Bogue, population expert at the University of Chicago, calls for using the distribution techniques of mass education and mass commercialism. He also warns not to overlook the mother-in-law, who carries authority in the family.

Why not use the economic motive, Bogue asks, and allow midwives and doctors to make a small profit from selling contraceptive devices?

India has the cafeteria approach to birth-control methods, as B. L. Raina, the family-planning director, likes to describe it. It offers a choice of methods.

One is male sterilization. The advocates say it is surefire and the men become walking advertisements for birth control. Like anyone who has had an operation, they like to talk about it.

VOLUNTEERS PAID $2

In Madras, men who volunteer for sterilization are paid $2 and government employees get time off from work. But the number still has to reach 600,000 and often the operation doesn't come until after five or six children in the family.

So far, male prophylactics have proved the most popular contraceptive device. But the imported condom costs 7 cents—which can be a big item over the years where per capita income is only arount $70.

The government hopes to step up domestic production of condoms. It is converting a former balloon factory to that use.

There are also problems with the IUD. Ten to twenty percent of the women expel the coil or have bleeding reactions. Also, it must be inserted by a doctor, and there is only 1 doctor for each 60,000 people in India. In the long run, India plans to train nurse-midwives to insert the IUDs.

In India, there is still the fear of swarming hordes of Chinese. But in the modern world of nuclear weapons, there is more and more recognition of the fact that numbers do not make an effective defense. Even within the country, Hindus, Moslems, and Christians sometimes speak of losing ground if they practice birth control.

But more and more diehards are being converted as Indians see the squeeze on food production and economic growth.

URGES INTENSIVE PROGRAM

Last month Prime Minister Shastri, in a nation-wide broadcast, finally spoke out for an intensive birth-control program.

India now is ready to move on such a program, Amercan Ambassador Chester Bowles told a Senate subcommittee last week while home on leave.

Bowles showed newspaper clippings of government-sponsored ads advocating plan your family the loop way. He reported that the Indian Government plans to have 100,000 workers in the family-planning field by 1966 and is now requiring all doctors to spend a year or two at work in the villages before taking postgraduate training.

The loop has provided the means, Bowles said, and the big question now is administration.

The population of India will surely grow. The question is whether it will double in 25 years or whether India will have 60 or 70 years to make progress toward supporting a bigger population.

Time Uniformity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to add my name in suport of nationwide time uniformity. I certainly hope that Congress will act. All that remains to be done is for the House to take constructive action.

In the last year or two the American people have been increasingly aware of the wide differences in time observances across our land. During this period a large number of private and governmental interests—Federal, State, and local—have joined together to alleviate this appalling situation. We should carry through on our responsibility to do something about it.

My own State is a good example of clock confusion. Because of the status of our State laws and constitutional provisions, there is no statewide daylight saving time in Ohio. Each community decides for itself. In 1964, 192 cities were in the fast time zone, 4.5 million of our people or some 43 percent of our statewide population. This year it has been estimated that some 227 Ohio communities are on daylight saving time—not including our State capital—with daylight savings time prevailing in 24 of the 88 Ohio counties.

We have an instance this year, however, which is symbolic of the need for action. Barnesville, Ohio, a town of 4,425 population located 105 miles southeast of Cleveland, is split between two times. Half the community is on eastern standard time and the other half is on eastern daylight time. The town government, school district, and churches observe eastern standard time while most businesses, the banks, and local factories have pushed their clocks 1 hour ahead to eastern daylight time. Like Patrolman Beryl Giesey says:

> You don't know if you are coming or going half the time.

Within 10 miles of Barnesville, the Rand-McNally Atlas shows 20 Ohio communities in 4 counties, 5 of which are on eastern standard time and 15 on eastern daylight time.

On election day in Lawrence County, Ohio some polling places this year were open on eastern standard time while others observed daylight saving time. Also, Ohio liquor stores stay on eastern standard time whether a community is on eastern standard time or eastern daylight time.

On April 23, 1965, the Cincinnati Enquirer said, in regard to the time problem:

> We fear that the issue is too deeply rooted in emotion to admit of a swift or universally acceptable solution. Perhaps, though, it is comforting to know that someone is trying.

I say, therefore, that while my own State has to resolve the question of who observes daylight saving time, we should in Congress at least prescribe nationwide uniformity in the switchover dates and pending bills would do just that.

I include two articles on the subject with my remarks:

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer, Apr. 23, 1965]

TIME WILL DIVIDE BARNESVILLE 'TIL FALL

BARNESVILLE, OHIO.—While other Ohio communities dealing with daylight saving time (d.s.t.) this Sunday will quickly get over their confusion, time befuddlement lasts until fall in this Belmont County community of 4,400. The town is 105 miles southeast of Cleveland.

Half the town will switch to light-preserving hours while the rest remains on eastern standard time (e.s.t.).

The village council for the 10th year turned deaf ears on pleas to end the confusion. In fact it has added to the problem by letting the town clock alone while changing council meeting hours to an hour later than normal.

Mayor Victor Peddicord admits, "It is confusing," but declines to discuss the merits of daylight saving time.

The problem can be attributed to geography. About half the residents of Barnesville who hold jobs out of town work in Cambridge, Ohio, which annually remains on slow time, while the other half work in Wheeling, W. Va., which switches to fast time. Barnesville is about half way between the two cities.

So, the town government, school district, churches and some businesses will again operate on slow time. But factories, banks, and other businesses here set their clocks ahead.

A businessman noted that residents will not know until they visit the stores on Monday which will be open at what hours. He said, "Things will be a mess again."

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer, Apr. 14, 1965]

TIME IS OUT OF JOINT

(By Howard Preston)

There is a bill pending in the U.S. Senate which should interest you if you own a watch or care what time it is. It is S. 1404, which seeks to establish uniform dates for the beginning and ending of daylight saving time where it is observed throughout the United States.

This still doesn't get to the very root of the problem which is that 31 States observe changes in time to take advantage of extra daylight in the months of good weather while 19 States do not. This complicates horribly the time structure for people who travel, make telephone calls based on a time setting, who must direct shipments.

But the bill, if passed, will unravel the time snag to the extent of putting the 31 participating States on the same schdule. In 1964, for example, 15 States started daylight saving time on the last Sunday in April and ended it the last Sunday in October. This includes Ohio.

As every Ohian knows, this isn't the whole story. Not all of Ohio changes to daylight saving time. There is no absolute line of demarcation. The daylight saving time sections are on a hit-skip basis. This scrambled time makes no sense.

On April 25 next, some 100 million Americans will advance their clocks and watches and thus get out of step with 85 million other Americans who either remain on standard time all year or change to daylight saving time at a later date. It is one of the greatest public inconveniences in America.

Benjamin Franklin is credited with the invention of daylight saving time, but he never foresaw what could happen when it was adopted piecemeal. It results in these oddities:

Pennsylvania runs its State business on standard time but some 600 communities in that State run their official business on daylight saving time. Railroads by law must operate on standard time but are horribly out of step in the daylight saving time communities they pass through. During some periods of the year, west coast businessmen are just ready to go to lunch when east coast businessmen are catching transportation home at the end of the workday. In Minnesota, some offices in the State capitol building are on standard time, some on daylight saving time. In Aspen, Colo., traffic tickets involved with State violations must be timed with standard time, while local violations are timed with daylight saving time; that's because they go before different magistrates.

You are born and die on central standard time in Iowa but hospitals observe daylight saving time. Alaska has four time zones. During both world wars, Congress ended the time scramble abruptly with "War Time." England had double summer time to help the war effort.

From act 1, scene 5, Hamlet: "The time is out of joint: O cursed sprite. That ever I was born to set it right." Shakespeare probably would have been a stanch supporter of S. 1404 and would have written his Senator at once.

The Concept of Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is unfortunately true that far too many of our citizens do not value their rights and freedoms until they are taken way from them. For that reason, it is most instructive to observe the operation of governments abroad where there is often little observance of the rights and protections which Americans have traditionally enjoyed.

On July 11 a fine column by the distinguished reporter of international affairs, Mr. Ralph Kaplan, appeared in the Van Nuys News and Green Sheet. In that column Mr. Kaplan reports the stark difference in the systems of justice which now prevail in Syria and Israel. We can take some comfort from the fact that the State of Israel has learned the lessons taught by the injustices of the past and provides the protection of law and fair procedures even to those who are dedicated to the destruction of that valiant Republic.

Mr. Kaplan's column follows:

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

(By Ralph Kaplan)

Adherence to the concepts of justice is the only meaningful way of coping with crime. These include a man's right to face his accusers; know the crime with which he is charged; be given an impartial trial and to be represented by counsel of his choice.

The study of the legal system of a country proves the best way to discover whether it is democratic or totalitarian. Totalitarianism can only exist in a lawless surrounding. Communism and fascism show no re-

spect for the rights of the individual. Accusations are frequently identical with condemnations; often the accuser sits in judgment.

CONSIDERED PATRIOTIC

The accused is then pretried, preconvicted, and the actual court scene just there to give the shoddy procedure an auro of legality. Legality, we must know, is not identical with justice.

In the conflict between nations, spying is considered a patriotic act in the eyes of the nation for which it is done and a dastard one when viewed by the enemy. A spy, when caught, is brought to trial which, at least in civilized countries, is conducted with decorum and without cruelty.

Among the nations hostile to each other are Israel and Syria. Recently Syria and Israel conducted trials against alleged agents of the other. Both accused were tried before military courts.

The alleged Israeli spy, Eli Cohen, was tried before a closed military court and he was refused all and any form of defense. The Syrian Government, possibly trying to avoid embarrassing revelations by a defense counsel, decreed that the right of defense would be denied Eli Cohen.

SAW NO ONE

Distinguished French attorneys volunteered their services on his behalf and traveled to Syria to defend him. They were not even allowed to see him. Cohen, meanwhile, without benefit of a lawyer, was sentenced to death and despite worldwide pleas for clemency, was hanged.

He never saw a foreign face, be it a diplomat, lawyer, journalist or Red Cross representative from the day of his arrest until his execution and he died without ever knowing of the efforts made on his behalf.

So much for Syria. Israel also held its military trial of an El Fatah terrorist, Mahmud Hejazi, who entered Israel on a terror misison and fired on an Israeli patrol.

He was represented in court by a defense counsel, nominated by the Chamber of Advocates to defend him. Hejazi was found guilty on four counts and was sentenced to death. The defense counsel appealed the death sentence on the grounds that Hejazi, who had requested a lawyer from Jordan or some other country, had been refused the lawyer of his choice.

The Israel military appeals court accepted this argument and ordered a new trial in 3 months' time to give the accused an opportunity to obtain a lawyer of his choice. The Syrian is, therefore, assured a fair trial and he can take comfort also from the fact that Israel has never executed an Arab terrorist.

NOT SHARED BY SYRIANS

For Eli Cohen's widow and young children there is no comfort. The Syrians disposed of her husband as they had recently of an American citizen who was executed before the American Consul could even visit him.

International behavior patterns in law and the meting out of justice have always separated the barbarians from the civilized; the irresponsible dictators from the leaders who listen to their conscience.

Our concern in America for individual rights, so deeply and prophetically incorporated in the Bill of Rights is not shared by the Syrians who follow the example of most of the Arab States by placing the transitional requirements of a dictatorial government over the permanent needs of human society and its individuals.

Justice is not divisible—it cannot be granted one and denied the other. If we are to live with the knowledge that justice is ours at all times and that cruelty is not part of the legal system of our society, then countries like Syria should be made to revise their method, or failing this, we should revise our attitude to countries like Syria.

A Vibrant Era of Opportunity and Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the Vice President of the United States is one of our most eloquent spokesmen for the humanitarian progress of our great Nation. He has demonstrated this once again, as he has so many times in the past, in the splendid address he has prepared for the 55th annual convention of the National Urban League at the Eden Roc Hotel in Miami Beach. I am proud to have this address delivered in my district and to call it to the attention of my colleagues:

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

I am deeply honored to be here tonight with my friends of the National Urban League.

This organization was founded in 1910 in the midst of the progressive era. You retain today the spirit of that era—the spirit of innovation, experimentation, and commitment to social justice. You are still on the frontlines of social and economic reform—grappling with the basic issues of employment, education, housing, health care, and recreation.

During the years of your founding, the American people worked to preserve the rights and privileges of the individual in a time of rapid industrialization—attempting to build a social and economic order free of special privilege and discrimination.

These same issues of social and economic justice concern the American people today.

For the truth is simply this: We need everybody in the difficult task of self-government.

We can no longer afford the luxury of squandering the resources of human skills, intellect, and ability through discrimination, poverty, disease, and illiteracy.

And, for the first time in history, this Nation possesses the intellectual resources and economic power to make every American a full partner in this enterprise of democracy.

We possess the knowledge and the wealth. But do we also possess the courage and compassion to do this job? Do we have the inner strength needed to build a society where every citizen enjoys an equal chance in fact—and not just in theory?

In recent years the American people have demonstrated their intention to answer "yes" to these questions.

We have, for example, witnessed the virtual elimination of legalized prejudice and discrmination in America.

Many brave and courageous people, both black and white, have risked their lives, and sometimes lost their lives, in carrying forward this assault upon the barriers of legalized discrimination.

We can look with pride upon the dignity and compassion, yes, even the love, which has characterized the efforts of these courageous Americans.

Their actions have demonstrated that freedom still lives on these shores. They have shown us that the quest for freedom is the strongest and most compelling force in the world.

With the series of Supreme Court decisions culminating in the historic *Brown* v. *Board of Education* case in 1954—and with the series of congressional actions leading to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965—the initial phase of the civil rights struggle is now drawing to a close.

Much remains to be done until these decisions of our Government are fully implemented. But the fact these decisions were taken demonstrates, in compelling fashion, the intention of the American people to banish legalized inequality and discrimination forever.

In recent years we have also witnessed what your executive director, Whitney M. Young, Jr., has termed the quiet revolution—a revolution stemming from the encouraging increase of Negro enrollment in college and professional schools, from the rising level of income among Negroes, from the availability of more challenging and responsible job opportunities, and from the declining rate of school dropouts among Negroes as compared to the population in general.

Everyday we encounter fresh evidence that Negro Americans are succeeding despite the handicaps of prejudice, of closed doors, of limited or nonexistent educational opportunities, and of the deep psychological wound of being a Negro in a period where this usually implied second-class citizenship and the back of the bus.

There are, then, definite signs that our country will meet the challenge of providing every American with the chance to pursue his individual destiny in a climate of dignity and freedom.

Yet, as President Johnson pointed out in his historic address at Howard University: "For the great majority of Negro Americans—the poor, the unemployed, the uprooted, and the dispossessed—there is a much grimmer story * * * for them the walls are rising and the gulf is widening."

We are, in fact, in danger of creating two separate and distinct Negro Americas. One America, comprised of a minority of Negroes entering the middle class, has been the beneficiary of the very real progress we see about us. The other America, inhabited largely by the residents of our urban ghettoes and rural slums, has been increasingly isolated from this progress—shunted aside in this march toward freedom and justice.

In his Howard University address, President Johnson set forth the tragic dimensions of this American failure—this broadening of the gap between the vibrant promise of America and its hollow fulfillment:

Today the unemployment rate among Negroes is twice as high as among whites. Thirty-five years ago it was about equal.

Today the unemployment rate for Negro teenage boys is 23 percent as against 13 percent for whites unemployed. In 1948 it was actually lower for Negro youth.

Today the median income of Negro families compared to whites is lower than it was a decade ago.

Today infant mortality of nonwhites is 90 percent greater than whites. In 1940 it was 70 percent.

Today the number of white families living in poverty has decreased 27 percent since 1947. The number of poor nonwhite families has dropped only 3 percent.

The time has come to face these facts honestly. The time has come to appreciate how we have largely failed to make equal opportunity meaningful in many people's lives as well in the Nation's laws. The time has come to recognize that although our laws are more just than ever before, justice is for many a distant and unrealized promise.

As we enter this new phase of the Negro's struggle—the phase dedicated to securing economic and social justice—two general problems must be isolated and confronted—problems of substance and problems of spirit.

We know that the problems of substance are complex and intertwined. We cannot identify a single aspect of the Negro's life and try to deal with it alone.

We cannot emphasize just the need for more jobs, or better housing, or improved education.

More jobs cannot come without better education.

Better education awaits stable families and neighborhoods.

Stable families and neighborhoods require better housing and health facilities.

And better housing and health facilities call for better jobs.

Where do you begin to arrest this downward spiral of second-rate education, functional illiteracy, delinquency, dependence, and despair?

We can only begin by attacking all these social and economic ills at once.

We must also come to grips with the problem of spirit which plagues the Negro. We must understand that generations of prejudice, deprivation, disease, and subservience have sown among many Negroes the seeds of profound despair, apathy, indifference, and distrust.

What can we expect when hope is resolutely crushed from the young, when there are no jobs even for the educated, and no homes in good neighborhoods even for the hardworking?

What can we expect when a man's daily regimen is a combination of humiliation, insult, and embarrassment?

Is it surprising that authorities on human rights emphasize the need to replace the attitudes of unimportance and inferiority with the qualities of self-respect and self-confidence?

The origins of this crisis of the spirit lie in old brutalities. Its impact is the result of past injustice. And its virulence is sustained by present prejudices.

So progress toward full citizenship will come not only with liberation from discrimination in housing, education, and jobs, but also with liberation of the spirit.

Liberation of the spirit involves the exercise of man's uniquely human capacities: the potentiality for creativity and the opportunity to pursue excellence. These are the qualities which produce not only a climate of equal rights, but one of equal respect as well.

We make no pretense at knowing precisely what must be done to combat this dual challenge of substance and spirit.

We do know, however, that the full resources of the Federal Government are committed to this complex task.

And we know that cooperation must be the keynote—cooperation between public and private, between National, State and local, between all concerned parties. Only such a broad assault—with a sense of commitment and imagination unknown until now—will be capable of altering this pattern of economic and social disintegration.

In no area is there greater opportunity for constructive, cooperative relations than President Johnson's war on poverty.

We are committed to mobilizing the resources of a nation to lift 35 million Americans out of the stifling atmosphere of poverty into the fresh, invigorating air of self-sufficiency. This is a task worthy of a free and compassionate people.

And while the Federal Government is prepared to carry much of the burden, we know that victory ultimately depends upon our receiving the enthusiastic support of such nongovernmental groups as the National Urban League.

We are especially gratified that many Urban League chapters have already assumed responsibility for local antipoverty programs. And your continued assistance is crucial.

We need your help in reaching the poor and demonstrating to them that opportunity for a new life does exist.

We need your help in developing neighborhood organizations and block councils—those units so vital in the struggle for self-sufficiency and self-respect.

We need your help in developing antipoverty approaches and techniques which have direct impact on the lives of people.

We need your help in finding meaningful jobs for those who participate in training and educational programs—and in expanding housing facilities and other allied community services.

And we need your help in developing leadership to carry forward the war on poverty, to plan and administer community action programs—Head Start projects, Job Corps centers and the like—and to develop constructive recommendations for improving the operation of the antipoverty program.

Indeed, we encourage constructive criticism. We intend to discard programs that don't work. We will expand those that do. And we are depending upon you to assist us in reaching these decisions.

The problems of substance and spirit require all the compassion, commitment, and ingenuity we can muster. Our labors must be recorded not in the headlines of the daily press but in the minds and hearts of those who seldom read newspapers at all.

Our progress must be measured not in number of programs funded or dollars allocated, but in the improvement in the lives of those afflicted by poverty and prejudice.

And, in the end, our goal must be to help the inhabitants of the other Negro America—the land left in the backwash of recent progress—to step forward confidently into this new, vibrant era of opportunity and freedom.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Senate debated legislative reapportionment proposal and passed nine sundry bills, five on calendar call.

House adopted conference report on voting rights bill and passed bills increasing Federal retirement and overseas teachers' pay.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 18354–18383

Bills Introduced: Five bills and two resolutions were introduced, as follows: S. 3350–3354; and S. Con. Res. 44–45. **Pages 18355, 18363**

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows:

H.R. 7765, fiscal 1966 appropriations for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, with amendments (S. Rept. 537);

S. 561, proposed Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1965, with amendments (S. Rept. 538);

S. Con. Res. 44, authorizing printing of additional copies of H. Doc. 198 entitled "The Commission on Intergovernmental Relations" (no written report—referred to Committee on Rules and Administration); and

S. Con. Res. 45, authorizing printing of additional copies of "The Catalog of State Aids to State and Local Governments," and the 1965 supplement thereto (no written report—referred to Committee on Rules and Administration). **Page 18355**

Bills Referred: 13 House-passed bills were referred to appropriate committees. **Pages 18350, 18412**

President's Message—Interoceanic Canal: President transmitted first annual report of the Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission, and in his message reiterated the importance attached to pressing forward with plans and preparations for a sea-level canal. Message, with accompanying report, was referred to Committee on Commerce. **Page 18349**

Hoover Historical Site: H.R. 8111, authorizing the establishment of the Herbert Hoover National Monument in Iowa, was passed without amendment and cleared for President's signature. **Pages 18350–18351**

FCC: Senate passed with amendment S. 1948, relating to commissioners, employees, and executive reservists of the FCC. **Pages 18352–18354**

Statue of Liberty: After discharging Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs from its further consideration, Senate passed without amendment and cleared for White House H.J. Res. 454, to develop Ellis Island as a part of the Statue of Liberty National Monument.

S.J. Res. 79, companion joint resolution, was then indefinitely postponed. **Pages 18351–18352**

Bankruptcy: By unanimous consent it was agreed that H.R. 136, respecting statutory liens in bankruptcy; and H.R. 3438, to limit the priority and nondischargeability of taxes in bankruptcy, were referred to Committee on Finance with instructions to report thereon within 30 days. **Page 18354**

Reapportionment: Senate continued consideration of S.J. Res. 66, designating a National American Legion Baseball Week, debating Javits amendment No. 367 (as an amendment to the Dirksen substitute amendment) proposing a constitutional amendment permitting apportionment of one House of a State legislature on a mixture of population, geography, or political subdivision factors, after statewide referendum, but making Supreme Court the final arbiter of whether the result bears a reasonable relationship to the needs of the State.

The Dirksen amendment No. 366 (as a substitute for the bill) proposes a constitutional amendment allowing a State, by referendum vote, to apportion one branch of its legislature on geography and political subdivisions, in addition to the factor of population.

Pages 18383–18412, 18462, 18463–18471

Calendar Call: On call of calendar, Senate passed five bills, as follows:

Without amendment and cleared for House:

Currency: S. 1308, authorizing revised procedures for the destruction of unfit Federal Reserve notes;

Federal Reserve: S. 1556, authorizing the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System to delegate certain of its functions;

Federal Reserve banks: S. 1557, to enable Federal Reserve banks to invest in certain obligations of foreign governments; and

Appendix

O'Brien's Contribution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "O'Brien's Contribution," written by Mr. William S. White, and published in this morning's Washington Post.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

O'BRIEN'S CONTRIBUTION

(By William S. White)

There are two incredible realities about President Johnson's program in Congress, and it is a close question as to which is the more improbable.

One is the profound and unexampled scope of the legislation that has moved so sedately and surely through the Senate and House. What Congress under Mr. Johnson's spur is doing in all fields of social legislation is in depth and total meaning beyond what any Congress has ever done for any President in any like period—not excluding Franklin D. Roosevelt at the top of his power.

The other unreal reality is that all this is being accomplished with so quiet, so casual, an air of professional competence that the country is hardly aware of the immense alterations being made in the whole fabric of its collective life.

Five enactments of historic significance have already followed one another in orderly and ordained sequence, as steadily and calmly as a trained squad of men filing by in quickstep. Four of these—aid to the Appalachian region, Federal assistance to education in a fundamental way, medicare, and Negro voting rights—had been in one way or another sought for decades—for 2 to 3 decades in some instances, for 10 decades in the case of civil rights.

A fifth, the measure not merely to broaden Government-aided housing but also to provide Government rent subsidies to tenants, is so far-reaching as never before to have been proposed at all.

In any Congress one had known in the past any one of these huge bills would have provoked a struggle to shake the very walls of the Capitol. This time, each one has gone forward in about the atmosphere of strife and drama a postman might stir in making his rounds in the suburbs.

Perhaps history will have to determine the ultimate degree of wisdom or unwisdom in these unprecedented congressional actions. Some onlookers, including this onlooker, will not wait so long. They cannot down grave anxieties as to whether we ought to have gone so far so quickly in some of these many directions. Anyhow, we have gone there.

So, how was it all done? Primarily, of course, it was done by an occupant of the White House whose skill in leading and prodding Congress is matchless in our time. But the White House shelters more than one man; and the No. 2 man in this performance is entitled to a great share of credit or blame.

This No. 2 man is Lawrence O'Brien, the President's principal agent in liaison with Congress, and before that, a member of what the eggheads around President Kennedy were pleased to call, with a certain condescension, "Kennedy's Irish Mafia." O'Brien, who loved Mr. Kennedy quite as well as the next fellow, also loved the causes and the country he was supposed to represent. So those causes and that country—and President Johnson, too—he has served with signal loyalty and high competence. If the record of the first session of the first Johnson Congress is extraordinary—and all can agree on that much, at least—extraordinary has been O'Brien's contribution to it.

No man has so ably embodied the transition from the Kennedy to the Johnson era. And no man has done his full duty with less cocktail-circuit posturing and self-promotion. The reason is not dreadfully hard to find. O'Brien is a true professional; he is concerned with results and not with doctrinal hairsplitting and ideological hissing matches.

And so nobody has had to draw him a little map of the trails through that tough terrain where the bureaucratic jungle merges with the legislative jungle up on Capitol Hill.

Washington's Money Birds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, recently a constituent sent me an article from the current Harper's magazine, "Washington's Money Birds" by Larry L. King, a very capable, perceptive, and interesting writer on political and other matters. I was requested to have the article inserted in the RECORD. It deals with matters of interest to all the Members, and under unanimous consent I insert the article in the Appendix.

The article follows:

WASHINGTON'S MONEY BIRDS—A GUIDE TO THE LOBBYIST AMERICANUS AND HIS PREDATORY PURSUITS

(By Larry L. King)

In all the 139,581 listings contained in the Washington Yellow Pages, the word "lobbyist" appears not once. One might erroneously conclude that the Lobbyist Americanus, like the Goldwater mystique and the whooping crane, is becoming extinct. Such is not the case, though exactly how many lobbyists are at work in Washington is a mystery. In 1962 almost 1,200 individuals and organizations filed reports with Congress of lobying activities; on the average, however, less than 400 such reports are filed. About 500 persons or groups are currently registered under the Lobbying Act of 1946. Although the vagaries of that act make an accurate head count impossible, the Department of Commerce lists some 4,000 national organizations now foraging on the Potomac, and another 75,000 local associations settled in grassroots nests, whence periodic delegations descend on Washington.

Among the national groups which have not filed spending reports in most years are the American Bankers Association, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the American Public Power Association. Some of the Nation's largest defense contractors, while maintaining more Washington suites than Alabama has outside agitators, neither register as lobbyists nor report expenditures. Yet no one has whistled for a cop because more than likely no laws are being broken.

The law covering lobbying activity is more flab than muscle; with similar legislation on the books for homicide, Murder, Inc., would be listed on the stock exchange. The title, "Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act," is a misnomer. It is not regulatory, but a mere disclosure-of-expenditures requirement. No Government agency is charged with seeing that lobbyists file accurate reports, if at all. Reporting is willy-nilly. Filed reports, if they come in, gather dust along with affidavits from the Bobby Baker case. Nobody is designated to report violations; nobody does.

No lobby-control legislation of any kind was introduced until 1913. Thirty-three years crawled by before our statesmen gave us a Lobbyist Act. Not even Teapot Dome caused any serious official twitches toward reform. Committee reports accompanying the 1946 Lobbying Act opened escape hatches big enough to free vast multitudes to behave as they wish. "The act," the reports read, "does not apply to organizations whose efforts to influence legislation are merely incidental to the purpose for which formed." Congress bought the language. It was this convenient verbiage which later prompted Senator John Kennedy to judge the 1946 act "practically worthless" and peppery Senator WILLIAM PROXMIRE to dismiss it as "a farce." Though bills have been introduced for 19 consecutive years to make the law more meaningful, they have quietly withered on the vine. "Nobody," says Congressman MORRIS UDALL, Arizona Democrat, "is lobbying for them."

FROM GOLF TO THE GLAD HAND

It must be emphasized at the start that there is no "typical lobbyist." Evelyn Dubrow of the Ladies Garment Workers is a kindly little woman who you feel is on the verge of urging you to eat your chicken soup; free-lance public relations woman Lucy Cummings is a statuesque blonde who might cause male heads to turn at a quarterly conference of Methodist Bishops. Former Congressman Charles Brown, of Missouri, who represents among others ASCAP and the National Education Association, is a debonair gentleman you never would suspect of having once traveled the Ozarks as agent for hillbilly singer Eddie Arnold.

Just as there is no stereotyped lobbyist, neither is there a wholly uniform approach to influence Congress. While some outfits spend small fortunes showering Congressmen with elaborate slickpaper color brochures, others are certain these find their way promptly into wastebaskets, unseen by legislators' eyes. Where one lobbyist will angle to play a round of golf with a Congressman in the same week his special cause is coming to the floor for vote, another might consider the approach too transparent. Feminine pulchritude sometimes plays a part. A stunning redhead was introduced to the lobby game by a firm which hired her to exhibit

earthmoving machines to government purchasing agents. "I didn't know a bolt from a bagpipe," she recalls, "but I sold the product." All lobbyists, however, do share one abiding principle: each is after the dollar.

In my experience as newspaperman and administrative assistant to two Congressmen, I encountered all known breeds of these exotic birds. Though I have personally met no one representing the Kaiser, I have known paid agents for diapermakers, Indian tribes, the International Lunar Society, and the Pitkin County, Colo., Water Protection Association. The Washington veteran can easily identify the seven most operative varieties: the "Lame Duck Emeritus," the "Swamp Sparrow," the "Prairie Chicken," the "White-Bellied Booby," the "Hawk Owl," the "Potomac Night Flier," and the "Kingbird."

1. The Lame Duck Emeritus flies forth each 2 years when his nest in the House of Representatives or the U.S. Senate has been destroyed by public hand. Among the most common of the species, he is easily flushed in the halls of the Capitol. He chirps often of old glories and traffics in past friendships. He is identified by a toothy smile, a hand perpetually at the ready for shaking, and another held in reserve for instantaneous backslapping.

Lobbying goes well with prior service in Congress. Though some former Members are hired by well-heeled concerns at five-figure sums, these constitute the cream of the crop—old birds of abundant congressional experience or with more or less direct lines toward high station. More prevalent is the dime-store variety of ex-Congressmen who lost out after serving one to four terms. Faced with returning to home mud bogs, where in accordance with prevailing mores he might be expected to take a PR job in the local glue works or become a working courtroom lawyer, he hastily prints cards ascribing unto himself talents as a "legislative counselor" or "Washington representative"—with offices in his briefcase, hatband, or rumpus room of his suburban home. If the rejected politico had foresight enough in his better days to look with special favor on some particular organization, he may be tossed a rewarding bone ex post facto in the form of a yearly retainer.[1]

The ordinary "Lame Duck Emeritus" trades on his personal knowledge of Capitol Hill. He buzzes about the desks of former colleagues who, asking not for whom the bell tolls, feel sympathy for their fallen comrade. This breed may use old contacts to secure audience with an Assistant Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for the procurement of keg nails, or to entice former colleagues to whisky drinks for the purpose of impressing a visiting client who, hopefully, will return to native pine thickets bedazzled over what a hail-fellow lugs his Washington water.

Largely, however, contacts are cultivated for long-range purposes and to accumulate incidental intelligence which the knowing man may convert to cash dollars. Is the Federal Power Commission favorably disposed toward granting a pipeline to a certain gas company? Will a rumored congressional investigation cause the public to lose confidence in savings and loan companies? Will the Public Works Committee recommend a special tax on diesel fuels in a new highway bill?

[1] Frank Ikard, a Texan who served on the tax-law-writing Ways and Means Committee, was lured from public service by the American Petroleum Institute at salary and benefits exceeding $100,000 per year. He earns it by influencing former colleagues to retain the 27½-percent depletion allowance, under which oil companies write off that percentage in losses or depletion before paying one Indian-head penny in taxes.

The lot of the "Lame Duck Emeritus" grows more perilous with each season. Fledgling Congressmen come in droves each 2 years, and the migration forces out old friends who become competitors for the lobbying dollar. By the law of diminishing returns the longer a lobbyist is out of Congress the less influence he has with current statesmen. A former Senator, having successfully wrestled a bill through the House, quickly dropped word to his Senate contacts not to pass the bill in that body until the following year—a strategy enabling him to renew his contract with his client.

As faces in Congress change and old favors are lost to dust, men whose names once invoked claps of Capitol Hill thunder cool their heels in outer offices of junior Senators. "I see Senator X at a party," a "Lame Duck Emeritus" complained to me, "and he invites me to drop by his office for a chat like we used to have when I served with him. But, dammit, I can not get by the cordon of clerks."

Not all ex-Members lose their influence. One highly regarded lobbyist is former Senator Earl Clement, of Kentucky, whose numerous blue-ribbon clients include the tobacco industry. A close personal friend of President Lyndon Johnson, Clement has blood-kin highly placed in the Great Society. His daughter, Bess Abell, is White House social secretary. His son-in-law, Tyler Abell, is Assistant Postmaster General and also the stepson of columnist Drew Pearson.

Former Congressmen scramble for all vacant lobbying berths. In 1962, when I tried for a time to become a money bird myself, several prospective clients put it bluntly: "We can take our pick of former Members. There's little demand for you ex-staffers."[2]

EMISSARIES FROM NATIVE BOGS

2. The "Swamp Sparrow" migrates to Washington from the hinterlands with the preparation of each new Federal budget. He may come plumed in the feathers of his local civic improvement association, commissioners court, or Local 123 of United Pool Hall Rack Boys of America. By day a sober worker for mighty causes (a dam on the creek, national park designation for hometown meteorite craters, a new screw-worm eradication plant), he is transformed with the setting sun into a hybrid creature, part hard-drinking conventioneer, part callow freshman at the Big Game, and part Peeping Tom-at-large. Certain to cause his Congressman loss of sleep ("Show me the bright lights, Charlie. Back home they roll up the sidewalks at sundown") and much public humiliation ("Waiter, you get Ho-Say Greco over here for a drink and I'll drop a couple bucks on ya"), he will upon return to native bogs alert everybody from the Taxpayers Protective Association to the Wednesday Ladies Against Sin about the rapid decay of morals and the sound dollar in Washington City.

Though not always housebroken, these migratory "Swamp Sparrows" exert influence on their public men which cannot be negligibly measured. The Congressman faced with this invasion may only smile while hoping that his visitors will eventually go away. The discreet statesmen who understand grassroots power will remain patient even when the lobbying constituent warns of galloping socialism, welfare-stateism, and logrolling, while personally indulging in all three.

This homegrown bird can get the working politician into trouble in numerous ways. A few years ago, one appeared to testify in behalf of a local project seeking Government funds. It was sponsored by my own Congressman. Although the constituent's prepared statement was adequate, a cursory questioning touching on finer points of the proposed legislation revealed him less than prepared to undergo a sharp grilling in committee. Having worked on the project, I felt more capable of facing questions. Thus, in giving the witness the usual effusive introduction to the committee, I told the Congressman he had "total hearing impairment" and suggested that after he had read his prepared statement, all questions be directed to me. The chairman nodded. With exaggerated lip movements and a booming voice probably heard in Formosa, he bid my constituent welcome. The statement was read, my friend settled back cozily, and I began to parry the committee's questions. While I thus performed, my visiting witness fell into a gentle slumber. All went well until a spectator 10 rows behind us dropped a book on the floor. The dozing constituent jumped awake, overturning a pitcher of ice water and four glasses.

3. The "Prairie Chicken" is the breed of money bird who heads Washington-based associations which draw their main strength from huge groups back home. Whether representing postal worker, brain surgeon, or hod carrier, he hibernates through most congressional business. But any bill of direct bearing on his special constituency sends him winging out with great, wounded cries. He is a shameless flexer of muscle, and good at basic voter arithmetic.

Where the "Lame Duck Emeritus" might exhibit a quick-draw hand at grog flasks, the "Prairie Chicken" on his good days will spring in one of Capitol Hill cafeterias for one gummy grilled cheese sandwich and a cup of tepid coffee handed down through a long line of malcontent busboys. But this bird pays due bills in other ways. Champion his causes and he will lay on heavy political rewards.

A few years ago William Doherty, then president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, established a policy of writing paeans of praise to every Congressman who voted for a bill to increase the pay of postal workers. He then reproduced the letters and mailed them by the thousands to postal workers in friendly Congressmen's districts. Nobody got mad. Almost every hamlet has a post office, and with it postal workers—who may be the best organized group in the Nation. They send delegations to Washington to lobby their bills, they would walk barefoot in snow to the polls on election day, and postal wives, not encumbered as are their husbands by Hatch Act restrictions, are known to make enthusiastic campaign workers.

Labor unions furnish willing bodies to mail posters, stuff envelopes, and do the thousand menial tasks required in campaigns. Ken Petersen of the Hotel & Restaurant Workers says: "We can't match management in money or in opportunity for social contacts. But we can let our Congressmen know we've got a strong work force to commit in campaigns." Most Congressmen are smart enough to know that any force capable of being committed for them also could be committed against them.

Some "Prairie Chickens" offer speechwriting services to friendly Congressmen and Senators. Benefits accrue to all hands. The lobbyist gets his message told in congressional Chambers and printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The solon gets credit for expertise, perhaps a newspaper headline, and surely a document handily reproduced for

[2] There are noted exceptions. John Holton, former A.A. to the late Speaker Rayburn, represents the American Bankers Association; Lyle Snader, ex-Republican Reading Clerk of the House, the American Railroad Association; Booth Mooney, one-time aid to Lyndon Johnson, is Washington representative for Texas millionnaire and rightwing poobah, H. L. Hunt; Lacey Sharp and Craig Raupe, long-time House A.A.'s, have top lobby-oriented jobs with the American Hospital Association and Eastern Airlines respectively.

purposes of propagandizing voters of a particular group.

L. Dan Jones, of the Independent Petroleum Association, often sees his prose in congressional documents, though the words are credited to public men. Dale Miller, the President's friend and current reigning king of lobbyists, has prepared committee testimony for countless Congressmen dead and alive. The practice is common. This kind of thing carried to extremes can be embarrassing: A border State Congressman was indicted in 1962 for allegedly having accepted $10,000 from a finance company to make a speech on the House floor. His conviction was reversed on appeal, but in the meantime he had left Congress in disgrace.

RESPONSE FROM THE MASSES

Sometimes the tactics of the organizational lobbyists backfire. Senator STEPHEN M. YOUNG received thousands of letters from Ohio urging him to oppose two bills concerning the railroads. Though the letters mentioned no organizations and the messages varied, each of them incorrectly listed the Senator's middle initial as "A." It was easy to trace the pressure campaign to a lobbying group. A Minnesota Senator received 900 telegrams in 2 days for a bill favored by oil companies, and found on investigation that most of the wires were sent without knowledge of the purported senders—and had been charged to a corporate firm's telephone number. In 1956 Massachusetts Senators got dozens of telegrams opposing a social security bill, the wires uniformly spelling "amendment" with a double "m." Many of the alleged authors proved to have no idea telegrams had been sent in their names.

Though Congressmen often insist they don't make decisions "by weighing pounds of letters," Republican Representative HAROLD R. COLLIER, of Illinois, disagrees. "We ask other Members what their mail is like."

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, working through its thousands of local chapters, inundated Congress with almost a million messages favoring the Landrum-Griffin labor reform bill. It passed by only six votes. One southern liberal told me, "I didn't want to vote for that bill. It was punitive. But the chamber sold Jimmy Hoffa to the public as the bogeyman. I never got so much mail in my life." Mail stimulated by the National Rifle Association and militant rightist groups this year stalled efforts to pass legislation controlling the questionable sale of firearms.

(4) The "White-Bellied Booby" is largely indigenous to southern California, Texas, the rickets-and-boll-weevil South, and selected thickets of the Midwest. This sharp-eyed creature espies in Congress' every act a sinister plot to destroy the Republic, crack the Liberty Bell, and contaminate the Amalgamated Flag Stitchers of America. Anyone blind to these dark visions is suspected of favoring peace, treason, and the reading of poetry.

Most militant rightest groups are not on registered lobby rolls. (Many, in fact, receive special tax benefits as educational foundations—a practice being looked upon by the Internal Revenue Service with an increasingly jaundiced eye.) But perhaps more than any other group they torment Congressmen with excess stomach acidity.

My office was once flooded by letters protesting Operation Water Moccasin—described as a hairy plot by which thousands of foreign troops ("including Congolese riflemen in loincloths") would capture the whole of Georgia under the United Nations flag. This would "preview U.S. surrender to an internationalist one world government." The story, sounding as if it originated with somebody full of Mexican boo smoke, came to prominence in "The Independent American"—a Louisiana-based fright-sheet published by a former New Orleans public-relations flak so far out he once accused Barry Goldwater of being "tinged with socialism." It took speeches in Congress, statements from the Pentagon, a network television documentary, and many weeks to establish the truth: Operation Water Moccasin was a routine field exercise observed by about 200 military officers from friendly foreign powers.

In 1962, rightists sent hundred of telegrams to Washington urging Congressmen to forgo its normal adjournment. The objective was to prevent some mysterious "they" from handing the government over to Russia once the legislators packed off for home.

George Lincoln Rockwell, self-styled fuehrer of the American Nazi Party, often hand carries his mimeographed sheets preaching white supremacy and anti-Semitism through Capitol corridors. Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade is represented by a grandmotherly little type whose outward serenity vanishes when she begins to reveal Communist conspiracies yet unknown to Mao Tse-tung. Though persistent, these birds have little more influence on Congress these days than Billy James Hargis has on Vatican City. Largely their activity is confined to fundraising dinners where the faithful exhort against wasting tax money shooting bric-a-brac at the moon; compiling charts registering the percentage of Americanism of individual Congressmen; or circulating books with titles like "My Son the Red Dupe" and "Yesterday East Berlin: Tomorrow Teaneck, N.J." The "White-Bellied Booby" does put in numerous appearances to alert the House Un-American Activities Committee or the Senate Internal Security Committee to the more fashionable menaces of the moment.[3]

THE ONES WHO MATTER THE MOST

Until now I have concentrated on the more common of the species, those money birds noted primarily, though by no means exclusively, for noise and nuisance value. The following three classifications must go in a higher, more celestial category. More often than not they gravitate directly to the true sources of power, conducting themselves with great efficiency and determination. They are calmer, more confident, and usually smarter. These are the birds who personally get things done.

5. The "Hawk Owl," commonly known as the lawyer-lobbyist, is a Washington phenomenon. A few eminent and respected ones are active in the actual practice of law, but others come before the bar principally in the Metropolitan Club or the Mayflower cocktail lounge. Almost all of these birds are extremely affluent and gregarious.

Old New Deal and Fair Deal heads who have performed well for their country are prominent among the "Hawk Owls." Oscar Chapman, President Truman's Secretary of Interior, represents clients ranging from the American Taxicab Association to Mexican sugar interests to a firm in Zaandam, Holland. Donald S. Dawson, Truman's one-time White House aid, heads a law firm representing insurance, finance, and transportation interests—as well as a gift shop in the Virgin Islands, sugar firms in India, and the Hilton Hotel Corp. Clinton M. Hester (once top man in the CAA under President Roosevelt) of the law firm of Hester, Owen & Crowder (representing National Wool Growers, U.S. Brewers Association among others) for years turned his palatial southern-style mansion in the Virginia mountains over to congressional aids for an annual weekend caper there. The working cogs of the Hill danced around the clock to alternating jazz and hillbilly bands; tables were laden with the finest cured ham, smoked oysters, shrimp, and fried chicken—with uniformed cooks standing by to work artistry on steaks prepared to individual taste. Liquor was available in abundance. For health fanatics there were golfing and horseback riding. Columnist Drew Pearson wrote of it as a boondoggle, after which alarmed Congressmen required of their aids more plebian tastes.

The largest lawyer-lobbyist in town these days is Abe Fortas, a bearish sort of man who once prowled among New Deal agencies in varied jobs and who is now Lyndon Johnson's most trusted adviser outside official circles. Fortas, who represents the Commissioner of Baseball, Lever Bros., National Retail Merchants, and California Finance, is a man the President turns to in crisis. It was Fortas whom Johnson summoned to the White House during the 1964 campaign when a key aid was arrested on a morals charge; he is a frequent caller at the White House by backdoor routes when the President feels need of companionship or a sounding board. Another successful lawyer-lobbyist, former Senate Majority Leader Scott W. Lucas of Illinois, says, "The Senate is a club and you're a member until you die—even if you get defeated for reelection. I can see anybody in the Senate almost anytime."

6. The elite among Washington's money birds is the "Potomac Night Flier." A most urbane fowl, he is extremely adaptable to the mores of the moment. He owns a set of golf clubs gathering dust since late 1960, a deflated pigskin unkicked since November 1963, and right now he is big for square-dancing, barbecue, and 10-gallon hats. He is found at every social event worthy of reporting by Betty Beale in the Washington Evening Star, is active in at least 1 of the 50 State societies in Washington, holds an associate membership in the National Press Club, and habitually chooses a mate who social climbs the way Justice Douglas goes at mountains.

The most "in" lobbyist in Washington these days is a highly social specimen. Tall, white-maned, mild-mannered Dale Miller is a genuine son of a lobbyist whose father got Lyndon Johnson his first Washington job as secretary to a Congressman. He has been the President's friend for 30 years. Miller has had it all: a bridge for which he secured $600,000 in Federal funds has been named after him; his daughter works on the White House staff; his wife Scooter has replaced Perle Mesta as Washington's most adept hostess; the President tabbed him to be his inaugural chairman; and the Johnson daughters call him Uncle Dale. When President and Mrs. Johnson arrived at the Capitol for the inauguration last January, scuttling along only six paces behind came Dale and Scooter Miller. Appropriately, a military band struck up "Happy Days Are Here Again." In perhaps the most impressive performance of a historic day, the Millers managed not to smile.

Lobbyist Miller does not hold with the theory that friendships of persons highly placed are a big factor in successful operations on the Potomac. "I think," he says, "a person acquires influence in Washington through integrity and effort—not through contacts." Mr. Miller does not say, however, whether he believes in a flat earth and werewolves.

BILLIE SOL THE KINGBIRD

7. It is the "Kingbird" who most frequently runs afoul of the law in Washington circles. Billie Sol Estes is the classic example of the get-rich-quick tycoon who, in over his head, misrepresents himself to public men until he drags them down with him.

[3] If rightists do nothing else they provide work for defeated Congressmen. John H. Rousselot, ex-Member from California, is an organizer for the John Birch Society; E. Franklin Foreman, a one termer from west Texas who once branded 28 of his colleagues "Pinkos," is a paid executive for Americans for Constitutional Action.

I bear the personal scars of Billie Sol. I first met him on the streets of Pecos, Tex., in 1954, shortly after he began to take on affluent airs. Typically, I was campaigning with a candidate for Congress, who was elected—and without Estes' support. In intervening years Estes did not support the Congressman; one year he offered campaign funds to a county judge in the hope the judge would run against the Congressman. Suddenly, in 1960, Billie Sol began to court us.

He first hired a lawyer who had been our county manager for many years. Soon the lawyer was asking his Congressman to help untie knotty problems client Estes had with the Government on cotton-acreage-allotment transfers and importation of bracero workers from Mexico. The Congressman was urged to ask the State Department to help the Church of Christ (in which Estes was front-pew financial angel) gain permission for its missionaries to enter Tanganyika.

The Congressman acceded to each request—and why not? He performed similar chores daily for boatloads of constituents who thought nothing of asking their public men to run errands they wouldn't require of a bellhop. Additionally, Estes came with impressive credentials. The national Junior Chamber of Commerce had named him one of the Nation's Ten Outstanding Young Men; he rivaled the Ford Foundation in gifts to good works; he had been eulogized down to the bone by magazines and newspapers for his astute business practices. He piously forbade mixed bathing in the pool at his palatial home, refused all nicotine and liquor, and never used strong language. As one who was among Estes' guests at a couple of Washington dinners, I can attest they were quite dry. I am sure they had more fun at the Last Supper.

In time, Estes made a $1,500 contribution to my Congressman's campaign kitty. In politics, where one looks to friends for help, this was common. Uncommon, of course, was Estes himself. Shortly after the contribution he was revealed to have bilked many large companies and individuals of millions of dollars, and to have submitted false credit reports. Testimony at the several Estes trials disclosed that he threatened bankers, Government employees, and business leaders through misuse of the names of highly placed politicians. Not everyone was Estes' innocent victim. Some Government employees, a passel of businessmen, and a midwestern Congressman accepted lavish gifts and money from Estes in questionable transactions.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE

Though the Congress may not have a monopoly on high principle, only 18 of its number have been formally accused of corrupt practices since 1900—and of these, only 7 were charged with improprieties touching lobby activities. The truth is that most national legislators, harboring visions of themselves as potential Presidents, find votes more attractive than monetary gain tied to political risk. Though 239 of the 434 Representatives and 68 of 100 Senators are lawyers, the majority pointedly shun fees or retainers for cloudy "legal work" which might make them beholden to special-interest clients.

But Congressmen do not live by bread alone. Neither do most of them manage to live on official emoluments. True, they draw a $30,000 annual salary and cash allowances for stationery, home-district office expenses, and official travel. They are accorded tax-paid staff employees, Washington office suites and attendant equipment, telephone and telegraph allowances, messenger service, charwomen, swimming pools, parking spaces—even transportation from their offices to the Capitol Building on private subways. They also get subsidized haircuts, radio-television studios with professional technicians, meals in Capitol restaurants, medical care—even boxlike olive-drab footlockers provided free, one for each new session. This means Senator CARL HAYDEN, of Arizona, has 105 footlockers, some dating back to Woodrow Wilson's administration.

Even so, unless a Washingtonian is a Kennedy or Rockefeller, one has a hard time keeping up with the Mestas and Cafritzes. Congressmen must maintain houses in the District as well as back in the mudflats, entertain on a sizable scale, invest in wardrobes complete through fish-and-soup bibs, and contribute to every charity bold enough to beg alms. Those who live west of the Mississippi often spend up to $3,000 in personal funds for flying trips home on weekends in order to keep political fences mended. Rare is the Member who does not refurbish his public image through shows of benevolence: a scholarship to the local tonsorial academy (awarded in memory of mother or in the name of a historical figure long safe in Heaven from partisan jeers), a trip to Washington for orphaned paraplegics, Thanksgiving turkey for folks at the poor farm, or flags certified as having "flown over the U.S. Capitol Building" to any institution owning a pole.[4]

The big money, of course, goes into campaigning. Neither Lyndon Johnson, the New York Times, nor the Prophet Isaiah knows what it really costs to run for Congress. Our legislators have placed such miserly political-spending limitations on themselves they must form phantom committees and letterhead organizations, and even file official reports swearing lies in order to stay within the law they made. A Senator from California or New York running scared might easily spend a cool million in a campaign; some rural Pharaoh so long in Congress his constituents think he rules by right of blood might spend only a few hundred dollars. With rare exceptions, however, one cannot hope to win a congressional race for less outlay than the job's annual $30,000 salary.

Lobbyists apply the balm to this financial sting. It is not given unto earthlings to know how much money changes hands, nor what the private understandings are, for this is largely a cash trade without checks, stamps, or money orders. Lobby money often buys tickets to fund-raising dinners where guests have antied up $10 to $1,000 per plate for 80 cents worth of vintage roast beef, where they keep one ear closed against the honoree's 2-hour declaration of personal modesty and the other hopefully cocked for the opening strains of the recessional. No Congressman's bank account in the Sergeant at Arms Office in the Capitol may be viewed by anyone unless approved by majority consent of the Congress. Lobbyists prefer their gifts to be known only to the benefactors, and the law encourages false reporting. These factors make it impossible even for the best gumshoe to know much of political finance.[5]

When a Billie Sol Estes, Bernard Goldfine, or Bobby Baker comes along there is panic in the lobbying community. In 1956, when the late Senator Francis Case, of South Dakota, dropped the bombshell that he had been offered $2,500 to vote for the Harris-Fulbright bill to relieve natural gas of Federal regulations, after which President Eisenhower vetoed the bill because "of arrogant lobbying tactics," the anguish of members of the brotherhood was genuine.

Many lobbyists feel they provide helpful information to Congressmen so harried by constituents' demands they cannot possibly know the details of more than a few of the 20,000 bills introduced each year. Honest Congressmen admit they often vote "in the blind" because of skimpy information. Senator GALE MCGEE, of Wyoming, is so concerned he has introduced a bill to give Members sabbatical leaves provided they stay out of their home districts and spend the time in reflection on the issues of our times. Texas Congressman WRIGHT PATMAN would provide more staff help.

"Too frequently," PATMAN says, "we take the presentation of lobbyists as facts when such information is really a lopsided plea from selfish interests. Consequently, we get some legislation that never should be passed—and never would be passed if [we] had screening specialists."

WHEN STAKES ARE HIGH

Though quick to claim they perform valid services for Congressmen and "the people," lobbyists are slow to submit supporting evidence. The contention holds no more water than the ancient cry of corporations that to tax them "is to tax all of us." Even those lobbyists appealing to what I consider my humanitarian predilections (higher wages for the working stiff, benefits for the physically or mentally handicapped, the dreamy causes of bearded "peacemongers") often turned to shrill war-hawks when glaring across my desk demanding special booty.

Perhaps this is to be expected. As the courtroom lawyer is more concerned with a favorable verdict than with the vagaries of some obscure justice, so the lobbyist is more concerned with making his point than with giving all hands a fair roll of the bones. Like the professional football player, he is paid to win in a league where moral victories are not tallied in the final standings. The game is hard fought, and rare is the money bird who does not stray from the rulebook's teachings when victory is near.

When the Landrum-Griffin measure was before Congress, representatives of management and labor actually had fist fights in congressional waiting rooms, Capitol corridors, and cocktail lounges. At the time that taxes were being increased to finance the national highway bill, railroad and trucking representatives, besides invoking God's preference, engaged in shoving matches, shouted abuse, and carried spurious tales on the enemy.

Unusual pressures are applied against Congressmen when the stakes are high. When Representative OLIN E. TEAGUE, chairman of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee, refused to go along with a $100 per month pension to every veteran of World War I—regardless of length or condition of service, financial need, or physical condition—many veterans condemned him as a coward, traitor, and enemy of the Nation's defenders, although TEAGUE happens to be one of the Nation's most-wounded and most-decorated war heroes. Representative PATMAN, opposing an investigation of the Nation's banking institutions, was so defamed by many financial executives one might have thought he had advocated going back to animal pelts as legal tender. Congressmen who have voted for public housing are reviled by prosperous homebuilders. Others who voted for bills opposed by the AMA have been booed on public platforms by physicians otherwise well versed in the social graces.

Our public men, coming to their jobs through public favor, are obsessed with the fear that withdrawal of the mandate will grind their large ambitions to dust. Few relish the idea of being opposed by lobby groups capable of turning against them

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[4] Capitol Hill policemen fly many of these flags daily on poles erected for the sole purpose. It takes 30 seconds to run up each flag and 10 days to get a letter and embossed certificate attesting the act. Congressmen pay $3.50 or $6 for the package, depending on flag size. Even the Speaker can't get certification unless the flag has actually flown.

[5] Insiders do know that many Congressmen maintain political "slush funds" similar to the $18,000 fund which caused the great outcry against Richard Nixon in 1952.

hoards of dollars and voting members. The temptation to go along to get along is great. Splitting two key votes, one in favor of management and one in favor of labor, merely leaves both groups angry at different times. Thus the inclination is to cast both pearls before the same swine—a strategy which, if followed to its logical extension over the years, robs the Congressman of his ability to reach independent conclusions on many public issues. The man not constantly on guard against the trend soon winds up the captive of numerous pressure groups. This may make his reelection less painful, but it also makes his value as a public man more suspect.

A Congressman or Senator overly committed to special interest groups soon finds himself regularly supping at their private tables to the exclusion of all others. He may at first reluctantly accept—and then come to consider his due—transportation to distant points, vacations at some plush resort, tickets to sellout Broadway shows, liquor, vicuna rugs, mink coats, deep freezes, inside tips on the stock market, and, ultimately, under-the-table greenbacks.

Such favors may be rationalized away by recipients as tokens of admiration laid on by true friends. But any Congressman who has been defeated can attest that many Washington friendships are transitory in nature. The deposed monarch who was fawned over by lobby society when riding high may, following a downward plunge of personal fortunes, find himself very lonely indeed. Less than a week after a former Congressman of whom I was fond ran afoul of the electorate, I wrote letters to 22 men for whom he had done substantial favors over the years. The obect was to raise $7,000 to cover the deficit from the Congressman's losing campaign. The take was a single $100 check and no sympathy notes.

While lobbyists have improved their image to some extent over the years, the taint that remains on their craft is quite often justified. Lobbyists posing as newsmen—a ploy allowing them to ask pointed questions about their special interests—have been tossed out of press conferences held by Cabinet members in recent years. They have flocked into House and Senate visitors' galleries in such numbers that Members unwilling to be recorded "yea" or "nay" before such watchful eyes have pulled all the parliamentary strings to avoid rollcall votes, thereby depriving the public of knowing how its elected men stood on vital issues disposed of by voice or teller vote. Congressional investigations have revealed that lobbyists often have misrepresented their influence and contacts with top Government officials when writing confidential reports to their clients. Hardly a day passes without lobbyists persuading Congressmen to write or telephone Federal agencies with which they have some problem. As Dr. George B. Galloway of the Library of Congress says:

"A telephone call from a Senator or Congressman can paralyze the will of a Government executive and alter the course of national policy."

DEALING IN FALSE SKILLS

A friend of mine who is a lobbyist recently told me, over three-to-one martinis, of his hard lot. "I guess we deal in false skills," he said. "We spend half our time conning our clients in an attempt to justify our fees, and the other half trying to convince Congressmen to act against what some people call the public interest. I wrote the other day to the B——— Corp. on a little matter I'm working on for them, and I worked in something about having 'talked to Speaker McCormack yesterday.' Well, I talked to him, all right. I met him in the Capitol corridor and I said, 'How are you, Mr. Speaker?' And he glanced up from some papers he'd been shuffling and said, 'Very well, thank you.'" Then, as if to convince himself, my friend said, "It won't rank with Plato's 'Dialogues,' but I did talk to him."

I asked him why he dealt in mock shows. He was intelligent, had himself worked for a Congressman, and was once a newspaper man. He spoke of mortgages on one home, three cars, the high cost of living, his investment in time, children to raise and educate.

"Would you want your son to be a lobbyist?" I said.

He gazed into his glass. "Oh, I wouldn't object if he really wanted to." Then he gave me a sour grin. "But my daughter"—he said—"I sure wouldn't want my daughter to marry one."

We drank to that. On the B——— Corp.

South Dakota School of Mines and Technology

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, the Mining Congress Journal, the publication of the American Mining Congress, has been carrying a series of articles dealing with "Profiles in Mineral Industry Education." The July issue carries an article on the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology at Rapid City, S. Dak. Written by Edwin Oshier and George Rapp, Jr., the article outlines the engineering education offered at the School of Mines. It also includes a history of the School and other information on the institution.

I ask unanimous consent that it be printed as a part of my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROFILES IN MINERAL INDUSTRY EDUCATION—SOUTH DAKOTA SCHOOL OF MINES AND TECHNOLOGY

(By Edwin H. Oshier and George Rapp, Jr.)

Presenting an engineering education as a fusion of science, humanities and engineering, South Dakota School of Mines and Technology offers mineral industries education in mining engineering, metallurgical engineering, geological engineering and geology. In addition the college offers degree-granting programs in physics, chemistry, and mathematics, as well as the following additional engineering disciplines: civil, chemical, electrical and mechanical.

The college facilities for mineral industries education fall into two categories: physical plant and field facilities. Physical facilities are centered in a new million-dollar. Mineral Industries Building occupied in 1962. Well-equipped laboratories include those for rock mechanics, mineral dressing, X-ray analysis, and petrography. In addition to a library strong in mineral industries materials, much that is unique is stored for study and research in the rock, mineral, and fossil collections of the Museum of Geology and the drill core, well log and map collections of the mining and geology departments.

Exceptional field facilities are located in the immediate vicinity for hardrock mining (both underground and surface), metallurgy, and geology. Active mining operations in the Black Hills include those recovering gold, metallic and nonmetallic pegmatite minerals, uranium, bentonite and rock products.

SCHOOL FOUNDED IN 1885

South Dakota School of Mines & Technology was founded as the School of Mines for the Dakota Territory in 1885. In its early years the college won wide acclaim for the quality of its faculty, its early publications, and research on the treatment of siliceous ores.

Early deveolpment followed the slow course of engineering and engineering education throughout the country. Located in an active mining area the school was sensitive to the needs of the mining industry and provided a variety of testing services as well as broad technical and practical education. C. C. O'Harra, who became president in 1911, enlarged the college publication's series and even established a radio station in 1911 which began voice broadcasting in 1922.

Departments of mining engineering (1901) and metallurgy (1906) were followed by civil engineering (1913), electrical engineering (1919), chemical engineering (1922), geology (1934), geological engineering (1943), and mechanical engineering (1944). Prior to the establishment of geology and geological engineering as separate curriculums, a mining geology option had been offered in the department of mining engineering. In addition, degree-granting departments have been established in chemistry (1943), physics (1944), and mathematics (1957). A graduate school was established in 1947 and M.S. degrees are offered in all departments. All engineering curriculums are fully accredited by the Engineers Council for Professional Development and the college is accredited by the North Central Association.

UNIVERSITY HAS THREE MISSIONS

Historically, universities and colleges have been charged with a threefold mission: (1) to discover new knowledge—research, (2) to store the accmumulated knowledge of man—libraries and museum collections, (3) to transmit knowledge—teaching. South Dakota School of Mines & Technology has important roles in each. In mineral industries research the main emphasis has been on rock mechanics, stratigraphy, ground water, pegmatite mineralogy, and mineral dressing. At present the staff of the department of mining engineering with the collaboration of members from the department of geology and geological engineering have been engaged in research on the response of rocks to dynamic loads. This work has important applications to many engineering problems and the staff has developed new methods of in situ testing of rocks and are developing a basis for relating the parameters of rock mechanics to the geological fabric of the rock.

The department of geology and geological engineering maintains one of the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey's seismograph stations.

COMPUTER CENTER USED FREQUENTLY

Frequent use is made in both teaching and research of the facilities of the computer center. At present, Prof. Paul Gnirk of the department of mining engineering is director of the computations center. Recent research efforts depending heavily on digital computing facilities have been in the areas of rock fabric analysis and rock mechanics. Student problems have ranged from mineral economics to critical path methods.

Modern engineering and science graduates entering the mineral industries find that their jobs require the basic tools of communication, written and spoken English, and advanced mathematics. As a consequence, all curriculums at the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology require advanced work in English (speech and technical writing) and mathematics beyond calculus. In addition a background in the humanities and social sciences is required in order to prepare

graduates for roles of leadership in industry and in civic affairs.

MODERN CONCEPTS PREVAIL

The rapid change in the nature of the problems faced by the mineral engineer has necessitated a commensurate change in mineral industries education. Hammer and hand lens have given way to seismograph and spectograph in prospecting. The special logistics of remote areas now require less attention than cost accounting and critical path problems, and the lower tenor of ores taxes not the assayists skill but the ingenuity of the mineral dresser. Mineral engineers and many of the mineral products necessary to our economy are in short supply. Gone is the free publicity for the mineral industries which attended the opening of the West. Space has captured the imagination of mid-20th century America just as gold did for the mid-19th.

HEALTHY MINING INDUSTRY VITAL

In order to prosper our economy needs a healthy, expanding mineral industry. The source for the technical manpower for a healthy expansion can come only from the few mineral engineering colleges remaining. A renewed effort must be made to maintain these colleges sufficient for the task.

A longstanding commitment to this task is apparent at the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology. Among the many "Mines" alumni who have set the standards for succeeding graduates to emulate are:

James O. Harder, vice president, Homestake Mining Co.; manager, Black Hills Operations.

Thomas F. Malone, director of research, Travelers Insurance Co.; past president, American Geophysical Union.

Keith G. Wikle, chief metallurgist, Brush Beryllium Co.

L. Homer Surbeck, partner, Hughes Hubbard Blair & Read.

Douglas W. Fuerstenau, professor of metallurgy, University of California.

Clifford G. Flittie, vice president of exploration, Conorado Petroleum Corp.

Sister Mary Thomasita Responds to President Johnson's "See America First" Plea With a Delightful Tour of "Europe in Milwaukee"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's urging to American tourists to "see America first," has received a very warm and imaginative response from one of Milwaukee's outstanding citizens, Sister Mary Thomasita of Cardinal Stritch College.

Last summer, Sister Mary Thomasita led a tour of Europe. This summer, in line with President Johnson's suggestion, she led a tour of Milwaukee, which she ingeniously programed as a "New World Tour With an Old World Look."

Capitalizing on Milwaukee's many restaurants, buildings, and scenes reminiscent of Italy, Germany, England, and France, Sister Mary Thomasita made the tour a visit to "Europe in Milwaukee."

I should like to include the brochure for this delightful tour as an indication of how much we can enjoy visiting our own cities and countries, and to give appropriate recognition of Sister Mary Thomasita's fine spirit:

IN MILWAUKEE

Even before dawn, bakers are baking, delivery drivers are delivering, the motor coach mechanics are checking the motor coach—all in preparation for the "See Europe in Milwaukee" tour for the group. What group? The best, most enthusiastic, on-time-right-to-the-half-minute, very special people in the whole wide world.

At 8:30 a.m.: Here we are—assembled—the 1964 Art and Drama Tour headed by Sister Thomasita and Sister Leandra. The smell of hot coffee and crisp, sweet, fresh rolls filling Studio San Damiano. Everyone talking, laughing, greeting old friends, Sister Thomasita shouting, "Welcome, tourist, to my Europe in Milwaukee." Franciscan joy is the theme everywhere as beauty in color, line, form, and texture greets our eyes. The plain rough wood speaks of the simple St. Francis while the many birds and animals seem to be poised for his blessing. Medieval banners give us the real "feel" of our approaching departure.

In San Damiano in Assisi, the little medieval town high up on the hill, we would be surrounded by smiling Italians, bustling about, preparing for our tour. Fellow tourists would also be juggling cameras, raincoats, dark glasses, and tour guidebooks. Medieval banners, hanging from the balconies of the houses, the steep hills, the narrow cobblestone streets of Assisi, shadowed by the overhanging second stories of the picturesque houses, the Italian blue sky and the warm sun, are all vivid images in our memory.

At 9:15 a.m.: The call is sounded, and in true art and drama tour promptness we are sitting in our motorcoach. It's in gear—we're off. No one's asleep (yet). We're thrilled. Hang on to your cameras, raincoats, dark glasses, and notebooks. Sister Leandra has counted off as Sister Thomasita reaches for the microphone and all snap to attention—we must see the sights along our new expressway on the way to Silver Spring.

We leap miles in split second—our minds move faster than most modern rockets—as it happens in a dream. We leave Assisi and in a matter of a few blocks we're on a German autobahn—enjoying ease and speed, enjoying big broad views of the countryside. Ah, now, off on a local road bound for a point of special interest—Silver Spring could be any local German road, but as we cross the Milwaukee River—look up, look down—it's the Neckar just outside of Heidelberg, or the lush green valleys and beautiful wooded areas of the Schwarzwald—the Black Forest—don't you think so?

At 9:45 a.m.: We arrive at Annunciation Greek Orthodox Church, designed by Wisconsin's own Frank Lloyd Wright: an architectural sapphire incorporating in a modern setting the true Byzantine character. Here, in true ecumenical spirit we will join the members of the church for coffee and cakes in an early early-morning snack.

Ah. Siamo nella piazza di San Marco? No, ma éccolo. Il nuovo San Marco—a new Venice—modern Byzantine. See the golden dome, the pigeons, the graceful Byzantine character making this church the jewel of Venice. Ciao, Venezia.

At 10:15 a.m.: En route to the Milwaukee County Zoo we drive along beautiful Menomonee River Parkway where some of the oldest trees left in Wisconsin still stand. Leaving the zoo, we choose a path along the Root River Parkway, recapturing the rural touch.

Wait now, there is a short pause to view the home of Jeremiah Curtin, noted linguist, translator, and diplomat. This house was built in 1830, an antiquity we show with pride.

Whisked right into England, by Jove. It jars us right back to the clean, residential little villages shrewn along the banks of creeks on our way to Stratford on Avon—lovely manor houses and gardens and willows dipping peacefully toward the water. Life's good and quiet, one might say: like the Cotswald country or Bourton-on-the-Water.

Back to Germany again, Bonn, to be exact—that was Beethoven's house. Oh, they did say Curtin—looks like Beethoven, remember?

At 10:40 a.m.: Driving through Whitnall Park and viewing the Alfred Boerner Botanical Gardens will set Sister Leandra rocking with pride and bursting with enthusiastic comparisons. All is quiet as we leave this heavenly place and we nod and doze peacefully for a few minutes (a specialty of this group, a special talent for revitalization).

Now Stratford is in sight—see the gardens. Beautiful, exquisite English gardens. Best in the world, I guess. Oh, did they say Whitnall, Oh. Boener. Like Stratford, though, wouldn't you say?

(We're dozing, you know, sleeping, some of us are—that's like Europe. Everyone will recognize that builds strength.)

At 11:10 a.m.: Ah ha. A familiar sight comes into full view, an airport every bit as modern, efficient, and beautiful as any of the many we've seen—something really special here, though—a plane stopped in midair right in the front yard waiting for us to photograph it. At no other airport could we boast this convenience.

Here is an airport. Airports—airports—Copenhagen, Rome, Paris, London, Milwaukee—if they lined them all up side by side who would know the difference except for signs. These are in English, did you notice?

At 11:30 a.m.: The Swiss cowbell sounds, so back into the motorcoach we spring with talent acquired only through practice. Off again this time to South Shore Drive, our first view of this beautiful, fresh blue body of water we call Lake Michigan. "Just look, you can't see across." We know this, of course, but someone has to say this to make it a perfect day. We are en route to historic spots, among them St. Francis Major Seminary, the minor seminary, and St. Francis of Assisi Convent. Did you know the original Indian name for this area was "No Joshing"?

This might be the drive from Copenhagen to Elsinore, passing all the little fishing villages. Then from the sea to the castle.

At 11:55 a.m.: If it could be lifted bodily and set into Rome it would hold its own among the greatest. What? St. Josaphat's Basilica. They will come and light it just for us. At the time it was built it boasted the third largest dome in the world. Sister Thomasita's grandfather designed it and we will see his name right on the cornerstone. Leaving here we pass St. Stanislaus with its twin gold domes, just freshly cleaned and shining. The remarkable life-size statues spaced at intervals on all four walls of the church make one ponder about the time one would need to duplicate a project of this size today.

We have just entered St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. Notice the art, the lighting, the fabulous dome. None better. As good, maybe, but none better.

Now we are in a church along the Rhine. Every church has its dominant feature and St. Stanislaus with its twin gold domes is no exception.

At 12:20 p.m.: Mitchell Park to see Jacques Vieau's cabin which he built in 1795, a full 40 years before Solomon Juneau built his cabin in Milwaukee at North Water and Michigan Streets. "Look at the big glass mushrooms," someone shouts. These comprise the horticultural conservatory and we will stop and enter if we have time.

Who said "glass mushrooms"? Do you remember Tivoli? How about the crazy shapes? (These geodesic domes, an architec-

tural innovation, were designed by Donald Grieb, Milwaukee architect.) Turn your memory around slowly. Doesn't Tivoli have a Mitchel Park Lagoon to go with them, too, and a sunken garden?

At 1:00 p.m.: We must be prompt—we've planned to have lunch at Chez Lenny. Nous voici. As, c'est magnifique, ca. In an atmosphere as French as France we dine on Coq au Vin (c'est formidable) and Salade aux fines herbes. There, now, we lean back in our chairs to relax with our cafe au lait. The day is young and there are many thrills to come.

We smell French food and that's all it takes to remember Franch. The neighborhood is typical—whoever heard of a good French restaurant in Paris being at a location where you would expect to find a good French restaurant?

At 2:15 p.m.: Before we leave the area we want to take a peek in Our Lady of Pompeii Church—a tiny little Italian church few Milwaukeeans have ever seen, and still it's only a few blocks from the heart of downtown. Our Lady of Pompeii is the only remaining landmark in the third ward.

Our mind mileage, as you can see, is limitless. We dropped in at Padua to vist a tiny little old church. We're glad to find it; we thought it had been moved—to Milwaukee.

At 2:30 p.m.: The museum is our next stop—jam-packed with history. Here we see "A Street in Old Milwaukee."

This is what they call it—old Milwaukee—but we remember passing through many little black forest and Swiss villages that were booming, along with many little main streets exactly like this. Close your eyes, and each one return to the one in your own memory, and we'll meet at the motorcoach at 3 p.m.

At 3 p.m.: (Don't get lost is the order: at 4 p.m. we sail on the harbor cruise.)

Now we're off to see the reality of Milwaukee: the Gesu, reminiscent of Chartres; the grand old buildings, similar to those of London and Rome; the Arena—remember Verona?, the Pabst Theater—well, if it isn't the Paris Opera House, the courthouse—the Roman birthday cake, alias the Victor Emmanuel Monument; for a flash to Cologne as we pass city hall; to sweet little Bad Godesberg at old St. Mary's; to Innsbruck as we salute St. John's Cathedral.

No tour is complete without a shopping spree. Would the ladies like a 5-minute stop? If time allows, the sky's the limit. Gimbels on the Milwaukee River; the Boston Store; Chapman's; Watt's, an exclusive gift shop of the old and new variety; Talisman House brings thoughts of Den Permanente in Copenhagen; we pass the famous eating places: Mader's, John Ernst's, Karl Ratzsch's, Nino's, reminding us of Heidelberg. We couldn't leave Milwaukee without noting the famous breweries—Pabst, Schlitz, and Blatz and Usinger's sausage-packing plant.

At 3:15 p.m.: On to Paris, to the Louvre—the Art Center of Milwaukee. The Milwaukee Art Center was designed by Eero Saarinen and is the center for much vital art activity in the Milwaukee area. It is a war memorial also. As no one thinks of Paris without the Louvre, so no one thinks of Milwaukee without the Art Center.

At 4 p.m.: Now this is truly the cruise of a lifetime. Our lake and three rivers meet to form our harbor. The late afternoon sun is a perfect companion to the industrial scenes. Beautiful straight-line studies in black, gray, purple, and amber are waiting to be photographed. We see big ships that cross the sea—coal, oil, ore, and grain—carriers longer than a city block—loading, unloading, puffing and pumping in the course of their work. This is another world—busy—big—but one we seldom contact.

Our harbor cruise—but we cover three countries and can identify each and keep pace with the speed of our minds. We start behind Gimbels—in Venice—notice the building foundations form the water's edge. To the canals of Holland with industry using waterways to bring raw materials to their doors and passing boats with cargoes common on the Rhine: coal, oil, and grain. It also reminds us of the little islands of the Adriatic: Murano, Verano, and Torcello. The waterways of Europe have a great deal in common.

At 6 p.m.: take an inventory; our cruise has ended. Are we almost out of film? Good! We leave the dock to drive past a few distinctive Milwaukee landmarks. We list them here to ease the paperwork you struggled with on this busy day.

Northeast corner of North Water and Detroit: Crosskeys Hotel, built 112 years ago. 207 East Michigan—the Mitchell Building; 1012 East Pleasant Street—the Greek Revival; 1314 East Albion Street—was leased to Government during Civil War as a training area for soldiers; 2005 North Lake Drive—half-timber house—build in 1900; 2234 North Terrace Avenue—Gothic Revival—built by a Pabst in 1895; North Terrace and North Avenues—the 90-year-old water tower—a part of Milwaukee's first water system.

Do these landmarks seem familiar? Bring back memories of London, Rome, Paris?

At 6:40 p.m.: Down we swing to Lincoln Memorial Drive—stopping midway to feed the ducks. The city of Milwaukee installed a heater at this point in the lagoon to prevent freezing and keep these ducks safe throughout our hard winter. Though wild, our ducks appear quite tame and respond quickly to human guests who stop by to pay a call.

Feeding the swans in Europe is a great pastime for people who have a few moments. Let's pick the location of Lucerne to remember. See the boxes placed at intervals along the walk along the lakeshore, where busy people placed their dry bread so that another who had the leisure time would have something to give to the birds. The boxes are labeled Cygnets. See them?

At 6:45 p.m.: Wo bist du? Sister Thomasita has her cowbell in action. Sister Leandra is counting noses—they mean business because.

At 7 p.m.: Karl Ratzsch is waiting to welcome us into his Old World atmosphere, the Vietnamese Ensemble has set the mood—it's our farewell dinner. The gay gala occasion—breakfast in Italy, luncheon in Paris—dinner in Bavaria—who could ask for more?

Ratzsch—Bavarian—pure European—the home of Milwaukee "gemütlichheit." Just for a thrill as we drive up, picture a mountain in the background—and for another thrill, put a snowcap on it.

At 9 p.m.: We complete our circle of Milwaukee by traversing the lake drive at night. A Tivoli view of Milwaukee and its landmarks—we wistfully watch the tiny lights dotting the lakeshore as we return to Studio San Damiano.

Suddenly we are in Copenhagen driving along in the cool night air—or is it Paris—are those the lights on the bridge Pont Alexandre III?—or is it the Amalfi Drive near Naples?

We glance again from one familiar face to another of our group, suddenly reunited for the brief space of 1 day. We share a common bond and the common experiences of this day have deepened and strengthened it. Together we have walked, talked, laughed, watched, and waited. Surely today, seeing a New World city with an Old World flavor, will remain forever a highlight in our travel experiences.

Report From Southeast Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, an excellent statement of views by Thanat Khoman, Foreign Minister of Thailand, on the current problems of southeast Asia has been called to my personal attention by my good friend James Linen, president of Time, Inc.

It is a pleasure to call the following report to the attention of the Congress and the American people:

TIME,
New York, N.Y., July 30, 1965.

Hon. JAMES G. FULTON,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JIM: Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman of Thailand, one of southeast Asia's ablest and wisest statesmen, recently visited the United States to present a "Report from Free Asia" in seven cities across the country. His trip here came about as a result of a talk he gave before a touring group of U.S. businessmen in Bangkok last February, in which he eloquently supported the U.S. policy of continuing commitment in Vietnam.

The Foreign Minister's message and answers to thoughtful questions put to him in public and private meetings in May have been condensed in the enclosed booklet. In this critical period, I thought you would be particularly interested in having on the record Mr. Thanat's firsthand views of the problems and hopes of southeast Asia. His perspective on Asian affairs, I believe, adds a useful dimension to the current discussions of U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Best regards,

JIM LINEN.

REPORT FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA

(By Thanat Khoman, Foreign Minister of Thailand)

INTRODUCTION

Thanat Khoman, Foreign Minister of Thailand, made a 9-day visit to the United States in May 1965 and spoke at public and private meetings, at press conferences and on radio and television in New York, Washington, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Phoenix, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

Mr. Thanat made a stirring appeal for continuing the U.S. commitment in Asia before a group of 28 American business and professional leaders on a news tour in Bangkok last February. As a result, the Foreign Minister was asked to the United States by Mr. James A. Linen, president of Time Inc. It was felt that Mr. Thanat's knowledge and perspective would add a useful dimension to the discussions concerning U.S. policy in southeast Asia, particularly as it bears on South Vietnam.

The Foreign Minister has held diplomatic posts in the Thai Embassies in Tokyo, New Delhi, and Washington. He has been Thailand's Ambassador to both the United States and the United Nations.

Of all the countries on the rim of Asia between the Persian Gulf and Japan, Thailand, which means "Land of the Free," is the only one never to have been colonized. The Thais have a strong sense of self-identity and independence based on their monarchy and their Buddhist religion. It was the only

southeast Asian country to send troops to join the U.N. forces in the Korean war. Thailand is politically stable, with a solid currency, a hefty rice surplus, and a burgeoning economy with a growth rate and living standard among the highest in Asia.

The following speech and questions reflect the viewpoint of Thailand toward the problems and hopes of southeast Asia and the role of the United States. Thanat's "Report from Southeast Asia" is representative of the statements which he made while in the United States.

REPORT FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA

My intention in coming to the United States to meet with you, to meet old friends and make new friends, is simply to ask for an opportunity to share with you some of the thoughts of the small people of Thailand. In Thailand we have many small men, but I am proud to say that their hearts are not so small. Neither is their loyalty to their friends nor to their ideals, which happen to be, I should say, quite similar to those which you yourselves uphold in this country. In southeast Asia there is a problem, which up to a certain time was our problem, but now is also a problem for the United States.

I come with the hope that I shall be able to express to you the yearnings of my people in Thailand and the yearnings of all the people in southeast Asia for peace, for liberty, and for freedom. We do not ask very much. What we have is not very much. Our people are very modest; what they ask is not to be hungry, to have a roof over their heads, and most important, what they ask is to be free and to remain free. Unfortunately, as you know, there are dark powers across the horizons who creep close to our homes, our fields, and our forests. They want to extend their power over us. They want to submit us to slavery. They want to take from us everything that we have worked so hard for—our rice crops, our huts, our schools, our hospitals, and, most important, as I said, our birthright as free men and free women.

They take advantage of the fact that southeast Asia has been, with the exception of Thailand, under colonial regime for many decades. The past colonial rulers failed to understand the yearnings of the people to be free and overstayed their welcome. In fact they left only when they suffered the most resounding defeat. You may remember a modest name—Dienbienphu. It was supposed to be a symbol of newly gained liberty, but unfortunately liberty did not last long. The people in Indochina, especially in Vietnam, have been exploited by another dark power with its own dreams of colonialism. You know who I mean.

They try to substitute their power for that of the vacated French rule, and from 1954 their shadow has been cast over the whole of southeast Asia. Well, this is the problem.

Wherever people yearn for peace, there are other people who want to upset peace. While there are people who want to be free, other people want to subjugate them. It is the law of the jungle. The strong and vicious want to take away the peace and freedom of the small and peaceful.

What shall we do? We have a few alternatives.

We can join them. As some people say, if you can't lick them, join them. Well, that is not quite the choice we would make. If we were to join them, we would join them only as their slaves and not as partners or coequals, so we cannot join them and we do not intend to join them.

The second alternative is to bow to them, surrender to them, tell them to come and liberate us or neutralize us. Neutralization in our language means that you may get peace for 6 months and then afterward you have to endure the yoke of Communist colonialism as a tool of their power. That is not acceptable, certainly not in Thailand, as we have never known foreign domination and we do not intend to accept any kind of domination—be it white, be it red, be it brown. We just want to be ourselves, masters of our own destiny.

The third possible alternative that is offered to us is to stand up and face them if they come. That is why we wholeheartedly support the decision of your great country to resist and oppose any kind of extension of colonization, especially that new form of colonization, Communist colonialism.

The United States also had a number of choices. No one could force a great country, a great power like the United States to go anywhere it does not want to go, and the United States must have good reasons for committing itself.

The American people recall that in the 1930's, if the European powers had discharged their responsibility and stopped the expanding power of that time, if Hitler's divisions had been stopped in the Rhineland in 1936, the Second World War never would have happened. Hundreds of thousands of American lives could have been saved. Some 20 million other human lives could have been spared, but because the Western European nations then were cowed by the bluff played by Mr. Hitler, the Second World War came.

Now in southeast Asia we have a parallel situation. If the expanding power of the Asian Communist is not stopped, it is most likely that another war—and a large-scale war—might happen. Such a war in our present time would mean a great sacrifice of human lives.

To some countries the freedom of certain small nations is expendable. In Europe now some people keep saying that for the peace of southeast Asia the freedom of smaller nations like South Vietnam could be thrown to the wolves.

I am not talking about any high moral principles but I am trying to be practical, to be close to reality. What would happen if the United States and other free nations in the world withdrew from southeast Asia and left the field open to the Communists? The Communists would take over South Vietnam go to Laos, Cambodia, Burma, Thailand, and then move on and on and on.

Withdrawal in this case does not solve the problem. Even if you were to withdraw within your own comparatively safe confines, I have no doubt that the Communists would try to get at you. We have seen, not very long ago, in the Caribbean, that that dark power also has crept close to your own homes. The other side is certainly not willing to recognize any sphere of influence for the United States or for anyone in the free world.

Have you ever heard anywhere, at any time, of any Communist power, be it from Asia or from Europe, recognizing that the free world, the Western World, has a sphere of influence? In this world we cannot expect the Communists to recognize any American sphere of influence or any British sphere of influence, or any French sphere of influence. They consider the whole world their sphere of influence. We have seen it in Africa, in Latin America, not to speak about Asia.

So the problem is one of peace and survival. Are we going to shy away from small threats, from small risks, and wait until the monster grows, wait as the risk continues to grow, wait as the threat and danger grow, and then finally face another holocaust? As a practical man I have no doubts. Our answer is that we in Thailand have no place to retreat to. So we will make our first stand and our last stand there. We intend to preserve at any cost the heritage transmitted by our forefathers, our culture, our civilization and our traditions—our nation.

The only choice is to brace ourselves and face the danger now, and we should do so in a flexible manner, in a cautious manner, in a measured manner, exactly in the way the United States has been doing. President Johnson has stood up because he is a man of wisdom, a man who reflects the wisdom of the United States. He knows, and I think the American people know, that if we were to allow small risks, small danger, to develop into great proportions, then not only the United States but the whole world would have to suffer the dire consequences. Much more force would have to be used than what is being used now, and many more lives would be lost.

So I think there is not much alternative except to be firm and to be determined. But at the same time, we should not close the door to any attempt at peaceful solutions as we are both people of peace. We have no desire to go and fight. We would like to enjoy the calm of dusk, to enjoy the pleasure of wandering through the woods, to enjoy the pleasure that nature has given us. But if it were a choice between leaving for awhile those pleasures to take up our duties toward ourselves and toward the generations to come, I don't think the American or the Thai nation would hesitate. That is why the Thai nation stands with you. The Thai people will be with you in these efforts to preserve peace and to maintain freedom.

I am confident that history will prove that the momentous decision made last February by the President of the United States was a measure of greatness commensurate with the greatness of the American nation. We are proud to stand with you. We are proud to bear our fair share of responsibility and sacrifices so that your people and mine can live in peace and freedom.

Middle-East Problems: Aggression and Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following articles deal with two important problems in the Middle East. The first article, "Yemen: Victim of Aggression," describes the ruthless and brutal aggression of Nasser's forces in Yemen. The second article, "Oil Blackmail," describes the efforts of certain Arab leaders to blackmail the West by threatening their oil interests in that part of the world. This is only one aspect of the tactics employed by Nasserites to undermine the U.S. position in the Middle East.

The articles appeared in the summer 1965 issue of the magazine Prevent World War III and follow:

YEMEN—VICTIM OF AGGRESSION

In a statement published by the New York Times, an authority on the Middle East, Bushrod Howard Jr., revealed that since September 1962, when Egyptian forces intervened in the Yemen conflict, "well over 50,000 Yemenis have been killed and over 12,000 Egyptian soldiers." These figures show that the dimensions of the fight in Yemen transcend "local issues." Moreover, since Mr. Howard spoke, the number of casualties has risen considerably. Indeed, according to the New York Times "as many as 100,000 soldiers and civilians" have perished since the Egyptian intervention.

Last October, a cease fire arrangement was worked out on the basis of an agreement

between Saudi Arabia and the Nasser government. However, experienced observers were not too sanguine over the permanency of that agreement. Recent events have confirmed that to all intents and purposes the agreement is without effect. Indeed, it is now estimated that Egyptian armed forces in Yemen total 65,000 men whereas in the beginning the figure was around 25,000 troops.

When Nasser first sent his forces into Yemen, it was assumed by many "experts" that the fight would be a pushover for the Egyptians and that once the so-called Republican rebels triumphed, Nasser's men would return home happy in the thought that they had brought peace, progress, and democracy to a backward people. It is safe to say that this was the essential view of U.S. policymakers who, as we noted in previous articles, assiduously spread this optimism among our legislators to justify continued aid to the Nasser government.

The mounting loss of lives in Yemen, shocking as it is, does not convey the total suffering which is now the lot of the Yemenis. Their villages are bombed and burned, their fields scorched and starvation has begun to affect wide sections of the people. One can detect in the ruthlessness of the Nasser forces the deliberate policy to depopulate vast areas in Yemen where the people refuse to bend before the would-be conqueror from Cairo. Some might call this a form of genocide and this may not be far from the truth.

Yet, despite the ferocity of Nasser's attacks and the frequent announcements that the Republicans have finally won, facts manage to emerge to show an altogether different picture. Thus, in January of this year, reliable reports from the Middle East indicated that instead of growing stronger under the armed props provided by Cairo, the Republican regime found itself in the throes of disintegration. The word "disintegration" is not ours. It is the precise term used by the Middle East correspondent for the conservative London Financial Times.

The essence of this correspondent's dispatch deserves to be recounted. For one thing, he noted that the Republican government under President Abdulla Sallal, a faithful Nasser henchman, was compelled to declare a state of emergency. This occurred only a few hours after Sallal returned from top-level talks with President Nasser. A number of leading officials in the Sallal government had resigned and were to be tried before military courts. A so-called National Security Council was established under the declared state of emergency to restore order in the territory controlled by the Republican government.

The Financial Times correspondent observed that these emergency measures followed a series of splits within the Republican ranks which grew out of the mounting demands for the withdrawal of the Egyptian troops to be followed by a freely negotiated settlement with the supporters of Imam Badr. The fact that these demands were not only rebuffed but that these dissident Republicans were arrested, reveals the determination of the Nasserites to hang on to the reins of power. That is why the Financial Times correspondent expressed little faith in the durability of the cease-fire agreement. "The Yemen," he wrote, "is still Nasser's albatross."

The situation continued to deteriorate in March and April despite measures taken by the Nasserites. Thus, the Washington Post published a long report which concluded that "today the Sallal regime's prestige seems shakier than at any point since 1962." It also noted that "sentiment increasingly appears to be turning toward the idea that Egyptians should go home."

But Nasser, who marched into Yemen ostensibly because this was the "will" of the Yemenis, persists in ignoring the rising tide of opposition to his presence. Not only does he ignore the real will of the people in Yemen, but he has gone ahead to increase the number of Egyptian troops in that country to a point where they now represent nearly half of the total of Egypt's army.

Nasser has tried to sweeten this bitter pill by some new political maneuvers. Thus, President Sallal has reorganized the government and has appointed Ahmed Mohammed Noman as the Prime Minister. Noman is supposed to have the reputation of being a moderate. It has also been reported (without confirmation) that he does not favor the continued presence of Egyptian forces in his country. By refashioning the image of the government along these lines, Nasser presumably hopes to undermine the widespread opposition to Egypt. As a matter of fact, the Noman government has now given indication that it is ready to negotiate.

However, while the new administration professes to seek a peaceful settlement, the Egyptian armed forces are stepping up their attacks and resorting to more desperate and inhuman methods. Besides the wanton bombings of civilian centers, it was reported that the Egyptians resorted to the use of poison gas. When this report made headlines, an unnamed authoritative Egyptian official denied the allegation claiming that it was concocted by the enemies of the Republican regime. Whatever the truth, it is interesting to note that the Egyptian Government, according to a Washingon Post dispatch was training "its armed forces in the use of poison gas."

Other reports show that the Egyptians are trying to spread hostilities in other directions. Thus, the New York Times reported that the Egyptian airforce had bombed a seaport in Saudi Arabia. Nasserite forces have also stepped up their terrorist activities in Aden and in the general area of South Arabia. The Nasserites have concealed their activities under the guise of a "National Liberation Front" which presumes to be fighting British imperialism. However, a seasoned journalist in the Middle East, Patrick Seale, writing in the London Observer, asserted that "the National Liberation Front in Aden is armed, financial, and some would say, directed by Egypt from bases across the Yemen frontier." Mr. Seale further reports that, while this National Liberation Front claims to be an independent movement, its real objectives are to bring all of South Arabia with the Yemen "under Egyptian direction."

Strive as he will, Nasser seems to be on a treadmill in Yemen. The outlook for his aggressive adventure is growing bleaker. The following excerpt from a report by John N. Rigos, special correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, indicates the growing crisis confronting Nasser in Yemen:

"During my 10-day stay in royalist territory I talked to tribesmen and their commanders and reached the following conclusions:

"The fighting spirit of the tribes continues undiminished.

"The royalists are better trained and equipped than before.

"Despite Egyptian aerial observation, sufficient supplies and ammunition reach fighting tribes.

"Saudi Arabia is committed to supporting the royalists as long as Egyptian troops remain in Yemen.

"An Egyptian plan for an encirclement of a royalist band in northern Yemen through a swing over Saudi territory was foiled. The main reason was a strong royalist attack in eastern Yemen during which the royalists cut off about 5,000 Egyptians stationed in the area of Al Jauf from their main body along the Sanaa-Saada road.

"Yemeni tribesmen have captured Harib—most important town in eastern Yemen—and they have held it for 2 months against Egyptian counterattacks.

"Egyptian morale in Yemen is declining and if their forces in Al Jauf are not relieved they are likely to disintegrate. This could cause an Egyptian Stalingrad and severely hurt President Nasser's prestige.

"The republican reconciliation meeting at Khmer north of Sanaa, early this month, failed to attract royalist attendance. At the same time, more disenchanted republicans are roaming the streets of Aden and Jeddah looking for help to rid their country of hated Egyptians."

The underlying significance of Nasser's activities in the Arabian peninsula can perhaps best be appreciated by a glance at a map. It soon becomes clear that control of that entire area would accomplish two important objectives for Nasser:

(a) It would undermine the strategic position of the British and the United States in a vital section of the Middle East;

(b) It would gain for Nasser the opportunity for further conquests, particularly toward those regions which produce oil.

Offhand, it would appear to be the height of stupidity on Nasser's part to involve so many of his troops in a project requiring enormous expenditures which can hardly be sustained by the Egyptian economy, but this is precisely the gamble that Nasser has chosen to take. Nasser has made an investment—an investment which is costing the lives of thousands of people, but in the end he hopes that the blood spilled will mint the gold and power which he seeks.

OIL BLACKMAIL

"Our Arab masses realize more clearly every day the fact that our Arab oil it not carrying out its colossal role in serving the Arab nation's aims * * *. There is no question that liberation of the colossal oil wealth is an inevitable necessity to liberate the Arab economy from foreign exploitation and to end the abnormal situation in which Arab petroleum serves the Western economy and Western monopolies * * *. Continued Western control of our oil means only one thing—the weakening of the Arab nation's economic, political, and military structure. Hence, the greater need for a unified Arab oil plan to realize the aims of our Nation and the resolutions of the two Arab summit conferences. Undoubtedly, these aims require a great deal of labor, effort, and battles."

The above lines are excerpted from a special editorial in one of Cairo's leading newspapers, Al Akhbar. It will be noted that we underlined the words "our Arab oil" and for good reason, namely, that Egypt's own oil resources are relatively insignificant. Thus, in employing the term "our Arab oil," the Cairo government reveals its underlying attitude toward the oil resources of other Middle Eastern States. This proprietary, impudent attitude reminds us of the way Hitler used to shout about the agricultural resources of Eastern Europe as though they "belonged" to the Herrenvolk "by right."

It goes without saying that Cairo always tries to sugar-coat its claims to other people's oil resources by avowing that its sole concern is to save "our Arab oil" from the "rapacious Western imperialists." It is the old "stop thief" tactic which has long been practiced by gangster regimes. The idea of using Middle East oil as a weapon against the West is now a favorite theme of Cairo's propagandists. Though the West in general is the target of this campaign, one can discern a growing tendency to emphasize the alleged vulnerability of the United States. Over and over again, Cairo publications and the Egyptian radio network cry out that Western "imperialists" are "robbing" the Arabs of their oil. But it should be noted that this tactic is tied in with the effort to blackmail those

Middle Eastern States which persistently refuse to bow to Nasser's policy.

Saudi Arabia in particular has been made the butt of Cairo's attacks. This serves a twofold purpose. On the one hand, the harangues against Saudi Arabia serve as a vehicle for attacking the United States since a number of U.S. oil companies have substantial concessions in that country. On the other hand, it helps to bolster Nasser's allegation that the Saudi Arabian Government is playing the game of the "Western imperialists" and is therefore guilty of treachery toward Arabdom. The logic of these charges points to the declaration of a holy war against Saudi Arabia as a puppet of U.S. imperialism. This, in turn, would help to legitimize Nasser's seizure of the oil resources in that country as the trustee for all of Arabdom. It is in this context that the term "our Arab oil" assumes a sinister significance.

Muhammed Haykal, a confidant of President Nasser and the editor-in-chief of the government-controlled newspaper Al Ahram, has been particularly articulate in this respect. In a lead article Haykal demanded that Saudi Arabia confront the United States The United States, Haykal asserted, was guilty of an arms plot against the Arabs and the Saudi Arabians were duty bound to challenge the United States. As to how Saudi Arabia could stand up to the United States, Haykal minced no words: "With regard to the United States, Saudi Arabia could use oil as a weapon." Then, in a threatening voice, he said that, if Saudi Arabia did not take up the gauntlet against the United States, then that role would be assumed by others.

The idea of utilizing oil as an instrument to blackmail the West was the main motivation behind the convening of the Fifth Arab Oil Congress in Cairo in March of this year. According to the New York Times the Egyptian Deputy Premier for Industry, Aziz Sidky, told the assembled delegates that the Arabs must put pressure on the oil companies to achieve their political as well as economic objectives. It is ironic that Egypt which has little oil of its own, manages to dominate these conferences. In reporting the conclusion of the meeting, Radio Cairo was pleased to announce that decisions were taken for greater coordination of Arab oil policy under the aegis of the Arab League. It is worthy of note that the Arab League itself is dominated by the Nasser government. The aim of this policy of coordination, Radio Cairo declared, would be to stop the supply of Arab oil to any country which harms Arab interests.

Though Egypt is the main driving force behind the crusade to undermine Western oil interests in the Middle East, the Syrian Government which currently competes with Nasser for the honor of being the most anti-Western Arab government, has also jumped on the bandwagon. While Egypt trained its main propaganda guns an Saudi Arabia, Syria set up the oil-rich region of Kuwait as its chief target. Thus, the Damascus radio broadcast on March 23, 1965, the following gem:

"These rulers in Kuwait who sit on the throne of oil—who feed the foreign capitalist financing houses with funds sucked from the blood of the people and deposited with these houses to finance summer excursions for conspiring [sic] and heating equipment for Kuwait winter—these very rulers stand convicted before the Arab struggle. The riches of the Arab people in Kuwait, which should be used as a weapon in the interest of the Arab cause, are now in the hands of imperialism and being used as a weapon to strike down the Arab cause itself."

In another commentary of the same date, the Damascus radio broadcast the following: "The Arabs face two battles regarding oil. The first battle is represented in its extrication from Western investments and from the oil monopolies who use oil for the interests of imperialism * * *. The second battle is represented in making it an Arab oil—making it a weapon to be used by the Arabs in their battles."

There is a touch of comical irony in the choice of targets adopted by Cairo and Damascus. As noted, the attacks against Saudi Arabia by the Egyptians are partially explained by the fact that U.S. interests are involved in Saudi Arabia. However, it is also true that Cairo has become more and more bitter against Saudia Arabia because that country has stood in the way of Egypt's efforts to conquer Yemen. One does not find the Egyptians attacking the Kuwait rulers in the kind of language employed by their Syrian competitors. Logically, this should be expected if Nasser were truly concerned over the alleged ruthlessness of Western imperialism. But he refrains from attacking Kuwait at the present time because the Kuwait Government, through a special fund derived from oil revenues, contributes tens of millions of dollars to shore up Egypt's sick economy.

Egypt is short on cash and thus, the gold possessed by Kuwait comes in very handily. In this connection it is reported that in February of this year Kuwait granted another $98 million to Egypt. This is not to say that the Kuwait Government is very happy about this arrangement but, as the New York Times Middle East Correspondent Dana Adams Schmidt wrote, Kuwait's handouts to Egypt may be regarded as "protection money." One may assume that, while this racket pays off, Egypt will forgo any attacks on Kuwait as a "treacherous tool of Western imperialism."

On the other hand, the Syrian regime is not inhibited, for it has not received such "protection money." Furthermore, the Syrians are only too happy to depict the Kuwait leaders as servile lackeys of Western imperialism because this places their rivals in Cairo in a rather embarrassing predicament.

According to some press reports, unnamed Arab diplomats have been assuring Western diplomats that all of the talk concerning the use of oil as a weapon against the West is nothing but bombast, that it is really intended for "internal consumption." It would be most unfortunate if the West swallowed this line of reasoning. The fact is that one of the key elements in Cairo's policies is the cold calculation that someday, somehow, Cairo will become lord and master of the oil resources of the Middle East.

Perhaps to some this may sound like a dream which will never be realized, but let it be said at this point that the Nasserites are by no means dreaming. Nasser in his little book "Egypt's Liberation" specifically alluded to oil as a key weapon against the West. On page 106, he pointed out that one of the chief sources of Arab strength was oil. "A sinew of material civilization without which all its machines would cease to function." It was this oil, Nasser wrote, which was a major element in the Arab arsenal. It was this oil, Nasser declared, which could serve as an overpowering force that would pin the West against the wall.

The Egyptians have not only theorized on this subject, they have also set up an Oil Studies Institute which is expressly designed to train Egyptians to run the oil industries of the Middle East. Five years ago, the London publication the New Statesman reported that a noted American economist, after visiting Egypt, estimated that within 5 years the Egyptians would be technically capable of taking over all the oil installations in the Middle East and running them themselves. Fortunately, the West is not completely dependent on the oil resources of the Middle East so that in the last analysis the threats and plots hatched by Cairo, cannot gravely damage Western interests as such. However, the independence of those Middle Eastern States which have oil in large quantities, is definitely involved and fortunately, there are indications that a number of these states are alert to Nasser's ulterior motives.

It is not the so-called imperialism of the West which threatens the oil resources of these states but rather the insatiable ambitions of the Nasser regime. Whatever the differences between the West and the oil producing countries of the Middle East, these can be resolved through negotiations and on a give-and-take basis. However, the differences between these Middle Eastern States and Cairo are not a matter of revising agreements concerned with technicalities and the disposition and sale of this valuable commodity. What is really at stake for the oil producing states of the Middle East in relation to Cairo is their independence and we presume that this is not negotiable.

James Pope—Outstanding Farmer Cooperator of Tennessee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the Tennessee edition of the Commercial Appeal on Tuesday morning, June 22, an outstanding article by Bob Parkins of Milan, Tenn., on James Pope, a farmer of Kenton, Tenn.

Mr. Pope was named outstanding farmer-cooperator of Tennessee. This article is so well written that it speaks for itself and needs no further recommendation from me.

The article follows:

GIBSON COUNTY, JAMES POPE WINS CONSERVATION AWARDS

(By Bob Parkins)

TRENTON, TENN., June 21.—Gibson, noted for its diversified agriculture, has been selected first among the State's 95 counties in the annual Soil Conservation Awards program.

And with the award, James Pope, a farmer from Kenton, was named outstanding farmer-cooperator of Tennessee. He and Charles Harris, chairman of Gibson County Board of Soil Conservation Supervisors, will take an expense-paid 4-day trip to Phoenix, Ariz., in December.

They will be joined by 102 other State winners representing top soil conservation districts throughout the United States. The group will be guests of the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., sponsors of the program each year.

In Arizona the men will be give a suit of tailored Western clothing and observe conservation practices on the company's 14,000-acre desert farm.

Joe Boswell, district supervisor in Trenton, said a committee of State agricultural and conservation authorities made the selection after reviewing accomplishments of participoting districts. These included planning and organizing service to farmers, soil conserving accomplishments and coooperation from individuals interested in county conservation.

Mr. Pope operates an 80-acre farm and was cited as outstanding conservation farmer for his progress in carrying out a water and soil conservation plan for a year.

His projects included building a 1,000-yard gully plug which cost about $500.

"That gully was slowly eating away my best farmland," Mr. Pope said, "I had about used up all the old brush and rubbish I had trying to stop it before we built the grade stabilization structure."

He also constructed an 800-cubic-yard livestock pond, seeded winter pasture, limed and fertilized according to soil tests and ran crop rows on a contour to prevent erosion.

Flood Control Projects Urgently Needed in Southeast Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, the tragic flooding that hit so much of southeast Iowa during the late winter and early spring of this year, underscored indelibly the urgent need for long-range flood control action in our region.

Last night the city of Davenport, Iowa and the long-suffering residents of the Blackhawk Creek area suffered another stunning blow due to the uncontrolled flooding of the Blackhawk Creek. I have asked the House Committee on Public Works to speed up action on the recommendations which I made earlier this year for authorization of a major flood control project, including a reservoir in the bluffs above the Blackhawk Creek residential area to prevent the recurrence of another in the series of devastating floods which have been plaguing this section of Davenport.

I commend the editors of the Davenport Times-Democrat on their thoughtful editorial of August 2, 1965, which lends support to these much needed flood control efforts. Here is what they have said about this longstanding problem:

A NEW RIVERFRONT CHALLENGE

It is noteworthy that after a half century Davenport is looking toward the second major phase of its riverfront development.

Just a bit over 50 years ago, the city obtained legislation in Iowa's general assembly authorizing the creation of the levee commission. The performance of that body is well known. Thanks to wise planning and able management, Davenport has a waterfront development which has been the envy of most cities on the Mississippi.

Now the community is confronted with a new challenge. A flood last spring which is without recorded precedent impelled municipal officials and concerned citizens to protect business establishments and homes from recurring damage.

An advisory committee formed by Mayor O'Brien, working with the professional engineering guidance of Rex Matthews, public works director, has come up with recommendations of much promise.

Included in the proposals are a seawall to protect against a 25-foot flood stage from Perry Street east to McClellan Boulevard, and earthen dikes downstream from Marquette Street, as well as around the sewage treatment plant and the Garden Addition of some 35 to 40 square blocks.

All or any of these projects would be subject, of course, to engineering studies of feasibility and cost. Accordingly, the advisory committee has asked the mayor to call upon the U.S. Corps of Engineers to make a study.

The measures which are suggested would safeguard Davenport's water supply, electrical power facilities, and waste disposal system, and would protect major industrial establishments and the residential area most vulnerable to floodwaters.

To shield business houses and institutions along the city's riverfront and as far north as Second Street between Perry and Marquette Streets demands long-discussed separation of storm and sanitary sewers. Until that might be done—and there are imperative reasons other than flood threats—high water cannot be prevented from backing up and erupting behind any dikes which might be thrown up. The city currently is running a survey to determine the possibilities, including financing up to $4 to $5 million.

Davenport has an unsurpassed interest in any survey the U.S. Engineers might renew to determine feasibility of a reservoir and drainage system on the upper Mississippi and its tributaries for the control of flood waters.

It is this own community's problem, though, to devise the protective devices which will prevent the river from flowing into its business and residential districts when other measures may not do.

It is in the spirit of Davenport's foresighted leaders of 50 years ago that a new riverfront program is envisioned.

Roy Lewis Stone

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, our Nation has made great advances in education, not the least of them in the area of adult education. I am particularly proud of the work that is being done in California to further the cause of lifetime learning, and today I want to salute the one man who has spearheaded this gigantic effort—Mr. Roy Lewis Stone.

Roy has been a long-time personal friend of mine. He was the soloist at the wedding of me and my wife, Betty. We have also worked closely together within civic groups such as the local Crenshaw Kawanis Club. His diligent work in behalf of his community has been extensive throughout the years I have known him.

Yet, it is in his consistent endeavor to provide California's adult population with better opportunities for learning that Roy Stone is known. At present, as principal of Washington Adult School, he extends his activities to statewide administration of adult education polices and schools. A member of the Board of Directors of the California Association of Adult Education Administrators and the Adult Education Principals Association as well as a member of the Adult Education Curriculum Council and Superintendent's All-Year School Committee, Mr. Stone is knowledgeable and expert in all phases of the adult education program.

Roy Lewis Stone, through his vigorous leadership, has also contributed greatly to help the passage of legislation in California to improve and expand the State system of adult education. He has worked closely with California legislators to provide the meticulous attention to detail which is so vital to effective legislation.

It is not exaggerating to say that Roy Lewis Stone literally put the "adult" into education. A champion of this cause, Mr. Stone's example serves as a guide to all who wish to perfect and promote adult education.

Johnson Failure To Act in Baker Case Preserves Cloud of Scandal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Barry Goldwater.

JOHNSON FAILURE TO ACT IN BAKER CASE PRESERVES CLOUD OF SCANDAL

(By Barry Goldwater)

President Johnson continues to protect his protege Bobby Baker, even if by default. One nod from the President and Bobby's financial empire might topple like a house of cards. But the nod has never come.

Baker is still making millions, despite headlines about the improper use of his office as Mr. Johnson's lieutenant in the Senate, the job in which he made his fortune in the first place.

When the late President John F. Kennedy was faced with the evidence of Billie Sol Estes' wrongdoing, he moved swiftly and justly to cut Government support from Estes.

But President Johnson has done nothing in the last 2 years about the evidence of Baker's misdeeds.

What could he do?

Representative H. R. GROSS, Republican, of Iowa, has suggested a sound answer. The backbone of Baker's financial empire is still the Serv-U Vending Co. and its $2.5-million-a-year contract for food-vending services with North American Aviation.

The Senate Rules Committee, which, despite overwhelming evidence, refused to do much more than slap the wrist of Mr. Johnson's protege, issued this report on Serv-U:

"It was through the vending business that Baker was able to acquire monthly cash kickbacks as well as inaugurate a highly profitable vending operation with defense contractors whose almost sole source of income was from the U.S. Government.

"It was in these vending operations that Baker became associated with individuals who ranged from gamblers to those convicted of income tax evasion."

Now as GROSS puts it, "It might be possible to excuse North American officials for dealing with Baker's corporation when they state they did not know of his involvements. But there is absolutely no reason now for continuing the deal with Serv-U."

GROSS points out that the Baker contract with North American has a simple cancellation clause that could be invoked at any time, if only someone would give the green light.

As mentioned, the Kennedy administration had no such tender regard for Estes as this administration seems to have for Baker. President Kennedy cut Estes off wherever he had power to do so. Any official of this administration could do the same to Baker with a phone call.

GROSS says that "such contractual relations would not be tolerated by the Government if they involved such figures as Frank Costello, Tony Accardo, or others of their racketeering ilk. The record shows that Bobby Baker is a political racketeer, and political racketeering should be given no preference."

GROSS raises one other point which the White House could clear up if it wanted to. James Webb is the head of NASA, which awarded the Apollo program to North American and thus has a crucial influence on North American's actions. Webb is also one of the largest stockholders in the bank that loaned Bobby Baker the money to start Serv-U.

Unless and until the President cleans up this nasty blot on his administration, millions of Americans may be excused the inescapable feeling that there is more to the Baker case than has been admitted.

With the war clouds of Vietnam hanging heavily over us, this is not time to permit the clouds of scandal to persist. Mr. Johnson could remove them with a stroke.

The Job Corps School at Camp Atterbury, Ind.—An Expensive Flop

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, the Job Corps dropout school at Camp Atterbury, Ind., has been an expensive flop thus far, and now the apologists for the administration are attempting to make the people of Indiana the scapegoat for this $10 million failure.

Instead of criticizing the concept and execution of the Job Corps dropout program at Camp Atterbury on its merits, its failure is attributed to the hostility of the people of Indiana and editorial opposition from Indiana newspapers.

Indiana communities in the area of the training center are depicted as hardhearted and intent on making the youngsters unwelcome.

This is typical liberal smear strategy whenever a pet project goes awry—find a conservative or Republican bogeyman to blame.

The attack on Indiana is contained in an article published August 3, 1965, in the liberal Washington, D.C., Post, in the Nation's Capital.

Another observation made by the Post is that "prominent Indiana politicians" are to blame for Camp Atterbury's problems.

The Post apparently has not discovered that Indiana now has a Democratic Governor, two Democratic Senators; both houses of the State legislature are Democratic; the majority of Indiana Congressmen are Democratic, and the Job Corps program in Indiana is the brain child of the immediate past Indiana Governor, also a Democrat.

Blaming the hostility of the people of Indiana and editorial opposition for the miserable results at Camp Atterbury just doesn't jibe with the facts—Atterbury has been a Democratic patronage production from start to finish.

Rowdyism by Job Corpsmen at nearby Indiana communities is glossed over, as are reports of the dropouts trying to buy guns while on leave from the camp.

A sordid sexual assault involving seven dropouts is brushed off as an expression of challenged manhood, and the Indianapolis Star, the State's leading morning daily newspaper, is accused of upsetting camp administrators by its editorial position. These camp administrators should be upset, and if they were doing the job, all of the editorial comment in the world could not change the fact.

Mr. Speaker, no defense of the people of Indiana is needed. Indiana has a worldwide reputation as one of the friendliest States in America, and Hoosier compassion for the underprivileged is unequaled. As in all States, people who obey our laws are welcome.

We do resent misrepresentation, false accusation, and unjust criticism.

Mr. Speaker, the following article is submitted for the RECORD as comment on the administration's Job Corps program:

CAMP ATTERBURY IS BESET BY TROUBLE

(By John J. Carmody)

Camp Atterbury, Ind., is a Job Corps camp in trouble.

It is in hostile country, where the John Birch Society has a toehold and where powerful local newspapers are set against it.

It hasn't shaken the effects of an uncertain start last winter at the hands of some prominent Indiana politicians.

Some 619 youngsters were at the dilapidated World War II installation when I visited the camp recently. Not many of the youngsters were busy.

Camp administrators were using Job Corps trainees to empty warehouses that will eventually house the vocational training programs. The administrators called this make-work activity "work training" in its "prevocational program."

But in fact this "work training" replaced serious preliminary shop training that many of the Job Corps youths at Atterbury are already prepared for and which local recruiters in their hometowns had promised, rightly or wrongly, would be waiting.

Camp officials instituted morning rollcalls after the camp was shaken by adverse newspaper publicity following the arrest of seven Atterbury youngsters for a sexual assault on a 17-year-old trainee.

Now youngsters stand in military formations outside their barracks at 6:30 a.m. Rigid Saturday morning inspections have also been started under the direction of a colonel in the Indiana National Guard, who is now an Atterbury official.

CAMP DIRECTOR FIRED

The original camp director was fired at the end of June with a nudge from Job Corps in Washington, despite the fact he was one of the eight men who founded the nonprofit Midwest Educational Foundation, Inc., the principal contractholder that runs Camp Atterbury.

His successor, a former Peace Corps executive who held the post of deputy camp director, reportedly was fired only last week by the foundation's board, after it was discovered he had fired some of the local deadwood without consulting foundation officials.

The ratio of counselors to the 619 youngsters on hand as of July 1 was running at a lazy 1 to 30. The ratio at Camp Kilmer, N.J., a highly successful Job Corps installation is 1 to 8.

The original personnel officer was replaced 2 weeks ago—after the new regime learned that many of his early counselor selections proved all too often to be neither compatible with the youngsters nor adaptable to Job Corps counseling goals.

UNLISTED NUMBER

The foundation itself, with a $10.8 million Federal contract for the 18-month life of the project, conducts its business in interesting ways. Its telephone number at the camp is unlisted, despite the fact that hundreds of subcontracting details are yet to be ironed out.

And a local building contractor, operating with a skeleton crew, has lagged far behind target dates in the construction of other vocational and teaching sites.

Administrative unrest showed throughout the camp on my recent visit.

Beds in the dormitories were left unmade during the day. (My visit was before the new, tighter regulations were set up.) Wrecked furniture stood in the barracks lobbies. Dozens of youngsters idled in their barracks or lounged around the makeshift PX—and it is called a PX at Camp Atterbury—during the midafternoons.

Job Corps in Washington, after full discussions with the beleaguered foundation board of directors, is moving fast to help repair the administrative damage. It has quickly approved the Board's appointment of a new camp director. He is Dr. James Brynner, a Cincinnati school superintendent who was originally slated to run Atterbury's educational program.

But serious slides in the vocational program's time schedule still exist. Camp discipline needs a firm hand. The potential for trouble in the camp program remains.

UNEXPECTED CONFLICT

Camp Atterbury's story is one of unexpected conflicts between State and Federal regulations based on the unique status of the foundation, and its slow organizing efforts.

Dr. Lewis Eigen, a former Temple University professor of education who is now associate Job Corps director for program development, puts the best face on the Atterbury troubles.

Dr. Eigen likes to point out the foundation's effort to start a Job Corps camp in Indiana as a milestone in Federal and State relations.

"This is the first time in the history of the Federal Government," according to Eigen, "that a State was willing to devote its own resources to a Federal project that was going to serve out-of-State people."

GOVERNOR'S PLAN

The Camp Atterbury Job Corps project arose from a pet program of outgoing Democratic Gov. Matthew Welsh. Welsh's Indiana Youth Council was a small rehabilitation and training effort opened last year at Atterbury.

In the last days of his regime (he could not succeed himself), Welsh joined with seven other prominent men in the State to incorporate the foundation and begin negotiations with the Federal Government about the use of Atterbury as a site for a Job Corps camp with a potential population of 2,600 by the end of 1966.

Negotiation problems on the State level were compounded by the changeover to the administration of Gov. Roger Brannigan, also a Democrat.

Indiana State civil service regulations and congressional strictures on the Job Corps were a source of conflict. The Federal agency, for instance, reserved the right to fire the camp director.

CONTRACT DELAYED

The Federal Government also objected to negotiations with a quasi-State agency. All these factors combined to hold up the signing of the Job Corps contract with the foundation until early February, according to Eigen.

An important $2.9 million subcontract with a College Park, Md., division of Litton Industries, authorizing the company to organize the shops for the vocational training program, was not signed until May 1.

Meanwhile, the first trainees were prematurely fed into the Job Corps pipeline for a May 21 opening at Camp Atterbury.

Among the aftereffects of the delayed contract negotiations was Litton's realization that the foundation had reserved for itself the right to hire vocational teachers used in the Litton-prepared program.

The Litton representative bitterly attributes this problem to Indiana political logrolling.

Belatedly, the Job Corps in mid-July froze the camp's trainee population at 550 and has offered to transfer some of the youngsters to other camps, an offer Dr. Brynner has so far declined.

Meanwhile, there is no auto repair shop fully set up at the camp, although many of the youngsters are now qualified to begin training there.

A warehouse now crowded with civil defense water cans will eventually house part of the repair program—but the youths are now laboriously moving those cans onto trucks.

The pastry food training section will open in another month, the refrigerating repair section in 6 to 10 weeks.

Meanwhile, Litton's 16-week basic education program, which will reinforce the youngster's knowledge of English and mathematics and begin their social education, is underway.

But a meeting between Dr. Brynner and Litton officials to determine the final texts for these programs still has to be worked into the schedule.

A prime reason for the slide in the facilities program is that subcontractor Litton, while responsible for the teaching curriculum, is not in on the building contracts, which have been let out to local firms, and the local firms' efforts have not been coordinated with Litton's.

Perhaps most worrisome in all the slow staffing and the administrative upheaval that has resulted is the effect on the camp's counseling system.

Dr. Gerald Foster, in charge of the program, feels the personnel pinch deeply.

He weeded out the substandard first choices, which has increased the staff shortage. And he has been slow to get the best replacements. So far he has 20 in mind, but he has had to comb three neighboring States to find them.

Ideally, Dr. Foster wants a "resident adviser" for every 60 youngsters in the 120-man barracks planned for Atterbury, plus a chief resident adviser and 2 counselors for the same group.

In addition, he plans to have some kind of psychiatric care for every youngster in the camp.

LIKES SELF-DIRECTION

Dr. Foster is eager to get his hands on the troubled kids from the slums.

"Eventually I want an hour a day out of the basic education classes at this camp to get to the youngsters for counseling. It will be a group procedure, much like Camp Kilmer, I suppose. But I have a different approach.

"I'm oriented to a self-direction method for these kids. There is too much of the puppet in American society today, anyway. I want these tough kids, the unmanageable kids, to take a real hard look at themselves and say 'this is what I really am' for the first time in their lives—and take it from there.

"This is something that all the nice middle-class kids outside Camp Atterbury don't even have—acceptance of themselves as they are. There is too much conformity instead of a freedom to explore yourself. These kids have a great potential—if they are honest enough to realize it. And that's what I want to teach them. None of this group-living thing."

ARRANGED BAIL

Dr. Foster, meanwhile, has arranged bail for two of the seven slum youngsters arrested in the sexual attack. The two boys have unobtrusively been put back into the camp work and recreation programs while undergoing intensive psychiatric help from Dr. Foster and his staff.

"This wasn't a sexual assault primarily," Dr. Foster explains. "This was a situation that arose out of a barracks explosion that challenged manhood. These two boys are just the kind of youngsters we should be trying to reach in the program—aggressive, hostile, but savable."

Meanwhile, communities in the area continue to make the youngsters unwelcome, especially the Negro youngsters. There is no community relations program set up by the foundation as yet for the camp—a lack that particularly worries Job Corps in Washington.

Outside recreational plans are haphazard and slowed so far by a lack of transportation.

A Columbus, Ind., newspaper reported that youngsters from Atterbury attempted to buy guns while on leave from the camp. Continuing editorial attacks by the influential Indianapolis Star keep camp administrators in a stew.

Atterbury may eventually test Job Corps administration in Washington even more than the foundation board which has so far reaped the criticism for the slow start.

It is a crucial testing ground for the basic Job Corps principle of "pluralism"—having seven different camp operators, for instance—in its choice of prime contractors.

At its best pluralism can produce exciting differences in approach. At its worst it can produce a Camp Atterbury.

Comptroller General Joseph Campbell

SPEECH

OF

HON. ALBERT THOMAS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, it has been my high privilege to know Joseph Campbell well during the past 10½ years when he served as Comptroller General of the United States, and before that when he was a member of the Atomic Energy Commission. Every year he came before our Independent Offices Appropriations Subcommittee with his budget, and we always looked forward to meeting with him.

He is only the fourth Comptroller General of the United States since 1921 when the General Accounting Office was created by the Congress. Each person who has held this office has been outstanding in his own right. However, too much credit cannot be given to Joseph Campbell. He has given the Nation leadership in this office without equal.

He has many outstanding attributes, but perhaps the greatest is his managerial ability. A principle accomplishment during his tenure has been the realinement of the operating divisions into separate civil, military, and international divisions. These he has staffed with increasing numbers of certified public accountants and other highly qualified individuals. At the same time he reduced overall employment over 25 percent so as to do a better job with fewer people. This type of performance is deserving of the thanks and appreciation of every citizen and taxpayer in the Nation.

He never forgot that the General Accounting Office is an arm of the Congress. He was particularly concerned that his office should aid the Congress in carrying out its constitutional responsibility for controlling the public purse and enacting legislation with sound financial and management provisions. To this end his relationships and his service to the Congress and its committees has been excellent.

Let no one in the House underestimate his dedication, ability, and integrity. He has been on the job every day for many years directing personally all the many facets of GAO operations. He has increased measurably the stature of the General Accounting Office.

We are happy to note that he is well on the way to recovery from his recent illness. He leaves a great legacy. We do not know what he may wish to undertake next, but rest assured he and his charming, talented, and devoted wife will have the presence felt wherever they are. We wish them every good wish as they continue to face a wonderful future.

The C-141—MATS' New Cargo Carrier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call my colleagues' attention to a very interesting article in the Tuesday, July 27, Metro-East Journal of East St. Louis, Ill., concerning the performance of the C-141 airplane.

The C-141—Starlifter—is presently undergoing extensive testing at Scott Air Force Base, Ill., headquarters of the Military Air Transport Service, soon to be known as the Military Airlift Command. The results, so far, are impressive and I am certain I speak for all of us on the House Armed Services Committee who deal with military airlift problems in saying the Starlifter is a valuable addition to the MATS' cargo plane inventory. From all indications the C-141 will increase tremendously the capacity of our airlift operations and will play a vital role in the continuing efforts to improve our military capabilities.

I commend the Metro-East Journal for reporting on the importance of this airplane.

The article follows:

NO CRAFT CAN MATCH SPEED, SIZE OF MATS' HUGE C-141

The C-141 is a huge, brute of an airplane, but it has the soft touch of a lady.

And this impressive marriage of power and finesse has upper echelon officers in the Military Air Transport Service (MATS) becoming lyrical and misty-eyed when the Lockheed C-141 (Starlifter) is mentioned.

MATS, headquartered at Scott Air Force Base, is conducting exhaustive tests on the Starlifter, amassing data on every phase of airlift operations as they are affected by the employment of the Starlifter. The results so far only add luster to the love affair.

The Starlifter, according to information received from Maj. George N. Wentsch, command project officer heading the C-141 joint test force, is neither the biggest nor the fastest aircraft in MATS hangars. The C-133 Cargomaster is larger; the C-135 (Boeing 707) is slightly faster. But the Starlifter combines both size and speed to a degree no other aircraft available to MATS does.

"The word 'size' probably should be changed to 'cargo capacity,' which is more accurate," Major Wentsch said. "The Starlifter is the first aircraft designed especially for cargo, and we have in it the optimum combination of features within the limitations we set for it."

The "power" features of the Starlifter are breathtaking in comparison with existing aircraft and World War II cargo aircraft.

The Starlifter can carry 68,500 pounds of cargo at speeds up to 550 miles per hour. It climbs at 3,400 feet per minute and has a range of 6,244 nautical miles at maximum takeoff weight.

By contrast World War II aircraft, the C-47 and C-54, flew at speeds under 150 miles per hour and could carry cargoes weighing only a few tons. None of the aircraft now available to MATS can handle as much cargo as fast as the Starlifter.

Equally impressive are the statistics on the Starlifter's "finesse:"

Most significant is the Starlifter's ability to operate on a runway only 5,000 feet long. The faster C-135 needs nearly 9,000 feet of runway. Thus, the number of landing fields available to the Starlifter is significantly increased.

Built-in cargo floor-rollers speed the handling of material. With the new 463L materials handling support system the Starlifter can be loaded with its 68,500 pounds of cargo in 30 minutes. Off-loading is equally fast.

"These figures are militarily significant," Major Wentsch said.

"Taken all together, they mean that MATS can handle a lot more cargo, a lot faster and deliver it to many more places.

"This means that 120 Starlifters could have airlifted the 15,000 troops and 425 tons of cargo to Germany in Exercise Big Lift in 65 percent of the time required for the operation by 206 airplanes. Or with 80 Starlifters, each one making two trips, we could have done the job in 85 percent of the time."

Major Wentsch considered the economic significance of the Starlifter's performance as important as its military significance.

"I think, personally, that the Starlifter represents a real breakthrough for commercial air freight," he said. "The plane is designed to handle two truck trailers, which can be loaded as units on the aircraft.

"A company can afford to drastically reduce its inventory because it can get delivery in a matter of 2 or 3 days instead of weeks.

"There has been no significant increase in air freight since 1947," Major Wentsch added. "The Starlifter could change that situation overnight."

For the present, however, the Department of Defense has first call on the Starlifter, and MATS will get them at a rate of about seven per month. Eventually MATS will have 130 in operation.

Major Wentsch said MATS still would need the C-133 Cargomaster for outsized cargo, and indicated that the C-135 still had a role to play, but he seemed reluctant to admit that the Starlifter couldn't do everything but sing the Air Force song.

Reapportionment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I insert a column by Maj. Gen. T. A. Lane, U.S. Army, retired, on the subject of reapportionment.

Since the Senate may soon act on this issue, I believe these comments are especially appropriate at this time:

APPORTIONMENT AMENDMENTS CHALLENGES JUDICIAL TYRANNY

(By Thomas A. Lane)

WASHINGTON.—The deepest trends of the time are often obscured by the chance or designed intrusion of superficial issues which distract public attention from the real crisis. It seems, for example, that the revolution in our Government commanded by judicial decree hardly touches the consciousness of most of our citizens.

If the issue were put to him squarely, John Doe would surely assert his choice to be ruled by elected legislators rather than by appointed judges. The issue is not put to him. Instead, the judges operate in the isolation of courts and cases, remote from the citizen consciousness, to enact new laws which no political organization could ever have foisted upon the people.

The shocking departures from the American governmental tradition which have been decreed by the Supreme Court could have been enacted into constitutional law and approved by the people as provided in the Constitution. Any honest observer must concede, however, that a constitutional amendment imposing the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote ruling on State governments would have been rejected by the people. What the Court did was to impose its ideological preconceptions upon the country, under cover of judicial process, against the known judgment of the people. This is a definition of tyranny.

So also, John Doe knows perfectly well that the first amendment prohibition against the establishment of a State church by the Federal Government does not prohibit the voluntary recital of prayers in public schools. A constitutional amendment to outlaw such prayers would have had no chance of winning voter approval. Yet the Court so modified the Constitution by edict, pretending that this was the law.

As Prof. Charles Rice has pointed out in a recent critique of the school prayer ruling, a teacher may not affirm that the Declaration of Independence is true when it asserts that men are endowed "by their Creator" with unalienable rights, or when it refers to "the laws of nature and of nature's God." Contrast this Court decree with British law in Hong Kong where all children are required to receive instruction in a religion of their choice. As Professor Rice appraises the damage to American children, "public school children cannot be taught that, in fact, there is a divine standard of right and wrong higher than the state. This is the primary and, over the long term, malignant, evil of the prayer rulings."

It is of course true that the people can overturn the Court rulings by enacting amendments to restore the original constitutional order. This, however, inverts the order of Government. If the Court rules by edict and the Legislature must act to veto Court decisions, we have not a constitutional republic but a constitutional oligarchy. How ironic it is that the element of government charged with preserving the Constitution should be the one to subvert it.

The Supreme Court is the voice of a powerful minority committed to the improvement of man through the power of the state. Under cover of a distracting propaganda about justice and individual rights, this political tapeworm gorges itself upon public power. It disposes of the enormous wealth which the Government extracts from the people—and not without profit to the private interests and fortunes of its members. There is no limit to its appetites. It cannot brook the slow and doubtful process of constitutional amendment but must rule by decree.

The Dirksen amendment is a too modest correction of the Court's apportionment decision. It should have provided that the organization and election processes of State governments are totally excluded from the jurisdiction of the Federal Government and all of its agencies, including the Supreme Court. If Congress now rejects the minimal correction embodied in the Dirksen amendment, we shall know that the totalitarian ideologies control the whole Government.

The Energy Center of the East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the people of the 22d Congressional District of Pennsylvania welcome another giant electric powerplant which—combined with Keystone and Conemaugh—conclusively establishes our area as the energy center of the east. The Pennsylvania Electric Co. and the New York State Electric & Gas Co. have chosen Homer City—Indiana County—Pa., as the site for a multimillion-dollar interstate electric power project, including a $140 million 9-month generating station.

To mineworkers who have waited patiently for steady employment, the new plant will be an answer to their prayers. Moreover, 500 mine jobs plus those connected with operation of the generating station will have a highly stimulating effect on business in general and will serve to reestablish confidence in the economic future of the entire district.

When the third facility is completed, the electric companies will have invested more than a half billion dollars in the dynamic Indiana-Armstrong-Cambria power complex whence electricity will be transmitted to consumers in distant communities. These plants alone will require about 10 million tons of bituminous coal per year—more than 12 per-

cent of Pennsylvania's total production in 1964. The prospect is both gratifying and invigorating.

Once again, Mr. Speaker, America is learning that investor-owned utilities, left to their own ingenuity and imagination without Federal interference or tax-subsidized competition, are fully prepared to provide all the energy that will be needed in the next year, the next decade, and the next century. And in the process, the Nation will grow and prosper.

As a part of my remarks, I include the announcement being made jointly today by these two utilities:

THE ENERGY CENTER OF THE EAST

Plans for a multi-million-dollar interstate electric power project, including a $140 million mine mouth generating station near Homer City between Indiana and Johnstown, were announced today by Pennsylvania Electric Co. and New York State Electric & Gas Corp.

The 1,280,000 kilowatt mine mouth powerplant would be jointly owned by the two utilities. It would consume about 3.5 million tons of coal a year, most of which would be mined adjacent to the plant and delivered by conveyor belts—with the balance to be mined within a few miles of the site.

Construction of the plant would commence next March with the first 640,000-kilowatt unit in operation by May 1969 and the second unit of the same size to be completed about 18 months later.

The plant site is in an area rich in bituminous coal deposits and about 20 miles northwest of Johnstown. It is about 15 miles southeast of the keystone power project under construction near Shelocta and about 12 miles northwest of the contemplated Conemaugh powerplant near New Florence. The installation of the Penelec-New York State Electric & Gas Corp. plant would mean, when all three are in operation in the early 1970's, that this 30-mile stretch of central western Pennsylvania could produce over 5 million kilowatts (including Penelec's existing Seward station), one of the greatest concentrations of electric power production capacity in the world.

New York State Electric & Gas Corp.'s share of the output of the station will be delivered by a 345,000-volt transmission line that will run 170 miles from the site to the Elmira-Binghampton, N.Y., area and would be the first extra-high voltage line to tie western Pennsylvania directly with upstate New York. Penelec's share of the station output will be taken into its transmission network near the site.

Agreement to proceed with the joint construction of the plant was announced today by Penelec President Louis H. Roddis, Jr., and New York State Electric & Gas Corp. president Joseph M. Bell, Jr. The scope of the project was cited by the utility executives as "illustrating the continuing commitment and ability of investor-owned electric companies to finance and build the efficient large-scale facilities that will assure consumers in the northeast of dependable and low-cost electric serivce."

The New York utility serves over a half-million customers, principally in the south central portion of that State. Penelec serves 420,000 customers in about a third of the Commonwealth and including virtually the entire northern tier and in the central and southwestern parts of Pennsylvania. The Johnstown based utility is an operating company of General Public Utilities Corp. and its generating operations are integrated with its sister central public utilities companies; Metropolitan Edison Co. of Pennsylvania; New Jersey Power & Light Co. and Jersey Central Power & Light Co.

(General Public Utilities Corp. through the Jersey Central Co., is a part owner of the Keystone project and Penelec is constructing and will own portions of the east-west extra high voltage transmission lines emanating from Keystone. The general public utilities companies' power production operations are further coordinated with other eastern utilities through their participation in the Pennsylvania-New Jersey-Maryland interconnection—the world's oldest and one of the largest power pools.)

Mr. Roddis noted that Penelec's forecast of increased demand for electricity by its customers and the planned retirement of old and less efficient generating units would require Penelec to have substantial additional generating capability and that the coordinated installation of a 9-mouth extra high voltage program would meet the requirements of both utilities in 1970.

Although this project would create the first transmission tie of extra high voltage level (over 230,000 volts) between western Pennsylvania and upstate New York, Penelec and New York State Electric & Gas Corp. have maintained transmission connections at five points along the States' border for many years. In addition, New York State Electric & Gas Corp. has 11 major transmission ties with 4 other utilities and Penelec is interconnected with 7 other companies at 13 other locations.

Design details for the plant are still to be developed but would be similar in concept to the neighboring 9-mouth stations. Cooling water for the plant will be continuously recycled from huge storage basins outside the plant, sent in to the station's condensors where it will pick up heat, returned outside and into 350-foot tall hyperbolic concrete shell natural draft cooling towers and dropped back down to the storage basins.

Additional supplies of water to make up for the amounts being evaporated in the cooling process will be withdrawn from Two Lick Creek and pumped uphill to the plant site about a mile away. The creek's flow will be maintained at an adequate rate all year round for this purpose by construction of a reservoir further upstream with 13,000 acre feet of water storage impounded by a concrete dam.

The siting of the plant in the central western Pennsylvania soft coal region will allow the companies to take advantage of the substantial economies associated with using readily recoverable, run-of-the-mine coal with an average heat rate of 12,000 B.t.u. per pound and requiring minimal preparation and transportation. Studies have shown about 125 million recoverable tons of coal within a few miles of the site. The officials reported that no contracts have as yet been entered upon with coal companies.

Part of the economic impact of the project would lie in the fact that the character of the coal in the area, while suitable for this plant, is less in demand for other uses and much of it might not otherwise ever be mined. It is predicted that operation of the plant at full capacity would mean 500 or more mining jobs and a large number of trucking and other associated jobs. Installation of the plant will also mean a large number of temporary jobs and substantial local purchases of materials, supplies and services during the construction period—all of which should inject several million dollars a year of additional purchasing power into this region's economy.

Another feature evaluated in the economic analysis of the site is its proximity to Penelec's network of 230,000 volt and 115,000 volt transmission lines leading to major local electric load centers and to existing interconnections.

Mr. Roddis noted that consumers in Pennsylvania have fast been reaping the benefits of the relatively new technology of EHV transmission and the development of large scale generating units. "This has been so," he said, "both from the standpoint of the economic impact of siting 9-mouth plants in our State and in the action of Penelec and other investor-owned electric companies to pass along the economic advantages to their customers." He noted that while Penelec had reduced rates three times in 1965 alone, and had initiated reductions totaling over $6 million in the past 5 years, it considered the substantial investment represented by today's announcement as: "intended to help us assure our customers that electric service will remain the best bargain in Pennsylvania in the years to come."

Mr. Roddis and Mr. Bell stated also that, "our project illustrates the intention and ability of investor-owned utilities to meet the Nation's growing electric power requirements and to work toward further reduction in power costs—and to achieve these ends without placing a burden on the taxpayer."

Vietnam: Facts Self-Evident

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, American policy in Vietnam is really relatively simple as far as I see it. We strongly support self-determination of government by people, and whereas the issue of people popularly supporting Communist causes has never arisen, I am sure that our policy is such that we would let any people determine their own future by majority vote whether it be Communist, Socialist, or democratic.

The problem comes up when one group seeks to impose a Communist system by force in a protracted battle with outside interference. The United States will equalize by force any situation that so arises in the world.

Respecting Red China, undoubtedly she should be a member of the U.N. but so also should Nationalist China and therein lies the current conflict.

The President has again urged the utilization of the U.N. to terminate the hostilities in southeast Asia. The Communists have steadfastly refused to recognize this organization or its function in any fashion in the danger area. We have offered to talk to anybody in the world to bring this matter to a conclusion. The Communists have refused to talk with anybody. We are now in a situation where we are sending substantial troops abroad, I hope for the purpose of maintaining the status quo allowing our technological superiority to bring the Communists to the bargaining table without inflicting innumerable casualities in a large ground war.

I am pleased to see the American public gradually recognizing that the truth and facts in Vietnam are really self-evident.

The Vallejo Times-Herald in my home district editorialized on July 27 responsively and in the national interest as follows:

EVERYONE IN THE KNOW

Demands and pleas that the Government "tell the truth about Vietnam" strike a responsive chord among many Americans, whether they are voiced by persons who oppose the administration's actions or by those who support them.

Although most of us have a decided opinion about what should be done in matters of domestic concern, when it comes to foreign affairs we are usually more ready to abdicate our own judgment and look to the Government experts for answers, even while not quite trusting them.

This was pointed out recently by Gunnar Myrdal, an astute Swedish observer of the American scene.

Writing in the New York Times magazine, he gives as the reason the fact that the ordinary citizen "tends to assume that the Government has information of a secret nature, not available to the general public."

While it may be to the tactical advantage of Government officials to maintain this belief, "experience suggests that outside purely military matters the belief is vastly exaggerated when it is not entirely false."

Ordinarily, maintains Myrdal, no Government has more knowledge about a foreign country than is generally available in the press and published literature.

If so, this carries two significant implications—one general and the other particular—for all of us:

In general, it means there can be no excuse for shrugging off responsibility for what the Nation does in the world arena on the grounds that we cannot possibly know—or learn—as much about the issues as the men who have to make the decisions.

In the particular issue of Vietnam, it means that despite any fond hopes, the Government possesses no secret knowledge but for the revelation of which we could arrive at a quick and easy solution to the war there.

"The truth about Vietnam" is as evident to the ordinary citizen as it is to the man in the White House.

It is that the Communists want to swallow up South Vietnam and we intend to stop them from doing it.

It is that we face a long and increasingly costly struggle, with no certain prospect of victory or even some kind of peace that is neither victory nor defeat.

There are no hidden truths that will make these obvious truths go away.

The American resolve is further emphasized and articulated by the following editorial of Kenneth Leake in the Woodland Daily Democrat on July 31, 1965:

AS WE SEE IT: HANOI DELUSION

It has been more than a little baffling to Americans—and we suspect to citizens of a great many other nations—why Ho Chi Minh and his associates and advisers in the North Vietnam Government have shown not even a glimmer of interest in sitting down at a conference table to try to end the Vietnamese war.

The United States has tried about every diplomatic trick in the book to bring about such discussions.

President Johnson has offered publicly to hold unconditional negotiations. Various and sundry mediators, including one of British Prime Minister Wilson's ablest far-left friends, have tried to reason with the Hanoi regime.

Washington has turned on awesome military power in sustained attacks, and then turned it off. Military establishments and facilities all over North Vietnam have been bombed, while Hanoi and other major cities have been conspicuously left alone.

But nothing has worked.

Now from London come some reports which, however incredible they seem to us, may explain the indifference of Hanoi toward negotiations.

Reliable observers who have visited the North Vietnam capital in recent weeks—some western Communists, some neutrals—have returned shaking their heads in wonderment over a fixation they have found held by both officials and North Vietnamese citizens.

Not only does North Vietnam expect to win the war. From Ho on down, the North Vietnamese are flatly convinced that the United States is torn asunder by dissension on the Vietnamese war and that President Johnson is on the verge of impeachment because of his foreign policy.

Nothing the visitors could say—many of them friendly to Ho—could shake that conviction. Several of the North Vietnamese cited the revolt in U.S. colleges, and said that such attitudes were always the prelude to revolution.

This would make sense of the adamant position of Ho Chi Minh and his followers, even if the conviction upon which they are relying is utter nonsense.

But the question is, What we can do about it? How can we convey the truth of conditions in the United States—and our determination not to pull out of Vietnam—to the Hanoi regime?

Here the lack of communications between the United States and Red China and its satellites poses a real and serious problem.

Washington has its work cut out in trying to find an answer to this. And that's one of the main reasons it appears inevitable that the next few months will see a considerable buildup in U.S. military forces in South Vietnam.

The People Are the Last Word

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, today's Washington Daily News carries an editorial on the subject of legislative reapportionment and I believe it merits the attention of all.

The editorial follows:

THE PEOPLE ARE THE LAST WORD

In our system of government, as spelled out by the Constitution and every other principle we go by, the people are the final word.

But a substantial number of Members in the U.S. Senate, although generally classifying themselves as "liberals," are opposed to this system.

They demonstrate this opposition by the bitter manner in which they seek to defeat the so-called Dirksen amendment to the Constitution.

Last year, the Supreme Court, in an amazing ruling, held that both houses of a State legislature had to be apportioned on a strict population basis—the so-called one-man, one-vote proposition. This despite the State-by-State apportionment of the U.S. Senate, despite the constitutions of most States, despite recent and specific approval by the voters in some States of a different system.

Nobody wants to rip out the Supreme Court because of this airy decision, although the decision had the effect of ripping out most State legislatures.

The way to correct the Court's action is to write into the Federal Constitution an amendment. This amendment has been offered by Senator DIRKSEN, of Illinois. All the amendment says is that any State may set up one house of its legislature on other than a population basis if—emphasis on the if—the people of the State want it that way.

But the Senators opposing the Dirksen amendment don't want the people to decide for themselves. The plain implication is that the Senators know better than the people of the States what is a proper system for the States. Since many of these Senators have been among the most zealous champions of civil rights, their inconsistency on the Dirksen issue is beyond comprehension.

If the people in the States are not capable of deciding such basic questions as the manner in which they wish their legislatures to be organized, then it is valid to question the capacity of the people to decide other questions—who, for instance, should represent them in the U.S. Senate.

Maybe, if these anti-Dirksen Senators are right, we should go back to the old system of having U.S. Senators chosen by State legislatures. (We wouldn't favor that for a minute, but it is just as logical as the opposition to the Dirksen amendment.)

There are many arguments favoring the Dirksen amendment. But, regardless of all other arguments, the issue now before the Senate is fundamental—the right of the people of the States to decide for themselves. Despite all the windy debate, this is the only issue.

Britain Lost in Social Mist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Eric Sevareid:

BRITIAN LOST IN SOCIAL MIST—ENCRUSTED ORGANIZED LABOR TRYING TO GET MORE FOR LESS

(By Eric Sevareid)

LONDON.—When I last departed England 4 years ago, a tired Tory government was in power. Now the long-frustrated Labor Party has charge and very little has changed, save that prices are higher. It is as if the country were searching and searching for the magic button that would galvanize the people and move their potentially first-class industrial complex off dead center.

It is ironic but not at all surprising that a Prime Minister ostensibly representing the working class spends his weekends making speeches insisting that the workers work harder. The faults of management are obvious enough to any American businessman who does business here; but organized labor has become ever more encrusted, bureaucratized, reactionary, and spiritless. Its energies remain concentrated on getting more for less.

POPULAR STORY

In an imaginary but popular story, Frank Cousins, head of Britain's greatest labor agglomeration and now in the Cabinet, is making a speech to his followers: "And in 15 years time," he shouts, "we will work only 1 day a week—Wednesday." Voice from the gallery: "All day?"

Two hundred atomic submarine fitters quit work over the question of whether they shall

be allowed to make their tea from the boilers or must bring it in thermos flasks. A Jaguar plant comes to a halt because of a dispute over the way two men painted a couple of car doors.

A director of a new London hotel tells me about the imported artist working on the murals for the dining room. A shop steward summons him down from his ladder to see his union card. He has none. "I'm an artist," he says, in bewilderment. The steward flips through his book. "No artists' union listed," he says; "you're a scab and I'll have to call the men out."

Finally the matter is settled without a strike—the artist joins the sign painters' union.

DESPERATE NEED

The intellectual leaders of British labor, including Harold Wilson, are perfectly aware of the desperate need for a rise in productivity. They know that without it Britain cannot hold her place in world competition and British workers cannot enjoy the ever-increasing good things of life in anything like the scale now being reached in other modernized economies.

A great burst, a great boom is entirely possible here. Britain has scientists and engineers of highest quality; a new generation of young industrial managers has come along, well acquainted with the new techniques of management and automation.

THE "HARD SELL"

They become discouraged by the heavy taxation which hits really hard at their middle-income levels; they become frustrated dealing with elements of top management, the literary-educated sons and nephews of owners, to whom really hard work is as repugnant as indulging in the "hard sell" is vulgar. But they try.

The old time Socialists, who hang on both in politics and in the labor unions, are hopeless. They do not grasp that socialism, as they were bred in it, is irrelevant to a modern economy, that it has been bypassed by the scientific revolution. They are obsessed with equality, and they cannot get over their outmoded vision of the total economy as a pie of fixed size. Their notion of progress is to get an increasingly bigger piece of the pie for labor, leaving less and less for the middle and upper classes.

RELIGIOUS FIXATION

This notion, this religious fixation, is held by top labor leaders, and all the way down to the worker digging in the street. Britain has been unable, therefore, to make the effort required to reveal by doing the real truth of a modern industrialized society: that the economy is not a fixed pie, but a well of unknown depth from which men can draw far, far more than they have ever drawn. This truth has been discovered in America, in France, Germany, Japan.

Immediately it is discovered, immediately men understand what economic growth means, then all the old dogmas collapse into ashes. The benefits are so great, among all classes, that the obsession with strict equality fades away, the social structure loosens, men of all kinds and qualities discover a thousands new opportunities before them and their children.

ZEST FOR EDUCATION

A zest for education sets in because education and its fruits become possible for millions who thought it beyond their station and means. The quality of the popular culture rises. The world of travel opens up to them, and all life seems to take on a freshness and a sense of adventure and movement.

All these elements of the new life made possible by the new science are present to a degree here in Britain, for this is a more prosperous place than it was, and these are a healthier people. But it does not go very far and the pity is that it could go a long, long distance.

For the most part, particularly in the ranks of labor, these are a people groping wearily in a social mist, so accustomed to it that they do not even imagine the sunshine that awaits just over the next hill.

Rural Renaissance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, no issue is more significant for the economic well-being of the whole Nation than speedy passage of the omnibus farm bill. One of the most perceptive analyses of this problem was given this morning by the distinguished editor of the Washington Post in his editorial titled "Rural Renaissance." I would like to call this to the attention of every Member of the House and urge their support of the omnibus farm bill:

RURAL RENAISSANCE

This administration has been trying to bring about in America what Secretary of Agriculture Freeman calls a "rural renaissance." Now its efforts have run into an organized resistance that threatens to strike down the economic foundation of this effort—the omnibus farm bill reported out by the House Committee on Agriculture and awaiting action in the House and in the Senate.

The wheat provisions in the bill are being strongly opposed by the grain trade and users of wheat and the cotton provisions have incurred the opposition of some of the larger growers in the Deep South. No doubt the House will get around to action this month and the Senate probably will pass the bill in some form. But the nature of the opposition is ominous. It is basically trying to arouse urban and consumer resistance to programs intended to give rural America a better share in the good things of American life.

There is no doubt that the failure of the legislation or the elimination of existing programs would precipitate a shocking economic setback in American agriculture and in all the rural communities dependent on agriculture. And in the end, it would diminish consumption generally to a point where the deflation generated by this calamity would make itself felt, not only on every farm in the country, but in every factory as well.

It would be a calamity if an American Congress, largely chosen by urban voters, bluntly told rural America that city dwellers are unwilling to pay a decent price for the food and fiber they use. And yet, urban Americans, like the city dwellers of most countries, have not fairly rewarded those who feed and clothe them. Secretary Freeman pointed out some of the results in this country last June. Poverty is twice as likely to be a condition of life for the child of a rural family. A rural family is twice as likely to be living in substandard housing. A fourth of all farm homes have no running water—a fifth of all rural nonfarm homes. Rural children are 2 years behind urban children in educational achievements. They receive only two-thirds as much medical care. These are only a few indices of a disparity in living standards that is a reproach to the best clothed and best fed urban population in the world.

The provisions of the omnibus farm bill will not eliminate these disparities. But they will help. And without them none of the other attacks on rural poverty can make any progress. The wheat plan and the cotton plan are the greatest concern. The wheat plan holds forth the promise of further cutting down the wheat carryover. And the cotton plan with its direct payments provisions promises to start the Government on the way out of a cotton trading function for which it is illy equipped. The legislation ought to be passed without destructive amendment and those who have been contending that this country should not or cannot pay a decent wage to those who feed and clothe it ought to be disavowed and disregarded.

Once this legislation is passed and the threat of an immediate economic crisis is averted, there ought to be a broader attack on the whole reconstruction of rural life in America. Rural society ought to be revitalized, reformed, and rebuilt so that rural people may have a more attractive alternative to emigration into cities already overcrowded and so that many now misplaced in an urban environment could return to the country's smaller towns and villages. Such a reform would require a more thoughtful appraisal of all the problems of rural life. It ought to embrace every aspect of country living. In economic terms, it should include efforts to increase rural rewards for production already going forward on farms and in small towns and attempts to increase a greater dispersal of industry adaptable to nonurban location. But before time can be profitably spent on such dreams, the economic foundations of agriculture involved in the legislation which the House committee has approved, must be made secure.

Abe Fortas of Memphis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE W. GRIDER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. GRIDER. Mr. Speaker, the President's selection of Abe Fortas for the Supreme Court has met with almost unanimous approval.

That is particularly true in his hometown of Memphis, Tenn., where he first started his rise to national acclaim with a brilliant academic record in high school and at Southwestern College.

Under unanimous consent I include the following editorial from the Commercial Appeal, Memphis, Tenn., July 29, 1965:

ABE FORTAS APPOINTED

Abe Fortas, newly appointed to the Supreme Court, first attracted general attention in Memphis by rushing through classes at South Side High in 3 years and being graduated as salutatorian of his class.

Almost immediately he won more notice as the first winner of the Peres Memorial Scholarship Fund at Southwestern. He pieced out his funds by playing the violin and by selling shoes on Saturdays and he built his standing on the campus as a writer, orator, and debater.

Sometimes he was called "fiddling Abe" but he turned from music and the liberal arts to the law. As a very young man, he was teaching law at Yale when he was first called to Washington in New Deal days.

His name has been in the national news many times as a Government official and as a leading attorney among the famous lawyers in the private practice of law in Washington.

His most famous case, however, had nothing to do with either his former positions in Government or his private practice. The Supreme Court named him to represent a penniless Florida man without a lawyer who had been convicted of a minor burglary. In the landmark case of *Gideon* v. *Wainwright* Mr. Fortas convinced the Supreme Court that the 14th amendment requires legal counsel for the accused and won freedom for Clarence Gideon, a client Mr. Fortas had never seen.

Even without the judicial experience we have often advocated as a preliminary to Supreme Court service, Mr. Fortas is clearly an excellent choice for the High Court. His hometown is proud of him and confident of his outstanding ability for responsibilities of the highest court in the land.

Constituent Expresses Appreciation of National Defense Education Act Amendments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT E. SWEENEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. SWEENEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to draw the attention of the House to a letter I have received this date from Mr. Terence P. Hayes, a constituent of mine and a teacher of English at St. Ignatius High School in Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Hayes' letter is significant to me in that it expresses real appreciation to the Congress for its recently enacted amendments to the National Defense Education Act, which has enabled this teacher and others to attend an 8-week institute on English to extend his teacher training.

It is indeed heartwarming to note that these amendments are significant and do enable teachers of our schools to acquire additional training during the summer period. Once again, it confirms the wisdom of the Congress in the adoption of the amendments making all of this possible.

Mr. Hayes' letter of July 29 follows:

LAKEWOOD, OHIO,
July 29, 1965.

Congressman ROBERT SWEENEY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SWEENEY: I want to thank you and the other Members of Congress for the amendment to the National Defense Education Act. I am a teacher of English at St. Ignatius High School in Cleveland. This summer I have attend an 8-week institute in English at the University of Kentucky thanks to the amendment which included English under the law.

This institute has certainly been worth while and profitable. I, along with the many teachers who have attended can only say that we have gained this needed knowledge because of the National Defense Education Act.

I am certainly glad that the teaching of English is being recognized by Congress in this way.

Thank you.

Yours truly,

TERENCE P. HAYES.

Are You on Someone's List?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, our national security and our individual freedoms were won and secured through strife and struggle. This security and freedom continue to demand constant protection.

The major threat to our national security and individual freedom indisputably emerges from the godless camp of international communism. However, while most of our attention is focused on this primary threat, another threat is stealthily stalking our land.

It is a threat from the self-anointed superpatriots of the John Birch and Minuteman ilk who would suppress our individual freedoms in the name of superpatriotism.

An ugly manifestation of this sickness recently reared its horns in my beloved State of Wisconsin. The Sheboygan Press of my district editorialized on this sickness. It is an important analysis and comment that needs reading by all of us, especially in Congress, who treasure our traditional freedoms.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include this editorial, "In 1965?" in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and I strongly commend it to my colleagues:

IN 1965?

Shades of Joe McCarthy. Shades of guilt by innuendo. Shades of the dark ages before the days of religious liberty and free speech. Shades of the days of the superpatriots. It is just plain difficult to believe that this could happen in Wisconsin and in 1965.

A Milwaukee television station last Thursday carried a program entitled "Regional Report: The John Birch Society." A suburbanite housewife, a John Birch member for 4 years, appeared on the telecast and told how she had sent a 20-page document to the members of the Wisconsin legislature. In this document, by her proud words, she told how she listed activities of almost 200 members of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. She wrote in the letter that accompanied the list that she wanted to show the "one-sided nature of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee faculty" and "how far some of these people had gone to help the Communist conspiracy."

She said the list was not intended to prove anything; rather it was merely a record. But the type of record she sent to the legislators, the types of activities which she deemed important startle anyone who prizes liberty and freedom. What did she list on the record? Some professors attend the Unitarian Church; some signed a nomination petition for one Lyndon Johnson; some, as faculty members, went so far as to help the Peace Corps; some were presumptuous enough to oppose Governor Wallace. Other items were included, but these activities are presumed to show how one sided the faculty is and how far some "have gone to help the Communist conspiracy."

Where are we drifting in America? Where are we sinking in Wisconsin? Who was it said that the lunatic fringe is gone? Whoever heard of such complete and contemptible smugness? Who was it said the John Birchers were repudiated last November? If they were, members such as this suburbanite housewife do not know it; Birch leaders such as Welch do not yet recognize the fact.

Let there be no mistake—this sort of character assassination is just plain un-American. Wisconsin liberals and Wisconsin conservatives, the reasonable, constructive kind, must emphatically repudiate such viciousness. The list, its preparation and its philosophy does mean something, in spite of the lady's evasiveness; it means that all of us had better alert ourselves or the land of the free will become a thing of the past.

Are you on someone's list?

The Real Alabama—XXXIX

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the growing strength of the paper and pulpwood industry in Alabama is typified in Washington County. In the community of Chatom in that county the Allied Paper Corp. will build a large woodyard which will operate 10 hours a day.

According to officials of the company the woodyard will come to process more than 500 cords of wood a week.

The history of Washington County includes much Indian activity of the Choctaw Nation, and also includes early French and Spanish exploration. A summary of the county's history provides interesting material:

WASHINGTON COUNTY, ALA.

Washington County is in the far southwestern part of the State. It is bounded on the north by Choctaw County, on the east by Clarke County, on the south by Mobile County, and on the west by the Mississippi line. It was created on June 4, 1800, by a proclamation of Gov. Winthrop Sargent of the Mississippi Territory, and is the oldest county in the State. It embraced all the land between the Chattahoochee and Pearl Rivers and the parallel 31 on the south and 32.28 on the north at the time. Sixteen counties in Mississippi and 29 in Alabama have been created whole or in part from the original territory of Washington County. The county was named for Gen. George Washington. The county business was conducted in 1803 at McIntosh Bluff. In 1804, the county seat was moved to Wakefield, and a few years later to St. Stephens. The present county seat is Chatom.

The Indians found by the French in the county were the Tohomees and Nanihabas. These tribes spoke Choctaw and eventually became part of the Choctaw Nation.

By the Choctaw cession of April 28, 1763, all of what is now Washington County be-

came British, south of the Choctaw boundary line, which ran from Hatchipki Bluff, on the Tombigbee River, to the Buckatunna River. This treaty was confirmed to the United States by the Treaty of Fort Confederation, October 2, 1802, when the old Choctaw boundary line was marked. That part of the county north of the boundary line was acquired by the Treaty of Mount Dexter, November 16, 1805.

The first white settlement within the county was at Old St. Stephens, now a deserted and extinct town. Wakefield, where the county courthouse was, is also deserted. In the extreme northwestern part of Washington County, 3 miles north of St. Stephens, was built a fort by William and John McGrew in 1813, and it was named for the McGrews. St. Stephens was laid out in 1807, and a road opened for trade with the Natchez country. In 1811, the Federal Road was opened to Fort Mitchell, on the Chattahoochee River, and a branch to Mobile. When Alabama became a territory, St. Stephens became the capital. Remains of the old Spanish reservoir and earthworks are still visible.

North of Mount Vernon, west of McIntosh Bluff, on U.S. Highway 43, on the opposite side of the road from McIntosh Methodist Church, and between the church and the small stream was where Aaron Burr was arrested. At this spot on February 19, 1807, Capt. E. P. Gaines, commandant at Fort Stoddard, and a file of soldiers met and arrested Burr, ex-Vice President of the United States, on charges of treason. He was taken to Fort Stoddard, where he was kept as an honorary prisoner for 2 weeks before being sent to Richmond, Va., for trial. There is no marker on the spot.

There are three or four pits in a small stream which flows into the Tombigbee River, locally known as Indian bathtubs. These pits, still in good condition, were water reservoirs of the old Spanish fort of St. Stephens. Cut into sandstone, adjacent to Bold Spring, they made an excellent water system for the soldiers stationed at the military post.

Washington County has an abundant water supply, with the Tombigbee forming the entire eastern boundary, and its tributaries draining the county. It has vast forests of fine timber and a plentiful supply of minerals. Salt is found in large supply in an extensive dome in the southeastern part of the county, and clay of various types that can be used in the making of tile, brick, and terra cotta. It is also useful in the making of refractories, abrasives, and certain types of roofing materials. Limestone and a plentiful supply of gravel are among others that are useful.

The major economy of the county is in sawmilling and rough and dressed lumber and other wood products. Washington County is ripe for development, and it is enhanced by its natural supplies of raw materials.

Mr. Williams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT G. STEPHENS, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial that appeared in the Walton Tribune of Monroe, Ga., on July 21, 1965, on the life of the late J. Mason Williams. Editor Sanders Camp has captured the spirit of Mr. Williams in so fine a way that I want it made a permanent record.

Too often we take only the time to eulogize someone who held high office or achieved some heroic feat. We overlook the deserving ones like Mr. Williams whose "chief delight is in the law of the Lord" and being kind and helpful to his neighbors. Can you think of any more worthwhile monument to have left behind you than the remembrances of Editor Camp expressed as follows?

J. MASON WILLIAMS

Rarely has the life of one man touched so many. For nearly half a century this community has been enriched by his presence, a busy presence always doing something for others.

This writer has never had the privilege of knowing any individual who better epitomized the word unselfishness. This writer has never known any individual who apparently cared less for the material things in life nor more for the wholesome and spiritual uplift of young people of all ages.

The first taste of Boy Scouting many of us ever received came at the hands of J. Mason Williams. This writer was one of the group of the youngsters who spent countless hours on the tennis court in rear of the Williams' home, where we enjoyed him and the other members of his charming family.

The Monroe First Baptist Church has never had a stancher pillar than Mr. and Mrs. Williams. The hours they devoted to the choir are uncounted.

There simply are not enough words to adequately describe J. Mason Williams. He and his wonderful helpmate have long been a stronghold of strength, charity and golden rule living in a world that gets busier every day, so busy in fact that we oft forget to follow the Mason Williams example.

This writer counted Mr. Williams as a lifetime personal friend. We are grateful for the years we were privileged to have him. His family can find ample solace in the contribution to society made by truly a great man.—S.C.

Civil Service Retirement Annuity Adjustment

SPEECH

OF

HON. KEN W. DYAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 8469) to provide certain increases in annuities payable from the civil service retirement and disability fund, and for other purposes.

Mr. DYAL. Mr. Chairman, I was pleased to support the passage of H.R. 8469 on August 3. I think we all recognize the dire need of all the older retirees of our Federal Government. Of the more than 650,000 Federal retirees and survivors in the United States, more than 10 percent reside in the State of California.

Inflation has hurt our Federal retirees with fixed incomes. Thousands upon thousands of our retirees have very low incomes. This is due to two causes, the first being inflation and the other being low salaries at the time of retirement.

The National Association of Retired Civil Employees is the champion of these former Federal workers. This association has asked the Congress through the years to introduce bills in their behalf and is just as much interested in being fair to the Federal Government as to the Federal retiree. H.R. 8469 was proposed by the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee and is a fair bill, although it does not give all that these folks deserve. However, it gives encouragement and will aid retirees who find themselves in most difficult situations because of the inroads of inflation.

An analysis of cost-of-living figures from July 1956 through December 1964 will disclose there was an increase of approximately 15 percent. Only a part of this gap was covered by the increase of 1962 which became effective January 1, 1963. This bill will correct this deficiency.

Again, let me tell you the reason for my deep concern. In California we have over 70,000 Federal retirees, so you can easily see the reason for my great concern and interest in these deserving folks. Because of its climate and environment, California, with the many friendly and desirable locations, such as Apple Valley, Twentynine Palms, Desert Hot Springs, Sun Valley, Escondido, San Diego, and others, is the goal of retirees. I shall continue my interest in their welfare.

Civil Service Retirement Annuity Adjustments

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 8469) to provide certain increases in annuities payable from the civil service retirement and disability fund, and for other purposes.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Chairman, an article on the front page of last Friday's Washington Post announced that the cost of living last month set a 23-month high—the biggest jump in nearly 2 years of steady increase.

The consumer price index is over 10 percent higher now than it was from 1957 to 1959. The recent increase is blamed on the 6-percent rise in the cost of meat and the 10-percent rise in potato prices, both staple foods.

This increase in the cost of living was no news to me. It was no news to the housewife who shops for her family's food every week. And it was no news to the retiree on the fixed income. To him it has become a sad and expected fact of life. For in the past few years he has become resigned to this trend and each new rise just means that he tightens his belt a little tighter and does without a few more things. But the time is rapidly approaching for some, and already here for others, when the belt will not tighten any farther.

Food is not the only necessity whose cost has risen. The rest of the economy has done its part in keeping up. And right at the top of the list is the one thing that older people need in greater amounts than those below retirement age—medical care.

One-third of those people who are over 65 are chronically ill. They have twice as many disabling diseases lasting a week or longer as their younger friends. The average disabling illness of the older person lasts twice as long. But despite their increased need for medical care at this time of their lives, older citizens must live on sharply decreased incomes. And to top off the already difficult situation, in the past 10 years the cost of medical services have risen 40 percent, doctors fees have increased over 35 percent and hospital charges have jumped a whopping 85 percent. At the same time all this was happening, the cost of medical insurance has almost doubled. These increases have hit us all, but to the older American the squeeze has been its most severe.

They are confronted, at just the time of their life when they need to slow down and deserve a restful retirement, with the added burdens of reduced income, impaired health, depressed living standards, and increased medical expenses.

What has happened to the program set up to provide annuities for our civil servants? Retirement benefits were set up on the basis of the highest 5 years of salary. In 1956, the benefits of those who retired after that were improved by over 20 percent, but those who were already on the rolls were not affected by the increase. Since then they have received 10 percent more in increases than the post-1956 retirees, but there is still a gap of about 10 percent.

What does this mean in dollars and cents to the retirees? A man who retired in 1949 after 30 years as a postal clerk gets $2,328 a year. In case of his death, his wife gets $1,020. A present postal clerk with the same years of service would get $3,624 and his wife $2,052, more than twice that of the earlier retiree's wife. Yet the two families must pay the same prices for food, clothes, housing, and medical care. Certainly the more recent retiree's income is not a princely one—it is barely above the limits this Congress has set in its definition of poverty. But the man who retired in 1949 is far below these limits.

The retiree of the 1940's or 1950's is not buying food at 1950 prices, yet he is paid 1950 wages. What would have happened to our civil service employees if we had not raised their salaries in the past 15 or 20 years? We would have mighty few civil servants—they would have left for other jobs where the pay scale kept up with the economy. But we have done just this for our retirees, and they cannot go out and get another job.

I think it is about time we asked ourselves what our responsibilities are in this area—our responsibilities to the retirees who have served their Government even when they could have made more money in private enterprise, and our obligation to the whole country. A pension plan is not merely a promise to pay a man a certain number of dollars every year as long as he lives. It is a financial obligation to provide retirees with enough money to assure them freedom from want and a small measure of financial security. It is our unquestionable responsibility to assure these men and women a living comparable to that which they had at the time they retired and were led to expect that they would always have.

The impact of the squeeze between fixed income and the rising cost of living is the greatest upon our senior citizens and we have not accepted our responsibility to help them.

We have a national responsibility too, to set the pace for employee relations and benefits. Yet in retirement annuities we have lagged far behind other employers.

What can these people think of their Government when we pass legislation here to aid the poverty stricken with incomes below $3,000 and ask our older citizens to live on less?

My mail is full of letters from older people trying to maintain a decent home and live in dignity on unbelievably low incomes. I hear from men who are trying to save enough from this pitiful amount so that their wives will have a more decent income than the pittance we will allot them when their husbands die. Some of the cases are heartbreaking.

What are these people asking for? Not for luxuries—they are people with simple tastes who ask only for clothes and a roof over their heads and food on the table. It amazes me that some of them are able to provide even a semblence of these necessities from the amounts we give them.

These are not people asking for handouts, they are loyal citizens who have spent their lives working for us, and who were assured that when they retired, they would not be forgotten to live on the charity of their relatives.

Our treatment of them is one economy of which the Congress cannot be proud.

H.R. 8469, civil service retirement annuity adjustments, has my complete, unqualified support.

The Fortas Appointment and Serving the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, in one of my recent radio broadcasts I said that the appointment of Abe Fortas to the Supreme Court gives the President a direct tie to the Court and I also predicted Fortas may very well relinquish his seat on the Court at the pleasure of the President whenever it is convenient for him to make such a change, probably in favor of having the distinction of naming the first Negro to the Court, and went on to predict that it could very well be the recently appointed Solicitor General, Thurgood Marshall.

Mr. Speaker, it is well known, that Fortas represented L.B.J. in a night session before Justice Hugo Black in 1948, where Justice Black rendered a decision that gave Mr. Johnson the Democratic senatorial nomination in Texas by a margin of 87 votes out of 988,295 cast in the primary. This game of musical chairs is a serious blow to the prestige of the Court and gives the impression that the Court is now completely the servant of the President.

Two editorials in the July 30, 1965, issue of the Peoria Journal-Star point out the concern over this practice. Under unanimous consent, I include the aforementioned editorials:

SERVING THE PRESIDENT

Now that all the hosannahs have been sung to the "master stroke" appointment of Arthur Goldberg as U.N. Ambassador, maybe we ought to take a real look at it.

It seems to be automatic these days to try to anticipate Presidential appointments, and then when they are made to instantly decide they were brilliant.

That was one of the strangest things about this one. Nobody expected it, or included Mr. Goldberg in the speculation. Yet, the minute the appointment was announced virtually, the praise began to roll in. As we said, automatically, with no real time for reflection on it.

That is partly true, of course, because he has been a brilliant and outstanding man.

But the best that could be said was that as a brilliant labor negotiator he takes these same skills to the U.N., and this should very well suit the demands of contesting with and seeking compromise with our adversaries.

But, in fact, he was a technical expert in the details of labor law, its development, its every phase, and personally intimate with many of the men involved in the negotiations, their views, attitudes, pressures, and personal traits.

He had a lot to work with.

At the U.N. instead of a lifetime of accumulated knowledge in a highly specialized field, he is operating in a completely new and different area involving different people, different views, different attitudes, different pressures, and different habits altogether.

It is like calling in a very good plumber because he's been the top man at finding the cause of plumbing troubles to function as an electrician on the theory that he's a great fixer.

There's no escaping this basic fact of the appointment and it is the obvious reason why nobody anticipated the appointment in the first place.

The fact is that it was a very unusual appointment, not based on the top qualifications of record, with cause for serious doubt as to whether it was the best available, and especially so since it involved removing him from the U.S. Supreme Court.

There should have been a powerful, obvious and overriding reason before a man would be asked to step out of that lifetime task. The record simply does not supply such powerful reasons for it.

Further, it is clear that Mr. Goldberg was reluctant to leave the Court, but he did so out of a sense of duty.

Now, that is what really disturbs us about this whole thing.

Supreme Court Justices are appointed by the President. However, once appointed they are expected to stand, untouchable, for life, above the daily hurly burly as the guardians of the Constitution. They no longer have a duty to the President, but only to the Constitution.

The appearance given now that a Supreme Court Judge remains the servant of the President is a serious blow to the status of the Court at a time when it can ill afford it.

There is a good deal of concern, and open charges have been made that the Court is functioning politically instead of professionally, and that it is making up law for expediency to pursue political programs instead of standing guard over the Constitution.

Yet, in his brief time in office, President Johnson has twice waved the mysticism we seem to be attaching (outside the Constitution) to his office—drafting the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to head an investigation, and now drafting a Justice to abandon the Court altogether for a different appointment.

Perhaps, indeed, Johnson's personal knowledge of the man and his characteristics provides the key, and makes him the instrument he needs.

We don't know. We have nothing but respect for Mr. Goldberg on his record to date.

But the whole process gives us pause. We cannot relate that record so readily to his task. And the treatment of the Supreme Court as people on call by the President bothers us. And the mystical attitude whereby a Justice accepts a Presidential call as a higher duty than the Court bothers us. And the quick reach of all concerned to find reasons why this is all very good is another evidence of a growing mysticism about the Presidency that also bothers us.

We cannot line up and automatically pour out the effulgent praise along with the others. We can only stand aside and wonder where it all leads.

SERVING THE CONSTITUTION

The naming of Abe Fortas to the Goldberg vacancy on the U.S. Supreme Court follows, of course, and comes into the same pattern of praise for the Presidential wisdom.

It is curious, however, how the press announcements vary. Here is a man of undoubted accomplishments who has taken the attitude that he not only did not seek but would not accept any Government job "from President down."

However, quite properly, we believe, he says that an appointment to the Supreme Court is one which no "American can refuse."

This attitude again is accepted and praised on its own merits without reference to what has just gone before.

Ironically, of course, what just went before was the exact opposite. Somebody did take a "Government job" considerably lower than President, and gave up a position on the Court to do so—the job abandoned being the same job that Fortas says, "No American can refuse."

In short, Fortas felt that the President could be refused, but the job on the Supreme Court could not.

Goldberg, by contrast, felt that he could forsake the job on the Supreme Court in order to meet the "duty call" of his President.

Which comes first, the chicken or the egg.

These seem to be diametrically opposed attitudes as to the basic precedence of duty in our free system.

It would appear that if Goldberg puts the President first and the Court second, he is now on the right job.

And if Fortas puts the Court and Constitution first and the President second, he is in the right job.

So maybe the double shift is a net gain for the Nation.

The World Still Ought To Like Ike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Post of July 18, 1965:

THE WORLD STILL OUGHT TO LIKE IKE—GENERAL EISENHOWER DIDN'T RECEIVE PROPER CREDIT FOR LEADING WAY TO EAST-WEST DETENTE

(By Chalmers M. Roberts)

Since the 1962 eyeball-to-eyeball Soviet-American confrontation over Cuba the world has been living largely in a mood of detente, convinced that a nuclear holocaust can be avoided, or at least indefinitely postponed.

This assumption of well-being, certainly a dangerous one, lately has come under considerable strain because of the spiraling war in Vietnam. The Soviet Union contends that while it wants to continue the detente, the United States action in Vietnam is making it exceedingly difficult. The United States is determined to keep the detente, despite Vietnam, and the official view here is that it is quite possible.

Of course, a great deal will depend on the outcome in Vietnam. At any rate, it is a remarkable fact that one of the world's two major nuclear powers is bombing an ally of the other major power without provoking a response. That says much about the strength of the detente.

It may be instructive, then, to raise one's sights above that immediate southeast Asian horizon to examine the detente. The word, common in diplomacy, simply means "a relaxing, as of strained relations between nations."

EISENHOWER AND DETENTE

How have we reached this international state of affairs?

In the 20 years since Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the only use of nuclear weapons, a remarkable degree of understanding of their meaning has been achieved—certainly by the United States and the Soviet Union, by Britain and by France, and possibly considerably more so by Red China than Peiping's bellicose pronouncements would indicate.

If war is indeed an extension of politics or diplomacy, then one must look at both the political and military nature of the road to understanding. Along that road a central figure is the much too often berated and frequently badly understood President Eisenhower. This is emphatically not to say that his insight into or management of foreign affairs fully met the needs of the times; in many respects they clearly did not. But the failings and failures are not the central point, as the current involvement in Vietnam indicates. The central point is that he was the American most responsible for the detente. Whether its possibilities are adequately explored and seized upon now is the responsibility of another President.

Exactly 10 years ago today the 1955 Summit Conference opened in the old League of Nations building in Geneva. That conference, and former President Eisenhower's key role in it, have been much maligned. General Eisenhower deserves far more credit than it is the fashion to grant him in the conduct of foreign affairs. What he did was a central factor in reaching the detente which exists today and on which the world pins so much hope for the future, even for the continued existence of mankind itself.

After the 1955 Summit Conference it soon became fashionable to denigrate the so-called spirit of Geneva which so briefly arose from the 6-day gathering. It is true that the follow up Big Four Foreign Ministers Conference broke up in the hopeless deadlock which remains to this day over the issue of European security and German reunification.

But in retrospect those arguments were not the historically relevant factors at Geneva. What was relevant was the breakthrough in Soviet-American relations, up to then frozen in nearly a decade of intense cold war, plus the hot war in Korea.

SUMMITRY PROPOSED

A bit of history is vital to an understanding of what occurred.

Those uneasy wartime allies, the United States and the Soviet Union, soon were impelled into a cold war by Stalin's tactics. What Winston Churchill termed the Iron Curtain soon divided Europe from Stettin on the Baltic to Trieste on the Adriatic.

Stalin's death on March 6, 1953, only 45 days after President Eisenhower's first inauguration, was to alter East-West relations drastically. Mr. Eisenhower, in April, made a conciliatory foreign policy speech and on May 11 Prime Minister Churchill proposed "a conference on the highest level" between "the leading powers," a speech in which he first used the word "summit."

Stalin's successors did not directly respond but they did move to liquidate his error in Korea. The truce came on July 27. Churchill's summit call had been made partly in anticipation of the signing. But in October, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles was in London telling Churchill (so I heard Dulles explain later) that the summit idea was an opiate which almost surely would lead to a breakdown in Western defenses. When Churchill proposed going to Moscow alone, Dulles told him he would be looked upon as a middleman. The Prime Minister abandoned the idea.

The West by now was consumed by its own internal argument over creation of an integrated European Army, the EDC scheme, which Moscow helped to defeat by use of the French Communist Party. Summitry did not emerge again until 1955.

Meanwhile, there had begun, apparently in 1954, a serious secret Soviet discussion of the meaning of nuclear weapons. In part, this was an effort to get away from Stalin's attitude, expressed in 1946, that atomic bombs "are intended to frighten people with weak nerves, but they cannot decide the outcome of a war since for this atomic bombs are completely insufficient." This was said, of course, in the period of the American monopoly. The sly Soviet dictator, however, coupled this public front with an intensive nuclear program which produced the first Soviet atomic device test in 1951 and the first hydrogen bomb test in 1953.

As the Soviet stockpile increased, the Kremlin discussion broadened to not only the adequacy of Soviet deterrent power but also to include the political question of whether the new weapons made necessary, or even vital, an accommodation with the West, above all with the United States.

On March 13, 1954, Georgi Malenkov said publicly in a speech something that no Soviet official had ever said out loud before: That

a nuclear world war would "mean the destruction of world civilization." This sentence was censured in the version printed in Pravda and the doctrine was publicly repudiated by Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov a few days later. Molotov reiterated the Stalinist dogma first enunciated in 1949 by Malenkov himself when he had said that "only the imperialists will perish in an atomic war, but not civilization" itself.

In time, Nikita Khrushchev, who ousted Malenkov, nonetheless publicly accepted the Malenkov formulation. In 1957, he said "millions upon millions" would die and in 1963 in defense of his withdrawal of the missiles from Cuba he put the potential casualty figure in a nuclear exchange at 800 million. He made it clear that Communists as well as Capitalists would be the victims.

The first solid reflection of this altered view came at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1961. There Khrushchev pronounced the new dogma of the noninevitability of war between the Communist and the Capitalist nations, a dogma quickly reiterated by the men who, in turn, ousted Khrushchev in October 1964.

These Khrushchevian views were to become a major doctrinal difference with Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party. For years, Mao told non-Communist visitors (two Asian leaders have personally repeated to me such Mao remarks) that while a nuclear war might well mean some 200 million or more dead Chinese it would also mean the end of U.S. imperialism.

Soviet military thinking, though obviously in ferment during the 1954–57 period which coincided with the rise of Khrushchev to undisputed power, did not have to develop a fully new doctrine until the advent, in 1957, of Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles. The first of these was tested in August 1957, about 6 weeks before the Kremlin startled the world and shook the United States by launching the first Sputnik.

But if a full formulation of a new nuclear doctrine did await the coming of the ICBM's, the Soviet leaders in 1954 and 1955 began to move with great vigor on the political-diplomatic front.

We do not know the whole Kremlin story but we do know that Molotov, among others, opposed the April 1954 reversal of Soviet opposition to accepting the Austrian State Treaty. In this, Khrushchev's hand was powerful.

In his April 16, 1953, speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington, President Eisenhower had posed the question: "What is the Soviet Union ready to do?" And he had said that the United States cared nothing for mere Soviet rhetoric, that "we are only for sincerity of peaceful purpose attested by deeds." He specifically suggested that among the "clear and specific acts" the Soviet Union might take was signature to the Austrian treaty. It was signed on May 15.

The Kremlin thus knew that signing the treaty would open a new diplomatic vista with Washington, and talk of an East-West summit revived.

On the afternoon of October 19, 1954, President Eisenhower accompanied Dulles to Constitution Hall in Washington to pass out awards to outstanding State Department employees. The President, when called on to speak, uttered off the cuff the declaration that "since the advent of nuclear weapons, it seems clear that there is no longer any alternative to peace if there is to be a happy and well world."

Seven months had elapsed since Malenkov stated the quickly repudiated view that a nuclear war would "mean the destruction of world civilization."

Eisenhower was always at his best off the cuff, either in speeches or at press conferences, because he was free of the formal diplomatic words drafted for him by Dulles. His syntax often was atrocious but his meaning usually came through, especially when the old soldier talked of war and peace.

VITAL SIXTH SENSE

At one 1955 press conference, for example, he said that his "sixth sense" told him that world tensions were abating. At another just before the summit he told reporters that "there is a change going on" and "there is something different in the world."

Dulles, on the other hand, sought neatly to balance risk and opportunity. He constantly stressed the thought that an ill-prepared summit could lead to great public disappointment. He also worried that the mood created even by talk of a summit could crumble the cement of fear of the Red army which held together the Atlantic Alliance.

Mr. Eisenhower had the greatest respect for Secretary Dulles as a master of tactics and strategy in world politics and he generally bowed to his advice. In the spring of 1955, for example, the Gridiron Club, a select group of Washington correspondents, proposed inviting Marshall Georgi Zhukov to the annual dinner, along with the President who had known him and grown fond of him in the early postwar days in Berlin. Mr. Eisenhower told a club delegation it was all right with him but to "check with Foster." Dulles said it would be wiser not to invite Zhukov; that it might be misunderstood. He was not invited.

But the facts were closing in on Dulles just as Mr. Eisenhower's sixth sense was impelling him to the summit.

In March, 1955, Zhukov wrote the first of a series of private letters to President Eisenhower, obviously with Kremlin approval. And at a June party at the British Embassy in Moscow, Zhukov remarked to American Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen that some people in the Soviet Government still did not understand the meaning of nuclear weapons.

In April, 1955, Anthony Eden replaced Churchill as Prime Minister. On May 10, the Soviets put forward without warning a completely new disarmament proposal going far beyond anything previously offered. American officials considered this the first negotiable Soviet disarmament offer in history.

By now, too, the Western European Union had been created and West Germany admitted to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, thus shoring up Western defenses after the EDC debacle.

THE NEW WAVE

As Mr. Eisenhower later wrote in his memoirs, "in early spring, 1955, there seemed to arise a new wave of interest" in summitry. The Soviet reversal on Austria made it inevitable and Dulles worked out the details with Molotov.

Agreement came on June 13. Nine days earlier, his memoirs reveal, Mr. Eisenhower had written an old friend that while he did not expect "any spectacular results," he did think "that Foster and I should be able to detect whether the Soviets really intend to introduce a tactical change that could mean, for the next few years at least, some real easing of tensions. If we do not obtain some concrete evidence of such a tactical change, then, of course, the effort must be to determine the exact purpose of recent Soviet suggestions for conferences and easing of tensions and so on."

But Eisenhower also revealed that Dulles feared that he "would raise the hopes of our people, who might subsequently suffer widespread disillusionment when they realize that no tangible results could come for a year or more, if there were any tangible results at all."

Mr. Eisenhower had sensed a mood of movement on the other side, though he did not know the reasoning. He sought, however, to exploit it. Dulles, too, sensed the movement but he feared it was only another zig in the ancient zig-zag of Soviet tactics without heralding any meaningful change.

Both were right. But Mr. Eisenhower was the wiser; he knew the world expected him to probe any opening, whatever the perils, and he genuinely hoped to create at least a lasting detente.

Dulles worried over appearances; I heard him speak privately at the time of a fear of "giving respectability" to the Kremlin leaders, of ushering them on to the world stage with fanfare, of giving them a position of parity with the United States in the world arena which he felt they did not deserve either morally or militarily.

Ten years ago, the very idea of a conference with Soviet leaders was anathema to many Americans. Mr. Eisenhower had himself been elected on a Republican Party platform calling for the repudiation of alleged wartime Yalta Conference secret commitments. Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, then Senator, was almost a lone voice in arguing that "we need not tremble at the thought of sitting face to face with the Soviets at the conference table."

The Berlin blockade was then only 6 years behind, the Korean war had ended only 2 years earlier. The butchery of Budapest was yet to come. Not until Khrushchev accompanied his then partner, Nikolai Bulganin, to Geneva, in 1955 had any major Soviet leader breathed the free air of the West in such a manner.

But such factors as those worrying Dulles did not stop Mr. Eisenhower. He was the old soldier who felt that the arms spiral could not go on forever without catastrophe; he sensed that the post-Stalin Kremlin leadership had come to understand the meaning of nuclear weapons, to understand above all that an H-bomb had no dialectical coloration.

Molotov clearly opposed the whole idea of summitry. Zhukov, by now an alternate Presidium member, seemingly spoke warmly of his old friend. Khrushchev appears to have been the pragmatist: what had to be had to be. His denunciation of Stalinism and his enunciation of the noninevitability of war dogma was still nearly a year off.

In retrospect, Khrushchev and his allies abandoned the black-and-white Stalin-Molotov view of the world—a nation was either pro-Soviet or anti-Soviet—much as Dulles was forced to abandon a doctrine he had once advanced: that neutrality was per se immoral. Instead, the new Khrushchev majority created the third world concept. They proposed to deal with non-Communist leaders as the first step in destroying Western influence in Asia, Africa and Latin America, leaving actual communization until later on—another of the formulations which later became an issue with China.

The most spectacular move in this field came in secret even as the summit conference was gathering: the Soviet arms deal with Abdel Gamal Nasser's Egypt. Dulles was outraged that it had been made behind his back. At any rate, that Soviet move and the reiteration of backing for "wars of national liberation" demonstrated that Soviet aims remained unchanged; that only tactics had changed, as Dulles had suspected.

The tactical change, however, was of immense importance to both Soviet-American and Sino-Soviet relations. In Washington, Mr. Eisenhower responded to the change, and the two nuclear giants at least began to engage in a dialog. In Peiping, Mao grew more and more outraged and the Sino-Soviet dialog became embittered.

These Soviet tactics had changed essentially for two broad reasons: the growth of nuclear weapons and the Soviet necessity for

dealing with the internal economic mess left by Stalin.

Of course, it can also be argued with considerable validity that Khrushchev, once in control, found a breathing spell with the West, an absolute necessity to put his own house in order and figured he would end that breathing spell at the earliest possible moment. Some cite the 1962 Cuban confrontation as proof. Yes, as far as anyone now knows, the Soviet missiles were sent to Cuba, aside from any desire to protect Fidel Castro from an American attack as Castro has claimed, chiefly in an effort to close the Soviet missile gap.

It also can be argued that Khrushchev withdrew his missiles only when he was convinced that President Kennedy had the will, not just the means, to fight—and that he withdrew because he knew a nuclear clash might destroy the Soviet Union as well as much of the United States. In other words, the Cuban case demonstrated beyond doubt that the Soviet leaders did, indeed, understand the meaning of nuclear weapons.

DECISION FOR SUMMITRY

But all this, in retrospect, only serves to illuminate the meaning of Mr. Eisenhower's agreement to go to the summit.

First of all, that decision for the first time since the onset of the cold war told the world that the United States would, indeed, in his phrase, "go the extra mile" to seek rapprochement.

Secondly, that decision represented the American acceptance of what now is considered commonplace: the belief that while the Soviet Union is less powerful than the United States militarily or economically, it is the only other superpower because it has the ability to kill millions of Americans in their homeland in any nuclear exchange. At the time, the Pentagon believed that the long-range Soviet bomber fleet was far more significant than we now know was the case. At any rate, the coming of Soviet ICBM's 2 years later confirmed the Soviet power status although here, too, the false missile gap thesis overstated that power.

Thirdly, that decision accepted as an international political reality what Dulles long hoped to avert: recognition of the Soviet Union as a great power with worldwide interests, however malevolent the dogmatic purpose of the Kremlin and mischievous its activities in the third world. But without acceptance of that reality, no negotiation was likely to be meaningful. Dulles' hopes of imposing a settlement, or his dreams of a Soviet breakup, simply were not realistic.

AN AMATEUR'S INSTINCT

All these are basic matters dependent less on individuals than on the facts of international life. Of course, it is vitally important that the individual have the ability to understand and act on such facts rather than on his personal likes or attitudes.

Personal diplomacy by chiefs of state and heads of government (an American President is both) has long been criticized. The standard view of the diplomats Western style at least, was stated in 1939 by Britain's Sir Harold Nicolson who wrote that "it will always be desirable that the foreign policy of any great country should be carried out by professionals trained in their business. Amateur diplomatists * * * are proven to be unreliable."

There is merit in this view, especially as to amateur aids to a President, but it is difficult to consider a President an amateur. Many diplomats did look upon Mr. Eisenhower that way in 1955. But the professional was Dulles the moralist, the unrelenting hard-liner who, had he prevailed, quite probably would have perpetuated the frostiest part of the cold war just as some of his opposite numbers in Moscow doubtless wanted to do. President Eisenhower had the instinct to sense that the time and place had come to make a change.

Presidents and Premiers often talk in grand terms of ideals and ideology and Eisenhower and Khrushchev were no exceptions. However, such men are essentially prisoners of their times and, nowadays, of the weaponry. Their areas of movement are circumscribed—but as leaders of great powers they do have such areas. It is to General Eisenhower's credit that he used the area open to him, though perhaps not as much as he might have or should have. That he did so to the degree he did was essentially the act of an old soldier whose visceral reaction to events on the other side turned out to be sounder than the cold minded logic of Dulles and others who looked with such suspicion at his gamble.

OUR OWN SHRIMP

It has been argued since the summit that the stamp of approval given the Soviets by the United States opened the door to that third world for the Communists. The fact, however, is that the first major Soviet vault into that world was the Egyptian arms deal, a deal which was underway even as the summit was being organized and one that would doubtless have taken place, summit or no summit. It was made possible by Dulles' earlier refusal to grant arms to Nasser lest it start a new Middle East arms race.

At best, Mr. Eisenhower's decision to go to the summit led to a tacit Moscow-Washington agreement that neither could afford to use nuclear weapons to settle their differences. It did not produce an agreement to call off mutual efforts at subversion or proxy wars or "wars of liberation."

That all this was Khrushchev's understanding of Geneva may be seen from his remarks to some East Germans 2 months after the summit that "we are in favor of a detente, but if anybody thinks that for this reason we shall forget about Marx, Engels, and Lenin, he is mistaken. This will happen when shrimps learn to whistle."

Nor, of course, were Americans about to "forget" Washington, Lincoln, the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution. We have our own shrimp.

American policy toward the Soviet Union since World War II, or at least since the 1948 Czech coup which produced NATO, has been founded on containment of Soviet power. But nations cannot stand on military lines alone; the great powers above all others must deal with one another. They dare not without the greatest peril, as Mr. Eisenhower wrote in a 1958 letter to Bulganin, "end up in the ludicrous posture of our just glaring silently at each other across the table."

At Geneva 10 years ago, President Eisenhower, in essence, worked at the task of peeling off from the cold war nearly a decade of encrustations on Soviet-American relations. It was, in a way, his second "crusade in Europe" and perhaps it may even appear in history to be the more meaningful of the two.

That neither the summit itself nor the subsequent Foreign Ministers' meeting produced agreements on Germany or European security is regrettable. That the verbal "spirit of Geneva" soon vanished is also a fact. But looking back on the intervening decade neither seems as important as the fact that Eisenhower, despite Dulles, and with a division of public opinion here at home, willingly risked his great public stature to begin a meaningful dialog with the Kremlin.

IN IKE'S FOOTSTEPS

At the end of the Geneva summit, Eisenhower declared that "the prospects of a lasting peace" were "brighter" and "the dangers of the overwhelming tragedy of modern war are less."

Since then, nuclear war has been averted. One can argue with some conviction that the brink was avoided over Cuba because Khrushchev had been helped to understand Mr. Kennedy by meeting him in Vienna and that he had gained considerable understanding of the United States because Mr. Eisenhower had invited him here for a visit whose impact was enormous both in the Kremlin and in terms of Sino-Soviet relations.

It can be argued, too, that much of the change in Soviet-American relations in the decade 1955–65 would have occurred no matter who was President; that the dynamics of post-Stalin Russia made such changes inevitable. Quite probably that is true. It also is true that President Kennedy and President Johnson both have followed the Eisenhower approach.

The point, however, is that someone in the United States, and it could hardly be other than a President, had to make the start. And the man who did it was President Eisenhower.

Because he did, Mr. Johnson today finds it easier to talk, for example, of "building bridges" to the nations of eastern Europe and to negotiate a consular agreement, as he did, with the Soviet Union. The Kennedy test ban agreement flowed logically from the Eisenhower initiative, however much the Sino-Soviet row contributed to the Soviet decision to agree.

The result is today's prospect for a continuation of the Soviet-American detente, the very existence of which has permitted the United States, as well as the Soviet Union, to give more attention to their respective positions in Asia and their relations with China.

Once Vietnam is resolved, assuming, as Washington expects, that it is resolved without destroying the detente, it will be possible to tackle other Soviet-American problems.

This will not be easy for Soviet aims and American aims remain antithetic. But they can be manageable. And such a prospect springs in its lineage from the changes in post-Stalin Russia and, in turn, from General Eisenhower's sensing of those changes and acting upon them.

Government Control of Economy No Good for United States or Western World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, on July 23, John A. Davenport, member of the board of editors of Fortune magazine, made the following talk before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco on the subject "Government Control of Economy No Good for United States or Western World."

It is a most interesting discourse on one of the important problems facing this country, our balance of payments. The Friday Flashes of this discourse as published in the Commonwealth follow:

[From the Commonwealth magazine, Aug. 2, 1965]

"GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF ECONOMY NO GOOD FOR UNITED STATES OR WESTERN WORLD"—DAVENPORT

(From address by John A. Davenport, member, board of editors, Fortune magazine)

The U.S. balance of payments has gone violently askew, with consequent loss of gold and of confidence in the dollar itself. As a result the U.S. Government has taken extreme measures to restore a balance.

I do not doubt that a Government program of this kind will work at least temporarily, but this direct Government intervention in foreign lending and investing smacks all too much Government exchange controls over what should be the world's premier currency. I cannot believe this is good for this country or the Western World.

On the contrary, our whole effort should be to relax present restrictions on the dollar while making sure that our accounts with the world do in fact swing into normal and natural balance.

HIGH WAGES CUT DEMAND—RESULT?

We have to some degree gotten ourselves into the present unpleasant position as the result of imprudent policies at home.

We have overstimulated our own economy through easy credit in pursuit of the goal of full employment. We have given to unions far too much power to boost wages in a way which actually creates unemployment at the very time we are seeking to reduce it. In the process we have put an unbearable strain on our monetary managers, and specifically on the Federal Reserve System.

If we come to grips with these domestic problems, then almost any monetary system will work. Until we come to grips with them, no international monetary system devisable by man will give us what we want—a world of expanding production, trade, and the full convertibility of currencies.

WE USE "DOUBLE STANDARD"

In the international world, at least, we still pay homage to that shimmering and mystic metal whose supply your ancestors did so much to increase when they grabbed for gold above Fort Sutter.

Were the United States under a true gold standard of the kind we operated under in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, loss of gold would have produced immediate effects at home and tightened domestic credit. This is no longer necessarily the case. For while the dollar is pinned to gold in the international world, we have all but cut our ties with the metal so far as our national money system is concerned. In effect the United States, like most other nations today, is domestically on an inconvertible paper standard.

BANKERS' INSTINCT VERSUS TABOOS

Domestically we operate through a dollar that can be almost indefinitely multiplied through credit expansion, whereas in the outer world we maintain a dollar redeemable in gold on demand. This dual system places on the Federal Reserve Board an extraordinary and onerous responsibility under which it may be torn between apparently conflicting objectives.

In a period such as we have been going through, of imbalance in our foreign payments and large gold losses, every instinct of central bankers must be to tighten up on the strings of credit at home, thus stimulating exports, discouraging imports, and very possibly raising interest rates, which would tend to curb the outflow of capital. But in the present economic climate, high interest rates are taboo and easy money is regarded as a kind of fetish to cure unemployment and to keep the economy booming, and it so happens that, from the downturn of 1957–58 forward, the United States has been suffering from considerable unemployment, at least by official count.

The root cause of our difficulties, I believe, consists in the fact that while the experts have been worrying about lack of liquidity abroad, the U.S. economy has been overbrimming with liquidity. Caught between the need for defending the dollar abroad and the alleged need for easy money at home, our credit and fiscal managers gave priority to the domestic objective.

ECONOMY OVERSTIMULATED

If we wish to get rid of present restraints on the dollar and still keep our external accounts in order, we shall have to rely less on excessive monetary stimulants than we have been doing in the recent past. The question is whether we can do this and still maintain a healthy and prosperous economy at home; and this brings us face to face with the whole "full employment" theory.

The essence of that theory—or shall I say dogma—is that employment is a unique function of so-called aggregated demand and that such demand must constantly be pumped up by injections of credit and fiscal deficits if the economy is to be kept moving ahead. If this theory is the truth, then it is hard to see how we shall ever get away from controls on the dollar.

I do not believe that the easy money theory is the whole truth. On the contrary, in recent years we could have gotten along with much less monetary stimulus: we may have needed a 4 percent annual increase in the total money supply; certainly we did not need an 8 percent rise. Some nations which have pursued pretty tight money policies, notably Germany, have prospered. It is also arguable that our payments deficit, caused by a surplus of liquidity at home, was in fact a drag on our overall employment showing.

I doubt the validity of the employment and unemployment figures which Washington uses. The U.S. measurement of unemployment is probably the most generous in the world. When the global figure for unemployment is broken down, moreover, it appears that we may have been at full employment for some time.

I would argue that the whole discussion of employment and unemployment is meaningless unless it is related to wage rates and to wage pressures. In the last analysis wages are a form of price, and the effect of pushing them too high will be the same as the effect of pushing any other price too high—there will be a diminution of demand.

MINIMUM WAGE RISE SPREADS UNEMPLOYMENT

On the record, hikes in the minimum wage simply spread unemployment among those who can least afford it—our Negroes and less skilled workers. Finally, we have as a matter of policy given to trade unions all but unbridled power. Year after year they exact their enormous toll without regard for employment conditions and at the expense of the vast majority of less fortunate workers.

In recessions those nations have done best which, using monetary and fiscal policies for what they were worth, have also sought to maintain a certain flexibility in their wage and cost structure.

UNIONS SHOULD BE VOLUNTARY

The problem is how to induce such flexibility and in effect to keep wages from rising too rapidly. Some will place faith in the Government's guidelines, but I am not among them. Others talk airily of adopting an income policy such as has been adopted by some nations abroad. I am wary of such phrases, for in effect an incomes policy means wage, price, and profit controls, and I believe our whole effort should be to avoid such controls, whether in the domestic or the international field.

My own prescriptions for achieving high employment without constant resort to monetary inflation are elemental and difficult. Government should cease and desist from pushing minimum wages upward. More importantly, we must sooner or later come to grips with union monopoly power.

Unions should be what they originally started out to be—namely, voluntary associations. There should be no place in America for the closed shop or the union shop or any kind of shops which makes payment of union dues the price of a job. The proposed repeal of section 14(b) of Taft-Hartley, and the striking down of State right-to-work laws, aims precisely in the wrong direction.

We should insist on freedom of entry into all trades and professions, a freedom now conspicuously denied in our building and maritime trades.

We should outlaw all forms of coercion, intimidations, and violence against nonunion workers who are seeking gainful employment—a violence which is a blot on your waterfront here in San Francisco no less than on mine in New York.

FREE MARKETS ESSENTIAL

The fundamental idea I have been pressing—namely, that there is an intimate correlation between wages, employment, and money—is one which in fact follows from the whole Keynesian analytic. Its disregard by his followers is one of the major intellectual tragedies of our times.

While the market economy needs a sound and reliable monetary system, such a system likewise depends on free and open markets—open markets for goods but likewise open markets for labor and services of all kinds. The two objectives are in fact complementary to each other and stand or fall together.

Our immediate need is not for more liquidity as commonly understood, but for more discipline in ordering both our domestic economy and our foreign transactions.

ANSWERS TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS FROM FLOOR

Mr. FRANK HILLS. What backs up Federal Reserve notes?

Answer. U.S. Government credit.

Mr. CARL E. ROSENFELD. Fortune says economy is on plateau—effect on dollar?

Answer. Makes dollar worth more; less inflation.

Mr. J. H. CLINTON. Economic soundness of tax reduction and great budgetary deficits?

Answer. Theory is we'll have bigger gross national product, thus more tax revenue. Using both easy money and easy credit now—what happens in recession?

Mr. ROBERT DE FREMERY. Will bank system borrowing short, lending long, lead to bankruptcy?

Answer. Our banking system is sound but overactive.

Mr. TREVOR ROBERTS. Free market for gold? Its effect?

Answer. Good if managed effectively and without political disruption. Gold price would have to rise to say, $70.

Mr. EDGAR M. KAHN. International monetary conference needed?

Answer. A lot of fun. Whether it would solve anything is problematical.

Mr. EDWIN D. BERLE. Are we following Marx' dictum, "to destroy capitalist nations through adulteration of their currency"?

Answer. Not in his sense. Keynes says Lenin said it. It happened in Germany but we're not in such danger yet.

Question. World alternative to gold?

Answer. Don't believe there is any.

Mr. S. H. PAGAMUCCI. Abandonment of interest equalization tax solve problems? Chances Washington will do it?

Answer. Government, unlike tides, just goes forward. Will not be abandoned.

The United Nations Now Is Soviet Creature

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to insert my remarks in the

Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial appearing in the Herald American of Los Angeles, Calif., on July 29. The Herald American has a circulation of nearly 300,000 in the southeast part of Los Angeles, and the northwest portion of Orange County, Calif. This editorial was written by Mr. Cliff Smith, publisher of the Herald American, and deals with the Soviet control of the United Nations. I recommend its reading to those people who are under the false impression that the United Nations is the world's best hope for peace:

THE UNITED NATIONS NOW IS SOVIET CREATURE

The Moscow radio and officials from Moscow now no longer attempt to hide the fact that they control the United Nations.

A SUBVERSIVE U.N. COMMITTEE

"The continent of Africa at present represents one of the basic fronts in the struggle against the imperialists."

This candid admission was made by Moscow radio in its domestic service (in Russia) on June 27. It was made in the course of a discussion on the United Nations by official Soviet commentators who agreed that "with the new balance of forces in the United Nations" the world organization had been turned into an "anti-imperialist front."

The specific subject of the discussion was the tour of parts of Africa undertaken by the 24-nation U.N. Committee on Colonialism—or, to give its full title, the U.N. Committee of Control Over Implementation of the Declaration of the Concession of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

The Soviet member of the Committee is Jakob Malik, the Deputy Foreign Minister.

The Committee consists of 12 Afro-Asian countries, 3 Latin American countries, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Poland, and Yugoslavia, and the United States, Great Britain, Italy, Denmark, and Australia. Moscow radio's conclusion is that the western representation on the Committee is no longer of the slightest consequence. As in the case of the United Nations itself, the Committee has become an instrument to undo the "unholy alliance" of the western imperialists.

SOME REVEALING COMMENTS

In view of the fact that the Committee has been hospitably entertained by the British Government while on its way to Africa and its activities in Africa widely publicized and to some extent approved in both Britain and the United States, we publish some extracts of the commentary by Moscow radio. We hope that this will help to place the Committee's work in a more correct perspective.

The two main participants in the discussion were Mikhail Sergeyevich Lvov, an official Soviet spokesman on U.N. affairs, and Leonod Zavyalov, Moscow radio's commentator on U.N. matters.

Lvov (explaining why, for the first time, the whole committee actually went to Africa): "On the initiative of the Socialist countries and with the support of the African states, the idea was to make use of the United Nations to step up the struggle for the liquidation of colonialism and imperialism. By going to the scene of events the committee discovered possibilities to wage the struggle more energetically."

NATO ACCUSED

Commenting on what the so-called fact-finding tour achieved, Lvov continued:

"The role of the aggressive NATO bloc in Africa was completely unmasked. It was revealed both by the representatives of the freedom fighters and the African peoples and by the speeches of the members of the committee that it was actually NATO that is the chief instrument in supplying the imperialists with weapons, military equipment, and all types of other aid. If it were not for NATO, and the United States acting behind it, the Portuguese, British, and other colonialists in Africa would already have been driven out.

"Another important fact that came to light has been the enormous military preparations which are being carried out in South-West Africa by the South African racists under the leadership of American and German instructors."

Lvov continued: "The committee has also been able to discover the criminal role of a terrible alliance—the alliance of American, British, West German, and Belgian monopolists. The committee will now be in a position to unmask them completely."

AN INTENSIFIED STRUGGLE

Zavyalov: "Mikhail Sergeyevich Lvov, what you have just told us about the session of the U.N. 24-nation committee in Africa confirms the fact that the struggle of the African peoples for their freedom and independence against the imperialist forces of the United States, Britain, and Belgium is becoming intensified in various forms and in various organizations, including the 24-nation committee.

"It is evident from all the signs that the imperialists—and herein lies a characteristic feature of the present stage of the political struggle in Africa—are trying to take some kind of revenge for the defeats they have been suffering for the last decade, a decade of collapse for the colonial empires in Africa.

"The aim of the imperialists now is to retain the remnants of their colonial possessions, to strengthen and extend their positions in the countries of Africa, to make use of those African leaders who lean toward Western countries and to establish with them what would amount to unilateral cooperation. The imperialists are therefore attempting to split African unity and so distract the attention of African countries."

Lvov: "This is true, but the U.N. Committee has been able to rally African countries around the task of liquidating the last colonial bridgeheads in Africa. The Committee twice appealed for unity of action and for a firm, consistent, and purposeful struggle for the liquidation of colonialism and for the formation of a broad anti-imperialist front.

ACTIONS INSTEAD OF WORDS

"The Committee also adopted a number of decisions which will help to bring about a rapid and resolute transition from words to action. It must be frankly stated that the United Nations has never before adopted such decisions.

"In its resolutions, the Committee acknowledged the legitimacy of the struggle against imperialism. As far as I remember this is the first time the word 'struggle' has appeared in U.N. resolutions. For the first time there has also been an acknowledgment of the legitimacy of the people's struggle.

"Moreover, the Committee's resolutions called on all states to give moral and material support to the struggles of the people. This has never happened in the United Nations before. It gives a new form to the U.N. approach to the task of liquidating imperialism in Africa.

"The committee also demanded an end to all military deliveries to Portugal, emphasizing 'especially by way of NATO.' This is the first time NATO has figured in a U.N. resolution. It is an important new departure in U.N. activity.

POSITIVE RESULTS

"The committee drew the attention of the U.N. General Assembly and Security Council to the threat to the security of independent African states arising from the activities of the criminal alliance between Portugal, South Africa, and the local white settlers in southern Rhodesia.

"In short, there is a new spirit, a new one, in the U.N. decisions. This may be the start of a fresh beginning for the United Nations in the matter of giving support to the peoples in the struggle against imperialism.

"The colonialist members of the committee were unable to prevent the adoption of decisions showing this new spirit. The U.N. has now been given an opportunity to draw on its untapped reserves in order to take definite action.

"There can be no doubt that with the United Nations constituted as it is at present, the consistent line of the Soviet Union in pressing for the United Nations to face fully up to the problems of strengthening peace and insuring freedom is producing more and more positive results."

Zavyalov: "The work of the committee has again proved that whenever the Afro-Asian states act in a broad, single front with the Socialist states—and this includes action in U.N. bodies—the results are always on the side of the just cause, on the side of the struggle against the imperialists."

Lvov: "Yes, the only task now is to achieve implementation of the committee's decisions. But this can be done through the unity of all progressive forces of the world, acting together at the U.N."

A COMMUNIST TOOL

There is no need to quote any more. It is a pitty that no member of the committee appears to have read the United Nations Charter.

More important, however, is the fact that Russia can with such complete confidence claim to have successfully converted an important body of the United Nations into a Communist tool against the West. Yet Britain and the United States blandly continue to serve on the committee and to provide the bulk of the funds that enable it to continue its subversive activities aimed directly at Britain and the United States.

We believe that the above extracts are a tragic commentary on the state of the United Nations. Moreover, we believe that Lvov's claims are in no way exaggerated. It is a pity that his remarks have not been publicized anywhere in the West.

It is now time for the United States to get out of the United Nations.

War Veteran Population of States: 1970, 1980

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I have recently received from the Research Statistics Service of the Veterans' Administration some extremely interesting statistics which contain the estimates of veterans' population for the years 1960 and 1964, and projections for 1970 and 1980. Under leave to extend my remarks I include this report:

PROJECTIONS OF WAR VETERAN POPULATION OF STATES: 1970, 1980

This note presents two series of alternative projections (plus a special "comparative base" series) of the 1970 and 1980 war veteran population of States. These projections—covering the first half of the 40-year span to 2,000 for which decennial estimates will soon be completed—are being released now because of their usefulness in long-range planning, particularly on a geographic basis, for veterans program service facilities.

Each series is based on the same assumptions concerning the future mortality of war veterans and the composition of that population, by period of service and age. The projections are limited to the current war veteran population, which includes men and women (in civil life or still in the Armed Forces) who have served on active military duty during the Korean conflict, World War II, World War I, Spanish-American War, or Indian wars.

The estimates for the States in each series differ only because they involve alternative assumptions as to the level of future interstate migration of the war veteran population:

Series A estimates reflect the assumption that after June 30, 1960 (the "benchmark" starting date for all series), there will be no net gain or loss of war veterans in any State due to migration. (This is hardly a reasonable premise; the series is intended, however, only as a "comparative base" against which it is possible to measure the effect of the alternative series B and C interstate migration assumptions.)

Series B projections are based on the assumption that the April 1955–April 1960 pattern of war veteran age-related in-, out-, and non-migration of each State—as reflected by the male war veteran mobility statistics collected in the 18th decennial census of the United States (1960)—will be continued in every 5-year period after June 30, 1960.

Series C projections were developed on the assumption that each State's war veteran age-related migration rates in every 5-year period after June 30, 1960, would be half those of the April 1955–April 1960 period.

In summary, therefore, these three series of State war veteran population estimates (which are not predictions, but only indications of how that population would be distributed if future interstate migration experience coincides with the specific migration assumption underlying the particular projection series) are based on three independent interstate migration assumptions: (1) Series A, no State will have a net gain or loss of war veterans due to migration; (2) series B, each State will have the same age-related migration pattern as it had in the 1955–60 period; and (3) series C, the age-related migration pattern in every State will be half that of the 1955–60 period.

Some highlights of the State projections are:

Florida and Arizona are the only States which will have more war veteran residents in 1980 than in 1960. Based on the series B migration assumption, Florida's war veteran population would increase 39 percent and Arizona's, 17 percent; the series C projection indicates that Florida would have 9 percent and Arizona 0.6 percent more veterans in 1980 than in 1960.

From 1960 to 1980, net migration gains in war veteran population are projected for 13 other States—but the gains from migration would be too small to offset their losses from veteran deaths (on the average for the United States, 20.5 percent): Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Louisiana, Maryland, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, Oregon, and Wisconsin.

The other 35 States and the District of Columbia would have net migration losses from 1960 to 1980.

The largest (proportionate) net migration gains between 1960 and 1980 in the series B projections (series C gains and losses are generally about half as large) would occur in Florida, 62.3 percent; Arizona, 37.2 percent; Nevada, 13.8 percent; California, 13.1 percent; Arkansas, 5.5 percent; and Oregon, 5.0 percent.

The largest (proportionate) net migration losses between 1960 and 1980 in the series B projections are indicated in Alaska, 28.3 percent; Hawaii, 28.0 percent; District of Columbia, 17.8 percent; North Dakota, 17.2 percent; Rhode Island, 13.8 percent; Nebraska, 13.1 percent; South Dakota, 12.7 percent; West Virginia, 10.0 percent; South Carolina, 9.9 percent; Kansas, 9.7 percent; Kentucky, 8.1 percent; Maine, 8.0 percent; Montana, 7.9 percent; Virginia, 7.8 percent; North Carolina, 7.8 percent; New York, 7.3 percent; and Michigan, 6.8 percent.

TABLE 1.—*Estimates and projections of the war veteran population of States: 1960, 1964, 1970, 1980 (June 30)*

[In thousands]

State	Estimates		Projections					
			1970			1980		
	1960	1964	A [1,2]	B [1,3]	C [1,4]	A [1,2]	B [1,3]	C [1,4]
Total	22,431	21,866	20,701	20,701	20,701	17,841	17,841	17,841
Outside United States	124	123	113	113	113	99	99	99
United States	22,307	21,743	20,588	20,588	20,588	17,742	17,742	17,742
Alabama	325	316	303	304	303	263	263	263
Alaska	24	22	23	19	21	20	14	17
Arizona	160	172	148	187	168	128	188	161
Arkansas	178	173	159	162	160	132	141	137
California	2,233	2,280	2,086	2,272	2,169	1,809	2,100	1,945
Colorado	225	225	209	215	212	180	187	184
Connecticut	354	351	329	339	334	285	294	290
Delaware	57	56	53	55	54	47	48	47
District of Columbia	109	98	100	85	93	86	66	76
Florida	641	690	582	799	690	492	891	699
Georgia	390	381	365	351	357	318	293	304
Hawaii	51	47	49	41	45	44	30	37
Idaho	77	74	70	70	70	60	59	60
Illinois	1,328	1,275	1,219	1,201	1,212	1,047	1,012	1,032
Indiana	574	551	530	518	525	459	437	449
Iowa	328	306	297	284	291	253	236	245
Kansas	265	249	242	223	232	207	181	193
Kentucky	322	306	295	277	287	253	227	240
Louisiana	341	330	316	320	318	273	278	275
Maine	116	110	105	99	102	90	80	85
Maryland	409	409	384	392	387	334	344	338
Massachusetts	716	657	657	654	645	564	527	545
Michigan	969	925	898	863	883	782	716	752
Minnesota	422	403	385	385	385	330	329	329
Mississippi	188	179	172	167	169	146	140	143
Missouri	544	520	496	482	489	423	405	414
Montana	84	79	77	72	74	65	59	62
Nebraska	160	151	146	132	139	125	104	114
Nevada	44	49	41	45	43	35	42	39
New Hampshire	81	80	74	76	75	64	66	65
New Jersey	857	856	792	824	810	682	719	702
New Mexico	109	106	103	106	104	90	93	91
New York	2,210	2,131	2,025	1,934	1,983	1,736	1,576	1,654
North Carolina	446	430	416	394	406	363	329	346
North Dakota	60	54	55	48	52	47	37	42
Ohio	1,260	1,218	1,167	1,151	1,163	1,013	972	996
Oklahoma	279	269	255	242	248	217	201	208
Oregon	245	240	222	228	225	188	200	196
Pennsylvania	1,510	1,445	1,396	1,353	1,377	1,204	1,129	1,168
Rhode Island	117	111	108	97	102	93	77	84
South Carolina	219	211	205	191	198	178	157	167
South Dakota	74	70	67	60	64	58	48	53
Tennessee	388	378	359	351	355	309	298	303
Texas	1,120	1,092	1,040	1,016	1,025	898	861	876
Utah	102	102	96	96	96	85	82	84
Vermont	45	43	41	40	41	35	34	35
Virginia	445	438	418	394	404	363	328	342
Washington	379	368	348	343	345	298	293	295
West Virginia	216	198	198	183	191	170	148	159
Wisconsin	406	447	425	427	426	365	368	367
Wyoming	45	43	42	41	41	36	35	35

[1] Letters A, B, and C represent interstate migration assumptions used as basis for projection series.

[2] Series A based on assumptions that no State would have a net gain or loss of war veterans after June 30, 1960, due to interstate migration, and that age-specific mortality would be uniform from State to State.

[3] Series B based on assumptions that in every 5-year period after June 30, 1960, each State would have the same gross migration pattern, by age, as it had between 1955 and 1960, as reflected in the 25 percent and 5 percent sample data on war veterans' interstate mobility from the 1960 Census of Population, and that age-specific mortality would be uniform from State to State. (Because of the unusual circumstances between 1955 and 1960 in Alaska, Hawaii, and the District of Columbia, their 1955–1960 gross out-migration rates were reduced by 50 percent for purposes of this projection series.)

[4] Series C based on assumptions that in every 5-year period after June 30, 1960, each State would have half the gross migration pattern, by age, that it had between 1955 and 1960, and that age-specific mortality would be uniform from State to State. (Because of the unusual circumstances between 1955 and 1960 in Alaska, Hawaii, and the District of Columbia, their 1955–1960 gross out-migration rates were reduced by 75 percent for purposes of this projection series.)

TABLE 2.—*Percentage change in the war veteran population of States from 1960 (estimated) to 1970 and 1980 (projected)*

[Based on numbers rounded to nearest 100]

State	Percent change from 1960—A [1 2]		Percent change from 1960—B [1 3]		Percent change from 1960—C [1 4]	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
Total	7.7	20.5	7.7	20.5	7.7	20.5
Outside United States	8.8	19.9	8.8	19.9	8.8	19.9
United States	7.7	20.5	7.7	20.5	7.7	20.5
Alabama	6.6	19.9	6.4	19.1	6.5	19.0
Alaska	4.2	15.4	22.3	43.7	13.1	29.5
Arizona	7.3	19.8	+16.8	+17.4	+5.0	+.6
Arkansas	10.7	25.9	8.9	20.4	9.8	22.9
California	6.6	19.0	+1.8	5.9	2.9	12.9
Colorado	7.3	19.9	4.8	17.3	6.1	18.5
Connecticut	7.1	19.6	4.3	16.9	5.6	18.1
Delaware	6.2	18.0	3.1	15.3	4.7	16.5
District of Columbia	8.1	21.3	21.9	39.1	15.0	30.1
Florida	9.3	23.4	+24.5	+38.9	+7.6	+8.9
Georgia	6.5	18.7	10.2	24.9	8.5	22.1
Hawaii	4.0	13.5	19.0	41.5	11.4	27.4
Idaho	8.6	21.8	8.9	23.4	8.7	22.3
Illinois	8.2	21.1	9.6	23.8	8.7	22.3
Indiana	7.8	20.1	9.8	23.9	8.6	21.8
Iowa	9.4	22.9	13.2	28.1	11.1	25.2
Kansas	8.5	21.9	16.0	31.6	12.4	27.0
Kentucky	8.5	21.4	13.9	29.5	11.0	25.4
Louisiana	7.3	19.9	6.1	18.4	6.7	19.1
Maine	9.1	22.5	14.9	30.5	12.0	26.7
Maryland	6.2	18.3	4.0	15.9	5.3	17.2
Massachusetts	8.2	21.2	11.4	26.4	9.8	23.9
Michigan	7.3	19.3	11.0	26.1	8.9	22.4
Minnesota	8.8	21.9	8.7	22.1	8.7	22.0
Mississippi	8.8	22.6	11.3	25.7	10.1	24.2
Missouri	8.8	22.2	11.4	25.6	10.1	24.0
Montana	8.8	22.1	14.3	30.0	11.4	26.1
Nebraska	8.7	21.6	17.6	34.7	13.1	28.4
Nevada	7.2	20.5	+1.4	6.7	2.6	13.0
New Hampshire	8.3	21.3	6.3	18.2	7.4	19.9
New Jersey	7.7	20.4	3.9	16.1	5.6	18.0
New Mexico	5.7	17.3	2.8	15.0	4.4	16.3
New York	8.3	21.4	12.5	28.7	10.3	25.1
North Carolina	6.7	18.6	11.6	26.4	9.0	22.5
North Dakota	8.5	21.1	19.8	38.3	14.0	30.3
Ohio	7.3	19.6	8.6	22.8	7.7	20.9
Oklahoma	8.6	22.3	13.4	27.9	11.2	25.5
Oregon	9.5	23.4	7.0	18.4	8.2	20.7
Pennsylvania	7.6	20.3	10.4	25.3	8.8	22.7
Rhode Island	7.7	20.6	16.7	34.4	12.3	28.1
South Carolina	6.5	18.6	12.8	28.5	9.8	23.8
South Dakota	9.5	22.7	18.8	35.4	14.1	29.6
Tennessee	7.7	20.4	9.6	23.2	8.5	21.8
Texas	7.1	19.8	9.3	23.1	8.4	21.7
Utah	5.8	17.0	6.6	19.6	6.3	18.3
Vermont	7.8	20.8	9.8	23.2	9.1	22.3
Virginia	6.1	18.4	11.4	26.2	9.2	22.1
Washington	8.1	21.3	9.4	22.7	9.0	22.3
West Virginia	8.3	21.4	15.0	31.4	11.6	26.5
Wisconsin	8.8	21.7	8.4	21.0	8.6	21.3
Wyoming	8.1	20.9	9.9	23.6	9.0	22.1

[1] Letters A, B, and C represent interstate migration assumptions used as basis for projection series.

[2] Series A based on assumptions that no State would have a net gain or loss of war veterans after June 30, 1960, due to interstate migration, and that age-specific mortality would be uniform from State to State.

[3] Series B based on assumptions that in every 5-year period after June 30, 1960, each State would have the same gross migration pattern, by age, as it had between 1955 and 1960, as reflected in the 25- and 5-percent sample data on war veterans' interstate mobility from the 1960 Census of Population, and that age-specific mortality would be uniform from State to State. (Because of the unusual circumstances between 1955 and 1960 in Alaska, Hawaii, and the District of Columbia, their 1955–60 gross outmigration rates were reduced by 50 percent for purposes of this projection series.)

[4] Series C based on assumptions that in every 5-year period after June 30, 1960, each State would have half the gross migration pattern, by age, that it had between 1955 and 1960, and that age-specific mortality would be uniform from State to State. (Because of the unusual circumstances between 1955 and 1960 in Alaska, Hawaii, and the District of Columbia, their 1955–60 gross out-migration rates were reduced by 75 percent for purposes of this projection series.)

NOTE.—All changes are losses except those indicated by "+".

DEFINITIONS, SOURCES OF DATA, METHODOLOGY

The "war veteran population" includes men and women in civil life who served in the U.S. Armed Forces during the Korean conflict (June 27, 1950–January 31, 1955); World War II (September 16, 1940–July 25, 1947); World War I (April 6, 1917–November 11, 1918); the Spanish-American War, i.e., War with Spain, Boxer Rebellion, Philippine Insurrection (April 21, 1898–July 4, 1902); or the Indian Wars (1817–1898). Other exservicemen and women—including "cold war veterans" (who first entered the Armed Forces after January 31, 1955, and may have served in certain areas of armed conflict), are excluded because under present laws they are entitled to receive limited "veterans benefits" and major benefits are available only to the service-disabled.

For all projection series, the starting point was June 30, 1960. State war veteran population as of that date, by period of service and age, was estimated by applying distribution factors computed from 1960 census of population 25 percent sample data on State of residence of male war veterans ("Table 104, Characteristics of Civilian Male Veterans * * * by Age, for the State: 1960." "Detailed Characteristics, U.S. Census of Population: 1960," final report PC(—)-2D. U.S. Bureau of the Census) to Veterans' Administration independent estimates of total civilian war veterans in the United States, by period of service and age ("Table 1, Estimated Age of Veterans in Civil Life (by Period of Service), June 30, 1960," Annual Report, 1960; page 165. Administrator of Veterans' Affairs).

At each 5-year interval after June 30, 1960, "control totals" of the war veteran population were the quinquennial estimates, by age, in "Veteran Populations Projections 1962–2040," research monograph 6. "Research Statistics Service, Office of Controller, Veterans' Administration" (July 1962). Estimates of war veterans in the United States, by age, were derived from these control totals on the assumption that the same proportion of veterans in each 5-year age group who were living abroad in 1960 would continue to reside outside the United States as they grew older.

Data were available from the 1960 census of population on the 1955–60 interstate migration patterns of male war veterans. ("Table 23, Mobility Status and Type of Mobility of War Veterans, by State of Residence in 1955, by * * * States: 1960." "Mobility for States and State Economic Areas, U.S. Census of Population: 1960," Subject Reports PC(2)-2B. U.S. Bureau of the Census (25 percent sample data); and an unpublished table, specially prepared for the Veterans' Administration, "Mobility Status and Type of Mobility of Veterans, by Period of Service and Age, by States: 1960". U.S. Bureau of Census (5 percent sample data). From these data, the 1955–60 age-specific nonmigration and in-migration rates for each State (based on the "reconstructed" 1955 war veteran population of the States, by age) were computed for use in estimating the level of migration, State by State, in each 5-year projection period after June 30, 1960.

Series B projections involved the application of these 1955–60 gross interstate migration patterns (nonmigration and in-migration rates, by age) for each State. In developing series C projections, however, the gross interstate migration patterns assumed for every State were half those of 1955–60.

The methodology was the same for both the series B and C projections. Briefly, for each 5-year age group of war veterans living in the State on June 30, 1960, the appropriate nonmigration rate was used to estimate the number who would remain in the State (nonmigrants) and by subtraction, the number who would move to another State (out-migrants) over the 5-year projection period. The interstate migrants in each age group of all States were totaled and then allocated to the States of destination on the basis of the percentage distribution of in-migrants in the 1955–60 period. The sum of the State's nonmigrants plus in-migrants in each age group was the number of veterans, living on June 30, 1960, who would be residing in the State on June 30, 1965—if there were no deaths in the 5-year interval. This cohort (living and deceased) population of specified age was adjusted—uniformly for all States—to the "control total" of living veterans as of June 30, 1965. In effect, this adjustment procedure was the same as applying, State by State, the age-specific 5-year mortality rates used in projecting the total war veteran population (research monograph 6). These steps were then repeated for the 1965–70 projection period, using the adjusted June 30, 1965, State population estimates, by age, as the new starting point, and so on for each 5-year projection period.

(In Alaska and Hawaii, the 1955–60 mobility patterns for war veterans apparently overstated gross out-migration because of the discharge from the Armed Forces and the return to their homes in other States after the Korean conflict of military personnel stationed in those States in April 1955. In the District of Columbia, this situation also existed to some extent; more important, however, is the unusual out-migration which occurred there between 1955–60 because of the population composition and the unprecedented suburbanization which involved interstate migration to the surrounding Maryland and Virginia metropolitan fringe of Washington. Because of these unusual circumstances, the 1955–60 gross nonmigration rates used in Series B projections for these three areas reflect a reduction of 50 percent in the out-migration rates and another 50 percent for the rates used in the series C projections.)

Series A estimates, which assume that regardless of gross interstate migration patterns there would be no net gain or loss of war veterans in any State due to migration after June 30, 1960, were derived by applying the 1960 State distribution factors to the control totals as of the projection dates—by period of service and age in 1960.

Rural Renaissance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, agriculture is the Nation's largest business by far. I have felt that the metropolitan press in recent years has not given farmers the attention they deserve. Therefore, I read this morning's edition of the Washington Post with considerable reassurance and encouragement. This metropolitan newspaper in the Nation's Capital published a very understanding and sympathetic editorial on the importance of agriculture to the total well-being of our Nation's economy, and analyzed with keen insight what we are trying to accomplish in the farm legislation which has been approved by our Committee on Agriculture and soon will be brought into the House for consideration. I feel that every Member of this body will want to read this editorial and, with the permission of the House, I am publishing the text in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

RURAL RENAISSANCE

This administration has been trying to bring about in America what Secretary of Agriculture Freeman calls a rural renaissance. Now its efforts have run into an organized resistance that threatens to strike down the economic foundation of this effort—the omnibus farm bill reported out by the House Committee on Agriculture and awaiting action in the House and in the Senate.

The wheat provisions in the bill are being strongly opposed by the grain trade and users of wheat and the cotton provisions have incurred the opposition of some of the larger growers in the Deep South. No doubt the House will get around to action this month and the Senate probably will pass the bill in some form. But the nature of the opposition is ominous. It is basically trying to arouse urban and consumer resistance to programs intended to give rural America a better share in the good things of American life.

There is no doubt that the failure of the legislation or the elimination of existing programs would precipitate a shocking economic setback in American agriculture and in all the rural communities dependent on agriculture. And in the end, it would diminish consumption generally to a point where the deflation generated by this calamity would make itself felt, not only on every farm in the country, but in every factory as well.

It would be a calamity if an American Congress, largely chosen by urban voters, bluntly told rural America that city dwellers are unwilling to pay a decent price for the food and fiber they use. And yet, urban Americans, like the city dwellers of most countries, have not fairly rewarded those who feed and clothe them. Secretary Freeman pointed out some of the results in this country last June. Poverty is twice as likely to be a condition of life for the child of a rural family. A rural family is twice as likely to be living in substandard housing. A fourth of all farm homes have no running water—a fifth of all rural nonfarm homes. Rural children are 2 years behind urban children in educational achievements. They receive only two-thirds as much medical care. These are only a few indexes of a disparity in living standards that is a reproach to the best clothed and best fed urban population in the world.

The provisions of the omnibus farm bill will not eliminate these disparities. But they will help. And without them none of the other attacks on rural poverty can make any progress. The wheat plan and the cotton plan are the greatest concern. The wheat plan holds forth the promise of further cutting down the wheat carryover. And the cotton plan with its direct payments provisions promises to start the Government on the way out of a cotton trading function for which it is ill equipped. The legislation ought to be passed without destructive amendment and those who have been contending that this country should not or cannot pay a decent wage to those who feed and clothe it ought to be disavowed and disregarded.

Once this legislation is passed and the threat of an immediate economic crisis is averted, there ought to be a broader attack on the whole reconstruction of rural life in America. Rural society ought to be revitalized, reformed, and rebuilt so that rural people may have a more attractive alternative to emigration into cities already overcrowded and so that many now misplaced in an urban environment could return to the country's smaller towns and villages. Such a reform would require a more thoughtful appraisal of all the problems of rural life. It ought to embrace every aspect of country living. In economic terms, it should include efforts to increase rural rewards for production already going forward on farms and in small towns and attempts to increase a greater dispersal of industry adaptable to nonurban location. But before time can be profitably spent on such dreams, the economic foundations of agriculture involved in the legislation which the House committee has approved must be made secure.

The Orlando Move—Still a Bad Idea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I voted today for the Military Construction Authorization Act because this legislation is essential for the maintenance and support of our Armed Forces.

I would like to reiterate once again, however, my steadfast opposition to an item under section 201 which would authorize expenditure of $851,000 in connection with the proposed transfer of the Naval Training Devices Center from Port Washington, N.Y., to Orlando, Fla. I have fought this proposed move from the start because—

First. Such a move cannot be justified from the point of view of economy.

Second. The move would take up to 2 years to complete, thus seriously disrupting the Center's primary mission—supplying training devices and battle simulators to the services.

Third. There is ample room for expansion of the facility at its present location, as it now occupies only 10 out of 160 acres available.

Fourth. Closing Orlando and retaining the Training Devices Center at Port Washington would save the taxpayers the cost of the move.

Fifth. Renovation of existing housing at Sands Point would cost far less than providing such housing at Orlando.

Sixth. The move would add to an already serious unemployment problem in the Long Island area.

Seventh. Orlando is remote from the industrial military locus of the Northeast; Port Washington is ideal in this regard.

Eighth. The Center is presently located in an area where the skilled talent necessary for its sophisticated mission is readily available.

The following statement of costs involved in retaining the Training Devices Center at its present location compared with moving the Center to Orlando is further evidence of the inadvisability of the proposed move.

	Cost	
	Present base	Proposed new site
1. Construction of new building	$1,200,000	$2,000,000
2. Moving costs to new site of material and personnel	0	1,500,000
3. Rehabilitation of buildings	0	851,000
4. Annual maintenance cost [1]	530,000	3,000,000
5. Abandonment of newly constructed laboratory at present site	0	40,000
6. Faced early retirement of employees (trained engineers who will not make the move south)	0	700,000
7. Training of new engineers and technicians (6 months to 1 year)	0	2,187,000
8. Additional costs to meet transportation costs as part of new contracts	0	500,000
Total	1,730,000	10,778,500
Difference	9,048,500	

[1] Present site contains 160 acres of which 10 are used—new site contains 1,400 acres with attending maintenance costs.

The proposed move still does not make sense from a professional, economic, or cost-efficiency standpoint and I remain firmly opposed to this section of the Military Construction Authorization Act even though I voted for this legislation in the general interest of our fighting men.

The Moral Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial from the July 25, 1965, edition of the New York Herald Tribune. The moral grounds for the American role in Vietnam are clear. We are fighting to prevent the imposition of a foreign tyranny on an unwilling people. The ideal for which the United States is fighting has the highest moral justification. It is the ideal of a peaceful world; a world of liberty, justice, and human decency.

The editorial follows:

THE MORAL QUESTION

It's perfectly fitting that the American role in Vietnam be challenged on moral grounds, even though the challenge, both here and abroad, often takes a rather shrill tone. For ultimately only a moral justification can suffice, unless we accept the proposition that American power is to be cynically or self-servingly used—a proposition that wouldn't go down well in a free country which prides itself on a somewhat higher level of virtue.

In a curious paradox, however, a great deal of the current moral indignation at our Vietnam role seems to reflect a sort of moral anarchy, or moral abdication, characteristic of our somewhat cynical age. This is the cast of mind which shuns moral judgment between United States and Communist purposes, or "social systems"; which tends to draw a moral equation between Western military actions and those of the Communist East; which fails to discern any compelling moral distinction between the pattern of aggression and the act of resistance.

Given so undifferentiated a moral landscape, it is, of course, easy to view American participation in the Vietnamese war as an ethical outrage, as a senseless expenditure of life and an unwarranted intrusion on an alien people.

But the plain fact remains that there are no such moral equations; that if we have any faith whatever in the ethical imperatives we pretend to live by, we have to grant a few basic assumptions: including, most centrally, the proposition that armed aggression for the purpose of imposing a foreign tyranny on an unwilling people is wrong.

It doesn't necessarily follow, of course, that merely because an action is wrong, it's right to take up arms against it. Further, the lines are blurred in Vietnam; the Vietcong is in part an indigenous South Vietnamese force, and even the North Vietnamese are, or were, compatriots of the South, while some war-weary South Vietnamese would plainly just as soon give up rather than continue the fight.

But the Vietnamese is much more than a civil war, and more, certainly, than an armed contest between quarreling factions. The tide of refugees that swept south at the time of partition sought, behind an internationally guaranteed frontier, haven from a tyranny which now pursues; a tyranny, furthermore—and this is most precisely to the point—which is not merely an indigenous government, but part of an international movement, brutal in nature, expansionist in aim and insatiable in its appetite.

The United States has, of necessity, assumed special responsibilities in southeast Asia, and only the interposition of U.S. power has thus far managed to curb the extension, by force, of that same tyranny over yet other unwilling peoples. To acquiesce in aggression anywhere would, in such circumstances, be to invite it everywhere. Vietnam is the tormented land on which battle is now joined, but if we surrender there it will only be to fight another day on another front, against an enemy emboldened by victory.

It's no adequate answer to say that all southeast Asia is within China's sphere of influence, unless we abdicate judgment on the nature and purpose of that influence. For if we judge at all; we can only adjudge it malign, to a degree not only inhumanly cruel to the influenced people but destructive to the comity of nations.

We're in Vietnam at the express invitation of the Vietnamese Government; we're fighting there for the Vietnamese people. But we're fighting also for the millions of people in the other threatened lands beyond, people who haven't the power to defend themselves from the Chinese colossus, and whose lives, safety and freedom depend on the strong arm of the policeman—which only we can provide.

At the same time, we're fighting for an ideal which is at once intensely practical and eminently moral: for a world in which man can live at peace with himself and his neighbors, in which the people of all nations can enjoy, not in fear but in fellowship, the benefits man's imagination promises and his technology makes possible. America, after all, was conceived in hope, and still is powered by a dream—not of empire, but of a world made safe for liberty, and justice, and human decency. In weighing the moral quality of our military action, let it not be forgotten that this remains our purpose—and quite specifically so in Vietnam.

Facts Are Given on Puerto Rico Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, the past few days have witnessed several developments aimed at creating confusion concerning the project for development of a petrochemical complex in Puerto Rico, under the joint sponsorship of the Phillips Petroleum Co., and the Puerto Rican Industrial Development Co.

The attacks of political partisans upon this project are answered effectively in an article which appeared Sunday, August 1, 1965, in the New York Times.

The text of the Times article, written by Joseph A. Loftus, follows:

DISPUTED OIL PLAN IRKS PUERTO RICO—PHILLIPS APPLICATION TO BUILD CHALLENGED BY RIVALS

(By Joseph A. Loftus)

WASHINGTON, July 13.—Fierce oil company competition appears to be delaying a multimillion-dollar project that would give long-range support to Puerto Rico's economy. The decision rests with the White House.

In the meantime, the Office of Economic Opportunity and related welfare agencies have granted nearly $8 million in antipoverty money to the island. More applications are pending. The island's unemployment rate is 10.5 percent, more than twice the U.S. national average. Its underemployment (less than 35 hours a week) rate is 24 percent.

The Phillips Petroleum Co. and the Puerto Rican Industrial Development Co. have jointly proposed building a petrochemical complex on the island. The project calls for imports of 50,000 barrels of oil a day.

The competitive problem arises because those 50,000 barrels would come out of the existing import allowance of 1,200,000 barrels shared by the major oil companies. Phillips' quota is 21,000 barrels a day.

Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, whose jurisdiction touches oil and Puerto Rico, gave his approval to a reshuffling of oil import quotas May 11. These quota changes are subject to the approval of the President.

FORTAS IS CITED

Nothing official has happened since then but when Secretary Udall called attention to the fact that Phillips alone had proposed a Puerto Rican petrochemical complex, eight companies filed applications for quota increases with declarations of intentions to build petrochemical plants in Puerto Rico.

These companies are Standard Oil (New Jersey), Standard Oil of Indiana, Cities Service Co., Sinclair Refining Co., Tenneco, Tennessee Gas Transmission Cos., Sun Oil and Pure Oil Cos.

Representative DURWARD G. HALL, Republican, of Missouri, said yesterday that "two men had a vital part" in the Interior Department decision. He named one as Abe Fortas, President Johnson's nominee for the Supreme Court whose law firm is counsel to the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

Mr. HALL also said that the chairman of the board of Phillips is "a member of President Johnson's $1,000 club." The Phillips board chairman is K. S. Adams.

Mr. HALL did not say that the Phillips application was filed early last year. The other companies filed about 60 days ago. The Phillips plan is subject to President Johnson's amendment of the oil quota proclamation.

Phillips said it will spend a minimum of $100 million and will reinvest the profits for 10 years. It estimated that the original plant would employ 400 to 500 persons. The creation of satellite plants would eventually raise the new job total to more than 30,000, the company said.

SPOKESMAN IN CONGRESS

Phillips officials regard the new proposals to build as a "gang up" by companies that had failed to block Phillips by opposing its application at the Interior Department hearings a year ago.

Whether they have attempted to bring pressure on the White House could not be learned, but it is evident that they have found it least one spokesman in Congress.

On the other hand, Rafael Durand, administrator of the Economic Development Administration of Puerto Rico, said on July 24:

"It is disappointing to see these big companies file now for quotas when they had no intention before Phillips applied to establish operations in Puerto Rico. It can only be interpreted as a combined attempt to deny Phillips its quota. The Phillips quota is urgently needed to meet and conquer the economic factors converging to threaten and challenge the industrial development and social well-being of our people."

Secretary Udall could reject all or some of the applications or grant them all. But the latter course would undermine the oil import quota system and anything but the latter course might lead to court challenge.

Restrictions have been imposed on imports of petroleum and its products since 1959 as a national security measure. An uncontrolled inflow of foreign oil would lead to price-cutting and probable closing of marginal oilfields in this country, that might be needed in a national emergency.

A level of imports was established and allocations were made to U.S. refineries and companies with a history of imports from foreign areas. Oil produced in the United States could be used, technically for a petrochemical complex in Puerto Rico, but industry sources said the price makes it prohibitive. Foreign oil is cheaper by $1 to $1.25 a barrel.

Washington: Our Worst Governed City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the August issue of the highly respected Kiplinger magazine, Changing Times, has printed a concise and frank analysis of the government of the District of Columbia.

The article ends with the following comment:

Meanwhile, who's in charge? Everybody. Everybody in the United States—except Washingtonians—picks the people who decide where the Potomac bridges go, how much to spend spraying trees on Pennsylvania Avenue, what to pay a motocycle cop, whether to rebuild Shaw Junior High. It's a case of so many hands grabbing for the wheel that nobody can steer. Least of all Washingtonians, nearly a million Americans being taken for a ride.

Mr. Speaker, the Senate recently passed a strong home-rule bill. The focus of attention on this important issue has now shifted to our Chamber. I hope that the House will be able to debate and decide this issue in the very near future.

Under unanimous consent, I insert an extended excerpt from the Kiplinger article:

WASHINGTON—OUR WORST-GOVERNED CITY

This thrice-blessed Nation has three capitals.

First there is Washington the wondrous, whose monuments and bright shrines pilgrims trudge miles to behold.

Then there is workaday Washington, a Cretan maze of procedures, programs and politics where simply to know one's way is to flourish.

Finally, there is Washington the city. There dwell the native, little known and restive.

They live and work in a curious town. Government is its sole industry. It devotes full time to governing others, yet it can't manage to govern itself.

Its rampant growth is out of control. Its schools are a scandal. Its citizens plead in the streets for better services. Some of the best people join vigilance committees in fear of personal violence. That old wheeze, "Washington—first in war, first in peace and last in the American League," has been revised to read: "Washington—first in robbery, first in assault, and fourth in total offenses."

If Washington were merely poorly governed, things would not be bad. Many a city has had inept or mean or venal government and gotten well. Washington's trouble is that it can't be governed.

To see why, envision its civic machinery.

First, put down two State governments. This urban organism of 2 million souls takes up significant portions of Virginia and Maryland, two sovereign States sundered by the Potomac River. Then add four counties, two in each State. One of them, Fairfax in Virginia, covers 400 square miles, roughly the size of the city of Los Angeles. Add half a dozen proud and independent cities with populations up to 100,000 and a scattering of lesser towns and villages. Salt in every Federal department, bureau, commission and agency that feels an occasional call to dabble in civic affairs. Top all this with one political-geographical anomaly that is absolutely unique, and you have Washington the ungovernable.

The political-geographical anomaly involved is, of course, the District of Columbia. It is not a State, city, county, territory, or insular possession. It's simply District of Columbia, a Federal enclave of 69 square miles and 800,000 people. More populous than 11 of the 50 States, it is unlike any of them and outside all of them.

In several respects, in fact, the District is outside the entire American system for Washingtonians can't run their own town. The President picks their main officials. And the big civic decisons are made by Members of Congress, who are alien grandees chosen afar. Washingtonians can vote for President and Vice President, and have actually done so once. But they can't vote for coroner, school board member, dogcatcher, or anybody else. Yet they do pay taxes, an unbecoming practice since taxation without representation is supposed to be un-American.

ONCE IT WAS DIFFERENT

It wasn't like this in the good old days. From 1801 on for nearly 70 years, Washington elected councilmen and aldermen who ran the city under a mayor appointed by the President. The city occupied only part of the District then. The Civil War expansion brought a District-wide territorial government in 1871, with a governor and upper legislative body appointed by the President and an elected lower chamber. There even was a nonvoting delegate to the House of Representatives, the only time Washingtonians ever had a direct line to their congressional overlords.

In those days the city was such a weed-grown, mire-spattered mess that there was talk of moving the capital to St. Louis. Then one Alexander R. Sheperd, a native, born poor but grown rich in local real estate, became head of public works. He brought forth sewers and water mains, graded and paved the streets, planted the parks and caused fountains to flow. The price was high, about three times advance estimates and some $20 million in all. In 3 giddy years, Boss Sheperd created modern Washington—and left it bankrupt.

No one ever proved he made a dime from public enterprise, but his fiscal foibles ended Washington's fling at running itself. The consequences plague the city to this day. The system that replaced the discredited territorial government still prevails and the Sheperd story still serves as proof posittive that for Washington "home rule won't work."

THREE MEN ON A TOWN

Today's Washington government is, in typical Washington fashion, a committee. The titular rulers are three commissioners, all appointed by the President. Two are civilians, the third an officer from the Army Corps of Engineers. One civilian heads public safety, the other public health and welfare, and the engineer commands public works.

The incumbents are Walter N. Tobriner, a lawyer, former school board head and urbane spokesman for sophisticated forms of civic betterment such as sidewalk cafes and street kiosks; John B. Duncan, a career civil servant who rose in 27 years from messenger to high government legal posts and is the first Negro to be Commissioner; and the Engineer Commissioner, Brig. Gen. Charles M. Duke.

Tobriner, as President of the Board, performs most of the ceremonial chores and gets most of the publicity. The Engineer Commissioner is least vocal and spends the most money.

The two civilians obtain their posts through the usual partisan political preferment. How the Engineer Commissioner gets his is more obscure. Presumably, the engineers have their own political ways. The post might appeal to an aspiring colonel, for a brigadier's star goes with the job, appointment marks a man as a comer who may one day be chief of the corps, and there is a $100 million budget to manage.

"Don't let anyone tell you the city government is divided into thirds," a local official has said. "It's divided into sixths—four-sixths for the Engineer Commissioner and one-sixth for each of the others."

Installed by decree and answerable to no constituency, the three Commissioners look like proconsuls ruling a subject population. Appearances could not deceive more.

The Commissioners have no real civic muscle. Congressmen have it, up on Capitol Hill. When action is needed downtown, the Commissioners must scale the Hill and beg leave to act.

For example, they can't make a city budget and have it stick. First it must be pawed and pared by special appropriations subcommittees in both Senate and House. Then the two full committees must bestow blessings. Next, both Chambers must vote favorably and, finally, the President himself signs his approval. Only then may the city spend its own money.

The least municipal ordinance must run the same awkard, time-wasting, humiliating gauntlet, a procedure that degrades men elected to deal with national affairs by making town warders of them. Recently, your elected Representatives had to apply their collective wisdom to this question: Should the D.C. Board of Podiatry Examiners be allowed to accept the examination given by the National Board of Podiatry Examiners in lieu of one of its own devising? Taking one thing with another, the Nation faced graver decisions that day.

Sometimes Washington matters get snagged in the vast congressional mechanism. A supposedly noncontroversial item may be put on the House Consent Calendar to be enacted without debate on District day, the second or fourth Monday of each month. If a single voice dissents—and determined search among 500 Congressmen usually can find one to object—unanimity is lost, the item fails and the action, no matter how worthy, is stymied.

YOUR FINGER IN THE PIE

The system's fundamental shortcoming, though, is not that the machinery is slow, noisy or cumbersome but that it prevents the governed from even helping to govern themselves. Congress runs Washington, Washington has no voice in Congress, so Washington is run by "foreigners." By the ballot he casts for Congressman or Senator, any American anywhere has more to do with running Washington than the native born and bred there. In this respect, "freedom's capital" is like an occupied zone.

Its most influential personages are the Senators and Congressmen on the District committees of the House and Senate. To be fair, theirs is not the finest plum that can fall to a politician. But usually the District committeeman merely toils long for people who can't vote for him. Meanwhile, the home folks who do vote ask not what he did for Washington but what he did for them.

RACE IS POLITICS, TOO

The relationship of the city and its masters is made even more uneasy by these facts, often unmentioned but never forgotten.

The District of Columbia is 53.9 percent Negro.

Washington, the metropolis, is not predominantly colored. Only the District is. The metropolitan area is 75.1 percent white, only 1.5 percent less white than it was in 1950.

The city's race relations record has been fairly good, for all its Southern heritage. The District ended segregation in its schools, theaters, recreation facilities, restaurants and hotels almost without incident, and Government employment has opened many career opportunities. The city has a large, solid Negro middle class, and there has been no widespread racial violence since 1919.

Nevertheless, given ingrained Southern attitudes and the understandable sensitivity of Negro Washingtonians, nearly every local issue—crime, housing, schools, library needs, public welfare, even rapid transit—quickly develops racial overtones. When the civic system frustrates their needs, Negroes suspect racial animus. And when civic needs generate enough steam to be felt on the Hill, Congressmen of Southern outlook scent racial "aggressiveness."

LIFE AT THE FOOT OF THE HILL

These curious arrangements give life in Washington an exasperating flavor. Suppose you lived there and worried, for instance, about your child's crowded, antique school. Where would you turn to get something done?

The school board isn't elected; it's appointed by, oddly, the U.S. District Court. The school budget is passed on by the Commissioners named by a fellow townsman, the President of the United States. Actual funds, on the other hand, depend on the mercies of a frugal Congress, elected by everyone in the country except the parents of children in Washington schools.

Pondering the city's finances, you realize that half the city belongs to Uncle Sam. The city can't tax the Nation, obviously, so the United States makes a payment to the city in lieu of taxes, niggling about the amount. Further, the Federal reservation keeps growing. By rights, the payment ought to keep growing, automatically.

President Johnson thinks so, too. But so far the House District committee doesn't, possibly preferring to control the spigot itself. Anyhow, appropriations committees like to decide how much the city gets, no matter how much Uncle is willing to pay. This year they allowed $9 million less than the city might have had, which helps explain the schools.

Or perhaps, as a Capital citizen, the runaway growth alarms you. Well, Washington has a master plan. It is dated 1950 and foretells a metropolitan-area population of 2 million by 1980, a milestone passed back in 1960. Meanwhile, growth rushes on along every highway and sewer, and history outpaces planning, with nobody in clear control. The Interior Department shows a bullying readiness to take over everything, although the major Federal talent is for cross purposes. For example, the Government runs a campaign to tidy up the Chesapeake and the Potomac—and also runs 22 installations that pollute them.

The city's official home-wrecking might bother you, too. A local rule decrees that a needy family can't have relief if there is a man in the house. So an unemployed father has a choice: Let the wife and kids suffer or desert.

This dramatic if cruel dilemma is maintained at the insistence of Senator ROBERT C. BYRD, of West Virginia. Recent outcry at the death of one victim of the rule, a mother of five who had wandered the streets for days in search of help, led him to announce that organized displays of opinion weren't likely to sway him. The demonstrations happened, of course, because people take to the streets when they have no other place to be heard.

There might be less milling in the streets if Washington had home rule instead of Hill rule. Some influential Washingtonians oppose home rule, though, believing that, however bad things are, they would be worse if just everybody had his say. In any event, prospects for home rule are not bright. The Senate has passed it five times in 17 years, but the bills never seem to escape Representative MCMILLAN'S committee in the House.

He has one shackled there right now. He'll let it out for air just as soon as he can get around to it, he says, which will be some time after everything else is neatened up. A new Congress may be in town by then, of course, and the game can start all over again.

Meanwhile, who's in charge? Everybody. Everybody in the United States—except Washingtonians—picks the people who decide where the Potomac bridges go, how much to spend spraying trees on Pennsylvania Avenue, what to pay a motorcycle cop, whether to rebuild Shaw Junior High. It's a case of so many hands grabbing for the wheel that nobody can steer. Least of all Washingtonians, nearly a million Americans being taken for a ride.

Dirksen Plan: Some Questions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Roscoe Drummond from the July 23, 1965 edition of the New York Herald Tribune.

The Dirksen amendment to allow the voters of a State to keep one house from being reapportioned on a population basis is clearly bad.

No citizens should be denied the right to an equal vote.

The article follows:

THE RIGHT TO AN EQUAL VOTE—DIRKSEN PLAN: SOME QUESTIONS

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—The proposed Dirksen amendment is visibly losing support in Congress.

Its purpose is to reduce the effect of the Supreme Court decision that State legislatures must be reapportioned roughly on the basis of one man, one vote.

Its method is to amend the Constitution to allow voters in each State, if they so choose, to have one house apportioned on a basis other than population.

Here is what the argument is all about:

When in one county 30,000 people elect two State senators, for example, and a neighboring county of 300,000 elects two State senators, then the votes of the 30,000 count 10 times as much as the votes of the 300,000.

This was typical throughout the Nation at the time the Supreme Court ruled that such a practice violated the Constitution. Until the court started reapportionment, a minority of the voters in 40 States elected either one or both houses of their legislatures. In effect, the court said give the larger counties more representation or the smaller counties less representation.

The Dirksen amendment, which aims to permit the voters of each State to keep one house from being reapportioned on a population basis, seems to many to be self-evidently reasonable. But is it? Let me raise some questions in the interest of reflecting about it.

Under the Constitution every eligible citizen has the right to vote for State officials as well as Federal officials. Should this right be diluted by any action which has the effect of saying that, while every citizen has the equal right to vote, some citizens are not to have the right to an equal vote?

Isn't the right to the vote and the right to cast an equal vote as precious as the right of free speech, or free assembly? If so, should we amend the Constitution to allow the voters in even one State to deprive a citizen of any of these rights?

Is there any evidence that allowing unequal representation in one house will produce better State government? I haven't seen the advocates of the Dirksen amendment produce any such evidence.

During the past half century, as the flow of population has moved massively into the cities and suburbs, most State legislatures have been dominated by minority representation. The legislators have violated their own State constitutions by refusing to reapportion and have perpetuated such egregious distortions that the Supreme Court had no choice but to provide relief.

How is it that the election of one house on a basis other than population suddenly becomes so meritorious? Where were the advocates of minority representation when the cities were in the minority and the rural population the majority?

It is sometimes suggested that the Federal system is applicable to the States, that just as the States, regardless of size, are equally represented in the U.S. Senate, so should counties regardless of size be equally represented in State senates. Plausible, but one answer is that, while the Federal Government is composed of sovereign States, the States are not composed of sovereign counties.

Fortunately, there will be plenty of time for reflection before the amendment gets to the point of ratification—if it ever does.

Farm Wife Writes on Farm Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have received a letter from a Kansas farm wife that carries an important message to the Nation's consumers. The letter is from Mrs. Mary Conger, Route 2, Iola, Kans. It is especially timely, as the House soon will have under consideration H.R. 9811, the omnibus farm bill.

I think, Mr. Speaker, that what Mrs. Conger has to say will help our city friends to realize their own stake in the farm policy issue. She has written an explanation of farm policy in terms of the national welfare. I believe there is something to be gained if each Member of this body would read what this highly intelligent farm wife writes. Therefore, with the permission of the House, I am inserting Mrs. Conger's letter in the Appendix of the RECORD. The letter follows:

IOLA, KANS.,
July 28, 1965.

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY,
Chairman, House Committee on Agriculture.

DEAR MR. COOLEY: I wish there was something I could say that would help our city friends to understand their own stake in the farm policy issue. I wish they realized the American plan for food and agriculture has always been based on a policy of abundance. All nations have had to solve the problem of food for their people before they could go on to build a great industrial and cultural civilization.

Farm programs have provided farmers with an organized method of cooperating with our neighbors to adjust supplies with demand. People eat only a few ounces of food each and every day—no more and no less. They cannot be persuaded to eat more, no matter how low the price. Yet the uncertainties of farm production cannot be geared to meet this exacting demand. We cannot close down the plant 2 months, pull the switch, bank the fires and lay off the employees.

We cannot reduce the food supply of the American people to the degree of scarcity that would be necessary to assure farmers an adequate return in a completely free market. Even temporary shortages in some items cause prices to skyrocket in the grocery store.

There must be a reserve. We must have a feed-grain and pasture reserve to carry the Nation's livestock herd through periods of drought and local disasters. We need a national food reserve to meet any unforseeable emergency, plus a reserve capacity to

produce for expanding populations at home and abroad.

Yet the existence of the surplus would cause farm commodity prices to plunge to disaster levels if it were not for Government price supports. Farmers would be left to drown in their own abundance. If we sink into bankruptcy we'll take a lot of others with us. For every dollar of farm income is primary wealth, like new-mined gold poured into the economic bloodstream. Each farm dollar creates $3 in related economic activity.

Government farm programs have stabilized prices enough that we farmers could make the investment in machines and new technology that has built the most productive agriculture the world has even known. Government payments to cooperating farmers has been the "gimmick" that made the programs work. They have been the rental payment that enabled us to hold part of our land in the Nation's conservation reserve. The subsidies have never contributed more than a small percent to our total income.

The return on this public investment in agriculture has been fabulous. Every other nation in the world pays a much larger share of its income for food. We've had food to fight wars, to support every military activity, to save our allies from starvation, and to use now in the battle against human hunger which threatens to engulf our troubled globe.

We take all this for granted—as though it were no miracle. Instead, we need to ponder what it could cost us to be plagued with scarcities and agricultural failure, which has usually been the human lot.

In short, it is very important that our city friends realize that farm programs are a part of our total national welfare, rather than a subsidy to pampered farmers. We've got to plan now, if we want our grandchildren to have enough to eat.

Sincerely yours,

MRS. MARY CONGER,
Farm Wife.

Uniform Daylight Saving Time

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, we design rockets which take close-up pictures of the Moon and Mars but we still struggle along with antiquated methods of measuring time, something which affects the life of every person every day.

Atomic science now permits 1 second to be divided accurately into 100 billion equal parts. And scientific time measuring devices can be so precisely set that two of them would deviate no more than 1 second in 5,000 years.

Yet the United States remains "the world's worst timekeeper," according to Dr. William Markowitz, leading time scientist at the U.S. Naval Observatory.

The reason for this, of course, is the haphazard way daylight saving time is illogically observed on widely varying dates in different parts of the country.

Pennsylvania has no major problems of uniformity within its borders—daylight saving time starts the last Sunday of April and ends the last Sunday of October, as the pending legislation proposes to make a national requirement.

Pennsylvania, however, does have its own time antique—while towns and other communities observe daylight saving time, State law requires that State business be done on standard time.

The ridiculous result is that all State office clocks remain on standard time while everyone works on daylight saving time hours. This little fiction, I suppose, preserves the sanctity of our laws.

What it really does, however, is expose the horse-and-buggy means by which we observe time.

While Pennsylvania has no uniformity problem itself, the national time confusion does affect our people as they travel or communicate to other parts of the country.

If the pending legislation became law, one could at least be certain as to whether or not daylight saving time was being observed anywhere on a certain date. This would contribute a lot to public convenience and national efficiency.

It is time for a real national overhaul of our time observances and I strongly support the pending legislation as a significant step toward time sanity.

I commend the following news articles to the House for consideration. They well point up the time dilemma we find ourselves in:

[From the Monessen (Pa.) Independent]

TIME MIXUP AGAIN

The popular attitude toward the summer time mishmash that plagues this country resembles that of the man who worried about his leaky roof when it rained but did nothing about it on fine days. Americans fret a good deal when the summer time chaos is upon them and nothing immediately effective can be done about it, but in winter they tend to put off consideration of the matter.

The present state of affairs is a classic illustration of this. There was a big hue and cry last summer about how stupid it was for a modern country not to have a reasonably uniform time setup. There was a lot of public irritation at ridiculous descrepancies in time, not only between States but within States and sometimes from community to community. All this led to demands for congressional action at the earliest opportunity. Congress did nothing. Thus we will have to live through a repetition of last summer's time mixup.

Some idea of just how mixed-up the time situation is can be gained by considering a few salient points. Thirty-one States observe daylight saving time; 19 States do not. Twenty of the 31 did all start daylight saving time together on April 26, but that is the last nod to the ideal of uniformity. These States will go off daylight saving time at varying times, some as early as August, others not until October. The other 11 daylight saving States will both start and stop on a variety of dates. As in the past, the motto seems to be: Let the traveler beware.

There is some hope that this will be the last summer of chaos. Committees in both Houses of Congress have turned the spotlight on this matter. Bills are in the legislative hoppers. The proposed uniform time law would not solve the problem but it would be a start. Congress should not let another summer pass without action.

[From the Greensburg (Pa.) Tribune Review]

TIME TINKERING

Congress, so it would appear, is moving a step forward to end the perennial confusion of some of the Nation's habit of going on daylight summer time.

Legislation to establish uniform effective dates for the summer time has passed the Senate and now goes to the House, where similar approval is expected.

This legislation would standardize start of daylight time as of 2 a.m., the last Sunday in April, and be removed at the same time the last Sunday in October. As the procedure stands today the start and finish of this time is largely left up to States and individual communities, which has caused considerable confusion in the country.

Over the years there have been many advocates of some sort of standardization in summer recreation hours. As the situation is today the transportation media has rather a difficult time attempting to relate its schedules to the whims of States and municipalities.

It might be wiser, therefore, for Congress to go a step further in its time tinkering and come up with a universal pattern. At least this would end the annual confusion that now prevails.

[From the New Kensington, Pa., Dispatch]

MANY U.S. AREAS TURN CLOCKS AHEAD

More than half the American people will have to turn their clocks ahead 1 hour Sunday to conform with daylight saving time.

The change goes into effect at 2 a.m. (local time).

In 16 States, the change will be statewide. In others, one or more areas of the State will go on daylight saving time, while other areas stay on standard time.

Some States remaining on standard time next week will shift to daylight saving time later in the spring.

Latest reports indicate a slight gain for the daylight saving time advocates, many of whom would like to see the whole country on daylight saving time all year as some sections in Indiana are now.

New to the fold is Colorado, which will turn the clocks Sunday for the first time.

Iowa adopted daylight saving time on a statewide basis for the first time this year by legislative action, but will have it only from Memorial Day to Labor Day.

Wisconsin will begin daylight saving time as usual Sunday, but by legislative action will have an extra month of it, going back to standard time at the end of October, rather than as previously, in late September.

Generally statewide daylight saving time is favored by populous States—New England, the Middle Atlantic States, Illinois and California. Others adopting statewide daylight saving time include West Virginia, Nevada and Washington.

But in other States the picture is not so clear. In Ohio, 226 cities and communities in the northeast and eastern parts of the State will go on "fast" time Sunday. But only 21 of Ohio's 88 counties will be affected by daylight saving time and some of those only in part.

Other States which will experience both daylight saving time and standard times within their borders during the summer are Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Indiana, Michigan, Missouri, Minnesota, South Dakota, New Mexico, Montana, Idaho and Oregon.

Vast areas of the South and Southwest—including Texas—ignore the whole idea.

Daylight saving time ends October 31 in much of the East.

Farm Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GRAHAM PURCELL
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, the pending farm legislation, H.R. 9811, con-

tinues to be a source of much interest and controversy.

The Washington Post in its lead editorial today entitled, "Rural Renaissance" dealt with the problems of rural America in a most enlightened manner. Stressing the interdependence of rural America and the rural economy and the urban economy, this outstanding editorial urges immediate passage, "without destructive amendment," of H.R. 9811 as a beginning step toward the elimination of poverty and economic inequity in the rural society.

I sincerely urge my colleagues to give this editorial, which follows, their careful study:

RURAL RENAISSANCE

This administration has been trying to bring about in America what Secretary of Agriculture Freeman calls a rural renaissance. Now its efforts have run into an organized resistance that threatens to strike down the economic foundation of this effort—the omnibus farm bill reported out by the House Committee on Agriculture and awaiting action in the House and in the Senate.

The wheat provisions in the bill are being strongly opposed by the grain trade and users of wheat and the cotton provisions have incurred the opposition of some of the larger growers in the Deep South. No doubt the House will get around to action this month and the Senate probably will pass the bill in some form. But the nature of the opposition is ominous. It is basically trying to arouse urban and consumer resistance to programs intended to give rural America a better share in the good things of American life.

There is no doubt that the failure of the legislation or the elimination of existing programs would precipitate a shocking economic setback in American agriculture and in all the rural communities dependent on agriculture. And in the end, it would diminish consumption generally to a point where the deflation generated by this calamity would make itself felt, not only on every farm in the country, but in every factory as well.

It would be a calamity if an American Congress, largely chosen by urban voters, bluntly told rural America that city dwellers are unwilling to pay a decent price for the food and fiber they use. And yet, urban Americans, like the city dwellers of most countries, have not fairly rewarded those who feed and clothe them. Secretary Freeman pointed out some of the results in this country last June. Poverty is twice as likely to be a condition of life for the child of a rural family. A rural family is twice as likely to be living in substandard housing. A fourth of all farm home have no running water—a fifth of all rural nonfarm homes. Rural children are 2 years behind urban children in educational achievements. They receive only two-thirds as much medical care. These are only a few indices of a disparity in living standards that is a reproach to the best clothed and best fed urban population in the world.

The provisions of the omnibus farm bill will not eliminate these disparities. But they will help. And without them none of the other attacks on rural poverty can make any progress. The wheat plan and the cotton plan are the greatest concern. The wheat plan holds forth the promise of further cutting down the wheat carryover. And the cotton plan with its direct payments provisions promises to start the Government on the way out of a cotton trading function for which it is ill equipped. The legislation ought to be passed without destructive amendment and those who have been contending that this country should not or cannot pay a decent wage to those who feed and clothe it ought to be disavowed and disregarded.

Once this legislation is passed and the threat of an immediate economic crisis is averted, there ought to be a broader attack on the whole reconstruction of rural life in America. Rural society ought to be revitalized, reformed, and rebuilt so that rural people may have a more attractive alternative to emigration into cities already overcrowded and so that many now misplaced in an urban environment could return to the country's smaller towns and villages. Such a reform would require a more thoughtful appraisal of all the problems of rural life. It ought to embrace every aspect of country living. In economic terms, it should include efforts to increase rural rewards for production already going forward on farms and in small towns and attempts to increase a greater dispersal of industry adaptable to nonurban location. But before time can be profitably spent on such dreams, the economic foundations of agriculture involved in the legislation which the House committee has approved, must be made secure.

A Ship Launching and the Coast Guard's 175th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 175th anniversary of the U.S. Coast Guard—a versatile, forward-looking organization founded at Newburyport, Mass., by Alexander Hamilton in 1790 as the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service.

As a member of the Subcommittee on the Coast Guard of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, I have long admired the fine spirit and enthusiasm of the men and women who have made this branch of the armed services their career. The Coast Guard has earned our respect both in war and peace. I have always been proud to be closely associated with this service in my committee assignment in the House of Representatives.

MODERNIZATION PROGRAM UNDERWAY

It was with even greater pleasure, therefore—even more than any woman would feel in being accorded such an honor—that I was privileged last Saturday to sponsor the newest vessel launched in the Coast Guard's extensive modernization and improvement program authorized by our committee.

In the coming years, the Coast Guard will be adding a total of 36 new 378-foot cutters, and 29 of the 210-foot class, along with other ships, planes, and related equipment and facilities necessary to its efficiency and effectiveness in coping with assignments of great importance to our country. These ships will replace what could well be called a "rag tag" fleet of obsolete vessels, many of them 40 or more years old.

When we consider the fact that the Coast Guard last year rescued ships and cargoes valued at more than $2 billion, which is about five times the annual budget of the agency, it is obvious that our investment in the Coast Guard is one which pays extraordinay dividends. In addition, the ships and men of the Coast Guard saved about 3,000 lives last year, and there is no way of measuring that in dollar terms. In St. Louis, we regard the Coast Guard as a great asset to our commerce.

THE "ACTIVE" IS FOURTH NEW CUTTER IN 210-FOOT CLASS

Mr. Speaker, the ship which I sponsored Saturday, on the eve of the Coast Guard's 175th anniversary, the *Active* (WPC-618), is the fourth to be launched of the new class of 210-foot cutters. It is being built at the Christy Corp. Shipyard at Sturgeon Bay, Wis., and, when completed, will be, I am sure, a fine ship. Wherever it may serve, I shall, of course, always be proud of it and of my relationship with it.

Under unanimous consent, Mr. Mr. Speaker, I submit for inclusion in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the remarks I made Saturday at a luncheon at the Leathem Smith Lodge, Sturgeon Bay, given by President C. R. Christianson and other officers of the Christy Corp., following the launching of the *Active*. In my talk, I tried to express some of my feelings about the roles of the Coast Guard and our merchant marine, as follows:

REMARKS OF CONGRESSWOMAN LEONOR K. SULLIVAN, DEMOCRAT, OF MISSOURI, AS SPONSOR OF U.S. COAST GUARD CUTTER "ACTIVE" (WPC-618) STURGEON BAY, WIS., JULY 31, 1965

I am tremendously pleased to be here today particularly in the capacity in which I was invited—to have the great honor of sponsoring what will one day soon be a beautiful ship. I have just participated in one of the most thrilling ceremonial roles which industry accords to members of my sex. That split second when the champagne bottle breaks on the bow and sprays fleeting ship and nervous sponsor alike is one of those breathless experiences one treasures for life—one of pure delight—for it means a fine ship well-launched and the sponsor's small but starring role creditably performed. As a woman I enjoyed everything about that wonderful moment, and my part in it.

Much as it means to me as a woman honored, however, the launching of the *Active* is of much more profound importance to me as a Member of Congress serving on the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and on the Subcommittee on the Coast Guard.

When we drafted and refined in our committee the legislation which authorized the construction of this ship and of others like it, the world was not exactly calm—it never is—but it was decidedly more calm than it is right now. Under any conditions, the mission of the Coast Guard is always important: it is important to commerce and navigation in inland waterways (with which I am most familiar as a resident along the banks of the Mississippi) as well as in our coastal areas. But right now, with 17 of the best of the Coast Guard's new and versatile 83-foot cutters assigned to patrol the waters off the coast of Vietnam, the Nation is suddenly acutely reminded again of the vital role this great service—the Coast Guard—performs for our Nation, and for the cause of freedom—in times of military emergency or war.

One cannot launch a Coast Guard vessel without being aware of the possible combat role it might eventually be called upon to perform, in some trouble spot somewhere in the world. But we pray that this ship,

and its sister ships, will encounter excitement enough to satisfy the adventurous spirit of their crews without having to engage in combat operations. Of course, the regular peacetime assignments of the Coast Guard do provide such excitement—and dangers too; such as—in carrying the burden of the North Atlantic Ice Patrol; in freeing the frozen channels of the Great Lakes and our inland rivers; in standing on guard against infiltration of our shores by enemies of our country and against challenges to our laws or our National interests. Confrontations do not occur only at the Berlin wall; sometimes they involve what might be called "troubling in fished waters."

After having acted with diligence and honor and heroism in wartime as an integral part of the Navy in combat areas all over the world, the Coast Guard, I am sorry to say, was relegated to something of a stepchild status for much of the postwar peacetime years. Its motto, "Semper Paratus," applied more to the spirit and willingness of its officers and men, than to its plant and equipment—its vessels and aircraft. During much of this period, the Coast Guard operated only with obsolete and overage equipment-hand-me-downs from World War II—and even earlier—Navy material. In 1961, we began to change that, and the rehabilitation and improvement program is now showing encouraging progress, thanks to the legislation we passed last year. The *Active* is the fourth of a new, modern class of medium-endurance cutters—all of them of 210 feet in length; with maximum speed of nearly 19 knots; a normal cruising range of 5,000 miles; with unequalled salvage, safety and lifesaving facilities; featuring helicopter platforms and refueling facilities which extend their search capability; and with ordnance equipment for law enforcement which can also be modified, if necessary, for antisubmarine use.

The vessels these new cutters are replacing represent a "rag-tag" fleet ranging from seagoing tugs to vessels 125 to 165 feet in length. The 125-footers are patrol boats which were built in the 1920's for the limited role of Treasury enforcement of the prohibition laws, chasing schooners serving as offshore rum runners. These are hardly the kind of vessels the Coast Guard needs today, yet we have had to depend upon them as our major resource for search and rescue work along the coasts, and for fishery patrols and law enforcement.

Their operating characteristics, according to official evaluations given to our committee, are "unsatisfactory," their habitability "substandard." Furthermore, in addition to lacking modern capability, they are "seriously deteriorated."

As a Member of Congress called upon to vote for appropriations bills totaling in the neighborhood of $100 billion a year, I definitely believe that we can certainly afford better ships than these 40- or 45-year-old patrol boats—and the *Active*, I am happy to say, reflects our determination that the Coast Guard once again be given the proper tools for the vital role it is assigned to perform in peace and in war.

The needs of the Coast Guard for adequate, modern, plant and equipment are also echoed in the needs of our merchant shipping, and in shipbuilding capacity, too. There is a close working relationship, of course, between the Coast Guard and our merchant fleet, just as there is in the Committee on which I serve. The concern also extends to our shipyards. The Christy Yard, where we launched the *Active* this morning, has been in existence since 1885. This yard, along with other shipyards on the Great Lakes, and on our inland waterways system, has made great contributions over the years to American strength, to our commerce, and to our national economy. There are those who today counsel that more of our ships—and we are not building nearly enough to replace our aging tonnage—be built abroad at perhaps a cheaper cost. Cost is a factor we always have to take into consideration in any program of Government expenditures; but I am mindful of the fact—which I know everyone here also realizes today—that once neglected, once allowed to deteriorate, national capability in any field essential to defense and safety such as shipbuilding, cannot be replaced overnight. We were ridiculed for years for mothballing so many old World War II ships; yet there have been many times when we have needed them, and we have recently withdrawn 14 cargo vessels from the Reserve Fleet, and more will probably have to come out. But it will require additional funds to modernize these ships as needed—and shipyards to do the work. We cannot try to respond to challenges of Communist aggression with a shipping fleet comparable in vintage and effectiveness to the Flying Fortresses which were the pride of the Air Force in 1941. Yet much of our shipping is in that category. Our shipyards are therefore important to our defense.

These are issues the Congress, and particularly our committee, constantly assess and debate. In calm times—such as when this ship and its sisters were authorized—there was little public interest in these issues, now there is a great deal. But just as the Coast Guard must remain always alert to danger when danger seems nonexistent, so must those of us charged with the heavy responsibility of making national policy, and backing up this Service and others like it for their future missions—no matter what they may be—we must be willing to think ahead and plan ahead and demonstrate the political courage to do these things when the needs are not clearly visible or easily proved, and when economy is a popular watchword.

As a woman honored, I am pleased and flattered and happy in my assignment today; as a Member of Congress, I am even prouder to have had some part—long before today—in making today's launch possible.

This is a good hull. It must become a good ship. My interest in it and the interest of all who participated in the launching will always be a most personal one. But all Americans today share our pride in what this ship and its sister ships represent to us as citizens.

May those who man this ship always sense, and know, that it carries the prayers of you who helped build her sound hull, and of all of us here who participated in her launching. May each voyage be undertaken in high resolve and great harmony of purpose, and with a pervading good humor which will match and overcome the trials of wind and weather, and the fell clutch of circumstance, as well.

May God watch over the *Active*—its missions and its men. Amen.

COAST GUARD, 175, IS LOOKING AHEAD—ARTICLE FROM NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. Speaker, I now submit as part of my remarks on this 175th Coast Guard anniversary an excellent article which appeared in last Sunday's New York Times, reporting on the missions of the Coast Guard and the status of its expansion program. This article, by John P. Callahan, is as follows:

[From the New York Times, August 1, 1965]

COAST GUARD, 175, IS LOOKING AHEAD—SHIFT TO GOVERNORS ISLAND AND RESEARCH SCHEDULED

(By John P. Callahan)

The Coast Guard will formally celebrate its 175th anniversary on Wednesday. But most of the record peacetime force of 32,000 is preoccupied with the probability of expanding patrol units along the coast of Vietnam, planning a major shift and consolidation of East Coast operations next summer to Governors Island, and a record expansion of virtually every phase of the Nation's chief maritime safety agency.

Adm. Edwin J. Roland, commandant of the Coast Guard, returned this weekend from a 2-week inspection swing in southeast Asia, where the second group of 82-foot cutters is patroling inshore waters below the 17th parallel that divides Vietcong from Vietnam.

Thirteen-man crews, including two Vietnamese in each craft are assisting inshore Task Force 115 of naval operations against infiltration of men, weapons and supplies from Vietcong.

Nine Coast Guard patrol boats began working in the area on July 18, and eight more arrived last Thursday, manned by specially trained combat groups who also have a background of law enforcement and boarding operations.

TO USE GOVERNORS ISLAND

Early last week, the House Armed Services Committee was about to join the Bureau of the Budget, the Treasury Department, and the Department of Defense in approving Admiral Roland's request for the Coast Guard to take over Governors Island. A source close to the committee said approval "probably would be announced within 2 weeks."

The plan calls for transfer of the service's 14 schools from Groton, Conn., where about 1,000 men are trained in various phases of duty after they complete their 4-month basic indoctrination at recruiting centers in Cape May, N.J., and Alameda, Calif.

The transfer, scheduled for next June, also would shift all of the Coast Guard's operations in the Customs House to the 173-acre island, which the 1st Army has been ordered to evacuate by next July 1 under the economy plan announced by the Department of Defense last November.

In addition, the Coast Guard base at the Battery, and the 7-acre repair base at St. George, S.I., would be declared excess, except that the cutter service provided by the Coast Guard for such Government personnel as Public Health and Customs inspectors who meet inbound ships would be continued from the Battery. The Coast Guard Academy at New London, Conn., would remain there.

ADDING FIVE ICEBREAKERS

While blueprints for what a spokesman said would be one of the largest peacetime operations in Coast Guard history were being completed at Fort Jay on Governors Island, the service received word last week that its icebreaker fleet of four ships would be augmented with five others. The Navy announced that the vessels would be transferred to the Coast Guard during the next 16 months.

In addition to icebreakers, the Coast Guard operates more than 300 other oceangoing craft and 160 rotary wing and fixed-wing aircraft that patrol the continental coast and other U.S. territories. Aids to navigation—ranging from a variety of buoys to atom-powered lighthouses and lightships—number 42,000.

The service also operates the Nation's largest square-rigged sailing ship, the 295-foot training barque *Eagle*. This anniversary year the white-hulled vessel will not visit European ports as it has done in years past. Rather, its 22 sails—half an acre of canvas—will carry the three-masted ship with 350 cadets, 50 officers and 265 enlisted men on a 12,600-mile cruise south, touching at Miami, Balboa, Panama, Acapulco, and ports on the West Coast.

Virtually none of the Coast Guard's anniversary anouncements look back; they are concerned with the future of the service with emphasis on modernization, in contrast to the quiet origin of the service, founded by

Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury.

Back in 1790, he authorized establishment of the revenue cutter service, which operated 10 light, fast 50-foot, two-masted schooners, to keep an eye on sailing ships carrying dutiable cargoes.

During the next decade, Admiral Roland said, the Coast Guard will augment its strength with 36 cutters, each 378-feet-long; 29 cutters of the 210-foot class, and long-range twin turbine helicopters.

NORTHERN SEAS STUDIED

Oceanographic vessels, which disseminate findings of little-known waters throughout the world, will ply the remote Barents and Kara seas, north of Norway and the Soviet Union.

The service's annual ice patrol, now in its 50th year of operation, has taken on the task of marine research in addition to its primary purpose of warning world shipping of floating icebergs in the North Atlantic.

This year Coast Guard scientists will conduct studies from Greenland to Iceland, and from Iceland to the Orkney Islands, and will study the interchange of, and effect of, currents between the Norwegian Sea, Atlantic Ocean, and the Denmark Strait.

Search and rescue statistics emphasize the immensity of the job done by the Coast Guard. Last year, for example, about 3,000 persons were saved and the value of rescued ships and cargoes soared to a record $2.1 billion—"five times the annual budget of the Coast Guard," Admiral Roland noted.

The service also made 5,664 inspections of merchant ships, conducted 27,886 miscellaneous inspections and reviewed 36,605 merchant-vessel construction plans.

RECORD KEPT OF SHIPS AT SEA

At the Customs House on Bowling Green, the lights on the seventh floor are always on. There, the Coast Guard maintains a location-at-sea record of nearly 7,000 ships of 62 countries in a set of electronic brains—the Automated Merchant Vessel Reporting System—that makes it possible for a ship in distress to be reached quickly by other ships in a wide range of the Atlantic Ocean. Soon the program will be extended to the Pacific.

A spokesman at the Washington headquarters of the Coast Guard said last week that the service soon would ask Congress for a new ceiling on the size of the force.

"Right now, with 26,832 enlisted men and 4,425 officers, we are 700 under our authorized complement," he remarked, "but with five icebreakers coming to us from the Navy, plus other expansion plans, we will require well over 1,200 more men."

He made this observation about half an hour after President Johnson's report to the Nation on Wednesday, calling for an increase in the monthly draft from 17,000 to 35,000.

The World Population Explosion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, the agony of the population explosion strikes at home as well as abroad. It strikes particularly those of low income and low education who can least afford it. Many of our citizens do not know that family planning is possible. Many of our citizens find they have more children than they can adequately support and care for. The Planned Parenthood Foundation estimates that 9 out of every 10 impoverished women still lack medical advice on family planning.

The third article of the series "Our Crowded Earth," by Jean M. White, currently running in the Washington Post, explores the population explosion here at home:

OUR CROWDED EARTH—III: HEAVIEST BURDEN FALLS ON POOR

(By Jean M. White)

The woman was worn beyond her 30 years.

She had come to a planned parenthood clinic in Chicago after the eighth child had almost cost her life. She never had heard of birth control, she had told the doctor in the county hospital who warned her to stop having children after the seventh pregnancy proved a complicated one.

The family represents a salvage operation for society. Welfare aid helps them survive.

HOME ABOVE STORE

They live above a vacant store in the Chicago Humboldt Park area. Peeling plaster constantly chips down. When the people upstairs use the bathroom, water drips through the ceiling. Some of the children have been bitten by rats, so the family now has added a cat.

The husband, a bricklayer of sorts, has had some bad luck with work accidents. Now it's his back. His work record is spotty.

The oldest child, a 12-year-old, already is behind in school.

Overpopulation is not just an abstraction. It affects the lives of people. A family can be overpopulated as well as a nation.

And it's not just a matter of buying a refrigerator of having more clothes. It's the relations among a husand and wife and their children. It is the hopes parents have that their children will get a little better chance in life than they did.

Another visitor to planned parenthood in Chicago is the wife of a factory worker.

She hopes her boys can go to college. The family has four children, 14, 11, and twins 6. The husband and wife started to plan their family almost from the beginning, and the wife has been taking the pill for 4 years. But it didn't always work out the way expected.

The third birth was planned, but not the twins.

"There's a limit to planning, isn't there?" the mother observed wryly.

This Negro family of six has been living in a housing project for more than 10 years. With savings, boosted by the mother's seasonal work, they have bought a $16,200 three-bedroom house in the southwest section of Chicago.

The practice of family planning—or nonpractice—has profoundly influenced the lives of these two families.

Tape recordings with Chicago slum mothers show they want the same things for their children that all mothers want—a happy childhood, schooling, training for a good job, a little more pleasant life in the next generation.

"But often the poor are denied the basic human right of freedom to limit family size," the National Academy of Science concluded in its recent study of the growth of U.S. population.

The poor family, like the poor nations of the world, bears the heaviest burden of overpopulation.

"Indeed, the burden of unwanted children among the impoverished and uneducated mothers in the United States is much like that experienced by mothers in underdeveloped countries," says Dr. William D. McElroy, professor of biology at Johns Hopkins University and chairman of the academy's committee on population.

"No family," the report emphasizes, "should be fated through poverty or ignorance to have children they do not want and cannot care for."

But 9 out of every 10 impoverished women still lack medical advice on family planning, according to Planned Parenthood estimates. More than 280,000 women came to its clinics for help last year, and another 200,000 probably got assistance through tax-supported hospitals or health and welfare programs. But this only touched the surface of the 5 million women between 18 and 44 in the low-income groups.

Polls have shown most Americans, slightly more than 8 of 10, think birth control advice should be made available to anyone who wants it. Two years ago only 53 percent of the Catholics interviewed felt this way. A recent Gallup survey reported it is now 78 percent.

It is true that the bigger families of the poor have little statistical effect on the national birth rate or the basic population growth of the United States. But the 30-year-old Chicago mother struggling with her large family isn't worried about statistics.

DEPTH OF PROBLEM

Does the United States, with its farm surpluses, booming economy, and affluence, have a real population problem?

Population pressures are all around us in everyday life—the motorist caught in a traffic jam, the taxpayer whose school levies go up every 2 or 3 years, the campers who find they should have made their reservation in a national park 2 years ago, the parents trying to get a son into college.

Of course, it's all too easy and simple to blame everything on population.

It certainly doesn't cause all poverty, unemployment, juvenile crime, pollution, and congestion. But it certainly is complicating urban living in America.

TROUBLE PREDICTED

John D. Rockefeller III is one who sees population problems for the United States.

"In metropolitan city and suburban village," he says, "population growth is already severely challenging our ability to maintain and expand the community institutions and public facilities that contribute so much to the quality of our way of life."

Philip M. Hauser, head of the Population Research Center at the University of Chicago, is even more blunt and sweepingly specific:

"Americans are paying an increasing high price for high fertility—as measured in human as well as financial costs. From now on, it will worsen the U.S. unemployment problem, greatly increase the magnitude of juvenile delinquency, exacerbate race tensions, inundate the secondary schools and colleges, greatly increase traffic tie-ups and urban congestion, and make our representative governmental system increasingly ponderous and restrictive."

UNITED STATES OUTPACING OTHERS

Bigger and better has always been a slogan of the American style of living.

Our rate of population growth—and unemployment and public dependency—are among the highest of all industrialized nations of the world.

With a population of 190 million-plus today, the United States is growing at a rate around 1.6 percent—double that of most Western European nations. At this pace, there will probably be 350 million of us by

the turn of the century—just 35 years away. In less than 2 centuries, the United States will surpass the present world population of 3.3 billion if this growth rate continues.

By 1980, four out of five of us will be living in Urban centers. Right now the northeast corridor from Boston to Washington is one of the most densely populated strips of land in the world.

Only the gloomiest of the population experts would say the United States won't be able to support its growing population over the next decades or even century. But only the most optimistic think we can absorb this growth without danger to the amenities of our preferred way of life.

VIEW OF DEMOGRAPHER

"In our renewed enthusiasm for childbearing and having children, we may have unwittingly created a situation which will cause those children to live at a substantially lower level of comfort and security than was enjoyed by the people that bore them," says Donald J. Bogue, population expert and director of the Community and Family Study Center at the University of Chicago.

Bogue is a demographer who often leaves his figures to work with people,

He joined planned parenthood in an intensive birth-control campaign in Chicago slum neighborhoods, pushing mass distribution of information. A study found the drive was accompanied by a 25 percent decline in the birth rate from 1960 to 1964.

Overall, the birth rate in the United States has been slowly declining the last few years. This year the number of births is expected to drop below 4 million for the first time since 1953. The birth rate is down from a high of near 26 per 1,000 in 1947 to about 20 per 1,000. The alltime low was a little over 16.6 in 1933.

SECOND-STAGE BABY BOOM?

But this may be only a momentary breathing spell. For those babies of the post-World War II baby boom are now on the threshold of marriages and their family-forming years. This could set off a second-stage baby boom.

"The decisions of this year's brides and the brides just ahead will determine the rate of population growth for the United States," says Robert C. Cook, president of the Population Reference Bureau.

The question, Cook emphasizes, is whether the 7 million new brides will choose the two- or three-child family fashion of a generation ago or the three-to-four style of the 1950's.

These 7 million girls between 18 and 21 represent a vast potential of motherhood. Five years ago there were only 4.7 million of them.

HEAVIER TAX BURDEN

Businessmen often have eyed the baby in the bassinet as a future bill-paying consumer. But recently some have been warning that population growth is not an automatic escalator to prosperity. For one thing, it takes added taxes to provide public services for every person who represents a net increase in population.

The wanted, not the unwanted child is the real problem of population growth in the United States, some demographers are emphasizing.

True, the vogue for a bigger family has led many couples to make a conscious choice to have three or four children instead of two. But most workers in the field of family planning think we should tackle the problem of the unwanted child first. They don't want to tell a couple how many children to have, they emphasize.

Dr. Alan F. Guttmacher, president of Planned Parenthood-World Population, puts it this way:

"Every couple should have the right to have the number of children they want, love, and can care for. We want to make pregnancy a positive choice rather than a negative one."

Order of St. Dennis of Zante

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the Greek Order of St. Dennis of Zante is the counterpart in the Greek Orthodox Church of the Roman Catholic Order of Malta. Its history is worthy of the attention of my colleagues:

HISTORY OF THE SOVEREIGN GREEK ORDER OF ST. DENNIS OF ZANTE (ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM, OF CYPRUS, AND OF RHODES)

The Greek Order of St. Dennis of Zante, one of the oldest surviving orders of knighthood, Orthodox sister of the Order of Malta, is sovereign and international. Its story is of dramatic interest to all.

Legend relates that Zakynthian warriors, precursors of the knightly order, followed Jason and his Argonauts in the quest for the Golden Fleece in 1207 B.C. under Laertes, son of Arkeisios.

Homer, in the ninth century B.C., informs us that they aided Ulysses with men and 12 ships in the Trojan punitive expeditions.

Factual evidence in Zante shows that after St. Mary Magdalen converted the island to Christianity in A.D. 33, the order was consecrated to her memory.

Throughout the years, the men of Zante seem to have led a vigorous life, actively participating in local and national affairs of the ancient world.

Under the Romans, the island was made a part of the Provice of Epirus. With the division of the Empire, Zante came under the rule of Byzantium until it was annexed by the Norman kings of Sicily. At this time, the Segur family (later hellenized to "Sigouros") came into prominence.

In 1096, Christendom embarked upon the pious venture of the liberation of the Holy Places from the infidel. The Zakynthians, under the leadership of Favius Segur, chief of the knights, dedicated the Order to St. John, Patron of the Crusades, at Kalipado, and joined Christ's host in this hallowed mission.

Following the fall of Palestine in 1291, several orders disintegrated. Some became extinct, others moved to Europe. A section of the Knights of Zante, separated by dogmatic differences from their western brethren, as well as by personal rivalries and ambitions, returned home and applied themselves entirely to charitable works. The majority of the orthodox knights, however, clinging to the original ideals, shared the lot of their sister order through Cyprus (1292–1305), and Rhodes, which they conquered and occupied in 1310. The order was recognized by all nations as sovereign, a qualification which it has retained to the present day, thus becoming a subject of international law.

The loss of Rhodes to the Turks in 1522, found the order homeless once more, until the Emperor Charles V granted the island of Malta to the order in 1530.

Meanwhile, the Knights of Zante (of St. John of Jerusalem, of Cyprus and of Rhodes), weary of wandering and aimless adventure, recalled the island home of their ancestors and returned to Zante where, welcomed by their blood relatives of the order, they settled permanently on lands given to the order in perpetuity at Kalipado by the most serene Republic of Venice, "In perpetual feud, noble and free, with their jurisdiction, the simple and mixed full power and all the faculties, privileges and prerogatives belonging to them." It is interesting to note at this time, that Michael Vourtzis, an ancestor of the present grand master, was one of their leaders. He was the third son of this historic Byzantine family, Dukes of Antioch, who had followed the fortunes of the crusades since their inception.

Although the order still carried out some military duties, its activities were chiefly eleemosynary. However, the knights were always alert to do battle with the sword where danger threatened their home, or Christ's holy faith. Thus we find them side by side with their western brothers again at Lepanto, defending Europe against the Islamic onslaught in 1571. This Christian solidarity and ecumenical spirit between the sister orders was reborn in America recently. On December 20, 1963, history kept a rendezvous, when the Grand Cross of the Order of Staint Dennis was presented to His Eminence, Richard Cardinal Cushing, Grand Protector of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, in Boston, and to His Eminence, Francis Cardinal Spellman, Grand Protector of the Order of Malta (St. John of Jerusalem, of Cyprus and Rhodes) on February 26, 1964, in New York.

When the blessed St. Dennis was canonized by the Greek Church in 1703, Zante proclaimed him its tutelary saint in place of St. John the Baptist. The knights changed the Rose of Rhodes on their escutcheon to the Hyacinth of Zante, consecrating the order to his blessed memory and renaming it "The Sovereign Greek Order of St. Dennis of Zante," dedicating their lives to the worthy cause of charity and Christian piety, in accordance with his example and teaching. Under the saint's spiritual legacy, protection and blessing, the order's good work prospered and flourished, relieving the distressed and comforting the unfortunate. Commanderies were established in many parts of Europe propagating the chivalric tradition.

An attempt to establish a chapter in the New World in 1781 failed because of the order's constitution of aristocratic knighthood and of religious background. Popular feeling in the new Republic indicated that "such appointments were entirely out of place in America and even contrary to the spirit of the people, if not also to the letter of the Constitution," a feeling that persisted in the United States as late as the early part of the 20th century.

Universal turbulence, social changes, and the upheavals of the 18th and 19th centuries brought about a period of disruption, causing the order to become dormant except for a brief respite during the Russian occupation of Zante in 1798, when Czar Paul I, only Orthodox reigning monarch, was proclaimed "Grand Protector."

By the good grace of God, the order was officially revived in the United States on April 29, 1953, under an act of Congress and the auspices of the International American Institute of the District of Columbia.

Wondrous indeed are the ways of all-seeing Providence. * * * On August 12, 1953, a rueful day for Zante, stark tragedy stalked the island. It seemed as if all the furies of Hell had been let loose on the unfortunate land. A catastrophe unparalleled in magnitude, a tragedy unprecedented in intensity struck this fair land of gentle people, flowers and music. Inundation, an all-shattering earthquake and a 10-day horrendous fire all but obliterated this legendary home of Grecian culture from the face of the earth. The dire calamity left death, destruction and smoldering ruin in its dismal trail, 40,000 souls were reduced to total want. The toll was appalling in human lives as well as destruction of property. Nothing remained erect on the island except the Cathedral of Saint Dennis, symbolic ray of salvation.

Mother Greece, her economy shattered by the recent Communist-inspired civil war,

which flayed this gallant bastion of democracy, could do little to help. All eyes turned to America, hope of humanity. It was then that the Saint again performed another miracle for his beloved Zante. The venerable Leonidas Zois, official historian of the island and for half a century keeper of the municipal archives, while sorting some singed manuscripts retrieved from the flames, came across the correspondence of Count Theodore Caesar Logothetis who headed a contingent of Zakynthian volunteers in the American Revolution. At the suggestion of Mr. Zois, Count Phokion Logothetis, an hereditary commander of the order and descendant of Count Theodore Logothetis, appealed to Dr. Pericles Voultsos of New York, scion of the Vourtzis family of Kalipado, so closely associated with the island's history, in a dramatic appeal to help the land of his fathers. Upon Dr. Voultzis' acceptance of this responsibility, he was elected Grand Master ad Vilam of this historic Order. Upon his subsequent visit to the island in 1954, he was annointed and officially installed in a resplendent ceremony at the St. Dennis' Cathedral in Zante, attended by Church, lay dignitaries, hereditary knights of the Order and Royal Government officials.

The new Grand Master sounded the clarion call to duty. The Knights of the Order, aware of their obligation, rose to the occasion. Girding themselves to the enormous task, they rallied round the unfurled battle banner of St. Dennis and in the humble spirit of Christian dedication, applied themselves to the reconstruction of the island. The results of the 12-year period of our endeavor are self-evident. Our deeds are there for the world to see, for others to follow.

Zante, Pearl of the Ionian, like the mythical phoenix reborn from the ashes of destruction, shines bright under azure Grecian skies once more. The Order of St. Dennis, this most ancient and historic order of Christian compassion and depository of chivalric heritage, is indeed proud of its contribution. The knights, heirs to a historical and sacred tradition, have proven their mettle; the humane endeavors of the Sovereign Greek Order of St. Dennis of Zante are outstanding as an example of compassion and understanding; a source of inspiration to all people in promoting the brotherhood of man. Paladins of the forlorn, ever alert for more vistas of human misery to conquer, they will always continue to serve mankind in need. These heroes of charity, representing, in this day and age, chivalry and the romantic idealism of medieval knighthood, in their dignity and extraordinary valor, are content with the good Samaritan reward and live by the Good Book. "Love ye therefore the stranger; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt."

Our Stand in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, to all those who advocate we back down in Vietnam, who believe that the price of standing up to Communist aggression in South Vietnam is too high, I commend for their deep contemplation the words which appeared in the Williamston, Mich., Enterprise on July 28, written by a young man who is actually on the firing line in this war-torn country. Ron Eaton, YNSN, is serving aboard the USS *Midway*, he is not writing from a comfortable home or office in the United States. At the present time his whole life is centered on serving his country regardless of the sacrifice and he is proud of what he is doing. But his job is being made more difficult by the realization that some Americans question whether what he is doing is worthwhile.

While in Vietnam in June on an assignment for the Special House Armed Services Subcommittee, I talked with hundreds of men and everywhere I heard the same thing, our military mission in Vietnam seemed very clear to them.

I urge everyone to read the comments of this sailor who sees his duty to protect our freedom and intends to do his part to keep faith with our ideals. His letter should be an inspiration to all Americans:

DEAR SIR: I realize how busy, and I also realize that this will probably never see your paper, but, I don't know how Williamston is reacting about our actions in Vietnam, but I have heard about Michigan State University and the sit-ins and teach-ins which have been going on, and it makes me disgusted as well as the rest of the men aboard *Midway*.

I feel that these people just don't realize what they are doing, or else they are doing it just to be "part of the gang." I know, for when I was attending Williamston High School, from 1959–63, I also did things that I really didn't have reason to do, just to be part of the gang. What these people don't realize is that they are just lowering the men's morale, who are over here fighting for a cause that they believe in, and if it's one thing that we need it is morale.

I for one, and I know that many are with me, feel that this mission is of great importance to us and Vietnam. If we were to let the Communists have Vietnam, then they would feel that they were obligated to keep on going and eventually take everything that they could get their hands on, and we wouldn't do a thing about it, because they have seen us pull out, and where would the United States be placed in the minds of the people? The people of Vietnam right now have confidence, which they never had before, and they are realizing that we are there to help them, and they are doing better than ever.

At present *Midway* has been on the coast of Vietnam since April 9, 1965. We have had at-sea periods of better than 30 days each time. We have hardly had any liberty, and our morales are low. We have given air support to the Vietnamese, plus the various missions concerning bombing of bridges that are vital to the Vietcong for transportation, Communist concentrations, and many other things that I cannot mention.

So far we have been successful, but if we do not have the people behind us, we feel that we are just doing something that is no avail, but if the people would get behind us and give us some kind of support and stop all of this "hogwash" of sit-ins, teach-ins and so forth, that we could do a better job and be proud of the fact that we are the men that are keeping the freedom and liberty for our loved ones and families in the great United States of America.

I know that this is not a very well put together letter, or opinion, but at least I have got it off my mind. Maybe you can get some action from the people, I hope so.

Thank you for your most valuable time. I am

Sincerely yours,

RON EATON,
YNSN U.S. Navy, U.S.S. Midway (CVA-41)

Fortas and the U.S. Navy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, among the many things that President Lyndon Johnson and Abe Fortas, the President's nominee for the U.S. Supreme Court bench, have in common is an uncommonly short period of military service in World War II.

Lyndon Johnson jumped in and out of uniform in about 7 months. Fortas apparently made the change in considerably less time.

The "Inside Washington" newspaper column, written by the veteran correspondents, Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott, sheds some interesting light on the subject. It is reproduced herewith:

INSIDE WASHINGTON

(By Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott)

WASHINGTON, August 4, 1965.—Members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, who will pass on Abe Fortas' appointment to the Supreme Court, are evincing much curiosity about a singular omission in his lengthy, self-written biography.

While meticulously listing every public and private job he has ever held and numerous other details, there is not a single word about his World War II Navy service.

Similarly, President Johnson, who left Congress to enter the Navy and proudly wears the Silver Star Decoration on his lapel, also was mute about the military service of his choice for a seat on the highest tribunal of the land. While glowingly acclaiming Fortas as a "scholar, profound thinker, lawyer of superior ability, humane and deeply compassionate * * * champion of our liberties," the President said nothing about his being a veteran.

In each instance, this remarkable silence was no oversight. There was very good reason for it.

Fortas' World War II naval service lasted less than 2 months—29 days of which he spent as a perambulatory patient in the hospital of a New York training camp undergoing tests and examinations.

Their verdict was that he had an "arrested case of ocular tuberculosis"—and was forthwith discharged.

Fortas immediately resumed his office as Under Secretary of the Interior.

In welcoming him back, the late Secretary Harold Ickes proclaimed that a recurrence of Fortas' eye ailment "might have been attended by the most serious permanent results." In the 22 years since then, there is no known record of such a recurrence.

In those two decades, Fortas has become a multimillionaire, the key partner of one of the largest and most influential law firms in Washington—and at 55, still does not wear glasses.

TRANSIENT APPRENTICE SEAMAN

A storm of caustic congressional and press criticism was largely behind Fortas' enlistment in the Navy on October 29, 1943.

But the 33-year-old married but childless New Dealer was barely sworn in when he was out again. On that same day, he was placed on inactive status and named head of a mission of the Petroleum Reserves Corporation to make a study of the Middle East oil situation.

Fortas explained he accepted this assignment "because it was of national importance,

and with the understanding that it would be quickly completed so (he) could enter the Navy."

A world-known newspaper reported this remarkable episode as follows:

"Abe Fortas, former Under Secretary of the Interior was in the Navy today—for a few hours.

"But almost as soon as he reported for duty as an apprentice seaman, he popped right out again * * * as the civilian head of an alphabetical Government mission to Arabia * * * to study facilities for the production and refinement of oil. Upon his return, for which no date has been set, he will report to the board of directors of the Petroleum Reserves Corporation, consisting of the Secretaries of State, War, Navy, and Interior, and the head of the Foreign Economic Administration.

"Meanwhile, he will swab no decks.

"Announcement of this new assignment came just after the Navy recruiting station, asked where Fortas would be sent, had said that this was a troop movement and could not be disclosed.

"Government service has been profitable to the Fortas family. His wife, formerly an attorney in the review division of the National Labor Relations Board, is now an attorney for the Justice Department at $5,600 a year. Her husband's induction, presumably, would cause her little hardship."

Due to transportation difficulties, the Fortas mission never left the United States.

On November 6, 1943, he again became an apprentice seaman and was sent to Camp Sampson, N.Y., for training. There he was hospitalized for a series of examinations and tests that led to his discharge December 13 for "an arrested case of ocular tuberculosis."

Upon returning to Washington, Fortas joined a veterans' organization—from which he has long since dropped out.

NO CHANGE

Mrs. Fortas (nee Carolyn Agger) has no intention of giving up her highly lucrative law practice.

A senior member of her husband's law firm, Mrs. Fortas, a leading tax specialist, heads the firm's tax division of some 50 attorneys and accountants. They occupy an office building of their own opposite her husband's office.

Says Mrs. Fortas, "I have been in the law all my life, and I don't expect to give it up now. Why should I?"

This will make her the first wife in Supreme Court history actively practicing law while her husband is on the august bench—deciding tax cases, among others.

Mrs. Fortas is a cigar smoker; short thin ones in public, large fat ones in private. Small and slim, she enjoys cooking and loves calorie-rich dishes. But she watches her weight carefully, and diets frequently to keep it down.

She and her husband are poodle lovers; now have two, Dallas and Misty.

BREAKING NEW GROUND

A multimillionaire, Fortas is the wealthiest man ever named to the Supreme Court. In addition to having the principal interest in very valuable realty holdings in a booming Washington business section, he is also an officer and director of a number of large corporations, among them Greatamerica Corp., Braniff Airways, Franklin Life Insurance Co., Madison National Bank, Federated Department Stores, Sucrest Corp. Fortas will be the first Justice to own a $28,500 Rolls Royce, which he drives himself. Prior to his appointment, he parked it occasionally in front of his office building, a one-time mansion a block from Connecticut Avenue. A week before he was named to the bench, the Fortases bought a $250,000, 15-room residence in Georgetown opposite historic Dumbarton Oaks, famed estate dating back to colonial times. Their new home is being extensively refurbished.

Through his long and close ties with President Johnson, Fortas has influenced a number of key appointments, foremost among them Attorney General Katzenbach and Internal Revenue Commissioner Sheldon Cohen, former member of the Fortas law firm. Before Fortas was named to the Supreme Court, White House insiders were saying he had been consulted by the President on former Supreme Court Justice Goldberg's selection as U.N. Ambassador. If this is true, he had a hand in opening the way for his being named to Goldberg's seat on the bench.

What Are They Afraid Of?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLETON J. KING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, one of the issues which disturbs the people of this country is the question of State reapportionment.

We who have tried to have a Constitutional amendment submitted to the people have been blocked by the attitude of the so-called liberals of the Senate. They, for some reason, are opposed to letting the people express themselves at the polls. What are they afraid of?

In an editorial in the Washington Daily News, our attention is called quite clearly to the attitude of these Senators. We should let the people have the last word. To this end, yesterday I joined with the gentleman from Ohio, the ranking member of the Committee on the Judiciary, Mr. McCulloch, in introducing a revised proposal which I hope the Congress can and will pass and "let the people have the last word."

The editorial follows:

[From the Washington Daily News, Aug. 4, 1965]

THE PEOPLE ARE THE LAST WORD

In our system of government, as spelled out by the Constitution and every other principle we go by, the people are the final word.

But a substantial number of Members in the U.S. Senate, although generally classifying themselves as liberals, are opposed to this system.

They demonstrate this opposition by the bitter manner in which they seek to defeat the so-called Dirksen amendment to the Constitution.

Last year, the Supreme Court, in an amazing ruling, held that both houses of a State legislature had to be apportioned on a strict population basis—the so-called one-man, one-vote proposition. This despite the State-by-State apportionment of the U.S. Senate, despite the constitutions of most States, despite recent and specific approval by the voters in some States of a different system.

Nobody wants to rip out the Supreme Court because of this airy decision, although the decision had the effect of ripping out most State legislatures.

The way to correct the Court's action is to write into the Federal Constitution an amendment. This amendment has been offered by Senator Dirksen, of Illinois. All the amendment says is that any State may set up one house of its legislature on other than a population basis if—emphasis on the if—the people of the State want it that way.

But the Senators opposing the Dirksen amendment don't want the people to decide for themselves. The plain implication is that the Senators know better than the people of the States what is a proper system for the States. Since many of these Senators have been among the most zealous champions of civil rights, their inconsistency of the Dirksen issue is beyond comprehension.

If the people in the States are not capable of deciding such basic questions as the manner in which they wish their legislatures to be organized, then it is valid to question the capacity of the people to decide other questions—who, for instance, should represent them in the U.S. Senate.

Maybe, if these anti-Dirksen Senators are right, we should go back to the old system of having U.S. Senators chosen by State legislatures. (We wouldn't favor that for a minute, but it is just as logical as the opposition to the Dirksen amendment.)

There are many arguments favoring the Dirksen amendment. But, regardless of all other arguments, the issue now before the Senate is fundamental—the right of the people of the States to decide for themselves. Despite all the windy debate, this is the only issue.

No Surrender, No Retreat—The President at His Best

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, on July 29, 1965, my hometown evening newspaper, the Nashville Banner, published an editorial, "No Surrender, No Retreat," which indicates the wide support the foreign policy of the President is receiving in Tennessee and the Nation. I include it at this point and commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

NO SURRENDER, NO RETREAT—THE PRESIDENT AT HIS BEST

To the heart and mind of America President Johnson spoke yesterday—his words carefully chosen to convey the full message of unflinching decision where national duty is concerned, measuring to the challenge of Communist aggression in and from southeast Asia.

In a word, the choice is between holding there the gate against enemies of freedom—bent on conquest—and surrender. "We will not surrender," said Mr. Johnson. "We will not retreat."

It was a responsible assertion of policy enunciated clearly enough in previous public discussions, but strengthened in this reiteration by the gathering weight of muscle readiness to enforce it. It was Washington's responsibility, with advisory consultations, to formulate that policy—as it is the responsibility of Armed Forces in the field to carry it out; the latter needing only the military wherewithal and the "go" signal clearly given.

In that connection, the President stated it succinctly:

"I have asked the commanding general—Gen. William C. Westmoreland—what he needs to meet a mounting aggression. He has told me. And we will meet his needs."

The Banner has said that coherent step is essential to victory; heeding the expert evaluation of need by the man vested with that military responsibility, and backing him with the resources it will take to discharge it.

It was, yesterday, the President at his best; a summary calm in its presentation, and convincing in its assessments.

As a report to America—and equally to the listening world—it amounted to a state paper compiled in the series of official studies preceding it; and notwithstanding the circumstance of world tension occasioning this deliberation, there was nothing about it suggestive of hysteria or of a departure from cool judgment to shoot from the hip.

The United States cannot be accused of imperialistic design, warmongering, or purblind adventure in narrow self-interest.

President Johnson has reiterated his invitation to any land—all countries, up to and including the United Nations itself—to advance a conference formula for amicable settlement of the war in Vietnam. He expressed his urgent U.S. preference for a better and swifter approach to that conference table than through the path of death and desolation.

It is the enemy's refusal that has blocked that avenue. The free world knows that, and so do most of the countries—large or small, and regardless of prejudicies—comprising the U.N. They are not so totally uninformed as to misunderstand the United States mission and commitment in Vietnam, and the peril to freedom everywhere should failure to perform on that mission demolish the guard at the gate.

To the American people, the President spoke words of understanding; deeply sensitive to personal concern as expanded draft calls go out. The disruption of lives is inescapable in such a circumstance; and no man of conscience who must make that decision, in the area of responsibility with which it is associated, could be unmoved by it. But never in its history has America—the people—failed to respond when duty called in an hour of military need. With survival at stake, the Nation is united.

If there are voices still clamoring in dispute of policy on this point, they are beyond the reach of reason and identified by their own chant of mischief.

The President was right; there is no honorable alternative to the course enunciated, and the vast majority of the American people know it.

Dengler, Lawyer and Civic Leader

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, New York City, New York State, and the Nation has lost a great citizen, Theobald J. Dengler. It has been my pleasure and privilege to work with Mr. Dengler in connection with the Annual Steuben Day Parade which has become an annual attraction in New York City in September. To work with him and to know him was to like him, respect him, and admire him for his unselfish devotion to many worthy causes.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article which briefly outlines his career which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune:

DENGLER, LAWYER AND CIVIC LEADER

Theobald J. Dengler, 68, a lawyer here since 1922 and for many years a leading figure in German-American civic, philanthropic and patriotic activities in the country, died Saturday night at his summer home in Long Beach, L.I. He lived at 2809 Morris Avenue, the Bronx.

Mr. Dengler, a native of New York, completed his education at Fordham Law School and began to practice law in 1922 after serving with the U.S. Navy in World War I as an enlisted man. At the time of his death, he was the senior partner in Dengler, Dengler & Dengler, 170 Broadway.

He was active for many years in the Roman Catholic Church, and at the conclusion of World War II, he was designated at the suggestion of Francis Cardinal Spellman as chief of the Catholic section of the Religious Affairs Division of the Military Government in Germany.

Upon his return to the United States, Mr. Dengler delivered lectures in many cities, describing the desperate plight of the people in the defeated nations and enlisting aid. As a result of this work, he received the Officers Cross of the Government of West Germany and similar honors from other nations.

During the War, he headed the national German-language division of the war bond drives and received official recognition for his work.

Mr. Dengler was chairman of the executive committee of the Catholic Kolping Society of America, which operates hostels and similar services, and he also was head of the German-American Committee of Greater New York, sponsors of the annual Steuben Day Parade and many other activities.

For many years, Mr. Dengler was a member of the executive committee and of the board of directors of one of the Nation's oldest welfare institutions, the German Society of the City of New York, which figured in the establishment of the Legal Aid Society, the Travelers Aid Society, and Lenox Hill Hosital since it was established in 1784.

Surviving are his wife, Mrs. Hilda Schweiger Dengler; five sons, Theobald J. Dengler Jr., the Reverend Ralph Dengler, S.J.; Norbert, Bernard M. and Laurence G. Dengler, and a daughter, Mrs. Hilda S. McGlew.

Minimum Wages Versus People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following syndicated article of July 27, 1965 by Sylvia Porter. The proposal now before Congress seeks to include an additional 4.6 million workers under Federal minimum wage-hour laws. The plight of the working poor in this country necessitates this extension of minimum wage coverage and I wholeheartedly support it.

The article follows:

MINIMUM WAGES VERSUS PEOPLE

(By Sylvia Porter)

Congress is now considering adding 4.6 million workers to the 29 million already protected by the $1.25 minimum wage under our 27-year-old Federal wage-hour laws.

Arguments against this minimum wage extension are: it would pile a $656 million wage increase on some of the Nation's hardest pressed industries; many of these businesses already are plagued by thin profit margins, big labor bills; the extra squeeze could raise the rate of business failures and of joblessness among the least skilled.

But the informed opinion is that, although the exact number of workers to be covered is in doubt, a minimum wage extension will be approved—and there are persuasive reasons why.

1. One in three of the 4.6 million workers who would be directly affected are earning less than the Federal minimum wage. A huge 41 percent of today's laundry workers who would be brought under the wage-hour laws now earn less than $1.25 an hour. Nearly two in three of the food processing workers and movie theater attendants to be affected are below that wage line.

MILLIONS NOT COVERED

2. There are 12.7 million nonsupervisory workers in the United States today who are covered neither by Federal nor State minimum wage laws. In five of the States which do have laws, the minimum wage is 85 cents or less, and in Arkansas it's 16 cents an hour.

3. Even today's $1.25 minimum wage guarantees poverty for millions. Figuring an 8-hour day and a 5-day workweek, the minimum comes out to an annual wage of $2,600—well below the designated "poverty" line if the wage earner is the sole breadwinner.

Today's minimum wage is less than half the average hourly wage in major manufacturing industries. Today, in more than one-third of the families officially classified as "poor," the breadwinner has a full-time, year-round job. As Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz testified before the House General Subcommittee on Labor, "Many families living in poverty today do not need public assistance. What they need is a living wage for the head of the family."

4. Many of today's antipoverty training-retraining programs under the Economic Opportunity Act, the Manpower Development and Training Act, and various other programs, are preparing unskilled workers for jobs paying less than a minimum wage.

MANY FEEL LET DOWN

What actually has been happening is that many newly trained workers have felt bitterly let down when they have been offered jobs paying 60 to 70 cents an hour. Their inclination then has been to slide back to the hopeless role of a receiver of welfare.

5. While extension of the $1.25 minimum wage will unquestionably result in real, even if temporary, hardship on many industries, the records of past extensions are most reassuring. Detailed Labor Department studies of the last round of minimum wage extensions in 1961 concluded that even those industries hit most heavily by the liberalizations adjusted easily to the increases. A limited number of cases of temporary labor force cutbacks were reported, but overall employment rose nearly 10 percent in the industries affected between late 1960 and mid-1964.

Of course there are inherent dangers in basic pay raises now. Not to be shrugged off is the threat of rising bankruptcies among fringe industries and of rising unemployment among the lowest paid, least skilled.

But equally obvious is the plight of millions of working poor in the country.

In the words of Oregon's Democratic Representative EDITH GREEN, "If we're really serious about a national war on poverty, we ought to give high priority to an extended minimum wage."

Rural Renaissance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, as the House of Representatives approaches

consideration of the omnibus farm bill, I want to call to the attention of my colleagues an excellent editorial which appeared in this morning's edition of the Washington Post.

The editorial correctly points out the unmistakable importance of this legislation to maintaining stable incomes for farmers and residents of rural communities dependent upon agriculture. Beyond this, the editorial properly recognizes that any deflationary trend in rural areas as a result of a failure to enact sound farm legislation would merely precipitate a similar and related decline in the urban economy.

In America where food costs are smaller in relation to family income than in any other nation, we must not deny a decent wage to the producers of our abundant crops. At the same time it is essential to remember that a successful farm program and the rural renaissance envisioned by the editorial are a vital element in a strong national economy.

I wish to enter into the RECORD at this point the following editorial appearing in the Washington Post on August 4, 1965:

RURAL RENAISSANCE

This administration has been trying to bring about in America what Secretary of Agriculture Freeman calls a "rural renaissance." Now its efforts have run into an organized resistance that threatens to strike down the economic foundation of this effort—the omnibus farm bill reported out by the House Committee on Agriculture and awaiting action in the House and in the Senate.

The wheat provisions in the bill are being strongly opposed by the grain trade and users of wheat and the cotton provisions have incurred the opposition of some of the larger growers in the Deep South. No doubt the House will get around to action this month and the Senate probably will pass the bill in some form. But the nature of the opposition is ominous. It is basically trying to arouse urban and consumer resistance to programs intended to give rural America a better share in the good things of American life.

There is no doubt that the failure of the legislation or the elimination of existing programs would precipitate a shocking economic setback in American agriculture and in all the rural communities dependent on agriculture. And in the end, it would diminish consumption generally to a point where the deflation generated by this calamity would make itself felt, not only on every farm in the country, but in every factory as well.

It would be a calamity if an American Congress, largely chosen by urban voters, bluntly told rural America that city dwellers are unwilling to pay a decent price for the food and fiber they use. And yet, urban Americans, like the city dwellers of most countries, have not fairly rewarded those who feed and clothe them. Secretary Freeman pointed out some of the results in this country last June. Poverty is twice as likely to be a condition of life for the child of a rural family. A rural family is twice as likely to be living in substandard housing. A fourth of all farm homes have no running water—a fifth of all rural nonfarm homes. Rural children are 2 years behind urban children in educational achievements. They receive only two-thirds as much medical care. These are only a few indexes of a disparity in living standards that is a reproach to the best clothed and best fed urban population in the world.

The provisions of the omnibus farm bill will not eliminate these disparities. But they will help. And without them none of the other attacks on rural poverty can make any progress. The wheat plan and the cotton plan are the greatest concern. The wheat plan holds forth the promise of further cutting down the wheat carryover. And the cotton plan with its direct payments provisions promises to start the Government on the way out of a cotton trading function for which it is ill equipped. The legislation ought to be passed without destructive amendment and those who have been contending that this country should not or cannot pay a decent wage to those who feed and clothe it ought to be disavowed and disregarded.

Once this legislation is passed and the threat of an immediate economic crisis is averted, there ought to be a broader attack on the whole reconstruction of rural life in America. Rural society ought to be revitalized, reformed, and rebuilt so that rural people may have a more attractive alternative to emigration into cities already overcrowded and so that many now misplaced in an urban environment could return to the country's smaller towns and villages. Such a reform would require a more thoughtful appraisal of all the problems of rural life. It ought to embrace every aspect of country living. In economic terms, it should include efforts to increase rural rewards for production already going forward on farms and in small towns and attempts to increase a greater dispersal of industry adaptable to nonurban location. But before time can be profitably spent on such dreams, the economic foundations of agriculture involved in the legislation which the House committee has approved must be made secure.

L.B.J. and Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 9, 1965

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, Lyndon B. Johnson has not only the energetic and forceful drive of a strong leader but also the very laudable human quality of admitting past mistakes. The following editorial from the Sacramento, Calif., Bee of July 17, 1965, which examines President Johnson's stand on civil rights, points up the President's ability to recognize the inadequacies of past policies for present day problems:

L.B.J. MAKES WISEST REPLY TO PAST RIGHTS RECORD

President Lyndon B. Johnson made the only forthright and laudable reply he could to Republican charges that as Congressman and Senator from Texas he had voted almost 100 percent against civil rights for Negroes.

Said the President: "I am going to provide all the leadership that I can notwithstanding the fact that someone may point to a mistake or 100 mistakes that I made in my past."

Johnson would have demeaned himself as a man and as President if he had attempted to falsify or justify his early civil rights record. Had he done so he would have laid himself open to devastating refutation and consequent deflation of his leadership. But when a man says he has made mistakes, what is there to say? That he is human? Who expects the President to be greater than human?

Among men mistakes create a kinship of mortality. It would have been more heroic, perhaps, if Johnson had always stood perceptively in defense of the Negro's rights. But he would have been a lonely prophet in the South and one whose political career would have been quickly stifled.

Most creditable and important is the President's assertion he will not permit errors of the past to stand in the way of his responsibility to the present and future. Past mistakes which have been overcome cease to have a relevancy to present problems. And one of the present problems is to cope with the color issue by the remedial legislation to which Johnson dedicated himself anew.

The President's candid confrontation of the issue of his past and present relationship to civil rights recalls what the late President John F. Kennedy told Theodore H. White, author of the best seller, "The Making Of The President 1964." In the McCarthy era Kennedy, then a Congressman, attacked two American scholars of the Far East as part of the Communist conspiracy. White confronted Kennedy with this incident and Kennedy replied:

"I was ignorant. I was wrong. I made a mistake—what else can I say?"

There was some political expediency in Kennedy's early toleration of McCarthyism as there was in Johnson's civil rights record. But admission of the mistakes and expunging them in subsequent enlightened expiation make both men worthy to be judged by their growths out of their pasts.

Governor John Connally

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial which appeared in the Sunday, August 1 edition of the Dallas Morning News. Much speculation took place over the outcome of this issue as to the effect on the relationship of our President, Lyndon Johnson and his friend and Governor of Texas, John Connally.

There is no question in my mind that both of these men are doing what they think is best for the people they are representing. Both are strong willed men; but both have been in politics a sufficient number of years to realize that there are factors which enter into issues at different levels that play a large part in the final determination on one's stand on any given issue.

The editorial follows:

IN RETROSPECT

Remember the Governor's race in Texas 3 years ago? The Republicans assured us all that we would be placing Lyndon B. Johnson's errand boy in the State Capitol if we elected John B. Connally of Floresville.

He could never be his own man, they said. He could never have a Texas program, for Texans, without first clearing it all with L.B.J. "Do you want Lyndon's lackey?" the GOP asked. "Isn't Texas entitled to a Governor who has independent judgment, who thinks for himself, who won't go along to get along?"

That was the campaign theme against him. In the parlor conversations of conservatives, John Connally's talents were unquestioned. So was his leadership. But, but, but * * * would he not be just another stoolie?

The verdict is now in. To date, Connally has been what the News said he would be in

praising him. He has been independent. He has fought for the integrity and sovereignty of the States. He has saved the party from the extremists of both sides, and—most important, as we predicted—he has not hesitated to tell Lyndon Johnson what he thinks; privately and publicly he has opposed him when he thought he should be opposed.

A report to us from Minneapolis, where the Nation's Governors have been in convention, calls Connally "an unusual leader of independent thought, extremely respected by Republicans and Democrats alike."

On "Meet the Press" last Sunday, millions heard the Texas Governor in a determined tone describe the administration of the poverty program as a prospective "boondoggle" fraught with possibilities of scandal.

To further prove his independence of judgment and to banish the last remnants of accusation that he's an errand boy, he declared firmly:

The administration's latest Federal aid-to-education bill, designed supposedly to help children from poor families, threatens to wipe out State boundaries.

Mr. Johnson and Congress are wrong in wanting repeal of 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. The right-to-work law "has worked well in Texas."

The Governors need not resolute further on civil rights; this was in reply to a colleague who thought the group should endorse stronger protection.

"I am strong for the Dirksen amendment." The amendment, opposed by most liberals, permits one branch of a State legislature to be appointed on a basis other than population.

In his 2½ years as Governor of Texas, John B. Connally has done what he thinks is best for Texas. And most Republicans, and others who had misgivings, now admit it.

Civil Service Retirement Annuity Adjustment

SPEECH

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 8469) to provide certain increases in annuities payable from the civil service retirement and disability fund, and for other purposes.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation. As a sponsor of legislation to increase annuities for retired Federal employees I am pleased that the Committee has taken action on this matter.

My bill, H.R. 6633, would have allowed annuities increases for the 482,000 retiree annuitants in the Nation today. Approximately 75 percent of those annuitants were receiving annuities of less than $3,000 per year at the end of the last fiscal year. At a time when there is growing national concern about poverty, and the poverty label has been applied to those Americans with annual incomes of less than $3,000 per year, I feel that strong action is needed by the Congress.

The bill recommended by the Committee would have a total effect of giving a combined increase of at least 10.2 percent to those whose annuities were in effect on or before October 1, 1956, and not less than 5.2 percent to those whose annuities went into effect after that date.

Mr. Chairman, the elder annuitants are those who are feeling the greatest hardships today as they were Federal employees when Federal service salaries were generally less than they are now. This measure will do much to alleviate the inequities presently imposed on those whose service to the United States contributed to our present well-being.

I urge that this Congress give speedy enactment to this legislation.

Nature's Revenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent editorial appearing under the byline of Mr. Will Muller on Wednesday, July 28, 1965, warning of the hazards of pollution to the United States and particularly to the several Great Lakes Basin States.

The time has come when this Nation must recognize it can no longer afford the luxury of polluting and defiling its waters. All of our major cities have reached the time when they can no longer build upstream reservoirs sufficient unto their needs. Neither money, water nor space is sufficient. Major cities sitting astride great estuaries now find these vast reservoirs so contaminated as to be impossible of use, while upstream storage of water is becoming more and more inadequate to the needs of the people. The solution to the problem lies in cleanup of all waters so that cities adjacent to rivers, estuaries, and lakes can utilize these same areas for domestic water sources.

The editorial follows:

WATER SHORTAGE CRISIS: NATURE'S REVENGE

(By Will Muller)

Let those who in the past successfully have jeered at the misgivings of water conservationists look carefully now at the plight of New York City's 8 million.

The drought which has persisted over the Northeastern States for 4 years has made New York as close to Michigan as the water flowing by the foot of Woodward.

Four of that city's reservoirs are expected to dry up by the end of October. Its other six big reservoirs will be greatly depleted.

"Don't panic," Mayor Robert F. Wagner implores his people. Then he discusses the delayed rescue of the thirsty city by such long-term schemes as desalinization of sea water and tapping the Great Lakes.

ALL OF A SUDDEN

Not in our time has there been a more dramatic illustration of the suddenness with which a despoiled nature can take its revenge. Only 5 years ago—before the drought—experts assured the city its fresh water supply would be adequate until the year 2000.

While disaster gathered, the present and past city administrations refused to meter water to the people and charge them for it. Alone of all the big cities on this continent, New York continued to deliver free water to the private water tap to be used with prodigality.

Now Mayor Wagner, convinced that the individual conserves only what he pays for, is considering the metering of water. His advisers say that would save 150 to 200 million gallons of the 1,250 millions the city uses daily.

New York's problem now becomes the problem of all of us, for northeastern water sources are preempted or polluted or contemptuously despoiled in defiance of eventual reckoning. So the Federal Government is being urged to rescue the Appalachian watershed with vast reservoir systems.

Consider these emergency importunings against the background of this session of Congress. States fought a Federal pollution bill, insisting they alone should set standards for water purity and so continue on their course of defiling the natural resource on which life is dependent.

There is a great flap in the land—and understandably so—over the war that threatens in Vietnam. But as the dry winds blow, precipitation fails and drought persists over the polluted watersheds of the northeast, there is as great a potential disaster on the country's doorstep.

Let no one in Detroit, parked comfortably beside what he believes is an inexhaustible supply of fresh water in the Great Lakes, suffer from complacency. The scientists know that the lower inland oceans have become lagoons for the sewage of cities and the poisons of industries and are the hiding place of scrap heaps.

PROCRASTINATORS

Lake Erie is wormy and dying. St. Clair is befouled. Contamination seeps from sewer and river mouths into Michigan and Huron. And procastinators argue about how much longer it is safe to continue pollution of these waters without killing the cities.

All along it has seemed safe in New York, as long as thirst did not intervene. Now New York reaches for more water from the Delware, water which experts say already has passed through someone else's alimentary canal.

The time for snubbing the water conservationist as a common scold is past. Aware of this, the present legislature, to its undying credit, passed an anti-water-pollution bill with stiff penalties.

A look at what is happening to New York's shaky millions who are on drinking and washing water rations should be enough to insure that law's tough enforcement.

Postal Service—Minnesota Style

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 15, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I have received much evidence in support of the fact that innovations and changes being put into effect by the Post Office Department throughout the Nation, are resulting in further deterioration of our present, already poor mail service. Grand economy programs, automation, and the introduction of zip codes, are not the answer. I do not think there is

much doubt that mail service is worse and our postal rates are higher than ever.

I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which appeared in the Lyon County Independent, Marshall, Minn., on July 21. This editorial points out that service to the public is the only reason for the Post Office Department's existence—but we are not receiving that service at the present time:

SERVICE IS SOLE EXCUSE FOR ITS EXISTENCE

Early this year the Post Office Department announced that it would make some changes in this district, as well as in districts all over the country.

In Marshall this caused some concern, as it undoubtedly did in many other communities. It appeared to us at that time that the changes would mean loss of employment to several people in the Marshall office and curtailment of some services here.

The city council was concerned enough to adopt a resolution of objection, and the chamber of commerce was sufficiently perturbed to write a letter to Adrian Winkel, regional director for the Post Office Department.

Mr. Winkel wrote a reassuring reply, which we published in full. Part of that reply read as follows:

"There are no changes contemplated that will result in deterioration of present services which provide overnight delivery to the various points mentioned in the attachment to your letter. We would not, and could not, propose changes which would lower the quality of service provided to your community."

That was the meat of the letter to Newt Walter, manager of the Marshall Chamber of Commerce, from Adrian Winkel, regional director for the Post Office Department.

As they used to say in the Infantry, "that's a crock of something or other." Mr. Winkel's assurance not withstanding, mail service in Marshall has deteriorated since the changes went into effect July 1.

Around a newspaper we notice the lousy service more, perhaps, than many other businesses. The bulk of our papers are delivered by mail. A newspaper that isn't delivered to a reader is about as useless as anything we can think of.

After the change was put into effect, we ran a notice on our front page asking readers who get their paper by mail to notify us if the paper was late or failed to arrive.

We have received dozens of notes from all over the country. Some complain that the paper is late. Others say they don't get it at all. On our desk right now is a note from a subscriber in a town about 400 miles from Marshall. She used to get the paper on Friday. Now she gets it on Monday.

You want an example that is almost unbelievable? We have a number of subsribers right in Marshall who get their papers through the mail. One is a reader who has an office in the new municipal building, about a block from the Independent office.

His paper goes from the Independent to the post office here, then over to Willmar, then back to Marshall, to reach its destination a block down the streeet.

This may be the Post Office Department's idea of efficiency and economy, but it is not ours.

We have just learned, from good authority, that there is a proposal now being considered that will reduce the Marshall rural routes from the present four to three. Half of that one route will be moved to a Minneota route. The remaining half will be split up among the other three Marshall routes.

The proposal maintains that this will make no difference in the deliveries on the Marshall routes. This is not likely. Somebody on those routes is going to get his mail later than he has been getting it. There will be a difference in service, regardless of what the proposal says.

Furthermore, instead of their being one 90-mile route and one 50-mile route at Minneota, there will be two 90-mile routes. It does take longer to handle a 90-mile route than it does a 50-mile route, regardless of what the proposal says. There will be reduction in service.

And speaking of economy, we find that our mailing rate has increased in the past 2 years from about 10 cents to about 13 cents per pound. We can find very little economy in this.

And while our rates have been going up and the mail services going down, it appears that our people are doing more and more of the work that used to be done by the post office crew. Right now, we bundle, tie and sack mail that the local crew does not even touch.

It seems unreasonable to us that we should pay more and work more to get less from the Post Office Department.

We assure readers that we do not in any way place blame or responsibility on the local postmaster or the local post office staff. We know better than that and we know exactly where the blame and the responsibility must be placed.

The responsibility for deteriorating service, rising postal rates and screwball "economy" kicks has to go right to the top—right to Postmaster General John A. Gronouski and his staff of way-out planners in Washington.

In our opinion, the sorry siutation in the Post Office Department is just one more instance of a Federal agency whose directors have the wrong idea of the purpose of their bureau and themselves.

The Post Office Department, like all other Federal agencies can have only one true purpose. That is to serve the public.

This apparently is something John Gronouski is not aware of. He apparently cannot understand that service to the public is the only reason for the Post Office Department's existence—and the only reason for Gronouski's presence as the head of the Department.

To Amend Further the Peace Corps Act, as Amended

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9026) to amend further the Peace Corps Act (75 Stat. 612), as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Chairman, approximately 4 years and 10 months ago, on September 22, 1961, the President of the United States signed legislation to establish the Peace Corps as a permanent body. The fundamental soundness of this idea can be ascertained by the overwhelming support this legislation received by the Congress when the matter was presented to it for enactment into law.

During this period of uncertain conditions throughout the world, we have been confronted by many expressions of gratitude of the countries where these Peace Corp volunteers served. The cry and response from these countries is, "send us more of these Peace Corps volunteers." This response is a far cry from the many "Yankee Go Home" signs which some radicals display in various areas of the world.

Today, we are all aware that the program has become a success, it is no longer an experiment in assisting the many countries which have welcomed these volunteers. The successful record speaks for itself and the people of the United States can be proud of this success.

The Peace Corps has received a splendid response for the many volunteers it presently has serving in various capacities throughout the world. Our young people, yes, and many in their senior years have been working as social workers, surveyors, farmers, teachers, auto mechanics, home economists, nurses, doctors, fishermen, engineers, carpenters and in many other fields.

The many volunteers, spread over the territories of over 40 countries come from every walk of life, representing every race, every color, every creed.

We can be proud of the fact that our Peace Corps personnel are acting as Americans and the ambassadors of good will in every area of the world. They go beyond the boundaries of projects which were assigned to them to be performed in the areas to which they were sent. They engage in voluntary activities and in community projects to demonstrate that voluntary action of the citizens is a vital part of American free society. This they wish to impart to the people of the countries in which they serve so nobly.

It is my honest belief that the Peace Corps has been a real bargain in terms of the returns for the dollars we have invested in this program, a bargain in terms of our fight against the encroachment of communism, and a bargain in our traditional concern for people less unfortunate than ourselves.

Can we make a better investment than in helping human beings to find a better way of life which, in turn, makes it more meaningful to an individual?

The program was made truly a people-to-people activity and all credit should go to the caliber of the dedicated Americans who wish to see that this program continues its high level of support to the countries which have requested them.

I am pleased and proud to have the opportunity to express my support of this concept of the Peace Corps and no other measure before this House deserves more recognition than the one we are presently discussing.

There is no doubt that the American people are willing to support and finance a program which has been accepted as a success. The accomplishments have been impressive and it seems clear to me that no obstacle should be placed to curtail the success of this Peace Corps program.

I rise in support of the present bill and hope that no effort will be made to reduce the funds which are authorized in this legislation. For, as long as the foreign governments request this assistance and welcome the members of the

Peace Corps we should do all that we can to continue this program at its present level, and possibly make a moderate expansion of it.

The idea was a modest beginning with many skeptics prophesying its demise, but the events of the past indicate that this Peace Corps movement was one of our better efforts in meeting people and helping them to attain a better way of life.

Trotters—Udall's Objective

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Secretary Udall's intervention on June 21 before the Federal Power Commission to prevent the $700 million Duke development in Appalachia and his subsequent partial withdrawal was a complete hoax and fraud. The real purpose of Secretary Udall's intervention and withdrawal was to promote Trotters Shoals. Trotters Shoals would cost the taxpayers $100 million and is not needed for recreation, flood control, navigation, or for wildlife and is certainly not needed for power as the Duke-Keowee-Toxaway complex, when completed, will produce 50 times more power with rates just as reasonable.

Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of the Congress and to the Secretary of Interior the following editorials from the Columbia State, Columbia, S.C., the capital city of South Carolina, and from the Greenville News, Greenville, S.C., which serves the largest industrial area in South Carolina:

[From the Columbia (S.C.) State, July 31, 1965]

POWER PLAY

Not for one moment was there any rhyme or reason for Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall to stick his bureaucratic foot into the plans of the Duke Power Co. to launch a $700-million development in upper South Carolina.

Fortunately for South Carolina, the hard facts of practical politics seem to have forced Mr. Udall to withdraw his unjustified opposition to the Duke project. But his weasel-worded withdrawal from a stand he never should have taken will not be the end of his involvement in the State's affairs.

Even as he removed most (not all) of his objections to the Duke project, Secretary Udall served notice that he favored construction of another Federal power project on the Savannah River at Trotters Shoals. The Duke enterprise in Oconee and Pickens Counties has about as much connection with the Trotters Shoals project as it has with the St. Lawrence Seaway, but that won't stop Udall from trying to establish some connection aimed at justifying the Trotters Shoals project.

As part of his far-reaching dream for a farflung Federal power blanket over the entire United States, Udall wants to convert the Savannah River basin into a full-scale Federal reservation and ultimately to link it with the Tennessee Valley Authority.

With the Clark Hill and Hartwell Dam, Federal projects already in operation, construction of another Federal dam at Trotters Shoals would button down the entire area as a Government preserve and forever exclude private enterprise from the region.

The 30-mile stretch of river between the Clark Hill Lake and the Hartwell Dam provides the best prospects for industrial development in the entire section. Industrialists concur with South Carolina's State Development Board that there are numerous fine sites for industry along that stretch of running water.

They also agree that if Uncle Sam builds the unnecessary Trotters Shoals Reservoir, the whole area will become a watery wasteland insofar as economic development is concerned.

But Secretary Udall and his cohorts are more interested in Federal domination than economic development.

The one man who can put a spoke in Udall's wheeler-dealing is the Governor of South Carolina. When Senator DONALD S. RUSSELL was Governor, he finally joined with the development board, the State attorney general, the general assembly, and numerous private and public economic groups in opposing the Trotters Shoals project.

Gov. Robert E. McNair now is in the driver's seat. The economic factors which dictated the earlier opposition to Trotters Shoals still are valid. The industrial potential of the Savannah River Basin is still present. And industry still will not come into the area so long as the threat of Federal development hangs like a cloud over the region.

South Carolinans have a tremendous stake in the complicated pattern of power projects now under consideration. They also have an abiding faith in Governor McNair's inclination to seek the greatest good for the greatest number.

Under existing circumstances, that greatest good can be achieved through the unhampered operation of free enterprise at its best. The Duke Power Co. is ready, willing, and able to provide all the power needed for present and future demand in the area.

Private enterprise can generate not only the electric current but the jobs, wages, taxes, and opportunities so badly needed in that section of South Carolina.

Governor McNair should lend his energies and his influence to the cause.

[From the Greenville (S.C.) News]

MR. UDALL RETREATS—A LITTLE

The people of South Carolina and the surrounding region, and the public interest nationwide, have won another skirmish—perhaps we should call this one a real battle—in the war against steadily encroaching Federal electric power and the trend toward bureaucratic monopoly of the industry.

The victory came when Secretary Udall and the Department of the Interior so expeditiously withdrew their intervention against a Federal Power Commission permit to allow the Duke Power Co. to start developing its proposed $700 million hydro, steam, and possibly nuclear power project in the Keowee-Toxaway area in Pickens and Oconee Counties.

It was only about a week ago that Secretary Udall, obviously under strong pressure from more than one source, agreed to "restudy" his position and set up a "factfinding task force" composed entirely of members of his own Department who are bound to have been sympathetic to his point of view.

The remarkable thing is that these men came back with their recommendation that the petition be withdrawn, and Mr. Udall acted on it, in about the length of time we figured it would require the clerks to deliver the pertinent files to their desks. Certainly there was not time for any field surveys, and no hearings were held.

So, there is only one conclusion to be drawn as to what actually happened.

And that is: With Senator DONALD RUSSELL probing and negotiating with all the administration officials he could reach, with Senator STROM THURMOND and Representative W. J. BRYAN DORN maintaining a steady drumfire of strong and irrefutable criticism, "somebody up there" told Udall he had better get out of the thing as gracefully as possible.

The determining factor was that RUSSELL, THURMOND, and DORN had the backing of congressional colleagues, State officials, and of the strongest swell of outraged public opinion—which gradually spread through the press all over the country—we have ever seen generated over a public issue. (Would that it would happen more often in similar situations.)

The facts available to us, and which we presented to our readers and to friends among newspaper editors in other States, showed beyond any doubt that Udall's intervention was motivated solely and entirely by political considerations. The only point that stood up as fact was his opinion that the Federal Government, rather than private enterprise, should develop the power resources of this region.

And this was only his opinion, albiet one shared with other bureaucrats and others who have found fat political pickings in Federal power projects. It is not an opinion based on what is best for the public and for industry.

Secretary Udall's withdrawal of his petition leaves the Tristate Power Committee, composed of electric cooperative bureaucrats, in a rather awkward position with its petition of intervention. Tristate has been repudiated in this matter by the Blue Ridge Cooperative, the second largest in the State and lying in the very heart of the area to be served. It opposes Duke on the same grounds that Interior presented in arguing its case to the FPC.

It is likely that Tristate will follow Udall's example and withdraw from the matter. For a strategic retreat definitely is in order if the co-ops hope to avoid a clobbering in a formal hearing before the FPC. But for the time element, we'd like to see it happen that way.

For it is too much to expect that crowd to "go and sin no more" after receiving such a hearty and well-deserved rebuke.

They are not yet through in the Savannah River Valley and its tributaries, and they can be expected to behave in a similar manner in other situations in the future. They have a grand scheme for taking over, or dominating, the power industry in the Southeast and they won't give up easily.

In withdrawing the petition, Udall and Interior indicated they would insist on certain conditions. Most of these Duke already has planned to meet for its own and the public welfare, or probably will be willing to meet.

However, the withdrawal statement also reiterated the insistence that the Federal dam be built at Trotters Shoals and added that Duke's plans should be "integrated" with the Federal projects down river, not only as to water use and conservation, but as to the operation of generating facilities.

What this means is anyone's guess.

We are more than faintly suspicious that there is in the making a situation where congressional approval of the proposed Trotters Shoals Federal project will be the price that will have to be paid for authorization of the Duke project at Middleton Shoals. The Federal power bureaucrats have been pushing the studies on Trotters Shoals, and so have Federal power advocates in the Carolinas and Georgia.

When the showdown comes, the existing dam at Hartwell and the proposed dam at Trotters Shoals may greatly diminish the feasibility of Duke's steamplant at Middleton Shoals. This could be caused either by raising the water level with a higher dam or by heating the water by "pump-back" so as to lower the efficiency of the cooling system, which is all Duke wants on the Savannah.

Meanwhile, Keowee-Toxaway could be held up by Mr. Udall's insistence on further studies to insure "compatibility" of the Federal and private projects. Duke's Middleton Shoals plans have been hampered and delayed for about 3 years while the Federal power advocates have been laboring and stretching every point to justify Trotters Shoals in the face of firm disapproval by South Carolina officials and the public and skepticism in Congress.

It behooves South Carolina's State officials and its congressional delegation to start looking for what is known in the State legislature as "rabbits." The Governor is familiar with the term.

The 175th Anniversary of the U.S. Coast Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 175th anniversary of the U.S. Coast Guard, an extremely important branch of our Government. The people of my State are well acquainted with its many activities in the Chesapeake Bay area and the dependence of the State upon its services. However, few of them have any knowledge of its history, which is almost as old as that of our Nation.

Joe Wachtman, the very able maritime editor of the Baltimore News-American, wrote an excellent article in observance of the 175th anniversary of the Coast Guard, tracing its history from the very beginning and giving a splendid résumé of its many duties in times of war as well as peace.

For the benefit of our Members who may not be too well acquanted with its many activities, I insert in the Appendix, his story which appeared in last Sunday's edition of the paper:

[From the News American, Aug. 1, 1965]

COAST GUARD NEARS 175TH ANNIVERSARY—BAY AREA HAD LARGE ROLE IN ITS GROWTH

(By Joe Wachtman)

On August 4, 1790, President George Washington signed a bill authorizing construction of "10 boats"—including a pair to patrol the Chesapeake Bay—forming a revenue marine to halt smuggling into the 13 Original States.

Today, 175 years later, the infant service has grown into the U.S. Coast Guard with a fleet of more than 60 distinct classes of ships, from 18-foot plastic lifeboats to 327-foot cutters, and patrols river and coastal areas from Greenland to Korea, including the coast of Vietnam.

Starting with those two original sailing cutters, the Chesapeake Bay area has figured prominently in the phenomenal growth and expansion of the old and respected service.

Between 1816 and 1819, the cutter *Active* captured a number of privateers in the bay. A number of cutters were built in the Baltimore area, including the old revenue cutter *Guthrie* in 1895, and today the Coast Guard's only shipbuilding facility is the yard at Curtis Bay.

The first cadet training ship, the *Dobbin*, sailed from Baltimore in 1877 with nine trainees. It was replaced by the 250-ton bark *Chase*, which in 1900 wintered in Arundel Cove, where a small boat repair yard had been established on leased land a year earlier.

The Coast Guard Academy finally moved in 1910 to New London but the Curtis Bay Yard remained and grew from 65 acres purchased in 1906 to its present 113 acres on Curtis Creek during World War II.

The world's first nuclear-powered buoy and the first atom-powered lighthouse—famed Baltimore Light—both were placed into operation by the Coast Guard in Maryland.

Until recently, when it was moved to Washington, the Coast Guard's official Color Guard unit was based at the Baltimore facility.

From its small start of assisting Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton to save the economy of the new Nation by ending smuggling, the Coast Guard has expanded in many directions.

In 1831 the first winter cruise to aid seafarers and ships in distress was made and gradually the Coast Guard assumed the lifesaving duties formerly performed by volunteer humane societies.

In 1789, the Lighthouse Service was established and this has come to be part of the Coast Guard, which now maintains more than 42,000 navigational aids from boating channel markers to electronic light stations.

Coast Guard aids to navigation also include anrac radio control system, racon radar beacons, and loran long-range information for both ships and planes. The Coast Guard's own fleet of vessels now is augmented by 12 air detachments including helicopters and flying boats.

The wide range of duties performed by the Coast Guard was summed up by Maryland Congressman EDWARD A. GARMATZ, who is chairman of the House Subcommittee on Coast Guard:

"Although it is the smallest of our armed services, its duties cover an amazing spectrum of activity, including an intensive merchant marine safety program aimed at making the U.S. fleet the safest in the world: An expanding oceanographic program; a highly coordinated search and rescue program utilizing the latest electronic computer equipment; surveillance over ports and waterfronts; a farflung aids-to-navigation network, including the first atomic-powered lighthouse in Baltimore Harbor; and operation of the International Ice Patrol."

"During its long and eventful history, the Coast Guard has taken part in all of our major wars, including the Civil War and both World Wars," Representative GARMATZ added.

With the exception of the International Ice Patrol, all the Coast Guard duties can be observed in action in Baltimore, where in addition to the Curtis Bay Yard there is a marine inspection unit in the Baltimore Customhouse.

The captain of the port and the Baltimore Group, both based at Curtis Bay, even deal with ice problems, forming convoys to escort small vessels up the bay when freezing is severe.

While most Coast Guard cutters—vessels bearing names—are constructed under bid by private shipyards, the Curtis Bay Yard in the past decade alone has turned out more than 150 vessels of 44-foot length or more, 15 times the number of the original fleet. The first Revenue Marine cutter—the two-masted *Massachusetts*, launched at Newburyport, Mass., in 1791—would be completely dwarfed by the 210-foot medium endurance cutter *Confidence*, one of a pair now under construction at the Curtis Bay Yard.

Nearer the *Massachusetts'* 50-foot length, from Indian figurehead to square-cut stern, would be the 44-foot, all-steel, nonsinkable motor lifeboat, termed the world's toughest and most efficient, of which dozens have been built at the local yard, where it was designed.

In addition to building and maintaining vessels and buoys and constructing special arctic buildings for such projects as Operation Deep Freeze, the yard took part recently in preparing 17 of the Coast Guard's 82-foot cutters for service in Vietnam.

The Coast Guard, which was given its present name in 1915, when the Revenue Cutter Service and Lifesaving Service were merged, has never numbered more than 171,168 members, its peak strength in World War II, reached by adding 45,000 temporary reserves and 10,000 Spars.

As its 175th birthday nears, the Coast Guard is looking ahead to modernizing and streamlining its facilities.

Adm. E. J. Roland, commandant, has set a goal of 36 new high endurance cutters of 378-foot length over the next decade, with the first, the *Hamilton*, due to be delivered in September 1966. Another 29 of the 210-foot cutters also will be added over the next 10 years. These are designed to carry helicopters, as two of them did in the Gemini III space capsule recovery.

The Coast Guard also is a member of an interagency committee investigating the possible establishment of a nonmilitary navigational satellite.

Admiral Roland predicts that the next 10 years will be as busy and exciting as any decade in the past 175 years for the Coast Guard. And, he has pledged, all its resources will be dedicated to providing the American people with the most effective maritime safety service in the world.

Proposed Mexican-United States Border Governors' Conference Organization Meeting at Tres Lagunas, N. Mex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, 2 weeks ago, representative delegations from those States of the United States and Mexico who share the border between our two nations convened at Tres Lagunas, N. Mex., to establish an "Assembly of Mexican-American Governors of Border States" which will meet yearly on a rotating basis. Hosted by Gov. Jack Campbell, of New Mexico, the delegates came from the Mexican Border States of Baja California, Coahuila, Chihuahua, Sonora, and Tamaulipas and from the U.S. Border States of Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Texas. The delegates stated that the purpose of the yearly Governors' Conference will be to strengthen "the bonds of friendship of the peoples of the Border States of Mexico and the United States and to channel their cultural, economic, and social development on the basis of cooperation and mutual exchange of ideas and experiences which will permit an enhancement of these activities."

Mr. Speaker, this is indeed a refreshing and welcome development in the conduct of international relations. For here, we see the local and State governments of two nations working informally together to deal with mutual problems in a practical, effective way unhampered

by the straitjacket of rigid protocol and the cold formality which characterize diplomacy at the national level. I think that we in the Congress and in the National Government should all be impressed by the steps being taken by our States and the States of our good neighbor, Mexico, to lend the flexibility and informality of State and local diplomacy to the conduct of relations between our two nations.

Without objection, Mr. Speaker, I insert into the RECORD the resolutions adopted at the historic Tres Lagunas meeting and a list of the delegates who attended:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE MEXICAN-UNITED STATES BORDER GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE, TRES LAGUNAS, N. MEX., JULY 22, 1965

With the purpose of strengthening the bonds of friendship of the peoples of the border states of Mexico and the United States and to channel their cultural, economic and social development on the basis of cooperation and mutual exchange of ideas and experiences, which will permit an enhancement of these activities, the representative delegations of the States of Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Texas of the United States of America and Baja California, Coahuila, Chihuahua, Sonora, and Tamaulipas of the Republic of Mexico, convened at Tres Lagunas, N. Mex.

Resolved, That the democratic organization of their respective nations allow them to direct their efforts as a group to promote the furtherance of their common good.

With this purpose, and upon the invitation of Gov. Jack M. Campbell, the delegations present at this preliminary conference deem it fitting that a yearly Conference of Governors of all border states be held, on a rotating basis, in order to promote in all respects, relations between the peoples of the respective states and coordinate their activities toward these goals.

Further, that a coordinating entity be created and charged with the responsibility of formulating an agenda for the annual Governors Conference, as established in accordance with the following resolutions:

RESOLUTION I

It is resolved that the name of the proposed organization shall be the "Assembly of Mexican-American Governors of Border States"; the Spanish name shall be "Asemblea Mexico-Notre Americana de Gobernadores de Estados Fronterizos."

RESOLUTION II—GOVERNORS' COMMISSION

It is resolved that the proposed commission shall be composed of the Governors of the following States: Arizona, Baja California, California, Chihuahua, Coahuila, New Mexico, Nuevo Leon, Sonora, Tamaulipas, and Texas; that invitations be extended to the Governors of each of these States to participate in the Commission, its organization and activities, and that the Commission shall be composed of those Governors who accept the invitation.

RESOLUTION III—EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ORGANIZATION

It is resolved that each Governor appoint no more than two members on the executive committee and that the permanent executive secretary shall participate as a member of the executive committee, making a total of no more than 21 executive committee members.

RESOLUTION IV—RELATIONSHIP WITH BILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS

It is resolved that this commission recognize the existence and functions of presently operating bilateral organizations participated in by individual member States; that it is not the purpose of this commission to impede or conflict with these existing organizations, but rather to encourage and assist them. It is recommended that the Governors of each participating State consider these existing bilateral relationships when making appointments to the executive committee. The functions of these bilateral organizations should be coordinated and supported by this commission.

RESOLUTION V—RATIFICATION

It is resolved that the proposed organizational resolutions enacted by this committee be submitted to the Governors of each participating State immediately upon adjournment of the Tres Lagunas meeting; that each Governor is urged to indicate his acceptance of participation in the organization and to appoint his initial members to the executive committee. Acceptance and appointments shall be mailed to the office of Gov. Jack M. Campbell, Santa Fe., N. Mex., to arrive on or before August 21, 1965; that the organizational meeting of the executive committee is hereby established to convene Saturday, September 25, 1965, at 10 a.m., in the Union Building of the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. Mex.

It is further recommended that the executive committee meetings be held no less frequently than each 60 days thereafter. The place of holding these meetings shall be rotated among the various participating States.

It is further resolved that the business and functions of this commission shall be continued between annual conferences by the executive committee.

RESOLUTION VI—ESTABLISHMENT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

It is resolved that this committee express their deep appreciation to Gov. Jack M. Campbell and his staff for their splendid help in the organization of the Tres Lagunas meeting, and it is requested that they continue to serve as administrative coordinators until a permanent executive staff is established. It is specifically requested that the permanent executive staff, its executive director, duties and operations, be established and defined by the executive committee at its organizational meeting on September 25, 1965.

RESOLUTION VII—ANNUAL CONFERENCES

It is resolved that the organization of annual conferences shall be a function of the Executive Committee of this Commission, provided, however, that the first annual conference shall be held in June 1966, and it is recommended that it be held in the State of New Mexico. All other aspects of its programing, agenda, time, place of meetings, and the logistics of such meetings shall be a function of the Executive Committee.

OFFICIAL DELEGATES, PROPOSED MEXICAN-UNITED STATES BORDER GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE ORGANIZATION MEETING AT TRES LAGUNAS, N. MEX., JULY 21, 22, 1965

STATE OF NEW MEXICO, U.S.A.

Gov. Jack M. Campbell.

Dr. Ralph Lopez, Santa Fe.

Sam Murphy, Silver City.

David Davenport, Santa Fe.

Dr. Henry Pacual, director of foreign languages, department of education, Santa Fe.

STATE OF CHIHUAHUA, MEXICO

Lic Jaime Caravea, Chihuahua.

Sr. Hector Valles, secretary to Governor Giner, Chihuahua.

Raul Maus, director of tourism, Chihuahua.

Tomas Ordonez, Chihuahua.

STATE OF ARIZONA, U.S.A.

Dr. Louis S. Meyer, administrative assistant to Governor of Arizona, Tempe.

Robert Kelso, Phoenix.

STATE OF SONORA, MEXICO

Aristides Prats, Hermosillo.

Ernesto Camou, Hermosillo.

Dr. Armando Hopkins, Hermosillo.

Louis Robles Linares, Hermosillo.

STATE OF TEXAS, U.S.A.

Glenn Garrett, executive director, Texas Good Neighbor Commission, Austin.

STATE OF COAHUILA, MEXICO

Lic. Humberto Gomez Villarreal, Executive Secretary to Governor, Saltillo.

Eugenio P. Quantanilla, Saltillo.

STATE OF TAMAULIPAS, MEXICO

Francisco Villarreal, Tampico.

STATE OF CALIFORNIA, U.S.A.

Edward Smith, special representative of Gov. E. G. Brown, Corona del Mar.

Edwin T. Power, special representative, Commission of the Californias, Nut Tree.

Robert Power, Nut Tree.

Dr. Ernest O'Byrne, chairman, Commission of the Californias, San Diego.

STATE OF BAJA, MEXICO

Rudolfo Escamilla Soto, executive secretary to the Governor, Mexicali, B.C.

Enrique Garcia Michaus, director of tourism, Mexicali, B.C.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Speaker: John W. McCormack

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Abernethy, Thomas G., *Miss.* — 6278 29th St.
Adair, E. Ross, *Ind* — 4000 Mass. Ave.
Adams, Brock, *Wash*
Addabbo, Joseph P., *N.Y*
Albert, Carl, *Okla* — 4614 Reno Rd.
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Duncan, Robert B., *Oreg* — 914 Lakeview Dr., Falls Church, Va.
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Hansen, John R., *Iowa* — 800 4th St. SW., Apt. S-701
Hansen, Julia Butler (Mrs.), *Wash.*
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Kee, James, *W. Va* — 5441 16th Ave., Hyattsville, Md.
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Kelly, Edna F. (Mrs.), *N.Y*
Keogh, Eugene J., *N.Y* — The Mayflower
King, Carleton J., *N.Y*
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Appendix

The Energy Center of the East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the people of the 22d Congressional District of Pennsylvania welcome another giant electric powerplant which—combined with Keystone and Conemaugh—conclusively establishes our area as the energy center of the East. The Pennsylvania Electric Co. and the New York State Electric & Gas Co. have chosen Homer City, Indiana County, Pa., as the site for a multimillion-dollar interstate electric power project, including a $140 million mine-mouth generating station.

To mineworkers who have waited patiently for steady employment, the new plant will be an answer to their prayers. Moreover, 500 mine jobs plus those connected with operation of the generating station will have a highly stimulating effect on business in general and will serve to reestablish confidence in the economic future of the entire district.

When the third facility is completed, the electric companies will have invested more than a half billion dollars in the dynamic Indiana-Armstrong-Cambria power complex whence electricity will be transmitted to consumers in distant communities. These plants alone will require about 10 million tons of bituminous coal per year—more than 12 percent of Pennsylvania's total production in 1964. The prospect is both gratifying and invigorating.

Once again, Mr. Speaker, America is learning that investor-owned utilities, left to their own ingenuity and imagination without Federal interference or tax-subsidized competition, are fully prepared to provide all the energy that will be needed in the next year, the next decade, and the next century. And in the process, the Nation will grow and prosper.

As a part of my remarks, I include the announcement being made jointly today by these two utilities:

THE ENERGY CENTER OF THE EAST

Plans for a multimillion-dollar interstate electric power project, including a $140 million mine-mouth generating station near Homer City between Indiana and Johnstown, were announced today by Pennsylvania Electric Co. and New York State Electric & Gas Corp.

The 1,280,000-kilowatt mine-mouth powerplant would be jointly owned by the two utilities. It would consume about 3.5 million tons of coal a year, most of which would be mined adjacent to the plant and delivered by conveyor belts—with the balance to be mined within a few miles of the site.

Construction of the plant would commence next March with the first 640,000-kilowatt unit in operation by May 1969 and the second unit of the same size to be completed about 18 months later.

The plant site is in an area rich in bituminous coal deposits and about 20 miles northwest of Johnstown. It is about 15 miles southeast of the Keystone power project under construction near Shelocta and about 12 miles northwest of the contemplated Conemaugh powerplant near New Florence. The installation of the Penelec-New York State Electric & Gas Corp. plant would mean, when all three are in operation in the early 1970's, that this 30-mile stretch of central western Pennsylvania could produce over 5 million kilowatts (including Penelec's existing Seward station), one of the greatest concentrations of electric power production capacity in the world.

New York State Electric & Gas Corp.'s share of the output of the station will be delivered by a 345,000-volt transmission line that will run 170 miles from the site to the Elmira-Binghampton, N.Y., area and would be the first extra-high-voltage line to tie western Pennsylvania directly with upstate New York. Penelec's share of the station output will be taken into its transmission network near the site.

Agreement to proceed with the joint construction of the plant was announced today by Penelec President Louis H. Roddis, Jr., and New York State Electric & Gas Corp. President Joseph M. Bell, Jr. The scope of the project was cited by the utility executives as "illustrating the continuing commitment and ability of investor-owned electric companies to finance and build the efficient, large-scale facilities that will assure consumers in the Northeast of dependable and low-cost electric service."

The New York utility serves over a half million customers, principally in the south central portion of that State. Penelec serves 420,000 customers in about a third of the Commonwealth and including virtually the entire northern tier and in the central and southwestern parts of Pennsylvania. The Johnstown-based utility is an operating company of General Public Utilities Corp. and its generating operations are integrated with its sister general public utilities companies: Metropolitan Edison Co. of Pennsylvania; New Jersey Power & Light Co.; and Jersey Central Power & Light Co.

(General Public Utilities Corp., through the Jersey Central Co., is a part owner of the Keystone project and Penelec is constructing and will own portions of the east-west extra-high-voltage transmission lines emanating from Keystone. The general public utilities companies' power production operations are further coordinated with other eastern utilities through their participation in the Pennsylvania-New Jersey-Maryland interconnection—the world's oldest and one of the largest power pools.)

Mr. Roddis noted that Penelec's forecast of increased demand for electricity by its customers and the planned retirement of old and less efficient generating units would require Penelec to have substantial additional generating capability and that the coordinated installation of a mine-mouth, extra-high-voltage program would meet the requirements of both utilities in 1970.

Although this project would create the first transmission tie of extra-high-voltage level (over 230,000 volts) between western Pennsylvania and upstate New York, Penelec and New York State Electric & Gas Corp. have maintained transmission connections at five points along the States' border for many years. In addition, New York State Electric & Gas Corp. has 11 major transmission ties with 4 other utilities and Penelec is interconnected with 7 other companies at 13 other locations.

Design details for the plant are still to be developed but would be similar in concept to the neighboring mine-mouth stations. Cooling water for the plant will be continuously recycled from huge storage basins outside the plant, sent in to the station's condensors where it will pick up heat, returned outside and into 350-foot-tall hyperbolic concrete shell natural draft cooling towers, and dropped back down to the storage basins.

Additional supplies of water to make up for the amounts being evaporated in the cooling process will be withdrawn from Two Lick Creek and pumped uphill to the plant site about a mile away. The creek's flow will be maintained at an adequate rate all year round for this purpose by construction of a reservoir farther upstream with 13,000 acre-feet of water storage impounded by a concrete dam.

The siting of the plant in the central western Pennsylvania soft coal region will allow the companies to take advantage of the substantial economies associated with using readily recoverable, run-of-the-mine coal with an average heat rate of 12,000 B.t.u. per pound and requiring minimal preparation and transportation. Studies have shown about 125 million recoverable tons of coal within a few miles of the site. The officials reported that no contracts have as yet been entered upon with coal companies.

Part of the economic impact of the project would lie in the fact that the character of the coal in the area, while suitable for this plant, is less in demand for other uses and much of it might not otherwise ever be mined. It is predicted that operation of the plant at full capacity would mean 500 or more mining jobs and a large number of trucking and other associated jobs. Installation of the plant will also mean a large number of temporary jobs and substantial local purchases of materials, supplies, and services during the construction period—all of which should inject several million dollars a year of additional purchasing power into this region's economy.

Another feature evaluated in the economic analysis of the site is its proximity to Penelec's network of 230,000-volt and 115,000-volt transmission lines leading to major local electric load centers and to existing interconnections.

Mr. Roddis noted that consumers in Pennsylvania have fast been reaping the benefits of the relatively new technology of extra-high-voltage transmission and the development of large-scale generating units. "This has been so," he said, "both from the standpoint of the economic impact of siting mine-mouth plants in our State and in the action of Penelec and other investor-owned electric companies to pass along the economic advantages to their customers." He noted that while Penelec had reduced rates three times in 1965 alone, and had initiated reductions totaling over $6 million in the past 5 years,

it considered the substantial investment represented by today's announcement as: "intended to help us assure our customers that electric service will remain the best bargain in Pennsylvania in the years to come."

Mr. Roddis and Mr. Bell stated also that, "our project illustrates the intention and ability of investor-owned utilities to meet the Nation's growing electric power requirements and to work toward further reduction in power costs—and to achieve these ends without placing a burden on the taxpayer."

The Job Corps Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, all of us who have supported the Job Corps program are interested in hearing reports of its success, and we can even profit by hearing of some of the shortcomings and failures.

Our Public Lands, publication of the Bureau of Land Management, Department of the Interior, for summer 1965 contains such a report on the Job Corps in Tillamook, Oreg.

Another group of boys is working at a center in the mountains at Camp Angell on Highway 101 on the Oregon coast. A report by the associate editor of the Eugene Register-Guard, Mr. Robert B. Frazier, presents another viewpoint.

I ask unanimous consent that the texts of these articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE TILLAMOOK JOB CORPS PROVES UP

(By Bob Hostetter, resource utilization specialist, Portland, Oreg.)

"I gained 26 pounds and that was just the first month." "I never knew there was so much land in the United States." "I think I'll learn to be a cook."—Recent remarks by Tillamook enrollees.

It was a bedraggled and glum looking bunch of boys that arrived at the Tillamook Job Corps Conservation Center in Oregon on February 16. They were tired from traveling, hungry, needed baths and clean clothes, and they were wary of the new world they were about to enter. But the transformation soon began.

They hailed from Kentucky, Tennessee, California, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Missouri, West Virginia, and Nebraska. Ages ranged from 16 to 21. And in size, well, it is hard to strike an average because weights change so fast. Within the first month, one boy who weighed in at 130 had gained 26 pounds.

Twenty-three corpsmen are members of a voluntary group known as the Mustang Commandos. These men make a run before breakfast each day. Leader of the runners is Eugene "Sparky" Walker, one of the center's work leaders.

Intramural sports include basketball, softball, volleyball, soccer, bowling, and table tennis. Other on-base recreational activities are weightlifting, boxing, track, shuffleboard, table games such as monopoly and checkers, cards, television, and reading. Record players provide music, but so do boys who play the guitar and harmonica.

Movies are shown at the center and corpsmen can also go to the movie theater in nearby Tillamook, a town with a population of 4,000 which is noted for its cheese, trees, and ocean breeze. It is also gaining a reputation for its friendly cooperation with the Job Corps Conservation Center.

FOUNDATION FOR HOPE

All the enrollees had dropped out of school for one reason or another—sickness, inadequate clothing, improper and insufficient food, fear of ridicule, no incentive. Irregular attendance generally worsened the situation until there just wasn't any hope of catching up.

But there is hope now. Crumbling foundations of ignorance are no basis for building knowledge, so the instructors are helping the boys find a solid footing on which to start building again. Tests were administered to determine what educational training would be appropriate for each boy. Then reading ability of all boys was tested and they were classed in nine different levels according to their abilities. Ten were practically unable to read at all. Others were at higher levels, but only five could read as well as high school seniors. By the second month, all corpsmen had advanced at least one reading level, and some had advanced two or three levels.

Each corpsman puts in at least 4 hours a week in reading, mathematics, and physical education. One group spends 4 hours each week learning how to typewrite and another group gets an extra 4 hours a week of reading instruction.

Phil Kipper, a reporter for the Wenatchee Daily World who spent a couple of days with the boys, observed, "What the youths achieve at the camp is all theirs. They don't have to face the loss of pride because they aren't competing against anyone but themselves. Instructors explain that they have given up in the past because their pride wouldn't let them fail. Now they have to break the habit of being proud of antisocial behavior."

Tom Miller, assistant director for education, points out that corpsmen must make many social and emotional adjustments before they can get into the mainstream of American life. A strenuous work program in BLM forests around Tillamook helps achieve those adjustments. Corpsmen are divided into two work groups. Each group works 3 days a week and recieves educational training on the other days.

CONSERVATION WORK

Corpsmen are rebuilding Alder Glen recreation site, which was damaged by last winter's floods, and are also working on Dover Creek recreation site, a new picnicking and camping area for public use on BLM land. The level tent and table sites, clear brush and debris, build trails, and cut up dead trees for firewood.

In another project, corpsmen have planted 2-year-old Douglas-fir tree seedlings on an area where mature timber was harvested.

Several corpsmen assist BLM foresters in marking selected trees for cutting, posting timber sale boundaries, measuring and tallying snags to be felled, or cutting brush for survey lines. Other work projects are planned, including road maintenance, stream clearance for fish passage, thinning of young timber stands, and disposal of unmerchantable debris left after timber harvest.

Not all the work is in the woods; there is much fixing-up to be done at the center. Originally constructed as a naval air station during World War II, buildings had to be repaired and painted before they could be occupied. Corpsmen are continuing the work by replacing a rotted porch, building a sidewalk, repairing windows, and installing shelves. They take their turns working in the kitchen. They do their own laundry and ironing, and housekeeping chores at the dormitories.

Jim Hedger, of Newberry, Mich., commented on the variety of work to be done when he said, "I've been doing some carpentry work. I like the work, but when I finish this job, I think I'll ask if I can work in the kitchen."

"What's the matter, aren't you getting enough to eat?" his buddy asked.

"Sure, it's just that I think I'd like to learn to be a cook," he said.

When the Tillamook Center was officially dedicated on March 20, corpsmen served as ushers and guides for a crowd of 400 townspeople and other visitors. Long deprived of attention, they enjoyed talking about their hopes for the future with the dignitaries. These included Dr. Otis A. Singletary, Director of the Job Corps; Senator WAYNE MORSE; Clifton P. Lander, of the Department of the Interior staff; Harold R. Hochmuth, Associate Director of the Bureau of Land Management; BLM State Director Russell E. Getty; and others.

SO MUCH LAND

Since this is the first time that many of the corpsmen have been away from home, their viewpoint is broadening. One corpsman from Tennessee remarked, "I never realized there was so much land in the United States until I came to Tillamook."

John J. Scalise, himself a forester and the director of BLM's Tillamook Job Corps Conservation Center, summed up the attitude of his staff recently when on a radio program he said, "Our heritage is not reserved for the upper and middle classes. It is for all the people. We in the Job Corps program can work at a job that combines the development of natural resources and of underprivileged young men."

As a corpsman, Ray Cosio, of California, looks at the Job Corps somewhat differently. In the center's newsletter, Tillamook Tiger Tales, he wrote, "The Job Corps is something for men who are in need of help. They have a home where they live and eat and work. They have a school to learn reading and math and other things."

And other things. Among these are optimism and hope.

CAMP ANGELL: HOME WAS NEVER THIS GOOD

(By Robert B. Frazier)

Most people don't even know it's there. One hint is a large mailbox on the east side of Highway 101 between Yachats and Waldport. Another is a green highway sign, on the west side, but on the ground. Each says "Camp Angell" and invites the visitor up the hill, into the dense forest of the Coast Range.

Another hint may be a pair of teenagers, in ill-fitting military clothing, lounging around one of the fleshpots of Yachats or Waldport, looking for something to do. They too say, if mutely, "Camp Angell."

Camp Angell is a Job Corps center, one of these war-on-poverty camps. It is temporary home to more than 100 boys—103 on a day last week—who are from 16 to 21, who weren't cutting the mustard back home and who may—if the program works—turn out to be self-supporting, law-abiding citizens.

This isn't the same sort of place as the center at Tongue Point near Astoria. These boys, by and large, could not profit from the Tongue Point program. The lack the basic reading and mathematics skills the Tongue Point boys need to understand their instruction in vocational subjects.

They come from almost every State in the Union—but only one is from Oregon. A third of them are Negro. Most come from families where the mother was head of the household. The past 3 months of Camp Angell gave some of them the first opportunity in their lives to talk seriously with a man.

While the boys are at Camp Angell, they'll learn basic work habits, some facility with

tools, and will pick up, if all goes well, enough academic background to qualify for more training. Some may stay as long as 2 years. The staff hopes many do, if the 2-year stint will qualify them for a better life.

Like Tongue Point, Camp Angell has its dropout problems. But they are less severe. The staff can't force a boy to stay on if, as in the case of most dropouts, he is horribly homesick. But going home can be discouraged.

A boy says he wants to quit. The staff is understanding, but so slow. Going home requires a great deal of paperwork. The boy fills out forms, explaining why he wants to leave. He talks to various counselors and job supervisors, preparing the way for the trip home. Often, by the time all the redtape is gone though, the boy decides maybe he doesn't really want to leave after all.

The boys are paid on the same scale as the boys at more advanced center at Tongue Point. This means $30 a month in cash—$40 or $50 for assistant leaders and leaders who act as noncoms. Another $50 a month is put aside for them as a readjustment fund. And $25 of that may be sent home, matched by an additional $25 if the boy has a dependent, as many have. After a boy's position in the Job Corps is secure, he may get a $75 clothing allowance.

The program, like that at Tongue Point, is new and experimental. Mistakes are being made, and will be made, at least until there is a body of experience to show where the rocks and shoals lie.

The camp itself is not beautiful. It is on the site of two previous Camp Angells, one a CCC camp, the other a center for conscientious objectors in World War II. Most of the buildings, though, are new—new and raw. Last week the paving had not been completed, lawns were still in the future. It looked for all the world like an old CCC camp, or like some of those World War II installations that were built in a day.

The setting, though, is magnificent, at least in summer. The boys look westward into the Pacific, north, south and east out over stands of new timber growing on cutover land. It must be quite a sight for the teenager from the city slums or the great plains.

The real veterans of Camp Angell have been there only since April 28. But already the changes in them are apparent, as before-and-after photographs show. They thrive on the menu, which figures each will burn up 4,100 calories a day. And each day the 103 boys devour between 20 and 30 gallons of milk. Home was never like this.

Fritz Lanham

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, those of us who served with Fritz Lanham recall some of his outstanding work in the field of legislation. Many measures still bear his name, and in the years to come students of U.S. legislative history will have occasion to note his handiwork.

As I recall Fritz—he and I were unusually warm friends—my most vivid recollections are of his kindly acts in behalf of people who had personal problems. Fritz was one who loved his fellowman and whose greatest pleasure was in doing things for people who might otherwise not have been able to get them done. Although he was a man of great force, I cannot imagine him ever saying an unkind word to anyone, regardless of provocation.

In this business of politics I have often observed that if our colleagues wish to help us we will be successful. This was proved in the case of Fritz Lanham. He had done many things for many people in the Congress. Consequently, when he had a project of special interest to him, there were innumerable Members who were anxious to help.

The high regard in which he was held lasted after he retired and was still active in Washington. When he finally elected to return to his beloved Texas we missed having him around, and we shall miss him even more now that he has gone on to his ultimate award.

Our sympathy goes to Mrs. Lanham and the surviving members of his family.

Health Insurance for the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a brief explanation of "Medicare"—health insurance for the aged, published by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

There being no objection, the explanation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HEALTH INSURANCE FOR THE AGED—A BRIEF EXPLANATION OF "MEDICARE"

The 1965 social security amendments established a broad program of health insurance, known popularly as "medicare," for people 65 or older. This program is important for persons now working, for they will have this protection in later years. But if you are already 65, or will reach that age soon, you especially will want to have the information this leaflet provides on how these health insurance programs will protect you when they start in July 1966.

TWO KINDS OF HEALTH INSURANCE

Hospital insurance: To help pay the bills when you are hospitalized. The program also provides payments for skilled nursing care and other services in an extended care facility after hospitalization, outpatient hospital diagnostic services, and home health services.

This insurance is financed out of special contributions paid by people while they work, with matching contributions from employers, so that people will not have to pay for this protection when they are old and not working.

Medical insurance: To help you pay the bills for doctors' services and for a number of other medical items and services not covered under the hospital insurance program.

The medical insurance program is voluntary. You decide whether to enroll for protection under the medical insurance program. You can have this important added protection at a low cost ($3 monthly) because the Federal Government will pay an equal amount toward the cost.

HOW PEOPLE 65 AND OVER QUALIFY

Most people will not have to go to the social security office to qualify for protection under the hospital and medical insurance programs.

You will not need to go to your social security office if—

You are getting social security or railroad retirement benefits. You qualify automatically for hospital insurance, and an application card for medical insurance benefits will be mailed to you in September or October with a leaflet explaining both of these programs.

You are receiving a Federal civil service retirement annuity. You will get information and the necessary applications by mail. You will be told if it is necessary to go to the social security office later.

You are receiving public assistance payments. In most cases, the public assistance agency will assist you in applying for hospital insurance and will advise you about enrolling for medical insurance.

You should go to your social security office if you are not receiving any of the above payments and if—

You have worked under social security but have never applied for benefits. The people in your social security office will help you apply for hospital insurance. They will also advise you on how you can enroll in the medical insurance program.

You have never worked under social security. Get in touch with your social security office between September 1, 1965, and March 31, 1966.

HOSPITAL INSURANCE

Nearly every [1] American 65 or over will be protected under the hospital insurance program when it starts in July 1966. If you qualify, these are the benefits for which you will be eligible:

Hospitalization for up to 90 days in a "spell of illness" [2]—the program pays for covered services during 60 days of care in a participating hospital, except for the first $40, during a spell of illness. If you are hospitalized for more than 60 days during your spell of illness, the program will pay all but $10 daily for covered services during an additional 30 days of care.

There is a lifetime limitation of 190 days on payments for treatment in mental hospitals.

Outpatient hospital diagnostic services: The program will pay 80 percent of the cost for diagnostic services you receive as an outpatient of a participating hospital during a 20-day period, except for the first $20 for each 20-day period.

Posthospital extended care in the kind of skilled nursing home or part of a hospital which qualifies as an extended care facility—after a hospital stay of at least

[1] Some Federal employees and former Federal employees who are not eligible for social security benefits are not eligible for hospital insurance. They may, however, enroll in the medical insurance program.

Aliens who are not eligible for social security cash benefits will be eligible for the hospital and medical insurance programs only if they were admitted to the United States for permanent residence and have actually resided in the United States for 5 years.

[2] A "spell of illness" begins on the first day you receive covered services as a patient in a hospital or extended care facility. It ends after you have been out of a hospital or extended care facility for 60 consecutive days. You may be discharged and readmitted several times during a spell of illness, but a new spell of illness cannot begin until you have been out of a hospital or extended care facility for 60 consecutive days.

3 days, the program pays for 20 days of extended care during a spell of illness. If you need this care for more than 20 days during a spell of illness, the program will pay all but $5 daily for an additional 80 days.

Posthospital home health care services: The program will pay the costs for up to 100 visits during the 365 days following your discharge after a stay of 3 days or more in a hospital or extended care facility, if these services are furnished under an approved plan. Services of visiting nurses, physical therapists, and other health workers (but not doctors) who come to your home to furnish health care services are covered. Doctors' visits are covered only under the voluntary medical insurance plan.

Effective dates: The benefits described above will become payable beginning July 1, 1966, except for posthospital extended care benefits which start on January 1, 1967. After the $40 deductible, benefit payments will cover the cost of your room and board in semiprivate accommodations, ordinary nursing services, and the costs of drugs, supplies, and most other items of service you receive which are customarily furnished for the care of patients by the hospital or extended care facility.

SUPPLEMENTARY MEDICAL INSURANCE

The hospital insurance program will help you pay your hospital bills, but it does not pay doctor bills. You can provide in advance toward paying your doctor bills, though—and other medical bills, too—bysigning up for the medical insurance program.

When you enroll for medical insurance, you agree to pay a small premium ($3 monthly) with the Federal Government matching this amount.

The medical insurance program pays 80 percent of the reasonable costs or charges for covered services, except for the first $50 in a calendar year.

Since the program does not begin until July 1, 1966, no expenses you have before that time can count toward the $50 for 1966.

The services covered under medical insurance include:

Physicians' and surgeons' services: No matter where you receive the services—at home, in the doctor's office, in a clinic, or in a hospital.

Home health visits: Up to 100 home health visits under an approved plan each year with no need for prior hospitalization. This is in addition to the 100 visits provided under the hospital insurance program.

Other medical and health services regardless of where rendered: including such things as diagnostic tests (X-rays, etc.; laboratory services); X-ray or radium treatments; surgical dressings, splints, casts; certain ambulance services; braces, artificial legs, arms, and eyes; rental of medical equipment such as iron lungs; and many other medical items and services.

The voluntary medical insurance plan becomes effective starting July 1, 1966. If you enroll in time, your medical insurance coverage will start on that day. The medical insurance program will not, of course, pay for any goods or services you receive before July 1966.

When you can enroll in the medical insurance program

The law provides specific periods of time, called enrollment periods, during which you can sign up for medical insurance benefits. The first enrollment period begins on September 1, 1965, and ends on March 31, 1966. As noted previously, people who are entitled to social security, railroad retirement, or civil service benefits will get their application cards by mail.

If you are 65 or older on January 1, 1966, you must sign up during the first enrollment period in order to be covered under the medical insurance program when it starts in July 1966. Remember, the first enrollment period ends on March 31, 1966.

If your 65th birthday occurs after January 1, 1966, your first enrollment period runs for 7 months beginning with the 3d month immediately before the month you reach 65, and ending 3 months after you are 65. For example, if you reach 65 in February, you may sign up any time between the preceding November 1 and the following May 30.

You will have protection as soon as you reach 65 only if you apply during the 3-month period just before you reach 65. In no case, however, will your medical insurance take effect before July 1, 1966.

What you will lose if you enroll late

There are several good reasons for signing up for the medical insurance program during your first enrollment period. If you pass up your first opportunity, you will not have another chance to sign up until the next general enrollment period (October 1, 1967, to December 31, 1967). Furthermore, if you wait to enroll, you will have to pay a higher premium for the same protection, and your coverage will not begin until 6 to 9 months after you enroll.

Paying the monthly premium

If you join the voluntary plan and you are receiving monthly social security benefits or a railroad or civil service retirement annuity, $3 a month for medical insurance benefits will be deducted from your check each month. No deductions will be made before July 1966, the first month coverage can begin.

If you are not eligible for social security checks for one or more months, arrangements will be made for you to take care of the $3 payments in a convenient manner.

If you are not receiving any of these benefits, you will get information when you enroll about how to pay the monthly premiums.

YOUR HEALTH INSURANCE CARD

After you qualify for the hospital insurance program you will receive a health insurance card by mail. If you enroll in the medical insurance program, your card will show that you have medical insurance coverage in addition to the hospital insurance protection.

After June 1966, whenever you use any of the services which are covered, show your health insurance card to the hospital, extended care facility, home health agency, doctor, or other person providing the services. The part of the bills for which payment can be made will then be taken care of by the program.

Some services are not covered by health insurance

The hospital insurance plan gives you basic protection against the high cost of illness in old age, but it will not pay all of your health care bills. For example, physicians' and surgeons' services, including the services of pathologists, radiologists, and anesthesiologists in the hospital, are not covered by the hospital insurance plan. (If you enroll under the voluntary medical insurance plan, that plan will help toward paying your doctor bills.)

Some items and services are not covered under either plan: e.g., routine physical checkups, eyeglasses, hearing aids, private duty nurses, custodial care, and personal services such as a telephone or television in your hospital room.

Under the hospital insurance program, drugs are covered only when they are furnished to a patient in a hospital or extended care facility. Under the medical insurance program, drugs are covered only when they are administered by a physician as part of his services and cannot be self-administered.

Payments will ordinarily be made under the program only in the 50 States, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, and American Samoa. Hospital services under the basic hospital insurance plan may be provided in border areas immediately outside the United States if comparable services are not accessible in the United States for a beneficiary who becomes ill or is injured in this country.

HOW THE HOSPITAL AND MEDICAL INSURANCE PLANS WILL BE FINANCED

The financing provisions for hospital insurance and medical insurance are separated completely from the financing provisions of the regular social security program.

The hospital insurance program will be financed by special contributions from employees and self-employed people. Employers will pay a like amount. For each, the hospital insurance contribution rate will be 0.35 percent in 1966 on the first $6,600 of earnings. Thus, a worker who earns $4,000 yearly will pay $14 in 1966. In 1967, the rate will be 0.5 percent. Thus the worker with $4,000 earnings will pay $20 in 1967. The contribution rate is scheduled to increase periodically until 1987, so that in 1987 a worker will pay $32 yearly on $4,000 earnings. On the maximum earnings of $6,600 yearly, a worker will pay $23.10 in 1966, $33 in 1967, and $52.80 in 1987 and thereafter.

The hospital insurance contributions will be in addition to, and collected at the same time and in the same manner as the regular social security contributions. Income from the hospital insurance contributions will be put into the hospital insurance trust fund from which the program's benefits and administrative costs will be paid. (A special provision was included in the law to reimburse the hospital insurance trust fund from general tax revenues for the costs of providing hospital insurance coverage for the 2 million people who are not entitled to monthly social security or railroad retirement benefits.)

The medical insurance program will be financed through monthly premiums paid by people over 65 who enroll in the program and by matching payments from the Federal Government from general revenues. Income from the medical insurance premiums and the matching Federal payments will be put into the supplementary medical insurance trust fund, and the benefits and administrative expenses of medical insurance will be paid from this fund.

At least until 1968, the monthly premium (and the matching Federal payment) will be $3 for each person who chooses coverage under the medical insurance program. The law requires that the premium rates be examined every 2 years starting in 1967. The rates for the succeeding 2 years may be adjusted if a higher premium is required to pay the program's expenses.

You may, of course, drop out of the program. However, you may reenroll only once and then only during one of certain specified enrollment periods.

If you already have health insurance coverage

Do not, because of this new law, cancel any hospital or medical insurance you may now have. The health insurance provisions of the new law give no protection whatsoever until July 1966.

If you cannot meet your medical expenses

The health insurance programs will pay a large part of the cost of health care for most older people, but they do not pay the entire bill. If you are unable to pay medical expenses not covered by the insurance programs, you may qualify for aid from your public welfare agency. Most States have medical care programs for aged people who cannot pay their medical bills, and the 1965 amendments make it possible for the States to strengthen and improve these services. Your public welfare agency may be able to help you.

Ivory Coast Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, the 7th of August 1965, is the fifth anniversary of the independence of the Republic of the Ivory Coast. We wish, on this occasion, to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Felix Houphouet-Boigny, President of the Ivory Coast; and to His Excellency Konan Bedie, the Ivory Coast Ambassador to the United States.

We of the United States extend to the people of this small African state congratulations on their remarkable achievements, and we express our admiration for the outstanding economic progress which has been achieved under the leadership of President Felix Houphouet-Boigny and his government.

The Ivory Coast was first visited by Europeans during the 17th century, when French sailors and traders landed there and established the ivory trade. During the 18th century widespread migrations took place and the major ethnic groups of the modern Ivory Coast settled there. Beginning in 1942, various areas of the country became parts of a French protectorate which in 50 years came to include the entire country. After the First World War, plans for economic development were formulated and have been carried out with increasing success ever since.

In 1946, Mr. Houphouet-Boigny founded the African Democratic Rally, now an important political party in many African countries. Under his leadership and that of his party, the peoples of the Ivory Coast have been united in their progress toward political independence and economic development. On the 7th of August 1960, the Ivory Coast achieved complete independence from France.

Since the end of World War II, the Ivory Coast has made remarkable progress in all fields of internal development. Educational facilities have been greatly expanded: in addition to more primary and secondary schools, many technical education centers have been established; a university has been founded in Abidjan, and programs for adult education have begun. The Ivory Coast is an area with a difficult climate and the people have always been subject to many serious illnesses. With the help of French doctors, hospitals, medical centers, and public health services have been established throughout the country.

Great progress has also been made in the field of transportation, with the construction of modern roads, railroads, bridges, and airfields. These projects have, in turn, greatly aided the economy by facilitating the export of the Ivory Coast's principal cash crops: coffee, cocoa, wood, and bananas. The Government has supported and encouraged the establishment of industry which is rapidly increasing throughout the country, especially in the north at Bouake. Great attention has been given to the improvement of housing and sanitation, as is clearly demonstrated by the appearance of the beautiful modern capital city, Abidjan.

The people of the Ivory Coast have clearly demonstrated their maturity and sense of national responsibility in the 5 years of their independence. We congratulate them on their impressive internal achievements and do not doubt that they will continue to progress; we wish the people of the Ivory Coast the best in all their future endeavors.

Powers of the States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excerpt from the August 1 broadcast by Dean Clarence E. Manion, entitled, "The Sadistic Subversion of the States."

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SADISTIC SUBVERSION OF THE STATES—FOUNDATION OF AMERICAN SYSTEM IS BEING RAZED BY WARREN COURT

(By Dean Clarence E. Manion)

The Cincinnati Enquirer (July 18) reports that on last July 17, at Athens, Ohio, television commentator David Brinkley made a speech to assembled students of Ohio University. He said this: "The decline and fall of the 50 State governments will be completed within our lifetime. The movement of political power from State capitals to Washington, D.C.," he said, "is inevitable and unstoppable whether we like it or not."

From the extended report of his remarks, I suspect that Mr. Brinkley couldn't care less about this impending death of the American constitutional system. He thinks that the State legislatures are made up of "part-time amateur legislators" and that they tend to be both corrupt and inefficient. Mr. Brinkley is convinced that "it is harder for local governments to legislate on unpopular but nevertheless necessary measures because they are far more subject to pressure."

The moral here appears to be that we must get the government away from the people and move it down to Washington where it will be closer to the Bobby Bakers.

I have been wondering how many of the students in Mr. Brinkley's audience had delved deeply enough into the university library to sense the seriousness of what this speaker was talking about. As an antidote for this kind of political poison, I hasten to recommend to them and to you the most fascinating single volume in the entire library of classical American history, "The Critical Period" by John Fiske (Houghton-Mifflin, copyright 1888).

This book describes the birth of the State governments to which Mr. Brinkley so derisively referred. It deals with the turbulent time that elapsed between the surrender of Cornwallis (Oct. 19, 1781) and the final adoption of our Federal Constitution. Nine out of ten Americans who read this revealing old book for the first time are shocked and surprised to discover our original States actually making war upon one another, and to find that we missed being the permanently "Disunited" States of America by a hairsbreadth.

In 1776 our Declaration of Independence had said that these colonies "are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." When the last of the hated British troops sailed away from our shores, each one of these 13 original and now suddenly "free" States was putting every possible emphasis upon its newly found sovereign independence. In this story of the "Critical Period" you will find that in spite of what the great Daniel Webster subsequently and so eloquently said to the contrary, our liberty and our union were definitely not "one and inseparable."

After the War for Independence each State proceeded to go its separate, sovereign way. A number of them stubbornly persisted in their independence far beyond what many regarded as the bitter end when the new Union had finally become established with the ratification of the new Constitution by the necessary ninth State, namely, Virginia, in 1788 (June 25).

For instance, North Carolina withheld its ratification of the Constitution until November 1789, and Rhode Island remained independent, sovereign, and aloof from the newly constituted Union for more than a year (May 29, 1790) after George Washington's first inauguration as President (Apr. 30, 1789). Actually, therefore, there were only 11—not 13—original States in the new United States of America.

All this is recalled now to emphasize the serious turnabout in our constitutional history which Mr. Brinkley casually tells us is "inevitable and unstoppable." If he is right, then the creature is about to consume its creator, for the fact is that the Union did not create the States. On the contrary, the States created the Union. They created it by ratifying and accepting, separately and severally, and with great reluctance, a mutually-binding, common contract called the Constitution of the United States.

This unique contract created a new agency for the States and for the people of the States. We now call this agency the Federal Government. Every valid power that the Federal Government possesses has come to it from the original reservoir of State powers and—as we have seen—every one of these new Federal powers had been exercised in and for and by each State respectively during the critical period before the Constitution was adopted.

The constitutional contract itself says: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution * * * are reserved to the States respectively or to the people" (Art. 10—Amendments U.S. Constitution).

Such a federated government of divided powers by solemn contract had never been created before, and the struggle to get it ratified by the necessary 9 of the then existing 13 States was long and bitter. In all of the States, many of those who had been prominent and active in the Revolution were much less than enthusiastic about the proposed new Constitution. But they all shared a general fear that unless the States now ratified this agreement to stand together in a firm Union, each of them would soon be gobbled up, one after another, by predatory European governments and returned to the status of colonies.

At the same time some of the most fervent Revolutionary patroits, men like Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee—who had made the motion for the Declaration of Independence in the Continental Congress—were fighting hard against ratification of the Constitution because they professed to see in the proposed new Federal Government the makings of a tyrant worse than the one they had just overthrown.

While ratification was precariously in the balance, the passionate and pessimistic predictions of the Patrick Henrys and the Richard Henry Lees were being studiously rebutted by the skillful arguments and firm assurances of the James Madisons, the Alexander Hamiltons and, primarily and principally, by the great popular influence of George Washington. So, eventually the plan for a more perfect union was approved, but only after firm promises and with solemn understandings, but definitely without the enthusiasm that would have called for a celebration.

FEARS OF ORIGINAL STATES NOW JUSTIFIED

With many misgivings the several State conventions finally accepted the new Federal Constitution, mainly because they wanted to provide for the common defense of all of the States against the threat of external aggressions upon the expressly reserved right of each State to govern itself according to its own particular constitution.

These ratifying conventions were finally convinced that the great reserved powers of the several States would provide each and all of them with an effective emergency brake against the threat of encroachment by the concentrated strength of the new Federal authority. If the ratifying conventions had not reached this conclusion concerning the reserved right of each State to govern itself, the Constitution would have been rejected, and only God knows what effect such rejection would have had upon the subsequent history of the world.

Now, in the current judgment of that subsequent history, as interpreted by Mr. Brinkley, Chief Justice Warren, and others, this final comforting conclusion which gave us the Constitution turns out to be entirely wrong. These current historians now blandly decree that constitutionally reserved State powers are dead, and good riddance. The present managers of our constitutional history are unimpressed by the fact that the solid nature of expressly reserved State powers was universally regarded as indestructible for 150 years after the Constitution was ratified upon the express condition that it would be so regarded.

This basic constitutional concept was carried unscatched through the long Civil War, immediately after which the Supreme Court of the United States declared "The Constitution in all of its provisions looks to an indestructible union of indestructible States" (*Texas* v. *White*—19 Law Edition—227, 1869).

This is to say that in the context of the Constitution, the continued political and constitutional integrity of the several States is a vital, organic part of our governmental system which is indispensable to the legal and orderly processes of the Government of the United States. Thus, when Mr. Brinkley predicts the destruction of State governments and the absorbtion of their functions by the Government in Washington, he is not describing reform, he is predicting revolution.

Dwight D. Eisenhower sensed the danger of this revolution and warned us about it more clearly than any President or candidate for President in modern times. Campaigning in Iowa in 1952, Mr. Eisenhower declared, "If the States lose their meaning, our entire system of government loses its meaning and the next step is the centralized national state" which is the soil of autocracy, he said.

As President, in 1953, he told the Governors Conference, "I am here because of my indestructible conviction that unless we preserve in this country the place of State government with the power, the authority, the responsibilities, and revenues necessary to discharge these responsibilities, we are not going to have America as we have known it—we will have some other form of government."

It is more than ironic, it is tragic, that these sincerely expressed sentiments should have been climaxed by President Eisenhower's appointment of Earl Warren to be Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. Judged solely by the sustained stream of pertinent decisions that the Supreme Court under his leadership has rendered, Justice Warren's overweening purpose since he accept President Eisenhower's appointment in 1954 has been to destroy the constitutional integrity of the State governments—the very integrity that his patron and sponsor was so avidly anxious to restore and preserve.

Justice Warren particularly and a majority of his colleagues generally have not missed a single opportunity to strike down precedents that had protected the reserved, self-governing powers of the States since the birth of the Republic. From prayer in the schools to pornography on the newsstands, Justice Warren and his malleable majority of the Justices have missed no opportunity to murder the self-government of the States in cold blood.

When he was paralyzing every one of the 50 State governments with his sadistic one-man, one-vote reapportionment decisions, one of his dissenting colleagues with commendable judicial restraint chided him thus: "I would think that our obligation to the States on whom we impose this new rule, as well as the obligation of orderly adherence to our own processes, would demand that we seek that aid which adequate briefing and argument lends to determination of an important issue. It certainly has never been a postulate of judicial power that mere altered disposition or subsequent membership on (this) the Court is sufficiently warrant for overturning a deliberately decided rule of constitutional law" (Justice Harlan, *Mapp* v. *Ohio*, 367 U.S. 643).

* * * * *

The Late Honorable Fritz Lanham

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I had hoped to be present in the House yesterday upon the occasion when the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN], dean of the delegation from Texas, the Speaker and others paid tribute to the memory of the late Fritz Lanham. It was impossible for me to be present on account of action being taken at the time by the Senate and House conferees on the Independent Offices appropriation bill.

I have read with great interest the tributes which were paid to the memory of the late Fritz Lanham. I shall not undertake to add at length to what has already been said, but I cannot refrain from an expression of esteem and respect for Mr. Lanham.

When I came to Washington in December of 1934, preparatory to taking my seat as a Member of the 74th Congress, Mr. Lanham was the first Member of Congress to come to my office for a visit. I shall never forget his wise counsel and advice upon that as well as other occasions. No Member of Congress in my time has commanded greater respect in the House of Representatives than Fritz Lanham. He was a man of great culture and talent. He was a lovable man. He was a wizard with words. I would rate him as among the most polished speakers I have ever heard in my life. His speeches were outstanding.

His traditional speech, each year in the House, on the independence of Texas was inspiring. Fritz Lanham wrote a record in Congress of which our State can always be proud. We can take pride in his accomplishments as we mourn his passing. His lovely wife, Hazel, will be remembered here by scores of friends and we want her and the family to know of our sympathy and sorrow at this sad time.

"The Ugly Russian"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, Victor Lasky, author of "The Ugly Russian," has this month given some highlights of his book in a Washington Daily News series. It is said in the opening presentation:

American representatives abroad are often pictured as inept, bungling do-gooders who don't know how to win over the emerging nations of Africa and Asia. At the same time, the Soviets have been pictured as skillful, slick operators who know all the tricks in making propaganda hay around the underdeveloped world. Victor Lasky, who for 20 years has been a student of Communist activities around the world, has recently returned from a 3-month visit to more than 20 countries in Africa and Asia to see how the Soviets are faring in cultural exchanges, foreign aid, and the diplomatic offensive in the emerging world. His findings—that the Russians have outbungled the Americans all over Africa and Asia—are published in his book "The Ugly Russian."

Mr. Speaker, I wonder if this is not dismaying to the American people: While 125,000 of its young men are ordered to Vietnam to fight a bloody war against Soviet totalitarianism, perhaps to die in the name of freedom, self-government, and human dignity, racial bigotry is the great common meeting ground between America and the Soviet Republic.

"THE UGLY RUSSIAN"

(By Victor Lasky)

(NOTE.—American representatives abroad are often pictured as inept, bungling "do-gooders" who don't know how to win over the emerging nations of Africa and Asia. At the same time, the Soviets have been pictured as skillful, slick operators who know all the tricks in making propaganda hay around the underdeveloped world. Victor Lasky, who for 20 years has been a student of Communist activities around the world, has recently returned from a 3-month visit to more than 20 countries in Africa and Asia to see how the Soviets are faring in cultural exchanges, foreign aid, and the diplomatic offensive in the emerging world. His findings—that the Russians have outbungled the Americans all over Africa and Asia—are published in his book "The Ugly Rus-

sian" (Trident). This series, exerpted from the book, gives some highlights, starting with the encounters between Afro-Asians and the ugly Russian in his own front yard.)

A young Somali beaten senseless for daring to dance with a Russian girl; a boy from Uganda called a black monkey and beaten by a gang of jeering Muscovites; a medical student from Ghana found dead in a suburban Moscow snowbank and fellow Africans, believing he is a victim of foul play, riot outside the Kremlin.

These are a few of the ugly stories that have been brought home to the new countries of Africa by embittered students, many of whom have quit Iron Curtain universities, claiming that racial bigotry is not the exclusive shame of the colonialist-capitalist nations—as the Communists had led them to believe.

"I didn't really want to study in Russia," a thoughtful and gregarious economics major from Ghana explained to George Feifer, an American graduate student at Moscow State University, "but I can honestly say that I was not at all anti-Soviet before I came. That started only after I got to know Russia and the Russians for myself. The Americans waste a lot of money trying to make sure that Africa does not go Communist. All they have to do is pay the way for more of us students to take our degrees here. Ask any of my friends—they're more disillusioned about the Soviet way of life than any American propaganda could make them."

ATTRACTIVE BAIT

The Africa grievances were fully justified on even more profound grounds. To gain African recruits, the Russians and their satellite partners offered attractive bait in lands hungry for learning and short of schools—all-expense-paid scholarships at Communist universities. The Communists were not too selective, accepting students lacking the necessary educational credits. And some students vanished into the East over secret students' routes—without the knowledge of their respective governments.

The African students, by and large, had taken the lure on the assumption that they would learn skills and professions with which to return better equipped to serve their newly independent countries. But they complained about the incessant propaganda, the regimentation on books and travel, the manipulation of their reading and source of information, and the overdose of Marxist doctrine in the classroom.

But the Africans' major complaint was that they were humiliated as Negroes, Abdul Amir Mohammed of Somalia, a former student at Moscow State University, told how Russian students "often surrounded us in a circle and pointed out to each other our hair, our lips, our hands—emphasizing with snickers our racial differences."

One result has been that many African students, unable to maintain their self-respect in the face of unreasoning intolerance, have quit the Communist universities they had so eagerly entered. (Not all African students found it easy to quit. True, the Soviet Government guarantees them transportation to and from their home countries, but the return passage cannot be used until they have been in Russia 4 years.)

OPEN LETTER

Another result was an African "Revolt on the Campus" in Soviet Russia. Many dark-skinned students protested the forced Marxist-Leninism they were subjected to, while their real studies went neglected. They demanded explanations for the repeated beatings of African students caught dating Soviet girls, and for the reprisals taken against the girls. They began holding strategy meetings on how to survive as Africans in the sea of Soviet bigotry around them.

And then a group of student representatives—from Algeria, the Cameroons, the Congo, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Mali, Morocco, Nigeria, the Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Egypt, and Uganda—drew up an "open letter," sent to the United Nations and all African governments. It stated its aims in unequivocal terms: "To call attention of all African governments to the deceits, the threats, the pressure, the brutality and the discrimination" that the students had suffered in Soviet Russia.

In February 1960, Nikita Khrushchev decided the best way to handle the students was to segregate them. He announced his plan to establish Friendship University in Moscow, solely for students from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The institution was soon after renamed Lumumba University, but to the colored students it has always been "Apartheid U."

Lumumba University made it easier for the Soviets to control the students, but at the same time it heightened their sensitivity to Soviet racial discrimination. One of the first students was William Anti-Taylor, a Ghanian who had studied at the University of Ghana. "There is a big eight-story building facing one of our university buildings on Kabelnaya Street in Moscow," Mr. Anti-Taylor later recalled. "Beside this building is a children's playground. On the balconies of the building, the children of the tenants usually are found playing around their parents who sit enjoying the sun in summer. Is there any African student on Kabelnaya Street who can really say he never has had 'Nigger, Nigger' shouted at him by these children, even in the presence of their parents, who do not care to stop them?"

EMBITTERED ETHIOPIAN

In 1961, an Ethiopian named Mustafa arrived at Lumumba University eager to study his trade—servicing aircraft. He described himself as having "an open mind about politics."

The first thing that annoyed him was discovering that he was to share two small rooms with six other Africans. "It was almost impossible to study," he said.

He was also disturbed to learn that he and other African students got a Soviet allowance of only $99 a month whereas the Americans and other Westerners got approximately three times as much. At the same time, it hurt his conscience to discover that the Africans were getting three times as much as the Russian students.

"I didn't really mind the Americans getting so much," he said, "but why should I have gotten three times as much as the Russians?"

The fear of Africans mixing with local girls is as persistent in Moscow as in Mississippi. "Komsomolskaya Pravda," the organ of the Young Communist League, purported to tell the story of a Russian girl named "Larissa" who had been in love with a young Communist leader. Then blond-haired "Larissa," otherwise a brilliant law student, met "Mahmoud," an African law student, and after becoming intoxicated at a party, spent the night with him. Later they were married. After leaving the Soviet Union, she was supposedly sold by "Mahmoud" into the harem of a friend. The tale ended with "Larissa" attempting to escape from the harem; but, just before she could reach the Soviet Embassy, she was recaptured.

Africans in Moscow were outraged. They demanded that the editors name the country where the incident supposedly took place. Somewhat flustered, the editors confessed there was no such land and that there had been no such incident. They said they had merely intended to warn Soviet citizens about entanglements with foreigners whose customs might be different from their own. Whatever the official explanation, the message was clear; Africans were barbarians, and Soviet girls were not to fraternize with them.

GHANAIAN FOUND DEAD

A real shocker came on December 13, 1963, when the body of a 29-year-old Ghanaian medical student, Edmund Asare-Addo, was discovered in a snowbank near the Khovrino railroad station just outside Moscow. The youth, returning to his medical school at Kalinin, 100 miles to the northwest, had been seen boarding a train at Moscow's Leningrad Station the night before.

Mr. Asare-Addo had been planning to marry a Russian girl against strong objections from her parents and friends who opposed such a union on racial grounds. Suspecting foul play, his fellow Africans clamored for an investigation.

Soviet authorities claimed that an autopsy showed no signs of violent death. They said the victim had been drinking. The implication was that he had wandered from his train, collapsed in the snow, and died of exposure.

But two Ghanaian medical students, who had attended the autopsy as observers, denied all this. They said that Mr. Asare-Addo's body bore bruises and other signs of a struggle. They charged the authorities with trying to cover up the truth.

Normally, such a story would not become public knowledge in Russia. But the angry Africans organized a mass demonstration in the Kremlins Red Square, the likes of which had not been seen since the late twenties when supporters of Leon Trotsky protested his removal by Stalin from the Soviet leadership.

An estimated 500 Africans, many of them wearing the traditional red Ghanaian mourning band on their heads, surged into the square, scuffled with police and climbed over or under a barricade of trucks and cars. Communist officials later launched the rumor that the Africans had demonstrated in Red Square because their demand for brotheis had been rejected. But the placards in Russian and English they carried told the story: "Moscow, a Second Alabama," "Stop Killing Africans" and "Moscow Is the Center of Discrimination in Culture."

The students had first assembled in front of the Ghanaian Embassy, where authorities tried vainly to dissuade them from marching on the Kremlin. They marched five abreast, led by a young African girl carrying a picture of Mr. Asare-Addo enclosed in a wreath. Then came the tussle with Soviet police and the rush into Red Square past Lenin's granite tomb and on toward the great Spassky Gate guarding the entrance to the Kremlin.

Few observers could recall ever seeing the gate closed before. But Soviet citizens who witnessed the scene from closed-off side streets, or from the windows of the giant GUM department store, would no doubt long remember the sight of African students singing freedom songs in Red Square, and the sound of the huge Spassky Gate being slammed in their faces.

Hon. Fritz Lanham

SPEECH

OF

HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I desire to join my colleagues in expressing my sincere sorrow in the passing of the late Congressman, Hon. Fritz Lanham.

Fritz was able and outstanding. There never was a more successful Member of Congress than Fritz. He was a perfect gentleman, an eloquent orator and a true Christian. The people of Texas and the Nation have suffered a great loss and we all shall miss him. To his wife, Hazel, and all his folks I express my sincere sympathy.

My Country Is Far From Perfect So Why Am I Proud To Serve It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego Dispatch of July 30, 1965.

MY COUNTRY IS FAR FROM PERFECT SO WHY AM I PROUD TO SERVE IT?

(By Lt. R. F. Ball)

First of all, have you ever seen or heard of a perfect country? There is no such thing, because all countries are organized, governed, and inhabited by human beings, and men are fallible creatures. Therefore, recognizing that we are not gods, our Founding Fathers attempted the next best thing when they wrote the Constitution. Their goal was to form a more perfect Union than man had ever known before.

The basic idea was, and still is, that men can govern themselves. We do not need a king, a dictator or a small group of "strong men" to tell us how to run our lives. Our Government is designed to reflect the desires of the majority of our individual citizens.

We all know that majority rule would be disastrous for the minority. Therefore, in order to protect the rights of the minority, we have our Bill of Rights which establishes certain individual rights which cannot be taken from the people.

This unusual and complex concept of majority rule with minority protection will always be difficult to master. We have had problems in the past and we are going to have problems in the future, but we are always striving toward the best possible way of life for every man.

Admittedly, things seem to go wrong for us at times, and we complain and grumble about it. We know of injustices which go on about us. These problems are not a result of any basic unjustness of our governmental system. They are the results of a few individual persons who are selfish, ignorant, lazy or indifferent. Unfortunately, there are always a few of these around. Fortunately there are not too many and they are far from representative of the average American citizen and our basic concepts of the American way of life. No matter how many complaints we may hear about our country, we can be certain that we are always striving, always aiming, toward that more perfect union. By exercising our democratic processes, such as our right and privilege to vote, we can demonstrate our concern and insure the steady aim of our country.

We, as individuals, are not immortal on this earth, but the principles and ideals of our country are immortal. They are worth fighting for. We can be proud that we have the opportunity to serve this great Nation.

"We have staked the whole future of America, not on the power of government, but on the capacity of mankind for self-government"—James Madison, fourth U.S. President.

Freedom Academy Plan Backed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD (DICK) ICHORD

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newspaper editorial by Mr. James J. Kilpatrick appearing in the Washington Evening Star on Wednesday, August 4, 1965, entitled "Freedom Academy Plan Backed." The column describes the purposes and history of a bill recently reported by the House Committee on Un-American Activities:

FREEDOM ACADEMY PLAN BACKED

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

The House Committee on Un-American Activities came up with a bill the other day that has been almost wholly ignored in the press. This is a pity, for the bill is a good bill, intended to fill a critical need, and it ought not to be left to languish for want of public discussion.

The bill would create a new seven-man Freedom Commission, whose principal duty would be to establish and maintain a Freedom Academy. And the principal business of the academy would be to teach courses and conduct research in total political warfare against the Communist foe.

Such a proposal is not new. The bill just reported by the House committee is patterned generally upon a measure actually approved in the Senate 5 years ago. Since then, a bipartisan coalition of liberals and conservatives in both Houses has kept the idea alive. Sponsors of the plan include such respected men as MUNDT, CASE, DODD, DOUGLAS, FONG, HICKENLOOPER, MILLER, PROUTY, PROXMIRE, SCOTT, and SMATHERS in the Senate, and ICHORD, HERLONG, GUBSER, BOGGS, GURNEY, CLAUSEN, ASHBROOK, BUCHANAN, and FEIGHAN in the House.

Some of these gentlemen may disagree on details, but they share a common conviction that the people of the United States—and, more critically, the people in key posts in Government—know pitifully little about the nature of communism and the techniques of the Communist conspiracy around the world. By and large, we are babes in this wood. Trustful, innocent, gullible, eager to be loved, Americans by and large refuse to accept the relentless purposes of the Communist ideology. Conventional warfare we understand.

The proposed Freedom Academy would seek to fill this gap through teaching and research. It would maintain a library, publish papers, conduct seminars, cultivate public understanding; and it would draw its students not only from Government agencies, graduate schools and college faculties here at home, but also from key institutions and governments throughout the free world.

Not surprisingly, the State Department is cold to the plan. In State's view, "the bill as a whole would not serve as a useful instrument of national policy." Granted that we must employ not only military strength but also all of the "political, psychological, economic, and other nonmilitary means at our disposal," the State Department "seriously questions whether comprehensive and realistic plans for dealing with the infinitely complex problems of U.S. foreign affairs can be developed by a new, separate Government agency, especially one without operational responsibilities." In brief, State would leave the job to State.

From a purely administrative viewpoint, the objection may have merit, but it founders in the blunt rebuttal that the State Department itself has failed abysmally to comprehend precisely this field of political warfare. If the State Department, through its Foreign Service Institute, had demonstrated a keen and continuing awareness of Communist imperialism—if it had done its own hard training job—more effective policies might have been devised, first to contain the enemy and then to defeat him.

In any event, the sponsors observe, the Foreign Service Institute exists for purposes at once broader and narrower. Its principal task is to teach the whole of diplomacy to the Department's own personnel. The Freedom Academy would specialize in the field of "Communist external political warfare," and the devising of means to combat it. In the sponsors' view, only an independent agency, cooperating with State, Defense, and the CIA, but separate from them, could run the proposed institution.

The committee report gives no indication of the probable cost of the Freedom Commission (the State Department's cool guess is several million dollars a year), but in terms of total outlays for national security the sum would not be large. Quite conceivably, the investment might bring far greater returns than we got from the $900 million in foreign aid laid out for Indonesia.

Eugene Zuckert: Story of Dedication

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID S. KING

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. KING of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I wish today to join several of my colleagues who have taken the opportunity to express publicly their admiration for former Air Force Secretary, Eugene M. Zuckert, whose recent retirement causes us mixed feelings—happiness that he will have a much deserved rest; sorrow that he has left Government service; but above all, gratitude for his tireless and effective leadership, his dedication to his job, and his courtesy and kindliness to all of his associates.

On February 10, the Air Force Times contained an editorial which calls attention to some of his accomplishments. The record of those accomplishments serve as the best tribute I can think of to this distinguished American. I ask unanimous consent for that editorial to be included in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

EUGENE ZUCKERT: STORY OF DEDICATION

WASHINGTON.—Supporters of the Air Force are legion, but a likely candidate for the most dedicated Air Force man is Eugene M. Zuckert, who has completed 4 years as Secretary of the Air Force. That's a record, and all indications point toward Mr. Zuckert's remarkable tenure—most service Secretaries come and go like falling leaves—continuing indefinitely.

Mr. Zuckert first came to USAF in 1947, as a 36-year-old Assistant Secretary under the then Secretary (now Senator) STUART SYM-

INGTON. The native New Yorker served in that post until 1965 when he became a member of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

During other periods of his adult life he has served on active Navy duty (World War II), practiced law (LL.B., Yale, 1937), and held numerous governmental appointive posts. But his obvious love is the Air Force, and as its top administrator he pursues his myriad of duties with zeal and determination, yet with genuine humility and good humor.

In an organization the size of the Air Force, it is impossible to say one person is responsible for any one thing.

Zuckert has, however, fought with considerable success to keep the Air Force in the space business; pioneered management procedures which did much to expedite the C-141, TFX, Titan III, etc.; handled himself ably during the strenuous TFX probe; urged the Air Force to develop limited war and COIN capabilities before that course of action became popular in Air Force; straightened out the missile site construction problem in 1961 and contributed much to the improvement in the TAC and airlift areas.

A political appointee must remain loyal to the administration in power; otherwise he is not long for the post. This situation can place a service Secretary on the spot, as it appeared to do with Mr. Zuckert during the manned bomber issue.

While Air Force military leaders vigorously supported that project, recent administrations had little stomach for it.

Mr. Zuckert handled that issue by supporting a mixed force and a follow-on bomber, but without endorsing a particular design. This stand drew criticism from some quarters, but it helped keep the bomber study effort open. The record now shows, in the opinion of many people, that the B-70 probably wasn't the weapon for the job.

While he doubtlessly has compromised on some issues, he has exercised a strong hand in diverse matters—from relatively minor projects like supporting base Dinings-In to the vital point of insisting that within the Air Force military judgment not be ignored in important decisionmaking.

The latter insistence came against a background, under the McNamara regime, of apparent growing civilian infringement on traditional military authority and prerogative.

Most frequently the Air Force Secretary has seen to it that the bluesuiters seek ways to do business with the Defense Department rather than fighting it. A major Zuckert goal is to make officials look objectively at time-honored concepts and doctrine for possible change, for better ways of doing things.

Gene Zuckert speaks enthusiastically of the Air Force of the future. There are "great horizons" ahead, he told a group of close associates recently when they feted him on his fourth anniversary as Secretary. Mr. Zuckert gives short shrift to those who declare that the U.S. Air Force is on the decline.

The Secretary's interest in raising the professional qualifications of Air Force people is well known. He has strongly supported continuation of the separate services.

His support for better pay and improved personnel benefits, while positive, has been less vocal than certain military leaders have wished. Here again, however, the touchy question arises of just how far can a service secretary go in support of a program that the administration does not assign a huge priority?

His penchant for U.S. Air Force work is mirrored in many visits to bases, repeated treks to Capitol Hill to testify before committees, and numerous public appearances. He's scheduled to make five speeches in various parts of the country, during the next month.

Secretary and Mrs. Zuckert reside in Chevy Chase, Md., a suburb of the Nation's Capital. One daughter, Gene, was 1964 Azalea Queen at Norfolk, Va. Their other two children are Adrienne K., and Robert B., the latter a 1962 Yale graduate.

Zuckert's other activities include a directorship in the People-to-People Health Foundation (which operates the *Hope* ship), membership in the Washington, D.C., Beta Theta Pi alumni association and the executive council of the Yale Law School Association.

Roscoe Drummond Praises Hard Work and Scholarship of Congressman Tom Curtis as House GATT Delegate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, my esteemed colleague and associate, CECIL KING of California and our hard-working and dedicated member and my friend, TOM CURTIS, have taken on the difficult added assignment of representing this House as members of the U.S. Delegation for Trade Negotiations.

Last year CECIL KING and TOM CURTIS went to Geneva for the opening of the GATT talks and first-hand saw the beginning of these trying and complex trade negotiations which affect so many jobs and businesses in our country. They are naturally of important interest to Californians and we are very fortunate that CECIL KING, as the second ranking member of the Ways and Means Committee, has accepted this appointment.

Roscoe Drummond, one of the most respected, thoughtful and calm commentators of the Washington scene recently wrote a progress report on the GATT negotitaions for the many papers which carry his column, which include the Los Angeles Times, New York Herald Tribune, Philadelphia Inquirer, Washington Post, St. Louis Globe Democrat, Chicago Sun Times, and many others. In this column he frankly acknowledges the real contribution both in scholarship and in leadership which our valued colleague TOM CURTIS is giving to the GATT negotiations. Those of us who carry at least two major committee assignments as ranking members know the terrific responsibilities as to time and workload that this entails. As chairman of the joint House-Senate Atomic Energy Committee and second ranking member of the Government Operations Committee, I am fully aware of what is required as are other Members of this House. TOM CURTIS, in addition to being the senior minority member of the House Senate Joint Economic Committee and second minority member of the Ways and Means Committee accepted at my urging and other members of both parties in this body the ranking minority spot on the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress. In addition to this, he has taken an assignment on behalf of all of us which is involving a terrific amount of work and responsibility in connection with the trade negotiations.

Roscoe Drummond, who has been in Europe and Africa recently studying first-hand the economic and political situation, has been very impressed with the fact that this House now has real participation not as advisers or occasional visitors but as working delegates each week as the GATT negotiations develop through the work of TOM CURTIS and his staff. Because every congressional district is in some way involved in making the Reciprocal Trade Act really reciprocal and in making sure that American workers are provided with more job opportunities and American business is encouraged to work harder abroad, it is vital that someone who has a worldwide understanding of economics and what we would call forward-looking views participate in the congressional part of the negotiations. The amount of documents and personal interviews which have been conducted by TOM CURTIS represent a real credit to those of us who love this House, who want to serve in this House and who do not seek to transfer our time and talents elsewhere.

The responsible patriotic role of the congressional delegate becomes even more important in view of the fact that according to the Portland, Maine, Press Herald, July 2, editorial page, "The John Birch Society ridiculously phrased the following as 'wicked Communist and dangerous' U.S. participation in GATT," and so forth. The International Atomic Energy Commission is one with which I am fully familiar and I am sure that the House delegates will represent the best interests of the people of the United States notwithstanding the smears directed at GATT and its participants by the John Birch Society and other extremist groups.

Because there is a constant tendency of some on the outside to downgrade the hard-working role of many Members of Congress, such as CECIL KING and TOM CURTIS, it is reassuring that a responsible commentator such as Roscoe Drummond is paying tribute to the leadership, integrity, research, scholarship of TOM CURTIS in the foreign economic field. Roscoe Drummond's column of July 14 and an editorial from the St. Louis Globe Democrat of July 24–25, 1965, follows:

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, July 14, 1965]

DE GAULLE DOES IT AGAIN

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—There is no secret about what French President Charles de Gaulle is after.

He wants the protection of the U.S. nuclear umbrella without the presence of the United States through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

He wants French military superiority on the continent of Europe. He aims to achieve this by getting a nuclear capability for France while denying forever a nuclear capability to West Germany.

All of these aims run counter to U.S. purposes. They also run counter to the hopes, wishes, and purposes of all the other Common Market countries—Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg—as well as Britain.

De Gaulle's European partners want to see the Common Market run by a European

parliament as provided in the Treaty of Rome.

De Gaulle's NATO partners want the presence of the United States in Europe—not our withdrawal. They know that without NATO the whole Atlantic alliance would crumble. They want to see German military force embedded in the fabric of NATO.

French withdrawal from the Common Market negotiations on agricultural policy directly affects the United States.

For more than a year and a half important trade negotiations have been going forward at Geneva, Switzerland, under the auspices of GATT, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The outcome is crucial to opening world markets for both industrial and agricultural products of all countries equally. At stake is economic cooperation versus economic war.

The impression has been that these negotiations—known as the "Kennedy round"—have been getting absolutely nowhere. Now comes a new shaft of light from a report just brought back from Geneva to Congress by Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, Republican, of Missouri, in his unique role as congressional delegate.

CURTIS knows trade negotiations better than just about anybody in Washington. He finds that the Geneva talks are just now beginning to get somewhere and his report to Congress, which the administration found so informative and realistic that it has sent it to businessmen throughout the country, is: "There are now signs that given judicious and tough bargaining, U.S. negotiators can bring a successful conclusion to the present round."

CURTIS' mission to Geneva casts Congress in a new role created by the Trade Expansion Act. This act not only removed trade negotiations from the State Department and placed them directly under the President, but also provided for participation by Members of Congress. So far, CURTIS is the only Congressman who has gone to Geneva, but his own force and knowledge have made the congressional presence meaningful.

Now the outlook is again dimmed by De Gaulle's action. As CURTIS points out, only by bargaining simultaneously on both agricultural and industrial exports can the United States achieve any significant freeing of trade for both.

But as long as France prevents the Common Market from reaching a common policy on agricultural trade policy, the talks with the Common Market countries become fruitless.

This is why the latest De Gaulle wrench tossed into the machinery of the Common Market also strikes at the United States.

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, July 24–25, 1965]

MISSOURI'S MAN AT GENEVA

One of the more significant legislative achievements of the late President John F. Kennedy was passage of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. Under it the President was given sweeping authorization to reduce and eliminate tariffs on U.S. imports, in return for reciprocal cuts from nations to which this country sells.

The sixth round of tariff negotiations—under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)—which began May 4, 1964, is a natural outgrowth of that legislation. While there has been no dramatic success to date in this so-called "Kennedy Round" of negotiations, there yet remains the possibility of a successful conclusion, beneficial to world trade and hence the United States.

But it will require judicious, relentless, and tough bargaining by American negotiators to realize that objective before expiration of the Presidential powers of the Trade Expansion Act on June 30, 1967.

That is the opinion of Webster Groves' Congressman THOMAS B. CURTIS, the only member of the four-man congressional delegation to have thus far gone to Geneva to sit in on these negotiations, so critical to this country and to Missouri.

TOM CURTIS is regarded as the most astute and informed man on foreign trade in Congress.

According to Mr. CURTIS, America's original goal of a 50-percent reduction in agricultural and industrial tariffs now appears unrealistic. Negotiations on farm commodities have been delayed pending Common Market progress in formulating a common agricultural policy.

America is rightly reluctant to have bargaining on industrial tariffs get too far ahead of agricultural tariffs—as industrial concessions are all we have to induce Europeans to give us greater access to their agricultural markets.

The stake of Missouri and Illinois farmers in these negotiations is considerable.

One can readily imagine the complexity of multilateral trade negotiations involving modern capitalist states which must not only look out for adverse impacts upon emerging nations, but must also answer to numerous and politically powerful economic interests at home—for their every decision.

But one can also visualize the benefits that would accrue to men from the removal of artificial barriers against the free flow of goods. The United States—and the Common Market of Europe to a lesser degree—give some idea of the economic progress that can be made when there are few or no barriers to commerce.

We shall have a clearer picture of the prospects for success in the Kennedy Round by fall.

Campaign Speeches of Adlai Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. GILLIGAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. GILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, one does not often think of campaign speeches as great literature; in fact, the epithet "campaign talk" is often used to describe contemptuously the public utterances of a figure in political life. But millions of Americans, whatever their political persuasion, have recognized the campaign speeches of Adlai Stevenson in 1952 and 1956 as a significant and valuable contribution to the political history of this Nation.

These great addresses were characterized not only by Mr. Stevenson's wit and eloquence, but they represent an orderly and comprehensive and balanced commentary on the great issues which confronted the United States during the decade of the fifties, and many of these ominous problems still compel our attention and concern today. Through these speeches Mr. Stevenson not only talked sense to the American people, but he gave voice to the dreams and aspirations of our Nation, and of all freemen everywhere. In very great measure the thoughts and words of Adlai Stevenson prepared the hearts and minds of the people of the United States for the programs of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. Clearly, for the Government of the United States to collect and print now these great speeches would not only be a very great service to our citizens of today, and those in the generations to come, but it would also serve as a most fitting tribute to the life and public service of Adlai Stevenson.

Resolution Passed by the Wisconsin Legislature

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNN E. STALBAUM

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, the Wisconsin State Legislature recently sent to me two resolutions, one memorializing the Federal Government to cease using butter substitutes in its welfare programs, and the second requesting Congress to use Wisconsin agricultural products in the food for peace, Alliance for Progress, and other foreign aid programs.

I am pleased to place in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD these two resolutions passed by the Wisconsin Assembly and State Senate as both urge exactly what I propose in my bill, H.R. 8037, which calls for the Secretary of Agriculture to purchase domestically produced food commodities to strengthen food donation programs both at home and abroad.

It is a genuine pleasure for me to endorse these two resolutions which follow:

STATE OF WISCONSIN, ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION 9

Joint resolution memorializing the Federal Government to cease using butter substitutes in its welfare programs

Whereas Wisconsin's butter industry ranks second in the Nation, last year producing 308,517,000 pounds of butter which amounted to 21.7 percent of the Nation's total butter supply; and

Whereas the purchase of oleomargarine for distribution to needy persons is a direct blow to Wisconsin's dairy farmers and industry and out of focus with the Secretary of Agriculture's objective of improving the dairy farmers' income and an action which can only result in long-range damages to the American commercial market for butter; and

Whereas the U.S. Department of Agriculture should without exception exhaust every alternative available to it to maintain the supply of butter being used in domestic Government programs and make adjustments in foreign aid or in export programs to keep butter in the American consumer's diet: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the assembly (the senate concurring), That the legislature requests that positive action be taken opposing the purchase of oleomargarine now or at any future time for use in the Nation's welfare programs; and, be it further

Resolved, That copies of this joint resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Agriculture, and to each Wisconsin Member of the Congress of the United States.

ROBERT T. HUBER,
Speaker of the Assembly.
JAMES P. BUCKLEY,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.
PATRICK J. LUCEY,
President of the Senate.
WILLIAM P. NUGENT,
Chief Clerk of the Senate.

STATE OF WISCONSIN, ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION 54

Joint resolution to memorialize Congress to use Wisconsin agricultural products in the Food for Peace, Alliance for Progress, and other foreign aid programs

Whereas Wisconsin as America's dairyland is justly proud of its industrious and capable farmers; and

Whereas the industry of the Wisconsin farmer and the ingenuity of the department of agriculture at the University of Wisconsin have increased the productivity of Wisconsin's soil and of its famous dairy herds many times over; and

Whereas Wisconsin's agriculture is justly famous for developing many new and healthful food products; and

Whereas in spite of the tremendous advances in agricultural technology in recent decades and the abundance of food in this country, food supply remains one of the most pressing problems of mankind; the world needs food; and

Whereas the Federal Government of the United States has frequently lent money to foreign nations, or granted them credit in the form of foreign aid, for the purpose of acquiring agricultural produce: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the assembly (the senate concurring), That this legislature memorialize the Congress of the United States to consider a massive program of American-grown food for foreign aid, to ameliorate starvation throughout the world: a program in which Wisconsin dairy and other agricultural products could be used not only to feed the children of the world, but also to teach them, in a most instructive way, the benefits to be derived when agriculture can freely develop through the industriousness of the individual in a democratic society; and, be it further

Resolved, That duly attested copies of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, and to the Members of the delegation in Congress from Wisconsin.

ROBERT T. HUBER,
Speaker of the Assembly.
JAMES P. BUCKLEY,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.
PATRICK J. LUCEY,
President of the Senate.
WILLIAM P. NUGENT,
Chief Clerk of the Senate.

Federal Government and Vermont: Partners in Crime and Vice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to tell the Members of this House about the ignorant partnership of the Federal Government and the State of Vermont in keeping gambling illegal in Vermont thus making gambling's inevitably lucrative profits available for the use of organized crime.

Last year, the parimutuel turnover in Vermont came to $30 million. More significant—and more menacing—is Vermont's illegal gambling, which much exceeds the legal turnover on parimutuel. Testimony before the McClellan committee indicated that off-track betting comes to about $50 billion annually throughout the Nation, with this figure accounting for only some 42 percent of the nationtal annual illegal gambling total, which would thus be $120 billion. On a population basis illegal gambling in Vermont would come to about $240 million a year. Although this really seems a bit excessive, the fact remains that the mob cuts itself 10 percent of the illegal gambling take, which is inevitably many times the parimutuel figure, so that there can be little doubt that the mob is quarrying millions in Vermont. Government-run gambling would siphon these moneys from mob treasuries putting gambling revenues into action on popular behalf.

The best way to make gambling work for the public good—since it is basically ineradicable—is a national or series of State lotteries. If the State of Vermont would wake up to social and financial reality, it would legalize, regulate and control gambling so that the gambling urge of the people of Vermont could be made to help and not undermine society.

Upper Volta Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, today marks the fifth anniversary of the independence of the Republic of the Upper Volta. On this grand occasion, we wish to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Maurice Yameogo, the President of Upper Volta; and to His Excellency J. Boureima Kabore, the Upper Voltan Ambassador to the United States.

We in the United States congratulate the people of this African state on their independence and on their economic progress in the years since 1960.

The history of the Upper Volta until the end of the 19th century is the story of a remarkable civilization, that of the Mossi. These people arrived in the area during the 11th century, probably coming from East Africa, and established two small kingdoms in what is today northern Ghana. From there, their influence soon spread into Upper Volta, where a number of feudal kingdoms were established. One great king Ouedraogo. expanded his rule over all the neighboring lands and founded the famous empire of Moro Naba.

Under this Empire, social stratification was extremely rigid—a fact which still influences modern society in Upper Volta. It centered around the Emperor, who was surrounded by a vast court of ministers and dignitaries, ruled by the strictest code of etiquette. On a small scale, the people were—and are still—family-centered, all members of a family living in a small community in the midst of their own fields, usually quite separate from their neighbors.

In time the Empire broke into several kingdoms, which nevertheless remained strong enough to resist external pressures and to preserve the ancient feudal society. Not until the French arrived in 1896 did the people of Upper Volta yield to foreign control, and by the end of the 19th century the ancient power and stability were no more. First a protectorate was established; then in 1919 the various provinces became the territory of Upper Volta, part of French West Africa.

After 1946, political development was rapid; on August 5, 1960, the date of the traditional tree festival, the Upper Volta achieved complete independence.

The government of this country has been extremely active in making a reality of its plans for economic development. It has extended the all-important Mossi railroad; a program has been launched to provide more educational facilities and to achieve full enrollment within 15 years; yellow fever, the plague, and other endemic diseases have been checked by compulsory innoculation and by the attention of mobile medical units; and, social welfare centers are being established throughout the country.

We congratulate the people of the Upper Volta on their impressive progress in the years since independence: their modern economic and social achievements indicate that they are, indeed, the proud successors to the ancient kingdoms of the Mossi.

The Warsaw Uprising: A Commemoration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, on August 1, 1964, President Johnson issued a proclamation marking the 20th anniversary of the historic uprising of Polish patriots to liberate their capital, the city of Warsaw, from Nazi occupation.

In this proclamation the President spoke of the bravery of the Polish people, particularly in this uprising wherein they had demonstrated their determination to achieve liberty and independence.

The President noted that the American people regard the action of these Polish patriots in the Warsaw uprising as a great manifestation of bravery and devotion to their home and country.

This historic effort, Mr. Johnson said, "should serve to inspire people everywhere to rededicate themselves to the cause of freedom and justice."

Mr. Speaker, I do not think that there are many documents that express so well the meaning of the Warsaw uprising not only for Americans but for peoples all over the world.

The Warsaw uprising was a sustained act of desperation in which the freedom fighters of Warsaw sought to overthrow a tyranny that had oppressed the Polish people since the beginning of World War II in September 1939.

Here was a demonstration of heroism and courage on a grand scale, for against overwhelming odds these men of 1944 struck a blow for freedom. These Polish

men, these heroes of the streets and byways of Warsaw, brought to bear all the energies of body and soul against the Nazi oppressors; but alas their heroism could achieve no practical results, not because of any failure upon their part, but rather because of Soviet duplicity; for as these courageous Polish men fought a last-ditch struggle, the Soviet Army lay upon its arms in the environs of Warsaw and waited out the final destruction of the Polish resistance. The Soviet strategy was very simple; they had already determined to envelop Eastern Europe; their course in the long run would be made easier if the most powerful force of resistance in Poland could be destroyed. Hence, the Warsaw fighters were abandoned and left to be destroyed by the German Army.

I have said that this uprising had achieved no practical results. This is true; and it is one of the harsh realities of the last war. But causes such as those that the Warsaw uprising exemplify are not always lost causes. The Polish defenders were defeated, but what was not defeated was their will to fight against an intolerable oppression. In this spiritual sense, therefore, the Warsaw uprising was a great victory; for this great human effort has lived on in the Polish tradition; it has served as one of those great events in a nation's history that serve to rally all those glorious forces of patriotism.

This, then, is the meaning of the Warsaw uprising to us today. For this uprising was a national demonstration of love of country and love of freedom. Thus, today, peoples of the free world and those who are oppressed by tyranny can find in this great historic event a source of inspiration.

In August of last year, the 20th anniversary of this uprising, I happened to be in Warsaw and was amazed at the significance the Poles gave to this uprising. The Polish authorities permitted the people of Warsaw to commemorate this significant event and there were many floral tributes placed at the numerous sites were these heroic defenders of Warsaw fell in their fight to free the city. To see such a display of honor to those who perished pulled at the heart strings of the casual observer, who had no part in the uprising, but was aware of the struggle, futile as it was.

There was many a prayer said at these sites of the fallen dead, even though the defender was not known to the one who said his silent prayer. Many of the streets were a solid bank of floral displays and kneeling men, women, and children. Such a display of reverence could do nothing than to bring tears to the eyes of the onlooker. The authorities made no attempt to curtail this commemoration.

On this anniversary of the Warsaw uprising let us, therefore, pay tribute to the heroism of the Polish people; let us express again the eternal truth that these fallen heroes of Warsaw had not made a sacrifice in vain, for theirs was a universal cause of righteousness and justice; and finally let us rededicate ourselves to the eternal principles for which these men fought and died, the principles of freedom and patriotism.

Rudolph Miller

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to place in the RECORD a resolution by the Imperial County California Board of Education indicating their appreciation of the many years of service given to the people of Imperial Valley by Mr. Rudolph Miller.

Mr. Miller is certainly a man of many talents and he has never failed to come to the aid of the people who are in need of help. What is more, he is a man about whom it may be said with pride, "He is my friend." I am honored that he is my friend.

Born in Switzerland, Rudy came to the Imperial Valley in 1919 and has resided there ever since. I can only say from his service to California and to his country that we are fortunate he decided to become an American citizen. His story is that of America, a melting pot of many people, some born here, some who came here from other lands, all working together for a better life for all and a land of free and equal opportunity.

Rudolph Miller has not only been a member for 9 years of the Imperial County Board of Education, but is also active in the Imperial County Growers Association, the American Cotton Producers Associates, the Five Southwestern States Cotton Growers Association, the Imperial Valley Station of the University of California, and is on the advisory committee on cotton to the Secretary of Agriculture.

It is with great pleasure that I place this resolution in the RECORD:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, Mr. Rudolph Miller has been a member of the Imperial County Board of Education since July 1, 1956, a period of 9 years, and has served as president of the board for 2 years, and

Whereas Mr. Miller has shown an unselfish interest in the public schools of Imperial County, and in each individual child, and

Whereas he has arrived at a position of recognized leadership in our county and State, and

Whereas he has been willing to think independently and objectively about school problems, and

Whereas he has contributed much to the harmonious development of the education program of Imperial County, and

Whereas he has had the courage and ability to recognize and encourage wise educational policies whether or not they were popular at the moment, and

Whereas he has accepted the responsibility for making important decisions leading to reasonable solutions of difficult problems, and

Whereas he has remained calm, reasonable, and loyal to his trust in times of stress, and

Whereas he has made it a habit to withhold judgment on critical issues until the facts are available, and

Whereas he has always maintained a wonderful sense of humor,

Therefore, we the present members of the Imperial County Board of Education, do hereby express our deep and sincere appreciation for the time, work, thought, inspiration, and loyalty given by Mr. Rudolph Miller to this board which has resulted in great improvement of the education program in Imperial County.

It is with grateful thanks and sincere best wishes that we sign and present to him this expression of our appreciation.

Members of the Imperial County Board of Education,

MARGARET A. GUNTERMAN, *President.*
PHILIP J. MCANDREWS, *Vice President.*
JAMES F. TUTTLE, *Member.*
CHARLINE F. JONES, *Member.*
OLIN R. GRESHAM, *Secretary.*

The Secretary of State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished Secretary of State has been subjected to much criticism during the past several weeks. In my opinion, these attacks are unwarranted and I was pleased to see a newspaper editorial which gives Secretary Rusk the credit he deserves for his painstaking and unrelenting efforts to promote peace in the world, and to guide our Nation in its diplomatic relations with other countries.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including below an editorial which appeared in the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., on August 4, 1965:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Secretary of State Rusk has been the target in recent days of what should be more than one man's quota of slings and arrows. He seems to be the No. 1 subject in this garrulous city. We find ourselves thoroughly fed up with the whole business.

One instant historian has written that President Kennedy had decided to find a replacement for Dean Rusk. Maybe so; maybe not. Others have said that he was bypassed by President Johnson in the decision to go into the Dominican Republic. Again, this may be, or it may not be, true. It is worth noting, however, that Mr. Johnson last month paid tribute to Mr. Rusk as "one of the most able and most competent and most dedicated men I have ever known."

Other commentators who carry their crystal ball with them wherever they go, and who consult it every hour on the hour, have been spreading the rumor that a change in command at the State Department is imminent—if not tomorrow, then perhaps on some other tomorrow.

All of this strikes us as being irrelevant, if not irresponsible. The only thing that really counts is the quality of Mr. Rusk's performance in the State Department. He has performed in a most creditable fashion.

His is a job that is piled high with difficulties. It calls for an exceptional order of intelligence, patience, perseverance, and a willingness to work long into the night. No one can fault Dean Rusk on any of these scores.

It is not a job which calls for dramatization, for the gee-whiz approach. And, in passing, it might be said that we have enough

of that type in this town. Beyond his function as adviser to the President, the Secretary of State should be primarily concerned with trying to keep the lid clamped on—to search quietly for peaceful solutions to explosive international problems. This is what Mr. Rusk has been trying to do in collaboration, we are happy to note, with what he calls the "competent and dedicated" officials who work under him. It is fortunate for the country that this quiet man is on the job.

Self-Help Homes Dedication

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS C. McGRATH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. Speaker, on July 24, in Gouldtown, Cumberland County, N.J., an impressive ceremony marked the dedication of self-help homes built by six Gouldtown families. This marked the successful conclusion of a pilot program developed by the New Jersey office of the Farmers Home Administration and made possible through loans to the six families, all of which have an annual income of less than $4,000.

The ceremonies were attended by New Jersey Gov. Richard J. Hughes and other important personages, included among whom was Howard Bertsch, Administrator of the Farmers Home Administration of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Mr. Bertsch's remarks on that occasion are worthy of note beyond those present at that impressive ceremony. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I include Mr. Bertsch's address in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

FOCUS ON PEOPLE

This is a grand occasion.

I am extremely glad to be here this morning to join in this impressive dedication program.

Mayor Rieger, I know you and all of Fairfield Township are proud of this self-help housing project, proud of the fine homes that are being dedicated here today, and proud of these fine people who have worked together during the past year to make this occasion possible.

And Governor Hughes, we meet again, once more to observe an event that keeps New Jersey in the leadership role. Just about 2 years ago, I joined you in the dedication of the first senior citizen rental housing project in the United States financed by Farmers Home Administration. That was in Toms River, 2 years ago, August 5, 1963, to be exact.

Here, today, we are dedicating another first; a project that represents the first project in the East where people using their own labor and funds and some supervision provided by our agency, work together to build fine modern homes.

Mr. Custis, president of the group that the six families formed, has taken me through the homes.

I am deeply impressed.

The workmanship is excellent.

The color schemes are bright and cheerful—work of the wives, no doubt.

I'd wager you couldn't find a home anywhere in Cumberland County that stacks up with any of these for the same amount of investment.

This project is in line with the objectives and aims of President Johnson when he appeals for parity of opportunity for rural people.

Secretary Freeman recently pointed out that the appropriate focus for the Department is the people of all rural America—people who live in small towns and rural communities whether or not they are directly engaged in agriculture.

The strengthening of rural America is one of our major concerns.

There are those who would say rural America is going downhill * * * that our rural areas will be dotted with decaying towns * * * towns with dilapidated homes, dying industry * * * and towns that would offer little hope for the younger generations.

I say humbug to such talk.

Thanks to men like Congressman TOM MCGRATH, in whose district this project is located, rural America has a positive future. TOM MCGRATH has a hand in this project. Without men like him in Washington, men responsive to the needs of the people, the voices of the people would not be heard—and the laws that make such projects as self-help housing possible would not be on the books.

But self-help housing is just one of a dozen different programs Congress has seen fit for us to administer for the benefit of farm people as well as people living in small rural towns. Among those that play a major role in shaping and molding rural America are our programs for the development of water systems, recreational areas and improved housing.

First, let's look at our water system development program.

Since 1960, Farmers Home Administration has loaned over $110 million to finance the construction of new rural water systems or the improvement of existing facilities in nearly 800 rural communities.

Because of the water system loan program, over a half-million rural residents are now or soon will be enjoying adequate fire protection, running water in their kitchens and bathrooms and have sufficient water for their livestock and garden crops.

Typical of the small communities that will soon enjoy a central water supply for the first time is the small New Jersey community of Rosemont, a tiny village of about 175 souls tucked away in the rolling farmland just above Stockton, in Hunterdon County.

Next month we will close a loan of $60,000 to finance the construction of a water system for the families in Rosemont.

But there are still about 30,000 rural communities that are not as fortunate as Rosemont—they are without central water systems.

Our program to develop rural recreational enterprises is also growing at an encouraging rate.

We are now helping rural communities develop recreational enterprises that not only provide rural recreational centers but bring supplemental income to rural families. We have loaned over $12 million to residents of 438 small towns in 47 States and Puerto Rico to develop recreational enterprises, since start of the program in late 1962.

And, in our rural housing loan program, we have advanced over $797 million to construct or improve housing, since the program was authorized by Congress in 1949. More than one-half of these loans were made during the past 3 years.

These are the big three in our programs to help strengthen rural America—programs to develop water systems, recreational facilities and improved housing. But the recently enacted Economic Opportunity Act helps us to bring additional benefits to rural America by helping the disadvantaged people who make up rural America.

Hidden off the backroads of our countryside are millions of Americans living on the outskirts of hope, many because of their poverty, others because of their color, some because of both. These are the millions whom prosperity has passed by.

They include the aged.

They include the 6 million or more children who are less than 18.

They include the breadwinners who are boxed-in, that is to say, they are too old or poorly educated to move into better paid work or, in some cases, into any kind of work at all.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 opens the gates of opportunity for 3 million. It strikes at the very root of poverty by providing a fuller opportunity for the development, among people who would otherwise be poor, of the talents, skills, and attitudes that will enable them to earn a decent living.

Farmers Home Administration now has added weapons to fight a war which the agency has waged for nearly 30 years. Economic opportunity loans broaden our supervised credit program. They help us to reach more families with financial aid, and even more important, with farm and home management advice and supervision.

We can now make loans up to $2,500 to low-income people for the development of agricultural enterprises or nonagricultural services that will raise their income level.

In addition, we can make loans to small cooperative associations most of whose members are low-income farmers.

These loans are practical.

They are effective.

Recently, just 6 months after the start of the opportunity loan program, we in Farmers Home Administration announced our 10,000th loan. It was a loan for $1,800, advanced to a North Carolina man who had an income last year of only $2,000.

The loan funds are being used to buy a chain saw and a used truck in order to expand the man's pulpwood production business. The borrower expects to increase his income to $3,500. The loan will be repaid at $20 a month and will bear interest at 4½ percent.

The total of these first 10,000 loans amounts to about $17 million.

Im glad to say Chet Tyson, our State director here in New Jersey, and his staff have kept pace with the rest of the country in making economic opportunity loans. Nearly 100 such loans have been made and, I believe, they finance some 42 different types of farm and rural enterprises.

A typical loan was made to a widow in Toms River. She received a loan to buy a sewing machine and reestablish herself in the sewing business. She makes drapes and slipcovers.

Here's another example of how opportunity loans work. We made a $1,500 loan to a man in Cumberland County to buy a truck. He is using the truck to develop a general trucking business—and, incidentally, I understand he is doing quite well. Last year the man's income was $2,700. He expects to earn about $1,000 more this year from the trucking business.

Just one more example. A young man in Hunterdon County who works as a beginning machinist was up to his neck in debt. He had a young wife and a new baby. His monthly income totaled $160, but payments on installment bills took $140 of it. We worked out an arrangement with the young man's employer to permit the youth to do some work at home in the evenings. We advanced $2,500 credit to outfit a small machine shop in the basement of the young man's father.

We were able to rearrange his debt payments, he now pays about $90 a month. He is now earning about $100 a month more from work done in the machine shop. He is well on the way toward getting out of debt. Without the opportunity loan program we would have been unable to help this young man or any of the others.

Much like the economic opportunity loan program, our self-help housing plan is designed for rural people with limited debt-paying ability. The six young families in this project wanted better homes, better environment for their children. But they were shut off from almost every conceivable source of long-term credit. The lacked the substantial repayment ability required on most mortgage loans.

But Art Collings, our supervisor here in Cumberland County, suggested they try the self-help housing plan. He could draw upon the experience of a self-help housing project Farmers Home Administration financed in southern California for migrant workers.

The six families organized and formed the Consolidated Home Builders Association. They studied house designs, layouts, construction materials, and methods. They were then ready to plan a home that matched their desires and their financial ability.

When they were ready to build, Farmers Home Administration loaned each family $6,500 and deposited the funds to their account. Each family owns its lot.

Loan funds were used to pay for building material and pay the cost of excavation and installation of plumbing and electricity.

They started work on the project about a year ago, working weekends as a group and weekdays on their own homes.

By adding sweat equity to the Farmers Home Administration loan, they today have fine looking homes, homes worth every bit of $10,000.

The families have obtained valuable work experience.

They have gained in technical skill, sufficient at least to improve their ability to care for their own property.

They can profit from the instruction and experience in working together.

And what pride they no doubt have—pride of ownership—and pride in the fact that they have built their own homes from the ground up. How many among us today have built our own homes.

As I think of this project, my heart gladdens for the children. What a fine life they can have before them. They will now grow up in a healthier and more wholesome environment. They will have an easier time becoming good, useful citizens.

My hopes run high for what has been accomplished here.

Certainly, self-help housing is not the answer that will solve the housing needs of limited-income families, but it will provide a means by which many people in our rural areas can afford new homes.

We believe that self-help housing can be an effective instrument in upgrading the quality of the housing of many of our limited-income rural families.

We do not intend to stop here—we want to move on with the idea of self-help housing—we want to use it wherever possible to upgrade the quality of rural housing—to strengthen our rural communities.

The challenge to all of us in a great one. We promise to do our part. We look forward to being active participants in any effort to give all rural families an opportunity to live in decency and dignity.

National Drum Corps Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, August 15–22 is National Drum Corps Week. The drum corps movement is a crisp example of how purposefully today's youth can occupy themselves.

Not only is drum corps activity beneficially disciplinary to participating youth, but it can be said that the colorful blade of the martial musical pageantry is representaitve of an emerging new art form. Drum corps activity is thus productive in many ways, and those participating in it are to be commended.

Drum corps activity has grown in scope so that a million or so teenagers are involved in its activities. There are an increasing number of pageants and drum corps championships these days. In 1963, there was, for the first time, a world open championship for drum corps. We can proudly say that as an art form, a discipline and as a sport, drum corps activity is rapidly growing throughout the United States.

The Real Alabama—Part XL

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, Wilcox County in Alabama is the location of one of the State's ambitious projects for development, the Miller's Ferry lock and dam which, when completed, will form a giant lake while improving Alabama River navigation and providing electric power as well.

Wilcox County has an interesting history. And because it is one of the six Alabama counties making up the State's First Congressional District I offer the following summary of the history of Wilcox County:

WILCOX COUNTY, ALA.

Wilcox County lies in the section of Alabama known as the black belt, named for the dark color of the rich soil in the area.

It was in 1819 that Wilcox County was formed—the year that Alabama was admitted to the Union. Wilcox is bordered on the north by Dallas County, on the west by Marengo County, on the east by Lowndes and Butler Counties, and on the south by Monroe and Clarke Counties.

The county seat was first established at Canton. In 1833, the county seat was moved 5 miles southeast to the tiny village of Barboursville. The name of Barboursville did not last very long. In 1838, the name was changed to Camden.

Camden is a beautiful little town of approximately 1,500 inhabitants. It lies 4 miles from the Alabama River in a great bend of the river. Camden is unique in a number of ways. It is a typical black belt town and Camden still belongs to the old South and its people are proud of this fact. There are many beautiful antebellum homes there, some of which still belong to the descendants of the original owners. One of the few remaining, if not the only tract of virgin pine timber, lies within the city limits of Camden.

As was true of most of the State of Alabama, Wilcox County was once almost exclusively a cotton-growing county. Now, however, most fields all over the county have been turned into beautiful rolling grazing lands for cattle. There is still a good cotton acreage in the county.

There is much of historical interest in Wilcox County. Along the Alabama River one may find Indian mounds. An Indian burying ground has been located only a few miles from Camden. Many perfect arrowheads may be found in certain sections of the county.

Many beautiful antiques grace the homes of Wilcox County. There are to be found some very rare and beautiful pieces which are loved and cherished by their owners. Many of these pieces had been hidden by the slaves during the Yankee sojourn in this county. There are many interesting letters and books to be found in the libraries of Wilcox County.

Construction has begun on the Miller's Ferry lock and dam, which will impound the waters of the Alabama River to form a giant lake. Electric power, as well as river navigation, will be provided.

Wilcox County is a good place in which to live. The area boasts of many fine churches and good schools. The people are proud of their rich heritage and traditions, and are working for a prosperous and progressive future.

Social Security Amendments, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a pamphlet entitled "Social Security Amendments, 1965—a Brief Explanation," prepared by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the pamphlet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS, 1965—A BRIEF EXPLANATION

INTRODUCTION

The Social Security Amendments of 1965 have made many important changes in the social security program—changes which will directly or indirectly affect every American family.

This is a brief report on these amendments and how they affect you.

HEALTH INSURANCE FOR THE AGED

Beginning July 1, 1966, nearly all Americans 65 and over will become eligible for two kinds of health insurance protection: Hospital insurance and additional voluntary medical insurance for those who choose to take it.

YOUR HOSPITAL INSURANCE BENEFITS

Beginning in July 1966, the hospital insurance program will pay the cost of covered services for the following hospital and post-hospital care:

Up to 60 days in a hospital (except for the first $40) and all but $10 per day for an additional 30 days for each spell of illness. (There is a lifetime limit of 190 days on payments for treatment in mental hospitals.)

Up to 20 days in an extended care facility (the facility may be a skilled nursing home or a convalescent section of a hospital which meets the requirements of the law) and all but $5 per day for an additional 80 days for each spell of illness. These services will be provided only after a hospital stay of at least 3 days. (This part of the program begins on January 1, 1967.)

Up to 100 home-health visits by nurses or other health workers in the 365 days following your release from a hospital or extended

care facility. (Doctors' visits are covered only under the voluntary medical insurance plan.)

Eighty percent of the cost of outpatient diagnostic tests in a hospital (after you pay the first $20) for each 20-day period of diagnostic testing.

Where does the money come from?

Money to pay hospital insurance benefits comes from a special contribution which starts in 1966 at just over one-third of 1 percent (0.35 percent) each for workers, their employers, and self-employed people. For example, a worker who earns $4,000 will pay $14 in 1966, and his employer will pay equal amount. In 1967 the rate will be 0.5 percent; thus the worker with $4,000 earnings will pay $20 in 1967. The tax gradually increases, until in 1987 and afterward it is eight-tenths of 1 percent each for employee, employer, and self-employed persons. On the maximum earnings of $6,600 yearly, a worker will pay $23.10 in 1966; $33 in 1967; and $52.80 in 1987 and thereafter.

The cost of the insurance for people not entitled to social security benefits will be met from general revenues.

YOUR MEDICAL INSURANCE BENEFITS

You will not be covered by the medical insurance plan automatically. You will receive this protection only if you sign up for it. When you enroll for medical insurance, you agree to pay a premium of $3 monthly, with the Federal Government matching this amount. This cannot be changed before 1968. The rate can be adjusted later if medical and other costs covered by this insurance program rise.

Medical insurance will pay 80 percent of the reasonable charges for the following services after the first $50 in each calendar year:

Physicians' and surgeons' services.

Home health services even if you have not been in a hospital—up to 100 visits a year.

A number of other medical and health services, such as diagnostic tests, surgical dressings and splints, and rental of medical equipment.

ENROLLING FOR MEDICAL INSURANCE

If you reach 65 before January 1, 1966, you will have protection under medical insurance on July 1, 1966, when the program begins, only if you enroll before March 31, 1966.

If you will reach 65 years of age after December 1965, you will have protection as soon as you reach 65 only if you enroll during the 3-month period just before you reach 65. In no case, however, will your medical insurance take effect before July 1, 1966.

Where does the money come from?

Money to pay for medical insurance benefits comes entirely from the $3 per month which you pay and an equal amount which the Government pays.

If you are receiving social security, railroad retirement, or civil service retirement benefits, and enroll for the medical insurance, the $3 a month will be deducted from your monthly benefits, beginning with July 1966.

How to qualify for health insurance benefits if you are 65 or over

Most people will not have to go to the social security office to qualify for protection under the hospital and medical insurance programs.

You will not need to go to your social security office if—

You are getting social security or railroad retirement benefits. You qualify automatically for hospital insurance, and an application card for medical insurance benefits will be mailed to you in September or October with a leaflet explaining both of these programs.

You are receiving a Federal civil service retirement annuity. You will get information and the necessary applications by mail. You will be told if it is necessary to go to the social security office later.

You are receiving public assistance payments. In most cases, the public assistance agency will assist you in applying for hospital insurance and will advise you about enrolling for medical insurance.

You should go to your social security district office if you are not receiving any of the above payments and if—

You have worked under social security but have never applied for benefits. The people in your social security office will help you apply for hospital insurance. They will also advise you on how you can enroll in the medical insurance program.

You have never worked under social security. Get in touch with your social security district office between September 1, 1965, and March 31, 1966. If you are able to visit the office, take with you proof of your age.

Remember: These health insurance programs do not start until July 1, 1966. Don't because of this new law cancel any hospital or medical insurance you may now have.

SOCIAL SECURITY CASH BENEFITS ARE INCREASED

If you are receiving social security benefits, the amount will be increased by 7 percent, with back payment of the increase being made for January 1965 and following months.

You do not need to do anything to get this increase.

A special check to be mailed in the latter part of September will cover back payments due for January through August. Your first regular monthly check at the new rate will be mailed to you early in October 1965 for the month of September.

If your benefits have been temporarily stopped because you are working, you will receive any amount that is due you, including the increase, after you make the annual report of your 1965 earnings.

Those who first apply for benefits in the future will also get the 7-percent increase over benefits payable under the old law.

For those who retire or become eligible for social security disability or survivors benefits in future years, benefit amounts even higher than those resulting from the 7-percent increase will be possible. This is because the maximum amount of earnings that can count toward social security benefits each year will be increased to $6,600 in 1966. The chart following shows the new benefits payable.

BENEFITS MAY BE PAID TO STUDENTS UP TO AGE 22

If you are eligible for social security benefits as the unmarried son or daughter of a person receiving old-age or disability insurance benefits or a person who has died, you may receive benefits, if you are continuing as a full-time student, until you reach age 22.

If you were receiving social security payments which were stopped when you reached 18, and you are a full-time, unmarried student under 22 years of age, you should get in touch with your social security district office to see about having your payments started again. Payments may be made for months back to January 1965.

If you were already 18 or over when one of your parents became entitled to old-age or disability insurance benefits or died, but you were not yet 22 in January 1965, you may now be eligible for social security benefits beginning with January 1965 if you have not married. Apply at your social security district office. Take with you your own and your parent's social security account number and your birth certificate.

If you are receiving social security benefits, are approaching your 18th birthday, and are still in school, you should get in touch with your social security district office to see about having your benefits continued.

For more information about benefits for students up to age 22, ask your social security office for leaflet No. 4.

BENEFITS FOR WIDOWS AT AGE 60

If you are the widow of an insured worker, beginning with September 1965 you may start receiving benefits as early as age 60 if you decide to accept a reduced monthly amount. The first check, for September, will be payable early in October.

The amount of the reduction is five-ninths of 1 percent for each month a benefit is received before the age 62 (6⅔ percent reduction for each year). The closer you are to 62 when you start receiving benefits, the smaller the reduction will be. On the average, a widow who accepts benefits before the age 62 will collect about the same value in total benefits over the years, but in smaller installments to take account of the longer period during which she will be paid.

(Examples of reduced benefits are shown in the table on page 10.)

For more information about benefits for widows at age 60, ask at your social security office for a copy of leaflet No. 5.

THE AMOUNT OF SOCIAL SECURITY CREDIT REQUIRED FOR PEOPLE 72 AND OVER TO QUALIFY FOR BENEFITS IS REDUCED

If you are 72 or over and have not been able to qualify for social security benefits because you (or your husband) did not work long enough under social security, you may now be eligible for payments up to $35 a month. Although some social security credit is still required, the amount of work required under the new law is less for certain people 72 and over than it has ever been in the past.

If you are 72 or over and are not receiving social security benefits, you should check with your social security district office if you (or your husband) ever received social security credit for work.

Payments under this provision can begin for September 1965.

IF YOU WORK AFTER YOU APPLY FOR BENEFITS

If you work after you apply for benefits but earn no more than $1,500 in a year, beginning with January 1966 there will be no deduction from your social security payments because of your work. Under the law in effect through 1965, the payments you receive are reduced if you work and earn more than $1,200 in a year.

Beginning in 1966, if you earn more than $1,500 in a year, the general rule is that $1 in benefits will be withheld for each $2 of earnings over $1,500 and up to $2,700. If you earn over $2,700 in a year, $1 in benefits will be withheld for each $1 of earnings over $2,700.

There are two exceptions to this general rule:

If in any month you neither earn more than $125 working for someone else nor do substantial work in a business of your own, there will be no deduction from your benefit for that month no matter how much you earn in the rest of the year.

For months after you are 72 years of age, there will be no deduction from the benefits because of work after you reached 72.

Another change in the law is important for people 65 or over who receive royalties because of copyrights or patents they obtained before they reached 65. This income will no longer cause reduction in benefits.

If you work after applying for old-age insurance benefits, your additional earnings may increase the amount of your monthly payment.

The Social Security Administration will use its electronic computers to determine whether your recent earnings will increase your benefit amount. If so, the increase will be made automatically and you will not have to apply to have your benefit refigured.

On account of this change, you cannot lose by applying as soon as possible for any benefits due you even though you continue to work.

BENEFITS FOR DIVORCED WOMEN

Under the new law, a divorced woman may receive benefits on her former husband's account. To do so, however, she must have been married to him at least 20 years before the divorce and he must have been contributing (or obligated by a court to contribute) to her support when he became entitled to social security benefits or died.

Examples of monthly cash benefit payments [1]

Average yearly earnings after 1950	$800 or less	$1,800	$3,000	$3,600	$4,200	$4,800	$5,400	$6,600
Retirement at 65 / Disability benefits	$44.00	$78.20	$101.70	$112.40	$124.20	$135.90	$146.00	$168.00
Retirement at 64	41.10	73.00	95.00	105.00	116.00	126.90	136.30	156.80
Retirement at 63	38.20	67.80	88.20	97.50	107.70	117.80	126.60	145.60
Retirement at 62	35.20	62.60	81.40	90.00	99.40	108.80	116.80	134.40
Wife's benefit at 65 or with child in her care	22.00	39.10	50.90	56.20	62.10	68.00	73.00	84.00
Wife's benefit at 64	20.20	35.90	46.70	51.60	57.00	62.40	67.00	77.00
Wife's benefit at 63	18.40	32.60	42.50	46.90	51.80	56.70	60.90	70.00
Wife's benefit at 62	16.50	29.40	38.20	42.20	46.60	51.00	54.80	63.00
1 child of retired or disabled worker	22.00	39.10	50.90	56.20	62.10	68.00	73.00	84.00
Widow age 62 or over	44.00	64.60	83.90	92.80	102.50	112.20	120.50	138.60
Widow at 60, no child	38.20	56.00	72.80	80.50	88.90	97.30	104.50	120.20
Widow under 62 and 1 child	66.00	117.40	152.60	168.60	186.40	204.00	219.00	252.00
Widow under 62 and 2 children	66.00	120.00	202.40	240.00	279.60	306.00	328.00	368.00
1 surviving child	44.00	58.70	76.30	84.30	93.20	102.00	109.50	126.00
2 surviving children	66.00	117.40	152.60	168.60	186.40	204.00	219.00	252.00
Maximum family payment	66.00	120.00	202.40	240.00	280.80	309.20	328.00	368.00
Lump-sum death payment	132.00	234.60	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00	255.00

[1] Generally, in figuring average yearly earnings after 1950, 5 years of low earnings or no earnings can be excluded. The maximum earnings creditable for social security are $3,600 for 1951–54: $4,200 for 1955–58: $4,800 for 1959–65: and $6,600 starting in 1966. Because of this the benefits shown in the last 2 columns on the right will not generally be payable for some years to come. When a person is entitled to more than 1 benefit, the amount actually payable is limited to the largest of the benefits.

Under the old law, a divorced woman could receive benefits on her former husband's account only if she had in her care a child receiving benefits based on his earnings.

A woman who is divorced while she is receiving benefits based on her husband's earnings may continue to receive benefits if she and her husband had been married at least 20 years.

Benefits payable under this provision can begin for September 1965.

DISABILITY PROVISIONS CHANGED

Under the old law, disability benefits could be paid only to a worker whose disability was expected to continue over a long and indefinite period or to result in death. The new social security law provides that an insured worker who has been disabled for 12 consecutive months, or whose disability is expected to last for at least 12 months, may qualify for disability benefits beginning with September 1965.

Workers whose applications for disability insurance benefits have been denied because their disability was not expected to continue indefinitely, but who are severely disabled, should get in touch with their social security office.

For more information about the changes in disability benefits, ask your social security office for leaflet No. 8.

SOCIAL SECURITY FOR DOCTORS AND MEDICAL AND DENTAL INTERNS

If you are a self-employed doctor of medicine, your professional earnings will count toward social security benefits for you and your family.

For taxable years ending on or after December 31, 1965, you must complete schedule SE of your Federal individual income tax return to include your earnings in professional self-employment and pay the self-employment tax. Your net earnings will be counted toward social security benefits for you and your family for any year in which they amount to $400 or more.

Most medical and dental interns, and medical and dental residents in training, will receive social security credit for their professional salaries. If you are employed as an intern, be sure your employer has your social security account number. Leaflet No. 7 explains this provision of the new amendments in detail. Ask for it at your social security office.

CONTINUING BENEFITS FOR WIDOWS WHO REMARRY

If you could have qualified for benefits as a widow and remarried after reaching age 60, you will be eligible for whichever benefit is larger: either one-half the retirement benefit of your former husband, or a wife's benefit based on the earnings of your present husband.

Any benefit increases or new benefits payable as a result of this change in the law will start with benefits for September 1965.

TIPS WILL COUNT

All cash tips you receive in your work, provided they amount to $20 or more in a month at one place of employment, will now count toward social security benefits for you and your family. Beginning in 1966, you will be required to report in writing to your employer the amount of tips you receive and to pay social security contributions on the tips. Your employer will include your tips in his social security tax reports and Form W-2 along with your wages, but he will not have to match your social security contribution on the tips. The law requires that you report to your employer the amount of your tips within 10 days after the month in which you receive them. Leaflet No. 6 explains in more detail how to report your tips for social security. Ask for it at your social security office.

CHANGE IN COVERAGE FOR FARMERS

If you are a self-employed farmer and your gross earnings from farming in a year after 1965 are under $2,400, you may report two-thirds of your gross earnings, instead of your net earnings, for social security purposes.

NEW OPPORTUNITY FOR CLERGYMEN

Under the new law, all clergymen now have at least until April 15, 1966, to elect to be covered by social security.

FINANCING THE NEW BENEFIT PROVISIONS

To finance the changes in the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance programs, the social security contribution rate and the earnings base on which social security contributions are paid have been changed. The earnings base goes from $4,800 to $6,600 on January 1, 1966. The new contribution rate schedule for old-age, survivors, and disability insurance is shown below.

In addition, the law establishes a separate payroll contribution to finance the program of hospital insurance for the aged. These contributions will go into a separate trust fund in the U.S. Treasury.

Contribution rate schedule for employees and employers (each)

Years	Percent of covered earnings		
	For old-age, survivors, and disability insurance benefits	For hospital insurance	Total
1966	3.85	0.35	4.2
1967–68	3.90	.50	4.4
1969–72	4.40	.50	4.9
1973–75	4.85	.55	5.4
1976–79	4.85	.60	5.45
1980–86	4.85	.70	5.55
1987 and after	4.85	.80	5.65

Contribution rate schedule for self-employed people

Years	Percent of covered earnings		
	For old-age, survivors, and disability insurance benefits	For hospital insurance	Total
1966	5.80	0.35	6.15
1967–68	5.90	.50	6.40
1969–72	6.60	.50	7.10
1973–75	7.00	.55	7.55
1976–79	7.00	.60	7.60
1980–86	7.00	.70	7.70
1987 and after	7.00	.80	7.80

Example of total contributions: An employee earning $4,000 a year will pay a total of $168 in 1966 for his regular social security tax contributions and hospital insurance. In 1967, his total would be $176; and in 1987 and thereafter, $226. An employee earning $6,600, the maximum credited under the law, will pay $277.20 in 1966; in 1967 he will pay $290.40, and in 1987 and thereafter he will pay $372.90.

The voluntary medical insurance plan, financed by $3 monthly premiums from enrollees and a matching payment from general revenues of the Government, will have its own trust fund in the U.S. Treasury, also entirely separate from all other social security trust funds.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

For more detailed information about the new health insurance plans, and the 1965 amendments, call, write, or visit your nearest social security district office. You may get its address from the telephone directory under "Social Security Administration" or from your local post office.

Abe Fortas, a Prominent Figure in Washington's Shadow Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, an interesting review of some of the activities of

Abe Fortas and other prominent figures in Washington's "shadow Government" appeared in the May 1965 issue of Progressive magazine. The author of the article is James McCartney, Washington correspondent for the Chicago Daily News, who quotes another writer as saying of Fortas that his "involvement in the President's life seems total."

The article offers further evidence of his intimate ties with the President, and again the question is raised as to whether Fortas can make independent judgments in the Nation's Highest Court.

As I have said before, his nomination to the Supreme Court is inconceivable under the circumstances. I commend the article by McCartney to the attention of my colleagues:

WASHINGTON'S SHADOW GOVERNMENT

(By James McCartney)

In modern times the Nation's Capital has had, in every administration, a shadow government, a power structure of lawyers and lobbyists that functions just beyond the public view. These are the men who make the deals and the compromises that influence the course of Government policy, and fatten the profits of their clients. They are the brokers of the town. For a fee, they maintain liaison between the Government and the huge corporation interests that dominate the national economy.

In the days of the New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and even the Fair Deal of Harry S. Truman, it was commonly held that a prime function of Government was to find ways to bring the interests under control. The lawyer for the great corporation was assumed to be the enemy of Government. The lobbyist was a foe of the people.

Now, in the age of the Great Society, all that is changed. A lawyer for a private interest is no longer an enemy of the Federal Government. A lobbyist today need not feel ashamed of his trade. Indeed he may well be a part of the Establishment itself. He may be one of President Johnsons most influential advisers; he may be invited to the White House for dinner.

This picture of Washington today is not an exaggeration. The change in the role of the lobbyist is an integral part of the new kind of administration in the White House, with its novel view of what constitutes proper relationships between Government and business, and between Government officials and businessmen. But it is a picture that invites some rather piquant questions, many of which are not being asked, at least publicly.

One of the questions is whether a man can represent private interests in earning a living, and uphold the public interest when talking to the President. Can he spend the morning battling with every technique he knows to get a favor for a client from some Government agency, and then dispassionately act as a Presidential adviser in the afternoon? Or, what of the lobbyist who represents a corporation that is the subject of a governmental investigation? Can he resist the temptation to mention it when dining at the White House?

The problem can be illustrated by the dilemmas in the lives and work of two of the President's closest friends, lawyer Abe Fortas and lobbyist Dale Miller.

Abe Fortas, of the firm of Arnold, Fortas, and Porter, has known Lyndon Johnson since he handled the delicate problem of Mr. Johnson's disputed victory in the senatorial Democratic primary in Texas in 1948. Mr. Johnson carried the State by a scant 87 votes, which the opposition said were stolen. When the case went to the U.S. Supreme Court, Mr. Johnson won, with the help of Fortas. They became friends.

Fortas has often been present at the White House at moments of crisis in the Johnson administration. One writer has said that his "involvement in the President's life seems total." He became Bobby Baker's lawyer when Baker, the top aid to Lyndon Johnson when he was in the Senate, was sued. Fortas played a key role in the Walter Jenkins incident during last fall's election campaign.

The problem grows out of the fact that much of the work of Fortas' law firm, like much of the work of many big Washington law firms, is involved in what may legitimately be called lobbying. One of the firm's main functions, one of its reasons for being, is to represent clients who have troubles or business with the Government.

In the technical, legal sense, within the narrow confines of the definition of a lobbyist as stated in the lobby registration law, all of this work cannot be called lobbying. But that is only because of the limitations of the law, which covers—and not adequately—only activities relating to Congress. Many Washington law firms specialize in dealings with executive agencies not covered by the lobbying law.

At the moment the Fortas firm is registered under the lobbying law as representing the National Retail Merchants Association, with specific interests in many executive departments: Lever Bros. Co., the soapmakers; the National Munitions Conference; and an exterior wood manufacturer named Howard F. Knipp.

Other clients that the Fortas firm has represented in recent years have included the Western Union Telegraph Co.; Consumer Mail Order Association; American Molasses Co.; the Federal Republic of West Germany; the Committee for Hometown Television, Inc.; Simon & Schuster; Federated Department Stores, and the Wine Institute.

As an illustration of the scope of the law firm's activities and the kinds of problems that might evolve; the Fortas firm is currently representing the Philip Morris Co., which has an obvious stake in the controversy over whether cigarettes should be identified on the package as a menace to health. It has not escaped the attention of Government agency officials and others fighting to have cigarettes labeled as dangerous that President Johnson failed to mention the cigarette problem in his health message to Congress. They are also well aware of Fortas' role in representing Philip Morris.

Recently, Fortas and Oscar L. Chapman, former Secretary of the Interior in the Truman administration, figured in an Interior Department oil import decision under which the Phillips Petroleum Co. will be permitted to bring a substantial volume of petroleum products—beyond its import quota—into the United States. Fortas represented Puerto Rico, where Phillips promised to build a refining and petrochemical center. Chapman represented Phillips.

Fortas recently was among the new nominees for the board of directors listed in a proposed overhaul of the board of Braniff Airways following acquisition of majority control of the firm by Great American Corp., a Dallas, Tex., management firm.

If Braniff some time next year should get a favorable ruling from the Federal Aviation Agency, who could say whether it was Fortas' influence rather than a Fortas brief that produced the decision? If the Western Union Telegraph Co. should be the recipient of a favorable ruling from the Federal Communications Commission, who could say that it was not won through Fortas' influence? The same question might be posed for any of the other clients of the firm.

Dale Miller is not a lawyer. He is a professional lobbyist, and has been for years. He is "Mr. Texas" in Congress, the dean of the Texas lobbyists, and a close friend of the Johnsons for more than 20 years.

Of Miller the question might be asked: Just how successful can one lobbyist be? To the average spokesman for a special interest it is hard enough, at least on occasion, to gain an audience with a busy Senator or Congressman. A lobbyist becomes accustomed to taking abuse and hard knocks as part of the trade. But on Pennsylvania Avenue on January 20, on the occasion of Lyndon B. Johnson's inaugural, the first convertible to come rolling by, at the very head of the parade, carried a sign on the side that read: "Dale Miller, inaugural committee chairman." There was the white-haired Miller, smiling and waving. Many a lobbyist would be happy to gain the status of an appointment to the inaugural committee. But to be named its chairman and lead the inaugural parade is sweet success indeed.

The question for some obscure Congressmen at least, is hardly whether Miller can get an appointment with them. The question is more likely to be whether they can get an appointment with Miller.

Miller is known basically for his efforts on behalf of the city of Dallas. He has represented the Dallas Chamber of Commerce, from a suite in Washington's plush Mayflower Hotel, since 1946. He inherited the client from his father, the late Roy Miller. He came by many of his other clients and his interests the same way.

Announcement of a new $22 million Federal building in Dallas raised a few eyebrows following last November's election, but has been explained as representing, as much as anything, the election of a Democrat, Representative EARLE CABELL, to replace conservative Republican Bruce Alger as spokesman for Dallas in Congress.

Dale Miller and Dallas have bigger fish to fry. They have been battling for years for a complex and expensive project aimed at no less a goal than a great gateway from Dallas to the sea. Dallas is 370 miles from the Gulf of Mexico, up the Trinity River from Galveston Bay. The river today is not navigable. Parts of it dry up during periods of extended drought. The city, along with its neighbor, Fort Worth, has been seeking approval of a plan known as the Trinity River project to build a channel dredged to a 12-foot depth, for barges all the way to the sea. The cost has been estimated at nearly $1 billion. Miller hopes to win authorization of the project from Congress this year. At the moment it is being considered by the Bureau of the Budget.

Merits of the project to the Nation as a whole are difficult to weigh, but there is little question that the President's home State—and Miller's main client—would be the major beneficiaries. Critics of the project, led by the Association of American Railroads, have argued that the project will be much more expensive than estimates by the Army Corps of Engineers have indicated. They say, for example, that the $1 billion figure is based on a plan to amortize the debt over a 100-year period—until the year 2070. They argue that the Panama Canal, built only 50 years ago, is already outdated. They believe, in essence, that the Trinity River project is not necessary and would be a waste of good Government money.

But the project has a fan, say the opponents. When Mr. Johnson became Vice President in 1961, they say, he let it be known that the Trinity River project was on his personal agenda. The word was quietly passed. Now Washington is waiting, with jaundiced eye, for the approval of the project to become a reality. Said one top Democratic congressional aide in a position to know the Nation's needs—and politics—in river and harbor improvement: "We need money in Texas to help us there politically like we need a hole in the head. But maybe we're going to get this Trinity River thing pushed down our throats."

Miller was able to get an audience with President Johnson for a group of Dallas businessmen to discuss the Trinity River project, among other things, on the day before the President delivered his state of the Union message. Mr. Johnson was able to find 90 minutes to spend with the group, and later took them on a stroll around the White House grounds.

The Trinity River project, for Miller, would tie in neatly with aims and objectives of many of his other clients, such as the Intracoastal Canal Association of Louisiana and Texas and the Texas Gulf Sulphur Co. The Intracoastal Canal is a barge canal, built and maintained largely at Federal expense, that stretches all the way from Florida to Mexico, just inland off the Gulf of Mexico. Sometimes the canal almost touches the Gulf and at other times it is as much as 40 miles inland. Its purpose is to protect barge traffic from rough waters of the Gulf. The canal is a major artery in the economy of Texas. It ties together all of the State's great seaport cities including Corpus Christi, Galveston, Houston, and Port Arthur. It carries raw materials cheaply, and services the great basic industries of the State, including the burgeoning petrochemical industries developing in the Gulf. One company using it is the Texas Gulf Sulphur Co.

No project the size of the Trinity River project could possibly be approved without the support of President Johnson. Authorization of the project this year, or in any other year of the Johnson administration, would, at the very least, raise questions.

Miller is involved in still another situation in which questions may be asked. This has to do with activities of the Texas Gulf Sulphur Co., of Newgulf, Tex., and New York City. Since April 1964, Texas Gulf has been one of the hottest stocks on the New York Stock Exchange because of a great ore strike near Timmons, Ontario.

The story is a fascinating tale of high finance and wild speculation. On November 10, 1963, Texas Gulf drilled some samples from the ground near Timmons which testimony before a Canadian Government inquiry indicated might constitute a major mineral discovery. It was not until 5 months later, however, on April 12, 1964, that the company issued a statement in New York that has since excited wide controversy. In the statement, company executives said that "preliminary indications [are] that more drilling will be required for proper evaluation of this prospect. The drilling done to date has not been conclusive."

Four days later, however, Texas Gulf called a press conference in New York and said that a "major ore discovery" of about 25 million tons of copper, zinc, and silver had been made near Timmons. Questions have been asked, first, about the 5 month lag between the November borings and the April 12 announcement. Other questions have been asked about the turn-about in the company's position between April 12 and April 16. Huge profits would have been possible for insiders if they knew of the value of the big strike, kept the knowledge to themselves and their friends, and bought company shares before their prices soared. Some Texas Gulf stockholders have grumbled about the handling of the discovery news.

When the April 16 announcement was made, it sent the value of the stock skyrocketing. The estimate of the number of tons of ore in the Timmons area has since doubled from the figure announced on April 16. The value of the ore found in the strike is now estimated at about $2 billion. The stock was selling at about $17 a share at the time of the November 1963 borings. It rose to about $30 a share by the time of the varying announcements the following April and is now selling for about $68 a share.

It has been widely publicized, at least in the financial press, that the Ontario Royal Commission and other Canadian agencies have been investigating wild stock speculations that grew out of this great ore strike. It has not been nearly so widely heralded that the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission has been investigating price movements in Texas Gulf stock. And it has been almost totally overlooked that Dale Miller, a close friend of President Johnson, is the lobbyist in Washington for Texas Gulf Sulphur.

What, if anything, Miller may have done to represent his client no one can say. The Securities and Exchange Commission does not make public the representations of those who appeal to it or attempt to influence its actions. A spokesman for the Commission, when asked whether Miller had sought to argue the company's case, insisted that he didn't know who Miller was—even though Miller's identification with Texas Gulf Sulphur appeared on all of Washington's society pages at the time of the inaugural.

If the Securities and Exchange Commission, after its lengthy investigation, should fail to provide a convincing explanation for the antics of Texas Gulf Sulphur officers, the Commission's action is bound to be questioned. Men will wink. The wise, or those who pretend to be wise, will say they understand.

The positions of Fortas and Miller in the scheme of things in the Johnson administration are merely illustrative of a widely prevailing state of affairs. Many another lawyer, and many another lobbyist, finds himself in a comparable position, although few, perhaps, may claim as close a relationship with the White House.

One who can is Clark Clifford, of the firm of Clifford and Miller. He recently acted as counsel for Du Pont family interests in obtaining a reversal of a ruling from the Interal Revenue Service. The reversal has saved members of the family—and cost the Government—$56 million in taxes.

Clifford was a member of the White House staff under President Truman and was a close adviser to President John F. Kennedy. He and Fortas sought to keep the story of former White House aid Walter Jenkins out of the newspapers after Jenkins was arrested during the 1964 election campaign.

The list can go on. Another Presidential intimate, James H. Rowe, Jr., is a registered lobbyist for the Haitian American Sugar Co. William Neil Roch, who was executive director of the Johnson inaugural committee, is a lobbyist for the American Trucking Associations. Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, has reported that former Postmaster General J. Edward Day, of the original Kennedy Cabinet, has been representing the Inland Steel Co. in its fight, along with other steel companies, against creation of a national park in the dunes area at the southern end of Lake Michigan. While in the Cabinet, Day sat at the same table with Interior Secretary Stewart Udall, who was fighting with DOUGLAS for the establishment of the park, officially proposed as a new national seashore.

What has really happened in Washington that helps to explain part of the problem is that many of the young lawyers who provided the crusading zeal for the New and Fair Deals, and even the New Frontier, have grown older. They had their fling at public service and have gone into private practice. In Washington, private practice in the law usually means lobbying. If lawyers turned lobbyists happen to be fighting against policies they helped to establish, that is the nature of the practice of law.

The problem is that there are few devices available to the public to monitor these relationships. Many decisions—such as the tax decision involving the Du Ponts—are made in secret. Contacts made by lawyers or lobbyists for private clients do not have to be reported to anyone. The lobby registration law, covering only Congress, is so weak it borders on being a farce. It is often flouted—and it completely ignores the reality of a government of many agencies subject to lobby pressures and White House influence.

How can the public be assured that personal relationships are not playing a role in great governmental decisions? As matters now stand, there is no procedure for arriving at such assurance. One result may well be to cast suspicion on perfectly legitimate and honest decisions. But human nature being what it is, the public, the government, and, in the long run, even business are bound to suffer from a lobbying system that operates, with no controls, in secrecy and silence.

Brazil's Contribution to the Pan American System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, recently the Brazil-United States Cultural Institute sponsored a seminar on Brazilian studies. During their meetings the First Secretary of the Brazilian Embassy, Claudio Garcia de Souza delivered a perceptive and well-informed address on "Brazil's Contribution to the Pan American System."

I would like to share his remarks with the House by including them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

BRAZIL'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE PAN AMERICAN SYSTEM

(By Claudio Garcia De Souza, First Secretary of the Brazilian Embassy)

The burden of responsibility which I assumed on accepting the invitation of the Directors of the Brazil-United States Cultural Institute in no wise detracts from my pleasure in participating in this seminar under the sponsorship of the Institute. I join those who applauded the initiaitve of this seminar, and my wishes are that it may form the first link in a long and fruitful chain of studies on Brazil to be held in this friendly and hospitable country.

The theme that was suggested to me—"Brazil's Contribution to the Pan American System"—is extensive and tempting, and for this very reason it is a dangerous one to approach. I will not attempt to cover all its aspects; I promise you, instead, that I will avoid extending the subject too far and reserve the question period for discussion of whatever points are left out at this time. It is difficult for a diplomat to speak for himself, but my remarks will reflect my personal viewpoint although in many cases they coincide with the orientation of my country's foreign policy, which is a natural thing to occur since I have no difficulty in subscribing to that orientation.

In terms of geographical boundaries, the land mass comprising the Pan American system is encircled by four oceans, which is symbolic, to say the least, of the spirit of unity that presided over the formulation of the system, whose members nevertheless show great physical, economic, social and cultural divergencies. During the early centuries in the life of the Americas, domination by the colonial powers and the lack of communication between the various units hin-

dered the formation of a continental conscience, which began taking shape as the national aspirations of the various colonies matured, to emerge when they ruptured their bonds of colonial subordination. From that moment on, that conscience steadily deepened its roots and, stimulated by the fear of recolonization, it gained ground rapidly despite localistic sentiments which have not yet disappeared and which have contributed to delay the progress of the movement for continental union.

Without disregarding the value of prior efforts toward continental rapprochment, it may be properly said that the baptism of pan-Americanism took place in this city of Washington, in 1889, on the occasion of the first international conference of American States, which created the then International Bureau of the American Republics and opened a series of meetings which, little by little and not without hesitation and mistrustfulness went on to form the pan-American system.

It would undoubtedly be interesting to examine the progress of this system, but, for the sake of brevity, I will resist the temptation, although such an analysis would enable me to show, step by step, the contributions which Brazil has made to the system. I will limit myself to remarking that Brazil was present at the first Inter-American Conference and that it did not merely attend but took part in all others with the single exception of the second. Furthermore, Brazil hosted several meetings of the system, among which were the Third Conference, held in 1906, one of the most notable in the series; the Third Consultative Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Relations, in 1942, when the decision was made to break relations with the countries responsible for the outbreak of the Second World War; and the Conference for the Maintenance of Peace and Security on the Continent, in 1947, at which the Inter-American Treaty of Mutual Assistance, thenceforward known as the Rio Treaty, was discussed and signed.

The Americanist sentiment in Brazil had its inception prior to the independence of the country itself. Indeed, as far back as 1819 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the then United Kingdom of Portugal and Brazil had weighed the convenience of the creation of an American League, an idea that was echoed by José Bonifácio, patriarch of Brazil's independence and the first Minister of Foreign Affairs of the new nation, when in outlining Brazilian foreign policy in 1822 he stressed its clearly Americanist aspect. While Brazil did not participate in the several Hispano-American congresses which preceded the inter-American conference of 1889, it did appoint a representative for the congress held in Panama in 1826 and later, in 1866, under the urge of its Americanist sentiments, it protested energetically against the bombardment of the Chilean port of Valparaiso by Spanish ships.

In July of last year, in a speech defining our foreign policy, President Humberto Castelo Branco revealed his perfect understanding of Brazil's Americanist vocation when he remarked that the world today is increasingly featured by the interdependence of the problems and the interests of each nation. The President recognized that the interests of Brazil coincide in many cases, in concentric circles, with those of the continental community, and went on to make the perfectly coherent statement that "the Brazilian Government maintains the country's traditional adherence to the sentiments and ideals of Pan Americanism."

In the cultural field, this adherence is evidenced by Brazil's action within the several agencies of the inter-American system, featured by an open and constructive collaboration regardless and even in spite of its unique position as the only Portuguese-speaking nation on the continent. The Americanist tendency of Brazil leads it to engage in intensive and concentrated cultural activities on the continent, where it maintains several cultural institutes similar to the one that is sponsoring our meeting tonight all of which are dedicated to the diffusion of a truly bilateral cultural exchange between Brazil and each host country. Besides this, my country has long been offering in its major university centers facilities for the training of an already substantial number of students from the various Latin American countries, aiming at the promotion of a currente of reciprocal understanding and varied interchange, this applying also in regard to the United States, whose cultural attractions are so well received in Brazil.

In the economic field, Brazil's contribution to the Pan American system dates from the earliest manifestations of concern over the problem of economic and social development on a continental scale. At the IV consulative meeting of Ministers of Foreign Relations, held in this city in 1951, the Brazilian delegation took the initiative in presenting a number of proposals which laid the groundwork for a series of economic and financial norms. Brazilians were aware at an early stage that in view of the international financial situation and of the terms of international trade the economic and social development of the continent had ceased to be an individual problem for each country and had become a common aspiration which would have to be satisfied jointly. For this reason, and to provide a measure of the real dramatic nature of the problem, Brazil in 1958 called on the countries of the hemisphere to undertake Operation Pan America. The same reason impelled it to join the ranks of those who advocated and promoted the creation of the Inter-American Development Bank, leading also to its present full involvement in the Alliance for Progress, which is so much in line with the efforts of development and with the measures which Brazil has been adopting towards the increase and better distribution of its national product. This spirit of conjugation of efforts explains Brazil's active participation in the Latin American Free Trade Association and its keen interest in the movement for Latin American economic integration as envisaged by that association, devoid of opposition to anyone whatsoever or of imperilment of the effectiveness of the Pan American ideal.

It is undoubtedly in the political field that Brazil's most impressive contribution to the Pan American system is registered, but because of the touchy nature of that field, any measurement of such contribution becomes especially difficult and delicate. In the desire to avoid considerations of a historical nature on this point, and believing that Pan Americanism is indebted to Brazil for its open and constant participation in the life of the continent even more than for any particular proposal or initiative, I feel compelled to make some remarks on the attitude of Brazil within the hemispheric community. It will not be an attempt to discourse on Brazil's foreign policy, a subject already covered with thoroughness and clarity by Ambassador Juracy Magalhães in the address which he presented at the opening session of this Seminar, but simply the indication of some points evidencing Brazil's contribution to the system under study.

I feel thus that I should mention, as an example of that contribution, Brazil's pacifist vocation and its respect of the territorial integrity of its neighbors. Brazil has never waged a war of conquest and, in the single real war which it was compelled to fight in self-defense—I do not refer to the two World Wars because they transcend the continental picture—Brazil had the scruple of entering into prior stipulation with its allies that the integrity of the territory of the temporary enemy would be respected. Brazil's frontiers were determined in accord with universally accepted juridical principles, on the basis of treaties executed with all the neighboring countries, and the few disputes in which it was involved were settled through peaceful negotiations or by international arbitration.

Along with this pacifist vocation and exemption from territorial ambition, together with features that are exclusively its own in the Pan American scene and the particularity of being a country with great problems and, at the same time, great realizations and great possibilities, with an area and a population representing half of South America, Brazil has a special position within the Pan American system, not always comfortable but certainly of vital significance to the system. The importance of this position is accentuated by the circumstance that the continental community continues to suffer, as it did to a much greater degree before the coming of the good neighbor policy, from the mutual impact of suspicions and distrust between underdeveloped countries that need aid but which seem to resent this aid, and a super-developed country which has already shown its desire to help others but still finds difficulty in winning or in deepening the trust of those others. Brazil has traditionally been a catalyzing element that has made possible the conciliation of diverging opinions within the Pan American system. Being latin American culturally, psychologically and economically, Brazil is also great enough and sufficiently self-confident to be exempt from resentment over the growth or the power of any other country whatsoever, and to accept the initiative or the democratic leadership of any such in a position to promote or lead in benefit of the continental interests. Not having hegemonic aspirations—perhaps it has a people that can in all fairness be considered as being cordial by nature—Brazil is fated to exercise this difficult role of conciliator within the Pan American system, at least until the cessation of that mutual impact of suspicions and distrust, which needs to be overcome on either side.

Owing perhaps to its self-confidence and to its condition as a power that is both great and small at the same time, Brazil realizes, as others also do, that the Pan American system needs to be broadened and, even more than that, to be strengthened and perfected. Because of this awareness, Brazil is ready and really desirous to contribute toward the renovation of the sytem so that it be capable of adjusting itself to new circumstances and thereby avoid irreparable loss of prestige or a retreat, by force of overshadwing threats to the phase of unilateral action that was closed when the negative aspects of the Monroe Doctrine were superseded. Brazil gave proof of its desire for the strenghtening of the Pan American system when it proposed, with this specific purpose in mind, the holding of a special Pan American conference which I pray God will come to pass without delay for the good of the system. Another clear proof of Brazil's resolution can be seen in its open and disinterested commitment in search for a solution to the crisis that arose recently on this continent, especially through its participation, within the limit of its possibilities, in the specially constituted inter-American armed forces. The seed cast by the constitution of said forces should in due course receive the utmost care and attention because in today's disturbed world, the inter-American system, like any other, can only achieve full realization when it becomes able to defend itself collectively, and collectively to insure the maintenance of internal order.

Ladies and gentlemen I do not know to what extent I have been able to acquaint you with my consciousness—assuredly patriotic, yet frank—of Brazil's contribution to the Pan American system. I warned you at the onset of the difficulties which I foresaw in the treatment of this theme, and for that reason I undertook to be at your disposal for an exchange of questions and answers which, thanks to your participation, will complete

and surpass my exposition. If I may ask your attention for one more minute, I will use it to mention that in advocating Brazil's participation in the First World War, a notable Brazilian statesman, the then Senator Rui Barbosa said that our nation was going to defend "the territorial stability of its existence, our own territory, our moral heritage in America." In my view, ladies and gentlemen, this moral heritage, which such an outstanding interpreter of the national conscience equated with the physical existence of the country itself, is the synthesis and the best expression of Brazil's contribution to the Pan American system.

We Will Stand in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial from the July 29, 1965, edition of the New York Herald Tribune. All Americans are determined to stand with the President's action in Vietnam. American interest and honor are at stake in this struggle, and we will not relent in the pursuit of our goal to restore peace and the right of free choice to the people of South Vietnam.

The editorial follows:

"WE WILL STAND IN VIETNAM"

After a tense week of strategy discussions and the swirling speculations they occasioned, President Johnson's announcements at his press conference seemed undramatic, muted. There was to be no declaration of national emergency; the National Guard and Reserves would not be called up; monthly draft calls would be doubled; Congress would be asked for unspecified additional sums for the Armed Forces; American troops would be immediately increased to about 125,000, instead of the higher figures that had been guessed at.

Yet if the net of Mr. Johnson's statement, and of his answers to questioning, seemed about soothing, the effect came from contrast with previous rumors. The President's news was serious enough, and he made no attempt to conceal its gravity. The 50,000 additional troops going to Vietnam are more than General MacArthur employed in the Inchon offensive; the 125,000 who will be in Vietnam after the reinforcements arrive will be nearly as many as were in the combined U.N. fighting forces in Korea at that time. Increasing the monthly draft call to 35,000 would mean that in a year 420,000 young Americans would be conscripted, or nearly as many as all the military and paramilitary forces that the South Vietnamese Government has available.

Moreover, the President did not predict any easy victory on the basis of the decisions he announced. Rather, he left open the possibility that more men would be sent to South Vietnam; that the Guard and the Reserves might be called into service; that there would be heavy additional drafts on the Treasury—reports in Congress already speak of as much as $1 billion added to military appropriations.

Thus the new American commitment is serious; it is not necessarily decisive. That is because the United States is, as the President has so often emphasized, fighting a defensive war in South Vietnam. It is fighting to convince the Communists that they cannot win, and must—"inevitably," is the President's word—come to the conference table. Defensive strategy does not rule out offensive tactics, and the role of our forces is by no means necessarily limited to mounting guard over its own installations. But the aim is still to turn back aggression, not to escalate the war. The escalation, like the original covert aggression, has come from the other side, and the United States is meeting it.

Why? Americans, in the President's phrase, did not "choose to be the guardians of the gate." Initially, American assistance to the struggling young Republic of South Vietnam was economic and technical; the military guaranties were intended to preserve the people's right of choice. That is still the goal, in the teeth of rebellion launched and fostered from the north. Unless the United States achieves that goal, by force or by diplomacy, South Vietnam will be violently subverted; there will be a green light for similar Communist ventures in every quarter of the globe—and, as Mr. Johnson put it, "no nation can ever again have the same confidence in American promises."

Thus it is that American interest and American honor are equally at stake; thus it is that President Johnson—with the evident reluctance of a man who is frankly ambitious to achieve peaceful progress for his country and clearly confident of his ability to do so—has said: "We will stand in Vietnam." And the Nation will stand with him.

More Harm Than Good

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, irresponsible, self-appointed civil rights leaders are attempting to create chaos in the city of Chicago. Proper criticism of the misguided antics of many of the civil rights performers comes from people whose reputation for legitimate support of civil rights is well founded.

In order to correct the impression that Chicago is now controlled by irresponsible street mobs who are representative of the citizens of the city, I insert into the RECORD an editorial from yesterday's Chicago Sun Times which gives evidence of the sober thought that prevails in the city:

MORE HARM THAN GOOD

The civil rights movement here has had no more sincere supporter than Dr. Edgar H. S. Chandler, executive director of the church federation of greater Chicago. He has come to the conclusion that emphasis should be switched away from excessive street demonstrations and toward the conference table task of solving specific community problems involving the schools, housing, and employment.

"The protest has registered," he say, "Let us now all together register progress. Let protests be disciplined and directed to specific abuses that can be corrected."

Dr. Chandler specifically disfavors futile and dangerous demonstrations as the night march into Mayor Daley's home neighborhood. Such demonstrations do the civil rights cause no good; they cause resentment and ill will. They antagonize white persons Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. says are needed to bring changes.

Like the right to free speech, the right to picket is not unlimited. It should be exercised judiciously. What good purpose is served by deliberately antagonizing Mayor Daley's neighbors? His office, not his home is the place for protests. And even there, as Dr. Chandler says, it is time to get out of the streets and on with "the nitty gritty of specific steps toward justice.' '

"Justice in the Night"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, we have all been witnesses to a healthy trend developing in this country, which has already begun to put an increasing emphasis on improving the quality of justice in America, especially as it affects the poorer and more disadvantaged groups of our citizens.

This trend promises to bring the ancient ideal of equal justice before the law closer to becoming a reality for all our people.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I insert in the CONGRESSINAL RECORD an excellent editorial entitled, "Justice in the Night," recently broadcast by Mr. Robert P. Sutton, vice president of CBS radio and general manager of radio station KNX in Los Angeles.

The KNX editorial makes the point that one good here-and-now way to begin the effort to raise the quality and promote better standards of administration of justice in the United States would be to improve what it terms our notorious traffic court treadmills of bargain basement justice.

In support of this conclusion the editorial quotes Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark as saying:

There can be no more important court in this whole land than the traffic courts. Here, respect—or disrespect—is created for law, for order, for the courts, for government.

KNX also commends the new California law, advocated by our State's progressive Gov. "Pat" Brown and passed by the legislature this year, which establishes a modified form of night court to accept pleas, conduct arraignments, and set dates for trial—but not to conduct actual trials. The editorial continues:

This measure does not go all the way, but it is a step in the right direction of providing elemental justice for the workingman who cannot take time from his job in daylight hours by affording him more equal access to justice, along with the individual who can go to court any time without suffering personal hardship.

The KNX editorial follows:

JUSTICE IN THE NIGHT

Bargain basement treatment of traffic offenders is one prime cause for disrespect of

law and order. Many judges know this and worry about it.

Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark had this to say on the subject: "There can be no more important court in this whole land than the traffic courts. Here respect—or disrespect—is created for law, for order, for the courts, for government."

That quote from Justice Clark is justified by weakness in existing procedures for handling traffic defendants.

The basic flaw in the system is that few individuals ever get a full court hearing of their case. The penalty is on the border line for many. It's too much to be accepted without grumbling, and it's too little to risk losing 1 or 2 days' pay for a court fight. The result is a mass of disheartening statistics.

Last year, Los Angeles Municipal Court handled more than 1½ million traffic cases. But only about 15,000—1 percent—ever came to a hearing before a judge.

Few defendants found it possible, or worth while, to defend themselves against traffic charges—even when they considered those charges unjust and unfair.

Financially, the city does very well from this unhappy situation. Last year more than $10 million was collected in Los Angeles Municipal Court from traffic defendants. Most of it went into a traffic safety fund.

This treadmill, which extracts millions of dollars from motorists every year, has drawn severe criticism from several Los Angeles judges. Several have spoken out against what they call "supermarket justice."

They have suggested that traffic violators should not be treated as criminals. They have complained at shepherding defendants through long lines up to the cashier's office with no hint of judicial dignity.

Judge Raymond Roberts of Los Angeles Superior Court says most traffic offenses should not be classified as crimes. He comments: "A jail sentence never taught a driver how to make a left turn."

And another judge says traffic courts should be abolished. Offenders should be brought before a hearing officer, he believes.

One principal complaint against the traffic courts was answered, in part, by the California Legislature this year. A bill signed by the Governor establishes a modified form of night court. The measure does not go all the way. It does order municipal courts in the larger counties to open at night, at least once a week, for specific purposes. The night courts would accept pleas, conduct arraignments, and set dates for trial. But they would not conduct trials by either judge or jury.

Most judges recoil from the thought of night courts, on principle and from personal interest. They don't like the thought of working at night—and they say it would be vastly expensive.

In July of 1961, the city council asked municipal judges to consider holding some courts open at night—and were turned down.

KNX believes the courts belong to the people, not the judges. The legislature should make it mandatory for some courts to open at night for traffic trials, as well as arraignments. This is only elemental justice for the workingman who cannot take time from his job in daylight hours.

A committee of five judges, headed by Judge Howard Goldin, is working out details of the new scheduling for the Los Angeles courts. He says that a commissioner can be appointed to represent the judges.

But with or without judges, this is a step ahead.

KNX hopes the next legislature will open the entire judicial process to the workingman. He should find equal access to justice, along with the individual who can go to court any time, as often as he wishes, without suffering personal hardship.

President Johnson Acts To Reduce Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, we have all noted with alarm constant reports in the press concerning the ever-increasing rate of major crimes and acts of violence throughout the country. Since 1940, the Nation's crime rate has doubled. In fact, it has increased five times as fast as our population since 1958.

I am sure this is a matter of grave concern to all of us, as well as to law enforcement officers throughout the country. Legal scholars and sociologists who have addressed themselves to the problems causing and stemming from crime have declared that prompt action is necessary if we are to reverse the increasing trend toward lawlessness.

Therefore, it is gratifying to note that President Johnson has recently taken two very important steps to determine the causes for criminal activity and eliminate them. To help accomplish this, the President has established a Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice and appointed outstanding citizens to work on this problem.

All of us who live or work in the Nation's Capital realize that the number of crimes committed here is a national disgrace. Now the President has again taken the initiative to help reduce this crime rate by establishing the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia.

President Johnson is to be highly commended for his actions to help solve this most urgent of domestic problems and the members of these two important Commissions deserve our cooperation and support.

In this connection, one of our Baltimore papers, the News American recently published an article lauding the President for his action in this matter and under unanimous consent I insert it at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Baltimore (Md.) News American, July 30, 1965]

STUDY NEEDED

Crime at the Federal, State and local level has become one of the Nation's major problem's.

In view of this ugly problem, the President was wise to set up a special Commission to investigate the causes of crime.

The President's action came as the FBI made public a detailed report on crime in the country last year that was shocking.

It showed almost half the arrests for serious crime last year were among youths under 18. The rate of serious crimes showed an 11 percent rise last year over 1963.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover said the overall crime rate had risen 58 percent in the past 7 years although the number of law enforcement officers remained the same.

President Johnson correctly authorized the Commission to conduct hearings, make special studies and seek information from Government agencies to carry out its assignment.

Selecting Attorney General Katzenbach to head this key Commission was a logical move. J. Edgar Hoover should also be added to the group because of his experience in crime cause and effect.

Finally, the public and the agencies should cooperate with the Commission to the fullest.

Hawks in Doves' Feathers? Or, Doves in Hawks' Feathers?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, some hard questions are raised in connection with the President's recent special news conference on Vietnam, in a letter to the editor of the Honolulu Advertiser by Charles E. Osgood, director of the Institute of Communications Research at the University of Illinois, and now a visiting professor of psychology at the University of Hawaii.

Every responsible American should read and ponder over Professor Osgood's letter, which appeared in the August 3, 1965, issue of the Honolulu Advertiser, and which is reprinted in full below.

As a legislator to whom these questions are posed daily by inquiring citizens, I find myself searching for the answers. In the hope that some reader may supply the answers, I include Dr. Osgood's letter in the RECORD, in full:

WHAT'S U.S. WAR OBJECTIVE?

It may have been because the President's special news conference on Vietnam was received here in Hawaii at 6:30 a.m. and I was still a bit drowsy, but as I listened to it there seemed to be gentle white doves fluttering about. On closer inspection, however, it appeared that these were not doves at all, but hawks in doves' feathers.

Nested in expressions of our earnest desire for peace, our willingness to enter negotiations with any governments at any time, and our search for a good life at home and abroad were the hard facts: that we are now at war with the Communists in Asia and that we intend to escalate the conflict as far as necessary to obtain our objectives.

Under questioning by reporters, it became evident that President Johnson was committing us to continue escalating, even if it means military confrontation with China or ultimately Russia. One hundred and thirty-five thousand American soldiers are just the beginning.

If our objective in Vietnam is a negotiated settlement, then the President should tell us what we would be negotiating for. I heard nothing about this in his news conference, nor have I heard anything about it elsewhere. Is it possible that neither President Johnson nor his intimate advisers have the foggiest idea of what could be gained by negotiation—or perhaps do not expect negotiations to materialize in any case? In the absence of any official guidance on this crucial matter, I speculated for myself.

Should we negotiate for agreement by North Vietnam and China to keep hands off South Vietnam entirely while we remain free to go about quashing the Vietcong rebellion there? This would amount to surrender on their part and seems most unrealistic at this time. If our military presence were removed

along with theirs, the presently "established" government would not remain so for long.

Should we negotiate for a permanent political division of Vietnam into Communist north and democratic south? Not only would a divided Vietnam be contrary to the expressed intent of the Geneva Accord of 1954, but it is again clear that first the democracy and then the independence of South Vietnam would disappear as soon as our military forces were withdrawn.

Should we negotiate for a reunified but neutralized Vietnam? If reunification were by "free" elections, we know that they would not be free in the north and that the south would go overwhelmingly for Ho Chi Minh, the popular hero of the rebellion against French colonialism. However, the resulting state might be relatively neutral, by virtue of its intense nationalism and its traditional independence from China.

Should we negotiate for substitution of a U.N. presence for an exclusively U.S. presence in South Vietnam? Presence for what? To quash the Vietcong? To maintain a permanent division between north and south? To supervise free elections? The U.N. would have even less hope of guaranteeing a viable non-Communist South Vietnam than the United States has.

We are faced with the fact that the Vietcong now control some 70 percent of South Vietnam, perceive us as colonialism in a new guise, and are not going to be negotiated out of what they consider a legitimate and ultimately successful rebellion. As far as I can see, the best we could do by negotiation would be to enable ourselves to ease out of an untenable position as gracefully as possible.

If our purpose is, indeed, to force the Communists to negotiate, then it seems to me that we have decided to fight a dirty and dangerous war to win a political defeat which could be achieved much more easily. Worse than this, since this conflict will be escalated in the south as well as the north of a little country already subjected to 20 years of war, it would appear that we have decided the Vietnamese people are better dead than Red.

If our real purpose is not to force negotiations, then I can only conclude that we are being launched on a holy crusade against communism, the end of which is unpredictable but in any case disastrous. It might eventuate in Pax Americana, but under a tight military dictatorship with the deaths of hundreds of millions on its hands and in its mind. It might eventuate in our own elimination as a viable Nation, along with many others. I cannot conceive of any conclusion of this course that is politically or morally acceptable.

Why, then, the decision to escalate further in Vietnam? I think we are being driven by the "realities" of internal politics. Any settlement in Vietnam which meant withdrawing our forces and leaving a Communist-type government there would produce political dynamite at home.

A man with Lyndon B. Johnson's astuteness in political matters must be well aware of this. But surely, then, he must realize that the bogging down of our forces in the jungles of Vietnam will also produce political dynamite at home. The pressure upon our Government to "get us out of this mess" by escalating still further into the nuclear range of our power would become intolerable.

I'm afraid the administration has swallowed a baited hook. The bait was the temptation to use our awesome military power as a political tool. The hook is psychological. Every step up on this escalator creates those conditions which make it politically more difficult to take a step down. Tearing oneself off a hook is a very painful business, but remaining hooked is suicide. Does President Johnson have the wisdom, the statesmanship and the sheer courage to change our course before it is too late? I sincerely hope so.

Upon careful consideration, perhaps those were doves I saw after all—doves in hawks' feathers.

CHARLES E. OSGOOD.

Ivory Coast's Fifth Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, on August 7, 1965, a small, but viable, nation will celebrate the fifth anniversary of its independence. This nation, the Republic of Ivory Coast, has succeeded in these 5 years in establishing itself not only economically, but also politically, as a major force among the emerging African community of free nations.

With a prosperous economy based almost exclusively on exporting agricultural products, Ivory Coast has been devoted to diversifying its economy. The opening of the Vridi Canal made Abidjan, the nation's capital, a deepwater port, the first in the country, and has largely accounted for the increased pace of its development.

The contemporary political history of Ivory Coast is closely associated with the career of one man: Felix Houphouet-Boigny, President of the Republic and leader of the Pari Democratique de la Cote d'Ivoire, the only political party in Ivory Coast. He was one of the founders of the Rassemblement Democratique African, the leading preindependence political party in French West Africa, and has been active in national political affairs since 1944. Houphouet-Boigny served as an Ivory Coast Deputy in the French National Assembly from 1946 to 1959. In April 1959 he became the first Prime Minister of his country, and in the first general elections after independence he was elected President.

The Constitution of Ivory Coast provides for a strong Presidency within the framework of a separation of powers. In addition to the Presidency, there is a 70-member National Assemby and a judicial system which culminates in a supreme court composed of four chambers.

And not only is Ivory Coast achieving political and economic change, it is also at the forefront in fostering social change. As Donald H. Louchheim wrote in an excellent article in the July 25, 1965, Washington Post on Ivory Coast, entitled "Africa Is Elbowing the Tribal Ways":

No African nation is more determined to conquer the past than the Ivory Coast. With bold strokes, this prosperous West African counrty is tackling social reform with an attempt to retool African tribal society to face the new and complex challenges thrust upon it.

Ivory Coast's answer is legislation. A new civil code passed last year represents an effort to promote a revolution in social life. The code touches basic aspects of religious, private and family life within the country's 60 tribes and may eventually shred the fabric that has given each one its special identity, but in turn emphasizes the identity of the individual.

Need for Enactment of the 1965 Omnibus Farm Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 8, 1965

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most serious problems facing America's agricultural economy is the need for adequate financing. It is a fact of life, however, that such financing can only be provided where income is sufficient to assure repayment.

I urge my colleagues to read the following letter from Mr. H. C. Akins, agricultural representative for the U.S. National Bank of Oregon. His experience with farm operating costs and financing requirements help demonstrate the great need for enactment by Congress of the 1965 omnibus farm bill:

U.S. NATIONAL BANK OF OREGON,
Pendleton, Oreg., July 29, 1965.

Hon. AL ULLMAN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ULLMAN: As agricultural representative for the U.S. National Bank of Oregon in Umatilla County, I serve three of our branches in the heart of Oregon's wheat-producing area. My work entails the preparation of income and expense budgets for farmers, administering production loans, and, during the past few years, sympathizing with them in their battle with the "cost-price" squeeze.

Historically, a good loan from the bank's standpoint has been one in which gross farm income exceeded production expenses by a ratio of 2 to 1. This left half the gross income to supply capital expenditures for machinery and real estate, taxes, insurance, family living, and return on investment. This margin has shrunk until today the ratio is more nearly 4 to 3. With expenses absorbing up to 75 percent of gross income, there are many farmers who have postponed machinery replacement far beyond normal practice. Others have deferred real estate payments and are hard pressed to keep up the interest. Most of them would show a return on investment of less than 4 percent.

One result of this is the gradual disappearance of the smaller family farm. Our farms are becoming fewer in number and larger in size. Six years ago, the gross from 170 acres of wheat would buy a standard combine; today the same machine costs the production from 260 acres. The same comparison could be made for tractors, trucks, and other equipment. The only choice is to become larger and spread these costs over more acres, or get out of the business. Too many are taking the latter route to be healthy for our economy.

Another handicap has been the short duration of each farm program passed by Congress. During several years, farmers have not known until almost seeding time what their program would be. Planning is difficult, with the result that long-time production, conservation, and soil improvement programs have suffered. Posterity has as great a stake in a sound farm program as we do.

These are but a few reasons why I urge you to support farm legislation that will give wheat farmers a fair return. So far they have received little benefit from our booming prosperity. Their share of the consumers' dollar has steadily declined, while their costs have steadily risen. I encourage you to do

all in your power to help this most basic segment of our economy.

Respectfully

H. C. AKINS,
Agricultural Representative.

Rt. Rev. Andrew Lekarczyk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I was one of very many in my district, State, and Nation who was greatly saddened and deeply grieved to learn of the recent passing of Rt. Rev. Andrew Lekarczyk, pastor of St. Joseph's Church in Webster, Mass.

Monsignor Lekarczyk was a great, inspiring spiritual leader whose holy life and devotion to his priestly duties and his people were enormously impressive and dedicated.

Born in Poland, he came to the United States with his family at an early age, and was educated in this country and in Rome, where he studied for the priesthood at the famous Pontificial Gregorian University.

He was a papal chamberlain and a domestic prelate with the title of right reverend monsignor, and a real noble leader of his church, beloved by all.

The distinguished monsignor was scholarly and a very keen student of church affairs and free government and a devoted citizen of peerless quality.

An American of great stature, he was deeply attached to the cause of his native Poland and to the countries that had been overrun by Communist terror and tyranny.

His leadership in this cause had much to do with organizing and projecting the vigorous campaign for Poland and the captive nations that had been conducted by zealous leaders like him since the Iron Curtain ruthlessly rubbed out the liberties, self-determination, and the human rights of millions of people.

He took an active role in coordinating the various committees and organizations working for the Polish cause, for solidarity and for vigorous, united action, and earnest efforts toward the day of liberation for the unfortunate peoples suffering under the brutal yoke of communism in the captive nations.

His piety and religious zeal, his humility and concern for humane and humanitarian principles, his unflagging industry, his untiring concern for his flock, his unswerving loyalty to so many causes devoted to religion, charity, and freedom, his warm patriotism and interest in clean government, and the fundamental tenets of the Constitution, gave this great, good, pious man special luster and distinction that is given to very few these days.

Humble and gentle of manner, endowed with an unusual tranquillity of spirit, he was deep and strong of conviction, firm of purpose, determined to pursue his goals with an evangelical fervor that was never dimmed until he went to his Maker.

It was my great privilege and good fortune to enjoy the warm friendship of Monsignor Lekarczyk. During my earlier days, and before I was elected to Congress, indeed during the years I have known him, I was so impressed, as everyone was, with his learning, his dedication, his humane interests, and his resolute spirit and tenacious adherence to lofty ideals by which he lived.

To talk with him in his home and in the presence of his close friends was an experience never to be forgotten.

It was here it seemed that the fullness and richness of his devotion, his idealism, his courage, his noble purpose seemed to shine out with special fervor.

It was here that the warmth of his personality, his deep feelings for humankind and the scope and depth of his loyalties to God, country, and the cause of mankind, and to his friends, came beaming through with brilliance and inspiration.

St. Joseph's parish has lost one of its greatest pastors, and the town of Webster has lost one of its outstanding leaders. Our State and Nation have lost a great loyal son and his faith and followers, a champion of unsurpassed zeal and devotion.

All of us who knew this great churchman have lost a friend whose warmth, loyalty, and inspiring qualities could never possibly be excelled. I have lost a dear, admired friend whom I deeply cherished.

This saintly man has taken his place among the select of the heavenly hosts. But he will long be gratefully remembered by all of us for his deep spirituality, incessant labors, noble spirit, and generous, constant, concern for the people.

A true friend has passed, and he has left behind him heavy hearts, but spirits and visions lifted to the stars. Our thoughts and prayers will be with him always.

Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I know we have all been reading the recent alarming reports of a nationwide rise in the rate of juvenile delinquency, especially during these summer months of relative idleness for many of our young people.

Many of these youngsters seem to think it's smart to challenge the law. In order to prove they are not "chicken", some may steal gas, "borrow" a car, vandalize property, or violate other laws.

Often without fully realizing it, they are creating serious trouble for themselves—trouble that will return again and again to plague them in the years ahead, and to cast its shadow over their future lives.

Some of these young people will start paying for their "fun" when they begin looking for a job, and are confronted with the question, "Have you ever been arrested?" And many of them will find that colleges and universities do not want them on campus if they have had a brush with the law.

The point is not that society is vindictive or unwilling to forgive. It is just that competition is so tough for jobs, for school openings, and for many other opportunities for growth and progress.

With so many top applicants for the same opening, no one can blame a personnel or admissions director for choosing the young man or woman whose record is clean.

And without attempting to moralize, I believe that today's teenagers must face up to the facts. The next time they choose to engage in some questionable activity, they ought to remember they are not choosing just for today.

It is their entire future they are shaping.

Coarse Treatment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of the House to an editorial in the Washington Post of July 29 about the recent assault on the wife of a State Department official. I understand the policy of indifference has now been changed but I would emphasize that it should never be permitted to revert back to the coarse treatment which rape victims have had to undergo.

COARSE TREATMENT

Rape is an ugly crime, and Washington's police very properly devote great energy and even passion to the conviction of the rapist. But what about the victim? There is a tendency, both among detectives and the staff at District of Columbia General Hospital, to regard her as an inanimate piece of evidence.

The wife of a State Department official, raped in a public park last week, arrived at a precinct station at 10:25 a.m. The examining physicians at the General Hospital, as she describes it, were wholly preoccupied with taking the brief smears required as legal evidence. They apparently were totally indifferent to the victim's own distress. It was not until 5 p.m. that she was able to reach her own doctor. In the meantime, District of Columbia General had done nothing to assuage her discomfort.

The Metropolitan Police are extremely effective in dealing with this kind of crime. (In the fiscal year 1964, there were 130 rapes reported in Washington and police cleared 113 of them.) But good police procedures are not inconsistent with a decent regard for the victim's welfare. Clearly the Health Department in particular is well advised to look into the quality of care offered the victims of criminal assaults, to reassure the public that the collection of evidence does not override medical judgment or the requirements of common humanity.

Metric System Change Nearer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, I am very happy to include, as part of these remarks, a column my the very competent and efficient Sylvia Porter, entitled "Metric System Change Nearer."

The Committee on Science and Astronautics has under consideration a bill that would authorize a 3 year study of the metric system to determine its impact upon our lives and our economy.

With England going on the metric system, we assume that the colonies and those countries that come under her influence will soon follow suit. This leaves the United States an isolated island, adhering to an old system of weights and measures, some of which date back to the days of Charlemagne.

I commend Sylvia Porter's article to all Members, as follows:

METRIC SYSTEM CHANGE NEARER

(By Sylvia Porter)

In late July hearings will begin before the Senate Commerce Committee on a bill which could mark the first big step in the conversion of our English system of weights and measures to the metric system. The passage of this bill may bring the eventual abandonment of the familiar pounds, inches, feet, yards and pints for the grams, liters and meters now used in countries with 90 percent of the world's population.

The pressure to go metric has intensified since the British Government announced recently that it intends to switch over during the next 10 years. This will leave the United States, Canada and South Africa the only major nations on the English system—and Canada is now also weighing a switchover.

The pressure is mounting too among U.S. scientists, engineers and many major industries for abandonment of the tortuously mixed-up system of weights and measures. The length of a foot, for instance, originally was the length of the foot of the reigning English king; the inch was the span of three bareycorns laid end to end.

CONTRAST IS STRIKING

Today, there are more than 80 units of weight and measure in common use in the United States—ranging from rods and gills to points and perches. In contrast, the metric system has only three units—the gram, the liter, and meter.

Today schoolchildren as well as scientists must memorize such outrageous equivalents such as 5,280 feet to a mile, 12 inches to a foot, 160 square rods to an acre, 640 acres to a square mile, 144 square inches to a square foot, 32 quarts to a bushel. By contrast, the metric system divides everything into neat multiples of 10. There are 1,000 grams in a kilogram (about 2.2 pounds); 1,000 meters in a kilometer (a little more than half a mile); 1,000 liters in a kiloliter. A centimeter is one-hundredth of a meter. The whole system takes less than an hour to learn—while an American child may spend a full year learning our system.

Today's engineer wastes countless hours converting units of weight, volume, and length from English to metric and back. Today's computers, brainy as they are, can't chew fractions. Today's system breeds costly errors in calculating and designing.

But the biggest single factor behind the move toward the metric system is the swelling tide of international trade.

We must maintain and expand our share of this world trade if we are to sustain our prosperity and find a permanent solution to the deficit in our balance of payments. Yet, there's strong evidence that metric nations prefer to shop in other metric nations which offer products with familiar and interchangeable sizes, shapes, and volumes. With the metric system the "language" of most of the world, we are actually in the position of an outsider.

BIG ANNUAL LOSS

One estimate is that we may be losing $10 billion a year in overseas sales because we are not on the metric system.

This, of course, is the key reason behind Britain's decision to shift and behind Canada's first steps toward conversion.

The bills now before Congress call for a $2.5 million, 5-year study by the National Bureau of Standards of the feasibility and practicality of going metric. They have the backing of the scientific community, many major industries, the Defense and Commerce Departments, and the United States Chamber of Commerce.

There's no doubt that the cost of conversion would be staggering for redesigning, recalculating and rebuilding machines and parts to new specifications. There's no doubt that it would be a monumental task to switch all of our weights and measures.

But we also must weigh the cost of not switching—in terms of learning time, of conversion time, of errors. The least we owe ourselves is an exhaustive study of the problems and promises.

Correction of Salary Inequities for Overseas Teachers

SPEECH

OF

HON. GALE SCHISLER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill H.R. 6845 to correct inequities with respect to the basic compensation of teachers and teaching positions under the Defense Department Overseas Teachers Pay and Personnel Practices Act.

Mr. SCHISLER. Mr. Chairman, I wish to take note of the passage of H.R. 6845, a bill which will correct the inequities in the basic compensation for our overseas teachers.

I recall President Johnson's words on May 28, 1964, at a rally in Madison Square Garden when he said:

I ask you to march with me along the road to the future—where no youngster will go unschooled, where every child has a good teacher and every teacher has good pay, and both have good classrooms.

The President was including American teachers who are teaching overseas in his Great Society. But until the passage of this bill some 6,000 American citizens who are teaching in schools overseas—professional people with B.A. and M.A. degrees—were being paid an average of $750 a year less than comparable teachers in this country.

As I have said before, I believe the quality of education is dependent upon the quality of instruction offered by our teachers. There are 150,000 American children who go to school in American schools overseas. These are dependents and children of military people stationed in Germany, in Japan, and some 28 other countries. They are located in some 200 different locations.

While educational standards and teachers' salaries have shown some improvement in schools in the United States, this unfortunately has not been true of our overseas Defense Department schools. In order to remain open, the overseas schools have found it necessary to cut corners, to economize, and to find other means to finance an inadequate program.

I vote for H.R. 6845 because this legislation will help restore to children of our overseas military and civilian personnel access to the kind of American education which is their right. Every other employee in Government has received some kind of pay increase since 1959. It is my belief that these additional funds will halt the gradual decline of teachers' morales and thus strengthen their capacity to teach our American youth.

This legislation will, I believe, go a long way in upgrading our overseas schools to the position where they rightly belong.

Floor Under Farm Wages

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, it is my thought that my colleagues will be interested in an editorial from today's New York Times, and it is reprinted as a contribution to the discussion on the minimum wage bill reported yesterday by the General Subcommittee on Labor.

FLOOR UNDER FARM WAGES

Congress has finally taken a small first step toward extending to migrants and other farm laborers some element of the minimum wage protection it gave to most other workers three decades ago. By a bipartisan vote of 8 to 1, a House labor subcommittee has recommended a statutory wage floor for 700,000 farm hands, now among the most depressed of American workers. The proposed minimum would lag behind that for the rest of labor, but any standard will represent an important gain.

The subcommittee also showed sound judgment in rejecting an administration plan to require double pay for industrial overtime work in excess of 45 hours a week. The controlling element in its decision was a lack of convincing evidence that the higher premium pay would actually impel employers to hire more new workers instead of relying on extra work by those already on the payroll.

The panel would have been wise if it had invoked the same basic reason to defer action on the third element in its report—a proposal to increase the present general wage minimum of $1.25 an hour to $1.75 by July 1, 1968. The difficulty with this recommendation is that President Johnson, in his labor message,

defaulted on the administration's responsibility to provide Congress with the guidance it had a right to expect from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The President merely advised the legislators to use their own judgment on when the minimum should be raised, by how much and what impact their action might have on curtailing job opportunities, especially for youth.

Without detailed Federal studies, guesswork had to become the congressional guidepost, and no one can be sure how much harm the proposed minimum might do to those who now find it hardest to get and hold jobs. A wage floor higher than $1.25 seems much in order in a period of war against poverty, but care must be taken not to spread poverty through this instrument for relieving it.

Milwaukee Versus the Business of Baseball

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday of this week Milwaukee County filed suit against the Milwaukee Braves, the National League, and member clubs, charging that the proposed shift of the Braves franchise to Atlanta for 1966 is a violation of the Federal antitrust laws.

This action has elicited considerable press coverage and comment, much of it favorable and sympathetic to Milwaukee. Some writers, however, have been critical. In particular, I was appalled at the reaction of Mr. Ed Rumill, chief sports columnist for the Christian Science Monitor.

In his column today Mr. Rumill asserts that Milwaukee County has disgraced itself by the suit, which he apparently views as a low blow at baseball. He implies that it would serve Milwaukee right if it never got another big league team.

It appears to me that Mr. Rumill apparently is unaware of the facts about the Braves sellout, and about the nature of big league baseball, as well. Obviously he still labors under the delusion that professional baseball is a sport. This delusion certainly is not shared by the clubowners who often have proven in deed, if not in word, that the cash box always comes first.

Baseball, Mr. Speaker, is big business. It deserves to be treated like big business by being subject to the Nation's antitrust laws. This is the basis for the Milwaukee County suit.

Mr. Rumill warns Milwaukee that—

> It isn't wise to try pushing the game around in the courts or even in the streets. There are enough proud and stubborn men in the game to remember well how Milwaukee County is conducting itself in this unfortunate situation.

I think Mr. Rumill should be reminded where the pushing around began. It was big league baseball that agreed to let the Braves play in Atlanta in 1965, disregarding the stadium contract with Milwaukee. It was these same clubowners who showed such pride in the game as to let the carpetbagging Braves owners depart Milwaukee—one of the Nation's best baseball towns—for the lucrative TV rights in Atlanta.

Mr. Speaker, we have proud and stubborn men in Milwaukee too. They know the community has been done an injustice and they seek to right this wrong through the courts.

A look at baseball history makes clear that the leagues have been able to avoid antitrust suits by bluffing or buying off their opponents. But Milwaukee has demonstrated that it would not be bought off, and that it cannot be bluffed by talk that the community is hurting its chances of obtaining a team by pressing this suit.

I want to assure my colleagues at this time that Milwaukee and Wisconsin are in this fight for keeps. The baseball bullies have picked on someone big enough and tough enough to fight back this time. And if we win—and I am confident we will— the effect on baseball will indeed be revolutionary. It should make baseball responsive to the needs of the fans and responsible to the communities in which teams are located.

Many of the Members of this body represent cities which currently have major league clubs. They should take note that what happened in Milwaukee can happen to their communities too, unless baseball is restored to sanity. There are others here who represent areas interested in obtaining major league teams. Their chances, I submit, ride with Milwaukee, which seeks to force league expansion.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud of our city and State officials, representing both political parties, who have cooperated to make the suit possible. I applaud the Milwaukee civic leaders who have given their support to this effort and the people of Milwaukee who are united in their determination that justice shall prevail.

In order to further acquaint my colleagues with the Milwaukee Braves' suit, I am including a UPI news story of the action and the full text of the statement by Mr. Rumill.

The article and statement follow:

MILWAUKEE COUNTY TAKES BRAVES TO COURT—ANTITRUST BATTLE OPENS

MILWAUKEE, WIS., August 4.—Milwaukee County's long-awaited antitrust suit to retain major league baseball here was in the hands today of a U.S. district court, now the umpire in the bitter battle for a franchise.

The court was expected to make the next move—deciding whether to grant the immediate injunction sought by the county, which would order the Milwaukee Braves to remain here to play all home games on a regular National League schedule drafted for next year and subsequent years.

The injunction, if granted, could be lifted only if Milwaukee is given another franchise, or if the present owners of the Braves sell the team to Milwaukee interests for operation here.

OFFICIAL OK

The Braves last fall received National League permission to move to Atlanta in 1966.

The same court also will have to decide whether to grant an injunction sought by the Braves in an action last week. The Braves sought a ruling that they are free to play in Atlanta next year and an injunction to prevent litigation against them for such a move.

The Braves have 20 days to file an answer to the county suit, and the county still has 2 weeks in which to answer the Braves' suit. The court could incorporate the two suits as a single action.

VIOLATOR

The county action names the Braves, the National League, and the nine other teams of the league as defendants. It alleges that the planned franchise shift violates the Sherman Act, the Wisconsin Antitrust Act, and Wisconsin common law.

The court has 479 cases on its calendar ahead of the county suit, and court aids said the action might not be heard for more than a year under normal conditions.

The backlog of cases led to unconfirmed reports that a second suit would be filed by the State attorney general's office in Madison. It reportedly would seek a Dane County circuit court order that the Braves stay in Milwaukee until all legal entanglements have been settled.

LONG SETTLEMENT?

Attorney General Bronson La Follette refused to confirm or deny the reports. "We have the Braves situation under advisement," he said.

A legal observer said the case could be shoved ahead on the calendar, but that it could take many months or even years before it finally is settled.

Baseball Commissioner Ford Frick said "he was not at all concerned by the suit. I knew it was coming."

WORLD'S WORST WAY

(By Ed Rumill, chief sports columnist of the Christian Science Monitor)

It's a little difficult from this distance to figure out what Milwaukee County people are trying to accomplish by the suit they have filed in U.S. district court against the management of the Braves' ball club.

Basically, of course, it's an antitrust suit to try and block the club from moving to Atlanta during the fast-approaching winter. Milwaukee County demands the court either stop the migration of the National League franchise or force baseball to bring in a new franchise.

If Milwaukee should win the suit (which high baseball officials doubt), the implications could be revolutionary and costly to everyone in the national pastime.

When Fork Frick, commissioner of baseball, declared that this was "the world's worst way of going about getting major-league representation in the future," he probably said what a lot of folks outside of Milwaukee County are thinking today.

This is not to say that the Braves are right in jumping out of Wisconsin and into Georgia. But if Milwaukee wants big-league baseball via another franchise shift or future expansion, it wasn't wise to try pushing the game around in the courts or even in the streets. There are enough proud and stubborn men in the game to remember well how Milwaukee County is conducting itself in this unfortunate situation.

If the Braves want to disgrace themselves, let them do it. But Milwaukee County should play a bigger, more intelligent role.

Nine U.S Rabbis Touring in Russia Evoke a Display of Jewish Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker for those readers of the RECORD who perhaps

did not see the following article which appeared in a recent issue of the Washington Post, I call attention to this report of the warm and emotional welcome accorded nine American rabbis by a Moscow congregation. This news item not only corrobates the reports of antisemitism in the Soviet Union, which the House condemned by the adoption of House Resolution 184 last month, but also gives indication of a recent relaxation of official pressures against the Jewish citizens of the U.S.S.R.

NINE U.S. RABBIS TOURING IN RUSSIA EVOKE A DISPLAY OF JEWISH UNITY

Moscow, July 26.—Nine American rabbis left here for Tbilisi, the capital of Soviet Georgia, last night after an emotional scene brought on by an unprecedented display of Soviet-American Jewish unity in the Moscow synagogue Saturday.

The rabbis are touring the Soviet Union to learn about the situation of Jews here. They represent the Rabbinical Council of America, a group of about 900 Orthodox rabbis.

Three of the rabbis preached in the Moscow synagogue Saturday, and the effect was electrifying, Stuart Loory of the Herald Tribune News Service reported. Men and women sobbed, surged forward to get closer to the pulpit, and applauded. Chief Rabbi Yehuda Leib Levin of Moscow silenced this breach of the sanctity of the Sabbath.

The nine Americans, led by Israel Miller, president of the Rabbinical Council, sat at the front of the synagogue. Foreigners normally sit in a separate side section.

The three rabbis who preached were Miller, Bernard Paupko, of Pittsburgh, who was born in this country and whose father was a rabbi here, and Bernard Bergman, of New York, the senior member of the delegation.

They spoke in Yiddish for 5 minutes each, delivering religious messages and avoiding politics. One, however, did tell the congregation how grateful American Jews were to Russia for voting in the United Nations to establish the State of Israel. The statement won applause.

Rabbi Miller told newsmen later, "We said we had not come on a political mission but had come to seek our brethren, that the Jewish people are one and their faith is one. We reminded them that these are the 3 weeks of mourning for the destruction of the temple * * * but that a month of comfort is coming, after that destruction comes comfort."

At the end of the service Rabbi Levin told the visitors to take home greetings from the Soviet Union and a wish for peace, particularly in South Vietnam.

Rabbi Levin also told the Americans that a printing of 10,000 Jewish prayer books, residence permits for 20 students to come to Moscow to study for the rabbinate, and permission to bake matzos next Passover had been promised the Soviet Jewish community.

This appeared to be a Kremlin reply to accusations of anti-Semitism. "I am still a little skeptical about the assurances," Rabbi Miller said. "You know all kinds of promises have been made in the past."

Rabbi Levin said the new assurances came from A. A. Puzin, chairman of the Council for the Affairs of Religious Cults. His deputy, V. F. Ryazanov, made similar promises to Rabbi David B. Hollander, of New York, last March. But the residence permits for Yeshiva students he promised still have not been granted, 4 months later.

When the chief rabbi took the Torah, the scroll of the sacred scriptures, from the Ark and carried it into the congregation, the visitors followed, and members of the congregation reached out tearfully and kissed their hands.

They asked if we knew anyone from Brooklyn, from Chicago, from Michigan, one of the rabbis said. One man came forward after the service and embraced Rabbi Miller.

The service was made doubly unusual, Loory reported, because it was the occasion of the bar mitzvah of a 13-year-old boy from the central Asian Republic of Kirghizistan. Bar mitzvah is the Jewish ceremony of confirmation, of admission to manhood and the congregation. It was the first bar mitzvah in the central synagogue in 15 years, according to sources who keep close watch on rituals.

The American rabbis will go from Tbilisi to Kiev before leaving the country. They visited Leningrad before coming to Moscow.

Progress on Home Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following WWDC editorial delivered on July 23, 1965 by WWDC President Ben Strouse. I join in the hope that the House will pass a home rule bill for the District of Columbia.

I have been a worker for home rule since I first came to the House. I am the sponsor of the administration's bill on home rule, H.R. 4644, now pending before the House Committee on the District of Columbia. I urge that the House enact a home rule bill to restore the right of self-government to the people of our Capital City.

The editorial follows:

PROGRESS ON HOME RULE

(Broadcast of this editorial by WWDC President Ben Strouse began July 25, 1965. We welcome comments.)

Nothing much new was said during the 3-day Senate debate over District of Columbia home rule. In the 91 years since District of Columbia residents lost self-government, all the arguments for and against restoring it have been made. People who know the arguments long ago made up their minds.

Five times since 1948, a home rule bill has emerged from the Senate. Now for the sixth time it has happened. WWDC thinks the 1965 Senate model is the best proposal yet.

But the problem has never been in the Senate. The problem has always been in the House, specifically the House District Committee. In 1950 a home rule bill by Representative James Auchincloss, of New Jersey, actually reached the House floor. But Southern opposition managed to stall a vote until adjournment pressures killed the bill. Ten years later a discharge petition came close to forcing the District of Columbia home rule to the floor. But again it failed.

So, home rule supporters should not be counting chickens yet. Republican votes on the House District Committee are needed. This means Republican committee members will have the final say about the details of any House home rule bill.

We hope they will see fit to go along with as much of the Senate bill as possible. In our opinion, the Senate has passed a good bill. And in the final analysis, local self-government is neither a Democratic nor a Republican idea. It's an American idea. As such it belongs in the Capital City of the American people.

State Department Coverup of Wieland Ties in FBI Falsely

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, with the President's daily confusing statements on Vietnam and his crack-the-whip style of handling domestic affairs, the Castro dictatorship in Cuba and its role in bringing chaos to the Dominican Republic have slipped from public attention.

Mr. Walter Trohan, chief of the Chicago Tribune Washington Bureau, performs a true public service in directing attention to the tragic State Department history regarding Latin America. I place Mr. Trohan's report from Washington of July 26 in the RECORD as part of my remarks:

[From the Chicago Tribune, July 26, 1965]

STATE DEPARTMENT COVERUP OF WIELAND TIES IN FBI FALSELY

WASHINGTON, July 25.—It is all but impossible to beat the old school tie technique of the State Department for covering up and evading scandals and blunders affecting its white-haired boys, such as William Arthur Wieland, career diplomat, who played a key role in the rise of Fidel Castro of Cuba.

A week ago the State Department gave security clearance to Wieland, who had been under investigation by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee for his part in Castro's rise when he served as head of the State Department's Caribbean desk. In hearings three former U.S. Ambassadors in Latin America—Robert C. Hill, Earl E. T. Smith, and William D. Pauley—had criticized Wieland for recommending the withdrawal of American support from Fulgencio Batista, former Cuban president and dictator, to permit the rise of the bearded Marxist.

By way of justification for its clearance, the State Department issued a press release—for press associations alone—which flatly stated Wieland had been cleared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The reference to the FBI was gratuitously inserted in an otherwise approved release on Wieland's restoration to full status as a foreign service officer. The mention of the FBI could hardly have been accidental and has stirred a dispute within the State Department.

INCLUDED FBI IN "CLEARING" PROCESS

The proposed State Department release, which was circulated through all interested officers, merely stated that Wieland had been cleared and restored to full status after the State Department had investigated and reviewed the allegations made against him. Yet the actual release to the press associations added this had been done by the Department after "utilizing its own resources as well as those of other Government agencies, including the FBI."

The release to the press associations was over the signature of Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs James L. Greenfield. Issue was taken with the release by Undersecretary of State for Administration William J. Crockett.

"I am most unhappy with the changes made in the second paragraph of our agreed press release on Mr. William A. Wieland," Crockett wrote. "The reasoning behind the second paragraph was to exclude mentioning

the FBI. Now I note the paragraph reads '* * * included the FBI.'

"The paragraph as it now reads infers that the FBI cleared Mr. Wieland. This is not the fact. The FBI only investigates and does not render an evaluation or categorically state a person is cleared."

PAPERS STEERED WRONG BY RELEASE

On the basis of the State Department release, many newspapers carried the story that Wieland had been cleared, and by the FBI. The release apparently was cleverly calculated to blanket the first volume of the Senate subcommittee's 1,500,000-word report on the attempt to remove the State Department security officer who investigated Wieland.

Actually, the Department's own clearance of Wieland was described as shocking and incredible by Representative H. R. Gross, Republican, of Iowa. Wieland, who is 57 years old, is being assigned as supervising consul general in Canberra, Australia, at a salary of $24,000 a year.

Otto F. Otepka, the State Department's chief security officer, who investigated Wieland, would be fired by the Department school tie wearers who cleared Wieland. Otepka's offense was to tell the truth about Wieland in a way that reflected on the Department as well as Wieland. It seems the unforgivable crime is to fail to cover up scandal and worse.

Labor Amendment—Personal Freedom Not Fettered by State Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, the Senate shortly will consider the House legislation repealing section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartly Act.

Of the policy consideration involved one of the fundamental beliefs woven into the fabric of American social life concerns the individual's freedom of choice. According to this creed, the individual is free, under the condition that he does not deny the rights of others, to determine the course of his own life. One can do so as he pleases so long as he does not infringe upon his neighbor. This limitation to individual action implies a balance, a middle ground to be sought between one's desires and the desires of those around him. The pending legislation, a bill that would repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, has to do with personal freedom and restrictions upon it.

The controversy surrounding the Taft-Hartley Act and the bill to repeal it is clouded by a degree of excitement and passion that undermines clear thinking. The arguments are so often couched in emotional terms that the real issues are obscured. I believe that the proponents of the drive to retain section 14(b) have a faulty concept of freedom. They fail to recognize that freedom has many faces and that freedom not only gives privileges but also requires responsibilities.

Advocates of the so-called right-to-work laws take this phrase literally. They claim that the right-to-work law maximizes individual freedom by allowing a worker to decide for himself whether or not to join a union. Under these laws a worker cannot be forced to become a union member. Now, there is an element of truth in this claim that the right-to-work law permits workers the freedom of choice with regard to union membership. Yet this notion fosters a great distortion because under a right-to-work law a worker is free to accept or reject union membership only after the big decision has already been made. The general public has decided for him that he cannot join a union shop. The worker has in effect been protected from himself.

There is something basically wrong with the idea that the general public should decide on the question of the union shop because it is simply not its decision to make. This kind of paternalism takes away from the worker the right to determine his own fate. It precludes his right to seek the security of a union shop if he should desire it. With retention of section 14(b) it is possible that the outcome of a public referendum creating a right-to-work law could thwart the unanimous wish of labor and management to establish a union shop.

The advocates of the right-to-work law apparently take the anachronistic position that it is the individual's task to do his own bargaining with management. Whether this belief ever had any merit I cannot say, but today it is pointless. It is at least a generation behind the times. It recalls a nostalgic past age of rugged individualism with every man for himself which is inappropriate in the complexities of modern life.

But with the passing of this pristine age of individualism all is not lost. Today's labor unions negotiate the interests of the workers through collective bargaining. The advantages derived by the workingman from collective bargaining are great and the life of the worker is thus enhanced.

These benefits, however, bring with them certain responsibilities. If right-to-work laws are allowed to stand, some workers will continue to reap the full benefit of union membership without belonging to a union. Negotiators for the workers' interests are retained by the union but since under the right-to-work law a worker is free to remain independent of a union; despite the wishes of the majority, he will receive benefits financed by his fellow workers who happen to be union members.

The repeal of section 14(b) would in some cases mean compulsory union membership. That is, if the majority of workers in a certain shop wanted union representation everyone would have to join. This kind of compulsion, I believe, is only fair. It is asking no more than that the minority accept the rules as decided by the majority. In a case where workers in a certain shop have voted for a union shop, dissenters from the majority opinion are still free to work somewhere else where there is no union shop. Any citizen faces similar responsibilities when he votes for a losing candidate in an election and is then obliged to accept the policies of the winner. To complete this picture of democratic rule of the union, I would point out that workers who do not agree with the union's policies can always voice dissent and enlist popular support to change them.

It should be clear from all of this that the right-to-work laws are really not what their advocates claim them to be. They do not give the working man a meaningful freedom of choice and they have nothing at all to do with the right to work. Too often it is behind this guise of the right to work that anti-unionists support these laws. I urge the repeal of this section primarily because it would put the freedom of choice where it belongs, into the hands of the workers themselves. I am wary of those advocates who oppose the repeal of 14(b) on the grounds that it denies individual freedom of choice. Their cry for freedom has a hollow ring and I hope it will fall upon deaf ears in both Houses of the Congress.

Coast Guard City, U.S.A.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, this week the city of Grand Haven, Mich., which I have the honor to represent, becomes, in effect, Coast Guard City, U.S.A.

For years, as a symbol of their affection for this courageous arm of our national defense, the citizens of Grand Haven have celebrated a Coast Guard festival during the week of August 4, the date which commemorates the founding of the Coast Guard.

This year's celebration began yesterday, August 4, the 175th anniversary of the Coast Guard. Some 600,000 visitors, including high officers of the Coast Guard from Washington and Cleveland, are expected to attend the festival which continues through August 7. Grand Haven's spirited support of the Coast Guard, an example for any city in the United States, has been expressed in many ways through the years. When the cutter, *Escanaba*, formerly stationed in Grand Haven, was sunk with all hands during World War II, the citizens of Grand Haven raised $1 million in war bonds to help finance the construction of another cutter.

An excellent article describing the close relationship which exists between Grand Haven and the Coast Guard appeared recently in Mainliner magazine.

The article follows:

THE COAST GUARD'S GRAND HAVEN

(By H. R. Kaplan)

Grand Haven is a sparkling resort city on the eastern shore of that great inland sea known as Lake Michigan. Thousands of visitors come there every year, attracted by the beauty and the charm of its setting. Mostly, they come for Grand Haven's annual spectacular—the Coast Guard Day festival in August. Each year this colorful 3-day event draws greater crowds.

Grand Haven is unique among American cities in that it has taken the Coast Guard to its heart. It is the only U.S. city authorized by Congress to observe every August 4—the Coast Guard's birthday—as an official holiday. So proud are its people of their close identification with this historic service, that the local radio station starts its daily broadcast with the cheery announcement: "Good morning. This is Coast Guard, U.S.A."

And that's exactly what it is. Nowhere else can a "Coastie" walk down the street and be surrounded by so much warmth and affection.

What has happened to bring about this happy relationship? The answer to that question goes back to the early 1870's when the old U.S. Lifesaving Service set up a lifeboat station at Grand Haven. In 1915 the Coast Guard absorbed this famous service and took over the station, including the good will that had been built up over the years. Much later, in 1939, the Coast Guard assumed the operation of Grand Haven's picturesque lighthouse which stands on a pier outside the harbor. The lighthouse was originally built in 1839 when Grand Haven was already a flourishing coastal port. It was moved to its present site in 1895. For generations, its friendly light has welcomed approaching mariners.

So you can see that the Coast Guard is not exactly a Johnny-come-lately in Grand Haven. Like love and marriage, the Coast Guard and Grand Haven are indissoluble. More recently, the Coast Guard has berthed its cutter *Woodbine* there.

The Coast Guard pistol and rifle range at Grand Haven is used by all Coast Guardsmen in the Great Lakes area seeking to qualify in the use of small arms.

But these are only the superficial reasons. Like most friendships, this one is based on a mutual sharing of joys and sorrows. Perhaps the most poignant memory shared by the people of Grand Haven with the Coast Guard concerns the cutter *Escanaba*. Grand Haven had been the home port of this gallant ship for 10 years before the start of World War II. She had operated as an icebreaker and search and rescue vessel on the lakes. Not long after Hitler's legions began to march, she was assigned to convoy duty in the North Atlantic. The "Battle of the Atlantic" was then nearing its crucial phase. Unless the marauding U-boats could be checked, there was the frightening possibility that the vital Atlantic supply line would be broken.

That was how matters stood on June 13, 1943, when the *Escanaba* was escorting a convoy from Narsarssuak, Greenland, to St. Johns, Newfoundland. Convoy ships had been alerted to the presence of enemy submarines. At 5:10 a.m., observers saw heavy black and yellow smoke rise from the *Escanaba*. Three minutes later she sank beneath the water with all but 2 of her 103 man crew. It was one of the most stunning tragedies of the war.

But to the people of Grand Haven the loss was personal. It was as if they had lost members of their immediate kin. Today, if you talk with a citizen with some gray in his hair, mention of the *Escanaba* will probably bring a moistening of the eyes for the brave young men who will walk the streets of Grand Haven no more.

Shortly after the sinking of the *Escanaba*, the citizens of Grand Haven raised over $1 million in private contributions to help build another ship bearing her name. That ship is still in service and every year her skipper drops a wreath over the spot in the Atlantic where her namesake went down.

When you mention Coast Guard in Grand Haven, people also remember the bravery of David Sparks, a boatswain's mate 2d class who, on September 14, 1961, plunged into the troubled waters of Lake Michigan to save an 18-year-old youth who had been washed off the pier. Unfortunately, his heroic effort was in vain. But for his gallantry Sparks was awarded the coveted Gold Lifesaving Medal. And it was the people of Grand Haven who provided the funds to bring his mother to the ceremonies.

Grand Haven's affection for the Coast Guard was demonstrated further in May, 1963, when the *Woodbine* was presented with the first city of Grand Haven flag. All of the 5 officers and 50 crew members were made honorary citizens of Grand Haven. This was an unprecedented honor. It's another important reason why Coast Guardsmen regard Grand Haven as the proverbial "home away from home." They have shown their appreciation by behaving in exemplary fashion during their shore leave in this pretty resort town.

What about the festival itself? Arrangements for it begin as far as a year in advance. Many of the performers are billeted in the homes of local residents. For a week before it begins, the city starts to glow with excitement as Coast Guard ships begin arriving from all over the Lakes. The ships are there for rifle firing practice, the largest of them being the icebreaker *Mackinaw*, familiarly known as *"Big Mac."* This sturdy cutter helps to keep open ice-clogged harbors and assists in freeing ships caught in the grip of the frozen lakes. All ships are on an open house basis during the festival.

From the time the festival begins until its close 3 days later the pace is breathtaking. There is something going on almost every moment. The kickoff is a gala 2-hour parade down Grand Haven's business section. Marching bands from all the services, and from all parts of the United States and Canada, dressed in their colorful uniforms, take part. They always put on an eye-catching show.

The parade is followed by one of the most spectacular water extravaganzas in the country—the Venetian Boat Parade. Beginning at 7 p.m., the waterfront is dazzling with boats of every kind and color. Emphasis is on style and originality and the sky is the limit. Each boat illustrates a different theme. For a few hours the Grand Haven waterfront is transformed into an exotic world of light and movement. For many, this is the high point of the festival.

If you aren't breathing hard by now, there is still the water thrill show, featuring daredevil acts. Sponsored by the local junior chamber of commerce, it includes skiing exhibitions by outstanding male and female performers, a jumping boat act, and a spectacular death car plunge. In the latter, a jalopy is driven off the dock into the river and the driver makes a miraculous underwater escape. Another interesting feature is a kite flying contest which is probably the only one of its kind. During the 1963 festival, 18-year-old Dave Rude, a water skier, broke all records when he flew a kite for 77 miles across Lake Michigan.

Appropriately enough, the great show ends on a high note of beauty. Visitors to last year's show were treated to the first showing of Grand Haven's musical fountain, the world's largest. Planning for the fountain began in 1953 and its cost was borne by Grand Haven and surrounding communities. Against the backdrop of a starlit, summer sky, the fountain is hauntingly beautiful. In dedicating the fountain, Coast Guard Rear Adm. Richard D. Schmidtman said: "Grand Haven holds a high place in our affections, and the Coast Guard has come to regard this city as a place where it is always welcome. Today represents one more link in the long and happy association of the Coast Guard with the city of Grand Haven." With these sentiments, no one can disagree.

Neighborhood Youth Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK E. EVANS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I wish to draw the attention of the House to the activities of the Neighborhood Youth Corps in Colorado this summer.

Following the June floods which lashed parts of Colorado, approximately 1,500 young men and women in the Neighborhood Youth Corps embarked on the task of assisting the people of Colorado to cleanup in those areas that were hard-hit by this disaster.

Now that much of the cleanup work has been done, I want to report what the people of Colorado are saying about these Youth Corps crews.

The mayor and members of the city council in one city in my district said in a wire:

> We have 100 youth cleaning up in our county after recent floods. They are well supervised, doing great job. We have effective program under good local leadership of YMCA and county commissioners.

A reporter for the Colorado Springs Free Press, Conrad Jensen, on July 16 wrote:

> Particularly praiseworthy is the Neighborhood Youth Corps which has been going full force for some 2 weeks. Paid with Federal money, an even dozen young men have been digging, hauling and repairing storm damage (in the Palmer Lake area).
>
> One youngster, John Dodge, 18, really meant it when he agreed to be on the job at 7 a.m. every morning. Mayor McDonough said John got up early Wednesday morning because he didn't have a way to get to Palmer Lake (approximately 15 miles) for the days' work. Leaving his home at 3303 North Hancock in Colorado Springs at 3:30 a.m. he set out on foot and was at the job at 7 a.m. sharp.

A superintendent of schools wrote:

> I feel that the program has not only been a great benefit to this community, but also to the boys involved in the program. These boys and girls are very able, cooperative and willing in helping restore the Ellicott school after it was damaged by the June flood.

A person in another community wrote:

> The majority of the Corps has worked extremely well and under very unpleasant circumstances. For instance, today it required gas masks to enter one basement where are dead animals.

A farmer in another area of the State wrote:

> The majority of the boys are very good workers. They are willing to learn and seem to enjoy working with our farm boys. We certainly feel it has created a better relationship between the city and rural people.

And finally, one of the boys in the Youth Corps wrote:

> I feel this job is very important. I have acquired valuable job experience and met some interesing people. The pay is good for the work we do ($1.25 per hour) and I feel the work we have done has been very helpful to the victims of the recent flood. I've been

working in a small school that was hit very hard by the flood, and, if not for this program, the school would still be unusable. This program has helped many of us who had a hard time finding a job and if the program ends, many needy boys will just be out of luck. So please let us continue to work.

War in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, Thanat Khoman, Foreign Minister of Thailand, recently appeared on NBC's "Meet the Press" and at public meetings of the Pittsburgh World Affairs Council; Detroit Great Decisions 1965; Los Angeles World Affairs Council; and the San Francisco World Affairs Council.

It is a pleasure to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following selected group of questions on southeast Asia brought to my attention by my good friend, James Linen, president of Time, Inc.:

WAR IN VIETNAM

Question. Mr. Minister, Thailand is greatly endangered, I believe—and I believe this is your view—by the advance of communism in southeast Asia, and I know you are very interested in the problem of Vietnam. Do you think the war in Vietnam can be won?

THANAT. I think so, and I say so categorically.

Question. What is it we should be doing that we are not doing now, because we don't seem to be winning it as we are currently performing?

THANAT. I think what we should try to do is to bring about security within South Vietnam itself, first. Namely, to repel and to expel the aggressors which are now within South Vietnam, and then we should give security to the people of South Vietnam, especially the countryside people. When these people have security, when they are protected, then they will cooperate very closely with the Government authorities.

I think this is the clue to the problem. First the military problem, next the problem of security, and then we should show our determination that the free world, the non-Communist countries, is resolved to resist Communist encroachments and aggressions. I would say that the homefront is very important because those brave people who are fighting against the Communists expect the homefront to support them, to give them the feeling that they are doing a good job.

I believe that if we can give those fighting men, the gallant people who are doing the fighting now, the feeling that they are performing a useful role, then the struggle can achieve success.

Question. Do you see any danger in an increasing American involvement in Vietnam, including direct participation of American soldiers in the fighting against the Vietcong? In other words, should we and can we be fighting the war that is essentially the war of the South Vietnamese?

THANAT. I still think that the brunt of the fighting is borne by the South Vietnamese. Now the Vietcong, as I said, not only are controlled and supported by outside power, especially North Vietnam, but they receive equipment and war material from even farther countries. I think that it is necessary if South Vietnam is to remain free and independent, it has to receive the support also of a free nation, like the United States, the leader of the free nations. Otherwise it would be completely overcome by the Communist aggressors.

Question. While you stated in your remarks that you were not at liberty to talk about the support Thailand was giving to South Vietnam, is Thailand lending any material aid in South Vietnam, and if so, what is the nature the aid?

THANAT. The Government of Thailand has been extending some material aid; some economic aid to South Vietnam and also some other kinds of aid too. However, what Vietnam needs even more than military aid is political and moral support. As a supplement to the military aid and economic aid we have given to them, we can help them to keep their chins up and to continue to struggle successfully for the preservation of their freedom and independence.

Question. Mr. Minister, we have neither been able to win the war so far nor have we succeeded since the President's proposal in Baltimore on April 7, in bringing the Communists to the conference table. How do you propose that we do either of these things? For example, we are bombing North Vietnam now, but we have restricted our bombing to south of the 20th parallel. Are you in favor of escalating further and, for example, bombing Hanoi?

THANAT. I would not be in favor of limiting ourselves unilaterally. I would not be in favor of binding our hands and feet while the other side, our enemies or our opponents, are free to do whatever they like. But in regard to the war in South Vietnam, it is my impression, and the impression is based on evidence now available, that things are getting better. But you canont win a war in a matter of weeks, especially when our side is cautious enough not to do anything that may lead to a larger conflict. That is why it may take a little more time, or at least some time, before we reach a point from which we can have an agreement or an understanding that the other side will not continue hostilities.

Question. May I ask you whether you would favor bombing Hanoi?

THANAT. As I said, if the situation is necessitated, I would not be opposed to that.

Question. We have heard about the military effectiveness of the air strikes against North Vietnam. Would you give us your opinion of the political effectiveness of these raids in North Vietnam? And a related question—leaflets have been dropepd on a few occasions in North Vietnam to warn the people away from target areas. Leaflets were also dropped on Thailand when Allied air raids were carried out against targets there during World War II. Based on your experience as a former target for leaflets, how would you evaluate the effectiveness of this kind of effort?

THANAT. I think the use of the word "target" for leaflets is quite appropriate because during World War II once when I was working in the underground, I was almost struck by a barrel containing leaflets. It missed me by a few yards, and I can say that the leaflets hit pretty close to their targets. I think the effects of leaflets, as the effects of air strikes, will take some time. They are not a drug that you can take within your body and expect the pain to vanish in a few minutes. In Thailand during the war I could see that the people paid a great deal of heed to the warnings and predictions contained in the leaflets. So if the people in North Vietnam are about the same as the people in Thailand, and I don't think there is great dissimilarity between them, I think the effects will be positive.

NEGOTIATIONS ON VIETNAM

Question. Since you believe that the war can be won—and you said you say that categorically—would you be against an attempt to negotiate a settlement now or in the near future?

THANAT. We have never been against worthwhile negotiation. If you look into our records you will see that my country participated in the Geneva Conference of 1954 in regard to Korea, and then in 1962 Thailand also took part in the Geneva Conference in regard to Laos, so we are not at all averse to negotiations, provided that negotiations would not lead to concessions and to surrender to the aggressors, and especially to the Communists.

Question. Mr. Minister, what do you think we can negotiate on?

THANAT. That is the question that I myself have put to some of those who talk to me about South Vietnam. What can be negotiated? In my opinion we cannot negotiate the surrender of South Vietnam or for that matter of any nation.

What we would like to see negotiations conducted upon would be to guarantee the right to free existence for South Vietnam and for any other countries in southeast Asia or in the world. I think that is the main point. That is to say, when you negotiate you must negotiate to get support for freedom and independence of the countries concerned and not their surrender.

Question. Well, you use the word "negotiation," but you really mean victory, don't you, for the West?

THANAT. Well, of course I would prefer to see victory. I have no doubt about that.

Question. But you recently said in an interview in U.S. News, that the United States must continue to support South Vietnam or withdraw. Talk of a negotiated peace is irrelevant. What did you mean by that?

THANAT. It is because of our past experience. As I said, we took part in a conference on Korea, we took part in a conference on Laos. But after the agreements were signed, as a result of those two conferences, we have not seen faithful observances and implementation of those agreements by the Communist side. That is why we are wary and we are reluctant to go back to any conference table which will not give us reasonable expectation for faithful respect and observance of any international agreement that may result from those negotiations.

COMMUNIST CHINESE THREATS TO THAILAND

Question. Mr. Minister, the Chinese Foreign Minister tells us that Thailand is next on his list as a target for Communist-supported war of national liberation. How do you evaluate this threat, and how vulnerable is Thailand to the kind of war that is being fought today in South Vietnam?

THANAT. It amounts to a declaration of war. When a country says against another country that "we will start a war," be it a guerrilla war or an open war, it doesn't make much difference. It has been a declaration of war on the part of Communist China on Thailand. Now, of course, it is guerrilla war, and we are taking necessary measures and steps to meet the situation.

We didn't take it lightly. We heeded the warning, the danger signal, and I assure you that both the Government of Thailand and the people of Thailand are doing everything to preserve our freedom and our independence.

Question. What specific evidence is there of Communist China's intentions to infiltrate and to dominate Thailand?

THANAT. We start from a statement attributed to the Foreign Minister of Communist China, Che'n Yi, who said that the guerrilla warfare will begin in Thailand before the year is out. They have been trying to bring about the first phase of the subversive war. I'm referring to the process of sending agents, of recruiting sympathizers, of training cadres in Thailand, and of trying to build armed caches. All this is part of the first phase, and we are doing everything

we can to make it stay at that first phase—or even to erase it.

We also have evidences that important headquarters have been established not very far from Thailand. Since we don't have common border with China, the headquarters is not very far from North Laos, and they appointed their top security people to come to work there. As a matter of fact, one of them used to be the Deputy Minister for Security Affairs. They also have very frequent visits from top people—top security and top military people to the area. They also started what they euphemistically call the "Patriotic Front of Thailand." It looks as though the Chinese Communists are following the same patterns that they have followed in some other places. The so-called "Patriotic Front of Thailand" is not dissimilar from the Pathet Lao in Laos, or from the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam. It seems that they have not devised any new methods or means.

Question. Has there been any evidence of infiltration into Thailand from across the Mekong?

THANAT. They come from all sides, all parts. Through the forest, across the Mekong, across the paddy land. It has been going on for quite some time, and recently we have detected an increase in infiltration and subversion. Infiltration takes various forms. They come into Thailand as hawkers or what you may call traders; they may also take a more feminine form. I mean they also send their women agents into Thailand equipped with lipstick and all the necessary things to make them attractive. All forms of infiltration carry with them grave danger, and we have to take increased measures to meet with the situation. One of them was to ask our national assembly just before I left my country for an additional budget to get the money to finance the operations against the illegal activities conducted by the other side.

Question. In view of the high percentage of Chinese in Thailand cities, especially Bangkok, is there danger that they will sympathize with Communist China?

THANAT. The Chinese in Thailand are treated better than in many other countries in Asia, and the Chinese know that. They enjoy peace and a great measure of prosperity. They enjoy security for themselves and for their families. So I suppose they know what is good for them. As far as we have seen, the Chinese in Thailand have shown a great deal of loyalty toward the land which has sheltered them and has given them full opportunity for development.

Question. I am concerned about the possibility of some of your people being persuaded to go to Hanoi or to China to be trained similarly to the Vietcong in Vietnam. Is this a problem in Thailand, and are you coping with it without serious difficulty at this time?

THANAT. The fact is that there have been some people, but they are Chinese born in Thailand. Besides that, there are some of the hill tribesmen. We have many evidences that they didn't like it over there, and quite a few of them have tried very hard to come out of that so-called paradise.

At the same time, I should like to say we used to have in Thailand something like 80,000 Vietnamese refugees who lived in Thailand, and we tried to repatriate them back to Vietnam. Half of them went to North Vietnam. We would like to send the rest, either to North or South Vietnam, it does not m tter. Words come back from North Vietnam telling those who remained in Thailand not to go gack to North Vietnam under any circumstances. Whatever they took along with them—sewing machines, fountain pens, watches, and so on—were confiscated. So they said you'd better stay in Thailand.

Question. Several years ago, business and industry in Thailand seemed to be dominated by the Chinese. Has this situation changed, and how was the change accomplished, if that has happened?

THANAT. I am glad to say that the Thais have learned to engage in business, and that at the present time my people have gone into business a great deal more. In the olden days most of them thought that the best way of life would be to become government officials. But nowadays with the kind of salaries that they get from the government, there is, to put it very mildly, a certain disaffection for officialdom.

SEATO

Question. Now that De Gaulle has refused to participate in the latest SEATO conference, does this pretty well sabotage SEATO as a viable treaty organization?

THANAT. Well, in the first place, France is still in SEATO. It decided only to send an observer, allegedly on the ground that it does not agree with the American policy in South Vietnam. But I can assure you that to us it doesn't make any difference. In any case I am willing to say that I think that France still has an interest in belonging to SEATO because it can derive many advantages from membership in SEATO. The only thing is that while it is willing to take advantage of the benefits and enjoy the privileges of membership, it is not quite willing to discharge some of the duties and obligations of a member.

Question. Is SEATO a paper tiger?

THANAT. SEATO may be a paper tiger, but I think inside the paper tiger there are fangs.

SOUTHEAST ASIA

Question. How much validity would you place on the domino theory, that if South Vietnam should go communistic, the rest of Asia, including Thailand, would also fall?

THANAT. I am not very apt at this game of domino, but I would agree with the theory. We agree with the theory in the sense that we have always stressed that the security and freedom and liberty of an area should be looked upon in a comprehensive form or manner. One cannot take a part of a region and disregard the rest. I personally have been stressing this fact ever since I took office some 6 years ago. As far back as 1959, when the situation in Laos gave grace concern to many people, I pointed out, especially at the SEATO meeting in Wellington, New Zealand, in 1959 that the main objective was not so much Laos, but South Vietnam. So to that extent I fully agree that the defense of an area, specifically the region of southeast Asia, should be undertaken in comprehensive form.

Question. How do you explain the current attitude of the Cambodian Government?

THANAT. I wish someone would tell me that. I saw Sihanouk in Jakarta; he shook hands with me in spite of the fact that he has been praying for my death for quite some time. In the first place I should like to say that there doesn't seem to be such a thing called Cambodian Government. There is only one man called Prince Sihanouk, and I'm not exactly aware that there is any Cambodian Government in existence. Everything revolves around Prince Sihanouk, and it is he who decides in what directions the country should go. I would say that the general motive behind what Prince Sihanouk has been doing is that he believes that Communist China will ultimately be the winner in southeast Asia, and for that matter in the whole of Asia. Cambodia being a small nation, he thinks that it wouldn't be able to stand up to China, so as a way of insurance he tries the best he can to propitiate and to win the favors of the leaders of Communist China. We in Thailand say that the way he is behaving looks to us like facing the crocodile and trying to be the last to be eaten.

Question. What is the feeling of the Thais toward De Gaulle and his policy for southeast Asia?

THANAT. Well, I think he is a great man—for Europe.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Question. Would the Foreign Minister say something about the relations between the United States and the Kingdom of Thailand?

THANAT. Thailand was the first Asian nation to recognize the United States, and Thailand extended technical assistance to the United States first. I think the first offer of technical assistance from Thailand to the United States was in the time of President Lincoln, when our King wrote to President Lincoln offering some elephants as a labor-saving device. Unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately, President Lincoln politely declined the offer. So, you didn't have the privilege of seeing the elephants roaming along the Potomac.

I must say that we see eye to eye on almost everything. We may have had our fritcions here and there as some of the American Ambassadors may testify. We have some small disagreements here and there, but I think the American people and the Thai people want about the some, namely to enjoy life as free individals. Now I must say to show my independence, as seems now to be quite fashionable, that each and every nation should want to show independence. Thailand, I think, should go on record as showing a gesture of independence towards the United States, too. I must say that if we agree with you, with your ideals, with your fundamental policies, and now with your policy on South Vietnam, I must say that it is not exactly to please you. We believe in a policy of peace, of freedom, of liberty, because we believe in it. And that perhaps more important than believing in such a policy as a result of foreign aid or as a result of coercing or as a result of arm-twisting.

Question. Do the citizens of Thailand feel that the United States is intruding in southeast Asia?

THANAT. I don't think the United States can be looked upon as intruding. On the contrary, we would like to see the United States stay in southeast Asia, and especially in South Vietnam. I have seen no indication that the people of South Vietnam would want the United States to leave. Of course the Communist side has been trying to give the wrong impression—that the war in South Vietnam is a civil war. That is purely propaganda or perhaps psychological warfare. But I can say that no one who believes in the defense of freedom and liberty in southeast Asia would want the United States to leave the scene at the present time.

Question. Is there any "Yankee go home" sentiment in Thailand?

THANAT. I have never heard the phrase used—except in some Western countries.

Question. What do you have to say about the wartime alliance of Thailand and Japan?

THANAT. This is a question much in need of clarification. Officially Thailand was forced to cooperate with the Japanese during World War II—after expending in our defense not only bullets but people, as well as all the obsolete planes which were shot down by Japanese planes. At that time the Thailand government asked a Western nation for help. That nation was not the United States, I want to assure you. The reply came, and it was to the following effect: help yourself.

Right from the beginning I joined many of my countrymen in the underground movement, which started almost immediately in Thailand, to fight the Japanese, to fight against Japanese occupation. Until the end of the war we never ceased fighting. I am proud to be one who was in that movement.

MEKONG RIVER PROJECT

Question. Will you give an appraisal of the achievements and the prospects for the Mekong Basin development project?

THANAT. We in Thailand highly value the generous proposal made by President Johnson in his Baltimore speech. We found in that generous offer a sign of a man of peace. What he aims at is peace—and that is why he made the offer of $1 billion to be used in insuring the economic and social development of southeast Asia. At the present time, some work is being done in Bangkok to avail ourselves of his generous offer. Also, the Mekong Commission under the auspices of the United Nations is meeting to consider in what way it can avail itself of the offer. Besides that I think the Asian Highway project may make use of the offer made by the President.

The Mekong project is a very interesting project in itself because it comprises four nations—Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, and South Vietnam. And in spite of the viscissitudes of international politics, of rupture of relations between Cambodia and Thailand, meetings of the Commission have continued to take place, so a worthwhile economic project can be even more important than politics.

In Thailand we also have many other projects which may be national in general character, but may have indirect regional character. I'm referring to the project that we are entertaining to set up a university in south Thailand. It will be sponsored by the Thai Government, with the help of some other institution like the John F. Kennedy Foundation, of which both the American Ambassador, Mr. Graham Martin, and I are member officers. We hope that the University of the South in Thailand will soon come into being. And if it comes into being it will serve not only the people of Thailand but possibly and most probably the people in Malaysia and Indonesia if peace is restored between Malaysia and Indonesia. I hope that the U.S. Government will explore these projects, and will help us in implementing them.

KINGDOM OF THAILAND

Thailand, formerly known as Siam, is a translation of "Muang Tai" (Land of the Free), the term by which the Thai people call their country.

Government: Constitutional monarchy.

Reigning monarch: His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej, Her Majesty Queen Sirikit.

Capital: Bangkok.

Area: 198,247 square miles.

Population: About 29,700,000 (July 1964 estimate).

Language: The Thai alphabet has been used in its present form since the 13th century. The language developed through adaptation of Pali and Sanskrit.

Religion: About 93.6 percent of the people are Buddhists; there are also Muslims, Christians, and others. The King is constitutionally the upholder of all faiths.

Education: Seven-year primary education is compulsory. There are five universities in Bangkok, and two others in the north at Chiengmai and the northeast at Khonkaen.

Exports: Rice, rubber, tin, teak, tapioca flour, castor seeds, corn.

Imports: Textiles, petroleum products, machinery, motor vehicles.

Helping the Victims of Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, because of the wide public interest in California's new program of reimbursing the victims of violent crimes, I would like to include in the Appendix of the RECORD a very enlightening and encouraging editorial on this subject appearing in the Washington Evening Star on August 3, 1965:

HELPING THE VICTIMS

California has taken a long step forward in enacting a law to reimburse victims of violent crimes with State funds.

The plan reportedly was suggested by Superior Court Judge Francis McCarty, of San Francisco. Arthur Goldberg also advocated such protection in several speeches while he was on the Supreme Court.

Regardless of the authorship, the whole concept deserves attention, for it lifts the State out of the "revenge" mood characterizing so many cases, and turns attention to the victim as well as the assailant.

Under the California law, families of murder victims and also persons incapacitated by crimes would be paid out of a fund administered by the department of social welfare. Payments would be based on need, and persons convicted of these offenses would be ordered to pay fines into the indemnity fund.

In signing the measure, Governor Brown observed it was "ironic that California must spend millions of dollars for rehabilitation of lawbreakers, for their food, clothing, medical care and other expenses, yet their victims are left to fend for themselves."

Similiar laws have been put into practice in New Zealand and Great Britain. The latter country, which aprpoved the program last August, has made awards in more than 200 cases and in May paid out more than $57,000 to 64 persons including 11 policemen.

Other States—and particularly, perhaps, our own crime-plagued District—would do well to emulate California's enlightened and compassionate plan. As Mr. Goldberg remarked last year, "the victim of a robbery or an assault has been denied the protection of the laws in a very real sense, and society should assume some responsibility for making him whole."

The Late Hon. Fritz Lanham

SPEECH

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I do not believe I have ever served with a more honorable Member of this body than the late Fritz Lanham. He was the perfect gentleman, cultured, eloquent, considerate, and always fair and accommodating in all his dealings.

Mr. Lanham was an authority on Texas history. His father, Samuel Willis Tucker Lanham, served five terms in this body, and then was Governor of Texas. Both of these distinguished Texans not only lived in history—they helped make it. Fritz was a dedicated and resourceful advocate, devoted to the State he loved and the Nation he served.

In Congress Fritz Lanham left his mark. He was author of many important legislative acts. He was independent in his thinking, and always put the welfare of the country ahead of petty party considerations. Men of this type are becoming few in number, but they live in history and they live in the hearts of their countrymen.

It is indeed an honor to me to join with others in paying tribute to the memory of this great man. He was my personal friend. He went out of his way to favor me on more than on occasion. But his greatness is not confined to his capacity to make friends, but rather because of his contribution to the history of the times during his long career of public service. We who survive would do well to emulate his example and adopt more of his sensible, conservative philosophy.

To Mrs. Lanham and the family I extend my deepest sympathy in their bereavement.

A Tricentennial Survey of Wisconsin Catholic History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the tercentenary of the establishment of the first Christian—Catholic—mission in Wisconsin and the central United States is being observed this year. The historical event upon which this commemoration is based is the erection in October 1665 of a little chapel of bark by Father Claude Allouez, S. J., on Chequamegon Bay, just west of the present city of Ashland, Wis. It was there that he established the mission of the Holy Ghost.

Father Lawrence Brey, assistant pastor of St. Mary's Church, South Milwaukee, Wis., recently presented a paper at the 95th anniversary meeting of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters citing Father Allouez' work and including a brief history of the Catholic Church in Wisconsin and the central United States.

Under permission to extend my remarks I include Father Brey's paper, "A Tricentennial Survey of Wisconsin Catholic History (1665–1965)," and commend it to my colleagues.

The paper together with notes and appendix follows:

A TRICENTENNIAL SURVEY OF WISCONSIN CATHOLIC HISTORY (1665–1965)

(By Rev. Lawrence S. Brey, assistant pastor, St. Mary's Congregation, South Milwaukee, Wis.)

(NOTE.—A paper presented at the 95th anniversary meeting of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, at Madison, Wis., May 8, 1965 (social sciences section), Wisconsin Center Building, University of Wisconsin.)

The year 1965 marks the tercentenary of the beginnings of the Catholic faith in the area now known as the State of Wisconsin, calling to mind the establishment of the area's first Catholic mission by Father Claude Allouez, S.J., near Ashland in 1665. At first thought this anniversary would seem to be of merely sectarian concern, or at the most the concern of specialists in local and regional history. But this limitation will be dismissed promptly by anyone who reflects

on the profound impact left on the Badger State and its development by the peaceful invasion of black-robed missionaries 300 years ago.

Along with the light of faith went such concomitants as the civilizing of the Indians, the development of roads, towns, and communities, the fostering of agriculture, and the introduction of institutions of learning, as well as hospitals and other institutions. Moreover, the very history of the growth and development of the Catholic Church in Wisconsin is in itself an object of broad cultural interest, not only for its own content of color, vitality, and adventure, but also in that it parallels and makes one more aware of the secular history and development of Wisconsin.

There are many ways of considering the three-century history of Wisconsin Catholicism. The simplest and perhaps most popular would be the chronological or chronicle-style method—simply beginning from the beginning and rambling at ease through the fascinating years and eras of Badger Catholic history. Another method would be to consider it in more or less ecclesiastical terms, tracing its original missionary status to the point of its becoming a diocese and later subdividing into additional dioceses. A fascinating history of the church in Wisconsin could very well also be built upon the lives of the various bishops of these dioceses, up to and including their present spiritual shepherds (Archbishop William E. Cousins, of Milwaukee; Bishop Stanislaus V. Bona, of Green Bay; Bishop William P. O'Connor, of Madison; Bishop George A. Hammes, of Superior; and Bishop Frederick W. Freking, of La Crosse). The names of great and colorful missionaries and circuit riders, such as Allouez, Marquette, Mazzuchelli, and Kundig, could well form the framework or starting point for this historical survey. Likewise the glorious list of dates, from 1665 to the present, dates pregnant with testimony to great men and events of the Wisconsin Catholic past, could provide the framework of a historical litany both scientific and inspiring. Certainly our survey could also be made on a geographical basis, tracing the movement of the great "glacier" of the Christian faith from its beginnings on the State's uppermost shores near Ashland, down through Green Bay and the great Fox-Wisconsin-Mississippi waterway, south through Milwaukee and Prairie du Chien, until finally it blanketed the entire State, leaving virtually no "driftless area" whatsoever. Last but not least, the history of Catholic educational, cultural, social, and charitable institutions and agencies can in itself present a format for the study of Wisconsin's 300-year Catholic history from the aspects of the humanities and human welfare.

But even though we will synopsize these social and cultural contributions at the close of this paper, for the present, in the limited time available, we feel that there is no better way to demonstrate in broad lines the Wisconsin Catholic heritage than to merely recount briefly some of the highlights of Catholicism's 300-year history in Wisconsin and in general give a "bird's eye view" of this fascinating and true story.

The response to Christ's command to bring His church and His teachings "to all nations" began on Pentecost Sunday in the year A.D. 33, and in an astonishingly short time materialized in missionary endeavors in the Roman world, the Hellenic world, parts of Africa, and southern and eastern Asia. With Columbus in 1492 the Christian faith finally came to the New World. In 1565 the Catholic faith was formally introduced to mainland America through the erection of a Catholic mission at St. Augustine, Fla. One century later, Father Jacques Marquette, S.J., began his famous exploratory and missionary journeys in North America, and on October 1 of that same year, 1665, the Catholic faith made its first permanent entrance into the area that is now Wisconsin. Although Father Rene Menard, S.J., did in fact put foot on Wisconsin soil 4 years earlier for a brief time, it was in late 1665 that another blackrobe, Father Claude Allouez, S.J., established the first church and mission in Wisconsin, in the form of a crude bark chapel constructed by himself near the present site of Ashland, on Chequamegon Bay.

This humble chapel, built near La Pointe, just west of Ashland, Wis., and named by Father Allouez, "The Mission of the Holy Spirit," was the first Catholic chapel on the American continent west of Lake Huron and north of New Mexico. In September of 1669, Father Marquette, S.J., succeeded Allouez at the La Pointe mission, ministering to the Huron and Ottawa Indians, until the Sioux drove them out. In 1673 Marquette, in the company of Joliet, navigated the Fox-Wisconsin-Mississippi waterway, entering the Mississippi on June 17, 1673, near the site of Prairie du Chien. Marquette's association with the "Great River," which he named "The River of the Immaculate Conception," is immortalized in the seal of Marquette University, bearing his image and the inscription, Numen Flumenque—"The Divine Will and the River." Meanwhile, in 1670, Father Allouez returned to Wisconsin and concentrated on the Green Bay-Oshkosh area. Marquette died in 1675. Father Louis Hennepin in 1680 also traversed the Fox-Wisconsin-Mississippi river system, and was captured by Indians. In 1686 Nicholis Perot built a fort at St. Antoine, on Lake Pepin, and later donated the yet-venerated silver ostensorium to the chuch at Green Bay.

By 1728 the Jesuits withdrew entirely from the Bayfield-La Pointe region. In 1764 Wisconsin was made part of the Quebec Catholic Diocese, and by 1789 it was incorporated into the new Baltimore Diocese. Already the foundations had been laid, and the process of Wisconsin Catholic development from a missionary status into a mature unit of the universal church was well under way by the late 18th century.

The 19th century witnessed the extended process of building on the foundations, augmenting the juridic and organizational aspects of Catholic life, promotion of further missionary pursuits, and consolidation of earlier ones. In this latter connection, the 1830's witnessed the beginnings of the phenomenal achievements of such religious pioneers as Father Frederick Baraga and Father Samuel Mazzuchelli, O.P. The former spearheaded a missionary revival in the La Pointe area, revived European interest in the Wisconsin Church, and was responsible for permanent and far-reaching missionary gains in the Upper Peninsula and along the now Wisconsin-Michigan frontier, and was to become the first bishop or Marquette, Mich. The latter, Mazzuchelli, blazed a trail of faith and civilization from Mackinac Island and Green Bay to Dubuque and the tristate area. A classical example of Wisconsin "circuit-riding" missionaries, Mazzuchelli designed and built 25 churches, planned and founded cities (such as Schullsburg and Davenport), and was chaplain of the first Wisconsin Territorial Legislature at Belmont. Both the Indians of the north central forests and the lead miners of the driftless area were to benefit from the tireless labors of this unusual man. Last year, 1964, marked the centenary of his death.

The 1830's also witnessed a formal penetration of the Christian faith into the southeastern quadrant of the Badger State. If a "red letter date" might be affixed to these beginnings, it could very well be the year 1835, when Father Florimond Bonduel offered the first holy mass in Milwaukee. Bonduel, by the way, later ministered to the settlers and Indians in the Green Bay and Wolf River regions. Just as Mazzachelli endured such hardships as living out of near-empty saddlebags for days, sleeping on the ground, and barely escaping the tomahawks of drunken braves, so too Bonduel had his share of hardships, ranging from difficulties with Federal agents and with Chief Oshkosh, to physical endurances and dangers.

1839 marked the arrival in Milwaukee of Father Patrick O'Kelly, the community's first resident pastor. Soon afterwards another Mazzuchelli-like giant, named Martin Kundig, was to do spiritual spadework in Milwaukee paralleling the pioneering of Solomon Juneau in Milwaukee's secular development. The ecclesiastical high point of Milwaukee's early days, and Wisconsin's as well, was the year 1843, when Pope Gregory XVI established Milwaukee as a diocese. All of Wisconsin, as well as some adjacent territory, was included in its jurisdiction. John Martin Henni was appointed first bishop of Milwaukee.

Events and developments of an organizational nature, as well as continued missionary and parochial work, continued at an increasing pace. Tiny St. Peter's Church, now preserved on the campus of St. Francis Seminary, served as the first cathedral. In 1846, Milwaukee's incorporation as a city coincided with the founding of its first Catholic school. Two years later Wisconsin achieved statehood. The following year, 1849, marked the return of the Jesuits after a long absence. Fathers Frederick Huebner and Anton Anderledy, S.J., came to Milwaukee and embarked on parish and educational activities, the latter later culminating in Marquette University. In 1856 St. Francis Seminary, the "mother seminary of the old Northwest," was dedicated at Milwaukee.

The Civil War years found Wisconsin's Catholic population at the 200,000 mark. Of these, many served in the Union Forces, and two Wisconsin priests served as chaplains. But even in the midst of fratricidal conflict, the Kingdom of God and the cura animarum must continue. In 1863 a log chapel was built and dedicated atop Holy Hill, marking the founding of a spiritual and geographical landmark that was to become a famous national shrine. One year later, elsewhere in the Kettle Moraine, another Civil War parish, St. Matthew's, was founded at Campbellsport. And in 1866, a year after hostilities ended, the Wisconsin Catholic Church was subdivided into two additional dioceses, Green Bay and La Crosse. Bishops Joseph Melcher and Michael Heiss were appointed as their spiritual shepherds.

The latter half of the 19th century, as well as the Fin de Siecle, was to be known as "the period of the foreigner," for both Wisconsin and the church in America. A large influx of Irish, German, Polish, and other immigrants contributed to the growth and culture of both church and State. Bilingualism was to be a common feature of many areas. In Milwaukee, Der Seebote, a pioneer organ of the Catholic press in Wisconsin, was a German-language paper. But in 1870, the Star of Bethlehem arose on Milwaukee's horizon, this being the name of the city's first English-language Catholic weekly. The same year saw the construction of the Catholic Normal School in Milwaukee, which was to be a center of teacher education and a nucleus of church music renascence. Finally, in 1875, Milwaukee was raised to the status of an archdiocese. The last two decades of the 19th century saw Bishops Heiss and Katzer succeed Henni, as second and third Archbishops of Milwaukee, and witnessed their opposition to the controversial Bennett Law, which they believed endangered the educational rights of the family. In 1899 the three Wisconsin bishops (Katzer, Messmer, and Flasch) publicly applauded Pope Leo XIII's encyclical, "Testem Benevolentiae," which censured certain alledged latitudinarian tendencies in American Catholicism.

The 20th century ushered in an era of further consolidation of Catholicism in Wisconsin, symbolized in its first three decades by the reigns of Archbishops Messmer and Stritch in Milwaukee. The former, bearded and scholarly, gave new impetus to the educational and sociological apostolates of the church, but always in close alinement with her spiritual and sacramental mission; 1905 witnessed the creation of the diocese of Superior, embracing the State's northwest quadrant, the first bishop being Augustine Schinner. Marquette College in Milwaukee was now beginning to evolve into the university which today ranks as America's close-second largest Catholic university.

With the advent of World War I, thousands of Wisconsin Catholic young men formed part of the Badger State's contribution to our Armed Forces. Thirty-four Wisconsin priests served as chaplains. After the war, Archbishop Messmer called attention to false and dangerous ideologies at home. But in opposing, for example, "the danger of Socialism" in a pastoral letter, he also insisted that true Christian social order and justice must be the antidote to both economic ills and radical ideologies. In 1920 he established the Catholic Social Welfare Bureau in Milwaukee. By the end of his episcopacy, Wisconsin was no longer a "mission territory", and bilingualism was greatly subsiding.

The reign of Messmer's successor, Archbishop Samuel Stritch, began in 1930, and coincided with the dark decade of the depression. It was nevertheless a period of vigorous growth, organization, and educational expansion and standardization. Moreover the critical social and economic conditions of the 1930's triggered a number of the new archbishop's accomplishments on behalf of charity, welfare, and youth. The Catholic Youth Organization, for example, was founded in 1934, to give our youths a constructive Christian social life and shield them from radical and materialistic influences engendered by the depression. Finally, when thoughts turned from depression to war, in September, 1939, one of Stritch's last great gestures as Milwaukee archbishop was to conduct a massive religious convocation for world peace at Marquette Stadium.

But world war was not averted, and America's involvement was soon to be a fact. World War II, post-war problems, and the Korean war were to flank the episcopacy of Archbishop Stritch's successor of 1940, Moses E. Kiley. Kiley, a humble quiet man of towering physical stature, was to emphasize parish life, Catholic charities, and the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. Wisconsin's Catholic contribution to the war effort included some 25,000 youn men and some 100 chaplains. In 1946, shortly after war's end, the Wisconsin Catholic province was further subdivided, and a new diocese was created, Madison, embracing the southwest quadrant of the State. Bishop William P. O'Connor was appointed its first spiritual head. In 1948 all five dioceses took part in a solemn religious observance of the Wisconsin State Centennial.

The 1950's were ushered in by another conflict, the Korean war. The day after the signing of the Korean truce in 1953 Albert G. Meyer became new archbishop of Milwaukee, and Bishop Annabring replaced him at Superior. Expansion of the seminary, further development of Catholic parochial, apostolic and charitable activities, and a statewide census and information program highlighted his episcopacy. Miuwaukee archdiocesan development was all the while paralelled by similar advances in the dioceses of La Crosse, Superior, Green Bay, and Madison. Time and space alone prohibit more details in a paper such as this.

The year 1959 brought to the Catholic world a new Pope, John XXIII, and to Wisconsin a new archbishop, William E. Cousins. The latter further expanded our seminary facilities and educational program, modernized our charities and family life services, and continues to meet the demanding task of extending the spiritual services of the archdiocese to a greatly expanding population.

The last 5 years of Wisconsin's 300-year Catholic history show no signs of diminuendo. The sanctifying mission of the church continues to be implemented in the context of modern society, and is paralelled by the church's continuing contributions in the social, cultural and educational spheres, whether the latter be in the form of a humble study club or the current elephantine expansion and redevelopment project at Marquette University. Wisconsin's present Catholic population totals 1,424,246, including 2,448 priests. Parish churches and missions number in excess of 1,000. Although the church's contributions to Wisconsin life are necessarily primarily of a spiritual and salvational nature, she cannot help but benefit the State morally, socially and culturally. Loyalty, public morality, and good order cannot help but gain by her presence. In addition, the following figures give notice of the church's contributions to human culture and welfare in Wisconsin:

In the field of education, the Catholic Church operates 569 elementary schools, 56 high schools, and 12 colleges and universities in Wisconsin, not including her theological seminaries; also 23 educationally related agencies, 23 college Newman Clubs, 9 schools of nursing, and at least 25 weekly or monthly publications.

In the field of medical and social welfare, we have some 55 Catholic hospitals, 4 or 5 mental and special hospitals, 33 old age homes, 7 children's homes, 10 protective and rehabilitating institutions, some dozen ethnic social service organizations and missions (on behalf of Negroes, migrant workers, and Indians). In addition there are diocesan and local units of family life organizations, social welfare bureaus, Catholic youth organization, Rural Life Conference, and the St. Vincent de Paul (Relief and Welfare) Society. Catholic chaplain services are also rendered to various State, county and municipal institutions. Of special interest are such unique items as St. Colletta's School for Mentally Handicapped Children, at Jefferson, St. John's School for the Deaf, in Milwaukee, and, in quite a different vein, the Milwaukee Catholic Symphony Orchestra, the only one of its kind in America.

The most important statistic of them all, of course—the uncounted Wisconsin souls who have reached their eternal reward through the ministrations of the Catholic Church during the past 300 years—remains unrecorded.

Even Wisconsin's geography bears marks of of the Christian faith and Catholic regional history. Looking at a map of our favorite State, we see such names as: The Apostle Islands, St. Croix Lake, St. Croix River, Holy Hill, St. Joseph Ridge, Marquette County, St. Croix County; and the cities and towns of Allouez, Alverno, Benet Lake, Bonduel, Calvary, De Pere, Holy Cross, Hubertus, Marquette, Marytown, Mount Calvary, Pius, St. Anna, St. Cloud, St. Croix Falls, St. Croix Junction, St. Francis, St. George, St. Huberts, St. Johns, St. Joseph, St. Kilian, St. Lawrence, St. Marie, St. Marys, St. Michaels, St. Nazianz, St. Paul Switch, St. Peter, St. Wendel, and West De Pere. On an even more local scale, one could probably spend a lifetime listing all the city streets and roads named after Wisconsin Catholic pioneers, not to mention a town such as Shullsburg, where every street was named after a Christian doctrine or virtue by Father Mazzuchelli himself.

It is 1965, and the early part of this tricentennial year was marred by the deaths of two prelates close to Wisconsin soil and close to her Catholic history: Albert Cardinal Meyer, one of whose personal mottos, pietas et scientia, epitomizes the ideal of Catholic Doctrine culture in Wisconsin and everywhere, and Bishop John Treacy of La Crosse, whose building programs and ardent promotion of Catholic education are an asset to western Wisconsin.

In the autumn of the year of our Lord 1965, during the Pontificate of His Holiness, Pope Paul VI, as the entire Nation observes the 400th anniversary of the establishment of the Christian faith on mainland North America, at St. Augustine, Fla.—Wisconsin Catholics, as well as their non-Catholic brethren, we trust, will also rejoice as we here observe the 300th anniversary of the introduction of the Christian faith to Wisconsin, in the form of that humble Catholic mission of Father Claude Allouez at La Pointe, and his crude bark chapel. Because of that venerable event, this is a richer State today—this Wisconsin—this land of lakes and lush green forests and fields and moraines, embraced by Lakes Michigan and Superior, the Mississippi and the St. Croix, and the plains of Illinois. As Wisconsin stands at the threshold of its Catholic tercentenary, the State's thousand parishes and million and a half Catholics offer thanks to the Almighty for these centuries of grace and growth, and commend to His providential care the people, the leaders, and the future of our beloved Badger State and our America.

Note 1: This paper is respectfully and gratefully dedicated to the Right Reverend Monsignor Peter Leo Johnson, Ph. D., of St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee, and the Reverend Benjamin J. Blied, Ph. D., of Marian College, Fond du Lac, Wis., in view of the appreciation for the history of our church which they imparted as professors at St. Francis Seminary, their writings, which provided some of the source material for this paper, and their priestly inspiration; also for Monsignor Johnson's reading and checking my originally longer manscript on this subject, of which this paper is a condensation; also with appreciation to Rev. R. N. Hamilton, S.J., archivist at Marquette University, for his words of encouragement.

Note 2: In the Ashland-Bayfield region of Wisconsin, special commemoration will be made this year of the 1665 establishment of the Mission of the Holy Spirit by Father Claude Allouez, S.J., at La Pointe on Chequamegon Bay. Among those of that area who are promoting interest in this historic occasion are the Diocese of Superior, Mr. John Chapple of the Ashland Daily Press, and the Catholic War Veterans. Mr. Chapple has also been publishing some historical notes on the Catholic Beginnings in Wisconsin which will prove of value and interest in connection with the tercentenary, and to him I am also indebted. Tricentennial commemorations will be conducted in conjunction with the June 10–12 State convention of the Catholic War Veterans at Ashland, and a diocesan observance and field mass in the same city on Sunday, June 13.

Note 3: In anticipation, I apologize for any last-minute inaccuracies and errors that may have crept into this paper, as well as for any significant omissions or oversights, or failure to comprehensively cover the historical developments of all the State's areas and dioceses due to the limited scope of this paper.

Note 4: A longer narrative of Wisconsin Catholic history by this author, in more popular format, will be published in serial form this year in the Milwaukee Metro, a biweekly metropolitan feature newspaper (3072 North 27th Street, Milwaukee, Wis.).

APPENDIX—SUCCESSIVE BISHOPS OF THE FIVE WISCONSIN SEES

Milwaukee archdiocese (established 1843)

John Martin Henni (1844–81).
Michael Heiss (1881–90).
Frederick X. Katzer (1891–1903).

Sebastian G. Messmer (1903–30).
Samuel A. Stritch (1930–40).
Moses E. Kiley (1940–53).
Albert G. Meyer (1953–58).
William E. Cousins (1959—).

Green Bay diocese (established 1866)

Joseph Melcher (1868–73).
Francis Krautbauer (1875–85).
Frederick Katzer (1886–91).
Sebastian Messmer (1891–1903).
Joseph J. Fox (1904–15).
Paul P. Rhode (1915–45).
Stanislaus V. Bona (1945—).

Madison diocese (established 1946)

William P. O'Connor (1946—).

La Crosse diocese (established 1866)

Michael Heiss (1866–80).
Kilian Flasch (1881–92).
James Schwebach (1892—).
Alexander McGavick (—1946).
John P. Treacy (1946–65).
Frederick W. Freking (1965—).

Superior diocese (established 1905)

Augustine Schinner (1905–13).
Joseph Koudeka (1913–22).
Joseph Pinten (1922–26).
Bishop Plagens (1926—).
Theodore Revermann (—1941).
William P. O'Connor (1941–46).
Albert G. Meyer (1946–53).
Joseph J. Annabring (1953–60).
George A. Hammes (1960—).

The World Population Explosion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, for many years the subject of population control was considered hush-hush. Individuals were reluctant to talk about it, just as governments were reluctant to do anything about it. Although there has been steadily increasing public discussion in the matter, we are still woefully short of facts. Research into the physiology of birth and its control is only barely underway; but not enough. For example, the intrauterine device works, but no one seems to really to know why. Steroid hormone pills to suppress ovulation were only developed in the last decade.

The fourth of a series of six articles, "Our Crowded Earth," by Jean M. White, currently running in the Washington Post, describes the needs for, and the developments of, research in this field:

OUR CROWDED EARTH—IV: IUD AND THE PILL SHOW PROMISE FOR FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAMS

(By Jean M. White)

A pennies-cheap twist of plastic in assorted shapes—bowtie, double-S, tailed spiral, ring—is offering new hope to those seeking to check the world's unrestrained population growth.

The IUD (intrauterine device) represents the second major advance in birth-control technique within the last decade. It is simple, cheap, convenient, and highly effective. Once inserted, it needs no thought or attention for possibly a year or more. It can be removed when children are wanted.

The IUD and "the pill" have become promising aids in family planning programs around the world.

Those who have worked among villagers in poor countries or among the poor in wealthier countries like the United States stress the importance of new and better contraceptives if family planning programs are to have any measure of success.

OLD METHODS DON'T WORK

The conventional contraceptive methods—condom, diaphragm, chemicals in the form of creams, foams, or jellies, and the Catholic-approved rhythm system—just won't work in a slum or peasant village.

These aren't much help to people who can't count or read, have no running water, live in crowded huts or rooms with no privacy, plumbing, or storage space and have learned to endure by not taking too much thought of tomorrow.

The conventional devices demand a certain amount of sophistication and sanitation. They also require sustained motivation.

The search for a better contraceptive has more profound implication than finding a new and better pill or gadget. The biological facts of life are closely linked with the social and economic factors of family planning.

RECENTLY DEVELOPED

Both the IUD and the birth-control pill were developed to practical use within the last decade. In their laboratories, scientists are working on refinements of both—perhaps a once-a-month pill, for example.

"The current intrauterine devices are primitive, and there will be improvements," says Dr. Alan F. Guttmacher, president of Planned Parenthood-World Population.

Dr. Guttmacher recently returned from a 5-week tour through Asian countries to report that an "exciting beginning" has been made in some areas toward tackling the population problems.

He saw one woman doctor in Hong Kong who has worked out an efficient system to insert 75 IUD's in 3 hours ("with a nurse to prepare the patient and another to pat the patient on the head when it's over," Dr. Guttmacher adds.)

In South Korea, about 20,000 IUD's are being inserted each month, the Population Council reports. In Taiwan, it has reached 15,000 a month.

ANCIENT TECHNIQUE

It has been known for centuries that a foreign body in the uterus might prevent conception.

The modern intrauterin device is a resurrection of a technique popularized in the 1930's in Germany and then discarded.

Dr. Ernst Grafenberg, a German gynecologist, began inserting small silver-wire circles, about the size of a wedding ring, and reported great effectiveness and few complications. But as other doctors attempted to use the Grafenberg ring, there were complaints about bleeding and pelvic inflammations. Practicing physicians soon gave up on the IUD.

Then, after more than 25 years, interest was revived with the 1959 publication of two studies, one in Israel and one in Japan. In Yokohama, Dr. Atsumi Ishihama fitted 19,000 women with IUD's over a 20-year period with great success.

IMPROVED VERSION

Soon came improved versions of the early metal rings—inert plastic instead of metal to avoid tissue reactions; an open-end design so that the flexible plastic can be straightened out and put into a thin plastic tube for insertion, eliminating the need for cervical dilation, a minor surgical procedure; a "tail" of thread or plastic to allow easy removal and also a check that the IUD has not been expelled.

Up to 10 percent of women have had trouble with IUD expulsions. Another 6 or 8 percent have pain or bleeding at first. But once it stays in, the IUD has proved almost as efficient as the pill.

If 100 wives used no contraceptives, 90 of them would become pregnant over a year. With the rhythm system, about 40 will. With diaphragms and condoms, the range is 2 to 15 depending on proper use. The IUD rates 1 to 2 in comparison.

"The 98 percent effectiveness might not be good enough for the Park Avenue society matron on pills," observes one gynecologist. "But in the backward countries, it's a near miracle."

PHYSICAN NEEDED

It cost about 2 to 10 cents to make the plastic IUD. One drawback is that doctors are now needed to insert the device in the womb. Both India and Korea are planning to train special nurse-midwives to handle uncomplicated cases.

One big advantage of both the IUD and the pill is that they are not linked with the sexual act as the older contraceptive techniques are.

"If we are ever going to conquer the population problem, we must develop a means independent of the coital act itself for mass use by people without sustained motivation," Dr. Guttmacher emphasizes.

Actually, man doesn't know much about the facts of life in the complex process of human reproduction.

LITTLE RESEARCH

Millions and millions have gone into research on death control to win victory over many killer diseases. Very little has been spent on birth control. The major incentive for much research into human reproduction came in the search for the answers to infertility rather than fertility regulation.

The U.S. Public Health Service estimates that it is now spending $7 million on research grants related to human reproduction. Perhaps $500,000 of this is directly related to family-planning methods. Most of the grants are administered by the new Child Health and Human Development Institute.

After President Johnson's strong statement on population problems in his state of the Union message, the PHS began openly to solicit projects in the birth-control field.

CALLS FOR SUPPORT

The National Academy of Sciences, in its report on population growth in the United States, called for stepped-up Government support of research into the complicated cycle of human reproduction and into contraceptive technology. Among approaches that offer great promise in the future are these:

Suppression of ovulation.

This is the effect of the birth-control pill, composed of synthetic steroid hormones called oral progestins. These inhibit the formation of the egg and set up an artifical menstrual cycle in which no eggs are released from the ovary.

Now the pills must be taken 20 days straight without fail. This complicated dosage system, along with the relatively high cost, has proved a barrier to wide distribution in the poorer countries.

ONCE-A-MONTH PILL

The hope is for a once-a-month pill (or injection) to eliminate the daily pill-taking regimen and bring down the cost.

Antizygotic agents.

This would be a kind of retroactive contraception. The zygote is the newly fertilized egg, which is extremely vulnerable for several days on its passage to the uterus. There might be a single pill, taken within a few days after intercourse, that would prevent the development of the egg even if fertilization had taken place.

An immunizing vaccination or inoculation.

This is based on the classic principle of disease control by vaccines—development of

antibodies. There may be a vaccine to immunize women against the male sperm germ. Or perhaps vaccines could prevent sperm development or prevent fertilization.

Detection of ovulation.

Something like a litmus-paper test to predict ovulation and a woman's fertile period would make the rhythm system more dependable and certain.

Inhibition of sperm production.

This would be the birth control pill for males.

SIDE EFFECTS PRODUCED

Some experimental drugs have had to be rejected because they produce side effects—for instance, exaggerating the effects of alcohol.

Interference with postovulatory events.

This is probably how the IUD works, although no one knows for scientific certainty.

One theory is that the IUD speeds up passage of the female egg so that it takes only an hour or so to pass from the ovary to the uterus. Usually this is a 2- to 4-day trip. This may not be enough time to shake off the cumulus cells that surround the egg and must be removed before the male sperm can fertilize the egg.

Abortion and sterilization also are being used as a means of fertility control.

INDUCED ABORTIONS

In Japan, induced abortion was the principal method of drastically reducing the birth rate within a decade. Communist China is believed to be experimenting with "aspiration," a method of induced abortion developed by the Russians. A suction device is used in a procedure that takes only a few minutes.

The vasectomy—the male sterilization operation—has been promoted in several Indian States.

The perfect contraceptive has not yet been developed. It will be foolproof, cheap, reversible, simple to use, and disassociated from the sexual act.

However, it takes more than a good 5-cent contraceptive to make birth control work. It involves people—millions of individual couples—in a complex of social, cultural, religious, and economic bakgrounds.

Immigration Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, as one of the original congressional sponsors of President Johnson's immigration reform program, I want to congratulate the distinguished chairman as well as the members of the House Judiciary Committee on their overwhelming 27-to-4 favorable vote on this progressive legislation.

The President has described the committee's action as "a breakthrough for reason, a triumph for justice." And he welcomed the committee's enthusiastic bipartisan determination "to redeem the pledge of this Nation to posterity—that free men have no fear of justice, and proud men have not taste for bias."

It is my earnest hope that this long-overdue measure may now be brought to the floor of the House for consideration at an early date, so that the first session of the 89th Congress may add yet another major accomplishment to its already illustrious record of legislative achievement.

Should Boxing Be Abolished?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article appeared in the August 1965 edition of Today's Health, an American Medical Association publication. A safety code for the protection of boxers is suggested, that would make boxing safer, and greatly reduce the possibility of serious injuries or death in the ring.

The article follows:

SHOULD BOXING BE ABOLISHED?

(By Alfred Balk)

(NOTE.—Boxing cannot be made safe—only safer. It's the only sport in which, within the rules, each man deliberately sets out to hurt his opponent.)

Three years ago in New York's Madison Square Garden, Welterweight Champion Benny "Kid" Paret was in the 12th round of an exciting, nationally televised title bout with Emile Griffith when suddenly Griffith landed a punch that sent Paret reeling against the ropes, helpless. There, as the crowd roared, Griffith pounded Paret with right- and left-hand blows that further staggered him. Finally referee Ruby Goldstein stepped in and stopped the fight. But it was too late. Paret, his legs askew, slumped to the floor, unconscious. Ten days later he died.

A year later, a featherweight title bout between Champion Davey Moore and Challenger Sugar Ramos in Los Angeles had a similar conclusion. Moore was knocked to the floor twice in the 10th round and ended the round draped over a ring rope. An hour later he lapsed into a coma. Four days later he died.

While the fact that these were champions who were fatally injured in the ring was unusual; the manner in which the bouts ended was not. More than 200 times since World War II, boxing matches have ended in death for one of their participants. Over the past 10 years the number of boxing deaths each year never has fallen below 8; last year it was 15. Among those 1964 fatalities were an 18-year-old amateur named Sammy Parker, fatally injured in a bout in the Philippines, and a 17-year-old Golden Gloves contestant named Forrest Wright, who died of a brain hemorrhage suffered in an amateur bout in Flint, Mich.

Nor have collegiate boxers been immune. One of the most publicized cases in recent years was the death of 22-year-old Charles Mohr of the University of Wisconsin. Regarded by his coach as one of the outstanding boxers in intercollegiate history, he was fatally injured in a championship bout at the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) tournament in 1960. Since then the NCAA, for this and other reasons, has dropped boxing from its list of approved sports.

There also are numerous cases of permanent injuries suffered by boxers in the ring. Two former welterweight champions, Johnny Saxton and Johnny Bratton, for instance, incurred such extensive brain damage during their boxing careers that both were in mental hospitals before they reached age 30. Among many fighters who have suffered partial or total blindness as a result of boxing are ex-champions Kid Gavilan, Henry Armstrong, Jimmy Carter, Frankie Genaro, Speedy Dado, and Vince Dundee.

Because of this and a series of revelations of gangster infiltration of the sport, an increasing number of critics have demanded that boxing be outlawed as inherently unsafe.

Is it?

Reflecting the controversial nature of the question, one finds influential authorities arrayed on both sides. While the NCAA no longer approves intercollegiate boxing, for example, the other major group which sanctions national amateur tournaments in various sports, the Amateur Athletic Union, takes an opposite position. It not only approves boxing tournaments but annually sponsors its own, a national championship meet held this year on March 25–27 at Maumee, Ohio.

Individual colleges and universities also differ on the issue. Though most have voted to discontinue interscholastic bouts, several, including the U.S. service academies, retain boxing as a major physical education activity. (Boxing also is prominent in many service camps, which provide a large share of U.S. Olympic and Golden Gloves participants as well as contestants in an annual U.S. Armed Forces boxing tournament.) Likewise, although the National Federation of State High School Athletic Associations has discontinued interscholastic bouts, several hundred member high schools include boxing in physical education curriculums.

Medical opinion, too, is divided. As the Committee on the Medical Aspects of Sports of the American Medical Association noted in a comprehensive statement on boxing in the AMA Journal, "Physicians, like other segments of the population, are ranged on both sides of the controversy * * *" and "the advisability of boxing is a debatable and unsettled issue unlikely of early resolution."

In view of the many publicized deaths and injuries in the ring, why is this so?

One reason, the committee explained, is that no sport, no matter how incidental its emphasis on physical contact, can be regarded as completely safe. The committee's official statement presented both sides of the boxing issue, and went on to add:

"There is a recognized risk of disability and death in every sport, including boxing, which becomes apparent when a fatality occurs and is widely publicized."

Members further pointed out that death and injury statistics for one sport, out of context, can be misleading:

"Boxing, in terms of annual fatalities, is only seventh on the list of hazardous sports. On this basis, football, which is first on the list, hockey, and even baseball all are more dangerous (boxing's proponents) argue."

In addition, the committee indicated, the sport is credited with various redeeming attributes. The report gave these examples:

"Proponents claim certain aspects of the hard training, strict discipline, resistance to pain, resolution, alertness, courage, and endurance are peculiar to boxing as a sport. Thus boxing makes a singular contribution to youth development * * *."

Dr. Victor J. DiFilippo, director of the department of health and physical education at Seton Hall University, and former special adviser on physical education at Seton Hall University, and former special adviser on physical fitness to President Kennedy's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, is one of many with experience in the field who agrees.

"The boxer who comes out of his corner to meet his opponent is experiencing something which is not only difficult to explain fully, but impossible to duplicate in any other sport," he says. "This is an individual sport, and when the boxer walks out into the center of the ring he is, perhaps, for one of the few times in his life strictly on his own."

Among well-known beneficiaries of such experiences, according to a report of a Joint

Legislative Committee on Professional Boxing of the New York State Legislature, are such contemporary ex-champions as Rocky Graziano and Floyd Patterson. Both of these men, before becoming interested in boxing, were mired in poverty and delinquency in the slums.

"While many boys are highly intelligent and have had college training," says Dr. Harry A. Kaplan, clinical associate professor of neurosurgery of New York State University and electroencelphalographer for the New York State Athletic Commission, "there are a large number who have an extremely low IQ even to the point of being unable to read or write. Should a person with a low IQ, but with tremendous physical attributes, be refused the opportunity of applying them to earn a comfortable living?"

Dr. Alexius Rachun, team physician for Cornell University, adds:

"We must bear in mind that the vigor of our national culture is reflected to some extent by the sports that we play. Hard contact games which test the stamina and courage of our young athletes should not be discouraged in any way. Boxing fits in this general category."

Boxing's proponents further point to the many unscarred, uninjured former boxers as evidence that, properly taught and administered, boxing need not have adverse effects on its participants. Dr. Max M. Novich of Newark, N.J., named many such former champions at a recent AMA Conference on the Medical Aspects of Sports—from John L. Sullivan to Sugar Ray Robinson.

"These champions moved in the ring with agility, by means of footwork always remaining balanced and in position to attack or defend," said Dr. Novich. "With this type of boxing skill, he (the boxer) can enjoy the physical exertion and hopefully the exhilaration of victory with a minimum of risk to himself."

On the other hand, the AMA Committee's statement concedes, there also are aspects of boxing which give legitimate cause for concern. Not the least, it declares, is this frequently voiced fundamental criticism:

"Opponents of boxing point out that it is the only sport in which, within the rules, the contestant deliberately sets out to injure his opponent. This, they say, is morally indefensible in a civilized society."

Various champions, when questioned as to whether this "intent to injure" or mere skill in strategy and maneuver was paramount in their success, have corroborated the estimate.

Says Sonny Liston: "It's like war. Either I'm gonna hurt him or he's gonna hurt me."

Jack Dempsey: "To protect yourself with your fists, you must become a knockout fighter."

Sugar Ray Robinson: "Hurting people is my business."

Equally significant, the committee statement acknowledged, is the fact that fighters most readily achieve this objective of disabling an opponent by directing blows at a part of the body least able to withstand injury—the brain:

"The head can be protected by proper equipment and regulations, (boxing) opponents state, but there is no way to protect the brain itself against injury. Repeated blows to the head can cause cumulative damage to the brain resulting in mental deterioration, they argue."

Even when landed by relatively lightweight, inexperienced boxers, these punches can be devastating. In one test at the University of Wisconsin, for example, a 145-pound amateur put 600 pounds of pressure on the surface he hit. The clinical effects of blows of this type, as enumerated at a recent AMA Conference on Medical Aspects of Sports, are sobering—contusions, hemorrhages, and swelling within the brain; tearing of veins and arteries leading to the brain; injury to sense organs affecting sight, hearing, and balance; fractures of the skull and facial bones; deterioration of centers controlling speech, walk, facial expressions, and emotional stability.

To understand how this can happen, consider this description by Dr. A. A. Savastano, chairman of the Committee on Medical Aspects of Sports of the Rhode Island Medical Society, of the effects on the brain of just one hard punch to the head:

"When the brain receives a blow, its movements within the skull are not unlike the movements of a piece of jelly when it is pushed to and fro. A blow to one side of the head causes the brain to strike the skull on the opposite point from which the blow was received. In addition, the brain will slide and wobble within the skull when struck by a blow. It has been reported by some neurosurgeons that when the skull is hit and the brain is made to move about within the skull, the sharp edge of the sphenoidal ridge may contuse or even lacerate the brain with resulting hemorrhage, swelling, or both."

There are several theories as to precisely what brings about the dazed or unconscious state known as a knockout, but it, too, is known to be a result of some massive disturbance in the brain. This, some researchers suggest, possibly consists of a sudden excess of stimuli which so "overloads" vital nerve circuits that, in effect, the body's central switchboard temporarily "blows," causing a blackout for as long as the trauma persists. When residual symptoms remain, the condition is generally referred to as punch-drunkenness.

Here again there is disagreement as to the degree of disability that results. Some authorities doubt that, at worst, aftereffects are present longer than, say, the aftermath of a mild concussion suffered in a fall or auto accident. What happens, they maintain, is that clumsiness, a dull mentality, and other traits common to many disadvantaged persons who become boxers are wrongly attributed, afterward, to their boxing careers. Dr. Ira A. McCown, medical director of the New York State Athletic Commission, is one of the most outspoken on this point.

"During my 13 years with the boxing commission I have asked many doctors about this punch-drunk syndrome," he says. "All I can say is this: I have never seen a punch-drunk boxer; no one has presented himself, and we have seen many old boxers come in * * *."

Such arguments leave believers in the "punch-drunk syndrome" unmoved. They cite such experiments as a 1961 study in which electroencephalograms for 50 boxers (professional and amateur) from varying backgrounds were compared to those of a control group of persons who had participated in sports other than boxing. Only one-third of the boxers tested ever had been knocked out, yet researchers found that 60 percent of them exhibited "disordered, dysrhythmic activity" in brain waves, as contrasted to only 8 percent with this condition in the control group.

"There is no doubt that boxers as a group suffer severe mental deterioration because of their profession," insists Dr. Ward C. Halstead, director of medical psychology at the University of Chicago. "Our tests over the past 25 years prove their mental powers have been seriously reduced: their perception, time sense, reaction time, memory, reasoning power, decisionmaking ability—in other words, their capacity to function as rational, responsible human beings."

Indeed, famed former heavyweight titlist Gene Tunney, for one, admits having quit boxing—he retired undefeated in 1928—largely out of fear of punch-drunkenness. This was heightened, he admits, by the personal experience of having been struck so hard by a sparring partner late in his career that he was "out on his feet" for 24 hours and lost all memory for 3 days.

"I decided that any sport in which such accidents could occur was dangerous * * *," he says. "The first seed of retirement was sown then. The possibility of becoming punch drunk haunted me for weeks."

Anxiety about the unknowns of punch-drunkenness also was a major reason for the decision of the National Federation of State High School Athletic Associations to discontinue sanctioning boxing as an interscholastic sport, says executive secretary Clifford B. Fagan, himself a former boxing referee.

"School authorities were extremely aware of the problem of punch-drunkenness, especially the likelihood that it develops unseen over a long period of time," he says. "If it couldn't be measured, they felt there was great cause for concern."

While many such important medical questions about boxing remain unresolved, however, there is unanimity among leading authorities on one point. That is that if boxing is to avoid sinking further into disrepute, its most obvious weaknesses must be corrected—especially those bearing on safety.

Several areas of action have been suggested, including at least one radical departure from traditional conduct of the sport. This is to discourage blows to the head by creating a second foul zone, from the neckline upward. As it now is illegal to hit below the belt, it then would be a rule violation to strike the head. Under this rule, proponents argue, not only would the brain be less susceptible to injury but deemphasis of the knockout would force greater attention to the science of boxing.

Because of the magnitude of such a change, it must be considered only a remote possibility so far as professional boxing is concerned. It could, however, be adopted for use in schools, colleges, amateur, and intramural boxing. Such a change would be particularly feasible in class periods in physical education and recreational programs.

Other less controversial innovations have been proposed. One is creation of a national agency, official or unofficial, which could eliminate inconsistencies and loopholes in various State boxing commissions' safety, antimonopoly, and antiracketeering policies and their enforcement. U.S. Representative JOHN VARICK TUNNEY, Democrat, of California—son of the former champion—for one, advocates a national boxing commission and commissioner for this purpose, and has announced his intention of cosponsoring legislation to bring it about.

"The time for action is now," he says.

Already hopeful safety innovations have been announced by several groups. The World Boxing Association (WBA), for example, successor to the former National Boxing Association, has approved a new 26-point safety code for professional boxing which, if enforced in WBA jurisdictions, could eliminate some of the sport's most flagrant hazards. Among the code's provisions:

Requirement of a physician at ringside with authority to stop a bout either during or between rounds.

Automatic suspension of any boxer for 60 days following a knockout, or any loser of six consecutive fights, with medical clearance required in either case for reinstatement.

Elimination of the "saved by the bell" rule (except in the final round, a fighter not on his feet by a count of 10 is considered to have been knocked out).

Requirement that boxers be at least 21 years old to fight 10 rounds or more, and that novice matches and preliminary contests have rounds of 2 instead of 3 minutes.

Requirement that each boxer use a custom-made mouthpiece.

Use of four ringropes instead of three; soft padding around every rope.

Stringent, standardized limitations on the amount of bandage and tape with which a boxer may wrap his hands.

Many other areas of exploration remain. Among others, the AMA's Sports Committee has suggested that careful consideration be given these:

Research designed to evolve a headguard that will provide optimum protection without impairing the boxer's functions and capacity for action.

Experimentation with less padding in the gloves so that the threat of damage to the hands will inhibit the power of blows.

Prohibition of the practice of wrapping the hands under the gloves, again with the objective of cutting down the force of blows delivered to the opponent.

Revision of point systems and scoring procedures to place greater emphasis on skillful offensive and defensive maneuvering and less on the knockout blow.

Further, the committee emphasizes, it is imperative that in all instances, certain fundamental safeguards be kept in mind. In no case, it recommends, should boxing ever be allowed wherever and whenever "optimum protection for the participants cannot be provided." Specifically, it lists these eight prerequisites:

1. A thorough medical examination of each contestant prior to bouts by a physician responsible for determination of the boxer's fitness to participate.

2. At least one physician present at all bouts with absolute authority to terminate the contest for medical reasons.

3. Interruption by the referee or physician of any bout, with the opponent declared winner, when a contestant sustains more than one knockdown in any one round or evidences inability to control the position of the head.

4. Automatic suspension of any participant who sustains a knockout, technical knockout, or other severe injury for as long as medical consultants feel is necessary.

5. The universal adoption of the new improved shock-absorbing ring padding under the canvas and on the posts of the ring to aid in prevention of injuries caused by striking the head against unpadded surfaces.

6. The required use of headgear to minimize lacerations and contusions, and properly fitted mouthpieces to protect the teeth and supporting tissues.

7. Coaching and training of a quality to assure the maximum protection that skillful performance and good condition can provide.

8. Referees familiar with and alert to the health hazards inherent in boxing.

Because of the nature of boxing as well as growth traits of maturing youths, it should be noted also that there are certain hazards for schoolage boys in boxing. Hence, several organizations, including the National Federation of State High School Athletic Associations, now recommend participation in wrestling instead. But Executive Secretary Fagan, recognizing that many youngsters want to box, suggests that in all instances youngsters' being allowed to box, their parents see that these additional guidelines are followed:

Box only under supervision of a competent instructor (of which there presently is an alarming shortage, he says) and/or referee skilled in teaching proper stance and other fundamntals of self-defense and in recognizing basic symptoms of harmful injury.

Box only with someone of comparable size, build, and boxing ability.

Wear a headguard and fitted mouthpiece.

If you lose consciousness in training or in a bout, never resume boxing without a doctor's approval.

If these conditions set down by various experts are met, can boxing then be considered safe?

"You can never making boxing safe," says Fred V. Hein, director of the AMA's Department of Community Health and Health Education. "With even the best health and safety supervision you can only make it safer."

Hon. Woodrow W. Dumas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. MORRISON

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker, recently the Honorable Woodrow W. Dumas, mayor-president of Baton Rouge, was awarded the signal honor of election as president of the National Association of Counties.

I have worked often with Mr. Dumas in the past on numerous projects for the Baton Rouge area and respect him as a fine and diligent worker for the interests of his parish and city. He brings great talent to his new office, and I am confident that he will be one of the best presidents in the history of the association. I join with his host of friends in offering my sincerest congratulations to Mr. Dumas.

Mr. Speaker, the following article outlining the career of Mr. Dumas appeared in the August issue of American County Government:

DUMAS BECOMES NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES HEAD; IS MAYOR-PRESIDENT OF EAST BATON ROUGE PARISH

Woodrow W. (Woody) Dumas, mayor-president of East Baton Rouge Parish, La., has been elected president of the National Association of Counties to succeed Edwin G. Michaelian.

Dumas' election came at the annual National Association of Counties business session.

He is the second county mayor to hold the top position in National Association of Counties in the last 3 years. Mayor C. Beverly Briley, of Metropolitan Nashville-Davidson County, was president in 1962–63, the year Dumas was first named to the National Association of Counties board.

As has been true in the past, National Association of Counties gains the benefits of leadership skills sharpened at the summit of local political and administrative power.

A big man who played semipro baseball and professional football, Dumas spent 11 years in the Navy over the span of World War II and Korea, a long time for someone who doesn't plan to "go for 30" and make the service a career.

He first entered public life by the elective route in 1952 when he was successful in his bid for a seat on the city-parish council. During the next dozen years, "Woody" Dumas was one of the prime movers of the East Baton Rouge-Baton Rouge consolidation. It became one of the classic reorganizations of local government, widely studied and widely envied as a model for such accomplishments.

From almost the beginning of his political career at the county level, Dumas has been active in the two associations which represent the counties. In his State he was such a moving force and leader that it was inevitable he should soon be president of the Police Jury Association in Louisiana. Police juror is the official term for the elected member of the parish (county) governing body.

POLITICAL STATESMAN

In 1963 he was named Outstanding Police Juror of Louisiana.

His rise in the National Association of Counties was also meteoric. Named as a director in 1962, he had risen by 1964 to first vice president.

Coming from an area of the Nation sorely troubled by the delayed onrush of events set in motion a century ago, Mayor-President Dumas has shown a moderation, political and statesmanlike leadership which has produced a steady, continual record of progress and human understanding.

His upbringing prepared him well for the sympathetic, understanding role he has played in governing his community.

He was born into a family with nine children, grew up and went to school in East Baton Rouge Parish. It was both a seat of government, as capital of the State of Louisiana, and a seat of learning, as the site of the huge, highly regarded Louisiana State University (LSU). Perhaps the central fact of its existence is the Mississippi River which flows along the parish's western border, and it is only natural that Dumas should since 1955 be a member of the Mississippi Valley Flood Control Association.

Typical of the extent to which the parish serves its diverse elements is the present program to provide countywide sewage collection and treatment.

Another is in the area of recreation, and Dumas showed deep emotional as well as actual and political involvement as he helped build, by voluntary labor and contribution of materials, a public nine-hole golf course.

In addition to his political activities, Dumas, like most successful leaders, has had a wide range of other civic responsibilities as well. Among them:

He has just been elected vice president of the Greater Baton Rouge Port Authority, an organization which developed a $50 million port facility without the use of public funds.

Dumas is a member of the Louisiana Democratic State Central Committee. He also holds the following positions:

Is a former president of the Baker, Louisiana, Lions Club and the Baker Athletic Association, and in 1953 was honored as Baker's Citizen of the Year.

Received the Louisian Recreation and Park Association award in 1963 for outstanding volunteer work in the field of recreation.

Served as chairman of the steering committee for erection of the Lane Memorial Hospital in Zachary, La.

Served as chairman of construction committees for the Baker high school stadium and for Greenwood Golf Course near Baker.

Is a member of the Baton Rouge Kids Baseball Clinic. American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Fraternal Order of Eagles, United Commercial Travelers, and for 21 years a member of the Independent Workers Union of Humble Oil & Refining Co., Baton Rouge.

Congressman Griffin Provides Enlightened Leadership in 14(b) Debate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague from Michigan, Congressman ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, has provided Republicans and the Nation with outstanding, enlightened leadership in the debate over repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

One of the leading newspapers in my congressional district, the State Journal, of Lansing, recently commented editorially on the soundness of Congressman GRIFFIN's position and his arguments. Because I believe this editorial deserves widespread notice, I insert it at this point in the RECORD:

[From the State Journal, July 28, 1965]

PROTECTION NEEDED FOR WORKER RIGHTS

Congress is currently debating the proposed repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act—a move that would eliminate the right of a State to prohibit compulsory union membership.

Currently 19 States have such a law.

The debate may seem moot to Michigan residents and union members because this State has never been really close to enacting such a law.

But a proposal during the current debate in the House, made by Representative ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, Republican, of Traverse City, is of interest. He has urged that a few provisions of responsibility be appended to the law along with the proposed new freedom.

Facing a tough rule limiting amendments to the bill, GRIFFIN nevertheless poses more than just a lonesome Republican voice in a sea of Democrats—his suggestions carry the weight of merit and of a leader who helped write the most recent major revision of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Specifically GRIFFIN would write into the law governing labor unions prohibitions against discrimination, political spending, and punishment of a member for exercising any legal right. A fourth "conscientious objector" provision would excuse from union membership any person whose religious convictions prevent him from joining.

Although major union leadership has been in the forefront of the civil rights movement, there are still many sectors of organized labor which have yet to effectively deny charges of racial discrimination—not all cases of which are confined to the South.

While some labor spokesmen may resent the proposal as a punishing move, there is more than mere retaliation or philosophical theory behind the proposal. Clearly, the Negro or other minority group worker will not have the opportunity for economic equality unless union membership—so often the important first step to a job—is as available to him as to his white brethren.

Whether GRIFFIN can make his proposal to prohibit use of union dues for political activity with the same force as his anti-discrimination proposal is another question.

Long a source of irritation to Republicans has been the use of union funds and manpower as an integral part of Democratic party campaigns. The volunteer manpower they can do nothing about; the funds, perhaps they can.

But it is almost foolhardy of GRIFFIN to expect the Democratic majority of Congress to cut off part of its financial campaign support—even though some Democratic Senators and Representatives of other States may not be so closely alined with union political activities as we in Michigan have come to expect.

On the other hand, the proposal is consistent with the "protection of individual rights" theme of GRIFFIN's proposed amendments. A worker forced to join a union to get a job should not also be forced to contribute to the benefit of a political party which he may oppose. That union political activity committees endorse candidates on their merits—even occasionally supporting a Republican—may be true, but the committees have very political ideas about what constitutes merits.

Should such a proposal win support, it might also mean legislation to tighten restrictions on political contributions from corporation executives, to make sure that members of a corporation staff are not badgered into "anteing up" for the board's favorite candidate. Here, of course, we have a situation similar to the union member who contributes to the political cause not of his own determination.

Unions are big and getting bigger. As any organization grows, so does the impulse to ignore individual rights in the interest of efficiency, unity and strength.

The size and complexity of the union movement and the thoroughness with which it pervades our national economy warrant Government regulation as much as other phases of the economy.

Eradication of section 14(b) to follow Representative GRIFFIN's reasoning, should not be undertaken without some specific protection of individual rights. His proposals merit careful consideration by Congressmen who oppose right-to-work laws as well as by those who favor them.

Perspective, Patience, and Sacrifice Needed To Achieve World Order

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Thomas H. Hamilton, president of the University of Hawaii, on July 20, 1965, delivered a noteworthy speech at the summer public lecture series at the Hawaii institution.

Selecting the timely and thought-provoking subject "The Problem of World Order," and stating that he was addressing himself to the subject as a citizen, President Hamilton discussed three major ways in which man has tried or thought about bringing into being an orderly world: Hegemony, the balance of power, and world organization.

He cited historical examples of hegemony and the balance of power and pointed out some of the weaknesses which underlie these two possibilities for world order.

Calling for support of the United Nations, President Hamilton said that it is folly to do ought but strengthen the only international organization at hand. This strengthening will need to be done with both thought and care. If we are to look forward to a world that is governed by law and not violence, then it is likely that a century or more of perspective, patience, and sacrifice are called for.

I commend Dr. Hamilton's speech, for thoughtful reading for everyone, and include it herewith in the Appendix of the RECORD:

THE PROBLEM OF WORLD ORDER [1]

(By Thomas Hale Hamilton, president, University of Hawaii)

Seldom has there been, I think a less propitious time for a man to talk about world order, unless it be in a period when a declared war is being fought. And even then, I think a speaker might have a somewhat easier time of it, for somehow one can in time of war commit hemself totally to the effort in the hope that this may be the last; that with the cessation of hostilities it will become evident to the nations of the world that they must so arrange their affairs that this cannot happen again.

Now, 20 years after the cessation of hostilities in World War II, most of us find ourserves confused and troubled as citizens of a Nation lacking that sense of commitment. Because our objectives are not as clear, we view with some dismay the lack of progress toward an orderly world which has characterized these past 20 years.

In Vietnam there is with all of us the gnawing doubt as to whether we should have gone there in the first place. And now committed, we cannot help but wonder where the policy of escalation will lead us. Korea remains divided as does Germany. Throughout Latin America unrest stirs. We have intervened with armed force, whether judiciously or not, in the Dominican Republic. And the Castro regime continues in Cuba. If the Soviet Union from time to time shows desires to find ways of international accommodation, Red China does not. Rational and peaceful methods of solving the disputes between Indonesia and Malaysia seem not available, and the continent of Africa is dotted with tinderboxes. The Moslem world seems no nearer to solving the problems relating to Israel than ever was the case. The situation in Tunisia is unstable. The United Nations, granting a number of successes, finds itself limited both by its charter and the national aspirations of the member nations, the latter being basically the cause of the former. And throughout this period there has been a disappointing failure in the development of international law related to our current dilemma.

It is easy to say that all this basically is a result of the conflict between the ideology of the West and that of the two Communist blocs. To be sure, this is a considerable factor. But to rest one's case there is to engage in oversimplification. Certainly, one cannot ignore the factor of nationalism, particularly in the emerging nations. And there are even those in the western world who seem to be giving emphasis to its resurgence. One cannot forget that those peoples of the world who for centuries have had not, now intend to have. They will no longer be satisfied and accept arguments which require the patience of historical perspective.

It is a particularly difficult time for men of my generation who can recall their growing disenchantment between World Wars I and II as we witnessed the rejection of the League of Nations by the United States and the failure of the world power structure to halt aggression, whether it be in Ethiopia, Manchuria or Czechoslovakia. It was not easy for us after World War II to rekindle our optimism that the future might bring an orderly and peaceful world. But we took heart at the founding of the United Nations in San Francisco and kept hoping that perhaps at last man had come to his senses. Now we find ourselves in the desolate situation I have described. Over these gristly facts it does no good to gloss.

Yet even this, I think, would be possible to assimilate if we were sure there existed an objective which had greater meaning for mankind than simply the military containment of opposing forces. It is not the fact that we and others must use military force at the present which so distresses us, but rather we are not sure that all of this is aimed at something worth the sacrifice. And discussion of long-range objectives seems almost to have disappeared. We talk of ridding South Vietnam of the Vietcong, but we fail to relate this to any long-range objective

[1] 1965 summer public lectures series, University of Hawaii, July 20, 1935.

that has real significance and can excite both the minds and hearts of men.

We are asked to have perspective. And from this perspective is to emerge the necessary patience and willingness to make sacrifices. Perspective and patience have never been overly characteristic of the citizens of the United States, but those same citizens have many times indicated their willingness to make sacrifices, and I am sure will continue to do so. But finally the question will arise: What are we trying to achieve?

I would contend that one of the things now absent and very much needed is a citizen's dialog which would direct itself not to whether what we have done in Vietnam is right or wrong, brash or prudent, not whether we should or should not have intervened in the Dominican Republic, not whether Red China should be seated in the United Nations, but rather to the possibilities for establishing some kind of world order and a discussion of the necessary conditions for peace. Only when progress is made in the resolution of this problem can we hope to make judgments about the wisdom of particular actions. And so I should like to make it completely clear that I address myself to this problem only as a citizen. As will become abundantly clear as I continue, I am possessed of no expertise in international relations or power politics. But I am a citizen, and just as war is too important to be left to generals, so is peace too important to be left to experts.

However, lest I be considered even more naive than the facts warrant, let me make it clear that I realize that in the affairs of men and of nations Utopias cannot be proposed and then progress made step by step in a direct line without ever altering one's course. There will always be backing and sliding, retreating and a little advancing. But one cannot even tell for sure whether we did retreat or advance unless he knows the nature of his eventual destination.

There is, of course, one assumption which if it be true would make the particular dialog of which I speak futile. Perhaps when men say they want peace and an orderly world, they are not in fact telling the truth. To resort to now probably outdated Freudian terms, their protestations in the name of peace may be nothing but the rationalizations of the super ego while the id remains aggressive and pugnacious. If this be true, that man is by nature warlike, then our problem is complicated indeed. In such an event our efforts to organize the world for peace should start not with studies of social order and power and governmental machinery, but rather with an analysis of man's unconscious tendencies and the ways in which perhaps these can be directed into channels which at least are not as socially destructive as is war. This possibility needs analysis, but I shall have to lay it aside, pleading lack of competence.

I suppose one of the things that our projected dialog needs to concern itself with is to look at the attempts that have been made to achieve world order, either actual or projected. If one not let his analysis be confused by dealing with the details and techniques and confine himself only to overall positions, plans or theories, there are as far as I can discover, only three major ways in which man has either tried or thought about bringing into being an orderly world. These are hegemony, the balance of power, and world organization.

Of all of these concepts the easiest to understand is that of hegemony, for superficially put, it means nothing but the domination of the world by a single state. In the light of this concept we must acknowledge that the Soviet Union itself aims at a kind of world order. Similarly one can say of Hitler that he was (or said he was) searching for peace, a peace which would exist because National Socialist Germany ruled the world.

In history we find for short periods examples of the hegemony of a single nation, so powerful that no other nation dare challenge it. During the peak of Roman power we had such a situation. So mighty was Rome at the height of her power that other nations were weak in comparison and did not dare contest the law which emanated from Rome. Some historians have designated this period as Pax Romana—a peace imposed by Rome.

One well-known journalist with whom I discussed Pax Romana pointed out to me that, in common with others, I was prone to emphasize the failure of the Roman Empire and ignore its successes; to highlight the fact that it fell and fail to observe that for several centuries it managed to maintain a relatively orderly world. The point is well taken. Yet, in spite of this, I cannot see here a viable model for even a relatively short-range solution in the 20th century.

An even more recent example of hegemony is evident in the 19th century which was relatively (I stress relatively) peaceful. For this condition, the citizens of the 19th century largely had to thank the British navy, for it was the worldwide power of this fighting force which implemented Britain's strength in all parts of the world and gave to Britain a domination which less powerful nations could not challenge. And this period has been called, appropriately enough, Pax Brittanica.

The difficulty with supporting the idea of world order through hegemony are several in number. First, one always has to consider the possibility that this nation will not be the one which dominates but rather one which is dominated. And few nations would subscribe to a solution which called for an abandonment of their value system. And here we may find a clue to the problem—world order is not to be attained at any price—any solution to be acceptable must leave to the various societies in the world a right to the fundamental values which they cherish. This hegemony, pushed to its limits, does not do.

On another level there is a difficulty with this solution. Inevitably such a system seems to eventually weaken the nation which dominates. To rule the world a state must devote a great part of its productive energy to providing the instrumentalities of so ruling. The military must at all times be kept at a peak of strength. Much of the nation's finest talent must be devoted to staffing the organization which polices the world. In the process of doing this the nation's internal economy weakens to the point where eventually the government is liable to fall prey to other states or to a revolution from within.

The concept of the balance of power technique for achieving world order is somewhat more difficult to grasp when compared to that of hegemony. Simply put, a balance of power is achieved when the world is divided into two or more alliances of nations, each alliance being relatively equal in power to the others. The theory which underlies this solution is that a recognition by all nations that no alliance is strongest will prevent any of the alliances from attacking.

This way to world order is almost as old as written history. The Greeks tried to see that such a balance was maintained on the Peloponnesian Peninsula, and the Athenians in particular tried to provide themselves with allies to counterbalance the military might of Sparta. Much of European diplomacy through the centuries has been devoted to maintaining the balance of power. Great Britain from her relatively insulated position made a policy of throwing her support to the continental alliance which at the moment seemed weakest, thereby equalizing the power between the two. Just before World War I this game was being played between the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance.

Perhaps the best criterion to apply to this method is the pragmatic one. Has it worked, and the answer is no. Peace and order have sometimes been maintained for fairly long periods by this technique, but eventually war comes. There are a number of reasons for this. First, the matter of power is an extremely complicated one, and it is possible to make an error in judgment. Thus with the best of intentions diplomats may underestimate the power of an alliance, give it additional strength only to find that it has grown to a point where the chance of winning desired lands, raw materials, trade, or ideological adherents seems good enough to risk a show of strength. Second, there is a great possibility that one of the alliances will underestimate the strength of the other. In Germany this seems to be almost a national tradition. Twice in the 20th century the Germans have overestimated the might of the alliances which they headed and minimized the forces which existed to oppose them. The fact that sometimes these alliances have been secret further complicates the making of judgments.

Through the ages men have looked at these two possibilities for world order and have found them wanting. What was needed, they said, was some power which was superior to any of the nations which made it up and which was based on law. This is not, as many think, a recent idea.

I shall not bore you with detailing all of the proposals which the literature of war and peace provide on this head. Certainly they date at least from 1313 when the poet Dante, troubled by the constant strife among the Italian city-states and the German Emperors, in his De Monarchia suggested the unification of all Western Christendom under one strong and God-fearing ruler. Even a partial listing of the authors who have addressed themselves to the proposition would include Du Bois, Crucé, Grotius, the Duke of Sully, Charles de St. Pierre, William Penn, Leibnitz, Bentham, Kant, David Low Dodge, and William Ladd.

Recognizing the danger of generalization, one can say that, in the main, three assumptions underlie all of these proposals. They are:

1. The world cannot be orderly and peaceful as long as each nation is the final judge of its own acts just as no nation could be peaceful were each citizen allowed to serve as his own judge.

2. Therefore, there must be an international organization representing all the nations which has, at least in some particulars, greater strength than any one of them.

3. Such an international community must be based on law.

There is no doubt that this idea is, for rational men, most appealing, but there are great practical difficulties involved. Governments exist where there is a community to support them. And in this context a community can be defined as a society which holds certain values in common. Thus, at the present moment, there is no community of the world. Rather, the world is divided into a number of communities each holding to a separate set of values. Whether it is possible to build any kind of an effective world organization in the near future is indeed debatable, for the idea, appealing as it is on one score—that of providing world order and peace—runs counter to one of the powerful concepts of our time—that of nationalism. Any international organization to be successful must have power, and that power would have to be taken from nations now in existence. This would not be given at present.

Our own foreign policy, at times, seems to be seeking world order by way of all three of these paths simultaneously. We support, to some degree, the United Nations, which is, after all, the only international organization we have. On the other hand, our activities in Western Europe hardly can be seen as anything but an attempt to balance power. And certainly we are accused, I think in the main unjustly, of trying to dominate the world. Our failure to follow one line consistently or at least to clarify why we pursue a given policy at the moment has been the cause of much of the world's confusion concerning our international policy.

Such a situation, given present conditions, probably is inevitable. It can be made tolerable only if we distinguish between short-run and long-run objectives. In the short run we are faced with a world where nationalism has not loosened its hold on the West and where it is an increasing force in the East and in Africa. When this fact is coupled with recognition of the existence of the Soviet Union and Red China with their value systems in conflict with those of the West, and when one takes cognizance of the problems of the emerging nations, then probably international eclecticism and opportunism are only to be expected. This can be tolerated as long as we are aware that in the long run only a world community governed by law and into which the nations of the world can fit—only such an organization can promise us world order on anything like an enduring scale.

No one can say what might motivate the nations of the world in this direction. One always hopes that rationality would succeed, but the 20th century has made many of us wary of putting all our eggs in the rational basket. Perhaps the somewhat distasteful Hobbesian position of harmony through fear is relevant. And it certainly is possible that regionalism may be a necessary preliminary step.

Given the milieu which I have described and assuming that it is reasonably accurate, what can an interested but nonexpert citizen do. First, he can use his efforts to see that at any given moment the public dialog extends beyond the immediate question. He can say again and again—"To what end?"

Second, and at this moment in history this sounds curiously naive, he can give support to the United Nations. This sounds naive to the sophisticated because we are aware that the United Nations is not a truly effective instrument for dealing with the major problems which confront the world community, that it has made errors, and that, while it has had some successes, it also has had failures. But if one comes to the conclusion that some kind of international organization is necessary for world order, then it is folly to do ought but strengthen the only international organization at hand.

Such strengthening will need to be done with both thought and care. For example, in my opinion, at this moment to throw the Vietnam situation to the United Nations for solution would be folly. It would not provide a solution, and it might well tear the organization asunder. But there will be programs in the future for the implementation of which we shall be tempted to proceed unilaterally and which could be better effectuated by this world organization.

It is likely that a century or more of perspective, patience and sacrifice is called for. Let us then project that kind of a vision which will call these virtues into being. Let us at least permit ourselves to look forward to some generation which lives secure in the knowledge that the world is governed by law and not violence.

Dedication of the Hiker Monument: Spanish-American War Veterans Hospital

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, it was my great pleasure and honor to be present and participate in the dedication ceremonies of the Hiker monument, commemorating the service of Spanish-American War veterans, on Saturday, July 24.

The monument is located on the south side of Memorial Drive, leading into Arlington Cemetery. Although the weather was uncomfortable, with high humidity and intense heat, a remarkably large crowd of Spanish-American War veterans, their relatives, and friends gathered at the spot for the ceremonies.

The ceremony was preceded by a concert by the U.S. Navy Band and presentation of the colors by a military joint color guard. The invocation and benediction were by Lt. Col. James A. Commett, U.S. Army Chaplain.

Administrator of Veterans' Affairs William J. Driver read a message from President Johnson, and there were introductions of guests by James H. McElroy, adjutant general of the United Spanish War Veterans, and Sam Black, commander in chief of that organization.

The major addresses of the day were delivered by three of our distinguished colleagues. In the order in which they spoke, they were Senator RALPH W. YARBOROUGH, the Honorable W. J. BRYAN DORN, and the Honorable BARRATT O'HARA.

At this time I am pleased to commend to the attention of my colleagues the text of the President's message of greeting, and the remarks of Senator YARBOROUGH and Representatives DORN and O'HARA.

THE PRESIDENT'S HIKER MONUMENT DEDICATION MESSAGE OF GREETING

I am most pleased to have these words become part of your dedication today of the Hiker statue on Memorial Avenue. I know that this is a proud moment because the legendary hiker of the Spanish-American War will always exemplify the indomitable spirit and the great deeds of men, who 67 years ago demonstrated to the world that we had the power and determination to protect our interests and to advance the cause of freedom.

Your fellow-Americans never will forget you, everyone of you a volunteer.

These nearly seven decades of the 20th century have proved that the war victories of the young volunteers of 1898 were only a beginning to tremendous peacetime achievements that have helped to advance our Nation to the forefront of the entire free world. It would be impossible to point to any segment of our expanding national economy that has not been enriched by the peacetime contributions of Spanish-American War veterans—business, industry, Government, education, religion, national and community affairs—all have felt your contributions as you have grown toward the wisdom and the maturity of senior citizenship.

Thus, on this day of dedication, it is heartwarming to note that yours has been a specially forged strength of steady responsibility to America's greatness, and the support of freedom in this divided world. We need your continuing faith in the ideals of America.

REMARKS BY SENATOR RALPH YARBOROUGH AT THE DEDICATION CEREMONIES OF THE HIKER MONUMENT, JULY 24, 1965

The Spanish-American War was our first completely overseas war. Unlike all our former wars, no part of it was fought on U.S. soil or the soil of any adjoining nation. All men and supplies had to be transported overseas by water, for combat on foreign soil.

It was the last man and mule-power war. There were no trucks, tanks, automobiles, or airplanes. There were no infantry transport vehicles on land whatsoever, only ambulances for the wounded.

Men still walked to war as they did in the time of the Pharoahs, Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, and Napoleon. Not even the cavalry could maneuver in the Cuban and Philippine terrain.

There were no walkie-talkies. Man fought on his own. There were no sulfa drugs or pencillin; no immunization against typhoid and yellow fever. Men fought on foot, and died from infection and disease.

The war brought recognition that America was both a world power and a naval power. It brought us Guam and Puerto Rico, and resulted in the annexation of the 50th State, Hawaii. It gave us a special status in the Philippines, it carried the flag from the shores of North America to the beaches of Asia, where it still remains.

The Spanish-American War was our notice to the world that no hostile non-American foreign power would be able to find lodgment in the Carribean. We reemployed that position in the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, and restated it in 1965.

The Spanish-American War changed American horizons from America to the wide world. You few thousands did that alone in the jungle, in heat, in sickness, in hardships. You did it by your stout hearts and brave souls and we honor you for it still. You living survivors are here today to see the great influence on history of the deeds you wrought. The State of Hawaii and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico are greater than any monuments of marble. Not even the gold-covered ivory statue of the Pallas Athene in the Parthenon of ancient Athens can equal your glory. Your deeds cause Old Glory to wave over more than half the globe.

The Pacific command in Hawaii has under its jurisdiction alone 82 million square miles of land and water, over 42 percent of the earth's surface.

You few thousand hiker's carried the flag so far that it has taken the entire Nation and over 194 million people to hold it there today. It has been carried no farther.

REMARKS BY REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN DORN, AT THE DEDICATION CEREMONIES OF THE HIKER MONUMENT, JULY 24, 1965

National Commander Black, Congressman O'HARA, Senator YARBOROUGH, Congressman ZABLOCKI, past national commanders, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great honor to participate in the dedication of this monument to the Spanish-American War veterans. It is fitting and proper that your monument stand on Memorial Avenue between the Nation's Capital and its honored dead in Arlington National Cemetery.

I commend you for gathering here in the Nation's Capital to pay homage to your deceased comrades and honor our gallant countrymen who wrote another chapter in American history—a great chapter in the fiery crucible of combat.

I bring you greetings from my fellow members on the Veterans Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives and especially a warm, personal greeting from Chairman OLIN TEAGUE. Congressman TEAGUE is one of the truly great Congressmen of all time, dedicated to the welfare of this Nation and devoted to all the veterans of the United States.

I commend and thank Colonel Leonard and the ladies of the auxiliary for arranging this splendid program and for your participation in making it a memorable success.

The Spanish-American War, as Senator YARBOROUGH has so ably and eloquently portrayed, was the launching of this Nation as a great world power. Prior to the Spanish-American War, the United States exerted little influence in Europe and virtually none in the affairs of the Pacific. With victory over Spain and the liberation of the Philippines, Cuba, Hawaii and Puerto Rico, the United States emerged as a power to be reckoned with in Europe, in the Pacific, and throughout the world.

Our Navy ranked fifth or sixth in the world when war was declared with Spain. A few short years later, our Navy was second in the world. Today the United States is the unchallenged master of the seven seas of the world. We are patrolling those seas for peace, for security, for commerce, and for travel. You launched the United States on that course and today we are the hope of freedom; we are the arsenal of Democracy and the heart and core of the free world. You created the dawn of a new era and had it not been for that beginning you launched, I shudder to think of where freedom and individual liberty would be in the world today.

Our country is, without question, the hope of those who believe in liberty and justice, throughout the entire world. The United States is the umbrella of the free world.

I cannot think of the Spanish-American War without thinking of Teddy Roosevelt, Leonard Wood, the MacArthurs, William Jennings Bryan, and other great national leaders who captivated the imagination of the American people. Teddy Roosevelt and his Rough Riders became a byword. Roosevelt, later as President of the United States, was recognized as the President of a new dynamic Nation—powerful and influential in the affairs of the world. And among these great leaders who served in the Spanish-American War is our own distinguished dean, in years, of the U.S. House of Representatives, BARRATT O'HARA, of the great State of Illinois, a man whom we revere, love, and honor. I am so glad that Congressman O'HARA could be here today as the only Spanish-American War veteran presently serving in the Congress of the United States.

Governor O'HARA, I am pleased to sit with you and with your comrades of former years and your colleagues from Congress today.

The Spanish-American War has been referred to as a war of mud, jungles, and disease. It was, comparatively speaking, a little war, but an important war and one which had far-reaching consequences. We are in a nasty little war in southeast Asia today. They have quagmires and mud, jungles and disease in South Vietnam; but it is a war to prevent a big war. It is a war against colonialism and Chinese-Russian colonialist aggression. We are in southeast Asia to prevent a big war. We are fighting for peace; we are fighting to prevent world war III.

The Spanish-American War and you men who fought in it projected America for the first time into the Pacific. The average American, up until the Spanish-American War, knew very little about the Pacific. The Pacific was as far away to the average American of that day as the Moon or Mars in this age of astronautics. Prior to that time the eyes of America were glued upon that peninsula on the great Afro-Eurasian land mass—Europe. We thought in terms of Western Europe. Our culture was largely European. The Spanish-American War taught this Nation the importance of the vast lands of the Pacific and the sinister, latent power of Asia, the land of Genghis Khan and the Mongol dynasties.

Yes, we are fighting in southeast Asia today against aggression and oppression the same as you veterans of the Spanish-American War fought against injustice and colonialism in 1898. It is interesting to note that the isolationists of the Spanish-American War period were the so-called conservatives of that day and time, while those who were motivated by a strong desire to liberate Cuba and the Philippines were the moralists, idealists and the great liberals of that day. Who are the isolationists of today? Who are those who would withdraw from southeast Asia? Who would abandon our commitments? Who would abandon justice, decency, and honor and fall back to the shores of the United States, leaving the Philippines and possibly Hawaii open to attack and conquest at the hands of a ruthless, sinister aggressor? We are fighting a war of liberation today. We are in South Vietnam because an aggression has been committed. We are fighting to liberate South Vietnam from the aggressor; from terrorism, from subjugation and exploitation by the Communist colonialist aggressor. We need to be united behind our Commander in Chief as never before—liberals, moderates and conservatives, north, south, east and west.

Ladies and gentlemen, southeast Asia is important to the survival of freedom. Its vast resources and manpower are necessary for the survival of freedom. We must prevent this key area of the world from being exploited by the Communist colonialists and used for further conquest and further aggression.

Commodore Perry, in speaking before the National Geographic Society in New York in 1856 predicted that some day the forces of freedom—the forces of the West—would meet head on in southeast Asia that totalitarian aggressor seeking to enslave the entire world. Perry warned civilization at that time against the day when all of Eurasia might become united under a totalitarian form of government, pledged to conquer, terrorize and subjugate the entire world. I believe that battle is taking place in southeast Asia today.

My distinguished and able colleague, the Honorable CLEMENT ZABLOCKI, who is with us here today, is serving the cause of freedom on the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House and is familiar with the sinister designs of the aggressor in southeast Asia. The Nation can be proud that men of the devotion and dedication of my colleague, Mr. ZABLOCKI, are aware of these Communist designs and are supporting the President of the United States, our Commander in Chief, in his determination to halt the aggressor in southeast Asia.

Congressman O'HARA is a member of that great committee, and I am proud to be associated with my colleagues here in supporting President Johnson in his determination not to withdraw and not to abandon the forces of freedom in that key, vital area of the world. We will stop aggression—aggression by infiltration, subversion, terrorism and termite tactics. We are not going to withdraw until the invader returns to his own land. We are just as determined today as you men and women of the Spanish-American War. We will persevere until victory.

We need today the same patriotism, unity and determination that motivated you men and women two generations ago. When the Spanish-American War broke out, 10 times more men volunteered than the camps, training areas, and forts of this Nation could accommodate. We did not go into that war just to defend the United States. We went into that war to liberate Cuba and to liberate the Philippines. America was stirred up about evil, exploitation and dictatorship.

Who are the colonialists of today? Our men in South Vietnam are fighting Russian and Chinese Communist colonialist aggression. These evil forces who are seeking to eliminate from the world the last sparks of freedom, independence, justice and decency among nations.

Mr. Commander, I cannot let this occasion pass without expressing the hope that some day Cuba will be liberated from the Communist aggressor. Cuba, the Formosa of the Atlantic—this strategic island that stands between North America and South America. This island which guards the windward passages and the approaches to the Panama Canal. I do hope that this island you men so gallantly liberated in 1898 will again become free and independent.

President Johnson moved our troops into Santo Domingo because we cannot tolerate another Communist Cuba. We cannot afford in the Western World another nation under the domination of the imperialist Red Chinese-Russian Communist aggressors. We must face aggression wherever it rears its ugly head. In southeast Asia, on the road to Berlin, in Santo Domingo and all over the world. We must stand firm for freedom and against colonialist aggression now. Tomorrow would be too late.

Should we stand firm and defeat the Communist aggressor, future generations will stand up and pay tribute to our patriotism and devotion to freedom. We must succeed in our determination that liberty shall not be extinguished from this earth.

Yes, I am honored and pleased to be with you today to help you dedicate this monument to gallantry, to sacrifice, to freedom, to the liberation of a great people from the shackles and bonds of colonialism. This monument is dedicated to you and to your comrades who have passed on. It is dedicated to those 5,000 who sleep over here in Arlington. In their memory let us remain strong in mind and body to defend and preserve and perpetuate those principles and ideals for which they fought.

This monument will forever remind the future citizens of our Nation that the Spanish-American War was the beginning of our two-ocean navy, the Panama Canal, and a United States of America as a world power.

May we continue as a Nation rich in character, high in ideals, dedicated and devoted to justice, brotherhood, and freedom throughout the world. The American people and their representatives on Capitol Hill have not forgotten, nor will they ever forget your contribution to this great Nation. May our country forever be the home of the free and the land of the brave.

REMARKS BY REPRESENTATIVE BARRATT O'HARA AT THE DEDICATION CEREMONIES OF THE HIKER MONUMENT, JULY 24, 1965

We have waited long for this day.

Ten thousand seven hundred thirty-nine of our comrades, the casualties of the campaigns of the Spanish-American War period, now may sleep in peace. No longer are they forgotten in the capital city of their country.

At long, long last there has been erected here a monument in their memory, a monument commemorating the service of American soldiers and sailors, all volunteers, who started the United States of America on the road to world power and changed the course of history.

Today we are gathered here to dedicate that monument. The monument has been

paid for by the United Spanish War Veterans and the ground on which it rests has been provided by the Government of the United States according to an act of Congress.

Gathered here on this day in history are the commander in chief, the adjutant general, and 5 of the 11 surviving past commanders in chief of the United Spanish War Veterans, with the president general of the auxiliary, and none is young in years. The period of the hostilities in which we faced and conquered the enemy was from April 21, 1898 to July 4, 1902. You could scarcely expect much youth except in spirit among veterans whose war ended 63 years ago this month.

The Spanish-American War covers a period of approximately 46 months, from late April 1898 to July 1902. It includes, first the period of the fighting with Spain by sea and by land, in the Atlantic and the Pacific, second, the period of Aguinaldo's insurrection in the Philippines and the engagement of our forces in its suppression, and, third, the period of the Boxer trouble in China and the march to the relief of the imprisoned and imperiled legations at Peiping by 2,000 American soldiers as part of an international army.

All told, the loss of American lives was 10,637, of which 6,472 came during the hostilities with Spain, 4,165 during the hostilities with Aguinaldo and 102 in the fighting in China and in and around Peiping.

Gettysburg and the Wilderness were two of the bloodiest battles of the Civil War. The Union loss in deaths at Gettysburg was 3,155, at the battle of the Wilderness, 2,246, a total of 6,401 in these two battles in the War of the States in which some 200,000 Union forces were engaged. The battle casualities in the war with Spain were larger in the number of persons killed in comparison with the number of troops engaged.

Because of unsanitary conditions of camps in this country and the conditions of fighting in the tropics with scant medical supplies and attention, over 5,000 deaths in the hostilities with Spain came from disease. Nevertheless, there were 498 who were killed in action, and 202 others who died from battle wounds, a total of 700.

In the Philippines, 2,572 died from disease and 1,004 were killed in battle or later died from battle wounds.

Considering the number of troops engaged this is a much higher battle death rate than at either Gettysburg or the Wilderness.

Here are the figures as furnished me by the history section at the Pentagon:

During the period of hostilities in Spain	
Killed in action	498
Died of battle wounds	202
Total battle casualties	700
Died of disease	5,425
Miscellaneous causes	349
Total deaths	6,472
Wounds not mortal	2,974
Period of Philippine Insurrection	
Killed in action	777
Died of battle wounds	227
Total battle deaths	1,004
Died of disease	2,572
Miscellaneous causes	589
Total deaths	4,165
Wounds not mortal	2,911
China Relief Expedition	
Killed in action	33
Died of wounds	18
Died of disease	47
Other causes	4
Total deaths	102

It is my hope and prayer that the children of future generations, as they come to Washington and view the monument that today we dedicate, will have a better understanding of the importance to our country and the world of the war with Spain than the understanding of the present generation.

Unfortunately, with this generation the war with Spain if not exactly the forgotten war is the war passed over and belittled. This is ironical since it was the forces generated by the war with Spain that gave such a thrust to our economy and elevation of our power that in the dynamic events of the dawning 20th century the war that was the genesis of it all was forgotten.

When war with Spain was declared in the spring of 1898, the United States was a stranger to the Pacific except as our trading ships carried on a limited commerce. On July 7, 1898, Hawaii was made a territory of the United States and this came about because its strategic importance as a naval base was emphasized by the Spanish-American War. Whether in time events would have operated to bring Hawaii into the union is not improbable, nor is it certain such would have come to pass.

So in all fairness the great and proud State of Hawaii must be credited to the war with Spain, as also certainly the unincorporated territory of Guam, our most farflung part of America, nestled deep in the Pacific, the Stars and Stripes waving over its terrain.

The story of the Philippines and the warm friendship of the two nations in war and in peace is a classic in reciprocal international relationships that are enduring because the ties that bind are the fabric of the hearts as well as of the minds of the peoples of the two nations.

Forever is it to our credit that we kept our word with the Philippines. There was no violation of our oath. When they had been made ready the United States gave to the people of the Philippines that to which by our standards of morality they were entitled—full independence, complete sovereignty.

But for the war with Spain, it is most unlikely that the Philippines ever would have come within our zone of interest and concern. Without the war with Spain our national horizons still would have been confined to the land in our United States from Canada to Mexico, from the coast of the Atlantic to the coast of the Pacific.

What we are today, our position of leadership in the world of freedom, our fearsome responsibility for the welfare and the peace of all mankind, can be traced in its beginnings to the war with Spain. It is right that upon this we should contemplate today as we dedicate this, the first monument to the Spanish-American War to be erected in the Capital of our country.

How the war with Spain completely changed the American vision and I would say the American mission was dramatically touched upon by President William McKinley in his address at Buffalo on September 5, 1901. Whether he spoke with the prophecy of one about to pass from our sight I cannot say. But it is worthy of note that in the last public utterance of President William McKinley just 1 day before his assassination he, who in earlier days had been the champion of protection over free trade, proclaimed that in the changed world that had come reciprocal treaties were in order.

"We must not repose in fancied security," he said, "that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. Isolation is no longer possible or desirable. God and man have linked the nations together. The period of exclusiveness is past."

I pause here to voice what is in the hearts of all veterans of the Spanish-American war—a deep and genuine affection for the memory of the President to whose call for volunteers we responded. Never has our country been blessed with a President of deeper religious faith or with one who in his personal relationships more fully followed the precepts of his Master as he understood them.

He had been shot at Buffalo. Two bullets had penetrated to vital spots. The President had been mortally wounded and he was in pain. His assassin had been knocked down and someone had struck him in the face.

"Don't let them hurt him," the President said.

When they were about to operate and just before the administration of the ether his lips moved as he formed the words of the Lord's Prayer.

As the end neared he came out of a stupor. "It is useless, gentlemen," he said to the physicians, "I think we ought to have prayer."

So passed away the President to whose call for volunteers 67 years ago we who are here today at the dedication of this monument responded.

William McKinley and William Jennings Bryan, rival nominees for the Presidency, bitter opponents in many issues, were united on the merit and the morality of the war with Spain. Bryan, outstanding pacifist whose lecture on the "Prince of Peace" was to move great multitudes of people, enlisted as a private, later was appointed colonel of the 3rd Nebraska volunteers.

"This is a moment," he said, "when all men of good will must stand ready to spill their blood if need be."

The American people entered the war with Spain as a crusade to bring the blessings of freedom to the people of Cuba.

"The time has come when we must give more than vocal support to our enslaved brethren on that unhappy island," a pacifist minister preached to his congregation. The parishiners poured out of church singing "Hail Columbia," "When the Roll is Called up Yonder," and "Onward Christian Soldiers." A number of them marched in a body to the nearest recruiting office and enlisted.

This was the spirit of 1898. It was the spirit of idealism that marked our country's march to meet its destiny. All this and more is the expression of this monument that today we dedicate.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Mission of Sister Mary Peter Claver

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include an article from the August 1965 issue of Extension that I recommend to the reading of my colleagues. It is a story of the remarkable accomplishments of Sister Mary Peter Claver, whom I am proud to number among my constituents.

The article follows:

LEAP FOR LITERACY

(By Patricia Coleman)

The lives of hundreds of illiterate adults have been changed through Sister Mary Peter Claver's pioneering program.

A young girl, too poor to afford carfare, walks 4 miles in order to attend speech classes.

An unemployed young man in his late twenties, with a wife and two children, writes: "I want to be self-supporting and independent so my wife and children can look up to me."

A 65-year-old woman who is a bug on Churchill and loves to write essays is working hard to get her high school diploma.

A middle-aged self-taught butcher who never went to school a day in his life is now the smartest man in his class.

These lives and the lives of hundreds have been touched by Sister Mary Peter Claver, I.B.V.M. She talks a mile-a-minute speed. Maybe it's because she's Irish. She also reads and works at the same pace.

Most weekday nights from 6 to 9 p.m., you're sure of finding her in a long pantry-sized office on the third floor of the old Loretto Academy building at 1447 East 65th Street on Chicago's South Side. Its the headquarters for LEAP—Loretto Educational Advancement Program—an organization that is changing the lives of hundreds of illiterate adults and giving them a fair chance to earn their own way in life.

About 2 years ago, Sister came up with the idea for LEAP. It's a job-oriented project—with emphasis on rehabilitation, not welfare—which offers instruction in courses and skills much needed by disadvantaged adults, who must cope with automation and other rapid changes in technology.

Two LEAP literacy centers are now operating in Chicago under Sister's direction—in the Woodlawn and Lawndale areas—poor, blighted neighborhoods which have high crime rates and some of the biggest unemployment problems. In the near future, Sister hopes to line up enough funds and volunteer helpers to open about 30 more centers in other needy sections of the city.

The initials after Sister's name—I.B.V.M.—stand for the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a religious order that has been in Chicago's Woodlawn-Englewood communities since 1896.

"We have committed ourselves to remain here and to work to improve the area," Sister Mary Peter said. The area is typical of many similar ones in large cities throughout the Nation—dark with deterioration and old age, poverty stricken, overcrowded, and cramped with dilapidated housing.

The success of Sister Mary Peter's program has tremendous implications for similar programs throughout the country as well as for long-range government programs in the war on poverty. Thus, many government officials are watching her program closely. And although it is still young, it has received strong recommendation from acknowledged leaders.

"I hope her program multiplies across the face of Chicago," said Msgr. John Egan, executive director of the Chicago archdiocese's office of urban affairs. Here is not a paper program but one that touches reality. Sister actually lives and works with the poor and illiterate.

Edward Marciniak, executive director of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, notes that Sister Mary Peter "has pushed into uncharted waters. She is doing a remarkable job. I wish we had a city full of dedicated, concerned people like her."

Alderman Leon Despres of the fifth ward, in whose district the South Side LEAP center is located, talks about the project in superlatives. "Working with a minimum of resources, Sister Mary Peter appears to be achieving astonishing results. She's completely devoted, a great teacher and selfless—quite extraordinary." And how nice it is, he added, to find "an able administrator, who can smile, kid around once in awhile, and still find humor in what often seems a hopelessly discouraging task."

Saul Alinsky, executive director of the Industrial Areas Foundation, who organized the people into the Woodlawn Organization (TWO), said: "I first met Sister Mary Peter Claver in the Woodlawn community and was deeply impressed with that rare Christian outlook and with action being part of the personality of a professed Christian. Since then, her actions, her work and everything about her has confirmed my original feelings."

Doing her work in the world. Basically, Sister Mary Peter is a nun very much at work in this world and in a city where she was born, raised and educated: Little Flower Parish, De Paul University, and the Art Institute of Chicago. She's that kind of person who will never grow old because she is busy doing the work so many others merely talk about.

The LEAP bread-and-butter attack on adult illiteracy got underway in the Woodlawn community on a cold night in January of 1964 with a student body of 80 men and women, ages 21 to 50. Prior to opening night, a team of people-to-people volunteers canvassed the area to make residents aware that the center was opening to help all members of the community, no matter what their religious belief or the color of their skins. A few of the first wave of students came to take instruction in sewing, some others in typing.

Most of the students—53—came, though, to get help in passing a civil service examination, to learn something that would help them find a better job. Almost none of them expressed any interest in taking remedial reading, although as it turned out, this was the one basic course most of the students needed to get off or to stay off the jobless rolls.

"In this community," says Sister, "there is 50 percent unemployment and 50 percent potential unemployment. The jobs worked by the unskilled will be obsolete within 5 years, due to automation."

When Sister gave her 53 potential candidates for the civil service course a standardized reading test, she found that 41 of them achieved below a 15-percentile rating. This means that their reading ability was next to nothing, and a real obstacle in the labor market in which they must compete. Of the 53 candidates, 13 even had reading ability below 1 percentile.

Her tests also showed that answers to questions about the extent of an individual's schooling were unreliable, that their education was of dubious quality, and that tremendous literacy regression was present when an individual was in an occupation that did not require the use of literacy.

WE HAVE COMMITTED OURSELVES TO THESE PEOPLE

The starting place with these students, and all subsequent students, had to be reading, says Sister. With counsel and help from Dr. William Gorman, chairman of counseling and guidance at De Paul University, a man who has been working with problems of illiteracy since 1962, Sister Mary Peter and her staff organized and set up three reading classes for these first students. Classes met in the evenings once a week for 16 weeks.

During this period, she, Dr. Gorman, and the dedicated staff of volunteer teachers raised the literacy level of these unlettered adult trainees 1 to 2 years.

Dr. Gorman, who continues to work with LEAP, thinks that Sister's program is "like running water on a parched desert." He added: "Long before Uncle Sam announced plans to spend money in this field, she was at work. She understands the urgency of the problem. She has a fantastic desire to serve humanity, to change the world. The students know it and love her for what she is, a Good Samaritan."

"Our pioneer experiment in 1964 was played pretty much by ear," admits Sister. "And the main reason was that little is known about those factors which make adult education for these economically and culturally deprived adults succeed or fail."

Since the end of World War II, there has been almost no research of the problems relating to the education of functionally illiterate adults. The devising of new methods of teaching, the selection of participants and teachers, the development of appropriate teaching materials, and the training of teachers to serve this group have all been neglected.

"One wonders why this situation has existed for so long," says Sister. "Tanganyika, the Sudan, and Algeria aren't the only places plagued with illiteracy."

According to the latest census data, there are well over 8.3 million adults over 25 in the United States who have completed less than 5 years of schooling and 22.1 million adults who have had less than 8 years of schooling. In Illinois, 1.05 million adults have had less than 8 years of schooling. In Chicago, there are an estimated 250,000 illiterate persons.

LEAP has come a long way in its attack on illiteracy since that first night in January of 1964. And Sister and her staff have learned many things, the most important being that the problems they face are more complex than inability to read on the part of adult students.

For one thing, background and environment are ever present—low income, minority group status, family instability, mental and health problems, substandard living, the inability to get or to hold a suitable job—and the list could be extended.

Unlike the old poor, the immigrants to this country, who at least were able to bring with them a culture and a solidarity into the economy, the inner city poor are the people writer Michael Harington calls "internal aliens"—lonely and trapped with no such cultural solidarity.

When the first group of students came to LEAP classes, for example, most couldn't even find their way from one classroom to the next. "We were teachers on roller skates," recalls Sister Mary Peter with a laugh, as they tried to round up students and get them in the proper rooms. Giving these disadvantaged adult students standardized aptitude tests proved grossly inadequate, because most such tests are geared to the middle-class child. When given to the disadvantaged, functional illiterate adult, they are unsuitable measuring devices.

"Classroom testing for comprehension of subject matter was equally difficult at first," remembers Sisters. "Most of the people had no idea what tests were all about. Come test time, we had a three-ring circus on our hands. Students would talk out loud and converse with one another. It made little difference, though, since very few knew the answers anyway."

MOST HAVE AN ENORMOUS DESIRE TO ACHIEVE

What was called for and developed was a complete literacy curriculum specifically written for the illiterate, the subfunctional illiterate, and the functional illiterate.

The LEAP staff is continuing to work at building more meaningful instructional materials and testing programs. They are joined in their research by De Paul's Dr. Gorman and other interested groups—including Educational Development Laboratories, which has donated materials for testing purposes, and Science Research Associates, which also supplied materials for teaching and for evaluation.

Primarily, the curriculum built by LEAP—both at the Woodlawn and Lawndale Centers—is job-directed. The staff works to help students pass the civil service examination, to earn an eighth grade diploma or to take the general educational development test. Anyone passing the GED test is awarded a high school equivalency certificate or diploma.

In the LEAP curriculum, reading instruction runs the gamut from the most basic to advanced, where projection machines flash words on a screen at a constant rate, forcing students to read at a given speed. English and speech classes—working on enunciation, pronunciation, and correct speech patterns—are geared to ability and range from the rudiments of how to write, to capitalization and punctuation and to sentence construction.

At the LEAP center in Lawndale, there also is a special English class for the Spanish-speaking. Other courses include instruction in mathematics, history, and civics—primarily on the Constitution; also typing, which not only accomplishes instruction in typing, but also familiarizes students with words, reinforces reading and aids finger coordination.

The second LEAP program went into operation at St. Philip High School in the Lawndale West Side Community in March of this year. The school's principal, Father Mark Dennehy, O.S.M., asked Sister to help get it in the works. About 170 students participated, one group preparing for civil service exams; three groups preparing for the GED tests.

Servite Fathers, Sister Servants of the Holy Heart of Mary from St. Gall's parish, laymen and laywomen staff the exciting program. The curriculum here: English, reading, speech, math, typing, civics, drafting, commercial art, basic advertising, American Negro history, parent education and home management. Two requested classes: shorthand and nursing.

Prior to opening day, Servite seminarians called on about 1,000 people in the area. Much cooperation was also given by the West Side Federation and ministers from the community.

Says Father Dennehy, "We intend to move forward with this fine program. The church has dragged her feet in the area of social justice far too long. We have a lot of catching up to do."

About a year ago, Sister Mary Peter also coordinated an intensive full-time 12-week educational advancement pilot project for the Illinois Employment Security Bureau. It was funded with a $30,000 grant under the Federal Manpower Development and Training Act. Working with her on this project was a board of cooperating organizations: De Paul University, the University of Illinois extension service, the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, the Industrial Areas Foundation, the Urban League, the Catholic Commission on Intellectual and Cultural Affairs, the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, the Chicago Interracial Council, the Woodlawn Organization, and Alderman Leon Despres.

A WHOLE NEW LIFE HAS OPENED UP FOR MANY

About 128 unemployed functionally illiterate adults took part. Many of the students were referred to the center by the State unemployment service and were given an allotment in place of unemployment compensation. Trainees received $40 to $50 per week Manpower Development and Training Act stipends, depending on the number of children. Fifty percent of the women in the program were on public aid as contrasted to 10 percent of the men.

The students were divided into five groups according to ability and class was held for 12 weeks, 9 a.m. to 3 p.m., daily, Monday through Friday.

The overall literacy level of the trainees was raised 2 to 4 years. (Generally, 1 year for each 4 weeks in the program.) The pilot project was extended for an additional 6 weeks, when the trainees entered vocational training.

LEAP continues to conduct literacy classes in the two vocational schools to which the trainees were sent. There its teachers program basic literacy at the third- and fifth-grade levels, along with the vocational training.

From this pilot project under the Office of Manpower Automation and Training, Sister Mary Peter proved that the average adult illiterate can be educated at the fifth- and sixth-grade level in approximately 20 weeks—less than that for the functional illiterate adult. "We also learned that a literacy program is improved when teaching tools like movies, slides, overhead projectors, controlled readers, tape recorders for speech improvement, and typewriters are integrated into the teaching."

To date in its South Side and West Side programs, LEAP has had little problem attracting interested students. Admittedly, there are some who are apathetic and absent minded, but most are enthusiastic with an enormous desire to achieve.

When President Johnson announced his wars on poverty and education, he said he did so to help make jobs available to those now "hopelessly bogged down in wasted lives and stunted minds." Sister Mary Peter Claver, Dr. Gorman, Father Dennehy, and all who work with LEAP have the same objective.

Ghana Independence Day

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 1, 1965

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, on July 1, 1960, the Republic of Ghana was born. In 1957 the United Kingdom had relinquished its control over the Gold Coast and granted it complete independence within the British Commonwealth. This gave Ghana the special distinction of being the first former African colony to achieve independence. Three years after this historic event, the people of Ghana felt that a new constitution in keeping with the African tradition and culture was more in tune with the personality of their country, and so desired to become an independent republic. Five years ago today, the Queen of England ceased to be Ghana's Head of State and the Constitution of the Republic of Ghana delegated this function to the President. At that time, the former Prime Minister, Kwame Nkrumah, became President.

We in the United States are pleased to note that during the 1930's the young man who would eventually hold his nation's highest office was a student at Pennsylvania's Lincoln University. Many other Ghanian students are presently following President Nkrumah's example and are studying in the United States. We hope that they will continue to come although they now have many institutions of higher learning in Ghana, including a technical college in Kumasi and a university-college in Legon.

Ghana is symbolically named for an ancient West African kingdom centered about a capital believed to be represented today by the ruins of Kaumbi Saleh, 200 miles north of Bamako in the Sudanese Republic. The present inhabitants of Ghana are believed to be descendants of tribes which migrated from this area. The first migatory movement probably came down the Volta River around the beginning of the 13th century.

Ghana is the world's leading source of cocoa, producing about one-third of the world's total. An expanding timber industry produces important quantities of mahogany and other wood products. Ghana is trying to build industries which will supplement its agricultural economy.

The United States, through the Development Loan Fund and the Export-Import Bank is lending $37 million to the Volta River Authority which is constructing a dam, power station, and transmission grid. The completed project will be administered along the lines of our own Tennessee Valley Authority. A consortium of private American companies plan to build and operate an aluminum smelter which will transform Ghana's bauxite into highly valuable aluminum.

Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, Ghana's new Foreign Minister and the permanent rep-

resentative at the United Nations, was unanimously elected President of the 19th session of the United Nations Generally Assembly. The leadership of Mr. Quaison-Sackey has received the admiration of the entire world. He very ably presided over this year's 20th anniversary celebration of the signing of the United Nations Charter in San Francisco. It was my great honor and pleasure to meet Mr. Quaison-Sackey this June when his distinguished international service was lauded by the National Capital Press Club.

We extend our greetings to His Excellency the President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah; His Excellency the Ghanian Ambassador to the United States, Miguel Ribeiro; and His Excellency the Foreign Minister of Ghana and President of the United Nations General Assembly, Alex Quaison-Sackey.

The people of the United States are proud to congratulate our friends in Ghana on the fifth anniversary of their republican Constitution. We wish for them continued progress, prosperity, and peace.

Hon. George J. Feldman, First U.S. Ambassador to Malta—Statement of Purpose

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a real pleasure to learn of the appointment and confirmation by the U.S. Senate of the Honorable George Feldman as the first U.S. Ambassador to the new country of Malta. The United States has had relations with the people of Malta through our diplomatic and consular services, but now that Malta has obtained its sovereignty as a new nation, this is the first time that we have had a diplomatic post with a U.S. Ambassador representing our interests at Malta. His lovely wife Marion and two children, George and Margot, are a fine family and will be excellent representatives as well as ambassadors.

George Feldman is well known to many Members of the House and Senate, and we know of his high character and professional competence. He has been an outstanding attorney, director of the Communications Satellites Co., Counsel for the Science and Astronautics Committee, Counsel to the Legal Adviser of the State Department, a member of the U.S. delegation to the Second United Nations Conference Law of the Sea, a member of the U.S. NATO Citizens Committee, a member of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations 14th Assembly, and Chairman of the Finance Committee for Refuges.

His statement follows:

I am honored to represent the President and this country as U.S. Ambassador to Malta. It is a double honor and a double responsibility that I will be the first American Ambassador to hold this post.

I know that the one way I can express my appreciation to President Johnson and Secretary Rusk is by conducting the affairs of the Embassy in Malta with dignity and integrity.

In a formal sense of the word, Malta is the world's newest nation but there are, I think, few peoples who have so long cherished the idea of nationhood as the Maltese.

Malta was a haven for Phoenician sailors 3,000 years before Christ. In A.D. 60, St. Paul preached the Gospel in Malta. The Crusaders knew it well, when they sailed to the Holy Land, a thousand years later.

Through all the centuries of change, as Malta was invaded by new ideas as well as by new armies, the Maltese people kept their own sense of community and nationhood alive. They developed their national consciousness through rigors and hardships that would have daunted any other people.

Throughout history, these Maltese have stood up and fought for their—and our—civilization, indeed for our very world.

Just 400 years ago this September, led by the Knights of St. John in Malta, the Maltese people wtihstood the onslaught of Suleiman and by their heroism saved Europe. In World War II, Malta once again was under siege. And the name of Malta once again became a symbol for the courage to resist and the will to win.

Now the courage and the tradition of this great people will be put to new tests, as the Maltese people go forward as an independent and self-governing nation.

History has its uses; but it is good to remember that history is only a beginning. I keep recalling those great words inscribed on the National Archives Building here in this city of Washington: "The Past Is Prologue."

The new nation of Malta can be as proud of its past as any nation, large or small. But its people are young, not old. They live in exciting present and they look toward a promising future. As the first U.S. Ambassador to Malta, I am proud that I will be sharing with them the excitement of the present. I hope that the cooperation of their country and ours will help assure a future of peace, prosperity, and freedom.

The Ordways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, a motion picture based on William Humphrey's bestselling book, "The Ordways," a novel as varied and vigorous as the great State of Texas itself, is to be made in Hollywood by Producer-Writer Daniel Taradash for Columbia Pictures. I believe this novel and the future film adaptation of the experiences of the Ordway clan on the early day frontier will be a source of joy and create a feeling of pride among American families not only in Texas, but throughout the country.

Under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD a brief review of Mr. Humphrey's novel:

Hollywood and the motion picture industry and Producer Daniel Taradash are making a motion picture out of William Humphrey's novel, "The Ordways." While the book, which is now on the bestseller list, will reach thousands of readers, the screen as a mass medium will bring the message of the absorbing novel to many millions in this country and abroad.

It tells a compelling story. One made up of family traditions, geography, history and the remarkable characteristics of those rugged people who settled the southwestern section of our country, specifically the State of Texas. You are all familiar with the names and deeds of the hardy pioneers of this great State. Their heroics fill many pages in American history. The book will recall to readers' minds tales told by their own ancestors, their grandparents and their great-great-grandparents, stories handed down through generations of the trials and tribulations of a breed of people who were so full of life and so splendidly indomitable. I need not remind this august body that the family of our President, Lyndon B. Johnson, was among the settlers in this very region. These are memories of which all Americans can be truly proud and it is a happy occasion when a delightful story like "The Ordways" comes along to revitalize our faith in our great heritage.

Ethiopian National Holiday

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 23, 1965

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, today is the birthday of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I. This date has also been set aside as the national holiday of Ethiopia, since its recent history has been so greatly influenced by the personality of the Emperor. Although Ethiopia can trace its history back to the year 1000 B.C., it did suffer a brief period of occupation during the 20th century. The determination of Haile Selassie to liberate his people was fulfilled in 1941 when he returned from a 5-year exile to lead the army back into the country. Following the victory of the resistance forces, the Emperor asked his people to forego reprisals against the thousands of Italians who were trapped in Ethiopia. Not only did the successful liberation prove Haile Selassie's military leadership, but his treatment of the defeated occupation forces displayed the high level of his personal ethics as a ruler and, moreover, as a person.

The history of Ethiopia, or Abyssinia as it was once called, dates far back into pre-Christian civilization. Herodotus, the Greek historian of the fifth century B.C., described Ethiopia in his writings. The present ruling dynasty traces its ancestry to King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Their son, Memelik I, began the line of 255 rulers of the 30-century-old dynasty which is described in the Kebra Negast, the "Glory of Kings." Christianity was introduced into the East African kingdom in the fourth century A.D.

Ethiopia is one of the original signers of the United Nations Charter and has been quite active in that organization. Ethiopia provided troops as part of the United Nations forces in both Korea and the Congo. Ethiopia is such an ancient independent kingdom that it has not felt as strongly the surge of nationalism so prevalent throughout most of Africa. However, Emperor Haile Selassie has shown great interest in Pan-Africanism and supported the movement for unity by sponsoring a conference of African chiefs of states in Addis Ababa in May 1963. Addis Ababa is now the seat of the Permanent Secretariat of the Organization for African Unity.

Emperor Haile Selassie has worked to raise the standard of living of all Ethiopians. Both he and the late Empress were vitally interested in the improvement of educational facilities. There are 2 institutions of higher education in the capital city of Addis Ababa and more than 40 technical institutions throughout the country.

American relations with Ethiopia have long been amicable, dating back to the first treaty between the two states in 1903. Since World War II the ties between our countries have grown steadily closer. This trend was exemplified by a general technical assistance agreement which has been the basis for numerous projects of economic development currently underway, and the Treaty of Amity and Economic Relations of September 7, 1951. Another agreement regularizes the existence and operations of the U.S. Army communications relay station at Asmara.

The United States has been honored by state visits of Emperor Haile Selassie on two occasions, May 1954 and October 1963. In November 1963, the Emperor returned in mourning to the United States to attend funeral services for the late President John F. Kennedy.

The United States is happy to salute His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie I as he celebrates another year of his long and fruitful life. We commend the people of Ethiopia on this occasion and wish for them the continued peace and prosperity of their ancient kingdom.

Hon. Wright Patman

SPEECH
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in my appraisement the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, the distinguished chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, whose birthday we are observing, ranks among the all-time greats of the Congress of the United States. I am sure no one in this body will take issue with that appraisement.

I doubt if anyone in the history of the Congress has been preeminent in more fields of different natures. He is, of course, one of the world's foremost authorities on money.

But he also is an outstanding teacher, his books on "How Our Laws Are Made" and "Our American Government" having been read and studied in every nook and corner of America. The tremendous circulation of these books and their influence in molding the thinking of our people on the subject of Government clearly have established WRIGHT PATMAN as one of the country's outstanding teachers in the field of civics.

Public relations is another field in which WRIGHT PATMAN has established himself as a pioneer who introduced the congressional report that today is part and parcel of the service of every congressional office. WRIGHT PATMAN came to the Congress in 1929, 4 months after the swearing in the present Speaker, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK. Shortly thereafter he mailed a report to his constituents, and the report has continued to go out for over 36 years, never missing an edition. This is said to be the first time that a Member of the Congress undertook to report to his constituents at regular intervals, much in the fashion of a weekly periodical, but with the personal touch added to it.

Mr. Speaker, I have touched upon only a few of the many "firsts" in the amazing and inspiring career of WRIGHT PATMAN. He is the dean of the Texas delegation, and that in itself is something noteworthy, since of the 14 members who have been elected to 15 or more terms, 4 come from Texas. Next to Chairman CELLER, former Speaker MARTIN, and Speaker MCCORMACK, he has been a Member of the House longer than any other.

But it is as an authority on money that he will be remembered long after most of the things we do and say in the Congress have been forgotten. What WRIGHT PATMAN has been saying on money and credit and the Reserve System and interest and financial management strikes at the very roots of fiscal soundness in a Republic dependent upon democracy among dollars as well as among men. I have never known a harder worker than WRIGHT PATMAN. Where he finds the time for rest I do not know.

Mr. Speaker, it was my good fortune when I came to the Congress to be assigned to the Banking and Currency Committee. This was the commencement of one of the richest and more rewarding friendships of my life. My warmest congratulations to my beloved colleague on this, his 72d birthday, and my every good wish for many years of continuing happiness and achievement for him and the members of his fine family.

The 72d Anniversary of the Birth of the Honorable Wright Patman

SPEECH
OF
HON. EARLE CABELL
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise to wish my most heartfelt congratulations to the venerable dean of our Texas delegation, WRIGHT PATMAN. On this day 72 years ago, our dean was born at Patman's Switch, Tex.

As a freshman Member of this august body, I can look with awe upon a man such as this who has served so ably and with such distinction for 37 years. Because of the elective nature of the office we hold, no man remains here long who fails to represent his home people with verve and with prudence, or who fails to recognize the shifting and changing problems of our metamorphic world. These 37 years certainly attest to dean PATMAN's perspicacity, not to mention his diligence and obvious resiliency. As a member of the Banking and Currency Committee of which he is its dynamic and effective chairman, I have watched this man work indefatigably. As a member of that committee, I salute my chairman; as a Texas Congressman, I extend my best birthday wishes to my dean with the hopes that there will be many happy returns—the birthday and the elective types.

Independence Day of Ivory Coast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the African Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I am happy to announce to the House that Saturday is the fifth anniversary of the independence of the proud Republic of the Ivory Coast. To President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, to Ambassador Konan Bédié, and all the people of the Ivory Coast I extend the congratulations and the good wishes of the people of the United States.

The richest and potentially most economically self-sufficient state in former French West Africa, Ivory Coast is a rectangular-shaped country of 127,520 square miles facing the coast on the south side of the African bulge. It is bounded on the north by Upper Volta and Mali, on the east by Ghana, and on the west by Liberia and Guinea.

The population of Ivory Coast was estimade in 1962 at 3,340,000, of whom about 12,000 are Europeans concentrated mainly in Abidjan, which now has a population of about 250,000.

The early history of Ivory Coast is virtually unknown, although it is thought that a neolithic civilization existed there.

In the 18th century the country was invaded by two related ethnic groups—the Agnis who occupied the southeast and the Baoules who settled in the central section of the country. In 1842 Adm. Bouet-Williaumez signed treaties with the kings of the Grand-Bassam and Assinie regions, placing the Grand-Bassam region under a French protectorate.

After World War II Felix Houphouet-Boigny, the present President of Ivory Coast, stood for election to the first Constituent Assembly and won a narrow

victory. He represented Ivory Coast in the French National Assembly from 1946 to 1959 and devoted much of his efforts to interterritorial political organization and amelioration of labor conditions, until a turning point was reached in relations with France with the Loi Cadre of 1956.

In December 1958 Ivory Coast became an autonomous republic within the French Community as a result of the September referendum that brought Community status to all the members of the old Federation of French West Africa except Guinea. Ivory Coast became independent August 7, 1960, and thereafter permitted its Community membership to lapse. It was admitted to the United Nations on September 20, 1960.

The distinguished President, Felix Houphouet-Boigny, has been closely associated with this great country since 1944 and reinforced his position as a dominant figure in West Africa by leading Ivory Coast, Niger, Upper Volta, and Dahomey into the Counseil de l'Entente in May 1959. His importance in the African political spectrum stems not only from the economic importance of the Ivory Coast but also from his still close association with those who served under him in the Rassembement Democratique African. He has maintained that the only true road to African solidarity is through step-by-step economic and political cooperation with recognition of the principle of nonintervention in the internal affairs of sister African states.

The United States is Ivory Coast's number one customer and her number two supplier—after West Germany—outside the franc zone.

Ivory Coast's foremost need today is rapid exploitation of its economic potential, a prerequisite to political stability. Capital and skilled manpower are scarce. Although highly dependent on the agricultural sector and with a modest annual per capita income of $100 to $200, Ivory Coast offers favorable prospects for economic development. With an economy already more diversified than any other in West Africa, Ivory Coast has undertaken to increase public expenditure and to induce increased private investment in the industrial sector, with the hope of overcoming the need for foreign aid by 1970.

Ivory Coast has shunned involvement in cold war issues. The government has adopted policies that are in practice friendly to the West and has refused to exchange representation with the Communist bloc. Ivory Coast became a member of the United Nations in 1960 and was elected to a seat in the Security Council of the United Nations for the term beginning in January 1964.

Partly as a result of President Houphouet-Boigny's past leadership in African affairs, Ivory Coast commands great respect in Africa.

United States-Ivoiren relations are friendly and close. The United States is sympathetic to Ivory Coast's program of rapid, orderly economic development and to Ivory Coast's moderate stance on international issues. The United States has undertaken a modest aid program in Ivory Coast.

Civil Service Retirement Annuity Adjustment

SPEECH

OF

HON. GALE SCHISLER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 8469) to provide certain increases in annuities payable from the civil service retirement and disability fund, and for other purposes.

Mr. SCHISLER. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased over the passage of H.R. 8469, a bill which will provide equitable adjustments in the annuities of Federal civil service retirees and survivors. I introduced a measure similar to H.R. 8469 into the House of Representatives, and I was happy to lend my support to the final piece of legislation which was reported by the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

The history of civil service annuity adjustments to meet the rising costs of living has been one of too little and too late. At a time when $3,000 yearly income is the borderline below which a married couple is deemed to be in the poverty class, the record shows that the bulk of our 700,000 civil service retirees and survivors are receiving annuities of much less than such amount.

During the period of employment, the hopes and expectations of employees are built around the concept that they will be able to retire in a dignified manner and with enough income to meet their basic needs. But as people reach age 65, they require more medical care and the costs of living in retirement are continually rising. I feel it is the responsibility of the Government to maintain the annuities of its retirees and survivors at a level that will give them a living comparable to what they had, and rightfully expected to have, at the time of retirement.

This bill provides fair, moderate, and directly needed adjustments designed to increase annuities where the greatest relief is warranted. It provides an adjustment in benefits of approximately 11 percent in those annuities which commenced on or before October 1, 1956, and approximately 6 percent in those which commenced thereafter. The increase is designed to compensate for the lag in annuity improvements in past years.

This legislation will also provide a higher percentage increase for approximately 43,000 elderly widows of employees of annuitiants who passed away at a time when no survivor protection was afforded by law.

The Civil Service Commission estimates the initial increase in annuities to be about $90.4 million. No longer will civil service retirees be the forgotten people in the economic life of the United States. The passage of this legislation means that our retired citizens, whose work laid the foundation of the prosperity our country now enjoys, will not be deprived of a just share in that prosperity.

National Holiday of Dahomey

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, at the stroke of midnight on August 1, 1960, the Republic of Dahomey came into existence in accordance with an agreement between Dahomey and France. Its second President and head of state, elected in 1964, is Sourou-Migan Apithy. Dr. Justin T. Ahomedegbe, Vice President, is head of the Government. This progressive country is bounded by Nigeria on the east, Togo on the west, and Upper Volta on the north. The excellent port of Cotonou, center of economic life and some government activity, is on the Atlantic Ocean.

The Nation of Dahomey is composed of many kingdoms dating back to the 16th century which united to form a republic. The most important of these kingdoms were Abomey and Porto Novo.

The 2 million people of Dahomey are among the best educated in West Africa. Dahomean students are encouraged to pursue a higher education through scholarships offered by the Government. Although Dahomey is a French-speaking nation, the United States extends an invitation to students who wish to study English to attend American colleges and universities.

Dahomey is an agricultural nation whose economy is based primarily on palm products and coffee. The soil and climate of Dahomey are also favorable to an increased production of teak, a highly valuable wood, which is a major Dahomey export. The people of this growing young country are making great efforts to utilize its mineral and other resources to establish native industries. Dahomey and its neighbor Togo are negotiating an agreement which would dam the Mono River and provide hydroelectric power for both countries.

Dahomey, like many other African countries, is a member of the Organization of African Unity. It is also a member of the African and Malagasy Union, an economic and political grouping of 14 French-speaking African States.

The United States is proud to note the friendly relationship which we have maintained with Dahomey. At present the United States has a modest aid program in Dahomey which is aimed at encouraging her already vigorous efforts at self-help in economic development.

I want to express my congratulations to His Excellency President Apithy, His Excellency Vice President Ahomadegbe, and His Excellency the Dahomean Am-

bassador to the United States, Louis Ignacio Pinto.

We wish for the people of Dahomey a day of deserved celebration on this fifth anniversary of their independence, and many years of peace and increasing prosperity.

World Law Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, today, August 5, 1965, the mayor of Nashville has signed a proclamation designating September 13, 1965, as World Law Day. During the week of September 13, the World Peace Through Law Center is sponsoring a conference on peace through law in Washington. Attorney Eliot J. Gleszer of Nashville, chairman of the local World Peace Through Law Committee, has sent me a copy of the mayor's proclamation and I include it and commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

PROCLAMATION FOR WORLD LAW DAY—SEPTEMBER 13, 1965

Whereas the United Nations has designated 1965 as International Cooperation Year and international cooperation is essential to the achievement of a peaceful world order; and

Whereas the basic foundation for the peaceful existence of mankind within nations and among nations is law rules and legal institutions; and

Whereas such law rules enable men and nations to avoid conflict and such legal institutions provide forums for the peaceful resolution of such conflicts when they arise; and

Whereas the expansion of the rule of law in the world community requires universal agreement on principles, terminology, treaties and conventions, and such agreement requires public support for the promise and potential of a world ruled by law; and

Whereas it is essential that the minds and hearts of men of goodwill of all nations be focused upon the necessity of world peace through law to avoid disaster and possibly human annihilation as a result of the ever-accelerating arms race;

Now, therefore, believing that cooperation to build a world legal system is among the most beneficial projects that can be advanced by International Cooperation Year and to further the great objectives thus noted for achieving world peace, I, Mayor Beverly Briley, Nashville, Tenn., do hereby proclaim September 13, 1965, as World Law Day and call upon all public and private officials, members of the legal profession, citizens, and all men of goodwill to arrange appropriate observances and ceremonies in courts, schools and universities, and other public places before private and public organizations where man's need of international law may be recognized.

Done this 5th day of August, 1965.

[SEAL] BEVERLY BRILEY.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

Appendix

Patuxent River Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, if our daily newspapers are any indication, public attention finally seems to become focused on the problems and future of the Patuxent River, one of the most beautiful and still bountiful on the east coast. For years I have been trying to call attention to the dangers that are in store for this great waterway if public apathy were to continue to be order of the day. At times I felt I was a lonely voice in the wilderness.

Back in 1961 when I represented Prince Georges County in the Maryland General Assembly, I introduced the Patuxent River Watershed Act designed to preserve the natural beauty and shoreline of the river. In this year's session a resolution calling on the Governor of Maryland to appoint a committee to implement the Patuxent River Watershed Act was adopted at my urging and the Governor graciously has acted accordingly. In recent weeks much space and effort has been devoted by newspapers to telling the Patuxent River story.

Two excellent articles have graced the pages of the Balitmore Sunday Sun magazine and the Sunday section of the Washington Post. I would like to take this time to commend Reporters John C. Schmidt of the Sun and Douglas Watson of the Post for their presentations and hope that they and their editors will not lose interest in this continuing story. With public interest aroused, our hopes for a brighter future for the Patuxent River will be greatly encouraged.

The articles follow:

THE PATUXENT VALLEY PROPOSED AS A PARK—STEPS TO PRESERVE ITS BEAUTY AND MAKE IT A 100-MILE RECREATION AREA ARE UNDERWAY

(By John C. Schmidt)

Running down the middle of the fastest-growing part of the developing east coast supercity is the quiet valley of the Patuxent River. It flows northwest-southeast halfway between Baltimore and Washington expanding metropolises which could well collide in the foreseeable future along the wooded banks and rocky gorges of this as yet unspoiled river.

In an effort to preserve the natural beauty of the Patuxent Valley and prevent urban encroachment from polluting the water, several levels of government have proposed the creation of of a park. This would also help meet the recreational needs of the area, which already has a lower ratio of park acreage to population than planners recommend and appears destined to fall still farther behind.

The Patuxent is the last of the major stream valleys in this region which has not been developed as a park, although there are two water supply reservoirs of the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission which provide for some fishing, hunting and picnicking. Except for a few large homes near the river, the valley from its source on the Frederick County line to its mouth in tidewater Maryland nearly 100 miles away is undeveloped.

The first formal proposal for a park came in a 1960 joint study by the Howard County Planning Department and the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission. It called for one in the Piedmont plateau section of the valley, extending from Laurel to a point on the river's source and including the publicly owned land around the reservoirs.

The report stimulated public interest, and the Maryland Department of Forests and Parks brought out plans for a State park of 8,500 acres, principally in Montgomery and Howard Counties. Development of the entire valley as a park was made a possibility by a 1961 act of the general assembly, authorizing all counties involved to purchase land within the Patuxent watershed for purposes of conservation and public recreation, the costs to be split 50–50 between the counties and the State.

Progress toward making the park a reality is now under way on two levels. The State is in the early property acquisition stage for its proposed 8,500-acre park, with several hundred acres acquired and several hundred others pending. And the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission has drawn up a master plan for development of the watershed in the two counties in which it has primary responsibility: 1,960 acres in Montgomery and 14,845 in Prince Georges.

Considering its position midway between two large cities, said a 1961 State-sponsored study by Consultant Melvin E. Scheidt, the valley's recreation potential must be viewed with regard to the needs of both areas. Secondary population centers which must also be considered are Frederick, Laurel, Annapolis and the projected new town of Columbia in Howard County.

The entire Baltimore-Washington region now contains nearly 4 million people. Prince Georges, Montgomery, and Anne Arundel Counties are, respectively, third, fourth and thirteenth among the counties in the Nation in rate of growth. Studies indicate that by 1980, the Baltimore-Washington region will have 6,300,000 people, and by 2000 nearly 9 million.

A study of the intercity region by the Baltimore and National Capital Regional Planning Councils concluded that with a continuation of the present type of growth, the land between the two cities could, by 2000, be completely covered with an undifferentiated urban type development at a density of about seven persons per acre. Sound planning will be needed to meet the problems that will come with this growth, the study says, and one essential feature is parks and open spaces to divide one population center from another.

"The Patuxent River Valley would fit naturally into this plan of development," says Mr. Scheidt, "and in addition to providing needed additional recreation space, could logically function as one of the proposed separator strips."

Parks now in existence provide 7.3 acres per 1,000 persons in the Maryland portion of the Baltimore-Washington region. Including the population of the District of Columbia, this figure is reduced to 5.6 acres. If all the acreage now authorized as park land were acquired by 1980, there would be about 9.2 acres per 1,000 persons.

Addition of the Patuxent Valley Park would raise the ratio to 13.8 acres by 1980. However, the Baltimore Regional Planning Council in 1960 estimated an elevenfold to twelvefold increase in the use of regional recreation facilities by 1985, and recommended a minimum standard of 15 acres of regional public parks per 1,000 persons.

The Scheidt report says: "On all counts, we must conclude that additional regional recreation lands will not only be needed in the near future, but are needed now, and that the Patuxent River Valley lends itself logically to the addition of this need. Even with the addition of the Patuxent State Park, regional recreation lands will at no time reach the suggested level of 15 acres per 1,000 persons, and by year 2000 will again drop below 10 acres per 1,000." The urgency of the argument in this report was so plain that action was taken which virtually assures eventual development of major portions of the valley as a park.

Historically, the Patuxent Valley was settled first in the tidewater sections in the mid-17th Century. The Piedmont section was not occupied until the period of the Revolution. For a time, the valley was more highly developed than it is today, with numerous grist, flour, textile and saw mills along its banks and tributaries. But with the coming of other sources of power these crumbled into decay.

Today only the shell of the old Roxbury Mill on Cattail Creek 2 miles north of Triadelphia exists as a reminder of the commerce of the past. It has been proposed that this mill be restored as part of the park development.

Like the Patapsco, the Patuxent originates on Parrs Ridge near the juncture of the Carroll, Frederick, Montgomery, and Howard County lines. It trickles along for a few miles through open fields in gently rolling farmland, then enters a wooded valley where the slopes are generally too steep for farming. Joined by several tributaries, it becomes 5, then 10 feet wide, and its valley deepens.

By the time it has gone 12 miles the stream reaches a width of 20 feet and flows through moderately steep, wooded hills that rise as much as 140 feet. The river widens occasionally into flat bottomlands, but remains primarily a narrow stream with sharply sloping banks. In this stage it enters the Triadelphia Reservoir, 4 miles long and up to half a mile wide, an area of unusual rustic beauty.

Passing over the Brighton Dam, which forms the reservoir, the river enters a steeply walled gorge which continues nearly 17 miles. Here the valley has rocky, heavily wooded walls that drop off sharply at the river's edge. Massive boulders, stately old oak trees, numerous fishing pools and picturesque rapids contribute to its beauty.

Taking its name from the mood of the river in this area, the Rocky Gorge Water Supply Reservoir forms 4 miles below the Brighton Dam. It extends about 9 miles, but is much narrower than the Triadelphia Reservoir—never more than one-quarter mile wide. Below the Rocky Gorge Dam, the Patuxent plunges over a series of rapids for about 2 miles, then near U.S. Highway 1 it reaches Laurel and the coastal plain.

The part of the valley below Laurel was not recommended as a park in the original report. But as a result of the Patuxent Watershed Act, the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission has made plans for a Patuxent Watershed Park which would run south from Laurel to Chalk Point at the southern tip of Prince Georges County.

A major feature in this area is expected to be a historic mansion, Montpelier, which was built in the mid-1700's. The house and 8 acres of land were given to the commission in 1962, and it is planned to restore it to its condition when the wealthy Snowden family lived there two centuries ago. Farther downstream, south of Mount Calvert, the proposed park broadens to over a mile in width and overlooks Jug Bay, where railbird shooting has been popular for many years.

Farther south still, in Charles County, the river broadens again and flows sluggishly through marshy lands. These are undesirable for recreation purposes, but provide massive storage areas for ground water and a home for a large variety of water fowl and other wildlife. Public acquisition of this area has been urged primarily as a conservation measure.

Unlike other rivers in the region, the Patuxent has never served as a transportation artery. There are no roads or railroads closely paralleling it and except for Laurel, there are no towns in the valley. Except for a few large homes, there is nothing which would interfere with its development as a park, according to the Scheidt report. In Prince Georges County there is the 2,670-acre Patuxent Wildlife Research Refuge of the Department of the Interior, and it is considered completely compatible with the proposed park.

Recreational activities which a valley of this varied character would provide include picnicking and trail riding, fishing and camping, hunting and boating. The two reservoirs are already dominant features of the valley and provide opportunities for fishing, picnicking in certain areas, controlled hunting and horseback riding on fire trails. General hiking and camping are not permitted because of the danger of fire. However, Mr. Scheidt states, both reservoir areas, under proper supervision, could accommodate considerably more recreational activity than is now allowed.

Based on 1960 data, it is estimated that the total cost of purchasing land for the Patuxent State Park would be about $4.2 million or $500 an acre. This does not include land for proposed developments in Prince Georges County by the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission.

How soon the park becomes a reality depends on the rate at which money is made available, but the creation of large new parks is traditionally a slow process. It may be another generation before the Patuxent Valley will serve the recerational and conservation needs envisioned for it. About the need for such facilities there is no question—they are needed now.

PATUXENT'S PROGRESS HAS ITS FISH IN HOT WATER

(By Douglas Watson)

Everybody seems to be dabbling a toe in the Patuxent River. And since Pepco's big generating plant at Chalk Point worked up a full head of steam, some of the dabblers have been worrying about getting a hot-foot. The water is heating up, and that may be bad for the fish.

This is the latest of the problems that have caused concern about the old Patuxent and made it probably one of the most-studied estuaries in the world. The Patuxent meanders through the Maryland countryside in an undistinguished way, but it is a center of attraction for the people who must think now about the needs of the future.

The Patuxent does a big job for us in terms of water supply and waste disposal, but it will be many times more important in the future. Its quiet banks are expected to become the center of a Maryland megalopolis created when the suburbs of Washington, Baltimore, and Annapolis creep closer together.

This is the main reason why at least five Maryland governmental departments, three Federal agencies, and five universities are bustling around trying to end the comparative ignorance about estuaries—fresh-water rivers that run into salt water; in this case, the Chesapeake Bay.

HOT WATER ALARM

The twin 400-foot smokestacks of Pepco's Chalk Point generating station, at the southernmost extremity of Prince Georges County, stand as symbols of the latest problem: scientists, sportsmen and landowners are alarmed that the heat added by the plant to the half million gallons of water it is capable of circulating per minute will harm river life.

"You put 95-degree water in there when there's a 95-degree air temperature and a low tide, and this phone will be ringing telling me fish are dying," says Edwin M. Barry of Maryland's department of game and inland fish.

The question of water temperature is crucial, and under dispute. Maryland regulations require water temperature to be below 100° within 50 feet of a waste outlet.

Pepco studies have shown the top natural temperature at Chalk Point to be 87° and predict that the plant will raise the temperature no more than 11°, or 2° under the legal maximum.

However, scientists for the University of Maryland's Natural Resources Institute have recorded natural peak temperatures of 90°, and Prof. D. W. Pritchard, biologist with Johns Hopkins University's Chesapeake Bay Institute, has calculated that the Pepco operation could raise the temperature by more than 20°. This, then, could place the water temperature at 10° above the legal maximum.

But Lewis W. Cadwallader, Pepco vice president for generating, says the company doesn't believe the new plant is a threat to the animal and plant life of the Patuxent.

The station has been producing its capacity of 730,000 kilowatts since June 18, so the answers should come soon.

The Pepco operation is gigantic. The $94 million generating station increased the company's capability by 44 percent. It has kept Pepco ahead of the steadily rising demand for electricity, reaching a new 60-minute high of 1,894,000 kilowatts on July 9.

The station features:

A mammonth machine that can pile 1,500 tons of coal an hour.

Turbine-generators that move at 3,600 revolutions per minute with as little as five-thousandths of an inch clearance between parts.

Two 18-story boilers burning more than 3 tons of coal a minute.

Television monitors and highly automated equipment that enable a crew of only six men to control operations.

But many scientists are more impressed with what they consider a threat to the Patuxent, long recognized as one of the purest rivers on the east coast. They warn that the danger is not merely that adult fish might be killed.

"Any interruption anywhere in the life cycle would mean that a species is lost," explains Prof. Willem Roosenberg, an oyster researcher for the Natural Resources Institute.

The total environment is important, maintain the experts. They say that the loss of even microscopic plan life, usually considered only a nuisance to be scraped off boats, could drive away the fish, which depend on it for food.

The scientists say that any sudden change can be damaging. For example, the Department of Game and Inland Fish estimates 68,000 ton of fish were killed last spring by lack of oxygen when the Conowingo Dam on the Susquehanna Rixer failed to maintain an adequate flow of water.

But some experts agree with Pepco that there is no real problem. They expect the heated water to be limited to a relatively small surface area, doing no basic damage. Though the warmer water is expected to drive fish away from the immediate area in the summer, it will probably attract them in the winter, as it has at Pepco's plant on the Potomac River near Dickerson, Md.

RIVER CONGESTION

The potential threat of heat is a problem of the 1960's, but siltation has been a problem since the first settlers sailed up the river in the mid-17th century. And now soil erosion caused by builders' bulldozers is adding to congestion of the river.

"I've been here 10 years and it's frightful. The river is an indecent tan color. There hasn't been enough water to give it a good flush since 1961," says Frederick C. Schmidt, a biologist at the Patuxent Wildlife Research Center.

Prof. Robert D. Rappleye, a University of Maryland botanist, reports that a small visibility disk that can be seen in more than 6 feet of water near the Patuxent's mouth disappears from view only 8 inches under the surface in the river's Prince Georges portion.

Sewage pollution is another threat to the 932 square miles of the Patuxent drainage basin. The estimated 7.4 million gallons of Patuxent water used daily for waste disposal is expected to rise to 43 million gallons per day by the year 2,000. The Patuxent region's population is expected to have increased from the present 200 people per square mile to an average of 800. The region includes Montgomery, Prince Georges, Howard, Anne Arundel, Charles, Calvert, and St. Mary's Counties.

The Patuxent regional sewerage report, completed in 1961, is the master sewage plan for that section of Maryland. It optimistically predicted that its plan would mean Maryland's requirement of five parts per million of dissolved oxygen "will be met at least 95 percent of the time" at the end of this century.

"The master plan dealt with the problem purely from the standpoint of sanitary engineering and didn't take adequate account of the fact that this is a complex problem of marine ecology," contends Prof. John H. Cumberland, of the University of Maryland.

"Even if the State's standards for sewage treatment are enforced, it is questionable whether they are adequate to protect a relatively narrow river like the Patuxent," he says.

THE WATER ITSELF

Water supply is another important concern. Robert M. Brown, director of Maryland's Department of Health, reports, "In terms of anticipated problems, we expect a need for additional water sources will present itself before we have problems with waste disposal."

The U.S. Geological Survey expects water taken from the Patuxent for nonsewage uses to multiply by five in the next 35 years. It seems clear additional water sources will be needed besides the estimated average daily inflow into the Patuxent of 700 million gallons.

"The waters from the Potomac and the Susquehanna Rivers are going to mix someday, probably in the homes of Howard and Anne Arundel Counties," predicts Paul W.

McKee, director of Maryland's Department of Water Resources.

There is a growing awareness that fertilizers and pesticides, in addition to heat, siltation, and sewage, may be endangering Patuxent fish and wildlife. Representatives of various Maryland departments recently met to coordinate their study of these chemicals.

THE QUIET RETREAT

Such threats make prospects poor that the Patuxent will be permitted to continue in the role it has long played well, a quiet retreat for men and animals.

This will be especially unfortunate since the search for recreational space could be almost fruitless 35 years hence. Then, the merged Washington-Baltimore-Annapolis megalopolis is expected to have an estimated 8 million population, equal to that of New York City now.

The river's preservation as a retreat was the objective of the Patuxent River Watershed Act passed by Maryland's General Assembly in 1961 to provide counties purchasing Patuxent park land with equal State matching funds. But thus far, only Montgomery and Prince Georges have acquired land and it totals only 818 of the proposed 15,854 acres for parks in the two counties and prices are rising about 10 percent a year.

The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission's 1965–66 budget includes $250,000 for Patuxent purchases, with an equal contribution coming from State funds.

Fortunately for park plans, the Patuxent lowlands are largely unfit for major construction though excellent for more than 100 kinds of fish, about 200 bird species and a growing deer population.

Gov. J. Millard Tawes recently appointed a 13-member commission to protect the river from pollution and propose a permanent organization to administer the Patuxent River Watershed Act. Its chairman, State Senator John T. Parran, Jr., of Charles County, says he intends to schedule the group's first meeting this month to start work on a comprehensive program of pollution control and recreational development.

If left unprotected from haphazard suburban sprawl, the Patuxent will probably meet the same polluted fate as have its sister rivers, the once pure Potomac, Anacostia, and Patapsco. With subdivisions sprouting forth in fields and industrial plants replacing tobacco plants, it could quickly come to contain more beer cans and abandoned tires than the white perch and waterfowl that have made it a favorite with sportsmen.

Or the river bearing the Indian name meaning "running over little pebbles" could be maintained as a delightful recreational retreat, a major source of water supply and an essential buffer strip between Washington and Baltimore.

American Immigration Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. BYRNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD an address by His Excellency, Most Rev. John J. Krol, D.D., archbishop of Philadelphia, before the Third Annual Greater Philadelphia Conference on American Immigration Policy, Citizenship, and Refugee Matters.

The text of Archbishop Krol's remarks follows:

ADDRESS OF HIS EXCELLENCY, MOST REV. JOHN J. KROL, D.D., ARCHBISHOP OF PHILADELPHIA

Ladies and gentlemen, over the years the question of immigration has been a matter of special concern to me. For that reason, I welcomed your kind invitation to address the third annual Greater Philadelphia Conference on American Immigration Policy, Citizenship, and Refugee Matters.

In the providence of God, all men created to His image and likeness are bound by a solidarity which transcends national, political, geographic, and racial barriers. All men are members of the same human family. All have a right to the riches of this earth and the responsibility of making these riches available to all members of the huge human family.

The phenomenon of migration is a historical fact and a natural law. The physical world is subject to a law which stirs and mixes the elements of life without destroying them. Organisms born in a certain spot are transported and scattered from place to place. Seeds migrate on the swirling winds. Fish, birds, and animals migrate as a means of self-preservation. In like manner, man migrates to escape want or political, religious, or racial persecution.

Migration is a natural inalienable human right which the State, or rather the States, are obliged to recognize, respect, and protect. However, this fact does not prevent, but emphasizes the necessity of human action regulating and guiding emigration, so that it may fulfill its natural object which Pope Pius XII described as "the more advantageous distribution of humanity on the surface of the earth" (15th Anniversary of Rerum Novarum).

A passage from the profound social document of our late beloved Pope John, "Pacem in Terris," summarizes these truths: "Among the rights of a human person there must be included the one by which a man may enter a political community where he hopes he can more fittingly provide a future for himself and his dependents. Wherefore, as far as the common good rightly understood permits, it is the duty of the state to accept such immigrants and to help integrate them into itself as new members."

Political, social, and economic considerations are factors in the determination of a nation's immigration policy. However, a nation's moral sense, its values and traditions, its attitude toward the realization of the common good, the very way in which it looks upon itself, these also are inseparable from the way it treats strangers desiring to dwell within its confines.

No one seriously proposes that unrestricted immigration be restored by the United States. But even so, it is not true that we experience a warm nostalgia and sense of pride when we read the words inscribed on the Statute of Liberty:

"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me.
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

Maintain the national interest, yes; but is not the preservation of these sentiments and ideals a deep and integral part of our national interest?

The national and international implications of immigration policies have grown increasingly more complex and sensitive. Someone has aptly described our time as the era of the dispossessed, a time of upheaval and mass shifting of people. Populations are rapidly increasing. Automation is changing the structure of industry and business, while the labor force grows but cannot adapt quickly to automation, since the labor force is people not machines. Any attempt to enact a new set of immigration laws in the changing context of the present day world would be fraught with problems, and rightly should be subject to critical analysis.

As a matter of fact, many persons have strongly criticized the current immigration law. Last summer, former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy said that the present law is "a standing affront to millions of our citizens and our friends abroad." Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson have all said that new immigration legislation is a necessity. Countless articles, speeches, and group proposals have given insistent expression to that judgment; yet despite this concerted effort the 1952 law remains.

This has been a source of discouragement and frustration to many. But it only serves to demonstrate that laws are enacted or changed only where there is a demand for action. The call has not long, loud, or clear enough to prompt the people in large numbers to recognize that a change in the immigration policy is for the national interest. Voters are not easily aroused to consider issues which do not touch upon their immediate concerns.

It is not necessary to review for this gathering the history of the immigration policy of America, nor to speak about the statistics of population projections, shifts in the labor force, or the other factors which condition the standard of living. These are matters for the experts to study and debate. But the recommendations resulting from these studies should reflect the confident optimism of the American people. The immigration policy of a nation mirrors its image of itself. Is it our wish to advertise America to the world as a nation whose dynamism is grinding to a halt and whose genius to absorb and become enriched by diverse elements is beginning to ebb.

Many call for a change in our immigration policy to improve America's image abroad. This is indeed a valid concern. We do live in a community of nations and we wish to leave to future generations an America which enjoys good relations with other peoples.

This is surely a part of our national interest. But even more important than how other people see us, is how we see ourselves. We must be true to ourselves as a nation, to the traditions and principles which have given growth to America. Fear, overcautiousness, national selfishness should not form the basis of any American policy.

A revision or modernization of the immigration policy, to be realistic, needs restrictions and controls, quantitatively first of all, to determine an annual quota consistent with the needs and capacities of America; but also qualitatively to guard against the entry of subversives and criminals and to encourage the coming of the especially skilled and the talented. An honest appraisal of the national interest, an honest appraisal, not near sighted, gloomy, or complacent, should be the basis of the law; but let the law also be enlivened by the spirit of justice and compassion which reflects the heart of America.

You are all familiar with the evolution and present provisions of the national origins quota system. Prescinding from the motives of those who enacted this system into law, it must be stated that the practical consequences of it are a matter of deep concern. May I just say that, for very personal rea-

sons, I am happy that it was not in effect at the turn of the century. For perhaps if it were, two young people from Eastern Europe might not have been able to come to this country, settle here, marry, and raise eight children to enjoy America's blessings and, in some measure, I trust, bring credit to her good name.

Immigration is a matter of law, of natural law and positive law. Just as the Constitution gives expression to the natural rights of man, so also should the immigration law be in accord with the inalienable human right of migration. It is within the framework of law that the phenomenon of immigration has to take place. If the law is not flexible enough to allow the problems of immigration to be faced on the human level in a just and compassionate way then the law should be modified. Your organizations, by your experience, by the information at your disposal, and by the generosity of your members, giving of their time and energy, are in a position to carry on a constructive program of education to create a favorable climate for immigration and of persuasion to elicit the public support necessary to prompt the debate and modification of the present immigration policy.

But immigration is not only a matter of law; it is far more poignantly a matter of people. The most direct problems that are faced are neither political nor technical, but questions which the human and social actuality pose. As Pope John said elsewhere in "Pacem in Terris":

"The sentiment of universal fatherhood which the Lord has placed in our heart makes us feel profound sadness in considering the phenomenon of political refugees, a phenomenon which has assumed large proportions and which always hides numberless acute sufferings."

We may say the same regarding all persons who have been uprooted, who have to be resettled and readjusted to a new way of life. This pastoral solicitude accounts for the efforts of the Catholic Church to form and maintain national parishes to meet the needs of immigrant peoples.

These parishes enable these people to preserve and strengthen their religious life and customs, and to enjoy the great consolation of worshiping and confessing in their mother tongue. They have provided in the course of time for the transition of the children of these people into the great mosaic of American life which has thereby been greatly enriched.

The physical, psychological, and spiritual well-being of immigrants, whether voluntary or refugees, is the real field for your work. Experience has shown that even so human a thing as having a familiar meal may be a matter of great importance to a recent arrival. Far more important are his family ties, his manner of worship, his loneliness and heartache of separation, and his feelings of inferiority.

You have lent yourselves to assisting in these difficulties confronting those who for various reasons must leave their homeland to seek spiritual and economic betterment in America. I commend you for your generosity and effective efforts and end by reminding you of the words of Isaiah the Prophet (Isaiah 58:7, 8):

"Share thy bread with the hungry, and bring the needy and the harborless into thy house. When thou shalt see one naked, cover him and despise not thy own flesh. Then shall thy light break forth as the morning * * * and thy justice shall go before thy face and the glory of the Lord shall gather thee up."

May Almighty God bless and prosper your work.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, there is quite proper concern throughout our land over the rash of biographers who are now putting together books and reports about our late President John F. Kennedy.

The concern is that in some instances, statements are being made and attributed to Mr. Kennedy which are exceedingly difficult to confirm or deny.

While we can all agree that the public is entitled to know as much as possible about the late President, and to this end, experiences of his close advisers can prove invaluable, there is an unwritten rule of ethics on quoting a deceased individual. I believe—we can—agree that some of the things we have all been reading go beyond the scope of good taste.

The recent article on Secretary of State Dean Rusk, is a case in point.

I should like to include in the RECORD today an editorial from the Washington Star which is most timely on this subject.

I am thoroughly convinced that history will record Dean Rusk as one of the most capable Secretaries of State this Nation has ever produced and one of the world's most significant leaders toward carving a system of international justice which ultimately will restore peace to mankind.

Mr. Speaker, the Washington Star editorial follows:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Secretary of State Rusk has been the target in recent days of what should be more than one man's quota of slings and arrows. He seems to be the No. 1 subject in this garrulous city. We find ourselves thoroughly fed up with the whole business.

One instant historian has written that President Kennedy had decided to find a replacement for Dean Rusk. Maybe so; maybe not. Others have said that he was bypassed by President Johnson in the decision to go into the Dominican Republic. Again, this may be, or it may not be, true. It is worth noting, however, that Mr. Johnson last month paid tribute to Mr. Rusk as "one of the most able and most competent and most dedicated men I have ever known."

Other commentators who carry their crystal ball with them wherever they go, and who consult it every hour on the hour, have been spreading the rumor that a change in command at the State Department is imminent—if not tomororw, then perhaps on some other tomorrow.

All of this strikes us as being irrelevant, if not irresponsible. The only thing that really counts is the quality of Mr. Rusk's performance in the State Department. He has performed in a most creditable fashion.

His job that is piled high with difficulties. It call for an exceptional order of intelligence, patience, perseverance, and a willingness to work long into the night. No one can fault Dean Rusk on any of these scores.

It is not a job which calls for dramatization, for the gee-whizz approach. And, in passing, it might be said tnat we have enough of that type in this town. Beyond his function as adviser to the President, the Secretary of State should be primarily concerned with trying to keep the lid clamped on—to search quietly for peaceful solutions to explosive international problems. This is what Mr. Rusk has been trying to do in colloboration, we are happy to note, with what he calls the "competent and dedicated'" officials who work under him. It is fortunate for the country that this quiet man is on the job.

Progress on Home Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following WWDC editorial delivered on July 27, 1965, by WWDC president, Ben Strouse. The editorial emphasizes the point that the Federal payment formula is the heart of the home rule bill, and without it the bill would be meaningless.

The Federal payment formula is essential to the success of home rule. I urge that the House enact a home rule bill with the payment plan, the key portion of the legislation, intact.

The editorial follows:

PROGRESS ON HOME RULE

Broadcast of this editorial by WWDC President Ben Strouse began July 27, 1965. We welcome comments.

The point was made again and again as the Senate passed the District of Columbia home rule bill: The very heart of the proposal is the Federal payment formula. Without it, no home rule plan is meaningful.

Nor does WWDC believe that the arguments against the formula payment plan hold water.

It's claimed a District of Columbia tax assessor might make arbitrary claims against Federal property in Washington. We find this idea farfetched. The law specifically empowers a Federal official—the General Services Administrator—to check the District of Columbia's tax calculations and insure they are reasonable. If this should not protect the Federal interest, the very presence of Congress a few blocks away will deter unjustified claims on the Federal Treasury by District of Columbia officials.

Nor would Congress be setting a precedent and opening the door to tax claims by other local governments around the country. The precedent for a Federal payment to the District of Columbia is already 86 years old and must be considered well established. Not even opponents of home rule advocate its abolition.

Nor can it be argued the formula payment would discourage local taxes. Rather, the reverse would be true. As matters now stand, the real estate taxes in the District of Columbia are regularly increased with no assurance at all that Congress will increase the annual payment by one dime.

This station believes in home rule. But let's face it. Without the formula payment

approach, home rule could be a disaster. That's why in the House negotiations over self-government for the District of Columbia, the formula payment plan must not be compromised away.

Northeastern Training Course for Corporate Policymakers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most exciting business developments in recent years is the increased efforts for diversification. Many firms, which grew up after World War II have produced only for defense and related needs. Northeastern University is now working on a program to lessen the impact of potential reductions in defense expenditures. Under a grant from the Small Business Administration, Department of Defense and U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Northeastern is conducting seminars for executives in Massachusetts firms.

Selected case studies and workshops will form the bulk of the curriculum for eight 6-hour sessions.

The response among the industries in Massachusetts has been most encouraging and the program has generated widespread attention and interest.

Recently the Norwood, Mass. World carried an article on the program by Bill Rodriguez. I would like to share the outline of this program with the House by inserting this article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

BILL'S PLANET—NORTHEASTERN TRAINING COURSE FOR CORPORATE POLICYMAKERS

(By Bill Rodriguez)

It's a familiar story. The Hawk missile system or some other defense program is discontinued by Washington and the resultant loss of government funds staggers companies financially, with spiraling seriousness from the large corporations holding prime contracts down to the smaller businesses subcontracting. Profits plummet, jobs are lost and small firms relying too heavily on any such contract may even be driven out of business.

But Northeastern University is currently attempting to minimize the problem under its recently established bureau of business and industrial training and a presidential classroom. It is conducting a series of seminars for top-level executives of firms facing the readjustment problem which came with lowered Federal contract spending and steady technological change.

Conversion is a touchy term with John B. Whitla, an assistant to the university president who is working on the project.

"We learned to avoid the term conversion," he said, "and prefer calling it industrial training since one of the alternatives a company may choose in dealing with the problem is finding other Government markets."

Employing the case study method, a series of eight seminars are being held this year at Northeastern's Henderson House in Weston under a $30,000 grant by the Small Business Administration, the Department of Defense and the U.S. Arms Central and Disarmament Agency, with possibilities of a similar program being carried out by the university nationwide if it proves successful.

The first such seminar was held May 27 and the other seven will begin on a weekly basis September 16, 3 to 9 p.m., with about 30 executives from eight local companies taking part. The presidents of all the firms are among teams of at least three persons from each company. The fee of $300 per attendee is well under the cost of an outside management consultant, and this method of solution carries the advantage of employing manpower directly concerned and familiar with the company's situation and being decisionmakers, in the position to implement solutions themselves.

"It had a very strange beginning," Whitla said of the program. "A year ago this spring BRAD MORSE, speaking before the dedication of our Burlington campus expressed his concern about some firms in the area losing contracts because of changes in governmental defense policies and suggested some solutions."

The university contacted the Department of Defense, and the Department, interested in aiding businesses relying too much on it for contracts, arranged the program.

He spoke of the many firms which were started during the late fifties as a result of the post-Sputnik technology push—among which were quite a few electronics companies along Route 128. Some were entirely reliant on the Government's lucrative space contracts.

"Special attention is being paid to the more strategic needs of smaller businesses, as opposed to the Sylvanias and Ratheons," he explained. "It was desirable to take advantage of procedures used before to develop new markets, therefore individual case studies were made of small and medium sized technically based firms which had gone through these problems, in attempt to come up with some methods for growth. Documentations were made of other firms which had the same problems in trying to gage what product markets they should attempt to go after and to put together some sort of strategy for growth."

Selected case studies will comprise only half of the remaining sessions, with workshop sessions being conducted afterwards.

"The workshops are the more important aspect of the program," Whitla mentioned. "In them the men from the individual companies will define the company problem and devise a plan for solving it, drawing from the example introduced earlier."

In one session they will analyze a problem's evaluation, in another growth strategy or market potential over the series.

Heading the entire program is Dr. Harry Wilkinson, Northeastern's new dean of the College of Business Administration. He is a senior consultant at Harbridge House, a Boston management consultant firm which is working with the university on the project.

National Award for Barrett Homes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride and pleasure that I call to our colleagues' attention a significant award which was conferrod recently upon Barrett Homes, Inc., of California.

Barrett Homes was selected by the National Association of Home Builders for "the best nonsegregated residential subdivision in the United States."

At a time in our National history when we are exerting every effort to insure equality of opportunity for all men, Barrett Homes is to be highly and warmly commended for turning the law and promise of our land into reality.

I include a news story from the Oakland Tribune of Sunday, August 1 which describes the award:

NATIONAL AWARD FOR BARRETT

Barrett Homes, Inc., is the winner of a Housing Leadership Award from the National Association of Homebuilders for "the best nonsegregated residential subdivision in the United States."

The award is for Barrett's construction in Richmond's Eastshore and Potrero residential redevelopment projects according to John H. Johnson, president of the Associated Homebuilders of the Greater Eastbay, who made the award to Richard Barrett, president of the construction firm.

During the past 6 years Barrett has built and sold 532 houses and 131 rental units at a cost of more than $10 million, according to Johnson.

The developments just west of the Eastshore Freeway on what was land once used for temporary war housing projects, are architecturally designed.

Sales and rentals have been to Caucasian, Negro, and oriental families.

Barrett's contract with the Richmond Redevelopment Agency calls for construction of an additional 350 single family houses and more than 700 apartment units.

Interest Equalization Tax Extension of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. DICKINSON

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 4750) to provide a 2-year extension of the interest equalization tax, and for other purposes.

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to be a member of the 89th Club which issued the statement in support of the gentleman from Michigan and distinguished minority leader, GERALD FORD. I take this opportunity to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from New York [Mr. SMITH], who speaks for all Republicans.

May I add, Mr. Chairman, that in this difficult time, when the United States stands virtually alone against the onslaught of communism in southeast Asia, when American men are fighting and dying in the nasty, bitter jungle war in Vietnam, there is not only a need for resolute and courageous action, there is a need for prudence and discretion.

When an unjust, partisan attack is directed by the President of our Nation against such a distinguished and honorable Congressman as our minority leader in the House of Representatives, this thoughtless attack can only harm our Nation's cause. Yes, Mr. Chairman, such an attack can even do irreparable harm.

It is regrettable enough in the course of everyday politics to see the character of a man such as GERALD FORD sullied on the front pages of every newspaper in the Nation. But when the attack has no basis in fact, and when it completely ignores the record of honor and courage of the man attacked, then it is deplorable to the extreme.

The record of Mr. FORD speaks for itself; few among us can match it. While ably discharging his heavy responsibilities as House minority leader, GERALD FORD has consistently avoided partisanship in the field of foreign policy. Instead, he has let the well-being of the Nation be his guide. Eschewing the obvious political gains to be made, Mr. FORD has remained steadfast in his support of the administration when a firm policy in Vietnam has been adopted and pursued. Not content to merely criticize yesterday's mistakes, our distinguished minority leader has sought instead to provide constructive ideas for the future. In his belief that the American people deserve an honest and forthright appraisal of the situation in southeast Asia, Mr. FORD has eloquently presented the need for a firm American hand in this troubled area of the world, though the easier course would be to spew forth the platitudes of the appeaser and the naive or to remain silent in fear of the burdens a man must accept when he stands before the Nation and speaks his convictions and presents the facts.

After his selection as minority leader, GERALD FORD stepped forward to accept the responsibilty of telling the American people the facts about our foreign policy—and he has been proven consistently right in his appraisal of many situations.

May I reiterate briefly, Mr. Chairman, the points well taken by my distinguished colleague from New York. It WAS GERALD FORD who led the way to the formation of an inter-American peace force to stop Communist subversion in the Dominican Republic; it was GERALD FORD who insisted that Soviet missile sites in North Vietnam be destroyed, but it took the loss of American lives before this course of action was accepted by the administration; and it is GERALD FORD who today calls for more effective use of American air and sea power in the war in Vietnam rather than the commitment of a large ground force to jungle combat. How long will it be, Mr. Chairman, before the administration realizes that Mr. FORD is right again.

And may I add, Mr. Chairman, that when the administration submitted to Congress its much ballyhooed "under $100 billion" budget, it was GERALD FORD who prophetically pointed out that the defense spending figure was grossly inadequate in light of our growing commitment in Vietnam and that the $100 billion budget was merely a political propaganda piece. The administration denied this, but now we see where the President has come hat in hand to ask for $1.7 billion more in military spending to step up the war in Vietnam.

And yet, in light of this exemplary record, it is this same GERALD FORD who today stands accused of being—and I use the President's own words, Mr. Chairman, "an inexperienced man, or a new one, or a bitter partisan who has to play a little politics." I ask my distinguished colleagues, can this be GERALD FORD?

Can this man who has been consistently ahead of the administration in charting the course of the formation of our Nation's foreign policy be "an inexperienced man, or a new one?"

Can this man who has steadfastly given his complete support to every administration move to strengthen the American position in Vietnam, in Latin America, and everywhere in this troubled world be "a bitter partisan?"

Can this man who has not limited himself to criticism of the results of administration policy but has instead moved resolutely forward in providing constructive suggestions for future action be the same man "who has to play a little politics?"

No, Mr. Chairman, GERALD FORD is not that man. I contend that the real reason the distinguished minority leader has been singled out for abuse is this: We have a vigorous, farsighted patriot as the leader of the Republican Party in the House of Representatives. He has been courageous in his stand, and events have proven him consistently right—all of which has been an embarrassment to the administration, while enhancing the image of Mr. FORD and the Republican Party. I contend that out of this has come this ridiculous effort to discredit him.

I further contend that the angry, thoughtless outburst by the President last weekend was not only a personal and political mistake, it was a diplomatic one as well—one that could do the United States great damage in our efforts to achieve peace and independence for the people of South Vietnam.

Far from presenting the United States as resolute and firm in its commitment to the people of South Vietnam, the President's actions have called new attention to his own party's growing opposition to that commitment.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. FORD deserves the gratitude of all Americans, not criticism—and certainly not criticism from the man most obligated to Mr. Ford for his help and his support in this trying hour.

Address of Hon. Basil L. Whitener Before the North Carolina Sheriffs' Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HORACE R. KORNEGAY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague Hon. BASIL L. WHITENER, spoke to the North Carolina Sheriffs' Association at the Battery Park Hotel in Asheville, N.C., on Friday, August 6.

All of us are familiar with our colleague's efforts to have adequate law enforcement legislation enacted for the District of Columbia. BASIL WHITENER is an outstanding lawyer and a former district solicitor in North Carolina. He made an excellent speech Friday night to the members of the North Carolina Sheriffs' Association and I feel that my colleagues in the Congress would find his remarks to be most appropriate in the light of the serious crime situation existing in the country. I include his speech in the Appendix of the RECORD:

ADDRESS BY BASIL L. WHITENER, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, BEFORE NORTH CAROLINA SHERIFFS' ASSOCIATION

It is a great joy for me to have an opportunity to meet with so many old friends. When your president, Dwight Beam, tendered the invitation to me to come here tonight, I hastily accepted.

As district solicitor for 11 years I had an opportunity to become acquainted with, and develop an appreciation for, many of our sheriffs in North Carolina. It was always a satisfying experience to deal with the men who were serving as chief law enforcement officers in their respective counties.

Since Dwight Beam was the sheriff of my home county I have enjoyed a very close association with him. Through this association, which has continued since I commenced my service in the Congress, I have been the beneficiary of a warm and close personal friendship with him.

His selection by you to serve as your leader during the past year evidences a similar high esteem for him on the part of the members of the North Carolina Sheriffs' Association. As a resident of Gaston County, I can reflect the thinking of our fellow citizens in expressing appreciation to you for the high honor that you have paid to our county when you honored Dwight with the leadership of your organization.

The key to law and order in the United States is our local law enforcement agencies. These agencies headed by local citizens, with the sheriff as the chief law enforcement officer of his county, know and live with their people and extend their influence over the community in many ways.

It is the sheriff, his deputies, and the local and State police who are in the front line in the battle for the maintenance of an organized society conforming to rules of social conduct within both the moral and statutory law. You are the ones to whom the people must look for the preservation of property rights, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, and other basic freedoms and rights guaranteed to us by our Constitution.

No era in the history of our Nation has presented more problems to law enforcement officers than we have witnessed in the past 5 years. The crime rate has rapidly increased, respect for law and order has waned, and mob violence and street demonstrations have usurped the place of orderly presentation of causes by petition and court action. Under the guise of protecting constitutional rights of the accused, but disregarding the rights of the victims of crime, Federal court decisions have placed shackles upon those who investigate and prosecute criminal offenses.

There are many other indicia of judicial schizophrenia and civilian confusion as to the relationship between citizen and citizen, and citizen and government. The concept of the relation of the citizen to the law, which is so eloquently stated in the motto that we are a government of laws and not of men, seems to have escaped many of our citizens.

Throughout the land we have seen a growing hostility toward law and order on college campuses, in streets and highways, on private property, and even on the holy ground of many of our religious institutions. Often we have seen those charged with responsibility for leadership among student bodies, religious organizations, government, and private organizations of the right and of the left,

publicly taking the position that they have a right to disregard rules of law which they find inconsistent with their personal concepts or interests. Unless halted, this type of activity and thinking could lead to the destruction of the very framework which has made this Nation the envy of people throughout the world.

Just this week the House of Representatives has taken action which I am hoping will result in assisting local law enforcement people in meeting the new challenges which they face. As a member of the Committee on the Judiciary, I was pleased to support a program which will make Federal assistance available to local law enforcement agencies and correctional personnel through the establishment of an improved program of professional training and related educational programs.

Under this legislation grants may be made to public and private organizations for projects designed to develop and demonstrate effective methods which will aid you and serve the public interest. It is hoped that 3-year program training institutes will be carried out in a way that will aid you and your colleagues in combating the problems of crime which confront every community in the Nation.

We were apprehensive at first that such a program might result in further encroachment upon the powers and jurisdiction of local and State governments and give to the Federal authorities a basis for assuming jurisdiction which has been historically vested in local governments. In order to circumvent that probability, our committee specifically set forth in the legislation that nothing contained in it shall be construed to authorize any department or employee of the U.S. Government to exercise any direction, supervision, or control, over the organization, administration, or personnel of any State or local police force or other law enforcement agency.

We believe that this protective language will prevent unwarranted interference with the activities of State and local authorities and will keep the contemplated program in proper focus.

If, through this legislative program and the expenditure of $10 million each year for a 3-year period, steps can be taken which will carry out the stated objectives of the bill, we will have accomplished much. These objectives are to improve the capabilities, techniques, and practices of State and local agencies engaged in law enforcement, the administration of the criminal laws, the correction of offenders, the prevention or control of crime, producing effective methods for increasing the security of person and property, controlling the incidence of lawlessness, and promoting respect for law. I am sure that no one would question the worthiness of the objectives of the legislation. We can only hope that the program will meet the objectives which are stated in the bill.

The House of Representatives, in passing this legislation, reflected the concern of the people of the Nation over the sad and tragic increase in criminal statistics. In 1963, the last year for which complete FBI figures are available, more than 2¼ million serious crimes were reported. The reported crime rate has doubled since 1940. Since 1958 it has increased five times as fast as our population. Crime against the person is up 22 percent. Crime against property is up 43 percent. Twelve serious offenses per 1,000 inhabitants are now committed each year.

A disturbing aspect of the statistical data is the increasing proportion of crimes by our young people. Arrests of young people have increased almost twice as fast as their population growth. Of all persons arrested by city police, 73 percent were under 25; 65 percent under 21; and 53 percent under 18. The statistics further suggest that few of our young offenders are ever reformed. Almost invariably these young offenders mature into adult criminals.

Equally disturbing is our low rate of identification, apprehension, and conviction. According to FBI figures, the clearance rate by arrest of crimes against the person is fortunately comparatively high—91 percent for murder, 84 percent for negligent manslaughter, 76 percent for aggravated assault, and 69 percent for forcible rape. But the picture in the area of crimes against property is more disturbing. It might almost be said that "crime does pay" because only 39 percent of robberies, 27 percent of burglaries, 26 percent of auto thefts, and 26 percent of petty larcencies are even cleared by arrest.

Justice Patrick Devlin of the English High Court has said: "No society can afford to leave at large more than a limited number of unconvicted criminals." The statistical data indicates clearly that in our great country too many unconvicted criminals are roaming our streets.

Most criminal offenses are committed by the habitual offenders. Criminologists tell us that roughly 75 percent of those arrested have been previously arrested and that from three-quarters to nine-tenths of those released from penal institutions will probably commit further crimes. They further report that the petty offender usually works his way up to a serious felony and that the serious felon is usually a habitual criminal.

Of concern to the Nation and to the world have been the continuing activities of organized crime as epitomized in the international group known as the Mafia. Legislation in several forms has been enacted by the Congress in the past 4 years after full hearings before our Committee on the Judiciary, which has as its purpose the combating of these syndicates of crime. Some of these measures have already been most effective. Statutory tools have been given to the Federal authorities which relieve them of the necessity of limiting prosecution of racketeers to income tax violations.

This group of organized criminals, led by the Mafia with 5,000 sworn members, concentrates on gambling, narcotics, racketeering, prostitution, and loan sharking in its widespread activities. In recent years a more alarming activity on their part has come to the forefront. They have begun to infiltrate legitimate business, such as banking and labor unions, and have undertaken to corrupt our political and law enforcement processes. In many cities these racketeers dominate the fields of vending machines, laundry services, liquor distribution, and many other occupations. It can truly be said that in our society, which is dedicated to individual rights, organized crime works a tyranny by exercising the power of quasi-government against the economic, political, and personal dissenter.

James Madison in the Federalist Papers wrote: "It is of importance in a republic not only to guard the society against the operation of its rulers, but to guard one part of the society against the injustice of the other part."

In our efforts against organized racketeers who inflict injustice upon the law-abiding citizen we have seen no spectacular gains on the part of law and order. Since 1919 there have been 976 gangland-type slayings in the Chicago area, an average of 23 per year. They are currently running about 13 per year. Very few of these offenses have been cleared by arrest and conviction.

In other great cities of our Nation the same type of criminal tyranny is observed. So long as these conditions exist in our society we cannot take the position that law enforcement is strictly a local problem. While we adhere to the concept that the integrity of the local jurisdiction must be maintained, it seems abundantly clear that there must be some correlation of local activity throughout the Nation and that this goal must be accomplished through cooperative effort of the Federal and local authorities.

In upgrading our overall law enforcement standards we must no be content with studies, educational programs, and legislation against crime. Training, studies, and statutes can be helpful, but only if qualified personnel is provided for the battle against the criminal. In my judgment this personnel can best be recruited if compensation rates for law enforcement officers are brought up to the standard which their professional status deserves. This is true of officers under the supervision of the sheriff, as well as those under the supervision of municipal and county and State law enforcement departments.

In testimony before the Judiciary Committee recently we were told that entrance salary for patrolmen in some cities of more than 500,000 population is barely $90 a week. In smaller communities of less than 25,000, the rate of pay sometimes drops to $50 a week. The average monthly earnings of full-time police employees in all local governments are about $483.

A good law enforcement officer is worthy of better financial treatment than he generally gets in our Nation. The rigorous requirements we lay upon him in the performance of his duties demand that this inequity in compensation be eliminated wherever it exists. We cannot expect excellence of performance by men who have a lower annual income than is recognized as the standard for determination of poverty status by the President of the United States.

I believe that there is today a realization on the part of the individual citizen that we do have serious problems in combating the antisocial conduct of an increasing number of our fellow citizens. I believe that the climate in the Nation is favorable to supporting programs and financial outlays which will help you men in the law enforcement field to do a better job.

The majority of the thinking people of our Nation believe that it is time to halt mob violence, street demonstrations, disrespect for the local peace officer, and the continuing activities of organized racketeers.

If this assumption is correct, I can envision a new era of support for the worthwhile efforts of the North Carolina Sheriffs Association and its counterparts throughout the United States. If we fail to measure up to our clear obligation in preserving law and order, our Constitution and the very existence of this Nation will be in jeopardy.

To you dedicated men of law enforcement, I extend my thanks for your efforts. You have my appreciation for your zeal to make your own jurisdiction a better place for the people of North Carolina to live. May the Lord support you in this vital work.

Boiled Peanuts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, a sure sign that the year's peanut harvest is approaching is the appearance of boiled peanut venders selling

their delicious and nutritious product in every south Georgia town. In my district, which is located in the heart of the peanut belt, it is almost heresy for a person to be seen without a bag of boiled peanuts.

An article in the August 5 edition of the Dawson (Ga.) News about two young peanut salesmen brings back fond memories of home. It also illustrates the enterprising spirit of two youths who are banking their profits for a college education. I would like to share the following article with my colleagues:

BOILED PEANUTS SIGNAL ADVENT OF NEW SEASON

Those delicious and nutritious boiled peanuts which traditionally herald the advent of another harvest made their seasonal debut in the city this week to the delight of just about everyone.

Salesmen Dewey Lee and Tommy Rountree found their hardest job was in supplying the "trade." Not that their supply was limited but simply because they had too many customers.

Really, boiled peanuts doesn't require a selling job in Dawson and Terrell County, especially when they are the products of Dewey's mother, Mrs. Robert Lee of the Graves community. She has her own confidential recipe and unquestionably it is one of the best. They have just that consistency which won't let you stop eating 'em.

Until last year, selling their mother's peanuts was a brothers' business but Eddie dropped out and Dewey's classmate, Tommy, replaced him. Both did so well last season they decided to continue the partnership again this year.

Incidentally, Dewey has become so proficient in both the selling and processing end of peanuts that he has made it a 4-H Club project and came out second in the district achievement meeting in Americus. He hopes to win the top award next year.

Both Dewey and Tommy are banking their money for college.

The Fourth Arm of America's Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, one of the leaders in our continuing effort to maintain a strong and active U.S. merchant marine has been the distinguished senior Senator from Maryland, DANIEL B. BREWSTER.

Senator BREWSTER has consistently supported the maintenance and extension of Government assistance to the fourth arm of America's defense, the merchant marine. His wide knowledge and considerable experience in the field secured for him appointment to the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Subcommittee of the important Senate Commerce Committee.

Last Sunday's Houston Chronicle contained an article that discussed in some detail BREWSTER's efforts to strengthen our merchant marine; efforts that I feel deserve the attention of my colleagues here in the House.

Mr. Speaker, with unanimous consent, I place the article in the RECORD:

(By Jack Cleland)

WASHINGTON.—In London last week Lloyd's Register of Shipping reported world shipbuilding rose to a record high during the second quarter of this year but that the United States dropped another notch in ranking among the world's shipbuilding nations.

This country now ranks 11th among free world nations and indications are if the present trend continues it will be 13th by the end of the year.

Only 62 merchant vessels are under construction at this time, according to Lloyd's, despite the fact the United States still has the largest merchant marine in the world.

Of the ships that compose it, however, 85 percent are 20 years old; they are slow and considered unfit for present day military operations. The only section of U.S.-flag shipping in any state of health is the subsidized liner fleet composed of about 300 ships built since World War II.

The Federal Government subsidizes U.S. oceanliner construction up to 55 percent of the total cost reflecting the differential between United States and Japanese construction costs.

Subsidies are not applicable under present maritime administration policy to bulk carriers because of a limitation of funds, with the net result that 18 private shipyards have gone out of business in the past decade for lack of sufficient work.

Among those most concerned about the deterioration of American shipbuilding is Senator DANIEL BREWSTER, Democrat, of Maryland, who has proposed legislation to extend subsidy benefits to bulk carriers.

BREWSTER is also considering a proposal to require both the shipbuilder and labor to enter into a no-strike agreement before a subsidy can be approved. Subsequent bargaining differences would have to be submitted to binding arbitration under the plan.

He suggests this no-strike plan could even apply to the U.S. shipping industry itself which is now plagued with a 2-month-old strike by 3 of the 11 separate unions which have contracts with most U.S.-flag carriers.

BREWSTER admits there is growing opposition to the subsidy approach, especially in the operating subsidy which last year supplied 72 cents of each wage dollar paid to U.S. seamen.

According to reports, the Maritime Administration has indicated a desire to give subsidized shipping lines an opportunity to build their ships abroad and thus cut their construction costs by 50 percent.

The Defense Department also plans to purchase between $50 and $60 million worth of naval support vessels from Great Britain.

BREWSTER and others have attacked the Pentagon plan at hearings before a Senate Armed Service Subcommittee and urged restrictive language be written into the defense appropriations bill prohibiting such a move.

Probably one factor adding to the seemingly hopeless plight of the U.S. shipbuilding and shipping industry is the American-owned flag-of-convenience fleet.

It has been estimated that one-fourth of the merchant ships of Panamanian or Liberian registry are American owned and manned by a foreign crew. Prime users of the flag of convenience are American oil, steel, and aluminum companies.

CLAIM SAVINGS

By using the nationality, for registration purposes, of another country, the shipowners avoid this country's restrictive maritime regulations, high taxes, and labor costs.

There is a growing concern whether the availability of such ships under a flag of convenience is certain in a national emergency which could arise from the Vietnam situation.

Agreements for their return to the U.S. flag have been made with the owners, though only tacitly with the countries of present registration. While the Navy and Maritime Administration claim to have effective control over these ships, some Members of Congress doubt this.

They also worry that a U.S. reliance on foreign shipping to support the Vietnam operation could give the European maritime countries a voice in our Far Eastern policy.

SEEK CUT IN COSTS

Like the railroads, the shipping industry has sought to cut operating cost through automation and the unions are adamant to maintain job security.

The principal issue in the current stalemated maritime strike is the manning scale on automated vessels. The Marine Engineers Beneficial Association wants to bargain on the number of engineers to be assigned in the future as each new automated ship comes out.

The companies want the scale written in the contract now as they fear if the engineers win additional posts in the engine room of future ships, other unions will follow the "me too" pattern in maritime bargaining and ask for more assignments.

And so the U.S. maritime industry faces the dilemma of costly ship construction, increasing competition from foreign merchant fleets, some American-owned, and labor's demand for job security at a time when it is trying to automate to be more competitive.

As Representative BOB CASEY, of Houston, a member of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee sees it, the industry "is caught in a trip." He admits he has no ready solution to the problem.

New Jersey's 1964 Agricultural Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS C. McGRATH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. Speaker, the State of New Jersey, known throughout our Nation as the Garden State, has again proven its claim to that appellation. Statistics provided by the New Jersey Crop Reporting Service indicate that New Jersey—the third smallest State in the Union—has again compiled an enviable record.

In 1964, New Jersey ranked first in the Nation in the production of blueberries. It was second in the production of asparagus and the processing of asparagus products and in the production of fresh market beets.

The Garden State ranked third in the Nation in the production of late summer potatoes, cranberries, fresh market lima beans, green peppers, fresh market spinach, the processing of tomato products, and milk production per cow.

New Jersey was fourth among the 50 States in the production of peaches and fresh market tomatoes. We were fifth ranked in the production of fresh market strawberries, fresh market sweet corn, fresh market lettuce, and in the value of processed vegetables.

Thus, Mr. Speaker, in 21 categories, New Jersey was in the upper 10th of our country in 17. Furthermore, our relatively small State ranked in the second

10th of the Nation in sweetpotatoes production and the value of fresh market vegetables—6th—and in apple production—10th.

I think it is also revealing to note that the Garden State ranked fifth among the 50 States in both the gross and net income per farm.

My pride in the fine agricultural record New Jersey compiled during 1964 is even greater, Mr. Speaker, when I note how the Second District, which I have the honor to represent in the House of Representatives, distinguished itself among the 15 districts of our State.

In 27 categories, the counties of Atlantic, Cape May, and Cumberland, which comprise the Second District, rated first in 7, second in 7, third in 6, fourth in 6, and fifth in 4.

I am especially pleased that in the production of blueberries—the one category in which New Jersey was first in the Nation—my home county of Atlantic was first in New Jersey, making it the leading blueberry-producing county in the United States.

Atlantic County was also first in the State in the production of sweet potatoes and Cumberland County was first in the production of strawberries, cabbage, lettuce, onions, and snap beans.

Despite the problems the egg industry has been facing, and which, I might note, are worsening, Cumberland County was second in the State in egg production and also in the production of peppers and in nursery stock acreage. Atlantic County was second in the Garden State in the production of strawberries, cabbage, lettuce and onions.

Cumberland County ranked third in the State in the production of barley for grain, sweet potatoes, asparagus, tomatoes and sweet corn, while Atlantic County was third in production of peaches.

Cape May County rated fourth in the State in the number of hogs and pigs; Atlantic County was fourth in pepper production, and Cumberland County was fourth in production of hay, peaches, potatoes and in the number of certified nurseries. Atlantic County ranked fifth in the production of eggs, tomatoes, sweet corn and the number of certified nurseries.

Like its neighboring States in the Northeastern United States, New Jersey is sorely affected by the drought which is plaguing us this year. Also, difficulties being encountered by egg producers throughout the Nation are annually reducing the number of small poultry farmers in New Jersey's Second District. Yet, New Jersey continues to rank high among the 50 States in providing the plenty with which this Nation is blessed.

New Jersey is considered by many as primarily an industrial State and by many others as merely a "corridor" between the principal metropolises of the East. I submit, Mr. Speaker, that southern New Jersey, and principally the counties of Atlantic, Cape May and Cumberland, deserve recognition as one of the most productive agricultural areas of our great land and I predict that we will continue to maintain that important position.

A Change From Inch to Meter?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, there is a great national interest in the hearings now being conducted by the House Science and Astronautics Committee on a bill which would authorize a 3-year study of the advantages of the metric system of weights and measures. In addition to the valuable testimony which has been presented to the committee, many editorial expressions around the country have appeared. One of the most impressive articles in support of the House bill (H.R. 2626) sponsored by my colleague, the gentleman from California, Chairman GEORGE MILLER, appeared in the August 6, 1965, edition of the Chicago Daily News as follows:

A CHANGE FROM INCH TO METER?

This week the House Science and Astronautics Committee is holding hearings on a proposal for a study of whether the United States should convert its weights and measurements to the metric system. Although the merits of conversion have been studied since 1790, there is a special reason for a new study.

On May 24 the British Government announced plans to convert to the metric system over the next 10 years. Other countries, including Canada, are expected to follow suit. This will compress still farther the minority using the inch-pound system, which is 10 percent of the world's population involving 40 percent of the world's trade.

The American system grew haphazardly. For example, the inch was once the distance of three barleycorns end to end; the inch, pound and quart are not internally related. The metric system was rationally developed. The units of length (meter), mass (gram), and fluid capacity (liter) are related to one another, and smaller or larger units are computed by tenths or tens.

The advantages of shifting to the metric system would be enormous. As one minor example, it would reduce the likelihood of error in the U.S. space program, where NASA uses the metric system and much U.S. private industry uses the inch-pound system. Some mathematics teachers estimate that 25 percent of a child's time could be saved by eliminating the need to memorize such things as pecks, rods, fractions, numerators, and the like.

The metric system would give advantages in competing for world trade, which is the main reason the British are shifting, and in international scientific cooperation, which is increasing.

Other than the weight of tradition, the chief argument against converting to the metric system is that it would be very costly. Estimates range from $20 billion to $150 billion. If a change were made, what would be the best period of time and the best phases? Would a mixed system be advantageous? Could a system be synchronized with changes in other countries, notably Canada?

These are the kinds of questions that the proposed study would investigate. It would cost $2,500,000 over 3 years. Some people who oppose the metric system also oppose the study because they fear it would be a propaganda campaign for the change.

The study should be authorized, with guarantees that it will be an objective study. Only an honest weighing of advantages and disadvantages and of alternate ways and means would serve the Nation in a matter of basic as its weights and measurements.

If the American people change from the inch-pound system to the metric system, as the British people are going to do, the shift will require some painful adjustments in our everyday thinking and speech.

For example, it will take a while to get used to talking of President Johnson's 38-liter hat and Miss Americas' 91-66-91 dimensions.

And think of what will happen to many of our old saws. Give him 25.4 millimeters and he will take 1.6093 kilometers. It's all wool and 0.9144 meter wide; 31.1035 grams of prevention is worth 0.03732 kilograms of cure.

Ah, well. It will all be the same when we are 1.8288 meters under.

Letter From Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following article which appeared in the Knoxville News-Sentinel, on August 8, 1965. At a time when we read about college students burning draft cards, and many college professors encouraging "teach-ins or sit-ins" in opposition to the policy of our Government, I think this article is most timely.

The article follows:

(By Loyd Jeffers)

"If you could see what is happening over here, then you and everyone else back in the States would know why we are here."

Sgt. Floyd E. Allen, a U.S. Marine stationed in Da Nang, South Vietnam, wrote those words this week to his wife and five children living in Knox County.

Sergeant Allen is a 13-year veteran of the Marines. He was transferred to Vietnam last February. His wife, Emily, and children, ranging in age from 19 months to 9 years, are living with Mr. and Mrs. Raymond E. Davis, Route 2, Corryton. Mrs. Allen is Mrs. Davis' sister.

REJECTS CRITICISM

Sergeant Allen said, "Whatever is said in criticism of the administration that we have in Washington, at this time, I ask, let it not alter your faith in the country or the principles that we stand for."

He said, "If we back out now we have lost everything we hold dear."

The Marine prefaced by remarks to his family by saying:

"I have a lot to tell you about this place over here when I get back. There are things I cannot write about, but there is one thing I want you to know * * *."

JOB FOR PROFESSIONALS

"It is more than a job," said the sergeant, a native of Pass Christian, Miss., "it is something that must be done and there is only one way to do it—send in people who are professionals at this art of war, people who believe in what we have and what we live for, men who are dedicated to the defense of their country and loved ones."

Sergeant Allen had a word of advice to demonstrators against American policy in Vietnam. He said, "To these kids who dem-

onstrate and say get out of Vietnam, I say, if we get out now, then stand by, for you will be here next."

He said, "Here in Vietnam we can and will show the world what it means to be a free man."

Immigration Bill Nears Passage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, the arduous and dedicated work of the House Judiciary Committee has resulted in an outstanding immigration bill which makes long-needed and long-awaited corrections in our immigration law. Most important of all, this new bill eliminates the obnoxious national origins quota system, which since 1924 has been an affront to the sense of justice and fairness that is basic to the thinking not only of Americans but of freedom-loving people all over the world.

We in the 89th Congress have passed much constructive legislation recognizing and meeting the needs and wants of the American people. The passage of the new immigration bill, which will soon come to the House for a vote, will further enhance the great record of the 89th Congress and will have the wholehearted approval of democratic-thinking people all over the world.

It is my pleasure to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial supporting the new immigration bill which appeared in the Washington Post of August 8, 1965.

The editorial follows:

LADY LIBERTY REFURBISHED

The House Judiciary Committee is to be congratulated for laboring all these years and finally voting out an immigration bill which jettisons the snobbish principle of national origins (meaning "white northern Europeans preferred"). In its place the new bill imposes standards more tailored to the needs of this country and the mid-20th century world in which we live.

The idea of placing quotas for immigrants according to national origin dates back to the law of 1924. Under it, the northern Europeans who were, for the most part, happy where they were, have enjoyed large but unused quotas to become permanent residents here; the southern and Eastern Europeans, who wanted to come, have had much smaller and oversubscribed quotas; and the peoples of the Asian-Pacific triangle have suffered under a mere token quota: 100 people a year from each of 11 nations.

The national origins quota system not only has been an affront to this country's friends in Italy, Greece, Japan, and the Philippines; it has been an affront to the descendants of Italians, Greeks, Japanese, and Filipinos within this country. Although full-fledged U.S. citizens, they constantly have been reminded that they just were lucky to have had ancestors who slipped in early.

The new immigration bill, introduced for the administration by Representative EMANUEL CELLER and Senator PHILIP A. HART, would select immigrants on the more logical basis of skills. The assumption is that if the potential immigrant possesses technical training which is in short supply in the United States his arrival here obviously would enrich the economy. In addition, the bill would permit a moderate increase in the present overall annual immigration quota and, during a phaseout period of the old national origins system, it would permit the unused quotas of the northern European nations to be absorbed by the people who long have been queued up in the less-favored nations.

There is an urgency to get the bill passed before Congress adjourns this year. Chairman HOWARD W. SMITH of the House Rules Committee has not yet indicated how quickly he is prepared to get the Judiciary Committee bill to the House floor for a vote. But under the new 21-day rule, the bill is at least assured of getting to the floor no matter what the Rules Committee may do.

On the Senate side, Chairman JAMES O. EASTLAND of the Judiciary Committee has magnanimously stood aside this year and allowed hearings to be completed this past week under the gavel of Senator EDWARD KENNEDY. The Senate now has to decide whether to wait for the House to complete its action before moving, or to go ahead in parallel fashion and hope for a sufficiently similar bill to avoid any delay in conference.

The President is known to have the immigration bill on his "must" list for this year. The Congress, which has set such a brilliant record of achievement in domestic legislation so far, certainly would not want to leave the immigration bill in limbo when it adjourns.

A Thought on the Job Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, supplementing the Appendix statement I submitted previously, respecting the fine Alder Springs Job Corps Camp in my congressional district, and in further expression of the meaning of the Job Corps program, I am pleased to submit a statement entitled "Just a Thought on the Job Corps" by Job Corpsman Robert Butler which appeared last week in the Willows Daily Journal:

WHAT OTHERS SAY—JUST A THOUGHT ON JOB CORPS

(By Robert Butler)

Sometimes I wonder why I did join the Job Corps. There were three things I could do, for I am a player, but all at once it came to me: The Job Corps is a place where young men can go so that they can learn to live a life of their own.

What it means is just this—a man is not a man if he doesn't know: The Job Corps is a place where men are men. There is no time for babies nor tears. Every man knows his job and does it.

There is a school, good food, and also movies. I find myself happier than ever before for I have time to think, to use what God gave me, and to realize that it is mine to know right from wrong.

Now I can do just what I like to do—express a thought in my own way. I find myself doing something that I have never done before, and I like it, and that is working in the forest.

There is nothing to fear. I find myself around friends my age who understand life as I do. Now I find myself in a world of unforeseen happiness—happiness that is only found in the Job Corps.

A Young Iowan Home From the Peace Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest contributions made to world peace is being carried on in a most quiet way. Unheralded by publicity, hundreds of young men and women in the Peace Corps are giving assistance in an effective witness to the concern we feel for the underdeveloped and emerging nations.

An outstanding example of the work being done was recently recorded in the Iowa Rural Electric News. It concerns the efforts of Duane Kline of Anita, Iowa, in setting up a sugarcane processing cooperative. I feel this account is of interest to many of my colleagues.

The article follows:

A YOUNG IOWAN—HOME FROM THE PEACE CORPS

A year ago at this time a young Iowa farm boy was in Colombia, South America, working with newly founded farmers' cooperatives as a member of the Peace Corps. This summer Duane Kline, son of Mrs. Chester Kline of near Anita, is back in Iowa working on his mother's farm.

A student at Iowa State University in Ames, Duane returned to the United States last March after spending nearly 2 years as a Peace Corps member. The Klines are members of Farmers Electric Cooperative at Greenfield.

Duane joined the Peace Corps in February 1963, along with 28 other Peace Corps applicants. After assembling in New York, the group was sent to Puerto Rico for training in physical fitness, language, and community development at various training camps.

Part two of their training and orientation period included a 2-month study session at the University of Wisconsin where they studied cooperative principles, economics, and the aims of the Peace Corps. At the close of this program, and after several interview sessions, the applicants were screened and narrowed to 23 on the basis of their past performance record.

Those who were accepted were to play a part in a pilot program which was designed to give technical assistance to cooperatives.

After 2 more weeks of field training in Puerto Rico, Duane arrived in Buenaventura, a city of 110,000 on the Pacific coast. He was alone in his project, but he shared lodgings with Tom Wozniak of Chicago. The boys lived with a native doctor in a tuberculosis hospital in Buenaventura.

While there, they were given a "living allowance" of 1,200 pesos ($90 a month). In addition to this amount, $75 was set aside in a savings account each month for the corpsman to receive when he left the Corps.

Duane reports that living conditions were adequate and that his diet consisted of mostly rice, some beef, little fish, and a lot of platana, a relative of the banana.

"They eat it any way they can," says Duane, "green, fried, baked, and boiled. It rains about 350 inches a year in the area, but it wasn't too bothersome because it generally rained during the night.

"There were three small-crop cooperatives in the area which had been started by the United Nations organizations. They were quite small and generally were just struggling to stay alive."

Duane worked about 6 months with these 3 cooperatives and then concentrated on one that was owned by about 40 farmers who grew sugar cane. Duane served as financial manager-bookkeeper and, in his words, "practically everything else.

"They never fully understood what I was trying to do," he says, "and it really slowed down progress. Only 4 or 5 adults out of 60 people could read or write.

"The United Nations had everything set up for my arrival, and the people accepted me and were friendly. I never was aware of un-American feelings."

Duane's cooperative had received $9,600 from a Colombia Government agency. With this money, the farmers had bought machinery and built shacks for a crude processing plant. They brought in their cut cane to this plant where about 12 farmer-workers processed it. The cane was boiled, cooked, and poured into brick-like molds. The end product was a crude sugar called panela, a taffy-like brick which is cheaper than white sugar. The Colombians use panela as a sugar substitute and as one of the main ingredients in a drink which they make from it.

"By the time the buildings and machinery were ready for operation," Duane explains, "the money was gone. The plant ran off and on for awhile, but the oven or flue used too much fuel and was uneconomical."

Before Duane left, another $10,000 had been promised to fix the flue but it had not been turned over to the cooperative.

"It will probably be another 2 months before the plant will be able to operate," Duane says. "I haven't received any news from my replacement yet.

"As for the Peace Corps," Kline says, "its biggest contribution has been its impact in introducing the real America to these people—showing them what Americans really are."

Disservice to Rusk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE W. GRIDER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. GRIDER. Mr. Speaker, during the past few weeks many comments have been made about the propriety of the writers who are rushing into print with inside stories of the Kennedy administration.

The value of this instant history is questionable. But when a writer impunes the ability of the Secretary of State while the Secretary still holds office, he is doing his country a disservice.

The Memphis afternoon newspaper recently summed it up well in an editorial which I would like to insert at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Memphis (Tenn.) Press-Scimitar, July 26, 1965]

DISSERVICE TO RUSK

Arthur Schlesinger has performed a disservice to Dean Rusk and to the country by reporting that President Kennedy had planned to oust Rusk as Secretary of State.

We don't know whether Schlesinger's version of the story is accurate or not. The only man who could fully support or deny it—John F. Kennedy—is not alive.

But even if it is true, it is a case of writing history too close to the event.

Rusk still is Secretary of State. He is charged with conducting foreign relations in one of the most delicate and critical periods of our history. He obviously has President Johnson's complete confidence. In fact, the President reaffirmed his confidence in Rusk after Schlesinger's revelation.

To describe him now, as Schlesinger has, as a man who engaged in "one muddle after another" at the State Department, accomplishes nothing and belittles the top U.S. foreign-policy spokesman before the world.

Schlesinger has been accused in the past of being more advocate than historian in his interpretations of events. We suspect that is the case in this incident.

Our own view rides with that of President Johnson, who only 10 days ago described Rusk as "one of the most able and most competent and most dedicated men I have ever known."

"He sits to my right in the cabinet room," Mr. Johnson added.

And we're glad of it.

Immutable Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN R. DAVIS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, perhaps because they are not quite so harried by deadline meeting, perhaps because they are better able to respond when nature with its beauty and its solitude beckons to communion, perhaps they do not get quite so excited over one real or purported crisis after another, the weekly newspaper editors of America well serve the function of periodically bringing us back to earth.

Guy Fuller of the Menomonee Falls News of Menomonee Falls, Wis., has done exactly that with a pointed, concise editorial which I commend to my colleagues:

IMMUTABLE LAW

The New York Times recently carried a story on New Zealand, where an all-embracing welfare state has been established. For example, unemployment and extreme poverty have been eliminated and adequate housing, health service, and education are available to all.

The story then says: "Yet few visiting Americans are satisfied with what they see. They complain of poor service, of a take-it-or-leave-it attitude toward work when other jobs are readily available, of a lack of competitiveness and what they regard as an air of backwardness compared to the United States."

This caused the Wall Street Journal to observe: "The point is simply that any society deliberately fashioned in the framework of Government gratuities for everything from planting wheat to painting water colors is bound to grow mediocre or worse. That is practically an immutable law, whether the people concerned are New Zealanders, Swedes, Russians, Britons, or Americans, and it should not be particularly difficult to see why."

Everyone favors the elimination of poverty and of human distress and misery in all its forms. In this endeavor, Government inevitably plays a role. The problem is how to help those who truly need help without sapping the initiative, the independence and the ambition of vast masses of people. When that happens, national decadence and decline must follow, no matter how great any country's material wealth may be.

The Real Alabama—Part XLI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the waterways of Alabama provide solid evidence of the State's transportation advantages, and strong reason for confidence in the State's economic growth.

A recent article in the Mobile Press Register newspaper reported on inspection trips along part of the Alabama river system made recently by Mr. Charles Steiner III on behalf of the Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce. His report follows:

CLOSE LOOK TAKEN AT VITAL ALABAMA WATERWAYS

(By Charles Steiner III)

Alabama is in an era of progressive business and industrial revolution. Keeping strides with this expansion are the modernization programs of Alabama's waterway systems to provide low-cost bulk commodity transportation, a plentiful water source and electricity for industries.

Factories, chemical plants, sawmills, paper products plants, dams, generating plants and other commercial and manufacturing establishments seek to economize by locating their new plants nearer their markets and gain access to barge transportation. Alabama offers this to them with an abundant supply of water and good recreational areas for their employees.

Alabama has possibly the largest navigable inland waterway system of any State in the Nation.

Looking at a map of Alabama, one sees radiating from Mobile the Warrior-Tombigbee and Alabama-Coosa waterways systems, along the eastern border of the State, the Chattahoochee River, and the Tennessee River dipping across the northern part of the State with its vast TVA development. These rivers link Alabama with the Port of Mobile, the Intracoastal Waterway, the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers. They link Alabama to the Midwest and its grain, to Texas and Louisiana and their oil and chemicals, salt and sulfur, the Port of Mobile to the iron and steel industry of Birmingham.

EXPORTS START THERE

Many of Alabama's exports begin the first leg of their journey down one of these rivers aboard barge to Mobile where they are loaded aboard ships. In return, these countries export their raw products to Mobile to be barged up Alabama's waterways to be turned into usable products. Waterborne tonnage hauled by the Port of Mobile in 1964 amounted to a record 20,388,097 tons against 19,052,285 tons in 1963. This was an increase of 7 percent.

One of the most important inland barge routes is the Warrior-Tombigbee Waterway. It is one of the busiest and fastest growing inland barge canals in the Nation. It connects Birmingham by a 467-mile channel to the State's seaport of Mobile. Over this waterway moves more than 40 kinds of freights. Included are: Coal, iron ore, limestone, sand, gravel, crushed rock, petroleum, sulfur, chemicals, woodpulp, soybeans, bauxite, phosphates, naval stores, molasses, shells, and finished manufactured products totaling 7,391,499 tons in 1964 as compared to 6,449,854 in 1963. The Warrier-Tombigbee Waterway system had a 13-percent increase in traffic during 1964.

TWO TRIPS

To get a first hand view of the potential of this great river system, I took two trips aboard towboats bound for points up the Tombigbee and Black Warrier Rivers. The first was aboard a Warrier, gulf navigation towboat for Port Birmingham with a five-barge load of 6,000 tons of high-grade iron ore from Cerro Bolivia, Venezuela, and the other was on a Radcliff materials boat bound for the upper reaches of the Little Tombigbee River for a 4,500-ton load of gravel for industries in the Mobile area.

As we rode upstream, we passed new and old industries, powerplants, sawmills, and towns now prospering because of the abundance of water and the increase in traffic along the Alabama rivers. This concentration of population and economic activity along the Warrior-Tombigbee is an indication of the powerful influence which water transportation exerts.

FORTY-TWO BARGES

On a 4-day trip we passed 42 barges headed downstream loaded with coal, petroleum, and other products for Mobile and industries along the rivers. In 1964, 2,162,926 tons of coal were barged down the rivers to Mobile to supply fuel for the Barry steamplant, paper products industries, and for export to other countries. With Alabama's coal production of 13,963,499 tons in 1964 and the abundance of water resources, industrialists might again revert back to the use of coal to operate their own electric generating plants. Through increased development and use of our inland and intracoastal waterways, our cheapest form of bulk transportation, we will have the most effective means for our State to aid industry in cutting the cost of products to meet the rising competition of foreign products.

Water and coal go together in producing electricity for industrial and home use. Each new industry coming into the State will find an abundant supply of water, electricity, and low-cost water transportation for ore, the coal, and other raw materials required in production. As new dams are built along the rivers, hydroelectric and steam plants follow to provide electricity.

Steady progress is being made on modification measures on the Warrior-Tombigbee Waterway. The Mobile River channel has been deepened to 40 feet. With the completion of the Holt lock and dam and the modification of the Bankhead Dam, 17 dams and 18 locks will have been replaced with only 6.

All through the year the U.S. Corps of Engineers maintains the navigable waterway channels of Alabama at a depth of 9 feet and a minimum of 200 feet in width where practical. On both trips upstream we passed the dredge *Collins* at work on channel improvements.

En route to Port Birmingham, we passed under several bridges, some new, some old. Old bridges still being used to span the navigable rivers of Alabama are bottlenecks in auto traffic and a hindrance to towboats navigating the rivers. Spring thaws and rains send rivers overflowing their banks by 40 feet or more, causing the boats to split their tow barges and take a section at a time under the bridges. Any new bridges built across these rivers in future should span the rivers from bank to bank to allow for safe navigation.

With each new dam built on these rivers, water is impounded for continuous use through the year for industry, recreation, and household use. Thus, Alabama is able to offer industry a plentiful supply of water, excellent river sites, and to their employees the enjoyment of sports fishing on its man-made lakes.

In order to increase the future flow of traffic on this river system, many claim the channel should be dredged to a depth of 12 feet to allow shallow draft ocean vessels to ply the waters of Alabama, especially on the future Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway.

At the junction of the Tombigbee and Warrior Rivers we passed the site of the new inland docks at Demopolis being built by the Alabama State docks. This facility will benefit the farmers and cattlemen of this State by establishing a feed storage unit, molasses tanks, soybean silos, to give service and low-cost transportation for Alabama products. In the past, Alabama shipped its young calves to California and the Midwest for fattening and then had them reshipped back into our State as western beef. Once this dock is completed, grains, sorghum, and hay can be shipped in by barge for cattlemen to fatten their own beef and sell to local markets themselves.

CATTLE IMPORTANT

Live feeder cattle from the Southeastern States are in high demand in Europe. The largest shipment of cattle ever to be exported from the United States was loaded aboard the SS *Salanat* at the Alabama State docks bound for west Italy during February 1965. More than 1,873 head of cattle averaging 600 pounds each was the first of future shipments of beef to European markets. The Italian Government has authorized duty-free importation of 100,000 U.S. calves this year, of which Alabama can send its share. Other countries in Europe and South America are looking to the United States for pedigreed young beef to help raise the quality of their stock. They are especially interested in cattle from the South which can be barged down Alabama's rivers.

It will be at Demopolis that the proposed Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway would connect the industrial and agricultural centers of the midcontinental America with the ocean port of Mobile. Once the 253-mile water route is completed, 23 States along the Ohio, Missouri, and Mississippi River Valleys will benefit greatly through the location of new industries seeking a shorter, low-cost water route to the gulf coast and overseas markets for their manufactured exports and raw-material imports.

Chairman Wright Patman Celebrates Birthday

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to join my colleagues in extending best wishes for a happy birthday to the chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN.

As a new Member of Congress and a new member of the committee, it has been not only an enlightening experience, but a very pleasant and helpful association, for me to work shoulder to shoulder with this distinguished American on the great and far-reaching legislation that has come out of the Banking and Currency Committee during the 89th Congress.

Over the years, Chairman PATMAN has contributed much to the people all over America. His firm position on low-interest rates has earned for him the respect and the gratitude of millions of working people in America.

Again, I extend to WRIGHT PATMAN happy birthday greetings, and wish him continued good health and many, many more years of outstanding public service in the best interests of the American people.

Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, an excellent column on Social Security by Andrew Tully was published a few days ago. It exposes efforts of opponents of the program to frighten the American people about medicare and the new social security bill which Congress has enacted.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith this informative column:

Now that the new social security law, complete with medicare, is a reality, opponents of the legislation characteristically are trying to scare the daylights out of the citizenry. It will cost too much they sneer, and plunge us all into bankruptcy or debtors' prison.

These calamity howlers are talking through their hats, as usual. To be sure, the social security tax will go up for everybody because the new benefits have to be paid for, but the new system remains a bargain.

As much as $103 will be added to the annual tax on many, and eventually this increase will come to nearly $200. But for this, the citizen will get a 7-percent increase in pension benefits, plus hospitalization insurance that will pay for both hospital and nursing home care. Additionally, there is a supplemental plan costing $3 a month which covers doctors' bills after a $50 annual deduction.

The pension plan alone is almost worth the tariff. A citizen who has been getting the minimum retirement benefit of $40 a month will get $44 from September on. If he has been getting the top benefit, $127, he'll get $135.90. Eventually, the monthly check will climb as high as $168 for individuals, while the limit for a family, now $254, will be increased to $368.

Thus, between pensions and medicare, the retired American will draw much more from the social security fund than he contributes. Under medicare, he'll get 90 days of hospitalization for each illness, 100 days of nursing home care after his hospital stay, outpatient hospital diagnostic services, and up to 100 home health visits after hospitalization.

Nor am I moved by predictions from such as the myopic American Medical Association that the legislation will put hospital insurance plans out of business. There always will be those who want more protection than the Government offers, and the new law will make it financially more attractive for them to buy it.

Most persons over 65 undoubtedly will drop their voluntary insurance plans because they're assured of medicare benefits, and thus private insurers will be freed to the burden of the high cost of providing health benefits to the aged.

Presumably, they then will be able to offer reduced premiums and perhaps expanded benefits to younger citizens. In Michigan alone, for example, Blue Cross people say

medicare will save them $16 million a year in such payments to old folks.

Critics also are complaining that medicare was streamrollered through Congress by President Johnson. Admittedly Johnson got the job done, but it cannot truthfully be deposed that Congress was rushed into its decision.

Harry Truman first recommended a form of medicare more than 20 years ago, and it was on President Kennedy's priority list when he was shot down in Dallas. It has been debated over a longer period of time than any piece of modern legislation except civil rights.

But all this is beside the main point, which is that the law reflects the conscience of a civilized country. It tells the old folks that from here in they can afford to be sick.

Blow to States Rights Seen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, last week after the President signed the so-called voting rights bill, the well-known columnist Mr. David Lawrence published a statement which I think correctly reflects the effect of this measure. Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include the statement which is as follows:

BLOW TO STATES RIGHTS SEEN

(By David Lawrence)

History may record as a "day of infamy" August 6, 1965, when the voting rights bill was enacted into law. For, while the objective of the measure—to secure equal voting rights for citizens irrespective of race or color—is worthy and meritorious, the method used to attain this end must inevitably shock the conscience of anyone who notes that the Constitution of the United States explicitly gives only to the States the right to stipulate what tests or qualifications may be used to register a voter.

The new law goes even further—it assumes the right of the Federal Government to suspend voter tests on mere suspicion that they are being abused. Even more palpably unconstitutional is the insertion of a paragraph in the new law which hasn't anything to do with race or color but which would prohibit a State from requiring a person to be able to read or write or understand the English language in order to be eligible to vote. This is a flagrant example of how the Federal Government is usurping the right of the States to determine their own voter qualifications.

There are also provisions in the law designed to prevent otherwise legitimate tests from being used to discriminate against a citizen on account of race or color. The purpose is a good one, because the 15th amendment of the Constitution does say clearly that no citizen shall be deprived of his right to vote because of race or color. Never before, however, has Congress sought by law to adjudge a State or city or county guilty of wrongdoing and punishable for such alleged offenses merely because of suspicion.

No State, moreover, has hitherto been deprived of its right to set voter qualifications just because census figures may show that a certain percentage of nonwhites didn't happen to be registered to vote in a previous election.

The new statute also declares that, if a provision requiring a test of reading or writing ability or evidence of good moral character is abused in a few cases, that same method of determining voter qualifications cannot be used legitimately to qualify or disqualify any other voters, either. The States under the new law thus lose, in effect, their right to set voter qualifications for anybody.

On the subject of poll taxes, the new law would take away an inherent right of the States to require payment of such taxes as a condition for voting in State elections. This kind of tax is imposed on both whites and nonwhites to help pay the costs of elections. Congress took the proper course when it approved the 24th amendment to the Constitution, which was ratified by the States and proclaimed on January 23, 1964. This amendment forbids poll taxes to be levied as a condition for voting in Federal elections. If poll taxes in State elections were to be barred, this was the way to do it—by including such a prohibition in the 24th amendment.

The 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution—which now are theoretically relied upon as a basis for abolishing State poll taxes—bar discrimination in voting by reason of race or color. But as long as every voter in a State is obliged to pay the poll tax, it is not subject to Federal control or regulation. Yet the new voting law now imposes an unprecedented restriction covering State elections. It says:

"The Congress finds that the requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a precondition to voting (1) precludes persons of limited means from voting or imposes unreasonable financial hardship upon such persons as a precondition to their exercise of the franchise, (2) does not bear a reasonable relationship to any legitimate State interest in the conduct of elections, and (3) in some areas has the purpose or effect of denying persons the right to vote because of race or color. Upon the basis of these findings, Congress declares that the constitutional right of citizens to vote is denied or abridged in some areas by the requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a precondition to voting."

The poll tax in Virginia amounts to only $1.50 per person. No other poll tax exceeds $2. If Congress can arbitrarily decide that such a payment imposes a "financial hardship" on some citizens because they cannot raise this sum for a poll tax payment, then the Congress in the future may decide that any other State taxes can also be forbidden because they may impose a "financial hardship."

An overwhelming majority in both Houses of Congress has approved the new legislation on the theory that "the end justifies the means." It is being assumed that the American people don't much care if the Constitution is trampled on now because it has been circumvented by local authorities before. Two wrongs, however, do not make a single right.

Birth of Our Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, on June 29, 1965, I called the attention of my colleagues to two articles written by Mr. Anthony J. DelPopolo, assistant superintendent at the Lorton Reformatory Youth Center, which had been published in the "Personnel News" at Lorton. Both were outstanding examples of the thinking of a truly patriotic man.

On June 30, another of Mr. DelPopolo's works appeared in the same publication, this one entitled "Birth of Our Nation," and in commemoration of the Fourth of July. As I believe this work merits your attention, I am pleased to reprint it in full below. I know you will agree that the type of work Mr. DelPopolo is doing at Lorton with the inmates will contribute greatly to making them better citizens in the future.

The article follows:

BIRTH OF OUR NATION

(By Anthony J. DelPopolo, Sr.)

Four days from now we will celebrate the birthday of the United States in all the 50 States, the District of Columbia, and our outlying territories. For it will be Independence Day—ofttimes referred to as the Fourth of July—the anniversary of the day on which the Declaration of Independence was adopted by the Continental Congress meeting in Independence Hall in Philadelphia.

But how did this all come about? Let's go back to a hot day in early June, such as we have had lately, 189 years ago. At a special session of that Congress a hot debate was going on among 56 delegates from the original 13 States as to what to do about the conflicts with England.

In reality, the Continental Congress was already waging a war with their mother country. Battles had already been fought at Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill, the Boston Tea Party was now history, and the American troops had seized Ticonderoga and Crown Point. They had already named George Washington, of Virginia, as Commander in Chief. It had organized a fleet, issued money, and made loans. The act infuriated the leaders in Congress so much that they were almost ready to make the official break with England. All eyes were on the delegate from Virginia, Richard Henry Lee, as he rose to address the Congress. A sudden hush fell over the hall as he began to speak: (I resolve that) "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, independent states." The resolution was seconded by John Adams, of Massachusetts. There was not complete agreement among the delegates—and so a hot debate ensued. The issue was tabled until the delegates could receive instructions from their own State governments.

The Chairman, John Hancock, of Massachusetts, appointed a committee of five, with Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, as chairman. The other members of his committee were Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Robert Livingston of New York. Their responsibility was to draw up a declaration of independence if Lee's resolution passed. Because of Jefferson's talent for clear thinking and clear writing he was given the task of drafting the resolution.

So, for the next 17 days, Jefferson spent most of his time in a rented room within the shadow of Independence Hall. As he looked out his window he could look down on a sprawling Philadelphia of the 1770's broiling in the June heat. As his lanky form paced back and forth in deep thought, big green horseflies were coming through the open window from a nearby stable—a special devilment to the young Jefferson.

As he collected his ideas he would sit down at a folding desk with quill in hand and leisurely draft the document that was to become immortal throughout the ages—the Declaration of Independence.

The ideas contained in the Declaration were not new. They were familiar to the English who in the days of Magna Carta in 1215 and their own "Glorious" Revolution in 1688 when King James II was deposed from the throne. Jefferson's fellow patriots felt and believed as he did, but it was he who had the unusual gift to putting these doctrines into rousing words.

In the second paragraph of the Declaration Jefferson, in clear sentences and simple words, wrote: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." It was unusual for anyone with Jefferson's family background to believe as he did. His mother was a member of the Randolphs, one of Virginia's wealthiest and most aristocratic families; his father had been a large landowner.

The Declaration continues to say: "governments are instituted by men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed."

When the document, in draft form, was presented to the members of his committee they made some slight revisions. It then was presented to the Congress assembled on the 2d of July.

And so for 3 days the representatives from the 13 States debated the ideas and language incorporated in the proposed Declaration of Independence. Realizing the many potential differences of opinion among the delegates, the sage Benjamin Franklin spoke in words of wisdom, "We must all hang together or we shall all hang separately."

Finally, on July 4, the document and the principles stated therein were adopted by all the delegates. But the public did not learn of the actual words of the Declaration until July 8. The final version was called a unanimous declaration, but the word "unanimous" could not be used until July 9, when the New York delegates to the Congress, who had not voted on July 4, reported that they favored the Declaration.

It was on this day that the Congress Chairman ordered to have the Declaration engrossed on parchment, to be signed by all Members. If you note, there are 56 signatures on the document. Of these 52 were written on August 2. The other four were recorded later.

As the news spread throughout the 13 States, the Declaration of Independence was solemnly proclaimed to the people. Newspapers published it everywhere. Military officers announced it to their soldiers. Heads of councils and assemblies read it to vast throngs. There were celebrations with bonfires "drums beating, fifes playing, guns firing, bells ringing, cannons booming." There was real rejoicing. The Liberty Bell outside of Independence Hall announced its adoption to the excited throng in the square.

It was John Adams who predicted that Independence Day "will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival." His prediction has certainly come true.

For years since 1776, the Fourth of July has been observed as the birth of our Nation in a patriotic way with patriotic speeches, programs, and pageants, games and plays, athletics and picnics.

The preservation of the original document of the signed Declaration of Independence is vital to the American people. When the British raided Washington in the War of 1812, the Government hid the Declaration at Leesburg, Va. From 1921 to 1952, the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., held the document in its possession. Then the Declaration was moved by the Government to the nearby National Archives Building where it is now displayed in an upright case just above the original U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights. These three priceless documents are sealed under glass so that any visitor can inspect them.

In this glorious Nation of ours for more than 300 years liberty-loving people have been seeking freedom and opportunity here for themselves, their children and their neighbors. This struggle has not been an easy one—liberty is hard to gain and often hard to keep. Every effort should be made to safeguard this heritage of liberty and defend it against any who attack it on our own soil or in any other part of the world.

As we build to make secure our American heritage for generations, let us not forget those dark days in 1776 when 56 great patriotic Americans declared the "United States of America * * * be free and independent States." What greater inspiration do we need on Fourth of July—1965.

Why the Outrage?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STANLEY L. GREIGG

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. GREIGG. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, a fine editorial from the August 3, 1965, issue of the Daily Reporter, of Spencer, Iowa.

Spencer is a city of 9,000, located in the heart of rural Iowa. This newspaper has always clearly reserved its right to be for or against any program, or any candidate, or any challenging issue in its area. This editorial places the so-called rubberstamp charge in its proper light and perspective. I especially want to call this to the attention of the loyal opposition. Such clear statements emanating from the Midwest, should serve to educate the opposition to the futility of the rubberstamp charge.

The editorial follows:

WHY THE OUTRAGE?

The Republican congressional committee is letting loose with both (or does it have two?) barrels upon Iowa's Democratic Congressmen for their vote on repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act which permits State right-to-work laws.

In a newsletter, the committee hurls the rubberstamp charge at all new Democratic Congressmen (of the non-South variety) and at Iowa's in particular.

At any rate, we think their partisan GOP fervor is outrunning either their logic or their sense of fairness.

To take our own Congressman, as an example. We don't say we've agreed with all his votes, but they follow closely the stands he outlined to the voters in his campaign last fall. He specifically championed medicare; he spelled out his farm policy in some detail; and, if he didn't tell an audience of Clay County farmers outright that he favored union shops (who could blame him?) in the talks we heard, he certainly spelled out a philosophy regarding farmer and laborer which would lead a listener to expect him to vote as he did.

We're a bit weary already of Republican efforts to brand these Congressmen as Corn Belt quislings for following through upon their party's, as well as their own, campaign promises even though it may shorten their terms of office for all we know.

Congressional Reorganization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, we hear much these days of the undesirability of many of the practices and procedures of the Congress, and of the need for its reorganization. Recently, a man very knowledgeable in this field, Prof. Harold Wesley Ward, the chairman of the Division of Social Sciences of Elmira College, in Elmira, N.Y., was requested by my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MUNDT], to submit a statement to the Joint Committee on the Reorganization of Congress.

I commend this learned statement to the attention of our colleagues because we can all benefit from studying the views of one who is truly an expert in these matters:

JULY 29, 1965.

Mr. RAY J. MADDEN,
Member of Congress, Cochairman, Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress, Congress of the United States, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MADDEN: Thank you for your letter of July 6 inviting me to make a statement regarding the organization of Congress.

I have been trying now for 20 years to understand the American political system, and feel less competent about giving advice than ever before. But of one thing I am quite certain, namely, that the genius of American politics for enabling many diversified cultures to peaceably coexist in freedom on a continental scale—a tenuous, almost miraculous accomplishment—was not the product of following a single social theory or doctrine.

If there is a theme in the American success story, it probably is an openminded and pragmatic approach to problems as they arise and a willingness to bargain with many kinds of social theories and movements. It seems to me that our political system has been marked by an unusual capacity to accommodate a great variety of factions. All factions can register a history of gains and losses; none enjoys very long, if ever, a position of dominance.

The claims of factions are almost always a varying mixture of special pleading and devotion to the public interest. This element of public interest, plus the realization that there are no lasting winners or losers, has doubtless accounted for the high degree of toleration which has characterized interfactional relations in our complex society. It is, moreover, this toleration and the belief in a constitutional system which promotes it that seems to me to have had so much to do with the durability of American institutions.

All of this is by way of providing a framework within which to consider the reorganization of Congress. Proposals to change the seniority system, cloture, and the power of the Speaker generally emanate from a view of the democratic process which differs widely from that expressed above. Advocates of reform generally assume that it is desirable to split the country into a fairly stable majority and a fairly stable minority and then to give the majority the keys to the kingdom. Reform also generally proceeds on the premise that the only political value that really counts is equality. No sacrifice is too

great to make for it. It becomes a magic talisman by which to measure all political processes and institutions. It is by nature ideological and abstract rather than pragmatic and runs counter to what has been described above as the dominant theme of American history. America has always believed in equality, but not as an absolute value unconditioned by other values such as freedom, stability, pluralism, checks and balances, federalism, etc.

To cite one example, the proposals for changing seniority, cloture, etc., would have the effect of gravely disturbing the balance of American politics as between the cities and the rural areas. Through the years the electoral college evolved as a mechanism for increasing the power of cities with the presidency in order to compensate for the power of rural interests in State legislatures and the Congress. A full consideration of the reorganization of Congress would look at the long range effects procedural changes might have upon the urban-rural balance in the total American political system. Such a study would also need to give high priority to the relationship between congressional reorganization and such fundamental changes in our constitutional system as represented by reapportionment and the expansion of Federal power.

Congressional reorganization, reapportionment, and centralization of political power all have a great deal to do with the problem of maintaining balance among the many factions in the Nation. It is the essence of wise statesmanship to know when reform passes the boundary between changes necessary to insure progress within the Nation's basic institutions and changes that produce social disorganization and eventual revolution.

Historically, democracies have not been distinguished by their longevity. Whether democracy in America will be an exception, will doubtless depend on whether American political ingenuity—so remarkably demonstrated in shaping our Nation—rises to the challenge now. It will require far more ingenuity than has yet been shown, and time may be running out.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD WESLEY WARD,
Chairman, Division of Social Sciences, Professor of Political Science.

The 72d Birthday of the Dean of the Texas Delegation

SPEECH
OF
HON. J. J. PICKLE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep respect, admiration, and high esteem that I congratulate the dean of of the Texas delegation, the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, on his 72d birthday. This great man has been a devoted public servant for many years, ever since his membership in the Texas Legislature in 1919. His years of public service have been years of service to the true public—the little man. This Congressman's unswerving devotion to the cause of the little man is a success story which has engraved itself on the pages of history in such forms as the Robinson-Patman Act.

While I am only a freshman Member, it was long before I ever came to the Congress that I learned to admire this strong and loyal friend of those with the small but important voice. WRIGHT PATMAN is a man of achievement and purpose. He has served with distinction as lawyer, Army officer, district attorney, legislator, husband and father, Congressman from the First District of Texas, chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House of Representatives, chairman of the Joint House and Senate Defense Production Committee, member of the House select Committee on Small Business, member of the House and Senate Joint Economic Committee, and member of various organizations.

Mr. PATMAN's vigor and courage in pursuit if his ideals have been an inspiration to the entire House of Representatives and I am indeed honored to serve with him in this 89th Congress. My only wish is that the dean of our Texas delegation may enjoy many more productive years with his friends here in the House of Representatives.

A Path Worth Taking at Geneva

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY H. McVICKER
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, the President has made it clear that the United States is prepared to explore every possible avenue to a peaceful solution to the fighting in Vietnam. The Geneva disarmament talks have been suggested as one more discussion forum.

The Denver Post is doing a particularly outstanding job of keeping its readers abreast of developments in the Vietnam crisis and of exploring editorially the complexities of war and peace in today's world.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including below an editorial on the subject which appeared in the Denver Post on August 1, 1965:

A PATH WORTH TAKING AT GENEVA

Premier Amintore Fanfani of Italy has suggested in Geneva that the 17-nation disarmament talks be broadened to include other sources of East-West disagreement including the problem of Vietnam.

This seems to us like a constructive suggestion and one that is consistent with the U.S. objective of using every possible forum and channel to work for a settlement in Vietnam instead of an expansion of the war.

The Soviet representative, Semyon K. Tsarapkin, reacted favorably in Geneva to Fanfani's proposal. Although he complained about President JOHNSON's increase of troop strength in South Vietnam, he agreed that intensive efforts are needed to find a Vietnam solution, before it is too late.

The subject of disarmament which brought the delegates of 17 nations back to the shores of Lake Leman is, of course, a pressing one that should not lightly be put aside.

But it is less pressing, at this particular moment in world affairs, than Vietnam, in particular, and the danger of a deterioration in United States-Soviet relations, in general.

This does not appear to be the moment to expect a break in the long deadlock over the issue of inspection which has stood in the way of a disarmament agreement for many years.

It is the moment, however, for the nations represented at Geneva to consider where the Vietnam struggle appears to be leading the whole world and to use their influence to work for a settlement.

In calling again upon the United Nations last week to join the quest for a Vietnamese peace, President Johnson also invited help from individual U.N. members. It is consistent with his policy to turn to Geneva, as well as other meetings, for influence that might bring the North Vietnamese Communists to the conference table.

It is not inconceivable that, if some kind of an understanding could be worked out between the United States and the Soviet Union, the North Vietnamese might be persuaded to come to Geneva and take part in the discussions.

The prospect may have been strengthened by the modification of its peace terms by the United States, announced Saturday at United Nations Headquarters. But it would be a good idea for U.S. representatives, at Geneva and everywhere else, to stay on the job waiting for the opportunity to use the contacts there in behalf of a Vietnamese peace.

Case for Central Wisconsin Regional Airport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, an editorial which appeared in the July 26 edition of the Stevens Point Daily Journal presents a good case for intercommunity cooperation in areas such as central Wisconsin which are not served by a large metropolitan center. The editorial, entitled "All Partners Important in Four-City Complex," points out quite correctly that each of the four communities in question contribute much to the total resources of the region that is not duplicated by any of the others.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the editorial, "All Partners Important in Four-City Complex," which appeared in the July 26, 1965, edition of the Stevens Point Daily Journal, in the RECORD at this point:

ALL PARTNERS IMPORTANT IN FOUR-CITY COMPLEX

Imagine a city in the heart of Wisconsin with a population of 100,000 more or less within its boundaries and in the urbanized surrounding vicinity.

It would be served by four railroads, various trucking firms, as well as local and long-distance buslines. In its industrial complex would be plants for the manufacture of heavy machinery, furniture, mobile homes, plywood, wood products, various items of durable goods, paper and paper products. It would be an important center of the insurance industry, would have one of the finest medical centers in the upper midwest as well as several modern hospitals. There would be a State university campus and other excellent systems of elementary and secondary education, both public and parochial. The city would have companies employing the latest techniques in wholesale warehousing

and distribution, as well as a number of small plants producing a diversified list of useful products and thereby contributing in an important way to the employment stability of the area.

The outlying rural districts would include a large number of modern dairy farms and extensive acreages of irrigated fields producing tons of potatoes and canning crops.

Such a city would be the third largest in the State, ranking next to Milwaukee and Madison. It would be larger than Green Bay, or Racine or Kenosha.

Mythical? Yes, in that there is no one city exactly like that in central Wisconsin. Impossible? Likely yes, again considering the chances for any of the established cities in Wisconsin to become the metropolitan center described.

This urban complex does already exist, however, but the essential parts that make the whole are spread over quite a bit of the countryside in Wisconsin's heartland. If it were possible to bring the Wausau, Stevens Point, Marshfield, and Wisconsin Rapids areas together in one location, we'd have it.

Regardless of the miles that separate the individual units, then, the four urban centers do constitute a single community of peoples with many interests, activities, and needs common to all. We often fail to comprehend fully the economic relationships among us because we are divided geographically, and by traditional rivalries.

For instance, it is good for the central Wisconsin area that Marshfield will be the location of the Weyerhaeuser Cos. first plant in the Midwest for the manufacture of particleboard. The firm, based at Tacoma, Wash., could have located it someplace else far removed from this territory. Any improvement or industrial development in one of our communities is helpful to the others as neighbors sharing in the good fortune and prosperity of the region as a whole.

It is this neighbor-to-neighbor partnership on a regional basis that brings participants together in such projects as the proposed central Wisconsin Airport. The field is a facility that is needed for the urban complex that is central Wisconsin. No one of the several communities that will enjoy its benefits could build it alone, locating it in a place suitably convenient for the entire region it is planned to serve. Yet the field is vital to each community as a partner in the responsibility for the general welfare of the whole area.

There are those who maintain that there is no interdependence among the cities of central Wisconsin. This is a view stemming from the traditional rivalries that have at times engendered some bitterness. But imagine that any one of the cities were to be wiped off the map suddenly. Suppose there were no Marshfield. Cancel out Wausau, along with Rothschild and Schofield. Scratch the Wisconsin Rapids-Neekosa-Port Edwards section off the map. Each of the individual communities contributes much to the total resources of the region that is not duplicated by any of the others. We hardly could get along as well without all the rest of our neighbors.

Assateague

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the people of Maryland increasingly raise their voices in support of the movement to make beautiful Assateague Island a national seashore. I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial from the Aegis, a distinguished newspaper of Bel Air, Md.:

[From the Bel Air Aegis, July 29, 1965]

ASSATEAGUE

Senator BREWSTER's bill to preserve Assateague Island as a national seashore is still grinding its way through the legislative machinery on Capitol Hill. Meanwhile, landowners and real estate interests are mounting a last-ditch fight to maintain their control of Assateague or, if they must relinquish their claim, to milk the Government for every possible penny.

The wild beaches of the Atlantic Coast are nearly gone now. Seaside development has sprawled over miles of once-empty sands from Miami to Maine. Assateague is the last expanse of real open beach in the Middle Atlantic States, and its loss to a handful of private speculators would leave Marylanders in search of solitude by the ocean with no choice but to make the long drive south to Cape Hatteras. We have just returned from a visit to the island, and would hate to see its lonely beauty marred.

When the Brewster bill frees itself from committee hearings and comes to the floor for a vote, its immediate passage may still be able to save Assateague from the developers and their jerry-built cabins. The long miles of empty sand should continue to belong to the gulls, the wild ponies and all Americans.

Interstate System Apportionment, 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

The House had under consideration the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 81) to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to apportion the sum authorized for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, for the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, it should be obvious to each of us in this enlightened day that the savage killing on our highways of thousands of our citizens, some 47,700 last year alone, is one of the great failings of our civilization. Although it is not possible to legislate absolute safety, it is incumbent upon us to do all we can to prevent this butchery on the Nation's highways.

I commend my colleagues in the House and Senate for their efforts toward planning for our future highway needs in Senate Joint Resolution 81 which passed the House last week. The Nation owes special gratitude to the Honorable JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI, chairman of the Subcommittee on Roads of the House Public Works Committee, for this resolution which will not only provide for the present but will facilitate a safer future for us all.

Mr. Speaker, I am sorry to say that 1,542 persons died last year on Florida highways and that 87,055 were injured. This is a shameful and shocking thing. I am happy to say that the $110 million allocation of State and Federal funds in Florida annually to make our highways safer and more adequate to our motoring needs will be increased greatly in the future.

Perhaps the most progressive facet of Senate Joint Resolution 81 is its provision that no State shall receive new funds unless its safety program meets the standards established by the Secretary of Commerce. There is no doubt that a reevaluation of the efforts being made to prevent highway deaths by both Federal and State officials is necessary. Thus, I both support and commend the provision of this resolution which will instruct the Secretary of Commerce to study the future needs of America's highways.

The increase in appropriations from $2.9 billion to $3 billion is not overwhelming in scope. However, I am pleased to see that the committee hopes to renew these provisions in future years so that the deadline for completion of the system, 1972, will be achieved.

My great confidence in the advantages of an automated society are reinforced by the progressiveness of this resolution. I hope we can all laugh at the fictitious character in Robert Frost's poem, "The Egg and the Machine," who scorned the railroad, and "gave the rail a solid kick." With turtle eggs in hand, he said, "I am armed for war. The next machine that has the power to pass. Will get this plasm in its goggle glass."

Senate Joint Resolution 81 will help make traveling a pleasure rather than a hazard. When we have safety on our highways, we can say we have harnessed machine power to do the job for which it was created.

Happy Birthday Wright Patman

SPEECH

OF

HON. ELIGIO DE LA GARZA

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, it is a matter of great personal satisfaction to pay tribute to the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN on his attaining his 72d birthday.

He could justly be called a great legislator. He could—with equal justice—be called a great statesman. He is both. He possesses that unique combination of courage, wisdom, and dedication which would have made him outstanding in any career he might have chosen.

I am glad—Texas is glad—the Nation is glad that Mr. PATMAN chose to represent his people in Congress.

We are both Texans. But he is from the Red River country on the north—while my home is on the Rio Grande on the south. Although representing the same State, we come from distant borders—but—to paraphrase a line from a Kipling poem:

But there is neither north nor south, border nor breed nor birth
When Texas men stand face to face though they come from the ends of the earth!

With all strength, all sincerity I can command, I say, "Happy birthday WRIGHT PATMAN" or, in one of the languages of the border country, "Feliz cumpleaños, Señor PATMAN."

Carl T. Rowan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, Carl T. Rowan recently announced his resignation as Director of the U.S. Information Agency. This is a great loss to the country and to the world.

I had the great pleasure of knowing Mr. Rowan when we both served as alternate U.S. representatives to the 17th session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1962. At that time he was Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. He subsequently served with distinction as Ambassador to Finland until he assumed the directorship of the USIA in January 1964.

In the year and a half he spent at that post, Carl Rowan succeeded admirably in the crucial task of interpreting to the world the true quality of American life. The three chief mandates of the USIA are to encourage public support abroad for the goal of a peaceful world community of free and independent states, free to choose their own future so long as it does not threaten the freedom of others; to identify the United States as a strong, democratic nation qualified for its leadership in world efforts toward this goal; and to counter hostile attempts to distort these objectives of the United States.

During Mr. Rowan's administration, the Agency attempted to provide accurate and balanced information on civil rights and racial issues in the United States. One of the Agency's films, "Nine From Little Rock," won an Academy Award in April 1965. The documentary illustrates civil rights progress by showing the successes achieved by the original nine students integrated into Little Rock High School in 1957. This marked the first occasion that the Agency won an Oscar for it productions.

The Agency's efforts to put our racial tensions into honest perspective are beginning to bear fruit. The worldwide reaction to events in and around Selma, Ala., was markedly better than reaction to earlier racial crises. The bulk of international attention to the Selma events gave less weight to the tragic events there than to the sweeping response of the National Government and the American people.

In addition to explaining civil rights progress to our overseas audience, much of Mr. Rowan's term was devoted to reassuring the world that the assassination of President Kennedy would not interfere with the orderly continuation of our form of democracy. The USIA distributed to 111 countries its documentary motion picture, "The President," which emphasized that the policies promulgated by the slain President would be carried out by his succesor, Lyndon B. Johnson. It is estimated that all USIA film attendance records were broken by this film, with the number of viewers at over 750 million.

During Mr. Rowan's administration, extraordinary progress was made in transmitting USIA broadcasts over television stations abroad. On August 29, Polish television will transmit a 45-minute program, marking the first occasion that USIA and Poland have collaborated on the production of TV documentary. The program will be divided between the visit of the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra to Poland and the visit of the Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra to the United States. By the end of May, five communications satellite programs to Europe had originated in USIA's television studios.

Of the various issues faced by Mr. Rowan, none proved more troublesome than the struggle in Vietnam. Despite the great difficulties, it is my hope that the USIA will continue to rely on the truth as its best weapon. United States purposes in Vietnam, as the rest of the world, will be best achieved by following the advice Carl Rowan gave in a speech he delivered at Washburn University on May 31, 1964:

> I have no weapon except the truth—the truth about what man can achieve in a society where the individual is respected and where men are free to worship and speak, free to be different, free to live by the dictates of their own consciences so long as they do not deny the same freedoms to others.

I want to join with Carl Rowan's many friends here in the House in wishing him well in his future activities. But he will be sorely missed in the U.S. Government.

The Honorable Wright Patman

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to join in paying well deserved tribute to the gentleman from Texas, the distinguished chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, upon the occasion of his 72d birthday.

It has been a treasured experience to serve on the committee under Mr. PATMAN, whose wholehearted dedication to the welfare of the American people is an example and a spur to all his colleagues. He is eloquent proof of the adage that hard work never killed anyone—he has thrived under an incredible workload during his long and brilliant service in the House. The whole Nation has immeasurably benefited from his courageous, unyielding insistence that the rights of the people must prevail over special interests. He has been a valiant warrior in behalf of those least able to defend their own interests, and he has the satisfaction of knowing that he has made a vital contribution to our Nation.

I am personally most appreciative of Chairman PATMAN's unfailing patience and consideration. His wisdom, endurance, integrity, devotion to duty, serenity and kindliness have earned him the affection and admiration of all the membership and have made service under his chairmanship most rewarding in all respects.

I congratulate Mr. PATMAN upon all his achievements and I wish him many more years of service.

In Reply to Mr. Lippmann

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial from the July 27, 1965, edition of the New York Herald Tribune. Mr. Walter Lippmann, in his column of the same date, criticized the U.S. policy in Vietnam, calling it "the conception of ourselves as the solitary policeman of mankind." I agree with the editorial in taking exception to this criticism. The United States does not involve itself indiscriminately in any instance of conflict in the world. Southeast Asia is an area in which this country has been called upon to assume special responsibilities and obligations. Weakening now would only invite expanded aggression and label the United States an undependable ally. Our role in Vietnam is anti-imperialist, a role in which we need never fear being solitary.

The editorial follows:

IN REPLY TO MR. LIPPMANN

In his column today, Mr. Walter Lippmann equates the Herald Tribune's defense of the American role in Vietnam with "the conception of ourselves as the solitary policeman of mankind," a conception which he calls "a dangerous form of self-delusion."

To recognize that the United States has a policeman's role to play in Vietnam—in the sense of enforcing the "laws" against armed aggression—is hardly to set the United States up as "the solitary policeman of mankind." This latter is a role the United States neither should nor could play; an ordinary border dispute between, say, two African states, or even the grueling contest between Greeks and Turks on Cyprus, doesn't command the dispatch of U.S. troops to keep or restore the peace.

Southeast Asia, however, is a corner of the world in which the United States has assumed special responsibilities, and thus special obligations; it is, furthermore, a fighting front in which the confrontation is directly with the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese, but indirectly with the Chinese Reds. This puts it in a very special light. There is no secret of the extent of Red Chinese ambitions. Neither can there be any illusion that a surrender in South Vietnam would satisfy the Chinese appetite. Quite the contrary, it would prove Mao's thesis that

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

the United States is, when the going gets rough, an undependable ally, with the lesson lost neither on Peiping nor on its next-targeted victims.

When Mr. Lippmann asks how many Vietnams the United States can defend in Asia, perhaps the best reply is an indirect one. How many are there to be? And if we yield in the present confrontation, how much more difficult will be the next? The one thing as nearly certain as anything can be in that agonizing contest is that to weaken now would openly invite expanded aggression. For better or for worse, the United States is the "policeman" on which the threatened peoples in China's expansionist path depend for whatever hope they have of independence and freedom. And, unless and until the enemy shows a disposition to negotiate a settlement or to halt his incursions, this imposes a burden not lightly to be laid down.

Our role in Vietnam is not antirevolutionary; not merely a defender of the status quo or of an established regime. It's basically anti-imperialist, which is quite another thing entirely—and one on which we shouldn't fear for our company.

Repeal of Section 14(b)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, recently there has been a great deal of concern on the part of many with reference to the activities of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America. This has been particularly true since the appearance of a representative of that organization before the Committee on Education and Labor when that committee was hearing testimony on the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

On August 3, 1965, Bishop Earl G. Hunt, Jr., of the Western North Carolina Annual Conference of the Methodist Church wrote to me outlining the position of his cabinet on this very controversial issue. Since I was greatly impressed by the statement of Bishop Hunt and the cabinet, I hope it will be of equal interest to my colleagues. I, therefore, insert the letter in the Appendix of the RECORD:

THE METHODIST CHURCH,
Charlotte, N.C., August 3, 1965.

Hon. BASIL L. WHITNER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. WHITENER: It has come to the attention of the bishop and the district superintendents of the Western North Carolina Annual Conference of the Methodist Church that the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America on June 4, 1965, presented testimony at the hearing of the Special Subcommittee on Labor of the House Committee on Education and Labor on the proposed repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. This testimony, offered by the Reverend J. Edward Carothers, associate general secretary of the National Division of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, and also a member of the program board of the Division of Christian Life and Mission of the National Council of Churches and secretary of its Commission on the Church and Economic Life, dealt with the National Council's declared belief in "the freedom of labor and management to bargain on issues of mutual concern" and espoused repeal of the law in question on the ground that it presently interferes with such bargaining freedom.

Widespread objection to this position has appeared in the more heavily industrialized areas of the South, based upon the conviction that the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act would be tantamount, in some instances, to compulsory union membership.

The cabinet of the Western North Carolina Annual Conference of the Methodist Church recognizes that, in harmony with the catholic dimension of the denomination, Methodism must always keep ample room within itself for authentic Christian representation of the viewpoint of both management and labor. The cabinet further acknowledges the full right of Dr. Carothers, both as an individual Christian and a duly authorized officer of the National Council of Churches, to appear before the Subcommittee on Labor.

However, because of its own intimate exposure to certain problems implicit in highly industrialized communities and because of its grave official concern that basic freedom for both management and labor shall at all times have adequate safeguards, the cabinet desires to reflect to you its conviction that the position taken by Dr. Carothers on behalf of the National Council of Churches in the testimony referred does not represent the point of view of large members of Methodists in this annual conference.

The cabinet also wishes to record its conviction that the position taken by Dr. Carothers on behalf of the National Council of Churches is weakened by the fact that it does not suggest the necessity of providing new safeguards in lieu of those which would be removed by the repeal of section 14(b). It is our judgment that union membership as a basis of continued employment should neither be required nor prohibited by law, or by contract resulting from union management negotiations. To compel a person to be a contributing member of any organization against his conscience is wrong, whether the vehicle of compulsion is legislation or a contract negotiated by representatives of management and organized labor requiring union membership as a condition of employment.

We appreciate the opportunity to present our point of view to you.

Sincerely yours,

Bishop EARL G. HUNT, Jr.,
Resident Bishop of the Charlotte Area.
R. HERMAN NICHOLSON,
Secretary to the Cabinet.

A Vacation for Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, in my testimony before the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress on May 11, I voiced a plea for a congressional vacation each summer, particularly in view of the fact that the sessions seem to grow longer and longer each year, thus depriving those of us with children the pleasure of spending some time with our families.

In the Long Island Press of yesterday, I was therefore delighted to read its editorial proposing a permanent policy of summer vacations. I could not agree more heartily, and am taking the liberty of inserting the editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues.

The article follows:

A VACATION FOR CONGRESS

Congress is showing an increasing fretfulness commonly called adjournment fever.

It is a congenital ailment, but this year it seems more acute than usual.

The 89th Congress' symptoms became strikingly apparent around the Fourth of July. After the long winter through spring haul, the lawmakers expected a 10-day recess. They didn't get it because of the pressure of administration measures regarded as must legislation.

Since then there has been a noticeable effort to get long weekends whenever possible. That explains the rush-sessions on certain bills along about Thursday of the workweek.

Andrew J. Viglietta, manager of our Washington bureau, in his column today, tells how Congress is looking forward to adjournment by the Labor Day weekend.

Congressmen are like other human beings. When they work hard they tire. When they work too hard or for too long an unbroken period they get irritable. When they get irritable the pressure rises. If they get too irritable and done in, there's the danger we're not getting the best work out of them.

Like other people they wish they could take vacations when other people are taking theirs. They'd like to be free when their children are having vacations from school.

Who can blame them?

Congress should have a summer vacation. It wouldn't be too bad for the country if it had one right now, say until after Labor Day. Members could then come back fresh and finish up their work. But Congress, hungry as it is for a rest, wouldn't like that. It would rather grin and bear it, and push through until Labor Day, and then be free until January, barring emergencies.

A better idea perhaps would be to change Congress' schedule, giving it by law a summer vacation, say the month of August. Members then could plan their work accordingly.

Some years Congress dawdles, particularly in the early months. In election years—every 2 years—it puts the pressure on, if need be, by straining to get free to do their electioneering.

With the record it is setting this session, Congress should be able to look forward to surcease in 1966. The more work on administration bills accomplished this year, the better the chances of early adjournment next summer.

Congress has, indeed, made a remarkable record—with the President, of course, pushing. Medicare, voting rights, excise tax reduction, aid to education, progress on modernizing immigration laws—all are brilliant feathers in its cap.

Congress has not been shy about pay demands. Last year it voted itself $7,500 raises bringing the pay to $30,000 a year. This week a House committee voted to give Congress a raise along with other Federal employees, which could lift Congressmen's salaries to $33,400 in the next 2 years.

Why it doesn't ask for a permanent policy of summer vacations is beyond us.

That would come under the heading of working conditions and what working man today doesn't regard conditions as important as pay guarantees in his working arrangement?

Bolivia Celebrates 140th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, on August 6, 1825, a congress of delegates meeting in the city of Chuquisaca formally declared the independence of Upper Peru, later to be renamed Bolivia. A review of this action, which climaxed years of struggle in that country and throughout all of South America, can help us renew our faith in the desire of all men to obtain freedom from outside control. So on the 140th anniversary of that historic date, which was celebrated last Friday, I rise to pay tribute to the courageous men of Bolivia who fought and gave their lives so that their offspring could enjoy the benefits of a national state.

Bolivia has always been a country rich in natural resources, but before 1826 it was not free to use them herself. The Spanish conquered Bolivia in 1532, and it quickly became one of their most valued possessions. The discovery of silver around Potosi made the area known around the world. In 1559 Bolivia was made part of the Viceroyalty of Peru, but the seeds of unrest were already growing. Creoles—Spaniards born in the New World—were denied the right to hold high office, while the Indians were assigned tracts of land to cultivate and were forced to work in the mines.

The first uprising, which began in the year 1661, was unsuccessful, but they continued fairly steadily through the years after that. At first the uprisings were headed solely by the Creoles, but the Indians were included later on. The Spaniards were able to defeat the rebellions until trouble in Europe set the stage for a successful one. In 1808 Napoleon tried to force a French ruler on Spain and the Americas but his plan met with failure. The Audienca of Charcas advocated freedom from Spain for the New World in 1809, and the fight began in earnest.

But Bolivia did not gain its independence easily; it was not until Bolivar's great general, Antonio Jose de Sucre, won the decisive battle of Ayacucho in 1824 that the complete independence of Bolivia was assured. The extraordinary length of this fight for freedom is certainly a great tribute to the spirit and unquenchable thirst for liberty of the people of Bolivia.

Over the years since the congress of delegates met in Chuquisaca, Bolivia has had its share of turbulence, but its exports have always contributed greatly to world trade. Tin has long been a very important Bolivian commodity on the world market. Growing petroleum and rubber industries are sure to aid in the further development of the Bolivian economy. As a member of both the O.A.S. and the United Nations, and with increasing government stability, it now appears that we can now look forward to Bolivia's taking an even greater responsibility for improving the lot of her people and the welfare of the hemisphere.

And so, Mr. Speaker, it is with a feeling of deep pride and admiration that I rise to honor the Independence Day of our neighbour to the south, and to extend to Bolivia my every best wish for future growth, prosperity, and progress.

What To Do in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, much is being said about what position the United States should assume in Vietnam.

I should like to call attention today to an excellent survey which appeared in the Lerner newspapers published throughout my district. This survey reflects what the people in Chicago feel should be done about Vietnam.

The Lerner newspapers and Mr. Leonard Dubkin have performed a most significant public service by compiling a grassroots opinion on what the people feel should be our position in Vietnam.

I am aware of the flow of comments by self-styled experts being published daily in the large metropolitan newspapers and national magazines, but the Lerner newspapers have taken the trouble to see what the people themselves feel on this very important subject.

The combined circulation of the Lerner newspapers in Chicago exceeds most of the larger newspapers of America, and so we can readily see the impact that the Lerner survey has on a significant area of our Nation.

I am particularly inspired by the fact that this cross-section of public opinion clearly indicates that while the people are deeply concerned about our involvement in Vietnam, there is an almost unanimous decision at the grassroots level for the United States not to abandon our position in Vietnam.

This mature and deeply understanding attitude by the American people should be of the greatest comfort to President Johnson in his present deliberations.

I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the publishers of the Lerner newspapers for this most significant contribution toward a better understanding among Americans regarding the difficult decision in Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, the Lerner survey follows:

WHAT TO DO IN VIETNAM

(By Leonard Dubkin)

What do you think we should do in Vietnam?

We asked 20 north-siders this question, and we got as many different opinions as there were answers. People seem to feel very strongly about our involvement in Vietnam, but they are mostly undecided about what we should do there.

Mrs. Carleton Emry, 2165 Giddings, said her husband was in the First World War, and therefore she knew how bad a war can be. "I hope the President can find some solution in Vietnam before it becomes a full-scale war. But I don't see what he can do about it. It seems to me the matter is out of our hands."

Miss Catherine Berggren, 6976 North Ridge, thinks we should never have gone into Vietnam. "I have a nephew going into the Army, and I hope he doesn't get involved in it. But what can we do, we have to fight it out. I am sure President Johnson will do the right thing."

Mrs. Ronald Niznik, 1614 Balmoral, does not think we should back down in Vietnam. "We can't let the Communists take over the whole country, that would be cowardly. We are only defending our rights, but it looks like we are headed for war."

Miss Linda Abrams, 6917 North Rockwell, believes the whole situation is tragic. "My brother is going to be called up soon, so I have a personal involvement. Still I can't see us backing out of Vietnam. We have to go on until a solution is reached, one way or the other."

Mrs. Joseph Schanes, 4443 North Maplewood, has a 19-year-old son who may be in the service soon. I'd hate to see him sent to Vietnam. I don't like the situation over there at all. France was in there for 18 years, and it didn't do them any good; they had to pull out. We should do the same."

"I'm very sad about the whole thing," related Mrs. Thomas Chappell, 2635 Greenleaf. "I don't think it's necessary for us to fight in Vietnam. The powers that be want war, but the people want peace. Now we've got our foot in the bottom of the barrel, and we can't get it out. The truth is that we here in Chicago don't know what's going on behind the scenes in Washington."

Joseph Dickstein, 2832 Estes, told us he is 21, but since he is a student at the University of Chicago, he is not likely to be called to the Army. "But something has to be done in Vietnam, I see no solution the way things are going now. All the troops we have there now don't seem to be helping matters, but pulling our troops out would do no good, either. I guess we'll have to increase our forces."

Robert Carlock, 1744 Juneway, admitted that he was a pacifist, a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and active with the Voters for Peace:

"I am against all killing, whether it is done in Vietnam or in Stateville. I am 29 years old, but I will refuse to take part in this war, or any unjust war. I will not cooperate in any way, and I will not pay taxes to keep the war going. The Vietcong are native to all of Vietnam, not only the northern portion of it. There was supposed to be an election in Vietnam a long time ago, but our then President Eisenhower refused to allow it."

Miss Catherine O'Connell, 6356 North Paulina, thinks we shouldn't be in Vietnam at all. "I'm glad I haven't got a son, to go marching off to that place to fight. Why don't they use their own men, instead of expecting us to send our boys over? It won't be long before we'll be fighting China, too. I say its all politics, rotten politics."

A woman who claimed to have some degree of intuition was Mrs. Raymond Allen, 6231 North Mozart. "The fighting will be ended before the end of the year," she prognosticated. "And we won't have to pull out, either, because they will surrender."

"I'm an old lady," said Mrs. Jack Schnur, 1971 Farragut, "and I'm lucky to be alive. I lost one boy in the last war, and I think war is a terrible thing. But we have to do something, we can't let the Communists take over the whole world."

Mrs. Gus Edelman, 6301 North Sheridan, says she views the situation in Vietnam with mixed emotions. "The South Vietnamese

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need help, but why should it be only us to help them? It should be all the nations of the world. There's going to be a war eventually, and after we've won it we're going to have to police the country forever.

"I have a son, 18, and to tell you the truth, I'm frightened. We're being polite to keep the other nations from stepping in. I go to bed at nights wondering what it's all about. I guess all we can do is hope and pray."

"I only know what I read in the papers," confided Mrs. Benjamin Brown, "but I think President Johnson is doing the right thing. I'm not happy about us sending more troops into Vietnam, but the aggressor must be stopped in time, or he will go on, taking one country after another, the way Hitler did."

We got the reaction of a 13-year-old when we talked to Blanche Wajda, 1807 Lunt. "Well," she replied, "the only thing I've got to say is, I hope too many people don't get killed, either ours or theirs."

Mrs. Irving Rubin, 1623 Lunt, was pessimistic. "Things don't look very good for us right now, but, as President Johnson said, 'We have to keep going.' I feel sorry for the poor boys who are going over there to fight, for what? We can only hope for the best."

Dorothy Becker, 5244 North California, thinks we should go along with the President. "He is planning things, so let's go along with him and see what happens. It doesn't look too good for us now, but those men in Washington know what they're doing."

Another woman who said she had mixed emotions was Mrs. Abe Siegel. "Everything that can be done is being done. We can't leave the South Vietnamese alone; they will be completely overrun by the Communists. I don't like to see our boys being sent over there, but we can't let the Communists take over."

Mrs. William Burns, 1438 Hollywood, told us she had nephews in both the Marines and the Army. "I don't like this whole business in Vietnam. I don't feel we have any business being there, because we don't really know what's going on. If we wanted to go in, we should have gone in full force, not the way we did it."

Mrs. Walter Anderson, 7410 North Winchester, declared, "We can't pull out, and we can't win the way we're going. It's costing us a fortune in lives and in money. France fought there for years and couldn't win. I say the only solution is to use the atom bomb on them."

Mrs. Leon Barazowski, 1619 Balmoral, thinks it would be useless to use the atom bomb in Vietnam because the people are scattered all over the countryside. "We should either get out, or go in and clean up, not diddle-daddle around. We are the strongest Nation in the strength to clean up a little world, and we have enough war like that one."

Benjamin R. Hanby—"The Stephen Foster of Ohio"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, Hon. Earl R. Hoover, of Cleveland, Ohio, one of our State's most prominent jurists, on yesterday evening, Sunday, August 8, delivered an address at the National Presbyterian Church, well-known as the church of the Presidents, here in Washington, on the life of one of Ohio's greatest sons, Benjamin R. Hanby, often called the Stephen Foster of Ohio.

Benjamin R. Hanby made history not only in Ohio, but for the entire American Republic during the dark days of the Civil War, and before and after them. I feel that the story of his life, as so well outlined by Judge Hoover in his address, should become a matter of public record, and for that reason I have asked unanimous consent that the same be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The address is as follows:

BENJAMIN R. HANBY—THE STEPHEN FOSTER OF OHIO

An address given by Judge Earl R. Hoover, of Cleveland, Ohio, to the Sunday Evening Club, at the National Presbyterian Church, known as the church of the Presidents, Connecticut Avenue and N Street NW., Washington, D.C., August 8, 1965

Really now, that title doesn't sound very exciting, does it? To the contrary, the life of this young Ohio composer was one of the vital, exciting ones that challenged the American scene a hundred years ago. He was just a youth, he was completely obscure, and he lived at small places, just at crossroads, but he did something that more of us should do more often. He took an interest in the big problems of his time. Some hurled sermons and speeches at them. Some hurled columns of soldiers or columns of print. He did it in a different way. He hurled his songs at them with unbelievable historymaking effect. I challenge you to listen and not be inspired by this amazing life.

This is the story of Ohio's bard. The youth whose music has now become so world famous that he is called "The Stephen Foster of Ohio." Indeed, this is a gripping saga of Ohio, of the whole United States, and of the world.

It begins in that typically American way. The year is now 1833. In a humble cottage a half mile from the village of Rushville, near Lancaster, there in southeastern Ohio, proud parents—the Reverend and Mrs. William Hanby—look down into the cradle of a new son. They christen him Benjamin—Benjamin Russell Hanby. Born in 1833 near an Ohio crossroad, Ben dies prematurely in Chicago in 1867, but I'd like to prove tonight that what he crowded into those 33 short years can never die.

In this epic story move Generals Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Lee, and Pickett; slavery; the underground railroad; the War Between the States; the Battle of Gettysburg; the siege of Vicksburg; the march from Atlanta to the sea; politics; political campaigns; Negro minstrel troupes; Col. Robert G. Ingersoll and James G. Blaine; Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey; Robert Todd Lincoln and Teddy Roosevelt; folk song and folk dancing; the Kentucky mountains; the Church of England; a young principal of an Ohio academy who had to resign because he wrote a song; a young Ohio minister who was forced to give up his pulpit because he brought musical instruments into the church; a youth whose music swerved the course of history, helped to bring on the War Between the States, enlivened the campfires both of the Confederacy and of the Union, of the pioneer traveling West in his covered wagon, and of cowboys driving cattle on that Old Chisholm Trail from Texas to Abilene; music—immortal music that encompassed the globe and still, after a century, is sung on every continent.

Yes, almost 100 years have gone since that premature death at the age of 33, but the printing presses still grind out more than four of his songs. Three are sung around the world. Two are so generally known that they are sung by schoolchildren, yours and mine. One song, a Christian hymn, is famous throughout the British Empire and is heard wherever British men lift their voices to God, from the most stately cathedrals of the Church of England in that little rock-ribbed isle to the most rustic missions in the far-flung reaches of Empire. And one song, written when he was only 23, stirred this Nation, made history.

It would be interesting to ask the first 10 people you meet tomorrow: "Have you ever heard of Benjamin Hanby?" The nays would be almost unanimous. Yet, if you were to ask, "Have you ever heard of the old favorite song 'Darling Nelly Gray,'" the ayes would be unanimous. Then, shocked would they be if you were to tell them that "Darling Nelly Gray" was written, not by Pennsylvania's Stephen Foster, but by Ohio's Benjamin Hanby. Even few Ohioans know that "Nellie Gray" was written on Ohio soil by a native son and has been officially dedicated as "Ohio's Folk Song." And even so peerless an historian as Bruce Cotton has twice mistakenly credited it to Foster.

It would be unfair to ask this generation who "Nelly Gray" was, or how the song happened to be written, or what tremendous effect it had upon American history. That is the thrilling story time forgot. May we try to recapture it tonight?

The year is now 1856. Franklin Pierce is President. The Nation is in turmoil over slavery. In 5 years, the rumble of drums and the rumble of artillery will touch off civil war. Over in central Ohio, about 10 miles north of Columbus, upon what is now State route No. 3, the village of Westerville wallows in the mud and nurtures a small debt-ridden college that had been founded there only 9 years before by the United Brethren Church.

Small Otterbein College, with no historic prestige and only a handful of students, how could anything great or immortal come out of you. But wait destiny. You have yet to reckon with a young sophomore who is enrolled now. His name is Benjamin Hanby.

Of all the living creatures that remain in Westerville today that saw the young sophomore take his pen in hand, and, on a desk made by his own hands, write a song that he called "Darling Nelly Gray"—all that remain are those giant elms spreading their protective arms over the campus, keeping the vigil of a century that Otterbein celebrated 18 years ago in 1947.

Little does the young Otterbein College sophomore dream this day as he mails his manuscript to a Boston publisher, the great Oliver Ditson Co., that the words and melody from his pen will be so historymaking that some day, 80 years later, the great State of Ohio will come to the village of Westerville, and acquire, to preserve as a museum and shrine for all time, the humble little house facing the Otterbein College campus in which he lived and wrote "Darling Nelly Gray"—the first shrine established by the State of Ohio in tribute to a musician.

I submit that this is a singular tribute by a great State that has given such eminent songwriters to the world as Dan Emmett, born and buried in Mt. Vernon, Ohio, who wrote "Dixie"; Tell Taylor, of Findlay, Ohio, who wrote "Down by the Old Mill Stream"; Oley Speaks, of Canal Winchester, Ohio, who composed "On the Road to Mandalay"; and Cleveland's own Ernest R. Ball.

Who ever heard of Ernest Ball? Let me see your hands? Well, I get very few or no hands from a Cleveland audience either. Ernest Ball just happened to compose "Mother Machree," "When Irish Eyes Are Smiling," "Let the Rest of the World Go By," "A Little Bit of Heaven," "Till the Sands of the Desert Grow Cold," "In the Garden of My Heart," "I'll Forget You," "Love Me and the World Is Mine," "Dear Little Boy of Mine," "West of the Great Divide" and, in

collaboration with a young man who later turned out to be Mayor Jimmy Walker of New York City, "Will You Love Me in December as You Did in May?"

Yes, Cleveland's own Ernest Ball—born in Cleveland and buried tonight in Cleveland's Lakeview Cemetery. And this you won't believe, Ball's mother who inspired him to compose "Mother Machree" lies buried next to him in an unmarked grave without a headstone. What in the world does a man have to do besides create something that is known in every English speaking home throughout the world, before the people of the city, State, and Nation in which he was born, know that he ever lived? Somewhere, shouldn't a monument be erected to Ernest Ball?

In Cleveland's Lakeview Cemetery, lie buried along with Ernest Ball many famous people from many fields, including President James A. Garfield; Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War during World War I; John D. Rockefeller, Sr.—he got his start in Cleveland—Myron T. Herrick, Ambassador to France when Lindberg landed there after his lonely historic flight; Rev. J. E. Rankin, author of the second greatest goodbye song in Christendom, "God Be With You Till We Meet Again," although his life rightfully belongs to Washington, D.C., where he was an eminent pastor and where he wrote this hymn; and John Hay, Lincoln's private secretary, Lincoln's biographer, McKinley's Secretary of State and, believe it or not, a Civil War song writer.

Let's return to Hanby. Six months pass by. The Otterbein College sophomore does not hear from the publisher. He's almost forgotten it. Then, one day his sister Anna returns to Westerville from a visit to nearby Columbus and exclaims: "Ben, Ben, they're singing your song in Columbus."

Ben grabs his hat and his horse, gallops on the old plank road down to the capital, and sure enough, they're not only singing his song—it's in print. He buys his first copy in a Columbus music store, and is very happy to read on that front cover "Darling Nelly Gray, words and music by B. R. Hanby."

Elated, he writes to the publisher saying he understood that it had published his song, asking why he had not been notified and requesting the usual royalty.

He gets a classic reply. First the publisher tries to excuse itself on the ground that it had mislaid his address, then goes on to say:

"Nelly Gray is sung on both sides of the Atlantic. We have the money and you have the fame, that balances the account."

One doesn't have to be a certified public accountant to know that there's something wrong in keeping books like that. Now, in times of trouble sometimes we turn to a preacher, a plumber or a dentist, but this was a lawyer's job. Young Hanby's lawyer conducted negotiations with the great eastern concern, but remember, this is way back in 1856. From way back in Ohio sticks, it is very difficult to bring any great pressure to bear on a great eastern firm.

The controversy is finally settled for $100. Of that Hanby takes $50, so that leaves only $50 for the poor lawyer.

Well, lawyers have to make a living, don't they?

That, for a song that caught on like a prairie fire, swept over the Nation and around the world, was translated into foreign tongues, sold into the millions of copies and, according to one authority, sold more copies than any previous song except one, Stephen Foster's "Old Folks at Home."

Now you ask "Why did a song from the pen of this obscure midwestern youth commend the attention of a nation and a world?" Well, this wasn't just another fictitious, sentimental song. It was a true story out of life, a chapter out of Ohio and Kentucky history; and the story it told was so touching, it pulled at the heartstrings of a nation, brought it to tears, moved it to action.

Its place in history is that which is called "The Uncle Tom's Cabin of Song." "Nelly Gray" was an antislavery song. In fact, one critic went so far as to say:

"This lyric swayed the sentiment of our people perhaps more than the oft-quoted 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'—for a book must be read from cover to cover, but a song leaps from heart to heart."

The late Dr. Francis Pendleton Gaines, president of Washington and Lee University, at Lexington, Va., in his book "The Southern Plantation," says:

"Only one antislavery song ever succeeded, B. R. Hanby's 'Darling Nelly Gray' of 1856; it surely gripped the heart of the Nation, even of the South."

Because it was sung by Northern soldiers around their campfires, it became known as a campfire song of the Union Army.

Who was Nelly Gray? How did the song happen to be written? The story in the song is the true story told by a dying fugitive slave whose name was Joseph Selby, as he lay on his death bed in the home of the Reverend William Hanby, which was a station of the Underground Railroad at Rushville, Ohio.

Nelly Gray and Joseph Selby were Kentucky slaves and sweethearts. You may be surprised to have your memory refreshed—Nelly Gray had a sable skin. The first two verses are about love—about a young couple with a canoe and a banjo on that old Kentucky shore.

Then comes the shocking third verse to tell how he went to see her one night only to discover that she had been sold, chained, taken away. The fourth verse is one of discouragement. His canoe is now under water, banjo all unstrung; life isn't worth living any more.

But, in his despair, he gets an inspiration. He will flee from his Kentucky master and escape to Canada which is a free country. There he will get a job and earn money and buy the freedom of his Nelly Gray and they will be together again.

He is on that historic flight from Kentucky to Canada making the stations of the Underground Railroad through Ohio, when he comes to the Hanby home at Rushville. In his flight he has been so exposed to the elements and hunger that when he arrives he's a dying man. On his death bed there he tells of his long-lost Nelly Gray.

In the fifth verse and special chorus to the fifth verse telling of death and reunion up above, even now one can feel the dynamic power of a song that touched a whole Nation:

"My eyes are getting blinded, and I cannot see my way.
Hark! there's somebody knocking at the door.
Oh! I head the angels calling, and I see my Nelly Gray,
Farewell to the old Kentucky store."

SPECIAL CHORUS

"Oh, my darling Nelly Gray, up in heaven there they say
That they'll never take you from me any more,
I'm a coming, coming, coming, as the angels clear the way,
Farewell to the old Kentucky shore."

When that dramatic incident happened in the Underground Railroad home of the Reverend William Hanby, his son, Benjamin, who was later to write the song, was but a lad 9 years old, but he was tremendously impressed. Would that the Almighty would give us the foresight to see the potentiality in the little folks who are confided to our care for all too short a time. Other little fellows in the community were impressed, too. In the intervening years these young fry would find their way to the cemetery on the edge of the village, and there plant flowers on the slave's grave.

As Ben grew to a youth he developed a medium of expression that carried power—the power of expression through song. When he taught school, he taught geography and even the multiplication tables to music that he composed.

There was a great story in his heart going back to this slave incident which some day would have to come out in his medium—song. It only awaited an occasion to bring it forth. That came in the summer of 1855.

Hanby is now a student at Otterbein College. During summer vacation, he is sent to Kentucky to act as a field representative for the college there. There, at last, he sees it—slaves sold from a block—human beings pushed around, bartered like cattle.

His sister said it broke his heart, that he never was the same again. He started thinking, brooding. These old memories came back and, finally, as Dacia Custer Shoemaker (authority on Hanby and a cousin of General Custer of Last Stand fame) says, "he poured the tears and tenderness of his sensitive nature into the words and music of this song." What it did, not only is history; it made history.

In 1941, Mrs. Hoover and I were motoring through southeastern Ohio. Suddenly looking at the map, I found that, by going a little out of my way, I could go for the first time through the village of Rushville. I arrived 99 years too late to hear the slave, Joseph Selby, tell of his Nelly Gray and pass away. I found my way to the cemetery on the edge of the village. There, in its peace and pastoral quiet, I found the slave's grave. As, for the first time, my eyes gazed across the humble marker and saw that it was way back in 1842 that he died, suddenly a great coincidence flashed through my mind. That was, that the coming year, 1942, would be, not only the 75th anniversary of the death of Benjamin Hanby, but the 100th anniversary of the death of the slave Joseph Selby—respectively the writer and the inspirer of a song that made history.

That wasn't all I discovered. I discovered that a little, 18 mile strip of Ohio, country road, had influenced the War Between the States out of all proportion to its size. Right in the center, almost, is Rushville that gave a song inspiration. Eight miles to the east is Somerset; 10 miles to the west, Lancaster. Somerset was the home of Gen. Philip Sheridan, and Lancaster the birthplace and home of Gen. William T. Sherman.

Is it but a coincidence, or is it a tribute to young Hanby's ability to reach the universal heart, that "Darling Nelly Gray," which to the North was an antislavery song and a campfire song of the Union Army, should be equally loved in the South and sung by Confederate soldiers around their campfires?

Who would have thought that General Pickett's men would be playing "Nelly Gray" on their way to Gettysburg? Who would have thought that Pickett would mention this song in his love letters to his future child bride?

Who would have thought that Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, nephew and cavalry commander of the great Robert E. Lee, would name his horse "Nelly Gray"? When Robert E. Lee came to choose a horse for Confederate President Jefferson Davis to ride, as he reviewed the Army of Northern Virginia, he chose the horse "Nelly Gray." I submit that if General Eisenhower had named his jeep or airplane after a song of World War II, it would be pretty good evidence, wouldn't it, that it was popular with the soldiers?

In his book "High Tide at Gettysburg," Glenn Tucker, in discussion the popularity of southern soldier songs, says:

"Next most popular (after 'Dixie') among the southern soldiers was the plaintive refrain about the slave girl snatched from the old Kentucky shore ('Darling Nelly Gray'). And now as Longstreet's troops approached

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the Potomac and the guns of the Washington artillery rolled out of the Virginia mountains and the soldiers looked across to the green Maryland hills, the bands struck up 'Dixie' and 'Nelly Gray.' Regiment after regiment took up the chorus as the men moved down the bank to ford the swollen river. John Hood (General) had never before witnessed such enthusiasm in the southern army as when his troops touched Maryland, or when, a little later, 'amid extravagant cheers,' and with bands blaring 'Dixie,' they passed the Mason-Dixon line."

Who would have thought that North Carolinians would so love the song that Benjamin Hanby would be offered a place beside Stephen Foster and Francis Scott Key in the great "Open Air Abbey of the South?"

I cannot begin to tell you how "Nelly Gray" was sung by every cross section of the people. It was sung in the most stately, plantation mansions of Natchez, Miss., in its heyday, and it was sung by drunken Texas cowboys at the end of the Chisholm Trail when they were kicked out of bawdy houses in the red light district of Dodge City, Kans., and staggered up the street with a song on their lips.

In 1906, Ohio's distinguished historian, Charles B. Galbreath, wrote:

"No song has been more widely sung and responsively heard by a whole nation than 'Darling Nelly Gray' the plaintive war-time ballad which still remains familiar to thousands of ears on both sides of the obliterated Mason and Dixon's line."

Now let me tell you a thrilling, beyond-belief story, in Americana—how you can trace a cause for the writing of "Darling Nelly Gray" way back into the boyhood of the composer's father, Rev. William Hanby. Now he's a boy, Bill, and we're back in pioneer Pennsylvania in the early 1800's.

In this little village in which Bill Hanby grows up, he has a boyhood chum who just loves to read and, some day, when this chum grows to be a man he will do something that will benefit children everywhere in reading. The chum's name? William McGuffey.

Bill Hanby is an orphan boy. His father is dead. His widowed mother is unable to support him, so she does what is customary in those days—she binds him out on an apprentice contract. No sooner is the contract signed to a man by the name of Jacob Good that Good turns out to be bad.

Good is a convict from England engaged in the racket of getting young boys bound to him and exploiting them. When he commits crimes he tries to get these boys to give alibis. On this one occasion it is Bill Hanby's turn to give the alibi, but, having been brought up at the church of his mother's knee, Bill tells the truth and gets Good in bad.

Good flies into a rage and, suspecting what might be in the boy's mind, he warns Bill "If you ever try to escape, I'll follow you to hell and beat you within an inch of your life."

With this hanging over Bill's head life had become unbearable. He had heard of Ohio and the great Northwest Territory beyond the Ohio River where there was "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude," and this teen-age lad decides that, at all cost, he will try to escape and go there.

Bills makes a perfect story-book escape. He is locked in a second-story room. He makes a rope out of his bed clothes, ties them around a bed post and let's himself down to the ground. There is hardly time, as he passes the edge of the village, to stop where his old mother works and say "Good-bye, Mom, some day I'll send for you."

Now, he is off. Remembering what his cruel master, Good, had said, "I'll follow you to hell," Bill wisely decides not to make his way in the daytime. In order to escape detection, he hides during the day and makes his way at night.

Later, when he grew to be a man, Bill Hanby wrote that as he trudged through those great hills of Pennsylvania, in the night, a poor, hungry, beaten and terrified boy, there was only one thing that kept him going. That was a psalm that he had learned from his mother, "I will lift up mine eyes to the hills whence cometh my strength."

But alas, in the darkness he becomes confused, loses his way. Thinking now he was in Ohio, he sees a house on a hill and makes his way to it, begging for food and directions.

To his utter amazement this is not Ohio. It is Virginia and this is a slave plantation owned by a Southern Congressman. Fortunately for Bill, the Congressman is in Washington. Completely exhausted, Bill throws himself on the mercy of the Congressman's wife.

She takes pity on him, hides him in the slave quarters which was a brave thing for her to do because there are laws against harboring runaway apprentices just as there are laws against harboring fugitive slaves.

Hanby was white but today we forget that there were two shameful disgraces of the colonial system. One was Negro slavery, the other was white, involuntary servitude. One who was bound or indentured servant was almost a slave in everything but name. The same amendment to the Constitution which did away with Negro slavery also did away with white involuntary servitude.

This act of kindness bestowed on this boy by a Congressman's wife, was to influence the lad's life. One never knows when he lets go a little act of kindness, how far its influence may go. This one was to influence history, as we shall see. Young Bill Hanby could never forget how this gentle woman of high position—at the risk of that position and at the risk of her husband's position—would befriend him, an unknown boy.

She helps him escape to Ohio. Near Rushville he finds employment in the harness business with a Mister Miller and works his way up to a partnership. Of course, the Millers have a beautiful daughter—Ann; and of course, Bill and Ann fell in love.

Bill's conscience begins to trouble him. Preying on his mind is the fact that these good people had taken him in when he was desperate—that he hadn't been fair with them—that he hadn't told them he was a runaway—that he was a criminal, because this was against the law.

Finally, Bill makes a clean breast of everything. Viewing things only in the greater moral light, the Millers do not hold this against him. In family council, it is decided that Bill should go back to Pennsylvania and pay his master for the time he had been away.

Bill returns, offers Good money. Good refuses to accept, flies into a rage, has Bill arrested and dragged into court. He asks the judge that this escaped apprentice be not allowed to get away simply by paying money, but that he be made to stay and serve out his contracted time.

Because Bill's record had been good, the judge refuses to make him do this. He is fined $30 and costs. That doesn't sound like much now, does it? You can hardly go out on Saturday night for that now, but back there, you could work for a whole year and not earn much more than $30.

This took all of Bill's savings, but now he was free—free of body, free of mind—free to go back to Ohio to a new life and, as you might expect, marry Ann Miller.

As a result of the deprivations of his own life, Bill Hanby dedicates his life to three things—first, religion. He promised God on the road that night that if God would see him through, he would go into His service. Pursuing that dedication, one day Bill Hanby was to become a bishop in the United Brethren Church.

Second, he dedicates his life to education because his master had denied him that right. Pursuing this dedication, one day Bill Hanby was to become a cofounder of Otterbein College, of which I have the honor to be a graduate. Third, because, even though white, Bill Hanby had been virtually a slave, he dedicates his life to freedom. To him freedom had no qualifications. It was freedom—period.

It was only natural, therefore, that some day Bill Hanby's home should become a station on the great Underground Railroad. Into that home in the year 1842 comes the dying fugitive slave, Joseph Selby, and there, on his death bed, tells of his long-lost Nelly Gray, a dramatic story which so touches a child in the household that some day when he grows to be a youth, he tells that story in his medium of song with such power that it helps point the way for a whole nation in the crisis of the time.

See how you can trace a cause for the writing of the song way back into the boyhood of the composer's father? Oh, it was first published on paper in 1856, but it started to be written long before the composer was born, way back on that cold March night in the 1820's when the composer's father made that dash for freedom. That flight set up a chain of circumstances which caused the song to be set up in type a generation later.

Would you like to hear about Ben Hanby's love affair? I ask the Chair: "Is there any romance left in this club?" Good, I'm for it, too. Years ago when I was all of 16, I fell in love with a little 15-year-old blonde named Alice, in a church basement in Dayton, Ohio, and we've been going together ever since. Did you ever work out in a church basement? To me it's the most important room in the house.

Shortly after we started going together, one of the wags in our group wrote a 10-verse original poem about us and sprang it at a banquet in that same church basement. The first verse went:

'Twas in the year of '22
And in the Spring at that,
That Hoover fell for a wise young dame
And boy, but he fell flat!

One more verse I particularly remember:

Who would have thought
As we made mud pies in the gutter,
That under the gaze of the fairer sex
Hoover would melt like butter!

Come now, let's eavesdrop on Ben Hanby's love affairs. Some day, you'll be driving through Ohio's capital city—Columbus. In about a half hour a new freeway will whisk you out to Westerville. On the western edge of town lies Otterbein College. Across the street from the college and facing it, you'll visit the historic Hanby House, now a State-owned shrine under the care of the Ohio Historical Society. Here in 1856 lived William Hanby's family, and here his son, Ben, while just a sophomore at Otterbein College across the street, wrote the immortal "Darling Nelly Gray."

Don't expect a big pretentious mansion. It's just a little 5-room frame house, but it has beautiful ante-bellum lines. Some years ago when Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer was getting ready to make the movie "Young Tom Edison" starring Mickey Rooney, it wanted to get an idea of early, midwestern structures and sent a photographer to take pictures of Hanby House. M-G-M was so pleased with the first pictures that it later sent the photographer back to take more. We find the Hanby family in Westerville now because they had eight children that William Hanby wanted to educate at the new college. It was more economical to move the whole family there than send it piecemeal.

In this little, 5-room house lived 11 people—Rev. and Mrs. William Hanby—their 8 children, including Ben, the oldest and the songwriter—and William Hanby's old mother,

whom he had brought from Pennsylvania. Yes, 11 people jammed in this little 5-room house.

Ben would have to fall in love with the daughter of one of the rich men of the village—the beautiful Kate Winter. The Winters weren't jammed up in any little house like this. There were only three of them and they lived in the big brick house that still stands in Westerville today at the end of Home Street.

You can see how the beautiful Kate's socially ambitious mother would readily conclude that her Kate was too good for the poor preacher's son. She tried to break it up, but love always finds a way. In this case it came in the person of a music teacher at Otterbein College—Cornelia Walker. She goes down in history as perhaps the first woman professor in a college. Otterbein was one of the first colleges to admit students regardless of race, religion, or sex.

Miss Walker taught both Ben and Kate, and saw that it was a good match and encouraged it. They would meet secretly at home. She took their love letter back and forth and thereby became known as "Walker's Post Office."

When you enter the humble living room of the Hanby House there's a scene that happened there long ago that I want you to remember. They were having a party in honor of the beautiful Kate. At a pause, a group of Otterbein College students stepped forward and, in public for the first time, sang "Darling Nelly Gray."

Turning to the composer the teacher exclaimed, "Ben, that is a wonderful song. You should have it published." He replied "Miss Walker, I'll try, and if I'm successful I'm going to dedicate it to you." If you ever see the first edition deposited in the Copyright Office and now in the Library of Congress, right on the front cover you'll notice that it's dedicated "To Miss A. C. Walker."

Somehow, after Ben wrote a song and got a little fame, suddenly his attentions became acceptable for the beautiful Kate, even in the eyes of her socially ambitious mother, and 2 days after he was graduated from Otterbein College with honors in the year 1858, Ben and the beautiful Kate were married in the big, brick house of the Winter's that still stands in Westerville today. Kate lived to become the oldest living graduate of Otterbein College.

You ask, "Was this just the one lucky song sensation that any songwriter might have, or did he write other songs that have influenced or lived?" The latter is true. In his short 33 years he wrote about 80 songs. Strangely enough, a number of them had great current influence on the times. That is the one thing I want you to remember about this young Ohioan. He directed his songs at the big problems of his day with tremendous effect. "Nellie Gray" was his answer to the biggest problem—slavery. We don't have any bigger problem in our day for us. That's the one thing we went to Civil War about, yet here's a youth, at an Ohio crossroad, attempting to do something about it.

If Ben Hanby were here today do you think he would be using his talent right now to write a song like "I'd Like to Have a Paper Doll to Call My Own"? No; you get it. He would be pointing the way through any problems with his gift of song.

When you go home get out your old favorite songbook. Real all five verses and two choruses of "Nellie Gray." It is one of the best pieces of propaganda for good ever written, and even in this sophisticated day we can take some lessons from it. Notice, he doesn't call anybody any names. Can you imagine it? He doesn't quote a lot of confusing statistics.

He but tells a human story with such pathos and power that it appeals to another's heart because that other's heart is human. He achieved what Lincoln did at Gettysburg—for he had that same touch—power through simplicity.

I know we need statesmen, but one of our most crying needs is a statesman of song—a Ben Hanby of our time to point the way for us. Sometime when I make that statement I hope that someone in the audience, gifted in music, who never thought of such a thing, might be inspired to rise to such a role. Who knows?—that person may be listening now.

Let me tell you about Hanby's next song that became nationally famous, a favorite of armies and generals, and that was directed at a big problem with remarkable effect. It was called "Ole Shady" or "The Song of The Contraband." It was one of the early songs of the war. It was dedicated to the controversial Union General, Benjamin F. Butler, because it was inspired by an incident in the second month of the war that caused Butler to coin the phrase "contraband slave."

Butler held command of strategic Fort Monroe, near Norfolk, Va., where Jefferson Davis was to be imprisoned after the war. With the muscles of the Union Army being flexed in the area, some slaves fled to the fort. Their master demanded that Butler return them under the fugitive slave law. Butler, walking a tight, ticklish rope, came up with an ingenuous solution. He agreed to return slaves to masters who would swear allegiance to the Union, but not to those who refused. Because the latters' slaves were property being used in enemy war effort, he said, like all such property, they were contraband and to be confiscated.

The idea of slaves being contraband gave birth to a new concept. It captured the Nation's imagination. Thousands of slaves flocked to this freedom fort. They liked the name, too. Starved runaways smilingly surrendered with "I'se contraband." At one time almost 100,000 were in camps near Washington. They were put to work where needed.

To the young crossroad songwriter, here was a problem for a song—so he hurled it. The purpose was to encourage slaves to escape, make their way to Union lines, help the cause.

To understand its background, I must take you to the siege of Vicksburg along the old Mississippi River in the year 1863. You will remember that this siege finally became so tight, that the Confederate Army was eating its mules and the people were eating their rats and cats. So tight, that the Confederate Army was sending military dispatches on the back of wallpaper, and the local newspaper was being printed on the back of wallpaper. A few days before Vicksburg fell—and coincidentally, it fell on July 4, 1863, the same day that Lee was forced to flee Gettysburg—there was a recipe in this newspaper telling how to prepare fricasseed cat. So, you know that siege was tight.

At General McPherson's headquarters, where, at the end of the day, would gather General and Mrs. Grant, General and Mrs. Sherman, Generals Hickenlooper and Strong, Fred Grant and others, invariably Blakely Durant, a 300 pound Negro, attached to headquarters as a cook, would appear and entertain them with a song that he called "Ole Shady."

Sherman was so impressed that he later wrote an article about it in the North American Review, of October 1888, and caused the song to be inserted in a military song book published in New York City. On the page where "Ole Shady" appears in the statement "Inserted by request of Gen. W. T. Sherman."

General Sherman was fooled for a while. At first he thought it was the old Negro's composition. Sherman wasn't the only one to be fooled. Some of the great musicians of the day were fooled, too. Among the greatest of the Civil War singers were the Lumbards, of Chicago. They visited the firing lines and camps entertaining soldiers as Bob Hope and Bing Crosby have done in our day.

Now the Lumbards are at the same siege of Vicksburg, at the same officer's headquarters and hear the same rotund Negro sing "Ole Shady." The Lumbards have never heard the song.

Durant was a powerful, dramatic singer—like the Lumbards themselves—like Jules Bledsoe who put across "Old Man River" in our day. The Lumbards, thinking "Ole Shady" is Durant's composition, take it down word for word from him, bring it back to Chicago and develop it into one of the great recruiting songs of the war.

You ask "Why were Sherman, the Lumbards, and others fooled?" There's only one answer. That song was written by a genius. It made two marks in the history of American music. First, it was one of the first of the jubilee songs. A jubilee is a song which portrays the emotions of the slave at the approach of freedom. In other words, here's a man about to be free—what's in his heart?

"Ole Shady's" second, historic mark made in music is described in these words of a critic:

"A later minstrel musician was B. R. Hanby, who was one of the first to recognize the value of the Negro dialect song. 'Ole Shady' is an excellent early example * * *."

That is why people were fooled. This genius, by his words and melody, had so captured the spirit of a man who had just been freed, that, if you had heard a man who had just been freed sing it, you would have thought that, then and there for the first time, it was a spontaneous outpouring from the very bottom of his heart. Let me recite it for you, just to show you how it goes:

"Oh! yah! yah! darkies, laugh wid me,
For de white folks say Ole Shady's free;
So don't you see dat de jubilee is a-coming,
Coming. Hail! mighty day."

CHORUS

"Den away, away, for I can't wait any longer
Hooray, hooray, I'm going home."

That is the purpose—to encourage slaves to escape and help the cause.

"Oh, Mass' got scared and so did his lady
Dis chile breaks for Ole Uncle Aby,
Open de gates out, here's Ole Shady a-coming,
Coming. Hail! mighty day."

The third verse was a favorite of General Sherman's and, of it, he wrote "Burns never said anything better.":

"Good-bye, Mass Jeff, good-bye Mis'r Stephens,
'Scuse dis darkey for takin' his leavins.
'Spect pretty soon you'll hear Uncle Abram's a-coming,
Coming. Hail! mighty day."

"Good-bye hard work wid never any pay,
I'se a gwine up North where de good folks say
Dat white wheat bread and a dollar a day are a-coming,
Coming. Hail! mighty day."

The last verse was a favorite of that great American orator, Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, and when he would go campaigning for the Presidency of the United States on behalf of James G. Blaine he would take the Lumbard singers with him and always insist that they never leave out this verse.

"Oh, I've got a wife, and I've got a baby,
Living up yonder in lower Canady,
Won't dey laugh when dey see Ole Shady a-coming,
Coming. Hail! mighty day."

There's power in those words. History tells us that singers won national reputations for a generation after the war by the way they

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sang that song. Strangely, the way some sang it, it made an audience laugh, and the way others interpreted it, it left an audience in tears. Watch how fast you can shift into another mood. (Reciting fourth verse in mood of pathos.)

Let me give you some instances. Long after the war, General Sherman is on the upper reaches of the Mississippi on a great steamer. Suddenly he hears a booming voice from the hurricane deck singing "Ole Shady." He looks. Who do you think it is? Well, it is. It's the same old 300-pound Negro that he had first heard sing "Ole Shady" years before at the siege of Vicksburg. Sherman looks around. He sees the passengers' eyes. They are filled with tears.

On the other hand, in Col. Nicholas Smith's fine book "Stories of Great National Songs" he devotes a whole chapter to "Ole Shady" and says:

"Perhaps the most fun-provoking song of the Civil War is 'Ole Shady.' With a fine bass or baritone voice behind it, it is overrunning with laughter. To announce the piece at a war-song concert, or at a public entertainment of any kind, is to create a flutter of pleasant anticipation and to signify to the auditors that merriment may have full swing."

But the Lumbard singers did not hesitate to condemn such a rendition. To them it was in no sense a comic production. They decried the attempts of false interpreters to turn it into jest. To them, "Ole Shady" was lofty and trenchant and to be rendered in the same spirit as Patrick Henry's "Give me liberty, or give me death."

For the final example, I take you to one of the great political meetings in the history of Chicago. It's the year 1896. Ohio's William McKinley is running for the Presidency of the United States. Thirteen thousand people will gather in Chicago's great coliseum tonight to hear Robert Todd Lincoln, son of the great emancipator, and Teddy Roosevelt, police commissioner of New York, the "Nimrod of the West."

But Lincoln and Roosevelt will not make the big hit tonight. The big one will be made by one of the old Lumbard singers whose name is John Hubbard. I remind you—this is a generation after the war, but, in the intervening years, Hubbard had become so famous for singing "Ole Shady" that he couldn't even sit down in an audience just to be a member of it without somebody spying him and yelling "Ole Shady! Ole Shady!" By popular demand he would have to get up and sing it.

John Hubbard walks in this great gathering this night just to be a member of the audience. He can't legally participate. He is now assistant postmaster of Chicago and the rules of civil service prohibit him from taking part in politics. He is hardly seated when they see him and begin yelling all over the immense hall "Ole Shady." They lift him to their shoulders and sweep him to the platform. Civil service or no civil service, he has to sing "Ole Shady" for them again as he used to in those yesteryears.

Through the years the Lumbards had developed a parody verse on "Ole Shady" which they used to salute the Nation's greatest men. They were so popular they sang in the most distinguished gatherings. Here is the parody:

"Get up, Sambo, and blow de horn,
Don't you see de dust arising ober de corn,
Dat's Gen'ral Grant, shure's yo' born
A comin'! Hail, mighty day."

Now John Hubbard is singing to 13,000 people waiting for Teddy Roosevelt to arrive. He hears a rustle at the stage entrance. Realizing that Teddy has arrived, he uses his presence of mind and swings into the parody with:

"Get up, ole gal, an' blow de horn,
Don't you see de dust arisin' ober de corn,
Dat's Teddy Roosevelt, sure's you' born
A comin'! Hail, mighty day."

The mighty Teddy strides across the platform, places his arms around John Hubbard, thanks him for the unique introduction; and 13,000 rise up in a tremendous ovation. That's the kind of a song "Ole Shady" was. Records written in Chicago the next day say that as John Hubbard sang "Ole Shady," "he made it so touching I saw many people weep."

Do you think a man could lose his job because he'd write a song like "Ole Shady?" Benjamin Hanby did. At the time he was principal of a small, private academy at Seven Mile, Ohio, near Hamilton. On the board of trustees was a rich Copperhead. One little institution couldn't hold within its four small walls a poor young principal who would write a song like "Ole Shady" and a rich Copperhead trustee. One of them had to go, and Ben Hanby lost his job.

This leaves a lesson for us tonight. It is possible to, and Ben Hanby did, reach a world from a crossroads. You don't have to be in London or Paris or New York to serve your fellowman. You can serve them where you are.

Hanby doesn't have long to live. He must write fast, for two world famous songs are still to come. Now he goes into the ministry. That had been his original purpose. Teaching school was only marking time. In fact, back at Otterbein when he wrote the smash hit "Nelly Gray," he turned down many flattering offers from big music publishers who wanted him to come and write music for them, simply because he wanted to prepare for the ministry.

He assumes a pastorate in a small Ohio village of only 500 people—west of Dayton—near Richmond, Ind. Who has ever heard of New Paris? Once again, few in my Ohio audiences ever have either. Here at this tiny place he was to write one of the most famous child's Christmas songs of all time, proving once more that from a crossroads one can reach a world. You will immediately recognize the song when I mention its name. It came out of a heartbreak.

Music was Hanby's life and he dragged musical instruments into the church. One just could not do that everywhere a hundred years ago. In the wake of Puritanism there were too many people still around who conscientiously believed that musical instruments were inherently evil—works of the devil.

A big black storm cloud descended on his little church. He decided to have it out with them one Sunday and gave what he called "a musical sermon." He played the organ and tried to explain that there was not anything evil in an organ. He said it was like the church building and the altar—just an instrumentality and meant to be used for God.

Then he played his flute. When you visit the Hanby house, ask to see this flute. It sort of changed the course of his life. He tried to explain how the flute, of all musical instruments, was perhaps most like the human voice. He did not get by with it. Though he won a majority, the minority was so strong that he saw he would shatter the congregation if he persisted.

He realized now that this would happen anywhere he held a pastorate. It had happened to him once before when he held a short pastorate at nearby Lewisburg, Ohio. In his own heart he felt that there was only one thing to do—resign from the ministry—and he did.

Give up God? No—not give up God. God was entitled to his best talent, he said, which was music; and if he could not bring music into the church, he would have to step aside from the pulpit and try to bring the church into music.

It was a real heartbreak that day as he closed the door on his little church and his chosen profession for the last time. He had made sacrifices to go into the ministry. He was poor. He was trying to help educate those little brothers and sisters, and now he had a young wife and two small children of his own.

Out of this heartbreak comes this—one of the most beloved Christmas songs. Here is another little lesson for us. Many of the achievements of life can come only through heartbreak. We expect everything to be handed to us on that golden platter. Too often achievement can't come that way, but can come only through heartbreak. So when we have that heartbreak—and who doesn't now and then—perhaps the Almighty is just refortifying us within for greater achievement.

Hanby rents an empty storeroom on the edge of New Paris and starts a singing school for children. Then Christmas approaches—the Christmas of 1864. There is no money to buy music, so the 31-year-old Hanby composes some to supply the need. One song is this Christmas song. He teaches it to his singing school.

The Quakers of nearby Richmond, Ind., invite him to come there on Christmas Day and give an entertainment for the poor children of the city. When he arrives in Richmond on Christmas Day, 1864, already on Ohio soil at New Paris, he has composed, and now in public for the first time sings, for these underprivileged children, the immortal child's Christmas song, "Up on the Housetop":

"O! O! O! Who wouldn't go,
O! O! O! Who wouldn't go,
Up on the housetop, click, click, click,
Down thro' the chimney with good St. Nick."

That song is world famous today, but always remember it was written by an Ohio youth, with a heartbreak, at an Ohio crossroad.

Back of this song is one of time's great folk-song stories. That was the Christmas of 1864. It wasn't put in print right that minute. In 1865 Hanby gets a big break. All these years he's been operating on crossroads. Now he comes to the attention of the great George F. Root in Chicago.

Who ever heard of George F. Root? Your reaction is normal. Practically no one has. What a shame. We know and love the songs of the oldtime songwriters but we don't honor them because we've never been taught to know them. If you are on a school board or a P.T.A., why don't you do something about this? You could have fascinating studies of them here in your own meetings.

George F. Root was one of America's greatest songwriters. In your old favorite songbooks you'll find about as many of his songs as you will of Stephen Foster's. He was head of Chicago's big music publishing house, Root & Cady. He was the greatest of the Union Civil War songwriters. He just happened to write "Just Before the Battle, Mother," "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys Are Marching," "The Battle Cry of Freedom," "The Vacant Chair," "There's Music in the Air," and many well-known hymns. His publishing firm was the Nation's most prodigious purveyor of war songs. His music rested on every piano.

The great George F. Root, from the metropolis of Chicago, looks down at the crossroad, recognizes the young genius and brings Ben up to the big city to collaborate with him. Oh, what opportunity after years of apprenticeship on crossroads.

Hanby conceives the idea of a musical quarterly for children which he called "Our Song Birds," and he and George F. Root collaborate on it. It gets into four little issues, and in that fourth one, October 1866, the Christmas song is published for the first time under the title "Santa Claus."

Now stark, double tragedy overtakes the song. Within 5 months, on the day before St. Patrick's Day, Hanby dies of tuberculosis in Chicago at age 33. The songwriter is no longer there to plug his song. Within 4 years the publishing house of Root & Cady is wiped out by the great Chicago fire. The publishing house is no longer there to plug

the song. That's handicap, isn't it? Songwriter gone, publishing house gone.

Yet in this short time this little Christmas song had so caught on and lodged in the hearts of little children that it lived for years as a true folksong, taught by mother to child and teacher to pupil, until down in the next century it became so popular that publishers took it from the lips of children and put it back in print. Not knowing who the composer was, they credited it to anonymous or traditional. It was Dacia Custer Shoemaker who rediscovered those early pre-Chicago-fire publications of the music house of Root & Cady, and brought Hanby's authorship to the world's attention. Now the great publishers have put it back under his name. Not bad for one who had to die so young, is it?

That was not the only song that was to became world famous after his death, that was to be published for the first time in that same, small, paper-back, music quarterly for children, "Our Song Birds" and in the same issue of October 1866.

In there, was a Christian hymn entitled "Whe Is He?" now better known by its first line "Who is He in Yonder Stall?" written in Chicago as Hanby's life came to a close and which is now famous throughout the British Empire.

Here again, he achieved what Lincoln did at Gettysburg—power through simplicity. In a hymn of eight verses of only two lines each he tells the story of the life of Christ, from manger to throne. Let me recite the first verse and chrous to show you its powerful simplicity:

"Who is He in younder stall,
At His feet we humbly fall,

" 'Tis the Lord, O wondrous story!
'Tis the Lord, the King of glory;
At his feet we humbly fall,
Crown Him, crown Him Lord of all."

Where do you think this hymn is today? It's in a hymnal of the Church of England. Not bad for one who had to die so young, is it?

You know, if you are an artist, some of the value of your work is evidenced by the prestige of the museums in which your pictures hang. Similarly, if you are a songwriter, some of the value of your work is attested by the prestige of the books in which your songs are published.

Hanby's work meets this rigid test. In prestige hymnals it stands beside the hymns of St. Gregory, St. Francis of Assisi, Rudyard Kipling, Alfred Lord Tennyson, Arthur Sullivan, Johann Sebastian Bach, Isaac Woodbury, Henry Carey, Ira D. Sankey, William Bradbury, James Russell Lowell, Robert Lowry, Lowell Mason, Phillips Brooks, Philip P. Bliss, John Greenleaf Whittier, Washington Gladden, George Washington Doane, Phoebe Cary, William Cullen Bryant, Jessie Brown Pounds, Henry Emerson Fosdick, Fanny Crosby, George F. Root, Will Lamartine Thompson, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Louis M. Gottschalk, Edmund S. Lorenz, George Frederick Handel, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Ignaz Joseph Pleyel, Sir John Stainer, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Wolfgang Mozart and Ludwig Beethoven. In fact somewhere Hanby's hymn is bound between covers with almost every great hymn of the world, and his name is bound there with that of almost every well-known hymn writer.

In England, Hanby's hymn has been honored by being placed in hymnals of the Church of England, the Methodist Church, the Churches of Christ, the Baptist Church and the Presbyterian Church. It's in the Salvation Army Hymnal published in London, which goes to the corners of the earth. It's in the British Broadcasting Co.'s hymnals. It's in one of the most popular hymn books of all times, "Sacred Songs and Solos," edited by Ira D. Sankey, the evangelistic singer of the world-renowned evangelist Dwight L. Moody. It was the evangelistic team of Moody and Sankey that carried and sold this hymn to Great Britain from whence Britain sold it to the Empire.

In Ireland, it is in hymnals of the Presbyterian Church and the Irish Anglican Church.

It's in hymnals of Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, Wales, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. Won't you help me get it in the Presbyterian hymnal in the United States?

In Canada, it has attained recognition in hymnals of the Church of England in Canada, the United Church, the Methodist Church, the Baptist Church and the Presbyterian Church. Canadian mission boards have even published an "Ukrainian Book of Praise" containing it, for special use of some 400,000 Ukrainians in the Dominion.

It has been translated into many foreign tongues—such as those of China, Africa, and India. Recently a Welshman sent me a translation into the Welsh language, and I couldn't read a word. Up in the Dakotas, I found it in a hymn book translated into the language of the Sioux Indians. Not long ago distinctive honor came when it was published in "The World's Most Beloved Hymns." It is in many nondenominational hymn books in Great Britain, Canada, and the United States, but by some strange quirk of irony, the hymn did not find the extensive lodging in denomination hymn books in Hanby's native land as it did abroad, although I have found it in hymnals of the Lutheran Church, the Episcopal Church, the Evangelical United Brethren Church, the Mennonite Church, the Swedenborg Church.

We have now found it in over 100 hymnals—not bad for one who had to die so young, is it?

In 1952, Mrs. Hoover and I were in London. We went to Westminster Abbey where royalty, and famous statesmen, churchmen, artists, scientists, musicians, and men of letters are buried. Here repose Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, Chaucer, Spenser, Dryden, Gray, Wordsworth, Browning, and Tennyson. Here I picked up a hymn book, turned over the pages and there was Hanby's hymn "Who Is He In Yonder Stall?"

Nearby, we visited St. Margaret's Church, in which is buried Sir Walter Scott. Here I picked up a hymn book, turned over the pages and there was Hanby's hymn.

Then we visited the magnificent St. Paul's Cathedral, whose architect was one of the greatest, Sir Christopher Wren. This very year from St. Paul's you saw televised the impressive funeral services of Sir Winston Churchill. Renowned St. Paul's is a second Hall of Fame for Britain's illustrious dead. Here lie buried Adm. Horatio Nelson; Napoleon's conqueror, the Iron Duke of Wellington; the Nurse Florence Nightingale; the Painter Sir Joshua Reynolds; and the peerless architect himself, Sir Chrostopher Wren. In St. Paul's I picked up a hymn book, turned the pages, there was the hymn of Ohio's lowly, crossroad songwriter.

We took the night train out of London for Edinburgh, Scotland. Emerging from the station the next morning, there, swiftly dominating our eyes, was that precipitous Castle Rock, which dominates the city, as the Acropolis dominates Athens. We visited venerable, 500-year-old St. Giles Cathedral, head church of the Church of Scotland. Just below the elevated pew in which the Queen sits when she worships there, I picked up a hymn book, turned the pages and there it was again.

In 1963, I had the same thrilling experience in St. George's Anglican Church in Jerusalem; in the huge Gothic, Glasgow Cathedral; and in the unpretentious, country church at Kirkoswald, Scotland, where Dwight Eisenhower worships.

Dr. Robert Whyte, the retired pastor of Old Stone Church on Cleveland's Public Square, had Canadian origins, and he first acquainted me with the fact that the Hanby hymn was in so many Canadian hymnals. Once he said, "Mr. Hoover, if you'd like to talk to one of the world's greatest hymnologists about this hymn, visit Dr. Alexander McMillan in Toronto." He explained that Dr. McMillan was editor of the hymn book of the United Church of Canada in which Hanby's hymn appears, and that he was the father of Canada's No. 1 musician—Sir Ernest McMillan who was director of both the Toronto Symphony and the Toronto Conservatory.

Later I was in Canada on a fishing trip, returned through Toronto and telephoned Dr. McMillan. He invited me right out to his home where I found a tall, erect, gray octogenarian in clerical garb, and that delightful burr of his native Scotland still sticking right out there on his tongue. He said, "Mr. Hoover, that's one of the great and powerful hymns of the world. There are over a half million known hymns, and any hymn that finds a place in a leading hymnal that's recognized by the scholars has to be good."

My curiosity drove me to pull down some hymnology treatises from library shelves. To my surprise I learned that hymnologists don't agree any more than do Democrats and Republicans. They are divided into two camps, too; and the way some castigate each other, you say "Am I right—are these preachers talking?" One camp espouses the "gospel song" that appeals to the heart and emotions. The other espouses the stately, dignified hymn that appeals to the intellect.

In the hymnals of which camp do you expect to find Ben Hanby's hymn "Who Is He In Yonder Stall?" In the best hymnals of both camps. He had that rare touch—the ability to reach all men. What better evidence than the hymnals of the Church of England and the Salvation Army?

It is time to summarize, but I wouldn't be fair to you if I first failed to tell you that Benjamin Hanby is related by marriage to two of the world's most distinguished citizens of all time—Orville and Wilbur Wright. Benjamin Hanby's niece married Reuchlin Wright, a brother of the Wright brothers who invented the airplane. This tied together two prominent families in the United Brethren Church, since Benjamin Hanby's father (Bishop William Hanby) and the Wright brothers' father (Bishop Milton Wright) were each bishops in this Church.

Bishop Hanby and his gifted son, songwriting Benjamin, are buried in the Otterbein Cemetery at Westerville. Some years back when John Philip Sousa was giving a concert in Columbus, he journeyed to Westerville just to stand at the grave of Benjamin Hanby.

Now let's summarize. Born near an Ohio crossroad. Never had much money to jingle in his pockets. Wrote his music mostly from Ohio crossroad villages. "Darling Nelly Gray" at Westerville; "Ole Shady" at Seven Mile; "Up on the Housetop" at New Paris.

Finally after all this apprenticeship on crossroads, he gets his big break and is brought up to Chicago, but death cuts him down almost immediately at the premature age of 33.

I point out these differences between Benjamin Hanby and Stephen Foster without meaning in any way to detract from the immortal melodies of Stephen Foster, because no one can and no one would want to. First, Hanby had 5 years shorter working time. Foster died at 38; Hanby at only 33. Second, whereas much of the personal life of Stephen Foster was something you could not hold up to a child as an example, here was a youth whose personal life was clean, stood for great causes, served humanity.

He directed his songs at the big problems of his time with tremendous history-swerv-

ing effect. "Nelly Gray" was his answer to the biggest problem—slavery—but it was so universal in its appeal it was loved equally in the South as in the North.

He could write a song like "Ole Shady" that would appeal to armies and generals. Sing it one way and it would make an audience laugh. Sing it in another and it would leave an audience in tears.

Yes, he could appeal to the army and the general but he could also appeal to the little child—"Up On the Housetop."

He could write a hymn like "Who Is He in Yonder Stall?" that would stir Christendom over the world down through the years. Can't we be a little proud of a fellow like that?

Here's where you come in. We have problems too. When they confront us too often we shrug and say "I wonder what my Congressman is going to do about this? I wonder what the President is going to do about this?" Just once in a while we look ourselves straight in the eye and say "What am I am going to do about this?"

Then what happens? We get that inferiority, complex and evade responsibility with "Oh, I'm not old enough, I'm not big enough, I don't have enough influence to do anything about it.

Shouldn't we be ashamed? Here was one who wasn't old at all, never lived anywhere, except toward the last, but on a crossroad, didn't have any influence by money, family or position yet he made an impact upon a whole world.

What might we not also do if, with a little of the same unselfish devotion, we too gave to our fellowmen a bit of the talent we have?

Can we not only be proud of him, isn't he a great inspiration to every one of us? Benjamin Hanby, Ohio's crossroad songwriter who reached and served a world.

New York State Senate Opposes Dirksen Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following resolution of the New York State Senate of May 3, 1965, opposing the Dirksen amendment which would allow the voters of a State to keep one house from being reapportioned on a population basis. Equal treatment of a State's people in its legislature is a cornerstone of democratic self-government, and the proposed amendment would nullify the Supreme Court's salutary decision that people must be given equal privileges of representation.

The resolution follows:

STATE OF NEW YORK SENATE RESOLUTION 168

Concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of New York memorializing the Congress of the United States and the legislatures of all the States to oppose efforts which are being made to promote an amendment to the constitution which would permit one house of a bicameral legislature to be apportioned on a basis other than equal treatment of citizens or residents

Whereas efforts are being made in the legislatures of the several States and in the Congress of the United States to promote an amendment to the Constitution which would permit one house of a bicameral legislature to be apportioned on a basis other than equal treatment of citizens or residents; and

Whereas such an amendment would partially nullify the historic and salutory decision of the U.S. Supreme Court that people must be given equal privileges of representation regardless of their place of residence, by permitting an unrepresentative house to veto the actions of a more representative house; and

Whereas the unequal representation of States in the U.S. Senate is not pertinent in this connection because the States were sovereign and independent entities whose equal representation was naturally demanded and necessary in order to create a federal union and there is no such sovereign status in the districts of a State legislature; and

Whereas there are at least as many special interests requiring representation in proportion to population in the thickly settled areas of the States as in the sparsely settled areas; and

Whereas the principle of majority rule requires that districts with a minority of the people of a State should not be able to outvote in a legislative body districts with a substantially greater number of people, as has often happened in this and other States and will happen again if the proposed amendment should prevail: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Legislature of the State of New York strongly opposes the proposed amendment and supports the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court requiring equal treatment of a State's people in its representative bodies as a fundamental bulwark of democratic self-government; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Governors and the majority and minority leaders of the legislative bodies of all the States and to all Members of the Congress of the United States

By order of the senate,

GEORGE VAN LENGEN,
Secretary.

Congressman D. R. (Billy) Matthews Receives Citation for Contributions to Forestry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, among the most able and dedicated Members of the House of Representatives is our distinguished friend and colleague, the Honorable D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS, of the Eighth Congressional District of Florida. Before moving to the House Appropriations Committee, Congressman MATTHEWS served for a number of years on the Committee on Agriculture. As a tribute to his work on the latter committee, the Florida Forestry Association recently presented a citation to Congressman MATTHEWS for his outstanding contributions to forestry.

This award to our colleague is a well-deserved honor, and I would like to call to the attention of the Members of the House the language of the citation. I am certain that all of my colleagues join me in extending congratulations to Congressman MATTHEWS.

The citation follows:

CITATION FOR OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTIONS TO FORESTRY PRESENTED BY THE FLORIDA FORESTRY ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING IN MIAMI BEACH, FLA., JULY 15–16, 1965—D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS

This man has been associated with forests and conservation in Florida all of his life. He was reared in the woods on a turpentine farm, lived in many rural areas, and through the years has continued his interest in conservation and good government.

After graduating from the University of Florida, he was director of the student union for several years, influencing many students to live better lives. He was State representative from Alachua County in the legislature and later was elected Congressman from the Eighth Congressional District for several terms, which position he now holds.

He served on the important Agriculture Committee of the House of Representatives and takes an active and effective part in all legislation to the advantage of his native State.

He has actively supported forest research, the cooperative Federal-State programs in forest management, fire control, tree planting, and associated forest conservation activities. Back home in his district he is a stanch supporter of the forestry festivals held in various areas and can be counted upon to participate actively and effectively in forestry and allied conservation work.

BILLY, as he is known to thousands of friends, is a sincere, loyal, and aggressive conservation leader.

FREDERICK SNELL,
Secretary.

BUREN E. BRICE,
President.

An Astronomer Calls Flying Saucers Serious Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Sun-Times, in an editorial of August 8, has performed a most creditable public service by calling attention to the fact that unidentified flying objects are a serious business.

I believe the article in the Chicago Sun-Times should be added to the present dialog on this very important subject and I am taking the liberty today of including it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

AN ASTRONOMER CALLS FLYING SAUCERS SERIOUS BUSINESS

Flying saucer fans of America—take heart. Somebody down here believes in you.

He believes, at any rate, that reports of unidentified flying objects should be taken seriously.

Jacques Vallee, French-born astronomer now a Chicagoan, believes a lack of authentic research may be at the bottom of inability to place UFO's in perspective.

NASA CONSULTANT

Vallee, author of a new book, "Anatomy of a Phenomenon," published by Henry Regnery Co., is also a data analyst and consultant to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Mars mapping program. He is a former research associate at McDonald Observatory, operated jointly by the University of Chicago and the University of Texas.

His book gives a detailed and sober appraisal of UFO's from both scientific and lay

sources over the past several hundred years. He told the Sun-Times Saturday:

"The current increase in the number of UFO reports undoubtedly marks the beginning of a wave comparable to those of 1954 or 1957. Currently there is a deluge of reports all over Europe, Australia, and South America.

CITES CLOSE SIGHTINGS

"Some objects have been seen on the ground at close range, for example at Valensole, France, on July 3.

"Yet the American cases are still treated out of context as individual oddities rather than a part of global phenomenon. Many professional scientists are starting to think that an objective and extensive analysis of the best reports is long overdue.

"Unidentified flying objects are not a joke. They are serious scientific business. We are taking a very great chance in not studying these objects seriously.

"The current sightings prove that they are physically real. The 15-foot object which left holes in the ground and calcined the earth at Valensole was not a dream. It was a piece of flying hardware. I have no idea who built it, but they were no amateurs."

QUESTIONS RESEARCH

Vallee neither scoffs nor accepts, but does question authenticity of the total research in the field.

Medical Tribune, published in New York, made a UFO study in addition to material from Vallee's book and noted that the crane-necked set in Communnist countries reported sightings, although regimes that dismiss God are not anxious to give official recognition to any mystery.

Even before the current outbreak of eagle-eyed citizenry tabulating the summer "objects," UFO's were being reported at about 500 a year in the United States.

The U.S. Air Force continues its Project Blue Book begun in 1948, with an admitted 7 percent of the reports investigated as "unexplained."

Other groups insist the unexplained reach as high as 20 percent.

Not only have numbers of sightings been on the increase, but the considered reliability of those making them has been on the upgrade.

Airline pilots, radar operators, police and security personnel, university professors, and others regarded as sophisticated enough not to be fooled by a cloud formation or a weather balloon have been heard from on UFO's.

As Medical Tribune added:

HARDER TO SCOFF AT

"What UFO's really are, of course, is anybody's guess. Serious students of them (and there are some) do not necessarily contend that these soaring phenomena represent a visit by intelligent life from other worlds.

"But most of these same investigators do suggest at it should be considered a possibility. In an age when Government-financed radiotelescopes and space programs are actively searching for extraterrestial life, such suggestions about UFO's are getting harder to scoff at.

"Arthur Vallee, who looked in the saucer syndrome with rather an objective stare at the outset, later acknowledged that, 'although no physical evidence as yet has been found, some of us believe the contours of an amazingly complex intelligent life beyond the earth can already be discerned.' "

Dr. J. Allen Hynek, director of Northwestern University's observatories and consultant to the Air Force on UFO's, has said that the "level of intelligence of the observers and reporters of UFO's is certainly at least average and, in many cases, decidedly above average. In some cases, embarrassingly above average."

However the sober scientists, like the Air Force, aren't prone to believe in the actuality of flying saucers until they catch one.

TIME RIPE, HE SAYS

Nevertheless, Vallee suggested there either is being manifest "an entirely new type of mental aberration * * * or the UFO phenomenon is unique in nature and thus deserves a special investigation."

He obtained authorization to dig into certain files of the Air Force and some European agencies interested in the question. Now he is convinced the time is ripe for an investigation in which "we neither presuppose nor preclude any possible conclusion."

He feels that the Air Force has not taken this approach, beinng interested primarily in security rather than scientific delving.

While the Air Force has 8,909 UFO reports since 1947, excluding the present crop, it lists 633 as unexplained, but with the contention that all of them could be accounted for in terms of known phenomena, natural or man-made, if more information were available.

Vallee, and some others, believe it is a little naive to label as "insufficient information" the phenomena being studied.

NICAP LARGEST GROUPS

There are several groups in this country in addition to the Air Force interested in UFO information. The largest, privately formed in 1956, is the National Investigations Committee on Aerial Phenomena (NICAP), which has 5,000 members.

Many researchers believe that this group is not entirely scientific in its approach. However, it has a full-time staff to investigate reports of sightings. It has been active in seeking to interest Congress in authorizing full-scale studies.

Richard Hall, acting director of NICAP in Washington, D.C., asserted early in July there still were about 1,000 sightings that have not been explained.

Among these are reports that UFO sometimes fly in formation, maneuver and react when a stimuli such as light is flashed upon them.

AIM's Golden Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, this year the Associated Industries of Massachusetts is celebrating its 50th anniversary of service to Massachusetts business and industry.

AIM's Industry magazine has been running a series of articles on the history and accomplishments of the group. This month the magazine discusses the period between 1953 and 1958, an enormously fruitful and productive period for the organization.

The author of the article, Roy F. Williams is a former executive vice president of the AIM, and is uniquely qualified to report on this era in the organization's history:

AIM'S GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY—PART 4: YEARS OF ACHIEVEMENT

(By Roy F. Williams)

Continuing this brief biography of Associated Industries of Massachusetts' glorious 50 years of unbroken service to the thousands of manufacturers of the Bay State, and incidentally the fourth and final installment for this pseudo historian who, cum modicum laude, has sketched through the eventful years since 1915 when AIM took up the challenge of and for Massachusetts industry.

HIGHLIGHTS 1953–58

We would highpoint the major events filling the years 1953 to 1958 which would include, obviously two more AIM-designed trade missions to foreign lands—Scandinavia and a repeat performance in European capitals. These followed the highly successful pattern of orienting Massachusetts industrialists in foreign travel to, in turn, acquaint themselves in the best of foreign relations and export potentials. Other important events included: the sensational burgeoning and expansions of industrial building to add hundreds of millions of dollars to the State's economy; the accompanying creation of new jobs by the thousand that never existed in previous decades; the important developments pouring out of our laboratories synthesizing all manner of consumer products; the billion dollar reach of workmen's compensation and unemployment compensation sired by unprecedented social legislation; and the loan of this scribe to President Eisenhower's administration for 18 months to inaugurate and direct the U.S. effort at 33 international trade fairs to sell the American way of life to upwards of 30 million people in far lands.

Yes, the vast diversity and complexity of Massachusetts manufacturing during the fifties takes firm hold on the imagination and the longstanding hopes of the body politic that daily breathes life in the Commonwealth's economy. These were the years of "Route 128," giant radial magnet which attracted new building construction which was looked on with envy around the country. One can say safely the many miles of road-building which opened up a hundred communities to industrial planners also marked the transition of Massachusetts into the forefront of the Nation's industrial States.

NEW BUILDING CONSTRUCTION

Monotonous repetition may surely breed ennui or at least a don't bother to read further attitude among Industry's readers, but share the pride of AIM's leaders in the sum total of it all: 1950—new buildings and additions to existing plant $130 million; 1951, 1952, 1953—almost similar figures; in 1954 it was $148 million, sparked by a gigantic jump in public utility expansion; in 1955 another $24 million jump to a total of $169 million. Then in 1956 a 23.6-percent jump over the preceding high volume of the year before, and 1957 saw no diminution in the totals gleaned from the cities and towns.

The oft repeated Massachusetts, there she stands could never be more proudly flouted than this period in the fabulous fifties. The other side of the coin, obvious to all, was the consequential loss of urban industrial properties to the suburbs where the efficiency engineered one story open air architectural marvels that beautify the suburban settings were fast winning the battle. A case at point, Massachusetts giant manufactory, Raytheon Co., which started about a quarter century ago in downtown Waltham, today sprawls mightily in the outskirts of Waltham, Lexington, in Andover and Newton, Taunton, and Fitchburg. The same can be pointed out with Polaroid and Sanborn who came from Cambridge to become suburban neighbors on the magic semicircle numbered 128.

SCANDANAVIAN TOUR

With this phenomenal growth, great new names of national importance joined the vanguard to write their names in Bay State brick, concrete, and glass—Avco, RCA, Honeywell, Clevite, Baldwin-Lima-Hamilton, and many another national leader.

The year 1954: Turning to the AIM's projection beyond the State borders and across the seas, the AIM Scandinavian tour which occupied the greater part of May and June, 1954, was to many the greatest outgoing event in our association history. Ninety-four members and wives traveled back over the trail of the Vikings, many to visit relatives in

Sweden and to pack the days with a fine blending of business conferences, plant visits, banquets, and state receptions, press conferences, festivals, and royal entertaining—in fact the Swedish part of the tour was directed by King Gustaf IV's Equerry, himself a foremost industrialist whose underground bombproof factory and hospital demonstrated Sweden's timely preparedness and self-preservation. Social conditions, in which Sweden has always been a front runner among nations, were studied exhaustively, and many world names were added to Massachusetts industry's first hand acquaintanceship—S.K.F. AGA, L. M. Ericsson Telephone Co., Eriksberg Shipyards, Uddeholm Steel Works, to mention a few. (The July, 1954 issue of "Industry" has documented this phenomenal goodwill tour which is well worth a rereading if available in your files.)

NEW PRODUCT MERIT AWARDS

The same year 1954 saw the resumption of AIM Merit Awards for New Products where more than 250 remarkable product entries were judged by a distinguished awards jury headed by Dr. James R. Killian, Jr., president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The products ranged from Alden automatic recording facsimile equipment to Bettinger porcelain enamel annals, CBS's color TV picture tubes, Foxboro's magnetic flowmeter, GE's irradiated polyethylene, David Gessner's Hi-Torc Napper for textile finshings, D. S. Kennedy's parabolic antenna, Norton Co.'s G-bond grinding wheel, Sprague electric's Tantaflex capacitors, L. S. Starrett's hi-precision micrometer and on and on to myriad developments that have spelled billions of dollars in sales over the ensuing years.

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

Earlier in this period, specifically the first quarter of 1950, when unemployment maximum weekly benefits were $25 payable for a period of 23 weeks, a depressed economy brought the fund balance in the Massachusetts Employment Security System to a dangerous low of $75 million. Experience rates for Massachusetts employers were forfeited under the provisions of the Massachusetts statute and all employers were taxed at the maximum rate of 2.7 percent to rebuild the fund. It was evident to AIM that the heavy disbursements and rebuilding of the fund could not be done even with a maximum rate payment. AIM therefore assumed the leadership role in revising the law to prevent complete breakdown of the U.C. System, and, in July of 1950, authorized a program of action for this purpose.

Knowing that substantive changes in the Massachusetts U.C. law would require stuided recommendations, massive public and legislative education and the unified cooperation of the leading employer organizations, AIM mapped its plans to accomplish this result. Thirty-five of the chief business and trade associations in Massachusetts were immediately organized into a special purpose group known as the Massachusetts Council on Employment Security. A board of directors was elected and committees selected for the initial work of research, financing, and public relations.

Since the program would require continuous effort over a period of 2 years under professional direction, AIM loaned its assistant vice president, Clifford I. Fahlstrom to be executive director of the council. A separate office was established in the Statler Office Building and, as the program expanded personnel was added until at the peak of activtity some 14 people were on the staff.

START OF MAJOR IMPROVEMENTS

After 5 months of intensive study in which every phase of the law was explored, the research committee's recommendations were incorporated into a bill (S. 251) to strengthen existing weaknesses and introduce new finacing concepts. This was the beginning of several major improvements in the Massachusetts law from which all employers have benefited and which resulted in the restoration of experience rates in the first quarter of 1954. Among the basic changes made were:

1. A new base period and eligibility reform.
2. The creation of individual employer accounts.
3. The elimination of quarterly reporting of employers wages by substituting request reporting.
4. Establishment of the solvency fund.
5. The disposition of surplus or deficits in individual employer accounts.
6. A new system of easier computation by employers of their reserve ratios.
7. New definition of wages.

This one AIM legislative development resulted in unnumbered millions of dollars to Massachusetts industry and proves again the efficacy of the AIM counsels for whom the grist of the mills of the Bay State lawmakers is the day-by-day activity.

SEMINARS AT AMHERST

The 1950's saw the start of annual AIM seminars on the campus of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, a popular departure from the conference halls and annual meeting rostrum of Boston. Attracting 400 to 500 members and management people of the State's industries, the weekends, ofttimes in the winter snows of Amherst, provided equal parts of industrial planning, bull sessions and campus hi-jinks. The Nation's leading spokesmen gave timely direction to the seminars much as they did and do to AIM's outstanding annual meetings.

It was this year of 1954 also which saw Gov. Christian A. Herter's ambitious plan to encourage Massachusetts smaller industries to become a reality in the formation of the Massachusetts Development Corp. under the late Carl F. Woods' able leadership. Adequate working capital set many wheels in motion, translating ideas into workshops, into jobs, wages, products, taxes, and dividends. The Development Corp. continues to perform this valuable function.

The year 1955: Under President Seabury Stanton's aegis and that of AIM Presidents Robert C. Sprague, Bob Stoddard and others, the AIM became the official voice of Massachusetts industry not only in the halls of the legislature but before public groups, before workers forums, and elsewhere throughout the business world that is Massachusetts. In the words of Mr. Stanton, "It is extremely important that we who are businessmen and industrialists should become more articulate and approachable. There are new forces in this country which constantly advocate the elimination of the profit motive, the free competitive system, and the gradual replacement of individual independence which has made this country strong, with socialism and its sinister relative communism."

"Rolling up the window shades of America."

The above admonition underlay the decision of the directors of AIM to loan the executive vice president, Roy F. Williams, to Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks to lead the Nation's emergence in international trade fairs where showmanship and teamplay were called upon to display graphically the American free enterprise system through the showing of U.S. products to Asians and mid-Europeans in dynamic, colorful exhibitions from Bangkok to Birmingham, England, from Addis Abbaba to New Delhi and Milan and Hanover and on around the Western World with a few sorties even into satellite countries.

TRADE FAIR NOW U.S. POLICY

Here again the pages of Industry in 1955, 1956, and 1957 fully recorded the results but it can be said again that the Williams' program started out with a relatively modest $2,250,000 budget for designing and staffing a score of major international trade fairs from the shores of energetic Japan to the bustling manufacturing centers of Germany. To the credit of the originators, the trade fair program is firmly entrenched in U.S. foreign policy.

In all, the first program included 33 U.S. exhibits in 28 foreign countries in the first 18 months before upwards of 20 million people. The vast majority of the spectators had never before seen the American flag flying atop spectacular buildings, never saw closed circuit television or the peaceful uses of atomic energy or model kitchens baking 7,000 loaves of bread for daily distribution or sewing machines making dresses for grateful orphan children.

Two interesting exhibits with amusing undertones persist in memory.

The first was at Milan, with the gracious Ambassador Clare Boothe Luce affording enthusiastic endorsement, where a monster demonstration of industry's worthiest products (largely contributed) was dwarfed by a 1-inch phial of Salk polio vaccine which drew crowds to the U.S. exhibit estimated at 70,000 a day, causing a veritable crush of humanity so dear to exhibit managers.

ATTRACTION IN INDIA

A second reminiscence occurred at the Indian industrial fair in New Delhi in November and December 1955. This was the largest and most expensive exhibit in the U.S. program, its high rise wedding cake pavilion featuring Atoms for Peace and live television broadcasting. In the latter, RCA had contributed a $250,000 television studio complete with all equipment and a staff of 25 announcers and engineers in a round glass-walled studio not unlike the Dave Garroway "Today" program facilities.

The sidewalks outside were jammed from 5 to 10 p.m. daily for 6 weeks, with spectators sometimes standing 30 to 40 deep and never moving until the lights went off. Strange to relate the daily programs entailed, not foreign talent, but Indian puppeteers, government officials, Indian singers, local wedding processions and the like which are all part of their everyday provincial life. Sandwiched in between all the Communist exhibits as the U.S. pavilion was, with the U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary ringing the exhibit, the Director was requested by Red officials to kindly decrease the hours of the show so that the hundred thousand or more burnoose-draped natives could be inveigled into the Red exhibits before closing time. (P.S. Williams didn't comply, feeling that was not what the U.S. Government was paying $1 a year for.)

When May 3, 1956 arrived and "Mr. Trade Fair" came home to AIM it took 700 industry and community leaders, distinguished government officials from Washington, and friends to honor Executive Vice President Roy Williams at a welcome home dinner in the Copley Plaza as he returned from Washington—and Cairo and Kabul, Afganistan, Colombo, Indonesia and Bangkok, Thailand, and Frankfurt and Brussels and, oh yes, Paris. If that was not the "thrill of a lifetime" it will have to suffice this modest scribe.

ATOMIC POWER, TOLL ROAD

The year 1956: This was the year that brought nuclear fission to commercial bonanza in the atomic energy generating station in Rowe, Mass., costing $35 million at first estimates and to be privately financed. Named the Yankee Atomic Electric Co., it was the amalgam of New England utilities which became Yankee's stockholders to supply 90 percent of the electrical needs of the area.

The year also saw the new Massachusetts Turnpike, an east-west toll road of 123 miles and costing upwards of $215 million, became a reality, a joy to industrial realtors and local

development commissions seeking to attract new industries to Massachusetts, and as late years proved, a thing of beauty for millions of motorists leaving Boston environs and connecting at Stockbridge and State line with the New York throughways.

Little attention has been given in this latest chronicle to the fast growing AIM annuals of national and international importance. And yet 2,000 and more of Associated Industries members have made these giant showcases of Massachusetts industry a yearly must in the October scheme of things. Forty-first in the numerical progression, the 1956 edition on October 24, produced MIT's President Killian, General Motors R.C.S. Young, Amos Tuck School of Business Administration's Upgren, Maryland's Governor McKeldin and labor's Victor Riesel whom acid-throwing hoodlums could blind but not dim his crusade on gangsterism in unions, a Czech student who fled the Iron Curtain to inspire great admiration mixed wth tears in the AIM, throng, and both U.S. Navy and Air Force symphonic orchestras for musical interludes and the final fillup, the AIM's banquet honored guest from Washington, Secretary of the U.S. Treasury, George M. Humphrey. Thrice-blessed and enough to fill 3 days of programs, this annual lived up to its predecessors, set its own standard precedent for the years to follow.

THE NEW BOSTON

The year 1957: Surprising as it is to relate, the now famed Prudential Center, "a city within a city" and nucleus of the new Boston fast building to its apogee, came off the drawing board in 1957 to spark the most exciting milestone in Boston's progressive history. Keyman in bringing about this boldest of municipal dreams, and mentioned here for credit's sake, were "Mr. Sheraton" Ernest M. Henderson, Boston Mayor John B. Hynes, N. E. Telephone's Thomas Hennessey, Prudential's Carroll M. Shanks and one or two others. In less than the decade, 8 years to be exact, the 52-story Prudential skyscraper now graces the Boston skyline, one meets and eats in Sheraton's beautiful new hostelry, and shops, new highways, and apartments are being rushed to completion to make "Pru" Center the turning point in the Hub City's economic outlook.

AUTOMATED MANUFACTURING

Automation had become firmly anchored in the vocabulary of the era by 1957, an example of which was CBS-Hytron's automatic production of tiny semiconductors in Lowell. Countless other industries were soon to follow this pattern, which brings to mind another reminiscence from the international trade fair program discussed earlier in this chronicle. In 1957 at the St. Erik's Fair in Stockholm, Sweden, the U.S. exhibit featured automation which was coming to the fore in American industry, oblivious of the fact that automation was an American import from Sweden years before. Regardless some 300,000 persons visited the attractive glass U.S. pavilion in this largest trade fair of northern Europe.

GROWTH IN ELECTRONICS

The year 1957 saw the major development of electronic companies on the Massachusetts scene ostensibly to be near the MIT and Harvard Radiation Laboratories which spawned many of the new companies through their earliest training and directions. By 1957 this had given Massachusetts a total of 532 electronics companies in airborne electronics, in military electronics in war and in peace, in electronics and nucleonics in the metallurgical and oil fields, in guided missiles and weaponry, and so on to its present amazing multiplicity in Massachusetts which was at one and the same time, the oldest of industrial States and the newest and largest to incubate the giant electronics industry.

Cornerstones for new plants and "open house" ceremonies, appointments for the new and retirement of the older persons in Massachusetts ranks, new products and new successes, seminars and annual meetings and safety awards, and a new and fourth European trade mission planned for 1958 fill the days and months of 1957 to overflowing.

The year 1958: Comes now 1958, the last in this biographic coverage of AIM's 50-year history, a year of continuing progress and new industrial expansions, of new awards and trophies, of unnumbered legislative battles on 4,500 bills, probably a third of which would work inestimable harm to the industrial economy of Massachusetts. The year 1958 was also a year of change, when the executive vice president of Associated Industries moved by natural progression into the hands of a younger man already well trained and highly regarded in the industrial ranks of Massachusetts.

TRADE TOUR HIGHLIGHTS

Varied high points of AIM's latest trade tour to European markets: The giant works of Volkswagen in Wolfsburg, West Germany; the opening of the prize-winning U.S. pavilion at Brussels World's Fair; Fiat's Mirafiore plant in Turin where visitors ride through the plant's corridors in shiny new Fiats; the Pirelli works, the huge Italian rubber industry which has contributed New York-style skyscraper to the skyline of Milan; Burgenland to witness the Iron Curtain hostilities in Austria; a visit to Innocenti and to Norton Co.'s Corsico factory and so on through scores of leading European industries to finally, a special audience with Pope Pius XII in St. Peter's Basilica, Rome. Of such, great good will tours are made and, as a result of which, the expanding export markets open to many Massachusetts concerns.

In conclusion, a fitting footnote may well be an inventory of assets and liabilities, financial and otherwise, which the past 23 years has developed. Recalling the earlier statement of the shaky financial status at the start of the Williams' management, when bills pending amounted to $8,897 and cash on hand was but $1,345.50 to pay said creditors, the near quarter century had brought AIM financial security to a total annual income of $292,410, with expenses $287,458 and a comfortable surplus of $74,072.

The membership had grown to nearly 2,300 dues-paying members, with seldom a resignation other than removal from the State or manufacturing mortality. The staff had blossomed out into almost a score of competent counsel and servicemen and AIM looked in all ways "sound of body and spirit."

Thus, it became a great joy and a matter of personal satisfaction to turn the keys of management over to Bob Chadbourne in the closing minutes of AIM's glittering 43d annual banquet on October 23, 1958.

An event of such personal gratification may be excuse enough for the lack of modesty in these closing thoughts. When the AIM board of directors presented a handsome sterling silver tray bearing the signatures of all 80 members of the board, active and honorary, Williams read an inscription which blotted out all but the glories of the previous 23 years.

The inscription read: "Roy F. Williams, builder and executive leader for 23 years. Elected this day an honorary vice president in grateful appreciation for his inspired leadership. Subscribed with admiration and respect, AIM board of directors, October 23, 1958."

In presenting the handsome gift, President Robert W. Stoddard commented on Williams' wisdom in writing an employment contract to retain his services for the forthcoming 10 years as adviser and consultant. Seldom if ever seen at the AIM. Banquet microphone, Williams' maiden speech literally became a swan song when he concluded that when he was put out to pasture (and the pasture in his case had the welcome salt marsh tang of Cape Cod) he would never be alone with all these well-wishers engraved forever in sterling silver.

A Lonesome Place Against the Sky

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, I take great pleasure in calling to our colleagues' attention, a thoughtful memorial to the late Adlai Stevenson which was written by Peter Grothe and which appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle of July 25.

Mr. Grothe's sentiments are, I am sure, shared by many of us and will be read with interest by all who knew and revered this great American.

The article follows:

A LONESOME PLACE AGAINST THE SKY

(By Peter Grothe)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—For thousands upon thousands of us who reached political awareness in the 1950's, Adlai Stevenson was—and always will be—our authentic hero, the hero preeminent overall the lesser heroes.

It seems that hardly a conversation was held in Washington last week without the name of Stevenson coming into it. Persons not only traded their own favorite pieces of Stevenson lore, but, in many instances, discovered that the persons with whom they were talking were also in public service today because a fresh voice coming from the plains of Illinois in 1952 stirred them to the quick.

Historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., remarked here last week that perhaps Governor Stevenson's most underrated service to his country was the phalanx of persons he brought into politics and government service.

NOBLE WORK

Indeed, Adlai Stevenson was a pied piper for us. Not only did his example bring able people into the highest councils of government; but it also is safe to say that there is hardly a county in this land where persons don't do precinct work and staple papers and lick envelopes, because after Stevenson finished with us, the grubby work of politics suddenly seemed pretty noble.

Thirty-three-year-old Richard Goodwin, Special Assistant to President Johnson, summed up the feelings of many of us in his age group when he wrote of his feelings in 1952 in the Washington Post:

"It was the profound act of telling us—my generation—what we knew but didn't realize. He revealed a world we already sensed was there, bared challenges we were aching to undertake. The words were the words of sacrifice, but the music sang of meaning and purpose to a young man."

INTENSELY INTERESTED

My own most cherished memory of Adlai Stevenson was the first time I met him, in 1958, when he came to San Francisco to campaign for Clair Engle for the Senate. When I was introduced to him in his hotel suite, he asked me why I happened to be working in the Engle campaign. I told him quite straight forwardly that it was because of him—because in 1952 he gave a dignity and an honor to the words "politics" and "politicians" that they never held before for me.

He then invited me into the sitting room and asked me more about my interest in

politics and myself. I felt a bit foolish and embarrassed taking his valuable time, and I made several motions to leave, saying that I knew he had a speech to go over. Each time he told me to sit down, and he asked me more.

I was later to learn that he did this often with young people active in political campaigns. He seemed intensely interested in us and the genesis of our political interest. State Deputy Controller Win Griffith, while still an undergraduate in 1952, was ushering at a Democratic fund-raising dinner, and Stevenson stepped up to him and asked, quite simply, "Why are you here?"

There are hundreds of persons who knew Stevenson much more intimately than I did, but what so exhilarated those of us who got to know him at all is that there was no difference between the public Stevenson and the private Stevenson. In his eloquent speeches, he impressed us as a man of wisdom, kindness, understanding, gentleness. In the privacy of his sitting room or office, he impressed us as the same. He was the least phony man I ever met.

SOARING ELOQUENCE

Perhaps it was because of this purity that he affected so many of us. There are few examples in American history of a man so profoundly affecting so many, not because of the positions he held, but because of the person he was.

Many of us in the legions of Stevenson devotees felt the void most keenly—felt how much poorer the English language is for his loss when we read the eulogies on the morning after his death. Many of the statements were beautiful and moving, but somehow there wasn't another Stevenson around to eulogize him with the same soaring eloquence with which he eulogized others.

HIS OWN EULOGY

When Eleanor Roosevelt died, he said, "She would rather light candles than curse the darkness."

When President Kennedy was assassinated, he said, "All men everywhere who cherish freedom shall remember his death until the day of our own."

Ironically, perhaps Adlai wrote his own eulogy better than anyone else, when, in a memorial service for Sir Winston Churchill, he spoke words that we could well apply to him:

"We shall no longer hear the remembered eloquence and wit, the old courage and defiance, the robust serenity of indomitable faith. Our world is thus poorer, our politcial dialog diminished, and the sources of public inspiration run more thinly for all of us. There is a lonesome place against the sky."

For the millions around the world who admired Stevenson and especially for the thousands upon thousands of us who are involved in public life because of him, there is, indeed, "a lonesome place against the sky."

Archbishop Cody: Distinguished Churchman With the Common Touch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the city of Chicago was honored by Pope Paul VI recently when he appointed Archbishop John Patrick Cody to succeed the late Cardinal Meyer as Archbishop of Chicago.

Archbishop Cody brings with him to this new assignment a rare vocation and a talent for administration which has enabled him to help unify and advance the communities which he has served previously in New Orleans, Kansas City, and St. Louis.

He is a keenly intelligent, warm-hearted, modern-day man who is vitally interested in the ecumenical movement. For those of my colleagues who may not be fully aware of his outstanding record of community and religious service, I am including an article which appears in the August issue of Extension magazine.

We in Chicago are proud that Pope Paul has added further distinction to our city by sending Archbishop Cody to fill the void left by Cardinal Meyer upon his death earlier this year. On behalf of our great midwestern city, I welcome Archbishop Cody into our community and our lives.

Mr. Speaker, the article follows:

ARCHBISHOP CODY: DISTINGUISHED CHURCHMAN WITH THE COMMON TOUCH

When Pope Paul VI named Archbishop John Patrick Cody archbishop of Chicago, the New Orleans prelate also became chancellor of the Catholic Church Extension Society, the home mission organization for the church in the United States.

As a member of the society's board of governors, Archbishop Cody knows of the society's work on the national level; and he has personally seen its results in previous assignments in New Orleans, Kansas City-St. Joseph, and St. Louis.

His own attitude toward the missions is part of his record. In an interview in the Kansas City Catholic Reporter a few years ago he pointed out that a bishop's responsibility as a successor to the apostles is not limited to his own diocese, but that he shares responsibility for the worldwide church. A bishop not interested in the mission activity of the church would be a contradiction in terms, he said.

In a statement for extension society after he was appointed to New Orleans, he declared:

"Our vision of missionary needs must go beyond the diocesan borders and appreciate the great service which the extension society is rendering to the missionary dioceses in every part of the country. Without its aid hundreds of chapels would never have been erected and thousands of souls would have been left without the administration of the sacraments and holy Mass."

Although he has earned a reputation as an efficient administrator and builder, there is a less publicized side to the 57-year-old prelate. Some of it is revealed in the reflections of a New Orleans associate.

Despite his busy schedule he finds time to write personal notes to those who have a death in the family; visit injured firemen in a hospital; take a side trip as he recently did to visit the widow of a slain Negro deputy sheriff at Bogalusa, La.; and annually visit with the elderly at Catholic homes for the elderly.

He is regarded as an easy man to talk to. Although he never forgets the dignity of his office, he can speak on a down-to-earth level with anyone; within minutes he will put a person awed by the office at ease.

Among programs designed to enable him to get to know his people were the following:

An annual reception for parents of priests. He meets with them after a holy hour, presents pins to parents of newly ordained priests.

Special ceremony for confirmation of adults. This makes the adults feel more comfortable than if they were confirmed as usual with a group of children.

An annual Mass and reception for persons in the archdiocese observing their 50th wedding anniversaries. In the first such ceremony two summers ago, one couple who were originally from New Orleans came all the way from California to attend the event.

An expanded vocational program includes a summer "seminarian-for-a-week" camp which enables 6th-, 7th-, and 8th-grade boys and high school students to spend a week at a seminary, living the life of a seminarian. Ordained deacons act as counselors. Last summer more than 300 boys participated.

Another program geared to stimulating vocations was a Saturday Latin program for college students and workingmen. Its purpose was to give Latin foundation for young men interested in the priesthood but who felt their Latin background was inadequate.

Two fields of special interest to Archbishop Cody have been Catholic education and religious vocations. In April of 1964, while serving his third term as president of the National Catholic Education Association, he declared "we must build and build" in education—and he has carried out this aim in New Orleans.

He made the statement in the midst of nationally published articles declaring that Catholic education in this country was in a precarious position. Proof that he stands behind this statement is the fact that most of the more than $30 million in capital investments made under his 3-year administration in New Orleans has been for school construction.

The laity of the archdiocese—upon whom Archbishop Cody has called to implement his many programs—responded to his fund drive to begin financing a high school program by pledging $3,423,106. This was nearly $1 million over the $2.5 million goal of the first of a series of planned annual campaigns.

Included in the overall $28.4 million construction program is a new building for St. John Vianney preparatory high school for boys interested in the priesthood. More than 125 youths are enrolled for classes in September.

The inauguration of St. John's School last year was the key move in reorganizing the seminary training program of the archdiocese, a step geared to stimulate vocations and improve the training of future priests. In the field of vocations, Archbishop Cody also established an archdiocesan vocation office staffed by both religious and lay personnel. The vocation program has won recognition in Rome.

The archbishop has stimulated greater lay participation in the work of the church through the Confraternity of Christine Doctrine, the Family Life Bureau and other church agencies. The fact that Family Life Bureau participation has tripled in 3 years reflects the response of the laity.

CENTRAL FINANCING

The physical advancements of the archdiocese have been made possible primarily through a central finance program inaugurated by Archbishop Cody in June 1962. The program has saved tens of thousands of dollars, provided low-cost loans to parishes, and enabled parishes with excess funds to draw interest on their idle money.

THE CATHOLIC PRESS

In the field of communications, Archbishop Cody has demonstrated lively interest in the Catholic press. He established the Catholic press. He established the Clarion Herald—Catholic weekly in the archdiocese of New Orleans—and set a pace for the U.S. Catholic press, as the Clarion won top national awards in its first 2 years of publication. Earlier he had established the Catholic

Reporter in the Kansas City-St. Joseph diocese, which has since won an international reputation for its vigor and initiative.

Archbishop Cody came to New Orleans from the diocese of Kansas City-St. Joseph in November 1961, as coadjutor to the late Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel. At Archbishop Rummel's request, Archbishop Cody took over the reins of the archdiocese as apostolic administrator 3 years ago—June 1, 1962.

In his new position, one of his first tasks was to carry out the integration of Catholic schools of the archdiocese. The archbishop has continued to assert strong leadership in the important field of racial equality in the Deep South. He recently called for the State and communities of Louisiana to form biracial committees to avoid violence and promote peaceful integration.

OPERATION UNDERSTANDING

Archbishop Cody has also placed strong emphasis on ecumenism, and in December 1963, inaugurated Operation Understanding, a program of exchange visits between members of various faiths in the archdiocese.

Operating at a pace which challenged even the youngest of his aids, the 57-year-old prelate has inaugurated programs that have touched every area of Catholic life.

In addition to the archdiocesan programs, Archbishop Cody served from mid-1962 to the middle of this year as president of the NCEA; served as chairman of the National Catholic Welfare Conference youth department; and is a member of the Vatican Council's commission for seminaries and studies.

Born in St. Louis in 1907, he began his studies for the priesthood in 1922 at the St. Louis preparatory seminary. In 1926 he was assigned to continue his studies for the priesthood at the North American College in Rome, where he was ordained December 8, 1931.

In Rome he earned doctorates in philosophy, theology, and Canon law. In 1933 he was assigned to the staff of the Vatican Secretariat of State. During Father Cody's years of service, the Secretary of State was Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli, later Pope Pius XII.

Father Cody returned to the United States in 1938 when he was named secretary to Archbishop John Glennon of St. Louis. In 1940 he became the chancellor of the St. Louis Archdiocese. Pope Pius XII named him a papal chamberlain with the title very reverend monsignor on May 9, 1943. On February 24, 1946, the Pope promoted him to the rank of domestic prelate with the title of right reverend monsignor.

On May 14, 1947, he was named Titular Bishop of Appolonia and auxiliary to Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter of St. Louis. Bishop Cody was named coadjutor bishop with the right of succession to Bishop Charles H. LeBlond of St. Joseph, Mo., on January 27, 1954.

On August 29, 1956, Bishop Cody was transferred to the newly formed Diocese of Kansas City-St. Joseph, as coadjutor with the right of succession to Archbishop Edwin V. O'Hara. At Archbishop O'Hara's death he became ordinary of the diocese.

In November 1961, Archbishop Cody was named coadjutor to Archbishop Rummel in New Orleans. He became the 10th archbishop of that see on November 8, 1964, at Archbishop Rummel's death.

ACTIVE IN COMMUNITY

In St. Louis, Kansas City, and New Orleans, Archbishop Cody has shown great interest in community affairs. He served as a member of the board of directors of the Community Chest in St. Louis and Kansas City. In St. Louis he was on the mayor's advisory committee and also director of the National Catholic Community Service. In New Orleans he served as a member of the chamber of commerce, on the United Fund, Board of Catholic Charities, worked with the Boy Scouts, and many other civic committees.

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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Committee on Rules and Administration

Messrs. Jordan of North Carolina (chairman), Hayden, Cannon, Pell, Clark, Byrd of West Virginia, Curtis, Cooper, and Scott.

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Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel Sheraton-Park, Washington, D.C.
Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 4652 Hutchins Pl.
Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut Ave.
Mr. Justice Harlan, of New York, 1677 31st St.
Mr. Justice Brennan, of New Jersey, 3037 Dumbarton Ave.
Mr. Justice Stewart, of Ohio, 5136 Palisade Lane.
Mr. Justice White, of Colorado, 2209 Hampshire Rd., McLean, Va.

OFFICERS OF THE SUPREME COURT

Clerk—John F. Davis, 4704 River Rd.
Deputy Clerk—Edmund P. Cullinan, 4823 Reservoir Rd.
Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 6004 Corbin Rd.
Reporter—Henry Putzel, Jr., 3703 33d St.
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UNITED STATES JUDICIAL CIRCUITS

JUSTICES ASSIGNED

TERRITORY EMBRACED

District of Columbia judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. District of Columbia.

First judicial circuit: ——— ——— ———. Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Puerto Rico, Rhode Island.

Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Harlan. Connecticut, New York, Vermont.

Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Brennan. Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virgin Islands.

Fourth judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia.

Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black. Alabama, Canal Zone, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas.

Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Stewart. Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee.

Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark. Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.

Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas. Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Guam, Hawaii.

Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, Wyoming.

Appendix

Freedom Academy Wins Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, now that the House committee in charge of the legislation has unanimously reported favorably on the passage of the Freedom Academy bill, interest and support is rapidly expanding throughout the Nation and it is hoped the House will soon have an opportunity to vote on this vital piece of legislation.

An interesting and informative editorial was recently carried in the Rapid City Sunday Journal, of Rapid City, S. Dak. For the information of the Congress and the country, I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FREEDOM ACADEMY WINS SUPPORT

More war, increasing numbers of young Americans to be involved—that's the program outlined by President Johnson because of the conflict in Vietnam.

Not so much attention was called to action by a committee within the House of Representatives which would establish a Freedom Academy for this Nation.

The Freedom Academy would be the equivalent of West Point, Colorado Springs, or Annapolis—with the objective of preserving freedom in a cold war.

South Dakota's Senator KARL MUNDT has been a sponsor of the measure. The U.S. Senate passed such a bill in 1960 but no action then resulted in the House. Prospects are brighter now—and the need is obvious this year, just as in the past.

Senator MUNDT explains the Freedom Academy would "assist in the development of methods and means employable in both the governmental and private sectors to counter all forms of Communist political warfare, subversion, and insurgency while seeking to preserve and build free and viable societies."

MUNDT endorses the findings of the House committee which note:

"In total war, military defense is only partial defense. Today the major gap in world resistance to communism, the largely undefended front, is the front of nonmilitary or political warfare. The United States has led the organization and development of the free world's military defense in the global struggle. It is imperative that it now take the lead in developing its total defense by closing the serious gap that exists on the front which, in the long run, could be as decisive as the military front."

The committee outlined requirements of such a program as follows:

Policymakers and government personnel at many levels must understand communism in depth, with special emphasis on Communist conflict techniques.

At the upper levels of Government we must have, in addition, officials who understand the full range of methods and means by which this Nation and its Allies can meet the Communist attack and work toward our global objectives systematically. This means that they will have to master a broad range of nonmilitary measures which have yet to be developed and systematized.

Below this level, agency personnel must be trained to understand and implement this integrated strategy in all of its dimensions.

The public must have greater understanding of communism, its objectives, tactics, and methods, especially Communist conflict techniques and the nature of the global struggle, to insure public support of the Nation's efforts to counter Communist aggression. More thorough public knowledge of communism will help prevent the extremism which, frequently arising from misunderstanding or lack of information, creates national dissention and impairs the country's efforts in the global struggle.

The private sector must also be helped in understanding how it can participate in the global struggle in a sustained and systematic manner.

It is necessary to assist, and to enlist the support of, other non-Communist countries by training selected foreign nationals. Equal support and understanding among other peoples and our allies are essential if we are to continue moving forward in a concentrated effort.

A serious gap on the political war front exists when American and Communist techniques and exploitation are compared.

The Freedom Academy would be organized and financed as a Federal training school similar to the colleges which supply officers for the Army, Navy, and Air Force. It would be an educational and research institution, not a policymaking agency.

This Nation seems to lag as friends are counted around the globe, and the inroads of avowed Communists are cause for concern.

Skilled help for the cause of freedom could come from such a college.

Education in the Less-Developed Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I recently had the pleasure of reading a very stimulating speech, a copy of which was sent to me by Mr. John Scott of Time magazine. Mr. Scott delivered this speech before the International Conference of Higher Education held at Oxford, England, on the occasion of the dedication of the English campus of Farleigh Dickinson University, on July 1, 1965.

I am submitting the text for the RECORD as John Scott is one of the most perspicacious observers I know and a tribute to Time magazine:

SPEECH DELIVERED BY JOHN SCOTT OF TIME MAGAZINE

Ladies and gentlemen, it is my good fortune to appear as one of the last speakers in this conference and therefore to have benefited from the remarks of the earlier participants as they analyzed the subject of this conference: "What should be the common elements of a university education in all countries of the world?"

On the basis of what I have heard, I have decided to discard the paper I intended to give on the impact of electronic developments on university education and to devote the 20 minutes which President Sammartino has placed at my disposal to one aspect of the subject of the conference mentioned several times but still imperfectly defined and certainly not resolved. This is the problem of the allocation of the limited resources available in less developed countries for higher education, between the demands of science, technology, and resource development on the one hand, and education in the broad humanities so well defined and so eloquently pled for by Dr. Toynbee in his speech on Tuesday morning. This education finds its highest expression, Toynbee told us, in man's willingness and ability to replace national identity and national allegiance with a feeling of identity with, and allegiance to, the human race.

I intend to approach this problem by citing several examples of problems met with in Soviet education. I have decided to do this for three reasons:

In the first place because I have had some opportunity to observe Soviet education at close range.

In the second place because the subject of this whole conference includes the phrase "in all countries of the world." Though nearly half the human race currently lives in countries dominated by one kind of communism or another, no speaker has dealt in any detail with Soviet education.

In the third place because, as I hope to demonstrate, Soviet experience is relevant to and instructive in analyzing current educational problems in the less developed countries of the world.

I went to the Soviet Union in 1932 as a very young man and worked for several years in a steel mill in the city of Magnitogorsk. A week after my arrival another young man, arrived in the city about whom I would like to tell you, because through his eyes and experience I think I can make several points more clearly than I could with historic generalizations or statistics.

Shaimat was a Tartar. He came from an obscure village in central Kazakhstan. When he arrived in Magnitogorsk he had never seen an electric light, a staircase or a locomotive. He had seen a hammer but never used one. He was illiterate. He spoke almost no Russian. He communicated monosyllabically with fellow Tartars in that language. Furthermore, the village from which he came was a backward one and people believed that washing more frequently than once a year was not only dangerous for one's health but verged on the sacrilegious, because it jeopardized the lives of those parasites which they considered normal expressions of man's personality. Shaimat had many such parasites, and for this and other reasons, he was not a person one would select as a close associate—if one had a choice.

In this case there was not much choice. For Shaimat arrived in our gang in response to an urgent request by the foreman to the personnel department of the plant for an electrician. It was immediately obvious when Shaimat appeared that he was not an electrician. But this did not disturb the foreman who, accustomed to dealing with Soviet reality, did not need an electrician but in fact only a body—a man to sit in a booth where we had motor generators producing direct current for electric welding. There he was to watch an electric light bulb in the ceiling, and when it went out, as it did several times a day as the result of breakdowns in the powerhouse or on the line, he was to switch the motors off, then switch them on again when the juice came back. The foreman undertook to explain this simple operation to Shaimat in sign language and Shaimat went to work.

During his first day he burned out three motors. During the first week several more. For the first month Shaimat sat in his little booth gazing up at the large installations of the mill without any comprehension of what was going on. He had come to Magnitogorsk to get a larger bread ration card—which he had received—and that was the extent of his interest. But gradually two things happened to Shaimat. In the first place he began to learn to speak the Russian language by a sort of osmosis in contact with the people around him. In the second place he began to learn to read in a circle for adult illiterates, of whom there were at that time perhaps 50,000 in the city.

I would see Shaimat at work, laboriously spelling out words from a reader. As he learned to read, and as he learned to speak the language of the area, Shaimat's intellectual horizons suddenly broadened. He became aware of things which we in the West encounter at an early age but which Shaimat in his twenties had previously been unaware of. He learned, for example, that he lived in a country called the Soviet Union. Previously he had been aware of his village and of his province, but not of the Soviet Union. He learned that there was something called the 5-year plan.

I remember his explanation of the substance of the plan: "You see all those machines over there? And these miserable shoes (pointing to his own ragged footwear)? The leather that could have been my shoes was sent abroad to pay for those machines." A simplistic but essentially accurate description of the economics of the first 5-year plan. I remember on another occasion Shaimat's explanation to me of the purpose of our efforts in Magnitogorsk. You see, Shaimat knew that he had come a long way from his village to Magnitogorsk—he had walked about 3 weeks—and he knew that on arrival he had been very ignorant. He had been told by others that I came from America which was even farther away, and he logically concluded that I must have been more ignorant than he had been when I arrived.

On this occasion he undertook to explain to me what we were doing: "You see the idea here is to take that red dirt from the mountain up there and bring it down here and make iron out of it." A simplistic but essentially accurate description of the process of ferrous metallurgy.

From that point on Shaimat went very rapidly. I left the city in 1937 at which time Shaimat was going to night school studying about ergs and amperes, and problems of electrotechnology frequently studied in the West at university level. His way of life had changed radically; he washed regularly, he dressed much better, he read magazines and newspapers. These to be sure were tendentious, but Shaimat's horizons had broadened more than had those of his Tartar antecedents since the day of Genghis Khan.

Shaimat was not alone. The entire community at this time was going through a similar metamorphosis. Some two-thirds of the 230,000 inhabitants of Magnitogorsk were going to some kind of school, studying everything from engineering to literacy, along with obligatory courses in political orientation.

Another example, I got a toothache. In the dental clinic, I found myself being examined by a girl about my own age. She, it turned out, had gone through 4 years of primary school, then had worked in a factory where she was a political activist and a good worker, and was rewarded by being sent to a dental school where spent spent 3 years. She admitted laconically that she had been rough on her first 200 to 300 patients but "since most of them previously had had no dental care at all, I was an improvement; and now I fill teeth as well as the best."

I myself went to school. I remember vividly the eloquence with which one of my professors at the Institute of Metallurgical Engineering I attended in the evening made lucid poetry of the calculus. I also remember the deadening fatigue with which, after an 8-hour shift in the mill, we spent evenings wrestling with vector analysis.

Magnitogorsk in the 1930's was one of a number of Soviet cities undergoing rapid development, an important aspect of which was a highly pragmatic educational effort directed specifically at teaching people to do necessary things—to fill teeth, design bridges, make steel.

Twenty-five years passed, during which I was engaged in other pursuits. During those 25 years the Soviet Union survived a cruel war. During that generation more than 100 million Soviet adults learned to read and write, and several million went to higher schools where they learned to design, to construct and to operate the tools of peace and the weapons of war.

During this period Soviet education concentrated relentlessly on science and technology. Students had no electives, there was no room in the curriculum for music appreciation or home economics. But every week of every year all had to study the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, political economy and dialectical materialism (the Soviet equivalent of philosophy and ethics). During this period the party maintained absolute control over the education system. The party determined not only the curriculum, but also the budget, the entrance and graduate requirements and the administration.

During this period the question of academic freedom never arose. Indeed, the phrase sounds strange and unreal in the Russian language. For example, Soviet genetics was set back a generation by a conflict between academician Vavilov, a world renowned scholar, and Trofim Lysenko, a party charlatan who for purely political reasons supported the contention that acquired characteristics could be inherited. This argument was "settled" when Vavilov died in a concentration camp leaving Lysenko to dominate the field for a generation. Only years later, after Stalin's death, was Lysenko quietly defrocked.

But in spite of the political controls and other inhibitions in Soviet education, immense progress was made. Recent Soviet feats in space technology are symbolic of the advancements of Soviet education and science in the past generation.

I returned to the Soviet Union recently, making five visits there in the last 7 years. During these visits I saw many of the men and women whom I had known earlier and in some cases met and talked with their children, some of whom were not university students.

I was impressed by the improvements in Soviet living conditions—material, cultural, recreational, artistic. But perhaps most of all I was impressed at the fact that millions of Soviet citizens are becoming really educated. I mean educated in Dr. Toynbee's sense of the word. Much of this real education did not come as part of the formal schooling, but was acquired in spite of it. It came from reading, thinking, from discussions. Let me illustrate.

I remember being pressed hard by several graduate students on the subject of the categorical imperative. As a defensive ploy, I mentioned to them that when I had attended the Magnitogorsk Institute of Metallurgical Engineering, my professor of dialectical materialism skipped nimbly from Heraclitus to Hegel and then on to Engels and Lenin, with no mention at all of Kant. They shrugged and smiled. "Things have changed. Now they evoke Kant to illustrate the poverty of bourgeois philosophy. But we are not stupid."

Let me illustrate further: My wife and I went to a workers' theater in Leningrad to watch a performance of Macbeth. The production was excellent, the audience responsive. Afterward we took six graduate students from the University of Leningrad to the Astoria Hotel where we spent 2 hours sipping reasonably good Soviet champagne and talking. Though all of our guests were students of technology, they were all actively interested in Shakespeare. I asked them what the play meant to them. "Well," said one, "perhaps for us Macbeth was Stalin, Banquo—Trotsky, Duncan—Nicholas * * * that leaves us with Khrushchev as Macduff."

"You have to reach for that one," said another dubiously. This was discussed for several minutes. Then I asked this question: "Assuming the plausibility of this analogy, who were Macduff's English? Whose foreign troops may be brought into Russia to overthrow a tyranny the Russians themselves seem unable to cope with? Perhaps it might have been the Germans? Or, in the future, the Chinese? Or the Americans?" An intense discussion followed for half an hour. Two of our friends refused to accept the legitimacy of the analogy. The others argued about the propriety of accepting any of the three suggested candidates for the invidious role of helping the Russian people organize a better government.

The discussion ended inconclusively except for one thing, it was clear that these young people were educated. They were discussing intelligently the application of the universal human problems so defty analyzed and eloquently described by Shakespeare to their own experience.

To illustrate further, let me tell you two students' stories. The first like many European anecdotes is formulated as a question and answer.

Question. What is the difference between capitalism and communism?

Answer. Under capitalism man exploits man. Under communism, it is just the opposite.

Another story, apocryphal but indicative. A capitalist cell was functioning in Moscow. At its surreptitious meetings older members made speeches, younger members asked questions. At one meeting an older member presented a vibrant defense of the free enterprise system. When he had finished a younger member arose and said, "This is fascinating but will it work? Can one change human nature?"

Millions of Soviet citizens are becoming educated in the broad and universal Toynbean sense of the word.

In spite of pervasive restrictions on foreign travel, in spite of the prohibition of critical thinking, in spite of rigid Marxist indoctrination, Russians are becoming educated citizens not only of the Soviet Union but of the world.

There is eloquent evidence of this in recent Soviet poetry and literature. For example, Leningrad's beat poet Brodsky—a sort of Soviet Allen Ginsberg—was recently released from a labor camp where he had served a rap for social parasitism, only to be confined in a mental institution. He continues to heap indignities and scorn on the party and on communism.

The Soviet novelist Solzhenitsyn, more famous for his "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich," recently published an extraordinarily short novel called "Matrenin Dvor," which ignores the party but pays glowing tribute to universal qualities and values of men and women in a Soviet village.

Twenty-nine-year-old poet Andrei Voznesensky likewise ignores politics and partyism in favor of universal values. Listen to the last few lines of a recent poem:

"Everything, anything ever played on that box
Had been an enormous lie! Reflections
Of candelabra and pillars.

"I hear the steel of that piano roaring inside me.
I lie in the quarry, and I am huge like a piano
Reflecting the shiny black dust of the walls:
Human shapes. Hunger. Flesh glowing at the stake.
As if waiting for crowning glories I wait
For the breaker's ax!

"No secret, my mission,
True to my fate,
I'll be a high music,
warmth and bread, for men."

Many foreign observers have noted this change in the climate of Soviet intellectual life. Yugoslav scholar Mihajlo Mihajlov returned recently from months of study in the Soviet Union to report a widespread revival of Tolstoyan humanism among Soviet students who are rebelling against the perfidy and parochialism of Soviet communism.

Soviet experience seems to support Dr. Toynbee's contention that real education can be learned, but not taught. It goes further, I believe, and demonstrates that it cannot be denied, and that when denial is attempted, this real education will be seized.

What implication does this my thesis have on the problem of priorities for the allocation of resources by less developed countries for higher education?

The implication to me is clear and I wish to weigh heavily in support to the thesis so effectively presented by Dr. Paddock on Tuesday afternoon: During the period immediately ahead, less developed countries must relentlessly and preemptively channel their higher educational efforts into resource development, into the training of forestry engineers, metallurgists, scientists, business managers, and above all—teachers.

Certainly we can hope that the less developed countries will be able to publish large numbers of books to be read outside of school hours by their people. We hope that within the limits of balance-of-payments restrictions they can permit their young citizens to travel abroad, and that they may facilitate extracurricular training in such broadening subjects as foreign languages. But they cannot afford to concentrate major efforts on the broad humanities, at least during the period of rapid capital formation necessary to increase their productive forces up to the level of their procreativity.

If they do try to leap ahead and give their university students broad universalist education before they have learned to operate a viable economy and have gained the self-satisfaction and self-confidence that comes from learning to work efficiently, I believe that it may jeopardize political and social stability in these countries.

Varying Declaration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, all of us have had occasion to enjoy the serenity and dignity of the Jefferson Memorial on the beautiful Tidal Basin. However, I doubt if many Members of the Senate are aware of the lively historical controversy concerning the text of the Declaration of Independence which appears on the wall of the memorial.

My friend, Brant Coopersmith, has explored this controversy at some length. I think many citizens will be interested in an article from the Boston Record American which gives further details.

I ask unanimous consent that the article from the Record American be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VARYING DECLARATION

(By Ruth Montgomery)

WASHINGTON.—We may "hold these truths to be self-evident," but did you know that there is no such thing as an official version of the Declaration of Independence?

Although it is among the most sublime and frequently quoted documents in the world, neither the Supreme Court, the Congress, the U.S. Archivist, nor the Librarian of Congress is able to say which of three differing versions is the legally correct one.

Brant Coopersmith, an official of the American Jewish Committee, was making a speech on civil rights in which he quoted from the Declaration of Independence: "that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights."

A woman in the audience interrupted to say that the correct quote was "inalienable," but Coopersmith advised her to reread the Declaration. The following week she mailed him a photograph of the carving on the Jefferson Memorial. It did indeed read "inalienable rights."

Puzzled, Coopersmith checked with Interior Secretary Stewart Udall to see why a national monument under Interior's jurisdiction misquotes the Declaration. Udall agreed that there is an "inconsistency," but said the memorial uses the Jefferson draft of the Declaration, rather than the final one passed by the Continental Congress.

Coopersmith reread Jefferson's draft and noted that the monument carving was faithful neither to that nor to the Declaration, because it includes the words: "and for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor." The Continental Congress had added those noble words to Jefferson's draft.

Seeking enlightenment, Coopersmith wrote to Dr. Julian P. Boyd, of Princeton University, a recognized Jeffersonian authority who edited the Jefferson Papers and was president of the American Historical Society; and to L. Quincy Mumford, Librarian of Congress. He learned that besides Jefferson's there are three versions of the Declaration: the rough draft printed in the Journal of Congress, the corrected draft which Congress adopted, and the engrossed parchment which the Founding Fathers signed. All are official in character, but there are slight variations in text and innumerable differences in capitalization and punctuation.

Dr. Boyd wrote Coopersmith that he had once asked a Supreme Court Justice which version the Court considered to be the official, legally correct version, and was told that no ruling had ever been made. Mumford said Congress has never settled the issue, either, but suggested that Wayne C. Grover, the Archivist, be consulted.

Coopersmith queried Grover, who replied that he does not believe it is within his province to make the ruling on which is official.

All three versions carry the word "unalienable," rather than Jefferson's "inalienable," but no one seems to know who was responsible for that change. To add to the mystery, the final text voted by the Continental Congress differs slightly from the engrossed parchment to which the famous signatures were appended.

The latter version is the more familiar one, and most often appears in school textbooks, but is it as official as the one Congress actually passed?

Further sleuthing by Coopersmith disclosed the reason for the discrepancies in the Jefferson Memorial. The commission responsible for its design selected quotes from the Declaration as originally drawn by Jefferson. When it was sent to the White House for final approval, President Franklin D. Roosevelt added the last sentence from the Declaration, although Jefferson had not authored it.

This poses two questions: Should Congress now pass a resolution designating an official version of this great document, and should the lettering on the Jefferson Memorial be altered to conform either to the Jefferson draft, or to the Declaration?

There's already enough confusion in Washington, without further confusing the millions of tourists who visit the memorial each year.

A New Look at a Total That's Pure L.B.J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES P. FARNSLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. FARNSLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following article that appeared in the Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky., on Sunday, August 1:

A NEW LOOK AT A TOTAL THAT'S PURE L.B.J.

(By Weldon James)

When I was in Washington not long ago a friend who happens to be on the White House staff made it possible for me to loaf around the place on several occasions to see how things go there nowadays, and I got quite a new perspective on that phenomenon called Lyndon Baines Johnson.

I say new because, although I had as a newspaperman enjoyed some slight acquaintance with L.B.J. in years past as a Senator and a Vice President, my most recent impressions of him were exactly those that any television viewer and newspaper reader might have: A pale kind of superserious John Wayne in the White House, fittingly loaded with dignity and high purpose and noble ambition, one of the shrewdest and most skillful of public servants after some 35 years

in politics, but maybe not quite as real as Texas—whatever Texas is.

That, perhaps, is one of the disservices of the silver screen—and of the President's passion for what some of his friends call a tendency to overexpose himself on it. But I am not at all sure, after watching the Presidential act in person, on and off TV in the White House, that despite occasional overexposure President Johnson isn't going to prove himself as successful in projecting a favorable image of himself on the relatively new medium of TV as Franklin D. Roosevelt most memorably was on radio.

NO PALE JOHN WAYNE

What is particularly impressive about the President in plain view, as it was about F.D.R. and Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy, in my experience as a Washington reporter, is that he looks much better than he does on the TV screen or in still photographs. He is ruddier in color, for one thing; he is no pale John Wayne. And he transmits not only the certainty that he is even more real than Texas—whatever Texas is—but a kind of magnetic assurance that he has a kindly schoolteacher's interest in every living human being he encounters, from Pakistani camel driver to White House file clerk or aging cousin, and is more than ready, as advertised, to reason together with anyone from Capitol Hill to Cambodia.

To project such impressions is quite an accomplishment, of course, whether in person only or on the screen that means meaningful contact with millions. That L.B.J. has been steadily improving the serious business of transferring his person-to-person image to the screen was demonstrated, I think, by his telecast performance last week in announcing the doubling of the draft call to beef up our war effort in Vietnam—a step certainly not universally applauded, but a performance of such dignity and solemnity and persuasive evidence of high-mindedness as to win praise from even dissident critics.

Enough has been printed already, surely, about L.B.J.'s corn-ball touch, the thinness of his very thin skin, his almost professionally provincial airs. These come through clearly enough if you watch him, 6 feet away, at a ceremony in the East Room, standing with deliberation beneath that most austere portrait of George Washington, shaking hands with key Members of Congress, chatting with each, and handing out—almost by the gross—ballpoint pens with which he had added a fraction of his signature to a favorite bill, or when he fields a touchy question at a press conference.

But what also comes through is L.B.J.'s moving pride in the United States of America and in the Office of the Presidency, and his manifest determination to win the highest rank among those who have held it. Like him or lump him, this aspiration to greatness, this day-to-day love of tackling the awesome burdens of the Presidency, this sheer zest for encounter—all these should serve the Nation well.

So should his celebrated capacity for hard work and long hours. My staff friend, who got me two of those souvenir pens but whose passion for anonymity precludes my saying more than that J.F.K. lured him to Washington but the fascination of studying L.B.J. at firsthand keeps him there, is younger than the President. But he vowed, after not being able to dine at home for a fortnight, that L.B.J.'s durability is almost incredibly superior to that of men many years his junior.

"The hours," he said, "are long, the schedules and the itineraries unpredictable—but fascinating. As you can see, half the people in these offices look to the doorway every now and then, aware, from experience, that at any moment the President might come in, night or day, just to chat and relax, maybe, or to check on something serious, or to raise pluperfect hell. Never a dull moment. A touch of Andrew Jackson, William Jennings Bryan, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Harry S. Truman—but a total that's pure L.B.J."

Social and Economic Problems in Eastern Kentucky

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THRUSTON B. MORTON

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, eastern Kentucky has many problems—social and economic. We also have the problem of violence.

I ask unanimous consent that an article published in Action in Kentucky of July 22, 1965, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRIAL OF 12 SLOWS EASTERN KENTUCKY VIOLENCE—BUT SHOTS, BOMBS KEEP UNION WARS AFLAME IN HARLAN

The trial of 12 men at Hyden for murder in the fatal shooting of a miner as he attempted to cross a union picket line last March has slowed violence somewhat in Perry, Letcher, and Knott Counties, writes S. C. Van Curon in his weekly column for Kentucky newspapers. Violence remains rampant in Harlan County.

The conviction or acquittal of the 12 is a matter for the courts to determine, but the important public interest has been served in the fact that there is evidence of efforts to enforce criminal laws even when unionists are involved.

CONTRACTS CANCELED

The Frankfort newspaperman, who for a number of years edited the Harlan Daily Enterprise, cites the killing at Blue Diamond Coal Co.'s Leatherwood mine as "just one in a series of troublesome events since most eastern Kentucky coal mines canceled their contracts with the United Mine Workers of America."

Coal operators in Harlan County remain under almost constant harassment by unidentified men who shoot into houses at night, toss dynamite bombs or shoot at workmen from the protection of wooded hills. This despite the bringing to trial the 12 men accused of executing a coal miner because he wanted to work rather than strike for a union cause.

INDIVIDUAL BARGAINING

Members of the Harland County Coal Operators Association served notice on the UMW May 3, 1964 canceling their work agreement. It became effective in July, 60 days after the notice. A recent decision of the National Labor Relations Board was that the association was not required to bargain with the union for its members since it has no history of such bargaining. NLRB said contracts are executed or rejected by individual employers.

Usually such contracts are negotiated at national level and they are approved or rejected by the individual mines. The courts have recently awarded substantial damages to a small mine operator on charges that the UMW tried to put them out of business and competition with larger operators. The Supreme Court of the United States sent the case back to district court for a new trial on points of evidence and instructions.

ANTITRUST LAWS

The High Court held that a union forfeits its exemption from the antitrust laws when it is clearly shown that it has agreed with one set of employers to impose a certain wage scale on other bargaining units. One group of employers may not conspire to eliminate competitors from the industry and the union is liable with the employers if it becomes a party to the conspiracy.

Since the contract cancellations, much of the trouble has centered at three of the larger independent mines in Harlan County; Harlan Fuel Co., Kentucky Jellico Coal Co., and Seagrave Coal Co.

ELECTION ISSUE

Harlan Circuit Judge Edward G. Hill has issued a restraining order limiting pickets to five at each mine, but cars are shot into as men drive the highways to work and effort is made to force cars off the road in the continuing war of intimidation. Hardly a week passes in Harlan County without some violent incident of intimidation happening.

These are reported to be an important factor in the upcoming November election in Harlan County with some candidates avowed supporters of the picketing.

PEACE HOPES DIM

Some of the instances cited by Van Curon were violences against the home of B. W. Whitfield, Jr., owner of Kentucky Jellico Coal Co. at Brookside. The residence has been shot into once and dynamite bombs thrown into the yard twice since September 11, 1964. The first dynamite bomb went off about 3 a.m., January 18 and the second June 13.

There was hope that the Supreme Court decision that small mines may seek damages from the union if the UMW tried to put them out of business, but there is no peace in sight in eastern Kentucky at the moment, Van Curon writes.

A FEW VIOLENCES

Here are just a few of the 25 incidents at Brookside or at the homes of men working at the mine:

November 3, 1964, a bomb of 19 sticks of dynamite was found atop a bulldozer behind the store near the office. The fuse had failed.

December 18 at 1:50 p.m. shots were fired into cars belonging to two of the mine's foremen.

December 31 powerline at mine dynamited. Cost was $3,000 to repair.

February 7, 2:55 a.m., employee's house dynamited.

April 5, at 4 a.m. an employee's car was demolished by dynamite only 23 feet from where his child was sleeping.

There have been 27 separate incidents involving the Harlan Fuel Co. mine or its employees since July 13, 1964. Two company-owned houses have been burned in the coal camp. Shots have been fired into the tipple on two different occasions while men were working. There have been three dynamitings involving homes of employees. Four dynamite stocks were found in one employee's car.

It is becoming standard practice for these men to search their cars for dynamite bombs attached to the ignition before they try to start their cars.

There have been seven separate incidents of shooting at men or at the mine at Seagraves Coal Co. at High Splint. One hundred shots were fired into this coal camp June 9, 1965.

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY JOBS WAITING

While the Federal Government is appropriating huge sums to relieve poverty in eastern Kentucky and private groups are soliciting money and clothing for stricken families, jobs are going begging, especially in Harlan County.

Cloyd McDowell, president, Harlan County Coal Operators Association, said the mines in that county have jobs for 250 more men at $20 a day, but the owners can't find employees.

Meantime, the Washington administration, subservient to labor union demands (or threats of election reprisals) is pushing for a galaxy of legislation to increase union powers over members and the general public. Some of these are discussed in other columns of this issue of Action in Kentucky.

Monroe County News Comments on Repeal of Section 14(b)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my fellow Members an excellent editorial dealing with section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act from the August 2, 1965, issue of the Monroe County News of Albia, Iowa.

The public debate on this issue has produced a good deal of misunderstanding, and many people have been led to believe that the repeal of section 14(b), in and of itself, would force workers to join unions.

However, as the editorial points out, this is not the case. Repeal of section 14(b) would not automatically impose the union shop in Iowa, or in any other right-to-work State. Instead, it would free labor and management to negotiate union shop contracts without interference by State law.

This is an important point, too often ignored in discussion over the repeal of section 14(b), and the Monroe County News is to be commended for ignoring emotionalism and for pointing out the real issues involved.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I hereby include the editorial:

CHALLENGE OUTMODED LAW

The recent vote in the U.S. House of Representatives repealing State laws that ban union shop contracts in 19 States, including Iowa, certainly is a long-needed measure to insure more equitable labor-management relations.

The measure, which will now be sent to the Senate, would not automatically impose the union shop in Iowa, but would free employers and unions to negotiate the union shop without Government interference. The legislation which would be repealed is section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act passed in 1947.

The six Democratic Congressmen who voted in favor of the repeal displayed commendable courage in backing the controversial proposal in face of possible frantic opposition from ill-informed voters back home. The fact that the only alternative to the vote was support for forced arbitration will be skipped over by those not really interested in understanding the issue.

Section 14(b) inserted in the original bill after it was introduced, is a vestige of the antilabor measures prior to the New Deal which allowed ill-paid workers to be forced from their picket line of grievances to their stations in poorly lighted, poorly ventilated factories lacking safety devices and health conditions taken for granted today. The section is as outmoded as the 12-hour day and serves as a black mark on Congress' record in an age when citizens can be expected to be treated respectably and given a chance to show their worth.

The Republican Representative from Iowa placing the dissenting vote made a gross error in believing his constituents favor Government control in an area rightly belonging to the individual employee and employer. As Representative JOHN CULVER, of Cedar Rapids, said, "The law prohibiting union shop agreements in Iowa was adopted in 1947 by a State legislature which has been declared by the courts as not truly representative of the majority of Iowans. During the past session of the general assembly, members of the population-based house of representatives who were elected by 66 percent of the people voted to repeal this law."

The fact that the section was not intended by those proposing the original act was emphasized by BERT BANDSTRA of this district.

"Repeal of section 14(b)" he said, "restores the intent of the Taft-Hartley Act as proposed by Senator Taft, and I think it would be going to an extreme to say he was not concerned with individual freedom."

BANDSTRA said that during Senate debate, Senator Taft helped defeat an amendment banning the union shop, saying, "it would be a mistake to go to the extreme of absolutely outlawing" a union shop contract.

If Iowa is to remain the last stronghold for big business in their losing struggle to pin labor to a low-wage floor, then it certainly is not the fault of our Democratic Representatives in Congress. Iowans appear satisfied to permit the State to rank among those providing the least protection for their wage earners.

Perhaps this legislation, if it passed by the Senate, will correct some of these ills so obvious in labor-management relations in this State.

Reapportionment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, we continue to hear rumors that the fight to preserve the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decisions is not over yet. I think it is important to note that public opinion is clearly backing the Supreme Court.

I inserted several editorials into the RECORD last week as evidence of this. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Sunday Times-Advertiser of Trenton, N.J., which further demonstrates public support of the Supreme Court's reapportionment decisions.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REAPPORTIONMENT AGAIN

The opponents of last year's one-man, one-vote decision by the U.S. Supreme Court haven't given up yet. And those who believe the decision offered a valuable opportunity to rejuvenate the State legislatures should be on their guard.

Senator DIRKSEN is leading a quiet campaign to amend the U.S. Constitution to permit a State to apportion one house of its legislature on some basis other than population, provided the people approve the plan at a referendum.

The drive, with its appeal to the principle of popular sovereignty, has picked up steam. Opponents now concede there is a fair chance Congress will pass the amendment by the necessary two-thirds vote this year and submit it to the States for ratification.

The Founding Fathers wisely left to the States wide powers and flexibility in organizing their governments. But the amendment as now written would be a turning back toward the domination of State legislatures by rural "untouchables"—the situation that finally drove the courts to intervene.

If the amendment is to be considered at all, it should contain at least these safeguards:

A requirement that the people of a State be given the chance to review a legislature's apportionment periodically by referendum. Otherwise, once a plan had been approved, it could be frozen into place forever beyond reach of the people, the way New Jersey's system of one senator per county had appeared to be prior to the Supreme Court's decision.

Some limitation on the population spread that may exist in an apportionment plan (even one that is approved by referendum). Until New Jersey abandoned its "21 Club" for a reapportioned 29-member senate, the Essex County senator represented 19 times as many people as the Cape May senator. There's little doubt the voters would have rejected such a system if they had been given the chance; but referendum or not, that is too much dilution of the Essex resident's vote.

A guarantee that an apportionment plan, when it goes to referendum, be submitted on its own merits and not as a rider to anything else. Otherwise it could be argued that New Jersey voters had approved the "21 Club" when they ratified the 1947 constitution, even though the convention that wrote that constitution had been forbidden by law to tamper with legislative apportionment.

A guarantee of the right of judicial review of apportionment plans. The present wording is unclear on this point.

Modifiers such as these should be anybody's minimum price for acceptance of the Dirksen amendment.

Item Veto Would Save Taxpayers Millions of Dollars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the House my proposal, House Joint Resolution 35 to amend the Constitution to give the President authority to veto individual items in appropriation bills. I strongly believe that this resolution merits the consideration of my colleagues in that its adoption would go a long way toward ending unnecessary expenditures and toward saving the taxpayer many millions of dollars every year.

My resolution would give the President the power to approve and disapprove

any appropriation or provision in an appropriation bill. If the President should disapprove any appropriation or provision he would then return a copy of the disapproved item to the House in which the bill originated with a statement of his objections to it. The item would then be handled in the same manner as any other bill vetoed by the President. As this measure is proposed in the form of a constitutional amendment, it would, of course, be subject to ratification by three-fourths of the States.

I am convinced that in this age of enormous Federal expenditures and deficits the Nation needs to exercise extreme care in how it spends its money. Often, however, when the President reviews the appropriation bills passed by Congress, he finds that in order to approve moneys vital to the Nation's economy and security he must also accept some unnecessary expenditures and riders. For the President is placed in the unpleasant situation of having to take all or nothing, the bad as well as the good. In 1892 President Harrison expressed these sentiments when confronted with a rider he objected to in an Indian appropriation bill:

> If this section had been submitted to me as a seperate measure, I would have disapproved it; but * * * as disapproval of the general Indian Appropriation Act, of which it was a part, would have resulted in consequences so far-reaching and disastrous, I felt it my duty to approve the bill.

President Grover Cleveland held that appropriation bills were often "defaced by items and provisions to meet private ends." In the course of our history other Presidents, Grant, Arthur, Hayes, Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, Eisenhower, and Kennedy, have all voiced their support for a bill like mine here today.

The resolution, moreover, does not tend toward aggrandizement of Executive authority in any manner which would upset our time-honored system of checks and balances. The late Senator Vandenberg, another champion of the item veto, observed that "the item veto does not give the President one single additional affirmative power. He cannot start anything as a result. He can only stop something long enough to focus the attention of the country on it." Nor is this an untried prerogative, for 42 States have laws which enable their Governors to veto individual items in appropriation bills. In a poll of these Governors I conducted back in 1953, the overwhelming majority of them expressed the desirability of this provision and reported substantial savings to State governments.

Surely there is not one of us here today who will not admit how vital it is for the Nation to reduce extravagance in public expenditures. I have introduced similar legislation in this field as far back as the 83d Congress and I will continue to press for it in an effort to give the President some degree of selectivity in passing on appropriation matters. My bill, I am confident, will do much to save the taxpayer's money, and I urge you to give this matter your serious consideration.

Action Needed on Proposed Arts and Humanities Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, it was a pleasure for me to join with many of my distinguished colleagues to sponsor a bill providing for a National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities. This bill, which is now before the Rules Committee, is an integral part of President Johnson's Great Society program. The President emphasized its importance when he said last March that the passage of this legislation, "will help secure for this Congress a sure and honored place in the advance of our civilization."

We are all aware of the emphasis which has been placed on the sciences. However, in our race to achieve scientific advancement, we have lagged behind in the cultural area—in the humanities and the arts. The proposed foundation, by giving recognition to the values of the humanities and the arts, would serve to correct the imbalance which now exists between the sciences and the arts.

The objectives of the foundation are noble ones: to develop and promote a national policy of support for the humanities and the arts, to insure that artistic excellence can be enjoyed and appreciated by many, many more of our citizens, to strengthen the favorable projection and understanding of our Nation's cultural life in other countries, and to foster a deeper understanding and appreciation for the arts and the humanities.

A comprehensive and well-coordinated program in the arts and the humanities is needed now. The foundation would implement such a program and would insure our cultural growth and advancement.

I urge, therefore, that all of my colleagues support H.R. 9460, the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965, when it comes to the House for a vote.

It is my pleasure to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article with reference to this legislation which appeared in the Washington Post of August 8, 1965. The article follows:

RULES COMMITTEE AND CULTURE

A bill that would establish a National Foundation for the Arts and the Humanities is now before the House Rules Committee. The administration bill, passed by a voice vote in the Senate and endorsed by a large number of Representatives, should be brought to the House floor in the near future.

The Foundation would consist of an endowment for the arts and an endowment for the humanities, each administered by a 24-member council. The councils would be authorized to make grants that could total $10 million a year with the objective of encouraging and supporting the Nation's cultural commitment. Advocates of the legislation, pointing to Federal support of the sciences, claim that although the sum of money involved is not large when spread throughout the 50 States, formal Federal recognition of the importance of the arts and the humanities will help right the balance with the sciences and the grants will provide an incentive for increased private, State, and local spending on culture.

As an important part of President Johnson's Great Society program, as a major innovation and as a Federal involvement in an area which the U.S. Government has traditionally avoided, the proposed Foundation deserves to be fully considered before the rush toward adjournment begins.

The Real Alabama—Part XLII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, one of the major beauty spots of the Nation is the Bellingrath Gardens and Home near Mobile, Ala. Each year tourists see the gardens and home and testify to the remarkable beauty and serenity to be found in this charm spot of the Old South.

Following is a description of Bellingrath Gardens and Home.

Twenty miles south of Mobile near the Mobile Bay and on the Isle-Aux-Oies—Eel-O-Wah—River is a land of dreams called Bellingrath Gardens, created by the late Mr. and Mrs. Walter D. Bellingrath.

Here, in 1917, a rustic fishing lodge was established that for 10 years was the joy of the owners, a haven in the woods.

The feeling then came to them that the setting, the woodlands, the flowered scenes, should be cultivated and developed and shared with others.

An American architect, an English landscape engineer and others well qualified, were employed to assist them in carrying out their ideas. Their vision grew by leaps and bounds. More and more they felt the keen urge of heavenly victory within their souls. A tropical wildlife had taken on the pattern of a glory land. And in the spring of 1932 the gardens were opened to the public as 65 acres of floral attractions.

At Bellingrath beauty knows no season, no one month of the year seems to be more enchanting and richer than the other. In the late spring countless beautiful flowers and shrubs such as petunia, lantana, Easter lilies, hydrangeas, oleanders, hibiscus, water lilies, and amaryllis all lend their brilliance to the perennial parade of beauty.

Roses, every one in the majestic rose glow of its own perfection, reach out to touch the personalities of those who pass near them.

In the flowered embroidery of summertime are the beautiful fancy leaved caladium, the perfumed gardenia, the soft and lacelike white and red crepe

myrtle, the queenly white and purple althea, the golden alamanda, the flaming salvia and the colorful foliage plants of the croton, dracaena, acalypha, and pandanus.

Beginning in September and until the end of March the camellia japonica burst with lasting pride into individual glory. To single out illustrious specimens of this beautiful flower is almost like trying to separate the brilliant sparkles of a cluster of diamonds.

In Bellingrath Gardens more than 4,000 specimen camellia japonica, embracing approximately 1,000 varieties, are thriving. Some of the large plants are more than 100 years old and they range in size from 10 to 20 feet in height and from 12 to 18 feet in diameter.

The colors range from the purest white to a delicate pale pink and from a rose pink to a deep and sheen crimson. Hundreds of specimen camellia sasanqua lend the majestic beauty of their towering heads to the landscape, and the sweet olive fills the air with a perfume that lingers with memories.

And long before the camellia japonica display is over, the azaleas burst into passionate beauty and freshness.

For many weeks, beginning in February and lasting into April, the azaleas present a lavish and extraordinary pageant of color, accentuated by the mountain laurel, the dogwood, and the double flowering spirea.

There are more than 250,000 azaleas of approximately 150 varieties, ranging from the dwarf kurume and the Belgian hybrid to the giant indicas. Some of these massive plants, which are more than 125 years old, range from 12 to 18 feet in height and from 20 to 30 feet in diameter.

The effusion contained in the mystical beauty of such vivacious flowers, is little short of breathtaking.

At this time hundreds of potted cineraria present a spectacular display of color, whites, pinks, reds, purples, and every conceivable shade of blue.

On and about the rustic bridge across the lake many varieties of flowers cling, and to stand upon it for awhile, and meditate upon the clusters of beauty, in contrast with the dual reflection in the mirrored water, is a memorable experience.

It is good to stroll aimlessly and to follow the vagrant but alluring flagstone walks. Appearing to lead in no particular direction, they meander and turn, urging the visitor to follow through, seemingly knowing all the while the glad tidings each new setting presents in bowers of sweet scented flowers. Each step is an enthralling one amid fragrant mosses and spicy odors that drift in languid swaying breezes. These walks too, are the longtime result of landscaping and planning, smoothly in harmony with the setting of the gardens themselves and on their verdant edges a childlike innocence is reflected, in the profusion of dainty and tiny flowers which abound in color and scheme.

To one who has been long in the city or away from the spell of such holy beauty nothing is more keenly stimulating than a visit to these gardens.

Once in the spacious gardens your sojourn becomes a mystic experience on a magic carpet of flowers, your rendezvous will be with the flaming beauty on every hand lavishly and joyously displayed by nature.

One of the happiest thoughts of all after a visit to the charm spot of the Deep South is the knowledge that it will continue on and on long after those now living are gone, for Mr. Bellingrath conveyed it in perpetuity to the Bellingrath-Morse Foundation.

All surplus revenues above the cost of maintenance, will be devoted to the religious and secular education of boys and girls in church-related colleges. During the past decade the owners have seen thousands enjoy the rare and lovely spectacle they have developed. Their earnest wish is, that future generations may also have that pleasure.

The story of Bellingrath Gardens is now perpetuated on a large red granite monolith which was presented to the Bellingrath-Morse Foundation by Mr. Bellingrath. It is located in the center of the gardens and gives full information concerning their development to the thousands of eager visitors who wish to know the full story of this lovely wonderland. Appropriately decorated with three large bronze tablets, the monolith is considered by the designers as the only piece of its kind in the country. Cast bronze replicas of azalea and camellia blooms soften the borders of the tablets which artistically present a suitable and enduring record of dreams fully realized.

Here then indeed, is a living memorial to Mr. Bellingrath and his beloved wife, Bessie Morse Bellingrath, who shall always be remembered as wandering through a lovely garden like this, which she fashioned with her own hands—where flowers never fade and no cold wind or sorrow will ever blight her hopes and plans. For on her face was the peace of one, whose whole life through walked with God.

Medicare Bill Finally Signed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES P. FARNSLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. FARNSLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in the Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky., on Sunday, August 1:

A LONG BATTLE ENDS IN VICTORY FOR HARRY TRUMAN

President Johnson had a generous impulse in deciding to sign the social security medical assistance bill in the presence of former President Truman. It is 30 years since this legislation was first proposed, but President Roosevelt never thought it had a chance of passage, or that the Nation's medical facilities were adequate to bear such a load.

But in the early forties, the then Senator Truman endorsed the controversial Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, which proposed a national health insurance plan covering all ages, to be financed by a payroll tax. The bill, of course, got nowhere but when Mr. Truman succeeded to the Presidency he revived the proposal. The second bill died, and so did a rival proposal by the late Senator Taft which had some features of the present Kerr-Mills Act.

During the Eisenhower years, medical insurance proposals were in limbo although their friends continued to sponsor them. The Republican candidate had castigated them as socialized medicine, but his administration did sponsor a very complicated plan for helping insurance companies insure the medical risks of older persons. This, too, expired with the Congress which debated it.

AFTER MANY DISAPPOINTMENTS

All those who, like Mr. Truman, fixed their hopes on a universal insurance scheme, suffered repeated disappointment as time went by. In the last months of the Eisenhower administration these hopes were almost completely extinguished by passage of a hurriedly contrived bundle of amendments which became the Kerr-Mills Act.

The bill Mr. Johnson has now successfully steered to passage is similar in most respects to the one President Kennedy had introduced It is not all that Mr. Truman and his friends could have wanted, but it is much more than these veterans have expected in recent years. Mr. Truman, as a practical politician as well as a liberal statesman, must be well pleased with what has finally come to pass, and gratified with the compliment that recognizes his long battle for the cause.

New Attack on States' Powers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACKSON E. BETTS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, since the House of Representatives voted to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, I feel that some reflections of that action are in order. The following editorials from the Cleveland Plain Dealer and the New York Herald Tribune should arouse some delayed interest in the minds of those who may have been apathetic until now:

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, Aug. 5, 1965]

NEW ATTACK ON STATES' POWERS

The U.S. Senate should refuse to follow the lead of the House of Representatives in voting to take away from States the power to have right-to-work laws.

Ohioans made clear in 1958, by a 2-to-1 statewide vote, that they did not want such a law in this State. The Plain Dealer believes that this judgment by the voters of Ohio should stand.

But in 19 other States the people or their elected representatives decided in favor of statutes or constitutional provisions outlawing the union shop.

For Congress to deny these States the power to have such laws is an unjustifiable intrusion by the Federal Government and a serious abridgement of States' rights.

The growth of centralized government in Washington is a fact of life. In most instances this growth has been a necessity because of the increasing complexities of life in this automated age and the interdependence of people. But wherever possible—and this area of right-to-work laws is certainly one place—the States should retain as much independent authority as possible.

The manner in which H.R. 77 to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 was railroaded through to passage by the narrow margin of 221 to 203 on the House floor also argues against it.

Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, invoked a rule that prohibited floor consideration of any amendment except one that would have changed the effective date of the repealer.

President Johnson, whose own home State of Texas has a right-to-work law, wants the repealer. Congress has had difficulty in saying no to anything the President has sought, but this time the Senate should do so.

This is not a question of whether right-to-work laws are good or bad. It is a question of how far the Federal Government should go in reducing the powers of the State. In the case of section 14(b), the Senate stands as the last possible protector of these powers.

[From the New York Herald Tribune, July 31, 1965]

SELLING OUT THE NONUNION WORKER

The House vote to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act pays the first installment of President Johnson's campaign debt to the princes of organized labor. The manner in which the repeal bill was railroaded through the House, with debate severely limited and amendments barred, certainly does no credit to its managers; nor does the cynical administration-engineered logrolling in which votes for repeal were swapped for the promise of votes for the new farm bill.

But the House has acted; it's now up to the Senate.

The actual importance of 14(b) may be more symbolic than real, but the principle involved is large: whether a worker should be coerced into joining a union, whatever his objections, on pain of losing his livelihood. This is what the unions demand.

They defend this demand on the grounds of a supposed "right of contract"—the right of an employer and a union to agree on contract terms requiring membership. And if the issue were solely between employer and union, this would be a valid right. But it isn't; the whole point of such a contract is that two parties bargain away the rights of a third—the nonunion worker.

The free ride argument, too, is specious. It's true that a union bargains for all employees in a given company, not only for its own members—but it was the unions themselves that insisted on being certified as the exclusive bargaining agents even if only 51 percent of the workers elected to join. To parlay this into an insistence that all should be required to join is to argue that one privilege demands another.

Unions today are much more than bargaining agents; they are, among other things, powerful political organizations, and the whole notion of coerced membership in a political organization is repugnant to the American ideal of personal liberty. To strip away even the limited protection 14(b) gives the dissenting worker would put the force of Federal law behind an unconscionable private power grab.

The Proper Place of Federal Assistance to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, on July 30 I had the honor of addressing the Citizens for Educational Freedom at their sixth annual national convention in Minneapolis, Minn. The Citizens for Education Freedom is an organization dedicated to preserving the rights of parents in the education of their children and the development of equality and diversity in education.

This organization was founded in 1959 in St. Louis, Mo., by a group of parents who are interested and concerned with the rising force of Federal Government into the area of parental rights in education. I submitted for the RECORD the text of the remarks that I made on that occasion:

REMARKS OF HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS AT THE NATIONAL CONVENTION, MINNESOTA FEDERATION, CITIZENS FOR EDUCATIONAL FREEDOM, JULY 30, 1965

During the 1960 presidential election campaign Senator John Kennedy on several occasions said "In the next decade we must double the amount we are spending on education." The reaction of most Americans was to accept this as a challenging statement and say "Amen." The fact of the matter is that the statement was not a challenge. It was an example of clever rhetoric. My reply in 1960 was, "Why is Senator Kennedy asking us to slow down? We almost tripled the amount we spent on education from 1950 to 1960."

In 1950 government, Federal, State, and local, spent $6,507.9 billion ($5,745.7 billion, elementary and secondary, $762.2 higher education) (Federal, $106.9, State and local, $6,401.0). In 1960 government, Federal, State, and local spent $17,788.3 billion ($15,587.9 elementary and secondary, $2,200.4 higher education) (Federal, $622.3, State and local, $17,166.0). (In 1940 the corresponding amounts were: Total $2,316.2 billion, of which the Federal accounted for $0.047 and State and local $2,269.2 (pp. 434–345. "The Economic Almanac," 1962). To obtain the full amount we spend in our society on education we would have to add to these figures the expenditure for private schools which seems to average with some constancy about another 20 to 25 percent of what is spent by the governmental sectors.

There is some indication that the rate of increase of expenditures for education in our society has slowed down since 1960. Total new educational construction, public and private, put in place increased from $1,427 billion in 1950 to $3,384 billion in 1960, while it has only increased an additional $0.5 billion to about $3.9 billion, in 1964. In other words, the ten year growth rate from 1950 to 1960 is 137 percent while the comparable 10-year growth rate for the 4 years from 1960 to 1964 is about 37 percent or less than one-third the rate we had been experiencing before the New Frontier took over.

It is noteworthy that the great increase in total expenditure for education is in the private sector and in the State and local governmental sectors. The Federal Government's efforts, although great in percentage increase in the past two decades amount to very little, less than 4 percent, in respect to the total governmental effort in our society in education expenditures and less than 3 percent of our total effort, government as well as private.

I think it is also important to point out that in addition to what we term educational expenditures the parents of school-age children bear many additional expenses which, if proper accounting methods were developed, would be added to the amounts we compute as the expenditure made in our society for education.

I am not at all certain that the entrance of the Federal Government into the area of direct expenditures for education has been advantageous in increasing the total amount that our society spends upon education. From my studies in the field of international economics, I have advanced a corollary to Gresham's law, i.e., bad money drives out good money. This corollary states that government money drives out private money. I am now finding out that the Curtis corollary extends beyond the area of international economics to domestic economics as well. I wonder whether it does not operate in the field of education as well and whether there is not a further refinement to the Curtis corollary which states that Federal money money drives out State and local governmental money, as well as private money.

I fully appreciate the pump-priming theory upon which Government money was spent to produce an economic upturn in the depression of the 1930's. And to the extent that our Federal governmental grants in aid programs in their inception were on a matching fund basis there seemed to be some sound basis for accepting the pump priming theory and arguing that it would prevent the Curtis corollary from operating, and total spending would be increased. However, with the Federal matching formulas increasingly becoming more regressive with the Federal Government taking over the large proportions and the State and local governments taking over the small proportions, I suspect that the Curtis corollary may be in full swing. Certainly, matching formulas like 90 percent Federal and 10 percent local, as we see in the Federal highway programs, produce little pump priming effect. The primer is bigger than the well.

However, in spite of the increasing part the Federal Government is playing in the field of education, fortunately it still is mostly talk. The bulk of expenditures, as I have pointed out, has remained at the State and local levels, primarily at the local levels.

One cry for increased Federal Government participation is that the State and local governments are so hard pressed financially that they cannot assume the increased costs of education and the increased expenditures our society must continue to make in this area. Well, this is a peculiar theory in that there is only one source of taxation, I can assure you as one who write tax legislation, and that is the individual human being. Governments, whether State, local, or Federal, are only tax collectors (and I could add, churches are the same) and then can collect taxes only from one source, people. The corporate income tax, as in any business tax, is a tax upon people—not upon some unidentifiable ficticious person—it is primarily a sales tax because every business, if it is to stay in business, has to pass the tax it pays on to the consumer in the price it charges for the goods and services it is selling. Maybe the investor pays a bit of the corporate income tax, but very little, and even if the investor pays some, we must remember that investors are people, too, and increasingly in the United States the investor is becoming everyone of us.

So when it comes to easing any tax burden, I am not so inclined to worry about the tax collector—the State or local government—or the Federal Government, as I am about the taxpayer. I think of tax collection from the efficiency of the collection system—the efficiency from the standpoint of the taxpayer so that the minimum amount of cost goes into the collection of the tax and the maximum amount can go into the expenditure of the funds for the purposes intended by the governmental agency, in the instance under discussion, education of our children. I also want the tax collection for efficiency's sake to be pretty close to the agency of government that is going to spend the money so that there is a minimum of cost in transferring the money from the agency that collects it to the agency that spends it. Also so that those who spend have a better understanding of the cost of spending which they do if they are close to those who have to raise the revenues.

By these criteria the Federal Government is not a very efficient tax collector for educational expenditures. It is not even an efficient tax collector per se in minimizing the economic cost of the mere collection aspects. The Federal Government is merely efficient in hiding the economic cost of collecting the Federal income tax because it passes the main cost burden of bookkeeping, accounting, and collecting over to the private sector—to the individual person and businesses making out the complicated tax returns. But passing the cost of tax collection over to the private sector does not save the cost economically to our society, it merely avoids some of the blame for the cost being placed where it belongs on the type tax itself and on the governmental body using it. The most efficient tax economically to collect is the real estate property tax, by far. All it requires is an assessment every 10 years or so and a yearly billing—no accounting, no time on the part of the taxpayer, and little time on the part of the tax collector. It is almost all done by mail.

Furthermore, I would observe that it is the Federal income tax that has come in for the greatest criticism from economists and tax theorists in recent years, as well it should. It is the high rates of the Federal income tax which has created the economic damage to our society which we are now trying to remedy by timely tax reduction, not the real property tax or the State sales and use taxes. Yet there are people who would put a further burden on the Federal income tax to raise the money to be spent for education and for other services which have traditionally been provided by the private sector and by local government.

Furthermore, the Federal Government not being the sector of government which is charged with spending the education dollar has the difficult and costly job of transferring the tax dollars collected to the local governmental agencies which are charged with the spending of them. As has often been observed, send a tax dollar to Washington, D.C., to be returned to be spent in the community and it comes back badly clipped. We certainly can cut down on the amount the dollar gets clipped when it is sent on its long journey to Washington and thence back to the community, but we must recognize that there will always be considerable cost in undertaking the round trip journey in the first place. And we may well ask, Is this trip necessary?

The answer is made that the trip and the clip are necessary because we need the Federal governmental mechanism to equalize between the rich and the poor States. It is said that many of the children who need to be educated are in the poor States which cannot afford to bear the costs of education while the ability to pay taxes lies in the richer States. Well, I have often sought to answer this syllogism. I ask, where are these so-called poor States? The answer to that question is quite ready, in the South, Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, etc. I then ask, but on what basis do you say these are poor States? The answer to this is also quite ready. "Take a look at the per capita income of these States." Indeed, the per capita income in these States is relatively low. But then, I ask the next question, and the answer to this is not quite so ready. But these States do not pay for education out of taxes on income, do they? Don't they pay for education costs and community facilities of all sorts essentially by use of the property tax? If this is so, and it is so, let's take a look at the assessed valuation in these States which allegedly are so poor. Here we have the true answer. There are not really any poor States in the United States. The States so often cited are States where there are poorly developed and enforced property taxes, where there is a considerable amount of absentee ownership, among other things. Where the assessment on real estate hardly match the true value of the land and structure. These are the very States, by the way, which are digging themselves further in the hole by waiving property taxes for a period of years to entice businesses to locate in their area—on the assumption, I suppose, that having the payrolls will assist them to have a better tax base than one based upon property wealth. This is surely regressive thinking for the 20th century. This theory can be found entrenched in most of our Latin American neighbors and throughout the world and until the theory is abandoned I could argue, these societies will not move ahead.

No, there is no need for the Federal Government to get into the business of Federal equalization laws, although there is still plenty of reason for all the States to continually update their State equalization laws for education. And there is much room for counties to pass education equalization laws so that tax revenues can be spread from wealthy areas, measured in terms of property wealth to areas of less property wealth. Above all, there is ample room for modernizing our property tax laws and keeping them to date—which means, among many things, modernizing our zoning laws and keeping them up to date. No community can support schools or community facilities—except the very few unusually wealthy communities—with a property tax based heavily on home assessments.

I like to point to Crestwood, Mo., as an example of up-to-date zoning and assessment. Here is a new community—nonexistent in 1945, about 12,000 population. To a casual observer it looks like a typical middle-income, suburban bedroom community. Yet look at its tax assessment books. Look at its zoning laws and you have the real story. Seventy-five percent of its assessed valuation comes from industry, commerce, and the utilities, only 25 percent from the private homes of its citizens. It has fine schools, fine community facilities, ample revenues, and little debt.

Henry George extolled the values of the property tax further than I would go to the single tax idea and these values should be considered today. In America the real estate tax provides the money which is spent largely in increasing the valuation of the very real estate taxed. Build roads, schools, sewers, provide fire departments and police protection, and the value of the real estate and the buildings increase. The expenditures from the real estate tax go to and relate to increasing and preserving wealth. This makes a neat package and is the basis of the grassroot community growth in America. Furthermore, a well-designed real estate tax is a discouragement to the greatest of all economic sins—to hoard rather than to utilize wealth. A well-designed real estate tax system places an incentive on utilizing real estate to its greatest economic potential—and if a good tax system is established in context with up-to-date zoning laws and building codes, increased wealth flows to the community like from the mythological cornucopia.

Before I leave this extolling of the property tax, let me remind you of two things. It is the property tax which has responded nobly since the end of World War II—not the Federal income tax. It is the property tax which has financed the increased expenditures for education from a $2.3 billion figure in 1940 to a figure now well over $18 billion in 1965—not the Federal income tax.

Nor is it true that this cornucopia of our communities is running low or needs priming. The expenditures on education have produced what we anticipated they would produce in new and greater wealth which in turn increases the potential for the future flow. In spite of all the false propaganda to the contrary by those who denigrate progress in America to justify their desires to further federalize our society, educational bond issues are continuing to be passed by the local citizenry. The HEW statistics reveal that beginning in 1957 when they first collated the percentage of public school bond issues passed per bond issues submitted to the voters, only once has the figure fallen below 70 percent: 1957, 74 percent; 1958, 78 percent; 1959, 62 percent; 1960, 83 percent; 1961, 71 percent; 1962, 70 percent; 1963, 70 percent.

And I hazard a guess that of the bond issues failing many should have failed but undoubtedly most of these bond issues were resubmitted in an improved and corrected form and then passed—a healthy situation in itself not duplicated by the process of local school districts submitting their needs to a political bureaucracy in Washington, D.C.

The second observation I wish to make is that the property tax responded in this noble fashion in spite of the serious difficulties it experienced as the result of the failure of the Federal Government to perform one of its primary functions, namely maintain the dollar as an accurate economic weight and measure by following sound Federal governmental fiscal policies.

The drastic inflation which occurred from 1946 until 1951 placed the property tax systems all over the United States in very serious jeopardy. The property tax systems are based, as I have pointed out, on assessed valuations. Most systems make the specific and multitudinous assessed valuations when the improvements are made to the land inasmuch as improvements amount to the major part of most valuations. Accordingly, most assessments reflect the dollar cost of making the improvement in the year in which it was made. So, in 1946, the assessments books reflected valuations in terms of the many years of the preinflated dollar. All new improvements, new homes built after 1951 went on the books in terms of the post-World War II inflated dollar. This process by itself created an inequity in the tax system to the owners of new homes and new improvements vis-a-vis the owners of older structures. However, the cost of services and goods—teachers' salaries and blackboards—went up with the inflated dollar. Therefore, the revenues, the tax collections, had to be increased, just to stand still, let alone to progress. However, increasing the rate of the property tax aggravated the inequity already existing in the base because of the measuring of new improvements in terms of the inflated dollar. Every community in the United States was faced with a very difficult process, difficult mechanically as well as politically, the process of reassessing all the property on the assessment books in terms of the same dollar. Over 80 percent of our communities have now done this and I would observe they are now in relatively good shape. A small percentage have not assumed their responsibility. Many of these are the communities, and some of them are sizable, which are creating a great deal of the pressure on the Federal Government, through its overburdened income tax system to bail them out. Yet these communities have it within their power to do exactly what the others have done, painful as it was.

I have taken a long time to get around to what I want to really talk about, tax credits in Federal income taxes for parents and others who pay the costs of education.

Let me state the case for this most needed reform in Federal tax law in my own semantics because it is usually presented, even by some of its advocates in the semantics of those who oppose it. This reform is in accordance with American classic tax theory; namely, that we do not tax money which is being spent for a social purpose which if it were not so spent we would call upon the Government to spend. Putting it another way, we know that when we extract money

from the private sector to pay for the expenditures of governmental services we are going to have some economic impact. We seek to keep that impact at a minimum. We prefer not to tax industries on the wane, we prefer to tax industries on the rise. We prefer not to tax low incomes, we prefer to tax high incomes. We prefer to tax wealth not the process of creating the wealth. We do not tax money spent for desirable social purposes.

This is the tax theory of the tax neutralists. This is the classical tax theory in America. There is a new school of tax writers who are not neutralists. Because the power of taxation to effect economic results and to render economic decisions is so great and I might add so subtle these theorists advocating an old system as if it were new, seek to write tax laws to deliberately produce economic decisions—their decisions—to channel expenditures into certain areas supplanting the private decisionmaking process with the political process.

Now the difference between these two schools of tax theory may on the surface seem to rest in semantics because at times both place a stamp of approval on the same kind of social spending. However, I submit there is the world of difference between the two theories.

The first theory, the American classical theory, is based upon the assumption that the people own everything and that government, the servant of the people, not the people's copartner, the people's servant only takes that which it needs to provide the services the people have decided they wish to use the mechanism of government to provide for themselves. The second theory is based on the assumption that the government or the society owns everything and what the government chooses not to take in taxation is a subsidy to the people.

In our Federal income tax laws we have always given a deduction for donations to charitable and educational institutions. These new tax theorists say thereby the Government subsidizes these institutions. I say we give the deductions not to subsidize but rather on the theory that we did not wish to tax this area of endeavor. We as a matter of policy prefer to obtain the money to run the Government from other areas of endeavor. This is money being spent for social purposes which if it were not so spent probably would require the Government to spend it directly.

So the tax credit to those who spend money on education, which I advocate, is entirely consistent with American classical tax theory. If the private individuals do not spend the money for education then the people through their government would probably do so as a last resort—although I submit much more inefficiently.

Note also how this classical tax theory disposes of some of the difficult problems we run into when we use the Government mechanisms to raising the money through taxes and then spending the money directly through the bureaucratic process. Under the classical tax theory there is no problem of church versus state. The money is spent privately, not by governmental officials. A private person can decide to send his son or daughter to a public school, a parochial school or a nondenominational private school. If he has spent the money on education, that is the sole concern of the society which wishes to assure itself that the children are being educated.

The Federal administration has opposed the tax credit theory on many grounds, not one of which stands the test of examination. One current argument still being advanced is that Federal income tax credits will only help the wealthier families and will do nothing for the lowest income groups. I have given the answer to this many times. Here it is. Who are the lowest income groups? The poverty class, families with incomes of $3,000 or less? Well, families of over $2,000 pay Federal income taxes, so even some of the so-called poverty families will benefit. With a tax credit all taxpayers, high income or low income, get exactly the same dollar amount—which, of course, means percentagewise a great deal more to the lower income group. Furthermore, these families not paying Federal income tax are only 15 percent of all families, so 85 percent of all our families do benefit. However, if we go further into the pertinent statistics we find that the families with incomes of $3,000 or less are predominantly where the head of the family is in the age brackets of 20 to 30. There are few children of school age in these families and practically none as high as secondary school. Of course, we find the lower income families in the age brackets of 20 to 30. These are the young people first starting out. We also find the lower income families predominantly in the over 65 age bracket. In these families there are practically no children at all to educate. Of course, this is so. These are the grandparents, the people on retirement. When we zero in on the problem we find less than 5 percent of the families headed by persons in the age brackets of 30 to 65 among the low-income groups where the school population exists. In other words, 95 percent of the families, with children to educate are Federal income taxpayers and the income tax credit approach will assist them materially and will assist the local communities to collect property taxes without further burdening these very same people who as taxpayers are paying education taxes and as parents are paying the cost of raising the children who are being educated.

Since when is a program which benefits 95 percent of our people undesirable on the basis that it will not help the 5 percent? I would observe that the 5 percent are not neglected, but they come under a different program. Helping the 5 percent is legitimately and traditionally the area for direct Government expenditures, whether for education or just plain housing, health care, clothes, and proper diet, the necessities of life. The answer is that, of course, the Government at all levels—local, State, and Federal—is engaged in assisting these people on all their living costs, including education; and so are our private institutions, our churches, and community chest agencies. We tend to forget this.

I conclude from the series of shifting and unconvincing arguments advanced by the opponents of the education tax credit, which is in the nature of further Federal income tax reform and Federal tax reduction to lower the tax on money spent on education, that their real purpose is not, as they say, to get our society to spend more on education, but rather to try to redirect that which is already being spent.

I, too want to raise the standards of education in our society. If that is the real aim in the minds of these honorable opponents and that is what the redirection of spending is designed to achieve, then let's move the dialog into this area. I will debate them on this issue as well as the issues I have been discussing. However, it is a different line of argument than that which they have been advancing. The question here lies in whether we raise our educational standards best by the utilization of our local school boards and school trustees to make the decisions or through the process of political bureaucratic judgment at the Federal level, then to be disseminated through the society. I personally believe there are places where the Federal political decisionmaking can be beneficial in the field of education but they are few in number. I would argue it is really only after the local groups have expressed a desire for assistance in somewhat of a consensus that the machinery of the Federal Government should be employed, not until then. Government is the servant of the people, not their copartner, certainly not their master.

Bus Stops for the Rayburn House Office Building

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, for the information of the Members of the House of Representatives and their staffs, I enclose a letter received from Delmer Ison, Executive Director of the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Commission:

WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA
TRANSIT COMMISSION,
Arlington, Va., August 4, 1965.

Hon. JOHN W. McCORMACK,
Speaker of the House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: The Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Commission is charged with the responsibility of regulating and improving transit and alleviating traffic congestion in the Washington Metropolitan Area.

In the performance of these duties, the Commission must, at times, authorize the abolishment, establishment and relocation of bus stops as public convenience and necessity dictates.

On May 17, 1965, this Commission received a written request from Mr. Hyde Murray, president, Congressional Secretary's Club, requesting the installation of two bus stops on Independence Avenue SW., immediately in front of and across from the New Rayburn House Office Building to serve the employees in the building. The letter was addressed to the Honorable Walter N. Tobriner, president, Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, and was forwarded to this Commission for consideration by Mr. Tobriner.

An investigation of this matter was made by our Engineering Department, and it was determined that a bus stop could not be placed on the north side of Independence Avenue SW., opposite the Rayburn House Office Building, due to the high curbing at this location which would not allow for safe boarding and alighting of passengers. However, it was determined that a stop was warranted and could be placed on the south side of Independence Avenue SW., just west of the entrance to the Rayburn House Office Building. Authorization was given both D.C. Transit System, Inc., and WMA Transit Co., to establish bus stops at this location. Shortly after the installation of these stops, as authorized by this Commission, the bus companies were ordered by other authorities on Capitol Hill to remove these stops.

My only purpose in bringing this matter to your attention is to advise you that we have fulfilled our obligation to the public in this regard.

Respectfully yours,

DELMER ISON,
Executive Director.

AID Helps Credit Unions and Savings and Loan Associations Grow in Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, a very successful program being conducted under our foreign aid program is the encouragement of credit unions and savings and loan associations in the developing nations. This excellent means of helping these countries produce capital for their own homebuilding and credit-expansion programs deserves encouragement from Congress.

I am inserting at this point in the RECORD recent reports of the growth of these forms of financial institutions:

CREDIT UNION GROWTH IN LATIN AMERICA UNDER THE AID–CUNA TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM, SEPTEMBER 1962–MARCH 1965

Credit unions were introduced into Latin America (in Peru) in 1956 and made gradual progress until September 1962 when the AID–CUNA technical assistance program became effective in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela. The growth statistics below show the vast progress this program has made for the 30-month period:

[Dollars in millions]

	Sept. 15, 1962	Mar. 31, 1965	30-month growth
1. Number credit unions in operation	432	1,366	934
2. Number credit union members	123,919	460,057	336,138
3. Amount of member savings	$4.2	$18.8	$14.6
4. Loan volume outstanding	$4.0	$20.5	$16.5
Loan volume accumulative		$57.7	
5. Total assets	$4.8	$23.4	$18.6

Growth has exceeded 100 percent each year.

This program is raising in excess of $30 in new capital for each $1 of technical assistance cost; additionally it is establishing a new self-sustaining and self-perpetuating program for the low-income people of Latin America.

Approximate averages: Members per credit union—330; savings per member—$40.

Loans are made for 25 or more purposes; for the home and family, for production purposes, to help build low-cost (self-help type) homes and to start small business enterprises.

This program saved credit union members an estimated $4 million in interest costs alone in 1964; this saving may reach $4.5 or $5 million in calendar year 1965.

A new regional credit union development program has been initiated in Central America and will be included in our June 30 report.

PROGRESS REPORT ON SAVINGS AND LOAN ASSOCIATION GROWTH IN LATIN AMERICA, JULY 1, 1963 THROUGH MARCH 31, 1965, UNDER THE NLISA–AID TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

United States-type savings and loan associations were introduced into Latin America (in Chile) in 1960 by U.S. savings and loan technicians with our cooperation. The program made gradual progress with our periodic assistance until July 1, 1963 when the NLISA–AID technical assistance contract program became effective. Since that date continuous assistance has been given, on a cost basis, to the program in Chile, Dominican Republican, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Peru, and Venezuela. Growth statistics below show the excellent progress this program has made in Latin America for the 21-month period ending March 31, 1965.

	July 1, 1963	Mar. 31, 1965	21-month growth
Number savings and loan associations	49	88	39
Number savings and loan members	75,130	264,515	189,385
Amount of deposits (millions)	$21.2	$75.6	$54.4
Amount of mortgage loans outstanding (millions)	$22.8	$138.2	$115.4
Number of new homes financed	7,868	30,603	22,735

This program is helping to open the doors of homeownership to thousands of middle- and low-income people in Latin America by: (1) encouraging members to join and save regularly, (2) lowering interest rates, (3) reducing downpayments, and (4) extending mortgage repayment schedules.

The average savings per member is approximately $290; members per association average 3,000 each; and the average mortgage loan is $4,500 and the estimated average sales price per home financed is $5,600.

Saving and loan association programs have been initiated in Ethiopia and eastern Nigeria also and will be included in future summary reports. A new savings and loan program will soon be initiated in Teheran.

Time To Wake Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR CALLAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, many of us have been working to help this Nation make the wisest use of its land and water resources since it has become clear that our water supplies are going to be severely taxed in the years to come. An editorial pointing this out very graphically recently appeared in the Lincoln Star and I commend it to my colleagues:

TIME TO WAKE UP

Nebraska is feeling no drought pains this year.

The landscape is a picture of lush green. The corn is standing as high as an elephant's eye. And the surplus water, from continuing rainfall, is running off, eroding fields and wasting a great resource. But everything is flourishing.

But there is another side of the story. In the State of New York there is a serious drought. The New York City reservoirs are perilously close to the end of their reserves and millions of people are approaching a serious crisis. This is not funny. We live by rainfall.

We think we have more than plenty. Well, here is something to remember:

In our present way of living it requires 15,000 gallons a day to take care of the bodily needs and to provide the external things that give us the good life. It took 700 gallons to make 1 ton of paper, 65,000 gallons to make a ton of steel, 70 gallons for every gallon of gasoline we use. Everything we use requires water in some stage of its production. As we grow more numerous our supply of fresh water remains relatively unchanged. In colonial days when life was simple the entire country required less water than one good-sized city today. We had an abundant reserve in those days. Today there are 200 million of us and our way of living demands magnificent amounts of water.

It is time we came awake. We need conservation the worst way. We need to get much more effective use of every gallon of water that falls as rain. We can no longer squander this precious resource.

Grace Under Pressure: Ford Reply Lesson in Patriotism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego Union of August 5, 1965:

GRACE UNDER PRESSURE: FORD REPLY LESSON IN PATRIOTISM

A noted author once described courage as grace under extreme pressure.

It is an apt turn of phrase that can be applied today with ease to Representative GERALD FORD of Michigan, the Republican minority floor leader.

Representative FORD showed courage, dignity, grace, and a fine sense of patriotism in replying to a bitter, taunting, and personal attack on him by the President of the United States.

In doing so he put the best interests of his country above his personal feelings.

Leaving no doubt that he was referring to Representative FORD, the President said the Congressman violated a confidence, was perhaps malicious and inexperienced. He capped the extraordinary criticism with the statement that boys will be boys.

The temptation to answer in kind must have been great. It is to Representative FORD's credit that he desisted. In so doing the Congressman displayed his high qualities of leadership.

It is a positive and constructive type of leadership that left the President room for a graceful retreat and at the same time pointed to a simple truth.

"Communists all over the world would be happy to see a bitter name-calling contest develop between President Johnson and congressional leaders at this crucial time," Representative FORD correctly stated.

"I refuse to be baited into a verbal donnybrook with the Commander in Chief that would play into the hands of Hanoi, Peiping, and Moscow. I support the President's firmness against Communist aggression in Vietnam."

As Representative FORD pointed out, the principal opposition to the President's military decisions in the Vietnam war came not from the Republicans, but from Democrats in Congress, particularly those in the Senate.

We suggest that, if President Johnson is to use his high position and the weight of his office against his principal critics, he should direct his energies to the Democrats who oppose him, not the Republicans who support him.

The forbearance of Representative FORD should serve to remind everyone that the

United States is in a war, as the President himself has stated correctly.

It will take national unity, sacrifices, and a marshaling of purpose as well as weapons and resources to win that war. It is time for all Americans to follow the example of Representative FORD by forgetting the personalities and settling down to victory and an honorable peace in Vietnam.

Mistakes of the Great Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, it is most encouraging to find that some of the newspapers are at long last beginning to publish some information about the mistakes being encountered by the crash programs of the many proposals leading to the establishment of the Great Society. One of the best which I have read is by Richard Wilson published in the Evening Star of August 9, which follows:

MISTAKES OF THE GREAT SOCIETY

(By Richard Wilson)

The scope of the Great Society is so broad, its adoption so rapid that a reaction against it is bound to come.

Small and large mistakes are already beginning to accumulate to form a bad impression of some of the programs. Among these are the political undertones of the antipoverty program so aptly illustrated by the passing out of summer post office jobs to young people on a congressional patronage basis.

Thousands of youngsters have gotten jobs at $2.29 per hour on the recommendation of their congressmen, who had been assigned quotas by a White House aid without any regard to the primary criteria that these youth opportunity jobs were to be assigned on the basis of need.

Found out in this little patronage handout in the name of the war against poverty, the White House sanctimoniously ordered it stopped, but not before a nephew of Vice President HUMPHREY had gotten himself on the summer payroll at the Huron, S. Dak., post office.

Head Start preschool help is being given in some cases to children having no claim to it on the grounds of poverty. Ahead lie rich opportunities for arbitrariness, favoritism and administrative stupidity in medicare, rent subsidies, aid to education, housing.

The question is how soon and how strongly the reaction will come. How soon will a national consensus form that we have had enough for a while? The realization that action is so often accompanied by reaction in American politics undoubtedly increases the urgency of President Johnson in getting through Congress and into operation the maximum number of Great Society programs.

He is striking while the iron is hottest in the evident realization that after 1966 his congressional strength might not be so great and his finest hour will have passed. This could be what makes him so impatient with the more casual approach of MIKE MANSFIELD, the Senate majority leader. Senator MANSFIELD evidently thinks we have had about enough for the time being and can wait until next year, and after, to complete the legislative program.

The President is doing his best to keep ahead of reaction by showering on the Nation such a bewildering and continuous array of improvement programs that there is no time to think about the old ones for excitement about the new ones. He is voracious and insatiable about getting things done as if the next day would be his last.

It seems to me, however, that those who are expecting a substantial or crippling reaction to the multibillion-dollar Great Society, on grounds that we are in a costly war and cannot do everything at once, are indulging an illusion. These programs do have a broad popular support.

It may be quite true that the Governors of the States are upset because they are being bypassed by Sargent Shriver's antipoverty program in a direct Shriver-to-Podunk relationship. Everyone knows, or knows of, a rich man who is collecting tax-free social security and laughing up his sleeve.

Some who don't need help will soon have some of their hospital bills paid by the Government. The Government will pay the rent for some and not for others who think they are equally entitled to such generosity.

Experience with this type of program in the past gives credence to predictions that the bureaucratic mind will find many ways to offend commonsense and good judgment. But the patience of the American public, when it thinks a good end is in view, is apparently beyond exhaustion.

The programs are selfinflating, taxing even the imagination of Shriver on how the antipoverty program is to be doubled, quadrupled and more before it begins to have a very noticeable impact.

The Congressional Quarterly, a private research report, recently disclosed that in the fiscal year 1964 Federal aid to State and local governments and Federal aid to individuals increased 17 percent, an now amounts to $12.8 billion.

This averages out to about $67 per capita. This was before the Great Society got going, and does not include most of the social security payments.

From now on there will be a big bulge in Federal aid; Governors, mayors, councilmen, county supervisors, and individuals are eagerly awaiting it. It was once argued that after a Goverment gorged on reform, it ought to allow a prudent period for digestion. But this is not to be the case. There are to be more Great Society programs next year before we see how well those already adopted are working.

The Honorable Michael J. Kirwin Breaks Ground for the Tehama-Colusa Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago a distinguished gentleman from Ohio, who has contributed so much to the cause of the development of public works, especially in the field of water conservation, our good friend and colleague, the Honorable MICHAEL J. KIRWAN, officiated at the ground-breaking ceremonies of the Tehama-Colusa Canal near Corning, Calif., which I am proud to represent.

The occasion marked the start of the Tehama-Colusa Canal, a most worthy reclamation project which will carry Sacramento River water to more than 200,000 acres of thirsty land along the western side of the Sacramento Valley. This is water which now wastes into the sea.

As one who has long worked for the development of this vital project I was especially proud that MIKE KIRWAN would travel to California and participate in this ground-breaking ceremony. On that occasion MIKE KIRWAN, I believe, set the record straight as to the importance, the vital necessity, of this type of reclamation development and, at this point, Mr. Speaker, I present, so that our colleagues can share in the wisdom of these comments, the remarks made by the Honorable MICHAEL J. KIRWAN at the ground-breaking ceremony of the Tehama-Colusa Canal last July 31. There is no one who can discuss this subject with more knowledge than the great Congressman from Ohio.

The speech follows:

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE MICHAEL J. KIRWAN AT GROUND BREAKING CEREMONIES FOR TEHAMA-COLUSA CANAL, TEHAMA COUNTY, CALIF., JULY 31, 1965

I am not going to take very long this morning for you have already waited long enough, in fact far too long, for the ground breaking on this project.

I understand it was in 1873 that Lt. Col. B. S. Anderson outlined plans for the Sacramento Canals in a report to President Ulysses S. Grant. Thirty-two years then elapsed before Governor Pardee, of California, requested the Bureau of Reclamation in 1905 to make a comprehensive study of the upper Sacramento River Valley. It wasn't until 1950, at the insistence of my good friend, the late Senator Clair Engle, that Congress finally passed his bill authorizing the Sacramento Canals unit of the Central Valley project.

Since then, the pace has quickened. The Corning Canal and pumping plant were completed in 1961 and the Red Bluff diversion dam in 1964. Even the great Trinity Division of the Central Valley project, which will supply much of the water used in the Tehama-Colusa Canal, has now been completed.

I am glad that finally this year, after all of the problems were worked out, that it was possible for our committee to appropriate the funds to initiate construction of this canal.

You have been most patient during this long delay and owe so much to the many dedicated people who worked so tirelessly to make this construction start finally possible. You are most fortunate to be so ably represented in Congress by BOB LEGGETT and BIZZ JOHNSON who so effectively brought to the attention of our committee the urgency of appropriating construction funds for this project. And, of course, you all know Floyd Dominy whose efforts have been so indispensable in making this project a reality and indeed in making the whole reclamation program such a success in recent years. In my book, he is the best Commissioner we have ever had.

I think I understand what it means to wait almost a century to get a worthwhile project underway. In fact I am still waiting. I have been working for years on a waterway connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio River which was originally recommended by George Washington. In 1824, the Army Board of Engineers listed the Ohio River to Lake Erie Canal as the first in relative importance to the interior commerce of our country. Congress finally authorized the project in Rivers and Harbor Act of 1935 but we still have not

had our ground breaking ceremony. The Corps of Engineers has just completed a review study which finds that the project is even more economically justified now than in 1935. I hope when the Rivers and Harbor Board completes its current review of this new report that we too may finally have a joyous occasion.

For years now, you in the West have been most conscious of the urgent need for flood control and water resource development. It was right here in California back in 1909 as a laborer in the construction of the Mulholland Aqueduct that I full appreciated for the first time the real value of water.

But as you know, we have had our critics who have referred to these public works projects as pork barrel. They have been amazingly silent since the devastating floods here on the west coast last December and January and those in the upper Mississippi River region and in Colorado and Kansas in recent months. Though none of the flood control systems are yet complete, the damages prevented here in the West by the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation projects which are already in service amounted to about $1 billion. Some of these projects fully paid for themselves just by the benefits provided in this disaster.

Seven reservoirs alone in Oregon's Willamette River Basin prevented over $572 million in damages whereas their total first cost was less than $273 million.

And if these flood control systems had been complete here in the West not only could we have averted much of the great losses that were suffered but also have conserved so much priceless water. One witness testified before our committee that the water wasted to the ocean from just the Eel River here in California, in one 24-hour period this spring, would have taken care of the entire water needs of the city of Los Angeles for 3 whole years.

Fortunately, the entire country is now coming to the realization that the water shortage problem is not strictly a western one. The East, which only yesterday thought of water as an endless resource, today finds itself staring into the dusty face of drought. In New York City, reservoirs are 50 percent of normal capacity. The entire Delaware River Basin has been put under emergency rations as a drought area. New Yorkers are forbidden to fill backyard wading pools, water their lawns, or wash their cars. Restaurants are subject to $50 fines for serving water to customers who do not ask for it. Children are instructed in water saving methods of brushing their teeth. So the entire Nation is suddenly becoming aware that we must do a much better job of managing our water and do it in a hurry. California, with its Central Valley project, is to be congratulated for an early start on this endless problem.

I regret that it has taken these great natural disasters to finally really wake up America and make it fully realize that investing in these water projects is essential if we are to continue to develop and prosper. For years I have said on the floor of Congress that we should be spending double our present rate if we are to keep up with the demand for water supply, flood control, navigation, reclamation, and power development. We have come a long way since we overrode the veto in 1959 of the 1960 public works appropriation bill and set aside the "no new starts" policy.

Just in the last 5 years we have appropriated almost $650 million to the Bureau of Reclamation and the Corps of Engineers for work in California. And this year's Public Works appropriation bill as passed by the House includes an additional $178 million for these two agencies here in California, an increase of $57 million over last fiscal year.

Most important in Congress' going along with this stepped-up program in your State has been your recognition of the fact that water resource development must be to a large extent a local responsibility. Your California State water project serves as an example to the Nation of what must be done if we are to solve our great water problems.

So we are making progress. But so much remains to be done. And you have my assurance that as long as I am chairman of the House Public Works Appropriation Committee I am going to keep fighting for more adequate funds to conserve and develop the water resources both here in California and for the rest of the Nation.

I believe I am as happy as you are to see this project finally getting underway. When I was here in 1959, I realized what it would do for your area.

Much of the construction cost of $60 million is in the form of wages which will be spent to a great extent locally. The firm, dependable water supply it will provide will allow expansion of high income crop acreage and increase in per acre yield. The estimated total net farm income is expected to increase from about $4 million yearly to more than $24 million. Local processing of farm goods is estimated to yield an increased gross income of $40 million annually. The entire Nation will benefit from the changeover from dry farm crops—generally in surplus—to the much needed higher income crops. Wages resulting either directly or indirectly from the project facilities should reach a high of almost $22 million a year.

Initial water deliveries are scheduled for June 1968, but I am glad we were able to work out the emergency program to deliver water to the Arbuckle area in 1966, in time to save the almond groves threatened by the unexpected drop in ground water tables.

Now—you have waited 15 years from the time the Tehama-Colusa Canal was authorized until the time for the ground breaking; I am sure it was worth waiting for but I don't want to keep you waiting any longer. So let's get on with the ceremonies.

Comments From Canada on the Death of Adlai Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, a most interesting section of the opinion page was in the Sunday Olympian in my district on Sunday, August 1. The editor had taken the time to recapitulate a sizable segment of Canadian newspaper editorials on the death of America's beloved Adlai Stevenson.

I am sure that the Members of this House will appreciate sharing this sampling due to the thoughtfulness of the Sunday Olympian and the courtesy of its editor, Mr. Lawrence.

REACTION IN CANADA

Canadian newspapers often are more frank than flattering in expressing their opinions of the United States and its leaders. For this reason, we took special interest when the Canadian Consulate General's office in Seattle sent us a sampling of Canadian newspaper editorials on the death of Adlai Stevenson. We would like to share a sample of the sampling with you:

Toronto Daily Star: "Adlai Stevenson was an American America shared with the world. For millions of people he represented what America ought to be—its intellect, its culture and wit, its wisdom and its grace under the terrible pressure of duty.

"For his own Nation's intellectual youth he was the knight, sans peus, sans reproche, who rode into national political battle with a hole in his shoe, a jest on his tongue and, always, too few votes in his pocket.

"But while Adlai Stevenson never reached the power for which he yearned, his impact was enormous. He was a call for justice within America's borders and an understanding of the historic revolution that is sweeping the have-not world. He was a man of vast eloquence and he used it to become a spokesman of an enlightened United States."

The Ottawa Journal: "Fate, the often hard fortunes of political war, denied to Adlai Stevenson the prize of his country's Presidency. It was a prize which to many seemed to be his by devine right of intellect. For not since Woodrow Wilson had anyone appeared on the American political scene who combined in his character so much scholarship and eloquence with conscience, plus other gifts (lacking in Wilson) which compel affection.

"But these were not enough in a democratic society to overcome national veneration for the war hero Dwight D. Eisenhower, nor enough to gain his party's third presidential nomination over one with the style and organization genius of a John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Well could Adlai Stevenson have said with James Shirley, 'There is no armor against fate.'

"If Canadians had had a vote in the American elections a good bloc of Canada would have swung to Stevenson. Most of the delegates to the United Nations would have voted for him, and all of the UN administration and its waiters and sweepers, regardless of nationality or color. He became a UN champion, or, more correctly, he became a champion of UN's better ideals.

"And yet the memory of Adlai Stevenson will always be brightened with happiness and laughter. Humor was one of his weapons and he never believed that on a grave matter one had always to speak with deadening dullness * * *"

The Vancouver Sun: "Prime Minister Pearson spoke for most of us in Canada when he said, 'I have lost a very old and personal friend.'

"For this was the feeling Adlai Stevenson inspired in millions of Canadians who were acquainted with him only through the newspapers, radio, and TV. Like Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy, Mr. Stevenson somehow managed to inspire deep partisanship north of the 49th parallel when he ran for the Presidency of the United States.

"Indeed, it could be said he was our favorite candidate. And, it is no small tribute to us that it was so, for Adlai Stevenson represented in many ways the best ideals of civilized men.

"The loss is not to the United States alone but to the world. In this lamentable passing freedom has been bereaved of one of its strongest and most fearless contemporary voices."

One Man, One Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, a very fine analysis by Mr. Frank T. Nye, the associate editor of the Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Gazette, on the subject of apportionment of State legis-

latures has recently been called to my attention. Mr. Nye's perceptive analysis has been submitted to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary in the form of a statement.

Mr. Nye is opposed to current legislative efforts to amend the Constitution and modify the effect of the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision. He bases his opposition principally upon the contention that the proponents of such an amendment are using the false premise in an effort to win support for their efforts.

Mr. Nye states the case very well. In his words:

This false premise is that, historically, State legislatures have been apportioned "just like Congress," one house on population and the other on area, or some similar factor.

This is not the fact, as any student of apportionment is aware. The fact is that, historically the constitutions of a majority of the 50 States (including Iowa) have based the apportionment of both houses on population.

Mr. Speaker, I hope all of us are aware of the false premise to which Mr. Nye refers. I urge all of my colleagues to take time to read his statement and under unanimous consent I place it at this point in the RECORD:

STATEMENT OF FRANK T. NYE, ASSOCIATE EDITOR, THE CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA, GAZETTE, SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE JUNE 30, 1965, ON PROPOSALS TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION RELATIVE TO APPORTIONMENT OF STATE LEGISLATURES

Senator B. B. HICKENLOOPER's staff has informed me the Senate Judiciary Committee's hearings have ended on the Dirksen amendment, and other proposed amendments, to the Constitution relative to apportionment of State legislatures. But, even so, that the Committee would receive my statement and see that it is circulated to each Member. I am grateful for the privilege afforded me, under the circumstances, and am sorry to be late in submitting my statement. I will be brief and to the point.

First, some personal background:

I am 52 years old, married, the father of three daughters. I am an average American citizen, born, reared, and educated in Iowa, the State in which I have resided all my life.

It has been my privilege to cover politics in Iowa for nearly 30 years. From 1936 until 1943 I covered the statehouse, first for International News Service and, subsequently, for the Iowa Daily Press Association. Since 1943 I have been employed by the Cedar Rapids Gazette (as associate editor since 1945) and in that capacity I have continued to cover Iowa politics and the legislature.

Coverage of the legislature, from the beginning, aroused my interest in the subject of fair legislative apportionment—from the time I discovered less than 30 percent of the people were electing a majority of the members of the Iowa House of Representatives and less than 36 percent a majority of the members of the Iowa Senate.

I have been one of the leaders in the continuing effort, during the last 25 years, to restore fair apportionment to Iowa's Legislature. In this capacity I have done a number of studies on the subject as it affects Iowa.

From 1957 until 1961 I served as State chairman of the Governor's Reapportionment Action Committee, a bipartisan group of 16 Iowans (including four legislators) which laid the groundwork for reapportionment action in Iowa.

So much for background.

I oppose the Dirksen amendment in its present form because it, along with most of the other proposed apportionment amendments, is based on a false premise. This false premise, unwittingly perhaps, is being sold to the American people as an historical fact.

This false premise is that, historically, State legislatures have been apportioned "just like Congress," one house on population and the other on area, or some similar factor.

This is not the fact, as any student of apportionment is aware. The fact is that, historically, the constitutions of a majority of the 50 States (including Iowa) have based the apportionment of both houses on population.

It is also an historical fact, and a sad one indeed, that in many of these States whose legislatures originally were population-based (including Iowa), legislators more often than not chose to violate their oaths by refusing to carry out the apportionment provisions contained in the constitutions of their respective States.

The obvious result of this refusal was that factors other than population (usually area) were, by custom, considered in apportioning legislative bodies, even though this was in violation of the law. These illegal actions led to the acceptance of the false premise on which the Dirksen amendment is based.

Iowa is an excellent case in point, because what happened in Iowa is so typical of what happened in so many other States. Here's a brief review of the Iowa case:

Iowa became a territory on June 12, 1838, and conducted its affairs under a territorial constitution until admitted to the Union on December 28, 1846, at which time the people adopted the State's first constitution.

The first constitution was in existence until 1857, when the people adopted a new constitution, the State's second. This constitution is still in effect.

Each State constitution, as well as the territorial constitution, provided for a bicameral legislature with the membership of each chamber based on the white population in the State. In 1868, following the Civil War, the word "white" was eliminated by an amendment to the constitution adopted by the people.

All three constitutions, moreover, required reapportionment of the seats in both house and senate every 2 years—repeat, every 2 years—to reflect population shifts.

From the time Iowa became a territory until 1888 the territorial and State legislatures faithfully carried out the 2-year reapportionment requirement. But (and this inaction was the beginning of the false premise on which the Dirksen amendment is based), from 1888 until 1904 Iowa's legislatures did not carry out the constitutional requirement for reapportionment. Rather, they merely reenacted, and continued to reenact, the apportionment act of 1888, thereby refusing to reflect population shifts.

This resulted in an imbalance favoring less populated areas of the State. These areas eventually gained control of both the house and senate and, in 1904, proposed amendments changing the apportionment provisions in the constitution of 1857.

The people adopted the 1904 amendments. The 1904 amendments required a house of 108 seats, with 99 seats based on county units and 9 seats based on population. They required a senate of 50 seats all based on population (another false premise accepted as fact by many is that, traditionally the houses of representatives of State legislatures are based on population, the senate on area or other factors).

The 1904 amendments also required reapportionment of all population seats (9 in the house, 50 in the senate) after every State and Federal census. This meant reapportionment every 5 years (until 1935), inasmuch as Iowa required a State census in years ending in "5" until repeal of the State census law in 1935. The Federal census, of course, is in years ending in "0."

Despite the 1904 amendments requirement that senate seats be apportioned on population, and that all population seats be reapportioned after every census, the Iowa Senate's seats never were allocated on a population basis from the time of the first apportionment under the 1904 amendments. And there was nothing the people could do about it, since Iowa does not have the right of petition and since the courts refused to take jurisdiction in those days.

Elected representatives of the people continued to ignore the provisions of the constitution, refusing to reapportion population seats in the senate (which never had been apportioned on population) from 1904 until 1941. In 1941 the situation had become so intollerable that the legislature finally reapportioned 4 of the senate's 50 seats in an act that affected 12 of the State's 99 counties. Meantime, in 1928, less populous areas had gained such majority control of both houses they proposed a limiting amendment. The 1928 amendment provided that no county, regardless of its population, would be entitled to more than one seat in the senate. This amendment had no visible effect, since counties entitled to more than one senator under the 1904 amendments never had been allocated more than one senator. In fact, some of these counties, entitled to one senator each on the basis of population, were assigned to districts containing one or two other counties, with each district entitled to only one senator.

It was in the early 1940's that several Iowans, including myself, called attention of various newspapers to the plight of underrepresented populous areas of the State.

Beginning in the 1950's, Iowa Governors of both political parties began to recommend that the apportionment provisions in the State constitution be carried out in good faith. In 1953, the legislature reapportioned 4 more of the senate's 50 seats in an act affecting only 9 of the State's 99 counties.

In 1957, Gov. Herschel C. Loveless appointed the 16-member Governor's Reapportionment Action Committee referred to above. This was a bipartisan group of 12 citizens and 4 legislators which made recommendations that stimulated action by the legislature in 1959.

By 1963, the now rural-oriented legislature (by this time 27.4 percent of the people were electing a majority of the 108 house members and 35.6 percent a majority of the 50 senate members), had adopted a proposed amendment, which hardly alleviated the situation.

The people rejected this proposed amendment by a vote of 272,382 to 190,424 at a statewide referendum on December 3, 1963.

Meanwhile, action had been started August 9, 1962, in the Federal court for the southern district of Iowa, to have the 1904 amendments declared in violation of the 14th (equal rights) amendment. The three-judge Federal court panel noted there was some question about the legality of the 1904 amendments, but delayed its decision until after the December 3, 1963, referendum. After the referendum, the panel held the 1904 amendments to be unconstitutional.

Gov. Harold Hughes then called the legislature into special session starting February 18, 1964, to reapportion its seats on a population basis in time for the 1964 elections.

The legislature complied, after a fashion, reapportioning seats in the house to permit 44.02 percent of the people to elect a majority of members and reapportioning senate seats to permit 38.9 percent of the people to elect a majority of members.

Early in 1965, the three-judge Federal court panel held the senate apportionment to be

unconstitutional and said that while there was some question as to the constitutionality of the house apportionment, it would not require action on them at this time.

The legislature meeting in 1965 then reapportioned senate seats more in line with population. This apportionment act is now before both the Federal and State courts.

This is the Iowa case, in brief. I submit that it is typical of what has happened in many other States whose legislatures originally were population-based in both chambers. It is obvious, then, how the false premise on which the Dirksen amendment is based got its start and came to be accepted as a fact.

I have other objections to the Dirksen amendment, the principal one being that if adopted by Congress there's a good chance its ratification would be up to malapportioned legislatures in many States. I will not list my other objections, since most of them already have been cited in the committee's hearings by other opponents.

But I do want to press home my point that the amendment should not be sold to the people on the basis of a false premise because such a sale is sure to boomerang once they learn the truth.

Again, thank you for your courtesy in permitting me to submit this statement after the hearings have ended.

Former Florida Governor Praises President Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, Florida's greatest living orator, one of her most outstanding Governors and a living symbol of democratic achievement, Fuller Warren, has written an excellent letter to the editor of the New York Times praising the Presidency of Lyndon Baines Johnson.

This letter deserves to be reprinted in the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, so that the Nation may realize what Governor Warren and many others think about our President. We will all draw strength from this letter about our President, at a time when a small segment of the national press has chosen to criticize him for his courageous stand in the Dominican Republic and Vietnam.

Fuller Warren, like President Johnson, has felt the arrows of scorn from those who are proved wrong as time passes. Governor Warren, who served as the chief executive of Florida from 1949 to 1953, faced great opposition when he led the fight to outlaw cattle from Florida's highways, but today his strong and vigorous action is applauded and will be remembered for generations—his imagination and will have saved thousands of lives on our highways.

"No other President has walked more humbly with God and his fellow man," Governor Warren writes. I congratulate him for his timely statement about President Johnson. The letter follows:

[From the New York Times, Aug. 8, 1965]

ANTI-JOHNSON CABAL

To the EDITOR:

The venomous attacks by some segments of the press upon President Johnson are very puzzling. He is the kindliest, most compassionate President since Lincoln. He is one of the most effective of all the Presidents. He gets along with Congress better than any other President ever has.

President Johnson has caused Congress to enact some of the most benevolent, the most humane measures ever to become law. He has courted the press more ardently than any other President. He has not made a major mistake as President. He has not publicly said a harsh word about anybody—not even a Republican.

President Johnson has not said or done anything reasonably calculated to provoke the envenomed editorials and hate-filled columns spewed upon him recently. In some instances this forgiving man actually has "turned the other cheek."

Not once has he retaliated against those who have reviled him, as have some great Presidents. (One of Lincoln's generals had to close down the Chicago Times because of its seditious and subversive obstruction of the war effort.)

Various polls have shown that President Johnson is supported by an overwhelming majority of patriotic Americans.

No other President has walked more humbly with God and his fellow man. "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" Do a few carping columnists and a junta of irascible editors require more than this of President Johnson?

How long, oh, how long will a conspiratorial cabal of constricted columnists and a few envenomed editors continue to rail against this righteous man?

FULLER WARREN.

MIAMI, *July 23, 1965.*

(The writer was Governor of Florida, 1949–53.)

Hays Sullivan: The Cotton Man Who Heads the Soybean Men

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to call to the attention of Members an article which appears in the August issue of Cotton Farming. It reveals further information on the importance of soybeans to the economy of this Nation but also because it concerns an interview with Mr. Hays Sullivan, of Burdette, Ark., one of my finest friends and a leader in agriculture in Arkansas and in the Nation.

The article consists of an interview with Mr. Sullivan, who is president of the American Soybean Association, outlining the strong position of soybean production in our agricultural economy. Mr. Sullivan properly points out that soybeans—the Cinderella crop—are essential to the stability of a great cross section of our agricultural population.

The article follows:

HAYS SULLIVAN: THE COTTON MAN WHO HEADS THE SOYBEAN MEN

Due to the blessings of the allotment system, there is no longer in the strictest sense such a thing as a cotton farmer. The grower who is considered a cotton man usually gets an overwhelming part of his income from cotton, but his remaining land must be put to the most profitable use and this means a second crop.

Across such a wide and diversified area as the Cotton Belt, this second crop could be anything from alfalfa to beets to grain sorghums, depending on the locale. There is one crop, however, that is swiftly approaching the status of the subsidiary crop—soybeans.

As prime testimony to this northern native's growing popularity across the belt, cotton will have to relinquish sole sovereignty over its old capital, Memphis, when the American Soybean Association hosts its 45th national convention there, August 16–18. Arkansas, just across the river from Memphis, invested 3,219,000 acres to soybeans this year, an 8-percent increase over last year and the ninth consecutive acreage upswing. Another neighbor, Mississippi, planted a 1965 crop of 1,653,000 acres, a jump of 21 percent over last year. On more and more farms, cotton is looking across the road at soybeans.

Cotton Farming wanted to know why.

So we sent an editor to Burdette, Ark., to pose this question to Hays Sullivan, cotton producer, ginner, and president of the American Soybean Association. He and his two sons farm a full cotton allotment of 600 acres, plus another 1,100 acres in soybeans.

Sitting behind his desk, Mr. Sullivan acknowledged our question with a smile.

"Let me tell you a little of the background first," he said. "Soybeans crept down in our area back in the 1930's, mostly for soil building or as a crop for hogging down with corn. Later on, mechanization showed us we could grow more dollars per acre with beans than we could with corn. I've been growing soybeans since about 1940."

He paused momentarily and leaned back into his chair. "Now you asked me why," he said. "Well, this is a product that has a tremendous market. The Soybean Council of America has poured millions into market development in Europe, Japan, and Canada.

"To give you a couple of examples, a few years ago we introduced soybean oil with olive oil in Spain, and the people began to take more and more soybean oil. Japan, which imports nearly 50 million bushels of our soybeans, will by 1975 be demanding 175 to 180 million bushels annually.

"One of the reasons for increased demand is due to the fact that soybeans produce protein and fats or oils which are needed by the populace of most countries. Most all countries can produce carbohydrates crops such as corn, but cannot grow their protein. We're producing 700 million bushels a year now, and 47 percent of that is for export. Last year, soybeans and soybean products brought in the highest cash dollar yield from export markets for the second straight year."

After hearing that, our mind turned to ugly thoughts of surpluses, and we asked if the ASA wasn't worried about overproduction.

"We fear the time that we would become a surplus crop," he said, "and let bars down and become Government controlled, with such things as artificial incentives or huge storage stocks. We hope to hold our acreage in line with our market expansion and expand or hold as the market demands."

And how do soybeans prosper in cotton country?

He explained that the particular county he lives in, Mississippi County, is one of the top soybean producing counties in the coun-

try. "It's not uncommon to find yields of 35 to 40 bushels an acre. You have to work soybeans and keep them free of weeds and grass, and we've found that soybeans will yield higher in rotation with cotton. That's a distinct advantage it has with cotton."

"So you would say that the soybean has found a permanent home in the Cotton Belt?" we asked.

"Well, all the acreage around here not allotted to cotton has gone to soybeans. And you hear of that happening all over."

Departing very impressed with the soybean story, its rapid growth, expanding market, and free-from-surplus status, we stopped to shake hands with Mr. Sullivan at the door.

Peering over his fields, he said, "You know, we have the best product. Half the world hasn't got a sheet to sleep on. We're just going to have to pitch in and get it out of its troubles."

That was the cotton man talking.

Long Island's Challenge to You

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, it is regrettable that too often we hear about our Nation's young people through the mass media only when they do something wrong. The much-cited parallel between youth and airplanes is, unhappily, very true: We only hear about the ones that crash.

The good, young man or woman, the industrious, productive, talented, interesting, concerned, and intelligent young citizen is pushed into the background by that vociferous minority of rowdys, slackers, and vandals who seem to dominate our front pages. The great good which young people do today goes unreported, while the trouble generated by a tiny element grabs the headlines and our attention.

Today I want to direct some of our attention to that good majority of our country's youth. I want to focus some of our thoughts on the laudable program of community service and character building being accomplished by the YMCA. The Y has helped to mold the personality of this Nation's young people for more generations than anyone in this distinguished body has lived through. It is a wholesome but not a good-goody organization which has captured the imagination and the spirit of millions of young people throughout the Nation. It brings together a rare combination of seasoned experience and youthful enthusiasm from which we have benefited tremendously. It builds leadership, and it encourages those old-fashioned virtues of loyalty, trustworthiness, and patriotism.

My colleague and friend, Representative JOHN W. WYDLER, of New York, delivered the address which follows on the occasion of the 46th annual meeting of the Nassau-Suffolk Young Men's Christian Association. It is a fitting tribute to the organization and an appropriate commentary on the YMCA's role in the United States today. I am pleased to present it here today:

THE 46TH ANNUAL MEETING OF YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, NASSAU/SUFFOLK COUNTIES

One-half of all the people in the world today are under 25 years of age.

The German poet-philosopher, Goethe, wrote: "The destiny of any nation, at any given time, depends on the opinions of its young men under five-and-twenty."

If the philosopher is right, we are in the hands of our youth, and we had better be about the business of seeing to the proper shaping of those hands.

The urgency of our mission is emphasized by the fact that most of our serious crimes are committed by those who are under 20 years old.

The cost to your family for crime control was over $500 last year—a very large, involuntary contribution dedicated to mere self-protection and preservation.

We have all taken an oath to our flag in which we pledge allegiance to "the Republic for which it stands."

I don't wish to burden you at this time with definitions, but if you will look in the dictionary when you return home, you will find that "republic" means the electorate, the people, and democracy is a process; and may be a pure democracy, or—and get this—a representative democracy through a system of representation. Note the words "system of representation."

As you all know, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics claims to be a democracy.

President Jefferson was elected in 1800 on a platform of Republicanism defeating the Federalists, who were for a central federalized system of government, absolute in nature. One of his famous quotes at that time was: "Government should only do for the people, what the people cannot do for themselves." A statement too little thought of today in relationship to local activity and local government as opposed to State and Federal controls.

What has this review of the meaning of government to do with the YMCA challenge to youth nationally and in Nassau and Suffolk Counties today?

I would like to repeat at this time the statement of your director, Dr. Carl Frische, in his address 2 years ago at your annual meeting.

"If free Western civilization is to survive, much of the work will have to be done through such voluntary organizations as the YMCA. I believe that religious-oriented organizations stand in the forefront among a woefully small number of such voluntary organizations upon which our ultimate destiny depends. This free society and the free organizations needed to support it will not survive merely because of the latent virtue within. It will take a lot of individual work, support, and aggressiveness.

"Among the evidence which might be mustered in support of this view, perhaps the best and most dramatic comes from our enemies; for it is they who have singled out voluntary religious, patriotic, and fraternal organizations for harassment and destruction. Curiously, there are far too many amongst us who do not seem to comprehend the situation. Such people while giving loud and eloquent vocal endorsement to free enterprise and voluntary support of our community endeavors do, nevertheless, in fact actively sponsor programs for more Government control and surveillance and spending in these areas of endeavor so vital to our surival. These eloquent but misguided folk seem to have lost sight of the basic premise and fact that once the Government takes over these functions, and finances them from funds extracted from the taxpayers under compulsion of confiscation, the effort is no longer voluntary; and we have already taken the first big step toward our own self-destruction as free individuals. We must not succumb to the bait that our benefits will increase if we surrender to big brother in Washington or Albany those things we trust most and hold as most conducive to our welfare."

I agree with Dr. Frische's analysis.

To sum up, the YMCA builds for the Republic a community program financed with voluntary contributions and effort, based on spiritual and mental maturity and fitness as well as physical fitness stemming directly from the people of the community with no Government support; how can the YMCA and other religious-oriented organizations compete with Government-financed programs such as are being sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity with Federal, State, and county government funds?

Are we losing the meaningfulness of charity today? Taxes are not charity. The act of contributing money alone is not charity. The act of loving all men as brothers because they are sons of God is charity. If we give of ourselves in this sense, the giving is true charity. As St. Paul said in Corinthians II: "Every man according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give; not grudgingly, or of necessity; for God loveth a cheerful giver."

There has crept into the philosophy of certain fund raisers today, "Give once for all." What does it mean? Has "Give once for all" ever been an integral part of the American way of life? There is no doubt that this slogan has cut deeply into the moral philosophy of voluntarism. You give one day a year and you are finished with giving and have nothing more to think about giving, including volunteering your time.

This trend of decreasing voluntarism is presently only a symptom. A symptom—the continuance of which can cause the citizen to abdicate his or her traditional sense of individual responsibility in America. This lack of charity toward one's club, organization, church, union, profession, political party, and philanthropic cause, has always in the past been subject to derision. Should voluntarism—both individual and group—discontinue, the only result will be in Government usurpation of its functions.

The YMCA with its history and objectives is meeting this challenge of usurpation.

Locally, with well over 800 volunteers serving as board and committee members, group leaders, instructors, coaches, and program specialists, the good and godly YMCA standards are helping in the presentation of a challenge to the youth of Nassau and Suffolk Counties.

With the professional staff of 19 full-time executive and program secretaries, 10 of whom are nationally certified YMCA secretaries, and the remainder secretaries in training, maintained by a system of free enterprise with no Federal, State, or county tax support, is really a wonderful contribution to the basic philosophy of America.

This staff recruits, trains, and supervises over 500 full-time and part-time employees. It is responsible for the administration of budgets, buildings, and property; the recruiting organization, training, and operation of committees; the establishment, directing, and extension of program and services; the interpretation and carrying out of the purposes of the association; the creation and continuation of good public relations; the maintenance of relations with the communities and other agencies, and in addition the relationships with the national and international bodies of the YMCA—all with no Federal, State, or county tax support.

In 1964 it was "Seven Steps to Tomorrow." With its addition of the Greater Massapequa branch in 1965, it becomes "Eight Steps to Tomorrow"—thus following through as the

need arises in the extension of its program and services.

With guidelines of moral and spiritual substance, the Y is offering some 44 programs in counseling, group work, social, educational, and cultural activities. In addition with these same guidelines of moral and spiritual substance, the Y is offering some 29 programs to aid in the development of health skills and team play.

What more can be added by the Y as a challenge to youth

I am sure that when it is found, the YMCA will add it, and not at Government taxation expense.

May I remind you again that we must speak less and less of being or not being our brother's keeper, and do more and more about brotherly love and respect. We must be our brother's brother.

I do not feel that the youth of America is going to the dogs. If you have a good memory, you will well remember that your fathers said the same things about the youth of your day, and your grandfathers said the same of their youths, and so on back through the generations.

There is much evidence to the contrary despite some depressing statistics. The Elks National Foundation, the American Legion's Boys' State, the YMCA's own Hi-Y Clubs with their annual meetings in Albany; the YMHA, the Catholic Youth Organizations—all these are part of an active and continuing process of youth to a higher moral and spiritual standard.

Make sure that the YMCA continues to offer these challenges to Nassau and Suffolk youth.

Let us attack the problem with enthusiasm. It is a challenge—not a task. We are responding to God's command—and not to that of some Federal law.

Our Long Island area offers the greatest springboard in the Nation from which to launch our program. We are adjacent to the world's greatest city, populated by young, educated, and skilled people. We have land to grow on and an abundance of almost every ingredient necessary to create a top-flight technical society.

But we must act now if the Y is to meet the future challenge that will not only train the minds, bodies, and spirit of our youth—but keep our youth here after they are trained.

The Y offers not only citizenship training and character building—but it develops leadership. It does this by molding a full person. The symbol of the Y is an equilateral triangle—the body, mind, and spirit. Without the spirit, the other two sides form lines leading ever further apart. Without the line of the spirit, there is no symmetry.

The concept of state charity growing in Washington is undermining the true spirit of charity in the individual man. Without freedom, there is no real charity. The Gallup Poll indicated that a few years ago 70 percent of the people believed religious influence was gaining America. The figure is now 33 percent. Is this how we are building the Republic?

The introduction of Federal dollars into each new program drives God out. This is done under the slogan of the separation of state and church—although the separation being maintained is often between the state and God, Himself.

The love of God is a necesary ingredient of true charity. This is something that can be found at the Y, but which is taboo at the Office of Economic Opportunity. The Y on Long Island offers our youth a real plus—the plus of bringing a meaning to their lives.

It may be easier to get dollars from Washington; it is surely quicker, but—are we not then "rendering unto Caesar" the things that are God's?

The youth of Long Island hunger after loyalty, pride, and faith. They long to help build the Republic.

How shall we feed them?

They cannot live by bread alone.

Federal Government and Pennsylvania: Partners in Crime and Vice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to tell the Members of this House about the unwise partnership of the Federal Government and the State of Pennsylvania in keeping gambling illegal in Pennsylvania thus making gambling's lucrative profits available to bankroll the multishaded evils of the crime syndicates.

Last year, the parimutuel turnover in Pennsylvania came to $67 million. More significant—and more menacing—is Pennsylvania's vice-propping illegal gambling. Testimony before the McClellan committee indicated that off-track betting comes to about $50 billion annually throughout the Nation, with this figure accounting for only some 42 percent of the national annual illegal gambling total, which would thus be $120 billion. On a population basis, illegal gambling in Pennsylvania would come to about $7.2 billion a year, so that Pennsylvania is really a rich minefield for the mob. The mob cuts itself 10 percent of the illegal gambling take, which means that almost three-quarters of a billion dollars may flow into crime from gambling profits. Government-run gambling would siphon these moneys from mob treasuries putting gambling revenues to work for and not against the people.

The best way to make gambling work for the public good—since it is basically ineradicable—is a national or series of State lotteries. If the State of Pennsylvania would wake up to social and financial reality, it would legalize, regulate and control gambling so that the gambling urge of the people of Pennsylvania could be made to help support society rather than undermine it.

The Foreign Aid Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following comments by the Agency for International Development on a letter from Congressman PASSMAN dated July 1, 1965, in which he commented on the foreign aid program:

Requests for new foreign aid funds so far this year amount to $7,512,467,000. I am attaching, hereto, a list showing the 15 separate requests for foreign aid funds. Only the first item on the attached list is ever mentioned publicly as being foreign aid. The other 14 items are as much foreign aid as your hand is a part of your body.

The foreign aid program has traditionally been—and is today—understood to be the economic and military programs authorized by the Foreign Assistance Act, for which new appropriations of $3,380 million were requested for fiscal year 1966. In June, the President requested an additional $89 million for programs in southeast Asia. The total amended new appropriations request for fiscal year 1966 is $3,459,470,000.

In his message of January 14, 1965, the President also urged the Congress to support other programs which share with the foreign aid program to some extent a common purpose of assisting the less fortunate abroad—the Inter-American Development Bank, the International Development Association, and the food-for-peace program. Clearly, these programs are mentioned publicly. Appropriations requests for these programs—as for others mentioned in Congressman PASSMAN's letter—are contained in the President's budget for fiscal year 1966. The Congress reviews and debates these proposals. Congressman PASSMAN's own printed hearings contain public testimony by executive branch witnesses in support of 6 of the 14 other foreign aid items he mentions.

Some of these 14 items are a form of foreign assistance and are proposed and justified as such. But many of the 14 categories listed by Congressman PASSMAN simply are not foreign aid. These include military construction overseas, the Department of the Army's administration of the Ryukyu Islands, the Euratom program of the AEC, and U.N. dues and other assessed contributions to international organizations. Attached is an item-by-item rundown on each of the 14 items on Congressman PASSMAN's list.

On June 30, 1965, unliquidated funds from prior years' authority to the credit of these 15 items amounted to $10,605,738,000. If the Congress approves the full additional $7,512,467,000 that the administration has requested in new funds this year, then there will be a staggering total available for disbursement in the amount of $18,118,205,000.

The estimated unexpended balance (pipeline) for budgeted programs under the Foreign Assistance Act is $5,880 million. Slightly less than one-third of these funds is for the military assistance program and the remainder is for AID economic programs. The pipeline consists almost entirely of funds which the United States is already committed to use for specific activities, and which therefore are not available to finance other activities. The reason there is a pipeline is that foreign aid projects, like construction projects in this country, often take several years to complete.

The only money available for new activities is that which is appropriated for the new fiscal year. For fiscal year 1966, $3,459 million is being requested in new funds. In addition, Congress is requested to reappropriate a small amount of funds available as unobligated balances, and to provide for the use of recoveries from prior year obligations. Recoveries result from funds which are saved from previous projects when costs run below estimates. Estimates of deobligated funds for the budget year are taken into account in preparing the budget request and the total request for new appropriations is reduced accordingly.

Pipelines exist in nearly all Government programs, including the other programs list-

ed in Congressman PASSMAN's letter. The pipeline for the Defense Department, for example, is about $30 billion, compared to AID's $5.9 billion.

One can arrive at Congressman PASSMAN's $18 billion total only by adding to the amount actually available for use the following:

The foreign aid pipeline—which is not available to finance new activities; and appropriations requests and pipeline for items which are clearly not foreign aid activities.

The $7,512,467,000 requested in new funds this year does not include an appropriation of $1.35 million tacked on to a recent appropriation bill for the International Monetary Fund so that it would apply to the fiscal year which ended on June 30, 1965, rather than to the new fiscal year. Neither does it include the $4 billion annual interest we are paying on the money we have previously borrowed to give away.

The International Monetary Fund can in no way be described as a foreign aid activity. It does not extend development assistance; it is not an aid institution.

The International Monetary Fund assists all countries with short-term balance-of-payments assistance. Even the United States draws funds from the International Monetary Fund on occasion—in calendar year 1964, U.S. net drawings were $262 million. It also seeks to promote international monetary cooperation, to facilitate expansion and growth of international trade, and to promote exchange stability. None of these are foreign aid activities.

Receipts and recoveries from previous credits, $209,770,000: These funds are receipts and recoveries from AID and military assistance program activities which are used to reduce the amount of new foreign aid appropriations.

Military Assistance Advisory Group, $76,000,000: This item consists of an estimate of pay and allowance for U.S. military service personnel serving abroad in the military assistance program. These men serving abroad are on rotation duty. Most of them would be receiving pay from funds appropriated to the Department of Defense whether they were serving abroad or in the United States. The funds required for fiscal year 1966 for this item are part of the regular armed services budget request.

Export-Import Bank (Long-term credits), $900,000,000: The primary objective of the Export-Import Bank now—as it has been for over 30 years—is the promotion of U.S. export trade throughout both the developed and less developed areas of the world. A commendable byproduct of the bank's activities has been to spur economic growth in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, but its principal function is to bolster U.S. commercial sales to these areas. There is no appropriation request for fiscal year 1966, since bank loans are financed by repayments and interest on prior loans, by private financial institutions, and by borrowing from the Treasury.

The $900 million figure included in Congressman PASSMAN's letter is the bank's estimate for long-term loans in fiscal year 1966 within the overall congressional limitation on Export-Import Bank operations. In calendar 1964 such loans totaled $727 million.

Public Law 480 (Agricultural commodities), $1,658,000,000: (Food-for-peace program), Public Law 480 began as a program for the disposal of surpluses of agricultural commodities which could not be sold on commercial markets. While the program continues to support and to utilize the domestic farm surplus, it also permits the United States to provide millions of hungry persons in the less developed countries with needed food, and to contribute to their economic development. The food-for-peace program serves both domestic and foreign purposes, but uses resources in amounts set primarily for agricultural and not foreign policy reasons. The request for restoration of CCC costs attributable to the food-for-peace program in fiscal year 1966 is $1,658 million.

Inter-American Development Bank (Latin America), $705,880,000: The U.S. contribution to the Inter-American Development Bank supplements U.S. assistance for the Alliance for Progress. The request for fiscal year 1966 is for $455.9 million. However, of the total, $205.9 million is for callable capital which is retained in the U.S. Treasury and is subject to call only in the event the Inter-American Development Bank is unable to meet its obligations arising from borrowings or guarantees.

International Development Association (IDA), $104 million: The U.S. contribution to this subsidiary of the World Bank also supplements the bilateral assistance program of the United States. The request for fiscal year 1966 is $104 million.

Peace Corps, $115 million: Peace Corps volunteers perform a variety of functions (teaching, public health, community development, etc.) overseas. They provide needed services in underdeveloped countries, improve the knowledge of America in underdeveloped countries, and broaden their own understanding of the less-developed world. The request for the Peace Corps for fiscal year 1966 is $115 million.

Contributions to international organizations, $96,953,000: These are assessed contributions and are appropriated to the State Department primarily to help pay the U.S. share of operational costs of the United Nations and several other international bodies to which we belong. They are not to be confused with funds appropriated under the Foreign Aid and Related Agencies Appropriations Act for voluntary contributions for international organizations, which are used for development and related purposes. The request for fiscal year 1966 is $96.9 million.

Permanent construction overseas (military), $85,986,000: Funds are annually required for the construction and maintenance of U.S. bases in other countries. These bases are used by the U.S. military and are essential to the protection of U.S. interests. The requirement for fiscal year 1966 for this item is part of the normal Department of Defense budget request.

Educational (foreign and other students), $69,200,000: These are educational and cultural exchange activities. The United States makes available funds—largely in foreign currencies—to send Americans abroad and bring foreign nationals to the United States for educational, scientific, and cultural purposes. These funds obviously are not intended to promote "foreign assistance" objectives; rather, they are intended to strengthen relations between the United States and other nations of the free world. The request for fiscal year 1966 is $61.9 million for mutual education and cultural exchange activities.

Ryukyu Islands, $14,733,000: Pursuant to a treaty with Japan, the United States is responsible for the administration of the Ryukyu Islands. The U.S. Army provides this administration, and the United States will continue to be there as long as strategic and military considerations require that we maintain a military base in this area. Our presence is clearly not motivated by foreign assistance considerations. The request for fiscal year 1966 is $14.7 million.

Migrants and refugees, $7,575,000: Legislation in 1962, unrelated to foreign assistance and economic development in foreign nations, provided authority for aid to migrants and refugees in various parts of the world for humanitarian purposes. This aid is extended both on a multilateral basis, through contributions to the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration and the U.N. High Commission for Refugees, and through bilateral aid to European, Chinese, and Tibetan refugees. The request for fiscal year 1966 is $7.6 million.

Atomic Energy Commission (overseas), $5,900,000: The Euratom program provides for research and development under a joint program with the European Atomic Energy Community. The joint program is conducted in Europe with European funds and in the United States with U.S. funds for research and development of U.S.-type atomic reactor systems. To date, these European countries have provided more money than the United States for these cooperative programs. In addition to sharing the benefits of new developments in European science and technology, the U.S. nuclear industry has gained access to the important European market. The request for fiscal year 1966 is $3 million.

Inter-American Highway (Latin America), $4 million: The 1,555-mile Central American section of the Inter-American Highway is being constructed in cooperation with five countries in Central America. These five republics will pay one-third the cost of the highway through their countries and assume complete responsibility for future maintenance. Funds are appropriated to the Department of Commerce to finance the U.S. share. The request for fiscal year 1966 is $4 million.

American Field Service Exchange Studentry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, the American Field Service is an international scholarship program for teenagers. It is the forerunner, largest and most successful of all student exchange programs. It is an American program begun as a volunteer ambulance service during World War I, continuing during World War II and sponsoring and financing student exchanges in 1947. Since then about 20,000 foreign students have been selected to spend a year in the United States, as a regular member of a host family, attending high school regularly and learning firsthand about the United States and its people. Although the exchange is not reciprocal, many thousands of our high school juniors have spent a school year or a summer school vacation with a family in several dozen foreign countries under the sponsorship of AFS.

AFS is probably the most effective device yet conceived for the promotion of international understanding and world peace with justice. The student participants are already becoming leaders in their respective countries in science, commerce, industry, and government. The ripple effect of these student ambassadors, without portfolio but with immense impact, is becoming a tremendous force for good will on earth.

Recently all foreign AFS'ers—about 3,000—spent a week with a family in the Greater Washington, D.C., area, visiting their own Embassies and observing and studying our Federal Government in action.

Robert Cahn, staff correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, captured some of the meaning and purpose of AFS

in his report of one general meeting of the foreign AFS students during their Washington bus stop.

He also recorded some candid observations of these bright, knowledgeable, observant youngsters which should be worthwhile for all native U.S. citizens to read and ponder:

EXCHANGE STUDENTRY

(By Robert Cahn)

WASHINGTON.—Abraham Minawa is taking home to Uganda a "Big M" sweater from Murray High School, St. Paul, Minn., as well as a new appreciation of how the United States is trying to solve its racial problems.

Protima Nag will tell her young friends in Calcutta that Americans work hard and play hard, that the moral standards are really high despite what they may have read about Hollywood.

Pedro Misle hopes to spread some of the ideas he has gained about how a democracy works when he returns to Caracas.

And Dagmar Schramm is taking back to Austria, among other things, some American cookbooks.

Abraham, Protima, Pedro, and Dagmar are 4 of the 2,904 American Field Service international scholarship students from 59 foreign countries who have just completed a year in the United States.

In communities throughout the Nation, they and their colleagues have been "adopted" for the year by American families with teenage children.

PRESIDENT HEARD

They have gone to American high schools. They have taken a 3-week bus trip through part of the United States. And they have climaxed the year with a get-together in Washington which included an address at the White House by President Johnson.

Many of the youngsters have had such a good time that they would like to stay longer. But their parents signed agreements that the students would come home on time and not return to the United States for at least 2 years.

The whole purpose of the AFS scholarships is to promote better international understanding. And it is hoped that these youths—and the 1,100 Americans who have been spending a year or a summer in foreign countries under AFS scholarships—will become good will ambassadors among their compatriots.

SPORTS ENJOYED

With a bright smile flashing across his dark face, Abraham Minawa relates how he won fourth place in the State championship at Murray High when he pole-vaulted 12 feet 6 inches.

"Yeah, Murray," he shouts, while bantering with other AFS students here. Abraham has a lot to tell the homefolks about American sports and American life.

But he also knows of the problems.

"My 'father,'" he says (most AFS'ers refer to their American parents-for-a-year as if they were their own), "took me to Nashville so I could see for myself about the race situation."

Abraham was refused service in one Nashville restaurant. But he also knows he was accepted as an equal at Murray High. And he lived as a member of a white family.

He says that in Uganda, all he heard about the United States was that Negroes were being beaten.

"Now that I have been here, I realize the race problem is something that can't be solved in a few days," he says. "But Americans are making a good start."

VIEWS EXCHANGED

During their days in Washington, the students had opportunities to evaluate opinions of the United States and to exchange views with those who spent the year in other parts of the country.

They heard presidential assistant Richard N. Goodwin explain the Great Society program and say to the students from developing nations: "You must insure that in your own revolutions there is widening room for the human heart and the human spirit."

On the south lawn of the White House, they heard President Johnson thank them for leaving behind a better understanding of their countries.

"While you have been here I am sure you have seen things that you don't like, things that you would like to change," Mr. Johnson said. "If you have, then you can know that you have seen America as Americans themselves see it.

"FUNDS COLLECTED

"We have been concerned more with how our children shall live than with emulating how our fathers and how our grandfathers lived. So this spirit of America, I think, is present in our policies and our purposes toward other peoples of other lands.

"We hope that wherever you go you will work always, as we work, to try to change, to try to improve the life of mankind on this earth, and most of all, to try to win peace for all peoples," the President said.

The American Field Service, which was widely lauded for supplying ambulance drivers during World War I, started its scholarship program in 1947. A total of 19,075 students have come to the United States under the program.

Local chapters of AFS in each community raise funds to sponsor a student and arrange a home for him. The foreign student's own family is expected, if possible, to pay the transportation to and from the United States.

The United States State Department, through Public Law 480 funds, picks up some of the transportation costs.

If the American family or local AFS chapter cannot provide spending money, the scholarship program gives each student $14 a month. The end-of-the-year bus trip is paid for by the scholarship program.

"I like the informal atmosphere of your schools. I like your food very much and your dances. The dances are getting a lot like our dances, but they have different names. * * * I enjoyed hearing your Attorney General speak to us. I think he just spoke for my benefit." Barbara Thornton, Bridgetown, Barbados (spent year in Horicon, Wis.).

"I used to think that everyone in America had low moral standards. * * * But I found the moral standards very high. I also learned a lot from American youth. They don't just spend all their time having fun." Protima Nag, Calcutta, India (spent year in Jacksonville, Ill.).

"I learned a lot about democracy in my year here, and I hope I can spread it in my country. * * * In one way, President Johnson was wrong when he talked about our coming to 'America.' I have lived in America for 17 years. We are as much America as you are." Pedro Misle, Caracas, Venezuela (spent year in Girard, Ohio).

"I can only hope that other countries treat their foreign visitors as well as you do in America. * * * I like your school system where all the students, bright and average and not so bright, are put together. In Germany, we have separate schools for those of different abilities." Ingrid Zuendorf, Hamburg, Germany (spent year in Rantoul, Ill.).

"From what I had seen on television and read about America, I had a vague idea that it would be a strange country to me. But I found that Americans behave and react much the same as my own people." Lina Jacinto, Cavite, Philippine Islands (spent year in Washougal, Wash.).

"I like your school system here better than our system of French schools. Your system builds independence and gets into subjects very deeply. * * * Your Negro problem should be settled more quickly. A great nation shouldn't have a problem like this." Ibrahim Mertturk, Istanbul, Turkey (spent year in Santa Ana, Calif.).

"I carry back home two impressions: good and bad. Your people are really friendly and really nice. But some of your teenagers are not very polite. * * * Also some teenagers drive too fast and act a little crazy. But most of them were real fine." Phay Darapheth, Arroyo, Laos (spent year in Merced, Calif.).

"I found out that Americans are really behind my country. * * * This year meant a lot to me; I felt I really grew up. And I found that my earlier impressions about America were wrong. Americans are not naturally rich. They have to work hard for their money." Thuy Van Nguyen, Saigon, Vietnam (spent year in Clinton, Iowa).

"I learned from Americans to be more openminded and to make friends easier. I also liked it that your country does not try to cover up its problems. * * * I didn't get any credit for my schooling here because I took only five subjects. In Sweden I regularly take 13 subjects." Kersten Nordstrom, Sweden (spent year in Minneapolis).

"In Uganda, about all we would hear of the United States was that Negroes were being beaten. I didn't hear about any of the steps being taken in the civil rights movement. Now that I have been here, I realize the race problems can't be solved in a few days." Abraham Minawa, Kampala, Uganda (spent year in St. Paul, Minn.).

"I found it a lot easier in America not to be prejudiced on the race situation. I am for civil rights. I had to work it out in my own way, and now I find myself able to treat anybody as an equal." Rob Jackson, Johannesburg, South Africa (spent year in Pontiac, Mich.).

"If everybody here could have learned as much as I have about human relationships and the ability to understand people, it would help lead to world peace. This experience in the United States has expanded the world of all of us." Cheryl Thomas, Salisbury, Rhodesia (spent year in Tonawanda, N.Y.).

"This year helped me see there is little difference between peoples of various countries except their customs. * * * I don't see why there is so much trouble between whites and Negroes in the South. * * * Negroes were treated equally at my school." Seiji Furuta, Gifu, Japan (spent year in west Philadelphia).

"When I came I had a completely different concept of the United States. I thought that everybody was rich and the teenagers just had fun. But I learned that North Americans have the same problems that we have." Miriam Levano, Lima, Peru (spent year in Hibbing, Minn.).

The story requires one slight correction: AFS is a volunteer program, privately financed without governmental direction, sponsoring, or financial aid. This is one reason for its tremendous growth and strength. AFS does, however, greatly appreciate the splendid cooperation and accommodations it receives from the many governments within which AFS operates, including the U.S. Department of State and President Johnson.

Support for President in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR CALLAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, there is in this country a great reservoir of support for the President regarding the situation we face in Vietnam. I commend to the attention of my colleagues editorials which appeared recently in the Omaha World-Herald and the Lincoln Star on this subject. No greater support can be forthcoming.

[From the Omaha (Nebr.) World-Herald, July 24, 1965]

MR. JOHNSON'S REPORT

If President Johnson's Wednesday morning address to the Nation had not been preceded by thunderous advance publicity and a prediction about a callup of Reserves, his words might have had more impact than they did.

Even so, the President committed his countrymen to a substantial mobilization of America's military might to fight what he indicated most plainly will be a long, hard, and probably bigger war in Vietnam.

The number of American fighting men there is to be stepped up from 75,000 to 125,000. These are men now on active duty, not Reserves, and many of them have doubtless been expecting to be called.

But the increase in the monthly draft is to be more than doubled—from 17,000 to 35,000—and here the impact upon tens of thousands of young men and their families very likely may not have been anticipated by them.

Finally, there was the President's solemn comment about the likelihood of more men being called up later.

The number was unspecified but it will be whatever the American commander, General Westmoreland, says he needs. The President's repeated pledge to stand fast, to refuse to retreat or to surrender, has lost nothing in its plain wording or its emphasis in these recent months of hard going in Vietnam.

Aside from the increase in forces, there was little that was news in the President's speech. As he pointed out, he has said over and over again that America will stand and fight in Vietnam, that the United States cannot go back on its word, that our country has to face up to Communist aggression in Vietnam or its promises to defend free men elsewhere will not be believed anywhere.

What was perhaps most important about the speech was its demonstration that Mr. Johnson has not flagged in his determination. Neither the ear nor the eye could detect the slightest evidence of sagging resolution.

And the clinching proof that Mr. Johnson meant what he said was the reluctant commitment of more American lives to the brutal battle.

We believe that Mr. Johnson has so far done about all that can reasonably be demanded of him in informing the people about the progress—or more properly, the lack of progress—of the dismal Asian war. This newspaper feels that the President has acted with prudent firmness in trying to impress upon the enemy the all-important fact that the United States has no intention of losing this war.

Mr. Johnson has now followed through with the commitment of more men and military power. He has asked his countrymen to support him through what are sure to be more dark days. He deserves and will almost surely get that support.

[From the Lincoln (Nebr.) Star, July 29, 1965]

A TIME OF COURAGE

President Johnson gave the world little relief from the troubles that beset it in his analysis of the Vietnam situation but the American people can find pride in the position he took. The President made no bones about the fact that we are at war in Asia and he announced the sending of 50,000 more troops to that torn land.

At the same time, he fell considerably short of full mobilization of the Nation and gave equal emphasis to the cause of peace for which we are fighting. Toward this end he has instructed the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. to press that world organization for a greater effort in solving the Vietnam conflict.

Many are the details of the situation that can be debated but our fundamental course of action seems unquestionable. Rightly or wrongly in the beginning, we have committed ourselves to the defense of the freedom of the people of South Vietnam and we can no more walk out on that commitment than we can withdraw from the world itself.

The President has made clear to the world a course of action on our part that is honorable in all respects. We seek peace within the framework of freedom for all men but we recognize that such a goal must be fought for when challenged by an aggressive force.

Escalation of the war is a threat we face but we do so without flinching. Red China and Russia hold the real key to the future. Either they forgo the tyranny by which they live or they thrust a terrible burden and great suffering upon humanity. The President has made it clear to them that they will not prevail through default of the free world.

Sergeants' Stripes Saved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, in June of this year it was brought to my attention that many enlisted members of the Army were about to be downgraded because of action by the Department of the Army which would have stripped certain noncommissioned officers of their earned stripes.

The stripe is a symbol of achievement and authority just as the uniform is a symbol of military service for all service personnel.

The noncommissioned officers who were to have their stripes taken away by administrative action had done nothing to deserve this humiliation. As a former Army sergeant I understood how today's sergeants felt about this and I was deeply concerned about this proposal, which would have gone into effect on September 1, 1965.

On June 15, 1965, I introduced H.R. 9046, a bill to specify the insignia of grade for certain enlisted members of the Army. This legislation was referred to my committee, the House Armed Services Committee, for action. In the meantime, I wrote to the Secretary of the Army, and urged him to make an adjustment, to spare the humiliation for thousands of our noncommissioned officers. Today I am pleased to report to these men and to the Association of Regular Army Sergeants, who fought this battle with me, that the Department of the Army has sympathetically decided upon the indefinite suspension of the directive which led to this situation. I am very grateful. With permission I include the Secretary of the Army's statement in the RECORD:

ENLISTED STRIPE REVISION

The Department of the Army decided today upon the indefinite suspension of the directive which would have required a chevron change for many noncommissioned officers on September 1, 1965. In the spring of this year, the Army initiated a review of selected noncommissioned officer positions and the relationship between these positions. It has now become evident that a more searching analysis is required in order to establish definitively the proper proportion of noncommissioned officer grades in the organizations that the Army has created as a result of conversion to the reorganized infantry division 3 years ago and the conversion to a new combat logistics structure this year. Since insignia is an identification of an individual's position, the Army has decided that the finite examination of positions is required prior to the time that further insignia changes are made.

The Goal Is Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Roscoe Drummond, from the July 30, 1965, edition of the New York Herald Tribune.

The action taken by President Johnson to increase U.S. military strength in Vietnam is the inescapable result of the decision made by the President more than 3 months ago. This decision was enunciated in the President's April 7 address at Johns Hopkins University, "We will not be defeated. We will not grow tired. We will not withdraw." The President has declared his determination to do "whatever is necessary" to oppose Communist aggression in Vietnam, while making efforts to secure an honorable peace. The American people must apply the costly lesson of Munich and Korea to Vietnam—when aggression is not resisted it invites worse aggression. The President is applying this lesson in his firm action in Vietnam to avert worse war and to find a safe peace.

The article follows:

THE GOAL IS PEACE—JOHNSON FOLLOWS UP EARLY VIETNAM DECISION

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—The actions President Johnson is taking to build up U.S. strength in the defense of South Vietnam are inescapable.

They are wise actions because their goal is peace, not war.

The President had no hard decision to make this week. He had already made the hard decision more than 3 months ago. Everything we are now doing in Vietnam flows from it.

The really hard, soul-searching, come-what-may decision was made by Mr. Johnson on the eve of his April 7 address at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. It was embodied and embedded in these three incandescent sentences:

"We will not be defeated. We will not grow tired. We will not withdraw"—until peace is assured.

No further decision on policy or will or commitment had to be made. All that remained was to determine the means to implement that decision—larger U.S. forces in Vietnam, larger draft calls, larger defense budget, and—in the end—"whatever is necessary."

Mr. Johnson rightly says that three Presidents have given their word that the United States would help. But there is a difference. It is not putting it too bluntly to say the difference is this:

President Eisenhower decided to aid South Vietnam.

President Kennedy decided to continue aiding South Vietnam.

President Johnson decided to succeed in aiding South Vietnam.

Because President Johnson is committed to successfully defending South Vietnam against the Communist use of force to take over the country, he has decreed "whatever is necessary" to do it will be employed.

This is not a decision taken by the President alone. It is shared by Congress which earlier approved the President's course. And will have to approve again when more defense appropriations are sought.

Mr. Johnson well knows there are misgivings and doubts and puzzlement about why we are fighting in Vietnam. There couldn't possibly be a harder decision for a President to make than to send American soldiers into combat when the nation itself has not been directly attacked.

When World War I and World War II came to the shores of the United States—through the German U-boats and at Pearl Harbor—no painful decision of whether or not to resist had to be made. It was automatic and self-evident.

Today the President is asking the American people to ponder carefully the lessons of Munich and of Korea. The world invited Hitler's terrible aggression by trying to buy him off through appeasement. It didn't work. It led to more aggression.

Before the Communist attack on South Korea, we had withdrawn most of our forces and left the door open to another aggression. It came and, too late to avert it, President Truman bravely decided it had to be resisted.

Today the United States is helping defend South Vietnam because we are applying the grimmest, the most costly and the most crucial lesson of war to date. It is that, if aggression is not resisted—and resisted successfully—when it begins, it will grow and spread and the end result of failing to resist will be worse aggression, worse war, under worse conditions.

To withdraw in the face of the aggression against South Vietnam would mean only that we would have to prepare for the next aggression—and the next.

This is the lesson of Munich. This is the lesson of World War II. This is the lesson of Korea.

President Johnson is applying this lesson to save lives, to avert worse war, and to find the way to a safer peace.

Applause for O'Brien

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD at this point an article from the Washington Post by Joseph Kraft entitled "Applause for Dr. O'Brien." This article recognizes the outstanding achievement of my good friend, the President's Special Assistant for Congressional Relations, Lawrence O'Brien, in helping to gain congressional acceptance for the programs of the Great Society. Mr. Speaker, Larry O'Brien is one individual who deserves a great deal of credit for the outstanding legislative victories of President Johnson's programs.

The article follows:

APPLAUSE FOR DR. O'BRIEN

(By Joseph Kraft)

Not very long ago the Congress was organized against the White House by means of a union of race prejudice and the acquisitive instinct.

Nothern Republicans would unite with Southern Democrats to block civil rights laws. The two would also collaborate in measures that brought money to farm constituents in the form of subsidies, and to business supporters in the form of antilabor laws, depletion allowances, tariffs, and defense and space contracts.

In certain quarters that unholy alliance against the administration in power was celebrated as the club.

The old system is now dead, and nothing proves it better than an obscure procedural vote taken in the House last week. It involved the new 21-day rule which makes it possible to call measures on to the floor if they have been bottled up for more than 3 weeks in the Rules Committee.

The measure at stake was repeal of a provision—14(b)—of the Taft-Hartley law which authorized States to outlaw the closed shop.

In winning that vote the big city and labor Congressmen favoring repeal were joined by 16 of the 22 Democrats who, because their prime interest is farming, sit on the Agriculture Committee. Presumably those rural Congressmen will get their own back when the labor Representatives support a farm bill in the next few weeks. But the significant thing is that the old alliance has been reversed. The club has been stood on its head.

Credit for this great change is normally given to the President because of his long experience with the Congress, and because of the great majorities he swept in with him last fall. And certainly no one would deny or disparage the President's role.

But the strategist of the change, the man who planned it 5 years ago, and who has worked it out day by day ever since, is the President's Special Assistant for Congressional Relations, Lawrence O'Brien. While all the political assistants all over the country were writing that hate was the normal state of relations between White House and Hill, O'Brien was already beginning to develop the possibilities of cooperation.

His chief innovation was to set up in the White House a small staff charged entirely with responsibility for congressional relations. The staff was organized along the lines of the various regional and interest groups in the Senate and House. It coordinated the congressional efforts of all Government agencies. It was in constant touch with the congressional leadership. "We don't even take a head count," one of the leaders once said, "without O'Brien."

A first gain was a far more intimate working relationship between the administration and the little known but extremely powerful giants in the House. As a supreme example, consider the case of the 1964 tax cut and the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, WILBUR MILLS.

The administration, way back in 1962, proposed the tax cut to stimulate the economy; it was afraid that tying tax reform to the bill would kill the whole measure. MILLS, for his part, wanted a tax reform bill with a little cut added to smooth the way for reform.

Very slowly, month by month, by discreet little favors (a Presidential visit to Arkansas) and almost invisible pressures (well-organized business testimony against reform) the administration nursed MILLS along to its point of view. The bill that finally emerged from his committee, and that he steered through the House was almost all cut and no reform—just what Dr. O'Brien ordered.

A second gain was that the White House was in touch not only with the congressional leadership, but also with the back benchers. The 16 Agriculture Committee Democrats who supported 14(b), for example, were not the committee leaders. On the contrary, the six who opposed the administration on 14(b) were precisely the senior members of the committee.

O'Brien is at last getting some public recognition for his achievement. Indeed, the President and his friends are showering him with compliments. An educated guess is that Mr. Johnson would like him to stick around in the White House job.

A good hunch is that O'Brien will leave to reenter Massachusetts politics. If nothing else the time is ripe for leavetaking. A way, a permanent way I believe, to promote cooperation between the Executive and the Congress has been worked out.

From now on the big problems will not be getting bills through the Congress. The big problem—the second phase of the Johnson administration and the true opportunity for the Republicans—will turn on the matter of applying effectively the measures that are already on the books.

The World Population Explosion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, debate and positive action on the subject of the population explosion has come a long way in the last 10 years. Many of our States presently have laws setting up birth-control programs for those in need. Discussion in my own State of Michigan has perhaps proceeded farther than in many other States because of the rationality and concern of lawmakers, public-spirited citizens, voluntary organizations, and members of the press. I might stress that concern on this issue is fully bipartisan.

An outstanding example of the concern that this issue has raised in my own State is to be seen in an editorial published yesterday by the Detroit Free Press. As the editorial points out:

Birth control, a subject once thought unspeakable, suddenly is being talked about.

The Free Press could not have been more to the point.

The editorial follows:

DUAL PROBLEMS OF MAN: WAR AND THE BIRTH RATE

Birth control, a subject once thought unspeakable, suddenly is being talked about.

President Johnson spoke about it at the U.N. There was scarcely a ripple of protest.

A decade ago, President Eisenhower, fearing a bitter national debate, said birth control was "not a business of Government." Now he points to the futility of foreign aid programs where population outdistances progress.

Testimony that would have frightened the most intrepid lawmaker was recently given at a hearing conducted by Senator ERNEST GRUENING.

The reasons for this change are as difficult to judge as the public thoughts on any controversial subject. It may be a sudden maturity or it may be, as we suspect, that earlier fears were magnified.

Witnesses on Gruening's bill, a measure to establish offices of population problems in the Department of State and Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, show the need for such a national debate.

The international danger was voiced by Dr. George B. Kistiakowski, former special assistant to President Eisenhower for science and technology.

"Two great problems face all of us: prevention of war and prevention of a world population explosion," Kistiakowski said, "They are not completely unrelated."

The domestic problem was described by John Martin, of Grand Rapids, a spokesman for the Planned Parenthood Association of Kent County.

"The indiscriminate production of unwanted and rejected children has resulted in a large measure of our delinquency and crime," Martin said.

Any program should include unwed mothers or it would ignore the most pathetic cases. It would also leave out a growing percentage of mothers. In 1950 the ratio of illegitimate to legitimate births in Michigan was 2.76 percent. It has risen each year until now it is 5.56 percent. Some deprived areas now have a 22-percent illegitimacy rate.

The success of planned parenthood programs was shown by a pilot project in Mecklenberg County, N.C., Martin said. The public welfare department enrolled 732 clients in the program in 1960, including many unwed mothers. Today 75 percent of these women are still in the program and none of them has become pregnant. Previously, these women had had 3,440 pregnancies.

The most pathetic evidence was a Michigan Health Department study of maternal deaths. It showed that 77 women died in the State from 1960 to 1964 as a result of "criminal or self-induced abortions."

These deaths were most apt to occur with women "who are 20 to 34 years of age, married, and who have one to six children." It concluded: "These women resort to criminal or self-induced abortion as a means of limiting family size."

This and other evidence are the ingredients of a debate called for by Catholic as well as Protestant spokesmen.

Answers will be difficult. But before we started talking about the problem, they were impossible.

The Space Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to make available to the Members of Congress and those who are interested in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a speech entitled "The Space Challenge," delivered by Dr. Edward C. Welsh, executive secretary, National Aeronautics and Space Council, on the occasion of the 10th Symposium on Space and Ballistic Missile Technology, held in San Diego, Calif., commencing August 4.

As usual, Dr. Welsh has done a magnificent job in defining our space efforts. His address follows:

THE SPACE CHALLENGE

(Keynote address by Dr. Edward C. Welsh, executive secretary, National Aeronautics and Space Council, San Diego, Calif., Aug. 4, 1965)

It is an honor and a pleasure to participate in the opening session of this 10th Symposium on Space and Ballistic Missile Technology. I appreciate the opportunity afforded me.

Before making a few remarks regarding our national space program, I want to convey the Vice President's regrets at his being unable to be present and to express his sincere wishes for a successful symposium. He asked that I encourage this distinguished audience "to step up the Nation's technological progress, as peace and freedom rely heavily upon our technological leadership."

MISUNDERSTANDING

There exists a serious misunderstanding about our space program. All too many people seem to have the impression that part of our program is peaceful in intent and nature while the other part is something different, presumably nonpeaceful. This misconception goes further by attempting to identify the nonpeaceful and the nonscientific with the military and to credit the peaceful and the scientific to the civilian. This distinction could not be more wrong.

There are those, however, in the Government as well as outside the Government who foster this type of confusion. Such inaccuracy of expression and of thinking causes unwarranted friction between Government agencies, unnecessary suspicion of our intentions on the part of other nations, and serious difficulties for those who attempt to explain our space planning to the Congress and to the public.

PEACEFUL PURPOSE

The fact is—in both policy and practice—that all of our space activities are peaceful. Moreover, no arm of the Government has a monopoly over our peaceful space projects. Just in case it may have been forgotten, let me quote from our highest policy level. In 1962, President Johnson, then Vice President and the Chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, stated: "The United States does not have a division between peaceful and nonpeaceful objectives for space but rather has space missions to help keep the peace and space missions to improve our ability to live well in peace."

In 1964, as President, he said: "Our space program, in both its civil and military aspects, is peaceful in purpose and practice."

If it were not for the currency of misconceptions, it would seem to be unnecessary to recall that the National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958 states: "It is the policy of the United States that activities in space should be devoted to peaceful purposes for the benefit of all mankind." In so stating, the act referred to all space activities, including those of the Defense Department as well as those of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Surely, everyone should be able to agree that there is no activity more peaceful than that which discourages aggression and thereby encourages peace.

Those who drive wedges of adverse intent between the space activities of the Defense Department and NASA, for example, do a disservice to the national effort and act to contravene national policy.

Perhaps I am belaboring the obvious. Perhaps I am emphasizing a principle concerning which you have sensed no misunderstanding. If the latter is the case, I will have to say that you are indeed in the minority. A very large number of writers and speakers—expert or not on the subject of space—attempt to make a distinction between the peaceful and military phases of our space program. Such contrasts distort the truth.

COMPLACENCY

I hasten to add, however, that I am not saying that space cannot be used for purposes of aggression. Of course it can. No arena within the reach of man is free from the possibility of being exploited by an aggressor. Moreover, no nation should bury itself in the sands of complacency and thereby neglect to develop the technological and military strength so necessary for deterring potential aggressors.

The maintenance of such strength in no respect conflicts with the policy of peace. In fact, the more competent we are to prevent surprise, to discover aggressive maneuvers, and to intercept hostile weapons in any medium, the better chance we have of living in peace. That is why I have taken such a keen interest in our military space developments.

When I state, therefore, that our entire national space program is peaceful, I mean that we have no aggressive intent, that we seek no domination over other peoples, and that we are eager to share the benefits of space exploration with all mankind. I do not mean, however, that we intend to be naive, complacent, or weak.

COOPERATION

Cooperation between the Defense Department and NASA takes continued effort and attention. It is not enough to legislate that cooperation. Rather, it is something which has to be worked on at all times—and that is being done. As I pointed out previously, those who drive wedges—like claiming that one agency is peaceful and the other is not, or that one agency's activities are essential while the others are not—tend to undermine what is generally a condition of healthy competition and constructive cooperation.

I also believe in international space cooperation whenever such joint endeavor will improve technology, increase our store of knowledge, or further the pursuit of peace. This means that international space cooperation, in order to be justifiable, must be mutual in its benefits and must not in any case diminish the relative strength of this country.

GROWTH

As much, however, as I favor international cooperation in space—and I do so emphatically—cooperation within our country is even more important. If one looks backward to the beginning of the development of ballistic missile technology and follows that record of growth through to the present time, he will see step-by-step progress. Sometimes the steps were hesitant or slow ones and sometimes very rapid. But whether slow or fast, the net result was a vastly in-

creased base of technical knowledge and experience which has contributed directly to this country's military strength and economic well-being.

On such a technological foundation we have built an effective missile deterrent, whose value can be judged by the fact that we have not needed to employ it in anger. On this technological base also, we have taken a few strong strides toward developing a real space competence. The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to those who pioneered the research, the development, and the production of ballistic missiles. Had it not been for this early effort, much of it under adverse circumstances, the national space program could not have made the great advance it has made in recent years. This farsightedness, this growth, this interrelationship of manpower and facilities, show how national assets can be put to constructive use so long as we have the will and the determination to do so.

Those who are impatient for even greater progress in space—and I am to be counted among them—should try to establish perspective by attempting to enumerate some of the many accomplishments which have taken place in less than a decade of space activities. In a sense, that reference to a period shorter than a decade is somewhat misleading as it has been much more than 10 years since we first started in rocket technology. However, it has been only recently that we have had what can really be called a viable space program. We need go back only to 1956 to find the first year in which space expenditures reached the grand total of $100 million. Fiscal year 1965, with its expenditure figure of $5.6 billion was only the fifth year in which space spending exceeded $1 billion. Those few figures attest to the tremendous rate of growth of our national space program. This rapid rate of growth undoubtedly will not and should not be expected to continue, but I feel quite confident in predicting steady and constructive growth for the future. While there are indications of some leveling off of total space expenditures, it is hoped that they will continue to grow over the years at least consonant with the rate of increase in our gross national product.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

As I suggested, a quick look at space accomplishments in the last few years reveals successful satellites in communications, navigation, nuclear detection, scientific investigations, weather and other observations, radiation measurements, geodetic surveys, the garnering of data regarding the moon, Venus, and Mars, and a wide range of other space activities.

It is also worthy of note that since 1958 this country has placed more than 300 spacecraft into orbit about the earth and put 12 on escape missions. About half of that amazing total has been launched during the past 24 months.

COMPARISON WITH U.S.S.R.

As we bask in the glow of self-congratulation, however, let us not forget for a moment that the Soviets also have an orderly, balanced, and vigorous space program. Moreover, their program continues to accelerate. Instead of a slowdown, which some had predicted, the U.S.S.R. has experienced a steady expansion in its space efforts. For example, so far this year they have put almost twice as many payloads into earth orbit as they had by this time last year. Indeed, the last few weeks have shown a record amount of Soviet space activity, and I see no evidence that the pace will diminish.

Although the Soviets have not had as notable success in their escape space attempts as they have had in their earth-orbiting missions, they have put a larger percentage of their total effort into far-out space missions than we have. They are still ahead of us in manned space flight experience and in total weight of payloads orbited, while we are ahead in number of payloads and in space applications in such areas as communications, navigation, and meteorology. Both countries have made great progress in scientific experiments, in the reliability of space equipment, and in the development of larger and more powerful launch vehicles.

NATIONAL EFFORT

Our space program is truly national in operation as well as in policy. For example, the Defense Department has developed rockets used for both their launches and for NASA's launches. The Defense Department has also supplied all the astronauts for Mercury and most of them for Gemini. Since the former is a completed program, it supplies an excellent illustration of interagency cooperation. In a single manned Mercury operation, 28 ships, 171 aircraft, and over 18,000 military personnel were deployed in primary and contingent recovery areas throughout the world. Those who like to find divisiveness in our space program find little comfort in the Mercury project. This was a case in which we had NASA spacecraft placed into orbit by Air Force-developed boosters, launched from an interagency coordinated launch site, and piloted by individuals on detail from the armed services. That cooperation was in addition to the recovery support just mentioned.

Exchange of technology and experience should be a mutual one. For example, NASA's considerable success in manned space flight could assist the Air Force substantially in the development of a manned orbiting laboratory. Such interagency cooperation should not impair our peaceful image or modify our peaceful intent.

One of the most important facts about the space program is one which is so frequently overlooked. I refer to the fact that those engaged in the program are creating national assets and national resources, which can be devoted to the best interests of this Nation—whether such use be to improve man's well-being or to protect mankind from aggression.

A GLANCE AT THE FUTURE

And now I would like to outline briefly a few general features of our space activities for the future:

1. We will not only land men on the moon, but, if conditions warrant, we will make many other trips to explore the various parts of the lunar surface and possibly establish a base or bases there.

2. We will not only send unmanned probes throughout the solar system to learn more about the planets, but we will send manned expeditions into space wherever they seem feasible.

3. We will develop a growing family of manned earth-orbiting stations, from relatively small orbiting laboratories to large multimanned permanent stations. We would expect to operate a regular ferry service to transfer personnel and supplies to and from such stations on a regular basis.

4. Global communications via satellites will be a fact in the very near future and should be followed soon by direct broadcast of both voice and TV by satellite to home receivers throughout large sections of the world.

5. The future will find us in a continuing rate of growth in improved propulsion—faster, more powerful rockets using nuclear as well as chemical energy.

6. Orbiting spacecraft will increase annually in numbers, in size, and in sophistication. Through such activity we will greatly increase our knowledge about the earth as well as about the heavens.

7. We can expect a marriage of the major features of both aeronautics and astronautics. In other words, lifting bodies and winged spacecraft with maneuverable reentry ability will be launched into near and distant space by means by recoverable and reusable launch vehicles. Drastic reduction in the cost of space travel will result. And, finally,

8. As our competence in space increases and as such competence becomes part of the institutional structure not only of this country but of many countries throughout the world, we can expect to see greater economic progress and international cooperation. Then we can truly say that our space efforts have made major contributions to world peace.

In the coming sessions of this symposium, highly complex and technical subjects will undoubtedly be explored. I am sure they will be stimulating and productive. As you pursue these scientific and engineering intricacies, I hope you will keep in mind some of the policy implications and national objectives which I have touched upon this morning.

Welcome Moves in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I am no expert on the complex and unhappy situation that our Government faces in Vietnam. I am however, as we all are, deeply concerned—concerned about the waste and destruction that comes with war, concerned about the lives of young Americans, concerned about the safety and well-being of all people.

Sensible men everywhere agree that peace and stable democratic government in South Vietnam are the ultimate American objectives. I was greatly heartened, therefore, to read an editorial in last Friday's Christain Science Monitor indicating that the first step toward a meaningful peace—negotiation—is closer than ever before. The points made in the Monitor editorial were new to me, and they may be new to many of my colleagues. With this in mind, I would like to call the editorial to their attention. It reveals at least a ray of hope in a dark and gloomy picture:

WELCOME MOVES

Therre is at least one welcome and hopeful aspect to the Vietnamese situation today. This is that never before has there been as widespread an effort to bring all concerned to the negotiating table as there is at the present moment.

Leaving aside the continuing American readiness to begin unconditional discussions for peace, there are no less than three peace moves afoot. The first of these are the quiet soundings which United Arab Republic President Nasser in making in both Peiping and Hanoi. He is doing so at the behest of Yugoslavia's President Tito and India's Prime Minister Shastri. The second is the recent visit of a representative of Ghana's President Nkrumah to North Vietnamese President Ho Chi Minh. The third is the reinvigorated United Nations initiative following President Johnson's recent letter to Secretary General U Thant.

There is not as yet any indication that any of these efforts have swayed Communist China, North Vietnam or the Vietcong to a more reasonable stance. All three still speak of total victory and continue to lay down

patently impossible conditions for peace talks.

Yet we do not believe that these various initiatives are either fruitless or a waste of time. If nothing else, they are proof that wider and wider segments of world opinion are ready to step forward and help find a solution to perhaps the thorniest international problem on the globe today. They also indicate that this same world opinion increasingly recognizes that the greatest roadblocks to peace talks do not lie in Washington but in Peiping and Hanoi. They also prove to these latter that Communist efforts to line up world opinion against the American position have so far not been particularly successful.

These constructive efforts on the part of Asian, African, and European statesmen underline President Johnson's wisdom in declaring that America will neither carry on all-out war in Vietnam nor engage in total withdrawal. To do the former would grievously offend much of world opinion. To do the latter would reward aggression and render future American pledges worthless.

Thus a gradual increase in American military pressure plus a continued readiness to begin honorable and reasonable peace talks at any time seem a combination well suited both to impress the Communist powers and to encourage further peace efforts by well-intentioned neutrals.

Rules Committee and Culture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial that appeared in the Washington Post of Sunday, August 8, regarding the status of legislation to establish a National Foundation for the Arts and the Humanities.

This legislation, which was recently approved by the Senate, has broad, bipartisan support. In addition, President Johnson has endorsed the proposal as a vital part of his Great Society program.

Under permission granted, I include this editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD:

RULES COMMITTEE AND CULTURE

A bill that would establish a National Foundation for the Arts and the Humanities is now before the House Rules Committee. The administration bill, passed by a voice vote in the Senate and endorsed by a large number of Representatives, should be brought to the House floor in the near future.

The Foundation would consist of an endowment for the arts and an endowment for the humanities, each administered by a 24-member council. The councils would be authorized to make grants that could total $10 million a year with the objective of encouraging and supporting the Nation's cultural commitment. Advocates of the legislation, pointing to Federal support of the sciences, claim that although the sum of money involved is not large when spread throughout the 50 States, formal Federal recognition of the importance of the arts and the humanities will help right the balance with the sciences and the grants will provide an incentive for increased private, State and local spending on culture.

As an important part of President Johnson's Great Society program, as a major innovation and as a Federal involvement in an area which the U.S. Government has traditionally avoided, the proposed Foundation deserves to be fully considered before the rush toward adjournment begins.

Merchant Marine Still Vitally Necessary

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, many times in recent years I have heard it stated by persons in Government that the American merchant marine has served its part in the Nation's defense. "We can do without ships now," these people say. "They are too slow. We have airpower now sufficient to take care of any military needs," they argue.

Anyone with a reasonable modicum of sense knows, of course, that statements like this are foolish. Day by day, news reports indicate the need for ships to take our men and military supplies to Vietnam.

Along this line is a story in the Baltimore Sun of August 4, by the Sun's maritime editor, Helen Delich Bentley, concerning the shipment of the 1st Cavalry—Airmobile—Division, by sea. The division's 400 helicopters and practically all its supplies will be sent by sea. Only a limited number of advance personnel will make the trip by air.

The Sun article, inserted below, speaks for itself—and no one speaks more clearly and convincingly as to the need for adequate shipping support of every military movement overseas than Mrs. Bentley, long one of America's leading shipping experts:

THE 1ST CAVALRY TO GO BY SEA—DIVISION TO EMBARK SOON FOR VIET WAR

(By Helen Delich Bentley)

WASHINGTON, August 3.—The 1st Cavalry (Airmobile) Division, its 400 helicopters and all of its support supplies, will be sent to Vietnam by sea with embarkation of the troops to begin next week.

Only a "limited number of advance personnel" will make the 6,000-mile trip by air.

President Johnson last week announced that he ordered the 1st Cavalry Division immediately to the Vietnam front. It will be the first full division on the battle scene, a Department of Defense spokesmen said tonight. There are units of divisions but no full division there, he added.

PORTS NAMED

The first units of the 1st Cavalry Division, stationed at Fort Benning, Ga., will be embarked in the ports of Charleston, S.C., and Savannah, Ga., aboard at least two of the six troop transports that are being removed from their normal Atlantic operation to enter Vietnam service.

Loading of the helicopters will also take place next week aboard the Navy aircraft carrier *Boxer* in Mayport, the naval base adjacent to Jacksonville, Fla., and aboard Military Sea Transportation Service aircraft ferries at Mobile, Ala.

Aircraft engineering personnel will accompany the craft loaded on each of the vessels. In addition, some 35 to 40 formerly strikebound freighters have been chartered by the MSTS to pick up the support equipment needed for the 1st Cavalry Division and the units already in Vietnam.

TO GET SUPPLIES

Those loading for the division will pick up their supplies at east and gulf seaports also beginning next week, it was said.

The six troop transports are capable of handling an entire division of 15,000 men by a simple conversion which requires about 24 hours of work by the ship's crew. It is referred to as "immediate emergency berthing" and enables the crew to make necessary changes to the cabins and troop quarters that will permit them to at least double their normal capacity when carrying military personnel.

COUP FOR SHIPPERS

The fact that the first major movement of troops being sent to the Asian battlefront is going by sea rather than air is considered a major coup for the shipping industry which has been waging an uphill campaign emphasizing the continuing need of passenger ships as well as cargo vessels for defense purposes.

More than 4 years ago, Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense, told a congressional committee that there was no further need to build or subsidize American-flag passenger ships because all troop movement in the future would go by air.

A year later at the height of the Cuban missile crisis, the Defense Department had alerted the owners of American-flag passenger liners to "stand by" for their employment if troops were to be sent to the nearby Caribbean island.

The SS *United States*, which has been immobilized by a seamen's strike since June, is capable of transporting an entire division with all of its equipment after only 1 week of conversion work to transform her from a luxurious Atlantic liner to a troop transport.

TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND TRANSPORTED

The 6 troop transports which are being removed from their regular Atlantic services ferried 200,000 military personnel and their dependents between Europe and the United States last year. They are all operated by the Military Sea Transportation Service.

Should it become necessary to provide more space in each of these transports, they will have to be sent to shipyards so additional decks can be welded in their holds.

Then the capacity of each again will be doubled.

In addition to the 35 to 40 "strikebound" freighters, 15 additional cargo ships have been taken out of the reserve fleets and are being reactivated in private shipyards for participation in the Vietnam crisis.

The 1st Cavalry Division with the "Airmobile" inserted in the middle of its name is described as being "a new organization with a very large group of helicopters" and a "fast-moving light outfit."

Manpower Retraining Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago I received a letter from the students of the Manpower Development

and Training Act (MDTA) class of 1965 in radio and TV servicing, which was taught in the Connelley Vocational Technical High School in Pittsburgh.

Because of recent criticisms we have heard on various programs designed to help the unemployed and disadvantaged among us, I feel the Members of Congres would appreciate the message these students felt impelled to send.

When the Manpower Development and retraining Act programs were in their early stages, there were some rough spots that had to be smoothed out—but—now that we have had our trial and error period, success stories are appearing throughout the Nation. This, I am sure, will be the pattern followed in our more recent endeavors to help others not eligibel under Manpower Development and Training Act.

The students, in expressing their thanks to certain individuals, stated "We know there are many more," and because our last recorded vote on amendment to the Manpower Development and Training Act program showed a unanimous House, this letter is actually directed to each Member. For this reason I am inserting it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

CONNELLEY VOCATIONAL TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL, MDTA,
Pittsburgh, Pa., June 25, 1965.

Manpower retraining program.

DEAR SIRS: We, the members of the manpower retraining program class of 1965, radio and TV servicing, wish to express our sincere thanks to all who made possible and were a part of this program. That the program is worthy we all know, for it has put into our hands a tool or skill which will enable us to go out and meet the world with more than just our own bare hands. We particularly wish to express our appreciation to those responsible for the creation of this program; to the personnel of the State employment agency for placing us; to the administrative staff at Connelley; Mr. Savero DonGiovanni, Mr. Edwin Riebel, Mr. L. J. Borelli, Mrs. Mary Smith, and to Mr. R. E. Beaumont our instructor who, by all means in his power, did drive the know-how of this craft into us, for which we are indeed grateful. We know that there were many more who contributed toward this program of whom we know not and to them also we wish to express our appreciation.

Sincerely,

Ronald J. Adamsky; Robert W. Hughes; Henry Kondy; Fred A. Knoll; Adam Visoikis; Carter Nugustine; O. Wayne Strawden; Frederick Hoffman; Peter J. Kochick; LaVaughn M. Turner; Richard Chappel; Robert W. Domhoff; Richard Cline; Arthur H. Eichenberg.

Proud To Be an American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the flow of eulogies of our late Ambassador to the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson, has produced some of the best writing that we have seen in many years. These eulogies speak well for the stature of the art in American journalism.

Mr. Stevenson, a master of English rhetoric himself, would have been proud of this journalistic effort by Mr. Robert Lerner.

I should like today to add to the RECORD a eulogy written by Mr. Lerner for the Lerner Nawspapers in Chicago. It can readily be seen that young Mr. Learner has indeed inherited a legacy of the pen from his late father, Leo Lerner, who was considered one of America's outstanding writers.

Mr. Robert Lerner has brightly captured the true spirit of Adlai Stevenson in this magnificent eulogy of the former governor of Illinois. Mr. Lerner demonstrates that the principle of his father has been preserved in the image of his son.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Lerner's very impressive eulogy to Adlai Stevenson follows:

PROUD TO BE AN AMERICAN

(By Robert M. Lerner)

What kind of tombstone do you erect for Adlai Stevenson? A mass of granite, a pile of books, a collection of flags? The dirt of more than 100 nations upon his grave? Do we pile flowers of affection in tribute to a man who gave the world his soul, and finally asked for nothing more than to sit on the grass with a glass of wine and watch people dance?

Do we make contributions to UNESCO and UNICEF, and rename parks and playgrounds, streets and civic buildings Do we establish scholarships for highminded young people who will try to make public service their career? Do we build a monument in Washington or Springfield, do we write eulogies for public bodies, do we fire the cannons in ancient salute?

And what men, of what wit and literary accomplishment, are worthy enough to write the tributes to the man whose wisdom they borrowed, whose humor they stole, and whose integrity lifted them above their own mortal standards and made them proud?

Just as in the fateful days after the death of President John F. Kennedy, a thousand editorial writers on a thousand newspapers sit with tears in their eyes unable to find words to convey what they feel. The memories flood, but the words don't—1952, the Draft Stevenson committee; 1956, the loss they knew would be sustained; 1960, the obvious convention defeat but the beauty of the little people who begged for Stevenson in quiet demonstration in Los Angeles.

And the man who made famous the hole in the shoe frightened Mr. K. out of the one he didn't pound on the table.

Stevenson was a real American, not a phony flag waver. As the United Nations Ambassador he performed brilliantly, upholding American foreign policy with his greatest ability, even when in his heart many of us knew he disagreed with it in part.

And Adlai became a politician, too. In the back rooms of the United Nations he could trade votes, convince recalcitrant delegates, and play power politics in a manner that makes a precinct captain out of Boss Tweed. For his country, nothing was beneath Adlai Stevenson. When he spoke in anger it was our anger, and when he spoke in praise, it was our common eloquence.

We called him "governor" because he was most proud of that office, for that was the office to which he was elected by the people.

Was Adlai Stevenson an "egghead," a member of the "intelligentsia," an "aristocrat," and too far over the heads of the people to serve the public trust?

Never. He was the Nation in every sense—and he had the best of manners and best of taste to underscore his courage and his sympathy. During the 1964 convention it was he who was selected to deliver the eulogy for Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, for only he could say the kind of thing that had to be said, in the manner that would be appropriate and memorable.

Adlai was a humorist, and we loved him for it. But that was his camaraderie, not the complete man; at his most profound and dynamic, we preferred Stevenson the honorable American, the man who took the issue to heart and without a single smile whipped into the enemies of the Republic or defended its principles.

Now let no man write his eulogy for no one can cut out his own heart and lay it on the altar of humanity. Let no man erect his tombstone for no man can chisel into it what must be there—although, in his way, a small child might.

For myself, I wore my buttonhole shoe today, a memory of glorious campaigns of the past, a memory of the sensitive man who made me proud to be an American.

I remember the tombstone erected to the selfless village dentist in Thornton Wilder's "Our Town," who had second floor offices where for decades he practiced hard for little if any fees, and lived on love rather than money. They put his shingle over his simple grave, and by changing the name maybe we should have a simple shingle that reads:

"Adlai Stevenson, Office Upstairs."

A Menacing Power Play

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, I am placing in the RECORD at this point an editorial from the Washington Post of August 10, 1965, in the hope that many Members will read and, in the reading, take cognizance of the problem so ably stated in the editorial.

In my judgment, failure to preserve the authority of the Federal Power Commission over rates for electrical energy moving in interstate commerce would constitute grave disservice to the consuming public. It would leave them naked of protection they are not only entitled to expect of their Government, but which they must have if they are to receive, value for their dollars. The very nature of the electrical industry is that under either Federal or State regulation, its right to adequate profit is fully protected. No State government has the legal means to protect the consumers within its boundaries from gouging which could take place on the price of energy imported into the State. Only the Federal Power Commission can perform that important chore. The public interest will not be served through the enactment of the bills mentioned in the editorial.

The editorial follows:

A MENACING POWER PLAY

If the lobby of State regulatory officials and private power companies is successful, the Senate will enact a measure that would for all practical purposes end the control which the Federal Power Commission now exercises over electric power rates. And without effective rate regulation by the FPC, there will be a sharp increase in the $14 billion electric bill that is now paid by the Nation's households, business enterprises, Government agencies, and nonprofit institutions.

Sponsored by Senators HOLLAND and SMATHERS, the lobby's bill consists of two provisions, both embodied in single sentences of inordinate length. First, the bill states that a utility which is not "directly connected" with an interstate power network is to be exempt from the regulations of the FPC "as a matter of local concern." A second provision repeals the FPC's jurisdiction over wholesale transactions, sales of electrical power from one utility to another when the utility making the sale has substantial retail revenues in the State in which the sale is made.

If there is any logical or functional justification for the provisions of the Holland-Smathers bill, it is elusive. Under the first provision, a giant utility which generates power and sells it in its home State would be exempted from FPC regulation even though that power is resold to utility companies in a dozen other States. To treat such transactions as matters of local concern is an absurdity that can only undermine the public welfare. The second provision cuts into the Federal protection afforded small customers in wholesale power transactions, the small private utilities, and municipal cooperatives which cannot stand on an equal footing in bargaining with the large sellers that participate in the great interstate power grids.

As a strategic ploy, the supporters of the Holland-Smathers measure are threatening to attach it as a rider to a bill (S. 1495) that would exempt Rural Electrification Administration cooperatives from regulation by the FPC. The latter bill is neither necessary nor especially wise, but its fate is of small consequence. What is important is that every effort be made to defeat the Holland-Smathers bill. Its passage would utterly destroy the Federal regulation of electrical rates and revive an era of abuse that was ended with the passage of the Wheeler-Rayburn Act in 1935.

Tourists Praise National Park System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, as we are all aware, our Government is currently engaged in a most notable program to encourage greater travel within the United States in order to intensify the awareness of the beauty and great historical significance which is our rich heritage. In this spirit, I wish to call attention to the outstanding contribution to this program being made by the National Park Service.

This week I received a letter from residents of my district describing a recent trip in which they visited several national parks and monuments. I am pleased that they took this opportunity to very graciously commend employees of the National Park Service for the courteous and knowledgeable manner in which they perform their duties.

The effective work of the National Park Service is just one example of the capable and imaginative leadership which Secretary Stewart L. Udall has brought to the Department of Interior and to its programs to preserve and utilize the great natural beauty of our Nation. Unfortunately, I feel that all too often the dedicated efforts of the Department and its employees have gone unheralded.

I am pleased to add my personal note of appreciation and commendation to the grateful and thoughtful comments of my constituents. At this time, I place the letter from Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Hyde, of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, in the RECORD:

CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA,
August 6, 1965.

Hon. JOHN C. CULVER,
Cannon House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CULVER: Recently we and our family returned from our vacation along the eastern coast of the United States where we visited many historical monuments.

We were most impressed by those that are designated national historical monuments and are under the guidance and care of the National Park Service. The men who are on duty at these monuments are most courteous and very knowledgeable about the history of the monuments they serve.

We were extremely impressed with those we visited at Lexington and Concord, Constitution Hall in Philadelphia, and everywhere we went in Washington, D.C.

We just thought we would take this opportunity to pass on to you our deep appreciation of the fine service rendered by our Government.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. THOMAS HYDE.

Minimum Wage on Farms Boon and Bane

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I commend any Member of this body who has it in his heart to raise the income and the living standards of farmers and of farm labor. But today I am concerned that in seeking to improve the pay of farmworkers we may eliminate many thousands of farm jobs completely—that in helping some people we may hurt many people.

I speak now to H.R. 10275 by Mr. ROOSEVELT, of California, recently approved by the General Labor Subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor, which proposed a minimum wage for farmworkers.

The conflicting thrusts of this legislation are analyzed, evaluated, and forcefully presented by an eminent newspaper in my own congressional district, the Raleigh, N.C., News & Observer, under an editorial heading, "Boon and Bane." The News & Observer is published by one of the Nation's most distinguished newspaper families. The late Josephus Daniels, editor and publisher from 1894 to 1948, was Secretary of the Navy under President Woodrow Wilson during World War I. His assistant then was Franklin D. Roosevelt, later to become President of the United States and to lead the Nation out of the great depression and to victory in World War II. The News & Observer now is published by the distinguished sons of Josephus Daniels.

Mr. Speaker, I think that every Member of the House interested in the well-being of farm people should have the opportunity to read the editorial in this great newspaper, before any further action is taken on H.R. 10275. Therefore, under unanimous consent, I am publishing this in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

[From the Raleigh (N.C.) News & Observer, Aug. 6, 1965]

BOON AND BANE

A bill to place farmworkers under the minimum wage holds out hope for the economic improvement of those on the bottom of the ladder. Yet, it may also forecast their elimination from any jobs at all.

The truth is that even though there are an estimated 700,000 farmworkers now who would come under the bill—about 40 percent of the total farm employment—machines may cut that number in half by the time the bill would go into full effect.

Farmers have found that with machines they can get more done at far less cost than when human hands did most of the work. Automation and the accompanying loss of jobs for people came first in many ways to the farms. One need only drive through the countryside of North Carolina to see what has happened. The empty houses are mute testimonials to the efficiency of the machines. Where fields were once filled with farmhands a lone man rides a tractor.

More money for farmworkers is reasonable and long overdue, but the fact is that any wage increase will without much doubt hasten their ouster from jobs because of machines. The farmer cannot be blamed for seeking cheaper ways to raise his crops. But there is a tragic waste nevertheless in those who will be pushed from farm jobs into places where they are unskilled and unwanted.

The retraining of farmworkers has been receiving some attention under the President's war on poverty program. Of necessity, this retraining must be stepped up and made more effective.

The blessing of a possible better wage for the farmhand is not unmixed. The boon of maybe a better living can instead be a bane of no farm work at all.

Economy Set for Vietnam War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, the Los Angeles Times, in an August 3, 1965, editorial, analyzed the impact of the decisions to increase our commitment in Vietnam on our overall economic situation.

The editorial correctly warns that the "present estimates of the war costs, and of future tax collections, may prove overly optimistic." If this were to happen, some adjustments would be needed within the competing demands of our economy. A proper question is raised as to whether or not the Nation should cut back on other areas of anticipated spending.

The editorial raises an important warning in this connection:

Finally, we must remember that Vietnam is only one danger spot. Defense spending must not be held down by stripping units here or abroad that may be needed for other crises. That would be economy of the most false and dangerous sort.

Many voices in and out of Congress, military and nonmilitary, have been questioning the status of our military readiness. The Los Angeles Times by raising this question serves a very useful purpose in alerting our leaders and the people that it is a question which must be recognized and considered. False economies in defense would not only hurt our military readiness, but could tempt potential aggressors into believing that we either lack the capability or willingness to defend our interests.

Under leave to extend my remarks I submit the editorial from the August 3, 1965, issue of the Los Angeles Times for inclusion in the RECORD:

ECONOMY SET FOR VIETNAM WAR

War, by its nature, is a dirty and dangerous business. For the men who do the fighting, the expanding conflict in Vietnam will not be any different.

However, the war may have remarkably little impact on the Nation's economic life unless it escalates far beyond what is now contemplated.

Not that it won't be expensive.

The direct cost of fighting the war was running, until lately, around $1 billion a a year. This did not include the cost of maintaining the Navy's 7th Fleet, the jet bombers on Guam and Okinawa, and the long supply line reaching from America.

With U.S. involvement growing, the cost will grow—by just how much is unclear, although officials have been talking in terms of $1.5 or $2 billion extra. (Some key lawmakers say it will be much more.)

The surprising fact is that America's economy is so vast, and is growing so rapidly that a considerable effort can be absorbed without a noticeable burden on our people.

The explanation is that we are starting this time from a much higher level of preparedness and national income.

When the war in Korea began in 1950, the American military machine had been practically dismantled, and the defense budget had to be quadrupled. Today, we have a large permanent defense establishment, and it is doing much of the fighting in Vietnam.

Our gross national product—the total value of what we all produce—was $285 billion in 1950. Today, it is approaching $660 billion. This means that today's defense budget is well under 10 percent of our gross national product, compared with 14 to 18 percent in the Korean war and 40 percent during World War II.

The national income is still soaring. At present tax rates, Federal revenues are expected to increase by $7 billion a year. Thus, we can pay for a considerable jump in Vietnam war costs by merely foregoing a hoped-for future tax cut.

Supplies of a few industrial materials may be in shorter supply, but the guessing is that consumer goods won't be affected, and wage and price controls will not be needed.

Some warning flags must be hoisted, however.

Present estimates of the war costs, and of future tax collections, may prove overly optimistic. President Johnson may have to be more forceful in discouraging strikes, unwarranted price increases, and inflationary wage settlements.

It may turn out, too, that the President will have to hold back Great Society spending, however much it pains him.

Finally, we must remember that Vietnam is only one danger spot. Defense spending must not be held down by stripping units here or abroad that may be needed for other crises. That would be economy of the most false and dangerous sort.

A Record of Accomplishment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, if this Congress were to adjourn today, if it were to adjourn without acting on a single further measure, it would stand without question as one of the most productive sessions of any Congress in our entire history. Enactment of a strong voting rights bill, of health protection for our older citizens and of new approaches to improving the educational opportunities of our children woud alone mark this as a Congress of achievement. But the list is much longer and its length is equaled in most respects by its quality.

This does not mean, of course, that there is no further work to be done. Reform of our immigration laws, further protection for our dwindling natural resources, improvement and extensions of our unemployment compensation system, and stronger and more equitable protection for our migrant farmworkers all demand attention and action.

But at a time when we are faced with both a difficult and dangerous situation in Vietnam, I believe it is appropriate to call attention to the fact that Congress has been acting responsibly and vigorously on those issues which are its direct and primary responsibility.

Mr. Speaker, I include a thoughtful editorial by the New York Times distinguished columnist, Mr. James Reston, which speaks further to this point:

[From the New York Times, Aug. 6, 1965]

WASHINGTON: THE QUIET REVOLUTION

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, August 5.—President Johnson is beginning to make Franklin Roosevelt's early legislative record look like an abject failure. He's getting everything through the Congress but the abolition of the Republican Party, and he hasn't tried that yet.

It is a political miracle. It has even surpassed his own expectations, which were not modest, and while he's still a long way from achieving a Great Society, he is at least making progress toward a more equal and compassionate society.

In a single evening this week, the Senate passed the most liberal voting rights bill in the history of the Republic, and sustained the Supreme Court's ruling that the State legislatures must be reapportioned to give equal voting rights to the steeply rising urban and suburban population of the Nation.

AN IMPRESSIVE RECORD

In this first session of the 89th Congress, the Federal legislature has also passed the medical care bill under social security, a housing bill with an experimental system of Federal rent subsidies for the poor, education and poverty bills that bypass the ancient conflict over Federal aid to religious institutions, a constitutional amendment to deal at long last with the danger of Presidential disability, a bill for the relief of the depressed areas of Appalachia—all this and a lot more and a tax cut too.

Mr. Johnson is giving us a revolution in the binding of a hymn book. He has broken the consolidating spirit of the Eisenhower era. He has sounded more conservative but acted more radical than his mentor, Roosevelt, and he has presided over more legislative innovations on the home front than any other President in any other single session of the Congress in this century.

This is not, of course, due entirely to Lyndon Baines Johnson's particular brand of political magic, though that hasn't hurt. The New Deal's day has finally come. The radical ideas of the early thirties are now winning instead of losing. There seems to be a new sense of social responsibility in the country—a growing feeling that racial discrimination, bad education, inadequate medical care and degrading poverty are intolerable in a fabulously wealthy Nation.

Other factors have helped. The Democratic landslide in the Presidential election of 1964 gave the President's party large majorities in the House and Senate; the new Members in the 89th Congress have been overwhelmingly for the President's program; the old conservative coalition of the southern Democrats and middle western Republicans has been broken, and the Republican leadership has not only gone along with but sometimes has led the fight for equal civil rights.

This is a development of worldwide significance. It is not so long ago that students of government in other lands were perplexed about the erratic nature of the American economy, the verbal violence of American politics, and what they regarded as the rigidity of the American Constitution.

THE DOUBTERS

They were not sure that the United States could maintain economic growth and stability, that it would apply to new techniques of tax and monetary policy, that it could provide continuity of purpose from one political party to the other, or that a Federal Government of proud and numerous States with an attic full of hobgoblins about the welfare state and the planned economy, could achieve social progress over an entire continent and bring its military power to the defense of freedom in other parts of the world.

Well, it begins to look as if the people will take the welfare state and the planned economy if you just don't mention the names, mainly because, wicked or not, they seem to work. The gross national produce rose by $9.2 billion in the second quarter of 1965—from a 1964 level of $622 billion to an annual rate of $658 billion.

THE OLD ASSUMPTIONS

Something, in short, seems to have happened to the old popular assumptions that the American economy wouldn't work if the Government tinkered with it; that the White House and the Congress couldn't get along unless both were reorganized; that Federal money couldn't be channeled to the private and parochial schools without the immediate retaliation of a vengeful God.

So maybe there's some zip in the old system yet. In his state of the Union message, President Johnson said the time had come to give more attention to the home front. He promised to try to keep the economy growing, to extend the prosperity to more people, and to try to improve the quality of life for all. And even his critics here concede he has kept his promise.

China Hews at Its High Birth Rate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, by now it has become clear that the solution of economic problems facing developing countries of the world lies in the establishment of an effective program to control the ever-spiraling rate of birth. Indeed, it has been said that that country which first solves its population problem will take the lead in providing a better life for all of its citizens. The case of Japan is particularly instructive.

Some years ago that nation launched a full-scale birth control program which halved its birth rate in a decade; Japan is currently enjoying an unprecedented prosperity. The fifth in a series of six articles entitled "Our Crowded Earth," by Jean M. White, currently running in the Washington Post, discusses such programs in various developing nations around the world:

CHINA HEWS AT ITS HIGH BIRTH RATE: OUR CROWDED EARTH—V

(By Jean M. White)

If Communist China decides to throw the persuasive power of its totalitarian government behind a full-scale campaign to control population, the results could be spectacular.

There have been signs that the Chinese are coming to realize there can be weakness, not strength, in numbers.

Irene B. Taeuber, a leading demographer, thinks Communist China may be ready to launch a systematic birth-control campaign. She backs up this view in a paper being prepared for presentation at an international conference on family-planning programs in Geneva August 23 to 27.

"They now have the means with the IUD and a simple touch method of induced abortion," Mrs. Taeuber points out. "The public health network goes into every village to reach the masses. The youth can be indoctrinated through the Communist Youth League."

EARLY WEDLOCK DISCOURAGED

Early marriages are discouraged in Communist China today, and couples are encouraged to delay the first child. Party members receive no extra allowances or maternity leaves after the first two children.

What happens in Communist China could have far-reaching political consequences in the alinement between the free world and the Communist bloc. The Asian country that controls it population growth probably will be the first to achieve an economic takeoff to offer people a better life.

Philip M. Hauser, University of Chicago demographer and former Acting Director of the Census Bureau, has pointed out that the other underdeveloped countries are closely watching the race between India and Communist China.

BIRTH RATE MAY DECIDE

Both are trying to achieve a higher standard of living—one by Communist methods and the other by a modified democratic way.

"Success or failure in this fateful contest may well hinge on the ability of the nations involved to decrease their rates of population growth," Hauser emphasizes.

Burdened down by a high birth rate, India is in a painful struggle to modernize for economic growth. Its official family-planning policy has shown few results over a decade, partly because of indifferent government leadership and bureaucratic snarls.

In 1956, Communist China launched a family-planning drive, stressing contraception, sterilization, and induced abortion. In less than a year the campaign was turned off and the government turned its energies and verbiage to the "great leap forward."

The reasons for the abrupt about-face never were explained—there was a good harvest that year, the family-planning drive ran into peasant resistance, and justification required some nimble flip-flops in the Marxist line.

REVIVED ON LOWER KEY

The population-control campaign soon was revived in a lower key, with emphasis on delayed marriages and children.

In an interview last year with Journalist Edgar Snow, Premier Chou En-lai supported planned parenthood as "conducive to raising the standard of living." China, he told Snow, had sent a delegation to Japan to study how that country had reduced its birth rate. It also has had its scientists at work on a birth-control pill, Chou said.

No one knows for sure how many people live behind the Bamboo Curtain or how fast the population is growing. The estimate is that the population may be around 750 million and the growth rate about 2.5 percent.

The international political situation gives special significance to population growth, and the implications extend far beyond the race between China and India.

POOR AREAS BURSTING

Today a little more than two-thirds of the world's people live in the underdeveloped areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Within 35 years, these areas probably will hold four-fifths of the world population. Today 6 of every 10 new persons added to the world population are born in Asia. Another two are born in Latin America and Africa.

The overweighted racial imbalance is obvious. But more significant in the long run is the widening gap between the have and the have-not nations. This is something that could have a profound impact on world peace and world order.

Hauser points out that this widening gap between the rich and poor nations could lead to a north-south division of the world to replace the present polarity between the east and west. The have-nots now have had a glimpse of a better life; if their aspirations are blocked, they may blow off their frustrations in revolutions and convulsions of unrest.

ASIA'S BIG PROBLEM

The world's biggest population problems are concentrated in Asia, which now has 56 percent of the global population.

The only Asian nation that has succeeded in controlling its population growth is Japan. And that country—highly literate, modernized, and industrialized—cannot serve as a model to guide the other underdeveloped countries of Asia.

In just a decade, Japan halved its birth rate, the fastest decline in history. In 1947, the rate was 34.3 per 1,000 of population. Ten years later it had dropped down to nearly 17.

Japan, a crowded island with a population half that of the United States crammed into 5 percent of the land space, came out of the war with its industry smashed. More than 5 million men came home from the Pacific islands.

JAPAN ACCEPTS ABORTIONS

In 1948, the Japanese Government passed a national eugenics act that liberalized the laws on legal abortions. But even before this, the Japanese people had made their decisions and started limiting families.

The birth rate had been falling even before World War II, but rose temporarily with the postwar baby boom.

The Japanese have no religious qualms over abortion and relied largely on this method to limit their families. Now, with improvements in contraception in recent years, there are moves to encourage greater use of more conventional birth control methods. But there still are about 1 million abortions each year in Japan.

Within the last 2 or 3 years, there have been hopeful signs that other Asian nations are making gains in population control.

RATE DIPS IN HONG KONG

Taiwan and South Korea have turned to the intrauterine device (IUD) to push family planning and have expanded pilot programs into national policy. In Taiwan, the birth rate dropped from 42 per 1,000 in 1958 to 35 last year. Ceylon, with technical assistance from Sweden, is now moving ahead on its program.

In Hong Kong last year, the birth rate fell below 30 per 1,000 for the first time. This island city is incredibly congested because of the immigration of mainland refugees. It is an artificial situation, but it does point up what can happen as population swells—in low-income public housing only 24 square feet, perhaps the size of a railroad compartment, is allotted to each person.

Rats, given ample food but jammed in crowded pens, have become neurotic and frustrated and develop rat societal problems. How human society will bear up under the stress of such crowding is something for speculation.

For the present, the heart of the world's population problem does lie in Asia. But it is tropical Latin America that has the fastest rate of growth.

Though rich in space and natural resources, Latin American countries are having serious population difficulties. Their people are poor, and more and more are being born without any hope of adequate food, housing, or clothing.

The late President Kennedy took note of the situation in his 1961 message on foreign aid:

"The magnitude of the problem is staggering. In Latin America, for example, the population growth is already threatening to outpace economic growth—and in some parts of the continent living standards are actually declining."

BABY BOOM IN BRAZIL

In many South American countries the population growth rate is 3 percent or better. Brazil, the giant of South America, has a birth rate of about 45 per 1,000 and is growing at a 3.5-percent clip. At this rate, the population of 80 million will double in two decades.

On the hills around Rio de Janeiro, more and more poor crowd into the miserable slum favelas, looking down without hope on the bright lights of the beautiful city.

The picture in Latin America is grim. Some Asian nations are at least beginning to talk about their population problems. No one seems concerned in many of the Catholic countries of Latin America.

However, concern over the rising number of abortions is growing in a few countries. In Chile, which has added family-planning services in hospitals, about a fourth of the maternity beds have been occupied by post-abortion patients. The estimates are that there are three abortions to every live birth in Uruguay.

PUERTO RICO CUTS RATE

Puerto Rico, which had some pioneering private family-planning programs as early as the 1930's, has slowly reduced her birth rate. Part of the drop undoubtedly is due to the emigration of young people. But one survey has shown that 1 in 5 women between

the ages 15 and 44 had had "la operacion"—voluntary sterilization.

There is no world population problem as such. The problems are different with the countries and areas.

Both the United States and Russia may be said to have a controlled population—although some say it is controlled at too high a growth rate, between 1.6 and 1.8 percent. The Soviet Union recently admitted it was having trouble finding jobs for its youths, much like the problem in the United States.

In both countries, the birth rate has dropped slightly in recent years, edging down to 20 or 22 per 1,000. But this still is above that of Japan and most countries of Western Europe, with birth rates well below 20 per 1,000 and growth rates at 1 percent or below.

A Forester Looks at Roadside Beautification Drive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith for printing in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "A Forester Looks at Roadside Beautification Drive," which Mr. John McMahon, farm forester in Crestview, Fla., has written. I think that this article is a very good one and that the writer has put a lot of thought and study into its preparation. I feel that the suggestions advanced in this article are worthy of consideration, and it is a pleasure for me to bring this work to the attention of my colleagues:

A FORESTER LOOKS AT ROADSIDE BEAUTIFICATION DRIVE

(By John McMahon)

Trees should play an important part in the new drive to beautify America. An action slogan could be, "I think that I shall never see a billboard lovely as a tree. Other eyesores offensive to travelers such as gullies, clay pits, and junkyards could be screened by trees. A row of short, bushy evergreens like cedar, backed up by a row or two of taller types like pines would be a good combination.

State forest nurseries sell a variety of tree species to suit local soil types. "Tree screens" could be an economical way of improving the scenery. Seedlings usually sell for a penny or less per tree. Youth employment projects could furnish the labor.

An artistic alternate plan would be to paint colorful trees on the billboards. This would create jobs for poor struggling artists, another goal of a cultured society. Of course, the real trees would be cheaper to maintain than the artists, if anyone is interested in economy.

In a few years the highways would probably be moved to make way for more progress, but the trees could grow on to become fenceposts, pulpwood, or Christmas trees.

Behind the billboards and clay pits, you could see thousands of acres of idle, unattractive land that need beautifying by reforestation. Landowners who don't care much for beauty could improve the value of their land and later sell the trees for profit. Almost everyone appreciates the beauty of a greenback dollar.

The gullies deserve more attention than just being hidden from the view of traveling taxpayers. Some gullies are so big the farmer could charge tourists a fee to look at them as a miniature Grand Canyon. Further on down they could see dying trees and a muddy, silted stream.

Nevertheless, it is encouraging to see so many people interested in improving the landscape. Maybe when we get the roadside looking good, we can speed up action on the more important problems such as erosion control, reforestation, and recreation. Many taxpayers never see beyond the roadsides, but they have an economic interest in getting every acre productive. Besides not being beautiful, idle land creates unemployment and loss of taxes, which is worse than the billboards and junkyards in the long run.

Tribute Paid Late Msgr. John Flynn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, Queens County has lost a respected and beloved servant of God, Rt. Rev. Msgr. John J. M. Flynn, pastor emeritus of Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church, Richmond Hill, a parish he was assigned to establish in 1923.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the tribute to the late Monsignor Flynn from the Tablet of August 5, 1965:

TRIBUTE PAID LATE MSGR. JOHN FLYNN

Rt. Rev. Msgr. John J. M. Flynn, 85, pastor emeritus of Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church, Richmond Hill, was buried Saturday July 31, following a solemn requiem mass in the church where he had served as pastor over 40 years.

Auxiliary Bishop John J. Boardman presided at the funeral mass. Rt. Rev. Msgr. Leopold A. Arcese, pastor of Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church, Ozone Park, was celebrant, assisted by Rev. Louis J. Resch of St. Mary Star of the Sea Church, Brooklyn, as deacon and Rev. John J. McNulty of St. Robert Bellarmine Church, Bayside Hills, as subdeacon. Serving as master of ceremonies was Rev. Vincent C. Kuhner of St. Fidelis Church, College Point.

About 60 members of the clergy attended the mass. Among those in the large congregation were the Sisters of St. Dominic (Sparkill Community) who teach in the parish school.

At 7 o'clock Friday evening the parishioners of Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church attended a mass for their deceased pastor. Rev. James J. Burgess, administrator of the parish, was celebrant. Members of the parish societies served as a guard of honor throughout the night.

The eulogy was delivered by Rev. Joseph P. Keane of the faculty of Cathedral College, Brooklyn. The text appears below:

The traces of memory are deep this morning in the minds of us who can recall the early history of this great parish and all that it has accomplished under the leadership of a noble priest. Each could retell his own story of why he is here today to say goodbye to the mortal remains of our Msgr. Flynn. But essentially that faith which he inspired in so many of us jolts us from emotional glances into the past and forces upon us the duty we have—to pay tribute to the priesthood he bore before us.

He himself would have it no other way. For if we learned anything from 42 years of association with our dear pastor, it was surely this: that we were to concentrate never on personalities, always on principles. Msgr. Flynn came here as a man among us but his relationship was always and everywhere that of a priest and parishioner.

And I'm certain that if he could speak to us at this moment, he would want us to concentrate in our brief meditation on this occasion not on John Flynn but on the eternal priesthood of Jesus Christ which he was privileged to share and which he lived worthily every day he served the people of this parish.

But while we speak of the "eternal" priesthood of Christ we must constantly remind ourselves that the priest, in concrete, is very much of time, of limitation.

But our Father Flynn did not take this honor to himself. No man does, except he be called by God. He was born 85 years ago in the city of Erie, Pa., and was trained by the Vincentian Fathers at their university at Niagara. After graduation from college he entered their major seminary of Our Lady of the Angels and here continued a friendship with the sons of St. Vincent de Paul which endured to the day of his death.

He was ordained June 9, 1906, and was loaned to Bishop McDonnell, the second bishop of our great diocese, who needed priests for his growing parishes. Father Flynn served for 12 years at St. Vincent de Paul's parish on North Sixth Street before being assigned for the next 5 years to the parish of St. Patrick on Kent Avenue.

In 1923 the late Archbishop Molloy assigned him to establish a brandnew parish in a section of Queens which was known variously as Glen Morris, Ozone Park, and Richmond Hill South.

Who among us has not heard the stories, now legends, of the first Sundays with mass in a tent? Who has not heard the story of the untimely collapse of the tent and mass in the Civic Theater on Liberty Avenue? These were days they tell us when a trolley car ran along Rockaway Boulevard and the El station at Lefferts Boulevard was regarded by many as the last point east. But Father Flynn put his new parish with all its problems in the hands of his Blessed Mother to whom he was ever devoted and named it in her honor. He asked for her perpetual help as he set about the business of organizing another cell in the body of the church militant.

People, dedicated parents, good people—came to help and they were followed by others and by 1929 Father Flynn had built his first church, had established a mission church for another new parish; had built a school and had begun plans for a convent for the Dominican Sisters of Sparkill who staffed his school.

These were days when the status of Catholic education was at best in doubt in the minds of many and let it be always remembered to the credit of Father Flynn that he apologized to no one as he defended the position that there would come a day when people would plead for the type of education available under Catholic auspices. We have lived to see that day and his prophecy fulfilled.

Parish organizations flourished and the faith of his people was fed on the example of a man whose name was John who had been sent by God and who had come to give testimony to the light.

It was immediately evident to anyone of us who can now remember that this man was to be our father in Christ with all that the traditional concept of "father" had meant. He was not going to be our "vague associate." He was not going to be our "social companion." He was not going to be an "occasional visitor" and he surely was not going to be our "hail-fellow well met" acquaintance.

He was to be our father. We were to be his children. And if a father has any right to respect it is because he himself understands crystal clear his responsibility to be an ideal, a model. If a father is going to win for him-

self the obedience of his children, he must be a man who knows how to command. Nor was this, our Father Flynn, a mere martinet attempting to conceal inadequacy by placing others on the defensive. This was a father whose almost intuitive understanding of the meaning of the word is almost refreshing in these days of "reasoned obedience" and "permissive discipline."

He generated the new spiritual life of his children through the sacrament of baptism. He nurtured that life. He protected that life. He supported that life with every faculty at his disposal. He sought not the popularity of acclaim accorded many times by those who receive what they want instead of what they need. He walked alone more often than not, but always with dignity in the literal meaning of that word. He walked "worthily of the vocation in which he was called."

It seems that one of the proofs of that fact is the large number of young people who sought to follow him. Year after year it became a tradition, still continued, that someone from our parish would come back to say his first mass. Or that some young woman would enter a religious community.

At moments like this he would attempt to contain his delight and would ignore any reference to what we all knew—and what today we can say publicly—that it was the example of our pastor, the good shepherd, who first suggested that such a way of life might have meaning even for us.

CLEAR PRINCIPLES

And who of us who ever served his masses cannot recall the constant advice he would give; the clear warnings he would enunciate to young couples as they prepared to pledge their lives to one another? And in other times and other places the principles he stated clearly and unequivocally not because they were popular but because they were right and true—these principles are being lived because Christian fathers and mothers first heard them from the lips of their Father Flynn.

As some years grew to be others, he completed his building program with this magnificent church and rectory. Our Lady had been with him perpetually because he would never leave her alone. His daily constant recitation of the Rosary; his holy hours before her altar; special devotions he inaugurated in her honor—all were manly acts of homage born of sincere filial devotion and a simple faith which is almost startling in an age one writer calls "the age of pseudo-sophistication regarding Mary's part in our redemption."

Papal honors came and Father became Monsignor Flynn and at his golden jubilee I can vividly recall his insistence with true humility in his remarks of acknowledgement that his success for what it came to, was due to "you good people." His eyes were misty that day, and he turned quickly away lest anyone should ever officially guess what we had all known for years, that this basically shy, reticent, dedicated soul was truly loved because he had always been prepared to suffer the torture of loneliness than ever let his personal reaction confuse the application of any principle. He had lived St. Paul's dedication to his new converts "even though loving you the more I be loved less."

PRIESTLY PRAYER

In recent years the shadow of illness outlined the specter of death on several occasions and, though he fought valiantly, his active administration of the parish affairs came to an end and his appearance in the parish he loved became less frequent.

But as he took his leave after years of faithful service, we know his prayer was for us with Christ "Father while I was with them I kept them whom You gave me; but now I come to You and I pray not that You should take them out of the world but that You should keep them from evil." This was his priestly prayer for us.

I know there will never be anyone of us who will speak with affection of our parish without prayerfully remembering the man who started it all—who made it all come true—the man whose name was John—who was sent to us by God to give testimony to the light. May that perpetual light now and forever shine upon him.

Red Oceanography Plays Big Part in Plan To Subvert Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the Soviet Union's programs of ocean research have immense scientific importance to the Communist world. However, the Red oceanographers also have another purpose outside the scientific realm, and that is subversion and espionage.

The use of Cuba as a base for oceanographic research in the fertile waters of the Caribbean allows for spreading of Communist influence throughout the hemisphere. The knowledgable columnist in Latin American affairs, Jeanne Perry, recognizes the importance of the Soviet oceanographic programs in this hemisphere in an article published in the Palm Beach Post.

I include the article in the RECORD at this point in order that the Congress may be more fully aware of the implications of Cuba-based Soviet ocean research:

RED OCEANOGRAPHY PLAYS BIG PART IN PLAN TO SUBVERT LATIN AMERICA

(By Jeanne S. Perry)

Continuing reports from administration officials express mounting concern over the Soviet vessels appearing in the waters off the entire U.S. eastern coastline.

A July article published by the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba explains the vital part these ships play in Russia's plan to subvert Latin America.

"A new group of Soviet technicians flew into Havana last month to work in what are regarded as mysterious explorations of Cuban and adjacent waters.

"The new arrivals are assigned to the so-called Havana Fishing Terminal and to the Oceanographic Investigations headquarters located on the premises of a one-time weather station at Carapachibey on the Isle of Pines, south of Cuba.

"For the past 8 months Soviet maritime investigations have increased their activities in the Caribbean, the Gulf of Mexico, and even nearby U.S. territorial waters.

"Last November the Russian oceanographic vessel *Kovalienski* cruised the Gulf of Mexico for some 30 days before returning to its bases on the Isle of Pines and in the Cuban capital.

"On the other hand, Soviet trawlers, frequently seen off the Florida east coast in nonfishing waters near Fort Lauderdale and Fowey Rocks, have created suspicions as to the legitimacy of their operations.

"Renewed Russian activity in waters south of western Cuba, especially in the Cayo Largo area and near the Soviet military-naval base at Siguanea, Isle of Pines, has also been reported. It is recalled that for the past 3 years the Russians have been working, uninterruptedly, at Cayo Largo.

"Meantime, two more boats have been assigned to the Russian oceanographic explorations which started in August 1964 with the Soviet mother ships *Mikhail Lomonosov* and *Kovalienski* and two Cuban vessels, *Fidias* and *Delfin*. The Soviet Union has given great importance to the maritime investigations. Today, the Castro regime has publicly admitted to more than 100 Russian scientists are involved in the operation. The actual number probably exceeds this many times over.

"It has been repeatedly pointed out that the military objective of the Soviet investigations is more than obvious, since the Russians have chosen an area which is, significantly, near the Cape Kennedy missile center.

"While the Russians have intensified their maritime explorations, they have also stepped up scientific activities on the island.

"After inaugurating in Havana last January an Oceanographic Institute equipped with 28 modern laboratories for maritime investigations, the Russians began construction of a powerful radio station with 5,000 watts on each of several frequencies. The station is now nearing completion.

"Several meteorological stations have been set up at various coastal points throughout the island. In addition, the controlled Cuban press recently announced government plans for immediate construction of two installations for high-atmosphere research, some mobile meteorological stations with long-range radio transmitters, radar, and other scientific equipment. None of these are related to purely Cuban needs.

"It was also announced that the Soviet Union will commence observations of artificial satellites from its base in Cuba. It is well known that for the past 2 years preparations have been underway at missile-tracking stations at the San Antonio de los Banos airbase in Havana province.

"Captain Antonio Nunez Jimenez, president of the Academy of Sciences of Cuba, has also announced that a missile-observation station will be inaugurated on July 26.

"With Castro regime still impatient to emerge from economic chaos and start on its own feet after almost 7 years in power, establishment of costly scientific installations in Cuba would have been impossible without Soviet aid.

"Thus, Russia's intensification of oceanographic, barometric, and space research in the Caribbean, the Atlantic, and the Gulf of Mexico—plus the existence of her three or four submarine bases in Cuban waters—is regarded as part of a long-range military plan aimed at one major objective—the United States.

"Apart from scientific investigations, the Soviet Atlantic fishing fleet is also playing a key role in smuggling Cuban-trained guerrillas into Latin America.

"An erratic contraband service from Cuba to Islas Mujeres off the Mexican coast in 1961 has emerged today as a perfectly run organization of espionage and subversion with the support of a large number of Russian and Cuban vessels.

"Recently over 300 Cuban-trained guerrillas and terrorists were smuggled into Islas Mujeres, Cozumel Island, and other Mexican coastal points en route to Guatemala and other Latin American areas.

"Russian and Cuban 'fishing fleets' freely operating in Mexican territorial waters—up to 60 boats have been seen fishing at one time—have made it much easier to smuggle guerrillas into Mexico or pick up contraband cargo off the Mexican coast.

"Castro's 75-foot Lambda-type boats also have been used to transport guerrillas and other subversive agents from the Soviet military-naval base at Siguanea, Isle of Pines, to

Caribbean and South American countries. It is known that, before reaching their respective destination points, the guerrillas are transferred from the Lambda-type boats to native fishing vessels awaiting the subversive human cargo.

"Some 5,000 Latin American Communists trained in Cuba during the past years have been smuggled back into their respective countries aboard boats used by Castro and the Russians for fishing. Upon his return each guerrilla trains 10 others. The goal is to be able to handle future guerrilla trainees in their homelands. The frightening implications of this plan are that we may soon face a self-propagating army of Communist guerrillas in this hemisphere—an army independent of its Cuban base.

"The Cuban-trained Latin American agents have returned to their homelands from the Cuban ports of Batabano (on the south coast of Havana province), Cienfuegos (on the south coast of Las Villas province), Siguanea (Island of Pines), Aserradero Bahia larga, Uverno and other points on the south coast of Oriente Province.

"The Ports of Mariel and La Fe on the north coast of the extreme western province of Pinar del Rio and the Soviet submarine base on the north coast of Oriente have also been utilized to ship guerrillas to Latin America.

"Faced with such a steady flow of subversive agents, guerrillas, and terrorists coming from Cuba, Latin American governments have found it difficult to put an end to Communist subversion in their respective territories. With massive Soviet support to Cuba, the task has now become almost hopeless."

Frank Boland Observes 92d Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it has come to my attention that one of Cambridge's most distinguished citizens and one of my very close friends, Frank A. K. Boland, recently celebrated his 92d birthday. Mr. Boland, one of this country's leading authorities on George Washington, is a successful lawyer and former owner of the Sheraton Commander Hotel. Mr. Speaker, it is a real pleasure to insert in the RECORD at this point an article from the Cambridge Chronicle saluting my good friend, Frank Boland, on observing such a milestone as his 92d birthday:

FRANK BOLAND OBSERVES 92D BIRTHDAY: AUTHORITY ON CAREER OF WASHINGTON

Frank A. K. Boland, the man who has done the most to keep George Washington's memory alive and glowing in Cambridge, observed his 92d birthday yesterday in his suite at the Sheraton-Commander Hotel which he formerly owned.

As he prepared to enter his 93d year, he said, "I have much to be thankful for."

Mr. Boland began the day by taking a trip to Harvard Square and later received many visits, cards, and telephone calls from his friends.

A native of Beaver Dam, Md., he was a successful New York lawyer before buying the Hotel Commander here.

The fact that the hotel is only a stone's throw from the spot where George Washington took command of the Revolutionary Army inspired him to make a study of the life and the works of the Father of our Country.

Mr. Boland was the sparkplug of a community effort which resulted in the creation of the George Washington Memorial Center on Cambridge Common, facing Radcliffe. Each year he gives medals for the best essays on the life of Washington written by students at CHLS and Rindge.

He has collected many historical paintings and other items related to Washington's career, and has been known to "stump the academic experts" when it comes to detailed knowledge of Washington's life and works.

Garrett Summer School Program at Halfway Mark

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, throughout the Nation this summer, children from preschool to high school have a new kind of educational experience through Operation Head Start, one of the major weapons being developed by the Office of Economic Opportunity to fight crippling undereducation. The impact of this program on both the children and the adults of one area, Garrett County, Md., is well described in a statement which School Superintendent Willard L. Hawkins and the Garrett County Board of Education issued recently, at the midpoint of the program.

I am pleased to bring this statement to the attention of the House:

GARRETT SUMMER SCHOOL PROGRAM AT HALFWAY MARK

The Garrett County summer school and Head Start programs, involving 1,400 children, are now in the second half of the 6 weeks' period for which they were organized. According to county school officials as well as members of the supervisory staff of the State department of education who have visited the summer sessions, both programs are proving to be highly successful. Willard L. Hawkins, county superintendent of schools, remarked that both the Head Start and summer school program for older children are achieving the desired goals.

Both pupils and teachers are showing unusual enthusiasm for the programs and the average daily attendance is running around 80 percent. School officials feel that this is very good attendance when the fact that the programs are entirely voluntary is taken into consideration. The dropout rate has also been very low. The programs planned for both groups were designed to offer new experiences for children that would broaden their concepts through firsthand observation and participation and thus in the final analysis motivate children to read and to learn. One of the features of the program for the older children is a 1-day field trip to Washington, D.C., and a 1-day field trip to the city of Pittsburgh. Most of the children taking these trips have never been to either place. Other local field trips of educational interest and importance have also been included in the program. The recreational aspect of the program has included swimming and overnight camping. Outdoor science education has also featured heavily in the program with many local and State resource people making themselves available as consultants. These include State foresters, soil conservation experts, game wardens, fish hatchery men, etc. Regular classroom work includes instruction in remedial mathematics, language arts, arts and crafts, typing, music, shop crafts, home arts, and so forth.

This is the first summer school program of any type for the children of Garrett County. The teachers in the Head Start program are unanimous in their feeling that this program will be of invaluable help to the children entering first grade this September. About 75 percent of all the Garrett County first graders are in the Head Start program. Eleven Head Start centers are in operation.

Local school officials are highly pleased with the total results of both the Head Start and the summer school programs to date. Quoting a remark from the county superintendent of schools, Mr. Willard L. Hawkins, "These are the kinds of educational experiences we have long dreamed of for schoolchildren who never before have had such opportunities, but this is the first time we have ever had the money to make these dreams come true."

These programs are financed through the Economic Opportunity Act and the economic impact upon the county is one not to be overlooked. While the educational improvement of children is the primary objective of the programs, there is a concomitant impact upon the economy of the county. Approximately 250 people are employed in the county during the 6 weeks' period as a result of this phase of the Economic Opportunity Act. Included in this group are 76 teachers, 18 teacher aids who are all college students working their way through school, approximately 60 bus drivers to transport the children to and from school and on field trips, 34 custodians and cafeteria workers, many of whom otherwise would not have had employment. In addition, under the Economic Opportunity Act, Neighborhood Youth Corps program the school board is giving employment to 65 high school boys and girls enabling each of them to earn up to $40 per week. For the 6 weeks' summer period the operational costs of all programs under the Economic Opportunity Act means a return of approximately $200,000 in Federal funds to be spent within the county. The expenditure of this sum of money is bound to provide a substantial lift to the economic life of the county. Other educational programs for the future are in the planning stage. The present summer school and Head Start programs will end Friday, August 13.

Is Schlesinger Being Fair?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Robert G. Spivack, from the July 29, 1965, edition of the New York Journal-American. Mr. Spivack is properly critical of Schlesinger's treatment of the relationship between Secretary of State Dean Rusk and the late President. It is unfair to make this assertion now, while Mr. Rusk is serving under President Johnson.

The article follows:

IS SCHLESINGER BEING FAIR?

(By Robert G. Spivack)

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., the Harvard historian, has often been subjected to smear and innuendo. His writings have frequently been distorted and his motives misrepresented.

After undergoing such experience for so many years, I would have expected him to be scrupulously fair and objective in writing about others. But if the three installments of his new book about the Kennedy administration as carried in Life are typical, then I wonder if he has learned anything from his own bitter experience.

It is no secret, of course, that Schlesinger has been racing furiously with Ted Sorensen, President Kennedy's closest associate, to be first in print with the inside story of that brief, but exciting, period when J.F.K. occupied the White House.

Sorensen, as is well known, was deeply involved in the decisionmaking process and was really a part of the inner, inner circle. How much he chooses to tell remains to be seen. But what he does report will carry great weight.

Schlesinger, on the other hand, was not altogether an insider. But he has been so scornful of what he considers partial reporting by newspapermen that it is necessary to ask if his articles represent personal impressions, or memoirs, or if they are presented as history. Since Schlesinger is an historian, many readers may think he has written the whole story, perhaps overlooking the absence of documentation, the failure to give sources, and the apparently scant interviewing.

Schlesinger's account of relations between Secretary of State Dean Rusk and the late President are a case in point. Schlesinger says Kennedy intended to remove Rusk after the 1964 elections apparently because "he failed to imbue the Department with positive direction and purpose."

To make this assertion now, while Rusk is serving under a new President who has voiced complete confidence in his No. 1 Cabinet minister, constitutes a severe blow to a dedicated public servant who is in no position to strike back.

What makes it unfair is that Schlesinger knows as well as anyone else that Kennedy did not want a Secretary of State with a clearly defined foreign policy of his own, or with a strong personality or following. That was one of the reasons Adlai Stevenson was passed over.

It was clear Kennedy intended to be his own Secretary of State. In this, he was not much different from most other Presidents. There have only been two strong Secretaries of State in recent years, John Foster Dulles and Dean Acheson, and they could not modernize the Department.

On the point of Kennedy's frustration with the State Department, there is not much argument either. The Department has grown cumbersome and awkward and needs overhauling. This is an impossible job for a Secretary of State, however, when a small group at the White House makes the big decisions but passes the buck to him when they do not work out.

I could not help wondering as I read the Schlesinger article, with its comments about Rusk, if this was not the key sentence:

"Presidential speeches sent over to State for Rusk's comment would return with arresting phrases stricken out and weary State Department formulas proposed in their place."

As a speechwriter one can understand Schlesinger's annoyance if his own language was blue-penciled. But J.F.K. was President, and if he felt the ideas, or the phrases, were so arresting, I assume he would have restored them. I wonder why he did not?

Past Wars and Present Purposes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, this morning it was my turn, with a considerable number of my colleagues and yourself, to attend another in what is beginning to be a series of Presidential briefings on the Vietnam crisis.

I was, of course, grateful for the opportunity for I am anxious at all times to obtain as much information as can be made available to me concerning our problems in southeast Asia and, if possible, to be reassured—so that I can, in turn, reassure those I endeavor to represent—that the course we are presently following in Vietnam is the best possible choice available to us among the painfully few alternatives that are recognizable.

Despite their obvious disadvantages, I think these briefings are useful and certainly the President is to be commended for arranging them for us. They are of especial importance in a rapidly changing situation such as that now pertaining in Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, I must confess, however, that I left this morning's affair at the White House with a number of rather unclear but surely unanswered questions in my mind. Faced with a problem as complex and frustrating as that posed by Vietnam—where there are no pat solutions and no easy answers—probably this is understandable, but that does not mean we ought to stop looking for those answers.

In any event, one of the Presidential advisers who spoke to us this morning mentioned, in passing, an editorial that had appeared in yesterday's Wall Street Journal. After I returned to my office, I looked for the editorial and found it so thought-provoking, and so in tune with my own uncertain feelings that I am including it, here, for the benefit of those of us who may have missed it:

PAST WARS AND PRESENT PURPOSES

Despite the President's patient explanations, our purposes in Vietnam are still not entirely clear.

It's not that the President has failed to show just reasons for our involvement in what he candidly declares "is really war." Rather, the danger is repeating the historic errors of past wars, in which America has so painfully suffered from clouded purposes despite the justice of its cause.

Historically, we Americans fight gallantly but end our wars disillusioned. The problem is that in war we, probably more than most peoples, frame goals that are lofty, ambiguous and illusive. We tend—and the tendency is again evident with regard to Vietnam—to answer realistically only some of the questions which would fully define our purposes: What are our grand purposes, our ultimate political objectives? What military war aims are necessary to those objectives? What force do those war aims require?

In both World Wars, for example, our basic purpose seemed to be literally remaking the world in our own democratic image. We assumed that democracy is man's natural state and would magically emerge if only tyrants were destroyed. So we cast our military aims as destruction of the enemy—unconditional surrender—and appropriated means abundantly to that aim. But in our naivete, we often failed to show even simple prudence toward the threat of new tyrants.

Thus we found destruction of the enemy both an expensive and ephemeral goal. In the cold war that followed, we fell back on the ancient wisdom of the Greek historian Polybius, "It is not the object of war to annihilate those who have given provocation for it, but to cause them to mend their ways."

The containment policy of checking Communist advances at their own borders was directed at convincing them to mend their ways. It was based on the historic lesson that aggressors feed on small victories which build lust for larger ones. We made our immediate aim checking such small advances, and thereby hoped to advance the ultimate purpose of curbing aggressive appetites before they threatened us directly. So we met thrusts at Greece and Berlin, and in Europe this sensible policy yielded marked success.

But with real war in Korea, our purposes collapsed into sorry confusion. Both political and military aims were unclear, if not actually in dispute between the President and his top field commander. The administration wavered on making its political purpose to "roll back" communism. Unwilling to write off the collateral war aim of conquering North Korea, it was also unwilling to use the military means necessary to that aim for fear of causing a yet larger war.

In the end, we did check the Communists' aggression. Indeed, never since have they tried direct, across-the-border invasions where American power could be brought to bear. In hindsight, however, it is evident that if this important but limited achievement had been made our objective from the first much pointless sacrifice would have been avoided. Or, who knows, if the means had been allowed for more ambitious purposes, perhaps Asia would be less a problem today.

Against this rather dismal historic background, it seems only reasonable to ask if we today have a firm grip on our political purposes, military aims and necessary means in Vietnam.

The President has been commendably explicit about the basic political objectives which justify our commitment. He has specifically rejected the "roll back" idea of destroying current Communist governments, and with it also rejected the dangerously imprecise word "victory," which can so easily imply that goal. Rather, he states our purpose in terms of the containment policy—deterring aggression by blunting an aggressor's thrusts and by convincing friend and foe we will continue to do so.

Unfortunately, this clear basic purpose does not automatically translate itself into specific war aims necessary for analysis and planning. Particularly, even the clearest statement of ultimate political goals is little help in deciding how much military force is required. Someone must first specify the military goals required to secure the political ones.

At this crucial step U.S. policy has so often faltered in the past, and at the same step ambiguity still clouds our intentions in Vietnam. It simply is not clear that anyone has decided what military war aims are required by the President's proclaimed grand purpose of deterring aggression.

Is it our aim merely to punish North Vietnam until it ceases to aid the Vietcong? If so, would this necessarily bring peace to the South? Indeed, would it preclude a Vietcong take-over of the shaky Southern government—an outcome hardly calculated

to discourage future "wars of national liberation"?

Does our basic purpose require the aim of literally suppressing guerrillas throughout South Vietnam? If so, are we willing to commit the huge military force required to police such inhospitable terrain against an enemy who rises and vanishes like a will-o'-the-wisp?

Is it our aim merely to force the Communists to negotiate, ignoring that negotiations are an instrument of policy and not a substitute for it? What kind of negotiated settlement would indeed be consistent with our proclaimed fundamental objective? Surely not the "graceful" withdrawal some urge, nor any kind of elections Communists have ever consented to in areas they control, nor a coalition government vulnerable to Communist coup. And if a settlement did meet our objectives, would the Communists agree to it while they still have the means for military mischief?

The question of war aims exposes the cruel dilemma of the Vietnamese war. It may be that the military goals which would accomplish our grand purposes can be won only by much larger forces than we so far have been willing to commit. The aims our current forces can attain might throw away or seriously compromise the fundamental objective which justifies our fighting in the first place. This dilemma, in turn, threatens the same imprecision of purpose which has so plagued American wars in the past.

Given the whole murky situation, the imprecision is perhaps understandable. Perhaps, though it seems a long shot, the latest addition of troops will be enough to paper over the problems. The administration may well feel that it's best to buy time before facing the decision of whether to compromise its larger purposes or take the larger risks those purposes imply. Whatever the eventualities, it is myopic to question the justice in our basic purpose of trying to check the Communists often enough to dull their lust for world enslavement.

All the same, the history of American wars rings with a warning: When we send troops to fight, much of their sacrifice may be in vain unless our leaders have a clear idea of what, exactly, we are fighting to accomplish.

Ambassador George J. Feldman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I was honored, delighted and truly grateful yesterday to be privileged to attend the swearing-in ceremonies of my dear, cherished and esteemed friend of long standing, the Honorable George J. Feldman, newly appointed Ambassador of the United States to the historic nation of Malta. He will be our first Ambassador to this important post.

Ambassador Feldman comes to the distinguished post for which President Johnson has so wisely appointed him, with a most impressive record of successful endeavors in the practice of law, in business and in the public service.

It is my good fortune to have known George Feldman since his early youth when he was first associated with our mutual, great and dearly beloved friend, the late eminent David I. Walsh, for many years the illustrious U.S. Senator from the great State of Massachusetts.

As a career public servant, the new Ambassador made a most auspicious start during the time he was with Senator Walsh, and early marked himself as a young man of outstanding ability and dedication.

George Feldman is highly trained and educated, and is endowed with a fine legal mind. He is a well-known legal scholar and writer, a very successful lawyer who has handled with great distinction many important legal causes.

His opinions, views and specialized knowledge, have been frequently sought by eminent counsel and by congressional committees.

At a great sacrifice to himself and his devoted family he came to Washington to serve in the initial stages of the organization of the House Committee on Science and Aeronautics, first launched under the leadership of my late, esteemed beloved friend and colleague on the House Armed Services Committee, the Honorable Overton Brooks, of Louisiana, and later by another very distinguished House Armed Services colleague and dearly beloved friends of mine, the esteemed and outstanding gentleman from California, the Honorable GEORGE P. MILLER.

During this experience, Mr. Feldman made invaluable contributions to the work of this new epochmaking, pioneer committee which has done such tremendously valuable work in fearlessly extending outward into the deep, infinite reaches of space the presence and handiwork of man. Only the Lord himself could predict where this great adventure may lead mankind.

Mr. Feldman also served as one of the original trustees of Comsat, a most important, vital adjunct of the space program which has brought nations much closer together through the transmission of radio and televiews from long distances across continents and oceans from widely separated areas of the world.

George Feldman has engaged also as a brilliant leader in many religious and charitable activities and humanity causes to which he has lent his great talents, abilities, generosity, and dedicated and inspiring spirit.

In him, the President has made a magnificent selection of a great American to represent the United States at Malta and in our diplomatic service, and I know that he will achieve great success in this role as he has done in other positions of great trust and responsibility to which he has been called in the past.

I appreciated and was deeply impressed by the remarks at the exercises of the very distinguished Secretary of State, the Honorable Dean Rusk, who on this occasion spoke so eloquently, feelingly and appropriately concerning Mr. Feldman's record of achievement and high qualifications and spirit of dedication and broad experience and warmly welcomed him to the Department of State.

All of us who know George Feldman realize his fine qualities as a human being and his constant search for ways and means to offer his talents and services to the inarticulate and the helpless, who are not always able to speak and act for themselves in ways to promote their well-being and interests and thus strengthen the moral bonds of the Nation.

His charming, gracious wife will be of constant support and assistance and help to Ambassador Feldman as he discharges his most important duties and his lovely son and daughter will round out a very happy partnership which, I am sure, will do a magnificent job in strengthening the bonds between the United States and Malta and promoting the interests and posture of our Nation in the important area in which the new Ambassador will serve.

I feel very happy and confident that my valued and dear friend, George Feldman, will give an excellent account of himself in his distinguished ambassadorial post and measure up to the highest standards and traditions of our great diplomatic service of which he is now such a distinguished leader.

In heartily congratulating Ambassador Feldman, his gracious wife and family, I wish them Godspeed and every measure of good fortune in their new tasks, and I hope and pray that the good Lord will shower upon them his choicest blessings of good health, success, happiness, and noble achievement in the great work which they are undertaking for many years to come.

The Cost of Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, we are engaged in a difficult struggle against a relentless enemy in Vietnam. We are being challenged in a difficult type of warfare on an unfavorable terrain. It is a test of our commitment at its most vulnerable link.

It is a test against an enemy convinced that we cannot and will not fight his kind of war, where the innocent farmer by day becomes the ruthless terrorist by night, where the enemy is seldom seen, yet sniper fire, mines and booby traps give evidence that he is everywhere.

Victory against this type of enemy will not come easily, quickly, or cheaply. This must be made clear to the American people. Therefore, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to an article by Hanson Baldwin in the August 6, 1965, New York Times, which gives a realistic idea of the price tag in Vietnam.

The article follows:

THE COST OF VIETNAM—ARMED FORCES ESTIMATE THAT EXTRA $12 BILLION MUST BE APPROPRIATED

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

The Armed Services have estimated that additional appropriations of more than $12 billion will be needed over a period of several years to finance the war in Vietnam and to remedy existing or potential military defi-

ciencies. President Johnson requested this week $1.7 billion more for the current fiscal year's budget to meet some of the extraordinary costs of the Vietnamese war. Last spring about $700 million was provided by Congress as a supplemental appropriation for the last fiscal year. Next January a supplemental appropriation for $2 to $4 billion will be needed, the administration has indicated.

The total additional funds so far requested—$2.4 billion—will come nowhere near meeting all the needs of the services, it was generally agreed yesterday by officers and a number of Senators.

Last Sunday Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, estimated that the price tag of the Vietnamese war "could easily reach $10 or $12 billion."

Senator JOHN STENNIS, chairman of the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee, agreed that military spending for Vietnam might run at the rate of $10 to $14 billion annually, between now and January 1, or about $800 million to $1.2 billion a month.

Senator STENNIS, whose subcommittee has conducted a long study of service shortages, mentioned trucks, spare parts, and various weapons as the type of equipment in short supply, and said it was "time to remedy those shortages."

REASONS FOR SHORTAGE

Military men cite specific reasons for the current shortages. They mention the failure to provide extra funds over the course of the last 2 years for the increasing expenditures in Vietnam, the marked reduction of defense stocks and inventories required by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara in the last 4 years, and a decision to limit procurement funds to a fraction of what was required for the acquisition of all new weapons, supplies and equipment, and for annual replacement of over-age equipment.

Senator RUSSELL's figure of a $10 to $12 billion cost for the Vietnamese war is believed to have been derived in part from the rough calculation made by the services, prior to the President's recent decision to send 50,000 more troops to Vietnam, that an extra $12 billion will be needed to cover a period of several years to remedy all existing deficiencies.

This figure, which was viewed as "utopian" by some civilian officials, has been met so far by the President's official request for an additional $1.7 billion and an indication that more billions will be asked next January.

The services agree that, as yet, there are no significant shortages in Vietnam, except for specialized items such as the new jungle boot. But there is considerable worry about the state of the 7th Army in Germany, about the Atlantic Fleet, and about strategic Reserve units in this country.

These have played "second fiddle" to Vietnam, service sources say, and the very fine line that once existed between peacetime adequacy and insufficiency for wartime or for national emergency is disappearing.

There are no reserve stocks of certain types of ammunition, which are being shipped almost directly from the factory to Vietnam. The World War II–Korean war stockpiles of conventional bombs and other weapons are being depleted rapidly and new production lines to replace them have barely started.

Furthermore, the reserve stocks of newer types of weapons, such as certain types of missiles, are said to be very low.

The Air Force, Navy, and Army are concerned about the lack of replacements for types of aircraft now being used in Vietnam. In one day's attacks recently, six Republic F–105 Thunderchief fighter-bombers were lost to ground fire.

The production line of the Thunderchief closed down sometime ago; the only available replacement for this plane, outside of the very small Air Force Reserve, is one Air National Guard squadron of 19 planes.

More than 6 months ago the Navy urged the reopening of a production line for the Douglas propeller-driven Skyraider, which is flown in Vietnam by the Navy, the Air Force, and the Vietnamese. But no more Skyraiders have been manufactured, although according to some estimates about 200 more could be used now in Vietnam.

The Martin B–57 light bomber has long been out of production; those that have been lost in Vietnam have been replaced, so far, by converting photoreconnaissance B–57 planes flown by the Air National Guard to bombers.

New types of aircraft, some of them still under development or unproven in war, may be substituted for those models now out of production. The Northrop F–5 and a new Navy attack plane—the Ling-Temco-Vought A–7A—and the Grumman A–6 may fill some of the gaps, with the help of the older North American F–100 and the Navy's A–4E light attack plane.

The Navy's new Grumman A–6A attack plane and a high-speed fighter, the McDonnell F–4, are in limited production, which could be increased fairly rapidly.

A new counterinsurgency plane may also be ordered and many more helicopters and light Army aircraft are needed. In addition, 2.75-inch rockets, 750-pound bombs and small caliber ammunition are also in short supply.

The shortages of trained personnel, which were becoming acute because of the large turnover each year and the priority demands of Vietnam, will be met gradually under the President's program by providing funds for some 340,00 more men for the regular services.

These are to be acquired, acccording to present plans by increased draft calls, intensified recruiting and a limited extension of naval enlistments. However, the existing severe shortages in certain categories of specialists may continue for months to come.

Vietnam has received priority in all these specialities, but the drain has made itself felt elsewhere. It has been estimated by the Army that the captains and majors assigned to Vietnam would staff more than three divisions; there are consequent shortages in these ranks in Europe and in this country.

The 72d Birthday of the Honorable Wright Patman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, the sixth day of August marked the 72d birthday of the dean of the Texas delegation, the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN.

WRIGHT PATMAN came to the Congress in 1929 and only three Members now serve in the House who were here when WRIGHT PATMAN arrived.

His achievements in this 37 years of service would take many pages to detail. He has served with distinction on the Committee on Banking and Currency which he now chairs. Despite the heavy work schedule which his committee chairmanship demands, he has never failed to provide his constituents, singly and collectively, with outstanding representation. He attends to the needs of his district with great care.

He has also contributed two of the most outstanding books on the subject of the Federal Government. "How Our Laws Are Made" and "Our American Government" continue to be two of the most popular publications in their field.

I could talk for hours about the accomplishments and the distinction of this great public servant. His competence and his dedicated service, however, are well known to the Members of the House. As a relatively young member of the Texas delegation, I offer my congratulations and my best wishes to my dean.

Renaissance in Long Island

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, the 20th century has been chided and berated for failing to appreciate the arts; we no longer look to the poet or the stage for inspiration; we are called an age without esthetic values. And in these precarious times, especially, we need the bard to call attention to the beauty we are ignoring and the foibles of human nature we are oblivious to, the pathos and drama of our daily lives.

It was a thrilling experience, therefore, to be privy to a whole new Renaissance in my own backyard. Through the cooperative efforts of the American National Theater and Academy, and the North Shore Community Arts Center of Roslyn, N.Y., the development of professional theater of quality is being pursued and perfected on Long Island.

With the advent of radio and television, the death knell of the traveling troubador sounded. But the imaginative and creative efforts of dedicated individuals are being pooled today in a project that is worthy of emulation on a nationwide scale. The State University of New York at Farmingdale has graciously lent the use of its facilities. The Courtyard Theater, after months of preparation, was on Saturday, August 7, revealed in all its splendor, presenting "The Shavian Woman in Love and Marriage." A superb performance by Jo Ann Sayres and others capped a refreshing evening.

We of the suburbs have often been called Babbitts—the Courtyard Theater should prove to many that Bosell would be a better analogy. To the Greater New York Chapter of ANTA, Virginia Inness-Brown, president, and the North Shore Community Arts Center, Stanley Swerdlow, Nettie Good, Norma Reiner, Irving Stewart, Harriet Rosenson, Miriam Belenky, Judith M. Levitan, belongs the credit for still another innovation in bringing the arts to our community.

I commend to my colleagues careful study of this project. It is a refreshing breeze of the best in American community spirit. We are the richer for it.

H.R. 3140 and the State of Wyoming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, the State of Wyoming has excellent medical facilities, particularly the VA hospitals in Cheyenne and Sheridan, and the Gottsche Rehabilitation Center in Thermopolis, which deserve to be included in any system of treatment centers for heart disease, cancer and stroke.

In light of the importance of H.R. 3140 to the medical profession and to my State, it is imperative that the bill be seriously considered before further action is taken.

PROVISIONS OF THE BILL

The legislation would authorize grants to public and other nonprofit institutions to assist them in planning, establishing and operating regional medical complexes to combat heart disease, cancer, stroke, and other major diseases. The purpose is to facilitate closer coordination between research centers, on one hand, and hospitals and physicians, on the other. The regional center is supposed to supply outlying communities with trained personnel, expensive equipment, and the latest advances in medical knowledge.

The Albany regional hospital program is an example of the kind of development which H.R. 3140 would encourage. Hospitals in New York and Massachusetts have collaborated with the Albany Medical College to promote postgraduate medical education through visits, conferences, and publications. A regional program in Iowa provides closed-circuit TV broadcasts emanating from the State medical school, providing the latest research information to hospitals in the area.

This bill has passed the Senate with no opposition to the basic provisions and is now being considered by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

NEED SAFEGUARDS FOR LOCAL PRACTICE

At least two major objections to H.R. 3140 have been raised. First, it is written in such vague terms that it does not provide adequate safeguards for the protection of the medical profession in the cities and towns where a regional center will not be located. There is a very real danger that the bill would permit the establishment of huge medical centers which would pull patients away from the local doctors in areas of practice which are, by all standards, adequately handled with existing local facilities and talent. Thus, the local hospital might be relegated to the status of a first-aid station and many competent local physicians would be deprived of the opportunity to apply their skills effectively.

Downgrading the practice of local doctors would necessarily be accompanied by a corresponding exodus of physicians to the regional centers. Yet, the treatment of many ills calls for practitioners who are readily available, even in small towns. In case of heart trouble, or stroke, many victims need immediate medical care; it will be too late if the patient has to be sent to a distant medical center in order to obtain adequate care.

Ostensibly, the regional medical center will serve as a source of personnel, equipment, and information for smaller communities. However, as it is now written, the bill does not insure this result. The bill should be amended to guarantee the integrity of local medical practice.

PATENT RIGHTS

My second objection to the bill is that it would allow exclusive patent rights to be assigned to private contractors. The result of this would be monopoly prices, placing essential drugs beyond the reach of many citizens. Past experience indicates that the public often pays about 30 times the cost plus fair profit at wholesale for drugs produced under private patents; furthermore, there have been marketing delays of from 3 to 5 years after a discovery is made while private monopolists secure their patent rights.

With the exception of Belgium, the United States is the only developed, industrialized country which grants both process and product patents on drugs, does not provide for compulsory licensing, and does not impose price controls. Other countries, including many which have been noted for their development of new pharmaceutical products, have sought to provide some protection for the consumer.

H.R. 3140 is in need of an amendment to secure to the Government new drug patents developed with the taxpayers' money. Private companies doing research or hiring researchers always insist that whoever pays for the research receives the patent rights to it. Since the public is paying billions of dollars each year for research, it should receive the patent rights and benefits in the form of lower drug prices and faster marketing of drugs.

With these grave shortcomings in H.R. 3140, I urge the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to continue studying this bill until the next session of Congress in order to determine its consequences with certainty and to protect the public by adopting appropriate amendments.

Monetary Reform in Perspective

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following syndicated article of July 28, 1965, by Sylvia Porter. The nations of the free world must attend to these important and much-needed monetary reforms.

The article follows:

MONETARY REFORM IN PERSPECTIVE

(By Sylvia Porter)

The United States, France, and other leading nations of the free world are moving toward the most important monetary reform since the postwar currency network was created at Bretton Woods, N.H., 21 years ago.

Do not be misled by reports of unsurmountable rifts between the United States and other countries—particularly France—on the need for and possible forms of reform. At this early stage, it's only logical that there should be conflicting views on what should be done. During this period of preliminary bargaining in the world's financial capitals, it is only reasonable to expect national leaders to make statements subject to misinterpretation.

FOUR BASIC POINTS

What's at stake in the monetary reform talks now underway is the future of the dollar, the future of world trade and the future prosperity of the West. Thus, it is imperative to understand these four vital points at the start:

1. Responsible leaders of the free world agree that trade is outgrowing the monetary system established at Bretton Woods in 1944 and the system must be revised to make sure that it produces sufficient currency reserves to finance expanding trade.

2. The United States is achieving equilibrium in its balance of payments, regaining the prestige essential to leadership in a reform drive.

3. As we curb the outflow of dollars which has in past years helped fuel world prosperity, other nations are becoming increasingly eager for monetary system revisions which will assure them of sufficient funds (liquidity) to support their trade.

4. For years, the free world's money technicians have been working on various reform proposals. The basic homework on various approaches to reform has now been completed.

Against the background of these four points, here is a tentative timetable for action.

Between now and September—when the free world's finance ministers convene in Washington for the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund—there will be closed-door bilateral and multilateral negotiations.

Assuming important preliminary agreements are reached on reforms which are feasible—mechanically, financially, and, most significantly, politically—the finance ministers will vote at the September meeting to call an International Monetary Conference. The time would be 1966, the probable place would be Geneva.

After September, Treasury Secretary Henry H. Fowler will visit his counterparts in London, Paris, Rome, Bonn, and The Hague to discuss reform details, pave the way for the 1966 conference.

TWO-YEAR LAG

Again assuming a successful conference, the agreements will be sufficiently firm to require ratification by Congress and the parliaments of other nations. This suggests actual reform is at least 2 years away—1967.

But if real progress is discernible by year-end, this alone will reduce the threat of a world money crisis.

At this point we will not come up with plans of our own, for they would only be targets for others to shoot at. We will be vague—taking the role of a world financial leader, not a dictator. There are issues on which we won't compromise: for instance, we insist that the dollar remain a key world currency, we won't even talk about a rise in the price of gold. But we will remain flexible in many of our attitudes.

The negotiations will be tough, prolonged, often frustration—but the areas of agreement are a lot broader than most people think. The need for monetary reform is obvious, the possible consequences of failure frightening.

REPRESENTATIVES WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON

OFFICE ADDRESS: House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]

Speaker: John W. McCormack

Abbitt, Watkins M., *Va*
Abernethy, Thomas G., *Miss.* — 6278 29th St.
Adair, E. Ross, *Ind* — 4000 Mass. Ave.
Adams, Brock, *Wash*
Addabbo, Joseph P., *N.Y*
Albert, Carl, *Okla* — 4614 Reno Rd.
Anderson, John B., *Ill*
Anderson, William R., *Tenn.* — 3006 P St.
Andrews, George W., *Ala* — 3108 Cathedral Ave.
Andrews, Glenn, *Ala*
Andrews, Mark, *N. Dak*
Annunzio, Frank, *Ill*
Arends, Leslie C., *Ill* — 4815 Dexter St.
Ashbrook, John M., *Ohio*
Ashley, Thomas L., *Ohio*
Ashmore, Robert T., *S.C*
Aspinall, Wayne N., *Colo* — The Towers Apts., 4201 Cathedral Ave.
Ayres, William H., *Ohio*
Baldwin, John F., *Calif*
Bandstra, Bert, *Iowa*
Baring, Walter S., *Nev*
Barrett, William A., *Pa*
Bates, William H., *Mass*
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Belcher, Page, *Okla*
Bell, Alphonzo, *Calif*
Bennett, Charles E., *Fla* — 1314 Rusticway Lane, Falls Church, Va.
Berry, E. Y., *S. Dak* — 118 Schotts Court NE.
Betts, Jackson E., *Ohio*
Bingham, Jonathan B., *N.Y.*
Blatnik, John A., *Minn*
Boggs, Hale, *La*
Boland, Edward P., *Mass*
Bolling, Richard, *Mo* — 307 Warrenton Dr., Silver Spring, Md.
Bolton, Frances P. (Mrs.), *Ohio.* — 2301 Wyo. Ave.
Bonner, Herbert C., *N.C* — Calvert-Woodley
Bow, Frank T., *Ohio* — 4301 Mass. Ave.
Brademas, John, *Ind*
Bray, William G., *Ind*
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Broyhill, Joel T., *Va*
Buchanan, John, *Ala*
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Burleson, Omar, *Tex* — 2601 Woodley Pl.
Burton, Laurence J., *Utah*
Burton, Phillip, *Calif*
Byrne, James A., *Pa*
Byrnes, John W., *Wis* — 1215 25th St. S., Arlington, Va.
Cabell, Earle, *Tex*
Cahill, William T., *N.J*
Callan, Clair, *Nebr* — 1200 S. Courthouse Rd., Arlington, Va.
Callaway, Howard H., *Ga*
Cameron, Ronald Brooks, *Calif.*
Carey, Hugh L., *N.Y*
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Clark, Frank M., *Pa* — 220 C St. SE.
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Clawson, Del, *Calif*
Cleveland, James C., *N.H*
Clevenger, Raymond F., *Mich.*
Cohelan, Jeffery, *Calif* — 1028 New House Office Building
Collier, Harold R., *Ill*
Colmer, William M., *Miss*
Conable, Barber B., Jr., *N.Y.*
Conte, Silvio O., *Mass* — 5619 Lamar Rd., Washington 16, D.C.
Conyers, John, Jr., *Mich*
Cooley, Harold D., *N.C* — 2601 Woodley Pl.
Corbett, Robert J., *Pa*
Corman, James C., *Calif*
Craley, N. Neiman, Jr., *Pa*
Cramer, William C., *Fla* — 6714 Joallen Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Culver, John C., *Iowa*
Cunningham, Glenn, *Nebr* — 4920 Yorktown Blvd., Arlington, Va.
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Dickinson, William L., *Ala*
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Dingell, John D., *Mich*
Dole, Robert, *Kans* — 6136 Beachway Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Donohue, Harold D., *Mass*
Dorn, W. J. Bryan, *S.C* — 2030 Laburnum St., McLean, Va.
Dow, John G., *N.Y*
Dowdy, John, *Tex*
Downing, Thomas N., *Va*
Dulski, Thaddeus J., *N.Y* — 1705 Longworth House Office Building
Duncan, John J., *Tenn*
Duncan, Robert B., *Oreg* — 914 Lakeview Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Dwyer, Florence P. (Mrs.), *N.J.*
Dyal, Ken W., *Calif*
Edmondson, Ed, *Okla*
Edwards, Don, *Calif*
Edwards, Jack, *Ala*
Ellsworth, Robert F., *Kans*
Erlenborn, John N., *Ill*
Evans, Frank E., *Colo*
Everett, Robert A., *Tenn*
Evins, Joe L., *Tenn* — 5044 Klingle St.
Fallon, George H., *Md*
Farbstein, Leonard, *N.Y*
Farnsley, Charles P., *Ky*
Farnum, Billie S., *Mich*
Fascell, Dante B., *Fla*
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Fino, Paul A., *N.Y*
Fisher, O. C., *Tex* — Calvert-Woodley
Flood, Daniel J., *Pa* — The Congressional
Flynt, John J., Jr., *Ga*
Fogarty, John E., *R.I* — 1235 New House Office Building
Foley, Thomas S., *Wash*
Ford, Gerald R., *Mich* — 514 Crown View Dr., Alexandria, Va.
Ford, William D., *Mich*
Fountain, L. H., *N.C* — The Westchester
Fraser, Donald M., *Minn*
Frelinghuysen, Peter H. B., *N.J.* — 3014 N St.
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Fulton, James G., *Pa*
Fulton, Richard, *Tenn*
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Giaimo, Robert N., *Conn*
Gibbons, Sam, *Fla*
Gilbert, Jacob H., *N.Y*
Gilligan, John J., *Ohio*
Gonzalez, Henry B., *Tex* — 200 C St. SE.
Goodell, Charles E., *N.Y* — 3842 Macomb St.
Grabowski, Bernard F., *Conn.*
Gray, Kenneth J., *Ill*
Green, Edith (Mrs.), *Oreg*
Green, William J., *Pa*
Greigg, Stanley L., *Iowa* — 301 G St. SW.
Grider, George W., *Tenn* — 119 7th St. SE.
Griffin, Robert P., *Mich*
Griffiths, Martha W. (Mrs.), *Mich.*
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Hagan, G. Elliott, *Ga*
Hagen, Harlan, *Calif*
Haley, James A., *Fla*
Hall, Durward G., *Mo*
Halleck, Charles A., *Ind* — 4926 Upton St.
Halpern, Seymour, *N.Y*
Hamilton, Lee H., *Ind*
Hanley, James M., *N.Y*
Hanna, Richard T., *Calif*
Hansen, George, *Idaho*
Hansen, John R., *Iowa* — 800 4th St. SW., Apt. S-701
Hansen, Julia Butler (Mrs.), *Wash.*
Hardy, Porter, Jr., *Va*
Harris, Oren, *Ark* — 1627 Myrtle St.
Harsha, William H., *Ohio*
Harvey, James, *Mich*
Harvey, Ralph, *Ind*
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Hawkins, Augustus F., *Calif.*
Hays, Wayne L., *Ohio* — 3424 Barger Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Hébert, F. Edward, *La* — 26 Cockrell St., Alexandria, Va.
Hechler, Ken, *W. Va*
Helstoski, Henry, *N.J*
Henderson, David N., *N.C*
Herlong, A. S., Jr., *Fla*
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Johnson, Albert W., *Pa*
Johnson, Harold T., *Calif*
Johnson, Jed, Jr., *Okla*
Jonas, Charles Raper, *N.C*
Jones, Paul C., *Mo* — 1111 Army-Navy Dr., Arlington, Va.
Jones, Robert E., *Ala*
Karsten, Frank M., *Mo*
Karth, Joseph E., *Minn*
Kastenmeier, Robert W., *Wis.*
Kee, James, *W. Va* — 5441 16th Ave., Hyattsville, Md.
Keith, Hastings, *Mass* — 5906 Harwick Rd.,
Kelly, Edna F. (Mrs.), *N.Y*
Keogh, Eugene J., *N.Y* — The Mayflower
King, Carleton J., *N.Y*
King, Cecil R., *Calif*
King, David S., *Utah*
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Kunkel, John C., *Pa*
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Landrum, Phil M., *Ga*
Langen, Odin, *Minn*
Latta, Delbert L., *Ohio*
Leggett, Robert L., *Calif*
Lennon, Alton, *N.C*
Lindsay, John V., *N.Y*

Appendix

Ceremony Honoring Veterans of the U.S. Ambulance Corps of World War I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, August 6, it was my distinct pleasure to attend the grand opening of the Allentown, Pa. fair and to introduce the main speaker at a ceremony honoring the veterans of the U.S. Ambulance Corps of World War I.

The speaker on this occasion was Maj. Gen. Eugene A. Salet, commandant of the U.S. Army War College at Carlisle, Pa. Aside from the excellence of his remarks, which was to be expected, I found General Salet to be among the most brilliant and genuinely dedicated men it has been my privilege to meet and know in recent years.

It is not necessary, of course, to praise the magnificent work that has been done for many years and continues to be done by the War College at Carlisle. This institution is among the most distinguished of its kind anywhere in the world. I can only add that the college—and the Nation—is fortunate, indeed, in having a man of General Salet's extraordinary abilities as its commandant.

There was ample reason for the Army's gesture in allowing General Salet to make the main address at this impressive and colorful ceremony. For the grounds occupied by the Allentown fair were once used as the training camp—Camp Crane—for the hundreds of devoted Americans who chose to serve overseas in the Ambulance Corps.

I want to say a personal word of gratitude of Mr. Ed Leidig, president of the Allentown fair, for arranging this notable tribute to a group of volunteers who served their Nation selflessly and, in many cases, with the last full measure of patriotic devotion. Mr. Leidig, in addition to managing the most successful and enjoyable fair in eastern America, has never been excelled as a dynamic contributor to the affairs of his community.

I hope that my colleagues will take a few moments to study the text of General Salet's fine address at the memorial to members of the U.S. Ambulance Corps. I include his remarks as a part of the record of these proceedings:

CEREMONY HONORING THE U.S. AMBULANCE SERVICE OF WORLD WAR I

(Remarks by Maj. Gen. Eugene A. Salet at the Allentown Fair, August 6, 1965)

I am particularly grateful to be with the citizens of Allentown, Lehigh County, and the many others here from eastern Pennsylvania and elsewhere for this fair opening today.

Such an occasion as this—when I see citizens taking time during the bustle and business of opening day to honor our veterans and, in particular here, to honor the memory of those who served in the U.S. Ambulance Corps during the First World War—demonstrates to me that true American citizenship and true American patriotism are very much alive in Pennsylvania. I have seen many such manifestations of strong patriotic feeling in the Keystone State since arriving at Carlisle Barracks over a year ago, and I commend you and the other citizens of this great Commonwealth for it—and for demonstrating it.

We honor here today the members—the veterans—of the U.S. Ambulance Corps because in a real sense, Camp Crane, which was located on these very grounds in 1917 and 1918, was its first real home. In addition to the assembling, organizing, training, and equipping the corps that took place here, Camp Crane is where much of the cohesiveness, the morale, and the esprit de corps for the U.S. Ambulance Corps was developed—or perhaps ingrained is a better word. And these are the things that, in large part, carried its members through many weeks and months of gallant service on the western front in France and also along the Italian front during World War I, carrying the wounded from the battlefields to hospitals behind the lines.

The Ambulance Corps needs no eulogy from me here today, or from any other man. It has written its own proud history in deed, in courage—and in service to our country. The chauffeurs, the mechanics, the privates, and sergeants, the officers—Americans from all walks of life—many of whom trained on this soil where we gather today, established a record of service that still stands as their real monument—and mere words spoken here can add little to it.

It is said that many of the early volunteer ambulance drivers, before the United States officially entered the war, were young men from colleges throughout our Nation. The desire of these young Americans to serve as volunteer drivers in support of the French became a veritable crusade on many of the college campuses of America back at that time. Some 325 men volunteered from Harvard University alone; 181 volunteered from Princeton University not far from here. Others came from the University of Pennsylvania. It was not long until 64 colleges and every State in the Union were represented in the more than 1,000 American volunteers, working through the American Red Cross, who had gone to help the French. Among these idealists of the early Ambulance Corps were some of the future great writers of later years—Ernest Hemingway who drove an ambulance on the Italian/Austrian Front, John Dos Passos, Robert Hillyer, William Seabrook, and others.

The historical accounts relate, too, how the citizens of Allentown opened their arms and their hearts to the men who trained here at Camp Crane in the later years of the war. Through the generous assistance of Mayor Reichenbach—your Allentown mayor at that time—and with the help of Allentown businessmen, groups of your citizens adopted one or more ambulance sections training at Camp Crane; befriended them, arranged entertainment for them; took them into their homes. The historical accounts further record that religious leaders of your city delivered sermons to their congregations asking that every young soldier who attended church on Sunday in uniform be invited to a home in Allentown for dinner. Allentown newspapers also editoralized to help Colonel Persons—the commander here at that time and the soldiers and their units stationed at Camp Crane—to make them welcome here.

This benevolent reception by Allentown citizens some 45 years ago did much to build this strong esprit and this high morale of the ambulance corps which I mentioned earlier. Their brotherly attitude is beautifully summarized by the following lovely thought:

"I shall not pass through this world but once. If, therefore, there be any kindness I can show or any good thing I can do, let me do it now; let me not defer it, nor neglect it, for I shall not pass this way again."

From this brief, backward glance at the U.S. Ambulance Corps and its members who trained at Camp Crane, and the record of the citizens of Allentown who supported them—we as Americans can draw several examples that stand out clear, and which we will do well to observe today—in 1965—as we face the challenges that confront our Nation in the turbulent real world of today. I would like to leave you with three of these examples in the remaining minutes here.

First, service. In plain talk, ladies and gentlemen, the record of the U.S. Ambulance Corps and the Red Cross volunteers who preceded them can be stated in one word—service. It is certainly the most descriptive term I can think of. If freedom and initiative are the heart of America—then service is the muscle. Let us not forget the service given to our country by these men we honor here. Their service is certainly a heroic chapter in the history of American humanitarianism. Let us, neither, forget the spirit of service by the citizens of Allentown toward these men in 1917 and 1918. We need service like this today to keep America strong; to help America preserve the freedom and dignity of mankind wherever it is threatened by the evil forces of despotism and materialism who seek to destroy it every hour of every day.

Next, sacrifice. Sacrifice is giving of one's self. I think the record of the Ambulance Corps abounds in sacrifice. Of these initial volunteers, 127 were killed in action either serving as ambulance drivers or subsequently as regular servicemen in combat units. Many more were wounded. Ernest Hemingway was himself wounded while driving an ambulance on the Italian front—receiving some 237 separate fragment wounds in the legs from a trench mortar. Hemingway was awarded the Italian War Cross with citation for his action where he carried a wounded Italian soldier some distance to the rear even after he himself was wounded. We see that the sacrifices made by the men of the Ambulance Corps are being made again today by other Americans scattered throughout the world, many of whom are manning that thin red line and are fighting in the cause of freedom and human dignity. These sacrifices should serve as examples to each one of us as we look and work toward the future—with greater sacrifice.

My final point is the importance of the community—citing in this example the importance of the Allentown community—to the overall success of the U.S. Ambulance Corps; but in a broad sense, the importance

of every community of these United States in the support of our great country. In the case of Allentown and Camp Crane, your citizens had a direct outlet where they could help the servicemen stationed here and, in a sense, could observe and measure the results of that help in the morale, the esprit, and even the efficiency and record established by the Ambulance Corps when it went into combat. These citizens realized that this road between the military community and civilian community was a two-way street; they insured that traffic moved easily in both directions. They realized full well that this was their Army.

Many other communities do not have such a direct or measurable outlet for their efforts, but there are many—I repeat, many—ways to serve. Our schools, our churches, our service clubs, our youth organizations—the YMCA, the YWCA, our boy and girl scouts—all need the full backing of their communities and the individual citizens in them, if they are to help keep America as the strong leader of the free world. The strength of our Nation stems from the grassroot strength of the thousands of communities such as this—and the millions of citizens who make them up and who support these United States.

As we open this fair today and honor the more than 20,000 members of the U.S. Ambulance Corps who trained at Camp Crane, and as we revere the memory of those in that group who have answered their final roll call, I would leave you then, with these three thoughts which I hope will serve well, the citizens of Allentown and the other communities represented here, as guidelines for the future: First, service, the muscle of America; second, sacrifice, the soul of America; and third, community action or, better perhaps, positive, aggressive citizenship in action, the pulse of America, as reflected by the citizens of Allentown four and a half decades ago.

In closing let me honor those men of the ambulance corps who gave their lives defending freedom, and defending our country, with the following lines by Laurence Binyon. They are taken from his poem, "For the Fallen":

"They went with songs to the battle, they were young, straight of limb, true of eye, steady and aglow.
They were stanch to the end against odds uncounted,
They fell with their faces to the foe.
They shall not grow old, as we that are left grow old;
Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn.
At the going down of the sun and in the morning—
We will remember them."

May I wish this fair and each of you here the best of success this year and in the years ahead.

Thank you.

Not Guilty, More or Less

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the attached article from the August 10 issue of the Richmond News Leader, which gives an object lesson on how to promote good government by registering illiterates.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Richmond News Leader, Aug. 10, 1965]

NOT GUILTY, MORE OR LESS

You will read a lot of law books, Algernon, before you will come across a jury trial quite like a jury trial just held in Collier County, Fla.

We get the tale from the Miami Herald. It appears that on on July 21, a white man named Thomas M. D'Andrea came on trial in the county court on a charge of "interfering with telephone service," in connection with the theft of $7,500 worth of telephone wire along the Tamiami Trail.

An all-Negro jury was impaneled, which seems a bit odd, for the county is only 15 percent colored, but that is what happened. The custom is for the names of jurors to be drawn from lists of registered voters. In Florida, voting registration requirements were changed a few years ago so as to do away with any form of literacy test.

The trial proceeded; the six-man jury retired to consider its verdict, and after 2 hours' deliberation returned to the courtroom. Clerk Margaret T. Scott read what had been handed her by the foreman, Melt Williams.

"Not guilty," she announced.

There came murmurs of protest from the jury box. Proceedings were suspended while State Attorney Frank Schaub conducted an investigation.

It turned out that Foreman Williams was illiterate, and could neither read nor write. He had placed his mark on a piece of paper handed him.

Another juror, Tom Jones, also was illiterate. "We were 2 to 4 for conviction," he said. "Then all six of us decided he was guilty as charged. When I heard the verdict, I was greatly surprised."

A third juror, however, one Warren E. Adkins, said, "We all decided he was not guilty."

A fourth juror, Alonzo Howard, said that he himself thought the defendant not guilty, but "We said to Melt Williams, 'do anything you want to.' I thought we found him guilty."

A fifth juror, Angus Lawson, Jr., said: "We decided he was innocent. At the end of the deliberations, confusion set in. We told Melt Williams to sign anything he wanted to. I do not know if he signed the 'guilty' or 'not guilty' verdict. I did not know he could not read or write."

The sixth juror is not quoted in the account at hand.

Melt Williams, the foreman, said no one ever elected him foreman. They all got to talking in the jury room, he said, and "some of the members said if we found this white man guilty, the judge would turn him loose, and he would come looking for us. I believe I was tricked. All five of the others decided he was guilty."

Mr. Schaub, the State Attorney, has moved to have the entire proceeding vacated and the case tried anew, but defense counsel understandably has objected on the grounds of double jeopardy.

Under the newly signed Voting Rights Act of 1965, literacy tests are banned in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and 34 counties of North Carolina. Doubtless this will improve the elective process. It would not do much for the jury system, either.

To Win in Vietnam: Gandhi's Grandson Urges "Ideological Escalation"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEC G. OLSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. OLSON of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, a recent copyrighted article written by Rajmohan Gandhi and distributed by the North American Newspaper Alliance came to my attention. I think the observations will be most interesting to the Members of this body. Gandhi is the grandson of two of India's greatest leaders—Mahatma Gandhi and Chakravarti Rajagopalacharia, the first Indian to become Governor-General of his country. At 29, Rajmohan Gandhi is a powerful voice among the younger Indians and is regarded by many as a possible future Prime Minister of India.

Gandhi's article represents a fine endorsement of President Johnson and free men's fight against tyrannical communism. I include the article at this point:

TO WIN IN VIETNAM

(By Rajmohan Gandhi)

NEW DELHI, August 7.—The recent bold announcement by President Johnson on Vietnam offers an opportunity for an Indian, proud of his country but also devoted to that mighty land of America, to speak his mind.

First let me say that the men and women of Asia who want liberty for their countries welcome America's courageous stand. I personally believe that, in defending freedom in Vietnam, America is also defending it in India, and for this reason:

Suppose we were to have a Communist regime in South Vietnam—or even the so-called Nationalist-Communist or Tito-style regime which certain powerful voices recommend, including most recently the former British Foreign Secretary Patrick Gordon-Walker speaking in West Virginia. I think it is impossible to prove that such a regime would in fact be independent of Peiping. But be that as it may, what happens to the other nations?

What happens to Thailand? Marshal Chen Yi, the Chinese Foreign Minister, spoke recently about soon "starting another Vietnam in Thailand." These are his openly proclaimed threats or promises, whichever way you look at it.

A TITOIST IRELAND?

If you have a Tito-style Communist regime in Vietnam, there will soon be a clamoring for the same kind of regime in Thailand. The next step is a Tito-style Communist regime in Malaysia, then the Philippines, then in Pakistan, then in Ceylon—finally in India. And so on until you recommend Tito-style Communist regimes for every country in Asia and Africa.

I wonder how Mr. Gordon-Walker would feel about a Tito-style Communist regime, say, in Ireland. I don't imagine he would feel too comfortable about it.

Certainly we in India would not be comfortable with a Tito-style Communist regime in Vietnam. Vietnam is the occasion, the point of contact for the great struggle between the Communist and non-Communist worlds. It could have been any other part of the world that symbolized that struggle. Today it happens to be Vietnam.

I believe a solution can still come to Vietnam. But it will require a radical change in the attitude of us all. The lesson which both we in India and you in America must learn is that you cannot win an ideological war without an ideology. It is a point that has got to be understood if there is to be any chance at all of winning the war out there.

PROBLEMS THE SAME

The problems of the Vietnamese are the same as the problems of all Asia and Africa, and in fact the whole world. They need economic progress. They need to learn to work hard, honestly, and unitedly. They need a stable, incorruptible leadership. They also need a fearless populace, who will not be terrorized by the Vietcong or lured by the blandishments of the Communists. They need a solution for the divisions between the Buddhist and the Catholics. They need an ideology which can unite all the different tribes, castes, racial, and political groups in a common goal.

DIEM KNEW THE NEED

The late President of South Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem, felt that only a revolution of character, and a resurgence of patriotism and faith, could bring the unity, incorruptibility and fearlessness before Communist threats and pressures that his country needed. Some time before he died, he requested me and my friends to help him "saturate Vietnam with a moral ideology." For various reasons he was stopped. Before he could proceed with his program, his regime was destroyed.

I thank God for the military strength of America, and for the economic aid which you have so long and so generously poured out for us in Asia—sometimes, I fear, without the appreciation you deserve. But no amount of either military or economic strength can, in itself, make up for ideological weakness.

America is constantly being faced with the dilemma—soft line or hard line, negotiations or war. Some say there should be more bombing in order to win the battle, but haven't a plan to win over the enemy after the battle is won. Others say we must go to the conference table, but haven't the slightest idea what to do when we meet the enemy face to face. They have no more conception of how the Vietcong or the North Vietnamese can be influenced and changed than they have of how the South Vietnamese can be united for the fight.

WHAT IS OUR PLAN?

If, however, America were to initiate an ideological escalation in Vietnam and throughout Asia, a final victory for freedom and justice would be assured, and every human need across that vast continent met.

Look at a map of Asia. Vietnam is only one country. There is also Thailand, Taiwan, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Ceylon, Pakistan, India, Japan, Korea, Hong Kong. What is our plan for these nations while the Communists carry out their plan for Vietnam? In several of them an ideological awakening, based on the revolutionary principles which gave America birth, has already made a substantial penetration. Why should not this country plan to capture all of them with it?

Such an ideological offensive would produce disarray in Chinese ranks. It would produce instability and insecurity inside China and North Vietnam, but it would produce unity and strength inside Saigon and South Vietnam. If only the non-Communist world understood this simple point.

Look at Indonesia. The Indonesians don't make a move without consulting the leaders of Peiping. Yet Indonesia can be won. There are thousands of Indonesian students in Australia, Japan, and the Philippines. Can we not train them and send them back? One of the major aims of the free world in Asia should be to invade Indonesia ideologically.

HOPE FOR THE ENSLAVED

Suppose in Malaysia you succeeded in welding Malays, Chinese, and Indians into a strong, stable nation, creating there the launching pad for a militant moral ideology reaching into Indonesia and the whole of southeast Asia? Suppose you did that also in Thailand, before Chen Yi starts his activities? Suppose you did the same in Taiwan, and in Japan? The news would reach Peiping instantly and the people of China would take hope.

Frankly, China is far more important than Vietnam. We are straining every nerve to resolve Vietnam, but we need to plan at the same time how to change China.

Many take it for granted that China and Russia will stay Communist. I don't. I believe communism in China and Russia can be superseded provided we of the non-Communist world, while matching them in the military field, resolve to more than match them in the decisive field of ideology. If Americans will lead us in this task, they will do for the world what Washington and Lincoln once did for the American Republic, and they will find all patriotic, freedom-loving Asians at their side.

Alliance for Progress Aids Both Latin America and American Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the Alliance for Progress, an office within the U.S. Agency for International Development, is a unique program in our international policy. Through this program, we are not only helping various Latin American countries to help themselves, but we are doing so in a way that private American businesses are participating, aiding and benefiting also. By coordinating an American "partner" with their talent, energy, and resources with a Latin American country which needs their assistance, we are truly creating partnerships—not handouts.

To demonstrate the work which this program is accomplishing, I ask unanimous consent that the article "A Hand, Not a Handout," printed on pages 2–4 of the July 12, 1965, issue of International Commerce, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A HAND, NOT A HANDOUT—PARTNERS OF ALLIANCE PROGRAM PROVIDES TWO-WAY CHANNEL FOR MEANINGFUL CONTACTS BETWEEN PRIVATE GROUPS IN UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICA

You too can be a companero—it just means partner, but somehow it sounds more dashing in Spanish. The Companeros de la Alianza (Partners of the Alliance) program provides channels through which civic clubs, unions, business and professional groups, and even private individuals in the United States can work directly with similar Latin American groups which have demonstrated their ability and determination to make a better way of life for themselves.

The U.S. participation in the Alliance for Progress is only partially fulfilled through official government-to-government programs. The direct participation of the people of the United States with the people of the various Latin American countries is an essential element to the success of the Alliance.

While many areas of close cooperation continue to flourish between governments, and between private and institutional organizations, direct individual or community activities has only just begun.

Efforts made by sincere citizens responding to the human needs of the Alliance frequently have been misdirected, or at best, uncoordinated.

The Partners of the Alliance, an office within the U.S. Agency for International Development, has been organized to respond to and coordinate the direct assistance activity between those in the United States who wish to help and those in Latin America who need help.

It helps coordinate the organizational talent, energies, and resources of the U.S. private sector with the administrative experience of the Agency for International Development to provide assistance for specified self-help projects.

The program is designed to respond to specific efforts of villages or slum organizations in meeting a productive need when there has been a demonstration of self-help interest. Most of the items needed are available in the country (and about 90 percent are U.S.-produced items) and in the interests of speedy response and simplified administrative handling, the funds are generally sent directly to the man designated in each American Embassy to be the partners' program representative.

BUSY FELLOW

He sees that the materials are properly purchased and delivered to the partnership village or association. He also arranges, where possible, for pictures of the project to send to the U.S. partner.

In some States the organization may involve only a part of the State * * * with a view toward expanding to a statewide program at a later date. These committees are the "receivers" of specific projects from specific villages or organizations in a specific country. These projects are then "retailed" out to the various civic clubs, high school and university student groups, trade associations, leagues and organizations which finance the respective projects as its contribution to the cause of economic and social development in the hemisphere.

BIT BY BIT

The emphasis is on small-impact projects ranging in cost from a few dollars up to the neighborhood of $1,000. The program's founders hope that a steadily mounting volume of small projects attacking the whole spectrum of grassroots needs, will, like a swarm of ants, eventually take enough tiny bites out of the massive body of Latin American poverty so that the whole structure crumbles.

Typical projects have included:

Furnishing a small generator to provide light for a village's night school course teaching adults how to read; cost $125 to $140 (including air freight costs from the United States.)

A pump to lift the water out of a well which villagers have already dug to serve their self-made community center; cost $285.

A Texas labor organization supplying the funds to buy picks, shovels and wheelbarrows with which farmer in a remote mountain area of Peru built themselves a road connecting their village with a nearby highway.

Providing the cost of doors and windows after the villagers have built their own school; cost $150 to $350, depending on the size of the school.

Notice that in each case the projects were conceived and largely finished through local

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enterprise. All the respective partners of the Alliance had to do was furnish a relatively small boost to push the projects over the top.

The Partners of the Alliance staff serves as a catalyst, helping individuals and groups to turn their good intentions into concrete actions.

The initiative for forming a partnership can come from any source, even a private individual. To date such varied agencies as the Mobile (Ala.) Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Richmond League of Women Voters, the Colorado Society of Engineers, a group of businessmen in the University of Indiana's executive development program, the Wisconsin Electric Cooperative, and the superintendent of the Lane County (Oreg.) School System have launched their State's participation in the program.

At the Latin American end, AID mission members bring the partners program to the attention of local leaders who, if they feel their area could benefit from it, request the Alliance for Progress headquarters to find a suitable partner for them. Partners for the Alliance personnel then try to match them up with a State or area in the United States which is similar economically and physically, and has requested a Latin partner.

The forms which the partnerships may take can be equally diverse, since the local groups are encouraged to work out their programs themselves, with a minimum of reliance on either of their governments. Most often the relationships have resulted in exchanges of visits by groups of civic, business, and educational leaders to discover which cooperative efforts would have the greatest impact.

The program is most emphatically intended to be a two-way street, of mutual benefit to both parties.

NOT A HANDOUT PROGRAM

This is not a program through which a city or a State "adopts" a Latin American state or city. It is a partnership program designed to help people help themselves. It is not a patronizing or handout approach. It is not an "old clothes" charity program—it is a direct alliance between a U.S. group and a Latin American group to work toward the establishment of a lasting neighborhood relationship outside official channels.

Significantly, such relationships can provide two-way benefits outside the purely ideological and humanitarian aspects. Some years ago the tomato industry in Utah was seriously threatened by the appearance of a leaf blight. A resistant strain was found in Bolivia which saved an industry which was important to the economy of Utah. The current "Partners of the Alliance" relationship between Utah and Bolivia contemplates financing the shipment to Bolivia of tomato-canning equipment donated by industries in various areas of the United States.

Michigan's Oakland County Partners of the Alliance Committee, has sent an expert in municipal administration to act as an advisor in the Colombian State of Valle del Cauca. His assignment is the first phase of an extensive program for a continuing two-way direct-assistance alliance between the two communities.

In Oregon, 15 public school districts and Costa Rica have been linked in a double-pronged program providing in-service training for Costa Rican public school administrators and teachers, while at the same time affording Oregon schools the opportunity to utilize the Costa Ricans as experts in Spanish language programs and Latin American Social Studies activities.

James H. Boren, special assistant to the Coordinator of the Alliance for Progress, dreamed up the idea for the Partners of the Alliance while serving as director of the AID Mission in Peru. He says he's delighted with the 1-year-old program's record to date.

"Basically the initial phases of the program were rather spectacular," he says. "The performance to date reflects the tremendous latent interest in hemispheric development. People have long had an interest in this sort of thing, and the Partners of the Alliance has finally given them a means of translating their interest into meaningful activity." It shows that people will respond if they are presented with a program that makes sense to them.

WORKS BOTH WAYS

"I can't stress the partnership angle too strongly," said Mr. Boren. "These arrangements are definitely two-way streets. Once we've made the initial contact for them, we rely on the partners themselves to figure out ways they can both benefit from the tie-up."

Mr. Boren spends a great deal of his time traveling throughout the United States and Latin America, explaining the program to interested groups. "We like to get representatives from the entire cross-section of a community's life: economic, civic, educational. If, after we've made our presentation, they are interested, we can sit right down and begin talking business."

When in Washington, Mr. Boren can be located in room 2911 of the New State Department. Phone: Area code 202, DUdley 3-7444.

Marines in "New War" Make Friends by Day, Kill Reds at Night

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, there appears to be a concerted and vicious campaign in certain newspapers to portray our gallant soldiers and marines on duty in Vietnam as cruel sadistic conquerors whose only mission is to destroy villages and helpless civilians. I resent such false implications and applaud the servicemen who are risking their lives in the mud and jungle heat to help defend liberty. Following are two recent news items from the San Diego Union, which refute the false propaganda:

[From the San Diego Union, Aug. 9, 1965]

MARINES IN "NEW" WAR—MAKE FRIENDS BY DAY, KILL REDS AT NIGHT

(By Robert C. Miller)

QUI NHON, VIETNAM.—The marines have brought a new kind of war to Vietnam.

They are meeting the Vietcong on their own terms here in the hot, dusty, coastal hills of Binh Dinh province, 275 miles northeast of Saigon.

The unique policy of the 2d Battalion of the 7th Marines is to kill the Vietnamese people with kindness during the day, and kill the Vietcong with bullets at night.

Like the Communists, they disappear into the jungled hills during the night, move about Indian style, set up ambushes, listening posts, and checkpoints everywhere but where they are expected.

NEW TACTIC

Nobody has fought the Communists like this around here before.

There are no PX's out here in these mountains and valleys.

Sometimes there isn't even any food, but there is plenty of ammunition, firepower, helicopters, and artillery. There is a shortage of water, but an abundance of strong backs.

There is no beer—either iced or warm—but there are gallons of sweat. There are no beds, bunks, sheets, or pillowcases, but how one can sleep with exhaustion as a sedative. The only people who live more primitively than these marines are Australian aborigines—or maybe the Vietcong.

There is Hotel Company, which has hidden by day and scrambled the hills by night for nights on end with talk restricted to whispers, and smoking forbidden.

There is Echo Company, which has been roosting atop a 1,500-foot ridge for days, living in holes, eating mainly crackers and scouring the area for action.

During the daylight hours it is a different story. The marines, big tanks snort and grind up and down the roads.

Baseball games are played on the world's dustiest fields. Helmeted patrols slouch along highways and by-ways with their shiny, well-oiled weapons a screaming contrast to the stinking, sweat-soaked, dust-caked clothes they wear.

DISPENSE RATIONS

Wherever there are people, there are friendly marines passing out "C" rations, plastic spoons, chocolate and gum. Any marine could be elected mayor of any village here if the voting age was limited to 10 years.

In villages like Phu Tai and Cu Mong, deserted for years because of Vietcong terror, the marines have set up free hospital facilities and rice kitchens to help old residents who are drifting back to their homes.

Come nightfall, however, the marines disappear, just like the Vietcong.

Never are the outposts planted in the same place twice. Never do the lookouts give the Reds a permanent target.

Sometimes they are on the ground, sometimes they are high in the trees, tied up there all night, watching and waiting for their enemy.

The battalion commander, Lt. Col. Leon Utter, has one inviolable rule:

The patrols stay out all night whether two, three, four men or a squad. Their firepower is quadruple that of the Vietcong, and, says Utter, "they're four times better men."

NO CASUALTIES

There have been dozens of skirmishes with the elusive enemy since the marines took over early in July. Every one has been a one-sided affair with no serious marine casualties.

Already five Vietcong suspects have deserted and come over voluntarily to the marines, bringing with them a wealth of intelligence, and each reports the same thing: frustration by the local Red leaders and growing dissension in the ranks.

They have chased the Vietcong out of areas they have considered theirs for years. The Reds have lost face, the populace is watching them. The "soft," "imperialistic" Americans, the "paper tigers," have turned out to be smiling heavy-muscled youngsters who thrive like prairie dogs in the hot, baked earth, oblivious to dust, thirst, hunger, and danger.

[From the San Diego Union, Aug. 9, 1965]

BACK FROM VIETNAM—COMMANDER LAUDS MARINE BATTALION

(By Frank Exarhos)

Pride and satisfaction battled against weariness in the expression of Lt. Col. Charles E. McPartlin as he watched the marines in his battalion disembark yesterday at Broadway pier.

He was proud and satisfied because, as he put it, "I've never seen such spirit; you just can't get them down."

He was weary because the battalion had been a combat unit in South Vietnam since March.

"I can't say enough for them," he said yesterday. "They've had one of the hardest tours of any battalion in the Far East but they held up wonderfully."

"They had good training and they were young and eager. They did fine."

The average age of the Leathernecks in the battalion, which was one of the first combat units to land in Vietnam, is 20 years.

The unit was part of the 9th Marine Expeditionary Brigade which landed at Da Nang in March. It has been redesignated as the 2d Battalion of the 5th Marine Regiment and will rejoin the 1st Marine Division at Camp Pendleton.

"First we're going to give them 30 days' leave," McPartlin said.

"O r there you don't know for sure who your enemy is, and you can't just go out and shoot everyone."

He said the marines chiefly fought guerrillas. He termed them "tough, good, but not as good as people make them out to be."

The marines had trouble with the heat and with mosquitoes, he said, when they first went ashore but soon adjusted.

"The battalion was hit by Vietcong on its third day ashore, but lost no men", McPartlin said. He made no estimate of casualties inflicted on the Communist forces.

"They're pretty good at snatching their wounded and dead," he said, "We'd find bloodstains but few bodies, so we could only guess."

McPartlin was asked if 125,000 U.S. troops will be enough in Vietnam.

"I don't think so," he replied, "It's hard to make an estimate. It's going to take a lot of men to isolate the Vietcong from their bases of supply."

He said Vietnamese marines who worked with the battalion at Da Nang were outstanding.

"We didn't have any problems."

The graying veteran of 33 years' service in the Marine Corps, which included World War II and Korea, commented again on the morale of the men in the battalion.

"This welcome today is wonderful," he said, "Over there they'd read about the demonstrations against what they were doing.

"They couldn't understand why any red-blooded American wouldn't back them. They want the wholehearted support of the people."

Periodontal Disease in Developing Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, periodontal disease is an inflammation of the gums which is extremely prevalent, in fact, virtually universal, in underdeveloped areas of Africa and Asia. In Vietnam, for instance, it affects 8 out of 10 adults in the prime of life. Now, when the United States and the United Nations are making an effort to improve the health standard in the developing nations, this area of health cannot be neglected.

Harold S. Sinrod, a dentist in Bethesda, Md., has written an article in the July issue of Science magazine on periodontal disease and made a suggestion for its elimination in the developing nations. I ask unanimous consent that it be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PERIODONTAL DISEASE IN DEVELOPING NATIONS—A DEBILITATING DENTAL PROBLEM WHICH AFFECTS MILLIONS SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN PUBLIC HEALTH PROGRAMS ABROAD

(By Harold S. Sinrod)

(NOTE.—The author practices dentistry at 6124 River Road, Bethesda, Md. In 1955 and 1956 he was oral surgeon, and in 1957 chief of the dental service, at the U.S. Army 2d Field Hospital, Munich, Germany.)

Recent surveys conducted by the U.S. Interdepartmental Committee on Nutrition for National Defense have demonstrated rather conclusively that one of the most neglected health problems facing the people of Asian and African countries studied is periodontal disease.

This disease is a complex inflammation of the supporting tissues of the teeth which usually first manifests itself in the marginal gingival areas of the dental arch. Eventually the underlying alveolar bone around the roots of the teeth is destroyed and the teeth involved must be removed to relieve the patient's suffering.

When a disease of any kind affects the health, comfort, and personal dignity of 8 out of 10 adults in the prime of life, as it does in Vietnam, for example,[1] it presents the nation concerned with a problem of such proportions, that our failure to provide some sort of assistance is difficult to understand. The fact remains, however, that in most instances, dental health is completely ignored even in those countries where public health programs are underway.

The purpose of this paper is to shed more light on the problem of periodontal disease in the less-developed areas of the world and, more important, to propose a program for prevention and treatment that would rapidly effect a large measure of control where today none exists. This plan need not be costly, especially when compared with expenditures for other programs that do not have the same widespread potential impact at the grassroots level that a dental health program would have.

Surveys by the U.S. Interdepartmental Committee on Nutrition for National Defense (ICNND) have demonstrated rather convincingly that tooth decay is a surprisingly insignificant factor in the underdeveloped nations. For example, in Ethiopia, 77 percent of the people examined were totally free of caries and those under 40 years of age averaged less than one DMF (decayed, missing, or filled) tooth per person.[2] In Vietnam, the ICNND team discovered only a slightly higher incidence of decay than in Ethiopia[3] and concluded that the need for treatment of caries in this area of the world is very small at present.[1] Again, in Thailand, ICNND found tooth decay practically nonexistent, with an average of 0.13 decayed, missing, or filled tooth for the 0- to 9-year age group; 0.71 for the 10- to 19-year age group; and 0.84 for the 20- to 29-year age group.[2]

The same surveys, however, revealed a shockingly high incidence of periodontal disease in these countries. In Ethiopia, periodontal disease was found to be widespread and severe after age 30.[3] In Vietnam, 30 percent of the people were found to have the disease in advanced stages by the age of 25 to 29, and 84 percent were so afflicted at age 50 or over.[1] Only 9 percent of the people examined in Vietnam over the age of 10 were free of the disease; field workers from the U.S. National Institute of Dental Research commented that they had never observed such a high incidence of periodontal disease as in this country.[1] In Thailand, where tooth decay is practically nonexistent, the surveys showed that, by the age of 44, 75 percent of the people are afflicted with severe irreparable damage due to periodontal disease.[3]

Similarly, studies in India[4] have revealed that over 80 percent of the children in certain areas suffer from periodontal disease severe enough to involve alveolar bone loss in many of the 12-to-16-year-olds studied and in almost all of those over the age of 16.[4] The Chief Minister of Mysore, S. B. D. Jatti, said in 1959[5]:

"It was discovered that the high prevalence of periodontal disease in children is almost 80 percent. This shows the magnitude of the problem we have to face. The children who form the life-blood of the country cannot on any account be neglected * * *. Even when they grow to manhood they suffer from periodontal disease and its attendant complications. They lose teeth and get old prematurely. The longevity of life is shortened and their working capacity too is lessened. We must have real teeth up to ripe old age."

A. L. Russell, chief of the Epidemiology and Biometry Branch of the National Institute of Dental Research, and recently chairman of the World Health Organization's Expert Committee on Dental Health, which reported on periodontal disease, stated in an interview that local factors, primarily calculus (a hard irritating deposit of the saliva which forms on the teeth) and poor oral hygiene, are the "overwhelming" causative factors observed by the ICNND survey teams.[6] Proof of this contention was demonstrated in Ethiopia, where the ICNND group reported that the extent of the calculus deposits was directly related to the condition of the periodontal tissues, abundant deposits of calculus and food debris having been observed in virtually all mouths examined.[2] There was much less evidence of periodontal disease in groups of patients with small amounts of calculus or debris, whereas it was present in more advanced stages in groups with heavy calculus and debris.[7] In Vietnam, heavy deposits of calculus were present in the mouths of nearly every person aged 12 or older.[2]

Furthermore, of Vietnamese soldiers who had the benefit of regular prophylaxis and who had been taught the techniques and benefits of good oral hygiene, only 20 percent suffered from periodontal disease, whereas their civilian counterparts had a 41-percent disease rate.[1] Again, in Thailand, ICNND found a significant difference in the disease rate of military and civilian males. At an average age of 33, only 20 percent of the military as opposed to 50 percent of the civilians were afflicted with periodontal disease.[3] These significant findings provide strong support for the effectiveness of simple calculus removal and improved oral hygiene in the treatment and control of periodontal disease in an affected population.

In view of the critical shortage of dentists in these countries, the problem seems at first glance to defy solution. In Afghanistan, for example, there are only 57 dentists in a population of 13 million people, or 1 for every 228,000 people.[8] In Vietnam, there are 74 dentists for 12.6 million people, or 1 for 170,300 people.[8] In Thailand, there are 232 dentists for 21 million citizens, with a ratio of 1 dentist to 92,600 people.[8] Similarly, India has 3,681 dentists for 397 million people, or 1 dentist for every 108,000 people. Compare these figures with the ratio in the United States of 1 dentist per 1,700 people. It is readily apparent that unless a radical new approach is taken in prevention and treatment of this disease, it will continue unchecked.

SCARCITY OF DENTISTS

In the past, the United States has brought a handful of dentists to this country for advanced training in our modern dental

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Footnotes at end of speech.

LIBRARIES

techniques. Too many of these dentists return to the metropolitan areas of their respective countries and practice high-class dentistry for their own upper-class countrymen and the international set. Meanwhile, the great masses of the people receive no professional care at all, while they suffer much dental misery. It is obvious that these millions cannot wait while a handful of students are trained for 5 to 8 years, as dentists are in the technologically advanced countries of the world. The needs are different, and a new approach must be taken.

I propose that semiliterate individuals, if necessary, could be trained to perform a useful service in the prevention of periodontal disease. Techniques for calculus removal and for demonstration of good oral-hygiene procedures, in my opinion, could be taught in a short period of time to large numbers of people. These people, citizens of the country in question, working under a well-supervised program, could perform a substantial amount of preventive dentistry in the fight against periodontal disease. We must make this rather sharp departure from traditional dental education in certain areas of Africa and southeast Asia or no gains will be made in the dental health of the average citizen for many decades, if ever.

I believe that the dental aids prepared by this program could be trained in a short time (4 to 6 months) to satisfactorily remove calculus, perform simple extractions, and disseminate information on oral hygiene. After 6 months of work in the field under direct and constant supervision by fully trained dentists, the dental aid would be sent back to his village to care for the most pressing dental needs of his neighbors. He would institute a program aimed at the prevention and control of periodontal disease by regularly removing the calculus and oral debris of those in his village. In addition, he would demonstrate the oral-hygiene techniques which are so important for the prevention of periodontal disease. To relieve the suffering of those already victims of advanced periodontal disease, the aid would be able to perform simple extractions painlessly, using local anesthetics.

Another possibility would be to send dental aids, working in pairs, on a prearranged route through a large area of the countryside, where they would spend several days in each village in their zone and thus treat a large percentage of the people at least once a year. At these cleaning sessions, the importance of dental health and good oral hygiene would be emphasized, and perhaps some informative literature and descriptive posters distributed. Toothbrush technique would be demonstrated. The ICNND report on Vietnam[1] hinted at this approach when it stated:

"In view of the magnitude of the peridontal disease problem among the people of Vietnam, serious consideration should be given to the training and use of dental assistants in scaling and cleaning of the teeth."

A TRAINING CURRICULUM

The training of the dental aids should be simple and radically brief compared to previous standards. Since these aids will only remove calculus and oral debris with hand instruments and perform simple tooth extractions, 4 to 6 months of intensive training should be sufficient.

The curriculum I suggest for this "short course" for dental aids is as follows:

1. Elementary instruction in the function and structure of the mouth.
2. Instruction in techniques for sterilization of instruments.
3. Elementary instruction in recognition of severe oral diseases which should be referred to supervising dentist.
4. Thorough instruction and clinical practice in the technique of calculus removal.
5. Instruction in administration of local anesthetics.
6. Instruction in methods for the control of bleeding and infection.
7. Instruction and practice in the technique of simple tooth extraction.
8. Instruction in the importance of dental health and the preventive techniques of good oral hygiene.

In order to rapidly develop a more comprehensive dental program, it is recommended that the outstanding dental aids, after a period of service, be eligible for advanced training of 18 months duration which would equip them to handle more complicated oral surgery. They would also be trained thoroughly in the techniques of prosthetic dentistry so they could provide replacement teeth for victims of incurable periodontal disease.

It is possible to project this program into the future. As time goes by, the dental education of the public will create an appreciation of good dental health and, consequently, a demand for complete dental care that does not exist now; there will then be a need for thoroughly trained general dentists. An advanced dental aid who performed his duties outstandingly could qualify for the highest level of training—a 3-year course in general dentistry. These dentists would be trained to provide complete dental service, including the restoration of decayed teeth, and some would be prepared to administer and supervise the continuing dental-aid program.

This opportunity for advancement from one level to another in the dental-health program provides a built-in inducement for outstanding performance, because this is an unusual chance for a person in these countries to advance quickly to the relatively high status of a professional.

Before an interested country could undertake a program of this type, a careful survey similar to those conducted by the ICNND team would be required in order to estimate accurately the extent and relative severity of the periodontal problem. It would then be possible to estimate the number of dental aids and professional supervisory personnel required to meet the needs of the country in question. The survey would also make it possible to estimate the cost of the program.

The dental aid program should be directed by dentists, since they have the knowledge and experience required to administer such a program. It has been proven in the past, notably in the U.S. Armed Forces, that a dental health service cannot be directed effectively by nondental personnel.

I suggest that a pilot project be arranged in an interested country to test the efficiency of a program of this type under actual field conditions. The experienced survey team of the National Institute of Dental Research could estimate the periodontal conditions and personnel required, and volunteer dentists from other countries could work closely with the dentists of the country to establish the training program and field operation of the dental aids. At the end of a year, the survey team could examine the patients treated and compare the findings for these patients with those for a control group. I think that the improvement in the treated group would be marked, even in this short period of time.

If, because of a lack of administrative talent or the necessary funds, it is not possible for an interested country to implement a full-scale dental aid program, a program for the control of periodontal disease could be incorporated into a public health or community nurse program, where one is in existence or being developed. Dental aid training, including training in exodontia for the relief of pain, under the supervision of a dentist, would be included in the curriculum of the public health officer or nurse. The public health officer, when on assignment in the rural clinics of his country, would in turn train a dental aid to work in his clinic. If no such trainee is available, the nurse would give occasional demonstrations of oral hygiene to the people in the area, in addition to performing the vital function of extracting painful teeth. Obviously, the public health officer would be so burdened with other community health problems that a true preventive dental program would stand little chance. However, public health officers would be made aware of the dental problems existing in their districts, and a start would be made in the right direction.

The assistance of the more fortunate countries of the world should be extended to every need—there should be no blind spots.

SUMMARY

Periodontal disease is a great and as yet untreated problem in developing countries. The vast majority of the people whom we are trying to help in other ways suffer from this disease. They do not ask for help in this area because in most cases they are not aware that anything can be done about it. We must educate them to the full significance of this disease and help them eradicate it. Although the number of dentists in these countries is inadequate to cope with the problem, a program in which dental aids are trained in techniques for prevention and control of periodontal disease could help remedy the situation rapidly and economically.

When a disease affects the day-to-day comfort and physical well-being of men, women, and children in countries around the world, its treatment should be given top priority by those who are responsible for the dispersal of this aid. To those people at the grassroots level who receive and benefit from this most personal type of assistance, the ability to eat a meal without pain, to swallow a morsel of food well-chewed, hence escaping indigestion, and to avoid the embarrassment of premature tooth loss, could make this program one of the most appreciated aspects of the entire aid program to the emerging nations.

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[1] "Nutrition Survey, Republic of Vietnam" (Interdepartmental Committee on Nutrition for National Defense, Bethesda, Md., July 1960).

[2] A. L. Russell, N. W. Littleton, E. C. Leatherwood, G. E. Sydow, J. C. Greene, "Public Health Reports." U.S. 75, 717 (1960).

[3] "Nutrition Survey, The Kingdom of Thailand" (Interdepartmental Committee on Nutrition for National Defense, Bethesda, Md., February 1962).

[4] W. C. Allright, R. J. S. Tickle, S. Matsumiya, Int. Dental J. 10, 327 (1960).

[5] S. B. D. Jatti, J. All-India Dental Association 31, 39 (May 1959).

[6] A. L. Russell, personal communication.

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Effect of the Social Security Increase on Veterans' Pensions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, much concern has been expressed about the effect of the recent social security increase on pensions payable to veterans

and the widows of veterans. To thoroughly understand the problem it should be noted that pensions are payable to wartime veterans for non-service-connected disability and to widows of veterans who died from non-service-connected causes, on the basis of financial need as prescribed in the pension laws.

Financial need is determined by the amount of the annual income of the veteran or widow exclusive of the pension paid by the Veterans' Administration. It is the theory of the pension law that a dollar of income, regardless of its source, reduces financial need. There are some exceptions as set out in 38 United States Code 503, but these exceptions have been carefully considered and support rather than destroy the theory that all real income, regardless of its source, should be counted in the determination of financial need.

Congress amended the disability and death pension laws by Public Law 88–664, which became effective January 1, 1965. At the time this legislation was under consideration in the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, the House had already passed a bill granting a 5-percent increase in social security payments and this bill was pending in the Senate where it was amended to provide for a 7-percent increase.

Social security payments, the same as payments received from any retirement program, constitute real income, and have always been considered as income in the determination of annual income for pension purposes. However, in the 88th Congress much concern was expressed because of the fact that the contemplated increase in social security payments would cause the pensions of some veterans and widows to be reduced or terminated. For this reason Public Law 88–664 provided that 10 percent of all payments to an individual under any public or private retirement program, including social security, would be exempt from the computation of income for pension purposes. The bill, which became Public Law 88–664, was reported by the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs on August 5, 1964. The report accompanying that bill explains the 10 percent exclusion provision and in this connection states:

> Obviously, this would permit thousands of individuals who are receiving social security payments and who are on the borderline of the income limitations of the pension law enjoy the increase in social security benefits recently voted by the House of Representatives and at the same time continue to receive their non-service-connected pension. It should be crystal clear that this 10-percent exclusion would more than compensate for the recently House-approved measure (H.R. 11865) granting a 5-percent increase in social security payments, thus making certain that no veteran, widow, or child receiving a pension under the provisions of Public Law 86–211 would be adversely affected as a result of having an increase in income attributable to the social security increase.

It is clear that the 10-percent exclusion which became effective January 1, 1965, was enacted to prevent the reduction or termination of the pension of any veteran or widow of a veteran because of an increase in social security payments. The 89th Congress has recently enacted a social security increase of 7 percent. It is obvious that the 10-percent exclusion exceeds the 7-percent increase. Therefore no pension will be reduced or terminated by the 7-percent social security increase unless the pension was increased or entitlement incurred because of the 10-percent exclusion, effective January 1, 1965. The fact that the 10-percent exclusion became effective before the social security increase enabled some persons to receive a pension or increased rates of pension they were not intended to have. For example, a single veteran who had, during 1964, a total annual income of $650 from retirement income could exclude 10 percent or $65, effective January 1, 1965. This would reduce the veteran's income for pension purposes below $600 so that he would have been entitled to receive the maximum pension rate. The recently enacted 7-percent increase would result in an annual income of $630.50 and therefore place the veteran in the same income category as before the 10 percent was enacted.

A Day in the Life of a Builder

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, on July 25, Archbishop Thomas A. Boland celebrated the 25th anniversary of his consecration as a bishop. During his quarter century of service to the church and community Archbishop Boland has inspired men of all faiths. His jurisdiction extends over one and a half million Roman Catholics. During the 8-year period from 1953–61 he established no less than 11 new parishes.

An editorial appeared in the July 24 edition of the Bergen Evening Record which sets forth some of the archbishop's accomplishments. I join with the other citizens of my own State as well as countless other Americans in paying tribute to this religious leader. I therefore ask that this editorial be printed at this point in the Appendix.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF A BUILDER

Archbishop Thomas A. Boland will celebrate the 25th anniversary of his consecration as a bishop tomorrow, and perhaps the occasion will do as well as any for the whole of the community to congratulate this priest who has done more than any other one man over these past two decades to shape religious life in north Jersey. As bishop of the Paterson Diocese (1947–52) and archbishop of the Newark Archdiocese (1952—) he has been spiritual leader of Roman Catholics of seven counties—Passaic, Sussex, Morris, Bergen, Hudson, Essex, and Union. As Newark archbishop he is ruling ordinary of a million and a half Catholics, the fifth largest archdiocese in the Nation. This means, in Bergen for instance, that he has appointed most of the priests who lead some 300,000 Catholics; he has approved plans for their buildings—churches, schools, rectories, and convents—whose costs have run into the millions; he has set guidelines for their liturgical worship, religious discipline, and educational, social, and economic programs. In the period from 1953 to 1961 he created new parishes in Glen Rock, New Milford, Paramus, Saddle River, Allendale, Midland Park, Old Tappan, Washington Township, Oakland, Franklin Lakes, and Upper Saddle River. During this building explosion and until the opening of the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council in Rome (he has attended every working session) it seemed as if he was in Bergen County every weekend, breaking ground, laying cornerstones, dedicating new buildings. Now more than 300,000 children, including 50,000 in Bergen, attend parochial schools in his archdiocese. It is impossible to estimate how many more persons have been formed by his personal classroom teaching: the youth who was graduated with highest honors from Xavier High School, New York, in 1915, and summa cum laude from Seton Hall University in 1919, was to continue always the scholar, teaching Latin, Greek, scripture, moral theology, and canon law at Seton Hall and Immaculate Conception Seminary, Mahwah, before becoming rector of this the archdiocese's major seminary in 1940. Under his patronage the Newark Archdiocese through its Mount Carmel Guild has become a pilot light for the Nation in programs for the retarded, blind, and deaf. More than 200,000 patients receive care every year in nine general hospitals under his jurisdiction. Speaking at one of the recent silver jubilee celebrations for the archbishop who has been a priest for 42 years, Bishop James McNulty of Buffalo, former bishop of Paterson, said to Archbishop Boland: "We thank you for the blessing you have brought to us, especially the inspiration of your life."

To this all men of good will in the community might and do add their amen. Happy anniversary, Archbishop Boland.

Section-by-Section Analysis of the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following section-by-section analysis of the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1965:

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION ACT OF 1965—H.R. 10212

TITLE I—DEFINITIONS

Sections 101–121: These sections define "Federal agency," "State," "political subdivision" or "local government," "unit of general local government," "special-purpose unit of local government," "grant" or "grant-in-aid," "specialized or technical services," "comprehensive planning," "metropolitan area" or "area," "urban area," "areawide agency," "urban development," "hospital," "displaced person," "business," "farm operation," "family," "elderly individual," "handicapped individual," "displaced," and "person."

LIBRARIES

TITLE II—IMPROVED ADMINISTRATION OF GRANTS-IN-AID TO THE STATES

Full information on funds received

Section 201: The multiplicity of grant-in-aid programs and their magnitude make it imperative that the Governor (and his principal assistant on budget and management matters) be in a position to become fully informed on such programs, if he is to be able to prepare a suitable budget with respect to the State's finances, and if he is to manage the departments and agencies of the State which are under his supervision. Grant-in-aid programs, however, are normally handled by various program agencies within the State which have the requisite competence in their particular fields. Without in any way detracting from the normal flow of communications between the State program agencies and the Federal program agencies in each case, section 201 provides that the Governor (or some other State officer designated by him or by the legislature) will be informed by the Federal department or agency administering a grant program, upon request, with such facts as it makes available to the State program agency. These facts may relate to grants-in-aid actually made, appropirated for, or recommended by the President to the Congress of the United States.

Most grant-in-aid programs involve some cost sharing between the Federal and State Governments. With respect to some States and some programs, there have been confused budget procedures because the State's financial share is operated through normal budget procedures of the State, while the Federal financial share, even though obligated and disbursed by a State, has sometimes been outside the scope of budget review. It is impossible to make a meaningful budget review with respect to a program if only half, or less, of the program's cost is revealed to the Governor or other State officer designated for the purpose. Therefore, section 201 also provides that no Federal legislation shall be construed as preventing the Governor (or other State officer designated) from participating in the State's determination of its financial matters under Federal grants in the same manner as he does with respect to the budgeting of State funds. This provision does not, of course, extend to any authority to plan for, commit, or expend Federal funds in an amount or manner that would be inconsistent with the conditions which the Federal Government has attached to its grant. But it would place in the State's chief executive the means of bringing about a greater degree of regularity in financial planning and budgeting for all the funds which are used to operate State agencies.

Uniform handling of grant funds

Section 202: This section is intended to systematize the handling of cash in connection with grants-in-aid. It would require that grants be paid to the State treasurer unless the State itself has designated someone else to receive the grants. In recognition of the fact that some State universities keep their moneys apart from the State treasury, the bill authorizes in these cases the use of alternative procedures as may be authorized by State legislation such as the direct receipt of Federal funds by State colleges and universities.

This section also contains a provision that appropriate accounting advice with respect to the transmittal of funds shall be provided to such other State officers as may require the data. This would virtually always mean that advice would be given to the State program agency concerned. In addition, advice might be given to the State comptroller, State auditor, or State budget officer.

State salaries paid from grants-in-aid

Section 203. This section would prevent the use of a Federal grant-in-aid to supplement or bypass State laws with respect to the salaries of State employees. On the other hand, it would permit Federal grants to be used to pay higher salaries than the State pays where the State specifically decides to do so by enactment of an appropriate State law and it is agreed to by the Federal agency concerned. A period of grace is given (until July 1, 1967) before this section becomes operative in order to permit State legislatures to act in those cases where they wish to permit an exception.

Deposit of grants-in-aid

Section 204: This section would make clear the fact that there can be a proper accounting for Federal funds without the use of separate bank accounts. Some of the older Federal laws and regulations were so worded as to leave the impression that Federal money had to be kept in separate bank accounts by the State government. Some States, therefore, have set up a complicated maze of separate bank accounts relating to various Federal grant programs. With modern accounting methods, it is no longer necessary to require that the money be banked separately, so long as the accounting officer of the State keeps appropriate fund accounts to distinguish the balance which the State has received but not yet earned. Section 204 provides for the application of these principles.

The Federal Government has a legitimate concern to see that all grants are applied as intended, and to receive certain elementary facts with respect to the financial status of a program. Section 204 would also provide for regular reports to be made, at such intervals as the Federal program agency may require, covering the status and application of the funds, the liabilities and other obligations on hand, and such other facts as may be necessary.

Scheduling of Federal transfers to the States

Section 205: This section would enact into law a principle which is already being adopted administratively—the principle that grant money should not be advanced from the Federal Government to a State for longer time periods than are necessary prior to its use. Advances for 3 or 6 months at a time, formerly made in several programs, and still required by law for a few programs, result in expenditure of money from the Federal Treasury before it is necessary, with no advantage accruing to either the Federal program agency or the State program agency concerned. Modern methods of transmitting money, including telegraphic transfers, the letter of credit procedure, and sight drafts, make lump-sum advances at stated intervals archaic.

Past decisions of the Comptroller General of the United States required that a grantee return to the United States any interest earned on Federal grants prior to their use. However, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriation Act, 1965, enacted on September 19, 1964 (Public Law 88-605), contains a provision (sec. 205, 78 Stat. 979) which precludes the Department requiring the payment of interest or other income earned by a State on grants for research, training, or demonstration projects made prior to July 1, 1964. In view of the legislative history of this matter, the Comptroller General, in a decision dated September 30, 1964 (B-152505), stated that no further action would be taken toward the recovery of interest or other income earned prior to July 1, 1964, on Federal grants made to colleges and universities. Section 205 broadens the principle established, and would not hold the States accountable for interest or other income earned on all grant-in-aid funds, pending their disbursement for program purposes. The new techniques, such as the letter of credit and sight draft procedures, which are now being used should minimize the amounts of grants advanced to States.

Eligible State agency

Section 206: This section would authorize Federal departments and agencies, upon the request of the Governor or other appropriate executive or legislative authority of the State, to waive the requirement for a single State agency and approve other forms of administrative organization, providing the objectives of the grant program are not endangered. This section is intended to remove obstacles to the administrative reorganization of a State government as long as the Federal grant program is not jeopardized.

TITLE III—REVIEW OF FEDERAL GRANTS-IN-AID TO STATES AND TO LOCAL UNITS OF GOVERNMENT

Statement of purpose

Section 301: This section sets forth the purpose of the title, which is to provide for congressional review of future Federal grants-in-aid to States and to local units of government. A uniform policy and procedure is established whereby future programs for grant-in-aid assistance from the Federal Government to the States or to their political subdivisions shall be the subject of review by the Congress, to insure (1) that the effectiveness of grants-in-aid as instruments of Federal-State-local cooperation is improved and enhanced, (2) that grant programs are revised and redirected as necessary to meet new conditions arising subsequent to their original enactment, and (3) that grant programs are terminated when they have substantially achieved their purpose. Grants in some fields have been subjected to scrutiny by the executive and legislative branches from time to time and have undergone consolidations and updatings. In general, however, the review and redirection of grants have proceeded on a sporadic and uncoordinated basis. There has not been continued systematic attention to the problem either from the congressional or executive side with a view toward eliminating areas of conflict and duplication in program operation and achieving more effective, efficient, and economic administration of existing and future grant programs and greater uniformity in their operation.

Expiration of grants-in-aid programs

Section 302: This section provides that where any act of Congress enacted in the 89th or any subsequent Congress authorize the making of grants-in-aid to two or more States or to political subdivisions of two or more States, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations shall, not later than June 30 of the fifth calendar year which begins after the effective date of such act, make reports to Congress on such programs. Five years is suggested as a sufficiently long period in which to gain experience upon which to base a judgment as to continuance or discontinuance of a grant. This section does not apply to those future statutes where (1) the Congress has provided another expiration date, or (2) Congress has explicitly waived the application of this section to the new statute. The section also does not result in automatic termination.

Committee studies of grant-in-aid programs

Section 303: This section provides for review by congressional committees of expiring grant programs subject to the act during a period of not less than 12 months immediately preceding the expiration date. The committees are charged with the responsibility of assessing—among other things—the extent to which the purposes for which the

grants-in-aid are authorized have been met; the degree to which such programs can be carried on without further financial assistance from the Federal Government; whether any changes in the purpose, direction, or administration of the original program, or in its procedures or requirements should be made; and the extent to which the programs are adequate to meet the growing and changing needs which they were designed to support.

Records and audit

Section 304: This section provides that recipients of grants-in-aid enacted after the effective date of the act, or recipients of existing grants-in-aid which are subsequently altered or modified, must keep records as prescribed by the Federal agency administering the grant. Such records must include records disclosing the amount and disposition of the grants and the total cost of the aided project. The head of the administering Federal agency and the Comptroller General shall have access to these records.

TITLE IV—PERMITTING FEDERAL DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES TO PROVIDE SPECIALIZED OR TECHNICAL SERVICES TO STATE AND LOCAL UNITS OF GOVERNMENT

Statement of purpose

Section 401: This section states the purpose of the title to encourage intergovernmental cooperation in the conduct of specialized or technical services; to enable State and local governments to avoid unnecessary duplication of special service functions; and to authorize Federal departments and agencies to provide such services.

An increasingly common characteristic of our Federal system is the extent to which similar governmental functions are performed by all three levels of government—local, State, and Federal. Cooperation and assistance among the three levels in carrying on such activities can yield economies for all. A number of Federal departments already provide specialized services to State and local governments on a reimbursable basis. The Census Bureau makes special censuses or tabulations and collects special additional information during decennial censuses. The Weather Bureau provides meteorological services, and the Bureau of Reclamation undertakes inventories of water resources for State and local governments. As recently as 1962, the Congress authorized the Internal Revenue Service to render statistical services to State and local tax agencies. This bill would extend on a governmentwide basis the principle embodied in these specific cases. Provision for depositing reimbursements to the credit of agency appropriations (sec. 303) would give the agencies an incentive to enter into such arrangements which they do not now have since, unless otherwise provided in law, such reimbursements for service must be paid into Treasury miscellaneous receipts.

Authority to provide service

Section 402: This section authorizes agencies in the executive branch to provide specialized or technical services on written request from a State or local government, upon payment of the cost of the services by the government making the request, and provided such services are not reasonably and expeditiously available through ordinary business channels. Agencies would be permitted, not required, to provide the requested service.

Reimbursement to appropriation

Section 403: This section provides that payments received for furnishing specialized or technical services shall be deposited to the credit of the principal appropriation from which the cost of providing such services is paid. Performance of the service for State and local governments thus would not interfere with the agencies fiscal ability to fulfill their mandated responsibilities.

Reports to Congress

Section 404: This section calls for an annual report on the scope of the services provided to the Committees on Government Operations of the Senate and House of Representatives.

TITLE V—COORDINATED INTERGOVERNMENTAL POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION OF GRANTS FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Declaration of urban assistance policy

Section 501: This section establishes a national urban assistance policy and makes such a policy, consistent with individual program objectives, applicable to all Federal programs affecting urban development. With the increasing numbers of Federal aids for physical development facilities in urban areas, the need for a unified urban development policy and adequate interagency coordination at the Federal level has become imperative. A recent study by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations of 43 Federal programs of financial aid showed that they are administered by 13 different departments and agencies within the executive branch. A number of new programs have been enacted even since the Commission's study was made over a year ago.

Federal program administrators are held responsible for carrying out specific legislative objectives, designed to meet such urban needs as those for urban renewal, area redevelopment, public housing, or highway transportation. But rapid urban growth, coupled with fragmented responsibilities for local government in urban areas and new technologies, are making these programs increasingly interdependent. Their impact on other community physical, economic, and social objectives is becoming more pronounced. Authority, machinery, and effort are needed in Washington as well as in the urban areas themselves to assure that each program contributes not only to the more limited program goals, but also to the general goal of orderly urban development. The legislation establishes the principle of Federal interagency coordination and provides a clear legislative mandate for the President to establish the machinery among the Federal departments and agencies to better meet National, State, and local objectives for urban development.

Favoring general purpose governments

Section 502: This section makes units of general local government, such as cities, counties, and towns, eligible to receive Federal loans and grants for urban development for which only special districts or other special purpose units of local government are now eligible. Although a majority of the acts establishing Federal aid to urban development allow local general government as recipients of such aid, there are a number that encourage establishment of special purpose organizations to carry our program objectives. Some examples of Federal encouragement for establishing counterpart special purpose organizations in local jurisdictions may be found in reclamation, area redevelopment, and agricultural programs. The elected officials of every unit of government should be responsible for a wide range of functions to that the governing process involves resolution of possible conflicting interests with significant responsibility for balancing governmental needs and resources. The general purpose units of local government meet these conditions whereas, in many cases, special purpose districts do not.

The legislation would permit the opportunity to simplify intergovernmental relations and reduce the time and effort spent by public officials in coordinating additional independent units of government by providing that, to the extent possible, Federal departments and agencies make Federal aids available to general rather than special purpose units of local government. Any special purpose unit of local government receiving these Federal aids is required to provide full information concerning such aid to the appropriate unit of general local government in the area. Local governments, general or special purpose, are authorized to act as joint sponsors of any federally aided urban project without limiting the total amount of the aid to less than the aggregate available to the participating units of local government acting singly.

Consistency with plans and objectives of general local governments

Section 503: Provides that all applications made to the Federal Government after June 30, 1966, for construction of hospitals, airports, water supply and distribution facilities, sewerage facilities and waste treatment works, water development, and land conservation be certified within 30 days by the unit of general local government in which the project or facility is to be located that such proposed project or facility is consistent with the local government's planning objectives. State and certain regional applicants are exempt from this requirement.

A performance requirement that projects aided by certain Federal loans or grants be consistent with the local government's planning objectives can contribute to insuring effective use of the Federal funds and avoid conflicts with other State, local, and private development projects.

This section establishes similar requirements for consistency with planning efforts of local governments in metropolitan areas for Federal aid programs that significantly affect urban development not currently having such requirements.

More effective utilization of certain Federal loans or grants by encouraging better coordinated local review of State and local applications for such loans or grants

Section 504. Provides that all applications to the Federal Government made after June 30, 1966, for open space land projects and for the construction of hospitals, airports, water supply and distribution facilities, sewerage facilities and waste treatment works, highways, transportation facilities, water development, and land conservation within any metropolitan area shall be accompanied by (1) the comments and recommendations thereon of a planning agency performing metropolitan or regional planning for the area in which the assistance is to be used, and (2) a statement by the applicant that it has considered these comments and recommendations prior to formal application. This section makes it clear, however, that approval of the application by the appropriate Federal agency shall be in accord with pertinent Federal requirements without regard to a possible negative recommendation by the planning agency.

This section is designed to strengthen metropolitan planning and better coordinate local, State, and Federal development activities by (1) encouraging the establishment of responsible metropolitan planning agencies and procedures; (2) stimulating the flow of planning and development information among and between the various levels of government; and (3) assisting the Federal agencies in evaluation of project applications.

To avoid undue delay in the review and comment function, the section provides that the applicant need not include the comments or recommendations of a planning agency if the agency has failed within a 60-day period to make any comments or recommendations on the application itself, or on a plan or description of the project.

TITLE VI—ACQUISITION, USE, AND DISPOSITION OF LAND WITHIN URBAN AREAS BY FEDERAL AGENCIES IN CONFORMITY WITH LAND UTILIZATION PROGRAMS OF AFFECTED LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Amendment of Federal Property and Administrative Services Act

Section 601: The Federal Government owns over 400 million acres of land throughout the Nation. A significant portion of that land is located in urban areas and the use to which it is put, either by a Government agency or upon sale by a private person or corporation, can have a significant impact upon local government. In order to insure that the use of such land is, to the maximum extent possible, consistent with local zoning and land practices and local planning and development objectives, it is essential that such local governments be fully informed of transactions involving Federal land acquisition or disposal and significant changes in use of Federal lands. Actions of these types can have a significant impact on local schools, highway and street patterns, demand for water and sewer services, and other activities of local government. Only by giving the types of notice herein authorized, and considering their needs in such matters while sufficiently protecting Federal interests, can the impact of such transactions or changes in use on local government be minimized. It might be stated further that last year the Congress enacted legislation establishing similar procedures for the sale and disposition of public lands by the Department of the Interior.

This section amends the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 by adding a new title VIII—Urban Land Utilization.

TITLE VII—ESTABLISHING UNIFORM FEDERAL RELOCATION PRACTICES

Declaration of policy

Section 701: The purpose is to establish a uniform policy for fair and equitable treatment of persons displaced by Federal and federally aided programs. Uniformity applies to relocation payments and advisory assistance and, for federally aided programs, assurance of availability of standard housing and Federal reimbursement for relocation payments.

A. Federal programs

Relocation Payments

Section 702: Heads of Federal agencies are required to make relocation payments in accordance with regulations established by the President. The displaced person is given the choice of reimbursement (1) according to actual and reasonable expenses, or (2) according to a fixed schedule. In the case of fixed schedule payments, (a) independent businesses that cannot be relocated without loss of patronage are entitled to an amount equal to their net earnings, or $5,000, whichever is less; (b) persons moving from a dwelling are entitled to a moving expense allowance of up to $200, plus a dislocation allowance not greater than the moving expense allowance, or $100, whichever is less, and an additional payment of $300 if the displacee owned the real property occupied; and (c) farm operators are entitled to a fixed payment of $1,000. Displaced families, elderly individuals, or handicapped individuals who are unable to secure a public housing unit are entitled to additional monthly payments totaling not more than $1,000 over not more than 24 months, for relocation in dwellings of modest standards.

The alternative of reimbursement by fixed payment would (a) recognize the economic impact of displacement on a business owner who must establish a business at a different location, buy an established business, or discontinue business operations; (b) grant those moving from a dwelling the same moving allowance now provided under the urban renewal and highway programs, provide additional reimbursement for loss of property and out-of-pocket costs, and, for the homeowner, recognize to some degree the closing costs and financing charges required for purchase of a replacement home; and (c) allow a farm operator a moderate allowance for loss of property and related costs in securing a replacement farm.

A major effect of this section would be to require payments by displacing agencies not now authorized to make them, such as GSA and the Post Office Department.

Relocation Assistance Programs

Section 703: Requires heads of Federal agencies to provide a relocation assistance program for displaced persons, businesses, and farm operators, and for persons occupying adjacent property if they are caused economic injury. The assistance program must include (a) determining needs for assistance, (b) assisting businesses and farm operators in relocating, (c) supplying information regarding FHA, SBA, and other assistance programs, (d) helping in minimizing readjustment programs, and (e) coordinating relocation with other project activities and governmental activities in the community or nearby areas. This provision applies present urban renewal requirements to all direct Federal programs.

Federal Programs With Local Cooperation

Section 704: Provides that the same requirements for relocation payments and assistance programs shall apply to cases where a State or local agency acquires real property for a Federal public improvement project.

Authority of the President

Section 705: Vests responsibility for relocation regulations in the President to assure governmentwide uniformity and compliance. Authorizes reimbursement equal to cost of moving personal property if displacee chooses to dispose of it rather than move it. Permits Federal agencies to use established relocation facilities of other Federal agencies or State and local agencies.

Fund Availability

Section 706: Stipulates that funds available for property acquisition shall be available to finance provisions of the title.

B. Federally assisted programs

Relocation Payments and Assistance; Assurance of Availability of Housing

Section 707: Provides that a State or local government using Federal funds for property acquisition or improvement may receive Federal reimbursement of 100 percent of the cost of providing relocation payments up to $25,000 for any displaced person provided that the State or local government agrees to follow requirements as to relocation payments and advisory assistance; provides temporary housing for relocated families and individuals; and assures that standard housing is or is being made available for those displaced. Federal agencies would contribute to the cost of any relocation payment above $25,000 according to the project's cost-sharing formula. State and local governments are authorized to utilize the facilities and services of other agencies established to administer relocation assistance programs. Federal agencies are authorized to advance the Federal share of relocation payments if necessary to expedite completion of a federally assisted public improvement.

The principal effect of this section and section 708 would be on the federally assisted highway program. The "before and after" situation in the highway program may be compared as follows:

PRESENT	PROPOSED
Relocation payments are optional with the States. Some 30 States have elected to make payments.	Relocation payments are required as a condition of grants.
Federal reimbursement of relocation payments is according to the project's cost-sharing formula: 90 percent on interstate programs; 50 percent on primary and secondary programs.	Full Federal reimbursement up to $25,000 for any move; Federal-State sharing on project's cost-sharing formula (90–10 or 50–50) for the portion of individual payments above $25,000.
Advisory assistance required for families displaced.	Advisory assistance required for families, businesses, individuals, farm operators, and to be similar to present urban renewal provisions.
No assurance of availability of housing required.	Requires that supply of adequate standard housing be provided or in process of being provided.

As regards the other major federally assisted programs causing or likely to cause substantial displacement in the foreseeable future—public housing and urban mass transportation—the law would require provision of advisory assistance to persons and businesses; none is now required. The present public housing law already requires assurance of available standard housing; the present urban mass transportation law requires it only for families, not individuals.

The Federal Aid Highway Act already encourages States to use existing public agencies to administer the relocation program. The proposed act would extend the encouragement to the urban renewal, public housing, mass transportation, and other federally aided programs that might cause displacement.

Requirements for Approval of Contracts or Agreements for Federal Financial Assistance

Section 708. Requires State or local government agency conducting federally assisted program to agree to provide relocation payments, services, and housing assurances described in section 607 as a condition of payment of Federal funds.

Displacement by Code Enforcement for Urban Renewal Project or Voluntary Rehabilitation Under Urban Renewal Plan

Section 709. Makes clear that persons or businesses displaced by urban renewal code enforcement or voluntary rehabilitation activities are considered displaced persons within the meaning of the act.

National Capital Housing Authority Eligible for Federal Financial Assistance

Section 710: Extends to National Capital Housing Authority eligibility to be reimbursed for relocation payments in same manner as State and local governments covered in section 606.

Applicability of Administrative Procedure Act

Section 711: Specifies application of Administrative Procedure Act.

Severability

Section 712: States that invalidate any provision shall not affect other provisions.

Acts Repealed

Section 713: Repeals relocation sections of statutes applicable to Departments of the Interior and Defense, National Aeronautics and Space Agency, Federal aid highway pro-

gram and urban mass transportation program, and certain parts of relocation provisions of Housing Act of 1937 and Housing Act of 1949.

Effective Date

Section 714: Title to take effect on first day of fourth month beginning after date of enactment.

Peace Corps Volunteer Helps Village of Jaqué in Panama

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, few stories are as inspiring as those we hear about our young Peace Corps volunteers' successes around the world. These responsible Americans are carryinf our democratic principle and spirit of helpful cooperation into the most remote and primitive regions of the world and exhibiting the finest of American concern and willingness to help others. I have observed our Peace Corps volunteers in Peru and other countries, and know personally of their devoted and effective work.

Just such a story was recently printed in the June–July 1965 issue of the Peace Corps Volunteer magazine on page 26 to 27 about Wally Westwood, from Houston, Tex. With an amazing ingenuity and ability, Wally Westwood has instilled the village of Jaqué, Panama, with a spirit of community cooperation that has vastly improved their life. To demonstrate the excellent job that he and other Peace Corps volunteers has done, I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A CHANGE IN JAQUÉ

(By Kathy Chapman)

In 1965, Darien is nearly the same as it was when Balboa roamed there—jungle, rugged sea coast, and rivers. The largest province of Panama, it does not have a single road. The area is sparsely populated by people of Latin descent, primitive Choco Indians, and one Peace Corps volunteer.

Eighteen hours from the capital city by boat and an hour away by sporadic and expensive air service, the village of Jacqué is the present home of Volnteer Wally Westwood, Houston, Tex.

Today Jacqué has community spirit and self-help projects, and Wally has developed rapport with the villagers and neighboring Indians. On hise arrival in December 1963 Jaqué possessed a large, new Alliance for Progress school. The school couldn't be put to use, however, until it was entirely functional. At the time there wasn't sufficient pressure in the village aqueduct system to operate the sanitary facilities of the school.

This, thought Wally, was a natural first project, the community developer's dream, and to make things even better the community asked his help to develop new facilities. Work was begun and went ahead with a great deal of community cooperation until the stage was reached where welding was necessary and the equipment was not available. Time elapsed and many people lost their initiative and incentive. Work stopped. However, Wally continued to request Panamanian Government assistance, and in August parts of a tower and a tank were sent to Jaqué. Two months later the tower was erected and a reservoir dug, and 2 months after that, connections between the new system and the main aqueduct were made, the completion of this work coinciding with the completion of the 1964–65 school year in January 1965.

In slack periods when there was little for Wally to do, neither he nor the community were idle. The tremendous expense of importing building materials and the high cost of labor made house construction nearly impossible for most citizens of Jaqué, including Wally. A small housing cooperative was formed to eliminate the high cost of labor, and through combined ingenuity, house designs were drawn up that called for the importation of cement and zinc only. Walls and partitions were to be of local products.

Wally's house is large, cool, attractive, and practical, its main materials being five different types of cane found in the area. The floor is cement and the roof is zinc, designed in such a way that waste is minimal. There is a large living room and kitchen, two bedrooms, and even an inside bathroom, equipped with a flush toilet which cost 75 cents to make. It consists of a water trap at the bottom of a cement bowl and is an ingenious device.

At present, three houses are occupied, and work continues on a fourth. Five more families have formed a similar co-op and will be building soon. Thus nine families, who alone could not have afforded new homes, through cooperation and ingenuity have been given the opportunity for a new and better life.

The community was developing a sense of identity, and even in the embryonic stages it was active. The town's aqueduct system was faulty due to the loss of pressure caused by leakage where the tubing passed through salt-water swamps. The Panamanian Government agreed to supply 50 new tubes if the community furnished the labor. During 3 weekends the new tubes were carried 10 miles into the jungle, the old ones torn out, and replaced with new material. The resulting higher pressure gave service to the community with the exception of Wally's neighborhood. Not willing to be left out now, Wally, with 25 neighbors, dug up an abandoned branch of the aqueduct, carried it 2 miles into the village, and connected it to the main aqueduct. The entire community was now serviced, and more important than that, the people saw the value of cooperation. Wally's neighbors had developed a sense of neighborhood pride, and the community residents began, on their own initiative, a cleanup project. The area was cleaned and various fruit and shade trees planted.

Wally has also been involved in work of a less inclusive nature. He taught English classes for a time, worked on a bridge project, and acted as an interpreter on medical missions to the Choco Indian areas. In the future he plans to work on a basketball court for the community, and a shelter for the use of the women when they wash.

When he leaves at the end of July, Jaqué will not be the same—and that is good. Nothing was accomplished without a great deal of time—and talk—and effort. The first project was barely finished when the volunteer was preparing to leave. At least one project ended in complete ruin, but successful ones taught the community what they could do by cooperative and concentrated effort.

Equitable Life Likes Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, it is extremely gratifying to know that Hawaii's economy is considered so sound that one of the giant insurance companies of America, the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, has invested a total of $186 million in Hawaii.

According to Mr. James F. Oates, Jr., Equitable Life's board chairman and chief executive officer who recently visited in Hawaii, the flow of investment dollars started in 1959 with a $12 million loan, which at that time was the largest single loan ever made in Hawaii.

Prospective investors will do well to note the example of Equitable Life Assurance Society.

The story of Mr. Oates' visit to Hawaii is found in the August 3, 1965, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin:

FIRM'S INVESTMENT HERE INCREASES TO $186 MILLION

(By Ray Maneki)

The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States has invested $186 million in Hawaii, according to James F. Oates, Jr., board chairman and chief executive officer.

This includes Equitable Life's investment in the Ala Moana Center and Ala Moana Building, which has been increased to a total of $37.5 million.

"In December 1959, the Honolulu Star-Bulletin said that Hawaii should have renewed confidence in its future, because the Equitable Life Assurance Society had made a $12 million loan to Ala Moana Center and Ala Moana Building," Oates said.

"At that time it was the largest single loan ever made in Hawaii.

"How much more reassured we should be to have that investment now reach $37.5 million, in such a brief period of time," he said.

Oates, 65, has been chief executive officer of the giant firm since June 1957, and board chairman since February 1964.

He and his wife are spending this week in Honolulu, and looking forward to 2 "very quiet" weeks at the Hotel Hana-Maui.

INVESTMENTS LISTED

Among Equitable Life's major investments in Hawaii, he listed these:

For the Hilton Hawaiian Village, $13.9 million.

For the Hilton Lagoon Tower, $6.5 million, to be built at the Hilton Hawaiian Village.

For the Ilikai Hotel, $7.8 million.

More than $2.9 million for the purchase of two parcels between the Ilikai and Kaiser Hospital, which have been leased back to Capital Investment Co.

For the Moana-SurfRider Hotel, $5.8 million.

For the Sheraton Maui Hotel, $3.5 million.

In residential mortgages, $6.5 million.

While meeting locally with business and community leaders, he will emphasize the company's faith in the continued strength of America's economy, he said.

OPTIMISM VOICED

"The Nation is not on the verge of either an inflationary boom or a depression.

"I think we're going to grow quite steadily during the next several years, unless we run into a serious increase in the national deficit as a result of the Vietnam situation," Oates said.

He said that Equitable Life is proud and happy to have an agency in Hawaii, and to have Iwao Ino as agency manager.

About 170,000 homes in the United States have been financed by the company's "assured home ownership plan," which combines a residential mortgage and life insurance, according to Oates.

He said that the local agency reached its goal of $12 million in individual life policy sales last year, much sooner than anticipated, and expects to achieve $17 million this year.

"We intend to make any other company work awfully hard to be better than we are," said Oates.

Oates was guest of honor at luncheon given yesterday in the Ilikai's Beau Rivage room by Porter Dickinson, publisher of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin.

Dickinson introduced Oates to the assembled business guests as "a real friend of Hawaii."

Chinn Ho, board chairman of the Star-Bulletin, said Equitable's investments have proved a real blessing to the State, particularly in tourism.

Also present was Alexander Artherton, president of the Star-Bulletin.

Important Editorials on Dirksen Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD comment from three major newspapers in Pennsylvania on the Dirksen amendment.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Evening Bulletin, Aug. 6, 1965]

DEMOCRACY AND THE MAJORITY

It is rather ironic that the Dirksen amendment has been defeated by a minority of Senators—a minority whose principal argument has been that minorities have had too much power in State legislatures.

The requirement that a constitutional amendment must have a two-thirds vote in both Houses of Congress as well as the approval of three-fourths of the State legislatures is one of many safeguards in American constitutional law and political practice against the sometimes harsh rule of simple majorities. Unequal legislative districting has been another such safeguard; and although this has sometimes been abused to perpetuate rural domination of legislatures long after urban interests should have prevailed, it has not been without its beneficial applications as well.

Whatever Senator DIRKSEN may now decide to do—and the prospects for eventual approval of his amendment grow dimmer as State reapportionment proceeds—the country owes him its gratitude for dramatizing the uneasy feelings that many Americans have about the unrelenting application of stern mathematics to the subtleties of representative democracy.

If Congress is foreclosed from doing so, the courts would seem to have a duty to pursue with increased perception and care the basic goal of fair representation for all in the legislative machinery of America. The two-party system creates a strong bias toward "winner takes all." At the same time it makes schemes of proportional representation to protect minorities largely unworkable. Instead, apportionment and districting have been used—as well as misused—to help insure that ethnic, social, economic, and political grouping have their proper weight, for as Prof. Robert G. Dixon, Jr., of the George Washington University Law School has observed, "Groups are as relevant as individuals" in a "dynamically democratic public order."

The Dirksen amendment would at least have allowed the voters of a State to choose between one-man, one-vote apportionment for one house of their legislature and alternate plans taking varying special interests into account. A Senate majority favored giving the majority of voters this right. If the courts are really as attached to the majoritarian concept of democracy as they have lately seemed to be, they might well heed this clear signal that many—perhaps most—Americans are prepared to exercise their political power with enough restraint to give the other fellow—outnumbered or not—a fair shake.

[From the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Press, Aug. 4, 1965]

THE PEOPLE ARE THE LAST WORD

In our system of government, as spelled out by the Constitution and every other principle we go by, the people are the final word.

But a substantial number of Members in the U.S. Senate, although generally classifying themselves as liberals, are opposed to this system.

They demonstrate this opposition by the bitter manner in which they seek to defeat the so-called Dirksen amendment to the Constitution.

Last year the Supreme Court, in an amazing ruling, held that both houses of a State legislature had to be apportioned on a strict population basis—the so-called one-man one-vote proposition. This despite the State-by-State apportionment of the U.S. Senate, despite the constitutions of most States, despite recent and specific approval by the voters in some States of a different system.

Nobody wants to rip out the Supreme Court because of this airy decision, although the decision had the effect of ripping out most State legislatures.

The way to correct the Court's action is to write into the Federal Constitution an amendment. This amendment has been offered by Senator DIRKSEN, of Illinois. All the amendment says is that any State may set up one house of its legislature on other than a population basis if—emphasis on the if—the people of the State want it that way.

But the Senators opposing the Dirksen amendment don't want the people to decide for themselves. The plain implication is that the Senators know better than the people of the States what is a proper system for the States. Since many of these Senators have been among the most zealous champions of civil rights, their inconsistency on the Dirksen issue is beyond comprehension.

If the people in the States are not capable of deciding such basic questions as the manner in which they wish their legislatures to be organized, then it is valid to question the capacity of the people to decide other questions—who, for instance, should represent them in the U.S. Senate.

Maybe, if these anti-Dirksen Senators are right, we should go back to the old system of having U.S. Senators chosen by State legislatures. (We wouldn't favor that for a minute, but it is just as logical as the opposition to the Dirksen amendment.)

There are many arguments favoring the Dirksen amendment. But, regardless of all other arguments, the issue now before the Senate is fundamental—the right of the people of the States to decide for themselves. Despite all the windy debate, this is the only issue.

[From the Johnstown Tribune-Democrat, Aug. 7, 1965]

A VICTORY FOR IRRESPONSIBILITY

(By William S. White)

Megalopolis—the swollen big cities—and its Senators have won a battle against the Constitution of the United States and against the heart of the democratic system.

It remains to be seen whether they have not also lost a coming war.

Crying catchpenny slogans having the dignity and true intellectual value of a sudsy tune in a soap opera, an urban-based minority of the Senate has thrown back a majority on the most profound constitutional issue of our time. The majority had sought to give to the people of this country the right to maintain something of the checks and balances which for nearly two centuries have distinguished this Republic.

This is to say, 39 Senators have said "No" and 57 Senators have said "Yes" to a proposed constitutional amendment which would have allowed the people of the States to decide whether the upper houses of their legislatures could continue to be apportioned on factors other than mere head counts.

The deep necessity for such an amendment arises from a dictate by the Supreme Court that hereafter not only the lower but also the upper houses in the States must be apportioned only on population, ignoring all factors such as geographic differences and any and every kind of legitimate minority need.

To submit a constitutional amendment to the States requires a two-thirds vote in Congress. Thus by seven votes the forces which tried to put this solemn referendum to the people have lost the opening engagement.

Thus a majority of the Senate running almost, but not quite, to 2 to 1 has been frustrated by a minority which endlessly proclaims its pure liberalism and love for democracy and has endlessly denounced there any denial of the majority's will—that is, when the majority's will is also the will of these so-called liberals.

It was perhaps academic for the moment, anyway, for the urban groups had so arranged things that even if they lost in the Senate by 2 to 1, the House of Representatives would not have been allowed to vote on the issue. The amendment had already been put into the deepfreeze by the urban chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, Representative EMANUEL CELLER, of Brooklyn. To do this, MANNY CELLER has, of course, used precisely those dictatorial powers of chairmanship which the so-called liberals of the Senate have made a career of attacking—when, that is, their opponents on any issue have had recourse to such powers.

So, the Supreme Court's decision to destroy the traditional balance of political power in this Nation still stands. If it stands forever, the rural and smalltown minority will utterly sink under the crushing weight of vast city voting blocs and voting blocs, moreover, often led by bossed machines of precisely the kind that send Senators PAUL DOUGLAS and JOSEPH CLARK and others like them to Washington.

Still, the game is not over, as the courageous Republican Senate leader, EVERETT DIRKSEN, of Illinois, and such courageous associates as Senator HUGH SCOTT, of Penn-

sylvania, are now pointing out. For if a congressional minority forever obstructs the right of the people themselves even to vote on this question, the States themselves can force Congress to call a convention to rewrite the Constitution. This grave step has never been taken, and any reasonable man can foresee what a box of eels and what a mare's nest it could open.

With all this in mind, this columnist asserts on more than 30 years of observation that no Senate group in all that time has ever acted more irresponsibly than the Douglases, the Clarks, the Kennedys and the like have acted here.

Vietnam: An Indigenous or Infiltrated Affair or Who Made the 7.62 Weapons?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, it is a formidable task to mobilize a nation into an open-ended international police action committed on an as yet undetermined number of our youth to maintain a principle and the liberty of a people of another skin tone on the opposite side of the globe.

Some say the President leads by concensus. I personally believe that action conceived in moral and international right has a considerable amount to do with consensus.

The President has been extremely patient with the country as opinions have been formulated over the past year.

To those who argue that the South Vietnamese matter is totally indigenous—please explain the recent mass equipping of several hundred thousand Vietcong with new 7.62 weapons.

The police action nomenclature would appear to be appropriate where the party sought to be controlled appears to be motivated by a selfish bloodthirsty deceptive minority parading under a Communist banner and the controlling force has ambitions for no people, territory, bases, trade routes, or alliances and is carrying out the restraining action with patience, caution, and only a small percentage of available power.

Recent opinions from the Fourth District of California supporting the President are here reprinted from Hank Tweith's Independent Herald of Yuba City and Ed Davis' Willows Daily Journal:

[From the Yuba City (Calif.) Independent Herald, Aug. 2, 1965]

THE WAR DRAWS CLOSER

When President Johnson announced last week that draft calls would be doubled, he emphasized, among other things, how close to home the Vietnam conflict is coming.

For some time, only a small group of Sutter-Yuba youngsters have been called up monthly for compulsory military service—15 to be exact. Now, the number will jump to 30 and there is some possibility that the calls will eventually go higher than that.

However, as a matter of fact, we have had a local interest in Vietnam for some time. Hardly a week goes by that one or another of the military branches through their public relations services doesn't report the presence in the area of belligerence of the son of some Sutter or Yuba County family aboard ship or at bases in the operational theater. A few have been casualties of the conflict.

The younger generation of today is one that must live with the probability that at some time in their lives they will have to don a military uniform and prepare for war if not actually fight in one. And the end of this condition is nowhere in sight.

The man in the street in Yuba City or Marysville can probably guess as closely as the man in the White House whether the escalation of military activity in Vietnam is the prelude to another worldwide war.

But no guessing is needed to realize that this country is committed to the obligation of serving as a planetary policeman to maintain some degree of order and to protect the political system under which we want to live.

We cannot withdraw from Vietnam without inviting a wave of aggression not only in Asia but in Africa and possibly even in Europe. We are committed to the policy of participating in small conflicts in the hope—and it is no more than that—that we can discourage insane or barbarian societies from triggering a world conflagration that could destroy us all.

The United States is in the position as a nation of any policeman who cannot expect to prevent all crime but whose existence keeps criminals from freely overrunning the more intelligent and reasonable elements of the community.

[From the Willows Daily Journal, Aug. 5, 1965]

STAKES ARE BIG IN VIET CONFLICT

It must be of little comfort to mothers with sons in the armed services, or with sons of draftable age, to know that the United States is nearing full-fledged war in South Vietnam; that plans call for boosting the total number of men in the services to 3 million by a year from now.

President Johnson has been the target for vehement opposition from some Senators, Congressmen, and other citizens for his course in Vietnam. But what else could he have done?

Time after time the United States has proposed entering into negotiations—only to have its offers flatly rejected. What other course remains except to suffer defeat or to withdraw?

Why either of these alternatives is unthinkable and why the United States entered the conflict in the first place, during President Eisenhower's administration, is explained lucidly by Joseph Alsop, a newspaper columnist.

"The United States," he writes, "had a vital stake in Vietnam from the very outset—long before that stake had been approximately decupled, as it has been in the present state of the problem. If President Eisenhower had not moved to protect this vital American interest, the consequences would have been as follows:

"First, this American failure to oppose aggression in Vietnam would have enormously increased the difficulty of honoring our commitments elsewhere in southeast Asia. For instance, the defense of Thailand, to which the United States is solemnly pledged, would have become all but impossible without the gravest risk of a third world war.

"Second, the difficulty mentioned above would have flowed, in quite a large part, from the loss of the historic American position as a major Pacific power. Changes of orientation in Japan and the Philippines, even deeper changes in places like Taiwan and South Korea, would have led to the virtual expulsion of American power from the Western Pacific. The United States would have had 'pull back to Hawaii,' as Gen. Maxwell Taylor put it to President Johnson.

"After pulling back to Hawaii, the United States would be unable to bring to bear any real power, except strategic nuclear power, on the far shore of the Pacific—let alone southeast Asia and the coasts of the Indian Ocean, as was oddly suggested by one who had evidently not bothered to explore the limits of normal air and naval action.

"President Eisenhower was unwilling to lose this supposedly nonvital stake in the Pacific, to defend which this country sent millions of men to fight overseas in the Second World War and in Korea. He therefore committed the United States to the protection of South Vietnam. President Kennedy then greatly increased that commitment. President Johnson has again increased it, far beyond the level reached by President Kennedy.

"These increases of commitment have had a hardly noticed side effect, however. The effect has been to multiply the original American stake in Vietnam by an enormous factor—perhaps as much as tenfold.

"The original stake, summarized above, was certainly high enough. Nowadays, however, the effects of an American defeat in Vietnam will no longer be largely limited to Asia and the Pacific. With the stakes thus multiplied, the effects of an American defeat in Vietnam will now be felt, like earthquake tremors, in Moscow and in Bonn, in London and Buenos Aires, in Paris and Rio de Janeiro.

"The simplest way to put it is to say that if President Johnson submits to such a defeat, he will lose just about the entire authority which an American President normally enjoys overseas.

"In the circumstances, therefore, it is just as well that President Johnson does not seem to be prepared to accept the advice of those who are now urging him to accept defeat in Vietnam."

Death of Casey M. Jones

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to announce the death of Casey M. Jones, who for a number of years was a professional aid to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

Casey was first named to the committee staff in January of 1947, by the late chairman, the Honorable Edith Nourse Rogers. He served continuously with the committee until his retirement a number of years ago and made a real and lasting contribution to the accomplishments of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs during the period he was employed by the committee.

Casey had a distinguished record in World War I, in which he served as an intelligence officer, and had the distinction of serving with Teddy Roosevelt, Jr., and also with two former Members of Congress, the Honorable Jesse Walcott and Clarence Kilburn.

For a number of years Casey was associated with the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and was always keenly interested in the work relating to the needs and responsibilities of the veterans of this country.

For a number of years he had been in poor health, and in recent months had found it necessary to be in the hospital almost continuously. He will be sorely missed by his many friends, and to his wife and other members of his family I extend my own sympathy and that of other members of the committee and the Congress who were privileged to know him.

More Like Russia We Grow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Knoxville Journal often gives us some thought-provoking editorials, warnings which we should heed. In a recent issue the newspaper calls attention to the fast pace at which our Government is taking control of this Nation's manpower. I would like to call this to the attention of my colleagues and the public by publishing it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

[From the Knoxville, (Tenn.) Journal, Aug. 3, 1965]

MORE LIKE RUSSIA WE GROW

In Russia or in any other totalitarian country there is no unemployment. They have rules that boil down to an ultimatum—he who won't work doesn't eat.

But that isn't the whole story, either. The citizen of any of the Communist countries not only must work to eat, but he must work at whatever the party bureaucrats assign him. The worker doesn't go to an employer, or even to his own government, to ask for a job he wants or thinks he could fill. Instead, he is listed on a roll of workers and sent to whatever job the party chieftain thinks he is fitted for, or wants him to do.

This couldn't happen to our workers here in this free country, you say. Well, now, couldn't it? Isn't this very thing on its way to happening to all this country's workers?

The director of the Colorado State Employment Service recently had this to say: "In 5 years, if we are not hampered by new restrictions, and if we get adequate funds from Congress, we'll (USES) be handling 90 percent of the employment business. We are not living in a free enterprise economy, but rather operating under a controlled economy."

Now in case the reader has been sleeping soundly while the U.S. Employment Service has been making its plans to seize control of all American manpower, consider several developments. The 1,900 State unemployment offices were set up by Congress to serve those citizens out of work, primarily the ones who were unemployed, but eligible for unemployment compensation. They are State operated, but the money comes from the Federal Treasury.

Yet 1964 statistics reveal that 60 percent to 65 percent of the persons "placed" by the USES were already employed. They were not unemployed persons at all, but took advantage of the bureaucracy set up and operated out of Federal funds to improve their jobs. In recent months the USES has boasted that it has "placed" more than 250,000 professional or managerial personnel every year. These are jobs in brackets from $10,000 to $30,000 per year, not jobs to be filled from the ranks of the unemployed who are entitled to unemployment pay for a certain number of weeks.

Thus when you hear a radio voice drone through a routine to the effect that "we have openings for a certain number of managers, engineers, or other well paid jobs," this is the process through which the USES hopes ultimately to control the Nation's manpower.

Now the obvious danger is this: The time could come, unless this ambitious arm of the Federal Government is halted by Congress, when no citizen of this country, either employed or unemployed, could expect to get a job for which he was not recommended by this political agency. Already so-called aptitude tests are being given in some of these offices, with the results presumably recorded on agency cards. Corporate employers are being encouraged to employ only through the U.S. Employment Service, to decline to even grant interviews to individual seekers of jobs.

No wonder the Colorado director feels that within 5 years practically all hiring will be done through USES bureaucrats. Once more the freedom of the individual U.S. citizen is gradually being restricted. He finds the big union bosses on one side and the Federal bureaucrat on the other, both groups telling him what he must do and how. How much more like Russia can we get?

Revisions in Retirement Laws Will Be Hot Potato for Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Army, Navy, Air Force Journal of July 24, 1965:

REVISIONS IN RETIREMENT LAWS WILL BE HOT POTATO FOR CONGRESS

(By Louis R. Stockstill, congressional editor)

The House and Senate Armed Services Committee next year will be tossed one of the hottest potatoes they ever had to juggle.

They are going to be asked to rewrite the laws governing military retirement—laws which affect every career member of the Armed Forces.

President Johnson has a special study group (a Cabinet Committee of top Government officials, including Secretary of Defense McNamara) working on the problem. They are taking a long, hard look at all Government retirement systems with the object of recommending improvements which, among other things, may seek to bring the systems into greater harmony and uniformity.

No one knows yet what the Cabinet Committee will propose, but it is a fair guess that their recommendations will be wide-ranging.

Secretary McNamara already has made known his personal views on one important feature of the military system. He testified during House hearings on the military pay bill, that the Armed Forces retirement system is "too costly in relationship to the benefits it provides." He said it is clear that 20-year retirement "may not be the most efficient way for keeping the force both youthful in some skills and experienced in others."

If the Secretary plays as dominant a role in the Cabinet Committee deliberations as he is credited with playing in the deliberations of the recent Presidential Pay Panel study, his views can be expected to carry great weight.

The 20-year-retirement feature, however, is only one of many aspects of the military system which the Cabinet group is exploring. The recommendations of the Committee, when they go to the President in December, are expected to answer such questions as:

Should military personnel be required to make contributions to a retirement fund, or should the present noncontributory system be continued?

Should retired pay continue to be based solely on active duty basic pay, without regard for other elements of military compensation such as subsistence and quarters allowances?

Should the rules for retirement be the same for enlisted personnel as they are for officers?

Is the present system of prescribing increases in retired pay (under the Consumer Price Index formula) fair, adequate, and soundly based?

Should efforts be made to insure that retired pay will keep pace not only with cost-of-living changes, but with living standards as well?

What benefits—such as medicare, commissary privileges, etc.—should be carried into retirement?

These are but a few of the questions the committee is exploring.

To find out how the military retirement system can be made more responsive to the needs of management as well as to the needs of individual retirees, the Cabinet Committee invited leaders of service-oriented organizations to appear at an open hearing and give their views.

Among those who testified were spokesmen for the Retired Officers Association, the Reserve Officers Association, Fleet Reserve Association, Air Force Association, Disabled Officers Association, and the Uniformed Services Retiree Group.

To a man, each of the witnesses urged one basic change in the present military retirement system. All said the Government should restore the concept of "recomputation." Under this once-traditional system, military retired pay would be computed as a percentage of current active duty pay for others in the same rank and with the same years of service.

Maj. Gen. W. Preston Corderman, president of the Retired Officers Association, cited the most compelling reason for reinstating the principle of recomputation. He recalled that older members of the military community served for long years at "comparatively small pay, in anticipation of a generous retirement system, only to see that system scrapped for 'cost of living' pay adjustments at about the time they entered upon retired status."

General Corderman said if the Government insists on its decision to shelve recomputation, the Consumer Price Index formula should be made applicable only to those who began wearing military uniforms after October 2, 1963, the date when recomputation was wiped off the books.

He reminded the Cabinet group that it is customary, when revising pay and retirement laws, "to insert a savings clause to prevent injustice to those who have already established rights under an existing statute."

Col. Arthur A. Brackett, speaking for the Reserve Officers Association, said that abandonment of the 100-year-old practice of recomputation "was a breach of faith" and the principle should be restored. He called the committee's attention to a June 12 Journal editorial on the subject and asked that it be made a part of the committee record. The editorial observed that service people have been the victims of broken promises in the retirement field and have suffered from attrition of many other benefits initially held out as attractions to career service.

The president of the Air Force Association, Maj. Gen. Jess Larson, said "there is a serious need to restore the principle of recomputation for all retirees" and that restoration is "absolutely vital in the case of totally disabled personnel" whose living standards have been 'all but wrecked' by inflation."

Spokesmen for the associations also gave solid backing to the need to provide additional attention to the health care of retirees and their families. They also were generally agreed that if the Government decides to eliminate or modify 20-year-retirement, the change should not be made applicable to enlisted personnel.

Few members of the Cabinet Committee actually were present for the hearing. Most sent alternate representatives. The Defense Department was represented by Assistant Secretary (Manpower) Norman Paul and one of his top deputies, Brig. Gen. William W. Berg, U.S. Air Force.

Questions addressed to the witnesses were few in number and more or less routine or perfunctory. On the surface, it appeared that the committee is seeking to create the impression that it wants to hear all sides of the retirement story, but has no intention of probing the views of outside witnesses in any depth.

Congress was highly critical of the fact that the Presidential Pay Panel called no outside witnesses. The administration is not leaving itself open to such criticism a second time. Seemingly, however, unless further efforts are made to obtain more detailed testimony, the ground will have to be replowed and recultivated by the House and Senate when the administration seed packet arrives on Capitol Hill next year.

Food for Peace?—The Free World Should Wage Economic War on Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVE MARTIN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, the following article from the August 9 issue of Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly is very timely because of the fact that the omnibus farm bill will soon be under debate in the House.

This article points up very succinctly some of the difficulties involved in worldwide prices of wheat.

FOOD FOR PEACE?—THE FREE WORLD SHOULD WAGE ECONOMIC WAR ON COMMUNISM

"This is really war," President Johnson solemnly told the Nation 10 days ago. Apart from the Pentagon, however, hardly anybody in Washington got the message. Shortly before the Secretary of Defense asked Congress for an emergency appropriation of $1.7 billion as a downpayment on the escalating commitment in Vietnam, the Secretary of State testified in favor of a treaty which would sanction an expanded network of Russian consulates—"a cherished goal," so J. Edgar Hoover has warned, "of Soviet intelligence"—throughout the United States. On the Senate floor, business as usual remained the order of the day. Senator GEORGE S. MCGOVERN, Democrat, of South Dakota, wants to sell more wheat to the Communists and deplores the technicalities which stand in the way. In their absence, said Senator MCGOVERN last week, "American farmers could market millions of bushels of wheat to Eastern European countries and Russia (to say nothing of China):" He pointed out that "everyone involved—farmers, dockworkers, sailors, fleetowners—is losing." Thus, he concluded passionately, "in the name of commonsense," the administration should change the rules.

In a political era which (19 years early by George Orwell's reckoning) glorifies and rewards no-speak and double-think, the foregoing remarks elicited scant surprise. To invoke the spirit of reason in behalf of policies that are either outrageous or absurd has become an official prerogative. However, on the issues which he has raised we are inclined to think that Senator MCGOVERN has abused the privilege. Even as he spoke, U.S. troops were fighting and dying in what the Commander in Chief has finally called a war. In the circumstances, the proposed sale of American wheat to the Communist camp (including, be it noted, the Chinese), which a number of officials are urging, strikes Barron's not as a lucrative source of trade but as aid and comfort to the enemy.

The same is true of the whole misguided program which Washington has pursued, regarding wheat, both at home and abroad. By paying farmers too much for their crop, the Department of Agriculture over the years has conjured up a permanent oversupply, which it has sought to get rid of overseas. While failing to relieve the endless glut, farm surplus disposal has succeeded, through one form of giveaway or another, in luring major consumers like India out of the customary channels of trade, thereby shrinking the commercial market. It has depressed world prices, thus making wheat a bargain for Moscow and Peiping. Worst of all, it has put relentless economic pressure on foreign growers to seek outlets for their grain. U.S. wheat policies, in effect, have subverted the Nation's friends and subsidized its foes. As a consequence, the staff of life has served the cause of the Communist merchants of death.

How nobly it has done so, few outside the Kremlin, which never wholly slams the door on Western hopes for peaceful coexistence, seems to appreciate. Facts and figures underscore the point. Under the czars, Russia was the granary of Europe; decades of collective farming, however, have reduced the Soviet Union to dependence for survival on the outside world. Since the turn of the decade, shipments of wheat from West to East have risen from 165 million bushels to a recent peak of 750 million, or 20 million tons, in 1963–64. In that crop year Western wheat and flour—from Argentina, Australia, Canada and the United States—accounted for nearly 15 percent of the total Soviet supply; allied grain contributed perhaps 20 percent of Red China's. On a somewhat smaller scale, Communist purchases have continued; as Senator MCGOVERN aptly observed: "Their experts, like ours, see clearly that it will be necessary for a number of years for Russia and the Eastern bloc countries to buy wheat by the millions of tons." Only last week, a Soviet trade delegation turned up in Ottawa and put its rubles on the barrelhead for over $45 million worth.

Like Senator MCGOVERN, who once ran the misnamed food-for-peace program, some Americans see nothing wrong in trafficking with Communists; prior to Pearl Harbor, after all, the United States shipped scrap iron to Japan and tried to do business with Hitler. Others—notably anyone who had a hand in the recent bombing of the Soviet missile sites in North Vietnam, or is otherwise risking his life for the free world—take a dimmer view of such deals. They have assailed Australia and Canada as faithless allies, and there is much in what they say. Few critics, however, seem to realize that their own government—specifically, the Department of Agriculture—must shoulder most of the blame. In its avidity to dump surplus wheat abroad, USDA has balked at nobody and stopped at nothing. When Ottawa last winter sold grain to Communist China at a discount, Washington promptly slashed prices across-the-board, a move which has saved the Marxist camp over $30 million in its total purchases so far this year. With all the restraint of a dope peddler, it has pushed the stuff upon a dubious clientele, including Egypt, Poland, and Yugoslavia, accepting in return huge amounts of worthless dinars and rotting zlotys.

Agriculture's far-flung efforts have yielded bitter fruit. The perennial glut in wheat has made it one of the cheapest sources of nourishment on the world market, a bargain which the anticapitalists have been quick to exploit. Thus, as the Administrator of the Foreign Agricultural Service innocently notes, "The (Red) Chinese sell their milled rice for about $120 a metric ton and buy wheat for about $70 a ton. The caloric values are close * * *." Through such trades the clever Chinese, thanks to dim-witted Westerners, each year turn a tidy yuan. Through its giveaway to Egypt, USDA has wound up helping to finance Nasser's open aggression in Yemen; by last year's sale of subsidized wheat to the Soviet Union, it helped feed Communist Cuba (which the Kremlin supplies) and stoke Castro's subversion of Latin America. An army, said Napoleon, marches on its stomach. Lacking Western wheat and flour, the Red horde, far from menancing Santo Domingo and Saigon, would be hard pressed to hold Moscow and Peiping.

If what is going on in Vietnam is "really war," it's time the Department of Agriculture (and its opposite numbers in Australia and Canada) chose sides. U.S. farm policy for years has been a stench in the nostrils of honest men; now it also has become a palpable threat to the national security. To remove this threat, USDA in the long run must get out of the wheat trade; meanwhile, at the very least, it should stop serving as quartermaster for half the auxiliaries in the enemy camp. During the gradual transition to a free wheat market (which in time would yield the Allies non-Communist cash customers for what they produce) the United States, if it really means business, need do just one thing: launch a program of preemptive buying, aimed, as in World War II, at denying the foe access to strategic raw materials, in this case wheat. Thereby, without firing a shot, it would strike a powerful, perhaps decisive, blow for freedom.

Economic warfare, especially on a global scale, doubtless would prove costly. For a nation already beset by balance-of-payments troubles, it would entail rigid financial discipline. However, after nearly two decades of inconclusive cold-and-hot war, which has cost the free world far too much blood and treasure, most Americans might be willing to sacrifice butter not for guns but for the hope of victory. East minus West, the noted historian Werner Keller once wrote, equals zero. That happens to be the only formula for peaceful coexistence.

Result of Extreme Taxation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH HARVEY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Richmond, Ind., Palladium-Item of August 6, 1965:

RESULT OF EXTREME TAXATION

Government officials the world over sometimes overlook a menace to the national economy that is a natural result of high taxation.

Officials in Sweden report that the economy of that country is in dire need of part-time women workers. They forecast the need of 500,000 additional women workers if increased production is to be achieved in the next 15 years.

The reason for the refusal of married women to acquire training for part-time jobs is not idolence or a low-pay schedule in the Swedish industries. As a class, Swedish women are energetic and interested in industrial work.

The income taxation system of the country is the main reason they prefer staying at home. Husbands and working women are taxed jointly. This does not bring about tax reductions, but in some instances it increases the family taxation to 44 percent of the total earnings of the couple.

This condition is resented by both husband and wife. Housewives are engaging in a quiet stay-at-home strike. Only 11 women responded to a training course for which 10,000 had been invited.

Forty-three instruction courses for women were cancelled this year because women did not respond to the training overtures. This is in sharp contrast with a record of 16,000 housewives who entered the training classes last year.

The Swedish Labor Market Board has asked sociologists to develop inducements that will attract women to industry. One suggestion is a plan to let a couple decide whether to be taxed singly or jointly, but the proposal has not allayed the fear of part-time taxation.

The situation has boiled down to the simple proposition that there is a limit to the tax burden which people can carry. When that point is reached the taxpayers simply refuse to assume the obligation.

Enough Is Enough

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, in view of the unwarranted, and sometimes unlawful, picketing, protests, and demonstrations, in Washington, in recent days, I was pleased to note an editorial in the Washington Evening Star, under date of August 11, 1965, of and concerning such activities.

I hope it will be read by every person who has an urge to participate in any such unlawful conduct.

The editorial follows:

ENOUGH IS ENOUGH

Picketing and protests, no matter how wacky, are in the familiar American tradition. But there is a limit beyond which this sort of thing should not be tolerated, and we trust that current developments signify that the limit has been reached in this city.

On Saturday a group of men and women belonging to something called the "Assembly of Unrepresented People" picketed the White House to protest the war in Vietnam. Some of them stayed all night, blocking one entrance to the Executive Mansion.

By Sunday morning all entrances were blocked. Arrests were made and the officers hauled away the demonstrators to chants of "police brutality." Yesterday the unrepresented people set out in force for the Capitol, one of their leaders having previously announced that they would attempt to convene in the House of Representatives to "declare peace with the people of Vietnam." There were about 1,500 of them, mostly white. Once again, the police broke it up, arresting nearly 300 demonstrators.

In our book, the crackdown was long overdue. It is all right to picket and protest in an orderly manner. But blockades of the gates to the White House and marches into the House of Representatives are something else again. Enough of this sort of nonsense is enough, and we repeat our hope that the absolute limit of tolerance has been reached.

Willing To Stand Up and Be Counted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Chuck Warner, editor of the Brownton (Minn.) Bulletin, observed in a recent editorial:

It would be well for all Americans that sincerely honor this Republic's founders to to take stock of just how much they as individuals have done and are doing in the constant struggle for basic American rights and freedoms.

Mr. Warner makes his point in a most thoughtful fashion, and I would like his editorial reprinted in the RECORD for the benefit of its readers:

WILLING TO STAND UP AND BE COUNTED

As one looks back over the early history of the United States, it becomes crystal clear that our Nation is what it is today because there were those who dared stand up and be counted for what they believed was right. In the years since we gained our freedom from England we have been fortunate that there have been those that have continued to put liberty and individual freedom ahead of personal safety or personal gain.

The rugged individual that is willing to stand up for what he believes has always been in the minority. He has often been the subject of ridicule by his friends and neighbors. Without him, however, much of the basic things held dear by all Americans, would not be ours to appreciate or barter away as we see fit.

This past month has witnessed a great step backward in postal service for rural Minnesota. It is no longer possible to put a letter in the mail after 5 p.m. on a Saturday and have it moving on its way over the rest of the weekend. During the Fourth of July weekend a letter mailed after 5 p.m. Saturday, July 3, at the Brownton post office stayed in Brownton until Tuesday, July 6. If the letter had been addressed for the Twin Cities it would not reach its destination until the evening of July 6.

In a number of communities efforts were made to organize a public outcry against this curtailment of service. In practically every one, the efforts failed to generate much interest. The citizens were too occupied with their own personal profits and enjoyments to bother opposing this curtailment of a governmental service. All too many Americans were more interested in seeing that additional raids upon the Public Treasury in the form of Job Corps, war on poverty, aid to education, etc., etc., were made to do anything about the postal service.

It's beginning to be another story now, however, as the realization is slowly coming home that ye olde mail service ain't what she used to be. "Why didn't somebody do something?"

All too many Americans are forever willing to let somebody else stick his neck out while comfortably seeking to better their own position. We had these individuals in the time of the Revolution, we had them during the last war, and we have them today. They may be right. Perhaps it is good to stay out of conflict, take what you can and work only for your own good. Yet it wasn't individuals like this that made our Nation great. If George Washington, Ben Franklin, John and Sam Adams, Patrick Henry, and the rest of their group had been more interested in social security and money in the bank than in individual freedoms and liberty, we could well be flying the Union Jack today.

It would be safe to say that the majority of us would not take part in a freedom march for civil rights, nor a Farmers Union trip to Washington, D.C., to battle for what they believe to be good legislation for rural America, nor a national farm organization withholding action in an effort to bring higher prices for products produced. Yet in each of these cases we find Americans willing to stand up and be counted, willing to work and battle for what they believe to be right.

It would be well for all Americans that sincerely honor this Republic's founders to take stock of just how much they as individuals have done and are doing in the constant struggle for basic American rights and freedoms. We can all take a cue from the civil rights workers, the Farmers Union tour to Washington, and the NFO. Our way of life is worth fighting for. The future of rural America is important. Individual initiative, free enterprise, and basic American liberties are still—just as they were in the days of the Revolution—better than all powerful central government with its program of tax, tax, tax, and promises of cradle-to-the-grave security.

The Bulletin may not be in sympathy with all that has been done in the name of civil rights, nor with every proposal to boost rural economy as advanced by the NFO or the Farmers Union. The spirit of these people, their willingness to stand up and be counted, is something which every American may admire. And we are all thankful that we live in a country where it is possible to take a stand, be it in agreement or disagreement with the powers that be. As long as the right to take a stand and the willingness to take a stand, survive, all is not lost.

The Real Alabama—Part XLIII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the eastern shore of Mobile Bay offers such substantial recreational advantages that some call it the great undiscovered vacation spot of the eastern United States.

Mobile Bay itself is the large body of water through which the Mobile River empties into the Gulf of Mexico. It is located just a matter of minutes by car west of the Pensacola, Fla., population center, and not far east of Biloxi, Miss., and New Orleans.

The bay makes up a vast boating area protected at its mouth by Dauphin Island on one side and the Bon Secour Peninsula on the other. The neck providing access to the bay is flanked by Fort Gaines on the west and Fort Morgan on the east, reminiscent of the remarkable Civil War history which gives color and interest to the whole area.

Fishing, boating, and many other recreations have long been a center for attraction on the eastern shore of Mobile Bay, particularly for the residents of the Mobile area, centered in the city of Mobile on the west side of the bay.

But the shore, with its established communities, its long shoreline, and its ideal year-round climate, promises to become a major vacation area for the Nation.

On June 3, this year, the Mobile Register newspaper carried an editorial which tells more of the eastern shore area. The text of the editorial follows:

MOBILE BAY'S EASTERN SHORE

(NOTE.—This editorial is from the Mobile Register of June 3, and tells of just a single vacation area in Alabama, the heart of Dixie. Few, if any other areas in America, can offer the great variety of vacation attractions as are found right here in Alabama. This editorial tells of Alabama's unique and most unusual jubilee along the famed eastern shore of Mobile Bay.)

The eastern shore of Mobile Bay has much to attract vacationists, tourists and others looking for recreation, relaxation and interesting things to see.

Geographically, from north to south, Spanish Fort, Daphne, Montrose, Fairhope, Point Clear and beyond * * * by broad description this is the region traditionally known as the eastern shore of Mobile Bay.

"This luxury resort area is also a mecca for those seeking active retirement," says State of Alabama tourist promotion literature in publicizing it.

The eastern shore's exciting fish jubilees are called to attention in this brochure: "Young and young-at-heart pluck a variety of fine seafood from the shore during nature's fish jubilees."

And what are fish jubilees? The eastern shore of Mobile Bay is the only stretch of beach in the world where a phenomenon known as jubilees takes place.

Jubilees are unexplainable, unpredictable, exciting periods (always in summer and most of the time at night) when sea-life (crabs, fish, and shrimp) come to the beaches in great quantity and in stunned condition, and may be readily scooped, gigged and even just picked up.

"If you are lucky enough to witness a jubilee, you can brag about it forever, but outside this section * * * you will have a hard time getting anyone to believe that you are not telling the best fish story of them all."

Maybe a pleasure trip to the eastern shore this summer will land you right in the midst of a fish jubilee. And if so, what a rare experience.

But an abundance and diversity of other things on the eastern shore may interest you more than fish jubilees. Bayside drives, for instance, to the tune of sunset and moonlight on Mobile Bay. Or water skiing, sailing, swimming, golf, tennis, or relaxing in the shade of a towering tree near water's edge to the tune of traditional southern friendliness and hospitality.

Or perhaps you are interested in all these and more eastern shore attractions which beckon so invitingly.

Enjoy a trip to Alabama, where you will find the eastern shore of Mobile Bay and a trillion other reasons why repeat invitations will not be needed to bring you back often in the future.

As visitors to the eastern shore area increase in number each year and as the demands increase for year-around facilities, commercial and industrial projects are much in evidence.

For example, plans are proceeding in the gulf shores area at the south end of the shore for a golf course, a large shopping center, an auditorium, and improved community centers of various kinds.

Along with these there are plans for a large complex consisting of a class A restaurant, a motel and marina.

The restaurant will be situated so as to be accessible from both land and water, located about 1 mile west of the gulf shores drawbridge. It will be on the south bank of the intracoastal canal which is a passage for small craft between Mobile Bay and Pensacola Bay, a waterway which provides some of the most natural and beautiful scenery in the South.

The canal is used extensively by yachts and other craft transiting between the two large bays as well as by commercial craft of various kinds. The restaurant will have a dock area 250 feet in length, with a fueling station and other facilities.

A golf course will be located nearby, with free boat parking available, and transportation through the area, including to the Gulf Shores Golf Club.

Native seafoods in the eastern shore area are unsurpassed. They include oysters, shrimp, roe from the famous gulf mullet, and all the gulf fish in addition. The restaurant will excel in the preparation and serving of these seafoods.

The motel will offer first-class accommodations with direct access to the marina, to good roads and to the restaurant and golf courses and other facilities.

The marina, like the restaurant and motel, will be a 12-month operation, with special emphasis to be put on winter activities.

The eastern shore of Mobile Bay and the entire Alabama gulf coast area promises to become a center for vacationers the country over.

We look forward to this development, and invite others to come and share these natural advantages with us.

The 1965 Voting Rights Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to insert my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include a series of three editorials by David Lawrence, appearing in recent issues of the Washington Star, on the subject of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. These editorials sum up the reasons which prompted by negative vote on that bill:

CREDIT OR BLAME ON VOTING RIGHTS?

(By David Lawrence)

Five or six years from now—perhaps sooner—the American people may be interested indeed in whether the Republican or the Democratic Party was responsible for the enactment of the latest civil rights bill. The argument then will be not who is to receive the credit but who is to be blamed for having helped to take away from the States their right to fix the qualifications of voters and for having enacted legislation that penalizes some States while others are permitted to carry on discriminatory practices.

The Republicans today are boasting that 82 percent of the party's membership in the House of Representatives supported the administration bill on final passage by the House, while in the Senate 94 percent of the Republicans voted for passage. They point out that in both instances a substantially smaller percentage of the Democratic Senators and Representatives stood behind the measure.

The Republican minority leader in the House asked President Johnson 5 questions on Monday of this week. They have not been answered. When the full effects of the new voting measure are felt, however, it is quite probable that these questions will be even more pertinent. The questions asked of the President are:

1. Why was Texas not covered under the President's initial voting rights bill and is not effectively covered now?

2. Why were vote frauds and dishonest elections, such as have occurred in Chicago and Texas, not covered under the President's proposal?

3. Why shouldn't the right to vote be protected equally in every State, not just in 7 States?

4. Why should any area be exempted after only 50 percent of the Negroes are permitted to vote?

5. Why should votes that are challenged be counted and, if found invalid, be used possibly to determine the outcome of an election, including the election of a President?

Johnson is charged by the Republicans with not having answered any of these questions. But certainly when the new law has been in effect a few years, it will be evident not only that the States were treated unequally but that, in the drive to grant voting rights without restrictions, citizens—both Negroes and whites—who really were not qualified to vote were enabled to participate in elections and perhaps even hold the balance of power.

The Republicans are trying to make it appear that, although they attempted to safeguard the rights of all citizens by an important amendment, their Democratic colleagues in Congress were unmindful of their obligations. Yet the Republicans themselves have not answered the question as to why, if they were serious about their point of view, they didn't vote against the bill when it was up for final passage. Certainly a measure that contains inequities and discriminatory provisions is just as bad in its final form as it was when an amendment to remove the defects was voted on and rejected, mostly by the Democrats.

What it amounts to is that Republican Members are evidently trying not to take any political risks whatsoever. They want the benefits of having voted for the bill on final passage and also credit for having sought to change the measure. The average citizen, however, would have more admiration for the Republicans if they had stuck to their convictions by voting against any bill which contained provisions of a discriminatory nature.

Perhaps there are not many Barry Goldwaters left in the Republican Party in Congress. The former Arizona Senator voted against the 1964 Civil Rights Act on final passage because he felt it was a bad bill, though he did favor some of its provisions. When certain amendments failed, he did not turn about and cast his ballot for a bill which he sincerely believed was unconstitutional. On the contrary, he took pride in recording himself against it.

There is a lesson which the Republicans have not learned. It is that the people want their representatives to be less interested in political advantages of the moment than in fundamental convictions. In the long run, the cause of good government will be advanced far more by those who stick to their guns and vote against bills which they feel are unconstitutional and discriminatory than by those Members who are recorded as in favor of a measure on final roll call just because its general objective may be hailed as meritorious. Democratic government is not advanced by yielding to political expediencies.

Unfortunately, the whole voting rights bill contains many inequities and discriminatory provisions. It may take time before all these defects are evident to the people. Eventually the truth does come out, and when the people find that what was considered to be advantageous a few years before is detrimental to the best interests of the country, the vote of a Member of Congress of either party for such a measure can turn out to be a political liability rather than a political asset.

BLOW TO STATES RIGHTS SEEN

(By David Lawrence)

History may record as a day of infamy August 6, 1965, when the voting rights bill was enacted into law. For, while the objective of the measure—to secure equal voting rights for citizens irrespective of race or color—is worthy and meritorious, the method used to attain this end must inevitably shock the conscience of anyone who notes that the Constitution of the United States explicitly gives only to the States the right to stipulate what tests or qualifications may be used to register a voter.

The new law goes even further—it assumes the right of the Federal Government to suspend voter tests on mere suspicion that they are being abused. Even more palpably unconstitutional is the insertion of a paragraph in the new law which hasn't anything to do with race or color but which would prohibit a State from requiring a person to be able to read or write or understand the English language in order to be eligible to vote. This is a flagrant example of how the Federal Government is usurping the right of the States to determine their own voter qualifications.

There are also provisions in the law designed to prevent otherwise legitimate tests from being used to discriminate against a citizen on account of race or color. The purpose is a good one, because the 15th amendment of the Constitution does say clearly that no citizen shall be deprived of his right to vote because of race or color. Never before, however, has Congress sought by law to adjudge a State or city or county guilty of wrongdoing and punishable for such alleged offenses merely because of suspicion.

No State, moreover, has hitherto been deprived of its right to set voter qualifications just because census figures may show that a certain percentage of nonwhites didn't happen to be registered in a previous election.

The new statute also declares that, if a provision requiring a test of reading or writing ability or evidence of good moral character is abused in a few cases, that same method of determining voter qualifications cannot be used legitimately to qualify or disqualify any other voters, either. The States under the new law thus lose, in effect, their right to set voter qualifications for anybody.

On the subject of poll taxes, the new law would take away an inherent right of the States to require payment of such taxes as a condition for voting in State elections. This kind of tax is imposed on both whites and nonwhites to help pay the costs of elections. Congress took the proper course when it approved the 24th amendment to the Constitution, which was ratified by the States and proclaimed on January 23, 1964. This amendment forbids poll taxes to be levied as a condition for voting in Federal elections. If poll taxes in State elections were to be barred, this was the way to do it—by including such a prohibition in the 24th amendment.

The 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution—which now are theoretically relied upon as a basis for abolishing State poll taxes—bar discrimination in voting by reason of race or color. But as long as every voter in a State is obliged to pay the poll tax, it is not subject to Federal control or regulation. Yet the new voting law now imposes an unprecedented restriction covering State elections. It says:

"The Congress finds that the requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a precondition to voting (1) precludes persons of limited means from voting or imposes unreasonable financial hardship upon such persons as a precondition to their exercise of the franchise, (2) does not bear a reasonable relationship to any legitimate State interest in the conduct of elections, and (3) in some areas has the purpose or effect of denying persons the right to vote because of race or color. Upon the basis of these findings, Congress declares that the constitutional right of citizens to vote is denied or abridged in some areas by the requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a precondition to voting."

The poll tax in Virginia amounts to only $1.50 per person. No other poll tax exceeds $2. If Congress can arbitrarily decide that such a payment imposes a financial hardship on some citizens because they cannot raise this sum for a poll tax payment, then the Congress in the future may decide that any other State taxes can also be forbidden because they may impose a financial hardship.

An overwhelming majority in both Houses of Congress has approved the new legislation on the theory that the end justifies the means. It is being assumed that the American people don't much care if the Constitution is trampled on now because it has been circumvented by local authorities before. Two wrongs, however, do not make a single right.

NEW CONSTITUTION FOR UNITED STATES SEEN

(By David Lawrence)

The United States of America apparently has a new "constitution", though it has never been submitted by Congress to the States of the Union for ratification or rejection. The structure came into being nevertheless with the assumption by Congress of new powers enumerated in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and now further enlarged by the Voting Rights Act signed on August 6, 1965, by President Johnson. The new "constitution" declares, in effect, that, with or without the approval of the President, Congress may at any time make laws based on the following finding or conclusions:

1. Congress possesses the power to pass a law requiring a prescribed "racial balance" in public schools and directing that pupils shall be transported from one school to another irrespective of residence in a particular school district.

2. Congress possesses the power to require that each school shall have a specified percentage of Negroes, Protestants, Catholics and Jews based on census statistics in a given area.

3. Congress possesses the power to order the removal of any school superintendent or members of any school board who do not conform to the orders of the U.S. Department of Justice in taking the steps deemed necessary by the Federal Government to eliminate what it considers a form of discrimination. Federal school superintendents or special examiners could be sent out to various districts to correct racial imbalance in any school.

4. Congress possesses the power to order Federal funds withheld from a State as a whole or from any county or city therein whenever the statistics are interpreted by Congress as indicating a suspicion that discrimination by reason of race or color or religion may have occurred in the employment practices of a contractor, subcontractor or supplier of products or services having any connection with Government contracts which cover public works or any other Federal project.

5. Congress possesses the power to order the suspension of all tests or other methods used in qualifying would-be voters whenever the statistics can be construed to mean that there appears to have been a racial imbalance in the number of persons voting—as for instance, when less than 50 percent of residents of voting age registered or voted in 1964. Congress has the power to alter at will the required proportions.

6. Congress possesses the power to make a finding and then require every residential building project—or single-family home—financed or insured directly or indirectly by the Federal Government or its mortgaging agencies to be inhabited by a certain racial or religious ratio in a given area.

The fact that Congress in the 1964 Civil Rights Act did specifically forbid the correction of any racial imbalance in the public schools does not mean that Congress has in any way surrendered the right to impose such rules whenever it feels they are desirable. Rather, this confirms that Congress feels it now possesses the power to correct at any time by Federal law what it may decide is racial imbalance.

Much of the new "constitution" will be enforced, as it already has been, by Executive order and without any law of Congress. The President, for instance, now is being asked by Negro leaders to correct an alleged racial imbalance at the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, the U.S. Air Force Academy at Colorado Springs, and the other service schools for training officers.

Also, while threats to withhold Federal funds are at present confined to areas within a State and to particular projects, the right to exercise such powers more broadly is considered to be inherent in the new "constitution." Indeed, Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, in a speech last May, issued this warning to the Nation's school boards:

"The choice is simply this: to continue receiving Federal aid and desegregate or to sacrifice Federal aid and desegregate anyway."

The theorists who have evolved the new "constitution" have argued ever since the New Deal that the method of changing the original Constitution as prescribed in that document is "too difficult" and "time consuming" and that, if an objective is meritorious, it doesn't matter what means are used. This concept, in effect, assumes that it is right to alter any signed contract without the consent of the other parties to the agreement. This is but another way of saying that the end justifies the means.

A Supreme Court majority in the last few years has already concurred in some of the basic principles of the new "constitution" and in various decisions has rationalized these fundamental concepts as in keeping

with "the spirit of the times." This trend now can be reversed only by electing someday a President and a new majority in Congress dedicated to the original Constitution and to the amending process it has specifically prescribed for the making of changes in the law of the land whenever desired by the people.

Potato Prices Pared

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the colloquy over the high cost of a sack of spuds has lost most of its starch.

Those of us who have been watching uneasily the summer potato prices can take a measure of satisfaction in the return to a reasonable price.

Potatoes are selling in Connecticut at 10 pounds for 59 or 69 cents, according to grade, and the trend is downward. On June 2, when I told the House that the meteoric rise in the price of potatoes was a national scandal, the lowly spud was moving on the market at 10 pounds for $1.59. Since that time, the decline has been gradual but steady. I am pleased that this result has been achieved.

This price toboggan ride has been eyed very differently by the Idaho and Maine growers and the jobbers on one hand; and on the other, the consumers who are from my point of view the most important interests.

Before closing my challenge to the potato industry, I wish to emphasize again that my call for a study of the potato market was not to quarrel with or plow under the potato farmer, but rather to demonstrate to him the hazards of injuring the consuming public.

As continuing evidence that glib talk from the industry and its professional defenders failed to satisfy shoppers, I include comments from another homemaker, a Grange official, and an irate husband whose comments support the warning I have given.

Coming from the Connecticut Grange, the criticism concerning the price of potatoes is significant for unquestionably Grange members are fully cognizant of the economic problems of the farmer, while sympathetic to the burden placed on urban residents by the high cost of farm products. This message came to me from Mr. G. W. Raymond, chairman of the State Legislature Committee of the Connecticut State Grange, who said:

We feel there are two important considerations:

1. An adequate supply of food at reasonable cost to the public. Please note the price of potatoes today, this stable food commodity is almost priced off the market. Potatoes have no support price, therefore plantings vary greatly and the public suffers from lack of potatoes and too high a price.

2. A reasonable price should be given to the farmers so they will, and can produce the needed food at a price so that they may stay in business. Here in Connecticut too many farmers are dropping out.

The letter from the Danbury homemaker was similar to others I have received. It said, in part:

I have read in the papers that you were questioning the high price of potatoes in Connecticut, and I appreciate your interest as prices have just gone beyond the average homemaker. Only a few weeks ago, a supermarket here had a large sign over the potato counter—10 pounds U.S. Grade A potatoes, $1.59. Another store carried a sign—5 pounds at 98 cents. The price of potatoes seldom ever appeared in advertisements of these stores, but since your questioning of these prices the advertisements all include prices as shown in the clipping enclosed. (Potatoes—10-pound bag 59 cents and potatoes New U.S. No. 1 size A 10 pounds 69 cents.)

The letter continues:

Thank you for looking into this for Connecticut housekeepers who cannot and should not pay these prices.

Last, but not least, the letter written to the editor of the Waterbury, Conn., American by a male shopper is eloquent evidence that housewives were not alone in their despair over the zooming price of potatoes.

At this point, I include the article:

PRICE OF POTATOES STIRS HUSBANDS AS WELL AS WIVES

To the Editor of the American:

It was nice to see and read in your American newspaper of July 20, of something I wondered when your news or some part of the Government did exploit the price of potatoes.

It was a nice heading, "Housewives Sputter Over High Price of Potatoes." This sputter has been going on for months not only by the wives, also by the husbands, who do some shopping. I for one, and other men, if your reporter could travel some of the stores at shopping time not only would you hear sputter, some things you wouldn't print in your paper. Yes, I have seen in the store where I shop out of 15 people who always bought potatoes only one bought a bag of 10 pounds of $1.10 to $1.29.

As I read it the demand is higher than the supply. They tell us the farmers are paying too much for the American worker over what they paid the Mexican migrant, how much more? We also pay a big price for coffee where it is plentiful, and wheat for flour we have so much. Of course the American will also be the sucker if no one complains. Now we know why Congress has passed the medicare bill, we will need a doctor bad if we cannot get all these nourishing foods because of the every day increases in prices.

Will someone tell me and all potato lovers what happens to these potatoes when the people don't buy them at the ridiculous price. Can they afford to do it? In conclusion, many a youngster is going without potato chips, even Bert Lahr. Switch to macaroni and rice, one consumer said, not bad if they don't decide to have a shortage. With all these things affecting us, medicare will come in a lifesaver. They have to give us good food to keep us alive. Will our Congressman look into it like he said he would?

JOHN MARCHITELLA.

The potato famine and the fight are ended for the season. The potato masher is back in use. Let us hope that my efforts will help to create a potato market which will bring prosperity to the producers and fair prices to the consumers.

Appointment of R. W. Akers as Deputy Director of U.S. Information Agency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's selection of Robert W. Akers as Deputy Director of U.S. Information Agency was received with great enthusiasm in the Second District of Texas. Our pleasure was not based solely on the natural pride that we felt at having a distinguished local citizen appointed to this extremely sensitive and important post, but also it was due to the knowledge that Bob Akers has the ability and background to carry out these duties in an outstanding manner.

The feelings of all southeast Texas were expressed in a recent editorial appearing in the Beaumont Enterprise. It was written by T. T. Hunt, the editor in chief of this outstanding newspaper, who is not only a friend but who for many years worked for and with Bob Akers and is therefore particularly well aware of his qualifications.

The editorial which was printed August 4, 1965, follows:

AN EXCELLENT CHOICE

With characteristic promptness, R. W. Akers accepted the call to public service and energetically plunged into the intricacies of the new job.

His appointment as Deputy Director of the U.S. Information Agency is effective as of September 1 and the formality of Senate confirmation is a foregone conclusion. Meanwhile, he already is moving ahead full steam with his accustomed enthusiasm.

We naturally applaud President Johnson's selection of the former editor in chief of the Enterprise and the Journal. But our approval goes far beyond that.

We know, in ways others would not be privileged to know, that the USIA has in Bob Akers a man who can put across its peculiarly demanding and often sensitive story. This is the story of the American idea—as he, himself, so well expressed it—presented for the understanding of the other peoples of the world. Its proper telling is critically important.

This, then, is his biggest story and his greatest challenge. The point was well made that he is the first newspaper editor to occupy this position. For 40 years, beginning when he was quite a young man, he has reported and edited the American story as it poured across his desk in its myriad forms. News story objectiveness has been a keystone of his career.

On top of that, he has followed the world story with a student's inquisitiveness and understanding, and he has exchanged views on the spot with the peoples of many nations.

This is a solid, practical background for a top hand in the USIA.

Due to the very nature of the USIA mission, the people of America do not have much contact with the program of the National Government. What we have seen of it has, at times, caused us to wonder just how correct and how effective it has been.

This reorganization of its directorship is reassuring. We feel that our story will be in safe hands, truly told and in a manner

that should redound to the benefit of both ourselves and those abroad who will hear.

These are reasons for our endorsement of this Presidential action. And with this commendation go our most genuine best wishes—as he steps out on his biggest assignment—to Bob Akers.

—T. T. HUNT.

Immigration Reform Moves at Last

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, for 40 years this Nation has labored under an archaic and unworthy immigration policy. Since 1924, our country, the land of opportunity, has offered its rich opportunity primarily to those newcomers who could qualify for admission under a restrictive national origin quota system. This system, I believe, can be justified only by a resort to the ancient discredited arguments of racial prejudice.

I believe that it is time for a change. I applaud the President of the United States for his courageous and enlightened leadership in calling for a change. And I am happy to submit for inclusion in the RECORD an excellent editorial on this subject from the Louisville Times of August 6:

IMMIGRATION REFORM MOVES AT LAST

Long-needed reforms in this Nation's immigration laws are embodied in a bill just approved by the House Judiciary Committee. It is in response to President Johnson's plea to Congress last January to wipe out inequities which have existed for more than 40 years.

Primarily the bill does away with an unfair and unwise quota system under which 158,000 visas a year are allocated to some 60 countries outside the Western Hemisphere, the quotas designed to maintain the racial and national-origin balance in the United States as it was in 1920.

In its stead there would be a common pool of 170,000 visas to be distributed on a first-come, first-served basis, subject to limit of 20,000 a year for any one country. As it is now, under a law dating back to 1921, countries with low quotas have long waiting lists of would-be immigrants while other nations have larger quotas than they ever have call for.

The unfairness of the present system, which heavily favors immigration for northern Europe and the British Isles while discriminating against Italy, Greece, and other low-quota countries, was pointed out by President Johnson in a message to Congress earlier this year. He said: "The procedures (in the present law) imply that men and women from some countries are, just because of where they come from, more desirable citizens than others. We have no right to disparage the ancestors of millions of our fellow Americans that way. Relationships with a number of countries, and hence the success of our foreign policy, are needlessly impeded by this proposition."

Noting that the new law he was proposing would give first priority to immigrants with skills needed in the United States, he went on to say: "This bill would not alter in any way the many limitations in existing law which prevent undesirables and safeguard our people against excessive or unregulated immigration. Nothing in the legislation relieves any immigrant of the necessity of satisfying all the security requirements we now have, or the requirements designed to exclude persons likely to become public charges. No immigrants admitted under this bill could contribute to unemployment in the United States."

A Blow in the Bread Basket—Loaves Up 2 Cents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR CALLAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to comment on an article in the Raleigh News and Observer of Thursday, August 5, which reports on a rise in bread prices in that city. This rise points up once again the fact that the cost of the wheat in a loaf of bread has very little to do with the price of bread and that the outcry of "bread tax" is therefore pointless when directed at the wheat provisions of H.R. 9811, soon to be considered by the membership of the House of Representatives.

This article from the News and Observer is headlined "A Blow in the Bread Basket: Loaves Up 2 Cents." It starts off like this:

Raleigh grocery shoppers are in for a blow in the bread basket. Several large bakeries have raised the price of bread by 1½ cents a loaf and supermarkets and grocery stores are expected to pass the hike along to the shopper.

One grocery chain has already upped the price by 2 cents a loaf and officials of another said they will do likewise. As a result, housewives who picked up the king-size loaf at 31 cents earlier this week were paying 33 cents for the same loaf Wednesday. Bakeries of local bread raised prices Monday.

Mr. Speaker, this rise in bread prices, which has been repeated so many times in so many cities in the past 18 years, reinforces my belief that the price of wheat is almost irrelevant to the price of bread. Ever since price controls went off in 1947, the average retail price of bread has risen steadily. In most years, I might say, the rise has been largely unheralded; and certainly unlamented by those interests who cry "bread tax" so loudly in those dog days of August 1965.

The retail price of bread was 11.9 cents in 1947; and it has risen in every succeeding year except 1964, in which the average price remained steady with the preceding year. Meanwhile, the cost of the wheat in a pound of bread was 3 cents in 1947; and this value has actually declined—to about 2.7 cents now.

The facts are these: In 1947, a pound loaf of bread was worth less than 12 cents—of which 3 cents was wheat. In the first 3 months of this year, a pound loaf of bread averaged 21 cents—of which 2.7 cents was wheat.

Wheat is just one of the smaller costs that go into the making of bread. When route salesmen in Raleigh arrived at stores on Thursday with fresh bread priced 2 cents above what it was on Wednesday—then you cannot blame that on the price of wheat. There was nothing happening in the wheat market that could possibly be held accountable.

There are, of course, many costs going into breadmaking—and these are legitimate costs. The cost of labor, marketing, and transportation all have to be met; the middlemen are entitled to a profit. But what I am saying is that the rise in these costs and wages have since 1947 resulted in a rise of over 9 cents in the price of a pound of bread. And the tiny amount going to wheat growers has actually declined.

So it is with poor grace that the finger is being pointed at the wheat grower who stands to get a slight raise in pay after lo these many years. And it is with especially poor grace that the finger is being pointed by the so-called wheat users who have shared in the 76-percent rise in bread prices that has taken place in the last 18 years.

It is only when farmers are about to benefit that the cry of "bread tax" is raised. The News and Observer article which I have quoted from took account of this proposed legislation and referred to "the tax on wheat processors." This is not a tax, of course, since it is part of the return going to farmers. The News and Observer said:

The omnibus farm bill, now under consideration in Congress, won't make things any better.

It is true that H.R. 9811 would not do anything to lower bread prices. But it would be just as fair to say that it will do very little to raise bread prices. The increased value of the wheat certificate proposed in the new bill will increase the value of the wheat in a one-pound loaf of bread by only seven-tenths of a cent. In other words, the farm value of the wheat in a pound of bread would rise from 2,7 to 3.4 cents. This grossly overdue rise in the value of wheat could not be held accountable for any rise in the price of bread beyond that additional cost—seven-tenths of a cent.

The price of bread to retailers went up twice that much in Raleigh this week—in 1 day. And none of it could be attributed to the cost of wheat. It makes the opponents of the farm bill look a little silly in raising a national hue and cry of "bread tax" in relation to that bill.

The article follows:

A BLOW IN THE BREAD BASKET: LOAVES UP 2 CENTS

Raleigh grocery shoppers are in for a blow in the bread basket. Several large bakeries have raised the price of bread by 1½ cents a loaf and supermarkets and grocery stores are expected to pass the hike along to the shopper.

One grocery chain has already upped the price by 2 cents a loaf and officials of another say they will do likewise.

As a result, housewives who picked up the kingsize loaf at 31 cents earlier this week were paying 33 cents for the same loaf Wednesday.

Bakers of local bread raised prices Monday.

OVERHEAD JUMPS

An official of Continental Baking Co. said the price increase was due to higher labor and ingredient costs. Other bakers said the same.

Billy Chalk, manager of Holsum Bread Co., and Vernon Finch, assistant manager of Merita Bakery, said the 1½ cents rise applies to all loaf bread and to hotdog and hamburger buns.

Officials of the A. & P. and Winn-Dixie chains said the price of their companies' brands will remain the same for the time being. A. & P. however, has raised prices by 2 cents on some other bread baked locally.

"We didn't know anything about the price rise until a route salesman walked in our door Monday morning," an A. & P. official said.

A Winn-Dixie official said he hasn't received official notice of the price hike from local bakeries. But he said the firm will have to raise the price to consumers if the 1½-cent increase holds.

"We only make 2 cents a loaf," the Winn-Dixie official said.

Increasing bread prices could add to the already blazing rise in food costs. And the omnibus farm bill, now under consideration in Congress, won't make things any better.

The bill, under study by the House Agriculture Committee, headed by Representative HAROLD COOLEY, of North Carolina, would raise from 75 cents to $1.25 a bushel the tax on wheat processors.

Imbalance in Congress Expensive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Daily Californian of July 25, 1965:

IMBALANCE IN CONGRESS EXPENSIVE

The folly of one party holding unchallengeable ascendancy over the other in Congress was never more clear than when the Democrats in the House of Representatives fell over themselves like dominoes to double financial support for the war on poverty.

Even the most charitable observer could not at this point proclaim the so-called war on poverty a spectacular success. In many areas the program is bogged down in interminable political bickering among local factions vying for control of the funds. The Job Corps project, for instance, is encountering serious dropout difficulties.

Despite all the obvious shortcomings of the "war," the Democrats and a handful of Republicans in the House chorused "amen" in unison when the bill came up. Not only did the majority ram through the main bill, it defeated every Republican effort to trim the cost, thereby giving the administration 25 percent more money than it wanted.

Such fiscal irresponsibility is a costly lesson for the Nation's taxpayers. It should be an equally meaningful lesson for the Republican Party which is largely responsible, along with Mr. Barry Goldwater, for the current imbalance of GOP manpower in Congress.

The poverty program may become what some of its most devoted backers proclaim it to be—a 20th century miracle for the downtrodden masses in hidden America. Some of the projects, such as the Head Start program for culturally deprived children, indeed show promise of being extremely worthwhile.

But the whole poverty program hasn't been in existence long enough for anybody to make an objective assessment of the results. Yet we find a majority of our Washington lawmakers in the House ready and willing to plunk down nearly $2 billion on a program whose merits haven't been fully assayed. That in itself is cause for voters to wonder if they did themselves any big favor last fall by giving the Democrats such a huge—and apparently easily controlled—bulldozer.

Monsignor Corcoran Named Secretary of National Conference of Catholic Charities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, like all citizens of Columbus, Ohio, which I have the honor to represent in the House of Representatives, I am pleased to note the honor which has come to one of Columbus' distinguished clergymen, Msgr. Lawrence J. Corcoran, who has recently been named secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities with headquarters in our Nation's Capital.

Monsignor Corcoran has been director of the Columbus Catholic Welfare Bureau since 1960, in which post he has served so well as to merit the approbation, admiration, and respect of peoples of all faiths in the Columbus diocese. His superiors in the Catholic hierarchy throughout the country have been similarly impressed resulting in his appointment to one of the most important positions in the Roman Catholic Church in North America. The Catholic Church and the country are particularly fortunate that a man and priest of Monsignor Corcoran's abilities, experience, and character is available for this sensitive position.

The following article in the August 5 issue of the Washington, D.C., Catholic Standard describes Monsignor Corcoran's new assignment:

CHARITIES OFFICIAL NAMED—MSGR. CORCORAN OF COLUMBUS TO FILL NCCC POST

Msgr. Lawrence J. Corcoran, director of the Catholic Welfare Bureau of Columbus, Ohio, has been named secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities with headquarters here.

Msgr. Corcoran succeeds Bishop-designate Raymond J. Gallagher, who recently was named bishop of Lafayette, Ind., and has been secretary of the NCCC since September 1961.

Announcement of the appointment was made Tuesday by Bishop John J. Carberry of Columbus and Coadjutor Bishop Leo C. Byrne of Wichita, Kans., honorary president of the NCCC. The conference is the chief coordinating agency for Catholic social welfare programs in the United States.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN

Msgr. Corcoran, director of the Columbus Catholic Welfare Bureau since 1960, has been serving as chairman of priest-directors of the NCCC and is a member of its board of directors. He was chairman of the conference program committee in 1960–61.

Ordained in 1943, he served for 2 years at St. Joseph's Cathedral in Columbus. In 1945 he was sent to the National Catholic School of Social Service at Catholic University, from which he graduated in 1947.

STUDIED AT OHIO STATE

He was named assistant director of the Catholic Welfare Bureau in Columbus and held that post until becoming director in 1960. He also pursued graduate studies at Ohio State University.

Bishop-designate Gallagher, a priest of the Cleveland Diocese, will be consecrated there August 11 in the Cathedral of St. John the Evangelist by Archbishop Egidio Vagnozzi, Apostolic Delegate to the United States. He will be enthroned as bishop of Lafayette on August 23.

English Cousins of Hawaiian Goose Return to Native Land

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, following the example of a famous English explorer, Capt. James Cook, who discovered the Hawaiian—then called Sandwich—Islands, 24 young nenes made the trip from England to Hawaii in much faster time through the travel medium of "air freight." The two dozen nenes—Hawaiian goose—were joined by a pair of their New England cousins as they made the one-way trek to their native habitat.

The 26 newly arrived nenes will enjoy privileged status—the nene, pronounced nay'-nay', is the official State bird of Hawaii—and will be protected from predators. The birds will be released in the Haleakala Crater on the Island of Maui.

The story of the return of these birds to their native land is told in the August 5, 1965 issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin:

TO BE FREED ON MAUI—NENE IMMIGRANTS ARRIVE

Two-dozen squawking young nenes from England plus a pair from Connecticut returned to the land of their forefathers last night.

The long-distance migration was aided by United Air Lines air freight.

Temporarily the birds are being lodged at the Honolulu Zoo, but on Monday, State fish and game men will release them in Haleakala Crater on Maui.

That will be the 10th release of nenes in Hawaii.

Peter Scott, operator of the Wildfowl Trust, a private wildfowl sanctuary at Slimbridge, England, raised the four and twenty gray birds and donated them to Hawaii. They spent 2 weeks quarantined in New Jersey.

Dillon Ripley, of Litchfield, Conn., gave the State two nenes more.

Most of the birds' crates were labeled "Hawaiian goose—the world's rarest goose, bred by the Wildfowl Trust—fourth release in their native land."

These geese are descendants of three birds sent to the Wildfowl Trust by Herbert Shipman, of the Big Island, some 16 years ago.

Shipman at first sent two, but when both of them turned out to be females, he sent a male also. (It's hard to tell the difference, although the nenes seem to have no trouble.)

Ronald L. Walker, wildlife biologist for the fish and game division of the department of land and natural resources, met the geese and trucked them to the zoo.

Also going where the geese went were Mr. and Mrs. Fred W. Trumbull, of Los Altos, Calif., and two University of California men, who have been making a documentary movie about nenes.

The geese are getting a day of rest today. Then tomorrow Walker will band them for identification. Two colored, plastic bands will be attached to each leg of each bird. Walker will try to determine who's a boy and who's a girl.

The ages of the 26 nenes range from less than a year to about 2 years.

Removed from their boxes within a large zoo pen last night, the geese shrieked in panic, seemingly unaware of being the official State bird of Hawaii. But they calmed down soon enough upon setting foot on Hawaiian soil.

They will be airfreighted to Maui Sunday, and on Monday afternoon wildlife biologist Joseph Medeiros will release the birds in Haleakala in a wire pen stocked with foods they have eaten in captivity.

Thus they will be protected from predators and become accustomed to the place, and in a few weeks when their clipped wing feathers grow back, they will, presumably, fly off.

In 1949, Walker said, there were less than 100 nenes in existence, but now there are over 500 in Hawaii, plus a few more in captivity in various zoos and sanctuaries elsewhere. About 50 are in captivity here. The nene, a cousin to the Canada goose, is mostly gray with a buff neck.

The first release was in 1959, a decade after the nene preservation program began, and the latest one was last April, Walker said. Nenes have so far been released six times on Hawaii Island and three times on Maui.

Haleakala Crater, about 7,000 feet high, is a good place for nenes. They like it real cool.

H.R. 10212

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, I insert the text of the bill I introduced recently before the House, H.R. 10212—the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1965—in the Appendix of the RECORD:

H.R. 10212

A bill to strengthen intergovernmental relations by improving cooperation and the coordination of federally aided activities between the Federal, State, and local levels of government; to provide for uniform and equitable relocation procedures under Federal and Federal grant-in-aid programs, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1965".

TITLE I—DEFINITIONS

When used in this Act—

Federal Agency

SEC. 101. The term "Federal agency" means—

(A) any department, agency, or instrumentality in the executive branch of the Government including the National Capital Housing Authority and any wholly owned Government corporation; and

(B) the Architect of the Capitol.

State

SEC. 102. The term "State" means any of the several States of the United States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, any territory or possession of the United States, or any agency or instrumentality of a State, but does not include the governments of the political subdivisions of the State.

Political Subdivision or Local Government

SEC. 103. The term "political subdivision" or "local government" means a local unit of government, including specifically a county, municipality, city, town, township, or a school or other special district created by or pursuant to State law.

Unit of General Local Government

SEC. 104. "Unit of general local government" means any city, county, town, parish, village, or other general-purpose political subdivision of a State.

Special-purpose unit of local government

SEC. 105. "Special-purpose unit of local government" means any special district, public-purpose corporation, or other strictly limited-purpose political subdivision of a State, but shall not include a school district.

Grant or Grant-in-Aid

SEC. 106. The term "grant" or "grant-in-aid" means money, or property provided in lieu of money, paid or furnished by the United States under a fixed annual or aggregate authorization—

(A) to a State; or

(B) to a political subdivision of a State; or

(C) to a beneficiary under a State-administered plan or program which is subject to approval by a Federal agency;

if such authorization either (i) requires the States or political subdivisions to expend non-Federal funds as a condition for the receipt of money or property from the United States; or (ii) specifies directly, or establishes by means of a formula, the amounts which may be paid or furnished to States or political subdivisions, or the amounts to be allotted for use in each of the States by the States, political subdivisions, or other beneficiaries. The term does not include (1) shared revenues; (2) payment of taxes; (3) payments in lieu of taxes; (4) loans or repayable advances; (5) surplus property or surplus agricultural commodities furnished as such; (6) payments under research and development contracts or grants which are awarded directly and on similar terms to all qualifying organizations, whether public or private; (7) payments to States or political subdivisions as full reimbursement for the costs incurred in paying benefits or furnishing services to persons entitled thereto under Federal laws; or (8) any annual payment by the United States to the District of Columbia authorized by article VI of the District of Columbia Revenue Act of 1947 (D.C. Code, secs. 47-2501a and 47-2501b).

The term "grant" or "grant-in-aid", as it is used in title II of this Act, shall also include payments made under research and development contracts or grants which are awarded directly and on similar terms to all qualifying public organizations.

Specialized or Technical Services

SEC. 107. "Specialized or technical services" means special statistical and other studies and compilations, development projects, demonstration projects, technical tests and evaluations, technical information, training activities, surveys, reports, documents, and any other similar service functions which the Secretary of any department or the administrative head of any agency of the executive branch of the Federal Government is authorized by law to perform.

Comprehensive Planning

SEC. 108. "Comprehensive planning", except in title VI, includes the following, to the extent directly related to area needs or needs of a unit of general local government: (i) preparation, as a guide for long-rang development, of general physical plans with respect to the pattern and intensity of land use and the provision of public facilities, including transportation facilities, together with long-range fiscal plans for such development; (ii) programing of capital improvements based on a determination of relative urgency, together with definitive financing plans for the improvements to be constructed in the earlier years of the program; (iii) coordination of all related plans of the departments or subdivisions of the government concerned; (iv) intergovernmental coordination of related planned activities among the State and local governmental agencies concerned; and (v) preparation of regulatory and administrative measures in support of the foregoing.

Metropolitan Area or Area

SEC. 109. A "metropolitan area" or "area" means either (i) a standard metropolitan statistical area as defined by the Bureau of the Budget, except as may be determined by the President or by the Bureau of the Budget as not being appropriate for the purposes of this Act, or (ii) any urban area, including those surrounding areas that form an economic and socially related region, taking into consideration such factors as present and future population trends and patterns of urban growth, location of transportation facilities and systems, and distribution of industrial, commercial, residential, governmental, institutional, and other activities which in the opinion of the President or the Bureau of the Budget lends itself as being appropriate for the purposes hereof.

Urban Area

SEC. 110. "Urban area" means—

(1) any geographical area within the jurisdiction of any incorporated city, town, borough, village, or other unit of general local government having a population of ten thousand or more inhabitants;

(2) that portion of the geographical area within the jurisdiction of any county, town, township, or similar governmental entity which contains no incorporated unit of general local government but has a population density equal to or exceeding one thousand five hundred inhabitants per square mile; and

(3) that portion of any geographical area situated adjacent to the boundary of any incorporated unit of general local government which has such population density.

Areawide Agency

SEC. 111. "Areawide agency" means an official State or metropolitan or regional agency empowered under State or local laws or under an interstate compact or agreement to perform comprehensive planning in an area, or such other agency or instrumentality as may be designated by the Governor (or, in the case of metropolitan areas crossing State lines, any one or more of such agencies or instrumentalities as may be designated by the Governors of the States involved) to perform such planning, which agency or instrumentality is, to the greatest practictable extent, composed of or responsible to the elected officials of the units of general local government within whose jurisdiction such agency is authorized to engage in such planning.

Urban Development

SEC. 112. "Urban development" means all projects or programs for the planning and carrying out of the acquisition, use, and development of open-space land, the planning and construction of hospitals, airports, water supply and distribution facilities, sewerage facilities and waste treatment

works, transportation facilities, highways, water development and land conservation, and other public works facilities.

Hospital

SEC. 113. "Hospital" means any public health center or general, tuberculosis, mental, chronic disease, and other type of hospital and related facilities, and central service facilities normally operated in connection with hospitals, but does not include any hospital furnishing primarily domiciliary care.

Displaced Person

SEC. 114. "Displaced person" means—

(A) any person who is the owner of a business which moves from real property or is discontinued on or after the effective date of this Act as a result of the acquisition or imminence of acquisition of such real property, in whole or in part, by a Federal, State, or local government agency;

(B) any person who is the owner of a farm operation which moves from real property or is discontinued on or after the effective date of this Act as a result of the acquisition or imminence of acquisition of such real property, in whole or in part, by a Federal, State, or local government agency;

(C) any individual who is the head of a family which moves from real property occupied as a dwelling on or after the effective date of this Act as a result of the acquisition or imminence of acquisition of such real property, in whole or in part, by a Federal, State, or local government agency, or which moves from such dwelling as a result of the acquisition or imminence of acquisition, by such Federal, State, or local government agency, or other real property on which such family conducts a business or farm operation;

(D) any individual, not a member of a family, who moves from real property occupied as a dwelling on or after the effective date of this Act, as a result of the acquisition or imminence of acquisition of such real property, in whole or in part, by a Federal, State, or local government agency, or who moves from such dwelling as a result of the acquisition or imminence of acquisition by such Federal, State, or local government agency, of other real property on which such individual conducts a business or farm operation; and

(E) any individual, not described in paragraph (A), (B), (C), or (D) of this section, who moves his personal property from real property on or after the effective date of this Act as a result of the acquisition or imminence of acquisition of such real property, in whole or in part, by a Federal, State, or local government agency.

Business

SEC. 115. "Business" means any lawful activity conducted primarily (A) for the purchase and resale of products, commodities, or any other personal property; (B) for the manufacture, processing, or marketing of any such property; or (C) for the sale of services to the public. Such term does not include the activity of an investor in acquiring or holding real property for resale for gain.

Farm Operation

SEC. 116. "Farm operation" means any activity conducted solely or primarily for the production of one or more agricultural products or commodities for sale and home use, and customarily producing such products or commodities in sufficient quantity to be capable of contributing materially to the operator's support.

Family

SEC. 117. "Family" means two or more individuals living together in the same dwelling unit who are related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption.

Elderly Individual

SEC. 118. "Elderly individual" means a person, not a member of a family, who is sixty-two years of age or over.

Handicapped Individual

SEC. 119. "Handicapped individual" means a person, not a member of family, who is handicapped within the meaning of section 202 of the Housing Act of 1959.

Displaced

SEC. 120. "Displaced", when used in relation to any person, means any person moved or to be moved from real property on or after the effective date of this Act as a result of the acquisition or imminence of acquisition of such property for a public improvement constructed or developed by or with funds provided in whole or in part by the Federal Government.

Person

SEC. 121. "Person" means any individual, and any partnership, corporation, or association.

TITLE II—IMPROVED ADMINISTRATION OF GRANTS-IN-AID TO THE STATES

Full Information of Funds Received

SEC. 201. Any department or agency of the United States Government which administers a program of grants-in-aid to any of the State governments of the United States shall, upon request, notify the Governor or other official designated by him, or the State legislature, of the purpose and amounts of recommended or actual grants-in-aid to the State. No act of Congress shall be construed to prevent the Governor or other designated officer from participating in the State's determination of its financial needs in the same manner as he does with respect to the budgeting of State funds.

Subject only to the procedures here enacted, nothing contained in this law shall limit the authority of any department or agency of the United States to make grants-in-aid to the States.

Uniform Handling of Grant Funds

SEC. 202. Notwithstanding any other Federal law, each grant-in-aid to a State shall be paid to the State treasurer or other officer that may be designated by the legislative authority (or by the Governor in the absence of a designation by the legislative authority) to receive said funds and appropriate accounting advice with regard to the transmittal of funds shall be provided to such State officers as may require the data for purposes of financial management and control. The State may provide for or continue providing for the direct receipt of Federal funds in the case of State institutions of higher learning.

State Salaries Paid From Grants-in-Aid

SEC. 203. After July 1, 1967, and except as specifically authorized pursuant to State law and agreed to by the Federal agency concerned, in accordance with regulations promulgated by the President, no Federal grant-in-aid to a State shall be used to pay a salary in excess of the regular salary standards applicable to State employees generally, nor shall a grant-in-aid be used to pay all or part of a salary the full-time equivalent of which is in excess of the normal annual salary rates of employees of the State or of State institutions of higher learning.

Deposit of Grants-in-Aid

SEC. 204. Notwithstanding any other provisions of Federal law or regulation, no grant-in-aid to a State shall be required to be deposited in a separate bank account apart from other funds administered by the State. All Federal grant-in-aid funds made available to the States shall be properly accounted for as Federal funds in the accounts of the State. In each case the State agency concerned shall render regular authenticated reports to the appropriate Federal agency, covering the status and the application of the funds, the liabilities and obligations on hand, and such other facts as may be required by said Federal agency.

Scheduling of Federal Transfers to the States

SEC. 205. Notwithstanding any other provision of Federal law, heads of Federal departments and agencies responsible for administering grant-in-aid programs shall schedule the transfer of grant-in-aid funds consistent with program purposes and applicable Treasury regulations, so as to minimize the time elapsing between the transfer of such funds from the United States Treasury and the subsequent disbursement thereof by a State, whether such disbursement occurs prior to or subsequent to such transfer of funds. States shall not be held accountable for interest earned on grant-in-aid funds, pending their disbursement for program purposes.

Eligible State Agency

SEC. 206. Notwithstanding any other Federal law which provides that a single State agency or multimember board or commission must be established or designated to administer or supervise the administration of any grant-in-aid program, the head of any Federal department or agency may, upon request of the Governor or other appropriate executive or legislative authority of the State, responsible for determining or revising the organizational structure of State government, waive the single State agency or multimember board or commission provision and approve other State administrative structure on arrangements: *Provided*, That the head of the Federal Department or agency determines that the objectives of the Federal statute authorizing the grant-in-aid program will not be endangered by the use of such other State structure or arrangements.

TITLE III—REVIEW OF FEDERAL GRANTS-IN-AID TO STATES AND TO LOCAL UNITS OF GOVERNMENT

Statement of Purpose

SEC. 301. It is the purpose and intent of this title to establish a uniform policy and procedure whereby programs for grant-in-aid assistance from the Federal Government to the States or to their political subdivisions which may be enacted hereafter by the Congress shall be made the subject of sufficient subsequent review by the Congress to insure that (1) the effectiveness of grants-in-aid as instruments of Federal-State-local cooperation is improved and enhanced; (2) grant programs are revised and redirected as necessary to meet new conditions arising subsequent to their original enactment; and (3) grant programs are terminated when they have substantially achieved their purpose.

Expiration of Grants-in-Aid Programs

SEC. 302. Where any Act of Congress enacted in the Eighty-ninth or any subsequent Congress authorizes the making of grants-in-aid to two or more States or to political subdivisions of two or more States and no expiration date for such authority is specified by law, and such grant is not specifically exempted from the provisions of this title, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations shall, not later than June 30 of the fifth calendar year which begins after the effective date of such Act, make reports to Congress on such programs. In reviewing such programs, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations shall consider, among other relevant matters, the criteria set forth in section 303 of this Act.

Committee Studies of Grants-in-Aid Programs

SEC. 303. Where any Act of Congress enacted in the Eighty-ninth or any subsequent

Congress authorizes the making of grants-in-aid over a period of three or more years to two or more States or to political subdivisions of two or more States, then during the period beginning not later than twelve months immediately preceding the date on which such authority is to expire, the committees of the House and of the Senate to which legislation extending such authority would be referred shall, separately or jointly, conduct studies of the program under which such grants-in-aid are made with a view to ascertaining among other matters of concern to the committees, the following:

(1) The extent to which the purposes for which the grants-in-aid are authorized have been met;

(2) The extent to which such programs can be carried on without further financial assistance from the United States;

(3) Whether or not any changes in purpose, direction, or administration of the original program, or in procedures and requirements applicable thereto;

(4) The extent to which such grant-in-aid programs are adequate to meet the growing and changing needs which they were designed to support.

Each such committee shall report the results of its investigation and study to its respective House not later than one hundred and twenty days before such authority is due to expire.

Records and Audit

SEC. 304.(a) Each recipient of assistance under (1) any Act of Congress enacted after the effective date of this Act which provides for a grant-in-aid from the United States to a State or a political subdivision thereof, or (2) any new grant-in-aid agreement, or extension, modification, or alteration of any existing grant-in-aid agreement pursuant to existing law shall keep such records as the Federal agency administering such grant may prescribe, including records which fully disclose the amount and disposition by such recipient of such grant-in-aid, the total cost of the project or undertaking in connection with which such grant-in-aid is given or used, and the amount of that portion of the cost of the project or undertaking supplied by other sources, and such other records as will facilitate an effective audit.

(b) The head of the Federal agency administering such grant and the Comptroller General of the United States, or any of their duly authorized representatives, shall have access for the purpose of audit and examination to any books, documents, papers, and records of the recipients that are pertinent to the grants received.

TITLE IV—PERMITTING FEDERAL DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES TO PROVIDE SPECIALIZED OR TECHNICAL SERVICES TO STATE AND LOCAL UNITS OF GOVERNMENT

Statement of Purpose

SEC. 401. It is the purpose of this title to encourage intergovernmental cooperation in the conduct of specialized or technical services and provision of facilities essential to the administration of State or local governmental activities many of which are nationwide in scope and financed in part by Federal funds; to enable State or local governments to avoid unnecessary duplication of special service functions; and to authorize all departments and agencies of the executive branch of the Federal Government which do not have such authority to provide specialized or technical services to State and local governments.

Authority To Provide Service

SEC. 402. The Secretary of any department or the administrative head of any agency of the executive branch of the Federal Government is authorized within his discretion, upon written request from a State or political subdivision thereof, to provide specialized or technical services, upon the payment by the unit of government making the request, of the salaries and such other costs to the department or agency for performing such services: *Provided, however,* That such services shall include only those which the head of the Federal agency concerned determines are not reasonably and expeditiously available through ordinary business channels.

Reimbursement to Appropriation

SEC. 403. All moneys received by any department or agency of the executive branch of the Federal Government, or any bureau or other administrative division thereof, in payment for furnishing specialized or technical services as authorized under section 402 shall be deposited to the credit of the principal appropriation from which the cost of providing such services has been paid or is to be charged, or the appropriation currently available for the cost of similar services.

Reports to Congress

SEC. 404. The Secretary of any department or the administrative head of any agency of the executive branch of the Federal Government shall furnish annually to the respective Committees on Government Operations of the Senate and House of Representatives a summary report on the scope of the services provided under the administration of this title.

Reservation of Existing Authority

SEC. 405. This title is in addition to and does not supersede any existing authority now possessed by any Federal department or agency with respect to furnishing services, whether on a reimbursable or nonreimbursable basis, to State and local units of government.

TITLE V—COORDINATED INTERGOVERNMENTAL POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION OF GRANTS FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Declaration of Urban Assistance Policy

SEC. 501. (a) The economic and social development of the Nation, its strength in world affairs and the achievement of satisfactory levels of living depend in large degree upon the sound and orderly development of urban communities. In pursuit of this basic objective, the President may establish rules and regulations for uniform application in the formulation, evaluation, and review of urban development programs and projects for the provision of federally aided urban facilities, and Federal projects having a significant impact on the development of urban and urbanizing communities. Such rules and regulations shall provide for full consideration of the concurrent achievement of the following specific objectives of urban development, and to the extent authorized by law reasoned choices shall be made between such objectives when they conflict:

(1) Appropriate land uses for residential, commercial, industrial, governmental, institutional, and other purposes;

(2) Wise development and conservation of natural resources, including land, water, minerals, wildlife, and others;

(3) Balanced transportation systems, including highway, air, water, pedestrian, mass transit, and other modes for the movement of people and goods;

(4) Adequate outdoor recreation and open space;

(5) Protection of areas of unique natural beauty, historical and scientific interest;

(6) Properly planned community facilities including untilities for the supply of power, water, and communications, for the safe disposal of wastes, and for other purposes; and

(7) And other objective through which urban development activities can contribute to the economic, social, and cultural development of the Nation, its strength in world affairs, and the achievement of enhanced levels of living.

(b) All viewpoints—National, regional, State, and local—shall, to the extent possible, be fully considered and taken into account in planning urban development programs and projects. Regional, State, and local government objectives shall be considered and evaluated within a framework of national public objectives, and available projections of future national conditions and needs of regions, States, and localities shall be considered in plan formulation, evaluation, and review.

(c) To the maximum extent possible, consistent with national objectives, all Federal aid for urban development purposes shall be consistent with and further the objectives of State and local government comprehensive planning for urban development. Consideration shall be given to all developmental aspects of the total urban community including but not limited to housing, transportation, economic development, natural resources development, community facilities, and the general improvement of living environments.

(d) Each Federal department and agency administering an urban development aid program shall, to the maximum extent practicable, consult with and seek advice from all other significantly affected Federal departments and agencies in an effort to assure fully coordinated programs.

(e) Insofar as possible, systematic planning required by individual Federal programs (such as highway construction, urban renewal, and open space) shall be coordinated with and made part of comprehensive local and areawide urban development planning.

Favoring Units of General Local Government

SEC. 502. (a) Notwithstanding any Federal law providing that special purpose units of local governments are eligible to receive loans or grants-in-aid for urban development, units of general local government (cities, counties, towns, and townships) acting singly or jointly, shall be eligible to receive such loans or grants-in-aid. Heads of Federal departments and agencies shall, in the absence of substantial reasons to the contrary, make such loans or grants-in-aid for urban development to units of general local government rather than to special purpose units of local government.

(b) In the event that a loan or grant-in-aid is made to a special purpose unit of local government, the chief executive officer or the governing body of each unit of general local government in which the loan or grant recipient is located or which would be affected by the loan or grant-in-aid project:

(1) shall be notified of the purpose, amounts, or other factors related to the proposed or actually or grant-in-aid to such special purpose unit of local government;

(2) may participate in such normal procedures as relate to budgeting of said loan or grant-in-aid; and

(3) shall have the opportunity to have their comments made a part of the application for such loan or grant-in-aid.

(c) Notwithstanding any other provision of Federal law, joint sponsorship of a project eligible for grant or loan funds, by two or more units of general local government, two or more special purpose units of government, or any combination thereof, shall not limit the total amount of the loan or grant-in-aid to less than the aggregate available to the participating units of general local government and/or special purpose units of government acting singly.

Consistency With Plans and Objectives of General Local Governments

SEC. 503. Notwithstanding any other provision of Federal law, any application for a loan or grant made after June 30, 1966, for construction of hospitals, airports, water supply and distribution facilities, sewerage facilities and waste treatment works, water development and land conservation within any metropolitan area subject to the provisions of this title, shall be submitted

to the unit of general local government with authority to operate in the area within which the project or facility is to be located. No action shall be taken by any Federal agency upon such application unless the governing body of the unit of general local government certifies that such project or facility is consistent with its planning objectives. If said unit does not act on an application within thirty days after its submission, the application shall be deemed approved by said unit. The certification shall accompany the submission of such application to the areawide agency pursuant to section 504 of this title. The foregoing requirements shall not be applicable in the case of applications from units of government larger than and encompassing the unit of general local government within which the project or facility is to be located.

More Effective Utilization of Certain Federal Loans or Grants by Encouraging Better Coordinated Local Review of State and Local Applications for Such Loans or Grants

Sec. 504. (a) In order to assist Federal, State, and local governments to increase their economy and efficiency of operations in meeting the governmental needs of the increasing concentration of population in metropolitan areas; to facilitate the coordination of intergovernmental relationships and activities on a continuing basis; to provide more effective exchange of information among the governments concerned at the earliest possible stage of planning and throughout the planning and development process; to encourage areawide comprehensive planning on a continuing basis; and to encourage State and local governments to establish or improve facilities for coordinating areawide development, all applications made after June 30, 1966, for Federal loans or grants to assist in carrying out open space land projects or for the construction of hospitals, airports, water supply and distribution facilities, sewerage facilities and waste treatment works, highways, transportation facilities, water development, and land conservation within any metropolitan area shall be subject to the provisions of this title.

(b)(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2) of this subsection, each application for a loan or grant of the type described in subsection (a) shall be accompanied (i) by the comments and recommendations with respect to the project involved by an areawide agency designated to perform metropolitan or regional planning for the area within which the assistance is to be used, and which is, to the greatest practicable extent, composed of or responsible to the elected officials of the units of general local government within whose jurisdiction such agency is authorized to engage in such planning; and (ii) by a statement by the applicant that such comments and recommendations have been considered prior to formal submission of the application. Such comments shall include information concerning the extent to which the proposed urban development project or program is consistent with comprehensive planning developed or in the process of development for the metropolitan area and the extent to which such project or program contributes to the fulfillment of such areawide planning. The comments and recommendations and the statement referred to in this section shall, except in the case referred to in paragraph (2) of this subsection, be reviewed by the agency of the Federal Government to which such application is submitted for the sole purpose of assisting it in determining whether the application is in accordance with the provisions of Federal law which govern the making of the loans or grants.

(2) An application for a Federal loan or grant need not be accompanied by the comments and recommendations and the statement referred to in paragraph (1) of this subsection if the applicant certifies that a plan or description of the project, meeting the requirements of such rules and regulations as may be prescribed under subsection (c) hereof, or such application has lain before an appropriate areawide agency or instrumentality for a period of sixty days without comments or recommendations thereon being made by such agency or instrumentality.

(3) The requirements of paragraphs (1) and (2) shall also apply to any amendment of the application which, in light of the purposes of this title, involves a major change in the project covered by the application prior to such amendment.

(c) The Bureau of the Budget or such other agency as may be designated by the President is hereby authorized to prescribe such rules and regulations as are deemed appropriate for the effective administration of this title.

TITLE VI—ACQUISITION, USE, AND DISPOSITION OF LAND WITHIN URBAN AREAS BY FEDERAL AGENCIES IN CONFORMITY WITH LAND UTILIZATION PROGRAMS OF AFFECTED LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Amendment of Federal Property and Administrative Services Act

Sec. 601. The Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended (40 U.S.C. 471 et seq.), is amended by adding at the end thereof a new title as follows:

"TITLE VIII—URBAN LAND UTILIZATION

"Short Title

"Sec. 801. This title may be cited as the 'Federal Urban Land-Use Act'.

"Declaration of Purpose and Policy

"Sec. 802. It is the purpose of this title to promote more harmonious intergovernmental relations by prescribing uniform policies and procedures whereby the Administrator shall acquire, use, and dispose of land in urban areas in order that urban land transactions entered into for the General Services Administration or on behalf of other Federal agencies shall be consistent with zoning and land-use practices and shall be made to the greatest practicable extent in accordance with planning and development objectives of the local governments and local planning agencies concerned.

"Disposal of Urban Lands

"Sec. 803. (a) Whenever the Administrator contemplates the disposal for or on behalf of any Federal agency of any real property situated within an urban area, he shall prior to offering such land for sale, give reasonable notice to the head of the governing body of the unit of general local government having jurisdiction over zoning and land-use regulation in the geographical area within which the land or lands are located in order to afford the government the opportunity of zoning for the use of such land in accordance with local comprehensive planning.

"(b) The Administrator, to the greatest practicable extent, shall furnish to all prospective purchasers of such real property, full and complete information concerning—

"(1) current zoning regulations and prospective zoning requirements and objectives for such property when it is unzoned; and

"(2) current availability to such property of streets, sidewalks, sewers, water, streetlights, and other service facilities and prospective availability of such services if such property is included in comprehensive planning.

"Acquisition or Change of Use of Real Property

"Sec. 804. (b) In the acquisition or change of use of any real property situated in an urban area as a site for public building, the Administrator shall, to the extent he determines practicable—

"(2) comply with an conform to zoning regulations of the unit of general local government having jurisdiction with respect to the area within which such property is situated and the planning and development objectives of such local government.

"(1) consider all objections made to any such acquisition or changed use by such unit of government upon the ground that the proposed acquisition or use conflicts or would conflict with such regulations or objectives; and

"(a) To the extent practicable, prior to a commitment to acquire any real property situated in an urban area, the Administrator shall notify the unit of general local government exercising zoning and land-use jurisdiction over the land proposed to be purchased of his intent to acquire such land and the proposed use of the property. In the event that the Administrator determines that such advance notice would have an adverse impact on the proposed purchase, he shall, upon conclusion of the acquisition, immediately notify such local government of the acquisition and the proposed use of the property.

"Definitions

"Sec. 805. As used in this title—

"(a) 'Unit of general local government' means any city, county, town, parish, village, or other general-purpose political subdivision of a State.

"(b) 'Urban area' means—

"(1) any geographical area within the jurisdiction of any incorporated city, town, borough, village, or other unit of general local government, except county or parish, having a population of ten thousand or more inhabitants;

"(2) that portion of the geographical area within the jurisdiction of any county, town, township, or similar governmental entity which contains no incorporated unit of general local government but has a population density equal to or exceeding one thousand five hundred inhabitants per square mile; and

"(3) that portion of any geographical area situated adjacent to the boundary of any incorporated unit of general local government which has such population density.

"(c) 'Comprehensive planning' includes the following, to the extent directly related to the needs of a unit of genreal local government:

"(1) preparation, as a guide for long-range development, of general physical plans with respect to the pattern and intensity of land use and the provision of public facilities, including transportation facilities, together with long-range fiscal plans for such development;

"(2) programing of capital improvements based on a determination of relative urgency, together with definitive financing plans for the improvement to be constructed in the earlier years of the program;

"(3) coordination of all related plans of the departments or subdivisions of the government concerned;

"(4) intergovernmental coordination of related planning activities among the State and local governmental agencies concerned; and

"(5) preparation of regulatory and administrative measures in support of the foregoing."

TITLE VII—ESTABLISHING UNIFORM FEDERAL RELOCATION PRACTICES

Declaration of Policy

Sec. 701. The purpose of this title is to establish a uniform policy for the fair and equitable treatment of owners, tenants, and other persons displaced by the acquisition of real property in Federal and federally assisted programs, by code enforcement activities undertaken in connection with an urban renewal project, or by a program of voluntary rehabilitation of buildings or other improvements in accordance with an urban

renewal plan. Such a policy shall be as uniform as practicable as to (1) relocation payments, (2) advisory assistance, (3) assurance of availability of standard housing, and (4) Federal reimbursement for relocation payments under federally assisted programs.

Part A—Federal programs

Relocation Payments

SEC. 702. (a) If the head of any Federal agency acquires real property for public use in a State he shall make fair and reasonable relocation payments to displaced persons in accordance with the regulations established by the President under section 705 of this Act.

(b) If any displaced person who moves or discontinues his business elects to accept the payment authorized by this subsection in lieu of the payment authorized for such business by subsection (a) of this section, the head of such Federal agency shall make a fixed relocation payment to such person in an amount equal to the average annual net earnings of the business, or $5,000, whichever is the lesser. No payment shall be made under this subsection unless the head of such agency is satisfied that the business (1) cannot be relocated without a substantial loss of its existing patronage, and (2) is not part of a commercial enterprise having at least one other establishment, not being acquired by the United States, which is engaged in the same or similar business. For purposes of this subsection, the term "average annual net earnings" means one-half of any net earnings of the business, before Federal, State, and local income taxes, during the two taxable years immediately preceding the taxable year in which such business moves from the real property acquired by the United States and includes any compensation paid by the business to the owner, his spouse, or his dependent children during such two-year period. Such earnings and compensaiton shall be established by Federal income tax returns filed by such business and its owner and his spouse and dependent children for such two taxable years.

(c) If any displaced person who moved from a dwelling elects to accept the payments authorized by this subsection in lieu of the payments authorized by subsection (a) of this section for moving from such dwelling, the head of such Federal agency shall make the following fixed relocation payments to such person:

(1) A moving expense allowance, determined according to a schedule established by the head of such agency, not to exceed $200;

(2) A dislocation allowance equal to the amount paid under paragraph (1) of this subsection or $100, whichever is the lesser; and

(3) An additional payment of $300 if the displaced person owned the fee title or a life estate in the real property occupied.

(d) If any displaced person who moves or discontinues a farm operation elects to accept the payment authorized by this subsection in lieu of the payment authorized for such farm operation by subsection (a) of this section, the head of such Federal agency shall make a fixed relocation payment to such person in the amount of $1,000. In the case where the entire farm operation is not acquired by such Federal agency, the payment authorized by this subsection shall be made only if the head of such agency determines that the remainder property is no longer an economic unit.

(e) In addition to any amount under subsections (a), (b), (c), and (d) of this section, the head of such Federal agency may pay on behalf of any displaced family, displaced elderly individual, or displaced handicapped inlidividual, monthly payments over a period not to exceed twenty-four months an amount not to exceed $1,000 to assist such displaced family or individual to secure a decent, safe, and sanitary dwelling. The additional payment shall be an amount which, when aded to 20 per centum of the annual income of the displaced individual or family at the time of displacement, equals the average annual rental required for such a decent, safe, and sanitary dwelling of modest standards adequate in size to accommodate the displaced individual or family in areas not generally less desirable in regard to public utilities and public and commercial facilities: *Provided*, That such payment shall be made only to an individual or family who is unable to secure a dwelling unit in a low-rent housing project assisted under the United States Housing Act of 1937, or under a State or local program found by the Housing and Home Finance Administrator to have the same general purposes as the Federal program under such Act.

(f) No provision of this section shall be construed to give any person a cause of action in any court, nor may any violation of this section be raised as a defense by such person in any action.

Relocation Assistance Programs

SEC. 703. (a) If the head of any Federal agency acquires real property for public use in a State he shall provide a relocation assistance program for displaced persons which shall offer the services described in subsection (b) of this section. If the head of such agency determines that other persons, occupying property adjacent to the real property acquired, are caused substantial economic injury because of the public improvement for which such property is acquired, he may offer such persons relocation services under such program.

(b) Each relocation assistance program required by subsection (a) of this section shall include such measures, facilities, or services as may be necessary or appropriate in order (1) to determine the needs of displaced families, individuals, business concerns, and farm operators for relocation assistance; (2) to assist owners of displaced businesses and displaced farm operators in obtaining and becoming established in suitable business locations or replacement farms; (3) to supply information concerning the Federal Housing, Administration home acquisition program under section 221(d)(2) of the National Housing Act, the small business disaster loan program under section 7(b)(3) of the Small Business Act, and other programs offering assistance to displaced persons; (4) to assist in minimizing hardships to displaced persons in adjusting to relocation; and (5) to assure, to the greatest extent practicable, the coordination of relocation activities with other project activities and other planned or proposed governmental actions in the community or nearby areas which may affect the carrying out of the relocation program.

Federal Programs With Local Cooperation

SEC. 704. Whenever real property is acquired by a State or local government agency for a Federal public improvement project, such acquisition shall, for purposes of this Act, be deemed an acquisition by the Federal agency having authority over such project and such Federal agency shall made relocation payments, provide relocation assistance, and provide assurance of availability of housing as required in the case of acquisitions of real property by a Federal agency.

Authority of the President

SEC. 705. (a) To carry into effect the provisions of this title, the President is authorized to make such regulations as he may determine to be necessary to assure:

(1) That relocation payments authorized by section 702 shall be fair and reasonable and as uniform as practicable;

(2) That a displaced person who makes proper application for a relocation payment authorized for such person by section 702(a)—

(A) shall be reimbursed for his actual and reasonable expenses in moving himself, his family, his business, farm operation, or other personal property, and in the case of a farm operation, for his actual and reasonable expenses in searching for a replacement farm; and

(B) shall, if he disposes of personal property on moving his business or farm operation and replaces such property at the new location, be paid an amount equal to the reasonable expenses that would have been required in moving such personal property to the new location.

(3) That a displaced person who makes proper application for a relocation payment authorized for such person by this Act shall be paid promptly after a move;

(4) That any person aggrieved by a determination as to eligibility for a relocation payment authorized by this Act, or the amount of a payment, may have his application reviewed by the head of the agency; and

(5) That a displaced person shall have a reasonable time in which to apply for a relocation payment authorized by this Act.

(b) The President may, by regulation, establish a limitation on the amount of a relocation payment authorized by section 702(a) with due consideration for the declaration of policy in this title and the provisions of subsection (a) of this section and section 707(d).

(c) In order to prevent unnecessary expense and duplication of functions, and to promote uniform and effective administration of relocation assistance programs for displaced persons, the President is authorized to require that any Federal agency make relocation payments or provide relocation services, or otherwise carry out its functions under this title, by utilizing the facilities, personnel, and services of any other Federal agency, or by entering into appropriate contracts or agreements with any State or local government agency having an established organization for conducting relocation assistance programs.

(d) The President may make such other rules and regulations consistent with the provisions of this title as he deems necessary or appropriate to carry out this title.

Fund Availability

SEC. 706. Funds appropriated or otherwise available to any Federal agency for the acquisition of real property or any interest therein shall be available also for obligation and expenditures to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Part B—Federally assisted programs

Relocation Payments and Assistance; Assurance of Availability of Housing

SEC. 707. (a) If a State or local government agency acquires real property, and if—

(1) Federal financial assistance is available to pay the cost in connection with the acquisition of such real property or of the improvement for which such property is acquired, and

(2) Such State or local government agency has agreed with the head of the Federal agency responsible for the administration of such Federal financial assistance to provide to displaced persons for moves from such real property—

(A) fair and reasonable location payments as described in section 702 and in accordance with regulations established by the President under section 705,

(B) fixed relocation payments in the same amounts and under the same terms and conditions as are required to be made by a Federal agency by subsections 702 (b), (c), and (d) of this title.

(C) additional payments on behalf of any displaced family, displaced elderly individual, or displaced handicapped individual in the same amounts and under the same terms and conditions as are required to be made by a Federal agency by subsection 702(e),

(D) relocation assistance programs offering the services described in section 703(b) to the persons described in section 703(a), and

(E) a feasible method for the temporary relocation of families and individuals displaced from the property acquired, and assurance that there are or are being provided, in areas not generally less desirable in regard to public utilities and public and commercial facilities and at rents or prices within the financial means of the families and individuals displaced, decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings equal in number to the number of and available to such displaced families and individuals and reasonably accessible to their places of employment,

then Federal financial assistance shall be available to share the cost of such relocation payments and relocation assistance programs in accordance with subsection (d) of this section. However, no State or local government agency need agree to make any relocation payment in excess of $25,000 to any displaced person in order to receive the assistance authorized by this subsection or to meet the requirements of section 708.

(b) In order to prevent unnecessary expenses and duplication of functions, and to promote uniform and effective administration of relocation assistance programs for displaced persons, any agreement by a State or local government agency under subsection (c) of this section shall provide that such agency may make relocation payments or provide relocation assistance or otherwise carry out its functions under this title by utilizing the facilities, personnel, and services of any other State or local government agency having an established organization for conducting relocation assistance programs.

(c) Any contract or agreement with a State or local government agency executed before the effective date of this Act, under which Federal financial assistance is available to pay the cost in connection with the acquisition of real property, or of the improvement for which such property is acquired, may be amended to include an agreement as described in subsection (a) of this section.

(d) The cost to a State or local government agency providing the payments and services described in subsection (a) of this section may be included as part of the costs of the project for which Federal financial assistance is available to such State agency, and shall be eligible for Federal financial assistance in the same manner and to the same extent as other project costs, except that the Federal agency providing such assistance shall contribute the first $25,000 of the cost of providing a relocation payment to any displaced person.

(e) If the head of a Federal agency determines that it is necessary for the expeditious completion of a public improvement for which a State or local government agency has entered into an agreement, as described in subsection (a) of this section, to make relocation payments to displaced persons, he may advance the Federal share of such relocation payments to such State agency. Upon determination by the head of such Federal agency that any part of the funds advanced to a State agency under this subsection are no longer required, the amount which he determines not to be required shall be repaid upon demand. Any sum advanced and not repaid on demand shall be deducted from sums otherwise available to such State agency from Federal sources.

Requirements for Approval of Contracts or Agreements for Federal Financial Assistance

SEC. 708. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, on and after the effective date of this Act, no contract or agreement with a State or local government agency, under which Federal financial assistance will be available to pay the cost in connection with the acquisition of real property or of a public improvement for which real property is to be acquired, may be approved by the head of the Federal agency responsible for the administration of such Federal financial assistance unless such State agency has entered into an agreement in compliance with the requirements of section 707.

Displacement by Code Enforcement for Urban Renewal Project or Voluntary Rehabilitation Under Urban Renewal Plan

SEC. 709. A person who moves his business or other personal property, or moves from his dwelling, on or after the effective date of this Act, as the direct result of code enforcement activities undertaken in connection with an urban renewal project or a program of voluntary rehabilitation of buildings or other improvements in accordance with an urban renewal plan, which project or plan receives Federal financial assistance under the Housing Act of 1959, shall, for the purposes of this title, be deemed to be a displaced person.

Part C—General provisions

National Capital Housing Authority Eligible for Federal Financial Assistance

SEC. 710. Whenever, in connection with the acquisition of real property, the National Capital Housing Authority provides to a displaced person any relocation payment or advisory service required by this title, and Federal financial assistance is available to pay the cost in connection with the acquisition of such real property, or of the public improvement for which such property is acquired, the cost of such agency of providing such payments or services shall be eligible for Federal financial assistance in the manner provided for in section 707(d).

Applicability of Administrative Procedure Act

SEC. 711. No provision of the Administrative Procedure Act shall apply to this title except section 3 (5 U.S.C. 1002), which shall apply to section 704.

Severability

SEC. 712. If any provision of this title, or the application thereof to any person or circumstance is held invalid, the remainder of this title and the application of the provision to other persons or circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

Acts Repealed

SEC. 713. (a) The following laws and parts of laws are hereby repealed:

(1) The Act entitled "An Act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to reimburse owners of lands required for development under his jurisdiction for their moving expenses, and for other purposes," approved May 29, 1958 (43 U.S.C. 1231–1234).

(2) Paragraph 14 of section 203(b) of the National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958 (42 U.S.C. 2473).

(3) Section 2680 of title 10, United States Code.

(4) Section 133 of title 23, United States Code.

(5) Section 7 of the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 (78 Stat. 305).

(6) Section 105(c) of the Housing Act of 1949 (78 Stat. 786).

(7) Sections 114(b) and 114(c) of the Housing Act of 1949 (78 Stat. 788–789).

(8) Paragraph (8) of section 15 of the United States Housing Act of 1937 (78 Stat. 795), except the first sentence of such paragraph.

(b) Any rights or liabilities now existing under prior Acts or portions thereof shall not be affected by the repeal of such prior Acts or portions thereof under subsection (a) of this section.

Effective Date

SEC. 714. This title shall take effect on the first day of the fourth month beginning after the date of enactment of this title.

Poverty Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, at a time when difficulties are arising throughout the Nation in the administration of the so-called poverty program, it is most reassuring that we have a strong leader in Gov. John Connally, of Texas, who is insisting that these programs be installed in a sensible, commonsense way.

Anyone who knows John Connally knows that he is an intelligent and compassionate Governor and will do all that he can to help the needy citizens of Texas. On the other hand those of us who know John Connally know that he will not be stampeded into an unwise act to achieve temporary political objectives.

In my opinion this legislation, if handled wisely, will do wonders for our country. If not, it will be one of the greatest boondoggles that has ever taken place in our country. I congratulate Governor Connally on being careful, and would like to include a letter from him explaining his views:

JOHN CONNALLY,
GOVERNOR OF TEXAS,
August 5, 1965.

Hon. OLIN E. TEAGUE,
Congressman from Texas,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR OLIN: You are probably aware that over the past few weeks a number of news stories have originated in Washington to the effect that my office has dragged its feet or otherwise discouraged projects in Texas under the Economic Opportunity Act. Some members of the Texas delegation have also indicated they were advised by Labor Department spokesmen that delays were occurring in the Governor's office on certain projects. It is evident to me that these are deliberate attempts either to alibi for delays in Washington, not Austin, or to leave the impression that I am resisting proper fulfillment of the poverty program in Texas.

Because I know you are interested in facts and not hearsay on matters of this nature, I have compiled a report which I am enclosing for your information.

This report notes that as of August 3, 1965, Texas has received more than $29 million in antipoverty grants from the Federal Government. Under terms of the Economic Opportunity Act, many of these grants were subject to my action and this approval has been given timely in nearly every case.

In fact, our records show that in regard to community action programs, the elapsed time for processing in Washington from date of application until date of approval by Washington has run an average of 65 days per application for the 11 applications now approved by Washington. On the other hand, these same 11 applications were in my office less than 2 weeks on the average. This same comparison is even more enlight-

ening when one considers the 64 Neighborhood Youth Corps applications which have been approved in Washington for summer Neighborhood Youth Corps programs. Processing time in Washington took an average of 55.2 days per application, while my office cleared these same 64 applications in 3 days per application.

I am vitally interested in the Economic Opportunity Act and the tremendous possibilities afforded for assisting the underprivileged. Present law gives me the responsibility to exercise my judgment in evaluating many of these programs, and it is my intention to follow the law as long as this responsibility exists. As Governor of Texas, I think I have some interest in seeing to it that these important programs fulfill the objectives intended by the Congress, and I assure you that whatever time is spent in review by my office is for this purpose and this purpose alone. I resent the attempts by some individuals in the Labor Department to distort the truth, to attempt to discredit State and local government participation, and to bypass established authority for reasons beyond the intent of the act. The enclosed report is to give you facts upon which to base your own interpretation of the progress we have made.

Sincerely,

JOHN CONNALLY.

American Employment Sets New Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I want to seize this opportunity to draw attention to the heartening fact that unemployment in the United States decreased last month to its lowest level since October 1957.

This is good news and we owe thanks to dedicated businessmen, dedicated soldiers in the war on poverty, and a dedicated President.

I am happy to offer for entry in the RECORD an extremely good editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer of August 7, "Job Boom Keeps Booming":

JOB BOOM KEEPS BOOMING

It is no small accomplishment to record an unemployment rate that actually decreased in July in spite of an all-time-high influx of teenagers into the job market. The 4.5 percent over-all jobless rate is the lowest since October 1957, and there is good news in almost all categories.

Yet President Johnson has stated, we believe, the consensus of the Nation in his assertion that we must do still better. For, while 1.1 million teenagers may have unexpectedly found work, the jobless rate among nonwhite males in the population actually nudged a little bit higher—from 8.4 to 9.1 percent—and efforts to brush it off as perhaps a statistical quirk do not quite succeed. It is a problem that grows increasingly serious until it can be solved.

There were also gratifying decreases in some hard core unemployment, but the unpleasant fact remains that there are still 337,000 among us who have been seeking work for more than half a year, 26 weeks, and have not found it.

There is, of course, the expectable tracking and tracing now in process to determine the root causes of the improvements—and, one must hope, the possible cures yet untried for the weak spots in the economy that need special attention. Most commonly, credit for the continued boom in jobs is given to the $11.6 billion tax cut voted by Congress last year, and there is little reason to doubt that its effect has been beneficial.

Whether this means further tax cuts would bring about equal or better results remains moot. There must be in this field, as in others, a point of diminishing returns. Yet it must be admitted that strength has been added to the arm of those who proclaim, "Just leave us our own money to spend, instead of siphoning it all away in taxes, and the free market will produce all the jobs needed."

It would be pleasant to go all the way with that argument, if we could accept it entire, but in a complex world where even the wrinkling of a brow by Ho Chi Minh in a remote corner of southeast Asia can have direct and indirect impact on all the world's markets, caution and a reluctance to put too many eggs in any one basket seem only too necessary.

Nevertheless, the long-continuing trend toward more useful work for more and more people must be termed salutary.

Reckless Wage Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in unusually undemocratic fashion, the leadership of the House Labor Committee is about to ram through a most questionable minimum wage proposal. The Chicago Daily News, in an editorial on Thursday, August 5, very carefully and properly describes this ill-conceived legislation.

The editorial follows:

RECKLESS WAGE PROPOSAL

A House Labor Subcommittee chaired by Representative JAMES ROOSEVELT, Democrat, of California, ran clear off the reservation in recommending an increase in the Federal minimum wage from $1.25 to $1.75 an hour and broadening the law to take in 6,100,000 more workers.

In his labor message to Congress last May, President Johnson paid lipservice to the idea of raising the minimum wage, but he specifically cautioned Congress to "consider carefully" the possible impact of an increase now. Caution and care were clearly not on the agenda of the committee.

Extending the minimum wage coverage to 4,600,000 additional workers, as the President asked, would have a severe impact even at the same minimum wage. The Roosevelt committee's further addition of 1,500,000 workers would penetrate deeper into the marginal businesses and marginal workers—precisely the area where our generally prosperous economy is in serious trouble.

Organized labor has been campaigning for a $2 minimum wage, but merely repeating the old myth that a higher minimum wage benefits everybody does not make it so. Skilled workers already earn far above the minimum wage and are in short supply; it is the unskilled workers that are crowding the unemployment rolls. And it is far more likely that more of the unskilled would lose their jobs if the minimum goes up than that hard-pressed employers would raise everybody to the higher level.

The Johnson administration is rightly concerned about the growing pool of unemployed teenagers and unskilled workers. Yet the reason in all too many cases is simply that prospective employers cannot afford to pay the minimum wage for the type of work these people could do. Machines get the jobs, or the jobs go unfilled.

This is not to say that a floor under wages is bad, or that the principle of the minimum wage should be discarded. But the principle needs to be applied with care lest it harm the very people it should be helping. The marginal worker is not benefited by a measure that prices him out of the market and puts him on the dole, which could be exactly the favor proposed to the House committee.

United Arab Republic Case Points Up Aid Follies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article from the July 28, 1965, edition of the Evening Star. The article concerns the 1961 shipment of $23.7 million worth of corn to Egypt. The shipment was made under Public Law 480, authorizing the President to supply emergency and relief assistance to friendly peoples, without regard to the friendliness of their governments. The corn was shipped in the belief that the people of the United Arab Republic were threatened with famine because of crop failure. This crop failure did not materialize. President Nasser sold some of the corn, some was never unloaded, and the rest of the shipment is not accounted for.

The United States can use its surplus food stores in constructive ways. However, we cannot afford the waste and incompetence which was demonstrated in the shipments to Egypt. The follies of the United Arab Republic case must not be repeated.

The article follows:

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC CASE POINTS UP AID FOLLIES

(By Richard Wilson)

One of the least selfish acts of Government at any time is title II of the enactment known as Public Law 480, which authorizes the President to supply emergency and relief assistance to friendly peoples, without regard to the friendliness of their govenments.

This is a pure act of generosity. We not only supply the food to fight famine but pay the ocean freight. It is a way to dispose of our surpluses, but we could find other ways. We suffer insults in silence from world statesmen whose people are starving, and we feed them.

Under the full powers of Public Law 480 the United Arab Republic, whose president flouts and insults us, has received from the United States commodities valued at more than $700 million.

In addition, believing that the people of the United Arab Republic were threatened with imminent famine because of crop failure, we shipped to Egypt in 1961 about

196,000 metric tons of corn costing more than $23.7 million.

There was no crop failure. We shipped the corn after it was known there would not be a crop failure. President Gamal Abdel Nasser sold some of the corn commercially. The sales of at least $9 million can be traced. Nasser needed funds at the time for arms to be used to frustrate U.S. policy in the Congo.

When the Comptroller General of the United States confronted the Agency for International Development and the State Department with the plain facts of their own incompetence in making this shipment when there was no need for it, the response of these agencies was the familiar bureaucratic fog-up of facts.

But one statement of significance emerged. The State Department asserted that the needless gift to avert famine "coincided with a conscious effort to improve United States-United Arab Republic political relations * * * because of the United Arab Republic leadership role in the Near East, its geopolitical importance, the part it played in assuring peace and stability in the Near East." It is not merely that there is no provision in law for the use of these funds in this manner. Government agencies operate on the theory that what is not specifically prohibited may be permitted. The judgment of AID and the State Department was wrong. The United States-United Arab Republic relations were not improved. They grew worse.

Some of the corn, possibly one-fifteenth of it, was distributed free to individual recipients. But what became of the rest of it, except for 14,500 tons verified as having been sold, is a mystery.

A good deal of it piled up in ports and was not unloaded, the last anyone here knew, and large amounts became infested by weevils.

If this were just one incident of incompetence and folly in this and other programs of AID it might be accepted as the inevitable byproduct of bureaucracy. But the files of the General Accounting Office are burdened with incident after incident of waste, corruption, arbitrary excess of authority, incompetence, and blunders.

Corruption in the use of American AID funds in Vietnam is an openly accepted scandal. It is accepted as something unavoidable under the circumstances.

When global-minded Congressmen read these reports of the Comptroller General of the United States they become exasperated. Foreign aid with strings tied to it does not work too well and it does not work too well without strings tied to it. We are moving into a period when famine in large parts of the world may be commonplace because population is so rapidly outgrowing the ability of backward nations to produce food.

This is an opportunity and a challenge to the United States to use our surplus food producing capacity in a constructive way.

But a higher level of competency will be required than in the case of the corn shipments to Egypt.

Newburyport Leads Nation in Observance of 175th Anniversary of U.S. Coast Guard

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. BATES

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, last week I was privileged to present to this House the text of President Johnson's newly signed proclamation honoring the 175th anniversary of the founding of the U.S. Coast Guard at Newburyport, Mass. That proclamation was authorized by a congressional joint resolution (S.J. Res. 83) which I was happy to cosponsor, and for that reason I had the pleasure of reading it back in my congressional district on August 4, 1965, when Newburyport lead the Nation in observing the anniversary date.

For the record, therefore, I believe an account of those ceremonies in the birthplace of the Coast Guard is appropriate at this time. The highlight of the occasion was the first day of issue by the Post Office Department of a 4-cent postal card commemorating the Coast Guard's 175th anniversary. Forty million of these cards have been issued, and many thousands were canceled at Newburyport Post Office that first day.

A statement by President Johnson on the cover of the official printed program summarized the history of the Coast Guard in this manner:

One hundred and seventy-five years ago, shortly after the United States was born, a new service came into being—the U.S. Coast Guard—then known as the Revenue Marine. Its first task was to assist the Customs Bureau in suppressing widespread smuggling. That small revenue fleet has now grown until the Coast Guard today not only embraces the entire spectrum of maritime safety but also serves as part of our Armed Forces. The Coast Guard has served with distinction in every major war in which our Nation has been engaged, and today in the distant waters off the Republic of Vietnam, Coast Guard units are helping a brave people in the defense of their freedom.

Recently returned from an inspection trip to Vietnam where 17 Coast Guard cutters are patrolling against the smuggling of supplies to the Vietcong, Adm. Edwin J. Roland, Commandant of the U.S. Coast Guard, reported to the gathering at Newburyport that those cutters already "have been fired upon and have returned the fire"—but fortunately without Coast Guard casualties.

Others who paid tribute to the service of our Coast Guardsmen at those anniversary ceremonies included Assistant Secretary of the Treasury A. E. Weatherbee; Rear Adm. James A. Alger, Jr., Commander of the 1st Coast Guard District; Mayor George H. Lawler of the city of Newburyport; Newburyport Postmaster Albert C. Coltin, and Newburyport Coast Guard Day Chairman George A. Cashman. The invocation was pronounced by the Reverend Walter T. Whalen of the Immaculate Conception Church, Newburyport, and the benediction of the Reverend Bert T. Williams of the First Church, Newbury.

I was pleased to be joined on this occasion by our distinguished colleague, the Honorable STANLEY R. TUPPER of Maine, who is a member of the Subcommittee on Coast Guard, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and Navigation of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. Rounding out the day's fine program were selections by the U.S. Coast Guard Band, of which William L. Broadwell is bandmaster, and an exhibition presented by the U.S. Coast Guard Precision Drill Team, of which Russell H. Lavenski is drillmaster.

POSTAL INSPECTOR'S ADDRESS

The principal address was given by Chief Postal Inspector Henry B. Montague, who was introduced by Post Office Regional Director Donald P. Steele. To conclude this report, therefore, I quote Inspector Montague's remarks, as follows:

It is a real pleasure to be with you today and to take part in this ceremony to dedicate a new postal card commemorating 175 years of service by the U.S. Coast Guard.

Newburyport may be the smallest city in Massachusetts, but I wonder if any other community can boast as much history per square foot.

From your wharves slipped the proud Yankee clippers, bound for the seven seas. They plied the ocean at the fabulous speed of more than 15 knots, and it took only about 3 months to get from here to San Francisco. The casual student of history sometimes forgets the role of the *Newburyport* clipper in opening our extreme wetsern frontier of California. For it was the clipper—and not the covered wagon—that carried the bulk of supplies that the bustling town of San Francisco needed for survival.

It was here, too, in Newburyport that the Coast Guard was born. President George Washington, aware of the skill of your shipbuilders, commissioned William Searle to build a ship for the new Republic. When the cutter *Massachusetts* was launched in 1791, four officers, four mariners and two apprentice seamen came abroad. Ten men, in all. Ten men to protect the eastern seaboard from smugglers.

At that time, the Post Office Department was probably a bit shorthanded, too. We had a postmaster general, an assistant and one clerk. Three men occupying two small offices. In 1790, Postmaster General Osgood reported to Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton that postal receipts for the previous year were about $25,000.

Joseph Conrad once wrote that the sea never changes. Well, the Coast Guard and the Post Office Department have undergone a few changes. Our postal revenue has moved from $25,000 to more than $4 billion. We now deliver about as much mail as the rest of the world combined. Growth of the Coast Guard has been equally dramatic.

During World War II the service expanded to nearly a quarter of a million men and women. Coast Guardsmen saw action in every major theater of operations, from the Aleutians to the South Pacific, to North Africa and Normandy. Meanwhile protecting 40,000 miles of our shoreline. It was Coast Guardsmen who captured the German saboteurs put ashore in 1942 on Long Island and Florida.

The present strength of the Coast Guard is about 30,000; small in number but big in accomplishment. For the Coast Guard responds each year to some 30,000 distress calls. Its more routine duties include maintaining port security, oceanographic research, marine law enforcement, and operating the international ice patrol.

The motto of the Coast Guard is "semper paratus"—always ready—and we have found the Coast Guard always ready to help the Post Office Department in time of need.

One of the functions of our Postal Inspection Service is to protect the mail when disaster strikes. Floods, hurricanes, airplane crashes, and similar events that endanger the mail, quickly bring postal inspectors to the scene. Frequently this has been possible only with the assistance of the Coast Guard.

I'd like to give you just three examples of the many instances in which cooperation by the Coast Guard has helped us do our job of protecting the mail.

A few years ago, a commercial airplane that was carrying mail crashed in the Gulf of Mexico about 85 miles from New Orleans. We promptly dispatched two inspectors from the

Mobile office to the scene. When they arrived by Air Force amphibian plane, a Coast Guard cutter was standing by. Our inspectors were transferred to the cutter by rubber boat—and then the search for mail began. The Coast Guard lowered landing nets and crewmen clung to these, scooping up mail by hand. The water was rough and some sharks dropped around to see what was happening. We recovered 267 pounds of mail, dried it and sent it on its way.

Sometimes we call on the Coast Guard to help us with our investigative work. When armed robbers held up the Miami-Key West mail truck and stole 23 pouches of mail, we called on Coast Guard helicopters to search that desolate area for clues. Later our inspectors uncovered a suspect to the crime. He told them that if he were taken to Key West immediately he could identify a man who had important information about the crime. No commercial flights were available, so we turned once again to the Coast Guard for a helicopter. We found our men, made our arrests, and recovered the registered mail.

During the hurricane season we frequently call on the Coast Guard to deliver mail, particularly to the communities on the outer banks of North Carolina, that are cut off from normal avenues of mail delivery.

The Coast Guard postal card we are issuing today is one of only two commemorative postal cards to be printed this year. I might add that the Post Office Department is not too open-handed in issuing new stamps and cards. Each year Postmaster General Gronouski receives literally thousands of requests for new postage. We issue about 15 a year. So only the most significant events are commemorated.

This attractive postal card was designed by Muriel R. Chamberlain, chief of the art section of the division of typography and design of the U.S. Government Printing Office. Miss Chamberlain is one of the few women to design for the Post Office Department. Forty million cards reproducing the Coast Guard ensign have been printed.

I sincerely hope that this postal card will remind all Americans of the proud history of the U.S. Coast Guard in time of peace and time of war.

Senator Murphy Assesses Mr. Wirtz's Farm Labor Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, Senator MURPHY of California has thoroughly studied the California farm labor problems, the administration proposals, the resulting chaotic condtions, and the wasteful loss of crops.

Senator MURPHY has specified 10 points which every Member of Congress should find interesting and informative.

Yesterday, the California Labor Panel, appointed by Secretary Wirtz to evaluate requests for foreign labor, recommended that some 8,000 workers be imported to supplement the inadequate supply of domestic labor. This allotment will be insufficient. More crops will spoil in the fields. More cannery workers and processors will not enjoy normal employment this fall. Consumer prices will be forced up again.

Recent events give currency to Senator MURPHY's comments which were published in the August 7, 1965, issue of the California Farmer.

The article follows:

SENATOR MURPHY TAKES ON THE SECRETARY OF LABOR

U.S. Senator GEORGE MURPHY presented a 10-point denunciation of Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz' policies in California's farm labor crisis to the Senate June 29.

The California Republican, joined by Florida Democrat Senator SPESSARD HOLLAND, said experience during the 6-month history of Secretary Wirtz' labor program has been marked with "expensive failure and retreat."

He listed 10 specifics:

1. Secretary Wirtz has failed to realize that in letting Public Law 78 lapse, Congress never intended to foreclose completely the use of foreign labor if necessary to prevent economic disaster such as that occurring in California.

2. By resorting to frantic recruitment efforts—including green card workers, vacationing high school boys, Indians, and assorted others—Secretary Wirtz has conceded that his original, idealistic theory about the urban unemployed flocking to the farms was impractical and has failed. He did not understand that California farmers have always hired domestics first, as the law required. Wirtz has established something of a record as a broken-field runner to avoid admitting he was wrong.

3. While Wirtz maintained that setting a minimum wage of $1.40 an hour would attract the urban unemployed in California, he arbitrarily set the minimum wage at $1.15 per hour in other States, never explaining why he singled out California for special treatment. He failed to understand that domestics who do this sort of farm work prefer to work on piece rates and could earn an average of $2 per hour or better.

4. Proof that Secretary Wirtz' theory about the urban unemployed flocking to the farms has failed can be found in the fact that urban domestics have not appeared in droves. The few who did, stayed on the job an average of only 2 or 3 days. Less than 20 percent have stayed more than 4 or 5 weeks.

5. Following the failure of Wirtz' minimum wage theory and his desperate recruitment efforts, he tried the vacationing high school students (A-teams) approach. Our farmers were told bluntly by telegrams from the Labor Department that they must accept any and all available A-teams or other workers west of the Mississippi River if they were to retain their eligibility for foreign labor when the need was finally admitted.

Obviously, the need existed or there would be no reason for A-teams. Not only must farmers pay transportation costs and hire a "coach" to supervise the group but they must accept these high school students regardless of their ability. This is not the answer to California's farm labor needs since these students will be back in school and not available for work in late August, September, and October when California will need at least 30,000 and probably 40,000 to 45,000 more workers.

6. Secretary Wirtz cannot deny that California has suffered enormous crop losses. The best evidence of this is seen by a look at the strawberry industry, the largest crop which is ripening at this time. California is now $6\frac{1}{2}$ million behind last year in its strawberry shipments. This loss is increasing at the rate of $2 million a month and will continue until the loss is well over $15 million.

In other crops this is normally a somewhat slack season, a time when the braceros formerly were often idle in their barracks awaiting new harvests. There has been cool weather which has delayed some harvest.

7. Farm costs are skyrocketing unnecessarily in California, seriously damaging the health of my State's largest industry. These increased costs are the result of labor shortages, not wage rates. The president of Stockton Growers Group, Inc., reported to me on June 26, 1965, that the domestic workers he is using are producing only about 56 percent of the output of experienced workers. He has received three A teams and finds their productivity decreasing 50 percent after 2 weeks, indicating they get homesick, tired, and bored.

8. In the Salinas area, where six A teams have already quit, the boys on the teams are very complimentary of the cooperation shown by the growers but are critical of the Labor Department for misrepresenting the program. It is clear that the Department of Labor put the A-team program together hurriedly and without careful planning in a desperate effort to avoid facing up to the fact that their entire program to date has been a dismal failure. In fact, the program was thrown together so hurriedly that California's own department of employment was apparently not consulted since the director of that department suddenly refused to permit anymore out-of-State teams to enter California. He said there were high school students from our own State available if that was to be the type of labor with which our farmers must cope.

9. Further evidence that the A-team approach is not the answer to our labor needs is found in the experiences of California cantaloup growers. Although the California Farm Labor Panel named by Wirtz specifically commended these growers for their efforts to implement the A-team program, they are suffering a 20- to 25-percent loss because of inexperienced help.

10. Further evidence of the failure of Secretary Wirtz's program can be found in the report by a California grower who sent a crew of experienced Mexican workers through the field following an A-team and found 25 to 30 crates per acre (or about one-fourth of the melons) unpicked. Another grower reports that he had to hire a full-time girl to write the termination checks of workers who decided to leave.

Stability, Freedom, and the Developing Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, during the debate on the foreign aid bill, I proposed that we assist developing countries by training indigenous leadership in the skills required of a political democracy.

I did so because I feel that the encouragement of viable, self-governing democracies will immeasurably assist our search for a peaceful world. The succession of governments in Vietnam has underscored the need for stable, free governments.

Recently, Mr. Speaker, Edward P. Morgan devoted one of his broadcasts to the larger and related problem of urging the acceptance by the developing nations of the best in the American social system.

I therefore, include his radio editorial of August 5 be inserted at this point in the RECORD:

EDWARD P. MORGAN AND THE NEWS, AUGUST 5, 1965

We Americans like to think that, despite its many faults and weaknesses, our own social order is a goon one, probably the best there is going. We tend to be astonished then when, like some wines, it does not always travel well for export. Our Government, for example, says that our basic objective in South Vietnam is a set of stable circumstances under which the South Vietnamese will be free to choose their own form of government, their own social order. But under the surface what Washington would like most to see is the beginning of an open society in the American tradition.

Theoretically, if we could somehow seal the people off from violence and turmoil long enough for them to learn how our system works and appreciate its attributes, they might opt for an order of the U.S. brand. But there is no way to isolate them in some kind of hermetically protected chamber while they make their choice. The work has to be done out in the open, exposed to the raw and insidious danger of guerrilla warfare. What is there to build on? Outside of a small and overworked cadre of professional bureaucrats, who somehow have survived the succession of coups and less violent changes of regime, the armed forces provide virtually the only core of stability, and that's not much. There is another grouping with promise to build on, but the government in Saigon, ironically, has viewed it up to now largely with suspicion and contempt. This is the Vietnamese Confederation of Labor, about a quarter of a million men and women, headed by an intelligent Buddhist named Tran Quoc Buu.

One of Buu's difficulties is that he cannot tell with precision how extensively the confederation is infiltrated with Vietcong or at least guerrilla sympathizers. Paradoxically, if the government were to pay the movement more respect, upgrade its importance in national affairs, the problem of subversion would diminish in proportion. The Vietnamese, as a whole, whether city workers, peasants or whatever, have come to regard any governmental regime with distrust if not outright hatred, because of the government's clumsy, corrupt or cruel approach to them.

This brings us to a couple of fundamental obstacles to the acceptance of institutions which we Americans more or less take for granted. We can and do exercise a healthy disrespect on occasion for our own Government but, except for extremists of the far right and left, we do not actively despise it, or consider it, ipso facto, as an enemy. There was a time, the worst of it about the turn of the century, when Americans workers had to fight literally for their rights. The New Deal crowned their revolution with success. Since then with some notable and ugly exceptions, capital and labor in this country have moved more and more toward collaboration and away from violent conflict.

This phenomenon of what President Johnson might like to call a working consensus has not been grasped by the rigidly orthodox Socialists of Europe or Asia. They are left floundering in the outdated concepts of socialism including the inevitability of class warfare. The trade union leadership in the United States has been getting farther and farther away from orthodoxy as labor tastes the increasing benefits of a mixed economy, with Government, business and unions increasingly exchanging counsel, broadening collaboration and sharing responsibilities. There are outrageous exceptions to this broad picture but this nevertheless is the trend and the Johnson administration has given it enormous impetus.

It will be years before such concepts can be realized in Vietnam. They haven't begun to be accepted yet even in such a thoroughly industrialized nation as Japan. Last Saturday, the day before I left Tokyo, "Sohyo," the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, opened its annual convention. There is a painful recession in Japan. Manufacturers overproduced, inventories are mouldering and jobs are insecure; many have been eliminated. Sohyo wrestled with this problem but its noisiest activity consisted of denouncing American intervention in Vietnam and mouthing fellow-traviling slogans of the pro-Communist Japan Socialist Party, labor's principal vehicle in the Diet, Japan's parliament.

American unions have established some contacts with their Japanese colleagues. Last year George Meany headed a successful AFL-CIO delegation to the convention of Domei, another—less radical—constellation of unions. Some exchanges with Japanese labor delegations have been worked out, in hopes they would pick up some helpful hints in observing American industry in action. This is a delicate operation but more of it should be undertaken. The U.S. Government and the American labor leadership both may have been little to preoccupied with the good-guy-bad-guy aspect of Japanese and other foreign trade union memberships. The explanation of how and why the marvel of American productivity works is one of our most valuable weapons and if there are risks in spreading this explanation, they are well worth it.

This is Edward P. Morgan saying good night from Washington.

Dancers Not Going to the Dogs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, a Colorado editor has uttered some hopeful words on behalf of the younger generation which should make all of us be of good cheer. He is Tom Ferrill, Colorado's poet laureate. His thoughts regarding today's teenage dances were reprinted by another fine Colorado editor, Ken Budy of the Aurora Star, on August 5.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include below this editorial so that we all may realize that all is not lost with the limber set:

DANCERS NOT GOING TO THE DOGS

Some of we oldsters who admittedly don't understand the new dances got our comeuppance this week from Tom Ferril, Colorado's contribution to literate poetry.

He is also, when at his best, the finest columnist in Colorado in the Rocky Mountain Herald, oldest weekly newspaper in Colorado.

Here's his analysis of the teenage dances:

"Were I nimbler and more socially acceptable, I'd be out nightly participating in the classic revival of formal dances—the Frug, Watusi, Jerk, Swim, Monkey, Dog, Fish, Fly, and whatever names the kids dream up next.

"Far from being wanton sex gyrations to tom-tom jungle music, as shocked bluenoses would have us believe, these new dances reecho the origins of Old World formal dances in which ladies and courtiers danced opposite each other in perfect time and motion without touching even a fingertip.

"Arising out of French chivalry and crossing the channel in the Napoleonic period, this form of dancing was called contredance from which we get country dance which had nothing to do with hillbilly shindigs but, rather, chaste quadrilles and the like.

"I doubly delight in the ballet precision and joyousness of these youngsters, especially when I recall how laboriously we used to sweat it out, cheek-in-cheek, pelvis-to-pelvis, mooning around the floor to some lethargic tune, fully justifying the wisecracks of the period—"Why do they bother to stand up?"

"The only animal aspect of this new dance behavior is in the names of the dances, such as Monkey, Dog, Fish, etc., which simply perpetuates the nomenclature of the beast-loving generation of yesteryear that thumped around so gracefully in the Grizzly Bear, Bunny Hug, Turkey Trot, Kangaroo Dip and Fox Trot. Why the animals always insist on getting into the act, nobody seems to know.

"But I do know that psychiatrists are all wrong when they interpret the Frug or Watusi in terms of withdrawal rejection and loss of identity.

"What we are witnessing is a formal and conservative classic revival. Give or take 10 years and all these boys will be thoughtful Republicans and the girls will be joining the DAR."

Repeal of Section 14(b) of the Labor-Management Relations Act

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 77) to repeal section 14(b) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, and section 705(b) of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 and to amend the first proviso of section 8(a)(3) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to commend my senior Senator, PAT MCNAMARA, of Michigan, and Congressman FRANK THOMPSON, of New Jersey, who introduced legislation to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act in the Senate and House. In the words of the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey whose bill we are now debating, section 14(b) is both "illogical and disruptive."

The repeal of 14(b) is one of the major pieces of legislation before the 89th Congress due to the widespread ill effects of the right-to-work laws which have been enacted as a result of this clause in the Taft-Hartley Act. The stated purpose of labor legislation is to protect commerce from "injury, impairment, and interruption." Yet 14(b), which is contradictory to every other piece of Federal legislation regulating commerce, impairs the worker's rights, particularly the Negro worker's rights, by depriving him of effective union representation at the bargaining table, and injures the efficiency of existing unions by permitting

freeloaders who reap the benefits of unionism without meeting its obligations. The economic growth of the entire Nation can be dangerously disrupted by the economic underdevelopment caused by nomadic runaway industries which seek to exploit cheap labor. The vision of the Great Society is clouded by the existence of a law which supports poverty and racial discrimination.

Right-to-work laws are examples of the arbitrary freedom which leaves the strong free to oppress the weak. These misnamed laws impair the rights of all workers to collectively bargain with management, but they especially hurt the Negro American worker since he so often has the job with the lowest pay and most oppressive working conditions, and so particularly needs effective union representation. It is no accident that all the Southern States—except Louisiana which used to—have right-to-work laws.

Current Federal law inconsistently requires the union to bargain for all employees—even those who are not members of the union. This puts the union in the very weak position of fighting for everyone's benefit without having everyone's support. Very few actual working men claim they do not want to share in the obligations of the union while reaping all the advantages. The advocates of these "destroy-the-union" laws are the same people who fight improvements in minimum wage and maximum hours laws, social security, and unemployment compensation.

Responsible businessmen oppose these laws because they encourage unfair competition from runaway industries which move about in nomadic fashion so they can exploit the cheapest available labor supply. Instead of promoting economic growth, these nomads fold their tents and steal away to other poverty-stricken communities whenever the economy would permit increased wages, and thus leave both the workers and the general community in an even worse situation than before. We must eliminate these havens for parasitic businesses and guarantee free and fair competition.

WEDGE BETWEEN THE NEGRO AND THE UNIONS

It is no coincidence that many of the States which have right-to-work laws are in the South. Although these laws deny all workers the right to effective collective bargaining with management, these statutes are particularly restrictive on the Negro. Because the Negro has traditionally been relegated to the lowest paid jobs and the most oppressive working conditions, he, more than anyone else, needs the benefits of organized and effective union representation. A. Philip Randolph, an AFL-CIO vice president, says that the real aim of the open shop supporters is to promote these laws "in the hope of driving a wedge between Negroes and the labor movements."

If the Nation is to continue its great strides toward assuring equality for all citizens, we must also guarantee the Negro and every other worker the right to union representation, if he desires it; to job security, because he needs it; adequate wages, because they will help to lower the welfare rolls; and fair employment practices, because they are necessary. These goals cannot be reached as long as we have right-to-work legislation.

ABOLISH THE "FREELOADER"

Since the law requires that a union represent all the members of a collective bargaining unit whether they are members of the union or not, it is only equitable that where the union is the agent of all the workers at the bargaining table every worker who stands to benefit from the contract agreed upon should be required to support the union.

The issue here is simply whether or not an employee, for reasons, real or feigned, should have the privilege of not paying to support a bargaining agent that a majority of his fellow employees have elected to represent all of them. A citizen cannot stop paying taxes simply because his candidate for President was defeated, nor should he be exempted from supporting the union simply because he did not vote for it when the majority of his fellow workers did.

THE THREAT OF "RUNAWAY" INDUSTRIES

The smooth flow of trade is impaired by this unfair competition between the right-to-work States and the other States. The supporters of these laws contend that their States show more economic growth and stability than the other States. It is strange, then, that many of the new businesses which have been attracted to the right-to-work States are runaway industries which move about in nomadic fashion from place to place with the intent of exploiting the cheapest possible labor supply.

Where can such businesses find a constant source of cheap labor? In the right-to-work States where there are few, if any, enforceable minimum wage, maximum hours, and fair employment practices laws. A runaway shop which relocates in a community may appear to solve the problem of unemployment by hiring a great number of workers at very low wages. When the employees begin to ask for more pay and better working conditions, the shop will move to another community. In the wake of such profiteers, for these runaway shops do reap high profits by charging the same market price for goods produced at higher production costs, are communities whose entire economy is demolished; creditors who wonder who will pay the bills created by the company and its dependents; and unemployed workers who find themselves deeper in debt and more bewildered than they were before the boom. The injury done to communities by the kind of business attracted by cheap labor is finally felt by the Nation's economy as a whole when the low-wage workers are unable to purchase in proportion to their production. Rather than causing economic development of an already poverty-stricken community, the practice of the runaway shop creates a condition which might be termed economic underdevelopment.

Fortunately, most responsible businessmen are aware of the danger of upsetting the economy by running away from the unions. These businessmen frown upon right-to-work laws and have been instrumental in either defeating the passage of such laws or have helped to repeal right-to-work laws. In the State of Maine, management was a vital part of the opposition which overwhelmingly defeated the passage of right-to-work laws. Indiana, one of the few industrial States to enact a right-to-work law, repealed the law this year through the efforts of the Indiana Council for Industrial Peace which declared the right-to-work law was a threat to the economy of the State. Four other States have repealed similar laws and nine have defeated the proposal of right-to-work legislation by referendum.

UNDERMINING THE GREAT SOCIETY

Never before has there been greater concern for allowing an increasingly larger proportion of the population of the United States to enjoy the fruits of prosperity. The repeal of section 14(b) will help to more easily implement the plans for the Great Society. The present right-to-work laws undermine this pattern for the future by making the alleviation of poverty more difficult in the hardcore areas where wages are low, unemployment benefits are minimal, and fair employment practices are practically nonexistent. Collective bargaining between management and labor is one of the best ways of assuring optimum working conditions and wages. Statistics comparing the right-to-work States, which outlaw the union shop, and the other States, which can have the union shop, show that only 5 percent of the right-to-work States and 47 percent of the other States have maximum unemployment insurance benefits; 40 percent of the former and 87 percent of the latter offer a $40 per week compensation for temporary total disability; and minimum wage laws are in effect in 32 percent of the right-to-work States and 72 percent of the others. Only 16 percent of the right-to-work States have equal pay laws while 66 percent of the other States have them, and only 5 percent of the right-to-work States have fair employment practices laws while 69 percent of the other States have them.

The President of the United States has placed a goal before all American people by his advocacy of the Great Society. It is an ideal, but it is an ideal which can be reached. We have made many steps toward the achievement of the Great Society through the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the war on poverty, and the soon to be effective medicare and voting rights legislation. Yet there remains much to be accomplished. The repeal of section 14(b) is one of the vital bills which the Congress must pass if we are to eliminate the poverty created by low wages and the demoralization and indignities suffered by the workers who must endure exploitation.

VIOLATES UNIFORMITY PRINCIPLE

Labor laws should be uniform in all States because they are a part of the regulation of interstate commerce which is a function of the Federal Government. The equity between the States in relation to an area of Federal jurisdiction is destroyed because section 14(b) provides a loophole now used by 19 States. These States have, in effect, set themselves up as equals of the Federal Government in

matters of interstate commerce. The men who framed the Constitution deliberately and wisely delegated the power to regulate commerce to the Federal Government in order to prevent individual States from instituting private trade barriers. Eighteen years ago Congress passed a law which fostered an undesirable inequity among the States regarding treatment of those persons who are employed in interstate commerce. For 18 years supporters of right-to-work legislation have been claiming that their laws protect individual freedom. For 18 years the misnomer "right to work" has deluded voters into giving their support for laws which purport to broaden individual freedom, but in fact, limit it.

I feel the time has come to get rid of section 14(b). It was a mistake when it was passed in 1947, and it is a mistake that cannot be too quickly corrected. We must not compound the error by permitting 14(b) to remain any longer on our law books.

The Civil Air Patrol—Vital Partner in the Nation's Air and Space Effort

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues in the House the very excellent speech made by Congressman LESTER L. WOLFF, of New York, before the Civil Air Patrol dinner in Washington on Tuesday evening, August 1, 1965, honoring the annual international air cadet exchange program. Congressman WOLFF calls attention to the vital importance of the Civil Air Patrol in our space effort and to our military forces, as well as to commercial aviation.

His speech follows:

THE CIVIL AIR PATROL—VITAL PARTNER IN THE NATION'S AIR AND SPACE EFFORT

(Speech of Congressman LESTER L. WOLFF, Democrat, of New York)

First of all, I would like to extend my most sincere congratulations to Pan American World Airways, Inc., and Mr. Samuel F. Pryor for making this occasion possible, and to Col. Barnee Breeskin for his incomparable work in arranging this program. Their work in advancing the civil side of aviation, and their interest in air-minded youth, will significantly advance the cause of American air and space power in the future of our Nation.

For many years the Civil Air Patrol has been a very important partner to our military and naval air forces as well as to commercial aviation.

Twenty years ago, during World War II, I played a small part in the vital wartime mission of the CAP. Since that time I have maintained an active interest in the CAP and in aviation in general.

It has thus been a source of considerable gratification to me to be named to the Science and Astronautics Committee—the Space Committee—of the House of Representatives.

The overall perspective on aeronautics and space developments one can gain from membership on this committee has impressed upon me once again the continued importance of the Civil Air Patrol to our Nation's aeronautical strength and progress.

Today we honor air cadets from many nations. Membership in the great brotherhood of airmen, a brotherhood that knows no international boundaries, can be an important factor in developing a greater understanding of other countries, as well as a most valuable means of exchanging information and techniques relevant to aeronautical progress.

I like to think that all of us in the aviation and space business—our Air Force, Army, and Navy pilots in Vietnam, our astronauts, our great aviation companies, our commercial airlines, FAA, NASA, and those of us in the House and Senate concerned with aviation and space affairs—all are partners in promoting further mastery of the great ocean of air and space. And in this partnership the role of the CAP is by no means a minor one. The CAP provides an ideal launching pad for young men from all countries who aspire to careers in aviation and space.

In this partnership we cannot afford to be second best.

The Communist-dominated nations, particularly the Soviet Union, have shown a vigor and ingenuity that we cannot afford to let surpass our efforts. The CAP has helped to insure that this will not happen.

So today we honor these young men who have chosen to participate in man's greatest adventure—the conquest of the skies and now the heavens. We congratulate them for their help in the great effort to push forward ever further, the boundaries of man's knowledge of himself and of his universe.

In conclusion, I would like to recite a poem that has graced the Air Force ready rooms of free nations for the past 25 years, ever a source of inspiration to those who choose to work and fight in the vastness of the skies. It is "High Flight" by John Gillespie Magee, Jr.

"Oh! I have slipped the surly bonds of earth
And danced the skies on laughter-silvered wings;
Sunward I've climbed, and joined the tumbling mirth
Of sun-split clouds—and done a hundred things
You have not dreamed of—wheeled and soared and swung
High in the sunlit silence. Hov'ring there,
I've chased the shouting wind along, and flung
My eager craft through footless halls of air.

"Up, up the long, delirious, burning blue
I've topped the wind-swept heights with easy grace
Where never lark, or even eagle flew—
And, while with silent lifting mind I've trod
The high untrespassed sanctity of space,
Put out my hand and touched the face of God."

Lying High School Transcripts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Tribune this morning carried an editorial which should be of deep concern to all Americans, but in particular, to all educators in the United States.

This editorial comments on the scandalous doctoring of high school records in 638 instances during a 5-year period at Hillhouse High School in New Haven, Conn.

It appears that in most of these instances, the transcripts of graduating students had been misrepresenting grades in a systematic attempt to help the school's pupils gain admittance to college.

As a member of the House Committee on Education who has participated in drafting and helping enact Federal legislation which provides hundreds of millions of dollars to America's institutions of higher learning, Mr. Speaker, this revelation is of substantially more than passing interest to me. I should think it would also be of grave concern to all the other Members of Congress who have voted for this Federal aid to our institutions of higher learning.

I am particularly concerned with the statement by the school's suspended principal, Robert T. LeVine, who in his own defense stated that he has been carrying on a well-established practice followed for years before he became principal of Hillhouse High School in 1951.

We do not know at this time whether this scandalous manipulation of records has been limited only to Hillhouse High School or whether this is a practice in other schools throughout the Nation, as well. Certainly we have a right to ask whether American youngsters are being denied admission to the Nation's institutions of higher learning because others with doctored grades take an unfair advantage.

The disclosures at Hillhouse conceivably have nationwide ramifications and could seriously endanger the high regard that we have for our Nation's institutions of higher learning. It is of little comfort to argue that the cheaters would be soon discovered upon being admitted to any institution with high scholastic standards by their failure to maintain these standards. This apparently did not prove to be the case in the Hillhouse scandal. It would be my hope that the National Education Association will face up to this disclosure squarely and not sweep in under the rug.

Instead, the NEA should launch a full-scale investigation to see whether or not the disclosures at Hillhouse have occurred in other high schools.

Mr. Speaker, I am careful not to suggest a congressional investigation on this matter because we promised at the time we passed this legislation that there would be no Federal intervention. I would much prefer if the NEA, or any other private agency charged with the responsibility of overseeing our educational institutions, took on such an investigation within its own framework.

But, Mr. Speaker, I would like to make it clear here today that I will not hesitate to ask my own committee to look into this entire matter if a responsible private agency fails to investigate this practice at the earliest opportunity.

The competition for enrollment in our institutions of higher learning is much too keen today and the growing shortage of facilities is much too serious to permit youngsters who are beneficiaries of doctored records to take the place of more worthy American scholars.

Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Tribune editorial follows:

LYING TRANSCRIPTS

The high school grades are all too often meaningless has long been asserted. Now public hearings at New Haven, Conn., have been developing evidence that in at least one high school in that city official transcripts have been misrepresenting grades in a systematic attempt to help the school's pupils gain admission to college.

Even in this somewhat corrupted age, it is surprising that a high school principal should be charged with issuing doctored transcripts. More surprising is the line of defense that Robert T. LeVine, suspended principal of Hillhouse high school, took at a hearing Levine requested to fight his suspension. One defense is that LeVine had just been carrying on a well established practice, followed for years before he became principal in 1951. Another defense is that though ex officio LeVine has been signing transcripts, he did not personally prepare them and is not responsible for any misrepresentations in them. That in 688 instances in a 5-year period grades had been falsified on Hillhouse high school transcripts apparently is not contested.

One strange detail is that though nearly all grade changes were upward in a few instances the true grades were lowered. Could those instances reflect a will to sabotage a few applications for college entrance?

The New Haven board of education contends that a principal has ultimate responsibility for the truthfulness of his school's transcripts whether or not doctoring them is an old school custom and whether or not the principal personally falsified them. The nature of Levine's defenses clearly indicates that he is not a man to count on to resist tampering with school records.

Surely the board is right in holding the principal responsible and in contending that the integrity of records is important. One need not attach an exaggerated value to high school grades to conclude that it is shocking for a school to issue, every year, scores of transcripts that lie about facts.

Wise Choice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Voice of America is in need of a thorough revamp, and reevaluation as to its operation and a rededication to its basic purpose which is to effectively present the American image abroad. The Economist Newspapers, an outstanding chain serving a large segment of the Chicago metropolitan area, carried an editorial on August 4 which I ask leave to place in the RECORD:

WISE CHOICE

In appointing John W. Chancellor to be Director of the Voice of America, President Johnson selected a very able newspaper man who was born and raised on the South Side. Chancellor's relatives still reside in the area.

Now 38 years of age, Chancellor graduated from Kenwood elementary school and De Paul Academy. He served in the Army and later attended the Navy Pier branch of the University of Illinois.

He subsequently joined the editorial staff of the Sun-Times and moved on, in 1950, to the news departments of the National Broadcasting Co.'s Chicago radio and television stations.

NBC sent him to Vienna, Lebanon, Moscow, Rome, and finally, to its Washington bureau. While in Rome Chancellor obtained an exclusive interview with the late Pope John, which was televised.

His experience should make the U.S. propaganda agency a powerful medium for improving America's image abroad. This has not always been the situation during the existence of the Voice of America. Americans who have heard some of the broadcasts while touring Europe have been appalled at the inocuous statements and worse sent over the air from stations in Munich and elsewhere.

Blame could be traced to the fact that past directors lacked adequate training and knowledge of what impresses people. President Johnson undoubtedly had this in mind when he said, in announcing Chancellor's appointment:

"I have confidence that it is going to be in imaginative, competent, reliable and always truthful hands."

We wish our former neighbor a full measure of success in his new venture.

Profiles of Wyoming Greatness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, in commemoration of Wyoming's 75th anniversary of statehood, I present the fourth in my series on great Wyoming citizens. Previous biographies featured Joseph M. Carey, Francis E. Warren, and John B. Kendrick.

ORPHANED AT SEVEN

A prominent Republican Party leader for 30 years, Frank Wheeler Mondell was born in St. Louis on November 6, 1860. Orphaned at the age of 7, he joined the family of a Congregational minister at Monona, Iowa, moving with them 2 years later to a homestead in the northwestern part of the State.

Living 100 miles from the railroad, he supplemented a 3-month annual country schooling with books from his guardian's extensive library. At 18, he went to Chicago and a year later to Denver, where for the next 8 years he worked in engineering and construction activities of the expanding West.

FIRST NEWCASTLE MAYOR

In 1887 he went to Wyoming, where he discovered a bituminous coal deposit which opened up the Cambria mines. He laid out the town of Newcastle and became its first mayor, serving until his election as State senator in 1892. He was elected president of the senate in his second term.

In 1894, he was a candidate for Governor, but at the last moment became the Republican nominee for Congress. After serving one term he was defeated in the free silver election of 1896. He then became assistant commissioner of the General Land Office until his reelection to the House in 1898, where he served continuously until 1923.

HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

In the middle of President Wilson's second term, Mr. Mondell had been chosen as Republican leader in the House. He was reelected in the 67th Congress and directed legislation during 4 important postwar years.

A confessed conservative and organization man, Congressman Mondell fought the move to strip Speaker Cannon of many of his powers and opposed the Bull Moose candidacy of Theodore Roosevelt in 1912. As permanent chairman of the 1924 Republican Convention, he scored the party's "radicals" and parried the efforts of the late Senator La Follette and his followers.

ADVOCATED WOMAN SUFFRAGE

As a Member of the House he advocated woman suffrage, authored the enlarged Homestead Act and the bill shifting the Forest Service from the Interior to the Agriculture Department, and had charge of the National Reclamation Act.

It was not until he was in Congress that Mondell began the study of law. He attended night law school, receiving his LL.D. from George Washington University in 1921, and in 1924 was admitted to practice in Wyoming. He was president of the Dry Farming Congress from 1910 to 1915 and was a 33d degree Mason.

IN LINE FOR SPEAKERSHIP

Instead of seeking reelection in 1922, he ran for the Senate, but was defeated by Senator Kendrick, a Democrat. It was said that had Speaker Frederick H. Gillette announced sooner his candidacy for the Senate, Mr. Mondell would have chosen to stay in the House, where he would have succeeded to the speakership.

Following his defeat, Mondell became Director of the War Finance Corporation, having declined President Harding's offers of ambassadorial appointments. Later, he declined a Cabinet position in order to enter a private law practice in Washington, D.C.

He died August 6, 1939, and was buried in Washington's Rock Creek Cemetery. He and his wife, the former Ida Harris, were the parents of five children—William Harris Mondell, who now lives in Billings, Mont.; Frank Wheeler Mondell, of Washington, D.C.; the late George Parker Mondell; Marjorie Mondell, now Mrs. Mills Astin; and Dorothy Mondell, now Mrs. Sherlock Davis.

Frank Mondell rose above the disadvantages of his earlier years, educated himself on his own initiative, became one of his party's most eminent leaders, and nearly gained the post of the most powerful man in Congress, Speaker of the House. His dedication and service make Frank Mondell one of Wyoming's outstanding citizens during her 75 years of statehood.

The World Population Explosion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, public policy in the field of birth control is undergoing the most rapid change in America's history. Basically, there are three reasons: First, public awareness of the problem has grown enormously; second, the Roman Catholic Church has undertaken a thorough reexamination of the matter, leading to a special council to consider church policy. A dialog is emerging not only within the church, but also by the Catholics and members of other religious groups; third, President Johnson has made clear his own great concern with the problem and its wider implications. In his state of the Union message—January 4, 1965—the President said:

I will seek new ways to use our knowledge to help deal with the explosion in world population and the growing scarcity in world resources.

In his address at the commemorative celebration of the 20th year of the United Nations, in San Francisco, June 25, 1965, the President stated:

I would call upon all member nations to rededicate themselves to wage together an international war on poverty.

Let us, in all our lands, including this land, face forthrightly the multiplying problems of our multiplying populations and seek the answers to this most profound challenge to the future of the world. Let us act on the fact that less than $5 invested in population control is worth a hundred dollars invested in economic growth.

Mr. Speaker, hearings on a bill introduced by Senator GRUENING and several of his colleagues in the other body are presently proceeding. Nine of us have introduced bills dealing with the problem in the House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, the problem is now. We cannot avoid it. If we do so, we face disaster. The issue is squarely up to us.

The last article in a series "Our Crowded Earth," by Jean M. White, presently running in the Washington Post, deals with these important developments:

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 6, 1965]

OUR CROWDED EARTH—VI: VATICAN REEXAMINES STAND ON BIRTH CONTROL

(Last of six articles)

(By Jean M. White)

Perhaps by mid-September, or soon thereafter, Pope Paul VI will make a pronouncement on the problem which everyone is talking about, that is birth control.

The long-awaited statement will be a momentous one for millions of devout Catholics throughout the world. It will come after a searching dialog within the Roman Catholic Church, among the hierarchy, theologians, and lay men and women.

Only last June, Pope Paul asked with respectful urgency that his special advisory commission speed its report to him. Earlier, he had spoken feelingly of the anguish of many souls waiting for the church to reexamine its position on birth control.

The reexamination has been intense within the framework of centuries of Catholic teaching and opposition to artificial methods of contraception. It comes at a time of considerable change of sentiment in both public and private sectors toward birth control.

Within the last few years, there has been a turning point in public awareness of the problems of overpopulation, both for a family and for a nation.

This has brought demands for more Government action in the field of family planning. More and more nations, particularly in the struggling underdeveloped areas of the world, have come to the decision they must adopt and pursue family-planning policies for the well-being of their people.

So birth control—once considered off limits in national and international politics—is now a proper subject for public discussion and action.

This change of climate has heartened population experts, who have often felt that they were lonely voices crying in a wilderness of indifference to the dangers of population inflation.

"Why am I optimistic today?" asks Frank N. Notestein, president of the privately financed Population Council.

"For two reasons: first, a real awareness of the problem on the part of the people and governments; and secondly, the recent improvements in contraceptive techniques, with the breakthrough on the pill and the IUD (intra-uterine device) in the last few years."

In the United States, President Johnson's State of the Union Message last January heralded a more affirmative and aggressive Federal policy on birth control.

With only 25 words, Mr. Johnson went further than any other President to back population-control efforts:

"I will seek new ways to use our knowledge to help deal with the explosion of world population and the growing scarcity of world resources."

Then, the President called on all nations to "face forthrightly the multiplying problems of our multiplying populations" when he spoke on the 20th anniversary of the United Nations in San Francisco.

"Let us act on the fact that less than $5 invested in population control is worth $100 invested in economic growth," he told the delegates.

Other recent events reflect the shift in sentiment toward the Government's role in birth-control efforts:

Ten bills relating to birth control have been introduced in this Congress. A Senate subcommittee is now holding hearings on a bill that would set up two posts in the State Department and the Health, Education, and Welfare Department to deal with population problems at home and abroad.

Last year, the number of States offering birth control services in tax-supported medical and welfare programs rose from 21 to 35.

So far this year, some 11 States have taken action either to repeal old State birth control bans or to provide family planning services. The Supreme Court recently struck down the Connecticut law that forbade the sale or use of contraceptives.

The Interior Department announced it would offer both birth control advice and devices to American Indians on reservations, natives of the Pacific Trust Territory, and Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts in Alaska.

It thus became the first Federal agency to supply contraceptive devices directly. The program, Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall emphasized, is entirely voluntary.

The Office of Economic Opportunity, as part of the war on poverty, has said it will provide funds for family planning services as part of an overall program if approved by a general community consensus.

Corpus Christi, Tex., received the first grant, for $8,500, for a 6-month pilot project of neighborhood clinics in low-income areas. Programs have also been approved for Oakland, Calif.; Austin, Tex.; St. Louis, Nashville, and Buffalo.

Local Catholic opposition has held up approval of a grant to Milwaukee.

Last March, the Agency for International Development sent out a directive to its missions to supply technical assistance—but not contraceptive devices—to governments requesting it.

The same month AID granted $45,000 to the Jamaica Planning Association to buy vehicles and other equipment for a birth control education program.

U.S. Surgeon General Luther L. Terry urged the World Health Organization to "take positive action in the adoption of a clear-cut policy" on birth control.

Who voted unanimously to supply technical assistance to members requesting it but not to "involve operational activities"—reportedly a compromise to allay Catholic fears.

Until recently, the Federal Government has carefully avoided direct involvement in the touchy field of birth control. It has been considered politically explosive both at home and abroad.

The Roman Catholic Church has presented the most formidable and unswerving opposition to public birth-control policies and programs.

Today the church is undergoing a searching review of its position on the regulation of childbirth. Pope Paul's pronouncement—the ultimate decision is his—may come before the bishops of the Second Vatican Council convene September 14 for their final session.

In the United States, there are 50 million Catholics, nearly a quarter of the population. Latin America, where population is growing the fastest, is predominantly Catholic.

Pope Paul appointed a special commission of clerics, scientists, and married couples to advise him. The commission, which has been meeting more than a year, has been reported as divided.

Some commission members are reported standing firm against any change in the church position. Others are believed in favor of sanction for use for contraceptive pills. And still others have been reported to be supporting a wider range of contraceptive means.

The only means of birth control now approved by the Catholic Church is total abstinence during the wife's fertile period—the rhythm method.

The pill offers a method that is not unreconciable to Catholic teaching, its supporters argue. It suppresses ovulation, they emphasize, with out use of mechanical barriers condemned by the church.

One of the pill's developers is Dr. John Rock, a Catholic himself. He has emphasized that canon law defines the end of marriage as both the procreation and education of children and speaks of a "fusion of these obligations."

Shortly before his death in 1958, Pope Pius XII condemned the pill as a "sterilizer." The antipill school argues that it represents a kind of direct intervention, previously condemned by a number of Popes.

The IUD (intrauterine device) also could pose an intricate problem for Catholic doctrine. The question here may be whether the loops of the device prevent fertilization—before embryonic life is formed—to act to prevent the fertilized egg from taking hold in the uterus. In the latter case, the coil may be viewed as an early abortion-producing device and open to unyielding condemnation.

Last October at the third session of the Vatican Council, four Cardinals spoke out for a redefinition of the church position on birth control.

Leon Josef Cardinal Suenens of Belgium urged the council "to meet the immense problem posed by the present demographic explosion."

"The matter is difficult, but the world is waiting," he added.

Public opinion polls have shown that many Catholics favor birth control and practice it by other means than the rhythm methods. A recent Louis Harris survey showed a 3 to 2 majority of Catholic couples favored relaxation of the church's rigid stand.

In South America, some priests have avoided taking a stand rather than obstruct birth-control efforts among their poor parishioners. In Europe, several of the countries with the lowest birth rates are predominantly Catholic—Austria, Belgium, France, and Italy.

But until Pope Paul makes his pronouncement the Catholic doctrine remains that of centuries.

"Despite popular opinion to the contrary, the attitude of the Catholic Church to contraception is still one of condemnation as a moral evil," Msgr. John C. Knott, head of the Family Life Bureau of the National Catholic Welfare Council, has declared.

Not everyone thinks the world has population problems. Some reputable scientists and demographers feel that we shouldn't underestimate the ability of science to take care of rapid growth in the years ahead.

Malthus was proved wrong once, they point out, and they decry the "alarmists" and the "popular prophets of demographic gloom and doom."

But more and more people and governments are becoming worried over the problems of overpopulation.

They see serious consequences for mankind—in the search for world peace and order, in economic growth in the underdeveloped countries, in the hopes of the world's poor for a little better life, in the welfare of the individual family.

The quantity of human life could well wipe out much of the quality of human life, they warn. Children born today will be 35 in the year 2000, when there will be twice as many people on earth. Some will live to see a world three times as populous as today's if present growth rates continue.

Population control certainly won't solve all of man's troubles. But it is close to the center of many of them.

Amendment to H.R. 1778 District Housing Law

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, this amendment would encourage the destruction of slums or encourage bringing them up to at least minimum standards by preventing the continuous occupancy of slums and thus preventing successive waves of requests for new public housing based on their occupancy.

This amendment will stop the present persistent trend of making the District of Columbia disproportionately a public housing area.

The amendment will also save the taxpayers expenditures, that should be incurred instead by the owners of the slums.

The Federal public housing law—section 10(a) of the U.S. Housing Act of 1937—provides that a locality cannot receive Federal assistance under an annual contributions contract in connection with a low-rent public housing project unless the governing body of such locality agrees to eliminate, by demolition, condemnation, or compulsory repair, a number of substandard—unsafe or unsanitary—dwelling units substantially equal to the number of units in the project. The elimination of these substandard units must occur after the project is begun and must be fully accomplished within 5 years after the project is completed. The requirement is in terms of numbers of units only; it is not necessary for the locality to specify the particular units to be eliminated, and it makes no difference how the elimination occurs.

In practice, apparently, most localities have no difficulty meeting this requirement; by the time the 5-year period is over the requisite number of substandard units will generally have disappeared from the community as a result of private action or as an incident of other—unrelated—public activities; and there is seldom a need for the locality to take any special steps at all in order to carry out the elimination agreement.

This proposed amendment modifies this requirement, insofar as it applies to a project located in the District of Columbia, by providing that—under future contracts—the elimination of the requisite number of substandard units must be fully accomplished by the time the project is completed. This amendment, by removing the additional 5-year period presently available for satisfying the requirement, will compel the District authorities to take at least some affirmative action to eliminate substandard units when a public housing project is being built.

The District of Columbia is a small piece of geography; and if something like I have suggested does not take place, it will be only a question of time before most of the occupants of the District, will live either in public housing or in slums.

Lawrence O'Brien: Salute to an Invaluable Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, there have been many men over the years who have served Presidents as congressional liaisons. They have been competent and helpful, and have been greatly appreciated. However, I feel that one man has singled himself out from all the rest, and that man is Lawrence O'Brien.

Mr. O'Brien has contributed immensely to the smooth-working relationship that exists between the Congress and the White House. He is always available with advice and aid, and can be counted upon to give direct and precise information concerning any topic within his scope. He has made himself invaluable to us all.

Thus, in recognition of his unselfish public service, I am pleased to bring to the attention of my colleagues this most fitting tribute which appeared in the Washington Post on Wednesday, August 4, 1965. The article follows:

JOHNSON PROGRAM—O'BRIEN'S CONTRIBUTION

There are two incredible realities about President Johnson's program in Congress, and it is a close question as to which is the more improbable.

One is the profound and unexampled scope of the legislation that has moved so sedately and surely through the Senate and House. What Congress under Mr. Johnson's spur is doing in all fields of social legislation is in depth and total meaning beyond what any Congress has ever done for any President in any like period—not excluding Franklin D. Roosevelt at the top of his power.

The other unreal reality is that all this is being accomplished with so quiet, so casual, an air of professional competence that the country is hardly aware of the immense alterations being made in the whole fabric of its collective life.

Five enactments of historic significance have already followed one another in orderly and ordained sequence, as steadily and calmly as a trained squad of men filing by in quickstep. Four of these—aid to the Appalachian region, Federal assistance to education in a fundamental way, medicare, and Negro voting rights—had been in one way or another sought for decades—for two to three decades in some instances, for 10 decades in the case of civil rights.

A fifth, the measure not merely to broaden Government-aided housing but also to provide Government rent subsidies to tenants, is so far-reaching as never before to have been proposed at all.

In any Congress one had known in the past any one of these huge bills would have provoked a struggle to shake the very walls of the Capitol. This time, each one has gone forward in about the atmosphere of strife and drama a postman might stir in making his rounds in the suburbs.

Perhaps history will have to determine the ultimate degree of wisdom or unwisdom in these unprecedented congressional actions. Some onlookers, including this onlooker, will not wait so long. They cannot down grave anxieties as to whether we ought to have gone so far so quickly in some of these many directions. Anyhow, we have gone there.

So, how was it all done? Primarily, of course, it was done by an occupant of the White House whose skill in leading and prodding Congress is matchless in our time. But the White House shelters more than one man; and the No. 2 man in this performance is entitled to a great share of credit or blame.

This No. 2 man is Lawrence O'Brien, the President's principal agent in liaison with Congress, and before that, a member of what the eggheads around President Kennedy were pleased to call, with a certain condescension, "Kennedy's Irish Mafia." O'Brien, who loved Mr. Kennedy quite as well as the next fellow, also loved the causes and the country he was supposed to represent. So those causes and that country—and President Johnson, too—he has served with signal loyalty and high competence. If the record of the first session of the first Johnson Congress is extraordinary—and all can agree on that much, at least—extraordinary has been O'Brien's contribution to it.

No man has so ably embodied the transition from the Kennedy to the Johnson era. And no man has done his full duty with less cocktail-circuit posturing and self-promo-

tion. The reason is not dreadfully hard to find. O'Brien is a true professional; he is concerned with results and not with doctrinal hair-splitting and ideological hissing matches.

And so nobody has had to draw him a little map of the trails through that tough terrain where the bureaucratic jungle merges with the legislative jungle up on Capitol Hill.

The 57th Birthday of Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to submit herewith an editorial written on the occasion of the 57th birthday of our new Ambassador to the United Nations, Arthur J. Goldberg, by Mr. Abe E. Eisenstein for the East Side News, a weekly publication with wide distribution in my congressional district.

I am happy to join with Mr. Eisenstein, his readers, and all my constituents in extending sincere congratulations and best wishes for a long and fruitful career in the service of his country.

The article follows:

HAPPY 57TH BIRTHDAY, ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG, AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS

(By Abe E. Eisenstein)

August 8, Sunday, marks the 57th anniversary of the birth of the former prominent labor lawyer, professor of law at the John Marshall Law School, major in the U.S. Army, lecturer, author of the book "AFL-CIO: Labor United," active U.S. Secretary of Labor, distinguished U.S. Associate Justice of the Supreme Court (a boy's dream that came true), and the present Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United Nations—Arthur Goldberg.

"He rose from the city streets to Cabinet office, and then to the highest court in this land. His life embodies the story of our open and free society as a fulfillment of the opportunity that we want all mankind to share with us."—Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States.

Arthur Joseph Goldberg is the son of Russian-Jewish immigrants, Joseph and Rebecca (Perlstein) Goldberg. He is a native of Chicago and the youngest of 11 children. Out of the meager savings as a peddler, his father acquired an old blind horse and a wagon. He would go to the markets before dawn and buy fruits and vegetables. These he would sell to restaurants and hotels. Arthur was orphaned of his pious father at the tender age of eight. He learned the pangs of hardship early in life.

Arthur Goldberg was educated in the Chicago public schools. At the age of 12, he went to work as an errand boy for a shoe factory at $3.80 a week. He is a graduate of Benjamin Harrison High School and attended Crane Junior College in the morning and De Paul University at night and working in between. He graduated summa cum laude from the Northwestern University Law School, class of 1929. He was admitted to the Illinois bar and District bar the same year. He was in private practice in Chicago for 19 years. Attorney Goldberg became general counsel of the CIO for 7 years and special counsel for the AFL-CIO for 6 years. He served as general counsel of the United Steel Workers for 13 years.

In 1961, Arthur Goldberg was appointed by the late President John F. Kennedy as Secretary of Labor. Again, in August 1962, on the retirement of Justice Felix Frankfurter, President Kennedy appointed Mr. Goldberg as the 94th Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. On July 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed him as permanent representative of the United States to the United Nations.

Arthur Goldberg married Dorothy Kurgans, a well-known artist, on July 18, 1931. They have two children, Barbara (Mrs. David A. Cramer), and Robert M. Goldberg.

Ambassador Goldberg, recipient of many honors, is a man of medium height, with white wavy hair, wearing horn-rimmed glasses, and who has extraordinary mental energy and physical stamina. He made a success of his life—and a contribution to his fellow man—in the finest American tradition. There is good reason to expect that he will make his presence felt in his new post. His hobbies are swimming, reading, conversation, and walking.

We salute you—Ambassador Arthur Goldberg—on your 57th birthday. We welcome you and your devoted wife to New York's historic East Side—Capital of the United Nations.

The Honorable J. J. Pickle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include an article which appeared in the Dallas Morning News on Tuesday, August 10, 1965, concerning our most able colleague, the Honorable JAMES J. PICKLE.

The article follows:

THE PRESIDENT'S REPRESENTATIVE: CONGRESSMEN WATCH PICKLE FOR CLUES

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Lyndon Baines Johnson is not only President of the United States to JAMES J. PICKLE. He's a constituent as well. And colleagues in the House of Representatives have taken to watching the Congressman from Austin for clues to White House thinking.)

(By Frank Cormier)

WASHINGTON.—For JAMES JARRELL PICKLE, "all the way with L.B.J." is more than a catchy political slogan. It's closer to a way of life.

Once a Capitol Hill policeman through Lyndon Johnson's influence, "JAKE" PICKLE now is Congressman from the President's home district in central Texas. And he is being talked about as a potential Senate candidate, although he disclaims any such ambitions.

For nearly three decades, PICKLE, 52, and Mr. Johnson, 56, have been personal and political friends. These close ties have had a lot to do with PICKLE's steady ascendancy in Texas politics. These plus his native ability and hard-to-forget name.

As the President's Congressman—and occupant of the House seat Mr. Johnson himself held for 11 years—PICKLE commands close attention from Capitol colleagues. They sound him out on presidential thinking and watch his voting record with more than usual interest.

Actually, PICKLE has not been a rubber stamp for Mr. Johnson—although he tries to go along with the Great Society blueprint despite some conservative misgivings.

PICKLE probably spends more time in private sessions with Mr. Johnson than any of the two other House Members from Texas. And when the President commutes by jet to his Texas ranch, PICKLE often is aboard as a personal guest.

PICKLE, a political professional to the quick, goes out of his way to dispel any notion that he is Mr. Johnson's man in the House.

"I don't think of myself as the President's Congressman," he says. "I prefer to think of him as my constituent."

PICKLE is a husky, heavy-set man, medium tall, with dark but graying hair. When he smiles, which is often, his tooth fillings show.

The Pickle name is getting ever-wider notice as more people become aware of his link with the White House. And he doesn't discourage jokes about the name. Quite the contrary, his campaign emblem is a green plastic lapel pin shaped like a pickle and emblazoned with the name "JAKE" and he credits his name with making him known quickly in campaigns.

The Pickle name has provided some laughs in Congress. Last year there was much merriment when PICKLE joined Representative CLAUDE PEPPER, Democrat of Florida, in sponsoring the Pepper-Pickle bill—legislation that would permit widows to remarry without surrendering their social security benefits as survivors.

Although friends do not think of PICKLE as deeply committed to any political ideology, except the Democratic Party, PICKLE says, "I am by nature rather conservative."

Yet he was one of only six Congressmen from Southern States to vote for House passage of the 1964 civil rights law—a measure not exceedingly popular in his district.

After that vote, Mr. Johnson awakened PICKLE with a 1 a.m. phone call to offer congratulations plus a confession that he, Johnson, might have voted "nay" had he been in PICKLE's shoes. In fact, the President did vote "nay" on civil rights when he represented the same district.

PICKLE was sworn in at 7:15 a.m. on Christmas Eve of 1963, taking over the House seat of the 10th District of Texas from Homer Thornberry, another Johnson friend who was elevated to a Federal judgeship. Thornberry has succeeded L.B.J. in the job.

Like most congressional newcomers, PICKLE was eager upon arrival to meet Washington's movers and shakers. At his first formal social event, a reception at the Finnish Embassy, he approached the most distinguished-looking man in the crowd and announced:

"I'm JAKE PICKLE, Congressman from Austin, Tex. Who are you?"

"My name is Pierre," said the other man, "and I am your waiter. What would you like to drink?"

PICKLE was guilty of another slip-up the day he arrived. He was driven to the Capitol by Representative Frank Ikard, Democrat, of Texas, who asked what he thought of the Sam Rayburn Office Building they were passing.

"It doesn't look so hot to me," PICKLE responded.

"I believe," said Ikard, "that marble is from the 10th District of Texas."

"You know," said JAKE, "the closer you get, the prettier it looks."

Incidentally, PICKLE collects political anecdotes as a hobby. He wants to put them in a book one day.

Other amusements: He is a self-taught pianist and harmonica player, practicing both arts occasionally at political gatherings. On Sunday mornings, Methodist PICKLE often bangs out familiar hymns on the family

piano for his attractive brunette wife Beryl and their three children.

The story of PICKLE's political rise tells much about Mr. Johnson's own political success. Mr. Johnson, early in his career, captured the loyalty of a group of promising young Texans like PICKLE and, by helping them to success, helped himself.

Like most members of this select group of L.B.J. protegés, PICKLE was a poor boy—one of five children of a newspaper publisher and corner grocer who went broke in the depression of the 1930's.

Raised in Big Spring, in west Texas, PICKLE entered the University of Texas in 1932 with total resources of $60. Taking a bare room in what was known as the poor boy's dorm, PICKLE financed most of his education by peddling milk, collecting laundry and dry cleaning, and working as a student janitor.

Membership in the Delta Theta Phi law fraternity brought him into close association with brother John Connally, now Governor of Texas and still a very close friend. It was Connally who introduced PICKLE to Lyndon Johnson in 1937, the year Mr. Johnson went to Congress.

JAKE earned his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1938 and took a job that solidified his ties with Mr. Johnson. He became an area director for the National Youth Administration, the New Deal agency for which L.B.J. was Texas director before going to Congress.

When Mr. Johnson went to war in 1941, as a Navy officer in the Pacific, he hired PICKLE to help Lady Bird run his congressional office in Washington. To boost JAKE's income, Mr. Johnson got him a moonlighting job as a uniformed Capitol policeman.

This double life ended in the summer of 1942 when PICKLE followed Mr. Johnson into the Navy. Winning an ensign's commission, he went to the South Pacific for 3½ years, was torpedoed once and took part in nine sea battles.

Peacetime brought renewal of the old ties with Mr. Johnson. PICKLE, Connally, and several other Navy veterans were hired by the Johnson family radio station in Austin. PICKLE sold advertising.

Later, as a member of a public relations-advertising agency called Syers, PICKLE & Winn, PICKLE became one of the best known and most effective backstage political operators in the State. He also became controversial.

The controversy erupted in 1954 when PICKLE's agency was handling Mr. Johnson's campaign for reelection to the Senate and Alan Shivers' bid to win reelection to the governorship against a challenge by liberal Democrat RALPH YARBOROUGH, now a Senator.

Syers, PICKLE & Winn produced a campaign movie called "The Port Arthur Story" which documented, in admittedly partisan fashion, the results of a strike in Port Arthur.

It made Port Arthur look like a ghost town and suggested a Yarborough victory would make all of Texas desolate. Organized labor denounced the film and YARBOROUGH held PICKLE responsible for his ultimate defeat, because of the movie.

PICKLE acknowledges he was aware of the production of "The Port Arthur Story" but says he did not have a direct role in its preparation. He was much too busy handling the Johnson campaign, he says.

PICKLE won his seat in Congress, in a special election December 17, 1963, in something of a walk. His Republican opponent had planned to campaign with pokes at "Lyndon's boy JAKE" and had ordered bumper stickers that read, "Don't elect L.B.J."

But before the voting, Mr. Johnson succeeded to the Presidency, all political equations were changed and PICKLE returned in splendor to the police beat of his youth.

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CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

The Service of the Chaplain Corps to the Armed Services in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia. Mr. President, it is a source of much comfort to all Americans, particularly to those with loved ones in Vietnam and other troubled areas of the world, to know that the spiritual needs of our servicemen are being ministered to by courageous and consecrated men of the cloth.

No matter how tough the going may get, you may be sure that wherever American fightingmen go, they are accompanied by the men of the Chaplain Corps.

This was brought home to me by two articles I ran across recently written by Jewish chaplains, one serving with our forces in South Vietnam, and the other with our men in the Dominican Republic. The experiences of these two men of God in uniform, experiences also shared by their Catholic and Protestant comrades, illustrate the devotion and dedication with which our chaplains go about the daily task of seeing to the spiritual needs of our men under the most difficult and dangerous conditions.

I would like, Mr. President, to bring these articles to the attention of the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEDER IN SAIGON: PASSOVER AMIDST THE FIGHTING IN VIETNAM

(By Chaplain Richard E. Dryer, Jewish Chaplain with U.S. Armed Forces in Vietnam)

Plans must be made well in advance for anything in Vietnam; regular shipments take from 2 or 3 months from the United States. But the situation is so fluid that plans will have to be changed at the last minute anyway. Our troop strength can, and did, almost double in the course of 1 month.

The late Chaplain Meir Engel started the ball rolling with the customary letter to JWB on December 8, 1964, requesting the necessary kosher food supplies. Following his untimely death, I arrived in the country on January 26, 1965, and after 10 days for my orientation and reading through the files, I wrote to JWB on February 8, asking whether the supplies Chaplain Engel had ordered were on the way, noting that if they were not they would have to be airlifted.

JWB coordinated this problem with the military and soon the answer came in the form of a cable from the Office of the Army Chief of Chaplains asking my command to cite funds for air shipment of 2,456 pounds of Passover supplies requested by Chaplain Dryer. The cable also contained the additional information that no one here suspected, that the U.S. Army Supply Services Command in the Ryukyu Islands had requisitioned Passover supplies for Vietnam. They were immediately contacted by cable to determine what supplies they were sending us. Having received their reply, the next step was to coordinate with our Comptroller for the fund citation and then send a TWX to the Chief of Chaplains requesting air shipment of 872 pounds of Passover supplies as a supplementary shipment.

Where to have the Seder was the next problem. The military operates differently here than it does anywhere else. There are no mess halls as we are normally accustomed to them. All messes, even enlisted messes, are operated on a pay-as-you-go basis and there is no surplus capacity for special parties, receptions, or Seder dinners. However, a short while after my arrival in the country, I met Gene Schram, USO director for the Pacific area, Sam Anderson, director of operations for the USO in Vietnam, and Alan Sternberg, associate director of the USO Club in Saigon, and this problem was promptly solved as they insisted that I allow them to donate their facility nad snack bar staff to the project.

The Army supply system loaned us new plastic dishes for 100. The Navy mess section loaned us white tablecloths to enhance the festive appearance. (We would have gotten new chinaware from them, but their backup supply was destroyed in the Brink Hotel bombing. Maybe next year.) The State Department through the U.S. Embassy helped too by lending us extra tables and an extra stove.

Then, 2 days before the Seder I was called by the Catholic marine chaplain in Danang. Due to the tactical situation, the marine commander would not permit his 15 Jewish men to come the 300 miles to Saigon for our community Seder. He was willing, however, to give them the 2 days off and even a separate tent for them to meet together. What could I do for them?

Thanks to JWB and a conscientious Protestant chaplain from their area, I could do plenty. This chaplain came down to Saigon and we arranged with the Air Force for an immediate shipment of almost 200 pounds of JWB solo seder, a case of kosher wine, macaroons, and even a pesadich cake my wife had baked and sent me, which the chaplain accompanied to make sure it reached its proper destination on time.

Of course, many more solo Seder packages from JWB had already gone out to men who knew well in advance that they would not be able to make the community Seder. For example, a Jewish doctor, the only doctor in a minuscule special forces detachment deep in the jungle. No Army career man, only in for the minimum 2 years, he didn't want to waste those 2 years in a dispensary in the States, so he volunteered for special forces. He has now become an expert on exotic tropical diseases, spends a good deal of his time caring for children in a nearby Vietnamese orphan asylum, is looking forward to getting back to civilian life, but with no regrets and a great sense of accomplishment during his military career. When I last visited him down in the delta, he was happy to take with him into the jungle paperbacks on Jewish philosophy and the life of Akiba that JWB has sent to Vietnam for the kind of religious education program that must be adapted to hundreds of separated sites with only one or two Jews at each.

A Seder, with its exciting story of freedom from slavery, is always thrilling, but in the military there is an added thrill or two. I never cease to be thrilled by the sincere and active cooperation I always receive from the many non-Jews in and out of the service, without whose efforts the holding of our Seders would be virtually impossible. It's interesting, too, to teach Vietnamese, who have never heard of Jews, much less our customs, how to make a kosher Seder. I wish I could find the words to describe the vigor with which Mr. Truong Bink Kien, the USO snackbar manager, acted as mashgiah and diligently saw to it that no crumb of chometz came anywhere near our preparation area.

Seder in Saigon was a wonderful experience for the men stationed in Vietnam and Thailand who attended (and a lone woman—a Navy librarian who lit the festival candles for us), but I think that we will be forgiven for amending the traditional text of the Haggadah to read, "This year we are here. May next year find us celebrating the Passover in Israel or at home with our loved ones."

JEWISH LIFE IN SANTO DOMINGO

(From the diary of Chaplain (Capt.) Howard M. Graber, Jewish chaplain with U.S. Army 15th Field Hospital)

Late one Friday night a non-Jewish chaplain woke me and said there was a Jewish soldier who wanted to see me. The boy was going on a special mission from which he thought he might never return. He asked me for my blessing and left me his parents' address so that I could write to them in case anything happened to him.

I still don't know the outcome of this secret mission and I am still haunted by the pleading words of this young patriotic American. It is worth being a chaplain just to be of help on an occasion like this.

As I travel around Santo Domingo, I fly my Jewish chaplain flag on my jeep. Wherever I go people see that there is a Jewish chaplain nearby. Even the Dominicans turn with interest as it passes them by on the streets. I have been stopped by Jewish soldiers and had a chance to talk with them. Our units are scattered throughout the area and, as expected, our Jewish boys are also spread around thinly.

The major part of my work here is chaplain of the 15th field hospital. I visit with the personnel each day to keep up their morale and to counsel with them, and I also serve the wounded and sick. I arrange for Catholic and Protestant services and contact the unit chaplains when necessary. Although I have been able to get in touch with no more than 100 Jewish servicemen in the area, I still feel my presence is necessary and important. I feel that it is also good for the non-Jews to see a Jewish chaplain soldiering and roughing it with them.

Last week, I had the opportunity of conducting services on the aircraft assault carrier U.S.S. *Okinawa*. We had 12 Jewish men and officers at the minyan. I will attempt to make it a regular service as long as I am here. I went out to the carrier by helicopter.

It remains to be seen whether I will also hold a service on the U.S.S. *Boxer*.

I have been distributing the Mogen Davids that I received from the National Jewish Welfare Board. Letters are written from my office to the parents of those who ask me to tell their folks that I met them and that they are well.

A small group of men attend the regular Shabbas services I hold here at the 15th Field Hospital. I also conducted worship for some servicemen at the local synagogue one Friday afternoon. We joined in prayer with 25 members of the civilian Jewish community. The service was held at 1600 hours as there is an 1800 hours curfew for civilians. Then, we made a quick dash back to our location, as 1800 hours is the time when sniping is frequent.

It was through the courtesy of the Marine Corps chaplain that I was able to establish contact with Parroquia Israelita, the civilian Jewish community of Santo Domingo. The local synagogue, built by the late Dominican president, Generalissimo Rafael L. Trujillo, who attended services there on occasion and who was very kind to the Jews, is not far from the Ambassador Hotel in the international zone. There are approximately 30 Jewish families in the city now. Some of the Jews fled when the revolution started and took refuge in Puerto Rico and other places.

The remaining Jews are in a precarious position. Most of those to whom I spoke are intent on leaving as soon as they can liquidate their businesses and dispose of their property. While there is no anti-Semitism in the Dominican Republic, the future of the Jewish community will be uncertain even after normal conditions have been re-established. I am told that there is bad feeling between the haves and the have-nots. The Jews here, because of their economic position, are among the haves.

I would like to visit Sosua, as I was told that the Jews in that agricultural colony of refugee settlers, which was established in 1940, are also shaken up. Even though there is no revolution in Sosua, the outcome of the situation here will determine their fate also. From what I hear, there are about 30 Jewish families left in Sosua.

I am looking forward to receiving the religious supplies and food packages which JWB is sending for the American Jewish servicemen. The men here certainly will appreciate this type of gift.

Anniversary Salute to the Central African Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow, August 13, the Central African Republic will celebrate the fifth anniversary of its independence. On this auspicious occasion, we wish to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency David Daco, President of the Central African Republic; and to His Excellency Michel Gallin-Douathe, the Central African Republic Ambassador to the United States.

Five years ago, a small African nation, located at almost the precise center of the continent of Africa, received its independence from the French Government.

This was not a bloody revolution, filled with slogans of anticolonialism and high-blown claims of aggressive nationalism, but a quiet acceptance of the reins of government, the responsibility for their own destiny, on the part of the new leaders of the Central African Republic.

Thus the old ties with France and other Western nations were not suddenly torn asunder by the hurricane of revolution but simply took on the aspect of a partnership of equals rather than the relationship of a colony to its colonial master. This peaceful change left the leaders of the Central African Republic with a basic body of French law and an operable centralized political administration with which to build their new nation.

The basic policy of the Government of the Central African Republic has been to build the nation into a modern nation state, but to do so while still preserving the unique character of the Central African traditions and heritage. The French legal system remains, but it takes on a peculiarly African character more suited to the local needs and traditions of this young nation.

In economic matters the tasks are more difficult. Modernization does not come easily to people who have spent generation after generation farming by the ancient methods of their ancestors; yet, already the new government has made progress. The modernization and expansion of agriculture is one of the government's major goals, and there are already several research centers functioning under government support. New varieties of crops have been developed, such as a new strain of cotton which produces a longer fiber and is more resistant to disease, or in crossbreeding new livestock also resistant to local diseases.

In these and other ventures the new government has shown a strong willingness to work with Western agencies and the United Nations in cooperative projects. Technicians from the United Nations and Israel and developmental grants from France, the EEC and the United States have been earnestly put to use by a national leadership determined to achieve modernization and a higher standard of living for its people.

The road ahead of the Central African Republic will not be an easy one; yet, this young nation has already shown a willingness to accept the challenges and begin the long and difficult journey toward modernization. Let us wish them a most pleasant anniversary celebration and a future of progress and accomplishment.

Can Subsidies Solve America's Problems?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the August issue of Nation's Business, published by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, poses the question: "Can Subsidies Solve America's Problems?"

The magazine publishes the answer to this question as viewed by a U.S. Senator, a community, a university study, and an industry.

Mry good friend ROBERT C. BYRD, of West Virginia, was the Senator who responded. He based his findings on his own investigation into the so-called welfare situation in the District of Columbia.

I hope that the officials of every State and city in the country will read what Senator BYRD found. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD his answer to the question: "Can Subsidies Solve America's Problems?"

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAN SUBSIDIES SOLVE AMERICA'S PROBLEMS?—A U.S. SENATOR'S ANSWER

(By ROBERT C. BYRD, Democrat, of West Virginia)

(NOTE.—Shocked by his findings of widespread welfare cheating, this lawmaker calls on all cities to check their relief rolls.)

Americans are unwittingly spending millions of dollars each year to promote laziness, irresponsibility, and outright immorality.

Ironically, all of this is being done in the seemingly sacred name of public welfare.

If taxpayers would look more closely at what is happening to their welfare dollars, I am convinced they would react as I did to the shocking discoveries of a field investigation conducted jointly by the U.S. General Accounting Office and the District of Columbia Department of Welfare.

I was personally outraged to learn, in this probe of public assistance payments, that 60 percent of those drawing aid to dependent children and general public assistance monthly relief checks in the Nation's Capital were not eligible to receive them.

A subsequent investigation of the Federal program of aid to the permanently and totally disabled revealed a startling ineligibility rate of 40 percent.

Investigators came upon case after case in which people holding jobs were also pocketing relief checks every month. Relief recipients were interviewed who boasted that they preferred living off the public dole to finding work, although they were able to work and jobs were available to them. Sordid situations typically involved mothers of numerous children born out of wedlock who kept their paramours hidden away so that they could continue to qualify for relief.

In a typical instance, the investigators found a 35-year-old mother of four children who was getting assistance on the basis of a claim that her husband had deserted her. Further inquiry disclosed that she had known of her husband's whereabouts all along and had been receiving regular financial support from him although she would not permit him to live regularly in the home.

In some cases "relief" money was going into purchases of expensive hi-fi sets, TV's, and other luxury items.

As chairman of the Senate appropriations subcommittee responsible for funding the welfare program of the District of Columbia, I was determined that these relief abuses would be cleaned up. A good start has been made toward achieving that goal; hundreds of freeloaders have been removed from District of Columbia's relief rolls, the program itself has been streamlined, its administration has been greatly improved and made

more efficient, and we are reaching for even greater progress.

Yet I have become the target of bitter criticism and scurrilous abuse from many sides.

One organization has threatened to throw a picket line in front of my home, charging that I have acted to clean up welfare abuses only because of alleged racist sympathies.

Let me make this absolutely clear. I do not oppose helping those who qualify for assistance—whether orphans, blind, aged, or mentally and physically incapacitated. Nor is my campaign against public welfare cheating in any way related to questions of race. Nor is it a criticism of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Public welfare, however, has become a public scandal of enormous dimensions.

FRAUD NATIONWIDE

I am confident that what has been found in America's Capital City would come to light in other large cities if they employed trained investigators to check out their welfare programs with the same thoroughness that has characterized the job done here. Yet, I do not know of any other city where this is being done, despite the fact that the national cost of conventional welfare programs has soared to $5 billion a year. It will continue to climb, I predict, until our big cities take the steps necessary to prevent relief payments from becoming a haven for the indolent and shiftless.

We face other challenges on the welfare front, and one of the most urgent is the necessity of educating people to the fact that they should not bring children into this world unless they have the expectation and means of supporting them.

We face a crisis of priorities, too. Our financial resources are not unlimited. In addition to aiding those who are truly needy, we must provide education, health, police, recreation, and other vital services for an expanding population. Every dollar spent on an undeserving relief recipient is a dollar siphoned away from other deserving programs.

It heartens me to find that hundreds of residents of the District of Columbia, and elsewhere, support my position. Letters pouring into my office daily are plain evidence, I believe, that most Americans are fed up with those who would prey on public welfare funds.

Some people criticize me for appropriating funds for investigators to check on the eligibility status of District of Columbia welfare recipients. I think the best answer to this was provided by a lifelong resident of Washington—a Negro lady—who recently wrote to me:

"If a wage earner and taxpayer can quietly endure investigation relative to his loyalty to this country * * * why cannot the deserving welfare recipient quietly endure the price of investigation as the cost of unearned money?"

It has also been said that I am denying the District of Columbia a level of relief available to people in my home State. First of all, in my subcommittee chairmanship I can only deal with appropriations for the District of Columbia. What West Virginia does in the field of welfare is a question for the legislature of that State to decide. It also should be noted that my State imposes a ceiling of $165 on welfare payments, but in the Nation's Capital there is no ceiling. A relief income of between $400 and $600 a month, including surplus food allotments, is not uncommon.

As for my personal feelings, I take most literally the Biblical admonition that we must be our brother's keeper. But it offends me to see this precept stretched and twisted to camouflage the transgressions of those who make relief a way of life—and, in some instances, a gainful racket.

Charity to one's fellow man should cease when it is perverted into nothing more than a scheme for dodging family responsibility, shirking one's own duty to society, and discarding the respect we all owe to ourselves as human beings.

My critics do not take the time to point out that I have worked hard to give the District of Columbia, and the Nation, the wherewithal needed, not only in welfare but also in other fields, to meet society's real needs. For example, education and health care, to name just two programs of national importance.

In Washington I have succeeded in recent years in strengthening the city's educational system, including more and better teaching services for mentally retarded children. I have also supported a welfare training center, where poor people can learn such things as how to budget, sew, cook, and apply for and hold a job.

INVESTIGATORS NEEDED

In the welfare field I have pressed for increases in the number of social workers available to the District of Columbia, and for improvements in the pay of these key people. The more good caseworkers, the more time each of them will have to devote to the families he counsels. Social workers should not be burdened with the time-consuming job of checking on the eligibility of relief recipients. That is a job for trained investigators. And I believe that any public welfare program, to be efficiently and economically administered, must include an adequate and trained investigative staff.

As a result of cleanup efforts in Washington, the caseload in the ADC category alone fell from 5,601 cases in September 1961, to 3,823 cases in October of 1963, or a reduction of 1,778 cases involving about 7,000 persons.

In this same period, the general public assistance caseload was trimmed from 1,617 cases to 568. These reductions meant dollar savings of more than $4 million annually—money freed for use in other places where it was needed.

If you believe as I do—that the individual bears responsibility for his actions—you resent unfair criticism from people who emotionally distort that conviction and make it seem a hard-hearted and smallminded belief.

Let us get back to some basic facts about America before it is too late for all of us. This Nation was not built by people willing to let someone else do it. Nor was it built by men willing to turn their back on those who are unfortunate and in need of help. The two ideas are not mutually exclusive. We can have both greatness and compassion, but we can only attain them when we put an end to the philosophy that has taken root in this country in recent years—the notion that society owes us a living and that if we fall down it isn't our fault, but society's.

Just what is society? It is all of us, each individual. We make up society, and society will only be as good as each of us can be in the light of his own talents and initiative and self-reliance.

Is society helping an individual when it makes it easier for him to loaf on relief than to hold down a job? Is society helping an individual when it says to him, "We will take the responsibility for your family off your shoulder"? Is society really helping families when it sets up welfare programs so loosely run that they seduce family members into making shiftlessness and drunkenness and irresponsibility a tacitly approved way of life from one generation to another? A way of life smiled on benignly by Government?

The answers to all these questions are, in my opinion, a resounding series of "No's."

UNCLE SAM WILL PROVIDE

We gain nothing when we institutionalize the loss of respect for the basic dignity of work by making nonwork so easy and so attractive. Some people living on welfare in the District of Columbia have an annual income from welfare payments that puts them well over the $3,000 poverty line drawn by President Johnson's poverty fighters. Does that make sense?

We gain nothing, and the individual gains nothing, when we spread and defend the idea that "the goverment will take care of you."

Back in the 1930's, when I was walking 3 miles a day to my first job as a service station attendant in West Virginia, we did not have all the assistance programs that are accessible to people today. A lot more people were out of work then, too. But few of them, relatively speaking, went over the brink into lives of crime or slothfulness or dependence. People had respect for themselves and the integrity of work. A man with a job prized that job, no matter how humble it was.

Today it is different. We are feeling the effects of 25 or 30 years in which the idea has been promoted that society and the government owe everyone a living. And in too many welfare programs we are reaping the whirlwind of subsidized fecundity, promiscuity, and illegitimacy. America's moral sensitivities have deteriorated; we are getting soft.

There are many jobs open today for people of little or no skill. But what happens? The jobs often go begging, because a lot of people simpy do not want to work. They have been taught by the insidious philosophy of dependence that they do not need to work; someone else will take care of them.

Try to find a person to do domestic work in your home, just for example. "I will not wax floors." "I will not work after 4 o'clock." "I will not climb stairs." "I will not clean windows." Everything is hedged, qualified, held back. The drive to work for the joy and satisfaction of work is simply gone from many of our people. This is a national tragedy—but one that we probably deserve for letting a system develop which encourages laziness by attaching a monetary reward to it.

All Americans should be stunned by what the investigation of welfare abuses in Washington disclosed.

In some cases families have been leaning on the dole for two and three generations. In an atmosphere like that how can one expect the children to grow up as anything but indolent, lazy, irresponsible people?

I feel very strongly about the dignity of work. I have never been afraid of work; I welcome work and I find joy in it. I know from my own life that it is only by getting and holding a job that a man puts down roots and develops a sense of responsibility and civic interest. These things follow naturally. The man with a job begins to acquire a little property which he can call his own, and he cares how his tax dollar is spent and how well, or poorly, his government is run. He has a vested interest in law and order to protect his family, himself and his property—and the property of other people.

But the man who never really enters our society because we are paying him to stay out of it cannot feel a sense of responsibility or even a rudimentary interest in what goes on beyond his next relief check. What do law and order mean to him? Why should he care?

Critics claim that I am punishing children for the sins of their parents by insisting that families with a man in the house who is able to work should not qualify for the Federal program of aid to dependent children.

It is easy to cast me in a bad light on this point. But the mere sending of a relief check into a home does not insure that the children of that home will get any benefit from the money.

In all of the investigations and hearings on welfare in the District no real evidence has been encountered to support the theory that unemployed men have deserted their families so that the families can qualify for welfare. But there is plain evidence that the men who desert do so usually because they

are irresponsible, or because—as some cases have proved—the wife prefers to draw the relief check and to consort with a variety of men while she is on welfare.

Let me cite just one case reported by the General Accounting Office to illustrate:

A 25-year-old mother of four children, two of whom were fathered by men other than her husband, had been getting assistance payments since October 1956. When an investigator visited her home, the young mother admitted that she was employable, said that she did not want investigators coming to her home, and voluntarily signed a statement requesting withdrawal from the aid to dependent children assistance program. After she had signed the withdrawal statement she said:

"Now I can have all the men I want in my home and you men can't do a thing about it."

The fact that the number of case openings based on absence of a parent has been declining since 1957 indicates that the charges that men are being driven to desertion are very questionable.

The businessman has a large stake in the welfare problem.

As a taxpayer of substance, naturally he should be concerned as to how his tax dollars are spent. If his community has not bothered to check out its relief rolls, he should use his leadership influence to see that such an investigation is made.

Some welfare people—and I am not being critical here—will make paperwork estimates as to how much cheating is going on. One must be very wary of this. In Washington, it was figured, on the basis of early estimates, that we would find an ineligibility rate of perhaps 3 to 5 percent. It proved to be many, many times higher. If the question arises in your city, do not let a paperwork guess take the place of a full field investigation.

The businessman should be concerned about the welfare program in his community for reasons other than cost, of course. If it is a bad program, if it is one geared to encouraging the loafers, he will inevitably feel the backlash. It will come in crime delinquency, unfilled jobs for people of low skill, lack of training programs for people whose skills can be upgraded to make them qualified to hold more demanding jobs. It will show up in the attitudes of people who apply for work. If they can make a good living on welfare they are not likely to be productive workers.

The first welfare programs were designed to get people back on their feet and back to work. That aim was largely accomplished. Unfortunately, the typical welfare case today is quite unlike its counterpart of, say, 20 years ago.

Now we are down to what one welfare official in Washington has bluntly described as "the bottom of the barrel." We are dealing all too often with the hard-core shiftless, people who arrogantly choose the relief rolls over honest toil. There is only one way to shatter that kind of irresponsible thinking and it is simply to say, "You have got to go to work. If you lack training, we will train you. But we will not permit you to freeload."

These are hard facts, and to many people they are unpleasant, even in the telling.

But I believe fervently that they are facts that need to be told and retold if we are to break the ever lengthening chain of dependency in America. We must forge a new chain, the links of which are self-help, individual responsibility, pride in work and a concern for our fellow human beings that is grounded in genuine respect for their dignity and not in programs that, while politically appealing, in fact drain away those precious qualities that make men and women most truly human.

Women Going Big for Small Business Loans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, a recent article in the Washington Daily News reflects both the expanding role of women in American business and their utilization of our Small Business Administration programs on an increasing scale.

Under unanimous consent, I reprint this article in the Appendix of the RECORD since it is of general interest.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Daily News, Aug. 2, 1965]

FROM TUGBOATS TO BABY CREAM: WOMEN GOING BIG FOR SMALL BUSINESS LOANS

(By Wauhillau La Hay)

From a Tugboat Annie in Alaska to a farmer's wife who created a hand cream, women are tapping the Government for financial help in business.

Eugene P. Foley, head of the Small Business Administration (SBA), says more and more women are requesting business loans.

"A spot check told us a year ago 1 of 50 SBA loans went to women. Today it's 1 of 20," Mr. Foley said.

There's no discrimination in making the loans, Mr. Foley pointed out. As a matter of fact, if a principal signs just initials, who knows whether "P.J. Clark" is Patricia Jane or Patrick James?"

In Anchorage, Alaska, a woman negotiated a $200,000 SBA loan with participation by a local bank. She had taken over the managerial reins from her partner-husband and wanted to expand their tugboat operation.

She bought another boat, a barge and used the rest of the money for working capital.

An even larger loan—$350,000—went to the woman founder of Anodyne, Inc., a Florida company which makes aluminum nameplates and medallions.

Seventy percent of this female tycoon's 140 employees are disabled or handicapped. Florida named her "employer of the year" in 1964.

LIMIT

The SBA loans are limited by law to $100,000 unless a bank participates. If a bank puts up 25 percent, then the loan can go as high as $350,000. These are long-term loans and demand 5½-percent interest.

The smallest loan so far was $200 to two Negro women in Philadelphia to start a nursery for children of working neighborhood wives.

They put up $200 of their own and with a total capital of $400 bought their equipment. The business is flourishing.

Japanese-born Mrs. Shugei Gillis of Honolulu was a model and as she paraded in beautiful gowns, she nursed a desire to create women's clothes in her own designs.

SBA put up $15,000, Hawaii came forward with $10,000, and now Mrs. Gillis' firm, Ja-Na, has 18 employees. She sells her pretties in the islands and in Texas, Florida, and California.

Out in Idaho, city born Mrs. Joe Roesbery, on a dairy farm near Melba, worried about her hands, roughened from chores. She created a cream she called "Great Scot." Then she went to work on a baby cream she dubbed "Thank Heaven."

The neighbors liked Gerry Roesbery's creams, and she worked up a small but active business. Expansion became vital, so she turned to SBA for a $15,000 loan, got it, and now sells her products in many Western States.

Expansion meant the dairy herd had to be sold to gain space for her new laboratories. But Mrs. Roesbery is sentimental as well as ingenious. She's now marketing a new product—an udder ointment for dairy cows.

At Bluffton, Ind., Challa P. Pettyjohn was chosen as Indiana's small businessman for 1965. With three SBA loans starting in 1956, she has converted a marginal operation into a financial success. Her children's shop is on good, solid footing, and she has had to hire extra help.

"Reports from our area business offices," says Mr. Foley, "indicate women are just as good financial risks as men. In some areas they're even better."

The Real Alabama—Part XLIV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the figures are now in telling the story of construction activity in the Mobile, Ala., area for 1964. The year set an alltime record.

It pleases me to bring to your attention the following article, as prepared by the Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce. It presents the details of this encouraging news of economic development:

Construction in the Mobile area during 1964 set an alltime record with a grand total of $222,529,000, up $22,520,000 from 1963.

The total includes industrial, commercial, residential, and governmental construction. It also means construction both initiated or completed during that year plus work already in progress that continued throughout the full 12-month period.

The Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce, which released the figures, broke them down as follows:

Industrial construction, $125,020,000.

Highway construction, $54 million.

Government and institutional, $17,600,000.

Residential, nonresidential, and commercial building, $25,900,000.

Industrial construction, which means expansion in most cases and new facilities in some, includes: International Paper Co., Stauffer Chemical Co., Scott Paper Co., Courtaulds, Alabama State Docks, Alabama Power Co., Union Carbide, Geigy Chemical Co., Kaiser Aluminum, and a number of small projects.

SEES 1,850 NEW JOBS

As a result of this expanded industry, said E. A. Benson, president of the Mobile area chamber, approximately 1,850 new jobs will be created during 1965.

The new industrial jobs are expected to provide work indirectly for an additional 1,200 people in service and supporting businesses.

At the same time, Benson pointed out that some 5,400 construction workers are em-

ployed in the building of the new plants, expansions, and highways in the Mobile area.

The total civilian labor force in Mobile County averaged 119,660 during 1964 compared to 119,090 the previous year.

LESS UNEMPLOYMENT

The monthly average of total employment was 114,350 in 1964 compared to 113,690 in 1963. Unemployment averaged 4.4 percent of the total labor force last year compared to 4.5 percent in 1963.

An analysis of employment figures shows the nonmanufacturing segment increased 1.3 percent during the period while the manufacturing segment showed a slight gain of 0.6 percent.

As of January 1, 1965, there was more than $130 million in industrial construction underway in the Mobile area, chamber officials noted in regard to employment predictions which are favorable for the current year.

As to highway construction in this area, much of it will continue for many years. While contracts let on road work here in 1964 amounted to $54 million, an additional $27,600,000 is slated to be let in 1965.

The chamber's studies and surveys show that population continued to grow during 1964. The estimate at the end of 1964 was 227,211 for the city of Mobile, and 353,000 for Mobile County.

An Address by Hon. L. Mendel Rivers Before the Exchange Club, Hartford, Conn., August 11, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, I believe the Members of the House, and the Nation, should have the benefit of the views of the distinguished chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, who spoke in Hartford, Conn., yesterday before the Exchange Club.

L. MENDEL RIVERS, who has demonstrated such outstanding leadership as chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, has expressed his candid, well-reasoned, and forceful views in a manner that can be clearly understood by those who are willing to face the facts of life.

I congratulate him for his courage; I compliment him for his candor; and I want to express my great admiration for him and for the outstanding leadership he is providing the Armed Services Committee of the House of Representatives.

The text of the speech follows:

SPEECH OF L. MENDEL RIVERS BEFORE THE EXCHANGE CLUB, HARTFORD, CONN., AUGUST 11, 1965

Mr. Chairman, it is a very great pleasure indeed for me to be with you today. I have been a member of the Exchange Club for many years and I have always enjoyed my association tremendously.

As I look about Hartford, I wonder how much of this city I helped to build with my premiums.

But Hartford has also used these premiums for other purposes—making money available for industry, as well as individuals, and thus in great measure, helping to build America. The insurance industry here in Hartford and elsewhere, and members of the Exchange Club everywhere, have made invaluable contributions to progress and the free enterprise system.

But I did not come today to discuss the free enterprise system with you because I doubt whether there is anyone here that needs any words from me on that subject.

Each of you is a stanch advocate of that system. Each of you knows the importance of the free enterprise system. Each of you is an adherent of that system.

I mention it only because the free enterprise system is an important element of a way of life that we are trying to defend and protect in a very chaotic world.

I am heartened, to some extent, by the belief that the Soviet Union, although Communist in its operation, is tending more and more toward the principles of the free enterprise system. As a matter of fact, there is even some semblance of the profit motive in effect in Russia.

I think the Soviet Union is in a rather difficult position. We constantly express our concern about the Soviet Union, and I presume that speakers in the Soviet Union express their concern about the United States.

But there is a difference today that did not exist 30 or 40 years ago in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has a great deal to lose in the event of a war and very little to gain.

Back in the 1920's and the early 1930's, and immediately following World War II, the Soviet Union had very little to lose by war and something to gain.

Today the Soviet Union has a substantial industry. They have constructed, quite successfully, huge hydroelectric dams; they are increasing their production of steel and other vital products for their industry, but one of of their neighbors to the east, I suspect, is looking with a rather greedy eye upon these successes in the Soviet Union and yearning to take over its asset.

My instinct tells me that the Soviet Union has far more to fear from the Red Chinese than they have from any other nation in the world.

Be that as it may, the Soviet Union is still our enemy as far as our way of life is concerned. I don't believe that the Soviets will ever give up their goal to communize the world.

And certainly there will come a day when the nuclear capability of Red China will pose a threat to every nation. Just remember those words of Mao Tse-tung: "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

Let us not kid ourselves—when Red China gets a nuclear delivery capability, it will control that part of the world just as the Soviet Union controls the Balkans.

Because of that, we have no choice but to constantly strengthen our national defenses, increase our combat capabilities at every opportunity, and be ever ready to turn back any aggression, no matter where it may take place in the world.

Our arms—our weapons systems—must be the most sophisticated in the world. We have no choice but to expend vast sums, not only in procurement, but in research and development. And, of course, one of the great threats to freedom and our way of life exists today in South Vietnam.

I wonder if the American people, that is the vast majority of them, truly understand the importance of South Vietnam?

Do you remember the game of dominoes? Do you recall standing the dominoes end up in a twisted path? Visualize the path of a hook, and recall knocking over the first domino. As the dominoes fell, one after the other, they made a complete circle and eventually arrived at the end of the hook. All of the dominoes fall.

This is the situation we face in South Vietnam. South Vietnam is a courageous little country, struggling for its own independence and its own freedom. But it is a highly disorganized country, made up of people who lack unity; split by political discord; and even separated by ethnic differences in many areas, because there are highland tribes as different from the mountain tribes as are those who live along the coastal plains. To this must be added the problems of communication difficulties, language barriers, and transportation problems.

And you are also familiar, of course, with the religious conflict that exists there, stemming from a variety of Buddhist groups, competing with Christianity, introduced as a result of many years of French colonization.

South Vietnam itself is not the final target of the Chinese Reds—Thailand is the first true objective. And if Thailand falls, with it will go 26 million hard-working, industrious people who export some of the finest rice grown anywhere. And if Thailand falls, Laos and Cambodia would be just a wayside stop, and then the Malaysian Peninsula would fall, and if that goes, Singapore goes.

Should Singapore go, a great port disappears as far as the free world is concerned, as well as the export center of much of the world's supply of tin and natural rubber.

After that would go all of Indonesia, as if we did not have enough problems in that area alone.

And after Indonesia would go Borneo and Sumatra, and possibly the northern territory of Australia, as a beginning, and then the Philippines, Taiwan, Okinawa, and, finally, Japan and South Korea.

This is the grim picture that faces the free world. That is the importance of South Vietnam.

It is for our own protection, it is for the preservation of these United States, that we defend South Vietnam. That is why we are fighting in South Vietnam—that, plus the inherent respect and admiration we have for people who are willing to fight for freedom.

And even if we win the war in South Vietnam, I cannot help but think that we are merely postponing the final victory of Red China—unless the Nation is prepared to risk the possible consequences of destroying her nuclear capability. And unless we make that decision, it is possible that all of our fighting in South Vietnam will have been in vain.

We have helped people fight to preserve freedom in other parts of the world and we cannot turn our back on this courageous group of people who are willing to make the supreme sacrifice for a way of life which for them is still something of a mystery—with only the promise of future peace and prosperity.

Remember that the Vietnamese, in addition to colonization by the French, have known nothing but war since 1941.

War has almost become a way of life with them, albeit an unpleasant one. The amazing thing is that they have stuck so well, instead of completely capitulating in abject surrender.

We have been told the war in South Vietnam may go on and on and on. I am inclined to agree with that conclusion, particularly if we continue the policy of what I call retribution escalation.

But the more important question is, Are we prepared to fight a war in South Vietnam of larger proportion, or of long duration? Do we have the equipment, the trained manpower? Do we have the ships? Do we have the aircraft? Even more important—does the war have to last forever? Why not victory now?

We are now pouring additional men into South Vietnam. We are pouring aircraft into

South Vietnam, to the point where the airfields can't hold anymore planes.

But what will they be used for—or against? If we want victory—we must be prepared for the risks associated with the effort.

There have been some rather inconsistent positions disclosed insofar as South Vietnam is concerned.

Let me paraphrase some testimony before our committee on February 19 of this year.

The Secretary of Defense, testifying before the committee of which I am chairman, said: "It is my view, and I believe it is the view of the Chiefs; that our casualties will be fewer with 23,000 men than they would be with more men exposed to guerrilla attacks."

He then made this significant statement: "We are trying to carry out our mission with the smallest number of U.S. casualties. We believe the present deployment will best accomplish that objective."

When our committee urged him to increase the number of American troops in South Vietnam last February, the Secretary said: "But I'm not interested in percentages. I'm interested in men's lives."

A member of the committee said: "I won't belabor the question, but I certainly am shocked and amazed at such a statement coming from the Secretary of Defense and backed up, as you say, by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Those 209 boys are dead. Their families have lost 209 American boys and we are going to lose more, according to your statement, because we cannot give them more protection. There will be that many more."

Mr. McNamara said: "But if I follow your plan, I think according to your own admission, the casualties would be higher still, and that is exactly why I don't propose to follow that plan.

Now, what I am pointing out does not prove that Mr. McNamara was not particularly far-sighted. But what I am suggesting is that Mr. McNamara's plans, and they are Mr. McNamara's plans, were based upon the deployment of far fewer troops in South Vietnam last February. And today as you know, just a few months later, our plans have changed radically.

Are the rest of our plans—our equipment inventories—our preparedness—standing on just as weak a reed?

If I am correct in my information, the Secretary of Defense is the only member of the Defense team, who opposed the construction of another nuclear-powered carrier. As I understand it, almost all, if not all, of this other knowledgeable civilian advisers and practically all the Joint Chiefs of Staff recommended that the next carrier be a nuclear carrier. The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, in its report in December 1963, said: "In summary, the committee still does not know of any qualified technical person or group who recommended to the Defense Department that nuclear propulsion not be installed in the new aircraft carrier," the *John F. Kennedy*.

But Mr. McNamara, an individual with a tremendous amount of power, made the decision in the face of military advice to the contrary, and proceeded to award the contract for the construction of a nonnuclear or conventional carrier.

We need the carrier, there is no doubt about that. And that is the only reason why, in this session of Congress, I did not raise the issue and seek to change the carrier now under construction from a conventional carrier to a nuclear carrier. It would have delayed us that much longer in the actual completion of a badly needed new carrier.

I have felt, and the members of the Committee on Armed Services feel, that the collective judgment of the Congress, together with the collective judgment of the executive branch of Government, will produce far better results than the judgment of a strong man on horseback who makes all the decisions.

I am afraid that I just do not believe in the concept of infallibility insofar as the Department of Defense is concerned. And I think that the evidence that is unveiling itself today with respect to the situation in South Vietnam is a classic example.

We have fumbled and bumbled under civilian military tactics in South Vietnam long enough. Now let's turn the conduct of the war over to those trained in war—the professional military men. We must never let the military make policy decisions—but once made—let us turn the war over to the experts who will be doing the fighting.

Just recently Gen. Omar Bradley said: "Military professionalism requires long training, rigid discipline, a high degree of versatility, and unflagging dedication."

Can you imagine anyplace on earth where this philosophy is more necessary than Vietnam? Remote control of the war in South Vietnam is about as effective as bailing out the ocean with a coffee cup.

Last spring, I spoke before a large group in Washington and told them that as far as I was concerned the Congress of the United States would insist upon being a full partner in the matter of national security. I reminded the audience that I had taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States. And I meant every word of the oath that I took. I swore that I would uphold the Constitution and that I would see that it was faithfully carried out. And I have done that so far.

Part of the Constitution of the United States, article 1, section 8, to be exact, says that the Congress shall raise and support armies, provide for a navy, and make rules and regulations therefor.

No one else has that authority. Only the Congress has that authority, and with that authority goes the responsibility. We have no other choice in the matter, unless we sit idly by and let others usurp the powers vested in the Congress by the Constitution.

I have been accused of leading a revolt against the executive branch of Government. That is not correct. I have great respect and admiration for the President of the United States. I do not envy him his responsibility. I do not want his responsibility. I have enough of my own. I do not want any of the responsibilities or the powers vested in the executive branch of Government.

I respect and admire Secretary McNamara. He is a dedicated public servant and undoubtedly one of the most competent men in the Nation in business matters. But no one man can fully manage—in every respect—the Department of Defense. He needs the combined help of the Congress, his professional military advisers, and his service Secretaries.

And I want the Congress to exercise its authority. The Congress has plenty of responsibility and plenty of authority, if we'll just use it.

So far as national security is concerned, that responsibility is imposed upon the Committee on Armed Services. And I have a responsibility imposed upon me as chairman of that committee. I intend to fulfill the responsibility—I intend, in fact I insist, that the Armed Services Committee of the House of Representatives and the Congress be made a full-fledged partner in all matters affecting our security. And that is exactly what we are now doing. That is exactly what we will continue to do.

The other day, the House passed by a vote of 410 to 0 a pay bill written by the Committee on Armed Services and opposed by the administration. Here is an example of the Committee on Armed Services and the House of Representatives fulfilling their constitutional responsibility in every respect.

No one can convince the members of our committee or the Members of the House that our military personnel are adequately paid. They know better than that. And yet, we listened to evidence, if you could call it evidence, based upon Department statistics, which we refuted and disproved, that the men and women in our armed services are adequately paid and only need a token increase.

Tell that to the wife of a sergeant who is moonlighting. Tell it to a corporal's wife who is standing in line at a commissary wondering whether she can pay her bill and worrying whether the commissary is going to remain open. Tell it to a first lieutenant's wife trying to find some way to buy new clothes for the baby, especially when she knows the wife of a classmate of her husband is in industry earning double her husband's salary.

And add to all of that the fact that her husband is either at sea or serving an unaccompanied tour in South Vietnam and she goes to bed every night wondering whether he is still alive.

No, the Committee on Armed Services was not fooled. The committee exercised its responsibility. The House, to its everlasting credit, supported us unanimously, and I have every hope that the Senate will do likewise.

One of the great things about the Congress of the United States is that, individually and collectively, the Members understand people. We do not work with computers. We work with people. And when all is said and done, there is nothing more important in the world than people.

Everything we do revolves around people. And there are many, many decisions that affect people that must be based upon intuition or just good commonsense. These are not the kind of answers that come out of computers. These are the answers that come out of people's hearts and minds. These are the answers that come from people who know and understand people.

Our Joint Chiefs of Staff system is constantly being threatened by those who would eliminate it and substitute a single Chief of Staff. Efforts continue to strengthen the Office of the Secretary of Defense in order that that Office may become more of an operational office and less of a policy office.

We will continue to oppose any erosion of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and any strengthening of the Office of the Secretary of Defense, from an operational viewpoint.

There are those who would seek to increase the Joint Staff, which could only lead to a further step toward the direction of a single general staff system—a system which has brought defeat to every nation which has used it.

There is even a proposal to increase the rank of the Director of the Joint Staff, so that he may hold an equal rank with the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

All this tends toward the weakening of the single services, the weakening of the military departments, and the establishment of a single operational organization in the Office of the Secretary of Defense.

In a recent interview, the Secretary of Defense was asked this question:

QUESTION. "Mr. Secretary, what role do the Service Secretaries play? Are they your assistants or do they represent the services?"

ANSWER. "They are my assistants and they do not represent the services."

Now this may seem unimportant to those who are not familiar with our Defense organization, but I can assure you the separate identity of the services is a vital part of our national security.

The jack-of-all-trades, master-of-none concept, if adopted, could destroy the most vital ingredient in our Armed Forces, esprit de corps and morale.

Some time ago, a subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee, of which I was then chairman, made a report about the

seriousness of our naval ship obsolescence. The Secretary of Defense says there has been a 100-percent increase in general ship construction and conversion to modernize the fleet. But how many of these ships are major combatant vessels? I can only tell you that our fleet is not being relaced at a rate sufficient to overcome what will eventually become a serious obsolescence situation. And sea power is vital—absolutely indispensable—to our survival.

We have been told about the increase in our conventional war capabilities—but we are still using four different kinds of small arms ammunition in South Vietnam.

Just a few weeks ago we were told that we had all of the weapons and ammunition we needed to win a war. Then the situation suddenly reversed itself.

I mention all of this only to indicate that while our nuclear missile strength is overwhelming, there are still deficiencies in our defense planning.

Some of these deficiencies may be the result of unilateral decisions; some the result of well-intended economies; and others the result of miscalculations.

But the well-meaning, well-intentioned amateurs, who worry more about escalation than victory, have had their day. Let the civilian heads of government tell our military personnel what they want done but let trained military professionals decide how to accomplish the objectives.

But let me hasten to add that recrimination will gain us nothing—the objective today is to win the war in South Vietnam. To paraphrase a famous expression—if we start a quarrel between the past and the present, we may discover that we have lost the future.

The Congress has reasserted itself as an indispensable partner in providing for the security of the American people. We represent the people—and the people want victory.

There is no substitute for victory—and there is no shortcut.

Wishing would not make it so—only grim resolve—and a recognition of the will of the American people.

Two men in our century have left an indelible imprint upon the scrolls of history.

One of them, Douglas MacArthur, said about our trained military personnel: "Yours is the profession of arms, the will to win, the sure knowledge that in war there is no substitute for victory, that if you lose, the Nation will be destroyed, that the very obsession of your public service must be duty, honor, country."

The other, Winston Churchill, said: "Still, if you will not fight for the right when you can easily win without bloodshed; if you will not fight when your victory will be sure and not too costly; you may come to the moment when you will have to fight with all odds against you and only a precarious chance of survival. There may even be a worse case. You may have to fight when there is no hope of victory, because it is better to perish than to live as slaves."

I prefer to follow the advice of those two truly great men, MacArthur and Churchill, who have become legends in the struggle for freedom.

I want victory—even yesterday was too late.

U.S. Chance To Woo World Opinion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD (DICK) ICHORD

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, in a recent editorial Mr. David Lawrence makes some very important observations on the world scene. He states the necessity for finding a new approach for winning over world opinion. He declares, "Moral force can transcend military force in shaping the destiny of the world." I wholeheartedly agree. The bills now awaiting congressional action which would create a Freedom Academy represent one new approach to the problems Mr. Lawrence ably describes. I recommend this article to my colleagues and further, after reading this editorial I urge you to pick up a copy of H.R. 9713 and its report from the House Committee on Un-American Activities and see if you do not think that the Freedom Academy is a step in the right direction.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial entitled, "U.S. Chance To Woo World Opinion" which appeared in the Washington Star on August 4 be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

The article follows:

U.S. CHANCE TO WOO WORLD OPINION

(By David Lawrence)

Moral force can transcend military force in shaping the destiny of the world—if all available resources are used to transmit to peoples everywhere the realistic truths about the events that usually lead up to wars.

President Johnson today has an opportunity in the court of world opinion to advance the American case in Vietnam by showing the true origin of the war and placing the responsibility where it belongs—on the shoulders of the Communists.

Time magazine in its current issue has an editorial essay entitled "Communism Today: A Refresher Course." It contains the facts about the growth of communism and the menace of its present-day operations throughout the world. The U.S. Government has even more facts at its disposal, but the magazine article certainly furnishes the basis for an information effort of far-reaching significance that could well be undertaken by the American Government. The Time essay says in part:

"Underground and in open combat, by subversion, terrorism, blackmail, riot, and rhetoric, faithful Communists the world over have for decades waged a holy war against the rest of humanity. The tempo and techniques vary from era to era, from continent to continent. And the nature of communism changes. Whereas Moscow now shuns the perilous confrontations that so often brought the cold war to boiling point, Peiping grows ever more militant. For both capitals of world communism, the focal points of conflict have shifted from Europe to Africa, Latin America, and—most notably—southeast Asia, where the Johnson administration last week solemnly committed the United States to what could be a prolonged and painful war.

"Thus the Marxist dream of world domination is palpably no McCarthyist mirage. From Indonesia, where government-sanctioned mobs howled for the ouster of a newly arrived U.S. Ambassador, to Cuba, where Fidel Castro proclaimed that 'the imperialists' will not prevent Red regimes from taking over throughout the hemisphere, it was also becoming clear last week that the United States would have to stand increasingly alone against the free world's enemies.

"Since the United States-Soviet 'detente' that developed after the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, more venerable and more qualified commentators also have begun to sound as if communism had quietly buried itself. Not long ago, the Manchester Guardian pronounced: 'The Russians and the Americans no longer have any reason to quarrel.' And there is a widespread school of chop logic that maintains simultaneously: (1) Russia can no longer be seriously regarded as a threat to the West, and (2) by its firm stand in southeast Asia, the United States is inviting Russian retaliation.

"Both premises are debatable at best; together, they are not an argument but a plea for passivity. The danger of such wishful thinking, as the State Department's Walt Rostow has warned, is that 'out of a false sense that the cold war is coming to an end, out of boredom or domestic preoccupations, or a desire to get on with purely national objectives, we will open up new opportunities for the Communists to advance.' "

The magazine article goes on to say that, while there have been some changes in Communist philosophy, "control over the worldwide Communist movement is still vested in special departments of the Soviet and Chinese central committees," and then adds:

"Of the world's 105 Communist Parties, Moscow can count on 72, as against 21 for Peiping. Twelve other Communit Parties—mostly in western Europe—are vaguely independent. In 1964, foreign aid by Communist countries amounted to $1.7 billion, of which Soviet funds accounted for half, easttern European funds for a quarter. Of 17,530 Communist technicians working in foreign countries—a sharp rise from the preceding year—only 15 percent were Chinese.

"One of the most effective instruments of Communist subversion remains the front organization. In McCarthy's heyday Communist terminology was tossed about too carelessly, and in many quarters today words and realities such as 'infiltration' no longer seem entirely credible. Yet the leading fronts still reflect the reality and breadth of the Communist subversive effort. They range from pacifist groups such as the World Peace Council—headquartered in Prague—and the International Institute of Peace—Vienna—to various youth and professional outfits such as the International Union of Students and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers—Prague and Brussels.

"Most of these organizations—many launched by non-Communists with the best intentions and then taken over—are dominated by Soviet-line communism, although the Chinese are fighting hard to capture them and are setting up rival fronts of their own. Despite such dueling between the two Red giants, and to some extent in reply to it, Communist subversion proceeds apace, highly successful in some quarters, disastrously failing in others, but always at work."

The essay also declares that since 1960 Castro has trained guerrillas from most Latin American countries, and that propaganda and arms "are readily available to potential revolutionaries throughout Latin America."

If such views were translated into different languages and publicized by the U.S. Government itself in every country in the world, this could develop into a most effective crusade in which world opinion would be mobilized to prevent further wars and to bring a lasting peace.

Clyde W. Anderson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 12, 1965

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I want to bring to the attention of our colleagues a touching tribute to Clyde W. Anderson, prominent businessman and

civic leader of Florence, Ala., who died recently. The tribute, written by Louis A. Eckl and appearing in the Florence Times, truly delineates the fine qualities of character which made all who knew him respect and love Clyde Anderson. The article follows:

[From the Florence (Ala.) Times, Aug. 3, 1965]

CLYDE W. ANDERSON

(By Louis A. Eckl, executive editor)

The sadness we feel about this column about our longtime friend Clyde W. Anderson is that we didn't say these things while he was alive.

He was a living example that hard work is the best investment a man can make in his life, in his family, and in his community. While he was a little older than ourselves there was never any gap in our friendship. Soon after we went to work for the Tri-City Daily and the Florence Times we met Clyde, then operating a little news and soft drink stand on East Mobile Street, through his brother, the late Owen P. Anderson, then business manager of the Times and later Florence postmaster.

Through the years we learned to know and like him more. He was the kind of man who "wore well." We found that he always had something to do, something to love, and something to hope for. And now that his life has been cut short we like to think the happiness he enjoyed and the usefulness of the man made up in height what it lacked in length.

OVERCAME MISFORTUNES

Considering the humble circumstances in which he was born, he was a remarkably successful man in many ways, and we cannot help but feel that it was due to the fact that he felt he had many blessings, as do we all without realizing it, and that he reflected upon these in a positive sort of way instead of worrying negatively over those misfortunes which befell him, of which all men have some.

He was the kind of man, we think, who traveled light, unencumbered by the envies, fears, and unforgiveness that so often stalk men to defeat. He was a successful man because when he couldn't find a way, he made one, and although he was not without his critics, we think his work, from the time we first knew him until death interrupted, speaks for itself.

To us, and we do not judge him or any man for that is the providence and the mercy of God, he was in some senses a lamplighter who left a lot of good trails behind him. Often we thought he had more faith than he realized, as do many of the most able men in all walks of modern life.

TOO BIG TO BE SMALL

We think we gained a real insight into Clyde Anderson because we worked with him in many community and political matters and issues, and opposed him on occasion, which he always seemed to understand; and we always got the impression that he never carried a chip on his shoulder about these occasional differences because to have done so would have been to carry too much excess baggage through life.

Perhaps the thing we admired about him most was his loyalty to his friends. He seemed to be content to work with and for them, and they numbered most of the people of the greater Muscle Shoals district; and he never fretted because his role might not have been the leading one on the stage. That always puzzled us, in a way, because his influence was widespread, and he knew the uses of power for himself and for the development of the shoals area, but there was a humility about him, too, and although a man without a great deal of formal education except self-taught, he seemed to understand that, after all, Horace Greeley was right when he said that fame is a vapor, popularity an accident, and that riches often take wings.

CRITICS MISUNDERSTOOD

But there is one thing that endures in our thought of him, and that is we are willing to defend his character. Not that we did not hear those occasional criticisms of him by those who did not know him well and understood his motivations less. We just happen to know that he wasn't given to lectures or a little charity, but that he was full of compassion and that he often gave of himself to community, to friend and stranger alike. Clyde Anderson held an inherent faith that everything comes in good time, including death itself, to him who hustles while he waits, and we never had any other thought but that when death came it would find him busy.

BOLSTERED BY COURAGE

We always gathered the impression that he was never easily discouraged; that he tried to do his best without worrying about his failures or shortcomings, for all men are imperfect, and that he enjoyed a great measure of happiness among family and friends in great use of his talents.

It has long been recognized by people who accomplish things that the greatest enemy of the democratic process are those citizens who don't give a damn. A wise man once pointed out that the Greeks have a word for such people. They called people "idiotus"—the word from which we get our "idiot." The original meaning of this word was someone who neglected his public responsibilities while living an entirely private and selfish life.

The abstention of such men from the good of the communities in which they lived was not without an immoral dimension. Our friend, Clyde Anderson, was not one of these. He was an interested and active citizen in every way in behalf of those things he considered good for all of us, and that is one of the best things that can be said for any man—he cared.

Anniversary Salute to Pakistan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, August 14, Pakistan will celebrate its 18th anniversary of independence, and it is a pleasure for me to direct the attention of the House of Representatives today to this occasion, since the House will not be meeting on Saturday. We therefore send warm felicitations to His Excellency Mohammed Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan, and to His Excellency Shulam Ahmed, the Pakistan Ambassador to the United States.

Although Pakistan has been independent for just 18 years, the dream of an independent Moslem nation to be created out of a partition of India, once that nation had achieved its independence from Great Britain, began as early as 1930. By 1940, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the revered leader of the Muslim League, officially endorsed the goal of establishing Pakistan as an independent homeland for the Moslems of the Indian subcontinent.

Seven years later, on June 3, 1947, the British Government declared it would grant full dominion status to India and Pakistan. Pakistan officially became an independent sovereign nation on the 14th of August, 1947.

The early years of independence for Pakistan were not easy ones. The economy was already weak in 1947 and it gradually deteriorated with the political instability which came with the fierce partisan politics and vabinet reshuffles in the central government and provinces which continued until 1958.

In the light of the difficult times of that first decade, the achievements made since the peaceful revolution of 1958 have been impressive indeed. In the first years of independence Pakistan was an almost exclusively agricultural country; there were no indigenous banks, no industries, and practically no trained technicians. Today, despite the scarcity of natural resources generally required for economic growth, Pakistan has already achieved a substantial amount of industrialization as well as establishing several local banks and businesses. Moreover, the nation now claims a considerable amount of technical and professional talent. Such economic growth is indeed impressive; all the more so since it is primarily a product of the last 7 years.

Her political growth has been no less impressive; today Pakistan takes her place as one of the leaders of Asia and the newly emerging nations of the world.

The road to independence was long and difficult for Pakistan. That in itself makes every anniversary of her independence worth celebrating. But beyond the struggle for independence there has been the climb to political and economic maturity which has made her independence something to be cherished beyond its original expectations.

Let us extend our heartiest congratulations on Pakistan's 18th anniversary.

Reaction to Johnson's Voting Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to include the following pertinent editorial from the Gadsden, Ala., Times of August 8, 1965:

HE'S NO LINCOLN

Vengeance is now L.B.J.'s.

He has duly punished the little handful of Southern States that preferred another candidate last November.

With a dozen pens, given as mementoes to the cronies who hovered over his desk, he signed the voting rights bill that imposes intolerable regulations on the States that rejected him in the election but leaves the rest of the Union free to enjoy its constitutional rights.

Small use now to point out, as our southern Senators and Congressmen have done on every possible occasion, that each State has determined the qualifications of its own voters since the Constitution was ratified in 1789. Until the reign of L.B.J. even Southern States enjoyed this prerogative.

The Times is on record as having opposed the stiff literacy test required for registration in Alabama up to last week. It has never taken the stand that there was no room for improvement in Alabama's voting regulations.

But it cannot accept with good grace a Presidential measure that is obviously retaliatory and obviously discriminatory.

And it deplores the President's vindictiveness in rushing Federal registrars to the South and losing no time in getting poll tax suits underway.

Mr. Johnson fancies himself a latter-day Lincoln.

Yet he misses completely the essence of Lincoln's character:

"With malice toward none, with charity for all * * *."

National Selected Morticians—Code of Good Practice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HORACE R. KORNEGAY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, in recent years there has been much discussion regarding the standards and procedures of funeral directors.

Today, it was publicly announced that a draft code of good practice containing guidelines for its members has been approved by the board of directors of the National Selected Morticians. National Selected Morticians is a society of 800 funeral directors located in the United States, Canada, Mexico, Great Britain, Europe, Ceylon, Australia, and New Zealand, with its headquarters located in Evanston, Ill.

The code, which has been forwarded to interested persons, groups, and organizations for comment and suggestions, contains 23 standards of good practice to guide member funeral directors in their relationships with the public, their clients, and the clergy.

An outline of high ethical principles to guide member funeral directors, the code was adopted by the board under the direction of its NSM president, Albert S. Lineberry. Mr. Lineberry, in addition to serving as president of NSM, is owner and president of Hanes-Lineberry Funeral Service in Greensboro, N.C.

It has been my good fortune to know Mr. Lineberry as a friend and fellow resident of Greensboro. He has served his community unfailingly in a number of ways. He is a leader in church, civic, and social affairs in Greensboro and has earned the admiration and respect of his community. He has given freely of his time and his talents in guiding the affairs of the National Selected Morticians since assuming the presidency of that organization and it is largely through his efforts that this professional code of ethics has been promulgated and adopted by the board of NSM.

Mr. Lineberry and his organization are to be commended for acting in the public interest in the adoption of a guide for a professional standard of conduct.

For the benefit of all, I include the code of good practice in the RECORD.

The code follows:

CODE OF GOOD PRACTICE AS ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, NATIONAL SELECTED MORTICIANS

As funeral directors, we are mindful that our calling involves special responsibilities to the public at large, to those we serve in time of need, to the clergy, and to our colleagues in the field of funeral service. Accordingly, we reaffirm the following standards of good practice and pledge to observe them at all times:

To the public at large:

1. To make available in advance of need full information about funeral prices and services.

2. To provide a continuing opportunity to all persons to make funeral arrangements in advance of need.

3. To offer funeral services in as wide a range of price categories as posible so that any person may select a funeral service which is within his means.

4. To be prepared to furnish, as represented, any and all services and goods which have been advertised.

5. To maintian an establishment, including a suitable selection of caskets and other merchandise, equipment, facilities, and trained personnel, fully capable of providing services and goods offered.

To those we serve in time of need:

6. To respect all religious faiths, creeds, and customs.

7. To provide dignity and competence in the conduct of all services.

8. To treat with reverence and respect decedents entrusted to our care.

9. To assure each purchaser complete freedom to exercise his preference in selecting a funeral service within his means.

10. To plainly mark the prices charged for all funeral services offered, to disclose affirmatively and in a conspicuous manner the caskets, services, and facilities comprising the funeral services so offered, and to withhold from no one the privilege of inspecting and freely considering each of them.

11. To furnish to every purchaser at the time of purchase a memorandum or other document which contains an accurate accounting of all charges including all merchandise, services, and facilities listed in the offered price, and to charge for no further or additional items of expense except with the express authorization of the purchaser.

12. To charge nondiscriminatory prices to all purchasers.

13. To avoid any representation, written or oral, which may be false or misleading.

14. In case of hardship, to accept as a community responsibility the obligation of providing a funeral service within the financial means of the family, however limited.

To the clergy:

15. To observe at all times the principle that the funeral ceremony is a religious observance and that in all religious matters the clergy shall be in charge.

16. To provide all services in a manner that complies fully with the instructions of the clergyman acting for the family.

17. To cooperate with the clergy at all times and to render such assistance as the clergy may deem appropriate.

To our colleagues in funeral service:

18. To set an example of good citizenship and business and professional integrity in all transactions.

19. To observe, promote and maintain all laws and regulations affecting public health.

20. To refrain from all unlawful acts of solicitation, including the direct or indirect utilization of cappers, steerers, solicitors or other persons for the purpose of influencing patronage.

21. To recognize at all times the right of the public to freedom of choice in the selection of a funeral director.

22. To comply fully with the statutory or regulatory acts of duly constituted government authority, including the requirements of State licensing boards and the laws prohibiting price-fixing and other unfair methods of competition, and to exhibit at all times loyalty to the ideals of public service.

23. To conduct ourselves at all times in a dignified, respectful and professional manner, and to observe in every business transaction the principle that our responsibility to the public and to those we serve is above all others.

President Johnson Again Extends Olive Branch and Sword

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the President's recent press announcement relating to Vietnam has brought strong expressions of support from individuals, from all sectors of our society, and from the press.

The Nashville Tennessean, in an editorial last July 29, analyzes the situation with keen perspective and approves the President's strong stand against aggression as indicating the will needed "to pluck from the nettle of danger the blossom of peace."

Under unanimous consent I place this editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD since it is of broad general interest and directly concerns the American people.

The editorial follows:

PRESIDENT AGAIN EXTENDS OLIVE BRANCH AND SWORD

In his news conference comments on the war in Vietnam, President Johnson yesterday invoked both the sword and the olive branch. He reiterated this Nation's willingness to talk peace, but warned the United States cannot be defeated by force of arms.

To meet mounting aggression from the north, the Chief Executive ordered a step-up in U.S. troop numbers from 75,000 to 125,000 men. He said the draft calls would be doubled over the current 17,000 monthly figure and called for a step-up in the campaign for voluntary enlistments.

It was a less drastic move than had been expected by some observers, for the President stopped short of ordering Reserve units into service. He did indicate this might be necessary at a later date, and he left little doubt that increasing needs would come.

Unquestionably he gave less than the U.S. command forces in Vietnam had requested, and possibly less than Defense Secretary McNamara had recommended. In making his judgment, the President evidently had kept in mind both military needs and public sentiment—as well as possible congressional outcry.

It was one of the President's better press conference appearances. He spoke calmly and persuasively and indicated in every way his reluctance to step up the war in Vietnam. He injected the personal note that he does not find it easy to send young Americans to battle, "for I know them all. I have seen

them in a thousand streets of a hundred towns, of every State in this Union."

At another point, taking note of fears of a general Asian war, the Chief Executive said, "We do not want an expanding struggle with consequences that no one can perceive," adding that, "We are ready now, as we have always been, to move from the battlefield to the conference table."

In the interests of peaceful solution, the President said he had sent a letter to the United Nations inviting U.N. officials and any of its members to do what they could to help seize the initiative for peace. He said the Nation "asks for and welcomes the concern and assistance of any and all nations in this effort."

However, in the continued absence of any interest on the part of the Communists in peaceful negotiations, the President made it plain this Nation has no choice but to persist. His remarks laid stress on the fact that in the larger context, the alternative may not be between this war and peace, but between war in Vietnam and war elsewhere in southeast Asia.

He said: "Nor would surrender in Vietnam bring peace, because we learned from Hitler at Munich that success only feeds the appetite of aggression. The battle would be renewed in one country and then another country, bringing with it perhaps even larger and crueler conflict."

The President is right when he assumes that the war in South Vietnam is a test case in conflict for what has become virtually a doctrine of strategy, and a crucial link in Communist ideology for conquest. If the so-called war of liberation is successful in Vietnam, it will quickly be used elsewhere. If it can be broken, more than Red ideology will crumble.

The President is a man who gages the winds of political and public sentiment carefully. He is well aware the U.S. effort in Vietnam cannot prevail unless the people of the nation are supporting that effort. He left no illusion yesterday—the effort will be long and harsh and require great burdens in material and manpower. But he vowed to move in a careful and measured manner, not seeking to widen the war, but to win it.

The first goal, he noted, was to convince the Communists that "we cannot be defeated by force of arms." He asserted that the Nation must and will persist in seeing it through.

The President has said to the people that where there is a will there is a way, and he has left no doubt of his own will to pluck from the nettle of danger the blossom of peace.

Anniversary Salute to India

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, August 15, India will celebrate the 18th anniversary of her independence. Since the House will not be in session on that date, we wish today to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Prime Minister of India; and to His Excellency B. K. Nehru, the Indian Ambassador to the United States.

One of the paradoxes that exist in history is with us today as we congratulate the nation of India on the 18th anniversary of its independence, for the existence of an Indian state is not a 20th-century innovation.

Some 5,000 years ago, when the rest of the world was still wandering in the mists of precivilization, there developed on the shores of the Indus River one of the world's earliest civilizations. Speeding from the river valley to the surrounding countryside, and extending over a large area, the Indus Valley civilization proved the foundation for the subsequent development of many incoming peoples, and thus has come down to us as part of mankind's great legacy of the past. No, India is not a new land. It is steeped in valued tradition and the wisdom of ages of scholars that were but dim memories by the time of the Greeks. It possesses a culture so rich and so varied that it is almost impossible to comprehend its extent and wealth. It is a land of nearly 475 million people, a situation difficult to comprehend for those of us in the United States with our fraction of this huge aggregation of souls. It is a land of great geographic and climatologic differences, of natural channels of transportation and communication, and of equally prominent natural barriers to accessibility. It is a land of a great past, a problem-filled present, and a tremendously potential future. It is truly unique among the world's nations. It is India.

The subcontinent of India has been the home of many succeeding stages of civilization. The Indus Valley culture, Aryan—or Indo-Aryan—Greek, Maurya, Hindu, and Mogul were followed by the European, introduced by Vasco da Gama in 1498, inaugurating a 200-year struggle by the Europeans for control of the fabulous jewel of the Indies. By the middle of the 1800's, the British had achieved complete control of the river valleys and coastal plains, the sources of most of the colonial wealth Britain sought. Interior and less-accessible areas were left under the control of the local hereditary rulers, but with British supervision.

In 1947, following years of protest, consultation, and careful planning, India finally achieved her rightful independence again, under the leadership of the immortal Mohandas Gandhi, the Mahatma. Gandhi's greatest contribution to his country may have been his work and influence toward peaceful independence. There are many, however, who would prefer to regard as his greatest gift to India the legacy of spiritual truth and love that he so impressed in his people that it has become inseparable from their national character. Certainly he must be considered with Siddhartha Gautama, the Buddha, as one of the greatest of India's contributions to the spiritual well-being of mankind. He is symbolic of the India of peace and moderation, of contemplation and mercy, of understanding and cooperation for peace.

India today certainly faces great problems, yet she is not alone. The greatest cooperation has been shown, for example, by the nation of India in working with international organizations on the problem of nutrition and population growth. In the United Nations, as in other world organizations, the voice of India has been well-regarded and carefully considered. Her contributions to world understanding and cooperation are many and valuable. That a nation with such pressing internal development and standard-of-living problems could be able to devote this much time and such careful, reasoned effort to the international problems of the world is indeed a sign of a right spirit and a dedication to the continued progress and peace of mankind.

It is most certainly with a great pleasure that I today extend my salutations and congratulations to the Government and people of India. I know, also, that my colleagues join with me in extending our best wishes for the future, as one free people to another.

Small Business Leader Joins in Tribute to Wright Patman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, to the many tributes that have been made to the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN in connection with the 72d birthday of this great American, I would add a letter I have just received from Edward Wimmer, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business who for more than three decades has been an active and outstanding champion of small business.

Mr. Wimmer's letter follows:

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS,
San Mateo, Calif.

Hon. BARRATT O'HARA,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Your tribute to WRIGHT PATMAN is a tribute to yourself for its inclusion in the RECORD. I would find only one fault; that is, your failure to mention that no man in public office stood so solidly behind the family farm, independent merchant and other small businesses for so many years as WRIGHT PATMAN, or was ever known to be so formidable a foe of monopoly power.

In the early thirties we worked together for passage of the Robinson-Patman Act, and his voice rang out amid unbridled attacks and heaped-up criticism against the discriminatory practices between the big manufacturers and chains, and the uneconomic growth of giantism that was resulting.

When small businessmen gathered at Constitution Hall in 1937 to support WRIGHT PATMAN and Senator Joe Robinson in their attempts to end discriminatory practices, the chain-hated Congressman from Texas called small business the backbone of America and the best hope of the youth who wanted to strike out on his own.

Had he been listened to, and if you had been listened to when we were all seeking a square deal for the family farm, small business and local bank, there would be no need today for the great waves of countermeasures against the uncertainties of the future.

You speak of Mr. PATMAN as a money expert, and he was at his best in the thirties when he said, "Money is like fertilizer; you

have to spread it around." The way he wanted to see it spread was through an opportunity system that gave the most humble citizen a chance to grab the lower rungs of the ladder and pull himself up without the help of anything but laws that protected his right to make good as a free, competitive enterpriser, surviving in a free enterprise society.

I know WRIGHT PATMAN as the man in the House who clung to the Jefferson-Brandeis philosophy that too much power in too few hands in business and finance would lead to too much power in government; and I know him as the man from Texas who said the only thing young Texans needed was freedom to enter any field of human endeavor, that it was up to the State and Federal Governments to protect such opportunity.

One of his favorite quips was: "You can't fatten the herd by just feeding the bull," and no better expression fits today's growing power in agriculture, industry, labor, and government.

We are feeding huge corporate combines with which only huge labor unions can deal, and which only huge Government can control.

My admiration for you as a voice of the independent has always been very high. Your tribute to the chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee could only increase it. I only regret that our friend, Ernest G. Shinner of Chicago, who worked with you and who spent more than a million dollars seeking ways to preserve an economy of family farms and small businesses, is no longer with us to read what you have inserted in the RECORD.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

ED WIMMER,
Vice President.

The People Are the Last Word

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, notwithstanding the fact that the Dirksen resolution, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, so that one house of a State legislature might be apportioned on factors other than population, fell four votes short of the required two-thirds vote to adopt such a resolution, the proposal continues to be pending in the Committee on the Judiciary in the House of Representatives.

Furthermore, there appears to be continuing interest in such a resolution in the other body. It is thought that more and more people, back home are realizing what has happened and will continue to happen to their representation in their legislature.

In view of all the foregoing, the lead editorial in the Washington Daily News of August 4, 1965, entitled "The People Are the Last Word," is of compelling interest. The editorial follows:

THE PEOPLE ARE THE LAST WORD

In our system of Government, as spelled out by the Constitution and every other principle we go by, the people are the final word.

But a substantial number of members in the U.S. Senate, although generally classifying themselves as liberals, are opposed to this system.

They demonstrate this opposition by the bitter manner in which they seek to defeat the so-called Dirksen amendment to the Constitution.

Last year, the Supreme Court, in an amazing ruling, held that both houses of a State legislature had to be apportioned on a strict population basis—the so-called one man-one-vote proposition. This despite the State-by-State apportionment of the U.S. Senate, despite the constitutions of most States, despite recent and specific approval by the voters in some States of a different system.

Nobody wants to rip out the Supreme Court because of this airy decision, although the decision had the effect of ripping out most State legislatures.

The way to correct the Court's action is to write into the Federal Constitution an amendment. This amendment has been offered by Senator DIRKSEN of Illinois. All the amendment says is that any State may set up one house of its legislation on other than a population basis if—emphasis on the if—the people of the State want it that way.

But the Senators opposing the Dirksen amendment don't want the people to decide for themselves. The plain implication is that the Senators know better than the people of the States what is a proper system for the States. Since many of these Senators have been among the most zealous champions of civil rights, their inconsistency on the Dirksen issue is beyond comprehension.

If the people in the States are not capable of deciding such basic questions as the manner in which they wish their legislatures to be organized, then it is valid to question the capacity of the people to decide other questions—who, for instance, should represent them in the U.S. Senate.

Maybe, if these anti-Dirksen Senators are right, we should go back to the old system of having U.S. Senators chosen by State legislatures. (We wouldn't favor that for a minute, but it is just as logical as the opposition to the Dirksen amendment.)

There are many arguments favoring the Dirksen amendment. But, regardless of all other arguments, the issue now before the Senate is fundamental—the right of the people of the States to decide for themselves. Despite all the windy debate, this is the only issue.

Death in the Streets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, one of the tragic results of the Martin Luther King inspired demonstrations and civil disobedience is the death it is bringing to innocent people in the streets of the Nation. When it suits their purpose the agitators and the politicians seeking minority votes, lament loudly over a killing. But too often when an innocent person is murdered as a direct result of the hate and violence bred by the shouting and arm-waving misleaders, the crime is little noticed and there is no public weeping.

How long, I wonder, will decent Americans allow the present hypocrisy to continue? How long will it be, I wonder, before those of deep religious conviction demand a return to morality and integrity on the part of public officials and those who presume to be leaders of men?

The following editorial from the Gadsden Times, my hometown newspaper in Gadsden, Ala., should give all of us a cause for a thoughtful reappraisal of what we are allowing to happen in this great country of ours:

[From the Gadsden Times, Aug. 8, 1965]

VOICE OF SORROW FOR THE INNOCENT

Where are the voices raised in sorrow over the death of Andrew Whatley of Americus?

Or, for that matter, over the death of Willie Brewster of Anniston?

No President has deplored on television the cruel, senseless murders of these two men, one white, one a Negro.

No Vice President attended their funerals.

Cardinals and ministers have failed to speak out in their behalf.

Yet, if the Rev. James Reeb and Mrs. Viola Liuzzo are symbols of civil rights objectives, it is clear as crystal that Andrew Whatley and Willie Brewster are symbols of the right of ordinary citizens to go unmolested about their normal pursuits.

According to news releases, young Whatley, a 21-year-old marine volunteer soon to go into service, had worked the swing shift and was on his way home. With youthful curiosity he paused to ask a group of acquaintances "What's new?"

A bullet ended his life, although—if what we read is true—he had engaged in no disturbance.

Nor had Willie Brewster, who was also returning from work when he was mowed down recently by a gang of nightriders in a passing car.

We are shocked at the hate responsible for both murders.

We are saddened equally by the two tragedies.

And we grieve for an America that has somehow lost its perspective.

It confers martyrdom barely short of sainthood on those who leave home and hearth to create further difficulties in situations already close to intolerable.

It sheds no tears for the innocent victims of the lawlessness that seems to go hand in hand with the vogue for demonstration.

Cooperation of Doctors Needed for Medicare Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the success of medicare depends on the cooperation of every citizen. The doctors who must implement the plan will be directly responsible. No amount of Federal financing can be effective without their full cooperation. In recent months the doctors, through the AMA, have provided a healthy and energetic debate. Now that medicare has become law, the time for debate has ended and we must encourage a joint effort for bettering the health standards of our country.

Dr. Max Seham, a highly respected Minneapolis doctor, has made an extensive study of the AMA. In the following paper, he traces the history of the AMA and demonstrates the evolution of its present policies. He has subjected the organization to close scrutiny rather than accept its stand unquestioningly, as have many of his colleagues.

Those who opposed medicare might do well to adopt the attitude of Dr. Seham. Doctors recognize the inherent worth of the individual and are motivated by the humanitarian desire to provide for their patients' greatest needs. Dr. Seham has approached the larger question of the country's health standards with this same attitude.

In recent decades, the medical profession has developed wonderous techniques for curing the ills of millions. Doctors have adopted these techniques enthusiastically and applied them wherever possible. Medicare is a similar development. Just as a wonder drug, it has the potential for lifting American health standards to new heights. In the following paper, Dr. Seham challenges his colleagues to consider the health of the Nation in the same humanitarian light as they consider the health of individual patients.

The paper follows:

THE RECORD OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION IN HEALTH LEGISLATION

The American Medical Association, the voice of American medicine, was founded in 1845 by a small band of dedicated doctors "to promote the science and art of medicine and to promote better health for the American people." When I began to practice medicine over a half of a century ago, the AMA was still suffering the growing pains of infancy, dependent largely for survival upon small subscriptions from its small membership. It had no lobbies to influence Congress, no million dollar war chest to fight the Government. It aligned with progressive political forces in the vanguard of reform. Its Journal had little advertising. Its leaders were medical statesmen and not salesmen. They carried out their oath of office to promote "better health for the American people" as well as to "promote the science and art of medicine."

In contrast, today the AMA has become a powerful political government largely controlling the practices and the politics of about 200,000 members. It publishes 10 medical journals, as well as its official one. Its budget in 1961 was about 16 million dollars, half of which came from advertising. It is allied politically to many national organizations and industries. And from the early days of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal through Truman's Fair Deal to the Great Society of today, the AMA has been remarkably successful in its efforts to block Federal Government interference with the private practice of medicine.

Over the past half century, the AMA has taken on a double personality. Technologically and scientifically it has made important contributions to the advancement of medicine. It has improved the quality of medical education, and eliminated so-called diploma mills. It took the lead in developing a system of exchange of medical information and opinion. The Journal of the AMA is one of the foremost in the world in the publication of scientific articles. The educational value of the annual meetings of the association is outstanding. It has indeed promoted "the science and art of medicine." This is its Dr. Jekyll role.

But, there is the other role that the AMA promised to carry out when it was founded, "to promote better health for the American people." In this area, the area of medicine as a social and human force, its efforts have been less than commendable. Here, it can be justly said, the AMA has played the role of Mr. Hyde. Why this paradox?

We are more knowledgeable, have better facilities, our morbidity and mortality have certainly decreased over the past 50 years. Our medical students have far better training; our surgeons can do things for the sick that are nothing short of miraculous. Yet, the medical profession, is no longer held in the high esteem and reverence it commanded in the days when I began to practice.

It is to this paradox that I wish to address the reader. It is not generally known that in the early part of the 20th century several leading spokesmen of the AMA were in favor of compulsory health insurance. It was a period of widespread social reform during the administrations of Presidents Woodrow Wilson and Teddy Roosevelt. The public clamored for social justice and Congress responded by passing such bills as child labor and workmen's compensation. Many of the States followed suit by studying social health insurance to include health and medical care. The Public Health Service made available data concerning sickness among wage earners and their economic consequences. Because medical technology was surpassing medical sociology, the AMA heeded the trends that were taking place in health and medical care.[1]

Germany and France had put into effect compulsory national health insurance long before 1911, when Great Britain established a limited system. Louis Brandeis, before he become a Supreme Court Justice, stressed the need to adopt a broad plan of social insurance to include health.[2] The Progressive Party, under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt, in 1912, included in its platform a plank urging compulsory health insurance. During this period the AMA was a dynamic organization that stood for social reforms. It criticized the Federal and State Governments for failure to give adequate protection to industrial workers against occupational hazards, and for failure to provide adequate laws to regulate medical practice. It supported the movement to establish the Children's Bureau and stood for the Federal Department of Health.

This was the progressive era of President Roosevelt's Square Deal and President Wilson's New Freedom. Reforms in every walk of life pervaded the thinking and acting of the AMA. It held the respect and confidence of Congress and social scientists. Its leaders really accomplished things for the public. They led in the control of drugs and in medical education; they worked to keep the standards of medical practice on a high moral level. They helped to determine the eligibility of hospitals to train interns. They gave authoritative advice on the training of nurses and medical technicians. They were influential in the passage of pure food and drug legislation. The spokesmen of the organization were among the most brilliant teachers and research scientists. The AMA worked for financial support of worthy medical schools and showed no fear that "Government subsidization would lead to political domination of medicine." The Journal advocated social health insurance in an article by Dr. Isaac M. Rubinow, a leader in the movement for compulsory health insurance.[3] It would seem incredible today, but the Journal also published an article by Dr. James Warbasse, a socialist, the founder of a system of cooperative prepaid health plans.

In 1917 Dr. Alexander Lambert, once personal doctor to President Roosevelt and later President of the AMA, was elected chairman of the judicial council, one of the most influential councils of the AMA. He proceeded to appoint Dr. I. M. Rubinow its secretary. After a year's study, Doctor Lambert presented a comprehensive program which left no doubt on his position on compulsory health insurance. The committee came to the conclusion that "voluntary health insurance was unworkable and that only compulsory health insurance would reach the people that needed it most * * *. Much of the best informed opinion of the country is in favor of these proposals * * *. The introduction of these bills marked the inauguration of a great movement which ought to result in the improvement of the health of the industrial population and improve the conditions of medical service among wage earners."

In reply to Dr. Lambert's report, the AMA House of Delegates made a recommendation for "further study so that the point of view of medicine could be adequately presented."

In the meantime, State medical societies joined in opposition to Dr. Lambert's proposals. By 1920, the house of delegates failed to heed the warning of Dr. Lambert, who said 3 years previously, "blind opposition to, indignant repudiation of, bitter denunciation of these laws, is worse than useless. It leads nowhere and it leaves the profession in a position of helplessness if the rising tide of social development sweeps over them." The house adopted a resolution opposing "any plan embodying the system of contributary health insurance."[4]

In support of Dr. Lambert, Dr. Hugh Cabot, a noted surgeon in the Mayo Clinic, addressed the AMA convention: "More and more the state has been assuming more responsibility for certain phases of medical care—to progress along these lines to which there can be no valid objection. It is not inconcievable that as time goes on we shall be willing to have the state enter more and more into curative as well as preventive medicine." He warned that "unless we, the AMA, recognize the urgent health needs and act positively to accept the inevitable, they will have forced upon them a state medical system."[5] These far-seeing doctors put the health of the Nation before their vested interests. Their prophetic words were not heeded. Never since have there been so many social-minded humanitarian medical leaders holding official positions in organized medicine.

In explanation of this change on the part of the AMA, Dr. Michael Davis, the Nestor of medical economics, writes, "Lambert's views and his prestige as chairman of the committee on social insurance were a major influence in obtaining agreements by the other members of social insurance policies. A few other leaders in the AMA thought with Dr. Lambert that health insurance was soon to be enacted and, therefore, they ought to know enough about this issue to exercise positive influence in shaping laws favorable to medicine. But when the reports became public, the majority of the house of delegates became alarmed. The net results of the 5 preceding years was to stimulate opposition rather than to widen support."[6] Opposition was doubtless bolstered by a wave of reaction that followed the era of progressivism after World War I, a wave that swept

Footnotes at end of speech.

into power a different brand of leadership. From that time on, with few exceptions, the Nation's most distinguished doctors in academic and scientific positions stopped participating in the affairs of political medicine.

One of the outstanding presidents of the AMA at that time was Dr. Ray Lymman Wilbur, Secretary of the Interior under President Hoover. He saw as early as 1923 the handwriting on the wall for the traditional solo-fee for service system when he addressed the medical convention as its president. He warned, "We must join in the great game of collective living and make ourselves felt on the constructive side. By failing to lead we are being forced into a position which may be interpreted as obstructing progress. The danger is that organized medicine may become a defense organization, but it will lose rampart after rampart. We must be altruistic in our public service as we have been in the furnishing of private health needs throughout the generations." [7 40]

And yet when Dr. Wilbur, as chairman of the committee on costs of medical care, presented his report of the 5-year comprehensive study of medical economics in 1932, he was assailed in the editorial page of the AMA Journal: "Such practices (voluntary health insurance) will mean the destruction of private practice. They exploit doctors for the gain of business and they put medical schools (grants by the Federal Government for medical schools) in competition with their own graduates. In a word, they are unethical—the alinement is clear. On the one hand, the social theory that is advocated will lead to 'socialism, communism even inciting to revolution'; on the other side, organized medicine is urging an orderly evolution. In short, this is a question of Sovietism versus Americanism facing the American people." This kind of statement was repeated over and over for the next 30 years.[8 42]

What the editor of the Journal of the AMA, Dr. Morris Fishbein, so proudly called conservatism was in fact, obstructionism, as Dr. Wilbur so courageously and prophetically warned in the above speech. This editor continued to be not only the foremost mouthpiece of traditional medical service but a leading—and implacable—opponent of forward trends in social medicine. For 30 years through his editorial column, by speeches before business as well as medical groups through the country, he clamored against almost all new health proposals by Congress.

In 1932, the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, with the financial support of eight foundations published a monumental study of the incidence of disease in the country, the available resources for medical care, the distribution of practitioners and other important facts that had not been previously known. The large majority of the 45-man committee were in favor of mild proposals to improve hospital and medical care. Their recommendations had nothing to do with compulsory health insurance or "socialized medicine"; yet, the minority report of nine persons, made up chiefly by the editor and officials of the AMA, branded these proposals "incitement to revolution" prepared by "medical soviets." That was the origin of the widespread use by the AMA of the phrase "socialized medicine." [9]

The continuous and, at times, vicious attack upon the British National Health plan is an example of the tactics the AMA used to frighten the American people. From the time the British plan was put into effect, the AMA without reliable data on which to base charges, published derogatory statements against it. The Journal got an English doctor to send weekly reports on the plan which were published alongside of the editor's page. These reports implied that the plan was a failure and that British doctors were against it. Dr. Cox, the secretary of the BMA (British Medical Association) wrote to the AMA editor that "the many objections raised by the AMA had not the slightest validity." [4, 10] Suspecting that the AMA was dealing from under the deck, the Michigan Medical Society sent two well-known social scientists, Dr. Nathan Siani and Henry Luce, to study the British plan firsthand. After a year's survey they brought back a report that the AMA correspondent was not a member of the British Medical Association and that he was in disrepute. Furthermore, they revealed that the British plan was considered successful, with its enrollment of 90 percent of the people and about 80 percent of the doctors. The president of the BMA in an address before his society in 1933, angered by the misrepresentation of his speech in the AMA Journal, said, "This is an unworthy trick." [11] In spite of these exposures, the AMA declared that "the unavoidable conclusion of the entire mass of evidence is that the British plan after being enforced for 20 years is still an experiment and that it has not bettered health conditions." [46] The fact is that no candidate for office whether Labor or Conservative would have dared to run against the health plan.

As the propaganda became more flagrant and the need for progressive health measures more urgent, a small band of progressive doctors became more and more restive. They had no influence in the AMA and held no official positions and consequently had to resort to an open forum outside of the AMA. The American Hospital Association, the American Neurological and the American Surgical Society expressed disapproval of the AMA's tactics but they were too weak to make an inroad against the entrenched hierarchy.

Finally, a self-appointed group of 150 distinguished doctors, most of them full-time professors in medical colleges, headed by Dr. Russel Cecil of Columbia Medical School, formulated and presented "Principles and Proposals," for the improvement of medical care, similar to those offered by the California, Michigan, and New York State medical societies several years before. They tried to get the AMA to publish their manifesto in the Journal but they were met with vehement refusals by a reference committee of the house of delegates. In the meantime, this movement had attracted wide and favorable publicity in the lay press.

Finally, the editor of the AMA was prevailed upon to publish the manifesto. In the same issue (Oct. 16, 1937) the editor impugned the motives of some of the signatories. The New England Journal of Medicine had this to say in response to the editorial of the AMA: An impartial presentation of these complicated questions on which over 400 reputable and distinguished members of the AMA have certain thoughts should not provoke the editorial board of the AMA to an emotional reaction which results in misleading implications and accusations of respected deans and heads of departments in medical schools of low mercenary motives." [12 44]

In their proposals they offered no specific plans to change the private system of medical practice to a system, "socialistic, communistic, and inciting to revolution," as the AMA editorial implied. In general, they advocated improvements in public health services and suggested to the AMA that it concern itself with positive practical plans to improve medical care for the masses of the people. There seemed to be no justification for the editor to accuse the committee of "stabbing American medicine in the back, by releasing such radical proposals to the press."

As the New Deal took over in 1933, the depression brought a social and economic climate favorable for the enactment of new health legislation. The AMA was afraid that President Franklin Roosevelt would offer some form of Federal health insurance as a part of the Social Security Act. However, the President was persuaded by the AMA and some business groups who were on his Committee on Economic Security not to include any provision for health insurance.

In 1935 and 1936 the Public Health Service, under a grant of $750,000, began a longitudinal study of the health of the Nation. In 1938, President Roosevelt called a National Health Conference at which 175 members, one-third of whom were doctors, dentists, and hospital administrators, sat in conference for a week. The seven doctors who were officials of the AMA brought in a minority report. These men, in spite of the overwhelming evidence to the contrary, claimed that there was "no need for reform in the system of medical care now available in this country, in fact, it is being rapidly improved constantly under the direction of the medical profession itself." [13 14]

The minority report could be summed up on these words, "(1) Unmet health needs have been exaggerated by the Government studies and (2) the programs proposed by the President's Technical Committee would threaten the quality of medical service."

In 1939 when Senator Wagner introduced his first national health bill, the AMA began to plan not only to defeat his bill but at the same time to discredit the whole New Deal.[27] Because the AMA by law was prohibited from lobbying as a nonprofit organization, a new group was formed, the National Physicians Committee for the Extension of Medical Service. As the record later showed, this committee not only failed to offer any constructive plans to "extend medical services," but actually interfered with new measures for the improvement of the health of the people for a period of about 10 years. It was subsidized by such business forces as insurance companies and drug houses. Under the guise of keeping medicine free from politics, it shaped its attack upon the administration into an expensive nationwide campaign against the New Deal.

The Nation was flooded with a rash of pamphlets denouncing the Wagner bill as a "step toward totalitarian dictatorship, communism, fascism, and general regimentation." Within a year, the committee circulated over 15 million pamphlets at a cost of $300,000. Workers were warned that the Wagner bill "would cripple their income, doctors were panicked by claims that the bill would make slaves of them and businessmen were told that the bill meant the death of free enterprise." The Surgeon General of the United States, Dr. Thomas Parran, was painted as a "Gauleiter and a dictator." Twelve thousand newspapers and periodicals helped with editorials and releases from the committee headquarters. A nationwide network of speakers was organized to address the Rotary, Kiwanis and other luncheon clubs.

If one follows the efforts of the NPC (National Physicians Committee) through its 10 years of existence, it becomes clear that it did nothing to live up to its promise to "extend medical service." During these 10 years all it did was to combat Federal legislation for providing more adequate medical care for the people. Although the AMA said it had nothing to do officially with this committee, there were two ex-presidents and three former members of the board of trustees on its board of directors.

The NPC treasury grew swiftly and by 1948, the year of its demise, it was first among the lobbies in Washington. Twenty-nine manufacturers contributed $100,000. It was largely responsible for the death of both Wagner bills of 1939 and 1945. It also killed milder bills by Republican Senators Flanders, Ives, and Taft, and by Senator LISTER HILL, of Alabama, a Democrat.[28] The public opinion polls showed that about two-thirds

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of the people wanted health costs to be covered by social security. But because of pressure by the AMA, none of these bills were passed. It offered cash prizes as high as $3,000 to cartoonists to publish pro-AMA cartoons. This so antagonized the newspapers that it was severely criticized even by the conservative editor and publisher of the Journal of the AMA.[16 18]

Another cause of the downfall of the NPC was a letter sent to all members of the AMA over the signature of the Reverend Dan Gilbert. He began his letter, "Dear Christian Doctor," and went on to warn the reader that President Truman's national health plan, "made in Moscow, if adopted, would bring the power of a czar to Washington." His crusade received admitted assistance from the NPC. This antisemitic letter, sent to me as presumably to all the members of the AMA, was signed by an ex-president of the Minnesota Medical Society. It so embarrassed the AMA that it repudiated the letter in an editorial in the Journal of February 26, 1949, with the comment that the AMA "does not require allies of doubtful repute." [17]

Truman's unexpected victory over Gov. Thomas Dewey threw the AMA into a panic. Although the Journal's editor had pronounced the 1945 national health bill of Senators Wagner and Murray "dead as a dodo," the issue was by no means dead. For one of Truman's first acts in 1945 was to present plans to provide the Nation with more and better health and medical services. In this message he said, "I would make it clear that I am not clinging to any particular plan. What I want is a good working plan that will enable all Americans to pay for the medical care they need. And if the people who have been blocking health insurance will come up with a better proposal I'll go along with them. I want to get this job done and I am not concerned in the slightest with pride of authorship." This was simple unadorned language and as the AMA was to learn later, the President meant what he said.[18 19 20 21 42]

In prompt reply, President Cline of the AMA described his opponents as follows: "A small group of little men whose lust for power is far out of proportion to their intellectual capacity, their spiritual understanding, their economic realism, and their political honesty. Their real objective is to strip the American people of self-determination and make them a social state in the pathetic pattern of the bankrupt nations of Europe." [22 23]

In December 1948, the AMA hired the California public relation team of Whitaker and Baxter at $100,000 a year and voted without a referendum of the membership an unprecedented assessment of $25 for each member. This provided a $3,500,000 "political war chest" to fight "socialized medicine." The NEC (National Education Campaign) was ostensibly organized to educate the American people that what was good for the AMA was also good for the people. As an educational campaign, it developed a few new angles. For one thing, Whitaker and Baxter warned the doctors at the very beginning not to engage in debates on the subject of health insurance because this would provide "a forum for the opposition." The AMA did not care to have both sides of this issue presented to the public.

When the AMA assessed its members $25, it assured them that their money would not be used to defeat the administration's health plans. This proved to be a false promise. For Whitaker and Baxter spelled out a very detailed program for getting many nonmedical organizations as well as Congressmen to go on record against all Federal health measures.

In answer to the protest of the committee of 150 members against the $25 assessment, the AMA wrote, "the publication of this protest is an unfortunate disservice to the cause of American medicine."

To use a familiar axiom of President Lincoln's, "You can fool some of the people some of the time but not all of the people all of the time." It was not long before newspapers and magazines began to come out against the soap selling methods of Whitaker and Baxter, calling attention of the public to their propaganda tactics.

Every doctor was furnished a copy of the famous Sir Luke Field, Child and Doctor painting with a label, "Keep Politics out of This Picture." Literature filled the wastebaskets of private practitioners, urging "we need to locate the personal doctor of every Congressman and U.S. Senator and have him send a personal letter to his patient, the Congressman, telling him of the dangers of socialized medicine and asking for his help in defeating any compulsory health insurance program which may be submitted. We will provide form letters." [29]

Doctors all over the country formed local political committees favoring Republican candidates. They were responsible for the defeat of Congressman Biemiller, coauthor of the Wagner-Murray bill, Senator CLAUDE PEPPER, of Florida, and Senator Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina. In New York, John Foster Dulles was unsuccessfully supported to oppose Senator Herbert Lehman.

Although the AMA pretended to be nonpartisan, before the 1952 national election, a national professional committee was formed for Eisenhower and Nixon. The letter heads sent to all doctors featured the names of ex-presidents of the AMA Drs. Henderson, Cline, and Ironn. During 2 weeks in October, more than $3 million was spent on newspaper advertisements, programs on almost every TV and radio station, and space in 35 national magazines. More than 70 million pieces of literature were distributed. About a third of the money came from the AMA. The rest was disbursed by merchants, utilities, drug houses, insurance companies, and other allies who had been enlisted in the crusade.

Slogans were used to defeat any State or national candidate for office who did not agree with the AMA line. Positive constructive plans to promote the health of the people were conspicuous by their absence. Lukewarm about voluntary health insurance before 1951, Whitaker and Baxter went all out for it as the only "American way" in order to convince the American public that organized medicine was and always had been the leading advocate of budgeting against medical expenses by voluntary health insurance.[24 26 28 47]

President Truman had asked the AMA to cooperate in formulating plans to provide the Nation with more and better health and medical services. But realizing that he could get no cooperation, he took things in his own hands and on December 29, 1951, he created a 15-man commission (the Committee on the Health Needs of the Nation) to determine the Nation's total health needs and to recommend ways and means for meeting them both in the immediate and distant future. Dr. Paul Magnuson, who had done a much-admired job in reorganizing the Veterans' Administration, was appointed chairman and a number of nationally known experts, among them several officials of the AMA, were included. The AMA representative, Dr. Gunnar Gunderson refused to serve.

Thereupon the President of the AMA, Dr. Cline, before the report was published, released the following statement: "President Truman's action represents another flagrant proposal, playing politics with the medical welfare of the American people." * * * "There is no health emergency in this country, to require such an investigation; and more progress is being made through voluntary health insurance to provide medical care for the American people than at any other time in its history; this is an outrageous act of public authority." * * * "Congress when it convenes should put a quick end to this misuse of Federal funds * * *." [27 28 43]

Dr. Cline's attack upon the President's good faith met with almost unanimous condemnation in the public press. It marked a low point in the public relations of the AMA. The New England Medical Journal came out with a forthright editorial on the Presidential Committee on January 1952. "The President is to be congratulated on his determination to seek expert advice; he deserves fullest cooperation from all of medicine." Despite AMA opposition the Committee collected vast data on the health status of the Nation in 1 year. The AMA continued in its obstructive attitude; when the house of delegates on June 8, 1952, convened, Dr. Magnuson was called a nonwriting captive of the forces of socialism.[29 43]

When President Eisenhower replaced President Truman, the AMA heaved a giant sigh of relief. The leaders were exultant when the new President addressed them as follows: "I have certain philosophical bonds with the medical profession. I don't like the word 'compulsory,' I am against the word 'socialism'." And Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, the new secretary of HEW, also made the AMA happy with the assurance that hers was to be an "AMA administration." But this courting was short lived, for when the AMA proposed a doctor's name to fill the position of assistant to Mrs. Hobby, she complained, "Why don't they send somebody good?" and the rosy anticipation that the President would be a yes man for the AMA was dimmed when the AMA turned down the President's mild reinsurance plan for improving medical care.

Furthermore, the record shows that besides that reinsurance bill which the AMA helped to defeat, more health bills obnoxious to the AMA were passed than under the Truman and Roosevelt administrations combined.[30 31 32 33]

It was during the Eisenhower administration that President Bauer, of AMA said, "The great decision of socialism or Americanism must be made by all the people. Not only are we faced by corruption in Government but with the attempt to destroy everything on which this Nation was built and which has made it great * * *. We have within our ranks those who would undermine the whole purpose of the AMA. There are those few frustrated elderly men who no longer face the morning sun, together with those who have the senile fixation."

It was also during the Eisenhower administration that President Dwight Murray told the house of delegates, "We have been caught in the throes of the Socialist revolution which demands something for nothing. Changes have been taking place all around us and medicine has not escaped unscathed * * *. No longer can any doctor claim that Government laws are not really changing the practice of medicine."[34] (I can't understand what Dr. Murray means. In spite of the "interference" by Government. I still practice the system of solo-fee-for-service that I began over 50 years ago.) The next year in 1957, the new President seemed to say in his Presidential address, "A plague on both your houses": "All hands better start carrying the torch of free enterprise of medicine * * *. They attempted to break into our house of medical freedom with their socialistic schemes."

Substituting for Dr. Morris Fishbein, the no longer "indispensable mouthpiece" of the AMA, Dr. George Lull showed neither loyalty nor love for President Eisenhower, who on his first appearance before the AMA had said, "I have certain philosophical bonds with the medical profession. I don't like the word 'compulsory.' I am against the word 'social-

Footnotes at end of speech.

ims'." Said Dr. Lull, "They are attacking us piecemeal. Truman was easier to handle because he came head-on at you trying to get socialized medicine enacted all at once. The kind of attack we are being subjected to now is more difficult to fight off. If you try to oppose them publicly you look bad, if we had made a big issue of trying to oppose medical care for all of the service wives and children we'd have been accused of wanting women and children to be sick." This again reflects the phantom fear of the AMA that the "country is halfway down the fateful road, and that Government is entering through the back door of socialized medicine." [35] [36]

The record of the AMA in health legislation shows that it has been out of the social mainstream for over 40 years. The AMA has never learned from its mistakes. Through the speeches of its leaders, the resolutions of its house of delegates, and its reactions to plans proposed by the Government, Republican or Democrat, it has always taken the stand that the American concept of democracy is a changeless political, social, and economic order. The behavior of the AMA hierarchy has been like a conditioned reflex, a sort of an emotional tic that forces it to brand every effort to improve the health conditions of the people "socialized medicine." It always sees efforts of the Federal Government to make available more adequate medical care to the underprivileged as "destructive to democracy." It has acted like a spoiled child who will not play unless he has his own way. It has shown a chronic hostility toward all Democratic administrations, but it has also objected even to "Mr. Republican" Senator Taft's bill for the benefit of schoolchildren. When President Eisenhower refused to be a "yes" man, the AMA helped to defeat his mild reinsurance bill.

Although the leaders of the AMA have repeatedly denied it, the record shows that they did oppose voluntary health insurance plans on the grounds that they would eventually lead to compulsory. They believe the only desirable plans are those developed by State or county medical societies, usually plans that offered a patient free choice from among the majority of the members and that provide for direct-payment fee by the patient. In spite of the fact that experts testified that voluntary health insurance plans in 1960 were not adequate to give all the people adequate medical care, the AMA remain adamant in their stand that no alternative plans are necessary and that commercial plans would solve the Nation's health problems. The fact is that, of the $19 billion spent by the American people for medical care in 1962, only about $4 billion were paid by voluntary health insurance.

The documented evidence justifies the following generalizations:

The early two decades of the 20th century found the AMA leaders in favor of compulsory national health insurance. The presidents of the AMA during this period were idealistic and devoted to the cause of social progress and were instrumental in helping to pass a number of progressive plans to improve the health of the Nation. They looked to a new national frontier in health and medical care for the Nation. Figuring prominently on the medical scene, they accepted the challenge of leadership. They supported reform health bills in Congress. They had no fear of Government interference with private practice. They were largely responsible for the pioneering Government health insurance act that gave the marines and their families the best available medical services.

In 1922, Mr. Hyde took over when the Speaker of the House turned the clock back by calling social health insurance, "This fantastic un-American machination." From then until today, medical voices were raised from all parts of the Nation in opposition to social insurance. The humanitarian efforts of Doctors Lambert, Wilbur, Welch and others in behalf of the Nation's health were thwarted not on merit or national benefits, but on the ground that they were socialistic, un-American and would threaten the private system of medical practice. As political parties pick a slogan to frighten the people, so the AMA has over 40 years shouted "wolf" against new and practical health measures.

As an AMA member of local and State societies for over a half century, I have had the opportunity to watch first hand the moral retreat of the AMA. I have seen the sad replacement of brilliant men, of outstanding scientific and academic leaders by reactionary men whose chief role seems to be opposition to change.

The prophetic wisdom of the early Presidents has been forgotten; in its place are policies that are unimaginative, negative and reactionary. The AMA, following the antiquated philosophy of laissez faire, reflects the image of a rugged individualist interested chiefly in his own private practice.

We need at the helm health statesmen, no politicians-believers in public health not salesmen. Professional competence and social prestige are not enough to deal with such a complicated specialized problem as medical economics. The men whom we elect to represent us at Senate hearings, at State legislative sessions, at town forums, should learn the difference between social medicine and socialism. They should begin to call things by their right names.

Our medical journals should allow open and free discussion on controversial aspects of medical economics. Dissension from the majority makes for progress. Radical ideas today become conservative tomorrow.

Our leaders should keep their fingers on the public pulse so they can better understand and meet the needs and demands of our national health. Until we grapple with this grave and complex aspect of social medicine with complete objectivity and offer solutions that will benefit society without impairing the basic structure of medicine, we cannot lay claim to leadership.

The advice that the great Sir William Osler gave to a graduating class a half century ago could well be heeded by the rank and file of the AMA today, "Undue reverence for authority as such, a serene satisfaction with the status quo, and a fatuous objection to change have often retarded the progress of medicine. In every generation there have been men in high places, and always will be, who lent the weight of complacent conservatism to bolster up an ineffectual attempt to stay the progress of new ideas."

FRASER TRIP TO MINNEAPOLIS, AUGUST 5 TO 9, 1965

Thursday, August 5: 6:15 p.m.—NWA flight No. 85 to Minneapolis—National Airport (Arvonne will meet DWF). Evening—Fifth district executive meeting.

Friday, August 6: Morning—following appointments in district office.

At 9:30—Dr. Henry Blackburn and Pastor Andre Trocze.

At 10:15—Doug Dulac.

At 11—Mary Kreevey and Dr. Albury.

Lunch with Bob Smith and others of the paper. Call Bob Smith Friday morning for time and place.

Afternoon—Mary Mac's birthday party, St. Croix.

7 p.m.—Van der Boems.

9—Doerr's

Saturday, August 7: 10 a.m.—DFL executive committee, DFL office.

At 1 p.m.—Sernuf and Gerry Elliott at the St. Croix.

Evening—Seltzers party.

Sunday, August 8: Relatives at the St. Croix.

(Fifth ward ice cream social at Bob Latz' home—just for your information.)

8 p.m.—Meeting with Bob Gomsrud and labor leaders at Gomsrud home—3810 Baesette Creek Drive.

Monday, August 9: Leave 7:10 a.m. for Washington—NWA flight No. 80, tourist, arrive Dulles 11:17.

At 1 p.m.—Lunch with David Gordon at World Bank, room 845, 16th and H.

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[1] James Burrow, AMA, "The Voice of American Medicine," Jins Hopkins Press, 1963, pp. 140, 142, 204N.

[2] Ibid., Louis Brandeis, p. 135.

[3] Ibid., A. Lambert, pp. 135N, 144N.

[4] Ibid., Dr. Isaac Rubinow, pp. 135N, 146N, 140, 257N.

[5] Ibid., Dr. Hugh Cabot, pp. 207, 216.

[6] Ibid., Michael Davis, "Medical Care for Tomorrow," p. 276.

[7] Ibid., Lyman Wilbur, p. 180N.

[8] Ibid., Morris Fishbein, pp. 169, 182, 199N, 256, 299.

[9] Ibid., Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, pp. 182N, 214N.

[10] Ibid., British National Health Insurance Plan, pp. 198N, 105, 426.

[11] Ibid., Nathan Sinai, pp. 201, 203N.

[12] J. Howard Means, AMA, "People and Government," Little Brown Co., 1953, pp. 147–150.

[13] J. Burrow, pp. 215N, 293.

[14] J. Means, p. 276ff.

[15] J. Burrow, pp. 352N, 367N.

[16] Michael Davis, p. 284.

[17] Richard Carter, "The Doctors Business," Doubleday & Co., 1958, p. 206.

[18] J. Burrow, President Truman, pp. 354, 367N.

[19] Richard Carter, p. 209ff.

[20] J. Means, pp. 78ff, 157.

[21] Michael Davis, pp. 281, 292.

[22] J. Means, pp. 156, 159.

[23] Richard Carter, pp. 131ff, 54, 58, 207ff.

[24] J. Burrow, "Whitaker and Baxter," pp. 288N, 362N, 374.

[25] Michael Davis, 286ff.

[26] Richard Carter, "Truman's Program," p. 209ff.

[27] Ibid, Cline, p. 131.

[28] Ibid, Cline p. 53.

[29] J. Means, p. 81–158.

[30] J. Burrow, "President Eisenhower," p. 385N.

[31] Michael Davis, "President Eisenhower," p. 292.

[32] J. Means, "President Eisenhower," pp. 164, 188.

[33] Richard Carter, "President Eisenhower," p. 212.

[34] Ibid, Dwight Murray, p. 87.

[35] J. Burrow Lull, pp. 351, 365N.

[36] Richard Carter Lull, pp. 76, 215.

[37] J. Burrow, "Wagner Bill," p. 294N.

[38] Ibid, Taft, "Flanders Bill," p. 348.

[39] Ibid, Sir Luke Field, p. 207N.

[40] Richard Carter, "Lumann Wilbur," p. 109.

[41] Ibid, "Truman's Program," pp. 53, 81.

[42] J. Means, "Morris Fishbein," p. 150.

[43] Ibid, AMA opposition to Truman's program, pp. 158, 162.

[44] Ibid, AMA Opposition to Principles and Proposals of Committee of 400, p. 147.

[45] Ibid, Cline, p. 156.

[46] Ibid, AMA Attitude Toward the British Health Plan, p. 99ff.

[47] Ibid, Whitaker and Baxter, p. 155.

The 17th Anniversary of the Republic of Korea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, we want to extend warm felicitations to the Re-

public of Korea on the occasion of its 17th anniversary of its independence this coming Sunday, August 15. This House will not be in session then and therefore we are today congratulating His Excellency Chung Hee Park, the President of Korea; and His Excellency Hyun Chul Kim, the Korean Ambassador to the United States.

In their long history the people of Korea have enjoyed a political continuity and stability unusual among Asian nations. The land was first united under a single dynasty in A.D. 669. The kingdom was ruled by three successive dynasties until 1910 when the last king was deposed by the Japanese and the nation was made a part of the growing Japanese Empire.

The 20th century has not been kind to Korea. Foreign domination and occupation were experienced by these proud people for the first time in many centuries. The distinct Korean civilization, one of the oldest in the world, dates back more than 4,000 years.

The anniversary we honor now marked the return of at least part of the Korean people to independence. As was the case with other small nations, World War II brought an end to Axis tyranny and a promise of freedom for the future. But these hopes were cruelly thwarted when the Russians occupied the northern part of the peninsula and then refused to live up to their agreement to allow free elections and unification. Thus Korea became a divided nation with its territory and its people artificially separated in two parts, with the northern part dominated from outside and made into an armed camp.

Elections were held in the south in 1948 and the Republic of Korea was founded on August 15. Eighty-five percent of the electorate voted in this nation where all men and women of 20 years and older have the right to vote.

Few nations have suffered such tragedy in such a short time. The invasion from the north was launched less than 2 years later. The young nation was saved by the United States and the United Nations acting to preserve its independence. The cost was high. South Korean forces suffered more than half of the 400,000 U.N. casualties.

More than 1 million South Korean civilians were killed with another 1 million wounded or missing. Hundreds of thousands of orphans and widows were the inevitable product of war.

The new nation suffered the additional handicap of an unbalanced economic base, for 80 percent of the nation's industry was located in the Communist zone.

In spite of their misfortunes, the people of South Korea have shown a remarkable determination to rebuild. The economy is making steady progress. The average annual rise in gross national product from 1954 to 1964 has been 5 percent with industrial growth playing a major role. Trade is on the rise and should be aided by the recent agreement with Japan.

The youth of Korea have been a dynamic element in the nation's progress, and women have a status in society and in the economic life of the nation that is unusual for Asia.

We shall continue to do whatever is needed to help these brave people emerge on the side of progress in freedom during the difficult days ahead.

"Years of Lightning—Day of Drums"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN N. ERLENBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which appeared in the Elmhurst Press, Elmhurst, Ill., on July 29, 1965, concerning the USIA's film, "Day of Drums." It was written by Robert J. Seltzner, a man whose high repute in journalistic circles is formally acknowledged in his position as president of the DuPage County, Ill., Press Association. It is one of the best and most objective criticisms I have yet seen on the showing of the Kennedy film within the U.S. boundaries. Without descending into petty partisanship, Mr. Seltzner has effectively raised the question which lies at the heart of this issue, already disappointingly debated in this Chamber. I urge my fellow elected Representatives to read carefully Mr. Seltzner's editorial, to take account without prejudice of the force of his logic and to reconsider their previous verdict on this matter:

Somewhat under 100 persons viewed the film, "John F. Kennedy: Years of Lightning, Day of Drums," last Thursday at the Wheaton VFW clubrooms.

It is an hour and a half movie of considerable proportions—a professional job of film making. The audience was the DuPage Press Association, membership and members of their families, and a half dozen others, including State Representative William A. Redmond, Democrat of Bensenville, and his daughter Mary, who were special guests.

The significance of the film is that it was produced by the U.S. Information Agency about a year ago, and since has become the focal point of a partisan political battle in Congress, where it has been proposed that USIA material such as films, be made available for public viewing in this country. At this time the USIA's films may be shown publicly only outside the United States.

Only a few days after USIA Chief Carl Rowan, the former Minneapolis newsman, approved the DuPage Press group's showing of the film, he resigned the $30,000 per year post, and was replaced by Attorney Leonard Marks—the result of an internal feud over policy.

Evaluating such a magnificent effort as the Kennedy film is virtually impossible. Many of those in attendance shed tears openly recalling the November 25, 1963, funeral, interspersed with scenes from the 2 years and 10 months J.F.K. was in the White House. The film footage of early missile failures; the family group scenes, and especially of the children; John-John saluting his father's casket, the graveside presentation of the flag to Jacquelyn Kennedy, all well remembered, were greatly enhanced by color, and the voice of Gregory Peck.

The reactions of the audience at the finale were sharply mixed. To be sure, there were numerous bravos, and observations that it had all been just wonderful, but there were others who dissented, and fiercely.

Comments such as, "The whole thing was perfectly appalling. I don't like this comparing him with Lincoln. The whole family is power hungry. Give Bobby Kennedy 10 of these to circulate and he would be President."

As a reminder, the film, produced with Federal funds, was a top-grade production. This cannot be disputed. However, it is the opinion of the writer that the political minority in the United States (Republicans at this time), has every basis for stanch opposition to this type of USIA labor being distributed for public consumption.

It would be impossible not to consider this pure political ammunition for the administration, and one must remember that a Republican administration could certainly produce "The Eisenhower Years."

It would be the feeling here that films such as "Day of Drums," if they are to be put into theaters across the country, should be privately produced, and privately financed by the Nation's movie industry, not by the Federal Government, and there can be no reasonable grounds for argument.

Of course, this is somewhat after the fact, since the U.S. House has already given the green light to public viewing of USIA material, and the Senate is considering it. The issue is principle, and a basic one it is.

Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN F. BALDWIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 1648) to provide grants for public works and development facilities, other financial assistance, and the planning and coordination needed to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment in economically distressed areas and regions.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the bill S. 1648. This bill basically and by its nature is a pump-priming bill. This means that this type of bill should be used when the status of our economy shows clear evidence that this kind of approach is necessary. This is a $3.3 billion bill authorized to be spent over the next 5 years.

The administration repeatedly in the last few months has brought to the attention of Members of Congress in messages, and has brought to the attention of the American press in news releases, that it expects this year will set many new records from the standpoint of the height of our economy; that this year will produce the greatest gross national product that our Nation has ever known, that this year will produce the greatest personal income per capita our Nation has ever attained; that in effect we are at the peak of an economic cycle. It does not seem to me that at the peak of an economic cycle we should be passing a $3.3 billion pump-priming bill. I do not think this bill should be passed at this time and under these conditions.

When the Congress last year passed the $11 billion tax cut bill, the second step of which goes into effect this calendar year, it was pointed out repeatedly by Members who spoke on the floor of the House that we had a choice. We should either cut taxes or engage in pump-priming expenditures, but we should not do both. They pointed out that it was their intention by passing the tax reduction bill to make it unnecessary to pass pump-priming legislation to stimulate the economy. When the excise tax cut bill was passed by Congress a couple of months ago, the same point was made again that the first step of the excise tax cut was going into effect on July 1 of this year, and the second on January 1 of next year; that the purpose of the tax cut was to stimulate the economy and, once again, we had a choice of either cutting taxes to stimulate the economy or pump-priming through additional expenditures.

The choice made at that time was to cut taxes. It seems to me, therefore, that we must be selective in this field, and since the Congress has chosen to make these tax reductions we should not simultaneously be passing a pump-priming bill of this magnitude, particularly when our economy is functioning at such a high level.

The administration in the last week has announced a reduction in unemployment to bring the unemployment rate to the lowest rate in the last 8 years. This is further evidence that our economy is functioning at the peak of an economic cycle at the present time. For these reasons it does not seem to me this type of bill should be passed this year, and I oppose it.

We have a deficit that we incurred in the fiscal year just completed, ending June 30, 1965, of approximately $3.5 billion. The Treasury Department has estimated the deficit for the next fiscal year will be $5.3 billion. I think the Congress owes an obligation to the people we represent to try to do everything we can to keep a balance between expenditures and income as far as our budget is concerned. Therefore, for this reason if for no other, we should not be authorizing this additional expenditure program at the present time.

In addition to this, the Comptroller General has submitted 17 adverse reports on the administration of the Area Redevelopment Act as it has existed up to the present time. Repeatedly, in each of these reports, the Comptroller General has stated he feels this program should be tightened up and that loopholes should be eliminated. On the contrary, the recommendation of the administration as incorporated in the provisions of this bill would loosen the program even further than it has already been loosened as it has been administered, and therefore we are not only not giving recognition to the recommendations of the Comptroller General, but we are taking further steps in this legislation to authorize an even looser program than the program that has caused all these adverse reports to be submitted by the Comptroller General.

In recent years, we have had a whole series of programs brought to the floor of the House and in each case the argument has been made that if that particular program was passed, we would be able to solve the problems of unemployment. In answer to these pleas, this House and the Senate have passed, within the last 2 or 3 years, the antipoverty program, which was extended by this House just in the last 2 weeks; we passed the manpower retraining program; we passed the housing bill just a week ago authorizing expenditures of $7.5 billion, which is certainly a pump-priming bill; we also passed the Appalachian program.

It seems to me that this is enough at the present time in view of the high level of our economy and that we should give these programs the opportunity to prove whether they will do the job the proponents of these programs stated they would do when we passed each one of the programs, and that we should not saddle the American taxpayers with the burden of figuring out how to pay for this additional $3.3 billion program that is now before us for action today.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BALDWIN. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. CRAMER. I would like to add to what the gentleman is saying, and he is certainly making some very valid points relating to expenditures, is it not particularly true at this time when we have been informed that because of Vietnam it is expected that military expenditures will be substantially increased, should we not, under these circumstances take that into consideration and realize that this is not the time to be adding $3.3 billion more to the taxpayers' burden under these circumstances, at this time, when we know this is coming?

Mr. BALDWIN. I think the gentleman has made a very relevant point. Since the submission of the budget to the Congress in January, we have had a request from the administration for a $700 million supplemental appropriation for fiscal year 1965 for Vietnam, and within the last few weeks, we have had another request for an additional $1.7 billion for the fiscal year 1966 for Vietnam. Those expenditures are going to cause further stimulus to the economy of this Nation and therefore this is a further reason why we should not be passing this particular pump-priming bill which is now before us.

Mr. CRAMER. It occurs to me that the forgotten man of America is the taxpayer—the one who is going to have to bear this burden, and we should give some consideration to him eventually during this session of Congress.

Mr. BALDWIN. I would agree with the gentleman from Florida.

Furthermore, Mr. Chairman, this bill is particularly loose in that it states that any area that had the status of a redevelopment area as of March 1, 1965, would automatically be considered to be qualified for all aid under this bill until the next annual review of such areas is made. This means that the 423 or more areas that were on the rolls as ARA areas as of March 1, 1965, but have subsequently been dropped from the rolls because they no longer qualify under the present Area Redevelopmnt Administration Act, will be restored to the rolls under this bill and, therefore, they will be able to come in for all these supplementary expenditures, even though they can no longer prove they have the requisite unemployment to meet the test of the Area Redevelopment Administration Act that has been in effect during the past year.

This again certainly is a looseness which I believe does not constitute good legislation.

Beyond that, the bill states that economic development centers will be authorized and they will be authorized to receive aid under this act even though they themselves do not meet the test of an economically depressed area as defined in the act. So once again we may be pumping Federal funds into these so-called economic development centers, even though they have lower levels of unemployment than other areas may have which cannot qualify under the bill for the supplementary funds. This to me certainly is a looseness which is not advisable for Congress to authorize.

The last thing I should like to mention is that the bill would authorize a revolving fund not subject to congressional appropriations, so that all repayments of loans made under the act would go into the revolving fund, as well as interest on those loans, to be utilized by the Area Redevelopment Administrator, with no further recourse to Congress for legislative appropriation. I believe this is a highly undesirable step to be taken, to remove these expenditures from the proper kind of congressional review and control.

For these reasons, I do not believe this is the time to pass this bill nor do I believe that the bill is in proper form to be passed. I believe it should be defeated by the House.

The Best Way To Combat Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, much has been justifiably said in recent months of the need to combat crime in Washington, D.C., and throughout the Nation.

Some have suggested that the best way is to increase police interrogation powers as a deterrent to crime. This position is taken in reaction to recent court rulings which very probably have made life more difficult for policemen.

A recent editorial in the Minneapolis Tribune disputes this position, however. The editorial says in part:

> But neither will a disregard for the intent of these rulings reflect credit upon society or the law, for the question is not really society's right to protection versus the rights of criminals. Instead, the issue is the protection of rights that apply to all members of society.

Mr. Speaker, the Tribune editorial states that the crime rate in Minneapolis has not increased over the previous year, largely because Minneapolis has used more policemen, better training, and more effective utilization of personnel.

Under unanimous consent, the text of the editorial follows:

BETTER APPROACH TO ENFORCEMENT

To combat the crimewave in the Nation's Capital, Federal attorneys have advised the Washington police department to push its interrogation powers to the limit under the disguise of "investigation." To do the job in Minneapolis, Police Chief Calvin Hawkinson is requesting 54 more men, 8 additional squad cars, and increased funds for departmental training.

That Hawkinson has the better approach is clear, and he has some evidence to back his request. The statistics, at least, indicate that major crimes for the first 6 months of 1965 remained about even with the number in the first half of last year. And while statistics ignore such elements as economic and age trends in the city's population, Hawkinson believes increased patrolling and more men on the streets during night hours are major factors in keeping the statistical crime rate down.

Obviously, the courts' increasing attention to the basic rights of suspects during arrest and interrogation has not made life easier for the policeman. But neither will a disregard for the intent of these rulings reflect credit upon society or the law, for the question is not really society's right to protection versus the rights of criminals. Instead, the issue is the protection of rights that apply to all members of society.

Gaining acceptance is the idea that better training, more effective utilization of personnel and greater public support for the policeman are significant answers to the suggested dilemma. This is reflected in Hawkinson's request for the first major manpower increase in 3 years, and it ought to be considered as a valid extension of an approach that seems to be proving its worth.

Federal Government and Arkansas: Partners in Crime and Vice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to tell the Members of this House about the regrettable partnership of the Federal Government and the State of Arkansas in keeping gambling illegal in Arkansas, thus opening up gambling's lucrative profits to the misery-merchants of the mob.

Last year, the parimutuel turnover in Arkansas came to $27 million. More significant and more menacing is Arkansas' illegal gambling, long associated with Hot Springs and a few other towns. Testimony before the McClellan committee indicated that offtrack betting comes to about $50 billion annually throughout the Nation. With this figure accounting for only some 42 percent of the national annual illegal gambling total, which would thus be $120 billion. On a population basis, illegal gambling in Arkansas would come to about $1.2 billion a year. The mob cuts itself 10 percent of the illegal gambling take, which means that the "land of opportunity" is a State of realized opportunities for the mob. Government-run gambling would siphon these moneys from mob treasuries, putting gambling revenues to work on behalf of, rather than to the detriment of the public welfare.

The best way to make gambling work for the public good, since it is basically ineradicable, is a national or series of State lotteries. If the State of Arkansas would wake up to social and financial reality, it would legalize, regulate, and control gambling so that the gambling urge of the people of Arkansas would no longer serve the financial needs of the crime empires.

Moscow Calls Tune in Rumania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, we must never forget the plight of the oppressed victims of communism held captive behind the Iron Curtain and must work for the development of a foreign policy that will be based on bringing true freedom and permanent peace to all peoples.

Of special interest is a recent article written by Columnist Ray McHugh of the Copley News Service, covering an interview he recently had with deposed King Michael of Rumania. The article appeared in the Joliet Herald-News July 9. Due to its special significance, I insert it in the RECORD.

MOSCOW CALLS TUNE IN RUMANIA

(By Ray McHugh)

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND.—Don't talk to King Michael of Rumania about Communist liberalization—particularly in the Balkan land he was driven from 18 years ago.

"The government imposed by Moscow represents absolutely nobody in Rumania," says the handsome, tall, youthful-looking, former monarch.

Now 44, Michael lives quietly in a modest villa not far from Lake Geneva. He supports his wife Anne and four daughters by working as a stockholder and financial adviser with a Swiss firm.

He doesn't talk about any dreams or ambitions for returning to Rumania. Those are in the hands of other nations. But he does fiercely defend his legality.

"The Rumanian people had no voice in the establishment of the Communist satellite dictatorship in 1947," he says. "It was established by Moscow and enforced by the Russian Army.

"That is why the Rumanian constitutional monarchy still exists. That is why the King still exists. The legal authority of the Rumanian state is intact.

"The problem is one of total liberty for a nation and a people. And that problem will remain until there is true and authentic liberation."

Michael's quiet, soft tones become hard when he discusses the Communist government in Bucharest.

He insists that despite Western reports of independence it remains handcuffed to the Soviet Union.

If the regimes of Eastern Europe suddenly begin to relax police terror, open doors to Western tourists, and seek commercial and cultural relations with free nations, he argues, it is for one reason alone—because Moscow orders it.

"The Communist regime in Bucharest could never exist without the direct or indirect support of Moscow," he said. "It has not changed. Without active or indirect terror it could not last.

"Romanians do not desire greater independence, they want true independence that will permit them to live as their souls and their hopes dictate in the eyes of God."

The king rejects suggestions that increased western trade, credits, and economic assistance might loosen Russia's hold on the satellites. "Mere aid would only aggravate the misery of Rumania," he said, "while at the same time increasing the Russo-Communist danger now felt in every country in the world."

He calls the so-called liberalization moves an attempt "to throw powder in the eyes of strangers."

"If the United States could assure the Rumanian people that it would not permit Moscow to interfere," he said, "they would quickly sweep the Communists from power and touch off repercussions throughout the Socialist bloc."

The king apparently shares a belief nourished by exiles and by many ordinary people behind the Iron Curtain that Moscow is in no position to stop a determined bid for independence by a country such as Rumania. These men hold that Russia is torn by political and economic problems and faces an evergrowing threat in Communist China.

"The Russians might even be anxious to withdraw from the satelites, to consolidate," suggested one of Michael's advisers, "but they would have to be convinced that these states would be guaranteed neturals, as is Austria, and that in the event of war with China she would not be attacked from the West."

The industrialization of Rumania, a goal of the Communist regime, is seen by some as the foundation for independence. Michael sees it as a Russian ambition.

The king said the country lacks basic raw materials such as iron ore, coal and hydroelectric power to support such industries. The net result, he said, is to make Rumania more dependent, not less, on Russia

Farmers Union Spokesman on the Resale Formula

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, I have noted many times the broad-based support from most of the major farm organizations for an increase in the resale formula on surplus wheat owned by the Commodity Credit Corporation. I believe the following article by Mr. M. W. Thatcher, general manager of the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association of St. Paul, Minn., which appeared in the June–July issue of the GTA Digest, gives a clear picture of why such an increase is vital to the American wheat producer. Following is the article:

WE ARE STRONG ADVOCATES OF GOOD FARM PROGRAMS

We have asked Congress to establish the minimum price for Commodity Credit Corporation grain sales at 115 percent of loan value instead of the present 105 percent.

That is a very reasonable request. Many of our Senators and Representatives support it. There is a good chance that Congress will approve our request.

To avoid any possible misunderstandings, and to negate some deceptive statements that are being made regarding our request, I would like to explain why we made it in the first place.

Back in 1949 Congress gave USDA's Commodity Credit Corporation a permanent charter. We had something to do with that, too, and we consider it a significant accomplishment. This permanent charter took the place of the temporary, year-to-year existence CCC has been living since 1933.

One of the limits put into this charter was that, except for such things as spoilage, grain held by CCC could not be sold in the domestic market for less than 105 percent of the loan, plus reasonable carrying charges. CCC could sell for more than 105 percent at any time if it wanted to, but it couldn't sell for less.

At that time—1949—this 105 percent minimum was adequate. You will remember that Congress had set the support price for basic commodities—wheat and corn—at not less than 90 percent of parity as then computed.

CCC could not sell at less than 105 percent of those support prices. That 5 percent margin was put in there to give leeway for markets to function. It allowed prices to rise enough over the loan to meet the costs of marketing. Farmers could redeem their loans each year, if market prices permitted.

In other words, that 5 percent leeway was designed to allow marketing through normal channels instead of turning the crops over to Government. It gave farmers some opportunity to get a little more than the loan and use normal competitive channels to market their own grain.

But now, what has happened? The figures tell the story dramatically. If wheat were supported at 90 percent of old parity, today, the loan would be about $2.70 a bushel. Five percent of that is about 14 cents. That would be the margin between loan value and the price at which CCC could sell its stocks. It would be a respectable, workable margin.

Instead, today the support price has been cut in half. It is only $1.25 a bushel for wheat. Five percent of that is only a little more than 6 cents a bushel. That is a narrow, unrealistic margin. When CCC now sells at 105 percent of $1.25 a bushel, it establishes an effective ceiling price on wheat.

With that example, you can see why GTA and many others, including almost all of the farm organizations and commodity groups, have requested Congress to raise the CCC resale price to at least 115 percent of loan value.

I am sure you will agree that CCC sales have kept a lid, a ceiling price, on the market. This has forced a great deal of wheat into Government hands unnecessarily. The incomes of farmers have suffered, normal markets have been bypassed, CCC costs have been run up, and the intent of Congress in the CCC charter, granted back in 1949, has been defeated.

Today CCC may handle 5 bushels of grain, where it need handle only 1 to accomplish the purposes of farm legislation.

These are simple facts before Congress. Any effort to distort these facts or impugn GTA's record is pure and outright deception. I do not understand why anyone would want to do that.

The record of your general manager in championing the grain farmer, and every other farmer, is clear from the NcNary-Haugen days of the 1920's. We pioneered protein premiums in 1927–28. We helped establish the first crop loans under the Federal Farm Board in 1940. We helped write the first and second AAA programs under which today's crop loans are made. We were among the first to ask Congress for wheat income certificates in the years before World War II. These certificates now are the law of the land.

Good farm programs and good administration of them have no stronger advocate than your general manager. We'll match our record with anybody's, and we'll continue to work for a more just and effective margin between loan value and the price at which CCC can sell its stock.

Sculptor Wants Mexico To Get an Honest Abe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, in the early 1960's Congress authorized the gift of a statue of Abraham Lincoln to the Government of Mexico to commemorate the centennial of Mexican independence. Happily this coincided with the 100th anniversary of Lincoln's term of office as President of the United States.

Regrettably, appropriation of funds to procure the statue was first delayed, and then the amount requested by the Department of State reduced to a figure art experts now advise cannot reasonably provide such a statue. The Senate is presently studying this problem and hopefully will approve a more practicable sum.

In the meantime discussion has developed as to whether or not such a gift to the art-loving people of Mexico should be a replica of a present American statue of Lincoln or an original.

Mr. Carl Tolpo, prominent sculptor from Barrington, Ill., in the following articles from the July 18, 1965, issue of the Chicago Sun-Times, and the August 1, 1965, issue of the Chicago Tribune, discusses the importance of selecting an original statue by an American sculptor both from an artistic point of view and from an economic viewpoint:

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, July 18, 1965]

SCULPTOR WANTS MEXICO TO GET AN HONEST ABE

(By William Braden)

The State Department might not know much about art, but it knows what it likes.

It likes to please Congress.

As a result, according to Carl Tolpo, State is about to make a ghastly mistake.

It is going to present the people of Mexico a statue of Abraham Lincoln. And it is not going to be Carl Tolpo's statue.

The Mexicans are going to get a replica of Augustus Saint Gaudens' famous standing Lincoln, in Lincoln Park behind the Chicago Historical Society. And this despite the fact that:

1. Saint Gaudens himself wasn't satisfied with the standing Lincoln, unveiled in 1887. He preferred the seated Lincoln (in Grant Park near Van Buren), which Saint Gaudens completed shortly before his death in 1907.

2. The standing Lincoln, in Tolpo's opinion, is a product of foreign art influences—is Grecian in tone and makes Lincoln look like Napoleon Bonaparte.

3. Insistence on a replica implies an official verdict that the Nation's contemporary sculptors are incompetent beatniks.

SPECIALIZES IN CREATIVE EXPRESSION

Tolpo is a Barrington Hills, Ill., sculptor and painter who has specialized in the creative expression of Lincoln.

Two Lincoln heads by Tolpo are exhibited at the Illinois State Historical Library in Springfield. Another is on the grounds of Barrington Consolidated High School, and a replica is in the Lincoln Museum in Washington. Eight Tolpo portraits of Illinois politicians are on permanent display in the Illinois State capitol.

Tolpo, among others, is spitting mad.

Congress last August 4 authorized the State Department to procure a Lincoln statue as a gift for Mexico.

The Commission of Fine Arts, advising the State Department, had strongly urged an original statue. But the House Committee on Foreign Affairs stated in a report:

"In approving the bill, the committee expects the Commission of Fine Arts to give most careful consideration to the advisability of procuring a replica of an existing statue of Lincoln, instead of an original statue. Aside from cost factors, it was felt to be of prime importance to insure a recognizable likeness."

In its own recommendation to the committee, the State Department had stressed the preference of the Fine Arts Commission, adding:

"An original work would enhance both the nature and significance of the gift, as well as hopefully contribute to the advancement of the arts in America. On the other hand, there might be some risk that the result would not compare favorably with existing statues. * * * Taking into account all aspects inherent in the gift, the Department of State, too, favors an original, but does not wish to press this recommendation upon the committee."

It is reliably reported the committee feared an abstract Lincoln that would provoke controversy. In any case, the committee's expectation was interpreted as an order. And the Commission of Fine Arts suggested a replica of the 1887 statue in Lincoln Park.

Tolpo and other sculptors have been asked to submit bids on production of such a replica. Congress originally had authorized $150,000 for the work, but the House has since cut the actual appropriation to $100,000—on the theory a replica should cost less than an original.

The appropriation is pending in the Senate, where Senator THOMAS H. KUCHEL, Republican, of California, hopes to restore the cut.

HE'S STILL HOPING

Tolpo had hoped for a commission to produce an original Lincoln that would incorporate the heroic head he made for the Barrington high school. And he's still hoping.

The Commission of Fine Arts likes the head and has high regard for Tolpo. Furthermore, it's not happy about the replica idea.

Charles H. Atherton, Commission Secretary, said a replica probably would cost as much as an original—and neither could be produced for $100,000.

Atherton, too, resents the implication that no American sculptor could create a recognizable likeness of Lincoln.

"The Commission," he said, "feels very strongly that there are competent scuplitors—not just one, but a good many—who are capable of producing a superior work of art we could be very proud of."

The State Department, justifying a replica, has emphasized its desire to present a statue to Mexico during 1965 (the centenary of Lincoln's death). However, the Department recognizes it would be impossible to complete even a replica this year. The plan is to make a "symbolic presentation" during 1965.

"A replica can take just as long to make as an original," said Atherton. "And it would be just as easy to have a symbolic ceremony for an original as it would for a replica."

Atherton said a statue "becomes cheaper the more you use it." He pointed out the United States presented the people of Britain a replica of Saint-Gaudens' standing Lincoln in 1920.

(The molds for that were destroyed in a 1942 fire, so there is no chance of saving the taxpayers some money there.)

The gift statue is to be placed on one of Mexico City's major avenues, with reflecting pools on three sides. If there has to be a replica, said Atherton, the standing Lincoln probably would look best in such a setting.

"That's why we suggested the standing Lincoln rather than the seated one," he said. "We're not saying the standing one is necessarily the better statue."

Tolpo thinks the standing Lincoln is "too European." It's a good statue, he feels. But not a good statue of Lincoln.

"The basic gesture is wrong," he said. "Lincoln wouldn't stand just that way—like Napoleon getting ready to slip his hand in his vest. Like some Roman senator addressing the Forum.

"The whole tone reflects the 19th century Grecian-Romanesque tradition Saint-Gaudens picked up when he was studying in Europe. He fought against it. But he couldn't overcome it entirely. And there it is."

TOWERING GENIUS?

Tolpo said the artistically advanced Mexican people might take unkindly to a replica of a "horse-and-buggy Lincoln."

Said Atherton: "An original probably would be more significant to the Mexicans, because of the way they feel about art. Their own art has great vitality. And an original—designed specifically for a specific site—will always have more vitality and significance than a replica of some other statue in some other place."

And then there is something Lincoln said on January 27, 1838, when he was speaking at the Young Men's Lyceum in Springfield.

"Towering genius disdains a beaten path," said Lincoln. "It seeks regions hitherto unexplored."

Of course, nobody ever accused Congress of towering genius.

LINCOLN STATUE STARTS BATTLE—ARGUE WHETHER TO GIVE HIM A CHAIR

(By Donna Gill)

What started as a proposed gift of statuary to Mexico is becoming a battle to decide whether to give Abraham Lincoln a chair.

The State Department has asked sculptors throughout the United States to submit bids to make a reproduction of the Saint-Gaudens' statue of Lincoln standing near a chair. The statue in Lincoln Park, behind the Chicago Historical Society, is one of several existing reproductions. The proposed statue would be given to Mexico, as a gesture of good will, for a park in downtown Mexico City.

Carl Tolpo, a Barrington sculptor, will submit a bid on the reproduction, but it will be accompanied by sketches and a bid for an original Lincoln statue he has designed.

HE GIVES REASONS

"I am absolutely against any replica," Tolpo said. "This is a gift from the people of the United States to the people of Mexico. It should be a gift that has been made by the creative ability of this generation, not another generation, particularly not Augustus Saint-Gaudens, who studied in Europe and is not typical of American sculptors."

He stated other reasons why an original would be better:

1. He estimated the reproduction would cost $152,000 and take 30 months for completion. He said his original could be made for $145,000 though it would take 36 months to make. His price estimates are based on estimates from the Roman Bronze Works, Inc., of Corona, N.Y.

"And even at that, I'm willing to sacrifice $25,000 of my own salary to do it, but I want to see the proper gift given," Tolpo said.

2. An original would be more characteristic of the United States.

3. The size of Saint-Gaudens' work is not in scale with the proposed park site in Mexico City. Tolpo said the statue would be "dwarfed" in the 200 by 170 foot area. The original would be 35 feet tall on a 12-foot base, higher than the Saint-Gaudens statue.

HEAD IS DONE

4. Head plans have been completed. Tolpo has a bronzed head of Lincoln, which he said he worked on intermittently for 20 years, on display in the Lincoln Museum in Washington, D.C.

5. The hand gestures of the replica are not typical of Lincoln. "He wasn't about to put his hand in his coat like some Napoleon," Tolpo said.

Tolpo's statue would have Lincoln standing, the right foot forward, a stovepipe hat in the left hand, and a scroll in the right hand. The right arm would be bent at the elbow.

"I don't think today's sculptors will get out of hand with abstract modernism for the statue," Tolpo said. "That is an insult to us. I don't care if I get the bid or not; I just want to see that the statue is an original."

The Civil Air Patrol's International Air Cadet Exchange Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday evening, August 10, I was privileged to attend a dinner sponsored by Pan American World Airways, Inc., honoring the Civil Air Patrol's international air cadet exchange program. A measure of the importance of such programs, which encourage youth to enter the great adventures of the air and space age, was a letter sent by President Johnson, who was unable to attend.

I would like to insert this fine letter in the RECORD, and to add my congratulations to those of the President to all the young men of the free world who have chosen to participate in man's greatest adventure—the conquest of the universe.

The letter follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, August 10, 1965.

Although I am unable to be with you tonight, I want to express to you my personal greetings through my able assistant, Mike Manatos, on the occasion of your annual pan-American dinner honoring the foreign cadets of the international air cadet exchange.

It is always heartening to welcome young men from abroad to visit the United States and participate in the many activities arranged by our Civil Air Patrol. I am confident that this brief sharing in the family life of your hosts has been a mutually rewarding experience and has encouraged a feeling of cooperation and good will for both you and them. I have no doubt that our representatives to your countries have found their visits equally rewarding.

The enthusiasm, dedication, and self-sacrifice of the Civil Air Patrol members with whom you have visited attest to their strong desire to serve, through their program, a useful purpose in a troubled world. I know that your own programs, which made this visit possible, are enabling you to serve your own countries with equal dedication and gratifying success.

May each of you have a pleasant trip home and may next year's international air cadet exchange sustain the exemplary record which you have set.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

On Revenue Sharing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the Appendix a letter Joseph A. Pechman, director of economic studies at the Brookings Institution, wrote to the Washington Post on August 11, 1965, in answer to criticism of the Federal revenue-sharing plan.

This is an excellent rebuttal to those who have little faith in our State governments. I hope every Member of Congress will read Dr. Pechman's letter carefully:

ON REVENUE SHARING

Nat Goldfinger's letter of August 8, on the plan for sharing Federal revenues with the States and local governments clarifies the position of the labor movement. But the record needs to be set straight on a number of points.

Mr. Goldfinger is quite wrong in stating that the grants would be unconditional. A number of conditions would have to be met. Funds would not be used for highway construction, because there is already a very large and specially financed trust fund for this purpose. Congress could also stipulate the kinds of activities that could be financed by these grants. Moreover, any grant by the Federal Government is subject to a public accounting and audits by the appropriate Federal agencies. The revenue-sharing grants should not and would not be accepted from these rules.

It is erroneous to say that the funds could be used to "thwart the purposes of the Civil Rights Act of 1964." Title VI of the act prohibits the use of Federal funds in violation of the civil rights laws of the United States, and the revenue-sharing proposal would certainly be subject to this constraint. In fact, by providing a large financial incentive, the grants might accelerate compliance with the Civil Rights Act.

I agree with Mr. Goldfinger that the support of State-local activities through specific grants-in-aid should remain the basic method of providing Federal assistance to the States and local governments, but they should not be the sole way. Specific grants-in-aid enable the Federal Government to assure itself that programs in which it has a

vital interest are carried out. We differ, however, on how far the specific grant programs should be pushed. It appears that Mr. Goldfinger wants all public services to be controlled from Washington. I doubt that responsible officials in Washington believe that this is administratively practicable or socially desirable.

Mr. Goldfinger implies that the proposal would not help the local governments. There is no reason why Congress could not be explicit about the transfers to local governments if it wished to do so. But there are many different forms of State help to local government, and it would be better not to specify that a uniform percentage of each grant be allocated for local use in each State. The individual States are in a better position to make the allocation in the manner suited to their circumstances.

The most surprising aspect of Mr. Goldfinger's letter is its omission of any reference to the need for improving State and local tax systems. The revenue-sharing plan would increase the chances of improvement greatly. It would substitute funds from the progressive Federal income tax for increases in the regressive sales and property taxes which are heavily used by the States and local governments. It is hard to believe that Mr. Goldfinger prefers to see the Federal income tax reduced and replaced by regressive State-local taxes in order to defend his doctrinaire view that the States cannot be trusted to act in the public interest.

Gesundheit Is Not the Answer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, within the next 2 weeks, the ragweed plant will be in full bloom and approximately 10 million Americans will be painfully aware of its presence. The Allergy Foundation of America reports that a rainy first half of August will mean a miserable hay fever season.

Pollen from the ragweed plant causes the unpleasantness of hay fever—runny nose, weeping eyes, sneezing, and headaches, not to mention many more serious illnesses which are effected by ragweed, the prime example of which is bronchial asthma, the killer of some 4,000 persons yearly. The Air Pollution Control Board of the Department of Health of the State of New York has concluded that they know of no beneficial use for ragweed except, in the overall balance of nature, it does more harm than good.

In addition to their health suffering, these 10 million hay-fever victims will lose about $140 million dollars a year in treatment. Medical cost is estimated at roughly $60 for injections, plus from $20 to $40 for medications—that is, about $100 per person, per year for those who seek medical help. In fact, the air pollution control board in its studies has estimated that more than a million people in the State of New York suffer from hay fever, and that some 250,000 lose a week or more from work or school each year because of the allergy.

Much study has been made in order to combat the ragweed but it has been confined predominantly to the State of New York. I seek to have this problem recognized as a national one and a serious one affecting the health and earning capacity of over 10 million Americans. I seek, through H.R. 1047, to expand study and experimentation to eradicate the ragweed into a Federal program. This legislation provides for Federal ragweed elimination by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Addition of the word "ragweed" in section 102a of the Department of Agriculture Organic Act of 1944 would put the noxious plant in the same category as witchweed, which impedes growth of grains. The act requires the Department to work on eradication of witchweed.

Research seeking to combat the harmful effects of ragweed usually points to control, rather than eradication, as the safer and more economical method. Daily research is being conducted in the form of a pollen count taken in the allergy department of the Jewish Hospital in Brooklyn. The pollen count is the average number of pollen grains found on a square centimeter of a sticky glass slide that has been exposed to air for 24 hours.

The hospital's allergy department, headed by Dr. Max Grolnick, has a pollen-counting station on the 21st floor of a building on 86th Street this year. The hospital has been counting pollen for 27 years. In former years, it maintained counting stations in Brooklyn and Far Rockaway as well as Manhattan, but the 86th Street readings were so close to the three-station average that the hospital is dropping the other two.

Brooklyn Jewish starts keeping the count when the pollen season begins. The newspapers start printing the count when the ragweed season opens, around the first of May.

Dr. David Merksamer goes to the station every morning at 9 a.m. to take a reading. A pollen count over 25 means misery for all sufferers. But unusually sensitive persons can feel unhappy when the count is as low as 7.

Research at the University of Michigan has shown that about 95 percent of ragweed pollen grains settle from the air within about 150 feet of the point of expulsion from the blossom. From this it appears that hay fever is a localized problem and that sufferers are victims of the particular environment in which they live and go about their daily activities.

However, one of the most interested followers of the above-mentioned daily pollen count and more importantly, a man whose earning capacity is limited by hay fever, Herman Aaronoff, of Brooklyn, does not believe the problem to be a local one. Mr. Aaronoff is a part-time real estate clerk and freelance writer for the Jewish press. He claims, "Local action can't solve the problem. Municipal and State authorities may do the job in their areas but the winds still carry ragweed pollen across State lines. Only a national program can do an effective job."

Data from the Agricultural Research Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture would seem to substantiate this theory. It is reported that one or more species of ragweed occur in all 50 States of this country. About half the States can be found to have no areas which are free of pollen. Ragweed is found to be most prevalent in the North Central and North Eastern States followed by the Southern, Great Plains, Intermountain, Pacific Coastal States, and Hawaii.

There are three methods of control: spraying, crowding, and cutting.

Spraying or the use of herbicides is the most effective; however, the drift of the chemical spray is known to cause severe crop damage.

Ragweed is not a competitive plant. It can be crowded out and thus, stifled by heavy seedings of alfalfa, clover, bluegrass and other thick vegetation. It grows most profusely where the soil will not be disturbed and the pollen will be controlled.

The method of cutting is most advisable. If the ragweed plant is cut before flowering, the pollen will be eliminated. The soil will not be disturbed and the pollen will be controlled.

The cutting method has been exhibited most successfully in Niagara Falls, where a city ordinance was adopted directing all property owners to cut the weeds on their property. If this is not done, the city does the cutting and adds the cost to the individual's tax bill. There has been a gradual and steady drop in the pollen index in Niagara Falls since 1960.

The Tuberculosis Association in Connecticut is attempting to start a pollen sampling program this year—that is, a program to determine the extent of pollen in an area in order to decide upon a manner of control. Pennsylvania has had such a program for several years.

These programs are the most effective among the relatively few to combat ragweed. Shall we expand these programs and incorporate them on a Federal level in order to improve the health and economic plight of over 10 million Americans?

Australia's Restriction on Trade Deplored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to remind our friends in Australia that trade, like friendship—and Australia certainly is our friend—is a two-way proposition; trade is a two-way street.

I am concerned at the recent decline in one of our most important exports to Australia—tobacco—at a time when U.S. imports of agricultural products from that country have been increasing rapidly.

This is a vital matter when related to our balance of payments, and it creates a serious problem to several hundred thousand Flue-cured tobacco growers in the United States.

The tariff agreement negotiated between Australia and the United States in 1947 included concessions of importance to the agricultural interests of each country and was designed to be mutually beneficial. In return for U.S. concessions on meat and wool, the Australians agreed to concessions on the importation

of U.S. unmanufactured tobacco into their country. This concession bound the tariff duty rate on unmanufactured tobacco and, due to the expansion and prospective volume of tobacco exports from this country to Australia, that concession was approved by U.S. negotiators as exceeding all others in value. However, there were certain loopholes which were not apparent at the time.

The net result is that we are importing vastly more meat and animal products than we were at the beginning of this agreement, while our tobacco exports have dropped from an average 26.3 million pounds in the 1952–56 period and an annual high of 37.8 million pounds in 1957 to a new low of 13.4 million pounds in 1964.

This switch of Australian policy on tobacco started about mid-1950 when Government officials in that country initiated steps for cutting back on the quantity of tobacco imported. This policy was effectuated by two key devices: First, the prescribing of a constantly mounting series of percentages on Australian-grown leaf to be incorporated into the respective tobacco products and, second, the system of tobacco import rates severely penalizing manufacturers who do not comply with the prescribed "mixing percentages."

During the 1947–51 period the minimum percentage of domestic leaf prescribed for cigarettes was 3 percent. Those who complied with this percentage paid a duty of the equivalent of 80 U.S. cents per pound. Those who did not comply were charged the equivalent of 96 U.S. cents per pound or a differential of 16 U.S. cents. Through the years this minimum percentage of domestic leaf has systematically been increased up to the present rate of 45 percent with regulations presently in effect to eventually increase this minimum percentage to 50 percent at the beginning of 1966.

In consequence of these developments, it naturally followed that U.S. exports of tobacco to Australia would suffer. An examination of the use of U.S. tobacco by the Australian tobacco product manufacturers shows even more clearly the results of these stringent mixing regulations. There has been a steady annual decline in the estimated use of U.S. leaf from 29.1 million pounds in 1958 to an estimated 17 million pounds in 1965, or a total reduction of 42 percent. During this same period, the total estimated annual use of all tobacco by Australian manufacturers increased approximately 9 percent from 47.8 million to 52 million pounds.

Australians may wish to argue that they have a right to change prescribed mixing regulations in any desired way due to the language contained in the negotiated trade agreement of 1947. In the light of these provisions, some modification of the status of domestic tobacco not only was authorized, indeed it was expected. However, the scope and severity of actions which have in fact been taken by Australia could not in any sense be considered reasonable. On the contrary, had the situation in this regard been foreseeable in any degree whatever in 1947, no negotiator in his right mind would have considered opening negotiations.

The result of this systematic increase of the requirement for the utilization of domestic tobacco has raised the auction price of Australian tobacco to the point where the farmer is now guaranteed a price of about $1.17 a pound by the Australian Government, more than double our own average price in this country, and which in the final analysis simply means that we are through this trade agreement indirectly subsidizing the Australian tobacco farmer through our heavy importations of meat products and wool which we have agreed to take.

With this high price, it is reasonable to assume that the tobacco manufacturers in Australia have resisted the enforced usage of increasing percentages of native leaf, but apparently this has been too little or of no avail. This native leaf is not only higher priced than other tobacco on the world market, but it is a well known fact that it cannot compare with the quality of the standard American grown tobacco and must therefore adversely affect the quality of Australian cigarettes. The local manufacturer who is in the middle of this situation, however, has no alternative but to comply with the mixing regulation due to the heavy duty penalty for those who fail to do so.

It may be redundant to say that normally trade is a two-way proposition, but in the case in question the more we have favoring the Australian exporter, in the spirit of the 1947 trade agreement, the more our friends from down under have followed the reversed course with a highly protectionist policy which has harmed our exports as well as the exports of other tobacco producing countries who supply this market.

It is only because of the quality consideration that the United States has even been able to maintain its relative position with other foreign suppliers in this market.

These developments at a time when we are seeking freer world trade as evidenced by the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 should bring widespread concern to not only the tobacco producing areas but to all other areas of the United States expecting to share in increased exports through freer access to world markets. For this reason, I am now bringing this to the attention of my colleagues, as well as all other interested parties.

Australia should not expect to continue to expand its exports of agricultural products, such as sugar, mutton, and wool, to the United States while at the same time restricting its imports of U.S. tobacco and other agricultural products.

Urban Sharecroppers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked consent to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the letter a minister in my State has written to an official who requested him to support their antipoverty program.

The letter, omitting names and places is as follows:

About a year ago (July 6, 1964) there appeared in the U.S. News & World Report an article entitled: "The Big-City Poor—'Urban Sharecroppers'?" I quote from it as follows:

"CHICAGO.—A sociologist who studied the buying habits of 464 low-income families in New York City reports these findings:

"Easy credit and high-pressure sales pitches keep more than 60 percent of the families surveyed in continual poverty with mounting debt. An emotional craving to compensate for low social status often causes the big-city poor to buy new rather than used durable goods and to choose the luxury rather than the utility line.

"Of the families surveyed, 80 percent bought only new furniture; 95 percent owned at least 1 television set—and 40 percent of the TV owners paid more than $300 for their sets; about two-thirds of the appliances owned by the families were bought on credit.

"Only 27 percent of the families had savings of as much as $100.

"The survey was conducted by David Caplovitz of the University of Chicago, senior study director of the National Opinion Research Center. Median income of the families studied was $3,300.

"Many customers are continuously in debt to the merchant in a pattern reminiscent of the relationship between the sharecropper and the company store.

"Mr. Caplovitz said, 'We might almost call these traditionalistic consumers in our cities "urban sharecroppers." '

"The sociologist said he found that 'the poor often end up buying goods that they have no intention of buying; they are tricked or pressured into buying, even though they do not want the goods and cannot afford them.' "

I am sure that you realize that surveys in other urban areas would produce the same findings.

Now the Great Society of the present administration, which you so fully endorse, commends its antipoverty program as a certain means of helping these lower-income people; yes, of eventually eradicating their impoverished (?) life forever.

The findings of Mr. Caplovitz, however, tell a different story. They reveal one basic fallacy in all arguments advanced for the antipoverty program of the Great Society. That is this: It leaves human nature entirely out of consideration. The inborn nature of man, be he rich or poor, schooled or unschooled, leads him in endeavors to get the most personal gain out of the least possible effort, as is seen in the colossal abuses of every Federal welfare program initiated since the 1930's. And this sad, but undeniable, fact dooms also the antipoverty program, in spite of all claims to the contrary, to a dismal, tragic failure.

Not until the Government reverts to the tried and tested and honored principle set forth by Capt. John Smith in Colonial America, "He that will not work, neither shall he eat," can dignity and responsibility and integrity and lasting benefit be brought into the lives of those of lower income.

My 38 years in the holy ministry have been devoted in appeals to the hearts of men, through the Words of Christ, the wisest Man who ever lived, as they are written in the Bible. My efforts have been centered primarily to bring men into heartfelt fellowship with their Savior. Not until that is accomplished can they overcome the evil that continually tempts them as it arises from their human nature.

Let me assure you that I do not now intend to change my appeal or approach to men, to abandon the teachings of my Savior, who said, "The poor ye shall have with you

always," for the futile and disastrous philosophies of those who have fashioned the antipoverty program and similar programs of the Great Society. True followers of Christ, as a result and fruit of their fellowship with Him, will counteract poverty with a genuine, upright and loyal citizenship; by saving in good times; by 'pulling in their belts' and living within their income at all times, especially in times of depression; looking not to the Government but to Christ for the things they need to support body and life, imploring Him and not an agency of the Federal Government to "give them their daily bread."

For these reasons, which I present for your most earnest consideration, you will readily understand that I must rely with a resounding negative to the requests you make on behalf of the misnamed and mismanaged antipoverty program of the Great Society in your circular letter of August 4, addressed to me and the clergy of South Dakota.

The Superiority of New York State's Finger Lakes Wine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, the other day there was a published report that the State Department has been urging diplomats abroad to serve American wines rather than foreign wines at their diplomatic dinners and receptions. At that time I wrote the Department and the President to commend this new emphasis on American products, and I pointed out the special superiority of those wines grown in New York State and in my own congressional district, which includes the famous Finger Lakes wine-growing region.

I was especially pleased the other day to see in the Auburn Citizen-Advertiser an article which backs up my judgment with regard to the special qualities of our American wines in general and New York State wines in particular.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I enclose this informative article from the Auburn Citizen-Advertiser:

EXPERT LAUDS L.B.J. FOR STAND ON U.S. WINES

NEW YORK.—Peter L. Carp, a 38-year-old native of Holland, used to travel about the United States touting the virtues of European wines.

Carp, who can trace his ancestry as far back as 1420, to one Johannus Karp of Trerbach, Germany, also has a long family history of European winemaking. The family emigrated to Holland in 1829, but a German branch still produces Mosell wines regionally.

With this background, what does Carp, an expert on wines from the grape to the bottle, think of President Johnson's recent request that U.S. diplomatic missions abroad serve American wines at official functions?

SECOND TO NONE

He thinks it's a timely reminder that American wines are second to none in the world. What's more, Carp says, domestic wines would be an "excellent American import" in foreign countries.

"Because of their singular qualities, American wines belong on the wine lists and in the wine cellars of anyone interested in having a representative selection of the world's best," Carp said in an interview during the annual meeting of the Wine & Spirits Wholesalers Association.

Carp, a tall, blue-eyed, suave man who now lives in Rochester, N.Y., with his wife and young son, can speak with authority on the subject of wines and other beverages.

He is assistant to the president of Widmer's Wine Cellars, of Naples, N.Y., located in the vineyard-rich Finger Lakes area of upper New York State. From 1961 to 1964 he administered the national sales program of still sparkling and fortified wines for Austin, Nichols & Co., Inc., and for several years before that was North American representative of European manufacturers of beverages and food products.

MOST TIMELY

"The U.S. State Department's suggestion that American wines be served by our diplomatic missions abroad is most timely," Carp said. "We are already experiencing a substantial interest in and consumption of New York State's Finger Lakes sherry and premium table wines by members of our Military Establishments overseas.

"The President's comments are a welcome reminder to our diplomatic corps to provide an opportunity for foreign guests to become familiar with the highly distinctive, individual characteristics of an excellent American import."

Carp said the quality of American wines has accelerated a growing trend toward wine drinking in the United States that started after World War II, and that there has been a perceptible shift toward sherries.

The Great Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following excellent editorial from the Babylon Town Leader, Babylon, Long Island, N.Y., August 12, 1965:

FROM CRADLE TO GRAVE

There are few areas of human activity today—from the cradle to the grave—that are not under some form of Federal control. And, those that are not are presently being observed closely under microscopes in the laboratories of the Great Society.

This session of the Legislature will go down in history for the magnitude and complexity of its efforts. An evaluation of the results will hardly be available for another generation.

We have aid to Appalachia, health care for young and old, a multibillion-dollar housing bill, school aid and college scholarship programs, antipoverty programs, and subsidies for everything under the sun.

The present Congress is in a sense a runaway Congress because it seems bent on battering through any and all programs tossed to it from the White House.

The tax-and-tax and spend-and-spend philosophy introduced by F.D.R. nurtured by H.S.T. and brought to maturity by L.B.J. has been bought, accepted, wittingly or unwittingly by the people.

Republican leaders all over the country who are looking to rebuild the national party must accept the fact they have lost the war for private enterprise to the proponents of governmental control.

Whether we like it or not, we are wallowing in Government control up to here, and the next step is socialism unless the GOP can come up with a decisive program that can stem the tide.

Dominican Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I insert into the RECORD at this point an editorial which appeared in yesterday's Chicago Tribune. The title dramatizes its message, yet while inserting this particular piece may I observe that it is obvious that the end result of Johnsonian foreign policy juggling of the Dominican crisis will be an artificially created government with Communists in positions of influence:

DOMINICAN DILEMMA

After 15 weeks of stalling and an outlay officially placed at $47 million, but in reality closer to $80 million, the United States has shut off all financial aid in an attempt to break the deadlock in the Dominican Republic. The aim is to force the government junta and the pro-Castroite and Communist rebels to accept a compromise provisional government.

The compromise, advanced by the Organization of American States, would install Hector Garcia Godoy, Foreign Minister under the regime of the ousted Juan Bosch, as provisional president for 9 months, after which elections would be held. The plan has found favor neither with the junta, headed by Gen. Antonio Imbert Barreras, nor with the nominal boss of the rebels, Col. Francisco Caamano Dena.

The State Department's awkward resort to financial pressure in the hope of forcing a settlement is another confession of its bankrupt policy. President Johnson, when he ordered American military intervention last April 28, openly stated that this action was taken not only to save American lives but to prevent a Communist takeover and the creation of a "second Cuba."

Recent defections from the rebel forces, holed up in a square mile of downtown Santo Domingo, the capital, have demonstrated that the original judgment that the insurrection was dominated by Communists is still valid. The defectors said they quit the Caamano group because it is increasingly influenced by Communists and Castroites.

President Johnson poured 21,000 soldiers and marines into the island, but, once there, they did little but camp on the sidelines of the rebel enclave while Washington brought in the OAS to mediate the problem. The American representative on the three-man OAS directorate is Ellsworth Bunker, whose gifts as an appeaser were previously demonstrated when he negotiated the Dutch out of New Guinea and turned their territory over to the American-hating President Sukarno of Indonesia.

While our forces in the Dominican Republic remained neutralized, Washington impartially dispensed financial and material aid to both the rebels and their opponents. The State Department has placed a price tag of $47 million on these handouts, but makes no accounting of the cost of maintaining American forces and OAS peacekeeping troops. These costs are reckoned at an additional $30 million to date.

There is not the slightest question that if the American forces had been given the go-ahead, they could have cleaned up the rebellion in a few days and ended the Communist threat. Instead, the leftists have been given almost 4 months to consolidate their position and to spread their influence throughout the countryside. A makeshift settlement now would offer no assurance that the radical left would not attempt another coup, for we have given it the chance to live another day.

Bosch was kicked out of the country in 1963 because he was truckling to the Communists. When the rebellion broke out, one of the first acts of the Johnson administration was to send an emissary to see him in Puerto Rico, where he is in exile. The expectation that Bosch would contribute to the restoration of order by calling off his followers was groundless. His present purpose is to bide his time until an election and then put up Col. Caamano as his nominee for president.

As has been the course of our policy from Korea through Laos and now Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, Washington does not seek clear-cut solutions, but inclines to negotiation and fuzzy settlements which accomplish nothing final. This abhorrence of forcible action will only guarantee that every crisis put off today will recur in more aggravated form tomorrow.

Civil Disobedience: A Threat to Our Law Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the July 1965, issue of the American Bar Association Journal carries an article by Mr. Morris L. Leibman, distinguished Chicago lawyer, on the perplexing problem of civil disobedience in the American legal system and society. Mr. Leibman has been chairman of the American Bar Association's Committee on Education Against Communism since 1962, and brings fresh attention to a matter that is of especial interest to the American people.

The article follows:

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE: A THREAT TO OUR LAW SOCIETY

(By Morris I. Leibman, of the Illinois Bar, Chicago)

There is a standard against which we should test basic issues of foreign policy. That standard is the historical and continuous struggle of human beings for freedom and dignity. This must be our basic in confronting world communism. We are right because the history of man proves it. Only the law society can discipline the cult of the personality. The law society is man's only hope.

Domestic issues must also be measured against man's historical struggle for liberty. Here, too, the record establishes that the Communists will pervert with tactics of confusion, disruption, and violence the rights of our law system. The history of the advance of world communism overwhelmingly provides the evidence that it will seize upon any situation approximating dissent for propaganda purposes.

Woodrow Wilson said: "A nation which does not remember what it was yesterday, does not know what it is today, nor what it is trying to do. We are trying to do a futile thing if we do not know where we came from or what we have been about."

In seeking to improve tomorrow, it is our duty to remember where we have been and reflect on where we are.

We live in that instant of time when it can be said that never before have 190 million people enjoyed so many material things, however imperfect their distribution. But the multiplication of consumer wealth is subordinate to our greatest accomplishment—the fashioning of the law society.

This open, democratic Republic is man's highest achievement, not only for what it has already accomplished but, more important, because it affords the greatest opportunity for orderly change and the realization of man's self-renewing aspirations. Our goals are set forth in the Declaration of Independence and buttressed by the Constitution—a judicial, legislative, and executive system of checks and balances which permits the continuation of Western civilization's spirited dialog and makes possible the opportunity continuously to approximate, through our legislative and judicial systems, our moral and spiritual goals.

OUR LAW SOCIETY PROVES ITS METTLE

The long history of man is one of pain and suffering, blood and tears, to create these pathways for progress. This noble experiment of ours survived the cruelty of a massive civil war, the ultimate test whether our unique system could endure. It did. It has. It will. Let us always remember that the law society is both the pinnacle of man's struggle to date and the foundation for his future hope.

There is an obligation to that law society, however. Abraham Lincoln stated it plainly in these passionate words:

"Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher to his prosperity, swear by the blood of the Revolution, never to violate in the least particular, the laws of the country. * * * Let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father and to tear the character of his own and his children's liberty. Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother, to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap—let it be taught in schools, in seminaries and in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling books, and in almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the Nation; and let the old and young, rich and poor, the grave and gay, of all sexes, tongues and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars."

No society can give its citizens the right to break the law. There can be no law to which obedience is optional, no command to which the State attaches an "if you don't mind". What has happened to us? Why is it necessary to repeat what should be axiomatic and accepted? What is the responsibility of a citizen? Surely the continuing social task for the morally sensitive citizen is to impart reality to the yet unachieved ideal of full and equal participation by all in all our opportunities.

But we must remember that there have been no easy solutions for man's inhumanity to his fellows. "Only those lacking responsible humility will have a confident solution to problems as intractable as the frictions attributable to differences of color, race, or religion," Justice Frankfurter declared.

There is nothing new in violence. Violence has been too often a way of life throughout mankind's history. Whole continents have been involved in riot, rebellion, and revolution. Human rights problems exist in India, in Asia, in the Middle East and in Africa. A large part of the world lives behind the ugly iron and bamboo curtains of communism.

We cannot sanction terror in New York or in Mississippi. Retaliation is not justified by bitterness or past disillusionment. No individual or group at any time, for any reason, has a right to exact self-determined retribution. All too often, retaliation injures the innocent at random and provokes counter retaliation against those equally innocent. Our imperfections do not justify tearing down the structures which have given us our progress. The only solution is the free and open law society.

In times when man's progress seems painfully slow, we might consider how well we are doing on all issues compared to most areas of the world. In this frame of reference, let us identify certain current forces whose aims is to destroy the law society.

The inexorable requirement of communism to exploit every difference between men should now be clearly understood. Communism constantly exploits mankind's troubles ideologically, philosophically, and psychologically. Yet we seem to be surprised, confused and even bitter about Communist intervention in our civil rights problems. What could be a more natural target for Communist use?

The Communist Party of the United States has a long history of attempting to infiltrate every segment of our society. The Negroes of America have a long histroy of resisting this subversion, but it would be dangerous to believe that Communists would not seek to insert themselves where there is unreasoning and extreme militancy in any troubled area. This is no reflection on any segment of our society. It is a recognition of the constant threat of trained troublemakers and rabble rousers. The Communists know they can profit by stimulating agitation and disrespect for law and order. They would neglect their own sinister doctrines if they did not use these instruments of subversion and violence.

The inciting of dissension and conflict between nationalities and races is a widely exploited revolutionary tactic. Communists long have been instructed to change passive attitudes to "activist" attitudes, to intensify the struggle at all levels at all times. To the Communist, all means are justified by the end—a basic concept that we of the law society reject. Communist imitators—the Nazis, the Ku Klux Klanners—repeatedly and directly have challenged our principles and insisted on taking "law" into their own hands. Those who reject our legal methods and choose terror, force, violence, hate and bigotry only play into the hands of the international Communist conspiracy.

The lawlessness of the frontier demonstrated to the pioneers that law was essential to the establishment of civilization. It was not the destruction of the buffalo or the rise of fences or fast-draw gunmen that tamed the wilderness. It was the installation of American juridical proceedings that enabled our people to weld the disparate territories destined to become a nation.

I am deeply troubled by certain concepts which have sought acceptance: "freedom now" and "righteous civil disobedience." Both terms are semantic traps and only add heat to the problems of freedom and justice for all. It is also a semantic trap to divide the discourse on civil disobedience into a stereotype of liberalism against conservatism.

"Freedom now" is an illusion. The desire for self-expression can be satisfied only in an atmosphere of freedom, and freedom is not an absolute. It exists only within the confines of the necessary restraining measures of society. I wish it were possible to have the ideals of justice and freedom in all their perfect form at this moment. But the cry for immediacy is the cry for impossibility. What is possible is to continue patiently to build the structures that permit the development of better justice.

Let us beware of pat expressions, such as: "Justice delayed is justice denied." Justice delayed cannot serve as an excuse for anti-

justice. The fact that particular reforms have not been achieved completely does not justify rejecting legal means—the only hope for lasting achievement.

The demand for equality cannot be converted into a fight for superiority. We must be for equality under the rule of law. We can only be for freedom under law, not for freedom against the law. We must avoid unreal questions, e.g., is justice more important than order, or vice versa. Order is the sine qua non of the constitutional system.

What about the concept of "righteous civil disobedience?" Everyone should recognize that there can be no justification for violent disobedience under our constitutional system. Is the concept validated, however, when the disobedience is nonviolent? No, this idea has no place in our law society. I will go further and suggest that the criminal law experts consider whether, when there is a specific intent to disobey the law, such disobedience is "civil." This specific state of mind is ordinarily treated as the essence of criminality. There would appear to be an inherent contradiction in the concept of righteous civil disobendience.

Yet, even basing the case on broader grounds, the concept of righteous civil disobedience is incompatible with the American legal system and society, which more than any other provides for orderly change. I cannot accept the right to disobey when the law is not static and effective channels for change are constantly available. Our legislatures have met the changing times and changing needs of our society, and our courts need not apologize for their continued dedication to the liberty of all men. Our law is not only a guardian of freedom, but the affirmative agent for freedom.

If the cause seems just, the idea of civil disobedience may evoke sympathy. But we must be more careful in the sympathetic case, because once we accept a doubtful doctrine we legitimatize it for other causes which we might reject. We dare not substitute pressure for persuasion or squander the carefully nurtured value of self-restraint and jeopardize the system of law.

Let us not restrict our thinking to the area of civil rights. Consider the people who feel they have the right to interfere with the launching of a Polaris submarine; who demand the right to sail into an area restricted for military testing; who think they have the right to publicize their Government's military secrets to the detriment of national security.

A plain fact of human nature is that the organized disobedience of masses stirs up up the primitive instinct. This is equally true of a soccer crowd or a lynch mob, and it has been shown repeatedly and clearly that no man, however well intentioned, can keep group passions in control.

Civil disobedience is an ad hoc device at best, and ad hoc measures in a law society are dangerous. It is at best deplorable and at worst destructive.

Our grievances must be settled in the courts, not in the streets. Muscle is no substitute for morality. We must insist that men use their minds and not their biceps. But while the emphasis must be on the three R's of reason, responsibility, and respect, alternatively we cannot accept self-righteousness, complacency, and noninvolvement. We have an obligation to eliminate discrimination and provide opportunity—full opportunity and meaningful equal justice for all our citizens.

I often think of J. Edgar Hoover as a symbol of the lawyer's obligation. His has been the difficult task of protecting the law society from enemies within and without—the spy and the gangster, the saboteur and the kidnapper, the violators in New York and Mississippi. Let his conduct remind us that the lawyer must also serve in the tough, hard areas where our society rubs against complexity and controversy and where prejudice and emotions are the sharpest. Here lawyers have a primary obligation.

We must insist on the integrity of the means. We must support and protect the laws, whether we agree with the particular statute or not. We cannot settle for lip service to legality. We cannot be "sometime" lawyers. We must renew our understanding and improve our articulation of the basic issue of freedom under law. We must not tire of the challenges to extend freedom abroad and to make it a still greater reality at home.

Financing State and Local Governments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Joseph A. Pechman, the director of economic studies at the Brookings Institution recently delivered an excellent talk to the National Conference of Governors in Minneapolis on new means to increase the financial resources of our State and local governments.

Dr. Pechman who headed up the President's task force last fall exploring the possibilities of the Federal Government sharing part of its revenue with the States has made some remarks which deserve the attention of all Members of the Congress.

FINANCING STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

(By Joseph A. Pechman)

Expenditures of the States and local governments have grown rapidly in recent years, and will continue to grow rapidly in the foreseeable future. These governments are already spending more than $70 billion per year; they will be spending more than $100 billion in 1970. The rise in State-local spending reflects the demands of an expanding population for more and better public services. These demands have strained the fiscal resources of the States and local governments, and they have responded with an unprecedented tax effort. Nevertheless, the need for State-local services will increase faster than State-local revenues.

In the past, State and local needs have been met in part by Federal grants-in-aid for particular purposes. The specific Federal grants have helped to finance programs in which the national interest was particularly strong. But it is now clear that the States and local governments also need help to meet the needs of their citizens in areas of traditional State-local responsibility.

Until recently, the Federal Government has not been able to provide general assistance to the States and local governments, simply because it has had rapidly growing commitments for defense and defense-related programs. But the pressure for larger expenditures for these Federal activities seems to have abated. Unless the Federal Government takes on new responsibilities, it now seems likely that its potential revenues at present tax rates will increase more rapidly than its expenditures. This prospect provides the opportunity for consideration of methods of helping the States and local governments out of their fiscal plight.

There are many possible ways to help the States and local governments. In choosing among them, most people will agree that we should be guided at least by the following three criteria: first, the amount of assistance should be large enough to make possible a significant increase in the level of State-local services; second, the funds should help to equalize the services available to citizens of different States; and, third, the plan should not reduce the progressivity of the total Federal, State, and local tax system.

The most frequent proposals for accomplishing these objectives involve reduction of the Federal tax take. They include: (1) Federal tax reduction to enable the States to raise their own taxes; (2) relinquishment of specific Federal taxes; (3) tax credits for State and local taxes against Federal taxes; and (4) sharing of Federal tax collections with the States. In addition, suggestions are made to expand Federal grant programs of the type now existing or adding new ones. I have examined the four tax alternatives in great detail and have found that, in varying degree, they fail to meet the criteria for an appropriate method of fiscal assistance to the States and local governments, particularly the requirement that the plan should be of substantial assistance to the poorer States.

In this paper, I should like to discuss briefly the role that Federal grants should play in meeting State-local needs. We are already allocating substantial funds through specific programmatic or categorical grants. My view is that these grants should be continued and even expanded. In addition, I believe it is time to explore an entirely new approach in the form of general assistance to the States.

SPECIFIC GRANTS IN AID

Federal assistance to State and local governments is now given almost entirely in the form of grants to support specific types of Government services. Substantial increases were recommended by the President at the beginning of the present legislative session and Congress has been very receptive. Total Federal grants will undoubtedly exceed $13 billion in this fiscal year, or double to amount spent 7 years ago.

The main advantage of the specific grant approach is that the Federal Government regulates the conditions under which the funds are spent. It can choose to support activites in which there is a particularly strong national interest. It can set minimum standards. Through matching provisions and similar devices; it can insure that the federally supported programs receive State support as well. Various formulas can be used to allocate funds to States where the need for the particular program is greatest or where fiscal capacity is least.

The new plan for assistance to primary and secondary school education proposed by the administration is a good example of the specific grant in aid approach. The Federal Government considers it essential to increase the educational opportunities of the children of low-income families. To this end, the administration proposes to distribute Federal funds to school districts (through the State Government) on the basis of the number of schoolchildren in families with incomes below a certain specified level. The funds are to be used to meet the needs of educationally deprived children, on the basis of plans formulated by local school boards and approved by State boards of education. Special incentive grants are provided for school districts that increase their current expenditures by 5 percent or more. Public reports are required both from the school districts and from the State boards so that the commissioner of education can evaluate the effectiveness of the program.

The support of particular activities through specific grants in aid will and should, remain the basic method of providing assistance to the States and local governments. Only in this manner can the Federal Government assure itself that programs in which it

has an interest are carried out by the States and local governments. At the same time, there are many State-local services of national importance that cannot be appropriately dealt with by specific grants. Unnecessary administrative burdens on the Federal Government would be avoided, and the varying preferences of States and localities could be allowed for more fully, if their ability to render these services were strengthened by the adoption of a more general grant system to supplement the specific grant programs.

A GENERAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR THE STATES

The discussion so far suggests that the States and local governments will need assistance from the Federal Government over and above the assistance they will receive in specific grants. If a general assistance program were adopted, it would be desirable to devise some method to assure the States and local governments of a dependable source of funds that will grow with the needs of the growing population. Various methods have been proposed to achieve these objectives. For example, a certain percentage of Federal revenues, or of Federal income tax collections, or of the Federal individual income tax base, might be set aside for this purpose. Each grows more rapidly than national income, and each would provide a satisfactory basis for calculating the amount to be allotted for State-local purposes. The difficult questions are: (1) how should the funds be allocated among the States; and (2) what contraints should the Federal Government impose on the use of the funds.

Method of allocation

Ideally, the amounts to be distributed to the States should be based on their need for public services and their fiscal capacity. Unfortunately, both need and capacity are very difficult to measure.

A State's need depends on its population and age distribution, population density, distribution of income, local costs, and other factors. A State's fiscal capacity also depends on a variety of factors, including population, per capita income, and the value of taxable property and sales. One formula that reflected all these factors would be difficult to construct and highly complex. However, population is probably the simplest and most appropriate measure of the relationship between need and capacity. On the one hand, population is a reasonably good indicator of general need for public services. On the other hand, a per capita allocation would make some allowances for varying capacity: since residents of high-income States pay more Federal taxes per capita than do residents of low-income States, distribution on a per capita basis would redistribute resources from high- to low-income States.

Per capita distribution may not adequately reflect the more urgent need for fiscal assistance by the poorest States, but this deficiency could be recognized by reserving a part of the funds for distribution among States with the lowest per capita income. It is not necessary to allocate more than a small proportion of the funds for this purpose to achieve a substantial redistributional effect. Even if as little as 10 percent of the total were divided among the poorest third of the States (say, in proportion to population weighted by the reciprocal of per capita personal income), the grant to the poorest State would be almost double the amount it would obtain on a straight per capita basis.

It might also be desirable to include a measure of tax effort among the factors determining the share of a particular State. A simple and effective way of allowing for effort would be to weigh the per capita grants by the ratio of State to average tax effort in the country, where tax effort is defined as the ratio of State-local general revenues to personal income. Inclusion of such an effort factor would give the States an incentive to maintain and increase their own tax collections and allay the fears that States with lower than average tax rates were getting a free ride.

Limitations on State uses of the funds

I have already indicated that the most urgent national need is to allocate more of our resources to public programs which are primarily State and local responsibilities. Experience during the last several years indicates that, without central direction or coercion, State governments have actually used most of their scarce financial resources for those urgent needs. They have also allocated increasing amounts through grants-in-aid to local governments for education. (Between 1953 and 1963, 47 percent of the increased expenditures by States went to education—all of it through grants to local governments.) This evidence suggests that, if the States were to receive unencumbered funds from the Federal Government, they would spend them on urgently needed State-local services whether the particular services were stipulated in the legislation or not.

The Federal Government should satisfy itself that the funds would be shared with the local governments in an equitable manner, but this is also much less of a problem than most people might suppose. The extent to which the States delegate responsibilities to, and share revenues with, local governments varies greatly. All States give aid to local units and most give substantial amounts. (In the aggregate, intergovernmental transfers from State to local governments account for more than a third of State general expenditures and nearly 30 percent of local general revenues.) In view of the differences among States in forms of intergovernmental cooperation, it would be difficult to specify that some uniform percentage of the general grant be reserved for local use in all States. The individual States are in a better position to make the allocation in the manner suited to their particular circumstances. Moreover, legislative reapportionment will help assure that the needs of the communities will be recognized by the State legislatures. Several States are already making plans to use existing or new grant-in-aid programs for distribution to the localities of any unencumbered Federal funds that may become available in the future.

On the other hand, it can be argued that it is bad financial management for the Federal Government to give away its funds without exercising a minimum amount of supervision to see that they are employed productively and in the national interest. One method of achieving this objective, and also allowing flexibility for each State to meet the needs it considers most urgent, would be to require the Governors to file statements showing the plan for the use of the funds in detail. As guidance for the development of such plans, the Congress might indicate the general areas which it regarded as most urgent, including the need for making funds available for local government services. To be sure that the plan represented a broad spectrum of opinion in the State, the Governor might be directed to consult with local officials and representatives of citizens organizations before incorporating the plan in his budget. A detailed audited report on the actual use of the funds might also be required, as well as a certification by appropriate State and local officials that all applicable Federal laws, such as the Civil Rights Act, have been complied with in the State and local activities financed by these grants.

CONCLUSION

The States will be unable to meet their growing needs without substantial additional assistance from the Federal Government. Part of this additional assistance will come from specific grant programs which are already enacted or are now being considered by the Congress. But the States will need supplementary assistance in the form of general aid to help them finance other programs of a State-local character.

The States have important functions to perform in our system of government. They have been subject to criticism in the past, in part because of their inability to carry out these functions with the resources available to them. If we expect the States to play their role effectively, we should increase their ability to do a good job. The alternative is to shift their functions to the Federal Government, which is a solution that most people in the United States would rightfully oppose.

The type of general assistance program I have discussed would help revitalize State government in this country. It would provide them with a growing source of revenue from taxes that are much more equitable than those that are now available to them. It would help eliminate the recurrent fiscal crises that have impaired their ability to function effectively. It would help them attract the caliber of people they need in executive, judicial, and legislative capacities. It would provide an additional margin for funds for strengthening their grant programs to local government units. And it would encourage them to solve their own problems rather than to vacate their responsibilities to the Federal Government.

In the light of the inadequacy of their finances, the States have made a remarkably good record in the postwar period. With reapportionment, they will do even better. Improvement of the finances of State government, and through them the local governments, would strengthen our Federal system and, at the same time, increase the welfare of all our citizens.

Federal Controls Grow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, at a time when the administration is racing toward a record budget, a huge deficit, and adding additional burdensome controls on the economy, a very timely editorial in the Palos Regional of August 5, 1965, hits the nail on the head.

The editorial follows:

FEDERAL CONTROLS GROW

A short time ago, Senator HRUSKA, of Nebraska, said: "No longer do we talk about whether Federal agencies can be halted before they get too far into the city hall or the board of education offices. Now the talk is whether or not it is possible even to preserve the city hall or these offices * * * or whether city and school board officials will have to merge their offices with others already in the Federal building."

The Senator's picture is not an exaggerated one. An extensive system of Federal aid to education has come into existence and, if past precedent means anything at all, the future will see a further extension with the inevitable Federal controls that will accompany it. The advocates of the proposed Cabinet-level Department of Urban Affairs apparently look to a future in which this agency will be responsible for dealing with just about every problem known to city dwellers. And Federal grants for such municipal purposes as area redevelopment

have already given the Central Government a dominant interest in and control over purely local matters.

In other words, State and local governments are being steadily submerged and vast Washington bureaucracies are taking over. The money cost is enormous. More important is the price paid through loss of local responsibility, local rights, and local pride and achievement. The great question now is how far this movement, which is steadily destroying the traditional divisions of powers between governing bodies, will be allowed to go.

Importance of the United States Coast Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, it is good that we observe anniversaries to impress upon us some facts that are sometimes either not known, or forgotten. I am now thinking of the 175th anniversary of the Coast Guard which was observed on August 4.

Probably less is known about the important arm of our national defense than for any other. Therefore, I would like to insert in the Appendix, a splendid article from the Baltimore Evening Sun of August 11 by Ernest Imhoff on the Coast Guard and the activities of the Coast Guard yard in Baltimore, which is especially timely in view of the present situation in Vietnam.

The article follows:

THE COAST GUARD'S CHANGING FACE—17 CUTTERS BUILT AT CURTIS BAY NOW PATROL VIETNAM WATERS

(By Ernest Imhoff)

Seventeen eighty-two-foot Coast Guard cutters have been patrolling the waters of Vietnam since May to block Communist infiltration from the sea.

Armed with machineguns and mortars, the speedy, shallow-draft vessels are manned by 250 Coast Guardsmen under the command of the U.S. Military Advisory Committee.

Their presence in Vietnam indicates the breadth of duties of the Nation's oldest seagoing service as it marks its 175th anniversary, still known mainly as the friendly lifesaver-policeman.

All built at the guard's Curtis Bay yard from 1960 to 1962, the sleek cutters also point up the varied role Maryland's Coast Guard family plays in the historic 32,000-man service.

HOST SINCE 1790

The State has been host to the Treasury Department sea-goers since 1790, when two Revenue Marine boats began plying the Chesapeake Bay in search of smugglers.

In this century, Maryland became a full-time civilian partner, most apparent during World War II when 13 new steel vessels were constructed and 470 altered for wartime service.

Tucked away at Arundel Cove, just south of Baltimore, the 66-year-old Curtis Bay yard is the wheelhouse of this activity, the only ship- and boat-building yard in the Coast Guard.

"The Guard," said Capt. Arthur B. Engel, a month in his new job as yard commander, "is still primarily a safety agency trying to stop accidents before they happen.

INCREASES RESPONSIBILITIES

"But Curtis Bay shows the diversity of always increasing responsibilities, besides the familiar search and rescue of civilian boatsmen."

On the 15-acre base just inside Anne Arundel County, 1,446 military and civilian personnel are engaged in marine jobs and some tasks that are purely for landlubbers.

They build 210-foot cutters, such as the *Confidence* and the *Reliance*. They construct 115-foot-long houses for Air Force men in Alaska.

They test the dangerous recoil of rope. They fashion plastic motorboats far tougher than the old conventional ones.

DUTIES ADDED

The variety is symptomatic of a service that has added the Life Saving Service, the Lighthouse Service, the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, the Navy's icebreaking duties and many more from different departments over the years.

Curtis Bay is actually four separate operations with different commands, some reporting to Washington and others to the Coast Guard at Portsmouth, Va.

Captain Engel, who succeeded Capt. Charles E. Columbus, heads the yard. His 1,110 civilians and 115 military men build and repair equipment.

Capt. Roy M. Hutchins, Jr., leads the Baltimore group, the seafarers familiar to luckless boatsmen. These 125 servicemen and others man the search boats, operate the radio center, repair navigation aids, enforce the law, and perform administrative duties.

CAPTAIN OF PORT

Captain Hutchins also is captain of the port of Baltimore. His inspectors watch commercial ships for possible dangerous cargo and for port security.

Three reserve units of more than 200 Baltimore-area residents meet at Curtis Bay.

Two other Curtis Bay operations are the Baltimore Depot, whose 25 men repair buoys, and the 20-man Field Testing and Development Center, the service's only research center.

Capt. E. L. Penso directs the Marine Inspection Division which checks ships. Still another Coast Guard unit is the recruiting office.

WATCH THE NIGHT EYES

Ice-breaking tugs and buoy tenders to clean up the Chesapeake Bay and the canal linking the bay to Delaware Bay also are stationed in Baltimore.

But the major economic impact of Curtis Bay on the greater Baltimore area has been the building and repairing yard.

Capt. Loy W. A. Renshaw and his civilian assistant and veteran yardsman for over 3 decades, Carl A. Hoffman, manage the work.

"We do $15 million worth of work here annually," said Captain Renshaw.

"Of this, salaries total $7,800,000 and with another $2 million in local material and contract work, about $10 million a year goes into the general area."

WHAT THEY ARE GETTING

Captain Renshaw gave a review of what the Coast Guard and other armed services are getting for the money in the current 1966 fiscal year.

Curtis Bay will produce thirty-four 25-foot plastic motor surfboards, eleven 40-foot plastic utility boats, fourteen 44-foot steel motor lifeboats, and three 210-class medium endurance cutters.

The *Confidence*-class cutters, in different stages of construction, are estimated at about $2,500,000 each, plus $1 million for engines and outfitting.

Most of the ships and boats will leave the area when built and join the Coast Guard around the United States, in Greenland, in the Far East, and other locations.

TO BUILD 200 BUOYS

Captain Engel's yard will also build 200 buoys, repair 23 vessels, modernize other craft, build portable structures such as predecessors in Operation Deep Freeze and more.

Although cutters as the *Confidence* and the *Resolute* attract attention to the base, "We are still primarily a boat-building yard," reported Charles Mulligan, one of several veterans of over 30 years.

Mr. Mulligan is production director, plastics and miscellaneous manufacturing.

Captain Engel agrees the yard's "specialty, what the yard is famous for," is the boats under 95-feet long.

Two famous recent items have been the 44-foot steel, "unsinkable" motor lifeboat for coastal rescue work and plastic boats of differing sizes.

The yard's 115 acres, 87 buildings, two drydocks, cranes, and other heavy gear have a total plant value of about $14 million.

IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM

Just as the Coast Guard's modernization program brought the new cutter business to the yard, it also is bringing a 20-year facilities improvement program. A new bulkhead was just installed.

The activity on Arundel Cove these days is far removed from the pastoral scene Lt. John C. Moore witnessed as he moved into the cove in April 1899, on the old side-wheeler *Colfax*.

Lieutenant Moore, a Baltimorean, is credited with choosing the cove for the then Revenue Cutter Service's first boat repair and building base.

The first yard had four buildings: a mill for sawing, shaping, and dressing lumber; a boat shop; a storage shed, and an administration building.

CONSISTED OF 20-MAN FORCE

The 20-man crew of the *Colfax* tied up at the new bulkhead was the entire working force at first. They lived on the ship. Their job was repairing boats and building small lifeboats.

The famous four-masted bark *Chase* began using Arundel Cove as her winter headquarters in the fall of 1900 after being lengthened to train more cadets.

Lieutenant Moore's sailors and those of the *Chase* built a rough two-story building on shore for instruction of cadets who had learned their ropes and theory only on board ships until then.

And thus, say some historians, the Coast Guard Academy began its first real home in Baltimore. It moved in 1910 to New London, Conn.

ACADEMY'S MOTTO

About this time, a Baltimore instructor and later superintendent, Frederic C. Billard, invented the Academy's motto, "Science Conquers the Sea."

Science and technology are still being pursued by the Coast Guard at Curtis Bay under the direction of Comdr. John E. Wesler.

Stretching rope, shifting a 1½-ton pile of grain and testing flares are among the 50 projects underway now at the research facility.

Nylon rope, such as that used at sea, is stretched to test the recoil properties and find safer lines. Sailors have been killed and injured by the incredible backlash from such rope.

WHEAT IN LARGE BIN

The wheat is being shifted in a large bin as part of the Coast Guard's efforts to make cargo transport safer. In rough weather, shifting grain in a hold is a serious hazard.

The yard, reported Commander Wesler, also is developing the monitor circuitry for a new remote system to control six unmanned lighthouses at one time. The first system will be tried in Long Island Sound this fall.

A corollary bit of research is underway to perfect a fog detector for each of the six

beacons, using the "back scattering" of light in fog effect.

The center assisted in the development of the Martin Co.'s SNAP 7-B nuclear generator installed in the Baltimore light and the SNAP 7-A for a Chesapeake Bay bouy.

FLOATABLE PLASTIC LITTER

Still another device used by the Coast Guard elsewhere is a new floatable plastic litter replacing the old baskets for injured persons at sea.

"We're even doing some work on the effect of all the noise in the shipyard on the workers' hearing," the commander added.

Assisting the center in a support role is Captain Engle's yard, guided by the 1945 graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology with a master of science degree in naval engineering and naval architecture.

Captain Engel is a 51-year-old, sandy-haired Coast Guard Academy alumnus "who is glad to be back at Curtis Bay."

He was a design superintendent at the yard from 1953 to 1957. After his term here, he was transferred to Seattle and later was assigned to the Academy in New London.

WORK FORCE STABILIZED

Down considerably from the World War II personnel peak of more than 3,000, the yard has stabilized its working force at about 1,200 now, Captain Engel reported.

"We will continue in our dual role of building and repairing of vessels and boats," he said, adding the buoys, the gongs, the bells, the prefabricated houses and other items made here.

The romantic side of the Coast Guard in Maryland remains the 30- and 40-foot rescue boats that operate from Curtis Bay, Annapolis, Tilghman Island, Piney Point, and Dahlgren, Va., under local command.

Captain Hutchins, whose patrols are run day and night, reports that boat missions are up from 180 in fiscal 1955 to 789 in fiscal 1965.

WORD OF ADVICE

As most Coast Guardsmen, he had a word of advice for weekend sailors.

"Too many of these are overdue cases where boatsmen have not kept others informed properly. We receive a call. We rush men and equipment there, and often there was not really a problem."

While Captain Engel's yard is directly under headquarters in Washington, Captain Hutchins' Baltimore group is in the jurisdiction of the 5th Coast Guard District, Portsmouth, Va.

More on Jet Noise—Part VII—Report on Noise Forum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday evening, July 15, 1965, I was privileged to act as sponsor of a Public Forum on Aircraft Noise Abatement in Lawrence, Long Island. The purpose of this forum was to bring together a panel of Federal and local officials to discuss the problem of jet noise abatement, and what is now being done about it by the Federal Government, with the residents of my congressional district. As Lawrence is my own hometown, I can appreciate only too well the suffering of the thousands of my constituents living within the shadow of Kennedy International Airport.

The residents of the western end of my district including the villages of Lawrence, Inwood, Cedarhurst, Woodmere, North Woodmere, Hewlett, Lynbrook, Valley Stream, East Rockaway, Oceanside, Island Park, Atlantic Beach, and the city of Long Beach are all affected by the ever growing air traffic in and out of Kennedy International Airport with the attending evil of the jet aircraft noise.

As I feel that this problem is not a local one but one that will, with the expansion of jet travel, become increasingly more troublesome throughout our country, I believe the results of this public forum will be of interest to my colleagues in the House.

Both the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the Federal Aviation Agency were represented by speakers at the forum. The guest speakers from NASA were William S. Aiken, Jr., Chief of Operating Problems Branch, Office of Advanced Research and Technology; Harvey H. Hubbard, Chief of Acoustics Branch of Dynamic Loads Division at Langley Research Center; and I. E. Garrick, Chief, Office of Dynamic Loads Division at Langley Research Center. Joseph Wilson, noise abatement officer, eastern district, presented the progress reports from the FAA.

After the presentations, questions from the audience were answered by these officials. The reaction of the audience, after viewing slides and hearing somewhat technical and detailed presentations, reflected an understandable impatience with long-range promises and statements which presented the complexities of the problem and the scientific approach necessary to find a solution, if indeed there is a solution.

The more than 300 persons present demanded relief from the irritating and increasing aircraft noise problem now. They asked for a ban on night flights to and from Kennedy; for diversion of flights to alternate airfields; for a change in runway patterns to shift more flights over ocean flightpaths; for accelerated research activities; for the construction of longer runways over the water and away from residential areas; for the construction of other jet airports located away from residential communities with connecting transportation to Kennedy and New York City by rail or taxi strips, and for any other means, no matter how drastic, to achieve some relief from the effects of residing in the jet noise belt.

Many of these residents lived on Long Island before Kennedy Airport was constructed. They did not plan their settlements with the knowledge of the suffering they would encounter. They are persons who know the agony of jet noise because they feel the effects on their nervous systems. They are persons who know the disruptions to peace and tranquillity as they attempt to read, talk, or perform any of the daily acts related to the enjoyment of their property. They demand relief.

If the Aircraft Noise Forum brought any message to these people, it was the message that the experts in noise abatement do not foresee any immediate relief. The answer may lie in accelerated research, but the answer will not be discovered tomorrow.

My reaction to the forum was one of increased determination to bring back the message to my colleagues that jet noise is a national problem of rapidly increasing importance and that congressional action is necessary now. Tomorrow we will have new jet airports and with the development of smaller jet aircraft, hundreds and perhaps several thousand airports will be seeking to service jet aircraft. The problem of jet noise and the related problems of increased litigation and adverse effects on the Nation's health will be experienced by millions of our citizens.

Mr. Speaker, these problems have been discussed in this Chamber before. By way of reference let me suggest to my colleagues who wish additional information on this problem that they read my previous statements in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 6, page 9363; May 13, A2377; May 20, A2532; May 27, A2718; June 10, A3037; and July 8, A3630.

I have introduced two bills dealing with aircraft noise abatement. H.R. 7981 would authorize NASA to coordinate and supervise research activities to reduce aircraft noise and H.R. 7982 would authorize the FAA to adopt regulations concerning operational techniques to reduce noise and partially finance the cost of implementing these new procedures. Under H.R. 7982 the FAA could reimburse municipalities, airline owners and operators for part of the cost of land acquisition and construction of devices to reduce noise. This legislation, if enacted, would place the Federal Government in the position of sharing the responsibility of alleviating the aircraft noise problem.

Mr. Speaker, the citizens of this Nation cannot enjoy their property without protection from this problem. The public will not be satisfied with our efforts in this field until we have officially recognized aircraft noise as a national problem. Local communities will wage their battle in the courts and will demand from flight control personnel every effort to relieve those who reside near our major airfields.

Local efforts are directed toward the change of flight patterns which have the effect of shifting the noise from our community to a neighboring community. However, like the hands on a clock they return to the point of beginning and the process starts all over again and may go on ad infinitum. In my district local committees have made significant contributions, but deal primarily with the aspects of the problem as they affect operation of the airport which is located in New York City adjacent to Nassau County and particularly the villages which I mentioned above. Airport operations are in the province of FAA.

At the Jet Noise Forum, I said that I would call for a Presidential Commission on Aircraft Noise Abatement. This would be a major step forward in recognizing our responsibility and our determination to put our best minds to work in a concerted effort to solve this perplexing problem. All over resources must be made available to find the solution.

I urge my colleagues to look to the future and plan now for the protection of millions of citizens who will find them-

selves in a position similar to my constituents near Kennedy Airport unless we accept the challenge before us and act now we will lose the battle against jet noise. This is a battle we must not and dare not lose.

An Unforgivable Gamble

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. J. RANDALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, in the August issue of the American Legion magazine, the retiring national commander of that great veterans' organization, Donald E. Johnson, brings his last message to the membership. It is entitled "An Unforgivable Gamble." The statement is filled with commonsense. It is excellently written.

Commander Johnson points out that two events stand out in his year of leadership, now nearing an end. First, the war in Vietnam and, second, the closing of VA hospitals and regional centers. He then quite appropriately hastens to point out that these are not separate and unrelated events.

The purpose of my remarks is to associate myself with the thoughts he expressed in the article and to join with him when he takes the offensive against the superpowerful bookkeepers in the Bureau of the Budget, who have forced upon the Veterans' Administration a reduction in the facilities at the very time we were engaged in the escalation of a war. Remember, this is at a time when it is altogether unpredictable how many new veterans the Vietnam action will produce or how many casualties will be sent home or how many new widows and orphans will be created.

After I listen to these all-knowing bookkeepers in the Budget Bureau state they pretend to have foreknowledge of how few facilities and services will be needed for veterans in the years ahead, my first reaction is one of depression and discouragement which is quickly followed on by a feeling inflamed after awhile to the boiling point in justified wrath and infuriation at such a senseless pronouncement. With all the sincerity I can muster from the bottom of my heart, let me say "Amen," to the words of Commander Johnson when he points out that if these bureaucrats remain deaf or oblivious to sanity and continue the process of dismantling VA hospitals and regional offices they may well be on the way to the making of a national tragedy or even a national scandal, such as followed World War I.

Mr. Speaker, I am certain that if the membership of the House could be given a chance to express themselves on the clear cut issue of VA closings made at the very moment we are sending more men into combat just about everyone would join with Commander Johnson in denouncing the action as a dangerous, reckless, and unforgiveable gamble.

The text of Comdr. Donald E. Johnson's message follows:

AN UNFORGIVABLE GAMBLE

(By National Commander Donald E. Johnson)

This is my last message on this page of your national magazine. In looking back over the year for a few events—among many—that are peculiar to the particular year, and at the same time demand sober thought and clear action in the future, two things stand out.

They are: First, the war in Vietnam, and the attitudes that we as citizens should take toward the burden borne by our Government and our Armed Forces there; and, second, the closing down of U.S. Veterans' Administration hospitals and homes and the withdrawal of Veterans' Administration services to veterans.

These are not separate things. The American Legion supports the position of our Government in Vietnam, and supports the sacrifices of our men who fight on the battleground of freedom. We call on all citizens to support them. Is it in support of them that our facilities to care for veterans are being cut back by super-powerful bookkeepers in Washington? We do not see how a government which is on the one hand engaged in escalation of a righteous war can at the same time permanently dismantle machinery at home to care for the millions of veterans of earlier wars and the unpredictable numbers of new veterans being created in Vietnam.

We do not know how many veterans Vietnam will produce, or how many casualties will be sent home, or how many new widows and orphans will be created there who will be entitled by law to VA care or services. It is a growing number, not a shrinking number. In the middle of June Secretary of State Dean Rusk warned us to expect the casualty list to accelerate. He could not say to what figure it would grow, or how long the conflict would last, or what numbers of men we might eventually send there. But every one of them, and their families, will be potential VA beneficiaries.

Yet as we continue to produce new veterans and new casualties and new widows and orphans in increasing numbers, in a commitment that will stretch for an indefinite period of time, we do know what is happening to the facilities to care for them when they are shipped home. By an act of deliberation, initiated by the Budget Bureau, forced on the VA, and largely opposed in Congress, those facilities are being reduced.

It was a hollow victory when the ordered closing of 31 VA installations of last January was cut approximately in half in June, after the President took the matter out of the hands of the VA and the Budget Bureau and put it before a special committee. Fifteen of the installations were saved. But 16 were lost.

This comes on top of steady attrition over many years, an attrition which saw VA contact offices reduced from 215 in June 1960 to 10 today, an attrition which the Budget Bureau would continue into the future without reversal despite what we are asking a new generation of servicemen to do.

It is a sort of Alice-in-Wonderland world for the American Legion today. We listen first to the State and Defense Departments discuss the grim and indefinite growth of casualties and the need for upping the draft calls. We listen then to the bookkeepers pretending to exact knowledge of how much less facilities and services we will need for veterans.

If the voice of sanity is not heard in this situation we have the makings of a national tragedy if not a national scandal in the precise pattern that followed World War I. While Secretary Rusk warns of growing casualties, the Budget Bureau-prompted VA in dismantling the VA hospitals at Rutland Heights, Mass.; Dwight, Ill.; McKinney, Tex.; Brecksville, Ohio; Fort Bayard, N. Mex. and Sunmount, N.Y. It is closing soldiers homes at Thomasville, Ga. and Clinton, Iowa. It is closing regional offices in Albany and Syracuse, N.Y.; Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Cincinnati, Ohio; Kansas City, Mo.; Shreveport, La.; Lubbock and San Antonio, Tex.

As if this were not a most reckless gamble in the face of the Vietnam war, a deal has been worked out among bureaus to make room for Public Health Service patients in the remaining VA hospitals, as more than half the Public Health Service general hospitals are ordered closed. The Budget Bureau was unimpressed by a Comptroller General's opinion that the plan cannot legally be implemented. The extraordinary powers of the Budget Bureau are discussed in a full-length article in this magazine. It should be apparent to any literate American that this is no time for the Veterans' Administration to cut back its facilities, nor to accept Public Health Service patients in a veterans' hospital system that already has a waiting list of some 17,000 eligible veterans, while the flames of war expand in Vietnam and smoulder elsewhere in the world. I join with the House Committee on Government Operations in challenging both the legality and wisdom of the Public Health Service arrangement. I have called upon the President of the United States to curb the powers of the Budget Bureau, and the National Executive Committee of the American Legion has done the same in official resolution. I denounce the closing of VA facilities, while we are sending men into combat abroad, as an unforgivable gamble.

These issues will continue to be paramount beyond my tenure of office at the head of the American Legion. I urge your strong support of my successor in office as the American Legion continues in the difficult position of wholeheartedly defending our Government against its numerous critics for its moral fight for freedom in Vietnam, while having to denounce that same Government for gambling with its services to our men in Vietnam when they shall have become veterans—veterans in numbers unknown today and unknowable.

New Careeer for Oren Harris

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague OREN HARRIS is one of the most admired, loved and respected Members in the history of the Congress. The following editorial tribute to our friend appeared in the Washington Evening Star on Monday, August 9:

NEW CAREER FOR REPRESENTATIVE HARRIS

The Presidential nomination of Representative OREN HARRIS for a Federal judgeship will remove from Washington a veteran lawmaker who, for all his easygoing southern manner, has served as a remarkably able gadfly in several important investigations.

The chairman of the parent House Commerce Committee, Mr. HARRIS also has helped enhance his national image as chairman of a smaller unit once known by the somewhat curious title of the Special Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight.

Mr. HARRIS has brought discomfort and reform to the Nation's disc jockeys, defining the word "payola" for future dictionaries. Under his owlish stare, the rating services

wriggled uncomfortably and the broadcasting industry promised better self-regulation.

The Government regulatory agencies, often accused of promoting the industries they are supposed to control, felt the Harris treatment more than once. After his baleful attention to their outside acivities, both John C. Doerfer and the late Richard A. Mack resigned from the Federal Communications Commission.

Posterity probably will remember Mr. HARRIS best, however, for the Goldfine case and that dramatic confrontation with Sherman Adams, chief White House assistant, which ultimately led to Mr. Adams' resignation too.

The result of these and other revelations was a document known as Public Law 87-849, enacted in 1962, spelling out a broad new code of ethics for Federal employees covering conflict of interest. As one who helped set the stage for this development, Mr. HARRIS served the national conscience well.

"The Passion of America"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, August 6, 1965, was a day that ranks as one of the most significant in our national history. The enactment of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was, as the President of the United States stated in his moving address at the Capitol, "a triumph for freedom as huge as any victory that has ever been won on any battlefield."

It is appropriate at this time to bring to the attention of our colleagues the text of "The Passion of America" by Dr. Ely E. Pilchik, Rabbi of Temple B'nai Jeshurun, South Orange, N.J., that was presented for the first time on May 7, 1965. The music was by Dr. Pilchik and Mr. Norman Summers who directed the performance at the temple. Participating were the senior choir of the Munn Avenue Presbyterian Church, the Fine Arts Choral Society A.M.E. conference chorus, the North Jersey Philharmonic Glee Club, the Adult Choral Society of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, and the temple choir.

It was a most impressive and memorable experience for the audience privileged to hear these fine artists. No one could fail to be inspired by this expression of the American spirit. I am pleased to insert at this point in the RECORD the text of "The Passion of America" for the edification of the Congress:

"THE PASSION OF AMERICA"

Chorus: Proclaim. Proclaim. Proclaim.

Baritone: Proclaim liberty throughout the land. Liberty for all who live throughout the land.

Chorus: Proclaim. Proclaim. Proclaim.

Soprano: Proclaim liberty throughout the land. Proclaim liberty for those who have and those who lack—

Chorus: Proclaim. Proclaim. Proclaim.

Alto: Proclaim liberty throughout the land. Proclaim liberty for those who have and those who lack; for those skin white and those skin black; for all who live throughout the land.

Chorus: Proclaim. Proclaim. Proclaim.

Narrator: From out eternity's hall, this is divinity's call, this is equality's call, to all humanity's tall and all humanity's small. To all humanity—all. Proclaim. Proclaim. Proclaim.

Bariton: That's written in the sacred book, the sacred Hebrew book; that's written on the bell, the independence bell.

Narrator: "Proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

Chorus: Proclaim. Proclaim. Proclaim.

Alto: A proclamation of liberation, a declaration of separation, from monarchy, from tyranny, from misery, in dignity.

Chorus: Proclaim. Proclaim. Proclaim.

Narrator: Now listen friends: that proclamation didn't come with ease, that declaration was no simple breeze. Liberty wasn't handed us on a silver platter. Freedom wasn't a matter of just a lot of chatter. That declaration took a lot of perspiration. By glory—it took a full blown revolution.

Baritone: All men are created equal. Did you hear that? Do you fear that? Read that. Heed that. Forget that not. Regret that not.

Soprano: All men are created equal. Not just some men. Not just white men. Not just rich men. Not just strong men. All men are created equal.

Narrator: It took a full-blown revolution to make known our resolution that all men are created equal. Old Tom Jefferson wrote that, and this bit more: "They are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." You can't touch those rights.

Tenor: You can't touch our rights. You best stop those slights. You best stop those frights. You can't touch those rights.

Quartet: All men are created equal. Our Creator said equal. Our Creator meant equal. Our Creator said equal.

Narrator: Old Tom Jefferson wrote: "certain unalienable rights," and he specified: "that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Soprano: Proclaim. Proclaim. Proclaim.

Narrator: Yes, sir. We fought that Revolution, we sought this institution—of a government governing by the consent, by the consent of the governed.

Trio: We won that Revolution. We wrote this Constitution. We wrought free institutions.

Narrator: "To establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty—."

Quartet: Proclaim liberty throughout the land.

Narrator: "And secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." Secure liberty for us and our kids. So we got us a government of checks and balances. We got a President, a Congress, and courts. We got us the works and it worked. We got us a system of federated States. Then we started to amend.

Baritone: We got a Bill of Rights. We lit up freedom's lights, we lifted all men's sights. We got a Bill of Rights. We got the right to pray. Each one in his own way.

Alto: We got the right to speak. Be we strong or weak. We got the right of press, the right to curse or bless. We got the right to meet. To give each one a seat—that freedom be complete. We got a Bill of Rights.

Chorus: We got the right to pray. Each one in his own way. We got the right to speak. Be we strong or weak. We got the right of press, the right to curse or bless. We got the right to meet. To give each one a seat that freedom be complete.

Soprano: That free men may endure, we made our homes secure. Our personal papers sure, safe from search, seizure.

Baritone: We got a Bill of Rights. We lifted all men's sights. By jurymen be tried, by due process applied. We counsel to defend. On law do we depend.

Chorus: We got a Bill of Rights.

Narrator: Yes; we got a Bill of Rights, and folks came flocking to our heights. We settled this good land. Some went north and some went south. Some managed vast cotton plantations and some built big industrial installations. The South insisted on its rights. The North insisted on its rights. And there was quibbling and quarreling and finally a clash.

Quartet: Four sad years. Four bad years. For men in blue. For men in gray. For men in every way.

Chorus: Brother pursuing brother. One brother killing another. You men in gray—stop, stop, I say.

Soprano: So pleaded our great President, with every southern resident. Preserve this Nation. Stop mutilation. Halt this separation. Save this Nation. So pleaded our great President, with every southern resident.

Narrator: Ah, but they heeded not old Abe Lincoln. The blood of rage flooded their ears. Of pruning hooks they fashioned spears. On both sides crackled fiery fears. The land was rocked by thunder. The Nation was torn asunder. "We must have slaves," said the South. "Better graves than slaves," said the North.

Quartet: Four sad years. Four bad years. For men in blue. For men in gray. For men in every way.

Chorus: Brother pursuing brother. One brother killing another.

Tenor: Striving to save the Nation, Lincoln issued a Proclamation: Let there be Emancipation.

Narrator: "All persons held as slaves, within any State—shall be then, thenceforward and forever free—and the Executive of the United States—will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons."

Baritone: All men are created equal. Did you hear that? Do you fear that? Read that. Heed that. Forget that not. Regret that not.

Soprano: All men are created equal. Not just some men. Not just white men. Not just rich men. Not just strong men. All men are created equal.

Chorus: Proclaim liberty throughout the land, etc.

Alto: With malice toward none. With charity toward all. The woe of war is done. The healing has begun.

Soprano: With malice toward none. The healing has begun. With firmness in the right. As God shows us the right.

Duet: To bind the Nation's wounds. The widows', orphans' wounds. And seek a lasting peace. A just and lasting peace. The woe of war is done. The healing has begun. With malice toward none.

Baritone: O captain, my captain. Rise up and hear the bells. Rise up. For you the flag is flung.

Soprano: For you the bugle trills.

Chorus: O captain, my captain.

Baritone: My captain doesn't answer. His lips are pale and blue.

Chorus: O captain, my captain.

Baritone: My father does not feel my arm. He has no pulse or will.

Quartet: O captain, my captain.

Baritone: Exalt o shores and ring o bells. But I with mournful tread, walk the deck my captain lies. Fallen cold and dead.

Quartet: O captain, my captain. With malice toward none. The healing has begun. O captain, my captain. Fallen cold and dead.

Narrator: So mourned the sweet singer who saluted the world with freedom. Walt Whitman, after the assassin's bullet took that noblest life.

Alto: This dust was once a man, gentle, plain, just and resolute, under whose cautious hand—

Chorus: O captain, my captain.

Alto: Against the foulest crime in history, known in any land or age, was saved the Union of these States.

Quartet: O captain, my captain. With malice toward none. The healing has begun. My captain lies cold and dead.

Alto: O captain, my captain.

Narrator: A President, however great, may fall. But the Nation stands up to fulfill its sacred call. In July 1868, an amendment was added to the Bill of Rights, to our Constitution, the 14th.

Chorus: No State shall deny equal protection. No State shall defy our Constitution. No State shall dare fly in the face of the whole Nation. No State shall abridge any privilege of life, liberty, or property. No State shall abridge any immunity of any citizen in the community. No State shall deny, no State shall defy, no State shall dare fly in the face of the whole Nation. Lest freedom be divorced, let the law be enforced.

Narrator: Ah, but the law of the land was enforced. And frequently the freedom of citizens was divorced. There were times when men were deprived of rights. There were times when out went freedom's lights. Then the true voice of America was heard again.

Baritone: All men are created equal. Did you hear that? Do you fear that? Read that. Heed that. Forget that not. Regret that not.

Soprano: All men are created equal. Not just some men. Not just white men. Not just rich men. Not just strong men. All men are created equal.

Baritone: Hear ye. Hear ye. 'Tis May 17, fifty-four. 'Tis May 17, hear the score. Men of every sort, hear the Supreme Court.

Alto: They say it was unanimous. All nine, it was unanimous.

Chorus: Hear ye. Hear ye. All men are created equal. Equal means equal, not separate but equal. Hear this decision. No more division. Equal means equal. School means school. Men are created equal. Children created equal. Educated equal. Not separated equal, but educated equal. Hear ye. Hear ye. Men of every sort. Hear the Supreme Court. Men are created equal. Children created equal. Educated equal. No segregation. No fear of intimidation. No fear of discrimination. No separation. No segregation. All men are created equal. Children created equal. Educated equal. Cultivated equal. Equal opportunity. For the whole community. Men are created equal. Equal means equal. Hear ye. Hear ye. Hear ye.

Narrator: Thus slowly, painfully, the doors of the schools began opening. American vision brought color-blindness to education. The Court spoke. The hate broke. Teachers saw students. Not white students. Not black students. Teachers saw students. American students. And then in 1964—

Chorus:
They passed the Civil-Rights Bill
They crushed the civil-wrongs will
We got a Bill of Rights
We got a Bill of Rights
They passed the Civil-Rights Bill
They hushed the voice of hate still
All men are created equal
All men shall be rated equal
In eating, in sleeping, in seating, in reaping, in praying, in being, in seeing, in voting, in driving, in striving, emoting.
We got a Bill of Rights
We got a Bill of Rights
All men are created equal
All men shall be rated equal
This is the law of the land.
Due process we demand—
The Supreme Court alined.
The President designed
The Congress defined
The President signed
The law of the land
The law we demand.

Quartet:
All men be rated equal
All men created equal
We passed the Civil-Rights Bill

Alto: Proclaim. Proclaim. Proclaim.

Soprano: Proclaim. Proclaim. Proclaim.

Chorus: Proclaim. Proclaim. Proclaim.

Quartet:
Proclaim liberty throughout the land.
For those who have and those who lack
For those skin white and those skin black
That's written in the Sacred Book
The Sacred Hebrew Book.
That's written on the bell
The Independence Bell.

Chorus:
Proclaim liberty throughout the land.
Proclaim. Proclaim. Proclaim.

Ivory Coast Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, August 7, 1965, marked the fifth anniversary of independence of the thriving Republic of Ivory Coast. The richest and potentially most economically self-sufficient state in West Africa, Ivory Coast is bounded by Upper Volta, Mali, Ghana, Liberia, and Guinea. Permit me to suggest reasons why this emerging new nation has attracted the attention and admiration of the world.

Under the leadership of His Excellency, President Félix Houphouet-Boigny, the Ivorians are building a prospering nation. The foundation of the economic structure was established by the French long before independence. French colonial policy was enlightened in that it urged education for all members of the French community and further trained many of the men who are now leaders in the Republic of Ivory Coast. President Houphouet-Boigny served as an Ivory Coast Deputy in the French National Assembly from 1946–59, and during this period was several times Minister of State and Vice President of the Cabinet. In keeping with this policy of complete political integration, the present President of the French Senate, Mr. Gaston Monnerville, who represents the French province of Lot, is a Negro. Mr. Monnerville, a native of French Guiana, would succeed to the Presidency of France in the event of the death or resignation of President de Gaulle.

French influence is still seen in Ivory Coast in the fact that the trebling of Ivory Coast exports has been achieved largely through French membership in the Common Market, one of its largest customers. The number of Frenchmen in Ivory Coast has more than doubled since independence. On the whole the European population is well-received although there are some who feel that "Africanization" is too slow in coming. President Houphouet-Boigny has followed a policy of giving jobs to qualified persons whether they are African or French. He has stated that he is unwilling to appoint persons simply on the basis of nationality. His high professional standards have proved beneficial. Ivory Coast has as its Minister of Finance a man considered to be the best economic official on the entire African continent. Mr. Raphael Seller, a Frenchman from Martinique, has based the economic plan of the Ivory Coast on a survey of long-term budget needs, tribal relationships, village markets, and consumption patterns. This practical approach to development has kept the country from squandering its funds on prestigious and often unnecessary projects such as steel mills and international airlines. Instead, it has set out to develop the resources it has. In this manner, the Ivory Coast was able to detect a market gap in palm-oil production, and has obtained aid funds from the European Economic Commission to build a government operated palm-oil plantation. Eventually this plantation will be turned into an employee-owned cooperative.

The Ivory Coast is not only making great domestic strides but it is taking a position of African and world leadership. It is now a member of the United Nations Security Council and is thus one of the few African nations ever to have held this honor. President Houphouet-Boigny was one of the founders of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA), the leading interterritorial political party in French West Africa. This organization established constituency units in all the French West African Territories except Mauritania. His importance in the African political spectrum stems not only from the economic importance of the Ivory Coast but also from his still close association with those who served under him in the RDA. He has maintained that the only true road to African solidarity is through step-by-step economic and political cooperation with recognition of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of sister African states.

President Houphouet-Boigny and his charming wife came to the United States on a state visit in May 1962. The ties between the United States and the Ivory Coast have always been close, especially since Ivory Coast, unlike most African nations, follows an economic policy of "free enterprise." President Houphouet-Boigny says that he chose the path of capitalism because it is the "path which in my mind achieved results." I am happy to salute His Excellency, President Houphouet-Boigny and His Excellency, the Ambassador of the Republic of Ivory Coast to the United States, Konan Bedie, on the fifth anniversary of Ivoirian Independence.

A very informative article on the Ivory Coast appeared in the August 9, 1965 issue of Newsweek. I would like to have this article inserted into the RECORD as it reflects the great progress achieved by the people of the Ivory Coast after only 5 years of independence.

The article follows:

ON THE THRESHOLD OF TAKEOFF

(By Edward Behr)

A young African diplomat with strong Marxist tendencies, who is stationed in Abidjan, the capital of the Ivory Coast, commented recently: "A baffling place, the Ivory Coast. Marxists go away from here very disappointed. The Ivoirians don't seem to give a damn for socialism or for revolution."

The same can be said for Nigeria, 500 miles farther along the coast. Yet these two na-

tions stand out above all others in Black Africa as the ones where the most economic progress is being made. The Ivory Coast, a former French colony, is the only Black African country with a healthy budget surplus at the end of each year. Its gross national product has increased 10 percent annually since 1960, and its exports and investments are soaring. Nigeria, a former British colony, is attracting industry at a supercharged rate (1,000 U.S. firms alone in 5 years) and expects to become one of Africa's largest oil exporters in a few years. Both countries are on the threshold of an "economic takeoff"—the point at which they can finance their long-range economic growth out of their own income.

Much of the Ivory Coast is dense steamy jungle in which more than 60 different tribes live. Considering the vast variety of people who make up his country, President Félix Houphouet-Boigny, himself a member of the Baoulé tribe, declares that "The Ivoirian nation doesn't yet exist. France left the Ivory Coast a mass of tribes unaware of each other's existence. We are only gradually breaking down tribal barriers."

Despite his harsh judgment, however, the Ivory Coast started off with many genuine advantages, some natural, some contributed by the French. And to its credit it is making the most of all of them. It had an extremely large fertile land area, not too many mouths to feed (at last count, 3.8 million), a good road system, and a well-developed harbor in Abidjan, the capital. Even before independence day in 1960, the Ivory Coast produced great quantities of coffee, cocoa, and bananas. Today it has expanded to become the largest coffee producer in Africa and third largest in the world, and it is the world's fifth cocoa producer. It exports more timber and wood pulp than any other African nation, and is well on its way to becoming a major pineapple grower. Ivory Coast exports have tripled (to $298 million) in 10 years—thanks largely to the preference it gets in selling to the Common Market through its French ties.

The prosperity is most noticeable, of course, in the capital city. With a climate kept always pleasant by refreshing gulf breezes, Abidjan is a model town studded with elegant buildings and modern housing developments, laced with superb roads and cloverleaf interchanges and ringed by one of the most modern harbors in Africa.

Because of the enormous amount of economic activity and a shortage of workers, the Ivory Coast is a magnet to Africans in surrounding countries, and the eminently practical Houphouet-Boigny welcomes them. "I don't have the money to waste watching over 1,500 miles of frontier," he says. "There's no need, our frontiers are always open." As a result, one out of every four residents is non-Ivoirian and later this year Upper Volta, Dahomey, and the Ivory Coast will formally announce a system of dual nationality for all three nations.

FRENCH INFLUENCE

The country also has 30,000 resident Frenchmen, more than twice the number there before independence, but not everyone welcomes them as much as the President. Some of the young Ivorians, annoyed at the slow pace of "Africanization," complain that all the good jobs in the country go to Frenchmen, and they have some basis for their criticism. Although most of Houphouet-Boigny's ministers are Ivorians, the key portfolio of finance is held by a Frenchman from Martinique, Raphael Saller, considered by many to be the best economic official on the continent. In addition, the French have an all-embracing hold on positions in commerce and industry. Houphouet-Boigny insists that this does not stem from any deliberate discrimination. "The question I ask myself before appointing anyone is: could he hold down a job in, say, France? When a man is competent to hold down a key job, he gets a key job. We are honest enough to recognize that 'Africanization on the cheap' is an unmitigated evil."

Two-thirds of the population live in tiny jungle villages and here it is that progress is slowest—and the most urgently needed. "We have got to succeed." declared a French agricultural engineer who is trying to teach villagers how to improve farm productivity. "The whole village will make up its mind on the basis of what happens this year to the fields we've selected."

MAGICAL POWERS

At another village a tribesman came up to a French adviser and demanded "the medicine you promised us." The medicine they wanted turned out to be fertilizer. And in the minds of the tribesmen the fact that it makes crops grow bigger can only be attributed to magical powers. "For the time being," the Frenchman confided, "we're going along with the magical interpretation—it actually helps."

An all-pervading belief in magic is one of the realities of life in the Ivory Coast. Whatever formal religion they may have adopted (mostly Roman Catholic or Moslem), the vast majority of Ivorians still place strong faith in fetishes. Houphouet-Boigny himself regularly consults with prominent witch doctors and has a reputation as a benevolent sorcerer. He does nothing to disabuse anyone of this conception and makes frank use of it to enhance his hold on the nation. "Africa is animist," he maintains. "We have no right to be ashamed of our animism. It is the basis of our lives."

Beyond that, however, Houphouet-Boigny is firmly committed to a rational approach to government. As President, he rules a strong central bureaucracy (some call it a dictatorship) modeled on the traditional French prefect and subprefect system. This organization gives him a finger in almost every pie.

SURVEY TEAMS

Under Houphouet-Boigny, who follows the guidance of Finance Minister Saller, the Ivory Coast has become a planner's paradise. Teams of Frenchmen and Ivorians survey long-term domestic budget needs, tribal relationships, village markets, and consumption patterns—something that has never been done on such a scale anywhere in Africa. "The time will soon come," said a French anthropologist, "when we will know far more about life in a remote Ivory Coast jungle village than we do about a French village."

This practical approach has kept the Ivory Coast from squandering its development funds on prestigious and totally unnecessary projects such as steel mills and international airlines, as so many other new nations have done. Instead, it has set out to develop on the foundation of the resources it has at hand. Saller's Finance Ministry, for example, proved by a survey of world markets that there was room for more palm-oil production. Armed with these facts, Saller had little trouble obtaining aid funds from the European Economic Commission to build a government-operated palm-oil plantation. Some 8,000 African families will staff it, and plans call for it to eventually be turned into an employee-owned cooperative. This same sort of careful planning will almost certainly bring off the Ivory Coast Government's most ambitious aid request to date—a $70 million World Bank loan to build a dam and turn Bouaké, the country's second-largest town, into an industrial center.

Houphouet-Boigny's personal ideology is a pragmatic mixture of liberal (though not laissez-faire) democracy and a firm conviction in free enterprise. "Speaking personally, I say that socialism * * * has not yet proved its worth. On my visits to America I discovered that the old Marxist dictum, 'From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs' was probably more in force in America, that holy of holies of capitalism, than in any other country in the world. When the time came for the Ivory Coast to choose a path of development, I chose the path which in my mind achieved results."

New Insights by Sevareid and Robb on the Merits of President Johnson's Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, in this era of general confusion about U.S. foreign policy in the confrontation with the war-making machinery of international communism, the refreshing breeze of political reality is always a welcome relief. Many Americans have been disturbed, and rightly so, about so-called public opinion coming out of many sectors of free Europe misrepresenting, when not attacking, the purposes of U.S. foreign policy in this time of world crisis. The specious reasons behind these attacks are exposed in two refreshing columns which, coincidently, appeared on the same day in our free press.

Mr. Speaker, I refer to the thoughtful column of Eric Sevareid, written from London, England, with the perspective of the European scene which appeared in the Washington Star yesterday, and the equally thoughtful column of Inez Robb written from the perspective of the Washington scene which appeared in the Washington News on the same day. A reading of these two columns will provide the reader with the answers to the many questions that have arisen with regard to our policy in Vietnam and our policy in the Dominican Republic.

Under leave granted, I insert these two articles in the RECORD:

BUILT-IN HANDICAPS TO U.S. CASE

(By Eric Sevareid)

LONDON.—Shortly before Adlai Stevenson died he was distressed to receive a letter from an old friend, an American writer living abroad, who bitterly denounced U.S. foreign policy as aggressive and said, in effect, that she was ashamed of her country. Every other week letters appear in European newspapers from American expatriates crying "mea culpa" in similar tones of anger and abasement.

The explanation of this phenomenon is not hard to find; these Americans, who probably suffered from a cultural inferiority complex vis-a-vis Europe to begin with, have lived long enough abroad to absorb the European intellectual's negativism about the United States and have completely lost the capacity to see these awful world problems as the U.S. Government must see them.

They have lost sight of the facts that no effective international peacekeeping or freedom-preserving authority exists, that the United States alone has real power to resist and gets extremely little help even from its allies. Their unspoken assumption seems to be that if only the United States remained inert, these severe crises in Asia, Africa, and Latin America would solve themselves to no lasting damage to free peoples.

What requires some thinking about is why this European negativism toward the United States, so contagious among expatriates, exists in the strength it now has. If it were the result of honest, reasoned differences of opinion over foreign policy, one could not suspect it or quarrel with it, though one could disagree with it. But only in part is this the cause. It is emotional, visceral, and has become an automatic reflex among all manner of Europeans with education or pretenses to education. Almost no matter what the United States does in the world they oppose, though very few of them, Communists and true-believing Gaullists excepted, offer alternative courses.

The element of unconscious jealousy felt by Europeans who too suddenly have lost power and influence in the world is too obvious to belabor. The contempt for any form of Americana is, in large measure, a self-serving emotion; the person who derides feels a bit better about himself and his own society. But one has to look deeper and to remember, first off, that for years now the criticism has flowed chiefly in our direction, not in the direction of the Communist powers, the true imperialists, the true international law breakers and vulgarians.

Why should so many Europeans, who, at bottom, share the same concepts of life in freedom that America holds, direct their daily attacks, privately and publicly, only in our direction?

The answer is so simple that everyone seems to have lost sight of it. It is because Americans will listen to criticism and advice while the Russians, Chinese, North Vietnamese and Cubans will not.

Years of this have created a kind of habit of mind in Europe. A theme music about U.S. policy and the American society has been written and everybody recognizes it and feels at home with it. Variations on the theme are not welcomed because they demand special attention and that requires effort, i.e., the meaning of the civil rights movement is that American Negroes live in hellish conditions, not that the Great Society is demanding an end to third-class status for the Negro; the point about the Dominician Republic affair was not the danger of Communist enslavement but reckless American power-lust; the rise in American crime is entirely believable, but no one wants to hear about the immense rise in popular culture. So it goes.

There are further complications. The Communist countries are not really criticized partly because they are not really reported, and cannot be. The European press shows pictures of South Vietnamese soldiers beating up Vietcong prisoners. They never show the Vietcong engaging in the assassination of village leaders—about 20 a week by military intelligence estimates—because there are no such pictures. Results: speeches in the British House of Lords about the cruelty in South Vietnam.

One or two British television programs, reaching many millions every week, have exhibited such consistent bias that some U.S. officials have made complaints, severe rows have broken out in TV's inner circles and even Britain's security people have been concerned.

None of this is to suggest that the British people are fundamentally or decisively anti-American; they will stand with us in any final test. It is to suggest that the American case encounters severe handicaps unrelated to any inherent deficiencies in the case.

THEY SOON FORGET

(By Ines Robb)

In the Western World, a generation is going to the polls that thinks of Munich—if it thinks of Munich at all—as just another German city where the beer and the opera are first rate.

The Munich of 1938, the Munich of my generation, is something writ in water in a history book, vague and no more real than Xenophon's "Anabasis."

Indeed, even for my generation the inglorious shame and immorality of Munich has begun to dim. But that Munich recently came to bitter life for an hour on the home screen in a TV documentary, "Prelude to World War II."

This superb program, pieced together from newsreels taken at the time, spelled out in detail the story of the Munich surrender and pact. In chapter and verse, it recalled the abject submission of England and France to Adolf Hitler's every demand for the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia.

From the moment Mr. Chamberlain came, umbrella in hand, to Berchtesgaden and then Bad Godesberg and finally Munich, Hitler knew no one would lift a finger to stop him.

Now, memory is one of mankind's handiest conveniences. It is long when it wants to be and woefully short when it is expedient. That seemed painfully obvious when I came across a full-page advertisement in the New York Times headed "British Artists' Protest."

What these artists are protesting is American involvement in Vietnam and "a foreign policy grown more nakedly inhuman with each passing day," despite persistent efforts of a U.S. President to arrange "unconditional negotiations," looking toward peace, with Hanoi.

Most of the 36 British artists who paid for and signed the manifesto are old enough to remember Munich. I wonder if they protested the murder of Czechoslovakia by their Government in 1938? I also wonder if they paid for and signed a full-page advertisement in any Hanoi paper, chiding Hanoi for its refusal to talk peace.

Surely such signers of the advertisement as Sir Alec Guinness, J. B. Priestley, Dame Sybil Thorndike, Leonard Woolf, Benjamin Britten, E. M. Forster, Doris Lessing, Paul Schofield, Graham Sutherland, C. Day Lewis, and Iris Murdock have vivid memories of Mr. Chamberlain, Munich and appeasement, and what that combination cost the world.

The same can be said for members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which has just solicited me for a contribution for an advertisement denouncing the American presence in Vietnam.

This proposed ad would demand "a cease-fire for all parties," toward which the United States continues to work.

If these women are interested in placing such a proposal in the papers of North Vietnam, I might be interested.

CBS Special Report—Vietnam Perspective: "The Decisions"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on Monday evening, August 9, 1965, millions of Americans were able to see and hear our distinguished Secretary of State, Dean Rusk and equally distinguished Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, on a CBS Special Report "Vietnam Perspective: The Decisions."

The public service which CBS contributed has made many Americans more aware of the reasons for our Nation's commitments and a better understanding of why we are in southeast Asia, the policy which we are pursuing in Vietnam, and the efforts which we are exerting to secure peace in that corner of the globe.

No legislative or national issue has caused as much comment in my congressional district or resulted in as many letters from my constituents as our policy in South Vietnam. The questions of whether we have had sufficient debate on United States foreign policy or whether we have truly made every effort to achieve peace in Vietnam have been asked by constituents to their Senators and Representatives time and time again. These questions have been answered in my letters to constituents and in my reports from Washington. In addition to my own views on the subject, I have distributed to my constituents other materials such as the State Department's white paper and the publication entitled "The Third Face of War."

In this latest presentation to the public via national television, the President has made it clear that he wants the American people to know the facts so that their judgment concerning our policy in Vietnam can be based upon the best available information and by hearing the opinions of those who have the facts in hand.

In the August 11, 1965, edition of Newsday, a daily newspaper published in Nassau County, Long Island, the following editorial on the Vietnam special report appeared:

A CASE WELL STATED

Secretaries Rusk and McNamara, on TV the night before last (and President Johnson, talking to the press Monday) made a good, a solid and a convincing case for the American presence in Vietnam. The two Secretaries said little that was new, but they said it so well as to deserve a rousing hand. They gave cogent, lucid responses to the questions that trouble some Americans. It was a first-class presentation.

I have proposed to Secretaries Rusk and McNamara, and to the White House that they make available for the widest possible distribution—a transcript of the CBS program referred to—in question and answer form which I would like to send to my constituents in a special report on the Vietnam situation. The President said in a special briefing at which I was present on Wednesday, "Your judgment is no better than your information." I agree with the President and that is why I want to supply to my constituents the available information upon which they can base their judgment of the President's policy, which I heartily endorse.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Senate passed State-Justice-Commerce appropriations bill and 24 measures on calendar call, and worked on tariff schedules bill.

House passed Public Works and Economic Development Act and cleared bills on military pay increase and Presidential assassinations for the President.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 19399–19421

Bills Introduced: Seven bills were introduced, as follows: S. 2401–2407. **Pages 19400–19401**

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows:

H.J. Res. 95, to designate the lake to be formed by the waters impounded by Sanford Dam, Canadian River project, Texas, as "Lake Meredith" (S. Rept. 578);

H.R. 7181, authorizing commemoration of certain historical events in Kansas with appropriate markers (S. Rept. 579);

H.R. 3320, authorizing establishment of the Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, Ariz. (S. Rept. 580);

H.R. 881, to authorize establishment of the Alibates Flint Quarries and Texas Panhandle Pueblo Culture National Monument, with amendment (S. Rept. 581);

H.R. 1044, authorizing exchange of certain lands in Norfolk, Va. (S. Rept. 582);

H.R. 5519, to authorize language training for dependents of members of the Armed Forces overseas, with amendment (S. Rept. 583);

H.R. 7843, authorizing survivor of a member of the Armed Forces who dies while on active duty to be paid for unused accrued leave (S. Rept. 584);

H.R. 7595, authorizing transportation for dependents requiring medical care who accompany members of uniformed services overseas (S. Rept. 585);

H.R. 3037, to provide for payment of cost of transporting remains of deceased dependents of members of the Armed Forces (S. Rept. 586);

H.R. 5034, authorizing the disposition of lost, abandoned, or unclaimed personal property that comes into control of the Departments of Defense or the Treasury (S. Rept. 587);

H.R. 546, to retrocede to State of Wisconsin concurrent jurisdiction over rights-of-way of those portions of highways which are in Camp McCoy (S. Rept. 588);

S. 2381, to make the mutilation or destruction of a draft card a criminal offense, with amendment (S. Rept. 589);

S. 683, H.R. 1291, 4024, and 5819, private bills (S. Repts. 590–593);

H.R. 3044, authorizing payment of incentive pay for hazardous duty on flight decks of aircraft carriers (S. Rept. 594); and

H.R. 4025, S. 766, and S. 1873, private bills (S. Repts. 595–597). **Page 19400**

Bill Placed on Calendar: H.R. 10306, to make the mutilation or destruction of a draft card a criminal offense, was ordered to be placed on calendar. **Page 19404**

Call of Calendar: On call of calendar, 24 measures, of which 13 were private, were passed as follows:

Without amendment and cleared for President:

Copyrights: H.J. Res. 431, extending the duration of copyright protection in certain cases;

Veterans: H.R. 206, increasing subsistence allowances paid to disabled veterans pursuing vocational rehabilitation;

Veterans: H.R. 208, extending time limitations for totally disabled veterans pursuing vocational rehabilitation; and

House Members: H.R. 10139, relating to telephone and telegraph service furnished Members of the House of Representatives.

With amendment, to be sent back to House:

Youth: H.R. 3329, to incorporate the Youth Councils on Civic Affairs;

War Orphans' Education: H.R. 205, increasing educational assistance allowances paid under the War Orphans' Educational Assistance Act; and

House Members: H.R. 9947, providing for reimbursement of transportation expenses for Members of the House of Representatives.

Without amendment and cleared for House:

Private bills: 10 private bills, S. Con. Res. 49, S. 343, 505, 1397, 1647, 1651, 1678, 1736, 1775, and 1919.

Appendix

Address by the Honorable Edith Green

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, I recently learned that our colleague, Representative EDITH GREEN addressed the 12th annual National Institute on Crime and Delinquency on June 14, in Detroit. Her remarks as a Member of this body, and as a fellow member of the Education and Labor Committee, bring home the fact that there is a pressing need for recognition of the shortage of personnel to work in the field of rehabilitation of those persons institutionalized for offenses against society.

Among the more than 1,500 attending the institute was Paul C. Wolman, chairman of the Department of Parole and Probation for the State of Maryland. Mr. Wolman told me of the excellent reception by the entire group to the remarks of Representative GREEN. Because of the timeliness of these remarks and recommendations in conjunction with the President's keen interest in the entire subject of crime, its prevention, and more thorough examination; I include, in the Appendix, the speech delivered by Congresswoman GREEN. I am happy to make this request in light of the many favorable comments I have received from my constituents and others attending the institute.

I would like to take this opportunity to lend my support to Representative GREEN in the drive for seeking programs which will give greater weight and recognition to solving the problems of rehabilitation of offenders, programs such as the nongovernmental Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training. In line with this idea, and in Representative GREEN's demonstration of how we in the Congress can be a force for action and progress, I am sure all of us commend the efforts being made to solve this most difficult problem within our society.

The speech follows:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE EDITH GREEN AT THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY, DETROIT, MICH., JUNE 14, 1965

It is a great pleasure to be here tonight to discuss with you the development of an action program in correctional manpower and its implications across the Nation. So much of legislative life deals with the problems before the congressional committees that I always welcome the opportunity to participate in this type of conference and to have the opportunity to discuss freely and informally problems relating to social and human service.

I suppose there are times when we legislators complicate life for you as we enact new and evermore complex programs or as we fail to enact programs which you need. But at times some of your leaders can complicate our lives as well. I am sure that my colleagues in the House and Senate, and their staffs, will agree that seldom has there been a more persistent and more energetic advocate of the need for legislation in the correctional field than your Dr. Charles Prigmore. Perhaps some of my unconvinced colleagues may even vote to enact the pending bills in this area just to have time and opportunity to pursue other activities.

Everyone here tonight, I believe, will agree that we truly live in a great year, an exciting year. Two weeks ago all of us eagerly awaited each new report on the two American astronauts. In the last two decades we have witnessed tremendous advances in the scientific and technological areas. But we also live in a year when more and more voices are crying out in righteous indignation, and countless others in silent demonstration, about the lack of progress on this planet in human relations. We have made it possible, literally, for man to walk in outer space—but there are still so many who cannot yet walk with dignity on this planet—and surely a lack of dignity and self-respect must be a contributing factor to delinquency.

While it's an exciting decade, this is also a decade in which crime, delinquency, and social disorder have risen to new and alarming heights.

Father Hesburgh, the president of Notre Dame, has said:

"Personally I don't care if the United States gets the first man on the moon on a 'crash' basis if, while this is happening, we dawdle along here on our corner of the planet nursing our prejudices, flaunting our magnificent Constitution, ignoring the central moral problem of our time and appearing hypocrites to the world."

Personally, I reject the philosophy that says we can afford $20 billion to $40 billion on a race to the moon on this crash basis—but we can't afford to provide adequate educational opportunities on this planet in order to have the scientists, the doctors, the teachers, the social workers, the philosophers, the preachers, to make life here enriched and meaningful to our own people.

I reject the philosophy which says we can spend billions of Federal funds on highways to serve as interconnecting links between each and every one of our 50 States—but we can't afford services and manpower to try to prevent and control crime, delinquency, mental illness, poverty, disease, ignorance, alcoholism, and our other serious social problems.

It would be intellectually dishonest if I did not recognize recent advances we have made in human relations and in the development of human resources. We can all applaud the steps taken in civil rights, in assisting the poor of this Nation, and in making quality educational opportunities available to more and more individuals.

But I don't want to talk to you tonight about the past. I want to talk to you about the future, about the vast and shocking needs that still exist in human relations and the development of human resources. The record to date is marred by the dismal and costly increases in the number of persons involved in crime and delinquency. What are we doing, and what can we do about this serious and growing problem, the cost of which in the United States is variously estimated in the billions of dollars annually. The direct cost, annually, of crime to taxpayers of this Nation is $6 billion. This is the cost of administration of criminal justice at Federal, State, and local levels for police, courts, and correction. And the total cost of crime, direct and indirect, is estimated to be $27 billion a year. While these figures show the staggering needs which the Nation must meet in the field of corrections, a survey of our resources shows a terrifying gap in meeting these needs. We see a society characterized by the sharp increase in population, growing concentrations of people in cities and towns, industrialization, automation, assimilation of minority and immigrant groups in the American middle class, and changes in cultural values. All these developments have wide implications for the incidence and nature of crime and delinquency.

If I may digress for a moment—this noon at Yale University, I listened to a quiet but a very stirring message by the Secretary General of the United Nations. In his address Mr. U Thant stressed the need for moral and spiritual values in an age of technocracy. He also said that, although he was a Buddhist by conviction because he felt certain that Buddhism offered to him more than the other religions, that he did not feel this gave him the right to determine for others what philosophy they should embrace. There is a point here to be realized by those of us who, convinced of the validity and truth of democracy, demand that people who have no idea of what the terms "democracy" or "communism" mean—who are more interested in four sandwiches than in the four freedoms—how can we demand that these people choose our way. Are we justified in demanding that they make a choice—or in some cases impose it with force.

And perhaps a generation that has grown up under the atomic mushroom cloud—and has known no cessation of the hates and fears engendered by these 20 years of cold war—or hot war—perhaps this too has its implications for crime and delinquency. We can send man to the Moon and Mars, and the stars—but we can't build the bridges of understanding on this Earth. And we can build buildings and talk about programs but the ultimate success of any endeavor will depend upon the individuals involved and the climate of opinion in which we must operate. And as we look at all our problems—poverty, crime, delinquency, wars, and rumors of wars—I get a bit impatient with those who shrug their shoulders and say: "I'm just an innocent bystander." I say that if someone is just a bystander, then he is not innocent.

And when I read, as I did several months ago, of a woman attacked and murdered, I wondered how 38 people could possibly pretend they were innocent bystanders. And within the last 2 weeks I read of a woman robbed and beaten on a city bus—with 40 standing or sitting nearby. I wonder where society has failed.

I suggest that our approaches to crime and delinquency control have been somewhat primitive in comparison to our approach to other social problems. We would never for a moment imagine that good public health laws or sanitation laws alone would insure good public health.

Our attention is directed immediately to preventative measures, to establish enough facilities and resources to turn out an adequate number of qualified personnel such as doctors and nurses. We think also of ways to induce these qualified people to enter public health careers and to remain there. Yet we have naively assumed in our halting and un-

certain attempts to prevent and control crime that more new laws and a great many more institutions and jails alone should do the job.

Daniel Blain, president of the American Psychiatric Association, has described the situation in the following terms: "By and large, our Nation's traditional approach to crime and delinquency has been analogous to putting out fires. The prevention and correction of conditions that lead to fires has attracted a relatively small measure of our resources and energies. Now, our people, as a whole are horrified at the extent of crime and violence in their midst."

First, let us examine briefly the status of correctional manpower and training. Recently I received statements from half the Governors in the Nation testifying that the shortage of skilled personnel was the primary drawback to the successful operation of the State correctional programs.

Again, if I may disgress for a moment, those of you who know the political situation may share my interest and pleasure that Governor Wallace endorsed a bill I authored and the Governor of my own State wrote urging me to support my own bill.

Governor Brown, of California, stressed the fact that "local probation services for offenders not institutionalized are scandalously undermanned." Other witnesses who have recently appeared before our subcommittee have pointed out that there is a ratio of 1 psychiatrist to every 4,400 offenders in our adult institutions, 1 psychologist to every 2,000 offenders, and 1 academic teacher for every 400 offenders. It is abundantly clear from the statements of leaders across the Nation that correctional facilities are both undermanned, and, most importantly, inadequately served by qualified and skilled individuals. It is clear that the field of corrections and, in fact, the Nation, has suffered because of lack of attention given to corrections.

The 2 million offenders incarcerated each year in our adult and juvenile institutions do not receive care, treatment, and rehabilitative services on a par with our public health patients, our mentally ill, our mentally retarded, or our vocationally handicapped. This 1 percent of our annual population is a forgotten segment along with another one-half of 1 percent on probation and parole. Yet, a poor public policy is manifested in this neglect. Last year serious crime in the United States rose 13 percent, an increase the Nation cannot afford in terms of dollars spent or human lives wasted.

We will never capitalize on our research findings in crime and delinquency until we have enough skilled rehabilitation and prevention personnel. For example, our Committee was told that over 90 percent of our offenders shift back and forth from legitimate to illicit careers at one time or another and are not genuinely career criminals. This 90 percent or so might therefore be potentially directed into permanently legitimate careers.

Perhaps the most vivid and convincing signpost in the maturation of a field of human service is its degree of attention to the issues of recruitment, education, training, utilization and retention of personnel. This is as true for the field of corrections as it is for the fields of public health, mental health, child welfare and vocational rehabilitation.

The most telling characteristic of a dynamic society is its ability to utilize the potential and capacity of all its citizens. It is a truism in America of the 1960's that much of our human capability is not developed or used.

These two salient facts are the cornerstones upon which a massive national action program to create a modern correctional system in the United States should be based.

I believe we are witnessing in the 89th Congress and in the United States of 1965, a quiet revolution which is not as headline-producing as our civil rights revolution or our antipoverty revolution. But it may have equally important long-range implications.

The seeds of this revolution were planted at Arden House just a year ago. As you who were there well know, it was perhaps the first time that so many leaders and organizations in the field of corrections met and worked together to block out a consensus as to priority needs and plans for solution. One result is that legislation has been introduced in the U.S. Congress to provide public support for this 3-year study of correctional manpower and training by the joint commission.

The seeds planted at Arden House have been nourished by the deep and continued interest of persons in the correctional field.

These seeds are now bearing fruit. I'm sure you know, too, that H.R. 2263 received unanimous approval of my Special Subcommittee on Education and by the full Committee on Education and Labor. Final House action is expected soon. I predict a good chance of it next Monday. I'm optimistic. However, some of you or most of you may wish to express your interest to your congressional delegation in order to insure passage.

In the Senate similar action is also expected in the near future.

Parenthetically, I should add that the entire field of corrections owes much with respect to the legislative process of the Correctional Rehabilitation Study Act, to Dr. Charles Prigmore and Milton Rector who have worked untiringly on this matter.

These fruits are a concrete testimony to the worth of the conference you held in June of 1964. It is my earnest belief that a carefully planned, multidisciplinary effort such as this, involving all the national groups and bodies, is a far more promising path to leadership in crime prevention and control than any narrowly based effort involving a single approach, a single philosophy, or a single profession.

And, of course, the real advantage in a national correctional manpower policy will be in the impact on the lives of our offenders. Are our adult and juvenile offenders receiving the kind of medical, dental, psychiatric, psychological, recreational, educational, and other services they need? Or is it a frequent occurrence for men, women, and youngsters to leave correctional institutions not only unrehabilitated but more bitter, cynical, and antisocial than when they entered? Is it still the rule rather than the exception to find inadequate rehabilitation programs and even no programs at all in courts, institutions, jails, detention homes and other facilities? You, the experts in this field, have convinced the Congress that offenders are not being rehabilitated and will not be as long as existing limitations in both the quality and quantity of personnel prevail.

If steps can be taken, under your leadership and with the sanction of the Congress, to bring genuinely effective help to our individual offenders, the savings in human lives will be an enormous contribution indeed.

Men, women, and children, less often, will leave correctional institutions bitter, cynical, and more antisocial than when they entered. For many, hope may replace despair; the plans for a job may remove some of the pain of previous failures.

I seldom make any speech without making at least a passing reference to my State of Oregon. But I am not sure it is appropriate for me to do so with this audience, since too many of you associate the word "Oregon" with the term "Oregon boot" which fills a long and unsavory chapter in the history of corrections.

Let us hope that the Oregon boot and similar repressive controls will not be needed in the correctional programs of the future as the Nation accepts its responsibility for the treatment of offenders and develops a large and well qualified team of dedicated men and women to provide the kind of help and services our offenders need.

Working together we may be on the threshold of new discoveries, new programs and new cooperation among ourselves. I look forward, with you, to the completion of the work of the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training and to a White House Conference which I intend to propose, a conference which will launch the national action program in the field of corrections.

I don't know how many of you read Pogo, but it is one of my favorite comic strips. Some time ago, Walt Kelly had Pogo say this: "During this geophysical year, we have plumbed the depths and shot moons into the stars. Now, if we could just have a year dedicated to man—for how can we know the stranger from without if we do not know the man under our own skin."

The work which you have begun, and which now must be continued, is a real dedication to man and will produce results as rewarding to you and as meaningful to society as any other endeavor I can imagine.

A Frenzy of Lawmaking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article which appeared as an editorial in the Wall Street Journal for August 4, 1965:

A FRENZY OF LAWMAKING

Those who think Congress is far too busy can take some comfort from Senate Majority Leader MANSFIELD'S recent comment: "There's no reason all these bills should be passed this year." Unfortunately the comfort is likely to be brief.

There is indeed no good reason for the rush on Capitol Hill. The Nation would be better off if the lawmakers could somehow pause and reflect on the totality of their effort, instead of turning out a mass of legislation in so hyperactive a state.

For what this Congress, under White House pressure, is constructing is a new colossus of government. In addition to such notable bills as aid to Appalachia and medicare, legislation is pending on almost anything you can think of, from rapid rail transportation to subsidies for the arts and humanities.

In other words, scarcely any area of the citizen's life is left out of the Federal purview, and if it is it won't be for long. The programs created by this frenzy of lawmaking, moreover, are of the sort that are bound to grow with the years, in size, bureaucratic confusion, and cost. At the very best, then, we face the prospect of government sprawl that could prove much more ugly than any urban sprawl.

The customary response to this kind of observation is that Congress is only doing what the people indicated they wanted when they cast their ballots. We find that conclusion less than self-evident. The typical program under consideration on Capitol Hill is one whipped up in the executive branch, by the politicians themselves or by some vested-interest group. We suspect that a great many people wish they knew some

way to turn off the faucet and stop the flood of laws.

Yet even if it were true that the majority of the electorate is pining for this new profusion of government, Congress would still have the responsibility of considering the legislation far more carefully than it does and especially of considering its present and prospective costs. Here we are fighting what daily seems more and more like a major war in Vietnam, we are throwing billions into the space race every year; can the Government, in any realistic sense, afford to plunge into all these other things too?

There is an answer of sorts to that one also. The economic wizards of the Great Society believe they have figured out the key to perpetual prosperity through perpetual budget deficits, therefore it doesn't matter how much the Government spends. Most delightful of all, it has been discovered that cutting taxes can actually increase revenues as a result of the increased economic activity.

The tax-cut effect, we readily agree, is no mirage but a fact; it has happened that way under the recent reductions and under previous ones as well. One of the dangers of relying on it, however, is that it cannot be guaranteed to work every time. If other circumstances, emphatically including governmental prodigality, bring on serious economic trouble, even drastic tax reduction would not necessarily restore prosperity or produce bigger revenues.

A more basic difficulty with the tax approach is that it is the wrong way to go about the budgeting process. Not that we are arguing for high taxes; simply that the right way is to reduce spending so that levies can be lowered without running incessant deficits. For we fear it is a delusion of no minor magnitude that deficits, coupled with artificially easy money, can keep a boom going forever. There are already disquieting signs that such policies cause inflation, and inflations usually end in recessions or worse.

The fact, which the White House and many in Congress seem all too content to ignore, is that the Nation's resources are finite and must be allocated, as the whole concept of budgeting implies. No magic of the so-called new economics has changed that or lifted from men in positions of power their obligation to establish sensible priorities of governmental undertakings.

If most of the Members of Congress care not a whit that they are burdening the people with an oppressive new federalization, they should at least be able to see that trying to do everything at once is a course filled with risks. It is no idle joke that a truly do-nothing Congress can sometimes be the best kind. Certainly this legislation happy Congress is doing a disservice to its present constituency and the Nation's future.

No Place for Thin Skin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the entire Nation is growing increasingly concerned about the rising crime rate. Serious crime has risen 13 percent in 1964. The President has just appointed the Attorney General to head a Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice.

One of Florida's leading newspapers, the Tampa Tribune, carried an articulate editorial on the Attorney General's new task to step up the fight against crime.

I include the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

NO PLACE FOR THIN SKIN

The task which President Johnson has set before a 19-member President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice is not easy—and the hardest part may come after its work is officially ended.

The Commission named yesterday by the President, with Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach as its Chairman, is to:

1. Inquire into the causes of crime and delinquency, measures for their prevention, the adequacy of law enforcement and administration of justice and the factors encouraging respect or disrespect for law at the National and State levels.

2. Develop standards and make recommendations for actions which can be taken by the Federal, State and local governments and by private persons and organizations to prevent, reduce and control crime and increase respect for the law.

This is a big order to accomplish in 18 months. But unless the Crime Commission ends up recommending absolutely nothing, defending its recommendations may turn out to be more difficult than arriving at them.

The President himself outlined some of the difficult areas of exploration: "the basic causes of crime and delinquency * * * how can we increase respect for law and order? * * * the optimum methods of preventing crime * * * the problems of punishment versus rehabilitation, of protecting society from criminals while at the same time working to prevent the development of potential criminals."

The necessity for the investigation was underlined in the annual FBI report on crime released yesterday by Katzenbach. It showed an increase of 13 percent in serious crime during 1964—with the sharpest rise, 17 percent, in the middle-class suburbs of the larger cities.

Suburbanites almost surely will resent whatever findings and recommendations the Commission makes on this point. And taxpayers, despite FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's estimate that crime costs the Nation $27 million a year, are likely to resent the most obvious recommendation the Commission can make—more policemen. For, according to Hoover's figures, while crime has increased 58 percent in 7 years, the number of law enforcement officers has remained the same.

When it gets into the problem of respect for law and order, the Commission can scarcely help stirring the racial issue over the question of whatever disrespect is bred by those who wink at and defy Federal law on equal rights or by those who, in the name of ensuring those rights, defy local law and local officers.

When it comes to crime prevention, the Commission can expect its recommendations to be greeted with cries of "egghead social planning" and "boondoggle." When it comes to rehabilitation measures, it is almost certain to be accused of wanting to "coddle criminals."

Eventually, in view of the obvious interstate and national character of some crime, the Commission must come up with recommendations of a national character which will stir up the States' righters. And concerning crime involving several or many jurisdictions, it will tread on the toes of some officials, as Katzenbach himself learned just a short while ago when remarks he made about lack of cooperation among police agencies of the Federal Government brought angry retort from Hoover, who at least on paper is Katzenbach's subordinate in the Department of Justice.

In view of what the President himself described as "the present wave of violence and the staggering property losses inflicted upon the Nation by crime," the assignment he has given the Commission is indeed an "enormous and unprecedented task."

It is so great that Mr. Johnson noted the Commission's work can be but the beginning of a "thorough, intelligent, and effective war against crime."

Were there easy answers, the problem would not have reached the magnitude it has; its very difficulty guarantees that any proposed solution, and those who propose it, will invite all manner of controversy.

The caliber of the men and women named by the President to the Commission indicates they will have skins sufficiently thick to weather the controversies. At any rate, it's to be hoped so by all law-abiding citizens, whose patience with the growth in the crime rate, whatever its reasons, has long since worn razor-thin.

The Voting Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, no right has been so long promised yet so long denied as the guarantee of the Constitution that no man, under any pretense, shall be denied the right to vote solely because of the color of his skin.

Earlier this month Congress gave final approval to the Voting Rights Act of 1965. As one who has worked long and hard for its enactment, I earnestly hope that this now means the promise of our land will be equaled by common practice throughout our country.

Mr. Speaker, this week I was privileged to do a television broadcast with the distinguished dean of the House, Congressman EMANUEL CELLER, and the very able director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP, Mr. Clarence Mitchell. I had previously done individual television broadcasts with each of these civil rights champions when the voting rights bill was before Congress. This week's program afforded us an opportunity to evaluate its progress and I include a transcript for the attention of all who are concerned with insuring the right to vote for all Americans.

THE VOTING RIGHTS BILL

(NOTE.—Following is a transcript of a television broadcast recorded in Washington, August 12, 1965, broadcast in California on station KTVU, August 16, 1965. Participating were Congressman JEFFERY COHELAN, Chairman EMANUEL CELLER, and Mr. Clarence Mitchell.)

Congressman COHELAN. For 95 years now the Constitution of the United States has promised that no man shall be deprived of the right to vote solely because of the color of his skin.

For 95 long years, though, this right in all-too-many cases has regularly and flagrantly been denied.

This month Congress completed action on a historic voting rights bill; a bill which those of us that supported it hope will finally and fully guarantee this cornerstone of democracy. Today I have with me two

of this bill's great champions and two men, I might add, with whom I have worked very closely these last months and years: Congressman EMANUEL CELLER of New York, chairman of the House Committee on the Judiciary, and Mr. Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP.

HOW THE BILL WILL WORK

Mr. Chairman, this bill was designed to guarantee the right to vote. How exactly is it going to work?

Chairman CELLER. Where there has been evidence of massive discrimination against nonwhites—and there has been such evidence in Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Virginia, South Carolina and parts of North Carolina—this bill will substitute Federal officers for State election officials and they will actually go into these States and permit the Negroes, who previously have been deprived of their legitimate rights, to register and to vote. We feel that the bill has enough teeth in it to guarantee the famous 15th amendment, which states in effect that no State shall have the right to disenfranchise anyone because of his race or color.

WILL IT BE EFFECTIVE?

Congressman COHELAN. Mr. Mitchell, we have passed some pretty far-reaching Civil Rights Acts in the last few years but still we have been plagued with the problem of voting discrimination. Now, as a person who has been very active in this field, how effective do you feel that this new act really is going to be?

Mr. MITCHELL. I feel the act will be very effective and one of the reasons I believe that is because of the way the chairman (Mr. CELLER) piloted it through the House of Representatives. He is the father of all of the three major civil rights bills that have been passed, and his way of handling this legislation has been designed to try to meet all of the problems that arose. Now I can't tell you the hours that Mr. CELLER gave to us in discussing the minute problems that we are confronted with in a practical way. I believe that this bill is written to meet those problems and, therefore, I believe it will be effective.

ENOUGH REGISTRARS?

Congressman COHELAN. The Civil Service Commission, as I understand it, has trained some 75 of its regular employees to serve as voting registrars in Southern States where a need for their services has been determined by the Attorney General. Now the question which has bothered me is that in the last few days I have heard from several of my constituents, who are actually working in Mississippi this summer, who say that there aren't enough registrars, that we need more in Mississippi in particular. Do you feel that we have enough registrars to carry out the intent of the law?

Mr. MITCHELL. Absolutely not. We don't begin to have enough. This is why it is so valuable to have the kind of interest that you have always shown in these matters and which you are evidencing now. You are giving voice to what your constituents have experienced, and it shows that we really have got to get more people down there registering individuals to vote. In Mississippi, for example, there are 82 counties but there are registrars in only 2 of those 82, which means we still have 80 unfulfilled promises. We definitely need more. I have no reason to think the Justice Department is not going to send in more but we urgently need more and we need them immediately.

HOW LONG WILL IT TAKE?

Congressman COHELAN. How soon do you think we can complete the job? How long will it take to register all of the eligible voters in these areas where there has been such widespread discrimination?

Mr. MITCHELL. I would say that if we put in the requisite number of registrars, it shouldn't take more than 6 months to do it because the people are eager to get registered but they just don't have the facilities for registering.

VOTER EDUCATION

Congressman COHELAN. Don't you think we will have to step up our programs of voter education, of impressing people with the importance of actually using the ballots, if this new law is really to have any meaning? What are we doing about this?

Mr. MITCHELL. Well, I am sure that's an important point. Of course, in some of these States where people have been deprived of the right to vote they have gotten their education the hard way. Nobody needs to have much of an education to know that Sheriff Jim Clark in Selma, Ala., is not good for the county or for the colored people. And you would be surprised at how much the people keep up with issues. I have run into many people who cannot read and write but who are very alert on the affairs of today and, of course, I think that we are not going to have to do a whole lot to educate them, but I believe we ought to do whatever may be necessary.

EXPERIENCE IN SELMA, ALA.

Congressman COHELAN. Yes; I had much the same feeling when I was down in Selma in February. I took depositions with Congressman JOHN CONYERS and many others and we found this generally to be true. Many people who were obviously unskilled in the writing art certainly could express themselves and were aware of the issues.

CONSTITUTIONALITY DEFENDED

Now, Mr. Chairman, as a very distinguished constitutional lawyer, how do you feel about the charge that this new Voting Rights Act both raises serious constitutional questions and also infringes upon proper local responsibilities?

Chairman CELLER. I do not think there is anything unconstitutional about the act. The 15th amendment makes very clear that Congress shall have the ability to implement the provisions of the 15th amendment, and the Supreme Court has construed this implementation in a very broad manner. It is a very broad umbrella under which the Congress can very readily and constitutionally adopt provisions of the type that are contained in this voting rights bill, because these provisions implement and carry out the intent and purpose of the 15th amendment.

Congressman COHELAN. You feel very confident then about any test of its constitutionality.

Chairman CELLER. I have absolute confidence that the bill in all its phases will be declared constitutional.

Congressman COHELAN. And let me ask you this while I am at it. Do you feel that this act is going to do the job? In other words, are we going to have to have any further legislation in this field?

Chairman CELLER. Well, it's our hope that this act will do the job. As Clarence Mitchell indicated, we went over this bill with a fine-tooth comb and we tried to meet every conceivable possibility and I think we have a very comprehensive bill. If, per chance, there is need for amendment, we could amend it later on but I don't think there will be any such need.

POLL TAX

Congressman COHELAN. Thank you. Now, Mr. Mitchell, this Voting Rights Act does not include the flat prohibition of State poll taxes which we discussed in an earlier television broadcast and which all three of us had supported. Do you feel the suits which have now been filed by the Justice Department in Mississippi, in Alabama, Texas and Virginia offer an acceptable alternative?

Mr. MITCHELL. Well, I say they will be acceptable if we win. I want to pay a tribute to the chairman for the way he is trying to handle this matter. He championed the ban against the poll tax, as you did, and it was not the fault of the House that it was dropped. It was intransigence on the part of other people. But, now that we are in a position where it has been submitted to the courts, I am sure a good faith effort is being made to see that it is successful, and, if it is successful, then that will be the right answer. But, if it is unsuccessful, I think all of us will have a duty to come back to Congress and knock out the poll tax.

Chairman CELLER. Clarence, we have a provision in our bill that nobody will be deprived of the right to vote if they pay their poll tax, should the poll tax be declared constitutional, 45 days before the election. We put that provision in so as to safeguard the voting right of those who pay their poll taxes. It does away with this outlandish idea that they have to pay their poll taxes a year in advance or the January before elections.

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, well there is no doubt that through the chairman's ingenuity we have got the best that we could get under the circumstances. If it works, fine, but if it doesn't, of course all of us would hope we would be back here trying to get it banned and I know the chairman, and you, Congressman COHELAN, would give us a warm reception.

ENFORCEMENT

Congressman COHELAN. Now, I realize that we have had only a few days in which to evaluate the progress of this act, but on balance do you feel that the Federal Government and the Department of Justice, in particular, is doing enough to implement the bill?

Mr. MITCHELL. I am afraid I couldn't say that enough is being done at this time. As I mentioned a minute ago, where there are 82 counties in Mississippi and there are registrars in only 2 of them and that is very bad. But I will say that I believe the administration and particularly the Department of Justice will move in good faith on this matter. I have just today taken some additional complaints over to them from Laurel, Miss., where there are people being turned down on a wholesale basis and, in fairness, I must say that in every county where the registrars are located we are getting excellent reports. So what is being done is being done well. The problem is that more is going to have to be done.

Congressman COHELAN. I am very grateful to you both. Thank you very much Chairman EMANUEL CELLER and Mr. Clarence Mitchell.

This is Congressman JEFFERY COHELAN in Washington.

President Tells Choir of Art Need

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARLAN HAGEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert in the RECORD a copy of a speech delivered by President Lyndon B. Johnson on Wednesday afternoon, August 4, in the Rose Garden at the White House to the members of the Bakersfield College Choir.

I would like to state that the Bakersfield College Choir was accorded the privilege of singing before the President as a result of the group's outstanding triumph in attaining first place in the mixed chorus competition at the Llangollen International Musical Eisteddfod in Wales. This achievement is all the more remarkable since most of the other 17 competing mixed choirs, several of which were from Iron Curtain countries, are professional singing groups which have been in existence for many years. This accomplishment speaks well for the training of the Bakersfield group by the director, Mr. Joseph Huszti, and is a credit to the California junior college system.

It should be noted that following the choir's triumph in Wales, an invitation was extended for the group to perform before the Pope and at the Pope's personal request the choir performed a second time.

The President was most gracious in receiving the Bakersfield College Choir and I am including his remarks herewith:

Here at the White House, we are always pleased to have young people and good music. Sometimes it seems to me that when Luci has a party, we have more of the former than the latter. So, we are happy now to have this excellent combination of both.

Over the years, I have observed that public figures have a suspicious habit. When they meet young journalists, public officials suddenly recall their own days as newspapermen. If a football team is present, the office holder suddenly remembers his days as a quarterback. I am sure this has happened to you members of this fine organization.

But, in all candor and truth, I have a confession this afternoon. While I yield to no man in my enjoyment of harmony, and you can take that any way you like, I do yield to nearly everybody in the ability to carry a tune. It may be refreshing to you to learn that your President was never asked, or encouraged, to be a member of a choir.

The country can be proud of you young people.

You have brought honor upon yourselves and your country, by winning the first prize trophy for mixed choral groups at the recent international competition in Wales. We are proud of you for that.

We are also proud of you because you financed your own way to Europe, and then won the competition over choral groups from 19 countries. That is a splendid achievement.

I wish your example were not so exceptional—in some respects. In this country, I regret to say, all too many of our talented individuals and groups are forced to struggle from day to day for their existence. This includes theater groups, dance and opera companies, musical organizations and actors. It also includes the solitary artist who seeks only the time to create his works.

For too long, all the arts have had uncertain footing in our society. There is a growing appreciation in America for the arts, a growing understanding and demand. This is welcome and heartening. But, the arts still lack a sure and solid base on which to stand, and I believe it is time for a change.

All societies remembered in history as great, have been distinguished by a deep devotion to all of the arts. Art is neither an indulgence, nor a sanctuary. In more earthy terms, art that expresses the character and aspirations of a people is never a luxury or a frill.

As a Nobel Laureate once put it, art is "a means of stirring the greatest number of men by providing them with a privileged image of our common joys and woes."

I believe that in this young, creative, and still emerging country, we should realize that the creative and performing arts constitute a national treasure. As trustees of that treasure, we of this affluent and creative generation must answer to an especially demanding accounting.

Under times and conditions such as ours, I believe it is imperative that America's arts be supported more actively. I particularly believe that the Federal Government can and should provide both leadership and resources to advance the arts so the inner spirit and life of our Nation, and heritage, may be continuously expressed and defined.

The bill now before Congress to establish the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities offers a realistic response to this opportunity and challenge. That legislation has already passed the Senate. I am hopeful that it will pass the House of Representatives, also.

When this measure is signed, it will be one of the most historic enactments of any Congress in this century.

In this land of such a highly diversified people, the arts are of utmost importance. They are important as a unifying moral force. They also contribute to our awareness of who we are, where we are and what we want to be as a people. And the arts are important as a celebration of the American experience which encourages, clarifies and points to the next direction in our continuing struggle to achieve the promise of our democracy.

The campuses of our colleges across the nation are producing many talents in many fields, and this Nation needs them all. But, I am especially gratified that our colleges, large and small, are yielding so much talent to our national treasure in the arts.

You from Bakersfield College are one example, a very fine example. I congratulate you. And, on behalf of the nation I am privileged to commend each of you for your efforts and strivings which have won for you international recognition and honor.

The Klan Comes North

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 28, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the victory over racial hatred and institutionalized discrimination in this country is gradually being won. The Ku Klux Klan, however, remains as a symbol of hatred and bigotry. In their recent efforts to lay a foundation for their organization in the border, Midwestern, and Northern States, they encountered a hard wall of resistance and indifference in Maryland. Maryland newspapers have kept the citizenry vigilant. I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial from the Bel Air Aegis, which shows the great progress in racial justice in Harford County and the determination of that county to resist inciters of hatred.

[From the Bel Air Aegis, Aug. 5, 1965]

THE KLAN COMES NORTH

Saturday's Ku Klux Klan rally, just up Route 40 at Glasgow, Del., was a sharp reminder that even if the problems of the South were once regarded as regional, they are now a national concern.

Trouble, unfortunately, is easily exportable, as our Communist adversaries are well aware. The seeds of racial hatred being broadcast by Mr. Shelton and his Klansmen can fall on as fertile ground in Maryland as in Mississippi; the South has no monopoly on ignorance or bigotry.

Harford County has, in the last year, taken slow but deliberate steps toward the abolition of institutionalized racial prejudice, even as the Maryland Legislature has begun to follow Washington's lead in taking up for consideration some long-awaited antidiscrimination laws. But as long as the Klan can draw crowds to a nearby crossburning, we cannot rest easily on our laurels. Equality and social justice are hard won, and vigilance is the price we must be willing to pay to see that they are not destroyed.

Technical Data Management in the Air Force

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Gen. B. A. Schriever, commander of the Air Force Systems Command, addressed the DOD/NSLA Technical Information Symposium for Management in Los Angeles, May 27, 1965, concerning technical data management in the Air Force.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to included the text of General Schriever's speech:

TECHNICAL DATA MANAGEMENT IN THE AIR FORCE

(By Gen. B. A. Schriever, commander, Air Force Systems Command, DOD/NSLA Technical Information Symposium for Management, Statler Hilton Hotel, Los Angeles, Calif., May 27, 1965)

The air staff, the Air Force Logistics Command, and the Air Force Systems Command have been working for some time to eliminate the requirements for reams of irrelevant and unnecessary data from our industrial community. We have made substantial progress. The basic policies and procedures have been established, and the directives have been issued. We must now insure that they are carried out.

Nearly 3 years ago, in July 1962, I directed the creation of the data management working group. The group had two main purposes: (1) To challenge our existing structure for acquiring data; and (2) to develop a standard authorized data list for uniform application to contracts.

These two basic objectives have been described as the MIN/MAX theory. Thus, the minimum essential data would be listed on a DD form 1423. These would be selected from the maximum allowable data list. The policies and procedures for acquiring the minimum essential are published in volume I of our joint Systems/Logistics Command Manual 310-1. The maximum allowable is published in volume II of our joint manual.

Air Force Regulation 310-1 makes these policies mandatory for all users of contractor data.

We expect this system to reduce drastically the amount of data supplied by contractors. One contractor has already reported that he

is delivering one-tenth of paperwork formerly required.

These new concepts of data management did not come easily. Their formulation required almost 2 years of concentrated effort and about 75,000 man-hours: Approximately 9,000 documents had to be intensively reviewed; a logic flow chart showing milestones in the life cycle of a new system had to be prepared; coordination between commands, divisions, staff, and industry had to be continuing and aggressive.

There are several reasons why we are insistent in our demands for better data management. The first is simply the cost of unnecessary data. The second is that data handling is a common denominator for all our other management techniques. We are on the threshold of entirely new disciplines in configuration management, engineering management, and system program management.

For example, a long-needed critical evaluation is being made of our existing tech order system. User needs are being analyzed and the best method of presenting this information is being determined. New manuals are being prepared in these areas as well as in the 310-1 data series.

The conventional method of providing technical information appears to be completely unsuited for space operations and apparently has reached its useful limits for advanced systems. Recent studies of this problem indicate that as much as 30 percent of maintenance man-hours are expended in identifying the information needed to perform required maintenance. Some of the problem areas in our present system are:

1. The technical order system has become too voluminous.
2. With the complexity of our hardware, too many technical orders are required to do a job.
3. Malfunction isolation procedures are not effective enough for current complex equipment.
4. The updating cycle in many cases is too slow. Hence, the technical orders do not reflect current configuration of equipment.
5. The distribution of technical orders is slow and costly.

In addition, technical manual development has not kept pace with state-of-the-art development in advanced system technology. In view of the increasing complexity of systems, the eventual solution to the problem of maintaining these systems may well be automatic collection, storage and retrieval of automated, troubleshooting and repair information. Recently developed techniques and devices to supplement or replace technical manuals hold more promise in the long run for the major improvements needed than do evolutionary changes in manuals or better quality control of manual preparation.

When we address our attention to the requirement for the presentation of information for manned space operation, we find that a huge conventional technical order library is required to provide maintenance support of a manned spacecraft. It does not appear feasible to carry such a library aboard our spacecraft because of weight considerations. An improved means of presenting the required technical information must be developed.

We have just received the initial reports from two contractors who have been studying new ways of presenting information for maintenance and operations. The next step is to service test the techniques which have emerged from these studies.

A third reason for our concern with improved data management is the need to provide our system program directors and their teams with the proper information to make decisions. In order to control his program the SPO director must plan ahead to get the necessary status reports, financial progress reports, PERT networks, and so forth. If the director encounters design deficiencies, overexpenditures, or schedule slippages, it is probable that his data is inadequate for management control.

Now let me describe a few steps that have been taken to improve our data management:

1. All system program offices have data managers who are responsible to the director. Every data item requirement must be approved by the director. Data items must be justified by cost estimates when available. These are the day-to-day procedures which force timely decisions for data management.
2. Instead of buying engineering drawings to support all missions, in the future we will order drawings only when they are required to support a mission.
3. If we need a reprocurement package for competitive purposes, we will order it only on the items which have a reasonable chance of being procured competitively. The contractor must identify which items on the DD Form 1423 are proprietary. This enhances the Air Force's bargaining position early in the acquisition process.

In summary, our new approach to data management takes a fresh look at all the old data problems. The five main advantages of this approach can be summarized as follows:

1. It will save system acquisition dollars;
2. It will save Government resources by eliminating unnecessary storage and retrieval of data;
3. It will force timely decisions;
4. It will free the decisionmaking process from excess detail and masses of unwanted information; and
5. It will eliminate burdensome reporting requirements imposed on contractors.

We are just beginning to reap measurable benefits. Our data managers report that reviews and concentration on buying only the minimum essential are now a way of life. We know that further progress is needed, but a good start has been made.

Standpoint: Many Marches but No Solutions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, there has been increasing national indignation over the manner and attitude reflected in certain of the more recent mass demonstrations which tend to hinder rather than help the civil rights movement. In fact it seems that frequently of late marches and demonstrations undertaken ill-advisedly are not only self-defeating, but often violate the laws of our land. I wish to direct the attention of my colleagues to a TV editorial by Carter Davidson of WBBM-TV which ably deals with this subject.

STANDPOINT: MANY MARCHES BUT NO SOLUTIONS

The rallies, the marches, and the mass demonstrations go on. They effectively call attention to the fact that racial problems do exist. They do not, however, solve any of the problems. They, in fact, as many believe, actually hamper efforts to find solutions.

No less a personage than Dr. Martin Luther King, who has spent the past few days rallying, marching, and demonstrating in the Chicago area has said that the cause of civil rights can be served only if whites, as well as Negroes, support it. Yet a recent opinion poll, conducted nationally, showed a growing percentage of white people who believe that mass demonstrations hurt, rather than help the cause of civil rights. The margin of disapproval was 62 percent, as against 24 percent who thought the public rallies and demonstrations were a good thing for the cause. This margin of disapproval had more than tripled since a similar poll was taken 2 years ago. The disenchantment among white people about the effectiveness of Negro demonstrations for racial equality, probably stems mainly from the weariness of seeing the same groups marching in the same futile direction day after day.

But there is a recurrent element of deceit and duplicity in the civil rights demonstrations that also is peeling off supporters. Dr. King, for instance, had made known his wishes to chat with Mayor Daley. The mayor sent him a telegram, inviting him to meet in the mayor's office last Saturday or Sunday. Dr. King skillfully maneuvered to avoid the meeting, and his supporters are now trying to paint the picture as though it was the mayor who was reluctant to confer. Earlier, the mayor had personally intervened with the board of education, for him an unprecedented action, to arrange an audience with civil rights leaders. The meeting was held, the civil rights leaders presented their demands and were assured of consideration. They promptly went out and sat down in Loop traffic to get themselves arrested. Such acts of cynicism spurn the good faith upon which the civil rights movement must be predicated. Further, they do it damage.

Racial inequality, to the everlasting shame of this Nation, exists. But more has been done to rectify that evil in the past decade than in all the hundred years since the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation.

Reckless rallies, marches, and mass demonstrations, as ill-advised efforts to improve and quicken that progress are self-defeating. That they are, at times, led by a man of the stature of Nobel Prize winner, Dr. Martin Luther King, rather than a Chicago schoolteacher, makes them no less reckless and damaging. The admitted, and disgraceful disparity of rights and opportunities between white people and black people in this country, can only be solved by a reasonable dialog between white people and black people. There is no reason for the kind of deceit that appears from time to time in the Negro demonstrations. There is no dialog possible when demonstrators appear to prefer publicity to public good. There are racial wrongs to be righted. They will not be righted by rallies, marches and mass demonstrations whose only purpose is to draw our attention to them, and whose secondary result is to make their solutions the more difficult to achieve.

Drum Corps Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, this Sunday marks the start of Drum Corps Week and I feel it is particularly fitting that we honor this worthwhile and purposeful activity and the many fine young people who participate in it.

At a time when the behavior of some of our youth leaves something to be de-

sired, it is encouraging to know that about one million young Americans are active participants.

Drum corps activity is an aid to fighting delinquency in our cities; it enables young people to participate in a disciplinary activity at a formative period of their lives. It provides musical instruction to many young men and women. It enlivens parades and civic celebrations. It teaches patriotism and love of country. And drum corps marching and playing has helped raise millions of dollars for our charities.

Therefore, I would like to extend to my colleagues an invitation to join the people of Bridgeport in thrilling to the colorful pageantry and martial marches starting next Thursday for 4 days when Bridgeport plays host to the World Open Drum and Bugle Corps Championships.

Another Good Man Leaves Government Oceanography

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, 6 years ago I had the pleasure of meeting a gentleman for whom I have the highest respect and regard; namely, Capt. Paul Bauer, U.S. Naval Reserves, retired, who, voluntarily, offered his free time in the interest of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee in its endeavors to focus on the oceanographic problems facing our country today.

Paul Bauer is a brilliant scholar in the field of earth sciences. Six years ago, he brought his knowledge and abilities in this field to the Federal Government by initiating his services as a staff man with the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. In his years of endeavor he has done much to enhance the ability of Congress to deal with the complex and diverse problems of oceanography.

I regret that, as of September 1, he will be leaving the staff of this committee. However, with his departure I am certain we can be assured that he will continue to apply his talents in the field of earth sciences for the betterment of our society.

As hearings opened earlier this month, on the subject of oceanography, by the Oceanography Subcommittee of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, its distinguished chairman, the Honorable ALTON LENNON, of North Carolina, paid a great tribute to Captain Bauer. I believe that this tribute should be noted for the interest of all my colleagues since I consider it to sum up my thoughts and feelings concerning this fine man. Therefore, I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, an article from the Ocean Science News of August 6, 1965, which reports in full Congressman LENNON's statement:

[From Ocean Science News, Aug. 6, 1965]

ANOTHER GOOD MAN LEAVES GOVERNMENT OCEANOGRAPHY

At the opening of the August 3 hearings on oceanography before the Oceanographic Subcommittee of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, Subcommittee Chairman ALTON A. LENNON, Democrat, of North Carolina, introduced the following statement into the record:

"Before we hear from our first witness, I want to make an announcement. For the past 6 years we have been privileged to have attached to our staff a man of very unusual talents, ability, and creative energy, Capt. Paul Sherman Bauer, U.S. Navy, retired.

"I regret to announce that Paul will be leaving us on September 1. I hope these hearings will be concluded and positive legislation passed through Congress before we have to lose him. Captain Bauer first came with our committee in 1959 at the very beginning of the concept of a national oceanographic program. We have been fortunate in having his services as a consultant on oceanographic, fisheries, and other technical matters ever since. A successful businessman in his native Massachusetts, he has in recent years devoted almost full time to the cause of science. Oceanography and other earth sciences have been his specialties. In addition to his valuable contributions to the committee, he has also served as professor of earth sciences at the American University, participated in numerous technical meetings of value to the work of this committee; and published several important papers.

"He brought to the committee a long background of technical and scientific achievement. He is wise in the ways of government—which has been invaluable to us as we have tried to unravel the mysteries of what has been going on in oceanography and to determine the course we should take for the future. While I can fully appreciate his desire to devote more time to his personal business, I want to express our regret at losing him. It has been a very fruitful period in the development of a true oceanographic program since he came with us.

"Paul, in behalf of the committee, I wish you well in your new activities, and hope that we may call upon you from time to time for your wise and able counsel."

CONGRESS' LOSS, HOWEVER, IS OSN'S GAIN

On September 1, 1965, Captain Bauer joins both Ocean Science News and Geo-Marine Technology as an associate editor. This is not to say that he will be full time with us—for by his nature he must be interested in several things at once. However, the very diversity of his interests means we will do an even better job for you.

No Foreign-Built Ships

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 13, 1965

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, along with many other Members of Congress I was dismayed when press reports stated that current rumor has it that the Defense Department is studying the possibility of contracting with British shipyards for some $50 million worth of naval vessels.

It was with consternation that I received this report. My first thought was that this rumor was in the nature of a trial balloon. Unless Congress expressed its disapproval, I was fearful we would wake up some morning and read that an agreement had been consummated. So I decided for the protection of shipyard workers and shipbuilders—both Government and private—this balloon was one that I should help to shoot down.

Mr. Speaker, in line with this conviction, I introduced H.R. 10111 to prohibit the Defense Department from contracting for the construction of vessels for the Navy in foreign shipyards. In support of this bill I prepared a statement and submitted my testimony to the Committee on Armed Services at a hearing held on July 28.

At this hearing, Henry Kuss, Jr., Assistant Secretary of Defense, represented his department regarding this possible procurement. About all he said was that "any type of procurement by the United States in the United Kingdom will be subject to the conditions of price, quality and delivery," which was in the nature of an admission.

Mr. Speaker, what he failed to do was deny or confirm the truth of this assertion. This whole deal has been cloaked in secrecy—the Pentagon neither denies or confirms the reports.

The rumor is that 14 naval vessels are scheduled to be built in the United Kingdom—which would not make much of a hit with the American people, especially our shipyard workers. But furthermore, in addition to the loss of jobs, there is a loss of gold. Right now, the United States has reported new lows in its gold supply.

Mr. Speaker, I am unequivocally opposed to spending 1 cent of the taxpayers' money abroad for the building of ships when our own shipyard industry has been in a depressed state operating at less than 50 percent of its efficient capacity—this is as it has operated for years. In Seattle there are two of the largest private shipbuilders in the country, ready, willing, and able to take on more work, and in Bremerton there is a public yard. Speaking of a public yard, the Secretary of Defense himself only this year stated there was an excess of naval shipyards and is phasing out two Government yards.

Without work to keep our own yards, private and naval, busy how can our Government justify allocating new ship construction to foreign firms? Our remaining shipyards, make no mistake about it, are absolutely dependent on Defense Department contracts. A build-foreign policy would lead ultimately to the demise of shipbuilding in the United States.

Not more than 2 years ago, Mr. Speaker, Congress made it clear that it did not favor having parts of ships built in foreign yards. As a matter of fact language to this effect was included in the naval appropriations bill. This year we kept the same provision. It prohibits building a hull or a section of a ship, but does not prohibit the entire vessel from being built abroad.

Our domestic shipbuilding industry can build the finest ships in the world and that ability is necessary—and the skilled workers are necessary—to build and

maintain both maritime and naval vessels for national security.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD a news story appearing in the Journal of Commerce and Shipping Telegraph of London, England, telling of discussions in Washington, D.C., on this subject. Especially, I call attention to the last paragraph of this article which says that the Defense Department is confident that it can deal with opposition to such a purchase of foreign-built vessels.

Mr. Speaker, the Members of this House must express in no uncertain terms their opposition, and I believe they will when given the opportunity to vote on H.R. 10111, or a similar bill.

The above-mentioned news story follows:

UNITED KINGDOM MISSION'S BID TO SELL SHIPS TO UNITED STATES—TALKS ALL THIS WEEK IN WASHINGTON

A British technical mission is having talks at the U.S. Defense Department, in Washington, on the possible sale of ships and other military equipment to the United States. The talks follow the recent disclosure that the Defense Department is interested in the possible purchase of British-built naval supply vessels, such as fleet oilers, if the price and other factors are right.

The British mission is headed by Mr. G. C. B. Dodds, an Assistant Secretary at the Ministry of Defense. The mission, which comprises all the British service departments and the Ministry of Aviation, is expected to be in Washington most of the week.

The mission's interest is not confined to ships, although the market in this field could be significant. Officials said the group would certainly be discussing ships, but would not be going into that subject in great detail at this time.

One of the reasons is that the Defense Department has already been made aware of opposition in the United States to the purchase of ships abroad. Any announcement of a definite order for British ships would probably evoke a protest from American shipbuilding interests.

The Defense Department is confident that it can deal with such opposition, but does not want to provoke too much opposition at this time.—REUTER.

Scranton Assails GOP Extremists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, Gov. William W. Scranton, of Pennsylvania, presented last night in Miami a definitive speech and excellent address which outlines the direction for the Republican Party's success in the future. It is a pleasure to call the New York Times' fine summary of that speech to the attention of the Congress and the American people:

SCRANTON ASSAILS GOP EXTREMISTS—SAYS PARTY HAS NO ROOM FOR A RADICAL RIGHT AND MUST RETAIN OWN PRINCIPLES

(By Fred P. Graham)

MIAMI BEACH, August 12.—Gov. William W. Scranton of Pennsylvania said tonight there was not room in the Republican Party for the radical right wing.

In resuming his attack upon the party's extremist fringe after a 1-year truce, the Republican Governor said:

"There is a radical fringe which should never find a spiritual home in either of America's two great political parties, and the Republican Party ought to stop the hopeless task of trying to accommodate them.

"Every effort to hold the Republican tent open wide enough to let in the radicals, the racists and their brethren has only led to the withdrawal from that tent of thousands and thousands of dismayed American voters."

Mr. Scranton made these points in a speech prepared for delivery at the annual dinner of the American Bar Association at the Fontainebleau Hotel.

GOLDWATER NOT MENTIONED

Governor Scranton did not mention Barry Goldwater, the Republican presidential nominee last year, in his speech. Most of the lawyers in the audience had expected such an attack, which had been predicted in newspaper articles today.

Governor Scranton also rejected suggestions for a purge of Republican extremists.

"The party need only refuse to water down or suppress its majority views and the radical fringe will not need to be driven out, for they will leave on their own account.

"The party must realize that electing an effective organizer as (national) chairman—and Ray Bliss is excellent—doesn't absolve it of the need for ideals in a common broad viewpoint on the problems of America."

In his first attack on the party's right wing since his bid for the Republican nomination last summer, Governor Scranton said that only progressive and responsible conservative traditions "actually and legitimately exist within the Republican Party."

CALLS FOR CLOSING GAP

He said the members should admit that these two factions existed, and "spend their time reopening the bridges that do exist between the two points of view."

"The Republican Party can, if it has the will and the energy," he went on, "forget positive positions upon which the vast majority of Republicans can agree and I believe you will see more and more of us Republicans doing just that in the months ahead."

Although the Governor did not say to which tradition he belonged, he seemed to place himself among the progressives by quoting Theodore Roosevelt's advice:

"Be progressive. A great democracy has got to be progressive, or it will soon cease to be either great or a democracy."

Governor Scranton said the adversary nature of the Government was endangered by the decline of the two party system.

"The national Republican Party today is not, for the most part, serving as an effective instrument of the two-party system," Mr. Scranton said, "and though as a Republican I may find that uncomfortable, as an American I find it alarming."

CONCEDES JOHNSON'S SKILL

He said no man could question President Johnson's skill in pushing his domestic programs, which "constitute a remarkable political scoreboard."

"It is partisan nonsense," Mr. Scranton said, "to believe that all wisdom and all sound ideas reside in the Republican Party, but it is equally foolish to believe that they reside in the Democratic Party."

The Governor listed four areas in which, he said, constructive Republican alternatives are needed.

He praised the Voting Rights Act of 1965, but called for new measures to prevent vote frauds by political machines in big cities. Reform is also needed to coordinate the numerous health and welfare programs that have become "cumbersome, wasteful and overlapping," he said.

SAYS CITIES FALL BEHIND

"The big cities each year, despite huge doses of tax money, continue to lose ground in the fight for livability," he added.

The Governor also listed a number of questions concerning the division of tax revenues between the Federal and State Governments. He said the National Government expected an annual revenue increase of $7 billion while within a decade the State governments would be running billions of dollars short each year.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, Aug. 13, 1965]

SCRANTON'S OBJECTIVE: PENNSYLVANIA GOVERNOR SEEKS TO ISOLATE INFLUENCE OF RADICAL RIGHTISTS IN GOP

(By David S. Broder)

WASHINGTON, August 12—Gov. William W. Scranton's speech to the American Bar Association in Miami Beach tonight was the first step in a carefully planned campaign to isolate radical right-wing influence in the Republican Party and to reopen a meaningful debate between the party's responsible progressives and conservatives.

If it suceeds, it could also revive the Pennsylvania Governor's prospects in 1968 for a second shot at the Republican presidential nomination. But Mr. Scranton denies that thought is even in the back of his mind.

He prefers to see himself as playing the role of a John the Baptist, whose efforts will prepare the way for someone, identity undisclosed, to take over the leadership of a party recovered from the election disaster of 1964.

NEW FACE IS EXPECTED

While cognizant of the ambitions Richard M. Nixon and Gov. George Romney, of Michigan, harbor for the nomination in 1968, Mr. Scranton appears to believe that the next nominee is likely to be a new face rather than someone as battle scarred as Mr. Nixon, Mr. Romney, or himself.

In the year since the collapse of his belated campaign to wrest the 1964 nomination from Senator Barry Goldwater, of Arizona, Mr. Scranton has almost become the forgotten man of the Republican Party.

He campaigned in a dozen States for Mr. Goldwater last fall (drawing scant praise from the Goldwaterites for his efforts), but concentrated on salvaging what he could for the Republicans in Pennsylvania. Since the election, he has been silent but not wholly idle on the national scene.

His influence was felt, along with that of other Republican Governors, in the move to replace Dean Burch, Mr. Goldwater's man, with Ray C. Bliss as Republican national chairman. He has lent quiet aid to the party's candidates in the only governorship contest this year, in Virginia and New Jersey.

Most important, he has rebuilt the party in Pennsylvania to the point where it can seriously challenge the Democrats this fall in the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh municipal elections. His prestige as he nears the start of his final year as Governor is such that Democrats concede that any of four Republican governorship prospects Mr. Scranton might support would be a heavy favorite to win election in 1966.

With his home base secure, Mr. Scranton decided the time was right to revive the Republican policy debate. Two developments spurred this decision.

One was the failure of the Republican Coordinating Committee, a panel of the party's congressional leaders, Governors and past presidential candidates, to produce any strong statements of party policy at its first two meetings.

The second was Mr. Goldwater's sponsorship in June of the Free Society Association

as a rallying point for the forces that captured the Republican Party in San Francisco last year.

Mr. Scranton says he waited for someone to speak out, but heard nothing from others but sterile appeals for unity. Then he decided it was time for him to talk.

Instead of proclaiming a nonexistent unity, the Governor asked his fellow Republicans tonight to admit that there were genuine differences between the progressives and conservatives in the party. Equally important, he said, is the recognition that neither side can tolerate the domination of the party by what he called "the radical fringe."

Telling where the "radical fringe" ends and the fabric of conservative Republicanism begins is Mr. Scranton's toughest practical problem, and he recognizes it.

He is clear in his own mind that racists and Birchers have no place in the party. Privately, he condemns Mr. Goldwater's tactic of setting up the Free Society Association outside the Republican Party, as a rival power center. But he is not willing to condemn the program or philosophy of the Goldwater conservatives as being beyond the Republican pale.

PURGE MOVE DENIED

Later speeches may be tougher, but in his Miami Beach text Mr. Scranton did not even mention the Free Society Association, and he specifically denied any effort to purge the Goldwaterites.

Unlike some others in the progressive wing of the party, he genuinely believes that progressives and conservatives can cooperate on specific programs. In Pennsylvania, he forged a productive alliance with M. Harvey Taylor, the conservative leader of the State senate, and he thinks that pattern can be followed in the national party.

It is a difficult line to explain or to sell. The Governor has told friends he expects his effort to be misunderstood by many liberals and to be damned by many conservatives. But he is committed to continuing it, whatever the reaction.

He says he is willing to accept the consequences, which, to many of those around him, means he is also willing to accept the nomination.

The Space Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Edward C. Welsh, Executive Secretary of the National Aeronautics and Space Council addressed the 10th Symposium on Space and Ballistic Missile Technology on August 4, 1965, in San Diego. His remarks were entitled "The Space Challenge" and I trust that the Members will find his remarks of interest:

THE SPACE CHALLENGE

(Keynote address by Dr. Edward C. Welsh, Executive Secretary National Aeronautics and Space Council, San Diego, Calif., Aug. 4, 1965)

It is an honor and a pleasure to participate in the opening session of this 10th Symposium on Space and Ballistic Missile Technology. I appreciate the opportunity afforded me.

Before making a few remarks regarding our national space program, I want to convey the Vice President's regrets at his being unable to be present and to express his sincere wishes for a successful symposium. He asked that I encourage this distinguished audience "to step up the Nation's technological progress, as peace and freedom rely heavily upon our technological leadership."

MISUNDERSTANDING

There exists a serious misunderstanding about our space program. All too many people seem to have the impression that part of our program is peaceful in intent and nature while the other part is something different, presumably nonpeaceful. This misconception goes further by attempting to identify the nonpeaceful and the nonscientific with the military and to credit the peaceful and the scientific to the civilian. This distinction could not be more wrong.

There are those, however, in the Government as well as outside the Government who foster this type of confusion. Such inaccuracy of expression and of thinking causes unwarranted friction between Government agencies, unnecessary suspicion of our intentions on the part of other nations, and serious difficulties for those who attempt to explain our space planning to the Congress and to the public.

PEACEFUL PURPOSE

The fact is—in both policy and practice—that all of our space activities are peaceful. Moreover, no arm of the Government has a monopoly over our peaceful space projects. Just in case it may have been forgotten, let me quote from our highest policy level. In 1962, President Johnson, then Vice President and the Chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, stated: "The United States does not have a division between peaceful and nonpeaceful objectives for space but rather has space missions to help keep the peace and space missions to improve our ability to live well in peace."

In 1964, as President, he said: "Our space program, in both its civil and military aspects, is peaceful in purpose and practice."

If it were not for the currency of misconceptions, it would seem to be unnecessary to recall that the National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958 states: "It is the policy of the United States that activities in space should be devoted to peaceful purposes for the benefit of all mankind." In so stating, the act referred to all space activities, including those of the Defense Department as well as those of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Surely, everyone should be able to agree that there is no activity more peaceful than that which discourages aggression and thereby encourages peace.

Those who drive wedges of adverse intent between the space activities of the Defense Department and NASA, for example, do a disservice to the national effort and act to contravene national policy.

Perhaps I am belaboring the obvious. Perhaps I am emphasizing a principle concerning which you have sensed no misunderstanding. If the latter is the case, I will have to say that you are indeed in the minority. A very large number of writers and speakers—expert or not on the subject of space—attempt to make a distinction between the peaceful and military phases of our space program. Such contrasts distort the truth.

COMPLACENCY

I hasten to add, however, that I am not saying that space cannot be used for purposes of aggression. Of course it can. No arena within the reach of man is free from the possibility of being exploited by an aggressor. Moreover, no nation should bury itself in the sands of complacency and thereby neglect to develop the technological and military strength so necessary for deterring potential aggressors.

The maintenance of such strength in no respect conflicts with the policy of peace. In fact, the more competent we are to prevent surprise, to discover aggressive maneuvers, and to intercept hostile weapons in any medium, the better chance we have of living in peace. That is why I have taken such a keen interest in our military space developments.

When I state, therefore, that our entire national space program is peaceful, I mean that we have no aggressive intent, that we seek no domination over other peoples, and that we are eager to share the benefits of space exploration with all mankind. I do not mean, however, that we intend to be naive, complacent, or weak.

COOPERATION

Cooperation between the Defense Department and NASA takes continued effort and attention. It is not enough to legislate that cooperation. Rather, it is something which has to be worked on at all times—and that is being done. As I pointed out previously, those who drive wedges—like claiming that one agency is peaceful and the other is not, or that one agency's activities are essential while the others are not—tend to undermine what is generally a condition of healthy competition and constructive cooperation.

I also believe in international space cooperation whenever such joint endeavor will improve technology, increase our store of knowledge, or further the pursuit of peace. This means that international space cooperation, in order to be justifiable, must be mutual in its benefits and must not in any case diminish the relative strength of this country.

GROWTH

As much, however, as I favor international cooperation in space—and I do so emphatically—cooperation within our country is even more important. If one looks backward to the beginning of the development of ballistic missile technology and follows that record of growth through to the present time, he will see step-by-step progress. Sometimes the steps were hesitant or slow ones and sometimes very rapid. But whether slow or fast, the net result was a vastly increased vase of technical knowledge and experience which has contributed directly to this country's military strength and economic well-being. On such a technological foundation we have built an effective missile deterrent, whose value can be judged by the fact that we have not needed to employ it in anger. On this technological base also, we have taken a few strong strides toward developing a real space competence. The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to those who pioneered the research, the development, and the production of ballistic missiles. Had it not been for this early effort, much of it under adverse circumstances, the national space program could not have made the great advance it has made in recent years. This farsightedness, this growth, this interrelationship of manpower and facilities, show how national assets can be put to constructive use so long as we have the will and the determination to do so.

Those who are impatient for even greater progress in space—and I am to be counted among them—should try to establish perspective by attempting to enumerate some of the many accomplishments which have taken place in less than a decade of space activities. In a sense, that reference to a period shorter than a decade is somewhat misleading as it has been much more than 10 years since we first started in rocket technology. However, it has been only recently that we have had what can really be called a viable space program. We need go back only to 1956 to find the first year in which space expenditures reached the grand total of $100 million. Fiscal year 1965, with its expenditure figure of $6.6 billion was only the fifth year in which space spending exceeded $1 billion. Those few figures attest to the tremendous

rate of growth of our national space program. This rapid rate of growth undoubtedly will not and should not be expected to continue, but I feel quite confident in predicting steady and constructive growth for the future. While there are indications of some leveling off of total space expenditures, it is hoped that they will continue to grow over the years at least consonant with the rate of increase in our gross national product.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

As I suggested, a quick look at space accomplishments in the last few years reveals successful satellites in communications, navigation, nuclear detection, scientific investigations, weather and other observations, radiation measurements, geodetic surveys, the garnering of data regarding the Moon, Venus, and Mars, and a wide range of other space activities.

It is also worthy of note that since 1958 this country has placed more than 300 spacecraft into orbit about the Earth and put 12 on escape missions. About half of that amazing total has been launched during the past 24 months.

COMPARISON WITH U.S.S.R.

As we bask in the glow of self-congratulation, however, let us not forget for a moment that the Soviets also have an orderly, balanced, and vigorous space program. Moreover, their program continues to accelerate. Instead of a slowdown, which some had predicted, the U.S.S.R. has experienced a steady expansion in its space efforts. For example, so far this year they have put almost twice as many payloads into Earth orbit as they had by this time last year. Indeed, the last few weeks have shown a record amount of Soviet space activity, and I see no evidence that the pace will diminish.

Although the Soviets have not had as notable success in their escape space attempts as they have had in their earth-orbiting missions, they have put a larger percentage of their total effort into far-out space missions than we have. They are still ahead of us in manned space flight experience and in total weight of payloads orbited, while we are ahead in number of payloads and in space applications in such areas as communications, navigation, and meterology. Both countries have made great progress in scientific experiments, in the reliability of space equipment, and in the development of larger and more powerful launch vehicles.

NATIONAL EFFORT

Our space program is truly national in operation as well as in policy. For example, the Defense Department has developed rockets used for both their launches and for NASA's launches. The Defense Department has also supplied all the astronauts for Mercury and most of them for Gemini. Since the former is a completed program, it supplies an excellent illustration of interagency cooperation. In a single manned Mercury operation, 28 ships, 171 aircraft, and over 18,000 military personel were deployed in primary and contingent recovery areas throughout the world. Those who like to find divisiveness in our space program find little comfort in the Mercury project. This was a case in which we had NASA spacecraft placed into orbit by Air Force-developed boosters, launched from an interagency coordinated launch site, and piloted by individuals on detail from the armed services. That cooperation was in addition to the recovery support just mentioned.

Exchange of technology and experience should be a mutual one. For example, NASA's considerable success in manned space flight could assist the Air Force substantially in the development of a manned orbiting laboratory. Such interagency cooperation should not impair our peaceful image or modify our peaceful intent.

One of the most important facts about the space program is one which is so frequently overlooked. I refer to the fact that those engaged in the program are creating national assets and national resources, which can be devoted to the best interests of this Nation—whether such use be to improve man's well-being or to protect mankind from aggression.

A GLANCE AT THE FUTURE

And now I would like to outline briefly a few general features of our space activities for the future:

1. We will not only land men on the Moon, but, if conditions warrant, we will make many other trips to explore the various parts of the lunar surface and possibly establish a base or bases there.

2. We will not only send unmanned probes throughout the solar system to learn more about the planets, but we will send manned expeditions into space wherever they seem feasible.

3. We will develop a growing family of manned Earth-orbiting stations, from relatively small orbiting laboratories to large multimanned permanent stations. We would expect to operate a regular ferry service to transfer personnel and supplies to and from such stations on a regular basis.

4. Global communications via satellites will be a fact in the very near future and should be followed soon by direct broadcast of both voice and TV by satellite to home receivers throughout large sections of the world.

5. The future will find us in a continuing rate of growth in improved propulsion—faster, more powerful rockets using nuclear as well as chemical energy.

6. Orbiting spacecraft will increase annually in numbers, in size, and in sophistication. Through such activity we will greatly increase our knowledge about the Earth as well as about the heavens.

7. We can expect a marriage of the major features of both aeronautics and astronautics. In other words, lifting bodies and winged spacecraft with maneuverable reentry ability will be launched into near and distant space by means of recoverable and reusable launch vehicles. Drastic reduction in the cost of space travel will result.

8. And, finally, as our competence in space increases and as such competence becomes part of the institutional structure not only of this country but of many countries throughout the world, we can expect to see greater economic progress and international cooperation. Then we can truly say that our space efforts have made major contributions to world peace.

In the coming sessions of this symposium, highly complex and technical subjects will undoubtedly be explored. I am sure they will be stimulating and productive. As you pursue these scientific and engineering intricacies, I hope you will keep in mind some of the policy implications and national objectives which I have touched upon this morning.

Thank you.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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Appendix

Soil Conservation in West Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the July 1965 issue of the Department of Agriculture publication, Soil Conservation, featured a look at Appalachia, its problems, past corrective programs, and future efforts for economic betterment of the region.

One of the articles in the publication dealt with West Virginia, and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article, "In Perspective," was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A LOOK AT APPALACHIA: IN PERSPECTIVE—WEST VIRGINIA FLASHBACK TRACES EBB AND FLOW OF PEOPLE AND PROSPERITY IN HIGHLAND AREA

(By Glendon P. Burton and Ross Mellinger, area conservationist, SCS, Parkersburg, and Woodland Conservationist, SCS, Morgantown, W. Va.)

Let's take a trip into a part of Appalachia from the junction of the Little Kanawha and Ohio Rivers at Parkersburg, W. Va. Our flashback in time will take us over 165 years of land-use history in one of America's unique resources regions.

Starting about 1800, we join up with the first settlers traveling by boat and on foot eastward along the Little Kanawha River and its tributaries into Wood, Wirt, Ritchie, Calhoun, and Roane Counties. They gain footholds in the wilderness along the stream.

When their first rough shelters are built, they spread out from the stream bottoms to conquer the hills. Their growing families and improving markets for food and timber force them to clear the steep hillsides. They find the soil is good. They can grow corn, wheat, hay, and pasture.

INDUSTRIAL BOOM

In the 1860's, the discovery of oil at Burning Springs, Wirt County, sets off a booming oil and gas industry. Oilfield workers establish homesteads farther back in the hills. There is soon a family in every hollow.

Oil did for the Kanawha River area what coal mining did to much of the rest of Appalachia—stimulated an industrial development that left its workers stranded when the resource faded.

Soon lumberjacks move in with axes, saws, and oxen to move the timber to the streams. Trees that can't be sold for timber are logrolled and burned. Leases to clear land for three crops of corn are common.

Food must be grown for home use; and for barter; woodland must be changed to pasture to grow cattle and sheep. There is no corner grocery store or supermarket. This is a period when each farm is nearly a self-sufficient unit. The land responds to human needs—but at a price.

During World War I more steep land is plowed for grain. Farmers soon begin to notice that the plow often strikes rock where it didn't before. Are the stones growing out of the soil?

PRICE OF THE PLOW

Parts of the field are now red instead of brown and the corn doesn't grow well there. Gullies begin to appear. Even when plowed in or filled with stones, they soon wash out again.

Pasture fields don't green-up as early in the spring; strange grasses and weeds begin to replace bluegrass. On steep slopes the land begins to slip and slide in large chunks.

The streams run muddy red after hard rains, and they completely dry up in the summer. Dug wells have to be dug deeper. What is happening to the land and water?

This is a period of large farms for hill country. Many are 200 acres or more. Wheat and oats are often cradled on fields too steep for a binder. Corn is the big grain crop. Hillside plows and sure-footed teams make it possible to plant the steepest slopes. The average mechanized farm of this period has a team of horses, hay rake, two-horse mowing machine, a wagon, and a sled.

This is truly the time of the family farm. The whole family works from dawn to dusk. But it is not an unhappy time. Neighborly visits; exchange of labor at harvest time; Saturday night in town; Sunday at church; husking bees; homecomings; picnics and political rallies—these provide social contacts and recreation.

THE WEARY ROAD

Roads are a real problem. The soils contain heavy red clay; slips and slides are common. From early November until the first of May, travel for any distance is a major task. Horses sink to their knees and wagons to the axles when the ground softens. A hard road is a rare treat for the mud-weary traveler.

Following the big family period, farms become smaller. Land is being divided up among heirs, until in the 1930's the average-size farm is about 100 acres. About 30 acres is woodland; the other 70 equally divided between pasture and former cropland used as meadow. Farmers have a subsistence level of living, but wants are few and some folks comment that they made it through the depression years by "lack of expense."

Soils are impoverished and eroded; livestock prices are riding the bottom; there is little incentive for farmers to invest in large-scale soil improvement measures. In fact, it is almost impossible to find the money, no matter how attractive the promised returns. Yet this period spawns the soil conservation program and the concept of "using land within its capabilities and treating it according to its needs for protection and improvement."

EXODUS BEGINS

During and after World War II, the rapid expansion of industry creates new jobs. Young people leave the farm. The old folks pass away or retire, and many farmsteads are abandoned. Population declines rapidly, and the land starts to revert to its original state of the 1800's—timber.

The farmers who stay see that it takes more and better land, more intensively used, to survive.

Mechanization joined with modern soil conservation techniques turn the trick. But only a few farms can do this because the kind of land needed is scarce.

Now, on long weekends the children and grandchildren return to the old homestead, driving late model cars. The young people left Appalachia to earn their way in industrial areas of the Piedmont and East. There they established a reputation as excellent workers in industry.

A few small industries appear in Harrisville, Grantsville, Elizabeth, and Spencer—clothing, rubber goods, metal fabrication, and wood products are manufactured. These help utilize the skills of local people, but there is still a surplus of labor and the better opportunities for ambitious young people lie elsewhere.

In the 1960's, local leaders begin to study their communities and themselves. They realize that the vision of large industries, employing thousands of people, appearing back in the hills, as if by magic, is only a dream. They agree that progress must come mostly from conservation and development of the region's natural resources, supplemented by small industries where possible. They adopt the "drop your bucket where you are" philosophy.

WOOD IS HOPE

With 68 percent of the land now in woodland and with 1.73 billion board feet of timber on good timber-growing soils, wood-using industries are developing. Pulpwood is being produced from the pine that sprang up on the old crop fields. Trees are being planted. Sawmills and wood-treating plants are starting to utilize the hardwoods. The idea of tree farming for continuous production is catching on.

In the 1960's, soil and land use problems are still present. After heavy rains, the streams still run red. We see raw, eroded areas in overgrazed pastures; slips and slides on hillsides; eroding road banks and streambanks.

Here and there, as we get close to Parkersburg, we see erosion problems created by ill-planned housing developments as the city moves to the country.

We see thousands of acres of rough, unstable land gradually being taken over by low-value trees and brush. We wonder if good trees will be planted on these areas before it is too late and too costly.

Roads are still a problem. Designed to "get farmers out of the mud," hard tops were put on old roadways. They are not suitable for high speed travel and heavy loads. Bridges are small and posted with low load limit signs. We wonder how heavy wood products can be moved to market over these inadequate roads and bridges.

Where roads are good, people who like rural living locate homesites. Some are factory workers in plants along the Ohio River. Some are retirees. Some are former residents returned to the scenes of their childhood. Where roads provide quick transportation, they prefer to live in the country.

BEAUTY BECKONS

The great natural beauty of this land in the spring, summer, and fall beckons the vacationer. The Little Kanawha River is noted for its bass, muskies, and big catfish. In the woodlands, squirrels, grouse, and deer are plentiful and on the increase. A good boating pool is located behind the Elizabeth Dam. All of these things, plus many other outdoor activities, are recreational opportunities yet to be fully developed.

We wonder what it's going to take to effect the conservation and development of natural resources necessary for better living in this part of Appalachia.

Landowners cooperating with soil conservation districts have succeeded in curbing erosion and improving land use on individual properties. Some with adequate land resources for profitable agriculture have found a measure of security. But not more than 50 percent of the land has been placed under safe and profitable conservation management.

A small watershed project on Bonds Creek provides protection to valley farmers and recreation facilities for the city of Pennsboro, but its 9,435 acres is just a patch on the mountainous terrain needing such coordinated planning and treatment.

Currently, committees of local leaders are exploring the possibilities of a Resource Conservation and Development project for five counties under the Department of Agriculture program administered by the Soil Conservation Service.

And now, the Appalachian Regional Development Act offers promise of new aids for building a stable economy on the region's natural resources.

Of one thing we are sure—the land endures and if the people put their minds and hands to it, they can fashion a good life in Appalachia.

St. Louis Globe Sparks Freedom Academy Drive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD (DICK) ICHORD

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, a recent issue of the St. Louis Globe carried a column by Edward O'Brien, a well-known and respected Washington correspondent, bringing attention to a bill which is presently awaiting action in the Committee on Rules and Administration and a bill on which this House will soon be required to act. The column ably points out the connection between our situation in Vietnam and the need for the Freedom Academy. Had the Freedom Academy been established 10 years ago I would dare to say there would be no need for American troops in Vietnam today. The present premier of that war-torn land has stated on several occasions that one of the key problems of the war is acquiring and maintaining the support of private citizens. Few would deny that the Communists have created this war through the efforts of trained professional insurgents. Vietnam is no civil war. Vietnam is not a legitimate revolutionary war. Vietnam is the result of professional agitation, initiated and directed by Communist powers. Armed intervention will not prevent wars of liberation. Only through concentrated nonmilitary efforts by the United States and the free world can the citizens of the world be afforded the opportunity to choose between self-government and communism; for as it is now only the other side presents their case to the people on their level and in a manner conducive to organization and support.

Without further comment, I recommend the above mentioned article to the attention of the Congress. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I place an article from the St. Louis Globe-Democrat written by Edward O'Brien and entitled, "Washington" at this point in the RECORD:

WASHINGTON

(By Edward W. O'Brien)

WASHINGTON.—Topic A in this city is the military conflict in Vietnam and President Johnson's search for acceptable means to turn the Communist victories at least into a stalemate.

But little thought is being given to the larger problem that lies beneath the Vietnam fighting and will persist and grow in other countries. This is the fact that Communist warfare takes many forms other than military, that these Red nonmilitary techniques are highly developed, and that the non-Communist world has not yet learned how to overcome them.

As the Vietcong reap their victories, there is, however, a new stirring in Congress and the beginning of recognition that the United States must make a genuine effort to understand Communist use of political, ideological, psychological, sociological, technological, economic, and other nonmilitary weapons.

A few days ago the House Committee on Un-American Activities approved a bill, sponsored by Representative RICHARD H. ICHORD, Democrat, of Missouri, to establish a Freedom Academy as an independent Government agency that would mount a comprehensive nonmilitary program to meet the Communists cold war offensive.

Though the Academy idea has been lying around in various congressional bills since 1959, this was the first time the proposal has moved as far as committee approval in the House. The Senate approved a similar bill in 1960 but since then, the Academy has been stalled, apparently because of opposition by Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, the foreign relations committee chairman.

In a speech in 1961, President Kennedy seemed to be agreeing to the need for something like the Freedom Academy.

"We dare not fail to grasp the new concept, the new tools, the new sense of urgency we will need to combat (communism) * * * we intend to reexamine and reorient our forces of all kinds, our tactics, and our institutions," he said.

In the Senate, the proposal has always had support from Democrats and Republicans, Liberals and Conservatives. The Senate Judiciary Committee said of the 1960 bill:

"This is the first measure to recognize that a concentrated development and training program must precede a significant improvement in our cold war capabilities. The various present agencies and bureaus can be shuffled and reshuffled, but until they are staffed by highly motivated personnel who have been systematically and intensively trained in the vast and complex field of total political warfare, we can expect little improvement in our situation. This one, lone Freedom Academy can lay the foundation for a major breakthrough."

At present, the United States does not even possess an adequate library for research and training in political warfare. The State Department, U.S. Information Agency, and other agencies working directly in the field do no more than brush the subject in preparing their professionals.

The Communists, on the other hand, have operated, for almost 50 years, dozens of first-class political warfare schools for Reds of every country. The Vietcong subversion and terror in South Vietnam are a result.

The State Department has always opposed Freedom Academy bills, claiming, though the record shows otherwise, that the same job can be handled by State or other existing agencies. It wants no rivals in the field of international relations.

The other factor is the belief held by many State Department officials and by Senator FULBRIGHT that the cold war is over, making the Freedom Academy concept obsolete. But Representative ICHORD and others merely have to point to Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, and dozens of other hotspots to show that freedom is in greater peril than ever.

Shrine Award Presented to O. Carlyle Brock

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the Imperial Session of the Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine for North America was held here in Washington from July 12 to July 16, 1965. During the opening session the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma of the Eloy International Foundation of the Republic of Panama was bestowed upon my friend, fellow Shriner, and constituent O. Carlyle Brock who had served as Imperial Potentate of the Shrine for North America during the year 1964–65. The presentation address was made by Dr. Herman A. Bayern, American Provost of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation, and the formal presentation was made by the newly elected Imperial Potentate, Barney Collins. I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Bayern's remarks and the acceptance speech of O. Carlyle Brock be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Imperial Sir, O. Carlyle Brock, Imperial Potentate for the Shrine for North America, we are assembled here this afternoon to honor you, our dedicated and distinguished leader of nobility for North America.

You have been voted the highest honor of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama, in recognition of your outstanding service to mankind, and for your merit and accomplishments in all worthy endeavors, including the shrine's hospitals, and in further recognition of your untiring efforts toward the establishment of international peace.

This foundation, named after the soldier, patriot, statesman, martyr, the former president of Ecuador, at the turn of the century, is for the perpetuation of justice, truth, and friendship among peoples and nations; and seeks to promote the moral values with personal integrity, for which General Alfaro devoted and laid down his life.

President Alfaro (1842–1912) established in Latin America, many schools, colleges and universities, as well as hospitals and other welfare institutions: and furthered cooperation and unity among the countries of the entire Western Hemisphere. Under his leadership, the legislature of Ecuador passed laws, separating church and state.

Whenever there was a threat to the peace in the Western Hemisphere, he was the dynamic leader who brought about a peaceful settlement of such disputes.

General Alfaro sowed the seeds for Pan American understanding and cooperation. In 1907 he called a peace conference in Mex-

ico City, in which the United States participated, for welding all the Americas together, and to preserve for the Western Hemisphere the Pan American unity of freedom loving people, that would be the perpetual harbinger against the attempt of any form of despotism to plant the tyrant's heel on even the tiniest portion of the soil of our Pan American nations, as the Soviet Union and Dr. Castro have actually done in Cuba, in violation of the Monroe Doctrine.

Were General Alfaro alive today, he would be a zealous supporter of the work and program of the United Nations. This great Ecuadorean statesman and dedicated leader would have left no stone unturned to assure, for all the peoples of the world, that hope and peace and good will to all men that is our common heritage from our common Creator.

This foundation was organizeed to perpetuate and further the political and moral values of the Americas advanced by General Alfaro, for whom the foundation was named, and who at the turn of the century was the President of Ecuador for two terms.

The philosophy of General Alfaro was based principally on service to his fellow human beings, and to the cause of international peace.

The public and private activities of Imperial Sir O. Carlyle Brock, imperial potentate, comes within the framework of the kind of service to humanity, and particularly in his extraordinary service to the Shrine and the Shrine hospitals for North America.

In recognition of this fact, the ruling body of the foundation grants you, Imperial Sir O. Carlyle Brock, imperial potentate, its highest honor—the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma.

You are now among the elite and select group of humanitarians who have been similarly honored by the foundation in the past. They include the late Presidents F. D. Roosevelt, J. F. Kennedy, and Herbert Hoover, and the late General of the Armies, Douglas MacArthur, former Presidents Eisenhower and Truman, and President Lyndon B. Johnson, Vice President HUMPHREY, Irving L. Mermer, Ray Holtz, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, Governors Rockefeller and Harriman, Senators MANSFIELD and DIRKSEN, along with Imperial Sir Barney Collins, who typify the caliber of men who have been theretofore honored.

Therefore, it now gives us the privilege and honor to call upon Imperial Sir Barney Collins, our next imperial potentate, to carry out the determination of the board of dignitaries to invest Imperial Sir O. Carlyle Brock with the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma.

ACCEPTANCE OF SIR O. CARLYLE BROCK

Dr. Bayern, American provost, members of the Imperial Divan, Illustrious Protentates of the Temples for North America, distinguished guests, my charming wife, children and grandchildren, and fellow nobles of the Shrine for North America.

I am overwhelmed and from the bottom of my heart, I wish to express my appreciation to all my fellow Nobles from Mecca Temple, particularly the ambassadors from Mecca, who have honored me this afternoon with the top honor of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama, with the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma.

I was thrilled when Sir Barney Collins, my successor, bestowed this high honor on me. I accept this award, not for myself alone, but for all 850,000 Nobles of North America, as whose leader I had the privilege of serving our great fraternity for 1964 to 1965, and I pledge my continued cooperation, to our newly elected imperial potentate.

To be able to join this select and elite company of those distinguished recipients who have been honored in the past, is indeed a high honor, and I shall regard it as an inspiration to accelerate my efforts in carrying out the high ideals and principles of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama.

May I now call my wonderful and charming wife, Emily, and the rest of my married children and grandchildren, to come to the platform to share this honor with me and you. I wish at this time to pay a special tribute and thanks to my charming wife, and helpmate, who has been my inspiration and help, which enabled me to efficiently carry out my responsibilities as your imperial potentate, during my term of office during the 1964 to 1965 period.

I wish to again express my personal appreciation to Sir Barney Collins, now imperial potentate for the period from 1965 to 1966, Dr. Herman A. Bayern, American provost, and ambassador to Irving L. Mermer, illustrious potentate, Mecca Temple, and to all other members of Mecca Temple, who participated in conferring this award on me. I hope and pray that we may have peace in our time.

The Real Alabama—Part XLV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, capital investment in the State of Alabama amounted to more than $1 billion in the past 28 months.

Translated into terms of job opportunities, this means a total of more than 45,000 jobs created by this capital investment in a State where economic progress is solid and consistent.

More on this subject is presented in the following editorial from the Mobile Register newspaper of August 10, 1965:

TEN-STRIKE FOR STATE IN INDUSTRIAL GAINS

Alabama has scored a 10-strike in excess of a billion dollars in industrialization progress in approximately the past 2 years.

This notable achievement is brought to attention by the Alabama State Chamber of Commerce in the August issue of its monthly bulletin.

A July survey by the State chamber developed the fact that the past 28 months new and expanded industrial projects announced for Alabama amounted to more than $1 billion in capital expenditures.

"Business and industrial leaders have expressed their confidence in Alabama's future with this tremendous capital investment outlay and it will benefit every segment of the State's population and form a base for greater future growth," says the State chamber of commerce.

"Leader in industrial expansion and development in the entire Southeast in 1964, Alabama broke all records with a whopping $406 million announced total capital investment for new and expanded industries, the largest total reported by any Southeastern State.

"When these new and expanded industrial facilities are put into production, they will offer 45,720 additional job opportunities."

Three key factors in the rapid industrial growth of Alabama are summed up in this observation in the report:

"The magic of materials, markets and manpower is continuing to attract manufacturing."

These, of course, are by no means all of the reasons why Alabama is progressing so fast industrially.

The State chamber also pinpoints such other reasons as these: "The State's remarkably abundant supply of fresh water, natural resources, field, forest and soil, and mild climate all are contributing toward the outstanding industrial record."

Of special direct interest in Mobile is the relation between the statewide industrial growth of Alabama and the growth of shipping through this port.

"Alabama's well diversified industrial base helps stimulate foreign trade through the Port of Mobile," the report in the August Bulletin reminds.

"Rubber, coffee, sugar, jute and iron ore pass through the port going to Alabama plants. In turn, Alabama-made products are loaded on ships at the State docks to be transported to world markets.

"Alabama manufacturing firms which participate in direct export trade cover almost the entire range of industrial activity and are located in every part of the State."

Completion of the 40-foot Mobile Bay ship channel, making Mobile harbor one of the deepest in the Nation, still better equips this industrial seaport to serve world trade, a good fortune not only for the port itself and the rest of Alabama but for vast outside areas both in this country and abroad.

Czech Language Taught at Rogers, Tex., High School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, some time ago, one of my distinguished colleagues in the Senate expressed concern and disappointment over the fact that no high school in the United States taught Czech language as a credit course.

I would like to point with pride to a recent article in the newspaper Vestnik for Wednesday, June 2, 1965, which describes the Czech language course at Rogers High School in Rogers, Tex. This central Texas town is the only high school in the United States that currently teaches Czech as a credit language course, and it has been offering a course in Czech since the fall of 1957.

To describe the teaching of Czech at Rogers High School, I ask unanimous consent that the two articles on page 3 through 5 of the Wednesday, June 2, 1965, issue of the newspaper Vestnik be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CZECH CLASS AT ROGERS HIGH SCHOOL

The small Central Texas town of Rogers has been receiving some rather unusual publicity in recent weeks, as the nationwide foreign language survey. It seems that Rogers High School is the only public high school in the United States that currently teaches Czech as a credit language course. A school in Illinois was listed as offering Czech, but no enrollment in the course.

It was an honor for your editor to be recently invited to address this year's Czech class at Rogers High School. The occasion was the annual and traditional evening luncheon sponsored by a very good friend of the Czech language and Czech culture,

Brother E. L. Schovajsa of Temple. We were delighted to talk briefly to the group and meet the students individually. They are a well-mannered, alert, and pleasant group of young people. Their instructor is Brother John L. Chervenka, who is principal of Rogers High School, and also teaches Spanish. Czech I is taught the first year and Czech II the next. Last year's Czech I class numbered 23; this year's Czech class numbers 10, which is about normal. The classes use the Mikula text, published in 1936. No State funds are available for the purchase of newer or revised texts, because of a State education requirement that before a free text can be supplied, over 10,000 students must be enrolled in a particular course in the State. The class is very short on dictionaries. Your editor promised that he would try to help them out in this regard. A good Czech-English and English-Czech dictionary is available through the Czechoslovak Publishing Co., here in West, for a price of $6. Here is a good chance for someone who wants to do something good and worth while for the cause of the Czech language and its survival in what is probably the last outpost of Czech instruction in the whole United States of America. Anyone wishing to purchase this dictionary for the permanent use of Rogers High School Czech classes may do so by making out their check, payable to the Czechoslovak Publishing Co., indicating on the check what it is for, and we will do the rest. The Vestnik will publish the list of donors, and if you'd like, we'll insert the name of each donor in the dictionary. A lot of people wax strong about the sad plight of the Czech language here in Texas. Here then, is a direct way to aid the cause. They need your help. How about it? Now is the time to prepare for the fall school semester.

Brother Chervenka is a member of SPJST Lodge No. 69, New Colony, and is doing a fine job with these young people, considering the tools he has available. His brother, Calvin, is also an SPJST member, and teaches at Temple Junior College. The SPJST is well represented among the young people at Rogers High.

Our sincere thanks to Brother Schovajsa for his invitation, and to Brother Chervenka, students and faculty at Rogers High, our congratulations, and may every success be yours.

The following article appeared in a recent issue of the Temple Daily Telegram, and we are indebted to Brother Leonard D. Mikeska for calling our attention to it.—Editor.

CZECH LANGUAGE CLASS AT ROGERS ONLY ONE IN NATION

(By Beth Allen)

ROGERS.—A teenage boy stood in front of a class last week and read a newspaper article about President John F. Kennedy published on the first anniversary of his assassination.

But he's not a member of a civics class whose time-sense is out of whack.

He's a member of the only public high school Czech class in the Nation and he'd already read the article in Czech. Now he's translating.

The article appeared in the Vestnik, the Czech-English newspaper published in West, in central Texas, and the student is a member of the Czech II class at Rogers High School.

The Vestnik is used as a supplementary text. J. L. Chervenka, who teaches the class, said they have about a year's supply of old Vestniks they used for reading.

The State-adopted text is the oldest in the State, according to Chervenka. It was published back in 1936 and adopted in 1937 and is loaded with drills but has little reading matter.

Because it's the only public high school Czech class in the Nation, the Rogers class finds reading matter a little hard to come by. Hence, the use of the Vestnik.

However, persons who want their children to learn some foreign language in high school other than Spanish and French, probably shouldn't dash out and move to Rogers.

Unless their children speak Czech at home they might find the sledding a little rough. Texas has a large number of citizens of Czech origin, many of them only second or third generation native Texans, and many of these citizens live in and around Rogers.

So Czech at Rogers High School is not actually taught as a foreign language, Chervenka said.

Most of the students already speak Czech by the time they enroll in the course. However, they are actually illiterate in the language, just as English-speaking students are illiterate in English until they study it in school. In other words, they can speak it fluently, perhaps with faultless grammar, but can't read or write the language.

So the emphasis in the Czech classes (Czech I is taught one year and Czech II the next) is not on obtaining a basic vocabulary and learning the grammar from scratch, but enlarging the students' vocabularies and improving their grammar.

The textbook is used to provide grammatical rules and drill. The Vestnik provides practice in reading aloud in Czech and translating from Czech to English and from English to Czech. Mr. Chervenka uses a program with "a lot of original writing in Czech. These Czech themes are reproduced and distributed to the class for translation to English.

Last year's Czech I class numbered 23. This year's Czech II class is smaller, as is usual with language classes. There are 10 in the group.

The credits these students earn are accepted in colleges across the land as foreign language credits.

Chervanka also teaches Spanish at Rogers High School and is principal.

The class was first organized in the fall of 1957 and has been offered every year since then on the alternating basis.

B. F. Harbour, superintendent of schools, figures Rogers High School is a fine place to offer the course. "About 85 students out of the 205 enrolled in high school are Czech," he said.

Rogers' unique place in modern language instruction came to light in a nationwide survey made by a language association. A school in Illinois listed the course, but no current class was reported.

Students enrolled in Czech II this year are Margaret Malina, Johnnie Elsik, Willie Janicek, J. W. Pechal, Shirley Pekar, Anton Hutka, David Vanicek, Calvin Motl, Linhart Pechal, and Edward Skrabanek.

Address of Richard M. Nixon on Herbert Hoover's 91st Birth Date

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, on August 10, 1965, former Vice President Richard M. Nixon delivered a commemorative speech in West Branch, Iowa, as part of his tribute to one of our greatest Americans, former President Herbert Hoover. This remarkable address beautifully commemorates the former President and made him live again by applying his principles and his beliefs toward today's major problem, Vietnam.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD Mr. Nixon's speech because I believe the points he makes and the course he charts should be brought to the attention of the Congress:

HERBERT HOOVER 91ST BIRTH DATE COMMEMORATIVE PROGRAM, WEST BRANCH, IOWA, AUGUST 10, 1965

(Address by Richard M. Nixon)

This distinguished gathering, honored by the presence of General Eisenhower, is in itself, an eloquent tribute to one of America's greatest leaders. The honor which has been accorded to me to add to that tribute provides a wide and rich choice of subjects.

For over 50 years Herbert Hoover walked as an equal among the giants of the earth.

We could honor him for his service as President of the United States.

We could honor him for his achievements as an engineer and as an author.

We could honor him for his contribution to the cause of more efficient government through the reports of the Hoover Commissions on Government Reorganization.

We could honor him for the selfless service which earned him worldwide recognition as the great humanitarian of the 20th century.

But, great as were his achievements, Eugene Lyons was probably correct in concluding that Herbert Hoover will be remembered more for what he was than what he did.

In terms of public esteem, never has one man fallen so low and risen so high. Thirty-three years ago he left the White House vilified by his enemies and forsaken even by some of his friends. Like Secretary Rusk, he had learned how viciously cruel so-called scholars can be in writing of their contemporaries.

In that dreary March of 1932, Herbert Hoover could well have been described as the "man nobody knows." This warm, kind, generous, shy, witty, and progressive humanitarian was painted as a cold, heartless, selfish, aloof, humorless reactionary.

But time has a way of healing the wounds inflicted by excessive partisanship. If the commentators of the decade were cruel, the historians of the century will be kinder. Before his death he became a living example of the truth of the words Sophocles wrote 2,000 years ago. "One must wait until the evening to see how splendid the day has been."

His legion of friends can be forever grateful that Herbert Hoover was one of those rare leaders who lived to hear the overwhelming favorable verdict of history on his public career.

No words can add luster to the special place he has earned in the hearts of his countrymen. But let it be noted that for generations to come his magnificence in adversity will be an everlasting example to those who would achieve greatness. A lesser man would have lashed back at his critics. But, Herbert Hoover was one of those unique individuals who was capable of great anger against corruption, brutality, and evil but never against people.

His serenity, in the face of the most brutal attacks, in the end made his detractors seem like pygmies and allowed his fellow Americans to see even more clearly the great character of the giant who walked among them.

To limit my remarks on this occasion to a discussion of his achievements would certainly be appropriate. But the highest tribute a nation can pay to one of its great men is to honor his principles in the adoption of national policy. In that spirit, let us test our policy in Vietnam against the foreign policy principles of Herbert Hoover.

It would be presumptuous to say what position he would take on Vietnam if he were alive today. But the principles which would guide him in making that decision ring out true and clear from the record of his public statements.

Speaking at the Republican Convention in Chicago in 1944, he said:

"We want to live in peace.

"We want no territory.

"We want no domination over any nation.

"We want the freedom of nations from the domination of others.

"We want it both in the cause of freedom and because there can be no lasting peace if enslaved people must ceaselessly strive and fight for freedom."

There was no fuzzymindedness in his analysis of the cold war. To him the choice between communism and freedom was crystal clear. He said: "The world is divided by opposing concepts of life. One is good, the other is evil."

Yet, while he hated the Communist idea the great humanitarian had no hatred for the Russian people. It was his leadership after World War I which helped feed and save the lives of millions of Russian children.

In summary, the principles which Herbert Hoover would apply in making a foreign policy decision could be summed up in one sentence. He wanted peace, freedom, nonintervention, self-determination, and progress for all peoples and all nations.

America's critics at home and abroad contend that our policy at Vietnam is diametrically opposed to every one of these principles.

They contend that America is intervening in a civil war.

They contend that we are fighting a losing battle to perpetuate white colonialism in Asia.

They contend that we are on the side of reaction, resisting the forces of change and progress.

They contend that we are increasing the danger of world war III.

Even among the majority of Americans who support our policy too many seem to believe that we had no business getting involved in Vietnam in the first place and that all we can hope or try to do is to make the best of a bad situation.

There is no reason for Americans to be defensive or apologetic about our role in Vietnam. We can hold our heads high in the knowledge that—as was the case in World War I, World War II, and Korea—we are fighting not just in the interests of South Vietnam or of the United States but for peace, freedom, and progress for all peoples.

This is not a case of American intervention in a civil war. We are helping South Vietnam resist Communist intervention.

We are not attempting to impose American colonialism in Vietnam. We are there to prevent Communist colonialism and to preserve the rights of self-determination without outside intervention for the people of South Vietnam.

We are fighting on the side of progress for the Vietnamese people; the Communists are fighting against progress. One of the reasons the South Vietnamese have been willing to fight so long and so bravely against the Communists is that they know that North Vietnam, under communism is an economic slum. The per capita income of South Vietnam under freedom is twice as high as that of North Vietnam.

The greatest fallacy is the contention that U.S. policy in Vietnam increases the danger of war. On the contrary, stopping Communist aggression will reduce the danger of war. Failing to stop it will increase the danger of war.

This is true because, if the Communists gain from their aggression, they will be encouraged to try it again.

It is true because, if aggression is rewarded those who advocate the hard line in Peiping and Moscow will have won the day over those who favor peaceful coexistence, and we shall be confronted with other Vietnams in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

It is true because, if the Communists gain from their aggression in Vietnam, all of southeast Asia would come under Communist domination, and we would have to fight a major war to save the Philippines.

A crucial issue is being decided in Vietnam: Does the free world have an answer to the Communist tactic of taking over a free country not by direct attack as in Korea, not by winning a free election, but by fomenting and supporting a revolution? If this tactic proves unsuccessful in Vietnam, the steady Communist march to world domination will be halted. If it succeeds, the Communists will have the green light for conquest by support of revolution all over the world, and we will be helpless to stop it.

This is one of those critical turning points in history. Today Russia and Red China are not allies. Red China without Russia is a fourth-rate military power with no significant nuclear capability. Five years from now the two Communist giants may have patched up their differences. Even if they have failed to do so, Red China will then have a dangerous nuclear capability.

Time, therefore, is not on our side. If the Communist aggressors are not stopped now, the risk of stopping them later will be infinitely greater.

Too much of the discussion on Vietnam has been in the dreary terms of day-to-day tactics, of targets to be hit or excluded, of the cost involved.

It is time for all Americans to raise their eyes proudly to the great goals for which we are fighting in Vietnam.

We are fighting in Vietnam to prevent world war III.

We are fighting for the right of self-determination for all nations, large and small.

We are fighting to save free Asia from Communist domination.

We are fighting for the right of all people to enjoy progress through freedom.

We are fighting to prevent the Pacific from becoming a Red sea.

To achieve these goals, Americans must be united in their determination not to fail the cause of peace and freedom in this period of crisis.

The noisy minority which constantly talks of the need to make concessions to the Communist aggressors in order to gain peace are defeating the very purpose they claim to serve. This kind of talk discourages our friends, encourages our enemies, and prolongs the war.

The Communists do not have to be told that we are for peace; they have to be convinced that they cannot win the war.

We shall agree to any honorable peace but on one issue there can be no compromise: There can be no reward for aggression.

Forcing the South Vietnamese into a coalition government with the Communists would be a reward for aggression.

Neutralizing South Vietnam would be a reward for aggression.

Forcing the South Vietnamese to give up any territory to the Communist aggressors would be a reward for aggression.

History tells us that a coalition government would be only the first step toward a complete Communist takeover.

Neutralization, where the Communists are concerned, as we learned in Laos, would mean—we get out, they stay in, they take over.

Attempting to buy peace by turning over territory to the Communist aggressors would only whet their appetite for more.

We welcome the interest of the United Nations in seeking a settlement. But we must insist that where the security of the United States is directly threatened by international Communist aggression, the final policy decision must be made by the United States and not by the United Nations.

We respect the views of nations who choose to remain neutral in the struggle between communism and freedom. But in evaluating those views let us remember that no nation in the world could afford the luxury of neutrality if it were not for the power of the United States.

The struggle will be long. The cost will be great. But the reward will be victory over aggression and a world in which peace and freedom will have a better chance to survive.

Herbert Hoover's record gives us guidance also with regard to our future policy when peace finally comes in Vietnam.

The man who hated communism helped save the lives of millions of Russian people living under communism after World War I.

The man who hated dictatorship set up the Committee for Small Nations to aid the people forced to live under Hitler's dictatorship in World War II.

Herbert Hoover took a dim view of trade or aid programs which might strengthen the power of dictatorial governments over their people. That is why he insisted that American aid to the starving Russian people be administered not by the Communist government but by the American Relief Administration which he headed.

We must continue to step up our air and sea attacks on North Vietnam until the Communist leaders stop their aggression against South Vietnam. But completely consistent with that policy would be the establishment now of an American Committee To Aid the People of North Vietnam.

What I am suggesting is not a government-to-government program which would simply strengthen the domination of the Communist Government of North Vietnam over the people o that unhappy country but a people-to-people program. The American people, through contributions to such a committee, would send to the people of North Vietnam food, medicine, clothing, and other materials which would help them recover from the devastating destruction of war.

If the government of North Vietnam raised objections to allowing an American agency to administer the program, the distribution of supplies could be undertaken by an independent agency like the International Red Cross.

Certainly a program of this type would be in the great humanitarian tradition of Herbert Hoover.

As we consider the problems we face, let us not overlook one great factor which is working in our favor in Asia.

Twelve years ago, the Communist propaganda in Vietnam and in other free Asian nations was based on one major theme—choose communism and you will enjoy a better way of life.

Today that propaganda line no longer has any credibility. Those who join the Vietcong in Vietnam do so not because they like communism, but because they fear it.

In the past 12 years the only nations in southeast Asia and the Pacific which have enjoyed sustained economic progress are those in which freedom has been given a chance—Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand, and Malaysia. The economic failures have been Communist China and Communist North Vietnam and Burma and Indonesia—both of which chose the Socialist road to economic bankruptcy.

There is a lesson in this record for America. At a time when other nations are turning toward freedom, let us not turn away from it.

Herbert Hoover spoke eloquently on this subject at West Branch on his 75th birthday:

"A splendid storehouse of integrity and freedom has been bequeathed to us by our forefathers. Our duty is to see that that storehouse is not robbed of its contents.

"We dare not see the birthright of posterity to independence, initiative, and freedom of choice bartered for a mess of a collectivist system."

Again on his 80th birthday he returned to the same theme:

"It is dinned into us that this is the century of the common man. The whole idea is another cousin of the Soviet proletariat. The uncommon man is to be whittled down to size. It is the negation of individual dignity and a slogan of mediocrity and uniformity.

"The greatest strides of human progress have come from uncommon men and women.

"The humor of it is that when we get sick, we want an uncommon doctor. When we go to war, we yearn for an uncommon general. When we choose the president of a university, we want an uncommon educator.

"The imperative need of this Nation at all times is the leadership of the uncommon men or women."

And, just 1 year ago on his 90th birthday, he reminded his fellow countrymen again for the last time: "Freedom is the open window through which pours the sunlight of the human spirit and of human dignity."

We were privileged to have lived in the same century with this uncommon, extraordinary man. As we meet in this typically American town, in the heartland of our country, may we honor his principles as we pay tribute to his memory.

Freedom Academy Bill Advancing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, unanimous committee approval in the House of the Freedom Academy bill has stimulated greatly expanded interest in and support for the inauguration of this badly needed program for training America's peacetime operatives in the cold war.

Likewise, our continuing problems in Vietnam provide a daily reminder of the deficiencies involved in a national program which relies too greatly on guns and bombs, on blood and bullets, to win enduring victories which cannot be obtained without a sharply revised and reenforced approach to the problems of training our friends in South Vietnam on the important and imperative techniques required to maintain a stable, sound, and strong civilian government capable of preserving the victories won in a shooting war.

South Dakota newspapers have with great unanimity expressed their approval of the Freedom Academy approach and I ask unanimous consent that there appear in the Appendix of the RECORD a recent editorial from the Aberdeen, S. Dak., American News under the heading of "Freedom Academy Bill Advancing."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FREEDOM ACADEMY BILL ADVANCING

South Dakotans, aware of the merits of the Freedom Academy proposal that has been advocated for years by Senator KARL MUNDT, Republican, of South Dakota, are encouraged by the progress it has made this summer.

The Freedom Academy bill, a measure to establish a comprehensive nonmilitary program to meet political warfare needs in the global struggle against communism, has been given unanimous approval by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Although the bill, introduced by Senator MUNDT, in 1959, had won Senate approval in 1960 it had been victim of a legislative jam in the House.

With reintroduction in the House and Senate this year—under Senator MUNDT's guidance—the bill received a helpful recommendation from the committee report.

The report outlined the effectiveness and history of Communist efforts in political warfare and detailed the fact "there is a serious gap in the defenses of the United States, and the non-Communist world generally, on the political warfare front." It said: "There is a vital and pressing need for an extensive and thoroughgoing program of education, research, and training in this area to close the gap."

In additional argument in favor of the bill the committee report said:

"Clearly, if freedom is to remain a distinguishing characteristic of our civilization, if world peace and the national interests of the United States are to be preserved, communism must be decisively countered and checked * * *. (The Communists have developed) a new form of warfare which has enabled them to render conventional military power ineffective in many situations. The new form of warfare is variously referred to as nonmilitary, political, unconventional, total, or fourth-dimensional warfare, protracted conflict, etc. * * * Communist capabilities in this new type of warfare are the result of a massive development and training program which began decades ago, in secret, conspiratorial meeting and has been continued in and through a vast network of so-called political warfare or political training schools.

"The challenge to the United States and its allies today is not to atomize the military installations and capital cities of world communism. Rather, it is to meet the Communists on all fields of battle in this new form of warfare and emerge victorious in order that nuclear war may be prevented * * *. (The United States) has led the organization and development of the free world's military * * *. It is imperative that it now take the lead in developing its total defense by closing the serious gap that exists on the front which * * * could be as decisive as the military front * * *. It is essential that a thoroughgoing program of research, education, and training in the area of Communist political warfare be established."

Developments in world affairs since Senator MUNDT started his campaign for the Freedom Academy bill should strengthen the support for it.

Many Americans would like to see Congress approve the bill without further delay.

Military Construction Appropriation Bill, 1966

SPEECH

OF

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10323) making appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes.

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Chairman, last November the Department of Defense announced closure of several bases. Among them was an Air Force radar station at Naselle in Pacific County in my congressional district in the State of Washington.

The contemplated closure of this 13-year-old Naselle air base will remove from Pacific County 180 military and 20 civilian workers and their families with a payroll of more than $1 million—about 8 percent of the annual nonfarm income.

Estimates indicate that about 350 persons will be affected. Naselle School District will lose 81 students and undoubtedly also will lose Federal payments for their education as other school districts have lost such funds when defense bases have been deactivated.

Total population of Pacific County in 1964 was approximately 14,000 and the loss of the personnel now manning and serving Naselle Radar Station will mean that a substantial percentage of the population will be lost to this area.

For many years Pacific County has been one of the depressed areas under the criteria developed by the Area Redevelopment Administration. On February 1, the unemployment rate was approximately 17 percent. It has not risen above that mark for more than a few months in the last decade. Thus, the significance of the radar site at Naselle to the economic health of the community is readily apparent.

The Air Force invested considerable money in this installation. It must be presumed that its technicians knew what they were doing when in 1950 this base was built as an aircraft control and warning installation on top of a 2,000-foot mountain at a cost of about $6 million. These technicians must have known also what they were doing when an additional $650,000 was invested to convert the equipment to a SAGE heavy radar site.

Again, the Air Force technicians must have known what they were doing when in 1962 a further sum of $72,000 was invested in an improved communications system which was placed in service on November 15, 1962.

Further confidence in the Naselle site was evidenced by the Air Force when in 1963 the Naselle site was selected as a key link in the improved communications system now being built by the Air Force.

At this time, we should be reminded, also, that this Naselle Air Radar Station has an outstanding record. It has been operating when others in the immediate vicinity had broken down or in some way had failed to carry out their intended mission.

Consistently, the efficiency of the base has ranked high among similar installations.

I would like also to quote from a letter I received from Mr. Carlton Appelo, manager of the Western Wahkiakum County Telephone Co., dated January 18, 1965:

During the past month of unusually heavy snowfall, we have been very fortunate in maintaining uninterrupted communications facilities between Naselle Air Force Station and the outside world. We have been told that the radar coverage of the site also continued without interruptions. This was not true for our neighboring sites. Mount Hebo, Oreg., had the misfortune to lose radar coverage for prolonged periods of time due to excessive icing of the radar antenna plus damage to the equipment. It was not as serious a problem as the Columbia Day storm of 1962 when the site (Mount Hebo) was out of service for many months. * * * Our neighbor to the north at Neah Bay also suffered a several-hour outage because of storm-caused damage.

This meant that Naselle, alone of the coastal sites, was carrying on its mission of protecting our Pacific coast from aerial attack.

As I explained earlier, the Pacific County area has for a good many years been one of those designated as depressed. The closure has been discussed for many months, but the problem still remains.

On January 14, 1965, I wrote Secretary McNamara as follows:

In the Evening Star of Friday, January 8, on page A-3, the following news story appeared with the title, "Aid Says That Shut Bases Are Accepted." May I say in answer to this clipping that this statement is not quite the truth insofar as it relates to the closure of the Naselle Radar Base. Protests regarding the closure of this base have been received by many from every segment of the Naselle area. These letters with their summaries I am attaching.

I was in my own district until December 9. During that time the Air Force was courteous enough to brief me in Olympia on the facts relative to the so-called overlap of radar installations in the Northwest. Captain Nevitt did this very ably, concientiously, and well. I quite understand the Department of Defense's desire to close obsolete bases and to minimize military extravagance. I join with you, Mr. Secretary, in desiring to see the upgrading of our Defense Establishment and I long have had on my mind the matter that has been of increasing concern to me and that is the selection of candidates for our military academies.

Although this is extraneous to the Naselle matter, I would like to comment that sometimes it seems to me these academies have been far more desirous in acquiring suitable football players from the ranks of my high school students than in acquiring future military leaders. I also note that sometimes the capitol is almost inundated by military personnel with military chauffeurs and I know what the cost of this must be. But back to the Naselle Air Base.

I do not question the Defense Department's prerogative in placing installations where it feels the security of our country is best; yet I wonder why Naselle was originally based as it was and then not continuously provided with up-to-date equipment so that obsolescence would not have been a major factor in discontinuance. There were base improvements at locations developed much later with modern stepped-up equipment so placed. Was this not extravagant? The explanation at this time of military thinking needs to be explained to Members of Congress. It should also be explained to the general public insofar as security can permit. For out of this absence of communication comes a lack of understanding upon the part of the public with the closure of any base.

Very frankly, I am a Member of Congress who would far rather rely upon the genuine economic stability of developing industries, ports, rivers, and subsequent trade than to base our economy on military installations. You will note from review of my district we are probably the most minimal in the Northwest relative to military bases and defense contracts. Therefore, when a closure comes it is always a jolt to that portion of my district which has depended to some extent upon this military installation for its economy.

The other evening I listened with great interest to your interview and discussion of base closures with CBS correspondent Harry Reasoner. Therefore, relative to Naselle's proposed closure, I am summarizing several facts and facets and will try to bring to your attention some of the points wherein the Defense Department and related agencies, I feel, must adequately advise and assist us.

The major problem confronting us all is the solution to the structure of our economy. A poverty program in name only is no program; and Appalachia, I may say, is not the only place where unemployment is high because of the failure of good manpower training or the curtailment of jobs in industries.

"For example, you and I have both heard, with a major amount of Senate discussion, about Tongue Point's location in a high area of unemployment at Astoria, Oreg. May I compare this 'high area of unemployment' with that of Pacific County where the Naselle Air Base is located. Astoria in 1963 had a 7.4-percent unemployment rate. Pacific County had 11 percent unemployment and this figure has never decreased. There are a number of reasons for this. The lumber industry is in a highly competitive position with our neighboring friendly nation to the north, Canada. Markets in the east are highly competitive. For a year we had an extension of trade with Puerto Rico and were able to ship. This has been foreclosed by the termination of that 1-year extension. Prices in water shipping are higher for American bottoms than for those bottoms going out of a port in Canada, like Vancouver, British Columbia. The Northwest lumber people, industry, and its labor have cooperated with the U.S. Department of Commerce at all times in exploring the future of the European market.

We will continue in the Northwest to do everything possible to move into markets, but I am sure you realize that again we shall have the problem of competitive trade. The Northwest is 3,000 miles removed from eastern ports. Boxcars are not always available. Transportation costs are high. Markets in Asia are largely for raw material. Japan is buying a substantial part of the Northwest blow-down timber, but it is going out for processing in Japan.

The Pacific County area is developing ports, but not at a swift pace.

"If you will look at a map of Washington, rail and highway connections to the Willapa and Grays Harbor areas place it at a disadvantage. We are working with the Army Engineers on a possible canal program in this area which could be of substantial help to both Grays Harbor and to the Willapa ports, but this is in the investigatory stage. Many years may elapse before construction industry in Pacific County is limited to fishing and forest products. Although I did not specifically mention it in my above summary relative to forest products, we are also perpetually competitive with parts of our own country. The minimum wage in the Northwest is much higher than that of the South. It is true that our labor market provides more skilled and better skilled workers. However, they don't work at subminimal wages.

You know the problems with fishing. Again we compete in the international market. Only this morning I discussed with a Federal official the problem of Japanese and Russian fishing.

I do believe that trade is one of the great answers to our problems today; on the other hand, we must look with brutal frankness at the problems posed.

The loss of even two jobs in Pacific County poses problems. Therefore, when you consider that the gross annual pay of military personnel at the Naselle site is $720,000 and the civilian employees total $138,000 and you realize that this is almost 8 percent of the entire Pacific County payroll, it is quite apparent that the community had depended to a considerable extent either justly or unjustly upon this defense installation.

According to the State of Washington Department of Employment Security, Pacific County for the week ending October 3, 1964, had 11 percent insured unemployed, the highest rate in the State of Washington. Compare this with the State average of 4.9 percent insured unemployment. This in itself indicates that the Naselle region has a serious economic problem.

The formerly substantial and profitable dairy industry is now also in great difficulty. I think I need not review the facets of this particular farm problem for you; for I am sure you are well aware of its difficulties.

However, Naselle Air Base did provide a substantial market for dairy products. The manager of the Lower Columbia Cooperative Dairymen's Association estimates that his firm does $21,000 gross business in dairy products with the air base and its personnel. Closure of the base eliminates this market entirely and places owners of dairy farms under additional economic stresses.

The local telephone company reports a total of 326 telephones of which 97 are connected to the air base whose revenues total $6,500. On the SAGE facility, operated by the telephone company, property taxes paid to local government totaled over $24,000 from 1960–63 and to the State tax commission over $31,000. The company payroll over the same period was $144,519.

Another tremendous problem arises and that regarding the school. There are approximately 300 families totaling 900 people in the Naselle area. About 90 families are affected by the base closure.

At the present time there are 88 children in the local schools whose presence is a direct result of the radar installation. Twenty-two of these 88 children are members of families of civilian base personnel—the remainder are children of military families. At the present time there are 19 families having 42 children in school living on the base in the Air Force housing unit. Twenty-two families living off base in private units have a total of 46 youngsters in the school.

Thus the impact on school finances will be a serious one. It should be remembered also that special school levies have been voted by local property owners to construct new buildings and to pay teachers' salaries and participate in administrative responsibilities. Some of these special levies are to be repaid over a number of years in the future and a drop in income to the community makes local repayment even more difficult.

I am sure you are able to understand that to accommodate the children of this base it was necessary to provide additional building facilities. It happens that I am very familiar with the Naselle school district for I was in the Legislature of the State of Washington when this unique consolidation began. It was one of the first areas in the State to utilize school district reorganization for economy and efficiency; and I happen to have been the sponsor of this particular school bill. Portions of two counties joined; and to accommodate the needs of these two portions, a school plant was built.

The children of the base personnel have necessitated its enlargement and improvement; but the basic tax cost, because of the laws of the State of Washington, will require all special levies for bond purposes to be paid

by local taxpayers. Thus, we come to the final difficult problem posed for us.

If for reasons of economy, efficiency, and better security for the United States this base must be closed, there does remain as a moral obligation on the part of the U.S. Government—which is you, I, and every other American—an obligation to participate in the planning for a better economic future for this Naselle area and as Naselle relates to the total Pacific County.

Tongue Point, I understand, has been chosen for a training center under the Economic Opportunities Act. I am delighted this facility could be put to such use. Now it remains for all of us together to try to work out a solution to the Naselle problem. Again, frankly, I prefer to have a solidly based industry which will over the years attract, build, and develop Naselle, Pacific County, and our entire State.

As the Representative from Congress in this district, may I assure you of my complete desire to work with the Department of Defense, the Administration, the people of the community of Naselle, Pacific County, and the proper agencies in our State to develop a program; and I know from your interview with Mr. Reasoner that you share this same desire.

I would be more than pleased to confer with the staff of your Department in trying to arrive at the first step to be taken in the solution of the problems posed which I have summarized. This letter is not sent to you in a critical sense. It is sent in the spirit of an American Representative of the American people who wants to better the American way of life in an area which needs our total thought and assistance.

In conclusion may I say that if mistakes are made in the location of bases by the Defense Department, which necessitate relocations and closures, this can become a very expensive and extravagant business for the taxpayers of the United States and I sincerely trust that when any base is closed, good and sufficient reasons motivate the Department.

I also trust that the Defense Department, in its closures, will at the same time recognize the problems of the areas and do all in their assistance to lessen the impact of such closures; that they will continue to work with the Federal departments, State and local agencies to find uses for these facilities so that the taxpayer's dollar has not gone down the drain.

Responsibilities of Free Press Parallel Government Growth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by Brady Black, editor of the Cincinnati Enquirer, which appeared in that paper on August 15, 1965, entitled, "Responsibilities of Free Press Parallel Government Growth." The article is constructive, affirmative, and fair, and provides one of the best analogies I have read of the tremendous problems of our country. It should be read widely by Members of the Congress and the people of the country.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESPONSIBILITIES OF FREE PRESS PARALLEL GOVERNMENT GROWTH

(By Brady Black)

As you read your Enquirer do you ever pause a moment to reflect upon the meaning of the words freedom of the press and their implications to you?

The 10 original amendments to the U.S. Constitution, popularly known as the Bill of Rights, went into force nearly 204 years ago.

The first of these says, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

This guarantee of a free press imposes upon a newspaper an obligation to be a watchdog for the people on how the affairs of the people are being managed by elected and appointed officials.

The question arises from time to time (as to) whether television and radio stations, which have news programs and some of which in recent times provide editorial comment, are part of the press.

In a strict sense they are not because, unlike newspapers, television, and radio stations operate under licenses from the Federal Government and therefore tread somewhat carefully lest they offend the Government and invite action to revoke their licenses.

Congress, when it submitted the Bill of Rights to the States in 1789, could not foresee the wonders of the 20th century, which, among other things, would permit man to project sound and pictures through the air, or the members well may have sought to devise a protection also for this form of communication. A difficulty, of course, is that signals broadcast, unless limited, can overlap and interfere with each other. This is the foot in the door for Government control.

The founders of our form of government, recognizing that the people were too numerous for each to represent himself, created a republic in which certain citizens are elected to represent all of us. These elected officials in turn choose others to act in the name of the people.

As the size of the Nation has expanded geographically and in the numbers of citizens, the problems of the people have become more complex and Government has grown bigger, more complicated, more powerful, and more expensive. The average citizen today feels more and more helpless as an individual to deal with Government and this has led to the creation of organizations headed by experts who deal with government on behalf of specific groups or interests.

The obligation of the press to be a reporter and interpreter for the people becomes evermore demanding and difficult. For one thing the problems have multiplied. For another, Government has become bigger, more powerful, and sometimes inclined to forget that it is the servant not the master of the people.

In the field of problems let me mention a few of the big ones.

Our Government is fighting an undeclared war in Vietnam. Is this wrong? Should the President have asked Congress to declare war? There is a national Negro revolution. There is an alarming increase in crime. The Nation's morals have deteriorated. Metropolitan centers have decayed and are trying to rebuild both business and residential areas. There is a crisis in mass transportation, shortages of water, a menacing pollution of air and water, choking traffic congestion, poverty in the midst of the world's highest standard of living, underemployment, an upsurge of students which threatens to overextend the facilities to educate and killer diseases which cut down thousands in the midst of useful lives.

The great Central Government, with the authority of tax raised and borrowed dollars, is reaching into our purses to redistribute our money, threatening local control of education, and raising the question of doctor-patient relationship.

In all of this the press is continuously in battle with Government for free access to information about the Government which can be passed on to the citizens. For years press groups have fought for adoption by Congress of a freedom-of-information law. The proposed law would not apply to matters affecting national security. Nor would it affect congressional records that carry confidential classifications nor the congressional practice of conducting much of its legislative business in secret.

Where the proposal founders is on the contention by the executive branch that there must be a doctrine of Executive privilege. This doctrine, which has been sparingly used, is that the President may prohibit certain documents from being made available to Congress or the public. The Department of Justice, which is in the executive branch, maintains that a bill would be unconstitutional which did not protect the authority of the executive branch to govern the disclosure and nondisclosure of its records. This approach maintains that the executive branch has the right to exercise its own judgment and discretion as to what the public should know.

The American Legion Speaks Out for Olin Teague

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished National Commander of the American Legion, Mr. Donald E. Johnson, sent me a telegram expressing the Legion's views with regard to the irresponsible story on our great colleague, OLIN TEAGUE. I take pleasure in sharing this message with the other Members of this Congress by inserting it at this point:

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
August 12, 1965.

Hon. BOB CASEY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

On behalf of the American Legion I join with you in the sentiments expressed by you on the floor of the House of Representatives August 10 concerning the unwarranted, unfair and irresponsible criticism of Congressman OLIN TEAGUE by Newsweek magazine in its August 9 edition. OLIN TEAGUE is a distinguished Member of the U.S. Congress. His record of service to his country in time of war speaks for itself. As chairman of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs he is deeply concerned with the welfare of our Nation's veterans and their dependents, including all members of the Armed Forces now serving the cause of freedom in Vietnam and other areas of the world.

While the American Legion has no official position at this time of pending legislation for the so-called cold war veterans, we

agree with the points you made in your statement and are grateful to you for having made them.

DONALD E. JOHNSON,
National Commander,
The American Legion.

Democratic Obstructionism in Pennsylvania State Legislature

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the inepititude, indecision and inaction of the Democratic Party controlled House of Representatives in my Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has brought our legislature in Harrisburg to a virtual standstill. Important bills passed by the Senate, including civil rights advances, funds to help underprivileged children, liberalization of medical care for the aged and indigent, and amendments to the State constitution are being allowed to die in the house. Progress, proposed and acted upon by Republicans, is being stymied by the obstructionism of boss-led Democratic politicians. I ask unanimous consent to have a recent editorial on this subject from the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CLEARLY STUPID POLITICS

No Governor of record has ever been entirely happy with a legislature in which the political opposition dominated either or both chambers. Mr. Scranton proved his regularity as a Governor this week by teeing off against the Pennsylvania House.

The Governor is Republican; the house is in Democratic control. The Scranton complaint could be dismissed as routine if it dealt only with house opposition to administration-sponsored bills. But this was not the Governor's theme. Inaction, or perhaps indecision, was what he angrily denounced.

On this basis, house Democrats are left without a convincing answer. It is now August, the eighth month since this spiritless session of the general assembly began. Many important measures passed by the senate have been resting in house committees. These include civil rights advances, funds to help underprivileged children, liberalization of medical care for the aged and indigent, amendments to the State constitution.

As Governor Scranton suggests house Democrats in the main are probably not opposed to these measures. If they were, they could call them up and kill them. Then why the lallygagging?

Two reasons are suggested. One is holding back for trading purposes, for a little patronage here and there. The other (and this is the Governor's theory) is inability to get an answer from the boss—Philadelphia Democratic City Chairman Francis R. Smith. The two reasons are quite plausible to anyone who has watched Philadelphia legislators twiddle their thumbs until they get "the word."

The situation is a disgraceful commentary on the status of Pennsylvania legislators, particularly those from Philadelphia. No matter who belongs to what party, this is, as the Governor said, "clearly stupid politics."

Anniversary of the Restoration of Independence of the Republic of Korea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate our stanch ally, the Republic of Korea, on the 20th anniversary of the restoration of its independence. That she is our firm ally was again proved to me as I was writing these words last Friday when I was informed that the Korean General Assembly had just approved the dispatch of a division of combat troops to Vietnam to join the 2,400-man Korean contingent already stationed there.

Although this is only the 20th anniversary of the liberation of modern Korea from foreign domination, the history of this ancient nation extends back to the founding of the ancient Silla kingdom in 57 B.C., and the unification of the entire Korean peninsula under the Silla dynasty in 668 A.D.

The history of this ancient nation has been too often marred by outside invasion and subsequent foreign rule. The Japanese formally annexed Korea in 1910 and for the first half of this century the Korean people found their destiny controlled by a foreign power. Nevertheless, the struggle for freedom never died in Korea. When the defeat of the Axis powers in World War II finally brought an end to foreign domination on August 15, 1945, the cherishd flag of Taegeuk was hoisted once again as a symbol of the restoration of Korean independence. Three years later the government of the Republic of Korea was officially formed.

Unfortunately, the continued Soviet occupation of the North forced the nation to remain artificially divided in half at the 38th parallel. Then came the sudden attack launched by the Communist regime of North Korea into the heart of the Republic of Korea. I know how bitter was the struggle which followed because I served in the U.S. Army in Korea for 13 months.

Today Korea still remains divided, severed in half by the artificial boundary that represents the Communist tyranny over the North. With the large bulk of her industries and industrial resources located in the North, the steady growth of the South Korean economy has not been an easy process. Yet, long-range efforts begun in 1962 through the 5-year economic development plan have already begun to yield results. Growth in real gross national product has exceeded 6 percent in each of the last 2 years and 1964 industrial production was 51 percent greater than in 1960. Korea's balance-of-payments situation has improved markedly; exports increased from $41 million in 1961 to $119 million in 1964. The Koreans expect that large-scale land reclamation will increase arable acreage by about 20 percent and help make Korea virtually self-sufficient in food by 1970. An economic stablization program, including establishment and maintenance of a realistic exchange rate, has been instituted.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

In recent years Korea has made significant political progress at home and gained increasing international stature. Korea's efforts to normalize its relations with Japan and its important contributions to the Vietnam struggle demonstrate the country's maturity and full partnership in the free world community.

President Chung Hee Park paid a state visit to the United States in May 1965. His visit to this country was highly successful and did much to strengthen the already friendly ties between Korea and the United States. In public speeches, both during his visit here and in Korea, President Park has strongly reaffirmed Korea's desire to work closely with the United States in defending Asia from Communist aggression.

Today, as the United States faces a new challenge in Vietnam, the Republic of Korea stands solidly by our side, sharing our military as well as our political commitment to maintain the right to independence in southeast Asia.

Let us continue to stand by her side and extend our heartiest congratulations on the 20th anniversary of the restoration of independence for the Republic of Korea.

A Bowl of Wackies—No One Should Swallow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR CALLAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, I was pleasantly surprised this morning to be advised by no less a spokesman of the American business community than the Wall Street Journal that conditions in our great wheat using cereal industry were never better, and that the future was indeed glowing. In fact, the Wall Street Journal in its lead column today refers to this industry as the "Soaring Cereals" in the course of a glowing account of the economic health of this industry and particularly its giants; namely, the Kellogg Co., General Mills, General Foods, Nabisco, Quaker Oats, and the Ralston-Purina Co.

The article goes on to refer to the gimmicks used by the industry to further increase its sales, profits, and economic well being. This reference to gimmicks as well as the new name for a cereal to be produced by General Mills, Inc., called

"Wackies" frankly hit home. It reminded me of the wacky propaganda that these same firms were using to gimmick up the well-thought-out farm legislation now before this House.

I submit, gentlemen, that no one, after reading this column, can seriously fall for the propaganda that an industry in such a state of economic well-being could be seriously hurt, retarded or damaged, if it were to help give the wheat farmers a fair share in the marketplace as provided in H.R. 9811. It seems ironic to me that an industry whose profits were never better and who, according to the Wall Street Journal article, spends a great portion of its resources on bedeviling the mothers of the Nation with gimmicks could at the same time deny the farmers and wheat growers of this country a fractional cent increase in the cost of their product.

I include the Wall Street Journal story at this point:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Aug. 16, 1965]

SOARING CEREALS: BREAKFAST FOOD FIRMS PROSPER BY SERVING UP A HOST OF NEW BRANDS—SWEETENERS, "INSTANT FRUIT," DIETETIC TYPES LIFT SALES; CAP'N CRUNCH IS QUICK HIT—A FEW MOTHERS ARE FED UP

(By Ronald G. Shafer)

How about a bowl of Wackies? It's full of squaggles and squiggles, with a little snoop, zot, gloop and kerblooey thrown in for extra flavor.

Wackies, in case you haven't guessed, is a new breakfast cereal General Mills, Inc., of Minneapolis is test-marketing. Squaggles and squiggles are the company's names for puffed oats. The other names are fanciful labels for various-shaped marshmallow bits with a banana taste.

If all this suggests that the whole business of breakfast food manufacturing has its "wacky" side, that business is also one of the Nation's fastest moving and most successful. Not many years ago almost everyone ate plain corn flakes or oatmeal if he touched cereal at all. But today's shopper faces the challenge of more than 70 brands of ready-to-eat cereals, including Crispy Critters, Cap'n Crunch, Lucky Charms, and Froot Loops.

EVEN MORE BRANDS

The number of cereal brands has doubled in the past 10 years as cereal makers zero in on specific market segments, a switch from the mass marketing approach that stressed a few brand names. "Today there's a cereal for everyone," boasts Howard Crosby, vice president of Kellogg Co., Battle Creek, Mich., the acknowledged champion of the market with an estimated 42 percent of all sales.

And "there will be even more cereal brands," Mr. Crosby vows. Among them: Family cereals with instant freeze-dried fruits, a few samples of which already are being marketed; low-calorie cereals with artificial sweeteners for dieters; and more gimmick-filled breakfast foods for kids.

The new brands are expected to put even more snap in the cereal market, where sales are expected to hit $620 million at manufacturers' level this year, more than double the $280 million posted in 1955. Assuming an average serving of 1 ounce, cereal men figure Americans will lap up more than 19 billion bowls of cereal in 1965.

Cereal making is a profitable business, despite heavy promotion costs and new product competition. Kellogg, the only major company that derives nearly all its revenue from cereals, earned $32.6 million last year, equal to 9 percent of sales of $349 million.

The cereal industry is not without its detractors, particularly mothers of small children. The largest number of cereals in recent years have been aimed at children under 12 who eat about 40 percent of all cereal consumed. Kids switch brand loyalty quickly and are susceptible to gimmicks, premiums, and the appeal of television cartoon personalities such as General Foods Corp.'s Linus the Lionhearted and Kellogg's Tony the Tiger, Yogi Bear and Huckleberry Hound.

TOMMY'S TROUBLES

"My two boys have to have the cereals they see on TV—but then they will not eat them," moans Mrs. Jeanette McDonald, a Columbus, Ohio, housewife. "My 4-year-old Tommy screamed for corn flakes with instant bananas, but he would not touch them until I took out the bananas."

"My three kids bug me to buy all these presweetened cereals," complains Mrs. Iline Schmid in a Detroit supermarket. "With so many brands, I cannot get everything they want. If they get too nasty, I threaten to buy nothing but corn flakes."

Cereal researchers say the average home today has five different brands of cereal on hand at any one time, keeping mom busy running between the pantry and breakfast table to satisfy the family's whims. "Today's breakfast is more hectic—it is every man for himself," says Robert Stuart, president of Quaker Oats Co., Chicago.

Today's breakfast also can be more expensive. A 10-ounce box of General Mills' familiar Cheerios, for example, costs 31 cents in some supermarkets. A smaller 8-ounce package of the company's Lucky Charms, a combination of toasted oats similar to Cheerios plus clover-shaped marshmallow bits, costs 35 cents.

QUAKER'S SUCCESS

Quaker Oats' first cereal aimed primarily at children is an example of how such cereals can succeed quickly. About 2 years ago the company created a presweetened, pillow-shaped corn-and-oats cereal called Cap'n Crunch and a white-mustachioed cartoon character by the same name to put on the box. Early this year the cereal was distributed nationally, backed by cartoon TV commercials and premiums such as Cap'n Crunch comic books, rings and a boxtop offer for a pirate's treasure chest and shovel. Cap'n Crunch already is Quaker's best-selling ready-to-eat cereal and the ninth leading ready-to-eat cereal in the United States, industry sources say.

Cereal makers say that premium offers often are important in introducing children's cereals. But this age-old merchandising technique seems to be declining in favor at one company at least. "Personally, I do not think premiums are worth a darn," says M. C. Baker, vice president of General Foods and general manager of the Post Cereal division. "We cannot trace any extra sales to premiums. If you offer, say, a cultured pearl for 50 cents and a boxtop, tomorrow someone else might come along with two pearls for a quarter and take all your business away."

General Foods is gradually phasing out premiums in favor of puzzles and recipes on its cereal boxes. Ralston Purina Co., St. Louis, never offers premiums but prints humorous stories on its boxes. General Mills is stressing educational offers such as a 32-page coloring book of national parks. Kellogg offers historical sketches of American folk heroes such as Paul Bunyan and Davey Crockett on some cereals.

But premiums remain. "Mail-in premiums will continue to be used extensively, primarily to maintain interest," says Kellogg's Mr. Crosby. Dozens of items currently are available for a box top and up to $2. Among them: An inflatable pink elephant, 25 cents "milk money," a model Indianapolis 500 racer, 40 spools of thread and a recording of Tchaikovsky's 1812 Overture billed as "music to eat Puffed Wheat by."

Premium offers, cereal box designs and even the cereals themselves are changed frequently. "If it is the same old package, people are going to get tired of it," says Kellogg's Mr. Crosby. General Foods says it "would not think of going more than 18 months with the same package."

General Foods hopes for renewed interest in Crispy Critters by adding a new critter—pink elephants. Eaters of the company's Alpha Bits probably have noticed new "crazy shapes" such as airplanes and boats down there among the usual alphabet letters and milk. Ralston Purina Co. recently abandoned its traditional red and white "checkerboard square" packages in favor of bright orange, blue and yellow ones.

THE CATBIRD SEAT

Despite the flood of cereals for kids, "the goal is still a cereal that everybody likes. You're sitting in the catbird seat with a family cereal," says General Foods' Mr. Baker. The industry's top sellers, such as Kellogg Corn Flakes, and Rice Krispies and General Mills' Cheerois, are known as family cereals.

General Foods has high hopes for the most revolutionary of the new family cereals—corn flakes with freeze-dried fruits which instantly regain their flavor in milk. Last year the company introduced corn flakes with strawberries "and sales have equaled or exceeded our introduction targets," Mr. Baker says. Currently in test markets are corn flakes with blueberries and with peaches. "We think cereals with fruit will eventually be as important as presweetened cereals, which now account for 20 percent of industry sales," Mr. Baker predicts.

Kellogg has adopted more of a wait-and-see attitude toward freeze-dried fruits, but currently is test marketing corn flakes with bananas in the Midwest. So far, the cereal has been "quite successful," Kellogg says.

One problem could be cost. An 8-ounce box of General Foods' corn flakes with strawberries retails for 49 cents at one Detroit supermarket, compared with 24 cents for a 14-ounce box of plain Post Toasties corn flakes. Corn flakes is being used as the "carrier" for the new cereal because of its proven wide acceptance. "Corn flakes," comments General Foods' Mr. Baker, "is like St. Paul. It's all things to all people."

Another group of new cereals will be aimed at dieters and the nutrition-conscious. General Mills is testing a noncaloric, presweetened corn flakes called Good News. Quaker Oats is introducing artificially sweetened, Diet-Frosted Puffed Wheat and Diet-Frosted Puffed Rice.

"Let's face it. We're a world of weight watchers. People want sweets but they don't want to pay for them in pounds," says Quaker's Mr. Stuart.

CEREAL IS "JUVENILE"

Teenagers and young adults still resist the appeal of breakfast cereal, manufacturers glumly admit. "Many teenagers wouldn't be caught dead eating cereals," says one. "It's a form of rebellion. They think it's too juvenile."

But companies are trying to win the teenagers back. Kellogg hired humorist Max Shulman to draft ads for college newspapers, and features a rock 'n roll group wailing away about corn flakes in radio commercials.

Six manufacturers account for 97 percent of all ready-to-eat cereal sales. After Kellogg takes its 42 percent of the market General Mills and General Foods take about 20 percent each. Quaker Oats, National Biscuit Co. and Ralston Purina divide the remaining 15 percent.

Quaker, long-time king of the hot cereal makers, only recently began serious efforts to boost its share of ready-to-eat cereal sales.

It doubled its share of that market last year to about 6 percent. The company's Cap'n Crunch and Life cereals were its first new dry cereals since 1927 and are largely responsible for moving the company from sixth to fourth place in industry sales.

Quaker is still trying to reverse the long decline in per capita consumption of hot cereal. It brought out an "Instant Quaker Oats" which is made by simply adding boiling water to the cereal. Its ad campaigns for hot cereals apparently forget Quaker's growing stake in the cold cereal market. They chide mothers for taking their kids "out of a warm bed and into a cold bowl of cereal."

Up Is Down

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the ways of the bureaucratic mind are indeed strange and their logic is wondrous to behold. The following editorial from the August 13, 1965, Indianapolis Star commenting on the theory that representatives of the poor must help administer the so-called war on poverty shows the ridiculous extremes to which such a theory could be carried:

UP IS DOWN

The demand that representatives of the poor must help administer anti-poverty programs opens a new realm in governmental philosophy.

Under the new mystique, being downtrodden has become a status symbol. Beggars and vagabonds have reached a social height they have not known since the days of Francois Villon.

Somehow, civil righters and bureaucrats seem to have the idea that the poverty war is for and not against the condition for which it was named.

Thus bankers, businessmen, lawyers, doctors and various other successful men, who avoid being poor by making money, are not suited to administer a poverty war. This is because they are not poor. They are not acquainted, a psychologically-sociologically inclined egghead might say, with the subjective realities of poverty and hence are not equipped to cope with it.

By this logic the mentally ill should run mental hospitals and school dropout programs should be administered by delinquents.

Naturally the sick should be in charge of hospitals.

Jails and prisons should be run by bandits, murderers, rapists and other criminals because the uninitiated lack the insight such people have into anti-social behavior. Likewise, police departments should be administered by thugs, narcotics hospitals by dope addicts, traffic courts by speeders, drunks and reckless drivers and the FBI by Communists, kidnapers, white slavers and Mafiosi.

The American command in South Vietnam should be run by the Vietcong, which alone has the inner mastery of the problems involved in blowing up restaurants full of families with their children and suchlike matters.

And the Pentagon could be placed in the capable hands of a joint board of Soviet, Red Chinese and Castroite generals.

Finally, since a subjective immersion in the ailment being treated is a prerequisite to treating it, the church, of course, should be run by sinnners.

The 1961 Nobel Peace Prize Winner To Join Science Faculty at University of Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Georg von Bekesy, of Harvard University, will join the University of Hawaii next spring to conduct a major research operation in psychophysical and communciation studies. He will provide tremendous impetus to scientific development in Hawaii, and his contributions to the deafness problem are expected to be especially noteworthy.

Dr. von Bekesy, who won the 1961 Nobel Peace Prize for his contributions to medicine, will fill an academic chair financed by the Hawaiian Telephone Co. He will be the university's first Nobel prize recipient and the institution's third professor to hold membership in the National Academy of Sciences, one of his many honors.

Hawaii is indeed proud to welcome this noted educator to the faculty of the University of Hawaii.

The Honolulu Star-Bulletin story of Dr. von Bekesy's appointment follows:

[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, July 21, 1965]

AUTHORITY ON SENSORY SCIENCES—1961 NOBEL PRIZE WINNER APPOINTED TO U.H. FACULTY

(By Helen Altonn)

A 66-year-old Hungarian scientist who enriched the field of acoustics and won the 1961 Nobel Peace Prize for his contributions to medicine will joint the University of Hawaii next spring.

Dr. Georg von Bekesy, appointed professor of sensory sciences, will bring to the Manoa campus a major research operation in psychophysical and communication studies.

He is the university's first Nobel Prize recipient and will fill an academic chair financed by the Hawaiian Telephone Co.

Dr. von Bekesy, fascinated in his youth by high-pitched gypsy music, was working as a research physicist in the Hungarian telephone system laboratory when a question occurred to him: How much better is the ear than the telephone system?

He devoted more than 34 years to finding an answer to the question, his research leading to his Nobel Prize.

The results of his work were compiled in a book, "Experiments in Hearing."

Thomas H. Hamilton, university president, hailed the appointment of Dr. von Bekesy as a scientist of "stature and eminence."

He said Dr. von Bekesy "will play an important role in assisting with the scientific development of Hawaii."

One of the world's leading scientists in the field of anatomy and physiology of the ear, Dr. von Bekesy has worked since 1947 in the Psycho-Acoustic Laboratory at Harvard University.

He was in Hawaii last month, as a consultant to the Pacific Biomedical Research Center, and was here before in December 1964, to lecture and conduct seminars at the university.

Dr. von Bekesy is described by the Acoustical Society of America as a man of many scientific disciplines, as a "physicist, anatomist, physiologist, and experimenter extraordinary."

He works in his laboratory from early morning until late at night.

He once said, "I like a lonely life * * * Concentration on one field is possible only if you are lonely to a certain degree.

"If someone is a scientist, he loves to work on some problem and my hope is to contribute to the deafness problem."

He likes archeology, however, and collects primitive objects as his hobby, hanging them around his laboratory with magnified models of ears and gleaming equipment.

He recently has been working with the development of a mechanical model of the inner ear with a nerve supply represented by the skin of the arm.

Von Bekesy's early education was received in Munich, Constantinople, Budapest, and Zurich.

He went to Harvard as a research lecturer in 1948 and has remained there.

He will be the third University of Hawaii professor to hold membership in the National Academy of Sciences, one of his many honors.

The professorship which he will occupy was created by the Hawaiian Telephone Co. last month to emphasize higher education in Hawaii and assist the university in bringing a noted educator to the faculty.

The Need for a New Immigration Law—Address by Archbishop John J. Krol of Philadelphia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I am proud to be a sponsor of S. 436 which would abolish the discriminatory national origins quota criteria for admitting immigrants to the United States. I am also a cosponsor of S. 500, a bill recommended by the President of the United States, which would accomplish the same purpose.

One of the best statements I have seen in favor of revising our immigration statutes in the direction of a more enlightened and humane policy in this area was delivered last December by His Excellency, the Most Reverend John J. Krol, D.D., Roman Catholic archbishop of Philadelphia, before the third annual Greater Philadelphia Conference on American Immigration Policy, Citizenship and Refugee Matters.

The archbishop offers these guidelines for an enlightened immigration policy:

We must be true to ourselves as a Nation, to the traditions and principles which have given growth to America. Fear, overcautiousness, national selfishness should not form the basis of any American policy * * * An honest appraisal of the national interest, an honest appraisal, not nearsighted, gloomy, or complacent, should be the basis of the law; but let the law also be enlivened by the spirit of justice and compassion which reflects the heart of America.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Archbishop Krol's excellent statement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIRD ANNUAL GREATER PHILADELPHIA CONFERENCE ON AMERICAN IMMIGRATION POLICY, CITIZENSHIP, AND REFUGEE MATTERS

Ladies and gentlemen, over the years, the question of immigration has been a matter of special concern to me. For that reason, I welcomed your kind invitation to address the Third Annual Greater Philadelphia Conference on American Immigration Policy, Citizenship, and Refugee Matters.

In the providence of God, all men created to His image and likeness are bound by a solidarity which transcends national, political, geographic, and racial barriers. All men are members of the same human family. All have a right to the riches of this earth and the responsibility of making these riches available to all members of the huge human family.

The phenomenon of migration is an historical fact and a natural law. The physical world is subject to a law which stirs and mixes the elements of life without destroying them. Organisms born in a certain spot are transported and scattered from place to place. Seeds migrate on the swirling winds. Fish, birds, and animals migrate as a means of self-preservation. In like manner, man migrates to escape want or political, religious, or racial persecution.

Migration is a natural inalienable human right which the state, or rather the states, are obliged to recognize, respect, and protect. However, this fact does not prevent, but emphasizes the necessity of human action regulating and guiding emigration, so that it may fulfill its natural object which Pope Pius XII described as "the more advantageous distribution of humanity on the surface of the earth" (15th Anniversary of Rerum Novarum).

A passage from the profound social document of our late beloved Pope John, "Pacem in Terris," summarizes these truths: "Among the rights of a human person there must be included the one by which a man may enter a political community where he hopes he can more fittingly provide a future for himself and his dependents. Wherefore, as far as the common good rightly understood permits, it is the duty of the State to accept such immigrants and to help integrate them into itself as new members."

Political, social, and economic considerations are factors in the determination of a nation's immigration policy. However, a nation's moral sense, its values, and traditions, its attitude toward the realization of the common good, the very way in which it looks upon itself, these also are inseparable from the way it treats stranger desiring to dwell within its confines.

No one seriously proposes that unrestricted immigration be restored by the United States. But even so, is it not true that we experience a warm nostalgia and sense of pride when we read the words inscribed on the Statue of Liberty:

"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shores.
Send them, the homeless, tempest tost, to me.
I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

Maintaining the national interest, yes; but is not the preservation of these sentiments and ideals a deep and integral part of our national interest?

The national and international implications of immigration policies have grown increasingly more complex and sensitive. Someone has aptly described our time as the era of the dispossessed, a time of upheaval and mass shifting of people. Populations are rapidly increasing. Automation is changing the structure of industry and business, while the labor force grows but cannot adapt quickly to automation, since the labor force is people, not machines. Any attempt to enact a new set of immigration laws in the changing context of the present-day world would be fraught with problems, and rightly should be subject to critical analysis.

As a matter of fact, many persons have strongly criticized the current immigration law. Last summer, former Attorney General ROBERT F. KENNEDY said that the present law is "a standing affront to millions of our citizens and our friends abroad." Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson have all said that new immigration legislation is a necessity. Countless articles, speeches, and group proposals have given insistent expression to that judgment; yet despite this concerted effort the 1952 law remains.

This has been a source of discouragement and frustration to many. But it only serves to demonstrate that laws are enacted or changed only where there is a demand for action. The call has not been long, loud, or clear enough to prompt the people in large numbers to recognize that a change in the immigration policy is for the national interest. Voters are not easily aroused to consider issues which do not touch upon their immediate concerns.

It is not necessary to review for this gathering the history of the immigration policy of America, nor to speak about the statistics of population projections, shifts in the labor force, or the other factors which condition the standard of living. These are matters for the experts to study and debate. But the recommendations resulting from these studies should reflect the confident optimism of the American people. The immigration policy of a nation mirrors its image of itself. Is it our wish to advertise America to the world as a nation whose dynamism is grinding to a halt and whose genius to absorb and become enriched by diverse elements is begining to ebb?

Many calls for a change in our immigration policy to improve America's image abroad. This is indeed a valid concern. We do live in a community of nations and we wish to leave to future generations an America which enjoys good relations with other peoples.

This is surely a part of our national interest. But even more important than how other people see us, is how we see ourselves. We must be true to ourselves as a nation, to the traditions and principles which have given growth to America. Fear, overcautiousness, national selfishness should not form the basis of any American policy.

A revision or modernization of the immigration policy, to be realistic needs restrictions and controls, quantitatively first of all, to determine an annual quota consistent with the needs and capacities of America; but also qualitatively to guard against the entry of subversives and criminals and to encourage the coming of the especially skilled and the talented. An honest appraisal of the national interest, an honest appraisal, not nearsighted, gloomy, or complacent, should be the basis of the law; but let the law also be enlivened by the spirit of justice and compassion which reflects the heart of America.

You are all familiar with the evolution and present provisions of the national origins quota sytem. Prescinding from the motives of those who enacted this system into law, it must be stated that the practical consequences of it are a matter of deep concern. May I just say that, for very personal reasons, I am happy that it was not in effect at the turn of the century. For perhaps if it were, two young people from Eastern Europe might not have been able to come to this country, settle here, marry and raise eight children to enjoy America's blessings and in some measure, I trust, bring credit to her good name.

Immigration is a matter of law, of natural law and positive law. Just as the Constitution gives expression to the natural rights of man; so also should the immigration law be in accord with the inalienable human right of migration. It is within the framework of law that the phenomenon of immigration has to take place. If the law is not flexible enough to allow the problems of immigration to be faced on the human level in a just and compassionate way, then the law should be modified. Your organizations, by your experience, by the information at your disposal, and by the generosity of your members, giving of their time and energy, are in a position to carry on a constructive program of education to create a favorable climate for immigration and of persuasion to elicit the public support necessary to prompt the debate and modification of the present immigration policy.

But immigration is not only a matter of law; it is far more poignantly a matter of people. The most direct problems that are faced are neither political nor technical; but questions which the human and social actuality pose. As Pope John said elsewhere in "Pacem in Terris:"

"The sentiment of universal fatherhood which the Lord has placed in our heart makes us feel profound sadness in considering the phenomenon of political refugees, a phenomenon which has assumed large proportions and which always hides numberless acute sufferings."

We may say the same regarding all persons who have been uprooted, who have to be resettled and readjusted to a new way of life. This pastoral solicitude accounts for the efforts of the Catholic Church to form and maintain national parishes to meet the needs of immigrant peoples. These parishes enable these people to preserve and strengthen their religious life and customs, and to enjoy the great consolation of worshiping and confessing in their mother tongue. They have provided in the course of time for the transition of the children of these people into the great mosaic of American life which has thereby been greatly enriched.

The physical, psychological, and spiritual well-being of immigrants, whether voluntary or refugees, is the real field for your work. Experience has shown that even so human a thing as having a familiar meal may be a matter of great importance to a recent arrival. Far more important are his family ties, his manner of worship, his loneliness and heartache of separation, and his feelings of inferiority.

You have lent yourselves to assisting in these difficulties confronting those who for various reasons must leave their homeland to seek spiritual and economic betterment in America. I commend you for your generosity and effective efforts and end by reminding you of the words of Isaias the Prophet (Isaiah 58:7, 8):

"Share thy bread with the hungry, and bring the needy and the harborless into thy house. When thou shalt see one naked, cover him and despise not thy own flesh. Then shall thy light break forth as the morning * * *, and thy justice shall go before thy face and the glory of the Lord shall gather thee up."

May Almighty God bless and prosper your work.

The Withered Arm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, I bring to the attention of the House a most timely article in the August 23 Newsweek by Ray Moley:

PERSPECTIVE: THE WITHERED ARM—I

(By Raymond Moley)

"We've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money too." This jingle in the music halls touched off mad cheering and stomping from belligerent Britons in 1878. And the word "jingo" has condemned preparedness ever since.

We Americans have, as President Johnson told us, a war on our hands. What have we got?

Plenty of money. The stuff can be wheeled out of the banks in truckloads. We have a sizable Army and Marine force and large reserves of men. We have an incomparable Air Force. We have an overabundance of missile strength and a most sophisticated weapon mix. Our Navy has nuclear energy, and its units are on station around the globe.

But when the British spoke of ships, they meant more than the Royal Navy. There were also the ships to supply their armies. Here we are deficient. This is our withered "fourth arm of defense."

The First Cavalry Division has been ordered to Vietnam. It must go by sea. Its thousands of trucks, its heavy guns, it shoes and socks and pots and pans, 400 helicopters and 15,000 men—all will be shipped by the hard-working Military Sea Transportation Service. But MSTS has only a small fleet, mainly of a specialized nature, and must rely for support on a civilian merchant marine. MSTS has an emergency role to play. After that, it must maintain the flow of supplies by sea, not only to Vietnam but to our military services all over the world. Those supplies must come in the holds and on the decks of those plodding beasts of burden, the cargo ships.

DECADES OF NEGLECT

Since World War II this country has built only a harborful of general-cargo ships. No other industrialized nation can claim so little. And so the First Cavalry Division will go to Vietnam in a traveling exhibit of the desiccated result of decades of Cabinet-level ignorance and neglect.

There is no substitute for ocean transport. During the Dominican crisis the Military Air Transport Service carried out the biggest airlift in history. But this taxed it to the utmost. Even in the spectacular big lift of troops to Europe in 1963, the men went by air with light equipment; the heavier stuff, such as 12,000 vehicles, went ahead by sea.

Talk about hawks and doves is simply silly unless we consider shipping requirements. We cannot sustain power unless we have the means of supply. And we cannot negotiate away our nuclear strength unless we have the transport for nonnuclear wars.

THE VANISHING FLEET

In large part today's weakness is due to varying policies which our Government has followed since World War II. There was at first the nuclear hypnosis. The next war, we were told, would be over in days, even hours. Surely, no slow transport would be needed, for cities and nations would be blotted out overnight. Besides, we still had a vast merchant fleet built with great wartime efficiency and at incredible cost. Some of those ships were sold to domestic companies and some abroad. The rest were stashed away in quiet waters. All too soon, they were needed again in the Korean conflict, and 825 came out of the Government reserve. In the Suez crisis, more than 200, older and wearier, came out of the mothballs to serve again. The subsidized replacement program was neglected by defense planners bemused by the atom. Congresses festooned the industry with restrictions along with special privileges, dimly hopeful that obsolescence is another name for productivity. The unsubsidized dry-cargo services could not replace their ships.

When the concept of limited wars dawned on our planners, they made no move to halt the erosion of the "fourth arm of defense." So once more old Victory ships are moving from their anchorages.

By now, the reserve fleet, like the active merchant marine, is smaller. Hundreds of its units have been marked for scrap. Others are still seaworthy. But they are slow and they lack gear for rapid handling of cargo. MSTS has these ancient war horses to count on, along with a few modern ships and the commercial leftovers of World War II. American know-how is shackled by have-not.

Letter to My Son Who Leaves Today To Start Military Training Duty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, on August 12, 1965, 21-year-old Jay Sappenfield of Frankfort, Ind., left for military service. His father is the editor of the Frankfort Morning Times and is a respected and prominent figure in Indiana journalism. It has been my privilege to know him well for many years.

Vance Sappenfield's lead editorial on the day his son departed took the form of a letter to Jay. His father reminded him of an eternal truth, that "peace is not to be found on the battlefield, but only in the hearts and minds of men," and that he must join the thousands more who are ready to do their duty, because "peace cannot yet be made in the hearts and minds of mankind." But the sacrifices made by Jay and his comrades, as his father states so well, "may keep another worldwide conflict from being born—may hurry the day when peace can finally be accomplished."

The editorial follows:

LETTER TO MY SON, WHO LEAVES TODAY TO START MILITARY TRAINING DUTY

To my son, leaving today for military training with the U.S. Army.

DEAR SON: Twenty-two years ago, your father was selected by his "friends and neighbors" to serve during World War II, a war that was expected to end all wars.

Forty-seven years ago, your grandfather was in the top age bracket but had received his orders to report for training in World War I, a war that was to "make the world safe for democracy," when the armistice was signed.

One hundred years ago, your great-grandfather was serving in the ranks in the War Between the States, one of the world's most senseless and mose destructive holocausts.

History does not show how many of your ancestors fought and perhaps died in the Mexican War (1846–1848), the War of 1812, the Revolutionary War, the French-Indian war (1754) or, for that matter, in the Franco-Prussian War (1870), the Crimean War (1853–1856), the Napoleonic campaigns (1805–1815), the Hundred Years War (1338–1453), or the Punic War (246–164 B.C.).

These, unhappily, are only a few of the major wars that have involved humanity. There are hundreds of others, both major and minor.

A look at this long list of wars and campaigns should convince anyone that peace is not to be found on the battlefields, but only in the hearts and minds of men.

Why cannot men learn this simple truth? Well, man by nature, is a selfish, jealous being. These very wars have made man distrust his neighbor. This distrust has bred envy and jealously, and envy and jealousy are the seeds of strife.

Why are you being called to military duty? It's because of another basic fact. A man with a bow and arrow or a revolver is feared by a man who has none, and a man with two bows and arrows or two revolvers is feared by a man who has only one.

Since peace cannot yet be made in the hearts and minds of mankind, our Nation must keep itself strong, keep itself ready—yes, keep itself better armed and better prepared than its world neighbors, as a deterrent to war.

You, and thousands like you, may find yourselves stagnating in a military base, involved in a round of training, marching, bivouacs, physical training. On the other hand, you may find yourself sent to a desolate and depressing part of the world to help keep a hot war from spreading.

Whatever happens, you should not feel that your time is completely wasted, even though you do not receive enough recognition for your sacrifices from civilians like me.

The mere fact that you are there, ready to do your duty—you and the other hundreds of thousands—may keep another worldwide conflict from being born—may hurry the day when peace can finally be accomplished.

Salute to the Republic of Cyrus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, 5 years ago today, the Island of Cyprus gained its independence, after 2,000 years of foreign domination. On this memorable occasion therefore, we wish to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Archbishop Makarious, the President of the Republic of Cyprus; and the Cypriot Ambassador to the United States, His Excellency Zenon Rossides.

The geographical position of this 3,500-square-mile island has been such that it has long been in the mainstream of the world's politics. Cyprus is about 230 miles north of Egypt, 45 miles south of Turkey, and 65 miles west of Syria. Thus, because of its central position in the eastern Mediterranean, its generally pleasant and healthful climate, its mineral riches, and the fertility of the central Mesaoria, or plain, Cyprus has been coveted by many of the world's powers.

Throughout the ancient world, Cyprus was known as the source of copper. It is thought that the island either received its name from the Greek word for copper, "kypros," or donated its name to that mineral. From about the year 2000 B.C. on, Cyprus was visited and mined by expeditions from the various maritime nations of the ancient eastern Mediterranean. The island's copper was then carried off in the holds of Greek, Phoenician, and Egyptian ships, to be used in the making of the bronze tools and weapons upon which many peoples depended. These mines continue to produce their

valuable ore, and they are still one of Cyprus most valuable economic assets.

After long being an outpost of the Greek world in the eastern sea, Greek colonists arrived around 1400 B.C., soon to be followed by Phoenician settlers. Cyprus has since seen many new peoples, and many different ensigns raised over its ports, plains, and mountains. The Egyptians conquered Cyprus in 560 B.C. They were in turn followed by each of the dominant Near-Eastern powers: Persia, Alexander the Great's Greece, Egypt again, Rome, the Byzantine Empire, the Arabs—all have at various times controlled this troubled island and exploited it for their own purposes. Thus, the legacy of Cyprus today is one of strife, conquest, turmoil, and unrest. It is not a happy heritage.

Richard the Lion-Hearted took Cyprus from its Byzantine ruler in 1191, and soon thereafter sold it to the Knights Templar. The island was then transferred by the order to Guy of Lusignan, who inaugurated one of the island's most brilliant periods. His dynasty lasted for some 300 years. Cyprus was next conquered by Venice in 1489, soon followed by the Turkish conquest of 1562. Great Britain persuaded the ailing Ottoman Empire to permit British administration of the island in 1878, and when Turkey entered World War I, Cyprus was annexed to the British Crown, becoming a crown colony in 1925.

Then, in 1960, after centuries of domination and rule by a myriad of foreign powers, many of which no longer exist except as names in our history books, Cyprus was finally granted its independence. When we consider the heritage of unrest and conflict that the island has had to contend with, we can cast many of Cyprus' recent problems and tensions in a more favorable light. Traditions, attitudes, tensions, and problems that have been ingrained in the very soil and people of an island for some 2,000 years or more are not easily or quickly alleviated or rectified.

Thus, today, as the Republic of Cyprus celebrates its independence day, we assure the people of this troubled and torn island of our continued understanding and sympathy. They are striving to solve problems that we have fortunately not had to face. We certainly wish them a happier future, and we hope that peace, prosperity, and progress will reward their diligent efforts toward the solution of their problems.

U.S. Capitulation at U.N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I wish to insert an editorial written by former Senator William F. Knowland, now editor and assistant publisher of the Oakland Tribune, Oakland, Calif., which appeared in that paper on August 12, 1965. The editorial is entitled "U.S. Capitulation at U.N.":

U.S. CAPITULATION AT U.N.

The reported upcoming shift in policy by the United States to give up its long fight to get the Soviet Union to pay its fair share of United Nations peacekeeping operations signals another setback for the world organization.

The Soviets, their allies, and several other countries have refused to contribute to peacekeeping operations in the Congo and the Middle East. The sum charged to the Russians is $72,236,000, of which $21.6 million would be for this year.

Other countries that have refused to pay their share of the peacekeeping operations are Czechoslovakia, Byelorussia, and the Ukraine (two Russian republics with Assembly seats), Rumania, Poland, Cuba, Hungary, Albania, France, and South Africa.

The switch in U.S. policy, expected to be announced Monday by new Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, would be a clear-cut victory for the U.S.S.R. and those nations that followed her lead. The Russians refuse to pay their share on the grounds that only the Security Council can authorize peacemaking operations. The United States and most other U.N. members argue that the General Assembly can act when the Security Council is unable to do so because of vetoes.

If the Russians are allowed to win their point, it will mean that in the future U.N. peacemaking operations will be virtually impossible unless Russia and the United States agree on them. Any agreement between the two countries would be highly improbable if Communist forces were the aggressors as they are, for example, in Vietnam.

The Soviets would also score a prestigious coup if allowed to make their point since they have offered to make a "voluntary" contribution to help the U.N. out of its financial crisis (which the Russians helped bring on).

Since the reported switch in policy has not been formally announced, it is not too late for the Johnson administration to change its mind. It is the Tribune's position that the Soviet Union, and the other members nations in arrears over the peacekeeping question, should either live up to article 19 of the U.N. Charter or forfeit their voting rights in the General Assembly as provided by the Charter.

All members of the United Nations agreed to the Charter when they signed it. They should not be permitted to break their agreements when the whim strikes them.

The United States should reconsider its plans for capitulation.

Let's Protect Our Game Ranges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, with the passing of years and the pressures of our expanding population, it is possible to forget the importance of game refuges for the many species once so numerous on this continent.

Two of these ranges in my own State of Arizona are now under review for possible closing in the interest of economy. They are the Kofa Range, home of the desert bighorn sheep; and the Cabeza Prieta Range, which lies along the Mexican border.

I was pleased yesterday to read a defense of these game ranges in the New York Times. And I was especially pleased to note the suggestion made by the Times that the Cabeza Prieta Range be joined with the adjacent Organpipe Cactus National Monument to form a Sonora Desert National Park. This is a wise and sound suggestion, and I believe it deserves serious consideration.

Mr. Speaker, without objection, I shall insert the Times editorial at this point in the Appendix:

PROTECTING GAME RANGES

The Johnson administration's pressure to economize on wildlife protection, which has already caused the closing this year of five refuges and a cut back of four others, continues unabated.

Now under review for possible dollar savings are the great game ranges of the Far West. Two of these ranges, both in Arizona, are of exceptional importance for their scenic beauty as well as the importance of their wild game. The Kofa Range is the Nation's principal refuge for desert big horn sheep; its soaring rugged mountains also make it one of the Southwest's most entrancing areas. The Cabeza Prieta Range, which lies along the Mexican border, is a remarkable stretch of desert and mountain landscape with many unusual plants and animals. The other game ranges now under review—the Sheldon Antelope Range in Nevada and the Charles M. Russell Range in Montana—are less distinctive, but they afford useful protection to several species.

Undoubtedly, a few thousand dollars could be saved by disposing of all or parts of these game refuges. There are always those in the Western States and within interested bureaucracies in the Federal Government itself who would like to use this acreage for commercial grazing or for intensive recreational development. But with population rapidly growing and wilderness areas diminishing, this Nation has a precious, irreplaceable asset in its wild game and its unspoiled deserts and mountains.

Instead of being diverted to other uses, the Arizona ranges might well be upgraded into national parks. The Cabeza Prieta Range, for example, adjoins the Organpipe Cactus National Monument. If the two were combined to form a Sonora Desert National Park, the Johnson administration would make a significant contribution to the national well-being—one that would be remembered gratefully long after the next fiscal year's niggling budget economies have been forgotten.

Great Society Blueprint Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, the Los Angeles Times in an editorial on August 12, 1965, very objectively and reasonably raises questions about the pace and direction of the domestic programs which they call the Great Society legislation.

The nature of the problem is very aptly described in the editorial by the following excerpt:

Alleviation of America's great social problems, however, is a matter of the head as well as the heart. And we can't help feeling like passengers on a bus whose driver is vague on just where he's going, but is hell-bent to get there.

Considering the speed with which this legislation went through the Congress it can also be reasonably said that the questions raised by this editorial have not been fully considered. In addition, the magnitude of the commitment to Vietnam is a new element that must be weighed into any discussion of legislation which will increase expenditures.

Before Congress is asked to expand or create new legislation in these areas it was recommended that the questions raised by this editorial be given utmost consideration.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the editorial for inclusion in the RECORD:

GREAT SOCIETY BLUEPRINT NEEDED

When President Johnson signed the $7.5 billion housing bill Tuesday, he promised still further steps to "lift off the conscience of our affluent Nation the shame of slums and squalor, and the blight of deterioration and decay."

His remarks were directed to housing and urban renewal, but they also reflect Mr. Johnson's broader determination that this year's harvest of Great Society legislation is only the first installment.

Presidential task forces are already out scouting for ideas on what problems should become the next targets of concern by a benevolent Washington.

When Mr. Johnson speaks of building a better America, one in which the poor and disadvantaged can increasingly share, he is stating goals to which all compassionate citizens can subscribe.

Alleviation of America's great social problems, however, is a matter of the head as well as the heart. And we can't help feeling like passengers on a bus whose driver is vague on just where he's going, but is hell-bent to get there.

After years of argument reaching back into the New Deal, medicare and Federal aid to education have been voted into law. Enactment of rent subsidies, and creation of the Job Corps and related programs, mark an unprecedented enlargement of Federal responsibilities.

Now the President is promising more of the same, while searching out new programs to make America a more pleasant, as well as more universally prosperous, place to live.

The Times has given qualified support to most components of President Johnson's war on poverty, and we applaud his efforts to lift up the quality of American life.

However, aside from the question of whether some of these activities are better left to the States and cities, we are bothered by the atmosphere of haste, and the lack of any clear idea of just what Mr. Johnson's Great Society will look like when it's completed.

Does the President intend for medicare coverage to be extended later to lower age groups? (No one knows now what the present measure will cost.)

What is the measure of inadequate housing? Since there will always be some people who have poorer housing than others, at what point does the rent subsidy program stop?

Politics being what it is, it is naive to expect answers to these questions and others.

But surely this is a time for consolidation rather than motion for motion's sake.

The Vietnam war, inevitably, will compete for funds to a degree still to be determined.

Then, too, the administration could keep itself gainfully occupied for some time just straightening out the kinks in programs enacted this year—the well-intentioned but poorly planned war on poverty being the prime example.

Is Udall Scalping the Indians?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, it is most interesting to find that gradually the newspapers are beginning to criticize some of the actions of this administration in order that their readers may have an opportunity to see both sides of these questions. Friday evening in the Washington Star James J. Kilpatrick sets forth a situation concerning one of our Indian tribes and what the Secretary of the Interior has in mind in promoting public power to the disadvantage of the Indians.

On July 29th the Portland Oregonian had an editorial entitled "Hazard of Lying," which is most interesting. These two articles follow:

[From the Washington Star]

IS UDALL SCALPING THE INDIANS?

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

Getting back to Stewart Udall:

In June, the Secretary of the Interior distinguished himself, if that is the right verb, by filing with the Federal Power Commission one of the most remarkable petitions for intervention ever filed with that body. His object is to prevent the Duke Power Co. from investing its own money, to build its own dams, on its own property in South Carolina; his idea is to compel the company to rely instead upon a Federal power project on the Savannah River—a project that may never be authorized at all.

In July, the Secretary did it again. This time his target is the Montana Power Co. and the circumstances here are more outrageous still. Udall's object in Montana, unless he has changed his mind in the last 8 months, is to prevent the construction of two dams on the Flathead River in the Flathead Indian Reservation, in order to keep alive his ambition to see the Knowles project built with Federal funds.

The controversy in Montana, stemming from development of the Columbia River Basin, is of ancient vintage.

Briefly, the facts are that the Army Engineers want to build for the Bureau of Reclamation a high-level storage dam at Knowles, in the northwestern corner of the State. The structure is a power project; virtually no benefits are claimed for flood control or recreation. While only 256,000 kilowatts would be generated at the site, the dam's usefulness in regulating water flow would firm up the capacities of other structures downstream. In testimony before a House committee in June of 1963, Udall strongly endorsed the project. The Senate, under the urging of MIKE MANSFIELD, went along with him; but the House repudiated the venture overwhelmingly in December 1963.

Opponents of the Knowles project made a solid case. The dam would cost somewhere between $273 million and $325 million, without counting payments that would have to be made to the affected Indian tribes. It would takke 59,000 acres of land off local tax rolls, flood 9,000 acres of irrigated farmland, inundate a part of the famed National Bison Range, displace 1,300 persons, and require the relocation of 35 miles of railroad and 115 miles of highway. By the most conservative estimates, the project's annual costs would be $11 million, its annual revenues only $2.3 million. Conceivably, the annual losses could run much higher—in the neighborhood of $12 to $14 million a year, or $1.24 billion over the Army Engineers' 100-year estimated life.

Fifteen months passed. In March of this year, the Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation, in conjunction with Montana Power Co., filed an unprecedented application with the FPC. They themselves proposed to build the two alternate dams on the Flathead River, on sites that would be flooded if Knowles were ever built. These two run-of-the-river dams would cost only $42 million; they would generate 240,000 kilowatts; guaranteed revenue from sale of the power to the Montana Power Co. would pay off the indebtedness and produce an income to the tribe of at least $250,000 a year. Only a handful of persons would be displaced. Jobs would be created during construction for 300 men. And annual taxes would be created of $2,772,000.

On July 25 Udall intervened, with the evident purpose of stopping the Indians' venture in private capital and self-help.

One final note: These Indians are Udall's wards. He has the fiduciary responsibility for protecting their rights under a treaty dating from 1855. But wearing his other hat, as boss of the Bureau of Reclamation, he proposed to compel them to give up a large part of their reservation, to accept unstated compensation for the flooding that would be caused by Knowles, and to sacrifice the substantial income that would result from the Montana Power Co. contract. This is power madness. It is a cruel scalping of the Indians—and of the taxpayers, too.

[From the Portland Oregonian, July 29, 1965]

HAZARD OF LIVING

As this newspaper said at the time, no one believed that Averell Harriman, the durable troubleshooter for American Presidents, had gone to Moscow for a vacation, as he and the State Department and President Johnson insisted.

What purpose was served by this fiction we are unable to discern. The State Department now has admitted that it paid the expenses of its Ambassador at large, not only on his visit to Moscow but on his trips to other European capitals. As well it should, inasmuch as Mr. Harriman was sent to these capitals to discuss Vietnam and related problems with Soviet and other national leaders.

It is irritating, frustrating and harmful to public confidence that official Washington—including the President—increasingly resorts to evasions, distortions and outright lies when no national security purpose is served thereby. Americans may ask, if the administration will lie about such a little thing, how can we trust it to tell the truth about something really vital?

The Honolulu Advertiser Supports President's Decision on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the various alternatives on the Vietnam sit-

uation are the subject of editorial comment in the July 29 issue of the Honolulu Advertiser, one of the leading newspapers in Hawaii.

Pointing out that there are no "good" alternatives, the editor of the Honolulu daily expresses the belief that the course the President has decided upon is keeping hope alive for successful peace talks.

I commend for thoughtful reading by all the Honolulu Advertiser's editorial, which follows:

VIETNAM: THE DECISION

It's been said many times there are no good alternatives in Vietnam. And once again President Johnson has chosen the best of them.

His decision is, in effect, to pursue more of the same. This involves holding the line with more troops to prevent a disastrous defeat while pursuing peace talks even harder.

There are many important fine points involved in the Vietnam situation. But essentially the other alternatives to the President's decision were:

A decision to withdraw that would leave non-Communist Vietnamese without any bargaining power or support in the face of a victorious Vietcong, or the launching of a major effort that might seem to us a holy war against Communist expansion but would be viewed by many as an American onslaught on Asians.

The President's decision has something for both doves and hawks. Yet is unlikely to satisfy those at the extremes of both positions.

And it must be admitted that the action he outlined—taken after a week of intensive conferences—continues a policy that has not worked well so far.

Despite all efforts to date, the Communists have continued both to win the war and reject what the President says are "13 peace offensives" he has launched.

But, if present policy is continuing, it is hoped the intensified efforts will produce results.

On the military front, the basic job is still to prevent further Vietcong gains and to shore up the South Vietnamese military.

The President called a new buildup to 125,000 combat troops a "carefully measured" response. However, most reports indicate this figure will have to go higher if any kind of line is to be held.

The negotiations front is equally uncertain, and it too may require additional moves before there are any results.

The President said he was launching a drive for peace talks that would seek help in the United Nations and from any other source. To date the Communists have shown nothing but quick rejection or silent disdain for any third-party efforts.

Their minimum conditions seem to be a halt to the bombings in North Vietnam and insistence that we deal with the Vietcong directly, instead of the Hanoi regime as we have demanded.

The President did not say anything yesterday about a halt to the bombings of the north. But, contrary to what some may think, halting the bombings is not a magic formula that will produce peace talks. Presumably, it is something we would be glad to do, if there was any sign other conditions were favorable.

There was clearly some "give" in the President's press conference statement on dealing with the Vietcong. He said, in effect, this matter should present no problem.

The next few days or weeks should tell whether the chances for peace talks have been increased by both the President's public statements and any private actions being taken. (It is important to realize that almost certainly the week of discussion will also lead to some private actions not discussed at the press conference.)

One such possibility is referred to by Walter Lippmann writing in the current Newsweek, in which he argues for a defensive strategy as announced by the President yesterday. He says:

"We must not fool ourselves, however, about the probable consequences of a decision to adopt a defensive strategy.

"It would be a signal to the South Vietnamese that the time has come for them to move toward peace negotiations with their fellow Vietnamese.

"They would be on notice that we shall remain to defend them from personal disaster, but that they must not count upon us to win for them the war they have not been able, with immense assistance from us, to win for themselves."

On the basis of experience to date, it is hard to be optimistic about a successful outcome in Vietnam soon. It may be a very long effort—and the way is still open for it to lead to a major war.

But the President's decision has also kept hope alive.

Poles Are Kept Unaware of U.S. Aid Given Them

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego Union of July 22, 1965:

POLES ARE KEPT UNAWARE OF U.S. AID GIVEN THEM

(By Herbert G. Klein)

In Poland, they tell the story that the best way to see Warsaw is to go to the top of the Palace of Culture, and then look out at the city.

The Palace of Culture has a Warsaw version of a strip tease in a restaurant in its basement and it dominates the area around it with its multi-stories.

It was built by the Soviet Union as a so-called friendship gesture in the fifties. But most of the Poles look upon its crude Russian architecture as a monstrosity. The point of their joke is that only from the top of the building can you avoid looking at it.

Work is just being completed on another building which will dominate the landscape in the Polish city of Krakow. But it seems likely that there will be no such stories about the structure. It is an $11 million ultramodern children's hospital constructed with American foreign aid money.

Although the building was financed entirely by the United States, the Poles for the second time recently vetoed a request by Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY to visit their country and dedicate the hospital.

This seems like more than a routine veto.

The United States has given more than $1.5 billion in foreign aid to Poland, but over the years the Communist government has sought to keep this fact hidden from the Polish people.

The Polish excuse for postponing an invitation to the Vice President was that they could not guarantee his safety because of resentment over U.S. actions in Vietnam.

It seems more likely that the Polish Communist government wants to avoid any recurrence of the friendly demonstrations which were showered on former Vice President Richard Nixon when he visited the country in 1959.

The Nixon visit was preceded by a few weeks by a tour of Warsaw by former Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev. For the latter visit, Poles were ordered out on the street and instructed to throw flowers purchased by the Government.

The American visit was not announced by the Polish Government, but it was broadcast by Radio Free Europe. Almost half a million Poles turned out voluntarily and threw flowers until the Nixon car was literally full.

Poles stood on the street cheering and crying. They defied police lines to touch those in the American party.

The demonstration came as a shock to the Communist Government.

In April, the new Soviet leaders, Leonid Brezhnev and Alexei Kosygin visited Warsaw to mark 20 years of Polish-Soviet friendship and sign a new treaty. Again the Soviets received a cold welcome from the Polish people.

There seems good reason to believe that an American visit would have again provoked great warmth.

The friendship of the Polish people for the United States is not based on foreign aid or government negotiation. Basically, it reflects the fact that one out of every four Polish families has American relatives. And the hatred of both Russia and Germany still is strong in Poland.

In June, Waladyslaw Gomulka, the veteran Communist Party boss, was reelected by a 99.3 percent vote on a single-slate ballot. But he is a tough realist who knows this is not a popular mandate. And in the past year he has tightened up government control and added restrictions against the Catholic Church which he once tolerated.

It is interesting that, even at this time, Gomulka fears a demonstration for an American official.

In view of this, there is no reason for more funds to support a Communist government. But there would appear to be an opportunity to use the hospital as a propaganda theme of hope for the Polish people.

Our broadcasts should hail the hospital as a sign that this nation still hopes the Poles eventually will be free of oppression. They should stress the refusal to allow Americans to visit Poland officially. They should offer hope.

Where there is little else, hope can be a big thing.

Do What Grandma Did

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following column written by Jack P. Harris, publisher of the Hutchinson, Kans., News, which considers one of the important issues relating to the omnibus farm bill scheduled for debate in the House this week. The column, entitled "Do What Grandma Did," follows:

DO WHAT GRANDMA DID

I first became conscious of the price of bread when I was given a nickel and sent down to the bakery to get a loaf. It was well worth the money. It was usually still warm from the oven, had crunchy crust, and gave

off a heady aroma with no sealed wrapping to hide it.

The price of a pound loaf today is 20.7 cents. This represents a rise of 55 percent during the last 15 years while the cost of living has gone up only 16 percent.

Of the 20.7 cents, the cost of wheat required is 2.5 cents, which is the same as it was at the beginning of the period. The miller charges only a modest 0.9 cent. But the baker-wholesaler receives 11.4 cents of the price paid. The remainder is accounted for by other ingredients, transportation, and the retailer.

Now if wheat legislation pending in Congress is passed, the cost of a loaf will advance another 2 cents, the bakers threaten. Of which the man who grew the wheat will receive niggardly little, they neglect to add.

I wonder if housewives are going to take this lying down. Or, more accurately, seated around other canasta and bridge tables. I doubt it. If the housewives of the world arise, however, I hope they will take realistic action.

They will accomplish nothing by eliminating bread from their diet, which would be injurious to their health. By writing to their Congressmen. By circulating petitions. Even by picketing supermarkets.

BAKE AT HOME

They would, though, if they did what my grandmother did when her baker had the effrontery to raise his price to 6 cents. She had her grocer send out a 50-pound sack of flour on the first afternoon delivery and went back to baking her own bread.

Her action greatly touched my grandfather. He felt strongly that no baker could touch the homemade variety. Incidentally, I have inherited his opinion.

Having watched my grandmother do it many times, I know that baking bread is no trick at all. She simply prepared a mound of flour on the mixing board. Added salt and a small cake of yeast. Poured on milk. Then kneaded long and lovingly. Kneading produces most graceful arms for a woman.

Placed in pans, the dough sat overnight to rise. The next morning she plopped the pans into the oven. Ten hours later, or so it seemed to me as I waited for the end crust, out the bread came.

Having never eaten any of my grandmother's bread, you can't fully appreciate what ambrosial stuff it was. It was something fit only for the gods and small boys. It was so good a thick coating of butter and sugar improved it only a little.

Her action soon got results. As a matter of pride her baker refused to cut his price to the long established level. But he gave her a large cinnamon roll with each loaf she bought.

My grandfather did not fully share her triumph. "Store bread," he would say contemptously, when a plate piled high with thick slices was placed before him.

College With a Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNN E. STALBAUM

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, there is a trend in the educational world to give America's young men and women a broader background than the heretofore emphasis on specialization. Happily, such a move is being spearheaded by the highly regarded Beloit College in Beloit, Wis., part of the first district I represent. I commend to the attention of my colleagues today's issue of Newsweek magazine, August 16, 1965, which relates the story of the unique approach employed by Beloit College and its fortuitous revision of curriculum and calendar dubbed the Beloit plan:

COLLEGE WITH A PLAN

Beloit College in Wisconsin has traditionally fancied itself a model of what high school guidance counselors call the good small midwestern liberal arts college. But a decade ago, Beloit's self-image suffered a couple of grievous blows. First, the Midwest Conference, made up of such good small colleges as Lawrence, Carleton, and Knox, expelled Beloit for "overemphasis" on sports. Then, the Chicago Tribune ran severa articles on the "top 10 coed colleges." Not included: Beloit. For a school that drew most of its students and a hefty chunk of its contributions from the Chicago area, being omitted from the list was like losing an academic Dun & Bradstreet rating.

Clearly, changes were needed, but Beloit (where 70 years ago a philosophy professor committed suicide because the college added evolution to its curriculum) has never been a hotbed of innovation. In the 1950's some "fringe" reforms were instituted, such as an area program in Russian studies, but, as President Miller Upton, 48, recalled last week, "We were just spinning our wheels, without really getting at the core." Finally, during a faculty retreat at Lake Geneva in the fall of 1962, the wheels stopped spinning as Upton and his faculty began to develop what they later called the Beloit plan.

Borrowing from academic programs already in use at other schools, and adding some twists of their own, they came up with an imaginative and radical revision of Beloit's calendar, curriculum, and examination procedures. The plan, which winds up its first year of operation this week, requires that Beloit's 1,100 students spend 1 semester at a school-supervised, off-campus job. Beloit, in fact, encourages some to stretch their time away from campus to a full year or more by combining "field terms" with vacations and study at other institutions. School operates year round so the usual "freshman, sophomore, junior, senior" distinctions no longer apply. But whether it takes a student 3 years or 4 to get his degree, a Beloit education costs $10,400—payable in eight installments.

At the heart of the Beloit plan is the underclass common course, officially dubbed "man in perspective" but known among students as simply "UCC." Taught by faculty from all of Beloit's 22 departments and organized into classes of 20 or fewer students, UCC runs a year-long general-education gamut from the Bhagavad Gita to an Ingmar Bergman movie. Another innovation designed to buck the trend toward specialization is three required "area-exams"—in the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. A student may take the exams any number of time, for failures are not recorded on his record.

Debugging: The changes in curriculum and calendar have led to other changes on Beloit's 65-acre campus. Annual gifts to the college have doubled. Student applications have jumped from 950 last year to 1,400 already received this year. Significantly, there has been a striking increase in applicants from outside the Midwest. For example, Warren Hegg, summer president of the student senate, comes from Boise, Idaho. "I turned down Harvard and Columbia to come here," says the 18-year-old underclassman. "I'm interested in law and I could see no other program that would give me as broad a background."

As might be expected after only 1 year, the Beloit plan has not yet been completely "debugged." If applications are up, so, too, is the dropout rate. Many students are confused about what the college expects of them in field-term work, or in area exams, and most choose to "play it safe" by taking courses they believe will help them pass the exams. Some professors object to teaching UCC classes outside their fields. Yet most of the teachers and students seem pleased with Beloit's new look. So is President Upton. "Small colleges," says the tall, handsome economist, "have a responsibility to do things other institutions can't do. If the small colleges just continue to mimic the large universities, they'll be gone." And as Paul Garman, associate director of admissions, put it: "Beloit is no longer just another good liberal-arts school in the eyes of its applicants. Now it seems like something special."

Protection of Religious Conscience

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a letter from Mr. Frederick N. Walker, of New York.

Inasmuch as Mr. Walker's letter clarifies a statement that I made on the "conscience clause" discussed in connection with the Taft-Hartley legislation, I respectfully include his letter in the RECORD.

BRONX, N.Y.,
August 8, 1965.

Hon. CARLTON R. SICKLES,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SICKLES: Your interest in the protection of religious liberty in America, especially in the Taft-Hartley Act, is much appreciated by many believers in the Lord Jesus Christ like myself.

In your speech in the House on July 28 you refer to my testimony before the subcommittee. I notice you allude to a current case—Western Meat Packers, Inc. (148 NLRB No. 52 (1965)) as if it related to some in fellowship with ourselves. This is not true. The persons involved could be connected with some group bearing a name similar to Plymouth Brethren 4 (so-called by U.S. Census).

Also for the sake of accuracy may I note that you incorrectly say "all in all 17 members of this sect have been fired under union shop agreements because they refused to pay union dues." In our written testimony we said these 17 were sample cases. Many more of our friends have been involved.

As for recency of cases—one of our friends was fired within the last 10 days because 30 days had just expired since a union shop agreement was signed and he could not join because of religious conscience. He had been working well for his employer for 13 years. He is now looking for a job, is in his fifties, and has a wife and small baby to support.

We are deeply concerned lest this vital issue of religious liberty, which the Founding Fathers of this land sought in fleeing here, should be pigeonholed and forgotten. I am convinced that our Almighty God will take note of the 89th Congress and the present administration if any change in the Taft-Hartley Act includes at this time protection of religious conscience.

Will you ask your friends in the Senate to support a conscience amendment and vote "yes" for it if it comes back to the House?

Respectfully yours,

FREDERICK N. WALKER.

The Barry Gray Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, a national magazine, in discussing the Barry Gray program, offered this cogent, but highly perceptive appraisal of the broadcast:

The best in the business * * * his (Mr. Gray's) guests say whatever they please.

Barry Gray, one of the most astute and well-informed radio commentators in New York, recently celebrated his 15th anniversary with WMCA, and I submit that he has recorded a number of major accomplishments that merit attention, and account for his enormous popularity.

He has interviewed an estimated 30,000 guests, man and women in the arts, politics, science, and the literary field, conducted more air interview hours than any of his competitors, nearly 20,000, and, to his great credit, enjoys the largest evening radio audience in New York City.

A veteran of nearly 30 years in broadcasting, Mr. Gray can point with justifiable pride to the fact that his program is one of the most discussed shows on the air. His achievements, one esteemed radio critic has stated, have proven that listeners "will stay up late to hear discussion, opinion, and controversy."

Mr. Gray is more than a moderator of a talk program. He is a man gifted with keen reportorial instincts, an interviewer with rare insight who is able to get to the heart of a subject, and a broadcaster who has demonstrated repeatedly that he has the courage to express his convictions on the air.

His work is in the tradition of such renowned figures as Edward R. Murrow, Elmer Davis, and H. V. Kaltenborn, in that he has spoken with courage and vigor when presenting views he believes are meaningful and of profound interest to the public, and when analyzing men and events that shape our lives.

Mindful of the fact that in a democracy, disparate opinions on major issues must be aired and every effort must be made to provide answers to searching questions, Mr. Gray has made his program a forum for all viewpoints on vital local, national, and international matters.

He has made his microphones available to men of all political persuasion, and though ideas have been advanced that are anathema to Mr. Gray personally, he has permitted them to be articulated fully in order to give his listeners the broadest possible perspective.

In a media that has been criticized at times for its timidity on controversial matters, Mr. Gray himself has often been the center of controversy—but he is to be commended for consistently refusing to compromise his beliefs.

A man of varied activity, lively intelligence, and broad interests, Barry Gray has illuminated and brought distinction to nighttime radio. The New York City broadcasting scene is a better place for his presence.

Who's To Blame for Snafu at Atterbury?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, in an attempt to find alibis for the difficulties with the Job Corps Center at Camp Atterbury, Ind., the blame has been laid upon Hoosiers themselves by Job Corps officials.

This is a completely unwarranted and unjustified slander against the people of Indiana, and it has received the treatment it deserves from Indiana Congressman RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH and Indianapolis News editor M. Stanton Evans:

[From the Indianapolis News, Aug. 13, 1965]

WHO'S TO BLAME FOR SNAFU AT ATTERBURY?

(By Stan Evans, editor of the News)

Mounting troubles at the Federal Job Corps Center at Camp Atterbury have war on poverty officials in Washington groping for alibis.

Obviously alarmed by reports of crime, lack of discipline, and administrative snafu, Sargent Shriver's helpers are blaming the Atterbury mess—not on their own failures—but on the people of Indiana.

Visiting our State recently, Job Corps Deputy Director Christopher Weeks, among other comments, said one of the problems was that the youngsters feel they are not welcome in the communities adjacent to Atterbury. He added that "if they're rejected, they'll react accordingly—and who can much blame them?"

Who can blame them? Well, every law-abiding Hoosier who is not harassing other peaceful citizens might feel inclined to blame them, for one thing. And every honest taxpayer who has put up his money to pay for the 600 employees and 440 corpsmen, for another.

And I imagine everyone who has not been arrested lately and charged with commiting sodomy might also feel inclined to blame them as well.

Weeks' remarks, as fantastic as they seem, are typical of the liberal view of the Job Corps foul-up. The fault at Camp Atterbury, according to the welfare-state brigade, doesn't lie with the program: It lies with the people of Indiana.

This is a falsehood and an insult to the people of this State. Federal dogooders have foisted off a dubious scheme on the people of Indiana—and now try to blame private citizens for their own misplays. Not a very creditable line of conduct, but one which has occurred before when welfare state schemes have backfired.

As noted in the News last Saturday, a similar effort to pin Job Corps difficulties on Hoosiers was insinuated in a recent article appearing in the Washington Post, Representative RICHARD ROUDEBUSH, of Noblesville, has given a timely and forthright rebuttal to these mispresentations.

The Atterbury center, ROUDEBUSH said in a House speech August 4, "has been an expensive flop thus far, and now the apologists for the administration are attempting to make the people of Indiana the scapegoat for this $10 million failure.

"This is typical Liberal smear strategy whenever a pet project goes awry—find a conservative or Republican bogeyman to blame.

"Blaming the hostility of the people of Indiana and editorial opposition for the miserable results at Camp Atterbury just doesn't jibe with the facts—Atterbury has been a Democratic patronage production from start to finish.

"Rowdyism by Job Corpsmen at nearby Indiana communities is glossed over, as are reports of the dropouts trying to buy guns while on leave from the camp. A sordid sexual assault involving seven dropouts is brushed off as an expression of challenged manhood.

"Indiana has a worldwide reputation as one of the friendliest States in America, and Hoosier compassion for the underprivileged is unequaled. As in all States, people who obey our laws are welcome."

In attempting to blame Job Corps failures on Hoosier hostility, Deputy Director Weeks claimed favorable results in other parts of the country. Things are fine elsewhere, he intimated; it's just Indiana that is troublesome.

This is hogwash. Job Corps troubles in other States have if anything been worse than they are here.

Five Job Corpsmen in President Johnson's home State of Texas were arrested for allegedly shooting down two Lackland Air Force Base airmen in San Antonio.

In St. Petersburg, Fla., continued rowdyism at a girls' Job Corps center caused the city council to vote to have the poverty fighters booted out of town.

In Lewiston, Calif., local residents say prison parolees among the Job Corpsmen terrorized the community.

In Blackstone, Va., the city fathers voted flatly to turn down a proposed Job Corps center after learning of difficulties caused by the program elsewhere.

Apparently the people of Virginia, Florida, Texas, and California haven't been much more cordial or "understanding" toward Weeks' proteges than have the people of Indiana.

Weeks, in short, has been feeding us a line of insulting guff. The Job Corps is a flop from coast to coast, and his effort to foist off the falsehood that Indiana is to blame for its troubles serves only to discredit still more an already unsavory program.

Proposal Has Merit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, renewed interest in proposals for constitutional authority in the several States of the Union to reapportion one of its branches of its legislature on factors other than population alone, is evidenced by a well-written editorial in the July 13, 1965, issue of the Sidney (Ohio) Daily News.

It would serve a useful public purpose if everyone interested in legislative

apportionment, carefully read the editorial. Such editorial follows:

PROPOSAL HAS MERIT

True to his promise made last week when the Senate turned down his proposed amendment to the Constitution, Senator DIRKSEN has again introduced his proposal directed at diluting the Supreme Court's "one man, one vote" rule.

(Although the proposal received a majority vote in the Senate, it was seven votes shy of the necessary two-thirds for a constitutional amendment.)

While the Senator's new proposal is given little chance for passage, that does not preclude the fact that with certain safeguards it still has substantial merit.

The objectives of the amendment take into consideration a number of important political and economic facts which have long been fundamental to the growth and prosperity of the United States, and should not be lightly ignored.

Under provisions of the Dirksen proposal, States would be allowed, if their inhabitants so wished, to provide some form of strong regional representation which the Supreme Court one-man, one-vote rule so deeply undercut.

In this Nation of ours, with its more than 3 million square miles, there are numerous lightly populated areas whose economic well-being is indispensable to national strength and prosperity.

There are sound reasons for seeing that such regions are neither swamped nor neglected by a swelling urban electorate which may not fully understand special problems of such regions.

There is also basis for regional representation already fixed within our Federal system. Not only are Members of the U.S. Senate chosen on a regional basis, but there are numerous deliberate checks and balances one of whose purposes is to protect minority rights and restrain possible majority tyranny.

One of the safeguards suggested would require any State wishing to elect one house on other than a one-man, one-vote basis would first have to adopt that procedure through a popular referendum held on a one-man, one-vote basis.

Another safeguard would require that at least once every so often (the figure usually mentioned is 10 years) the practice of specially electing one house would have to go before the voters for continuance or rejection. This referendum would be held on a one-man, one-vote basis.

These requirements would leave it up to the entire electorate of the individual States to determine whether they wish to elect one house on a special basis.

It is undeniable that grave abuses in the form of overrepresentation of nonurban areas have grown over the years. While there may be need for correction in many cases, such correction should not result in creating new abuses, among them underrepresentation for legitimate regional needs.

Francis A. Cherry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, Arkansas and the Nation lost a dedicated and devoted public servant in the passing on July 15, 1965, of its former Governor, and more recently Chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board, Hon. Francis A. Cherry.

His outstanding accomplishments as chancery judge and as Governor of the State of Arkansas will live in the hearts of our people in the years to come. He fulfilled every trust. He was a patriot in the fullest sense. He loved America and its institutions. He proved this by fighting its enemies foreign and domestic.

His services as a member of the Subversive Activties Control Board, and in recent years as its Chairman, have meant greater security for the American people, in that he and the members of the Board had exposed the activities of the enemy at our gates.

Francis Adams Cherry was born September 5, 1908, in Fort Worth, Tex., the youngest of five children of a railroad conductor. As a youth he moved with his family to Oklahoma where he attended Oklahoma A. & M. College from 1926 to 1930, majoring in prelaw.

During the depression he worked as a dishwasher and later drove an ice truck in the Ozark Mountains. He managed to save $37, which enabled him to enroll at the University of Arkansas Law School in 1933. Half of his savings went for tuition, but with the help of classmates who lent him books and with outside jobs he won his law degree in 1936 and also was president of the senior class.

After serving as a naval officer for 2 years during World War II, he returned to the bench of the 12th Chancery District of Arkansas to which he was elected in 1942, having previously practiced law, served as a U.S. commissioner, and been a referee for the Arkansas Workmen's Compensation Commission. He was reelected to another 6-year term in 1948 without opposition.

In 1952 Mr. Cherry was a little-known country judge using a new radio technique called the talkaton in his campaign for Governor. In more than 20 talkathons he reached more voters than any other candidate in the State's history and went on to score an upset victory.

In doing so he attracted national attention because he defeated the incumbent, Sidney S. McMath, by 100,000 votes in the primary. Significantly, the incumbent had been endorsed by President Harry S. Truman.

Mr. Cherry's marathon broadcasts lasted from 3 to 24 hours, during which he answered hundreds of questions telephoned to him from all parts of the State.

Strong in his conviction that responsibility for progress and welfare rested initially with the State and local entity, the Governor once told an interviewer:

> Our entire State is pulling itself out of the mire by its own bootstraps. Towns that were once sleepy are now bustling.

He gave his beloved Arkansas a new State financial code and pushed through an industrial development program.

On October 5, 1955, Governor Cherry was nominated by President Eisenhower for membership on the Subversive Activities Control Board. He was reappointed for another 5-year term on March 4, 1960, by President Eisenhower and was named Chairman of the Board on January 31, 1963, by President Kennedy, serving in that post until his death on July 15, 1965. After President Kennedy's assassination the Governor submitted the usual courtesy resignation and was redesignated Chairman by President Johnson in December 1963.

As a member and Chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board Governor Cherry rounded out a full life devoted to law, to justice, to service to his people, his State, and the Nation.

Those who served with him and are now members of the Board are: Thomas J. Donegan, of New York; Frank Kowalski, of Connecticut; Leonard L. Sells, of Virginia; and Edward C. Sweeney, of Illinois.

A quasi-judicial control agency, the Board of which Governor Cherry served for almost a decade fulfills a most significant role in our democracy. Some of my colleagues may recall that the 81st Congress, as a result of extensive hearings, determined in 1950, and I quote from Public Law 831, that—

> There exists a world Communist movement which, in its origins, its development, and its present practice, is a worldwide revolutionary movement whose purpose it is, by treachery, deceit, infiltration into other groups (governmental and otherwise), espionage, sabotage, terrorism, and any other means deemed necessary, to establish a Communist totalitarian dictatorship in the countries throughout the world through the medium of a worldwide Communist organization.

Subsequently the 83d Congress in the Communist Control Act of 1954, announced that—

> The Congress hereby finds and declares that the Communist Party of the United States, although purportedly a political party, is in fact an instrumentality of a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States.

Governor Cherry devoted the last 10 years of his life to carrying out the will of Congress on the Board which was established to safeguard our security.

Under the Internal Security Act of 1950, as amended, the Board is given jurisdiction to determine, in proper proceedings: First, whether any organization in the United States is a Communist-action organization, or a Communist-front organization, or a Communist-infiltrated organization; second, whether any individual is a member of a Communist-action organization; and third, whether any organization or any individual having previously come within the provisions of the act is entitled to cancellation of registration or other appropriate relief.

Whenever the Attorney General has reason to believe that any organization is one of the types of Communist organizations defined in the act, or that any individual who has not registered as a member of a Communist-action organization is required to register, he shall petition the Subversive Activities Control Board for an appropriate order. Any organization or individual once having come within the provisions of the act may, pursuant to designated procedures, file with the Subversive Activities Control Board a petition for appropriate relief. The act provides for the imposition

of criminal penalties upon organizations, officers and individuals who fail to register or to abide by the other provisions of the act which apply when an order of the Board has become final.

During his membership on the Board, Governor Cherry participated in the hearing and decision of some 65 cases, some of which lasted for years and accumulated many thousands of pages of record. Perhaps the best-known case with which Cherry was connected was the Communist Party case. In 1953 after lengthy hearings the Community Party of the United States was ordered by the Board to register as a Communist-action organization. In 1958, after extensive litigation and several appeals, the case was remanded to the Board for further proceedings. Governor Cherry was assigned as the hearing member in this fundamental case. His recommended decision following new hearings reaffirmed the original Board order requiring the Communist Party to register. His decision was adpoted by the Board and ultimately upheld by the Supreme Court in 1961.

Another important case over which Cherry was Attroney General against International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, the first "Communist-infiltrated organization" case. Governor Cherry was the hearing officer during lengthy and extended hearings from 1955 through 1961, and in that year issued a recommendation that the Board determine the Union to be a Communist-infiltrated organization as defined by the act. The Board adopted Governor Cherry's recommended decision and the appeal from the Board's determination is presently pending in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit.

Chairman Cherry also participated extensively in some 44 individual Communist Party membership cases brought by the Attorney General for Board orders requiring individual Communists to register after the Communist Party refused to register in 1961. Appeals from Board registration orders in these cases are presently pending in the Supreme Court.

Other cases in which Cherry participated include several well-known Communist-front cases such as Attorney General against California Labor School, Inc., in which he was the hearing member, Attorney General against Labor Youth League, Attorney General against Civil Rights Congress, Attorney General against Jefferson School of Social Science, Attorney General against American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, Attorney General against Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and others.

Governor Cherry was the rare personality who was both a lawyer and a judge in the most refined meaning of those terms. He was indeed learned in the law—quick to grasp legal reasoning with all of its ever-present distinctions but slow to allow them to steer him from the realities of the matter at hand. As lawyer, his approach to problems was legal but not legalistic; as judge, he was not only judicial but judicious. He had the happy faculty of scraping loose the barnacles of legal and factual minutiae to obtain a clean view of the real, substantive matters at issue. And, in viewing them, he was uncommonly appreciative of the delicate balance of rights and concerns of those affected, be they the parties, their attorneys, his colleagues, or the public. More than most men, he knew that the scales of justice was a most sensitive instrument which could not long withstand heavy-handed tipping in either direction. The Governor's was a gentle tipping hand graced by common sense and fair play.

As a person Governor Cherry was warm and sensitive—a man who loved life fully and wholly. Even during the terrible suffering of his prolonged illness, he never despaired, finding life always endurable. He liked good company and he especially enjoyed lively discussions. Above all he was tolerant possessing a great capacity for harmonizing conflicting views. Never rigid, always practical he was a man with both feet on solid ground, with a mind keenly aware of the yearnings and hopes of those around him.

He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Margaret Frierson Cherry, two sons, Scott Cherry and Sandy Cherry, and a daughter, Miss Charlotte Cherry. He was a great public servant, but he was also a good father and a fine husband.

Farm Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GALE SCHISLER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. SCHISLER. Mr. Speaker, in a very short time the full body of the House of Representatives will be called upon to consider the 1965 agricultural proposals. As one who was born and raised on an Illinois farm, I am especially interested in seeing a workable farm program enacted by this 89th Congress.

I firmly believe there are no easy solutions to attaining this workable program, but I feel if all interested parties will sit together at the negotiating table, all views and every possible program can be brought to light and discussed. Our district has taken this approach: the Illinois Agricultural Association, citizens groups representing our farmers, and other interested organizations have met with me to discuss in detail the 1965 agriculture proposal.

On August 6 and 7 we had the distinct pleasure of having Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman visit the 19th District of Illinois. Secretary Freeman's remarks to large gatherings in Monmouth and Rock Island, Ill., were indeed timely and extremely helpful in understanding what the 1965 agricultural proposals seek to achieve.

Mr. Speaker, at this time, I share with my colleagues excerpts from Secretary Freeman's remarks, delivered at the Monmouth College Student Center, August 6, 1965:

EXCERPTS FROM SECRETARY ORVILLE FREEMAN'S REMARKS

The old adage that economic depressions are farm-bred and farm-led still applies. But today we prefer to think of it in positive terms—that millions of jobs and the health of many great industries depend on farm products and farm dollars.

Representative GRAHAM URCELL made a survey of 625 farmers in 10 big wheat States relative to their prospective investment in farm machinery. He received replies from 466 of the 625 farmers surveyed. Under current wheat prices these 466 farmers plan to buy only about $836,000 worth of equipment. On the other hand, if the price of wheat for domestic use is increased to full parity, they indicate they would buy almost 10 times as much, or $7,840,000 worth. We estimate that for every $10,000 of additional farm machinery bought by farmers, one added job is created by industry. For just these 466 farmers, therefore, an adjustment in the domestic wheat price would mean about 700 more jobs in the farm machinery industry.

Last year, for example, gross farm income was $4 billion more than in 1960—and farmers spent over $600 million more for automobiles and $400 million more for capital goods and machinery. In the past 4 years farmers have spent more than $3 billion more on autos, tractors, and other farm machinery and equipment than would have been possible with a 1960 style income. In addition, they spent about $5 billion more on such production and consumer items as feed, fertilizer and lime, food, clothing, and household furnishings.

Our farm people are prime consumers. They spend about $30 billion a year on the goods and services related to agricultural production. They use more petroleum than any other industry. The take 9 percent of all the rubber consumed in the United States each year. They use 5 million tons of steel a year—a third as much as the automotive industry. They consume about 4 percent of the Nations' electric power.

Then they spend another $12 billion a year on family living—for food, clothes, furniture, medicine, and other products and services from town and city sources.

About 6 million people are employed directly on farms. But this is only the beginning. Agriculture is the cotter key holding some 16 million nonfarm jobs in place. Six million of these provide the supplies farmers use for production and family living. Approximately 10 million Americans have jobs storing, transporting, processing, and merchandising the products of agriculture.

In fact, it is estimated that 3 out of every 10 jobs in other employment are related to agriculture. Farm families will be better customers this year than last because realized net farm income in 1965 will hit a new high for the 1960's. The gain can be largely credited to commodity programs launched in 1961 and up for renewal with improvements in the current Congress.

The Story of a Suit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, Holmes Alexander is one of the most distinguished and unbiased reporters of the political scene that I have ever read. His farsightedness has been exemplified

many times in the past and it is frightening to me to see the tactics being used to try to quiet his militant voice. Yet an attempt is being made to do this very thing by engaging him in a lawsuit that will not only take much of his time but will cost him great expense which he can ill afford.

Surely there must be hundreds of citizens across our country who are concerned about communism and would love to defend those who bravely expose this insidious force. I am suggesting a Holmes Alexander defense fund and urge others to join me in contributing to such a fund to provide legal fees to defend Mr. Alexander against an unfair lawsuit, the real motive of which is to silence him.

Under unanimous consent I place as a portion of my remarks a capsule summary of the suit entitled, "The Story of a Suit":

THE STORY OF A SUIT

Columnist Holmes Alexander has written 12 published books, 2 produced plays, over 100 magazine articles and more than 4,000 columns that have run through some 200 newspapers. He never got sued—till now.

In mid-April 1964, Alexander was visited in his Washington office by Jack N. Rogers, chief counsel for the Joint Committee of the Louisiana Legislature on Un-American Activities. Rogers handed him a committee publication of its investigation of communism in the race movement of that State.

The committee has studied an outfit called Southern Conference Educational Fund. This outfit was the rebirth of another outfit called Southern Conference for Human Welfare which had been forced to disband when exposed as a Communist front.

The new outfit used the same address in New Orleans, the same telephone number, had generally the same leadership as the old outfit and published the same magazine called the Southern Patriot. Among the leaders are James A. Dombronski, Benjamin E. Smith, and Bruce C. Waltzer.

All three of these men were under indictment for multiple violations of the Louisiana Anti-Subversive and Communist Control Act. They had been referred to in the National Guardian, a pro-Communist publication, as "well-known Communists." Smith and Waltzer were members of the National Lawyers Guild, a Communist front organization. Smith and Waltzer were registered attorneys for Castro's Communist government in Cuba.

Alexander wrote a column, released April 26, 1964, that was based on the report of the Louisiana Un-American Activities Committee. He said, truthfully, that the report traced the activities of Martin Luther King to "Communist leaders", and he named Dombroski, Smith, and Waltzer.

The report set off a whole battery of suits. Jack Rogers and James H. Pfister, chairman of the Louisiana committee were sued. So was U.S. Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND, chairman of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security. So was J. C. Sourwine, chief counsel of the Eastland subcommittee. Meanwhile the U.S. Supreme Court found that the indictments of Dombroski, Smith and Waltzer were invalid under the Louisiana law.

Alexander was sued for libel by Smith and Waltzer. He had not called them Communists on his own authority. He had merely reported that they were so labeled by the Louisiana legislative report. He has denied any malice. He had never seen or heard of Smith and Waltzer till he read the report. He has pleaded the right to fair reporting and comment upon a public document. He stands on the first amendment to the Constitution which protects the freedom of the press.

But in a jury trial, heard in Washington, D.C., there is no predicting the outcome of the suit.

A New Kind of Psychological Warfare Against Communists—Drop the Sears-Roebuck Catalog on Them

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, the other day the distinguished correspondent of the New York Times, Mr. Harrison Salisbury, who served for a long time in the Soviet Union, made the novel suggestion that one of our most effective psychological warfare techniques in dealing with communism would be to drop Sears-Roebuck catalogs on the Soviets, because the vast array of items advertised in the Sears catalog was unusually representative of the great achievements which our free, private enterprise economy has made in distributing the fruits of our economy to our people.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Mr. Salisbury's address:

AMERICA AND THE TRIPLE REVOLUTION

(By Harrison Salisbury, speech delivered: the Athenaeum, Summit, N.J.)

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a great pleasure and privilege to be back to speak at the Athenaeum in Summit and it is a curious coincidence that it should be 5 years to the date.

What I am going to talk about tonight is considerably removed from the subject of my remarks of 5 years ago. Five years ago, I was speaking about the coming problems of the Communist world. Tonight I want to talk about America and the world.

I am going to talk against a background of a great deal of experience with the Communist world. I have lived in Russia, and I have spent time in practically every Communist country that exists. Indeed, I have visited all of them with the single exception of China. You get a different perspective upon the world from this. You begin to see your own country in a different light.

One thing of which you hear a great deal when you are working as a correspondent in Communist countries is revolution. Those countries seem to feel that they have a monopoly on the word and the concept of revolution. They constantly preach and propagandize the doctrine that progress in their countries and in the world flows out of revolution. When they speak of revolution, they are talking in terms of Marx as interpreted by Lenin, or Stalin, or perhaps, Mr. Khrushchev or Mao Tse-tung.

They speak in what we call the Marxian dialectic. And they feel that revolution moves and changes the world and is, indeed, the wave of the future.

Now, the longer I observe the various revolutions in action, the less certain have I become that they have much to do with the wave of the future. Indeed, the more I have read about the Marxian doctrine of revolution, the more I begin to wonder whether it is really such a revolutionary force as the Communists seem to think. One of the things which brought this forceably to my mind was a series of visits that I made. Back during World War II, I happened to visit Central Asia, a part of the Soviet Union seldom visited by outsiders.

In 1944, I visited Tashkent, Alma-Ata, Samarkand—cities with romantic names and very distant. In each of these places the local officials spoke apologetically about conditions. Indeed, there was some reason to speak that way. Conditions were not good, and they had not been improved by war, which had brought an influx of hundreds of thousands of refugees and the evacuation of industry from European Russia to these localities. Like a refrain, the mayor of Alma-Ata, or the state official of Uzbekistan would say: "Now we must apologize for what you see here, but if you will come back 10 years from now you won't recognize things. Give us 10 years and we will change Tashkent so that it will be a completely different city."

By one of those coincidences which do happen, I paid a return visit exactly 10 years later. I have to confess that when I came to Tashkent I had absolutely no difficulty in recognizing the city. Wherever I went, I saw familiar sights. True, conditions were somewhat better but the buildings were the same. The old mud city where so much of the population had lived was still there. There were some new apartment houses but the streets were shabby and shoddy. The people were wearing rather bad clothing. The shops had very little in the way of consumer goods. I had no trouble in recognizing Tashkent. I recognized everything I saw in Samarkand and the same is true of Alma-Ata.

Now, that was not a very surprising discovery. I had been in Russia most of that 10 years and I knew how long it had taken to repair the ravages of World War II.

I came back to the United States in 1954, having spent most of the preceding 6 years out of the country. Now in those 6 years, I had not heard of any revolutionary changes in America. No one had written me saying you won't recognize the United States when you come back. When I returned, no one thought that I would notice anything different. To Americans the country had gone along in the way it is always going. I went back to the Middle West which is the part of the United States that I know best because I lived a great deal of my life out there. I know something about the farming country of Minnesota, Iowa, and Illinois, and that part of the world.

I confess that when I returned to the once familiar scenes, I did not recognize the countryside. It had been changed beyond recognition.

What had changed it? Well, for one thing, enormous superhighways had been rammed across the countryside, vaster than any roads that I had ever seen in my life. Enormous clover leaves had sprouted where there had been nothing but corn fields. This was a revolutionary change. Along with the creation of these highways had sprung up an entirely new way of life—one that, to Americans, was very familiar but which to me, an American who had been out of my country, living in a supposedly revolutionary land for a long period of time, was exciting, new, and novel. Now the people didn't go down to the country store to do their shopping. They went to a vast supermarket or shopping center. The small communities of the Middle West had begun to dry up and vanish. The economic reason for their existence had gone. It was a revolutionary change. Peope shopped in a different way. They worked in different kinds of factories. I didn't recognize these factories when I first saw them. They were beautiful low buildings along the super highways. I still cannot tell the difference between a factory and a school. The architecture is almost the same. The buildings are equally beautiful, set back in parks. If I act as escort

to a group of Russians visiting this country they can't tell a school from a factory. They don't recognize either of them. They have nothing like that in their country. A factory in Russia is a grimy, smoke-ridden place. A school is a grubby building, probably three or four stories tall, built back in 1870. They don't know what a school, as we understand it, looks like.

These things are revolutionary. We don't think of them as being so because this country actually lives at such a pace that we are accustomed to it. It wasn't only the highways that I saw out in the Middle West. It was the whole basic way of agriculture there that had changed also.

It had changed because of new technology, new methods. The one-family farm, the sort of thing which I was familiar with as a youngster, had vanished. It was no longer economically profitable. It was technologically obsolete. There was equipment now on those farms in the Middle West that I didn't recognize. I couldn't even imagine what it was used for. These machines had been devised to do the work, perhaps, of 10 men. How revolutionary this seemed and not only to me. I was able to observe this in 1955 when the Soviet Union sent delegations over to learn the technology of our agriculture. I went out with them to Iowa. These were intelligent Russians who knew the technique of farming. They could hardly believe what they saw. They kept asking questions of the farmers, in Iowa.

The typical farm in Iowa when I was growing up as a youngster, was a family farm of 40 acres. There was undoubtedly a hired man or two to help. The typical farm that we saw 10 years ago in Iowa comprised 160 acres. The Russians would talk with the farmer and say, "Well, you have a 160 acres, you have so many tractors, you have planted so much corn, you have so many pigs, etc." Then they would say, "What about your labor force?" And the farmer would say: "Well, there's myself and my boy and then, of course, I trade labor with the farmer who has land next to me." And they would say, "Yes, and how many laborers do you hire?" And he would say, "Hire? I don't hire any labor." They finally got it through their heads that this one man, with his son and a little bit of extra labor and his machines, was farming this vast plot of land. I remember them saying with an air of absolute amazement, "By you, one man. By us, a hundred."

Now that is not literally true. It doesn't necessarily mean that for one operation we use one man, whereas, in Russia they use a hundred. But the principle holds true. We have an efficiency of labor and an abundance of output because of the use of technology and machines which makes their most advanced farming technology appear backward.

So, when you bring someone from that "revolutionary" land to see our "reactionary" land, this country, which is consistantly described in the Communist propaganda as the place where there is no progress, the place where conditions have not changed since Karl Marx wrote Das Kapital, the Russian is struck with revolutionary impact. I emphasize this because we are so used to change in the United States; we expect so much; we accept it as a fact of life and we do not actually realize its implications.

I think that the Russians and the Communists have got this whole business of revolution upside down. The fact is that the great revolutions were not made by men like Marx or Lenin or Stalin; the great revolutions were made by machines. The greatest revolutionary of the industrial era is James Watt and his steam engine. Basically it is the steam engine that has changed the world and is still in the process of changing it. It was the steam engine that created the industrial era. It wasn't Karl Marx. It was the steam engine that changed Europe from a peasant agrarian country to a modern industrial civilization, the kind of civilization that we have in this country and Europe and which Russia and the Communist countries are only now beginning to cope with.

Marx, in fact, was merely a man who came along after the industrial revolution, observed the worst of its early effects, saw the harsh contrasts created by the primitive application of steam power, was horrified at the social and political effects and evolved a theory about how to cope with those effects. A theory which Russians are still struggling with. The real revolutionary progress continued to go on with very little relation to anything which Marx said.

If we come to our country, we find that the most revolutionary technology introduced to this country was the cotton gin of Eli Whitney. You don't find any mention of Watt and Whitney in revolutionary handbooks. Yet Whitney with the cotton gin, changed the basis of agriculture in the South and produced the conditions from which our devastating Civil War flowed. Such men create changes of a revolutionary nature in the world, not the theories, not the men who come along after.

Often, in the Soviet Union, you read about Henry Ford. They don't call him a revolutionary but they do give him credit for changing the basic process of modern manufacturing.

If we are going to make up a list of revolutionaries we must put Henry Ford high on that list. Ford took industrial technology and organized it on a new basis, that of the production line. The production line made modern industry in the United States enormously more productive than ever before.

It became so productive that instead of reducing wages to increase the profit margins, Ford offered labor the unheard of figure—at that time—of $5 a day. For the first time industry became so productive that the workers, the so-called proletariat of Marx, the oppressed, the downtrodden people, were being brought in to share its profits.

Henry Ford demonstrated that Marxist theories about the evolution of the capitalist world were completely mistaken. Ford demonstrated that the industrial system, if it organizes technology properly, can be so productive that it can afford to pay all its workers well. It must do this if it is to create consumers of these products. This, of course, turns all of the theories of Marx and Lenin and of Stalin and Mao Tse Tung upside down.

This is a revolutionary development. But we don't think of this as being revolutionary. We think of this as being ordinary American progress. Believe me, to a Russian, or a Chinese or a Pole, this is most revolutionary. Today, we stand on the threshold of an even greater development. We are beginning to introduce IBM operation of the production line. We are beginning to introduce automation and once again we create a vast expansion in the productivity of technology. This makes the Nation wealthy and gives it the resources to cope with the problems which mankind has suffered throughout its history.

These problems are the ones which bedeviled Marx and the Communists. They were bedeviled by the problem that man had created better ways of doing things but did not seem able to create a method whereby he could benefit from his inventions. Here in this country without an ideology that fits these revolutionary developments, we have between 1945 and 1965 gone through as radical a revolution as any nation in history.

But we have let the Communists run away with a great many exciting concepts, concepts which are useful to us, useful to us in not only understanding what is happening in our country but in competition with the rest of the world.

I don't think we realize the dynamics of what we have. I think that we have let the Communists preempt the words which would stir the masses just as we have failed to show many people what we are really capable of. We take it for granted. New York is always changing. We build highways but we don't realize that nowhere else are they able to organize their society so efficiently. Nowhere else do they have such imagination.

It has long been said that the greatest revolutionary document in the world is Karl Marx's Das Kapital, his famous study of the industrial system of Western Europe. This is the book which is supposed to have changed more men's minds than any other in modern times.

I am not so sure that we don't possess a volume which has more revolutionary implications than anything that Karl Marx ever wrote. I am talking about a volume which is known to everyone in this room. I venture to say there isn't a single person here who has ever thought of it as having a single revolutionary implication. I am talking about the Sears Roebuck Catalog.

Now, why do I say that is revolutionary? Well, as you know, I lived in Russia for a long time. I used to get the Sears Roebuck Catalog in Moscow and I used to order things from it. That is I did when I could get hold of it because there was no single book in Moscow which was in greater demand among Russians. The Russians couldn't order from it but they could look for it. Nowhere had they seen such a wonderful treasure house of unbelievable, beautiful, unimaginable things than in that catalog. It used to come into the Metropol Hotel. The moment a Russian got it that would be the end. It would go from hand to hand. If I ever got it back the pages would be torn out, it would be in tatters.

I have often made a recommendation to the CIA—one which, I am sorry to say, they have never taken up. This recommendation is that they print 1 million copies of that catalog in Russian; that they send the U-2 or some other plane over Russia and drop the catalogs. That's all they need do. It would be the end of the Communist world.

Now why is that? This Sears, Roebuck catalog represents, once again, an American system of organizing the supply of things that people want, to the people who want them. It is a magnificently simple and efficient and attractive method. Can you imagine any easier way. It isn't just Sears, of course. It is Montgomery Ward and all the people who produce this sort of thing. And it isn't just the catalog. It is the shopping center, it is our whole retail distribution system, the like of which does not exist anywhere.

I remember well a conversation the late Eric Johnson had with Stalin during the war. Mr. Johnson was head of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. He was depressed at the sight of hundreds of men and women queuing up outside the stores. If you went to a store and tried to get service you would wait for 15 minutes to half an hour. Nothing could be done in Russia without waiting.

And in a conversation with Stalin, Johnson said, "Mr. Stalin, I want to make a suggestion to you—a suggestion that will increase the efficiency of your country enormously. It will give you billions of men and women hours of labor. Let us send over to you a few of our experts on distribution, on retail trade. I go through Moscow and I see these lines every day. No one can get anything without waiting hours in line. Have you any idea of the amount of time that is wasted in this manner?"

Stalin said: "Yes, I have, but there is one thing you forgot, Mr. Johnson. Before you can distribute you have to have something to distribute."

And this is the greatest indictment that could be made of that system. It is literally true, though not as true today as it was

then, that the system simply does not produce enough goods to satisfy the needs of its people.

In this country, as we all know, we have got our system working so efficiently that in one enormous segment, that of agriculture, we are capable of turning out food in such quantity that is capable of completely smothering us. It produces mountains of food that we can't consume.

We are in the absurd situation of having to pay people to hold down production. Nowhere else in the world was this situation ever obtained. Everywhere else they are running at top speed, trying to catch up with demand. Here we have the reverse.

One of the most dramatic experiences I have had occurred during Mr. Khrushchev's visit in 1959. I accompanied him across the country when he was discovering America. He discovered many interesting things. I was with him on the Pacific coast at a very dramatic moment—I am not talking about that moment when Mr. Khrushchev was told he couldn't go to Disneyland. That was a dramatic moment and I thought Mr. Khrushchev was going to cry, in fact, I still think he did shed a tear or two. He was bitterly disappointed. I am sorry to this day that he never got to see Disneyland. I know he is not going to see it now. But that isn't what I am talking about. It was the following day when we were in northern California and went to see a beautiful, modern industrial plant—one of the great facilities of the IBM at San Jose. Now this is not a terribly unusual plant; that is, not by modern American standards. It is a beautiful one. It has a great parklike setting. There are magnificent plantings of flowers and palm trees and pools and statues. It is fabulous to look at but it could be matched by dozens of other facilities in many different parts of the United States. Mr. Khrushchev was taken around by Mr. Watson, the head of IBM. I don't think Mr. Watson thought that he was showing Mr. Khrushchev anything revolutionary. He knew he was showing him a beautiful, modern American industrial facility.

I was present when something occurred to Mr. Khrushchev. I am sure it occurred to me at almost exactly the same time. I don't think it occurred to any other Americans who were showing this facility to Mr. Khrushchev.

This was one of those one-story plants with lots of windows and typical cinder block construction inside with pastel colors. We first went into the office, the executive section of the plant. Here were the executives at their desks, standing up to great Mr. Khrushchev. Pretty soon we were in the manufacturing part of the plant. The color of the cinder block walls changed from pastel pink to pastel green or blue. The people looked just about the same. We passed on to an office department. Again the only change was in the color of the walls. There was no grime. There was no dirt. There were no men in greasy coveralls. There were no men with their shirt sleeves rolled up. There were no men in blue-collared shirts. They were all in white collars. Now this didn't surprise any of the Americans. They expected it. The plant was air-conditioned. Working conditions were fine. There was no great physical labor involved in the assembly of the various computers. The office work was mechanized. Much of the plant was automated. Now, to Mr. Khrushchev, this was a revolutionary experience. Why? One of the basic tenets of Karl Marx, one of the things which the Communists, ever since the Manifesto of 1848, have been trying to achieve, their end goal, in fact, is to abolish the difference between manual labor and mental labor, between white collar and blue collar. And here in the IBM plant in San Jose, in the citadel of capitalism, in this most capitalistic of American firms, this revolutionary goal of Karl Marx has been achieved without anyone even thinking about it.

There are no blue collar workers there. Indeed, there is practically no physical labor at all. During the whole operation the physical labor is done by machine. The men, whether they happen to be a manager, a scientist, or a simple mechanic, dress the same, have the same kind of working conditions. There are no class differences. Even the pay is not so different. I saw Mr. Khrushchev's face when this thought occurred to him. It was a sight worth seeing.

Here in the capitalist United States, Karl Marx's dream of the Communist world has been accomplished. And the Americans don't even know they have done it.

This is typical, I would say, of the revolutionary effects produced by this remarkable society in which we live. I only wish that we could be more aware of what we are doing.

My topic tonight is the Triple Revolution. I arbitrarily limited it to three revolutions. I could have said six revolutions. Because the revolutions in this country are continuous. You can't mark them out. You can't demark them. The process goes on all the time. Leon Trotsky, one of the first Communists, had a doctrine which he called, "Theory of Permanent Revolution." His idea was that the world should be in permanent ferment achieving revolutionary goals. The truth is that in this country without violence, without ideology, but simply because of these productive processes, we live in a state of permanent revolution. We have become so accustomed to it that we don't notice it is going on.

It's no accident that the United States, the great capitalist country, is the benchmark against which Russia, the revolutionary country, constantly measures itself. When Mr. Khrushchev set goals for his country they were to equal or exceed the production of the United States by a certain year, usually 10 years in the future and usually the goals were not attained.

When Lenin or Stalin wanted to set standards for comparison, they took them from the United States. When Mr. Khrushchev wanted to improve his agricultural situation he came to us for the methods and the means of improving it. What he couldn't take from us—because it went contrary to his policy—was our system of organization.

The productivity of our farms is based upon competition between one farmer and another, and the harsh reality of the market. Along with this is mixed in all sorts of Government aid and intervention. It is a quite illogical setup; Marx would reject it out of hand. So would the Russians. The only thing is, that it works.

I have been back to Russia since Mr. Khrushchev imported our techniques; since his many delegations returned from Iowa with the machines and the methods and the knowhow which makes our agriculture so productive. I have been back there to see if they had any success in introducing this in Russia. In some places I saw machines that were just like those that we have but there was a notable lack of productivity, a notable lack of flexibility. There is no incentive for the farmer to use those dozens of attachments that were available for his tractor.

Why? He wouldn't earn any more and if he did earn more, there was nothing in the store to buy. So why should he knock himself out? Why should he work as the man in Iowa does? The farmer in Iowa works because if he doesn't, he won't be able to buy all those wonderful things in the Sears, Roebuck catalog.

There is no such catalog in Russia and this is the crux of the whole situation. Half a dozen years ago, John Galbraith coined the phrase, "the affluent society" to describe the United States. He said that for the first time we were creating goods in such quantities and with such ease; we were making so much; average wages were so high in this country that we could create a new type of society, an affluent society, one in which the affluence would be so widespread that it really wouldn't compare with the societies that existed in the past.

Last year, another observer of the American scene, Michael Harrington, wrote a book about poverty in the United States, in which he noted that in spite of great affluence there exists in both cities and rural areas, pockets of absolute poverty—places where people have no work. A startling contrast between a society based on abundance, based on amazing technology and, side by side, people living on relief, people without hope, without jobs—a remarkable contrast.

A little bit less than a year ago, there was published a declaration by the ad hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution. A statement was published in the New York Times calling for an unqualified commitment by society to provide every individual and family with adequate income as a matter of right. Now, I don't know if that sounds revolutionary to you, but to me it sound very revolutionary. It sounds like what might have been on a Marxian banner someplace. This was published, however, not in a Communist tract but in the New York Times. It was signed by a body of distinguished scholars and public minded citizens.

It was presented as well within the reach of the United States as it now exists. The interesting thing is that out of these observations by Mr. Galbraith and Mr. Harrington, there is coming into being something which Mr. Johnson is calling the Great Society.

I don't know how revolutionary you think that concept is. I think it is the most revolutionary thing I have ever heard. I never heard anything in Moscow half as revolutionary. What Mr. Johnson is saying and what Americans are accepting as quite plausible is the idea of eliminating poverty as a class in our society, eliminating the poor.

In all human history no society has ever taken upon itself such an undertaking. It would be absurd for any other country to think of abolishing the poor. True, the Marxists thought they could do it. They thought they could do it by an egalitarian method of sharing the poverty, not the wealth. When the Russians produced a revolution, they eliminated the wealthy and the middle class. Everybody became poorer. What we are proposing to do is to eliminate the poor and everybody is going to become more wealthy than they ever have been before.

It sounds ridiculous. The fact is, that it is entirely plausible and possible. It is plausible and possible because of the amazing modern technology, the productivity and creativeness of our own industry, and the way we have organized our society. We can achieve it. We can make estimates of how much money it will cost. Some estimates run rather high, $12 billion.

Well, $12 billion a few years ago would have sounded like an enormous amount. It doesn't sound so big today. Why? Because we are talking in terms of increasing our gross national product by $200 billion in 2 or 3 years. Twelve billion out of that—not too much, not so great an amount.

What is much more difficult is to take people who are at the bottom of the economic and social heap and give them some skill, some desire for life, for useful existence. This is not so easy. You may have seen some of these people. I have seen them in West Virginia, where they have been out of jobs for a long time. It is not going to be easy. It is going to be impossible for some individuals. But we can do it with other generations and this is one of the three revolutions going on in this country: abolition of poverty. We have started on it and if we are able to generate the increases in the

gross national product which are now contemplated, this will generate such momentum that it will pull the poverty stricken class right out of the area of income under $3,000 up into the more abundant society. It will happen. It is happening right now. Another one of these great revolutions that is going on in this country.

Another revolution which we are aware of but one which we don't think of as being a revolution, is that which involves racial equality, the equality of all our citizens. Equal opportunity.

We sometimes think of this as a great problem. Indeed, it is. It has been a source of conflict, friction. Many things have happened we are sorry about. We have gotten a black eye abroad. I remember being abroad at the time of Little Rock, for example, and being constantly called upon (I was in Eastern Europe at the time) to explain what was happening in the United States. How could these riots occur? Anyone who has been abroad in recent years has undoubtedly had that experience. How can it happen? I found that I could explain it quite effectively to Communists, when I pointed out that the reason was that we were moving to make a reality out of principles that we had long confessed but had not brought into being.

When I began to talk about the difficulties of one race and another, of one people and another, living in understanding, they would say, "Yes, that is a difficult problem." Indeed it is. These are the most difficult problems in the world. All we have to do is to go back into world history and try to find some time when different peoples have been able to live together without friction, without inequality. How rare are those examples. It is, indeed, a revolutionary thing to attempt to achieve that. Yet, I think there are few people in this country who have any doubt that it will eventually be achieved. We can go to these revolutionary countries, these Communist countries, the Soviet Union, for example, where I have lived a great deal. They profess to have no race problem.

Yet in recent years when for the first time there have been substantial numbers of Negroes, of African students in Moscow, almost instantly the problem appears.

Why? They have had a law on the books for a long time that there should be no racial discrimination but they have never had to face up to living with such a situation. When the situation is confronted, the same kind of reactions occur. I have seen in Central Asia Russians and Central Asians, Uzbeks, Kazahks, living in the same cities. Do they live in integrated situations? They do not. They live in the same conditions that once were typical of this country in many areas. The Uzbeks, the Asians, live in one quarter of the city and the Russians in another, for the most part. In schools the population of one school is almost exclusively Uzbek or Kazahk and the population of another school is Russian.

Segregation by geography, a familiar and classical form of segregation, exists still in this country but isn't even recognized in the Soviet Union as being a problem. So here again, we move into revolutionary ground in this country, tackling the problem, seizing it, attempting to solve it, confident that we will solve it.

This is what I think America stands for. I don't fear the word revolution. I don't believe in the kind of revolutions that the Communists stand for, that the Bolsheviks stand for. I don't think they are necessary. I think that we achieve revolutionary effects in this country at a pace which makes those revolutionary movements look as if they were standing still. I think that the lesson for these newly emerging countries, the lesson for the struggle for the future of the world really is in progress.

The lesson for the new countries is to look with new eyes at what we are doing. But before they can look with new eyes, we must look at ourselves. We must have a new appreciation of what we are achieving.

I think that if we do take that new look, we will find something pretty exciting here—something the like of which the world has never seen before, something of which we can be proud and something which will keep America ahead in the world through the next century.

Changing Balance of Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, Business Week magazine recently published an excellent article on the growing partnership between business and government.

The editors quote President Lamond du Pont Copeland of the Du Pont Co. as follows:

It would be in the national interest, as well as our own interest, to put an end to what at times has seemed like a cold war between government and business.

Mr. Copeland suggested a "conscious determined effort on both sides to improve the relationship between business and government."

It seems to me that one way to improve this relationship is better and more frequent communication between government and business. We should keep the lines of communication open with a constant interchange of ideas, suggestions, and constructive criticism.

To foster this interchange of thought, I am taking this opportunity to call the following article to the attention of my colleagues in the House and Senate. I also plan to send copies to businessmen in the 39th District of New York.

The article follows:

BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT—A CHANGING BALANCE OF POWER

A growing but uneasy partnership is replacing the old business-government "cold war." Executives are divided on how to work out a balance that maintains their freedom.

A new pattern is emerging in the relationship between business and government in the United States. Its concrete manifestations can be spotted all over the map:

In the area of wages and prices, the Federal Government seeks to get business and labor to stay within "noninflationary wage-price guideposts."

In race relations, business and government join in efforts to create more and better employment opportunities for Negroes.

In foreign trade, investment, and lending, voluntary programs by U.S. business and banking are helping government to eliminate the deficit in the Nation's balance of payments.

In the war against poverty, government is drawing on the help of business to upgrade the knowledge and skills of the poor.

In science and technology, government depends on private industry to advance national interests in areas as wide-ranging as economic development, military power, and exploration of outer space.

In matters of taxation and public expenditure, government and business are working more closely together to shape fiscal policy in ways to promote full employment and more rapid economic growth.

Dilemma for business: Caught up in the swirl of these rapidly changing business-government relations, businessmen are facing some tough decisions. The central problem is whether big business should accept voluntarily a new and closer relationship with big government—or whether they should oppose any such partnership lest it transform the traditional free enterprise system beyond recognition and obliterate what they consider to be their economic freedom.

Some leading business executives are moving toward the conclusion that the dangers to their own freedom, and to society's, will be reduced rather than increased if a new balance—involving elements of both cooperation and conflict—can be worked out between business and government. These men are already working to achieve such a balance of business and government functions and responsibilities.

Political decision and business growth

(NOTE.—Frederick R. Kappel, the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. chairman, explains the interplay of business and government in innovation and economic development.)

"The telephone business in its early days, back in the last century, was severely limited technically. People could talk and hear for only a few miles, and they usually had to shout.

"Yet the people who ran the business had big ideas. In particular, Theodore N. Vail, the great leader of the Bell System in its formative years, set forth some fantastic goals. He looked ahead to universal service—to a time when anyone could talk with anyone else, anytime, anywhere. The very charter of the A.T. & T. Co., issued in 1885, spoke of using cables 'and other appropriate means' to interconnect cities and towns all over the world.

"This big vision literally drove the business into large-scale research and development effort. The effort got into high gear in the early years of this century, under the leadership of Dr. Frank B. Jewett, the first president of Bell Laboratories. Very importantly, Dr. Jewett realized that the scientific method, applied within the industry, offered the best hope of getting the knowledge on which to build a successful technology of communications.

"However, there was one other important circumstance. In the early days of the telephone there were many areas where different telephone companies competed against each other. Resources were wasted and the public suffered. And here comes the decisive fact: In the early 1920's the country and the Congress decided that in the interest of good service, overlapping or dual telephone systems might be unified.

"This political decision opened the way to nationwide service over a single system that would interconnect the different companies in all parts of the country.

"Now I could ask: 'Who did the innovating here? What brought about the progress? How did it all come to pass?'

"It might be answered that the scientists and engineers were responsible—after all, it was they who developed the technology. But is this really the answer, all by itself? Remember, it was the foresight and drive of Vail the manager that got the technical effort started, so in a sense it was he who was the principle innovator.

"Yet the answer is still incomplete. There was one more essential factor—I mean the public consensus, the political decision. In the last analysis, this is what made it possible for the science of Jewett to implement the goals of Vail."

Ending a "cold war": Some put it in terms of ending what has been an almost traditional conflict between business and Government in the United States. One of these is Lammot du Pont Copeland, president of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.

"It would be in the national interest, as well as our own interest," says Copeland, "to put an end to what at times has seemed like a cold war between business and Government." He suggests a "conscious, determined effort on both sides to improve the relationship."

The University of Michigan's Kenneth E. Boulding describes the "cold war between business and Government," which he traces back as far as 1880, as the most crucial problem facing the United States. "I think we have now got to the point," he says, "where failure to come to some kind of resolution of this ancient conflict is our most serious handicap."

Pervasive: Whatever the attitudes of the two sides may be, the actual overlaps between business and Government interests today are multiple; they embrace not only the areas already mentioned but also housing and urban redevelopment, communications, transportation, banking, power, farming, and other regulated or subsidized industries.

So pervasive are these overlaps that some observers feel the very nature of the U.S. economic system has already been changed from what used to be called capitalism to something that needs a new name.

Many names have been proposed for the present system: the mixed economy, the managed economy, the pluralistic economy, the garrison state, the welfare state. Whatever the system is called, however, it has become increasingly clear to businessmen that the role of Government in their affairs has "changed drastically in our lifetimes," as Logan T. Johnson, president of Armco Steel Corp., puts it. "Government," says Johnston, "is now a partner of business—some even think the dominant partner. Whether or not business wants such a partner is academic. The partner is there.

"Whether or not this partner's advice is sought does not matter. He will offer it. If need be, he will enforce his views."

Here to stay: This state of affairs deeply distresses—even infuriates—a great many businessmen. Many, as Johnston notes, "blame their partner for the majority of their problems—including their ulcers." And many ardently wish their Government partner would just go away and let them run their businesses in peace.

"Yet," says Logan Johnston, "businessmen who are frank with themselves in their moments of introspection know that this partner is not going away, at least in the foreseeable future."

Whether they like it or not, practical businessmen know that the huge and changing role of government in the U.S. economy presents them with a critical managerial problem.

I. HOW BUSINESSMEN SEE THE BASIC ISSUE

The issue has uncovered differences within the U.S. business community that are both intellectual and emotional.

On one side, many businessmen strongly resist the contention that they should run their businesses in such a way as to serve not only their private interests but also "the public interest." Many condemn this notion that private business should seek to fulfill "social responsibilities" as—in the words of Prof. Milton Friedman, an adviser of Barry Goldwater in the 1964 presidential campaign—"a fundamentally subversive doctrine."

Friedman asks: "If businessmen do have a social responsibility other than making maximum profits for stockholders, how are they to know what it is? Can they decide how great a burden they are justified in placing on themselves or their stockholders to serve that social interest? Is it tolerable that these public functions of taxation, expenditure, and control be exercised by the people who happen at the moment to be in charge of particular enterprises, chosen for those posts by strictly private groups?"

He warns that if businessmen once begin behaving like civil servants, then sooner or later they will become nothing but civil servants—elected or appointed like any others.

The doctrine of "social responsibilities," traditionally minded businessmen fear, may lead to a highly centralized and controlled economy in which their freedom and independence as businessmen—or citizens—will be lost.

George Champion, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, recently launched a heavy attack against the Government's setting of guidelines for business behind "the facade of friendliness and partnership between business and Government."

"In my judgment," said Champion, "the new trend toward Government-by-guideline is one of the most insidious and dangerous on the national scene today, and one which businessmen should work to reverse with all the energy and dedication they can muster. The guideline approach represents a giant step away from self-reliance and personal responsibility, and toward Federal domination of our national economy."

Balance of interests: On the other side of this emotional—and ideological—debate are businessmen who believe that, with corporations as big and important as they are today, there is simply no way for corporate executives to avoid affecting the public interest.

Hence, they contend that, if U.S. business leaders want to retain their private freedom and autonomy to make decisions, they must take cognizance of the effect of their actions on the public interest—with which their own basic corporate interests are inevitably bound up.

Some proponents of this view, in fact, assert that the most critical job facing the head of a major corporation today is to determine how best to coordinate a company's interests with the public interest.

One who holds the view that a businessman can take account of the public interest in his business decisions "and still be successful" is Thomas J. Watson, Jr., chairman of International Business Machines Corp. Watson says: "I would be the first to admit that it's a good deal easier to state this proposition than to put it into practice."

Yet he feels sure that one of the most important problems American management must face in the years ahead is "how we can strike a balance between what is sound business practice in the management of our large organizations and what is good for the national interest."

Profits and the public: Businessmen who take the position that corporations should seek to serve public as well as private interests do not think this means sacrificing profits—at least not in the long term. On the contrary, they insist that efforts to improve corporate earnings are wholly consistent with national interests.

Profits, these men contend, are both rewards for past efficiency and innovations, and incentives for future business achievement. They are a means of financing growth and of efficiently allocating human and material resources to uses that the public—the buying public—favors.

Thus, these businessmen refuse to concede that they are any less hardheaded or profit-oriented than their fellows. Indeed, they consider themselves more realistic in facing up to the hard facts of how to operate successfully in today's economy—an economy in which Government has a big role to play and the public not only demands "socially responsible" behavior from business, but can enforce its demands politically if it grows dissatisfied with business actions and policies.

Political savvy for businessmen

(NOTE.—Thomas S. Gates, the Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. chairman, Secretary of Defense under Eisenhower, urges businessmen to get more political understanding.)

"I'm surprised that American business and banking haven't been more in the business of understanding government and molding legislation. I don't mean this in any narrow self-serving way; on the contrary, I think the best interests of both business and government would be served. In our society, we need good planning by business and intelligent government. Businessmen need to recognize that you can't have anything but big government—and it will grow.

"Businessmen need more government service. The problem is that the individual is usually not willing to leave his organization or lead an exposed life. He may find it fearfully hard to regain his position in his company. But companies should recognize that experience in government adds to a man's stature, makes him an additional asset to his business.

"It would help if Congress passed sensible conflict-of-interest laws. Congress behaves inconsistently for itself."

II. CLASH OVER STEEL—AND A FRESH START

The critical issue in this debate is how to define the "public interest," a concept that many businessmen regard as foggy. One skeptic says: "On the most difficult issues, 'socially responsible' behavior is not obviously revealed to all or deducible from the Ten Commandments. It has to be enunciated by someone. In practice this usually means the President.

"I think the real issue is not whether individuals should do what is right," says this man, "but whether the President should tell them what is right, as distinct from what is legal, and whether individuals have any responsibility to do what he says."

But Joseph L. Block, chairman of Inland Steel Co., declares that those who deride the "public interest" as a "nonexistent will-of-the-wisp, a self-serving device used by politicians to cloak ulterior objectives," are speaking "utter nonsense." Block contends that they are denying not only the need for private businessmen to consider the public interest but even the right of government itself to define the public interest.

"Surely," says Block, "the greater good of the Nation as a whole should be of paramount importance to everyone." He maintains that "while no one has an omniscient power to define 'public interest' accurately at any given time, and certainly not all of the time, it surely behooves all of us—and most particularly Government—to endeavor to do so."

Moment of truth. Block and his fellow executives at Inland Steel faced a moment of truth on this issue in April 1962; it came during the confrontation between the Kennedy administration and the steel industry over the hike in steel prices following labor negotiations with the United Steelworkers.

The refusal of eighth-ranking Inland Steel—strategically located in Chicago in the heart of a major industrial market—to go along with the steel price hike was probably the critical factor that forced other steel companies to rescind their across-the-board price increase.

The often-told story involved telephone calls by Under Secretary of Commerce Edward Gudeman to Inland's vice chairman, Philip D. Block, Jr. (Joseph Block was in Japan), and to others in Chicago.

The upshot was that Inland held the price line, though the White House never specifically asked this. The White House did, however, threaten the steel industry with

antitrust action, and it genuinely frightened businessmen by what they regarded as "police state" tactics.

Turning point: Though the Kennedy administration nominally won the steel battle, the confrontation was regarded as a fiasco by both sides. It left deep scars on relations between business and Government, scars that President Kennedy—and Roger M. Blough, chairman of United States Steel Corp.—never succeeded in healing, despite efforts on both sides.

Yet that battle was a turning point in efforts to put the business-Government "partnership" on a healthier basis.

Johnson's moves: After President Kennedy's assassination, Lyndon B. Johnson quickly moved to establish closer and friendlier relations between Washington and the business community—and to "draw a veil" over the steel battle of 1962. He consulted not only with liberal businessmen who had been sympathetic to Kennedy but with conservatives as well, many of whom had strongly opposed the Kennedy administration as "antibusiness."

A combination of circumstances, in fact—the steel episode, a reported insulting remark of the late President's about businessmen, the "intellectual" tone of the Kennedy administration, its reformist leanings—had united to awaken in these business circles the kind of intense hostility toward the Kennedy administration that had marked conservative business thinking during Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal.

President Johnson was determined to allay this hostility. Shaken by the assassination, many business leaders were, on their side, eager to repair relations with Washington.

Era of good feeling: As Johnson pressed his program to gain business cooperation, many businessmen felt that he had succeeded remarkably in dispelling the once bitter atmosphere. Said one who had known Kennedy and liked him personally—David Rockefeller, president of the Chase Manhattan Bank: "Johnson has established much better relations with business. Kennedy wasn't terribly interested. Johnson has talked to more businessmen, and has shown his sincerity. He's put his relations with the business community on a good, strong footing."

These efforts bore political fruit. Johnson got the influential support of some top businessmen—led by Henry Ford, II, of Ford Motor Co., and Stuart T. Saunders of the Pennsylvania Railroad—for his big tax cut (proposed at a time when the Federal budget was running heavily in deficit).

Johnson even succeeded in attracting a sizable amount of big business support for his political campaign in 1964. The Republican candidate, Senator Goldwater, complained during the campaign about "the Eastern establishment" of businessmen and financiers who were supporting Johnson.

Johnson's cultivation of the business community was not aimed solely at getting votes or campaign contributions. Rather, it was intended to restructure business-Government relations as a means of dealing with a number of crucial national problems.

What kind of new partnership?

(NOTE.—Calvin B. Hoover, the economics professor at Duke University, former president of the American Economic Association, considers how to combine power, economic efficiency, and freedom.)

"The experience of all modern industrialized societies demonstrates that some sort of new 'mix' of the responsibilities and functions of the state, of economic organizations, and of individuals essentially different from that of capitalism of the past is inevitable. This becomes evident whether we look at Russia, Yugoslavia, Great Britain, or the United States. If the role of the state becomes all-embracing, however, it is likely to prove almost impossible to preserve democratic control of the state and to provide adequate protection for the individual against men wielding state power.

"Yet there is substantial ground for the belief that something much less than an all-embracing role for the state would serve to maintain the economy in effective operation. This less than all-embracing role might even involve a type of quasi-public utility price and wage regulation in the most important industries. So long, however, as there was no attempt to force the organization of the economy into some ideologically determined straitjacket, so long as the development came about by peaceful means rather than by revolutionary violence, the always potential danger to personal liberty need never become actual.

"Popular support for such a mixed system would be strengthened by a further diminution in the share of income going to property or by a further dissemination of property ownership.

"How to limit the personal 'take' of the managerial class nevertheless would still remain a problem, since this "take" tends to substitute itself for the return on property. It is immensely important that the power of the state not be wielded without limit by a class which is both politically and militarily a ruling class at the same time that it is an economically ruling class.

"It is of crucial importance that the intellectuals in all societies should never forget that while new patterns of enlarged economic functions of the state are emerging and indeed must emerge, the state power cannot automatically be assumed to be wielded in the public interest and that the limitation of state power to a practicable minimum still remains requisite for the maintenance of personal liberty."

III. JOHNSON'S MOVES: POLICY AND PRACTICE

Soon after winning his landslide victory over Goldwater, Johnson sought to define his concept of separate and joint business-Government responsibilities. He did this in an address before the Business Council—a body of predominantly conservative chiefs of major corporations. The Business Council in 1961 had brawled with the Kennedy administration and cut itself off from official Government connections.

President's aim: The President told the Business Council that Government and business must "operate in partnership," not as antagonists, to solve many problems. He listed four as paramount:

Accelerating the rate of economic growth.

Maintaining price stability.

Strengthening the U.S. balance of payments.

Finding ways to reduce high rates of unemployment among teenagers and to assure "adequate economic opportunities for all our people"—obviously including Negroes.

Role of Government: In attacking all those problems, said Johnson, business and Government had distinct roles. One of Government's main jobs was to produce a tax system that would not overburden businessmen or consumers, and would maintain incentives for productive effort.

The big 1964 tax cut—totaling $14 billion—had clearly produced a major effect in accelerating growth and reducing unemployment. Johnson emphasized that the U.S. Government would seek, through both fiscal and monetary policy, to create conditions of stable economic growth in which individual businesses could prosper.

The Government's role should not be confined, said Johnson, to creating enough total money demand to keep the economy functioning at a high level. Government should also shape expenditure programs to improve human and natural resources and make "social investments * * * to support private enterprise."

But the Government, Johnson told the businessmen, should avoid trespassing on the proper area of private business; it should leave a "clear field" wherever competitive enterprise is the most efficient way of getting a job done.

And business: The major responsibilities of business, according to the President, were to produce high-quality goods, to innovate, to cut production costs, to sell vigorously at home and abroad, to offer workers both job security and incentives, and to invest in growth. For its own sake as well as the economy's, business should try to plan investments carefully and avoid hectic inventory building and dumping.

The small number of highly visible—and vulnerable—big banks heavily engaged in international lending (nine banks do 82 percent of all lending abroad) saw no alternative but to cooperate. Somewhat more surprising has been the degree of cooperation by the heads of a large majority of 600 major industrial companies.

What business did: Says Albert L. Nickerson, chairman of Socony Mobil Oil Co., the key business executive working with Commerce Secretary John T. Connor, on the voluntary balance-of-payments program: "We all felt that if top management of each company reviewed its specific programs for new plant, working capital, and cash balances overseas, some reductions and postponements could be made with only a slight adverse affect even on long-range profitability."

Neither from the Nation's viewpoint nor that of business, said Nickerson, could companies be asked to increase the size of the deficit.

Soon afterward, three banks outside New York did boost their prime rate by ¼ to 4¾ percent. But they put the rate down as the President continued his jawbone campaign—and the New York banks held their prime rate at 4½ percent. An overwhelming majority of bankers—including even those friendly to the White House—grumbled that this was undue meddling in their business. But their public protests were muted.

Those guideposts: Johnson has not interpreted his "era of good feeling" to mean that he should not try to guide or influence the lending, investing, price, or wage decisions of business.

On one of the most inflammatory issues—the "noninflationary" wage-price guideposts that were first spelled out by President Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers in 1962 and that were at stake in the Kennedy-steel confrontation that April—Johnson has continued to call for business and labor cooperation.

But his own criticisms have been muted when the guidelines—which would hold wage settlements to national productivity gains of 3.2 percent—were violated, as in the 1964 automobile and 1965 aluminum settlements.

Voluntary gains: As the balance-of-payments problem persisted, President Johnson issued a strong call to U.S. bankers to participate in a "voluntary" program to curb the growth of lending abroad, and to industrialists heavily involved in foreign operations to handle their affairs in such a way as to reduce the U.S. payments deficit.

Solving some national economic problems, the President added, would require joint efforts by business and government. These included steps to cope with the Nation's international balance-of-payments problem in such a way as to permit economic expansion to continue at home.

Prime rate story: On November 23, 1964, shortly before the President went before the Business Council, the Federal Reserve had raised the discount rate from 3½ to 4 percent. This was done to guard against any rush of money out of the country in response

to a hike to 7 percent of the British bank rate in an effort to protect the pound sterling.

President Johnson pleaded with U.S. bankers not to put up their interest rates to domestic borrowers just because the Fed had raised the discount rate; this, he said, might slow economic expansion. He was "sure," said the President, that bankers must realize their own long-term interests were inseparable from the Nation's prosperity. And he warned that, if the economy slid into a recession, it might force him to increase Government spending and forego market opportunities that would repay costs of expansion for many years to come, or to skimp on projects for modernization, new technology, or increased scale that would yield real efficiencies.

But he said top management was finding there are ways of economizing on cash that serve both corporate and national interests.

A plea for business-government peace

(NOTE.—Lammot du Pont, the Du Pont Co. president, calls for putting an end to the cold war between government and business.)

"You may believe, as I do, that if we had less government we would have more enterprise. We are confronted, however, with a condition, not a theory. If we are to retain any hope of solving the grave problems of this age, we must do everything possible under whatever system we have to maintain a strong, healthy, and expanding economy.

"What I should like to suggest is a conscious, determined effort on both sides to improve the relationship between business and government * * *. What I am really trying to say is that it would be in the national interest, as well as our own interest, to put an end to what at times has seemed like a cold war between government and business. A better relationship will not be achieved by standing off at arms' length or at swords' point. Someone will have to take the initiative. There may be times when we will be rebuffed, and I am sure there will be many times when we are told that our interest is in conflict with the national interest * * *.

"We might get a socialist type of government in 50 years, but business role would not really be affected. As in the past, the role of business in our economy hasn't really changed. What is different is the fact that businessmen have come to recognize their role in the overall economy, whereas formerly they had been slow to do so.

"You can't have good business without a sound economy—the whole has to function for the parts to work. So we are just as interested in the whole as is government."

IV. PARTNERSHIP, BUT NO "ESTABLISHMENT"

The Presidential pleas for business cooperation—and the willingness of business to cooperate—are founded on a fundamental but usually unstated assumption: That the free market does not necessarily provide satisfactory—or prompt—answers to many of the crucial economic and social problems facing the Nation, including not only economic growth, price stability, and balance-of-payments equilibrium but also such vital—and interrelated—political issues as unemployment, poverty, and race relations.

Increasingly, executives of large corporations are coming to see that, if they are too keep their own company's sales and profits growing, and to operate in a healthy political and social environment, it is essential to work for the stability and development of the system as a whole.

Common interests. Thus, in many important respects, executives see their corporate interests bound up with those of other groups:

With the interests of political leaders who are pressed to produce full employment, stable prices, and balance-of-payments equilibrium.

With labor leaders, who must strive to gain job security and rising incomes for the rank and file.

With other manufacturers and businesses, who want strong and rising demand for their own products or services, and are themselves customers of every major industry.

With financial institutions—banks, life insurance companies, pension funds, savings and loan associations—which want to be sure that savings continue to flow to them and that their investments will produce stable and rising returns.

Even with foreign governments and business institutions, whose political and economic decisions can mean life or death to a U.S. corporation.

In this interdependent financial and industrial system, the Nation's business leaders begin to see more clearly a need to concert their aims with those of other important policymakers, whether in business, banking, government, politics, labor, education, or other institutions.

Control—but where? Indeed, many observers now contend that the U.S. corporate world—along with American society generally—is now controlled by some kind of interlocking directorate among business, Government, and other national leaders—an "establishment" like the one that is thought to control Britain.

However, the pictures drawn of this alleged U.S. establishment vary greatly. The late C. Wright Mills of Columbia University called it a "power elite," which he saw as a conservative or reactionary force. Leaders of the civil rights movement refer to it as "the white power structure." Former President Eisenhower, in his farewell speech, warned about a "military-industrial complex," a group that was forcing the Nation's economy toward excessive dependence on Government defense spending.

Richard H. Rovere has suggested that this "American establishment" covers a political spectrum from slightly left to slightly right of center. It would thus apparently include such diverse personalities as the lawyer, banker, and public servant John J. McCloy; the Harvard professor, economist, and sometime Ambassador to India, J. Kenneth Galbraith; and the head of the AFL-CIO George Meany.

Religion seems to be a critical element to some observers. Prof. E. Digby Baltzell of the University of Pennsylvania calls it "the Protestant establishment." But William F. Buckly, Jr., and the editors of the right-wing National Review see it as a kind of liberal-big business conspiracy—a version that was apparently the basis of Senator Goldwater's "Eastern establishment."

Even a subcommittee of the U.S. Congress—the Celler subcommitte of the House Banking Committee—this year used such terms as "power elite" and "business establishment" to describe the men who allegedly are most influential in controlling U.S. economic life, and who sit on many corporate boards of directors.

No central group: These differences in descriptions of the nature, composition, and role of the "U.S. establishment" strongly suggest that there is no such thing—at least not in any simple or literal sense.

The pluralistic U.S. society has many centers of power—in industry, Government, politics, the foundations, the press, banking, labor, the intelligentsia—one of which has anything approaching absolute control. There are regional and local as well as national "establishments"—or power groups. Alliances among them are shifting and uncertain.

Both the nature of the political democracy and the still important forces of competition in the economy curb the power of any single group—or of any existing coalition of groups.

V. HISTORIC ROOTS OF THE PARTNERSHIP GOAL

Yet there are, of course, unmistakable signs that the entire U.S. system has become more centralized with the growth of big business, big Government, and big labor. This trend has gone on for a long time—at least since the 1880's—with the rise of the large corporations.

Early political reform movements, such as Populism and Progressivism, failed in their aim to halt the growth of huge corporations, just as the early industrial empire builders foresaw.

James B. Dill, the lawyer who brought Andrew Carnegie and J. P. Morgan together to form the U.S. Steel Corp., once told the muckraker Lincoln Steffens: "Trusts are natural, inevitable growths out of our social and economic conditions. You cannot stop them by force, with laws. They will sweep down like glaciers upon your police, courts, and States and wash them into flowing rivers. I am clearing the way for them."

Psychic split: Despite the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890—and continued popular concern over bigness in the decades that followed—it became clear that technological advance and the growth of a national market were making huge corporations inevitable. These in turn gave rise to huge labor and governmental institutions, in part meant to curb or oppose corporate power.

There was a major split in the American psyche over whether it favored conflict or cooperation among these powerful institutions. Businessmen themselves were split. So were liberals, some decrying "the curse of bigness" and some favoring socialism—which represented an acceptance of bigness but a turning away from competition toward State control.

Mark Hanna's way: In 1912, Herbert Croly—a brilliant editor of Architectural Record (now a McGraw-Hill publication) who was soon to found the liberal journal, the New Republic—saw a third alternative in the career of the great Republican political boss, Mark Hanna. Croly saw Hanna's life as an effort to coordinate business and Government interests for the public welfare. Hanna envisioned a kind of business-Government partnership that would be cooperative, not compulsory.

"Of course," wrote Croly, "as a politician he could not help representing business because business was a part of himself—because business was in his eyes not simply moneymaking, but the most necessary kind of social labor."

Mark Hanna, said Croly, saw no evil in what he was trying to do. Rather, he sought to keep alive "the traditional association between business and politics, between private and public interest, which was gradually being shattered by the actual and irresistible development of American business and political life." Hanna, in Croly's view, saw an essential harmony between business interests and those of the whole American community, and sought to develop it.

Central issue: But how could this be done? How avoid the danger that this harmony would be at the expense of the common people—the workers and farmers—and possibly at the expense of freedom itself?

This had been the central issue in U.S. politics from the beginning—from the classic debates between Alexander Hamilton, the proponent of a strong central government founded on the combination of business and government interests, and Thomas Jefferson, the advocate of a weak government and of extreme individualism.

Hamilton's opponents had accused him of being the enemy of liberty. But in fact, Croly declared in a book, "The Promise of American Life"—which had a major impact on the "New Nationalism" of Theodore Roosevelt—Hamilton wished, "like the Englishman he was, to protect and encourage liberty,

just as far as such encouragement was compatible with good order."

Hamilton realized, Croly said, that genuine liberty "could be protected only by an energentic and clear-sighted central government, and it could be fertilized only by the efficient national organization of American activities."

Croly was somewhat ahead of his time in worrying about ways to concert business and government activities for national aims. World War I naturally focused the attention and energies of both on the same national cause. In the 1920's, business had no reason to complain of Government, partly because the Republican administrations were regarded as business' own creatures, partly because the role of Government was of slight importance in that period of prosperity.

Depression impact: The end of that era came with a bang in 1929. President Hoover sought to rally business support for Government efforts to steady the economy and spur recovery—but the real problem was to determine exactly what Government could or should do.

Looking back later in his memoirs, Hoover insisted that "no President before had ever believed there was a governmental responsibility in such cases. No matter what the urging on previous occasions. Presidents steadfastly had maintained that the Federal Government was apart from such eruptions; they had always been left to blow themselves out."

Any such idea of governmental laissez-faire ended dramatically with the New Deal. President Franklin D. Roosevelt began to intervene all through the business sphere, with his long list of "alphabetical" agencies, starting with NRA.

Both because of traditional business opposition to governmental intervention and because Roosevelt excoriated businessmen as "economic royalists" and virtually accused them of responsibility for depression miseries, bitter hatred developed between business and Government.

Pause and revival: That conflict was adjourned by the exigencies of World War II, and the postwar boom obviated any need for business and Government to go to the mat again during the Truman years. With the coming of Eisenhower, businessmen felt that at last they again had an administration sympathetic to their interests.

The old issue was reopened, however, with the end of the "postwar era" in the recessions of 1957–58 and 1960, followed by the election of John F. Kennedy. It soon turned out that amid the harassments of slumps, unemployment, balance-of-payments problems, and slow growth, the long-standing issue of Government-business relations in the United States needed a better solution.

NEW START

Today some business leaders are sensing a fresh relevance in the Alexander Hamilton-Herbert Croly-Theodore Roosevelt philosophy. For this is a period in which Government seeks the cooperation of business to achieve many ends, ranging from stable economic growth to advancement of Negroes and low-skilled workers. And these are ends difficult or impossible to achieve through legislation alone—and ends that Americans do not wish to achieve by radical change in the political-economic system.

To gain such objectives, some business leaders are turning away from their traditional version of the "Jeffersonian" creed, with its antigovernment bias, its commitment to laissez-faire, its emphasis on "rugged individualism." They are wondering whether such doctrines have become inappropriate to the efficient operation of a modern industrialized society—and even to individual liberty and progress.

Constitutional amendments and civil rights laws may be insufficient, without conscious business cooperation, to promote the advancement of those left behind in U.S. economic and social development.

Putting it up to business leaders

(NOTE.—Kenneth E. Boulding, the University of Michigan professor, puts the chief blame for business-Government conflict on business.)

"Ending the cold war between business and Government is mainly the responsibility of business leadership. The brute fact is that the business leadership of this country has been politically naive and obscurantist. It has failed to offer constructive criticism, which is desperateely needed, of the impact of Government on the economy. It has been almost as ideological in its own way as the Communists. It has failed to maintain adequate contacts with the intellectual community; and it has retreated into a closed subculture of its own.

"To some extent this can be explained by the trauma of the great depression, but it is surely time now to throw off the burden of this memory and to develop a business leadership capable of a realistic appraisal of its political and social environment."

VI. CAN CORPORATIONS ACT FOR SOCIAL ENDS?

These trends have brought a new focus to the business-government relationship.

Over a century ago a prophetic Virginia statesman, Benjamin Watkins Leigh, declared: "Power and property may be separated for time by force or fraud—but divorced, never. For so soon as the pang of separation is felt * * * property will purchase power, or power will take over property. And either way, there must be an end to free government."

Business leaders today—and Government and intellectual leaders as well—are searching for ways of forming a fruitful and healthy relationship between power and property—one in which neither side corrupts or abuses the other, and in which neither oversteps the appropriate limits of its own role. This is an incredibly complex and crucial problem—or series of problems, since it continuously presents itself in different guises.

Classic case: One already classic episode in the evolution of the problem affected United States Steel Corp. and its Tennessee Coal & Iron Division in Birmingham, Ala., in 1963.

During that spring, Birmingham was gripped by racial tensions and violence. Under the urging of the U.S. Department of Justice, a group of Birmingham's leading citizens—industrialists, bankers, lawyers—formed a committee to work out some kind of settlement of the racial conflicts.

But this Community Affairs Committee had met only twice when four Negro girls were killed on September 15, by a bomb planted in their Sunday school.

Pressures—from the Federal Government, civil rights groups, liberal newspapers, even from some Southern moderates—quickly built up for United States Steel to use its power to improve the racial situation in Birmingham. A young Birmingham lawyer, Charles Morgan, talking to the Young Men's Business Club, rhetorically asked, "Who is guilty?"—and replied that the "good people" of the city, its business, professional, and religious leaders, were as guilty as the perpetrators of violence.

"Birmingham," said Morgan, "is a city in which the major industry, operated from Pittsburgh, never tried to solve the problem."

Limits of power: Responding to these pressures and criticisms, United States Steel's chairman, Roger Blough, set forth his view of the limits of corporate powers and duties.

Blough declared that Arthur V. Wiebel, president of the T.C. & I. Div., had been "working since 1946 developing understanding and strengthening communications between the races in Birmingham." Blough said that "as individuals we can exercise what little influence we may have as citizens, but for a corporation to attempt to exert any kind of economic compulsion to achieve a particular end in the social area seems to be quite beyond what a corporation can do * * *."

Indeed, such resort to economic compulsion by a private corporation would be "repugnant to our American constitutional president of the T.C. & I. Division, had been concepts," said Blough, though United States Steel should and did provide equal opportunities in its own plants. It is the job of government, not business, he asserted, to seek to compel social reforms.

Controversial: Whether United States Steel—or any corporation—does have the power to change community behavior, and if it does, whether using it to promote better community racial relations would be a misuse of power, remain controversial issues.

Some Alabama businessmen thought T.C. & I. would have been hit by a severe strike if it had gone further than it did; as one said, "the rank and file of the unions are rabid segregationists." But a leading Birmingham lawyer argued: "T.C. & I. wouldn't have had a strike; not if everybody, the banks, other mills, and power companies came in with them."

On whether the power should be used, if it exists, many businessmen feel that Blough correctly drew the important distinction between rights and responsibilities of individual company officials acting as citizens, and those of corporations.

Contrary view: Others—such as Rodman C. Rockefeller, 33-year-old vice president of the International Basic Economy Corp.—feel this distinction is artificial and no longer meaningful. Today, Rockefeller argues, corporations are more than an extension of the property rights of their owners; they are "free participants in our society."

Rockefeller outlined his views in an address this spring at Dartmouth College—the institution whose dispute with the State of New Hampshire over the inviolability of its corporate charter established the basic freedoms of U.S. corporations in 1819.

Society, in recognizing the corporation's right to private property and tolerating the private ownership and use of the means of production, Rodman Rockefeller declared, expects the corporation in return to produce "the minimum socially and economically needed good."

"Other people's money": Other thoughtful men feel that corporate officials have no right to take such crucial moral or social matters into their own hands, or to use "other people's money" to achieve social ends. Some even doubt whether this would provide better answers to critical social questions than simply aiming to achieve the corporation's economic and financial objectives.

"For example," asks one skeptic, "would racial discrimination be greater or less if all employers operated in a coldly profit-maximizing way than if they operated in conformity with the moral standards of their own communities?"

The new nature of corporations

(NOTE.—Rodman C. Rockefeller, the 33-year-old vice president of the International Basic Economy Corp. considers the relationship of the modern corporation to the rest of society.)

"Corporations of this country are independent, legally separate personalities who control their own destinies. They are responsible in practice to the law of the society, but their only tie to their natural stockholders has become almost totally theoretical. Therefore, they must undertake the responsibilities of free participants in our society.

"It might have been possible to argue before that corporations had no personality, that they were but an extension of the prop-

erty rights of their owner stockholders. Not today.

"The property rights in question today are those of the active property of the separate corporate persons, not the passive stocks of the owners. Pope John XXIII, in his historic Encyclical Letter Mater et Magistra, clearly establishes the role of this right of property: '* * * in the right of private property there is rooted a social responsibility * * * the overall supply of goods is assigned first of all that all men may lead a decent life.'

"Thus we return to the doctrine of mutual consent that freedom is a compact between men to restrain from so behaving as to destroy each other's freedom. Applied within the corporation, we see that all the forces necessary for the continuation of the corporation's function, labor, capital, and management, are in a compact of mutual consent to so act as to respect each other's minimum freedoms.

"The corporation is also in a compact with the society which created it. The society, which recognizes the corporation's right to private property, will tolerate the private ownership of the means of production as long as the corporation produces the minimum socially and economically needed good.

"For too long we have hidden the * * * dynamic power of our free enterprise system to create good, social and economic good, under * * * our obsolete theories of business. For too long we have fed ammunition to our enemies, the prophets of class warfare, by insisting on the selfish motivations of antagonistic classical capitalism, rather than preaching the proven success of our mutual consent, cooperative free enterprise system."

VII. A NEW STRUCTURE—AND NEW LEADERSHIP

In the American society today, no longer is there a simple division between power (meaning political authority) and property (meaning business interests). The concept of property itself has been drastically modified by the rise of the great corporation and the wide diffusion of ownership and control of the means of production, both through financial institutions and through the political process.

Many institutions—labor unions, racial and religious groups, the press, scientists and intellectuals, as well as political parties and their leaders—have some degree of power to influence the course of American life. The business corporation clearly does not bestride U.S. society like a top-hatted Wall Street banker in a cartoon in Pravda or Isvestia. Yet few would deny it has a crucial role to play.

The ancient cold war between business and government is breaking up—on both sides. The new partnership is still in process of evolution. There is always the possibility—some would say probability—that it will collapse under fresh political, economic, or social pressures. Certainly, the U.S. business community, which is far from unified, does not feel itself committed to any one party's, or any one man's, concept of the Great Society.

Yet there are reasons for thinking that the kind of restructuring of business-government power relations that is going on in the United States represents a genuine change in the workings of the system.

Worldwide: For one thing, what is going on in the United States is only a manifestation of changes at work in all modern industrial societies throughout the world. As Duke University's Calvin B. Hoover puts it:

"The experience of all modern industrialized societies demonstrates that some sort of new 'mix' of the responsibilities and functions of the state, of economic organizations, and of individuals essentially different from that of capitalism of the past is inevitable."

Every Western democracy is striving to discover for itself the means of achieving a better balance between private and public responsibilities in solving key problems. There are parallels between the President's Council of Economic Advisers and his Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Relations, and the new Department of Economic Affairs and the National Economic Development Council in Britain, or the Economic and Social Council in France.

The U.S. way: No two nations are tackling these problems in quite same way. The U.S. Government still plays a less controlling role in industy than do governments in other countries. U.S. industry, says Thomas J. Watson, Jr.—whose IBM Corp. operates in many countries—is still "less fettered than in any other country, by a long, long shot."

This, he thinks, is a major reason why U.S. industry is so strong and innovative. U.S. industrial success, as he sees it, is closely related to "the speed of the decision process."

The willingness of private business voluntarily to work with Government is, in Watson's view and that of a growing number of other business leaders, a way to retain their present degree of freedom and to avoid what they fear will be inefficient or wrongheaded Government controls.

Formidable: The technical and operating problems facing businessmen who would measure up to the needs of the time are formidable. They may range from fiscal and monetary policy to urban renewal to race relations to problems of national defense and the uses of outer space—and, of course, a knowledge of how to run their own businesses successfully in a period of explosive technological change.

The education of tomorrow's business leaders will have to offer better preparation for such a wide range of problems than the education—and experiences—afforded the present generation of business leaders.

Models: Some business leaders of today, however, do provide models of how to serve the interests of private business and the broad society. One such man is Robert A. Lovett—banker, World War I Navy hero, World War II public official, Secretary of Defense under President Truman, and a leading candidate for inclusion in the mythical "U.S. establishment."

Says Lovett: "The corporation should not seek to replace public authority. Yet the corporation is endowed with the public interest—a bit. It is created by the state, and it must be responsible * * *."

Democracy, Lovett adds, requires that freedom be coupled with restraint. There is no simple formula for this, he concedes, but says: "I can't believe that there is not enough wisdom or wit in this country so that we can handle our problems within a context of freedom."

There is growing support within the U.S. business community for such views.

VIII. THE HARD CHOICE THAT FACES BUSINESS

It is becoming clear that what U.S. business faces today is a set of choices on the role it is to play in relation to the broad society. Business cannot avoid the necessity of choice, because the modern corporation has become the towering institution of today's society—and the problems of society have become its problems as well.

The society is demanding the achievement of a great many national objectives—national security (which inescapably involves the corporation), maximum employment, racial equality, rising living standards (especially for groups left behind in the growth race), improved education, better medical care, a healthier urban environment, the safeguarding of natural resources.

Two roads: In attempting to achieve those ends, which involve overlapping business and Government functions and responsibilities, there are two basic choices:

To increase the role of Government and, where business is concerned, to make greater use of coercion or fiat to bring about the kind of business behavior desired.

To seek to develop more fruitful, voluntary cooperation between business and Government.

Either approach has obvious dangers.

The first may involve excessive centralization of power in the Government, posing genuine threats to the freedom and efficiency of business, and to society itself.

The second may be too loose and uncertain, and can scarcely avoid the problem of sanctions against "chiselers," or simply hard-pressed businesses that are not able to measure up to the standards of social responsibility assumed by large and prosperous corporations.

No "either-or": But the choice is not a simple either-or decision.

Indeed, the success or failure of the voluntary approach in particular areas will largely determine whether the coercive role of Government is to be closely limited or greatly expanded.

And how far government intervenes in the economy or in social relations will depend heavily on its ability to create conditions making for a healthy and growing over-all economy.

There are two reasons to hope that, thanks to progress in the understanding and use of fiscal and monetary policy by government, the detailed decisions on production, distribution, employment, location of industry, and such matters can on the whole be handled by business on its own.

Yet specific problems have emerged—and others will continue to develop—that require business and government cooperation, or legislative solution.

Today, some of these issues involve collective bargaining and strike threats in key industries, the Nation's balance of payments, race relations, unemployment, poverty, urban decay. What specifically the critical issues of the future will be no one can know for sure.

Cautions: Just as they do today, viewpoints in the future are bound to differ on the gravity or nature of particular problems and on how to deal with them. These viewpoints will be colored in part by the interests of the parties that are involved and by their ideologies—including interests and ideologies of government officials and their academic or other allies, as well as those of business.

That means it will be vitally important to guard, on the one hand, against the notion that "the public interest" is always best defined and understood by public officials. The power of the state, as Calvin B. Hoover warns, "cannot automatically be assumed to be wielded in the public interest."

On a host of matters, businessmen must be free to make their own decisions, or society will suffer. They should not—as one of them recently told the President—be treated "like children."

At the same time, some businessmen point out, it cannot automatically be assumed that whatever the President, or other government policymakers, propose is damaging to business interests. Frederick R. Kappel, chairman of American Telephone & Telegraph Co., in thinking back over the forces that prompted the growth of his own giant corporation, has stressed that one of the most essential factors—besides technical innovation and entrepreneurial drive—was "the public consensus, the political decision."

Leadership and economics: The U.S. system puts heavy responsibility on the Federal Government, and the President in particular; and the American people have come to expect Presidents to exert leadership whenever and wherever national problems are serious—whether in matters of national defense, foreign affairs, race relations, or economic affairs.

The last is a relatively new area for Presidential leadership. But it emerged as a crucial area with the development of full-scale modern industrialism and came to crisis with the great depression—which the American people are determined never to let happen again.

Economics has persisted as an area of Presidential concern in a society in which some critical problems can better be solved by high-level decisionmakers, in Government and business, rather than being left to the "marketplace"—or to accident or fate. Wherever possible, however, it makes good sense to let competition in the marketplace and consumers' choices determine economic activity.

How tension helps: One of the great advantages of a free society is that, though one respects one's political chief, one must not necessarily do what he says. Businessmen have a different perspective from government, and society's ends—"the public interest"—may often be best promoted by a tension between business and government. Tensions and conflicts may be as constructive for the broad society as within any single organization.

But they may sometimes become destructive. The endless problem, within an organization or society as a whole, is to find a balance—to permit tensions, but set limits on conflict lest it become ruinous.

Role for business: The problems of avoiding excessive power for the business corporation are as worthy of concern as is limiting the power of government. There are inherent restrictions, however, for the corporation is not the only significant or powerful institution today. Labor unions in many respects provide a useful check on the power of both business and government. So do farm groups, universities, foundations, professional organizations, racial and religious groups, even family.

The corporation may unavoidably be involved in moral issues, but it cannot presume to replace the churches, or the conscience of the individual. Nor can the corporation be mother and father to its employees. A free society is a pluralistic society—one in which no one institution (or one political party) can be all-powerful and controlling.

Yet businessmen today are increasingly coming to understand that they do have considerable power and that they can play—as heads of huge organizations—a major role in shaping the fortunes of a free society.

The best way to keep business free

(NOTE.—Thomas J. Watson, Jr., the chairman of International Business Machines Corp., sees a more active social role for business as a way to avoid Government controls that might hurt efficiency.)

"Government controls have slowly encroached on business in the United States—and most of these have been correct. The pattern of Government control of European industries, however, is far more extensive. U.S. industry is less fettered than any other by a long, long shot. That is why our industry is so strong here. Our success is related to the speed of the decision process.

"Business must seek to measure up to its social responsibilities as a means of preserving its independence and efficiency. Indeed, that is what 'social responsibility' means—it is a way of avoiding direct Government control. Fortunately, over the past few decades business has made this a good public relations thing; people buy products that way, given a choice. Under the specter of war, business becomes liberal as hell. * * *

"I would not recommend any institutional change in our system as long as things are going as well as they are. But Government must be prepared to move, when necessary. It should let business do its damnedest, but it's got to peg certain things, and when the statistics approach or exceed the limits, you must take action. For instance, on unemployment, I think Secretary of Labor Bill Wirtz' peg should be below where it is. Industry can help out there—and on antipoverty programs, too. Similarly, on the balance of payments. There's no conflict here with the quest for better long-term profits."

The President Makes Policy Plain on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by William S. White from the August 2, 1965, edition of the New York Journal-American. The President has made our policy in Vietnam plain. The United States is committed to uphold its pledge made by three American Presidents to the people of South Vietnam. We seek an end to aggression, and the achievement of an honorable peace. It is our country's responsibility and duty to be in Vietnam, and this is what President Johnson made plain to the Nation.

The article follows:

L.B.J. MAKES POLICY PLAIN ON VIETNAM

(By William S. White)

WASHINGTON.—As the fog of war thickens over Vietnam, other fogs of quite different ilk are lifting here at home. The national atmosphere is burned free of a great deal of vaporous nonsense.

No longer can it be denied by any responsible public official or private man that the most vital American interests are involved in this struggle against Asian Communist aggression. If 125,000 American troops in Vietnam are not enough to give somber refutation to this sort of pettifogging, there is in addition the solemn declaration of the President of the United States: "This is really war."

No longer can it be suggested by any responsible American that this country is somehow unreasonably refusing to negotiate with a Communist invader who a score of times has scorned any honorable discussion—and still does.

No longer can it be suggested by any responsible American that the purposes and motives of the United States in Asia are somehow hidden and tricky and that the people of the United States are terribly, terribly confused.

The position of the Government of the United States has, in President Johnson's address to the Nation by way of his press conference, again and for the umpteenth time been made plain as the noonday sun. We are determined to honor the pledges of three American Presidents to the people of South Vietnam. We seek no melodramatic total victory. We seek only an end to aggression and invasion and a decent peace decently guaranteed. But these aims we not merely pursue but also demand; and these aims we shall achieve, come what might.

Of all the moonshine so long spread by avowedly liberal splinters in the Senate and House, none has been more persistently spread than the claim that American aims are somehow tricky and that the American public is somehow in the dark. If American aims in fact suffer for credibility, it is from their simplicity and—yes—their honesty and altruism in a world where pseudo-sophisticates are forever on the lookout for the gimmick and the clever phrase to mask candid intentions.

As to the American public, there has not been the smallest objective evidence of confusion as to what this Nation is about in Asia. Every national poll has clearly shown that the people know quite well what we are about and that while, of course, they are not madly gay about it, they fully recognize its necessities.

To this, this columnist can add a personal note. In a 2 weeks' absence from Washington "out in the country" it seemed plain that the only people really confused are that minority of breat beaters in Congress who profess confusion to avoid facing up to the truth that we are in Vietnam simply because it is our duty to be there as the leader and guardian of the free world.

There is a time for the fullest debate and for the longest and most pompous teach-ins. And these, heaven knows, we have had in full measure. Then there is a time for a halt to logic-chopping and emotionalized appeals for a "peace" that would mean surrender and betrayal of our responsibilities on this earth. This time has now arrived. For now the United States of America is at war.

Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 1648) to provide grants for public works and development facilities, other financial assistance and the planning and coordination needed to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment in economically distressed areas and regions.

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Chairman, I should like to express my support of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 and urge its passage.

This act provides needed sources of financial aid for helping certain local areas in their efforts to attract and stimulate private industries.

This legislation will help to achieve the goals set forth in the President's state of the Union message:

> Our basic task is threefold: to keep our economy growing; to open for all Americans the opportunity that is now enjoyed by most Americans; and to improve the quality of life for all.

The programs provided by this act represent an investment in a better, stronger America. These are not programs for giveaways—these are programs for hope.

The Area Redevelopment and Accelerated Public Works programs, the forerunners of this legislation now before us, demonstrated the effectiveness of a broad scale attack on the problems of areas of economic stress. I know from personal experience how valuable the Area Redevelopment Act program has been to Newark, N.J., in its determined

efforts to rebuilt and revitalize the local economy. The substantial progress that has been made, under Newark's able officials, since designation as a redevelopment area in August 1964, confirms the need for this type of aid. It was most unfortunate that Newark and six other major cities with chronically high unemployment were barred for so long from participating in the Area Redevelopment Act program because the larger labor market area to which they were attached did not, overall, meet the arbitrary 6 percent unemployment rate. It took many long months to obtain a new measuring stick for unemployment in major cities and thereby entitle Newark and the other cities in similar circumstances to obtain these important benefits.

In connection with the question of eligibility, I am pleased that the legislation provides that applications should not be invalidated simply because an area's eligibility has been suddenly terminated. Communities put a great deal of time, effort, and planning into applications for projects and it would be wrong to waste this important work. This factor was stressed by me when the Newark area was originally removed from eligibility under the accelerated public works program in December 1962. At that time, the 19 communities in Essex County, as well as the county itself, had applied for, or were considering projects under the program amounting to $10 million and the sudden termination of eligibility caused real hardship. It is gratifying that the pending legislation contains safeguards against a recurrence of this regrettable situation.

I am also pleased that the committee has warned against the dangerous practice growing out of the spreading use of revenues derived from the sale of tax-free State and local bonds to improperly abet private profit-making purposes. This practice allows a locality to utilize a Federal tax subsidy to build plants which then are generally rented at a cut rate price under lease-purchase arrangements to business lured from other areas. I introduced legislation in the 88th Congress and again in this Congress to eliminate these abuses in the area of municipal industrial financing and end the pirating of plants from one area to another. It is imperative that action be taken against this practice which is contrary to the public interest.

Mr. Chairman, we have heard the Public Works and Economic Development Act described as a massive spending program. Our critics complain that a massive public spending effort is going on for public works—necessary as these are—and other community improvements. I submit, Mr. Chairman, that we are doing far from enough in this area.

Let us look specifically at sewage disposal, an important item in every local budget.

During the period 1960–63 we have managed to raise our spending on sewage facilities—Federal, State, and local—from $1.1 to $1.4 billion. This increase of some $300 million is admirable, but it becomes less so when we compare it to increases in other areas.

Actually our gross national product, which is the sum total of all our allocation decisions, increased by over $80 billion between 1960 and 1963. Personal consumption expenditures on automobiles alone increased by almost $4 billion during this period.

In this perspective, Mr. Chairman, could anyone say that we are engaged in a massive spending program for sewage facilities in this country?

The accelerated public works program and the area redevelopment program, were authorized to spend only $900 million and $75 million, respectively, for grants for needed public facilities. In contrast, spending on space exploration in 1963 alone ran to $2.5 billion.

Can these efforts, as needed and welcome as they are, be considered "massive" spending by any stretch of the imagination? Can we honestly say, with our gross national product estimated at $630 billion, that we are in no position to spend more money on needed public facilities and other improvements in our local communities?

This act can be a vital tool to Newark and cities in similar circumstances in providing low-cost land and long-term financing to augment local resources. Newark has a well-established economic base and is located in a very desirable area for expansion of industrial operations.

In Newark, operations of many industries have declined because of technological changes or market declines, while others have moved their operations to surrounding areas leaving behind a core of unemployed persons and low-tax-producing properties. The continued high cost of supporting the unemployed and loss of taxable industrial enterprise has made it necessary for the city to increase taxes on industry, thus forcing more industry to move and compounding the problem.

The solution to this problem will be dependent on Newark's ability to expand private industry. This, in turn, will depend on Newark's ability to make land available at a reasonable cost.

The Newark Industrial Development Corp., formed last year, has obtained the only sizable tract of land that can be developed. A small injection of Federal funds, as provided under the proposed legislation, would make it possible to attract private investments many times larger, and could save many thousands of dollars now being spent over and over for unemployment and welfare payments.

This great Nation of ours is enjoying unprecedented prosperity, and American private enterprise is continuing to increase its annual capital expenditures while the gross national product increases steadily.

Yet, amidst this affluence, certain areas are suffering continued high unemployment.

It is evident that the cycle of depression for these areas is a vicious cycle which feeds upon itself. It is high time to come to their rescue and help them to break the pattern of economic distress.

Mr. Chairman, the bill before us meets pressing problems in an intelligent and purposeful manner. Its passage is in the highest interests of our country's economic growth and social welfare. I again urge approval of this vitally needed domestic economic aid legislation.

Eight Industries Aid Lake Erie Pollution Abatement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, a noteworthy gain has been made in the program to halt pollution of Lake Erie in the Cleveland, Ohio, area. The action may have nationwide significance. I refer to the press reports indicating that eight large companies have agreed to provide data on their waste water discharges to Federal and State pollution control officials.

The waste discharges of these firms are only a small part of the total pollution reaching Lake Erie each day.

But the significance of this cooperation by industry is vast. In the past, industry, as a group, has generally refused to provide such information to pollution control officials. This means that the government, either local, State or Federal, must expand large amounts of time and money in sampling industrial wastes to determine the quantity and quality of discharges before an effective antipollution program can be worked out. The sampling program in the Detroit River area of Lake Erie, for example, cost the Federal Government $750,000 and cost the area's program to end pollution a delay of 3 years.

If the commendable example of these eight firms in the Cleveland area is followed by other industrial firms throughout the country, the water pollution abatement program can be advanced at a much more rapid rate and with considerable economy.

The large firms in the Cleveland area which have agreed to provide the data include: United States Steel Corp., Republic Steel Corp., Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp., Sun Oil Co., Standard Oil Co. of Ohio, Sherwin-Williams Co., Du Pont Co., and Harshaw Chemical Co.

The work of the Public Health Service officials in the program to end pollution of Lake Erie is also commendable. The Federal Government was called into the very serious problem of Lake Erie pollution by officials of the States bordering the lake more than 3 years ago. The pollution problems in the Lake Erie area and elsewhere in the country are so great as to require cooperation of all segments of our society.

That is why I hope that the exemplary action of these eight Cleveland area frms is indicative of a new trend of total cooperation in attacking the important water pollution problem.

Data about the nature and quantity of waste discharges into the Nation's streams are vital to formation of the most efficient and most economical

abatement programs. Therefore, I am again asking the Public Health Service to establish a comprehensive inventory, in cooperation with the State water pollution control agencies, to collect the necessary information about industrial waste discharges. The Public Health Service already has such data regarding municipal discharges. But without the data on industrial wastes, truly effective programs for water pollution abatement are virtually impossible because alternate means of securing the data are so costly and time consuming.

At hearings during the 88th Congress before the Natural Resources and Power Subcommittee, of which I am chairman, industry witnesses stated varying views about providing such data. But their overall tone appeared to be cooperative. The subcommittee then asked the Public Health Service to collect data on industrial waste discharges. The program which the Public Health Service worked out for collection of such data in cooperation with the State water pollution control agencies was approved by most of the State agencies. However, when the Public Health Service requested Budget Bureau approval of the questionnaire form, many industry representatives vigorously opposed the project, and the Bureau of the Budget did not approve the questionnaire form. The failure of the Bureau of the Budget to approve this data collection program has substantially hampered progress in abating water pollution.

The Nation would have had a year's start on dealing with the urgent need for water pollution control if the Public Health Service request for the industrial discharges questionnaire form had been approved last year.

I hope that the President's new and increasing emphasis on expediting water pollution control, and the cooperative spirit represented by these major firms in the Cleveland area, will persuade the Bureau of the Budget to realize the need for comprehensive data on industrial waste discharges similar to those now collected for municipal waste discharges.

This information is imperative if adequate and efficient programs are to be formulated for the cleanup of our Nation's streams. And the cleanup of our Nation's streams is vital to assure continued supply of water for our growing population and expanding industry.

I hope that the Budget Bureau will permit the Public Health Service industrial waste discharge inventories program to get off the ground, and thus help accomplish the President's program for the cleanup of our country's streams, lakes and ground waters.

Kurt Einstein

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, ours is a highly mobile society, one characterized by rapidly evolving trends in terms of population shifts and industrial growth. One of the most noteworthy postwar developments has been the movement of industry to areas where land is available for expansion and where there is abundant labor supply.

Although industrial expansion over the past two decades has been truly phenomenal, one pitfall has been the frequent inability to attract top-level executives—men who indeed turn the wheels of industry—from areas in which they have established roots and from which they are reluctant to move.

It should be pointed out that because industries in every part of the country have been confronted with a shortage of high-level personnel with technical and managerial skills, they have been forced to delay sorely needed expansion programs and this is a source of great frustration to management.

This has spurred the growth of a number of executive recruitment and executive search firms. Although these firms are largely engaged in meeting the personnel needs of industry in their immediate vicinity and in attracting executives from other parts of the country, they also are performing a vital function in serving industry firms outside their immediate sphere of activity.

A pioneer in the executive recruitment field is Einstein Associates, whose president, Kurt Einstein, has been able to perceive and understand the problems of industry, and who is directing the activities of his firm toward fulfilling the personnel requirements of all types of industrial firms.

Indeed, as Time magazine recently noted in an article about this burgeoning field, it is a safe prediction that executive searchers face a greater demand for their services in the days ahead. Time stated that "diversification, acquisitions, and the spread of foreign branches have substantially increased industry's needs for managers."

Because of the severe hardships Mr. Einstein suffered as a young man, he is particularly eager to make a substantial contribution to the growth of this country, and, I might add, he has written his own Horatio Alger story in the 18 years he has been in the United States.

Born in Stuttgart, Germany, Mr. Einstein spent the years between 1941 and 1945 in six concentration camps in Germany and in the Baltic States. Miraculously, he was the only survivor among 3,000 Jews in his native city who perished as a result of Nazi brutality.

When he came to this country in 1947, therefore, he brought with him a profound appreciation of the meaning of freedom. Since, when he came to this country Mr. Einstein could not speak English at all, his first job was as a messenger. His interest in the world of business led him to pursue courses in psychology and its relationship to personnel management, and in 1952 he began his career in executive recruitment.

Mr. Einstein is to be commended for offering his gratitude to America by applying his skills and knowledge in providing a service that has become essential to this country's economic growth and development.

The Nation's Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR CALLAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, Hon. William McChesney Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board has studied the economy of the United States today and found what he called similarities between the economy of the pre-1929 era and today. After reading his remarks on this subject, I do not feel, as some individuals apparently do, that he has predicted a depression nor that he will "talk us into a depression."

I would like to add, however, that he has, I believe, not mentioned one similarity in his remarks which might be made. It is this. The American farmer during the 1920's and before had not shared in the general economic growth erperienced by the rest of the country. I realize that this economic growth was not as sound as it should have been, but I also know that one of the reasons cited by some well-respected economists as a contributing factor to the beginning and the severity of the 1929 depression was the unhealthy farm economy of that period.

Mr. Speaker, farmers are great consumers of manufactured goods in the United States. Probably a higher percentage of their income goes immediately back into the economy in the form of goods and services purchased than any other segment. A sharp decrease in farm income therefore cuts quickly and immediately into the heart of the purchases made by this extremely important group of consumers.

Now, I and other Members of the distinguished body hear all about us, statements to the effect that the farmers and the country as a whole would have reason to thank the Congress should we eliminate or drastically curtail the so-called intervention in the farm economy.

I would like to point out that farmers have not shared in the general economic advance experienced by the country in recent years. Average personal income after taxes has gone up 17.5 percent in the last 4 years. Corporate profits after taxes have gone up over 30 percent in the last 4 years and the average weekly wage in manufacturing has gone up more than 15 percent in the last 4 years.

During this same period, total farm income has increased by only 11 percent. In addition, I must point out, Mr. Speaker, that realized net farm income was up only 8 percent during that period and that the farmer has had further to go than his urban fellows.

It is my contention, therefore, that the rural economy of today is disturbingly similar to that of the pre-1929 period. If we are to improve this situation, passage of the omnibus farm bill which will soon be before this body is essential and I urge every Member to support it. This Nation can afford no less and this Government cannot meets its responsibilities without it.

The Ming Quong Children's Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to say that the Ming Quong Children's Center, one of the finest organizations dedicated to the assistance of mankind and little children in particular, is located in the heart of my congressional district.

The Ming Quong Children's Center in Los Gatos, Calif., is cerebrating its 50th anniversary this year. Its purpose throughout these years has been to help troubled children of California. The old Chinese gate which marks the entrance to the center is a symbol of a half-century of this open door policy.

The Ming Quong Center goes deeply into California history. It grew out of a rescue mission home in San Francisco for Chinese slave girls who had been brought to this country at the turn of the century. The story of the dedicated women of the Occidental Board, who founded the mission, and Miss Donaldina Cameron and her assistants, who accounted for the rescue of over 1,000 slave girls, is one of the West's most exciting tales.

It began in 1915, under its present name, as a custodial home for Chinese orphans—little girls who had been abandoned with no parents to care for them or who were being used as domestic drudges. This was not unusual in the old Chinese culture. Girls had no value even for the families which had migrated to the United States.

Ming Quong—translated "radiant light"—came into being when it was decided that it was unwise to house the small girls with the older ones who had been former slave girls. Capt. Robert Dollar, of the Dollar Steamship Lines, gave them property—which is now part of the Mills College campus in Oakland, Calif.—for a home for 60 younger girls. In 1935 the need was felt to remove the girls to warm, sunny Los Gatos as many of the children had been exposed to tuberculosis and were undernourished. The work with both boys and girls continued as a mission station of the board of national missions of the United Presbyterian Church.

Today, Ming Quong performs as great a service in meeting modern day needs as it did 50 years ago. Now it is a residential treatment agency for emotionally disturbed boys and girls of all races and creeds. The children live in cottages each with its own houseparents. A highly-trained staff of therapist-social workers, psychologists and a consulting psychiatrist work as a team to solve the problems of these unfortunate children who are innocent victims of circumstances beyond their control. They also work with the parents whenever possible to try to solve family problems.

Ming Quong is now reaching into the community to develop all types of community support and interest. Churches of all faiths instead of one, now assume their responsibility; individuals and community groups contribute time and talent; volunteer auxiliary clubs have been formed to lend effort and financial support.

Plans for a day treatment center for children who do not need residential care are under way with the public school system working closely with the center in organizing special teaching programs.

Ming Quong's first 50 years has been dedicated to meeting the needs of the times and plans for the years ahead promise this same foresighted approach. The great old Chinese gate will always be open to receive the troubled children of California.

United States Gets Bouquet on Vietnam Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Warren Rogers from the August 5, 1965, edition of the New York Journal-American.

United States policy in Vietnam has received support from an unexpected source. The Manila Times, generally critical of U.S. foreign policy in southeast Asia, came up with a strong defense of American actions in Vietnam in a recent article by A. L. Valencia. Mr. Valencia writes in reference to those Asians who would have the United States withdraw from Vietnam:

> But should not these critics—if they are honest men—also concede that their very liberty to dissent has depended directly on American protection?

Although some Asians resent the American presence, most Asians know that that presence is all that enables them to remain free.

It is encouraging that the people of Asia have an understanding of our actions in Vietnam, and appreciate the objectives for which we are fighting. That the people closest to the conflict strongly support our policy should strengthen our resolve to stand firm in Vietnam.

The article follows:

UNITED STATES GETS BOUQUET ON VIETNAM POLICY

(By Warren Rogers)

WASHINGTON.—From time to time, it is a good idea to take a look at ourselves from the outside, to see ourselves as others see us. Sometimes, amid all the brickbats at home and abroad, we get thrown a bouquet from unexpected sources.

The Manila Times, which loves to lambaste U.S. foreign policy in southeast Asia, has done just that. In a recent article by A. L. Valencia, writing from Washington, the Times comes up with a defense of American actions in Vietnam which is remarkable for its candor and its logic.

"Among the angry young men of southeast Asia," Mr. Valencia writes, "it has become fashionable to attack America's actions and motives at every turn, and to applaud every American misfortune. To be able to talk back to the greatest power on earth is regarded as a badge of courage and patriotism.

"But should not these critics—if they are honest men—also concede that their very liberty to dissent has depended directly on American protection?

"If, as a result of shrill demands for 'Yankee go home,' American power were to draw back in the Pacific, the Philippines—let's face it—would be virtually defenseless."

Mr. Valencia then explores the catch phrase demanding "Asian solutions to Asian problems." He puts it this way:

"The world is shrinking so rapidly that anybody's problem is everybody's problem. If we insist on Asian solution, it will be Asian all right, but it is most likely to be labeled 'Made in Peiping.' "

Mr. Valencia then notes that India, for all its dedication to Asian solutions, was quick to accept help from the West when attacked by Red China. Thailand, Laos, Nationalist China, Malaysia, Japan, and even Cambodia are not less patriotic for depending upon American friendship and power to maintain their national independence, he argues.

"To make these statements * * * is not to demean national prides," Mr. Valencia adds. "It is merely to stress a decent respect for reality."

And the reality, as he sees it, is that most Filipinos and most Asians not under Communist domination—even though millions resent the American presence—"know that that presence is all that enables them to remain free."

It is good to have such reminders that there is some understanding in southeast Asia of what the United States is trying to do. Granted that America's efforts are not entirely altruistic—is there any American who doubts that, if we don't fight there, we'll have to fight here?—a great measure of my-brother's-keeper philosophy is involved.

National Drum Corps Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, the week of August 15 to 22 has been designated as National Drum Corps Week in honor of the 1 million teenagers in the United States who are associated with this colorful and wholesome activity.

On this occasion, I am very happy to join with my colleagues in Congress to pay tribute to these young people and to extend my best wishes to them for their participation in this purposeful activity. The marching and maneuvering, the bugling, and the drumming have rightfully been described as "an expression of order, color, symmetry, and beauty."

Certainly this is a clean, interesting and inspiring activity for our youth in a confused world where youth is struggling to find a place for itself and an outlet for its zest and energy. Unfortunately, many of our young people fail to find worthwhile activities and end up as criminals and juvenile delinquents.

I am pleased to note that the drum corps movement has grown in recent years and is by now attracting a million young people. National Drum Corps Week is aimed to bring to attention of the American people this very important and effective youth activity. At the same time, it serves as an encouragment to our youth and to the very fine contribution they are making to our way of life. This movement deserves the support and cooperation of all Americans.

Midway Ready for New Life With Jet Set

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Wayne Thomis, distinguished aviation editor of the Chicago Tribune, has written an excellent article in today's edition of the Tribune which outlines in considerable detail the return of major airline operations to Chicago's Midway Airport.

This should be good news to millions of Americans who have, during the past few months, suffered considerable delays in both arriving and departing from Chicago's O'Hare Field, now operating at peak capacity.

I am sure this will also be welcome news to the Members of Congress who use Chicago as a transfer point on their trips to and from their respective districts. The resumption of major airline operations at Midway, which has been almost deserted since 1962 when the airlines moved most of their operations to O'Hare, is a major victory for Mayor Richard Daley.

It has been the mayor's persistent and untiring negotiations with the major airlines which today brings within sight of reality the reopening of Midway to major airline traffic. Mayor Daley long ago realized that Chicago had to have two major airports to serve the airlines of America if Chicago was to continue as the transportation center of the world.

With the development of O'Hare, most of the major airlines shifted their operations from Midway in the late 1950's and early 1960's. Midway, once the world's busiest airport, had to yield that title to O'Hare during the past 3 years.

O'Hare Field today handles in excess of 1,400 flight operations daily. Mr. Thomis' excellent article discusses in considerable detail the plans that the major airlines have to restore major activities at Midway. Mr. Thomis points out that one of the factors in speeding resumption of major operations at Midway is the anticipation that short-runway jets will be permitted by the Federal Aviation Agency to operate into and out of Washington's National Airport in the near future.

Mr. Speaker, I find particular satisfaction in this development, for many of my colleagues will recall I had been carrying on a concerted effort for some time to obtain approval from the FAA for operation of short-runway jets at Washington National Airport.

It is my sincere hope that as soon as the current survey being conducted at National Airport is completed, such approval will be granted. There can be no doubt that the Nation's Capital cannot be denied short-runway jet service much longer.

I am particularly hopeful that the new FAA Administrator, Mr. McKee, will understand the impressive service that can be performed to millions of American air travelers by permitting jet transportation into Midway with the least possible delay.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Thomis' excellent article follows:

MIDWAY READY FOR NEW LIFE WITH JET SET—AIR LINES TO SHIFT FLIGHTS THERE

(By Wayne Thomas)

With the return to central standard time and the winter air traffic season, Midway airport will regain an important segment of scheduled airline services, the Tribune has learned.

These will include short-range flights to the Southeast, Florida, the Southwest through St. Louis and Dallas, the Northwest, and the west coast through Omaha and Denver. Both piston-engined and jet airliners will be rescheduled to operate through Midway, deserted since 1962.

GRADUAL SHIFT OF FLIGHTS

Among the major carriers which are expected to provide these services are United Air Lines, American Airlines, Trans World Airlines, and Northwest Airlines, Inc. As soon as these large carriers are operating from Midway, there will be a gradual shifting of other flights from the dangerously overcrowded ramps and loading gateways at O'Hare International Airport, the major jet terminal, according to reliable information.

It is understood that Mayor Daley soon will announce the "return to Midway" to the city council. This is expected to coincide with release of schedules by United Air Lines for 18 to 25 daily flights from Midway, about 5 percent of their total operations at O'Hare Field.

Next in line is expected to be Northwest Orient Airlines, which has been parking its 707, 720, and 727 jets two deep at its O'Hare gates in peak traffic periods. A return to Midway with some of Northwest's 727 and Electra flights will reduce the pressures at O'Hare and broaden the company's Chicago market.

TWA TELLS PLANS

Trans World Airlines has written the city administration that it intends to return service to Midway Airport, but there are no details. TWA has 727 jets—fully approved for Midway and in twice daily service there by United Air Lines for more than a year—and can offer New York, Kansas City, Philadelphia, and west coast trips from Midway.

American Airlines management, which spearheaded the air carrier opposition to earlier city efforts to restore services to Midway, "has softened" toward Midway, the Tribune learned.

Both American, with British 111 small twinjet planes due for delivery late this year; and TWA, with Douglas DC-9 twinjets also to be delivered this fall and early in 1966, will have equipment ideally suited to 5,000-feet runway airports. Midway's diagonal landing strips are both in the 6,000-feet-class.

FAA STUDY IN WASHINGTON

Part of the airlines' willingness to return to Midway can be traced to the Federal Aviation Agency's study of restoring regular airline jet services to Washington National Airport. Washington National is nearer the city, while the newer Dulles field and Baltimore's Friendship Airport are farther away.

As soon as jet service is restored to National—in September or October, depending on results of the study—United will schedule 727 jets from Chicago, probably from Midway, into National airport.

American Airlines, which has kept Electra flights from O'Hare into National, will have to met United's service with jets of its own.

With National open, United is expected to exploit Midway, La Guardia in New York, Washington's National to the utmost.

At city hall, officials were told by United that the company "never expected to make a profit at Midway airport" with the two trips to New York and two to Washington it has operated for 14 months.

Got It in the Neck

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, I think all of the Members will be interested in the following interesting column by the distinguished Lyle C. Wilson, which appeared in the Washington Daily News, August 12, 1965:

GOT IT IN THE NECK

(By Lyle C. Wilson)

We, the people, got it in the neck last week in a lost cause effort to remind President Johnson and his Great Society Senators that the United States was set up to be a government of the people, for the people, and by the people.

We got it when these Senators voted against this American system. The vote came on a proposal by Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN to submit to a continuing vote of the people of each State the question whether both houses of its legislature should or should not be apportioned according to the Supreme Court's remarkable rule that population must be the sole determining factor.

The Court ruled last year against apportionment of one house on the basis of geography or other characteristics not directly related to population. In his dissent from this rule by Chief Justice Earl Warren and the Court majority, Associate Justice Felix Frankfurter warned of danger ahead. Justice Frankfurter said that if the Federal judiciary involved itself in this essentially political problem of determining the relationship between population and representation, it would generate friction and tension in Federal-State relations. That tension and friction are now present.

Senator DIRKSEN's proposal for a continuing plebiscite on representation in each State was the American way. He merely sought to appeal the question to the court of last resort—the people. His amendment would have provided:

That an apportionment plan based on any factor other than population would have had to be approved by the voters of the State.

That any nonpopulation plan submitted to the voters would be accompanied by an alternative plan substantially based on equality of population to assure the voters a choice.

That at intervals of 10 years (after each national census) the voters would have the right to decide whether to retain or to abandon the plan previously adopted.

Senator DIRKSEN argued that the people should be trusted to decide how they wanted their legislature apportioned. He should have challenged also the arrogance of the Great Society in refusing to submit the peoples' legitimate business to the people.

"We the people of the United States." In that powerful phrase simply, directly, and absolutely is the assertion that all power belongs to the people. Courts, Congressmen, and Presidents may come and go. New horizons may recede and welfare States may wither. But the people will remain.

In tense disputes among the servants of the people, the court of last resort is not the Great Society nor the Congress nor need it be the Supreme Court of the United States. The real court of last resort is the people. Senator DIRKSEN simply tried to submit the people's legitimate business to the people. Mr. Johnson and his Great Society Senators, of all people, said, "No."

The Johnson Trail Drive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH HARVEY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I include an editorial from the Christian Science Monitor, Saturday, August 14, 1965:

THE JOHNSON TRAIL DRIVE

The 89th Congress, with trail boss Lyndon B. Johnson firmly in the saddle, has now thundered across the American landscape for the last 8 months. And as the clouds of dust begin to settle, it is clear that this landscape will never again be the same.

In what at times has seemed more like a stampede than a mere drive, this Congress has climbed more hills, crossed more streams (not a few of them Rubicons), and spread out over more acres of legislative land than almost any session in Congress' 176 years of existence. Not even the famout 73d Congress of Franklin D. Roosevelt's first year in office actually traveled much further down new legislative trails.

Vast areas of American life either have been changed, are being changed, or will be changed in the immediate future through the measures passed by the Congress. Medicare, Federal aid to schools including nonpublic ones, the antipoverty measure, the Voting Rights Act, rent subsidies, a Cabinet post of Urban Affairs, a drastic new direction in immigration laws, repeal of the excise taxes—even a half or a quarter of this list would indicate an active session of Congress.

There are few important areas of the Nation's or the individual's life which have not been touched by some or all of these measures. They have greatly broadened both the practical and the political power of the Federal Government. They have strengthened that philosophical outlook which calls for increasing Federal intervention in national, local, and individual affairs.

It does not take a degree in political science to recognize that Congress would never have established such a record had it not been driven by a master politician. Again other than for the second Roosevelt, all other Presidents during the 20th century seem rankest amateurs when set against Mr. Johnson. Even when full recognition is given to his party's overwhelming majorities in Congress, it is apparent that only political deftness of the highest order could have brought about such results.

This, in turn, raises two serious questions. The first is specified: Will Congress next year be driven, led, or cajoled into passing a similarly revolutionary list of measures? The second is more general: How greatly out of balance is the Federal Government when Congress follows so quickly, so eagerly (and some would say, so supinely) the wishes of the Executive?

These are questions of much import for both the American political system and America's national life as a whole. They deserve careful pondering during the months ahead.

Debasing the Voting Franchise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, it is a shame and a disgrace that anyone need argue the logic that illiterates, regardless of race, creed, color, or sex, should not be enfranchised.

Apparently, however, logic has gone by the boards when the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was put into law.

The hypocrisy of this act was underscored in the August 10 issue of the New Orleans Times-Picayune. The Times Picayune succinctly pointed out in an editorial that in Louisiana the registration of illiterates simply does not promote equality of the franchise, but rather a debasement of the system.

I submit that editorial herewith, and I hope my colleagues will consider exactly what is taking place through emotional slogans and glib explanations:

PLAINLY INCORRECT AS TO LOUISIANA

If Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, or the administration, is going to revive the practice of registering in Louisiana people who are unable to read or write, it should not be done under the masquerade of justice to Negro citizens.

Mr. Katzenbach said Sunday Federal registrars were going to register completely illiterate Negroes because the Southern States had been registering white illiterates, and that now the same standard must be applied.

By constitutional amendment in 1960 registration of illiterates was stopped in this State and so far as we know none has been registered since that time. Even before that, balloting by voting machine made the participation of illiterates impractical for elections involving a long ballot.

A residue of illiterates do vote in Louisiana since those registered up to 1960 were not disfranchised. But even if Mr. Katzenbach wants to fall back on the situation in the 1950's, he could be forthright only by admitting that more Negro illiterates than white were registered either as a percentage of the total population of each race or as a percentage of the registration of each. Negro illiterates on the rolls as of May 1 this year were 12,921 or about 1.2 percent of the total Negro population. White illiterates numbering 20,235 were only about nine-tenths of 1 percent of the total white population.

Negro illiterates enrolled were about 8 percent of the total 163,000 Negro registration in the State. But white illiterates formed only about 2 percent of the white registration.

By any percentage measure based on 1960 population (last official count) and 1965 registration, the Negro illiterates have the best of it.

Mr. Katzenbach evidently is going to apply the same rule everywhere Federal registrars are installed. But he should confess that he doesn't plan to place illiterates on the roll in Louisiana because illiterate whites are being registered (which they are not) or because he wants to even up the illiterate registration practice as between whites and Negroes.

Six Louisiana parishes have no illiterates whatever registered. Will the Government agents come to these parishes with an appeal saying in effect come one, come all, let's cheapen and debase the voting franchise by enrolling everybody who can't read and write or be informed concerning the issues of the day?

Whether they do or not, the Attorney General should be guided by the facts when he seeks to justify the kind of policy he has announced.

A Happy Head Start

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday New Jersey was privileged to have a visit from our First Lady, who observed at first hand the success of Operation Head Start in our State. In Newark, Mrs. Johnson inspected the Cleveland School project, which she termed "a creative and happy one that augurs well for the future of the program." On August 15, an editorial in the Newark Star-Ledger commented eloquently on the hope and promise this project offers and its significance in the lives of many youngsters who will soon enter school. Under unanimous consent, I include the editorial in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Newark (N.J.) Star-Ledger, Aug. 15, 1965]

A HAPPY HEAD START

In the beginning, for children, there is kindergarten.

And this beginning for many children is a venture of deep concern, the first experience in their young lives away from protective maternal care. It marks the first faltering steps into a strange new world that can mean so much in the shaping of these young lives.

This is a sensitive period in the formative years, an impressionable stage that could be decisive in later life. Many psychologists hold these early years are most vital in the growing up process.

This summer, for the first time, these steps are being eased considerably for many youngsters in a federally sponsored program known as Operation Head Start. The results of the first several weeks' operation of this project in Newark have been gratifying. It has shown great promise in carefully preparing preschool children for their entry into the educational community.

This is really not surprising, for the program had so much going for it at its inception.

With greater individual attention than is possible in regular classes, these youngsters have been able to advance gradually beyond

a comparable stage in formal kindergarten training.

Operation Head Start is literally an extension of the home for these children, the result of the personal attention they receive in these preschool classes. They are being readied for a big change in their lives, a weaning process that, in the past, has been a wrenching experience for many youngsters.

It is to be hoped that most of the youngsters in this program will come to their regular classes in September physically, mentally, and socially adjusted for this most important episode in their lives. The adjustment need not be as emotionally disruptive as it was before because of the preschool preparation they receive this summer.

Military Construction Appropriations Bill

SPEECH

OF

HON. RODNEY M. LOVE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10323) making appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes.

Mr. LOVE. Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Appropriations must be complimented on the thoroughness of the bill they bring to the House today. This task seems even more monumental when one considers that it involves funding of many large and important military operations not only in the continental United States but around the world.

With complete confidence in the committee and knowledge of their tremendous problems, I respectfully bring to their attention an item which I think may have been presented to the committee in a lesser light than its importance deserves. This item has to do with the appropriation of $6,743,000 for a new materials research laboratory at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base which the Congress authorized earlier in this session. In its authorization, the Congress was aware of the importance of research in this scientific and technological age. To restore this extremely important item in H.R. 10323, will carry out the intent of the Congress and back up the other items already approved with a strong program for future operations.

It should be remembered that this Air Force materials laboratory is responsible for all Air Force research in connection with materials, and is literally the keystone of our future defense efforts. Almost every new step—higher speeds; longer flights; better quality; space travel—requires new materials. Many laboratories, in universities, industries and elsewhere work on materials for Air Force programs, but they are guided and directed by the work largely done in the Wright-Patterson Laboratory. Scientists in the Government must know what is possible in order to know what to ask for. Congress has already reviewed this situation and determined that so-called in-house research must be increased and has provided this laboratory with modern equipment and some modern space, in an effort to keep the lead in research.

At Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, the oldest air base dealing in materials in this country, a good part of the materials laboratory with this highly sophisticated mission is now operating in two of the very oldest buildings on this base—originally built and used as warehouses. Another part is in a windowless building once used as a radiation facility. The laboratory simply cannot handle the job that the country needs done today in remodeled warehouses. Research today is too delicate to cope with dust and grime from the powerplant literally next door. The buildings would not have been ideal for the laboratory work when they were built long before World War II. They are certainly no match for the requirements of this important research today.

The equipment is at Wright-Patterson and the topflight scientists there simply need more usable laboratory space to do the job Congress wants done.

To stay ahead in national defense, it is important that we keep as far out in front as possible in this research. Wright-Patterson must get this important work out of the oldest buildings into modern facilities to do the kind of sophisticated job of research that the Air Force expects and the country needs.

This country will not be successful in outer space unless all the problems with respect to materials used in building spacecraft are completely resolved.

Resolution Adopted by the Calhoun County Board of Supervisors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, the Job Corps at Fort Custer, located in Calhoun County just outside of Battle Creek, has been in operation since early summer. The "growing pains" of this truly impressive operation have been minimal, and many civic and community groups have expressed support and interest.

Among the important public bodies, the county board of supervisors ranks at the top. It is composed of dedicated public servants from all occupations, and both great political parties. I believe, therefore, that my colleagues would be most interested in the following resolution adopted by this board:

COUNTY OF CALHOUN,
Marshall, Mich., August 12, 1965.

Hon. PAUL H. TODD, Jr.,
Cannon House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PAUL: The following is for your information and files:

"Moved by Supervisor Valentine and supported by Supervisor Romanchuk that the board of supervisors go on record as both welcoming and commending the efforts of the Job Corps Center located at Fort Custer Air Station. Carried."

CERTIFICATION

STATE OF MICHIGAN,
County of Calhoun:

I, Marcus J. Gray, clerk of the county of Calhoun and of the board of supervisors of said county, do hereby certify the action taken above by the said board of supervisors while in session on Monday, August 9, 1965.

MARCUS J. GRAY,
County Clerk.

One Man, One Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I was scheduled this week to testify before the House Judiciary Committee in opposition to a proposed constitutional amendment to overturn the one-man, one-vote rule in legislative apportionment. These hearings have been postponed but this question is still alive in the other body. I wish, therefore, to make my statement available to my colleagues. It is as follows:

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE CLAUDE PEPPER OF FLORIDA, BEFORE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE IN OPPOSITION OF THE DIRKSEN AMENDMENT (PREPARED FOR DELIVERY)

Mr. Chairman, I rise in protest to a plan that threatens to undermine the very foundation upon which this Nation was built. I am opposed to inequality; I am opposed to government by any means other than by the consent of the governed; and I am in favor of those liberties that rightfully belong to every citizen of a democratic society. When these liberties are threatened, men must join to preserve them. These liberties are being threatened today by those who would attempt to legislate inequality, by those who, if successful, would establish a dangerous precedent: the first addition to the Constitution that would limit equality of suffrage. I speak against the proposed amendment on legislative reapportionment.

Nearly two centuries have elapsed since this Nation became a reality. The lives that were lost in the Revolutionary War were lost in dedication to the principles of human dignity—to the principles of liberty and equality. But those soldiers did not fight for principle alone. They fought so that the words "liberty" and "equality" might cease to be abstract principles—so that men would be equal and men would be free.

Nearly two centuries have elapsed since men fought and died for liberty and equality, but this battle has not yet been won. The Revolutionary War and the Civil War were the military fronts on which this battle was fought. The Revolutionary War eventually resulted in our Constitution and our Bill of Rights. The Civil War gave us our 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments, upholding the equality of man and the rights of the individual. But the larger battle has been and continues to be fought on the political front. It was not the battle of weapons but the battle of words that guaranteed the direct election of Senators, that guaranteed suffrage to women and to the people of the District of Columbia, that eliminated the poll tax as a prerequisite of voting.

We have progressed in the past 200 years. We have guaranteed equality through legislation. Judicial action has upheld this equality and has upheld those civil liberties

guaranteed in the Bill of Rights and in the 14th amendment to the Constitution.

Last year a great victory was won in a 200-year-old struggle. That victory reaffirmed the principle and extended the political reality of equality by guaranteeing each man an equal vote. States that had been malapportioned for years and State legislatures that had consistently ignored reapportionment clauses in their constitution were required to recognize and correct the gross inequalities or representation that existed. In my State of Florida less than 15 percent of the people had elected a majority of the State legislature until an attempt at reapportionment expanded that percentage. That reapportionment was only a minor improvement, creating a situation in which 27 percent of the people could elect a majority of the Florida House of Representatives and 14 percent a majority of the Florida Senate. The Supreme Court decisions culminating in June 1964 carried the promise of eliminating such inequalities. They carried the promise of removing a further obstacle in the road to the political reality or equality.

Today there are those who would recreate this obstacle. They propose a malapportionment of one house of a State legislature. They propose a system by which a minority can rule.

In the debates of the Constitutional Convention, Wilson said: "It is part of the definition of tyranny that the smaller number governs the greater." The minority has ruled the State legislatures. As long as those legislators in malapportioned legislatures would not risk their political demise by reapportioning themselves and as long as judicial action failed to require that reapportionment, the inequalities that existed were considered an insurmountable obstacle. The continuation of malapportionment through a constitutional amendment would not only recreate the original obstacle but would constitute a capitulation in the battle for the political reality of liberty and equality. This addition to the Constitution would be a mockery of the very foundation on which the Constitution was built. It would state that men are not equal in that their votes should not be counted as equal. The issue before this Congress is one of the most important issues of modern times and of history. The question is focused on the dichotomy between political ideals and political reality.

There is a strong justification both ideologically and historically for the one man, one vote principle. The ideological and historical basis used by the proponents of a constitutional amendment rejecting this principle has little basis in fact. Their major argument is that the States has a "little Federal" system. The Constitution upheld the sovereignty of the Nation, the States, and the people. It does not consider cities, counties, or arbitrary political boundaries as sovereign. This fact is implied by the 10th amendment which states: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution or prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." Furthermore, the States have a claim to sovereignty in that they relinquished a part of their sovereignty to establish the Federal Government. Counties, cities, and political districts were established by the States. States did not relinquish sovereignty in the establishment of these units. These units have no basis for sovereignty that is at all analogous to the situation at the Federal level.

A further objection to the one-man, one-vote principle presented by the proponents of the constitutional amendment is that the decision itself was an invasion of States rights. This objection is presented by those who constantly support States rights as opposed to the expansion of power of the Federal Government. These are the people who should be the strongest supporters of the one-man, one-vote principle. The justification for the principle of States rights lies in the fact that the States are closer to the people. In a malapportioned legislature there is no such justification. Increased Federal activity has been necessitated by the failure of State legislators to recognize and act upon the needs of the people. President Eisenhower's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations substantiated this idea by concluding that a partial reason for the decline in the influence of State governments is their failure "to maintain an equitable system of representation."

A third objection to the Supreme Court ruling is that the rural areas have special problems that would justify their disproportionate share of the State legislatures. The same argument might be used for other minority groups. Teachers, doctors, businessmen have special problems just as farmers. No proposal to give them a disproportionate advantage in representation has been proposed or would be justified. The fact is that in the past 75 years the population of the Nation has changed from one that was two-thirds rural to one that is two-thirds urban and suburban. The State legislatures have not reflected this change.

Chief Justice Earl Warren, speaking for the majority of the Court in delivering his opinion for the Court on June 15, 1964, put the matter succinctly: "To the extent that a citizen's right to vote is debased, he is that much less a citizen. The fact that an individual lives here or there is not a legitimate reason for over-weighting or diluting the efficacy of his vote. The complexions of societies and civilization change, often with amazing rapidity. A nation once primarily rural in character becomes predominantly urban. Representation schemes once fair and equitable become archaic and outdated. But the basic principle of representative government remains, and must remain, unchanged—the weight of a citizen's vote cannot be made to depend on where he lives. Population is, of necessity, the starting point for consideration and the controlling criterior for judgment in legislative apportionment controversies.

"A citizen, a qualified voter, is no more nor no less so because he lives in the city or on the farm. This is the clear and strong command of our Constitution's equal protection clause. This is an essential part of the concept of a government of laws and not men. This is at the heart of Lincoln's vision of 'government of the people, by the people, (and) for the people.' The equal protection clause demands no less than substantially equal State legislative representation for all citizens, of all places as well as of all races.

"We hold that, as a basic constitutional standard, the equal protection clause requires that the seats in both houses of a bicameral State legislature must be apportioned on a population basis. Simply stated, an individual's right to vote for State legislators is unconstitutionally impaired when its weight is in a substantial fashion diluted when compared with votes of citizens living in other parts of the State."

He went further by saying, "But neither history alone, nor economic or other sorts of group interests, are permissible factors in attempting to justify disparities from population-based representation. Citizens, not history or economic interests, cast votes. Considerations of area alone provide an insufficient justification for deviations from the equal-population principle. Again, people, not land or trees or pastures, vote."

Mr. Chairman, the question of legislative reapportionment is not a question of rural versus urban interests. It is not a question of States' rights nor a question of the maintenance of a "little Federal" system in the States. I cannot overemphasize the fact that this proposed constitutional amendment threatens to be the first addition to the Constitution that would limit equality. Let us take the road of progress and not of regress. Let us join to prevent this proposed legislated inequality from making a mockery of the Constitution and of the principles upon which that Constitution and this Nation were built.

George Washington's Immortal Words

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the text of a brief editorial which appeared in the August 13, 1965, issue of the Jewish Press, a weekly published in Brooklyn, N.Y.

The editorial, entitled "A Commemorative Stamp," refers to my bill H.R. 5498, introduced on February 25, 1965. This bill proposes that the 5-cent George Washington stamp be redesigned to incorporate Washington's immortal words "To bigotry no sanction." It has been referred to the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and I have also submitted the proposal to the Postmaster General, but thus far no action was taken.

The editorial reads as follows:

A COMMEMORATIVE STAMP

Spain has issued a new postage stamp which shows the historic Toledo Synagogue. The stamp is in keeping with the country's new look toward greater religious freedom and tolerance.

This is an admirable step for a nation that has been overwhelmingly Roman Catholic for nearly 400 years.

In 1961 former President Harry S. Truman, endorsed a proposal asking the Postmaster General to issue a stamp in honor of the Touro Synagogue in Newport, R.I. The building dates back to 1763 and was dedicated as a national historic shrine by the U.S. Department of Interior.

HONORED BY WASHINGTON

George Washington wrote a historic letter to the Touro congregation in which he expressed his fundamental concept of religious freedom in America.

His words, "To bigotry, no sanction * * *" will live forever.

In 1963 an effort was made by the National Information Bureau for Jewish Life to have the Washington 5-cent stamp redesigned so that it would include Washington's famous words. Congressman WILLIAM ST. ONGE of Connecticut, introduced the bill. But nothing happened. Some officials felt the measure might have religious overtones.

In 1961 a bill to have a wood cut of the famous Touro Synagogue put on a stamp was introduced by Congressman Alfred Santangelo and Senator JOHN O. PASTORE. Again, nothing happened.

Some sources said a stamp was no place to display religion.

A short time ago a stamp was issued showing one of the oldest churches in Philadelphia. It offended no one and pleased many who took pride in seeing such a historic building honored.

This year, around December, a stamp will be issued honoring Christmas. We feel certain, now is the time for reconsidering the Touro Synagogue stamp.

A Social Revolution in Great Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Roscoe Drummond from the August 2, 1965, edition of the New York Herald Tribune. It concerns the remarkable achievement of President Johnson unmatched by any President, in winning liberal social measures from Congress, while still maintaining large conservative support. The President has managed to enlist the good will of the business community, while achieving a vast program of social reform. President Johnson has proved that the American people can be responsive to the needs for social changes, even in a time of great prosperity.

The article follows:

L.B.J. ACHIEVEMENT: A SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN GREAT PROSPERITY

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—In his first year in the White House in his own right, Lyndon Johnson is bringing off a political revolution unmatched by any President.

Mr. Johnson is winning from Congress a massive harvest of liberal social measures.

Simultaneously he is holding large conservative support.

That's something. That's just about everything. It would be hard to overstate the size or uniqueness of this achievement. Let me put it in this way:

1. L.B.J. has expanded the role of the Federal Government in the field of social and economic welfare beyond anything in the past. The legislation Congress is now passing makes Theodore Roosevelt and F.D.R. look like timid reformers.

2. And along with this precedent-shattering legislation, the President continues to operate in a comfortable and trusted alliance with much of the business community.

Some have suggested that the American people wouldn't go for social reform in a time of great prosperity. Another myth down the chute.

The New Deal revolution came in the wake of the worst depression the Nation ever experienced.

The L.B.J. revolution comes on the crest of the longest period of prosperity the Nation has ever experienced.

F.D.R. fashioned his support, in part, by whipping up the hostility of the business community.

President Johnson fashions his support, in part, by enlisting the good will of the business community.

Social and political revolutions are the words for it and these are the main ingredients:

A $7.5 billion medicare program for the elderly—the Nation's first venture into this field.

A $1.4 billion Federal aid to elementary and secondary schools, cutting through barriers of race and religion previous unattained. Nothing like it before.

An antipoverty program of $1.9 billion and an 11-State regional economic development program (Appalachia) opening the way for further extension of Federal aid.

A second tax cut in a year, resting on the proposition that large Federal spending and tax reduction are good for the economy.

A voting rights bill which uses decisive Federal power to dissolve the last resistance to Negro voting.

A big omnibus housing bill of which a cardinal feature is a Federal rent subsidy which could easily be extended into other fields.

These and other Johnson Great Society measures have the same effect: to expand the pervasive presence of the Federal Government, to enlarge the powers of the Presidency, to undercut the role of the States.

To finance these projects Federal spending will have to go well above $100 billion annually.

But mounting Federal spending no longer lacerates the business community. Businessmen may prefer it otherwise, but the President's program does not alienate the business community from the Johnson administration.

There are reasons. Business leaders feel that the climate of the administration is friendly. They feel no animus, as prevailed during the New Deal reform era, and they have full access to the ear of the President. L.B.J. and Congress cut corporate taxes and provided a higher depreciation allowance to increase risk capital. They found that lower tax rates increased revenue and the budget is nearer balance today than anytime in 5 years.

Result: a vast reform era in full bloom with unusual conservative acquiescence.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 2 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

Appendix

Loyal Opposition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, with unanimous consent I would like to insert in the RECORD at this time a column written by Mr. Wilfrid Dellquest which appeared last week in the Lincoln Heights Bulletin-News, Los Angeles. It says a number of things about the history of "loyal opposition" to our foreign policies which I feel are extremely important for us to bear in mind.

The first amendment guarantees the freedom of speech and press, and the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. Beyond this right, however, we have the responsibility to correct the wrongs of our Government.

When things go badly, it is only fair to attribute this, in part, to the difficulty of the problem. If things continue to go badly, it makes good sense to search for deeper causes. Unfortunately, however, our tradition of dissent has been blunted by contradictory dogmas which have, in fact, hurt our foreign policies.

Senator FULBRIGHT recently gave his speech on "Old Myths and New Realities," presumably in the hope of freeing public thought and discussion from "the rigid and outdated stereotypes which stultify many of our foreign policy debates." Yet much of this rigidity remains.

If, as Mr. Dellquest points out, history illustrates on the one hand the freedom to protest, it also illustrates how muted this freedom has been by dogmas of commitment and national honor. The colonial wars fought by the Dutch in what is now Indonesia and by the French in Indochina and, later in North Africa are examples of clear and total failure in foreign policy. Nevertheless, they were carried on for years at fantastic human suffering and great material cost, until they at last had to be given up. Many foresaw this long before the final defeat. The important point, and the tragic one, is that in both the Netherlands and France criticism was suppressed—but suppressed as much by a false loyalty to what was considered to be the national cause as by any direct or indirect Government pressure. We have seen the same thing in our own country.

While the dogma holds that opposition to the official policy during hostilites is disloyal, to stand up for the so-called interests of one's own country—to get tough with any foreign power that might get in the way—is generally applauded as evidence of "patriotic vigor and virtue." To join with others in mounting fear and dislike of another nation seems to increase a person's sense of national belonging.

Part of this lies in the fact that we are a people used to looking at the world, and indeed at ourselves, in moralistic rather than empirical terms. We are predisposed to regard any conflict as a clash between good and evil rather than as simply a clash between conflicting interests.

The problem is, as Gunnar Myrdal has expressed it, that whenever our Government comes into conflict with another, the tendency of our foreign policy to take on an authoritarian character is immensely strengthened. The more serious the friction becomes, particularly if it leads to war, the more the Government can rely upon the Nation to close its ranks.

I am not trying to say that we should not abide by majority rule. Far from it, I am concerned that we do, but, at the same time, we must insure that all chances of governing through discussion are advanced. Under the prevailing dogma, however, the only opposition that is felt to be fully respectable in periods of crisis are those critics who urge an even more determined and aggressive way of dealing with an adversary. Decision-makers operating in this climate of opinion must often feel pressured to exploit this as an easy means of gaining popular backing for their policies. The danger is that the campaign cannot easily be switched on and off. The Government, therefore, runs the risk of tying its hands with its own propaganda.

Herein lies the difference between our approach to foreign policy and domestic policy. At home, our political parties demand changes of internal policy; the Government itself periodically announces a new departure, as providing a program of a Fair Deal or a New Frontier for all the people. In foreign affairs, however, the official instinct seems to be to continue present policies, whether right, wrong, or potentially disastrous. There is a strong stress on sticking to a line. This is in contradiction to the fact that many sudden changes take place in foreign relations that are often of great consequence. A frozen policy cannot exploit opportunity; it is frozen in all directions.

In last week's edition of Time magazine several of our colleagues in the other Chamber were asked their views of the present situation in South Vietnam. Many questioned what we were doing there and what we could hope to accomplish even if we won, but all made statements indicating that our national honor was as stake, and that we had committed ourselves.

Senator PASTORE was quoted as saying:

The situation that confronts us is not debatable. We have a commitment. Our men are engaged.

Senator SMATHERS:

It's not a question of how we got there or why. We're there.

Senator STENNIS:

Our flag is committed. Our boys are committed. We've got to back them up.

Senator RUSSELL:

We can't leave now without breaking our word, and that would be worst of all.

It seems we have always had a fear of losing face. It only serves to demonstrate that we can talk ourselves into anything. John Kenneth Galbraith used to call it "word fact": the art of twisting everything so that it comes out the way you want it to.

I hope that my remarks and those in the following article will serve as a reminder of past happenings and as a catalyst for future discussion:

HOW ABOUT THAT? LOYAL OPPOSITION

(By Wilfrid Dellquest)

Today's Eye-Opener: "Our country, right or wrong. When right, to be kept right; when wrong, to be put right."—Carl Schurz.

"Why don't you shut up?" A few days ago, I heard a radio commentator tell a critic: "If you can't say anything good about our President, why don't you keep your mouth shut?" The argument was about our Vietnam policy, and the commentator uttered what he believed to be a patriotic squelch in a moment of emotional upset. There is a theory that whenever American guns are being fired for any reason anywhere in the world, the President and his administration automatically become sacrosanct and that it is disloyal, or even worse, to voice criticism of official policy. Some interesting and often forgotten facts tend to contradict this attitude. Every war in which the United States has been involved has been opposed by some thoughtful and loyal Americans whose only motive was a desire to protest what they sincerely believed to be wrong and unjust. Their opinions may have been erroneous, but no American who professes belief in the principles of freedom should contest the inherent right to express honest thoughts. There seems to be a prevalent and shakily based conviction that once our Nation goes to war, Americans invariably close ranks, forget their differences and present a united front for victory. This has been substantially true only once and, significantly, that was when we were wantonly attacked by a foreign power. During other conflicts, opposition was vigorous and vocative.

Not exactly eye to eye: In the Revolution of 1775, colonists were far from united. Many respected colonial leaders opposed the Revolution and remained loyal to the British Crown. Their allegiance to what they thought was their duty led to their eventual exile and the confiscation of their property. Even the Revolutionary leaders, for 2 years, opposed the idea of political freedom, limiting their challenge to demands for a redress of administrative inequities. The War of

1812 was bitterly opposed by large sections of the country, notably the New England States that not only refused to support the war but actually threatened to withdraw from the Union. Critics of "Madison's war" denounced the war as rash, unnecessary, and impossible to win. History proved them right. We did not win that war. Our Capital was burned and our Army routed. A negotiated peace finally left things about the same as they were before the war.

Hot words: In 1846, our war against Mexico was vehemently criticized by many leaders in Congress as a war of aggression, as an imperialistic adventure to invade a neighbor nation for the dubious purpose of taking part of their country by force. Such heated sentiments were boldly expressed by a young Representative from Illinois whose name was Abraham Lincoln. Contrary to popular belief, the Civil War did not receive the united support of the North. When prominent northerners denounced the war and called for a negotiated peace, 75,000 of them, including ministers, editors, and political leaders, were arrested for subversion and held in prison without trial. In 1863, when the Government attempted to conscript men into the army, riots broke out. New York City was taken over by a howling mob, and it took a whole regular army division to restore order. There was a widespread conspiracy, led by some northern Governors and Senators, to take the Midwestern States out of the Union, stop the war and make peace with the South.

An old story: The war with Spain in 1898 was castigated by Senator Hoar and other congressional leaders as an imperialistic war for the acquisition of new territory under pretense of being a "war for freedom." We are satisfied with the way things turned out, but we should not berate those Americans who were courageous enough to buck the tide and speak out against what they believed to be wrong. Of course, we cannot scuttle our commitment in southeast Asia. Our nose is already in the soup, and we cannot pull it out without jeopardizing our national honor. But we shouldn't be shocked when we hear from other Americans who are vigorously opposed to our policy. It's an old, old story, and it's one of those things that happen in the best of all possible democracies.

The Other Nation: No Place To Hide From It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, this morning's New York Times contains an especially fine column by Tom Wicker concerning the recent outbreak in Los Angeles. It makes a telling point and one which all of us should bear in mind. I ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE OTHER NATION: NO PLACE TO HIDE FROM IT

(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, August 16.—Last June, in one of the great presidential speeches of our time Lyndon Johnson told the Howard University graduating class that their hard work and good fortune had only made them a minority within a minority. There was a grimmer story, he said, that had to be told.

The "great majority of American Negroes," he said, had been and still were "another nation: deprived of freedom, crippled by hatred, the doors of opportunity closed to hope."

AGAINST ESTABLISHED ORDER

It was that other nation that rose up last weekend in Los Angeles and brutally smashed all that it could find of the established order. And it is that other nation, sullen, brooding, explosive, that America in its faith and in its works must now try to recover, to understand, to assist, and thus to obliterate.

The world may be crying out, as the Reverend Billy Graham insisted on Sunday, for salvation from lawlessness and from a racial situation that is out of hand; something may be, as he predicted, about to give. If so, then let us take our text from Mrs. Willie Mae Colston, a Negro who lives in the Los Angeles riot area. When the distraught Gov. Pat Brown asked her what should be done, she replied.

"You know the song that says 'Where can we go but to the Lord' or something like that? Well, we have no place to hide."

TERRIBLE REMINDER

There is, indeed, no place to hide from the other nation, particularly in the idea that there is some salvation from it. The other nation is there. It will not go away. It is not confined to the South or to the Watts district or to Harlem—it is all around reminder that in the century since emancipation we have only substituted misery and hopelessness and hatred for the bondmans chains.

The problem is that, having created the other nation, the white man cannot live with it—as the riots also indicate—except by harsh repression and force. That is the way of South Africa, not of the land of the free and the home of the brave. But the white man, can obliterate the other nation and make this one America only by social and economic processes of agonizing slowness, uncertain efficacy, limited popularity—processes like the war on poverty that are in any case subject to all the pettiness and blindness of human nature.

It is easier to cry out for salvation or to demand that the cops and the courts get tough. It is easier to urge Roy Wilkins and Martin Luther King to discipline their people. It is easier to lump Negroes together as lawless brutes who have done nothing to deserve the good life in affluent America.

IDEA AT STAKE

But what is really at stake is not just the fortunes of 20 million black Americans, or the protection of property, or the maintenance of some tenuous racial peace, important as those things are. What is at stake is the ability of the American idea, expressed in thousands of legal, social, political, and economic institutions, to function.

There is probably a connection, for instance, between the demonstrations in front of the Capitol last week and the Los Angeles riots. The demonstrators were not violent but nonviolent; they were not talking about Negroes but about Vietnam; and their grievances—as disclosed by their slogans and oratory—were more imaginary than real. Nevertheless, they were like the men of Watts in that they did not rely upon or trust or respect the established processes of politics and law.

That is the meaning of the thunder out of Los Angeles. The institutions and processes of American society have not made the Negro free but have created the other nation. That "American failure," as President Johnson called it, has created a widening current of mistrust and despair and defiance that is corroding the idea of liberty and justice for all, and the confidence in "due process of law" which alone can make people wait on, much less abide by, that process.

TO END THE WRONG

"It is the glorious opportunity of this generation to end the one huge wrong of the American Nation," President Johnson said at Howard, pledging himself to the task. What he intends to do may be less important than the intention, for probably not since the bank holiday in 1933 has the established order in America been more drastically challenged; and now as then much of that order has to be changed if we are to preserve the rest.

Bright Outlook for New England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the announcement last week by Northeast Airlines of the purchase of 22 new jets is heartening to all those who are concerned about adequate air service in New England.

This encouraging development should not, however, obscure the fact that on the shorter runs in Northern New England, adequate equipment is still not available. It is not being produced in the United States.

Recently I introduced legislation calling for the Federal Aviation Agency to conduct a program for the development, testing and promotion of new short-haul aircraft. While a limited design competition was conducted in 1963, it was abandoned when the Agency was not satisfied with any of the designs submitted.

In a recent article, the aviation editor of the Boston Traveler, Charles H. Ball, commented that the new purchases will not answer the need for regional service. Even the smallest of the jets purchased cannot land at many of the New England airports.

All of this points up the need for a firm commitment to the development of a new short-haul craft. We welcome the recent Northeast action—but it points out sharply the distance still to be traveled if New England is to be served adequately.

I insert Mr. Ball's article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

[From the Boston Traveler, Aug. 13, 1965]

THE WORLD OF AVIATION—BRIGHT OUTLOOK FOR NEW ENGLAND

(By Charles H. Ball)

What about New England air service?

Northeast Airlines has been sharply criticized in some quarters for the service it provides to some New England points. And the announcement that it has placed an order for 22 jets, with an option for 10 more, hasn't taken it off the hook entirely in this respect.

EQUIPMENT LACK MAIN DIFFICULTY

Lack of proper equipment has been at the source of Northeast's difficulties in New England.

And as one person explained it, neither of the planes on order, the medium-range Boeing 727 three-engine jet or the short-to-medium range Douglas DC-9 two-engine jet, would appear to be the total answer for the region.

The Boeing ship, of course, isn't meant for short-haul operations. And the DC-9, although designed for local service, or regional routes, possibly won't be able to operate effectively out of most of the 22 New England airports now served by Northeast.

Thirteen of these airports have runways shorter than 5,000 feet, the minimum figure being used for the DC-9, and limited passenger yields at such fields would not justify the spending of large sums for runway expansion.

Then, again, the DC-9 ordered by Northeast isn't a "small" jet in any sense, even though it can operate on route segments as short as 100 miles.

It is a plane that will seat up to 115 passengers—and thus hardly suited to the light traffic loads of the so-called intra-New England network. Undoubtedly, however, it will be utilized on some of the more heavily traveled, and longer routes.

If the analysis is correct, where will this leave the rest of New England?

Well for one thing, Northeast has not said that the DC-9, is the complete answer to better New England service.

Furthermore, it seems likely that the carrier has additional aircraft purchases in mind, planes better suited to the majority of the New England communities it serves.

The concern about regional air service is understandable, particularly in the areas north of Boston.

But Northeast has found its financial legs—or should it be wings—in spectacular fashion.

STRONG FEELING OF OPTIMISM

And in view of the vitality being shown by its new owners, it isn't surprising to sense a strong feeling of optimism emerging about the future of New England air service.

The New England air market has been permitted to wither. But it is ripe for development, in the opinion of many, and the new look at Northeast may give it its chance for growth.

Obviously, it is in Northeast's interests, as part of its effort to keep the Florida route, to give solid service wherever it operates, whether to Montreal, New York, Miami, Burlington, Bangor or Berlin.

A $100 million airplane order would appear to be as good a sign as any that Northeast, all but down and out a few short months ago, is making the kind of dramatic comeback that will benefit all the areas it serves, including New England.

PS. A reminder that Northeast is helping the Jimmy Fund, too, by offering three scenic flights out of Logan Airport each Saturday afternoon in August.

Tickets—for contributions of $5 or more—are available at Northeast ticket offices, or at the airport, on a first come-first serve basis, on Saturdays.

Federal Government and Arizona: Partners in Crime and Vice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to tell the Members of this House about the ignorant partnership of the Federal Government and the State of Arizona in keeping gambling illegal in Arizona thus making gambling's lucrative profits available to finance the needs of the crime syndicates.

Last year, the parimutuel turnover in Arizona came to $22 million. More significant—and more menacing—is Arizona's illegal gambling, which makes Arizona parimutuels look puny. Testimony before the McClellan committee indicated that off-track betting comes to about $50 billion annually throughout the Nation, with this figure accounting for only some 42 percent of the national annual illegal gambling total, which would thus be $120 billion. On a population basis, illegal gambling in Arizona would come to about $1 billion a year. The mob cuts itself 10 percent of the illegal gambling take, which means that Arizona could be an as much as $100-million desert treasure trove for the syndicates. Government-run gambling would siphon these moneys from mob treasuries, putting gambling revenues to work at public rather than criminal tasks.

The best way to make gambling work for the public good—since it is basically ineradicable—is a national or series of State lotteries. If the State of Arizona would wake up to social and financial reality, it would legalize, regulate, and control gambling so that the gambling urge of the people of Arizona could be made to benefit the people rather than buttress the mob.

Legislative Reapportionment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the August 16, 1965, issue of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, entitled "Rejiggered Dirksen Amendment."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REJIGGERED DIRKSEN AMENDMENT

Senator DIRKSEN's determination to get through Congress a constitutional amendment modifying the drastic one-man, one-vote ruling the U.S. Supreme Court on legislative reapportionment, is commendable. Whether he can succeed in securing the adoption of this revised version is debatable.

Even if he manages to obtain the necessary two-thirds' majority in the Senate, despite the threatened filibuster by "liberals"—who consider the filibuster an instrument of Beelzebub when used by anybody but themselves—he will have to get a two-thirds' vote in the House. Then three-fourths of the State legislatures will have to ratify.

All this is extremely difficult, given the amount of pressure that has been applied against the Dirksen amendment, especially by civil rights and labor organizations, Mr. DIRKSEN's revised version should take care of most of the objections, but whether it will or not is uncertain.

DIRKSEN was quoted, after he failed by seven votes to get the required two-thirds in the Senate, as saying:

"Several Members sneaked up on my blind side and said they would like to give me a vote, and that something may develop that they could."

An absolute requirement that there be a reapportionment of both branches of every State legislature every 10 years, to take account of the census, is a feature of the revised Dirksen amendment. It would have to be approved by both branches, and then by the voters of the State in referendum, if one branch were apportioned on any basis other than population.

Senator DIRKSEN stresses the thought in advocating the foregoing that it puts in the hands of the voters of a given State the final decision as to whether the plan should be adopted. It is hard to see how even the "knee-jerk liberals" can find any plausible objection to that—but they probably will.

There is always the possibility that if this method of writing an amendment to curb the one-man, one-vote principle fails, two-thirds of the State legislatures will petition Congress to call a constitutional convention. Such a convention would not be limited, and, as Senator HUGH SCOTT of Pennsylvania puts it, this might really open up a "bucket of eels."

Either 22 or 23 of the required 34 States, including Virginia, have already petitioned for such a constitutional convention, according to a study made by the Library of Congress for Senator A. WILLIS ROBERTSON. Many, including Senator ROBERTSON, doubt, however, if the needed 34 State legislatures will ever sign the petition. The possibility that they might do so was held over the Senate's recent deliberations, in the hope of getting Senate approval for the Dirksen amendment.

But the prospect that a convention called by petition of the States would be wide open, and hence free to rewrite the entire Constitution, may well prevent any such convention from ever being brought together.

So it appears that if the one-man, one-vote principle is to be modified—and it certainly should be—the best hope of action is through the rejiggered Dirksen amendment.

Academic Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, in New Jersey many of our leaders have a problem involving the remarks of a professor which many of us feel very distasteful and repugnant to our beliefs and I was impressed by an editorial in the Advocate on academic freedom I thought my colleagues would like to read.

The editorial follows:

[From the Advocate, July 22, 1965]

ACADEMIC FREEDOM—I

In our democracy, free and open discussion is essential to assure mature action. Thus administration policy in military matters is enthusiastically supported by some and energetically questioned by others. An instance was the vigorous exception to administration policy in Vietnam taken by a Rutgers professor.

Governor Hughes, while disagreeing with the professorial "prejudices and opinions" enunciated, reminded alarmed critics that the "security of the Nation * * * is intended to protect the basic principles of the American system and these include freedom of debate as well as academic freedom."

Just what is "academic freedom"? Traditionally it is described as the freedom of scholars to direct their search for truth and to report the results of their findings. Those who feel that many more incompetent people are kept on faculty payrolls in the name of academic freedom, than are dismissed in violation of it contend that the modern definition seems to maintain the right to say what one thinks without thinking what one says.

However, after serious study of the benefits and drawbacks of an unfettered freedom in academe many have agreed that the costs and dangers of suppressing ideas will always be greater than the real or the fancied risks of permitting their expression. The encouraging of independence and originality of thought is a source of educational strength.

Controversy cannot be outlawed in our universities. Rather it must be presented there in the citadel of learning to guarantee the most reasoned argumentation, consideration, and conclusion by a free citizenry determining governmental action.

While there cannot be rights without obligations, neither can there be obligations without rights. Here do we discover the distinction between open and closed societies. A mature man insists upon freedom that he might thereby exercise responsibility.

The official catalog of the archdiocesan university includes this sentence: "Seton Hall takes a positive attitude toward the traditional American concern for liberty under law. Thus it is that she defends an academic freedom which respects the common good, the inviolable dignity of each person, and equality of opportunity for all."

Those among us who are disturbed by teach-ins might reflect upon these words of Justice Brandeis written decades ago: "If there be time to expose through discussion the falsehoods and fallacies, to avert the evil by the processes of education, the remedy to be applied is more speech, not enforced silence."

The Freedom Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on July 30, radio station WOKE, in Charleston, S.C., broadcast an editorial by its able president and general manager, Harry C. Weaver, on the Freedom Academy bill now pending in Congress. I ask unanimous consent that the text of this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[A WOKE radio editorial, July 30, 1965]

CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OF THE FREEDOM ACADEMY BILL IS NOW A POSSIBILITY

(By Harry C. Weaver, president and general manager, WOKE, Charleston, S.C.)

Six years ago, during the 86th Congress a proposal was made by Congressman A. SYDNEY HERLONG, of Leesburg, Fla., that a Federal agency be established to be known as Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy. On July 20, 1965 the House Committee on Un-American Activities, to which the Freedom Academy bill was referred, gave its unanimous approval of the final bill with some amendments, reported it out to the Committee of the Whole House and recommended that the Freedom Academy bill, as amended, be passed by the U.S. House of Representatives.

What is the purpose and objectives of the Freedom Commission and the Freedom Academy?

The formation of such an agency could be a most significant step forward in our land of freedom after so many years of hard endeavor to enact a comprehensive nonmilitary program for the United States and the free world in the global struggle against the swelling tide of communism. The purpose and objectives of the Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy would be to conduct research to develop an integrated body of operational knowledge in the political, psychological, economic, technological, and organizational areas to increase the nonmilitary capabilities of the United States and other nations in the world struggle between freedom and communism; to educate and train Government personnel and private citizens to understand and implement this Federal body of knowledge; and to provide education and training for foreign students in these areas of knowledge under appropriate condtions. There is a crying need in our country today for such an institution as the Freedom Academy "to assist in the development of methods and means employable in both the governmental and private sectors to counter all forms of Communist political warfare, subversion, and insurgency, while seeking to preserve and build free and viable societies."

The companion bill to Congressman HERLONG's House legislation was introduced into the U.S. Senate by Senator KARL E. MUNDT, of South Dakota, 2 months later in 1959 and finally passed the Senate on August 31, 1960. There was no opportunity for action on the House bill for Congress adjourned 1 day later. The present Senate bill (S. 1232) was introduced by Senator MUNDT and cosponsored by 11 other Senators. Senator MUNDT is very optimistic that with the unanimous vote of the House Committee on Un-American Activities will come serious consideration for early action by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It is Senator KARL MUNDT's conviction that the findings of the House committee sound anew the warning that we Americans cannot depend only upon military defenses in the cold war effort to preserve freedom. The Senator from South Dakota was greatly impressed with the House committee's six major points in its contention that "if this country and other non-Communist nations are to realize their full capacity to engage in the type of global struggle which has been forced upon them it is essential that a thoroughgoing program of research, education, and training in the area of Communist political warfare be established."

In preparing ourselves for psychological warfare with the enemies of freedom, we can better meet the Communist challenge if we know what the challenge is all about. We are yielding ground to communism which we need not yield if we have in hand a complete understanding of the most effective and appropriate methods for advancing freedom's cause. We of WOKE feel that such an anti-Communist agency as the Freedom Commission and the Freedom Academy would greatly benefit the cause of freedom through proper education of uninformed American citizens. We urge the people of the low country to write our two Senators and six Congressmen in Washington and urge their support and influence with other Senators and Congressmen for passage of this Senate and House Freedom Academy bill.

V-J Day and Our Fighting Men in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNN E. STALBAUM

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, my esteemed colleague, Representative CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, second highest ranking member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Far East and Pacific, recently gave an analytical firsthand report on the accomplishments and objectives of America's fighting men in Vietnam. He gave this presentation on August 13 to the Allied Veterans Council joint observance of V-J Day at Milwaukee where the theme fittingly was: "A Tribute to Our Fighting Men in Vietnam."

The close and accurate knowledge that Congressman ZABLOCKI has of the free world committment against the spread of communism is of such great import to all Americans that I take exceptional pleasure in inserting into the Appendix his worthwhile address to the council, which is composed of 15 veterans organizations in Milwaukee County.

The address follows:

V-J DAY AND OUR FIGHTING MEN IN VIETNAM

(Speech of Hon. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI at the Allied Veterans Council V-J Day Ceremonies, Milwaukee, Wis., Friday, Aug. 13, 1965)

It is indeed a privilege and an honor to have bee nasked by the Allied Veterans Council of Greater Milwaukee to participate in the events of this evening.

These V-J Day observances, sponsored by the council, have become an important annual event in our community. They have reminded us of the sacrifices which so many made in World War II in order that we might enjoy freedom and prosperity in our great land.

The Allied Veteran's Council is particularly to be commended for having dedicated this evening's program to the American fighting men in Vietnam.

It is entirely fitting as we observe the 20th anniversary of the victory over Japan and the end of World War II, that we pay tribute to those who are fighting and dying to preserve freedom against Communist aggression in southeast Asia.

This occasion also affords an excellent opportunity to make certain meaningful comparisons between World War II and the present conflict in Vietnam.

Many of us recall the protests which accompanied increasing American involvement in World War II before Pearl Harbor. Each attempt by the Roosevelt administration to strengthen the Nation's defenses and assist our traditional Allies in Western Europe was met with criticism. Mother's marches and peace demonstrations were organized in an attempt to dissuade the military buildup which later proved not only neccessary but vital to the security interests of our Nation.

In 1939 and 1940 it was fashionable in some quarters to say: "I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier." Others quoted President George Washington's advice about avoiding foreign entanglements.

Who were these peace-at-any-price advocates For the most part they were well-intentioned, genuinely concerned individuals. They lacked, however, any real appre-

ciation of the menace represented by Nazism, Fascism, and Japanese militarism.

Further, many were deluded by the deliberate efforts of fifth-columnists among our own people. These included the Communists who had teamed up with the Fascists after the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939.

Today we read of, and see, demonstrations against U.S. participation in the war in Vietnam which are quite similar to those of pre-World War II.

The slogans have been updated, of course. Now they read "Get out of Vietnam," and "Stop the bombing." Critics of the administration's policy have tried to create an atmosphere of defeatism. Some claim that antiguerrilla actions cannot be successful and that Communist-inspired insurgency is bound to win. The facts are, of course, that Communist guerrillas have been defeated in Greece, in the Philippines and in Malaya.

Mistaken as they often are, I believe that most of those who advocate our withdrawal from Vietnam are sincere. They have forgotten, or refuse to remember, the principal lesson taught by World War II. That lesson is that if aggression is left unchecked, the aggressors grow more bold and antagonistic.

Just as the Nazis were guilty of aggression against Poland and Czechoslovakia in 1939, and the Japanese against the Philippines in 1941, so also has North Vietnam been the aggressor against its neighbor to the south.

The Communist regime in Hanoi has directed—in large measure controlled—the activities of the Vietcong guerrillas. The hard core of the Communist forces attacking South Vietnam are men trained in North Vietnam.

These key personnel, many of whom have never seen South Vietnam before, are infiltrated into the Republic of Vietnam to become the leaders and cadres of the Vietcong forces. Fifty thousand such persons have been infiltrated since 1960.

There also is clear proof that Hanoi has supplied the guerrilla forces with weapons, ammunition, and equipment.

In recent days three battalions of regular North Vietnamese troops have been identified in the fighting in the central highlands region of South Vietnam.

Those guerrillas were not the barefoot, pajama-clad, lightly armed peasants we often have seen in newsphotos. These men are outfitted in completely military fashion. They wear uniforms helmets and boots. They exhibit military discipline and are organized to engage in unit-sized clashes with government troops.

If the direct role of Hanoi in the Vietnam conflict ever was in question, this infiltration of entire military units should dispel all doubt. Communist China also has played a role in this struggle by aiding and abetting North Vietnam.

Our Nation, as in World War II, is meeting this aggression with force and determination. The United States has sent more than 80,000 American troops to Vietnam and plans to call for 45,000 additional men to be landed there in the near future. The United States has committed our airpower to unceasing bombing of strategic military targets in North Vietnam, as long as the Communist aggression persists.

The United States is spending more than a million dollars a day to supply and equip the forces of South Vietnam, on whom the principal burden of this war rests.

The United States has successfully persuaded many of our allies to assist in this fight for freedom. More than 30 nations have responded by providing aid to South Vietnam, including units of fighting forces.

Our efforts to contain communism in southeast Asia have not been without sacrifice. Several hundred American boys have been killed. Others have been wounded. Undoubtedly there will be still further casualties in the future.

These young men are the flower and the promise of our Nation. We do not wish to see their blood shed on foreign shores. Nor do these brave men wish to die. But they realize, as some other Americans fail to, that the presence of American troops in Vietnam is necessary to the security of our own country.

All of you, I am sure, are aware of the tragic accident which occurred this week at the Titan missile installation in Arkansas. In a very real sense the 53 men who lost their lives in that accident, though civilians, died in the defense of our country.

Those 53 deaths were more than 10 percent of the total number of American soldiers killed in Vietnam since the conflict began. Surely, responsible judgment would not dictate that we discontinue or curtail our missile program because of this or other military accidents.

In the same way, the fact that Americans have been killed in the line of duty in Vietnam should not stampede us into withdrawal. We will continue to place the highest value on each human life. We shall try to insure to the extent possible the safety and security of our troops. But, firm in the belief that our cause is just and right, we must never abandon our efforts simply because casualties occur.

As you know, I have been in Vietnam and have had the opportunity to talk to some of the American soldiers on the scene. Their high morale, their sense of purpose, is truly something to behold.

The service and dedication of these men has been the one continuing bright spot in what all too often has been a dismal picture. Their positive attitude has been a source of inspiration to the Vietnamese with whom they deal, and to our American civilian officials as well.

We can be truly proud of our fighting men in Vietnam, just as we are proud of those who fought to defend freedom and restore peace in World War II, the Korean conflict, and our Nation's other wars.

In my opening remarks I recalled the misguided pacifist efforts that preceded World War II. Now let us speculate what might have happened had our Nation's leaders listened to those voices of appeasement.

Today the Nazis probably would be ruling all of Europe and much of Africa. The Japanese would be the supreme power in Asia, ruling both China and India with an iron hand.

We Americans would be an embattled minority, with probably only Canada and the Nations of Latin America as allies. Fortress America—which many advocated in 1939—would be a weak fortress under siege.

With the benefit of hindsight we can be truly grateful that President Roosevelt and other American leaders saw the danger and were not moved to the disastrous course advocated by the isolationists of the 1930's.

In the same way, I believe that a generation from now the American people will be grateful that President Johnson and his advisers have disregarded the criticism of the neo-isolationists of the 1960's.

For our policy of firmness in the face of aggression has implications which are tremendous and transcend Vietnam.

Many other lands in other under-developed areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America also are threatened with the danger of guerrilla insurgency. The future of these nations is linked with the outcome in South Vietnam and southeast Asia.

The Communists have readily admitted that Vietnam represents an important test situation for insurgency and revoltuion. For example, the top North Vietnamese general, General Giap, recently said:

"South Vietnam is the model of the national liberation movement of our time—If the special warfare that the U.S. imperialists are testing in Vietnam is overcome, then it can be defeated everywhere in the world."

It is in this sense, then, that South Vietnam represents a real test for our Nation, a challenge perhaps as important as that we met and surmounted in World War II. It is a test of the will and determination of the American people to withstand Communist aggression wherever and however it may appear. We must not, we cannot, we will not, fail the test. For upon the outcome of the struggle in Vietnam hangs the future course of world events. If the United States eventually can bring peace and security to South Vietnam, we will have increased greatly the chances for peace and security elsewhere in the world.

With peace and security, and freedom from internal and external Communist harassment, can come the kind of world which we believed we had won on V–J Day, 1945. Twenty years of conflict and strife have proven how cruelly false were our hope.

Yet, with the hope that sustains humanity, we look to the future. A new generation, epitomized by our fighting men in Vietnam, has joined us in the struggle against tyranny and injustice.

We must not, we cannot, we will not succumb to Communist aggression. For then we would fail to keep faith not only with the brave men who have defended our Nation in past wars, but also with those who are today fighting tyranny and aggression in Vietnam and other trouble spots in the world.

Let us pray that, with Divine Guidance, we may soon reach an era of peace and prosperity, not only for ourselves but for all mankind.

The Cost of Government—Nothing Is Free

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Beaufort, S.C., Gazette for Thursday, August 12, 1965, carried a most perceptive editorial. This editorial, entitled "Nothing Is Free," makes a point which is all too often completely overlooked by both Members of Congress and other individuals in our country in advocating specific pieces of legislation. The point is that the Central Government does not earn income of its own. All the money that it distributes to the States and to the people of the States must come from the people, and before the money can be distributed by the Government, the cost of operating the Government must be deducted.

The American people need to be reminded of this fact more often. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOTHING IS FREE

"Johnson Signs $7.5-Billion Omnibus Housing Bill," "Anti-Poverty Bill Enacted," "Medicare Bill Passes," "Income Taxes Reduced," "Operation Head-Start Gets Underway," "Social Security Benefits Increased." Name it and you have probably seen the headlines indicating that Uncle Sam has taken another step to assure the people of America that nothing is too good for them

and that nothing costs too much to be out of reach.

Looking over the voting records of the past several national elections, most people in America apparently sanction big government's spending and desire more and more of it.

They apparently believe the Government gets its money out of thin air or from some mysterious source that has little to do with themselves.

They should know that the money the Federal Government spends must ultimately come from the people, though all too often it seems this fact is either overlooked or ignored.

About the only reason we can fathom for this type of thinking is the fact that except for income and property levies, most of the taxes we pay are hidden. Everything we buy, from an article so small as a loaf of bread to one so large as an automobile carries a multitude of taxes levied at the raw material, manufacturing, processing, transporting, retailing and other levels. And those taxes, whether we know it or not, must be paid by the consumer.

These facts should be known to everyone, but they tend to become lost in the face of the widespread belief that Government "gives" us things. The truth is that Government can "give" nothing. It can only take the money from the people, now or on some future date, to pay the costs—and also enough must be added to pay the administrative and bureaucratic overhead. These costs alone are frightening.

Remember this truism—nothing material is free—government least of all.

Adverse Effects of High Rates of Unemployment Compensation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD H. POFF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Edward H. Lane, chairman of the board of the Lane Co., Inc., of Altavista, Va., and a distinguished constituent, has asked me to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD statements he made concerning legislation pending before Committee on Ways and Means. Acknowledging his constitutional right to petition the Congress, and with the unanimous consent of the House, I quota the same herewith:

The proposed legislation would provide high rates of unemployment compensation for relatively long periods of time based on relatively short periods of employment. Our area of Virginia has been able to avoid lack of employment opportunity as a contributor to poverty. Our knowledge of employment phenomenon in this area makes it possible to foresee intentional unemployment as a result of such legislation. In this area the legislation would produce an adverse social effect.

Flat costs of employers for unemployment benefits would remove incentives which employers presently have to minimize dismissals for unsatisfactory services. Organized and constant effort in supervisory training to produce the skills and willingness of supervisors to improve performance of their workers has resulted in a minimum turnover for unsatisfactory work. It has created economic producers out of Americans who would otherwise have become charges on the State. This expensive activity can be justified within the company by reductions in unemployment compensation rates based on experience. Such incentive would be removed by the proposed legislation with the adverse social effects, which would be inevitable.

This legislation proposes to escalate costs significantly. Accompanied by other legislation recently approved and now pending the combined effect is well known to be inflationary. The prospect of more inflation would not be particularly disturbing if it were accompanied by a prospect for increased productivity. Such legislation, however, in general, and H.R. 8282 in particular, would have the effect of decreasing productivity for reasons similar to those above explained. This, then, produces the inflationary effect of increased costs in its most destructive form.

Power and Water

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, under the distinguished leadership of the Honorable ROBERT E. JONES, of Alabama, chairman of the House Public Works Committee, that committee has held public hearings on the proposal to construct a $227 million hydroelectric power project in northern Maine on the Upper St. John River at sites 289 and 300 miles above the mouth of the river.

I believe two editorials which appeared in the Quincy, Mass., Patriot Ledger on July 19, 1965, and on July 22, 1965, are very timely in relation to hydroelectric systems versus nuclear powerplants. I submit the editorials as follow for the edification of the Members of the U.S. Congress:

[From the Quincy (Mass.) Patriot Ledger, July 19, 1965]

POWER AND WATER

Does it make any sense for the Federal Government to put a huge, extravagant power project in the wilds of Maine?

Washington seems to think so, as it continues to come up with proposals for hydroelectric projects in northern Maine.

While President Johnson last week expressed concern over the "urgent water problem" in New England, the Government's desire for a hydroelectric plant completely overlooks the possibilities of a New England project that could provide power for the region and add to our water supplies by desalinization of sea water, both through nuclear energy.

The dreamed-of Passamaquoddy Bay tidal power plant—under discussion for four decades—now has been laid to rest for the time being. Even Secretary of the Interior Stewewart L. Udall now concedes that the 'Quoddy plan he recommended in 1963 now is no longer economically feasible.

Instead, the Government now proposes a $227 million hydroelectric power project in northern Maine at the Lincoln School-Dickey site just above the confluence of the St. John and Allagash Rivers. Secretary Udall claims the plan would not flood the Allagash River, thus preserving one of the Nation's few remaining wild river areas, and would provide cheap power for all of New England.

This action is not unexpected. In fact for some time now New England utility interests have suspected that the Government was introducing the 'Quoddy project as a straw man, with the intention of introducing a smaller scaled hydroelectric plant in the Dickey site once the critics had demolished the 'Quoddy proposals.

The latest recommendation is far less ambitious than the billion-dollar 'Quoddy plan. But it is still open to some of the objections raised against 'Quoddy.

In the nuclear age it seems incredible that the Government wants to put a hydroelectric plant so far from New England's population centers. This means, of course, that if New England is to benefit from power generated on the St. John River, transmission lines will have to be strung for hundreds of miles.

This seems obviously uneconomic when the costs of electricity produced by nuclear plants have been dropping steadily and are not far from being cheaper than conventionally produced power. And nuclear powerplants have proven to be safe enough for location near centers of population.

For example, Commonwealth Edison Co. in Chicago is now building the Nation's largest atomic power station. The 700,000-kilowatt unit is estimated to cost $76 million. Compare that with the Government's St. John River proposal of a 794,000-kilowatt unit costing $227 million.

The new nuclear plant is expected to generate and deliver power to the Chicago area at a cost of 5 to 10 percent lower than Commonwealth Edison's new conventional units under construction.

Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, has predicted that large nuclear powerplants (more than 500,000 kilowatts) probably will be able to produce electricity costing about 4 to 5 mills per kilowatt-hour and lower. Secretary Udall says power from the St. John River project could be delivered to preference customers in Maine for 7 to 8 mills per kilowatt hour. What the cost would be to other New England customers, for instance in Boston, is unclear.

But at any rate, by the time the St. John River project could be completed it might be utterly obsolete because of advances in nuclear power technology.

Also to be considered is the possibility of a dual-purpose atomic plant, producing power and purifying sea water for consumption.

Dr. Seaborg, in a copyrighted interview in U.S. News & World Report, says: "We are particularly interested in the so-called dual-purpose reactors—that is, reactors that produce electricity and at the same time use the waste heat, which would otherwise be dissipated, to desalt water. * * * By the 1980's we expect that there will be huge dual-purpose reactors * * * reactors that would be developing a thousand megawatts—that is, a million kilowatts—of electricity, or more, and perhaps desalting water to the extent of 500 million gallons a day."

Such a plant would be ideal for New England, of course, which is waking up to the fact that its water supplies are inadequate.

The Government's interest in a big, public hydroelectric project down east seems to make less and less sense when viewed against the potentialities of nuclear power. While the Government has cited the benefits of low-cost power as a boon to New England industry and as a way of stimulating the economy of depressed northern Maine, unfortunately it has not shown the same solicitude for New England by continuing unreasonable quotas on imports of residual fuel oil which force power companies to pay more for this fuel used in generating electricity.

Instead of concentrating its studies on Maine rivers and bays, the Government should turn its attention to what nuclear power could do for the region.

[From the Quincy (Mass.) Patriot Ledger, July 22, 1965]

A BOLD PLAN

New York State is taking a bold step forward in ordering the construction of a triple-purpose nuclear plant on Long Island.

The primary function of the plant will be to desalt water. But it will also produce power and high-energy radioactive isotopes. The plant, expecting to cost about $4.25 million, will be located on the northern prong of eastern Long Island, between Riverhead and Mattituck.

Scheduled to go into operation in 1968, the plant would be the Nation's first nuclear-powered desalinization facility, and the first triple-purpose nuclear plant.

The high-energy radioactive isotopes will be sold for industrial and medical uses, and along with the sale of water and electricity is expected to pay for the construction and operating costs of the plant. The manufacture of isotopes, in this case a byproduct of the other uses of the Long Island plant, occupies an important place in the Nation's economy and will become increasingly important as more uses and more users of these atomic byproducts develop.

New York hopes to sell fresh water from the project to the Riverhead Water District at an astounding low price for desalted water. The prices are expected to be 35 cents a thousand gallons the first year, increasing to 45 cents per thousand gallons in the 11th year.

If this turns out to be the price, the plant would represent a major breakthrough in the attempt to make desalting economical. Only little more than a decade ago, in 1952, the cost of converting sea water varied from $4 to $5 a thousand gallons. Now the cost is estimated at about $1 to $1.25, based on operations of two demonstration plants at San Diego, Calif., and Freeport, Tex., each designed to turn out a million gallons of fresh water a day—the same as the Long Island plant.

The Riverhead plant would be a small operation, producing only about 2,500 kilowatts of electricity in addition to the fresh water through a form of distillation. U.S. Government officials in the Department of the Interior and the Atomic Energy Commission foresee large-scale nuclear-powered projects, producing as much as 500 million gallons of fresh water a day and with a power capacity of a million kilowatts. With the development of giant multipurpose nuclear plants, it is felt, will come lower production costs for both sea water conversion and power generation.

While New York undertakes its pioneering effort, the U.S. Government seems to be back in the middle ages of power generation with its plans to construct large-scale public hydroelectric plants in northern Maine. As we commented earlier this week, the most recent plan from Washington to build a $227 million hydroelectric project on the St. John River in Maine totally ignores the prospects for dual-purpose nuclear-powered facilities.

Instead of going ahead with its St. John River proposal, the Government should instead study the potentialities of nuclear power for New England. New York is showing the way.

National Drum Corps Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, August 15–22 is National Drum Corps Week. The drum corps movement is a crisp example of how purposefully today's youth can occupy themselves.

Not only is drum corps activity beneficially disciplinary to participating youth, but it can be said that the colorful blade of the martial musical pageantry is representative of an emerging new art form. Drum corps activity is thus productive in many ways, and those participating in it are to be commended.

Drum corps activity has grown in scope so that a million or so teenagers are involved in its activities. There are an increasing number of pageants and drum corps championships these days. In 1963, there was, for the first time, a world open championship for drum corps. We can proudly say that as an art form, a discipline and as a sport, drum corps activity is rapidly growing throughout the United States.

Did We Bomb Our Own Prisoners?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, since the July 27 raid by U.S. planes, supposedly against two SAM sites near Hanoi, we have had nothing but conflicting information out of the administration about what really happened. We have heard that our planes hit decoy sites set up to lure them off the real targets. We have heard that they not only missed the sites entirely but bombed barracks in the area housing prisoners of war.

Now, United Features Syndicate Columnist Don Maclean reports that some of our own men—captives of the North Vietnamese—may have been killed by American bombs on that raid.

I think it is high time that President Johnson set the record straight for the American people—not only on what happened on that missile site raid but on what is really going on in Vietnam.

Under unanimous consent I insert the Maclean column in the RECORD and commend its reading to the Members of this body.

The text of the column follows:

QUESTIONS AFTER MISSILE RAID: DID WE BOMB OUR OWN PRISONERS?

(By Don Maclean)

Some of our own men—captives of the North Vietnamese—may have been killed by American bombs in the recent controversial raid on the SAM missile sites near Hanoi.

This, according to one source, is what the Defense Department has been hoping to cover up while discussing the July 27 attack.

Since the bombing, there has been much speculation in the press, leading to a recent secret briefing of certain Congressmen by Pentagon officers. First inkling that we may have bombed American and South Vietnamese held as prisoners of war, came during a question and answer period during this briefing.

POSSIBILITY

The Pentagon officers reportedly admitted only that it was a possibility since a number of barracks close to the Hanoi missile base were destroyed.

Asked about this development, a Congressman on the House Armed Services Committee said that he has been asked by the Pentagon to say nothing about the briefing or the possibility that we accidentally may have bombed our men in the hands of the North Vietnamese.

Military experts hold that it is unlikely that prisoners would be kept near missile bases for security reasons. (Prisoners might escape and cause damage.) However, there is the theory that for an unscrupulous enemy, surrounding a missile base with prisoners might be an ideal way to protect it from air attack. Our reluctance to bomb North Vietnamese missile sites for fear of killing Soviet technicians is well known.

OUR HEAVY LOSS

If true, this latest allegation would compound the already tragic aspects of this particular bombing raid. During the mission, three of our bombers were brought down by groundfire; two F–105's collided in midair on the way home; another plane is missing.

The principal target may not have been hit at all. The Defense Department says that photo reconnaisance has not been sufficient to show whether we damaged the missile sites. Also, the Pentagon has refused to confirm whether our planes bombed dummy sites, meant to draw attack away from the real ones.

The Real Alabama—Part XLVI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, in our State we place higher education far up on the list of priorities for continuing advancement. The people of Alabama have long felt the importance of providing quality higher education for its young people.

One of our higher education institutions of which we are proud is Mobile College, one of the State's newest, and growing facilities.

Following are some items of interest about Mobile College:

ABOUT MOBILE COLLEGE

Mobile College is a Christian college of liberal arts and sciences. Chartered in 1961, it is the first senior college to be established in the State of Alabama during the last 57 years and is sponsored by the Alabama Baptist State Convention.

Mobile College is a new venture in higher learning and is the creation of a people of Christian vision.

The beautiful 400-acre campus is located about 10 miles from downtown Mobile on College Parkway. The campus site is being developed and four buildings have been completed. The administrative-classroom building was completed in 1963 and houses the administrative and faculty offices, the classrooms, the science laboratories, the center for programed instruction, the library, a teaching auditorium, the bookstore, and a snack shop. These handsome facilities make possible many innovations in the learning program of the college.

Dormitories for men and women and a student lounge and dining hall were completed in September 1964. The two dormitories and the one-story student lounge and dining hall are connected with covered walkways. All of the facilities are air conditioned. Both dormitories have double rooms with adjoining baths.

Mobile College is Christian in its design and perspective. It wants its students to find maximum understanding of the reality of God and the Christian way of life.

Mobile College is composed of three divisions and one department: the division of humanities, the division of natural science, the division of social science, and the department of health, physical education, and recreation.

The college offers the bachelor of arts degree in the following areas: art, economics and business administration, English, history, modern foreign languages (including French, German, and Spanish), music, philosophy, political science, psychology, religion, speech and dramatic arts, sociology and anthropology, and health, physical education, and recreation. Mobile College offers the bachelor of science degree in the following areas: biology, chemistry, mathematics, and physics.

The preparation of elementary and secondary schoolteachers is a major function of the college, and an attractive program of professional education has been planned for prospective teachers.

The college makes available preprofessional programs in medicine, dentistry, engineering, medical technology, nursing, law, and the ministry.

The Memory of the Late Gracie Pfost

SPEECH

OF

HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in expressing sadness because of the passing of our former colleague, the Honorable Gracie Pfost, of Idaho. Mrs. Pfost and I came to Congress during the same year, and I esteemed her most highly. She was faithful to her constituents, hard working, and loyal to her friends. I participated in the funeral services here in Washington, and should like to print here in the RECORD the opening prayer that I gave on that occasion:

O Lord our God, how excellent is Thy name in all the earth, who hast set Thy glory above the heavens. In Thee do we put our trust, for God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life.

We thank Thee for the life of our silent friend and colleague. Because of her, many lives have been fortified with hope and faith. Because of her, America, our fatherland, is a more beautiful temple of groves and streams.

She has been blessed by the privilege of great service.

Abide, O God, with her loved ones, her friends, and all for whom she labored so valiantly.

With joy into Thy loving hands we commend her this day, with the blessed assurance that in our Father's house are many mansions and He has promised to be with us forever.

Hear our prayer in the name of Thy Son, our Lord. Amen.

I express to her family my deepest sympathy, and I join Gracie Pfost's many friends in saying that our lives have been ennobled because of our associations with her.

Progress of the Negro Lawyer Under President Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include the report of the Committee on Judiciary of the National Bar Association as given by its chairman, Edward B. Toles, eminent Chicago attorney, at the 40th Annual Convention at New Orleans.

The report follows:

THE NEGRO LAWYER, A SECOND RECONSTRUCTION—TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS

(By Edward B. Toles)

Since the last annual report of the Judiciary Committee, August 19, 1964, "The Negro Lawyer in Crisis," the contributions of President Lyndon B. Johnson to the professional advancement of Negro lawyers have made tremendous progress in the fulfillment of rights previously denied Negro citizens and Negro lawyers.

No Chief Executive in the history of the Presidency has taken a stronger stand for human equality regardless of races and peoples than has President Johnson. In the matter of Federal appointments to Negro lawyers, this past year, since our 39th annual convention at Baltimore, was without precedent in American history.

Notably prominent were these Presidential appointments: First Negro U.S. Solicitor General; two Negro U.S. district court judges for the District of Columbia; first Negro district court judge to the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia; first Negro Associate Counsel to the President on the White House Staff; a Negro legal assistant on the White House Staff in charge of personnel; first Negro Woman Ambassador to a foreign state and country; first Negro member of a National Crime Commission; first Negro woman member and vice chairman of the District of Columbia Crime Commission; a Negro judge of the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia; a Negro lawyer member of the two Negro members of the Equal Employment Opportunity Comimssion; a Negro Executive Director of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity; a general counsel of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and legal staff members of other Federal agencies.

Negro lawyers may well expect shortly more judicial and administrative appointments. The President in a ringing declaration against prejudice and discriminaton at Howard University's Commencement, June 4, 1965, said:

"Freedom is the right to share, share fully and equally in American society, to vote, to hold a job, to enter a public place, to go to school. It is the right to be treated in every part of our national life as a person equal in dignity and promise to all others. But freedom is not enough * * *. We seek not just freedom but opportunity. We seek not just legal equity but human ability. Not just equality as a right and a theory but equality as a fact and equality as a result."

The President further pledged "to help the American Negro fulfill these rights which after the long time of injustice he is finally about to secure, to move beyond opportunity to achievement, to shatter forever not only the barriers of law and public practice but the walls which bound the condition of man by the color of his skin." The President stated that this would "be a chief goal of his Administration and of his program next year and in the years to come."

Even while the Nation is preoccupied with critical war disturbances abroad, the President solemnly reiterated his pledge to the Negro and at his July 28 press conference on Vietnam in his momentous address to the Nation intoned these blunt, direct and eloquent words:

"Now, I am President. It is my opportunity to help every child get an education, to help every Negro and every American citizen have an equal opportunity, to help every family get a decent home, and to help bring healing to the sick and dignity to the old."

To date, the President has originated under his own administration, major appointments to Negro lawyers never before dreamed of by them as being remotely possible. Some of these new legal positions are the following held for the first time by Negro lawyers:

Judge Thurgood Marshall, U.S. Solicitor General: presently judge of U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, 2d Circuit (appointed September 23, 1961; recess appointment, October 5, 1961; Senate confirmation, September 14, 1962). On July 13, 1965, President Johnson nominated Judge Marshall to be U.S. Solicitor General. Because of the importance of this appointment and the significance to Negro lawyers, your committee has selected comments from the press concerning the appointment and approval by a Senate judiciary subcommittee on July 29, just 16 days after nomination by the President. The Senate must give final confirmation and usually follows committee recommendations.

The Chicago Tribune, July 29, stated:

"A Senate judiciary subcommittee heard 20 minutes of testimony by Thurgood Marshall today and unanimously recommended approval of his nomination to be the Nation's Solicitor General. Subcommittee Chairman QUENTIN N. BURDICK, Democrat, of North Dakota, and Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, Republican, of New York, were the only members present. Marshall, a Federal circuit judge since 1962, told the Senators that if confirmed he will represent for Government fairly and impartially in arguing cases before the Supreme Court. Taking note of Marshall's 23 years as attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, JAVITS asked the Negro judge if he would have any difficulty in advocating the Government position in civil rights cases, whatever it happens to be. 'No, not in the least,' Marshall replied."

Newsweek, July 26, 1965, said:

"Barred as a Negro from Maryland University Law School, Marshall took his degree with top honors at Washington's Howard University and in 1935, on behalf of another Negro persuaded a court to scuttle Maryland University's lily-white admissions policy. From 1936 on, as top lawyer for the NAACP, Marshall won countless civil rights cases, including 29 of 32 argued before the U.S. Supreme Court, and a reputation that President Kennedy acknowledged by appointing him a Federal judge in 1961. Last week President Johnson took note of Marshall's prowess and named him Solicitor General—the man who represents the United States before the Supreme Court. Judge Marshall will succeed professorial Archibald Cox, who is resigning to return to the Harvard University faculty after serving 4 years in the post, third-ranking in the Department of Justice. Marshall, 57, is the first Negro to be appointed to Justice's top echelon. To accept the new post, Marshall will resign his lifetime appointment to the Federal appeals bench in New York—and take a $4,500 a year salary cut, from $33,000 to $28,500. His acceptance of a salary cut and his willingness to relinquish life tenure for a job of uncertain duration generated understandable puzzlement. Marshall himself admitted the choice was a

difficult one and said his high regard for President Johnson had been the deciding factor. There seemed also a better-than-even chance that the post of Solicitor General, for Marshall, would be but a stepping stone to the Supreme Court itself. At the weekend, Washington handicappers were confidently saying that President Johnson hopes eventually to elevate Thurgood Marshall, the great-grandson of a Maryland slave, to the country's Highest Court, though this prospect was one that neither the White House nor Marshall could discuss publicly.

Time, July 23, 1965, reported:

"It is no secret around Washington that Lyndon Johnson would like to become the first President to appoint a Negro to the U.S. Supreme Court. Last week, Johnson did the next thing to it when he named Federal Judge Thurgood Marshall, 57, to the prestigious post of U.S. Solicitor General. Marshall will replace Archibald Cox, 53, a former Harvard Law School professor who is resigning after 4 years of Government service. As chief legal officer for the NAACP, Marshall became a national figure in 1954 when he succesfully argued the landmark school-desegregation case of *Brown* v. *Topeka Board of Education* before the Supreme Court. In all, he argued 32 civil rights cases before the High Court, won 29 of them. In 1961, President Kennedy appointed Marshall to a lifetime job on the U.S. Second Circuit Court of Appeals (New York, Connecticut, and Vermont). After almost a year's delay because of the objections of southern Senators, the Senate finally confirmed Marshall's appointment. If approved by the Senate, Marshall will become the 33d U.S. Solicitor General and the first Negro to hold the office. Wearing the traditional garb of swallowtail coat and striped pants, he will argue the Federal Government's most important cases before the Supreme Court and have considerable say about which cases the Government takes to the Supreme Court on appeal. In making the appointment, Johnson described Marshall as a 'leading champion of equal rights under the law,' noted that he was taking the new job, which pays $28,500 a year—$4,500 less than his Federal judgeship—and has a tenure subject to the President's pleasure, at a 'very considerable financial sacrifice.' Marshall might find that sacrifice worthwhile—if there is a vacancy on the Supreme Court while Johnson is still in office."

The New York Times, July 14, 1965, editorialized:

"The new Solicitor General: It is impossible to consider the appointment of Judge Thurgood Marshall as Solicitor General apart from its symbolic aspects. He is a brilliant advocate and thoroughly qualified for the post. He is also a Negro. At a time when Negroes are pressing for the last full measure of legal equality and some of the Federal district judges in the Deep South have been under attack from civil rights groups for their rulings, selection of the best known Negro attorney as the Government's chief lawyer dramatizes the Nation's commitment to equal rights. Presumably, the fact that he will be the first Negro to hold this high office played a part in Judge Marshall's decision to give up the security and higher salary of the bench in order to take this more onerous post. It is doubtless his hope—as it is our expectation—that his service as Solicitor General will bring nearer the day when the appointment or election of Negroes to any position will be free of any special symbolic significance."

Your committee has long campaigned for the appointment of a Negro Supreme Court Justice and we are grateful for President Johnson's appointment of Judge Marshall and we hope that the President will in the future elevate Judge Marshall to the Supreme Court. Both Mr. Justice Stanley F. Reed (1936) and the late Mr. Justice Robert H. Jackson (1940) held the position of Solicitor General before their elevation to the Supreme Court. Attorney General Francis Biddle, like Judge Marshall resigned his circuit court of appeals judgeship to accept President Franklin D. Roosevelt's appointment as Solicitor General in 1940 when Justice Jackson was elevated to the Supreme Court.

President Johnson had indicated on January 30, 1964, that "he hoped the time would come when a qualified Negro could sit on the Court," according to the New York Times, Friday, January 31, 1964. The Chicago Tribune in reporting the conference held with the President on January 30, 1964, stated:

"Urge Johnson to put Negro on High Court—A group of Negro newspaper publishers today asked President Johnson to appoint a Negro to the U.S. Supreme Court. The proposal was made to the President during a White House meeting of nearly an hour and a half between the Chief Executive and 19 officers and directors of the National Newspaper Publishers Association. The association members invited to the White House today included John H. Sengstacke, publisher of the Chicago Daily Defender. Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett, publisher of the Sun Reporter, San Francisco, quoted Johnson after the meeting as saying he would not hesitate to appoint a Negro to the Supreme Court, the Cabinet or as an Ambassador. The publishers urged appointment of more Negroes to top Federal posts.

William B. Bryant, U.S. district judge, District of Columbia: President Johnson nominated former Assistant U.S. Attorney Bryant as the second Negro judge of the District of Columbia U.S. District Court on July 11, 1965. The Washington Post, July 13, 1965, in an editorial stated:

"Mr. Bryant was an assistant U.S. attorney here from 1951 to 1954. Mr. Bryant has had an even more valuable form of experience—as one of the community's most outstanding defense attorneys in criminal cases. Sometimes in the course of his private practice, sometimes by court appointment, he has protected the rights and championed the cause of a great many persons charged with breaking the community's laws. He has been an extraordinarily effective and devoted advocate in these cases—as his successful pleadings in Mallory and in Killough, to cite but a pair of examples, amply demonstrate. Mr. Bryant's successes in getting defendants acquitted or in getting convictions reversed have been quite as much a service to the community and to the cause of justice as any successful prosecutions. His devotion to the rights of defendants and his dogged insistence that the police obey the law in enforcing the law will be admirable characteristics for his service as a judge. For on the bench his essential business will be to see to it that everyone appearing before him enjoys all the safeguards guaranteed by the American Constitution and the laws."

Judge Spottswood W. Robinson III, U.S. district judge, District of Columbia: President Johnson on January 7, 1964 appointed former Civil Rights Commission member Robinson to an interim vacancy minutes before Senate convened. The Senate confirmed the appointment in July, 1964.

Judge A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., U.S. district judge, Pennsylvania, Eastern District: A former member of the Federal Trade Commission and one of the youngest ever appointed at age 35, President Johnson gave him a recess appointment shortly before the Senate convened on January 7, 1964. He was confirmed by the Senate in March 1964.

Judge James B. Parsons, U.S. district judge, Illinois northern district: Was appointed by President Johnson on July 26, 1965, to a 19-member National Crime Commission headed by Attorney General Katzenbach to study all aspects of crime and the administration of justice. The official title is the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice.

Judge Marjorie M. Lawson, former juvenile court judge, District of Columbia: President Johnson announced on July 16, 1965, the resignation of Judge Lawson and appointed her Vice Chairman of a new District of Columbia Crime Commission. Judge Lawson had served 3 years on the juvenile court.

Aubrey E. Robinson, judge, juvenile court of the District of Columbia: President Johnson named civic leader, Cornell University graduate and member of Public Welfare Advisory Committee, on July 16, 1965, as successor to Judge Marjorie M. Lawson on the District juvenile court bench.

Hobart Taylor, Associate Counsel to the President, Executive Vice Chairman, President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity: First legal appointment to President's White House Staff and longtime aid and consultant to President Johnson has effectively aided advancement of Negro lawyers. Clifford L. Alexander, member, staff of the National Security Council. Mrs. Frankie Muse Freeman, member, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Theodore M. Berry, director, community action program, Office of Economic Opportunity. Mr. Berry is a former vice mayor of Cincinnati, Ohio.

Mrs. Patricia Roberts Harris, Ambassador to Luxembourg: President Johnson on May 19, 1965, appointed assistant professor of law at Howard University, Patricia Harris as the first Negro woman Ambassador. Her husband Wiilliam B. Harris is also a Washington, D.C., attorney. Mrs. Harris joins other Negro Ambassadors, Franklin Williams, the U.S. representative to the United Nations, Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization; Dr. Hugh Smyth, Syria; Clinton Knox, Dahomey; Mercer Cook, to both Senegal and Gambia.

L. Howard Bennett, principal assistant to the Deputy Assistant Secretary (civil rights), Department of Defense: Former judge of municipal court, Minneapolis, Minn.

There are other important major appointments to both Negro lawyers and nonlawyers which demonstrate the leadership of President Johnson in his plan for fulfillment of these rights.

Seven Negro Federal lifetime U.S. judges have been appointed. The New York Times, Saturday, July 31, 1965, reported that, "Mrs. Constance Baker Motely, the Manhattan Borough president, has been under consideration for a Presidential appointment to the U.S. Court of Appeals here to succeed Thurgood Marshall, informed sources said yesterday."

On June 7, 1965, the Senate Judiciary Committee approved a bill to provide for 34 new U.S. district court judges and 10 additional appellate judges in 5 circuits. The bill awaits House action.

President Johnson in his greatest speech, the Negro's role in American life, told the Howard University graduates that there would be held a White House Conference this fall whose "theme and title will be to fulfill these rights." He said:

"And I hope, and I pray and I believe it will be a part of the program of all America. For what is justice? It is to fulfill the fair expectations of man."

Respectfully submitted,

EDWARD B. TOLES,
Chairman, National Bar Association, Committee on Judiciary.

Lesson in the Drought

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, all of us have watched with mounting concern as the persistent and severe drought in the Northeast entered its 46th month with no prospect of relief in sight for the next year.

While emergency measures must be taken, we must also plan ahead for the future. Much of our efforts must be on a long-term basis in fields such as desalination and weather modification.

Because New England was blessed with sufficient waterpower to build a mighty industrial complex in the 19th century, we have tended to neglect water resource planning.

As an August 14 editorial of the Lawrence, Mass., Eagle-Tribune pointed out, New England has taken water for granted "as a natural and inexhaustible asset."

The editorial admits that the problem of water resources will involve enormous expense, but recognizes that "cost is not the major consideration." I include the editorial, which calls for a vast rethinking of New England attitudes about water, in the RECORD:

LESSON IN THE DROUGHT

The kind interpretation of Governor Volpe's water shortage warning is that it was an attempt to impress on the people the seriousness of the situation caused by prolonged drought.

He warned that, if people do not save water voluntarily, they will be forced to submit to control on use of water. The warning sounded to us like a pointless whipcracking unless a threat of drastic action is necessary to make people realize the dangerous consequences of drought.

There is not that we have discerned any need of threatening the people with official compulsion. Supplies of water vary from community to community. Some communities have plenty of water and the people in them can continue to use it freely; forcing water conservation on them would be pointless unless their surplus could be diverted to water-short communities. Other communities—upward of 100 in the State—have shortages and know it and are calling for voluntary reduction in water consumption. People know the value of water and few, indeed, are so foolish that they will waste it when it is in short and diminishing supply.

The lesson in the experience with prolonged drought is not, we think, that of the need to use water as sparingly as possible where it is in short supply, but that of a substantial change in New England thinking about water.

New England nearly all the time since white men settled in it has been copiously supplied with water by its lakes, its streams, and its springs. New England, therefore, naturally takes water, like air, for granted as a natural and inexhaustible asset. The lesson in the prolonged drought is that water cannot be taken for granted. New England can't afford to think that, if the people are patient and conserve water where it is scarce, the rains will come and the water problem will end.

The weather is capricious. Prolonged rains may start tomorrow or the drought may continue for years. The wise man hopes for the best and plans for the worst. The cue to New England is to plan for the worst.

New England must get ready to behave like a desert land. The dry Southwest learned generations ago that water must be drawn from wherever it can be found, no matter what the cost. The fact of inequitable distribution of water indicates that water districts must be enlarged so that surpluses in one area can offset shortages in another. Desalinization of sea water, of course, must be considered. Remote bodies of fresh water must be tapped by populous centers.

The business will be expensive, but cost is not the major consideration. Water is a vital necessity. The people know enough to save it when the supply is low. The timely warning is not of official crackdown, but of the need drastically to revise New England's conception of water supply as something that cannot be more than briefly reduced.

Washington: The City That Trails the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, a solution to the Washington National Airport problem would be of great assistance to the airport problems in other cities around the world. An excellent editorial from the August 1965 issue of Air Transport World points this up.

Under unanimous consent, I include the editorial:

WASHINGTON: THE CITY THAT TRAILS THE WORLD

Two years ago, about 5 years after the first introduction of jet aircraft, Washington, D.C., opened its first jet airport. That's a fact. Washington, the Capital of the United States and in many ways the political capital of the free world.

The capital cities of most other large nations and many, many smaller ones had jet airports 3 or 4 years earlier. But because the U.S. Capital is ruled by legislators whose prime interests all lie elsewhere, it is difficult if not impossible to get things done when they should be done in Washington, D.C.

And as if that fiasco wasn't enough, Washington is now well on its way toward another jet airport bungling of even greater dimension. This time its effect extends far beyond the boundaries of the District of Columbia, perhaps even to the whole eastern half of the United States.

For several years now, there has been an off-and-on discussion of whether to allow jet aircraft to operate into Washington National airport. Every world traveler knows Washington National. It's one of the most convenient, close-in airports that adjoins any major city in the world. It's also one of the busiest. Lots of important businessmen and politicians come to Washington. Even those U.S. legislators who turn their backs to its needs.

Well, things weren't too bad over the past year or two, seeing as there were only one or two smaller airline jets that could have squeaked onto Washington National's 6,000-foot runways. Millions rode the Eastern Airlines' shuttle, not in any liking for Old Super Constellations, but because they operated from Washington National and because they could get a guaranteed seat every hour on the hour to New York.

But, now things have changed. The Boeing 727 is well into service. And it's a terrific short-runway performer. And such aircraft as the BAC–111, Douglas DC–9, and Boeing 737 are either already in service or coming upon the scene.

So what happens? The U.S. FAA is just now launching a 5-month study of whether jet aircraft should be permitted to operate into Washington National. Who, we ask, is kidding whom? With just the normal growth of air traffic in the eastern United States there just aren't enough obsolete piston airplanes to keep up with the demands of the flying public. What's more, the public wants jet to commute in and they don't want to commute on the ground for an hour to Dulles International Airport, to commute another hour in the air to New York.

Now there was a point raised recently that President Johnson doesn't like the noise from the occasional jet that takes off from Washington National.

Is this a new reason for not considering jets at that airport? Maybe we've missed some point somewhere along the line, but we just don't recall that anyone in the United States or anywhere else in the world ever came out in favor of jet noise.

Although we well recognize that Washington is a politically volatile town, we're suspicious that the reason that Washington National isn't getting fast jet consideration is the fear that the FAA's multi-million dollar Dulles Airport would fast become deserted.

This, to our way of thinking is pure popycock and a point which must be cleared up immediately. The way to allow jets into Washington National and protect Dulles is to negotiate a trade with the airlines and make certain that airline schedules increase at Dulles, not decline. We have talked informally to several top officials of big airlines about such a trade and they indicated they would buy such a deal in principle.

We said earlier, that Washington National's current dedication to obsolescence has impact throughout the entire eastern United States. An example: United's service out of Chicago's Midway to New York's LaGuardia. With Midway-Washington National capability added to this, it would be a much more economical operation not only for United but for the city of Chicago. And it would be a boon to air travelers throughout the Midwest.

Small and medium jet services linking the Midway-LaGuardia-Washington National triangle would touch off competitive airline services such as the traveling public has never seen.

But the U.S. FAA is about to study jets in Washington National Airport. The fact is that the FAA and the U.S. Congress are cheating the traveling public of the United States and of the world out of the air service they deserve without honest good reason.

One point we forgot to mention: To get from Washington National to Dulles on interline connections, Washington also would need a helicopter service. The airlines and CAB should agree to subsidize this 50–50 for 8 years, or better yet, have all the airlines serving Washington form a holding company and operate it themselves.

There's our proposal. We hope someone, somewhere, will have the fortitude to do something about it. The alternative is to let Washington remain the city that trails the world: first in big jet service, now possibly in small jets. We hope not.

JOSEPH S. MURPHY.

The 89th Congress: A Tribute to Speaker John McCormack, Majority Leader Carl Albert, and Whip Hale Boggs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, the American people last November, through the use of the ballot box, gave clear direction as to the course of legislative action they believed should be followed by their President and their Congress.

The Democratic-controlled 89th Congress has, in the 1st session, acted swiftly and with determination to enact the legislative proposals of the President. The record is almost without parallel and will forever remain a tribute to Speaker McCormack, Majority Leader Albert and our Whip Hale Boggs. Without their able leadership this record could not have been made.

Mr. Speaker, to indicate the widespread appreciation of the magnitude of this accomplishment, I ask unanimous consent to include with my remarks, an excellent summary which appeared in the National Observer on August 16.

I commend to my colleague this fine, independent appraisal of their work:

THE 89TH CONGRESS AND ITS LEGISLATIVE RECORD: HOW THE SWEEPING NEW LAWS AFFECT THE LIVES OF MOST AMERICANS

(By Joe Western)

In the past 7½ months, the 89th Congress has enacted more than 100 public laws. As legislation goes, the number is large, but not extraordinary. More impressive is the scope of these new laws. They range widely over such fields as education, medical care, housing, transportation, employment, public finance, farming, voting rights, mental health, conservation, and labor.

The content and volume of these laws promise to make this Congress a standout—bad or good, depending on your view—in legislative annals. More importantly, the new laws, and proposals sure to be approved by the time of final adjournment late next year, are certain to have a powerful impact on America and Americans. Here in detailed but compact form are only the most important legislation enacted or being enacted by a Congress that is making history as well as law.

MEDICAL CARE AND HEALTH

After a generation of consideration by many Congresses, medical care for the elderly, better known as medicare, was ratified by President Johnson on June 30. Most of the benefits will be available beginning July 1, 1966, although those relating to nursing-home care won't be until January 1, 1967. The aid will be financed through the social security system (there's also a 7-percent boost in nonmedical social security payments), but those applying for medicare have to put in some money, too.

Both hospital bills and doctor bills are covered. Hospitalization is provided for about 19 million persons 65 or over under a compulsory health-insurance plan. It provides 90 days' hospital care, but the patient must pay the first $40, plus $10 a day for each day over 60 days. Also, up to 100 days of nursing-home care will be covered for persons who have been hospitalized though the patient must pay $5 a day for each day over 20 days. As many as 100 home visits by nurses or medical technicians in the year will be covered. Most hospital diagnostic services will be included, but the patient must pay the first $20 and 20 percent of the cost over $20. A person may receive hospital treatment for mental illness for up to 190 days in his over-65 lifetime.

Doctor bills are covered by a voluntary plan in which a person 65 or older may elect to pay $3 a month, matched by the Government. This buys insurance that will pay most physicians' fees (not routine physical exams but treatment for "a specific complaint"), including surgery, hospital calls, house calls, and office visits. The insurance also pays for 100 additional nurses' or technicians' visits in the home, certain surgical and prosthetic devices, many diagnostic and therapeutic expenses, and ambulance service under certain conditions. There is an allowance of $250 or 50 percent, whichever is smaller, toward the cost of nonhospital psychiatric treatment. Besides the monthly premium cost, a patient pays the first $50 of expenses, plus 20 percent of all the rest of the costs in a year. Put another way, the doctor-bill insurance pays for 80 percent of the cost above $50. Many are eligible for these benefits even if they are not covered by social security; the social security office in each community is the best source for detailed information.

Following up congressional action 2 years ago aimed mainly at constructing new research, rehabilitation, and treatment centers for the mentally ill and mentally retarded, Mr. Johnson approved a measure August 4 providing approximately $360 million to help initial staffing of the new facilities. Of this total, $224,175,000 is authorized over 7 years in direct aid in staffing community mental-health centers; the Federal share ranges from 75 percent of costs in the first 15 months of operations down to 30 percent in later years, ending June 30, 1972.

For the mentally retarded and those otherwise handicapped, the aid is less direct. Some $101 million (supplementing and extending current aid) is provided to train teachers of handicapped children over 4 years ending June 30, 1969; the aim is to help narrow the gap between estimated need for a total 300,000 such teachers and the present number of about 60,000. The remainder—$35 million—is to be added to earlier spending authorizations to continue until June 30, 1969, a program of grants to educational or research agencies for research or demonstration projects relating to education for handicapped children.

The very next day (August 5), the President signed a bill extending through June 30, 1968, Federal assistance for mass immunization of preschool children against polio, diphtheria, whooping cough, and tetanus, and adding measles to the list. Spending of a total $33 million is provided. The Federal aid consists of purchasing the vaccine and paying for an educational campaign to get parents to bring in the children, while States and local agencies pay all other costs of the immunization.

The law also provides an extension through June 30, 1968, of special health care, including hospitalization costing up to a total of $24 million for migratory farmworkers.

Last week, the President approved a law extending for 3 years, through June 30, 1968, and expanding authority to make matching grants totaling $280 million to institutions and organizations for constructing, renovating, and equipping health-research facilities. This is up from the $150 million authorized for the preceding 3 years.

Related to health is a law ratified by Mr. Johnson on July 27 (through he never requested its passage) requiring that after January 1 all cigarette packs and cartons be conspicuously labeled with the words: "Caution: Cigarette smoking may be hazardous to your health." The measure headed off an attempt by the Federal Trade Commission to require more stringent wording on the labeling and to extend the warning to cigarette advertising.

On July 14, the President approved a law requested long ago by John F. Kennedy setting up an Administration on Aging within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, as a clearinghouse for information between State and local governments; the agency also will administer grants, promote research, and gather statistics.

AID TO APPALACHIA

The first major legislative accomplishment of the session was signed into law by President Johnson March 9. Congress authorized spending $1.1 billion for the economic development of the depressed 11-State Appalachian region, a generally mountainous area of 360 counties covering all of West Virginia and parts of Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia; a number of New York counties may be added later.

Specifically, the measure establishes an Appalachian Regional Commission to coordinate the projects authorized. The biggest single project is $840 million to pay up to 70 percent of the building cost of 2,350 miles of highways and 1,000 miles of local access roads in the next 5 years. An additional $252,400,000 would finance construction of health facilities and vocational schools, land improvement, reclamation of mining areas, and development of timber and water resources. The entire measure expires on June 30, 1971.

DEPRESSED AREAS AID

Late last week, the House approved a Senate-passed bill authorizing about $3.3 billion through June 30, 1970, to help rejuvenate the economies of U.S. depressed areas plagued with or threatened by chronic unemployment. The President promised to back this bill so that legislators wouldn't expand the aid to Appalachia measure (see above) to include other regions. It pumps new life into two old, controversial programs called the Area Redevelopment Administration and the accelerated public works program.

The money would be used mainly for such projects as building waterworks, waterlines, sewage treatment plants, sanitary and storm sewers, industrial parks, police and fire stations, tourism facilities, airports, watershed protection, and flood-prevention projects. Government guaranteed private loans would be offered for industrial development. The funds also would be used to encourage economic development planning on a regional basis. It would pay for Federal technical assistance to State and local planning groups.

AID TO HOUSING

The huge housing act, signed into law last week (Aug. 10) by Mr. Johnson, provides around $7.5 billion through October 1, 1969, for starting a new program of rent subsidies to low-income families and for continuing and revising other housing aid.

About 375,000 families are eligible for rent subsidies. A total of $350 million is available in subsidies to those now entitled to Federal public housing if their incomes are below local ceilings for public-housing occupancy, which vary from city to city. Additionally, rent subsidies can go only to persons who are 62 or older, handicapped, displaced by slum clearance, or former residents of slum houses, and, eligible persons and families have to be unable to obtain adequate private housing for 25 percent or less of their incomes. The subsidy, expected to average about $45 a month per family, is supposed to make up the difference between their normal rent payment and the rent needed to get adequate lodgings in a federally authorized project. If incomes of rent-subsidized families rise, the subsidy will decline to zero when they can pay all the rent. Housing that can be used

has to be sponsored by nonprofit organizations such as a church, labor union, or a "limited dividend" corporation that would pay stockholders no more than 6 percent interest a year.

This version of the rent subsidies differs from Mr. Johnson's original concepts; namely, to subsidize those of moderate income too rich for public housing but still too poor for adequate lodgings.

For urban renewal, the authorization is for $2.9 billion in grants to aid cities in rehabilitating their blighted areas. Included are grants to impoverished homeowners to renovate rundown properties. Those with annual incomes of less than $3,000 can get grants up to $1,500; hopefully, mostly elderly persons will be helped.

An estimated 240,000 new public-housing units are financed with $188 million. A new provision permits local housing authorities to rent about 100,000 of the units in existing, suitable private housing; previously, the program was limited almost entirely to new construction.

The Federal National Mortgage Association is authorized to buy an additional $1.6 billion in mortgages. The Government will be paid back with interest by the homeowner.

Colleges and universities can borrow a total $1.2 billion in Federal cash at 3 percent interest for building dormitories and some other campus facilities.

A program of matching grants to communities for building water and sewage facilities will be broadened to include grants for buildings needed in the antipoverty program. Total spending of $1.1 billion is allocated.

Grants totaling $130 million are earmarked for encouraging communities to keep undeveloped land free for parks and playgrounds.

In addition to extending all the Federal Housing Administration mortgage-insurance programs, the law provides a new system of very low down payments on homes for ex-servicemen who have not used existing veterans' housing privileges, and liberalization of mortgage terms for servicemen. An extra $150 million in direct loans for housing the elderly are provided.

For slum-property owners and small businessmen displaced by urban renewal, public housing, and other public building programs, a readjustment payment limit is increased to $2,500 from $1,500.

AID TO EDUCATION

After years and years of controversy, broad Federal aid to education became a reality with the Presidential signature April 11 on the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. It authorizes $1.3 billion in the fiscal year begun July 1, mostly to aid public, private, and parochial students in low-income areas. Of the total, $1.1 billion is to be allotted to the Nation's school districts according to the number of pupils aged 5 to 17 within their boundaries whose families have annual income of less than $2,000—about 5 million children in all.

Other portions of the new act would establish "supplemental educational centers" to provide such special services as remedial instruction, finance textbook purchases and other instructional materials, and expand federally supported educational research with emphasis on setting up regional, university-based research centers. The measure's authority extends over 3 or 5 years, depending on the section, but it allocates funds for only the first year. Congress is already scheduling hearings on modifications in the formulas for distributing the money, and considering new spending authority for later years.

President Johnson's bill to aid higher education has just begun to move through Congress.

On July 17, President Johnson asked Congress for legislation establishing a National Teacher Corps and for funds to upgrade the quality of teaching in this country. Bills embodying his recommendations were promptly introduced but no action has been taken on them so far.

EXCISE-TAX CUT

Although the President asked for a reduction of only $3.5 billion excise taxes to help spur the economy, Congress sent him (and he signed on June 21) a measure reducing them by $4.6 billion by Jan. 1, 1969, or about 5 to 20 percent on 40 items and services ranging from matchbooks to golf carts. Most of the taxes were levied in World War II and the Korean war. Here's the schedule:

Retroactive to May 15, 1965: Repeal of the 10-percent tax paid by manufacturers on air conditioners; reduction to 7 percent of the 10-percent manufacturer's tax on autos.

Immediately: Repeal of the 10-percent retail tax on jewelry, watches, furs, cosmetics, toilet preparations, luggage, and handbags; repeal of the 10-percent manufacturer's tax on business machines, sporting goods (except fishing equipment), phonographs, records, musical instruments, cameras, film, radios, televisions, pens, mechanical pencils; and repeal of the 5-percent tax on refrigerators and freezers, and of lesser taxes on matches, lighters, and playing cards. Taxes were repealed also on coin-operated amusement devices, bowling alleys, billiard and pool tables, and safe-deposit boxes.

December 31, 1965: Repeal of taxes on general admissions (theaters, athletic events), and on cabaret bills.

January 1, 1966: Repeal of Federal documentary-stamp tax on sales of stocks and bonds, of the 10-cents-a-pound tax on pipe tobacco, chewing tobacco, snuff, of levies on telegraph and private communications services, auto parts, lightbulbs, and club dues; reduction of the auto levy to 6 percent, and of the 10-percent tax on local and long-distance phone calls to 3 percent.

January 1, 1967: Reduction of the auto levy to 4 percent and of the phone-call tax to 2 percent.

January 1, 1968: Reduction of the auto levy to 2 percent and the phone-call tax to 1 percent; repeal of the Federal documentary-stamp tax on real-estate sales.

January 1, 1969: Reduction of the auto levy to 1 percent; repeal of the phone-call tax.

VOTING RIGHTS

On August 6, the Chief Executive ratified a bill aimed at enforcing Negro voting rights guaranteed by the 15th constitutional amendment. It was the second major civil rights law enacted in 2 years.

Federal registrars, or examiners, can be (and are being) sent to any State or political subdivision that on November 4, 1964, had a registration or voter participation of less than 50 percent of the voting age population and that used a literacy test or other device in qualifying voters. All tests are suspended when the Federal registrars show up, and all persons may be registered who either could not or did not want to be registered by local officials. Federal poll watchers can be appointed later to see that voters are protected against intimidation and violence when they actually try to vote in Federal, State, and local elections.

Penalties for interfering with voters are as much as $10,000 in fines and up to 5 years in jail, or both.

The law affects the entire States of Alabama, Alaska, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia, plus 34 counties in North Carolina and one county each in Arizona, Idaho, and Maine.

CRIME

An extension through June 30, 1967, of the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961 was approved by the President on July 8. This provides $26,500,000 for continuing demonstration projects aimed at developing techniques for damping down crime among youth; funds for training personnel to operate the projects are provided.

To date, 16 comprehensive community demonstrations are underway, including one each in such major cities as Boston, New York, and Washington, D.C. More than 98,000 youths are participating in the projects, and proponents of the program say more than 270,000 youngsters in the "target" areas have been constructively influenced. About 12,500 persons have received training. Many projects have provided model organizations and laid the groundwork for antipoverty community-action programs; 9 of the 16 projects, in fact, have been selected as nucleus organizations for community-action programs under the antipoverty program. The organizations are aimed at such basics as treatment of drug addiction, sexual deviation, training teenagers as subprofessional caseworkers, motivation and education of potential school dropouts, and operation of halfway houses for youths released from reform schools.

On July 15, Mr. Johnson ratified a bill imposing tough controls on makers and sellers of depressant and stimulant drugs such as barbiturates and amphetamines, better known as pep pills and goofballs. By stiff recordkeeping standards required of manufacturers and distributors, arrest and conviction of illicit retail peddlers will be aided.

These drugs can be sold legally only by prescription and are used in treating such ailments as severe depression, obesity, and insomnia. The legislation action resulted from growing evidence of abuse of the drugs' use, especially by teenagers. Pep pills and goof balls have replaced harder to get narcotics in many localities. Federal drug policers say nearly half the U.S. output of these drugs is diverted into illegal channels.

The measure makes mere possession of the drugs an offense unless a person having them can show they're for his own use or that of his family or animals under his care. Stiff penalties ranging from fines of $5,000 to $15,000, imprisonment up to 2 years, or both fine and jail are set for violations of the new measure involving persons under 21.

STEMMING DOLLAR OUTFLOW

To help keep dollars from flowing overseas, a law was enacted July 21 extending through mid-1968 authority for U.S. banks to pay higher interest on time deposits of foreign governments than on domestic deposits.

On June 30, the President ratified a bill reducing to $100 from $167 the retail value of goods that U.S. citizens may bring in free of duty from trips abroad. Also, the amount of duty-free liquor allowed is reduced to 1 quart from 1 gallon. The restrictions go into effect October 1. The dollar outflow will be reduced by about $55 million a year.

Another measure designed to continue to make U.S. investments abroad in developed countries less attractive has been passed by the House and sent to the Senate for further action. This is the interest equalization tax. The bill would extend this tax through July 31, 1967. The tax was proposed by President Kennedy and enacted last summer. Americans who buy foreign stock from foreigners must pay a tax equal to 15 percent of the purchase price. The tax on foreign bonds ranges from 2.75 percent to 15 percent, depending on maturity. The taxes are designed to raise the cost of raising capital in the United States by about 1 percent and thus discourage the outflow of U.S. investment funds.

ANTIPOVERTY AID

On February 17, President Johnson asked Congress to double funds for his war on poverty, and it looks as though he'll get more than he asked for. The House on July 22 authorized for spending nearly $1.9 billion in the year begun July 1, far more than the $785,400,000 appropriated for the

previous 12 months, and extended the program through June 30, 1968. The Senate version is for only $1.6 billion; differences may have to be reconciled in a House-Senate conference committee.

There were numerous changes, but the program remains basically unchanged. This provides for the Jobs Corps for about 40,000 boys and girls aged 16 to 21, some of whom would work in parks and conservation areas and receive remedial education; larger training centers provide vocational training and education in skills ranging from clerking to mechanics. Trainees are paid $50 a month. A work-training program for 100,000 in the same age group provides work in their communities on projects picked by local organizations and governments.

A work-study program is designed to help 140,000 needy college students get part-time or full-time work on or off the campus. Community-action projects are financed, such as tutoring and training programs, recreation centers in slum areas, and others. Grants are being made to States to spur programs in adult basic education and literacy. Poor farm families are eligible for loans for land and supplies and for nonfarm enterprises to boost their incomes. Money is provided for housing, sanitation, education, and child-care for migrant farm workers and their families. Easier terms are available for Federal small-business loans to concerns unable to qualify for other credit. A work-experience program is provided for Federal experimental projects to train or give constructive work to jobless fathers and other needy unemployed persons. VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America), a corps of 5,000 people, is helping establish and run the Job Corps, work in various State and community programs, and work on existing Federal projects involving mental health, migrant workers, Indians, and others.

AID TO AGRICULTURE

As always, agricultural legislation is proving to be very troublesome. An omnibus farm bill, differing considerably from the President's request but still mostly acceptable to the White House, cleared the House Agriculture Committee July 20, its first step toward passage. Mainly it proposes extension of price supports and acreage controls on wheat, boosting farm income from wheat consumed domestically to $2.50 a bushel from $2 currently; on feed grains; wool; and, with major modifications, on cotton. A dairy program would guarantee milk producers a share of the premium-priced fluid-milk market so that they would not be, under present legislation, so sharply penalized by loss of income for reducing excess production. A land-retirement scheme to take up to 40 million acres of unneeded cropland out of production is also proposed.

Already enacted, on April 16, however, were tough, new tobacco-production controls based, for the first time since 1938, on numbers of pounds a farmer can sell each year rather than solely on the number of acres he may plant. The President asked for the legislation because per-acre output of the leaf has been rising so fast that planting controls are becoming less and less effective. Currently, the tobacco surplus totals about 1.3 billion pounds, up 250 million pounds from a year ago.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Lack of clear constitutional provisions for succession to offices of President and Vice President in some circumstances has long troubled leaders of the Nation. The illnesses of President Eisenhower and the assassination of President Kennedy focused attention anew on the problem. On January 28, President Johnson asked Congress to approve a constitutional amendment aimed at clarifying article II, section 1, of the Constitution. On July 6, Congress obliged, and submitted to the States for ratification a proposed amendment with these provisions:

Should the President die or resign, the Vice President would become President.

When the Vice President becomes President, dies, resigns, or whenever the office of Vice President becomes vacant, the President would nominate a Vice President who would take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress.

The Vice President would become Acting President whenever the President notified Congress in writing that he was unable to perform his duties, presumably through illness or other disability.

The Vice President also would become Acting President whenever the Vice President and a majority of the Cabinet "or such other body as Congress may by law provide" sent a written declaration to Congress that the President was unable to perform his duties.

But subsequently whenever the President declared in writing to Congress that no inability existed, he would resume the powers and duties of his office. He might be prevented from doing so if within 7 days the Vice President and a majority of the Cabinet, or some other body designated by Congress, disputed his ability to function in office via a declaration to Congress. In that event, Congress would decide the issue, with a two-thirds majority of both Houses necessary to keep the President from resuming his official duties.

The amendment goes into effect if legislatures of three-fourths of the 50 States ratify it within 7 years.

FOREIGN AID

A joint House-Senate committee has been considering Mr. Johnson's foreign-aid requests since June. He asked for $3.4 billion in the year begun July 1, smallest in foreign-aid history. The Senate bill, passed June 14, provided a 2-year, $3.2 billion a year authorization including $89 million for economic aid to southeast Asia, and would create a 16-member planning commission to recommend ways to overhaul the program beginning July 1, 1967. Aid would be limited to 50 nations. The Senate bill also would channel $55 million of military assistance to Latin America through the Organization of American States. The House version differed sharply, providing close to the full $3.4 billion the President requested, but the authorization would be for only 1 year; no provision for revamping the aid program was included. The joint committee has compromised on a $3.36 billion figure for foreign aid, but it is deadlocked on the House insistence that the authorization be for only 1 year.

LABOR-LAW REVISIONS

Passed by the House on July 28 and certain of final adoption by the Senate is a law that will be organized labor's biggest legislative victory, with administration help, since the New Deal. This measure, high on the President's priority list, nullifies right-to-work laws in 19 States. The laws prohibit labor contracts that make union membership a requirement for keeping a job. The States right-to-work legislation is authorized by section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Labor Act; the measure now moving through Congress repeals section 14(b).

Other revisions of labor laws asked for by Mr. Johnson probably won't be enacted until next year. These include extension of the number of weeks of Federal jobless pay benefits, and extension of coverage of minimum wage laws to additional types of workers.

MANPOWER TRAINING

Renewed and expanded authority for Federal aid for job retraining programs through mid-1969 authorized $454 million for the year begun July 1. The bill was approved by Mr. Johnson on April 26. The aim of this law, enacted first in 1962, is mainly to help workers jobless because of technological change. It was expanded the following year to provide for teaching unemployed illiterates and others.

The measure enacted this year authorizes training for service jobs such as maids and butlers and eases requirements for paying for unemployed people's relocation expenses. Experimental, demonstration, and pilot projects are established to show new methods of meeting problems of long-term unemployment, underprivileged youth, displaced older workers, the handicapped, and members of minority groups. Grants for such efforts could be with public or nonprofit organizations; contracts could be made with both profit and nonprofit private groups. Training payments may now be paid for 104 weeks, twice as long as previously allowed.

The goal in 1962 had been to train 400,000 jobless workers in the succeeding 3 years. More than 320,000 trainees have been accepted in the program.

DEFENSE

Early this month, Congress authorized spending nearly $1.8 billion in the fiscal year begun July 1 for military construction at home and abroad and for military family housing. Provided for is construction at 427 bases and building of 9,500 new family housing units; lease of 7,000 family units is authorized, too.

On July 11, the Chief Executive signed into law authority to spend over $15 billion for new aircraft, ships, missiles, and weapons research and development in the fiscal year begun July 1. Within 7 days in May, Mr. Johnson asked and got a vote of confidence in his conduct of the Vietnam fighting along with authority to spend an extra $700 million to press the conflict. He is currently asking an additional $1.7 billion, and further supplemental requests are expected. Congress seems quite willing to go along with almost any Pentagon request. In all, Mr. Johnson has asked and Capitol Hill is moving rapidly to approve a total of over $47 billion in defense spending in the fiscal year begun July 1.

That even this may be exceeded is highly probable. One reason is what's happening to the President's May 12 request for a 4.8 percent pay increase for the military except enlisted men with less than 2 years' service; the latter were to get a 2.7 percent boost. Instead, Congress voted more than twice as much—an average 6 percent across the board. Mr. Johnson is expected to sign the bill this month and make the $1 billion a year increase effective September 1.

ARTS AND HUMANITIES

Nearing final passage is a Presidentially backed measure establishing a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. The House version of the proposal would set up separate national endowments for arts and for humanities totaling $63 million through June 30, 1968. A Federal council would coordinate the activities of the two endowments in relation to other Federal programs.

Each endowment could make grants to individuals and nonprofit groups and organizations for research, construction of facilities, and activities. Included are art productions of many kinds and developing scholarship in such humanities as languages, literature, history, law, philosophy, and art criticism.

Matching grants of up to $50,000 would be authorized by the arts endowment to aid State arts agencies. The humanities endowment would award fellowships, loans, and grants to pay for publication of scholarly works and promote public understanding and appreciation of the humanities. Additionally, Uncle Sam would be permitted to match private grants available in the fields of arts and humanities.

REDUCTION OF SILVER IN COINS

To permit continued expansion of the U.S. coin supply and to free more of increasingly

scarce silver for industrial and other uses, Congress passed and the President signed on July 23 a measure eliminating within 5 years all silver in minting dimes and quarters and reducing the amount of the metal in half dollars from 90 to 40 percent. Silver content of silver dollars is unchanged. Currently all these coins contain 90 percent silver.

The new dimes and quarters will be faced with an alloy of nickel and copper bonded to a core of pure copper. The half dollar will be faced with an alloy of 80 percent silver and 20 percent copper bonded to a core of 21 percent silver and 79 percent copper.

HOW TO GET THE DETAILS

Generally, the surest and quickest way to get the latest information and details about new legislation is to write a letter to the Congressman from your district or to one of your two Senators.

Contrary to widespread belief, most Members of Congress are glad to oblige you in this regard. If they don't have the information requested members of their staffs usually know where to get it. They may refer your request to the proper Federal agency.

It is almost useless to write directly to Federal agencies about newly enacted programs, simply because rules and regulations putting new laws into effect have not been drafted. Because this Congress is producing so much legislation that is extremely complex, the executive branch of the Government likely will be bogged down for months interpreting the new laws and making thousands of policy decisions connected with them.

"Communist Superstate" Is a Myth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I have just finished reading a most interesting and thought-provoking series of articles about the so-called Eastern bloc by the editor and publisher of the Arizona Daily Sun in Flagstaff, Ariz.

In these articles the author, Mr. Platt Cline, reports on his observations on a long trip made this spring to England, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Soviet Union, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Austria. In the case of Poland and the Soviet Union this was a second look for Mr. Cline in 1 year.

What emerges from these articles is confirmation of a judgment made by other able and experienced reporters in recent years—the judgment that we err in thinking of communism as monolithic and the Communist countries as parts of a superstate. Rather, Mr. Cline joins these other observers in the conclusion that we can and must deal with the Communist countries on an individual basis—and that trade with these countries can advance both our own ends and the cause of world peace.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to the article Mr. Cline filed from Vienna, Austria. It gets to the heart of the "trading with the Communists" issue and, I believe, has direct bearing on a recurring debate in this legislative body.

Without objection I shall insert this article by Mr. Cline at this point in the Appendix.

THERE'S NO SUCH THING AS A "COMMUNIST SUPERSTATE": UNITED STATES SHOULD CATER TO SATELLITES' NATIONAL INTEREST

(By Platt Cline)

VIENNA.—A Joke we were told in one of the Communist countries:

Kosygin telephones President Johnson and says his country has a very serious problem, and wants to know if the United States can help. L.B.J. says he will do what he can—what's the problem? Kosygin replies that the U.S.S.R. is overrun by grey field mice, and his scientists have tried posion, traps, etc., but the mice continue to proliferate. L.B.J. says he will take the matter up with American scientists. In a day or so, he phones the Kremlin and says he thinks he has the answer: he is sending it over by special envoy. The envoy delivers a cage containing white mice with instructions that the Soviet are to release them, which they do. Then all the gray mice follow the white mice in a suicidal march into the sea. Kosygin telephones L.B.J. and thanks him. L.B.J. says: "That's OK, anytime we can help, just call on us." Kosygin says, "Well we do have another problem." L.B.J. says, "Tell me about it, we'll do what we can." Kosygin says, "Mr. President, do you suppose you could send us—a white Chinaman?"

People in all the Communist countries seem to be quite aware that Chinese and Soviet ambitions are incompatible. Soviet citizens do not hesitate to express distaste for the Red Chinese.

(I told Russian friends the old joke: Western optimists are learing Russian, the pessimists, chinese. They enjoyed it.)

We stop here in Austria for a brief rest prior to the trip home—an easy, 11-hour flight by Pan American jet clipper to New York.

Austria is most easterly of the free countries of Europe, and goes about its business in a free and open manner despite the fact that it has Communist neighbors on the north, east, and south and could be gobbled up by the Communists over the weekend—if it weren't for the Western Powers.

Looking back over our many weeks in the Iron Curtain countries, we make some further observations and draw some conclusions:

All of these countries call themselves "people's democratic republics" but all are dictatorships.

All with the exception of Yugoslavia are bound by the Warsaw pact, a mutual defense treaty (which, incidentally, the Soviets ignored when they smashed the Hungarian revolt in 1956). They are also bound together by the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance" which would correlate the economics, somewhat on the order of the European Common Market, again excepting Yugoslavia.

The smaller members seem to realize that with each step they take toward full economic integration with the others, including "Big Brother," the Soviet Union, they move further from economic independence, and become more and more subject to political domination by the Soviets.

The smaller countries do not like to be called "satellites" and the degree to which they are satellites varies. The people of those countries generally fear the Soviets and distrust them.

The Soviets in turn do not fully trust their "satellites." None of them are completely dependable—national interest again takes precedence over "socialism." They are undoubtedly of great strategic value to the Soviets.

We play into the hands of the Kremlin by accepting the idea, propagated by them, that they rule a great Communist empire. This claim has been challeneged and compromised by these smaller countries.

Most of the people in the Communist nations have, at least for a time, insulated themselves as far as possible from politics. They are more concerned about better places in which to live, more and better food, advantages for their children, having some fun.

(A joke which might have been told in almost any of these countries (except the U.S.S.R.): "Why didn't you go to the last meeting of the party?" Answer: "I would have if I had known it was the party's last meeting.")

What are the chances of a major war, launched by the Kremlin "to make the world safe for communism?" Extremely unlikely. They don't want to take the chance; they might very well lose, which of course would mean the end of their regime.

Granted that we have problems in the field of world affairs. But so have the Soviets—including these volatile, individualistic and deeply nationalistic countries of Eastern Europe and the Balkans.

The Soviets have great problems and in my opinion, less ability and fewer resources with which to solve them. There are indeed cracks in the Kremlin wall. The Soviets, for instance, have yet to learn how to produce enough food for their people.

We should abandon the idea that we are confronted by a Communist superstate and deal with these nations on an individual basis with due regard for their goals, traditions, history and self-interest. And this, I believe, we are doing increasingly, as our leaders more clearly see the opportunities.

Extended trade with all countries can serve the cause of peace. And with trade we can export ideas, attitudes, values which can have a terrific impact in the dictatorships. To slam the door in the faces of the smaller Communist countries would simply serve to move them closer to the U.S.S.R.

The Federal Aviation Agency and Memphis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE W. GRIDER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. GRIDER. Mr. Speaker, sometimes in the romance of air travel, we overlook the men behind the scenes, the men of the Federal Aviation Agency who thread the airlines through crowded skies.

Mid-South, the Sunday magazine of the Commercial Appeal, recently featured an excellent article on the air traffic control center at Memphis Metropolitan Airport. The work of these dedicated men of the FAA is described by writer William Thomas as he tells the story of American Airlines flight 341 from New York to Memphis.

Under unanimous consent I include the article at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Commercial Appeal Mid-South magazine, Memphis, Tenn., Aug. 15, 1965]

THREADING THE AIRLINERS THROUGH THE CROWDED SKY—SHRIMPBOATS SAIL ELECTRONIC LANES TO HELP PLANES COME IN SAFELY

(By William Thomas)

In the air traffic control center on the northeast side of Memphis Metropolitan Airport, a teletype machine banged out this mystifying message:

"AA341 B727-B 0510 EVV280 J29 Mem."

Translated, the coded report said: American Airlines flight 341, a Boeing-727 traveling 510 mph, was due over Evansville at 28,000 feet on jet route 29 to Memphis.

Instantly, a clerk tore the message off the teletype and passed it along to Joseph W.

Anderson, the watch supervisor in the Federal Aviation Agency Center here. The center is like something out of Buck Rogers, featuring a huge, enclosed arena where men wearing radio headphones work amidst a jumble of electronic devices that watch the skies for more than 200 miles in every direction.

As Mr. Anderson studied the brief report on flight 341, the Memphis-bound airliner was still nearly 250 miles away. On board was a crew of 6 and 49 passengers. Few were aware that their plane was fast becoming a factor in the crowded skies over the Midsouth.

Thoughtfully, Mr. Anderson looked around the cavernlike control room where 54 men were busy directing air traffic over Tennessee and parts of six other States. At that moment, the Center had nearly 60 aircraft under its control and now another one on the way.

The control room glowed green in the light of two dozen radar scopes. It hummed with weather wires and teletype machines which link the Memphis Center with more than 20 other air traffic control hubs across the country. It is these centers which are responsible for keeping planes from colliding in the Nation's airways.

In the half-darkened control room, Mr. Anderson finished checking the report on the incoming plane, one which he would never see except as a tiny double-slash of light moving across the green pool of a radar scope.

As he passed the information along to one of his traffic controllers, the passengers in the $5 million airliner were just finishing a meal of chicken Kiev with wild rice and tossed green salad. Three pretty stewardesses cleared away the trays, and passengers craned their necks for a last look at the Indiana countryside.

Flight 341 was a new jet airliner flying nonstop from New York to Memphis, and thence to Little Rock and Dallas. It was scheduled to come under the control of the Memphis FAA Center minutes after passing over Evansville.

At the plane's controls, Capt. Cotton Johnson, of Nashville, received instructions from the FAA Center at Indianapolis to set his radio frequency for Memphis and make contact with the Center here.

It was a familiar routine for the 46-year-old pilot who had been flying 30 years, the last 25 with American Airlines. He knew his plane was fading off the edge of a radar scope in Indianapolis and about to appear on another one in Memphis.

On this flight alone, he had already been tracked by seven FAA installations along the route from New York's LaGuardia Airport. He had been in constant contact with air traffic controllers on the ground who had plotted his progress across their scopes, steered him around thunderstorms, and kept him separated from other aircraft.

It was almost as if he had been escorted across the skies by a series of electronic Boy Scouts, each helping him a part of the way and then passing him along to the next.

For Captain Johnson, the flight was little different from hundreds of others—with two exceptions: First, he had been forced to turn back for a minor mechanical adjustment shortly after leaving LaGuardia and was behind schedule. Second, it was his initial run on the nonstop trip from New York to Memphis, on which a record time of 1 hour and 45 minutes had been set the day before.

At Memphis, a new arrival time already had been posted behind the American Airlines ticket counter. Eleven persons had made reservations to board the plane here and take it on to Little Rock and Dallas, its final destination.

The sun was low under the right wing as Flight 341 crossed into the sector controlled by the Memphis FAA Center. The plane was traveling along one of the Nation's major jet routes—a sort of highway in the sky known as J-29—which it had been following since passing over Dayton, Ohio. Out of New York, the plane had flown Jet Route 60. There are 10 jet routes into Memphis.

It had been steered through other high-flying traffic by FAA stations at New York City, Phillipsburg, N.Y., Allegheny, and Dayton, Ohio; Louisville and Indianapolis.

These centers keep planes of all descriptions, including those of the military, separated by at least 5 miles laterally and 1,000 feet vertically. To help them keep apart, planes flying north and east are assigned altitudes in odd numbers and those flying west or south are given altitudes in even numbers.

Flying at 28,000 feet, Captain Johnson had little to worry about as far as small aircraft were concerned. They fly the low altitude airways system and are easily separated from jet traffic which travels at 24,000 feet and above. However, the pilot knew he would encounter small plane traffic when descending for the approach on Memphis.

At that moment, there were a dozen planes in the air over the Memphis Airport, and the controllers in the tower were busy directing them onto the three principal runways. For the tower, flight 341 would not become a traffic factor for another half hour.

Across the field, in the FAA center control room, Lawrence E. Truitt sat hunched over a long-range radar scope, watching the high altitude traffic 200 miles northeast of Memphis. Mr. Truitt, who has been an FAA controller for 8½ years and who lives at 3268 Boeingshire, saw the new "blip" as it appeared on the edge of his screen.

At the same time, he received a radio message from the FAA center in Indianapolis, saying that flight 341 was being "passed off" to his control. Mr. Truitt flipped a switch in the Memphis center and radioed Captain Johnson, asking him for identification.

In the cockpit, Captain Johnson pressed a button which magnifies the radar signal reflected by his jet. As Mr. Truitt watched his scope, the blip suddenly brightened and he knew it was the plane he had been expecting. He glanced at the flight progress report he had received earlier, and noted the airliner now was about 4 minutes ahead of its estimated schedule. He corrected the estimated arrival time.

In the seat beside Captain Johnson was First Officer Ray Brown, a Tulsa, Okla., man who married the former Barbara Elliott of Whitehaven. He grinned with the knowledge that some of the lost time had been made up.

Behind them, in the first-class passenger section, a blue-eyed blond hostess named Billye Kay Scott was serving coffee and fluffing pillows.

It was only her fourth flight, and she didn't yet quite understand how the airliner was being guided through the sky by a complex network of men and machines. To the stewardess and her passengers, they had seemed to be alone in the air—and were unaware they had flown over, under and around scores of other planes, all carefully controlled from the ground.

For 100 miles, Mr. Truitt tracked his airliner, using a small piece of plastic known as a "shrimpboat," which he laid on top of the scope and pushed along over the blip. Since there is no way to determine the altitude of an aircraft on radar, he double-checked it with the pilot.

When Captain Johnson radioed a request to begin his descent, Mr. Truitt turned to the low altitude controller beside him to determine if the way was clear. The request was OK'd, and Mr. Truitt told the pilot to reset his radio frequency and contact the low altitude controller. This man would guide the plane down to 5,000 feet and within 50 miles of the airport.

The air route traffic control center handles flights between airports only, and once planes approach their destinations they are passed onto FAA tower teams who guide them through heavily congested airport traffic.

On the eighth floor of the Memphis control tower, almost a mile north of the airport terminal, Caldwell Boone was directing traffic operations from a dark windowless radar room where three short-range scopes were in operation. Mr. Boone already had been alerted by the center that flight 341 was checking traffic in the path of the airliner.

Two of the scopes were for approach control, each handling one-half of the airport activity. The third scope was watching departures.

Inside the airliner, the "No-Smoking" light had been turned on and stewardesses were checking to see that passengers had locked their safety belts. On board was a family of 10 on a vacation trip to Little Rock, and the stewardesses kidded with the wide-eyed youngsters.

The airliner had dropped to about 5,000 feet, and in the last light of the day, passengers could see the shining ribbon of the Mississippi River to the west.

As the descending plane approached Navy Memphis, 30 miles to the north, a new blip appeared on the short-distance scope in front of controller Sam Braswell of 323 Hernando.

Mr. Braswell asked for an identification, and in the cockpit Captain Johnson again punched the button known as "transponder." The blip on the scope brightened again. Satisfied, the controller directed the pilot to descend to 4,000 feet and come in on a heading of 170 degrees (10 degrees east of due south on a 360-degree compass circle). He told the pilot to contact the tower for landing instructions.

The sun was nearly down as the plane began the long glide that would be climaxed with a landing speed of 117 miles per hour. The pilot, first officer and the flight engineer each checked about 40 instruments which jam the cabin of the sleek 727.

On top of the tower, in an eight-windowed glass bowl, three controllers were busily working airplane traffic both in the air and on the runways and taxiways. Already, they had thrown the switches which turn on the airport's lighting system, ranging from white recessed lighting in the middle of the runways to the blue lights outlining the taxiways.

From the plane, the pilot caught the flash of "sequence" lights which point to the runways like a stabbing arrow. Because the lights seem to move in a flash toward the runways, the FAA men call the system "the rabbit."

It had been a heavy day for the FAA's Memphis tower, directed by chief controller James Arthur. His team had handled more than 900 takeoffs and landings, and only an hour before were working planes into the complicated traffic pattern at the rate of one every two minutes.

At one point, tower controller Herb Weber was handling five pilots simultaneously and using three runways for takeoffs and landings.

There is no radar in the glass bowl of the tower, known as "the cab" where traffic controllers work with a microphone in one hand and a pair of field glasses in the other.

Although air traffic facilities have been vastly improved in recent years to include such features as an instrument landing system and electronic equipment which measures the distance a pilot can see down a runway, Mr. Arthur is still pushing for the day when Memphis will have parallel north-south runways on which they can separate the big, fast jets from the small, slower private planes.

As flight 341 approached the Memphis area, tower men were directing traffic on two runways, using the north-south runway for com-

mercial airliners and the east-west runway north of the tower for light planes. Although two big commercial planes—one of them a Boeing 707—were preparing to depart, traffic over the airport had temporarily slacked off.

In the tower, Robert Ingram of 3915 Patti Ann, pointed northward to an indistinct red light and said, "There she is." Just then, Captain Johnson radioed that he had the field in sight, was canceling his instrument flight plan, and wanted instructions for a visual landing.

Captain Johnson ordered the wheels lowered 5 miles from the end of the runway.

As the plane's white landing lights blazed on, Mr. Ingram radioed the pilot, "The wind is 190 degrees at 3 miles per hour and you are cleared to land on runway one-seven. A Bonanza is holding to the southwest, and you will be No. 1 and he will be No. 2."

Suddenly a voice blared out of the speaker near the top of the tower. "You want me to be No. 2 or No. 1," asked the pilot of the small Bonanza.

"You'll be No. 2, right behind the 727," the controller said. "Do you have him in sight?"

"Yes," came the answer, "he just turned on his landing lights."

Another voice cut in over the speaker. It was the pilot of a Beechcraft, still 3 miles out, requesting landing instructions. Mr. Braswell calmly gave the Beechcraft a heading and turned his attention back to the 727, which now stood out against the darkening sky less than a mile away from the end of the runway.

The big jet swooshed past the tower and the wheels touched the airstrip at a spot blackened with burned rubber from other landings. It sped down the concrete past the signs which tell the pilot how much runway he has left. Then the big plane slowed, and turned off a taxiway leading around the terminal.

As the plane rolled up to gate 1, children in the 10-member family pressed their noses against the airliner's windows.

An airlines official watched it come in, and looked at his passenger chart.

"Now that's something," he said, "There's a family of 10 with most of them traveling at one-third fare, and at that rate they're riding cheaper than you could go by stagecoach."

He could have added that they had a whole army of men "riding shotgun" in FAA stations along the way.

Regional Cooperation: A Modus Vivendi for New England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, last week the House of Representatives formally endorsed the concept of regional development by passing the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965.

The potential for regional development has already been demonstrated in New England where a number of public and private agencies have been working on programs that will apply to economic growth the existing regional ties based on population, geography and tradition.

In the summer 1965 issue of State Government, Edwin W. Webber, of the New England Council, reviews the progress of New England to date and points out that "the climate of opinion in New England supporting further development of cooperative techniques and mechanisms concerning governmental services is at an all-time high."

It is my hope that the legislation just passed will be put to good use in the New England area.

I include Mr. Webber's article in the RECORD:

REGIONAL COOPERATION: A MODUS VIVENDI FOR NEW ENGLAND

(By Edwin W. Webber)

Problems related to high population density, rising urban complexities, and attendant requirements for all manner of public facilities, within a region of relativly small geographic dimensions, are contributing in New England to markedly increased cooperation among its State governments. In this article Edwin W. Webber, until recently director of the Interstate Relations Program of the New England Council, writes of the forces which have been shaping this cooperation, cites outstanding organizational forms and activities it has involved, and points to impressive new developments now progressing in it. In July Mr. Webber joined the staff of the New England Economic Research Foundation as project director of a 2-year study concerning the potentials for New England interstate and intergovernmental cooperation.

It has been said that if the United States had been settled from West to East, New England might well be composed of one State today instead of six. But while 11 million New Englanders bask in the knowledge that the westward movement of America left them with 12 percent of the senatorial representation in Congress, they are painfully aware of the fact that the processes of history also provided them with 6 State highway systems, State educational systems, State penal systems—indeed 6 of everything in a small package. Yet, when viewed as a region, New England is eminently qualified for regional programing. And as an administrative format it may prove to be without peer, in view of the many new governmental efforts that hinge on the creation of regional mechanisms.[1]

New England is a small region. In total area, it comprises only 66,608 square miles, or 2.2 percent of the total area of the continental United States. With an eye for the unique, New Englanders frequently cite the fact that 20 States have greater geographical areas and 3 States have larger populations than these 6 States combined. Its six States share a common history, numerous cultural ties, and many common traditions. Even the region's geography is suitably arranged in a way which lends itself to reinforcing the concept of regional cooperation.

But, despite its diminutive size and the litany of regional cooperative spirit and enterprise that may be quoted, the New England States only recently have begun to appreciate the virtues that their many common interests and objectives have presented to them.

MOTIVATION FOR REGIONALISM

Much of the justification offered for undertaking any regional programing today can be traced to the new roles emerging for all State governments. The New England States are so exception to the national trend toward new and compelling responsibilities for State governments as natural resource managers, recreation specialists, and in numerous other capacities. Within New England, this new administrative trend is directly traceable to the pressures that are being created by multifaceted growth. The six-State area is faced by a number of corollaries to progress: high density of population; diffusion of its urban population; decline of rail transportation; rapid obsolescence of new and older public facilities; and the general needs of revitalization and renewal of core cities and towns. In effect, New England typifies a most intense version of growth problems which have developed or are developing elsewhere.

Because many of these responsibilities and problems transcend normal political boundaries, their management requires unique and experimental methods of administration. In New England some observers would go so far as to assert that the future of State government depends heavily on development of plans for growth on a regional basis. These same observers hold that the alternative to action is the erosion of a sound cultural, economic and social foundation, coupled with progressively increasing financial burdens and waste of resources.

In response to these problems and issues, the six New England States have fashioned an informal system of interstate governmental relationships. All of these relationships are regionally based and oriented in that they embrace specific governmental activities—that is, planning, police administration, and so forth—on a New England basis. Today, the New England States place considerable emphasis and reliance upon these informal institutions to develop ways and means by which a number of interstate problems may best be handled. This is especially apparent if one examines the coterie of formal and informal cooperative arrangements that have been established among the six States.

INFORMAL INTERSTATE ORGANIZATIONS

The percursor to the bulk of this effort of seeking regional solutions to regional problems has been the New England Governors' Conference (NEGC). Established in 1938, the NEGC has opened up new and dramatic areas for regional exploration. At its urging, numerous associations and conferences of State officials have been formed and have been encouraged to examine the potential for development of their administrative programs on regional and interstate bases. Twenty-five such regional organizations have been established. Each is constantly at work seeking means by which more meaningful form can be given to interstate cooperative efforts.

For the sake of simplicity, these bodies may be divided into two types: (1) those which serve as informal forums and clearinghouses on regional matters; and (2) those which serve as administrative mechanisms for ongoing regional programs. The focus of this paper will be on the first group—those which serve in a clearinghouse capacity on questions of regional public policy.[2]

They include the following:

The New England State Police Administrators' Conference.

The New England Conference of State Aviation Officials.

The New England Conference of State Agriculture Commissioners.

The New England Conference of Commissioners of Education.

The New England Librarians' Association.

The New England Governors' Conference of Milk Officials.

The New England State University Bureaus of Government Research.

The New England Conference of Public Utility Commissioners.

The New England Conference of State Public Health Officials.

The New England Conference of State Public Welfare Officials.

Footnotes at end of speech.

The New England Conference of Parks and Recreation Officials.

The New England Governors' Traffic Safety Conference.

The New England Conference of State Budget Officers.

The New England Fiscal Agents Association.

The New England Governors' Committee on Personnel Management.

The New England State Purchasing Officers' Conference.

The New England Conference of Workmen's Compensation Officials.

The New England Conference of State University Cooperative Extension Service Directors.

The New England State Tax Officials Association.

The Northeastern Resources Committee.

THE ROLE OF THE NEW ENGLAND GOVERNOR'S CONFERENCE

The New England Governors' Conference functions in part as a focal point through which a consensus of one or all of the above associations can be brought to bear upon regional issues and problems. All of these conference agencies report to the NEGC periodically on matters which appear to require regional action.

If the issues under consideration lend themselves to discussion, informal means may be sufficient for the sake of their settlement. Occasionally, a problem proves to be beyond the effective scope of such informal discussion and exchange. These occasions usually call for a stronger, more formal strategy or tactic. The NEGC may then designate an informal conference of State officials as an ad hoc Governors' committee, and commission it to pursue the matter with a view toward resolution of differences.

An example of this type of action was the creation in 1963 of the New England Governors' Traffic Safety Conference. This conference is composed of the commissioner of public safety, the motor vehicle registrar, and a representative of the traffic safety committee of each of the New England States. The NEGC directed them to search out the possibilities for adoption of more uniform traffic laws and regulations among the New England States. Within a few months, the conference members reported their results and aided materially in identifying the obstacles to such uniformity of laws and regulations. Since then, modest but successful efforts have been made toward settlement of some of the interstate differences in these regulatory areas.

Another example was action of the NEGC in 1964 leading to creation of the New England Governors' Committee on Personnel Management. Here, the problem centered upon a general need for collective upgrading of the quality of public services of the several States.

In what promises to be one of the more dramatic steps to be taken toward such improvement, the NEGC commissioned the conference to examine ways and means of achieving cooperation leading to joint use of facilities, staff, and programs of training. The committee immediately pinpointed five areas within which interstate cooperative effort would result in improved governmental services. These included recruitment, assessment of the impact of Federal programs, State salary administration, exchange and sharing of personnel, and training, education, and personnel development programs.

The Governors' committee agreed further that the area of greatest need and potential for mutual benefit was collaborative training, education and personnel development. As a result, it recommended creation of a New England State training facility, and that an interstate compact be devised by which a regional career development program could be launched. Significant steps already have been taken toward spelling out the details of such a program. And mere knowledge that such a facility may be established for the region's State governments has resulted in serious discussion of a number of related proposals, ranging from staff college developments to sharing of highly specialized manpower needs.[3]

OTHER EXAMPLES

Although these are bold steps, they are only a selective sampling of the pattern of cooperative ventures that are being pursued by the New England State governments today. Similar consideration has been undertaken by the New England Conference of State Budget Officers regarding possible development of State budgets capable of reflecting the impact of State public expenditures on the region's economy. The region's park and recreation officials have met many times to discuss mutual benefits accruing under programs being developed through the Federal Land and Water Conservation Fund, and have singled out potential sites for interstate recreational developments. The State university bureaus of government research have developed techniques for identifying regional governmental problems, and are working toward establishment of a computerized information storage system of data on regional questions. Milk officials of the six States have achieved a high degree of cooperation concerning their inspectional and regulatory functions, and the State public health officials have agreed to support a regional research project designed to identify areas in which the New England States may benefit from cooperative use of public health facilities, programs, manpower and materials.

It is beyond the scope of this article to present a complete inventory of interstate activities currently underway in New England which will result in broader, improved application of State governmental services. Recent steps taken by several of the region's informal interstate conferences, however, are illustrative of the final form such cooperation may take. Specifically, this consists of moving toward institutionalizing interstate relationships by establishing formal organizations and adopting formal programing.

TOWARD FORMAL COOPERATION

Current examples of this type of governmental development include the New England State Police Administrator's Conference, which presently is seeking enactment of an interstate compact to create a central criminal intelligence center for the New England States and provide for mutual assistance agreements among them. Another example is that of the New England Welfare Compact, advanced by the New England Conference of Public Welfare Officials, which would eliminate residence requirements for public assistance programs among the States.

But perhaps the most dramatic example of a regional cooperative undertaking now before the New England States is the proposed New England Interstate Planning Commission. In this case, the State planning directors, at the urging of the NEGC, and assisted by the Northeastern Resources Committee, the New England Council, and the Council of State Governments, have drafted an interstate compact proposing the creation of a New England Regional Planning Commission and formalizing the techniques by which coordination of statewide planning programs could be achieved. There is no precedent on the State governmental level in the United States for such an effort. At this writing the compact has been approved by four of the region's State legislatures, subject to appropriations being made for funding the commission.

In each of the above instances, the common denominator of mutual interest has first been identified and the processes leading toward the establishment of formal interstate cooperative efforts then have been set in motion.

SPELLING OUT NEW DIRECTIONS

As has been shown, the New England Governors' Conference has been a moving force behind a substantial portion of the cooperative effort developed among the New England States. While the list of resulting accomplishments is impressive, the most significant measure of importance given to this development has been the decision of the NEGC to establish a permanent secretariat for its work. The need of the conference for a permanent staff operation was made apparent by the nature of the discussions being held and decisions being rendered during NEGC meetings, many of which dealt with development of cooperative governmental arrangements pertaining to services, facilities, and programs. The purpose of the secretariat is to provide the conference with the type of day-to-day liaison that is required in order to act on questions of regional public policy. Thus, the secretariat will act as a coordinating body in the overall field of informal interstate cooperation within the region by maintaining a consistent link between the several interstate groups and the NEGC. A parallel role will be the secretariat's involvement in researching regional issues with a view to bringing areas of cooperation into sharper focus. Once specific opportunities have been identified, the steps outlined earlier can be initiated with more precise and accelerated results.

Any narrative of a regional modus vivendi for New England would be incomplete without noting steps that have been taken recently strengthening liaison between the State capitals and the 37-member New England congressional delegation. In an attempt to bring these levels of policy leadership closer together, a joint meeting between the New England Governors' Conferenec and the New England congressional delegation was held in Washington in April 1965, and marked successes were achieved. Regional questions and issues were given an airing, and specific attitudes and interests were explored. It is anticipated that similar meetings will follow, and for essentially the same purposes—to continue more effective liaison between the State governments and Washington on regional questions.

CONCLUSIONS

One of the most important features of the American federal system of government has been its viability. An integral factor contributing to this has been the laboratory role of the States. In many instances, new governmental programs have been developed on the State level, and following successful administrative experience later have become national in scope.

A comparable program area encompasses public policy questions which might be considered too large for the municipality, the metropolitan area, or even the State to handle individually, but less than national in scope and relationship. In these instances, a cooperative multistate frame of reference may be warranted in view of the public policy areas to be developed. And since these questions of public policy transcend State lines, the means for their solution clearly indicate the necessity for interstate and regional agreement on plans of attack. This has increasingly become the rule rather than the exception in New England.

The New England States are far from unique in this field. Other regions as well have advanced markedly in regional organization and cooperation. But the New England States have been favored by a common history, tradition, culture and an all-important sense of common interest.

At best, until fairly recently, the mythical content of this belief system enabled them to act in concert because it was clearly in the

Footnotes at end of speech.

interest of each State to do so. Today, this principle of applied self-interest is rapidly being displaced by the principle of regional and interstate cooperation. The climate of opinion in New England supporting further development of cooperative techniques and mechanisms concerning governmental services is at an all-time high, and promises to carry the area's State governments toward as yet unexplored opportunities to develop interstate ties and regional cooperative interests.

President Kennedy, speaking of the need to recognize the Nation's common bonds, noted that "governmental programs which make life better for some of our people will make life better for all of our people. A rising tide lifts all boats." Interstate cooperative efforts, both formal and informal, can accelerate this process, and the initiative for them rests with the States.

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[1] Such as is envisioned by legislation before the 89th Congress proposing regional economic development, regional river basin planning, regional health centers, etc.

[2] The second group consists primarily of agencies, based on interstate compacts, concerned with regional programs in such fields as higher education, corrections, forest fire prevention, library services, and water pollution control. These agencies include the New England Board of Higher Education, the New England Corrections Compact, the Northeastern Forest Fire Protection Commission, the New England Library Compact, and the New England Interstate Water Pollution Control Commission. In addition to their administrative functions, these groups also function as continuing regional forums of discussion on questions of mutual interest.

[3] At the urging of the New England Commissioners of Public Health, radiological health personnel are developing an interstate compact arrangement designed to provide mutual aid and assistance in regional radiological health matters, and to facilitate the efficient use of personnel and equipment on a regional basis, including acquisition and sharing of resources. Implicit in their discussions has been the potential sharing of highly specialized consultative services, and ultimately, training programs for personnel.

Fifth Anniversary of Independence of the Republic of Gabon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, August 17 marks the fifth anniversary of independence of the Republic of Gabon. On that date in 1960 the last ties between Gabon and the colonial power were severed in an outstanding example of the peaceful and friendly birth of a new nation. Today, 5 years later, Gabon gives an example of the economic progress that is possible on the African Continent. I believe I can speak for the American people when I offer the heartiest congratulation to the Government and people of Gabon on this happy occasion.

The United States has had a long association with Gabon dating from June 1842 when American missionaries began working with the Gabonese people at a point just above the capital city of Libreville. In recent years our young American Peace Corps volunteers have been engaged in a joint venture that is contributing significantly to the economic and social development of the country. They are working side by side with Gabonese youth in constructing rural schools and teachers' houses, as a part of the country's massive effort in education. Eighty five percent of school-age children are reportedly attending schools in Gabon.

The lush equatorial forests and rich mineral resources have attracted the businessmen of the free world. Even before independence several large American enterprises recognized the great potential of this African country and joined with others in developing its resources. As a result of these ventures and the activity of about 600 smaller firms, Gabon boasts one of the highest per capita incomes in Africa.

It should be noted that Gabon welcomes private investment. The recently enacted Gabonese investment law provides substantial concessions and guarantees for new foreign investments. Also, an investment guaranty agreement has been signed between Gabon and the United States.

The United States is proud to have been associated with Gabon during these early fruitful years. It is my firm hope that the bonds of friendship that now exist between our peoples will grow ever deeper in the future.

Motoring Through Monroe County, W. Va.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, Monroe County, W. Va., named for the fifth President of the United States, James Monroe, at the time of its creation in 1799, has an atmosphere of the pleasant, leisurely past about it.

The newspaper report of a recent motorcade to historical spots in the county, carried by the August 15, 1965, edition of the Sunday Charleston, W. Va., Gazette-Mail, makes the nostalgic flavor of the area quite vivid. In the belief that motorists tired of traffic jams and crowded highways may find a personal motorcade through Monroe County a welcome change of pace, I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the RECORD, so that they may know the pleasures which there await them.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Charles (W. Va.) Sunday Gazette-Mail, Aug. 15–21, 1965]

MOTORCADE IN OLD MONROE—HISTORICAL SOCIETY CONDUCTS MOTOR TOUR OF COUNTY FLAVORED BY OLD SOUTH

(By William C. Blizzard)

Monroe County was once part of a resort area frequented by the ante belium aristocracy of the Old South. Before the Civil War, the region was dotted with great spas; mineral springs furnished the nominal reason for their existence, but the springs of Bacchus also flowed, and the bow of Eros twanged in the oaken groves.

Today most of the great old resort hotels and cottages are crumbled ruins. Only at White Sulphur Springs, in the mountains bordering Virginia, have old glories survived the years.

Sweet Springs is yet well preserved, but is now a State-owned home for the aged. A ramshackle Salt Sulphur resort is being reconstructed by Dr. Ward Wylie as a private residence. Little remains at Red Sulphur but the spring itself.

When the sword of war struck the South, it left behind the decaying corpses of a thousand imitation Parthenons. Among these victims were the resort hotels in what is now Monroe County, W. Va.

In Monroe County today, the speech, the customs, and the architecture have a southern flavor. No wisp of factory smoke pollutes the clear air. Mountain ranges and peaks approach 4,000 feet (the hunting is fine), but the broad, limestone-based valleys are fertile and well suited for farming. The fact that there are almost 6,000 more cattle than people in Monroe County tells much about the county's way of life.

Individual farms are large, and often deserve the title of country estates. Urban centers, in any large sense, do not exist. It is not, therefore, surprising to learn that the population of the entire county is only about 11,500, or less than that of the little town of South Albans on Coal River.

The smallness of the Monroe County population is no doubt a factor in its cohesiveness, and Southern traditions have encouraged a liking for the history of family and place. Thus it is not surprising that the Monroe County Historical Society is quite active. This year, the society sponsored a public tour of Monroe County spots of historical and scenic interest.

On Wednesday, July 28, about 75 people assembled at Union High School and began a series of visits, via automobile motorcade, to some of the more prominent points of interest in the county. The group was supposed to assemble between 8:45 and 9 a.m., and, remarkably enough, managed to get underway almost on schedule.

As you may have noticed while watching wagon train, traveling groups are apt to be delayed at the drop of an axle. But the union-based motorcade could ill afford delay—not if it was going to cover all the country scheduled for it on July 28.

The tour committee had arranged that no less than 17 caves, homes, springs, churches, monuments, and other historical places and edifices visited—and not only visited, but that appropriate remarks by appropriate speakers be uttered about each of them. All of this was to occur between 9:15 a.m., beginning in Zenith Valley near Peters Mountain, and 4:30 p.m., with a final stop at "Woods Fort" in Rich Creek Valley.

An hour was allotted for lunch. This not-unreasonable prandial period made the completion of the schedule even more unlikely.

As it turned out, some scheduled stops did have to be skipped. Nevertheless, the number of places actually visited was amazing. After leaving Zenith Valley, where the group was told about the hawk watch at Hanging Rock and the peculiar roar sometimes heard at Peters Mountain, the motorcade proceeded to Crimson Springs.

There, springs gush out of the earth and feed several ponds stocked with rainbow trout. For a fee, fishermen may wet a line with every expectation of success. Near the trout ponds is an old iron mine, closed since before the Civil War.

The group then drove to McClungs Mill, an authentic old grain grinder with an overshot wheel (the mill is no longer in operation), and thence to Sweet Springs by way

of Gap Mills. The late Col. Andrew S. Rowan was honored by a tour visit to his birthplace near that village, and, later, to his boyhood home in Union.

The two most prominent landmarks near Union were not neglected. They are the Confederate Monument which sits in lonely splendor just outside town, and Rehoboth Church. The monument was unveiled in September 1901, and for more than 60 years has silently attested that Union was largely Confederate.

Rehoboth, dedicated by Bishop Francis Asbury in 1786, is the oldest Methodist church building west of the Alleghenies. The old log church has been patched and rebuilt, and a metal-roofed shed placed over it for protection. Many object to the shed, saying that it detracts from the appearance of the church. Count me among the objectors.

One of the stops was at Salt Sulphur Springs, where I discovered that since my last visit Dr. Ward Wylie has purchased the place and is making good headway in refurnishing many of the old buildings. The tour concluded with a visit to Red Sulphur Springs and Rich Creek Valley, after a glimpse into Mill Pond Cave near Greenville.

A tour highlight, at least for this writer, was a look at the repair and rebuilding of a covered bridge over Indian Creek about 2 miles from Salt Sulphur Springs. U.S. 219 runs within 100 yards of the bridge, so that highway travelers may view it.

I saw some turned heads and gaping mouths on my visit. It isn't every day that you see carpenters working on a covered bridge. Not in the space age.

The Monroe County Historical Society has obtained a 20-year lease on the bridge, which will be put back together with some attention to detail. For instance, the shingles will be split with a froe, as in the old days, and put on in the dark of the moon, to keep them from turning up like Bob Hope's nose.

The Monroe County Historical Society deserves plaudits for this laudable project. Let others do likewise with historical rarities in their communities.

Reconstruction of this bridge, by the way, is taking some money, although landowners have donated the necessary property. If you happen to have a dollar for this work, you might get in touch with Haskell D. Shumate at Union. Shumate is president of the Monroe County Historical Society.

If you have a pet project of your own in mind, Federal funds are sometimes available. Your delegate or State Senator should know about such things, and it's his job to be bothered by constituents.

Will other Monroe County Historical Motorcades follow the first one? It isn't unlikely. Such tours have been going on for years, on a regional basis, in the Eastern Panhandle, and there is no reason they couldn't be worthwhile in other sections of West Virginia.

There is a tendency in such tours to crowd too much into a single day, but this tendency could be curbed. Travel gaps might be filled by a color-slide show. A slide show might precede the actual tour, and supplement the tour by showing places and angles not easily reached by the old, the infirm, and the rotund.

Those who still worry about laying shingles (or planting potatoes) in the dark of the moon might be interested in knowing that Monroe is not the oldest county in the State. Nor is it the 10th oldest. It's the 13th. Now that I've spilled this information I'm going to run right down and throw Salt Sulphur Springs over my left shoulder.

New York Pavilion Provides Entertainment at Low Cost

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, I believe my colleagues in the Congress will be interested in an article appearing in the July 25 issue of one of my district's outstanding daily newspapers, the Jamestown Post-Journal. The description of the entertainment provided by the New York State Pavilion at the World's Fair, at no charge and no waiting in line, should attract the attention of all visitors to the fair. Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

NEW YORK PAVILION PROVIDES ENTERTAINMENT AT LOW COST

Residents of the Chautauqua area visiting the World's Fair in New York City have every reason to be proud of the New York State pavilion.

In a domain where entertainment is costly in either time or money, the pavilion provides 12 hours of it daily at no charge—and no waiting in line.

A huge, circular building, open-air in style but capped with a translucent, multicolored roof, the pavilion provides a showcase for the State's products while the entertainment attractions provide the magnet to draw visitors.

The fact that such a daily marathon of varied entertainment is presented alone would demand admiration. That most of it is good—and occasionally superlative—entertainment is a matter for amazement.

As an example, recently the pavilion was the showcase for "Curtaintime, U.S.A." This was a miniature musical review staged by 25 students from Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah.

The young singers, dancers and musicians appeared at the World's Fair only 2 days after returning to the United States from a 4-month tour of southeast Asia, the Middle East and Europe on behalf of the State Department. Abroad, they presented a musical picture of America to hundreds of thousands of persons in 14 different countries.

The excellence of the "Curtaintime, U.S.A." production and the vital impact of the BYU students' audience appeal was underlined at the close of the show when the group received a standing ovation—no small tribute when coming from an audience dominated by blase New Yorkers.

While attractions at the New York pavilion matching the caliber of the Brigham Young University show are, admittedly, rare, the general level of entertainment is good. Basically musical in scope, the program ranges from rock-and-roll combos to bands to choral groups.

Musical units from a number of Chautauqua and Cattaraugus County schools have presented programs at the pavilion, including bands or vocal ensembles from Jamestown, Falconer, Frewsburg, and Chautauqua.

With the average program running 30 minutets to an hour, the casual visitor, if not interested in the type of program being presented, has only to wait a short time for a change.

The New York pavilion programs are free, of course, but, unlike some of the more widely heralded exhibits, do not usually have a long waiting line. With a more limited capacity and with a set program running from 30 to 45 minutes, some of the better exhibits require standing in line for up to 2 hours.

Some visitors to the World's Fair—particularly men—found the Simmons Building a powerful attraction. Off at the perimeter of the fairgrounds, the exhibit of the bedding manufacturer includes a number of alcoves where, for a modest fee, the hot and footsore fairgoers may nap for an hour or two.

At least one visitor spent a full day at the fair and declared himself well satisfied, although he saw only two things—the New York pavilion and the Simmons Building.

Gabon Republic Marks Fifth Year of Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to a birthday being celebrated on the West Coast of Africa. Five years ago today, independence was proclaimed in the Gabon Republic—formerly the overseas territory of Gabon, French Equatorial Africa.

Gabon is a small nation of 450,000 people, often called the bastion of the Cross in Africa because of its high percentage of Christians. Formerly a French colony, Gabon today enjoys excellent relations with the former colonial power. There are more Frenchmen in Gabon today than in colonial times.

Gabon is now a republic with a presidential form of government. It has a unicameral National Assembly elected for 5 years. The president, serving as both chief of state and chief of government, is elected for 7 years. All other members of the Government are appointed by the President, who can recall any of them.

Gabon is unique in equatorial Africa in that it has always had a favorable balance of trade and payments. Wood, mostly logs, still accounts for 60 percent of all exports, but in recent years Gabon has begun to export part of its enormous mineral wealth. Much of Gabon is unexplored and may contain additional deposits of minerals.

Gabon welcomes private investment. United States Steel, Bethlehem Steel, Mobil, and Shell are among the American companies which have invested in Gabon in cooperation with European firms. But U.S. interest and aid is clearly secondary to that of France and the European Economic Community.

Although the majority of Gabon's businesses are presently foreign owned

and operated, the future is bright for this small but viable African nation.

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the people of Gabon, the head of government and the Minister of National Defense, Leon M'BA and the Gabonese Ambassador to the United States, His Excellency Aristied N. E. Issembe.

West Virginian Female Success Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the female member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Mrs. Virginia Mae Brown, is from my home State of West Virginia.

The story of her career, including her appointment to the ICC by President Lyndon B. Johnson, was detailed in a news article carried by the New York Times on Sunday, August 15, 1965. I ask unanimous permission to insert this article in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PERSONALITY: A WOMAN WITH HOST OF FIRSTS—VIRGINIA MAE BROWN MAKES ICC POST HER LATEST—SHE LEFT A TEACHING JOB IN HIGH SCHOOL TO STUDY LAW

(By Robert Bedingfield)

Woodrow Wilson added a great administrator to the Interstate Commerce Commission when he nominated Joseph B. Eastman to that agency. Calvin Coolidge provided a touch of scholarship by naming Thomas F. Woodlock, and Franklin D. Roosevelt tapped a high level of academic distinction when he appointed Walter M. W. Splawn.

Lyndon B. Johnson, in a little over a year and a half, has made two appointments to the Commission. The most recent, announced last week, put a fellow Texan and broadcaster, Williard Deason, on the regulatory panel.

The first one, which attracted a good deal more attention, won President Johnson the distinction of having given the ICC its first splash of glamour. This came last year when he named Virginia Mae "Peaches" Brown to be the first woman member in the Commission's 78-year history.

Mrs. Brown took office May 7, 1964, in time to participate in deliberations on some of the most momentous matters to come before the Commission in modern times—mergers affecting the Nation's biggest and most important railroad systems.

One of the first things she did on moving into the ICC was to read the 15,000-page record of the Norfolk & Western and New York, Chicago & St. Louis (Nickel Plate) Railroads' merger record so she was able to vote with the full Commission on that merger—less than 2 months after assuming her post.

Thereafter she plunged into the more than 40,000-page record on the New York Central and Pennsylvania Railroads' merger plan, on which the ICC probably will announce a decision this year. Her job also involves matters less grand. When she was sworn in she was assigned to the agency's division 1. This is sometimes called the ICC's paperwork factory. Its principal assignment is dealing with the operating rights of the 15,000 motor carriers who are under ICC jurisdiction.

Mrs. Brown has always been a Brown. She was born November 13, 1923, in Pliny, W. Va. Her father, Felix M. Brown, is president of the Bank of Buffalo in Eleanora, W. Va., and her mother, Hester, is a teacher at Riverview, a small country school in Pliny. Mrs. Brown's husband is James Brown, a Charleston, W. Va., and Washington, D.C., lawyer, who was one of her classmates at West Virginia University.

To become the first woman I.C.C Commissioner is just another in a long series of firsts for Mrs. Brown. She may even be the first schoolteacher from Winfield High School in Putnam, W. Va., to have left teaching after a year and a half to go to law school. She got her degree in 1947 from the College of Law of West Virginia University.

Upon graduation from law school she was appointed law clerk to the late Attorney General Ira J. Partlow of West Virginia. In 1949 she was appointed executive secretary to the State's judicial council, the first woman to serve in that capacity. Three years later she became assistant attorney general, the first woman to be named to that office in West Virginia.

In January 1961, she was appointed counsel to Gov. William W. Barron and the following May became the first woman in the United States to be appointed an insurance commissioner when she was named to the office in West Virginia. It was another first when in September 1962, she became a member of the West Virginia Public Service Commission.

One day early in March of last year Mrs. Brown received a telephone call from the White House asking her to come to Washington the next morning. Mrs. Brown acknowledges that getting a call from the White House was not a first for her. "But the other times I always knew what it was about," she distinguishes. "This time I didn't."

Mrs. Brown and her husband had planned a trip to New York for the following day. They made the trip but detoured via Washington and the White House.

"It was all very fast," she recalls. "My appointment was for 10 a.m. and I believe it was run in between two others.

"The President was very intense. He asked many questions and asked them very fast. Practically his only interest seemed to be in making up his own mind whether I was qualified. He asked all kinds of questions about my background and he questioned my husband very carefully too. When it was over, I didn't know what to think. Jim and I continued on to New York."

President Johnson, with his usual flair for choosing time and place, disclosed that evening dinner given by the Women's National Press Club in Washington that he intened to nominate Mrs. Brown for the ICC. Mrs. Brown got the news a little after 1 a.m. by a reporter's telephone call to her hotel room in New York.

Her response to the inevitable request for reaction:

"Who, me?"

Mrs. Brown took her two children, Victoria Anne, now 9, and Pamela Kay, now 5, to the White House when she was sworn in by President Johnson. "I don't think the children will ever forget it," she says. "Danny Kaye was with the President at the time and that too was a big thing for them. The President spoke with the children and it was really the greatest thing in the world for them, not only because he was the President, but because they associated him with ranches and horses and the like."

Of all the memories surrounding the excitement of her appointment, Mrs. Brown especially cherishes a jovial tribute by the late Adlai Stevenson. Addressing the Women's National Democratic Club in Washington shortly after she was sworn in, he invoked a parody of Edgar Allen Poe's poem, "To Helen." Turning toward the radiant new Commissioner, he said:

"Peaches, thy beauty is to me
Like your decisions on the ICC."

The day after, Mrs. Brown received a letter from Mr. Stevenson, along with a copy of his speech. His letter read:

"My dear Virginia: I hope you'll forgive me—even if Poe won't."

Mrs. Brown said that anytime anyone addresses her by the name of Peaches she knows when they knew her. "It is a nickname I got when I was in college," she said, "and it stuck right through college." Mrs. Brown's parents never call her anything but Ginny Mae and her husband calls her simply Ginny.

She speaks with the leftover Elizabethan accent of the southern highlands, rather than what one thinks of as a southern drawl or the flatter midwestern pronunciation that begins in the Ohio Valley. One of the first things she did when she moved into her office at the ICC on Pennsylvania Avenue was to try to reassure her own staff.

You just can't seem to take the nervousness out of folks in a moment," she explains, which is just what I would have loved to have done. But I did try to assure everybody in as easy and quiet a manner as I could that I really needed them."

The Browns live in a rented apartment in Alexandria, Va. The housekeeper who has been with the family ever since Victoria Anne was born moved to Alexandria, too, last year when the Browns put their Charleston, W. Va., home up for sale.

Gabon's Fifth Independence Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to take a few moments today to note an occasion of great importance to the people of Gabon. In the summer of 1960, they took the momentous decision to become an independent state after having been an overseas territory and then an autonomous state within the French community. On August 17, they celebrate the fifth anniversary of their proclamation of independence.

Gabon is a small country lying on the west coast of Africa. It is bounded on the north by Rio Muni and Cameroon, and on the south and east by the Congo Republic—Brazzaville. Unlike many of its sister republics, Gabon enjoys a favorable balance of trade and payments, and its per capita gross national product is the highest among the independent states of black Africa. Gabon finds itself in this fortunate situation partly because it has a relatively small population and partly because it possesses enormous wealth in natural resources.

The hopes of the country are pinned to the rapid exploitation of these resources and to the equitable distribution of the income they generate. As Gabon's first 5-year plan draws to a close, it is possible to see progress on many fronts. Achievements in education have been outstand-

ing. The government of Gabon has encouraged substantial foreign investment and has maintained close relations with France in order to spur development projects. Facilities for the extraction, transport, and processing of Gabon's mineral wealth are being rapidly built.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this occasion to congratulate the people of Gabon on their achievements since independence, and to express may hope that they will continue to enjoy the blessings of steady economic and social progress in years to come.

A 3-Year Term for U.S Representatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, I commend the distinguished chairman of the House Judiciary Committee for scheduling hearings on House Joint Resolution 394, introduced by the gentleman from Kentucky, FRANK CHELF, my distinguished colleague on the House Judiciary Committee, and related bills to increase the term of Members of the House of Representatives.

The proposed constitutional amendments to extend the term of Members of the House of Representatives, which will be considered at these hearings vary only in the proposed length of the term and the mechanics for implementing the increased term.

House Joint Resolution 394 and all related bills seek to amend article I, section 2, of the U.S. Constitution, which provides:

> The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

In this session of Congress, 18 joint resolutions have been introduced in the House, each proposing an extension of the term of U.S. Representatives.

In order to insure complete debate on this important constitutional issue, and to provide the members of the subcommittee and full Judiciary Committee with testimony on all possible approaches to a solution of this problem, I have today introduced a resolution to provide a 3-year term for House Members.

To prepare my own views on the question of an increased term for House Members and to redeem a campaign pledge, I carefully studied documents which summarized the debate of our Founding Fathers on the length of the term of Members of the House at the time the Constitution was adopted. They considered 1-, 2-, 3-, and 4-year terms.

House Joint Resolution 394—the Chelf resolution—would provide a 4-year term for Members of the House, with one-half of the Members running concurrently with the President and the other half running in a mid-term election. There are some difficulties inherent in a resolution providing for a drawing of lots to determine which half of the House shall run with the President and which shall run without the President. There is also the problem of States which have an odd number of Representatives and those which have only a single Representative in the House. These are some of the objections to House Joint Resolution 394 which I have heard from my colleagues although a majority of those I have spoken to favor an extension of the term of Members.

By reason of my own desire to retain a system of checks and balances between the legislative and executive branches of Government and to overcome the objections voiced by my colleagues, I have introduced a resolution to provide a 3-year term for Members of the House, effective as of the first general election following ratification of the proposed constitutional amendment by the requisite number of States.

I favor an extension of the term for Members of the House to 3 years for the following reasons:

First. Under a 3-year term, all Members of the House would run for office at the same time. The House would remain a noncontinuing body subject to reorganization every 3 years, just as it is subject to reorganization every 2 years under the present system.

Second. A 3-year term would maintain the essential features of our system of checks and balances between the legislative and executive branches of Government. Every 12 years Members of Congress would run with the President and three out of every four congressional elections would take place during nonpresidential elections.

Third. An increased term for Members of the House would encourage more citizens with outstanding leadership qualities to seek public office, and would bring to the Congress persons from many walks of life not presently stimulated to seek this office by reason of the physical and financial strain inherent in a campaign for a seat in the Congress every 2 years.

Fourth. A 3-year term would provide an opportunity for the voters to judge their Representatives on the basis of a record compiled over a 50-percent longer period of time in office while at the same time retaining that closeness which must exist between a Representative and his constituents. In addition, the voters would be able to judge their Representatives on the record and conduct in office without the frequent pressures and emotions present during a presidential election. This would occur only once every 12 years, Representatives would have to stand on their own records of performance.

Fifth. Under a 3-year term, Members of Congress will run less frequently in presidential elections, thereby freeing the Congress to devote itself to legislative business during the period preceding presidential elections.

Most newly elected Members of Congress, generally require from 2 to 4 months to get fully acquainted with their duties and responsibilities and to organize their offices and staffs. There are of course some exceptions. Some newly elected Members are ready to perform their duties and to discharge their responsibilities upon being sworn in as Members of the House and others may require longer periods to become fully oriented and organized. Then comes the second session which coincides with the second year of the term when the Member faces a long campaign for reelection. When we examine the record of the Congress we learn how little legislation is passed in the second year of a 2-year term. In addition, when the second year coincides with a presidential election year, the effectiveness of the Congress is affected by the emotional strains of the presidential campaign. In such campaigns the people pay most, if not all, their attention to the candidates for President, Vice President, and Senator and very little to candidates for Members of the House.

I introduced this resolution because I am convinced it is the best proposal for increasing the term of Members of the House of Representatives to a more realistic tenure without sacrificing our delicate system of checks and balances. In addition, I wanted to afford my colleagues an opportunity to review all possibilties to insure that we will formulate our final legislative decision wisely.

In offering a resolution proposing a 3-year term I do not claim originality, for it is not a new suggestion. It was first proposed by the framers of our Constitution. The historical background of our present system is enlightening and I believe can shed much light on the subject.

The provision of the Constitution providing a 2-year term for Members of the House was adopted after lengthy debate and met with considerable opposition in the Constitutional Convention. Under the Articles of Confederation the Members of Congress were elected for only 1 year, but the Convention sought to avoid such frequency of elections. When the matter came up in the Committee of the Whole, 1-, 2-, 3- and 4-year terms were proposed. James Madison, of Virginia, seconded the 3-year term. "Instability," he said "is one of the great vices of our Republic to be remedied. Three years will be necessary in a government so extensive for members to form any knowledge of the various interests of the States to which they do not belong, and of which they can know but little from the situation and affairs in their own. One year will be almost consumed in preparing for and traveling to and from the seat of national business."

Seven States supported the 3-year term—New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia. The proposal passed by a vote of 7 to 4 in the Committee of the Whole.

Madison's writings reveal that when the question came up in the Convention, a motion to strike out 3 years and insert 2 was carried.

And so it came about that the term for which Members of the House of Representatives should be elected was fixed and inserted in the Constitution.

Writing in the Federalist in defense of a longer term than 1 year, Mr. Alexander Hamilton said:

As it is essential to liberty, that the Government in general should have a common interest with the people; so it is particularly essential that the branch of it under consideration should have an immediate dependence on, and an intimate sympathy with, the people. Frequent elections, are unquestionably the only policy, by which this dependence and sympathy can be effectually secured. But what particular degree of frequency may be absolutely necessary for the purpose, does not appear to be susceptible of any precise calculation—and must depend on a variety of circumstances, with which it may be connected.

The variety of circumstances which existed when Alexander Hamilton made the remarks just quoted—are even more varied today. What motivated Hamilton and others to favor a 2-year term instead of the existing 1-year term motivated me and I hope will motivate my colleagues to favor a 3-year term instead of the 2-year term.

Today a Member of Congress does not have to return home to acquaint his constituents with what is happening at the seat of government. With the newspapers, radio, and television, a Member of the House lives under a system of full exposure to his constituents. This is as it should be. Congressional mail and visits from home by those whom the Member serves represents only two examples of the new variety of circumstances which should persuade my colleagues to favor an extension of the term and when doing so to favor a 3-year term.

The men who fashioned our Constitution had good reason for establishing a 2-year term instead of a 1-year term for House Members. Referring again to Federalist paper No. 52, the authors said "that the [House of Representatives] have an immediate dependence on, and an intimate sympathy with, the people."

However, with our years of experience as a democratic nation, we can now safely assume that the notion of a tyrannical legislature in Washington is outdated. Modern means of communication, unknown in 1787, provide easy and rapid contact between the legislators and the voters at home. Today we have instantaneous contact with the voters at home. The radio flashes news from Washington within seconds after the events occur. The daily newspapers carry details of the vote of each Member of the House on each major item of legislation. Full texts of major items of legislation are carried in the press.

Members of the House in order to properly perform their duties and to adequately discharge their responsibilities must spend a disproportionate amount of their time and effort in the process of learning the rules of the House, the detailed procedures and requirements of their office. Under the present 2-year term he must begin to plan for his reelection campaign almost immediately upon assuming office. The daily mail, the telephones and telegraph and greeting the many out-of-town visitors add substantially to the workload of the legislative duties.

The increase in the legislative workload has made far more serious inroads on a Member's time and energy than was the case during the early Congresses. The House of Representatives in the very First Congress in both of its sessions proposed only 142 bills of which 118 became law. During the 88th Congress, 15,299 measures were introduced of which 1,734 were adopted.

Although the proposed 3-year term would not of itself reduce the burden of Members, a smaller percentage of his total time would be spent in organization of his office and in his campaign for reelection. His experience with, and understanding of, the numerous technical problems of his office, gained in a longer term in office will materially facilitate the performance of his duties and make him a more effective representative of the people who elected him to office.

Encouraging legislative service as a career has considerable merit. A legislator should be given more than 2 years to prove his value as a public servant; he cannot be given a true test of value in so short a time. An additional factor to be considered is that with a longer term in office, Members may be more independent of the pressures from all sides, all to the advantage of the larger public interest.

Of considerable importance to the legislative process is the need for sufficient time to hold full and complete committee hearings and House debate on complicated legislation. This is not always available in a 2-year term, particularly in a presidential election year.

Lastly, the increased financial burden of congressional campaigns is a source of deep concern to many Members of the House and prospective candidates. An increased term would reduce the frequency of these expensive campaigns.

I congratulate the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee for his willingness to air this subject despite his previous statements in opposition to the proposed constitutional amendment. This is truly a decision based upon the desire of the people and the desire of a majority of the Members of this Chamber.

I urge my colleagues to support an extension of the term for Members of the House and particularly the proposed 3-year term.

A Chip Off the Silver Bloc

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, just a few weeks ago, as you know, we filled many hours in this Chamber and many pages in the RECORD with debate on a new system of coins for this country. Much of that debate centered around the tradition of a system of silver coinage and the need for intrinsic value in our coins to symbolize a token of prestige. An editorial in today's Washington Evening Star puts these arguments in their proper place and with much less verbiage. Without saying more, I heartily recommend these words to my colleagues and to everyone who will soon be jingling our new coins in their pockets and change purses:

FUNNY MONEY

One of the arguments of the Western States' silver bloc against the administration's plan to cut down silver content in our coinage was based on psychology. If people knew the new dimes and quarters contained less of this precious metal, the theory went, they wouldn't trust the coinage.

No matter that European countries long ago cut down the amount of silver in their coins without harm. No matter that a worldwide industrial shortage of the metal provided a market for all the silver that our mines could generate at today's prices. The habits of the 19th century were too deeply ingrained in Americans.

Well, a funny thing has happened out in Las Vegas. According to news reports, a type of coin made of plastic has become almost legal tender. These are the chips from gaming tables, brightly colored, intrinsically worth perhaps a penny apiece.

So respectable have Nevada's gambling casinos become, and so reliable in redeeming these $1, $5, and $10 chips with paper currency, that most stores in the State accept them as cash.

It's ironic that the home of the cartwheel would produce this lesson in the symbolism of money. And it suggests that something bigger is at work in maintaining the confidence of the public in our medium of exchange.

If the integrity of a gaming house produces such childlike faith in plastic money, perhaps the credit of the U.S. Government is worth something, too, in backing our coinage.

Illinois Law Men Praise FBI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, in July 1965, the Illinois Association of Police Chiefs, Inc., held their annual meeting in Peoria, Ill. One of their members and officers is a long-time friend and constituent, Jacob J. Novak, chief of police of North Chicago, Ill. A dedicated law enforcement officer and a respected leader in the community, "Jake" was a graduate of the FBI National Academy when that institution was a mere fledgling. "Jake" graduated in 1936 and the FBI Academy celebrated its 30th anniversary this year.

Out of the Illinois Association of Police Chiefs, Inc., annual meeting came a resolution commending the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its Director J. Edgar Hoover, for their work over the years. My constituent, "Jake" Novak sent a copy of the resolution to me and I am pleased to share it with my colleagues and all those who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It follows:

RESOLUTION COMMENDING FBI

Whereas the Federal Bureau of Investigation, with the dedicated and inspirational leadership of its Director, J. Edgar Hoover,

has over the years tenaciously, courageously, and effectively waged a never-ending fight against the criminal hordes and sinister subversives and by utilizing the successful functions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, law enforcement has received invaluable assistance, encouragement, advice, guidance, and training; and

Whereas that on July 29, in the year of our Lord 1965, the FBI National Academy has successfully raised the standards of law enforcement for 30 years and that J. Edgar Hoover, through his invaluable leadership, devoted guidance and persistent insight in the institution of the FBI National Academy, has through high ideals, principles, and standards which are continually imparted to all facets of the profession of law enforcement through the FBI National Academy; and

Whereas J. Edgar Hoover, having recognized the need for professionalism and training in law enforcement, provided and made available to law enforcement the splendid and effective services of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, such as the FBI Laboratory, Identification Division, FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, Uniform Crime Reports, and thousands of local police training schools: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Illinois Association of Chiefs of Police at the annual meeting assembled in Peoria, Ill., August 1 and 2, 1965, do hereby wholeheartedly and dedicatedly voice their trust, confidence, and sincere appreciation to J. Edgar Hoover and his associates in the Federal Bureau of Investigation and pledge our continuing unswerving allegiance to the high principles and ideals promulgated by J. Edgar Hoover and his position as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and urge that such high ideals and principles be continuously imparted to all facets of the profession of law enforcement; and be it,

Resolved, further, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Attorney General of the United States, and to the congressional delegation for the State of Illinois for inclusion in the congressional records, and to representatives of the news media and to J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in order that they might be cognizant of the high esteem that the Illinois Association of Chiefs of Police hold for J. Edgar Hoover and his associates in the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

JOHN M. HEAFNER,
President, Alton.
JACOB J. NOVAK,
Executive Secretary, North Chicago.

How Much Will Melting Pot Hold?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN R. DAVIS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, before we rush pellmell into drastic revision of our traditional immigration policies, before we vote to gut the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, we ought to pause to consider the counsel of caution provided for us by Jenkin Lloyd Jones in a recent issue of the Washington Star.

We should, indeed, as Mr. Jones suggests, ask ourselves "How much will the melting pot hold?":

HOW MUCH WILL THE MELTING POT HOLD?
(By Jenkin Lloyd Jones)

Under the present McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, the United States is the most generous of all nations in its immigration policy. It not only admits about 200,000 more newcomers a year than any other country, but it is one of the few countries on earth that excludes no nation.

Yet the Johnson administration is mounting a massive attack on what restrictions we have, and Congress may, indeed, be stampeded into a liberalized bill that will open the gates to an inflow from the backward, the poor, and the overcrowded nations of the world.

Briefly, the proposed bill ends the preference for immigrants from the British Isles and northern Europe. It claims to increase by less than 7,000 the present annual immigrant quota. True, but a weasel. For it transfers all nonused quotas into a common pot. Since north Europe and the United Kingdom fall by 50,000 to 60,000 a year to use their present quotas, this would be added to the number of newcomers admitted.

But there is much more. Nonquota status would be extended to all parents, wives and children, not merely of U.S. citizens, but of resident aliens, as well. A man with a permanent visa to the United States could bring over the whole family without any restriction. Present prohibitions against the immigration of mental defectives, the insane, the epileptic, etc., would be eliminated.

All Latin America would remain quota free. Any Latin proposing to take up permanent residence in the United States is supposed to satisfy an American consul as to his financial responsibility. But this is easily evaded. Right now, we are getting a lot of World's Fair "citizens," i.e. Latins who buy a 10-percent-down plane ticket to New York, ostensibly to see the Fair, and who then refuse to go home.

It is further proposed to add Jamaica, Trinidad, and Tobago to the quota-free Latin American list. Trinidad has the largest Hindu population in the Western World. Right now, Britain is stiffening its immigration policy toward these islands even though they are part of the British Commonwealth.

There are approximately a million Chinese in Latin America. These are currently counted as Orientals, but the new law would make Latins of them. The birth rate of American Chinese is three times the birth rate of white Americans.

We are already the most generous of all nations when it comes to letting in political refugees quota free. Between 1946 and 1961 we admitted 715,000 displaced persons. We have added 250,000 Cuban refugees. Leaders of crowded countries may soon be tempted to start persecuting any unpopular minority on the theory that Uncle Sam will take them in.

This fraudulent bill is being sold to Americans on the ground that our present law hurts America's "image" in the eyes of the world. We are told we must divest ourselves of ethnic favoritism in immigration if we are to remain popular. Popular?

Let's look at a few samples of immigration restrictions imposed by foreign nations.

U.S.S.R.—no immigrants except by special arrangements. Australia—no nonwhites. Switzerland—no immigrants. Argentina and Venezuela—no colored immigrants. Canada——Asiatics practically excluded. Central America—no Asiatics or Middle Easterners. Jordan, Morocco—long residence and must know Arabic. Israel—only Jews invited. Liberia—no immigrants who are not of Negro descent. Turkey—must have Turkish background. Japan—no immigrants.

Now let's grasp a nettle. The new-think claims that a man must stand convicted of bigotry if he believes that the people from one country might make better American citizens than people from another.

Why should we check our brains in fear of this charge? Who thinks America would be what it is today if it had drawn its immigrants largely from Arabs or Hottentots or Mongolians or Sicilians? There are certain requirements for making a highly industrial representative republic work, and certain peoples are just plainly better at it than others.

In March 1924, the New York Times said editorially:

"A country has a right to say who shall and shall not come in. It is not for any foreign country to determine our immigration policy. The basis for restriction must be chosen with a view not to the interest of any groups in this country, whether racial or religious, but rather with a view to the country's best interests. The great test is assimilability. Will the newcomers fit into American life readily? Is their culture sufficiently akin to our own?

"Certain groups do not fuse easily, but endeavor to keep alive their racial distinctions when they settle among us. They seek to create foreign blocs in our midst."

The New York Times has since changed its mind, but a lot of Americans will think that's a mighty fine editorial.

There are only a few days left in which to get the word to Washington.

A College Is Born

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, we in New England, and particularly in Massachusetts, are justly proud of our traditions and accomplishments in higher education. Many of the Nation's oldest and most respected institutions lie within the boundaries of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Many of this country's greatest leaders in all walks of life from the dawn of our society right through to the present day have sprung from the classrooms and hallowed halls of Massachusetts colleges and universities.

A large part of this honored tradition stems, too, from the spirit of progress and innovation. While our colleges and universities have earned the reputation of being among the finest in the world, Massachusetts educators have never been content to rest upon their laurels. As the world and society are ever changing, so also are the demands upon higher education. And, keenly aware of these changes; ever alert to the need for progres sand revision, our educational system has continually sought new ways to meet its goals and responsibilities.

It is in this context that an entirely new innovation in higher education is now unfolding in the First Congressional District of Massachusetts. We will call it Hampshire College.

It is being born of the union of several privately endowed colleges and the fine State school, the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. The goal of the venture is in perfect step with the needs and desires of modern society: to extend

the best possible educational benefits to the broadest possible segment of society and at the most reasonable cost. Hampshire College is, and will continue to have growing pains. However, a generous endowment of $6 million from Mr. Harold F. Johnson, an alumnus of the Amherst campus, has gotten the project off to a fine start. I am certain the future of this remarkable innovation is assured.

Mr. Speaker, Hampshire College was the recent subject of a fine editorial in the Boston Globe of August 5, 1965. The editorial is signed by the famous "Uncle Dudley" and conveys much of the pride and confidence which all of us in Massachusetts feel toward the new school. I insert that editorial in full at this point in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

A COLLEGE IS BORN

Massachusetts' reputation as a leader and imaginative pace setter in the field of higher education has been reaffirmed by the decision of four institutions in the western part of the State to join in the creation of a new venture.

The willingness of three eminent private colleges to team with the University of Massachusetts is a tribute to the growth and caliber of the State institution.

The establishment of Hampshire College, as it will be called, is not directly and simply an effort to provide more classroom seats for the increasing tide of applicants.

The basic intention is to try to reduce the cost of a college education while at the same time maintaining superior quality. Initially, since the new school will probably have little or no endowment funds, the cost to the student will probably be much on a par of those at other institutions.

There are other examples of cooperation among universities which make for economy and better utilization of facilities. Harvard and M.I.T. have some pooling of ventures and faculty. Some cross registration of courses is allowed in Cambridge. In other areas, notably Philadelphia, agreements have been worked out on the joint use of faculty specialists.

The Hampshire College case, however, would appear to be unique in the country in that it is a joint venture of private colleges and a State university. The agreement represents a happy culmination of an increasing number of experiments among the four institutions.

Fortunately relations between them have been on an informal, cooperative level for several years. A joint faculty committee in 1958 produced a new college concept which paved the way for the fifth institution. Even prior to that time, however, the four had agreed on an interlibrary center, in which rarely-used journals were made available to all and kept at the State university's library.

The new college plan produced no immediate hoped-for cash grants from foundations. It did though, encourage other cooperative approaches by the four colleges. A joint department of astronomy was established. An educational FM radio station is jointly operated. Students and faculty members often study and teach on campuses other than that of their own college.

Hampshire College, off to a fine start with a gift of $6 million from Harold F. Johnson, an Amherst alumnus, will be able to experiment in curriculums, faculty and departmental divisions in ways that most tradition-encrusted institutions cannot. For students—the aim is an enrollment of 1,000—there will be no such distractions as intercollegiate athletics or Greek letter societies.

Nourished by the four surrounding parent colleges, Hampshire will attract wide attention. If present hopes can be realized, new yardsticks for higher education may well be fashioned and long-cherished concepts and formulas may be modified with security.

The outlook is encouraging. New ground is being broken, not by woolly-headed theoreticians, but by seasoned educators striving for new and worthwhile goals.

—UNCLE DUDLEY

Beyond the Los Angeles Terror

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, there will be many assessments, evaluations, and excuses for the unbelievable and unprecedented Negro insurrection which has occurred for nearly a week in Los Angeles, Calif., and surrounding cities. Thoughtful Americans must come forth with ideas and plans which may be of help in preventing a repetition of this rebellion against organized society. I think the place to start is with the individual Negro, then with Negro family stability. Social-action Negro leaders should give their attention to the Negro family rather than whipping up mob fury.

Today's Wall Street Journal had a penetrating editorial on this subject.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the editorial. It follows:

BEYOND THE LOS ANGELES TERROR

Surveying the wreckage, material and moral, wrought by the race war in Los Angeles gives the helpless feeling of witnessing an earthquake's toll or, more accurately, the shooting rampage of a madman. Yet there are ironies and lessons in this horror-strewn spectacle.

It is ironic that the violence comes in the wake of the most sweeping civil rights laws in the Nation's history. We will not draw a causal connection; we applaud the objectives of the legislation, whatever the defects of certain provisions. Sociologists note, however, a possible psychological relationship, in that when advances are made for a group, those members who do not feel they are benefiting may turn more bitter than ever.

It is saddening too that the civil rights leaders, in pursuit of worthy aims, have done so much to breed disrespect for the law. Here again we would not press the point too far. Still, the theory of obeying only the laws a person likes is dangerous doctrine in a civilized society. And it would be simple-minded to deny any link between that notion and the outbreaks in Los Angeles and elsewhere and, indeed, the rapid rise of crime generally.

In any event, a principal lesson is that the most far-reaching legislation and all the attention-getting, purportedly peaceful demonstrations cannot alone solve the fundamental problems. The studies all show it: Portions of the Negro community are on a treadmill of illegitimacy, crime, and isolation from the values of the society.

The high Negro birth rate alone is cause for pessimism. It can mean that for every individual who can be helped on the road to achievement, two others may be caught on the treadmill. In the face of such circumstances, a voting rights act appears almost as an irrelevancy.

It is utterly unjust, in our opinion, to lay the blame for these conditions exclusively at the door of the white man. We may well curse the day that white immigrants to the United States imported and held slaves; we cannot, century after century, nourish a guilt complex for ancestral evil. Unless, that is, we are prepared to accept the impossible proposition that we living today are guilty for every cruelty perpetrated throughout the eons of human existence.

Moreover, the individual's responsibility for his own life is fundamental to a free, civilized society. Other ethnic or national groups have come to these shores, some hardly better than as slaves and most the victims of prejudice and exploitation at first; a great many of them nonetheless prospered through initiative and frugality. While it is true that a black skin makes a special difference from the others, this phenomenon of nature is becoming less and less a consideration in the rewards of citizenship, employment policies, and social relations.

Not everyone, black, white, or whatever, can make out in this or any other country. There are poor whites, whites with inadequate intelligence or motivation, in Harlem, the South, and Los Angeles; conversely, the roster of successful Negroes is a long one. The glory of America is that, because opportunity exists for the individual, more people of all kinds have achieved the good things of life than anywhere else in the world today or at any time in history.

But if the Negro people as a group are to find significant improvement in the years ahead, they cannot rely entirely or even mainly on the white majority. The white community is trying to help, is going far more than halfway to meet the Negro, and yet in the end the Negro must do much more for himself.

That means in particular, we think, that the civil rights leadership should turn from its spectacular displays and occasional rabble-rousing and devote itself to a far greater degree to Negro individuals, Negro children, Negro families; to education in the home and group as well as in the school. We refuse to believe that considerable progress would be unattainable once more Negroes acted on the realization that further advancement requires a determined effort on their own part.

Hoodlums, it is said, set off the Los Angeles race war, which is still being waged as these words are written. Hoodlumism, we may be sure, will be put down. Meantime, the gangsters and all the rest of us are, in part at least, reaping the whirlwind of a long sowing of needless bitterness, dissension, and contempt for order and common decency.

Air Pollution Study in Danger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN TOLL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, WCAU radio station—CBS—of Philadelphia yesterday broadcast an illuminating "editorial" on the vitally important subject of air pollution, with particular reference to the Philadelphia area.

Under leave to extend my remarks the text of the broadcast follows:

AIR POLLUTION STUDY IN DANGER

The first Philadelphia area regional study of air pollution is dangerously close to vanishing in smoke.

Congress has appropriated $875,000 for air pollution surveys in 15 urban areas.

But Philadelphia is not among them. Federal air pollution officials say that's because 11 counties adjacent to Philadelphia, as well as the legislators of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, have failed to come up with matching funds.

Another snag is the fact that the Philadelphia area plan has not advanced as far as those in other urban sections of the country.

The three States and the county formed the Regional Conference of Elected Officials, to launch a 3-year study of air pollution in this general area. The conference wants $600,000 in Federal money, and $200,000 from local and State governments to pay for the survey.

Philadelphia has done its part. Mayor Tate earmarked $40,000 for the survey. That's nearly all the $47,800 pledged so far.

But New Jersey Legislature adjourned without taking up a request for $28,000 the first year. Delaware lawmakers also adjourned before receiving a request for $7,800 as that State's share.

The Pennsylvania House Appropriations Committee is studying a request for $93,600 But not much of any legislation is moving in Harrisburg these days.

And of the 387 separate governmental units in the 12 counties involved, only 20 have promised money for the survey.

The Pennsylvania-New Jersey-Delaware regional air pollution survey may eventually get a supplemental appropriation if and when it comes up with matching funds. But we missed the congressional boat this time.

How many more times will one of the greatest air contamination urban areas in the Nation miss out on such opportunities? That's up to the local communities and the lawmakers of the three States.

Perhaps they should be apprised of a comment from University of California Prof. Morris Neiburger, a recognized expert on air pollution.

Said Dr. Neiburger, "The world's atmosphere will grow more and more polluted, until, a century from now, it will be too poisonous to allow human life, and civilization will pass away."

And a final quote from Dr. Neiburger, "Mankind will sink to its smoggy doom through inertia and irresponsibility * * * the price of saving civilization will be so expensive, people won't be willing to pay for it."

Why not start trying to save civilization now, when we can afford it?

The GOP and the Consensus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks, the very real distinction between excessive partisanship and responsible criticism has been blurred in a number of public reports and statements.

Yesterday morning, the Boston Globe, in an editorial entitled "The GOP and the Consensus," made the very constructive point that there is and must be room for dissent on the conduct of national policy.

It is dangerous to believe that partisanship has no place in this country. As the Globe put it:

The partisan spirit is not alien to the American spirit. Rather it is through the debates that result from the partisan spirit that we arrive at the best means with which to govern ourselves.

Under unanimous consent, I include the full text of this fine editorial in the RECORD:

THE GOP AND THE CONSENSUS

Newspaper editorials these days appear to be giving rubberstamp approval to all of the bills President Johnson is signing into law as the Great Society continues to roll up its unprecedented score in Congress.

But there was little agreement last week when the President told Republican leaders at the signing ceremony for the Herbert Hoover Historic Site bill that "the partisan spirit is an alien spirit to America."

We live at a time in our history when a large majority of our people, if last fall's election results are any criterion, either agree or do not object strongly to putting some of our national wealth to work to help the less fortunate in our society.

It is generally agreed, notwithstanding the opposition registered by southerners and conservatives elsewhere, that our schools and colleges must be improved, that the Negroes should attain full citizenship and the social dignity that comes with it, that our cities have to be put into good economic and living condition, that the poor—white and black, rural and urban—should be helped so they too can participate in this open, competitive society.

With the exception of a part of the intellectual community, there is also general agreement that we should continue our policy of trying to contain the spread of communism throughout the world by military means if necessary, while, at the same time, exercising restraint on our warmaking capabilities, there is the same general commitment to the space program.

The area of consensus is thus very wide indeed. And the President means to extend it still more. But it is not all-inclusive, nor can it be, if the country is to remain healthy.

Despite the general agreement behind the Johnson administration the opposition party must continue to assert its rights to dissent and display reasoned partisanship. Otherwise it will by default bring about its own end. For there is in consensus a real danger to our two-party system in America.

Governor Scranton, of Pennsylvania, put it well in Miami Thursday night when he told the American Bar Association: "It is partisan nonsense to believe that all wisdom and all sound ideas reside in the Republican Party, but it is equally foolish to believe that they reside in the Democratic Party."

Within the consensus there is room for dissent as to the ways we should achieve the aims of this Nation. The GOP should not oppose for the sake of opposing, but it should remain watchful of excesses and overlappings in the administration's program. Positively, it should offer alternative programs that face up to the real needs of our time.

The partisan spirit is not alien to the American spirit. Rather it is through the debates that result from the partisan spirit that we arrive at the best means with which to govern ourselves.

Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter 1882–1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter passed away last February, and in the months since then many eulogies have been written and uttered in recognition of his life and the many cases which were resolved under his ponderous judicial skill and knowledge. Justice Frankfurter is one of those few individuals about whom, it seems, too much cannot be said.

His knowledge of jurisprudence and his overriding concern for the rights of individuals were a guiding beacon during his years on the Bench of the highest court in the land. The halls of that hallowed institution seem dull and somber with his passing. They no longer ring to Justice Frankfurter's crackling wit.

I have recently read what is to me one of the most stirring and evocative tributes to the late Justice. It is an article written by Prof. John D. O'Reilly of the Boston College Law School, which I am pleased to note is also my college alma mater. The article appeared in volume 6, No. 3 of the Boston College Industrial and Commercial Law Review.

I would like to share this article with my colleagues in this body because I think it offers some thoughts which many of us share in memory of this colorful, learned visionary. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the article be reprinted in full at this point in the RECORD.

The article follows:

FELIX FRANKFURTER, 1882–1965

(By John D. O'Reilly, Jr., professor of law, Boston College Law School)

"Raise your hat. In a Europe fast being devoured by dictators, she is still the mother of parliaments." These words, uttered by Josef Redlich to his Harvard Law School colleague, Felix Frankfurter, while they were visiting England in the middle 1930's and standing before the towers of Parliament, gave the younger man "an almost religious experience."[1]

The episode limns, as well as any, the intellectual countenance of Frankfurter. For, throughout his life, he was a reverencer of the institutions by which freemen have been enabled to work out their destines. His warmest, one might even say fiercest, veneration was for that institution of which he was an integral part for 24 years, the Supreme Court of the United States.

His ultimate concern, of course, was with things behind institutions, the societal ends to which institutions are means. Thus, he dynamically embroiled himself in the Bisbee, Ariz., "deportations," the "Red" raids of A. Mitchell Palmer, the Sacco-Vanzetti case, and the more happily ending case of Tom Mooney. It was upon his shoulders that the advocate's mantle of Louis D. Brandeis fell,

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Footnotes at end of speech.

and he proceeded to champion in the courts such causes as legislation for maximum hours and minimum wages.

His main focus, however, was upon governmental institutions and the ways of making them effective instrumentalities of justice. His New Republic article, "Hands Off the Investigations,"[2] was directed to bring about a realistic understanding of the legislative process. His major scholarly product, "The Business of the Supreme Court,"[3] was the culmination of years of study of the function of that institution and the ways by which its function is carried out.

As a Justice, he was constantly alert to keep the institution operating at optimum efficiency. It was the fear of self-inflicted wounds which impelled him to the belief that the Court should not enter certain areas of controversy.[4] It was fear of overstraining the mechanism which led him to admonish abstention in other areas.[5] Doctrinally, he felt that the Court was stronger if it resorted to Marshallian techniques of constitutional exposition than if it used more literal and mechanical methods, such as "incorporation" of the Bill of Rights provisions into the 14th amendment due process.[6] Yet, despite his concern with the implementation of historico-philosophical ideals, he was no less concerned with the necessity, as he saw it, of the Court preserving its strength by acting within the structure of federalism.[7]

It would be a mistake to gather from this the image of an impersonal manipulator of governmental machinery. Felix Frankfurter was first, perhaps foremost, a teacher. In 25 years at the Harvard Law School he exuded warmth and vitality. One who sat at his seminar table loudly testifies that the association with this human individual was a major inspiration of enthusiasm about the law which has never abated.

Educator, publicist, advocate, judge, and among the greatest in each of these areas, his death on February 22, 1965, is lamented by all who are interested in the welfare of mankind, and particularly by those who perhaps understood him best—the members of his own legal profession. They will find consolation in memories of him and in the monuments which he left behind.

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[1] Frankfurter, Josef Redlich, 50 Harv. L. Rev. 389, 391 (1937).

[2] New Republic, May 21, 1924, p. 329.

[3] Frankfurter & Landis, "The Business of the Supreme Court" (1927).

[4] *Baker* v. *Carr*, 369 U.S. 186, 266 (1962) (dissenting opinion); *Colegrove* v. *Green*, 328 U.S. 549 (1946) (announcing the judgment of the Court).

[5] *Rogers* v. *Missouri Pac. R.R.*, 352 U.S. 500, 524 (1957) (dissenting opinion).

[6] *Rochin* v. *California*, 342 U.S. 165 (1952); *Adamson* v. *California*, 332 U.S. 46, 59 (1947) (concurring opinion).

[7] *Wolf* v. *Colorado*, 338 U.S. 25 (1949).

Milwaukee Matches Jobs and Men

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN R. DAVIS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, in the Washington Post for Thursday, August 12, appeared the column of John Chamberlain which, in its essence, awarded the highest form of tribute to two of my constituents, the presidents of the Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co. and the A. O. Smith Co.

The results of the efforts of the Milwaukee Voluntary Equal Employment Opportunity Council speak for themselves, and the deeds of men like Bob Stevenson and Ted Smith speak more clearly than thousands of words:

MILWAUKEE MATCHES JOBS AND MEN

(By John Chamberlain)

MILWAUKEE.—Dynamic young Tom Van Sickle, head of the Young Republican National Federation, flew his new plane, his first solo flight, here from his home State of Kansas the other day to help nerve up the local Republicans. He made a speech built around a terrifying statistic: By 1968, he said, one-half of the total U.S. population will be under 25 years of age.

The 25-and-under group will have no memories of anything before the Korean war, and the only political reality they know will be that of the Great Society and the welfare state.

What hope, then, has any political party which tries to ground itself on the idea that man is a self-starter, charged with the responsibility of making the most of himself by use of his own powers?

It so happens that Tom Van Sickle had brought his question to what, in my book, must be rated the most hopeful city in the whole United States. For Milwaukee, months before anybody had begun talking about Federal antipoverty programs, had addressed itself firmly to the idea of wiping out discrimination in hiring. Moreover, it had done this on a purely voluntary basis that imposes no draining taxes and no looming danger of currency inflation on anybody.

The instigators of what subsequently became the Milwaukee Voluntary Equal Employment Opportunity Council were Bob Stevenson, boss of the heavy equipment company of Allis-Chalmers, and Ted Smith, head of A. O. Smith, which is famous for its auto frames. Back in 1963 Stevenson and Smith called the 33 largest employers in the Milwaukee area together for a bit of soul searching.

The result was a pledge from all concerned to do everything within their power to give a fair employment shake to Milwaukee's minority groups. This was of particular interest to Milwaukee's 90,000 Negroes, who constitute about 9 percent of the population in the Greater Milwaukee region.

What is particularly hopeful about the Voluntary Equal Employment Opportunity Council is that it never once slackened its pace after Lyndon Johnson put Sargent Shriver and Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., to the task of using tax money to the twin ends of eradicating poverty and discrimination.

The membership, which began with the 33, has grown to 170 firms which employ 200,000 workers.

To make things real, 170 Milwaukee companies have gone to the school guidance counselors, particularly in the inner core area of the city, with job descriptions of a quite specific type.

The school counselors have been amazed at the new types of employment opening up in Milwaukee. "Man-marketing clinics" are held, there are periodic meetings inside the Negro community designed to show the value of education to skeptical or cynical Negro parents, and the schools are asked to give special attention to preparing young people for job interviews and to encouraging them to talk freely about themselves.

The measure of Milwaukee's success is its low unemployment rate of 2½ to 3 percent, which is what economists call "normal friction."

One is tempted to guess that this method would spread farther and faster if Washington would only desist and let the voluntaristic genius of a free people take over.

Anatomy of a Riot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, the tragic holocaust in Los Angeles these past few days has dismayed and horrified us all.

As an American, I have been chagrined by this orgy of purposeless annihilation. As a Negro, I grieve that so much energy has been directed inwardly against ourselves in a pernicious exercise in futility.

I was gratified and encouraged that our President in rightfully condemning this inexcusable outbreak of violence nevertheless called for an inquiry into the causes and an immediate program to prevent future explosions.

Nobody can authoritatively answer the question, "Why?" Psychiatrists, social scientists, sociologists, and other so-called experts on the Negro have all come up with the same old tired and overworked cliches—"frustration," "breakdown in family relationships," "despair," and so forth.

There is a single answer to be found in Proverbs 29: 22:

> An angry man stirreth up strife and a furious man aboundeth in transgression.

Negroes all over America are angry and they are furious. They are angry about the historical deprivations they have suffered at the hands of a largely callous and indifferent white society. They are furious about the debilitation and degradation of their leaders whenever these leaders were picked by black people themselves and not the white power structure.

An oppressed people can only internalize their anger and fury so long. To deny human beings the most elemental rights—the right to earn a living, the right to live anywhere and the right to a decent education—and then compound these denials with barbaric police brutality and officially condoned physical abuse is to lay the foundation for a sociological detonation of unbelievable proportions.

Los Angeles and to a lesser extent Chicago and Springfield are only the visible sparks of the volcano of discontent and hatred which lie quietly beneath the surface now in black communities all over America.

Every black ghetto in this country is a potential Los Angeles only because the white power structures—business, civic, and political leaders—has persistently rejected the efforts of black people to participate fully in the running of the total community. Instead this same white power structure has carefully selected "Uncle Toms" and "Uncle Tom" organizations to speak for the Negro in the hopes that useless verbiage would "keep the natives quiet." The natives have been restless a long time and are now ready to take matters into their own hands.

Black people sadly recognize that these leaders and organizations represent no honest power, no ability to revolutionize their conditions or change their plight. And like Rosa Parks back in 1957, they have now reached the point of no return in weariness—weary of broken promises, weary of phony black leadership, weary of white do-nothingness and weary of blind exclusion from the mainstream of American society. Three years ago, we witnessed the "Negro revolt." We are now seeing the "revolt of the poor."

In Los Angeles, the incinerating fuel for last week's explosion had been smoldering for years—police brutality. The arrogance of Police Chief Parker in refusing to heed the pleas of responsible Negro leadership steadily worsened the situation. More recently, the refusal of the mayor to evolve a comprehensive antipoverty program to siphon off many of that community's unemployed further was regarded as a kick in the stomach by many Negroes.

A week ago, a subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee held hearings in the middle of the Watts area. According to a report to me from the Chief Counsel for the ad hoc subcommittee on the war on poverty, "Because of the fact that Los Angeles is one of the two major cities in the country without a poverty program, this area was one of obvious unrest." Subsequently, I personally received several angry letters from Los Angeles Negroes who were deeply disturbed about the runaround they were getting.

Los Angeles also has a continuing problem in Police Chief Parker who has become a symbol of racial oppression to Negroes just as School Superintendent Willis of Chicago has become the identical symbol there. Before fruitful communications can be established between the races in these cities and other cities, the symbols of racial persecution must be removed.

Parker in Los Angeles must go. Willis in Chicago must go. Their retention will only exacerbate an already dangerous racial crisis in these two cities.

Finally, there must be an acceptance—no matter how uncomfortable—of the ugly realities of race relations in the North and the limitations of recent civil rights legislation to deal with such realities. I made the following statement in September, 1964, after the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, I repeated it several times publicly and I make it again today after the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965: "Such legislation is absolutely of no value or meaning to Negroes in the North."

These acts have opened no new doors for Negroes in Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, or Philadelphia, nor have these acts provided any remedies for de facto school segregation, police brutality, increasing joblessness among Negroes, segregated housing, inferior education, political tokenism and Jim Crow justice in our courts.

Negroes in the North know the truth of these statements and are embittered by the absence of official action directed toward a solution of these problems. Until a comprehensive and massive attack on northern sub rosa racial hatred is undertaken, until all of us force ourselves to come to grips with the fact that the poverty of the northern Negro is totally different from the poverty of the southern Negro and in some respects even worse, Los Angeles is only the beginning of a long series of rioting and lawlessness not only this summer but in the many summers to come.

What's New at Cass?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the development of attractive tourist facilities in the vicinity of the Cass Scenic Railroad, in Pocahontas County, W. Va., has given a big impetus to the unique project.

With the Labor Day weekend approaching, those persons desiring a really delightful holiday might wish to take the pleasant trip to Cass and explore the attractions there.

A detailed discussion of the manner in which this project has successfully developed was given in the August 1, 1965, Sunday Gazette-Mail State Magazine, Charleston, W. Va. I ask unanimous consent to have this article placed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT'S NEW AT CASS?

(By William C. Blizzard)

State's largest tourist spot finally getting some necessary improvements and there are more on the board as soon as money is available.

On June 15, 1963, tourists traveling the Cass Scenic Railroad on its first public run discovered a pleasant fact: As advertised, the Shay locomotive pulling the cars was a genuine antique.

But Cass visitors also discovered an unpleasant fact: Tourist accommodations at Cass were just as antique as the 1880-model Shay. The only way you could get a hot meal was to bring your own food and roast it in the locomotive firebox.

Local church women helped out mightily with pies, cakes, and sandwiches, but demand often outstripped supply and the unhappy tourist was left with nothing more nourishing than food for thought.

In Cass, toilet facilities of the manmade variety were limited to those at the end of the run and in the old C. & O. depot.

If you wished to wash away the soot and cinders accumulated during the 2-hour train ride, there was plenty of running water—no washrooms, just running water. You had a choice of Leatherbark Creek or the Greenbrier River.

The nearest motel or hotel accommodations were 10 miles away at the hamlet of Boyer (pronounced "Bowyer"). Lodging could be had there at Van's Motel, but the eight rooms at Van's were likely to be filled, and the little motel boasted no dining room or lunch counter. The nearest place where you could buy a hot meal, in fact was at Marlinton, about 40 miles away.

The net result of these several inconveniences was that visitors motoring home after a long, hot day at Cass were nearly always sunburned, sooty, cinder-covered, hungry, irritable, thirsty and dog-tired.

The fact that 6,354 paying customers nevertheless rode the Cass Scenic Railroad during the first 5 weeks of operation in 1963 is a glowing tribute to the hardihood of the American tourist and the fanaticism of the railroad buff.

There has been a steady advance in railroad patronage, by the way, since the Shays began puffing in their new role at Cass. Paid fares for 1965 show more than 18 percent increase over a comparable period in 1964.

Early adverse conditions at Cass were in part due to the desire of Pocahontas County citizens and the department of natural resources (which owns the railroad, effects associated with it, and contiguous land) to get the scenic railroad started during the West Virginia centennial year. That goal was accomplished, but at a price: In the spring of 1963, Cass' hair wasn't combined, its shoelaces weren't tied, and its somewhat sooty shirttail was hanging out.

Tribulations at Cass were intimately associated with lack of funds, although opposition to Cass development by the Department of Natural Resources also slowed progress on what is now a major West Virginia tourist attraction.

Operating a railroad on a shoestring led to some maddening incidents which were very nearly catastrophes. For instance, a Washington, D.C., newspaper sent in a writer who gave ample and favorable coverage to Cass, and his story prompted many Washingtonians to make the long drive to southern West Virginia. This was well and good, until a locomotive axle broke at the time of their visit.

The accident injured no one, but it did put the railroad out of business until a new axle was located, which took no short search (a lucky find made the search shorter). Probably more important than the temporary halt in operations was the adverse impression made upon the long-suffering visitors from the Nation's Capital.

It appears that at long last the lean days at Cass are about over, and residents of the old mill town doubtless feel that it's none too soon. It took 3 years from the time the scenic railroad idea was hatched by the Cass Planning Committee until the first passengers were hauled. And, before the track gets laid and earth gets moved, it will have taken more than 2 years for Federal Area Redevelopment Administration funds to be put to work at Cass.

Two years ago, the ARA was thinking of granting the Cass Scenic Railroad over half-a-million dollars to extend the rails to the top of Bald Knob (elevation, 4,852 feet), and improve existing facilities. But the grant was delayed by protests from the National Radio Astronomy Observatory at nearby Green Bank.

The scientists with the big metal ears had built a listening post to the universe at Green Bank because the area was as quiet as a moon crater at midnight.

"No, indeed," said they, "we don't want noisy trains and noisy people with their noisy automobiles. It'll ruin our reception."

The observatory officials said it might be all right to keep the Cass Scenic Railroad, but the access road would have to be relocated. The access road happens to be West Virginia 28, a primary highway.

The State road commission screamed about that. "Can't do it," said Burl Sawyers. "It would cost millions."

There was a deadlock which was finally broken by Sawyer's suggestion that part of West Virginia No. 7, not West Virginia No. 28, be relocated. West Virginia No. 7 is a secondary road that connects West Virginia No. 28 with Cass, about 6 miles distant. The suggestion was accepted by Federal authorities, and the intersection of West Virginia

Nos. 7 and 28 is being moved about a mile south of its present location.

This involves building one and three-tenths miles of new highway, and the jobs should be done by this fall. It is to be hoped that the State road commission will also repave the remaining 4 or 5 miles of the road to Cass.

The ARA grant of $576,000 was finally approved, and State parks officials say that bids on the railroad work will be received August 17. It is probable, however, that no major work will be done until next spring.

What will be done with the ARA grant? First, the Cass Scenic Railroad will be extended 4 miles, to the top of Bald Knob, or nearly so. This will make the ride twice as long as at present, although there will still be a stop at Whittaker, the place on the mountain where the run now ends.

The section of railroad that now exists will be improved. Railroad shops on the line near Cass will be renovated and probably opened for tourist inspection. These shops, which have complete tools and facilities for steam locomotive repair, are curiosities in themselves, with particular appeal to railroad enthusiasts.

At the end of the line atop Bald Knob, hiking trails will be prepared through a beautiful spruce forest, and an overlook will be constructed. The panorama from this overlook, which I have seen, is destined to become known as a beauty spot of the East.

At the present terminus, a plateau on the side of the mountain, about 40 acres of land will be acquired by the State, if all goes well. At present, riders of the Cass Scenic Railroad disembark and may, if they wish, frolic or picnic on and around part of a 12-mile, 60-foot right-of-way now owned by the State. There will be toilets and picnic areas at the top of Bald Knob and also at the lower stop.

Ultimately, Cass enthusiasts dream of a lodge, ski trails and other frills near the summit of Bald Knob, but the half-million dollars available from ARA at this time won't cover that.

Down in the valley at the present time, there have been many pleasant improvements since the summer of 1963. Several privately owned and operated establishments have sprung up to cater to the more obvious needs of railroad patrons.

You no longer have to travel 40 miles for a hot meal. J. M. Kane, Jr., a Cass merchant, has renovated a C. & O. dining car and named it the Shay Inn. Air conditioned and attractively furnished, the Shay Inn is an example of creative thinking, an operation which fits in perfectly with its setting.

You may also get something to eat at the Cass Country Kitchen, the restaurant section of the Cass Country Store, a huge, restyled lumber-company store building which also houses a soda fountain, benches for the weary, restrooms, and many souvenir stands.

The Cass Country Store complex is, like the Shay Inn, a privately owned development catering to patrons of the State-owned railroad. It is thoughtfully and tastefully painted, decorated, lighted, and arranged.

W. E. Blackhurst's Wildlife Museum, one of the first private-enterprise developments at Cass, is still going strong, and Blackhurst has now mounted about 300 animals for your inspection.

A Civil War Museum, opened last year by Mr. and Mrs. Kyle Neighbor, is near the Blackhurst taxidermy exhibit. It features "penwritten" records, letters and grants a century old, including Civil War payrolls. There are many weapons of the Lincoln era, and other bric-a-brac not closely connected with the Civil War, such as a genuine West Virginia moonshine still.

There are no overnight accommodations in Cass, and Van's Motel, about 10 miles distant, yet affords the nearest lodging. But 6 miles north of Boyer is a new motel, the Hermitage, at Bartow. Opened only this April, the Hermitage (not to be confused with another inn of the same name at Petersburg, in Grant County) offers 8 single rooms and 12 doubles and the only modern restaurant in the area.

Around Marlinton, about 40 miles away, are several new, modern, motels. Or, those who plan to visit Cass might consider staying overnight in or near Elkins, which has many motels and hotels to fit all budgets. I have found the trip from Elkins to Bartow, and thence to Cass, a fast, pleasant, scenic drive, leaving U.S. 219 at Huttonsville and taking U.S. 250 through the hills until it intersects West Virginia 28 between Thornwood and Boyer.

Suicide Cave, or Cass Cave, a spectacular cavern with an internal waterfall 100 feet high, has not yet been opened to the public. No work, in fact, appears to have been done on this natural tourist attraction, although private capital is said to be interested. One of the landowners, according to rumors around Cass, is being difficult.

On the railroad itself, there are now three Shay engines in operating condition. And the bullhorn that Train Guide W. E. Blackhurst formerly used has been replaced by a more efficient loudspeaker system. It would be a good idea for arrangements to be made to protect train passengers from sudden summer showers. You might carry a raincoat, just in case.

And bring along a sweater or light coat. The summer sun is hot at Cass, but the air can get cool during mornings and evenings.

A free word of advice to the department of natural resources, or anyone else at Cass: Put up highway signs giving the location of the Cass Scenic Railroad, and how to get there. Make these signs big, make them explicit, and place them on all major highway approaches.

If you are running a business that depends upon highway trade, it is wise to assume that all tourists have poor eyesight, no memories, and don't read English well. You'll be wrong, of course, but it's better to be theoretically poor and practically right than the other way around.

Communist Rumania's Discrimination Against Hungarians in Transylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, in a day when Americans are becoming more and more concerned with discrimination in our own country, we cannot afford to ignore prejudice against minority groups in other parts of the world.

Since the end of World War II, the Rumanian Communist Government has been following a policy of systematic repression of the rights of its Hungarian minority in Transylvania. The 1952 Rumanian constitution provides for the free development of minority cultures and languages, including provisions for the free establishment of churches and schools. However, these provisions have not been carried out. The International Commission of Jurists has reported that the policies now in effect would eradicate the Hungarian minority as a recognizable unit in the next 10 or 15 years. The large-scale Hungarian educational system has been destroyed and the educated element of the population dispersed throughout the country. Centuries-old Hungarian libraries and castles have been destroyed. Religious freedom has been denied to the Catholic churches which provide for the religious needs of the minority. In addition, only 50 percent of those imprisoned during the Hungarian uprising in 1956 have been released.

Such a denial of rights and freedoms basic to all individuals must be protested by those who believe in the inherent worth of each man to a private life free from invasion from the public sector. At a time when a serious reevaluation is being made of our relationship with the Rumanian Government, it is necessary to explore all aspects of that country's relationships with its people and the world. Therefore, I join with the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN] and my other distinguished colleagues from both sides of the aisle in urging that hearings be held soon on H.R. 289 and subsequent legislation condemning the discrimination of the Rumanian Government against its Hungarian minority.

The U.S. Position in Vietnam Should Not Be an Issue at the Disarmament Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the recent reopening of the disarmament conference at Geneva has been seriously hampered by the efforts of the Soviet Union to make the United States withdrawal from Vietnam a major condition for further consideration of disarmament. Not only are these conditions proposed by the Soviet Union based on an inaccurate view of U.S. foreign policy, they are totally irrelevant to the issue at hand—the prohibition of the spread of nuclear weapons.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to a fine editorial which appeared in the August 11 issue of the Standard-Times of New Bedford, Mass. This editorial points up the fallacies in the Soviet Union's arguments and extends the hope that its delegation will forgo anti-U.S. propaganda and, instead, attempt to resolve the problem of nuclear proliferation.

The item follows:

THE OBSTRUCTING SOVIET

If the price demanded by the Soviet Union to prohibit the spread of nuclear weapons represents the Kremlin's final word, the disarmament conference at Geneva is not likely to be fruitful.

In exchange for an agreement, Semyon Tsarapkin, head of the Soviet delegation, has called for termination of the Vietnamese war, withdrawal of all American troops and the dismantling of U.S. bases in foreign countries.

Mr. Tsarapkin has insisted the Geneva meeting must give priority to the withdrawal of foreign troops and bases, and "cannot bypass the actions of the United States in Vietnam."

Apart from the fact the Russian attacks on U.S. foreign policy are distortions, as usual, an even more important factor is that they are not germane to these important meetings.

Mr. Tsarapkin ignores the truth, of course. The North Vietnamese persistently have refused to negotiate despite numerous efforts by the United States to open discussions. Most recently, Hanoi was reported to have turned down President Johnson's suggestion that the United Nations might assist in promoting a cease-fire and subsequent talks by the principals.

Under these circumstances, the United States has no choice but to help defend South Vietnam, while continuing to seek peace. Even in so doing, Mr. Johnson reemphasized that the American mission "is to help a small nation remain independent and free of aggression" and that those who advocate all-out war are insensitive to the U.S. role in southeast Asia.

But it is irresponsible of the Russians, and dangerously so, to burden these most delicate discussions aimed at saving the world from nuclear catastrophe with unrelated differences. If the Communists want to discuss Vietnam—although they, not we, have so far refused—let it be done at a conference for that purpose. The same goes for the matter of foreign troops and bases.

As serious as these matters may be, they do not begin to compare with the problem of the spreading nuclear weapon.

It is the responsibility of the Soviet Union, and of every other nation participating in the Geneva meetings, in order to get the negotiations back on the track, to return to the purpose of trying for an agreement to insure the nondissemination and nonproliferation of the nuclear military capability.

Surely the U.S.S.R., purely in its own interests, must recognize the growing urgency of the proliferation problem. Now Sukarno, never known either for political morality or responsibility, is boasting he will explode a nuclear device (undoubtedly facilitated by our gift to him of a reactor) within a matter of months.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Tsarapkin, having fulfilled his routine propaganda commitment, will return to the No. 1 item on the agenda, as determined as is the United States to see that no additional nations develop nuclear arsenals. It is not an impossible task nor is it inextricably related to the war in Vietnam.

The Independence Day of Gabon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, today marks the anniversary of the independence of the state of Gabon.

This country is known to many Americans as being the site of the extremely humanitarian work of Dr. Albert Schweitzer. However, the country's development in recent years has been impressive. For example, its per capita gross national production is over $250, one of the highest in Africa. Its relations with France, the United States, and the countries of the European Economic Community have been good and it has pursued a responsible posture in its foreign policy.

Mr. Speaker, I think it appropriate that we honor this day of independence.

Malaysia: A Divorce Within the Pacific Community

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, divorce is always tragic, and it is especially so when it involves 10½ millions of people. A week ago Monday, on August 9, the marriage of Singapore to the other states of the Federation of Malaysia came to a close only 1 month short of its second anniversary, thus ending what the matchmaker, Great Britain, could have easily termed a marriage of necessity. In retrospect, the match was conceived by the British Government on October 3, 1961, as a means of bolstering the Malaysian countries against Communist aggression and in order to couple the industrious, entrepreneurial abilities of the Singapore Chinese with the material but undeveloped wealth of Sabah, Sarawak, and the Malaya Federation. As this week's Economist reminds us in its lead article:

> Malaysia was devised as a solution to several specific problems. The basic one was that, as the 1960's opened, Singapore was clearly on the way to independence. In 1961 this began to look as if it would mean giving independence to a government of Chinese race and Communist orientation. The Malayans happened to have achieved independence a few years before after a decade spent in fighting Communists of Chinese race. The British happened to have a whopping great base, which they wanted to keep, in the island that a pro-Communist government might thus control.

The wedding took place on September 16, 1963, amid overwhelming applause from throughout the Pacific community of free nations. The United States, especially, lauded the move and encouraged American companies to invest in the new country, although politically we remained in the background.

Each of the partners had something to contribute and much to gain from the marriage. The State of Singapore had the well-known port of Singapore with its large industrial center. Its people, a population which is 75 percent Chinese, were endowed with advanced industrial and entrepreneurial abilities alone with large capital holdings. On their small island, however, they lacked the basic resources and raw materials to supply potential industries. Here, Malaya, Sarawak and Sabah—rich with these very items—came into the picture. Malaya alone is the largest supplier of iron ore in Asia and a leading producer of tin. Furthermore, all three states produce great quantities of rubber, pineapples and wood. At best these commodities represented only a small part of Malaysia's potential production and export capacity. They needed only the capital and the entrepreneurial talents of the Singapore businessmen to develop their potential.

After the wedding, construction boomed and commercial activity grew apace. Economically, the combination went hand in glove. Interstate ties were created, and a common market planned with the hearty endorsement of the World Bank.

But, as in many marriages, under the facade of prosperous togetherness, lay the ever-troublesome problem of who should hold the reins in the family. On this point, the governments of Malaya and Singapore could not agree, reflecting the long-known struggle between the Malays on the one hand and the overseas Chinese community on the other. Unfortunately, the Federation, based on a remarkably democratic constitution, fell prey to this struggle which had grown to uncontrollable proportions. The British recognized the situation as a problem which could defeat the Federation, but were no longer in a strong enough bargaining position to do anything about it. And thus, the Federation plummeted down the sad road of failure—failure to bring together a meeting of the minds, failure to compromise. The failure came purely from within. If blame must be placed, it must rest squarely on the shoulders of the Malaysians themselves—not the British and least of all the United States. In the final analysis, the marriage failed because of a political problem which is seemingly insoluable at this time. The economist commented tersely but accurately, I think, "not that disaster was inevitable. Malaysia was a rational idea, which might well have worked. The reason it did not was that there simply was not enough goodwill around."

Whatever the causes, the tragic fact is that the match was broken: the glove is off and the ring has been slipped from the hand. The split further disturbed the already unsettled waters in the Pacific community. It came at a time when strength and unity are needed most to stave off Communist aggression in southeast Asia and Indonesia's militant and mistaken policy of confrontation.

But, let us take heart that the split has not proved as devastating as it might have. It was only a matter of hours before the two former partners exchanged ambassadors and proclaimed their continued friendship. Moreover, Singapore quickly indicated that it was not going to turn its back on either Malaysia or the West. Indeed, the Economist reports that Singapore's new Foreign Minister, Mr. S. Rajaratnam:

> Has already made it very clear that Singapore's foreign policy will be designed to keep it close to Malaysia—which is, indeed, essential if both states are to survive and prosper. He has promised that Singapore, like all good progressive, newly developing Afro-

Asian states, will adopt a foreign policy of nonalinement "in the power struggle of the two ideological blocs." Knowing Mr. Rajaratnam, one can imagine how much restraint he must have exerted to hold himself back from speaking of three blocs. For, as director of the polibureau of the People's Action Party, he knows a great deal about the two rival Communist blocs and their interests in southeast Asia. Singapore will be friendly with all countries that recognize its integrity and independence and are friendly to Singapore. Indonesia may be able to qualify for a resumption of trade with Singapore on those grounds; but can Jakarta accept the other plank in Singapore's statement of foreign policy? This lays down that its foreign policy will "underpin the domestic attitude of preserving the state's integrity and independence while safeguarding the interests of Malaysia."

I note further that Mr. Rajaratnam just yesterday stated emphatically that Singapore would not join with Indonesia in a confrontation against Malaysia. He said that, "Political separation has not obliterated the fact that the people of both territories are one. Our destines are inextricably interwined and the crushing of one must inevitably mean the crushing of the other." Overall, the split has been made definitely but gently.

The potential for a good marriage, however, still exists for the old partners. Their economic interests remain complementary as before. We hope that they can resolve their political differences. If they can succeed in doing that, their real interests are certain to unite them once again. Perhaps, the union will take another form in the future. Indeed, perhaps the split will prove to be the needed catalyst for an even closer, more durable and more viable partnership. Again, I quote the Economist:

> Togetherness may be much more feasible now that there is a political separation than it ever was while Chinese and Malay politicians struggle for power inside the so-called unity of Malaysia.
>
> Providing that industrial and other rivalries are not carried to extremes, Malaysia and independent Singapore could work together harmoniously, and indeed must do so in respect of their interests in trade and security. Direct political rivalry no longer exists, so much of the cause of past trouble has been removed.

The Malaysian split dramatically reminds us that we are not the only Western power facing thorny problems of responsibility and security in southeast Asia. The British are there also, and with the split, as the Economist points out:

> Britain's commitments seem likely to remain. While subscribing to a foreign policy of nonalinement, Singapore is fully convinced (and so is Kuala Lumpur) that President Sukarno would drop his paratroopers on the island less than an hour after the withdrawal of the last British soldier.

The interests of Britain and the United States in southeast Asia are mutual—to help independent nations stave off Communist aggression, to help southeast Asian nations help themselves to achieve a better life, to help each other achieve and maintain peace—but at this time, our areas of responsibility are clearly separate.

Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. GALE SCHISLER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 1648) to provide grants for public works and development facilities, other financial assistance and the planning and coordination needed to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment in economically distressed areas and regions.

Mr. SCHISLER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to take note of the passage of Senate bill 1648, the Economic Development Act of 1965 which passed the House August 12.

The purpose of this legislation is to provide a comprehensive program of assistance to areas and regions of economic distress in order that unemployment can be arrested and facilities can be improved and upgraded. President Johnson, in his message of March 25, 1965, to the Congress said:

> The promise of America is opportunity for all our people. It must, therefore, be a matter of concern to all Americans when any of our fellow citizens is denied the chance to build a full life for himself and his family.

This program goes a long way in fulfilling the promise of America. It is a program which combines the best features of the Area Redevelopment Act, the Public Works Acceleration Act, and the Appalachian Regional Development Act. It provides assistance for local communities, for economic development centers, for counties, for labor areas, for multicounty combinations called "development districts," and for multistate regions. This legislation makes assistance available at whatever level of economic development that assistance can be most effective.

The bill contains five major programs, each contained in a separate title.

Title I of the bill provides for grants of up to 80 percent for public works in eligible areas which are necessary for economic development or meet the objectives of the antipoverty program. Supplementary grants are available also, to communities where unemployment is exceptionally high and the requirements for local matching funds cannot be met.

Title II provides financial assistance for loans for public facilities, for commercial or industrial facilities, and for guarantees of working capital loans made in conection with businesses being established or expanded.

Title III provides the means by which communities and businessmen can find the answer to economic problems which are obstacles to economic growth. This title authorizes 75 percent of the funds to provide a full-time staff for State, district, and selected local economic development organizations to undertake research on the problems of long-term employment.

Title IV provides for the designation of eligible areas on the basis of unemployment or heavy loss of population. In general, the standards for designation on the basis of unemployment are the same as those under the Area Redevelopment Act. This means that counties with a median family income of $2,264 or less would qualify.

Title V of the bill provides for Federal participation in the organization of regional development commissions similar to the Appalachian Region Development Commission. This Commission will draw up a plan for economic action in the region and recommend appropriate action to State and Federal bodies.

The upgrading of community facilities is an integral part of this legislation, and two counties in our 19th District have had projects approved in this area. In Knox County the sewage system at Abingdon will see treatment and improvement. A sewage lagoon has been approved for Oneida and Yates City.

In Mercer County, Matherville, New Boston, and Sherrard have had sewage facilities projects approved.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation is going to influence the lives of a great many people. Looking at it in terms of the national interest, it will replace hopelessness with hope for hundreds of thousands of families. Thousands of children will be able to continue their education where otherwise it might be interrupted. It will bring needed new payrolls for depressed communities and new jobs for the unemployed. I was pleased to be able to lend my support to this legislation, for I feel it will mean a real boost and a program of self-help for communities all over our country.

Kindest President of All

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, one of the ablest Governors who ever served Florida and one of the most dedicated Democrats in Florida or in the country is former Gov. Fuller Warren of Florida, now a distinguished attorney in Miami and a resident, I am proud to say, of my congressional district.

Governor Warren on July 21, 1965, wrote a magnificent letter to the editor of the Miami Daily News, in eloquent tribute to President Johnson, captioned "Kindest President of All." I commend to my colleagues and to my countrymen who shall read this RECORD this moving tribute to our President by former Governor Warren:

KINDEST PRESIDENT OF ALL

To the EDITOR:

The venomous attacks by some segments of the press upon President Johnson are puzzling, very puzzling. He is the kindliest, most compassionate President since Lincoln. He is one of the most effective of all the Presidents. He gets along with Congress better than any other President ever has. He has caused Congress to enact some of the most benevolent, the most humane measures ever to become law. He has courted the press more ardently than any other President. He has not made a major mistake as President. He has not publicly said a harsh word about anybody—not even a Republican. President Johnson has not said or done anything reasonably calculated to provoke the envenomed editorials and hate-filled columns spewed upon him recently. In some instances, this forgiving man actually has "turned the other cheek."

Not once has he retaliated against those who have reviled him, as have some great Presidents. (One of Lincoln's generals had to close down the Chicago Times because of its seditious and subversive obstruction of the war effort.)

Various polls have shown that President Johnson is supported by an overwhelming majority of patriotic Americans. There is persuasive evidence that God, himself, is upholding Johnson's strong hands. He gets guidance from above through daily prayer. One of God's great vicars, Billy Graham, the universal evangelist, recently joined Johnson in prayer at the White House. No other President has walked more humbly with God and his fellow man.

"What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" (Micah 6: 8). Do a few carping columnists and a junta of irascible editors require more than this of President Johnson? How long, Oh! how long, will a conspiratorial cabal of constricted columnists and a few envenomed editors continue to rail against this righteous man?

FULLER WARREN,
Miami.

Johnson Should Listen to Ford

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, Representative GERALD R. FORD showed a fine sense of patriotism, courage, and dignity in replying to a personal attack on him by the President, who alleged a violation of confidence following a White House meeting recently. The Spokesman-Review newspaper in Spokane, Wash., in an editorial dated August 7, 1965, and headlined "Johnston Should Listen to FORD," emphasizes some points which are worthy of further consideration. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the editorial:

JOHNSON SHOULD LISTEN TO FORD

Representative GERALD R. FORD, of Michigan, elected leader of the Republicans in the House of Representatives, was the object of a bitter and highly questionable verbal attack by President Johnson the other day.

The President's skill as a maker and a manager of news was utilized fully in his castigation of Mr. FORD, without specifically naming him, in a dispute involving the President's most recent policy pronouncements on Vietnam.

It has been Mr. FORD's position that the President had been misinformed about an alleged violation of confidence after a White House briefing of congressional leaders.

The details of that dispute are not as important now as an apparent White House rejection of a request by Mr. FORD of a chance to see the President and to discuss their possible differences.

Mr. FORD's stature as the House Republican leader, and his concern over America's courses of action to halt Communist aggression in Vietnam, certainly merit personal attention and respect from the President.

Mr. Johnson has had time in recent days to pose before the cameras for numerous minor ceremonies, even one dealing with the footprinting of his dogs. His seemingly unfair attack on Mr. FORD and the apparent refusal to consult with Mr. FORD is indeed a shocking abuse of Presidential power.

For America's sake, it is about time for Mr. Johnson to listen to what Representative FORD has to say and to correct the public record if an error has been made.

United States-U.S.S.R. Consular Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, although the House of Representatives does not enter into the formal treatymaking process we have an interest in the issues involved when the Executive enters into a treaty arrangement.

Much discussion has taken place over the draft Consular Convention now before the other body. The accusation has been made that it will aid the Communists by making it easier for them to carry on espionage in the United States.

The Wall Street Journal discussed this question in an editorial today and I believe its conclusions merit our attention. For this reason, I have unanimous consent to include it in the RECORD after my remarks:

CONSULS AND CALCULATED RISKS

A minority of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee opposes ratification of the United States-Soviet consular convention as increasing the opportunities for Russian espionage. There is something in the danger the Senators cite, all right, but the emotional shock of their charge can easily distort it out of all perspective.

The convention would pave the way for both the United States and Russia to open consular offices in a few of the major cities of the other country, supplementing embassies in national capitals. Consular offices protect and assist their government's citizens traveling in the area or dealing with officials or nationals of the opposite nation. They also handle routine matters such as visas for travel to the nation they represent.

Fairly obviously, U.S. citizens traveling in Russia are more likely to need and benefit from consular assistance than Russians traveling here. In addition, the pact contains specific provisions—intended primarily to protect Americans in Russia—giving consular officials the right to prompt notification and visitation when their government's citizens are arrested in the foreign nation. While Russia isn't exactly famous for living up to its agreements, its first recognition of such rights would add at least something to the security of U.S. travelers there.

Now, consuls quite normally also perform an intelligence function by legitimately acting as additional "listening posts" in a foreign country, gathering information on local conditions. With the record of Communist diplomats, it's certainly possible Soviet consulates here would not be above illegitimate espionage as well.

Our open society, however, already gives the Russians ample chance to spy. A few consulates, certainly under close watch by our counterintelligence, might not make a crucial difference. In the closely regulated Soviet society, moreover, we have precious few opportunities for even legitimate information gathering. To a nonexpert eye, at least, it is not entirely evident that the intelligence balance necessarily would favor Russia.

Secretary of State Rusk advocates the consular pact because it would help "normalize relations" with Russia in the face of "the dangerous situation in southeast Asia." While we think his suggestion of a possible immediate effect is an exaggeration, as a long-range alternative to total isolation there is much to recommend a policy of trying to learn to live with the Russians while opposing their thrusts, and trying to teach them to live with us.

That goal doesn't necessarily mean the consular convention must be implemented if the Senate finds its advantages insignificant. It does mean that the observation that Russian diplomats often spy is no peremptory argument to end discussion of the issue. The chance of making spying somewhat easier must be weighed as a calculated risk against the possible benefits to the United States.

Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965

SPEECH
OF
HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 12, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 1648) to provide grants for public works and development facilities, other financial assistance, and the planning and coordination needed to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment in economically distressed areas and regions.

Mr. TODD. Mr. Chairman, when the final vote was taken on S. 1648, the Economic Development Act, I was absent from the Chamber preparing for Committee hearings the following day. I did not return in time to qualify. If I had been present, I would have voted "nay," since I believe the authorization of $500 million per year to be excessive, in view of the administration request for $250 million, and in view of the potential impact of this added expenditure upon forcing prices up. In view of a needed but unplanned appropriation for the Defense Department which will come up, I think this added authorized expenditure unwise.

The Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, the Sterling and Francine Clark Institute, one of the finest museums in the country, is located in the beautiful New England town of Williamstown, Mass. Built by the late Robert Sterling Clark to house his personal art collection, the institute contains a wide variety of priceless European and American paintings, drawings, and antique silver. Each year, almost 50,000 visitors come to see the exhibitions in this Berkshire museum, which has been praised by American connoisseurs of art.

The August 16, 1965, issue of Newsweek magazine contains an article about the Clark Institute, which I feel will be of great interest to my colleagues.

The article follows:

MR. ANONYMOUS

Robert Sterling Clark, an heir to the Singer sewing machine fortune, amassed one of the world's great art collections. Yet, whenever he loaned one of his many masterpieces for a special exhibit or whenever he purchased one for himself, his name invariably remained a secret. There are many collectors who shun publicity, but Clark pursued privacy so passionately that he became known as "Mr. Anonymous."

Just a year before his death in 1956, Clark moved out of the shadows and into the public eye. To house his $50 million collection, then scattered among his homes in New York, Paris, and Montreal, he built a museum in northwestern Massachusetts pleasant college community of Williamstown (population: 7,000). Today, at the museum, tourists and students from nearby colleges can view the treasures—ranging from "Madonna With Child and Four Angels" by Piero della Francesca, through Renoir's "Sleeping Girl With Cat" to two American masterpieces, Remington's "The Scout: Friends or Enemies" and Homer's "A Summer Squall."

From time to time the museum dips into its resources of previously unexhibited works and mounts a show like the current "Nineteenth Century French Drawings." Visitors who trooped through the linen-walled galleries last week saw 57 drawings by 14 artists, including 17 Degas works (among them: the soft figure of a "Woman Standing in a Bath Tub"), which Clark acquired in 1919 from the artist's estate. Meticulously displayed in the museum's large main hall, the show features three superb Toulouse-Lautrec circus scenes dated 1899, and Monet's intimate, delicate, black crayon "View of Rouen."

Surrounded on a 153-acre plot by meadows, ponds, a stream, and occasional cows, the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute lies about a mile from the campus of Williams College, but has no official connection with it. Located in the heart of the Berkshire Mountains, the museum, Clark believed, would entice summer motorists (daily attendance climbs from 300 in the winter months to 600 in the summer).

The museum, with its four temple-like Doric columns guarding its mammoth bronze doors, is as one critic put it, "mortuary classical." But inside, the institute is completely modern: the 76 by 54-foot skylight ceiling, for instance, has a photoelectric device which automatically coordinates the fluorescent and incandescent lighting with glass louvers that control the amount of daylight pouring into the galleries. The result is a constant level of light and a minimum of glare. And the museum, said the late critic Alfred Frankfurter, is "very likely the best organized and most highly functional structure yet erected anywhere."

If the museum has any fault, it is that it is too small. So huge was Clark's collection of paintings, drawings, and antique silver that all available display space is already filled—even though there is much that is still uncataloged in basement vaults. Peter Guille, who has been the director of the museum ever since it opened a decade ago, says: "We have so many works that have never been displayed—many are still in unopened boxes—that we'll be able to stage new exhibitions for the next 3 or 4 years."

University of Colorado Economist Puts Foreign Aid in Focus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, the complexities of America's foreign aid program sometimes seem overpowering. The program has saved innumerable lives, prevented untold bloodshed. And as it has grown, it has grown complex.

Thus it benefits us all when someone comes along who can put foreign aid in perspective in a few paragraphs of clear prose. Such a person is Prof. Ragaei El Mallakh of the University of Colorado Department of Economics.

He has written an eight-paragraph article on foreign aid for the August 21 issue of the "New Republic." Dr. El Mallakh is widely known in scholarly circles for his writings and his research and he also has had practical experience with the World Bank.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit Dr. El Mallakh's article:

THE CLOUDY FUTURE FOR FOREIGN AID

Foreign aid has nine lives. This year's $3.2 billion aid bill provides for terminating the program in 1967 after thoroughgoing congressional investigation of all of aid's innumerable nooks and crannies. But though many Americans view aid as a one-way giveaway dating back to the relief programs of the First World War, the end is almost certainly not yet in sight. One reason has been well stated by Barbara Ward, the British economist: "The gap is rapidly widening between a white, complacent, highly bourgeois, very wealthy, very small North Atlantic elite and everybody else, and this is not a very comfortable heritage to leave to one's children." Congress and the public may both fulminate against aid but there will always be someone to remind them, and not in vain, that in two-thirds of the world per capita income is $100 a year or less and is not perceptibly increasing, while in the United States the per capita income is $2,300 a year and is rapidly rising.

Aid to less developed countries used to be in the form of outright grants; there was mounting criticism and now almost 70 percent of all American assistance to foreign countries is loans. But this has created a serious problem. Now the borrowing countries have to use more than a third of the aid they receive for paying off debt. Only 10 years ago, debt repayments used up only 8 percent of aid. The money being repaid annually is $5 billion, 10 years ago it was only $1 billion. In spite of the aid they have received, many of the borrowing countries are in grave financial straits. So they ought to be tightening their belts. But how can they on a per capita income basis of $100 a year or less? Dr. Raul Prebisch, the United Nations economist, says that if they tried it, "it would drive every last one of those countries right into the Communist Chinese camp." These countries are in trouble, despite past and continuing aid, because they live by exporting primary products, for which there is less demand than there used to be; and in order to develop they have to import manufacturing goods whose prices keep rising. The other main cause of their troubles is their high rate of population increase, more than 2.5 percent a year compared with less than 2 percent in most of the richer countries.

This year, the British despite their own money difficulties announced at the London Commonwealth Conference that in the future loans to selected poor countries would be made free of interest or of management charges. Canada began providing interest-free loans last October. The International Development Association, which lends to poor countries in behalf of the World Bank, will continue to make only a small service charge for loans that are repayable over 50 years.

But the growing gap between the rich, mostly white countries and the poor nonwhite two-thirds of mankind indicates that whatever means are used the richer countries will probably have to give more aid in the future, not less. A United Nations estimate is that aid amounts now to only one-half of 1 percent of the incomes of the donors. The U.N. Conference on Trade and Development held in Geneva last year (UNCTAD) thought this ought to be doubled, to 1 percent of the industrialized countries' incomes.

George D. Woods, President of the World Bank said this month that the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is lending $6 billion a year in long-term capital aid. The figure has stayed the same since 1961, but in that period the industrialized countries have been adding an annual total of $40 billion to their gross national products. As a percentage of the rich countries' incomes, aid is actually shrinking. Senator ROBERT KENNEDY has analyzed the contribution of the United States and concluded that it is not meeting its responsibilities. U.S. economic aid to the rest of the world is just over $2 billion a year or about a third of 1 percent of the national income. Senator KENNEDY believes that this is only a fifth or perhaps only a tenth of the amount needed to meet what he called this century's challenge. All the developed countries have to do more, but the United States as the most developed has to do the most.

Aid is not all altruism. Even disregarding the political consequences of withholding it, there are pragmatic economic benefits that accrue. A 1-percent increase in the gross national product of a developing country means a 1.4-percent increase in U.S. exports—vital to a heavily industrialized country like the United States which is worried about its balance-of-payments position. Aid supports domestic growth. In 1962, aid financed 21 percent of U.S. exports of iron and steel, and a third of the value of exported locomotives and chemical fertilizers.

Aid has undergone a significance evolution. It began as a reconstruction of the war-shattered economies of Europe and its objectives have steadily broadened until now

the emphasis is on the assistance given to backward countries that are learning to industrialize. The methods have changed, from outright grants immediately following the ending of the Second World War, to loans, country-to-country aid tied specifically to exports, and now perhaps multilateral aid given to regions through international agencies.

In my judgment, the last seems likeliest to do most for the long-term economic development of the poorer countries.

—RAGAEI EL MALLAKH.

Mekong River Basin Development Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, the Communists are actively engaged in southeast Asia in what they like to call a war of liberation. We call it what it plainly is, the "new imperialism." This past week the President of the United States has been holding a series of briefings for Members of Congress on the nature of the conflict in southeast Asia. He has pointed out—very effectively I think—that the challenge we face there is not military alone, nor is it confined just to South Vietnam. Rather the challenge is many-faceted—social and economic as well as military and political—and it spreads itself over the whole of southeast Asia. The President made it very clear that this Nation is bending every effort in every direction to bring peace to that troubled area, peace sustained by progress, development and prosperity for the peoples of southeast Asia. For although it is essential to this Nation's security, southeast Asia is not just a buffer state. It is an area rich in human and natural resources, rich in undeveloped land, rich in opportunity for its 100 millions of people. A strong, peaceful, independent ,and developing southeast Asia would enormously benefit all peoples through peaceful trade, tourism, and cultural exchange.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the President for taking the Members of Congress into his confidence, and I congratulate him on the wisdom of doing so. I think that the air definitely needed clearing on this subject, and I think that the President has begun that process in a productive manner. I would also like to thank and congratulate the various Members of the executive branch who participated in the briefings for their fine presentations. In particular I feel that the report of Mr. Eugene Black, the distinguished former president of the World Bank, on the economic aspects of our efforts in southeast Asia was most valuable. Mr. Black spoke at length on the Mekong River development project, pointing out to the Congressmen present the importance of the project and its potentially vast impact upon the economies of Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to thank Mr. Black and congratulate him for a very fine report. In view of the quickened interest in, and curiosity about, the Mekong River project stimulated by Mr. Black, I also introduce, into the RECORD a disquisition prepared in my office on that subject. I am hopeful that my colleagues will find this information useful and helpful.

The disquisition follows:

REGIONALISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

As the problem of creating an effective action agency out of the U.N. appears to grow in complexity and improvement grows dimmer as time goes on, the practical necessity of regional cooperative efforts increases. Although not entirely free of frustration and far from even in progress, the European experience in regional cooperation has served as a model and an encouragement for other areas of the world. There must be some machinery in the world to move constructive interests on something more than a narrow national base.

In southeast Asia, particularly, a regional approach to many problems is preferable to a national one—for in the 20th century cooperation on a wide basis, a regional basis, better meets the needs of small countries. Regionalism does not emerge overnight; it has to be carefully cultivated in an atmosphere of growing awareness of the need for common action. Certainly, the Mekong River Basin project offers an opportunity for southeast Asian nations to develop a common action approach to shared problems.

There are in southeast Asia, as in any region, peculiar problems to be overcome before a true community spirit can exist. First, are the political difficulties which must be stabilized before the member nations can work successfully in concert. Second, the southeast Asian nations must establish a precedent for thinking across national lines and they must establish a concensus on the meaning of cooperation. Finally, attention must shift from the present focus on already developed nations to the trade potentials and advantages of the southeast Asian region itself.

Other problems such as economic dependence on one or two natural resources or lack of sufficient markets for the sale of goods requiring heavy capital investment for development can be best solved through regional cooperation.

Considering all the problems of development the best opportunities for encouraging regionalism in southeast Asia still exist in the economic and cultural fields. It is success in these fields that can foster greater political stability.

The Mekong River project with its tremendous development impact is one of the best examples of how economic benefit can transcend political differences. In addition to the close working relationship of the not always friendly countries of Cambodia, Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam on the United Nations Committee for Investigations of the Lower Mekong Basin, 14 United Nations agencies, 2 foundations, 2 private companies, and 21 countries including Australia, Japan, New Zealand, the Philippines, and the United States, have invested and participated in the Mekong project to make it truly a regional and an international endeavor.

RIVER DESCRIPTION

The Mekong is one of the great rivers of the world ranking with the Mississippi of America, the Don of Russia, and the Ganges of India. A river that affects the geography, the economics, and the politics of peoples along its banks for a distance of 2,600 miles.

Location: The headwaters of the Mekong River are in western China north of Tibet. The river flows south into Laos where it forms the Lao-Thai border. From there it continues south, cutting across Cambodia and the Republic of Vietnam, to empty into the South China Sea which flanks the eastern and southern sides of the Indochinese Peninsula.

Discharge at mouth: The annual flow of the Mekong River emitted into the South China Sea is 400 million acre-feet. By means of comparison the annual discharge of the Mississippi River into the Gulf of Mexico is 440 million acre-feet.

Volume of flow: The volume of flow on the Mekong at Phnom penh (a port on the downstream side of the great lake in Cambodia) is 400,000 cubic feet per second. The Mississippi, America's largest river, has a flow of 611,000 cubic feet per second.

Distance: The length of the lower Mekong or that part of the river below China is 1,504 miles, while the total length of the river is 2,600 miles (longer than the Mississippi River proper and almost as long as the Columbia River).

Drainage area: The drainage area of the lower Mekong is 236,000 square miles or equal to the combined area of the States of California and New York.

HISTORY OF MEKONG DEVELOPMENT

Man's first attempt to harness the potential of the Mekong River was in the ninth century. The Khmer emporers of Cambodia started an extensive irrigation system in the vicinity of Angkor. Due to harassment by the Thai's and the Champa leaders, the system was never completed. The river's wealth did not go untapped however, both the Khmer and Champa leaders drew up plans and commenced building a maze of canals in the delta region, many of which are still in use today.

From 1866 to the end of their control in 1954 the French colonial governors worked hard to extend the ancient Khmer and Champa canal system. These water routes served the French as both communication links between their massive rubber and rice plantations and as the major avenue of transportation to market. From 1905 to 1940 the French worked on marking navigatable river channels and built Phnon Penh Port below the Great Lake in Cambodia.

The first regional cooperation between nations sharing the Mekong River came in 1926 when Thailand and France, who then controlled Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam, signed an agreement to the effect that neither would impede Mekong shipping. In 1949 Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, and France signed a convention of Maritime and Inland Navigation on the Mekong and Inland Water Routes to Saigon. With the independence of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos from French colonialism in 1954, all the newly formed nations joined Thailand in an agreement which combined both the 1926 and 1949 conventions.

In 1952 the first steps were taken by the U.N. Economic and Social Council to promote regional identity and cooperation through the creation of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE). The goal of this Commission is "to initiate and participate in measures for * * * raising the level of economic activity * * * and * * * strengthening the economic relations of this area both among themselves and with other countries of the world; and to make or sponsor investigations and studies of economic and technological problems and developments within * * * Asia and the Far East." It was under the newly formed ECAFE that the U.N. sponsored the first study of the Mekong River. Since then 21 countries and 14 U.N. agencies have contributed some $27 million for planning and an additional $40 million for construction or investment. In 1957 four consultants, two from Japan, one from India, and one from France, carried out the first field reconnaissance on the Lower Mekong and proposed sketches for five possible mainstream projects. That year

also saw the establishment of the Committee for Coordination and Investigations of the Lower Mekong, which was the first actual personal cooperation between the four beneficiary countries—Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos.

Today the construction of six dams is underway—two on the Mekong itself and four on the tributaries. Of these dams, two located on tributaries in the highlands of northeast Thailand, are to be finished this year. The anticipated construction time for the entire project is 25 years.

PROPOSAL

President Johnson said in Baltimore on April 7, this year: "The vast Mekong River can provide food and water and power on a scale to dwarf even our own TVA." More specifically, the idea of the Mekong River project is to build a series of dams and powerplants along the Mekong and some of its key tributaries for irrigation, electricity, flood control, and navigation. The proposed project would harness the Mekong to fill the needs of some 50 million poor people and increase the irrigated land in the service area by some 6 million acres. The most recent estimates indicate the cost of the project to be $2 billion and the time to completion 25 years. Note: the California water project is being constructed at a cost of $3 billion with a delivery date in Los Angeles of 1971 or an 11-year construction period. One must keep in mind that this $2 billion estimate is possibly below the actual cost due to the shortcomings of projecting costs over such an extended period of time.

Benefits of the project include the extension of deep channel navigation from the present 190 miles upstream to 270 miles. The planned flood control measures would result in a constant 3-foot increase in the depth of the river. Not only would this increase in depth prevent the present salt water incursion which destroys many good acres of farmland in the delta each year but it would also save the deltic and Great Lake fisheries.

The three major main stream projects are:

Pa Mong, located where the river forms the international boundary between Laos and Thailand, making possible the irrigation of about 2.5 million acres in Laos and Thailand and continuous generation of approximately 1.5 million kilowatt-hours of electricty. Finally, this project would increase the value of all other downstream projects.

Sambor, located in Cambodia this project would make possible the irrigation of 250,000 acres of land and would generate 400,000 kilowatt-hours of electricity.

Tonle Sap, located in Cambodia south of the Great Lake the project would improve the fisheries of the Great Lake now threatened with extermination and make possible the hydraulic management and reclamation of vast areas in the Mekong Delta in Cambodia and Vietnam.

Specifically the Mekong River Basin project includes the total development of 5 main stream and 12 tributary projects. Combined these dams will produce 35,950,000 kilowatt-hours of electricity, expand the irrigated region in the service area by 6,840,000 acres, and create 525 miles of improved navigable waterways.

To date the United States has invested some $6 million in this project through the Committee for the Coordination and Investigation of the Lower Mekong.

PROBLEMS

Opponents to the Mekong River project point out a multiplicity of problems which will deter the project's accomplishment. A few of these were cited in the section on regionalism—traditional animosity, lack of experience in cooperation and little sense of community identity, lack of political stability, and the constant Communist threat.

In order to make most effective use of the project, local residents of the villages and hamlets must work together to build the small-scale irrigation projects to service their crops, to increase diversification and production. Villagers must be willing to accept technical training and adopt new methods for old jobs. They must be willing to work together for the benefit of all—a concept accepted in the United States but virtually unknown in Asia, where the extended family dominates both society and culture.

The problems raised are real and indicate that the goals sought are not easy of achievement. Against the risks one must calculate the advantages. It seems likely that economic and social advances are needed for stability that aids our side. Also, although a richer southeast Asia makes a more alluring target for Chinese conquest, it will build a stronger resolve to fight such intrusions. It is likewise possible that just as West Berlin is an embarrassment to Russia—in fact acts as an indirect influence for domestic policies to improve consumer status—so advancements in southeast Asia could effect public and mass reactions in China. The major problem, the problem of the developed Mekong acting as a lure to the Communists, can only be weighted against the benefit of increasing the economic security and living standards of the residents of the Lower Mekong River Basin.

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Secretary Freeman Talks Sense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. J. RANDALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, on August 2 Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman addressed the annual convention of the Missouri Farmers' Association at Columbia, Mo.

In his remarks the Secretary summarized the startling improvements in agricultural income during the past 4 years and described the shock and chaos the agricultural and the national economy would have to sustain if farm commodity programs were not extended by the 89th Congress.

Mr. Freeman also predicted that if the administration's farm program were enacted it would not be unreasonable to anticipate in the next 4 years a repeat of the $1,000 gain in realized net income per farm of the last 4 years.

Because the Secretary's observations are so critically relevant to current House debate on the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, I have secured unanimous consent to reproduce the speech in its entirety at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

There are some experiences which—no matter how often repeated—are ever new, and revive a man's zest for life and his joy in it.

Like feeling the trusting touch of the hand of a little child, recognizing the voice of an old friend by the warmth of it, seeing the haze of loveliness that wraps itself around a mother, a wife, a daughter, and, seeking to match the intense concentration of an inquisitive boy.

Another of these always refreshing experiences is looking out over the versatile and vibrant farmlands of the Midwest in the midst of a growing season. There is always inspiration, accompanied by a deep sense of gratitude, in seeing firsthand the combination of farmer skills with nature's gifts that results in the miracle we know as food abundance.

So I find it good—good indeed—to be with you in this place, at this time. Thank you for inviting me.

Four years have gone by since we were last together at an annual meeting of the Missouri Farmers' Association. Since 1961 I have come to know the membership of this organization better than I did then—many of the more than 150,000 of you personally—all of you through the quality of your organization and the character of the leadership you choose for it.

These associations and observations have led me to two conclusions about the Missouri Farmers' Association.

One is that you do not accept progress as inevitable. You look upon progress as a process demanding imagination and creativity, sensitivity and sensibility, anticipation and dedication, and plain hard work.

The other is that you consistently operate from the premise that what's good for the farm families of Missouri and the Nation is good for the Missouri Farmers Association. I've seen you apply this principle internally, as you weighed possible immediate advantages for your cooperative enterprises against the potential for long-term gains in the whole of agriculture; and I've seen you apply it in helping create and implement national farm and food policies and programs.

For establishing and following these commendable standards, you have my admiration and respect.

This organization's spirit and its concept of proper priority—as well as the personal philosophy and abilities you have recognized for a quarter of a century—have contributed to making your Fred Heinkel an internationally recognized agricultural leader.

Fred Heinkel holds the dual role of an architect, and a builder, in the food and agriculture policies and programs of the 1960's.

Few commodity programs, now or in the past, have records of performance and popularity equalling that of our present feed grains program. It was the first big step in bringing farm production policy into harmony with the era of abundance. The chairman of the advisory committee which played a major part in the creation of the feed grains program, and in perfecting it through the years since 1961, was Fred Heinkel.

Fred, I want MFA members to know that no one has done more for American agriculture through this period of almost 5 years than you. And if you will accept a personal tribute, I want to express my own high regard and warm affection.

Earlier I recalled it has been 4 years since I attended an annual MFA meeting. At that time we discussed what needed doing

in the decade of the 1960's to correct inequities that were denying parity of income opportunity to our farm families and threatening the destruction of the free enterprise family farm system.

Since then, working together, we have corrected, and we have innovated.

We have broadened the avenues of economic, educational, and social opportunity for the people of rural America—farm and nonfarm.

By combining the abilities, the knowledge, the resources and the purposes of people and Government we have moved steadily upward on a number of fronts from the low levels of 1960.

As Al Smith once said: "Let's look at the record."

Farm earnings today are substantially better than they were. Realized net farm income in this year of 1965 is now expected to total $13.5 billion—the highest since 1953 and some $1.8 billion more than our farm families earned in 1960.

Today's income is better than that of 1960 because we've succeeded in moving to more equitable farm price levels. In the early summer of 1960 the average return to farmers from soybeans was $1.94 a bushel. This year it was $2.72—78 cents a bushel more.

Here are some other early summer of 1960 and 1965 comparisons:

Corn, $1.09 a bushel then, $1.30 now.

Hogs, $16.20 a hundredweight then, $22.70 now.

Cattle, $21.70 then, $23 a hundredweight now.

Lambs, $20.10 then, $25 a hundredwight now.

Wool, 45 cents a pound then, 49 cents a pound now.

All hay, $15.90 then, $20 a ton now.

Farm spending is better than it was. The income gains are reflected in improved rural town and city economies as sales of goods and services to farmers trend upward. Last year, when gross farm income was $4 billion over the total of 1960, farmers increased their expenditures for automobiles by over $600 million and boosted other expenditures for capital goods and machinery by another $400 million. Better living on the farm means better living in St. Louis, Kansas City, Detroit, and Rock Island.

Food is a better bargain than it was. For the millions of American consumers, food is the best buy they find in retail stores. This year, for the average family, food costs will take about 18.3 percent of income after taxes. In 1960, food required 20 percent—and the diet contained less beef. If the same percentage of income were being spent for food in 1965 as consumers were spending in 1960, they would have $7 billion less to spend on other things.

Food distribution is better than it was. We're doing a much-improved job of making our food abundance cover the whole of our society—our families requiring public assistance, and our schoolchildren. The USDA's food programs are now reaching over 40 million American adults and youngsters each year. The volume of food distributed through these domestic programs has increased from 900 million pounds in 1959–60 to 2.1 billion pounds in 1964–65. In addition, a growing volume of food is moving into the homes of low-income families through commercial channels under the food stamp program.

Farm exports are better than they were. Sales of agricultural commodities overseas are expected to reach a new record of $6.1 billion in the current fiscal year. It will be the second year in a row with farm exports in excess of $6 billion, as compared with $4.5 billion in fiscal 1960. This means more than better markets, better incomes, for farm families—it means expanded job and income opportunities in the areas of processing and shipping—and it makes a substantial contribution to a favorable balance of payments. From a humanitarian standpoint and from a commercial standpoint the expanded utilization of American food and fiber abroad contains the greatest opportunity for maximum use of our great food production plant. In this effort there is need for the facilities and the skills of our cooperatives, and the interest demonstrated by NFA is most welcome.

The supply-demand relationship is better than it was. Surpluses are down. Carryover stocks of grain by the end of the year will be at the lowest level since the mid-1950's, which means greater farm price stability and a cut in storage and handling costs for taxpayers.

We can take pride and satisfaction in these achievements.

What we've done in the past 4 years is proof it is possible to base a reasonable, progressive, serviceable food and agricultural policy on a concept of abundance rather than scarcity, benefiting producers and consumer alike.

That doesn't mean we have achieved full parity in income opportunity for our adequate, commercial family farms or that rural America as a whole is moving ahead in job and other opportunities as rapidly as it must to reach our goal of parity of opportunity.

But we're on the right track.

Whether we stay on it depends upon the decisions the Congress makes this month on legislation that will make it possible to continue—with a variety of improvements—the policies that have provided fuel for the steady progress made since 1960.

Let me emphasize that these legislative proposals are not designed to maintain the status quo. While incorporating the dynamic parts of our past experience, the omnibus farm bill is designed to encourage development of an agricultural plant and a family farm economy that will respond to the potentials of the future.

The same mechanisms that made things better than they were are not necessarily sufficient to make them better than they are.

Enactment of forwardlooking legislation is mandatory to a forwardmoving rural economy, a forwardmoving national economy.

Failure to act will be catastrophic to both.

Studies made by the Congress, by university economists and others, agree that if we fail to extend our farm commodity programs we will quickly experience a decline of as much as 50 percent from the current, still inadequate net farm income level.

Anyone can understand a 50-percent pay cut, and its impact upon the individual family directly affected. But let me turn your attention, and the attention of the entire Nation, to what such a blow to the farm economy would mean to the whole of the country's economic well-being.

A quick look at the farm credit situation is most revealing:

On January 1, 1965, the total farm debt amounted to $36 billion. That's 45 percent more than it was just 5 years ago. It is nearly 200 percent over the farm debt total of 1950.

It is a matter of deep, personal concern to the farm families who owe it. It should also be a matter of both humanitarian and economic concern to nonfarmers, because if farm families cannot pay it city families are going to be in trouble, too.

The debt situation in agriculture is neither better, nor worse, than in other sectors of the economy. Farm debt has increased at about the same rate as the debt of corporations, and at a somewhat slower rate than consumer debt and private noncorporate debt.

Indications are that the sharp rise in farm debt is not due to the use of credit as a substitute for income.

Rather, the increase has resulted largely from borrowing by farmers to increase the efficiency of their operations, and borrowing by young farmers becoming established on adequate family farms. And comparatively few of them are having debt difficulties so far—this fact is made clear by the excellent record made by farm lending institutions in collections from 1961 through 1964, and the near-record low levels of delinquencies and foreclosures.

If we succeed in maintaining the farm income gains of the past 4 years—if we continue our already significant progress toward full parity of income opportunity for the operators of the growing numbers of adequate family farms—the farm debt situation is not likely to cause serious difficulties for most farmers, for the communities which provide them with goods and services, or for the urban factory workers dependent upon rural markets for a substantial share of their employment.

However, a sharp decline in farm income resulting from failure to continue constructive farm and food policies and programs would, on the other hand, quickly upset the entire rural credit structure. It would deprive farmers of the ability to borrow or to repay the massive debt load they carry today. It would mean wholesale foreclosure and liquidation. It would mean rural chaos that would quickly infect the entire economy. Once again newspapers would repeat, in headlines, the old adage that "depressions are farm-led and farm-fed."

The times of truly great tragedy in rural America have been the times of mass foreclosures. In this community and in others across the land scars still remain as a reminder of the last time an accelerated downgrading of the value of a man, his family and his farm made it impossible for the family farmer to make the payments on his mortgage.

The stakes are big this month as the Congress prepares to act on the Great Society farm program. If it is enacted into law, we can look forward to steady progress—and it wouldn't be unreasonable at all to anticipate in the next 4 years a repeat of the thousand dollar gain realized net income per farm of the last 4 years.

But—if we fail to build upon the experience and the programs and the progress of the 1961–65 period, the outlook will be grim indeed. If failure to adopt reasonable, purposeful legislation brings a drop in net farm income from the current level down to just $6 billion a year, every American will suffer. In that event the efficient family farm structure that now ranks among the wonders of the modern world would be wiped out. No one can predict what might replace it, but the food abundance and fair prices consumers now accept as casually as the air they breathe would be gravely threatened.

If we fail to respond to both the responsibility and the opportunity contained in the food and agriculture bill now before our Congress, we'll appear in the coloring book of history painted thoughtless and indifferent—perhaps even ruthless.

I believe in the positive approach—and so do you, or you couldn't face up to the year-after-year, season-after-season hazards of farming.

I can sense a growing realization among all the people of our country that they have a good thing going for them in the policies and programs that give rural America stability and sound growth prospects, give urban America an abundance of good food at fair prices, and give the hungry of the world not only a source of food, but a fountain of know-how that can improve their ability to feed themselves.

If that realization comes to flower in terms of constructive legislation this month, the prospects are excellent that the twin goals of parity of income for the adequate family farm and parity of opportunity for all of rural America can be reached by the end of the 1960's.

Let's keep our wagon hitched to that star.

Urban Involvement in Soil and Water Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, yesterday in Storrs, Conn., in my district, conservation district leaders from 12 Northeastern States met for their annual summer meeting. Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY from Massachusetts was a principal speaker. He told the conservation district leaders that the urban population is today experiencing its first real involvement in soil and water conservation. Senator KENNEDY said:

Every time a city dweller turns on his faucet, and wonders how long the water supply will last; every time he goes fishing or boating in a river and finds it polluted; every time he seeks a wooded place for recreation and finds it more crowded; every time he watches the zoning of a suburban tract and wonders if the best use is being made of the land, he realizes that conservation is something he needs for his life, and that the resources around them are limited, indeed.

Senator KENNEDY then proceeded to outline a 10-point program for future growth in soil and water conservation. I suggest that every Member of Congress should be familiar with this statement. Under unanimous consent I place it in the RECORD:

SENATOR KENNEDY PROPOSES 10-POINT WATER PROGRAM

(Text of an address delivered by Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY, Democrat, of Massachusetts, before the northeastern area meeting of the National Association of Soil and Water Conservation Districts—College of Agriculture Auditorium, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn., Aug. 16, 1965)

I am delighted to be here today to express my appreciation, and that of my colleagues in the Senate, for the work you are doing to conserve the resources of the United States. The laws we pass in Washington must be made to work here in the States and localities. Without your help, they cannot work. What you have been doing, assisting landowners, enlisting cooperators and proposing constructive ideas for the better use of land and water, has helped all of us fulfill our responsibilities to the future of our country.

Neither you nor I own the resources of our country. But in a real sense we are the trustees of these resources. Our responsibilities are to pursuade our fellow citizens that no use be made, of land or woods or water, that squanders them or despoils our countryside. Every effort must be made to encourage the broadest development, in the community interest.

You meet at a significant time in the history of soil and water conservation. We are beginning to see the first real involvement of the urban population who make up the great majority of the people of our region. Those who live in cities used to regard soil and water as inexhaustible—much as the early settlers regarded the buffalo. Many of us used to think that water and erosion and resource development and irrigation were problems of the West, not the East, or problems of farmers and not city people. I remember when I campaigned in the Western States, in the election of 1960, the people wanted to hear about President Kennedy's policies on dams, electric power, irrigation, reclamation of the soil. I remember making many promises on his behalf. But in the East, people were concerned with housing and transit and immigration—and if I had talked about resources, they would have been bored.

Now this is changing. Every time a city dweller turns on his faucet, and wonders how long the water supply will last;

Every time he goes fishing or boating in a river and finds it polluted;

Every time he seeks a wooded place for recreation and finds it more crowded;

Every time he watches the zoning of a surburban tract and wonders if the best use is being made of the land, he realizes that conservation is something he needs for his life, and that the resources around them are limited, indeed.

When faced with a flood; a water shortage; a forest fire or other major crisis, we act quickly and do what we must. These are the dramatic problems. But there are quiet crises, as well, that also call for action. The haphazard development of land adjacent to our cities, such as we see going on today on Staten Island in New York, without planning, without regulation and speeding toward a suburban slum. The ruining of land through strip mining that we see in parts of Pennsylvania and West Virginia and Kentucky; the pollution of lakes and rivers throughout our area; the erosion of farm land and beaches; surface run-off and seepage from poorly planned construction. These conditions, growing every day, pose just as great a challenge to the future we want, and the conservation we will need.

There are no sweeping answers in these problems. Certainly the answer is not to keep all the land wild. Many legitimate interests are involved. Industry needs land and water for economic progress. Good housing must use land and water for the comfort of our people. You know, from the work you do in your 12 States, that we must consider all legitimate interests, even when they compete.

Primarily the problem lies in striking a balance among the various necessities of modern life. Between our need for industry and our need for pure water; between our desire for recreation and our demand for raw materials. In short, between all the things people want to live in urban centers, and all the things they need so they can escape from cities to find the physical and spiritual refreshment of the countryside.

For these reasons, I hope that as your activities broaden to meet urban needs, city people will play an increasing role in what you do. Now that they are awake to these problems, they should know that the approach you have developed, over almost 30 years, emphasizing local initiative and local control, is a proven vehicle for solving resource problems. Especially in the Northeast, where city and country are so intertwined, this kind of participation can be a model for progress.

We in Massachusetts are very proud of our conservation districts. We are a heavily urban State. But we love our open spaces and use them as much as we can. Tourism is our number three industry. The same mountain that offers ski trails in the winter, is used in summer for a music festival or an open theater. The availability of recreation is one of the things that has convinced the leaders of education and leaders of industry to locate within our borders.

Two years ago our State legislature gave conservation districts, along with our town conservation councils, the responsibility for all efforts in this area. Under the new organization, every new school, park shopping center, housing subdivision and other community facility can have the benefit of the entire range of conservation skills applied directly to their needs. These commissions have authority, and equally important, they have money.

Some of our towns have hired professional planners to undertake a complete survey of soil and water resources. They have estimated their needs and decided how they want to develop. They are drawing up master plans, by which every acre will go to the highest use. All of this is in the finest tradition of local initiative and community cooperation, and with some pride I commend it to you.

I would like to make some suggestions today about the most serious resource problem here in the Northeast, the shortage of water. For the last 4 years, 300,000 square miles within our region have received insufficient rainfall. Agriculture has been badly damaged. Some companies in the central part of my State have had to shut down for lack of water. Even the metropolitan district commission, composed of Boston and its suburban communities, which built the largest reservoir in the world devoted exclusively to domestic water, has recently been forced to curtail some home and recreational use. Events of the past few months have emphasized dramatically the prediction by a Presidential Panel 15 years ago: That by 1975, the No. 1 shortage in this country would be water.

Even if the drought ends, the rising tide of consumption will not end. The average city dweller uses 70 to 80 gallons of water a day—five times what he used, two generations ago. Industry uses even more, and the trend of use is sharply upward. It is essential that we plan now, and act now, not just for the current emergency but to provide for our future growth.

1. Our first need is to consolidate local efforts and to engage in joint community planning. It is clear that areas like Metropolitan Hartford and Metropolitan Boston, which pooled their efforts in the past, are in a better position to meet the drought than communities which decided to go it alone. No small town or city can afford, financially, to provide the new water sources and the new storage facilities that are necessary—especially when its population and industrial needs are growing. They should follow the example of conservation districts, and combine for their own benefit.

2. We must try other methods of financing for communities too remote to be part of district systems. In this connection, there is a bill passed by the Senate this year, for Federal loans and grants to build pipelines and reservoirs in rural areas. Senator AIKEN was the chief sponsor. I was a cosponsor, and I hope the House will adopt it without delay.

3. We must develop new devices of water storage. I support the Federal legislation to increase the amount of storage in any watershed project from 5,000 to 12,000 acre-feet. Water supply should be one of the critical elements in the resource plans of your districts. One study made in my State, of possible new sites for small reservoirs on a river near Boston, showed 43 possible sites. But most had already been taken for housing developments, shopping centers, and factories. This misuse of resources must not be allowed to happen.

4. We must take the machines of home and industry—air conditioners, washing machines, water taps—which use so much water, and redesign them so they can use the same water again and again. Several billions of gallons a day could be saved if this were done. This is primarily a job for industry; but technical assistance should be made available by the Government.

5. We should continue the all-out effort to lower the cost of desalting water. In the long run, the sea can be the easiest and cheapest source of our needs. But as long as the cost is so prohibitive and present plants so experimental, we must continue to bear the considerable expense of getting water from other sources.

The water shortage should also drive us to greater efforts in fighting pollution. I come from a State with 1,000 miles of polluted rivers and streams, 35 percent of the total. The Merrimac River, in northeast Massachusetts, is the oldest polluted river in the country—and one of the worst. We would have no water problem today, in most parts of my State and many parts of yours, if polluted rivers could be safely used. Nor would we have the strangulation of animal life, the denial of recreation opportunity, the odors and sights and dangers to health that pollution brings.

For those reasons, I would make these suggestions:

6. We should encourage creation of local sewerage districts, to bring under appropriate control those plants outside city limits that cause such pollution. Such districts should also be eligible for grants under the sewerage treatment program. Under the present program, only municipalities are eligible for funds. Under my suggestion, the program could reach industries not covered.

7. One of the greatest obstacles to the antipollution program is that many industries cannot afford the cost of control. Nor can we fairly blame a community which fails to force pollution control upon its plants, for fear they will leave the area. Faced with the choice, any community would prefer a polluted river to unemployed citizens. For this reason, we should give tax relief, and consider even direct grants to industrial plants to encourage them to dispose of their wastes, without polluting.

8. Another difficult obstacle to enforcement is the difference in pollution in standards between States. Rivers do not respect State boundaries. Yet communities downstream cannot clean up effectively, if communities upstream, in another State, do not have to treat their wastes to the same degree. It is essential, therefore, that there be uniform water quality standards between States. I hope this will be enacted by the Congress this year.

9. We must also find new methods of treating municipal sewage before it finds its way into our rivers and streams. In many of our cities, the storm and sanitation sewers are connected in such a way that in time of stroms, untreated sewage is backed into our waters. Much pollution is caused by this fact. What is needed are new devices that can be installed, in our homes or in holding pens, to prevent this dangerous condition.

10. Finally, in furtherance of all these programs, I think the present Federal law should be changed to eliminate the provision which limits the Government grants for water research to land-grant colleges. There are many private colleges, in all of our States, which could make an important contribution if they had this support.

The current water crisis is an opportunity, as well as a challenge. If meeting it can teach us the value of cooperation and planning, what we do will carry over to the development of all our resources. This is what you have been fighting for since 1937. It is where you can make a unique contribution. The people of our region, now aroused, are in back of your efforts. The time is ripe for substantive accomplishment on many fronts.

I know you will contribute, and continue your leadership, for this cause.

Warden Lane of Michigan City, Ind.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the proposed National Crime Commission has in its membership many distinguished persons from the fields of law, education, public administration, and others. It will no doubt do an excellent job in discharging its duties.

But, as a recent editorial in the Michigan City, Ind., News-Dispatch has noted, it does not have a practical penologist in its ranks. Michigan City is the site of a State prison. Its warden has won, by his remarkable achievements, the highest regard not only of the community but of the State. He is not a prophet without honor in his own country, but one who has won a deserved reputation for his success in dealing with convicted criminals.

The Michigan City editorial has suggested that Warden Lane would be a most excellent choice for the first vacancy which occurs on the Crime Commission. I agree.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial "Glaring Omission" may appear in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Michigan City (Ind.) News-Dispatch, Aug. 2, 1965]

GLARING OMISSION

The stated goal of President Johnson's proposed National Crime Commission certainly is good and desirable—a "systematic, nationwide study * * * of crime problems, ranging from its causes at one extreme to arrest and rehabilitation at the other."

Too, those L.B.J. appointed to the Commission are eminently distinguished and highly qualified.

But there was one glaring omission that ought to be rectified. The Commission has judges, prosecutors and lawyers galore. It also includes a police chief, the mayor of New York, a university president, a publisher, and the presidents of the League of Women Voters and National Urban League.

But nowhere does one find a leading penologist. If rehabilitation is to be part of its concern, the Commission ought to have at least one member who is intimately familiar with prisons and their inmates.

Sad to say, this omission isn't surprising. It reflects an unfortunate public attitude that tends to equate prisons solely with punishment and to consider convicts incorrigibly beyond redemption.

Largely because of this attitude, the Nation's penal systems need penetrating study and reappraisal as much as any other segment of the crime problem—probably more.

Indiana offers both bad and good examples. Most of the State's correctional institutions are in sorry shape, the result of inadequate appropriations, politics, and public apathy.

The one notable exception is the State prison at Michigan City. From a physical standpoint, the penitentiary is ancient, run-down, overcrowded, and understaffed. But despite great difficulties born of public apathy and penury, Warden Ward Lane is quietly working small miracles of rehabilitation.

Given only nickels and dimes by taxpayers, Lane's approach is necessarily bold and risky. But is also eminently sensible. One way or another, he encourages inmates to find their own way out of ignorance and dark despair.

Significantly, Lane's self-help programs are working far better than most Hoosiers realize—and in many cases more effectively than the antipoverty war's richly financed rehabilitation projects.

Essentially, Lane's approach succeeds because it is built upon an intimate, practical understanding of prisons and prisoners acquired through years of up-from-the-ranks experience. Hence, he can go beyond the narrow limits imposed by mere book knowledge or sociological theory.

Someone like Warden Lane ought to be named to the President's new crime commission when the first vacancy occurs. Men who have strayed as far from society as prison are not easily rehabilitated. They constitute a challenge that cries for the knowledge, wisdom, and understanding of someone who has devoted a lifetime to prison work.

A Paratrooper in Vietnam Pens Letter to Students

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, the recent student demonstrations for peace—at any price—in Vietnam must be puzzling and disheartening to our men who are fighting there. It is too bad the demonstrators do not have the knowledge of the ways of Communist aggression, as is expressed by a young paratrooper who is presently fighting the battle against Communist suppression of Vietnam.

Pfc. Jerry P. Linsner, through his letter to the editor of the Arizona Republic released on July 15, 1965, makes an eloquent and well-considered appeal to these students for their support of those who are willingly fighting and dying for the preservation of world freedom. Under leave previously granted, I include in the RECORD the following letter from Pfc. Jerry P. Linsner, of Phoenix, Ariz.:

A PARATROOPER IN VIETNAM PENS LETTER TO STUDENTS

To the EDITOR:

I am a 22-year-old paratrooper now serving with the 173d Airborne Brigade (separate). My home address is 2412 North 37th Way, in Phoenix. I am writing this letter from the perimeter defense position around Bien Hoa Airbase, South Vietnam, and its questioning aspects are directed at a select few who are helping to fight this war on the homefront.

I must say though, that I am a little confused as to which side is being supported, and whose cause upheld by some of our

young and upcoming "intellectual soldiers" whose bases of operations are located at several of our institutions of higher learning.

One of our most precious possessions is the freedom to challenge the policies of our Government, and keep those policies within the limits of our society's national feelings. This freedom was borne to us from our Nation's birth through the careful actions and watchful minds of dedicated leaders and protected by the blood of thousands.

It now seems evident that this freedom can be, and is being, undermined and abused in an ignorant display of rash actions, which do nothing but confuse the public and place a doubt in the minds of countries on the verge of communism as to the soundness of America's promise to defend them against Communist aggression.

The un-American aspects of these demonstrations, which are carried out by those who might occupy positions of leadership and responsibility in the near future, carry the traits of a possible dupe by an outside force.

You would think that the countless broken Communist treaties, lies, and anti-American attacks, and the stark nakedness of public Communist announcements, which state openly and coldly their intentions to crush us, would awaken minds and open eyes.

From the Lao Dong Party in Hanoi, the Communist cry that the fighting in the South is a matter for the South Vietnamese, has been heard all over the world. Seized Vietcong caches of Communist-supplied arms and ammunition, the extremely elaborate military and political machine aimed at conquering South Vietnam, and the high proportion of Northern-trained officers, enlisted men, specialists, and secret agents, reveal the Communist line to be a giant mockery. It is a useless attempt to hide the fact that Hanoi is behind the continuing campaign of aggression aimed at conquering South Vietnam. There exists in South Vietnam a large scale, carefully directed, and Communist-supported program of armed attack on a sovereign state and a free people.

Obviously, some students are so entangled in their efforts to reform our international policies that they fail to see the danger. Assured by social and intellectual freedoms, they strike out viciously and defiantly at our National Government. Not only do they lack diplomacy, they infringe upon the rights and freedoms of other citizens, and either do not care or have no conception of the ill-effects our Nation suffers in the world spotlight.

I only hope that when the demonstrations finally terminate, these students will add to their store of knowledge a recognition of the truth along with a valuable bit of experience.

Students should use their freedoms, take advantage of their rights, pry, disapprove, and question our Government's actions and make them conform to the will of the people. But before they pass judgment, they should take another look at our country's foundations, what we have fought and died for in the past, and what we stand for today. They should open their eyes and see who is trying to take this away from us.

I have watched America's youth swelter on the decks and in the holds of troopships and LST's. I have watched them rise from muddy pup tents, to construct through long, laborious days as clean and healthy a place to live as is possible in this environment. I've watched their bodies burn and tan under a merciless sun as they dug bunkers and mortar shelters. And at night they keep a vigilant watch in these same positions.

They have dropped in convulsions from the heat, and died from Communist steel. They are fighting a dirty and nasty war, and they board helicopters willingly to hunt out an elusive enemy in their own territory.

There is one thing I haven't the slightest doubt about, Mr. Student, and that is these men's determination to stop communism here, on their own back doorstep. They know the score and this realization shows in their mental and physical willingness to fight.

However, when I turn my eyes homeward, I see something ugly, and I don't like it. Where is the moral support enjoyed by other men in wars past won? Where is determination to stop communism? Don't sell us down the river, Mr. Student, you might regret it.

Pfc. JERRY P. LINSNER,
APO, San Francisco, Calif.

Civil Rights: A New Jersey Conservative Point of View

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, on July 29, 1965, the Irvington Herald, Irvington, N.J., carried a thought-provoking article written by Howard E. Berkeley. Although written before the Los Angeles insurrection, it is almost prophetic. Mr. Berkeley's comments are worthy of consideration by the House; therefore, I commend them to the attention of my colleagues:

CIVIL RIGHTS: ANOTHER POINT OF VIEW

(By Howard E. Berkeley)

I'd like to thank the Irvington Herald for permitting me to write an article presenting a conservative view on the civil rights issue.

Too often we in this area have received only one point of view—the liberal one of compulsory togetherness. Anyone who dared disagree was immediately branded a bigot, the so-called modern liberal using the term "bigot" in the same way the medieval inquisitor used the term "heretic."

The liberal solution of America's racial problem is based on the assumption that once all the divergent elements are forced together, love and brotherhood will follow. In the light of reality this assumption is totally fallacious. The forcing of dissimilar people together in disregard of their desires merely aggravates the existing problem. People tend to associate with those who have common interests and backgrounds.

Of course, in a truly democratic society it should not be the purpose of the State to say with whom you should or should not associate. If an individual wanted to associate only with blue-eyed Catholics this might be foolish, but freedom is choice, no more no less.

Our American Republic was founded on the belief that the individual making his own decisions subject to a minimum of laws will accomplish more for society than some faceless robot figure controlled by an all-knowing state.

Today's miscalled liberals—CORE, SNCC, ADA, and the rest of them—are merely the ideological successors to every totalitarian philosophy from the Pharaohs to the Commissars.

Their attitude on the racial question is simply that we know what's best for you. Therefore, we will tell you whom to serve, hire, fire, rent to, live with, associate with, and we will, if we deem it necessary, ship your children about like so many head of sheep or cattle—all in the name of democracy, of course. This group, perhaps to hide an inferiority complex publicly regards itself as a collection of demigods that we poor mortals must obey.

Of course, self-righteous hysterics boiling with zeal to free the Negro, are nothing new in American history. It was a handful of radical agitators who with their lies, half-truths, distortions and horror stories injected so much poison into the American body politic that a tragic Civil War resulted.

It was these New England and New York fanatics, including a number of clergy, that sent rifles into Kansas, rifles to maim and kill and sent them in boxes labeled "Bibles." Later the same abolitionist extremists sent the murderer and psychopath John Brown, of bloody Kansas fame, to Harper's Ferry. An expedition, whose avowed purpose was to free the slaves, but whose first victim was a free Negro.

With the Civil War over, the South had to be "reconstructed". So the fanatics went South to rule in what historians have described as the tragic decade.

Supported by Federal bayonets, the radicals misruled and looted the Southern States. Finally the reconstruction collapsed of its own evil weight. The humanitarians left and the southerners both black and white, were of course left to clean up the mess and pay the bills.

Today's civil rights agitators are of many stripes, some are simply misguided do-gooders, other are just out for kicks—they have graduated from panty raids; still others plain radicals and of course those lost souls—the beatniks.

The cynical politician whose sole interest in the Negro is his vote, stands behind much of the trouble. The politician sees this entire agitation as a wonderful opportunity to extend his own power and profits at the expense of the people's rights and to hide his tyranny under the guise of democracy and brotherhood.

What we in the North are beginning to find out is that the civil rights movement, with its program of planned chaos and dictatorship, is not to be restricted to the South, for the mobs are marching in Chicago, Newark, and Philadephia, as well as in Selma, Jackson, and Birmingham.

The American people, through their apathy, have sown the dragon's teeth and now the Nation will reap the crop of iron men.

Home Rule: An American Idea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the residents of the District of Columbia have indicated their support for home rule in a variety of ways in the last 15 years.

Recently, WWDC radio ran an editorial which stated in part:

Local self-government is neither a Democratic nor a Republican idea. It's an American idea. As such, it belongs in the Capital City of the American people.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the full text of the July 23 WWDC editorial:

PROGRESS ON HOME RULE

Broadcast of this editorial by WWDC President Ben Strouse began July 23, 1965. We welcome comments.

Nothing much new was said during the 3-day Senate debate over the District of Columbia home rule. In the 91 years since the District of Columbia residents lost self government all the arguments for and against restoring it have been made. People who know the arguments long ago made up their minds.

Five times since 1948, a home rule bill has emerged from the Senate. Now for the sixth time it has happened. WWDC thinks the 1965 Senate model is the best proposal yet.

But the problem has never been in the Senate. The problem has always been in the House, specifically the House District Committee. In 1950 a home rule bill by Representative James Auchincloss of New Jersey, actually reached the House floor. But southern opposition managed to stall a vote until adjournment pressures killed the bill. Ten years later a discharge petition came close to forcing the District of Columbia home rule to the floor. But again it failed.

So, home rule supporters should not be counting chickens yet. Republican votes on the House District Committee are needed. This means Republican committee members will have the final say about the details of any House home rule bill.

We hope they will see fit to go along with as much of the Senate bill as possible. In our opinion, the Senate has passed a good bill. And in the final analysis, local self government is neither a Democratic nor a Republican idea. It's an American idea. As such it belongs in the Capital City of the American people.

Orderly Procedures for Mass Coverage of News Events

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, A Joint Media Committee on news coverage problems has produced a document meant to aid all public officials and newsmen on news stories so big that reporters might swamp the newsworthy events themselves. The committee is seeking wide distribution of the statement—it has gone to all newspapers and broadcasting stations, and should go to all public officials.

I am pleased to be able to bring it to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress and to all who might find it helpful, by placing it in the RECORD at this point:

ORDERLY PROCEDURES FOR MASS COVERAGE OF NEWS EVENTS

"[The press] serves one of the most vital of all general interests; the dissemination of news from as many different sources, and with as many different facets and colors as is possible. That interest is closely akin to, if indeed it is not the same as, the interest protected by the first amendment; it presupposes that right conclusions are more likely to be gathered out of a multiude of tongues, than through any kind of authoritative selection. To many this is, and always will be, folly; but we have staked upon it our all"—Learned Hand in *U.S.* v. *Associated Press* (52 F. Supp. 372 (1945)).

I

Judge Hand's eloquent statement of the fundamental principle that democracy is best informed by the freest and most abundant possible news coverage of significant events is a principle to which the news media, of course, fully subscribe. It is also endorsed, we believe, by the general public, which recognizes that the depth, accuracy, variety, and richness of the news it receives derive from the multiplicity and competition of those who report the happenings of the world. All measures that limit the number of reporters who observe a significant news event diminish the fullness of the flow of information that a democratic society must have if it is to function properly.

No one quarrels with the principle itself; concern about it runs almost entirely to questions of feasibility and practicality. The problems arise, fortunately, only rarely.

II

The great majority of those infrequent instances where the number of newsmen at a given event tends to turn coverage into confusion, to disrupt the event itself or to distort its reality, are the consequence not of a superabundance of news gatherers and equipment on the scene, but a lack of orderly, systematic procedures for the newsmen to follow.

Several hundred reporters and photographers routinely cover a Presidential news conference without disrupting it. The same is true for every major sports event, from the world series to an international golf tournament. Several hundred newsmen are at work in the National Capital every day. Those covering a Presidential inaugural are numbered by the thousands. Scores are on hand in the State legislatures, at political debates, major civic events, contests of all sorts. Hundreds cover the great launchings at Cape Kennedy.

These are examples—even extremes—of mass coverage or saturation coverage. Yet whatever complaints may arise about them they rarely apply to the number of news representatives or charge that the sheer quantity of newsmen tends to hamper, diminish, or distort the event.

The reason why coverage is successful at those occasions—successful from the point of view of news media, the participants in the events themselves, and the general public—is, of course, that systematic arrangements are made to permit the newsmen to do their work. Locations for them and their equipment are specified, facilities are provided, opportunities are given for interviews, picture making, observation, and listening.

Trained newsmen behave as decent citizens and observe commonsense provisions for orderly, efficient, and unobtrusive coverage. When a sensible system is set up for them to follow, they abide by it.

But, absent such a system at a crowded news event, turmoil can ensue. Disorder or confusion in news coverage comes when a sizable number of reporters and photographers converge on a scene where those in charge have laid out no plans or procedures or systematic arrangements.

Accordingly, we urge those responsible for events that are bound to attract wide news coverage to make the advance preparations that commonsense dictates for orderly news gathering. The longer the time for preparation, obviously, the more satisfactory these arrangements will be. But even in unexpected happenings—crises, accidents, police actions and the like—there are almost always opportunities for the governmental, civic, police or other authorities in charge to arrange measures by which the media can do their job in an orderly fashion and with a minimum of confusion. The problem is greatly eased by the elimination of curiosity-seekers, speculative news and photographic entreprenuers, and amateur camera-wielders from the areas and facilities set aside for legitimate newsgathers.

Most authorities and others who have frequent contact with the news reporting process, do in fact make advance arrangements, and with successful results. We recommend that others, less experienced, take counsel and enlist the help of newsmen and others who are knowledgeable in public information activities. They can count on the advice of the local newspaper, radio and television executives to be practical, even-handed and acceptable to all participating newsmen.

We recommend to those local news executives: On occasions where it is apparent that no adequate arrangements have been made and where a confused, disorderly situation could ensue, one or more of the senior news representatives in the area should take the initiative in proposing newsgathering procedures that will be fair and efficient. We believe that such an effort will not be taken as presumptuous or officious, but will be welcomed by all concerned.

III

On very infrequent occasions, newsworthy events take place where, almost exclusively for reasons of space limitations, unlimited numbers of newsgatherers and their equipment cannot be accommodated. In those events the device of pooling, although rarely welcome, is preferable to no system at all, or to recourse to a first-come, first-served method of coverage.

Fortunately, most of the events where pooling is inescapable are those that have been systematized for some time. The details have been worked out by professional information representatives and the news media, and these arrangements, while necessarily restrictive, have nevertheless enjoyed long-standing acceptance. Thus there are standard pooling procedures for coverage of the President of the United States when he is traveling by plane or train, for admission to various military installations, to ships at sea, to scientific establishments, and for coverage of events in parade vehicles, small observation posts and rooms, and the like. With these news situations where pooling procedures have been established, we need not be concerned here.

Sometimes, however, other events—either planned or unanticipated—attract substantial news coverage where the physical limitations of the scene do not permit simultaneous reporting and photographing by all those who may wish to do so. Examples are interviews in a sickroom, ceremonies in a small church, events in a small classroom or laboratory, briefings in confined quarters, etc.

Here, there may be no escape from pooling and those under whose auspices the event takes place must give thought to prescribing the most efficient, equitable, and least restrictive procedures that the circumstances permit. For their guidance, we summarize the usual pooling methods that have worked best in situations where there has been experience with pooling.

Priorities necessarily vary according to the circumstances, but the generally most acceptable order is somewhat as follows, with the total number of pool representatives depending on the space and facilities available:

1. One reporter (and, if a picture situation, one photographer) from one of the two major press associations, Associated Press and United Press International; plus one representative (and, if appropriate, cameraman and sound engineer) from one of the major broadcasting networks, American Broadcasting Co., Columbia Broadcasting System, Mu-

tual Broadcasting System, and National Broadcasting Co.

2. The representatives from the other press association and the other radio and television networks.

3. A reporter (and photographer, when appropriate) from one of the local newspapers and one of the local television and radio stations.

3a. Representatives of the remaining local papers and television and radio stations.

(NOTE.—Some events may be of such intense or particular local interest that first priority may be appropriate for category 3, above. In such cases, and when wire service and network representatives are not on the scene, the reporters and photographers for the local newspapers and broadcasting stations can sometimes cover for them.)

4. A representative from among the "specials," i.e., out-of-town newspapers who have sent reporters and photographers to the scene.

4a. A representative from among the out-of-town radio and television newsgatherers.

5. A representative of the news magazines.

6. A representative from among the foreign press on the scene.

There is, of course, nothing hard and fast among the listing above; it is subject to variation according to many different circumstances surrounding each news event. It is presented merely as an indication of the general order of importance—measured by the presumed audience—of the various news media.

In pooled coverage, it is well understood among the news media that the "pool man" must serve all other media in his category. He must make an immediate and full report of what he has witnessed to all others in his category. Although he is bound to do so only by an unwritten code of honor, incidents of cheating—of withholding choice items of news, or incomplete disclosure—are almost unheard of among the American press, and the punishment of an offender, meted out in the form of his colleagues' anger and contempt, is always prompt.

If the news event is a continuing one, or has different aspects occurring at different times, it is customary and advisable to rotate the poolmen, giving turns and opportunities to as many of the news representatives as possible so that each may witness some part of what transpires.

Selection of which person represents his category of media can be done by lot, coin-tossing or—preferably—from the nomination by all the representatives of that category present, acting in agreement by a procedure of their own designing.

As in section II, we suggest to those under whose auspices a newsworthy event takes place that if they are in doubt about how to set up a pooling arrangement, they take counsel from the local news media executives or from an experienced information officer or a professional public relations expert. If necessary, representatives of the press associations, networks, local newspapers and radio and television stations can themselves design the arrangements.

And, again as in section II, we urge those local news media executives to take the initiative to establish the rules when it is clear that through default of others, the choice is between pooling and chaos.

A final suggestion to all those concerned in such news situations—to representatives of the news media and to those in charge of the events to be covered:

Time and thought spent on ways to avoid the need for pooling, and to substitute the means for quiet, orderly, systematic coverage of the news by all comers will pay the most rewards, and will result in a vastly more satisfying solution to all concerned, not the least of whom are the American people.

The foregoing statement enjoys the endorsement of the boards of directors or executive bodies of the five professional organizations represented on the Joint Media Committee.

JOINT MEDIA COMMITTEE ON NEWS COVERAGE PROBLEMS
THEODORE F. KOOP,
Chairman, Sigma Delta Chi.
GEORGE BEEBE,
The Associated Press Managing Editors Association.
JOSEPH COSTA,
National Press Photographers Association.
ROBERT H. FLEMING,
Radio-Television News Directors Association.
ALFRED FRIENDLY,
American Society of Newspaper Editors.

Let Freedom Ring

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I am inserting a sermon delivered on July 4 by the Reverend Carl W. Folkemer, to his congregation at Christ English Lutheran Church in Baltimore.

While it was very appropriate for the day on which it was delivered—our annual observance of Independence Day—it is equally as appropriate at this time and at all times. The statements made therein can be repeated frequently, since we must continually be reminded of the precious gift of freedom which is ours, the price paid to obtain this freedom for us, and the price we must pay to retain it. It deserves careful reading by all Members.

LET FREEDOM RING

(Sermon preached by Dr. Carl W. Folkemer at Christ Lutheran Church, Baltimore, Md., July 4, 1965)

PRAYER

Our Father in Heaven, we thank Thee eternally for the privilege of bringing the message of Christ and of salvation freely in His land. For all of the benefits that have come to us, for all Thy grace that has ministered to us in the atmosphere of freedom. We give Thee thanks and as we mediate, open Thy word in this moment. May our hearts not only be filled with a loyalty to our Nation and to the cause of freedom, but may our hearts be lifted in greater responsibility to maintain it. Through Christ we pray. Amen.

This morning there are two scripture passages which do not sound alike but which essentially belong together. The first is taken from the fifth chapter of First Peter and the words go like this: "Be watchful; your adversary, the devil prowls around like a roaring lion seeking someone to devour."

And the second goes like this taken from the 15th chapter of Luke: "There will be more joy in Heaven over one sinner who repents."

You must have noticed that in this first passage, the use of the present tense, "the devil prowls around," not he has prowled around though this is true also, nor that he will prowl around and probably this is true in the future. But he does now, always seeking to devour.

Some years ago, the chief spokesman at that time and the greatest architect of communism said to the people of the United States, "We will bury you." There is not essentially much difference between devouring and burying. Both of them mean death. Only the method of death is different.

In the earliest centuries of Christian history, human beings used lions to devour literally Christians in the arena and thus took from them the freedom to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. There has never been in all history a single period in which men somewhere have not had to wage a difficult struggle for freedom. Some years ago the Communist government took over by force many countries of Europe, particularly the Baltic States which had been free. And at that time they made many promises. One of these promises was that the land would be equally divided and every family in the nation would have a farm of its own. This had great appeal for the people, especially those who had never owned much in their lives. There were some faint voices that were raised in protest saying, "This is a lie. This is nothing but deceit." But very few people either there or here would listen. When the land which had become devastated by war was restored by hard working and trusting people, as soon as the farms were tillable and could produce fruit, all of the farms without exception were taken over by the Communist state. The promise of freedom and of private ownership was indeed a lie. It was a lie in the intention of the state even before the original statement was made. But this was only the beginning of the deception.

It has reached the point where parents are not even free to rear and to educate their own children. Soon after a baby is born, he is placed in a government controlled nursey while the mother is compelled to work in the factory in order to produce goods for the state. In this manner, a growing child is kept for the larger portion of his life from all of the normal influences of home and the heritage and the benefits that come from the home. He is first of all as a child of a godless and a Communist state. This is purposely done and systematically done. From the very earliest years that a child is able to learn at all the child is indoctrinated with loyalty to the state over everything else. Texbooks have been carefully printed and censored so that when a child reaches the end of his education, at every stage of his education, he has been prepared to give absolute loyalty to the state over every other consideration. In the meantime the child is kept from the influences of the institution of the home which God has created as the most basic of all human institutions. The child is carefully protected from any type of situations which might develop independence, free thought, and all of the God-given perogatives of human personality, the whole structure of this system is geared to enslavement. It is geared to the destruction of all individuality. It is geared systematically to the death of freedom.

Well do I remember the impassioned plea of the great Bishop of the Evangelical Church made to American servicemen and their families overseas several years ago. These are the words of this venerable Bishop of the church: "All over the world today, the lights of freedom are being extinguished. You must never let them go out where you live. In you lives the hope of a free world."

In the gospel lesson today is the parable of Jesus concerning the lost sheep and the lost coin. To be sure the Biblical intent of Jesus was to declare that every single sinner is precious to God and that there is joy among all of the forces of God, among the

angels in heaven over every single person who returns in repentance and humility and faith. But behind this message of Jesus is also a very basic truth inherent in the message and absolutely essential to an understanding and an appreciation of it, and that truth is that every single person in the world is precious in his own right to God. And because every individual is precious to God, no matter what his station, he is born to be free and he has a right to be free. Herein I believe is the most basic message that not only can be but should be preached on a day like this in America from every pulpit. It belongs here for freedom is a God-given right. It is every person's right by divine creation.

Recently at the Vatican Council the question of religious toleration was debated at great lengths, and the question that came to a head was this: Should a non-Catholic living in a Catholic country have the privilege of public worship assembly and of promoting his own faith? The decision finally centered around the issue. Which has priority before God; freedom or truth? I believe the finest answer to this problem was given by an outstanding American bishop of the Roman Catholic Church who knows firsthand the value of freedom and who lives and worships in a land where freedom is paramount. His answer was: "This is not a matter," he said, "to be decided between freedom and truth. Rather," said he, "freedom is truth."

Well might we in America, indeed well must we in America appropriately sing not only in a street parade, not only in a public school auditorium, not only in a public assembly, but well might we sing in every church and rightly so in America—

"My country 'tis of Thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
From every mountainside, let
freedom ring.
My native country Thee,
Land of the noble free,
Let music swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees, sweet
freedom's song,
Long may our land be bright,
With freedom's holy light * * *."

Now this is not some cheap patriotism we proclaim this day. This is no doctrine of American uber alles. Rather, this is God's message. It is the message of Holy Scripture. It is the song of creation. It is the intent and the mind and the purpose of God. It is a truth of God that is self-evident. Therefore, let no one interpret this as any narrow or perverted nationalism. Freedom is truth. It is God's truth. It is to be cherished for and by all people. Freedom is to be defended. It is to be loved. It is to be appreciated. Freedom is a message of God that is equally fitted for the classroom, for the factory, for the dinner table when the family is gathered together, and it is equally fitted in a divine service of worship in the land in which you and I live. It is always the work of the Devil to take from any man or from any child or from any nation freedom of conscience, freedom to work, freedom to live, freedom to be a real person. And let it be said today that the Devil indeed prowls around like a roaring lion seeking to devour this God-given right to mankind.

Almost three-fourths of the world's population has been denied freedom that God has given by creation. Communism and any totalitarian body is demonic when it seeks by force to deny a man's right to be free. Too often this message to compromise in any way this conviction is to go against God and what He has ordained for mankind. Or, in the words of a truly great man of a past century, "We can do no other than to make our consciences captive only to the word and the truth of God and that word makes every human being in the world precious before God and free."

But if this is a God-given heritage for all Christian Americans and one that we should cherish, it is also a truth that requires that we regard it and guard it with absolute responsibility. Every privilege God gives us has a corresponding responsibility. We cannot on the one hand proclaim freedom for all men as a principle of creation and on the other hand ignore the responsibility of that freedom. This responsibility is as self-evident as freedom is self-evident. Translated into practical terms, our responsibility in America means that every single person has a right to work, no matter what his circumstance of life, the handicapped as well as those who are physically whole. Every person in America has a right to vote. Every person has an inherent right by virtue of being a free person, has a right to the pleasures of life, to the privileges of education, and the best that our schools can give. He has every right to adequate living facilities. He has every right to the benefits of good health. If America is to be God's instrument to keep aflame the torches of freedom, America must demonstrate sincerity and honesty and became a showplace the world over to achieve that God-given privilege.

It is not enough for this truth of freedom to be encased in songs and hymns. It is not enough for this basic principle of freedom to be enclosed in a secret manner within official documents of our national life. The very spirit of freedom must be daily demonstrated in our person-to-person relationships with all men. Freedom not only can be, but in the past has been, lost because the principle even fought for and died for has never fully burned its way into the fabric of our everyday life and experience. Christian Americans, the eyes of the whole world are on us today. Every practical denial of man's freedom will be interpreted by the peoples of the earth as a superficial and hypocritical attempt to proclaim one thing with our mouths and to practice another in our actions.

If America is to be great in the sight of God, if it is in the words of this cited bishop to be the living hope for freedom in the world, it must systematically and with conviction plant in every generation a sincere love for freedom and into each generation must be planted the desire to exercise responsibility for the privileges of freedom. Every freedom is lost and has been lost when it is not exercised. Whether it be the right to vote or the right to speak or the right to worship or the right to live.

This very service is being broadcast to people outside of this church in America. In most of the countries of the world, this is not possible. All of the airlines have been closed to this message of God that men were born to be free. We enjoy the privilege of proclaiming it and it is a credit to any radio station that it not only gives this opportunity but that it is desirous that men shall know the things of God that have to do with the freedom of mankind.

Therefore, for all of us, the dinner table should not be a place only in which we nourish our bodies. But it should be a place in which parents and children discuss freely the importance of what this principle means in their lives and in the lives of others, in the life of our Nation and for all of the peoples of the earth. In all of the classrooms of our schools, children should be imbued with what freedom means in their own achievement, in the future of their own lives, in good citizenship and a sincere desire that it may find its way to the corners of the earth.

Every church can rightly proclaim it in America, not in a vain and superficial patriotism, but as the message of God. Every industry should take it to heart that every single person working along the assembly line is a real and a free person. Every office should be aware of the joy and the privilege of our free life. Every profession should extoll it in all relationships of man. We must forever educate and forever train and forever exercise the deepest seriousness in responsible Christian citizenship that what is lost to so much of the world shall never be lost in our land. So wherever you are and whoever you are, I say to you with all of the forcefulness of the Gospel with all of the conviction of God's creation, in America once and for all let freedom ring because it is God's will for man and for all men.

PRAYER

Our Father in Heaven, guide us against taking our freedom lightly for we recognize that as soon as we do it is lost. Help us to appreciate our position here in America that people who desire to be free are looking at us as the last bastion of freedom. Be with us as a people that we shall not only extoll it from our pulpits and from our homes and from our schools, but that we shall reflect responsibility for it in our daily experience. To that end, Lord, protect us, defend us, and above all use us that all men may know the joys of being free. Through Christ we pray, Amen.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided,* That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

SENATORS WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON

OFFICE ADDRESS: Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey

Aiken, George D., *Vt*
Allott, Gordon, *Colo*
Anderson, Clinton P., *N. Mex.* — 6 Wesley Circle
Bartlett, E. L., *Alaska*
Bass, Ross, *Tenn*
Bayh, Birch E., *Ind*
Bennett, Wallace F., *Utah*
Bible, Alan, *Nev*
Boggs, J. Caleb, *Del*
Brewster, Daniel B., *Md* — 1327 33d St.
Burdick, Quentin N., *N. Dak.*
Byrd, Harry Flood, *Va* — The Shoreham
Byrd, Robert C., *W. Va*
Cannon, Howard W., *Nev*
Carlson, Frank, *Kans* — Sheraton-Park
Case, Clifford P., *N.J*
Church, Frank, *Idaho*
Clark, Joseph S., *Pa*
Cooper, John Sherman, *Ky*
Cotton, Norris, *N.H*
Curtis, Carl T., *Nebr*
Dirksen, Everett M., *Ill*
Dodd, Thomas J., *Conn*
Dominick, Peter H., *Colo*
Douglas, Paul H., *Ill*
Eastland, James O., *Miss* — 5101 Macomb St.
Ellender, Allen J., *La*
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Fannin, Paul J., *Ariz*
Fong, Hiram L., *Hawaii* — 5519 Uppingham St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Fulbright, J. W., *Ark*
Gore, Albert, *Tenn*
Gruening, Ernest, *Alaska*
Harris, Fred R., *Okla*
Hart, Philip A., *Mich*
Hartke, Vance, *Ind*
Hayden, Carl, *Ariz*
Hickenlooper, Bourke B., *Iowa.* — 5511 Cedar Parkway, Chevy Chase, Md.
Hill, Lister, *Ala*
Holland, Spessard L., *Fla* — Sheraton-Park
Hruska, Roman L., *Nebr*
Inouye, Daniel K., *Hawaii*
Jackson, Henry M., *Wash*
Javits, Jacob K., *N.Y*
Jordan, B. Everett, *N.C*
Jordan, Len B., *Idaho*
Kennedy, Edward M., *Mass*
Kennedy, Robert F., *N.Y*
Kuchel, Thomas H., *Calif*
Lausche, Frank J., *Ohio*
Long, Edward V., *Mo*
Long, Russell B., *La*
McCarthy, Eugene J., *Minn.* — 5916 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md.
McClellan, John L., *Ark*
McGee, Gale W., *Wyo*
McGovern, George, *S. Dak*
McIntyre, Thomas J., *N.H*
McNamara, Pat, *Mich*
Magnuson, Warren G., *Wash.* — The Shoreham
Mansfield, Mike, *Mont*
Metcalf, Lee, *Mont* — 453 First St. SE.
Miller, Jack R., *Iowa* — 5417 Kirkwood Dr., Bethesda, Md.
Mondale, Walter F., *Minn*
Monroney, A. S. Mike, *Okla.*
Montoya, Joseph M., *N. Mex.*
Morse, Wayne, *Oreg* — 4000 Mass. Ave.
Morton, Thruston B., *Ky*
Moss, Frank E., *Utah*
Mundt, Karl E., *S. Dak* — 122 Schotts Court NE.
Murphy, George, *Calif*
Muskie, Edmund S., *Maine*
Nelson, Gaylord, *Wis*
Neuberger, Maurine B., *Oreg.*
Pastore, John O., *R.I*
Pearson, James B., *Kans*
Pell, Claiborne, *R.I* — 3425 Prospect St.
Prouty, Winston L., *Vt*
Proxmire, William, *Wis*
Randolph, Jennings, *W. Va* — 4608 Reservoir Rd.
Ribicoff, Abraham A., *Conn*
Robertson, A. Willis, *Va*
Russell, Donald S., *S.C*
Russell, Richard B., *Ga*
Saltonstall, Leverett, *Mass* — 2320 Tracy Pl.
Scott, Hugh, *Pa*
Simpson, Milward L., *Wyo*
Smathers, George A., *Fla*
Smith, Margaret Chase (Mrs.), *Maine.*
Sparkman, John, *Ala* — 4928 Indian Lane
Stennis, John, *Miss*
Symington, Stuart, *Mo*
Talmadge, Herman E., *Ga*
Thurmond, Strom, *S.C*
Tower, John G., *Tex*
Tydings, Joseph D., *Md*
Williams, Harrison A., Jr., *N.J.*
Williams, John J., *Del*
Yarborough, Ralph, *Tex*
Young, Milton R., *N. Dak* — Quebec House So.
Young, Stephen M., *Ohio*

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Sergeant at Arms—Joseph C. Duke.
Chief Clerk—Emery L. Frazier.
Secretary for the Majority—Francis R. Valeo.
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Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel Sheraton-Park, Washington, D.C.
Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 4852 Hutchins Pl.
Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut Ave.
Mr. Justice Harlan, of New York, 1677 31st St.
Mr. Justice Brennan, of New Jersey, 3037 Dumbarton Ave.
Mr. Justice Stewart, of Ohio, 5136 Palisade Lane.
Mr. Justice White, of Colorado, 2209 Hampshire Rd., McLean, Va.
——— ———.

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Deputy Clerk—Edmund P. Cullinan, 4823 Reservoir Rd.
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TERRITORY EMBRACED

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Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Harlan. Connecticut, New York, Vermont.

Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Brennan. Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virgin Islands.

Fourth judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia.

Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black. Alabama, Canal Zone, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas.

Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Stewart. Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee.

Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark. Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.

Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas. Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Guam, Hawaii.

Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, Wyoming.

Appendix

Asia as Primary Target of Communists and Necessity of United States Keeping Its Word in Vietnam Discussed by Columnist Carl McCardle in Wheeling, W. Va., Intelligencer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, one of our country's dedicated and well informed journalists, Carl W. McCardle of the Wheeling Intelligencer staff, Wheeling, W. Va., has made significant contributions to the discussions of the Communist movement in general and the Vietnam issue in particular.

Mr. McCardle writes not only as an experienced and respected newsman but, also, from a broad background of service in public affairs and international relations with the U.S. Department of State.

In his Intelligencer column of August 13, 1965, Mr. McCardle recalled his experience in having covered the United Nations for the Philadelphia, Pa., Bulletin, and he quoted appropriately and extensively from a dispatch he filed with that newspaper on November 30, 1950, concerning the performance of the Chinese Communists before the United Nations at that time. He concludes that now, as then, Asia remains the primary target of the Communists.

In a column on August 6, Mr. McCardle wrote convincingly on the theme of the necessity that the United States keep its word in Vietnam. He emphasizes several highly pertinent facts, and especially clarifies two points which seem not to be fully understood.

The first is an answer to the question, "What is the Vietcong?"

Mr. McCardle responds with the observation that "it is not a righteous band of men who, in supposedly justifiable disagreement with the Republic of South Vietnam, is engaged in a civil war with it, as the Reds in their own sinister way, have tried to picture it. The Vietcong is composed of Communists who, after Vietnam was divided at the 17th parallel between the Communist north and the free south, went up to North Vietnam for training and then infiltrated into South Vietnam."

The second point of Mr. McCardle's column is that "if this is an American war, it is mainly because the United States is the Red's public enemy No. 1, powerful enough to prevent Communist world domination. And we are not precisely alone, as some persons would have us believe, in combating the Reds in Vietnam. The Australians, New Zealanders, Filipinos are there and South Korea, which has already sent 2,000 fighting men to help us in South Vietnam, is now sending 15,000 more. Others are there helping, which is a fact that isn't publicized."

The McCardle column on the necessity of the United States keeping its pledge in Vietnam concluded with the declaration that President Johnson knows the stakes are high, and with this forecast:

If the Reds win in Vietnam—which they won't—then they would go on to try to get southeast Asia, the Rice Bowl of Asia with its riches, such as tin and rubber and other products the Communist need. If they were to succeed in southeast Asia, then you could more or less say goodby to all of Asia, and the American defense line in the Pacific against the Communist aim of world dominance.

Mr. President, the two McCardle columns are meaningful and helpful contributions to the discussions by our citizens which appropriately are taking place throughout the country on these vital issues. In this interest and concern, therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the articles from the Wheeling Intelligencer.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wheeling (W. Va.) Intelligencer, Aug. 6, 1965]

CITES NECESSITY OF UNITED STATES KEEPING ITS WORD IN VIET

(By Carl W. McCardle)

I am writing this column well in advance of formal reports scheduled to be made by Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara on Vietnam.

I would hope that Secretaries Rusk and McNamara would say that the United States is not going to give way in Vietnam and that we will do what is necessary to drive the Reds back to where they belong above the 17th parallel from which they invaded South Vietnam. I would also personally welcome it if the two U.S. officials make clear that the outcome in the Vietnam struggle is of vital interest to the future of the United States.

Should the United States go back on its word made as I recall around 1954 by President Eisenhower that the United States would protect the territorial integrity of free South Vietnam, then no free country anywhere would rely with confidence on U.S. assurance against the Communist menace, especially in Asia.

The same would have been true if President Eisenhower had not fulfilled similar safeguards elsewhere which had become American policy under Democratic Presidents. It is part of the greatness of the United States that on foreign affairs, the members of both political parties, always with some exception—and the right of dissent has likewise been a source of the towering stature of the United States—respectfully supported the President.

I had to laugh when the Communist regime of North Vietnam, solemnly announced on Sunday that it is ready to respond to a call for help from the Vietcong to fight the Americans in South Vietnam. This is psychological twaddle.

The highly trained 325th Vietnam Division is already in South Vietnam, as well as other contingents.

And what is the Vietcong, anyway? It is not a righteous band of men who, in supposedly justifiable disagreement with the Republic of South Vietnam, is engaged in a "civil war" with it, as the Reds in their own sinister way, have tried to picture it.

The Vietcong are Communists who, after Vietnam was divided at the 17th parallel between the Communist North and the free South, went up to North Vietnam for training and then infiltrated into South Vietnam.

I am personally surprised and proud that our fighting men so far have done, along with the South Vietnamese troops, so well during the monsoon or rainy season in Vietnam. They have had their problems, but theirs, as it has turned out to date, haven't been so damaging as the Communists have experienced.

It had been predicted that the Vietcong, well acquainted with the rainy season, would take advantage of that period, which lasts roughly for a little more than 4 months, through June and on through September, to mount a big offensive that would knock us out. They haven't been able to do that. Instead they have suffered heavy losses, and haven't, in the monsoon, gained one bit of territory. And the U.S. air raids in North Vietnam have done a good job. I still don't believe that Red China, or Soviet Russia, will actively get into the Vietnam war. They've been saying they would for months. If this is an American war, it is mainly because the United States is the Reds' public enemy No. 1, powerful enough to prevent Communist world domination. And we are not precisely alone in combating the Reds in Vietnam. The Australians, New Zealanders, Filipinos are there and South Korea which has already sent 2,000 fighting men to help us in South Vietnam, are now sending 15,000 more.

Others are there helping which isn't publicized.

The United States has more than 80,000 troops in Vietnam. This will increase to 125,000 or more. President Johnson knows that the stakes are high. If the Reds win in Vietnam, which they won't, then they would go on to try to get southeast Asia, the rice bowl of Asia with its other riches, such as tin and rubber and other products the Communists need. If they were to succeed in southeast Asia, then you could more or less say goodby to Asia, and to the American defense line in the Pacific against the Communist aim of world dominance.

[From the Wheeling (W. Va.) Intelligencer, Aug. 13, 1965]

ASIA REMAINS PRIMARY TARGET OF COMMUNISTS

(By Carl W. McCardle)

"Back in Washington, after a trip to the United Nations to watch the great Chinese Communist performance everybody has been telling us to calm down, not to get excited.

"Maybe so.

"But at the moment we happen to think that too many people, including too many

officials and generals, have been too calm too long, and it is time that we all get just a little bit excited.

"It could be that Gen. Wu Hsiu-chuan, the Chinese Communist mouthpiece at the U.N., unhinged us somewhat. But we know that anyone who listened to Wu's 2-hour exercise in vilification with the United States his villain, can no longer be complacent about the mortal fix that we are in.

"As is usual with the aggressors of this century, Wu laid out the blueprint, and also as usual probably few people will believe that he could mean what he clearly meant. He said:

" 'One of the master planners of Japanese aggression, Tanaka, once said: "To conquer the world, one must first conquer Asia; to conquer Asia, one must first conquer China; to conquer China, one must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia; to conquer Manchuria and Mongolia one must first conquer Korea and Formosa." '

"That's just about the way the Communists are doing it, isn't it? Wu didn't say that, of course. He was citing the quotation as a text for his brazen thesis that this is the goal of the American imperialists.

"As for us, we are ready to read it just the way Hitler could always be read, and realize just what the Communists are up to. From now on we happen to think that anybody who tries to rationalize the Chinese Communists in any way except that they are eager-beaver accomplices of Russia is very foolish, indeed.

"As a correspondent, we heard the Nazi supermen spouting their hateful propaganda in the thirties, and for what seems to be a large part of our life now we have been on the scene to hear Molotov and Vishinsky, Gromyko and Malik spout the same kind of propaganda at Lake Success, Paris, London, and Moscow. But we must admit that we have never allowed ourselves to get so downright mad over any of these outrages as we did over the show put on by Ambassador—as he has the effrontery to call himself—Wu.

"The whole business was a disgrace to decent people everywhere.

"Here was this special agent of the world's tyranny, invited by the U.N. Security Council, to come to Lake Success, and 10 peace-loving diplomats had to sit there in polite silence while he audaciously called the United States every name in the book almost; imputed to us all the predatory motives that the Communists have; and, with a flourish, insulted the President of the United States. The 11th diplomat, Russia's Malik, naturally was highly pleased, leaning back in his chair self-satisfied and smug.

"After the bizarre ordeal was over, we asked a top ranking American official how he managed to remain silent through it all, to take it from this guest-star liar, without rising up and walking out of the meeting in disgust, with a parting assertion that this Peiping intruder should be thrown out of the U.N. premises, and out of the country.

"The American said it was all he could do to remain quiet.

"We then asked a British diplomat how he felt about it. (The British have recognized the Chinese Communist regime, and have felt that the Chinese Communists should be seated in the U.N. and then perhaps they could be wooed away from Russia.)

" 'He was a bit hysterical, I must say,' said our English friend about Wu."

This rather long quote is from my favorite author—myself, of course.

It is excerpted from a column of mine that was published on the opposite editorial page of the Philadelphia Bulletin. The date of its appearance in the Bulletin was some time ago. It was November 30, 1950. I was then chief of the Bulletin's Washington bureau. I had gone up to New York to report the story of the hearing by the U.N. Security Council of a delegation of Red Chinese observers, headed by Ambassador Wu.

Soviet Russia had insisted that the Communist regime on the Chinese mainland have the observers on hand at the U.N. Security Council when the matter of which regime—the Communists on the mainland or the Nationalists on Formosa—should represent China in the U.N. was debated.

Soviet Russia and Red China were then close allies. Some experts say that they are not so close now. Perhaps yes; perhaps no. In my opinion a Communist is a Communist. And I think that if there has been a break between Russia and Red China it was brought about by the so-called softer line taken by Khrushchev. Mao Tse-tung, the bossman of the Chinese Communists, was and is an old Stalinist. In my viewpoint a major factor in the surprise ouster of Khrushchev was that he seemed to be pursuing a course that might lead to an open showdown with Red China, which the Communist masters did not want on either side.

Red China, after Professor Wu's exhibition of what a nonaggressive, peace-loving regime he was speaking for, never has gained admission to the U.N.

I should perhaps point out that the U.N. was then housed in temporary quarters called Lake Success, which was somewhat ironical for various reasons including the fact that there was not even a lake there. Later the U.N's imposing own headquarters were built.

In my November 30, 1950, column I said that some "reexamining could be done with great usefulness in respect to our top command in Korea."

I wrote: "Word here in Washington is that 'intelligence' fell down and that led General MacArthur to be lured into the Chinese Communist trap." I said that I had seen an appraisal of our "intelligence at the time" 2 days before MacArthur jumped off on his win the war and get the boys home by Christmas offensive. The intelligence report said that the Chinese Communists "were building up menacing reserves in Manchuria." The record shows that on November 26, 1950, some 200,000 Chinese Communist "volunteers crossed the Yalu River into North Korea."

General MacArthur was relieved of his command by President Truman on April 11, 1951, for not clearing statements by him through the Defense Department. But on behalf of General MacArthur it should be said that he was aged 70 then and had before his downfall performed brilliantly in Korea.

The point of this essay is that for a long time the Communist have regarded Asia as the primary battleground. And the reason they did not succeed completely in Korea, one of the places mentioned in Professor Wu's blueprint, was that the United States and other countries resisted them with force and they were finally stopped at the 36th parallel from which they had begun their invasion. And as for Formosa, also mentioned by Dr. Wu, the United States has made it very clear it will use force to repel any attack upon Formosa.

Social Security Observes 30th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, this month, 30 years ago, our Nation saw the birth of the social security program. Prior to its inception, this was one of the most controversial issues of our time. Today it is hailed as one of the most beneficial programs our Nation has ever inaugurated.

The significance of social security is well depicted in articles which appeared in two leading newspapers in Buffalo, N.Y. Under unanimous consent, I include the following articles from the Buffalo Courier-Express, dated August 14, entitled "Social Security Observes 30th Birthday," and from the Buffalo Evening News, dated August 14, entitled "Social Security Marks 30th Year of Service":

SOCIAL SECURITY MARKS 30TH YEAR OF SERV-

The country's most sweeping attack on old-age poverty and helpless dependency was made 30 years ago when on August 14, 1935, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Social Security Act. The act provided only bare minimum coverage to many elderly persons during its first few years but it did provide some measure of independence for elderly citizens who labored all of their lives but were unable to build up a retirement nest egg.

While the Social Security Act passed both Houses by overwhelming majorities it was attacked on many sides as confiscatory and socialistic by those who opposed it. Further, there was a question as to the constitutionality of the act and this question was not cleared up until the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on it almost 2 years later.

How great an impact it has had on the Nation can be understood when one realizes that 76 million workers now are covered by the act and about 20 million presently are receiving benefits up to $135.90 a month with additional increases coming along until 1971 when the top payment will be $167.90 a month.

Insurance and retirement plans have been written around this act and its coverage has been extended to include medical and hospital care for retirees at a time when they need such protection the most. This phase will not become effective until next year and still is meeting bitter opposition from some quarters.

In view of the success of the original plan and its amendments we cannot help but wonder what the opposition will be, or if there will be any, 30 years from now.

SOCIAL SECURITY MARKS 30TH YEAR OF SERVICE—PROGRAM SERVES 20 MILLION BENEFICIARIES WITH BROADENED COVERAGE AND BENEFITS

Social security marks its 30th birthday today with many happy returns from 20 million beneficiaries.

About 112,000 are in Erie County.

Since President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the original bill August 14, 1935, social security coverage has been broadened and its benefits increased.

The original legislation has been amended nine times, most recently this year to increase benefits 7 percent, and to provide health insurance for the elderly, starting next July 1.

Costs have risen as coverage was broadened. Thus, the new amendments raise the rate deduction to 4.2 percent up to $6,600 annually, starting January 1, 1966. In the original law, it was 1 percent of the first $3,000.

Western New York social security offices reflect this growth.

FIRST CONTRIBUTIONS IN 1937

First social security contributions were made January 1, 1937. The Buffalo office had four employees covering Erie, Cattaraugus, Niagara, Genesee, and Wyoming Counties.

Much of the early work involved issuing social security cards. First benefits were paid

in 1940. One of the original four Buffalo office employees, Miss Janice Tisdale, still works there as a claims representative.

The Buffalo office now has 77 employees and covers only Erie County, along with the Kenmore office, opened in 1958. Independent offices operate in Niagara Falls, Jamestown, Batavia, and Olean.

In 1964, 112,000 Erie County beneficiaries collected $8.5 million in monthly social security benefits. In March 1945, there were 9,000 receiving $166,613 monthly. The most an employed person could have contributed to the program since its inception is $2,106.

AVERAGE BENEFIT OF $76

Retirement, death, or disability are the three circumstances creating eligibility for benefits. Benefits are figured on average yearly earnings, beginning with 1937 or 1951, whichever gives the higher benefit. Five low-earning years are dropped in figuring the average.

The average monthly benefit in Erie County last year was $76.

Richard F. Kirchner, manager of the Buffalo office, 120 West Mohawk Street, said last week 3,761 telephone calls or personal inquiries were made, 658 claims for benefits filed, and 887 cards issued.

While the Social Security Administration issues numbers, determines eligibility, and pays benefits, the Internal Revenue Service collects the tax.

EMPLOYEES NOT IN PLAN

Social Security Administration employees are not covered by social security. They and other permanent Federal civil service employees belong to a governmental retirement system.

As part of a continuing educational program, the Buffalo office provides speakers to various groups. It will soon have pamphlets available detailing specific areas of the law and the new amendments.

In three decades, the nine digits of the social security number have become an important identification mark. It is now required on income tax returns and banks use it to report interest to the IRS.

Social security has a lot of numbers left.

Tribute to Ambassador Edward Clark, of Texas, U.S. Ambassador to Australia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Mr. Edward Clark, newly appointed U.S. Ambassador to Australia, is not only a successful banker and lawyer, but also a personable gentleman who will be a credit in Australia to both his native State of Texas and this Nation.

The many-faceted talents and character of Ambassador Clark are so diverse and unique that they evade verbal description. However, to partially define the fine abilities of this man, I ask unanimous consent that a recent article from the Houston Chronicle, Texas magazine of Sunday, August 1, 1965, on pages 5 through 9 be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXAN'S TRAIL LEADS FROM PINEY WOODS TO "DOWN UNDER"—AN INTIMATE INTERVIEW WITH ED CLARK, NEW U.S. AMBASSADOR TO AUSTRALIA

"I thought I was doing pretty good for San Augustine, Tex.," drawled Ed Clark, of Austin, the new U.S. Ambassador to Australia, at a farewell board meeting of the Capital National Bank, of which he is chairman.

"I was back home lately (his San Augustine birthplace) and I told the folks, 'I'm the first Ambassador from San Augustine.' They replied, 'No, you are not. Gov. J. P. Henderson was Ambassador to England and France from the Republic of Texas. And that was a greater honor. Henderson was living in San Augustine when he was nominated.' "

Australia is likely to hear a lot about San Augustine and the piney woods of east Texas.

San Augustine stories are a trademark of the new Australian Ambassador who is variously a banker, lawyer, lobbyist par excellence, close personal friend of President Lyndon Johnson, humorist, Texas history expert, raconteur, philanthropist, and a noted collector of Texana. He is also noted for his sartorial splendor.

Down at the bank, Clark announced to well-wishers:

"We're going to change the name of the Capital National Bank to the Kangeroo Bank. We'll advertise 'the jumpingest bank in Texas. Put your money in our pouch.'

"Mother said she knew I'd be a successful banker when I was 4 years old. She enrolled me in the cradle roll at church and my father gave me a silver dollar.

"I came running up to her and said, 'Take this dollar and put it up before the Sunday school teacher gets it for old God.' "

Up in his law offices of Clark, Thomas, Harris, Denius & Winters in the Capital National Bank Building, with a view overlooking the State capitol, Clark sat down to check his mail.

"Neiman markup," he muttered, thumbing a bill. "I believe my wife will order back from over there. I don't believe you can go far enough to be safely away from Neiman-Marcus."

A sometimes flamboyant dresser who has known to mix checkered coat, plaid vest, and bright pink shirt, the 59-year-old ambassador sported a conservative gray suit and gray striped tie.

Asked if he was changing his style with ambassadorial duties, Clark merely grinned.

"I haven't bought a checked suit in 17 years. Everything I've gotten lately is solid color Brooks Bros. I've sent my cutaway and morning coat to the tailors. I've only got to buy a new set of tails. The ones I have, turned green * * * Wouldn't do for anywhere except Ireland."

Clark and his charming, rather shy wife Anne, were packed and ready to leave within 10 days after Senate confirmation of his appointment.

"I'm leaving my business for somebody to look after," he said. "And putting some of it in deep freeze."

The Clarks are taking only a part of their famous Texana collection and 100 copies of "The President's Country" to give away.

The American Embassy at Canberra, capital of Australia, is completely furnished. It was given by the people of Australia as a gesture of friendship.

As Ambassador's wife, Mrs. Clark hopes "to make Australia seem more like home for the Americans living there, to make the embassy a place of refuge and warmth."

Leaving the office, Clark stopped by for a farewell visit with the Reverend Charles Sumners, pastor of St. David's Episcopal Church, built in 1848.

"The Lord put his hand on my head," said Clark. "I know it. And to show that's right, here I am with my pastor."

Then Clark headed for his Robb Roy Ranch in the hills near Austin, with a stopoff at his comfortable, tree-shaded home at 2300 Woodlawn. Unexpectedly for central Texas, the trees are east Texas pines—loblollies, slash pine, and big leaf pine.

"Had a little trouble making them grow here," commented Clark. "Brought them from east Texas in tomato cans and nursed them along.

"I'm interested in growing trees. Planted 150,000 pine trees in east Texas this year. I'll have some pine seedlings sent to Australia if I can get them over without violating any law."

Inside, the Clark home is cool and comfortable, filled with Picasso lithographs, paintings by Texas artists they have collected, and antiques from Mrs. Clark's plantation home in Greenville, Miss. Books, mainly on Texas, are everywhere.

A white telephone is drawn up to a big leather chair where Clark relaxes while home and talks on the phone.

"I talk over the telephone almost continually," he confided. "I'm hoarse from talking so much. But I am trying to take all the calls that I can. This is the first time I've had my name in newspapers outside of Texas. Friends are calling whom I haven't heard from in years."

Autographed pictures of President and Mrs. Lyndon Johnson, Lynda Bird, and Luci are evident at both home and law offices.

Clark and President Johnson have been close personal friends since the early 1930's and have often visited in each other's home. Clark is identified as a stanch Johnson political supporter.

President Johnson is godfather of their middle granddaughter, Margaret Wynn, 8. The President came to Greenville, Miss., for her christening while Senate majority leader.

Margaret and their two other grandchildren, Anne, 9, and Martha, 7, are the children of their only child, Leila, wife of Douglas Wynn, a Greenville attorney and State Democratic campaign manager for the past two presidential elections.

The Clarks traditionally send pictures of old maps and letters of Texas heroes from their Texana collection to friends as Christmas cards. The Clark Texana collection is one of the most extensive in existence. It includes a complete set of Davy Crockett almanacs which Clark keeps "under lock and key in a safe."

Collecting runs in the family. Their daughter has perhaps the most definitive collection of William Faulkner in existence.

Heading for his ranch in the hills, which adjoins St. Stephen's Episcopal School, Clark said:

"I only have 1,500 acres now. I sold 404 acres to the Episcopal Diocese for St. Stephen's.

"The bishop came to me and said he wanted to buy some land. I said, 'Reverend, I'm not going to haggle over the price of land. You find three of the most conservative men you can locate and get them to give you their lowest appraisal estimate. I'll sell it to you for 25 percent less than they value it at.'

"The Bishop got an estimate of $100 an acre. I sold him 404 acres at $75 an acre. Today, land in that area is selling for $1,000 an acre. I think the bishop made a pretty good investment."

En route to the ranch, Clark commented:

"I don't want to give up my luck. I've been lucky all my life. Friends, investments. It's hard to succeed without some element of luck. I wake up every morning in a new world with a new interest and a new something to say. I'm always looking forward rather than backward.

"On my new assignment, with the help of the good Lord, I'm determined to represent my country and our President well. I am

thrilled to be going to Australia. Australians have a lot in common with Texans. Both are still somewhat of a frontier with common problems."

Clark chafes at being identified as a master lobbyist.

"People don't understand about lobbying and it gets a bad name," he said. People need lawyers to represent them at the legislature just as much as at the courthouse.

"If you go to the capital and put on the same kind of case you would at the courthouse, newspapers make a big to do out of it. But it is the same type of information you develop in court or for a railroad commission or water board hearing."

Clark's Robb Roy Ranch has 20 head of registered Santa Gertrudis and a registered bull.

"We've just had 15 calves and are expecting 5 more any minute," he said.

Clark's mother, Mrs. John D. Clark, 85, known as "Mamma Clark" to everybody in the county, lives in San Augustine. He has two sisters, Mrs. Bryan Butts of San Augustine, and Mrs. Joe F. Fisher of Beaumont, wife of the U.S. district judge.

Ed Clark is a board member at Texas Southern University. Last April 30 he addressed its law students on "The Meaning of Law Day." (This day had been designated as one "for rededication to the ideals of government through law." In the speech he made some strong comments on integration, of particular interest since he was attorney for the University of Texas Board of Regents' integration suits. Here is the windup of his talk:

"Above all, remember that you are an American. Reverse racism can be as damaging, in the long run, as racism. Even as we should avoid denying a man's rights, which under the law he should possess, because of his race or creed, so should we avoid giving a man rights or privileges he should not otherwise have except for his race or creed. If we seek to foster the rights of Americans, it should be because they are Americans, not because of the color of their skins.

"Without respect for and obedience to the law, we can accomplish nothing but the downfall of this great Nation. With respect and obedience, we can go forward toward the goals which we have set. Anarchy is too high a price to pay for any concept. The very means we use to gain a small measure of liberty by destroying the liberties of others may some day be turned on us to enslave us.

"Therefore, we must seek equality and justice, but we must seek them under law, and not outside the law. We must give credence to the fact that, as lawyers and as citizens, our first duty is to uphold the law, to work within its framework and not against it, to oppose all those who would for any reason seek to deny liberty to act within the law to any man."

Civil Defense Resolutions of California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, as a reflection of the condition of our civil defense program, the Civil Defense and Post Attack Recovery Committee of the National Association of Counties of California adopted a resolution on July 14, 1965. The resolution briefly sums up the current status of our civil defense program and proposes certain solutions.

Under leave to extend my remarks I submit this resolution for inclusion in the RECORD:

RESOLUTION OF CIVIL DEFENSE AND POST ATTACK RECOVERY COMMITTEE, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES

Whereas solution of the gigantic problem of providing sound and effective civil defense for the citizens of the United States by providing a strong fallout shelter program is essential to the survival of our Nation in case of nuclear war; and

Whereas the Defense Department, through the Office of Civil Defense, has listed approximately 134 million shelter spaces for civil defense for our people, mostly in buildings in downtown areas of the United States; and

Whereas the vast residential areas of major cities are without shelter areas within 15 minutes walking distance of homes; and

Whereas schools are generally located where the population is, within quick walking distance of homes, and if underground auditoriums, gymnasiums, cafeterias, or classroom facilities were constructed, they could be used by the schools in regular programs and could also be used by the community at night, on weekends, and in case of a war; and

Whereas if properly constructed and financed by the Federal Government and coordinated into the normal school construction program so necessary to meet the expanding population, these facilities would provide adequate and sound shelters for civil defense: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the National Association of Counties, That the President of the United States, Congress, and the Defense Department reevaluate civil defense structures and programs in the United States, and urges them to begin an orderly and proper program for a strong, adequate civil defense program in every community in America, both in rural areas and in large metropolitan areas.

KENNETH HAHN.

Individuals Are Responsible for Their Actions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, no one is forced to join a mob. None of those who ran wild in Los Angeles had guns in their backs. Those who threw Molotov cocktails to burn down the stores of white merchants, those who hid in windows and shot at the police, those who hauled away the merchandise of other people did it on their own. No amount of excuses can now absolve the individuals of their crimes. I am hopeful the law enforcement agencies of California will deal with these criminals as criminals and not as misunderstood, love-starved children who need patience and understanding.

The love and understanding should be reserved for the family of the fireman who was killed trying to put out a fire caused by these hoodlums, and the families of the policemen who were killed in the Los Angeles madness.

The individuals responsible for these murders, those who took part in and kept the riots going, should be tried for the crimes they committed. They must be held responsible as individuals.

The following column by William S. White in the Washington Post for this morning, August 18, reminds us that personal responsibility must be considered:

LOS ANGELES RIOTS—PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY IGNORED

(By William S. White)

The bloody horror at Los Angeles has produced the predictable outcries from the apologists for any and every Negro crime of violence. It all must be blamed not upon those who committed it but rather upon poor housing, unemployment, inadequate civil rights or simply something vaguely called sociological unhappiness.

This explanation wholly rejects a thing called personal responsibility. Thus looting and arson and murder and savage contempt for the elementary obligation not to destroy the lives and property of others are excused because those who have done these things felt unhappy and ill-treated by life.

That deprivations are contributory to crime is, of course, true. That such deprivations among the American Negro community (and among the poorer and more forgotten whites as well) should be and must be—and are being—corrected is also true. But to argue, as many are doing, that personal deprivation can and should be put in evidence as any kind of justification for homicidal mania is to argue the most appalling and destructive of nonsense.

The Hitler Germans, for one illustration, were undeniably ill-housed, ill-employed and full of what is now fashionably called the disease of hopelessness. And many of the same kinds of minds that are now weeping not for the victims in Los Angeles but rather for the Negro rioters were shedding similar and syrupy tears for the poor Germans three decades ago.

All this then immensely armed the Hitlerites, as all this now immensely arms the lawless in this country. Indeed, the development of a climate that condones murder and raping for sociological reasons is more dreadful to contemplate even than the passing physical and human shambles in the Negro area of Los Angeles.

For this arms all the enemies of this Nation abroad and adds venom to the slander of American purposes abroad, as in Vietnam. No less, ironically, it slanders the American Negro at home. For the bottom meaning of the dreary song being sung by the apologists for Negro violence is unescapably what? It is that the Negro is not to be held blameworthy because he is irresponsible—the same Negro for whom the most far-reaching voting rights bill in history has just been passed because he was ready for this highest responsibility in a democratic society.

With many Americans, the apologists will have their way; they always do. But it is interesting to note that among one important set of Americans—the American politicians—the song is not going down so well anymore.

All over this country urban-based politicians, many of whom have made a career of agitating for the most extreme of Negro demands, so long as only the South was the field of battle, are having some urgent second thoughts. It is not possible any more to point the finger at Montgomery or Little Rock or some such place.

The politicians are at last getting the message that the vast majority in this Nation, North no less than South, Negro and white, are tired of violence and destruction even in the name of civil rights reforms which rightly they support.

Not anywhere hereafter is there going to be so much profit in a politics of egging on criminal destructiveness for the alleged purpose of promoting fairplay.

Of course, irremediable harm will have been done—harm to this Nation's honor abroad, to what seems to be a dying tradition of some civility in public affairs and public issues, to the old dream of a society based upon a belief that rights march only with duty and that privilege is limited by some obligation.

But even from the thorns perhaps a small gain may at last be plucked. Perhaps the automatic cry of "police brutality" will one day cease, if and when the bodies of underpaid policemen killed in line of duty are photographed along with all the pictures of police billies descending upon automatically innocent heads.

Farm Bill Hits Poor in the Breadbasket

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN N. ERLENBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, "Farm Bill Hits Poor in the Breadbasket," an article by Michael Ward, editorial writer for the Suburban Life Newspapers, LaGrange Park, Ill., hits at the heart of the problems with the administration's farm bill—the fact that it places a greater financial burden on those who can least afford it. I would like to ask that my colleagues give their consideration to this article.

The article follows:

FARM BILL HITS POOR IN THE BREADBASKET

(By Michael Ward)

The administration has sounded the trumpet for passage of its farm bill. Agriculture Secretary Orville L. Freeman was quoted in a speech in Washington, D.C., as saying the bill is "right for the farmer, right for the national interest." He conceded, however, that consumers would have to pay a little more for bread.

Well, if the Monthly Economic Letter of the First National City Bank of New York is any guide, this is a bad bill. And the facts presented in the July issue support that position.

It is a paradox, the newsletter states, that at the very time the administration is launching its war on poverty, passage of this bill would strike hardest at the poor.

The new farm bill would put higher taxes on the processing of wheat and a new tax on rice. This would result in the cost of bread rising from 1 to 2 cents a loaf and rice from 4 to 6 cents a pound.

Thus the processing tax on domestic wheat would climb from 75 cents a bushel to $1.25, and a processing tax of $2.50 per hundredweight would be levied on rice.

"These actions form a striking contrast," the newsletter added. "Bread is a daily necessity, particularly among the poor. Taxes on bread and rice are especially regressive because these foods form a much larger portion of the budgets of poor families than of higher income people."

It cited a survey taken in 1955 by the U.S. Department of Agriculture which supported the newsletter's contention. The table revealed that a family with a yearly income of under $2,000 used 6.6 percent of its food budget for wheat products. But a family with a yearly income of $10,000 or more used only 3.8 percent of its food budget for such items.

The newsletter stated: "The new bill would not only add to hardships of poor people but drive the farm economy further out of contact with normal market forces."

Key provisions of the proposed farm legislation call for amending and extending the wheat and feed grain programs currently in effect; starting a new certificate program for rice similar to that for wheat; launching a program to retire cropland through 5- to 10-year contracts with farmowners, and allowing the selling or leasing of acreage allotments among farmers to encourage retirement of aged farmers and small operators.

In a table entitled "Wheat Processing Tax versus Selected Excises Now Repealed," the newsletter shows that in fiscal 1966 the wheat processing tax will bring an estimated yield of $625 million, compared to a total of $618 million in excises.

At the same time, the taxes on excises were assessed, the newsletter noted, at 10- to 20-percent rates. Whereas the higher wheat tax would amount to approximately 100 percent of the basic farm price, thus almost doubling the price to the miller.

"Rising food prices—mainly meat, fruits, and vegetables—" the newsletter stated, have been a prime factor in the rise of the consumer price index in recent months.

"Since food still is a large part of the family budget, increased food prices can trigger higher wage demands and escalator raises in existing union contracts.

"In any case, the fact that take-home pay has increased hardily justifies price increases in the necessities of life."

I have been able to present here only a small part of this cogent and extremely detailed analysis. But the fact remains that the farm bill pending in Congress would, if passed, compound the agricultural problem and place a greater financial burden on those who can't afford it. And that means most of us.

Importance of American Merchant Marine Again Demonstrated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, it has rightly been said, and long recognized, that a good picture is worth more than a thousand words. Such a picture was presented to readers of the Baltimore Sun this morning. It showed members of the 1st Cavalry going aboard the Navy troopship, *Upshur*, at Savannah, Ga., headed for Vietnam. More than 2,000 troops were scheduled to sail on Tuesday for that country. Once again has the Vietnam trouble shown conclusively that only by surface ships can troops be transported quickly in great numbers along with their equipment, supplies, and materiel.

The *Upshur*, as noted, is a Navy ship but a score or more of commercial ships have been called upon by Defense to move the mountain of supplies, guns, and rolling equipment needed for the operations in that foreign country.

Such reliance upon the ships of our merchant marine is not unusual, of course. Rather, it is strictly routine. In the Korean conflict a great number of ships were withdrawn from the national defense reserve fleet to supplement many privately owned ships that were needed and the World War II reliance upon ships built in privately owned shipyards is history—a history that must never be forgotten by those responsible for defense logistics. Each new overseas incident, however, seems to require that people high in defense and Government circles—even some in Congress—must relearn the lesson of the two World Wars and Korea—namely, that when our defense potential must be brought into play overseas, fullest reliance must be placed on America's shipping. And that shipping must be on hand to meet defense requirements.

Ambassador Howard P. Jones Assumes New Post as Chancellor of East-West Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, upon his arrival in Honolulu on July 27, 1965, to assume his duties as the new Chancellor of the East-West Center, Ambassador Howard P. Jones in a press conference recalled President Johnson's description of the center "as a place where the wise men of the East would meet the wise men of the West."

After reviewing the history of the East-West Center and commenting on its accomplishments, Ambassador Jones stated that he wanted to emphasize how delighted he and Mrs. Jones are to become members of the Hawaiian community.

Hawaii, in turn, is indeed proud to welcome Ambassador and Mrs. Jones as esteemed residents of our Island State. Our best wishes and aloha go to Ambassador Jones as he assumes the great responsibilities of his new post.

Ambassador Jones's press conference statement follows:

PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENT OF AMBASSADOR HOWARD P. JONES, CHANCELLOR, EAST-WEST CENTER

I am delighted at long last to be arriving in Honolulu to stay. The exigencies of the Indonesian situation, as you know, were such that it was impossible for me to come sooner, although I had planned to be here in January. I should like to express my appreciation to President Tom Hamilton of the University of Hawaii and my good friend and colleague Ambassador John Allison, as well as to the entire staff of the East-West Center for carrying on so effectively during this interim period. I should also like to thank particularly the Vice Chancellors Baron Goto, Dr. Hendrickson, and Dr. Weidner and their able staffs. I would be less than fully appreciative if I did not express my debt to Mr. Hal Howland of the Department of State too for his support during this period and during my recent sojourn in Washington.

I have long been impressed by those pioneers who fostered the dream of the Center in the early days—President (then Senator) Lyndon B. Johnson, Chairman John Rooney of the House Appropriations Committee and Governor Burns of Hawaii. I had the privilege of meeting with President Johnson at the White House who, you will recall, described the Center as a place where the wise men of the East would meet the wise men of the West. I am confident that the Center will continue to have his enthusiastic interest and support. The recent appointment by President Johnson of the National Review Board, headed by Governor Burns, was gratifying and reemphasizes the national identity of the Center. Chairman Rooney of the House Appropriations Committee, with whom I was privileged to have a good talk about the Center, also expressed his continuing interest in the Center. Perhaps the best indication of Chairman Rooney's support of the Center may be gleaned from his statement in reporting the House Appropriation Committee's recommendations regarding the East-West Center budget. Chairman Rooney said that there was one member of the Committee, namely the Chairman, who felt that the East-West Center should have had a larger appropriation. This was encouraging, indeed.

While in Washington, I also had the opportunity to meet with the U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational and Cultural Affairs and this provided an interesting preview of what might be effectively done with the appropriations to be made available for the Center by Congress.

To my predecessors in office who laid the foundations of the Center, I also owe acknowledgments, particularly to Professor Murray Turnbull and Dr. Alexander Spoehr.

I have also heard much of the hospitable and generous support of the Center by the friends of the East-West Center and others in the community. To know that the people of Hawaii are actively interested in and supporting the Center is heartwarming to one charged with the responsibility of the chancellorship.

From what I have already seen and heard, here and in Washington and in the Asian countries I visited en route, as well as in academic circles on the mainland, it is clear to me that the Center has already had a significant impact in terms of its educational purposes. The Center, that is, has proved itself and demonstrated the soundness of concept which led to its origin. I join this program with enthusiasm. I am delighted to be associated with those who have pioneered its course. As time goes on, we shall endeavor to explore ways and means of expanding this impact.

In this connection, I have studied the Larsen report carefully and have had long talks with its author, Mr. Roy Larsen, president of Time-Life and a member of the National Review Board. I think that this report was an outstanding job. With its most perceptive and intelligent assessment I found myself in general agreement. Nevertheless, I wish ot emphasize that there will be no changes in the organization or administration of the Center until I have had a chance thoroughly to bcome acquainted with all its opertaions—in other words, until I get my feet on the ground.

I am looking forward to the second meeting of the National Review Board which will be held in Honolulu sometime in September. The first meeting, you will recall, was held in Washington in May. In Washington and New York, I called on all the members of the National Review Board who were available and was greatly impressed with the distinguished character of its membership. I look forward to exploring further with the Board at its coming meeting various ideas regarding the future of the Center.

I have been talking about the Center's relationship to the Federal Government. It bears a lifeblood relationship also to the State of Hawaii and the University of Hawaii. The Center is vitally dependent upon the university. Indeed, its future accomplishments will be largely determined by the close cooperation of the deans of the various faculties and their staffs in meeting the special needs and requirements of Asian students as well as American students specializing in Far Eastern subject matter. I am personally looking forward to working wholeheartedly with the university faculty in fulfilling the purposes and functions of the Center.

In turn, the Center, as I see it, reinforces the resources of the university through its own programs which enrich the university community not only with additional carefully selected Asian and American students primarily at the graduate level but also with outstanding leaders and scholars of the Pacific area through the senior specialist program and the international conferences and seminars held at the Center. The same may be said of the program of technical interchange which adds to the resources and reach of not only the university but the State of Hawaii in its unique role as America's gateway to the Pacific.

Again, let me emphasize how delighted my wife and I are to become members of the Hawaiian community. Aloha.

The Real Alabama—Part XLVII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, one of the largest paper producers in the country is engaged in a major expansion of facilities in the Mobile area.

Details of the expansion program are provided in an article appearing in the publication "Alabama—Today and Tomorrow" for August 1965. The article follows:

SCOTT PAPER EXPANSION PLAN MOVES AHEAD

Scott Paper Co. recently announced the startup of a new high-speed paper machine for the manufacture of household and industrial sanitary paper products at it Mobile plant.

R. H. Sears, vice president and general manager of Scott's Southern Division, said, "The startup of our new No. 7 paper machine was extremely successful and the quality of the paper being produced meets our highest expectations."

Sears noted that a second paper machine, currently under construction, is progressing on schedule and is expected to begin production of sanitary paper products in the fall.

The startup of the high precision paper machine and supporting manufacturing facilities marks the completion of a major phase of Scott's $55 million expansion at Mobile. The 2-year construction program, largest ever undertaken by the company, will be completed by the end of the year.

In addition to the new paper machine, Scott recently put its first continuous pulping digester into operation here. This giant installation—which may be described as a chemical pressure cooker for processing wood chips into pulp—represents the latest technical advance in pulpmaking. The steel structure measures 13 feet in diameter and stands as high as a 15-story building. It is designed to produce better than 100,000 tons of hardwood pulp annually.

The multimillion-dollar Scott expansion has already contributed significantly to the economy and continuing growth of Mobile and the Greater Gulf States area through the employment of thousands of construction workers and purchases from local suppliers. When completed by late 1965, the enlarged Scott operation is expected to provide some 250 new job opportunities at the plant and will boost the firm's total employment here to about 2,500.

Scott's annual payroll is expected to increase from its present rate of $15 million to about $18 million.

In addition to the boost in employment, Scott's stepped-up production will provide work in the harvesting of an additional 268,000 cords of pulpwood a year. The company procures pine and hardwood pulpwood throughout southern Alabama and southeastern Mississippi.

Scott's expenditure for pulpwood will increase from $8 million to about $12 million annually.

It is estimated that the expanded facilities will raise the company's expenditures for utilities and freight by at least $1 million annually.

The Mobile plant complex is the largest in size of Scott's 11 mills in the United States and the 18 plants of its affiliates in 13 foreign countries. It also ranks first in production output and diversification of products among all Scott facilities.

The current expansion is the third enlargement of the Mobile plant since 1954. Two major construction projects have already doubled the mill's original production capacity. During this period, Scott's employment has doubled and its annual payroll has nearly tripled.

Recognized as one of the most modern and diversified pulp and paper manufacturing plants in America, the Mobile complex includes a pulp mill and two distinct paper mills.

Two Noteworthy Editorials

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the August 11 issue of the Knoxville Journal has two very noteworthy editorials I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues—one on the disgraceful conduct of the Assembly of Unrepresented People in the Nation's Capital and the other on the need to get Congress home as soon as possible.

The editorials follow:

REPRESENTATIVES OF OUR FOES

The Assembly of Unrepresented People, participators in which have proved themselves to be a nuisance in the Capital for 4 days, have now returned to their campuses, their pads, or wherever else irresponsible youngsters and oldsters go after making disgraces of themselves.

The only real achievement on the part of these people was that more than 200 finally were successful in getting themselves arrested when they threatened intrusion on the grounds of the Capitol.

The activities of these people in marching and shuffling around the Capital, from the White House to the Washington Monument, as a matter of fact flopped. Their numbers

were so small that the only value their protest had was that of furnishing some new fodder for the Communists around the world. Reports that went to the Reds abroad no doubt magnified the numbers of those on hand and hauling off a few limp demonstrators against the U.S. policy in Vietnam probably was dubbed police brutality by Communist propagandists.

Here at home, however, it was apparent that the Assembly of Unrepresented People did not represent many people in this country. The people they represented were our enemies all over the world.

GET CONGRESS HOME

The view of a segment of Washington, at least, is that the President has been surprised by the speed with which some parts of his program have been enacted, even though in the past they have been considered highly controversial.

The President apparently did not know his own strength.

Aid to local schools, medicare, even subsidized rent, not only get the approval of Congress, but there is talk in that body of ways the original plans can be broadened and extended.

Only a few items remain on the President's list of musts as he submitted them originally to Congress. Before he lets the Members go home, he will doubtless get them. It is not part of the Johnson technique to take the pressure off when he has everything rolling his way.

All of this means that the best interests of the country will be served by as early a return home by Congress as is possible. Any Congress which voluntarily yields its right to perform as a coequal part of the Federal Establishment, as this one has, is a continuing threat to the Nation.

Progress at Geneva

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, as Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY and others have recently pointed out, there is no greater threat to the future of mankind than the impending proliferation of nuclear weapons.

It is difficult for those of us who are not experts to understand the significance of negotiations in this field. Apparently, the proposals just made in Geneva by the administration are far more important than has been generall recognized.

This morning's Washington Post contained two articles on this subject which underline the significance of the U.S. proposal. Under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include herewith these perceptive and enlightening articles:

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 18, 1965]

PROGRESS AT GENEVA

(By Joseph Kraft)

Anybody can sing a dirge on the draft treaty against the further spread of nuclear weapons that this country presented yesterday at Geneva. The Russians are not about to sign. France and China are not even in the conference. And the draft is only a piece of paper anyhow.

Even so, the draft is probably the biggest step toward peace since the test ban treaty of 2 years ago. Indeed, its mere existence confirms the President's growing mastery over forces and pressures that have previously slowed or blunted almost all conciliatory proposals of the United States.

Up to now, discussion of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons was everybody's favorite excuse for braying insults. That fatal temptation could be seen even in the relatively mild sessions of the present Geneva meetings.

The Russians kicked off by saying that the price for a treaty was that this country abandon Vietnam, Laos, the Congo, and West Germany. The American delegate retorted that the Russians were using the talks as a cover "for the form of aggression they call wars of national liberation." The most important neutrals at Geneva—India, Sweden, and Egypt—thereupon declared that they would make no commitments until the Big Two settled down to the realities.

The treaty draft at least gets the subject down to realities. It indicates what is required, from big countries and small, if early and rapid proliferation of nuclear weapons is to be prevented. Diplomats would not be diplomats if they were not adept at avoiding the subject. But from here on in, when nonproliferation is the subject, the world will know who is talking seriously and who is merely sprouting propaganda.

In working out the draft, moreover, the White House asserted primacy over two power centers in the West that, for good reasons of their own, have usually been against conciliatory moves. The West Germans, for one, have feared that a nonproliferation agreement would foreclose their chance to participate in NATO decisions on nuclear weapons. A section of the State Department has always wanted to humor Bonn on the grounds that otherwise vicious nationalism would reassert itself in German politics.

For years, the combination of Bonn and Foggy Bottom has been slowly diluting proposals favored by determined Presidents. With German elections set for September 19, and with little chance that the Russians would sign anything, another victory for the combination looked like a sure bet. But two happy circumstances, and a large dose of maneuvering skill, made it possible for the White House to beat the odds.

The first happy circumstance was the speech calling for a nonproliferation treaty, by Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY of June 23. The speech drew widespread and favorable attention, including endorsement from the nuclear deans of the Senate, CLINTON P. ANDERSON and JOHN O. PASTORE. The President, in effect, was on his mettle to produce. Next day, with an intimation that it would brook no foot-dragging by the State Department, the White House requested proposals for a draft treaty from the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

As to the second happy circumstance, for domestic political reasons the British Government had been longing to take a new initiative in disarmament. In eagerness to engage the Russians, the British, on July 26, came up with a plan that would have cut out the Germans entirely from a voice in NATO nuclear affairs. Such a plan, had it been put forward as a formal proposal at Geneva, would probably have blown the alliance to bits.

With that threat in the air, the United States was under even more pressure to come up with a draft treaty, while the Germans, for once, had to make concessions. After 2 weeks of behind-the-scenes talks, the Germans, and the British came round to a plan that continues an option for German participation in NATO nuclear decisions even if a nonproliferation treaty is reached. That, in effect, is the American draft treaty proposal.

The end result is that a door once locked tight is now slightly ajar. If that gain looks minimal, the fact is that, just as in the test ban, the Russians may, any time, walk through the door.

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 18, 1965]

SOVIET OBJECTION OBSCURES U.S. SHIFT ON NUCLEAR ISSUE

(By Murrey Marder)

Prompt and expected Soviet objection yesterday to the U.S. draft treaty to halt the spread of nuclear weapons obscured the fact that it marked a public change in the American position.

In the proposal, the United States in fact did agree to a new kind of limitation on what the Soviet Union publicly objects to most: the development of a nuclear force inside the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Under the new language, according to American officials, such a force could not evolve into an organization with "independent power to use nuclear weapons" unless a present nuclear nation contributed all of its weapons to it.

HOPES PUT ON MLF

The United States, particularly at West Germany's urging, always has been anxious to keep open the possibility that the now dormant and disputed multilateral nuclear force, or anything like it, someday might evolve into an independent Western European nuclear force.

That possibility is still open under the new language, but only if either Britain, France, or the United States would surrender their present national nuclear forces to the joint force.

That comes about through some delicately contrived phraseology, originally largely British in origin, in the key article I of the U.S. Draft Treaty:

"Each of the nuclear states party to this treaty undertakes not to transfer any nuclear weapons into the national control of any non-nuclear state, either directly, or indirectly through a military alliance; and each undertakes not to take any other action which would cause an increase in the total number of states and other organizations having independent power to use nuclear weapons."

WOULD PUT CEILING AT FIVE

The United States, the Soviet Union, Brittain, France, and Communist China now are the world's nuclear members. The intention of the draft treaty is to make that number of five the ceiling on the world nuclear grouping of either nations or organizations.

In other words, in order for there to be a veto-free NATO nuclear force, the United States, Britain, or France would have to surrender the "independent power to use nuclear weapons."

The United States, with its massive nuclear power, surely will not do so. France, at least under President de Gaulle, is adamant about retaining its nuclear force. Therefore, it is said, Britain, under this proposal, would hold the key to determine if a veto-free NATO force might ever evolve, because NATO then would in effect replace Britain as the world's fifth nuclear power.

Even so, Britain dissented. The reason given in Geneva yesterday by chief British negotiator Lord Chalfont was that the draft treaty "does not rule out the possibility that an association of states could by a majority decision use nuclear weapons."

While that possibility may be only theoretical, Lord Chalfont said, Britain would prefer "this door be closed."

In other words, he said, he wanted to assure that if a nuclear nation gave up its nuclear deterrent and joined a federation of states, that federation could not have independent control over nuclear weapons.

FEAR OF GERMANY CITED

A major reason for that stand is continuing popular concern in Britain that Germany

someday, perhaps by an action of the United States, France, Britain, or even someone else, might get "a finger on the nuclear trigger." British Prime Minister Wilson, walking a knife-edge margin in Parliament, is publicly pledged to prevent that.

The Soviets are out to prevent any kind of NATO nuclear force. They now can be counted on to add the British reservations to the American draft treaty to their own arguments against it, even though Lord Chalfont officially welcomed the U.S. draft as a basis for discussion.

Trade With West Bolsters Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, amidst all the recent talk of increasing trade with the Communist bloc and the supposed benefits that would be gained politically and economically, columnist David Lawrence, in the Washington Evening Star of August 13, 1965, clearly sums up the problems of trade with the Communist bloc. He particularly shows the effect such trade is having on the United States and Vietnam.

Under leave to extend my remarks I submit the column by Mr. Lawrence for inclusion in the RECORD:

TRADE WITH WEST BOLSTERS REDS

(By David Lawrence)

Which is more important—to make money for oneself in trading with an enemy or to help save human lives?

Everybody would say at once that it is obviously better to avert bloodshed and end any war that's going on. But when this is applied in practice, it turns out that many individuals in various countries, hitherto allied wth us, have a greater passion for dollars or pounds or francs or marks or pesos.

There wouldn't be a war in Vietnam today and American boys wouldn't be fighting and dying in a far-off land if the nations of the world whom the United States has befriended and to whom it continues year after year to send billions of dollars of aid took a stand in support of the American position in Vietnam.

There would be a different story to tell if trade with Red China were cut off by the free world, and if the Soviets saw that the same thing would happen to them should they keep on siding with North Vietnam by building missile sites there and sending weapons to be used to kill American soldiers and airmen. The Russian people, if they knew the facts, would not go along with the Red Chinese.

Perhaps the Johnson administration has failed to be realistic about the situation. The President has said that he has ample authority to send American armed forces to southeast Asia under the resolution passed by both Houses of Congress on August 10, 1964.

But, while this is true, Congress has not formally declared "a state of war," which is recognized in international law as requiring all nations to refrain from sending contraband goods to the belligerents under penalty of seizure or confiscation of shipments of such commodities.

Red China is in every sense a cobelligerent with North Vietnam. The Vietcong couldn't last a month if forces and weapons were not supplied directly or indirectly by the Communist regime in Peiping.

But what is the news that the American people read in the headlines this week? Canada has announced that it has just completed a deal to sell $450 million worth of wheat to the Soviet Government. This illustrates the importance placed on international trade and the dependence of the Communist bloc on trade with the free world.

It has been argued that more trade will produce better relations with the Communist regimes, and a new scheme now is being pushed here to sell vast quantities of U.S. wheat to Communist countries, especially in Eastern Europe.

Much of the American grain which would be shipped to the Communists in Eastern Europe or elsewhere has been bought and paid for by U.S. taxpayers through the farm-subsidy program. The Chicago Tribune says editorially:

"If the sale is approved, we will be selling wheat to Communists at 75 cents a bushel less than American flour millers have to pay for it. And if Congress authorizes the administration's new wheat program, the Communists next year will be able to buy our wheat at $1.25 a bushel less than it is sold for food in this country. In other words, the administration proposes to sell our wheat to Communists at the low world price while at the same time it is asking Congress to boost the price of domestic wheat for food to double the world price—which means American consumers would have to pay higher prices for wheat foods—for example, 2 cents a loaf more for bread.

"Moreover, we are beginning to hear that inasmuch as our grain sales to Russia simply free Russian grain for export to Red China and Cuba, we might as well get in on this trade directly. Not mentioned is the argument that if we did not sell grain to Russia, it would have less grain to supply Red China and Cuba. And if we sell to Red China, why not ship food directly to North Vietnam, even though it is directing a war against us and killing Americans in South Vietnam?

"Although grain is not usually classified as 'strategic material' in the sense of arms and ammunition, it certainly becomes strategic when our enemies are hungry and can't feed themselves."

So it comes back to the same old question: Which is more important—to make money for oneself or to help save human lives, especially American lives? The war the United States is fighting in Vietnam has a worthy purpose and winning it can do a great deal to prevent further acts of aggression and to preserve world peace. But if, as in the 1930s, private greed supersedes the interests of the people as a whole, the world may again see a global conflict. For it was the failure of the embargo on oil against Mussolini in 1935 and the flagrant indifference of the nations of Europe to the plea of President Roosevelt in 1937 for a quarantine or economic embargo against Hitler that brought on the very conditions which made World War II inevitable.

Cheering the Bull

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL B. DAGUE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, in the New York Times of August 10 there appeared a rather interesting commentary concerning the approach of certain Peruvian Indians to their agricultural problems. It reports:

PERUVIAN INDIANS BLOCK HELP FOR GORED TORERO

LIMA, PERU (Reuters).—Indian peasants in Canas Province expect an excellent harvest because of the death of a bullfighter and the serious goring of seven spectators.

Recent reports said a large crowd cheered the death of the bullfighter, Pepe Huanca, from a stomach wound after he was tossed by a bull. The Indians believe that the death of a torero means good harvests and increased wool crop. Seven spectators who jumped into the ring to aid the torero were gored by the bull.

Local authorities were unable to stop the bullfight because of the Indians' hostility, the reports said.

If we shared the superstitions of these Peruvian Indians, I suppose we might conclude that this legislative exhibition augured great things for American agriculture.

If a bloodied and beleaguered sacrifice portends prosperity, we surely have conjured up about as much as we can take at one time.

For in the course of consideration of this conglomerate agriculture bill, we have watched the interests of the American farmer in effigy, butted and rebutted, gored and trampled and ground into submission, and every effort to try to save him has been hostilely turned back by unyielding numbers.

It has been quite a performance, and there can be no doubt about it—again, the bull has prevailed. Indeed, we see reaffirmed the old observation that "cows may come, and cows may go; but the bull goes on forever."

Who Speaks for Iowa's Agricultural Producers?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives an excellent editorial regarding a recommendation by the American Farm Bureau Federation that the interest rate on future REA loans to rural electric cooperatives be raised.

The editorial, which appeared in the May 1965 issue of Current News, a monthly publication of the Eastern Iowa Light & Power Cooperative, follows:

LOCAL, NATIONAL POLICIES DIFFER

The American Farm Bureau Federation on April 29 recommended to Congress that the interest rate on future REA loans to rural electric cooperatives be raised to "the cost of long-term funds to the Federal Government" or more than double the present 2-percent rate.

This position is similar to that taken by the power companies, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and other REA critics.

Your cooperative was quite shocked to learn that the American Farm Bureau Federation (through its spokesman John C. Lynn, legislative director) should make such a proposal to the Senate Agricultural Appropriations Committee.

The National Farm Bureau policies are supposed to be based on resolutions adopted by the county and State farm bureau organizations. Many counties in your cooperative's service area and elsewhere in Iowa called for full support of the rural electrification program when they adopted their resolutions last year.

The State resolutions called for support of the program with periodic review of the interest rates * * * a policy which had previously been suggested by the REA Administrator.

When rural electric cooperative leaders in other States reported similar resolutions in their areas, we felt that the National Farm Bureau Federation would take a stand that would support the American farmer who had to develop his own source of electric energy, not suggest a program to Congress that would set the American farmer back 30 years in his efforts toward obtaining a decent farm life.

We cannot help but wonder why an organization supposedly dedicated to improving the farmers' way of life can support rural electrification on the local and State levels and make suggestions to Congress that could well bring about the death of many locally owned and managed rural electric cooperatives.

Yet, that is exactly what could happen if cooperatives were forced to pay twice as much for the money they must borrow to keep up with the demands for electric energy. As most cooperative members know, rural electrics are not allowed to serve communities of more than 2,500 persons; the rural electrics had to serve those low-profit or nonprofit areas the power companies passed over; cooperatives had to build half the electric lines in the Nation to serve only 8 percent of the consumers with about 4 percent of the electric power requirements.

These facts are well known to farm bureau members on the county level because the rural electric cooperative members and the farm bureau members are one and the same.

Somehow, these facts never seem to reach the top echelon of the National Farm Bureau Federation, or if they do, the facts seem to be considered unimportant because the national leaders continue to aline themselves with the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the power companies.

These three national organizations are also against practically all farm subsidies or price supports you can think of. Maybe they should be. We don't know about these programs but we do know about rural electrification—it's our business.

We also know that an organization which passes itself off as the voice of agriculture should be at least as active in its efforts to stop subsidies to towns and cities as it is in trying to get loan funds raised to farmers (rural electric loans are repaid through light bills paid by rural consumers).

It sounds fair enough, doesn't it? We think so. However, we have never heard of the National Farm Bureau Federation, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, or the power companies campaigning against Federal grants for community planning, town and city sanitation systems, urban renewal projects, etc.

The amount of money loaned to rural electric cooperatives during the first 29 years of the Rural Electrification Administration (REA) program is $4.4 billion and more than $2 billion has already been repaid to the Treasury. The balance will also be repaid and with interest.

Several Iowa cities have received sizable grants for urban renewal. Waterloo has received more than $7.4 million in urban renewal grants and Des Moines has received more than $11 million in urban renewal grants. Des Moines' grants total about the same amount as the cost of your cooperative's two-unit powerplant.

There is one huge difference, however. The money Des Moines received was a grant. The funds to build your powerplant were loans that will be repaid with interest.

Urban renewal projects (like rural electrification) help the recipients of the funds directly and the rest of the Nation indirectly. The Federal Government has already made grants of $3,785,490,430 for urban renewal projects. None of this money ever was or ever will be repaid. It is a grant, not a loan.

Wouldn't this be a much easier place for the National Farm Bureau Federation and its previously mentioned allies to save the taxpayer money? Or do they have something else on their mind when they make suggestions that would hamper the rural electrification program? It is understandable that the power companies would like to see the "yardstick of power costs" eliminated. What does the National Farm Bureau Federation have to gain?

Harry Carbaugh Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, my two hometown newspapers, the Chattanooga Times and the Chattanooga News-Free Press last week joined with many others in Hamilton County and throughout the State of Tennessee in paying tribute to Harry C. Carbaugh.

A great American, a great Tennessean, and a great Republican, Harry Carbaugh through his constant participation in political affairs has set a sterling example for all of us to emulate. No matter what the job was—precinct worker, civic action, business responsibilities, or State chairman—he never said "No." In fact, it was largely through his efforts and those of a few others that the Republican Party of Hamilton County survived the lean political years of the 1930's and 1940's.

It gives me great pleasure to insert in the Appendix an editorial from the August 13, 1965, Chattanooga Times and the August 13, 1965, Chattanooga News-Free Press, plus a resumé of Harry Carbaugh's many activities which appeared in the Chattanooga Times of August 15, 1965. I join them in saluting a wonderful man.

[From the Chattanooga Times, Aug. 13, 1965]

ONE FOR HARRY CARBAUGH

National Republican Leader CHARLEY HALLECK, and Congressman BOB DOLE, of Kansas, will join local figures and many others tomorrow night in paying tribute to one who assuredly deserves it, Harry Carbaugh.

The genial Carbaugh's service to the GOP goes back to and before the time 44 years ago when Warren Harding raised the wooden rafters at the old Billy Sunday Tabernacle on 10th Street. Campaigning for President, Mr. Harding also spoke in behalf of the successful candidacy that year of Joe Brown, who was the last Republican Congressman until BILL BROCK's election 3 years ago.

During that period, Harry Carbaugh served in any number of top volunteer jobs in the party; always as a tireless worker in the conservative cause; and always as a figure of solid integrity.

It is at a time of rising Republican fortunes in the South that Harry Carbaugh is being honored. This fact, plus his great host of friends and the respect in which he is held, should insure a goodly crowd at Engel Stadium for Carbaugh Night tomorrow.

[From the Chattanooga News-Free Press, Aug. 13, 1965]

MR. CARBAUGH'S POLITICAL EXAMPLE

The special "Harry Carbaugh Night" planned by local Republicans at Engel Stadium Saturday, with fried chicken and oratory by Congressmen of national stature, is not just another political shindig. It is an occasion of honor to a fine man who deserves it.

Harry Carbaugh's participation in politics is the kind every citizen ought to want to emulate. He has been interested and involved in his Government, not for any personal gain but for the upholding of basic, conservative principles of Americanism that he feels are essential to the well-being of our country and its people.

The support and election of candidates has been a part of the process, work as local and national GOP fund raiser has been another major part, participation on the platform committees of Republican National Conventions has been still another, and so has his good service as State chairman of his party.

All of this has been proper citizen participation in the American plan of self-government. If all of our people, whatever their views, would take an equally active and responsible part in public affairs, in whatever honorable channels their views may lead them, our city, county, State, and Nation would be better today.

The Republicans salute a principled partisan. We salute a fine citizen serving his Nation.

[From the Chattanooga Times, Aug. 15, 1965]

MR. TENNESSEE GOP: HARRY CLARKE CARBAUGH

Harry Clarke Carbaugh, honored Saturday night by Republican leaders from across the country, has spent many years in the GOP limelight, on every level of party organization.

It is significant that when Carbaugh retired recently as State GOP chairman, he passed the leadership on to a west Tennessee man, the first in decades to hold the post. Under the Chattanoogan's sensitive and progressive leadership, the party began to look from its traditional east Tennessee stronghold toward the west, and statewide GOP strength.

Carbaugh has the habit as well as the understanding of State politics, and it can be doubted that either "Harry Carbaugh Night" or his retirement from the State chairmanship will mark the end of his participation in GOP affairs.

GAINS PROMINENCE

Carbaugh first came into national prominence in 1938, when he helped salvage a Washington conference of small businessmen that had threatened to end in a fiasco.

Called by President Roosevelt to Washington to offer their ideas on combating recession, 500 jittery and wild-eyed small businessmen, many with bizarre economic theories, were having such a hard time keeping in their places that police had to be called to preserve order.

Carbaugh assumed a position of leadership, settled things down and managed to send a committee of eight to confer with the President. Newsmen recognized him nationally as "Mr. Little Businessman."

Two years later, as first vice president of the Chattanooga Chamber of Commerce, Car-

baugh scored another triumph, receiving a tremendous ovation from a National Chamber of Commerce convention for a strong anti-New Deal speech.

SERVES CHAMBER

As a member of the board, and later director of the National Chamber of Commerce, he used all the influence he could gather to get the organization to drop its "sell TVA to private industry" campaign in favor of a much more moderate policy. He succeeded.

President Eisenhower telephoned him personally and offered him the chairmanship of TVA after Gordon Clapp's term expired, but Carbaugh turned it down for business and personal reasons.

Carbaugh's GOP achievements in the spotlight, and behind the scene are too numerous to itemize thoroughly. As county chairman of the "Willkie for President" club, head of the GOP financial effort in the Southeast or as regional vice chairman for 10 Southern States. Carbaugh made a name for himself as a willing, thorough and hard worker.

He has been a delegate to numerous national GOP conventions, serving on platform and other committees.

In Chattanooga, he has served as president of the Chamber of Commerce, chairman of two World War II fund bond drives, president of the Community Chest, Family Service Agency, and the old Executives Club.

MANY LOCAL OFFICES

Other local offices include membership on the board of trustees of the University of Chattanooga, and service as a director of Hamilton National Bank and of Interstate Life and Accident Insurance Co. He is a past president of the Rotary Club and a member of the Fairyland Club, Mountain City Club, Chattanooga Golf and Country Club, the Capitol Hill Club in Washington and the Sigma Chi Fraternity.

Born in Bradley County in 1895, Carbaugh moved with his family to Chattanooga when he was 2 years old. He attended Second District School and Chattanooga High School, where he was president of his senior class. At the University of Chattanooga he played fullback on the football team.

After Carbaugh was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Army in 1917, he married Alyce Huffaker, a schoolmate at city high and UC. After the war, he entered the poultry business and directed it into a now-sizable enterprise.

A Frenzy of Lawmaking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, a conscientious citizen has called to my attention a very noteworthy editorial statement by the Wall Street Journal which raps the knuckles of the legislation-happy 89th Congress.

I think every Member of Congress should see this, and under unanimous consent I include this article in the Appendix of the RECORD:

A FRENZY OF LAWMAKING

Those who think Congress is far too busy can take some comfort from Senate Majority Leader MANSFIELD's recent comment: "There's no reason all these bills should be passed this year." Unfortunately the comfort is likely to be brief.

There is indeed no good reason for the rush on Capitol Hill. The Nation would be better off if the lawmakers could somehow pause and reflect on the totality of their effort, instead of turning out a mass of legislation in so hyperactive a state.

For what this Congress, under White House pressure, is constructing is a new colossus of Government. In addition to such notable bills as aid to Appalachia and medicare, legislation is pending on almost anything you can think of, from rapid rail transportation to subsidies for the arts and humanities.

In other words, scarcely any area of the citizen's life is left out of the Federal purview, and if it is it won't be for long. The programs created by this frenzy of lawmaking, moreover, are of the sort that are bound to grow with the years, in size, bureaucratic confusion, and cost. At the very best, then, we face the prospect of governmental sprawl that could prove much more ugly than any urban sprawl.

The customary response to this kind of observation is that Congress is only doing what the people indicated they wanted when they cast their ballots. We find that conclusion less than self-evident. The typical program under consideration on Capitol Hill is one whipped up in the executive branch by the politicians themselves or by some vested interest group. We suspect that a great many people wish they knew some way to turn off the faucet and stop the flood of laws.

Yet even if it were true that the majority of the electorate is pining for this new profusion of Government, Congress would still have the responsibility of considering the legislation far more carefully than it does and especially of considering its present and prospective costs. Here we are fighting what daily seems more and more like a major war in Vietnam, we are throwing billions into the space race every year; can the Government, in any realistic sense, afford to plunge into all these other things too?

There is an answer of sorts to that one also. The economic wizards of the Great Society believe they have figured out the key to perpetual prosperity through perpetual budget deficits; therefore it doesn't matter how much the Government spends. Most delightful of all, it has been discovered that cutting taxes can actually increase revenues as a result of the increased economic activity.

The tax-cut effect, we readily agree, is no mirage but a fact; it has happened that way under the recent reductions and under previous ones as well. One of the dangers of relying on it, however, is that it cannot be guaranteed to work every time. If other circumstances, emphatically including governmental prodigality, bring on serious economic trouble, even drastic tax reduction would not necessarily restore prosperity or produce bigger revenues.

A more basic difficulty with the tax approach is that it is the wrong way to go about the budgeting process. Not that we are arguing for high taxes; simply that the right way is to reduce spending so that levies can be lowered without running incessant deficits. For we fear it is a delusion of no minor magnitude that deficits, coupled with artificially easy money, can keep a boom going forever. There are already disquieting signs that such policies cause inflation, and inflations usually end in recessions or worse.

The fact, which the White House and many in Congress seem all too content to ignore, is that the Nation's resources are finite and must be allocated, as the whole concept of budgeting implies. No magic of the so-called new economics has changed that or lifted from men in positions of power their obligation to establish sensible priorities of governmental undertakings.

If most of the Members of Congress care not a whit that they are burdening the people with an oppressive new federalization, they should at least be able to see that trying to do everything at once is a course filled with risks. It is no idle joke that a truly do-nothing Congress can sometimes be the best kind. Certainly this legislation-happy Congress is doing a disservice to its present constituency and the Nation's future.

Michigan Legislature Opposes S. 1592 on Firearms Restrictions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, as I have previously pointed out, there is widespread opposition in Michigan to S. 1592, the civilian firearms control bill, and reflecting this opposition is a concurrent resolution adopted by the Michigan Legislature.

The text of the resolution follows:

MICHIGAN HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION No. 115

(A concurrent resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States regarding the antifirearms bill)

Whereas the antifirearms bill currently before the Congres of the United States proposes Federal control of firearms in the hands of civilians, and as currently written, constitutes violation of the second amendment to the U.S. Constitution that "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."; and

Whereas admittedly, controls are necessary due to irresponsible or criminal elements in society illegally using firearms. That such controls should be the prerogative of State and local agencies of government, that such controls properly should not be a matter for Federal control are acknowledged and forthrightly stated by the Nation's foremost experts in government, including opinions publicly stated by men of the caliber of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover; and

Whereas the consensus of expertise in this field is that State and local laws imposing harsh and certain punishment for crimes committed while armed, combined with effective law enforcement, and firmly supported by no-nonsense courts and juries, provide the most certain combination for adequate control; and

Whereas as to statutes: Laws should prohibit sale of firearms to felons, drug addicts, habitual drunkards, juveniles and mental incompetents; laws should invoke strict penalties against the possession of firearms by criminals and irresponsible persons. Laws should permit responsible, law-abiding adults to own and use firearms for legal purposes; laws should not require law-abiding adult citizens to register shotguns and rifles; and laws should not grant authority to any jurisdiction, police or otherwise, at any government level, to prohibit the purchase or ownership of firearms by law-abiding and responsible citizens; and

Whereas in Michigan, alone, more than one and a half million sportsmen would be adversely affected by legislation proposed and now before the Congress—a figure that applies substantially to most of the other States of the Union: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Michigan Legislature respectfully memorialize the Congress of the United States to defeat the currently proposed antifirearms legislation of S. 1592; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this memorial be transmitted to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to each member of the Michigan delegation to the Congress of the United States.

Adopted by the house June 21, 1965.

Adopted by the senate June 23, 1965.

BERYL I. KENYON,
Secretary of the Senate.
NORMAN C. PHILLEO,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

We Must Not Make Excuses for Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES D. MARTIN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include an editorial "In the Wake of the Riots," from the the Washington Evening Star of August 17.

We dare not allow ourselves to be lead astray again in dealing with those responsible for the terrible tragedy of Los Angeles. We cannot allow the guilty to go unpunished on the premise that they really were not to blame, but somehow the law-abiding citizens and the police who were trying to protect lives and property must assume the responsibility.

As usual, the brave statement of the President that people must obey the laws, was immediately watered down so as not to destroy his political image with the minorities. Violence in the streets will never be ended as long as our national leaders refuse to treat criminals as criminals and excuse such outbreaks of violence because of some social maladjustment.

The time is long past due when the President should make an unequivocal statement that law and order will prevail, that the police departments of this Nation will not be sacrificed to appease criminals. He cannot stop murder, arson, rape, and robbery with pretty phrases and then immediately retract his own statements by shifting the blame from those who are guilty of such crimes.

The Star editorial follows:

IN THE WAKE OF THE RIOTS

It looks as though the worst of the Los Angeles rioting is over, at least for the time being. And now the excuses, the rationalizations, and the justifications come rolling in.

Some profound students of the origin of riots blame the heat. Others speak of deprivation, entrapment, frustration, hopelessness, and unemployment. (Who, knowingly, would hire any of these people?) No one has yet come right out and said the fault is society's, but this may be expected any day.

For our part, we think those responsible for the stonings, the burnings, the lootings, and the killings are either lunatics or criminals. And they ought to be treated accordingly.

The cumulative toll of the rioting is appalling: Killed, 33; injured, 862; arrested, 3,124; fire losses, an estimated $175 million. Add to this the relatively minor damage done by the nightriders—automobiles filled with Negroes cruising the streets and firing indiscriminately into private homes in white areas. Small wonder that the city's nerves are jumping and that white residents in unprecedented numbers are buying any kind of firearm they can find.

The President issued a firm statement on Saturday, and then watered it down a bit with another statement on Monday. He did not, of course, condone the rioting. But he did say that "it is not enough simply to decry disorder. We must also strike at the unjust conditions from which disorder largely flows."

What unjust conditions? Los Angeles is not a city which has practiced racial discrimination. The Negro section in which the rioting started has its slums. But even most of these, according to one Negro, would seem like suburban bliss to a Negro from the slums of Harlem. Much of the neighborhood consisted of neat, middle-class Negro homes, and many of them were destroyed in the more than 2,000 major fires started by the rioters.

The precise explanations for the rioting probably will never be known. Published photographs suggest a desire by some to whoop it up and raise hell. A more important cause, however, seems to have been a pervading hatred of the "whiteys" and of all police, white or colored. One Negro is quoted as saying to a National Guardsman: "We've got nothing against you guys. But when youve gone, youll see what we do to the cops."

It presumably was this attitude which prompted California's Governor Brown to described the rioting as an insurrection. And there can be no temporizing with insurrections. To turn the President's phrase, they must be struck down.

What of the Watts Community?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, there has been an occurrence in race relations which is deplored by everyone in this country. I am referring to the current upheaval in the Watts community of Los Angeles, Calif. In view of the intensity and duration of this regrettable, destructive, lawless, and terrifying event, I feel compelled to express my views in the hope that a fuller understanding of the many implications might emerge.

It is unfortunate that most of the comments since the outbreak have been confined to laying the blame on some one thing or on some few people. Because of my unequivocal disagreement with this approach, I deem it necessary to point out the fallacies inherent in such reasoning. For example:

To blame the disgusting, senseless holocaust on "coddling of criminals and the lawless element," as did Los Angeles Police Chief William H. Parker, is to utter a stupid, meaningless, and perhaps provocative excuse.

To blame the insurrection on hatred of the white man is but to oversimplify a vastly complicated mental and spiritual condition of an unfortunate segment of the Negro people.

To blame this outrage on the civil rights struggle and recent court decisions is to disregard the findings of the sociologists, the psychiatrists, the historians, and all the responsible men who have studied the people and the conditions in the ghettos of this country.

To blame the outburst on Communist infiltration is to resort to a device and an excuse seized upon by those who are incapable of analytical thought; by those who refuse to think; and by those who reject logic.

To blame this horror on police brutality is to use a hackneyed phrase that does not relate to the enormity of the problem.

To blame the Negro leadership is a most interesting response. It is to impute to those leaders a power never possessed in history by the leaders of any people—the ability to control a mob. Even while making this complimentary assessment, the same observers continue to heap vituperation, abuse, and vilification upon those to whom they have attributed such greatness.

To blame this insurgency on a Federal cut-off of antipoverty funds, as did Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty, is to entirely disregard the effects of his own intransigence in refusing representation to the poor in conjunction with the program.

Mr. Speaker, none of these explanations is sufficient in itself. Perhaps taken all together, will give us partial insight toward a solution that will remedy similar situations and prevent a recurrence.

Mr. Speaker, despite the complexity of the circumstances, despite the admitted fact that all of us say there is some cause for unrest, I say there is no justification for murder, pillage, arson, robbery, assault, and general disregard for the constituted laws of the land.

Mr. Speaker, I categorically condemn the use of violence in any form. I completely reject the utter disobedience of proper public authority. This sort of behavior bears no relation whatever to the civil rights struggle; its yield is only bitter fruit and ill will.

The last 100 years of stupidity has produced deprivations for the Negro which include denial of his rightful position as an American citizen. But even this is not the immediate issue in the fullest sense. The real meat of the matter is that we now face a moment of truth for all of mankind, and that instant of verity focuses upon the concept equality. For all men of every race, creed, and nationality, equality must be realized—it cannot be evaded. The United States of America, in its position of world leadership, must set the course in that direction for all mankind.

Boycott of Japanese Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I am sure there are many who did not take my re-

cent words seriously, when I spoke about the threat of a complete boycott of Japanese goods by labor unions and fishermen's organizations if Japan failed to protect American stocks of North Pacific salmon on the high seas.

In this connection, I should report that the Washington State Labor Council, at its convention on Thursday, August 12, 1965, unanimously adopted a resolution along this line.

This labor council, which represents 95 percent of all organized labor in the State of Washington, by resolution urged immediate Federal legislation to protect North American stocks of salmon and promised a complete boycott of Japanese imports if Japan fails to abide by conservation principles relating to these fish.

Hereinafter is a copy of the resolution:

WASHINGTON STATE LABOR COUNCIL BOYCOTT OF JAPANESE IMPORTS, RESOLUTION NO. 34, AUGUST 12, 1965

Whereas the Maritime Trades Department, Puget Sound Council, is concerned over the encroachment on American fisheries by foreign fishing fleets because American salmon conservation programs are for naught if foreign fishing fleets are permitted to harvest American stocks at will, and

Whereas the taking of Bristol Bay red salmon on the high seas is a violation of the intent of the International North Pacific Fisheries Treaty between the United States, Canada, and Japan, and

Whereas the economy of Pacific coast fishermen will be seriously affected and the economy of the entire Bristol Bay area of Alaska is dependent upon the return of salmon to spawn in the lakes and streams, and salmon harvested on the high seas cannot return, and

Whereas the fishermen on this coast started a national campaign in early June to encourage the American public to boycott all Japanese imports if the Japanese fishing fleets continued to ignore American conservation pleas, and

Whereas the Maritime Trades Department, Puget Sound Council, feels that pressure must be maintained in order to obtain a satisfactory treaty with Japan to safeguard North American stocks of salmon: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Washington State Labor Council urges the Government of the United States to intercede to prevent the Japanese fishing fleet from entering the area between 175 degrees west longitude and 175 degrees east longitude and 50 degrees north to 55 degrees north latitude during the time that North American stocks of salmon are present in that area, and be it finally

Resolved, That the Washington State Labor Council urges the Government of the United tSates to enact legislation without delay to prevent any further taking of North American stocks of salmon east of 175 degrees east longitude, and if Japan fails to abide by conservation principles relating to North American stocks of salmon, any laws pertaining to enforcement will be immediately invoked and the economic boycott be given maximum support.

National Drum Corps Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased today to join my colleagues in recognizing the work being done by this Nation's young people in drum corps units. I feel that it is particularly significant that the Nation has set aside a week-long period designated as National Drum Corps Week for the recognition of this youth activity.

Participation in a drum and bugle corps provides the individual youth with a healthy experince which is of great value in his formative years. The colorful pageantry and disciplined precision practiced by these units require each member to be capable of working well with the others. The loyalty to the unit, pride in appearance, and group spirit fostered by these units constitutes a valuable contribution to American life.

Drum corps performance has been called a new art form and its expression of order, color, symmetry, and beauty well support this view. I am especially pleased to note that two drum corps units of national prominence come from my State of New Jersey: the current American Legion National Champions, the Senior Caballeros of Hawthorne, N.J., and the Junior Garfield Cadets of Garfield, N.J., in my own district. The Cadets, along with the Mountetts All Girl Drum and Bugle Corps, also in my district, have contributed much to the communities in which they perform. Along with the other national championship units such as the Boston Crusaders, the Junior Optimists of Toronto, Canada, and the North Carolina State University Drum and Bugle Corps, these groups have set an admirable example for our Nation's young people.

I extend my most hearty congratulations to the Nation's drum corps and I am sure that interest and participation in these units will continue to increase.

Political Money Keeps Flowing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego Union of Monday, August 16, 1965:

BARREL WITHOUT BOTTOM: POLITICAL MONEY KEEPS FLOWING

The pork barrel has never been bigger. It was rolled out even as the votes were counted in the last presidential election and by the way things are going the administration seems to believe it can have no bottom.

The weeks pass and time and again the President is shown signing a new bill into law which a compliant Congress has dutifully passed and which calls for vastly increased Federal grants in fields which once were considered the responsibilities of individuals, States, and cities.

When he signed into law the latest housing bill, calling for an expenditure of $7.5 billion and providing for the first Federal rent subsidies, President Johnson said that "this is not the last housing bill that we shall need and it is not going to be the last that we shall pass."

The Great Society is to be all-encompassing.

No one can estimate at this time how much in taxpayers' money will be eaten up before the so-called war on poverty can claim hopefully predicted results. The income margin by which poverty is politically determined can be moved up and up to suit any election emergency.

What is being developed, of course, is a larger and larger body of persons dependent on the Federal Government, or more accurately, on the administration in power, and which most certainly will become a permanent lobby of the alleged needy.

Everybody has "needs," regardless of income. One can think up more needs any time somebody is looking around to fill them.

The administration has eagerly accepted the magic formula promulgated by the radical-liberals and leftist economists that reductions in taxes and increases in Government spending tend to automatically expand the national wealth and this in turn churns up the extra money needed to pay for it all.

The administration believes the formula has worked in the last few years. The national debt has been increased and taxes cut, while spending has gone up and up. Like perpetual motion, it is expected to go on forever.

All barrels have bottoms—and this Nation's resources are not unlimited. The seizure of more and more of the people's earnings to enlarge the army of those who are to be publicly helped or supported is not a guarantee of perpetual prosperity.

At some point there won't be enough left to keep the wheels of free enterprise turning—and we may be a lot closer to that point that most of us are willing to believe.

On top of all the social legislation that has been passed the administration has requests before Congress on which action has not been completed and that calls for $7 billion more in spending.

When the barrel gets empty, what then? There will be those who argue there can be no turning back and we must take the final plunge toward the complete socialist state.

Drum Corps Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to join my colleagues in the House in a salute to all those who have put so much time, effort, and energy into America's drum corps. The spirit which these well-trained and brilliantly uniformed groups lend to our holiday parades and public events is a much appreciated reminder of our Nation's great heritage.

History books tell us the American Revolution began when a drummer, William Dinman, beat the call "To Arms" on Lexington Common. It signaled the birth of a nation and the emergence of a new era in political thought and individual freedom.

Although the fife and drum were gradually replaced with more modern means of military communications, the drum corps of today continues to make a definite contribution to our society. They offer the youth of America a wholesome, character-building activity as well as help to infuse into the general public a vigorous spirit and healthy patriotism.

The young people and adults alike, who have devoted so much time and initiative to this activity are to be commended. The long hours of practice, civic mindedness, and just plain hard work, all of which are necessary to build a polished and proficient corps, are appreciated by all of us who are privileged to enjoy the performances and participation of drum corps units in parades, and so forth. My best wishes go out to all for continued success and increased community support for these endeavors.

In the Wake of the Riots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, last evening's Star had for its lead editorial an excellent commentary on the Los Angeles insurrections.

The Evening Star consistently has been the sober and sane voice in Washington, calling attention without blatant outcry or snide innuendo to the facts as they are. Such a comment is the editorial of August 17, and because the statement makes such good sense and places in such plausible clear understanding the situation, it is a pleasure to place the editorial in the RECORD in the hope that it will receive even more widespread attention:

IN THE WAKE OF THE RIOTS

It looks as though the worst of the Los Angeles rioting is over, at least for the time being. And now the excuses, the rationalizations and the justifications come rolling in.

Some profound students of the origin of riots blame the heat. Others speak of deprivation, entrapment, frustration, hopelessness, and unemployment. (Who, knowingly, would hire any of these people?) No one has yet come right out and said the fault is society's, but this may be expected any day.

For our part, we think those responsible for the stonings, the burnings, the lootings, and the killings are either lunatics or criminals. And they ought to be treated accordingly.

The cumulative toll of the rioting is appalling. Killed 33, injured, 862; arrested, 3,124; fire losses an estimated $175 million. Add to this the relatively minor damage done by the "nightriders"—automobiles filled with Negroes cruising the streets and firing indiscriminately into private homes in white areas. Small wonder that the city's nerves are jumping and that white residents in unprecedented numbers are buying any kind of firearm they can find.

The President issued a firm statement on Saturday, and then watered it down a bit with another statement on Monday. He did not, of course, condone the rioting. But he did say that "it is not enough simply to decry disorder. We must also strike at the unjust conditions from which disorder largely flows."

What unjust conditions? Los Angeles is not a city which has practiced racial discrimination. The Negro section in which the rioting started has its slums. But even most of these, according to one Negro, would seem like suburban bliss to a Negro from the slums of Harlem. Much of the neighborhood consisted of neat, middle-class Negro homes, and many of them were destroyed in the more than 2,000 major fires started by the rioters.

The precise explanations for the rioting probably will never be known. Published photographs suggest a desire by some to whoop it up and raise hell. A more important cause, however, seems to have been a pervading hatred of the "whiteys" and of all police, white or colored. One Negro is quoted as saying to a National Guardsman: "We've got nothing against you guys. But when you've gone, you'll see what we do to the cops."

It presumably was this attitude which prompted California's Governor Brown to describe the rioting as an "insurrection." And there can be no temporizing with insurrections. To turn the President's phrase, they must be struck down.

Doesn't Anybody Get Mad Any More?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, as the drought continues in the Northeast it emphasizes our obligation to face the facts of life with reference to the pollution of our rivers and lakes which we permit to continue, despite the warnings we have had. If we are to embark on serious discussion of this massive problem, it iis time for straight talk such as that in an editorial in the Hartford, Conn., Courant, of August 1, 1965.

The editorial "Doesn't Anybody Get Mad Any More?" is not only worth reading, it also merits an answer at all levels of government and the answer must be in the nature of greater efforts to curb and correct the pollution of our water supplies throughout the Nation.

With permission to extend my remarks, I include, herewith, the editorial from the Hartford Courant:

DOESN'T ANYBODY GET MAD ANY MORE?

The incapability of Connecticut public officials to become outraged or even mildly indignant over the continued pollution of the rivers of the State offers a discouraging prospect to those farsighted citizens who are fighting for a cleanup. For more than half a century, at least, it has been repeatedly pointed out that Connecticut would rue the day when it permitted its rivers to be used as open sewers. We Americans have always thought we were superior, and did things better than peoples of other lands. The fact is, as anyone who has traveled in the Far East knows, our rivers are now as dirty as those in Asia.

First the salmon and sturgeon disappeared, and now the shad are being depleted. Even worse, a source of water, which is going to be badly needed as the Northeast area of the United States grows, is now so full of poison that it is useless for drinking or irrigation. One thing can be said for a river used solely to dump sewage. It cleanses itself as it flows. But this is not true if it becomes saturated with detergents and industrial waste.

Meantime we have the spectacle of a State complacently issuing permits for continuing the fatal, unnecessary practice of emptying strong acids into the streams. On top of this we have that old political dodge, the appointment of another study group, "to report back to the general assembly in 2 years." This despite the fact that when Senator RIBICOFF last year offered to have a Federal study made of pollution of the Connecticut River, he and the people were told by the State administration it was unnecessary, that all the information had already been collected.

It would be heartening if just one responsible State official or member of the general assembly would get up and howl about the continuing destruction of one of nature's wonders. More than beauty, fishing and recreation is involved here. Before long we may need this water for our very existence. Hasn't anyone learned anything from the frightening drought we are now suffering? Doesn't anybody get mad any more?

The Wheat Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD a Washington Post editorial under date of August 17 in which they point out that the subsidy to wheat is primarily a consumer subsidy. They refer to it as a "consumers' hayride":

THE WHEAT PLAN

The most controversial item in the omnibus farm bill that comes up in the House today is the wheat plan under which more of the costs of giving farmers a fair return would be transferred from the taxpayer to the wheat user.

Wheat purchasers would have to pay on the 1966 crop $1.25 for a domestic wheat certificate they now buy for 75 cents. At the same time the 25-cent export certificate would be dropped. The change would put more of the cost of maintaining wheat prices on domestic users and less on the U.S. Treasury. The wheat in a pound-loaf would cost seven-tenths of 1 cent more.

Critics of the farm programs have for years been decrying them as a "taxpayers' hayride." The alternative to prices supported at the expense of the Government is either prices supported by users of farm products or agricultural bankruptcy.

There is not much argument about the wheat farmers' right to a better return. The most efficient wheat farmers earn $2.33 an hour compared with $2.62 an hour for factory workers (and $2.50 an hour for bakery workers who opposed the bill). Some of the less efficient wheat raisers operate at a loss.

The justice of putting more of the cost on the users must be judged in part by the cost of wheat in a loaf of bread. In 1947–49 the wheat in a pound loaf of bread averaged 2.7 cents. In June, 1965, it averaged 2.6 cents, one-tenth of a cent less than in 1947–49. During the same period the price consumers paid for a loaf of bread went from an average of 12.7 cents a loaf to 20.9 cents a loaf or an increase of 8.2 cents or 65 percent. Rising labor costs have accounted for some of this rise. (Bakery unions in 13 cities have won wage increases of from 20 cents to 50 cents an hour in the last few months.)

In a society that pretends to any deference to a sense of justice those who supply its food cannot be expected to be content with returns that stay constant or diminish over a period of years while the returns of all

other workers and of industry as a whole increase. The House no doubt acknowledges this. But it may wish to continue bearing the costs of this justice out of the Treasury—an object that would be achieved by the Dent-Quie amendment to the administration's proposals. The amendment would eliminate the increase in the price of the wheat certificate. The vote today will disclose how much real support there is for getting agriculture back on a basis where it gets its support in the marketplace instead of from the Treasury.

In the larger interest of justice to agriculture it probably does not greatly matter. But what the House will be voting for if it adopts the amendment and rejects the administration's bill is not a taxpayers' hayride but a consumer's hayride. The Government would like to move the wheat program a step toward a market system where the producer gets his price at the point of sale and where that price is reflected in the cost of the commodity to users. There has been a lot of lip service paid this system, but it may not have been seriously intended. Today's vote will show. Certainly, it is not possible to return to the much applauded market system without having the market reflect fluctuations in the prices paid producers in the prices charged to users.

No Taste for Bias

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, many of our Nation's leaders and editors of our Nation's newspapers have endorsed President Johnson's proposal for reform of our immigration laws.

I consider this one of the most important pieces of legislation to be considered by this Congress. Certainly the proposed immigration bill is something that is urgently needed to wipe away the archaic quota system which we now have.

A leading editorial in the Milwaukee Journal of August 9 supported President Johnson's immigration legislation and at this point I include this editorial in the RECORD in its entirety:

NO TASTE FOR BIAS

Approval by the House Judiciary Committee of a bill to reform the immigration laws is a big step toward what President Johnson calls redemption of a national pledge to posterity—"that freemen have no fear of justice, and proud men have no taste for bias."

The bill would eliminate unfair and discriminatory national origin quotas under which foreigners are admitted to this country. The system, based on the population of this country in 1920, discriminates against Asians, south Europeans and others. It decrees that a man's race, and not his worth, should be the deciding factor in his becoming an American.

Under the new proposal immigrants would be admitted on a first-come, first-served basis under a system of priorities. Relatives of American citizens would get first chance. Scientists, artists, and members of professions, workers able to fill domestic jobs in which there are labor shortages and refugees from Communist countries would be next, in that order. The overall limit for a year would be 350,000 immigrants, with a limit for any single nation at 20,000. In the first 3 years special provision would be made to let in already approved immigrants from the low quota nations of Italy and Greece.

The bill has a long way to go before final approval, but Judiciary Committee action by a 27 to 4 vote speaks well for its reception by the House. And it may face a fight in the Senate. The President, however, is determined to put what he calls "realism and understanding" into the immigration laws and his influence may be enough to get the bill through Congress.

Texas Partners Help Bring Peruvian Village Into 20th Century

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, a remarkable story of self-help and partnership appeared in the Dallas Morning News of July 31.

It is the story of how the people of the little Peruvian town of Navan built a mountain road that brought them into the 20th century. It is a moving and inspiring story of how the job was done with tools provided by the Texas Partners of the Alliance Committee.

Even though the Partners of the Alliance program is less than 2 years old, it has welded genuine friendship and understanding between our Nation and Latin America. Director of the program is James H. Boren, and its chairman is Edward Marcus of Dallas. Both are dynamic and dedicated Texans whom I am proud to call friends.

Because the article describes so well the partnership activity between Texas and Peru and signals the growth of similar cooperation between the two, I am asking that it be printed in the RECORD:

ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY-SEVEN DOLLARS ADMITS VILLAGE TO 20TH CENTURY

(By Carlos Conde)

LIMA, PERU.—For more than 200 years the mainstream of life bypassed the people who lived in the mountain village of Navan. There was no road from their town to the main highway. It was only 6 miles distant, but to them it might as well have been a world away.

The only way to get down the mountain was a steep, rocky mule path that was impassable at certain times of the year. Many lived and died in Navan without ever leaving it. They wove their own clothes and grew their own food. Only two people in the village could read and write.

Finally the town leaders decided to build a usable road.

They didn't want a lot of money or fancy engineering plans. They just wanted tools to do the job themselves. But picks cost about $5. They needed about two dozen of them and the same number of shovels. That would take $200. A villager didn't earn half that much in a year. How would they ever get that much money?

They asked the Peruvian Government for help. Navan, a town of 2,500 people, was small and insignificant. Few Peruvians even knew it existed. It was natural, therefore, for their request to get buried and lost in bureaucratic files.

Two years went by. The townspeople began to search elsewhere. Someone told them of a gringo group that might help them. They traced the group to the U.S. Agency for International Development in Lima. It was a bunch of Texans who called themselves the Texas Partners of the Alliance. The Texas Partners bought the tools for them and the Navan citizens went to work.

Last May they finished the job. A truck loaded with potatoes chugged up the narrow, lumpy road to commemorate the event. Church bells rang, people cheered, and dogs barked. For Navan it was the greatest day in its history.

Trucks now travel up and down the road to buy and sell products. Two government teachers have started reading and writing classes in the village. The Navan folks occasionally hit the road for a holiday in the nearby towns.

These people had never heard of Texans before. But they'll never forget them. They call Texans the "padrinos," or godfathers, of their road.

And all it cost was $197.

The Texas Partners of the Alliance have been doing a lot of similar people-to-people diplomacy since the organization was founded in San Antonia in March 1964.

And they have proven most vividly that it doesn't take a lavish budget. Since 1964, they have spent a total of $5,397 on projects such as the Navan road construction. The U.S. Government has given $310,500,000 in aid in Peru.

Chairman of the Texas partners is Edward Marcus, of Dallas. In Peru, the program is coordinated by a Lima corporation attorney, Carlos Boza, through the U.S. AID offices.

The creed of the Texans is "Ayudansan que nosotros los aydaremos." It means "We will help those who help themselves."

The Texas Partners was formed at the request of the U.S. State Department to give a personal touch to the Alliance for Progress program. Twenty-four States are engaged in similar programs in other South American countries.

The purpose of the Texas Partners is threefold: To initiate self-help projects for the Peruvians; to stimulate cultural exchange; and to encourage small investments.

Participating in the program are Texas civic clubs, high school organizations, labor unions, and business and professional groups.

"This type of partnership helps to assure the people of South America of our concern for their struggle to rise above poverty," said Banks Miller, Jr., the executive secretary of the Texas Partners. "It aims to give a sense of movement of the Alliance in the slums and the rural areas where help is most needed.

"Most important, it can buy time until the institutions building economic development programs of the Alliance can make themselves felt at the grassroots level."

Boza thinks the pocket-change aid program is turning out to be more effective than some of the multimillion-dollar projects undertaken by the U.S. Government.

"A $5 pick has more impact than a $5 million dam," Boza said. "Few participate directly in a $5 million structure. It's like a gift with very little intrinsic value. Peruvians are leery of a gift. They think a gift has hidden strings. But they understand the gesture of a pick."

"Texans have not made this an old-clothes program," Boza said. "They have helped us without making us feel like beggars and taking away our dignity as human beings."

The Texas Partners are moving at a faster pace than first expected. They have participated in 32 projects and have spent $5,397.11. They still need $1,075.51 for seven pending projects such as libraries, roof tops for schools, hand tools, and kerosene lamps.

The Partners are still developing their cultural and investment sections. In August, a Texas concert pianist will perform

in Lima under the auspices of the Partners. Delegations of Texans have made several trips to Peru to investigate investment possibilities.

Self-help projects are screened and recommended through AID offices in Lima and then forwarded to the Partners' office in Austin. The project is then assigned to a Texas civic club or school organization which raises the money.

The $197 for the Navan project was raised by the Texas AFL-CIO. The Women's Democratic Club of Texas gave $125 for a gas generator. Edward Marcus gave $250 and Levelland High School gave $115 to a bridge project. Five Pan American Student Forum Clubs from Wichita Falls gave $213 to a jungle tribe for chicken wire. Sunset High School of Dallas' PASF Club gave two dye pots to an artisans' center in a mountain village. The PASF Club of Travis High School in Austin raised $75 for tools for the Picha Tribe in the Amazon.

"This program is proving very effective, but it still needs some tightening up," said John O'Donnell, the AID officer in charge of the Partners program. "We need to streamline things. There is too much of a gap between the time the project is approved and the time they get the money. We also need to keep the Texans better informed on how their projects turn out."

Carlos Boza said Texans might be happy to hear what the people of Navan did with their tools after they finished their road.

"They held a ceremony and presented the tools to a neighboring town 2 miles away that had no road. Now their neighbors are building a road to connect with Navan."

What Is Being Withheld in Report on Negroes?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the following column by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak from the August 18 issue of the Washington Post is most disturbing. It is the latest example of how the Johnson administration manipulates the news and propagandizes the American people. Reports are suppressed and then portions leaked to the press as these portions support or advance administration policy. This is wrong. It is brainwashing, American style. It has no place in this country where the people are the power of Government.

I am not sure I would be in agreement with the conclusions of the Moynihan report, but I do not believe that this report, or any report, should be manipulated by the administration for political expediency. Congress should demand that the full report referred to in the Evans-Novak column be released so that Members of Congress and the people may decide on its merits.

The column follows:

INSIDE REPORT—THE MOYNIHAN REPORT

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

Weeks before the Negro ghetto of Los Angeles erupted in violence, intense debate over how to handle such racial powder kegs was under way deep inside the Johnson administration.

The pivot of this debate: the Moynihan Report, a much supressed, much leaked Labor Department document that strips away usual equivocations and exposes the ugly truth about the big city Negro's plight.

Some administration officials view the report as a political atom bomb certain to produce unwanted fallout, mainly by bringing up the most taboo subject in civil rights: preferential treatment for Negroes.

But others (and they include key figures in the White House) feel that the Moynihan Report might open the door to new ideas and avert continuous guerrilla warfare in Negro ghettoes.

The report stems from the big-city Negro riots last summer. That violence was deeply disturbing to Daniel P. (Pat) Moynihan, a liberal intellectual and politician who was then Assistant Secretary of Labor (he resigned last month to run for president of the New York City Council). Viewing the riots as seemingly unconnected parts of a revolution by the Nation's most submerged class, Moynihan began probing unanswered questions.

He wondered, for instance, why in a time of decreasing unemployment, the plight of the urban Negro was getting worse, not better. His answer: a 78-page report (based largely on unexciting Census Bureau statistics) revealing the breakdown of the Negro family. He showed that broken homes, illegitimacy, and female-oriented home life were central to big-city Negro problems.

But when Moynihan wanted to release the report, he was stopped by his boss, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz. In private conversation, Wirtz expressed the fear that evidence of Negro illegitimacy would be grist for racist propaganda mills. Beyond this, other officials believed Moynihan's Report would stir up trouble by defining insoluble problems.

As a result, the Labor Department never did release the report. But in Washington, what is suppressed almost always finds its way into print.

Thus, the Moynihan report was raw material for an eloquent discussion of Negro problems in Theodore White's "The Making of the President 1964." It was the basis for a three-page spread in the August 9 Newsweek. A UPI dispatch quoted liberally from the "secret" report last weekend.

The most important "leak," however, went over Wirtz' head into the White House. Presidential advisers—particularly Bill D. Moyers, the chief policy factotum—were fascinated. This produced President Johnson's moving June 4 commencement address at Howard University here. Using the Moynihan report as a source, the President for the first time discussed the degeneration of Negro family life and called a White House Conference in the fall to deal with it.

Since then, sociologists, psychiatrists, and Negro leaders have trooped in and out of the White House to prepare the Conference.

These talks have confirmed that it is easier to define problems than solve them. The participants acknowledge the basic need for male-directed discipline in Negro ghettoes. But how to get it? Ideas range from the minimal (using men instead of women to deliver welfare checks) to the radical (lowering military requirements to get more Negro youths out of the ghetto and into the Army).

The heart of the problem is far tougher. Moynihan believes the public erroneously compares the Negro minority to the Jewish minority. When discriminatory bars were lowered, Jews were ready to move. But the implicit message of the Moynihan report is that ending discrimination is not nearly enough for the Negro. But what is enough?

The phrase "preferential treatment" implies a solution far afield from the American dream. The white majority would never accept it and administration officials keep their fingers crossed that the forthcoming White House Conference won't even mention it.

Yet, the Moynihan report inevitably leads to posing the question. Accordingly, the internal debate about how to deal with the report—and the problem—is infinitely more than a mere intrabureaucratic tiff. It may determine whether this country is doomed to succeeding summers of guerrilla warfare in our cities.

Congratulations to the People of Gabon on Their Fifth Anniversary of Independence

SPEECH

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, today the people of Gabon will celebrate the fifth anniversary of the formal declaration of their independence. It was not too long ago that the United States was a newly independent Nation, seeking to find its way in a world filled with dangers and opportunities. I think that we can still appreciate the significance that independence day celebrations hold for those people of Africa and Asia who have recently taken their destinies into their own hands, and who are in turn seeking their way in the world of the 20th century, filled with new dangers and new opportunities.

Gabon is a small republic on the west coast of Africa. Its neighbors to the north are Rio Muni and Cameroon; its neighbor to the south is the Republic of Congo—Brazzaville. Large parts of the country are covered by dense rain forest. In years past, the economy of Gabon has been heavily dependent on the exploitation of this forest. In recent years, however, rich mineral deposits have been discovered in Gabon, which promise to be of immense benefit to the country in the future. The Mekambo iron field in northern Gabon contains reserves estimated to be as high as a billion tons of ore of 60 to 65 percent iron content. High-grade manganese deposits at Moanda near Franceville have been exploited since 1962. Metallic uranium mines have been in production since 1961. In addition to these minerals, Gabon contains deposits of oil and potassium. And in the past, the country has exported gold and diamonds.

Thus richly endowed by nature, the people of Gabon can count on steady economic and social progress. A good start has been made on education. Plans for the future call for the development of local industries based on the mineral wealth of the country in which newly trained Gabonese can find gainful employment.

The Government of Gabon has welcomed foreign investment, realizing that outside capital and technical assistance are necessary for the rapid development of the country's resources. It has main-

tained especially close ties with France, the former metropole, believing that much could be lost if unnecessary acrimony accompanied independence, and that much could be gained by following the path of cooperation. At the same time, the Government has entered various cooperative arrangements with its neighbors, believing that independence does not require autarchic policies and that the new nations must embark on joint efforts to solve common problems.

Gabon has enjoyed relative political stability since independence, and has benefited from steady and progressive leadership. Relations with the United States are cordial with no issue threatening to disrupt these relations in the future. It is a pleasure to send my greetings to the people of Gabon on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Republic's independence.

Dedication of Pace Water System, Pace, Fla., July 31, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, at the dedication of the water system in the Pace, Santa Rosa County, Fla., community on July 31, 1965, the speaker was our distinguished former colleague and now Assistant Administrator of the Farmers Home Administration, the Honorable Larry Brock.

As Pace is in the district so ably represented by our distinguished colleague, BOB SIKES, Mr. Brock took this opportunity to pay deserved tribute to our friend and colleague.

His remarks follow:

SPEECH TO BE MADE BY LARRY BROCK, ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR, AT DEDICATION OF PACE WATER SYSTEM, PACE, FLA., JULY 31, 1965

I get a lot of pleasure in being up here on the platform with Congressman BOB SIKES this afternoon. I have several reasons for feeling pride and pleasure in sharing his company.

First of all, BOB SIKES is one of the big men in Washington. And I always feel comfortable in the company of big men—especially when they are on my side.

Secondly, BOB SIKES is a man who looks out for his own people. And that appeals to me, too.

I can offer first-hand knowledge in support of the statements I just made.

I once said "BOB SIKES" as I passed the Pentagon and the flag dipped three times.

And about a month ago I signed a letter to BOB replying to an inquiry he had made about the funds that the Pace Water System needed to expand its operations. Before I signed that letter I looked back in the file. BOB SIKES had been following the Pace Water System loan from the day it was first conceived. We have mute testimony in a 4-inch-thick file.

I take a lot of pleasure, too, in being in a position to pay tribute to some of the people who have burned the midnight oil to make this system possible.

Ed Fortune, Charles King, Robert Weekley, officers of the Pace Water System, Inc., up until today to me only names on an application form, but important people, for I heard long before I reached Pace of the dedication of these men to their community.

Principal Sam Dixon is another that deserves recognition. He organized the volunteer group that lined up the original subscribers.

Bill Baskerville is another whose name should be mentioned. Most of the time the engineers that are engaged in these projects stop short when their slide rule work is done. But not Bill Baskerville. From what I have heard he pushed this project all the way through.

A. L. Johnson, attorney, rates an accolade, too. His service has been measured far and beyond the call of duty.

And I am equally proud of the help our Florida people have been able to give this fine community. Tom Shaddick, our State director, treats this project as if it were his own, and Horace Moore our man in Santa Rosa County has made the Pace Water System a part of his way of life.

We, that is, the Farmers Home Administration, have insured a rather sizable loan for the Pace, Fla., community. The funds come from private sources and thus constituted no drain on the Federal Treasury. But the full faith of the U.S. Government is behind this loan.

Did we make a mistake?

Did we hang a shadow over the taxpayer?

The answer, to my rhetorical question is a flat unequivocal, "No."

Pace is a prototype of the rural community that is strengthening the backbone of America.

Do you know that from where I sit, in Washington, I hear and read statements that would have our people believe that rural America is decadent, a thing of the past, a has-been.

I wish that those false prophets could be here today.

Pace has strength. Pace and the rest of rural America will move ahead.

I feel the spirit of success in the air.

They tell me that the University of West Florida is being built in this area, that 1,000 acres have been set aside by the State as a college site.

They tell me that Chemstrand and American Cyanimid are not only well established in this general area but have fine working relationships with the community.

This is fine. You are in the mainstream. But let me say a word of warning, or rather caution.

You have a fine thing going here. You have a rural area that has modern schools under construction and modern industries furnishing employment. What a combination.

But keep a mixture in your environment. Hang on to the best aspects of your rural life.

Do not allow yourselves to get bulldozed into a hit-or-miss junky suburbia.

Keep some roots in the country and keep the country rooting around you.

I had the good luck to grow up in rural America. I have had the bad luck to live in and see firsthand what undisciplined growth can do for rural America.

Many years ago the strip from Boston to Richmond was occupied with cities that had fairly clear boundaries and with open country, farm country, trees, and pastures in between.

In more recent years this year has fallen prey to rather ghastly sprawling developments that line the highways with hot dog stands and auto graveyards, that tear down rather than build up the rural values and the rural scene.

Fight to keep Pace rural in the sense that you have breathing space, and living space, and the amenities of modern day living.

You have everything going your way.

Don't lose your advantage.

I take no small amount of pleasure in being part of an organization that has helped some 800 rural communities in the past 4 years obtain decent water systems as one step on the road to holding their own in any competition of the best place to live in America.

We have strong backing in Washington. Congressman BOB SIKES has behind him President Lyndon Johnson, the President who said, "We shall not let rural communities wither away" the President who is behind legislation to double the size of the rural water system program.

And we have at the head of my organization carrying out the directives of President Johnson and Secretary Freeman with a zeal never equalled before in the history of our organization, a man named Howard Bertsch, a friend of Bob Sikes and a person who will go down in history as the strongest man to head the drive for preserving the virtues of rural living since the days of Thomas Jefferson.

It is indeed a grand feeling to be a part of this strengthening of a rural community.

Gone are the days when there was some shadow of doubt about the drinkability of your water.

Gone are the days when several families shared one pump.

Today water is cruising through the waterline in Pace in the same fashion that it is in Pensacola. And what a system you have built—22 miles of waterlines underground and a big expansion coming up.

This system will bring new wealth with it.

I have seen it happen all over the country.

No sooner is a waterline buried than the value of the property it serves starts climbing.

People go to a town that has a decent water system.

People stay in a town that has a decent water system.

Pace is growing.

May you continue to grow with all the vigor that leadership of the type that is inherently yours can produce. But may you grow wisely and with judgment.

Keep growing, keep strong, keep rural in the very best sense of the word.

Your best days are ahead.

North Pacific Salmon Fishery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to point up that the success of some of the 1965 Bristol Bay salmon runs in Alaska does not represent in any way that a solution to the North Pacific salmon problem has been found.

Japan would like to have people believe that this extraordinary run proves that the Japanese fishing fleet is not destroying American stocks of red salmon on the high seas. The Japanese are spreading the word that the volume of fish that returned to Bristol Bay this summer removes the argument for Japan to withdraw from cooperating with Canada and the United States in conserving our fishery resources.

The Japanese, of course, conveniently overlook the fact that there were 3 previous lean years and that in the years ahead there is little promise that 1965 conditions will be repeated. Actually,

the big salmon runs occurred in only 2 of the 10 rivers in the Bristol Bay area.

Meanwhile, the Pacific Marine Fisheries Commission has called for the strongest possible U.S. position toward protection of American salmon and halibut stock.

Excerpts From an Address by Adlai Stevenson Before the Graduating Class of Williams College on January 13

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, on July 13, Adlai Stevenson spoke to the graduating class of Williams College. One of his last public appearances, Ambassador Stevenson spoke eloquently of the needs and dimensions of the underdeveloped world, and the reasons for foreign aid.

Excerpts from his address provide one of the most penetrating statements on our relationship to the developing countries as well as testimony to the greatness of the man who represented the United States in the community of nations.

The excerpts follow:

We shall not keep peace in a world mined by misery, hunger, and despair.

America can add $30 billion to an annual gross national product of some $630 billion in 1 year. And that equals the entire gross national product of Latin America. * * * One continent's almost casual surplus is as great as the whole apparatus of living among its neighbors.

The gap grows worse. Since 1960—when the United Nations decade of development was launched—the wealth of the wealthy has been growing at two and three times the speed of the national income of the poorest group. * * * On the latest estimates issued by the United Nations, the nations whose gross national product on a per capita basis is above $700—America's incidentally, is the highest in the world at $2,500—have been increasing their wealth by about 3 to 3½ percent a year.

In the next group—with per capita figures of $250 to $700—a number of lively nations, including Greece and Israel and Taiwan, have been growing by about 5 percent a year. They are the next recruits to the ranks of full development, and incidentally most of them have received massive economic assistance in the last 15 years and thus offer a convincing answer to the skeptics who doubt the effectiveness of foreign aid.

But below, among the nations whose gross national product per capita is below $200, the rate of growth has been from zero to a mere 2 percent—and more often zero. Yet this group covers half mankind and over 100 countries.

These figures are inescapable. The poor are caught fast in the ancient trap of poverty, and across the whole globe stretches the darkening shadow of injustice and despair.

What do we do about it? Pass by on the other side? Lecture the needy on the virtues of thrift? Scold them for their birth rates?

Over the last century, the poorer classes inside our developed Western World have secured a larger share of the economy's steadily expanding production. And the richer members of society, by means of a progressive tax system, have shared more of their wealth with their less fortunate neighbors. And since tax money went into better schooling and housing and health and skills, this in turn increased the capacities and abilities of the mass of the people, increased their productiveness, and so created yet more wealth to share.

If such changes can be brought about inside domestic society, we can repeat the success in the larger economy of the world. The proletarian nations of today are no more feckless, thoughtless, idle, and child ridden—to quote a few of our current pessimisms—than were the proletarian classes of the day before yesterday. And the same strategies are available.

What chance have we of transcending the world's ideological struggle if we are not prepared to tackle it at its roots—in injustice and resentment, in the contrasts of wealth and misery, in the memories of colonial control, in the profound resentment of the white man, in the growing readiness to make him the scapegoat of every form of human ill?

Let us make no mistake about this. Marxism as an ideology is a failure * * *. It is a faulty, inadequate, inconsistent interpretation of the majesty and destiny of man.

But Marxism as the last great outburst of the spirit of prophecy is something else again. Only in western civilization does this note sound out—of outrage at injustice, of compassion for misery * * *. It cries out as the laborers in the coffee plantations and tea gardens and cocoa forests are, by the chance workings of the market, deprived of the fruits of their labor. It stirs the passions of multitudes as they stream homeless, shelterless, into the world's great slums and read of the swimming pools, the multiple houses, and automobiles of the privileged few.

As we add in 1 year the entire national income of Africa to our own wealth, as we pour out our $50 billion on arms, as we shoot another $5 billion of equipment toward the empty moon—here on earth the sentence of the watchers goes forth upon our society. "I was hungry and ye fed me not." "I was naked and you did not clothe me." "I was homeless and you gave me no shelter."

These judgments do not change. Rather, they acquire a new dimension because of the very dimensions of our good fortune. If we use this first great liberation of our resources only to be more comfortable, we can be sure that God is not mocked, and as we have sown indifference, so we shall reap destruction.

This fate is not determined. We have the means. We have the choice. We can remake the face of the earth. But the decision has to be made soon. For all the while, the margins of the world's patience ebb away.

Proposal of Site for Erection of 200 Bev Proton Accelerator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, the wondrous State of Wisconsin, recreational haven for ex-Presidents, relaxing paradise for weary scientists, Mother Nature's most lavish gift to the United States, is offering free and clear to the Atomic Energy Commission a choice site for the 200-billion-electron-volt (Bev) proton accelerator.

The Wisconsin Legislature recently approved a joint resolution summarizing statewide support for location of the proposed atom smasher complex in the Badger State.

The formal Wisconsin offer has been compiled by the University of Wisconsin and presented to the Atomic Energy Commission. This formal offer spells out the countless assets Wisconsin can provide—educationally, scientifically, economically, and geographically.

Mr. Speaker, I would just like to add brief mention that Wisconsin has some 1,400 trout streams and 8,500 lakes which is home for sturgeon, muskellunge, pike, bass, perch, and smelt.

Forty-seven percent of Wisconsin's land area is covered by forest, home for deer, bear, red fox, raccoon, partridge, geese, and ducks.

These factors, as well as the scientific and cultural inducements, and numerous other attractions, will be difficult to surpass by any other proposed site for the 200-Bev accelerator.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include at this point the joint resolution by the Wisconsin Legislature:

ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION 105

Joint resolution memorializing the President and Congress of the United States and the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission to locate the proposed 200-Bev. proton accelerator in Wisconsin and expressing wholehearted intent to provide a sum sufficient for the purchase of a site and construction of suitable auxiliary facilities if the accelerator is so located in Wisconsin.

Whereas the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission is considering alternative sites as a location for the construction of a 200-Bev. accelerator; and

Whereas the University of Wisconsin has submitted a proposal for a Wisconsin site as the choice for the new accelerator and its research mission; and

Whereas Wisconsin offers an ideal site, ample and inexpensive utility services, multiple transportation facilities, a skilled labor force, excellent scientific, educational, cultural, and recreational opportunities for the scientific staff; and

Whereas the location of the accelerator in Wisconsin would correct the serious imbalance of the distribution of Federal scientific facilities among the major geographic areas of the country; and

Whereas the government, educational institutions, business community, labor unions, and entire citizenry of the State of Wisconsin have enthusiastically expressed complete endorsement of the Wisconsin site for the contemplated accelerator; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the assembly (the senate concurring), That the Legislature of Wisconsin urge the President and Congress of the United States and the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission to locate the contemplated 200-Bev. proton accelerator at the proposed Wisconsin site; and, be it further

Resolved, That the Legislature of Wisconsin express its intent to provide a sum sufficient for the purchase of a site and the construction of suitable auxiliary facilities for the proposed accelerator if it is located in Wisconsin; and, be it further

Resolved, That properly attested copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of the U.S. Senate and the Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives, to the Chairman and the

Director of the Division of Research of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, and to each member of the Wisconsin delegation in Congress.

ROBERT T. HUBER,
Speaker of the Assembly.
JAMES D. BUCKLEY,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.
PATRICK J. KING,
President of the Senate.
WILLIAM P. NUGENT,
Chief Clerk of the Senate.

Capitalism Misunderstood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE D. LONG
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the United States proclaims itself a free enterprise system. It is the dynamism of this system that is our chief economic selling point abroad. The whole theory of the dynamic free economy forms the basis of our political system. Yet misunderstanding of the operation of this system is widespread throughout the United States.

An editorial in the Jeffersonian of Baltimore County, entitled "Capitalism Misunderstood," reviews the comments of Robert C. Kirkwood, chairman of the board of F. W. Woolworth Co., on the lack of economic understanding prevalent in our Nation. Let us hope this editorial will motivate an increased interest in the economic education of the American citizen not only in Baltimore County, Md., but throughout the Nation.

The editorial follows:

CAPITALISM MISUNDERSTOOD

More and more business leaders have been expressing deep concern over what they feel is a lack of understanding of the workings and values implicit in our free enterprise system of doing things. This worry is based, in substantial part, on surveys that indicate a woeful misconception of what that system has achieved, particularly among young people.

An eloquent appeal for better understanding was made by Robert C. Kirkwood, chairman of the board of the F. W. Woolworth Co. Addressing a group of business and professional men, he set his stage in these words: "Those who have enjoyed the tremendous benefits of the free enterprise system * * * would be particularly remiss if, at this critical point in the Nation's history, they failed to speak out in support of the concept that has made possible the highest standard of living achieved by any nation at any time in history."

Mr. Kirkwood fully realizes that the system is not perfect. But it has done an outstanding job of correcting deficiencies and righting wrongs. It is, in his words, "* * * the most remarkable method ever devised for producing and distributing wealth, goods, and services * * *." As examples, he cites the fact that more than 70 million people are employed, despite the growth of automation; that our Nation produces more than one-third of all the manufactured goods in the world; and that our investment in capital plant, including institutions such as schools and hospitals, as well as factories, is about three times as great now as when we entered World War II.

Despite all this, misinformation concerning our system abounds. Here Mr. Kirkwood also cites examples. Only one person in three thinks that investment in factories and machinery makes a major contribution to economic growth. More than half of the adult population believes that net profits of most business firms are equal to or exceed total wages paid, while fewer than one-tenth know that payrolls substantially exceed profits. And a survey of high school seniors showed that too many of them thought American business was monopoly ridden and that profits were exorbitant.

These errors of belief matter deeply, in Mr. Kirkwood's view, "* * * because if the United States is to maintain its economic leadership, the private enterprise system must be permitted to function freely. And, since the attitude and action of present and future government administrations and Congress are actuated by public opinion and political pressure, it is essential to muster active and constructive support for the free enterprise system." Also, he says: "And not the least important point in the case for economic literacy is the fact that, in the final analysis, the economic decisions made by the Federal Government are of the greatest moment in the personal life of the individual citizen."

What can be done? Mr. Kirkwood suggests that business and professional people work more closely with the school systems. He points to the need for maintaining a climate of opportunity, that being basic to the system. And he praises the various existing programs which provide training and knowledge to young people.

At the end Mr. Kirkwood restates his theme in these: "* * * if we are to insure that our free enterprise system is going to continue without restrictive regulations that would smother it, we must be willing to speak out, so that the people of the United States will understand and appreciate the system's contributions and its important role in today's society."

New High in AID Spending in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to the report of the Agency for International Development that 80 percent of all its funds went for American goods and services during the first half of the current fiscal year—1965. According to AID estimates, this 80-percent level will be surpassed during the entire fiscal year. And planning estimates call for 85 percent of AID funds committed in fiscal 1966 to be spent in the United States.

This is a new high in AID spending in the United States and further decreases the effect of economic assistance programs on our balance-of-payments deficit. The rate compares with 47 percent in 1962; 61 percent in 1963; and 74 percent in 1964. At a time when we are all concerned with our balance-of-payments problem, these are very encouraging figures.

As AID Administrator David E. Bell recently reaffirmed to the House Appropriations Committee:

AID expenditures are a small and decreasing factor in our balance-of-payments problem.

Mr. Bell also noted at that time that preliminary figures on calendar year 1964 show that AID spent approximately $400 million abroad, receiving back at the same time more than $150 million from repayments on prior loans. This left a net adverse effect of about $250 million on the balance of payments. Only 10 percent of the Nation's total payments deficit is therefore due to this AID impact.

Even more impressive than the 80-percent figure which covers all outlays, is the figure for commodity procurement, a major component of the total outlay. In this category, 93 cents of every dollar remains in the American economy. This compares with 86 cents of every dollar spent for commodities during fiscal 1964 and 41 percent during fiscal 1960 when more restrictive purchase policies had not yet achieved their fullest effect.

While my colleagues, I am sure, join me in applauding this new high in AID spending in the United States, they are no doubt asking themselves as I did about the meaning of this 80-percent figure in terms of dollars spent in the United States. According to AID, this 80-percent U.S. expenditure figure during the first 6 months of fiscal 1965—July to December 1964—represents $827 million spent in the United States for goods and services, of a total of slightly more than $1 billion. This figure includes such program spending as commodity procurement, inland and ocean freight on these goods and on surplus foods distributed by associated voluntary agencies, technical service, contracts with business firms and universities, foreign student training, cost of AID technicians overseas, U.S. contributions to international organizations for development and relief purposes, and administrative expenses.

The purchase of commodity goods accounts for the biggest share of all AID spending—$665.2 of the $1,030 million total in the first half of fiscal 1965. Of that amount, U.S. suppliers during the first 6 months of the current fiscal year received $616.2 million, or 93 percent of the amount of $665.2 million spent on commodities. This is a record high for any half year.

Paralleling this continued upward trend in AID spending in the United States, is the export financing for American firms which is also moving at a record pace in terms of dollar value. The 6 months U.S. total of $616.2 million compares with $993.5 million in U.S. commodities during all 12 months of fiscal 1964. It already exceeds the $586.4 million reported for the entire 1962 fiscal year.

As the following table summarizing procurement source trend of commodity spending—values stated in millions of dollars—shows, there has been a further decline in commodity purchases outside

the United States. Only 1 percent was spent in the 19 developed countries—mainly Western Europe and Japan. Six percent was bought in the developing countries. No funds may, of course, be spent in Communist bloc areas.

Fiscal year	Total commodity expenditures	United States		19 developed countries		Developing countries	
		Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent
1959	$1,002.1	$475.0	47	$422.3	42	$104.8	11
1960	1,040.2	422.7	41	513.9	49	103.6	10
1961	1,054.6	465.7	44	496.4	47	92.4	9
1962	883.9	586.4	66	139.0	16	158.5	18
1963	1,145.9	905.1	79	78.0	7	162.7	14
1964	1,150.2	993.5	86	38.7	4	118.1	10
1965 (1st half)	665.2	616.2		10.5		38.6	

In the commodity purchase category, nearly one-quarter of the $616.2 million in AID-financed exports during the 6 months involved machinery and equipment of many types—industrial machinery and tools; electrical apparatus; construction, mining, and conveying equipment; generators, turbines, and engines; and agricultural tractors and implements. The value from U.S. manufacturers was $149.9 million, accounting for 92 percent of all machinery and equipment purchases.

In the same category, iron and steel from American mills amounted to $131.7 million, or 95 percent of all AID-financed steel mill products.

I should like to list a few other examples of U.S. industrial groups registering sizable sales during the 6 months of the current fiscal year—percentages is U.S. share of AID-financed purchases in respective groups:

Motor vehicles and parts, $44.4 million, 99 percent; chemical and related products—including pharmaceuticals—$45 million, 90 percent; fertilizers, $38.1 million, 92 percent; copper, $15.1 million, 97 percent; pulp and paper, $15.7 million, 90 percent; textiles, $16.8 million, 98 percent; railroad equipment, $10.7 million, 99 percent; petroleum and products, $20.9 million, 68 percent; and rubber and products, $15 million, 98 percent.

Among developing areas buying these goods with AID credits, the Near East-south Asia region accounted for the greatest value, $315 million—all but $6 million being purchased from U.S. suppliers. India, Pakistan, and Turkey together bought nearly $280 million of U.S. products during the 6-month period.

American exports of AID-financed goods to other regions during this period were: Latin America, $139.7 million; Far East, $115.2 million; and Africa, $45.8 million.

To all of us who support AID's efforts to assist the underdeveloped countries in their struggle for social and economic betterment, and yet were deeply concerned with our balance-of-payments problem, these are indeed very encouraging figures.

The following is the list of AID commodity expenditures during the first half of fiscal year 1965:

AID commodity expenditures during the 1st 6 months of fiscal year 1965

[In millions of dollars]

Selected commodity groups	Total commodity expenditures	Commodity expenditures in the United States	
		Value	Percent of total
Total AID commodity expenditures	665.2	616.2	93
Machinery and equipment	162.9	149.9	92
Electrical apparatus, including generators and motors	(45.2)	(39.8)	(88)
Construction, mining, and conveying equipment	(27.8)	(26.4)	(95)
Tractors and agricultural equipment	(19.9)	(19.6)	(98)
Engines and turbines	(14.2)	(12.3)	(87)
Metalworking machinery, including machine tools	(8.8)	(8.3)	(95)
Other machinery and equipment	(47.0)	(43.3)	(92)
Iron and steel mill products	138.0	131.7	95
Chemicals and related products	50.0	45.0	90
Medicinal and pharmaceutical preparations	(14.4)	(12.0)	(83)
Industrial chemicals	(13.1)	(10.9)	(83)
Raw material for plastics	(10.7)	(10.5)	(98)
Other	(11.9)	(11.6)	(97)
Motor vehicles, engines, and parts	44.7	44.4	99
Engines and parts	(22.5)	(22.3)	(99)
Trucks and buses	(20.4)	(20.4)	(100)
Passenger automobiles and other	(1.8)	(1.7)	(94)
Fertilizers, all types	41.5	38.1	92
Nonferrous metals and products	27.5	25.1	91
Copper	(15.6)	(15.1)	(97)
Aluminum	(6.2)	(4.5)	(73)
Other	(5.7)	(5.4)	(95)
Petroleum and products	30.6	20.9	68
Lubricants, greases, and other nonfuels	(22.1)	(20.5)	(93)
Petroleum fuels and crude oil	(8.5)	(.4)	(5)
Fabricated basic textiles	17.1	16.8	98
Pulp and paper, including newsprint	17.5	15.7	90
Rubber and products	15.3	15.0	98
Railroad transportation equipment	10.7	10.7	99
Locomotives	(7.2)	(7.1)	(99)
Other	(3.6)	(3.6)	(99)
Nonmetallic minerals	10.7	6.3	59
Other and unclassified commodities and adjustments (including advance commodity financing)	98.7	96.7	98

NOTES.—Major items are arranged in order of amounts expended in the United States; items in parentheses are breakdowns of larger items immediately above. Percentages are based on unrounded figures, hence may vary slightly from percentages computed directly from the rounded figures in this table.

Are We "Drowning" in the Air We Breathe?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the American public is becoming actively aware of the need to control air pollution. In the Community News, published in Mount Airy, Md., for August 13, 1965, the pertinent question is asked: "Are We 'Drowning' in the Air We Breathe?"

This is a question that has bothered me for a long time. On January 7 of this year, I introduced H.R. 2105, to require new motor vehicles transported in interstate commerce to be equipped with a device to control or prevent the discharge of air pollutants.

I was delighted to see that the Community News agrees with me that one of the most necessary yet easiest ways to control air pollutants would be the installation of a control device on cars.

The article follows:

ARE WE "DROWNING" IN THE AIR WE BREATHE?

Take a fish out of water and he dies. A fish's medium of existence is "water." He literally "breathes" it as we breathe air. But pollute this water in which he lives and he will then die—just as surely as if he had no water at all.

Shut off a man's air and he also dies. This is because, unlike a fish, his medium of existence is the air he breathes. But

when this air becomes sufficiently polluted a man dies.

There is an increasing recognition among the American public that we are befouling our air to a dangerous point, particularly in and around our large industrial cities. Here in the "open country," where our small towns are not overindustrialized as yet, there still exists a danger from another quarter. This is from the poisonous exhausts from the countless thousands of motor vehicles clogging our highways. Some States have already met this menace head on by insisting that all cars and trucks operating within their jurisdictions be equipped with what are known as "blowby" devices which reduce the emission of noxious gases by around 30 percent or more. A number of auto manufacturers are also beginning to install this equipment on new cars. And it's about time. It is said this will probably raise the cost of cars by around $75 apiece, but this is minor when weighed against the menace to human life which now exists because of the lack of them.

Huge diesel-powered trucks are among the worst offenders. They puff their way through towns at night, their lofty exhaust pipes spitting their foul exhaust gases into the open upstairs bedroom windows of homes along their way. Water pollution is a serious matter. But so is air pollution, and it's high time something is done about it.

Immigration Bill Is Dangerous—Would Admit Tens of Thousands Who Are Now Inadmissible

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, before the House votes on the bill, H.R. 2580, to amend our immigration laws, I suggest that we should look behind the facade of labels and catch-phrases which gives this legislation its apparent appeal. There can be no more important legislation than that dealing with the lifeblood of our Nation and we ought to tinker with it only after the most careful scrutiny, because this Nation is not just forests, cities, mountains and prairies; it is people.

During the past fiscal year, under existing law there were admitted into the United States a total of 292,248 aliens for permanent residence. By categories, these were as follows: 102,844 quota immigrants; and 189,404 nonquota immigrants. Of the nonquota immigrants, 139,284 were quota-free Western Hemisphere immigrants and 50,120 were relatives or refugees.

Now, how would the numerical limitations be affected by the proposed bill? First, instead of 102,844 who were admitted as quota immigrants, we would receive 170,000 prescribed in the bill. In other words, there would be an increase of 67,156 in this category alone. Next, the extension of quota-free status to parents of citizens would mean that 5 years after the immigration of an alien to these shores and his acquisition of citizenship, two more could be added quota free.

Mr. Speaker, the elimination of the national origins quota system, as provided in the bill H.R. 2580, would do much more than change the cultural pattern of our immigration—serious as this would be. It would have a direct effect on the numbers who would be pouring into this country from nonquota countries. Approximately one-half of the population of the world is located in countries circumscribed by the Asia-Pacific triangle of the present immigration law. Under the present law, these orientals are admissible only under quotas fixed for orientals. Now, what will be the effect of removal of the Asia-Pacific triangle provision and the elimination of place of birth as a criterion in making a quota charge?

It will mean that nonquota countries of the Western Hemisphere will become simply waystations in an ever-increasing migration to the United States from the heavily overpopulated countries of the Orient. Remember, Mr. Speaker, nonquota immigration from Western Hemisphere countries already exceeds quota immigration by several thousand annually.

Already, Mr. Speaker, there are over 16 millions overseas Chinese; that is, Chinese who are living in countries other than China. These, and others who will follow them, could, under the proposed bill, occupy the same immigration status as the natives of any country in which they reside. They would, under the bill, have the same initial quota ceiling as every country; namely, 20,000 per year for China, plus access to the quotas of the countries in which they reside, plus nonquota status in Western Hemisphere countries in which they reside. Remember, too, that the birth rate of the Chinese is approximately three times the rate of white Americans.

It is further proposed in the bill to add Jamaica, Trinidad, and Tobago to those countries from which aliens may enter the United States nonquota. May I say in passing that the cultural background, the basic concepts, the standards of government, and the economic status of the teeming millions in these countries are far different from those in our country. The incentive to pour into our already crowded urban areas is great. The impact cannot but be serious. But, under the labels pasted on the bill, H.R. 2580, we will be opening the doors because we do not want to discriminate.

There is a kind of hypocrisy, Mr. Speaker, in the excuse which is given for eliminating so-called discrimination from our immigration laws; because under the bill, H.R. 2580, there will be the rankest sort of discrimination against the people of those countries from which have stemmed the streams of migrants who founded and developed this country. Under the bill each country of Europe will remain under a fixed ceiling of 20,000 per year; but the nonquota countries of the Western Hemisphere will continue quota-free. The effect of this arrangement will result in a reduction of the quotas of the two countries from which the majority of our immigrants have historically come; namely, Great Britain, and Germany. At the present time the quota for Great Britain and Northern Ireland is 65,000 per year and the quota for Germany is 25,814. Under the bill these will both be cut to 20,000 per year. At the same time each of the 20 countries of the Orient that presently have minimum quotas of 100 will have a quota ceiling of 20,000, or a total oriental quota of 200,000.

It is as inevitable as the rising of the sun that under the proposed bill the complexion of our immigration stream will shift from predominantly European to predominantly African, Latin, and Asiatic. The impact on our institutions, our Government, our entire society cannot presently be accurately forecast, but that there will be a profound impact no informed person can deny.

The elimination from the present law of provisions which are designed to screen out the physicially unfit, likewise, will certainly result in an increase in numbers—and a corresponding burden on our citizenry.

There is a serious security threat, Mr. Speaker, which would result in the expected substantial increase in Asiatic migration to these shores. At the present time, the flow of Asiatic immigration to this country is checked by the simple device of a quota limitation to which all Asiatics are chargeable. With a substantial increase in immigration of Asiatics, coming not only from the Orient, but from every country in which they reside, the problem of procuring background information to screen out subversives becomes increasingly difficult. Moreover, most of the background information regarding Communist activities would be lodged in Oriental Communist countries; and hence unavailable to our security officials. Furthermore, the language barriers, with the many dialects—unfamiliar to our immigration officers would only compound the danger inherent in an attempt to screen out security threats; and I have no doubt that the International Communist Conspiracy will avail itself of the opportunity to increase its penetration of our country.

Mr. Speaker, the votes have been corralled to pass this bill with an overwhelming majority. I have been under strong pressure to join the multitude and vote for the catch-phrases behind which this bill masquerades. I cannot do so. The future of my country is at stake. I am as confident as I am that I am alive that time will prove that my fears are justified and that this bill, if it becomes law, will be disastrous to our Nation.

With permission I insert in the RECORD as part of my remarks a column which appeared in the Washington Evening Star on August 14, 1965, by Jenkin Lloyd Jones, entitled "How Much Will Melting Pot Hold?":

HOW MUCH WILL MELTING POT HOLD?

(By Jenkin Lloyd Jones)

Under the present McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, the United States is the most generous of all nations in its immigration policy. It not only admits about 200,000 more newcomers a year than any other country, but it is one of the few countries on earth that excludes no nation.

Yet the Johnson administration is mounting a massive attack on what restrictions we have, and Congress may, indeed, be stampeded into a liberalized bill that will open the gates to an inflow from the backward, the poor, and the overcrowded nations of the world.

Briefly, the proposed bill ends the preference for immigrants from the British Isles and northern Europe. It claims to increase by less than 7,000 the present annual immigrant quota. True, but a weasel. For it transfers all nonused quotas into a common pot. Since north Europe and the United Kingdom fail by 50 to 60 thousand a year to use their present quotas, this would be added to the number of newcomers admitted.

But there's much more. Nonquota status would be extended to all parents, wives and children, not merely of U.S. citizens, but of resident aliens, as well. A man with a permanent visa to the United States could bring over the whole family without any restriction. Present prohibitions against the immigration of mental defectives, the insane, the epileptic, etc., would be eliminated.

All Latin America would remain quota free. Any Latin proposing to take up permanent residence in the United States is supposed to satisfy an American consul as to his financial responsibility. But this is easily evaded. Right now, we are getting a lot of World's Fair "citizens", i.e., Latins who buy a 10-percent-down plane ticket to New York, ostensibly to see the fair, and who then refuse to go home.

It is further proposed to add Jamaica, Trinidad, and Tobago to the quota-free Latin American list. Trinidad has the largest Hindu population in the Western World. Right now, Britain is stiffening its immigration policy toward these islands even though they are part of the British Commonwealth.

There are approximately a million Chinese in Latin America. These are currently counted as orientals, but the new law would make Latins of them. The birth rate of American Chinese is three times the birth rate of white Americans.

We are already the most generous of all nations when it comes to letting in political refugees quota free. Between 1948 and 1961 we admitted 715,000 displaced persons. We have added 250,000 Cuban refugees. Leaders of crowded countries may soon be tempted to start persecuting any unpopular minority on the theory that Uncle Sam will take them in.

This fraudulent bill is being sold to Americans on the ground that our present law hurts America's image in the eyes of the world. We are told we must divest ourselves of ethnic favoritism in immigration if we are to remain popular. Popular?

Let's look at a few samples of immigration restrictions imposed by foreign nations.

U.S.S.R.—no immigrants except by special arrangements. Australia—no nonwhites. Switzerland—no immigrants. Argentina and Venezuela—no colored immigrants. Canada—Asiatics practically excluded. Central America—no Asiatics or Middle Easterners. Jordan, Morocco—long residence and must know Arabic. Israel—only Jews invited. Liberia—no immigrants who are not of Negro descent. Turkey—must have Turkish background. Japan—no immigrants.

Now, let's grasp a nettle. The new-think claims that a man must stand convicted of bigotry if he believes that the people from one country might make better American citizens than people from another.

Why should we check our brains in fear of this charge? Who thinks America would be what it is today if it had drawn its immigrants largely from Arabs or Hottentots or Mongolians or Sicilians? There are certain requirements for making a highly industrial representative republic work, and certain peoples are just plainly better at it than others.

In March 1924, the New York Times said editorially:

"A country has a right to say who shall and shall not come in. It is not for any foreign country to determine our immigration policy. The basis for restriction must be chosen with a view not to the interest of any groups in this counrty, whether racial or religious, but rather with a view to the country's best interests. The great test is assimilability. Will the newcomers fit into American life readily? Is their culture sufficiently akin to our own?

"Certain groups do not fuse easily, but endeavor to keep alive their racial distinctions when they settle among us. They seek to create foreign blocs in our midst."

The New York Times has since changed its mind, but a lot of Americans will think that's a mighty fine editorial.

There are only a few days left in which to get the word to Washington.

Milwaukee Nurse Brings Hope to Peru Slums

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the dedicated work performed by the doctors and nurses of American mercy ship, SS *Hope* has received much deserved recognition.

Less well known, perhaps, is the continuing nature of Hope programs after the great white ship has weighed anchor and sailed off for other ports.

This part of the Hope program was highlighted recently in an article which appeared in the Milwaukee Journal on the work of a young Milwaukee nurse who is one of my constituents. The nurse, Miss Claudette Lukasik, left a relatively comfortable life as a public health nurse to work at a minimal salary in the slums of Peru for 1 year with Project Hope's medical team.

Miss Lukasik, who recently returned to this country for a visit, was based in Trujillo, where Hope is establishing Peru's first residency and internship program at the city's medical school, and is directing the staff of a newly built hospital.

Most of Miss Lukasik's efforts—and her greatest achievements—are with the children of the slums of northern Peru, where she is teaching them—and their parents—lifesaving practices in diet, sanitation, and personal hygiene. She will return to Peru soon for another year of this work.

Mr. Speaker, I am indeed proud to say that this devoted young woman hails from my congressional district. I know my colleagues in the House join me in commending her on her work and in extending her best wishes for future success. The July 27, 1965, article from the Milwaukee Journal about Miss Lukasik follows:

PROJECT HOPE NURSE HELPS IN PERU SLUMS

Little things like a glass of water now mean a great deal to Claudette Lukasik, 2739 South 46th Street, who recently completed a year's stay in Trujillo, Peru, as a Project Hope worker.

Miss Lukasik, 29, had been a public health nurse in Milwaukee for 6 years before she joined Project Hope last July. She will return to Peru for another year's tour of duty.

Project Hope (Health Opportunity for People Everywhere) was begun in 1960 as part of President Eisenhower's people-to-people aid program. The retired Navy hospital ship *Consolation* was chartered from the Government.

Renamed the *Hope*, it went to southeast Asia and then visited Peru in 1962–63. After the ship left Peru, the Government invited the project to staff a new hospital. In addition, there are 100 clinics in the slums of Peru.

WORKED IN SLUMS

The slums, where Miss Lukasik spent much of her time working, are filled with migrants from the mountain areas living in adobe huts. "They are often illiterate and jobless," she said.

"An infant's bed is often a hole cut out of the dirt floor," Miss Lukasik said. "If I tell a mother to wash her childs badly infected face four times a day with lots of hot water, I'm asking for the impossible. In the slums water costs a penny a gallon, and there is no electricity."

Miss Lukasik went to Peru last July as part of the land crew left by the SS *Hope* to man the new hospital.

"I could feel myself walking on the prestige of the ship," she said.

WORLD SEEMS SMALLER

Although the ship was initially met with cries of "Yankee, go home" due to Communist propaganda, 40,000 Peruvians walked 15 miles to cheer the *Hope* when it left 10 months later.

"I was always interestd in foreign nursing," Miss Lukasik said in explaining why she joined the project. "With the stimuli of Dr. Tom Dooley's work, medicare, and the Peace Corps, the world seems smaller," she said.

Hope is neither a governmental nor a religious project, Miss Lukasik said.

"It's strictly a people-to-people endeavor," she added, "supported by business, industry, and individuals."

The mission club at her high school, Notre Dame, sent money to Trujillo while she was there, she noted.

The main mission of the 258-bed ship is to teach local medical personnel the newest methods.

"Every American works with a Peruvian counterpart," the nurse said. "We try to work ourselves out of a job by training local people to take our places.

PIGEONS OFFERED AS GIFTS

"You get much more out of the project than you put in * * * a real education and appreciation of many things.

"It humbles you to receive two pigeons or a couple of eggs—things that are worth little to you but mean much to the people. Two pigeons could be fattened for a gala birthday party. To give them away is a great sacrifice."

Miss Lukasik and the other Project Hope people in Peru run dental and prenatal clinics, refer patients to other hospitals, and make home visits, as well as running the new Peruvian hospital.

The *Hope* is now in Africa and will return to New York in August. It will leave for Nicaragua in January. The ship visits only those countries where medical groups have invited it to come.

District Building Inspectors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues

the following WMAL-TV editorial broadcast during the week of August 1, 1965.

District building inspectors should be assigned to slums, where the need for them is greatest.

The editorial follows:

DISTRICT BUILDING INSPECTORS

District building inspectors are going around looking for minor violations in substantial buildings, while the city's slums stand virtually unmolested. The city's inspectors have found minuscule infractions in well maintained commercial buildings. These were discovered while flagrant violations in other parts of the city have not been corrected. It's obvious, driving through some sections of the city, that the structures should be condemned.

There are violations in every part of the city. But the need to improve slum housing conditions is urgent. Building inspectors should wage a massive attack—going house to house—in slum and marginal housing areas. The Commissioners should then take vigorous action to have any violations corrected, or order the structures to be condemned.

Building inspectors should be assigned to slum areas where they are needed most.

Discrimination Against the Hungarian Minority in Transylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALPHONZO BELL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, political scientists have pointed out that one of the tragic defects in all oligarchial systems is the lack of representation for minority groups. If the government becomes responsive to the people at all it is only to an assertive majority—the mass of the population which, by its sheer size, forces the government to respond to its demands. Minority groups, unable to exert any influence on the callous functionaires of the state, are left to the mercy of the mob.

Even more tragic are the shocking instances, to which this century has too often been a witness, of conscious efforts directed by totalitarian regimes to destroy entire minority groups.

Such is the deplorable situation which now exists in the province of Transylvania located near the Rumanian-Hungarian border. Hungarian sources have documented as many as 278,000 cases of the outright murder or deportation of Hungarians during the last decade.

In the early years of Communist rule, a good deal of the injustice suffered by the Hungarian minority was part of that inflicted upon all who refused to bow to Communist tyranny. Today the situation is less ambiguous; Hungarians are being persecuted simply because they are a national minority group.

There are over 1.6 million Hungarians in Rumania today. They are excellent representatives of an old and talented people; a people which has had a most valuable influence not only on the culture of Europe, but on that of America as well.

Today the Government of Rumania is reasserting its independence. As it breaks loose from the shackles of Soviet domination it seeks closer ties with the West—with the United States. It is odd that it should continue to pursue the very policies which endanger the establishment of Rumania's new international objectives.

The Government of Rumania should be well advised that Americans have not forgotten their Hungarian kinsmen; that the United States will not turn its back upon their mistreatment. Let us make the Rumanian Government well aware of the concern of the American people and of this Chamber for the fate of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania.

James A. Farley Lectures on "Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the Man"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, at times a biographical footnote to history is more fascinating than an entire chapter. Such is the intimate profile of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the 32d President of the United States, which was drawn by the Honorable James A. Farley, former Postmaster General and national Democratic chairman, at Kalamazoo, Mich., on August 7.

As General Farley so eloquently points out, he and the late President Roosevelt parted on principles, but they also met on principles.

Mr. Farley's balanced and brilliant perspective on the characters and events of the past and present makes him not only a great American but a splendid contributor to human history.

For the interest of my colleagues, I am pleased to submit the text of Mr. Farley's address on President Roosevelt, followed by the comment of several newspapers in the Michigan area.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, THE MAN

(Lecture by James A. Farley)

"F.D.R.—the Man" is a difficult assignment, because it is not easy to separate a man from his accomplishments. The personality of President Roosevelt is reflected in his first two administrations more than in his last two. In the last two, the compulsions of war and of failing health assailed him. In his first two administrations, he had much more freedom of action.

A man may be judged in considerable part by whom he admires. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt had a tremendous admiration for his namesake predecessor, President Theodore Roosevelt.

I do not presume to say that he patterned himself after the late President Theodore Roosevelt because he had a unique personality of his own. But in many ways they were alike. Both had tremendous physical vitality. Both had suffered physical ailments—the overcoming of which required the full use of their native physical endowment. Both succeeded—itself an indication of will power, and character. But I think that their zest for life transcended even this. There was a love of life, its problems and its contests which made our many years together a daily joy. Parenthetically, it was only at the end of our long association that the feeling of playing on a great team together departed. And such severance took place on a basis of principle, not of personality, over the question of a third term.

We were both upstaters—Democrats in Republican strongholds. He was from Hyde Park in Dutchess County on the east bank of the Hudson—and I was from Grassy Point in Rockland County, about 40 miles down the river on the opposite side. His animation and independence showed early. He fought the Republican machine and won in Dutchess. He fought the Democratic State organization then controlled by Tammany Hall and prevented the election of their choice—William F. Sheehan of Buffalo—known as "Blue-eyed Billy" Sheehan, for the U.S. Senate. In those days U.S. Senators from New York State were elected by the State legislature.

He had a tremendous advantage. At all times, politics was the means of the expression of his views and his personality. It was never a means of his livelihood.

Endowed as was President Theodore Roosevelt with the necessities of life, he approached public service as a duty of a man of preferred position. I call the manifestations of this unshakable confidence. It has been called "The consciousness of effortless superiority" and even arrogance by his detractors. I do not hold with them. I believe he was gifted with a sense of destiny and of leadership, which stood him and the Nation in good stead in hours of grave crisis.

Part of this confidence and part of this physical health resulted in a continuing atmosphere of almost boisterous good-humor. As we planned the 1932 campaign, our relationship reminded me much of my baseball days at Grassy Point—where I was born and raised. We were both in the best of health—and I say this despite the Governor's polio handicap—and in good spirits; we both loved the game, and as teammates, if I may say so, we had a fine personal relationship.

So much has been written of our split, that it has been overlooked that men must be very close indeed to have a split become first page news. I think I knew F.D.R. as well as any man and better than most, because in the formative period particularly, Louis Howe and I were the only ones other than Mrs. Roosevelt to whom he could possibly have opened his heart.

In his heart, he was a deeply good man. Superficially gay, he was really quite religious. He paid much attention to his trusteeship of St. James Church in Hyde Park, even when under the heavy burden of the war.

His mind was extraordinarily quick. He instantly grasped the full implication of a political situation, moving instinctively, and much in the manner of a professional baseball player—shifting with the different batters.

Now, of course, depending on what side you are on, the adjectives vary. If you are for a fellow, you call him nimble and adroit. Your opponent, however, calls him unstable and mercurial. Mr. Roosevelt has been called both, but the point I am making is that both are describing the same qualities; and, no matter how you add them up, they come out with the same answer—that he was exceptionally canny and knowledgeable, and had political savvy in the highest degree.

What were his objectives? I think to live in history as a great President. He wanted to equal or surpass President Theodore Roosevelt and his old chief, President Woodrow Wilson as a progressive. In this particular I think he took great heed of President Wilson's political defeat on the League of Natons. He was much more compromising than Mr. Wilson. Mr. Wilson never really interested himself in the lower echelons of politics, and really knew nothing about them. F.D.R. did and understood them much better,

in fact as well as any man I have ever known. This did not prevent him, however, from committing his most disastrous political blunder—the attack on the Supreme Court. But, it did enable him to govern New York State during the Seabury investigation of the late Mayor James J. Walker's administration, without assisting Judge Seabury in the least and without favoring the Democratic organization at all. Both sides assailed him. Both called him the man on the flying trapeze, but neither sensed that he enjoyed that role very much.

His sense that his place in history depended on what he did for the common man was called demagoguery by his opponents. I just won't accept this at all. I sat in those early cabinet meetings, and I can tell you there was no time for demagoguery. The hour was too late and the days too full of anxiety for any thought other than the welfare of our country. The banks had been closed and reopened, but they were shaky. Millions were jobless and millions were hungry.

Those pieces of legislation pounded out in the forge of imminent national failure were entrusted in a large measure to me—operating as chairman of the Democratic National Committee—to effectuate on the Hill. Many men took part in their formation—and it is significant as the late Speaker Sam Rayburn, of Texas, pointed out, that of the 100-odd basic acts—such as labor legislation, banking reforms, securities regulation, social security and many others—not one has been repealed and all have been augmented by both parties in succeeding sessions of the Congress. Accordingly, it is unkind, unfair and untrue to call Mr. Roosevelt a demagog on this score.

To be sure, he loved the approval of the people and the lionization by his huge following. But who doesn't? Loving applause and rabble rousing are two different things. There are two factors which prevented F.D.R. from becoming a rabble rouser. First, and you may believe this or not, he was deeply conservative. He hated to spend public money unnecessarily, and he dreamed of the day he could balance the budget.

I shall always remember an evening I spent with him after dinner in the White House as he was going over with me matters on which of necessity required his approval. I shall never forget when he said if the price of cotton which I think was then 6 cents a pound in the market could be raised to 10 or 11 cents, and corn and wheat could be raised from the price offered in the Kansas City markets, comparable with the increase on cotton—and if it were possible to increase the national income from approximately, as I recall it, $57 to $60 billion at that time—to approximately $75 billion we would be able to balance the budget—which if my memory serves me correctly—was approximately $7 billion.

The public needs, and the necessity of spending held his mind; but close to his heart was the idea of stopping Federal spending as quickly as he could. At the slightest rise in the economic health of the country, he would stop spending. In fact, he stopped spending so abruptly in 1937 that it brought about a recession. Perhaps nothing illustrates how conservative he was at heart more than the discovery that the ex-president of the New York Stock Exchange, Richard Whitney, was an embezzler. Had F.D.R. been a demogog, he would have gone to the country screaming, "I told you so," and demanded fuller powers. He could have gotten them, too. But he did nothing of the kind. Perhaps it is an index to F.D.R. the man that tears came to his eyes. "I can't believe that Dick would do such a thing," he said and added "Poor Groton." They had been schoolmates there.

One of his great qualities was to turn reverses into a joke. Thus, when he lost the purge elections, defeating only one opponent, the chairman of the Rules Committee, John O'Connor, of New York, he laughed off his defeat with the marvelous wisecrack, "It was a bad season, but we won the Yale game."

Another time, when his executive secretary, the very able James Rowe, urged him to take an action to which he was opposed—according to Jim Rowe, the President said, "Jim, you've made a forceful argument, but by accident we're not going to do it."

"By accident?" asked Rowe. "What accident?"

"The accident that the people of the United States elected me President instead of you," F.D.R. laughed.

I have told you that he was a man who could throw off a jibe, but there was one which cut him deeply. That came at a time when he was convinced that the country had to prepare for war. Taking the cue from his agricultural plan of reducing crops by a third, the President's foreign policy was described on the Senate floor as a plan to plow under every third American boy. That hurt, hurt deeply, so deeply that it was weeks before he rallied enough to be very angry about it.

He liked nothing better than new ideas and interesting people and he especially liked to talk to them over a cocktail at day's end. He fancied himself as a great cocktail mixer, with few equals in martinis, and without parallel in old-fashioneds.

He was deeply aware of the prerogatives of the Presidency. He insisted that the great respect for the office be observed because none respected it more than he. Thus, he was annoyed when an autograph seeker presumed to go upstairs in the White House to get it. He refused and ordered him expelled.

Although his life had been attempted in Miami, it affected him little. He was a fatalist about that, and as I have previously said, he was deeply religious. He often said, "If they want you, they'll get you, and there isn't anything you can do about it." In fact, it was the Cabinet which intervened to put more protection around him. The Attorney General, Robert H. Jackson, was summoned to the White House one midnight, and found only one old guard between Pennsylvania Avenue and the Lincoln Room. He protested strongly and after that Mr. Roosevelt consented to more security measures.

He, of course, loved the Navy, because of his boyhood sailing days. He also, of course, had been Assistant Secretary of the Navy under President Wilson, a job also held at one time by President Theodore Roosevelt. With his admirals he was in especially close contact. He could take criticising of his other departments very well, but those attacking the Navy were on thin ice. He would shut off those critics with a single sentence "What do they know about battleships?"

His administration has been described as the greatest royal court since Louis XIV. There is a certain element of truth about this. While the President was bold in imagination, swift in execution, and highly knowledgeable about government finance, administration was not one of his strong points. He was little less than grand in his delegation of authority; he was magnificent in backing up the men he appointed, but unfortunately he often appointed two departments with sweeping powers to do the same job. This resulted in terrible departmental fights, which F.D.R. dearly loved. Since both sides bitterly complained to him, he kept himself, at least, fully informed.

His method of reaching policy decisions in those early days is worthy of note. I have for it the greatest admiration. He would invite all points of view to the White House for dinner, or immediately thereafter. He would introduce the subject for discussion, and then listen to all sides. Sometime after 11 o'clock he would turn to Miss LeHand and say "Missy, I think this is the best we can do." He would then and there dictate his ideas in a memorandum. All had had their say, and all had a precise idea of what the President wanted. Thereafter, very frequently, would delegate the job to two competing departments, and the fur would start to fly.

Nor did his idea of administration stop there. His kitchen cabinet often had more access than the regular Cabinet. Hopkins and Corcoran were his principal lieutenants after the death of Louis Howe and to the annoyance of many department heads their word was law more often than not. It is in pattern that these two men also ended up at loggerheads as did many of his department heads.

This dislike of ordinary channels led him to value new faces and new ideas. In that respect, he was very typical of the age in which he was educated. He had a little knowledge of nearly everything. He was an avid reader, with a great memory, and there was scarcely a subject on which he could not contribute an anecdote or an observation. This accounts in part for his great personal charm. The experts of the country who had spent lifetimes on a particular subject would find that F.D.R. knew enough about it to grasp immediately what they were talking about. This wide range of interest, these smatterings, if you will, gave F.D.R. the ability to be a great and sympathetic listener, without which quality he could not have been the justly famous conversationalist that he was.

If he had a single great love, I believe it was American history. On this, he was an authority, as is President Truman. For Mr. Roosevelt, it had the excitement of contest. One could almost see him visualizing himself on how he would have acted had he been President at that time. He had a genuinely deep affection for our country, regarding it as the greatest romance of history. That spirit, I think characterized his administrations while I was in the Cabinet. One almost felt the warmth and keen interest of the administrations since George Washington, and here I will say that, in my opinion, there has never been an administration—Republican or Democratic, without it. The Cabinet and the President of the United States are, in our history, majestic, and I never knew a man holding such position who did not give the country the best that was in him. I have no patience with those cynics who believe that there is no such thing as consecrated public service.

I have said that it is difficult to separate the man from the work, and it is. But by their works shall ye know them, and if this be the standard, F.D.R. stands anchored in American history with the rest of our greatest Presidents.

As for F.D.R. the man, and myself, I have this to say. Since it is fair to say that we parted on principle, it also follows that we met on principle, the principle of what was best for New York State and later the Republic. For 12 full years, we saw the result of our labors enacted into laws which still stand as the laws of our country, laws which are now endorsed in the platforms of both parties.

Further, the pattern of concern for our fellow Americans has been elaborated to a principal and permanent goal of the Nation.

None of these would have been possible without President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

And so, it is my absolute conviction that Franklin Delano Roosevelt the man—can safely rest his case before God, the American people and history—on the works and deeds of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the 32d President of the United States.

[From the Detroit (Mich.) Free Press, Aug. 6, 1965]

FARLEY CALLS F.D.R. "CONSERVATIVE"—SPEAKS AT KALAMAZOO

KALAMAZOO.—A man politically close to Franklin D. Roosevelt Thursday night described the New Deal President as "deeply conservative," a man who "hated to spend public money unnecessarily" and one who "dreamed of the day he could balance the budget."

This assessment of Roosevelt came from James A. Farley, his Postmaster General 8 years and, as Democratic national chairman, director of the first two of his four successful campaigns for the presidency.

The assessment was made in a lecture, "FDR—The Man," prepared for delivery as the last in a series on "The Roosevelt Era," sponsored by Kalamazoo College to commemorate the 20th anniversary of his death.

The Nation's worst depression existed when F. D. R. took office. The world's worst war was raging when he died in office.

Farley and Roosevelt split politically when the latter decided to seek a third term. Farley opposed more than two for any man, and he said Thursday "severance took place on a basis of principle, not personality."

Farley, now chairman of the Coca-Cola Export Corp., prefaced his description of Roosevelt as deeply conservative by saying: "you may believe this or not."

"The public needs and the necessity for spending held his mind. But close to his heart," Farley said, "was the idea of stopping Federal spending as quickly as he could.

"At the slightest rise in the economic health of the country, he would stop spending. In fact, he stopped spending so abruptly in 1937 that it brought on a recession."

Farley said Roosevelt liked nothing better than new ideas and interesting people and especially liked to talk over cocktails at day's end.

"He fancied himself," Farley added, "as a great cocktail mixer, with few equals in martinis, and without parallel in old-fashioneds. * * *

"I believe he was gifted with a sense of destiny and of leadership," Farley said, "which stood him and the Nation in good stead in hours of grave crisis."

Ticking off landmarks in New Deal legislation, such as social security and banking reform, Farley said "we saw the results of our labors enacted into laws which still stand * * * laws which are now endorsed in the platforms of both parties."

"And so," he concluded, "it is my absolute conviction that Franklin Delano Roosevelt the man—can safely rest his case before God, the American people, and history—on, the works and deeds of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the 32d President of the United States."

"His administration has been described as the greatest royal court since Louis XIV. There is a certain element of truth about this. While the President was bold in imagination, swift in execution and highly knowledgeable about Government finance, administration was not one of his strong points."

The former Cabinet member said "he was little less than grand in delegating authority," but "unfortunately he often appointed two departments with sweeping powers to do the same job."

"This resulted in terrible departmental fights, which F. D. R. dearly loved."

[From the Kalamazoo (Mich.) Gazette, Aug. 6, 1965]

FARLEY ENTHUSIASTIC OVER BOTH F.D.R., L.B.J.

(By Tim Richard)

If James A. Farley is enthusiastic about the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, whom he served as Postmaster General and Democratic National Committee chairman, he is just as enthusiastic about the works of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

"He will go down in history as one of our greatest Presidents," Farley said of L.B.J. "No President has put through as much controversial legislation as Johnson, and in such a short time."

The old New Dealer was asked in an interview this morning to contrast the personalities of F.D.R. and L.B.J.

Roosevelt was the Harvard- and Columbia-educated aristocrat, "even tempered, not too explosive. He didn't like criticism; no President does.

"Like all men, he could be very small at times," Farley said, recalling F.D.R.'s refusal to do favors for persons who had offended him sometime in the past.

"He liked to be told he was tough, but he wasn't," Farley said.

Johnson, on the other hand, was born in meager circumstances, received a less elaborate education in Texas colleges, started as a teacher, then went to Washington as a congressional assistant, Farley recalled.

"He's politically minded, and he likes the political atmosphere of Washington," Farley said. "He isn't going to try to hurt, he won't attempt punishment, of someone who votes against him."

Whereas Farley said unboastfully that he handled F.D.R.'s relations with individual Congressmen—"they knew I spoke with the authority of the President"—Johnson takes charge of congressional relations himself.

"His personal relations with Senator DIRKSEN (Republican leader) are as close as with Senator MANSFIELD (Democratic leader)," Farley observed.

One exception to L.B.J.'s no-retaliation rule occurred when the President became sensitive to the criticism of Senator FRANK CHURCH, Democrat, of Idaho, over the administration's Vietnam war escalation policy.

Johnson asked CHURCH where he got his ideas, and CHURCH replied he read liberal columnist Walter Lippmann. Farley chuckled as he recalled L.B.J.'s retort:

"The next time you want a dam, talk to Lippmann about it."

[From the Kalamazoo (Mich.) Gazette, Aug. 6, 1965]

FARLEY DESCRIBES F.D.R. IN TALK HERE

(By Rob Warden)

James A. Farley, at 77, characterizes Franklin D. Roosevelt as a man who "rests his case with God, the American people, and history."

Speaking Thursday night at Kalamazoo College, Farley commented that he "broke with President Roosevelt because of principle, not because of personality."

Farley, U.S. Postmaster General during F.D.R.'s first two terms, resigned in 1940 because he opposed the idea of a President breaking tradition by seeking a third term.

Concluding a lecture series commemorating the 20th anniversary of President Roosevelt's death, Farley called F.D.R. "a deeply good man, and really quite religious."

"It is unkind, unfair, and untrue to call Mr. Roosevelt a demogague," Farley said. "He was deeply conservative, and dreamed of the day he could balance the budget."

"Big Jim" was Democratic national chairman and directed the successful Roosevelt presidential campaigns in 1932 and 1936. He is currently board chairman of Coca Cola Export Co.

Farley's talk Thursday night concerned only the first two terms of President Roosevelt, while Farley was a member of the cabinet.

Referring to his resignation from the administration, Farley said, "Men must be very close to have a split between them become first-page news."

The public needs and the necessity for spending held Roosevelt's mind, but close to his heart was the idea of stopping Federal spending as quickly as he could, Farley said.

"At the slightest rise in the economic health of the country he would stop spending. In fact, he stopped spending so abruptly in 1937 that it brought on a recession," Farley recalled.

Roosevelt liked to be surrounded by interesting people with new ideas and he particularly enjoyed discussions with them over a drink at the day's end, Farley said.

"Mr. Roosevelt was exceptionally canny and knowledgeable," Farley said, "and he liked nothing better than new ideas and new faces."

"He fancied himself as a great cocktail mixer, with few equals in martinis, and without parallel in old-fashioneds.

"His administration has been described as the greatest royal court since Louis XIV. There is a certain element of truth about this," Farley observed.

"While the President was bold in imagination, swift in execution and highly knowledgeable about government finance, administration was not one of his strong points," Farley added.

Farley said Roosevelt enjoyed much more freedom of action in his first two terms than in the last two when "the compulsions of war and of failing health assailed him."

Giving his personal estimate of F.D.R., Farley said "I believe he was gifted with a sense of destiny and of leadership which stood him and the Nation in good stead in hours of grave crisis."

Farley, who stands 6 feet, 2 inches and weighs 215 pounds, said he admired F.D.R.'s vitality in lieu of the handicap that polio had imposed on him. "In this way," Farley said, "he was like Theodore Roosevelt. They both had great physical vitality, and they both had physical handicaps."

President Roosevelt, however, was less than perfect, Farley said. "He often appointed two departments with sweeping powers to do the same job."

Looking back 25 years at the history he helped make, Farley commented that F.D.R. "stands in American history with the great Presidents."

Twelve Years Later

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as we watch the growing demands of some Communist-infiltrated organizations and other groups of well-meaning but misguided Americans, and as we observe the voices of appeasement within the hierarchy of this administration, it would be practical for us to heed the very timely commentary on history which appeared in the Seymour Daily Tribune recently:

TWELVE YEARS LATER

July 26, 1953—July 26, 1965.

For Castro and his fellow Communists, 12 years of struggle, then triumph, then total, tyrannical dominion over the island and people of Cuba.

It was 12 years ago that a band of rebel Cuban youths with Fidel Castro at their head attacked the Moncada Barracks in Santiago de Cuba. This was the first strike in a 5½-year guerrilla campaign that ulti-

mately succeeded, with a generous assist from the United States, in toppling Fulgencio Batista's regime on January 1, 1959, and selling Cuba out to communism.

It was not until December 2, 1961, that Castro finally acknowledged what was by that time obvious; i. e., that he was a dedicated agent of the international Communist conspiracy. But he declared on that occasion:

"Did I believe (in Marxism) on 26 July (1953)? I did believe on 26 July.

The mistake the U.S. State Department made in believing Castro was not a Communist in 1953 was only the first in a long series of blunders that continued to characterize our policy toward communism in this hemisphere. Whatever reasons there may have been for believing Castro was non-Communist in 1953 or 1959, there is no doubt whatsoever today that he and his regime are disciples of Marxism, and that Cuba is the center for subversion in Latin America.

The United States, however, is abstaining from even encouraging Cuban refugees in another "26 de Julio" movement that would fulfill the betrayed promise of free elections, democratic government, and liberty for the people of Cuba.

The spirit of the 26th of July movement long ago was betrayed by Fidel Castro and his clan of Communist conspirators. The brave, freedom-loving Cubans now have no one to help them revive that spirit.

Ending the U.N. Deadlock

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include at this point the lead editorial which appeared in the New York Times of August 17, entitled "Ending the U.N. Deadlock."

The possibility that our Government would revise its position had been reported in the press recently, and I had previously indicated my strong support of a more flexible position which would remove the deadlock which has paralyzed the General Assembly and affected the work of the United Nations for a year.

The editorial follows:

ENDING THE U.N. DEADLOCK

Washington's decision to terminate the controversy over Soviet and French peacekeeping arrears was based on a recognition that there was no other practical way to preserve the world organization.

The year-long deadlock in the General Assembly demonstrated conclusively that the United Nations could be destroyed, but that it could not be strengthened, by the futile effort to force a great power to contribute to peacekeeping operations of which it disapproved.

Most member countries of the world organization came to this conclusion months ago. For this reason alone, it has been clear for some time that Washington had no real alternative but to accept the majority view. The United States could not set itself up as the sole guardian of the U.N.'s interests, no matter how unassailable its legal position.

Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg pointed up the most crucial aspect of the problem yesterday when he said that "the United States agrees, in light of present world tensions, that the General Assembly must proceed with its work." The need to preserve the U.N. for a possible role in Vietnam as well as the other troubled areas has made it increasingly urgent that the Assembly meet, vote and resume normal business next month.

The revision of the American position involved compromises within the Johnson administration and in Congress. Some of the strains this created were reflected both in what Ambassador Goldberg said yesterday and in what he left unsaid. One thing left unsaid was what the United States would do to help the U.N. wipe out its $108 million deficit.

Britain and the Scandinavian countries have shown the way with unconditional donations of $18 million. Washington, presumably, is waiting for the Soviet Union to keep its promise of a "substantial contribution." Washington would have been wiser to state—as Adlai Stevenson urged before his death—that the United States intends to help the United Nations in its finances regardless of what other countries do.

A similar position might well have been taken in another respect. If the Soviet Union has been wrong to open a breach in the Assembly's authority to assess its members, is the United States right to open this breach wider by emphasizing—before any issue arises—that it "reserves the same option"? Suggesting that Washington might emulate Moscow in this regard is a poor contribution to strengthening international morality.

The paramount consideration, however, is the need to end the debt crisis and put the General Assembly back to work. Equally important, the United States has not yielded on the Assembly's authority to initiate peacekeeping operations when the Security Council, which has the primary responsibility, is immobilized by a veto. Voluntary contributions have effectively financed such operations in the past and there is no reason why they cannot in the future.

Taken as a whole, the new flexibility in the American position is welcome. It will not resolve all the difficulties that face the United Nations. But, by resolving the present impasse, it will preserve the world organization for a future in which it can gradually again grow in strength.

Eccentrics Unnecessary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Des Plaines Valley News, an independent publication serving communities in southeast suburban Cook County, produced a brief editorial in its Thursday, August 12, edition which I believe is a most timely and significant comment on a phase in current civil disobedience actions:

ECCENTRICS UNNECESSARY

In the flood of those photos of marchers for various movements or demonstrations allied with the Negro cause for equality, the aim for peace for Vietnam, and the rebellion at the college campuses are seen the eccentrics.

These are those bearded, unkempt individuals that in earlier days one would class as "bums." These seldom bother to wear common attire, but always wear the extreme.

They are passionate in their demands. The causes they suport are sometimes as queer as their apparel. However, note that where some cause gets public attention and TV coverage these individuals are surely seen to be among the other, more dedicated leaders of the movement.

The citizens that watch are treated with contempt. Apparently this group finds that such oddity catches the attention of the public.

One cannot pass judgment on the plight of these individuals but it would do well if the leaders of important causes sort of improve their image and exile the eccentrics or face attention of the sort that they rather not have.

Praise Due Self-Policing Efforts of Nation's Pharmacists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, which handled the recently enacted Drug Abuse Control Amendments of 1965, I was pleased to see the efforts taken by the industry to fully effect the provisions of the new law.

The American Pharmaceutical Association has just circulated a reference guide explaining the provisions of the new law to various health practitioners. This effort stands as a fine example of the type of cooperation and initiative needed to curb the illicit traffic in barbiturate and amphetamine drugs.

I include the American Pharmaceutical Association pamphlet in the RECORD at this point:

H.R. 2 AND YOU—A REFERENCE GUIDE TO THE DRUG ABUSE CONTROL AMENDMENTS OF 1965 FOR HEALTH PRACTITIONERS

(NOTE.—After more than a decade of proposals and hearings, the Drug Abuse Control Amendments of 1965 establish special controls for depressant and stimulant drugs. Practitioners of the health professions know the measure as H.R. 2 by Representative HARRIS (89th Cong.), the Dodd bill (88th and 87th Congs.), after its sponsor, Senator DODD, the Boggs bill in earlier Congresses, and the barbiturate and amphetamine proposal.)

The American Pharmaceutical Association, the national professional society of pharmacists, presents the highlights of the new law affecting the health practitioners here. The purpose of this effort is to educate those who must practice under this new law as to the requirements established and acquaint them with their individual responsibilities created under the legislation. We firmly believe that the pharmacists of this country conscientiously assume their ethical and legal obligations. The American Pharmaceutical Association hopes this commentary will foster an understanding of the purposes and details of the Drug Abuse Control Amendments of 1965.

The Drug Abuse Control Amendments of 1965 amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act and place additional controls over stimulant and depressant drugs through increased recordkeeping and inspection re-

quirements providing control over intrastate traffic in these drugs, and making possession of stimulants and depressants except under specified conditions illegal. As is always the case, if a particular State law or regulation places more stringent controls over these drugs, those requirements must be complied with.

DRUGS COVERED

Barbiturates and amphetamines are specifically named in the law. However, the law speaks in terms of "depressant or stimulant drugs" which also includes any drug which contains any quantity of a substance which is found to have a potential for abuse because of its depressant or stimulant effect on the central nervous system or its hallucinogenic effect. Thus, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare can bring additional drugs under the controls of the law by regulation. He may also exempt drugs which would otherwise be included within the literal language of the law when the controls are not necessary for the protection of public health. HEW Under Secretary Wilbur Cohen revealed that the Department has been reviewing additional drugs with a view to having necessary regulations promulgated by the date the bill takes effect—February 1, 1966.

FEDERAL REGISTRATION

Manufacturers, compounders, and processors and other firms already registered under the Drug Amendments of 1962 are required to indicate whether they are producing or distributing stimulant and depressant drugs in their registration statement. The act does add wholesalers, jobbers, and distributors of stimulant and depressant drugs only to the list of firms which must register. Wholesalers and jobbers were exempted from the registration under the drug amendments of 1962.

Wholesaling, jobbing, or distributing is defined as selling any depressant or stimulant drug "to any person who is not the ultimate user or consumer." The report of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce pointed out that pharmacies maintained in conformance with applicable State laws are exempted from the registration requirement.

Presumably, pharmacists who occasionally furnish a medical practitioner with office supplies or a fellow pharmacist with supplies to replenish his stock pending receipt of an order from a manufacturer or a wholesaler would not have to register; however, a pharmacist regularly engaged in wholesaling office supplies to physicians or dispensing stocks to other pharmacists would be required to register.

Since it is clear that the law contemplates a complete and accurate record, the pharmacist must indicate the name and address of the pharmacist or physician to whom he delivered the supply, the kind and quantity of the drugs involved. The pharmacist (or the physician if he otherwise must keep records under the law) receiving the drugs must also make a record showing the name of the pharmacist from whom received, the kind and quantity of drugs involved, and the date. No registration number is required, because the law speaks of "the registration number, if any, * * *" and pharmacies are not required to register with the HEW Secretary.

RECORDS

The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare report notes the intention to "establish controls upon the distribution of depressant and stimulant drugs throughout the chain of distribution, from the basic manufacturer to * * * the ultimate consumer." Each person handling stimulant and depressant drugs must prepare a complete inventory of all stocks on hand as of the effective date of the legislation—February 1, 1966—and keep the inventory for at least 3 years. Thereafter, a record must be maintained.

For stimulant and depressant drugs received: the kind and quantity of the drug; the name, address, and registration number (assigned by HEW) of the person from whom received; the date of the transaction.

For stimulant and depressant drugs dispensed: the kind and quantity of the drug dispensed or otherwise disposed of; the name, address, and registration number (generally not applicable for pharmacists or physicians) of the person obtaining the drug; the date of the transaction.

The records must be kept for 3 years unless State laws specify a longer period.

In most instances, the wholesaler or manufacturer invoice will comply with the receipt record and the prescription file or patient chart with the dispensing record provided all the required information is available.

The law also provides that the HEW Secretary shall exempt from the provisions of the act by regulation any drug which may be sold over-the-counter; combinations, which include one or more substances in such quantity, proportion, or concentration sufficient to prevent the stimulant or depressant drug from being ingested or absorbed in large enough quantities to cause the stimulant, depressant, or hallucinogenic effect.

INSPECTION

The record of receipt and disposition of depressant or stimulant drugs must be available for Food and Drug Administration employees to inspect. Pharmacists may maintain separate files in much the same manner as is now done for narcotics and where this is done, both the Senate and House committee reports make it clear that the inspection authority is limited to those separate files. However, the law specifically provides that no separate records need be kept and the records need not be in any special form. Normal business and pharmaceutical records are sufficient. In hospitals, patient order files and patient medical charts are sufficient.

In the debate on H.R. 2 on the floor of the House, a colloquy between Congressman HARRIS and Congressman ROGERS of Florida pointed out that the inspection authority is not intended to confer any broader searches than the records for stimulant and depressant drugs. The Congressmen agreed that "this does not in effect authorize fishing expeditions" of the pharmacists' records.

In light of the prior congressional denial of inspection authority to FDA agents, a court will have to rule on whether an FDA inspector can utilize any evidence he may discover which does not relate to stimulant or depressant drugs where no separate records are maintained.

The law and both committee reports emphasize that no special records need be maintained. This would be effectively nullified if evidence not relating to stimulant or depressant drugs was gathered under H.R. 2's inspection authority and later used against the pharmacist. This would force pharmacists to maintain separate records or relinquish rights they otherwise would have.

PROFESSIONAL SAMPLES AND PHYSICIANS

The House debate clearly indicates that a record must be made of professional samples of stimulant or depressant drugs obtained from medical representatives. Likewise, the medical representative has to keep a record of the disposition of any professional samples to pharmacists or physicians. This is to preclude the development of a gap in tracing the distribution of these drugs.

Physicians and other licensed practitioners who regularly engage in dispensing stimulant or depressant drugs to their patients and who make a charge for the drugs "either separately or together with charges for other professional services" must also keep records of receipt and disposition and make them available for inspection.

WHO MAY LAWFULLY POSSESS

Manufacturers, processors, and wholesale druggists dealing in stimulant or depressant drugs must register with the Secretary of HEW and may then lawfully possess the drugs in the usual course of their legitimate businesses. Common carriers and their employees are also authorized to possess the drugs in the usual course of their legitimate business. Stimulant and depressant drugs may lawfully be possessed by (1) pharmacies; (2) hospitals; (3) clinics; (4) public health agencies which maintain establishments in conformance with any applicable local laws regulating the practice of pharmacy and medicine; (5) physicians; (6) dentists, and other practitioners licensed by State law to administer depressant or stimulant drugs in their practices; (7) persons utilizing the drugs in research, teaching, or chemical analysis as long as the drugs are not for sale; (8) officers and employees of Federal, State, or local governments while acting in the course of their official duties; (9) nurses and other medical technicians who are under the supervision of a practitioner licensed by law to administer stimulant and depressant drugs while acting in the course of employment or occupation and not on their own account; (10) employees and agents of groups (1) through (7) noted above while acting in the course of their employment; (11) patients or a responsible member of the patient's household for his personal use or that of a member of his household or for administration to an animal owned by him or a member of his household.

PRESCRIPTION ORDERS AND RENEWALS

Prescription orders, to comply with record requirements, must contain the name and address of the patient and the date of issue which are the normal requirements for all prescription orders. There is no requirement that the prescription order must be written and signed by the prescriber; stimulant or depressant drugs may be dispensed on telephoned or oral instructions according to the usual practice. However, no prescription order can be renewed more than five times and no prescription order can be dispensed or renewed more than six months after the date of issue. If the prescriber indicates a larger number of renewals or a longer duration, the five renewals and six month limit still apply. However, if there are no renewal instructions, then the prescription is nonrenewable.

These requirements apply to all prescriptions after the effective date of the law regardless of the date on which they were written. After the 5 renewals or 6 months has elapsed, the physician may prescribe additional renewals for a like period.

UNLAWFUL ACTS AND PENALTIES

Any person who violates the provisions of the act is subject to the penalties of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act. Conviction carries a punishment of imprisonment for not more than 1 year and a fine of not more than $1,000 or both for the first offense and imprisonment for not more than 3 years and a fine not more than $10,000 or both for subsequent offenses. An additional penalty has been added where stimulant or depressant drugs are sold to a person under 21 years of age. For a first offense, the punishment is imprisonment for not more than 2 years and a fine not more than $5,000 or both, and subsequent violations carry a penalty of not more than 6 years imprisonment and a fine of not more than $15,000 or both. Violations include possession of stimulant or depressant drugs except as authorized in the law; failure to prepare and keep an accurate record of receipt and disposition of stimulant and depressant drugs; refusal to access to or copying of any of the required records; refusal to permit authorized inspections; dispensing or renewing any prescription more than 6 months after its date of issue or

renewing the prescription order more than five times.

The Drug Abuse Control Amendments of 1965 also permit FDA agents who have special authorization to carry firearms, execute and serve search warrants and arrest warrants, execute seizures, and make arrest without warrants for offenses committed in the agent's presence.

CHECKLIST FOR FEBRUARY 1, 1966

Make a complete inventory of all stimulant and depressant drugs in your possession and preserve this for at least 3 years.

Keep a record of the receipt and disposition of all depressant or stimulant drugs.

Do not dispense any stimulant or depressant drug pursuant to any prescription order which is more than 6 months old without obtaining additional authorization from the prescriber.

Do not renew any prescription order, regardless of the date of issue, more than five times without obtaining additional authorization from the prescriber and execute a new prescription order before dispensing.

Make certain that the Federal registration number of all your suppliers shows on your invoices which contain items of stimulant or depressant drugs.

Permit FDA inspectors to have access to your stimulant and depressant drug records and to copy them.

Court of Military Appeals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD, two recent articles which have appeared concerning the Court of Military Appeals, and the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

The Code of Military Justice was written following long hearings conducted by the House Committee on Armed Services, which also lead to the creation of the Court of Military Appeals.

I am happy to note that both articles, one which appeared in the Air Force Times on July 21, 1965, and a very recent article which appeared in Time magazine on August 13, 1965, well describe the Uniform Code of Military Justice and the manner in which the Court of Military Appeals has functioned since it was created in 1951.

I believe I can speak for many, if not all, of the members of the Committee on Armed Services when I say we are proud of the court and the manner in which it has fulfilled its vital judicial responsibility.

The articles follow:

[From Time Magazine, Aug. 13, 1965]

CRIMINAL JUSTICE: THE SERVICEMAN'S RIGHTS

In the wage of an expanded draft call, thousands of Americans are about to encounter a fact of GI life that might flabbergast a veteran of World War II. It is the Uniform Code of Military Justice, which permits U.S. military courts to be reviewed by civilian judges. By virtue of the code, the modern U.S. court-martial gives the accused a fairer shake than he can expect in most U.S. State criminal courts.

Congress enacted the code in 1950 in response to complaints about "drumhead justice" during World War II, when the number of courts-martial hit 750,000 a year. In one sense, the complaints were no surprise; civilian soldiers, whether draftees or volunteers, have made known their distaste for military rules in every U.S. war since the Revolution. But Congress was also aware of the professional soldier's compelling argument that autocracy is a military necessity. As Gen. William Techumseh Sherman warned in 1879: "An army is a collection of armed men obliged to obey one man. Every change in the rules which impairs the principle weakens the army."

AHEAD 15 YEARS

As it tried to balance service requirements against civilian complaints, Congress came to the conclusion that military autocracy had indeed gone too far. Investigators found widespread abuse of "command control"—the power of local commanders to convene courts-martial, appoint court members and review court verdicts. The record showed that all too many commanders had been using military courts as personal disciplinary weapons, ignoring even such bedrock rights as the presumption of innocence until guilt is proved beyond reasonable doubt. As one ex-Navy lawyer recalls: "The general attitude seemed to be that a man was going before a court-martial to receive a sentence rather than a trial."

In writing the new code, Congress adroitly retained command control—but so hedged it with restraints that U.S. military courts have quietly adopted many of the most controversial criminal-law rules only recently imposed on State courts by the U.S. Supreme Court. Civilian courts have not yet adopted some rules that have become military practice. The Supreme Court, for example, has yet to say that State police failure to advise a suspect of his rights to counsel and silence invalidates his confession—a requirement that Congress imposed on the military 15 years ago. A military defendant is also entitled to full pretrial "discovery" of all evidence against him—a virtually unheard-of rule in State courts.

BREAD AND WATER

The Uniform Code of Military Justice governs members of all five armed forces and all organizations assigned to them, such as the Public Health Service. It used to govern servicemen's wives and civilian employees outside the United States, but the Supreme Court (acting on writs of habeas corpus) voided that power in 1957. The code proscribes a wide variety of offenses, ranging from military mutiny to burglary. It authorizes execution (usually hanging) for everything from premeditated murder to wartime desertion, but makes death mandatory only for spying. No military executions have occurred since 1961; the Navy has performed none since 1849.

Not surprisingly, the code's judicial niceties have moved the services to demand and get more authority for handling minor offenses by meting out punishment without trial—for example, up to 7 days in the brig and 3 days on bread and water. Beyond this, however, the accused is entitled to three kinds of courts-martial, basically ranked according to punishment power:

Summary courts-martial deal only with enlisted men, consist of one officer who acts as judge and jury. Maximum penalties: 1 month's confinement, 45 days' hard labor, forfeiture of two-thirds of 1 month's pay.

Special courts-martial nearly always deal with enlisted men, have a president (senior officer present), a trial counsel (prosecutor) and defense counsel. Neither counsel need be a lawyer, but if the former is, the latter must be. Maximum penalties upon conviction: 6 months' confinement at hard labor and a bad-conduct discharge, which is theoretically less serious than a dishonorable discharge.

General courts-martial have jurisdiction over any person subject to the code, try all serious offenses ranging from murder to desertion. The court has at least five members, plus three lawyers trained as members of the particular services' Judge Advocate General's Corps. They are: the trial counsel, defense counsel and "law officer" (judge), who rules on all questions of law, but does not participate in the final secret vote for guilt or innocence. A general court can impose any statutory sentence, including dishonorable discharge, life imprisonment, and death (by unanimous vote).

FOXHOLE PRIVACY

Grim as it all sounds, every court-martial sentence is automatically reviewed and often lightened in the process. The local commander may cut any sentence (though he may never increase it), after which his actions are reviewed by a Judge Advocate General's Corps lawyer from the accused's branch of the service. For all major sentences, the next step after the commander is a three-lawyer "JAG" board of review in the Pentagon.

The supreme court of the Armed Forces is the U.S. Court of Military Appeals in Washington. "COMA," as military lawyers call it, has three civilian judges—Chief Judge Robert E. Quinn, 71, a former State trial judge and ex-Governor of Rhode Island; Paul J. Kilday, 65, a Texan who served 22 years in Congress and helped to write the military justice code as a Member of the House Armed Services Committee; and Homer Ferguson, 72, a veteran Detroit trial judge who later served two terms as Republican U.S. Senator from Michigan.

Appointed to 15-year terms by the President, COMA judges automatically review all sentences involving death and all sentences involving flag officers. They accept or reject other appeals as they see fit, hear 30-minute oral argument, and issue written opinions on "decision days" (Fridays).

In its 14-year history, the court has issued reversals in about half its written opinions. In *United States* v. *Voorhees* (1954), for example, the court upheld the free-speech right of a public-information officer who published a book on Korea without clearance. In *United States* v. *Adams* (1955), the court ruled in favor of a private who in self-defense killed a trespasser in his tent on the ground that a soldier's right of privacy extends "even to a foxhole."

WHO'S CRYING?

The code's guarantee of justice has served as a strong argument for more status of force agreements, arrangements by which foreign governments permit U.S. forces rather than local courts to try the crimes of U.S. servicemen serving overseas. Ironically, though, the Supreme Court's exclusion of overseas civilians from court-martial jurisdiction now subjects them almost exclusively to trial by foreign courts. A case in point is Robert Kimball, the American civilian who is accused of murdering a Vietnamese woman and the top U.S. civilian adviser to South Vietnam's national police force. Fearing that Kimball might be outside any U.S. jurisdiction whatever, U.S. officials last week waived his diplomatic immunity ad handed him over to Vietnam. Kimball could be imprisoned for life, but Vietnam also recognizes the crime passionel—in which case the rap is as little as 5 years.

On the other hand, many U.S. commanders complain that the code's concern for individual rights may compromise military discipline in wartime. While the evidence for this charge is far from overwhelming, disciplinarians may some day cite with alarm the case of Army Dr. Sanford Wolfson, a young draftee and Harvard graduate, who

personally griped to Gen. William C. Westmoreland last January about medical-supply shortages in Vietnam. The irked general ordered the "crybaby" doctor before a general court-martial on Okinawa, where he was accused of malingering and such unofficerlike conduct as sporting a beard. Last week the court tossed out the malingering charge for lack of evidence, thus undermining Westmoreland's entire case.

[From the Air Force Times Family Magazine, July 21, 1965]

COURT OF MILITARY APPEALS—A CLOSE LOOK AT THE COURT, ITS OPERATIONS AND JUDGES, REAVEALS HOW IT PROTECTS RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS

(By Macon Reed)

When the Court of Military Appeals was set up one hot June day in 1951, many military people, especially older ones, were darkly sure it wouldn't last.

But 14 years and 18,000 cases later, we see it did last and will. Looking back, one sees the court as simply a next step in a long trend toward more judicial procedure at courts martial, courts that used to be looked upon by commanders as their personal instruments for enforcing discipline.

The all-civilian, three-man court at the top permits the court martial convict to appeal outside the military. Through these appeals and certain automatic reviews the court imposes the rules and what it believes are the standards set for courts martial by the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

The court has gained acceptance but critics still make two complaints:

The court has imposed too many niceties or technicalities that hamper court martial prosecution.

It has done so by setting aside convictions of men obviously guilty and due for punishment.

As to the first complaint, you probably couldn't get everybody to agree on where safeguarding of basic rights ends and hair splitting begins.

As to the second, a closer look at the court and its work might help.

Of its 18,000 cases (up to the end of 1964) about 2,100 were important enough to bring written opinions. In about half of these the court reversed some court martial's or military commander's acts.

The reversals are the ones you hear about. They are the teeth of the court. They make law and they straighten out officials. They make commanders all over the world pay heed to the three white-haired men in the mellow, old-fashioned building on Judiciary Square in Washington.

Helping the judges are 12 lawyers (the 10 senior ones are called commissioners) and an administrative staff of 25, with an annual budget of $530,000.

The judges receive $33,000 a year, as do judges of the U.S. courts of appeal, with whom they rank in judicial hierarchy.

But they have 15-year terms instead of the life tenure of other Federal judges.

By law two kinds of cases come automatically to the Court of Military Appeals: convictions with death penalties and those touching a flag or general officer.

The court has affirmed 23 out of the 33 death cases in 14 years; 10 of the 23 were put to death. Twelve death sentences were imposed in 1 year of the Korean war; none since 1961.

One Navy flag officer (retired) came up on automatic appeal from a morals conviction, one Army general, on a conviction of breaching military secrecy through an indiscreet diary. Both convictions were affirmed.

Unusual, too, is this court's power to hear an appeal by the Government from an adverse legal ruling somewhere down the line in the court-martial system. Any service Judge Advocate General may certify a case to the high court for ruling on a close question.

But the great majority of the court's customers are individuals, court-martial losers sentenced to either a year in prison or a bad discharge (called "dismissal" if it happens to an officer). Lesser sentences cannot be appealed.

MOST ARE ENLISTED

Most appealers are enlisted, and the court makes itself easy to appeal to and acts swiftly, for a court.

The appellant's conviction will have been approved, at least in the main, by the commander who appointed the court-martial and by an all-lawyer board of review at the head office of the service in Washington. Most board members are military officers, though the Navy and Coast Guard have some civilians.

These boards are no rubberstamps. They have power to set aside verdicts, and they know if they don't call the shots right the court will reverse them.

There is a kind of falling domino effect here: court falls on boards, board falls on Commanders, comanders fall on courts-martial.

The convicted man's lawyer has 30 days from the date of the board approval to file a petition for review by the court of appeals. The lawyer will claim that police, commanding officer or court-martial violated the code or misapplied the law and so denied defendant a fair trial.

Whether he broke the law is not at issue now; it is whether he was tried according to law.

The Government lawyers have 20 days to counter his claims and insist that either all corners were squared or if they weren't the flaws were minor and did no harm.

From the day of the Government's answer, the court has 30 days to act. That's by law. And therein this court differs from most, if not all others. It can't delay on these petitions, and on the follow-up steps it doesn't.

Its first decision is whether to grant or deny a "petition for review." The words are misleading, however, because grant or deny, the case gets reviewed.

All of the case comes to the court—records of pretrial investigation, all that is said in the trial court, the commander's review and the board of review proceedings.

The court knows that in the typical case—800 or more of them a year—the man's lawyer is no Edward Bennett Williams or Clarence Darrow. It, therefore, scans the records for possible errors other than those the defense lawyer claims.

That is where the staff of 10 commissioners (senior lawyers with sharp eyes for flaws in a record) first get into the act. One commissioner, with at least one other checking him, reads the whole record from the dawn of suspicion in the heart of the MP to the tagline of the opinion of the board of review.

The commissioner makes a summary pointing out anything he thinks the judges ought to know, and makes recommendations. The summary, plus the record, goes to each of the three judges.

At the end of this road the court will, almost nine times out of ten, "deny" the petition for review. But the man has had his review. His appeal has been fully considered. The denial means simply that the defense lawyer didn't have a substantial claim of "error." Nor did the commissioners or the judges find any that he missed.

ORAL ARGUMENT

In about 12 cases out of a hundred, the court finds something at least questionable enough to warrant oral argument and a formal decision. In these cases it "grants" the petition. About two-thirds of the grants are based on errors claimed by the defense lawyers, about one-third on possible errors found within the court's own review system.

If any one of the three judges wants it granted, granted it is. His brothers—judges always refer to other judges on the same court as "brothers" or "brethren"—will always go along with him that far as a matter of courtesy.

With the petition granted, the defense and the Government file written argument on the limited and carefully specified questions at issue.

In about 50 days the cause comes on to be heard, as the lawyers say, and each side gets 30 minutes to talk. It used to be 45 minutes, but the lawyers felt they had to fill up the whole time whether they had that much to say or not, which they usually didn't.

A uniformed lawyer out of the Judge Advocate General's office speaks for the government. Usually another, or a civilian, speaks for the defense. Over 12,000 civilian lawyers are eligible to appear before this court.

The judges wear black robes. They are on a raised platform behind a dark wood bar, each one ready to cross-question the lawyer because he (the judge) is either interested or bored, or just on general principles.

The speaker's lectern is of dark wood, and so are the pewlike benches for spectators. Otherwise, the room is light and airy, with a high ceiling—a pleasing and dignified chamber.

After 25 minutes, the pleader gets a green light. After 5 more, he gets a red light. And if that doesn't do it, the chief judge, Robert E. Quinn, turns him firmly but gently off with a few well-chosen words.

But the chief isn't tough. If the lawyer has lost a lot of time answering judges' questions, he will get a little extension.

The judges hear three cases in a morning, then duck out behind the black curtain and across the corridor to a conference room. They take off their robes, get comfortable, eat lunch at a big table, and talk cases.

HOUR OF DECISION

The three are alone now. This is the hour of decision. No outsider knows what is said.

In general, they deal the cases around, in turn. But if the judge to whom a case falls cannot get at least one of the others to see eye to eye with him on how it should be decided, then he is going to be a dissenter on that case and not the "author judge" speaking for the majority. So the case passes to one of the others.

It may take the judges all afternoon to thrash out their points of view and get each case assigned to an "author" with at least one concurrer. Usually that fixes the decision. But the opinions have to be written, and it sometimes happens that an "author judge" or dissenter, when he starts to put it on paper, realizes that the logic or the legal precedents don't back him up as well as he first thought.

He may change his mind.

The decision can get unstuck at any time, and becomes final only when signed, mimeographed, and made public.

This is not to say the judges are wishy-washy. They are strongminded men. They have been around. All three have been practicing politicians and lawyers. Two have been trial court judges.

Quinn, at 71, is a stubby, vigorous, outdoor type, with ruddy complexion, thick white hair, and strong hands. He was Governor of Rhode Island and later a State judge. He is a Naval Reserve captain.

Half a mile of book cases (law books) in his office is covered by framed and autographed photos of political and military notables. He claims latter-day golf balls don't have the resilience of those a few years back and are good for only 150 yards where he used to get 200.

Judge Homer Ferguson served two terms as a Republican Senator from Michigan and

before that 12 years as a superior court judge in Detroit. He has many of his own pictures on display—not pictures of him, but by him. At 72, 4 years ago, he took up oil painting. Twenty-two of his amazingly good landscapes and still lifes hang in his office.

Of the three judges, he most often votes for reversal; Quinn, least often.

Swing man is the soft-spoken Judge Paul Kilday, 65, who served for more than 22 years as Congressman from the San Antonio district of Texas. He became an influential member of the Armed Services Committee and helped write the code.

He practiced law 13 years and was public prosecutor for 3.

Quinn is the only original member of the court and his 15-year term expires May 1, 1966, when he will be 72. If a new judge is appointed, will he carry on in Quinn's tradition? Or in Ferguson's? Or Kilday's?

Ferguson's term expires May 1, 1971, and Kilday's May 1, 1976.

What kind of an error in the legal process leads the court to upset a conviction?

It is rarely a simple or easily stated one. On an obvious error the law officer (a sort of trial judge) or president of the court-martial would blow the whistle, or the reviewing officer or the board of review would reverse.

Only fine points and close questions get to the top. But underlying issues might be something like these:

Did the MP's have a warrant or the proper permission when they searched the barracks bag of the accused and found the stolen radio? If they didn't, it was "unreasonable search and seizure," forbidden by the Constitution, and the evidence springing from it may not be admitted at the trial. If it was admitted, you can look for a reversal.

Or when the investigators interviewed the knife wielder after the brawl, and wrote down his confession, did they first assure him of his right to keep silent? If not, the confession is not legally admissible as evidence. If it was admitted, it's a reversible error.

If the "Old Man" gave any of the court-martial members a broad hint that he wanted this particular offender made an example of, that is "command control" and the high court will set aside the verdict.

Maybe it is a question whether the law officer made clear that the man over the hill for a year is still not a deserter unless there is proof he intended to stay away permanently.

If the man is obviously guilty, who cares about technicalities like these?

The judges do. They can't reach out and punish the policeman who rides roughshod over, or gently tips around, or carelessly stumbles over a citizen's constitutional guarantee. They can't strip any braid off a commanding officer who ignores the rules laid down by the code.

But they can set aside the findings of the court-martial and the sentence. When they do so, they are giving a lesson in law not only to the authorities involved in this case but to all others.

And that brings up a much misunderstood point. What is the effect of a reversal? As far as a particular case is concerned you can't tell from the court record, as a rule. In 99 cases out of a hundred, when the high court reverses, it authorizes the service to try the man again on the same charges.

Sometimes he will be tried again, sometimes he won't. Maybe the only evidence against him was declared inadminissible by the high court and he can't be convicted.

Some men convicted on a retrial have come back for a second appeal. A very few have won a second reversal. So far as court observers remember, no case ever came back for a third round.

Many a reversal upsets only one of several charges on which the man was convicted. Here the service can cure the error by simply forgetting that charge. It will cut the sentence back accordingly, put the remaining sentence into effect and guard against that particular error in the future.

Seldom does the story end with the high court's ruling. For the finish you would have to find out how the service followed through.

But the court has the power to reverse and order the charge dismissed. Then the man couldn't be tried again on that charge and the story would end right there.

In its 14 years the court has resorted only 66 times to outright dismissal, which is its most drastic recourse against bad judicial behavior in the services.

It also has a tap-on-the-wrist power of denouncing an error but labeling it harmless. Small technical mistakes at a trial are sometimes treated in this way. The judges don't expect a command out in the boondocks to put on a trial of perfect polish, but they insist that the police, courts martial, commanders, and review authorities comply with the code.

Backing Down in the U.N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Daily News, in an editorial August 11, effectively predicted that U.S. Ambassador Goldberg's first major act at the U.N. would be to announce the Johnson administration's surrender on the question of U.N. dues.

The commentary of this editorial as well as its accurate foresight merits the attention of the Members, and I therefore direct it to their attention:

BACKING DOWN IN THE U.N.

The word is out that U.S. Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg's first official act at the United Nations will be to surrender. It won't be described that way, of course, and there are mitigating circumstances, but the effect of the move is unmistakable.

The move will be to withdraw the U.S. insistence that the U.N. adhere to article 19 of the charter, which says that any nation more than 2 years behind on dues shall have no vote in the General Assembly. Even though Russia is more than 2 years in arrears in assessments for U.N. peacekeeping forces—which the World Court has held to be binding obligations and hence dues—Russia and other delinquents will be allowed to vote without a showdown on the issue.

There is a slight quid for the quo: After Russia has cast several votes without being called a welsher, it will make a voluntary contribution toward the towering U.N. debt. After that, everybody is supposed to chip in to restore the U.N. to solvency and the organization will be back in business, free of the paralysis that gripped it all last year.

This should be a highly satisfactory outcome for Russia, which thereby escapes censure as a deadbeat and saves face as well as money. It is not satisfactory for the United States. There is no blinking the fact that it will mean a major defeat for us in the world forum. It can be accepted only because the alternatives are continued paralysis of the United Nations or, worse, its destruction.

The maneuver may save the ailing U.N. But it will leave the organization shorn of the power it was beginning to develop as a real force for peace. The point will have been established that the U.N. can move into a trouble spot only with the agreement of all the big powers.

In Korea, the Middle East, and the Congo, the U.N. was able to move because a way was found to bypass Russia's objections. Russia had absented itself when the first move was made in Korea. The United States was able to take later decisions to the General Assembly, and win a large majority there.

This strategy will no longer work, partly for financial reasons but also because the United States cannot invariably count on the support of the General Assembly. The Assembly would not back up our demand that Russia, along with the other Communist nations and France, must pay a share of the peacekeeping costs or lose its vote. Future decisions will doubtless be made in the Security Council, where the five original big powers have the veto.

There may come a time when the United States will be glad it has a veto. But for now, and for the immediate future, we cannot but regret that the U.N.'s power is reduced to debate and the relatively noncontroversial services performed by its auxiliary agencies.

United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, 1 year ago this week the U.S. House of Representatives voted unanimously, 351 to 0, in favor of a resolution expressing Congress opinion that Russia and 14 other nations meet their financial obligations to the United Nations or suffer the consequences of article 19 of the U.N. Charter: loss of vote in the General Assembly.

Within the past week, almost 1 year to the day that the House passed its resolution—House Concurrent Resolution 343—the administration let Russia and the other debtor nations off the hook completely.

Our new U.N. delegate, in his first speech, indicated the United States will not press the issue.

Excuse for the surrender was the need for business of the U.N. to proceed.

What business?

Existence of the United Nations is based on its function as a peace-keeping world organization.

At this very instant we are engaged in a war in Vietnam against Communist aggression and terror.

We are fighting this war almost single-handedly, yet the U.N. all but ignores the conflict which is spreading and increasing in intensity almost daily.

The plain, unvarnished truth, Mr. Speaker, is that this administration is permitting the Communists to use the U.N. to their advantage and to our disadvantage.

Whenever the United States acts anywhere in the world to preserve freedom it becomes a matter of concern to the U.N. to check American imperialism and colonialism.

But whenever communism marches, the U.N. looks the other way.

Mr. Speaker, I have supported our participation in the United Nations, and will continue to do so because it is a step in the right direction, and at least provides a sounding board for the various nations, despite our present disadvantage.

I do not have any allusions, however, that the U.N. in its present form provides any deterrent to aggressors.

The only force standing between total war and peace in the world are the men of the Strategic Air Command, and the other Armed Forces of the United States.

Remove these restraints and the Communist hordes would sweep the world and the United Nations would not make a particle of difference to the Red criminals.

This administration's surrender on the U.N. financial obligations of Russia and the 14 other nations, including six other Communist nations means two things:

Russia and its satellites have the green light to further prostitute the principles of the United Nations for their own aggressive ambitions, and the desires and wishes of the U.S. Congress in basic issues has not a particle of weight with the administration or State Department.

Of course, as is usually the case when the administration makes a decision to accommodate the Reds, the financial loser will be the American taxpayers.

Let the RECORD show that the following amounts of legitimate debts to the U.N. are being overlooked by this administration, and payment will ultimately be wrung from the U.S. taxpayer in one way or another:

Russia, $54.7 million; Ukranian S.S.R., $7 million; Rumania, $1.2 million; Poland, $3.6 million; Hungary, $2 million; Czechoslovakia, $3.5 million; Byelorussian S.S.R., $1.8 million; China, $14.7 million; Argentina, $3 million; Bolivia, $124,990; Guatemala, $127,409; Haiti, $131,228; Paraguay, $132,491; Uruguay, $279,650; and Yemen, $141,468.

Abetting Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Michael Harrington from the August 15, 1965, edition of the New York Herald Tribune.

California tomato growers won a victory in the poverty war last week, but unfortunately it was a victory for the wrong side. This triumph for impoverishment was won by forcing Secretary of Labor Wirtz to allow them to import Mexican braceros.

There is strong evidence indicating that the California growers purposely attempted to manufacture a crisis, and that they themselves contrived an alleged shortage in native workers in order to force Secretary Wirtz to make concessions.

It is deplorable that in the midst of the war on poverty in this country there are those who capitalize on Mexican poverty.

The article follows:

ABETTING POVERTY

SAN FRANCISCO.—There was a small, but significant, skirmish in the war against poverty in California last week. The poor lost. Tomato growers won a victory for impoverishment by forcing Secretary of Labor Wirtz to allow them to import some Mexican braceros.

This is, of course, only the latest development in a struggle that has been going on because Congress canceled the old bracero program. Most of the leaders in California's $3.5 billion agricultural industry have been trying to nullify this national legislative decision by manufacturing a crisis which could only be resolved by bringing the Mexicans back. And one of the chief Washington agents in this attempted subversion of the congressional will has been the Senator from the late show, GEORGE MURPHY.

At the start of the summer, the growers conjured up visions of food rotting in the fields because Americans would not do backbreaking farm work. There is even evidence that some of them did everything in their power to drive away domestic help when it appeared. This curious business brinkmanship, in which the growers tried to half-ruin themselves so that Mr. Wirtz would have to rescue them with cheap foreign labor, didn't work. California agriculture has been making money hand over fist and, according to the Los Angeles Times (it supported Goldwater in 1964), is in danger of a record year. In asparagus, where the lamentations were greatest, the gross is $2.5 million above last year, the net is up $1 million, and all this even though the growers had cut acreage 15 percent in anticipation of their self-proclaimed disaster.

What happened was that a considerable native American work force was attracted into the fields by the exaggerated news that a decent wage was available to all. Actually, Mr. Wirtz was only allowed to set a minimum wage when a grower had requested braceros. Under these circumstances, he could demand that they first exhaust the domestic labor supply at a specified pay rate (which was pegged this year at $1.40 an hour). Many got the impression that there was a general hourly minimum wage of $1.40. By the end of July, however, a newspaper in Ventura County was reporting a surplus of American farm labor which had driven some hourly rates down to 87 cents. And I have a photocopy of some July salary receipts which show, in one case, that 9 hours in the field yielded a gross of $3.66 and a net, after deductions and rental charge of $2.37 for a pair of gloves, of $1.12.

But the growers are still anxious to profiteer from a Mexican poverty which renders workers even more desperate than American poverty. So they have claimed that the fact that some native workers are receiving more money (but not justice—$1.40 an hour is, by U.S. Government standards, a poverty wage) is driving fruit and vegetable prices up. Senator MURPHY was singing this song to the consumer only last week. However, as far back as June, Harry Bernstein, of the Los Angeles Times, had demonstrated that the bulk of the higher cost of a can of asparagus was accounted for by the processors, wholesalers, and retailers, and this had nothing to do with the grower's labor cost. Wages, he showed, added only half a cent to the increased cost of a head of lettuce—and that was only a fraction of the general rise.

Now the tomato growers have won a partial victory. They will not get the more than 30,000 Mexicans of last year's harvest, but they have forced Mr. Wirtz to a concession. There is good reason to believe that their labor shortage is artificially induced: They have not provided decent housing for domestic work forces, their recruitment in the United States has not been intensive enough, and they did not modernize their operations so as to make it possible for women to work. The fact that Mr. Wirtz—who has courageously resisted any pressures in this fight—held the line as much as possible, is a good omen. Perhaps next year America's tomato consumption will not be even partially based on domestic or imported poverty.

In short, many of the growers of California are very active in the war against poverty—on the wrong side. This week some of them won a skirmish, but there is still hope that, more than 30 years after John Steinbeck wrote, "The Grapes of Wrath" will finally stop growing in the fields of California.

Brad Morse Lowers the Sights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STANLEY R. TUPPER

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, all of us in the Northeast have been concerned about the mounting crisis caused by 46 months of severe drought. While emergency measures are crucial at this time, we must also look ahead and develop creative programs for the prevention of future droughts.

Our colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE], recently introduced legislation calling on the President to report to the Congress on the current state of public and private research on weather modification by June 30, 1966.

The Reading, Mass., Chronicle, in an editorial which appeared on August 12, commended Mr. MORSE for his leadership on this subject and made the very important point that our conquest of outer space will not appear so dramatic if we cannot come to grips with our environment here on earth.

Under unanimous consent I include the editorial "BRAD MORSE Lowers the Sights" in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

BRAD MORSE LOWERS THE SIGHTS

Through the largess of Federal taxpayers, man appears to be well along toward the conquest of outer space. In the process he has ignored the conquest of inner space, the atmosphere, an area which furnishes man the wherewithal to live, and one whose conquest could be of immediate and immeasurable benefit to mankind.

Our man in Washington, Congressman BRAD MORSE, introduced legislation Tuesday calling upon the President to report to Congress by June 30, 1966, the state of public and private research on weather modification.

"The current prolonged drought in the Northeastern States emphasizes the need for stepped-up efforts to control and predict our weather patterns," Congressman MORSE states.

"At the present time there are so many governmental and private research efforts underway that it is impossible to assess our progress."

BRAD MORSE is right. We should lower our sights a few million miles. Any government which can orbit Mars and photograph its surface should have no problem wringing a little water out of a cloud.

Appendix

The Ninth New Jersey District Voters' Voice in Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently I circulated a questionnaire to more than 163,000 households in my district, seeking opinions on a number of vital issues before Congress. It is most gratifying to report that the poll was a tremendous success. A most satisfying response followed, emphasizing the awareness and concern over national issues that is reflected by the citizens of the Ninth New Jersey District. More than 33,000 completed questionnaires were returned, taxing my staff fully and requiring much work from a number of wonderful volunteers as well. It is amazing to note that we still are receiving a trickle of answers daily even at this late date, after the huge task of tabulation has been completed.

The results give us a clear picture of how the people in my district feel about major problems. For example, our role in Vietnam is upheld by an overwhelming majority, since 24,418 persons—77 percent of those answering—said we should continue our retaliatory attacks in Vietnam. Almost as many, 21,377—69 percent—believe we should increase our military commitment toward a decisive victory. And despite the demonstrations we have witnessed here and in other places in our Nation, it is evident that the people who want us to withdraw from Vietnam are still a small minority, only 18 percent in my district.

Some action already taken by the Congress has been strongly endorsed. For example, 75 percent backed the President's plea for a strong voting rights law, 71 percent favored elimination of excise taxes and 65 percent advocated warnings on cigarette labels and advertising. I feel certain, however, that most in the latter group would agree with my belief that the law passed was too mild.

Of personal significance to me was the response to my question, "Do you favor making the House Committee on Un-American Activities a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee?" I had supported such a move earlier in this session and I am pleased to report that response from my constituents favored this action: 13,783—45 percent—answered "yes"; 8,401—27 percent—answered "no"; and 8,574—28 percent—were undecided. I must point out that many of those who voted "no" indicated in the margin of the questionnaire that they wanted the House Un-American Activities Committee eliminated completely.

I believe the response to a question concerning Federal assistance on air and water pollution problems to be very significant. Although I represent a district that has often opposed Federal intervention in local matters, we discover in the results a strong feeling that the Federal Government must take action to assist State and local governments in the fight against air and water pollution. It is worth noting that 87 percent of those polled urged Federal assistance, the greatest degree of support for any question submitted.

Overwhelming support was given also to the creation of the proposed Hudson National Scenic Riverway—82 percent—and for Federal standards for the grading and labeling of automobile tires, lumber and other products—82 percent.

Two questions, Taft-Hartley reform and immigration law reform, emerged as the greatest areas of contention among constituents. On repeal of 14(b), 36 percent were in favor, 43 percent opposed and a surprising 21 percent undecided. The balance, then, is held by those in the "undecided" category. On immigration law changes, the figures showed an even closer decision. Some 45 percent are in favor of the national origins quota system, with 42 percent opposed. Again, the balance of decision lies in the "undecided" category, this time 13 percent.

Cutbacks of facilities for veterans are opposed by 48 percent of the poll participants and favored by 34 percent.

In other areas, the district favors a constitutional amendment to permit prayers in public schools, backs retention of the draft, regulation of mail order sales of firearms and a 60-day limitation on presidential campaigns.

The results of this poll will be sent to all households in my district. I am grateful to those who participated in this survey. The results and the many extended remarks of those who answered provide helpful guides and indicators of trends of public opinion. I shall continue to exercise my judgment in voting on issues and will accept full responsibility; however, I will take the results of this questionnaire into full consideration before arriving at decisions.

With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I include at this point the complete tabulation of the 19 questions covered in my 1965 questionnaire, showing the vote by totals and percentages:

The 9th New Jersey District voters' voice in Congress

Question	Total response	Yes		No		Undecided	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Vietnam—Should we continue our present retaliatory attacks?	31,533	24,418	77	5,100	16	2,015	7
2. Should we withdraw U.S. troops?	32,987	5,873	18	24,701	75	2,413	7
3. Should we increase our military commitment toward decisive victory?	31,060	21,377	69	5,695	18	3,988	13
4. Do you support the President's plea for a strong voting rights law?	31,329	23,488	75	5,316	17	2,525	8
5. Should sec. 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law be repealed?	29,559	10,721	36	12,597	43	6,241	21
6. Should the "national origins" quota system be eliminated from our immigration laws?	31,500	14,103	45	13,343	42	4,054	13
7. Do you favor President Johnson's proposal to aid higher education, providing scholarships for promising college students from low- and middle-income families and for partial payment of interest on private loans to students?	32,795	24,607	75	6,535	20	1,653	5
8. As an aid to parents of college students, do you favor an income tax deduction for the cost of college tuition?	33,445	26,183	78	6,270	19	992	3
9. As an incentive to further economic growth, should excise taxes on autos, handbags, jewelry, cosmetics, etc., be eliminated?	32,136	22,910	71	7,182	22	2,044	7
10. The Veterans' Administration proposes to eliminate 17 regional offices, 11 hospitals, and 4 homes. While saving $23,000,000 it could create added burdens for thousands of deserving veterans. Is this move warranted?	29,506	10,181	34	14,078	48	5,497	18
11. Do you favor a constitutional amendment to permit the voluntary recitation of prayer in public schools?	31,662	21,601	68	8,801	28	1,260	4
12. Should the Selective Service System (draft) be eliminated?	30,072	6,024	20	23,087	77	961	3
13. Should mail order sales of firearms be regulated by Federal law?	30,823	24,820	81	5,042	16	961	3
14. Do you favor Federal regulation of cigarette advertising and labeling to warn smokers of potential health hazards?	32,985	21,972	65	8,905	29	2,108	6
15. Do you favor making the House Committee on Un-American Activities a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee?	30,758	13,783	45	8,401	27	8,574	28
16. Do you favor a 60-day limit on presidential campaigns?	32,249	23,809	74	5,584	17	2,856	9
17. Do you favor Federal standards for grading and labeling of automobile tires, lumber, and other products?	31,104	25,247	82	4,158	13	1,609	5
18. Do you approve creating the Hudson National Scenic Riverway as a means of insuring the future beauty of and public access to the Palisades?	31,425	25,824	82	2,775	9	2,826	9
19. Do you favor an accelerated program of Federal assistance to local-State efforts to curb water and air pollution?	32,466	28,381	87	2,982	9	1,103	4

Education: Investment in Human Capital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, in the last 2 years Congress has made an excellent record in the field of education. But it is unfortunate that the Congress did not take action years ago to make better educational opportunities available to all Americans.

The shape of our society would be far different today had the Congress passed the aid to education legislation proposed by Senator Taft and others nearly two decades ago. The Congress is at last on the right track in facing the Nation's educational problems, and I hope that two decades from now it will be possible for a boy or girl in the Ozarks or Harlem to obtain an education equal to that available to a child in Montgomery or Fairfax Counties.

There has come to my attention an article in the current issue of the Monthly Economic Letter of the First National City Bank of New York which contains a very informative discussion of the capital value of education. This article should be of interest to my colleagues and other readers of the RECORD, and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDUCATION: INVESTMENT IN HUMAN CAPITAL

Education today is in the midst of a great boom. During the past year, some 53 million people—or roughly 28 percent of all Americans—were enrolled in school. Total cash outlays for public and private schools amounted to an estimated $36 billion, up more than tenfold from $3.4 billion in 1940. Nearly 2¼ million persons were employed as teachers, instructors, and professors. It is manifest from such figures that education is one of our greatest industries.

Higher education has been expanding most spectacularly. College enrollments have grown from 1.4 million in 1939–40 to nearly 5 million last year; 2 out of 5 persons of college age (18 to 21 years) were enrolled last year compared with only 1 out of 7 in 1939–40. By the midseventies, enrollments are expected to exceed 8 million, with more than half of all 18-to-21 year olds going to college.

Behind this boom is a growing demand for education. Whereas high school had been a standard of attainment for earlier generations, it is clear that college is now becoming a common goal. Employers have raised their educational standards. Parents know that their children will need more and more schooling to enter and succeed in occupations and professions that offer better incomes and higher status. They not only spur their sons and daughters to greater efforts in school, but work hard to pay their way through college and graduate study.

But is education being overemphasized? Are too many people going to college? At least until the last decade, many economists seemed to think so. In 1949, for example, Prof. Seymour Harris of Harvard warned that the increase in college-trained workers would so flood the job market that "a large proportion of the potential college students within the next 20 years are doomed to disappointment after graduation, as the number of coveted openings will be substantially less than the numbers seeking them."

More recently, however, economists have come up with persuasive evidence that education is not only a good investment for individuals, but is an important key to the Nation's economic growth. They regard investment in education as capital embodied in people—human capital—that is as important as capital embodied in plant and equipment—or nonhuman capital.

HUMAN AND NONHUMAN CAPITAL

That education is an important form of capital is not a new discovery. Economists as far back as the 17th century were well aware of the importance of earning abilities embodied in human skills. In his "Wealth of Nations," Adam Smith explicitly recognized the acquired abilities of people as a form of capital:

"The acquisition of such talents, by the maintenance of the acquirer during his education, study, or apprenticeship always costs a real expense, which is a capital fixed and realized, as it were, in his person. Those talents as they make a part of his fortune, so do they likewise of that of the society to which he belongs."

In the days when slavery and other forms of involuntary servitude were common, scholars apparently had fewer inhibitions about recognizing the capital value of human abilities. In more recent times, even though some economists continued to theorize about human capital, this aspect of economics was generally neglected. With the massive growth of physical capital (plant and equipment, housing, inventories, etc.), together with the availability of voluminous statistics on capital assets and physical production, virtually all economic studies emphasized the role of nonhuman capital.

But this one-sided view has led to some serious errors. Thus, it has been widely assumed that it is the increase in the amount of capital per worker that primarily explains the growth of productivity per worker in advanced economies. This belief has led to the use of simple capital-output ratios in planning for economic development of less-developed countries, in which it was assumed that there was a fixed relationship between the amount of physical capital invested and the increase in output that could be expected. Results of such planning have often been quite disappointing in practice.

On the other hand, a number of recent economic studies, have revealed that investment in human capital—education, on-the-job training, health, etc.—has played a much bigger role in U.S. economic growth than previously realized. Thus, in his study, "The Sources of Economic Growth in the United States," Edward F. Denison calculated that the rising educational level of the labor force (including managerial and technical personnel) was responsible for 23 percent of the growth in real national income between 1929 and 1957. In contrast, the increase in physical capital accounted for only 15 percent, while the general advance of knowledge was seen as contributing 20 percent. Using a different method but with similar results, Prof. Theodore Schultz, of the University of Chicago, has estimated that the yield on our investment in education capital over roughly the same period accounted for about one-fifth of the rise in national output.

Denison's study also indicated that the relative importance of education has been growing. In the previous 20 years, 1909–29, he calculated that increased education of the labor force accounted for 12 percent of economic growth while the buildup of physical capital accounted for 26 percent. The greater appreciation of education as an economic force thus appears to reflect shifts in the underlying facts of economic life.

Such figures point up the fact that a modern economy does not depend simply on installing more and better machinery to attain rising efficiency. Not only are skilled engineers needed to design and install the improved equipment, but more technically trained personnel are required to plan and manage production, to sell and service the product and conduct research for newer and better products. A growing modern economy also requires more and more scientists, teachers, doctors and health specialists, advertising and sales people, computer programers and technicians, and mechanics and maintenance workers of all kinds.

GROWTH IN EDUCATION

Since the turn of the century the amount of education invested in people has grown at a striking rate. By 1960, the average member of the labor force had spent nearly twice as many days in school as his counterpart in 1930. Since 1890, the proportion of youngsters age 14 to 17 in school has risen from 7 percent to 94 percent. The percentage of youths 18 to 21 years of age attended college has climbed from 3 to 42 percent.

While some of this increase in schooling stemmed from the prohibition of child labor, compulsory school attendance laws and the relative decline of agriculture, it primarily reflected the growth of family income. With each succeeding generation, increasing prosperity enabled more and more families to bear the costs of sending their children through high school and in many cases to college. The movement off the farm brought more families into urban communities where educational institutions were readily accessible and greater training was required of those seeking employment.

As parents well know, expanding education costs a lot of money. Since 1900, expenditures for formal education in the United States have risen over 100 times from $284 million to $34 billion in 1963–64. In contrast to the widely fluctuating growth in physical capital formation, cash outlays for education have been climbing faster and more steadily.

While the rise in education spending reflects increased school attendance, it also stems from the sharp climb in outlays per pupil. Over the period 1900 to 1964, when enrollments in public elementary and secondary schools increased about 2½ times, expenditures per pupil rose 40 times. Spending for higher education has grown even more dramatically with the twentyfold increase in enrollments during this century. Expenditures per student have multiplied 8 times from $229 in 1900 to $1,920 in 1964, reflecting the rise in faculty salaries and growing expenditures for research and other activities.

In calculating the investment in education, cash outlays for schooling are not the whole story. No less important are the earning opportunities passed up by students in order to go to school. The earnings foregone are a real cost the student and his family. Professor Schultz has estimated that the percentage of total education costs attributable to earnings foregone by students was 43 percent for high school, 53 percent in college, and 55 percent in postgraduate and professional school.

All told the education capital embodied in people has risen much faster than the stock of physical capital. Professor Schultz has calculated that the stock of education capital in the labor force as of 1957, measured by its total cost, was 8½ times its 1900 level. In contrast, the stock of physical capital, as estimated by Prof Raymond Goldsmith of Yale, had risen only 4½ times since 1900.

And even this estimate of education capital is undoubtedly too low. Changing technology and the increasing degree of specialization require more or less continuous training and retraining, much of it on the job. Prof. Jacob Mincer of Columbia has calcu-

lated that investment in on-the-job training, measured in terms of costs, is as important as formal schooling for the male labor force and equals more than half of expenditures on formal education. It is estimated that the "on-the-job" capital embodied in the male labor force grew at an annual rate of 5.36 percent between 1939 and 1957.

RETURNS ON EDUCATION CAPITAL

Despite recurrent fears that the growing number of high school and college graduates would glut the labor market, the earnings differentials in favor of better-educated workers have been well maintained. From 1940 to 1960, the proportion of men 25 years and older who had completed 1 to 4 years of high school rose from 27 to 40 percent, while men with some college training rose from 10 to 18 percent. Nevertheless, between 1946 and 1958, average incomes of male high school graduates rose much more rapidly than those with only grade school education, as the annual income differential jumped from $600 in 1946 to $1,800 in 1958.

Income statistics indicate that the massive increase in college men has not hurt their relative earnings. In 1939, the average income of college graduates was 57 percent more than that for high school graduates, and in 1956 and 1961, the relative margin was roughly the same. Demand for college-trained people has kept up with the supply. With the advance of science and technology, the growth of specialized occupations in industry and government has absorbed the increased flow of graduates from colleges and universities. Thus, from 1950 to 1964, while the male labor force increased by 11 percent, the number of professional and technical workers doubled.

A summary measure of the financial returns associated with education can be seen in the accompanying chart (not printed in the RECORD). Developed by Herman P. Miller, of the U.S. Bureau of the Census, these figures indicate that additional years of schooling have been closely associated with substantial increases in lifetime incomes over the past generation. Based on Miller's calculations, the average male high school graduate in 1961 could expect to receive one-third more in lifetime earnings than a youngster with only an elementary school education. A man who finishes college could expect to make almost two-thirds more than the average high school graduate.

There are, of course, many factors in addition to education that account for increased earnings. People who finish college tend to have more drive, innate ability, and physical and financial capacity to get through. These qualities all contribute to earning capacity. Even after allowing, for such factors, economists have found that most of the differences in earnings between high school and college graduates remain.

A HIGHLY PROFITABLE INVESTMENT

In his "Poor Richard's Almanack," Benjamin Franklin said, "An investment in knowledge pays the best interest." Though generations of Americans have acted on this belief in getting an education, they have done so without precise knowledge of the likely payoff.

However, in a recent study for the National Bureau of Economic Research entitled "Human Capital," Prof. Gary Becker, of Columbia, made careful estimates of the return on college education. He found that after allowing for the superior abilities of college graduates, the average rate of return in the form of increased earnings came to more than 12 percent. This compares with a little over 7 percent for the average return on total assets in manufacturing. Such high financial returns from advanced education suggest that parents are acting with good foresight in saving or borrowing money to send children to college.

Similarly precise estimates of the return on high school training are lacking because it is much harder to separate the increase in earnings attributable to native abilities from that stemming from high school training. Without such adjustment, Professor Becker's figures show rates of return for high school graduates ranging from 16 to 28 percent for various years.

These calculations indicate that education does indeed "pay the best interest." But aside from the private return to individuals, increased education pays large dividends to society as a whole. As noted earlier, Denison attributes 20 percent of the growth in U.S. national income between 1929 and 1957 to the general advance of knowledge, which is largely a byproduct of educational activities.

EDUCATION AND NATIONAL GOALS

Economic advancement, of course, is not the sole aim of education. As has always been true, the acquisition of knowledge is an end in itself. The greatest return for the student will continue to be the fulfillment of his individual capacity for intellectual and personal development.

Nevertheless, there is a good reason for stressing the economic benefits of increasing education. The goals of the Nation, as well as of its citizens, require full development of our resources. As John W. Gardner, the newly appointed Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, recently pointed out, the demand for educated manpower is a condition of modern life:

"The demand for high-talent manpower is firmly rooted in the level of technological complexity which characterizes modern life, and in the complexity of modern social organization. And more important than either of these is the rate of innovation and change in both technological and social spheres.

"And the importance of education in modern society is not limited to the higher orders of talent. A complex society is dependent every hour of every day upon the capacity of its people to read and write, to make complex judgments and to act in the light of fairly extensive information. When there is not this kind of base on which to build, modern social and economic developments are simply impossible."

The growing importance of human capital does not mean any downgrading of physical capital. Indeed, accumulation of both kinds of capital are inexorably intertwined in economic progress. The welfare of the Nation depends on our increasing investment in both the human capacities of our citizens and the physical capacities of automated facilities and equipment.

From this viewpoint, the sharp increase in young people joining the labor force during the latter sixties may be regarded as a huge addition to the Nation's capital stock. They embody more education per person than ever before. Investment in plant and equipment is also rising rapidly. If we make full use of our growing capital stocks in coming years, the world may well see an authentic great leap forward, American-style.

Los Angeles Riots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the letters column of last evening's Washington Star newspaper provides evidence of the shock with which we all view the riots in Los Angeles. They deserve wide attention and for that reason I am reproducing them here:

LOS ANGELES RIOTS

SIR: Your editorial, "Los Angeles Riots," should be read and reread by every political, church, judicial, business, labor, or other leader. This so-called racial revolution has moved too close to anarchy to be comfortable. Law-abiding and peace-loving citizens, regardless of race, need to rally around the police, who too often play a thankless role in riotous situations. So also do firemen and rescue squads, tokens of our civilization, who find themselves attacked by senseless mobs.

JAMES L. FIESER.

SIR: Sociologists seek the cause of the Los Angeles riots. They need not look very far. While poverty, covert discrimination, and Communist agitation may have a minute bearing, the prime and principal cause, in my estimation, is the condoning of civil disobedience by public officials; i.e., their failure to uphold, and prosecute under the law as now constituted. Laws are made to be obeyed by all of the people, all of the time. Respect for the law is the basis for orderly government.

Their neglect is a direct invitation to insurrection and anarchy.

SIDNEY SILVERMAN.

SIR: Three cheers for your editorial on the Los Angeles riots. If enough of us are sufficiently outraged, perhaps the "powers that be" will search for real reasons for these outbreaks, and not just the convenient, superficial ones of slums, discrimination, and underprivilege. It is long past time to look beyond these and perhaps realize that we've taken the wrong turn in past performance.

We are reaping a whirlwind from the encouragement of marches, sit-ins, ly-ins, etc. (Except when it happens at the White House or the Capitol Grounds.)

Some great society we live in.

ERNESTINE WALKER.

SIR: Are the problems associated with crime and violence in the streets of our cities to be given the same careful and calculated analysis as those facing Americans in Vietnam? Are we to subscribe to the theory that crimes of violence stem solely from economic hardships and nothing more? Are we to give sanction to the theme that past immoralities are an excuse for present-day lawlessness?

Is there nothing to be said for morality anymore? Is it not time for people of all faiths and shades of color look in the mirror of their own consciences? Is it not time for a moral cleansing or is it already too late?

RALPH COHEN.

SIR: Diplomacy begins at home. It is strongly urged that Dr. Martin Luther King switch his peacemaking efforts from Hanoi to Los Angeles or Chicago. The civil rights movement has envolved into what would appear to be a civil strife action. It behooves responsible Negro leaders to shape up their thinking and take a leave of absence from the daily routine of condemning the white man and instead condemn the beneficiaries of their daily efforts.

Anarchy as an expression or in support of civil rights is anarchy. Strict law enforcement is demanded as the only answer. A wild, lawless mob of looting incendiaries is as much of a threat to our security as is the Vietcong. Let no Negro forget that more Americans died over the issue of slavery than in any other American war. There is no more justification for complete disregard of the law and order in the form of riots and property destruction in our large cities than there is for lynching and murders in the South. Both should be swiftly and forcefully repressed.

DANIEL KING.

SYRACUSE, N.Y.

SIR: I was shocked beyond description to read even a superficial account of the atrocities committed by Los Angeles rioters. It is time to treat these terrorists as what they are—robbers and murderers—rather than mere "underprivileged" disturbers of the peace. A mandatory jail sentence for anyone who fails to obey an order given by a police officer would soon establish a healthy respect for the law.

PATRICK SWEENEY.

SILVER SPRING.

SIR: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., has said that what we need, after the present riots have been quelled, is a "massive program to help Negroes."

We have a massive program to help Negroes. What we need, and what it seems to me that Dr. King and other educated members of his race should dedicate themselves to, is a massive program to educate the deprived Negro to an awareness of his responsibilities as well as of his rights.

MARGARET S. CRUMBAUGH.

SIR: Perhaps more than ever before in the history of this great Republic the plight of our depressed people has come to the fore to be at last recognized and dealt with in a positive manner by both Government and individuals. And how are these efforts answered? By slaughter in the streets, by utter disrespect for a legal system that strives to protect all Americans, regardless of race, creed, or social status, equally. Where are the Negro leaders? Martin Luther King has been quick to demand of Congress legislative action in behalf of the Negro. And he has gotten it. He has also warned of open defiance in the streets. Evidently he has gotten that as well. I am not placing the blame for the recent violence in Chicago and Los Angeles upon Dr. King. And yet I must ask, Is he and are other Negro leaders demanding, with equal intensity, of their people—American citizens all—that they act responsibly as Americans who are capable of accepting the responsibilities that accompany citizenship?

WALTER FLIPPIN MAGUIRE.

SOMERSET, KY.

SIR: Sit-downs, sit-ins, lay-downs and riots. Riots. Now who is right: J. Edgar Hoover or Martin King? The best of our youth is being sacrificed to stem communism in faraway places where we are being overrun with the same. Could anyone beyond the status of a moron call these irresponsible people all over the country loyal Americans?

ADELE LOVELACE.

SIR: I wonder if we could have a U.N. peacekeeping force assigned to this country, since it appears that our Government is unwilling or unable to maintain law and order. Conditions here seem to be identical to those in the Congo when it was thought necessary to send troops.

D. Z. SAUNDERS.

EASTON, MD.

Vietnam and Our Highway Slaughter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the editor of a small Indiana newspaper, the Berne, Ind., Witness, in an editorial appearing in the issue of August 4 made a striking comparison, when he said:

We should like to point out that Indiana is losing more people on the State's highways than we are losing in Vietnam.

In fact, he pointed out that Indiana is losing more people in highway accidents in a week than the entire country loses in Vietnam in a week.

This is certainly a sobering thought. We are rightly concerned day after day with headlines from Vietnam, with the losses we incur there. But what happens on our highways is accepted casually. It is not news. A dramatic crash may occasionally rate a picture in the local paper, but while traffic fatalities in the area may be noted they are not usually front-page news—and we rarely read in the papers of one area about the traffic toll in another, except perhaps for statistics.

I am happy that the message of our need for traffic safety, which I have tried to improve by several bills now before the Congress, is being preached by Simon Schwartz in Berne, Ind. Other editors, and other citizens, are becoming aroused. We need their support if we are to secure the kind of reforms in highways, automobiles, tire safety, and all that relates to saving lives through more effective legislation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial to which I referred may appear in the Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VIETNAM AND OUR HIGHWAY SLAUGHTER

What connection does the war in Vietnam have with the slaughter of people on Indiana highways?

None.

But we would like to point out that Indiana is losing more people on the State's highways than we are losing in Vietnam. In fact, if the list of Vietnam casualties released by our Government is accurate, Indiana is losing more people in highway slaughter in a week than the entire country is losing in Vietnam during the same period of time.

In war, and we are at war in Vietnam, though on a limited scale, we expect to have casualties. We sympathize with those who lose loved ones in the Vietnam fighting and are sorry for every young man who is sent to that place. But at least we are fighting to preserve democracy and to contain, if not eliminate, communism.

But our highway slaughter is so unnecessary. Think of it—Indiana lost 27 persons in highway accidents last weekend—in 48 hours. This was the worst Indiana highway weekend in history. And several more may die who were injured in weekend wrecks.

It is about time we become alarmed at our staggering highway death rate. Senator HARTKE, of Indiana, lamented the Hoosier death toll in a Senate speech and Federal and State officials are moving to slow down the State's and Nation's highway slaughter.

First of all, we need better roads, wider roads, and one-way roads. But this alone is not enough. Many of our wrecks are caused by crossing the center line, ignoring stop lights and signs, and just plain speeding, reckless driving, and carelessness. State police are embarking on a new program of marking scenes of traffic fatalities with white crosses. The U.S. House of Representatives approved legislation to require that every State have a traffic safety program by 1968 or lose road-building money. A special meeting of Indiana officials was held Tuesday to draw up additional safety measures.

Let's put forth every effort to prevent killing so many of our citizens. Last weekend's record is not only a disgrace locally, but nationally and internationally.

A person killed in a highway accident is just as dead as the brave young man who dies in Vietnam in the protection of our many freedoms.

Bigger Cabinet Ahead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD two editorials that I think will be of interest to my colleagues:

[From the Evening Star, Aug. 13, 1965]

BIGGER CABINET AHEAD

Senate approval of the proposed Department of Housing and Urban Development has opened the way for the first new Cabinet-level department since 1953.

The legislation already has cleared the House, which defeated the measure back in 1962 after President Kennedy said he planned to appoint a Negro as the department's first head. President Johnson has shown a good deal more skill and tact (including changing the name of the suggested department) and has avoided any such advance announcement.

While no one with a sense of history can be entirely happy with the prospect of yet another Federal agency, the proposed new department would pull together some widely disparate operations. There is a lack of central control and coordination of such metropolitan problems as mass transportation, urban renewal, public housing, and city planning. By combining existing agencies under one roof, the department should, it would seem, provide more clarity and a much better sense of direction.

The public, which itself is substantially urban, apparently favored the new department before Congress killed the idea 3 years ago. At that time one poll showed 63 percent were for it.

According to the administration's projections, urban population will increase from 135 million at present to double that figure by the end of the century.

Yet municipalities already have shown that they are burdened and unable to cope with the bewildering complexity of problems of the mid-20th century. Between 1954 and 1963 per capita municipal tax revenues increased by 43 percent but local government indebtedness swelled by 119 percent.

The eroding tax base of America's cities, and their mounting welfare and traffic and Government costs, do not hold promise of a solution without Federal help. A new department of Cabinet rank suggests that Washington at last recognizes the magnitude of the problem.

[From the Daily Times, Aug. 11, 1965]

GUARANTEEING A GUARANTEE

President Johnson's signature on the voting rights bill has thrown the full weight of Federal power behind the most significant of all civil rights.

The bill was authorized by article 1 of the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States to enforce implementation of article 1.

That authority has existed for 95 years.

It is regrettable that it has taken this long to guarantee what was supposed to have

been a guarantee back in 1870 against abridgment of a citizen's right to vote.

Even more regrettable is the fact that congressional action was required.

Mere enactment of the voting rights bill will not of itself subdue the extreme racism that has barred the southern Negro from the polling booth.

It will, however, suspend the use of trumped-up literacy tests which have provided an excuse throughout the South for depriving Negroes of having a voice in the government that rules them.

It will back up that right, if necessary, with Federal supervision of voter registration.

And it will bring a court test on the constitutionality of poll taxes which remain in effect in State and local elections in Alabama, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia.

The key article in the 15th amendment says:

"The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Race and color have been the issues in abridgment of voting rights. Previous condition of servitude is no longer applicable, except as southern Negroes have been bound by the chains of bigotry.

There is irony, however, in the fact President Johnson signed the bill exactly 104 years after Abraham Lincoln signed the bill giving slaves their freedom.

Even more ironic is the fact that a century after the Civil War it was left to the Nation's first southern President to act decisively on voting rights for all citizens, including Negroes.

Pony Express Mail Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I would like to point out that I am not the only American calling for an improved mail service. I have received letters from thousands of postal patrons, not to mention the many news editorials that have been written about the present poor postal service.

One such editorial recently appeared in the Farmer-Labor Press, published in Council Bluffs, Iowa, and I call it to the attention of my colleagues.

THE MAIL MUST GO THROUGH

From the time of the pony express, the mail service has been a top priority in Government and the most needed Government service. It held the highest respect from the citizens of the United States, but we don't believe this is true today and the fault lies in the service being rendered.

Parcel post has been the downfall of mail service. Breakable material is almost impossible to mail if it is expected to be received at its destination undamaged. It could be that this service needs to be turned over to private firms. There are a number of firms dealing in parcel delivery and are expanding.

The postal department wants zip codes, saying this will increase service, but it seems to cause more confusion than anything else. Spending money to cause unemployment and then spending more money to train men without a guarantee of a job doesn't help too much. Let's hire more postal employees and get the mail delivered! This would help the unemployment picture and take some of the postal work now being done by businesses who are trying to do something for the unemployed.

Getting that dollar circulating is the only answer for economic progress.

Our Proven Friends—Vietnam and the Republic of China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, in the light of events during recent months in the Far East and specifically that in Vietnam, it is quite clear that the administration has taken the only effective measures to stem the tide of Chinese Communist imperialism in southeast Asia through its friends, the Vietcong.

I commend the President for taking such firm and speedy action to prevent the further spread of the hazard of a conflagration which would inevitably lead to nuclear holocausts of world dimension. I only wish that the consensus of crystalized thinking of responsible people, such as it exists today throughout the Nation, had materialized even earlier so that it could have enabled the President to take tangibly effective action before now.

Such being the situation at hand, it is only logical that we should make use of every and all efforts within that region to defeat the aim and purpose of the Chinese Communists. Toward this end we should help formulate and galvanize all the anti-Communist forces in the peripheral areas in southeast Asia. In so doing, we must bear in mind not only that every anti-Communist country and people should be encouraged to exert their power to maximal efficiency but also that certain peoples who can be in the van of the fray and bear the brunt of the responsibility, be assigned such responsibility.

Aside from the brave South Vietnamese who are doing their share of the fighting, we must also consult with the Republic of China whose indomitable President, Chiang Kai-shek, has stood undaunted against the once greatly vaunted and roaring tide of communism. The 600,000 effectives in its armed forces together with another 600,000 active reservists—and I say active reservists in contrast to reservists that could be mobilized quickly and efficiently to counter any threat when and if they are needed—will be an invaluable asset in the defeating of Chinese Communist aggrandizement.

The Republic of China and its excellent armed forces have served for many years as a counterpoise as well as the deterrent to the expansionist Chinese Communist's grand design. With the activation and stepping up by the Chinese Communists of their aggressive aims, the Republic of China and the Republic of Korea as well as the Philippines should be asked to make their contribution to their Asia to which we Americans have already contributed unhesitatingly and without stint in order to maintain freedom. I am fully cognizant that we the United States are doing it not only to uphold freedom in the world, but also to assure our own survival as a free nation. The fact remains that the mantle of leadership has fallen upon us not through our seeking but through force of events and circumstance. I am sure, in this all important task to which posterity and history will be the implacable judge, we will give a good and just account of our stewardship and acquit our task with nobility and firmness.

Los Angeles Riots: Personal Responsibility Ignored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding Washington newspaper correspondents is William S. White, and his column carried yesterday in the Washington Post is a splendid statement of fact. I commend it to the Members of the Congress for careful consideration:

LOS ANGELES RIOTS: PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY IGNORED

(By William S. White)

The bloody horror at Los Angeles has produced the predictable outcries from the apologists for any and every Negro crime of violence. It all must be blamed not upon those who committed it but rather upon poor housing, unemployment, inadequate civil rights, or simply something vaguely called sociological unhappiness.

This explanation wholly rejects a thing called personal responsibility. Thus looting and arson and murder and savage contempt for the elementary obligation not to destroy the lives and property of others are excused because those who have done these things felt unhappy and ill-treated by life.

That deprivations are contributory to crime is, of course, true. That such deprivations among the American Negro community (and among the poorer and more forgotten whites as well) should be and must be—and are being—corrected is also true. But to argue, as many are doing, that personal deprivation can and should be put in evidence as any kind of justification for homicidal mania is to argue the most appalling and destructive of nonsense.

The Hitler Germans, for one illustration, were undeniably ill housed, ill employed and full of what is now fashionably called the disease of hopelessness. And many of the same kinds of minds that are now weeping, not for the victims in Los Angeles but rather for the Negro rioters, were shedding similar and sirupy tears for the poor Germans three decades ago.

All this then immensely armed the Hitlerites, as all this now immensely arms the lawless in this country. Indeed, the development of a climate that condones murder and rapine for sociological reasons is more dreadful to contemplate even than the passing physical and human shambles in the Negro area of Los Angeles.

For this arms all the enemies of this Nation abroad and adds venom to the slander of American purposes abroad, as in Vietnam. No less, ironically, it slanders the American Negro at home. For the bottom meaning of the dreary song being sung by the apologists for Negro violence is unescapably what? It is that the Negro is not to be held blameworthy because he is irresponsible—the same Negro for whom the most far-reaching voting rights bill in history has just been passed because he was ready for this highest responsibility in a democratic society.

With many Americans, the apologists will have their way; they always do. But it is interesting to note that among one important set of Americans—the American politicians—the song is not going down so well anymore.

All over this country urban-based politicians, many of whom have made a career of agitating for the most extreme of Negro demands, so long as only the South was the field of battle, are having some urgent second thoughts. It is not possible any more to point the finger at Montgomery or Little Rock or some such place.

The politicians are at last getting the message that the vast majority in this Nation, north no less than south, Negro and white, are tired of violence and destruction even in the name of civil rights reforms which rightly they support.

Not anywhere hereafter is there going to be so much profit in a politics of egging on criminal destructiveness for the alleged purpose of promoting fair play.

Of course, irremediable harm will have been done—harm to this Nation's honor abroad, to what seems to be a dying tradition of some civility in public affairs and public issues, to the old dream of a society based upon a belief that rights march only with duty and that privilege is limited by some obligation.

But even from the thorns perhaps a small gain may at last be plucked. Perhaps the automatic cry of police brutality will one day cease, if and when the bodies of underpaid policemen killed in line of duty are photographed along with all the pictures of police billies descending upon automatically innocent heads.

"The Memory of Her Works of Mercy Will Remain With Us Forever"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, with one Federal-aid program after another, foreign and domestic alike, so prominent in the Nation's headlines, it is refreshing and reassuring to read of instances of efforts being made by private citizens and groups to help less fortunate peoples, wherever they may be.

The Washington Evening Star on July 23, 1965, tells of such an instance, and it is one of which I am especially proud since the individual involved in a great, selfless, humanitarian work, Miss Genevieve Zandala, has roots in my congressional district and her work is supported by the Green Bay Catholic Diocese located in my district.

The Star account necessarily can tell only a small part of the story, but I feel it is one which Members of the House will appreciate.

The article follows:

U.S. NURSE EAGER TO PUT IN LONG HOURS FOR $60 A MONTH

The shortage of nurses in Latin America will draw a dedicated woman back there soon for another 2 years as a lay missionary.

Genevieve Zandala learned Spanish in 4 months before she went on to assignments in Mexico and Chile as a clinic and visiting nurse under the Papal volunteers program.

Now she's back at Catholic University taking a 7 weeks theology and philosophy course before returning on a new 3-year assignment.

"When you see so few nurses in the villages—no one to teach simple first aid and hygiene—you can see how great their need is," she said.

Whether she is reassigned to clinical work in underprivileged areas or to an opening on the teaching staff of a university school of nursing in Peru, makes no difference to Miss Zandala.

She worked in neighborhood clinics with cooperation from local nurses, supplies from local women's groups, and a once a week visit from a doctor—aside from emergencies. The clinics were inspected by the national health service.

Her $60 a month salary was higher than the average, due to a higher cost of living in her areas.

The salary is paid by her own diocese in Green Bay, Wis. Her room and board is supplied by the diocese in the area of her assignment.

Miss Zandala worked in St. Joseph's Hospital in Chicago and at Holy Family Hospital in Manitowoc, Wis. before enlisting as a Papal volunteer. She is 40. The program accepts volunteers from 21 to 45.

Almost 80 are attending the courses here, while another 375 are "in the field" in Latin America.

The group, established in 1960, sends volunteers to Brazil, Jamaica and British Honduras.—ANN WOOD.

And I think a testimonial to Miss Zandala, written by a parish priest in Mexico in thanks for her services, most eloquently tells the story. It is not an epitaph but a living praise of a young, active woman still working in her quiet, unassuming way. The priest wrote:

The good which she accomplished among our people was very great, and her memory along with the memory of the works of mercy which she carried out will remain with us forever.

The Real Alabama—Part XLVIII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the state of our economy in Alabama is good. One measure of the State's economic health is shown in the following article regarding revenue collections:

REVENUE COLLECTIONS RISE TO SHOW ALABAMA'S GROWTH

If revenue collections are a yardstick of the economic health and industrial progress of a State, Alabama appears to be in robust health.

As an indication of current business activity, collections of sales tax (including the companion use tax) compared with the same period last year increased by 10.5 percent. For the same period, gasoline tax collections have grown by 5.5 percent and tobacco tax collections have grown by 6.5 percent. Other consumer taxes show more or less the same basic growth patterns. This growth gives every indication that it will continue.

Overall collections made by the department of revenue show increases for corresponding periods, this year over last, 12 percent; this year over 1963, 32 percent; and this year over 1962, 40 percent.

The use tax has grown this year over last by 21.6 percent. This tax is primarily paid by commercial and industrial buyers who make purchases outside Alabama. From this it appears that these classes of businesses are existing establishments and are being joined by new units of commerce and industry.

The phenomenal increase in income tax collections more than any other indicator points to increased employment and profits from expansion and growth of commerce and industry in our State. Income taxes collected this year are larger than collections made last year by 25 percent. A good part of this increase is coming from some 60,000 to 75,000 individual taxpayers who are paying income taxes for the first time this year. This increase in numbers comes about because of better enforcement coverage and better job and business opportunities.

Overall tax collections on a fiscal year basis are, for the year ending September 30, 1963, $277.6 million; for the year ending September 30, 1964, $332.1 million; and for the year ending September 30, 1965, as estimated $338.8 million. Some $27 million of the increase for 1964 over 1963 is accounted for by an increase in the sales tax rate. Otherwise, these increases are primarily the result of more efficient tax administration, increased business opportunities, and industrial expansion.

L.B.J.'s Talent Scout Needs a Computer and a 15-Hour Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES P. FARNSLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. FARNSLEY. Mr. Speaker, at the same time that President Johnson through his Great Society has called for renewed dedication to quality in American private life, he has demanded excellence in public service as well.

The kind of man he has chosen to conduct his talent search and the techniques he uses graphically demonstrate the President's awareness that his appointees are an index to the caliber of his administration. That the President is determined to find the best man for each job is clear from this AP story on the talent scout, John Macy, which appeared in the Louisville Courier-Journal of August 15. With unanimous consent I place it in the RECORD at this point.

[From the Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky., Aug. 15, 1965]

L.B.J.'S TALENT SCOUT NEEDS A COMPUTER AND A 15-HOUR DAY

(By Frances Lewine)

WASHINGTON.—Whoever scouted the President's talent scout—John W. Macy, Jr.—found a man with a special skill for finding others.

"Between Macy, President Johnson and Vice President HUMPHREY, they know everyone of any consequence all over the country," an aid says.

Macy, with the help of a computer and "a network of contacts," tries to keep L.B.J. supplied with just right candidates for presidential posts.

He draws on computer punchcard records of over 20,000 prospective nominees and sources across the country in industries, labor unions, and private organizations.

A very personable personnel man, Macy works doggedly 14 to 15 hours a day, with as much zest as the President, at his dual job as Chairman of the Civil Service Commission and as Johnson's talent scout.

Macy says the talent scouting is just a natural extension of his role as head of the CSC and its 2.5 million Government employees. And he spends about a third of his time at it.

TO HIM IT'S RECREATION

All in all, Macy finds his job so stimulating "I can't imagine a recreation I'd enjoy more."

A dossier on Macy, like the ones he supplies daily to the President, might go like this:

A Democrat, with over 20 years' experience in Government personnel, from post office to Pentagon.

Handsome, youthful (48), tall (6 feet 1 inch), prematurely gray hair (crewcut), full of vitality. Described by those who know him as "sharp as a tack" and with a "memory like his computer."

Extremely well liked, an expert public speaker (on or off the cuff), married (1944), four children (age 3 to 13). Episcopalian, he finds time to attend a weekly religious class; devoted tennis player; expert on baseball (but he's lucky if he gets to one ball game a year now).

His wife (the former Joyce Hagen, of Rochester, N.Y.), a Smith College graduate who met him while working as a wartime research analyst for Army Intelligence, says: "John can't waste a minute. He's never doing nothing."

Those who deal with Macy might keep in mind her insider's tip: "When he's mad—he just doesn't talk."

Commuting between his fifth-floor office suite in the new Civil Service Building to the executive offices near the White House, Macy uses a Government car. He'd like to walk the few blocks, but it takes too long.

MANY JOBS OPEN

Macy's main goal these days is to get caught up with the seemingly endless number of job vacancies for Presidential appointees.

Every week, Macy pulls from an electronic computer the scorecard for L.B.J. on appointments and vacancies. By mid-July, Johnson had named 320 men and women to top-salaried jobs in his administration. But almost every day, a new high-level post become vacant.

To help fill these key spots, Macy sends daily memos to the President, usually half a dozen names or more for each.

He says Johnson, keenly aware that his appointees reflect the caliber of his administration, takes care and devotes much time to them.

The President reviews Macy's memos in his night reading, acts on them with remarkable speed, "usually coming back the next day with his appraisal," Macy notes. Sometimes the President rejects the whole batch; asks for more suggestions; seeks advice from Cabinet, close friends. He frequently calls for personal interviews and full FBI reports. He has read some FBI reports that run 100 pages.

Looking for a new Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, where the boss needs plenty of managerial skill, Johnson read a book which detailed the role of Vice Adm. William F. Raborn in developing the Navy's Polaris missile system.

It came as a surprise, like so many of his recent appointments, when Johnson called Admiral Raborn out of retirement to head the CIA.

NO "CONDITIONS" SET

Macy says "politics as usual" is not a consideration in finding the best men. The search is taken without preconditions, Macy says, adding that the approach in each case must be different as the jobs differ.

Macy and his helpers prepare a profile of each job and the requirements for it before they begin the search for who can best fill those requirements.

Macy has work in civil-service executive posts under three Presidents—Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson—pushing for better pay so the Government can compete with private industry for the Nation's best talent.

He says Johnson, with 34 years' experience, "characterizes himself as a career man in Government" and more than his two predecessors tries to elevate men and women from the ranks of Federal service.

Macy says he is often told that some prospect "would be great but you'll never get him."

"I don't let that deter me," he adds.

He finds most turndowns come for financial reasons, because key men in private enterprise often can't afford to take the pay cut a Government post might entail. Macy has been using appointments to advisory groups and committees to get the services of experts, hoping they'll catch Potomac fever and accept a full-time Washington job later.

AN AMBITION REALIZED

Macy himself is a shining example of a Government career success story. He says his job now "is fulfillment of my aspirations of 20 years ago" and he gets the greatest fun out of the close, informal association with the President of the United States and "being directly involved with the formulation of personnel policies for the Government."

One Sunday, taking his wife and children to church, Macy heard someone calling him as he drove on a downtown street. It turned out to be the President, in his limousine nearby, impulsively asking his talent scout to come around to the White House for lunch.

"The children were amazed," Macy recalls.

In 1958, Macy, then Executive Director of the Civil Service Commission, decided to take a breather from 20 years of Government life, which had included administrative-personnel work in the Social Security Bureau, at Los Alamos with the Atomic Energy Commission, and in the War Department. He says he found the Eisenhower administration not quite so receptive to his ideas for higher civil service salaries, greater flexibility in the examining process, and recognition of employee unions.

He had gone back as executive vice president to his alma mater, Wesleyan University (class of 1938) in Middletown, Conn., where he had majored in government and won a Phi Beta Kappa key.

KENNEDY NAMED HIM

He really didn't like the slow pace of college life, and eagerly accepted when newly elected President John F. Kennedy, looking for a career man for the job, called Macy back in 1961 to head the CSC. Macy thought his friend and neighbor Ted Sorenson, a Presidential adviser, had suggested him, but found that six others had brought his name to Kennedy.

L.B.J. stopped Macy at a cocktail party to tell him to come in and talk about the role of talent scout. He gave Macy that job right after the 1964 election because he wanted advice from someone with professional background who knew Federal Government and the civil service.

Macy admires Johnson from working with him on the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity, set up by Kennedy in 1961 to halt racial discrimination in Federal hiring. It made progress, Macy says, "largely because of his (Johnson's) strong commitment to it."

Macy also shares Johnson's desire to boost women in government from their joint efforts on the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women under Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

"Every day he (L.B.J.) says 'Let's find some feminine candidates,'" Macy says.

But Macy has his troubles coming up with them. His 20,000 punchcard dossiers include about one-fourth women. But when the cards are run through the computer to match qualifications and experience with a profile of the job to be filled, Macy reports the women fall far short most often on public service experience.

New Voters in the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, two recent editorials concerning the implementation of the Voting Rights Act are examples of the awareness of the American press to one essential aspect of the civil rights struggle. These commentaries, one from the Philadelphia Inquirer and one from the Baltimore News American, very pointedly refer to the great need for the legislation and the necessity of its observance.

I wish to commend these two newspapers in particular and the Nation's press in general for the overwhelming support they have given to the administration and the Congress at all stages of the process of bringing this act into being.

I am personally impressed with the response of Negroes all over the South to the Voting Rights Act. Their swamping of registration facilities is ample evidence that those who regard them as uninterested or unready are, as some of us have always known, dead wrong. Now that the Nation has faced up to that problem squarely, it is to be hoped and expected that our country will not hesitate or procrastinate in meeting the other needs of the Negro citizens of the United States of America.

Again, it is appropriate to recognize the significant contributions of the American press in supporting all of the Negro's demands for equality and justice. I am, therefore, pleased to submit these two excellent specimens for printing in the RECORD:

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer, Aug. 12, 1965]

NEW VOTERS IN THE SOUTH

Prompt and enthusiastic response of Negroes in the South to new opportunities opened for them by the Voting Rights Act is dramatic evidence that the great need for this historic legislation was not just a figment of imagination.

Federal registrars in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana had no trouble keeping busy when they opened their offices for business. Eager applicants were lined up. On the first day alone, the number of Negroes registered to vote was increased by about 65 percent in counties where Federal registrars were assigned.

Southern whites who opposed the Voting Rights Act had argued that all Negroes wanting to register could easily do so but many of them, it was said, had no interest in registering. This myth has been exploded. The heavy turnout of Negroes at the offices of Federal registrars is all the more impressive when it is considered that the risk of economic reprisals by white employers or landlords is a real hazard and there is always danger of physical harm from hard-core white supremacists.

Moves by Southern States to challenge the constitutionality of the Voting Rights Act in the courts have come as no surprise. We hope the suits filed, and the questions raised, are disposed of quickly so that racial bias in voter registration can be ended promptly and completely, with no lingering doubts about legality of procedure.

Acceptance of equal rights of American citizens to vote, without racial discrimination, ought to be a matter of official public policy in the South, as elsewhere. It is a time for courageous and enlightened southern leadership to break away from the chains of the past and to stand up and be counted on the side of justice for all.

Negro voters, duly registered and ready to exercise their duties of citizenship on election day, are to become a permanent political fact of life throughout the South. Forward-looking southerners in public life had best adjust their attitudes accordingly.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) News American, Aug. 10, 1965]

FREEDOM WINS

The Negro's right to vote, long frustrated in southern areas despite its constitutional guarantee, now is reality. The voting rights bill, signed by President Johnson in a dramatic environment and in an emotion-charged atmosphere, is law.

That this law will be enforced, and not left to presumption, was evident in the President's decisiveness of tone and manner. The Government moves at once into the courts against the poll tax that has barred many Negroes in several States. Immediate, too, will be Federal registration of Negroes whose color of skin has closed the polls to them. Diehards may struggle still. But the inevitable has been made plain.

It is a "monumental" law and a "triumph of freedom," emphatically establishing that "there is no room for injustice in the American mansion."

The franchise, of itself, is meaningless unless it is exercised. Here, as indicted by the President, is a field of opportunity for the leadership that has won so much in its relentless program of protests and demonstrations.

Enchained since the first of his race was brought forcibly to these shores in colonial days, the American Negro now no longer is shackled—insofar as the ballot is concerned. But there remains the struggle for equal opportunity and this is the great area of improvement to be realized if democracy is to do its duty to its professions.

President Johnson went to the Capitol to sign this bill. So did President Lincoln, 104 years before, to the day, to declare the freedom of Negroes pressed into service by the Confederacy. Mr. Lincoln's statute, looking upon Mr. Johnson as the latter spoke, may not have heard. But his spirit surely did.

L.B.J.'s Do-Everything Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, the record written by this session of the 89th Congress has indeed been remarkable. News stories and citizens in every part of the Nation are continually commenting about the forward looking, responsible legislation which the Congress has already passed and which we will continue to pass before adjourning.

Never before has there been such remarkable teamwork between the President and the executive branch in the Congress. President Johnson has proposed legislation which will significantly strengthen the economic and social aspects of the United States for the present time and for years to come. Several of our Nation's editors have commented on the record written by this Congress.

The Christian Science Monitor of August 14 said:

In what at times has seemed more like a stampede than a mere drive, this Congress has climbed more hills, crossed more streams, and spread out over more acres of legislative land than almost any session in Congress' 176 years of existence. Not even the famous 73d Congress of Franklin D. Roosevelt's first year in office actually traveled much farther down new legislative trails.

The Long Island Newsday of August 14 printed a story by Don Smith in which he said:

What insures the 89th Congress' place in history is not only the speed with which it is enacting the Johnson program but also the programs themselves.

At this point I include in the RECORD the entire story by Mr. Smith:

[From the Long Island Newsday, Aug. 14, 1965]

L.B.J.'S DO-EVERYTHING CONGRESS

(By Don Smith)

WASHINGTON.—"Whatever Lyndon wants, Lyndon gets," said the Republican Congressman as he reviewed the legislative history to date of the 89th Congress.

"I can't think of any President who got more out of a Congress," he continued. "You hear comparisons to Franklin D. Roosevelt's 100 days but that's not a fair comparison. When you realize the number of bills, and I mean major bills, that were proposals on January 3 and are now law, it's just fantastic."

And "fantastic" may be the word historians will use for the 89th Congress which, still in its first session, has already sent to President Johnson's desk 10 major Great Society programs.

The legislative output reads like a history textbook's wrap-up of 10 or 20 legislative years. Medicare, Federal-aid-to-education, voting rights, excise tax cuts, Appalachian aid, the poverty war, housing and urban renewal aid and creation of a Cabinet-level department of housing and urban affairs, and presidential succession have already whisked through Capitol Hill, and most observers feel Johnson won't let Congress go home until the immigration, repeal of so-called right-to-work laws and a conference foreign aid bill are on his desk. Mused one Democrat: "Lyndon is a tidy man. He doesn't let things pile up on his desk and won't let us either."

WHY JOHNSON HAS DONE SO WELL

The reasons for Johnson's success with Congress vary. His long years and skill as Senate majority leader are cited by some. An effective White House liaison team headed by Kennedy holdover Larry O'Brien is noted. Republican support for some programs is also frequently mentioned.

But while each of these factors contributes, in the end the success is based on one hard political fact: the numbers game. There are 293 Democrats in the House and 68 Democratic Senators in the Senate. With odds like that no administration proposal has really come close to defeat. The Democratic majority in both Houses coupled with Johnson's landslide November election victory and his reading of that election as a clear-cut mandate for the Great Society he envisions, is why legislation rolls through Congress as quickly as it does. And the record of the 89th has many wondering aloud what Johnson might have up his sleeve for the second session.

"There seems little left to do at this point," said one Republican Senator. "We seem to have covered every domestic need anyone could mention."

Senate Majority Leader Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, Democrat, of Montana, feels that the 2d session of the 89th will be a "breather" where Congress can pay full attention to appropriation bills. "I think next year," MANSFIELD said, "we can spend time rounding off and polishing the legislation enacted this year. We can devote time to oversight matters, checking on how the poverty program is working, how aid to Appalachia is progressing."

One high administration official said the outlook for next year "will focus heavily on education, urban problems, and rapid transit." Said the official: "We've really just scratched the surface in those areas and there is a lot of broadening we can do." He stressed, however, that at this point there were no specific proposals being readied but that "those areas are being carefully studied by task forces."

What insures the 89th Congress' place in history is not only the speed with which it has acted on Johnson's program but also the programs themselves.

Medicare and a broadening of social security benefits was first proposed by former President Harry Truman. The proposal was solidily bottled up by the conservative Republicans and the effective lobbying by powerful American Medical Association—AMA. When President Kennedy went to the White House in 1960, one of the cornerstones of the New Frontier was medicare. But the program bogged down in the House Ways and Means Committee where its chairman, Representative WILBUR MILLS, Democrat, of Arkansas, solidly rebuffed any attempt to use social security funds to finance health care.

Yet the Johnson administration, tying medicare to a voluntary insurance program and guaranteeing that there would be no drain of existing social security funds, won MILLS over and the bill sped to easy House and later Senate approval.

Federal aid to education had long been a problem for White House occupants because of the powerful opposition to proposals that would permit public funds to be used to support parochial or religious schools. The administration proposal, which won quick approval, managed to avoid the quicksand of religious controversy. Said one official: "The bill we got through proves beyond a doubt that most people believe there is a direct Federal responsibility to aid education. And there will be a lot more done in that area in the future. The President himself has set

the goal there when he stated that every American citizen must be afforded a full education."

The $7.5 billion housing and urban renewal law, signed this week by Johnson, which provides for low-income rent subsidies, and Senate approval of the House-passed bill creating a Cabinet post for housing and urban affairs, is an indication that the administration will push more deeply into these areas.

One official said "We're just beginning to get involved with problems like air pollution, water pollution, housing, planning, recreation needs. All those are wide avenues for exploration."

One of the most widely hailed Johnson triumphs is the Voting Rights Act of 1965. As a natural follow-on to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 the voting rights law insures that Negroes in the South will become registered voters. A White House official, asked if there was any plans for civil rights legislation next year, asked in turn: "Have you got any ideas? We feel the voting bill has just about taken care of problems in that area." There are, however, those in Washington who feel the next thrust of civil rights leaders will be to open up job opportunities for Negroes and a string of proposals designed to prevent police brutality in the South by toughening Federal laws.

Johnson's war on poverty and the Appalachian program to bring specific aid to residents of the 11-State Appalachian region was one of the first administration bills passed this session. There is a growing feeling on the Hill that the immigration bill, which would abolish the national origins quotas system and permit many more immigrants to enter the country, will become law before Congress packs up and heads home.

The same fate seems to be in store for the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law which permits States to enact so-called right-to-work laws barring compulsory union membership by management-labor agreement. Already safely passed in both houses are the presidential succession amendment, the major revision of excise taxes, and a host of minor bills.

"I can't think," one Congressman said, "of any administration proposal that hasn't been supported and is either law or well on its way to being law at this point. The way these things (bills) have come along just staggers you when you stop and think how much has been done."

"WE'VE BEEN PRETTY LUCKY"

MANSFIELD merely says: "Well, we've been pretty lucky so far. We have had a lot of cooperation among the Democrats and we have had good cooperation from the Republicans. I think this Congress has a respectable record, one which both parties can be proud of and can take home and talk about. This has been really a nonpartisan Congress so far. I'm pretty happy with what we've accomplished."

And so obviously is President Johnson who no doubt would be pleased to hear one Washington wag's updating of President Truman's famous characterization of the Republican-controlled 80th Congress as the "do-nothing 80th Congress." The 1965 version is Johnson's "do-everything 89th Congress."

Smog of Smut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, as I have often pointed out, it is becoming increasingly difficult to combat the expanding flow of smut which has become a multimillion-dollar business in this country. Earlier this year, this body took steps to deal with this problem by endorsing by an overwhelming majority H.R. 980, the bill I sponsored to stop this flow of unsolicited obscenity through the mails. This bill is awaiting action in the Senate; it is my hope that favorable action will be forthcoming soon from that body as well. In connection with this matter I call the attention of my colleagues to the following article written by Dr. Robert I. Kahn, Rabbi, Temple Emanuel, Houston, Tex.:

[From the Church Chronicle, Mar. 27, 1965]

LESSONS FOR LIFE: RABBI SAYS SMOG OF SMUT, IF UNCHECKED, CAN DESTROY

(By Dr. Robert I. Kahn)

The time has come for a cry of outrage at the smog of smut which is covering our land.

I have just finished reading a best-selling paperback novel which is nothing but hard core pornography. Not only would I not want my children to read it, I would not want my parents to read it, nor my wife, nor my brother.

I do not even think such smut should be available to me.

How any legitimate publisher could print it, or any self-respecting bookshop sell it passes my understanding.

CLUMSY COVERUP

The authors pretend it is a satire, and the critics, or some of them, go along with the pose. This is supposed to justify it, to lift it from the level of smut to "literature."

But it fails. It is funny, but funny like a strip teaser who giggles while she strips, or like a very, very dirty joke. There is no excuse for it; it is pornography, and claiming it to be satire does not make it anything else.

"What harm can it do?" I was asked when expressing my outrage.

ONLY CAUSE

I do not know what harm this one book can do or will do. I do know that it cannot possibly do anyone any good at all.

And, as part of a growing flood of pornographic literature, I feel sure it will do harm. There are too many books and magazines which are obsessed with nudity, obsessed with sex, obsessed with perversion, obsessed with the naked pursuit of irresponsible pleasure.

It is like smog. The exhaust from one automobile is hardly noticeable, but the exhaust from a thousand blankets cities in dirty fumes. It is like cigarettes. Not everyone who smokes gets lung cancer, but smoking does do damage.

HAVEN IN UNITED STATES

I asked a bookseller why he even carried it in stock. "People buy it," he replied. "It's a bestseller," It is hypocrisy to suggest that it is not the producers and the distributors who are at fault but the consumer. Our society may be a little sick on the subject of sex, but this does not make it right to feed the sickness nor add to it. Opium would be a bestseller, too, on the open market.

We are going to have to find some way to protect ourselves from such smut. And soon, because the original publisher of this and a lot of other openly circulating pornography, who is no longer permitted to operate in France (imagine, not even the home of the Folies Bergère can accept his values) is on his way to Manhattan because he believes that "it will only take 5 or 10 years for censorship to disappear completely in America."

Censorship is an ugly word these days; high-sounding ideals like "moral and artistic freedom" are accepted as an excuse for almost any depravity; there are some very tangled legal problems about defining pornography. And I agree that freedom of speech and pass is a precious legacy.

But sometimes men's freedoms come into conflict with each other. Right now there is an important debate going on between some concerned judges and advocates of free press. These two rights have come into conflict, and a solution will have to be found to protect them both.

So with the right to publish smutty books and magazines. It may be that the industry, producing and/or distributing, can clean its own skirts. The movies did it for a while (although lately their slip is beginning to show). And certainly the public is free to react by not buying, or by returning books which offend decency.

For if it is not done voluntarily, it will have to be done legally. We prevent stream pollution by law, we prevent air pollution by law, and we ought to prevent moral pollution by law, lest a whole generation's attitudes toward sex and family loyalties be poisoned.

Physical love can be and ought to be an ennobling accompaniment of marriage and family life. If we let it turn into smutty amusement or sordid escape, we shall be giving up some of life's most beautiful values and destroying the foundations of our society. The time has come to call a halt. The time has come to cleanse our moral atmosphere of its smog of smut.

Federal Government and West Virginia: Partners in Crime and Vice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to tell the Members of this House about the ignorant partnership of the Federal Government and the State of West Virginia in keeping gambling illegal in West Virginia, thus making gambling's lucrative profits available to the underworld syndicates.

Last year, the parimutuel turnover in West Virginia came to $105 million. More significant—and more menacing—is West Virginia's illegal gambling, which makes legal gambling pale in comparison. Testimony before the McClellan committee indicated that off-track betting comes to about $50 billion annually throughout the Nation, with this figure accounting for only some 42 percent of the national annual illegal gambling total, which would thus be $120 billion. On a population basis, illegal gambling in West Virginia would come to about $1.1 billion a year, so that West Virginia is really a mountain of gold for organized crime. The mob cuts itself 10 percent of the illegal gambling take, which means that the underworld is mining close to $110 million a year in West Virginia. Government-run gambling would siphon these moneys from mob treasuries, putting gambling revenues to work for the people instead.

The best way to make gambling work for the public good—since it is basically ineradicable—is a national or series of State lotteries. If the State of West Virginia would wake up to social and

financial reality, it would legalize, regulate and control gambling, so that the gambling urge of the people of West Virginia could be made to aid rather than undermine society.

Molloy Cited for Accomplishments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, many outstanding individuals in the field of transportation gathered recently at Newark, N.J., attending a dinner which served as the climax of the National Transportation Week observance in New Jersey. Among the outstanding speakers who addressed the gathering were New Jersey Gov. Richard J. Hughes and Dr. Robert A. Nelson, Director of Transportation Research of the Department of Commerce.

Sponsor was the Presidents Club—Transportation Organization of New Jersey. Affiliates of this organization include the Traffic Club of Newark, Traffic Club of North Jersey, Traffic Club of Hudson County, Raritan Traffic Club, Lakeland Traffic Club, Raritan Valley Woman's Traffic Club, Jersey Coast Traffic Club, Trenton Traffic Club, Camden Traffic Club, Delta Nu Alpha Transportation Fraternity, Newark Chapter No. 39, Trenton Chapter No. 38, Central Jersey Chapter No. 15, and New Jersey Industrial Traffic League.

A highlight of this meeting was the presentation of the first annual transportation award given by the Presidents' Club. It was quite fitting that a most outstanding individual, Lawrence G. Molloy, became the first recipient of this award, because it was principally through his persistent efforts and hard work that such a dinner could take place.

Mr. Molloy, who served as State chairman of National Transportation Week for the past 6 years, was given the award because of the leadership, counsel and personal assistance he has given to the cause of wider recognition of transport industry services and needs.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Molloy and members of the transportation industry in New Jersey, who by their efforts have created a better standard of living not only for their neighbors in the Garden State, but for the entire Nation as well.

I insert at this point an article from the Hackensack (N.J.) Record, which describes in greater detail the awards ceremony.

HACKENSACK BUSINESSMAN GIVEN AWARD BY TRANSPORTATION UNIT

NEWARK.—Lawrence G. Molloy, president of National Public Relations, Inc., 241 Main Street, Hackensack, State chairman of the National Transportation Week May 16 to 23, 1965, was last night presented the first annual Transportation Award at the first annual dinner of the Presidents' Club-Transportation Organizations of New Jersey at the Military Park Hotel.

Molloy was recognized by the statewide group for his many contributions over 15 years to the traffic fraternity and in particular for his leadership, guidance, and personal effort through his public relations counsel in promoting industry recognition as State chairman of National Transportation Week, according to G. Sanford Wilkins, president.

Molloy is a founder-charter member of Delta Nu Alpha Newark Chapter 39, Transportation Fraternity, and was recently appointed to the Office of Emergency Transportation, Department of Commerce, by the former Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges.

Molloy, a resident of Paramus, has served the industry in many capacities during his transportation career.

Dr. Robert A. Nelson, Director of Transportation Research, Department of Commerce, Washington, the keynote speaker, outlined the proposed legislation which, if passed, would authorize a $10 million national program for research and development in high-speed ground transportation, an $8 million demonstration project of the best rail passenger service, and a $2 million national program for the improvement of transportation statistics.

Nelson traced the growth in population and the decline in rail transportation. He said the transportation demand for growing areas cannot be met by adding lanes of concrete. That is high-speed ground transportation.

Drum Corps Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DELBERT L. LATTA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I doubt there is one among us whc has not felt the thrill of excitement and the surge of patriotism when he hears the stirring notes of a drum and bugle corps as it passes in a gay parade. The inspiring music brought forth by these groups is about as exciting as any we can ever hear.

The week of August 15 to 22 has been set aside as National Drum and Bugle Corps Week, and it gives me a great deal of pleasure to salute the 1 million young men and women who are members of the corps. These fine, clean-cut American teenagers set a fine example to all of us, young and old alike.

There is not a week in the year when members of these corps do not work hard and long to assure a high quality of performance at parades, civic celebrations, and sports events.

More and more, the drum corps of our country are taking their places as indispensable parts of our communities. No one can resist the temptation to watch a snappy, precision-trained drum and bugle corps as it marches by in colorful costume. In these troubled days, it is inspiring to know that we have more than 1 million youth engaged in such a clean and healthy activity. I would like to commend these young people for the fine work they are doing. Each of us should encourage them in every way to continue these activities.

Arts and Humanities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 19, 1965

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, remarks during a panel discussion on aid to the arts made on June 27 at Tanglewood by the distinguished junior Senator from Massachusetts, Mr. EDWARD M. KENNEDY, have just come to my attention.

The very succinctly set forth the purpose of legislation, enacted by the other body and pending here in H.R. 9460. With great imagination, Senator KENNEDY suggests some of the activities which might be encouraged and supported by the proposed National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities.

The House will, I hope, have an opportunity to work its will on this legislation. For this reason I commend the remarks of Senator KENNEDY to all members:

ARTS AND HUMANITIES

(Statement of Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY at a panel discussion on aid to the arts, held at Tanglewood, Lenox, Mass., June 27, 1965)

I am very happy to join Miss Curtain, Mr. Stevens, Maestro Leinsdorf and Mr. Cabot in discussing this important subject this afternoon.

The concept of Federal interest in the arts is nothing new. In 1891, the Government established the National Conservatory of Music, to encourage both native artists and distinguished foreign artists. The academy was responsible, for example, for bringing Anton Dvorak to this country, during which time he wrote the New World Symphony.

But the concept of Federal financial aid to the arts has been very slow in evolving. In fact, the United States is the only industrialized country in the world that does not help finance culture. Britain has an extremely active council on the arts. France has a Cabinet Department. The Eastern European countries are extremely active. But for various reasons, we have lagged behind.

President Kennedy, and Mrs. Kennedy, gave a tremendous impetus to a broadened interest. So have President and Mrs. Johnson.

The past 10 months have seen the greatest display of interest. The National Council on the Arts was established last fall; and this year, over 100 bills on the subject were introduced in Congress.

I think this widespread concern comes from a recognition that unless the arts receive more help than they have been getting, our people are not going to be able to have the cultural experience they want.

One of the most important things we must do in this field is to bring artistic productions within the grasp of more people. There is a tendency for the arts to be the province of only the higher income groups. Productions are costly, and ticket prices are so high. How many of our poor people—people making less than $50 a week—could afford to come out to Tanglewood and even pay the $2.50 to sit on the lawn? Moreover, even the people of moderate income must ration the number of productions they see. They naturally tend to patronize only the established companies. They shun the experimental productions because they cannot afford both. This makes it very difficult for the new

groups, the new ideas, the young performers, to get an audience.

I therefore believe all Federal programs should concentrate on getting art to as many people as possible at as low a cost as possible. Regional companies and travelling companies are especially good for this purpose. The Shakespeare company sponsored by the New York Council on the Arts went into many small communities in the State, and we saw the impact that was made.

The American people are trying to make the fruits of culture available to all our citizens—just as we have been trying to make the fruits of economic abundance available to all our citizens. The United States now has 40,000 theater organizations, 1,400 symphony orchestras, 750 opera companies, and 200 dance groups. New art galleries, large public and small private ones, are spreading throughout the country. Programs by great institutions like the Boston Symphony Orchestra are broadcast nationwide.

The spread of these institutions of culture in recent years, is a clear indication of the thirst for culture. But that is where the problem lies. We are not able to satisfy this thirst, in the way it should be, because the artists and performers do not have the economic incentive they need.

The average annual income of members of Actors' Equity is $2,000 a year. The salaries for members of symphony orchestras range from $2,000 to $9,000. As for dancers, Agnes DeMille has said they "eat sawdust."

It think it is a distorted system of values when stage hands in theaters make more money than the performers. And I certainly do not think we are fulfilling the best parts of our heritage when promising young men and women who could become outstanding performers are forced to program a computer rather than play a violin—are forced to go into occupations less satisfying to them and less challenging because they cannot afford to do otherwise.

The American people have recently begun to realize these facts, which artists have known for many years. So we are beginning to see action. Earlier this month the Senate Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities reported favorably on a bill to establish a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. This bill is basically the one proposed by President Johnson earlier this year. But it also incorporates parts of several bills introduced by Senator PELL of Rhode Island, Senator GRUENING of Alaska, Senator JAVITS of New York and myself.

The bill that is before the Senate creates a national endowment for the arts, which would provide $5 million a year, plus another $5 million on a matching basis, to help support the whole range of artistic activity, including music. It is the first program for direct Federal support for the arts in the history of the United States. The money could go to groups, such as orchestras, or go to individuals. It could be used to pay the cost of both foreign and domestic performers. It could be used to help artists improve their standards of professional excellence, or used for educational programs, to increase the appreciation of the arts by our people.

Some extremely exciting, very imaginative programs have been proposed. To give you some idea, there are hundreds of young artists who live on next to nothing. Money from the endowment could be used to purchase paintings from them, and make them available, on a rental program, to public buildings, to schools, to individual homes.

There are promising young poets who have not yet made their mark. The endowment could send them around the country to give a series of poetry readings, so they would have a chance to be heard.

We have recently seen the development of small movie companies, prowling the streets of our cities often with hand cameras, making movies often of excellent quality. Cinema 16 in New York is an outstanding example of this. This group presently works on its own—but why not start a film academy, which could encourage such people, and train them.

In the field of music, I think we can create what Leonard Bernstein calls a "farm system". A series of regional organizations, which will travel to each of the cities of a region, and in which promising performers will have a chance to develop until they reach the professional level of our great orchestras and opera companies. Too often, an American artist has to go to Euorpe to perform, in order to become recognized. But with these regional companies, they can be discovered right here at home.

Finally, special efforts should be made to give cultural experiences to children at an early age. If a child has a series of experiences in which he hears music and poetry, or sees plays or dances that he can appreciate, it makes an impression that remains with him all his life, making him into an adult who will appreciate the arts instead of avoiding them.

All these ideas have two things in common:

They help get more income to individual performers, and they help broaden the audience for the arts.

I think one of the finest things the Government can do is to bring together little known artists and communities that know little of art, to create a wholesome new relationship of artist and audience.

This bill would not replace the efforts you are making to get support from the public, or corporations, or foundations. It would supplement them. We hope that in this way, people in the arts will have available the widest range of support for their programs.

When you consider the tremendous need in the United States, $10 million is not a lot of money. It is not enough, in my judgment. But it is a beginning; and I hope we could build, upon this beginning, a better and broader program as the years go by. It is customary for Government programs to start modestly. The minimum wage began at 35 cents an hour. Social security began at $20 a week. But as people realize how well they worked, they grew into very significant programs.

In the past, Federal aid has been opposed by many artists because of the fear of Federal interference in their work. But I do not believe that this amount of money, which is so small compared to the private funds spent on the arts could exercise a controlling influence. Even as the Federal funds increase, the bill has a built-in safeguard, because the boards which would make the grants are composed primarily of private citizens, not Government officials.

We have seen, in our aid to education programs, in our urban renewal programs, and in many other fields that there can be Federal aid without Federal control. Even in the arts field, we see in Britain that the British Council has aided the arts successfully without raising problems of Government control. I think it was very significant to the success of this bill when earlier this year the American Symphony Orchestra League reversed its long-standing opposition to Federal aid and endorsed the bill.

Under this bill, the Federal Government will supply the money. But the artists and their organizations will have to make the proposals, do the planning, and select the performances to be funded.

While nothing is certain in the legislative process, I am hopeful that the Senate will act on this bill before the end of the summer—and the House shortly afterward.

We have a National Science Foundation which disburses over $500 million a year for scientists and scientific research. It has worked well and has made an important contribution. I see no reason why the Foundation on the Arts cannot develop in the same way.

I would suggest other measures, beyond the scope of this bill, to encourage the arts in America. I think the Federal Housing Administration should guarantee the construction of theaters just as it guarantees the building of homes. Especially neighborhood theaters in places like shopping centers and suburban communities. These areas should have theaters good enough for performances by professional companies. This could do a great deal to extend arts to more people.

I also believe the tax policies of our Government should give more consideration to the special problems of the artist. An inventor who gets a patent for a material creation qualifies for capital gains treatment. Why should not an artist who obtains a copyright for the creation of the mind be offered the same privilege?

And finally I believe we should make the John F. Kennedy Cultural Center to be built in Washington, a model organization for all the enlightened policies we want to pursue. A great deal of its cost—an expenditure of many millions of dollars—is in public funds. The Center should be dedicated to all the people of the country—not just the citizens of Washington, not just its wealthy patrons, but every adult and child whose life could be enriched by the arts. Its ticket policy should be flexible enough so that all can afford some of the productions. The Center should exert a creative impulse around the country. It should help worthy artists who need help. Its programs could well be carried on educational television, nationwide. In these ways, the Cultural Center would truly represent the spirit and desires of the man to whom it is dedicated.

It is important that all these efforts be made by our Government. We may make great strides in atomic energy, and space exploration, in automation, in biology and chemistry. But we will be dull and listless men, amid all these wonders if we do not also expand the human mind and spirit.

Plato once said: "What is honored in a country will be cultivated there." That is what we want to do, for all our people.

The Health Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, it is but a truism to state that everyone's most precious possession is his health. The efforts of medical researchers and the results of their labor reflect this fact as clearly as anything. Too, the concern of the present administration and this Congress, as evidenced by the enactment and implementation of the medical care act, is indicative of the crucial importance of physical and mental well-being.

Recognizing the connection between what medical science and the Federal Government are doing about the Nation's health problems, the Baltimore News American has editorialized an unequivocal endorsement of the administration's accomplishments and future plans in this field. I am pleased to second the News American's comments and to offer

its editorial of August 13, 1965, for printing in the RECORD:

[From the Baltimore (Md.) News American, Aug. 13, 1965]

THE HEALTH BILL

Within this century, medical science has achieved such wonders in reducing the hazards of diseases, even to the virtual eradication of some of them, that it may be something of a shock to realize how many are the major ailments with which human beings are still imperiled.

They are many indeed. They require massive attack. An important weapon has been provided in the $260 million bill, signed by President Johnson, to stimulate and expand research in cancer, heart disease, and other afflictions in which immense and intensive research is essential.

The prospective Presidential panel to study ways and means toward health, education, and happiness will, like the bill now signed, have the blessings and hopes of all Americans.

Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the August 8 issue of the Chicago Sun-Times contained an especially fine editorial concerning the current Vietnam situation. The United States faces a challenge in Vietnam, and the course President Johnson has decided to follow is keeping the avenues open for peace talks.

I am taking this opportunity to bring the following editorial to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, Aug. 8, 1965]

THE CHOICE IS HANOI'S

President Johnson's repeated statements that the United States will never back down in Vietnam but will sit down to talk at the conference table seems to be bearing some fruit. Some weeks ago Great Britain sent an emissary to Hanoi to try to convince the North Vietnam Communists that President Johnson meant what he said. He was ignored by the North Vietnam Government, possibly because Great Britain is actively engaged in resisting a Communist push against Malaysia mounted by President Sukarno of Indonesia.

More recently feelers have been put out to North Vietnam by neutral nations. Some of these efforts give promise of breaking through the intransigent attitude of the Hanoi government. It is too early to tell whether these attempts will be successful. But there seems to be some evidence that North Vietnam, for the first time, is listening with more of an ear than in the past.

The Hanoi government is caught between the ideological differences that mark Russia and Red China's contest for leadership of the Communist world. Red China seeks to expand the Communist sphere of influence by military means. North Vietnam is a pawn in this effort. Russia, with pressing internal problems of its own to solve, attempts to expand Communist influence by means of economic assault while offering peaceful coexistence. Ambassador W. Averell Harriman has indicated in his public remarks following his recent visit to Moscow that Russia has no liking for what is happening in Vietnam. It is unlikely that Russia will exert its influence to bring about peace talks in Vietnam until Hanoi itself indicates that it cannot successfully carry out Red China's course of military conquest.

The burden of resolution of the Vietnam conflict rests with the leaders of the North Vietnam Government. President Johnson has made it clear that the United States will make it impossible for North Vietnam to win a military victory in South Vietnam. He has also made it clear that the United States neither wants nor seeks a military victory of its own.

The neutral nations who are now trying to bring North Vietnam's Communist leaders to the realization are performing a valuable service. They should be encouraged to continue their efforts. Hanoi's leaders must be made to realize that the choice of peace or continued devastation is theirs and theirs alone to make.

Down With Mr. ZIP?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. OLSEN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, the House Subcommittee on Postal Facilities and Modernization held extensive hearings this year on the ZIP code system in the U.S. postal service. As these hearings progressed it became obvious that some mailers would suffer real hardships if required to meet the Post Office Department's deadline for mandatory ZIP coding of second- and third-class mail.

The Department's ZIP coding and presorting requirements were originally scheduled for July 1, 1965, and were later postponed until January 1, 1967. H.R. 9551, the bill reported out of the subcommittee, would postpone this mandatory date to January 1, 1970.

The later date would have given mailers needed time to absorb the costs of meeting the new regulations and would also give the Post Office Department time to work out all the bugs in ZIP code and to reassign postal employees affected by the phasing out of some 70 postal railway terminals as the ZIP code sectional centers are established.

The following front page article from the August 18, 1965, Wall Street Journal explains some of the problems business faces in attempting to comply with the Post Office order requiring use of ZIP code on bulk mail by 1967.

The date set by the Postmaster General will probably remain effective; that is, January 1967, but I thought it worth while for my colleagues to observe a newspaper review of the controversy.

DOWN WITH MR. ZIP?—BUSINESS DEBATE GROWS OVER ORDER REQUIRING USE OF MAIL CODE BY 1967—MANY BULK MAILERS DEMAND DELAY, SAYING CONVERSION COSTS COULD BE CRUSHING—BUT READER'S DIGEST LIKES IT

(By Burt Schorr)

WASHINGTON.—Mr. ZIP: Zingy, zestful—or an oppressive ogre?

Post Office Department public relations men shudder at the thought, but their elfin creation is assuming menacing form to a growing number of businessmen caught in a dispute over the use of five-digit code numbers in parcel and letter addresses.

The 2-year-old Mr. ZIP, shown below, by now is a familiar figure to most people. He soon will be starring in an array of new posters and television commercials designed to boost voluntary use of ZIP (for zoning improvement program) coding by convincing the first-class-mailing public it will speed mail delivery. But he also has gotten caught in an intensifying crossfire between backers and opponents of Postmaster General Gronouski's order that users of bulk second and third class mail must begin following ZIP procedures by Jan. 1, 1967, or face prohibitively higher rates.

To understand the conflicting viewpoints, consider ZIP's impact on two companies:

Mailmen, Inc., a Syosset, N.Y., concern, addresses and mails some 100 million pieces of customers' mail annually, most of it third class solicitations. The company's cavernous processing department, where over 300 employees work three shifts a day addressing and sorting outgoing mail into sacks, resembles a regular post office.

THE 553 SORTINGS INSTEAD OF 50?

"Today in a typical mailing we set up for initial sorting to 50 States and maybe an additional 70 major cities or substations," says President Manny Cohen in explaining his opposition to the Postmaster General's deadline. "But the Department tells us that in less than 18 months we'll have to begin breaking down our mailings to 553 sectional centers. This means a bigger investment in plant, equipment and extra payroll without much hope of getting more money from our customers."

The Reader's Digest, on the other hand, has found ZIP coding so useful that it is converting its mailing system voluntarily well in advance of Mr. Gronouski's deadline. The magazine has ZIP coded and re-sorted 70 percent of the addresses of its approximately 15 million U.S. subscribers, and figures the $150,000 it has invested in doing so already is paying off.

"Under our old method of listing a subscriber's city or town alphabetically, we had to wait until an entire mailing was addressed before we could begin loading boxcars or trucks with magazines for a particular area," says Malcolm Foster, manager of systems for Reader's Digest Association, Inc., publisher of the monthly magazine. "Now all the post offices served by the Buffalo, N.Y., sectional center (ZIP numbers 14001 to 14300), for example, are addressed at nearly the same time regardless of whether the subscriber lives in Cheektowaga or Tonawanda (both suburbs of Buffalo). As a result, our readers are happy because they're getting their magazines 2 or 3 days sooner and the advertisers are glad to get the extra exposure."

FIGHT REACHES CONGRESS

So far, Mr. Cohen's side in this controversy has won a preliminary—though perhaps not too meaningful—victory. A pending House bill sponsored by Representative ARNOLD OLSEN, Democrat, of Montana, would postpone the effective date of Mr. Gronouski's order for 3 years. Mr. OLSEN generally goes along with complaints from third-class mailers, such as Mailmen, Inc., that crash compliance with the order to presort bulk mail acording to the ZIP code could impose too stiff a financial burden on many small businessmen.

The Olsen bill squeaked through a subcommittee this year, but it seems destined for eventual burial by administration forces convinced that ZIP coding eventually will

help business as much as it aready has helped the Reader's Digest—while also helping the Post Office to cut down its huge deficit.

That may not end the fight, however. The Associated Third Class Mail Users, a mailers' organization, threatens a court fight against the Gronouski order if the Olsen bill should die. "The Department's procedure was illegal," contends Harry J. Maginnis, president of the 800-member group. "There were no hearings and no examiner's findings."

Whatever the ultimate outcome, some postal officials fear the continuous controversy eventually could undermine public confidence in the ZIP code.

PUTTING OFF Z DAY

Certainly many third class users, with a hopeful eye on the Olsen bill, have been putting off Z day. By one frequently quoted industry estimate, U.S. bulk mailing lists contain 5 billion names, of which 4 billion remain to be ZIPped. The Direct Mail Advertising Association surveyed members owning lists of some 500 million names and turned up only half who said they would be completely coded by January 1, 1967. Another 23 percent hoped to make it by 1968. But 10 percent contended the special nature of their lists makes it impossible to ZIP them.

Many members of this association fear they will face heavier costs no matter how the issue of Mr. Gronouski's deadline is finally settled. "The mailers fighting for more time before ZIP coding is required might even win their battle," says John J. Daly, Washington representative for the Direct Mail Advertising Association. "But they're sure to lose the war, because if ZIP code fails, Congress is going to slap bulk mailers with rate increases all the sooner."

The Johnson administration is expected to take a whack at the Post Office operating deficit, estimated at $730 million in the current fiscal year, by submitting across-the-board rate increases to Congress early in 1966. Of this year's red ink, some $717 million is expected to flow from second and third class operations, though a $286 million surplus expected from first class and airmail revenues will offset some of it.

Second class mail has the same priority as first class, but is intended principally for newspapers and periodicals. Third class, a slower service, is designed for book shipments, mail order solicitations and other categories not requiring speedy delivery. The two classes combined now account for nearly 40 percent of the 72 billion pieces of mail clogging the U.S. postal system annually, an avalanche the Department predicts will reach 100 billion pieces by 1980.

As Mr. Grounouski sees it, the success of the ZIP code is vital to the prevention of a serious breakdown in the postal system. By the time his January 1, 1967, bulk mail deadline becomes effective, he forecasts his Department will be moving "more than 50 percent of the Nation's entire mail volume from point of origin to point of destination without once unbagging it or resorting it," thanks to ZIPping. Eventually the ZIP system will prove "one of the biggest breakthroughs in postal history," Mr. Gronouski maintains, permitting the Post Office "to handle just about any volume of mail this Nation can generate."

For all his enthusiasm over ZIP coding though, Mr. Gronouski hasn't convinced unions representing more than half the Department's 600,000 employes to withdraw their opposition. Officials of the 150,000-member United Federation of Postal Clerks have told Congress that even if Mr. ZIP doesn't cost a single clerk his Post Office paycheck—a Gronouski promise—thousands face relocation to distant cities and in some instances, pay cuts. One sign of the union's pique: Rejection of 100,000 stationery envelopes on which an unwitting printer automatically had included a ZIP number in the organization's return address.

KNOW YOUR NUMBER?

Post Office officials, for their part, maintain ZIP code acceptance among users of the mails is ahead of acceptance of the old city zone numbers at the same point after introduction. Nevertheless, a Department t survey earlier this year showed only 32 percent of first class mail contained ZIP codes in the return addresses, indicating only a minority of American letter writers yet know their own numbers. Even fewer, apparently, know the ZIP code numbers of the people they write to; the survey turned up ZIP-numbered destination addresses on less than 20 percent of first-class mail, and less than 23 percent of third-class mail.

Among the approximately 300,000 U.S. volume mailers, about 90 percent of which are third-class users, the problems of meeting Mr. Gronouski's ZIPping deadline, even when they concede it can be done, loom large, Jackson & Perkins Co., a national mail-order nursery sales firm headquartered in Newark, N.J., offers an example.

The company's list of 1 million active customers can be ZIP coded and re-sorted to meet the bulk mail deadline, says Kenneth C. Tack, vice president. But the job may cost "three to five times" as much as adding the ZIP numbers gradually in the normal course of changing the addresses to keep them up to date, he says.

An additional 3 million names important to the Jackson & Perkins' sales efforts are called from "dead" files of former customers and from old inquiries. These, says Mr. Tack, would require a $150,000 crash program to ZIP by the Gronouski deadline—a serious burden for a company with annual sales of $12 million.

"BONFIRE" OF ROSES FEARED

As for still another 2 million names Jackson & Perkins rents each year from other mail-order houses, Mr. Tack contends a number will have to be "dumped" because they lack ZIP designations. This would shrink the company's potential market, he says, and could result in a "bonfire of surplus nursery stock, because we can't put roses on the shelf for an extra year or two."

The Reader's Digest, however, is far from alone—at least among the Nation's biggest mail users—in finding ZIP coding potentially extremely helpful. Montgomery Ward & Co. may have hit on a way to use the ZIP system to realize huge savings in the costs of sending out the more than 54 million catalogs mailed annually by mail-order retail houses.

In an experiment now underway, Monty Ward is sending carloads of unlabeled catalogs to eight selected Post Office ZIP-numbered sectional centers. The labels themselves, however, are sent directly to the individual post offices served by the centers.

"The local post office checks the addresses and notifies the sectional center how many of the catalogs actually are deliverable," explains A. D. Wilson, general traffic manager for Montgomery Ward. "This saves the cost of return postage on nixies (undeliverable catalogs)."

It's still too early to measure Montgomery Ward's savings on the initial shipment of 150,000 of 1965 fall catalogs, which weigh close to 5 pounds each. But since "nixies" have accounted for up to 10 percent of average shipments in the past, the dollar amount could prove impressive.

"We've also found the new system is getting catalogs into the hands of customers days sooner," Mr. Wilson adds. "This could have a big impact on seasonal sales."

State's Competitive Position Improved as General Assembly Acts To Remove Manufacturers' Inventory Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, Connecticut recently moved to eliminate the inventory tax on materials and goods held by the State's manufacturers. It is my feeling that this is one step toward and a good indication that Connecticut has one of the Nation's most progressive industrial economies.

Mr. Charles H. Schreyer, with the Manufacturers Association of Connecticut, has presented the implications which this tax held for Connecticut industries and what the prospects are for the future with the removal of this tax. His analysis appears in the August issue of Connecticut Industry.

With permission of the House granted I place this article in the RECORD at this point:

STATE'S COMPETITIVE POSITION IMPROVED AS GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTS TO REMOVE MANUFACTURERS' INVENTORY TAXES

(By Charles H. Schreyer, attorney, Manufacturers Association of Connecticut, Inc.)

On July 7, Governor Dempsey signed a law which gradually, over a 10-year period, will give Connecticut manufacturers relief from the burdensome tax on their inventories.

This may well mark the start of a new and fruitful era in the relationship between our State and the industries which are the chief support of its economy. It is a milestone on the road to a more complete and sympathetic understanding by the people's representatives of problems faced by industry in efforts to keep pace with the competitors in other States. It is a bipartisan demonstration of the birth, in this State, of a sound economic and political climate upon which industry depends for continued growth.

These are big words but considered ones, supported by a close look at the inventory tax and ways in which it has tended to hinder manufacturers' competitive efforts.

Connecticut industry is a nationwide, indeed a worldwide enterprise which relies heavily upon the huge share of its market beyond the State's boundaries. Were those markets cut off suddenly, industry would quickly wither and instant economic disaster would result.

The local property tax on manufacturers' inventories is a domestic impediment which handicaps the struggle to maintain and increase these markets. Inherited from the distant past when the State's economy was chiefly agricultural, it is entirely unsuited to an advanced industrial State. Today, the constant circulation of inventories through every phase of production from raw material to work in progress to finished goods is the lifeblood of Connecticut's economy.

The property tax is necessarily based upon market value determined by local assessors. By and large, they do a good job in assessing real estate where guided by public records of sales of similar properties. They would be completely at a loss, however, if required to enter a plant, inspect the mass of inven-

toried property flowing through the manufacturing process and place a value on each piece. Tax laws recognize this as ridiculous by requiring that, in the case of inventories, the assessed value shall not be determined as of one particular assessment date (as in the case of all other kinds of property) but on the basis of the average amount of inventories on hand during the year preceding the tax date.

This means assessments based either on a negotiated settlement or on book accounts kept by the taxpayer. In either case, the assessor has not and cannot perform his statutory duty of assessing the fair value of property he never has seen. As a result, the property tax on inventories necessarily becomes self-assessing and tends to vary from one taxpayer to the next, depending upon the competence, prudence, scruples, or negotiating ability of the particular taxpayer.

Even more serious, this tax hits hardest at the very time the taxpayer is least able to bear the blow. In times of business recession when sales and profits decline together, inventories naturally mount. In such times, the manufacturer has the unhappy choice of incurring heavy taxes on growing inventories or of slackening production by laying off workers. The tax thus tends to aggravate unemployment.

These and other defects might be less serious if all manufacturers competing in the national market were subject to the same handicap. Many, however, are located in such States as New York, Massachusetts, or Pennsylvania which do not tax this kind of property.

It is not surprising, therefore, that other States which do have this archaic tax give preferential treatment to manufacturers' inventories, either by the terms of the law or by administrative practice. Moreover, determined efforts are constantly underway in many of these States to remove this restraint on their industries' competitive ability.

Connecticut has not been alone in this respect. Among States which recently have changed their laws to alleviate this tax are New Jersey, where a preferential tax rate has been established, and Oregon, where the tax is being eliminated over a 5-year period.

The Manufacturers Association of Connecticut has long been engaged in the struggle to remove this handicap from manufacturers of our State. At the 1963 session of the general assembly, MAC successfully induced the house to pass a bill to eliminate the tax over a 10-year period but met a temporary setback in the senate where senators from cities and larger towns refused to act unless provision was made for restoring revenue loss to the towns.

No statistics showing the amount of tax paid on inventories by Connecticut manufacturers were available at that time. To fill this void, MAC suggested to Tax Commissioner John L. Sullivan that he ask the assessors of the 169 towns to furnish such data. This was done, giving the 1965 general assembly the advantage of a town-by-town breakdown showing the assessment of manufacturers' inventories on the grand list of 1963, and the amount of taxes paid on such inventories. This survey showed that, for the State as a whole, manufacturers paid $17.2 million in taxes on their inventories on the 1963 list.

Armed with that information, leaders of both parties went to work on the problem in earnest. Following weeks of study, negotiation and compromise in which MAC was deeply engrossed, final terms of the bill were hammered out in the closing minutes of the 1965 session.

Under the law, the local property tax on manufacturers' inventories will be eliminated gradually over a 10-year period, with provisions for the State to reimburse towns for revenue losses. The bill carries a price tag: a one-fourth of 1 percent increase in the corporation business tax rate beginning with the years starting in 1966 (which MAC fought every step of the way in the firm belief that it is not needed). Nevertheless, the price is not considered to be prohibitive.

Manufacturers who have been paying the towns over $17 million a year in inventory taxes, also have paid the State about $29 million in corporation business taxes at the existing 5-percent rate. Thus, in the first year under the new law, manufacturers will pay about $1,425,000 in additional State taxes, but will save $1,700,000 in property taxes.

In the second year, the real advantages begin as, while the corporation rate will remain the same, savings in inventory taxes will double. In the third year, they will triple, etc., so that, by the end of the 10-year transition period (assuming inventories remain near their present level) annual savings will total some $17 million.

Details on how the new law will affect manufacturers and its provisions for reimbursing towns or tax districts were given in the Legislative Digest Bulletin No. 17, sent to all MAC member companies June 11.

Milestone in Immigration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, on January 13 of this year, President Johnson called on the Congress "to return the United States to an immigration policy which both serves the national interest and continues our traditional ideals."

On August 3 the Judiciary Committee of the House heeded that call and reported an immigration bill embodying the basic proposals suggested by the President.

President Johnson called his action "a breakthrough for reason, a triumph for fair play." The following editorial from the August 16 Washington Evening Star echoes those sentiments, and under unanimous consent I reprint this incisive analysis in the RECORD at this time:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Aug. 16, 1965]

MILESTONE IN IMMIGRATION

The approval by the House Judiciary Committee of a new, liberal immigration bill signals the beginning of the end of a 40-year-old "national origins" quota system. Lack of time probably will prevent the measure from clearing both House and Senate before adjournment this year. But the reforms at least seem sure of enactment into law before another year passes.

The old law reflected a racial and nationalistic bias unworthy of America. It favored admission of northern Europeans at the expense of all others. It fixed quotas rigidly based on the ethnic makeup of America back in 1920. Since it often discouraged immigration of skilled aliens, it failed to serve the national interest.

All these things will be remedied in the new House measure, which would abolish the old quota system. In its place countries now having quotas would be treated equally. If one nation failed to fill its quota, as England has for years, the unused numbers could be transferred to other nations with a backlog of applicants. (Last year Greece, with a quota of 308, had a backlog of 98,385 persons seeking to enter America.)

It is none too soon to abolish the old national origins system. As Secretary of State Rusk testified, the United States now has "a rare opportunity to draw migrants of high intelligence and ability from abroad; and immigration, if well administered, can be one of our greatest national resources, a source of manpower and brainpower in a divided world."

No to Nkrumah

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's leadership in the free world fight against communism has enlisted the support of many nations in striving to seek an honorable peace against Communist aggression in southeast Asia.

I salute the President for his handling of this complex foreign policy question. Every American should be proud of Lyndon Johnson's leadership. He has repeatedly said that the United States seeks only peace in southeast Asia and indeed in the world. However, he will never sacrifice American honor and commitment in that effort.

The Baltimore News American on August 11 praised the President, pointing out that he "has repeatedly held the door open for meaningful peace talks on the Vietnam war." I insert this editorial in the RECORD at this point:

NO TO NKRUMAH

President Johnson is dead right in rejecting the appeal by President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana for cessation of all air strikes in North Vietnam while the African leader visits Hanoi in a bid to arrange peace talks on the Vietnam war.

The President cabled Mr. Nkrumah that he could have a safe conduct for the visit and would have no need to fear any bombing of the Red Vietnam capital while he is there.

Mr. Johnson, however, was wise in telling him that "the United States would welcome anything that President Nkrumah could do to end aggression." He asked Nkrumah to tell Hanoi that "our military resistance would end when the aggression ends."

Our President has repeatedly held the door open for meaningful peace talks on the Vietnam war. Not only have Ho Chi Minh and his friends shown no interest in them, but they have snarlingly rebuked all American overtures to negotiate a war they continue to press on the peace-starved South Vietnam people.

We cannot slacken our bombardment of North Vietnam. The best way to get the Communists to the bargaining table is to batter them silly on the air and on the ground.

The American people should not expect much from the Nkrumah visit. In Nkrumah, Ho is welcoming one of his own to Hanoi. Nkrumah and Ho speak the same brand of Commie language.

Alliance for Progress Week in Florida

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I want to proudly announce that Florida Governor Haydon Burns has designated this week, August 15–21, as Alliance for Progress Week in Florida.

The Alliance for Progress is the vital part of our program in Latin America. This week, its fourth anniversary, is an appropriate time to recognize that its broad and beneficent objectives are on their way to fulfillment. The Alliance has not helped Latin America to achieve complete literacy yet; most of Latin America is still poor; and housing and health problems are not yet solved. But, Mr. Speaker, we have come a long way in these 4 years, and the Alliance for Progress continues to make progress every day.

Certainly, an important aspect of the Alliance is the contribution made by private American citizens. For example, in Florida the Partners for Alliance program with Colombia has helped to give the Sunshine State a special closeness and concern for the Alliance for Progress.

I believe the Florida-Colombia program is an excellent model to emulate, and so Governor Burns' proclamation, which here follows, takes on special significance because of what it represents:

STATE OF FLORIDA PROCLAMATION

Whereas the Alliance for Progress was established on August 17, 1961, at Punta del Este, Uruguay, for the purpose of securing a better life, under freedom and democracy, for the peoples of the Americas; and

Whereas the United States along with 19 republics of Latin America signed and affixed ther seals to the Charter of Punta del Este and simultaneously to the Declaration to the Peoples of America; and

Whereas the State of Florida is making a tangible and effective contribution to the many worthwhile goals of the Alliance for Progress through the Florida-Columbia Alliance; and

Whereas the purposes of the Florida-Colombia Alliance parallel those of the Alliance for Progress and its programs already conducted or being developed in the fields of education, agriculture, public health, tourism, trade and culture are contributing to the nationwide partners of the Alliance for Progress effort; and

Whereas it is appropriate that we, the citizens of Florida, who are historical, cultural and geographical neighbors to all the Americas recognize the immeasurable contribution the Alliance for Progress is making to hemispheric solidarity; Now, therefore,

I, Haydon Burns, by virtue of the authority vested in me as Governor of the State of Florida, do hereby proclaim August 15–21, 1965, as Alliance for Progress Week in Florida, and urge that our citizens rededicate themselves to the principles upon which the Alliance for Progress was founded.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the great seal of the State of Florida to be affixed at Tallahassee, the capital, this 12th day of August, A.D. 1965.

HAYDON BURNS,
Governor.

Statement by Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following important statement by Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, U.S. representative to the United Nations, in the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, Monday, August 16, 1965:

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS, IN THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, MONDAY, AUGUST 16, 1965

Mr. Chairman, I have had the pleasure of meeting informally with some of the heads of delegations to the United Nations during the past few weeks. This, however, is my first formal appearance before an official organ of the General Assembly. I therefore asked to be inscribed to speak first so I might begin, with your indulgence, by assuring all members represented on this Committee of the great sense of responsibility I feel in assuming my new duties as permanent representative of the United States of America to the United Nations.

President Johnson, in announcing my appointment, said of my assignment:

"In his new office he will speak not only for an administration but he will speak for an entire Nation, firmly, earnestly, and responsibly committed to the strength and to the success of the United Nations in its works for peace around the world."

My own thoughts, in accepting this assignment, are dominated by a strong conviction that the world is so full of danger and tribulation that every available part of the U.N.'s peacekeeping machinery must be in working order so that the United Nations as a whole can perform its appointed role of peacemaker and peacekeeper.

And I cannot enter upon my official duties without paying my respects to my great and gifted and eloquent predecessor, the late Adlai E. Stevenson. He will be sorely missed. He and I were personal friends of long standing; and I knew him well enough to be sure that if he could be here today his message to us would be simple and forthright: get on with your work of making peace.

I therefore turn, Mr. Chairman, to the business at hand.

I do not intend to review here in detail the position which the United States has taken with respect to articles 17 and 19 of the charter. As the members of this committee are well aware, we believe in the soundness of the following straightforward principles:

First, that the concept of collective financial responsibility adopted by the United Nations in 1945 is a sound principle—and a landmark in the practice of international organizations.

Second, that article 17 of the charter of the United Nations is impeccably clear on the right of the General Assembly to assess and apportion among its members the "expenses of the organization."

Third, that the costs of peacekeeping operations, once assessed and apportioned by the General Assembly, are expenses of the organization within the meaning of article 17—a proposition confirmed by the International Court of Justice and accepted by the General Assembly by an overwhelming vote.

Fourth, that article 19 is clear beyond question about the sanction to be applied in the case of 2-year delinquents.

Our views on these matters have not represented a bargaining position nor have they changed. They have not been based on narrow national interest but on the clear language of the charter and what seemed to us the clear interests of the organization.

This is not and never has been an issue in any so-called cold war; under the law of the charter the questions would be identical regardless of which member or members happened to be in arrears—or for what assessed United Nations activity they failed to pay—or why they refused to pay for it.

Nonetheless, the issue has been interpreted widely as a confrontation—not between the delinquent members and the law of the United Nations—but between major powers. We do not so regard it.

We, for our part, cannot abandon our adherence to positions which we firmly believe to be constitutionally, legally, procedurally, and administratively correct.

Much less can we abandon positions taken and precedents established by the Assembly itself by overwhelming majorities, acting within the framework of the charter and according to its own established procedures. I refer specifically to the formal actions of the General Assembly since 1956 levying assessments to finance the United Nations Emergency Force; to the similar assessment resolutions since 1960 for the United Nations operation in the Congo; to the decision in 1961 to submit to the International Court of Justice the question of whether these assessments are "expenses of the organization"; within the meaning of article 17; to the Assembly's authorization in 1961 of the United Nations bond issue; to the Assembly's acceptance in 1962 of the Advisory Opinion of the Court on the question submitted to it; to the reaffirmation by the Assembly's fourth special session in 1963 of the collective financial responsibility of all United Nations members; and to the appeal by the same body to delinquent members to pay their arrears.

All this has been done by the Assembly and cannot be undone by a few of its members. The law and the history of the matter cannot be revised.

The United States regretfully concludes, on ample evidence, that at this stage in the history of the United Nations, the General Assembly is not prepared to carry out the relevant provisions of the Charter in the context of the present situation. From private consultations, from statements by the principal officers of the organization, from the statements and exhaustive negotiations within and outside this Committee, from an informal polling of the delegations—indeed from the entire history of this affair—the inevitable conclusion is that the Assembly is not disposed to apply the loss-of-vote sanction of article 19 to the present situation.

We regret that the intransigence of a few of the member states, and their unwillingness to abide by the rule of law, has led the organization into this state of affairs.

The United States adheres to the position that article 19 is applicable in the present circumstances. It is clear, however, that we are faced with a simple and inescapable fact of life which I have cited. Moreover, every parliamentary body must decide, in one way or another, the issues that come before it; otherwise it will have no useful existence, and soon no life.

Therefore, without prejudice to the position that article 19 is applicable, the United States recognizes, as it must, that the General Assembly is not prepared to apply article 19 in the present situation and that the consensus of the membership is that the Assembly should proceed normally. We will not seek to frustrate that consensus, since it is not in the world interest to have the work of the General Assembly immobilized

in these troubled days. At the same time, we must make clear that if any member can insist on making an exception to the principle of collective financial responsibility with respect to certain activities of the Organization, the United States reserves the same option to make exceptions if, in our view, strong and compelling reasons exist for doing so. There can be no double standard among the members of the Organization.

Some members may believe that in not applying article 19 no important decision is being made. The United States believes that no one can or should overlook the fact that the exercise of important prerogatives of the Assembly granted it under the charter is being impaired. The United States wishes to strengthen, not weaken, the United Nations by adhering to rather than departing from basic, sound principles. Therefore, we must disclaim responsibility for the Assembly's attitude, which has developed contrary to the views we still hold to be valid, and place the responsibility where it properly belongs—on those member states which have flouted the Assembly's will and the Court's opinion.

We look forward, nonetheless, to the not-too-distant day when the entire membership will resume its full range of collective responsibility for maintaining world peace. In the meantime, it is all the more important for the membership, though unready to apply article 19, to solve the United Nations financial problems and to continue to support in practice the sound principle of collective financial responsibility, and to adopt practical and equitable means by which those willing to share the responsibility for peace can act in concert to maintain and strengthen the indispensable peacekeeping capacity of the United Nations.

Meanwhile, the Security Council retains its primary responsibility—this does not mean sole responsibility—for the maintenance of international peace and security; and the General Assembly retains its residual authority for this purpose, especially when the Security Council is unable to meet its responsibilities.

Mr. Chairman, my Government has never been prepared to accept a situation in which the capacity of the United Nations to act for peace could be stopped by the negative vote of a single member. Nor should the effectiveness of this organization be determined by the level of support forthcoming from its least cooperative members.

The world needs a strengthened—not a weakened—United Nations peacekeeping capacity. Those who are prepared to help strengthen it—the overwhelming majority—must be in a position to do so with or without the support of the reluctant few until they learn, as they surely will, that a workable and reliable international peace system is in the national interest of all members.

My Government states these views here today in the conviction that the time is now for the General Assembly to get on with its heavy agenda, which is indeed the unfinished business of mankind.

We must find new strength and new capacities for building, brick by brick, the community of man.

Mr. Chairman, when my appointment was first announced I said that "the effort to bring the rule of law to govern the relations between sovereign states is the greatest adventure in man's history." These were not merely ceremonial words. They described, rather, a deep conviction on my part and a precise evaluation of what I think this work at the United Nations is all about. If President Johnson did not agree he would not have sent me here.

I would be less than candid if I did not state my conviction that the rule of law is not being furthered by the action of those member states who are responsible for not implementing it. But establishing a rule of law is not easy and, despite temporary setbacks, we must persevere in what is not only a noble but an indispensable task if universal peace is to be achieved.

I therefore pledge to you, on behalf of myself, and on behalf of my delegation, and on behalf of the Government I represent, that the United States is prepared to join in a fresh drive to help the United Nations gather new strength until the rule of law is universally accepted—until the present and future generations are indeed safe from the scourge of war—until better standards of life in larger freedom are indeed the order of the day—and until the dignity and worth of the human person is realized everywhere.

Mr. Chairman, we agree, in light of present world tensions, that the General Assembly must proceed with its work. In doing so, it is well to remember the ancient counsel that while the world is full of tribulation, "tribulation maketh patience; and patience, experience; and experience, hope."

So Long Saturn I, Hello I-B Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, on the eve of the flight of two American astronauts in Gemini V on a 3.2 million mile trip, circling the earth for 8 days, it is particularly appropriate for me to call to the attention of my colleagues the splendid work which Chrysler Corp.'s Space Division is doing for our Nation's space program at the NASA-Michoud Assembly Facility, New Orleans, La.

Scientists, engineers, technicians, and other employees of the Chrysler Space Division worked together in an exemplary manner to build the last 2 of 10 Saturn I rockets, which are forerunners of the larger Saturn I-B rockets, designed to help carry the manned Apollo spacecraft to the moon. The Chrysler employees provided, as the Times-Picayune's space columnist and reporter, Mr. Vince Randazzo, writes, "a brilliant technical touch" to build the two Saturn I rockets so that they "were launched at exactly the predicted time—an unmatched accomplishment."

Mr. Randazzo cites in his weekly column, "Space Thrusts," the achievements of the Saturn I program, and the impact which the accomplishments of this 10-rocket program are having on the construction of the Saturn I-B rockets. The Boeing Co., whose scientists and technicians are building the Saturn I-B rockets at the Michoud facility, are able to benefit from the trails blazed by the Chrysler Corp. in its work on the Saturn I rockets—all of which enhances the future success of our Nation's massive space program.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert into the RECORD this fine column, "Space Thrusts," by Mr. Vincent Randazzo, of the Times-Picayune newspaper, New Orleans, La., who gives most deserved credit to Mr. H. Douglas Lowrey, president of Chrysler Corp.'s Space Division, and his employees at Michoud for their great contribution to America's space program.

The column follows:

SO LONG SATURN I, HELLO I-B PROGRAM

(By Vincent Randazzo)

The workers at Michoud who helped make Saturn I the most successful rocket program in history are not getting a chance to rest on their laurels.

It's push, push, push. Waiting in the wings now is the giant Saturn I-B.

There is no letup in the space race as the space agency spruces up the I-B launch facilities at Cape Kennedy.

Being converted for the more powerful, lighter I-B rockets are pads 34 and 37, from which 10 Saturn I rockets were launched during a 7-year program.

The last two of the Saturns were built by the Space Division of Chrysler Corp. at Michoud. With a brilliant technical touch, the two rockets were launched at exactly the predicted time—an unmatched accomplishment.

What did the Saturn I program do?

The program was a must in developing technology and testing systems, hardware, and methods for manned lunar exploration. The larger Saturn V, first stage of which Boeing is building at Michoud and which will send men to the moon, uses principles and hardware proven by the 10 Saturn I rockets.

Perhaps the most significant lesson learned is the clustering of several large rocket engines on the Saturn I. The powerplant in the first stage was a cluster of eight H-1 engines each with 188,000 pounds of thrust to give this stage 1,504,000 pounds of thrust.

Other developments in Saturn I were:

Developing the capability of putting into orbit payloads of more than 37,000 pounds.

First extensive use of multiengines and liquid hydrogen in the upper stages. The upper stage was the S-IV, built by Douglas Aircraft, with six RL-10 engines which gave the S-IV stage 90,000 pounds of thrust.

Advancement of guidance and instrumentation technology.

Facility expansion, and development of new transportation modes for large rockets. The rockets were moved by special barge and aircraft.

Development of new fabrication techniques needed for larger rockets, and now being applied in the Saturn I-B and V programs.

Orbiting meteoroid technology satellites, the largest instrumented satellities launched to date.

Placing into orbit five early Apollo command and service modules, thus proving the aerodynamics of the Apollo spacecraft.

For the 10th and final launch of the Saturn I rocket, Chrysler showed its stuff. Only 9 weeks separated the 9th and 10th Saturn I launches, compared to 15 to 21 for previous Saturn shots.

* * * * *

The fourth and fifth I-Bs will carry the first canned Apollo. The spacecraft will consist of comand and service modules only. The fourth I-B is now undergoing final phases of assembly at Michoud and the fifth is in the tank clustering stage, approximately about a third of the way finished.

The sixth and seventh I-B's are in the preliminary stages of construction. The sixth will carry a fully fueled but unmanned lunar excursion module into a low earth orbit for full duration inflight tests of LEM's ascent and descent stage engines.

The seventh and eighth I-B's will be manned Apollo missions, with the spacecraft consisting of command, service, and lunar excursion modules. Each will carry only a small percentage of its propellant capacity.

It will be interesting to see how the launch scheduling for the I-B program fares. Chrysler Space Division president H. Douglas Lowrey is hoping for a reduction in time for launchings.

The I-B first stage will generate 1.6 million pounds thrust and will be about 9 tons lighter than the Saturn I.

At the end of the Saturn I program at the cape on July 30, Chrysler and the other contractors were commended by space agency officials for their work on the rocket program.

Manuel Quezon—Hero of the Philippines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, today, our good neighbors in the Pacific community and our very close longtime friends, the people of the Philippines, are celebrating the anniversary of the birth of their late, beloved President, Manuel Quezon. Their distinguished current President, Mr. Macapagal, recently remarked that Manuel Quezon was more than a leader of the peaceful political revolution of the Filipino people; he was its hero. It seems fitting on this day to briefly review the story of this great hero of Filipino democracy and his now-booming nation, the Republic of the Philippines. It is a story of remarkable progress and growth. A story of peaceful revolution—peaceful, not violent, and revolution, not merely evolution. President Macapagal once observed that the still-continuing revolution of the Filipino people can be divided "into three stages: the military stage, the political stage, and the economic stage."

The first of President Macapagal's three stages, the military, featured the struggle against Spanish rule. After 377 years, that rule was brought to an end during the Spanish-American War when Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, with American aid, captured Manila from the Spanish. With the end of the war, Americans came to these islands in the Pacific firmly committed to a belief in self-determination and therefore to preparing the Filipinos for self-rule in a truly democratic society. It was then up to the Filipinos themselves to take up this standard and make of it what they would. The challenge was eagerly taken up by men of such caliber as Manuel Quezon who launched the Philippines into the second and political stage of its revolution.

The first elections were held in 1907 for a body that was later to become the House of Representatives. Creation of the Senate soon followed, and Manuel Quezon, by then the No. 2 man of his party, was elected President of the Senate. A virtual dynamo in the Senate, Quezon worked with faith and determination to build the foundations of democracy in the Philippines. In line with this objective, he came to Washington in 1916 to lobby successfully for the Jones law, an act which promised Filipino independence as soon as a stable government could be established. Upon his return to the Philippines, he continued his work toward independence and for a government based upon a constitutional separation of powers. It is easy to understand why this highly revered public figure soon took the dominant position in Philippine politics where he remained until the Japanese occupation.

President Quezon did not live to see the independent and democratic Philippines for which he had dedicated his life. Independence came 2 years after his untimely death in 1944. But he had done his work well. The foundations of democratic self-government had been firmly laid as the vigor of the struggle against the Japanese occupation troops and the quick political recovery after the war subsequently demonstrated. Duly therefore, thanks in large part to Manuel Quezon, on July 12, 1946, history recorded the entrance of another independent nation into the world and into the Pacific Community. On that day, ties of dependence with the United States were transformed into bonds of friendship.

President Quezon's achievements consumated the political revolution of the Philippines. But his vision went for beyond even the great political ideals he championed so well. For he also dreamed of building his beloved Philippines into a nation of people strong economically as well as politically. And today, that dream is being fulfilled, possibly beyond even what a man of Manuel Quezon's great vision could imagine.

For today, the Filipions are fully immersed in the third stage of their revolution. Today, the Philippines is on the move. Thanks to the nation's noteworthy record of political stability and the rapid growth of an energetic and ambitious entrepreneurial class, the growth of the Philippines in the past few years has been fantastic. Evidence of forward-surging progress is everywhere in sight. The port of Manila teems with ships from around the world busily transporting 85 percent of the country's $1 billion-plus export-import trade. Millions of ton-miles of freight move over a vastly intricate and adequate transportation system of railroads, trucks, boats and airplanes. Even bicycles, hundreds of thousands of them, piled high with produce can be seen being pedaled energetically to and from marketplaces throughout the land. New buildings are going up everywhere along the well-planned wide main streets of Manila. Whole areas are being torn down and reconstructed. The roads are jammed with some 172,000 autos, trucks, and buses. The country is clearly in the midst of an economic revolution.

The Philippine economy and its outlook are not all sampaquitos—or as we would say "roses"—however. For the country is beset with most of the problems which plague all of the developing nations. Probably the foremost of these problems is a lack of capital. True, the banking industry has grown at an impressive rate—in the past 5 years the number of domestic banks has gone up 181 percent, rural banks 109 percent and development banks 156 percent, and bank reserves have nearly trebled—but this growth has not begun to meet the growing needs. Meanwhile, the government has found it necessary since 1963 to follow a tight money policy in order to stabilize the peso. Unfortunately also, wealthy Filipinos for the most part have failed to meet the need because they tend to invest in nonproductive areas such as real estate.

The Filipinos also face problems of geography and population. Their population is increasing by 3.3 percent per year, thereby adding 1 million people a year to an already large total of 3.3 million. Moreover, with the most youthful population in the Pacific community, the demand for employment is overwhelming, with the result that 15 percent of the nation's work force is unemployed.

Geographically, the Philippines is located in a very strategic position—economically and militarily. Indeed, she could very well consider herself to be at the hub of southeast Asia. As such, the patterns of trade are increasingly bringing her the riches of trade through official channels. However, she is also cursed with the opposite side of the coin; she must fend off the unofficial and unwanted trade: smuggling. Because she is made up of a thousand islands with a greater total shoreline that our own Nation, she is presently capable of arresting only a small proportion of an estimated $1 billion smuggling racket. These geographic conditions of course also create a vast problem of military defense. Fortunately, she is blessed with many friendly neighbors in the Pacific community, but the waves of aggression are now washing perilously near her shores.

Internally, the Filipino people are burdened by a regressive tax structure that is highly inequitable. It fails to take a proper proportion from the well-to-do, thereby burdening the man in the lower income bracket. As a result, only 27.5 percent of all taxes comes from income and property taxes. The rest must be made up by indirect taxes on sales and production which further burden the low income group, but still do not realize an adequate amount of revenue to cope with the increasing costs of building the Nation's social overhead; roads, schools, et cetera.

These are the kinds of difficult problems which are challenging the third stage of the Filipino revolution. To be sure, the list here has been illustrative and not exhaustive. Encourgingly, however, the Government, backed by a people aroused to the hope of a better life, has moved vigorously and courageously to meet the great needs posed by the problems of development. In 1962, led by the esteemed President Macapagal, the Government instituted a sweeping program of monetary decontrol which freed the peso to seek its own level. Complemented by an anti-inflationary policy, decontrol quickly stabilized the peso at 3.90 to the dollar, where, except for minor fluctuations, it has remained ever since, thus eliminating a terrible problem of corruption created by black market money dealings. Morever, by forcing industry to adjust and become more

realistic and efficient, decontrol encouraged the free and vigorous competition that has been such an important factor in the tremendous growth of the Philippines.

Decontrol of the peso became a firm launching pad that enabled President Macapagal's ambitious "5-year integrated socioeconomic program" to get off the ground. The 5-year plan set its sights toward new domestic investment of over $3 billion, plus $860 million in new foreign investment. For the public sector the proposed outlay would expand public power, roads, flood control, irrigation and port and airport facilities. An additional outlay goes to agricultural expansion, health, education and low-cost public housing. For the private sector, the investment pace is equally fast. There the target is set at nearly $1 billion, which, if achieved, will open the way for new processing plants for food, chemicals, and pulp. Thus far, the effect of the program has been remarkable, and the goal, according to Minister of Finance Hechanova, seems to be in sight for the beginning of the fiscal year 1967.

As a result of the Government's efforts as a result of the tremendous response of the people, the Philippines is growing, growing at a rate of 6.7 percent per year. And all indications are that this growth rate will continue.

What does this tremendous growth of the Philippines mean? For the Philippines itself? For her neighbors in the Pacific Community? For America? It means that the Philippines is industrializing at a furious pace. It means that in the space of a single decade the growth of local industry has cut consumer imports by more than half. Today, the pace is increasing. And that means opportunities for the Pacific neighbors of the Philippines. The surging growth of Filipino industries means that imports will climb from a sizable $700 million in 1964 to more than $1 billion within the next 5 years to feed the voracious Filipino appetite for capital equipment. They need lathes, presses and punches for industry. They need sprinkler valves and diesel engines for modernizing agriculture. They need earth movers, power shovels and water pumps. They need mining equipment and logging equipment. But opportunities are not limited to sales of heavy equipment alone. The growth in industry has meant a growth in income for the Filipino people, and demand is up in every field despite the increasing efforts of local industry to meet consumer needs. The lower income consumer wants cloth, canned milk, canned sardines, and small appliances. The higher income groups want household appliances, telephones, beauty aids, books, magazines, cameras, projectors and film. To all consumers, the label "Made in the U.S.A." connotes prestige and quality. I could list many more items in all areas of commerce but the point is, the Filipinos need everything from bobbie pins to bulldozers.

We can supply it to them. A dynamic, developing Philippines offers glittering opportunities for commerce, and American businessmen should reach out to embrace them as they have always done in the past. This time it will not be so easy. Americans must face the stiff competition put forth by the newly industrialized nations both inside and outside of the Pacific community—Japan, Australia, the Netherlands, and West Germany. At present, Americans still have a few advantages in trade with the Philippines. We still have an agreement with that republic for a 10-percent lower trade tariff on almost all imports. The Filipinos are still culturally and politically very close to the United States; they still favor U.S. brand names; they know that U.S. sales mean quality and quick delivery. American businessmen still have a parity right in the exploitation of minerals by the Laurel-Langley Trade Agreement of 1954, and they still have parity with Filipino businessmen. But these rights along with the tariff advantages will run out in 1974. Moreover, the islanders are finding that Japanese products may not always measure up to American goods qualitywise, but the credit terms and prices are much more favorable. These factors, considering the Filipinos' shortage of liquidity and quick eye for a better deal, are increasingly nullifying existing American advantages and promise to leave us far out of the picture when they are gone forever. This trend is sharply illustrated by the fact that the American share of the Filipino market has dropped from 75 percent in 1953 to an alltime low of 43 percent in 1964 and is continuing to fall.

To regain our advantage in the Philippines, to realize the opportunities therein, U.S. businessmen must move with vigor. They must gage the needs and standards of the third stage of the Filipino revolution. They must gear their sales programs to a higher, more sophisticated pitch. Businessmen must put forth a new, imaginative, and vigorous program encompassing liberal credit terms and a willingness to advertise extensively, to take small orders and to provide better customer service.

By liberal credit terms, I mean that America must meet the competition of nations such as Japan and West Germany, who offer deferred payment terms of up to 5 years. In a recent case, a German supplier on credit terms required a payment of 10 percent with placement of the order, 10 percent with presentation of shipping documents, and the balance in 10 semiannual installments, the first being due 9 months after delivery. Other nations have made further successes in the Philippines through vigorous market promotion activities. These include: trade delegations, and/or trade expositions; extensive product advertising; a willingness to fill small and odd-lot orders; and provision of Government and private technical assistance when needed.

Moreover, the American businessman must give more personal attention such as German salesmen, for example, do to cultivate the Filipino market. This should include sales trips to principal cities outside Manila. Canvassing of interested firms by a salesman adds the personal touch that is so important a factor in doing business in the Philippines. In any case, American business must put its best foot forward in the Philippines. They must break loose from their contented, complacent attitude toward the Filipino market before they lose it completely.

We in the Congress and the Government must stand ready to help. We are interested in seeing our business prosper in the Pacific because we know that commerce is a leading step in developing and enriching the Pacific community. Today, Americans and Filipinos hold each other in high regard. We must not let our partnership with that great nation lapse. Rather, we must act positively not only to promote trade but to seek new horizons and new frontiers of friendship through which we can bring ourselves closer together as partners in the Pacific. We must encourage and develop our relations by sharing each other's cultural heritage, our social and technological advances, our scientific explorations. We must complete and compliment each other in trade. We must always remember that this gem of the Pacific is still a diamond in the rough. It only awaits the lapidaries with courage and imagination to cut, shape, and polish its many facets. Let us, with our friends in the Philippines, be the lapidaries who will shape a great Pacific community of nations.

Mr. Speaker, the Republic of the Philippines is a glorious example of an active and growing member of the Pacific community. President Quezon would be a proud man today if he could see the fruits of his great work and feel the spirit of industry and adventure in a free Philippines. Without question, his countrymen can also be proud and can pay homage not only to President Quezon but to themselves as well.

Drum Corps Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 22, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, since this is Drum Corps Week, I think it only fitting that I note the activities of one drum and bugle corps engaged in this worthwhile and purposeful activity.

I am referring to the Springdale Girls Drum and Bugle Corps, which will participate in a mammoth parade on Saturday, concluding the Connecticut State Firemen's convention in Stamford.

The Springdale unit consists of girls 9 to 13 years of age under the leadership of a volunteer director, John Nagle, who contributes many hours and much effort to this undertaking.

And to raise money for the corps the girls crocheted potholders, collected bottles and held a cake sale in Springdale.

Membership in the corps is considered a privilege by the girls. The community also regards it highly.

Therefore, these girls are to be commended for their activities.

Congress and Its Critics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following articles from the August 17 and 18, 1965 editions of the New York Herald Tribune which were taken from an address by Neil MacNeil before the American Assembly of George Washington University.

Much of the estrangement which is felt between Congress and members of the academic community can be attributed to the mistaken approach of political scientists who study Congress. This tradition, which began with Woodrow Wilson, values a "detached" method of study, and would have us believe that the work of Congress can best be interpreted without examining Congress itself, or consulting with its Members. The results of this type of approach are many generalizations with few specifics, and a basic misunderstanding of the way in which Congress operates.

Fortunately, there has been a recent challenge to this traditional approach. A group of young political scientists has been trying to bring realism to their teaching and bridge the chasm between Congress and the intellectual community. They are sending students and teachers to Capitol Hill and inviting Members of Congress to the campuses.

It is desirable that we have cooperation from both the academicians and from the Members of Congress so that our work can be properly studied and evaluated, as it has not been in the past.

The articles follow:

CONGRESS AND ITS CRITICS

(By Neil MacNeil)

Congress, institutionally, feels toward its critics in the intellectual community much the way the catfish felt toward the fisherman. "Hold still, catfish," the fisherman said, "I only want to gut you."

The political scientist's understanding and description of Congress often are incomprehensible to the Members of Congress, and theirs are frequently incomprehensible to the political scientist.

In plain terms, Congress and the intellectual community do not understand each other. The loss is the Nation's loss, for Congress needs help in meeting the promise of America's future.

Parliamentary practice, like law, is based not on logic, but on experience. It is pragmatic, rather than scholastic.

Out of its traditions come the instincts of Congress toward itself, the other branches of the Government and the outside world. It operates on a live-and-let-live philosophy that is not merely a vulgar and a moral indifference to ethical considerations. Involved here is a tolerance toward opposing views, a willingness to let those other views be voiced and voted, a recognition of the fundamental right of disagreement, which is the heart of a free society. If Congress tolerates the mountebanks and demagogs in its ranks, on the grounds that they, too, were elected, it respects only its men of character, industry, ability, and sincerity.

In this estrangement from the intellectual community, I do not for a moment exonerate Congress from its share of the blame. Frequently, Members of Congress have been, and are, guilty of a self-serving complacency about Congress and the rules and practices of Congress.

But a large share of the blame falls, also, on the academic community, and on none more importantly than the political scientists, those most responsible to interpret for us all the meaning and substance of Congress.

From the beginning, many political scientists have approached the study of Congress with techniques strikingly at variance with those of other academic disciplines. Too many political scientists have not learned what Lord Acton called the lesson of intellectual detachment.

In rough terms, I would like to sketch briefly the differences I have found in the methods of many American political scientists and those of American historiography, the discipline in which I was trained.

The American historian reflects a tradition running back to Francis Parkman, whose great history is right now being republished. As a young man in the 1840's, Parkman began to prepare himself to write the history of the struggle between England and France for the North American Continent. A Protestant, he went to Rome to study the Catholic faith and ritual. He lived with the Indians, not only the broken tribes of the East, but the wild savages of the great West. He examined the fort at Ticonderoga and he traced Montcalm's battle lines. He visited and explored all the places on the continent that were a part of his history.

Parkman spared nothing, least of all himself, that he might know his subject totally. Parkman thus set the tradition of American historians.

How different is the tradition of American political scientists—at least those committed to the study of Congress. The hero of this tradition is Woodrow Wilson. Wilson, as a young man, wrote "Congressional Government," the first and still most influential academic book in the field. He wrote it while serving on the faculty of Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, scarcely an hour's trip even then from Washington. Yet during the years he spent preparing to write his book, Wilson never visited Congress. His biographer and friend, Ray Stannard Baker, assures us that Wilson actually believed to do so would harm his comprehension of Congress. Wilson believed he could better understand the real business of Congress by a close study of the appropriate documents.

Wilson's book shows the price he paid for not seeing Congress for himself. He was long on generalizations, short on specifics, and he misread Congress in fundamental ways.

Wilson was appalled at the lack of discipline and central direction in the American Congress. Had he visited Congress, he would have seen that even then Congress had moved in precisely the direction he advocated. The Senate was in the thrall of a triumvirate. Speakers Blaine, Randall and Carlysle, in turn, had already invoked strict discipline through the party caucus, they controlled committee through the chairmen they appointed and they were developing the House Rules Committee as an instrument of dictatorial power.

Professor Wilson, writing in the 1880's, described a Congress that more nearly resembled the Congress of the 1850's. Had he understood the pressure points of Congress, he might not have suffered as President his greatest legislative catastrophe: defeat by the Senate of the League of Nations.

Wilson left a legacy that taught generations of political scientists that they need not examine the congressional premises for themselves, that they need not consult with its members and that, all the same, they were equipped to correct its flaws.

Canada To Study Water Diversion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, on August 7, the New York Times carried what I regard as an extremely important article. The Times Ottawa correspondent, Jay Walz, reported that the Canadian Government for the first time has agreed to study the feasibility of diverting Hudson Bay-bound rivers southward.

As I have pointed out in the House before, it is my view that such a project could solve many of North America's most pressing water problems.

By diverting these waters into the Great Lakes:

First. The level of the lakes could be raised and controlled.

Second. Power production at Niagara Falls could be stabilized.

Third. The fresh supply of water would flush pollutants from the lakes.

Fourth. Chicago, Ohio, and possibly New York City could draw off fresh water for their growing needs.

Because of the importance of Mr. Walz' article, I insert it in the RECORD:

CANADA TO STUDY WATER DIVERSION—AVERSION TO SHARING IT WITH UNITED STATES MAY BE ABATING

(By Jay Walz)

OTTAWA, August 7.—A northern river water survey announced here this week offers some hope that Canadian resistance to exporting water to the United States may gradually abate.

The Governments of Canada and Ontario agreed this week to find out whether waters now flowing wastefully into Hudson Bay might be diverted southward. The study may take 5 years.

Both Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson and Premier John Robarts of Ontario stressed, however, that water would be exported to relieve acute U.S. shortages only if southern Ontario's projected needs are met. This area of Canada contains the country's largest and fastest growing industrial complex.

Mr. Pearson stated his nation's reluctance to share its water as follows:

UNEXPLORED RIVERS

"While our country is fortunate to be so well endowed with water supplies, it is of the greatest importance to us that these supplies are handled wisely (to) provide for growth and development."

There is little question that in any event Canada would use its neighbor's urgent need for water as a powerful lever to maintain this country's economic and political balance with the United States.

Until now Canadian officials concerned with water have been embarrassed by a lack of information about what their water "endowment" really amounts to.

"I am told," said Premier Robarts this week, "there are rivers in northern Ontario which have never been visited by white men."

The areas to be studied include the Severn, Winisk, Attawapiskat, Albany and Moose Rivers, all in northern Ontario.

The chief concern now is the dropping level of the Great Lakes over the last few years. Lake Ontario's level fell about 2 feet below average last year and that of Lake Huron was even greater. Navigation difficulties in the lakes and St. Lawrence Seaway have resulted, with shipbuilding hampered and many marinas ruined.

CONCERN ON NIAGARA

Canadians, therefore, are alarmed every time they hear proposals to tap the Great Lakes to relieve shortages in New York City or elsewhere.

Mayor Wagner of New York City made such a suggestion 2 weeks ago, and more recently an organization called Consolidated Engineering Contractors International, Ltd., recommended to Governor Rockefeller a plan to tap Niagara Falls to give New York City more water.

This concerns Canada because the flow at Niagara is considered international. Canada and the United States share the Great Lakes and must, accordingly, agree on plans to divert their waters.

Beyond this Canadians are resisting the "growing acceptance" in the United States of the concept of a continental pooling of water resources. Stewart L. Udall, the U.S. Secretary of the Interior, sometimes puts the subject of water in this framework but Canadians are far from ready even to discuss "continental water."

"This is our water," says Arthur Laing, Minister of Northern Affairs.

"Water is our heritage and you don't sell your heritage," W. A. C. Bennett, Premier of British Columbia, told a visitor.

The Teachers Sabbatical Leave Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, the problem of teachers in keeping up to date with the latest developments in their fields is one which is of utmost importance and affects all of us.

While we can appropriate billions of dollars for new school facilities, in the last analysis a school is only as good as its teachers.

Teachers should be protected against losing contact with the current world of ideas. They must have adequate funds and time to pursue study in their particular areas of specialization. Accordingly, I have introduced in the House of Representatives, H.R. 8958, the teachers sabbatical leave program. This would provide fellowships to experienced teachers in elementary and secondary schools to take sabbatical leaves for graduate study in any field which would assist them to be better teachers.

Happily, President Johnson has endorsed this program. As a former teacher, he knows of their problems from firsthand knowledge.

The teachers sabbatical leave program is a natural complement to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Together, these programs will increase the zest, knowledge, and insight which our teachers bring to their great work and will greatly improve the caliber of education for our Nation's youngsters.

Colorado Firm Plays Key Role in Space Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, as you know, our Nation is engaged in an extensive solar physics research program managed by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, under the direction of the Goddard Space Flight Center. A major part of this research effort into the nature of Earth-Sun relationships has been underway for some time.

One particular effort in NASA's overall space science program is the orbiting solar observatory program, which involves a series of scientific satellites called OSOS. This program, I feel, represents an outstanding example of teamwork between government, industry and our scientific communities.

My interest in this program not only stems from its continuing contribution to our Nation's space research effort, but also because this highly successful satellite is a product of the great State of Colorado. In fact, I am proud to say that the company charged with the responsibility of designing and building the satellites, under the technical direction of the Goddard Space Flight Center, is located in my district—this company is the Ball Bros., Research Corp., Boulder, Colo.

The second in this series of satellites—the OSO II—achieved one of its most important mission objectives on August 3, by succesful completion of its designed 6-month life-time period.

At this time, I would like to read to you and have included in the RECORD, this letter of congratulations, sent by Mr. L. T. Hogarth, OSO project manager at the Goddard Space Flight Center, to Dr. R. C. Mercure, Jr., who is director of Ball Bros., Research Corp. at Boulder, Colo. This letter is self-explanatory and represents vividly the benefits derived from such government, industry, and scientific teamwork:

NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND
SPACE ADMINISTRATION,
GODDARD SPACE FLIGHT CENTER,
Greenbelt, Md.

DR. RUEL C. MERCURE, JR.,
Ball Bros. Research Corp.,
Boulder Industrial Park, Boulder, Colo.

DEAR DR. MERCURE: On August 3, our second Orbiting Solar Observatory, officially OSO–II, completed the 6-months lifetime for which it was designed. We should not let this occasion go unremarked.

When we began the design and construction of these observatories, we all felt that 6 months of useful life in space was as much as we could expect from such complicated machines. We now have a spacecraft functioning perfectly after 6 months service, its useful lifetime limited apparently only by its gas supply. Together, these two facts are a measure of our achievement and our progress. They speak well indeed for the standards that we set and for the excellence of your company's design and workmanship.

The observatory is responding perfectly to the command system which we designed at this Center and which you installed at Boulder. We are able to control the complicated functions of the observatory in orbit as well as we could hope to on the ground. With careful management, and using the capability that this command system and the Ball Bros. spacecraft system give us, we hope to extend the life of the observatory for many weeks.

We continue to receive appreciative messages from the scientists whose instruments we are flying on OSO–II. As you know, two of the instruments reported early that they were having difficulties. These reports are proving to be of great importance in the design of instruments for future missions, in this and other programs. All other instruments have worked perfectly throughout the life of the observatory. In over 2,700 orbits of the earth, we have received more than 300 million distinct measurements of scientific interest. The scientific community is not unappreciative. We have been credited with producing a perfect spacecraft.

I feel that the OSO–II mission constitutes a quiet and elegant demonstration of our national capability in space science and space technology. It has been a wonderful example of what Government, science, and industry can do together. To me, as manager, this collaboration has been very important, and I find our success in it especially gratifying.

At this time, with this solid achievement behind us, I want to congratulate you and your company upon your accomplishment in designing and fabricating the OSO–II spacecraft. Please convey to all who worked with us on this project our appreciation and our thanks.

Sincerely,

L. T. HOGARTH,
OSO Project Manager.

I feel obligated to point out to my colleagues in Congress that our country has certainly received its money's worth from OSO–II. As Mr. Hogarth's letter states, as of August 3, this satellite has accomplished its mission for a period of 6 months. From that date on, I might add, the information recorded and transmitted back to our NASA ground stations can be considered a scientific bonus for our scientists and a public contribution to the U.S. taxpayer.

Thanks to Legislative Research Branch of Library of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, as the summer draws to an end, the many young people who have interned on Capitol Hill will be returning to their campuses wiser in the ways of government. Each Member of Congress has been happy, I know, to provide this opportunity to these students and to answer their queries about practical politics. I know that many of my colleagues, like myself, have taken advantage of the extra man-power in their offices to investigate special projects or aspects of issues and bills of particular interest to them. With this increased volume of research and investigation, an added number of requests have been placed with the research serv-

ices of the Library of Congress. Often my interns have commented to me about the helpfulness and dispatch of the legislative research's assistance, and I am sure few interns leave the Hill without the memory of the tolerant, efficient service of these specialists. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to thank the legislative research branch of the Library of Congress for a job well done, not only during this summer but also during the entire year.

Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial from the August 17, 1965 edition of the Evening Star. Western critics of the administration's plan to cut down the silver content in our coinage have claimed that such action would lessen people's trust in the coinage. A refutation of this criticism can be found in the experience of Las Vegas. The plastic gambling chips from Nevada's casinos have become almost legal tender, and are accepted throughout the State as cash. This would seem to indicate that confidence in a medium of exchange is generated by factors other than the intrinsic value of a coin. If Nevada's gambling casinos generate such confidence, surely U.S. Government backing of coinage can guarantee this confidence, too.

The editorial follows:

FUNNY MONEY

One of the arguments of the Western States' silver bloc against the administration's plan to cut down silver content in our coinage was based on psychology. If people knew the new dimes and quarters contained less than this precious metal, the theory went, they wouldn't trust the coinage.

No matter that European countries long ago cut down the amount of silver in their coins without harm. No matter that a worldwide industrial shortage of the metal provided a market for all the silver that our mines could generate at today's prices. The habits of the 19th century were too deeply ingrained in Americans.

Well, a funny thing has happened out in Las Vegas. According to news reports, a type of "coin" made of plastic has become almost legal tender. These are the chips from gaming tables, brightly colored, intrinsically worth perhaps a penny apiece.

So respectable have Nevada's gambling casinos become, and so reliable in redeeming these $1, $5, and $10 chips with paper currency, that most stores in the State accept them as cash.

It's ironic that the home of the cartwheel would produce this lesson in the symbolism of money. And it suggests that something bigger is at work in maintaining the confidence of the public in our medium of exchange.

If the integrity of a gaming house produces such child-like faith in plastic money, perhaps the credit of the U.S. Government is worth something too in backing our coinage.

The First Hundred Years of Ela Township

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, in the 12th Illinois Congressional District, the centennial of Ela Township, in Lake County, is being celebrated this week. The celebration began last Friday with an old-fashioned corn roast and it will conclude on Saturday, August 21, with a "Salute to the Future." It will be my privilege to participate in some of the festivities, including the presentation of a flag which has been flown over the Capitol and which will hereafter fly over the Ela Town Hall, as a symbol of the Republic of which Ela Township is a vital part.

Lake County, Ill., was once a part of the Northwest Territory. Historians report that as early as 1650 French traders were there to carry on a lucrative fur-trading business with the Pottawatomie Indians and other tribes which had control of the land.

Daniel Wright, said to be the first white man to enter the area for settlement, arrived in 1834. A veteran of the War of 1812, Wright won the confidence of the Indians. Many other white men followed Wright into the territory and in a short while settlements had sprung up. The territory had been acquired from the Indians through a treaty of 1829.

Another settler, George Ela, in whose honor Ela Township is named, built a cabin and cleared a field sometime in 1835. This is the event which we commemorate in this centennial observance. George Ela served later as the town's first postmaster and as a member of the State legislature.

Credited with founding Lake Zurich, the village which is most prominent in Ela Township, is Seth Paine. A Chicagoan who made the then 4-day journey from the city on the shores of Lake Michigan, Paine was probably the first permanent settler in Lake Zurich. He staked a claim in 1836, put up buildings and changed the name of Cedar Lake to Lake Zurich, after Lake Zurich, Switzerland. Accounts vary, but Paine is described as a philanthropist, an untiring abolitionist, and a humanist. He was said to be a radical, a zealot, and a nonconformist. He erected a stable of humanity, which was an inn, a place where town meetings were held, a school, and a stopping point for slaves escaping from the South. He published the town's first newspaper, the Lake Zurich Banker, in order to get his views known. He started the first sawmill in Lake County at Lake Zurich in Ela Township in 1843.

The Federal Census of 1850 found the population to be 988, but the settlers continued to come to develop the rich farmlands. Came the Civil War and many of the young men of the area joined the Union Army.

Following the Chicago fire of 1871, many refugees from the city journeyed to Ela Township to begin their lives again.

The village of Lake Zurich was incorporated in 1896 and remains the patriarch of Ela Township. The youngest village is Kildeer, born March 22, 1858, with 59 inhabitants. In its 7 short years, Kildeer has grown to 280. It, too, is a symbol of the Republic of which it is a part and a growing prophecy of the future which will be saluted on August 21.

The significant Ela Township Centennial has been organized by a number of my longtime friends. The president and general chairman, Gordon E. Beaubien, is also president of the Lake Zurich State Bank. The honorary chairman, Harry L. Knigge, is the Ela Township supervisor. Vice president of the centennial is the distinguished lawyer, Albert S. Salvi. The secretary, Margaret Petersen; assistant secretary, Marian Schiller; treasurer, Richard Barrie; headquarters chairman, Gene Frank; the parade chairman, Dean Dobekas, as well as Mrs. Robert Scott, Mrs. Sue Rogaz, Mrs. Elynor Centt, David Goldbogen, Mrs. Betty Wawirka and many others who have contributed time and talent to this centennial, are my longtime friends and respected citizens of Ela Township. Publicity has been provided through the guidance of one of the Nation's outstanding advertising executives, Leo Burnett, himself an Ela Township resident.

Congratulations are due to these and other members of the committee and citizens of the community, including Lake Zurich President William Schuldt and the Ela Township clerk, William F. Buhr. All have contributed to the success of the event honoring Ela Township as it completes its first 100 years and enters a second century with confidence.

Will There Be a March on Springfield?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I have just taken from the wire of the Associated Press a story datelined Springfield, Mass. The story reads as follows:

Civil rights groups asked the courts today to forbid city officials and police from interfering with their plans for a Selma-type demonstration parade on Saturday.

The police have refused to issue a permit for the parade.

Judge Donald M. Acauley marked the petition for hearing tomorrow.

The petition also asked the court to forbid the police to harass or make further arrests of demonstrators, and to halt prosecution of 67 already under arrest from demonstration activities.

Mr. Speaker, I can understand why the city officials of Springfield do not want a demonstration which will tie up traffic, curtail business, and interfere

with the lawful duties of city personnel. Any community faced with these demonstrations and civil disobedience is confronted with many problems in trying to carry on legitimate business and to protect the rights of all the people of the community to be free from mob action.

But surely those Members of Congress from Massachusetts who joined in the attack upon the city officials and police of Selma when they attempted to halt these outbreaks of lawlessness, will now be equally vocal in demanding the right of the Springfield demonstrators to break the laws without fear of arrest. I am certain that the public officials and clergymen of Massachusetts who loudly condemned Selma, and many even went to Alabama to participate actively in breaking the laws, will now do at least as much in Springfield.

Or is civil disobedience and lawlessness right only when it takes place in another city and another State?

I should think the situation in Springfield would be the testing ground for the sincerity of those who have always felt that demonstrations and lawlessness are right when they take place in the South, but somehow not quite the same when they occur in a Northern State or community.

Lift the Whole Blanket

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, legislation alone is not the answer to the racial problem in our Nation. There are many human elements involved which must be dealt with through understanding and compassion. President Johnson correctly stated last June:

> It is not enough to lift just one corner (of the blanket of circumstances which buries the Negro community). We must raise the entire cover if we are to liberate our fellow citizens.

An editorial dealing with this topic appeared in the Sacramento Bee on August 14, 1965. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

The editorial follows:

[From the Sacramento Bee, Aug. 14, 1965]

LIFT THE WHOLE BLANKET

More legislation has been passed in the last 10 years for the American Negro than for any other single class of population. The reason is simple: It is legislation which has been in gestation for generations, for the abuses have covered generations. The object in all of it has been to create true equity, black and white, in the public sector.

However, the real victory in the end will not be in legislation but in the hearts of men. It will come when true equity is not granted, not given, but is created out of understanding that is a right and not a gift.

This day is farther distant than the completed law.

This day demands assessment in the heart, not in the courts or the marketplace; it demands humility and the recognition that all are equal before the law, not that some are equal. It is a day farther distant because it involves the human factor of charity and justice, and these do not always come easily for all of the fine words being spoken and written.

President Lyndon B. Johnson is aware that law is not the final answer. He said in his remarkable speech at Howard University last June:

"Nor can these differences be understood as isolated infirmities. They are a seamless web. They cause each other. They result from each other. It is not enough to lift just one corner (of the blanket of circumstances which buries the Negro community). We must raise the entire cover if we are to liberate our fellow citizens."

And so must we—all of us, as individuals, as a nation. In the end it shall have to be done if the entire problem, and not its segments, is to be attacked successfully.

Oelwein Junior Safety Council Wins National Award Fifth Consecutive Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, we are all aware that one of the gravest problems in our country is the distressingly high accident rate of the Nation's highways. The national safety council estimates that last year 47,700 lives were lost, and the figures through June of this year have reportedly reached an alltime high of 21,920.

When confronted with figures of such tragic proportions, it is indeed heartening to witness the efforts being made by a number of our citizens to encourage safe driving practices and to reduce these unfortunate statistics. I am therefore extremely pleased to bring to the attention of this body the work of the Oelwein, Iowa, Junior Safety Council, which has, for the fifth consecutive year, been awarded the National Vehicle Safety Check Circle of Safety Grand Award. This is a record unmatched anywhere in the country, and I feel that the young members of the junior safety council may be justly proud of their outstanding achievement.

It was my pleasure to observe the safety check in operation. At this time, I would like to insert into the RECORD an artcile printed in the Oelwein Daily Register, which describes the circumstances of the award in some detail:

JUNIOR SAFETY COUNCIL WINS NATIONAL AWARD FIFTH CONSECUTIVE YEAR—RECORD NEVER BEFORE MATCHED ANYWHERE IN UNITED STATES

For the fifth consecutive year, a record never before matched anywhere in the country, the Oelwein Junior Safety Council has won the National Vehicle Safety Check Circle of Safety Grand Award. It is the highest award a youth sponsored vehicle safety check can receive.

Safety Council co-chairmen Thomas Donald and Marcia Lorenz were notified of the fifth straight award Friday morning in a telegram from M. R. Darlington, Jr., of the National Vehicle Safety Check.

"Oelwein Junior Safety Council is recipient of Circle of Safety Grand Award for youth-sponsored safety checks," the telegram announced. A formal letter of notification will follow the telegram, according to Darlington.

The organization's national board of judges expressed their congratulations in the wire.

The announcement of Oelwein's winning entry followed the most successful vehicle safety check in the history of the Junior Safety Council.

During the 2-day check, May 14–15, approximately 3,400 vehicles, more than the total number of vehicles registered in Oelwein, were checked for faulty equipment.

Nearly 95 percent of the vehicles rejected had the faulty equipment repaired and returned to be rechecked.

Despite severe weather warnings and rain showers, more than 100 more vehicles were checked this year than in 1964.

A special feature of the 1965 safety check was a safety lane parade Saturday, May 15.

As in 1964, a free, 1-week vacation to a Minnesota resort was grand prize at a drawing held Friday, May 21. Each driver whose vehicle passed the safety lane was eligible to win. Many other donated prizes were drawn for, also.

According to Miss Lorenz, the Oelwein Junior Safety Council scrapbook, used by the national board of judges as the basis for its decision, was more than 4 inches thicker this year than in 1964.

Miss Lorenz, who has been sick and confined to her home for the past month, told the Register, "I think I'm better already * * * it's good medicine" after she received word of the record-setting award.

She expressed her thanks to "everybody" who helped with the safety lane check.

Donald, whose first comment was "Wow" said he was "still pinching himself" to make sure he wasn't just dreaming.

Rabbi Eliezer Wolfish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, it was our pleasure to have the invocation delivered today by one of my constituents, Rabbi Eliezer Wolfish, spiritual leader of the Northeast Jewish Center of Yonkers, N.Y.

Rabbi Wolfish is truly a remarkable person. Ordained in 1954, he was awarded the B.A. degree from the City College of New York and later received an LL. B. degree from the Brooklyn Law School. He is presently a candidate for the LL. M. and Ph. D. degrees from New York University and Yeshiva University respectively.

From 1957 to 1958, Rabbi Wolfish was assistant counsel to New York State Comptroller Arthur Levitt. Admitted to the New York State Bar, to U.S. Federal courts—northern, eastern, and southern districts of New York—and to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, he was a practicing attorney from 1962 to 1964. I have been advised that he still engages in the practice of law.

Among his religious duties, this talented young man has served at Temple Beth Sholom in Smithtown, N.Y., at the Beth Israel Congregation in Media, Pa.,

and as a chaplain at the Graterford Penitentiary in Pennsylvania and at the Bath, N.Y., Veterans' Administration hospital.

Mr. Speaker, I know our distinguished colleagues join in thanking Rabbi Wolfish for being with us today.

Dubious Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, there is more misinformation regarding so-called civil rights problems and cases than in any other facet of our society. Apparently many representatives of the news media jump to conclusions, not waiting to get the facts but every time an incident arises involving the civil rights of a member of a minority group it is immediately made a cause celebre and facts are no longer important.

Some time ago, a law student supposedly interning with a law firm in Richmond was arrested in Prince Edward County and charged with a felony because of an assault on a police officer.

The people of Prince Edward County are among the most law abiding in the United States of America. They have been under the heel of the Federal courts for years. They have been besieged by civil rights agitators and during all of this time not a single instance of a provoked incident, even to a hostile group, has been charged to the white citizens of Prince Edward County. They have gone along in a calm, lawful manner contending that all legal questions should be settled in the courts.

So much has been said through misinformation about happenings in Prince Edward that I desire to call to the attention of the House an editorial that appeared in the Farmville Herald on Friday, August 13, 1965, pointing out another incident in which misinformation or misunderstanding of the true situation has again taken place. It demonstrates that even responsible groups act without knowing the true facts or attempting to get the facts firsthand before condemning an entire area.

The editorial is as follows:

[From the Farmville (Va.) Herald, Aug. 13, 1965]

DUBIOUS AWARD

The American Bar Association in convention at Miami Beach this week conferred a dubious honor on Attorney George E. Allen, Sr., one of Richmond's most outstanding and brilliant lawyers, in citing him "for courageous advocacy" in the defense of Fred Wallace, who was accused of felonious assault in Prince Edward Courthouse in August 1963. The arrest was made following a civil rights demonstration in Farmville. Fred Wallace, a third-year Negro law student at Harvard University, was interning for the summer in the offices of Tucker & Marsh, of Richmond.

Wallace was tried and convicted in the county court on two charges of misdemeanor, and a felony charge was certified to the circuit court. Appeals were noted in each. He was capably represented by the firm of Tucker & Marsh.

The Harvard Law Review of September 1963, carried an account given by Wallace of the series of events leading to his arrest. The case aroused considerable interest, reaching into the highest echelons of the Federal Government.

Mr. Allen, first presented himself as representing the American Bar Association, afterward the Segal-Tweed Committee (a committee of lawyers acting without remuneration in civil rights cases). Mr. Allen charged that local lawyers would not be associated in the case. The fact is that the accused was well represent by his own lawyers, Tucker & March, who are certainly qualified, having won many important civil rights cases. A change of venue was denied in the circuit court. The case was removed and now rests in the district Federal court, never having been tried.

The action of the American Bar Association in citing Mr. Allen openly condemns the courts of Prince Edward County and the circuit courts of Virginia.

There was nothing particularly courageous in Mr. Allen's actions, Prince Edward has a record of being law abiding. The courts have a record of fairness and justice. Mr. Allen has succeeded in delaying justice, in delaying the trial of a man accused of a felony. The accused should have his day in court and be exonerated or convicted. That is, if due respect for the courts is to be maintained.

The citation by the American Bar Association is further reprehensible since the case is still before the court. The action is certainly premature, and gives an impression of prejudging a case still before a court, a criticism recently made of the journalism profession.

There are reasons we believe the citation is a dubious honor.

The Businessman's Peace Corps: International Executive Service Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article from the July 18, 1965, edition of the New York Times. Last January, a group of American businessmen, with the help of the foreign aid program, organized the International Executive Service Corps. This was a significant step in furthering the economic development of needy countries.

The corps is a nonprofit, private organization whose purpose is to recruit top American executives to work on a consultant basis with the private sector of the less-developed nations, helping to build skilled management leadership in each country. The Agency for International Development encouraged the formation of the IECS and provided the initial planning and financial support to get it underway, although the direction and control comes wholly from private American businessmen.

In the short time that it has been in existence the IESC has initiated 44 projects, with many more under study. The article tells of the success of the corps in its first few months as it brings the know-how of American businessmen to bear on the problems of the less developed world.

The article follows:

EXECUTIVE CORPS STARTS WRITING SUCCESS STORY IN ITS FIRST YEAR

(By Douglas W. Cray)

Contrary to form, a chance to catch up on a little fishing was not uppermost in the plans to George F. Salman, of Manhasset, L.I., when he retired 2 years ago at the age of 56, as controller of the Minerals & Chemicals Philipp Corp., an international trading corporation.

Yet today, fresh from a 3-month tour of volunteer service in Peru, Mr. Salman has brought back a tale that makes minnows out of any conventional entries in a fishing derby for retirees.

With the help of the recently organized International Executive Service Corps, a kind of business executives' Peace Corps, Mr. Salman found himself in the whaling business.

During his stay with the officers and directors of a small, struggling shore-station whaling company in Port Paita, Peru, Mr. Salman acquired enough whaling lore and whaling industry data to fill a book.

Instead of writing one, he shared his newly acquired knowledge in detailed reports with the company, which had been looking for ways to diversify a product line long confined to sperm oil and whale meat.

Mr. Salman describes his tour as "a most rewarding experience."

The general manager of the whaling company found it more than just personally "rewarding." In a recent letter to officials of the executive corps, he asserted that the help Mr. Salman provided "will save our industry from economic collapse; will create new job opportunities; will permit our industry to advance to manufacturing activities; and will help the country's economy, including the inflow of foreign currencies."

DISTINGUISHED GROUP

The International Executive Service Corps, which was formally organized last January, has not been in operation long enough to have received many such letters. But if the plans of the distinguished group of U.S. corporate executives who founded it work out, the organization will eventually have 400 to 500 projects like the one Mr. Salman participated in going on each year.

As the executive corps states in a new brochure for prospective "client" companies in developing nations:

"IESC is a private nonprofit organization directed and managed by businessmen. Its primary objective is to help improve the performance of privately owned commercial enterprises in developing countries essentially in the fields of general management, production, marketing and financial control. IECS makes available on request experienced executives for limited periods of time, usually 3 to 6 months, to advise the management of enterprises seeking assistance, and to help implement the recommendations made. IECS deals directly with individual businesses, and not through the governments of the United States and the host country."

The idea for this kind of gray flannel, privately operated Peace Corps was first voiced in 1963 by Senator VANCE HARTKE, Democrat of Indiana, and, that same year, by David Rockefeller, president of Chase Manhattan Bank, in the keynote address at the 13th annual International Management Congress.

Mr. Rockefeller said: "It is my suggestion that private companies in the industrialized nations—in addition to pursuing their own investment opportunities abroad—volunteer

to send members of their management to work in the developing areas."

He called for what he termed a "Managerial Task Force of Free Enterprise."

By June 1964, the project was being hailed by President Johnson as an "inspiring example of sane and sensible, responsible and constructive cooperation between government and private enterprise."

Besides Mr. Rockefeller, the chairman, directors include Sol M. Linowitz, chairman of Xerox Corp.; Andrew Heiskell, chairman of Time, Inc.; Lawrence Litchfield, Jr., chairman of Aluminum Co. of America; Ralph A. Peterson, president of the Bank of America, and David A. Shepard, executive vice president of Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey).

Frank Pace, Jr., is the full-time paid president of the organization, whose nine full-time staff members are mostly retired corporate executives. The organization has its headquarters at 720 Fifth Avenue.

HEAVY SCHEDULE

The executive corps has completed 4 projects, has 11 more in progress, and another 30 approved. A total of 44 projects, that is pleas for managerial assistance from private companies in developing countries, have been approved and 37 more are under study.

Essentially what the companies or clients are seeking is the managerial experience and background of senior and retired U.S. corporate executives.

The corps has a contract with the Agency for International Development whereby the initial financing of the venture is the part met by AID funds. AID will meet 75 percent of the nonproject costs and 80 percent of the project costs during fiscal 1965.

An additional $100,000 in expenses has been raised by the organization in a limited fundraising effort in the U.S. business community.

Eventually, the endeavor will be, according to its staff, 100 percent backed by private enterprise.

A volunteer like Mr. Salman—there are some 300 volunteers who have been fully screened and processed—receives no pay for his tour of service with a "client" company that might be in the Middle East, Latin America, or the Far East.

The client pays the corps a fee for his managerial services equivalent to the existing rate of pay in its country for such a senior management officer. The volunteer, in turn, receives only daily expenses for himself and, on occasion, his wife.

If the client is able to meet such an expense he is also expected to pay for the volunteer's travel expenses to and from his temporary place of service.

So far, more than 50 percent of the clients who have approached the corps for assistance are producing companies in the developing countries, whose output ranges from drugs and shoes to furniture and automotive parts.

Other companies are in the retail business, insurance, development banking, and various service or commercial ventures.

ACHIEVEMENTS NOTED

Mr. Salman, drawing from his acquaintances in the international business community, was able to obtain data on how another whaling company, in Africa, had diversified its production to include a substantial volume of business in meat extracts.

He turned this data over to the company that he worked 6 days a week with.

Another returned volunteer, who plans to return for another assignment this fall, is Otto G. Berwind, who managed a Sears, Roebuck & Co. store in Pittsburgh for 20 years.

He helped a large retail operation in David, Panama, set up a credit operation and revamp its management operations so that operating division heads were represented on the board instead of simply members of the family.

"To me," Mr. Rockefeller said last week, "the most significant achievement so far is that our experience has clearly demonstrated the workability of the concept of an executive service corps on a worldwide scale."

"Our returnees so far have all indicated a desire to return again for another assignment," Mr. Pace said last week.

The combination of an active alumni and a mounting desire on the part of individual companies in developing countries for skilled managerial assistance indicates that the executive corps has an active future ahead of it.

In the words of another volunteer, back from a tour of service in Panama:

"There is, of course, also the feeling of self-satisfaction in having made a contribution to what I consider a necessary and worthy cause. Equally important is the feeling of satisfaction of having taken on a challenge and beating it.'

U.S. Aid Moves Forests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an excellent article which appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer by Norma Bixler.

It is difficult to bring home the meaning of a few American tractors to the economy of a developing nation—as difficult as it is to dispel some of the more cynical rumors regarding foreign aid expenditures. Obviously, the American public cannot all "see" for themselves the success of our foreign assistance in remote jungles and far-off villages and cities, but it is heartening to read of one who actually has, and has found it a reassuring experience.

The article follows:

U.S. AID MOVES FORESTS

No wonder Americans get confused about foreign aid. Torn between their natural humanitarian instincts and their equally natural dislike for being gypped, they don't know whom to believe. They'd give a lot to find out for themselves.

Once, just once, I did.

We'd been in Burma around a year when it happened by sheer chance. For months I'd been hearing about some big tractors and trucks AID had given to Burma for hauling teak out of the jungle.

"Complete waste of money," Rangoon Americans kept telling me. Nongovernmental Americans, of course. They're as cynical abroad as they are at home, especially about what they can't see.

They hadn't fallen for the line about Russian virtue and virtuosity overseas because they saw its untruth.

They believed the story about the hardened bags of cement because Russia delivered these to Rangoon's docks.

And the sugar mill for sugarbeets instead of cane, had been installed in a nearby sugar cane country.

But not many Rangoon Americans went to the teak jungles, and they knew that only elephants could get the teak out.

Then our family went upcountry where American agricultural workers had planned an elephant ride for us. Teak jungle is where elephants live and work, so we took a train to a sawmill on the edge of a jungle.

But when the plans had been made some weeks earlier, neither Americans nor Burmese had remembered that this particular day was the Tazaungdaing Festival, a full-moon religious holiday. Elephants had the day off, as did the oozies, their trainers.

Our Burmese host insisted we wait while the oozies rounded up a couple of elephants for us.

Most of our party wandered down a dirt path to a village by the river. They were drawn by the wild, sweet music of a bamboo flute accompanied by bamboo clappers for percussion. Musicians and dancers were beating the deadline on the sundown festivities.

But a few of the men started up the path with our host to a rough shed which housed some heavy-duty trucks and tractors. They had to be the ones. There couldn't be many like them in Burma. I tagged along inconspicuously.

The monsoons had only just ended; truck tire treads and tractor cleats were caked with mud.

"You use them in the rains?" someone asked dubiously.

The Burmease hadn't heard about the money wasted in their purchase. He told us with pride how well they worked, even in the mud.

"They do the work of elephants?" The questioner was still disbelieving.

The Burmese said elephants still snaked logs out to the logging roads. But after that the machines brought the logs out here to the railroad lines. It saved time, meant more teak for export, more foreign exchange for Burma, more help she could give herself.

Words are only words. When the men moved on, I made the high climb to an engine cab and looked at a speedometer. On that short run, this truck had already piled up hundreds of miles.

I climbed down, brushed the mud off my skirt and followed the sound of the flute.

Those speedometers still reassure me when I hear tales of American aid waste which I can't check out for myself.

Water Resources and Development in the Middle East

SPEECH

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, ever since 1948, the Arab States of the Middle East have waged an all-out campaign to destroy the State of Israel. While the Arab peasant and his family have gone hungry and suffered amidst some of the worst living conditions to be found anywhere in the world, Mr. Nasser and the other so-called leaders of the Arab bloc have spent billions of dollars in a campaign to crush Israel.

The bitter jealousy and antagonism of the Arab States has driven them to commit acts of armed aggression against Israel with weapons purchased from the Soviet Union. But, as we all know, they would have done better to spend the military aid on food for their people and

economic development, because Israel has proven itself quite capable militarily of defending itself against all aggressors.

I think the Arabs are finally becoming cognizant of this fact, and thus have decided to alter their tactics, although their intentions remain the same. The new tactic is more subtle, more insidious, but is just as much an act of aggression as a bombing raid. I refer, of course, to the deliberate piracy of Israel's vital water supply by the Arab States.

Now you would think, Mr. Speaker, that in an area such as the Jordan River watershed where water is so crucial to the existence of life, and where there is so little water to be found, the riparian states would cooperate in a regional plan designed by hydrological experts for the benefit of all the people living there. But, regrettably, such is not the case.

A water-sharing plan has been conceived for the region. It is an excellent plan. It was formulated 10 years ago by the late U.S. Ambassador Eric Johnston, who drafted a masterful compromise between the Israelis and the Arabs on future plans for the development of the Jordan River waters. It was acknowledged then, as it is today, that the lack of some regional arrangement would not only waste whatever scarce water resources are available, but would also greatly increase the chances for an armed conflict over the use of those resources.

The Johnston plan was eminently fair to the Arab States. It provided that about 61 percent of the Jordan River water would be for the use of the Arab States, and that 39 percent would go to Israel. The plan was initially endorsed by Arab technical experts but was rejected by the Arab League for political reasons.

The political reason was, Mr. Speaker, that the Arabs were not about to participate in any plan which benefited Israel in any way. Although the Johnston plan gave the States of Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan all the water they needed to irrigate their lands, although rejection of the plan meant serious losses to themselves, the Arab States were perfectly willing to cut off their noses to spite their faces if they could hamper Israel's progress.

And so the logic and necessity of economics are today being ignored in the Jordan River region. Petty and aggressive nationalism and hatred on the part of the Arab States is causing millions of gallons of precious Jordan River water to flow daily to the Dead Sea, while cities and farms on both sides search frantically for additional supplies. And yet Israel, showing remarkable patience and restraint in the face of this criminal wastage of water, has consistently built her irrigation projects in strict compliance with the provisions of the Johnston formula, in the hope that someday the integrated regional plan for water sharing in the Middle East will be implemented. In order to irrigate the barren Negev desert region in the south, Israel has, in accordance with the Johnston plan, built a 125-mile conduit from Lake Tiberias to the Negev which will eventually draw some 320 million cubic meters of water from the Jordan River's yearly flow of 1 billion cubic meters. But wastage still goes on.

Wastage, however, is one thing; piracy is altogether different. In 1964, President Nasser, of Egypt, decided he could stand by no longer and watch Israel flourish and prosper. But he knew he could not launch a military attack without being utterly crushed by the superior Israel forces. So he decided the Arab States must band together and hit Israel where she is now most vulnerable—in her water supply.

The Arab States decided to dam and divert the Hasbani and Banyas Rivers in Lebanon and Syria, which feed the Jordan River. Thus the Arabs planned to divert almost half the Jordan River's flow away from Israel, in clear violation of the Johnston plan, at great expense, and for no other purpose than sheer harassment. This diversion is now taking place.

Israel cannot stand still for this particularly sinister and cowardly form of aggression, which injures not only soldiers, but farmers and women and children as well. There have already taken place a number of armed clashes between Israeli and Arab forces, and there will be more, unless the Arab States desist immediately from their odious policy of water thievery.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, that the United States has no other choice but to do everything in its power to see that the Arabs are prevented from weakening or threatening the State of Israel in any way. This brave young state, which has demonstrated by hard work and courage that the most incredible feats of economic development are possible in the Middle East, represents our most stable political and military ally in this strategic region.

But beyond that, simple justice requires of us that we protect from Arab aggression this tiny country which was built literally from dust by determined bands of pioneers, and which is supported financially and in spirit by large segments of the people of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, American soldiers are today fighting in Vietnam to preserve the freedom and dignity of a nation under attack by a ruthless aggressor. I do not suggest that we send American soldiers to the Middle East, for the State of Israel has demonstrated that militarily she can take care of herself. I do, however, suggest that the United States must unequivocally declare its firm opposition to the Arab policy of water thievery in the Jordan River region. The silence of this Government in the face of the diversion of Jordan River water by the Arab States merely encourages Nasser and his minions to further flaunt every rule of international cooperation and good will.

Mr. Speaker, the United States has a water problem of its own; it is not as bad as Israel's water shortage, but we, too, know what it is like to feel the pinch. Given our experience, I do not see how we can permit the Arab States to deliberately deprive Israel of the precious water which is rightfully hers. It is indeed time for the United States to speak out in protest.

John U. Shroyer, Soldier at 16

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include the following excerpts from an article in the Shamokin, Pa., Citizen of August 12, 1965, by the son of John U. Shroyer, a soldier in the Philippines at 16, and in 1953 elected commander in chief of the United Spanish War Veterans:

JOHN U. SHROYER, SOLDIER AT 16

(By George W. Shroyer)

My father was very proud of a memento of this Nation's war with Spain. Still hanging in the lobby of the dress manufacturing industry which he established is a table cast from metal recovered from the U.S.S. *Maine*. Depicted in the cast is Lady Liberty with head bowed and arm extended in benediction over the hulk of the battleship, marked symbolically with a cross.

Inscribed in the base metal of dark brown color are the words:

"U.S.S. *Maine*, destroyed in Havana Harbor, February 15, 1898."

Inspired by the example of the proudly patriotic members of the G.A.R., father, at the age of 16, responded to the call for volunteers to avenge the *Maine* and free the Cubans from the tyranny of their Spanish masters. He was underage, along with the late movie actor, Jimmie Gleason, but he was already a man, having gone to work at the age of 9 as a slate picker.

An independent and stubborn Dutchman even at the elementary school level, he rebelled against wearing what he considered a Little Lord Fauntleroy collar in a Columbus Day parade. When he resisted the discipline of a one-legged schoolmaster and committed the unpardonable offense of heaving a lump of coal from the scuttle in the schoolroom, his school days came to an abrupt end. His parents gave him a choice, certain he would choose what they thought best for him: go back to school or go to work. He chose work and independence.

A strapping young man, he had no trouble getting by the recruiters with a release signed by his obliging sister, whose handwriting was much like his mothers. When his parents discovered what he had done, they made no objection, for their son was long in the habit of making up his own mind and accepting the consequences.

His service dated from July 26, 1898 to March 5, 1902. For nearly 3 years he served with Company B, 21st Regiment in the Philippines during the long insurrection. It was no short war for him and his comrades and no easy path to glory.

Disease in the islands was feared as much as the head-hunting insurrectionists. Along with many men who served in the Far East he came down with malaria. Believed to be dead, he was cast on a pile of corpses for burial. Someone discovered he was still alive before the burial detail completed its job. By the crude medical methods of that day, he was restored to health. For years he suffered recurrences of malaria.

Disability left its mark on many men. But for John U. Shroyer the lasting impression was a memory of proud service to his country and to humanity. He often said that he felt he had a duty to preserve the freedom of that little piece of America on which he stood.

When the 50th anniversary of the war with Spain was observed, John U. Shroyer arranged for the publishing of a commemorative book. Assisting J. A. Hilliard of Independence, Mo., the national historian of the United Spanish War Veterans, he served as publisher of a handsomely illustrated book, printed by the Shamokin News Dispatch.

In this book, bound in gold-embossed paper cover, are many facts about that long-ago war for humanity. When the war broke out, this Nation had only 28,183 officers and men in the Army. Spain, an imperial power with farflung possessions, had 492,067 officers and men.

Writes historian Hilliard: "When the battleship *Maine* was sunk February 15, 1898, the United States was at their lowest State of preparedness, per capita and per square mile of any period in our history, except possibly in 1784 when our forces were reduced to 80 men."

In the sinking of the *Maine*, 266 Americans lost their lives. "Remember the *Maine*" became the battlecry of an outraged nation. Volunteers responded quickly to meet the challenge of the Spanish aggressors.

Success of an Important Educational Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, New England's past record as a pioneer in the academic field still continues today. One of the most worthwhile and stimulating current educational programs is the independent schools talent search program—ISTSP—of New England origin, and of national importance.

The program was originally conceived of by Dr. Howard L. Jones, president of the Northfield and Mount Herman schools in East Northfield, Mass. Recognizing the difficulty that college admission presents to intelligent students from disadvantaged backgrounds, because of their inaedquate preparation, a group of independent schools, under Dr. Jones' direction formed the ISTSP in 1963. They offered scholarships to qualified students, selected from various underprivileged areas of the country. In June of this year, the Office of Economic Opportunity included this program as part of the war on poverty. A grant of $376,031 enabled the ISTSP to expand, so that this September 200 students will enter boarding schools under the auspices of the ISTSP. There they will be able to have the advantages of close teacher attention, excellent facilities, and a stimulating academic atmosphere, which they would otherwise be denied.

An integral part of the ISTSP is a summer program known as "a better chance" or Project ABC. Many of the students chosen for the program are not immediately ready for boarding school curriculum or life. To ease their adjustment to their new schools, a summer of indoctrination, both intellectual, and social, is necessary. This summer, there are 80 boys at Dartmouth College and 75 girls at Mount Holyoke College, where they are taking concentrated courses in English and mathematics. All of them have been conditionally admitted to independent schools, and final admission will follow completion of the intensive summer program.

The 75 schools which are members of the program are all of outstanding quality. They include, among others, Deerfield Academy, the Baldwin School, Northfield School, Mount Herman School, and Lawrenceville School.

Last summer, 49 boys who attended the Project ABC at Dartmouth College attended boarding schools throughout the country. Of these students, only one had serious academic difficulties at school, and six achieved honor roll standing. Such an admirable record proves the worth of such a program as the Independent Schools Talent Search.

In an era in which a college education is a near essential for success, the ISTSP is providing a vital opportunity for personal and academic accomplishment to qualified, intelligent youngsters who might otherwise be stifled by their environment. The program, although of New England origin, reaches far beyond regional boundaries in its operation. Not only are the participating students and schools selected from across the country but, and much more importantly, the ISTSP helps extend to all young Americans, no matter what their background, the opportunity of entering college and having a better future. I feel that the success of this challenging program has been proven, and hope to see it expand, through the joint efforts of the independent schools and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The New York Times of August 16, 1965, contained an article about project ABC which is currently preparing boys and girls on the ISTSP for boarding school this fall. I found it of great interest, for it shows the program in action.

The article follows:

TEENAGERS GET RESPITE AT DARTMOUTH

(By John H. Fenton)

HANOVER, N.H., August 15.—Dartmouth was the host this weekend to a delegation from Mount Holyoke at a college house party for teenagers.

The teenagers consisted of 71 boys, who have been studying at Dartmouth, and 69 girls, who have been studying at Mount Holyoke, under the ABC (a better chance) project. They were recruited by the Independent Schools Talent Research Program after having shown an aptitude for academic achievement.

In contrast to the older and generally well-to-do whites who dominate Dartmouth house parties during the collegiate year, these young people were poor and mostly Negro. There were also some American Indians, Puerto Ricans and minority-group whites.

STROLLS ON CAMPUS

For a 24-hour period beginning noon yesterday, the group, mostly eighth and ninth graders, enjoyed a respite from an 8-week course of concentrated study. The course was to acclimate them for the academic and social life at some of the most prestigious preparatory schools in the Nation.

The group dined in Thayer Hall and strolled around the picturesque campus, with its hourly chimes from the tower of Baker Library.

Last night, the tennagers danced until midnight to recorded music. This morning, before their final campus meal at noon, they worshipped in the Bema, a wooded glade nestled in a hollow between glacial boulders at the northeast edge of the campus.

Gloria Beamon, who lives in Brooklyn's teeming Stuyvesant section, sat in the last row of folding chairs waiting for the simple service to begin. She will enter the Baldwin School at Bryn Mawr, Pa., in the fall. She hopes to be a teacher.

A choir of ABC project girls softly practiced a hymn on the platform made of indigenous rock as birds twitered in the sheltering elm, hemlock and birch trees.

"It is so peaceful, quiet and restful up here in New England that I don't look forward much to going back to New York City August 23," Miss Beamon said.

In the choir, wearing black robes and white surplices, were girls from a dozen States. The girls included Gloria Shiggs and Sarah Palmer of Darien, Ga.; Marian Hayes of Atlanta, Jacqueline Brownley of St. Louis and Maria Viera and Judy Kreijanovsky of New York.

Most of the boys at Dartmouth and the girls at Mount Holyoke had been recruited by James E. Simmons, a former dean of students at Hampton Institute, his alma mater.

TWENTY SCHOOLS FORM PROGRAM

Mr. Simmons, who holds a master's degree in counseling psychology from Harvard University, was selected by the 20 schools that originally founded the Independent Schools Talent Research Program following a meeting at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., in 1963.

In the last two years, Mr. Simmons said he had visited 80 cities and 50 States, seeking out young people from poor homes. He had been assisted by counselors in settlement houses, friends in the South and interested citizens like Charles Egan, a New York lawyer.

Dartmouth held the first summer session last year, for boys only. Coeducational programs elsewhere are planned for next year.

Some 75 preparatory schools have joined the talent hunt program, offering partial or full scholarships, according to need. Among the schools are Groton, St. Mark's, St. Paul's, Kent, Taft, Choate, and Lawrenceville.

The study program is financed by the two colleges through the Rockefeller Foundation. There has been assistance this year from the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity.

"We found a lot of youngsters who were prepared to make the transition directly to the prep schools," said Mr. Simmons, "but these at Dartmouth and Mount Holyoke are risk kinds who needed at least 8 weeks of educational and social indoctrination.

"As an example of how well they have worked out, 49 of the 53 boys who studied here last year made it to prep school."

Statement by President Eisenhower on United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the following statement by President Eisenhower on the United Nations:

I had the opportunity on Wednesday, August 18, 1965, for a full discussion with Ambassador Goldberg on the present problems facing the United Nations, including the financial and constitutional issues that are the subjects of current meetings in New York.

After his detailed explanation of the background and reasons, I personally believe that the policy outlined by Ambassador Goldberg at the United Nations on Monday is the best course open to the United States in the circumstances as they now exist.

Plainly Incorrect as to Louisiana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE D. WAGGONNER, JR.

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, the New Orleans Times-Picayune of August 10, published an editorial, "Plainly Incorrect as to Louisiana," which pinpoints as clearly and as concisely as it is possible to do the inequity and the iniquity of the voting bill recently signed into law.

Specifically, this editorial shows the complete ridiculousness of Attorney General Katzenbach's drive to register illiterates and proves, if any proof is needed, that the purpose and intent of this vindictive bill was not to bring about the registration of qualified citizens, but to register the unqualified in the hope of harvesting their votes at election time.

I commend this editorial to the attention of all:

PLAINLY INCORRECT AS TO LOUISIANA

If Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, or the administration, is going to revive the practice of registering in Louisiana people who are unable to read or write, it should not be done under the masquerade of justice to Negro citizens.

Mr. Katzenbach said Sunday Federal registrars were going to register completely illiterate Negroes be cause the Southern States had been registering white illiterates, and that now the same standard must be applied.

By constitutional amendment in 1960 registration of illiterates was stopped in this State and so far as we know none has been registered since that time. Even before that, balloting by voting machine made the participation of illiterates impractical for elections involving a long ballot.

A residue of illiterates do vote in Louisiana since those registered up to 1960 were not disfranchised. But even if Mr. Katzenbach wants to fall back on the situation in the 1950's, he could be forthright only by admitting that more Negro illiterates than white were registered either as a percentage of the total population of each race or as a percentage of the registration of each. Negro illiterates on the rolls as of May 1 this year were 12,921 or about 1.2 perecnt of the total Negro population. White illiterates numbering 20,235 were only about nine-tenths of 1 percent of the total white population.

Negro illiterates enrolled were about 8 percent of the total 163,000 Negro registration in the State. But white illiterates formed only about 2 percent of the white registration.

By any percentage measure based on 1960 population (last official count) and 1965 registration, the Negro illiterates have the best of it.

Mr. Katzenbach evidently is going to apply the same rule everywhere Federal registrars are installed. But he should confess that he doesn't plan to place illiterates on roll in Louisiana because illiterate whites are being registered (which they are not) or because he wants to even up the illiterate registration practice as between whites and Negroes.

Six Louisiana parishes have no illiterates whatever registered. Will the Government agents come to these parishes with an appeal saying in effect come one, come all, let's cheapen and debase the voting franchise by enrolling everybody who can't read and write or be informed concerning the issues of the day?

Whether they do or not, the Attorney General should be guided by the facts when he seeks to justify the kind of policy he has announced.

Peace Corps Achievements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, as I have in the past, I am once again pleased to share with my colleagues comments testifying to the effectiveness of the Peace Corps in various parts of the underdeveloped areas of the world.

The first of these two statements is from Mr. Leslie Freestone, envoy, officer in charge of the Salvation Army headquarters in Calcuta, India. It conevys his high tribute to Volunteers whom he and his staff have observed over the past few years.

The second is a report of an address by Inche Mohamed Khir Johari, Minister of Education in Kuala Lampur, Malaya, in which he urges his own countrymen to emulate the spirit and dedication of Peace Corps volunteers.

The comments follow:

THE SALVATION ARMY,
June 11, 1965.

SARGENT SHRIVER, Esq.,
Director, Peace Corps,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SHRIVER: During the last few years, we at this hostel, have seen ever increasing numbers of your young Peace Corps volunteers. (We are missionaries of the Salvation Army, whose present appointment is to run an economic priced hostel in this city), and whereas we have seen many of your folk from India, East Pakistan, West Pakistan, and from Nepal, we have, in addition had a large number of terminated volunteers from the Phillippines, Malaya, Borneo, Thailand, Indonesia, Ethiopia, and Ghana (I'm quite sure that I have forgotten some, but the main thing I remember is that none of them travel the short way home on termination).

However, the main reason for my writing this letter is to let you know what a grand crowd of young folk you have under your command. We have seen the equivalent volunteers from other nations pass through here, but none of them have had the same sense of purpose, or the same camaraderie, that we have seen in your folk.

Again, when we see your people, they are relaxed and free of speech, and I am sure that you would be interested to know that even in their times of relaxation, they talk to one another, and to other folk, of their work (I, myself, am getting a second hand working knowledge of chicken rearing, egg producing, bridge building, public health work, and so on), they have made friends very easily with other folk who have passed through our hostel, foreigners and Indians alike.

Finally, I would like to say that of the 300 or 400 Peace Corps volunteers that we have seen, we have never seen a bad one. I am not American, but English, I nevertheless say that this is the finest image of America that I have seen, the Peace Corps volunteers.

I simply felt that I had to write to tell you this.

God bless you.

Sincerely,

LESLIE FREESTONE,
Envoy, Officer in Charge.

INCOMING TELEGRAM—DEPARTMENT OF STATE

All papers carried story of Minister of Education praise for Peace Corps. Straits Times July 22, under headline "Emulate the Peace Corps example, teachers told," stated "The Minister of Education, Inche Mohamed Khir Johari, today urged teachers to emulate the sterling example set by U.S. Peace Corps members, and volunteer to stay for longer periods along the east coast." Addressing the opening of the 4-day conference of the Federal Inspectorate of Schools, Inche Khir spoke of Peace Corps teachers coming all the way from their homes in the United States to teach Malaysian children in remote areas of Pahang, Kelantan, Trengganu, Sarawak and Sabah. He asked: "Shouldn't this be a challenge to our young men and women? The challenge is all the greater when they are asked to teach not foreign children, but our own children, who will grow up to be citizens of Malaysia * * * I would ask teachers to emulate the sterling example set by the teachers who come to our country under the U.S. Peace Corps arrangements." He was making an appeal to the teachers for a "greater sense of dedication to their profession * * *." The Malayan Times elaborated his remarks: "These dedicated young men and women freely volunteer to come all the way from their homes in the United States thousands of miles away to serve our children in the remote areas * * * far away from civilization that they know in their own country."

What If We Back Out?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK E. EVANS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, on August 19, 1965, the Colorado Springs Free Press carried a thought provoking editorial on Vietnam entitled "What If We Back Out?"

This editorial discusses the implications of the Vietnam war in terms of long-range results, and I commend it to my colleagues attention.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the editorial:

[From the Colorado Springs Free Press, Aug. 17, 1965]

WHAT IF WE BACK OUT?

The situation in which the United States finds itself in Vietnam is entirely unprecedented in our history.

This is probably one of the reasons for the great controversy which is currently raging over our position in the country.

Some have said that there is no concrete proof that the United States is vitally threatened in this war as it was with Hitler in Europe or the Japanese in the Pacific.

It would be well to remember that when Hitler and the Japanese started their rise to world conquest, they posed no immediate threat to the security and sanctity of the United States.

If their rise had been nipped at an early age when they did not control so much of the world, the history of the world may have been rewritten excluding World War II.

This is the essence of the policy which our Government is now following in Vietnam. We are trying to nip these wars of liberation and conquest in the bud before they can bloom into all-out nuclear destruction.

Columnist Walter Lippmann believes there are two main reasons we are staying in Vietnam. The first is the fact we will not admit we made a mistake in entering the war 10 years ago and we are now fighting to save face.

The second reason is because we were invited into the country by the Vietnamese Government.

Lippmann wishes to know how long the United States can continue to play "policeman" for places like Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

Although I do not agree with Mr. Lippmann in his admonition to leave Vietnam, the objections he raises are valid and need to be answered.

No one knows how long we will continue in the role of world patrolman or how long it may be necessary for us to do so.

Although the comparison between Korea and Vietnam is not an exact analogy, there is some merit as to whether the defense of Korea actually stemmed the Communist tide in that area. The same question is being raised of Vietnam: If we do win, will this provide for the security of all of Asia?

The answer to this question is, in all probability: No, it will not.

We cannot provide for the security of an entire continent by the defense of one country.

However, the other side of the question is far more valid and vital to our national interests. If we leave Vietnam, what will happen to Asia?

Success is always followed up by the Communist countries as we have learned from their successes since World War II.

The same tactics will be tried again in other countries until these capitulate to communism.

Defeat is not total. However, each small defeat the free world is able to inflict upon the Communists is helpful. It provides a pause in which the Communists review their tactics.

Korea may not have been solely responsible for the security of the nations around her, but what would have happened had Korea fallen completely under Communist domination?

We feel that only with limited force can we meet the Communist challenge. A nuclear war would be as disastrous to them as it would to us and they will avoid this if at all possible.

However, should we easily give up Vietnam, and each country which is so threatened in the future, the Communists may reach a point where they feel strong enough to risk a nuclear war.

The question has been raised as to whether we should continue to spend lives and millions of dollars in a country where the people themselves can't seem to decide what they want.

The answer to this is yes. If the people can be informed through a free press with the threat of Communist terror removed from around them, they then may be able to decide intelligently what they want.

There have been many times in the history of the United States when this Nation was torn and divided and the people could not decide what they wanted.

Why should we now feel so superior and complacent toward a nation which has severe internal dissensions?

The real question is not what will happen if we stay in Vietnam. The real question is, What will the long-range results be if we withdraw from this torn country?

Can we actually afford to withdraw from this war and risk future nuclear disaster?

I do not believe this is right or fair to the next generation who may be the ones to face the results of a nuclear catastrophe.

The Times-Picayune Points Out the Potential of the Saturn I–B

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, New Orleans is indeed proud that within its city limits are now being built some of the most fantastic elements of the Nation's dynamic space program.

The Saturn I–B boosters are now under production at the Michoud Operations, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, in New Orleans. In an August 14 editorial, the Times-Picayune of New Orleans outlined the tremendous potential of these boosters, and under unanimous consent I am pleased to include that editorial into the RECORD.

I think it is also fitting to point out that this editorial is typical of the comprehensive news and news interpretation coverage given to space development by the Times-Picayune. The paper has devoted much attention to keeping its readers informed of the exciting developments in space research and technology. Mr. Vincent Randazzo, a space writer specialist on the staff of the Times-Picayune, has done a superior job in keeping the Crescent City informed of progress in the space era.

It is a pleasure, therefore, to recommend the following editorial from the Times-Picayune:

[From the New Orleans Times-Picayune, Aug. 14, 1965]

SATURN I–B PAYLOAD CAPACITY PROMISING

The payload potentials of the Saturn I–B boosters now under production at Michoud seems to have escaped general attention in discussions about space missions and the rocket assemblies assigned or assignable to carry them out. These and other factors are significant in connection with efforts under way, just coming to light, to intrude on, supplant or degrade the SI–B in the Apollo or other programs for which it is fitted.

The first of the "new Saturns," or intermediate Saturns, of the Chrysler Corporation's Space Division has reached Cape Kennedy for the initial lift-off in tests and flights that will lead to human exploration of the moon.

Payload requirements vary of course for different objectives of this 12-shot series. Regardless of what is first put aloft, the I–B assembly is designed to send into desired orbit 36,000 pounds of functional vehicle—not to mention the 30,000 pounds of a burned-out second-stage, should that lagniappe be added.

This rating compares with the 26,000-pound payload Soviet spacemen boosted into orbit last July 16; with 21,000 pounds sent into orbit by the Titan 3–C June 18; with the rated 25,000-pound payload capacity of the Titan 3–C; with the 22,000-pound payload rating of the "old Saturns" with the 18,000 pounds of payload dispatched by an "old Saturn" a year or two ago; and with 4,000 pounds orbited by the Atlas.

The confusion that sometimes attends space program comment was illustrated when at least one Washington dispatch stated, after the 26,000-pound Soviet launching, that only the Saturn 5 could match the feat (ignoring the S–IB). Michoud has vital interest also, of course, in the upcoming Saturn 5, whose missions differ from those of the I–B.

Of course the low-orbit experiments and preliminaries are one thing. There are greater payload requirements for larger orbits and for some outer space explorations. For these, new combinations and new types of rocket stages are planned or considered, such as a Centaur rocket for the final thrust from a Saturn I–B base. Assertedly this Saturn-Centaur could shoot 22,000 pounds for almost any kind of Martian probe, compared with the 450-pound Mariner. The first Voyager-Mars missions for Saturn-Centaur call, however, for not more than 8,000 pounds' payload.

Then there is the "strap-on" rocket system for boosters. The Titan–3C uses, for example, two 120-inch-diameter strap-ons (solid fuel) to help get its great booster-thrust and 26,000-pound payload potential. Projections by Chrysler show that with four similar strap-ons, Saturn I–B could send 75,000 pounds' payload into low orbit; and, with a Centaur, 25,000 pounds or more to Mars.

The momentum generated by the original Saturn firings has provided the space program an enormous asset. The 10-shot series not only achieved 100 percent perfection in functions, countdowns and launch timings, but produced the Nation's largest operational rockets, as demonstrated by the three-shot Pegasus series—one which did not require exercise of full payload potential. Ingenuity in the various branches of production and in the space agency brought successive upgradings of rocket thrust, culminating in the I–B assembly—which, basically, is otherwise the same Saturn.

It presumably is due to this performance that astronauts will be able to man the fourth spacecraft launched in the forthcoming series—in effect, the 14th scheduled firing of the Saturn. For various reasons, other types of rockets have had firings ranging from 45 to 92 prior to use in manned-flight expeditions.

Time for Transfusion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 20, 1965

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, on March 12, 1965, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY and I requested the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Anthony

J. Celebrezze to convene a Federal water pollution enforcement conference in Buffalo.

This action followed conferences in Detroit and Cleveland arising from the increasingly serious pollution of Lake Erie.

The requested conference was held in Buffalo from August 10 to August 12.

Although initially reluctant, New York State finally agreed to abide by the finding of the conference. She thus joined the other States bordering Lake Erie in an all-out war on pollution.

For the first time in many, many months, I now am genuinely hopeful that we may win this war. But it is going to take many months to achieve victory and the complete support of the United States and Canadian Governments and all the States, municipalities and towns bordering the lake.

One thing the House and Senate can do now is to reach agreement on the Clean Water Act of 1965. This important measure has been languishing for months in conference because of a difference over Federal standards.

Mr. Speaker, Time magazine's August 20 issue contains an excellent article on the efforts to save dying Lake Erie.

I recommend it to the attention of the Members:

ECOLOGY: TIME FOR TRANSFUSION

Lake Erie is critically ill, and the symptoms are there for all to see. Beaches that once were gleaming with white sand are covered with smelly greenish slime. The lake's prize fish—walleyes, blue pike, yellow perch, and whitefish—have all but disappeared, and the fishing fleets along with them. After surveying their sludgy waters last year, over 1 million irate Ohio citizens petitioned Gov. James A. Rhodes to ask for remedial action, and thousands have sent in letters. Wrote one Clevelander: "Our lake is a wastebasket for factories. It is unfit for fish to live in and for people to enjoy."

Such complaints have echoed all the way to Washington, and at Ohio's request, representatives of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare gave the lake a complete medical checkup. They plumbed its depths, studied its surface, tested its water and measured its oxygen. With its findings in hand, the Department held a 2-week-long hearing for the five States that form Erie's watershed. The proceedings began with a grim conclusion: the lake has been brought to its deathbed by the citizens and industries that surround it; only a massive transfusion of money and effort can save it from becoming a North American dead sea.

FERTILIZING ALGAE

Major reason for the lake's pollution is that most of its larger tributaries have turned into little more than open sewers. Detroit alone pours 1.5 billion gallons of waste a day into the Detroit River, which flows directly into Lake Erie. The Cuyahoga River, which runs through the middle of Akron and Cleveland before spilling into the lake, is so clogged with logs, rotted pilings, flammable chemicals, oil slicks and old tires that it has been labeled a fire hazard. Adding to the scum and stench are thousands of dead fish that were smothered by the pollution. On a cruise up the Buffalo River last summer, Buffalo Mayor Chester Kowal slid past islands of detergents, pools of grain dust, and a general rainbow of industrial discharge. The stink was overpowering. "Unbelievable. Disgusting," he concluded.

Residential sewage presents almost as much of a problem. A startlingly high percentage of lakeside residents run sewage directly into the lake. Along New York's portion of the Erie basin, 78 percent of the homeowners depend upon a primitive, inadequate settling process. Even some municipal sewage-treatment plants add to the problem. If they are hooked up to a combined network of sewage and storm water pipes, they can usually handle only a small percentage of the sewage during a storm. The rest passes completely untreated into the river through emergency runoff pipes, then oozes into the lake.

Rich in the same phosphates that fertilize a farmer's crops, the sewage triggers a fantastic growth of algae on the lake's bottom. Some 87 tons of phosphates are dumped into the water each day, and each pound is capable of breeding 350 tons of slime. Because dead blue-green underwater plants, rob the water of its oxygen, much of Lake Erie is now a "dead" sea incapable of supporting any fish life. When the algae eventually breaks off and floats to the surface, it clogs commercial fishing nets, blocks water-intake pipes and washes onto beaches, leaving foul-smelling deposits of decaying vegetation.

BROWN SLUDGE

Behind much of the trouble has been an argument over authority. In the Buffalo area, for instance, neither the State nor Federal health agencies have been conducting any inspections of industrial plants discharging wastes into the lakes or the Buffalo River, both claiming that they have neither the jurisdiction nor the manpower. At first, New York even took a lofty, disinterested attitude toward the whole conference on the grounds that the State is at the lower end of the lake, and could not be contributing to the pollution—although the delegates could see, if they chose to look, dark eddies of brown sludge swirling at the foot of Niagara Falls.

By week's end though, New York, Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania had all been convinced. They pledged support for a far-ranging Federal-State program that calls for tight controls over industrial waters and secondary sewage plants. The program should be in operation by the beginning of 1969, and may cost the States upwards of a billion dollars apiece. To ease the pain, the Federal Government plans to pay part of the cost of all new sewage plants.

Voting Rights Bill Threatens Representative Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, in the attempt to punish those Southern States which did not vote for him, President Johnson may have seriously endangered the very structure of representative government in demanding the enactment of his voting rights bill. To eliminate all qualifications of literacy as a requirement for voting could result in government by mob rule such as we have recently witnessed in the streets of Los Angeles. Perhaps the President will yet live to rue the day he allowed his thirst for revenge to overcome the principles of good government.

The following column by Lyle C. Wilson, which appeared in the Washington Daily News of August 18, should give many Members of Congress pause for serious thinking:

STRONG MEDICINE

(By Lyle C. Wilson)

Lost in the storm of civil rights debate and civil disobedience was the question of what qualifications, if any, a voter should possess in an open society to prevent dilution of the electorate by great numbers of the absolutely ignorant.

President Johnson and substantial majorities in his Great Society Congress finally gave an abrupt but calculated answer to that question. The 1965 voting rights bill denied that knowledge of any kind was an essential qualification of a citizen to vote.

This was strong medicine for a cruel disease. The disease was the discrimination which prevented Negroes in many southern counties from registering to vote. If they did manage to register, the Negroes often were dissuaded from voting by various intimidations.

A legacy of the 1965 voting rights bill as decreed by Mr. Johnson is likely to be a troublesome question. This question will be whether the medicine was too strong—so strong as to have dangerous side effects. Consider the deliberate action of the Congress in refusing to admit that illiteracy, abysmal ignorance, or moral decay must be matters for consideration in qualifying a citizen to participate in self-government.

The bill provides that no test or device shall be imposed in certain proscribed Southern States and counties to deny or to abridge the right of a citizen to vote. That is a good and reasonable provision. Then comes the clincher, section 4-C, which defines tests and devices to be suspended as follows:

"The phrase test or device shall mean any requirement that a person as a prerequisite for voting or registration for voting (1) demonstrate the ability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter, (2) demonstrate any educational achievement of his knowledge of any particular subject, (3) possess good moral character, or (4) prove his qualifications by the voucher of registered voters or members of any other class."

That is the law. Even the Federal registrars are forbidden to use these tests. This beckons to the polling booth the least qualified citizens, white and black. This departure from a reasonable regard for the ballot and what it signifies could have been avoided. The alternative would have been to continue tests based on literacy, minimum educational achievement, and some degree of moral decency.

But these tests would have been applied in the proscribed southern counties only under the supervision of Federal registrars with the aim of assuring there would be no discriminatory denial or abridgement of Negro registration or voting. The literacy and related tests remain in effect in some States outside the South where no discrimination has been alleged. The tests, therefore, are not of themselves evil.

Welcome to General Wilson and Family

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, the State of Alabama has a new and distinguished citizen. Gen. Walter K. Wilson, formerly Chief of Engineers of the United States Army, recently pitched his per-

manent tent in Mobile after more than 35 years of military service.

No stranger to Mobile and Alabama, General Wilson served in our State immediately following his graduation from the Military Academy in 1929. From 1949 until 1952, General Wilson was district engineer for the Mobile District. Upon his retirement from active duty, General Wilson assumed the duties of vice president of Southern Industries, Inc.

An editorial in the August 9, 1965 issue of the Mobile Register expresses the feeling of all Alabamians towards General Wilson and his family. Because of his many friends in the Congress, I am inserting this editorial in the RECORD:

WELCOME TO GENERAL WILSON AND FAMILY

Gen. W. K. Wilson, Jr., who upon his retirement as Chief of U.S. Army Engineers, recently assumed the post of vice president of Southern Industries, Inc., Mobile, is a valuable new addition to our citizenship.

Well known in Mobile by virtue of his having served as district engineer here some years ago, General Wilson knows the area and its problems, and is of the type person who will give much time and thought to programs designed to bring more progress to the area.

In fact, as the head of the U.S. Army Engineers he did much toward institution of projects to improve Alabama's river system and the Port of Mobile, while at the same time directing engineering on mammoth Federal projects throughout the Gulf Coast area.

This newspaper is happy to welcome General Wilson and his family to our city, and hopes their residence here will be both enjoyable and constructive.

The Death of Lt. Comdr. Harold E. Gray, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, it is always a sad morning for me which begins with newspaper or radio reports on casualties in Vietnam. It makes for even sadder reading or listening when the American victim happens to be the son of a friend.

The other day, Mr. Speaker, I was shocked to learn of the untimely death of Lt. Comdr. Harold E. Gray, Jr., while serving his country as a Navy pilot aboard the *Midway*. Attacking Communist installations at Dong Hoi in North Vietnam, Commander Gray was shot down by enemy gunfire.

The late naval hero was the son of one of the outstanding aviation men in the United States—Harold E. Gray, president of Pan American World Airways. It has been my pleasure to know Mr. Gray for some time and I join with thousands of his friends in mourning his hero son.

Mr. Speaker, the Washington Daily News of August 17th contains a poignant and moving story of Commander Gray's death, written by that eminent journalist for the Scripps-Howard newspapers, Jim G. Lucas. Under unanimous consent, I ask that Mr. Lucas' article be made a part of the RECORD:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Aug. 17, 1965]

ACHING STRAINS OF TAPS—"WHY HIM, OUR FRIEND, SHIPMATE?"

(By Jim Lucas)

ABROAD CARRIER "MIDWAY" OFF NORTH VIETNAM, August 11.—Those of his shipmates who could be spared from the war quietly assembled on the hangar deck dressed in their cleanest whites.

For Lt. Comdr. Harold E. Gray, a memorial service is to be held.

The South China Sea is calm. The sky overhead is blue and cloudless. The guided missile frigate *Reeves* trail's in the *Midway's* wake.

A makeshift ship's band concludes the stately, poignant strains of "Eternal Father, Strong to Save" as Adm. M. W. White and his chief of staff, Capt. B. N. Charbonnet, take their places.

WAR GOES ON

And, overhead, the war in which Commander Gray died goes on.

"The Navy today announced the loss of a single Skyraider in an attack on Communist installations at Dong Hoi, North Vietnam," a communique had said. "The pilot is presumed to have been lost. Secondary explosions were observed on impact."

That was 4 days ago, on a bright afternoon like today. Less than an hour after he had downed a final cup of coffee, strapped on his harness and catapulted from the flight deck above, Harold Gray, 35 years old, father of Harold, III, and Tracy, had taken his attack-bomber over the target and had not pulled out. His bombs exploded when he hit the ground.

FAREWELL

This is his shipmates' farewell.

"Harold Edwin Gray, Jr.," Chaplain M. A. Lawson of Springdale, Ark., intones, "was born in Brownsville, Tex., on October 6, 1930. He was graduated from St. George's School, Middletown, R.I., and attended Yale University before he entered the U.S. Naval Reserve on active duty in June 1953."

Harold Gray is the first from the *Midway* to die in this war.

He was the son of the president of Pan American World Airways—and operations officer for Attack Squadron 25. He chose the Navy because he loved it.

STARE AHEAD

His shipmates stare straight ahead.

"We sat stunned beside our radios, in our ready rooms and about ship when the word came in." Painfully, the chaplain recalls the memory of it. "We were not ready for death to take so young a life with so much potential unrealized, so many years unfilled, small children to be raised without a father. Why did it happen to him, our friend, our shipmate, son, father and husband?"

One of the planes which Commander Gray flew from the *Midway* has been lowered on an elevator from the flight deck overhead to a spot behind the chaplain. His men have cleaned and furbished it, but the signs of war are not easily removed. This is their memorial to him.

"We must remain steady in an hour like this," the chaplain says. "We can and will.

"When a man believes in a great cause, and believes in it so fully he is prepared to defend it with his life, he has achieved nobility not limited by the barriers of time."

Suddenly the first of the planes on today's strike hits the flight deck overhead with a muffled thump. Its tail hook snags the arresting cable and its roar is like that of an angry trapped animal.

"Lt. Comdr. Harold Edwin Gray, Jr.," the Navy has announced, "was killed in action during a combat strike against insurgent Communist guerrilla forces in southeast Asia on August 7, 1965. He has been awarded the Air Medal and recommended for three Gold Stars, the Purple Heart and Distinguished Flying Cross."

The sad, aching strains of taps float over the South China Sea and a Marine Honor Guard fires a final salute.

On the flight deck above, attack Squadron 25 is launching its planes.

Its target for today is Dong Hoi.

No Stand on Farms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER PIRNIE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, the omnibus farm bill that we have considered this week has evoked widespread interest in the Nation's press. For the most part, the editorial comment has been thought provoking and has served to illustrate the disenchantment that is rampant with respect to existing farm programs and the lack of enthusiasm for the current proposal.

I am especially anxious to share with my colleagues an excellent editorial on the subject that appeared in the August 16 Utica Observer-Dispatch:

NO STAND ON FARMS

The stirring peroration of the President, "We stand on Vietnam," has no echo in the administration's stand on a new farm bill. Here, we find, the White House has not only done a Munich but has sounded retreat.

Some months ago these columns were happy to praise a speech by Vice President HUMPHREY and to express hope at long last sense had come to the farm legislation front. But the Humphrey speech was during the 1964 campaign. It must have been made for his ticket to run on, not to stand on.

At any rate, the White House is now pushing for a bill that abandons much of the hope held out by HUMPHREY and strengthened by Mr. Johnson after election when he promised a new approach on farm laws.

Alas, the bill that is expected to come front and center in the House this week completely reverses any idea of a "new approach." We will, under the proposed bill continue mistakes of the past and plow along the same uneconomic lines of the past 30 years.

The President said after election: "Our objective must be for the farmer to get improved income out of the marketplace, with less cost to the Government." Government, of course, means us, the taxpayers.

"Farmers," he said, "want freedom to grow and prosper, freedom to operate completely in our present economic system." A noble sentiment, indeed.

But instead of any signs of a free market, the President now backs a bill that continues the same controls and managed markets that have eaten billions in taxes without permanent relief to small farmers.

Instead of the "reasonable and stable" food prices, Mr. Johnson had in mind last year, his administration's bill will raise some prices to consumers.

Instead of opening new markets, the administration bill fosters a protectionist system that will cut down export opportunities.

The experienced columnist, Roscoe Drummond, says "one of the facts of today's world is that the outdated farm program offers most for prosperous farmers who do not need it and least for poor farmers who do." The Great Society should be turning its back on such a situation.

Instead, as Charles B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, protested to the Department of Agriculture, there is "expenditure of large sums of public money in efforts to influence. * * * Congress to vote for this ill-advised legislation."

As the President himself says, "Come, let us reason together" and get out of this futile—but political—use of tax money on disapproved farm "aid" ideas.

Statue To Honor Robert Goddard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, although all human accomplishment draws upon the sum of human knowledge, occasionally one man whose creativity and genius are unique makes a contribution that is a sudden shot of adrenalin into the stream of progress.

Such a man was Robert Goddard.

The world today stands poised on the threshold of space largely because of his discoveries. By the construction and successful testing of the first rocket using liquid fuel, Dr. Goddard made scientific exploration of space a possibility, not just a dream.

Although other men throughout the ages conceived of the day that we would touch the stars. Dr. Goddard's rare talent combined the gift of creativity and practicality.

From as early as 1899 we have the written records of Robert Goddard's speculation about the use of rockets for space exploration.

Although the intervening years were filled with experimentation and study, the milestone in Goddard research was reached in 1914 when he obtained two U.S. patents; one for a rocket using liquid and solid fuels, the other for a two- or three-step rocket for reaching high altitudes.

However, the actual demonstration of the successful rocket using liquid fuel occurred in a cabbage patch in Auburn, Mass. This rocket flight, as significant as the first flight of the Wright brothers' airplane, lasted 2.5 seconds for a distance of 184 feet.

The untiring genius of Goddard continued to turn to the uses and improvement of rockets. During the late 1930's Goddard unsuccessfully tried to interest the War Department in the military utility of his rocket work. However, it was not until 1941 that the Navy became interested. From that point on, Goddard worked on rocket projects at the Naval Experiment Station, Annapolis, until his death in 1945.

Because of his trailblazing work, outlined in more than 200 patents on rockets and rocket apparatus, it is most fitting that a statue of this man be prominantly placed at the site of the National Air Museum in Washington, D.C., which is designed to hold the exhibits commemorating America's achievements in air and space.

For this reason, I am introducing this resolution and asking for your support.

Behind the Riots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT E. SWEENEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. SWEENEY. Mr. Speaker, the "explosion" which took place in Los Angeles, Calif., this past week has produced echoes that have been heard throughout the world.

The United States of America today finds itself in a difficult position to sell the Western brand of democracy to the underprivileged and suffering peoples of the world. These "explosions," with all of their racial overtones, demonstrates that we as people, have a long way to go to improve upon the sociological problems in present day society.

We, of the United States, have yet to correct the problem of economic want that is faced daily by countless millions of our citizens and until we can effectively solve that problem we are unqualified indeed, to solve the misery of the millions abroad.

It is one thing to talk about our productivity and our high standard of living, and our ever enlarging gross national product, but another to relieve the feeling of utter frustration of the captives of the overcrowded cities of our land. Somehow our Nation must find a means of wading through the myriad of redtape, and get down to the problems of unemployment, illiteracy and disease block by block in every major city of the land.

This takes more than Federal appropriations. It takes professional people—educators, sociologists, and psychologists who can interpret all of the new Federal laws, recently enacted, and make practical application of them. These people are in need of personal, person-to-person direction.

What is needed to alleviate the frustration and aggression which was released in violence in Los Angeles is Government aid directed at the most crucial problem—that of helping the Negro to gain economic independence. In order to do that he must become honorably employed. We must educate the illiterate people with job retraining and vocational rehabilitation programs designed especially for them, so that they may hold respectable jobs and live in decent housing.

It is well that in the wake of such racial riots, both the privileged and the underprivileged in this land, take stock of the fact that this is a society of laws and not men; and when those frustrated by the slow rate of improvement in treating racial problems and Negro deprival take the law into their own hands, this society of ours is indeed in peril. Nothing good and lasting is to be gained in the long run by the ravage and rape of these cities.

Our proud Nation has won every war in which it has been engaged and I have every confidence that we will win the war upon poverty. However, in this war upon poverty let us put Americans on guard and if there exists among us those who would try to bring improvement by means of chaos in the streets, then let us ferret those out and deal with them as we deal with the lawless in all other areas of crime.

Let these inciters of discontent and fermenters of frustration weigh heavy upon the fact that 33 innocent men, women, and children died uselessly in the streets of Los Angeles and that America can ill afford to have such a tragic scene repeated again.

Let us not dwell alone upon results, but look to the causes, the basic causes such as joblessness, poor housing, lack of education, and the like. We must take remedial measures and do more, much more, for the poor of this Nation. We can afford it. The price is cheap by comparison to Los Angeles, Chicago, and other trouble spots.

These riots prove that the problems in slum areas cannot be solved by legislation, demonstrations, or rioting alone. Now is not the time to blame others or use handy slogans. It is time we seek realistic methods of dealing with problems which arise in urban areas. We cannot clear our mass conscience by simply doling out welfare payments and food stamps, although they help to alleviate some displeasure, or by legislating equal voting rights, although more people are able to vote.

Little of this action changes or improves the situation and these peoples' lot. Their illiteracy and poverty are still perpetuated, but on a subsistence level. We must seek to curtail and in some cases prevent these problems.

I enclose at this time an article which appeared in the Wall Street Journal on Monday, August 16:

BEHIND THE RIOTS: FAMILY LIFE BREAKDOWN IN NEGRO SLUMS SOWS SEEDS OF RACE VIOLENCE—HUSBANDLESS HOMES SPAWN YOUNG HOODLUMS, IMPEDE REFORMS, SOCIOLOGISTS SAY—RACING A BOOMING BIRTH RATE

Behind the past week's orgy of Negro rioting in Los Angeles and Chicago lies a sickness that all the new civil rights legislation is powerless to cure in the foreseeable future—the spreading disintegration of Negro family life in the big cities of the North and West.

The rioters who by yesterday had brought death to 31 people and injuries to another 762, and who had burned an estimated $175 million worth of property, including entire blocks, in Los Angeles were not protesting any specific civil rights grievances. They were primarily young hoodlums lashing out against society and authority in general—and not bothering to make sure of their targets; there were incidents of dark-skinned Negroes attacking Negroes with lighter skins, whom they took to be whites. They appeared to be indulging in what one sociologist calls

"an explosive physical catharsis" (purging of tensions).

A growing army of such youths is being bred in the Negro sections of cities across the country by broken homes, illegitimacy, and other social ills that have grown steadily worse in recent decades, warn authorities from President Johnson on down.

THE PRESIDENT'S VIEW

"The breakdown of the Negro family structure," the President said in a June speech, is exerting an "influence radiating to every part of life." A staggeringly long roll of melancholy statistics chart that breakdown. To take one at random: A just released Government study discloses that no husband is present in 21 percent of the homes of nonwhite married women (mostly Negroes) between the ages of 20 and 44, up from only 15 percent in 1940. The comparable rate among white women of the same ages is 4 percent—and it has changed hardly a decimal point in the last 25 years.

Legal and private efforts to increase Negro educational, job and housing opportunities aim to reduce the feeling of hopelessness that many sociologists believe traces to these social ills—and spawns a predilection to violence.

But this is a discouragingly long-term struggle, and many sociologists fear it is too late to save many of the Negro youths whose minds already have been warped in today's slums.

Indeed, some have a nagging fear that civil rights laws may temporarily—though surely unintentionally—make the situation worse. As some Negroes rise, they say, the feelings of others who have been left behind—and led to expect better things—may become even more inflamed.

"The history of revolution shows that when conditions get better people become more openly dissatisfied," warns Seymour Leventman, assistant professor of sociology at the University of Pennsylvania. "The disparity between their lot and others' becomes more evident. So it's not accidental that rioting is occurring after the civil rights legislation."

THE LONG-TERM QUESTION

Nor is the long-term future necessarily more reassuring. It will be to some extent a contest. On one side are the high Negro birthrate in slums (which is put at 40 percent above the white birth rate by one Government study) and the rate at which Negroes are still migrating from rural areas to cities where they believe, often mistakenly, their prospects will be better. On the other side are the efforts to give Negro youths fresh opportunities and a feeling of hopefulness. Can enough be saved by these efforts to offset the number of other Negro youths who will continue to be twisted by the most discouraging of homes and parental environments?

Few sociologists or psychologists are bold enough to predict the answer flatly—but not many could be described as highly optimistic.

Frank Hartung, professor of sociology at Southern Illinois University, typically thinks it will take nothing less than a major social reformation, going far beyond the passage of civil rights laws, to eliminate the threat of future racial riots. Among American lower-class groups, he says, "violence is a very firm aspect of American culture," and "it would be as difficult to eliminate this sort of violence as it is to eliminate poverty."

In the Negro slums, agrees Sidney L. Copel, a Philadelphia psychologist, "the value systems are out of joint; impulsive violence is condoned and the rewards that come from perseverance, achievement and regard for the rights of others are minmized. This is likely to get worse without some radical approach to the problem." Such an approach, he indicates, would have to include some major birth control program.

PROFILE OF A RIOT AREA

In the absence of some radical solution, the kind of racial dynamite being built up in the Negro slums is only too clear. Take West Garfield Park, the Chicago area where 67 people were injured Thursday and Friday nights in Negro rioting and looting. The neighborhood as recently as 1960 was estimated to be only 19 percent Negro, but it has become a center of Negro immigrants from the South, and today its population is believed to be nearly 85 percent Negro. Reflecting the high Negro birth rate and the youth of many immigrants, the average age of the area's residents is only slightly over 19, compared with an average age of over 25 for even the rest of Chicago's Negro population.

As is the case in many similar areas, not many of these young people have been able to find jobs. The Chicago Urban League estimates the West Garfield Park unemployment rate at 18 percent to 20 percent (distressingly, this is not particularly high for a Negro section of a big city; one survey of the Hough area, a predominantly Negro section of Cleveland, found 77 percent of the area's residents below the age of 22 to be unemployed). These jobless people have been packing into dilapidated housing; nearly half the housing in West Garfield Park is considered substandard.

In such areas, says Leo A. Despres, an associate professor of cultural anthropology at Cleveland's Western Reserve University, "family and community leadership will slip and the young will strike out at all authority. With the shift * * * to urban ghettoization, these gangs of youths can be controlled by neither Negro nor white leaders." His ideas are well borne out by the situation in West Garfield Park; long before a hook-and-ladder fire truck accidentally killed a young Negro woman Thursday night, touching off the rioting, the Fillmore Police District, which includes the Negro area, had had one of the highest crime rates of Chicago's 21 police districts.

The breakdown of family life of which Professor Despres speaks can be glimpsed in nearly any set of Negro social statistics—nationwide, or for specific northern and western cities. In New York City's Harlem, for instance, where Negro rioting flared for a week last year, it's estimated that one of every five Negro children born is illegitimate. An indication of the social evils this breeds: Researchers in one Harlem district not long ago found venereal disease running at 2,143 cases per 100,000 people, against 172 cases per 100,000 for New York City as a whole. And an estimated 6 of every 10 Harlem youths who start high school quit before getting a diploma.

THE RELIEF FIGURES

For an indication of the burden such conditions throw on harried social workers, governmental and private, peruse the figures on aid to dependent children (ADC) relief—by far the fastest growing type of relief. The overwhelming majority of these recipients are husbandless mothers and their offspring. There now are some 4.5 million ADC recipients, more than double the 2.2 million of a decade ago—and just over half of them are classified as "nonwhite," though nonwhites make up only about 10 percent of the U.S. population.

How do they live? A recent study by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare found the average ADC family consists of a mother and three children (the average U.S. family has about two children.) The typical ADC mother, says the survey, is 35 years old and has finished only 8 years of school. Fully half of them live in households classified as crowded—and in one of every four ADC households the survey finds the crowding serious.

(It's worth noting that many sociologists, and even some Government officials, think the ADC program itself contributes to the breakdown of Negro family life. ADC relief cannot go to a family with a father whose income is inadequate to support his children, and until very recently it could not go to a family with an able-bodied, but unemployed father present. One sociologist charges that the result has been to tempt the Negro father who cannot support his children to desert his family, and thus qualify his children for ADC relief.)

THE LOS ANGELES EXPLOSION

Against this background, the Los Angeles explosion begins to come a bit clearer. Otherwise it might seem inexplicable. It started Wednesday night with a routine police incident, in which a young Negro was arrested on a charge of drunken driving.

The resulting rioting by Sunday had covered, at one time or another, an area of over 20 square miles—some of which has now been left little more than a pile of ashes. The city fire department yesterday reported that 1,000 fires set by rioters had left between 15 and 20 complete city blocks more than 90 percent destroyed, and every store front on both sides of Central Avenue, an important business district, damaged for some 14 blocks.

But the rioting began in the Watts area, where the majority of the 335,000 Negroes in Los Angeles live. This probably is not the worst Negro ghetto in the country; some press reports have stressed the contrast between the lawns that can be glimpsed there and the endless blocks of garbage-littered concrete in Harlem. But its statistics tally depressingly well with those University of Chicago Sociologist Philip M. Hauser describes as producing "frustration" in "almost every one of the central cities in the 215 metropolitan areas in which half of the Negro population of this Nation is now concentrated."

DEPRESSING FIGURES

For instance: Population density in Watts averages 27.3 persons per acre—almost four times the 7.4 figure for Los Angeles as a whole. The Los Angeles County Welfare Department figures about one-fifth of the houses they live in are in a deteriorated or dilapidated condition. More than 12 percent of the employable adults in Watts are believed to be jobless, against a citywide rate of 5 percent, and the county welfare department says 45 percent of Watts families earn less than $4,000 a year. Approximately 60 percent of Watts families receive welfare payments, it adds.

Long before the riots began, Watts was no stranger to violence. The Los Angeles Police Department says the area leads the city in rates for every type of major crime except burglary. Indeed, Rev. H. H. Brookins, Negro chairman of the United Civil Rights Committee, a Los Angeles area coordinating body, charges: "Several years ago a documented report was handed over to the city indicating that unless something was done about the Negro situation in the Negro ghetto area that included Watts in a reasonable period of time, Los Angeles would see bloodshed."

"The violence in Watts over the weekend was physical," says Herbert Blumer, acting head of the sociology department at the University of California. But, he adds, "the real violence that brought it out was done to the social fabric of the community long ago—and continues to be done to it here and in practically every other big city in the country."

ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAM'S ROLE

What can be done to curb such "violence to the social fabric?" The Johnson administration believes the best safeguards against future rioting lie in measures to eliminate discrimination in housing and employment, together with heavy doses of antipoverty money spread across many welfare programs. But even presuming such measures under ideal conditions can open new opportunities for Negroes faster than the social conditions in the slums can breed new potential

rioters—which may be presuming far too much—a look at the situation in Los Angeles suggests some of the problems of getting anything done in time.

In Los Angeles, city, county and other agencies and bodies have been unable to agree on the composition of a board to administer community action programs. So some $23 million of Federal antipoverty money is being withheld until they can come up with a board representing the required "maximum feasible participation" of the communities to be aided. Somewhere between 25 and 50 percent of this $23 million is supposed to go—eventually—to Watts and surrounding Negro areas.

Even some of the roughly $5.7 million in antipoverty money which has found its way into Los Angeles by going directly to schools and social agencies, instead of through the yet-to-be-formed board, has yet to make its effects felt. A summer teen crash program to provide recreational and educational activities for youths was supposed to start when school let out months ago. But there were delays in getting Washington to go around the still-unformed community board, says Joe P. Maldonado, executive director of the Los Angeles Youth Opportunities Board. The result, he adds: The program started only last week—and with $801,000, instead of the $1.4 million originally supposed to go to the project.

Mr. Speaker, in summary, it can be noted that progress in relieving the tensions and frustrations that breed racial explosions can only be relieved by appropriate Federal, State and local programs requiring the expenditures of large sums of tax revenues. However, the expenditures of these funds in the "War on Want" in underprivileged America is a reasonable investment in America's future and an investment that I unhesitatingly urge and support.

The School Book Gap Is Being Closed in the Cleveland Public School System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, a column appeared last night in the Washington Star written by Sylvia Porter, entitled "School Book Gap Must Be Closed."

In the article, Miss Porter indicated that:

Today 69 percent of the Nation's elementary schools—with more than 11 million students—have no libraries, and in many schools which do have libraries there is less than half a book per child.

Miss Porter goes on to indicate that educators recommend at least 10 books per child per school year. One of the educators, of national stature, who has not only been advocating that system of 10 books per child per school year but also has been implementing it is Superintendent Paul Briggs of the Cleveland school system.

Early in his first year's term as administrator of our school system, which he has just completed, Dr. Briggs convened a meeting of businessmen in the city of Cleveland. One of the subjects of discussion at that time was the appalling revelation that the 135 elementary schools of the Cleveland school system did not have a library which was easily accessible to the students of the school. Paul Briggs indicated at that time that each of the schools was to be a beneficiary of an addition of a library facility.

During the course of that meeting, he indicated that it would cost $10,000 per library unit per school, or a total of $1,350,000. In an immediate response to that statement, 10 businessmen stood up and pledged $10,000 each.

It is my understanding, as a result of recent conversations with Dr. Briggs on this matter, that 100 libraries have been funded in the amount of $10,000 each. It is indeed a tribute to the community spirit of businessmen and citizens of Cleveland who have come forward and have met this challenge frontly of the need for library facilities for our elementary schools.

In addition, it is our intention to make sure that the Cleveland public school system and the Garfield Heights public school system and the Parma, Ohio, school system will receive their fair share of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as well as the Library Service Construction Act of 1965; $2.6 million has been allotted to Ohio during the next fiscal year.

There can be little doubt that elementary school children must have easy access to library facilities so that they may become familiar and comfortable with the books which will form the basis for their academic and social development during these critical years of education.

I commend this important column by Sylvia Porter, "School Book Gap Must Be Closed," to the attention of this body. The article follows:

SCHOOL BOOK GAP MUST BE CLOSED

(By Sylvia Porter)

Today 69 percent of the Nation's elementary schools—with more than 11 million students—have no libraries, and in many schools which do have libraries there is less than half a book per child. Yet educators recommend 10 books per child per school year.

Today more than half of the Nation's 4-year colleges and 86 percent of the two-year colleges have libraries which fail to meet minimum standards set by the American Library Association.

Today total spending for elementary schoolbooks averages little more than $6 per student per year—enough to buy about three books. In some States, spending on schoolbooks averages $4.76 per student—enough to buy little more than two textbooks a year. Public schools spend only a fraction of 1 percent of their budgets on books. To provide only an appropriate minimum number of schoolbooks would require a four-fold increase in spending, according to the U.S. Office of Education.

BOOKS HEAD LIST

Today elementary schoolteachers surveyed by Grade Teacher magazine put more books and library facilities at the head of their list of our schools' urgent needs—above more classroom space or higher teacher salaries. Over the past half-decade the average number of books bought each year for each elementary school student has actually declined.

A drastic schoolbook shortage exists despite the facts that we're spending billions of dollars each year on education, that these sums will continue to swell, that education now ranks as the Nation's number one "growth industry."

The critical shortage persists despite the proved links between literacy and jobs, between academic attainment and lifelong earnings, between education and economic advancement on all fronts. The strictly economic implications of the book shortage never have been as profound as they are now.

"We are no longer talking simply about book readers but rather about book needers," says Leon Shimkin, president of Pocket Books and a pioneer in the adaption of low-priced paperback books to school use. "What's more, today's fundamental trends cry out not only for more books but also for new types of books geared to fill special needs." Here are the factors behind the exploding need for more schoolbooks:

Soaring school enrollments. The increase in students at all levels has been 44 percent just during the past decade—about three times the rate of overall population increase. College enrollments have more than doubled in the same period. During the next 5 years 5.4 million students will be added to today's total school enrollment of 53.8 million.

The lengthening life span of education. This summer, 500,000 additional pre-schoolers have flooded into classrooms across the United States At the same time enrollments at the higher educational levels—colleges and graduate schools—are multiplying.

EXPANSION IN EDUCATION

The expansion of adult education. New basic literacy, training and retraining classes are getting underway and millions of adult Americans are returning to school to learn how to make meaningful use of their increasing leisure time.

The growing variety of subjects taught in schools, from the elementary to the most advanced. As Shimkin emphasizes, "This inevitably must increase the demand for new and different textbooks."

The U.S. Government has now launched a major effort to close the "book gap" with the new $1.3 billion Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965—earmarking $100 million for schoolbooks, plus another $100 million for "supplementary educational centers and services."

An army of volunteers has rounded up more than 500,000 books for substandard schools if Appalachia. Additional funds for books are being made available through various anti-poverty educational programs.

The book gap smears our mountaing excellence in education. Finally, though, we are awakening to and grappling with the problem.

Let's Not Be Tricked Into Allowing Los Angeles Criminals To Be Blameless

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, as it was to be expected, the law-abiding citizens of the United States are being deluged with propaganda to excuse the criminals who were responsible for killing 33 persons in Los Angeles, causing $175 million loss in burning down places of private business and in looting hundreds of thousands of dollars

worth of merchandise. From the President on down to Martin Luther King the apologists for lawbreakers are trying to convince us that those who started the violence and did the burning, the looting, and the killing are not to blame. They would have us believe that the white people of America are responsible. They want to sacrifice an outstanding police officer, the chief of police of Los Angeles, in order to remove the blame for the hoodlums who committed the acts.

King, who flaunts his contempt for authority by holding up to ridicule the Governor of California, wants all the criminals released so they may be counseled by their ministers.

Mr. Speaker, how long will the good people of America stand for such blatant arrogance on the part of professional racists and politicians who believe in anything to gain the votes of minority groups? We are treading on dangerous ground when our national leaders join greedy and power-hungry rabble rousers to stir up hatred for our law enforcement officers and then excuse any crime committed by a member of a minority race on the grounds that he is justified by intolerance and injustice of past generations.

Many responsible editors and writers are concerned about these attempts to shift the responsibility for the Los Angeles riots. I would like to include as a part of these remarks an editorial, "The Lesson of Los Angeles," from the Birmingham, Ala., Post-Herald of August 16; an editorial, "First Things First," from the August 18 issue of the Washington Daily News; and an article by William F. Buckley, Jr., "What Happened," also from the Washington Daily News of August 18.

The articles follow:

[From the Birmingham, (Ala.) Post-Herald, Aug. 16, 1965]

THE LESSON OF LOS ANGELES

The bloody rioting in Los Angeles which at this writing had cost the lives of 22 persons and left hundred of others injured is but a foretaste of far bloodier disorders unless respect for law is restored throughout the country.

And the place to begin is in Washington—at the White House, in the Supreme Court, the Justice Department, and the Congress.

The Negro has been coddled by the vote-hungry politicians and the bleeding hearts who have condoned and contributed to lawless civil disobedience until he considers himself above the law.

Martin Luther King who himself flaunted the law and rose to prominence on violence and civil disorder is rewarded with the Nobel Peace Prize and is treated as a national hero. Today he "deplores" the bloodletting in Los Angeles but it is he and those in the administration who bow and scrape before him who must answer for the carnage there.

It is Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach and his predecessor, BOBBY KENNEDY, who must share responsibility for this widespread and dangerous breakdown in respect for law.

Until we demand swift and certain punishment for the law violator and stand squarely behind the efforts of our enforcement officers then we can expect rioting, looting, murder, and rape to continue.

[From the Washington Daily News, Aug. 18, 1965]

FIRST THINGS FIRST

The corpses are but freshly buried, and the wreckage of burned-out buildings still scars Central Avenue in the Watts district of Los Angeles.

But already the politicians and the social theorists are busy explaining it all away.

"These people were culturally deprived," they say. "They were frustrated. They lacked opportunity. They were disappointed by delays in starting the antipoverty program. And besides, it was pretty hot in Los Angeles last week."

Vice President HUMPHREY, in his comment, seems at least as concerned about the tender sensitivities of the hoodlums as about the horrors they perpetrated.

"We must deplore injustice as well as violence," he says.

What pious tripe.

The plain fact is that gangs of mad dogs ran wild in the streets of Los Angeles for nearly a week. They murdered, they maimed, they smashed, they burned, they looted. They sniped at police from roof tops and ran down innocent children.

The thugs who committed these acts were no more representative of American Negroes as a whole—nor even of those living in the Watts area—than the Dillinger gang was representative of white Americans of the 1930's.

They were criminals run amuck. And their spree was ended only when they were met with overwhelming force.

The one important thing now is to see that those who are guilty receive stern, swift, full punishment, without legal or sociological mollycoddling. So that criminals elsewhere will be deterred from using flimsy excuses for outbursts of mob violence.

[From the Washington Daily News, Aug. 18, 1965]

WHAT HAPPENED?

(By William F. Buckley, Jr.)

The sociologists and moralizers are desperate to motivate the Los Angeles disaster and well they might be, considering the emptiness of the flimsy hypotheses on which they instinctively relied. The Los Angeles explosion tests, and explodes, several of these. Very recently we were told in a national newspaper that interracial frictions at Los Angeles had substantially dissipated as the result of successful biracial diplomacy. Wrong.

The notion that the Negroes in Los Angeles expressed the frustration of the larger Negro community at the intransigence of American white society is hardly plausible. The explosion occurred just at the moment when a major civil rights bill was passed: a bill which should have brought to the Negroes whatever that satisfaction is that comes from having gotten an unconditional surrender from the enemy, namely, the southern whites.

By orthodox standards, the Watts district in Los Angeles is not of the highest octane: it isn't an area in which the inhabitants suffer from unbearable overcrowding; from rats or lice or raging disease. In purely economic terms—for those who always look for that explanation—the people of the Watts area have been making do. Their economic privations—again in economic terms—were bearable, and people go to California in droves precisely because their expectations over the years have been realized; that livings are made, and there is progress, year after year.

The average Negro moving into Los Angeles could—can—hope more realistically for material progress than could the refugees who trekked there during the depression period, whose hopelessness was written into literature by John Steinbeck in "Grapes of Wrath"; to whom it did not, however, occur to go about shooting innocent people.

And yet they all, in the Watts district, or rather a substantial number of them, became animals. The statistics are widely known—30-odd dead, $200 million in damage.

There is no discovering the single basic cause of such disruptions in civilization. Those who rush to make out of this episode a case for invidious racist generalizations have short historical memories.

What happened in Los Angeles was at least spontaneous, as for example what happened in Nazi Germany and white Russia was not spontaneous.

What it does remind us is that a destructive lawlessness is lodged in every single one of us, and that a society that tolerates such indulgences in lawlessness oughn't to be surprised when the destructive flame suddenly lashes out, tearing people's eyes out of their sockets and burning down $200 million worth of property.

Less than a year ago, Mario Savio, hero of the anarchic beatniks, was defying, roughly speaking, the administration of the University of California, of the governing council of Berkeley, and the Legislature of California; and the wisemen on the faculty were in effect egging him on.

A year or so ago, the Supreme Court ruled that illegal sit-ins were not to be prosecuted for having defied laws that were unquestionably legal at the time they were broken, because in due course Congress passed laws rendering those laws illegal. Two years ago, Adlai Stevenson, giving a commencement address at a posh eastern college, ventured the thought that the distinguishing attribute of the heroes of the future may be that they spent time in jail.

Martin Luther King never tires of informing us that those laws he believes to be unjust are laws that men ought not, if they believe as he does, obey. For such sentiments he gets Nobel Prizes and extreme editorial unction.

If there is a point to be got out of this inscrutable tragedy, it surely is only this: that it can happen again, and very probably will. But that it is very much likelier to happen again so long as the Nation coddles the anarchic teachings of the Mario Savios and the Martin Luther Kings and their disciples.

The best way to guarantee that what happened at Los Angeles will happen again, is to moon over the affair and yap about injustices by whites to Negroes, the guilt of the white slave trader, and the rest of it. The other way is to recognize that the Hitler in all of us surfaced in some, that it must not be permitted to surface, and that those in whom it surfaced must be prosecuted and punished and above all denied the solace of sophistical defenses.

Image of the Congress Versus the Image of the President on the Subject of Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I had the privilege on Tuesday of this week

to appear before the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress. I presented a rather extensive statement on the general subject of congressional exercise of the money power. In my remarks to the joint committee I made some reference to the image which the present Congress is creating on the subject of economy and I would like to briefly repeat here the substance of some of those remarks.

I pointed out that we should take stock of our objectives.

Congress, in exercising the money power, has a number of objectives. Nearly all fiscal reforms are to some extent advanced in the name of economy. But economy is not the only consideration. Doing a better job of organizing so as to better assure ourselves that we are doing the right things and making the right decisions—setting priorities—is in itself a worthy object, aside from the economy angle.

With respect to legislative control of the purse, I pointed out that techniques and procedures are important but that the factor of the greatest importance is the will and desire of the legislative branch. There has to be the will to promote economy; there has to be some restraint. There is no other lasting way.

With respect to the record of the President versus the record of the Congress in this general connection at this session of Congress, I should like to make a few general observations.

We do not have to look very far in the record of this session to find some significant facts, a major one being that Congress is acting less economy minded than the President. Our economy image if weighed in the balance would be found wanting. The President has provided magnificient leadership and nearly everyone will agree that he has presented a rather ambitious program. Indeed, too ambitious for some. It would seem that the outer spending limits set by the President would satisfy Congress, but not so.

It disturbs me that the President is making Congress look bad from the standpoint of economy. In fact it would be more accurate to say that the legislative branch is making itself look bad in this connection.

The President has been turning off some lights to stimulate the departments to do a better job of getting more for our money, but Congress has been turning the lights back on and putting in bigger bulbs.

Now I am not at the moment speaking about bills which have been approved by the Appropriations Committees. Appropriations for the session thus far are below the budget. I am speaking of authorization bills from other committees of the Congress.

Authorization bills for new programs and for enlargement of old ones are the beginning point of the legislative spending process. Ever-increasing authorizations are straws in the wind and barometers of things to come. And in this respect, Congress in a number of instances is outdoing the President. Let us look at some examples:

ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAM

The administration authorization bill	$1,500,000,000
The House bill	1,900,000,000
House increase	400,000,000

GENERAL HOUSING BILL

The administration bill	6,408,000,000
House bill ($305,000,000 below administration)	6,103,000,000
Senate bill ($1,485,000,000 above administration bill)	7,893,000,000
Authorized ($1,830,000,000 above administration bill)	8,238,000,000

(NOTE.—Some of this is in the form of backdoor spending, some is not.)

PUBLIC WORKS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BILL

This new bill combines features of three former programs—area redevelopment, accelerated public works, and Appalachia aid.

Administration bill (per year; not set number of years)	$510,000,000
Senate bill (per year; but on title I grants, $400,000,000 a year for 5 years; $150,000,000 above administration bill)	660,000,000
House bill, and authorized (per year; but on title I grants, $500,000,000 a year for 4 years; $250,000,000 above administration bill)	760,000,000

MILITARY PAY RAISE BILL

[*Estimated full 12 months cost*]

Administration bill	$447,000,000
House bill	997,000,000
Senate bill, and authorized ($544,000,000 above administration bill, automatically payable)	991,000,000

(NOTE.—The pending general Federal civilian pay raise bill is more expensive than the administration recommended.)

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION BILL

This is a 5-year program, the first year—fiscal year 1966—being a specific amount, the remaining 4 years being open-ended as to amount.

The first year—fiscal year 1966—amounts:

Administration bill	$1,255,000,000
Authorized ($85,000,000 above administration bill)	1,340,000,000

MEDICARE BILL

The medicare bill involves many phases of the social security program, same payable from the social security trust fund and some payable from general Treasury revenues. The best figures I was able to acquire on the approximate full annual cost of all phases are as follows:

Administration bill	$4,200,000,000
Authorized ($2,100,000,000 above administration bill)	6,300,000,000

To prevent these escalating authorization figures from getting completely out of bounds, pressures must be exerted from inside or outside Congress, and preferably from both.

The House thus far this session on the regular appropriation bills is about $1,900 million below the President's budget request, with three bills yet to be considered. We are not far enough along to see precisely what the final congressional outcome will be on these bills. I do not yet have the figures on spending programs which are not subject to the traditional appropriations process.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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Appendix

Food and Agriculture Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9811) to maintain farm income, to stabilize prices and assure adequate supplies of agricultural commodities, to reduce surpluses, lower Government costs and promote foreign trade, to afford greater economic opportunity in rural areas, and for other purposes.

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965. In particular, my objection is directed toward the wheat section of this bill, but I also have misgivings about other sections. My colleagues are all aware of the compromise which has been reached on the bread tax section of this bill, and the resultant language is indeed an improvement over the original suggestion.

I still believe, however, that our entire approach to farm legislation must be altered. We must reexamine our philosophy concerning farm problems and their solutions.

One of the ways to solve it is most certainly not to pass the cost of our experiments on to the consumer. This would have been the inevitable consequence of Secretary Freeman's original proposal to effect a bread tax. I have opposed and continue to oppose this type of regressive taxation. It would hit with devastating impact the people who live on small and severely limited budgets. We may not think that a 1- or 2-cent increase in the cost of bread is much at all, but to the person who pays 6 percent of a food budget for wheat products, it is a significant increase. Consider for a moment the following table, which proves that our lower income families use almost twice as much bread as families with incomes over $10,000:

Wheat consumption by family income

Annual income per family	Percent of food budget for wheat products	Home use per person per week
		Pounds
Under $2,000	6.6	3.8
$2,000 to $2,999	5.9	3.2
$3,000 to $3,999	5.8	2.8
$4,000 to $4,999	5.3	2.6
$5,000 to $5,999	5.1	2.6
$6,000 to $7,999	4.8	2.5
$8,000 to $9,999	4.6	2.3
$10,000 and over	3.8	2.2

You have also seen other statistics which prove the validity of this claim.

Earlier this year when this proposal was first advanced, I began correspondence with Esther Peterson, the President's extremely able adviser for Consumer Affairs. I include my correspondence and her response at this point in the RECORD:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., June 17, 1965.

MRS. ESTHER PETERSON,
Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, Executive Offices, The White House, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. PETERSON: I am deeply concerned about certain aspects of the proposed farm bill, especially those sections which deal with the wheat farming industry. It appears to me that the inevitable result of the plan would be an increased cost of bread, and I am turning to you, as the representative of the interests of the consuming public, for assistance in this problem. Secretary Freeman himself has stated that bread will go up in price, and this cannot but be detrimental to all consumers, especially the lower income families.

I would like to know if any interest has been demonstrated by various consumers' groups. It seems perplexing to me that our Government, which is seeking in every way it knows how to improve the lot of the poorer people, could rationalize a tax on bread.

In a month when we have just done away with taxes on luxury items, I fail to see the logic behind plans to do away with taxes on fur coats and put taxes on bread. Is there an explanation for this levy on the bread user?

It seems to me that the consumer, the large urban families and the poorer segments of our society, should not be singled out to carry the load of a good segment of our farm program.

I am very impressed and encouraged by your efforts to help the consumer and am sure that this problem has not escaped your attention. I would deeply appreciate your comments on the merits of this proposal.

Thank you for your consideration of this matter.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT N. GIAIMO,
Member of Congress.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM ESTHER PETERSON, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR CONSUMER AFFAIRS, DATED JUNE 25

Thank you for your letter of June 17 expressing your concern about certain aspects of the farm bill, especially those sections dealing with the wheat farming industry. I have, of course, followed these proposals closely and with great concern as to the effect on consumers.

As you know Secretary Freeman has predicted that the price of bread will be raised by 1-cent, because of the increased wheat tax per bushel, from 75 cents to $1.25. Others predict the increase may be closer to 2-cents and that the increase will hit the poor the hardest because of the greater consumption of bread in their diet.

The large bakers say they are forced by financial considerations to pass on the increase that they must pay. We note, however, that the cost of wheat in a 1-pound loaf is still 2.7 cents, as it was 15 years ago. Meanwhile, the retail price of a loaf has risen from 12.7 cents to about 21 cents.

The Department of Agriculture says this new program may save $200 million, which would go toward doubling food stamps to the needy and expand other projects for low-income people, such as the direct distribution of surplus food and the school lunch program.

Actually, according to the CPI, food prices have risen less than other items over the last year.

My own feeling is that in the long run this program and the competitive market fluctuation will be able to absorb the increase in wheat prices. I hope the bakers will absorb this increase.

I have recently been in touch with the White House on this whole matter of food pricing and we are studying this area carefully and advising the White House of the results of our studies.

With kindest personal regards.

JULY 28, 1965.

MRS. ESTHER PETERSON,
Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, Executive Office of the President, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. PETERSON: I thank you for your informative letter of June 23, 1965, in answer to my inquiry expressing concern over aspects of the administration's wheat proposal. I have been apprehensive, since the plan seems certain to have harmful effects on the disadvantaged families in the lower income groups. Further research on my part has presented other questions and these, coupled with comments you make in your letter, have caused me to write to you again in the hope that you can clarify some phases of the proposal that still give me trouble.

It seems to me the everyone is in agreement that the farmer should receive a fair return for his wheat: the issue is to determine from which pocket this money will come. The wheat proposal calls upon the consumer to provide these sums for the farmer, and I note from your letter that you agree that the price of bread will go up, and that it has been reported "that the increase will hit the poor hardest because of the greater consumption of bread in their diet." May I ask your comments on these points:

1. Isn't it inevitable that a rise in the price of bread will hit hardest at the lower income levels? I have been informed that the Department of Agriculture statistics show that 11 percent of the beverage and food diet of lower income groups is made up of wheat products, against only 9.1 percent in upper income families. Somehow we must aline our thinking with President Johnson's remarks on June 21, 1965, when he signed the excise tax reduction that: "We hope, in particular, to provide further tax relief for those in our Nation who need it most—those taxpayers who now live in the shadow of poverty."

2. I find it hard to assess the relevancy of remarks that the cost of wheat a decade ago is the same as the cost of wheat now. What portends for the disadvantaged family is what he has to pay for bread. Your letter points out that wheat prices in the cost of bread have stayed the same while bread prices have gone up during the past decades. This surely is a common pattern of our times. It would serve as a condemnation of the industry only if it were stated that they now enjoy excess profits or that they are poorly managed.

The industry's financial reports indicate that it operates at a profit level between 1

and 2 percent. The largest bakery in the country shows a 1964 profit, I have learned, of $9 million on a total volume of $450 million. The added cost of wheat to this company under the new proposal would be about $13 million. In view of these figures, which are public and which are based on audited financial returns, is it not unrealistic for anyone to "hope that the bakers will absorb the increase", as you stated in your letter.

But I have been informed that most of the complaints come from small bakers. Their concern is not a loss of profits. Their concern is staying in business. And they operate in an area where bankruptcies are exceedingly high, and figures amply demonstrate this. Shall we compound the tragedy of hurting the lower income families by forcing more and more small bakers out of business? All of these facts being present, I find it hard to decide for myself that the industry can absorb the cost, and must accept the inevitability of a rise in the cost of bread, as does the Secretary of Agriculture.

3. I find most interesting your comment that there will be a saving of $200 million, which "would go toward doubling food stamps to the needy and expand other projects for low-income people." This is an exciting possibility since it would at least return to the lower income groups some of the sums that were taken from them to support the farmers even if the route is devious and unwieldy.

Nowhere, however, can I find any hint that the money saved from this operation will be used for such programs. Nor did the administration even suggest such uses in its rationale of the wheat proposal. As a matter of administration and procedure, I find it hard to see how any specific amount could be identified as being withdrawn from the budget, and how it could be pinpointed for completely separate purposes.

These three matters occur to me as a direct result of comments made in your letter, and I look forward to having your comments as soon as possible since they will be helpful to me and to my colleagues as we have to make up our minds in this troublesome situation.

Generally, I can but deplore the establishment of procedures which do not solve any problems but simply add further inequities on top of already muddled practices. As always happens, legislation that fails to meet issues head-on in an attempt to solve them, brings with it nettles that cause torment for an indefinite future.

Thus, the inception of procedures to shortcut the budget at the expense of specific consumer groups, bring with them social defects that become instutionalized, hiding from view situations that need a real cure.

Thus, if parity for farmers is a responsibility it is a national responsibility and the funds should come from the Treasury so that the burden can be properly distributed among individuals and corporations. For example, one of the main groups that would benefit from the Freeman wheat proposal would be the manufacturers of farm equipment and machinery, yet there is no provision for them to share any of the burden.

This is a matter of serious concern to my district and I intend to give it full study in order to arrive at a proper conclusion. It would be most helpful for me to have your further comments on these matters at the earliest possible moment.

While I realize that you are not responsible for this proposal, I believe that those of us who are concerned with consumers' problems must recognize that this is but another example of unfair treatment of the consumer.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT N. GIAIMO,
Member of Congress.

Mr. Chairman, as we all know, the original provision has been modified and is more in line with national procedures. It still represents, however, a regressive tax and is symptomatic of the objections which must be raised about our entire agricultural program.

I cannot continue to support this type of legislation, Mr. Chairman. It is impractical, inequitable, and inefficient. It does nothing to solve the problems of the consumer nor to put agricultural procedures into proper focus. It is self-perpetuating and self-defeating. When the wheat referendum was defeated by American farmers, the extent of discontent with this approach was made clear. We must find new approaches and new methods, and I will not continue to support methods which have been proven to be ineffective. I therefore feel it is incumbent upon me to vote against this bill.

Personal Explanation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, August 2, 1965, I was in my congressional district in Pittsburgh participating in a reception and ribbon-cutting ceremony celebrating the opening of a new large commercial center, marking the progress of our South Hills area. Also I had conferences scheduled for constituents in my district to save them otherwise unnecessary trips to Washington, D.C., for consultation, which personal convenience they certainly appreciate.

Had I been able to be present, I would have voted "yea" on each of the three rollcalls taken that day, rollcalls Nos. 214, 215, and 216. I was informed that the leadership of both parties felt the bills scheduled were noncontroversial, so the votes were unexpected.

It is indicative of the unnecessary nature of the rollcalls that the results of rollcall No. 214 was 314 to 11; rollcall No. 215 was 326 to 0; and rollcall No. 216 was 323 to 0, so the opposition was negligible.

On rollcall No. 214, on final passage of Senate Joint Resolution 81, a bill to increase the amount authorized for the Interstate Highway System for fiscal 1967 and to authorize the apportionment of such amount, I was listed as having a general pair with Mr. MCDOWELL. On rollcall No. 214 I would have voted "yea."

On rollcall No. 215, final passage of H.R. 8027, a bill for assistance in training State and local law enforcement officers, I would have voted "yea." I ask unanimous consent that the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD be amended to correct the erroneous listing of a live pair, "Mr. RIVERS of Alaska for, with Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania against," as it should have been a general pair. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

On rollcall No. 216, H.R. 6964, a bill for Federal prisoners' rehabilitation, I had a general pair with Representative CHARLES H. WILSON. On this rollcall, I would have voted "yea."

Mr. Speaker, on Monday, August 9, 1965, I scheduled further conferences in my district with my constituents, as the present first session of the 89th Congress has been running so long this summer. I believe my constituents are entitled to personal consultations on their problems without the necessity of making a special trip from Pittsburgh, Pa., to Washington, D.C.

I was advised the bills scheduled were District of Columbia city management bills, and were not controversial. One contested amendment did come up, the Sickles amendment, on which I was paired on a general pair with Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. I would have voted "nay" on rollcall No. 228.

Housing Law Subsidies Are Testing New Ground

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, the August 13 issue of the Sacramento Bee contained a most interesting editorial on the omnibus housing bill recently signed into law by President Johnson. I commend this article to the attention of my collegues:

HOUSING LAW SUBSIDIES ARE TESTING NEW GROUND

President Lyndon B. Johnson's signing of the $7.5 billion omnibus housing bill is significant primarily for its unique provision that the Government will provide some of the rental costs for low-income families. This feature is an effort to find a compromise between the proponents of outright low-cost public housing and those who maintain the government must not compete with real estate interests.

In the new law government will seek in two general ways to move toward decent housing for all, while not going too deeply into public housing construction. One way of reaching this target is the rent subsidy; the other is a low-priced rental program aiming at 240,000 more units, 100,000 of them to be acquired by the purchase or lease of existing housing so the new units will be scattered among privately owned homes. These units will be obtained by local governments subsidized by Washington.

The law calls for 60,000 public housing units to be constructed directly by the Federal Government. This number is about twice the average annual public housing starts during the 8-year tenure of former President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Even so the new law falls far short of the 2 million houses a year the National Housing Conference maintains the Government must provide to keep up with the growth of population.

The law sets no record for Federal spending for housing. It does, however, reject on every level the reactionaries' claim that Federal spending for housing is socialistic, un-American, extravagant, and generally destructive of individuals' freedoms.

The freedoms these Cassandras are talking about is their own freedom to make money. They ignore the theft of freedom inherent in rat infested, degradingly unsanitary, and ugly dwellings now occupied by millions.

This law in its rental subsidy reflects Johnson's conviction that Federal spending which results in productive private spending is an economy. The theory became fact when the Federal Government reduced its tax revenues in order that more money be left for jobs, profits, and expansion.

Foreign Aid Gap

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 16, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, a statement by George Woods, president of the World Bank, at the July meeting of the Development Assistance Committee recently came to my attention.

This is an excellent statement on the subject of foreign aid. He forcefully argues that we are approaching a crisis in development assistance because aid is now on a plateau. This is tragically ironic in light of the growing gross national products of the developing countries and the rapidly growing populations and lagging economies of the underdeveloped countries.

Mr. Speaker, I think this statement deserves the careful attention of every member of the House, and I have unanimous consent to insert it in the RECORD.

STATEMENT OF MR. GEORGE W. WOODS, PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD BANK GROUP, TO THE MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE COMMITTEE, PARIS, JULY 22, 1965

Mr. Chairman, I should like to join, enthusiastically, in the commendations which have been extended to the chairman's report and which it so well deserves. The chairman has lucidly, cogently, and comprehensively reported on developments which are of keen interest to all those concerned with economic progress. I am sure that the document will be immensely useful not only as a record of the past year, but as a focus for the discussion of the very serious issues which face this meeting.

When I say that this meeting faces some very serious issues, I am not speaking lightly. For I firmly believe that unless the countries represented here take some bold decisions about the volume and character of development aid—and take those decisions soon—the climate of economic development, which by and large has been reasonably good, is going to change markedly for the worse. And by "decisions," I do not mean speeches or resolutions, I mean actions.

If we look around the world at what has happened recently, the record indicates that the gross national product of the developing countries increased in 1963 and 1964 at about 4.5 percent, or perhaps 2 percent per capita. This growth was in large part achieved by reason of the rise, during 1963 and 1964, in the prices of the developing countries' exports—a useful reminder of the essential role which trade plays in the whole development business. Unfortunately, in the latter months of 1964, the prices of agricultural primary products began to weaken and in the case of some of these products—particularly cocoa, sugar, and coffee—the decline has been precipitous.

In some important individual countries we can see some cheering examples of progress, often achieved in the face of serious obstacles, both economic and political. On the side of the aid givers, too, there have been some favorable developments over the past year. There has been evolving a healthy disposition to concentrate attention on those countries which have performed satisfactorily and which have been following sound economic, financial, and development policies. As the Chairman's report notes, there appears now to be a greater readiness to coordinate aid, both its objectives and its terms, in the interest of increasing its impact. Although some of the established consortia and consultative groups have been more effective than others in achieving such coordination, on the whole I am convinced that these mechanisms can and will prove to be an instrument, enabling aid givers to assess the potential performance and needs of the recipient countries, to adapt the character and terms of aid to those countries' requirements, and to identify development priorities. As you know, the Bank has decided to step up substantially its own coordinating activities. We have in mind the organization of five or six new consultative groups within a matter of months and we have been in touch with a number of governments represented here to ascertain their willingness to join in these endeavors. We shall soon be sending to governments notification of our plan to convene a high-level meeting at the time of the Bank's annual meeting. We expect to set in train at that time the formation of new groups for those countries for which priority attention is appropriate. We also intend that the work of the consultative groups already organized by the Bank will be intensified.

So much for some of the highlights on the asset side of the ledger. It would not have been fair to paint a picture which ignored the significant progress which is being made on many fronts. But what I really want to emphasize here are the serious problems which confront those whose business is development finance.

Many of the less developed countries themselves have the power, if they have the will, to overcome particular difficulties or to change particular circumstances which slow down their economic growth—continuing political instability which forecloses effective development even with official funds, and completely discourages the flow of all important private investments; excessive administrative or defense expenditures, which preempt already limited resources without contributing to economic growth; unrealistic exchange rates; and so on. Each of us could draw up the list.

But this is not the forum in which to concentrate on the deficiencies of the less developed countries. We are considering here how to make our own performance, as aid-givers, more effective. Since it is fashionable nowadays to talk of a "gap", let me use that term to describe a situation which seems to me of growing concern as we judge our performance. That is the variance, the very marked variance, between what the developed countries—the DAC countries, if you will—say about development and what they do about it. Unless that gap is narrowed and quickly narrowed, I believe that what lies ahead is an inevitable and a heartbreaking slowdown in economic development and even in international trade.

UNCTAD debates and resolutions are a rich source of official assurances that economic development is at the forefront of the advanced countries' political concerns, and of agreement in principle that they should provide enough assistance to enable the less-developed world gradually to achieve more satisfactory standards of living. These assurances of help to the developing countries for the realization of their development potential are always made, I know, in all sincerity. But if we look at the figures, we find that in fact aid is now on a plateau. The total net official flow of long-term capital from the DAC countries has remained at about the same level since 1961. This is despite a rise in gross national product of the industrialized countries, over that period, at a rate of about 4 to 5 percent annually—in other words, by perhaps $40 billion a year—with the result that the constant amount of net official aid represents a declining percentage of the aid-givers' national income. Similarly, there has been no significant increase in the total annual net flow of public and private financial resources from the DAC countries to the developing world, a flow which has in recent years remained about $9 billion. This amounts to about nine-tenths of 1 percent of the gross national product of those countries. However, if receipts of profits, dividends and interest are taken into account, the annual net contribution to the developing countries by the DAC countries has been about $6 billion, or about six-tenths of 1 percent of their gross national product. And from the developing countries' standpoint, the level amount of assistance provided has represented a declining amount per capita—due to the increase in their populations by some 2 to 3 percent a year.

While the amount of external finance has tended to remain static, the capacity of the developing countries to make productive use of resources has not. Despite differences in performance of individual countries, the absorptive capacity of the developing countries has been steadily expanding as their institutional structures become more firmly established, as education and skills become more widespread, as administrative and managerial abilities improve, and as project preparation becomes more effective. While agreement is quite general, I believe, that absorptive capacity can be expected to continue its growth—and probably at a faster rate than has prevailed up to now—there are, as the chairman's report notes, widely ranging estimates of the figures for external-aid requirements into which that capacity should be translated. A preliminary Bank inquiry based, for each country, on the judgment of the Bank's country specialists and area economists, suggests that between now and 1970 the less developed countries might productively use an additional $3 to $4 billion a year. I myself see little point in arguing about precise figures, since although analyses and estimates of the developing countries' needs for external capital are a necessary background for decision, in the end the amount of aid which will be made available will be determined by practical and political realities. What I want to make clear, however, is my deep conviction that the present level of finance is wholly inadequate, whether measured by the growth rate which the advanced countries say they are willing to facilitate or in terms of the amount of external capital which the developing countries have demonstrated they can use effectively. The whole order of magnitude of external capital flows to the developing countries wants changing. If, to achieve that, we need to change political climates—in the industrialized countries, to permit a much greater flow of official capital, and in the developing countries, to encourage a much greater flow of private investment from abroad—then ways of doing so must be explored, must be agreed upon, and must be implemented.

I suggest, in addition, the desirability of a new perspective on the part of donor countries. The less-developed countries are urged to plan their development for a reasonable period ahead. Since every development program necessarily assumes some measure of finance from abroad, the realism of a na-

tional development plan would be greatly enhanced, and therefore the likelihood of its achievement greatly facilitated, if the country in question could formulate its program with some broad notion of the amount of finance which might be extended over the plan period. This would require the donor countries themselves to take a long-term view, agreeing for planning purposes on assistance targets over perhaps a 3- or 5-year period, for at least those developing countries which are recipients of major amounts of aid. These targets would, of course, not be firm or irrevocable commitments. Not only would they be subject, on the part of the donors, to yearly legislative authorization, but the availability of the amounts projected would in every case depend upon convincing demonstration, in annual reviews, that the recipient country's economic performance had been satisfactory.

Orderly development would be immensely facilitated, too, if the developing countries could have some measure of assurance that their development programs will not be disrupted by sharp declines in export earnings due to unpredictable fluctuations in commodity prices. We are studying what contribution the Bank and IDA might make in this connection pursuant to the UNCTAD resolution on the United Kingdom-Swedish proposal for supplementary financing, and I hope we may have some proposals to put forward on this matter this fall.

Let me turn now to the question of the terms of aid—a problem, as the chairman's report notes, which is inseparably linked to the magnitude of aid. While the capacity to use foreign capital has been growing and will continue to grow, the ability of many developing countries to service additional external debt on conventional terms is declining. You are all familiar with the relevant data, but they bear repeating.

Present total external public debt—long and short term—of the developing countries, as a group, is estimated at about $39 billion, and amortization and interest payments on this debt may be as high as $3.5 billion a year. This debt amounts to about 15 percent of the combined gross national product of the developing countries. Service charges on it have been rising by more than 10 percent per year, despite a few important rescheduling operations, and they now amount to about 12 percent of the developing countries' total export earnings. These levels of debt service are dangerously high. They mean that a good deal of the proceeds of new loans must be devoted to servicing previously contracted obligations, rather than being invested in new productive development. Indeed, when all service and dividend payments on both public debt and private investment are taken into account, the backflow from the developing countries offsets about half the entire gross capital inflow which these countries receive from all sources.

Notwithstanding these facts and despite the general recognition of the importance of relating aid to the circumstances of recipient countries, there has been overall only a modest improvement in the terms of aid. A recent study by the U.S. Government has, indeed, noted that there has been a steady hardening of the terms of U.S. assistance—a shift in emphasis from grants to loans and from loans repayable in local currency to loans repayable in dollars, together with an increase in the minimum interest rate on dollar-repayable loans. Other aid-giving countries, which previously offered aid on terms much harder than those of the United States, have softened those terms somewhat, but not yet sufficiently—on average, they do not yet approach even the hardened U.S. terms. The problem of aid-tying, as the report of the chairman notes, remains a serious and difficult one. As we all know, the harder the terms of lending, the larger will be the amount of gross capital transfers necessary to assure a given net transfer of resources, and the longer it will take for the developing world to be assured of the gradual but steady growth which the DAC members have in principle undertaken to assist. The recent announcement of the United Kingdom that it will make long-term development loans free of interest or management charges to selected developing countries reflects a commendably long-range view, all the more to be applauded because it has been taken by a country which is itself confronted by difficult and pressing problems in its own economy. We can hope that this policy will prove a lodestar for other countries.

If the considerations I have mentioned are taken together—the leveling-off of aid notwithstanding the increasing absorptive capacity of recipient countries, the tendency toward a hardening of aid terms notwithstanding the increasing magnitude of the debt burden—and if the are viewed against the background of a certain boredom, at the least, and disillusionment, at the worst, with the subject of development finance in most of the countries represented here, you can see why I am so concerned about the prospects for economic development. You can see, too, why I consider it so urgent that the governments represented at this meeting should take a firm decision to reverse recent trends, not only by very substantially increasing the amount of their aid but also, and importantly, by making an even larger proportion of it available on very easy terms.

This brings me logically and, I daresay, not unexpectedly, to a more parochial and institutional point. Governments have at hand a ready vehicle for avoiding the threatened slow-down of economic development and for moving in the direction of the objectives subscribed to at the 1964 UNCTAD Conference—I refer to the forthcoming IDA replenishment. The amount of that replenishment is of course a matter for the collective judgment of governments. But there is no doubt that there are useful, productive and high priority opportunities which would enable IDA to invest at a rate several times that permitted by the resources which have been available to it up to now.

There are a number of advantages to investing in development through IDA. It is devoted to encouraging countries to follow appropriate economic policies. Its credits are used to finance only those projects and programs which are soundly conceived and which can be efficiently executed. IDA's financing terms are concessionary, but no concessions are made in the project standards which it applies. Through IDA, the aid-giving countries can achieve their objectives—and here I quote from papers before this meeting—of "relating the financial terms and the appropriate 'mix' of hard loans and soft loans or grants on a case-by-case basis to the circumstances of each underdeveloped country or group of countries, of seeking greater comparability among contributing countries in the terms and conditions of aid, and of achieving further overall softening of terms." The DAC countries have recognized the desirability of keeping the tying of bilateral aid to the minimum consistent with political and balance-of-payments considerations. Aid extended through IDA is freed of procurement restrictions—to the full extent of the amount contributed, automatically and, most important of all, by simultaneous and concerted action of all the contributing countries. IDA thus not only affords a means of making untied aid politically more palatable but it assures that the funds provided will buy the greatest amount of development.

In saying this, I recognize that I may not be wholly free of institutional bias, but I am convinced, after some years of experience, that it is development finance provided through multilateral channels and invested solely on the basis of economic considerations which proves in the long run most beneficial to developing and developed countries alike.

The Law and Public Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, increasingly in recent years, educators have had to concern themselves with the impact of the law on their profession. In this connection, I take the liberty of bringing to the attention of the House, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, a portion of an interesting paper presented to the Virginia School Boards Association by Tyler Fulcher, division superintendent of schools for Amherst County, Va., as follows:

THE LEGAL STRUCTURE OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM IN VIRGINIA

(By Tyler Fulcher)

The legal structure of our public school system is born or found in democracy. We have democracy, and we have a public school system. The public school system is one of the priceless pictures produced by democracy in action. Democracy produced it, and, in turn, it sustains democracy.

In a monarchy, the king is sovereign. In a democracy, each citizen is a sovereign, and, as a consequence, we, the people, are the "sovereign." The people rule in a democracy, and they rule by law. Therefore, in the first place, democracy is predicated upon the proposition that each citizen is a sovereign; in other words, a king. This is his right. This is his status. What about his responsibilities?

In reference to responsibilities in a democracy, each citizen is presumed to know how to rule himself. If this presumption is to be a fact, and this it must be for an efficient republic, then each person must first learn how to govern himself. This learning may take place in a private school, but the great citadel of learning is a public school system. Therefore, again let it be said that our public school system was born in democracy, and, in turn, it sustains democracy.

Of course, this is the theory of democracy. It is a beautiful theory. How wonderful it is to be a sovereign. How wonderful it is to know how to govern one's self.

Then the thought arises, if he cannot govern himself individually, how can "they govern themselves collectively?"

Today in our space age, a beautiful theory of government has become a dire necessity. Then, as now, public school education was needed to teach each citizen enough to know how to govern himself. By now, education is more. It has become our first line of national defense. It is a necessary process for survival.

What we know and hear as men and women we cannot forget as educators. I have heard and you have heard that democracy is sick—that our society is sick, and, therefore, we, the components of democracy, are sick. One of the components of democracy is the public school system. We have heard it said that a sick democracy produced an Oswald; that the high rate of crime, that the number killed on highways, the increase in divorce rates, all are evidences of a sick democracy. If this is true, what is the cure?

This thought will be renewed near the end of this presentation.

Legal structure is my subject. To this point we have observed that the legal structure of our public school education is built by democracy in action, for, by, and of the people, and we have observed comments of warning, and we have seen the dim glow of danger signals. Now, however, for a moment, let us be specific.

Public school education is a State function. It was made so by the 10th amendment to the Constitution of the United States. In part, this amendment reads: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

The Government of the United States, according to said amendment, is a government of expressed powers. Nowhere in the Constitution of the United States is public school education mentioned, much less expressed. Public school education is, therefore, a reserved power of the State.

As to our State government, we have three branches—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. These branches of government are founded upon a constitution. Then the question is:

How did public school education in Virginia get its start?

Did one of the several constitutions of Virginia give birth to this great system?

Did it begin by order of the Governor, executive branch?

Did it originate by the decision, order, or decree of a judge, the judicial branch?

Or did it begin by an act of the general assembly, the legislative branch?

The answer is that public school education in Virginia was begun by the legislative branch of government, the General Assembly of Virginia. Let us, therefore, look into history for a few actions by the general assembly which gave birth to this priceless piece of democracy.

In 1619, 100 orphan children were sent to Virginia to be apprenticed and to be taught by their masters some good trade. Heatwole said that this marked the beginning of elementary school education in Virginia.

In 1643, the State legislature passed a law placing upon overseers and guardians the responsibility for instructing their orphan charges in the Christian religion and the rudiments of learning.

In 1646, the State legislature passed on Apprentice Act requiring owners to instruct and catechize their slaves in order that the heathen might have Christian training.

In 1705, a law was passed which provided that masters be compelled to teach orphans to read and write.

In 1727, the general assembly passed an act to "bind out" or "put in service as apprentice" the children of poor and neglectful parents.

In 1748, another law was passed authorizing the wardens of a church to apprentice the children of: "Any persons adjudged by the county court as incapable of supporting and bringing up their children in honest course or to take due care of the education of their children, and their instruction in the principles of Christianity."

Thus we have seen that public school education in Virginia had a humble beginning. It was initiated, inaugurated, and started by the legislative branch of Virginia government, and in the beginning and for some years thereafter public school education was for the poor—for those who couldn't pay the bill for private learning.

The first of the several constitutions of Virginia that recognized public school education and created the framework for a statewide system of education was the Underwood constitution of 1869. This constitution grew out of the Civil War and in much literature it is referred to as the "hated Underwood constitution." However, from the standpoint of public school education, it had several important provisions.

One of these provisions reads as follows: "To provide by law, at its first session under this constitution, a unified system of public free schools and for its gradual, equal, and full introduction into all the counties of the State by the year 1876, and as much sooner as possible."

This constitution also provided for the establishment of a chief State school officer known as the State superintendent of public instruction, elected by the general assembly, and a State board of education composed of the Governor, the State superintendent of public instruction, and the attorney general, with power to appoint and remove all county superintendents of schools, to manage the school fund, and to supervise the higher grades as later determined by law.

Article 8, section 14, of this constitution made a provision for future compulsory school laws.

Our present constitution of Virginia is an improvement over the old Underwood constitution of 1869. Section 129 of this constitution provides: "The general assembly shall establish and maintain an efficient system of public free schools throughout the State."

Then, of course, section 130 creates the State board of education; section 131 creates the office of superintendent of public instruction; section 132 prescribes the powers and duties of the State board of education; section 133 creates school districts and school trustees or local school boards and local school board members; section 136 deals with local school taxes, etc. As of now, the framework or skeleton of our public school system is a product of State constitutional law. The cells, the tissues, and vital organs for this skeleton are supplied by the acts of the general assembly. Therefore, life is given to our public school system by constitutional and statutory laws, or by the State constitution and State legislature.

The public school system is big business. Consequently, administrative agents are needed to execute and carry out such a program. Thus, the State board of education and the local school boards were created by constitutional law and activated by State legislative enactments.

The State board of education is an administrative agent of the State, operating on the State level, and the local school board is an administrative agency of the State operating on the local level, all in accordance with the partnership concept.

The primary purpose of these two agencies is to carry out the will of the General Assembly of Virginia as it operates within constitutional bounds.

Another great force has entered the public school system. It has been present for many, many years, but only recently has it been given wide and intensive publicity. This force is the Federal Government. True it is, even though constitutionally public school education is a State function.

On this subject, the furor began in 1954 and has continued with unabated force until this day. In the well-known Brown case, the U.S. Supreme Court struck the "separate but equal doctrine" previously held by the Court and ruled that "separate per se or in itself" was unequal and, therefore, in violation of the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment. It was here that the Court reversed itself, established a new doctrine, ignored precedence, and took judicial notice of certain principles of psychology and sociology.

We have before us two statements of legal fact which appear hard to reconcile. The first is that public school education is the function of the State; and secondly, that the Federal Government is a powerful force in the operation of a public school system.

How could this be? Let's take a look. In so doing, we ask ourselves, "What are the legal doorways through which the Federal Government enters?"

One of these is contained in article I, section 8, of the United States Constitution which reads in part: "Congress shall have the power to lay and collect taxes * * * to pay debts, to provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States."

The latter is known as the general welfare clause of the United States Constitution. It is by the authority of the general welfare clause that Congress provides money for the school lunch program, school equipment and materials in science, math, foreign languages, etc., financial support to the departments of agriculture and home economics in high school, and shop buildings and equipment in certain vocational areas. Yes, these are illustrations of the general welfare clause of the United States Constitution at work.

Dr. Maxwell Silver—"America, of Thee I Sing"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I offer for inclusion in the Appendix of the RECORD the excellent poem written by Dr. Maxwell Silver of 227 Riverside Drive, New York City, N.Y. Dr. Silver is the father of Pittsburgh's young outstanding rabbi and my good friend, Rabbi Harold Silver of the Temple Emanuel in Mount Lebanon.

Dr. Silver is also the author of the successful volume, "Retirement as a New Career" on the full and productive life a senior citizen can have after retirement. The following is a short biography to introduce this fine author and his poem, "America, of Thee I Sing":

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Born in Lithuania, Maxwell Silver was brought to this country by his parents, attended New York City schools, City College and Columbia University, and completed his studies at the University of Cincinnati and Hebrew Union College in that city. In 1916 he was recipient of three degrees, A.B. and M.A. from the university, and the degree of rabbi from Hebrew Union College. His first pulpit was with Temple Israel in Lafayette, Ind., where he also lectured before faculty and student bodies at Purdue University, and founded the Jewish Community Journal. After serving as a chaplain in World War I, he went to the Free Synagogue of Flushing, Long Island, and at the end of his active rabbinate there in 1922, turned to a banking career. He was manager, then vice president, of the Public National Bank & Trust Co. of New York, and continued as a vice president when it merged with the Bankers Trust Co. of New York. During his banking years he wrote "The Ethics of Judaism" (1936, Block) and "The Way to God" (1950, Philosophical Library). In 1928, "Justice and Judaism," an essay he had written at Hebrew Union College which had won for him the Kaufman Kohler Prize, was published and Louis P. Jacobs, a single tax movement leader, invited him to London. "Retirement as a New Career" is a product of Dr. Silver's own retirement career. So is a forthcoming book, "Another Look at the Problem of Happiness," and a one-act play,

"There Was a Man—The Drama of the Book of Job for the 20th Century." Hebrew Union College conferred an earned D.D. degree upon him in 1936.

AMERICA, OF THEE I SING

(Dedicated to President Lyndon Baines Johnson)

In this worst plight of man, I confidently sing
Of thee, America! For thy very birth-pangs bring
To my mind, ever setting it aglow,
The heart'ning thought, that despite the "depressing" flow
Of the descent of man, the discerning do herein see
That man does have destiny, that he does become creatively free,
That in his world, man can justice attain,
And thereby peace—justice's redeeming strain.

Is not this the thesis sound, long, long ago taught
By the Hebrew prophets—thy daily mentors—whose souls were fraught
With the insight sublime that urges man to sate
His animal passions of greed, aggression, and hate
With the wise promptings of his divine still small voice,
Which e'er counsels him, as between life and death, his choice
Be the life of justice, compassion, freedom, for all,
Rather than that death-in-life, the sorry resultant of injustice's thrall?

'Tis these prophetic ideals, O America, which to thy shores drove
Thy pilgrim fathers, and which, in due course, thy children hove
To a mission destined for thee by history—a world role—
To save from ignoble self-destruction mankind whole.
To thy universal burden, Nature, too, contributed her share:
Thy borders large, thy soil rich for all human need and fare,
And this, added to thy technical skill unique, gave thee the surplus wherewithal
To spread thy blessings unto other nations buried under poverty's pall.

Inspiring, O America, is thy world mission; hence again of thee I sing!
But while I confidently lift my voice in song, thereto doth also cling
Overtones of concern: Wilt thou prove great enough for thy historic call?
Wilt thou suffer the benighted primitive in thy midst, though in numbers small,
And the herculean nature of thy task, within and without thy borders, to deflect thee
From the world-redeeming course destined for thee by the spirit of history?
Will thy inspired leaders in power, who, too, have perceived thy new world role,
Prove themselves comprehending and strong enough to steer mankind to its blessed goal?

But my concern, O America, lingers not inordinately long
When I recall thy heritage e'er lifting, strong,
And thy brave loyalty thereto, hower'er oft-halting, which thou hast proclaimed
In thy founding revolutionary Declaration, justly world famed,
And in thy far-reaching Emancipation Proclamation
In behalf of a luckless race. Alas, woefully short, this, of realization!
But, the noblest of thy children even now are battling therefor,
Deadly determined to remove from thine image this, thy national sore.
Numerous of thy children have sacrificed their all
In two world wars, to keep mankind free from new tyrants' thrall.
This accomplished, even to thine enemies didst thou thy wealth freely extend;
Not to mention thy munificence to thy allies, whose thralldom to the newer tyrants didst thou thereby forfend.
Despite all this, hast thou not for thyself claimed selfless sainthood?
Nay, freely hast thou admitted that, luckily, thine own highest good
With that of mankind's coincides in all sooth,
Indeed, thy perceptive leaders have made wise use of this persuasive truth.

Need I further note thy yeoman's share in the founding of the United Nations—
That ultimate bastion for saving the world's peace, aye, all mankind's civilizations—
And the exciting labors of the members, young and old, of thy Youth Corps, voluntarily adrift
'Mongst distant peoples, whose lives downtrodden they earnestly are helping to lift?
For all that, none is more prone than thyself to discourse
On how uncharted still is mankind's saving course,
And how formidable and inchoate is thy chosen world burden, whose glorious source
Is so deeply lodged in the moral idealism of thy youth and in its deathless force.

Because of all this, my America, of thee I continue to sing,
Aye, by reason of more: that mine own song, sharp awak'ning bring
To all thy faithful but still silent pilgrims, that they, too,
Lift their voices high, bold, loud, ne'er-ceasing, and true,
To drown our primitives' siren songs; that our tout ensemble may the hands uphold
Of the inspired leaders we have erstwhile chosen for power manifold,
Who, with the prophet Isaiah announce, "Not a waste did He create this earth,
But for man's habitation" (45: 18), that all His children may enjoy peace, for none will suffer dearth.

—MAXWELL SILVER.

The Riots: Why and What Next?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 26, 1965

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, Roscoe Drummond's column in this morning's Washington Post is in my opinion the best summation on the recent tragic Los Angeles events, particularly so since Mr. Drummond did not deal in personalities. On the other hand, it is such personalities, of course, that will give reality to the understanding so sorely needed in the present situation:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Aug. 20, 1965]

THE RIOTS: WHY AND WHAT NEXT?

(By Roscoe Drummond)

No good whatsoever can come from glossing over the meaning and menace of the Los Angeles rioting.

Some choose the gloss of saying that this was not a "race riot." It was racial violence in the extreme. It does not help to pretend otherwise. In the words of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., it was a "blind and misguided revolt"—a revolt by deprived and frustrated Negroes against white society.

The issues are racial. The grievances are racial. The consequences are racial. No benefit will come from pallid phrases covering them up.

Some are so eager to center instantly on the injustices and hurt which caused this violent lashing out that they tend to dismiss the horrible injustices and hurt which the rioters poured on innocent people—and orderly government.

It is true that there are gross grievances which must be corrected, but they do not make gross violence a justified or a tolerable or a useful means of protest. More such violence in Los Angeles or elsewhere can set back the cause of equal opportunity for Negroes a decade.

President Johnson rightly said that the attempt to redress justified grievances by unjustified violence is the greater wrong and must be seen as such. This view might be arguable, at least it would seem to many irrelevant, if the way to peaceful progress for Negroes remained closed but it doesn't. It is opening steadily and opening wider in education, voting, nondiscrimination, and, hardest of all, equal economic opportunity.

Under these circumstances, resort to violence is not only wrong—it is self-defeating, it is disastrous, it is the way backward. And to say otherwise is to hurt the cause of Negroes, not to help it.

However unjustified this resort to blind and senseless riot, arson, and shooting, it is understandable—and needs to be understood.

At least 65 percent of the residents of the Watts district in Los Angeles are Negroes who fled the South to escape social isolation and found themselves huddled together in a new isolation caused by poverty. They can't afford to live anywhere else.

The smog of poverty never seems to lift. Most of the better jobs that are available require a level of education the Negro poor do not have and which will take at least another generation to acquire. Unemployment in the Watts district is 34 percent, higher than it was in the Nation at the depth of the depression in the 1930's. Whites rioted against white society in those circumstances. It is not surprising that Negroes have rioted against white society in Los Angeles today.

Some tend to take a far too simple either/or attitude—either white leadership is to blame or Negro leadership is to blame. The truth is that both leaderships are to blame.

White leadership has falsely assumed that there is all the time in the world to deal with the social cancer of the deprived Negro. Hence the blindness of the Los Angeles city government to the need of dealing constructively and forehandedly with festering conditions.

Arizonan Replies to Alleged State Gambling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 21, 1965

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, in the RECORD of August 17, 1965, the Honorable PAUL A. FINO in-

cluded an article concerning some "iffy" statistics concerning alleged gambling in Arizona. I do not know why our colleague decided to pick Arizona as an example. Arizonans have always fought against gambling, either legal or illegal.

As one might suspect, Mr. FINO's article has aroused the ire of several citizens from Arizona. One of the more prominent citizens of my State has sent him a wire which, in my opinion, expresses the feelings of most Arizonans.

The wire follows:

"The Honorable JOHN J. RHODES,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Yesterday I wired Congressman PAUL FINO the following wire: "Would you please supply me air mail today, if possible, figures and statistics to back up your charge that $1 billion worth of gambling takes place in Arizona each year." This was his reply to me: "Reference Arizona gambling. My billion dollar figure is merely national estimate prorated on a population basis, not specific information. Signed Congressman PAUL A. FINO."

I issued this statement today: "Senator Barry Goldwater challenged Congressman PAUL FINO of New York on a billion dollar figure relative to gambling in Arizona. Congressman FINO admits his information is not specific but is merely basing it on a national estimate prorated on a population basis. My comments to Congressman FINO are that we in Arizona have long resisted legalized gambling. I hope we will always do this and in the future when the Congressman has comments to make on our State, would he please rely on something more specific than a proration done with his own slide rule."

BARRY GOLDWATER.

Congress and Its Critics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following articles from the August 17 and 18, 1965, editions of the New York Herald Tribune which were taken from an address by Neil MacNeil before the American Assembly of George Washington University.

Much of the estrangement which is felt between Congress and members of the academic community can be attributed to the mistaken approach of political scientists who study Congress. This tradition, which began with Woodrow Wilson, values a "detached" method of study, and would have us believe that the work of Congress can best be interpreted without examining Congress itself, or consulting with its Members. The results of this type of approach are many generalizations with few specifics, and a basic misunderstanding of the way in which Congress operates.

Fortunately, there has been a recent challenge to this traditional approach. A group of young political scientists has been trying to bring realism to their teaching and bridge the chasm between Congress and the intellectual community. They are sending students and teachers to Capitol Hill and inviting Members of Congress to the campuses.

It is desirable that we have cooperation from both the academicians and from the Members of Congress so that our work can be properly studied and evaluated, as it has not been in the past.

The articles follow:

CONGRESS AND ITS CRITICS—I

(By Neil MacNeil)

Congress, institutionally, feels toward its critics in the intellectual community much the way the catfish felt toward the fisherman. "Hold still, catfish," the fisherman said. "I only want to gut you."

The political scientist's understanding and description of Congress often are incomprehensible to the Members of Congress, and theirs are frequently incomprehensible to the political scientist.

In plain terms, Congress and the intellectual community do not understand each other. The loss is the Nation's loss, for Congress needs help in meeting the promise of America's future.

Parliamentary practice, like law, is based not on logic, but on experience. It is pragmatic, rather than scholastic.

Out of its traditions come the instincts of Congress toward itself, the other branches of the Government, and the outside world. It operates on a live-and-let-live philosophy that is not merely a vulgar and a moral indifference to ethical considerations. Involved here is a tolerance toward opposing views, a willingness to let those other views be voiced and voted, a recognition of the fundamental right of disagreement, which is the heart of a free society. If Congress tolerates the mountebanks and demagogs in its ranks, on the grounds that they, too, were elected, it respects only its men of character, industry, ability, and sincerity.

In this estrangement from the intellectual community, I do not for a moment exonerate Congress from its share of the blame. Frequently, Members of Congress have been, and are, guilty of a self-serving complacency about Congress and the rules and practices of Congress.

But a large share of the blame falls, also, on the academic community, and on none more importantly than the political scientists, those most responsible to interpret for us all the meaning and substance of Congress.

From the beginning, many political scientists have approached the study of Congress with techniques strikingly at variance with those of other academic disciplines. Too many political scientists have not learned what Lord Acton called the lesson of intellectual detachment.

In rough terms, I would like to sketch briefly the differences I have found in the methods of many American political scientists and those of American historiography, the discipline in which I was trained.

The American historian reflects a tradition running back to Francis Parkman, whose great history is right now being republished. As a young man in the 1840's, Parkman began to prepare himself to write the history of the struggle between England and France for the North American Continent. A Protestant, he went to Rome to study the Catholic faith and ritual. He lived with the Indians, not only the broken tribes of the East, but the wild savages of the great West. He examined the fort at Ticonderoga and he traced Montcalm's battle lines. He visited and explored all the places on the continent that were a part of his history.

Parkman spared nothing, least of all himself, that he might know his subject totally. Parkman thus set the tradition of American historians.

How different is the tradition of American political scientists—at least those committed to the study of Congress. The hero of this tradition is Woodrow Wilson. Wilson, as a young man, wrote "Congressional Government," the first and still most influential academic book in the field. He wrote it while serving on the faculty of Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, scarcely an hour's trip even then from Washington. Yet during the years he spent preparing to write his books, Wilson never visited Congress. His biographer and friend, Ray Stannard Baker, assures us that Wilson actually believed to do so would harm his comprehension of Congress. Wilson believed he could better understand the real business of Congress by a close study of the appropriate documents.

Wilson's book shows the price he paid for not seeing Congress for himself. He was long on generalizations, short on specifics, and he misread Congress in fundamental ways.

Wilson was appalled at the lack of discipline and central direction in the American Congress. Had he visited Congress, he would have seen that even then Congress had moved in precisely the direction he advocated. The Senate was in the thrall of a triumvirate. Speakers Blaine, Randall, and Carlysle, in turn, had already invoked strict discipline through the party caucus, they controlled committees through the chairmen they appointed and they were developing the House Rules Committee as an instrument of dictatorial power.

Professor Wilson, writing in the 1880's, described a Congress that more nearly resembled the Congress of the 1850's. Had he understood the pressure points of Congress, he might not have suffered as President his greatest legislative catastrophe: defeat by the Senate of the League of Nations.

Wilson left a legacy that taught generations of political scientists that they need not examine the congressional premises for themselves, that they need not consult with its members and that, all the same, they were equipped to correct its flaws.

CONGRESS AND ITS CRITICS—II

(By Neil MacNeil)

In our time, I take James McGregor Burns to be the leader of the academic critics of Congress. Some years ago, Professor Burns wrote a book, "Congress on Trial." Since then he has brought in the verdict and sentenced Congress to extinction in his latest book, "Deadlock of Democracy, Four-Party Politics in America."

Out of the Woodrow Wilson heritage, Burns stands emotionally committed to an all-dominant President, and he proposes to effect this by dismantling Congress—end the Federal system of checks and balances. In the book he devised a theory of presidential and congressional politics to justify his goal.

But not even Burns suggests the ultimate humiliation of Congress. Prof. Samuel Huntington, of Harvard, has proposed that Congress be stripped of its legislative powers and that its Members be put to work exclusively on what Huntington believes they are best fitted to do: running errands for their constituents.

What is the result of this failure to understand intimately the inner life and workings of Congress? It is, first, the hostility between Congress and the intellectual community that prevents a meaningful dialog between them. It is, second, the common confusion of form for substance in congressional theory and practice.

The last Congress, the 88th, offers a good example of the hazards of assessing Congress without adequate on-the-spot observation. In 1963, that Congress all but collapsed in a confused morass of frustration and inac-

tion. For the intellectual community, the political scientists and editorial writers, the reason was obvious: Congress was shackled by archaic rules.

Yet a year later, this dismal picture had totally changed. In 1964, the 88th Congress completed one of the most productive legislative sessions in history. Scores of major bills had been passed, and the intellectual community, somewhat reluctantly, was applauding.

Pure logic was not the tool to explain the strange and startling 2-year career of the 88th Congress. The rules were not primarily responsible for the inaction of 1963 or the action of 1964. The change was caused by a major shift in the congressional consensus. By the end of 1962, President Kennedy had won over to his legislative program many of the southern Democrats: their votes accounted for his success that year. Before his 1963 legislative program could begin to move, however, Negro demonstrations broke out in the South, Kennedy was forced to propose the sweeping civil rights bill he had so long delayed, and the southern Democrats began to desert the Kennedy program. The shift was enough to block or stall many of the Kennedy bills. Kennedy's assassination in November 1963, shocked Congress as much as the Nation, and the attitude of Congress toward the Kennedy program changed. Moreover, the new President was a southerner: the southern Democrats in Congress began to return to the party fold. The end result was a dramatic legislative record.

I don't mean to suggest that all political scientists, or all members of the intellectual community, have been instinctively hostile and uninformed about Congress. Far from it. As early as 1896, M. P. Follette wrote a distinguished study of the House speakership, and many others over the years have made similar valuable contributions to the public understanding.

And if the Wilson view remains preponderant, it is now under challenge. Today there is a group of political scientists who regard themselves as "Young Turks" battling the "Old Guard." They are challenging the method of their elders and the conclusions produced by that method. Their most distinguishing characteristic is that they frequent the committee rooms, the lobbies, and the corridors of Congress. They have laid siege on the Congressmen to have them explain their actions and their motives.

Many of these young political scientists came first to Congress as research fellows of the Brookings Institution or as congressional fellows of the American Political Science Association. They have spread out through the academic community, taking posts on college faculties, and bringing a new realism to their teaching. And they are publishing their findings. They are helping to bridge that chasm between Congress and the academic community, and so are many college faculties that now are taking a new interest in Congress. They are sending their students and teachers to Capitol Hill and expecting them to do more than look at the statues and paintings. They are inviting Members of Congress to their campuses.

Much basic work of a purely descriptive character remains to be done, although the "Young Turks" are beginning to examine closely some of the neglected aspects of congressional life. Needing attention are such major subjects as the modern role of the Speaker of the House, the operations of the lobbyists in the legislative process, the realities of the seniority system, and the dual functions of the party floor leaders. With sensitive and accurate descriptions and appraisals of such areas of congressional life, we can all be better able to deal with Congress today and in the future.

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Appendix

Soil Bank Discriminates Against Cotton Industry

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9811) to maintain farm income to stabilize prices and assure adequate supplies of agricultural commodities, to reduce surpluses, lower Government costs and promote foreign trade, to afford greater economic opportunity in rural areas, and for other purposes.

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Chairman, at least one provision remains in H.R. 9811 which should be eliminated. I refer to the soil bank provision as it relates to the cotton title. Revival of the soil bank scheme will result in harsh and discriminatory reduction in cotton acreage in the Southeast while some sections of the country will continue to overproduce.

Failure to remove this crippling soil bank plan from H.R. 9811 at this time leaves only one thin thread of hope for the votal cotton industry of our section. We must relay on the other body and subsequent conference for the necessary changes if the economy of a large section of our country is to survive. While there is a chance for this relief, we can never be certain what turn this legislation will take.

Even with elimination of the soil bank scheme and with the adoption of the release and reapportionment amendments of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE], the bill will require that the farmers in my area reduce acreage by at least 15 percent. Growers in some areas will exercise the option of planting unlimited acreage.

If the soil bank is revived, additional productive acres may be idled at the increased expense to the general economy of my area. The cotton industry, from the grower to the finisher, contributes mightily to Alabama's economy. Cotton is basic to the State's continued progress and development. The same situation applies to many other States where great numbers of small farmers must rely on cotton income for basic necessities of life.

Acreage assigned to the nonproductive soil bank will have dire results on the general economy at a time when we have been working to improve the economy and opportunity for development of our area and the entire Nation. The automatic diversion of at least 15 percent of the acreage required by the bill is not expected to help the economy of our cotton-producing areas. However, every segment of the cotton business, from the producer to the processor, is aware that some reduction in acreage is necessary due to the growing surplus of cotton.

I submit that this reduction will be made in the Southeast, which has traditionally depended on cotton as a major factor in the general economy, while other sections of the country will turn even more acres into the production of cotton.

But the transfer of additional acres, even whole farms, into the nonproductive soil bank could have a crippling effect on many rural areas where cotton is such a vital force in the economy.

To revive the soil bank and assign additional cotton acreage to a nonproductive use is asking too much of the reduction from the Southeast.

I hope that the soil bank provision can be eliminated from the cotton program. To retain this harsh section is to invite disaster for the general economy and well-being of our area.

The crippling of the economy of such a large area could well have dire results for the entire country.

Health Care by Federal Law—What's Now and What's Coming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, August 9, I had the privilege and pleasure of addressing the American Bar Association at their annual meeting in Miami. Since many of this esteemed group of attorneys will soon have to come to grips with the judicial ramifications of the newly enacted health care legislation, I took this opportunity to provide them with my views and prognostications on these measures. For the interest of my colleagues and the public I am submitting for the RECORD the text of my remarks on that occasion:

HEALTH CARE BY FEDERAL LAW—WHAT'S NOW AND WHAT'S COMING

(Remarks of Hon. THOMAS B. CURTIS before the American Bar Association, Monday, August 9, 1965, at Miami Beach)

As I write this speech in early July it is a good bet that by the time of its delivery on August 9, 1965, the Federal Government will have taken a major step into the field of health care. Judging by the version which passed the House of Representatives and the version containing 75 amendments which was voted out of the Senate Finance Committee, which versions set the outside limits for the House-Senate conferees, the final bill to be sent to the President for signature will mark the end of the development of health care in our society through essentially the private sector and begin a new era, where Government decisions will supplant private decisions in many important areas.

There is an awesome challenge facing the innovators of the new system, because never in such a short space of time has the health care of any society moved as rapidly forward as has ours in the past five decades and never has a society been so preeminent in the field of health care as is ours today. Preeminent in quality as well as quantity, and preeminent in research and development, which is the greatest assurance of increased quality and quantity for the future.

The very problems in the field of health care which have brought about the pressures for the Federal Government to take the action it has, it must be remembered, are the result of the successes of the system we have had, not its failures. Increasing numbers of our people are living beyond the Biblical age of the good and full life of 3 score and 10 because of the successes of our health care system. This success has created new problems in the financing of these extra years of life and in the psychological approach the aged and the younger relatives and associates of the aged take to this new phenomena. I am not one who has ever sought to avoid the discussion by assuming that the system which has produced the success, thereby unequivocally can meet the new problems which the success has created. It is entirely possible that the present system, for some reason or other, can no longer continue to move forward or cannot move forward at the kind of rapid pace we would wish.

I have felt, however, that it was the responsibility of the innovators to point out the structural flaws in our present system that prohibited it from meeting the new problems it was responsible for creating. Or if they disagreed with the success syllogism I have advanced, to point up in what way our health system had not produced the almost miraculous achievements to which I have alluded.

The promoters of the new system of health care in our society allege that it will only supplement, not supplant, the system we have had. A good bit of this argument is based upon the assumption that the new Federal program is complete in itself and that it is not merely a beginning which will eventually encompass the entire society. On this point the promoters of the new system are divided; at least they are divided in their public utterances. Some deny that it is their intention to merely get the camel's nose under the tent, as it were, and that the program is to remain limited in amount of coverage and to the group which is to be covered, those over 65. Others, however, in their public utterances, particularly to the select audiences who hope to get some benefits out of the program, state that this is just the beginning.

One of the motivations of those who put the extra two layers on what has been termed the three-layer cake is to make the extent of coverage as far as benefits is concerned so comprehensive that there would be no basis for moving the Government further into this aspect of the program. They sought to set aside a certain area where "private enterprise," so they termed it, could continue to operate and make judgments.

So one of the first things those who would appraise what has happened must deter-

mine is, is this the total change or is this merely the first step of a change? In determining this factor, they must study the act to see whether it indeed does provide in a realistic way the basic framework for private hospitals, health insurance companies, nursing homes, and other developers and purveyors of health services and facilities to continue to provide for the health needs of our society.

I myself have no doubt that the act supplants, rather than supplements, the private sector by the governmental sector in many vital areas of decisionmaking. Not only will the Curtis corollary to Gresham's law begin to operate, Government capital drives out private capital, but the very deviousness in the language drafted in the original House bill suggests that the promoters intend to assist it in operating. In the very beginning of the bill, it is stated in bold type as a heading of a section that nothing in this act shall operate to interfere with the private operation of hospitals and of other health facilities. This is fine, only the next 80 pages of the bill then set out in detail just how the Government judgments shall be interposed.

Indeed, one of the commendable objectives of the promoters of the legislation is to improve the standards of our hospitals and other health facilities throughout our country. The question, of course, is not whether we need to improve our standards, because we always need to be improving our standards, no matter what they may be, but whether we move forward more soundly by interjecting the judgment of Federal civil service officials, with an overlay of political appointees, into the procedures for reaching judgments we presently have. Under our present system thousands of hospital boards and private citizens, operating under guidelines set by State and local governmental officials, move us forward. There are further improvements in standards suggested and insisted upon by health insurance organizations and by the gentle but inexorable expression of the people, the users of health facilities and services.

I think the argument can always be reasonably made that at any given time properly motivated and knowledgeable people given centralized authority can improve the standards of any activity or facilities within our society. However, at best this is a one shot periodic approach and cannot be repeated too frequently because, in the process of centralizing the authority to improve the standards, one strikes at the heart of innovation from whence comes future improvement. In the long run the process of the thousand different hospital boards testing and trying new ideas, and hopefully, exchanging information with each other on the success or failure of their experiments, is the best way to improve standards. I have often pointed out that one of the greatest decisions facing our military authorities, and it is a decision which constantly has to be made, is at what stage of design development do you freeze the prototype for mass production in order to have the quantity of weapons in being with which to combat the enemy. If you freeze on design too soon you may have the quantity, but the inferior quality; on the other hand, if you freeze too late you may have the superior quality, but lack sufficient quantity. There is never an end to perfecting a design. There is never an end to research and development. But, I would argue, we should never adopt a system which, in effect, is gathering together and cashing in on all research and development at a given time to gain an immediate overall improvement through a centralized set of standards unless there are other overriding reasons. In the field of military endeavor, it is obviously necessary to have crash programs under certain circumstances, but it is costly—as any observer of the military operation can testify—both to innovation, which is clipped, and to the pocketbook, when we go to mass production and end up with quantities of costly but obsolete weapons.

There seems to be no justification for uneconomic and deleterious crash programs in the field of health care.

There are two major innovations in the Federal Health Care for the Aged Act which require much more consideration than they have been given to date. One changes the social-insurance system—from a cash payment system to one which also includes services. I want to emphasize that when I use the term social-insurance, I am using a hyphenated word, not two separate words. I do this for accuracy and to give emphasis to the Supreme Court decision which held social security benefit payments not to be taxable income for Federal income tax purposes because the payments were gratuities. The point is that no matter how much the Social Security Administration seeks to capitalize on the fine reputatioin that private insurance has finally built up for itself in our society, social-insurance, with the hyphen, is based upon an entirely different concept, including different actuarial assumptions, from that of private insurance. It is confusing and very unfortunate for proper public understanding of the social security system that the Social Security Administration continues to use private insurance nomenclature in its descriptive literature about social-insurance.

However, the point I was making was that one of the innovations constitutes changing the social-insurance system from one of paying cash benefits to one which gives services along with cash. One of the questions raised in the preliminary discussions which preceded the adoption of the present act was this: If the older people are having difficulty meeting the cost of the premiums for health insurance, why not increase their social security cash benefits instead of basically altering the system to one which gives a service instead of cash? This still remains an interesting question, which has never been answered by the proponents of medicare.

One of the true advancements of the social security cash benefit system over the old age assistance program was that it got the Government out of the business of budgeting the beneficiaries in their weekly expenditures for food, clothing, rent, health, recreation, etc. It gave the people the cash and let them budget themselves. So, in this sense, the new health care system is a step backwards. It, in effect, says to the older person, we will give you cash for everything except health costs. In this area we will budget you by telling you what and how much you may have. The real change, however, comes as the result of the burden a service system places upon the administrator which a cash benefit system avoids. Providing a service means that the Government must either directly provide the service by going fully into the business itself or contract with the private sector to provide it, and then police the contract. The system provided under the present act is one of contracting with the private sector. In spelling out what services are to be included and the guidelines to be observed by the vendors of the services, the Government administrators are drawn heavily into the business of rendering decisions on quality and type of medical services and medical facilities. It is true that there has been some effort to provide some flexibility and to keep the private sector in the decision-making process, but the unescapable fact is that the ultimate decisions rest with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. I was able to have some judicial review over the ultimate decisions of the Health, Education, and Welfare officials placed in the House bill, but it was over such resistance on the part of the governmental proponents of this legislation that I have little hope much judicial review will remain in the act by the time it is sent to the President for signature.

The proponents have discounted this concern over Government regulation by pointing out in a non sequitur that it is necessary for the Government to be certain that the older people, in whose behalf it is acting, receive a full measure for the health dollars spent. Of course, once we use Federal funds there is an obligation imposed upon the Federal governmental administrators to see that the money is legally and wisely spent. That is the point, and for this very reason we must be chary about using governmental funds, rather than private funds, and why—to the extent we can—we must keep Government welfare programs on a cash benefit basis rather than direct services.

The second major innovation is perhaps an even more serious departure from what has been fundamental Federal governmental policy in the past. Up until this act, never has the Federal Government used general revenues for welfare measures unless the program was accompanied by some form of means test. The social security system, that is, the OASDI program, as we all know, does not use general revenue, but rather a special payroll tax to finance its cost. To some degree, the amount paid in payroll tax by the individual is related to the amount of benefits that persons might receive in the future. I use the verb "might" because there is no legal obligation flowing from the Government to the individual wage earner paying the payroll tax. His only protection is political, namely, that the Congresses in the future are not going to fail to keep or enact laws which pay him this anticipated benefit.

To understand this point, which is confusing to many people for the reason that the Social Security Administration has been using private insurance terms to describe its social-insurance program, it might be well to contrast the social security retirement system with the civil service retirement system. The civil service retirement system does create legal rights to benefits which permit the potential recipient to go into court to enforce them. The benefits received under the civil service retirement system, just like the benefits received under any private employer-employee retirement system, are subject to Federal income tax for the portion paid in by the employer—unlike social security benefits, which, as I have pointed out, are not taxable because they are a gratuity and not income.

The health program established in the Social Security Amendments Act of 1965 include many benefits to be paid out of general revenue without a true means test. The amendment I proposed and had adopted in the House version to recoup some of the payment made to Federal income taxpayers over 65 who were beneficiaries under this gratuity system was a gesture to the maintenance of this important principle of not using general revenue for welfare measures without a needs test. In fact, I seem to be one of the too few Members really concerned about the implications of this radical and dangerous departure from sound principle in the field of Federal welfare programs.

A breech for this purpose creates an opening for any and all other welfare purposes. There is no logic which will limit Federal funds from being paid to any sector of our society for welfare purposes with no relation to need. This, whether the proponents of the system like the term or not, is the essence of socialism. The socialism of the past, if such it can be called, has been limited to imposing higher rates of taxes on the wealthier than on the lower income groups. To the extent that this was spreading the wealth by taking from those who have it to pay for government services which benefit all equally, it performed the same function that expenditure policy might perform by giving to those who have need and pay for it by taxing those who have the wealth.

However, the new principle disregards need and simply states, in essence, that because 15 percent of the older population is having difficulty meeting its health costs, therefore

government will force the 85 percent who are able to take care of their own needs into a comprehensive governmental system. Thus, the needs of all will be met because all will be covered, but in the process we alter, if not eradicate, the system which proved successful for the 85 percent.

There has been some discussion of the economic impact the increased payroll tax which the act provides might have on our economy. However, the discussion has been limited almost entirely to one aspect which does not particularly point up the payroll tax itself. What is the effect on overall purchasing power of withdrawing $4 or $5 billion out of the private sector in additional payroll tax? This is an interesting point, but the other economic points that need to be stressed are long range and much more serious. How high can the payroll tax go before it is a drag on the economy, particularly on creating jobs? The payroll tax, after all, is a tax on jobs. Machinery, which bears no payroll tax, is already replacing jobs, and so an added cost advantage through increasing the payroll tax is given to the replacement of jobs by machines. This movement will be accelerated by whatever extent we increase the payroll tax. The second point is that a payroll tax goes into the cost of manufacturing a product or providing a service and, hence, must be passed on in price to the consumer. What impact does the payroll tax increase have then on prices in our domestic economy and in the ability of our businesses to compete pricewise in the international marketplace? In other words, how high can the payroll tax be boosted before it reaches the point of diminishing economic returns? It had been argued by some proponents of medicare that anything beyond 10 percent was a danger point. The act pushes the rate up well over this peril point to over 11 percent, and it likewise increases the wage base from $4,800 to $6,600.

I need not mention that the Federal payroll tax is the most regressive tax we have on our books. It is even more regressive than the selected Federal excise taxes which, at long last, we removed because of a general recognition of their drag on the economy. Some full-time employees, particularly those with many income tax deductible dependents, are already paying more in social security tax than they are in Federal income tax, and this group will increase rapidly.

I think the most serious flaw in the present legislation is its failure to understand and work with one of the great developments in our post World War II economy, namely the development of personal income spreading which consists of taking the income a person is likely to receive during his lifetime and spreading it forward for expenditure purposes to the earlier years from the anticipated earning years and spreading it backward for expenditure, again from the earning years to the years of retirement; taking the income during the earning years and pooling it with other peoples' income against the common risks to income stability which may result from misfortune such as a premature death, or a debilitating accident or sickness. Or permitting erratic income resulting from the nature of a man's talents and, hence, to his type of employment to be "equalized" in respect to the Federal income tax's graduated rates.

All of these factors which bear upon income spreading have seen remarkable development in the post World War II years in our society. Pensions and retirement systems are examples of spreading income backward from the earning years to the years of retirement; insurance of all kinds illustrates the pooling and spreading of income to protect against common risks. Consumer credit which is, in essence, a post World War II development is an example of spreading income forward in anticipation of its being earned. Consumer credit is finally being recognized, as it should be, as a method of saving in itself, as well as providing the needs of the new family for the home—the dishwasher and other consumer durables, at the time the young mother most needs these capital assets but has not yet realized sufficient family income or savings to provide them. I would also like to mention the most recent developments in spreading income forward to the time of need in anticipation of later earnings—consumer credit for education. There is no doubt in my mind that the wisest capital expenditure a person can make in our society today is for education. The future earning capacities, the lifetime earnings of a person is so clearly related to the amount of education he has received that this capital expenditure should be made through borrowing on the future earnings, if necessary.

Now let me point out how this present act works against the fine development we have been experiencing in the income spreading process. Spreading income backward from the working years to the retirement years or to protect against a contingency which would impair prematurely earning capacity presupposes creating a fund into which the prepayments may be made. Good economics assumes that the fund be invested as productively as possible. Private insurance and private pension plans perforce invest in our living and growing economy, mainly in equities. In other words, the investments are in new plant and equipment, in training men in new jobs. These investments bring in handsome returns, if wisely made, as our economy moves forward. Government insurance and pension trust funds by the very nature of the Federal Government cannot be invested in the living economy. They must be invested in Federal bonds which in essence are sterile investments, certainly they are not equity investments. I say they are essentially sterile investments because the bulk of the money derived from Federal bonds has been spent or is being spent not to create new wealth and increased purchasing power but to protect the wealth, the purchasing powers and the freedoms we have. It is spent for the defense of the country. A proper and necessary expense, but economically a sterile investment, economically a current expenditure not a capital investment.

It is for this reason, if no other reason, we should be carrying out the income spreading process in the private sector of our economy where the funds which spreading creates can be invested in the living economy, not in the governmental sector.

To try to hammer home this point and one other as well, I want to quote three figures; $80 billion; $19 billion; and $15 billion. The first figure, $80 billion is the amount of assets we have in our private pension plan funds covering about 15 million Americans; $19 billion is the amount of Government bonds we have in the social security trust funds covering about 180 million Americans. And the $15 billion is the amount of money the largest employer in the United States who has been permitted to set up a retirement system outside the social security system for his employees and so alone of all employers pays no social security payroll tax—because it is a better retirement system—has in the fund for his employees, namely the civil service, employees consisting of about 6 million Americans. This fund, incidentally is underfunded even at $15 billion.

Now I am not certain that the points I have been making will help lawyers very much in coming to grips with the great innovations that have been made in this new health care legislation, not only in the field of health care for the aged but in the very structure and assumptions of our governmental system. However, I would observe that this matter has not yet passed fully out of the hands of the legislative branch of Government into the hands of the judiciary of which you practicing attorneys, you officers of the court, are such a vital part. I am satisfied that this matter will be referred back to the legislative branch of the Government within a period of less than 5 years with instructionns from the people, speaking with their political voice, who will then have had a better understanding of some of the points I am making here, to restudy this whole matter and to come back with some better answers, probably to go back and touch second base.

How can what I have been saying here be true in light of what has been reported to the people on the issue of health care for the aged? This, to me, is the greatest problem that faces our society today. The weakest link in representative government today is the reporting back to the people of the study and deliberations conducted by the Congress on the issues of the day. The responsibility for strengthening this weak link is not just that of the news media, it is greatly that of the Congress itself and finally it is ultimately the responsibility of the people themselves. Government by the people can only survive if the people themselves will take the time necessary to participate in government.

Neighborhood Youth Corps Works in Oklahoma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to report that the Neighborhood Youth Corps has proven itself as a realistic program providing employment for 1,700 students in a six-county area in my district in Oklahoma.

The obvious success of the Neighborhood Youth Corps in this area, as in many others, restates with increasing emphasis that this is one of the most valuable and effective pieces of legislation enacted by the Congress.

An article from the McAlester, Okla., News-Capital of August 14, 1965, reviews the details and offers assurance of the excellent results and promising future of this worthwhile project. Because this article mirrors so well how beneficial this experience has been for students in Oklahoma, I offer it to be reprinted in the RECORD.

The article is as follows:

JOB CORPS PLAN BENEFICIAL FOR AREA WORKERS

WILBURTON.—Officials at Eastern Oklahoma A. & M. College today said the Neighborhood Youth Job Corps program had proven to be a very worthwhile project.

Some 1,700 students were employed in a 6-county area, directed by the college, Dr. J. N. Baker, president reports. Salaries paid during the summer program were approximately $419,000.

Walter Williams, college vice president, and project director for the program, said he feels the Job Corps program has shown excellent results.

"Schools which have been short of maintenance funds are probably in better shape to open than ever before," he said.

Williams also expressed belief that the type of work experience gained by students would change their life. He cited as an example an office worker at the college, who is a high

school sophomore. He said this student has decided to become a business major. "The student has shown nothing but a desire to learn as much as possible, and has revised her schedule on the basis of the summer work," he added.

Officials also reported an overall inspiration among students to prepare for the work they have to do.

College, high school, and city officials contributed their time on the project to compensate for the 10-percent funds which were required under the Workmen's Compensation Act.

Dr. Baker accepted the responsibility of directing the program on a volunteer basis because he felt the students would gain a wealth of experience, and would benefit in their careers, Williams reported.

Work scedules varied, however, a maximum of 32 hours a week was allowed, with wages at $1.25 an hour.

Employment in the schools and cities was provided in libraries, school offices, recreation programs, lunch rooms, automotive and machine shops, grounds and landscape maintenance, cemetery maintenance, and street and road maintenance.

The summer program is scheduled to end around August 28. Application has been made for a fall program.

Dr. Mary Ellen Batinich Discusses Programs for Abused Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to call to the attention of my colleagues in the House an article on the abused child written by Mrs. Mary Ellen Batinich Ph. D., principal of John A. Walsh Elementary School, located in my congressional district.

This summer Dr. Batinich assumed the highly responsible position of head principal of six centers of the Operation Head Start program. Under her astute direction, the program has proven highly successful.

Dr. Batinich's educational background consists of a bachelor's of music education, master of arts, and Ph. D. at Northwestern University. In addition, she has been cited for her achievements as author, artist, and lecturer.

It is my pleasure to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following:

HOW SCHOOL CAN AID THE ABUSED CHILD—PRINCIPAL'S ROLE CENTRAL IN PROTECTING CHILDREN

(By Mary Ellen (Mancina) Batinich, principal, Walsh School, Chicago, Ill.)

The principal received a report from one of his teachers that a 9-year-old pupil was the subject of a continuous series of injuries, including bruises, hematoma, and burns. According to the child, the injuries were inflicted by his parents as a result of his refusal to shine shoes (out of the home) to earn money for his clothing and food.

Since the occurrence of such cases of abused children is on the increase, school personnel should be acutely aware of (1) the symptoms which characterize abused children; (2) the procedures that the principal should follow in dealing with such cases; (3) the functions of child welfare agencies which have the facilities and the authority to provide assistance; and (4) the functions of family court.

An abused child is usually understood to be any child who is inflicted with bodily damage by his parent or parent substitute. When such abuse comes to the attention of the school, it is the duty of the principal, acting as spokesman for the school, to attempt to spread a mantle of protection over the child. Bodily damage can involve injury, malnutrition, starvation, or sexual misuse of children.

WEAKENED FAMILY STRUCTURE CAUSE OF CHILD ABUSE

Even though parents today are better educated than ever before in our history, the incidence of personal abuse of their children continues to mount. Parents who beat their children come from every economic and educational level—from well-organized and from broken homes. Sociologists state that the structure of many of today's families is on unsteady footing due to the fact that homes with patriarch-centered authority are decreasing. The shift is to homes with a partnership or matriarch-centered authority. Because of this confusion in source of authority, some children are considered a burden to their parents and, therefore, are unwanted, unloved, and abused. In many homes, this confusion is compounded by problems of health, housing, economic status, or social and moral breakdown. Child abuse is the outgrowth and/or product of these problems.

One children's protective service in Philadelphia made a study of cases involving physical abuse of children and how they were handled by a protective agency. This service classifies parental factors behind abuse as follows:[1]

Misplaced abuse: Transfer of tension of marital conflict was made to the abused child.

Overflow abuse: The frustration of some parents, whose own lives are marked with every type of misuse, overflows into abuse of their children.

Disciplinary abuse: Disobedience of parental substitute was the cause of this type of abuse.

The battered child: The parent of the battered child invariably considered the child a burden or source of personal competition which either had to be eliminated or made to suffer. (The term "battered child syndrome"[2] was adopted by Kemp and others, and has served a useful purpose in awakening countrywide public interest of child abuse.)

Abuse by mentally ill parents: Acute mental illness of parents provoked this abuse and eventual psychiatric help was required.

PRINCIPAL'S ROLE IMPORTANT IN PROTECTING CHILD

After the principal has received a report of abuse of a child and believes that further action is warranted, he must proceed in an orderly, legal manner to expedite this case to its proper conclusion. In his dealings with the appropriate child welfare agency, he will find that a cooperative effort is productive both in terms of better mutual understanding of the problems involved, and also with respect to involvement in possible court proceedings. The following procedures are recommended to insure that all possible protective action is taken in behalf of the abused child. The principal should:

1. Keep an anecdotal record of all activity in the case.

(a) Confer with the child's teachers concerning his work and behavior.

(b) Hold meetings with child and parents to obtain their views as to the causes and types of abuse.

(c) Locate a responsible adult in the immediate family who can provide further information.

(d) Discuss the child's physical condition with the school nurse.

(e) Confer with other people who have manifested an interest in the child.

(f) Inform the district superintendent of the details of the situation.

2. Request the Bureau of Child Study to have a psychological test administered to the child. If the case warrants it, obtain a psychiatric examination of the child.

3. Determine whether the child's family is a recipient of public aid; if so,

(a) Consult the caseworker assigned to the family, so that he may consolidate efforts to protect the child.

4. File a school problem report with the Bureau of Maladjusted Children.

5. If the family of the abused child is not receiving public aid, contact the Juvenile Protective Association.

6. Attend the hearing in family court (in the event a petition is filed to remove the child from the home.)

CHILD WELFARE AGENCIES PERFORM MAJOR FUNCTION

Some parents who have abused their children genuinely desire aid in insuring that this unfortunate incident will not occur again. Most parents are not deliberately cruel but instead may feel inadequate in their roles, or are emotionally immature or mentally ill. Many are repeating the type of abuse they themselves received in childhood. As a result, they cannot cope with the pressures of raising a family. If the counseling that child welfare agencies provide is successful in improving the parent-child relationship, many benefits will accrue: (1) to the family—whose structure is strengthened; (2) to the child—who has a better chance for a normal childhood; and (3) to the community—where this child may grow into a mature adult and desirable parent.

Child welfare agencies carry the authority of the community in safeguarding the lives of children and are geared to give social service help to families where there is a case of child abuse. Often, the child welfare agency must work closely with law enforcement officials and the family court since a parent's legal right to possession of his child is in question. Descriptions of two welfare agencies that provide protective services for children follow:

NORMALLY, CHILD SHOULD REMAIN IN HIS HOME

Those families who are currently receiving public assistance already have a caseworker who is familiar with the family and its relationships. It is this individual with whom the principal, upon hearing of child abuse, should confer. If the caseworker believes that the allegation is true, he makes frequent visits to the child's home. He and his supervisor then evaluate the suitability of the home in contributing to the physical and mental health of the child as well as to is emotional security. The Bureau of Dependency and Support makes the following statement in defining the criteria employed in evaluating the suitability of a home for a child:

"One or more undesirable factors in the home situation do not in themselves make the home unsuitable * * *. A Child who appears to be a healthy, happy, normal individual in his home, his community, and his school has a sense of security and should remain in his home."[3]

If the home is considered to be unsuitable, the screening committee of the bureau of dependency and support then decides whether to do one of the following: (1) leave the child in the home if sufficient positive factors justify it; (2) locate the child in the home of a relative; or (3) institute court proceedings through a family court representa-

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Footnotes at end of speech.

tive, who in turn files a petition for removal from the home.

JUVENILE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION DEALS EXCLUSIVELY WITH NEGLECT, MISTREATMENT

The Juvenile Protective Association is a specialized private service agency operating in the city of Chicago which accepts only cases in which the "presenting problem is the neglect or mistreatment of children."[4]

When a referral is made to it, the JPA assigns a caseworker to the family who obtains background information from schools and other sources. The initial objective of the caseworker is to establish good rapport with the family. To give meaning to the counseling, the caseworker may perform such services as "finding them better apartments, intervening with creditors, and finding emergency shelter for mother and children as protection against a dangerous father."[5] Like the Department of Public Aid, this agency makes a referral to a family court if it becomes necessary to seek removal of the children from the home.

If court proceedings are instituted by the social agency, by the reason of the Family Court Act of Illinois protecting the "neglected child," the State of Illinois actually prosecutes the petition. The parent has the right to select an attorney to represent him at the court hearing. The family court also makes provision for the parent to demand a jury trial if he so chooses.

FAMILY COURT TAKES APPROPRIATE STEPS

The judge of the court after hearing the evidence may do one of the following: (1) dismiss the petition if there is insufficient evidence to indicate that the child is dependent;[6] or (2) find that the child is dependent due to adequate evidence.

If the judge finds that the child is a dependent child, he may (1) place the child on probation and may permit him to remain in the home; or (2) order that the child be removed from the home and placed in the care of another person, a licensed foster home, or in a private school.

Obtaining clear-cut evidence of abuse presents an imposing obstacle to a decision against the parent, because the abusive act usually occurs in the home where family members are the only witnesses. Rarely will the abusive parent admit his action, not only because society does not condone such behavior, but also because prosecution may follow.

RIGHTS OF CHILDREN RESPONSIBILITY OF ALL

It is not only within the scope of his authority but a compulsory part of his responsibility as the educational leader of the community that the principal act in behalf of the abused child. Safeguarding the rights of children, however, is the responsibility of all of the community leaders, since children are the raw material out of which future mature, cooperating adults must be formed. This safeguard is a joint professional venture in which sociologists, psychologists, school administrators, school personnel, medical doctors, the police, the law, and public health and community agencies must cooperate.

[1] James D. Delsordo, "Protective Casework for Abused Children," Children, X No. 6 (November, December 1963), pp. 213–218.

[2] C. Henry Kempe, Frederic N. Silverman, Brandt F. Steele, William Droegemueller, and Henry K. Silver, "The Battered-Child Syndrome," the Journal of the American Medical Association, CLXXXI (July 7, 1962), p. 17.

[3] Cook County Department of Public Aid, "Provision of Services," manual (May 1, 1963), sec. 6110.

[4] G. Lewis Penner, "Juvenile Protective Association, Service Report," (Sept. 10, 1963), p. 2.

[5] Ibid.

[6] The Family Court Act of the State of Illinois defines "dependent child" as one who, among other things, lacks proper parental care or guardianship or who has a home which by reason of neglect or cruelty by the parents is unfit for such a child.

The Real Alabama—Part XLIX

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, at a time when water pollution is a major concern for our country it will come as welcome news that important segments of private industry are taking action to help fight the problem.

In July of this year the Gulf States Paper Corp. of Alabama, completed construction of a new waste system that attacks water pollution in three ways. The new facilities are located at the company's plant at Demopolis and will serve to help assure clean water in the important Tombigbee River which we hope will someday be a link in a new water transportation route between the port city of Mobile and the Tennessee River.

An article telling more about the new antipollution system follows:

GULF STATES PAPER RETURNS CLEAN WATER WITH NEW SYSTEM

Gulf States Paper Corp., in July, took the wraps off a new mill waste system that aims a three-pronged attack at stream pollution.

The unique installation divides mill effluent into three different channels to be treated according to type and strength before flowing into the Tombigbee River.

Representatives of State and local government, industry, and wildlife groups were treated to a look at this recently completed system in Demopolis, which company officials describe as a new concept in stream protection.

The mill is surrounded by elaborate ponding and clarifying facilities each dedicated to the treatment of a special type of waste water from the various stages of manufacture. Into one lagoon goes water that contains no harmful materials but needs to be cooled before returning to the river. A huge clarifier, 266 feet in diameter, removes solids such as wood fibers that would otherwise flow into the Tombigbee.

The third phase is a 56-acre lagoon which impounds waste water containing nonfibrous material from the wood that could be harmful to the stream. This effluent can be retained for periods up to 2 weeks, during which time its harmful properties are dissipated. It is then metered back into the river at a rate determined by the flow of the stream.

The new effluent system is only the latest of a series of industrial "firsts" that are part of the sprawling mill. Built around the Nation's first—and then largest—continuous digester, the mill has been the technical model of the industry since it went into production. The continuous digester produces a steady stream of pulp, rather than turning it out by the traditional "batch" method.

In 1964, the digester was placed under the control of an electronic computer which automatically makes any corrections needed to produce uniform pulp. This, too, is an innovation in the paper industry.

To the east of the mill a small lake allows the cooling of water that has become heated in condensing steam produced in the chemical recovery section of the mill. This lagoon also serves as a safety check to guard against any mishaps that might endanger the condition of the river. Should such upset conditions occur, a sensing system automatically sounds an alarm and shuts off the discharge valve at the lagoon.

Four million gallons of water can be processed daily here. Now covering 9 acres with a 20-million-gallon capacity, the pond can readily be enlarged to 25 acres with a 105-million-gallon capacity.

On the opposite side of the mill is the clarifier which handles 10 million gallons of water a day. Water fed into this system contains solid materials such as fibers, lime and clays that have slipped through in the washing, bleaching, and forming processes. Such materials, if allowed to flow into the river, would use up vital dissolved oxygen and create sludge beds.

The clarifier is a huge, dish-shaped installation, 266 feet in diameter and 15 feet deep at the center. Mill water is pumped to the center surface, from which point it flows outward to the rim, spilling over the edges. In the meanwhile, 99 percent of the solids have settled to the bottom, where long scraper arms concentrate the sludge in the deepest part. Heavy-duty pumps then remove the sludge.

These concentrated solids are pumped to a nearby filter house where more water is removed, leaving a wet cake of solid material to be dumped in a nearby impoundment. At present there is no practical use for these solids, but experiments are being conducted to see if they can be transformed into a useful byproduct.

Behind the clarifier stretches the 59-acre surface of the strong waste lagoon. Here is collected effluent that has a stronger concentration of oxygen-absorbing materials. The wastes are held for a period up to 2 weeks, during which time aeration and bacterial action reduces the oxygen demand.

At the end of the treatment period the water is released to the river at a carefully controlled rate. The strong waste system is designed to be modified as technical advances are made in the field of effluent control.

In addition to the three-way treatment system and the constant checking and double checking that goes on at the Demopolis plant, Gulf States technicians keep a constant watch on the river itself. Daily checks are made of the river's flow and of the dissolved oxygen content of the water. In periods of low water this monitoring process becomes almost constant and the lab boat travels 50 miles downstream from the plant and 5 miles upstream. Samples of water are taken at 16 different points and 5 tests are run on each sample.

The expanded effluent system at the Demopolis mill has involved the investment of over $1 million. Operating it and monitoring the river require an annual expense of $48,000, according to Gulf States technical personnel.

Veto of H.R. 8439

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, there is no issue more vital to the welfare of this Nation than that of separation of powers between the legislative and executive branches of Government.

Frankly, two or three times in the past on this score, I have felt impelled to disagree strongly with President Johnson in connection with his assertion as to the role of the Executive under provisions of various bills passed by the Congress.

Today, however, I must with equal vigor rise to support President Johnson's veto of H.R. 8439, which he rejected on the grounds, as he said, that the limitations placed by section 611 of the bill impinged on his constitutional powers.

I must agree with the President that the Constitution grants the Chief Executive sole authority over the operation of our Defense Establishment.

As such, I concur with him that the Congress went too far when it reserved to itself certain powers over the retention or closing of certain military bases.

In this regard, therefore, if occasion arises, I will be constrained to uphold the President's veto.

Know the Facts in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I share Thomas Jefferson's sentiment that error is best defeated where reason is left free to combat it. I strongly defend, therefore, the right of all Americans to dissent, to criticize, and to protest the policies of their Government.

I think it important, however, that critics of our Nation's present course in Vietnam weigh heavily a potential side-effect of their protests, the danger of giving unintended moral support to our enemy. A recent article on this subject in the Aurora Beacon-News impressed me deeply, and I offer it today for entry in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the Aurora Beacon-News, Aug. 11, 1965]

RADICALS DAMAGE U.S. INTENT: HOME TACTICS PROLONG WAR

Recent visitors to North Vietnam have been dumbfounded by the surrealistic illogic of the oriental Communist mind.

The visitors, some of them pro-Communist and others sympathetic to the Hanoi regime, said they found no thoughts of peace among North Vietnamese.

The collective opinion was that the United States was on the verge of collapse and that President Johnson was soon to be impeached. It was based on the belief that criticism of official policy in colleges and assorted domestic talk of appeasement would soon lead to a revolution.

Completely ignored was the fact that a majority of the people in the United States and most of the elected representatives in Congress support the President overwhelmingly.

In his many public statements the President correctly assesses the public will by giving notice that the United States will win the war in Vietnam. At the same time he leaves the door to peace open, but not at the price of national disgrace.

The domestic dialog by so-called intellectuals calling for appeasement is certainly a minority voice. As small as it is, however, it plays directly into the North Vietnam Communists' hands.

Particularly disturbing is evidence that the talk of appeasement has found a hold in the lower echelon of official circles. There is a growing discussion in Washington and the United Nations that the United States is willing to negotiate on the terms set forth by the Vietcong.

These terms are American withdrawal, temporary neutralization of South Vietnam, communization and reunification of the Nation. They are wholly unacceptable and undermine the President's often-stated determination to use all of our resources to win the war, while keeping the door open to honorable negotiations. Giving Vietnam to the Communists is not the basis for negotiations.

Since the United States asked the United Nations to direct its attention to peace in southeast Asia, there have been further reports.

These include, theoretically, U.S. willingness to hold elections in South Vietnam and face-saving devices to allow the Viet Cong to participate in discussions as a party.

The United Nations' attention is, of course, desirable. It may serve to convince the unconvinced that aggression in Vietnam is totally the responsibility of the Communists. It also may remind the world that the Viet Cong do no really want peace.

However, there is no guarantee of free and impartial elections until the South Vietnamese and the United States win a military victory and can offer proper supervision. The U.N. burdened by peace-keeping costs already, could not guarantee impartial elections at this time.

Giving in to the atheistic Communists on these terms would in effect be making them a gift of southeast Asia. It would be a betrayal of the servicemen offering their lives, and the American majority.

Discussions for peace must go on by all means. However, they must be from strength and at this time, unfortunately, that strength can come only from united purpose at home and the military capabilities to force negotiations.

Medical Care in Veterans' Administration Hospitals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in an effort to get a better insight into the quality of hospital care provided by the Veterans' Administration hospital system, I recently had sent 2,682 letters to veterans who had recently been patients in a Veterans' Administration hospital. This was a 30-percent sample of all veterans discharged from Veterans' Administration general hospitals during the period June 14 to 18, after care for a medical or surgical condition.

The return of the questionnaire was very good—a little over 53 percent, or 1,434. Generally, the response indicates that veterans were pleased with the treatment they received in the hospital. In response to the question, "What is your overall evaluation of the care you received while a patient?" 83 percent replied, "Excellent"; 12.8 percent replied, "Fair"; and 2 percent replied, "Poor." An additional 2.2 percent made no reply to this question.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include at this point in my remarks the text of the letter and questionnaire, as well as a table summarizing the results. A complete summary of the questionnaire is available at the committee office in the form of Committee Print No. 109:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS,
Washington, D.C., June 25, 1965.

DEAR SIR: As a recent patient in a Veterans' Administration hospital you now have some definite opinions about the hospital in which you were treated and the care rendered to you. Will you share them with me?

The Committee on Veterans' Affairs has legislative oversight responsibilities over the Veterans' Administration and thus has a keen interest in the medical and hospital program operated through the Department of Medicine and Surgery for the care of our sick and disabled veterans. May I ask you to help make this hospital system better for others and for you if you should ever need to be hospitalized in a Veterans' Administration hospital again?

By completing the short-card questionnaire and adding your comments, you will be helping the Veterans' Administration and the Committee on Veterans' Affairs to insure better patient care.

Please note that you are not required to sign your name. The postcard requires no postage. Simply drop it in the most convenient mailbox.

Your cooperation will be very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

OLIN E. TEAGUE,
Chairman.

Location of hospital----------

Disease or disability treated was service connected ☐. Nonservice connected ☐.

Was your admission to the hospital prompt ☐. Slow ☐. Very slow ☐.

Was the housekeeping in your room excellent ☐. Good ☐. Poor ☐.

Were your hospital meals excellent ☐. Good ☐. Poor ☐.

Was your nursing care excellent ☐. Good ☐. Poor ☐.

Were your aids and orderlies courteous and helpful? Always ☐. Usually ☐. Never ☐.

Were other hospital personnel courteous and pleasant? Always ☐. Usually ☐. Never ☐.

Were you kept informed about special procedure (X-ray, blood tests, etc.) and about changes in your routine which they necessitated? Always ☐. Usually ☐. Never ☐.

What did you like best about your care?--

What did you like least about your care?--

What is your overall evaluation of the care you received while a patient here? Excellent ☐. Fair ☐. Poor ☐.

Replies by veterans to the questionnaire of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee

Question and response	Number of responses by eligibility status of veteran				Percent of responses by eligibility status of veteran			
	Total	Service connected	Nonservice connected	Unknown	Total	Service connected	Nonservice connected	Unknown
QUESTION 1								
Was your admission to the hospital—								
Prompt	1,190	324	769	96	83.6	83.7	84.1	79.9
Slow	147	35	98	14	10.3	8.8	10.7	11.7
Very slow	53	24	24	5	3.7	6.0	2.6	4.2
No reply	35	6	24	5	2.4	1.5	2.6	4.2
Total	1,434	399	915	120	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
QUESTION 2								
Was the housekeeping in your room—								
Excellent	984	269	627	88	68.6	67.4	68.6	73.4
Good	397	109	263	25	27.7	27.3	28.7	20.8
Poor	28	14	10	4	2.0	3.5	1.1	3.3
No reply	25	7	15	3	1.7	1.8	1.6	2.5
Total	1,434	399	915	120	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
QUESTION 3								
Were your hospital meals—								
Excellent	885	246	570	69	61.7	61.6	62.3	57.5
Good	479	125	310	44	33.4	31.3	33.9	36.7
Poor	34	15	19	0	2.4	3.8	2.1	0
No reply	36	13	16	7	2.5	3.3	1.7	5.8
Total	1,434	399	915	120	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
QUESTION 4								
Was your nursing care—								
Excellent	1,109	301	720	88	77.4	75.4	78.7	73.4
Good	273	73	175	25	19.0	18.3	19.1	20.8
Poor	27	12	12	3	1.9	3.0	1.3	2.5
No reply	25	13	8	4	1.7	3.3	.9	3.3
Total	1,434	399	915	120	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
QUESTION 5								
Were your aids and orderlies courteous and helpful?								
Always	1,159	319	747	93	80.9	79.9	81.7	77.4
Usually	244	70	154	20	17.0	17.5	16.8	16.7
Never	9	3	4	2	.6	.8	.4	1.7
No response	22	7	10	5	1.5	1.8	1.1	4.2
Total	1,434	399	915	120	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
QUESTION 6								
Were other hospital personnel courteous and plesant?								
Always	1,153	308	752	93	80.4	77.2	82.2	77.4
Usually	253	80	153	20	17.6	20.0	16.7	16.7
Never	11	3	6	2	.8	.8	.7	1.7
No reply	17	8	4	5	1.2	2.0	.4	4.2
Total	1,434	399	915	120	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
QUESTION 7								
Were you kept informed about special procedures (X-ray, blood tests, etc.) and about changes in your routine which they necessitated?								
Always	990	275	633	82	69.1	68.9	69.2	68.3
Usually	296	77	198	21	20.6	19.3	21.6	17.5
Never	116	42	66	8	8.1	10.5	7.2	6.7
No reply	32	5	18	9	2.2	1.3	2.0	7.5
Total	1,434	399	915	120	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
QUESTIONS 8 AND 9 (SEE TABLES 2 AND 3)								
QUESTION 10								
What is your overall evaluation of the care you received while a patient?								
Excellent	1,190	318	777	95	83.0	79.7	84.9	79.2
Fair	184	57	108	19	12.8	14.3	11.8	15.8
Poor	29	14	12	3	2.0	3.5	1.3	2.5
No reply	31	10	18	3	2.2	2.5	2.0	2.5
Total	1,434	399	915	120	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The MRA Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted to include extraneous material in the Appendix of the RECORD today, I submit a fine and erstwhile editorial of the Albuquerque Journal August 21, 1965. Our colleagues will note it includes a quote from my fellow Missourian, Stan Musial, the head of the President's physical fitness program. I associate myself with these remarks and the editorial. As a sponsor of the MRA's "Sing Out 1965" tonight of its Washington, D.C., appearance at the Washington Hilton Hotel. I sincerely hope and pray that all who are able to attend will do so, and will he as inspired and inflamed with enthusiasm as Mrs. Hall and I were, when we previewed this production, instilled from some 8,000 volunteers at Mackinac Island, Mich. this past summer. Now, they are prepared, and indeed are, going over the world to multiply themselves in evangelistic fervor based on morally rearming our souls, showing it in the best manner with song, and with pride; and finally, in a needed show of faith. I commend this to you:

The Moral Re-Armament establishment operating this summer at Mackinac Island, Mich., constitutes an American youth bright spot.

The MRA program is getting magnificent results in promoting morality, physical fitness, patriotism, law and order and all the qualities that contribute to good citizenship.

Stan Musial, head of President Johnson's physical fitness program, told MRA, "You cannot beat the all-round program you have here. You are giving youth an aim and purpose for their lives and making them into responsible, patriotic citizens." He added he wished the Peace Corps "could get this sort of training. They need to learn more than just an occupation. They need to learn too, to deal with people, to be effective in the countries they go to. The situation is urgent and there is an instant need for a multiplication of what you are doing here."

J. Blanton Belk, Director of Moral Re-Armament, said, "The youth here intend to make themselves heard. Why should the only voice that is heard from American youth be the pacifist, antipatriotic protest of a minority. We will arouse the patriotic and sincere majority in a massive program here at home, in the cities and campuses of America."

There never has been any doubt that a great majority of American youth is on the side of decency, patriotism, law and order and good citizenship. But that big majority has been all too silent, all too passive, while the vociferous, rabble-rousing and sometimes subversive-like minority makes it appear its influence in condemning our American institutions and way of life is widespread.

MRA is dedicated to the task of wiping out any such unfortunate misconception. May the laudable and urgently demanding goal be achieved.

Wholesale Pharmaceutical Price Index Falls for Sixth Straight Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, at a time when the price of practically everything else is rising, it is comforting to see that the price level for at least one category of necessities—prescription drugs—has been steadily declining. The Wholesale Price Index for Ethical Pharcameuticals, prepared by Dr. John M. Firestone of the City College of the University of New York, has now declined for 6 years in a row to an alltime low which is 14 percent under the 1949 price level. The drop in the index closely parallels the decline of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Wholesale Price Index for "Ethical Pharmaceutical Preparations" since its revision in 1961.

It is most reassuring that in a period when all wholesale prices have risen more than 20 percent, at least one industry producing a product vital to the Nation's health has experienced a wholesale price decline of 14 percent. With unanimous consent, I place the Wholesale Price Index for Ethical Pharmaceuticals, 1964, published by the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, in the RECORD at this point. This publication shows the Index for the years since 1949 along with explanatory material covering the composition of the Index and the changing character of the pharmaceutical market.

I think this phenomena requires the attention of the news media in light of the present public impression of drug prices created to a great extent by the publicity given to the Senate hearings into drug prices over the recent years.

WHOLESALE PRICE INDEX FOR ETHICAL PHARMACEUTICALS 1964

The wholesale price index for ethical pharmaceuticals has declined for the 6th successive year during 1964, dropping to an alltime low of 86.0 (1949=100). The index fell one-third of 1 percent during 1964 from its level of 86.2 in 1963.

Wholesale price index for ethical pharmaceuticals, 1949–64

(1949=100)

Year:	Index
1949	100.0
1950	95.9
1951	96.2
1952	93.0
1953	93.0
1954	91.8
1955	91.4
1956	91.4
1957	92.7
1958	93.0
1959	92.7
1960	92.4
1961	89.7
1962	87.1
1963	86.2
1964	86.0

The decline in this index parallels the drop in the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics index for "Ethical Pharmaceutical Preparations" since its revision in 1961. The Government wholesale price index declined from 100.1 in December 1960 to 94.8 in December 1964, a drop of 5.3 percent. In this same period, the BLS retail price index for drugs and prescriptions declined 3.3 percent. The comparable change for the industry wholesale price index was a decline from 92.4 to 86.0, or 6.9 percent.

The year 1964 saw an unusually large number of price changes for this industry. Of the 281 items in the index 39 showed price changes during the year, contrasted with only 7 changes in 1963. Of the 39 price changes, 31 were increases and 8 were decreases. The price decreases, ranging between 10 and 20 percent, were primarily in items of heavy sales, while the increases ranged between 3 and 14 percent in items of considerably less importance. Thus the larger downward movement of the 8 items more than offset the lesser increases of the 31 items.

The items comprising the index are subdivided into 17 groups according to their therapeutic use. Only 4 of the 17 groups were unaffected by price changes, 2 declined, and 11 increased. The decreases were confined to antibiotics which declined 3.4 percent and vitamins which fell .8 percent. These two groups comprise more than 26 percent of the index in relative importance. The largest price increases occurred in cardiovasculars, 3 percent; antihistamines, 2.2 percent; dermatologicals, 1.9 percent; analgesics, 1.3 percent; diuretics, 1.2 percent, and hormones, 1 percent. Cough and cold products, hematinics, sulfonamides, antiarthritis, and antirheumatics, and "all others" rose less than 1 percent.

The therapeutic group index changes since 1949 are as follows:

	Percent
Increases:	
Antihistamines	20.6
Sedatives	15.0
Analgesics	14.8
Antispasmodics	12.2
Cough and cold	11.4
Sulfonamides	10.1
Hematinics	6.6
Cardiovasculars	1.6
Dermatologicals	(1)
CNS stimulants	(1)
Decreases:	
Antibiotics	62.7
Hormones	50.0
Vitamins	8.7
Diuretics	8.0
Antiarthritics	3.9
Ataractics	3.6
All others	0.6

[1] Less than 0.1 percent.

This index is designed to measure changes in prices only. It does not show price levels. An index designed to measure price levels would be difficult to construct because of the nature of the products involved. For example, a price which is quoted for the usual package size for the product would have to be converted to the price for a daily dose and multiplied by the average number of days that the drug is used. A price per 100 capsules would be meaningless when compared with a similar price for the drug it replaces. Assuming the new drug is more efficient or effective, smaller doses or fewer days of administration may be involved. Thus the capsule cost ignoring quantity required for treatment becomes a misleading measure.

Again, many of the new drugs are combinations of two or more existing drugs for patient convenience. Usually these drugs cost more than any of the individual drugs included in them, but less than the total cost of its components sold individually. Here again, the prices per package cannot be compared. While an index of this type—which measures the patient's drug costs—would be desirable, the difficulties of establishing standard doses and the period of medication present subjective decisions which would affect the index level. If old drug A required X tablets per day for Y days at a cost of Z dollars (and this would vary from patient to patient and with the severity of the illness), this cost would have to be reestimated for new drug B. Overstatements or understatements of either cost would seriously influence the level of the index at the time of transition.

This index, which is constructed technically as most other accepted price indexes, is designed to measure only one thing, changes in prices. It does not tell us whether price levels are high or low. It measures what changes occur in the prices of drugs after their introduction into the index. New drugs introduced into the index are brought in at the level of the index at the time of their introduction, so that they do not affect the index by their price levels. Similarly, items deleted from the index do not alter the level of the index. Any other construction or interpretation of the index would be in error.

The composition of the index, as might be expected, has changed radically over the years. The criterion for including a new specialty in the index is that it be one of the five leading pharmaceuticals in its group in any year since 1949. Once included (in the year it became one of the five leading specialties) a produce is retained in the index until its sales decline to relative insignificance.

On this basis, the index for 1949 included 92 products. By 1964, the total number of items in the index had risen to 281. An average of 18.5 products have been added per year, while 6 products, on the average, dis-

appeared from the index annually, including 36 of the original 92 products in the index. In all, 375 products have appeared in the index at one time or another. One therapeutic group has had 35 different products, and no group has had less than 12, with the average amounting to 22.

This turnover in the list of products attests to the dynamic character of the industry. This index has been specially designed to take cognizance of this unique phenomenon. It has also been necessary simultaneously to readjust the relative importance of the individual products and of the therapeutic groups to allow for these changes. However, let it be noted that no product can enter the index until it has become one of the five top products in its group; and then can only affect the index in the second year after its appearance therein. Thus, the initial offering price for a new product will not influence the index, since its price (at the end of the year) after having been on the market long enough to become a market leader will be realistic and competitive.

To further indicate the changing character of the pharmaceutical market, it is of interest to observe the changing importance of the therapeutic groups since 1949. The five most imortant groups in 1949, and their change in importance by 1964 is shown below:

Group:	Relative importance 1949	1964
All other	21.4	10.2
Vitamins	12.9	3.1
Antibiotics	10.8	23.3
Hormones	10.4	9.2
Sedatives	6.2	2.4

If the classification is made on the basis of the most important groups in 1964, the following changes may be seen:

Group:	Relative importance 1949	1964
Antibiotics	10.8	23.3
All other	21.4	10.2
Hormones	10.4	9.2
Ataractics	.0	9.2
Analgesics	4.1	8.6

Vitamins, sedatives, and all others have declined very sharply, while antibiotics and analgesics have more than doubled in importance. Ataractics, nonexistent in 1949, have become the fourth most important group.

Thus, it is apparent that the effect of price changes of vitamins on the index in 1949 was of much greater consequence than in 1964, while antibiotics were 2.2 times as important in 1964 compared with 1949. An index that does not reflect relative importance changes of such magnitude would be seriously deficient and inaccurate.

Prices used for the purpose of constructing the index are Red Book published prices and hence are highest offering prices to retailers. Actual prices paid by retailers are frequently less than Red Book published prices, and to this degree, the price index, while showing price trends accurately, does not always reflect the short-term fluctuations in prices caused by current market forces.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics index for drugs and pharmaceuticals prior to 1960 unfortunately could not adjust to the rapid changes in products and their importance so that it failed to measure the full extent of the price movements in this industry. As a result, the BLS index went from 100.1 in 1949 to 100.2 in 1960. In this same period the wholesale price index for ethical pharmaceuticals declined 7.6 percent. With the revision of the BLS index in January 1961 this index was made more realistic, and its behavior closely parallels the industry index since then.

JOHN M. FIRESTONE.

JUNE 30, 1965.

Tariffs on Sheet Glass

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, for many years I have been warning the House of the dangerous conditions in many of our basic industries because of the uneconomic concept of free trade.

Today, I present this house resolution, adopted by the Senate of Pennsylvania on August 17, 1965, by unanimous vote. This resolution gives very compelling reasons for the President of the United States to disregard idiotic and inconceivable, uneconomic decisions of the majority members of the Tariff Commission at which they recommended that the glass tariff be lowered back to the unrealistic rates, that the late President John F. Kennedy, found to be extremely dangerous to the continuation of the glass industry as such in the United States.

However, today we see our shelves piled higher and higher of foreign made products with their identity and manufacturing sources so well hidden that thousands of Americans buy such well known names as General Electric, Zenith, Westclox, and many others, completely ignorant of the fact that these products are foreign made.

It is a false premise to believe that foreign goods cost Americans less money. While this condition does exist when the foreign product is making its entry into the American market it soon disappears when American concerns become immersed by foreign production in American trade markets.

A close examination in the market place will show we are paying more today for Japanese products; for products once made in the United States.

While the resolution concerns itself with the problem of glass it could be applied to practically every product imported today which displaces American production.

The antipoverty program will fall flat on its face and many of the fine pieces of legislation promoted by the President and supported by your Congress, including myself, will fail to do that which they are designed to do unless we reassess our trade position and do it now.

Mr. Speaker, the resolution below has been sent to me by the Senate of Pennsylvania:

RESOLUTION BY SENATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

In 1962 the tariff on sheet glass was increased because of the serious effect that imported glass was having on the domestic industry. Prior to this increase the domestic industry was operating at a loss or on a marginal basis.

On June 11, 1965, the Tariff Commission reported to the President, in a split three to two decision, that a reduction of the present duties would have only a slight effect on the domestic industry.

The three majority commissioners made this recommendation in spite of the fact that the foreigners have the same percentage of the market now (25 percent) as they had prior to the increase in duties. These three commissioners also concede that their recommendation is complicated by the fact that the increased duties have only been in effect for a very short period of time.

Both the majority and minority members of the commission found that a reduction in tariff would force a number of older and smaller plants to close. It is apparent, then, that steady employment in the glass industry and in the many industries serving the glass industry can be maintained only by keeping the tariff rates intact.

Most of the jobs lost and plants closed would be in already depressed areas, where the Government is spending millions of dollars to attract new industry, retain existing plants, and create jobs. Six industry plants, in fact, are in Appalachia, two of these in Pennsylvania; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Senate of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania finds that the termination of the escape-clause duties imposed in 1962 could only be harmful to the business and labor interests of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; and be it further

Resolved, That the senate respectfully urges President Lyndon B. Johnson to retain the present tariff that was established under the escape-clause increase of June 1962; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to President Lyndon B. Johnson, to the Tariff Commission, and to each U.S. Senator and Member of Congress from Pennsylvania.

I certify that the foreging is a true and correct copy of senate resolution, serial No. 32A, introduced by Senators Richard C. Frame, Albert R. Pechan, Robert D. Fleming, and Paul W. Mahady and adopted by the Senate of Pennsylvania the 17th day of August, 1965.

MARK GRUELL, Jr.,
Secretary, Senate of Pennsylvania.

Effect of Minimum Wage Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD a letter from the secretary of the Rapid City, S. Dak., Builders Exchange to the chairman of the Labor Subcommittee of the Education and Labor Committee of the House.

The reason I have asked permission to insert it is because this is only one small example of thousands and thousands of businesses across the Nation who will be forced to stop hiring American youth if the increase in the minimum wage law goes through. I am not sure of the total amount the Federal Government is now spending on dropouts, but this minimum wage law will multiply that amount by several hundreds.

The letter is as follows:

It would appear that your proposal would most decidedly affect our operation and the employees we hire for summer assistance.

We have been hiring high school seniors and graduates for summer assistance. We have tried to improve and prepare them to meet people in person and over the phone—acquaint them with our various office equipment and activities, etc. None of this va-

riety of work calls for full-time help in itself nor does it call for highly trained specialists. In short, it is general assistance work of a varied nature to relieve our permanent staff of a summertime overload. It is an excellent opportunity and has been appreciated and enjoyed by these employees in the past.

We have paid minimum wages in the past just because such a minimum existed, not because we were forced to by law. A new minimum would establish a higher wage scale even where it was not require by law, but just by common practice and usage as well as by employee pressure and unwillingness to work "below minimum wages."

The effect on us will be to quit hiring summer students and to handle the slight overload by staggering vacations, rescheduling yearly operations, and working a little harder instead of granting long weekends, etc.

This will eliminate both the training and earning opportunity for the young people we have hired for many years.

While ours is a "small potato" operation, I think you can multiply this by many times in our area and in the Nation. We will not hire and train marginal employees but be forced to combine and reschedule so that our permanent employees can productively and economically handle our workload.

I'm afraid this bill reminds me of the man who joined the war against poverty by tossing a hand grenade at a bum.

U.S. Trading With Hanoi Traders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the United States, in our buildup in South Vietnam, is using ships from the same foreign countries which have been aiding Hanoi.

Ironically the sealift of American supplies to Saigon has required the use of ships flying the flags of the same free world countries helping to keep the Vietcong supplied. In effect we are still doing business with our friends even though they are trading with our enemies.

British, Norwegian, and Greek shipowners have been paid almost $2 million in freight rates alone since January of this year for hauling U.S. Government cargoes to South Vietnam. At the same time, British, Norwegian, and Greek ships as well as others from other allied countries, have made a total of 83 supply runs for the Communists by calling at ports in North Vietnam.

Our friendly shippers charged $2 million for freight hauled to Saigon. Yet the price for freight these same friends hauled to Hanoi has been paid by the 315 American troops killed since January in battle against the Vietcong.

The State Department has stated that free world ships carry a substantial share of North Vietnam's seaborne imports. Since the United States has stepped up air attacks on North Vietnam's overland supply routes, Hanoi's dependence upon ports and shipping has increased, placing even greater importance on shipping.

Thus every allied ship call in North Vietnam is critical, particularly when the Communist ships are so busy hauling in missiles and other military cargoes.

Allied shipping to North Vietnam must be stopped.

Guilt Rests Upon the Individuals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, in all the casting about for explanations, for the Los Angeles riots it is my hope that serious attention will be given to the comment of Newspaper Columnist James J. Kilpatrick. His treatment of the subject appeared in the Washington Star for August 20.

The column follows:

GUILT RESTS UPON THE INDIVIDUALS

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

All week long, the leading bleeding hearts of the Great Society have been wetting down the ashes of Los Angeles with tears for the poor oppressed. We have been fairly awash in tales of Watts, the palm-lined "ghetto," with its unemployment, its crime, its incomes below $4,000.

"The guilt lies on us all," said one lugubrious professor, gazing sadly into the camera. And he began to talk of frustrations that just had to find catharsis.

Twaddle. The guilt for this criminal anarchy in Los Angeles is direct, immediate, and personal, as guilt must always be if the first essentials of our law still count for anything. And if guilt is to be extended in some sort of metaphysical conjecture, then let the guilt lie squarely upon such philosophers as the Reverend Martin Luther King, and President Johnson.

What did the Negro apologists of our time expect? How could they have been surprised by these events? Have they never heard of the harvest that is reaped by men who sow the wind?

For the last 5 years or more, Dr. King has been going up and down the country, preaching his own brand of ever-loving anarchy. His is the gospel that tells his simple-minded people to violate the laws they feel in their hearts to be wrong. What is the guilt that lies today on Dr. King?

Dr. King is not alone. Over this same period, we have seen the White House itself and our Central Government as a whole contribute to the cynical disrespect for old institutions. The Constitution, once regarded as the supreme law of the land, has been progressively reduced to the merest scrap of paper. This Republic was founded in part, at least, upon respect for the ancient rights of private property; this was the oldest "human right" of them all, but Congress and the courts have let it erode away. Is it any wonder that the Los Angeles insurrectionists put private property to the torch?

Over the last 10 years, the American Negro has been singled out for a fulsome solicitude that has done him a terrible disservice. Through every conceivable device of law and politics, the Negro has been artificially puffed up, protected, pampered, wrapped in swaddling clothes, and excessively admired. He has been the particular object of public housing, poverty programs, job preferment, and aid for his illegitimate offspring. In the sanctified name of "civil rights," he has been excused for criminal conduct that in any other set of facts would have drawn 30 days on the roads. The Supreme Court of the United States, casting precedent to the winds, pardons hundreds of trespassers, disturbers of the peace, and violators of the rights of other men—pardons them with a wave of judicial wands. What guilt lies on the Supreme Court of the United States?

It is high time in this country to cut through the fatty sentimentality, the phony guilt, the couch-ridden recriminations. If rhetorical questions are to be asked, should we not inquire if the status of the Negro, a century after emancipation, is entirely the fault of white society? Entirely? Or is a large part of this squarely the fault of the Negro people themselves?

It is said that the Negro has been kept down by the devices of segregation, and doubtless there is truth in this. But the whole of the proposition never is examined. Were all Negroes kept down? Or were many Negroes too lazy to get up? Say what you will about the South (it is not the South where whole cities go up in the flames of insurrection), the American Negro has had two generations of reasonable opportunity in the unsegregated North and West. How has he developed the opportunities put before him? In squalor, in apathy, in crime, in cadging off "the welfare," in dropping out of integrated schools, in breeding swarms of children out of wedlock. This is the sorry record. And now, in Los Angeles, we witness barbarian hordes.

What is the remedy? It is to treat the Negro like a white man. God knows his race has done little enough to deserve a fate so difficult and demanding. This is to expect of the Negro, first of all, work; and then self-restraint; obedience to law; respect for authority; creative imagination; right conduct. It is to expect of him some capacity for leadership, some positive contribution to the communities he lives in, some sense of common decency in the maintenance of neighborhoods. This is the white man's world—a world that earns its way, accepts responsibility, knows failure, knows success, and does not search for somewhere else to lay a personal blame.

Plenty of Negroes have shown they understand these elementary obligations. Especially in the South, a Negro middle class is rising, buying property, entering public life, setting a fine example of civic responsibility. Elsewhere in the country, examples multiply of individual excellence. If only the do-gooders will stop expecting too much of the Negro too soon. If only they will learn that pampering and special privilege and legislative crutches cannot do the job. If only they will understand that the character of a backward people cannot be tempered in Molotov cocktails.

Respect for law, respect for property, respect for the rights of others—these have to come first. And these must be enforced by the courts and by the suddenly stiffened demands of a fed-up society. The guilt for these outrages lies upon individual arsonists, hoodlums, vandals, thieves. Try them. And then turn to the political and intellectual leaders who need forgiveness more: They know not what they do.

The Christian Science Monitor has also made a great contribution in its lead editorial of August 21. It emphasizes that a respect for law is and must be the foundation upon which any community welfare is based. I hope the editorial receives wide attention. It follows here:

RESPECT FOR LAW

Nearly 2,500 years ago Aristotle pointed out a great truth about the law. He warned that laws will not be obeyed unless men acquire the habit of obeying them.

It is equally clear that anything which either encourages men to disregard law or

diminishes men's respect for it strikes at the very heart of orderly, democratic, and progressive living. This does not mean that all laws are either right or perfect. It does not mean that laws should not change and evolve. But it does mean that the security, health, and progress of men and of nations lies in a respect for law and a willingness to obey it.

In the last few days two prominent Americans have addressed themselves to this very question, but from sharply different viewpoints. Commenting on the Los Angeles riots, former President Eisenhower said, "I believe the United States as a whole has been becoming atmosphered * * * in a policy of lawlessness. If we like a law, we obey it; if we don't, we are told: 'You can disobey it.'"

Also discussing the west coast rioting, New York Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY is quoted in an interview as saying that it was senseless to tell Negroes living in northern slums to obey the law, that to these Negroes the law is the enemy.

The Kennedy statement is deeply disturbing. Even granting the fact that many Negroes do in fact regard the law as their enemy, will the Kennedy statement do anything to change their view? Will it not, rather, give them the impression that influential national figures look with sympathy upon their breaking of the law? As a former Attorney General who had shown himself active in securing wider Negro protection under law, Senator KENNEDY is in a particularly favorable position to remind the Negro that the law is, in fact, his greatest safeguard. It is regrettable that this opportunity was missed.

We agree without reservation with President Eisenhower's statement: "I believe we must have greater respect for law. This means to me we must review our * * * moral standards."

Great efforts are now being made nationally on behalf of the Negro. Greater efforts will doubtless be made in the future. While it is true that many of these efforts are belated, it is also true that they are being made because the American people as a whole believe in the reign of justice. And justice without law is an impossibility.

Only through support of law and justice can any American citizen, Negro or white, hope to live in peace and prosperity. Law is man's present highest concept of that higher, perfect order toward which human progress tends. It must be protected, honored, fostered, and obeyed.

To Our Soldiers in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, the current issue of the Jewish Veteran carries a front page editorial entitled, "To Our Soldiers in Vietnam."

This editorial, representing the official view of united Jewish war veterans, analyzes the role of Red China, not only in the "narrow confines" of the Vietnam struggle, "but also in the light of all its worldwide implications."

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I request that the editorial be printed at this point in the RECORD, and commend its careful reading to my colleagues:

TO OUR SOLDIERS IN VIETNAM

The veterans community of the United States wants you to know that we stand four-square in support of your sacrifice in the cause of freedom. As citizens who have borne arms for this Nation before you, we realize full well the importance to your morale and fighting spirit the assurance that the whole country is fully aware of the nature of your mission and the vital importance of it.

At the heart of the American involvement in Vietnam is the confrontation of the growing power and influence of the world's most dangerous and irresponsible nation—Red China.

Debates are in progress about the American strategies and tactics in Vietnam, the rights and wrongs of our involvement, and the issue of escalation. These are questions which should rightfully be examined and discussed in the Congress and by the public.

But we must not lose sight of the basic motivation for the pending mobilization of Reserves and the expanded American commitment in southeast Asia.

Red China leaves us no alternative but a firm stand on every periphery of that restive aggressive goliath.

We do not intend to make a case for the Saigon leaders of South Vietnam as the most perfect and desirable exponents of freedom. We hope and pray that better leadership for our side can be found. In the long struggle, we cannot defeat communism except through the dynamic appeal of a better idea—the true ideology of freedom.

But in the larger picture, we are confronted with such a massive peril that the deficiencies of the Saigon regime are somewhat beside the main point. The basic issue at hand is the dedication of China, a nation whose population is three of or four times as large as our own, to defeat and obliterate us. To them we are the mortal foe. They have served notice that they intend to crush us and our way of life.

Today, China has the atomic bomb. Crude though their weapon may be when compared with the supermegaton power in American hands, the fact remains that the least responsible regime on earth has the power to ignite a thermonuclear conflict. Millions of Chinese may be wiped out. But other nations could be involved in a holocaust which Russia might not be able to avoid despite its present differences with Chinese extremism.

RED CHINA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Right now, China is seeking to gain her ends by exploiting so-called wars of national liberation. That is her role in the bloody, confused and unhappy affair in Vietnam. It also seems to be her objective elsewhere, even in the Near East where the Chinese are seeking among other goals, to foment Arab guerrilla violence against Israel to create a tactical diversion to Vietnamese conflict.

Let us also examine the role of Red China toward Israel. Peiping blackballed Israel back in the days of the Bandung Conference of Asian Nations, alleging that Israel was "an imperialist creature" and had no right to exist. Israel had previously recognized Red China diplomatically because, whether one likes it or not, Red China exists. But Peiping did not reciprocate and rejected a diplomatic exchange because her only thought of Israel was as a scapegoat to use in appealing for Arab sympathies.

Arab guerrilla attacks on Israel, if carried to lengths that would inflame the whole tense frontier problem, would spread, confuse, and intensify the world crisis. It would help the Vietcong by keeping American forces on the alert in the Mediterranean and Europe. The U.S. 6th Fleet, for instance, could not relinquish its marine components for duty in the Far East, if trouble were brewing in the Near East.

Such a move would also inflame the Arab masses to serve Chinese ends by intimidating Arab leaders into closer support of the Peiping line. China, instead of Russia would become the most militant activist and leading exponent of Arab fanaticism against Israel.

Peiping feels that an Arab-Israel war could diminish mounting American pressure in Vietnam, extricate China from a military showdown for the present, and provide more time for development of atomic weapons and delivery systems. Such strife is consistent with Chinese attempts to foment "anti-imperialist" disorder throughout southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Offers have already been made by China to the extremist "liberation front" of Palestinian Arab refugees. Headed by Arab agitator Ahmed Shukairy, an Arab delegation was welcomed to Peiping and promised money, weapons, and military training if they would launch a "liberation war" against Israel. China envisaged internal sabotage by Israel's Arab population, creation of an armed underground movement, bombings, sabotage, and infiltration raids from outside.

Mao Tse-tung told the Arabs that "an Algerian delegation told us once that Algeria lost a million lives in the guerrilla struggle for independence. I told them that peoples should not be frightened if their population decreases in the course of a liberation war, for they will enjoy a period of peace afterward in which they can again multiply."

Peiping considers it ridiculous that 45 million Arabs surrounding 2½ million Israelis do not crush the Jews with action and blood instead of mere words and promises as espoused by Egypt's Nasser and others.

Nasser and Shukairy are not quite ready for a "peoples' war" against Israel because they know that Israel has the power to hit back and that the United States might not stand idly by. Nasser fears that the Sinai zone might become another Danang, poised against Arab infiltration if the "masses" ever materialized on a Vietcong-type rampage.

Mao subsequently condemned Arab lack of militance as "bourgeois humanitarianism." They are "too preoccupied with survival," he charged. But he hopes eventually, inexorably, to enlist the Arabs in a Near Eastern escalation in keeping with the insidious and subversive Chinese strategies.

Therefore, when we support our Government and its actions in Vietnam we do so not only within the narrow confines of that area but also in the light of all its worldwide implications.

Castro Threat Not So Empty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, so far as the public is concerned, there seems to be no attention being paid to Castro and his regime in Cuba as constituting a threat to the Western Hemisphere.

I was glad to note the following article written by Marguerite Higgins which appeared in the Washington Star:

CASTRO THREAT NOT SO EMPTY

(By Marguerite Higgins)

Until recently, Johnson administration officials tended to shrug off Cuban Premier Fidel Castro's boasts of turning Latin American wars of liberation into Vietnam-type conflicts.

And in its preoccupation with Vietnam, the American public has failed to notice very significant and troubling developments south of the border.

But events are not only proving that Castro's threats are not so empty, but are also calling into question many of the smug assumptions about developments in such places as Venezuela.

Any comparisons to Vietnam area are of course to the earliest stages of that war when victims of terror and ambush were listed by the dozens rather by the thousands.

ASSUMPTION IN VENEZUELA

With regard to Venezuela, it has been assumed in Washington that the success 2 years ago in holding free elections in spite of opposition from Communist terrorists had more or less settled he guerrilla problem.

After all, it was reasoned the Venezuelan Government was freely chosen, left of center, and very progressive in social good works. More than most people on this earth, Americans cling to the myth that good government is of itself a defense against Communist guerrillas.

Very handily for the Communists, we have been brainwashed into assuming that Communist terrorists can thrive only if most of the people are against a government. It is a very unhistoric assumption.

In Europe, the destruction of Czechoslovakia's popular and progressive government by a Communist minority is just one of many examples of the fact that the Communists usually take over in spite of the will of the majority.

VENEZUELA LESSON

In Venezuela, the lesson is that terrorist guerrillas, if supported from the outside (Cuba) can dangerously increase their troublemaking capacity in spite of good government—a government that has among other things effectively worked at matters of land reform and helping the peasantry.

As in Vietnam, the peasants of Venezuela may hate the guerrillas, but they will not expose them for fear of torture and death.

The discovery of 5 tons of armaments hidden in the San Antonio Del Gauche region of Venezuela this week follows a gun battle in the same area between military forces and guerrillas. A secret guerrilla headquarters of the FALN (National Liberation Armed Forces) was even uncovered in the petroleum center of Anzoatguil State.

TRAINING FOR GUERRILLAS

But if Castro and company have their way, this is but a foretaste of far worse to come.

According to reliable reports reaching Washington, guerrilla training—once confined to Cuba itself—is going on in the Venezuelan States of Lara and Falcon. The guerrilla chieftain is a former Venezuelan newspaper man, Fabricio Ojeda.

The Venezuelan National Liberation Front believes in the formalities. It is officially represented in Cuba by German Layret, who recently went through the formality of signing a "mutual aid pact" with the Vietcong representative in Havana.

Castro's press and radio made much of this and openly boasted that the pact heralded the start of Vietnam-type wars, not just in Venezuela but in other parts of Latin America. Clearly, the Communist guerrillas, like their counterparts in Asia, are planning carefully and diabolically for the years ahead. Weapons and central direction are coming from Cuba and will continue to do so—as long as the United States permits this to go on.

The question is whether the United States can afford to look the other way while Cuba provides the transmission belt for weapons with which the Communists plan to subvert the hemisphere.

In Vietnam, we waited until almost the 11th hour before attempting seriously to interrupt outside sources of supply of men and material. Isn't there a lesson to be learned from that tragedy? Or are we to be paralyzed into inaction by failing to take seriously Castro's threats of turning Latin America into a series of Vietnam's?

One Woman Comments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. HALEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, in this time of domestic turmoil and international crisis, it is refreshing to hear some one speak with a calm sane voice. For this reason I have asked permission to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, my friend, Mrs. George L. Burr's column, "One Woman Comments," which appeared in the August 19, 1965, issue of the Winter Haven, Fla., Herald.

Josephine Burr, as she is known to her many friends and readers, gives sound advice that is worthy of the attention of readers of all ages—not just the young people entering college to whom these remarks were addressed. If more people lived Mrs. Burr's philosophy, this world would be a more stable and more wholesome place in which to live:

ONE WOMAN COMMENTS

(By Josephine G. Burr)

Let us forget the trials of the National Council of Churches this week while I write a letter to my granddaughter. She is only 6 and starting to school, but I am going to pretend that she is 18 and starting to college because I hope some college-bound boy or girl will read this and possibly think a bit more carefully when he gets to the campus.

DEAREST VICKIE: I know you are a bit fearful as you leave home this fall, for you are actually going out into the world alone for the first time. A college or university campus is a world of its own and a place where you will meet all kinds of people. You will either thoroughly enjoy your life there, as I did, or be heartsick because you did not realize your great opportunity to learn what life is all about. Life of today is much more complicated than it was for me 50 years ago, however, so I think maybe I can help if you will heed.

First you young folks are much more aware of what is going on in the world today than we were back in 1913. There are peculiar "isms" abroad in the land, wild-eyed terrorists, and some who believe communism will save the world from destruction. But there are also many good ideas, many fine thinkers. I hope you have absorbed from your problems class in high school or the course you took in communism that Florida high schools require, the dangers that lurk in these peculiar subversive minds. I am sure you read of the troubles the Berkeley, Calif., campus had last fall. Many people thought it all the fault of Communist off-campus folk who created this trouble. I think they had their part in it, but let's face it, there is unrest on every college campus today created by this changing world in which we find ourselves. The "Wave of the Future" that Ann Morrow Lindbergh wrote about back in the 1940's has overtaken us. Every nation, however small, is trying for the highest kind of freedom and to equal the good things that we here in America have enjoyed for so long. They hate us for having found them first, and since this is the "land of the free and the home of the brave," they are trying to prove, in their strivings, that we are wrong and they are right. Revolution is in the air and the world is so rampant for freedom that we begin to wonder if we are as free as we have always taken for granted we were. Let us not waiver—ever—in our ideas of what freedom really is and how to keep it. That is what you young folks of today must work to preserve.

One thing I want to emphasize as you start your college career—please do your own thinking. You will doubt yourself at times and your ability to think right, but do not allow the thoughts of someone else to become yours unless you have spent hours trying to find out the truth about controversial subjects. You, Vickie, have been fortunate in growing up in a normal home. Many of the young people you will meet have warped minds because they were not so fortunate. Grief, money troubles, broken homes, liquor, can tear up lives and create so much unhappiness, especially in young people's minds, that they become unstable in their thinking and their emotions. Look into the background of those who seem different and try to discover why they are different—then feel sorry, be tolerant, but do your own thinking.

But we were discussing freedom. When I was in college no one questioned it. Since then we have helped France and England preserve their freedoms in World War I, then again in World War II when the madman, Hitler, tried to change things to his warped mind's way of thinking, we sent our young men to fight for freedom. Now the Russians, who realized they were being ruled by a mad king, cannot seem to be happy just changing their own world. They are being led by the ideologies of three other mad men, Karl Marx of Germany, Lenin, and Stalin. But something has happened in our own land of the free that is very frightening. We do not all seem to appreciate that our Founding Fathers planned well and there are too many Americans trying to change our world.

Two characteristic stand out in all this strife of today—hate and fear. They are not new—they ruled the German Kaiser, they definitely ruled Hitler, and today they rule all the odd people who think change is the only road to freedom. The one thing to me that will make you realize we have been and still are on the right track in America, will be your absorbing the education that you are about to undertake. However, you must keep your feet on the ground; you must believe, as you have been taught, that there is a God above us all who strives to help us; and that if you live by the Golden Rule, you cannot get off the right course for long. Education also means tolerance to me, Vickie, for all people are not made alike—everyone has his good points and his bad ones. Just be sure you can tell the difference and are not led by bigotry or mass thinking, but by your own careful estimation of what is the best course. I am sure you will know and if you become confused, pick out a person you love and trust and talk it all out.

One last admonition and to me it is very important. I want you to have fun and enjoy your college life as well as its opportunities, and the best way to do this is to join with a group of congenial folks in a Greek letter society. Today they are the last sure bulwark of Americanism on the college campus. They exist for the sake of friendship; they are governed by men and women who have been careful in their thinking. Their first loyalty is to God and country and they provide a "home away from home" where you can find folks reared as you were reared, girls and boys who think about life as you do and have been forewarned by parents and fraternity elders about the dangers of today. You will find folks you can talk to and discuss things with, but best of all, you will find real friends.

Fraternities and sororities were formed to teach what friendship really is and they do it in a manner that is never forgotten. The most important thing in your entire life will be the friends you choose and the way in which you show your friendship to others, for being a good friend is the highest responsibility for which one can strive.

You know I have just returned from a weekend spent at my alma mater with the sorority friends of 50 years. We all felt the sacredness of that friendship and even all those years had not dimmed our love for one another and our joy in reunion. Nothing is more worthwhile in life; nothing will keep your thinking straighter; your pride in your country greater and there will be no room in your thinking for hate and fear if you have real friends such as these.

May your college years be the best ever.

Love from your grandmother.

The Right Not To Work Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues an editorial from the August 21 edition of the Tifton, Ga., Gazette which provides a most intelligent and enlightening discussion on the subject of unemployment compensation. The following editorial supports my opinion that the unemployment compensation bill now in committee should be referred to as the "Right Not To Work Law":

WILL BONUS BE VOTED FOR IDLENESS?

Federal domination of State unemployment compensation systems is proposed in legislation now pending in Washington. If enacted—

Employers would lose an important incentive to maintain steady employment;

Employees would gain an incentive to quit their jobs and draw unemployment compensation checks.

Under certain provisions of the Mills-McCarthy bill, a worker who quits his job voluntarily would be able to get 52 weeks of benefits—the first 26 weeks of pay from the State and the second 26 weeks from the Federal Government—all but a small part financed by the employer.

The measure would, in effect, repeal the present method of computing unemployment compensation taxes on the basis of "experience ratings." The present system encourages each employer to stabilize his employment; it provides an incentive for expanding business operations and creating new jobs.

Other sweeping changes would increase both Federal and State unemployment compensation taxes by increasing the rate. Maximum benefits under State law would be repealed and higher Federally imposed benefits substituted.

Over the years the State unemployment compensation systems have shown remarkable progress and improvement. Under the Mills-McCarthy bill, Federal mandate would replace the wisdom and judgment of State legislators. This would be contrary to the original unemployment compensation concept which assured State control over eligibility requirements and benefits.

The proposed changes could well lead to greater unemployment, since they would impose additional financial burdens on business on top of other social security increases.

We should be seeking means of reducing unemployment—not aggravating it.

The Small Town Weekly Newspaper Is on the Brink of Extinction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY ROBERTS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, the smalltown weekly newspaper is on the brink of extinction. Many of these papers operate more as a service to the public than for profit.

Even though the wage and hour proposal exempts newspapers with less than 4,000 circulation, by some strange quirk the wage and hour people have decided that the provisions apply to photographically reproduced newspapers—even to a newspaper with only 600 subscribers.

I know that this was not the intent of Congress and I have discussed the matter with the gentleman from California, Mr. ROOSEVELT. At the proper time we will attempt to make legislative history to correct this situation.

As an example of the hardship caused by the wage and hour ruling, I am attaching a letter from Mr. James E. Patterson, editor-publisher of the Big Sandy-Hawkins Journal.

I respectfully solicit the assistance of my colleagues to preserve our small weekly newspapers:

UPSHUR PRINTING CO.,
Big Sandy, Tex., August 13, 1965.

RAY ROBERTS,
Member of Congress,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ROBERTS: Thanks for your active support of the small town newspaper which not only deserves such exemption, as they have been allowed, but some must have it to survive.

The small paper is the training ground for the help which ultimately goes on to the larger field for the lucrative pay and it would be a serious handicap and an unfair requirement for them to have to make trainee pay equal to the minimum scale.

Congressman ROBERTS, I did say "they." I operate the smallest possible newspaper published today with less than 600 circulation and I really have the training problem with such help as is available in this small town—yet believe it or not—the wage and hour people have determined that because my paper is offset (photographically reproduced) and because I am too small to own the reproduction equipment but take my camera-ready newspaper out of the county for reproduction—to what is called a printing center—then if I hire any help they must be paid the minimum. All it really accomplishes is denying me the help that I could use. My wife and I can conceivably do it alone and by that determination we must. We do pay a lady $1.25 for a very few hours weekly for setting some of the type.

Sir, I have tried to get my press association to do something about this travesty but they have not. The National Editorial Association, it was, and now the name is changed but I don't think they have had much interest in correcting this evidence of bureaucratic incompetence plus misuse of power. I have corresponded with your fellow Congressman in our district about it but as yet I know nothing of any new determination.

The post office situation is now mooted because of change in the law which makes everyone pay for in-county mailing but for 5 years here, before that change I was denied the free in-county mailing privilege enjoyed by the rest of the industry because of the same determination as made by W. & H. division.

They do not accept the definition of printing from the Government Printer. They make the positively absurd determination that I do not print in Big Sandy. Yet the only operation that is done in Athens, Henderson County, is camera and press. It takes me and my wife and a little help at a minimum of 3 days to get the pages ready for the camera and I am in Athens less than 2 hours for completion of the job and return with the reproductions of what I have printed. There is only one (actual) newspaper printed called the Big S. & H. Journal weekly and those copies prepared for distribution are reproductions of that one which I keep on file in the office. The Athens Review actually is a printing center and they do print newspapers for some of their customers but not for me. They don't set a line of anything either straight matter or advertising for me.

Sir, I have argued this for 6 years, first with the Post Office Department and now I'm about fagged out. My wife and I just can't stand the gait going it alone and can't stand that rate which I believe is now going to $1.75. All we can do is fold our tent and admit that our Government, to say the least, "ain't what it used to be."

You see I have been told everything from Washington—and this is called administrative and it seems that lawmaking and administration are so divorced that a lawmaker is not supposed to mess with administrative affairs.

Now this is a straightforward question Congressman ROBERTS: "Is there any recourse for a citizen to have corrected any arbitrary and ever so apparently ignorant decisions of bureaucrats?" When one's future depends on a fair and informed determination, can he expect fairness from our Government? It looks from here that a legislator could demand it for his subjects.

I have written on this subject so much Congressman that I am almost at my wits end * * * the principle of the thing worries me as much as does such a determination. Why can the bureaucrats get away with it?

Now I have the possibility in front of me that you do not believe that they do such things unfairly, but are well-informed individuals. If you honestly believe that way Mr. ROBERTS, please don't ever answer this letter. I'm tired to the bones of the whole thing.

If you think there could be anything done about it please let's get at it before I have to close my doors. That $1.75 will do it beautifully.

Sincerely,

JAMES E. (BO) PATTERSON,
Editor-Publisher.

Time for Congress To Rest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appear-

ing last week in the Birmingham, Ala., Post-Herald newspaper deserves wide attention because of its genuine good sense and timeliness:

TIME FOR CONGRESS TO REST

Practically ever since it began January 4, this Congress has been in a frenzy—a frenzy of passing more revolutionary laws than any single session in modern times.

It has launched a broad program of Federal aid to grade school education, for example. It has enacted medicare; it has put the Negro voting rights law on the books; it has cut excise taxes.

It will take years for the administration of these laws to be smoothed out.

But still Congress meets, day after day, passing or preparing to pass laws that in many instances could better wait for next year or even the year after.

It has on its dockets such measures, as those giving Federal aid to higher education, increasing minimum wages, repealing the right-to-work provision of the Taft-Hartley Act, rejiggering the farm program.

As a child of Congress, and against the background of legislative failures of President Kennedy, it is easy to understand why President Johnson keeps prodding Congress to go, go, go on passing his bills. He has the Democratic majorities to do this; he has a politician's desire to get the hard ones out of the way before next year's elections.

Now he has told congressional leaders that he has no additional requests to make of them, for which they and the country can give thanks.

But the point is that he already has asked so much that even with its extraordinary record Congress still has before it many of the President's Great Society bills.

We believe Congress is tired—tired of being pushed. We think the country is surfeited with new laws.

If there must be more Great Society laws, they'd be better laws if studied longer by a rested Congress that has had ample chance to talk with the folks back home.

If this administration is as smart politically as it is credited with being, we think it should do this:

Recommend to Congress that it do only its necessary chores quickly and then go home.

These chores would include the necessary appropriations, but cutting to the bone the domestic spending for "butter" while it allocates more and more money to the President to finance the Vietnam war.

And if done by Labor Day, the country and the Government would benefit.

The Garden State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, last week the westerners and southerners talked about wheat and cotton.

Although I can understand the attention they received, I would like to cite some of the attributes of the Garden State. New Jersey is not called the Garden State without good reason. Our crops are great—in both quantity and quality.

Here are a few reasons New Jersey is called the Garden State, and when you read the figures, please remember that this is a year of drought for our area.

New Jersey in 1965 will produce 317,000 tons of delicious Jersey tomatoes; 3.8 million hundredweight of white potatoes; 1.1. million hundredweight of sweet potatoes; 4.38 million bushels of grain corn; and green vegetables amounting to over 6.9 million hundredweight.

That is not all. The yield of peaches is estimated at 2.6 million bushels and apples may reach 2.4 million bushels.

Besides these bountiful crops, New Jersey and New York have about 42,000 dairy farmers who do business with our metropolitan area. It also supplies millions of eggs and chickens for our section.

We are proud of the farm products of the Garden State and the millions of people who consume them are satisfied with their outstanding quality.

Beyond the Los Angeles Terror

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, many editorials and articles have been written relative to the Los Angeles riots, but I think one of the best and most objective editorials appeared in the Wall Street Journal which follows:

BEYOND THE LOS ANGELES TERROR

Surveying the wreckage, material and moral, wrought by the race war in Los Angeles gives the helpless feeling of witnessing an earthquake's toll or, more accurately, the shooting rampage of a madman. Yet there are ironies and lessons in this horror-strewn spectacle.

It is ironic that the violence comes in the wake of the most sweeping civil rights laws in the Nation's history. We will not draw a causal connection; we applaud the objectives of the legislation whatever the defects of certain provisions. Sociologists note, however, a possible psychological relationship, in that when advances are made for a group, those members who do not feel they are benefiting may turn more bitter than ever.

It is saddening too that the civil rights leaders, in pursuit of worthy aims, have done so much to breed disrespect for the law. Here again we would not press the point too far. Still, the theory of obeying only the laws a person likes is dangerous doctrine in a civilized society. And it would be simple-minded to deny any link between that notion and the outbreaks in Los Angeles and elsewhere and, indeed, the rapid rise of crime generally.

In any event, a principal lesson is that the most far-reaching legislation and all the attention-getting, purportedly peaceful demonstrations cannot alone solve the fundamental problems. The studies all show it: Portions of the Negro community are on a treadmill of illegitimacy, crime, and isolation from the values of the society.

The high Negro birth rate alone is cause for pessimism. It can mean that for every individual who can be helped on the road to achievement, two others may be caught on the treadmill. In the face of such circumstances, a voting rights act appears almost as an irrelevancy.

It is utterly unjust, in our opinion, to lay the blame for these conditions exclusively at the door of the white man. We may well curse the day that white immigrants to the United States imported and held slaves; we cannot, century after century, nourish a guilt complex for ancestral evil. Unless, that is, we are prepared to accept the impossible proposition that we living today are guilty for every cruelty perpetrated throughout the eons of human existence.

Moreover, the individual's responsibility for his own life is fundamental to a free, civilized society. Other ethnic or national groups have come to these shores, some hardly better than as slaves and most the victims of prejudice and exploitation at first, a great many of them nonetheless prospered through initiative and frugality.

While it is true that a black skin makes a special difference from the others, this phenomenon of nature is becoming less and less a consideration in the rewards of citizenship, employment policies and social relations.

Not everyone, black, white, or whatever, can make out in this or any other country. There are poor whites, whites with inadequate intelligence or motivation, in Harlem, the South, and Los Angeles; conversely the roster of successful Negroes is a long one. The glory of America is that, because opportunity exists for the individual, more people of all kinds have achieved the good things of life than anywhere else in the world today or at any time in history.

But if the Negro people as a group are to find significant improvement in the years ahead, they cannot rely entirely or even mainly on the white majority. The white community is trying to help, is going far more than halfway to meet the Negro, and yet in the end the Negro must do much more for himself.

That means in particular, we think, that the civil rights leadership should turn from its spectacular displays and occasional rabble rousing and devote itself to a far greater degree to Negro individuals, Negro children, Negro families; to education in the home and group as well as in the school. We refuse to believe that considerable progress would be unattainable once more Negroes acted on the realization that further advancement requires a determined effort on their own part.

Hoodlums, it is said, set off the Los Angeles race war, which is still being waged as these words are written. Hoodlumism, we may be sure, will be put down. Meantime the gangsters and all the rest of us are, in part at least, reaping the whirlwind of a long sowing of needless bitterness, dissension, and contempt for order and common decency.

Transportation Between Small Cities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, for several years, I have been concerned at the failure of this Nation to come to grips with the growing problem of transportation between small cities. In New England, for example, a recent CAB study showed that air service has declined on 43.5 percent of the intra-New England routes during the past 5 years.

One of the reasons for this problem is our failure to develop an aircraft to replace the now-obsolete DC-3.

Recently, Kendall K. Hoyt, writing in Airport Services Management magazine,

commented on this problem. Under unanimous consent, I include his editorials in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

WHY LONGER RUNWAYS?

Of 530 airline points in the continental United States, 220 are on trunklines and have airports big enough for large transport planes.

The other 310 are on local routes only. Close to 190 of these still are served by DC-3's more than 20 years old. Some 180 of the airports cannot accommodate large planes.

As the locals buy equipment such as the Convair turboprop conversion, many airports will be expected to lengthen runways or lose service, a way for the locals to shed more of the small cities.

The runway work would cost $75 million to $100 million. Who benefits? The DC-3's average only a third of their seats filled. It is hard to see how aircraft of twice the capacity, flying from the same points can bring the load factor up rather than down or reduce the subsidy bill.

LET'S DESIGN NEW PLANES INSTEAD

Rather than start another program to make runways longer and stronger, after so many through the years, it is urgent to design a local service plane that can use the fields as they are. Such an aircraft can use not only the airline fields but a total of about 1,000 U.S. airports.

The need has long been evident. In 1957, the aircraft loan guaranty law was passed to retire the workhorse DC-3 and help the locals reduce subsidy by reequipping. But with what?

Foreign designs were offered. The F-27, bought by some, did not capture the market. The Nord has the required short-landing capability; CAB commended the first airline to order this new French turbo.

But the drive for an American DC-3 replacement has lagged. A few million dollars in a prototype competition could save great sums both in airport construction and in future subsidy.

While attention is lavished on the glamorous SST, American hometowns needs are neglected. A local service plane of some 30 seats can mean much to the economy not only of the airlines but of many communities struggling to keep on the air map. A 15-place commuter plane is another must.

WHAT SAYS MR. BOYD?

Problems such as these fall between several agencies—FAA, CAB, NASA, and the backward-pulling Budget Bureau. Any forward motion needs push from higher authority.

It is disappointing that Congress has not taken the initiative. The long-awaited Senate hearings on air service are confined to trunklines at medium-size cities. Smaller communities threatened with loss of service altogether are left unheard.

As Alan S. Boyd begins his job as Under Secretary of Commerce with an overall look at the Nation's transport system, he could make a good start by filing an interim report on air service needs. From his work in CAB, he is well aware of the problems—this could be an act of leadership.

Omnibus Farm Bill, H.R. 9811

SPEECH

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9811) to maintain farm income, to stabilize prices, and assure supplies of agricultural commodities to reduce surpluses, lower Government costs, and promote foreign trade, to afford greater economic opportunity in rural areas, and for other purposes.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, the passage of the omnibus farm bill, H.R. 9811, should demonstrate to all and sundry that this Congress is ready and willing to support whatever legislation is required to bring the benefits of the Great Society to every segment of our population.

The Secretary of Agriculture, a distinguished representative of the administration, and of the producing farmers of this Nation, appeared before us and told us that this bill was a good one. He told us that increased Federal subsidies to farmers were vital to bring about their prosperity. We put our faith in the Secretary of Agriculture and gave him virtually everything he asked for in this bill.

Let us hope that in return, the Secretary of Agriculture sees fit to accede to some of the items we deem necessary for the general welfare. It now appears that his Department has been, shall we say, somewhat lax in carrying out the provisions of a law passed by Congress, a law which we have the right to expect that the Department of Agriculture will carry out as per instructions.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. GARMATZ] pointed out on the floor of this House that the Department of Agriculture is systematically evading the provisions of the Cargo Preference Act of 1954, an act designed to promote the progress and properity of another important sector of our Nation's economy, the merchant marine.

As my colleagues all know, the Cargo Preference Act of 1954 provides that when agricultural commodities are shipped abroad as aid to foreign countries under Public Law 480 programs, at least 50 percent of those commodities are required to be shipped in U.S. vessels. The clear intent of this act is to shore up our merchant marine, which periodically finds itself in a depressed condition.

Mr. Chairman, the maritime traditions of this Nation go back 300 years. Too little recognition has been accorded our merchant seamen for their services to the Nation in time of war, and their contributions to the general welfare in times of peace. As President Johnson said on July 21, the Nation has been laggard and neglectful of its maritime transportation responsibilities and opportunities. Our aging merchant marine fleet, through no fault of its own, has suffered from bloc obsolensence and lagging replacement. From 1951 to 1962 the number of merchant ships in the active fleet declined by 25 percent. At the same time, world shipping fleets increased by 46 percent.

Given the disadvantaged position of our merchant marine in world commerce today, this Nation has a duty to do all it can to "ship American" rather than to farm out United States Government cargoes to foreign flag vessels. At a time when the American merchant fleet itself is the beneficiary of large Federal subsidies, at a time when our balance-of-payments problem is critical, how can we justify giving United States Government shipping business to foreign merchant ships.

Yet, it appears that, at best, the Department of Agriculture has seen fit to ship no more than 38 percent of its Public Law 480 commodities on American bottoms, and at worst, no more than 22 percent. I suggest it is time to wake the Secretary of Agriculture to his responsibility under the law.

I hope the Secretary will recognize that this Congress views our merchant marine as a strategic U.S. industry which needs and deserves our support; I hope the Secretary will note that we are as interested in the welfare of those who earn their living at sea as we are in the welfare of his farmers; I hope the Secretary will recognize that the 50-percent level which Congress set in the Cargo Preference Act is a minimum, and that fully adequate performance consists not in 50 percent but in substantially more.

The Secretary may feel he is saving money by paying the lower cargo rates available on foreign vessels. But in fact no money is saved if we have to turn right around and increase our subsidy to the maritime industry. I submit, Mr. Chairman, that it is time for the Secretary of Agriculture to let us in Congress decide where we want money spent. Before the next farm bill comes up in Congress we will expect the Secretary to demonstrate compliance with the law.

Voting Rights Can End 100-Year-Old Civil War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I yield to no one in my pride for the American past—but I believe that America's potential is even more glittering than her past. I believe that the discovery of America is not yet completed; that the freedoms we cherish were by no means finally secured by our forefathers. Those freedoms must be won again each year—and each day—of our Nation's existence.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 is one more step in this Nation's continuing progress toward full human dignity for all its citizens. The immediate benefits of this act will be felt by southern Negroes who have too long been denied the franchise. But the ultimate blessing of this historic legislation will be enjoyed by every American as racial animosities fade away and ancient injustices are supplanted by greater liberty for all.

I believe that most Americans share this conviction, and I offer for entry in the RECORD an illuminating article from the Charleston Gazette of August 16 "Voting Rights Can End 100-Year-Old Civil War":

VOTING RIGHTS CAN END 100-YEAR-OLD CIVIL WAR

The American Civil War, one of history's most hideous conflicts, began on April 12, 1861.

It has not yet ended.

Although the fighting stopped in 1865, some issues of that bitter fratricidal war have remained unresolved for a century.

With agonizing slowness, those issues are now being faced, however, and there is hope that this generation will see the end of the Civil War. The principal issues are these:

Are the member States in the United States sovereign, or must they accept centralized Federal Government?

In a free land which boasts of its democracy, can a minority continue to be denied the social and economic fruits of that system?

When textbooks declare that all Americans have equal access to the law, can courts in some sections continue to give force to the concept of racial superiority?

When the Constitution stipulates that citizens shall have equal access to the polls, can a minority continue to be prevented from voting by the one-sided application of tests and the erection of arbitrary obstacles the white majority isn't required to face?

Surely the answer in the last instance is "No." Even if the admission of Negroes to the voting lists is distasteful to some whose minds are conditioned to less than full democracy, simple honor demands fulfillment of promises made in our own sacred documents. It is the American tradition that every citizen helps govern himself. It is hypocrisy of the ignoblest sort to depart from that tradition.

Negroes are clamoring, with complete justice, for admission to the mainstream of American life. All Americans will eventually profit from their admission.

To this end, Americans of good will have agreed that law was required. One such law is the civil rights law, which seeks to eliminate discrimination in public accommodation. The civil rights law could well be the first step toward ending the Civil War.

If this is the case, the voting rights law could be the second step. President Johnson said it was a towering and certain mark that Negroes will reach equal status in this generation.

If the voting rights law achieves its purpose, it will complement the more comprehensive civil rights law by giving the Negro a hand in his own government.

By exercising his voting right wisely, he can bring the Civil War, at last, to an end.

Ralph K. Huitt, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, often the job of filling sub-Cabinet level positions is difficult as well as revealing. President Johnson's appointment of Ralph K. Huitt as Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for Legislation therefore is all the more commendable for the President made the task look simple by succeeding in appointing such an outstandingly qualified man. Professor Huitt brings with him to the job a wealth of knowledge of and experience with both State and local problems and Congress and the lawmaking process. His appointment reveals a determination on the part of the President to bring the greatest possible competence to bear on the legislative program of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

I respectfully call the following editorial which appeared in the Sunday, August 22, 1965, Milwaukee Journal to your attention as a further indication of the high esteem in which Professor Huitt is held in Wisconsin:

PROFESSOR HUITT TO WASHINGTON

President Johnson made an excellent choice in appointing Ralph K. Huitt, University of Wisconsin political science professor, as Assistant Secretary for Legislation in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Huitt has had a long and varied career in education as a teacher and researcher. Equally important is the fact that he knows his way around Washington, having worked for Wisconsin Senator PROXMIRE and Lyndon Johnson himself when the President was Senate majority leader. Most recently, Huitt has headed a very intensive study of the Federal legislative process, which is being financed by the Carnegie Corporation. All this Washington experience should serve him well since his new job will entail maintaining departmental liaison with the Congress.

In his last assignment at U.W., Huitt helped represent President Harrington and the University in Washington, dealing with educational matters as well as important research and development activities.

Four Presidents Have Urged Home Rule for the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow a discharge petition will be filed to bring a bill to grant home rule to the District of Columbia to the House floor for a vote for the first time since 1948.

In the years since then, the other body has passed home rule legislation on six occasions. Four Presidents have urged the granting of home rule to the citizens of the District.

At this time I should like to call the attention of the Members to the appeals of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson.

In a message to the Speaker on July 25, 1949, President Truman wrote:

It is little short of fantastic that the Congress of the United States should—as it now does—devote a substantial percentage of its time to acting as a city council for the District of Columbia. We should take adequate steps to assure that citizens of the United States are not denied their franchise merely because they reside at the Nation's Capital.

In his budget message of January 19, 1959, President Eisenhower said:

I again recommend that the Congress enact legislation to admit Hawaii into the Union as a State, and to grant home rule to the District of Columbia. It would be unconscionable if either of these actions were delayed any longer.

On April 3, 1963, in a message to the Speaker and the President of the Senate, President Kennedy said:

This (proposed home rule) bill is designed to reaffirm, at the seat of our National Government, our basic American belief that government should be responsible to the governed. We should no longer delay in restoring to the people of the District a fundamental right enjoyed as a matter of course by all other Americans—the right to self-government by the elective process.

And 19 days ago, on August 4, President Johnson wrote to you, Mr. Speaker, following passage of a home rule bill by the other body on July 22.

I cannot emphasize too strongly my conviction that this action by the Senate must meet the fate of home rule bills passed by the Senate in previous Congresses. The House, too, must be given the opportunity, and promptly, to restore the basic rights of democracy at the very heart of the greatest constitutional system in the world.

For much too long this Nation has tolerated in the District of Columbia conditions that our ancestors fought a revolution to eliminate. For much too long we have imposed on many hundreds of thousands of citizens who live in the District a badge of inferiority—the stigma of unworthiness to guide their own affairs. For much too long we have denied at our Nation's Capital the principles of representative government for which we stand throughout the world. The Congress has been aroused to redress denials of the right to vote in every part of this country—except the District. We affront its citizens and leave a significant part of our work unfinished by this unnecessary and invidious discrimination.

All of us cherish the heritage of our great charters of liberty. Yet in the District, with a population larger than that of 11 of our States, the governed have no voice and taxation is without representation. This is no less than a national disgrace.

Mr. Speaker, when the discharge petition is filed tomorrow, I hope 218 Members will quickly join in signing. The discharge petition will be virtually a touchstone of one's belief in democracy. Indeed to paraphrase from the King's St. Crispin's Day speech in Shakespeare's King Henry the Fifth:

Gentlemen now abed,
Shall think themselves accurs'ed they were not here,
And hold home rule,
Thus cheap whiles any speaks
That fought with us.

The Late Honorable Gracie Pfost

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep sorrow that I join in paying tribute to our former distinguished colleague, the Honorable Gracie Pfost, of Idaho. Her passing brought to a close a long career of dedicated and conscientious public service. She began this career as deputy county clerk, auditor, and recorder of Canyon County, Idaho, before being elected to the House of Representatives. For 12 years she served the people of the First Congressional District of Idaho and devoted long hours and hard work to the

myriad duties demanded of a representative of the people. At the time of her passing, she was a special assistant for housing for the elderly in the Federal Housing Administration. I am sure that the service and accomplishments of Gracie Pfost will long be remembered.

It was my privilege to have served with Gracie during her entire tenure as a Member of Congress. She was admired and respected by her associates on both sides of the aisle, and her indefatigable spirit was an inspiration to all with whom she came in contact.

To her family and her many friends, I extend my heartfelt sympathy.

Address by Vice President Hubert Humphrey, Hadassah Convention, New York City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, Henrietta Szold, the founder of Hadassah, was a great human being. We are all poorer for her loss. Teacher, benefactor, and humanitarian, she saved countless numbers of Jewish children from death at the hands of the Nazi regime in Germany. Always favoring peace over the clash of arms, she worked tirelessly for improved relations between the newly created state of Israel and its Arab neighbors.

Mr. Speaker, I now insert into the RECORD the moving statement of Vice President HUMPHREY at a Hadassah convention recently held in New York City:

ADDRESS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY, HADASSAH CONVENTION, NEW YORK CITY, AUGUST 17, 1965

I am deeply grateful for the honor you give me.

Henrietta Szold was a great woman.

Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote that "every true man is a cause, a country, and an age."

Henrietta Szold was, indeed, true to her faith, to her people, and all peoples.

Her cause was the founding and guidance of your organization.

Her country was a land reclaimed, a nation reborn, rededicated, after 2,000 years of exile and of persecution.

Her age covered eight decades. She helped make part of her age an epoch of human fulfillment. Henrietta Szold had both idealism and practicality—the ability to dream the impossible for those in need and to forge her vision into reality.

I think Henrietta Szold would have been very much at home in the America of 1965, because today we are building the free and compassionate society she worked for all her life.

Today we are righting ancient wrongs suffered by some of our fellow American citizens. We are breaking down the walls of American ghettos—legal, vocational, educational, psychological ghettos.

We are investing our resources in our greatest asset: Our people. We are looking particularly to the education of our children.

We are providing for the health needs of the elderly.

We are beginning to clean the air and stream, to replenish the water, to beautify the land, to rebuild our cities and make them livable.

As we look about our country, we see how far we still have to go. But we have made our beginning. The longest journey is the first step. And we have taken that step.

I am proud to say that no Congress in American history has enacted more legislation, in less time, for the good of more people—and with a wider consensus of public support—than the present 89th Congress.

And no people in the world's history have set their sights on attaining higher, worthier goals for the entire family of man than have today's American people.

We have our vision and we are willing to act on it.

Three decades ago President Franklin Roosevelt declared that his generation had a rendezvous with destiny. We fulfilled that rendezvous.

Today, we have another rendezvous: a rendezvous with opportunity. At every crossroad of this Nation and of the world we have the opportunity to utilize unprecedented power, productivity, and discovery. We have it in our means to give each man and woman in America equal opportunity to share in and contribute to a free and secure society—and to extend that freedom and security to others, too, in less fortunate places. We have it in our means to conquer man's old natural enemies.

With your hands and hearts you joined in that cause long ago.

I have seen the Hadassah—Hebrew University Medical Center. I want to see it again. I want more and more Americans and other visitors—of every faith and nationality—to see it and be inspired by it.

From its clinics and laboratories are coming a procession of invaluable scientific findings. Their significance is far greater than most of the transient news which tends to dominate today's headlines.

Let us never forget that history awards an honored and enduring place to its great scientists—who often work much of their lives in comparative obscurity. A Pasteur, a Koch, a Curie, a Schick, a Goldberger, a Salk, a Sabin live longer in mankind's grateful memory than most heads of state.

Israel's medicine has already enriched the world far beyond what would be predicted by some slide rule formula—by the size of her population, or the modest amount of her natural resources, or brief length of her sovereignty.

And America's official assistance to Israeli research—in dollars and in counterpart currency—is probably one of the highest dividend-paying investments in our history.

The dividends are healthier human beings the world over.

Medicine has always been international. The deeds and teachings of great physicians of every religion and ethnic origin—Arab and Christian and Jewish, Eastern and Western—have always transcended national borders or regions.

Today the Western World recognizes Israel's medicine. And today, the emerging world cannot fail to note that Israel has become a leading center for medical training and study for the developing nations.

It is you who have helped make this possible.

I am proud as an American of what you, my fellow Americans, have done for so many, so long, so well.

Henrietta Szold said of the people who had yearned for the Promised Land:

"One does not dream for 2,000 years steadily and then have the dream come true without having the strength to live in accordance with the high ideals that made the beauty of the dream."

Today the beauty of our dream is the chance of daylight in a world too filled with darkness.

It is the chance of health and happiness in a world too filled with disease and despair.

It is the chance of peace in a world too filled with war.

Let us, then, live with our ideals and create the free and good life that man has always sought, but not yet reached.

Space Exploration and National Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of remarks made by Gen. B. A. Schriever, commander of the Air Force Systems Command at an American Astronautical Society national meeting held in San Francisco, Calif., on August 18 this year:

IMPLICATIONS OF SPACE EXPLORATION FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

(By Gen. B. A. Schriever, commander, Air Force Systems Command)

I would like to begin my remarks on the implications of space exploration for national security by noting that there are two ways of looking at space. The first way is simply as a place—as the vast expanse which is an extension of the earth's atmosphere in every direction, and which can serve as an operational environment. There is much we need to discover about this region, but it is already clear that space adds a new dimension to our thinking about national security.

Space has at least four unique characteristics which offer advantages for military operations. These are: first, extremely high altitudes which offer line of sight to large areas of the earth's surface; second, very high speeds; third, almost infinite flight duration; and fourth, highly predictable flight paths.

These recognized advantages have led to the development of a number of space systems which provide support to military land, sea, and air operations. These include satellite systems for communications, weather, and navigation. The capabilities they provide are either unique or represent a distinct improvement over other means of accomplishing the same task. For example, communication satellites give improved means of maintaining contact with military forces worldwide. Weather satellites provide detailed information on weather conditions around the globe. Navigation and geodetic satellites make available precise navigational information for military users.

On the other hand, the advantages of space are frequently offset by several disadvantages. The first of these is the cost of launching payloads into space. Presently this amounts to about $1,000 a pound in low earth orbit, although it is estimated that the Titan III will reduce this figure to about $500 a pound, and we foresee methods of reducing the cost to the neighborhood of $100 a pound. The second is the requirement for extremely high reliability—the need to build satellites that will operate for long periods without maintenance and repair. Third is the absence of a demonstrated method of returning from space to a controlled landing at a specified point. And fourth is the environment of space itself—the problems associated with hard vacuum, temperature extremes, and intense radiation.

The need to overcome these disadvantages leads to a consideration of the second way in which space may be regarded—not merely as a place, but as a primary focus for man's scientific and technological efforts in the years ahead. The success of these efforts will determine the practical use that can be made of space for a variety of purposes, including military purposes.

Intuitively, it is easy to feel that space has infinite potential. But the real tasks ahead of us are to demonstrate that the potential actually exists, and then to realize that potential.

It is clear, then, that in attempting to predict the implications of space exploration for our national security, we are dealing with a number of unknown factors. Nevertheless, there are two general principles which can help us predict future possibilities. The first of these is that a nation's use of science and technology will reflect not only its capabilities but also its long-range national objectives. The second is that breakthroughs in technology can drastically alter the balance of power among nations.

Two historical examples will illustrate the first principle. Each of them indicates our reluctance in this country to develop the military potential of an American invention, in contrast with the attitude of other nations. The first is the airplane.

The Wright brothers believed that their machine had some definite military potential, but they had a hard time stirring up much enthusiasm in the War Department. Perhaps there was a good reason: In spite of the fact that World War I was less than a dozen years away, people in this country simply were not anticipating a major conflict. By 1913, ten years after Kitty Hawk, the United States had spent less money for military aviation than had been spent by China, Japan, Bulgaria, Greece, Spain, Brazil, or Belgium—to say nothing of the larger nations of Europe. Italy alone had spent nearly 20 times as much money on military aviation as we had, and Russia, France, and Germany had exceeded even this figure.

The second example is the liquid-fueled rocket, which was first launched by Dr. Goddard in 1926. In spite of the fact that this was an American invention, the U.S. Government conducted relatively little rocket development until after World War II. The two leading nations in rocket development up to that time were Germany and the Soviet Union.

Today the Soviet Union occupies a prominent place in space exploration. The Soviets have a number of impressive firsts to their credit—the first satellite, the first living creature, the first man, and the first woman to be put into space; the first multiman spaceship, and the first man to step outside the capsule. They also hold world records for time in orbit, orbital distance, orbital weight lifted, and highest orbital altitude. These achievements do not by any means give them overall space leadership, but they do indicate the scope and pace of the Soviet space program.

The big question is, "How do our opponents intend to employ their space technology?" In the light of all that we know of Soviet intentions and have seen of Soviet actions, the answers to this question are not reassuring. For years Soviet leaders have shown that they regard science and technology as major instruments in their drive toward world domination. There is no sign that their intentions have changed in this respect.

This consideration brings us to the second general principle I have mentioned, namely, that a breakthrough in technology can drastically alter the balance of power among nations. I am sure I do not need to refer to the introduction of the longbow or the invention of gunpowder to illustrate this point. In the present instance, a Soviet breakthrough in space technology could yield real military advantages. There is always the possibility of Soviet space developments which could render our present deterrent forces ineffective.

In view of the fact that there are many things we simply do not know about the Soviet space effort, we need to be alert to this possibility and shape our own programs accordingly. Opinions will naturally vary as to just how serious the potential threat may be, but in the words of Vice President HUMPHREY, "We would be foolish if we did not understand the military implications of Soviet space science, as well as our own."

The prudent course of action today and for the years ahead is to take out insurance against the use of space for aggressive purposes. This insurance takes two forms. The first is the development of means of defense against possible enemy actions in space. Several years ago the decision was made to achieve an antisatellite capability, which involves detection, tracking, and negation. Today we have such a capability and are making a major effort to improve upon it.

The second form of insurance is a comprehensive and systematic program for experimentation and for pushing technology forward. One of the most important efforts we are presently conducting in this area is the development of the Titan III standard space launch system. The Titan III–C, which had its successful first launch in June, is the most powerful U.S. space booster fired to date. In addition, it offers the advantages of flexibility and quick reaction time.

Future launches of the Titan III will be used to orbit scientific satellites for the Office of Aerospace Research and communications satellites for the Initial Defense Communications Satellite Program (IDCSP). It is also planned that Titan III will be used to launch the Manned Orbiting Laboratory, or MOL.

The MOL is conceived as a literal laboratory in space, which would enable us to study man's adaptability and limitations over prolonged periods. The results of the MOL experiments would give us actual experience and data to determine man's usefulness in a military role in space.

Another area of interest to us is the development of techniques for reentry from space which will allow us to maneuver and land at a time and place of our own choosing. This means getting away from ballistic reentry vehicles and employing aerodynamic shapes of some kind. We have underway a program called START (Spacecraft Technology and Advanced Reentry Test), which is aimed at just this capability—the ability to accomplish maneuvering reentry.

The present high cost of placing payloads in orbit, which I mentioned earlier as a disadvantage of space operations, has led us to study very actively the question of recoverable boosters. We have identified several promising approaches which could lead to great reduction in payload launch costs.

To summarize our military space effort, we have a very active program now in support of land, sea, and air operations. We have an active program for defense against enemy action in space. And we have a vigorous program to advance space technology. All of these efforts contribute not only to our national security in space, but also to the portions of the national space program being conducted by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

In the future, the impact of space on national security will undoubtedly increase. For this reason our space program must continually look ahead and prepare us to meet any challenges that may emerge.

Thank you.

U.S. State Department and Brazil Honor Former W.O.L. Resident

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN TOLL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, an article which appeared in the August 12, 1965, edition of the Germantown Courier refers to the recent awards made to Dr. Martin J. Forman of Philadelphia for his efforts in helping to feed the hungry children of Latin America. Dr. Forman, a good friend and constituent of mine, is coordinator of "Operation Ninos" and chief of the Food for Development Branch, Agency for International Development.

I commend Dr. Forman for the fine work he is doing and am pleased with the recognition which has been given him by our Government, as well as the Government of Brazil.

The article referred to above reads as follows:

U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT AND BRAZIL HONOR FORMER WEST OAK LANE RESIDENT

The Governments of the United States and Brazil have awarded medals to Dr. Martin J. Forman of West Oak Lane and Bethesda, Md., for his work in bringing food assistance to over 10 million Latin American children over the past 2 years.

The Formans formerly lived at 2312 76th Avenue and still maintain a permanent address at 1986 Renova Road.

A Superior Honor Award for extraordinary achievement as coordinator of Operation Ninos was presented in Rio to Dr. Forman by the Agency for International Development Assistant Administrator Herbert J. Waters.

The presentation was made before the 200 participants at the opening day ceremonies of the Third Inter-American Seminar on child feeding. In awarding the Agency medal, Waters spoke of Dr. Forman's unique contribution in creating, organizing, and coordinating the Operation Ninos program which has benefited millions of children while effectively promoting U.S. objectives.

The award is the second highest given to individuals or groups by the Department of tSate. It is given in recognition of "significant contributions of unusual value" and consists of a silver medal, a lapel emblem, and certificate.

In presenting the award after Dr. Forman had just concluded a report to the delegates of 19 hemispheric countries taking part in the seminar in which Dr. Forman was serving as cochairman, Waters said he felt it might be appropriate to present the award in the presence of Dr. Forman's colleagues. He praised Dr. Forman as the type of devoted public servant who not only demonstrated outstanding imagination and ability but one who put service to others and to his country above his own interests.

The Operation Ninos project was conceived in response to an expression of concern by President Kennedy in mid-1962. Its purpose was to develop a coordinated effort to expand child-feeding programs to reach more needy Latin American children, to improve programs administratively and nutritionally, and to create awareness, concern, and support for the children of Latin America. As a result of the project, there has been an increase of over 300 percent in the numbers of children being reached. The number of

school age children jumped from 3.9 million to over 13 million and the number of preschoolers rose from 900,000 to over 2 million. Regional seminars and within-country workshops have helped to train over 30,000 program personnel and millions of instructional pamphlets and posters have been distributed throughout Latin America.

Prior to joining AID, he served overseas in Taiwan, where he established and directed the International House of Taipei for the Asia Foundation. He joined the U.S. AID Mission to Taipei in January 1960 and served as an education adviser to the Government of China and later as food for peace officer until mid-1962, when he was assigned as Chief of the Food for Development Branch in the Agency for International Development.

He is married to the former Elaine Blum and they have one daughter, Sidra, aged 2. His mother, Mrs. Sonia Forman, resides at 1522 Lardner Street.

The Government of Brazil decorated Dr. Forman with the Medal of Merit in school lunch, the first time this medal has been awarded since its authorization in 1959.

Dr. Forman holds a B.A. degree from Temple University and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Pennsylvania. He has taught sociology at the University of Pennsylvania and at the National Taiwan University. A former staff member of the Philadelphia's Neighborhood Center, he also served from 1950 to 1956 as director of the Federation's S.G.F. vacation camp.

National Drum Corps Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the news media constantly emphasizes America's problem of juvenile delinquency; and although that ailment must be encountered, many of us tend to overlook the accomplishments of organizations dedicated to the betterment of our youth. The efforts of the drum and bugle corps units of the United States are being proclaimed during the week of August 15–21 designated as National Drum Corps Week.

Few groups are more faithful to our American tradition; what was trumpeted by William Dinman on Lexington Common has now blossomed into a colorful and patriotic union of nearly 1 million youngsters. Blending hard work into disciplined precision, developing not only individual musical ability but understanding the importance of unit loyalty and group spirit as well, and fostering a genuine sense of accomplishment, the drum and bugle corps in Oregon have frequently added color and rhythm to our civic occasions. The exacting standards of drum and bugle corps youngsters serve as an inspiration for those who observe them, whether in competition for honors or in their customary performances, and I am delighted to take this occasion for saluting their splendid record.

The Baker Drum and Bugle Corps in my hometown, sponsored by the local Elks Club, has achieved prominence throughout the Pacific Northwest.

Irradiated Foods for Tomorrow's Dinners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday, August 15, the Washington, D.C., Evening Star carried an article by Mary Jane Fisher, U.S. Department of Commerce, on food irradiation, one of the most intriguing and important uses of atomic energy.

As a member of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, I have followed closely the development of the irradiated food process, a truly revolutionary concept of food preservation. Great progress has been made in the field and I am certain Miss Fisher's article will help dispel any apprehensions about the safety of such food.

The article follows:

IRRADIATED FOODS FOR TOMORROW'S DINNERS

(By Mary Jane Fisher, U.S. Department of Commerce)

Housewives of the world, take heart. Your day of liberation from kitchen chores is in prospect, according to the U.S. Department of Commerce.

A new technique in preserving food by ionizing radiation—a spin-off benefit from the atomic research laboratory—has reached the stage where today's housewife, or her daughter, will be able by 1975 to serve unexpected dinner guests a delightful and nutritious meal that has been pre-cooked, packaged, and stored on her pantry shelf for as long as a year.

When her husband telephones at 4 p.m. and says, "Dear, the boss is in town and I'm bringing him home to dinner," she can coolly look over her stock of irradiated meat, fish, fruit, and vegetables and heat and serve a company dinner.

Except for canning, initially developed for Napoleon's troops, ionizing radiation is the first new way of preserving food since the age-old methods of drying, salting, smoking, fermentation, pickling, cold storage and freezing—all processes known to our early ancestors.

ATOMIC ENERGY

Research on food irradiation has been conducted since the 1950's by the Department of Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission, under mandate from Congress to develop beneficial uses of atomic energy "to improve the general welfare and increase the standard of living."

In a recent study prepared for the AEC, the Food Industries Division of the Business and Defense Services Administration, a Commerce Department agency, predicts that "irradiation will be recognized as a major technique for food preservation within the decade." The study on "The Curent Status and Commercial Prospects for Radiation Preservation of Food," was made as part of the Department's participation in a governmental committee on food radiation preservation involving nine agencies.

For the layman, the term "food irradiation" may conjure up a picture of a Goldfinger-type factory operation with nuclear beams scattering deadly rays in all directions. But, in reality, it is no more dangerous than an outdoor barbecue. Technically, it involves exposing food to controlled doses of radiation, but it does not make food radioactive. Grilling hamburger, something many housewives do every day, is, in fact, preserving food by irradiation, with the infrared rays emitted from the fire.

Products for which radiation preservation is believed to hold the most promise for commercial development in the coming years are chicken, turkey, beef, pork, ham, fish, shellfish, dehydrated vegetables, and a variety of fresh fruits, including strawberries and sweet cherries. These are all products which compare favorably in taste, after irradiation, to fresh food. Of 28 different foods considered in the study, 17 were found to have good or excellent prospects.

The Food and Drug Administration already has cleared radiation-treated bacon, potatoes, wheat and wheat products for human consumption. Other clearances are pending. Under the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, irradiation is considered a food additive, and irradiated foods must be cleared for human consumption.

Next year, petitions will be submitted for approval of chicken, ham, and pork as well as for several marine products, including pollock, ocean perch, haddock, flounder, codfish, and sole. Requests for 1967 and 1968 will include crab, shrimp, halibut, and beef, as well as prunes, apricots, and nectarines.

Besides eliminating bacteria, preventing spoilage, and extending the lifespan of fresh foods from 2 weeks to as long as a year—which is about the shelf-life of canned goods—radiation preservation should result in food product improvements, such as helping to age wines, to decrease roasting time for coffee beans, enhancing coffee flavor, and to add zest to foods such as commercially packed gefilte fish and dry soup mixes.

Irradiated food in no way resembles the K rations of World War II. The U.S. Army, which has the Nation's most complete food irradiation laboratories at Natick, Mass., discovered early in its test that irradiation made the best cuts of beef too tender.

Preservation of food by radiation offers great promise in feeding the world's hungry and meeting future needs of a growing world population. Among the many nations carrying on irradiation research are Canada and the Soviet Union.

Because the world's population is expected to double from approximately 3 billion in 1960 to more than 6 billion in the year 2000, it will be necessary to create an additional world food production capacity equal to that developed from the beginning of the human race up to the year 1960. And the year 2000 is only 35 years away.

SHIPBOARD TREATMENT

Poultry and fresh fish will likely be the first irradiated foods available to housewives on local grocery shelves, and taste tests are already underway to determine future public acceptance.

Ocean fish, it has been found, can be irradiated on board ship after being caught, transported by truck as far inland as Salt Lake City or Kansas City, and still taste fresh 30 days or longer. Among the irradiated fish and shellfish which have received high ratings on taste tests are King and Dungeness crab meat, sole fillets, shrimp and canned haddock fillets, fried clams, and clam chowder made from irradiated clams. Many of the tests have been made by the Army at Fort Lee, Va.

Trials on public acceptance of irradiated shrimp have been conducted in Tampa and St. Petersburg, Fla., as well as at Lafayette, Ind., and Louisville, Ky. Irradiated shrimp stored 15 to 20 days were preferred to nonirradiated shrimp stored the same length of time.

Two shipboard irradiators which can process 150 pounds of fish and hour have been built this year and will be put into operation by the U.S. Department of the Interior in conjunction with Louisiana State University.

Saturn 1–B Payload Capacity Promising

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, as Astronauts Gordon Cooper and Pete Conrad continue through their third day in orbit around the Earth in the Gemini–V space capsule, all Americans are heartened that they may be able to complete their 8 days aloft, as intended for the mission by officials of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

One of our Nation's principal space installations for building the necessary rockets to send American astronauts to the Moon in the next several years is the Michoud Assembly Facility, located in my home city of New Orleans, La. Being constructed at Michoud at the present time are the powerful Saturn 1–B booster rockets which will provide the initial power to lift the Apollo manned spacecraft to the Moon.

The two leading prime contractors for building the Saturn I and Saturn 1–B booster at Michoud are the Chrysler Corp.'s Space Division, and the Boeing Co. The Chrysler and Boeing scientists, engineers, and other technicians at this NASA facility are doing a remarkable job of advancing America's space program, and they deserve great commendation for their energy and their good works in the service of our country.

Mr. Speaker, an interesting, thought-provoking editorial in the Times-Picayune of August 14, 1965, outlines the payload capacity of the Saturn 1–B, and points up its significance in America's space program; and I am pleased to call it to the attention of my colleagues. The editorial cites the tremendous potential of this powerful rocket, and notes that its significance to our Nation's space effort has been overlooked in some quarters. I ask unanimous consent to insert this fine editorial in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues. The editorial follows:

SATURN 1–B PAYLOAD CAPACITY PROMISING

The payload potentials of the Saturn 1–B boosters now under production at Michoud seem to have escaped general attention in discussion about space missions and the rocket assemblies assigned or assignable to carry them out. These and other factors are significant in connection with efforts underway, just coming to light, to intrude on, supplant or degrade the Saturn 1–B in the Apollo or other programs for which it is fitted.

The first of the new Saturns, or intermediate Saturns, of the Chrysler Corp.'s Space Division has reached Cape Kennedy for the initial lift-off in tests and flights that will lead to human exploration of the moon.

Payload requirements vary, of course, for different objectives of this 12-shot series. Regardless of what is first put aloft, the 1–B asembly is designed to send into desired orbit 36,000 pounds of functional vehicle—not to mention the 30,000 pounds of a burned-out second stage, should that lagniappe be added.

This rating compares with the 26,000-pound payload Soviet spacemen boosted into orbit last July 16; with 21,000 pounds sent into orbit by the Titan 3–C June 18; with the rated 25,000-pound payload capacity of the Titan 3–C; with the 22,000-pound payload rating of the "old Saturns;" with the 18,000 pounds of payload dispatched by an "old Saturn" a year or two ago; and with 4,000 pounds orbited by the Atlas.

The confusion that sometimes attends space program comment was illustrated when at least one Washington dispatch stated, after the 26,000-pound Soviet launching, that only the Saturn 5 could match the feat (ignoring the S–1B). Michoud has vital interest also, of course, in the upcoming Saturn 5, whose missions differ from those of the 1–B.

Of course the low-orbit experiments and preliminaries are one thing. There are greater payload requirements for larger orbits and for some outer space explorations. For these, new combinations and new types of rocket stages are planned or considered, such as a Centaur rocket for the final thrust from a Saturn 1–B base. Assertedly this Saturn-Centaur could shoot 22,000 pounds for almost any kind of Martian probe, compared with the 450-pound Mariner. The first Voyager-Mars missions for Saturn-Centaur call, however, for not more than 8,000 pounds' payload.

Then there is the strap-on rocket system for boosters. The Titan 3–C uses, for example, two 120-inch-diameter strap-ons (solid fuel) to help get its great booster thrust and 25,000-pound payload potential. Projections by Chrysler show that with four similar strap-ons, Saturn 1–B would send a 75,000-pound payload into low orbit; and, with a Centaur, 25,000 pounds or more to Mars.

The momentum generated by the original Saturn firings has provided the space programs an enormous asset. The 10-shot series not only achieved 100 percent perfection in functions, countdowns, and launch timings, but produced the Nation's largest operational rockets, as demonstrated by the 3-shot Pegasus series—one which did not require exercise of full payload potential. Ingenuity in the various branches of production and in the Space Agency brought successive upgradings of rocket thrust, culminating in the 1–B assembly—which, basically, is otherwise the same Saturn.

It presumably is due to this performance that astronauts will be able to man the fourth spacecraft launched in the forthcoming series—in effect, the 14th scheduled firing of the Saturn. For various reasons, other types of rockets have had firings ranging from 45 to 92 prior to use in manned-flight expeditions.

Civil Rights: There Is Nothing To Fear but Fear Itself

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, the residents of the State of Mississippi have expressed themselves in clear and convincing terms against the retention of archaic and unconstitutional practices of voter discrimination. By a vote of more than 2 to 1, the reasonable and fair-minded people of Mississippi have adopted a constitutional amendment which abolishes those voter registration requirements which for centuries have been used to keep Negro citizens away from the polls.

This expression of confidence in their fellow man by the voters of Mississippi is a sign that equal rights will not be denied where fear is extinguished. The secret ballots cast by the voters of Mississippi have cleared the way for progress throughout the Nation—North and South—progress in the recognition of the human rights of all Americans without violence and without fear.

This Nation's heritage demands nothing less than the abolition of prejudice in every form and the granting of basic human rights to every citizen. The heritage can be fulfilled by striking out against fear and by exposing those who would play upon the fears of others in order to agitate against one segment of our population.

I commend to my colleagues the following editorial from the August 19, 1965, edition of Newsday, a daily newspaper published on Long Island, N.Y.:

THE MODERATES SPEAK

By better than 2 to 1, the voters of Mississippi have approved a constitutional amendments that served as a barrier to Negroes. ment abolishing voter registration require- The constitution had required that a voter must write an interpretion of any one of its 285 sections, write an essay on "duties and the obligations of a citizen," and be "of good moral character." These were waived for whites but enforced on Negroes.

It is true that, if Mississippi had refused to change its laws, the Federal Government would have asserted preemptive rights under the voting rights law. The significant thing is that the most fiercely racist State in the Union used the occasion to express its opinion through the secret ballot—and that moderates won hands down. Evidently, when freed from intimidations, there are a lot more moderates in Mississippi than anyone ever suspected. That is a good omen for the future.

Significantly, the head mast of the Newsday editorial page carries the following proverb:

Where there is no vision the people perish. Old Testament: Proverbs XXIX: 18.

Sugar Lobbyists Make News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, thanks to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY] chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, my curiosity has been aroused no end about the sugar program and how lobbyists influence it.

At public hearings last Friday the chairman denied me the opportunity to question a witness about the compensation agreement he has with his client. He insisted it was none of my business how much the lobbyist is being paid.

At a continuation of the hearings this morning, the chairman at first refused to recognize me for any questions, but relented when I assured him I would ask no questions on how much the lobbyists get paid. At that point, I had other

aspects of this fascinating and expensive program to explore.

Between Friday and Monday I learned that lobbyists for foreign concerns or governments are required to file compensation data with the Justice Department. I spent several hours Monday afternoon at the Justice Department transcribing this data for later use.

When I returned to my office I read in the Monday Evening Star an excellent article on the same subject matter written by Walter Pincus.

Here is the text:

FOREIGN LOBBYISTS FIGHT HARD FOR 4-MILLION-TON SUGAR PIE

(By Walter Pincus)

In accordance with an agreement he worked out last month with Thailand's ambassador—specifying "a fee of $1,500 for appearing before the proper committees in the Senate and the House"—former Alabama Representative George Grant testified before his old colleagues on the Agriculture Committee this morning seeking a U.S. sugar quota for Thailand.

When he was defeated for reelection last fall, Grant had served 26 years in Congress and was third-ranking Democrat—behind Chairman HAROLD COOLEY, Democrat, of North Carolina, and Vice Chairman W. R. POAGE, Democrat, of Texas—on the Agriculture Committee.

Now Grant has become a freshman member of the foreign section of the U.S. sugar lobby—one of the most influential—and therefore best paid—lobbies on Capitol Hill.

By the time the House panel ends its hearings today, 19 other lobbyists for producing countries also will have been heard.

Chairman COOLEY, in an early exchange today with Representative PAUL FINDLEY, Republican, of Ohio, announced that he would overrule any questions directed at sugar lobbyist fees. COOLEY told FINDLEY he must "abide by the rules, we are not trying to castigate witnesses."

On Friday, after objecting to FINDLEY's questioning, COOLEY said, "It is none of your business and none of my business what his terms of employment as a lawyer are. He fixes his own fee and his own arrangements * * *. This is not that kind of investigation. I don't recognize you for that purpose."

The strength of the sugar lobby comes primarily from the fact that U.S. sugar laws are highly complex and legislation affecting it is for the most part left in the hands of administration technicians and COOLEY's committee.

Stated simply, not 1 pound of sugar sold in the United States can be grown, processed, or imported into the country without specific Government permission in the form of an acreage allotment marketing or importation quota.

Roughly 4 million tons of sugar out of a total U.S. consumption of about 10 million tons come from overseas. That's the pie of which the foreign sugar lobbyists want a piece.

LOBBY IS WEALTHY

The lobby is wealthy—particularly in the case of the foreign section—because guaranteed sugar sales to U.S. buyers means a protected fixed income for oversea producers far above what can be obtained by selling at world market prices.

Take Grant's Thailand for example.

The Thais, according to Grant, want permission to sell 20,000 tons in the United States this year.

The current world price for sugar is more than 3 cents a pound below the U.S. price. Thus if the Thais are given the 20,000-ton 1965 quota, they will receive $1.2 million more for their sugar here than they would if they were forced to sell it on the world market.

In his presentation, Grant said that if the 1965 quota were approved, the Thais would purchase an equal value of U.S. tobacco—appealing proposal to COOLEY, whose home State of North Carolina is the leading U.S. tobacco producer.

With that amount of money at stake in 1 year—and the proposed bill would run for 5 years—it is easy to understand why sugar producers are willing to invest so heavily in lobbyists.

Grant, in addition to his $1,500 for appearing before committees, is to receive up to $2,000 "for preparatory work," $500 for typing and office costs, and $600 for "entertainment and other incidental expenses."

A review of other sugar lobbyist's records filed with the Justice Department under provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act shows Grant's to be one of the least expensive.

VENEZUELAN LOBBYIST

Another freshman member of the foreign sugar lobby is Charles Patrick Clark. A boisterous, likeable Irishman whose Washington claim to fame rests with a tour of duty with the "old Truman committee," Clark signed up in June to represent the Venezuelan sugar industry at $50,000 a year for the next 2 years.

With little, if any, background in sugar—though he once briefly represented the Domonican Republic under Trujillo—Clark took a biref trip to Venezuela to look over the situation.

He appeared before COOLEY's committee last Friday to read a 10-page statement. He was flanked by Venezuelan experts in sugar and trade matters.

The dean of the foreign sugar lobby is Oscar Chapman, former Secretary of the Interior under Truman, active participant in Washington Democratic groups and chairman of a national fund-raising group last year called Johnson for President.

A $50,000-A-YEAR FEE

Since 1955, Chapman and his law firm have represented Mexican sugar producers. Since that year, Mexico's sugar shipments to the United States have grown. So has Chapman's fee.

A 4-year contract signed in 1961 called for Chapman to receive $50,000 a year and an additional 25 cents for each ton of increased permanent quota the Mexicans were awarded above their 1961 level.

Last December the contract was renewed for an additional 2 years, without mention of a new contingent fee arrangement.

Chief lawyer among the foreign sugar lobbyists is Walter Sterling Surrey. He appeared before the Cooley committee Friday as counsel to John W. Tatem Jr., vice president of the South Puerto Rico Sugar Co., a U.S.-owned corporation which produces about 30 percent of the sugar exported from the Dominican Republic.

Surrey also presented the committee with a statement on his own for another client—the sugar producers of Guadaloupe and Martinique.

During the Trujillo regime in 1954–56, Surrey's firm represented the Dominican Sugar Commission under a contract that called for payment of $95,000 plus a separate contingent-fee agreement of 50 cents a ton for each quota ton set above 100,000 tons.

OTHER HIGH FEES

Surrey's fee as counsel for south Puerto Rico is not required to be filed under the Foreign Agent Act.

Another veteran member of the lobby is Washington lawyer, Arthur Quinn. He represents sugar producers of Panama (at $18,000 a year); Ecuador (at $1,000 a month); British West Indies (at $20,000 a year); and British Honduras (at an unspecified fee).

Since 1962, the law firm of Dawson, Griffin, Pickens & Riddell has represented the Indian Sugar Mills Association. Donald Dawson, a former Truman aid, was like Chapman active in the Johnson campaign effort.

The Dawson firm's first contract called for a fee of up to $99,000 over a 3-year period based on the amount of quota India received.

The current contract, signed in June of this year, calls for $20,000 a year for each year the bill is extended—with an overall limit of $100,000. If there is no amendment this year, the firm is to receive just $20,000 for its efforts.

Another of the better paid newcomers to the lobbying fraternity is Arnold Shaw, a Washington attorney associated with former District of Columbia Commissioner F. W. (Jiggs) Donohue. As representative of the Peruvian Sugar Producers, Shaw is to receive $15,000 a year when legislation is up for consideration, $7,500 in those years when there is none.

Ex-Congressman Grant is not the only former Member of Congress to represent a foreign sugar interest. Since 1962, former Missouri Representative Charles H. Brown has—for $2,000 a month—represented the Colonial Sugar Refining Co., Ltd., which has sugar interests in Fiji.

Colonial also has on its payroll to represent Australia directly Robert C. Barnard of the firm of Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton—Under Secretary of State George Ball's old firm.

Two lobbyists, who formerly represented individual country producers, now have joined together on behalf of a group called the Latin American Sugar Council. Formed as a District of Columbia corporation in November 1962 by Sheldon Kaplan (who represented Guatemalan producers) and Rocco Sicilliano, a former personnel aid to President Dwight D. Eisenhower who represented Nicaraguan producers, the council now has five countries' producers within its ranks.

Those of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and El Salvador contribute $5,000 yearly, while Honduras, which has little sugar to export, pays only $2,500. Kaplan, as legal counsel to the council, draws a $6,000 fee while Miss Dina Deilale, who formerly represented Costa Rica alone, acts as executive secretary of the group for $5,000.

A. S. Nemir Associates represents Brazilian producers under a contract that was signed, reportedly in 1964, but as yet has not filed with the Justice Department. Nemir's earlier contract with Brazil's Sugar and Alcohol Institute called for $25,000 a year plus a contingent fee.

The Philippine growers and producers are represented by John A. O'Donnell, former member of the Philippine War Damage Commission.

Ernest Schein, who shares offices with O'Connell, receives $15,000 a year from Colombian sugar producers.

INTERESTS CIRCLE WORLD

Sugar producers of Rhodesia retained the Washington law firm of Purcell & Nelson for an initial fee of $5,000 to present their case.

Robert L. Farrington, a former general counsel at the Agriculture Department during the Eisenhower administration, represents the Nationalist Chinese government at $250 a month.

James N. Earnest, a Washington lawyer, has since last August represented the sugar growers of Mauritius—at a fee of 5,000 British pounds (about $14,000). One of the first Congressmen he visited after getting the account was then House Agriculture Committee member Grant.

The South African Sugar Association retains the New York City law firm of Casey, Lane & Mittendorf at an hourly retainer fee. In 1964, the firm received $24,000 from their South African clients.

The sugar producers of Madagascar have retained as their representative Seymour Guthman, who receives a fee of $625 a month.

Clearly, the sugar program is big business for foreign lobbyists.

It keeps the U.S. cost of raw sugar more than twice as high as the world price. Even when the modest import duty of about 0.6 cent per pound is deducted, the program gives foreign suppliers who get a slice of the U.S. quota a price advantage worth about 2.9 cents a pound compared with the price they could get elsewhere in the world.

That price advantage—called quota premium in legislative parlance—comes to $58 a ton. This is about half again as much as the world price of sugar. The importance of quota to foreign suppliers—and to lobbyists—is readily apparent.

A quota of 100,000 tons means a price advantage of $5.8 million a year. The legislation covers 5 years, so five times $5.8 million is a neat $29 million.

Lobbyists for foreign sugar interests are trying to get their share of what actually is a foreign-aid pie worth about $1.1 billion for the 5-year period. The Committee on Agriculture traditionally slices up the pie and sends it to the House floor under a closed rule. It is the only revenue measure I know of—except for the bread tax—which does not go through the Ways and Means Committee.

Any way you slice, the sugar pie is lipsmacking for lobbyists. For that reason, I contend that the compensation lobbyists receive is very definitely public business.

UPGRADING NATO

Mr. Speaker, the Citizen Advertiser of Auburn, N.Y., on Monday, August 16, published an editorial commenting favorably on a proposal made recently by the 12 members of the House Republican Committee on NATO and the Atlantic Community. The Citizen Advertiser traditionally leans toward the Democratic side, and the favorable comment on this Republican proposal is therefore doubly significant.

Below is the text of the editorial:

UPGRADING NATO

Twelve Republican Members of Congress have made a recommendation to President Johnson which we hope he will act on favorably.

The Congressmen in question compose the full membership of the House Republican committee on NATO, a self-organized group which is especially concerned with the Atlantic Alliance. It is headed by PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois, and includes OGDEN R. REID and ALEXANDER PIRNIE, of New York.

What they are urging is that the President gives consideration to raising our Ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to full Cabinet status. Our representative to the U.N. now has it.

We have had a succession of excellent but little known representatives to NATO. Like their colleagues from other countries, they have not been able to speak with the same authority as could actual members of Government. Too often they have had to wait and ask for instructions from home before they could take a position on pending questions and proposals of importance.

NATO has been the free world's most effective protection against Soviet aggression an its most important political weapon in the cold war. The Atlantic Treaty makes clear to Moscow that any attack on one member of NATO will be considered an attack on all.

President Johnson has frequently stressed the importance of the alliance. On the 10th anniversary of SHAPE (NATO's military arm) he said: "The United States is resolved to do everything—and I emphasize the word "everything"—to enhance the strength and unity of the North Atlantic community."

They were promising words, but in our view Mr. Johnson has failed totally in any positive action to make good on them or to counteract the many forces and factors which are tending to weaken NATO. There are many of these, including but by no means confined to, De Gaulle.

Presumably the reason is that the State Department believes and has persuaded the White House that the time is not ripe, which, of all the excuses for inertia and doing nothing is the State Department's favorite.

The U.S. representative to NATO should have at least the same status and prestige as the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. His role and possible usefulness are just as great, if not greater.

The 12 Congressmen concluded their letter to the President as follows: "This affirmative act of confidence and purpose would undoubtedly encourage similar action by other NATO nations. As a consequence, NATO itself would be strengthened."

Food and Agriculture Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. GALE SCHISLER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9811) to maintain farm income, to stabilize prices and assure adequate supplies of agricultural commodities, to reduce surpluses, lower Government costs and promote foreign trade, to afford greater economic opportunity in rural areas, and for other purposes.

Mr. SCHISLER. Mr. Chairman, the House of Representatives passed the omnibus farm bill, H.R. 9811, and took a giant step forward on the road that leads to parity of opportunity for all Americans. The bill improves upon programs of the past. It will, above all, insure continued abundant production of food and fiber at prices fair to both the consumer and the producer. More than any other bill before the House, H.R. 9811 answers the needs of the Nation's farmers.

The problems confronting today's farmers are tremendous. He works on the average twice as many hours per week as the urban worker. He has much more money invested in his business than does his urban counterpart; the risk involved in his work is far greater than at a city job. Yet, he makes only about $1,400 a year—average per capita—which is 60 percent the income of the average urban worker. The average farmer earns less per hour than the national minimum wage.

The Government has only recently realized its responsibility to the farmer. While we have subsidized various private industries since 1789, agriculture has received the assistance it so sorely deserves for only about 30 years.

The bill which passed the House provides new and improved programs for agriculture. The sections of the bill which represent the interests of our district of Illinois include the following:

Dairy: The class I dairymen's base plan embraced in the first title seeks to reduce the surplus milk production and stabilize the income of dairyfarmers in the 75 Federal milk order areas by removing the necessity for dairymen to maintain maximum production in order to preserve their individual participation in the markets for milk for fluid.

Feed grains: This title of the new bill continues for 4 years the provisions of the present feed grains program for price support loans, purchases, and in-kind payments to program participants at about the same levels as recent years. The program in the past had been extended for a period of 2 years only; the new program allows farmers to more firmly establish their program, with the 4-year extension. Participants by diverting acreage from feed grain production to conservation uses would receive, as in the past, payments-in-kind to help maintain income.

Wheat: This title authorizes continuation of the voluntary wheat certification program for 4 years with modifications from current provisions aimed at boosting wheat farmers' income by about $150 million a year, and providing more freedom in the marketing system. The significant change from current operations would provide for price support for wheat used domestically as food at or near 100 percent of parity and eliminate the need for export certificates to supplement wheat farmers' incomes. The support price for wheat for domestic food use would be increased about 50 cents per bushel to around $2.50. This increase would be accomplished by Government payments of 50 cents a bushel.

This provision eliminates any possibility of the bread tax. The decision to have the Treasury carry the burden of higher payments to wheatgrowers will be beneficial to both farmers and consumers.

Cropland adjustment: Under this title, the Secretary of Agriculture would be authorized to enter into long-range contracts with farmers calling for conversion of unneeded cropland into vegetative cover, water storage facilities or other soil, water, wildlife, or forest-conserving uses. Contracts would run from 5 to 10 years and the signup period would run from 1965 to 1969. It is expected that about 8 million acres per year would be added to this program until it reaches its peak participation of 40 million acres in 1970.

It is significant, I feel, to look at the farm picture in our 19th district: The approximate total payment to farmers of this district under the 1965 feed grain program was $9 million. The payment for putting crops on diverted acreage is estimated in each of our counties: Fulton, $594,316; Henderson, $484,969; Henry, $935,365; Knox, $556,200; Mercer, $893,-261; Rock Island, $364,421; and Warren, $581,677. This makes a total payment of $4,410,209 under the 1965 feed grain program.

The approximate price-support payments to farmers of the 19th district amount to $4,689,844 and the breakdown on a county-by-county basis is as follows: Fulton, $637,699; Henderson, $574,408; Henry, $1,172,652; Knox, $548,766; Mercer, $825,471; Rock Island, $279,883; and Warren, $650,965.

Mr. Freeman, the Secretary of Agriculture, has advised me that preliminary findings would indicate that on a national basis we can expect a projected corn yield 8 to 10 bushels higher than the normal yields previously used which were based on 5-year averages. It is recognized that current production practices in Illinois has resulted in an uptrend and it can be assumed that the net increase in yields will equal or possibly exceed the expected national average increase.

Mr. Speaker, the passage of this legislation is testimony to the fact that Americans approve of and appreciate the miracles of abundance which the farmer has wrought. With the enactment of H.R. 9811, we go on record as having finally recognized the problems of American agriculture and taken an initial step toward alleviating them.

Scientists and Congressmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the question of the increasing and necessary relationship between science and technology and public affairs generally has absorbed us more and more in recent years. As our technology increasingly becomes a matter of legislation, Members of Congress must do more than we have in the past in this field. By the same token, scientists must develop a greater understanding of the political process into which they have been thrust by the very nature of our expanding technology. Few Members of the House have taken a more thoughtful interest in this interrelationship than Congressman CHARLES A. MOSHER, of Ohio.

In a speech at Kent State University on August 17, Congressman MOSHER discussed the broad range of congressional interests, problems and concerns in this area. Under unanimous consent, I make his remarks available to all of the Members of the House by inserting them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

SCIENTISTS AND CONGRESSMEN

(Remarks by Congressman CHARLES A. MOSHER, before the International Liquid Crystals Conference, Kent State University, August 17, 1965)

I count it a very interesting and enjoyable privilege to participate in this conference.

But I must admit that I was somewhat amazed when I first learned that the subject of your conference is "Liquid Crystals." I had assumed that the terms liquid, and crystal, are mutually exclusive. Now I discover they are not. I did a bit of superficial investigation, so I know that certain substances at certain precise temperatures change into a kind of "in between" state, neither crystalline nor liquid—and this intermediate state is not only labeled "liquid crystal," but is also more precisely called mesomorphic or mesophase.

I also understand that many of these in between mesomorphic structures are characteristically turbid, and varying in consistency. And that suggests to me that you gentlemen who take such a special interest in these phenomena, which are so turbid and inconsistent, may therefore, also take a very special interest in the U.S. Congress.

I have checked in my dictionary, and I find that the word "turbid" means "muddy, cloudy, thick or dense"—as well as "confused, perplexed, and muddled." And those are all adjectives which critics frequently apply to Congressmen. Being intermediaries is part of our congressional function. We are constantly in the middle, in between. Under varying degrees of political heat we do change consistency. We often hesitate whether to stand firm or run, and so there are times when we might well be described as liquid crystal, mesomorphic, or in mesophase.

I will not press that questionable analogy any further. But seriously now, I do urge that scientists take a more active, informed interest in politics and government—and especially in the Congress—not only because you are citizens and voters, but precisely because you are scientists.

There have been some relationships between Government and science throughout most of our Nation's history, at least for 150 years. But only recently, in the 25 years since World War II began, has the Federal Government become a most significant, active participant—as initiator and innovator of major programs of scientific and technological research.

Solutions to crucial public problems confronting this Nation have recently required enormous and complex technological energies, far exceeding the resources we had available. The result has been the creation of such instruments of government science and technology as the Office of Naval Research, the Atomic Energy Commission, the National Science Foundation, the new organization and funding of the National Institutes of Health, the National Aeronautics, and Space Administration, and the Office of Science and Technology as an arm of the Presidency.

All of those Government-in-science instrumentalities have been created within less than 20 years, by decision and direction of the Congress. And thus have revolutionary new relationships quite quickly developed between the Congress (we mesomorphic politicians) and you who are research scientists— revolutionary new relationships between the government and the universities; government and industry; government and private research institutions—and a vast growth in science and development conducted within the Government by the Government itself. Suddenly, the Federal Establishment is the great dynamic initiating force in the scientific community. Science policy now is intimately and irretrievably interdependent with economic, social, military, foreign affairs, and domestic political considerations—all presumably in the public interest. Thus, scientists and congressmen also have become intimately interdependent; and perforce we must learn quickly how to communicate with and understand each other more effectively.

INCREASING INTEREST IN OCEANOGRAPHY

It is impossible for me to prophesy with any degree of accuracy how, or how much, these Government-in-science relationships will develop in the future. But I have a strong suspicion, we have not seen the last of the new Government instrumentalities which the Congress may create to fulfill major scientific and technological missions. Also, I suspect significant modifications may be made in those organizations I just mentioned—such as AEC, NIH, NSF, and NASA. Any of them could merge, or disappear, as the Nation's interests and resources evolve; and inevitably other such entities will be created. For instance, right now in the Congress there is developing a very active interest in the ocean sciences and ocean engineering; there is urgent concern and questioning whether our many and scattered oceanographic activities are sufficient and effective; there is a growing assumption that we have hardly begun to know the full importance of the oceans and continental shelves. Vast new knowledge and technology will be needed to control that strange environment, and to make the best use of its rich resources. Like space, the oceans are a hostile environment. Like space, the oceans will require the mobilizing of scientific and engineering talent and equipment far beyond the abilities of private investors to provide. I am confident the Congress will decide soon to create some new group or agency, responsible to the President and to the Congress (and thus to the people), charged with pushing the overall development of the ocean sciences.

Shortly after World War II, only about 1 percent of the Federal budget was allocated to research and development. In the succeeding 20 years, that portion has rapidly increased until today it amounts to over 15 percent of the total Federal expenditures. For fiscal year 1966, the total Federal appropriations for R. & D. will be about $15.5 billion. About $10 billion will go for hardware development programs; a little over $3 billion will fund applied research, and some $2 bilion will be for basic research.

The largest user of R. & D. funds is the Department of Defense, at about $7 billion; then NASA, with $5 billion; the Atomic Energy Commission, $1.3 billion; the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, almost $1 billion; the National Science Foundation, $300 million-plus; and the remainder scattered in other agencies.

BIPARTISAN SUPPORT FOR R. & D.

The Congress is always under some pressure to curtail expenditures. So, it always will be a temptation to cut back on R. & D. funds, for cuts in that area might seem easier than in more politically sensitive areas. But there also always is the possibility that R. & D. may itself become embroiled in partisan or factional political maneuvers. Thus far, the decisions in that area have been amazingly bipartisan.

The recent spectacular rise in proportion of funds for R. & D. has now leveled off; but how permanently, who can say? The $15 billion level places some strain on our present scientific and engineering competence; but our resources in those skills certainly will increase. So also will new and enlarged national problems develop, requiring new knowledge and new technology to provide solutions. Science begets new technology, which in turn begets new objectives for science. Thus it seems to me inevitable that the Congress will be appropriating more and more money for R. & D., not less; and I am guessing that a somewhat larger proportion of such appropriations will go for basic and applied research, as distinguished from development hardware.

I often am asked by constituents why our Nation is spending so much money for the space program, rather than "here on earth" for cancer or heart research, or to feed the hungry and for other social welfare programs. Such questions reveal the essential role of the Congress in deciding how the Nation's resources shall be used. Having invented nuclear weapons, man now is capable of destroying civilization, the destiny of mankind is in man's own hands. But this same scientific and technical competence also af-

fords mankinds the promise of health nutrition, education, communication, beauty and general enjoyment of life beyond all previous dreams.

Most of those decisions which will govern science's new potency will be made on Capitol Hill in Washington, because—in this age dominated by technology—the Federal Government has predominant control over the innovative capacity of our national technological enterprise. I am told that 70 percent of America's R. & D. funds and talents are now managed by the Federal Government.

At this point I quote from a recent address by Edward Wenk, head of the Science Policy Research Division of the Library of Congress. Dr. Wenk says:

"This (Federal Government) capacity to innovate may be thought of as a resource. It is a renewable resource, but it may also be thought of as property. Since World War II, this Nation has invested $100 billion in developing this capability—a capability reflected in currently unused scientific and engineering results; in a pool of skilled manpower; and third, in a technological management capacity especially in the aerospace, military R. & D. industry. This innovative capacity was developed with public funds, and a major question today is how to use this capability in a free enterprise society and for the benefit of the Nation; that is, how it can be used to solve some of the problems we face together, but without distorting any of the processes by which we have come to learn that the composite of ideas, of men, of capital, and of entrepreneurship in a free society has been the secret of our industrial and military success." [1]

CONGRESS FACES DIFFICULT DECISIONS

The Congress does not take lightly nor find easy this responsibility for managing the Nation's research and engineering resources. The difficult decisions we face are generally of two kinds: (1) Questions of choice, (2) Questions of timing. There always will be more attractive proposals clamoring for our attention than there are funds and manpower available for their support. We are forced then to determine priorities, what research and engineering needs to be done, and when it must be done.

Circumstances which create a national need for research and development often defy analysis, and perhaps most difficult is the problem of identifying such needs in time. The social, economic, and military problems which are arising today and which will require time-consuming research and engineering solutions may be so complex and involved that we do not comprehend them soon enough, nor decide easily when to begin attacking them. And having decided to attack a problem, then there are difficult choices of strategy to implementing that attack.

It is estimated that by 1970, only 6 years from now, this Nation will have 200 million people. The physical needs of that burgeoning population almost certainly will overstrain the resources of communities in every section of the country. The water supply crises in New York City, Philadelphia, and the New England States is today an ominous example of such increasing difficulties. We are acutely aware today of human problems which were only speculative and of little concern a dozen years ago—now suddenly they loom enormous in scope.

Problems concerned with the modernization of mass transportation systems, the development of supersonic transport, water, soil, and air pollution, urban density, water resources, crime control, inferior public education, population control, weapons development and defenses against nuclear attack, systems to detect clandestine nuclear testing, the possible applications of science to meet the challenge of guerrilla warfare, the agricultural, industrial, and economic needs of the newer nations—these and doubtless many others, including the oceanographic and space sciences, and health research needs I previously mentioned—these problems exert increasing pressure for solutions which must come from the scientific and engineering communities, and which certainly will require difficult decisions by the Congress as to priority choices and timing.

Two quite different questions currently before the Congress, and of great interest to the scientific community, but not likely to be decided this year are these: Who shall control the patent rights to Government-funded research? And shall we move toward adoption of the metric system for all measurements in this country, by approving an official in-depth study of the feasibility of such a move?

A DIFFERENT CATEGORY OF DECISIONS

But there is another category of science policy decisions with which Congressmen must struggle. In addition to the choice and timing of projects to be accomplished by scientists and engineers, there are crucial questions in determining how the Nation's technological resources shall be most effectively organized and administered. I suggest the following six timely examples of such "policy in science" questions:

1. How can we best establish incentives to stimulate more private investment in research and development?

2. Should some new form of public/private corporations, or regional government authorities deal with such matters as pollution abatement?

3. How can we obtain better information on science resources, to facilitate policy decision-making?

4. Should some major effort be made (perhaps through a Hoover-type commission) to newly assess the entire Federal organization for science—and especially to meet problems of transagency programs, such as in water resources, atmospheric sciences, pollution control, and oceanography? (H.R. 15 by Congressman TEAGUE of Texas proposes such a study.)

5. Should the Federal support for basic research be broadened and strengthened by changes in the legislation for the National Science Foundation?

6. Do we not need a more definitive understanding and assessment of the manner in which R. & D. contributes to the Nation's economic growth—its special impact on certain industries and institutions, such as the universities; the question of its geographical distribution; and the implications of present concentration (distortions?) of Federal funding?

CAN CONGRESS MAKE GOOD DECISIONS?

And now I raise the important question, whether the Congress as traditionally organized is competent to manage science policy.

Not more than 2 or 3 of the 535 Members of the House and Senate can make the slightest claim to any professional scientific background experience. And responsibility for science policy is scattered among several committees, somewhat jealous of their respective jurisdictions. The executive branch, with its strong, professionally staffed science agencies and advisers in the office of the President, tend to overshadow and sometimes overwhelm the lay legislators and their as yet inadequate staffs. Those are a few of the more obvious reasons to question the congressional competence for making science policy decisions.

It is my privilege to serve on the Science and Astronautics Committee of the House of Representatives. We have oversight of the Bureau of Standards, the National Science Foundation, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. But we also attempt to keep somewhat informed concerning R. & D. activities in the Department of Defense and throughout the other Federal agencies. That is a broad spectrum.

Other committees of the House deal largely in matters with which men for many generations have had experience. Members of the Committees on Judiciary, Education and Labor, Agriculture, Banking, Interstate Commerce, Public Works, and even Foreign Affairs, face very difficult problems, but they are in realms where each of the committeemen usually has had personal experience and training and in which the Nation has had long experience. But, in significant contrast, we of the Science and Astronautics Committee most usually are discussing subjects utterly foreign to our own personal experience, and often unknown in the whole experience of mankind. Even the experts whose advice we seek, often can give us only educated guesses—because neither they nor any man has ever yet attempted what they now are proposing. Obviously, our perspective on the problems before our committee, and our judgments, must be considerably less sure than are those of other committees. Ours tends to be an exercise in faith, even after the most careful study and consideration. And the Congress as a whole, presumably even less informed than we on the Science Committee, must rely to an unusual extent on our recommendations concerning science policy—thus theirs also tends to be an exercise in faith.

How then, do we members of a committee having responsibility over research and development attempt to become proficient? How do we become sufficiently informed to ask the right questions, timely questions—penetrating questions which demand adequate, honest answers from the witnesses (usually professional scientists and engineers) who come before us?

It is not an easy task. And few of us can spend the hours we should in preparation for committee hearings. Every Member of the Congress is buffeted by innumerable and incessant demands upon his time and attention—individual requests for advice and help from constituents, other committee assignments, daily attendance on the floor of the House, and a responsibility to be somewhat familiar with the whole spectrum of Federal activities, correspondence, telephone calls, visits to his district, all the conglomerate requirements of holding political office.

RELIANCE ON PROFESSIONAL STAFF

Thus it becomes imperative that the committee members put a very heavy reliance on the committee's professional staff, to provide continuing oversight of agency functions. And the staff must also be a ready source of expert assistance and advice to the members.

In the case of the Science and Astronautics Committee, it is a function of the staff to seek out and identify those projects or programs, or science policy questions, which deserve the committee's special attention. A major function of the committee is to review NASA's annual budget, and to do that it is essential that the staff be composed not only of individuals trained in science, engineering, and other space-related disciplines, but also in law and public administration. Our committee also supplements and bolsters this staff work by borrowing expert talent from many other sources (especially the Library of Congress, the American Academy of Science, industrial laboratories and the universities) on an ad hoc basis, from whom we obtain valuable advice and information.

While it is important that the committee staff be able to translate technical information into terms which the Congress can

[1] Edward Wenk, Jr., "A New Congressional Focus on Science and Technology," an address before the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, Apr. 1, 1965.

comprehend and on which it can act, it is seldom that such projects as NASA's are altered by the Congress on technical grounds. The pertinent questions for the Congress usually have to do with management, feasibility in relation to cost or other matters of public policy, or emphasis on timing. The staff helps to provide insight into such matters, but it is the members of Congress who make the final decisions, after attempting to weigh all factors—political, social and economic, as well as technical. It is the Congressmen (not the staff) who must ultimately answer to the people.

I submit that thus far in this new era of emphasis on research and development, the Congress has lived up to its responsibility amazingly well—despite the extraordinary difficulties I have just mentioned. I want to testify here to my personal confidence that the Congress can and will make sound and wise science policy decisions, in the Nation's best interest.

COMMITTEE REVIEWS NSF ACTIVITIES

Before closing these remarks, I want to call your attention to one of our committee's most interesting current projects, a thorough review of the functions and activities of the National Science Foundation. After World War II, this country found that the technological demands of the war systematically had drained our pool of new knowledge and much of our scientific research capability. The education of many young scientists and engineers had been seriously interrupted. To meet the need and to sustain the United States in a position of world leadership in science, it was proposed that the National Science Foundation be created with the specific legislative mandate "to promote the progress of science."

The birth of the National Science Foundation entailed much controversy both within the Congress and within the executive branch. Questions arose regarding the necessity of Federal aid to science. Even more intensively argued was the question of whether Federal support for research and graduate education would inadvertently bring Federal control of a sort to stifle the creative forces which thrive best in academic freedom. The proposed structure of the organization was contested, especially on means of insuring guidance from responsible leaders in science, education, and public affairs, while insulating them as far as practicable from politics. How to treat patents arising from public support was at issue, as were questions on whether to include the social sciences within NSF jurisdiction.

Time has proven many of the earlier expressed fears groundless, but basic issues continue to appear. As I mentioned before, the Government-wide patent policy question is being reexamined, as is the question of increasing emphasis on the social sciences.

Our science subcommittee, chaired by Congressman DADDARIO, of Connecticut, has undertaken to review the NSF with two objectives in mind: First, to see how well the Foundation is performing its mandate, to promote the progress of science. Second, to determine if any legislative changes are necessary, to enable NSF to do a more effective job.

The committee has already held 7 weeks of hearings and heard witnesses from Government, the Academies of Science and Engineering, nonprofit research institutes, from both large and small universities, and others.

Although many of the witnesses have suggestions for improving the Foundation's programs and operations, they are generally in agreement that the NSF has done an excellent job in advancing the cause of basic research and scientific education.

The Government-university relationship in the support of basic research is applauded as being absolutely necessary for our national well-being. Without Federal assistance, this vital university research effort could not be continued on anything like the necessary scale.

COORDINATING SCIENTIFIC INFORMATION

Insofar as legislative revisions are concerned, one important matter which appears to be of particular interest to the Committee and which may be of special interest to you here this evening, is the coordination and dissemination of scientific information between the agencies of Government, universities, and industry. Because science is cumulative, research builds on prior discovery. Advances in science thus critically depend on the publication of results, and their validation and further application by the observations of other scientists. The dissemination of information is thus an inseparable part of the entire scientific enterprise.

Processes of information transfer include the recording of observations and of theories, their publication, indexing and abstracting, and the selective retrieval of such information by a variety of users. The problem is compounded by the rapid rate of growth of the scientific literature, the complexity and the diversity of subject matter, and the emergency of interdisciplinary fields. The technological development of automatic data processing equipment has provided remedies to some of the problems but by no means do these offer instant panaceas.

NEED FOR A QUALITY INDEX

Furthermore, even if we were able to record and to abstract immediately all the published scientific literature, the volume of material on any particular subject would be enormous. How would a researcher find time to read it all? It would be a happy incident if we could also develop a quality index, so that a researcher would only have to read one or two well chosen articles, or perhaps just a concise summary of the material. But the determination of criteria which would guarantee quality is no small obstacle.

The National Bureau of Standards is developing what it calls the standard reference data system. This system will critically evaluate the physical and chemical properties of materials. According to the Bureau, it will develop data of known reliability and make it conveniently available for use by scientists and engineers in designing an experiment or a piece of hardware. The individual worker may thereby be relieved of the necessity of searching the literature and attempting to evaluate data in fields in which he is not expert. This is a start, but just a start, in perhaps eventually solving the quality question.

INCREASED SUPPORT FOR APPLIED RESEARCH?

Another area where additional legislation may be warranted is in regard to the future role of the National Science Foundation in the support of applied research. The Foundation has been engaged almost exclusively with the support of basic research in the past, and there have been suggestions that the Foundation should now also support methods of transferring basic research into the technology needed to meet certain critical national needs, and that it develop a new program aimed at the interdisciplinary training of persons who might be called appliers of knowledge. Some people, however, fear that the Foundation might become too involved with the transfer of knowledge to the detriment of its original task, the support of basic research.

Another more basic question is the extent to which federally supported research should be directed toward civilian technology. A possible controversy arises when one considers that public funds may be used to upgrade one segment of industry in contrast to another segment which is not equally benefited. Industrial progress requires creative and aggressive thinking along management, financial, and marketing lines, as well as in purely technical matters, and the role of the Federal Government in this area is not clearly defined.

Of course, before adopting any new legislation, the committee will have to examine these and other proposals very carefully. No doubt additional hearings will be held, with all interested parties given the opportunity to participate. Since many of these issues are so close to all of you, I assure you we of the committee would welcome and appreciate any comments and suggestions, or criticism, any of you may be willing to offer.

In preparation for this talk, I tried a little practical test of the National Science Foundation's Science Information Exchange—as operated by the Smithsonian Institution. I asked to what extent the Federal Government is now supporting research in liquid crystals. Assuming the information I attained is accurate, I judge your research specialty has had relatively little Federal funding thus far. I am informed that the Department of Defense, the National Science Foundation, and the National Institutes of Health are now supporting liquid crystals research in modest amounts, at a variety of universities. NASA is not supporting such research at the moment, but is definitely interested in its biomedical aspects and does expect to fund liquid crystals work in the near future.

Now the fact that liquid crystals research will be sponsored by four or more different Federal agencies and at many universities, illustrates one of the problems of constant concern to the Congress, which I should add to the list I already have mentioned. Each of the agencies has its own mission or area of responsibility, but each is supporting similar basic research in the same field of liquid crystals. Who can say what such research will reveal? Should not the Congress be wary of funding what may be duplicative effort? Should all such basic research be confined to one agency? Or are we wise in doing as we are, assuming that such inquiry in a variety of channels is justified and will in the end pay greater dividends?

Personally, I assume that practically all new knowledge has ultimate value sufficient to warrant the research costs. What is basic research today becomes innovative technology tomorrow. I believe every Federal agency may require some authority to sponsor its own basic research, otherwise, we would seriously impair each agency's ability to perform its mission. Thus, the proposal sometimes heard, that all Government research should be confined to a new Executive Department of Science, makes very poor sense to me.

I have learned just enough about liquid crystals to be aware that it is a field of fascinating and important possibilities for increasing research effort. I wish you all good hunting in that effort.

And I hope I have tonight made the point with which I opened these remarks, that it is now imperative for you and all scientists to become much better informed than ever before concerning the processes of Government, and especially concerning the Congress. Scientists are citizens and voters. Exactly for the same reasons that other groups who have an important stake in Government decisions have become active participants in Government, and especially in the legislative process, just so should scientists now actively participate at all levels of the Government's decisionmaking process.

I'll be seeing you in Washington.

Milwaukee Journal Cites Skillful Leadership of President Johnson in Creation of New Urban Department

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, in an editorial of August 12, 1965, the Milwaukee Journal noted both the symbolic and the practical importance of the imminent establishment of a Department of Housing and Urban Affairs. The editorial cited both the timeliness of the proposal and the skillful leadership of President Johnson in creating this long-needed new department at this time.

I include the full text of the editorial hereafter:

CITIES GET VOICE IN CABINET

The extraordinarily productive 89th Congress is chalking up another historic achievement—the formal recognition of urban affairs as a Federal activity of cabinet level. The separate bills approved by both Houses now need only to be redrafted into one, and the thing will be done.

The late President Kennedy had envisioned this step but didn't live to accomplish it. That it comes now is a mark not only of President Johnson's influence and skill in working with Congress but also, and mainly, of the rapidly ripening climate for it—the swift pace of three concurrent revolutions, in urbanization, in racial integration, in one-man, one-vote rule.

Creation of a cabinet department of housing and urban development is not, however, going to be a revolution of Federal administration. Essentially it only elevates to cabinet status the existing House and Home Finance Agency, with its several subagencies that mainly have to do with urban affairs. This will become a stronger magnet for pulling in related functions now scattered.

The great connotation of the act is symbolic. It acknowledges that the efficiency of urban arrangements, the vitality of huge urban complexes as social mechanisms, is a dominant domestic concern of the Nation in these times. It gives urban America, which is the overwhelming bulk of all America, at least the sense of having a full voice at the President's table.

There can and should be concrete results beyond the psychological. A cabinet department should be able to unify and coordinate Federal programs affecting cities. It should give State and local officials a better access to Washington, Federal officials a better sense of direction. It should make the Federal effort not just more massive but more effective, more timely.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

The Question of Church Versus State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I have been impressed with an article which was originally published in the South Carolina Methodist Advocate and later republished in the News & Courier on August 8, 1965. The article is entitled "Parallel Directions in Church and State" and was written by William C. Morris, who is city editor of the Greenville Piedmont in Greenville, S.C.

I commend this article to the attention of all Members of Congress, because I believe that it has some important points which we should all consider and contemplate.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have this article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PARALLEL DIRECTIONS IN CHURCH AND STATE

(By William C. Morris)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This article is reprinted from the South Carolina Methodist Advocate. William C. Morris is the city editor of the Greenville Piedmont.)

Lest I be stigmatized as an individualist, it should be said first that I am not against the ecumenical movement. Unity without uniformity does not contradict Christ's teachings.

I simply wonder about the parallel directions in which government's and the church's leadership have moved since World War II.

Truthfully, there have been no adequate, reassuring answers to some questions raised about this shift of direction—only vague platitudes and well-turned phases.

The questions that gnaw on the consciences of the doubting masses are these:

1. If the church's leadership commits itself unreservedly to the government's paternalistic plans for supplying all material needs to low-income persons, how do we escape further bondage to that government?

2. As we become more accustomed to this forced collective means of charity, how can we be sure we are not crippling the voluntary, outgoing efforts of individuals to ease distress in personal, direct action?

3. Are we not winking at the repeated lessons of history that, where church and government have bound themselves together in political aims, the church has been forced to bargain on political or humanistic terms?

4. Are we not already beginning to surrender to an ultimate despair that a central, benevolent government can do a more effective job by changing the environment job by changing the environment and material surroundings of the poor and unfortunate?

5. Have we really progressed spiritually if we can hear the same spoken lines in Sunday services as we hear from government officials such as the Peace Corps director on weekdays?

6. Can our present, diluted form of national socialism avoid the immoral direction that Hitler led a socialistic Germany? And can the church, so closely allied with the state, escape a share of responsibility, if we take an immoral turn?

7. Is it too late for the church to change its course toward an institution of God's service that comes to grip, face-to-face, with the basic spiritual hunger of the individual—where he is—in whatever surroundings he is—in terms he understands—and with motivation that lifts him out of his environment?

I have read the New Testament through a number of times searching for clues that would explain the current trends and attempts to indoctrinate the dissenters and the various arms of the church.

Still, I cannot visualize Christ appointing John, for instance, as a political lobbyist in the capital of the Roman Empire to change laws that would be favorable to His kingdom.

I cannot visualize Christ, though this may be misunderstood, selecting an equal number of Jews, Caucasians, and Negroes as disciples to make his message more appealing to each race, rather than choosing them on the basis of each's potential to the kingdom.

I cannot visualize Christ alerting all the news media to draw sympathetic public opinion to his demonstrations of protest against treatment He received at the hands of a mob.

These 20th century claimants to public acclaim, to paraphrase a verse of the Bible, would seem to have their reward in the praise of contemporary historians.

I cannot bury the feeling, however, that if Christ had used the passing gimmicks of some current trendmakers, He most certainly would have attracted more attention in His own day, but his ideas of a spiritual kingdom would have faded within the century. Instead, the secular writers of but centuries later Christianity has continued to grow because of its universal understanding of man's spirit and nature.

Have we begun to worship and bask in some of the fruits of this power, instead of concentrating on the generation of this power that changes lives? Are we afraid that the church will not be credited with the evidence of power when its task is forever the creation of it?

For what will it matter if you have organized all worldly churches on an administrative basis, have issued more mimeographed forms from a central office than ever before, have passed hundreds of laws by public pressure, have indoctrinated all of the church hierarchy along a single line of doctrine? What does it matter if all these things have been accomplished while millions and millions are at the same time floundering and despairing in their hearts because of a separateness from God's love?

Wasn't it after all a spiritual Kingdom Christ was talking about, rather than a prosperous society propped by science, materialism and a benevolent government? Then why do we panic from the original purposes of the church whenever a great tidal wave of popular, worldly opinion and emotion sweeps across a nation, even if it should be mingled with religious phraseology?

What a changed world we live in. We grew up believing that love of a mate came first, then sex was a result.

Now, one philosophy teaches that sex comes first and love may be the result. Formerly, it was taught the end does not justify the means. But now, it's all right to break laws as long as this achieves our ideals.

Ironically, the great moral pressure should be for turning the clock forward. But those who advocate basic, heart-to-heart love as a solution to world problems or who see institutions as merely servants of the people are being accused of turning the clock back nearly 2,000 years to the ideas of a carpenter who had never been trained in a progressive theology school.

No wonder it's difficult to anchor our values against the hysterical winds of revolution.

The Real Alabama—Part I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the growth of Alabama industry is especially significant because it is diversified and because it is a continuing movement based on solid factors such as transportation availability, increasing family income, and the growing export trade.

These trends are discussed in the following article which appeared in the publication Alabama—Today and Tomorrow for August 1965:

ALABAMA'S INDUSTRIAL GROWTH TOPS $1 BILLION FIGURE

More than a billion dollars in new and expanded industries in Alabama in the past 28 months have been announced, a State chamber survey in July reveals.

Business and industrial leaders have expressed their confidence in Alabama's future with this tremendous capital investment outlay and it will benefit every segment of the State's population and form a base for greater future growth.

Leader in industrial expansion and development in the entire Southeast in 1964, Alabama broke all records with a whopping $406 million announced total capital investment for new and expanded industries, the largest total reported by any Southeastern State.

When these new and expanded industrial facilities are put into production, they will offer 45,720 additional job opportunities.

Industrial progress in Alabama is marked by three key factors which are bringing about what amounts to a modern industrial revolution. The magic of materials, markets and manpower is continuing to attract manufacturers. The State's remarkably abundant supply of fresh water, natural resources, field, forest and soil, and mild climate are all contributing toward the outstanding industrial record.

Benefits from the recordbreaking industrial progress of 1964 are showing up in employment, tax revenue, retail and wholesale trade, export shipments, and many other economic indicators.

The U.S. Department of Commerce studies, State figures on tax collections, reports from private industries, local banks, and other statistics also indicate that Alabama is now experiencing a sustained upward trend in business growth and progress. Increases in almost every type of business activity were made in 1964.

Steady increases in plant investment, population, and family income will spur Alabama to its greatest economic growth history during 1965.

Agri-business, business that is related to agriculture through processing, transportation, marketing, manufacturing, and services, accounts for a large share of industrial growth. Over 53 percent of these new and expanded industries announced in the last 2 years are directly dependent on agriculture for either basic raw materials or their semifinished products. Total capital investment in agriculture business plants will amount to $398 million and will create approximately 20,000 jobs in this area, which amounts to about 48 percent of the potential jobs announced.

Alabama's well diversified industrial base helps stimulate foreign trade through the port of Mobile. Rubber, coffee, sugar, jute, and iron ore pass through the port going to Alabama plants. In turn Alabama-made products are loaded on ships at the State docks to be transported to world markets.

Alabama manufacturing firms which participate in direct export trade cover almost the entire range of industrial activity, and are located in every part of the State. In order of their importance, the major exporting industries in Alabama are those of chemicals and allied products, textiles, food and kindred products, primary metals, nonelectrical machinery, and rubber and plastic products.

The flow of products from Alabama industries to manufacturers south of Mobile provides Alabama with the cash balance to trade abroad. The exports from the State's industrial, agricultural, and fishery products makes more jobs for the people of Alabama, brings higher profits to Alabama enterprises, and provides an additional boost to the economic growth of the State. As an example of this trade, consider the coffee producers.

Annually, Alabama exports millions of dollars worth of farm and factory products to the world's coffee producing countries and these items range from bed sheets to pig iron, a recent survey reveals. This flow of outbound Alabama-made products is paid for in large part by dollars earned from export of green coffee to the United States.

The Alabama story is a story of unparalleled growth—from the aerospace capital of the world at Huntsville to the bustling industrial empire located in America's seventh largest port at Mobile—chemicals in north and south Alabama—new and expanding metal fabricating plants—the new and expanding automobile tire plants—ever growing and improving textile industry—rapidly developing pulp and paper mills all over Alabama—and everywhere water to produce power and move goods, and oil and gas to stake the fires of industry.

Diversity is the key to Alabama's challenging economic growth leadership in the Southeastern States. The good times Alabama now enjoys have many faces. Alabamians are living in a new era of expanding industry, prosperous farm and cattle ranches, interstate highways, improved railroad services, busy rivers and waterways, space flight, almost unlimited recreational potential, and constantly improving educational and cultural advantages.

The educational breakthrough already in progress here in Alabama with the follow-through program for education, recently acted upon by members of the legislature, will assure continued and unequalled economic and industrial development for Alabama in future years.

A large share of the steady increase in State revenue is credited to the growth of industry in Alabama and the many thousands more job opportunities resulting from new plants and plant expansions.

The State of Alabama has a sound business-like government that is essential to industrial growth. It is inclined to give industry the opportunity to grow unhampered by a multiplicity of restrictions. A part of this favorable government climate is a tax structure which compares most favorably with that of other States in regard to corporations doing business within State's borders.

Another asset is the hospitable attitude of communities, towns and cities toward industry. Here in Alabama, hospitality is genuinely evident and therefore appreciated by plant management and plant personnel. Industrial neighbors are a part of the community—friends and coworkers for the mutual good.

Alabama communities offer flexible municipal financing to new and expanding industries and it is offered for both plants and equipment.

What Beyond This?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the issue of Time magazine marked for distribution under the date of August 27, 1965, carries an article, "The Negro After Watts," which I believe merits reprinting in the RECORD.

I, therefore, ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NEGRO AFTER WATTS

Any Negro—literate or illiterate—who fails to vote in future elections will have only his own ignorance or indifference to blame. Unless democracy is a fraud, the new Voting Rights Act, which Mississippi Publisher Hodding Carter says is "secondary only to the Emancipation Proclamation and the surrender at Appomattox," gives Negroes the power to force change as they never could before. And even before the enactment of this ultimate guarantee of what has long been the Negro's constitutional due, other new laws have detailed his rights when he says "I want a room" at any motel, and likewise when he says "I want good schooling for my child," even in Louisiana. The war on poverty offers him assistance in getting a job and occupational training; Project Head Start provides catchup preschool education for his kids. Yet just as the framework of civil rights laws gets its finishing touch come angry Negro cries from California: "I haven't got a chance. Whitey is sitting on me. I can't wait any longer. Burn, baby, burn."

The hallowed counsel of the white man to the Negro has been patience—until at length the Negro was able to point out that he had been patient for one full century. The same counsel now has a more concrete content: patience, to let the new laws work, to let elections bring about the change implicit in all the stress on voting rights, to let the courts strike at anyone who discriminates in housing or jobs. This political weapon already feels good in the hands of many Negroes: those who form an effective voting bloc in Tennessee, those who have for the first time elected State legislators in Georgia. "The answer to police brutality," says the Reverend Milton Upton of the Negro Ministerial Alliance in New Orleans, "is the vote."

Against these hopeful and largely middle-class aspirations for the law lies the glowering distrust of almost all Negroes of the poor and angry lower levels. Everyone should have known, says CORE Chairman Floyd B. McKissick, that Congress could not by one or two measly acts relieve 200 years of injustice. A southern Negro woman who moved to Los Angeles' Watts district scoffs: "I always been votin' since I got here. But what has it got me?" Civil Rights Leader Bayard Rustin interprets the Watts riots as signifying "a society where a Negro can show he is a man only by setting a fire"—all other channels supposedly being closed to him. A Charlotte Negro dentist argues that "when the white man says to me, 'Look how fast you have come in such a short time,' he is making a remark that is an offense to a Negro."

Thus the setting of the capstone on the civil rights structure brings disillusionment to whites ("Isn't that enough?") and to Negroes ("Is that all?"). The mood of many Negroes in the late summer of 1965 ranges from letdown to rage. Many secretly or openly think that violence is valuable because "now people care bout Watts." "I'm as full of hate as a rattlesnake is of poison," hisses a Negro in Montgomery. "There's people walking around mad all over here," an unemployed Memphis janitor says. A rich Harlem lawyer finds it reasonable that "anybody could get caught up in rioting like that." The Reverend Albert B. Cleage, Jr., one of Detroit's most militant Negro leaders, reports that Negroes there "had a tremendous sense of sympathy and identity." Across the United States, more moderate Negroes, rejecting such words as hatred and anger, admit at least to bitterness.

FREE, BLACK AND 21

Whether he likes to be reminded of it or not, the Negro has made spectacular progress in the past decade; if he angrily refuses to look back over his shoulder to see how far he has come, he has nevertheless advanced along the road to full equality in U.S. society. Millions have achieved what Martin Luther King calls a sense of somebodiness—a new self-respect and self-esteem. To say, "I haven't got a chance" is to inflict a great self-injustice. There are at least 35 Negro millionaires in the United States. Every sizable city has a large middle and upper middle class of Negro physicians, dentists, lawyers, judges and businessmen. They are just as interested in living in the right neighborhoods, traveling in the correct social circles, and sending their children to the best schools as are their counterparts in the white elite.

There are 8 Negro Federal judges, 100 city, county, and State judges, 4 U.S. Ambassadors. Thurgood Marshall, who recently resigned from the Federal bench at the urging of President Johnson to become U.S. Solicitor General, represents the United States in the most important litigations before the Supreme Court. Carl Rowan, one-time Ambassador to Finland, only recently resigned as Director of the USIA, where he was chiefly responsible for projecting the U.S. image abroad. Edward W. Brooke, attorney general of Massachusetts, is the highest elected Negro State officer in the United

States. Senator Leroy R. Johnson 2 years ago became Georgia's first Negro State legislator since Reconstruction. Episcopalian John M. Burgess, son of a dining-car waiter, is Suffragan Bishop of Massachusetts; Dr. Middleton H. Lambright, Jr., grandson of a slave, is president of the Cleveland Academy of Medicine. Leslie N. Shaw is the first Negro postmaster of Los Angeles. Historian John Hope Franklin is a professor at the University of Chicago.

Individual Negro incomes went up 54 percent from 1950 to 1960, and family incomes soared by 73 percent. The number of Negroes living in standard housing, compared with census-defined substandard housing, doubled in the same period. Negro-controlled insurance companies have doubled their assets since 1951; Negro commercial banks have increased their assets from $5 to $53 million since 1940.

MARTIN LUTHER WHO?

All of this adds up a great deal of political, social, and economic advancement, and a great many Negroes know it and take pride in it. But more than ever, after the overriding duty of thinking of all human beings as individuals, the United States must look upon Negroes as divided into two groups: a prospering level, committed to integration and possessed of a stake in society; and a slum level, mired in deepening ignorance, immorality, and irresponsibility, and growingly enamored of a chauvinistic, equal-but-separate kind of segregation. This schizophrenia visibly affects Negro leadership. Understandable compassion for the poor leads even the most moderate leaders to play down Negro duties, play up white guilt; the extremists of Negro hatred get by unchided. Understandably embarrassment on behalf of the law-abiding middle classes leads the same leaders—generally after a riot has got out of control—to declarations that "violence must be deplored, but * * *" The vital counsel of patience is lost in the competition among leaders to say, "Baby, you've got the whole world coming to you now"—when the unalterable fact, as certain as the aging of a good bourbon, is that much time will elapse before all Negroes are free, black, and 21.

In his play "Dutchman," Negro writer LeRoi Jones pits a decent, unbelligerent young Negro against a dirty-mouthed white girl, symbol of decadence and cruelty, and lets her kill him. In Jones' "The Toilet" eight Negroes abuse a white boy and then beat him up. During open-end discussions at Manhattan's Village Vanguard last winter, Jones put an extra racial twist on the death of two white civil rights workers murdered last summer in Mississippi. "Those boys were just artifacts—artifacts, man. They weren't real. I won't mourn them. I have my own dead to mourn for." Novelist James Baldwin writes that "to be a Negro in this country and to be relatively conscious is to be in a rage almost all the time," and chose for a book title "The Fire Next Time." Thus the Harvard message from the opinion-forming Negro intellectual is intransigence, fury, violence, even though the deeper message is anguish. The Black Muslims promise to "get this white, blue-eyed gorilla off your back," and preach that "the only solution is complete separation."

Love and nonviolence, by contrast, is the overriding message of Martin Luther King, yet after the riot in the Watts section of Los Angeles, Governor Brown thought it prudent to discourage even King from visiting California. King went anyway—and thus inadvertently revealed that though he may be heeded and respected by Southern Negroes and Northen middle-class Negroes, he has little standing among slum dwellers. "Martin Luther who?" they asked. Neither the NAACP nor the Urban League has any practical influence over problem-level Negroes. Who, then, are the leaders in the slums?

Bobby Kennedy tossed up an answer: "The army of the resentful and desperate in the North is an army without generals—without captains—almost without sergeants." For this lack of responsible leadership he found a cause that most politicians are too polite to mention: "Too many Negroes who have succeeded in climbing the ladder of education and well-being have failed to extend their hand to their fellows on the rungs below. Civil rights leaders cannot with sit-ins change the fact that adults are illiterate. Marches do not create jobs for their children."

At a recent National Urban League meeting in Miami Beach, both HUBERT HUMPHREY and former U.S. Community Relations Chief LeRoy Collins also deplored the deepening gulf between the masses of Negroes and those in the middle classes. When he is reproached for not helping Negroes who are less well-off, the middle-class Negro usually explains that a Negro's views of the race problem depend on his economic level, and owing to different interests and needs, there are few common answers. So "the middle-class Negro," says one of them in Nashville, "goes out on the patio with a drink of Cutty Sark and says what the hell."

Negro psyhcologist Dr. Kenneth B. Clark attributes the Negro's disinterest in other Negroes to ghetto pathology—which includes an unwillingness to make personal sacrifices beyond those already required by Negro life itself. Only last year, members of Sigma Pi Phi, an exclusive Negro fraternal organization known as the Boule, debated whether it would be legitimate to donate $5,000 to the NAACP. The main argument against the proposal was that an important aspect of the Boule was to allow members to relax and escape continuous involvement with the problems of being a Negro. Those who argued for the donation, including a Negro millionaire, held that a Negro cannot find even a temporary isolation from being a Negro and to attempt to do so would be a flight into unreality. The issue was finally settled by a vote to contribute $5,000 each to the NAACP and the NAACP's legal defense and educational fund, with an additional $5,000 for the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. It was understood that these donations were evidence of the group's desire to be relevant to the civil rights struggle, yet not inconsistent with the need of Negroes to find some shelter from racial bombardment.

COLOR THIS FACE PURPLE

In his book "Dark Ghetto," Dr. Clark describes how segregation, economic insecurity, and periodic unpleasant brushes with a white world that considers the Negro an inferior have led to some Negroes having a complex and debilitating prejudice against themselves. The preoccupation of many Negroes with hair straighteners, skin bleaches and the like often illustrates this aspect of self-prejudice, just as a wholehearted attempt by other Negroes to emphasize their negroid features and hair texture shows their pride in their negritude—a word currently in fashion in Negro communities. "Many Negroes live sporadically in a world of fantasy," says Dr. Clark. "In childhood the delusion is a simple one—the child may pretend that he is really white. When Negro children as young as three are shown white- and Negro-appearing dolls or asked to color pictures of children to look like themselves, many of them tend to reject the dark-skinned dolls as dirty and bad or to color the picture of themselves a light color or a bizarre shade like purple. But the fantasy is not complete, for when asked to identify which doll is like themselves, some Negro children, particularly in the North, will refuse, burst into tears and run away."

Such neuroses, it is increasingly clear, are born in a climate of decaying family structure. A recent Department of Labor report points out that nearly a fourth of all Negro children born today are illegitimate; from 1940 to 1963, while the white illegitimacy rate climbed from 2 to 3.07 percent of births, the Negro rate soared from 16.8 to 23.6 percent. No husband is present in 20 percent of the homes of "nonwhite" married women between the ages of 20 and 44. More than half of all Negro children have lived in broken homes at least part of their lives by the time they are 18. Dependent children relief checks go to more than half of all Negro children at some time during their childhood, versus 8 percent of white children. Disintegration of families, said the report, is the principal cause of low IQ's, the swollen crime rate, narcotics addiction.

As he reaches his teens, a stranger to home discipline, usually a school dropout with an atrophied IQ and no skills to help him get a job, the young Negro in the deep ghetto is incessantly told by Black nationalists and civil rights demagogues that "The Man"—the white man—is responsible for his savage hopelessness. "The Man" has become a symbol of their despair, and "Get Whitey" has become their battle cry.

OPPORTUNITY IS FOR SEIZING

Any Negro—literate or illiterate—who does vote in future elections will have to bear with the ordinary frustrations of democracy; broken promises, corruption, demagoguery, the essential voting weakness of a minority. Perhaps Negroes will at first elect a number of Adam Clayton Powells. But Negro political influence will grow in outright victory of Negro candidates in constituencies where Negroes are a majority, in balance-of-power situations elsewhere, in the minds of vote-hungry politicians everywhere, in political combination with the majority of whites, who wish the Negro well.

So far the new laws have been chiefly the affirmation of the Negro's constitutional rights; only now is the United States moving into providing greater opportunities. Sargent Shriver's poverty warriors, for example, work for the Office of Economic Opportunity; one of the newest bureaus in Washington is the Equal Economic Opportunity Commission. The thrust of Shriver's program is toward creating employment and employable people, and its experiments may give guidance in determining what U.S. society and Government will do next for the Negro. For ultimately, opportunity is a good job—a job that lets a bent-down man lift up his head, marry, get a better house, form a self-respecting family, acquire the stake that damps the violent impulses.

But opportunity is society's only obligation, and the Negro has to reach out and seize it. The much-lamented dropout may indeed lack a "father image" of manly zeal, but in leaving school he makes his unwise choice against the advice of his teachers and the clear facts-of-life lesson around him. The NAACP's Roy Wilkins, after giving the whites their lumps for "keeping the screws on," writes: "We will have ghetto upheavals until the Negro community itself, through the channels that societies have fashioned since tribal beginnings, takes firm charge of its destiny. Not its destiny vis-a-vis a cop on the beat, but its destiny in the world of adults."

Talking like a Dutch uncle even at the risk of suffering the cruel label of Uncle Tom, used by many Negroes to avoid thinking about the merits of moderation, Wilkins boldly argues that the Negroes' goal is to "rank at last as men among the world's men."

During LeRoi Jones' outburst at the Village Vanguard, a small, rotund, bespectacled man, shaken with emotion, arose. "As a Jew and a white man, I hear you," he said. "What do you want us to do? What on earth do

you want me to do?" Jones hit a nihilistic bottom. "Do, man? There's nothing you can do." Nonetheless, the bulk of whites, some consciously forgetting and some consciously remembering their fears after Watts, will continue to do something. But the Negro himself must do as much.

Americans in Paris

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from Air Force magazine of August 1965:

AMERICANS IN PARIS

(By John F. Loosbrock)

Those who came to the Paris air show expecting to see the latest developments in U.S. aerospace technology went home disappointed. U.S. participation this year was heavier than ever before, both on the part of the aerospace industry and the U.S. Government. Yet the picture conveyed of U.S. capabilities and even of U.S. policies was flat and out of focus, relieved somewhat by the spectacular impact of the sudden visit of Astronauts White and McDivitt and Vice President HUMPHREY.

What was wrong?

In the past the U.S. Government had been criticized by industry and press observers for lack of official support at the show comparable to that which other countries give their industry. Special pains were taken this year to remedy this lack. A combined effort by the Department of Commerce, the Department of Defense, and the State Department was mounted. A special business information center was set up, in rented space, to handle inquiries and stimulate business contacts. Government public-relations people, civilian and military, coordinated the servicing of the press with news of U.S. products and events. But, until the arrival of the astronauts, the impact of the U.S. participation was little more than a dull thud.

"It's like we're not even here," was the bitter comment of one American public-information official.

From the standpoint of the commercial effort, the basic error lay in a misunderstanding, on the part of the Government people involved, of the nature of the Paris air show. The business information center was organized and staffed by capable, hard-working people. But they were set up in much the same way that they might service a trade fair for retail consumer products, where there are numbers of foreign businessmen—distributors, wholesalers, importers, and the like—who want to know how they can do business with American firms. The aerospace business is quite a different cup of tea. The result was that the Government effort, while well intended, was largely ineffective because it was not geared to the market and the industry it was serving. Part of the blame must go to industry, as well, for failure to make its specific wants and needs known to the Government.

On the public-information side, it was not a question of misunderstanding the problem. The U.S. information effort was stymied largely because, in public-relations terms, it had so little to sell. There was no participation by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, whose exhibits had been so successful at previous shows. U.S. exhibits were overwhelmingly military in nature, and these—with the exception of the Lockheed C-141, the Northrop F-5, the Hughes OH-6A, and the Lockheed rigid-rotor XH-51A—showed little that had not been seen before at Paris shows.

In contrast, Russia's Vostok space capsule and pioneer Cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin were drawing capacity crowds even on the day before the show officially opened. On that day, Thursday, June 10, Gagarin autographed more than 1,000 copies of a four-color Vostok brochure, mostly for workers at the show—truck drivers, carpenters, waitresses, and the like, plus a number of American GI's. The arrival of the giant Soviet AN-22, which someone promptly dubbed "Daddybird," was the last straw insofar as the frustrated Americans were concerned. Mr. HUMPHREY and the astronauts helped save the day, but even this visitation was no substitute for more solid evidence of U.S. advanced technological capabilities.

In our judgment, the U.S. emphasis on military hardware need not have been a negative factor—had the latest in military equipment been available for display and demonstration. Any one of three advanced U.S. aircraft, for example, could have stolen the show. The Ling-Temco-Vought XC-142 could have put on an impressive V/STOL transitional flight demonstration. Similarly, the General Dynamics/Grumman F-111 could have gone through its variable-sweepback paces before an influential and knowledgeable audience. And the Lockheed YF-12A could have given a preview of U.S. supersonic transport technology. An Apollo mockup, a Gemini, or even a Mercury capsule would have drawn huge crowds. In contrast, European companies and governments showed everything new they had and flew it if it was flyable.

What the Paris air show proved, from a U.S. point of view, is that Government support, on the mechanical and administrative side, is not meaningful (1) unless it is geared to the needs of U.S. industry; and (2) unless it is supported by the kind of policy decisions that utilize the Paris showcase for what it is.

The Paris air show is not just another trade show. It has become a kind of international aerospace technological Olympic games—with diplomatic and economic overtones. It is not necessarily a great marketplace, as many industry executives will privately admit, when the cost of participation is measured against that of other marketing methods. But it is there, it has grown in size and importance, and it cannot be ignored.

There is an old saying, "It doesn't cost much more to go first class." In the future, if the United States is not prepared to go first class at the Paris air show, we should stay home.

A Strong Home Is a Strong Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I received a letter from Mrs. Lillie Schuster in Hanahan, S.C., dated August 8, 1965. In this letter, Mrs. Schuster has expressed her concern about the current trend of events in America. She has coupled her concern with some very wise advice that she has requested I place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I, therefore, ask unanimous consent to have this letter from Mrs. Schuster addressed to the citizens of America printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HANAHAN, S.C.,
August 8, 1965.

DEAR CITIZENS: No society or nation is stronger than the homes that make up that nation or society.

Until every man and woman is willing to stand before God and his neighbors and say: "We are united 'til death do us part," and every parent is willing to say: "You are my child until death do us part," we as a nation will find our Government corrupt. Democracy, values, sharing, and respect for the rights of human beings must be taught and learned at home. Discipline is restraint in attaining a goal and courtesy is nothing more than respect for your fellow man.

This, in my opinion, is sanity in a society.

Sincerely,

LILLIE SCHUSTER.

Crisis in Water

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, last week I introduced a bill, H.R. 10539, which would use the profits the Federal Government will realize from the recently passed Coinage Act of 1965 for research and development of water resources.

Congress must act soon to meet the need for an abundant water supply for personal and industrial uses. Pointing up the crisis we face, an editorial in the August 21 Chattanooga Times calls for immediate attention to this critical problem. Under unanimous consent I include the article in the Appendix of the RECORD:

CRISIS IN WATER

In New York, drastic restrictions have been placed on water consumption to conserve it for essential purposes. In Florida, grave concern is felt for the 1.4-million-acre Everglades National Park, lest the subtropical swampy wilderness dry out and burn up.

Both situations are manifestations of the prolonged drought along the Nation's east coast. It is already of 4 years' duration; meteorologists predict at least another dry year.

But this is only one phase of an increasingly critical problem of assuring usable water resources. Even a natural abundance of water affords no guarantee against acute shortages. Pollution of rivers, lakes, and underground reservoirs may render them useless for drinking, recreation, or industrial processing.

If and when pollution, drought and flagrant wastefulness by consumers occur at the same time—as they have in some areas—the result is a water crisis. And the United States is beginning to feel the pinch.

As a nation, we are one of the best-watered countries in the world with an average fall of 30 inches a year. But the distribution is uneven; rainfall is usually more than adequate east of the Mississippi, and skimpy elsewhere.

Pollutants, on the other hand, are increasing faster than the population. It is estimated that American rivers contain six times as much pollution as they did in 1900, whereas the population has increased only two and a half times in that period.

Clearly, the common welfare demands urgent attention to the problem, and an answer that involves people and governments at all levels, from the local to the national.

The Water Resources Planning Act of 1965, recently signed by President Johnson, is a modest step toward formulating a national water policy. It gives statutory authority to an emergency planning committee set up in 1961, and empowers it to assess the adequacy of water supplies in all regions of the country, oversee regional water plans and establish standards and procedures for Federal water projects.

Specifically authorized are regional river basin commissions on which all the affected States would be represented. Similar interstate compacts have worked well in other areas of concern.

The President called the act "a valuable tool for planning what we are going to have to do at every level," and so it is. But the time is fast approaching when planning must give way to action if we are to avert disaster. New York City's chief water engineer, for instance, has said the city could "run out of water" by next February. What region would be next?

Billion Dollar Club Swells Ranks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, a recent issue of News Front, a magazine published monthly by YEAR, Inc., of New York City, contains interesting information regarding the sales and profits of some of the largest corporations in this country.

Under unanimous consent, I include certain portions of this article in the Appendix of the RECORD, believing this to be of general interest.

The article follows:

BILLION-DOLLAR CLUB SWELLS RANKS—ADDITION OF 7 MEMBERS BRINGS CLUB TOTAL TO 67; PROFIT-TO-SALES RATIO OF 55 MANUFACTURING COMPANIES JUMPS 0.3 PERCENT OVER 1963 TO 7.4 PERCENT

The influentials of U.S. industry, companies whose annual sales reach or exceed $1 billion, numbered 67 in 1964, the largest representation in history.

In the manufacturing category, 5 newcomers (Caterpillar Tractor, Dow Chemical, Armco Steel, Allied Chemical & Aluminum Co. of America) and 1 oldtimer (U.S. Rubber) brought to 55 the total number of companies in this division. Another newcomer, Federated Department Stores, swelled the ranks of the billion-dollar club's nonmanufacturing division to 12 during 1964.

The Nation's 55 billion-dollar manufacturing businesses rang up to total sales of $137.5 billion during 1964 and their combined assets amounted to $120.6 billion. These same companies turned in a record breaking net profit total of $10.1 billion and produced a collective profit-to-sales ratio of 7.4 percent. Combined sales of these blue chip companies accounted for 31 percent of all U.S. manufacturing sales. Corporate assets totaled 38 percent of all U.S. manufacturing assets. The bluebloods of U.S. industry also produced 45 percent of all U.S. manufacturing profits during the year.

The Petroleum industry, represented in the census by 11 companies, continued to dominate the list of billion-dollar U.S. corporations. Oil companies captured 50 percent of the top 10 positions in 2 of the 8 major indexes—net profits and assets. In addition, one oil company, Texaco, turned in the highest profit-to-sales ratio, 19.7 percent, of any billion-dollar company in the 1964 list.

General Motors remained undisputed monarch of U.S. manufacturing with total sales of nearly $17 billion and net profits of $1.7 billion. The company captured first place in 3 of the 8 major indexes (sales, net profits, employees) and placed among the top 10 firms in 3 additional indexes (profit to sales, profit to stockholders' equity, and total assets).

However, International Business Machines Corp. appeared as the overall star performer in the 1964 list of billion-dollar manufacturers by also placing among the top 10 companies in 5 of the 8 major indexes. IBM sales jumped from $2.1 billion in 1963 to $3.2 billion in 1964, making the company the Nation's eighth ranking firm in sales. It was 18th in 1963.

In the automotive field, Chrysler sales jumped 22 percent over 1963 and put the company in sixth place in the sales category, replacing the 1963 sixth place winner, United States Steel. At the other end of the roster, however, a $123 million decrease in sales during 1964 sent American Motors plummeting from No. 44 position to No. 55 in the list.

Of all the newcomers to manufacturing's exclusive billion-dollar club, Caterpillar Tractor turned in the best performance by capturing 1 of the top 10 positions in 3 of the 8 major indexes (sales change, profit to sales, profit to stockholders' equity).

Ten top billion-dollar manufacturing grants ranked by sales and profits

[In millions]

		Sales
1.	General Motors	$16,997
2.	Standard Oil of New Jersey	10,815
3.	Ford Motor Co	9,671
4.	General Electric	4,941
5.	Socony Mobil	4,499
6.	Chrysler Corp	4,287
7.	United States Steel	4,129
8.	IBM	3,239
9.	Gulf Oil Corp	3,174
10.	Western Electric	3,118

[In millions of dollars]

		Net profit
1.	General Motors	$1,734.8
2.	Standard Oil of New Jersey	1,050.6
3.	Texaco, Inc	577.4
4.	Ford Motor Co	505.6
5.	Du Pont E I	471.4
6.	IBM	431.2
7.	Gulf Oil Corp	395.1
8.	Standard Oil California	345.3
9.	Socony Mobil	294.2
10.	General Electric	237.3

[In percent]

		Profit to sales
1.	Texaco Inc	19.7
2.	Du Pont E I	16.9
3.	Standard Oil California	15.1
4.	Eastman Kodak	15.1
5.	IBM	13.3
6.	Caterpillar	10.7
7.	Gulf Oil Corp	10.4
8.	General Motors	10.2
9.	Union Carbide	10.1
10.	Standard Oil New Jersey	9.7

BILLION-DOLLAR U.S. MANUFACTURING CORPORATIONS

Rank 1964	Rank 1963	Company	President's name	Sales 1964	Net profit	Percent profit to sales	Number of plants
				Millions	*Millions*		
1	1	General Motors	J. F. Gordon	$16,997	$1,734.8	10.2	125
2	2	Standard Oil of New Jersey	J. K. Jamieson	[1] 10,815	1,050.6	9.7	64
3	3	Ford Motor Co	A. R. Miller	[1] 9,671	505.6	5.2	76
4	4	General Electric	F. J. Borch	4,941	237.3	4.8	210
5	5	Socony Mobile	R. Warner, Jr	[1] 4,499	294.2	6.5	21
6	7	Chrysler Corp	La Towsend	4,287	213.8	5.0	76
7	6	United States Steel	Worthington	4,129	236.8	5.7	
8	10	International Business Machines	Al Williams	[1] 3,239	431.2	13.3	32
9	9	Gulf Oil Corp	E. Brockett	[1] 3,174	395.1	10.4	
10	11	Western Electric	P. A. Gorman	3,118	152.8	4.9	13
11	8	Texaco, Inc	M. J. Epley	[1] 2,929	577.4	19.7	44
12	12	Dupont, E. I	L. Copeland	2,786	471.4	16.9	104
13	13	Swift & Co	R. W. Reneker	2,610	25.1	1.0	
14	16	Shell Oil	M. E. Spaght	[1] 2,332	198.2	8.5	6
15	14	Standard Oil, Indiana	Swearingen	[1] 2,318	194.9	8.4	47
16	15	Standard Oil of California	O. N. Miller	[1] 2,286	345.3	15.1	12
17	17	Westinghouse	A. K. McCord	2,271	76.7	3.4	64
18	18	Bethlehem Steel	S. S. Cort	2,241	147.9	6.6	39
19	19	International Harvester	H. O. Bercher	2,190	98.7	4.5	43
20	21	North American Aviation	J. L. Atwood	2,187	49.3	2.3	
21	26	Goodyear Tire	R. DeYoung	2,011	100.2	5.0	65
22	25	Boeing Co	W. M. Allen	1,969	45.3	2.3	8
23	22	National Dairy	J. Wetenhall	1,920	63.8	3.3	
24	28	Procter & Gamble	H. J. Morgens	1,913	130.8	6.8	65
25	23	Armour & Co	E. W. Wilson	1,887	22.8	1.2	110
26	27	Union Carbide	B. Mason, Jr	1,879	189.1	10.1	458
27	24	Radio Corporation of America	E. Engstrom	1,812	82.5	4.6	27
28	29	General Telephone & Electric	L. H. Warner	1,774	136.5	7.7	62
29	20	Lockheed Aircraft	D. Haughton	1,601	45.1	2.8	25
30	30	General Dynamics	Roger Lewis	1,580	42.6	2.7	170

Footnotes at end of table.

Rank 1964	Rank 1963	Company	President's name	Sales 1964	Net profit	Percent profit to sales	Number of plants
				Millions	*Millions*		
31	31	International Telephone & Telegraph	H. S. Geneen	1,542	63.2	4.1	200
32	38	Monsanto Chemical	C. H. Sommer	1,359	114.9	8.5	40
33	35	General Foods	W. C. Marks	1,338	83.5	6.2	100
34	33	Firestone Tire	R. Firestone	[1] 1,316	79.0	6.0	110
35	45	Borden Co	F. R. Elliott	1,293	45.5	3.5	----------
36	34	Sperry Rand	H. F. Vickers	1,279	26.7	2.1	95
37	46	Republic Steel	T. F. Patton	1,273	72.3	5.7	40
38	41	Continental Oil Co	L. McCollum	[1] 1,268	100.1	7.9	15
39	43	International Paper	L. M. Fearing	1,249	81.3	6.5	90
40	47	Eastman Kodak	W. S. Vaughn	1,237	187.2	15.1	19
41	32	United Aircraft	W. P. Gwinn	1,236	29.1	2.4	10
42	40	American Can	W. C. Stolk	1,226	46.9	3.8	112
43	42	Phillips Petroleum	S. Learned	[1] 1,207	115.0	9.5	30
44	48	Burlington Industries	C. F. Myers	1,206	50.9	4.2	126
45	39	Continental Can	E. L. Hazard	1,198	48.9	4.1	164
46	37	Sinclair Oil	E. Steiniger	[1] 1,187	58.7	4.9	6
47	36	Cities Service	J. E. Warren	[1] 1,170	84.5	7.2	5
48	53	Caterpiller	W. Blackie	1,161	123.8	10.7	16
49	50	U.S. Rubber	G. R. Villa	1,087	30.1	2.8	69
50	52	Dow Chemical	H. D. Doan	1,077	93.8	8.7	----------
51	55	Armco Steel	L. T. Johnson	1,064	74.4	7.0	68
52	54	Allied Chemical	C. M. Brown	1,043	81.0	7.8	95
53	51	Alcoa	J. D. Harper	1,037	60.8	5.9	55
54	49	General Tire & Rubber	M. G. O'Neil	1,027	36.9	3.6	41
55	44	American Motors	R. Abernethy	[1] 1,009	26.2	2.6	14
		Total		137,455	10,110.5	7.4	----------
		BILLION-DOLLAR U.S. NONMANUFACTURING CORPORATIONS					
1	1	American Telephone & Telegraph	H. I. Romnes	$10,306	$1,710.6	16.6	----------
2	3	Sears Roebuck	C. Baker	5,740	304.1	5.3	802
3	2	Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co	Byron Jay	5,189	57.5	1.1	4,519
4	4	Safeway Stores	R. A. Magowan	2,818	50.0	1.8	2,099
5	5	Kroger Co	J. E. Davis	2,328	27.9	1.2	1,424
6	6	Penney, J. C. Co	R. H. Jordan	2,079	68.3	3.3	1,676
7	7	Ward, Montgomery	R. E. Brooker	1,697	21.9	1.3	512
8	8	Woolworth, F. W	J. A. Wood	1,338	57.8	4.3	2,395
9	12	Federated Department Stores	R. Lazarus	1,215	64.5	5.3	85
10	10	National Tea Co	N. Stepelton	1,123	10.6	.9	973
11	9	Acme Markets, Inc	P. J. Cupp	1,119	13.6	1.2	862
12	11	Food Fair Stores	Louis Stein	1,105	7.4	.7	489
		Total		36,057	2,394.1	6.6	----------

[1] Sales exclude excise tax.

[2] Sales include service and rentals.

Hon. Clarence J. Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANK CHELF

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Speaker, I am saddened beyond adequate expression by the loss of our dear colleague, CLARENCE J. BROWN of Ohio.

More than 20 years ago I first met this wonderful gentleman of honor, dedication, intelligence, and integrity. My fondness for him grew steadily with the intervening years, until I treasured his friendship as one of the finer and most cherished possessions of my life. While we were of opposite political faiths, nevertheless, CLARENCE BROWN merited respect from me and from all of our colleagues on either side of the aisles, as well as responsible and intelligent people throughout the land. His lofty ideals placed him squarely in the realm of kings and his understanding sincerity and sympathy toward his fellow man kept him imbued with the common touch. To know him was to love him, and to observe him in debate was a revelation and an education in itself. He was greatest when the odds appeared insurmountable and it required courage to adhere to his convictions.

The country can ill afford to lose men of the character, ability, stature, and leadership of this great American, and I feel that he has been rewarded with a special crown of glory in that great mansion on high. To his loved ones, I extend my most sincere and heartfelt sympathy.

The Late Honorable Clarence J. Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, permit me to join with my colleagues from Ohio and others throughout the Nation in paying a brief but sincere tribute to the memory of our friend, CLARENCE J. BROWN, of Ohio.

CLARENCE BROWN was a great American, a devoted American, a colleague who fought for the principles in which he believed.

He was a great legislator who weighed carefully the alternatives on all public issues.

I was very fond of CLARENCE BROWN. He was friendly, cooperative and helpful. We frequently differed on legislative matters, but our personal friendship transcended partisanship. We shall all miss him.

Along with Speaker MCCORMACK, I recently went to see Congressman BROWN while he was in Bethesda Naval Hospital. He seemed to be coming along well and was talking on the telephone, attending to his duties even there. He expressed the hope that he would soon be returning to the Congress and so the news of his passing was indeed distressing.

Congressman BROWN served well his district, the State of Ohio, the Nation. He was most conscientious. History will mark the career of CLARENCE BROWN, as distinguished legislator.

I extend to his family an expression of deepest sympathy in his passing.

New Use for Drug Saves Philadelphia Girl

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WINFIELD K. DENTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. DENTON. Mr. Speaker, not infrequently we hear drug firms charged with excessive profitmaking on new discoveries which are needed to save lives.

Not infrequently we read of the coldness of corporate operations.

In my district there is a drug firm of which I am not unduly proud. In two instances recently this firm showed that it has a heart—that it serves humanity—and I feel that it should be recognized.

I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point two articles. One from the Evansville Courier of August 11, and one from the Evansville Press of August 13, 1965. Both articles show the interest and concern of Mead Johnson & Co., of Evansville, Ind., and the lengths to which they will go to be of service.

The articles follow:

[From the Evansville (Ind.) Courier, Aug. 11, 1965]

LOCAL FIRM AIDS VICTIM

A Mead Johnson & Co. product was rushed to Lisbon, Portugal, this week to aid an infant girl with phenylketonuria (PKU).

Two Indiana companies, competitors in the pharmaceutical industry, were actually involved in the swift action to help the child.

PKU is an inherited inability to properly metabolize a certain amino acid. It strikes only about 1 in 20,000 births. But unless it is detected and treated in early infancy, the child's brain development will be slowed and the child will be mentally retarded.

With treatment, chances of normal development are greatly enhanced.

The defect was discovered during a routine examination, using a test manufactured by Ames Co., Inc., subsidiary of Miles Laboratories, Elkhart, Ind. Coincidentally, the child is the daughter of an employee of an Ames Co. distributor in Portugal.

None of the special formula called Lofenalac, made by Mead Johnson & Co., was available in Portugal, however.

A cable was sent to the president of Ames Co., who called the Evansville firm. Within hours, two separate shipments of the product were on their way to Lisbon, one by air from Evansville and one from the Mead Johnson subsidiary in France.

[From the Evansville (Ind.) Press, Aug. 13, 1965]

NEW USE FOR DRUG SAVES PHILADELPHIA GIRL—MEAD JOHNSON PRODUCT

(By Ed Klingler)

A pretty 17-year-old Philadelphia girl is alive today because her physician ventured a new use for an established drug from Mead Johnson & Co.

Once the clinical decision had been made to undertake the experiment, the Evansville pharmaceutical firm cooperated with a dramatic jet flight of necessary drug supplies, accompanied by a staff physician who is a specialist in its use.

The story came to light today concerning the young patient in Pennsylvania University Hospital, suffering from cystic fibrosis. Her physician has described her condition as "the most complicated case of cystic fibrosis I've ever seen."

Cystic fibrosis is a disorder, usually inherited, causing the body to secrete an abnormal mucus that eventually thickens and becomes obstructive. Usually it is found choking the tiny tubes in the lungs, but it also can collect in the digestive tract.

In this case the patient had been hospitalized for an abscess in the right lung, considered a rare complication of cystic fibrosis. But she also developed a mucous obstruction in the intestinal tract—a condition usually corrected by surgery.

Her danger became acute, because of the poor state of her general health ruled out surgery.

The doctor faced a dilemma: It was unlikely she could survive the surgery; equally unlikely she could survive without it. The only possible solution was to try something new and the agent he selected was Mucomyst.

Two years ago Mead Johnson Laboratories developed and started marketing the drug, designed specifically to liquefy mucus, and is normally released into the respiratory passages in spray form. It was so effective the pharmaceutical trade rated it one of the four top drug discoveries of the year.

Since inhalation would not reach the intestinal tract, the physician would have to rely on irrigation by tube, which called for quantities of Mucomyst far beyond normal demand.

At 11 a.m. the physician telephoned Mead Johnson Laboratories, not only for advice, but about the possibility of immediate delivery of adequate supplies.

At 12:50 p.m. the Mead Johnson jet left Evansville with the drug and with it went Dr. Earl T. Lewis, associate director of clinical research and an expert in the use of the drug.

At 2:20 p.m. the plane was in Philadelphia, 600 miles from Evansville.

At 3:30 p.m., less than 5 hours after the physician made his phone call, the patient's intestinal tract was being irrigated through nasal and rectal tubes.

Two days later the tubes were removed—the obstruction had been dissolved.

American Civil Liberties Union Lawyers' Lobby Sends President Telegram Concerning Mississippi Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, last week a group of attorneys who have given generously of their time and professional training to represent citizens who have been arrested for asserting their constitutional rights, came to Washington to inform Members of Congress of the importance of the Mississippi challenge. I hope, and trust, that this House will soon have the opportunity to debate and vote on this issue, already long delayed.

The attorneys who were here, members of the American Civil Liberties Union Lawyers' lobby, sent a telegram to the President stating their views, and I insert a copy of that wire to be reprinted in the RECORD:

AUGUST 17, 1965.

MR. PRESIDENT: The recent tragic events in Los Angeles demonstrate that many of America's Negroes feel that they have no place in our society. While we must condemn any breakdown of law and order, we must also try and understand the forces that have erupted in that city and are latent elsewhere: relegated to second-class citizenship by a history of oppression and exploitation, terrorized in the rural South, and stifled in the ghettoes of the North and West, these Negro Americans feel only anger, frustration, and hopelessness. They have lost their faith in the historic promise of America.

Now pending before the House of Representatives is a challenge to the seating of the Mississippi House delegation. Responding to the exhortations of their fellow Americans, Mississippi's disenfranchised Negro citizens have chosen the path of constitutionally defined protest. They seek a guarantee of their right to vote and so to participate in the political life of their Nation.

You yourself, Mr. President, have stated that the Los Angeles riots have damaged America's image at home and abroad. Action by the House of Representatives in this session of Congress to unseat the illegally elected Mississippians would constitute a much-needed reaffirmation of the basic constitutional principles by which we govern ourselves. The Mississippi contested election cases of 1965 challenge not only the seating of the five Congressmen, but the very integrity of our representative democracy.

Although this is a matter on which only the House of Representatives can act, yours is the office that embodies the moral conscience of the Nation. We, participants in the ACLU lawyers' lobby who have come to Washington to ask for a vote on the Mississippi challenge in this session of Congress, call upon you to lend the dignity and moral influence of your office to this end.

John de J. Pemberton, John Pratt, Carl Rachlin, Arthur Kinoy, William Kunstler, Claudia Shropshire, Morton Stavis, William Higgs, James Lafferty, Jeremiah Guttman, Ernst Rosenberger, Fred Reinheimer, Carol Silver, Martin Berger, Arnold Weiss, Harry Lohstroh, John Thorne, Marvin Kessler, Annette Pinsky, Peter Marcuse, Thomas Seymour, Robert Boehm, Barney Rosenstein, Leslie Finch, Muriel Finch, Leland Rayson, Anna Langford, Esther Frankel, Bruce Waltzer, William Elston, Peter Weiss, Ralph Werner, David Hoffman, Jesse Moskowitz, Max Millman, Daniel Shertzer, Frank Nikolay, Robert Lentz, William Crane, Stanley Robins, Philip Hilsenrad, Dorothy Liff, J. A. Jordan, Sherwin Kaplan, Nancy Stern, Jim Kittaly.

Federal Government and Colorado: Partners in Crime and Vice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to tell the Members of this House about the negligent partnership of the Federal Government and the State of Colorado in keeping gambling illegal in Colorado thus making gambling's lucrative profits available to the undercover crime syndicates.

Last year the parimutuel turnover in Colorado came to $17 million. More significant—and more menacing—is Colorado's illegal gambling. Testimony before the McClellan committee indicated that off-track betting comes to about $50 billion annually throughout the Nation, with this figure accounting for only some 42 percent of the national annual illegal gambling total, which would thus be $120 billion. On a population basis, illegal gambling in Colorado would come to about $1.2 billion a year, so that Colorado is really a mountain of underworld lucre. The mob cuts itself 10 percent of the illegal gambling take which means that illegal gambling is bankrolling a large spectrum of vice. Government-run gambling would siphon these moneys from mob treasuries putting gambling revenues to work for

rather than against the public welfare.

The best way to make gambling work for the public good—since it is basically ineradicable—is a National or series of State lotteries. If the State of Colorado would wake up to social and financial reality, it would legalize, regulate and control gambling so that the gambling urge of the people of Colorado could be made to support rather than undermine society.

Need for a Housing Program in Council Bluffs, Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, recently the Council Bluffs Nonpareil carried an editorial which described a tour taken by members of the Nonpareil staff through some of the dilapidated areas of their city.

Although the 725 substandard homes in Council Bluffs may seem almost an insignificant number to my colleagues who represent large cities, it is evidence of a very real problem to the people of Council Bluff.

I am pleased to see that the Nonpareil recognizes the need for some sort of housing program whether it be State or Federal.

Because of the importance and timeliness of this editorial, I offer it for the benefit of my colleagues. The editorial follows:

[From the Council Bluffs Nonpareil, July 24, 1965]

TOUR OF BLIGHTED AREAS DEPRESSING BUT HELP IS AVAILABLE

We had an opportunity last week to take a tour of Council Bluffs, guided by the Council Bluffs City Engineer Bill Frueh. Because of Mr. Frueh's personal knowledge of the projected changes in the city, such as the Interstate Highway System, additional streets, and improvement of present streets, it was possible to get an overall picture of the magnitude of the changes now going on, or planned for the near future, in Council Bluffs.

The main purpose of the tour was to view some of the substandard housing in nearly all parts of the city. Having these homes pointed out by qualified individuals is an eye opener, indeed, and is an experience in which more people should participate.

We saw an estimated 300 of 725 homes in Council Bluffs that are classified as dilapidated. Council Bluffs, with 4.1 percent of its homes in a dilapidated condition, has about 50 percent more homes in this category than the national average and about 33 percent more than Omaha.

It is evident that some action must be taken to alleviate this condition. The growth of this city is, to a great extent, dependent upon curing some of the more obvious ills and this large number of homes unfit for human habitation is certainly one of the problems at the present time.

While we were depressed and discouraged by the sight of so much human misery in the midst of plenty in Council Bluffs, we could not help but become enthused and elated at the prospects for rapid and continuous improvement of the city. When the changes now in the planning stage, all of them major improvements, are projected for the next few years, we can expect a vast new rebirth of the entire urban area.

As the Interstate System becomes a fact in Council Bluffs, areas which are now blighted will be renewed and will become great assets in the residential and industrial growth of the community. It will be necessary for city authorities and the planning committee to suggest and recommend actions which will make this growth more uniform and enable this rebirth of rundown areas to take place as fast as possible.

It will undoubtedly be necessary to participate in programs proposed by State and Federal Governments. It would be hiding our heads in the sand to say that public housing and urban renewal programs would not be of great advantage in the overall upgrading of the entire Council Bluffs community.

Although it would be easy to sit content in our self-righteousness and reject all Federal programs designed to help cities help themseves, inaction at this time would slow down the enormous growth that is possible in the next few years. The real truth is that public housing and urban renewal programs have helped many cities solve the problems now facing Council Bluffs.

Adversary System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH HARVEY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Christian Science Monitor entitled "Adversary System" by Richard L. Strout:

ADVERSARY SYSTEM

(By Richard L. Strout)

In 7 months Congress has passed a backlog of 20 years' legislation which it make take 20 more years to learn how to administer.

For administrative complexity, the country has hardly seen anything like the present. One remembers the attack on the mess in Washington in the New Deal. A bigger outcry may develop now. There is no partisan bias in this reporter's appraisal of the problem ahead. But he would guess that before long the Republicans would be throwing themselves on examples of duplications and contradictions, of inefficiencies and perhaps corruption, that develop with sweeping new legislation. In fact we are beginning to see this in the administration of the war on poverty.

It is not one new administrative nightmare, it is half a dozen. The Civil Rights Act theoretically ends ancient barriers to Negro voting. A majority of Congress, Republicans and Democrats, approve. But the machinery involves courts, Justice Department men and Federal registrars. It proposes a social revolution, and a revolution that has to be administered.

There is medicare, too. A few Federal regulatory bureaucracy is indicated. Whether there are enough hospitals, nurses and doctors to run the new program remains to be seen. Almost anybody can feel that outside the harbor bar there is choppy weather. The new general education bill is another example. It may, or may not, have skirted the sensitive issue of Federal aid to parochial schools. It will be appraised when the new program is tackled.

The housing bill institutes an elaborate and complex system of Federal rent subsidies. It hasn't been tried before; it is brand new. With the best will in the world there are tricky problems of administration. There is a brand new department of urban affairs and related matters. High time, sponsors exclaim. Yes, but the new department must settle down among the other departments, and its workers reach accommodation with other Federal agents.

Equal to all others put together, perhaps, are the manifold activities of the war on poverty. These range from Appalachia revival to tentative promulgation of birth control information and betterment of life in ghettos.

Well, we have a lively time ahead of us. Many Congressmen think the great batch of legislation overdue. The public seems to agree. But learning to administer this kind of program efficiently is another matter. We found that out in the New Deal.

If this reporter is right the same old cycle of American politics lies ahead. Normally it is in two stages; there is a period of innovation. That is occurring now under the Democrats. Later comes the period of consolidation. The Republicans traditionally have come to the front then. If my forecast is correct, there will be an interval of some years while the present tremendous programs get underway.

Then faults and contradictions will show up. No opposition party worth its salt will fail to point these out, and exploit them.

Will voters grow increasingly restive? Will they argue ultimately that "it's time for a change," or time "to throw the rascals out?"

Well, that's the way the cycle has gone in the past under the adversary system or two-party American Government.

Prelude to Labor Day: Work Is Law of Nature—A Five-Star Letter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, with Labor Day fast approaching, I think it is appropriate to consider the philosophical and human values inherent in work.

This subject has been treated eloquently in a letter to the editor—Mr. John Seigenthaler—of the Nashville Tennessean, written by F. H. Treadway, of Nashville, Tenn., and published August 18, 1965.

I ask unanimous consent that this letter be reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD, believing it to be of general interest to all men everywhere in our great Nation.

The letter to the editor follows:

LIFE OF EASE IS NOT FOR ANY MAN

To the EDITOR:

"This is the gospel of labor,
ring it, ye bells of the kirk;
"The Lord of Love came down from above,
to live with the men who work."
—HENRY VAN DYKE (1852–1933)

Who are these men who work? September 6 is a national holiday for them. In 1894, President Grover Cleveland signed into law a bill declaring the first Monday in September a national holiday honoring "people who work." Those who work include all classes

from the lowest paid unskilled worker to the President of the United States. Work is not necessarily unpleasant. Play is work if the player gets paid for it.

Thomas Carlyle wrote:

"All work, even cotton spinning, is noble; * * * A life of ease is not for any man."

Observation of Labor Day in the United States and Canada differs from that in Europe in that all classes take part in it. Factories, stores, offices and banks are closed.

Organized labor plays an important role in our national economy. The high demands for labor together with labor organizations have secured better pay, better working conditions, and many other benefits for the workers. The custom of working from "sun-up" till "sundown" or from "can" till "can't" in industry went out with the stagecoach.

In 1923, the United States Steel Corp. startled conservatives by cutting its workday from 12 hours to 10. There were dire predictions that all this extra leisure would lead to the ruination of the laboring man. Some are now positive that automation will deprive many workers of means of making a living. However, we continue to make progress. One business leader said recently: "We have to keep running to stand still."

Jet passenger planes of today have a cruising speed of more than 600 miles an hour. The U.S. spaceship Gemini 3 attained a speed of 17,500 miles an hour.

Remarkable improvements such as these do not just happen. They are the result of tiring mental and physical labor by millions of patriotic workers. These are the "people who work."

Because of their daily striving for the better things in life, our country will remain a great democracy.

So, on this holiday for working people, let us rejoice that:

"The Lord of Love came down from above, to live with the men who work."

F. H. TREADWAY.

A Time for Citizenship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE W. GRIDER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. GRIDER. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, August 9, after the signing of the historical Voting Rights Act of 1965—and before the tragic events of Los Angeles—the Memphis Press-Scimitar and other Scripps-Howard newspapers published a wise, temperate and perceptive editorial entitled "A Time for Citizenship."

The thesis of that brief message was that self-discipline and restraint are as essential in the fight for full liberty as zeal, courage, and a willingness to demonstrate.

Today I offer that editorial for entry in the RECORD so that it may achieve the wide circulation which it deserves:

[From the Memphis (Tenn.) Press-Scimitar, Aug. 9, 1965]

A TIME FOR CITIZENSHIP

President Johnson has some strong and sensible advice for Negroes as he signed the historic voting rights bill.

Protests, marches and demonstrations are not enough to achieve legitimate Negro goals, the President said, and went on:

"You must register. You must vote. And you must learn, so your choice advances your interest and the interest of the Nation. For your future, and your children's future, depend upon it."

In these words, the President touched the heart of the civil rights problem as it exists in the wake of legislation barring discrimination in almost any form.

Laws do not automatically create equal rights for anyone. Neither do good intentions. At most, they only create the climate in which equality can thrive.

Negroes have shown understandable zeal and, for the most part, commendable restraint in their drive for fair treatment under the law. Now, as the President implied, they have an opportunity to demonstrate that responsibility and self-discipline go along with full citizenship.

People Must Dare To Protect Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego Union of August 20, 1965:

PEOPLE MUST DARE TO PROTECT NATION—PASTOR PROPOSES MEANS OF COUNTERING INSURRECTION

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—In a desire to satisfy numerous requests that have come to the San Diego Union for publication of the timely sermon delivered Sunday by the Reverend Dr. Robert B. Watts at St. James By-the-Sea Episcopal Church in La Jolla, a shortened version is presented herewith.)

(By the Reverend Dr. Robert B. Watts)

I believe that many Christians are desperately confused about what their position should be in respect to the holocaust of riots through which we are passing.

That they are confused is readily understandable when one looks about and reads and listens.

No later than last Friday evening, the bishop of California is reported as having in San Diego said that "if people are kept busy making things for the ladies' bazaar they feel holy and good even though they may deny persons' rights to be persons." And he is quoted further as saying: "The secularist is just a nasty fellow when he demonstrates for civil rights."

You will note that the Right Reverend Sir leaves quite blank—at least in his published remarks—what constitutes demonstrating for civil rights. He hereby leaves his readers with the unhappy conclusion that any demonstration involving civil disobedience should be supported and accepted by Christians.

If he draws a line anywhere, we simply don't know it—and hence we are confused at what position a Christian should take.

But let us look at another ecclesiastical aberration.

LAWBREAKING

There has been advanced by various philosophical followers of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., one of the most extraordinary suggestions ever made in Anglo-Saxon or American legal annals. As a mixture of sophistry and soft-headedness, brewed by nonlegal or corroded legal minds, I assert that this suggestion has spawned the present wave of destruction now sweeping the country.

In brief, this proposed doctrine is that if any citizen, after meditation, comes to the conclusion that any law is unjust—and further concludes that if apprehended he is willing to accept the penalty imposed for violation of the law—then it becomes morally justifiable to break the law openly and notoriously.

Of course, the worst thing about this doctrine is that again there are no dividing lines in it. If it is valid for a small violation, it applies equally to a more serious one. Once you start this approach there is no stopping. It is like a roller coaster which nears the top of the track. Once you push it over a little bit, it plunges down all the way.

The amazing thing is that many clergy of this church, including both priests and bishops, have openly and officially accepted this doctrine. Episcopal clergymen have received written expressions of this doctrine for their guidance. And large numbers of clergy of this and other communions have been sent, or have gone on their own volition, to southern areas for the sole purpose of expressing racial concerns by open law defiance pursuant to this new assertion of moral right.

OFFICIALS HESITANT

Finally, as sorely distressed Christians we see instance after instance of reluctance on the part of elected officials to meet lawlessness quickly and firmly lest there be an adverse effect upon their personal political careers at the ballot box. Thank God, not all our officials are of this character, but too many are.

All these things we see and hear as we are assailed with bits and pieces of Scripture, which seek to justify a Christian do-nothing attitude.

And the result is all too often complete confusion and deep concern over what is right for us to do as loyal Americans and good churchmen. We are morally disarmed and brainwashed. We are afraid to speak out and let our voices be heard in demanding a return to law observance by all citizens—white, yellow, black, red, priest, bishop or missionary.

What shall we do? What may we do as Christians?

HOLY GUIDANCE

In offering an answer, I do so humbly and with complete recognition of the right of others to reach opposite conclusions. It is, however, an answer to which the Holy Spirit has given me guidance, and one which I believe to be valid both in law and in Scripture. And I shall be ready to defend it in any forum, whether ecclesiastical or otherwise.

Let us start with the basic legal fact that we live in a country where all ultimate power resides in the people.

By their representatives in constitutional convention, large areas of this power have been given over to the Federal Government, with other areas granted to the several States.

Furthermore, certain individual rights and protections have been reserved for the people themselves. Without naming them all, we are quite familiar with the fact that under our Constitution we are assured the protection of life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness (but with no guarantee that we shall be successful in that pursuit), freedom of speech and freedom of religion.

But we should be equally familiar with the fact that none of these rights is absolute. Every one of them is held subject to equal rights in others.

One final point requires mention. Since ultimate power is in the people they have the right, if a majority so desire, to overthrow their existing form of government and substitute another in its place. And if a majority has no such desire, they have the right to use all necessary power to suppress an insurrection or rebellion against them.

With these fundamental legal rules clearly in mind, we may proceed to evaluate for ourselves the legal and constitutional status of deliberate rioting, burning, looting, killing

and general destruction of the public peace—all in the name of civil rights demonstrations.

POINT CLEAR

It should be perfectly clear that no asserted individual right can justify, under our system of government, such destruction of rights in others. It should be equally clear that neither you, nor I, nor any other person—however exalted he may be or regard himself—has the right to say that what was wrong before becomes morally right if the acting party is willing to be punished if caught.

The answer is, I submit, that which not too long ago propelled a somewhat obscure New Englander into the Vice Presidency—from which he succeeded to the Presidency. Paraphrased only as to one word, his answer was, "There is no right to demonstrate against the public safety." And with that, Calvin Coolidge crushed a strike by the police in the city of Boston.

That ringing declaration electrified the country. It stopped short a vicious new idea. It was correct under our form of government.

APPEASEMENT

Now we are face to face with a whirlwind largely fostered and encouraged by our vacillation, our attempt at appeasement and the participation of some of us in this new theory of morally justifiable lawlessness.

As our own Governor says, we now face insurrection—an attack upon the very existence of our Government. When that point is reached, we must first use overwhelming force to crush and destroy every vestige of danger; and then destroy this sickness of mind which has led so many to defy law and order.

But what about the theological problem? Can we, dare we, protect our way of government and our individual rights and still call ourselves Christians? Here I part with many of my ecclesiastical colleagues and give you a ringing "Yes!"

Read verses 13 through 17 of chapter 12 of the Gospel of St. Mark. You all know the story.

It is the one in which the Pharisees sought to trap Jesus in an inescapable dilemma by inquiring of Him whether they should obey the civil law of Rome or the law of God. It was believed that either answer which might be given would destroy Him.

You remember how Jesus then called for a Roman coin and asked whose face appeared on the coin. The answer was "Caesar's." And then came the Divine response, just as valid today as then. "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and to God the the things that are God's."

Jesus didn't tell them to decide whether they like the Roman taxes, or whether the tax collectors were brutal and unjust—and, if so, to start turmoil and demonstration by breaking the Roman law. He told them to obey the laws, and not to forget to carry out God's laws as well.

SUGGESTIONS OFFERED

I say that as Christians we can and should use the same resolution of our confusions; and I offer these three concrete suggestions as to how we can do it.

First, we should stand solidly in support of the Constitution and laws of our Government resorting to the courts and not the barricades if we feel grievances. We must once and for all reject the doctrine of a morally justified civil disobedience.

Second, we should counteract the pressure which already has had tremendous effect with some of our political leaders—to temporize and compromise with lawlessness if only it be tagged "civil rights"—by exerting every ounce of our personal influence to encourage equal and courageous enforcement.

HELP NEIGHBORS

Then third, having done these things, we should—as Christians—seek by all lawful and proper means to help our neighbors to achieve civic equality of treatment and betterment of opportunity and self-improvement. We should come to this and to other churches as powerhouses where we can worship God, refilled with His power, and then go out into the world to teach His ways.

God's power is limitless. With it we can change the world, and if we are faithful it will surely prevail.

Creation of a Park Linking Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty With the New Jersey Shore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, Tuesday, August 17 was an important day for the people of northern New Jersey and the people of the United States. On that date Mayor Thomas Whelan, of Jersey City, turned over a deed for 156 acres of land to New Jersey Gov. Richard J. Hughes for the creation of a park linking Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty with the New Jersey shore.

To all of us for whom Ellis Island has a special meaning, the ceremony was a particularly poignant one.

During the ceremony our distinguished colleague, the Honorable DOMINICK V. DANIELS, spoke very eloquently concerning the cooperation which exists between the Johnson administration and the administration of Governor Hughes and Mayor Whelan.

Congressman DANIELS pointed out that the States and the local communities of this Nation are not rivals and that "government on all levels can work harmoniously in behalf of the common good."

I would like to insert in the RECORD an account of the ceremony which was published in the August 18, 1965, edition of the Hudson Dispatch, a leading newspaper in northern New Jersey.

The article follows:

WHELAN CALLS PROJECT UNIQUE—HUGHES CITES HISTORIC SITE AT PARK DEED CEREMONY

Several hundred political notables yesterday attended ceremonies on the Jersey City waterfront and witnessed the creation of Liberty Park when Mayor Thomas Whelan turned over a deed for 156 acres to Gov. Richard Hughes.

The deed, representing city-owned land, was accepted with smiles by Hughes. It is the first land for the new park to be acquired by the State. An additional 244 acres will be acquired gradually. Groundbreaking ceremonies will be held on October 1, when a Job Corps brigade of 200 men, who will do much of the work at the site, will be quartered in a camp.

In accepting the deed, Hughes said, "We shall refocus the attention of the American people on two revered symbols of our history—Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty. Entwined with the symbolic luster of these two monuments is the knowledge that 16 million people came through the golden portal to become the fathers and grandfathers of many of us who stand here today.

"And because they came here, American business, labor, government, the arts and sciences, and education were enriched," the Governor continued. "And all this is being done because there are people in government who care. In Washington and Trenton and throughout this State in cities such as yours, they care. They care about people. They care about the future of our great cities. They care about community development and human worth."

Whelan said, "With the beginning of work on this giant park complex—a project which is, by geography and history, unique in our Nation—the city of Jersey City, the State of New Jersey and the Federal Government are embarking on a significant new experiment in urban reclamation.

"Earlier this year, President Johnson called for this kind of teamwork when he envisioned a fruitful new partnership among all levels of government to make the coming decade a conservation milestone. Here in Jersey City, we are proud to be playing our part.

COAST CORNERSTONE

"It is our hope that this project will be an attractive haven for people from all over the country. And we hope, too, that it will serve as the cornerstone for the rebuilding of the entire eastern coast of our city.

"Where there is now meadow grass, we envision buildings; where there is now emptiness, we envision people."

Alvin E. Gershen, planning consultant for Jersey City development agency and chairman of the ceremonies, read some comment by Congressman Cornelius E. Gallagher, who was unable to attend.

"Liberty Park," Gallagher wrote, "will complement the Ellis Island Memorial honoring the generations of immigrants who first touched American soil at the immigration station. The Jersey City waterfront park will enhance the beauty and significance of both the memorial and the city."

Congressman DOMINICK V. DANIELS, who was present, said, "There are some, in the Congress and out, who would have us believe that the Federal Government is usurping the powers of the States and the subdivisions of the States. Indeed, these critics would have us believe that the Federal Government is at war with the States.

"Nothing, in my opinion, could be further from the truth, and today's ceremonies are proof that Government on all levels can work harmoniously in behalf of the common good.

"This park has been made possible by the cooperation which has existed between the forward-looking administrations of Gov. Richard J. Hughes in Trenton, Mayor Thomas J. Whelan in Jersey City, and the administration of Lyndon B. Johnson in Washington, D.C."

Morris Pesin appeared to be the happiest man at the ceremony. His long campaign for a park and causeway linking Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty with the Jersey City shore had borne fruit. The turning over of the deed to the State was the first concrete step to the realization of a dream come true.

Former U.S. Senator John Milton, Port Authority Commissioner Gerald Brill, Assemblyman Maurice V. Brady, Perry Shoemaker, Jersey Central Railroad president, and New Jersey Conservation and Economic Development Commissioner Robert A. Roe witnessed the ceremony.

Before the program began, Shoemaker and Roe had a long discussion on prospects of use of land in the waterfront area.

Other speakers included Austin J. Tobin, executive director, Port of New York Authority; and Commissioner Robert A. Roe of State Department of Conservation and Economic Development.

Letter From Slain Vietnam Hero

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS C. McGRATH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, August 21, the following article appeared in the leading newspaper of New Jersey's Second District, the Atlantic City Press:

AREA MARINE DIES IN BATTLE IN VIETNAM

A Hammonton marine, who was to have been discharged next June after 20 years service, died on Friday the 13th in Vietnam during the battle of Chu Lai.

He was M. Sgt. George DeLuca, one of 15 marines killed in the engagement, one of the biggest so far for U.S. forces in Vietnam, the Defense Department said. More than 500 Vietcong were kill in the battle.

DeLuca, 37, was the husband of Eve Pinto DeLuca of 606 Middle Road, Hammonton. He also leaves two sons, George 7, and Michael, 2.

The family was last together at their home in California on May 21, the day he shipped out for Vietnam.

DeLuca was a career man in the Marines. He entered the service after he was graduated from Lower Camden County Regional High School in 1946.

DeLuca also is survived by a brother, Vincent of Hammonton; four stepbrothers, Aaron Parker of Princeton; Nelson, of Audubon, Ireland and Ellis, both of Trenton; three sisters, Mrs. Gussie Walker of Norfolk, Va., Mrs. Concetta Schmidt of Haddon Heights, and Mrs. Jean Robertson of Dallas, Tex.

DeLuca was assigned to G Company, 2d Battalion, 7th Marine Division.

Sergeant DeLuca was the first Atlantic County man killed in the Vietnamese fighting. This husband and father, who volunteered for Vietnam duty despite the fact that he had served valiantly in the Korean action and would have been eligible for his discharge next June after 20 years of service provides inspiration enough.

However, Sergeant DeLuca, in his last letter home, provided even more inspiration to his fellow Americans as reported in the Atlantic City Press of Monday, August 23. Here is the article describing his last letter:

VIETNAM WAR NECESSARY, MARINE HERO WROTE HOME

"I feel sorry for those Americans who are saying the Viet war is not their war." So wrote a battle-weary marine from Hammonton 3 days before he was killed in action this month on Friday the 13th.

In his last letter were the poignant reflections on an American soldier still shining with the zeal and ideals of his forefathers.

If you ask the fighting men who are there, the tragedy of Vietnam is indeed necessary, M. Sgt. George A. DeLuca told his sister-in-law and her husband, Mr. and Mrs. Williard Ehrke, of Mays Landing Road, Folsom.

Master Sergeant DeLuca, the father of two sons about whom he obviously worried constantly, George 7 and Michael 2, explained in the final words heard from him:

MUST STOP THEM

"If China takes South Vietnam, she has control of the Indian Ocean and from there she can put her tactics into Africa, Australia, Japan and just keep moving.

"If we don't stop them now, Georgie and Mike will be fighting 10 or 15 years from now."

Master Sergeant DeLuca supplied helicopters with food, water, and ammunition in their attacks on neighboring villages in the tangled network of infiltrating probes that make up the Viet battlefront.

Expressing his pride in being an American and a marine, Master Sergeant DeLuca, 37, said:

SORRY FOR THEM

"When I read or hear about those demonstrations and people saying this is not their war, I feel sorry for them."

Included in his final letters to his wife Eva of 606 Middle Road, Hammonton, and the Ehrkes, was a mimeographed 58-line poem dramatically illustrating the spirit of the marines in Vietnam, and written by the men in his outfit.

In part the poem read:

"The news comes on (TV) and then you hear.
The all-star game is drawing near.
Then you see a far-off land
Where men are dying in the sand.
A frown appears across your face
You're tired of hearing about that place."

The poem closes on a prophetically brave note:

"No wonder he's proud,
He's a United States marine."

The body of Master Sergeant DeLuca arrived in Hammonton on Saturday.

Requiem high Mass will be at 9 a.m. Tuesday at St. Martin's dePorres Church in Hammonton. Burial will be in Holy Sepulchre Cemetery.

I was gratified to read in today's Atlantic City Press that Sergeant DeLuca's last letter had been brought to the attention of President Johnson. The Press story noted that the President "believes very strongly that those who are fighting in Vietnam should be supported by unity and accord at home."

Mr. Speaker, I commend Sergeant DeLuca's last letter to his family as must reading to those of us in the United States who wonder why U.S. military forces are fighting in Vietnam.

This brave marine, who gave the ultimate measure of devotion to his country and the ideal of liberty that a tiny nation may remain free, has written a message to all of us, and I believe we can all gain by reading it.

Shackle Removed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, for several reasons, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is one of the most significant pieces of legislation emanating from the Congress of the United States in the entire history of the Nation.

First. It is so because it promises to contribute greatly to the fruition of one of world history's most important and most necessary revolutions.

Second. It is monumental because it realizes the principal objective of the 15th and 14th amendments to the Constitution.

Third. It is essentially great because it is morally, politically, and constitutionally right.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 is partial recognition that the lives of great Americans such as Medgar Evers, Harry Moore, James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, Jimmie Lee Jackson, Mrs. Luizzo, James Reeb, and Johnathan Daniels were shortened, however mercilessly and inhumanely, in a great and noble cause.

The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin deserves commendation, along with most of the Nation's press for its wholehearted and stanch support of the civil rights revolution. I take great pleasure in expressing the gratitude of many Americans for the excellent coverage and editorial commentary to which these remarks are addressed.

Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States, in his recognition of the basic significance of the suffrage privilege to a developing democracy, in signing this bill into law, has made clear his commitment and that of the Nation toward realizing full Negro equality in every sphere of American life. In this respect, the major thrust of American opinion rides the same tide. With your permission, the editorial follows:

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Evening Bulletin, Aug. 9, 1965]

SHACKLE REMOVED

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 is now law, appropriately signed by the President in the august shadow of Abraham Lincoln's statue, and Department of Justice agents are already moving into certain States to enforce its provisions.

The Great Emancipator would surely have said, "Well done," for the act goes a long way toward establishing the equal political rights of which American Negroes long have been deprived, first as slaves, and for a hundred years after slavery, as citizens under limitations.

It will of course not end racism. America has lived with the color line since the beginning, and full equality must come through the quickening of individual consciences. Legislation can help roll back gross injustice. And it can do more, by provoking the soul-searching which is already well-advanced among Americans of every color and background.

This particular law strikes at the very heart of political equality by requiring that every county in every State permit all its citizens to be heard.

Had this voting equality been established long ago, many of today's racial problems would not have developed. What did happen was that the States in which the ruling groups were outnumbered devised techniques to keep the suppressed majority from the polls. The new law virtually eliminates this, especially by the automatic provision that the Government may take over voting registration in any county which, on the record, has not opened its books to all.

Literacy tests, which can readily be defended as right in principle, have long been abused in parts of the South. They no longer can be. A major shackle of complete democracy really has been cut away with the cold chisel of law. If not the last one, still an important one worth hailing in the name of freedom.

Rural or Urban

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH HARVEY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, while I rarely agree with the editorial policy of the Washington Post, this editorial of August 22 is a very timely and accurate one.

I include the editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD:

RURAL OR URBAN

Estimates that there has been a continuing migration of a thousand rural people a month into Los Angeles emphasize the extent to which the urban problems with which we now must deal are in part the consequence of rural problems with which we have not dealt in the past.

From 1929 to 1954 some 18 million farm people migrated to cities and towns. The rate of movement stepped up at the end of that period to reach 570,000 a year from 1935 to 1939 and in the 1950's the rate soared to 900,000 a year. There seems to be a worldwide, lemming-like exodus from rural areas of which the American movement is a part. Some of it may be due to the inherent attractions of city life. But some of it is due to the indifference of society toward a whole host of discriminations against rural areas. The urban masses and their political leaders have resisted paying adequate prices for the produce of rural society. Discriminatory wage laws have fixed minimum wages for city workers and left rural workers unprotected. Rural communities have found it difficult to avail themselves of national programs like the housing programs. On a broad front, we have neglected to give rural people a comparable standard of living. Incomes are about half those of urban dwellers. Beyond the economic disparity lie a hundred cultural discriminations running from education to entertainment.

Many of the millions who have left rural areas have not been educated, trained or equipped for urban life. They simply have been harried out of the countryside and dumped into an urban environment while still ignorant of its opportunities and unable to take advantage of them. These disinherited, disadvantaged, disfranchised and discontented people have jammed into already overcrowded urban slums and ghettoes to multiply all the old problems of the cities and to add a dozen new ones. The cities have not dealt as skillfully with these migrants as they dealt with the emigrants from overseas. But it is doubtful if urban societies struggling with their preexisting problems of absorbing new peoples could have smoothly integrated such an influx even if the city governments and police forces were run by geniuses.

The cities have been confronted with one of the great migrations of human history and they have made little preparation for it. Many of the migrants, of course, were the people who stimulated the growth and expansion of the cities and furnished them with new leadership, talents and human resources. But many were just people who had no place else to go.

There are voices in this country demanding an even higher rate of annual emigration from the countryside than the incredible 4 percent of recent years. But they overlook social problems of both rural and urban America. The plain fact is that the cities have been getting more untrained rural labor than they can absorb. And the larger fact is that millions of these people could be provided jobs and homes in rural areas with less economic and social strain than they can be furnished a decent life in the crowded cities. Our urban society now is finding that the rural labor surplus is the most formidable of all farm surpluses. It might have been cheaper if we had dealt with rural poverty in the countryside instead of moving it into the cities and transforming it into urban poverty. It might be easier to attack rural misery where it is rather than just to move it to town. We need now, tardily, to undertake a vast program of rural betterment for the economic and the social health of the whole country.

The Late Honorable Clarence Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on my 83d birthday, CLARENCE BROWN spoke of our long and close friendship, remarked that he and I belonged to the rather exclusive club of former Lieutenant Governors serving in this body, and closed with these words: "I think you will finish the course all right."

Now the voice of my friend is stilled. Finished is the course of CLARENCE BROWN and in this Chamber is the heaviness of a grief that all Members feel in a deep personal manner. The nobility of his character, the cheer of his optimism, the strength of his faith in the simple virtues of hometown folks, all this runs through our minds and pencils into our saddened hearts as we come to realize that CLARENCE BROWN has finished the course of life.

How gallantly he ran that course. At 23, the boy Lieutenant Governor of Ohio, for 27 years a Member of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, an outstanding statesman, a publisher, and editor in the finest traditions of American journalism, a mighty power in the Republican Party, the close friend and manager of the presidential campaign of Senator Taft, all this and more, and in all these long years of achievement, of glory and applause, he never lost his head or bowed to vanity. His was the simple honesty of the country town, of which he was a product and an apostle. In CLARENCE BROWN there was complete absence of pretense.

Mr. Speaker, the months of the last year or so were weighed with sadness for CLARENCE BROWN. The deaths of an adored granddaughter, his mother, and his wife all came in a short period of time, and we who were so close to him could not fail to note the heavy toll they had taken. His beloved wife, to whom he was married in 1916, died in January of this year. Their life together for close to half a century was a classic of marital bliss.

My deepest sympathy goes to the children, grandchildren, and other loved ones of the great and noble man with whom it was our privilege to serve.

The Los Angeles Explosion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, it is interesting to study the divergent viewpoints of our liberal politicians and sociologists as they attempt to explain the recent racial explosion in Los Angeles. They have advanced theories ranging from heat prostration to the absence of trees in the Negro community.

However, the most candid discussion of the situation, in my opinion, appeared in the August 18 edition of the Albany, Ga., Herald. The highly respected editor of that publication, James H. Gray, minced no words in placing the blame where it rightfully belongs. I commend the following editorial to my colleagues:

THE LOS ANGELES EXPLOSION

One of the oddities of the aftermath of the Los Angeles riots is the studied effort of the liberal political salvationists to explain the blowup. Some say that the hot weather brought about a natural combustion; others contend that dormant evils in American society suddenly surfaced with unusual velocity. Still others assert that a day of reckoning was due to come for the majority in this country and that general atonement must be made for the oppressed. But nothing at all is being said about a conflict between races, between divergent cultures, as though race, one of the most disputatious areas of human existence, no longer had to be reckoned with as a social, economic, and political force.

We find this not only to be a silly exercise, but a highly precarious one, in dealing with a national problem, which is worsening as the proposed solutions to it remain political in the extreme. In the name of compassion, the Negro mass has been cultivated by politicos and professional bleeding hearts to its own detriment; the soul of the Negro has been praised to the heavens—and his vote, whether educated or not, has been recklessly schemed for, even at the expense of traditional restraints in the U.S. Constitution. A political power grab is in the making, and the Negro, unfortunately, is the pawn, shifted here and there by his own leaders as much as by certain militant white groups. Not even President Johnson's fatherly masquerade as a latter-day Abraham Lincoln can disguise that ugly practice.

Indeed, our national political leadership is dealing in some dangerous fallacies with respect to the racial issue. The South is usually the whipping boy in this complex matter, but the fact remains that the most serious disturbances have occurred in the North where desegregation has been in effect for many, many years. Yet segregation has persisted. In several respects it resembles a phenomenon American cities have long known—immigrants from abroad forming their own racial or national enclaves, maintaining their own customs and languages, even their own newspapers. And the desires making for such clannishness have come as much from within as from without.

So it is with the American Negro—in the North and the South. The salvationists spread the fiction that segregation is a wholly artificial pattern enforced by unworthy prejudice. Some of it is like that. But much segregation comes about naturally through the same processes of selection which cause individuals to choose like-minded associates

or families to seek congenial neighborhoods. And white resistance to Negro migrations within cities arises partly from the fact that such movements are usually in groups—due in turn to the Negro's wish to be with his own kind.

For the Federal Government to compel a mixing in the face of such forces of natural selection is foolhardy.

A hard fact is that discrimination in the United States is not just a question of black or white, as the professional bleeding hearts protest. Rather, it is a reflection of clashing cultures. The United States, like other countries, has always had that—prejudice and discrimination against this or that wave of immigrants. Thus, it is unimaginable in human society that the coming together of racially different cultures will not cause difficulties. That is why separateness is not restricted to the South—and never will be.

That is why, we believe, that the "force" legislation, being extravagantly praised by President Johnson as "a new road to freedom," is doomed to failure. It is one thing to give the Negro equal opportunity. It is quite another to compel, let us say, a realtor to sell a Negro a house in a white community, or to bus children from one part of a city to another in order to effect a "proper color balance" in the Nation's schools. That is just as ridiculous as saying that any social gathering in the United States, which did not have a predetermined percentage of white and blacks, is anti-American.

In this delicate situation, there are two rights in conflict. One is the right of equal opportunity. The other is the right of the individual to choose his associates. Both are closely related to the democratic ideal. To enforce either against the other by law inevitably distorts that ideal and inevitably invites trouble. Race relations in this country have been acerbated rather than alleviated by political manipulation, which has assumed the form of unwanted regimentation.

That was the trouble that exploded in Los Angeles. The heat, we think, was generated mostly by the political salvationists, who speak sanctimoniously but act with guile.

JAMES H. GRAY, *Editor*.

The Salmon Is King to Canners and Cooks in the Alaskan Wilderness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH J. RIVERS

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. RIVERS of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, the fame of the Alaska salmon as a table delicacy is well known and well earned. Many users of salmon insist that it is a delicacy when served without special preparation, but others have a variety of recipes they offer as the best ways to serve it.

Mr. Craig Claiborne, whose article, "The Salmon Is King to Canners (and Cooks) in the Alaskan Wilderness," appeared in the New York Times on August 19, 1965, takes no position on the best way to serve Alaska salmon, but he offers four Alaskan recipes that I am sure will testify that the salmon is a delicacy. In his article, he also describes modern processing and canning methods used at Waterfall, Alaska, in preparing salmon for the consumer.

In order that Mr. Claiborne's article may be more widely appreciated, I insert it here:

[From the New York Times, Aug. 19, 1965]

THE SALMON IS KING TO CANNERS (AND COOKS) IN THE ALASKAN WILDERNESS

(By Craig Claiborne)

WATERFALL, ALASKA, August 18.—A salmon canning factory may not sound romantic and idyllic, but, by golly, the Nakat Packing Corp. here may come, in its setting, at least, as close as any other on earth. Visitors arrive by a small plane (there's no other logical way to get here) that wings its way over hundreds of small, multiform islands, fishing craft, and spruce-filled mountains dotted with lakes.

The plane descends with a whish and a swoosh onto the calm, cobalt-blue waters of Uloa Channel, at a site of towering spruce, hemlock, and cedar—a place where bald eagles, ravens, and sea gulls fly overhead and black bears amble down to a lakeside to drink.

Canning salmon, like logging, is one of the major industries of Alaska. The cannery here, affiliated with the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co., is regarded as something of a model. It is an immaculate place that is open for canning from approximately the Fourth of July through Labor Day. There is a general store, remarkably complete, that is open all year for the convenience of a fisherman who might put into the local dock for a shower, tobacco, conversation, or simply to stretch his sea legs.

There are about 70 fishing vessels directly related to the Nakat operation, an impressive number considering the cost of a unit for fishing.

VESSELS ARE COSTLY

"The cost of a fishing vessel," Harald Bud Friele, a vice president of the corporation, said recently, "is from $70,000 to $90,000. The boat also has a $10,000 skiff and then there's the seine. Most of the seines are made of nonrotting nylon and cost $7,000 to $8,000 apiece."

Although it would be difficult, sight unseen, to divine the intricacies of a canning process, it is actually simplicity itself. When a day's catch is hoisted out of the fishing vessel and into the cannery, the salmon are washed, then sorted in rapid fire motion down slippery chutes according to variety.

There is the chum, which is light pink and the least expensive; the pink, which is the most abundant; the coho or medium red; the king, which is the largest of the lot; and the red or sockeye, which is the most desirable and most expensive at the retail level.

The fish are dispatched along conveyor belts where they lose their heads and viscera. If there is any roe, the eggs are withdrawn for another commercial purpose. The fish are then eviscerated, rinsed thoroughly and cut to canning size with circular blades. The flesh is automatically canned at the rate of 250 cans a minute.

Each can contains a measured amount of salt. The cans are vacuum sealed and then placed in retorts, the giant pressure cooker, where the pound cans rest 90 minutes at 242°; half-pound cans 80 minutes at the same temperature. The cans are cooled and are then ready for labeling.

Mr. Friele estimates that the cannery will pack 150,000 cases of salmon this year, which is a pretty fair amount, although it is only half the record amount. That was set several years ago when gigantic "traps" were used, as well as boats, to catch salmon. Traps were outlawed when Alaska entered the Union.

One of the most interesting aspects of the Nakat canning operation has to do with the disposition of the salmon eggs, which are frequently called red caviar as well as salmon roe in America. The best-known uses for red caviar in this land are with sour cream in consomme madrilene, with cream cheese on toast, or with sour cream as a filling for omelets.

In Waterfall, however, the eggs are processed as a delicacy for shipment to Japan. Close by the cannery there is a small and immaculate plant where the eggs are dispatched within moments after they are taken from the salmon. The eggs are rinsed gently but thoroughly in huge vats of pure cold water, then drained.

They are treated with salt and are allowed to stand until they achieve a texture that is slightly more chewy than one is accustomed to in red caviar in America. The roe, now known as shujike, is then neatly arranged and sealed in small wooden boxes stenciled with Japanese characters. There are 23 pounds to a box. So far this year 4,500 boxes have been prepared for shipment on Japanese freighters to Nipponese gastronomes.

Someone remarked recently that Alaska was one of the few places where canned salmon was not available; it is all shipped elsewhere. Nonetheless, Alaskan housewives create numerous dishes that use salmon, and a few of them follow:

Salmon chowder: 3 cups milk; 1 pound cooked fresh salmon, bones and skin removed, or canned salmon, drained (reserve liquid); ¼ cup chopped onion; ¼ cup chopped celery; ¼ cup butter; 3 tablespoons flour; 1 cup tomato juice; 1½ teaspoons salt; 2 tablespoons chopped parsley.

1. Place the milk in a pan (replace part of milk with reserved liquid from canned salmon) and heat to simmering.

2. Flake salmon coarsely.

3. Saute onion and celery in butter over low heat for 10 minutes, or until tender.

4. Stir in flour. Add hot milk mixture and cook, stirring until mixture is thickened. Stir in tomato juice and salt.

5. Add salmon; heat but do not boil. Springle each serving with chopped parsley. Serve with hot crisp crackers.

Yield: Six servings.

Salmon puff-ups: 1 pound cooked fresh salmon, bones and skin removed, or canned salmon, drained; ½ teaspoon salt; ⅛ teaspoon pepper; 1 teaspoon grated onion; ½ cup soft bread crumbs; 1 tablespoon lemon juice; 3 eggs, separated. Parsley for garnish.

1. Preheat oven to 375°. Butter six 6-ounce custard cups.

2. Flake salmon into a bowl. Add salt, pepper, onion, bread crumbs and lemon juice.

3. Beat egg yolks and stir into mixture. Beat egg whites until stiff and fold into mixture.

4. Divide into prepared custard cups. Set cups in shallow pan containing 1 inch hot water and bake 25 to 30 minutes.

5. Unmold, garnish each with a sprig of parsley and serve with a favorite sauce.

Yield: Six servings.

Alaskan nuggets: 1 pound cooked fresh salmon, bones and skin removed, or canned salmon, drained; ½ cup mashed potatoes; 1 tablespoon minced celery; 1 tablespoon minced onion; 1 tablespoon butter; ½ teaspoon salt; ¼ teaspoon pepper; 1 teaspoon Worcestershire sauce; ½ pound sharp Cheddar cheese, cut into ½-inch cubes; 1 egg, beaten; 1 cup cornflake crumbs. Shortening for deep frying.

1. Flake salmon, mash and mix with potatoes.

2. Saute celery and onion in butter 5 minutes, or until tender, and mix with salmon. Add seasonings and shape into balls the size of walnuts.

3. Press a cube of cheese into center of each ball and reshape. Roll balls in beaten egg, then in crumbs. Fry in deep fat heated to 265° until nuggets are golden brown on all sides. Drain well on absorbent paper and serve with a cheese sauce.

Yield: Four servings.

Salmon loaf: 1 pound cooked fresh salmon, bones and skin removed, or canned salmon, drained (reserve liquid); 1 cup milk; 2 tablespoons butter; 2 tablespoons flour; ½ teaspoon salt; ¼ teaspoon white pepper; 2 eggs, beaten; 1 tablespoon lemon juice; 1 tablespoon Worcestershire sauce; 1 tablespoon grated onion; 1 cups soft bread crumbs; 8 large pimento-stuffed olives, sliced; 3 hard-cooked eggs.

1. Preheat oven to 350 degrees.
2. Flake salmon and set aside.
3. Place milk in a pan (replace part of milk with reserved liquid from canned salmon) and heat to simmering.
4. Melt butter in another saucepan. Stir in flour, salt and pepper. Add milk and cook over moderate heat, stirring rapidly, until sauce is smooth and thickened. Pour sauce gradually into beaten eggs, stirring rapidly.
5. Combine salmon and sauce. Stir in lemon juice, Worcestershire, onion and bread crumbs.
6. Grease an 8-by-4-by-2-inch loaf pan and cover bottom with sliced olives. Spoon in half the salmon mixture and spread evenly to edges. Press hard-cooked eggs lengthwise into salmon mixture in pan. Cover with remaining salmon mixture and bake 45 minutes. Remove from oven and turn out onto a warm serving dish.

Yield: Six servings.

Asian Self-Help

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, the proposed Asian Development Bank will go a long way toward hastening economic growth in that part of the world, as well as to encourage Asian nations to implement self-help measures toward the ultimate goal of financial independence.

Like the Inter-American Development Bank, which has helped to capitalize vital projects in Latin America, the Asian counterpart will call for resources from the nations involved as well as the developed countries of Europe and North America.

A recent editorial from the Christian Science Monitor hails the plans for the bank and its implications for greater self-help and self-sufficiency on the part of the nations of Asia in bettering their economic status.

The editorial follows:

ASIAN SELF-HELP

As they did so much else, Asians appear to have invented banking also. We are told that nearly 4,000 years ago Babylonian temples lent money in a fair resemblance to modern banking procedures. Since then many ingenious financial, monetary and banking systems have risen within the ancient civilizations of the greatest of continents. Many of them were surprisingly efficient and, in a general way, took care of much of the area's needs until modern times.

But with Asia's rapid advent into the more complex world of today, old methods of banking became as inadequate for modern financing as the Tartar bow did for modern warfare. And now Asia seems on the threshold of a still further and highly important step forward. Plans are moving rapidly toward the formation of an Asian development bank.

This would be modeled in part upon the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and upon the Inter-American Development Bank. Its purpose would be to provide a steady flow of development funds into an area of vast population but chronic underdevelopment. Current plans call for a beginning capitalization of $1 billion, with 60 percent of the capital to come from the 28 countries involved.

The remaining capital would come from $200 million already offered by the United States and from a like sum offered by Japan. In addition, Washington has offered a further $100 million for supplemental loans.

Both the United Nations and the United States are now active in furthering the establishment of this bank. It also has enlisted the highly skilled help of Eugene R. Black, former head of the IBRD.

Additional fillip is provided by President Johnson's recent proposals for a vast development program in southeast Asia aimed at raising living standards there. These proposals have stimulated thought in America, Europe, and Asia as to what further steps are needed to shore up the economic conditions of an area so directly threatened by Communist subversion and aggression.

A particular advantage of an Asian development bank lies in the fact that it would be Asians doing for Asians. While help from America, from Western Europe and, also, from the Communist bloc of Eastern Europe can play an important part in Asian uplift, the greatest part must be played by those on the spot. An Asian development bank should encourage Asians to look more closely at their own resources and abilities.

SBA Makes Business Fly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I have often referred to the creative policies of the Small Business Administration. I have another and a striking example, as related in "Potomac," the Washington Post's Sunday magazine August 15, last.

Under unanimous consent I include this article in the Appendix of the RECORD, believing it to be of great interest to the small businessmen of the Nation.

The article follows:

SBA MAKES BUSINESS FLY

Why is a small businessman like a bumblebee? Because both have large bodies and little wings and theoretically should never get off the ground.

Despite the truth of this observation, the small businessman does fly and in many cases stays airborne, although it often means a 16-hour day, 7 days a week.

Why do so many men want to give up the security—and in many cases high pay—of a job with an established company to venture into a strange new world where there are 10 pitfalls to every prop?

The attraction of being your own boss is just a small part of the answer. These fledgling tycoons feel they have something to give the public and having their own business is the only way to do it.

But desire is not enough. Even youthfulness, with which most of them are blessed, won't win any orders, although it helps.

It is at this point that the irresistible force meets the immovable object. The force is the enthusiasm of the would-be businessman; the object is the bank; the collision point is money.

In many cases, with no collateral and no proof of business acumen, banks are not interested in financing projects which have every chance of failure. So the hopeful entrant into business finds himself barred at the post.

He can try to raise the capital himself like burly and enterprising G. Clark Elliott who had $1,200 worth of stocks printed on the strength of verbal support from friends to start a pizza operation.

But when he tried to sell his stock, Elliott found that nobody wanted to back their words with cash. Instead of $1,200 he had only $350 put up by his mother, himself, and partner Bill Delaney. Nevertheless, Elliott was convinced that others would like the pizza recipes of his Italian-born mother as much as he did.

With his limited capital he opened his first Pizza Square in Silver Spring, Md., and soon discovered his views on public taste were correct. Soon there were two Pizza Squares and Elliott and Delaney were looking for a third outlet for their home cooking.

They found it in an old bowling alley in College Park, Md. But conversion was expensive and despite the fact that he now had a success record, the bank manager was still out when Elliott called.

This time he tried the Small Business Administration, a Federal organization whose main function is to help the Nation by helping the small businessman. There he found a much more sympathetic ear and a check for $12,000.

"They called me from Baltimore that morning to tell me they were mailing the check to me," he remembers. "But with creditors snapping at my heels and debts piling up, I couldn't wait. I drove through a snowstorm to get the money."

Armed with their new monetary backing, the pizza partners began changing the bowling alley into an Italian garden. "But we sweated blood during the changeover," said Elliott.

"Our architects, who were much more artistic than practical, would suddenly get a new idea in the middle of a project. And while they worked it out, highly paid craftsmen would sit around as I watched the bill mount."

While the garden bloomed, the pizza houses sprouted. Soon there were seven. "By now we were starting at 11 a.m. and finishing at 1 a.m.," Elliott remembers with a yawn. "My wife and I used to go to all-night diners after we closed. It was the only chance we got to go out together."

Life is less hectic in the pizza business these days with more than 50 employees to take over many of the chores. But in the world of chemicals, where often the aroma is not so appealing, it still is all work and no play for John Huminik, Jr., and his tiny staff.

When he launched his Chemprox company 2 years ago, scientist Huminik put all his capital into it. "But our first production was ahead of its time," he says. "We developed a new compound which eliminated two industrial processes. Everyone was interested—but not at this time.

"This was a major setback to a new company but with the help of our investors, many of whom come in and work free at weekends, the forbearance of our creditors and a $15,000 loan from SBA we survived the crisis.

"We had another setback when we spent $12,000 on TV advertising for one of our cleaning products. But we coincided with a

national campaign for a similar product and did not get a single order."

One of the major problems for the small businessman is that because of his inexperience he is particularly susceptible to crises which established companies would avoid.

To help counter this imbalance, the SBA added a new name to the growing army of initial organizations—it formed SCORE.

The Service Corps of Retired Executives are volunteers whose advice is available free to small businessmen applying for SBA assistance. These men have spent their lives avoiding the hazards that plague the newcomer.

Chemprox President Huminik found their assistance invaluable as did Art Teacher William E. McGowan who left a teaching job at the University of Alabama because college rules prevented him from using his own teaching methods.

The value of SCORE advice is marked by the 80 students McGowan has at his Alexandria art studio after only a few months in business. For $5 a week, with a commitment of 12 weeks, students may indulge their artistic talents or lack of them.

McGowan, who began with a $4,700 SBA loan and a partner, a fellow art teacher who has since returned to Alabama, is there to give advice where and when it is needed. His students, who range from graduates to beginners, can find him on duty 13 hours a day, 4 days a week.

Three men and three success stories, each of which might not have been possible but for SBA. All had youth, drive and purpose—three foundation stones of any new business—but without that essential, financial fourth, the budding business could easily have ended in disaster.

Hon. Clarence J. Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I must join my voice to the swelling chorus of praise in behalf of our departed colleague and friend, CLARENCE J. BROWN, Representative from the Ohio Seventh District and chairman of the Ohio Republican delegation.

I have known CLARENCE BROWN for only 3 years, but I have known of him most of my adult life.

I followed his career through the newspapers as a young man and then as I grew older, for his career was a shining example for others to follow.

It is easy enough to praise him, for he was a man of great personal ability, dignity, honor, and fortitude. All of this rendered him a truly outstanding public servant, in the full meaning of the term. And to those who knew him personally, and worked with him in the grand arena of political tradition, he stood out, far above the crowd, not only as a statesman—for indeed he was that—but also as the best of counselors, the kindest of friends, the warmest of human beings. It was my privilege to serve with him on the House Rules Committee—and I shall cherish the experience forever.

His loss cannot be measured in terms of one dimension, for his importance to us all was far greater than that. A man of courage bold, he won the admiration of friend and foe alike, so far as politics were concerned. And personally speaking, he had no foes—he was that kind of unusual, upstanding, and noble being.

CLARENCE BROWN entered public life by way of the publishing field, attaining recognition originally as the publisher of several Ohio newspapers and as president of the renowned Brown Publishing Co.

At the close of World War I the people of Ohio elected him Lieutenant Governor of the State, a position he held for 4 years, from 1919 to 1923. In 1927 he was elected secretary of State of Ohio, and held that post through 1933. Unsuccessful as the Republican candidate for Governor in 1934, he nonetheless continued to rise in stature to the very top of the Ohio political scene.

A strong admirer of the late Senator Robert A. Taft, he assumed leadership of the Taft forces. As floor manager of the Taft presidential campaign at more than one Republican national convention, he quickly became a figure of national consequence in his own right.

And as a Congressman, CLARENCE BROWN established a record of enviable proportions. He was the author of the legislation creating both the First and Second Commissions on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government—the so-called Hoover Commissions—as well as a member of both Commissions. He was the ranking Republican member of the House Committee on Rules and also the ranking Republican member of the Committee on Government Operations.

Fourteen straight victories without defeat established beyond a doubt the position of CLARENCE BROWN as a clear-cut favorite in the hearts of the people of his district.

He was a man of genius and great heart; of force and integrity; of insight and ability.

We of the House of Representatives shall miss him dearly in the days and years ahead.

My wife joins me in expressing deepest sympathy to members of his family.

Quakers Report Viet Disaffection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, the American public recognizes the great service that is given to international problems by the American Friends Society, whom we know as Quakers. These people work quietly, but most effectively, in international troubled waters. The accompanying article in the August 20 edition of the Christian Science Monitor testifies to their dedication. It is also interesting to note that "up to now the only American religious group carrying on large-scale relief efforts in Vietnam has been the Mennonites."

These two religious groups continue to do such marvelous, unselfish acts in their usual quiet, unobstrusive fashion. They serve as fine examples for the rest of the world:

QUAKERS REPORT VIET DISAFFECTION

(By Mary Hornaday)

PHILADELPHIA.—Growing disaffection of the Vietnamese people with the war effort has been reported by a Quaker team just back from the southeast Asian battlefront.

The spokesmen for the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) predicted that a military victory in Vietnam "will turn to ashes" if the United States continues its present course.

On the basis of widespread talks with Vietnamese peasants, officials, merchants, and labor leaders, the Quakers estimated that "90 percent of the Vietnamese people feel they have no real stake in this war."

They advocated a broad overall Asian settlement involving negotiations with the Chinese Communists.

Two members of the three-man mission, Stephen G. Cary, associate executive secretary of the AFSC, and Woodruff Emlen, financial adviser of Drexel & Co., spent 3 months in Vietnam.

AREAS CONTRASTED

They were joined there for the month of July by Dr. Kenneth Morgan, head of the Department of Religion at Colgate University, who made a study of Buddhism in relation to social questions.

The three were looking for ways in which the AFSC can help. Decisions will be made when the AFSC board meets September 8.

Contrasting post-World War I experiences with Vietnam, the Quaker workers declared: "In Europe and Africa we saw suffering, but the misery of the people was tempered by hope.

"The people of Vietnam, after a quarter of a century of almost uninterrupted war, in which they feel themselves to have no stake, see on the promise of worse to come.

"There is no front, and the front is everywhere. The village never knows in the morning if this will be the day when death comes from the air, and never knows at evening whether this will be the night death comes with stealth.

"Living in this situation produces a constant agony that is hard to describe."

CATCHWORDS DISCOUNTED

Mr. Cary added that neither the "self-determination" goal of the United States nor the "liberation" cry of the Communists "has any meaning" in the paddy fields. The agony of rural Vietnam, where 75 percent of its people live, must be seen to be comprehended, he said.

The peasants he found "numbed" by corruption in the provinces and the lack of any security from the central government. Often, he said, they became refugees after finding their rice taxed 50 percent by both sides. There are an estimated 500,000 refugees in Vietnam today.

While of the opinion that the United States can win a military victory in Vietnam in at least 2 years, Mr. Cary said the "real challenge will come in the attitudes and hearts of the Vietnamese survivors."

One of the hopeful signs in Vietnam today, according to the Quakers, is the rise of leadership among young people, both Buddhist and Roman Catholic. As an example they pointed to the Voluntary Youth Association of Vietnam which works in the local communities.

One of the team's recommendations calls for a unique corps of American young peo-

ple to work with village people under young Vietnamese.

"We hope to relate to some positive effort to contribute to a viable solution of the present trouble," the spokesman said.

Up to now the only American religious group carrying on large-scale relief efforts in Vietnam has been the Mennonites. Church World Service, relief arm of the National Council of Churches, has plans for some refugee relief work. A World Council of Churches group is hoping to feed both North and South Vietnamese.

The Quaker mission was sent out after Gilbert White, chairman of the AFSC board of directors, visited Saigon last winter. Last December, Mr. White made an appeal in an article published in the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, for further development of the Mekong River Basin as an alternative to further conflict in Indochina. The idea was later taken up by President Johnson.

Dartmouth's Cultural Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, in an era of unexcelled efforts in expanding educational opportunities and encouraging national participation in the arts, I am most pleased to cite the outstanding program of Hopkins Center at Dartmouth College, my alma mater. The tireless endeavors of countless individuals, including Mr. Warner Bentley, have brought to the college a multimillion-dollar complex which has become the focus for a cultural revival of a large area of upper New England. Hopkins Center has indeed introduced a fresh look to the tradition-laden Ivy League campus with its modern architecture and exceptional facilities for music, painting, sculpture, drama, and a host of other student and community activities. The center's director, Mr. Bentley, his staff and the college administration are to be congratulated particularly for the extensive use made of the center during past summer sessions and throughout the regular academic years since its opening. I include in the RECORD for the interest of the general public the following news story concerning the center's recent activities which appeared in the Meriden, Conn., Journal of July 29:

[From the Meriden Journal, July 29, 1965]

THE $7 MILLION COMPLEX ABOUNDS WITH CULTURE AT DARTMOUTH

HANOVER, N.H.—The banks of the Connecticut River, where once the Indian used to tread, are alive with culture again this summer, courtesy of the Indians of Dartmouth College.

A rich heritage in art, drama and music abounds in Dartmouth's Hopkins Center.

The $7 million center is a glittering complex of galleries, concert halls, music rooms, workshops, and theaters.

The center's summer program, called "A Congregation of the Arts," is for everybody—the Vermont dairy farmer on a night off, the New Hampshire manufacturer who travels the winding back roads from the southern part of the State, the tourists and vacationers who flock to this rolling green area.

The congregation of the arts is a program of concerts, art shows, classic films, and plays, presented on alternating nights throughout the summer. The plays this summer include Shakespeare's "Richard II"; Moliere's "Tartuffe"; and Bernard Shaw's "The George Doctor's Dilemma."

The Dartmouth Community Symphony Orchestra features annually one or two so-called Composers in Residence.

In residence this summer are Hungary's Zoltan Kodaly, Ernest Krenek, and Ross Lee Finney. Krenek's "Fibonacci—Mobile," and Finney's "Nun's Priest's Tale," will have their world premieres at the center this summer, under the direction of concert conductor Mario Debonaventura.

The repertory company producing the three plays is composed of seven working professions, most with Broadway credits, bolstered by student actors.

"When are you going to present something everyone can understand" a Hanover woman once asked Warner Bentely, director of the center.

"Never, I hope," Bentley replied.

"You just can't get education gradually," he says. "You've got to jump right in * * * sink or swim. Fortunately, most of the people around here—at least the ones we see—have been swimming very nicely."

Now in its third year, Hopkins Center has been a Bentley idea for more than 3 decades.

Clarence J. Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. PAUL B. DAGUE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, we are all overwhelmed with a sense of irreparable loss as we contemplate the passing of a distinguished colleague who towered among us as a symbol of integrity and dedication. CLARENCE BROWN would stand out in any group, and certainly in the Congress his unusual talents marked him as a leader whose contributions to the legislative process will remain to enhance his image down through the years.

When I came to Congress in 1947, it was my privilege, along with the rest of the neophytes of that 80th Congress, to sit at the feet of this wise and learned counselor. And I can recall the sound advice he gave us—cliches perhaps to the oldtimers but for the newcomers guideposts in a strange land—including the admonition above all other things "to take care of our mail," to keep closely attuned to what the folks back home were thinking.

In the intervening years, I came to appreciate his outstanding contributions to our party, and it is no idle statement to credit him with the making of more than one presidential candidate. He and I stood side by side on many issues since we entertained the same conservative views although there were many times that my final vote was registered only after I had determined where he stood. Aside from this professional tribute, I want also to be recalled as his close and admiring friend. Surviving financial setbacks and surmounting political reverses, he always returned to his legislative chores with renewed vigor and determination. When, however, his helpmate was taken from him a short while ago, he seemed somehow to lack the will to go on alone. And the faith, by which he lived and died, tells me that he now rests in that sheltered vale beyond the sunset reunited with his life's companion, there to await that final reunion when all true believers will assemble on that distant shore. May the Giver of all good gifts ease for his bereaved ones the heartache of this hour.

Without Labor, Nothing Prospers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. PAT JENNINGS

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Speaker, last week the Virginia State AFL–CIO met in convention here in Washington. I had the pleasure of attending the convention, as I have in the past, but this year I had the pleasure and privilege of presenting to this assembly a most distinguished American, the Honorable HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, the Vice President of the United States.

I believe the Vice President's remarks warrant the attention of my colleagues in the Congress. Accordingly, I herewith include them in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY AT VIRGINIA AFL–CIO, PARK BALLROOM, SHERATON-PARK HOTEL, AUGUST 19, 1965

Sophocles once said, "Without labor, nothing prospers." That has certainly been true of this year's legislative program.

The Virginia AFL–CIO, the national AFL–CIO, and your representatives in government are all laborers in the field of improving human welfare.

Your national AFL–CIO president, George Meany, has shown the statesmanship and leadership necessary for a mass movement such as the national labor union.

Your own State AFL–CIO chairman, Harold Boyd, has been a prime mover in the growth of the Virginia AFL–CIO.

Brewster Snow, your secretary-treasurer, and Julian Carper, your vice president, have also made Virginia one of the 17 States in which membership in the AFL–CIO affiliated unions has increased in recent years.

I also understand that Sidney Kellam, the Virginia Democratic National Committeeman and longtime supporter of labor in Virginia, is with us today.

But, I could not speak before a Virginia group without mentioning my very good friend—and your very good friend, too—Congressman PAT JENNINGS, from Marion. I want you to know that when we needed PAT on those very crucial votes in the early stages of the repeal of 14(b), PAT was there with us. And, just as importantly, PAT has been with labor and the people of his State and country on practically every major issue this year. We are extremely proud of you, PAT.

What is the status of labor in Virginia and the rest of the United States today?

President Johnson has outlined a strong and vigorous labor program for this session of Congress.

Specifically, the House repealed section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act on July 28. The Senate full committee met this morning at 10 o'clock, and should report the bill tomorrow or next week.

The House Executive Committee meetings on the Fair Labor Standards Act Amendments have been under way this week in the House.

The Manpower Training Act Amendments have already become law.

In addition, there are many, many other programs the President has pushed and Congress has passed this year.

President Lyndon B. Johnson and this 89th Congress will provide labor and the rest of the United States with some of the most substantial legislation ever passed by any Congress.

All of the activity on the Federal level is to make the entire economy grow, give our people jobs, and make life more meaningful for all of us.

But passing legislation alone does not automatically mean we get results. To assess how effective our labor and economic policies have been, let's look at several factors in the labor situation in the United States and Virginia.

Employment in the United States has improved notably over the past year, following 2 years of little change.

Total employment this July was 2.4 million higher than 1 year ago—outpacing the growth in the labor force by some several thousand, so that unemployment declined by this amount.

The unemployment rate, adjusted for seasonality, has trended downward steadily since last fall.

In July, just last month, it reached 4.5 percent (compared with 5 percent a year ago).

This represents the lowest level of unemployment since late 1957.

And, most of the improvement in unemployment has come in the hard-core sector—those unemployed 6 months or more—which dropped to 320,000 in July, or some 200,000 less than a year ago.

Teenage unemployment is still a serious problem, with about 13 percent of this group unemployed in July—however, it is encouraging to note that the rate this July was no higher than a year ago, even though the teenage labor force increased by over 1 million.

A great deal of credit for this reduction can go to the youth opportunities program instituted this summer.

Expansion in employment in the past year has been accentuated by the sharp gain in manufacturing—which rose nearly 800,000 and accounted for nearly one-third of the total rise in payroll employment.

The manufacturing total of 18.1 million in July rose above its World War II peak for the first time.

On the wage front, the average hourly earnings of factory production workers in July were $2.62—9 cents higher than a year ago.

Weekly earnings averaged $107.68—$4.70 more than a year ago.

So far this year the rise in factory hourly earnings has been sharper than for several years past.

The labor situation in Virginia—measured in terms of unemployment is exceedingly favorable.

The unemployment rate in Virginia, estimated at 3.2 percent in June, was only three-fifths of the national average, and one of the lowest in the Nation.

Employment in Virginia increased by 50,000—or more than 3 percent over the year ending in June—somewhat better than the national rate of rise.

The average hourly earnings in manufacturing in Virginia rose 10 cents over the year—a little more than the national average—to $2.34.

Gains were especially sharp in the tobacco manufacturing industry.

The level of hourly earnings in Virginia was 28 cents less than the national average, although this partly reflected the greater importance of certain low-wage industries in the Virginia economy.

The current low level of unemployment in Virginia largely reflects the strong growth in the State's economy in the postwar period. The increases have been considerably better than the national average.

Industrial expansion has been strong, and has come largely in the higher wage industries, especially in durables.

From 1957 to 1964, nonfarm payroll employment in Virginia rose 19 percent—nearly twice the rate of increase in the Nation as a whole.

Manufacturing employment rose 16 percent, compared with about 1 percent nationally.

Durable goods manufacturing employment in Virginia rose about 27,000 compared with 16,000 in nondurable goods.

However, in 1964, nondurable goods industries still accounted for about 60 percent of the State's manufacturing employment.

Outside of manufacturing, sharp gains occurred in all of the service-type activities—trade, finance services, and government ranging from 20 to 40 percent. Except in government, these gains were all considerably sharper than the national average.

A measure of our labors is personal income—what is the status of this in Virginia?

Per capita in total personal income has increased more in Virginia than in the United States as a whole since 1961.

A higher rate of increase in Virginia than in the Nation occurred also for the very short-term period 1963–64 as well as for the long run—either from 1948 or from 1953.

At the same time, however, per capita income is less in Virginia than the average for the Nation.

In 1964 average per capita personal income in Virginia was $2,239 compared with an average of $2,566 for the United States.

This gap has been narrowing somewhat, however, with increasing rates of increase in Virginia incomes.

As a concrete example of fringe benefits in the month of June in 1965 in the Norfolk area: Of all manufacturing plant workers: 98 percent have paid hospitalization and surgical insurance; 95 percent have paid life insurance; 60 percent have paid sick leave; 72 percent have 7 or more paid holidays; and 97 percent have paid vacations.

Labor is life; from the inmost heart of the worker rises his God-given force, the sacred celestial life-essence breathed into him by Almighty God.

You have made great gains through your AFL–CIO on the State level.

The President and this 89th Congress have made great gains in labor legislation—and we intend to make more before this session is over.

All of us are working at our labors. Although the way we labor may be somewhat different, our goals are the same—the betterment of humankind.

Let me just leave you with this thought: There is a perennial nobleness and even sacredness in work. Were man ever so benighted and forgetful of his high calling, there is always hope in a man who actually and earnestly works.

Hon. Clarence J. Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES A. HALEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues on both sides of the aisle in paying tribute to our departed friend, CLARENCE BROWN, of Ohio. As many have said and as all who serve here know, we have lost one of the most respected men to ever serve in the U.S. Congress. I do not believe that anyone who knew this gentleman could have questioned his strength of character or his great ability.

Here was a man who had given more than 50 years of active and distinguished public service to his State and his Nation, serving more than half of that time in this House of Representatives that he loved. Throughout his long and productive life, he demonstrated always the courage of his convictions and a mature and sound judgment. In times of confusion, it often was the sane calm voice of CLARENCE BROWN that brought reality back in that particular situation.

CLARENCE BROWN was a man of reason and good conscience, dedicated to principles of sound government. The people of the State of Ohio, and all who are Americans, have lost one of the most effective and conscientious legislators to ever serve in the Congress. We cannot afford the loss of such men because they are too few.

I express my deepest sympathy to his family. Their loss although more personal is shared by us all.

In the Final Analysis the People Are the Last Word—The People of Each of the 50 States Should Be Permitted To Vote and Decide for Themselves on the Question of State Reapportionment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the crux of the continuing debate over the reapportionment issue is whether the people have a right to decide their own destiny. This right is fundamental to our democratic system. We are fighting in Vietnam now to provide the Vietnamese with the sacred right of self-determination.

But, in the face of this tradition so basic to our system, a minority in the U.S. Senate has been successful in thwarting the will of the people by sidetracking a constitutional amendment. This amendment would have given the people in the States the right to decide for themselves criteria for determining composition of one house of the legislature.

It would give the people the right to vote on each proposed reapportionment.

There have been some excellent and incisive editorials in some of our leading newspapers on this subject.

The Nashville Banner, on August 4, pointed out that the constitutional convention now meeting in Nashville had voted overwhelmingly in favor of the amendment. On August 9 the Banner, in an editorial, emphasized that the battle is not over.

And the Washington Daily News, on August 4, made the basic point that "The People Are the Last Word."

Under unanimous consent I place these editorials in the Appendix of the RECORD, believing them to be of widespread interest throughout the Nation.

The editorials follow:

[From the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner, Aug. 4, 1965]

APPORTIONMENT ISSUE: DIRKSEN AMENDMENT GETS BACKING OF TENNESSEE

As registered overwhelmingly, 75 to 15, it is the judgment of Tennessee's Constitutional Convention delegates that nothing less than the Dirksent amendment can satisfactorily settle—for the Nation—the question of State authority on legislative apportionment.

Between alteration by Supreme Court decree, the one-man, one-vote formula thereby prescribed, and the constitutional concept reserving that decision to the people, this State body has cast its vote by resolution for the latter. As reprinted elsewhere on this page, the Dirksen amendment spells it out.

Even foes of this proposal for the people to decide, a method inherent to the Constitution itself, do not challenge the fact that historically—until now—States have had the right to pattern one branch of their legislatures after the nonpopulation basis of U.S. Senate apportionment. The Constitution hasn't changed on that point. Only judicial interpretation changed. Suddenly it became invalid for the States to apportion as does the United States.

Obviously there is widespread disagreement with that ukase, though State after State—as did Tennessee—legislated to conform with the Court ruling.

The Dirksen amendment would not be an obstacle in the path of any State desiring to abolish the long-standing apportionment pattern. All would have that choice. It simply would write into the Constitution, if ratified by three-fourths of the States, the provision that the people of each State shall decide for themselves.

Clearly the opponents of that proposition do not trust the people; additionally they are antagonistic to a principle incorporated in the Constitution as a power balance respecting representation in the Senate.

As conceded by even those championing the Supreme Court decree overturning that State formula, it was an abrupt and drastic alteration; and consulted at no point the prerogative of public preference. It was amendment by fiat.

The Tennessee Constitutional Convention is not, by its vote of yesterday, attempting to amend the State law, pro or con, in this particular. It has provided an expression of sentiment in favor of the principle inherent to the Dirksen amendment—for disposal of this issue by the hands to which the responsibility belongs.

There can be no denying that it has spoken in this the majority judgment of the people of Tennessee.

MAJORITY WANTS IT: FOR DIRKSEN AMENDMENT, BATTLE ISN'T OVER

Though lack of a two-thirds Senate majority stalled his amendment, which would reserve to States the right of choice in apportioning their own legislatures, Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN announced that he would try again. He should. The principle involved is fundamental, and as old as the U.S. Constitution.

It was disrupted by the Supreme Court decision decreeing that State legislatures must be redesigned on the one-man, one-vote basis in both their Chambers. That was disestablishment-by-fiat of a time-honored formula which followed precisely the apportionment pattern for the U.S. Senate spelled out in the Constitution.

There can be no question but that the majority of constituents throughout the Nation oppose that drastic, court-drafted alteration—for more than half the States have moved by one legislative expression or another to modify it; and State after State has gone on record for submitting it to test at the polls.

Equally significant as an evidence of majority sentiment is the fact that on the U.S. Senate test far more than half (57 to 39) cast their vote for the Dirksen amendment. The Constitution requires, of course, a two-thirds affirmation there to authorize submission of an amendment to public vote; and a three-fourths majority by the States for ratification.

Sentiment obviously was strong for this plan to let the people of each State vote on whether to redistrict one branch of their legislature on a basis other than population.

The Dirksen amendment does not propose an arbitrary action in challenge of the court decree. It seeks simply to let the people decide a matter that is of deep and genuine concern to them—a right recognized in the Constitution itself; but outside of which the court acted in its own decision.

The question in all its startling clarity is simply: Should the people be permitted to decide for themselves? A majority of the States said "Yes." Along with Senator DIRKSEN, 56 other Members of that branch of Congress have said "Yes." It is a minority that says "No."

The amendment can be revived in that body; or, two-thirds of the State legislatures (34 States) are empowered, under the Constitution, to call a constitutional convention for that purpose.

The former approach is the better one.

Pointed out before, and still pertinent, is the fact that Chief Justice Warren—who handed down the "one-man-one-vote" decision—was on exactly the other side of the issue when he was Governor of California. Many counties, he said then, "are far more important in the life of their State than their population bears to the entire population."

State by State, the American people haven't changed their minds on that point, as has the Chief Justice. But whether or not the idea is that they have, they are entitled to participate in the decision, exactly as the Dirksen amendment would provide.

There is nothing wrong with that latter principle; there is everything right with it.

With the majority's help, Senator DIRKSEN should keep trying.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Aug. 4, 1965]

THE PEOPLE ARE THE LAST WORD

In our system of Government, as spelled out by the Constitution and every other principle we go by, the people are the final word.

But a substantial number of Members in the U.S. Senate, although generally classifying themselves as "liberals," are opposed to this system.

They demonstrate this opposition by the bitter manner in which they seek to defeat the so-called Dirksen amendment to the Constitution.

Last year, the Supreme Court, in an amazing ruling, held that both houses of a State legislature had to be apportioned on a strict population basis—the so-called one-man, one-vote proposition. This despite the State-by-State apportionment of the U.S. Senate, despite the constitutions of most States, despite recent and specific approval by the voters in some States of a different system.

Nobody wants to rip out the Supreme Court because of this airy decision, although the decision had the effect of ripping out most State legislatures.

The way to correct the Court's action is to write into the Federal Constitution an amendment. This amendment has been offered by Senator DIRKSEN, of Illinois. All the amendment says is that any State may set up one house of its legislature on other than a population basis if—emphasis on the if—the people of the State want it that way.

But the Senators opposing the Dirksen amendment don't want the people to decide for themselves. The plain implication is that the Senators know better than the people of the States what is a proper system for the States. Since many of these Senators have been among the most zealous champions of civil rights, their inconsistency on the Dirksen issue is beyond comprehension.

If the people in the States are not capable of deciding such basic questions as the manner in which they wish their legislatures to be organized, then it is valid to question the capacity of the people to decide other questions—who, for instance, should represent them in the U.S. Senate.

Maybe, if these anti-Dirksen Senators are right, we should go back to the old system of having U.S. Senators chosen by State legislatures. (We wouldn't favor that for a minute, but it is just as logical as the opposition to the Dirkser amendment.)

There are many arguments favoring the Dirksen amendment. But, regardless of all other arguments, the issue now before the Senate is fundamental—the right of the people of the States to decide for themselves. Despite all the windy debate, this is the only issue.

Tipped Employees and the Minimum Wage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I rise to voice my objection to the proposal which has been made to include tipped employees under the provisions of the Wage and Hour Act.

In the food service and lodging industries, a unique problem revolves about the service or tip employee. Granted that some are opposed to the general concept of tipping itself, it nevertheless is true that attempts to do away with tipping have met with little success. Unless Congress is prepared to ban tips by direct legislative fiat, it should face squarely the fact that tip employees receive income over which the employer has no control whatsoever—income which far exceeds the basis and purpose of any minimum wage and hour law.

Various provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act indicate that one basic purpose of the minimum wage law is to assure each individual a minimum income floor and not necessarily to guarantee a cash dollar wage per se. In this regard, reliable surveys of the incomes of employees receiving tip gratuities indicate—keeping in mind the income concept—that such employees are receiving far more than the minimum income floor established by the minimum wage law. This leads to the conclusion that employees receiving such income should be exempt from minimum wage coverage.

At the very least, the matter of the tip employee is one requiring additional study by the Department of Labor. At present, the Department's basis for legislating in this area is that of an outdated study admitted by the agency itself to be limited in scope.

H.R. 10518, section 101(a) represents what in effect may be termed a "tip credit" to be applied by employers in determining the appropriate minimum wage of certain employees. Section 101 (a)(1) bases the tip credit on the amount "accounted for" by the employee or "turned over to his employer." Is this a practical approach? How many employees will make conscientious reports of their tip income when in doing so they cut down their paid salary?

The alternative is for the Secretary of Labor to establish a median tip scale. The language of section 101(a)(2) provides that such tip credit is to be the "average value of tips—as determined by the Secretary—for specifically defined classes of employees and establishments, and in defined areas." A mere reading of the subsection indicates that it could prove to be an administrative nightmare. It is difficult to imagine an administrative staff of any lesser magnitude than a new bureaucratic labyrinth being necessarily required to, in effect, determine the average value of tips for each individual class of employees, employed in each individual establishment, in each segment of the involved industries and in differing locales of the country.

So the proposal offers two methods of reporting tips to determine tip credits—and both are unacceptable.

Yet another objection of section 101 (a)(2) rests upon the delegation of power to the agency to set the tip credit figure. Admittedly, objection to an agency determination of this sort must be based on more than a mere suspicion that the Administrator will arrive at a figure not reflecting the true situation. In this regard however, it should be noted that the Secretary of Labor, when presented with a similar proposal in the 88th Congress, indicated that it was his feeling such tip credit would be in the area of ten to fifteen cents an hour. Ten to fifteen cents per hour is clearly not a realistic figure.

The amount of tip credit is limited by the stipulation that it shall not exceed 50 percent of the minimum wage. Such a limitation has no logical basis. On the one hand it is recognized that the tipped employee holds a unique situation in industry and it is further recognized that a tip credit should be allowed. It should follow then that full credit and recognition should be given to the concept of tip credit. In limiting the maximum tip credit and setting an arbitrary maximum, the proposal parts ways with logical thinking and sets a maximum which unduly penalizes the employer.

Section 101(b) attempts to define those "tipped employees" who will receive the benefit of a tip credit.. Such tipped employees are defined as those "engaged in an occupation for which the Secretary finds that tips have customarily and regularly constituted, and have been generally recognized as constituting, a substantial part of the income of the employees engaged in such occupation." It should be noted that the Secretary, should he be called upon to determine the average value of tips, is directed to review "'specifically defined classes of employees and establishments and in defined areas." It follows that in defining tipped employees the Secretary should be equally required to review "specifically defined classes of employees and establishments and in defined areas." This matter becomes one of great importance when one recalls that existing Department of Labor surveys into the matter of tipped income inquired as to but two classes of employees—namely, waiters-waitresses and bellmen. It is generally conceded that the number of employees properly classed as tipped employees in the food service industry far exceed these two categories.

Section 101(c)(3) makes it clear that a certain portion of gratuities received are not to be taken into account in computing overtime. This provision is still objectionable because it will penalize employers in tip industries for overtime more than it would employers in nontip industries. For example: If there is an allowance of 35 cents an hour for tips, the hotel employer would have to pay the waiter a cash wage of 65 cents an hour. In computing overtime under this amendment, the waiter is entitled to $1.50 an hour including tips. This means that the allowance of 35 cents is deducted from $1.50 making it necessary to pay a cash wage of $1.15 during overtime. Although this might seem superficially fair from the employee's standpoint because he is getting one and one-half times his regular rate during overtime hours, look at the employer's side of it. He would be required to pay 65 cents an hour regular time and $1.15 an hour during overtime. This is an increase in the payroll of almost 77 percent. Even if the allowance for tips were only 20 cents an hour in such a case, the employer would be required to pay 80 cents an hour for regular time and $1.30 an hour for overtime, an increase of 62½ percent; other employers are penalized only 50 percent for overtime.

The question immediately arises as to the computation of overtime when one considers the matter of boarding and lodging provided to employees. Section 3(m) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, provided in part that "wage" is to include the "fair value" of such boarding and lodging provided to the employee by the employer, as determined by the Secretary. The law as it is presently written requires that overtime be paid on the "fair value" of such boarding and lodging allowance. In that this legislation has included language deleting certain of the gratuities received in the computation of overtime, it would seem logical that such a deletion be applied to the matter of boarding and lodging fair value.

Obviously the minimum wage proposal which will soon be before the Congress would greatly increase operational costs to the innkeeping and food service industries and would lead to a demand for increased productivity from employees. As a result, those with less-developed, less-productive skills—the very ones upon which the Great Society's search for employment centers—will find their job potential limited in yet another industry. This proposed legislation will certainly not encourage management in the lodging and food industries to expand their work force. On the contrary, it will cause many workers with marginal skills to find their present jobs vanishing—phased out because of higher costs to his employer.

Therefore, I urge my colleagues here in the House to join with me in working for the defeat of this unjustifiable, highly discriminatory proposal.

Message for the Interstate Commerce Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the Connecticut Transportation Authority is an agency of the State of Connecticut charged with the statutory responsibility of providing necessary public financial support for the preservation and improvement of rail service. I offer for the consideration of my colleagues a resolution unanimously adopted by the Connecticut Transportation Authority urging the Interstate Commerce Commission to require the merged Pennsylvania-New York Central Railroads to continue all New Haven Railroad passenger service required by the public interest.

This is a problem of significant importance, not only to Connecticut residents, but also to the residents and the business representatives of other States adjacent to and distant from Connecticut who have occasion to use the New Haven Railroad which provides the only railroad passenger service within Connecticut and between Connecticut and other States.

I am confident that the Connecticut Transportation Authority has the support of the entire Connecticut delegation in this effort. I solicit the support of my other colleagues and add the resolution to this statement:

RESOLUTION OF CONNECTICUT TRANSPORTATION AUTHORITY

Re continuation of New Haven Railroad passenger service by the proposed merged New York Central-Pennsylvania Railroads.

It appearing that the Pennsylvania-New York Central Railroad Cos. have filed a petition with the Interstate Commerce Commission seeking merger of these two large railroad systems in order to effectuate substantial economies in operation (Interstate Commerce Commission, Finance Docket Nos. 21989 and 21990), and

It appearing further that the New Haven Railroad, which has been in bankruptcy proceedings for over 4 years, has requested that it be included in the aforesaid merged company for the reason, inter alia, that without such inclusion, business now handled by New Haven Railroad would be diverted to the merged company and the resultant loss in revenues could result in liquidation of the New Haven Railroad because it would be impossible to reorganize this railroad upon such loss of revenues, and

It appearing further that the report and order recommended by the Interstate Commerce Commission examiners in this proceeding (service date Mar. 29, 1965) would require the merged company to continue the freight operations of the New Haven Railroad, but would, in effect, permit abandonment of all passenger services now operated by the New Haven Railroad, and

It appearing further that the New Haven Railroad is the only railroad that provides passenger service within Connecticut and between Connecticut and other States, and that such service is patronized by thousands of Connecticut residents daily and constitutes an essential form of public transportation for which no suitable alternative exists, and

It appearing further, that the State of Connecticut has intervened in said Interstate Commerce Commission proceedings, and by testimony of witnesses, documentary evidence, submission of brief and exceptions to the examiners' recommended report, Connecticut urges that the merged company be required to continue both passenger and freight service now furnished by the New Haven Railroad: Now, therefore

We, the undersigned, comprising the Connecticut Transportation Authority of the State of Connecticut, established by the General Assembly of Connecticut, for the purpose of providing necessary public financial support for the preservation and improvement of rail service, recognizing the vital importance of efforts heretofore and currently carried forward by Connecticut Senators and Representatives in the U.S. Congress for the preservation of essential New Haven Railroad freight and passenger services, herewith petition each Connecticut Senator and Representative to continue to bring to the attention of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Connecticut's urgent need for continued rail passenger service and to urge the Interstate Commerce Commission to direct the merged company to continue all passenger service now provided by the New Haven Railroad and required by the public interest.

Dated at Hartford, Conn., this 18th day of August 1965.

CONNECTICUT TRANSPORTATION AUTHORITY.

Frank M. Reinhold, Chairman; Hugh M. Joseloff, Secretary; George Cahill, William R. Adams, Donald H. McGannon, Hon. Robert T. Cairns, William F. Hickey, Jr., Senator, Hon. Charles M. McCollam, Jr., Frederick Pope, Jr., Senator.

We herewith order the executive director of the authority to forward a copy of this resolution to each Connecticut Senator and Representative in Congress, to the Interstate Commerce Commission, to the Department of Commerce, to the Housing and Home Finance Agency, and to all other parties in interest.

HARTFORD COUNTY, *ss:*

HARTFORD, August 18, 1965.

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of resolution adopted by Connecticut Transportation Authority of the State of Connecticut.

Attest:

SAMUEL KANELL,
Executive Director, Connecticut Transportation Authority.

Adversary System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, there is much logic and history to support the conclusion reached in Richard Strout's commentary in the August 20 issue of the Christian Science Monitor. The article, which follows, is an excellent analysis of political cycles in this country:

ADVERSARY SYSTEM

(By Richard L. Strout)

In 7 months Congress has passed a backlog of 20 years' legislation which it may take 20 more years to learn how to administer.

For administrative complexity, the country has hardly seen anything like the present. One remembers the attack on the mess in Washington in the New Deal. A bigger outcry may develop now. There is no partisan bias in this reporter's appraisal of the problem ahead. But he would guess that before long the Republicans would be throwing themselves on examples of duplications and contradictions, of inefficiencies and perhaps corruption, that develop with sweeping new legislation. In fact we are beginning to see this in the administration of the war on poverty.

It is not one new administrative nightmare, it is half a dozen. The Civil Rights Act theoretically ends ancient barriers to Negro voting. A majority of Congress, Republicans and Democrats, approve. But the machinery involves courts, Justice Department men and Federal registrars. It proposes a social revolution, and a revolution that has to be administered.

There is medicare, too. A new Federal regulatory bureaucracy is indicated. Whether there are enough hospitals, nurses and doctors to run the new program remains to be seen. Almost anybody can feel that outside the harbor bar these is choppy weather. The new general education bill is another example. It may, or may not, have skirted the sensitive issue of Federal aid to parochial schools. It will be appraised when the new program is tackled.

The housing bill institutes an elaborate and complex system of Federal rent subsidies. It hasn't been tried before; it is brand new. With the best will in the world there are tricky problems of administration. There is a brand new Department of Urban Affairs and related matters. High time, sponsors exclaim. Yes, but the new department must settle down among the other departments, and its workers reach accommodation with other Federal agents.

Equal to all others put together, perhaps, are the manifold activities of the war on poverty. These range from Appalachia revival to tentative promulgation of birth control information and betterment of life in ghettos.

Well, we have a lively time ahead of us. Many Congresmen think the great batch of legislation overdue. The public seems to agree. But learning to administer this kind of program efficiently is another matter. We found that out in the New Deal.

If this reporter is right the same old cycle of American politics lies ahead. Normally it is in two stages; there is a period of innovation. That is occurring now under the Democrats. Later comes the period of consolidation. The Republicans traditionally have come to the front then. If my forecast is correct, there will be an interval of some years while the present tremendous programs get under way.

Then faults and contradictions will show up. No opposition party worth its salt will fail to point these out, and exploit them.

Will voters grow increasingly restive? Will they argue ultimately that "it's time for a change," or time "to throw the rascals out"?

Well, that's the way the cycle has gone in the past under the adversary system or two-party American Government.

Tribute to the Memory of Hon. Clarence J. Brown of Ohio

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, I rise on this sad occasion to join my colleagues in the House of Representatives in paying tribute to the memory of the Honorable CLARENCE J. BROWN of Ohio, who has passed on to the Great Beyond. The Grim Reaper with the inverted torch has beckoned him on to that long and eternal home. His death leaves a void in the Halls of Congress which cannot now be filled.

CLARENCE BROWN was an outstanding Member of the House of Representatives. He was a man of sterling and dependable character, whose heart and mind were attuned to the highest public good. He was reliable in every sense of the word and thus inspired the complete confidence of his associates.

CLARENCE BROWN embraced what I like to refer to as the sound doctrine. He believed in preserving our natural and financial resources. He was opposed to squandering public funds with no purpose in view except to increase the power of the Central Government and thus rob the States and localities of their right to regulate and govern their own activities. In short, he believed in the principle that the best government was a government close to the people.

He had the ability to know the right from the wrong and, what is more, he possessed in an unusually high degree the courage to do the right irrespective of the consequences. As he leaves this earthly planet, it is a source of encouragement to his friends to have the knowledge that he ever remained steadfast and unmovable in support of the principles in which he believed. These qualities in a Congressman are outstanding in a period and in an age when so many of our public men seem more concerned with the political implications of their public conduct and actions than with the effect such may have upon the welfare of the country.

CLARENCE BROWN loved America and he fought to safeguard the fundamental principles of Government which have made our Nation great and strong.

I had the honor to meet our departed colleague many years before I became a Representative in this body. Although

we were not in attendance together, we both were graduated from Washington and Lee University. Washington and Lee was proud of CLARENCE BROWN, one of her most distinguished almuni. Thus, I heard of him and knew of his great work for many years before I was privileged to meet him in person.

My first personal acquaintance with him came in the early 1940's when we were invited by the late Dr. Francis Pendleton Gaines, president of Washington and Lee, to return to the seat of the university at Lexington, Va., where certain honors were to be conferred upon us. The friendship thus began and established continued without interruption or abatement throughout the remainder of his life and expanded into a warm and enduring one.

I shall ever cherish the memory of my association with so great a man. I do hope and pray that God in His infinite wisdom may send others here who are determined to carry on and preserve our country in the able and forthright manner so characteristic of the services of our late distinguished colleague, the Honorable CLARENCE J. BROWN of Ohio.

More than anything else, this country stands in need of men in public office who possess the ability, as well as the desire, to serve the country in a faithful manner, and fewer of those who, instead of serving the country, expect this country to serve them. America should demand fewer leaners and more lifters.

Someone has said:

What builds a nation's pillars high
And makes it great and strong,
What makes it mighty to defy
The foes that round it throng?
Not gold but only men can make
A nation great and strong,
Men who for truth and honor's sake
Hold still and suffer long.
Brave men who work while others sleep,
Who dare when others sigh,
They build a nation's pillars deep
And lift it to the sky.

Hon. Clarence J. Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. VERNON W. THOMSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, it was with genuine sorrow that I learned this morning of the passing of the Honorable CLARENCE BROWN, Congressman from the Seventh District of Ohio.

CLARENCE BROWN has been my friend since 1952. It was at the Republican Convention at Chicago which I attended as an instructed delegate for Robert Taft that I met CLARENCE BROWN, a leader in the drive to nominate Bob Taft for President. I spent 2 weeks in Chicago working closely with CLARENCE BROWN in the effort to obtain the delegate strength needed for the nomination.

It was during those hectic days that I learned to admire and respect the great courage and determination with which he advocated the causes in which he believed.

CLARENCE BROWN was a worthy opponent and a most desired associate in any political contest. His was a conviction which never wavered and which inspired greater resolution in others. He urged me to seek a seat in the House, and I naturally sought his advice when I came to the 87th Congress. His advice and counsel will not only be missed by me, but his firm and constant adherence to his basic conservative beliefs will be missed by those who at times needed renewed reassurance in the virtues of his principles.

CLARENCE BROWN was a tower of strength and reassurance to the Members of his Party, an outstanding Representative of his district, and his Nation. His loss will be keenly felt, and I join my colleagues in expressing my deep regret and in extending to his children my genuine sympathy.

The "Peoria Story" Spreads

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, the Peoria, Ill., story of local initiative in connection with its plans for progress and expansion which I elaborated upon earlier in a speech on the floor has now become well known throughout the Nation.

I am very pleased, under unanimous consent to include the following editorial from the August 20, 1965, issue of the Peoria Journal Star:

THE "PEORIA STORY" SPREADS

The "Peoria story" of rebuilding its downtown is a big story from coast to coast.

Not infrequently someone will telephone us to say that a friend of theirs in, say, New Jersey, read about the "Peoria story" in the Bergan Record.

We're happy to hear these, but cannot, of course, comment on them all. Two worth mentioning recently, however, appeared in the Tallahassee Democrat and in Iron Age magazine.

The Tallahassee (Fla.) newspaper's lead editorial was headlined, "Peoria Did It; Can We?" Editorials usually don't have pictures, but this one included two photos (before and after) to show how "businessmen in Peoria, Ill., formed a corporation, raised money, bought a neglected section," and kicked off "a $50 million construction boom."

Iron Age magazine, an influential journal which is read by key men in industry, devoted its entire editorial page to "Rumors Die Hard, But—Peoria Works Hard To Kill Them."

Its editor told how he, among many others in industry, was invited to Peoria by Caterpillar Tractor Co. They heard the Peoria story, he said, and were invited "to move to Peoria and enjoy its strong points." The editor concluded:

"A news point: Caterpillar's decision to build its international headquarters in Peoria. This is known as practicing what you preach. Simple? Yes; but effective in this electronic age."

In a word, the Peoria story is getting around.

Keep Our Flag Flying

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL B. DAGUE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, it must trouble every citizen when he contemplates the lawlessness that is rife in so many of our cities today, when incitement to civil disobedience ends in riots and loss of life and property. But even more disturbing is the subtle—or sullen—disregard for the things that so many of us have always held sacred—standing at attention when the National Anthem is played, and removing our hats as a mark of respect when the flag goes by.

I am indebted to my stanch friend and supporter, Mrs. George D. Conn of Malvern, R.D., Pa., for calling to my attention the statement by S. L. DeLove entitled "Can We Wave The Flag Too Much?" which is included as a part of these remarks and recommended to those who may have allowed their patriotic awareness to become a bit less sensitive than it should be.

CAN WE WAVE THE FLAG TOO MUCH?

(By S. L. DeLove)

Is it possible to wave the flag too much? Provided, of course, that you wave it with integrity? Is it possible to study Lincoln or Shakespeare too much? Is it possible to read the Bible too much? The great, the good, the true, are inexhaustible for inspiration, example, and strength. I believe that we are not waving our flag enough, not nearly enough.

It seems to me that we are developing a tendency to be timid or even apologetic about waving the stars and stripes. Walk up and down the streets on July 4 and count the flags. It is our Nation's birthday, a sacred day in world history, the most important day of America. Why isn't the flag flying on every rooftop and from every home and building? This complacent attitude is strong evidence of cancerous patriotic decay. The flag is a symbol of our national unity. It is the spirit of our undying devotion to our country. It stands for the best that is in us, for loyalty, character, and faith in democracy. Isn't our flag a synonym of the United States of America? Does it not represent man's greatest, noblest, most sublime dream? Is it not the zenith of achievement, the goal to which generations have aspired? Ladies and gentlemen, I believe it is time for us, for the mad, rushing 20th century American, to stop for a moment and think. Let us arrest our near reverential admiration of material success and return to the spiritual and ethical values. Let us imbue and rekindle in ourselves and our children the so-called old-fashioned way of patriotism, a burning devotion to the principles and ideals upon which our country was founded.

Should not every home own and proudly display the colors on holidays and other such occasions? Isn't the flag Patrick Henry, Jefferson, Franklin, Washington, Nathan Hale, Gettysburg and Valley Force, Paul Revere, Jackson and other great men

and women who have given us our heritage. When you look at the flag can't you see the Alamo, Corregidor, Pearl Harbor, the *Monitor*, the *Merrimac*, Wake Island, and Korea? Lest we forget, isn't the flag Flanders Field, Bataan, Iwo Jima, Normandy, Babe Ruth and Davy Crockett? The great events of our past and present are wrapped up in our flag.

It is a symbol of this blessed Nation, a giant in industry, education, and commerce. Millions of fertile square miles, wheatlands, coal mines, steel plants. Our great republic, the chosen infant destined to be man's last and remaining hope for suffering humanity, a shining beacon of light, noble and glorious, the haven for the oppressed and persecuted and truly God's gift to mankind.

That is what the flag means to me. Can we wave it too much? I don't think so.

DAV Services in New Mexico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Speaker, an exceptional record of vital rehabilitation services freely extended to thousands of New Mexico citizens has recently come to my attention. These splendid humanitarian services are not sufficiently appreciated by those who have benefited thereby, directly or indirectly.

The Disabled American Veterans, a congressionally chartered veterans organization, has a State department and 26 local chapters in the State of New Mexico. The DAV is the only such organization composed exclusively of those Americans who have been either wounded, gassed, injured, or disabled by reason of active service in the Armed Forces of the United States, or of some country allied with it during time of war. I have been a life member of the DAV since 1950.

Formed in 1920, under the leadership of Judge Robert S. Marx, DAV legislative activities have benefited every compensated disabled veteran. The present national commander is Claude L. Callegary from the State of Maryland. The national headquarters are at Cincinnati, Ohio. The national service headquarters of the DAV are located at 1701 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

Inasmuch as less than 15 percent of our country's war veterans are receiving monthly disability compensation payments for service-connected disability—some 2 million—the DAV can never aspire to become the largest of the several veterans organizations. Nevertheless, the DAV has maintained the largest staff of any veterans' organization, of full time, trained national service officers, who are located in the 62 regional and 2 district offices of the U.S. Veterans' Administration and its central office in Washington, D.C. They have access to the official claim records of those claimants who have given them their powers of attorney. All of them being war-handicapped veterans themselves, the national service officers are sympathetic and alert to the problems of less informed claimants.

DAV SERVICE FACILITIES IN NEW MEXICO

The DAV presently maintains one national service officer in New Mexico, Mr. Henry J. Dudoich, located in the VA regional office in Albuquerque. The department commander is Victor J. Omelian, of Artesia. The department adjutant is Harry B. Trollinger of Albuquerque. The department headquarters are at room 247, Korber Building, 200 Second Street NW., in Albuquerque.

One hospital is maintained by the VA in our State, a 500-bed general medical hospital at Albuquerque. The DAV department of New Mexico has nationally appointed representatives to the Veterans' Administration Voluntary Services Advisory Committee at the Veterans' Administration hospital servicing New Mexico veterans.

During the last fiscal year the VA paid out in excess of $39 million for its veteran program in New Mexico including disability compensation to its 13,606 service-disabled veterans. These Federal expenditures in New Mexico furnish substantial purchasing power in all communities. Nearly 28 percent are members of the 26 DAV chapters in New Mexico. This 28 percent record is much above the average, but not nearly good enough in view of the very outstanding record of personalized service activities and accomplishments of the DAV service office in behalf of New Mexico veterans and dependents during the last 10 fiscal years, as revealed by the following statistics:

Claimants contacted: Estimated 45,305; claim folders reviewed: 29,123; appearances before rating boards: 16,982; compensation increases obtained: 3,903; service connections obtained: 747; nonservice pensions: 1,232; death benefits obtained: 698; total monetary benefits obtained: $10,019,315.55.

These above figures do not include the accomplishments of other national service officers on duty in the central office of the Veterans' Administration, handling appeals and reviews, or in its two district offices, handling death and insurance cases. Over the last 10 years, they reported 21,421 claims handled in such district offices, resulting in monetary benefits of $5,957,574.70 and in the central office, they handled 42,165 reviews and appeals, resulting in monetary benefits of $5,893,303.64, proportionate additional benefits were thereby obtained for New Mexico veterans, their dependents and their survivors.

These figures fail properly to paint the picture of the extent and value of the individualized advice, counsel, and assistance extended to all of the claimants who have contracted DAV service officers in person, by telephone, and by letter.

The DAV department of New Mexico operates a salvage industry, the proceeds of which have provided, in the past 7 years, $33,250.20 for veteran rehabilitation, $9,050.75 for emergency relief, and $323,125.84 for wages for disabled veterans in a sheltered workshop among other services to the community.

Pertinent advice was furnished to all disabled veterans—only about 10 percent of whom were DAV members—their dependents, and others in response to their varied claims for service connection, disability compensation, medical treatment, hospitalization, prosthetic appliances, vocational training, insurance, death compensation, or pension. Veterans' Administration guarantee loans for homes, farms, and business, and so forth. Helpful advice was also given as to counseling and placement into suitable useful employment—to utilize their remaining abilities—civil service examinations, appointments, retentions, retirement benefits, and multifarious other problems.

Every claim presents different problems. Too few Americans fully realize that governmental benefits are not automatically awarded to disabled veterans—not given on a silver platter. Frequently, because of lack of official records, death, or disappearance of former buddies and associates, lapse of memory with passage of time, lack of information and experience, proof of the legal service connection of a disability becomes extremely difficult—too many times impossible. A claims and rating board can obviously not grant favorable action merely based on the opinions, impressions, or conclusions of persons who submit notarized affidavits. Specific, detailed, pertinent facts are essential.

The VA, which acts as judge and jury, cannot properly prosecute claims against itself. As the defendant, in effect, the U.S. Veterans' Administration must award the benefits provided under the laws administered by it, only under certain conditions.

A DAV national service officer does and can advise a claimant precisely why his claim may previously have been denied and then specifies what additional evidence is essential. The claimant must necessarily bear the burden of obtaining such fact-giving affidavit evidence. The experienced national service officer will, of course, advise him as to its possible improvement before presenting same to the adjudication agency, in the light of all of the circumstances and facts, and of the pertinent laws, precedents, regulations and schedule of disability ratings. No DAV national service officer, I feel certain, ever uses his skill, except in behalf of worthy claimants, with justifiable claim.

The VA has denied more claims than it has allowed—because most claims are not properly prepared. It is very significant—as pointed out by the DAV national director of claims, Irving Peltz—that a much higher percentage of those claims, which have been prepared and presented with the aid of a DAV national service officer, are eventually favorably acted upon, than is the case as to those claimants who have not given their powers of attorney to any such special advocate.

Most of these unfortunate claimants were not represented by the DAV or by any other veteran organization. I urge every disabled veteran in New Mexico to give his power of attorney to the national service officer of the DAV, or of some other veteran organization, or of the

American Red Cross, just as a protective measure.

The average claimant who receives helpful advice probably does not realize the background of training and experience of a competent expert national service officer.

COSTS OF DAV SERVICES

Measured by the DAV's overall costs of about $10,318,480.45 during the last 10 years one would find that the DAV has expended about $4 for each claim folder reviewed on behalf of a claimant, or, measured another way, about $8.65 for each appearance before a rating agency, or, again about $20.75 for each favorable award obtained, or about $251.70 for each service connection obtained, or about $57.85 for each compensation increase obtained, or about $41.30 for direct monetary benefits obtained for claimants for each rehabilitation service dollar expended by the DAV, not counting the fact that such benefits will generally continue for many years.

METHOD OF PROVIDING SERVICES

Evidently, most claimants are not aware of the fact that the DAV receives no Government subsidy whatsoever. The DAV is enabled to maintain its nationwide staff of expert national service officers primarily because of income from membership dues collected by its local chapters and from the net income on its Idento-Tag—miniature automobile license tags—project, owned by their DAV and operated by its employees, most of whom are disabled veterans, their wives or their widows, or other handicapped Americans—a rehabilitation project in thus furnishing them with useful employment. Incidentally, without checking as to whether they had previously sent in a donation, more than 1,900,000 owners of sets of lost keys have received them back from the DAV's Idento-Tag department.

Every eligible veteran, by becoming a DAV member, and by explaining these factors to fellow citizens can help the DAV to procure such much-needed public support as will enable it to maintain its invaluable nationwide service setup on a more adequate basis. So much more could be accomplished for distressed disabled veterans, if the DAV could be enabled, financially, to maintain an expert service officer in every one of the 160 VA hospitals.

MEMORIAL HONOR ROLL

During the last 10 years, the DAV has also relied on appropriations from its separately incorporated trustee, the DAV Service Foundation, aggregating approximately $2 million for salaries to its national service officers. Its reserves having thus been nearly exhausted, the DAV Service Foundation is therefore very much in need of the generous support of all serviced claimants, DAV members, and other social-minded Americans—by direct donations, by designations in insurance policies, by bequests in wills, by assignments of stocks and bonds, and by establishing special types of trust funds.

A special type of memorial trust fund originated about 8 years ago with concerned disabled veteran member of DAV, which established the first perpetual rehabilitation fund of $1,000 with the DAV Service Foundation. Benefactors from 39 States have, up to this time, become enrolled on the memorial honor roll.

Inasmuch as only the interest earnings from special donations will be available for appropriation to the DAV for its use in maintaining its national service officer program in the State of residence of each such benefactor, this is an excellent objective also for New Mexico. Each such special benefactor is enrolled on a permanent memorial honor roll which, updated, is then included in the annual report of the DAV and of its incorporated trustee, the DAV Service Foundation, to the U.S. Congress.

Each claimant who has received any such free rehabilitation service can help to make it possible for the DAV to continue this excellent rehabilitation service for other distressed disabled veterans and their dependents in New Mexico by sending in donations to the DAV Service Foundation, 1701 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C. Every such serviced claimant who is eligible can, and should also become a DAV member, preferably a life member.

Every American can help to make our Government more representative, by being a supporting member of at least one organization which reflects his interest and viewpoints—labor unions, trade associations, and various religious, fraternal, and civic associations. All of America's veterans ought to be members of one or more of the patriotic, service-giving veterans' organizations. All of America's disabled defenders, who are receiving disability compensation, have greatly benefited by their own official voice—the DAV. I consider it a privilege and an honor to belong to the Disabled American Veterans.

A Vacation in Maine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, Maine is vacationland. It is also a healthy and relaxing place to live and work. Nearly a million people call it home year 'round. During the summer months, thousands more come to enjoy the varied pleasures of our coast, our lakes, and our mountains.

One of our visitors this summer was Mr. John McKelway, author of the Rambler column in the Washington Evening Star.

Upon returning to Washington, Mr. McKelway wrote three columns about his pleasant impressions of Maine. I enjoyed reading these, and I ask unanimous consent that they be inserted in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this time.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Star, Aug. 16, 1965]

THE RAMBLER HAS VACATION ADVENTURE

(By John McKelway)

Notes on vacation in Maine. * * *

We were headed for Bangor on U.S. 1 near Ellsworth when it happened. The plan was to spend some time in a low-slung building outside Bangor and buy sweaters.

This practice of buying sweaters while on vacation is followed religiously each year Since we started coming to Maine for the vacation, we have purchased approximately 27 sweaters of all shapes and sizes.

A few years back the discovery was made that a sweater purchased in the low-slung building costs about $10 to $15 less than one does in Washington.

So each year, we go over there and buy sweaters, pulling them out of large bins and trying them on while accidentally punching other summer people in the ribs who are doing the same thing.

We do not need the sweaters. This is not the point. The wonderful thing is that we realize great savings. While many of the sweaters are never worn in Washington you have to realize that we could not have afforded to buy so many sweaters in the Nation's Capital. And sometimes on hot days in Washington it is pleasant to go into the closet and dig for the Maine sweaters and realize, once again, you are ahead—at least in this highly specialized field.

But on this last trip—if only for a fleeting moment—it appeared we might not be able to pick up a new load of sweaters. We ran into a roadblock near Hancock.

Sometimes it is possible to go through Hancock and, afterward, realize you never had any firm impression you were actually passing through town.

With a roadblock up ahead, however, Hancock took on new meaning—at least for those of us who are never too sure where the driver's license is, the registration, or if Maine law requires that the operator of a motor vehicle carry his birth certificate in the glove compartment.

These were the thoughts as we approached the burly trooper in the middle of the highway. He looked in the back of the car, waved us on pleasantly, and we went on to Bangor and stocked up on some more sweaters.

On the way back, he stopped us again and, although we could have been picked up for smuggling sweaters, we passed safely through once again.

Summer people rarely know what's going on and the people of Maine are not inclined to go into lengthy detail about any given incident or situation. So in the days following that harrowing experience at the roadblock, it was possible, bit by clipped bit, to piece together from conversations with the permanent residents what had happened.

Some time back, apparently, a deputy sheriff in East Sullivan—not West Sullivan or Sullivan—came upon a younger member of the summer people who, it was alleged, was in the process of moving, without official permission, a grandfather clock from an unoccupied estate on the shores of Frenchman Bay.

In the confrontation, the deputy scuffled with the part-time resident and then, luckily perhaps, fell down a 30-foot embankment.

The summer resident was later arrested—one charge, incidentally, was "larceny in the nighttime"—and placed in the Ellsworth jail.

A few days later the defendant reminded everyone of the Dillinger days by breaking out of jail after carving a gun—not a lobster boat or lighthouse, but a gun—out of a bar of soap. So far, the brand is undisclosed.

Some time after the Rambler was suspected at the roadblock of trying to flee Maine in

order to avoid prosecution for the theft of a grandfather clock, the young sculptor was found behind a rock near Hancock. He has been placed in the Bangor jail this time.

Why he ever thought he could get out of Maine with a grandfather clock bothers the Rambler.

You can't stuff a grandfather clock anywhere.

With sweaters, it's different.

[From the Washington Star, Aug. 17, 1965]

THE RAMBLER—BACK TO CIVILIZATION

(By John McKelway)

The Rambler likes to look on himself as an extremely sophisticated resident of the National Capital area.

There are times, driving along on a lonely stretch though the Maine woods, when he pictures himself triumphantly returning to civilization after days in the wilderness.

Once home, there will be concerts and restaurants, art galleries and ball games, four television stations offering a wide variety of programs, freeways, thick newspapers, vast shopping centers, and air conditioning.

Funny how hard this civilization is to get used to. While the readjustment is gradual, it is still hard to take and there are long stretches of longing for another glimpse of birches against a dark forest or just to feel chilled once again.

But it is gradual.

It was quite gradual on the Garden State Parkway the other morning. As the Rambler came speeding in from Maine, all the residents of New Jersey got into their wagons and headed for the sea, bumper to bumper, slowly, 5 miles an hour, for hours on the high speed highways where you may lose your license if you speed. Civilization.

The Rambler had time, plenty of time, to remember Maine and to have second thoughts about ever leaving the place instead of making his return to civilization—which at that moment was a hot, crawling car.

He kept thinking back to a familiar sight.

In his travels in Maine, poking here and there, he would drive across an ancient bridge over a river that rushes with the change of each tide.

Each time he would notice the fisherman. He was a young man sleeping in the sun in his rowboat. Before the change of tide, he had strung a net across the channel and then he had gone to seep to wait and see what the force of the tide provided. Water bubbled about the bow of his boat as he slept, face up. The Rambler remembered him in the steaming traffic of the Garden State. Civilization.

The old Jersey Turnpike was better. Traffic moved, at 60, almost bumper to bumper, and it was somewhat more difficult to concentrate on the vast differences between Maine and the approaches to home and civilization.

But he did remember another man at work. He was sort of a keeper at a small zoo near Bar Harbor. He looked after some harbor seals, two bears, deer, owls, skunks, and one old, large lobster in an aquarium.

With some people, he got to talking about lobsters—with a certain affection. He seemed proud that Maine is trying to conserve the lobster and frowned on the more modern methods of lobstering used by others—the Russians, for one, he said.

Then he picked up the old lobster and announced he would place him—he said it was mbale—in a "suspended state of animation."

With that, he bent the lobster over and scratched its tail. In a few moments, the lobster apparently went off to sleep standing, sort of, on its head.

"They do the same thing in Florida," said a tourist, "with alligators."

The Rambler had been fascinated. And he wondered, on the turnpike, if the lobster was once again off and sleeping for a small knot of tourists away from civilization. Passing a truck, the Rambler envied the lobster's keeper.

Down the road a bit, out of Baltimore, where civilization had blackened the sky with a choking smoke, putting a lobster to sleep seemed to be an extremely sensible thing to do, comparatively.

At that point, Rambler was stationary.

Thousands of others, fleeing back to civilization, were stationary, also. Engines were spewing steam and breaking down. We couldn't get through the tunnel and so we sat in the incredible heat. Trapped by progress, in a way. Civilization.

There was a time, only a few years back, when it was very bad getting through Baltimore. So they built the tunnel and it was such a success that today it is very easy to get trapped in the tunnel. No escape. No side streets. No water, even.

Oh, well. The Rambler always ends a vacation this way. He broods about the Washington heat and dreams of the cool, Maine fog and then, eventually, remembers what someone once pointed out after the Rambler had considered leaving civilization permanently.

"You ever spent a winter in Maine?" the man asked.

[From the Washington Star, Aug. 18, 1965]

THE RAMBLER KNOWS A CELEBRITY

(By John McKelway)

A few weeks back, the Rambler was surprised to discover that Bar Harbor, Maine, is not above taking an interest in tourists.

Previously, he had the impression the town was pretty much off limits to summer people and set up exclusively for millionaires and the permanent residents.

But he was pleasantly surprised to discover the town offers deep sea fishing trips for those faced with small boys on the brink of boredom—$6 a boy, with reel.

We left about 2 p.m. on a hazy afternoon abroad a sturdy old boat called the *Osprey* and slid past the mansions that look out on Frenchman Bay.

There were as many as 35 or so persons headed out to sea, all holding rods and looking rather blanky at one another and, perhaps, dreaming of giant tuna.

We churned on and the Rambler began noticing the gulls. They appeared to have been resting, bobbing in the sea, and when the boat came by they began to follow, just over the stern of the boat.

The Rambler was to learn later the gulls know every move of the *Osprey* and are thoroughly familiar with the habits of tourists deep sea fishing.

It was a long trip in a rolling surf and the Rambler began to worry about tales of seasickness on deep sea fishing trips.

The mountains of Mount Desert Island were extremely beautiful—a soft, pale blue—and, perhaps, they served to keep one's mind off the sickness of the sea.

We anchored in over 100 feet of water and everybody began working chopped up herring onto the hooks and then the lines went over. It was hard to find a place to fish. We were shoulder to shoulder from bow to stern.

Immediately, the three young fishermen who were more or less under the supervision of the Rambler had tangled their lines. Untangling the lines of three rather demanding young fishermen can be extremely frustrating in a crowded, rocking boat.

It was too much for the Rambler. But older, more experienced tourists were helpful.

We were in luck. The most excitable, the most talkative, the most competitive, the one young fisherman has a vast amount of questionable knowledge about fishing, got the first strike.

His eyes popped; he spread the word rapidly. People flocked to help him. One kindly gentleman held the end of the rod; another held the tip; another made sure the line would not tangle and the young fisherman began reeling it in.

He must have reeled it in for 2 or 3 minutes. He rejected offers of help despite being thoroughly pooped.

After an eternity, the load flashed in the water—a sizable haddock, maybe as much as 7 pounds. It was brought aboard and proudly displayed by the hunter.

Eeverybody began catching dogfish. Dogfish can be described as small sharks. What they did on this trip was to attack the bait with great gusto and then tangle the lines of most of the fishermen.

Nothing in Washington has ever been quite as confused.

"Have I got you?" one fisherman would ask a neighbor.

"No," the answer would be, "you've got him." And everybody had a dogfish.

The captain and a young assistant got the dogfish off each line, one after another, slapped the beast against the side of the boat to break its back, and tossed them away. The party must have caught at least 40, despite the confusion.

Meanwhile the gulls watched, waiting.

The Rambler had not fished—just watched the three young fishermen. Finally, as he was once again at work untangling a line, he felt a tug and the thrill of a fish at the end of the line.

"I think I got something," said the Rambler to one of the young fishermen who had let go of the rod only because it was tangled.

"Let me have it then," he said, bluntly. He pulled up another dogfish.

We headed back at sundown, followed again by the gulls who knew the cod and the haddock caught would be cleaned on the way. They hovered over the boat and a few were able to swoop down and pick up and swallow a whole fish head.

It turned out the boy with the haddock had caught the biggest fish. At Bar Harbor, the tourists flocked around him and asked him questions.

He may have been disappointed, though. No one asked for his autograph.

Kremlin Reveals Same Old Price for Nuclear Curb

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego Union of August 23, 1965:

WOULD STRIP WEST—KREMLIN REVEALS SAME OLD PRICE FOR NUCLEAR CURB

(By Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps, retired, Director of National Security and Foreign Affairs, Veterans of Foreign Wars)

WASHINGTON.—It wasn't for the cause of peace that the Kremlin agreed to reopen disarmament talks in Geneva.

Longtime Washington observers of Soviet methods are saying resumption of the talks offers, in Moscow's opinion, a good opportunity for propaganda blasts against the United States.

Such evaluation appears to have substance. No sooner had the highly touted "peace talks" resumed than the head of the Soviet delegation, Semyon K. Tsarapkin,

coldly stated Moscow's price for agreement on further control of nuclear weapons.

Tsarapkin's policy statement to the Geneva delegates should be carefully noted by anyone who still believes Russia's propaganda pleas for peace are sincere.

DEFINITION OF PEACE

The Kremlin wants peace, but it is the Communist definition of peace. What they are talking about is the kind of peace in which communism would not be challenged, and, therefore, would be triumphant.

Here briefly is what Russia is demanding as the price for peace:

Stop the war in South Vietnam; withdrawal of U.S. overseas troops; dismantling of our overseas bases.

This, in essence, is nothing but a dual demand that: First, we stop opposing communism; second, we abandon the defenses we have so laboriously erected to protect our allies and ourselves from Communist aggression.

Give the Kremlin its dubious due. At least it is consistent.

NO REAL THAW

With all the so-called thaw that wishful thinking has so eagerly attributed to the Soviet Union since the death of Josef Stalin, this most recent Geneva price tag for peace shows the Kremlin has not given up a single basic objective of Communist policy.

For instance, destruction of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, since the end of World War II, has been a fundamental Russian goal. Nothing would more speedily make a shambles of NATO than the withdrawal of U.S. troops from NATO forces and the closing out of our European and Mediterranean bases.

This, from the Kremlin's standpoint, would solve a lot of problems like Berlin, free Germany, control of the Baltic, and the existence of a non-Communist Europe. It would be the Soviet solution, and freedom has no place in it.

NATO is not the only target of the Red peace offensive. Moscow may be having its Communist family squabbles with Peiping, but Russia has not taken the priority sign off basic Red targets in Asia.

PACIFIC BASES

Little wonder, then, that Tsarapkin served notice that if we really wanted peace we would have to get out of Formosa and South Korea. Abandonment of these strategic positions, together, presumably with Okinawa, which would be included in the catchall demand that we give up all bases, would mean the shattering of our outer defense line in the western Pacific.

South Vietnam, southern anchor of our defense line in Asia, came in for particular attention. What the Soviet chief delegate said echoed Peiping's crude anti-U.S. propaganda. It did not do anything to bolster the theory that the Kremlin is really on our side and is trying to pull the rug out from under Red China in southeast Asia.

In one way, the resumption of the Geneva talks did some good. It showed that Moscow may zig and zag between a soft and hard line, but the basic objective—destruction of the defenses of the free world—remains the same.

Action Needed in Riots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, since the traumatic Los Angeles riots, a great deal has been said with respect to the cause and effect of this hysteria. We also need some sound proposals with respect to the type of action that is needed to prevent and subdue this defiance to law and order when it develops.

On this point, under unanimous consent, I wish to include an editorial from the August 17, 1965, issue of the Peoria Journal Star and a resolution adopted by the Enrico Fermi Post No. 1266 of the American Legion, Chicago, Ill.

The articles follow:

[From the Peoria Journal Star, Aug. 17, 1965]

FIRM, FAIR ACTION NEEDED IN RIOTS

Eight hundred and two people (out of a city of millions) the riffraff of Paris, marched on the Bastille, and the soldiers refused to fire on their countrymen. When the soldier's guns were turned around, and the Bastille stormed without opposition, the hundreds suddenly swelled to thousands, and revolution swept France, overcame such opposition as then appeared, and launched an orgy of murder which finally turned inward on itself as the revolutonists began slaughtering each other.

A mob of thousands, who had ruled the streets at will for years, poured into them to upset still another republican government, the Directory, in Paris. A General named Napoleon loaded one battery of cannon with handfuls of grapeshot and blasted them right down the broad highway. The street was cleared and remained cleared for 15 years so long as Napoleon resided in France.

In a moment of passion, a handful of Sepoys killed their British commander. Nearby British troops made no move against them, but instead withdrew into their fort to let the Sepoys cool off. The entire Sepoy organization in the area promptly joined the killers, who abandoned plans to flee for their lives, and became heroes instead. Their action and the retreat of the British spread like wildfire across the land, and 250,000 Sepoy troops revolted.

They then engaged in a blood orgy of rape, torture, and murder—which also turned inward as they found themselves almost unopposed but unable to equip themselves, provide ammunition, or even food for all.

The inflamed British then hit them with ruthless fury, followed by mass executions, and India was free of such violence for almost 100 years, at which time its independence effort was Ghandi's famous "nonviolent" campaign.

When the British left India after acceding to demands for independence, and no effective police authority existed, aggressive warlike Moslems rioted and engaged in the slaughter of literally millions of Hindus in their vicinity. In turn, the usually passive and peaceful Hindus rioted and massacred hundreds of thousands of Moslems, wiping out whole villages in their vicinity.

(NOTE.—During the Los Angeles riots, little attention was paid the news from America in India. Bloodier riots were going on there once again last week at the same time.)

A protest mob filled Red Square, and the Cossacks galloped onto the scene, but this time the Cossacks ringing the mob did not charge in bowling people over with their horses and slashing with their sabers. They picked their way through the crowd harming no one.

One man ducked under the belly of a Cossack's horse passing the line around the square and ran, and the Cossack did not cut him down.

We have the word of Leon Trotsky, the action leader and tactician of the revolution, that this is the moment the revolution actually began—"under a Cossack's horse."

An orgy of killing followed, including the cold-blooded murder of the Czar, his wife, and his son and all the little daughters—and then turned inward in a systematic slaughter of each other that has persisted for 40 years.

Straight riot situations would serve as examples, but it is easier to document historic events that started with a riot-type affair.

The point is, of course, that in a riot situation itself it doesn't much matter if the public involved are French, Indian, American, Russian, Moslem, Hindu, Christian, atheist, or whether the scene is in North America, Europe, or Asia.

And it doesn't matter if it's the 20th century or the 18th.

And it doesn't matter if the authority is good or bad, right or wrong, or if the rioters have just causes or no cause at all.

The mechanics of riot psychology are the same.

In Los Angeles, Chief Parker, who is supposed to be one of the best professional policemen in the country, violated the basic doctrine when he pulled all police out of the district involved in what was then quite a small uproar.

The riot promptly multiplied by tens in numbers and also in violence.

Chief Parker made a big mistake, and he knew it, and it shows in his anger and bitterness at the "amateurs" who persuaded him to do it—and the Negro "leaders" who persuaded him to pull out and let them cool the situation.

The State administration withheld the National Guard for 3 days while the situation got progressively worse.

The whole problem was treated as a routine problem of individual justice and not a mass problem, and those singled out and caught by hand-to-hand grappling were then charged with misdemeanors.

No wonder it went completely out of hand.

It is not accident that the two wildest riots we have seen in the last little more than a year have taken place in the two cities of this country most known for their liberal complexion, New York and Los Angeles.

It is not accident that the fatal Negro riots have taken place in the North, and there have been no such riots in the South. (It certainly isn't because the Negro has had such a good deal in the South.)

It is not accident that the fatal white riots have taken place in the South, and there have been no such anti-Negro riots in the North.

We have now had glaring examples that have an application to the police debate here in Peoria, for we now have seen demonstrated the vital necessity for a climate in which a citizen knows that if he cooperates he has nothing to fear from police, and also knows that if he defies police in a lawless and provocative manner, he does so at his own risk, and cannot count on the policeman hesitating or holding back.

We have also seen how exaggerated demogogic attempts to exploit legitimate aims can serve to inflame and justify people and establish the climate that ends in incite to riot.

There can be not fair society, or integrated society, without law and order, and respect for law and order, universally applied to white and Negro alike, North and South, on the basis of conduct, not color.

The same thing applies to this situation as to all others—an end to discrimination. It is obvious that there is violent Negro prejudice against whites in some areas, so violent that it certainly discourages "integrated neighborhood, schools, and jobs" in Los Angeles this day. It is obvious there are prejudiced whites against Negroes.

But we must start with no discrimination in law or law enforcement, neither by unequal severity, nor unequal laxity—and a politically hamstrunk and scared police force is the dynamite that send thousands of civilians to the gun stores as they are now queing up on the west coast.

This, and the jitters is a climate in which there could erupt a really massive and murderous bloodletting.

Such a climate can only be avoided by effective police, effectively supported, and properly respected. In the long run, their existence as such is a far greater protection for a minority than for the majority.

RESOLUTION ON LAW AND ORDER AND THE PRESERVATION OF INHERENT RIGHTS PRESENTED BY THE ENRICO FERMI POST NO. 1266

Whereas the preamble of the Constitution of the American Legion prescribes for God and country, we associate ourselves together for the following purposes and then satisfies further the purposes; and

Whereas among others, one of those purposes is to maintain law and order; and

Whereas the Enrico Fermi Post of the American Legion reiterates the American Legion's purposes in advocating and objecting to lawless groups, individuals who violate the laws of the State of Illinois, the city of Chicago, and the United States of America and has demanded that "law and order" prevail; and

Whereas the American Legion further recognizes that, in the judicial due process, individuals in official capacities disregard the inherent rights of individuals; and

Whereas the Enrico Fermi Post No. 1266 deplores the judicial tactics, trickery, and any and all other means which violate the individual rights guaranteed by the Constitution: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the members of the Enrico Fermi Post No. 1266 of the fifth district, first division, department of Illinois, do hereby urge, through its membership and the entire citizenry of each congressional area, that their respective representatives in the Congress of the United States be urged to take notice and to enact legislation protecting the rights of individuals to the fullest extent that the law may provide, thereby, circumventing the judicial trickery which has become an interloper replacing the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States of America to all citizens.

This resolution was passed on July 15, 1965.

RAMON D. SCHAEFFER,
Post Commander.
JOSEPH F. CONFORTI,
Post Adjutant.

Hon. Clarence J. Brown

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, "BIG BROWN" is dead. CLARENCE BROWN was a big man physically. He was big in this House and a big man in our party for so many years.

When I first came to the Congress, I was assigned to serve under him as the ranking member of the Committee on Government Operations.

As a matter of fact, had I stayed on that committee, I would today be its ranking member, which brings to mind the manner in which he used to refer to us younger members as "son" or "sonny boy" and subsequently as "you middle-aged fellers."

There surely was no better teacher for any freshman Member than CLARENCE BROWN, but he also was the sought-out adviser to the more senior Members—and yes, Presidents, too.

Men of CLARENCE BROWN's character and ability are what have made this House so great. He certainly had no peer for fearlessness and what a tiger he was when there was some legislative scrapping to be done. In spite of having this reputation, all those with whom he served have had nothing but the utmost of respect for him as a man of truly great and endearing qualities.

I am surely going to miss CLARENCE BROWN—this big man in the hearts of his countrymen and still big in this House today as evidenced by what is being said by so many of his colleagues in this hour of bereavement.

I join in extending my unbounded sympathy to all the members of the Brown family.

West Virginia's Covered Bridges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, Currier and Ives prints have immortalized early American covered bridges. So attractive is the appeal of these structures that there is annually a Covered Bridge Festival in the State of Ohio, in mid-October. And there is an organization called the National Society for the Preservation of Covered Bridges.

At any gathering for the discussion of covered bridges, West Virginia would rank high among the States under consideration, as it is reputed to be among the top 10 States in the Union with regard to the number of such structures still standing. One of these, in Monroe County, is the subject of a newspaper article by William C. Blizzard appearing in the Sunday Gazette-Mail State magazine, Charleston, W. Va., on August 22, 1965.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD this article, "Restoration of a Picturesque Landmark."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESTORATION OF A PICTURESQUE LANDMARK—BROTHER OF ORIGINAL BUILDERS ON THE JOB WORKING ON COVERED BRIDGE IN MONROE COUNTY

(By William C. Blizzard)

If a man told you, "I'm recovering the uncovered covered," what do you think he'd be doing?

Obviously, he'd be putting the roof back on an old, time-wrecked, covered bridge. You didn't think of that? Small wonder, for covered bridges in West Virginia are few, and those who repair them fewer still.

But near Salt Sulphur Springs an uncovered covered bridge is being recovered by the Monroe County Historical Society. Floorboards and supporting beams are also being strengthened or replaced as needed.

The Monroe County Historical Society is footing the bill (with help from anyone else who is willing to contribute), but the actual work is being left to men like Walter Weikel, of Union. Weikel is 73, but still able to swing maul and mallet. More important, he knows how to split out shingles with the froe, an almost lost art in this day of machinemade prefabricated building materials.

In restoring the covered bridge, some attention is being paid to details, so that the reconstruction may be as authentic as possible.

"My brother Oscar," says Weikel, "was one of the contractors on this bridge when it was built in 1898. My brother, Ray, was the other. Ray is dead, but Oscar is 82 and living in California."

Ray and Oscar Weikel were only 18 and 16 years old, respectively, when they built the covered bridge over Indian Creek, and the bridge represented the first major enterprise of the two brothers. They had just purchased an old sawmill, paying out the only $20 both of them possessed, and they cut lumber and timbers for the bridge at their mill.

Their father was a blacksmith, so he was called upon to do the necessary iron work.

The county court at first submitted plans for an arched bridge, but the young contractors built a level-floor bridge instead.

"To handle the timbers," said Oscar C. Weikel in a recent interview, "we built a tool consisting of two double-geared, back-action cant hooks. Except at the sawmill, there weren't any power tools in those days."

Ray and Oscar got $400 for their bridge, which, according to local estimates, was used until about 1930. U.S. 219 now passes within less than 100 yards of the structure.

The usual fate of covered bridges in West Virginia is that when they aren't being used they fall to pieces. This fate was rapidly overtaking the Indian Creek covered bridge when the Monroe County Historical Society leased the property from Horace C. Kessinger for a nominal sum and determined to reconstruct the old span.

Insofar as is possible, the rebuilding is being done along the lines of the original. Shingles are being made in the old-fashioned way, and are being placed on the roof in the dark of the moon (so they won't turn up) in deference to ancient custom.

"It's not quite the same," says Walter Weikel. "I'm using red-oak logs, and in the old days they had chestnut. And the original shingles were shaved smooth with a drawknife after they were split off with the froe. But it's pretty close."

The froe is an ancient tool with a dull iron blade set at right angles to a short handle. It dates back at least to Shakespeare's time, and was probably used much earlier. Records show that Capt. John Smith ordered a number sent from England to the Virginia Colony.

The froe is used to split wood, functioning more like a wedge than an ax. Pioneer America found the froe indispensable in making shingles, cask staves, palings, and laths. Its use is made clear in photographs with this article.

It is to be hoped that when the Indian Creek bridge is finished it will be painted and decorated tastefully. Pennsylvania leads the Nation in the number of such bridges extant, and photographs of some of them are available for study and emulation. Modern fire-prevention paint, by the way, could save a lot of old covered bridges.

Michael E. Snyder of the West Virginia Department of Commerce has recently written an article on West Virginia covered bridges. His research indicates that 20 covered bridges yet exist in good condition in the Mountain State. Mr. and Mrs. Victor W. Brandon of Huntington, local authorities on covered bridges, gave the number as 26 in October 1961. If both counts are accurate,

it is obvious that the covered bridges of West Virginia are disappearing at the rate of more than one a year.

Both Snyder and the Brandons state that nearly all remaining bridges are in everyday use—21 of the 26 existing in 1961, and 18 of the 20 remaining in 1965. The conclusion to be drawn from this fact is that so long as the bridges serve their intended purpose they are preserved by the State road commission; when their usefulness is done, they are nearly always allowed to decay and are often burned or otherwise destroyed.

The utilitarian outlook reflected in this practice overlooks the tourist appeal of these old structures. This appeal is real. Ask any post-card manufacturer if he isn't looking for color photographs of covered bridges.

Here is a free idea or use at Cass: Find a covered bridge and put it across the Greenbrier River at the approach to the Cass Scenic Railroad. Make it pretty, then get a horse and a surrey with fringe on top (a la Central Park). Say to tourists: "Ride into Cass through the old covered bridge."

There would naturally be at least one other entrance to Cass. Tourists don't mind a little tomfoolery, but they resent highway, or bridge, robbery.

Although there are only 20 covered bridges remaining in West Virginia, the Mountain State probably is still among the top 10 "covered bridge" States in the Nation. Fix these bridges up a bit, and they will be worth many tourist dollars. Those visitors and residents with an interest in history and esthetics will also be pleased.

In preparing to write this article, I wrote to Mrs. Lawrence Apley, 3526 North Cecil Avenue, Indianapolis, Ind., for information, and she saved me many a weary hour of research. Mrs. Apley is an active member of the National Society for the Preservation of Covered Bridges, Inc. She seems to have visited most of the States in pursuit of covered-bridge lore, and is an encyclopedia of covered-bridge data.

In response to my request for information, she not only sent me a 13-page, handwritten letter giving the history of covered bridges in general, but another 13-page letter on the covered bridges of West Virginia. She also enclosed a copy of a magazine, "Covered Bridge Topics," the official magazine of the national society.

If you want to know more about covered bridges, write to Mrs. Apley. You'll find her helpful and full of her subject. I have taken many of the facts in this article from her letters.

According to Mrs. Apley, the covered bridge probably originated in Switzerland, where a man named Palladio designed and built the wooden truss at about the time Shakespeare was living. Palladio invented supports called the kingpost and queenpost, but no one copied his methods until about 200 years after his death.

The two oldest covered bridges are in Switzerland. Designed for pedestrians, they were built in 1333. Then, as now, bridges were covered not to protect the people who crossed them, but to protect the heavy bridge beams and substructures.

In this country, the first patent for a covered bridge went to Charles Peale on January 21, 1797. Peale is more famous as a painter of at least 14 portraits of George Washington, and a founder of the first American society of artists. Peale's plans were used, 8 years after the date of his first patent, in building one of the first covered bridges in the United States over the Schuylkill River in Philadelphia.

The first covered bridge in the United States, however, was built in 1804, over the Hudson River in New York. The longest covered bridge in the United States is Dadeville, Ala., although parts of it fell into bad disrepair last year. It is 600 feet long, not counting approaches measuring nearly 300 feet.

The longest covered bridge in the world is across the St. John River at Hartland, New Brunswick, Canada. It has seven spans and is 1,282 feet long.

Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, in that order, are the three leading States in the number of preserved covered bridges. In Indiana, there are 38 covered bridges in Parke County alone, and the same number exists in Fairfield County, Ohio. Parke County actually has an annual Covered Bridge Festival in mid-October, and the National Society for the Preservation of Covered Bridges will have a get-together in Indianapolis during the latter part of August.

Aside from the NSPCB, several other local societies have been formed for the purpose of preserving covered bridges. Among them are three in Ohio, two in Pennsylvania, and one each in Connecticut and Indiana. These societies are associated with the National Society, which has headquarters in Boston.

Some new covered bridges have been built in recent years. These are often built by private owners, but a public bridge was apparently built in Oregon as late as 1962. The Phoenix, Ariz., zoo built such a pedestrian bridge, 36 feet long, in 1963.

The first covered bridge in West Virginia was built at Gauley Bridge in 1825 by James Moore. A part of the James River & Kanawha Turnpike, it was 480 feet long, with lanes for two-way traffic.

Although you may still see the stone piers on the banks of the Gauley, this first bridge and three others that were built on the same spot went up in flames. The first three bridges were burned by ferrymen who resented a loss of business. Confederate troops later burned the fourth bridge behind them on a retreat in 1861.

James Moore also built a covered bridge over the Greenbrier River at Caldwell a little after constructing the first one at Gauley Bridge. It also burned, but was rebuilt and stood until 1932. It was 422 feet long.

The only covered bridge ever to be built across the Ohio River, in 1836, had one foot on Wheeling Island, a fact which makes West Virginia's place in covered-bridge history secure.

Until last year, West Virginia had another covered-bridge talking point. The German-born brothers, Thomas and Lewis Wernweg, were famous for building 29 covered bridges in the United States. The last remaining Wernweg bridge was at Erwin, Preston County, until it was burned last year. It spanned the Cheat River, was 339 feet long, and was built from 1835 to 1837 at a cost, at the time of $18,000.

The most famous West Virginia builder of covered bridges was Lemuel Chenoweth, a native of Beverly. Chenoweth's best-known bridge, of the double-barreled variety, is at Philippi, over the Tygarts Valley River. Over 138 feet long, it was built in 1852 and completely renovated in 1938 by C. C. Dodd of Spencer, for the State road commission. Today, traffic over U.S. 250 rumbles over the bridge 24 hours a day.

The Monroe County covered bridge over Indian Creek is only 49 feet, 6 inches long and 14 feet wide. Built in 1898, it saw use, according to Haskell Shumate, president of the Monroe County Historical Society, until 1930, when the new Union Rock camp road was constructed.

The framework of this bridge consists of uprights and crossbeams arranged in a triangular pattern and held together by iron bars and bolts.

I don't know that it's ever been done, but it might be appropriate to have a joint meeting, in the shady coolness of an old covered bridge, of the National Society for the Preservation of Covered Bridges, Inc., and the Society for the Preservation and Encouragement of Barber Shop Quartet Singing in America.

It probably wouldn't work, though. People wouldn't be able to find the place. At least I would give up before long if I had to stop very often and say to total strangers: "Pardon me, I wonder if you could direct me to the meeting of the NSPCB and the SPEBSQSA?"

Some wiseacre would be sure to reply: "No, I haven't heard of them. This must be their initial meeting."

Avalanche of Smut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, as I have stated before on the floor of the House of Representatives, obscenity in the United States is a multimillion-dollar racket—a disease aimed at the youth of this Nation—especially through the use of the U.S. mails. We as Members of the legislative body of this country are in a position to do something about the free flow of smut through the mails enacting into law legislation, such as H.R. 980, which was passed overwhelmingly by the House of Representatives earlier this year. This legislation is now pending before the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee. I think it is time something is done in this regard because most Americans are alarmed at the invasion of their privacy and that of their children by the smut peddlers.

One of the Americans who is alarmed is a very distinguished author—Erle Stanley Gardner. He told of his alarm in a recent speech in Fresno, Calif. It was reproduced in the National Decency Reporter, the national newsletter of Citizens for Decent Literature.

The speech follows:

ERLE STANLEY GARDNER SAYS "AVALANCHE OF SMUT" INVADING LITERATURE

"The average parent today is absolutely ignorant of the type of pornography that is being literally pushed into the hands of his children," famous lawyer-author Erle Stanley Gardner stated recently in Fresno, Calif.

He said that pornography is big business with an unusually high profit margin. He calls it "an avalanche of smut," that "is changing the reading habits of the public almost overnight."

Gardner had communicated with Chief Morton of Fresno and City Councilman Elvin C. Bell about his concern with the smut materials now being made available to youngsters and Bell plans to introduce a city ordinance designed to curb the distribution of such materials in the city. A State assembly committee—of which Assemblyman George Zenovich of Fresno is a member—is scheduled to consider proposed legislation also on the subject.

Here is the situation as seen by the world-famous author of the Perry Mason novels:

"There is no question but what persons who are interested primarily in making money are selling smut in great quantities and unless something is done about it we are only in the first stage of smut development."

But hasn't smut been a problem before?

"Thirty years ago there was a vogue of erotic literature. Books were rented by under-the-counter distributors and cigar stands, etc. Nowadays, those books have paled into insignificance. Books dealing with all sorts of homosexuality, sex relations and

perversions are being sold openly on the newsstands and the purveyors of this filth patronizingly adopt the attitude that anyone who objects is hopelessly old fashioned."

He notes: "Much of the furor seems to be directed at the various erotic illustrated magazines on the newsstands. But, in my opinion, much of the actual danger lies in the paperback book which deals with not only normal sex relations but detailed descriptions of the so-called perversions." And he says: "High school kids hang around the book racks where smut is sold like flies around a decaying carcass. The result is that many publishers are deliberately going after the pornographic market—in many instances outlining for authors just the particular type of smut they want written."

Gardner recalled hearing about such a letter to an author from a publisher in which the publisher declared that normal sex had been fairly well exploited and the greatest interest at the moment was in abnormal sex; that of particular interest was homosexuality with emphasis on Lesbianism. "The author was instructed to describe the sex acts in detail with bold, strong strokes, avoiding four-letter words where possible but, nevertheless, giving complete detailed descriptions."

What about the laws on smut materials?

"From a legal standpoint, it is, of course, very, very difficult to define smut. The various courts have established definitions which tie in with the literary background of the times.

"The inherent fallacy of this positions is that any time enough publishers simultaneously start bringing out smut, they can point to the other publishers and say that they are only in step with the literary background of the times. In other words, those people who are interested in the market qualify as experts in the literary mores and backgrounds and go around the country testifying as literary experts.

"They come breezing in with a big city background and patronizing attitude toward the local peasants and rattle off statistics to the effect that, outside of the local backwater of ignorance in which the current trial is being held literature has come of age as far as sex is concerned and that the book in question is actually deeply moral in that it explores the depths of depravity in order to convey a powerful message, etc.

Do you believe the public is aware of the problem?

"I think parents, generally, would be appalled if they realized the extent to which smut has invaded the so-called literature of today. The average parent today is absolutely ignorant of the type of pornography that is being literally pushed into the hands of his children."

What are the economics of the smut publishing business?

"Many of the paperback publishers have found that they can hire writers to turn out pornographic manuscripts which, in turn, can be exploited by the paperback publishers in a big way, and there is evidence that their salesmen have been instructed to push this type of material in which the employer makes a much larger profit than in the case of reprints—which he must purchase from hardcover publishers. Since it requires no great literary skill to turn out stories of filth, many of the authors of these stories are given a flat rate of a few hundred dollars when the manuscript is delivered and do not receive royalties. This makes the book all the more profitable for the publisher, and the sales representatives, of course, make every effort to distribute the most profitable items in the line. In fact, in spite a few instances the salesmen are given a percentage bonus. The hardcover publishers, in the meantime, observing the tremendous profits that are being made from this type of literature, are gradually letting down the bars so that stories by writers who have considerable ability are larded with torrid sections dealing with various aspects of sex.

"This avalanche of smut is changing the reading habits of the public almost overnight, and unless there is some way of stopping it, the more conventional type of literature is going to be considered old fashioned by the younger generation."

In addition to his long and highly successful career as an author, Mr. Gardner has been active as a speaker and writer on various aspects of law enforcement. He was with the famous "Court of Last Resort," a panel of experts assembled by a national magazine to investigate possible cases of miscarriages of justice.

Hon. Clarence J. Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the Nation deeply mourns the passing of one of our foremost citizens and dedicated Americans, the Honorable CLARENCE J. BROWN. Those of us who have been privileged to know him and work with him have a distinct sense of personal loss and without question will miss his leadership and guidance. As a member of the House Committee on Government Operations, on which Mr. BROWN served as ranking minority member, I have had a unique opportunity to know and to learn from this great American, and to appreciate his depth of feeling for his country and his amazing grasp of the system of our American Government.

A native son of Ohio, CLARENCE BROWN devoted himself to his country and to his fellow-citizens. He distinguished himself in the newspaper and publishing fields. He was Lieutenant Governor of the State of Ohio from 1919 to 1923 and served as secretary of state of Ohio from 1927 to 1933. He has served as the Member of Congress for the Seventh Congressional District of Ohio since 1939, and his devotion to his duties and to the cause of good government was unsurpassed. His clear vision and counsel have enriched our lives and have helped us to understand our tasks for the future.

His devotion to Republican principles was only equalled by his sense of responsibility for active Republican Party leadership. In 1934, he was Republican nominee for Governor of Ohio and four times served as a delegate to the Republican national conventions. For many years, he was a member of the Republican National Committee and gave generously of his time and his resources to build his party.

CLARENCE BROWN will be long remembered for his efforts to bring to the attention of the American people the need for more efficient and more economical government. In the 80th Congress, he introduced a bill to establish a Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government which the Congress approved without dissent. He had studied the previous efforts made to reorganize the executive branch and found that none had been particularly successful. Because of such past experiences, he introduced a new concept in his plan to establish a commission by including equal representation as between the Congress, the Executive, and the public, as well as equal balance as to political parties. This formula, designed to correct the deficiencies of the previous commissions, was eminently successful. Because of the success of the work of this First Hoover Commission, CLARENCE BROWN again, in the 83d Congress, introduced legislation to create a second commission. Again the Congress approved the proposal without dissent—and the work of this Second Hoover Commission brought results far in excess of the hopes of many. CLARENCE BROWN was an ardent supporter of the work of these commissions and played an instrumental part in these constructive endeavors. The Nation is indeed indebted to him for this fruitful work which resulted in the savings of untold tax dollars in the operations of our Federal departments.

As a Member of Congress, as a loyal political leader, as a great American and gentleman, and as a friend, CLARENCE BROWN will be missed by all whose lives he touched.

I extend my deepest sympathy to the members of his family.

Russia "Discovers" Profits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the Alhambra, Calif., Post Advocate on August 13, 1965 reflects clear thinking on the important subject of proposed increases in trade with the U.S.S.R.

The Post Advocate warns that we would be ill-advised to assist the Soviet economy through furnishing heavy equipment and new plants to meet their demands.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD a copy of this editorial:

RUSSIA "DISCOVERS" PROFITS

Just a few years ago Nikita Khrushchev, riding the crest of power, boasted that Soviet Communists were about to overtake that tired old nag of capitalism in economic progress.

The subsequent Soviet economic performance was dismal at best and the new Soviet leaders are more cautious in their predictions.

They have, however, apparently learned that when everyone is told precisely what to produce, or grow, in what quantities and for what prices the result is shoddy merchandise, poor production and an atmosphere of public apathy.

As a result the Russians have "discovered" the profit system and began to apply it cautiously to the economy several months ago. This week they crowed that the Russian economy has quickened dramatically, efficiency is better and ocnsumers may be able to buy someof the things they want.

Soviet claims being what they are, it is far too early to make a judgment on the claims. The boasts, however, do merit careful attention of the free world.

If the Soviet economy has indeed accelerated, it also means that the Communists can devote more money to world subversion and the arms race.

It also means that the Soviets will have to turn increasingly to the free world to obtain the necessary heavy equipment and plants to met new demands. We would be ill-advised to assist this program for whatever short term gains could accrue from increased trade.

The important factor to remember is that the atheistic Communist plans for world domination have not changed, nor are they likely to do so.

Grand Canyon Being Threatened

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, at a time when conservation of our natural resources is in the minds of many of us, the following editorial from the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel is particularly timely:

GRAND CANYON BEING THREATENED

Dedicated conservationists across the country—an easily stirred group—are really in a lather over what they charge is a threat to the Grand Canyon, greatest natural wonder in the Nation.

And what has justifiably stirred them this time out is legislation pending in both Houses of the National Congress aimed at building two vast dams above and below the canyon on the Colorado River which, they insist, will flood major parts of the canyon.

Dream children of the Bureau of Reclamation, the dams would include one at Bridge Canyon, below the Grand Canyon National Monument, and the other would bracket Grand Canyon National Park to the north.

The conservationists fighting the projects contend that, if constructed, the lower dam would back the waters of the Colorado up the entire length of the monument and part way into the park, resulting in the inundation of what is described as some of the most spectacular canyon land in the world. It would also, they point out, drown out some of the oldest exposed geological formations in the national park system, whose age is estimated not in the millions, but in the billions of years.

These, then, are the dimensions of the catastrophe which could overtake a natural wonder which has been the vacation goal, at one time or another, of most Americans. And for what?

The grand design, it seems, would not make any additional water available. The conservationists say the river already is being bled of all the water it can give. Actually, water will be lost through evaporation from the large lake surface which would be built up by the dam.

Rather, the purpose is to build huge hydroelectric plants, resulting in yet another governmental excursion into the public power field. The theory is that the dam project would supply Government electricity for sale to pay for other phases of the Bureau's Pacific Southwest water plan.

Opponents to the plan say this is akin to sending coal to Newcastle. The facts are, they say, that enormous electric power interties are now underway in that region which could supply huge excesses of power without either of the dams in Bridge Canyon or Marble Gorge.

The Indiana division of the Izaak Walton League is taking a lead in fighting this potential despoilation of the Grand Canyon. The Hoosier division passed a resolution attacking the plan and urging all interested citizens to write their Senators and Representatives in opposition to it. The Indiana division resolution will be presented at the league's national convention in Cody, Wyo., this June.

Certainly, we see no reason why there is a need for further hydroelectric projects in the Colorado, even if it might make some sort of economic sense. We would agree with an editorialist for the Indiana division of the league:

"Why should conservationists, or any living American, have to argue for the life of the Grand Canyon (and the last, unsubdued stretch of the Colorado River) on the basis of a benefit-to-cost ratio?"

Lest We Forget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL J. KREBS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. KREBS. Mr. Speaker, the senseless rioting that recently took place in Los Angeles, Calif., cannot be described as anything other than shocking. To those who have painfully followed these heartbreaking events, I recommend the following editorial from the New Jersey Herald News. The News is a statewide Negro publication and has a reputation for fairness and objectivity. While the editorial terms the rioting as "another example of hoodlumism and lawlessness at its worst," it also wisely counsels that "every effort must be made to build a future for the Negro, and help him forget his wretched past."

The editorial follows:

LEST WE FORGET

The Los Angeles riot is another example of hoodlumism and lawlessness at its worst. When men lose respect for law and order, then tyranny reigns and no man's life, limb, or property is safe. We saw this happen in New York, Philadelphia, Rochester, and now Los Angeles.

It is very strange that these riots spring from almost identical patterns. The Philadelphia riot grew out of a traffic incident as did the Los Angeles riot. In both incidents, it seems that there were forces waiting for the signal to begin their destruction and looting of property and places of business. It is to be noted that these riots lose their racial aspects when the looting begins; Negro stores are plundered just as badly as those owned by whites.

It is also a mistake to connect this organized lawlessness with the civil rights revolution. There is no connection and the sooner these people are prevented from operating under the guise of civil rights, and exposed for what they really are, the sooner the culprits will be brought to justice and law and order restored.

While these riots focus attention upon the injustices Negroes have suffered in the past, it also reminds us that every effort must be made to build a future for the Negro, and help him forget his wretched past.

This takes time, patient, and understanding and we have been so short on these in dealing with this problem. It is time for a change.

Congress Not Consulted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, in recent years the Post Office Department has begun a series of major innovations in the postal service of this country. These programs have been and are being put into effect without any consultation with the Congress of the United States. I believe this is in violation of the implied powers that were granted the Congress in the Constitution and I am not alone in this belief.

I would like to call attention to the testimony of Mr. Patrick Nilan, the United Federation of Postal Clerks legislative director before a special Senate subcommittee headed by the Honorable GALE MCGEE, of Wyoming. His testimony appeared in the Omaha Postal Clerk.

DEPARTMENT FAILS TO CONSULT CONGRESS ON CHANGES

Pat Nilan, UFPC legislative director, charged that the implementation of new program by the Post Office Department is in direct violation of the Constitution of the United States. Nilan testified before a special Senate subcommittee, headed by Senator GALE MCGEE, Democrat, of Wyoming, on June 18.

Nilan testified, "The Constitution of the United States, article I, section 8(7) states the Congress shall have the power to establish post offices and post roads. It is our belief this grant of authority also gives Congress the specific authority and responsibility to determine major policy matters related to the post office and its operations, specifically in the elimination of post offices, including railway post offices."

Nilan continued, "Certainly if the Post Office Department refuses to recognize this direct Constitutional grant of authority to the Congress it cannot ignore the 'implied powers' granted to Congress to have the control of the elimination of established railway post offices. In our contacts with members of Congress it is our opinion that the Post Office Department has largely ignored this grant of authority to Congress, in making major policy decisions concerned with the elimination of railway post offices."

"In May 1958 when Congress enacted Public Law 85-426, the 85th Congress reiterated its constitutional right determining postal policy. In this instance, the Congress was expressing itself on the general questions of postal rate adjustments and compensation of postal employees. In Section 103(a) of Public Law 85-426 the Congress proclaimed a "declaration of policy" as follows: The Congress hereby emphasizes, reaffirms, and restates its function under the Constitution of the United States of forming policy."

Mr. Nilan attacked the controversial programs which will, in his opinion, result in economic chaos to communities and citizens. He also attacked the Department for failing to consult with Congress as required by the Constitution. He said, "also ignored have

been employees, railroad employees, allied workers, and communities of the country."

The legislative director cited the deterioration of the mail service with the start of RPO elimination 15 years ago. He said, "The conception of providing the best possible service to the postal patron seems no longer to be the aim of the Department. It appears that a policy of reduction or curtailment of postal services was introduced regardless of patrons needs and without thorough and proper advice to the Congress and certainly without congressional approval. All this apparently done on the false premise of budgetary limitations, and our opinion, false economy."

Nilan noted, "That if the new programs would be the economic plans they are claimed to be the postal deficit would have been wiped out years ago, but the Department still operates in the red."

"The Post Office Department has a new program of giving the best warranted service and the UFPC urges that the Department give the best service possible."

Information was also introduced quoting regional bulletins ordering certain perishable goods to be dispatched to RPO's as sending them to sctional centers would tend to delay them. It was pointed out this kind of information is published quite frequently by different regions. This was giving the patron the best service possible and not the best service warranted according to Nilan.

Additional information was given which listed RPO cars withdrawn in the past 2 years and in also facts showing the subsequent removal of the passenger trains.

Four more UFPC officers testified following Nilan's testimony. Hank Anglim, administrative vice president; Clint Gross, vice president, St. Louis region; Carroll Rohr, vice president, Denver region; and Phil Dooley, Atlanta region. Each of these men listed delays to mail now and cited the possibility of future 24 hour delays under the sectional center concept.

Results of an Opinion Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN N. ERLENBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, it is my firm belief that a U.S. Congressman should, within the limits of his conscience, make every attempt to represent the interests and opinions of the citizens who elected him. In keeping with this philosophy one of my first actions as a newly elected Congressman was to conduct an opinion poll of my constituents, the first poll of its kind in the history of Illinois' 14th District. My office received over 12,000 replies out of a distribution of 50,000. Many of the returned questionnaires contained extensive comments and additional views. While I have never made any attempt to conceal my opinion on any issue and accordingly felt that my election to Congress indicated strong support in my district for my philosophy of government, nevertheless, I was most pleased to learn from a study of the results of my poll that my record since election has been consistently in accord with the views of the overwhelming majority of residents in Will and DuPage Counties.

In the area of Federal aid to higher education, 83 percent of those responding to the poll favored the tax credit proposal which I cosponsored.

Fifty-eight percent favored the Dirksen constitutional amendment, while only 23 percent opposed it. The other 19 percent had no opinion. I strongly support Senator DIRKSEN in his effort to allow individual States the right to apportion one house of their bicameral legislatures on factors other than population, if approved in a State referendum.

Sixty-four percent opposed repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. Concurring in their opinion that States should be permitted to adopt right-to-work laws if they so desired, I voted against repeal.

In fiscal policy matters, 83 percent did not favor increasing the national debt limit beyond the present $324 billion. I voted against the $4 billion increase when it came before the House.

Eighty-two percent of those replying to my questionnaire disliked unbalanced Federal budgets and deficit financing. In my brief time in Congress, I have consistently opposed ill-conceived or extravagant programs which might further unbalance Federal expenditures. Eighty-five percent agreed with my vote in favor of repealing certain excise taxes.

On two issues, defense spending and the approach to the farm problem, my responding constitutents were pretty evenly divided. Forty-four percent favored reducing last year's expenditure on defense of more than $50 billion while 43 percent did not. I voted in favor of the defense appropriations bill which cut a number of nonessential expenditures without weakening our defense structure though I, like the Republicans who submitted a minority report, dislike certain aspects of the bill.

Fifty-one percent of the responders did not want Federal price support and crop control programs continued. Of the 42 percent who did feel they should be continued, 54 percent thought they should be gradually reduced.

The President should be pleased to learn that the people of the 14th district overwhelmingly support a firm U.S. position in Vietnam. While 61 percent favor negotiation, 79 percent are against any U.S. pullout at the present time. Of those favoring negotiation, many indicated that the United States should negotiate only from a strong position.

Concerning Red China, 73 percent opposed its admission to the United Nations and felt that the United States should not trade with her. Sixty-five percent were against increased U.S. trade with Communist-bloc nations while 90 percent were against expanded economic aid to Communist-bloc nations.

Morality and Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, in an editorial entitled "Morality and Vietnam," the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, a leading daily in the State of Hawaii, describes as "disturbing" the fact that hardly anyone in public life has raised the question of whether morality has any bearing on the U.S. position and its attitudes with respect to the war in Vietnam.

I commend for the serious consideration of my colleagues and other readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Honolulu Star-Bulletin editorial, which follows:

MORALITY AND VIETNAM

As disturbing as any aspect of the war in Vietnam is the fact that hardly anybody in public life has raised the question of whether morality has any bearing on the U.S. position and its attitudes there.

The fact that nobody, or hardly anybody, has done so is a testament to an even greater conceit: that it is assumed that, since our country has taken a position, the position therefore must be right.

This is not quite the same as "My country, right or wrong." "My country, right or wrong" means support for one's country even when it is wrong. To assume that our country is right merely because it is our country is something else again.

It is, in fact, the sort of blind and unquestioning obedience that the Communist countries demand. It is Communist Party dogma that the party is right even when it is wrong. We have not come to that in America, and so long as our constitutional system survives, or rather so long as we believe in our constitutional system, we shall not come to this.

Msgr. Charles A. Kekumano touched on this theme in preaching at his St. Pius X Church Sunday. "We bomb and kill in Vietnam," he said, "as if the problems of Asia can be managed without God. We pay millions of dollars to the United Nations in a vague effort to bring peace into God's world without God's help."

The monsignor was, of course, making God's will the yardstick for what we do. But this is not too different from the concept of morality which most of us possess, or what a British foreign minister recently reminded us was in our own Declaration of Independence, "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind." We should not, nor can we, proceed with the war in Vietnam as though victory through the use of sufficient force were the only end we seek.

All our history is against it. We did not destroy Japan or Germany once they were defeated and had surrendered; we helped them. Nor did we help them simply because helping them helped us to make a more secure world; American moral standards would not have permitted our leaders to do otherwise. We must, in the end, do what is right in Vietnam; and if it is less than some of our harsher leaders would have us do, it is nonetheless a requisite if America is to retain its position, earned through nearly two centuries, of a country with a conscience.

The Right To Choose

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, brevity in editorial comment is often a virtue. A very brief but pertinent editorial in the Southwest Messenger Press on Thursday, August 19, strikes me as being a

most practical commentary, and I place it in the RECORD at this point:

THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE

Politics is one of the principal occupations in a free nation. But a nation will remain free only so long as the voters control the politicians.

The people of the United States have no conception of what fear of Government officials means. They have never been herded into oblivion by state police for expressing views in opposition to dictators in power.

As a result, U.S. citizens have never lived in fear of officialism. Under our Constitution, they have enjoyed the right to choose—the greater civil right.

But politics has been whittling away at that right and steadily restricting the individual's right of choice in the United States.

Therefore, it is well to read the words of one who remembers living in fear—where the individual was the plaything of officialism—where he had no choice.

The following letter "To the Editor" appeared in the Portland Oregonian recently. It said in part:

"Although my age was only 8 when my father was forced to leave Russia because of persecution, by memories are very vivid of the tribulations endured under governmental controls. Because of these unforgettable experiences, the constitutional rights and liberties are treasures worthy of preservation regardless of cost."

For Good Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL J. KREBS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. KREBS. Mr. Speaker, during these days of continuing and merited concern for reasonableness in the expenditure of public funds, it is heartening to note the praise of the recently signed health research facilities legislation by the Newark Evening News. Noting that much of the funds are used to support research projects, training and construction at private institutions, a recent issue of the newspaper terms this legislation as a measure which "gives the Nation a chance for good health at a cost that amounts to a tiny fraction of the national budget."

I commend the full text of the editorial to my colleagues who recently were called upon to cast their vote on this vital health appropriation:

[From the Newark (N.J) Evening News, Aug. 10, 1965]

FOR GOOD HEALTH

President Johnson again has demonstrated his preoccupation with problems of public health. On July 30 he flew to the Truman Library in Independence, Mo., to sign the historic medicare bill, and yesterday he journeyed to the National Institutes of Health at Bethesda, Md., to sign the $280 million measure for construction of health research facilities.

The President understandably has a personal interest in medical research. In 1955, he suffered a severe heart attack and it is quite likely that research done at the NIH may have helped in his recovery.

In any case, the legislation Mr. Johnson signed yesterday extends for 3 years, a construction program started in 1956. Thus far $320 million has been distributed on a 50-50 matching basis to 399 universities, hospitals, medical schools, and similar institutions.

The measure also grants authority to the Public Health Service to enter into research contracts with private agencies. In fact, much of the funds appropriated for the NIH wind up in support of research projects, training and construction at private institutions.

Extension of the law means continued help for urgently needed facilities which non-Federal institutions might not be able to afford. The measure gives the Nation a chance for good health at a cost that amounts to a tiny fraction of the national budget.

Faculty Pay in Southern Colleges Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD an article by Winfred L. Godwin, director of the Southern Regional Education Board, which indicates the remarkable gains made in southern institutions of higher learning to increase faculty pay.

This article which appeared in the August 22, 1965, edition of the Chattanooga Times underlines the rapid progress currently being made in the South in the field of education. While there is still much to do, increased faculty salaries represents a significant step in the right direction as we invest in our children's future and their opportunities for tomorrow.

The article follows:

SOUTHERN COLLEGES LEAD IN FACULTY PAY GAINS

(By Winfred L. Godwin)

ATLANTA.—The South, whose college teachers have traditionally been paid less than their colleagues in other regions, now leads the Nation in the number of colleges and universities which are increasing faculty salaries most rapidly.

This heartening fact is revealed by the recently published salary survey of the American Association of University Professors.

Among the top 5 percent of institutions which increased salaries were such widely different types of schools as the University of Kentucky, Valdosta State College in Georgia, Eastern Kentucky State College, the University of Houston, Sweet Briar College in Virginia, Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina, East Carolina College, Grambling College in Louisiana, and Stetson University in Florida.

Some of these large percentage increases may only mean an institution has formerly been well below average. A notable exception is the University of Kentucky which has a record of rapid gain and now has reached a comparatively high new level of compensation—its average pay for full-time faculty members is over $10,500. Among the southern institutions which are included in the relatively small group which pay even higher salaries are Johns Hopkins University, Duke University and Rice University, each averaging over $12,500.

The AAUP has conducted a faculty salary survey every year for over a decade and for a small group of institutions it has information reaching back over 25 years. This year it has taken stock of the progress of the effort to raise salaries for college professors during the periods since World War II. In matters of faculty salaries, the rate of the increase for the Nation is true of the South as well, although generally the South has lagged behind the Nation at a level of 10 percent.

The 36 institutions for which the AAUP has data over a 25-year period is a rather select group including, in the South, such private universities as Johns Hopkins, Duke, Emory Rice, and Vanderbilt. The group as a whole has moved from a position in 1940 when the average for all ranks was $3,800 to 1950's average of $5,310 to $8,660 in 1960 and finally to $11,210 in 1965.

But what do these dollar values mean when they are translated into purchasing power? Expressed in 1964 dollars, the average 1940 salary was worth $8,480, the 1950 average dropped to $6,920, and the 1960 average was $9,220. Thus the purchasing power of the college teacher actually declined almost 20 percent between 1940 and 1950. Although the legend of the ill-paid professor is an old one, post-World War II concerns about the inadequacy of faculty salaries was extremely timely.

Today the purchasing power of a professor is $11,210 compared with a purchasing power of $8,488 in 1940 and it would appear that he is better off by about one-third. Yet many of his neighbors may be better off by considerably more than a third. Aided by statistics from the U.S. Census Bureau, the AAUP has compared the advancing income of college faculty members with that of all the other professions over the 10-year period of the 1950's. They show a 10-year rise of income for college faculty of 72 percent in current dollars.

Other professions increased in a range from 39 percent to 131 percent. Among those who earn less and experienced smaller increases are social workers, draftsmen, nurses, and teachers. Among those who earned less but increased their earnings more are librarians, photographers, pharmacists, and athletes. Although industrial workers civil engineers, personnel workers, and osteopaths earned more, their percentage of salary increase was less. The most fiscally fortunate professionals who are not only earning more but earning it increasingly faster are dentists, physicians, and optometrists.

Although the picture looks brighter for the college professor—and especially the southern college professor—the skills and long training required of his profession and his vital position in our society make his earnings still far from adequate.

Insurance Covers Los Angeles Riot Losses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, as the result of some news articles on the subject of the recent riots in Los Angeles, many people have called to inquire whether insurance companies will honor claims filed for losses sustained, and I want to call to the attention of my colleagues and all interested parties the following letter from the Independent Insurance Agents Association of California:

INDEPENDENT INSURANCE AGENTS ASSOCIATION OF CALIFORNIA,
San Francisco, Calif., August 16, 1965.

DEAR FELLOW MEMBER: Many members called the State office today in an effort to determine the basis for the newspaper story

which reported "fire, burglary, and looting losses caused by rioting in the Los Angeles area probably will not be paid by insurance companies." The opinion is attributed to an unnamed executive of an unnamed company. This has caused many clients to query you about their policies. To help you respond we have contacted the American Insurance Association and are authorized to advise you, and for you in turn to advise members of the public, the American Insurance Association disowns the press story and does not subscribe to the conclusion expressed.

Secondly, member companies of AIA are reviewing their contracts in the light of the developments in order to determine their obligations, and you can be sure they intend to meet every obligation.

Lastly, two companies—Aetna Casualty & Surety and Travelers—have already announced they in general consider the losses covered.

Company people we have talked to deplore the bad publicity for the business resulting from this unfortunate story, and the Insurance Information Institute is preparing a statement on behalf of its membership which hopefully may have appeared in the press by the time this memo reaches you.

W. L. JENSEN,
President.

Effect of Medicare on Nursing Homes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, for some time I have been deeply concerned about the effect of the medical care program on our nursing homes. I think the letter which I received from Mr. B. H. Tureen, Parkside Manor Nursing Home in St. Louis, clearly points out some of the problems involved. I would like to ask that my colleagues give their consideration to this letter, which follows:

PARKSIDE MANOR,
St. Louis, Mo., August 12, 1965.

Hon. WILL LEONARD HUNGATE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: For the past 14 years I have been actively engaged in the operation of professional nursing homes in the Greater St. Louis area and today our beds, in actual operation, number 1,000, which is greater in number than our largest hospital.

As this is my major business effort I have been intensly interested in the medicare project since it was first talked about many years ago, and have followed with great interest its many trials and its ultimate passage. Now that it is a fact and our oldsters, especially those in the middle and lower income family groups, will be getting a long-deserved break, I am apprehensive of the manner in which the bill has presently set its benefits.

Those of us who are in this field are extremely anxious that medicare be a success for the welfare not only of the aged but of those who will be paying the bills. It is, therefore, this writer's strong feeling that some changes in the disbursement of benefits will have to occur if the program is not to bankrupt itself before it gets off the ground.

To be specific, as presently set up, medicare allows 60 days of hospital care annually. This is against the national average of 7.3 days of hospital stay. In Greater St. Louis we have approximately 185,000 people 65 or older. Statistics indicate that 50,000 of the oldsters require hospital care now, never having had the wherewithal to take advantage of it before. Should these 50,000 decide, and they all might, to take advantage of their rights under medicare, this would mean an addition of 300,000 patient-days per year. Our hospitals could not conceivably begin to take care of this load and the critical hospital cases of both young and old could not possibly receive attention.

I know that there are those who will say that this will not happen, I say otherwise. This writer numbers among the present patient load in his operations many indigents who are supported by State aid. Therefore, please permit me to state that human nature being what it is, the public, and especially the indigent aged public, will take everything it is entitled to. On the other hand, it will be most difficult for hospital administrators to insist that doctors discharge their patients, for only a doctor can request a discharge from a hospital. Again, human nature being what it is, it is much simpler for a medical man to check 35 patients in 1 hospital rather than visit a like number of patients in a half dozen nursing homes.

Most important of all, with present hospital costs on a continuing increase; with the proposal being made in Congress for a $1.75 minimum wage, it is conceivable that hospital costs in the St. Louis area alone will amount to $50 per day per patient. Multiply this by 60 days, plus the additional 60 days permitted at $10 per day cost per patient, this project is in great fiscal jeopardy from the outset.

The answer is simple enough. Presently, nursing homes, operating under the new health and hospital regulations, are better equipped to render convalescent and chronic care than is a general hospital. Such care can be rendered at one-third hospital cost. It is this writer's suggestion that somehow the hospital stay, except in rare instances, should be limited to a maximum of 20 days which is still virtually triple the national average and that the length of time be increased for nursing home care which is one-third of hospital costs.

I should be most happy to supply facts and figures to verify the aforementioned. In recent conversations with those expertise in the field—professional men, newspaper writers conversant with medicare, and hospital administrators—I have found a great scratching of heads and questioning of this initial benefit plan.

Medicare will become operable by June 1, 1966. It is urgent that these matters be rechecked before the program is fully set and the public attuned to these benefits which are excessive in cost and yet add little to care. If permitted to stand these "benefits" could injure a splendid program which means so much to so many.

Sincerely,

B. H. TUREEN.

You Surely Do

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial recently appeared in the Goshen, Ind., News, and I felt that it was worth the reading of all Americans:

YOU SURELY DO

Suppose you work the standard 8-hour day and are in an average income bracket. How much of that time goes to pay for elements that make up your cost of living?

Here are some examples: Food and tobacco cost 1 hour and 18 minutes; clothing and related items 30 minutes; recreation 19 minutes; transportation 39 minutes; medical expenses 21 minutes.

But there's another item that is bigger than any of these. It is taxes. They account for 2 hours and 20 minutes of your working time—more than a quarter of the whole.

To put it another way, it means that you must work more than 3 months of each year before you begin earning money you can spend as you wish. Taxes take all that you make during that 3 months plus period.

The chances are that this will come as news to great numbers of people. They have small knowledge of the size and scope of the tax bill, the primary reasons being that many taxes are hidden in the cost of the goods and services we buy and that most individual income taxes are paid through the withholding system, rather than being personally paid to the Government by the earner. But, realize it or not, they are the biggest single item of expense to most of us.

In sum—who pays for big and wasteful Government? You do.

The Johnson Wit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, "The Johnson Wit," by Mrs. Frances Spatz Leighton, which has just been published, is an entertaining book that reveals the delightful wit and humor of President Johnson.

Too often the serious side of L.J.B. has been presented to us and consequently we have not become aware of his lighter side. For instance, not many know he is one of the best storytellers to come out of the West.

I believe this book shows conclusively that in times of strife and emergency, as well as in tranquil times, the President has demonstrated a keen sense of humor appropriate to every occasion.

Mrs. Frances Spatz Leighton was for many years Washington correspondent for the American Weekly and now writes for This Week magazine. She is coauthor of a number of books about the Washington scene and the White House. Fran, as she is fondly known by her many friends, also writes for the Chicago-American in my own city of Chicago.

On August 19, Mrs. Leighton presented this work to the President. They had a wonderful chat about some of the jokes in the book, and the President told his latest story which illustrates his refreshing sense of humor. It is my pleasure to repeat the President's story in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

The President told how a fellow was applying for a job on the railroad down Texas way, and they gave him a bunch of tests to see how he was qualified. They gave him a pencil and paper to figure, and the fellow testing him asked him, "What would you do if you saw two trains coming at each other at 60 miles an hour?"

The applicant thought a minute and said, "I would run and get my brother."

The fellow giving the test could hardly believe his ears. "What would you do that for?" he demanded.

"Because he has never seen a train wreck," he said.

Indemnity Insurance for Our Armed Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES L. WELTNER

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Speaker, we have sent over 80,000 young Americans to Vietnam as part of our commitment to freedom. Many of these soldiers already lost their lives. More will die before that conflict is ended.

The loss of an American in battle is tragic. But we compound this tragedy by sending these soldiers to combat areas with no opportunity for indemnity insurance.

Last Thursday the Senate acted to correct this situation by passing, without opposition, S. 2127, introduced by Senator TALMADGE. This bill provides indemnity insurance for all members of the Armed Forces serving in combat zones.

In early August I introduced similar legislation. My bill, H.R. 10286, is intended to remedy this problem.

On August 19 the Stars and Stripes newspaper published a compelling editorial on this lack. I include this editorial for the RECORD, and in doing so, I would repeat its last line that "there is no good reason for further delay."

[From the Stars and Stripes, Aug. 19, 1965]

NOT COVERED BY INSURANCE

It will come as a distinct surprise and a shock to the general public to learn that many of the GI's now fighting a real war in Vietnam are not eligible for Government life insurance.

Under the provisions of the Survivors Dependency and Indemnity Act, survivors of veterans entitled to insurance benefits are the immediate dependents or next of kin. This means that a wife, dependent children or dependent parents could receive survivor benefits if the veteran had subscribed to the life insurance program. It means also that there are no dependency and indemnity compensation payments available to a father or mother who have lost a son, unless they can meet a means test.

When it is considered that many of the GI's now engaged in all-out war in Vietnam are unmarried, and in most instances are not able to purchase commercial life insurance, we can see no reason why all unmarried servicemen should not be provided special indemnity insurance.

The primary purpose of Government life insurance is to take care of the serviceman who is unable to secure life insurance from commercial insurance companies because he becomes immediately unacceptable when he enters the service in troublous times.

The war in Vietnam is real. It is being fought under most adverse conditions. Our men constantly are faced with not only an elusive enemy, but with also the threat of tropical disease in a land where modern conveniences are, to say the least, scant, and the entire situation is one that the American soldier, and particularly the raw recruits, find difficult to cope with. Certainly they are entitled to all the benefits that a responsible Government can provide. It is inconceivable that these men should be denied an opportunity to have insurance benefits which have been part and parcel of our national program for the men who have fought in America's recent wars. They should have the utmost protection for their loved ones.

Congress is now considering legislation to rectify this situation, and it would appear that there is no good reason for further delay.

H.R. 10286

A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, in order to provide special indemnity insurance for members of the Armed Forces serving in combat zones

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) chapter 19 of title 38, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof a new section as follows:

"§ 789. Special indemnity insurance for members of the Armed Forces serving in combat zones

"(a) Any person on active duty with the Armed Forces in a combat zone shall, as provided in this section, be automatically insured by the United States, without cost to such person, against death in the principal amount of $10,000. Such person shall be insured during the time that he serves in a combat zone, and shall be deemed to have been serving in a combat zone at the time of his death if he dies outside of a combat zone and (1) his death is determined by the Administrator to have been the direct result of an injury or disease incurred while serving in a combat zone, and (2) the injury or disease from which such person died was incurred not more than two years prior to death.

"(b) Upon certification by the Secretary of the military department concerned of the death of any person automatically insured under this section, the Administrator shall cause the indemnity to be paid as provided in subsection (c) only to the surviving spouse, child or children (including a stepchild, adopted child, or an illegitimate child if the latter was designated as beneficiary by the insured), parent (including a stepparent, parent by adoption, or person who stood in loco parentis to the insured at any time prior to entry into the active service for a period of not less than one year), brother, or sister of the insured, including those of the half-blood and those through adoption. The insured shall have the right to designate the beneficiary or beneficiaries of the indemnity within the classes herein provided; to designate the proportion of the principal amount to be paid to each; and to change the beneficiary or beneficiaries without the consent thereof but only within the classes herein provided. If the designated beneficiary or beneficiaries do not survive the insured, or if none has been designated, the Administrator shall make payment of the indemnity to the first eligible class of beneficiaries according to the order set forth above, and in equal shares if the class is composed of more than one person. Unless designated otherwise by the insured, the term 'parent' shall include only the mother and father who last bore that relationship to the insured. Any installments of an indemnity not paid to a beneficiary during such beneficiary's lifetime shall be paid to the named contingent beneficiary, if any; otherwise, to the beneficiary or beneficiaries within the permitted class next entitled to priority, but no payment shall be made to the estate of any deceased person.

"(c) The indemnity shall be payable in equal monthly installments of one hundred and twenty in number with interest at the date of 2¼ per centum per annum.

"(d) In the event any person was covered at the time of his death by automatic indemnity under this section and was also insured against such death under a contract of national service life insurance or United States Government life insurance, the indemnity authorized to be paid hereunder shall be a principal amount equal to the difference between the amount of insurance in force at the time of death and $10,000.

"(e) The Administrator is authorized to promulgate such rules and regulations, not inconsistent with this section, as are necessary or appropriate to carry out its purposes.

"(f) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section for the payment of liabilities under this section.

"(g) Any person guilty of mutiny, treason, spying, or desertion shall forfeit all rights to an indemnity under this section, but restoration to active duty after commission of any such offense shall restore all rights under this section. No indemnity shall be payable for death inflicted as a lawful punishment for crime or for military or naval offense, except when inflicted by an enemy, as defined by the President.

"(h) As used in this section the term 'combat zone' means any area outside the United States determined by the President to be an area in which units of the Armed Forces of the United States have engaged in combat operations on or after January 1, 1962, and before such date as may be determined by Presidential proclamation."

(b) The analysis of subchapter III of chapter 19 of such title is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"789. Special indemnity insurance for members of the Armed Forces serving in combat zones."

Right to Protection From Crime Should Be Paramount

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing a proposed constitutional amendment today which would make the right of society in general and individuals in particular to be protected from crime a paramount right.

The text of the proposed amendment is as follows:

H.J. RES. 638

Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to establishing as paramount the right of society in general and individual persons in particular to be protected from crimes against person and property

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States:

"ARTICLE —

"SECTION 1. The right of society in general and individual persons in particular to

be protected from crimes against person and property shall be paramount to other rights.

"SEC. 2. This article shall not be construed to limit the action and authority of any duly constituted law enforcement authority, including any person carrying out a citizen's arrest.

"SEC. 3. The Congress and the legislatures of the several States shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

In explanation of the reason for introduction of this amendment and in support of it I have issued the following release to the press:

HOSMER SEEKS CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO CLOSE "LAW AND ORDER GAP"

WASHINGTON, D.C.—"Violent crime is so rampant and the law and order gap so wide in the United States it threatens to destroy our society," charges Congressman CRAIG HOSMER.

In support of his charge he cited FBI crime statistics, "insurrection in Los Angeles, riots in Berkeley, and widespread civil disobedience throughout the country."

"America is no longer the land of the free and won't be until law and order is restored and the crime gap closed," he declared. "We must protect law-abiding people from crime." To do so HOSMER today introduces a constitutional amendment specifying:

"The right of society in general and of each individual person in particular to be protected from crimes against persons and property shall be paramount to other rights."

The proposed amendment, applicable to U.S. and State law and courts alike, also bolsters the powers of law enforcement officials to deal with crime.

"This amendment strikes at the insidious contempt for law, order, property rights, and even life that is eating away at the very foundations of our national power. Unless the right to be free from criminal acts is made paramount, other rights have little meaning," the California lawmaker said.

"It is time now to move on a broad, determined front to clean up our country, restore law and order, and make it safe again to live in. We must cease forever subordinating the rights of the law-abiding citizen to those of the criminal element.

"What made this country great was a dedication to the majesty of the law, a regard for the sanctity of individual persons, a respect for the rights of property and a fear of God. These brought orderliness and self-discipline into our society and a spirit of honesty, rugged individualism, and self-improvement to our people. They engendered hard work, frugality, savings, and patriotism in our people. In short, they created a land in which responsibility was coequal with rights.

"In recent years political and even religious and educational leaders have sneered at many of these virtues. They urge strange philosophies that 'ends justify means', that principles come second to expedience and that people can pick and choose what laws to obey.

"When any people are told over a period of years that they can disobey any law they do not like, when they are coached to believe that law breaking is right and moral, then civilized society breaks down and jungle law takes over as it did in Los Angeles. The amendment I propose strikes down this dangerous concept."

HOSMER said his amendment also strikes directly at many of the most serious specific causes of crime, including:

Court rulings which hamper police work and restrict the use of confessions;

Long delays and uncertainty in the conviction and punishment of criminals;

Mollycoddling of vicious young criminals by juvenile court judges;

Leniency in granting parole and imposing light or suspended sentences.

He added, "fortunately the vast majority of Americans still are law-abiding, God-fearing people. That majority has an absolute right to have its Nation restored to order—to be free to walk on the streets without danger of violent death, rape, or mugging—to be safe in its homes—to have its property safe from theft, looting and wanton destruction. The amendment I propose will serve these ends."

The Congressman acknowledged that the President has appointed a Commission on Crime but said the 18-month period before which it will report "will be no more than a 1½-year grace period for the criminal element to continue its depredations." Using FBI figures, he estimated that during "the grace period for criminals about 15,000 murders will be committed, 35,000 rapes, 195,000 robberies, 340,000 aggravated assaults, 850,000 auto thefts and several million more major and minor crimes which will cost law-abiding citizens around $35 billion."

HOSMER also called for other crime prevention moves including "taxing ourselves to enlarge, improve, and better equip police forces and placing more emphasis in school curriculums on U.S. history and law."

The "Sea Lab II" Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the bright glitter of NASA's silver suited Gemini astronauts has almost completely stolen the headlines from what may be the greatest undersea adventure ever known to man. While the world press focuses its attention an orbiting spacecraft, a team of skindivers is quietly preparing to swim down to the bottom of the Pacific Ocean to live in a house under the sea.

The house is a 12-by-58-foot cylinder called *Sea Lab II* in which the daring aquanauts are able to work and sleep for up to 45 days at a depth of 210 feet.

Leading the team of divers is Astronaut Comdr. M. Scott Carpenter, who has temporarily turned his back on outer space to submerse himself in the even more rewarding world of inner space. About 60 percent of Commander Carpenter's teammates are Navy divers. The remaining men are ocean scientists, mechanical and electrical engineers.

Unlike their brothers who ride through the skies in space capsules, these brave aquanauts will actually occupy a piece of the Pacific Ocean.

As part of the Navy's man-in-the-sea program, they will swim in and out of their ocean bottom habitat. These adventurous inhabitants of the sea will not only eat and sleep in their watery home, but clad only in their wet suits and aqualungs, they will actually perform useful work such a building an underwear weather station, attempting to float a sunken airplane, and conducting studies of the forms of life and minerals on or near the sea floor.

While accomplishing these difficult tasks, the aquanauts will be under the added tension of having to be on the look-out for attacking sharks.

Navy doctors, headed by Captain George F. Bond, will analyze the physiological and psychological reactions of the divers to prolonged exposure to the depths. Tests will be made to determine the effect of the *Sea Lab II* tenants breathing a mixture of helium, nitrogen, and oxygen at a sustained pressure of 112 pounds per square inch.

Mr. Speaker, the foresight, the imagination, and daring of the people working on the *Sea Lab II* project deserve the praise of all of America. This country has been spending billions of dollars for space programs but has not yet been able to land a man on the moon, to construct a building on the moon, to bring back samples of the moon's barren surface. But on this very day, and with comparatively modest sums, this Nation's ocean scientists are occupying the sea, living in it, working in it—conquering it.

History may, indeed, prove that their work will be at least as significant as 100 outer space projects. I say this because, even though our effort to land a man on the moon is receiving worldwide attention and has great propagandistic value, this effort has not yet even suggested the possibility of an economic return. On the other hand, the oceans with their wealth of food and minerals are ripe for harvesting. It is through projects like *Sea Lab II* that we may find the key to exploiting the sea.

Mr. Speaker, with the future needs for various resources being created by the world population explosion, the generations of tomorrow, in my view, will be most grateful for and dependent upon the work being done by our ocean scientists today. For these reasons, therefore, I call the attention of my colleagues to the dramatic contribution that *Sea Lab II* is making to our fund of useful knowledge. I suggest that these men of inner space are deserving of support and praise at least comparable to that given our men of outer space.

Poverty War Stifles Private Efforts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, the war on poverty seems to be missing the point. In his August 20 column in the Chicago Daily News, Mike Royko points out one more instance where a local agency, in this instance the Catholic Interracial Council, is much more effective in securing jobs for the unemployed than a bureau in Washington.

I commend this article as must reading with the hope that this grassroots approach to the problems will receive the proper attention and encouragement.

The article follows:

[From Chicago Daily News, Aug. 20, 1965]

HOW POVERTY WAR STOLE A GOOD IDEA AND PUT IT ON ICE

(By Mike Royko)

Several months ago, a private agency went into a slum section of the West Side and

made a survey of 1,000 households to see what the job situation was.

It wasn't hard to find people at home to answer questions. Twenty percent of the families had nobody working.

The agency—the Catholic Interracial Council—decided to try to cut the figure down.

They set up an office in a local church and got the word around that they were going to try to find jobs for people who wanted to work. People started pouring in. Most had no training, no skills, but they wanted to work.

One of the people from the council started talking to factory owners. He found one on the North Side who hired a lot of unskilled help for $1.40 to $1.70 an hour. He needed workers but the thought of hiring Negroes made him nervous. He had none and he was afraid he'd have racial fights breaking out on his assembly line.

After a lot of coaxing, he agreed to give it a try. In all, he hired 50 people. So far, there has been no trouble, he is delighted, and only one of the 50 hasn't worked out. The rest are working and drawing their weekly paychecks.

The people from the interracial council realized they had a good plan. To make it work, keep it local. Eliminate bureaucracy. Make it a neighborhood employment center, in a church, for people within walking distance.

"The people in the area aren't sophisticated," said one of the men who put the plan together. They don't know how to find a Loop employment agency. Many of them haven't been in the city long. But they can find their way around their own neighborhood and that was the good thing about it. It was simple."

To keep it going, however, and to open similar offices in other neighborhoods requires money. So the idea was put on paper, in detailed form, and sent over to the Great Society's poverty war office.

That's where all the poverty war money is, the Federal money that is to be used to get people working.

The generals and field marshals of the poverty war studied the plan, said it was a good plan, and said they weren't going to come up with the money. They'd keep the plan for themselves.

"They told us we weren't grassroots," said one of the disappointed planmakers. "They started talking about community institutions. Since when isn't a church grassroots? And we had the cooperation of the community institutions.

"What they've done is keep us out of it, steal our idea lock, stock, and barrel, and cut off something that was already working.

"If they try it, I'm afraid they will expand the scope of the neighborhood. Look what they've got on the West Side now. A fieldhouse in Douglas Park. People are afraid to walk through there."

What does a person seeking work find when he gets to the fieldhouse?

There he will find a social worker who will ask him what his particular poverty problem is. If he says he wants work, he will be sent to an Illinois Employment Service office. There he will be tested. Maybe he will get a job, although it is not too likely. Maybe he will be sent to another governmental agency to be taught a skill. He is now in bureaucracyville.

"We were going to eliminate that," said a man from the interracial council. "We were going to concentrate on two people: the worker and the employer.

"We would go out and look for jobs for the people because that's one of the problems. They don't know where to look themselves, but they want work."

One of the most persistent complaints about the city's approach to the poverty war has been that it is squeezing out private agencies.

The poverty war generals and field marshals say this is nonsense; that they know what they are doing.

Fifty jobs isn't earthshaking, of course. But it is if suddenly it brings $3,000 or so in weekly salaries into one small area of high unemployment. It would be interesting to see how many of the people from that particular neighborhood wind up with jobs when they take a ride to the park fieldhouse.

Presidents Johnson, Truman, and Eisenhower Should Know

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial by Publisher H. B. Snyder of the Gary, Ind., Post Tribune, set out three lessons we should have learned from 50 years of hot and cold wars:

IT'S BEEN 20 YEARS

It was a day of celebration, both jubilant and reverent.

Still somehow neither V–J Day, which exploded on a war-tired world just 20 years ago today, nor its counterpart of a few months earlier, V–E Day, has ever quite generated the enthusiasm that marked Armistice Day which ended World War I.

That is only partly because there were two such days to be divided among the largest accumulation of veterans in history.

There are two other more important reasons. One is that while the hallucinations of perpetual peace persisted, particularly in this country, for a number of years after 1918, they faded quickly after 1945 under the combined pressure of the atomic bomb and the cold war. The other is that precisely because their fathers were deluded by slogans from "the war to end war" up to "peace in our times," the veterans of the Second World War emerged a more cynical mass.

That may explain why the day which sticks best in the mind of the American majority from World War II is neither V–J Day nor V–E Day, but Pearl Harbor Day.

Excessive cynicism can be dangerous, and it would be easy to decry the tendency better to mark the day of a war's beginning than of its ending, and yet the combination may also have its healthy aspects.

The related refusal to believe war impossible and determination not to be caught again as nakedly surprised as we were at Pearl Harbor can constitute basis for the hope that World War III still may be more distant than was World War II 20 years after Armistice Day.

That hope can be held despite our tortuous and lethal involvement in Vietnam because we have learned at least three lessons from our recent past: (1) Not to appease totalitarian states in their aggressive moods; (2) not to depend on others for the maintenance of military strength; and (3) that the horrors of nuclear death are so potentially devastating that, even with strength, we must do—as must our adversaries—everything to avoid allout war.

But at the same time we should realize that this dependence, not only of ourselves but of our ideological foes, on somewhat balanced powers of devastation cannot be regarded as the eternal hope for world salvation.

The discouraging search for more humane means of solving world problems must go on, but their is conviction it cannot be pursued unilaterally.

Only, perhaps, when that answer is found will V–J Day come to mean more than Pearl Harbor Day, and by then both may have been forgotten.

Upper Michigan—Part I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAYMOND F. CLEVENGER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. CLEVENGER. Mr. Speaker, though my district in upper Michigan has none of the huge metropolitan newspapers that gain national and international prestige, we are fortunate to have some of the finest small daily and weekly newspapers in the country.

Frequently, one of my esteemed colleagues in this body will suggest that it must be an uncomfortable hardship for me to maintain communication with my district when to do so I must deal with more than 30 newspapers, plus several television and radio stations. Admittedly this does create some problems.

However, because these are truly hometown newspapers, and they take their responsibilities seriously, they have an almost intimate relationship with their readers and their communities. Whereas it is sometimes doubtful that large newspapers serving masses of people know what the public is thinking or wants, there is seldom any question of this about my district's newspapers. If they were not, so to speak, an accurate mirror of their community they would not survive.

An example of the enterprise and grasp of local affairs regularly exhibited by these newspapers is seen in a recent article written by Jean Worth of the Escanaba, Mich., Press.

The article follows:

Michigan State Highway Department traffic counts report that tourism in the Upper Peninsula has dropped in some areas in recent years, although pleasure travel has increased greatly in the State and in the Nation.

Why haven't more people visited the Upper Peninsula for its natural charm and unique character, its historic riches and nostalgic hark back to the way syivan Michigan looked a century ago? Particularly, why haven't more persons from lower Michigan visited the northern third of their State?

The tourist associations say that a chief reason is that other areas—Ontario, the southern highlands, the eastern seaboard, and Europe—have advertised and publicized their attractions more forcefully and have taken the competitive tourist play from Michigan north of Mackinac.

NOT AN EXTENSION

It has happened also because the Upper Peninsula has failed to impress its true character upon southern Michigan. It is widely regarded as an extension of the top of the Lower Peninsula. Actually it's not an extension of lower Michigan, geologically (except in the eastern Upper Peninsula), ethnically, historically, economically, or recreationally, but the belief that it is persists.

Michigan Consolidated Gas Co., which is extending its gas pipeline into the southern Upper Peninsula from Wisconsin this summer, made studies before construction which

showed that the cities like Escanaba which it will serve, have a higher median income and spend averagely more on their dwellings than do northern Lower Peninsula cities like Cheboygan, Gaylord, and Petoskey. One of the location factors that took U.S. Plywood Corp., to Gaylord to build its new plywood plant was that wood was cheaper there than in the Upper Peninsula.

UPPER PENINSULA'S IMAGE

The tourist doesn't care a fig for economics. He seeks a difference from his home environment, a quality of beauty, of history, or uniqueness that makes a conversation piece and a memorable experience. By an unhappy mischance this Upper Peninsula has acquired an image in the lower part of the State of a land which was acquired in the first place as an unwanted stepchild in exchange for the Toledo strip, and which, after a boom period of copper mining and lumbering, lapsed into exhaustion of resources and economic decline.

The truth is quite different. The Upper Peninsula has always been an area of extractive industries, producing raw materials—timber, iron, copper, limestone—for manufacture elsewhere.

None of these materials is exhausted nor anywhere near exhaustion; the minerals of this highly mineralized area have not even been adequately mapped yet, except in mined areas. The copper reserve at White Pine, where the Upper Peninsula's second largest work force mans the mine, mill and smelter, is one of the largest in the world. The Marquette Iron Range has had such a phenomenal buildup of production of pelletized iron that it is nearing production of more high quality pellets than it ever achieved in natural ores.

BAD NEWS PREFERRED

The Menominee Range also has a big start on beneficiation and agglomeration of low grade iron. Only the Gogebic Range in the west has failed to respond to this new era of mining. It has only one mine, the Peterson, still operating, where in 1950 it had 10. Perversely, when there is news of mining in the Upper Peninsula, it seems that it is more apt to be about the bust of Ironwood than the boom of Marquette.

Why boom and bust? Gogebic's ore is not amenable to known methods of beneficiation, and it is so deposited (in a narrow, tilted body) that it cannot be mined by the preferred open pit method. Marquett'e low grade ores are being strip mined, beneficiated and pelletized, and the pelletizing of even its high grade underground mine ores is starting.

Escanaba shipped 6,497,380 tons of ore last year, a record that didn't used to be equaled even in war years, and more than 2 million tons of the total were in the form of the new pellets.

The public judgment on the Upper Peninsula's economy has rested heavily on its employment, which has not flourished. Mechanization and automation destroy jobs in manufacturing industry, but they slaughter them in extractive industry. An old-fashioned shaft mine used to employ about 600 men; a new open pit mine and beneficiation mill and agglomeration plant need only 120 for its pushbutton processes.

A small crew lumberjacks with chain saws, power loaders, tractors, and big trucks will hotlog more timber from the stump to the sawmill and pulpmill than a big logging camp full of men used to produce. And the little crew will all drive home in the evening and watch TV or take a night course at the community college.

The Upper Peninsula lost half its farmers in a 10-year period, but while those livelihoods are gone, the little farms have been merged into larger, more efficient ones, and the volume of milk production and other farm produce has been maintained.

The population of the Upper Peninsula showed an upturn in the 1960 census for the first time in several decades. The increase wasn't large and it was spotty. The growth was far behind that of the State, but the downward trend had been reversed. If the Upper Peninsula had held its natural increase of births over deaths for the past 20 years, it would have 40,000 more population than it has today.

It totals only 305,000. That's only three and a fraction percent of the State's people on a third of its geography. The Upper Peninsula stretches more than 300 miles from Wisconsin across to Canada, and it doesn't have enough people in it to make two Flints.

If Detroit's population were scattered Upper Peninsula style, it would extend from Toledo to Saginaw. There are 150,000 more Negroes in Detroit than there are people of all colors in the Upper Peninsula, including its Indians at Bay Mills, Sugar Island, Nahma, Hannahville, and Baraga.

The Civil War and Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, William A. Coblenz, the public affairs specialist in the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, delivered a highly topical and pertinent speech for our times Saturday, July 10, 1965, call it "The Civil War and Today."

The occasion was the 101st anniversary of the Battle of Fort Stevens, which took place July 11–12, 1864, at what is now Fort Stevens Park. Fort Stevens, just north of here, is within gunshot, so to speak, and parade distance of the Capitol itself. This was a strategic moment in our Civil War because the life of President Lincoln, who was at the scene, was put in danger. Had the Confederate forces, under Jubal Early, succeeded in seizing the Capitol it might well have changed the course of history.

What makes the speech particularly timely is that Coblenz draws an interesting parallel between the ocean of malice that enveloped President Lincoln and some of the distortions and untruths that are evilly directed at the present administration and President Lyndon Baines Johnson. Some of this in the recent extremist agitation even rubbed off on the Speaker of the House, as the speech points out. The address is an engrossing sermon on decency in America's political life and pleads eloquently for "honorable opinion, honorably expressed."

In my remarks, I include the sound and timely address delivered by Mr. Coblenz:

THE CIVIL WAR AND TODAY

This spot of earth on which we stand today has a certain universal meaning.

It may be said to be merely a pinpoint in the history of mankind.

It is much more than that in the history of our country.

And in the story of the Civil War, only a hundred years ago, it was the scene of great drama.

Here certain fragments of the two armies of the war confronted each other.

Not far from where I now speak were Confederate sharpshooters, their weapons pointed in this immediate area.

For some moments at least, in full view of these practiced riflemen, the tall figure of President Lincoln, surmounted by a stovepipe hat, paced back and forth like a moving target.

This might easily have been the end of the greatest human personality our country has produced—the most American of Americans.

The day was July 12. The year was 1964.

From this mound of earth to the White House and the Capitol of the United States—the nerve center of the Federal forces—was an easy military walk. Confederate military success this day could have meant disaster.

If we tie all the aspects of this day together, and look at the ensemble of facts through the perspective of history, we move head-on into a great lesson of human experience.

This lesson, I insist, can hold powerful meaning for us today.

For unless we stop looking at history as merely an accumulation of legends of the past and see in it, instead, guides to follow for our own time, the story of Fort Stevens becomes little more than an entertainment to intrigue our passing interest, like a legend out of a storybook.

And Fort Stevens, far from being a tale to beguile a pleasant holiday, is a strategic piece of interweaving in the massive tapestry of the War Between the States.

Thus, today, when I speak of Fort Stevens, I mean the agonizing totality of that devastating war.

Fort Stevens is part of the story of Lincoln, a moving paragraph in his biography.

Fort Stevens is integral to the story of the combat aspects of a war that tore this Nation apart.

Fort Stevens may be said to be a moment in the war that could have changed the whole course of history had the sharpshooters hidden in the distance known the value and identity of their human target.

It was also the first time in the life of Abraham Lincoln that he actually saw men around him being mowed down by rifle and artillery fire.

The lesson for us that I would like to see emerge from this bit of mosaic on the huge canvas of man's eternal march to freedom is the lesson of forbearance and understanding for the historic figures that bear the burden of top and major responsibility in any crisis of mankind.

And I would like to see that lesson applied to the hour in which we live and have our influence.

I would like to see that lesson put to practical implementation here today.

If we look at the story of Lincoln and Fort Stevens and all that went before, after Fort Sumter and Lincoln's first inauguration, we can see something of the mass of the burden that rested on the President in office a century age.

Let us take that monumental pile of responsibilities and juxtapose it against the issues of our own time:

The crisis in the Dominican Republic.

The crisis in South Vietnam.

The cleavages in the United Nations.

The De Gaulle complications in NATO and international finance.

The impact of the European Common Market, and the balance of payments.

The population explosion and foreign aid.

The catalog of crises is much greater. But let us encompass what we can without delving too deeply into our own extremely complicated and unwieldly domestic problems. Problems that run the gamut from civil rights and the poll tax to Federal aid to education and a constitutional amendment on succession to the Presidency.

This is now a $100 billion government to be supported out of a $650 billion gross national product.

Those of us who beg our fellow man not to repeat the mistakes of history hope that in this instance we take a leaf from the episode of Fort Stevens, as symptomatic of the whole war between the States, and come up with some disciplines to direct our conduct in the hour in which we have our being.

When I say: "Disciplines to direct our conduct" what do I mean?

I mean the sea of hostile criticism that enveloped Abraham Lincoln like an ocean of malice in the midst of the most harassing pressures that ever plagued a President of the United States.

Where are these criticisms today?

From the press?

From the clergy?

From the generals under his own command?

From the abolitionists?

From the demagogs like the unlamented Vallandigham?

From the committees of Congress?

From his own Cabinet?

I ask you to imagine the enormous strength it took—strength of Lincoln's inner soul—to endure this abuse.

We can dismiss as extreme to the point of absurdity and pure venom, the vicious attacks that pictured Lincoln as a baboon and compared his mentality to that of an ape.

But, I ask, do we have to go through this with every President we elect to office?

Lincoln fought this sort of thing to be sure and he had the weapons of an essentially religious man who got his surcease from torture through his profound inner faith. You remember his words:

"If I were to try to read, much less answer," Lincoln said, "all the attacks made on me, this shop might as well be closed for any other business. I do the very best I know how—the very best I can; and I mean to keep doing so until the end. If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, 10,000 angels swearing I was right would make no difference."

This quotation from Lincoln sometimes sounds to me like a rear-guard action. It sounds like a cry of pain expressing itself in terms of defiance. I wonder how much of the immense melancholy in Lincoln's features were put there by the language of injustice, the phrases of distortion, the literature of contempt that maligned his character, impugned his motives, assailed his policies and procedures in the war. How much of the sculpture of anguish was carved into the lines of that noble face by his thoughtless, sometimes well-meaning, often malicious detractors?

That, in this elementary way, is the lesson that—ever so humbly—I preach to you today.

Of course issues need to be and ought to be debated.

That is enjoined upon us by the inherent nature of democratic government.

Issues, I insist, need to be debated even when, under the exigencies of actual, congressionally declared war, our country delimits the liberties of the Constitution.

In a situation like today, when there is no declared war, the official attitude toward free debate is generous without limit, and we are all free to express our minds with the utmost license.

What I deplore is not the freedom, but the abuse of it.

Is it too much to ask that we Americans in the year 1965 avoid the errors of taste, of good sense, of misjudgment we committed in 1864?

And have committed again and again, and still again, against almost every presidential administration since then?

None of us here can forget how an unknown, hilariously ignorant candy manufacturer, founder of an alleged political party in this country, called President Dwight Eisenhower—I quote—"beyond any reasonable doubt * * * a dedicated conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy."

This cheap and loathesome traducer of a great and living name in current American history should have been swept off the public stage by a mountainous wave of public indignation—yet he and the party he founded are even today a very real part of our domestic political scene.

The pain and the hurt of this sort of thing are even greater when we find the college campuses of our country lending themselves—like beer halls in Nazi Munich in the late thirties—to the vituperation and insult that should be alien to our way of life.

The sort of thing that took place in the halls of learning and on the campuses of some 30 universities of our country within a matter of recent months is an ugly commentary of shame upon the educational institutions involved and upon education—higher education—generally, in the United States.

I ask:

Is it right to attack President Lyndon Baines Johnson as a warmonger?

Is it right to call President Johnson an "enemy of freedom" and a "dangerous man"?

Is this debating the issues?

When the United States officially sent out many of its top-drawer experts and advisers—against the heaviest pressures of the public business—to debate learnedly, wisely, carefully, to inform, to brief, to explain to the students and the faculties of these institutions of higher learning the meaning of American policy they were virtually booed off the platform, shouted down, personally insulted.

In one of the most distinguished universities in the East—on May 11—our U.S. Ambassador at Large, W. Averell Harriman, heard shouted at him the charge: "Liar," from the educated gentlemen in his audience.

And they shouted it again and again.

In many of the universities, as in this one, explanation of the White House policy on Vietnam and the Dominican Republic became impossible, in the tumult of boos and hisses and heckling.

A teacher from one of our greatest universities in New England, speaking at another nearby university, imparted this bit of superior learning to his audience:

I quote:

"We have to stop the enemies of freedom at home, and, let's be blunt about it, Johnson is one of them. It is my careful and sober judgment—I am still quoting—it is my careful and sober judgment that Johnson is one of the most dangerous men in politics today."

This immature, arrogantly unpleasant, deliberately disrespectful type of pseudo-educated agitation repeated itself so widely in universities in the West, the Middle West, the Northwest, and the South, that the sweep of it enveloped our entire higher educational system under the onus of a general indictment.

What stands out in all this for me—and I note it with great pride—is the answering restraint, the dignity and the faultless deportment of our own Government officials in the face of this ill-mannered, beetle-browed, and hopelessly benighted misconduct. Even now I cannot but believe that the participants in the phony uprising constituted on the whole a campus and a faculty minority however widespread the agitation: a sort of collegiate Ku Klux Klan. And I noted with special admiration and respect the reaction of the President himself, cool, understanding, cooperative, and even friendly at least to the idea of a public discussion of the issues.

What happened was of course a campus insult to the American people.

On another level of incomprehensible bad manners were the agitators for an issue on civil rights who invaded the Capitol and directed their ill-feeling against—of all people—the eminent and much beloved Speaker of the House, JOHN W. MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts. Just as the collegiate attack on Ambassador Harriman was without foundation and a most grievous indignity to one of the greatest public servants for freedom and decency in our time, so the sit-in demonstration against the Speaker in the Capitol was a gross act of ingratitude to the greatest friend and champion of civil rights in the recent history of civil rights legislation. For more than 30 years the principles inherent in civil rights constituted the highest priority in the causes for which Speaker MCCORMACK fought among his own constituency, in national Democratic Party conventions, when he was chairman of the platform committee, and in the House. To make him the target for abuse when he should have been hailed as a champion, sets back the cause of civil rights in the hearts of many who now feel that fringes of the civil rights movement stand in danger of falling into the hands of spoilers, demagogs, and illicit exploiters of the race issue.

I do not believe the real leaders of the cause of civil rights and human equality will let this happen and that men of the stature of Dr. Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, and others will, in due course, give such emphasis to their leadership as to end the agitation of the self-seeking adventurers who are the enemies and not the friends of civil rights. For the proposition that all men are created equal is perhaps the greatest moral precept of the ages.

The parallel that I draw between those who befogged the great issues of the 1860's and those who befog the issues of the 1960's is even more intensified in our time. The reason is that we are operating today on the stage of global leadership of the free world.

What Americans think, say, and do has repercussions the world over.

We have to remember that those who beclouded in doubt the character of our people and our Government before World War I made the Kaiser believe that we would never go to war against him and so helped to bring on that awful catastrophe. By the same token there were the false agitators and the pro-Nazi lunatic fringe in the United States who before World War II led Hitler to believe that we would permit any aggression against world peace and our own dignity rather than stand up and be counted. It was perhaps his greatest mistake and gave us in the end the awfullest holocaust and the greatest war of all time.

Our enemies in 1965 must not again be misled by the mean little people of hate and ill-will in our midst.

All my sermon amounts to today is a plea for honorable opinion, honorably expressed. All that is asked is that we take heed from what happened symbolically on this spot in July 1864 when Abraham Lincoln stood on this bit of fighting soil, and by his presence helped to prevent Jubal Early from seizing the White House, burning the Capitol, and altering the course of history.

Let us, as President Johnson asks, come now and reason with him, but let us not add to the President's burdens and to the misery of our times, by uninformed and misinformed abuse.

We have in our generation, by the manner of our bold and heroic answer to the greatest depression of all time, by our triumphs in two World Wars and Korea, by the great social and fiduciary legislation that is now being enacted, proved our mettle

and won a glorious place for our generation in the history books for all time.

All I plead for is that we hold to that standard and turn our backs on those who belittle our faith and our tradition and who traduce the great men among us who must bear the burden of decision. Let us instead hold up their hands and pray to Almighty God for decency and peace, now, here, and everywhere in the world.

Korea Celebrates Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate the Republic of Korea, which celebrated the 17th anniversary of its Independence Day on Sunday, August 15.

In this day and age, Mr. Speaker, our image of Korea is clouded with the memories of the bitter conflict that raged within that country barely 15 years ago. Surely a war, which cost so many lives, produced so much privation, and divided a nation in half cannot be forgotten easily. Yet, Mr. Speaker, it would be unfair to the citizens of the Republic of Korea merely to recall the events of that recent war. Paradoxically, the word "Korea" comes from an older word meaning "land of morning calm." This land has a history of 4,300 years, resulting in a people that are unique in all of the Far East.

But, Mr. Speaker, to measure the economic and social progress of modern Korea, we must relate it to that recent war. The division of Korea in 1950 threw the economy into a whirlpool of inflation. Eighty percent of energy resources alone were lost to the Communists. Since that time, Korea has come a long way in rebuilding and stabilizing its economy.

Frankly, Mr. Speaker, at the time prior to General Park's election as President of the Republic in 1963, there was much speculation as to whether the democratic process would continue to work effectively in Korea. There was no doubt in anyone's mind that the problems President Park would have to face were both numerous and large.

Agricultural progress had been very slow; the number of exports were very small; the costs of maintaining the sixth largest army in the world were very high.

I wish I could say, Mr. Speaker, that these problems have now been solved. Unfortunately, that is not the case; but, the important thing is that new and bold attempts are being made to boost the economy and to make Korea independent of all outside interests. President Park has called the year 1965 the "year of hard work." It is the fourth year of the 5-Year Economic Plan, which was established to form a foundation for a self-sufficient economy. The development of the mining and manufacturing industries has been impressive. The output of coal has increased 10 times in the period from 1953 to 1963. And, according to Government sources, the output of electric power has almost doubled from 1960 to 1964. Since the adoption of the Republic, the currency has become quite stable, the per capita income has risen, a free enterprise industrial system has been established, and an investment and loan banking system has been created.

At the end of the Korean conflict, two-thirds of all school buildings had been destroyed. Today, 130,000 students attend 96 steadily improving universities and 47 junior colleges. In 1961, according to the Korean Bureau of Information, the illiteracy rate was only 4 percent. It appears that Korea is making long strides in its economic and social advancement.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, the problems which face the Republic of Korea today are formidable, but I believe that the Korean people are making strong efforts to deal with them. I again congratulate President Chung Hee Park and the people of the Republic of Korea who celebrated their Independence Day on Sunday, August 15.

The President and the Presidency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, a bit ago Jack Valenti, the very able and intimate associate of President Johnson, gave the country one of the most revealing and understanding accounts of our great President that it has had. All over the country that illuminating address was read and appreciated by our people. One of those who especially esteemed Mr. Valenti's portrait of the President, as it were, was an old and eminent friend of mine, John D. Montgomery, editor and publisher of the Junction City Daily Union of Junction City, Kans., who on July 15, carried Mr. Valenti's full address as an editorial in the Junction City Daily Union.

Mr. Montgomery's family founded the paper which is now the Junction City Daily Union in 1861. Although the Junction City Daily Union was originally founded as a Republican weekly, it is now a truly representative, progressive, forward-looking paper and its editor and publisher, Mr. John D. Montgomery, is a distinguished and dedicated Democrat. He had a distinguished career in Florida as publisher and businessman before returning to the family paper in Junction City. He has for many years published the only English language newspaper in Brazil at Rio de Janeiro. He was recently chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee of Kansas and a member of the State Highway Board of Kansas under a distinguished Democratic Governor.

Mr. Montgomery has made scores of trips through Latin America and is one of the best informed of Americans in the affairs and problems of Latin America. He has made many trips abroad and is especially well informed in, as well as deeply interested in, world affairs.

Mr. Montgomery is a successful businessman, banker, publisher, and civic leader.

I, therefore, was very much pleased, Mr. Speaker, to note that Mr. John D. Montgomery carried in the Junction City Daily Union on July 15, 1965, the entire address of Mr. Valenti—heretofore inserted in the RECORD by our distinguished majority leader, Mr. ALBERT—entitled "The President and the Presidency," as an editorial.

Choice Remarks on an Able Speaker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of our colleagues an article by Larry King which appeared in the Miami Beach Daily Sun on Friday, August 20, 1965. Larry King is a well-known columnist, radio and TV commentator who is as perceptive and knowledgeable of national and international affairs as he is of local sports.

As in years past, the Speaker has served as an inspiration to all of us during the grueling days and nights we have spent together here in recent months. However, the record of this Congress will be one which future Congresses will have great difficulty to equal or surpass. This remarkable record is a tribute to the efforts of our beloved Speaker.

In his recent speech here in the House on Vietnam, the Speaker demonstrated once again his clear vision in the field of foreign affairs. He has lucidly rebuked those critics of our policy in Vietnam, asserting and affirming our duty and right to be there in order to meet Communist aggression headon.

In the aforementioned column, Mr. King has paid a tremendous, well deserved tribute to the Speaker of this body for the forthright stand he has taken on our Vietnam commitment:

SOME CHOICE REMARKS FROM AN ABLE SPEAKER—VIETNAM AND THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE

(By Larry King)

When we were in Washington a couple of weeks ago, I had the great honor of spending sometime in the office of Speaker of the House JOHN MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts. Mr. MCCORMACK, despite his years, has proven a very vigorous speaker and has a remarkable record in handling the legislation proposed by President Lyndon Johnson. His batting average has been nothing short of amazing. It was not the home front that we spoke of.

Speaker MCCORMACK had, 2 days before we met him, delivered a speech on the House floor which unfortunately had received little press attention. He titled it "Lest We Forget" and, in my opinion, it accurately summed up why we must be in Vietnam

and why we must continue to meet Communist oppression wherever it shows its ugly head.

He began by saying, "In connection with the world situation today, it is well for us to refresh our memory and keep definitely in mind the tragic events of only three decades ago when, due to weak leadership in France and Great Britain, the aggression of Nazi Germany under Hitler led to World War II with its terrible destruction of life and property. In that period there were many who lived in a dream world of hope. It is evident that if strong leadership existed then in Great Britain and France that World War II would have been averted. The events that took place prior to the war should convince any person that appeasement is the road to war, and that calculated risks of inaction are greater and more dangerous than the calculated risks of action. Lest we forget it is well for us to keep in mind facts and dates concerning Austria and Poland which led to World War II."

MEMORIES ARE SHORT

The Speaker then went on to point out, step by step, fact by fact, the parallels of the late 1930's and the mid-1960's. A history of looking the other way. A history of formal protests and little action. A history of appeasement. This writer concurs with the Speaker. Too many of the current complainers have too short a memory. In comparing the tragedy of Hitler with occurrences in the Far East today, Mr. McCormack has taught us that President Johnson is one leader who knows his history and who will not make the same mistakes that were made then under the guise of a desire for peace. The desire then (as it is now) was an honest one.

Imagine the screams and roars from thousands if Britain or France had bombed Berlin in 1938. We would have heard screams of stop killing innocent Germans and all the rest. If that would have happened millions of people who are not around today would be. History, as the saying goes, repeats itself. The current administration is trying to prevent that very thing and I salute them for it, and congratulate the gentleman from Massachusetts for drawing the comparison for all Americans. The complete text of his remarks are available in the Congressional Record of August 2, 1965. Everyone would do himself a favor by reading them.

This Nation, with its faults, is not now an aggressor. Its only desire is peace. Peace is not a thing easily gained. It is easily said and easily printed on signs to be carried by pickets, but it is not an easy thing. I believe in the good intentions of this great country. My administration is correct and I thank God for it.

Clarence Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. BEN REIFEL

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. REIFEL. Mr. Speaker, it was saddening news to hear of the passing of our beloved colleague, Clarence Brown. He was a giant among men, a defender of freedom, and a devoted champion of the rights of man.

His entire life was one of service—service to his party, to his State, and to his Nation. He shall long be remembered for his devotion to principle and conscientious work as an outstanding legislator.

His counsel and encouragement shall be greatly missed by me. He was one of the first senior Members of the House to offer his help to me as a freshman Congressman. Even in his hours of physical discomfort here in the Chamber, he was always ready with a cheerful greeting.

Mrs. Reifel and I join in extending our deepest sympathy to the members of his family.

A Report to the National Citizens' Commission on International Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks and to include extraneous material, I include in the Record a copy of a report submitted by President David O. McKay of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints to the National Citizens' Commission on International Cooperation. The report contains the current activities and the future plans of the church in its international relations program.

I believe this report on this privately financed and operated Peace Corps, which follows, will be of great interest to all of my colleagues who are interested in efforts to help developing countries help themselves through assistance and guidance, rather than through massive handouts from the U.S. Treasury which, in all too many cases, do not trickle down to those for whom the help was intended. It also, most importantly, gives our world neighbors a truer picture of Americans and a better understanding of America.

A Report to the National Citizens' Commission on International Cooperation

As set forth in our statement, "Some Desirable Objectives To Be Sought in International Cooperation" submited to the commission with copies to President Johnson, Secretary Rusk, and other officials under date of May 14, 1965, we believe the serious need of our times is to preach the gospel to the nations of the earth. The injunction of the Master set forth in the Gospel of St. Matthew, must strike the intelligent mind with force: "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you always even unto the end of the world."

This solemn injunction, in the context of the Scripture which also states, "All power is given unto Me in Heaven and in earth," is needed to sustain men's hearts and minds in these times.

Our future plans are identified with the foregoing objectives. The current activities of the church are representative of our historic efforts to meet this responsibility.

During 1965, the church is maintaining 51 missions in 27 nations beyond the jurisdiction of the United States of America. In foreign countries 7,702, and in the United States 3,963 (total 11,665) young men and young women, largely from the United States, spend 2 years or more of their lives in the missions. They are generally about 20 years of age, and have often completed 1 or 2 years of college. They normally return to continue their college educations upon the satisfactory completion of their missions. These young men and young women, and their families, voluntarily contribute for their maintenance in this service approximately $14 million each year.

As rapidly as rights of conscience, ownership of property, the privilege of printing and circulating literature become available to us abroad, we attempt to establish these helpful missionary operations. In every instance, since 1830, they have tended to elevate the condition of the people served, broaden their educational and cultural outlook, and enhance their material prosperity.

The young men and women who have returned to the United States from such service for more than 125 years, have brought with them language and other cultural skills, precious understandings of other peoples, fresh faith and appreciation for the Gospel and the blessings of liberty.

The church, from its own revenues, expends approximately $30 million on its international activities annually. The bulk of this annual expenditure budget goes for construction of educational and religious buildings, hospitals, and for educational and missionary service. Most of our hospitals at the present time are in North America.

While the church has had a long history of providing educational institutions and services in New Zealand and Polynesia, as for example our elementary schools in Tonga, Samoa and French-Polynesia, recent examples of our service to the peoples of the Pacific are exemplified by the new Church College of Hawaii and the Church College of New Zealand (a training ground for all the peoples of the Pacific in leadership and education), and in the new Polynesian center we have also established on the island of Oahu, also in the State of Hawaii.

At the present time, our foreign missionary activity in Asia is generally restricted to missions in Korea, Japan, Hong Kong and the Philippine Islands. From time to time, we have looked hopefully toward India and other parts of the great continent of Asia. In all such cases, we look with humility and with the spirit of service, hoping to make friends for the Gospel's and mankind's sake.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ, properly understood, we believe, embraces all truth, provides sound bases in human understanding for the ultimate reconciliation of human and cultural differences, while preserving individuality, nationality, and freedom of group identity. In our Father's house are many mansions. We are mindful that our Lord and Master, Himself, was born, lived, and fulfilled His earthly mission in the "fertile Crescent" which functions as a significant land bridge between the great continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia. Certain common bonds which underlie Christendom, Islam, and Judaism, properly understood and examined, we feel, can be extended and broadened to assist mankind in acquiring a more tolerant attitude. The revelation inherent in His declaration, "I am the way, the truth, and the life" can yet dawn in greater degree upon suffering mankind, we hope and pray, through the extension of religious liberty, and with it, peace and freedom. We must never cease to proclaim His message as Prince of Peace, of peace on earth, good will toward men—to all men everywhere.

We pray for the day when international cooperation will have reached the point that this message, voluntarily offered, may be available for the voluntary acceptance of any who desire it in honesty of heart.

Alabama Makes No Demands of Governor Brown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, in the wake of the worst riot in the history of our country and one of the worst examples of the breakdown of law and order, the people of Alabama have nothing but sympathy for the State of California and its Governor.

Unlike the action of Governor Brown last March, the officials of Alabama sent no insulting telegrams, nor did any Alabamian seek to use the California trouble for political advantage.

It could be that Governor Brown now regrets his intemperate and hasty condemnation of the State of Alabama when the same forces which tore Los Angeles apart were rioting in Selma.

The following editorial from the Montgomery Advertiser of August 18 should be a reminder to Governor Brown and others who see only "the moat in their brothers' eye" and are always ready to condemn others before knowing the truth:

GOVERNOR BROWN OF CALIFORNIA ON MARCH 9, 1965

On March 9, 1965, the bridge at Selma was on its way to becoming better known to the world than Brooklyn Bridge or Golden Gate Bridge.

A marching throng defied an order of the Alabama constabulary to disperse. The controversial events that followed were made into a world sensation.

Whereon, Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, a man oozing presidential ambition, did his shimmy with the following telegram to Governor Wallace:

"As an American citizen, I must strongly protest the brutal treatment of Negro citizens of Selma, Ala. by members of your State police force. In the name of justice and humanity, I urge you to call off your State troopers and correct the injustices suffered by the Negro people of your State."

Today, there stands Governor Brown amid $200 million worth of ruins. He presides over a terrorized city, nearly 2 score corpses and about 1,000 injured. He kept his State troopers on duty by backing them up with 15,000 National Guardsmen with orders to shoot to kill.

And he finds himself accused of police brutality. He finds himself telling Dr. King that he is a "great man" as he entreats him not to descend on Los Angeles as a demonstration is hardly the thing the city needs just now.

Brown is Governor of a State where arson, looting, and murder are not the only problems. It is a State where copperheads slap their bodies against troop trains, where campuses of great universities are immobilized by student insurrectionists, where legislation is debated that would control private standing armies in possession of arsenals and drilled in the use of light artillery.

Probably Governor Brown is chastened and genuinely bewildered by the revolutionary conditions in his State. If so, we are prepared to forgive him for permitting a daughter to demonstrate in Mississippi last summer and for his telegram to Alabama in the spring.

Ford Reply Lesson in Patriotism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD an editorial from the August 5, 1965, issue of the San Diego Union.

In discussing the recent exchange of remarks involving the President and House Minority Leader GERALD FORD, the editorial commends Representative FORD for his dignity and grace in reply and said he shows a "fine sense of patriotism."

I am sure that many subscribe fully with the comment of the San Diego Union on this episode.

The editorial follows:

[From the San Diego Union, Aug. 5, 1965]

GRACE UNDER PRESSURE: FORD REPLY LESSON IN PATRIOTISM

A noted author once described courage as grace under extreme pressure.

It is an apt turn of phrase that can be applied today with ease to Representative GERALD FORD, of Michigan, the Republican minority floor leader.

Representative FORD showed courage, dignity, grace, and a fine sense of patriotism in replying to a bitter, taunting, and personal attack on him by the President of the United States.

In doing so he put the best interests of his country above his personal feelings.

Leaving no doubt that he was referring to Representative FORD, the President said the Congressman violated a confidence, was perhaps malicious and inexperienced. He capped the extraordinary criticism with the statement that "boys will be boys."

The temptation to answer in kind must have been great. It is to Representative FORD's credit that he desisted. In so doing the Congressman displayed his high qualities of leadership.

It is a positive and constructive type of leadership that left the President room for a graceful retreat and at the same time pointed to a simple truth.

"Communists all over the world would be happy to see a bitter name-calling contest develop between President Johnson and congressional leaders at this crucial time," Representative FORD correctly stated.

"I refuse to be baited into a verbal donnybrook with the Commander in Chief that would play into the hands of Hanoi, Peiping, and Moscow. I support the President's firmness against Communist aggression in Vietnam."

As Representative FORD pointed out, the principal opposition to the President's military decisions in the Vietnam war came not from the Republicans, but from Democrats in Congress, particularly those in the Senate.

We suggest that if President Johnson is to use his high position and the weight of his office against his principal critics, he should direct his energies to the Democrats who oppose him, not the Republicans who support him.

The forbearance of Representative FORD should serve to remind everyone that the United States is in a war, as the President himself has stated correctly.

It will take national unity, sacrifices and a marshaling of purpose as well as weapons and resources to win that war. It is time for all Americans to follow the example of Representative FORD by forgetting the personalities and settling down to victory and an honorable peace in Vietnam.

Operation Head Start Called Startling Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, Operation Head Start began last July in Indianapolis and in more than 1,600 other cities and towns across the country. It was described as an 8-week crash program in the Office of Economic Opportunity's war on poverty.

The program was seen as an attempt to bring to thousands of 5- and 6-year-old children some of the advantages and experiences which more fortunate youngsters accept as a birthright. Head Start children were to be prepared physically, mentally, and emotionally to make the most of their first experience with formal schooling, which begins next month.

That the program has succeeded almost beyond the fondest hopes of its sponsors is made apparent in an article titled "Operation Head Start Called Startling Success" which appeared in the August 15, 1965, edition of the Indianapolis Star. I place the text of this article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD because of the clear message of hope and accomplishment which it brings to the war on poverty:

OPERATION HEAD START CALLED STARTLING SUCCESS

Operation Head Start has been a startling success for all concerned, including the children, many of whom had to learn you can't just turn your plate over and eat off the table.

"We had a lot of mopping up that first week," one teacher said.

The program will end this week covered with laurels.

Its success with 1,000 children from low-income areas brought to Indianapolis the wife of Wisconsin's Governor, Mrs. Warner P. Knowles, commissioned to make a special report to the First Lady, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson.

Officials from other States visited to inspect the program.

And the leaders, teachers, parents, the medical psychological and social workers who made up the team along with volunteers, are cheerfully confident that their work has assured a big benefit.

For the youngsters who would have wasted 2 or 3 months of kindergarten learning such commonplaces as how to ask to "be excused" and not to dump their food on the table now are ready to settle down to "work" when the school year opens.

They are veterans at handling school materials, following school routine and paying attention to the teacher.

That's not all.

They now can—and do—identify themselves with the community in which they live. After a visit to the statehouse, one busload of children could be heard speaking

of "my Capitol," "my Governor," and "my State."

These were youngsters who had never seen a cow, an airplane or a zoo.

Now they have visited a farm, the airport, the Governor's office in the statehouse, a bakery, an ice cream plant, the zoo, the county fair and the Children's Museum. (They went to see "The Wizard of Oz" or as they tell it, the "Lizard of Oz.")

These children, from areas where environment wilts rather than builds self-esteem, have enjoyed a healthy morale-boosting experience. They were given to understand that Head Start is their own special program—and the visits by dignitaries and members of the press made them feel pretty special.

They dabbled interestedly in craft projects, listened intently to stories and made up stories of their own, employing knowledge learned in forays to such fascinating spots as the city's parks.

An older brother of one of the lucky youngsters, a postal clerk himself, summed it up: "It's too bad they didn't have something like that when I was a kid."

In addition to academic preparation, the children were given medical and psychological attention either through school social workers and psychologists or through agencies such as the Marion County Health and Hospital Corporation, the Speech and Hearing Clinic and the Child Guidance Clinic.

It all helped. One parent said her shy, stubborn son has become outgoing and cooperative since attending the Head Start classes.

Parents attend PTA meetings, sometimes on a Sunday afternoon because of work demands during the week, to learn how they can help their children succeed.

The parents even may learn to sew clothing, study rules of sanitation, prepare better meals or operate on a household budget.

Fifty-five teachers in 25 inner-city schools used $137,054 in Federal money along with local resources and volunteer talent valued at $41,535 to provide, "basic experiences" for 5- and 6-year-old children so they can start school on an equal footing with youngsters from more advantaged areas.

Mrs. Ralph Coble, former president of the Indianapolis Board of School Commissioners who makes no secret of her opposition to Federal aid, praised the local Head Start program.

Under the direction of Karl R. Kalp, assistant superindendent of schools, the programs in Indianapolis bloomed into one of the best of its kind in the country.

It was financed through the Office of Economic Opportunity, a war on poverty agency.

One reason for the success is the size of the classes. There are only 15 or 20 pupils per class compared to 35 or 40 in an ordinary kindergarten class.

The teachers have plenty help in the persons of a paid aid (a parent who lives in the neighborhood) and a volunteer to help with storytelling, food preparation and other necessary chores.

If for no other reason, Kalp said, Head Start would be worth the effort in time saved in teaching the moppets routine, handling of materials and paying attention in kindergarten.

"It would take much longer than 8 weeks to accomplish this job in ordinary classes," he said.

Head Start will not be repeated, but a similar program will go into effect next month when 20 centers open to provide the same services on a year-round basis to 1,200 3- and 4-year-olds.

The new program will cost almost $1 million, mostly in Federal funds, and will be managed by Indianapolis Preschool Centers, Inc.

Shenandoah Valley Music Festival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, in the last several years there has been conducted at Orkney Springs a series of workshops in the field of symphonic music. This small resort community is located in my home county of Shenandoah in the Seventh Congressional District.

Each summer there are assembled at Orkney Springs some of the outstanding musicians in America. As a part of their workshop program, they present a series of concerts that has attracted increasing notice and acclaim from music lovers.

I would like to bring to the attention of the House a review of the recent concert at Woodstock, Va., written by the distinguished music critic of the Washington Star, Mr. Irving Lowens. I think this review reflects the high quality of musicianship to be found at this festival.

The review follows:

CONDUCTOR SHOWS SORCERY AT VALLEY MUSIC FESTIVAL

(By Irving Lowens)

ORKNEY SPRINGS, VA.—The 1965 Shenandoah Valley Music Festival got under way Saturday evening in Woodstock, Va., with an orchestral concert. On paper, it did not look like anything out of the ordinary. The program consisted of Barber's School for Scandal Overture, the Grieg piano concerto and the Tchaikovsky Fifth Symphony.

The weather was stifling hot, and the performance was to take place in the gym of the Massanutten Military Academy, which is not air conditioned.

But it is dangerous to prejudge, as the concert demonstrated. Those who did missed the opportunity to see and hear what an inspired (and inspiring) conductor can do to illuminate a masterpiece we all think we have heard too often.

Although I have listened to the Tchaikovsky Fifth hundreds of times, I speak no more than the plain truth when I report that I have never really heard it before. The work is, of course, a boobytrap for the average conductor. The seams show despite the wonderful tunes, and bombast and tentimentality are too frequently substituted for eloquence and pathos.

MASTERY IN EVERY BAR

Dr. Richard Lert, artistic director and conductor of the Symphony of the Valley, is anything but the average conductor. Under his direction, every bar bore the mark of the master interpreter—every bar sounded clean and newly born. There was a sense of organic growth, of plasticity, of living line, of exquisite balance, of inevitable climax, and of truth (if there be such a thing in music) that had to be experienced to be believed.

In view of the fact that Dr. Lert had a group of some 90-odd young instrumentalists from all over the country who had come to Orkney Springs less than a week before the concert to take part in the American Symphony Orchestra League's annual eastern summer conductor's workshop, his achievement was outright sorcery—the sort of miracle only the greatest of teacher-conductors can manage.

And Dr. Lert, who is now approaching 80, is surely one of the greatest teacher-conductors of our time.

That he is not more widely known and acclaimed undoubtedly is due to the fact that this extraordinary man has been content to remain music director of the Pasadena (Calif.) Symphony for 31 of the 33 years he has been in the United States, concentrating on passing on to younger colleagues his magic. (I cannot conceive of any of our major orchestras which would not be honored by his presence on their podiums.)

EXALTED AND TRANSFORMED

It would be presumptuous of me to attempt to isolate the elements that make Dr. Lert the transcendent artist that he is but among them surely one must include a sense of relaxation that is the epitome of love, a largeness of conception that reflects complete breadth of comprehension, and an uncanny gift for endowing music that he touches with humanity, beauty, and musical logic.

It is no wonder that those who come to him to learn come away from the experience exalted and transformed.

The first half of the Saturday program was given over to Ronald Ondrejke, associate conductor of the Pittsburgh Symphony and Dr. Lert's assistant in both workshop and festival.

Ondrejke is an excellent young conductor who uses the greatest economy of motion, and has captured something of the dynamic relaxation so characteristic of Dr. Lert, but he took on an impossible assignment.

GRACEFUL GESTURE

After a neat reading of the Barber overture, he and the orchestra accompanied William Leland, a member of the music faculty at Madison College in Harrisonburg, Va., in the Greig piano concerto. It was a graceful gesture to the people of the Shenandoah Valley who have been supporting the festival so enthusiastically to choose a local musician as guest artist. However, I am afraid that Leland was simply not up to the task.

But this was, after all, Dr. Lert's show. When the infelicities of Leland's Grieg have faded from memory, those who were in Woodstock will well remember Tchaikovsky's Fifth Symphony.

Yesterday, the festival event took place on the spacious grounds of Orkney Springs Hotel, center of all valley activity these weeks.

A program of music for chamber orchestra consisting of the Bach D Minor Double Concerto, the Dvorak Serenade, Opus 14, and the Beethoven Second Symphony, was offered.

SPURGEON LEADS PLAYERS

Leading the players was Philip Spurgeon, conductor of the Johnstown (Pa.) Symphony and coordinator of the festival chamber music events. Like Ondrejke, Spurgeon is a talented youngster with ideas. He has a workmanlike, if not markedly polished baton technique.

He did quite well with the Bach, in which Gideon Grau, of the Saginaw (Mich.) Symphony, and Ronald Stoffel, of the University of Connecticut Symphony, were excellent soloists, and even better with the Beethoven.

Unfortunately, the Dvorak suffered not only from some rather wooden conducting on the part of Christopher Leuba—a fine hornist from the Minneapolis Symphony—but also from the effects on the players and the audience of the stifling heat.

The instrumentalists—youthful, enthusiastic, expert—played never less than well and, under Dr. Lert, like a first-class, well-routined orchestra.

The next festival symphonic event is next Saturday at 8:30 p.m. in the Massanutten Military Academy. Dr. Lert will conduct the entire program—the Schubert Fifth, the

Dvorak G Major, the Wagner Good Friday Spell, and the Ives Unanswered Question.

I know that Woodstock is a good 2-hours-plus drive from the Nation's Capital, but despite this, I would urge every Washington concertgoer who wants to see a truly great conductor at work to find a way to get to this valley town. It is a golden opportunity to be seized while Dr. Lert is still here to provide it.

Newspapers Support the President's Latin American Common Market Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I believe that President Johnson is not only a vigorous, creative and highly successful director of the domestic fortunes of this great Nation; I believe that he is showing great skill and ability in his foreign policy efforts and I should like to take this opportunity to draw attention to one recent gratifying initiative taken by the President in foreign policy.

Recently at the White House the President endorsed the idea of a common market for our Latin American neighbors; he reaffirmed this Nation's commitment to the Alliance for Progress and he issued a strong statement of solidarity with our southern neighbors in this hemisphere.

The President's excellent statement was accepted enthusiastically not only by diplomats from Latin America; it won well-deserved praise from newspapers in this country. I should like to submit for entry in the RECORD two particularly informative comments on the President's statement: One from Long Island Newsday of August 19, and the other from a recent edition of the New York Herald Tribune:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Herald Tribune]

THE ALIANZA MOVES AHEAD

The Alliance for Progress has had its sharp ups and downs since it was established 4 years ago at the Punta del Este conference in Uruguay. It started off with a bang, slipped into a slump of disillusionment, and now is on the upgrade.

It began with high hopes—much to high to endure the realities of the political, social, and economic obstructions in virtually all of the Latin American Republics. The collapse was the inevitable collapse of wishful thinking, of ill-founded paped projects for transforming these countries from relative poverty to unlimited prosperity overnight.

The program for developing the Latin Republics with large injections of American, West European, and Japanese capital has now reached what appears to be a more realistic, secure, and hence promising level. The projects are being sifted and evaluated more rapidly and efficiently than before. The bureaucratic machine has been oiled so that it has become less creaky than before. Money is flowing at a sure pace from north to south, and the production growth figures are beginning to move upward at a number of points.

President Johnson chose this week's anniversary of the Punta del Este conference to point out that the figure is higher for the Central American Republics, which have established a common market. His offer to help the others duplicate the miracle of the European Common Market is music to Latin ears.

It is an offer which can be realized if both parties are prepared to make it good. That means a far greater degree of political and social stability than the Latin Republics have produced so far.

[From the Long Island (N.Y.) Newsday, Aug. 19, 1965]

A GOOD FIRST STEP

President Johnson has thrown his full weight behind the Alliance for Progress, and has taken the first step toward a goal long advocated by this newspaper—a hemispheric common market. The President's proposal is modest, but it is basic to the development of Latin America. He proposes a program, modeled after the European Common Market, "for the production and trade on a continental basis of fertilizers, pesticides, and other products that are needed to increase agricultural production."

The President seems to envision, at least as a starter, a purely Latin American economic agreement, with Uncle Sam on the sidelines as a willing helper. But if Latin America is genuinely to prosper, she must eventually become part of a larger effort, one that includes both continents of the Western Hemisphere and thus brings in both Canada and the United States. A hemispheric common market could work economic marvels.

Mr. Johnson's speech was enthusiastically received. The slight feeling of some Latin American countries that he did not take the same interest in their problems as his predecessor, President Kennedy, has apparently been overcome, both by his words and by his deeds—the latter including an effort to abolish our import fee on sugar so the full price will go to the Latin American producers. He has reaffirmed our wish to be good and helpful neighbors.

Excise Tax Reduction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of this body a letter which I recently wrote to the Honorable Gardner Ackley, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, concerning the recently released Council report on the effects of the excise tax reduction on consumer prices.

It is my understanding that assurances have now been given that the Council has decided to continue its study well into the next model year. This action is to be commended.

During the course of this study, which my office has been conducting on excise taxes, it has occurred to me that it would be wise for the Bureau of Labor Statistics to catalog the price fluctuations on individual consumer items by brand name and specifications in a further effort to benefit the American consumer.

In this continuing effort to assure the consumer that every dollar of the excise tax reduction is passed on, it is my hope that the Council of Economic Advisers will report on each of the individual sections treated by the excise tax reduction law rather than choosing individual sections to highlight.

In addition, I emphasize in my letter the need to monitor price increases, such as the ones occurring in the areas of sporting goods and business machine manufacturers to see that benefits of the excise tax reduction law are not negated. The letter follows:

AUGUST 19, 1965.

HON. GARDNER ACKLEY,
Council of Economic Advisers,
Executive Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ACKLEY: It was with great interest that I learned from today's newspaper of the results of the recent study conducted by the Council of Economic Advisers concerning the effect of the recent excise tax reduction.

As you undoubtedly are aware from our previous correspondence, I have been very gravely concerned with the economic impact of the excise tax reduction and the prospects of long-term advantages to the consumer. In connection with this matter, my staff and I have carried on considerable research in cataloging prices of items subject to the excise tax both before and after the effective date of the legislation. We are continuing to carry on this research to determine the life expectancy of these economic benefits.

In connection with the automobile excise tax reduction, I must concur with your findings that the automobile manufacturers almost unanimously provided for a 3-percent posted price reduction reflecting theoretically the benefits of the tax cut. However, it must be remembered that the so-called manufacturers' suggested price of automobiles bears very little relationship to the "market value" of an automobile. It must also be remembered that the excise tax reduction came at the close of a model year when automobiles were made available to dealers at discounted rates reflecting the model yearend. In this garbled state of affairs, it is very difficult to determine the extent to which the automobile purchaser participated in the benefits of the excise tax reduction.

I am pleased to note your findings that the 10-percent retail excise tax accrued almost entirely to the public. This confirms the observations which we made during our very limited and restricted investigation.

I must certainly question the findings of your Council with respect to business machines and equipment. From my staff studies, I have been able to determine that in those business machines of high demand, the manufacturers retain as much as 89 percent of the tax reduction as a result of recent price increases. In this one category, the loss of revenue to the Treasury is $75 million annually. For example, there is one major manufacturer of business equipment who now dominates two-thirds of the sales market of business machines to the House of Representatives. In the standard items which this company has sold to the Congress, they have absorbed an average of 40 percent of the tax cut as a result of their price increases. One device followed by these manufacturers is to reduce the prices on unwanted items and increase prices on items of high demand.

One of the apparent omissions by your report is that it lists the number of manufacturers who passed on the excise tax cut but fails to report the percentage of excise tax cut passed on to the consumer or concern itself with the percentage or dollar loss to the consumer because of price increases which absorbed the excise tax cut.

It seems to me that the work of the Council of Economic Advisers on this cannot be

considered as complete until some machinery is established for a continuing analysis of the effect of the tax cut. While certain tax reduction benefits may flow to the consumer for the short term, it is my belief that these prospects will not extend into the next year. There are strong indications that the new models coming into the 1966 model year will consider the advisability of continuing the excise tax reduction and minimize its effect.

It is my sincere hope that your Council will consider the advisability of continuing its inquiry into the next year and also make public the records which supported your report.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES A. VANIK,
Member of Congress.

In addition, I wish to reprint in the RECORD a copy of an editorial which appeared in the Washington Post of August 23, 1965, entitled, "Passing on the Tax Cuts." The last paragraph indicates a thesis which cannot be emphasized too greatly.

The editorial follows:

PASSING ON THE TAX CUTS

According to the second report of the Council of Economic Advisers about three-fourths of the $1.75-billion reduction in Federal excise taxes is being passed on to consumers through lower retail prices. In accordance with expectations, Goverment surveys indicate that virtually all dealers lowered their prices on new cars. But elsewhere, compliance with the wishes of the White House was somewhat spotty. In the markets for refrigerators and freezers, 35 percent of the dealers failed to make any price cuts, and the figure for noncomplying dealers in cooking ranges was 45 percent.

It may be that many dealers in household appliances are awaiting manufacturers' new list prices before taking action, but there are good reasons for supposing that price cuts will be small in markets where discounting is widespread. Auto dealers, by virtue of market power, exert a greater control over prices and net profit margins than the more numerous dealers in household appliances. With attractive profit margins and the white heat of publicity, the price of new autos, although not for optional equipment, were uniformly reduced. Resistance is greater in markets where retail margins are slim, but it might well be broken down by the intensification of competition.

Retail dealers cannot, of course, be forced to pass on the excise tax cuts to consumers. But their voluntary compliance may assume greater importance over the next 4 years in which additional excise tax reductions are scheduled. For if an intensification of hostilities in South Vietnam leads to sharp increase in defense spending, compliance in passing on the excise tax cuts will be essential in the effort to check inflation.

Using Economic Power To Halt War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, on August 19, 1965, columnist David Lawrence in the Washington Evening Star presented a number of cogent arguments on the use of economic power to halt the war in Vietnam.

We must constantly seek ways to prevent increased casualties and shorten the war. One obviously important consideration must be the economic factors for North Vietnam's war effort depends extensively on exports. There seems no doubt that reducing the flow of goods to North Vietnam would help significantly in reducing the Communist war capability.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD a copy of Mr. Lawrence's article:

USING ECONOMIC POWER TO HALT WAR

(By David Lawrence)

The veterans who have served in three major wars in the last half century are well aware of the hardships of war, yet they are not pacifists. They do not favor the surrender of principle, because they know that wars too often come as the result of appeasement. Mingling with the Veterans of Foreign Wars last Monday at their 66th national convention in Chicago, one was impressed by the support that they give to the American position in the Vietnam war—a fight for a great principle.

This correspondent does not make public speeches, but in accepting an award from the Veterans of Foreign Wars, he addressed the members on the subject of "international cooperation" and particularly cited economic power as a means of helping to end the war in Vietnam. Here is an excerpt explaining this very point:

"Perhaps the leastused power to prevent war is economic power. Prior to World War II, attempts were made to put an economic embargo on trade with certain countries, but the Western allies did not cooperate with each other. Today every nation goes its own way seeking trade in pursuit of the dollar or the pound or the peso or the franc, as the case may be. This is not international cooperation. It is international anarchy.

"If the United States has a just cause, then why should not the other nations of the world support it? And if the only way to bring another nation to terms is to impose an economic embargo so that its trade will be disrupted and it will not receive economic aid from outside, then why should not those who say they are sympathetic with our cause maintain their alliance with us and actually cooperate on economic embargoes?

"We need to convince other nations—the free peoples who think as we do—that the cause for which we are fighting is just as important to them as it is to us. But certainly it is disheartening for the United States to be sacrificing the lives of its own boys while the allied countries, whose interests are so often aided by us, adopt a course which amounts to helping our enemies.

"We approve the idea of international discussion in any forum, including that provided by the United Nations. But it is more important that the major nations of the world shall take collective action as provided in the U.N. Charter itself. It does not always have to be military action, but it certainly requires economic cooperation.

"But while more than 150,000 Americans are fighting or are about to fight in Vietnam, we have not declared formally 'a state of war.' If we did, then, under the international law, other nations would be required to respect our request that no economic aid be given to North Vietnam—our enemy in the battle—and its co-belligerent, Red China. International law is firm on that point. It is not considered legal to trade with any belligerent power without subjecting such trade to seizure through the interposition of military and naval force. International law does not uphold the right of any country to ship contraband goods to a belligerent power.

"The people of the allied countries do not seem much concerned. Yet, we have sacrificed the lives of our own young men to preserve freedom in these same nations, too. Today we are risking the lives of tens of thousands of Americans in Vietnam, and it is essential that our friends in the allied governments take a firm stand along with us and refrain from trading with the enemy."

One objection being raised to the declaration of "a state of war" is that hostilities would be expected against Red China. But this is not necessarily so, as an embargo on arms shipments can be imposed around a country which is the scene of a war without involving any use of force outside the area except to seize or turn back shipments of arms and military supplies.

Speaking of the human sacrifices involved in war, Vice President HUMPHREY, at the opening session of the VFW convention on Monday, made the following statement, which had had little, if any, public attention throughout the country:

"The South Vietnamese Army since 1961 has suffered 25,000 dead and 51,000 wounded—greater losses, in proportion to population, than we suffered in all of World War II; 10 times our losses in the Korean war.

"The South Vietnamese people, last year alone, lost 436 local officials to assassination, lost another 1,100 officials to kidnaping and an unknown fate, lost 11,000 civilians to murder, kidnaping, and forced labor—but, in face of intimidation, turned out to vote in recent elections in far higher percentages than we usually reach in our own American elections."

Voice for Cities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, with final action expected soon in the Congress on legislation establishing a Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development, I call the attention of House Members to an editorial published August 13 in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette:

[From the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Aug. 13, 1965]

VOICE FOR CITIES

City dwellers are about to attain in the Federal Government the kind of special representation that rural residents have enjoyed for 103 years. It was in 1862 that Congress created the Department of Agriculture; in 1889 the departmental head became the Secretary of Agriculture and a member of the President's Cabinet.

This week the Senate, following the lead of the House, approved a bill to set up a new Department of Housing and Urban Development. Though the bill would create no new Federal programs, it would bring the new governmental emphasis to bear on urban problems by consolidating within one department various programs, such as housing and mass transit aid, now scattered through the Federal establishment. The new Department would propose policies dealing with the development of metropolitan areas and offer technical assistance to States, cities and counties.

Because of a Senate amendment designed to preserve the status and functions of the

Federal Housing Administration as an agency within the new Department, a conference committee will probably have to resolve Senate-House differences before the legislation can finally be approved. Within a short time, however, President Johnson is expected to have an 11th Cabinet member whose Department would, in his words, provide "a focal point for thought and innovation and imagination about the problems of our cities." This change in the Government will represent a welcome recognition of the changing character of American society.

Hanoi's Version of U.S. Protests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the right to dissent and protest is a fundamental guarantee of our democracy. It is a right which must be cherished and safeguarded, but it is also a right which must be exercised responsibly.

One of the consequences of irresponsible protest, and certainly some of the Vietnam demonstrations, though certainly not all, fall in this category, is well illustrated in the interpretation given by the North Vietnamese radio and press. The Washington Post on August 19 reprinted one example of how some of the recent demonstrations have been construed by North Vietnam and I include this article for our colleagues' information and attention:

HANOI'S VERSION OF U.S. PROTESTS

(NOTE.—Reprinted below is an account of events in the United States printed in Nhan Da of Hanoi and broadcast over Hanoi VNA. Much importance must be attached to such reports because the North Vietnam government and the National Liberation Front are confident that American opinion will force a reversal of policy and compel withdrawal from South Vietnam.)

Hundreds of American youths have prevented a ship from carrying weapons to South Vietnam. Hundreds of American women demonstrated with mourning arms. Scores of American youths have fasted to protest against the U.S. ruling circles. Many broke into Johnson's residence demanding that the U.S. President end the aggressive war in Vietnam.

Such acts, as well as the participation of hundreds of thousands of American students and youths in the teach-in held in U.S. universities to protest the U.S. Governments' policy in Vietnam, prove that many American youths and people have realized the serious situation imposed on them by the aggressive war in Vietnam.

They have also realized that such a situation requires them to struggle for self-defense and to safeguard justice, freedom, and defend the honor of the United States.

That the U.S. authorities have been intensifying and expanding the war in defiance of the American people's genuine aspirations for peace has aroused a strong wave of protest among the latter. Demonstrations broke out one after another against the reactionary and warlike policy of the U.S. authorities.

On July 29, immediately after U.S. President Johnson made public the U.S. Government's decision to dispatch additional U.S. troops to South Vietnam, 400 American people, who ranged in age from carriage-borne infants to gray-haired matrons, staged a stirring demonstration in New York to protest against the criminal decision of the U.S. Government.

Many American youths burned their draft cards in front of recruiting booths.

On July 31, numerous American youths in the same city again demonstrated before the recruiting booth to protest against Johnson's decision of an additional troop dispatch to South Vietnam.

On August 5, hundreds of youths in Berkeley, Calif., demonstrated at the Santa Fe railway station, holding placards urging an end to the piratical war. When a train carrying U.S. troops to South Vietnam moved by, the demonstrators put a placard across the rail reading "Stop the war machine."

On August 6, more than 3,000 Americans in Berkeley again held a stirring demonstration in strong protest against Johnson. The demonstrators carried with them streamers bearing slogans in protest against the aggressive war in Vietnam and sat down on the rails to prevent a train from carrying U.S. troops to South Vietnam. On the night of the same day, more than 100 American people staged another demonstration at a B-52 base in Ohio in protest against the Johnson government. Also on August 6 many other demonstrations broke out in Washington and other places involving American students, youth, and other people to protest against the Johnson administration's acts of war intensification in Vietnam.

The repeated demonstrations which broke out in the past few days in the United States just after U.S. President Johnson announced the decision to send another 50,000 U.S. troops to South Vietnam pointed to the high indignation and the spirit of resolute struggle of the American people in face of the U.S. imperialist's criminal acts. The U.S. ruling circles are seeking ways to repress the American people's struggle. They sent U.S. police to savagely suppress the demonstrators. They have also enacted a draft law imposing imprisonment and fines on those youths who refuse to join the Army. Resorting to such fascist measures, the U.S. ruling circles have shown their fright in the face of the protest movement which is rising in the United States against the aggressive war. But certainly they cannot prevent that movement from developing in the present world situation, any aggressive war will lead to a protest movement in the imperialist country which launches the war.

To defend their sons, brothers, and husbands and the peaceful life of their families, the American people cannot but resolutely struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and warmongers, who are driving the American youth to die for their dirty purpose and sowing mournings among the American people.

Situation of Hungarians in Rumania

SPEECH

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson many times has expressed this country's determination to continue the battle for freedom of the South Vietnamese. And his words have been carried around the world. But we hear little about this administration's intentions regarding the captive peoples of Eastern Europe who equally are victims of Communist oppression. I have in mind, particularly, the oppression of the human rights of the Hungarian and Saxon minorities in Rumania.

Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a resolution (H. Res. 459) condemning as the sense of the House of Representatives this discrimination. So far, no hearings have been scheduled and the session now is drawing to a close.

I submit this is no partisan issue. We have shown our hand in Vietnam. The whole world knows where we stand, or should know. Yet we give every appearance of having acquiesced in the enslavement of the captive peoples of Communist Europe.

The fact there is no actual combat there does not absolve us from clearly and forthrightly reminding the world that Communist imperialism has its tentacles in many parts of the globe. Let us make certain that this Congress does not adjourn without favorable action on this resolution to condemn the Communist oppression of minorities in Rumania and to urge the President to make appropriate overtures to the Rumanian Government to help bring relief to these minorities.

National Drum Corps Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the past week has been a time designated for special emphasis on the efforts and accomplishments of the thousands participating in the activities of America's vigorous drum corps. This year's National Drum Corps Week has been a well-deserved tribute to the many outstanding young people and adults who have put so much time, dedication, an energy into these colorful, well-trained units.

It would be difficult to imagine a parade or public event without the spirited pageantry and stirring music which these groups contribute. Yet, few of us have stopped to consider the many hours of practice, private initiative, and organization that have made our enjoyment possible.

Private organizations, such as the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars, as well as civic minded citizens and interested parents across the country are donating their time, finances, and enthusiasm to this wholesome activity. Hundreds of thousands of young people are giving many extracurricular hours to the practice and drill which make precision units possible. It has been estimated that about 3 million people, both young and old, now compete annually in the United States and Canada is the growing number of drum and bugle corps competitions.

As a youth activity, drum corps offer an excellent opportunity for our young people to engage in an exciting and challenging project of action, music, and

close camaraderie. It offers them also an invaluable opportunity for character growth. The discipline, pride in accomplishment, personal reliability and cooperation necessary to a unit have helped many of our youth refrain from less wholesome pursuits.

But our Nation's drum corps do more than contribute to the development of those directly involved. They are an invaluable enrichment to our national life. The brilliantly uniformed corps of today have evolved from the pages of history which tell of the birth and growth of a great nation, a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the dignity and equality of every human being. The rolling cadence of the drum, used for centuries for military signals on the field of battle, remind us of our hard earned heritage of freedom.

The drum corps inspire in the watching audience a sense of wholesome patriotism, a sense of the importance of our past. And in an age of uncertainty and frequent frustrations it is important we be reminded of the aspirations, ideals, and courage which have built America.

I congratulate and commend all those who are a part of this activity. Though appreciation is not expressed often enough, the effort and contribution being made is well recognized, and the now annual National Drum Corps Week should help to give added emphasis and community support to your continuing effort.

Inter-American Development Bank Inaugurates Institute for Latin American Integration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I think it is significant that today, August 24, 1965, in Buenos Aires, Argentina the Inter-American Development Bank is inaugurating its Institute for Latin American Integration.

I am confident that we in the United States are gratified to see the countries of Latin America move toward a more integrated economy and I am therefore pleased to call the establishment of this Institute to the attention of my colleagues:

BANK TO INAUGURATE INSTITUTE FOR LATIN AMERICAN INTEGRATION

The Inter-American Development Bank today announced that its Institute for Latin American Integration will be inaugurated in Buenos Aires on August 24.

The Institute, the first center of study in Latin America devoted exclusively to the analysis of the problems related to the integration of the region, was established under the auspices and will operate as a unit of the Inter-American Bank.

It will concentrate on the systematic study of the process of regional integration in its economic, technical, legal and institutional aspects, and to the training of the technical personnel in this field. Its specific activities will include the training of officials, the offering of instruction at the post-graduate level, the performance of research, the provision of advisory services and the dissemination of research results and studies.

Participating in the inaugural ceremony will be Arturo Illia, President of Argentina, and other high Argentine Government officials; Felipe Herrera, president of the bank; and the members of the institute's consultative council, its president and its director.

The consultative council is composed of Roberto de Oliveira Campos, Minister of Planning of Brazil; Hollis B. Chenery, Member of the Panel of Nine and professor of economics at Harvard University; Rodrigo Gómez, general manager of the Bank of México; Enrique Iglesias, technical secretary of the Investment and Economic Development Commission of Uruguay; Luis Manuel Peñalver, president of the Universidad de Oriente of Venezuela; Roberto Ramírez, president of the Central Bank of Honduras, and Javier Silva, Minister of Agriculture of Peru.

The president of the institute and of the consultative council is Julio C. Rodriguez Arias, an Argentine university professor. The director is Gustavo Lagos, who previously was in charge of the training unit at the bank headquarters.

The institute's training activities will be directed to the preparation of officials, technicians and leaders of the public and private sectors and of university graduates on subjects of regional integration. The institute expects to train between 150 and 200 people annually, both through its formal program for officials and postgraduate students as well as through special seminars for leaders.

Research activities will include the collection of information on integration movements in other world regions and its evaluation from a Latin American perspective; the collection of informational material and data of other Latin American agencies and institutions relating to integration and, on these bases, the study of the various aspects of Latin American integration.

The informational program will be carried out through the publication of the Institute's research results, courses and studies, as well as through conferences and roundtable discussions. In addition, the Institute will have a library specialized in the field of integration.

The programs will be carried out by the institute's permanent personnel, by groups of experts especially engaged, by individual specialists hired for specific studies, and by visiting professors and lecturers.

The Institute is financed by the Inter-American Bank and by special contributions of the member countries. Argentina, the host country, has provided the building where the unit operates and pays for the services of the local administrative personnel.

The New Puerto Rican Migrant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Ruth Gruber from the August 21, 1965, edition of the New York Herald Tribune.

It is unfortunate that a misunderstanding exists about the nature of the Puerto Rican migration to the United States, both in New York and in Puerto Rico itself. This migration has now assumed a recognizable pattern. Young people are migrating to New York in search of work, and old people are returning to the island. Those who return are changing conditions in Puerto Rico. They come back with new skills and education, and are helping to transform the island into a modern industrial society. New York serves as a kind of Peace Corps training ground for young Puerto Ricans who will take back the advantages of their experience with them.

New York must be prepared to deal with the new migrants who will be arriving. It is hoped that there will be a better understanding of this migration, and the benefit which it has for the people of Puerto Rico.

The article follows:

THE NEW PUERTO RICAN MIGRANT

(By Ruth Gruber)

SAN JUAN.—On opening day of Operation Head Start in San Juan, a 4-year-old boy entered a schoolroom in the ocean front slums of La Perla. He was stark naked with a notebook and a pencil under his arm.

No one laughed, for in a sense he was a symbol of Puerto Rico today. Charming and innocent in a tropical garden of paradise. Too poor for figleaves or shoes. But the notebook and the pencil. With these, you could climb out of poverty.

Operation Head Start began early in June and has already finished its first 8 weeks in Puerto Rico. In all 17,414 children began the process of learning to play and talk together; they look in mirrors and discovered themselves; doctors and dentists and psychiatrists examine them; many were given free lunch.

The children were heartbroken when Operation Head Start shut down in Puerto Rico at the end of July, not to reopen again until the winter. On the last day, they crowded around asking questions.

"Teacher, where are we going to eat on Monday?"

"Teacher, tell me who is going to tell us stories?"

"Teacher, please don't take the food away."

Though no one is actually starving on the island, there is still large-scale poverty. The island has been fighting its own war against poverty since 1940 when Operation Bootstrap began. And though it has won spectacular battles—Puerto Rico is on the whole a fantastic success story—the end of poverty is nowhere in sight.

The search for jobs to alleviate poverty is still one of the major factors in the increasing migration to New York and the mainland, a migration which is as unknown and misunderstood in Puerto Rica itself as it is in New York.

"They're coming home," everyone tells you. "There's no more migration to the States." For some, it's a healthy return; for others it's almost a neurotic compulsion. The Puerto Ricans all want to come home.

Even those who know vaguely that Puerto Ricans are still leaving, do not realize that the migration has taken on a definite recognizable pattern.

Young people are leaving the island looking for work.

Older people are returning.

The young people are a little better educated than the migrants who left 10 years ago. The schools here have done a job; the youngsters know a little more English; some have even attended high school.

The returnees have acquired training, English, skills, and some money.

The ones going are mainly from the rural areas, young farmhands leaving the sugarcane and tobacco and coffee plantations. Agriculture is a sick industry on the island.

The ones returning are no longer farmers; they are urban or industrial workers.

The returnees are changing the economic face of the island. According to studies made by the planning board, more than one-third of the new professional jobs are held by returnees. One-third of the artisans and machine operators working on the island are men and women who have returned.

Thus the migration has been of enormous benefit to this Commonwealth, whose people are citizens of the United States. The mainland has provided a kind of training school, a sophisticated Peace Corps for Puerto Rico's economic and social life.

What New York must realize is that it must prepare for a new wave of migrants who are young, and of childbearing age. It means there will be more children in elementary and junior high schools who need special services, and more teachers will be needed who are trained in understanding the cultural background and mores of the Puerto Rican child. There will be more teenages in our vocational and academic high schools for whom English is a second language; there will be more apprentices and more workers in our hotels and restaurants and factories.

As the older people return, there will probably be fewer Puerto Ricans on New York's welfare roll; and since the young are for the most part healthy and ambitious for work, there will probably be fewer Puerto Ricans in the clinics and the hospitals.

"I am convinced the migration to the mainland, and especially to New York, will go on increasing even more than it is now, in the next few years," Hubert C. Barton, Jr. told me. Barton, who was one of the original planners of Operation Bootstrap and is now Director of the Office of Economic Counsel of the Puerto Rico House of Representatives, is making a study of migration on the island.

In his office in the white capitol building in old San Juan, he told me, "I see the migration increasing, for four major reasons:

"1. The draft takes young men in the States out of the labor market. Our migrants are now young men and women who will help fill these jobs.

"2. All the social legislation that's been approved in Washington recently will create new jobs on the mainland.

"3. The population pressures are still increasing. We still have roughly 100,000 unemployed and 200,000 under-employed people who work less than 35 hours a week.

"4. War stimulates migration. If the war in Vietnam is escalated and more men are drafted or kept in the service, there will be an increasing migration of the labor force from Puerto Rico."

This is what New York must be aware of. It is a young migration, and a healthy one. In a sense, it is a naked boy with a notebook and a pencil under his arm.

Let Us Keep the Schools Open

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I call to the attention of this body the speech delivered by the Honorable Francis Keppel, U.S. Commissioner of Education, who has been at the forefront of the revolution now occurring in the field of education in the United States. His speech was delivered to the 49th annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers—AFL-CIO—in Los Angeles on August 23, 1965.

In this speech, Commissioner Keppel wisely points to the need of attracting young, vital college students of today into the teaching profession. He speaks at length of the Teacher Corps and the teacher fellowship program as a means of implementing this goal.

I heartily agree with the passages in which the Commissioner deals with the problems of shoddy school background and poor academic environment from which so many young students in the United States are now suffering. I commend to the attention of this body this excellent speech made by the Commissioner of Education, Francis Keppel.

The speech follows:

LET US KEEP THE SCHOOLS OPEN

(An address by Francis Keppel, U.S. Commissioner of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare)

I am delighted to be with you this morning, at a moment when all the alert signs are posted for American education. For America's schools the time for daydreaming and nodding through the responsibility of being an educator is over, if it ever existed. We are entering a period now when we are not only forced to be alert and urgently responsive but are actually under tension for accomplishment.

For a hundred years, educators have asked that the public and the Government look our way, that somebody pay attention to us. Well, that wish has been granted.

Parents are looking at the schools, and in many of our great metropolitan centers they do not like what they see.

Government is looking our way and is demanding—and paying for, I might add—a revitalized way of educating our people.

Let me also say that the world—men and women of more than one hundred nations—also are looking our way. They are coming here by the thousands to see how America runs its schools. Many of these visitors are amazed and delighted by what they see—and many others are rightfully disappointed.

And we must face the fact that education and the people who call it their profession have not been as successful as the Nation wants and needs us to be.

An ex-teacher from Texas, our President, has given to education a sweeping mandate to get going and do a better job. Some of you were at the White House Conference on Education last month and heard the President tell us bluntly that he does not intend to have America fail again in its duties toward its young.

It is possible, I suppose, that the faint-hearted could judge from such a statement that education might be a good thing to stay away from. It is by no means a sailor's snug harbor today. But thank heaven there are also those who would conclude that, despite its upheavals—indeed, because of them—they can now turn to teaching, gladly and enthusiastically. They see education not with despair but encouragement, not with fear of change but zest for the challenge.

You in this audience know of the failures in our system. But through such efforts as the AFT's own effective schools program and many other attempts at bringing quality education to our children, you also know that failure can be erased and at least the hope for success—if not success itself—can be achieved even in our most depressed and deprived schools.

I am not afraid to speak of our shortcomings. I ask that you not shrink from the discussion of them either. There are those in education who will listen. They will act as we ourselves too often have failed to act. They will understand as we too often have failed to understand.

I am not speaking of imaginary figures. I am speaking—among others—of those educators-to-be who may not yet be fully certified but are soon to come into the ranks of teaching. I am speaking of those students who speak out on a variety of issues and who are vitally, vigorously, and sometimes brilliantly aware of the meaning of academic freedom.

I want some of them in our Nation's classrooms.

I am speaking of those young people who have marched in the hot sun of a southern highway because the liberties of a fellow citizen were abridged.

I want some of them in our classrooms.

We are now opening the doors of our schools to new, young, dedicated teachers. By now you are doubtless well aware of the proposed Teacher Corps and its promise. It is an instrument of hope and challenge. It also represents the shortest distance between idealism and reality, and that is the kind of distance the best of teachers want to travel.

Too few of us have seen them come into your schools, bringing with them a new spirit and a new impatience. They will not fit into the harnesses of smugness or rigidity or complacency. Today's potential teacher—today's college student—the one we want for the classroom—is not the kind of teacher that is stamped out like a plastic toy. At least, that is not the kind of teacher we want nor the kind the Nation needs. We foresee that the Teacher Corps and the teacher fellowship program will shorten the time and the distance between the intentions of a teacher to serve in the tough and challenging places and his actual day of service.

New programs such as these will necessarily have to undergo a testing period. Your union leadership has already expressed a willingness to pitch in and help move them ahead just as quickly and as smoothly as possible. All of us in education are grateful for this support. I hope each of you here will join in that effort and will, in turn, carry the message back to your locals throughout the Nation. The President, the Congress, and the American people have had enough of failures in education. We want success. You want success. And we know how to get it.

When I speak of success, I do not have in mind the amassing of a bigger budget for the Office of Education. Money is needed, but money itself does not assure success in education. Success for us is the creative meeting of students and teachers. It is the act of learning carried out in a spirit of joy and adventure.

Success in education is not measured at cost plus 6 percent, with an extra dividend at the end of the fiscal year. We take every penny we can get and spend it all. We do this as wisely as we can—knowing that getting and spending money is a grave responsibility, but by no means the gravest.

Our basic concern is that a child moves forward and learns, that he grows into adulthood with dignity and all the knowledge he can handle for his working life and his leisure-time life.

This is a major responsibility of ours. This is the core of our success or failure. And I believe it calls upon every ounce of energy that is in the teaching profession today—every fine idea, every sharp mind, every willing heart and head in education. Teacher, administrator, school board member, parent—everyone is needed now and

needed fully in order to make learning a successful experience in the United States.

Recently I reviewed some highlights of the 1964–65 school year, and I was not happy with some of the newsclippings and the feature stories of that span. I read more stories of strife than I cared to read then or ever care to read again. And I know that I am speaking before one of the groups that has made education news and, I suppose, intends to make news again this coming school year.

But I am going to be blunt.

Today, in a world that is closing in on the Moon and on Mars, in a world that still is unsure about what to do with its hydrogen bombs, in a world where scientific theories have a lifespan of less than 6 years—in such a world we are still graduating functional illiterates from our public schools, we are still staffing classrooms with poorly paid and untrained personnel, and we are still callous enough to lock the playground gate at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

These are terrible indictments, yet I sorrowfully challenge anyone in education to refute them. And even so, I speak of the obvious failures, the visible ones. There are other failures in our learning system that are not so visible: recruitment policies that settle for mediocrity or that covertly discriminate against teachers of particular races or religions, safe textbooks that are selected because they will not cause trouble, guidance and counseling practiced part time by untrained and overworked teachers who shuttle students along according to misread test scores.

And worst of all, these shoddy episodes are played against a backdrop that reveals more than 10 million children of poverty to whom we can only theoretically offer 180 or so days of education.

To mention this span of time is of course merely to mark the calendar.

These children do not have proper medical care, and so they are frequently ill and not at school.

Money runs low at home and they disappear from the classroom for a few days to seek part-time work.

They share the family's best available clothing with brothers and sisters and stay out a day or two a week because they can not bring themselves to appear in the clothing that is left.

They simply do not get 180 days of schooling.

They have grievances, these 10 million children—deep and abiding grievances. They have been deprived since the very beginning of their lives. It is disurbing to contemplate that they may be shortchanged in the classroom. Whatever the grievances of teachers and administrators and custodians and others, there are 10 million grievances that argue, "Keep the schools open and keep them free of strife."

And yet, if the record of the past is a reliable indication, the education of these young people may be eroded or impaired when we impose on these children a strike or sanction or boycott.

I am not unfamiliar with the literature on collective bargaining, nor with the literature on professional negotiations. Nor am I unfamiliar with the literature on reading levels in Harlem, on terror here in Los Angeles, on discrimination in Chicago, delinquency in Boston, degradation in Selma.

You are part of that literature, of course. You are caught up in the day-to-day crises and participate in the successes and failures. A great deal is demanded of you—perhaps too much, sometimes. You are called upon to treat with this Nation's most precious resources, its children, and to succeed where parents and society itself have too often failed.

And thus you are called upon to wrestle successfully with your frustrations, to be almost inhumanly patient and forebearing under the most trying circumstances. Such conduct is an essential responsibility of the teacher. Whatever your personal wishes and ambitions, your larger obligation is to America's children.

But you must not bear that obligation alone. The resolution of differences in the administration of our schools is no one-way street. Administrators and school board members and all other citizens interested in education have their obligations, too. And they are primary obligations. A strike that closes schools is a dramatic and sure sign of a very sick community.

The condition of the schools—and of teachers and students alike—is the community's responsibility no less than yours.

And it is a part of that responsibility to understand—to attain a sense of the complexities and challenges of the learning process, and to recognize that the teacher is more than a babysitter, available at babysitter rates of pay.

It must be understood also that a strike or a sanction or a boycott must not be easily or whimsically called. These are not processes enjoyed by anyone, and doubtless least of all by those who invoke them. They must be the point of last resort.

No group of responsible citizens likes to strike. No one happily sets out to inflict dislocation on the community, or cheerfully foregoes a paycheck. And it would be my judgment that teachers are less prone to strike than almost any other element of our society. It goes against the professional grain. It means departing from the basic course and commitment of their lives.

And it means piling personal, and sometimes selfish, grievances onto the grievances of millions of children.

I will tell you frankly that I am opposed to any action that shuts down a school or disrupts the educational system. And I am just as opposed to the public neglect and apathy that drives dedicated, high-minded, normally unaggressive people to that kind of action.

In short, I hope that the teachers and school administrators of this Nation will never let their grievances outweigh those of the millions of youngsters whose need is so immediate and imperative. I hope that administrators and school boards and parents will recognize their clear responsibility to those who teach.

I hope beyond these things, that our administrators and teachers will take the guidlines for, say, supplementary education services and centers—that remarkable title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act—and really put them to work. I hope that they will turn their communities inside out in a talent and resource hunt, that they come up with the kind of excitement in the adventure in learning that children deserve in this country .

I hope that our teachers, administrators, and lay leaders will take the challenge of title I of that same act, the title that finally gives a break to the child of poverty, and that these leaders will come up with sensible, thoughtful, workable plans for State approval and Federal funding.

We have grants ready to help schools with handicapped children, to strengthen guidance and counseling programs, to bring the newest in science and foreign language teaching to even the most remote mountain schools or the most neglected innercity slum schools.

In short, Congress has asked the Office of Education—ordered us, in most instances—to spend a great deal of money on the children of this Nation, and to spend it well.

We do not want to have to send checks to closed schools.

And so I would argue that strikes, sanctions, and boycotts be exercised with the utmost restraint. I think we have the talent and wisdom to resolve our conflicts better and that we should employ every useful avenue to do so, short of closing our schools. This will most decidedly call upon the men and women who administer those schools to give teachers the status they have earned and deserve.

A couple of weeks from now, the bells will ring again. The doors will open and the students will come back. Waiting for them will be some innovations in curriculum. Perhaps closed-circuit television was installed during the summer. Possibly their library was restocked. Maybe there is a modernized machine shop or a new data processing laboratory.

The doors are open, though. That is the main thing.

I ask you here—as I ask every teacher, administrator, school board member, and parent in the Nation—to keep those doors open all year.

This can be our year of hope and of opportunity.

This is our year of challenge.

Let us not disappoint those who are watching our acts—and especially those who are waiting to learn.

The Late Honorable Clarence J. Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. RODNEY M. LOVE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. LOVE. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, the Honorable CLARENCE J. BROWN, of Blanchester, Ohio, was taken from us today after having ably served in the U.S. Congress from 27 years.

As a new Member from the State of Ohio, I was not as well acquainted with him as others, however, it was with an intense feeling of sadness that I learned of his death which is a great loss to the Nation, his State, and his district.

The gentlewoman from Ohio, Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON, and our beloved Speaker, JOHN W. MCCORMACK, have already told of the goodness and greatness which CLARENCE BROWN possessed. Mr. MCCORMACK stated if he had his choice he would rather be remembered as a good man than a great man, but that our departed colleague was endowed with both qualities. These qualities were quite evident in the manner with which he accepted me as a new Member of this great body.

As I listened to the impressive eulogies, Shakespeare's words, taken from "Othello," came to my mind as being appropriate and descriptive of this man whom the Congress held in high esteem:

Good name in man and woman, dear my lord,
Is the immediate jewel of their souls:
Who steals my purse steals trash; 'tis something, nothing;
Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands;
But he that filches from me my good name
Robs me of that which not enriches him;
And makes me poor indeed.

All of us mourn him and extend our deepest sympathy to his family and friends in the Seventh Congressional District of Ohio, and in the State of Ohio as well as in Washington.

Growth of Latin American Savings and Loan Institutions Under the Alliance for Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, in view of the Alliance for Progress recent fourth anniversary, I would like to take this opportunity to point out one of the more successful ventures instigated by the program. This is the rapid growth, development, and expansion of savings and loan institutions in many areas of Latin America. These institutions are attempting to alleviate one of the most nagging and perplexing problems facing our neighbors to the south today—namely, large-scale slums which have become a way of life for millions.

In a recent issue of the Alliance for Progress Weekly Newsletter, the success of this program in generating local savings—with the initial help of U.S. loans of about $80 million—is detailed:

Nearly every country has its own name for them. In Rio de Janeiro, they are "favelas"; in Colombia, "tugurios"; in Chile, "callampas," or mushroom towns.

Whatever their name, the fact that slums are a way of life for millions, makes housing one of Latin America's most pressing needs.

An exact accounting of the scope of the problem is impossible. "A reasonable estimate," says an Inter-American Development Bank report, "is that the housing shortage in Latin America may amount to 15 million units," half of that in urban areas.

Nearly 40 percent of Rio's population lives in the favelas, according to the IDB. The tugurios of Colombia are found not only in Bogotá, but in Barranquilla, Cartagena and Cali, as well. A 1961 estimate put 14 percent of Chile's total population in the mushroom towns.

The same phenomenon is found in Lima, Buenos Aires, Mexico City, Montevideo and other large cities, notes the IDB. "It should be stressed," the Bank adds, that these "belts of poverty" lack even the most rudimentary requirements for decent living, such as potable water, sewerage, electricity and transport facilities.

Changing such a pattern is a staggering task. One U.S. authority, after considering present needs, new family formations and progressive obsolescence of existing dwellings, conservatively estimates that the cost of providing adequate housing in Latin America would top $40 billion.

Early in the program, Alliance planners realized that there could never be enough external resources to meet the requirements of even one country.

Out of this realization grew the decision to give priority to the establishment of Latin American savings and loan institutions, so that, increasingly, housing construction could be financed by Latin Americans themselves.

The growth of Latin American savings and loan institutions has become "the most striking phenomenon of the Alliance," says U.S. Alliance Coordinator, Jack H. Vaughn. With the help of U.S. "seed capital" loans of about $60 million, nine Latin American countries have established more than 120 savings and loan institutions in 4 years. Their record:

More than $65 million generated in local savings from 250,000 depositors.

Savings rising at a monthly rate of more than $2 million.

Financing arranged for about 28,000 homes with $126 million in home mortgages recorded.

Peru, Chile, and Ecuador provide dramatic examples of the success of the thriving savings and loan movement in Alliance nations.

Peru's new system has established a score of institutions. More than 4,000 homes have been financed on 20-year mortgages with interest rates ranging from 9 to 12 percent, low by Peruvian standards. The maximum income for families receiving these loans is $265 monthly. Working closely with the savings and loan system is the National Federation of Credit Cooperatives, which serves income groups who do not have access to savings and loan associations.

Last week, the IDB announced a $1.2 million Social Progress Trust Fund loan to Peru's largest savings and loan association, Asociación Mutual de Crédito para la Vivienda "El Pueblo." The money will help finance 500 homes for association members.

Chile's savings and loan system began operations in the second half of 1961, and now covers the entire country. In a year-and-a half period, savings accounts increased from 21,400 to 63,000, and total deposits climbed from 8.5 million escudos to 71 million escudos.

To bring the benefits of the movement to lower income groups, the Chilean Public Health Institute established the Institute of Low Cost Housing, a nonprofit foundation. The institute has a team of experts who give free technical assistance to help low-income groups set up housing co-ops.

International development agencies have played a strong role. With help from a $8.7 million AID loan, Chile's Central Savings and Loan Fund is establishing the nation's first secondary mortgage market. Meanwhile, the Inter-American Development Bank has provided a $5 million Social Progress Trust Fund loan to the Central Fund to help finance a 2,300-unit project for members of housing co-ops connected with the savings and loan system.

Since being established 4 years ago, Ecuador's savings and loan system has granted more than 1,700 housing loans totaling 117 million sucres. The system now consists of 12 institutions with 12,000 depositors. Savings total more than 28 million sucres. The savings and loans operate under the Banco Ecuatoriano de la Vivieda, which has also established the nation's first savings insurance and mortgage insurance system in other moves to accelerate Ecuador's housing programs.

Tribute to Clarence Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I deeply regret the passing of our esteemed colleague, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN]. I have had the privilege for 7 years of serving on the House Committee on Government Operations with CLARENCE BROWN and I have been grateful for his membership on that committee and for the grasp of Federal problems and the wealth of governmental experience which he brought to our deliberations, and which he shared so willingly with the committee. This was typical of his forceful and helpful efforts throughout the legislative process in the House of Representatives on matters of great moment. His contributions will long be remembered in the form of legislation on the statute books and basic improvements in governmental procedure which respond to the needs of the 20th century world.

I did not find it possible at all times to share CLARENCE BROWN's views on issues which arose, but I always admired the force of his contribution to discussion and the good cheer with which he accepted the result even when unfavorable.

I regret that tragedy was so much with CLARENCE BROWN during the last days of his life, but the manner in which he bore his trials only enhanced the regard in which he was held by his colleagues.

He was a stanch patriot, a well-informed legislator, and a full man, and his presence will be sorely missed in the House of Representatives of the United States.

Administrative Expenses Act of 1946

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced a bill to improve the provisions of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946, relating to reimbursement for moving expenses of Federal employees who are transferred from one place of employment to another for the Government's purposes.

There has long been a need to provide more adequate reimbursement for losses employees suffer on these moves. This need is becoming more acute as the Government seeks to close some installations, shift functions to others, and increase the movability of the Federal work force. Many agencies such as Internal Revenue, Defense, Federal Aviation Agency, Social Security Administration, and others, are also heavily dependent upon the ability to move key employees from one establishment to another where their skills and knowledge are needed and can be more effectively utilized.

The Government should certainly bear all or nearly all of the cost of these moves. As it is now, employees must either absorb many of the expenses of moving or risk unemployment.

This bill would reduce employee losses on transporting of household goods, travel of his family to the new location, temporary living and house-hunting expenses, certain costs of real estate transactions, and other necessary expenses. The provisions of this bill have been recommended by the Civil Service Commission and the Bureau of the Budget. It would bring Government practices more nearly in line with the more adequate reimbursement policies prevailing in private employment.

The Legislature of the State of Michigan Joins Other State Legislatures in Requesting the Congress To Repudiate S. 1592 and Other Similar Outrageous Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD House Concurrent Resolution 115 memorializing the Congress of the United States regarding the antifirearms bill, S. 1592, by the Legislature of the State of Michigan, urging the Congress of the United States not to pass S. 1592 or similar legislation.

Thus, another legislature, that of the great State of Michigan, joins legislatures of other States, the Michigan Bar Association, and many other responsible citizens and organizations in opposition to this outrageous legislation, which would deny law-abiding citizens the privilege of purchasing and possessing firearms for legitimate sporting purposes.

The resolution follows:

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION No. 115

Concurrent resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States regarding the antifirearms bill

Whereas the antifirearms bill currently before the Congress of the United States proposes Federal control of firearms in the hands of civilians, and as currently written, constitutes violation of the second amendment to the United States Constitution that "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed"; and

Whereas, admittedly, controls are necessary due to irresponsible or criminal elements in society illegally using firearms. That such controls should be the prerogative of State and local agencies of government, that such controls properly should not be a matter for Federal control are acknowledged and forthrightly stated by the Nation's foremost experts in government, including opinions publicly stated by men of the caliber of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover; and

Whereas the consensus of expertise in this field is that State and local laws imposing harsh and certain punishment for crimes committed while armed, combined with effective law enforcement, and firmly supported by no-nonsense courts and juries, provide the most certain combination for adequate control; and

Whereas as to statutes: laws should prohibit sale of firearms to felons, drug addicts, habitual drunkards, juveniles, and mental incompetents; laws should invoke strict penalties against the possession of firearms by criminals and irresponsible persons. Laws should permit responsible, law-abiding adults to own and use firearms for legal purposes; laws should not require law-abiding adult citizens to register shotguns and rifles; and laws should not grant authority to any jurisdiction, police or otherwise, at any government level, to prohibit the purchase or ownership of firearms by law-abiding and responsible citizens; and

Whereas in Michigan, alone, more than one and a half million sportsmen would be adversely affected by legislation proposed and now before the Congress—a figure that applies substantially to most of the other States of the Union: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Michigan Legislature respectfully memorialize the Congress of the United States to defeat the currently proposed anti-firearms legislation of S. 1592; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this memorial be transmitted to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to each member of the Michigan delegation to the Congress of the United States.

Adopted by the house June 21, 1965.

Adopted by the senate June 23, 1965.

BERYL I. KENYON,
Secretary of the Senate.

NORMAN E. PHILLEO,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Pessimists Disproved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Roscoe Drummond from the August 23, 1965, edition of the New York Herald Tribune.

There are growing signs that things are not going well for the Vietcong. Reports have been gathered recently, even from Communist correspondents assigned to North Vietnam, that conditions are worsening. Food shortages are becoming acute, the morale of Vietcong soldiers is declining, and the schedule for the achievement of Communist military objectives has not been met.

These reports serve to disprove those pessimists who bolster their opposition to our action in Vietnam with the claim that we are fighting a losing battle. The Vietcong are beginning to feel the effects of our firm action, and this should be an encouragement to us in our struggle.

The article follows:

PESSIMISTS DISPROVED: VIETCONG BEGIN TO HURT AND EVEN REDS ADMIT IT

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—The Communist Vietcong are beginning to hurt.

Obviously they are not hurting enough yet to give up. But there are gathering signs all is not going well for the aggressor. Specifically:

1. The Vietcong's timetable of conquest has been arrested in the very period—during the monsoon season—when it was to succeed the most.

2. The Communist troops have been suffering mounting casualties and have been caught off balance in several recent encounters. The latest is their disastrous attempt to crush the U.S. Marines on the Van Tuong Peninsula. The opposite occurred.

3. Morale among the Vietcong soldiers supplied by North Vietnam is showing some raveling.

4. Hanoi's industry, always in a precarious plight, is suffering from shortage of labor and the workers are suffering from shortage of food.

None of this means that the aggression is about to collapse. There is no telling how much more it will take. But these developments are beginning to disprove the plaintive pessimists who sought to fortify their opposition to the defense of Vietnam with the argument that it couldn't be done, that we were bound to fail, that all would soon be lost.

Not so. The bleakest news from South Vietnam is fully reported—as it should be. The bleakest news from North Vietnam is censored—as is normal under a Communist regime. South Vieanam's predicaments are well known. Hanoi's predicaments are just beginning to be exposed.

Ironically, they are being exposed in the news reports by Communist correspondents who are in North Vietnam covering for Soviet and East European newspapers. They are beginning to write cautiously about the "difficulties" which Hanoi is experiencing in carrying on the war. The Communists do not admit their "difficulties" until they have become so acute and so visible that they can't be ignored.

These dispatches cite "shortage of food," "disrupted production" caused by workers leaving their jobs, "rationing" of rice, sugar, meat, and cotton, a hasty scramble to build "air raid shelters," the employment of "70 percent women" in factories because of the need for male recruits, "sour rice" being fed to the Vietcong troops in South Vietnam, and the lack of medical supplies for the wounded.

Such disclosures are not coming only from word-of-mouth rumors and spotty intelligence. They are coming from Communist correspondents writing for Communist newspapers. They are confirmed by interviews with captured Vietcong.

Food shortages are a perennial problem in North Vietnam, as they are in mainland China and the Soviet Union. They are aggravated by the collectivization of farming, which has brought steadily reduced crops and by the mounting birth rate. In a report based on talks with escaped refugees from North Vietnam, Prof. P. J. Honey of the University of London School of Oriental and African Studies, writes:

"One consequence of North Vietnam's rapid economic decline is to be found in the attitude of her people at the present time. Underfed, underpaid, and overworked, they have grown apathetic, and have to devote more and more of their time to remaining alive."

The aggression also remains alive. It may get worse. But it is significant that Hanoi is now having to draft 16- and even 15-year-old youths to keep the war going.

What Is Behind the Campaign To Discredit the Police?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, every law-abiding, decent American citizens should be deeply concerned with the bitter campaign that is now being waged across the country to discredit the police departments of our cities and to assail all law enforcement officials. The drive is so widespread and the attack is coming from so many strange sources, it seems to me that Congress and the people should ask, what is behind it?

Consider the events of just this past weekend. The leading story in the Communist official organ of the Soviet Union, Pravda, was an article attacking the United States for the riots in Los Angeles with special emphasis on police brutality as the principal cause. This line was echoed throughout the Communist world from Moscow to Peiping.

At the same time our own newspapers were carrying story after story on police brutality. No actual cases were cited, but in article after article, civil rights leaders, some politicians, and social workers were quoted as blaming all our problems on police brutality. Many of the writers of news stories injected their own editorial opinions without quotas, but carrying out the theme of "blame it on the police."

A news story in the Washington Sunday Star of August 22 shows the extent of the antipolice propaganda. I would like to include the article, "Riots Bring Pleas Across United States for Police Brutality Probes," at this point:

RIOTS BRINGS PLEAS ACROSS UNITED STATES FOR POLICE BRUTALITY PROBES

NEW YORK.—The cry of police brutality has resounded across the Nation once again in the wake of riots in the Negro section of Los Angeles.

Coupled with the accusation is a demand for a civilian review board to oversee the activities of the individual policeman, especially in his relations with Negro and other minority groups.

Leading the opposition to civilian review of police is FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, who has written:

"It is a practice that could damage effective law enforcement and reduce the orderly processes of community life to petty bickering, suspicion and hatred. The police executive cannot become a mere pawn of bureaucratic committees. He must have full responsibility for the performance, discipline and control of his officers."

CALLED POLICE DETERRENT

Hoover obviously summarizes what many law enforcement officers contend, that police whose conduct is subject to civilian review will be virtually paralyzed in carrying out their duties.

Mississippi Attorney General Joe T. Patterson has called the pressure for civilian review boards "a well-planned, deep-seated conspiracy to undermine public confidence in law enforcement officials."

The Negro point of view is suggested by Mrs. June Smith, president of the Seattle Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has unsuccessfully fought for a civil review board. She says:

"There should be some agency outside the police department where the Negro can feel he will get an even break with the white man."

And Prof. Ernest Barth of the University of Washington sociological department told a city council hearing on the proposed Seattle board:

"Police brutality is a widespread problem."

POLICE CHIEFS POLLED

Salt Lake City also dropped the matter of a civilian review board after the city's public safety commissioner polled police chiefs around the country and got a consensus unfavorable to review boards. Race was not a factor in the discussion there, and Mrs. Harriet Brewster of the Utah American Civil Liberties Union, says:

"The police don't want a bunch of civilians telling them what to do, and I can understand this attitude. But our suggestion for a review board is for the purpose of actually aiding them, by making their problems known and alerting the citizenry."

Most police departments review citizens' complaints against their officers. The argument advanced against this is that police superiors are inclined to defend the honor of the department by leaning backward to favor the accused policeman. Exponents of the civilian review board see it as a court of appeals outside the influence of the police department.

Philadelphia is one of the few cities with a civilian review board, known as the police advisory board. Set up in 1958, it has handled more than 500 complaints, making recommendations to the police department but lacking disciplinary authority. In a majority of cases, its nine members have cleared accused policemen and dismissed charges.

There were no sharp rises in complaints after last year's Negro rioting in North Philadelphia. Chief opposition to the board centers within police ranks.

Another city with a civilian review board is Rochester, N.Y., and its establishment in 1963 failed to head off civil rights disturbances that swept the city a year later.

The Rochester board is made up of nine nonsalaried members. They hear complaints and recommend action.

"The board has been good for Rochester, because it has brought better understanding for all people," says Mayor Frank T. Lamb.

However, the executive committee of Rochester Citizens for Abolition of the Police Advisory Board contends:

"The continued existence of this board constitutes an unhealthy restraint upon law enforcement in our community."

Since its founding, the Rochester board has acted upon only a handful of the hundreds of cases investigated by the police department's own internal review agency.

CAPITAL HAS BOARD

Washington, D.C., has had a complaint review board since 1948. It hasn't been very active. Recently, civil liberties groups complained that its procedures were weighted heavily in favor of policemen, and its membership was enlarged from three members to five.

New York City's 25,000-man police force has vigorously resisted extreme pressure by civil rights groups for a civilian review board, especially since the 1964 riots in Harlem and Brooklyn. They followed the slaying of a Negro youth by an off-duty patrolman, who later was exonerated by police superiors and a grand jury of any wrongdoing. He said the youth attacked him with a knife during a disturbance.

Springfield, Mass., currently is in the throes of a dispute over alleged police brutality. It stems from arrests July 17 of 17 Negro men and a white woman outside a night spot. Protest demonstrations led to wide-scale arrests last weekend. Police Chief John Lyons has been ordered by the police commission to investigate the charges of brutality, but there has been no demand for a civilian review board, as such.

Despite weekend riots also in Chicago, there is no civilian review board there and the city's 21-year-old commission on human relations says there has been no pressure for one.

Detroit, scene of a 1943 race riot that claimed 34 lives, has a citizens complaint bureau within the police department to review all cases where a citizen is shot by a police officer. Police Commissioner Ray Girardin and Mayor Jerome Cavanagh claim police relations with the Negro community are good and have rejected pressure for a civilian review board. However, the Reverend James Wadsworth, NAACP branch president in Detroit, disagrees, and declares:

"The Negroes in Detroit feel they are part of an occupied country. The Negroes have no rights which the police have to respect. It appears that the average patrolman looks upon the Negro as being a criminal type."

St. Louis police have rejected a civilian review board, but carefully check each charge of police brutality.

BOARD IN PITTSBURGH

Pittsburgh has a civilian commission on human relations which investigates and makes recommendations on charges of police brutality, but has no formal power.

The Cincinnati City Council rejected a civil rights demand for a civilian review board about 18 months ago. However, a human relations commission has been set up to hear complaints of police brutality, although it has no power of review.

During the Danville, Va., racial unrest in 1963, the city council turned down proposals for a civilian review board. With the stepped up pace of racial integration there, the issue apparently has subsided.

Negro demands for a civilian review board in Baltimore were met by the establishment recently of a complaint evaluation board, which, however, has only advisory powers in police brutality cases. It is made up of State, city, and police department officials, and has drawn criticism from Negro, civic, and ministers' groups.

Mr. Speaker, typical of the subtle propaganda carried in news stories can be seen in an article by Associated Press writer, Jules Loh, also from the Washington Sunday Star of August 22. I will quote the first three paragraphs of Mr. Loh's article and then, so as not to be accused of quoting out of context I shall include the complete article at the end of these remarks.

The article states:

Six days after the simmering cauldron called Watts finally let go, a National Guard jeep crunched through the broken and burnt souvenirs of ghetto fury which littered the silent streets.

"What's gonna happen when you cats leave?" jeered a Negro from a fire-blackened doorway at the jeep's sullen driver.

What indeed? What does Los Angeles do now to put together its convulsed community after the worst racial eruption in the Nation's recent memory? How does a city official, or civil rights leader, or anybody, reach a youth who raged through the night crying "Burn, baby, burn," and now sits frowning in "the white man's jail"? How does he reach them? And how is his mother—who was widowed by a white policeman's bullet—reached? How can such deep-seated tension and bitterness be put to rest and by whom?

Would not it be sensible to ask this writer, Jules Loh, how he is helping to ease tensions and bitterness by inferring that all Negro widows have lost their husbands by a "white policeman's bullet?" And how is this Loh contributing to better understanding by calling the Los Angeles jail, "a white man's jail?"

Then on Sunday evening on WTOP-TV, channel 9 in Washington, Drew Pearson attacked the chief of police of Los Angeles and predicted that he would be fired.

Mr. Speaker, whether or not this concentrated attack on the police and law enforcement agencies of the United States is coincidental, the fact remains it is doing great harm to this country. Breaking down respect for law and order and for those charged with law enforcement is the first task of any who would destroy a nation.

The Communists have long used this technique and in a memorandum written to Communist agents who fomented the destruction of Cuba and made it a Soviet satellite, the first order was to discredit the police department by instigating arrests and then charging police brutality.

Mr. Speaker, as responsible Members of the lawmaking body of this Republic we cannot allow ourselves to become a part of the destruction of our law enforcement agencies, either by condoning such charges of police brutality or by giving these charges credence through our silence. It is up to us to stand behind the police departments of this Nation in defeating all attempts to weaken or wreck them. We should make it clear that the American people are not going to tolerate continued condemnation of the police and commendation of the rapists, murders, thieves, and anarchists who hold decent society in contempt and use every means to destroy the police who are the only protection for decent people.

At this point I would like to include the complete news story by Jules Loh from the Washington Sunday Star. I would like to include also a summary of a news story by Michael Harrington in the New York Herald Tribune. This summary was carried in the daily press summary issued by the American Enterprise Institute. I would just like to point out that the Bayard Rustin mentioned in the news story and who is attacking the Los Angeles police chief, is the same Bayard Rustin who has a police record in Los Angeles as a sex pervert.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, Aug. 22, 1965]

LOS ANGELES DILEMMA—HOW CAN DEEP-SEATED BITTERNESS BE PUT TO REST?

(NOTE.—The riot which took 36 lives erupted in Los Angeles, but seeds of the same sort of violence exist in other cities. How will the City of the Angels mend its horribly torn social fabric? And what lessons does its week of wildness offer? Here is a penetrating look of Los Angeles' dilemma.)

(By Jules Loh)

LOS ANGELES.—Six days after the simmering cauldron called Watts finally let go, a National Guard jeep crunched through the broken and burnt souvenirs of ghetto fury which littered the silent streets.

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The dilemma is not Los Angeles' alone. What happened here merely brought into the open once again, though at greater cost than last summer's disorders, many of the problems which bubble beneath the hot asphalt of northern cities across the land.

BENEFIT OF MIDDLE CLASS

"Plainly put," said Herbert Carter, a consultant to Los Angeles' Human Relations Commission, "the problem has been a refusal to accept the reality of racial discrimination outside the South.

"We often hear the old song about 'they're better off here than any place else,' as if that were an answer. It's simply begging the question. The fact is the civil rights movement in Northern and Western States has been for the benefit of middle-class Negroes; the poor have been let drop through the cracks.

"Look, when seven or eight people sit in a dilapidated four-room home and watch the Great Society unfold on TV and realize they're not a part of it, not even a little part, it doesn't help their situation to tell them others have it worse."

Until 1962, Carter said, even his commission's main efforts were focused on opening suburbia to Negroes, hoping they could work their way up from the ghetto.

WORST FEARS CONFIRMED

"We didn't get very far with that," he said. On the contrary, a commission study completed in June showed that from 1950 to 1960 Los Angeles became more segregated residentially, not less, and the pattern has continued. When the State voted last November to repeal its fair housing law and prohibit enactment of any in the future, it only confirmed many Negroes' own worst fears.

For 15 years Negroes have been arriving, mostly from the Deep South, at a rate of 2,000 a month—though Los Angeles still has the lowest percentage of Negroes of the Nation's 10 largest cities. Many, like Watts' Barber Overton Washington, were lured by exaggerated reports of a racial Utopia.

"I came to California thinking it was the most liberal State in the Nation," said Washington. "Then I moved in here—like everybody else."

Unwelcome in many parts of town, and to a large extent reluctant to settle where they were unwanted or insecure, the immigrants began swelling the population of the central section of the city where incomes are low, crime rates are high, 3 of every 10 children are from broken homes, and where Watts is the dreary core.

EMPHASIS SHIFTED

For the last 3 years the Human Relations Commission has switched its emphasis from the suburban house hunter to the urban ghetto dweller. On Consultant Carter's desk is a 3-inch thick report on the Watts area, outlining the residents' grievances, suggested solutions.

"Everybody has been looking for the causes of the Watts riot," Carter said, drumming a forefinger on the volume. "It's all right in there. I have to believe one of two things: either we weren't getting through, or people didn't care. Our staff was amazed the place didn't explode sooner than it did."

So, apparently, were some others. George Conward, a director of the Los Angeles Urban League and a veteran of 4 years of pavement pounding social work in Watts, last summer actually organized a riot prevention committee in the area.

"It dissolved for lack of adult workers to keep it going," said Conward. He shrugged dejectedly. "Now look what's happened."

LOOKING FOR CAUSE

Many in the Los Angeles area have, as Carter observed, been looking for the cause of the 5 days of anguish which took 36 lives, left 209 buildings and homes destroyed, another 787 damaged. Gov. Edmund G. Brown has appointed a commission to study the causes, for in understanding causes cures are found.

Psychiatrists and sociologists in the Los Angeles area point to the smothering isolation of the ghetto, the feeling of being trapped in an inexorable vise, the resulting tendency to exaggerate prejudicial treatment, even at times imagine it because the pattern is there. Frustrations become all the more intense as Negroes elsewhere are seen to make progress through civil rights legislation. The distortions mount * * * the frustrations smolder * * * the weather turns intolerably hot * * * the ghetto becomes a seething limbo of despair and all that's needed to ignite it is a small spark. In this case it was a routine drunken driving arrest.

"The mood of the crowd was happy," said Negro Psychiatrist Harold Jones, who watched the riot in progress. "They felt justified in what they were doing, felt they were morally right. They thought no more of their looting as being wrong than a soldier who picks up trinkets."

OTHERS SILENTLY APPROVE

Sociologist Carter, who was there also, said that while it was true only a small percentage of the Watts inhabitants participated and that apparently many youths flocked in from outside areas just to get in on the hellraising, "the others were sitting back and applauding silently."

"They were saying, in effect," said Carter, "Now you will know and recognize our presence, now you will know we are not invisible."

Some did more than applaud silently. Women, many of them domestics in white homes and exposed to tantalizingly brief glimpses of the better life, stood on the porches and leaned from the windows and spouted encouragement to their rampaging men like Valkyries.

Questioned afterward about their grievances, the Negroes of Watts invariably included the complaint that has become a cliche in civil rights disputes: police brutality. Los Angeles police, from the chief down, deny it.

SELF-RESPECT INVOLVED

"It's true. Oh, it's true," said Luther Fuller, a worker for the city's United Civil Rights Committee. "Maybe brutal isn't always the right word, but don't forget a person's self-respect can be brutalized, too.

"One time I was stopped for running a red light out in Highland Park, part of Los Angeles. The officer was so polite I felt like thanking him for giving me the ticket. A few days later I was driving through Watts—I was on my way to a church service—and a policeman stopped me because he said I looked like I was drunk. When he said, 'Let's see your driver's license' he stood back from the car and had his hand on his pistol. That's what I mean."

"I know it's not an easy thing," Fuller said. "They say they treat people like that because they encounter violence in that area. Maybe they encounter violence because they treat people like that."

Whether a double standard of law enforcement exists or not, and police insist it does not, there is no denying the average Watts resident harbors deep-seated resentment of policemen. "Police brutality" sometimes is an ambiguous way of expressing it.

The Negro's resentment has deep roots, going all the way back to his treatment in the Southland he fled, according to some social workers.

"The first night of the riot not even Negro policemen were safe," said the Human Rights Commission's Carter. "His uniform represented the system, and the system was white."

Carter said that early in the riot he and others tried to halt the roving mobs of youths by appealing to teenage gang contacts they had made through the probation department. The gang leaders agreed to help, he said, "on the condition we get the cops out of there—all the cops, Negro and white."

Mediation of the ubiquitous "police brutality" grievance rates top priority among most social workers anxious to heal Los Angeles' wounds.

COMPTON'S CASE CITED

"There's no doubt about the value of programs that bring representatives of the community and the police together on a regular

and informal basis so they can get to know each other better," said Carter.

"The proof is what happened in Compton. That's a small community adjoining Watts—the same sort of conditions, in general. But Compton's police force is only about 125 men and we were able to institute such a program—just conversations, people learning to communicate, to articulate their problems.

"The first night of the riot 300 people showed up at the Compton police station and volunteered to help in case the riot spread there. They were just ordinary residents. Now that's something."

Carter and others also feel a concentration of social workers on the scene is sorely needed. The Urban League's Conward said "one man on every other block, full time, wouldn't be too many."

"These people need direct help, not promises of a sweet by and by," he said, "that's what they've been told all their lives. They need quick solutions to immediate problems—help in finding a job, or finding a place for a working mother's baby, or tutoring a potential dropout. Only street workers can give that kind of help."

Carter agrees. "Sure, it would cost money," he said. "But the National Guard spent $250,000 a day putting down that riot. When I think of how that kind of money could have been spent before the riot it makes my mouth water."

[A press summary by the American Enterprise Institute from the New York Herald Tribune, Aug. 22, 1965, Los Angeles dateline]

CIVIL RIGHTS AND POVERTY

(By Michael Harrington)

When Bayard Rustin toured Watts with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., last week, he heard a most significant and curious term over and over. "The people," Rustin told me, "referred to the arson and looting and bloodshed as their manifesto." "This," they were saying, "is a message that whitey can understand—perhaps the only message." And the sad thing is, the mayor and the police chief seem to be deaf.

Rustin said that many of the Negroes with whom he talked regarded the Watts explosion as a victory. They were proud of having inflicted nearly $200 million of damage on their community and thus made America take notice of their very existence for the first time.

In Watts, the most important single institution for carrying out the rampage after the spontaneous outbreak was the local gang. These are not political groupings. They are the traditional slum gangs which usually spend most of their time fighting each other. And, contrary to Chief Parker's absurd theory that civil rights agitation has goaded these people into action, these are precisely the youths who have not had contact with and are even hostile toward, the major rights organizations.

Parker, President Eisenhower and William F. Buckley, Jr., among others, have all managed to get the situation exactly upsidedown. The young gang members in Watts have not been listening to Martin Luther King and thus becoming disrespectful of law. This thesis, which would be hilarious were it not so pernicious, overlooks the fact that these young people have their attitude toward authority shaped by the jungle conditions to which society condemns them and not by listening to discourses on nonviolence.

Governor Brown's 8-man investigative commission is headed by John McCone. Its two Negroes are respected members of their community, but are not thought of as militant civil rights activists. The Mexican-Americans—who have the same problems as the Negroes with the police—are excluded from the commission and so is the labor movement. The whites included a Jesuit university president regarded by many Los Angeles liberals as a conservative.

There are civil rights partisans and civil liberties lawyers out here who are hopeful that they can make a serious and documented case on police brutality before the commission, and this is one of the few rays of hope around.

Certainly as long as Yorty, Parker and Brown think the charge of police brutality is a preposterous lie, they are inciting to riot. Parker's belligerent ill-informed partisanship should require his resignation in any case. And officials out here are going to have to stop pretending that it is unthinkable that police in a slum abuse their authority. They do, and the Negroes know it—and feel it. At a minimum, there should be a thorough, civilian and totally independent investigation of the situation.

The Law and Public Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday last, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I brought to the attention of the House a portion of a paper presented to the Virginia School Boards Association by Tyler Fulcher, Division Superintendent of Schools for Amherst County, Va., dealing with the legal structure of the public school system in Virginia. I did so because I was impressed that Mr. Fulcher's analysis and comments had a broad applicability outside of Virginia.

In considering the Federal function in education, Mr. Fulcher cited article I, section 8, of the Constitution of the United States, the latter portion of which is commonly known as the general welfare clause. To place Mr. Fulcher's comments in proper perspective, I think it worthwhile at this time to include in my remarks the balance of his paper, as follows:

Are there other legal doorways through which the Federal Government might enter the public school picture?

Yes, through the 1st, 5th, and 14th amendments. The first 10 amendments to our Federal Constitution are known as the Bill of Rights, and, of course, the 1st and the 5th are contained therein.

The Bill of Rights contained or set forth the rights of a citizen which the Federal Government cannot take away or infringe upon. The 14th amendment makes the rights assured in the 1st and 5th amendments applicable to the States. Therefore, the citizen is protected in the exercise of certain rights from interference or infringement from both the Federal and State Governments.

For instance, in the case of *Cochran* v. *Louisiana*, 281 U.S. 370, the State Legislature of Louisiana passed a law to provide free textbooks to the children of the State. The State board of education in implementing the law provided textbooks to all children whether they attended public or nonpublic schools. Cochran, a citizen of the State, brought suit to restrain the State board from providing free textbooks to pupils of private or parochial schools. He contended that such action on the part of the State violated the "due process clause" of the 5th and 14th amendments by diverting public property to private use.

The Supreme Court ruled against Mr. Cochran and by its decision in this case gave rise to the "child benefit theory." It is very important to note here that this case was a case in which the citizen appealed to the Federal courts for help because he, Mr. Cochran, thought the State government had infringed upon or violated his rights.

In the case of *Everson* v. *Board of Education*, 330 U.S. 1, Everson, a citizen of the State of New Jersey, challenged the right of the Ewing Township Board of Education to pay for pupil transportation to parochial schools. The board was paying the transportation costs of all pupils regardless of the schools they attended. Mr. Everson claimed that this action by the board deprived him of property in violation of the "due process clause" of the 14th amendment and, in addition, assisted a particular church in violation of the "establishment clause" of the first amendment.

The Supreme Court of the United States rejected the claims of Mr. Everson and based its decision on the "child benefit theory." However, again it must be remembered that in this case also the citizen brought suit against his own State and asked the Federal Government for protection of his personal rights which he asserted his own State was violating.

The School Board of Champaign, Ill., had for several years operated a voluntary religious program. Students who participated in the plan met for 45 minutes weekly on school time in public school buildings for instruction in the tenets of their respective faiths. The instructors were provided by the Council on Religious Education, an interdenominational community group. These instructors were paid by the council, but supervised by public school authorities.

Mrs. McCollum, a resident taxpayer, disagreed with the plan. In *McCollum* v. *Board of Education*, 333 U.S., 203, she brought her complaints before the Supreme Court of the United States. She claimed that this school plan constituted "an establishment of religion" in violation of the 1st amendment and conflicted with the "due process clause" of the 14th amendment.

The Supreme Court of the United States upheld the contention of Mrs. McCollum and, accordingly, the Champaign plan of religious instruction was discontinued.

Again, this is a case in which a citizen complained that her personal rights guaranteed to her by the U.S. Constitution had been violated by her own State. She appealed to the Federal courts for relief and won.

On the other hand, in the case of *Zorach* v. *Clauson*, 343 U.S., 306, a "released time" program of religious instruction was approved in the public schools of New York City. The Zorach case differed from the McCollum case in that religious instruction was held off the school grounds, no supervisory help was provided by the school, and no part of the cost was paid by the taxpayer.

Mr. Zorach had claimed, as did Mrs. McCollum, that his personal rights had been violated by New York City and petitioned the Supreme Court for relief. He lost.

Let us return to the proposition; namely, the legal doorway through which the Federal Government passes to take part in or to influence public school education:

I. The 10th amendment, reserved powers of the State.

II. Article I, section 8, the general welfare clause.

III. Amendment I, the free exercise theory clause, and the establishment clause.

IV. Amendment V, the due process clause.

V. Amendment XIV, the due process clause, and the equal protection clause.

VI. Article I, section 10, the impairment of contract clause.

The majority of cases before Federal courts in school matters come as a result of a citizen's complaint that one or more of his personal rights have been violated by his own State, county, or city. This was true in the Cochran case, in the Everson case, in the McCollum cases, and the Zorach case. In other words, in each of these cases, and the majority of all, a citizen in effect says: "My Federal Government, give me help. My State, or my city, or my county has taken some of my personal rights away from me, and I want them restored."

As seen, these personal right cases arise under the establishment and free exercise clauses of the first amendment; the due process of the fifth amendment which provides that no citizen shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; the due process clause of the 14th amendment; and the equal protection clause of the same amendment.

The 14th amendment makes the 1st and 5th amendments applicable to the States. Before such time, they were applicable only to the Federal Government.

In school matters, the Federal Government may seek court relief under article I, section 8, the Constitution. This, as you remember, is under the general welfare clause.

In school matters, the State may seek relief in Federal courts under the 10th amendment. This, as we remember, is under the reserve power clause of the Constitution which is sometimes referred to as States' rights.

In school matters, a teacher or other citizen, or even the Federal or State Government, may seek relief in Federal courts under article I, section 10, of the Constitution. This refers to the impairment of contract clause, and in the words of the Constitution, "No State shall pass a law impairing the obligations of contracts."

A good many of the cases under the impairment clause involve the teacher in reference to retirement laws, the question being: "Is a retirement law a contract between the teacher and State, or is it merely pensionary?"

Before leaving the Federal Government and public school education, may I mention the constitutional sources again which have from 1789 to the present caused legal warfare between the Federal and the State Governments. In old fashioned terms, it is States' rights versus Federal rights, or constitutionally, it is the 10th amendment, reserved powers of the States versus article I, section 8, or the general welfare clause of the Constitution.

The discussion of how far the general welfare clause will permit the Federal Government to go began with Madison and Hamilton. Madison sponsored a strict interpretation of this clause; in fact, he argued that the welfare clause permitted Congress to carry out only the powers specifically enumerated to it in the Constitution. Hamilton's position was that of liberal interpretation. He argued that Congress could act and act generally for and in the name of the general welfare.

In the *United States* v. *Butler*, 297, U.S. 1, the Supreme Court adopted the Hamilton position as the law of the land.

In this case, the Court held that Congress could appropriate money under the general welfare clause to the State, but only for the purpose of encouraging or stimulating a condition or program, and not for regulatory purposes. In other words, according to this case, and in the case of a parallel legal principle, the Federal Government can appropriate money for public school purposes in order to encourage or promote a public school program, but in no case to regulate or control. The State has the right to regulate and control insofar as the public school system is concerned, according to the 10th amendment, so far and it shall be as long as the Federal Court follows its own ruling as laid down or made in *U.S.* v. *Butler*.

In the school lunch program of our public school system, the Federal Government encourages and stimulates; the Federal Government regulates and controls. The same is true under NDEA, agriculture, and home economics, the building of vocational shop areas for high schools, etc.

This question arises, "How far can the Federal Government go in its encouragement program before control begins?"

An attempt is made to give the criterion of measurement in this instance.

The Government, whether Federal or State, which prescribes the textbooks to be used and other instructional materials to be used in the public schools and which prescribes the qualifications for administrators, supervisors, and teachers, and which employs these professional people control and regulates public schools education. As of this date and in the discharge of these responsibilities, the State government has acted.

Thus far in this legal discussion, we have talked about the Constitution of the United States, the laws of Congress, the constitution of Virginia, the acts of the general assembly, and the rules and regulations of the State board of education as they pertain to and are a part of the legal structure of the public school system. Now, the question is: "Where in this vast legal structure is the local school board?"

The local school board will carry out and abide by the Constitution of the United States: the local school board will carry out and abide by the laws of Congress; the local school board will carry out and abide by the constitution of the State of Virginia; the local board will carry out and abide by the laws of the general assembly; and the local school board will carry out and abide by the rules and regulations of the State board of education as they apply to public school education.

Again, where is the local school board in the legal structure? We may conclude that it is at the bottom of the legal ladder. However, within its legal sphere, the local school board and only the local school board may act.

The local school board cannot make any policy, any rule, or regulation which conflicts with the Constitution of the United States, the laws of Congress, the State constitution, the laws of the general assembly, and the rules and regulations of the State board of education. This is a legal fact.

What is the deep philosophical meaning of all of this?

The Constitution of the United States, the laws of Congress, the constitution of the State of Virginia, the acts of the general assembly, and the rules and regulations of the State board of education create a favorable legal climate in which the local school board may operate. In this favorable legal climate, the local school board must function and function to the fullest. The end product of the public school system, the good American citizen, is the responsibility of this board. What more could any local school board ask?

Now let's return to the fundamental question: "Is democracy sick?"

Our public school system was born in a democracy and has been enriched by it since its birth. When our democracy is strong, the public school system is strong. When our democracy is less than strong, if ever, the same will affect our public school system. The public school system is not only a part of democracy, it is of democracy in America.

You and I are citizens of the United States of America. If our democracy is sick, you and I as well as over 190 million people are responsible. We, as individuals, cannot deny our responsibility. Our rights in a democracy, our rights as American citizens are predicated and hypothecated upon our duties and responsibilities. Good American citizenship cannot be granted or conferred. It must be earned.

What then do you and I really think of our great U.S. democracy? This is what we think. The democracy of the United States of America is "The best thinking, the greatest service, the noblest efforts, the bravest deeds, the loftiest words, the highest ideals, and the most sincere prayers of its citizens." ("The Voice of the Blue Ridge Mountains," Tyler Fulcher, 1963. Brown-Morrison & Co. Lynchburg, Va.)

What do you think of the sunlight of American democracy—patriotism? This is what we think: "If ever the call should come, I shall offer my life in the spirit of Nathan Hale, in spirit, but by a different method; I would pray; I would die with guns ablaze and would like to hear with deafening ears their glorious echoes of freedom against the highest mountains and loftiest peaks." (Ibid.)

With this type of thinking, a beautiful, vigorous, and dynamic democracy is ours; and in it, through it, and by it, the public school system will meet its obligations fully and completely.

Regardless of our problems, of our hardships, of our disappointments, or of our setbacks, of our victories and defeats, we are among the elite; symbolically speaking, we are among the chosen. We work with America's greatest resource, the youth; our objective is among the highest, the building of human personality.

Therefore, what greater challenge could anyone desire than that of a school board member or of a division superintendent.

Mental Welfare Foundation for Children Names Guttman Annual Award Recipient

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to submit an article written by Mr. Fred Warner, a staff correspondent for the East Side News, a publication with wide circulation in my congressional district, on the presentation of the award for outstanding services to humanity to Charles Guttman by the Foundation for Child Mental Welfare, Inc., located in my congressional district at 225 West 71st Street, New York City.

Mr. Guttman is a native East Sider, a great American, a great benefactor, and an outstanding industrialist.

I commend him upon his service and wish him continued good health so that he may continue his fine work for many years to come.

The article follows:

[From the East Side News, Aug. 6, 1965]

MENTAL WELFARE FOUNDATION FOR CHILDREN NAMES GUTTMAN ANNUAL AWARD RECIPIENT

(By Fred Warner)

The annual "Santa Claus Award" for outstanding services to humanity will be bestowed upon Charles Guttman, president of the Paddington Corp., sole U.S. im-

porters of J. & B. Rare Scotch (Justerini & Brooks—British distillers since 1749), it was announced by the Foundation for Child Mental Welfare, Inc., 225 W. 71st Street.

If there is a man in public life or business who deserves to be accorded this honor, he is Mr. Guttman. This distinction will not be conferred upon him officially, however, until the night of the Santa Claus ball, to be held in December.

When word was received in the liquor industry of the mental welfare's action, many of Mr. Guttman's associates and friends immediately pledged donations in large sums to the group, in honor of the occasion. By this gesture alone, the mental health organization stands to be the beneficiary of over $50,000, it was hinted.

By no stretch of the imagination will anyone regard Mr. Guttman as a Santa Claus type of person. In business clothes he looks like any other successful businessman—neat, clean cut, pleasant, but small.

But what a wizard of a mind he possesses for business. To hear him talk about financial deals and listen to the way how large sums of money roll off his tongue, is like enjoying the trill of the canary while it warbles a merry tune. It is surely exciting to hear a millionaire speak on the subject of money of which he is undoubtedly a master.

Mr. Guttman's services to humanity are known to almost everyone. But while his local charitable gifts are numerous, equally so are the diversified philanthropies across the Nation from coast to coast.

One such instance is the Stella and Charles Guttman Foundation's assistance to worthy undergraduate students who might otherwise flunk out of school because of financial need.

There are virtually no strings attached to its scholarship grants except for one irrevocable condition: "That scholarship grants shall be made only to private liberal arts colleges which, in their administration policy, do not discriminate against students on grounds of race, religion, or country of origin."

To appreciate fully what good use this grant of $10,000 each year to 20 participating liberal arts colleges for 4 years, was put to, the report from Grinnel College, Grinnel, Iowa, dated July 23, 1965, should enlighten everyone. Dr. Donald L. Lambie, dean of the college, said:

"Winners of the Guttman Foundation Scholarship are as follows:

Edward E. Johnson, law; Larry E. Shannon, physics; Jean Scanlan, Russian; Mary S. Wilson, chemistry; K. Palmer Harth, theology; Peter L. Klein, history; Elizabeth C. Duenckel, French; Mary Ann Campbell, biology; Paul Thurston, history; Janice Bahl, journalism; William S. Gienzebach, political science; Richard A. Lance, history, and David Williamson, chemistry."

Both Mr. Guttman and his wife were born on the Lower East Side. He was born on September 11, 1892 at 42 Delancey Street. His father was a native Rumanian who became a notary public and, later, a city marshal during the administration of Mayor Seth Low.

Young Guttman started to work at the age of 8. He attended the old Public School 20 and was graduated from elementary school before he reached 13. He always had a flair for making money even while a youth. He delivered rubber stamps for a dollar a week. He studied stenography and typing and used the latter skill to earn money. At one time, it is learned that he earned an extra $2 a week typing reports for a cousin whose father, at the time, was the janitor at the University Settlement. The cousin's name was Paul Piapper, who later became president of Queens College.

When the boy reached manhood he obtained a Federal job as a prohibition agent. This was during the days of the Volstead Act which outlawed the making, selling or drinking of alcoholic beverages anywhere in the United States or in its territorial and insular possessions. It was this job which brought him in association with another enforcement officer named John Calhane.

FORMS PADDINGTON CORP.

In 1933, when drinking became legal again the two men set up the Buckingham Corp. to sell "Cutty Sark," a then unknown brand of Scotch. Years later, Charles and John split off on their own and on August 3, 1959, the Paddington Corp. received its New York State certificate to operate as importers. Today, the J. & B. brand of rare Scotch is skyrocketing in sales wherever good liquor is sold.

Mr. Guttman resides in the East Seventies with his wife. They live in a quiet and modest manner. He is a member of the famed P.S. 20 Alumni Association, who is being considered by this group for Hall of Fame honors. To those who are interested in this charitable man, read what he has to say about himself:

"My tastes are simple. When I get home I just want to be entertained. No heavy reading—I read enough business statistics all day long. I like music, and I like to take in a good show now and then, and I enjoy a game of pinochle with the boys every once in a while.

"But I guess my greatest relaxation is visiting liquor stores on my day off and just 'kibitzing' with the salesmen. There's nothing which gives me a greater kick than talking with fellows who know how to sell."

HONORED FOR PHILANTHROPIC WORK

Authentic details as to the time and place the Santa Claus Ball will be held cannot be ascertained at this time due to the fact that the committee undertaking this task has not as yet reported the selection of the site and the date.

The award itself is usually in the form of a plaque with an appropriate inscription as to its nature. Also a short biographical sketch of the honored guest is featured in the Santa Claus Ball Journal.

Speeches by past honorees and other distinguished personages present will be made prior to the actual bestowal of the award. Then the guest of honor will respond briefly following the conferral of the plaque.

The designation of Mr. Guttman for "The Santa Claus of the Year" by the Foundation for Child Mental Welfare is not a meaningless gesture, but a truly deserved recognition for one of the most charitable men in the philanthropic world. And that is the reason for this award.

The 14th Conference of the Inter-American Bar Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, on May 22 to 29 the Inter-American Bar Association held their 14th conference in San Juan, P.R. Because of legislation business here in Washington, I was not able to attend. The conference was successful as over a thousand lawyers were present from the nations of the hemisphere.

I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues, Resolutions Nos. 9, 12, and 55.

Resolution 9 concerns the original jurisdiction of the OAS over the present case in the Dominican Republic and Resolution 12 relates to the reactivation of the association's inter-American committee for the judicial defense of Western democracy. This committee has as its chairman, Dr. Eduardo Garcia of Buenos Aires, who was formerly the representative of Argentina on the OAS, and served as its chairman.

Mr. Speaker, your attention is especially invited to Resolution 55 containing the Declaration of San Juan which relates to the declaration of principles adopted by the First Judicial Conference of the Americas. You will note that representatives of the supreme courts of 14 nations of the hemisphere signed the declaration.

I, therefore, am very much pleased, Mr. Speaker, to submit for the RECORD at this point and commend it to the consideration of my colleagues and my fellow countrymen these three resolutions:

RESOLUTION No. 9

Whereas:

1. According to article 52 of the Charter of the United Nations, members that are parties to the regional agreements, or that constitute regional organizations "will do everything possible to effect a peaceful settlement of controversies of a local nature, through such agreements or organizations, before submitting them to the Security Council";

2. The Organization of American States is the component regional organization to act collectively in the case of the Dominican Republic according to articles 5, clause (d), 19, 25, 39, 43, 52, and related ones of the Charter of the OAS, and as such is actually taking collective action; and

3. The Organization of American States has not yet terminated its mission of conciliation in order to assure a peaseful settlement of the conflict in the Dominican Republic, nor has it submitted the case to the consideration of the Security Council (art. 52, par. 2, in fine U.N. Charter)

Declares, That the OAS having original jurisdiction over the present case of the Dominican Republic and not having yet exhausted all efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflict, no other international organization has any competence to interfere in the case, until the OAS itself submits it to the Security Council of the United Nation.

(The delegation from Chile abstained from voting this resolution.)

RESOLUTION No. 12

Resolves, That the Inter-American Committee for the Juridical Defense of Western Democracy, created at the X Conference of the Association held at Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 1957, will be governed according to the following bylaws.

SECTION 1. The committee will have a chairman and a secretary elected by the executive committee, the latter one at the suggestion of the chairman of the committee.

SEC. 2. The chairman of the committee is authorized to form national committees in the countries where they do not yet exist, obtaining for this purpose the necessary cooperation of the presidents of the national bar associations of those countries.

SEC. 3. The chairman of the committee is authorized to recruit new individual members and to carry on all activities toward the fulfillment of its functions.

SEC. 4. The chairman of the national committees will have the same authority within their respective countries.

SEC. 5. The chairman of the national committees will issue an annual report of their

activities to the president of the inter-American committee who is turn will submit a full report every 2 years to the conference of the association.

SEC. 6. The national committees may solicit sustaining dues from their members which will be authorized by the inter-American committee with previous approval of the council of the association. These national committees may also receive donations and contributions from public or private organizations. The national committees will keep the inter-American committee informed as to all income and disbursements, which, in turn, will render an annual statement to the council of the association.

RESOLUTION No. 55

The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico, Hon. Luis Negrón Fernández, presented the following statement, resolution and declaration which were approved by the assembly:

"To the Council and to the plenary session of the Fourteenth Conference of the Inter-American Bar Association:

"As president of the Judicial Conference of the Americas, I have the honor to inform this Fourteenth Conference of the Inter-American Bar Association of the adoption on the part of the Judicial Conference of the Americas, of the resolution which I attach herewith, regarding the constitution of said Conference as a body of a permanent character, adopted in this city the 26th of May 1965.

"FIRST JUDICIAL CONFERENCE OF THE AMERICAS

"(San Juan, Puerto Rico, on the 28th day of May 1965)

"The First Judicial Conference of the Americas, organized in this city of San Juan Bautista of Puerto Rico, during the days of the 24th through the 26th of May 1965, composed of chief justices and justices of the supreme courts of most of the nations of the Americas, in accordance with point 6 of the 'Declaration of San Juan de Puerto Rico' pertaining to the convenience of creating organizations which contribute to insure the enforcement of the principles set forth in that declaration,

"*Resolves:*

"1. That the Judicial Conference of the Americas is organized on a permanent basis with these goals, and meet periodically as it may be deemed necessary.

"2. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico, Hon. Luis Negrón Fernández is designated chairman of the Conference, and is fully authorized to make all arrangements relative to the establishment of this organization, to draw up its charter and bylaws and to take all steps to obtain the necessary means to fulfill its noble objectives.

"Executed in the city of San Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico, on the 26th day of May 1965.

"(Signed by Chief Justice Luis Negrón Fernández and 13 Justices whose names appear as signatories to the 'Declaration of San Juan'.)

"*Declaration of Principles of the First Judical Conference of the Americas*

"The First Judicial Conference of the Americas, assembled in the city of San Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico from May 24 through 26, 1965, consisting of chief justices and justices of the supreme courts of justice of most of the nations of America, being aware that a stable judiciary, free from interference and pressure of any nature, is of paramount importance for the rule of law in a representative democracy, assumes its historic responsibility in the strengthening of democracy and solemnly declares:

"First. A vigorous and independent judiciary is a fundamental requisite, a basic element for the very existence of any society that respects the rule of law. Judicial independence should be secured by means of legal and constitutional guarantees that render impossible any interference or pressure of any nature with the judicial function.

"Second. The judges and other judicial officers should be selected on the basis of their ability and integrity; political or partisan criteria should not be used in the selection of the members of the judiciary. For the attainment of these goals, taking into consideration the particular judicial structure of each state, adequate mechanisms are needed to make the principles necessary for judicial independence a reality.

"Third. Security in office is an essential element for the achievement of true judicial independence. Judges should not be removed from office except for constitutionally established reasons and by due process of law.

"Fourth. The economic autonomy of the judicial power, based on resources that permit the fulfillment of its high mission, should be constitutionally recognized. Judges should receive adequate compensation in order to free them from the pressures of economic insecurity. This compensation should not be altered to their detriment.

"Fifth. It primarily behooves the lawyers, as auxiliaries of the judiciary, to make sure that the principles contained in this declaration are truly achieved and maintained.

"Sixth. Judicial independence in America will be greatly strengthened by the creation and development of permanent professional organizations and by the interchange of ideas and experiences through international congresses and conferences.

"This Declaration of Principles shall be known as the Declaration of San Juan de Puerto Rico.

"Signed in the city of San Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico on this 26th day of May in the year of 1965."

Luis Negrón Fernández, president of the conference, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico.

Evelio Ramírez Chaverri, Magistrate of the Supreme Court of Justice of Costa Rica.

Osvaldo Illanes Benítez, Minister of the Supreme Court of Justice of Chile.

Alejandro Montiel Arguello, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Justice of Nicaragua.

Luis Martínez Miltos, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Justice of Paraguay.

Amiclar Mercader, Magistrate of the Supreme Court of Justice of Argentine.

Francisco Paez Romero, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Justice of Ecuador.

William O. Douglas, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States of America.

Romeo Augusto de León, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Justice of Guatemala.

Gustavo Acosta Mejía, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Justice of Honduras.

Samuel Barrientos Restrepo, Magistrate of the Supreme Court of Justice of Colombia.

Alfredo Maguiña Suero, Dean of the Supreme Court of Justice of Peru.

Dr. Hamlet Reyes, Minister of the Supreme Court of Justice of Uruguay.

José Gabriel Sarmiento Núñez, Magistrate of the Supreme Court of Justice of Venezuela.

Address by the Archbishop of Philadelphia, the Most Reverend John J. Krol

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, this summer the National Advocates Society and the National Medical and Dental Association held a joint convention at Kiamesha Lake, N.Y. The Archbishop of Philadelphia, His Excellency Most Rev. John J. Krol, DD., J.C.D., delivered the main address at this convention.

I commend this excellent address, which follows, to the attention of my colleagues:

ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY MOST REV. JOHN J. KROL, D.D. J.C.D., ARCHBISHOP OF PHILADELPHIA, JOINT CONVENTION, NATIONAL ADVOCATES SOCIETY AND NATIONAL MEDICAL AND DENTAL ASSOCIATION, JULY 29, 1965, KIAMESHA LAKE, N.Y.

Mr. Toastmaster, officers, members and guests of the combined convention of the National Advocates Society and the National Medical and Dental Association, your generosity in honoring me at this gala banquet and presenting me with the 1965 Polish-American Man of the Year Award overwhelms me. The honor you bestow upon me reflects far more than brilliance of your generous and cordial benevolence, than it does any merit of mine. I am pleased to accept the honor as an expression of your kindness and charity toward a member of the Catholic hierarchy. I am deeply touched and profoundly grateful.

The pleasure of accepting your compliments affords me a welcome opportunity to compliment you and through you, similar national groups, for your continued fraternal and professional activity, and also for being important columns, supporting the social structure of our American society.

Your organizational existence is a puzzle and a surprise to some sociologists. Your survival, 50 years after the period of mass immigration to the United States, is a contradiction to sociological theories, which were proposed, with an air of infallible prophecy, for more than a century. These theories were accepted by some as unquestionable doctrine. They served as a charter for certain organizations and sociological movements. The goal of these movements was cultural uniformity. However, in their final impact, they were responsible for a great deal of division and discord. The mischief they caused is responsible for some of the current problems which beset our American community.

More than a hundred years ago, some budding sociologists advanced the theory of total passive assimilation of the various cultures of the people in our country. They proposed a process of intensive purification and purgation of the "dross of foreignism" and the consequent emergence of the 100-percent-pure and unadulterated American and American culture.

In the course of the past century, these theories were translated into action by a wide variety of groups—too numerous to mention on an occasion such as this. History records the activities of these groups and the mischief they caused. May I presume upon your patience by citing a few illustrations.

In the city of Philadelphia—William Penn's City of Brotherly Love—a group labeled as Nativists carried on a vigorous and at times a violent campaign to rid the community of what they considered foreignism. Their prime targets were the foreign-language immigrants; their culture, and even their religion. It is a fact, that in a blighted era of Philadelphia's history, Catholic Churches were set on fire.

These Nativists were forerunners of a great variety of similar groups, all dedicated to the one purpose of saving the United States for pure Americans. Some of these groups were, and still are generally described by the word WASP—which is an abbreviation of the words: "White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant."

The same sociological theory spawned the organization we know as the Ku Klux Klan. While the Klan set out to save the United States from the Negro, another group was formed under the title APA—American Protective Association. This group, while affirming religious liberty, directed its attack against the Catholic Church, on the grounds that it was foreign controlled, and because they feared that Catholics would gain political control of our country.

The direct influence of the APA was limited, however, its propaganda set in force a movement which enveloped other organizations and individuals. In the post-Civil War period, various groups, inspired by the movement, conceived the idea of using the public schools to grind down and out the traces of Catholicism.

The public schools at that time were Protestant orientated The reading of the Protestant Bible, the recitation of prayers in Protestant formulas, and even the teaching of Protestant doctrine was not only permitted, but compulsory. Traces of these practices were ruled out in recent years by the Supreme Court.

When the protests of the Catholics availed nothing, the bishops at the Baltimore Council enacted legislation calling for the establishment of parochial schools. The APA groups countered by introducing into the various State constitutions legislation, prohibiting the diversion of tax funds toward private and parochial school education. These prohibitions were adopted by a number of States in the last half and the last quarter of the 19th century. As recently as 40 years ago, an attempt was made to compel all parents to send their children to public schools. However, in the Oregon case the civil courts reaffirmed the right of parents to choose the type of education they wanted for their children. Within the past decade, California was the scene of a bitter battle to eliminate economic sanctions against parochial schools by compelling them to pay taxes. Fortunately, the traditional sense of justice of the American people prevailed.

Since 1870, the Congress has been beset by the problems of Federal aid to education. Time and again, efforts were made to enact legislation which would discriminate against the American child in American private and parochial schools. But, Congress found means to provide educational aid, e.g., to children in impacted and impoverished areas and to veterans. These acts demonstrated that government can aid education of children and adults, without depriving them of the freedom to pursue their education in a particular school, and at the same time without giving aid to a particular religious sect.

The same sociological theories of the 100 percent American are largely responsible for the present discriminating quota system of immigration. To quote from the Encyclopaedia Britannica (vol. 22, p. 884), the 1924 quota system was adopted to correct complaints "that in the previous two decades the greater part of the immigrants came from Southern and Eastern Europe and was made up of persons who were not by tradition and inheritance of the same type as most of the previous immigrants." We are still trying to rid our country of the discrimination contained in the 1924 quota system of immigration.

The sociological theory of total assimilation was given increased currency by the naive and sentimental play about American immigrants written by Israel Zangwill in 1908. The play entitled: "The Melting Pot" captured the imagination of the theatergoers. America was represented as a great melting pot into which immigrants of all origins, classes, and kinds were dumped unceremoniously, and from which they were supposed to emerge after intensive purification as 100 percent pure and unadulterated Americans.

We would hope that this unrealistic melting pot theory be discarded in our enlightened age. It has been proved wrong. Yet, its exponents persist in their efforts to apply it to daily life. We witnessed such efforts recently in our struggle to have the bus legislation enacted. Some of the most articulate opponents of the bill advanced arguments which sounded like a broken record from the 19th century. The comparison is not original. It appeared less than 2 years ago in an editorial in the Protestant magazine Christianity and Crisis. The editors, including such eminent Protestant leaders as Rheinhold Niebuhr and MacAfee Brown, pleaded for a fresh approach to the problem of aid to education. They complained that the "professional protestant" approaches the problem with arguments which sound like a broken record from the 19th century. It is most encouraging that such eminent leaders and many Protestant groups approach the problem with the question, "What is good for American society and for the American child?" instead of the trite term of the "wall of separation." There should not and must not be any wall preventing legislators from promoting the welfare of the total American society and of all American children.

The same sociological theory was applied at times in more subtle methods. Immigrants and their children were advised that they could not advance socially, economically, or politically unless they shed their foreign-sounding names, their cultural heritage, and even their religion. They were urged to join certain societies with the promise of advancement.

The social philosophy of the Catholic Church, which embraces all the peoples and races of the world, rejected the assimilation theory in principle and in practice. In Philadelphia, Bishop Neumann took pride in mastering a number of languages. He invited the first groups of Italian immigrants to his own chapel and instructed them in their mother language. He established the first national parish in this country for Italians. Throughout the United States, bishops established foreign language parishes and schools. They encouraged immigrants to preserve their cultural heritage. They encouraged the preservation and propagation of the rich diversity of racial and ethnical cultures and gifts for the sake of giving the individuals pride of ancestral roots, and for the sake of enriching the culture of our American society. They acted with the conviction that a man who denies an alien origin and who ignores his ancestral heritage is a man without roots; a man who does not respect his own past, admits inferiority, and will not gain the respect of others. The social philosophy of the church accepts the principle of integration of cultures, rather than assimilation by a melting process.

We might ask what is the correct American view of the various cultures which came to our country with immigrants. The Great Seal of the United States portrays a soaring eagle. Above it is a strand of ribbon carrying the words: "E Pluribus Unum"—literally saying: "Out of many—One" and popularly translated: "Political unity of the widest diversity." This motto has been the boast of our country. It had opened the doors wide to the hungry, the tired and poor of the world. It offered warm shelter to the refugees and to the persecuted. It did so without any Federal law of policy to hammer, melt, or mold them into one type or form. In fact, it has boasted of being a pluralistic society—a society of plural cultures, religions, schools, charitable institutions, political parties, and national and ethnic groups.

I submit that the motto on the Great Seal of our Federal Government "E Pluribus Unum" and the guaranteed freedoms for individuals and groups set the principle for a truly pluralistic society—a society in which the rich variety of cultural and ethnic groups enjoy the right of free assembly—the right to exist and the right to resist all and any attempts at assimilation—and amalgamation at being dumped into a melting pot.

It is my firm conviction that the sociological principle of integration is the only truly American principle of social evolution. It is the only principle that is supported by the reality of history. It is the principle that has been tried and tested under fire. In the Second World War, in Korea, and today in Vietnam, American soldiers of different ethnical backgrounds, of different colors and races, educated in different schools—public, private, and parochial—and of different political persuasions, moved abreast in the face of enemy fire.

Italo-Americans fought in Italy. German-Americans fought in Germany. Catholic Americans fought in Catholic countries, and Protestant Americans fought in Protestant countries.

They risked their lives, shed their blood, and some made the supreme sacrifice of laying down their lives for the America they cherished and loved. What further evidence, what further proof can be demanded that our country is and should be a pluralistic society?

Despite such conclusive proof, there are some vocal elements in our country that still demand uniformity rather than political unity. They clamor for a one-school system, claiming that nonpublic schools are divisive. They resent the fact that various groups are engaged in the conduct of private charitable institutions and programs. They would have the State or community have exclusive control of such institutions and programs. They would have the State ignore the principle of subsidiary and take over that which the citizens are able and willing to do for themselves and for their neighbors. They would have the State monopolize all the areas of human life. In reality they would have the State become totalitarian, and eventually move toward a one-school system, a one-political party and a one-press system. Such monopoly is totalitarianism and not Americanism.

It is said that every action produces an equal opposite reaction. The movement to purge the immigrants of their cultural and religious heritage, constrained some leaders of immigrant groups to campaign against any form of Americanization, including at times, the use of the English language. They insisted on the exclusive use of their native tongue in churches, homes, schools, commerce, etc. Such a policy alienated the children of the immigrants. They were made to feel that a lack of proficiency in the language of their parents excluded them from the circles of those with whom they shared a common heritage. They were made to feel that they had denied their national origin. As a consequence of such a one-language policy many young people lost the sense of belonging; of being a part of those who shared their ancestral heritage. Fortunately, today, the bilingual policy prevails, and even those whose knowledge of their ancestral language is minimal, are conscious of their heritage, and associate themselves with organizations such as yours.

Time does not permit an exposition of your rich religious and cultural heritage. Volumes have been written about the spiritual and educational treasures of the Polish people. In the golden age of its history, Poland was one of the great powers of Europe. Her 300,000 square miles extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and to the walls of Moscow in the West and those of Berlin in the West.

On the threshold of the millennium of Poland's Christianity, we are reminded that all of Poland's history, her education, her literature and art, reflect the spirit of Holy Faith. Poles lived by the slogan, "God and Country." Poland merited the glorious titles:

"Poland ever faithful" and "Poland the bulwark of Christianity."

The first collection of laws—the Statutes of Wisilica 1347 reflect a concern for the rights of the individual. Pawel Wlodkowic's treatise on International Law and Politics, prepared in 1415 for the Ecumenical Council of Constance, contained ideas which the present Vatican Council is treating and developing. Poland was instrumental in the conversion of Lithuania, and in the reunion of some Ruthenian and Armenian orthodox churches with Rome.

The Polish people were a freedom-loving people. Even during the partition, they preserved their religious and cultural heritage against the efforts at absorption. During the partition they attempted to regain their independence twice. At the same time, her sons, Dombrowski, Kosciuszko, Pulaski and many others joined other countries to fight for liberty and freedom under the slogan: "For our liberty and yours"—Zsa nasza i za wasza wolnosc."

The University of Krakow is the oldest in Central Europe. Her famed graduates, such as Nicholas Kopernik, are legion. The literature of Poland is rich in prose and poetry, and has been translated into many languages.

It would be a waste of time to repeat the names of internationally famous Poles in various fields of science, literature, art, and religion. Suffice it to say, that every person of Polish ancestry, should familiarize himself with the rich spiritual treasures to which he fell heir. He should cherish these treasures, and share them with his neighbors. To this effect, I quote from Victoria Janda's poem: "The Heritage"—

"No man may love the beauty of his race
Unless he knows the path by which he came,
Unless he knows that blood-washed, hallowed place
Where histories of the ages call his name."

It would indeed be most fitting and appropriate that each of us prepare for a prayerful observance of Poland's Millennium of Christianity, by deepening our knowledge and appreciation of Poland's cultural and religious history.

Today, as you honor me, I compliment and salute you, the members of the National Advocates Society, and the members of the National and Medical and Dental Association, for what you represent and for the good things you do. With other similar organizations, you form the sparkling components of the brilliant varicolored mosaic that is our beloved country. Together with others, you preserve the religious and cultural heritage of your ancestry and thereby enrich and strengthen the cultural structure of America. Together with others, you constitute the plurality out of which is formed the strong unity of the country we love and cherish so dearly—the United States of America. At the same time you reflect the glory and the wealth of your Polish religious and cultural heritage.

May God bless and keep you and prosper all your good works for the benefit of each other, the community, for the people and nation of Poland and for our own beloved country.

Our Friend, Smokey the Bear

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to pay a tribute to Smokey the Bear and his good works in fire prevention over the last 23 years. Smokey is a valuable U.S. citizen.

Smokey the Bear has grown to be a true and familiar friend to America's young people while giving us a most essential message for the conservation of our fine forests and the preservation of our U.S. natural heritage.

I would like to focus the attention of the U.S. Congress and the American people, young and old alike, on the good letter, celebrating 23 years of service, from Edward P. Cliff, Chief of the Forest Service in the Department of Agriculture, and the fine article from Reader's Digest on "Smokey the Bear and His Friends."

The letter and article follow:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
FOREST SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., August 20, 1965.

Hon. JAMES G. FULTON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. FULTON: The Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture and the State Forestry Departments are particularly indebted to the Advertising Council for sponsoring the "Smokey Bear" Forest Fire Prevention Campaign over the past 23 years. This public information campaign has been of major importance in reducing the number of forest fires by nearly half, while the use of forests has multiplied.

The council has secured since 1942 more than $2.5 billion in free advertising time and space for such public service programs of the Federal Government as retraining to meet technological changes (labor); forest fire prevention (Agriculture); the Peace Corps (State); U.S. savings bonds (Treasury); and balance of payments (Commerce).

With the above in mind, I think you will be interested in reading the enclosed reprint of an article from a recent issue of Reader's Digest, which explains briefly how the council was formed and how it continues to serve the Nation.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD P. CLIFF, *Chief.*

Enclosure.

[From the Reader's Digest, July 1965]

SMOKEY THE BEAR AND HIS FRIENDS

(By John E. Frazer)

Putting its considerable powers of persuasion to public use, the advertising industry—through the Advertising Council, Inc.—provides the American people with an annual gift: $260 million worth of public service.

A summer vacationer turns the pages of a magazine, and pauses at the illustration of a perky bear in blue jeans and a forest ranger's felt hat—one of the world's most famous trademarks. "Only you can prevent forest fires," the reader is reminded.

Staring down at passengers in a Chicago bus is a picture of a man pushing a wheelbarrow. The poster has an important message for laborers and their families. "You won't get tomorrow's jobs with yesterday's skills," it warns. "Train now for tomorrow's jobs."

Smokey the Bear and the man with the wheelbarrow both are creations of a unique, $260-million-a-year project: public-service advertising. Prepared under the auspices of the Advertising Council, Inc., this advertising costs the public nothing; it is the gift of American business to the people of this Nation. It is a gift that has had an astonishing impact upon U.S. life.

FIRES FORESTALLED

Fires in 1942 blackened a scandalous 30 million acres of America's forest and range land. Nine-tenths of the fires were caused by man—by a flaring match carelessly flicked onto a forest floor, by sparks from a logging engine, or from the smoldering embers of a campfire. And in war-torn 1942, fire's threat also came from a new source. A Japanese submarine had shelled an oil field near Santa, Barbara, Calif. Military authorities feared an outbreak of fires from saboteurs in the timber forests of the Pacific coast. To help protect these precious resources, the public would have to be rallied. Thus forest fire prevention became a job for the newly formed War Advertising Council.

The job has continued every year since. In "Saturday Review," Theodore S. Repplier, president of the Advertising Council, described a typical fire-prevention campaign. Dozens of people in a large advertising agency donated their time and talents; a dozen magazines, hundreds of newspapers, each of the great broadcasting networks, over 600 television stations, and over 4,400 radio stations contributed space or time for the message. And nearly 100 big corporations, a blue book of American business, permitted Smokey the Bear to intrude on their nationwide television programs, where every second is literally golden.

The results? Instead of 200,000 fires as in 1942, there are now about half that number annually. According to the Forest Service, the campaign over the years has prevented a million fires, saving 272 million acres of forest land and $10 billion in damages.

TANGIBLE PRODUCTS

Meanwhile, the Advertising Council has also supported a variety of other causes, including the Red Cross, Community Chests, CARE, Boys' Clubs of America, religion in American life, better schools and higher education, Radio Free Europe. Ninety-three major campaigns have been sponsored since 1942. In addition, assistance has been given to 66 other programs and organizations, including the YMCA and YWCA, the John F. Kennedy Memorial Library, Trick or Treat for UNICEF (the United Nations' Children's Fund) and the United Negro College Fund. Current campaigns urge Americans to use automobile seat belts, join the Peace Corps, Keep America Beautiful ("Every litter bit hurts"), stop accidents, aid research on mental retardation, keep young people physically fit.

The volume of the advertising—the sum which would have been charged if publications, television, radio, and other media had sold rather than contributed their facilities—has averaged nearly $227 million a year over the past 5 years. This year it will amount to $264 million.[1] This makes the Council easily America's largest advertiser, surpassing such corporate giants as Procter & Gamble

Results are tangible. By 1963–64, automobile seat belts had become not only accepted but in many States required by law. U.S. savings bond sales reached a 6-year high. Eighty-four percent of the Nation's high-school juniors and seniors took part in physical-activity programs, as against only 47 percent 2 years earlier. Applications for the Peace Corps multiplied fourfold, to 10,000 a month. While many elements contributed to these successes, public-service advertising was certainly a major factor.

Late in 1941 a group of agency representatives and national advertisers met in Hot Springs, Va., to discuss mutual concerns. James Webb Young, a director of the J. Walter Thompson Co. advertising agency, lighted a spark: "Advertising has potentialities for use far beyond its present levels," he said. "It ought to be used for open propaganda in international relations to create

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[1] The Reader's Digest last year contributed $677,108 in free space to Council projects. The Digest's total contribution since 1955 amounts to some $3,300,000.

understanding and reduce friction. It ought to be used to wipe out such diseases of ignorance as childbed fever. It ought to be the servant of music, art, literature, and of all the forces of righteousness."

A month later, bombs fell at Pearl Harbor. On December 9, 1941, Donald M. Nelson of the Office of Production Management urgently asked for "the help of advertising and the channels of communication reaching the public." The Council was quickly formed, and its chairman, Chester J. LaRoche, then of the Young & Rubicam advertising agency, telegraphed Nelson: "We await your orders."

VITAL JOBS

Sales of war bonds were slow, so appallingly slow that Treasury officials in desperation were considering making bond purchases compulsory. The Council was asked if it could suggest a more effective way to sell the bonds. The advertising men pondered—and came up the payroll deductions savings plan. It proved overwhelmingly successful.

"From then on," recalls Charles G. Mortimer, chairman of General Foods Corp. and a Council director, "the Council could hardly handle everything the Government asked it to do."

The "everything" covered a wide range: getting America to turn in its scrap iron; warning people that "loose talk costs lives"; overcoming the woeful shortage of trained nurses; recruiting men for the merchant marine; persuading housewives to save waste fats. The successes were remarkable. "Beyond question," President Truman stated in 1945, "the dissemination of wartime information through advertising played a vital part in bringing to the people the story of what had to be done to speed victory."

After the war, there was no dearth of projects available that would benefit the Nation. Better schools. Highway safety. Home accident prevention. Preservation of natural resources. Better physical and mental health. Cleaner streets, parks, and playgrounds. Support for sound charities. Understanding of the United Nations. The list was endless, and the Council decided to continue its efforts in peacetime.

TRIPLE-HEADER

Certain broad policies were agreed upon: 1. Conduct campaigns that serve the Nation at large, avoiding regional, sectarian, and special drives. 2. Stay nonpartisan and nonpolitical. 3. Accept no project with commercial overtones.

To decide which causes to promote, and to assure independent, effective, and fearless functioning, the council developed a unique three-pronged operation. One prong is the public policy committee. This committee, composed of 20 leaders from business, labor, religion, medicine, education, and public affairs, must approve every campaign project—except those on subjects authorized by act of Congress—before it is put into the works.

Another prong is the industries advisory committee, consisting of 59 executives of leading companies representing various sectors of the Nation's economy. This group advises on council programs, but has no power to veto any campaign or to force one onto the docket.

The third group is the council's board of directors, whose members include the head of almost every important advertising agency and communications company.

"We never lack for worthy clients or causes," observes a council official. One campaign just now getting underway is "equal employment opportunity." It will remind minority groups (and employers) of the job integration policies of 300 major U.S. corporations, urging Negroes to train for the many opportunities now open. It is a logical companion to that automation-related campaign: "You won't get tomorrow's jobs with yesterday's skills."

PRIVATE NICKELS

The council's growth, its access to great power through advertising, raises the question: could it ever be used to brainwash the public for government or other self-seeking purposes? "No danger," says council ex-chairman Leo Burnett. "There are too many checks and balances." Adds President Repplier: "It seems to me both fortunate and notable that this machinery for public information and persuasion is not under Government control. But here we are after 23 years, still guiltless of Federal control or Federal subsidy, raising every nickel we spend from private sources, and with not one public official on our board or our key committees."

The advertising council's momentum comes from its ability to harness the talents of people who get nothing out of it except "psychic income"—the satisfaction of doing good and getting credit for it, the satisfaction of helping a neighbor. As Clarence Randall, retired chairman of the Inland Steel Co., says, "In the past 40 years there has been an unbelievable improvement in industry's sense of social responsibility." It is this spirit of service that advertising council reflects.

The 14th Amendment To Be Tested in Courts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, most of the current agitation which has resulted in lawlessness and riots throughout the country, is the result of ill-considered Supreme Court decisions based on the 14th amendment to the Constitution. Although historians and others have questioned the legality of the 14th amendment, it has never been tested in the courts. Now, in a suit brought by the State of Kansas, the courts will have an opportunity to make that decision.

The following column by David Lawrence in the Washington Evening Star of August 18, should be careful read for the background on the adoption of the 14th amendment and the reasons why its legality is in question:

FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT IS CHALLENGED

(By David Lawrence)

The 14th amendment, which has been the source of authority for many court decisions and much legislation in recent years dealing with highly controversial questions involving States rights, has been challenged as to its validity by the State of Kansas. Its attorney general, Robert C. Londerholm, has just filed a brief with the Supreme Court of the United States alleging fraud and unconstitutional methods in putting through the amendment.

The complaint has to do not at all with civil rights issues, but with a recent decision of the High Court requiring various States, including Kansas, to reapportion their voting districts and to apply the formula of one man, one vote to the upper as well as the lower house of the State legislatures. The 14th amendment was specifically cited by the Supreme Court as the legal basis for its action.

The truth is that the 14th amendment was never ratified in a lawful manner, but the Supreme Court of the United States has constantly avoided or evaded taking any case that would require a ruling on the legality of the process used in its ratification. Instead, the High Court has repeatedly decided cases under the clauses of the 14th amendment and has merely assumed theoretically that the amendment is in force.

Every amendment remains in operation, of course, until it is repealed or until its mode of ratification is successfully challenged and a decision rendered by the Supreme Court. So, because of the Court's failure to take a case involving the process of ratification itself—though accepting many cases involving an interpretation of the clauses of the 14th amendment in actual operation—there has been no determination of the main issue in dispute.

Secretary of State William Seward—whose office then had the duty to proclaim an amendment when its ratification had been completed—did so on July 20, 1868, with respect to the 14th amendment, but in language that expressed doubt and reservations as to the validity of the ratification. Then Congress did an unprecedented thing—it passed a joint resolution directing the Secretary of State to promulgate the ratification. He complied at once.

The Kansas attorney general, in his brief, points out that of the 37 States in the Union when the 14th amendment was submitted by Congress to the States in June 1866, for approval or disapproval, legal adoption required that three-fourths—or 28 States—ratify the amendment. Ten States, therefore, could block it. But by February 1, 1867, Londerholm declares, 17 States had ratified and 11 had rejected it, and, as he says in his brief, "the 14th amendment was thus defeated."

Although the war was over and the ratification in 1865 by the Southern States of the 13th amendment, abolishing slavery, had been accepted as valid, these same States were suddenly declared out of the Union by Congress in a law passed on March 2, 1867, known as the First Reconstruction Act. They were notified that, until they ratified the 14th amendment, they wouldn't be "readmitted" to the Union. Congress ordered new legislatures to be assembled. Military coercion was applied as troops were sent in some cases into the legislatures themselves. Corruption was rampant in choosing members of the legislatures, especially nonresident carpetbaggers. In one case, a general presided over the legislature.

President Andrew Johnson, in his message vetoing the Reconstruction Act, said it was "in palpable conflict with the plainest provisions of the Constitution." But it was nevertheless passed over his veto. Many historians have concurred with him, notably such present-day authors as Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager—known as liberals—who, in their book "The Growth of the American Republic," have written as follows:

"Johnson returned the bill with a scorching message arguing the unconstitutionality of the whole thing, and most impartial students have agreed with his reasoning."

Whenever cases involving this issue have been filed with the Supreme Court for hearing, the Court has invariably said that it was a "political question." Just recently, however, in accepting reapportionment cases, the High Court delved into what it previously had held also to be a "political question." Indeed, some of the dissenting Justices called attention to that precedent. So it may be that the High Court, to be consistent, now has to open up the "political question" enveloping the "ratification" of the 14th amendment.

If the Supreme Court doesn't take the Kansas case, the American people have a right to demand that the 14th amendment be passed by a two-thirds of both Houses of

Congress, and be resubmitted promptly for legal ratifications by three-fourths of the State legislatures or State constitutional conventions.

Letters From Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Ralph McGill from the August 15, 1965, edition of the New York Herald Tribune.

It is inspiring to read a sample of the letters that the President receives from U.S. servicemen in Vietnam. President Johnson stated recently that he draws strength and comfort from these letters.

Although there is little sophistication in the letters, they are the most simple and direct statements of the reasons for our action in Vietnam. It is heartening to learn that the young men in the frontline of our battle understand the ideals for which we are fighting.

The article follows:

LETTERS FROM VIETNAM

(By Ralph McGill)

President Johnson said in a recent press conference he drew strength and comfort from letters he receives from men serving in Vietnam and from parents who send letters received from their sons.

A sample of letters received by the President adequately illustrates why he would feel emotionally stirred. There is little intellectual sophistication in the letters. They are from young persons trained to be fighting men. The letters are uncomplicated.

A marine, with a rest period on Sunday, May 23, wrote to his President:

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I know you have a lot of problems on your mind. I am just writing to say I am behind you all the way. We are lonely for our loved ones back home in the States. But we all know we are here for a good cause. I can assure you of one thing, this is one marine that is proud to be an American. After what I have seen here I know what it is to have freedom. These people here in Vietnam need help and I am proud that you are giving them the help they need. I know some people think we should not be here. I cannot see how they (think we) should not be here. They don't even know what's going on. The Vietnam people are glad we are here and appreciate our being here. I feel I am here for a good cause. These people deserve freedom as much as anyone else. We are doing our best to give them a chance. May God give you the strength to stand up and keep on fighting for freedom. * * *"

Another was sent by the family of a marine who had just received word his regiment was being sent to Vietnam. The letter is as American as a peanut butter and jelly sandwich.

"DEAR ETHEL, BILL, and GRANDMA: I want to thank you for the cookies and candy. It was delicious. I am sorry you were not at home last Sunday night when I called. If I had had the money I would have called again, but I did not.

"We are leaving tomorrow. I cannot tell you how glad I am that the time has finally come. I have looked forward to this as much as a child waits for Christmas. I was afraid that during my 4 years in the Marines I would not have a chance really to do something for my country. It is a good feeling when you know that you can. We will be aboard ship for 14 days. No doubt will pull a day or so of liberty in Japan and then on to Da Nang. They will not tell us for sure, but it is taken for granted.

"I packed one seabag full of my stuff and sent it to Colorado Springs. Could you, please, pick it up for me at the Sante Fe Railway in about 3 weeks and keep it until I return. The paper work is enclosed."

A father in Oklahoma sent the President a letter from his son. The son, expressing his pride in being in Vietnam and engaged in a campaign in which he believed, was disturbed (and angry) about reports of Americans abusing the widows and parents of U.S. servicemen killed in Vietnam and of Americans sending money to the Vietcong. His lengthy letter concluded: "Those of us who are here are proud to be part of this struggle, and we know what we can do and we will win. * * * What we hope for and need is the total support of the American people."

As aforesaid, there is little or no sophistication in these sample letters—or the great number that come each week. But what they do reflect is the instant communication of our time—something missing in all our other wars. A young soldier, sailor or marine, looking at the dead members of his platoon, cannot think rationally about students, parading and shouting against the Government policy in the vocal street demonstration manner of our time. The beatnik type that demonstrated before the White House has his contempt.

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Appendix

Walter Heller Foresees No Drastic Downswing in Our Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, recently it has become quite fashionable, particularly among the loyal minority party, to downgrade the prosperity of this country which is now in its fifth consecutive year.

We have heard pessimistic doom forecasters drawing an unsubstantiated analysis of the economic picture ranging from a sharp economic downswing to a depression around every corner, complete with apple sellers on each of those corners.

However, it must be noted that the leading economists of our times—those who deal in facts and figures, and not fancy, or who do not represent a special interest group—do not share this forecast of gloom. One such man is Dr. Walter W. Heller, presently serving with the University of Minnesota and former Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. In a recent speech before the annual Governors' conference in Minneapolis, Dr. Heller's only hint at a cutback in economic forwardness was in these words:

> For the rest of 1965, some slowdown from the recent pace of advance is in the cards. But such a pattern is in line with our expectations.

In other words, Mr. Speaker, the economy is on a superhighway with unlimited speed restrictions. We have been traveling down that highway at recordbreaking speed and now for a short time we must reduce our speed in order to cool our engine. I want to go on record at this point of stating that this rest period will be a short one and that shortly we will return to our recordbreaking advances. I do not mean to imply that our progress should go unchecked or unwatched. We have adequate safeguards to oversee our speed in economic progress and even finer guidelines to determine when we are reaching a period of too much speed. Some of the minority members prefer to term that peak too much prosperity but let me say to those who use this term that as long as we have poverty, filth, sickness and disease, and other factors which do not allow everyone in this great Nation to lead a normal life, we must never have a period of too much prosperity.

Dr. Heller, in his Minneapolis speech, pointed out it is far easier to maintain the upswing of an economy than to check a downswing. There are hundreds of ways to fan a boom economy but there has never been a successful method established for curtailing a recession. Mr. Speaker, the administration under our President Lyndon Johnson does not want a recession, is not heading for a recession, nor will there be a recession, as long as there is an adequate money supply to meet the needs of our expanding economy.

Mr. Speaker, I have said it before on the floor and I will say it again, you cannot operate an effective government with a tight money policy. Such a situation would be similar to an edict from Congress saying that more homes should be built across the United States and, at the same time, pass legislation that would severely restrict the supply of building materials. Mr. Speaker, the views on tight money held by the distinguished chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, are well known to this body. Although I am only a freshman Member, I want to reiterate my unyielding support for Chairman PATMAN'S views on our money supply. Both he and I believe—as I have said earlier—that the only deterrent to an expanding economy under the Johnson administration will be a tightening of money and credit.

In order that our Republican friends might enlighten themselves as to the factual aspects of our economy, I am including in my remarks a copy of Dr. Heller's speech.

THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK FOR STATE-LOCAL FINANCE

(An address by Walter W. Heller, professor of economics, University of Minnesota, to the 57th Annual Governors' Conference, Minneapolis, July 27)

As an economist, I find it a particular pleasure and privilege to speak to an assemblage of Governors. For, whether like it or not, State Governors are the steadiest friends economic expansion has ever had. No matter what else in the economy may go down, or move this way and that, State-local spending moves right on up at a steady 8 to 9 percent a year. It gives economic forecasters something to hang on to. And it gives Governors something they wish, at times, they could let go of. No matter how many high marks the economists may give you as 50 pillars of prosperity, you surely get more than your share of low marks from the voters as 50 Tartars of taxation (with only a few conspicuous exceptions).

Taking the strong and steady advance of State-local expenditures as an inescapable fact of life, one's appraisal of the economic outlook for State-local finance rests mainly on the answers to these three questions:

What are the short-run prospects for continued economic expansion?

How strong and reasuring is the new national commitment to policies for sustained growth?

What will be the size and form of the fiscal dividends declared by the Federal Government in the course of carrying out that national commitment?

Economic expansion and Federal fiscal policies cannot in themselves solve all State and local fiscal problems. But the speed of expansion and the character of Federal policy will in large measure set the framework for State-local efforts to solve them. They will determine whether the pressures for new State and local taxes become manageable or unmanageable—whether being a State Governor is, if not political paradise, at least not political suicide.

ECONOMIC PROSPECTS FOR 1965–66

You are meeting at a time when I find it more difficult than usual to read the economic roadsigns, to know just where the balance will be struck between sustaining forces of expansion like rising State-local expenditures and business investment, and possible forces of contraction, like a slowdown in steel and automobiles. But my assignment for today gives me no place to hide, so I shall start with a quick look at where the economy stands today, where it seems to be heading, and what Federal policymakers are likely to do about it.

Where we stand

Recent tremors in the stock market suggest some feeling that the present expansion is too good to be true, too good to last—that, somehow, we have to pay the piper for all this prosperity. Indeed, the record is a glowing one. Although the advance is now 4½ years old—a new record over twice as long as the average peacetime expansion—it picked up speed in the past year under the spur of the great tax cut of 1964:

1. In the 1961–65 expansion, gross national product has risen $157 billion. It is up nearly $50 billion in just the five quarters since the tax cut.

2. The advance in output to date has created jobs for 5.7 million more people. Employment is up 2.3 million since the tax cut.

3. Through the first quarter of this year, corporate profits are up 70 percent from their recession levels. After-tax profits, benefiting from corporate tax rate reduction as well as the surge in business activity, have more than doubled in 4 years. They have climbed nearly 20 percent just since the tax cut.

4. Industrial production is up 37 percent since early 1961 and 10 percent since the tax cut.

5. And while these gains were being achieved, we maintained the best record of overall price and cost stability of any industrial country in the world and made major progress in bringing our international balance of payments under control.

Where we are headed

So much for the past. For the rest of 1965, some slowdown from the recent pace of advance is in the cards. But such a pattern is in line with our expectations. It was implicit in the official January forecast of the Council of Economic Advisers calling for a $660 billion gross national product for the year as a whole. Now, at midyear, the $660 billion figure looks close to another bullseye for the Government forecasters; if anything, it may still need to be shaded upward a bit.

Slower gains are expected for the rest of the year and early 1966, primarily because of a leveling off in automobile sales, the probable runoff of large steel inventories built up by steel users as a strike hedge, the pres-

ently scheduled rise of $5 billion in payroll taxes on January 1, only partly offset by further excise tax cuts.

These developments alone may interrupt the steady gains in the industrial production index and bring more modest increases in total output and consumer demand than those we have recently been accustomed to. It is possible that this dash of cold water could dampen economic spirits and lead to a high-level stall—not a recession, but a marked slowdown, with rising unemployment, falling profit margins, and a cutback in plans for capital expansion.

But the strength of the underlying forces for expansion offers considerable insurance against such an economic stall:

1. Not only are business plant and equipment plans bullish, but high and rising corporate cash flows provide continuing support for high and rising business investment. This year, retained cash flows—reflecting the 1962 and 1964 tax measures as well as the growth in sales—should exceed their 1961 levels by $17 billion, a larger increase than the rise in total plant and equipment spending.

2. Average rates of return on equity capital in manufacturing, which had only occasionally reached the 10-percent level since the mid-1950's, have averaged 12 percent in the quarters since the tax cut. This high profitability—reflecting high volume, steady unit costs, and lower taxes—offers a further stimulus to business investment.

3. Despite a sharp rise in automobile credit outstanding, increases in consumer debt have not been excessive relative to the growth in incomes and liquid assets of consumers. The proportion of consumer income devoted to debt repayment has continued its long upward trend. But a recent Federal Reserve study estimated that heavily burdened borrowers were only 10 percent of the total in 1964, the same as in 1961 and 1962 and comfortably below the 12 percent estimated for 1960 and 1963. Meanwhile consumers' liquid assets continue to grow at a rate many times faster than the growth in installment credit.

4. Finally, well-timed fiscal actions will be raising consumer purchasing power during the second half of this year. Excise tax reductions will reduce prices on a wide range of goods at the same time that liberalized social security benefits, retroactive to the first of the year, will be augmenting consumer incomes among many of our lower income families.

In sum, these factors suggests a second-half rise in real gross national product of only 3 to 3½ percent (annual rate) over the first-half level, distinctly slower than the 5-percent rate of gain for the first half, the 4-percent rate of growth in our economic potential. (The corresponding gross national product gains in current dollars—i.e., without price correction—would be about 7 percent for the first half, dropping to 4½ to 5 percent for the second.)

If 1965 finishes on the schedule I have indicated, it would close a fifth year of uninterrupted advance, yet leave the economy well short of its potential, with little prospect of catching up in the first half of 1966:

We are now entering the period when the echo of the postwar baby boom makes itself heard in record rates of growth of our labor force.

Even the great job gains of 1964–65 do not remove the propspect of an unemployment rate near 5 percent at the end of this year.

Output at year's end will be around $25 billion below our gross national product potential, and that potential will be growing by more than $40 billion during the coming year.

Private demand will be growing, but not fast enough to absorb the rising supplies of manpower and industrial capacity.

Thus the need for more rapid expansion of job opportunities and consumer markets calls for clearly expansionary economic policies in 1966—policies designed to expand incomes and create demand sufficient to close in on the growing potential of the economy.

Prices and international developments

At present, I see no barriers to such expansionary moves looming up either from overheated price developments or from backsliding in our balance-of-payments situation:

1. Some food prices have risen recently, but these lie outside the reach of general economic condtions or remedies—though their possible impact on wage demands should not be ignored.

2. Without falling into the 1955–57 trap of overexpanding their plant capacity, businessmen have generally kept their capital expansion a step ahead of output requirements. After 4½ years of expansion, with a 40-percent rise in manufacturing output, the average operating rate, at 89 or 90 percent, remains a bit below the 92-percent rate preferred by businessmen. Occasional supply shortages have moved isolated prices up during the past year, notably in nonferrous metals; but these condtions appear to have been corrected, and no general problems of tight supplies threatens our price stability.

3. Moderation in wage increases—a hallmark of this expansion—has continued in most industries, keeping unit costs stable as employment expands.

4. This excellent record of wage and price moderation has helped American industry meet foreign competition both at home and abroad. As an important example, price movements in steel products last year moved sharply in a direction favorable to domestic relative to foreign suppliers, thereby reversing the trend of the late 1950's and early 1960's. Together with the highly effective voluntary restraint program on capital outflows and measures to curb Government expenditures abroad, these developments have contributed to the recent dramatic improvement in our balance of payments.

Interest rates

Heavy borrowers have a right to ask whether economic developments seem to call for higher interest rates in the months ahead. There are two circumstances that might lead our Federal Reserve authorities to a monetary policy of significantly higher interest rates: the expectation of widespread and rapid price increases, especially in investment goods; or a serious deterioration in the balance of payments. As my remarks suggest, neither seems in prospect.

I must add that conceivable, though unlikely, developments abroad could complicate this whole picture. If the moves to damp down inflationary pressures in the advanced countries were to bring on a worldwide recession, or even a sharp slowdown, our exports would suffer. But in spite of troublesome situations in Britain, Japan, and India—and somewhat slower economic growth in the Common Market—I do not foresee major pressures from this source. Governments no longer sit idly by as helpless victims of economic circumstances—most, if not all, have learned that they cannot solve their international payments problems by strangling expansion at home. The international monetary system must be the servant of policy, not the master. With confidence in the dollar stronger than in many years the United States has taken the initiative in moving toward a broader base of international liquidity to assure this in the future.

Fiscal policy for 1966

Within this setting, what can we now say about policies for 1966? We start with the scheduled $5 billion in added payroll taxes only partly offset by further excise tax cuts (and a final spur from the 1964 tax reductions as tax refunds to previous levels. In the second half of 1966, the advent of Medicare (and expanded unemployment benefits) will add $2½ billion to consumer incomes (annual rate).

To these tax and benefit changes must be added the force of rising Federal expenditures scheduled for 1966—in the form both of higher Federal purchases and growing grants to State and local governments. Yet on balance, these fiscal changes will not offset the automatic increase in Federal revenues arising from economic growth. Until recently, room for further tax cuts or larger transfers to State and local governments seemed clearly in sight for 1966.

War in Vietnam

Looming constantly larger in the Nation's fiscal and economic planning is the war in Vietnam. The period when the growing commitments of manpower and material in Vietnam could be absorbed within the bounds of a $50 billion defense budget—even with determined economizers like President Johnson and Secretary McNamara at the helm—has now passed.

Statements to Congress last week by Budget Director Charles Schultze and Chairman Gardner Ackley of the President's Council of Economic Advisers seemed to reflect a hold-all-bets posture until the Vietnam commitment is decided, measured, and translated into new budget requests and economic impact. Only when this process is completed will we know whether we continue to need—and continue to have room for—further fiscal stimulus through additional tax cuts and other measures in 1966.

In July 1961, the Berlin crisis led to a budgetary request of some $3 billion. What would an increase of this magnitude, over and above recent projections, signify in economic terms?

1. It would add at least double this amount, or $6 billion, to 1966 gross national product—perhaps more, if it led to a general quickening of the economic pulse.

2. My appraisal suggests that enough manpower and industrial capacity will be readily available in 1965–66 to accommodate this added demand without overheating the economy.

But as I say, whether added stimulus will still be needed in 1966 to keep the powerful U.S. economy on the track to full employment can only be decided after the full scale and timing of the Vietnam draft on our 1966 economic resources is known.

POLICIES FOR EXPANSION IN THE LONGER RUN

This year and next year, of course, are most immediate and vital in fixing your fiscal course in the 50 States. But most of your fiscal plans for the next 12 months—or even 24—are already locked up, and your sights are set more and more on the period beyond mid-1966. And there, your fiscal prospects depend most heavily on the Nation's policies for economic expansion and the Federal tax and budgetary measures taken to carry out those policies.

You have every reason for confidence that economic expansion will be the rule, and recession the rare exception. I do not claim that we have, in one great leap forward, moved from the recession-prone 1950's into a new era of recession-proof 1960's and 1970's. But I am convinced that major advances in Government policy and business practice are making our economy more and more recession-repellent.

Your State revenue forecasters can count on a more steadily expanding economy than we have ever had before in peacetime. They no longer have to assume that there is some inescapable rhythm or cycle in the economic affairs of man that periodically turns expansion into recession. As Business Week put it earlier this month, "There is nothing inevitable about this or any other business ex-

pansion coming to an end at any given time * * *. The life span of a business advance is determined by businessmen, consumers, and Government policymakers."

Part of the innovation that promises a brighter economic future has come in the private sector. Modern management and computers are writing a whole new history of inventory control and plant and equipment programing. We are gradually growing out of the boom-and-bust psychology that used to generate huge swings in inventories, capital investment, cost-consciousness, and speculation. In the 1961–65 prosperity inventory restraint, investment prudence, and tight cost controls have not melted away under the warm sun of sustained prosperity.

Even more striking are the innovations in public policy, both in the signal for action and in the readiness to use our fiscal and monetary weapons to achieve the economy's full potential.

Both President Kennedy and President Johnson became convinced that it is easier to keep an expansion going than to reverse a downswing. The signal for swinging into action, as I have already implied, is no longer an expected or actual recession. Instead, it is the existence of an economic gap between what we are producing and what we could produce. To carry out the spirit as well as the letter of the mandate of the Employment Act of 1946 to achieve "maximum employment, maximum production, and maximum purchasing power" calls for positive fiscal and monetary action when economic performance lags behind economic potential.

With this shift in signals, most dramatically symbolized by the 1964 tax cut, we have moved from an economic policy emphasizing shock absorption—taking the sting out of recession—to a policy of economic propulsion—taking measures needed to sustain expansion.

In the past 4 years, the tremendous fiscal power of the Federal Government has been harnessed in a consistent and constructive effort to generate the large, steadily growing, and noninflationary markets required to absorb the great and growing output of our economy.

The full extent of Federal fiscal action in carrying out this new commitment in the past few years may not be fully realized. The Council of Economic Advisers analyzed it for the Joint Economic Committee of Congress last week. From the end of 1960 to mid-1965, the Federal Government took expansionary budget actions totaling nearly $40 billion (as calculated in the national income accounts):

Expenditures, even while declining as a percentage of GNP, grew $27 billion—nearly half for defense, $7 billion in social insurance payments, and $5 billion in Federal aids.

Tax cuts, after subtracting payroll tax increases, came to $13 billion.

As the Council said: "There is nothing necessary, natural, or constant about the two-thirds, one-third division of fiscal moves between expenditure increase and tax reduction. Nor can the amount or composition of the expenditure rise be extrapolated into the future. But for record of the past 4½ years does show how a democratic society can meet urgent social needs, provide for tax reduction, and conduct a fiscal policy that helps to promote overall prosperity."

The Council, the Budget Bureau, and the Treasury all stressed the need for (a) swift emergency tax cuts in case of recession and (b) repeated tax cuts and/or spending increased to keep the Federal fiscal drag from slowing down the U.S. economy.

In a somewhat curious way, the Vietnam crisis may well give us the most striking single example of the advance in economic thinking and the strength of the policy commitment which constitutes such a strong force in your fiscal future. In 1961, with over 6 percent unemployment and a gap of over $40 billion between actual and potential output, the White House came within an eyelash of asking a tax increase to finance $3 billion of defense buildup for Berlin. In 1965, I am sure that if a similar buildup were to occur for Vietnam, its economic impact would be coolly appraised in the light of the economy's production gap and future prospects. Even with far higher levels of output and employment than 4 years earlier, the question today would be, not whether it calls for a tax increase, but how much of the economic gap it might close and whether, or how long, it should postpone a tax decrease.

FEDERAL DRAG AND FISCAL DIVIDENDS

Our Federal tax system is so powerful and so responsive to economic growth that it will generate an average annual rise of about $7 billion in net Federal revenue flow between now and 1970. This is the central, towering fact around which the rest of my comments today will resolve.

With our normal economic growth of 4 percent a year in real terms (5½ percent a year in current prices) the net take from existing Federal taxes will grow by about $35 billion between now and 1970. (Last week, Gardner Ackley used a gross figure of $50 billion; $10 billion of this would be absorbed by increased social insurance payments, and $5 billion represents extra revenues associated with a full-employment economy. My $35 billion a year is, characteristically, conservative.)

Depending on our wisdom and courage, this $35 billion growth in Federal revenues will either rear its ugly head as a renewed fiscal drag or rear its lovely head in the form of recurring fiscal dividends. Given recent advances in public understanding and Government policy, I have no doubt that fiscal dividends rather than fiscal drag will carry the day. Apart from the debt retirement that will be called for if excess demand threatens to overheat the economy, the $7 billion annual revenue rise will open the way to generous dividends in the form of higher Federal outlays on new or expanded programs, lower Federal taxes, new support for the social security system, larger transfers of funds to hard-pressed State and local governments.

Taxpayers, program beneficiaries, Governors, mayors, and others are already hungrily eying this rich fiscal harvest. What are some of the alternative possibilities?

Federal spending

Leaving aside the budget consequences of Vietnam, I foresee about half of the automatic revenue rise being absorbed by increases in Federal civilian expenditures. Such increases have averaged about $2 billion a year in the administrative budget, measuring either from the Korean War on, or just from 1960. To this annual increase, I add an allowance for the pickup in tempo implied in the Great Society programs. (With a $3 or $3½ billion yearly rise, Federal expenditures would continue to decline as a percent of gross national product having already dropped from 17.2 percent in fiscal year 1959 to 15.2 percent in fiscal year 1965 on a budget basis, and from 20.3 percent to 19 percent on a cash basis.)

Behind these projections lie urgent national needs. The polluted air I breathe in many large cities, the now polluted Lake Michigan, Milwaukee River, and Pudget Sound waters I used to swim in as a boy, our vanishing wilderness, our growing urban blight, the persistence of human poverty amidst plenty, the uneven struggle between beauty and ugliness in our surroundings, the excessive incidence of illiteracy, crime and delinquency—all these reach out for a large share of that $7 billion annual dividend, either in the form of direct programs or through more generous transfers to State and local governments.

For how else are we to gain control of our public environment, rather than letting it control us in a "half-finished society," in the graphic phrase of Faltermayer's recent Fortune article? How else can we make real progress toward a society that will not only be large and productive but great and good?

Tax cuts

As a result of the 1962 and 1964 Revenue Acts, which cut both corporate and individual income taxes by nearly 20 percent, we are paying $17 billion less in Federal income taxes on this year's income. No such massive cuts are in the cards for the next 5 years. But even after the 1965 excise tax cuts, and making generous provision for other dividend claims, the $35 billion potential revenue growth by 1970 leaves room for further tax reductions. Talk of reducing lower-bracket income taxes, perhaps by raising personal exemptions, is already heard in Washington. Whether Vietnam will temporarily still such talk remains to be seen.

One need not dwell on the claims of the tax cutters of the future. They will point out—and rightly so—that tax cuts boost private demand, vitalize free markets and private incentives, supply added funds for private capital formation, and lubricate further tax reform. Perhaps you will permit me to remark, "Yes, I know, but I can only hope that the tax cut lesson has been learned wisely and not too well."

Social security support

In passing, let me raise this question: How much further should we go in cutting income taxes at the same time that we keep raising payroll taxes—taxes which bear most heavily on lower income groups and consumption and which increase employers' costs of providing jobs?

Where this is no alternative, payroll levies to buy protection against the economic inroads of old age, unemployment, and ill health are good bargains for our society. But as the opportunity develops, we should seriously consider financing additional benefits in part out of income tax revenues rather than increasing payroll taxes. In particular, a program to strengthen unemployment compensation by tapping the income tax as a revenue source—at the same time, tightening unemployment standards to end abuses—has much to recommend it as a means of strengthening the economy and easing the burdens on small incomes while reducing business costs.

Transfers to State-local governments

Finally, I want to examine with you the claims of the State and local governments. Let me briefly plead their general case—your case, as chief executives of the 50 States—and, in the process, pose a basic question amout the future of our national fiscal system.

The essence of the case is a fiscal mismatch:

The supply of readily available Federal revenues in the years ahead will rise faster than the demands on the Federal purse.

The State-local situation is reversed—expenditure demands will rise faster than the readily available revenue supply.

Past history on this score is compelling: while Federal outlays have been rising more slowly than gross national product, from 1953 to 1963, State-local expenditures rose nearly 9 percent per year, or almost double the gross national product rise. From $28 billion in 1953, they rose to $65 billion in 1963. State spending alone rose from $12 to $28 billion. And no letup is in sight:

Demography burdens State-local budgets, not just by the 19-percent overall population growth from 1953 to 1963, but by the 40-percent rise in the 5-to-19 age group and the 29-percent increase in the over-65 group.

Mobility and urbanization call for ever more new schools, sewers, roads, parks, and the like.

Prosperity generates demands for better schools, roads, mental hospitals, and so on, faster than it generates added State-local revenues.

Price trends in construction and the services of teachers, for example, continue to work against State-local budgets.

Looking ahead, Joseph A. Pechman—using a modest 7-percent rate of increase—has projected State-local expenditures of $103 billion in 1970. Side-by-side with this, he foresees receipts (including normal growth in Federal grants) rising to only $88 billion.

This would leave a $15 million gap to be closed by new State-local tax boosts.

In trying to finance this gap, State and local bodies should, can, and will do more to tax themselves—the doubling of State tax collections between 1953 and 1963, provides evidence on this point. But even leaving aside the political hazards of raising taxes, the States have to cope with some serious economic and institutional handicaps: interstate competition and fear of keeping out or driving out industry and wealth; limited jurisdiction and less-than-ideal administrative size; great disparities in economic, and hence taxable, capacity; heavy reliance on tax sources that are not very responsive to economic growth.

Yet, in the face of these barriers, the simple fact remains that many of the functions essential to a great, good, and growing society are carried out by State-local government; education, community development, mental and physical health, recreation, welfare—the list is not short.

So, as we declare future fiscal dividends, it will be important to choose ways and means that will help redress the Federal-State-local fiscal balance and strengthen our federalism. What we seek is clear; a fiscal federalism that not only serves essential national interests but preserves the strength, vitality, and responsibility of State-local government.

The prospect of further fiscal dividends also raises a basic question about the kind of overall tax system we want to design. Do we want one in which—to put it in extremes—we dismantle the progressive and comparatively equitable Federal income taxes while leaning ever more heavily on regressive and comparatively inequitable State-local property, sales, and excise taxes? Or do we seek a tax system in which the powerful Federal income tax is used to support expenditures which otherwise would not be made, or would have to be financed from regressive tax sources? One cannot consider the Federal-State fiscal problem without keeping this question constantly in view.

FEDERAL SUPPORT AND STATE FISCAL EFFORTS

In reviewing the fiscal difficulties of the States and their need for more generous Federal support, I don't for a moment overlook the strong helping hand the Federal Government is already holding out, nor the fiscal efforts that are being made—and those that still have to be made—by State and local governments.

Federal tax and budget policy has already given State-local treasuries a powerful assist in various ways:

The most spectacular is the rise in Federal grants from $3.1 billion 10 years ago to the $13.6 billion programed in this year's budget.

Less direct is the State-local bounty derived from 1964's huge income tax cuts. Some $3 billion extra a year will flow into State-local coffers from the 1964 cuts alone, a 7-percent boost for both State and local tax revenues. Most of this comes from economic expansion generated by tax reduction, but for 16 of the income tax States, reduced deductions for Federal income taxes are boosting revenues more directly.

Also significant is the $4.7 billion excise tax cut enacted last month. This offers not only the indirect benefits of an expanded State-local sales, excise, and income tax base, but provides interesting opportunities for States to rush in where the Federal Government will no longer tread (or will tread only lightly); e.g., excise on telephone service (intrastate), automobiles, admissions, and deeds of conveyance. Yet, the list of effective opportunities for State and local governments to move in is surprisingly short.

Even with these impressive fiscal assists, State Governors and legislatures did a brisk business in new and used taxes this year. In the first 6 months of 1965, I was surprised to find this record of major tax actions:

Sales tax: Two new entries (Idaho and New York) and nine increased rates.

Personal income tax: One new entry (Nebraska) and eight increased rates.

Corporate income tax: Seven increased rates.

Cigarette tax: One new entry (Oregon) and 20 increased rates.

Liquor tax: Six increases.

Gasoline taxes: Eight increases.

This spate of tax increases bears witness to the great fiscal pressures on State governments and also suggests that their fiscal courage and capacity are not exhausted. The adoption of personal sales tax exemptions (in the form of income tax credits and refunds) in Indiana and Colorado attests to the ingenious attempts being made to couple revenue with equity considerations.

Courage, effort, and ingenuity in drawing more revenue more equitably from State and local sources are surely required. And States seeking broad Federal grants derived from the income tax should ask whether their case may not suffer from having no income taxes in one-third of the States, anemic ones in another third, and tough ones only in the remaining third.

Yet when all is said and done in an era when painful fiscal pressures at the State-local level co-exist with pleasant fiscal dividends at the Federal level, State and local governments have a commanding case for stronger Federal financial support.

What forms that support might usefully take will be discussed with you by Mr. Pechman. But let no one assume that a commanding case is synonymous with a convincing one—or that the fiscal battle can be won by endorsing one plan or another.

Battles are won in our society by developing a consensus. And that consensus will emerge only out of fiscal performance and fiscal persuasion of a high order. There are no short cuts. I wish you well.

Tax Sharing Can Ease Shortcomings of Grant-in-Aid Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, an excellent article by Richard C. Worsnop, writing in the December 23, 1964, issue of Editorial Research Reports scans the tax sharing proposal carefully and underlines many of the shortcomings of the present grant-in-aid programs.

A solution to these increasing deficiencies can be found in sharing a significant portion of the Fedral revenue with the States—attaching as few strings as possible.

The article follows:

FEDERAL-STATE REVENUE SHARING

(By Richard C. Worsnop)

Plans to distribute a fixed percentage of Federal income tax revenue among the States, if and when the Federal budget again produces an annual surplus, may be expected to attract growing attention as State and local revenue needs continue to mount. The current estimate is that annual State and local government expenditures will climb within a decade to $120 billion—about $40 billion more than now. To meet such huge outlays, States and localities will require additional sources of revenue, but new tax sources have virtually disappeared and existing taxes are already burdensome. Access to a share of the Federal Government's tax receipts, therefore, would be a godsend.

The revenue-sharing proposal that has been under discussion recently would supplement existing large Federal aid programs but would differ from them in providing for distribution of funds with few or no strings attached. The plan was first advanced 4½ years ago by Walter W. Heller, who recently resigned as Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. When Heller, then chairman of the University of Minnesota's Economics Department, suggested in a speech on June 6, 1960, that an agreed share of Federal income tax receipts be diverted to the States, the proposal drew little notice; the country was in a recession and no surplus of Federal revenues was in sight.[1] Since then, the economic picture has considerably brightened. Although Federal expenditures still exceed Federal receipts, economic experts foresee a budgetary surplus within 2 years if tax receipts continue to rise at the present rate of around $6 billion a year and if spending is held down.

In essence, the Heller revenue-sharing proposal is a scheme to ward off recurrent Federal budget surpluses.

Heller rejects the theory, often voiced by conservative economists and Members of Congress, that all excess Federal revenue should be applied to reduction of the national debt. He contends that prolonged piling up of surpluses would produce fiscal drag; that is, it would retard growth of the economy in the absence of full employment.

A report by a presidential study group, submitted in mid-November, showed how the Heller plan might be put into effect.[2] The report was not made public, but it was believed to make four principal recommendations: (1) That a specified portion—probably 1 or 2 percent—of the proceeds of the Federal individual income tax be turned over to the States every year; (2) that the money be deposited, pending distribution, in a trust fund outside the regular Federal budget; (3) that the States be allowed to use the funds distributed to them in any way they saw fit; and (4) that the funds be distributed in such manner as to give the poorer States somewhat more than they would be entitled to on the basis of Federal taxes paid by their citizens.

Federal and State reactions to the proposal

President Johnson endorsed revenue sharing in principle last October 27, but the Heller plan encountered opposition elsewhere in the administration. Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges, interviewed by a Charlotte Observer reporter on November 27, said that "It would be very silly to give money to the States on any unconditional basis." Hodges thought the result would be to make it easier for State governments to avoid facing up to basic responsibilities. Assistant Treasury Secretary Stanley S. Surrey sounded a note of caution in Boston, December 5, when he told the Tax Institute of New England that he was "sure that the President is well aware of all the complexities involved in this pro-

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Footnotes at end of speech.

posal and will take them into account before making any (final) decision." It became known 10 days later that the President's decision was negative. At least, he would not recommend adoption of the plan to the 89th Congress when it convenes in January.

Spokesmen for the States had naturally expressed wholehearted support of the Heller proposal. The executive committee of the Governors' conference adopted a resolution on December 1 declaring that "An unfettered proportionate return of Federal tax revenues to State governments * * * would not only enable State governments to accept more responsibility in providing needed services for their citizenry, but would also tend to decrease the alarming trend toward complete Federal domination." Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York had made the same point in a speech last September 21. In addition to revenue sharing, Rockefeller proposed that collection of "certain Federal excise taxes" be surrendered to the States and that taxpayers be allowed "credits against Federal taxes for payment of certain specified taxes imposed by the States."[3]

Support for revenue sharing has come also from other sources. The National Education Association's legislative commission on December 16 recommended creation of a national educational trust fund to channel increased Federal aid to the States on a no-strings basis. The commission proposed that as much as $1.25 billion be distributed the first year on the basis of population and need. Proposals of this sort indicate that pressure in behalf of new plans for sharing of Federal revenue with the States is likely to mount. Although the Heller plan may be laid aside now, it is understood that the study group which considered it contemplated, in any case, that it would not be put into effect until 1966.

Allocation and use of the shared tax revenue

Discussion of revenue sharing is centered largely on questions relating to allocation and use of the funds to be distributed. The report submitted to the White House last month was said to recommend that two-thirds of the shared tax revenues be distributed on a per capita basis, and that the remaining one-third go to about a dozen States in especially difficult financial circumstances.

This formula would doubtless encounter opposition in Congress. At present, the District of Columbia and each of 34 States receives a percentage share of total Federal grants-in-aid that is larger than its proportionate contribution to total Federal taxes collected. For example, Alaska gets about 48 cents in grants for every dollar of taxes its people pay to the Federal Government; New Jersey, in contrast, gets back only 5 cents for every tax dollar.[4] Although a State's needs might be generally accepted as one factor to be taken into consideration in allocating shared revenue, Members of Congress from the wealthier States probably would not welcome any appreciable widening of the current gap between what their constituents pay in taxes and what they receive in Federal grants.

Objection might be raised also to distributing Federal funds to the States with no check on how they would be expended. Persons favoring tight Federal supervision over the use of shared revenue tend to distrust State authorities. Without Federal control, the argument goes, some States might spend the money on segregated public housing or on construction of expressways not in conformity with the Federal interstate highway plan. Moreover, fear has been expressed that tax sharing might tend to undermine existing Federal-State programs for health, welfare, and education. To meet these objections, the Federal Government might ban expenditure of shared revenue for such projects as highways but require that it be put to use in certain broad areas of general need.

Many leading economists, including Heller, feel that more trust should be placed in State governments. Much of the shared revenue, they assert, would be spent for education, which already consumes more than one-half of the State and local tax dollar. In that case, the deadlock over Federal aid to education might finally be broken. The States and localities would be able to pay for as well as supervise public education, and perhaps extend aid to church-related schools in addition. Even if States should use shared revenue to reduce State taxes, the consumer would benefit by a lightening of the burden of such regressive imposts as levies on sales and services.

Proposal for State concession on tax-free bonds

J. A. Livingston, syndicated business columnist, asserted last November 25 that tax sharing should not be all give on the part of the Federal Government and all take on the part of State governments. The President, Livingston suggested, "should strike a bargain to reform the basic Federal tax structure." The deal he had in mind would require States and municipalities to forgo the privilege of issuing tax-exempt securities, which have afforded a tax haven for persons of wealth. If this were done in return for new Federal subsidies, the "flowback to States and municipalities would far exceed the extra cost of floating securities without tax exemption; outstanding securities would not be affected—only those to be issued in the future."

Livingston's proposal is not new. As long ago as 1921, President Harding called for adoption of a constitutional amendment to allow taxation of interest on future governmental issues—Federal, State, and local. Two years later, President Coolidge made the same request. "The existing system," Coolidge said in his annual message to Congress, "permits a large amount of the wealth of the Nation to escape its just burden." He added that "All the wealth of the Nation ought to contribute its fair share to the expenses of the Nation."

Agitation to do away with further issuance of tax-exempt securities died down in 1926, when the maximum Federal income tax rate was reduced to 20 percent. Six years later, however, President Hoover revived the proposal. The Revenue Act of 1932, signed in the depth of the depression, had more than doubled the income tax rates of 1926. "One of the first economic effects of the increases," Hoover declared, was "the retreat of capital into tax-exempt securities and the denudation of industry and commerce of that much available capital."

As before, nothing came of the proposal to make government bonds taxable. A number of politicians and jurists contended that the 16th (income tax) amendment, ratified in 1913, authorized taxation of such securities, because it stated that "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on income, from whatever source derived." Others insisted, however, that the Federal Government could not tax instrumentalities of the States. Although State and local securities have retained their tax-exempt status, Congress in 1941 made interest on future issues of Federal securities subject to Federal income tax and open to taxation by the States.[5]

INABILITY OF STATES TO EXPAND REVENUE SOURCES

Tax sharing might save some State and local governments from plunging into bankruptcy. In the 5-year period that began in 1958, State and local tax rates rose twice as fast as Federal tax rates. State and local taxation now is increasing at about double the rate that income is increasing. Since World War II the Federal debt has gone up by only 20 percent while State and local debt has shown a 600-percent increase.

Compounding the financial difficulties of State and local governments is the fact that virtually every source of tax revenue has been tapped. Existing rates, moreover, are in general so high that additional increases invite voter retaliation at election time. In fiscal 1963, for example, the State and local burden in New York State came to $327 a person, highest in the country.[6] Only three States—Maine, Massachusetts, and North Dakota—collected less in State and local taxes in fiscal 1963 than in fiscal 1962.

In the 5 fiscal years beginning in 1959, there were 52 increases in State cigarette and tobacco taxes, 42 increases in levies on alcoholic beverages, 18 on general sales, 17 on individual income and 18 on motor fuels. Today, every State taxes motor fuels and alcoholic beverages. All except 16 States tax personal income, all except 13 States tax corporate income and general sales, and all except 2 tax tobacco products.

Since World War II, State tax activity has followed a predictable pattern. Beginning in 1947 and at 4-year intervals thereafter, the legislatures have passed an extraordinarily large number of laws to tap new tax sources or to raise effective yields from existing levies. The year 1963 was no exception. By the time it ended, no fewer than 35 States legislatures had passed tax laws estimated to increase aggregate annual collections by more than $1 billion.

Tax legislation in 1963, as in previous years, was prompted by a widening gap between State income and expenditure. Only 25 States had managed to achieve balanced budgets in fiscal 1962. Some State legislatures, fearful of voter resistance, declined to introduce new taxes or to raise existing taxes. Instead, they resorted to such expedients as speeding up tax collections, using loan repayments in lieu of tax revenue, and extending "temporary" taxes to get by a little longer without changing the basic tax structure.

Several of the State taxes introduced in 1963 were expected to be of only marginal value. These included levies on billiard tables, storage of sporting equipment, truckers motor fuel purchased out of State, soft-drink bottlers, and colored oleomargarine. As an alternative to increasing taxes, New Hampshire adopted a scheme to raise an estimated $4 million a year from sweepstake horse races, the proceeds to be used for education. Minnesota's income tax law was amended to require every person filing a return to pay a $2 filing fee.

Final reports on tax revenue collected in fiscal 1963, published by the Census Bureau in November, underscored the financial problems confronting State and local governments. The Federal public debt increased by $7.7 billion in fiscal 1963; in the same period, aggregate State and local indebtedness rose by $6.2 billion to a record level of $87.5 billion.

Importance of State aid to local governments

Shared State tax receipts have long been an important source of local government revenue. Since 1942, about 35 cents of every dollar spent by the States has gone to local governments, usually with strings attached. State aid to local governments, aggregating $12.7 billion in fiscal 1963, accounted for about one-fourth of all local revenue.

It is often impossible to associate a particular State payment with a specific financing source. Many State grants-in-aid to localities are drawn from general funds fed by numerous revenue sources. However, contributions to local governments for road construction sometimes come from funds made up exclusively of highway-user revenues, such as taxes on oil and gasoline.

State governments, like the Federal Government, usually distribute shared taxes

Footnotes at end of speech.

and grants-in-aid on the basis of a specific formula. For example, a county's share of education aid may depend on its school-age population, enrollment or attendance, or on actual local expenditure. Miles of roads, numbers of registered vehicles, or particular local requirements are usually taken into account in distributing highway funds. So-called per capita aid in New York State, which Governor Rockefeller recently proposed be increased next year from $100 to $200 million, is distributed on a population basis with no strings attached; local authorities have the right to use the funds for any purpose they choose, including reduction of local taxes.

RAPID GROWTH OF FEDERAL GRANTS-IN-AID

Sharing of Federal revenue with State and local governments is hardly a new idea. Federal payments to States and localities totaled $8.7 billion in fiscal 1963—more than three times the amount the States would receive initially under the Heller plan. Except in the case of interstate highway financing, these payments did not constitute sharing of the proceeds of particular taxes; they were grants-in-aid, financed from general revenues, under which States and localities receive money for specific purposes.

Sharing of Federal surplus, 1836; land grants

The country's first significant venture into revenue-sharing ended in disaster. A law passed in 1836 provided for distribution of a sizable Federal Treasury surplus among the States in proportion to their representation in Congress. The Treasury surplus has been placed in 80 banks, which regarded the deposits as in the nature of permanent loans and had inflated credit accordingly. Calling of the banks' loans—to provide funds to meet the Treasury's demands—helped, together with overstrained credit between the United States and Europe and a drop in the price of cotton, to bring on the panic of 1837. American commerce, finance, and industry did not fully recover until the mid-1840's.

The Morrill Act of 1862 is now regarded as the progenitor of Federal grant-in-aid programs. By that law, the Federal Government gave public lands to the States to aid in developing colleges for the teaching of agricultural and mechanical studies "without excluding other scientific and classical studies and including military tactics." Except for certain restrictions on the spending of principal and on investment, the States were free to sell the donated land in any manner and at any price they wished.

Washington nevertheless attached some strings to the Morrill Act grants. Every land-grant college was required to submit an annual report on its progress, including a record of the cost and results of any improvements or experiments. Furthermore, State Governors had to report annually to Congress on the disposition of funds acquired by sale of donated land. Criticism of the Morrill Act foreshadowed criticism of later grant-in-aid programs. Senator James M. Mason, Democrat, of Virginia, in 1859 denounced the bill which was to become the Morrill Act as "an unconstitutional robbing of the Treasury for the purpose of bribing the States." He added: "In a very short time the whole agricultural interests of the country will be taken out of the hands of the States and [made] subject to the action of Congress."

The Weeks Act of 1911 was another landmark in development of Federal grant-in-aid programs. That law, designed to promote forest fire prevention, required submission of a State plan to the Secretary of Agriculture before Federal funds were disbursed. A decade later, Congress went further. It stipulated that States seeking Federal roadbuilding grants, instituted in 1916, establish highway departments to administer the grants; it stipulated also that such departments have "adequate powers and [be] suitably equipped and organized to discharge to the satisfaction of the Secretary of Agriculture the duties" required by Federal law.

Thus the two cardinal features of Federal grant-in-aid programs had been established by 1921. To become eligible for Federal aid, the States had to conform to certain conditions prescribed by Congress; having conformed, they were required to live up to certain standards of performance if they wished to continue receiving funds from the Government at Washington.

Changes in Federal and State fiscal situations

Despite passage of such legislation as the Morrill and Weeks Acts, Federal grants accounted for only a tiny fraction of State and local spending up to the 1930's. As late as 1929, State and local governments spent $7.7 billion, or about 2½ times as much as did the Federal Government. Only about $150 million of the billions expended by States and localities came from Federal grant money.

Before World War I, State and local revenues were supplied primarily by taxation of real and personal property, while the Federal Government had relied mainly on receipts fom customs duties and excises. Introduction of the income tax on a permanent basis in 1913 opened up a rich new source of Federal revenue, but initial rates on both individual and corporation income were set at low levels. From 1913 through 1916, Federal income tax receipts aggregated only $622 million.

American entry into the European war in April 1917 gave rise to extraordinary fiscal demands which were met in large part by boosting income tax rates. Revenue from this source in 1917 alone came to $2.8 billion,[7] or almost 5 times as much as had been collected in the 4 preceding years combined. Income tax collections soared in 1918 to $4.3 billion, a record not matched thereafter until 1941. The high tax rates necessitated by World War I were scaled down when peace returned; by 1924, Federal income tax receipts were down to only $1.6 billion.

State and local governments found themselves unable to cope with the problems caused by the economic depression of the 1930's. Property tax revenue, mainstay of State and local finance, fell off because of widespread payments delinquency; at the same time, demands for relief and welfare services grew increasingly urgent. As a result, the Federal Government was forced to support functions that had traditionally been the exclusive responsibility of States and localities.

Federal grants to State and local governments rose by 650 percent in 11 years, from $147 million in 1930 to $945 million in 1940. Most of the additional grant money was earmarked for welfare, relief, and public works. Under the Social Security Act of 1935, the Federal Government extended matching grants to the States for old-age assistance, aid to the blind, aid to dependent and crippled children, and maternal and child health.

Substantial increases were made in other types of Federal aid to the States. Highway grants mounted from $75 million in 1930 to $260 million in 1938; some $122 million of the latter amount came from emergency relief appropriations. Public Works Administration grants to State and local governments totaled $176 million in 1938. Annual grants for agricultural extension work and vocational education rose during the depression decade, while the Housing Act of 1937 authorized annual subsidies to local housing authorities.[8]

Despite the rise in overall Federal spending and Federal grants-in-aid during the 1930's, State and local governments continued to spend more than the National Government. As recently as 1940, State and local expenditures aggregated $11.2 billion, compared with Federal expenditures of $10.1 billion. American entry into World War II the following year reversed this balance; in 1944 the Federal Government spent $100.5 billion, or 10 times as much as all State and local governments combined.

From the end of the war in 1945 until 1950, State and local revenues rose along with a general expansion of the economy. Rapidly mounting property values brought a corresponding increase in local tax receipts. Many State levies imposed during the depression years became productive revenue sources, especially general sales and income taxes. Total State expenditures doubled between 1946 and 1950, and surpluses accumulated during the war evaporated as the backlog of needs was met and demands for news services arose.[9]

Tripling of Federal grants-in-aid in past decade

Although State and local spending has increased every year since the war, it has failed to keep pace with needs generated by population growth and changing technology. Urban areas, underrepresented in most State legislatures, have often complained that they receive considerably less in State aid than they contribute in State taxes. Accordingly, city officials have come to rely on Washington for help on such undertakings as slum clearance, urban renewal, air pollution control, airport construction, mass transportation, and metropolitan planning.[10]

Federal contributions to these and other State and local projects have resulted in a tripling of grants-in-aid in the past decade. Grants-in-aid aggregated $2.9 billion in fiscal 1953, or 8.6 percent of combined State and local revenues. In fiscal 1963, the latest year for which figures are available, Federal grants totaled $8.7 billion, or 11.6 percent of State and local revenues. Even with this massive transfusion of Federal aid, State and local governments have found it impossible to make ends meet. State and local indebtedness almost tripled between 1953 and 1963, rising from $33.8 billion to $87.5 billion. Since 1958, State and local debt has risen by $29 billion; the much larger Federal debt increased by the same amount in that period.

Diversity of Federal Government's aid programs

Federal grant-in-aid programs have grown so large that they have been described as constituting virtually a fourth sector of government. The annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury listed 65 different programs under which States and localities received grants from the Federal Government in fiscal 1963. There were, in addition, 52 programs under which Federal payments went directly to individuals within the States. Altogether, Federal grants to governments and individuals in 1963 came to $10.9 billion.

The biggest single grant program, accounting for one-third of all Federal aid to State and local governments in fiscal 1963, was the interstate highway program; total payments were $3 billion.[11] The 13 next most important programs, listed in declining order of expenditure, were public assistance, unemployment insurance, public health (research and services), food distribution, education, agricultural conservation, National Guard, public and rural housing and urban renewal, conservation practices, veterans' benefits, agricultural extension work, vocational

Footnotes at end of speech.

rehabilitation, and child care. Each of these broad categories of aid included two or more component programs.

State and local finances, 1953–63 [1]

[All dollar figures in millions]

Year	Expenditures	Revenues	Federal grants	Percent of revenue	Debt
1953	$32,937	$33,411	$2,870	8.6	$33,782
1954	36,607	35,386	2,966	8.4	38,931
1955	40,375	37,619	3,131	8.3	44,267
1956	43,152	41,692	3,335	8.0	48,868
1957	47,553	45,929	3,843	8.4	53,039
1958	53,712	49,262	4,865	9.9	58,187
1959	58,572	53,972	6,377	11.8	64,110
1960	60,999	60,277	6,974	11.6	69,955
1961	67,023	64,531	7,131	11.1	75,023
1962	70,547	69,492	7,871	11.3	81,278
1963	75,760	75,317	8,722	11.6	87,451

[1] Fiscal years.

Source: Bureau of the Census.

Formulas for allocating Federal grants vary both within and among programs. Public assistance grants, according to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, are "intended to provide the highest percentages of Federal participation to the low-income States, which generally have relatively large proportions of needy people and make relatively low assistance payments." Such programs in effect redistribute income from high-income to low-income States.

Other types of Federal aid, such as veterans' readjustment benefits, are distributed among the States largely according to their respective populations. Still another type of grant program tends to benefit certain States more than others because of regional differences. Agricultural conservation programs, for example, help Southern and Midwestern States more than those in other regions. On the other hand, heavily populated States are the principal recipients of urban renewal and public housing assistance.

A multitude of factors are taken into account in disbursing Federal grant money. For example, funds for primary, secondary, and urban roads (the so-called ABC system) are distributed as follows: one-third in the ratio of a State's rural population to total U.S. rural population in 1940; one-third in the ratio of a State's area to total U.S. area; one-third in the ratio of a State's rural delivery and star route mileage to all such mileage in the country. The allocation formula for interstate highway funds is even more complex. From fiscal 1957 through fiscal 1959, one-half of all interstate highway money was distributed according to population, and one-half according to the foregoing formula for ABC roads. The interstate formula has since been revised to take account of new cost estimates. States must match Federal grants for ABC roads dollar for dollar, but the Federal Government pays 90 percent of the cost of the Interstate System.

RESENTMENT AT FEDERAL MIXING IN STATE AFFAIRS

Many State officials have expressed apprehension over spreading Federal control of publicly financed programs at all levels of Government. Although the standards set forth in Federal grant-in-aid programs have served generally to upgrade the quality of State and local services, the feeling persists that valuable tax money is lost on the round-trip journey to and from Washington. Senator HARRY FLOOD BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, an outspoken critic of waste in Federal spending, has described grants-in-aid as "programs through which the Federal Government collects money from taxpayers in the respective States, clips it for 15 to 20 percent in overhead expenses, and then passes it back to the States on Federal formula with the strings of centralized government attached." [13]

Footnotes at end of speech.

It is sometimes said that Federal grant money does not always reach its intended destination. S. David Adler, superintendent of schools in Newton, N.J., last winter described alleged shortcomings of Federal aid to education as follows:

"The great pity of the National Defense Education Act and similar grants-in-aid is that the well administered school district which already has realized, through local effort, a fairly satisfactory expenditure level and a fairly satisfactory facilities base can provide the required secretarial services and administrative time requirements which are a prerequisite, enabling them to take advantage of the grants-in-aid.

"The poorly administered, inadequately equipped districts do not or cannot take advantage of this situation. We believe you will find that it is the wealthier, better organized, better equipped, and better housed school districts which have received the bulk of all Federal aid." [13]

On the other hand, Mayor William W. Maier of Milwaukee contends that "low-income States already have the advantage of lower wage and materials costs for given amounts of aid," so that "to further emphasize low-income areas in distributing such aids merely gives a double equalizing effect to aid programs." It is asserted also that States will sometimes apply for grants that they do not need so as to prevent other States from getting a disproportionate share of Federal funds.

STAYING POWER OF FEDERAL AID PROGRAMS

To replace present Federal grant-in-aid programs with State and local programs financed through shared tax revenue would be so difficult that it probably would not be attempted. Senator EDMUND S. MUSKIE, Democrat, of Maine, chairman of the Senate Government Operations Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, pointed out in an interview last winter that Federal programs tend, "once enacted, to go on and on, no matter how useful they may be, without a meaningful or consistent congressional reexamination of their effectiveness as instruments of intergovernmental cooperation." MUSKIE added that "The record shows that only 14 such programs have ever been terminated, in spite of numerous efforts in Congress to terminate or redirect particular ones." [14]

The Senator proposed a 5-year limit on the life of all grant-in-aid programs to insure periodic review of achievements under the programs. He suggested that it might be found, upon reexamination by Congress, that certain programs had outlived their usefulness and could therefore be terminated; others might be deemed in need of expansion.

It is usually difficult, however, to determine whether a grant-in-aid program ought to be eliminated. Persons engaged in administering a program acquire a vested interest in keeping it alive, and over the years their arguments have survived congressional scrutiny. One example is the program of Federal aid to vocational education, now in its 47th year. The fact that this program is still in operation proves that it is a failure, asserts James Rennie, Maryland budget officer, "or else we would not need to continue to encourage its establishment." Rennie is of opinion that both the Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 and the Manpower Training Act of 1962 "seem to have the same purpose"—alleviating unemployment. "It would seem either one or the other could be eliminated, but this has not happened." [15]

Despite their stated aversion to Federal supervision, State and local governments are loath to see a grant-in-aid program die. Federal grants provide a reliable source of income which States and localities would be hard put to duplicate. Moreover, the wages paid to administrative employees of grant programs sometimes constitute a sizable fraction of the total payroll in a community.

Results of the presidential and congressional elections last November 3 seemed to show, among other things, that pledges to curtail or eliminate Federal activities attract few votes. Senator Barry M. Goldwater, of Arizona, the Republican presidential nominee, evidently frightened voters in the upper South by suggesting that the Tennessee Valley Authority, or at least a part of that extensive public project, be sold to private interests. One reason for the defeat of Representative Bruce Alger, Republican, of Texas, was said to have been his unrelenting opposition to Federal aid for his district.

A more striking demonstration of the importance of Federal money to States and localities came on November 19, when Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara announced that 95 military installations in 33 States would be phased out of existence. Members of Congress from the affected States, many of whom had championed economy in government, denounced McNamara and promised to fight to keep the installations open. Governor Rockefeller predicted that closing of the Brooklyn Navy Yard would bring "unemployment, suffering, and hardship" to its 10,600 civilian employees.

Overlapping of taxes and spending at all levels

Soaring demand for public services of all kinds has resulted in overlapping of taxation and spending at every level of government. For almost half a century, the Federal Government has relied on the income tax for the largest part of its revenue, while State governments have relied increasingly—particularly since the 1930's—on sales and liquor as well as income taxes; property taxes continued to be an important source of local revenue. There was a rough division of responsibility also on the expenditure side; most Federal spending after 1945 was for defense and foreign activities, most State spending for highways and higher education, and most local spending for elementary and high school education.

More recently, the boundaries have become blurred. Property taxes now account, on the average, for only 43 cents of the local revenue dollar, as against 54 cents in 1940. Local governments have made up the difference by introducing various service charges and nonproperty taxes. No fewer than 13 States permit local sales taxes, and cities and counties have not hesitated to take advantage of this opportunity to obtain additional revenue.

Voters in Shelby County, Tenn., which includes Memphis, this year approved a local sales tax of 1 percent; the State government already had a sales tax of 3 percent. Virtually all cities and counties in California collect sales taxes, and the list of Illinois and Mississippi communities which do so is constantly growing. Virginia is unusual in that cities may impose a sales tax but counties may not. As a result, a number of financially hard-pressed cities in the State have avoided the sales tax for fear of losing retail business to surrounding counties.

When authorized to tax income, cities have jumped at the chance. About 80 cities in Ohio collect income taxes, although the State itself does not. Most municipal income taxes affect only payroll earnings of residents and of nonresidents whose jobs are within the city limits. A majority of States, however, prohibit local governments from duplicating any State tax; hence many cities and urban counties have no recourse to levies on income.

A study group appointed by President Eisenhower 7 years ago suggested a way to curtail overlapping of Federal and State taxes and expenditures. In a report made public December 5, 1957, the Joint Federal-State Action Committee urged that the States assume sole responsibility for four programs then costing the Federal Government about $105 million a year—vocational education, construction of waste treatment facilities, urban renewal planning, and re-

pair of public facilities damaged in natural disasters. The committee proposed that the Federal Government in return reduce the tax on local telephone service for 5 years from 10 to 6 percent in States levying a like 4 percent tax of their own. At the end of the 5-year period, the Federal tax would be reduced throughout the country to 6 percent and the States would be entirely on their own.

The proposals got a cool reception in Congress. Critics pointed out that the plan failed to consider differences in financial capacity among the States. To meet this objection, the committee put forward in September 1958 a revised plan calling for maintenance of the Federal telephone tax at 7 percent during the 5-year transition period, with revenue from the additional 1 percent to be divided among 31 lower income States. As in the original plan, the Federal tax would be reduced to 6 percent at the end of 5 years.

Again, the committee's recommendations made no headway in Congress. The Heller plan, far greater in scope, may be expected to remain in the discussion stage until such time as it may be given vigorous administration support. The record seems to show that Members of Congress are reluctant to let control of any tax revenue, or source of tax revenue, slip from their hands even if the States which they represent would benefit in the process.

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[1] Two years later, in July 1962, the Governors' conference adopted a resolution proposing that 5 percent of the proceeds of Federal individual income taxes collected in each State be turned back to help finance education within the State.

[2] The study group was headed by Joseph A. Pechman, director of economics at the Brookings Institution.

[3] Address before convention of County Officers Association of the State of New York, Kiamesha Lake, N.Y.

[4] Before World War II, when Federal taxes were much lower, a few States got back in dollar amounts more than all the Federal taxes they paid. Ratios of grants distributed in access of taxes paid ranged in 1930 from 119 percent in Montana up to 319 percent in Wyoming. A table showing taxes paid and Federal aid received in each State in 1930 may be found in "Federal Subsidies to the States," E.R.R., 1931, vol. 1, p. 13.

[5] See "Tax Loopholes," E.R.R., 1950 vol. I, pp. 94–99; also, "Tax Burdens and Tax-Free Securities," E.R.R., 1933 vol. I, pp. 59–78.

[6] The national average was $235 per capita.

[7] Including excess-profits tax receipts.

[8] See "Public Housing in War on Poverty," E.R.R., 1964 vol. II, pp. 523–540.

[9] See "State and Local Taxation," E.R.R., 1963 vol. I, pp. 107–124.

[10] See "Reapportionment Struggle," E.R.R., 1964 vol. II, pp. 717–719.

[11] See "Progress of the Road Program," E.R.R., 1960 vol. II, pp. 645–662.

[12] Remarks on Senate floor, June 5, 1962.

[13] "Local Leaders Tire of Federal Ties," Nation's Business, February 1964, p. 76.

[14] Ibid., p. 78.

[15] Ibid., p. 87.

Presidential Library Will Serve the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, the recent announcement that President Johnson plans to establish a Presidential Library at the University of Texas has stimulated an unusual amount of favorable editorial comment.

The following editorial printed in the August 13 Beaumont, Tex., Journal, is a significant example of this sentiment. It reflects in articulate fashion the importance of these libraries in the education of future leaders of our Nation. The editorial follows:

THE JOHNSON PAPERS

President Johnson's pride in his native Texas is reciprocated, in part, by the University of Texas which has accepted a proposal to provide a library to house the President's papers after he leaves the White House.

But more than pride is involved in the library. The papers will serve a practical purpose in the postgraduate training of future leaders in the increasingly important field of public service. Texas has contributed much to that field on a national level, and for the common good of the country. The library, we believe, will inspire a still greater contribution.

The Real Alabama—Part LI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, tourism and convention activity in the port city of Mobile are increasing with every year. There are several reasons, including the city's historic elements, its scenic beauty, good year-around climate, and excellent facilities.

For example, the city has recently completed one of the finest civic facilities in the Nation: a municipal auditorium and theater adjacent to one another costing more than $12 million to build.

The auditorium is circular in shape and is designed according to the most modern principles and standards. The main arena accommodates more than 10,000 persons for almost any kind of indoor activity such as trade shows, conventions, exhibitions, and pageants.

The same building also contains meeting rooms for groups ranging in size up to 750 persons. The catering facilities can serve up to 3,000 persons.

The theater building is separate and adjoins the auditorium. It accommodates concerts of the Mobile Symphony Orchestra and the Civic Music Association as well as stage shows, ballets, and other cultural events.

The seating capacity is 2,000, and the facilities include full professional stage equipment and dressing rooms.

The civic center is located very near to the center of town and is surrounded by open space and attractively landscaped.

These new facilities and other advantages led to a record in 1964 in convention dollars spent in the Mobile area. Indications are even better for 1965.

The people of Mobile show a continuing ability to extend a most courteous and gracious welcome to visitors. In addition, city and county officials and other community leaders are exerting a special effort to demonstrate the advantages of the Mobile area.

The Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce is extending many kinds of assistance and advice on a professional scale to demonstrate that Mobile can handle large meetings and other events.

TOURISM ACTIVITY

In addition, general tourist activity in the area is growing.

Mobile is one of the oldest cities in the Nation, which means an opportunity for current-day travelers to literally walk in the footsteps of history.

Besides the many historic homes and other sites in the city itself, there are numerous other nearby attractions including Fort Gaines and Fort Morgan.

Pleasure craft today can ply the same waters once sailed here by Pineda, Bienville, Jean Lafitte and Adm. David Farragut.

In the realm of more recent history lies the famed World War II battleship *Alabama*, now a State war memorial on the edge of the Tensaw River where the river divides the Mobile Bay Causeway.

Besides the historic sites, other tourist attractions in the Mobile area include Bellingrath Gardens and other widely known floral gardens, Dauphin Island, Gulf Shores, and numerous other facilities.

Also, tourists come here by the thousands each year to witness the nationally known Senior Bowl football game, the Azalea Trail, and to see or take part in the Mardi Gras festivities and the Alabama Deep Sea Fishing Rodeo.

America's Junior Miss Pageant, now nationally televised each year, is another mammoth tourist attraction.

Ford's Pique at L.B.J. Leads to Rashness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, the Houston Chronicle in a recent editorial expressed not only its opinion, but the opinion of most of the people in my area with regard to the recent statements of the minority leader. I believe this editorial deserves reprinting and therefore ask that it be placed in the RECORD:

[From the Houston Chronicle, Aug. 9, 1965]

FORD'S PIQUE AT L.B.J. LEADS TO RASHNESS

House Republican Leader GERALD FORD has demanded that the President ask Congress to declare war against North Vietnam.

He states that unless a formal declaration of war is made, the foundation will have been laid for surrender to the Communists.

We feel Mr. FORD's demand is childish and dangerous.

It is childish because it reflects Mr. FORD's pique in his personal feud with President Johnson. The President has kept his silence, refusing to be drawn directly into a clash with Mr. FORD (while admittedly questioning the conduct of "certain Republicans" he feels betrayed a confidence). However, the Republican leader has not been willing to let the matter drop. He neurotically asks if the President is accusing him of misconduct, and seeks to explain his actions to Mr. Johnson.

Mr. FORD's demand is dangerous because a declaration of war would jeopardize present attempts at negotiation. Such a declaration is superfluous. It would thrust this Nation deeper into the jungle of Asia than it cares to go, and would commit us to far more than either our national interests or honor require.

Mr. Johnson recognizes the danger of overextensions and inflexible positions. Mr. FORD appears not to grasp these difficulties.

Mr. FORD's personal scrap with the President is a little amusing, despite the dangers it holds. He asks: "Is it I? Is it I you're mad at?" The President says nothing. Mr. FORD shouts louder: "Is it I?" No one can really know for certain. But if the shoe fits Mr. FORD, he should wear it and take the pinch in stride.

The 75th Jubilee of the First Catholic Slovak Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK M. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to place in the RECORD the remarks of my good friend and constituent of Aliquippa, Pa., Michael J. Zahorsky, retired past supreme officer of Jednota, the First Catholic Slovak Union of the United States, on the occasion of the 75th jubilee of this society.

SEVENTY-FIFTH JUBILEE OF THE FIRST CATHOLIC SLOVAK UNION

The first Catholic Slovak union, a fraternal benefit society of Americans of Slovak descent, will observe its Diamond Jubilee marking the 75th year of their existence, in Washington on September 4, 1965.

The "Jednota," as the society is known, has made a most commendable contribution to our American society by its patriotic, civic, cultural, charitable, educational and religious sponsorships and actions since the first day of its founding in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, on September 4, 1890.

The Reverend Stephen Furdek founded the society and until his death, 25 years later, guided the hundreds of thousands of Slovak immigrants in their quest of a happier life in this great land of ours, the United States of America. The wonderful motto of the Jednota, "For God and Country," is very much reflected in the sacrifices, devotion and loyalty of the Slovak people to their adopted land in their finding of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness here.

The first Catholic Slovak union numbers over 105,000 members and its assets have reached $30 million. Well over $50 million in benefits have been paid its beneficiaries. The Jednota Home for orphaned children in Middletown, Pa., has reared thousands of children orphaned by loss of fathers in the early days of the great coal fields and steel mills of our country.

Thousands of its members have served in the Armed Forces of our country, and nearly 2,000 have made the supreme sacrifice in defense of their adopted country. Slovaks served under George Washington in the Revolutionary War. The War Between the States had its company of Slovak patriots. A few veterans, of the hundreds who fought in the Spanish-American War, are still with us, as are hundreds of veterans of World War I. The society's greatest contribution was in World War II when more than 14,000 of its members were in the Armed Forces of our country, this being approximately one of every third male member of the society and of those, more than 1,000 made the supreme sacrifice. More than 50,000 boys of Slovak descent served in the Armed Forces of World War II.

Attention is directed to the monument erected in honor of those valiant heroes who hoisted the flag of our country on the hill in Iwo Jima in the South Pacific in 1944—one of those boys was a member of the Jednota.

Much of the great amount of moneys given as donations and grants have benefited hundreds of institutions, churches, educational and cultural actions, and centers of the Slovak people.

In commemoration of the great history and this observance of its 75th anniversary, the First Catholic Slovak Union will dedicate a chapel to the Mother of Sorrows, the patroness of the Slovak people, at the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception on September 4, 1965.

As a fitting added tribute to the dedication and observance, a branch of the society was chartered in Washington, D.C., on Sunday, June 6, 1965, appropriately named the John F. Kennedy branch under the patronage of the Mother of Sorrows.

In recognition of the sacrifices of the pioneers of the society, the loyalty of its members to our Nation, and many contributions in the fulfillment of the aim and motto of their great benevolent society, we salute the First Catholic Slovak Union on this momentous occasion, their diamond jubilee.

Tax Sharing Offers Way To Solve State and Local Governments' Financial Woes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD a position paper of the Republican Governors' Association and the Ripon Society which outlines a new method to solve increasingly acute financial problems confronting many of our State and local governments.

This approach of sharing a significant portion of the Federal revenue with the States represent a real way to meet a problem that becomes more severe everyday. This paper merits the attention of every Member of Congress. It is now time for Congress to delve into the pros and cons of revenue sharing.

Furthermore I think all the Republican Governors should be congratulated for taking the constructive lead in proposing this plan to create a truly viable Federal system. The Governors have shown themselves to be imaginative, creative, and in keeping with the progressive tradition of our great party. It gives me great pleasure to introduce legislation to share tax revenues with the States for use in the field of elementary and secondary education. I hope the administration and my colleagues will support my bill and it will be considered as soon as possible.

The paper follows:

GOVERNMENT FOR TOMORROW: A PROPOSAL FOR THE UNCONDITIONAL SHARING OF FEDERAL TAX REVENUES WITH STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

(A research paper issued jointly by the Republican Governors' Association and the Ripon Society, July 1965)

FOREWORD

The Republican Governors' Association is delighted to have a major part in the task of preparing this paper. The association believes that the proposals incorporated in this research paper open exciting new vistas for accomplishment in intergovernmental relationships. We stand ready to cooperate with the States, with the President, and with the Congress in working out a detailed plan for the accomplishment of this salutary objective.

The proposal to share Federal tax revenues with the States is the first really workable suggestion for correcting a developing imbalance in the revenue structure of government at all levels to be advanced in many years.

Since the final draft of the paper was agreed to, the Western Governors' conference has unanimously approved the proposal for unconditional sharing of Federal tax revenues with the States. This wide bipartisan base of support insures sympathetic consideration by the National Governors' conference. On June 8, 1965, the Illinois State Senate approved senate Resolution No. 22 which added thhe support of that body to this proposal. Several other legislatures have endorsed the proposal.

The once friendly attitude of the President would seem to indicate that the proposal to share might yet be considered in an affirmative frame of reference in the executive establishment of the Federal Government.

The Republican Governors' Association desires to express its appreciation for the assistance of Dr. Carl McMurray of the association staff in the preparation of this paper and for the cooperation of the Ripon Society.

It is our hope that this will be the first of a series of productive papers on State government problems and on the problem of relationships between the States and the Federal Government. The preservation of our uniquely excellent federal system is important. Increasing emphasis on the important role of State government in that system will tend to strengthen the entire structure of government in its efforts to serve all of our people. Strong and effective State and local governments are the surest defense against the Democratic drive toward 'increased centralism in Washington.

ROBERT E. SMYLIE,
Chairman, Republican Governors' Association.

BOISE, IDAHO, *July 6, 1965.*

FOREWORD

We of the Ripon Society firmly believe that the Republican Governors and the new generation of Republican leaders in the States represent the real hope for the future of a new Republican Party. We believe that strengthening State and local governments will be one of the great challenges of a new and exciting era in our political history. And one of the first problem areas where Republicans must provide creative leadership is in finding adequate tax revenues for expanding State and local services.

For these reasons we are happy to have worked with the Republican Governors' Association and its staff in the preparation and circulation of this research paper. It is our sincere hope that this paper will promote discussion and interest in one of the few really new major policy ideas that has been advanced in recent years. Both Republicans and Democrats have had a part in its inception. We now ask the President to

welcome the efforts of the Nation's Governors—of both political parties—and to commit the full prestige, resources, and leadership of his office toward the achievement of a workable revenue-sharing program with the States. We feel this this study presents persuasive arguments for such a program.

As young Americans vitally concerned with the future strength of our governments—Federal, State, and local—we ask for a vision which sees beyond the years. The poet has said that boldness has genius, power, and magic in it. Now is a time for such boldness. We dare to believe that we can find practical solutions to the problems of our Federal system, that we can build government for tomorrow.

JOHN S. SALOMA III, *President*
The Ripon Society

WASHINGTON, D.C., *July 6, 1965.*

The Ripon Society wishes to thank Mr. Lee Heubner, member of the Ripon Executive Board and a graduate student in history at Harvard University, for his work in heading the Ripon research task force that prepared the working draft of this study. The society extends its appreciation to the Republican Governors' Association for its sponsorship of the research paper, and to Dr. Carl McMurray, of the association staff and Mr. Robert McCall, assistant to Governor Robert Smylie, for their assistance in preparing the final draft.

GOVERNMENT FOR TOMORROW

For a while it seemed as though everyone was for it. President Johnson and Senator Goldwater endorsed the idea in the closing days of the 1964 campaign. Both the Republican and Democratic platforms gave it favorable notice during the summer. The Conference of State Governors supported it enthusiastically.

Liberal economists and conservative Congressmen joined editorial writers and columnists of all persuasions in backing the proposal. The most popular version of the idea bore the name of the President's chief economic adviser, Dr. Walter Heller. A special Presidential task force, headed by Dr. Joseph Pechman of the Brookings Institution, gave formal approval after a detailed study.

The object of all this affection was the so-called Heller proposal to distribute some Federal income tax revenue to State governments on a "no strings" basis. Economist Robert Heilbroner described the plan as "that rarest of rarities—a really new idea in domestic economic policy." Edwin Dale, economics specialist for the New York Times wrote in the New Republic that it was "one of the most exciting ideas to hit Washington in years." Heller, then Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, began to publicize the idea in this country early in 1964. Republicans welcomed a plan which expressed the concern for State government which President Eisenhower and other leaders had urged for so many years. Support grew quickly and by December one editorial writer predicted that "it would seem to have at least a decent chance of winning congressional approval." [1]

But the prediction was never tested. For in mid-December the President did a bristling aboutface. He was irritated, he told reporters at a background conference, because the favorable recommendations of the Pechman task force had been leaked to certain newspapers. He was annoyed because the leak had generated criticism. Angrily, and without any reference to its merits, he shelved the proposal—its widespread support notwithstanding.

But it did not stay shelved. Journalists reminded the President of his campaign promises. "It deserved a better fate," the New York Times lamented, "at least a thorough airing." Economists continued to plug for it. "* * * [I]t seems a good bet that sooner or later someone will discover its merits," wrote Heilbroner. Later in March, the Nation's Governors prodded the President one more time. Republican Gov. Robert Smylie of Idaho announced that the Governors had asked the President to permit a new study of the Heller plan. They were told that the idea was under review in the Bureau of the Budget. There it languishes today.[2]

For reasons which are developed in this paper, the Republican Governors' Association and Ripon Society support the revenue sharing proposal. We believe that the idea should be judged on its merits and not removed from the realm of public discussion because of personal peevishness on the part of the President. It is our hope that President Johnson will rise above his pique and permit the resources of the Executive Office and the Pechman task force, in full cooperation with the Nation's Governors, to begin fashioning a workable legislative proposal for revenue distribution to the States.

GOVERNMENT FOR TOMORROW: OPPORTUNITY AND CRISIS

We live in an era when events threaten to outrace our ability to respond to them. Too much of present-day politics is caught up in the rhetoric of the 1930's while the accelerated pulse of life requires that we develop dramatic new solutions to the problems of today and those of the 1970's and 1980's. The United States is entering upon a period of political turbulence, in which a new and much younger population will confront issues which are different in kind and in scope from those of the past generation. They are the sort of problems which convince us that the exciting new area of political action, the great new opportunity for boldness and creativity and innovation, will be found more and more at the State and local level.

Consider the most dramatic challenges. "[T]he focus of domestic politics," Peter Drucker has written recently, "is likely to shift to two new areas: the metropolis and the school." The cities, he argues "are rapidly becoming unliveable * * *. But long before we can hope to come to grips with the city as a human environment we will have to come to grips with the city as a government. And the need is desperate. Within a few years three-quarters of the American people will live in a fairly small number of metropolitan areas, fewer than 200."

As for education:

"Five to eight years from now, around 50 percent more students should be in American colleges than there are today * * *. Altogether our society will be school centered * * *. At least one-third of the American people will be in school a few years hence * * *. Teachers are already the largest single occupational group in the country.[3]

Exploding population, rapid urbanization, higher prices and advanced technology are placing enormous pressures on State and local governments. The country is growing by some 8,000 persons every day and as Life magazine said in an editorial last December, "The States have had to bear the full brunt of the population explosion." [4] In fact, vast new sums are necessary if even the most ordinary, ongoing functions are to be adequately maintained. Programs such as education, fire and police protection, streets and highways, health and sanitation, recreation, welfare, water, and transportation must not be cut back. Nor can we safely allow control of such concerns to slip further into Federal hands.

The States and localities do not want to curtail or surrender these responsibilities. That is why they have increased their budgets to twice the level of Federal domestic expenditures. That is why they have doubled their employment over the past 13 years so that it is now three times that of the Federal civilian level. And yet, the States and localities face a crisis. For at a moment when the future is rushing in upon them with such remarkable speed, they are victims of a financial resource base which is decades out of date.

All too often headlines announce that the States must "Live on Crumbs": that they are "Frantic for Cash." [5] The pressure of rising costs distorts the whole pattern of State and local performance. Officials are constantly preoccupied with fiscal crises. Mayors and Governors are repeatedly evaluated by their ability to wriggle out of one financial squeeze after another. A vicious circle is promoted which produces low esteem for State and local capacities. Ironically, this loss of prestige is occurring during a period when State leaders have shown a remarkable willingness to undertake new responsibilities. Problems result not from lack of will but from lack of money. The effect, as Governor Rockefeller has said, is that, "Our Federal system—and the basic concept of responsive government close to the people—is threatened as never before." [6]

THE VIRTUES OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

We dare not let this threat continue. For vigorous government at the State and local levels has several indispensable values.

1. A decision is made more rationally when those who make it must live directly with its consequences. As Prof. Otto Eckstein of the Council of Economic Advisers phrases it, there is "a greater coincidence between the distribution of benefits and costs." [7]

2. A multiplicity of State and local governments creates the possibility of a choice by citizens and forces each government to face the test of comparison with others.

3. Decentralized government permits a variety of values, protecting legitimate minority and regional interests. A widely diversified people need not submit to a single pattern of public life.

4. Innovation and experimentation are fostered by small-scale government. What works well in one setting can spread from State to State as many new ideas did early in the 19th century and during the progressive era.

5. Healthy State and local government increases citizen participation and reduces the sense of political alienation.

6. State and local governments can provide a source of strength for the party which is out of power at the national level and thus contribute to meaningful two-party politics.

7. Social and economic complexities can often be most easily untangled by State and local units. We repudiate the myth that an increasingly complex society always requires increasingly centralized government. Sometimes new domestic problems call for solutions which can be developed most effectively at the national level. But, the administration of the solutions to these problems can often be managed most efficiently on the local level. We reaffirm our belief that modern society requires flexible, pluralistic government.

Let us admit that we are speaking without apology in defense of a Federal system; we are not speaking against the Federal Government. We believe that we cannot seize the future unless the various orders of government become allies rather than enemies. As former President Eisenhower said last June, "The better the States do their job, the better the chance that the Federal Government will cooperate properly and effectively with them. * * *" [8] To do this "better job" the States need new sources of revenue.

RISING COSTS

Let us consider the way in which the bills have been piling up. Eighteen years is not a long time, yet State and local expenditures in 1964 were six times greater than they were in 1946. State and local outlays for educa-

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tion alone increased from $3 billion at the end of World War II to $22 billion last year. In 1964 State and local governments spent a total of $65 billion—twice as much as the Federal Government spent on domestic program. Over the past 10 years, State and local expenditures have risen at 8 percent a year—twice as fast as gross national product. Let no one say that States have not moved to meet increased demands.[9]

But the dizzying pace is just beginning. This spring State Governors requested budget increases totaling $5.44 billion over the previous biennium. The Council of State Governments has recently estimated that the States must raise $2 billion by 1970 in addition to what is now in sight—solely for higher education. Total educational outlays are expected to more than double in the next 7 years. Health and sanitation costs will increase 2½ times, housing and community development expenses will be 10 times the present level. Economists estimate that State and local governments, which spent $65 billion last year, will be spending $82 billion by 1967, $100 to $120 billion by 1970, and as much as $155 billion just 9 years from now in 1974. By that time they will have far outstripped Federal expenditures for domestic, military, and foreign policy purposes combined.[10]

But the sad fact is that present financial resources are not abundant enough to meet these needs. Nor do they show promise for sufficient expansion in the future. Indeed, almost every imaginable tax resource has already been subjected to increasing and often undesirable pressures. State taxes alone have gone from $4.9 billion in 1946 to $24.2 billion in 1964, an average increase of over a billion dollars a year. A sharp jump in 1963 produced a hike in property taxes of 7.3 percent over the previous year; sales taxes went up 8.7 percent, corporate and individual income taxes rose 7.5 and 6.3 percent respectively—all in 1 year. In 1964, State tax increases siphoned off one-third of the $6.5 billion Federal tax cut. Despite warnings from economists, a bewildering variety of consumption, payroll, and service taxes have appeared at the local level from Detroit to Oakland, Fairbanks to Mobile, Los Angeles to Baltimore. Over 40 cities have recently imposed motel and hotel taxes in an effort to shift their burdens to nonresidents. In a frantic search for additional revenues, New Hampshire has instituted a sweepstakes.[11]

The end is not in sight. Twenty-six Governors have asked for tax increases this past spring and many of those who are relying on larger yields from present taxes have warned their legislatures that tax hikes are a future necessity.[12] Yet there is evidence that traditional taxes have already reached the limits of desirable expansion. Let us examine more closely the current status of the income tax, the property tax and the sales tax.

THE LIMITS OF CURRENT TAX SOURCES

Of all revenues, only the income tax expands quickly with the growing economy. Yet only 12 percent of State and local moneys are drawn from this source. Governors in nine States are presently seeking income tax revisions to produce much heavier yields.[13] While we applaud their courage, we emphasize that State income taxes cannot solve the problems. The distinguished economist, John Due, explains why in his noted textbook, "Government Finance":

"The possibility of migration of the tax base is the economic consideration of primary importance. Whenever migration is relatively easy, attempts to tax will yield little revenue and will produce economic effects particularly adverse to the taxing jurisdiction. * * * Heavy State taxation of income may induce some persons to leave the State. * * * Income taxes can, without question, be administered most effectively and with least migration of economic activity by the Federal Government."[14]

Professor Due goes on to point out that on the State level actual migration is not as great a problem as is the threat of migration on political leaders. Cutthroat competition for industry and labor makes it extremely difficult to raise income taxes at the State level. In Oregon 2 years ago, the voters refused an income tax which was strongly supported by education leaders, labor officials, both houses of the legislature, and the Governor. New Jersey, Michigan, South Dakota, and Vermont all refused to approve income tax revisions last year. Several States have constitutional limitations on nonproperty taxes.[15]

Even if income taxes could be increased, interjurisdictional and other administrative problems make this an inefficient levy. Evasion on the one hand and double taxation on the other create serious problems. State income tax machinery duplicates that of the Federal Government, needlessly and inefficiently. Moreover, when State increases are added to Federal income taxes, the overall tax structure can become illogical and excessive for some taxpayers.

The property tax is more appropriate for State-local use but economists generally agree that it has been overused and cannot be raised much higher. It presently accounts for 45 percent of State and local income.[16] Property taxes are often inequitable in that they apply to only one kind of wealth. Vast nonproperty resources can escape taxation while the unfortunate property owner cannot even obtain an adjustment for debt outstanding against his property. An unjust and painful burden falls on homeowners with small current incomes—retired persons and widows are particularly hard hit and often lack cash to pay taxes on homes they bought years before. The property tax can also be highly regressive; it is tied to housing expenditures which are typically regressive relative to income.

Many State and local governmental units are presently looking to the sales tax to get them out of fiscal trouble. Thirty-seven States now have sales taxes. In three more (New York, Massachusetts, and Idaho) Governors asked their legislatures to add such levies this year. In 10 States, Governors requested sales tax increases and extensions in 1965. Selective levies are also popular. For example, 12 States this year considered increases in cigarette taxes—from 3 cents to 8 cents a pack in California, 5 cents to 10 cents in New York, 4 cents to 8 cents in Illinois and so on. Gasoline taxes run very high. Thirteen States allow further city sales taxes and these too have climbed.[17]

Again, consumption taxes in many areas have gone about as high as they can go. Some States have constitutional barriers and in all States 5 percent is seen as the upper reasonable limit. Moreover, the sales tax is a regressive instrument and tolerable only when it is a relatively small part of an overall progressive structure. It favors those who can save; it places a burden on large families. It can produce pressure for inflationary wage increases, but more often it discourages consumption and investment and thus has a deflationary effect. Selective taxes can change buying patterns when they get too high. Local taxes can drive consumers to the suburbs. Sales taxes are useful within limits but the limits are rapidly being approached.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE SQUEEZE

The sad truth of State and local finance is that costs are rising faster than revenues. The consequences of this squeeze are evident on every hand.

Dramatic evidence of the growing disparity between government responsibilities and government resources is found in the enormous increase in State and local debt. From a $15.9 billion level in 1946, public indebtedness at the State and local level had almost doubled by 1952 when it reached $30 billion. In the thirteen years since then, State and local debt has tripled, an average increase of more than $4½ billion per year. Approximately $90 billion is outstanding today.[18]

Fiscal problems have also created political blight. Former Republican Gov. John Anderson, of Kansas, recently described the problem before the Committee for Economic Development:

The rate of "tax mortality" among State and local political leaders is very high. A Governor or mayor must raise taxes in order to meet his increasing responsibilities but he is often voted out of office for doing so. Were he to choose to cut services rather than to raise taxes, he would also be likely to get kicked out.[19]

"Tax mortality" was evident in the last off-year elections in 1962 when 13 incumbent Governors were ousted. Tax policy was a major issue in every State election in 1962 and 1964, and it is already apparent that taxation will again be a major issue in the 36 gubernatorial races in 1966.

Unfortunately impoverished State governments have sometimes been forced to abandon or limit needed programs. More often, however, they have managed to raise taxes, increase debt, or—what is perhaps most significant—look to Washington, D.C., for help.

FEDERAL AID FILLS THE GAP

The Federal Government has been ready to fill the gap. In just the last 11 years, Federal aid to the States has almost quadrupled. It stood at $2.7 billion in 1954; it amounts to approximately $11 billion this year, about 15 percent of State and local general revenues. In his 1964 text, American Intergovernmental Relations, W. Brooke Graves discusses the immense problems he had in trying to just compile a list of all Federal grant programs. His roster stretches for 22 pages; two-thirds of the entries have been added since 1930. The need for many of these programs has long since disappeared, Professor Graves argues, yet specific grants do not diminish; they multiply.[20]

Last year's Republican platform pledged "critical reexamination and major overhaul of all Federal grant-in-aid programs." In 1961, the highly respected Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations became so alarmed about entrenched and useless programs that it recommended that each grant program be automatically terminated 5 years after its establishment unless specifically continued at that time. The Commission, a bipartisan body which includes Cabinet officers, Congressmen, and local officials, has recognized that "there is nothing so permanent as a temporary grant-in-aid." "It becomes a going concern," writes political scientist William G. Carleton. "[V]ested interests are created, the controversial becomes customary, and the opposition vanishes."[21]

Almost all informed observers agree that the thick underbrush of Federal grant programs wastes money on outdated operations while real needs are unmet. What is even more reprehensible is that the States are forced to reproduce Federal errors and to match Federal blunders. Present "conditional" grants-in-aid give Washington important controls over State and local budgeting. Public officials find it difficult to turn down Federal money. Yet the requirement that States match Federal funds forces them to forego other activities which are often more important. Many Governors have spoken ruefully of "those armories we really didn't need," yet built because "we could get them relatively cheaply." The Reporter magazine has pointed out that "poor States in particular feel obliged to put a disproportionate share of their funds into federally matched programs such as highways and air-

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ports, rather than into such unaided programs as fire and police protection." The result, writes Professor Due, is that "the overall budget may be substantially different from that which would most satisfactorily meet the desires of the community." He warns of "a precedent for posible drastic interference with the functions of the States." [22]

Furthermore, as the fiscal squeeze tightens, States and localities are tied financially to these outdated programs and they are unable to find matching funds for the more important new Federal grants. For this reason job retraining programs will be endangered when a matching requirement becomes effective this summer. When the executive committee of the Governors conference endorsed the Heller plan last year, this was one of its most telling arguments.[23]

Conditional grants also involve severe administrative problems. Former President Eisenhower has described "the cloying effects of Federal subsidies which invariably are accompanied by an overbearing Federal bureaucracy * * *." Facts and testimony support his description. Direct overhead costs alone are pegged at 16 percent. State officials must frequently wrangle with Federal bureaucrats over the substance of essentially local programs, and they almost always lose to the pressure from the purse. No matter how clearly the language of the law appears to support their position, it is virtually impossible for States to obtain judicial review of such administrative actions. Michigan, Oregon, and South Dakota have experienced recent frustrations of this sort. Intricate and petty Federal rules have come under increasing fire. Just last November, the Advisory Commission in Intergovernmental Relations warned of "points of friction in Federal-State relations in the administration of public assistance." Pointing to examples of self-defeating regulations and needless red tape, the Commission recommended that Federal controls be "kept to a minimum." Governor Anderson summarizes well our whole discussion of present grants-in-aid when he says, "We are approaching the limits of manageability in the variety and complexity of Federal grant programs * * *. Many thoughtful people are coming to the conclusion that there must be simpler and better ways of making future Federal funds available to the States." [24]

A BETTER ANSWER

What can be done to ease the fiscal crisis in States and localities? Taxes can be reformed and adjusted, credit can be strengthened and extended, Federal aids can be reviewed and streamlined. But none of these options can give more than limited relief. Without more dramatic help it is likely that State functions will continue to slip away under the enormous pressures of the next two decades.

But our search for a "simpler and better way" is not without hope. For in dramatic contrast to the bleak fiscal picture at the local and State level, the Federal Government today faces the prospect of increasing revenues. Because the Federal tax structure is highly responsive to economic growth, prosperity generates ever-increasing tax returns. There is expectation that these revenues will soon begin to exceed expenditures. Unless this margin is returned to the economy, observers fear it will act as an automatic "brake" on national growth. Walter Heller (along with James M. Tobin and Budget Director Kermit Gordon) began to sound an alarm about "fiscal drag" soon after he arrived in Washington in 1961. (He had spoken of it even before the 1960 election.) His concern helped to bring about last year's tax cut, but even that did not sufficiently limit "the Federal suction machine." In 1964 Heller pointed to a $6 billion annual increase in Federal tax revenue and suggested that a part of it be funneled back into the economy through unrestricted grants to the States. This procedure would serve the dual purpose of stimulating the economy across the whole range of 50 States and, consequently, pump funds into the existing sources of State revenues.[25]

The ironic truth of the matter is that where the needs are greatest, current revenue is smallest. The States and localities bear the brunt of the population boom, but the Federal Government reaps the fruits of the new prosperity. State revenues are embarrassingly small; Federal revenues are embarrassingly large. This condition is a direct result of the fact that most revenues can be collected with the highest degree of effectiveness by the Federal Government. It produces massive Federal intrusion into essentially local concerns, the values of local planning and administration notwithstanding.

It is our belief that this logic is not inevitable. We dare to believe that we can have the best of both worlds—the efficiencies of centralized taxation and the advantages of decentralized expenditure. By using existing State facilities for the allocation of these funds to a variety of public services, we would also curtail the monumental growth of the Federal bureaucracy with its duplication of services and conflicting jurisdictions. More money would go into services and less into bureaucratic overhead. It is for these reasons that we urge the adoption of a revenue-sharing proposal such as the Heller plan.

THE SHARING OF TAX REVENUES—SOME DETAILS

It was just 6 days before the presidential election that the White House issued the following description of a revenue-sharing program.

"In line with the Democratic platform this administration is moving ahead on development of fiscal policies which would provide revenue sources to hard-pressed State and local government sources to assist them with their responsibilities.

"At the State and local level we see responsibilities rising faster than revenues, while at the Federal level an average annual revenue growth of some $6 billion provides a comfortable margin for Federal tax reduction, Federal programs, and more generous help to State and local units.

"The National Government, as a constructive partner in a creative Federal state, should help restore fiscal balance and strengthen State and local governments by making available for their use some part of our great and growing Federal tax revenues over and above existing aids.

Intensive study is now being given to methods of channeling Federal revenue to States and localities which will reinforce their independence while enlarging their capacity to serve their citizens.

The very next day Senator Goldwater urged that the Federal Government "give back to the States a share of the taxes collected from them." [26]

This dual endorsement marked the high point of a long search for an effective way to help the States. Republicans like Senator Robert Taft and then Congressman J. Caleb Boggs were leaders in that search in the later 1940's. President Eisenhower sponsored important commissions and investigations during his administration but was able to achieve little substantive reform. The pressures of budgetary surplus in the 1960's have finally turned an old dream into a very real possibility.[27]

What the presidential candidates described in general terms, the Pechman task force worked out in detail. It reportedly suggested a 1-percent return on all income tax revenues, a sum which would total $2.5 billion this year and $3.5 billion by 1970. The money would enter a trust fund—so as to keep it out of the Federal budget. It would be given in the form of an unconditional grant, subject only to basic prohibitions such as bans on construction of highways or public buildings. Most of the money (two-thirds) would be distributed according to population, the rest according to State needs.[28]

We would indicate here that many details can be worked out when a more specific plan is presented. For example, a part of the aid could be explicitly earmarked for local governments. Basic prohibitions can guard against flagrant misuse or racial discrimination. Governor Anderson has spoken of requiring a "well-developed spending plan," on the State level. Distribution formulas can be negotiated so as to achieve an acceptable and balanced program. Our endorsement is not affected by these specifics. The case we make can be applied to several variations of the plan—including the approach which was written into the Republican platform last summer. It called for credit against Federal taxes for specified State and local taxes paid. It is enough to note that our States have for years used a variety of methods for sharing tax revenues with local governments, and the experiences of the States should provide useful guidelines for the development of a Federal program.[29]

In drawing up a specific proposal, we would do well to examine the experience of countries like Canada and Australia which have made use of the "block" or "unconditional" grant to the provinces for some time. In Australia the process is fairly automatic. In Canada it is subjected to considerable negotiation every renewal period. But even there, says Professor Eckstein, it has "worked fairly well." The last American experience with large unconditional grants came in 1837 when a $37 million surplus from the sale of public lands was distributed to the States. The assumption of State debts in 1790 was another precedent.[30]

Whatever its final form, the revenue sharing concept will help State and local units resolve a dangerous situation. It will enable them to serve the public without further burdening an exhausted tax base. It will not eliminate conditional grants but it will help those who seek to reform them. The grim threat of tax mortality and public penury will be relieved, resulting in governments of higher quality and greater stability. Commonweal magazine put it this way in an editorial last Christmas Day: "The Heller plan, properly administered, could improve the States performance and awaken at least some of the popular interest necessary to make the system work. For arousing the people's attention there is nothing like a gift of $100 million or so." [31]

CAN WE TRUST THE STATES?

We cite this effect on State performance and State morale as part of our answer to critics of the plan. For by and large their objections boil down to a single cry: "We just don't trust the States." Often the cry comes from well-established Washington lobbyists who fear they will lose their influence. It also springs from entrenched administrators who would rather see more money in their own aid programs.

And some "anti-State" opposition comes from those who have lost historical perspective, who forget the States have often led the Federal Government in their willingness to change, to experiment, and to meet new problems. Many people also forget that even today the States and localities spend twice as much domestically and employ three times as many civilians as does the Government in Washington. In fact, Federal employment has fallen from 2.6 to 2.5 million since 1952 while State and local payrolls have gone from 4 to 8 million in the same period. We should not forget that scarcity of funds has not prevented the development of persuasive

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examples of good State and local government in the fields of education, regional and local planning, and social welfare.[32] Many straws are in the wind; they indicate that the States are in a position to make great advances. Nothing could be more effective than a revenue sharing program in accelerating these programs, and in reestablishing vital State government as a creative partner in a flexible Federal system. "If we are serious about the idea of creative federalism," says Dr. Heller, "now is the time to do something constructive about it."[33]

We would emphasize the fact that a revenue-sharing program would not in any way reduce the ability of the Federal Government to play a creative role in meeting national problems. We are not asking that all of our problem-solving eggs be placed in one basket, State or Federal. Let us look at one example. In the sense that the war on poverty is a real war, it is an all-out "crash" program which attempts to discover and eliminate basic social problems. Everyone hopes that the war will be won; no one plans that it will last forever. The Heller plan will not limit the ability of the Federal Government to fight that war; it may foster some much-needed help on the State and local level. But in the sense that poverty is a persistent and unending threat, we battle against it everyday in our schools, our hospitals, our social centers. These institutions will never close, nor will our police and fire stations, our highway and welfare offices, our water filtration plants. Their wars will never be won. The revenue-sharing plan will give the States and localities the wherewithal to more adequately finance these programs—often humdrum and often taken for granted. Those who "just don't trust the States" would do well to reflect on just how much trust all of us must place in State and local government every day.

THE HOUR IS LATE

To those who suggest that Federal surpluses should be used to cut taxes, to increase Federal spending, or to reduce the national debt, we would point out that all of these ends could be pursued—the margin will probably be large enough to accommodate many desires. But we thing the revenue-sharing idea more important than any of them.

Finally we would direct one comment to those who fear that the Heller plan would mean further incursions upon State prerogatives, that revenue will mean control no matter how unconditional the original grant. It would be foolish to deny that this possibility exists, but it would be equally foolish to let the matter rest there. The choice we face is not between State dollars and Federal dollars, but between Federal dollars which bear a vast array of strings and conditions—and revenues which are relatively unburdened. Only the latter alternative can now rescue us from the former. And the hour is late.[34]

Above all we appeal to Americans for a vision which sees beyond the years—beyond the realities of today and into the possibilities of tomorrow. What will our Federal system look like then? Critics from the left are convinced of Federal virtues and are suspicious of the States; critics from the right defend local government and are suspicious of Washington. But mutual suspicions must not be allowed to produce a deadlock. This country will not be governed well, her problems will not be met, unless government is alive and active and responsible at every level.

No single order of government can be fully effective unless it has the respect and cooperation of governments at all other levels. The revenue-sharing proposal grows out of an awareness that the Federal and State Governments need each other. It will depend for its effectiveness upon their capacity to respect each other.

We must act now. For in the last third of the 20th century, this country will face unparalleled challenges. They can become unparalleled opportunities—but only if we confront them with sensitivity and flexibility, with firmness and with understanding. We must seek these qualities in men and in ideas—and we must embody them in programs and in institutions.

The revenue-sharing proposal can help to prepare our political system to meet the onward rush of events. It can help us to put into practice all that we mean when we speak of "cooperative federalism." It can help us to build government for tomorrow.

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[1] Robert Heilbroner, "The Share-the-Tax-Revenue Plan," New York Times magazine, Dec. 27, 1964, p. 8; Edwin L. Dale, Jr. "Subsidizing the States," the New Republic, Nov. 28, 1964, p. 11; Commonweal, Dec. 25, 1964, p. 437.

[2] New York Times, Dec. 21, 1964, p. 28; Heilbroner, New York Times magazine, p. 31; New York Times, Mar. 23, 1965, pp. 14 and 16.

[3] Peter F. Drucker, "American Directions: a Forecast," Harper's, February 1965, pp. 40–42.

[4] Life, Dec. 18, 1964, p. 4.

[5] John Anderson, "Can the States Live on Crumbs," Saturday Review, Jan. 9, 1965, p. 31; U.S. News & World Report, Sept. 17, 1964, pp. 79–80. Former Governor Anderson's remarks were originally given before the Committee for Economic Development, Washington, D.C., Nov. 19, 1964.

[6] Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, remarks prepared for delivery at luncheon, City Club of Portland, Portland, Oreg.; Apr. 17, 1964. Unpublished press release.

[7] Otto Eckstein, Public Finance (Engelwood Cliffs, N.J., 1964), p. 34.

[8] Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, address to 56th Governors' conference, reported in the New York Times, June 9, 1964, p. 24. General Eisenhower went on to say: "Our best protection against bigger government in Washington is better government in the States * * *. Time and again over the earlier years of my administration, I had met with State Governors, singly and in groups. Invariably we agreed on the theory of returning more power, more responsibility more tax revenue to the States. In practice, however, difficulties—sometimes apparently insuperable—always presented themselves."

[9] These statistics are drawn from three of the best recent articles on the Heller proposal by Heilbroner, Dale, and Anderson—cited above. See also the very excellent report of Alan L. Otten and Charle B. Seib, "No-String Aid for the States?", the Reporter, Jan. 28, 1965, pp. 33–35.

[10] An excellent report on current State expenditures and budget requests is a two-part series by Edgar M. Mills, "State Living Costs Rise, Too," Christian Science Monitor, Apr. 8, 1965, pp. 1 and 4 and Apr. 10, 1965, p. 11; New York Times, Apr. 11, 1965, p. 29; Rockefeller Portland Speech—cited above.

[11] See note 9. Also U.S. News & World Report, Apr. 20, 1964, p. —, Sept. 14, 1964, pp. 79–80; and Nov. 30, 1964, pp. 95–96.

[12] Mills, Christian Science Monitor, Apr. 8, 1965, pp. 1 and 4.

[13] Anderson, Saturday Review, p. 32; Mills, Christian Science Monitor, Apr. 10, 1965, p. 11.

[14] John F. Due, Government Finance, an Economic Analysis (Homewood, Ill., 1959), p. 68. Much of our analysis of current tax mechanisms is drawn from Professor Due's discussion.

[15] U.S. News & World Report, Oct. 28, 1963, pp. 102–104; and Nov. 30, 1964, pp. 95–96.

[16] Anderson, Saturday Review, p. 32.

[17] Mills, Christian Science Monitor, Apr. 10, 1965, p. 11.

[18] Heilbroner, New York Times magazine, p. 8; Otten and Seib, Reporter, p. 34.

[19] Anderson, Saturday Review, p. 31.

[20] Business Week, Sept. 19, 1964, p. 112; Anderson, Saturday Review, p. 31; W. Brooke Graves, American Intergovernmental Relations (New York, 1964), pp. 569–571, 932–954.

[21] "For the People," Republican platform, 1964; Graves, American Intergovernmental Relations, pp. 811–812; Anderson, Saturday Review, p. 32; William G. Carleton, "Centralization and the Open Society," Political Science Quarterly, June 1960, pp. 244–259.

[22] Otten and Seib, Reporter, p. 35; Due, Government Finance, p. 479.

[23] Otten and Seib, Reporter, p. 35.

[24] Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Why I Am a Republican," Saturday Evening Post, Apr. 11, 1964, p. 17; Wall Street Journal, Nov. 17, 1964, p. 12; Anderson, Saturday Review, p. 32.

[25] See note 9 above. Also U.S. News & World Report, May 11, 1964, p. 36 and Sept. 14, 1964, p. 62.

[26] New York Times, Oct. 28, 1964, p. 59 and Oct. 29, 1964, p. 19.

[27] For an excellent discussion of the ups and downs of the search for a greater state role see Graves, American Intergovernmental Relations, pp. 783–929.

[28] See note 9.

[29] Anderson, Saturday Review, p. 77; Republican Platform, 1964; Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, "A Staff Analysis of Six Alternative Ways of Distributing a Federal Surplus," Washington, D.C., Dec. 15, 1964.

[30] James A. Maxwell, "Issues in Tax Credits and Intergovernmental Relations," Brookings Research Report No. 3, the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., passim; Eckstein, Public Finance, p. 42. For an incisive discussion of Canadian "block" grants, see Due, Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations, pp. 482–84.

[31] Commonweal, Dec. 25, 1964, p. 437.

[32] Wall Street Journal, Nov. 17, 1964, p. 12. For a typical example of the "antistate" criticism, see Christopher Jencks, "Why Bail Out the States?" New Republic, Dec. 12, 1964, p. 8.

[33] Heilbroner, New York Times Magazine, p. 33.

[34] Professor Graves has summarized our case well when he writes on p. 911 of American Intergovernmental Relations: "The American Federal system has served the people well for nearly 200 years. It has great elements of strength. It has survived crises in the past and will, in all probability, survive others in the future. But there is no assurance that it will always continue to do so unless statesmanlike solutions are found—and found quickly—to meet new problems arising out of an almost completely different set of social and economic conditions under which it must operate now and in the future.

"Chief among these is the preservation, not of State's rights or of home rule in the conventional sense, but of strong and effective State and local governments as an alternative to an almost unlimited centralization of power. The time may be later than we think."

Other Side of the Coin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the many explanations, rationalizations, and recriminations aris-

ing out of the disgraceful Los Angeles riots, I think it is important to record the views of George S. Schuyler, associate editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, as published in the Columbus, Ohio, Dispatch, on August 20, 1965.

[From the Columbus Dispatch, Aug. 20, 1965]

NEGRO EDITOR SAYS CIVIL RIGHTERS MUST BLAME THEMSELVES FOR RIOTS

(By George S. Schuyler)

(George S. Schuyler, associate editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, a reporter and editor for various Negro newspapers and magazines for over 40 years, is one of the best known Negro intellectuals in America. He has long believed that Negro Americans, in their own interest, should be conservatives rather than radicals in U.S. politics, and that they have been led astray by "power-hungry" civil rights leaders. In this article, he has been given complete freedom to present his unusual point of view as to what's behind the Negro riots.)

NEW YORK.—The current crop of anti-white disturbances, like those in the past, is the inevitable consequence of the increasing competition between rival civil rights groups led by career agitators vying for the profits of organized pandemonium. Never have so many innocent people been betrayed by so few for so little.

There are as many different kinds of Negroes as there are white people, and most of them deplore the bad reputation they have been given by the excesses of the agitational and criminal elements of their so-called race. They respect life and property. They own millions of homes, automobiles and modern utensils and do not cram the jails.

Like their white peers, they are eager to live in peace. They have no illusions about the marching, mobbing, picketing, vandalizing Negro element. They know there is a lot of law in the end of a policeman's nightstick, and they want it used.

Above all, these Negroes wish white people in authority would stop flattering and encouraging the sorceror's apprentices leading astray the mentally retarded and criminally bent black minority.

Utilizing the traditional techniques of spontaneous disorder, well known to Communists, Nazis and other political perverts, the self-appointed leaders of the Negro revolution have for years recklessly incited young Negroes to mass action inside (and often outside) the urban Negro enclaves.

In turn they have denounced police brutality, the white power structure, residential segregation, de facto segregated schools, job discrimination, phony white liberals, and a whole gamut of grievances which could not possibly be solved or even ameliorated in a century, if then, and will never lessen racial conflict.

Constant suggestions of a long hot summer and conditions getting worse before they get better, are but invitations to hoodlums, arsonists and vandals, aided by white beatnik amoralists and malcontent leftists currently disturbing our campuses.

Not a single one of these trumpeted evils is non-existent here nor in any other country similarly circumstanced. They are products of our color caste system which will never be improved by Negro insurrection. They are in all multiracial and multiethnic societies from Soviet Muslim Asia to Central Africa. These problems are more agitated here because the United States has been a sitting duck for left-wing moralizers who have made millions of well-meaning Americans feel like Nazi racists; and who have persuaded gullible Negroes into believing the only thing holding them back is persecution.

Only the most self-serving demagogs, arrogant know-it-alls, or men with social revolution in mind would stir up a social situation so fraught with tragedy for Negroes, or profess to believe that any predominant social class would willingly surrender power, prestige and privileges in the face of threats and violent demonstrations.

Ever since the long and futile Montgomery bus boycott (settled not by marching but by Federal court order), the peripatetic Dr. Martin Luther King and his posse of political parsons in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) have roamed the country collecting coin and infecting the mentally retarded with the germs of civil disobedience, camouflaged as nonviolence and love of white people.

Phony prayers for the salvation of white oppressors and chanting slave songs fooled nobody except possibly the utopians and wishful thinkers. Only the unwary and true believers thought this program was anything but pixilated.

As many Negroes foresaw, the net result of this long encouragement of civil disobedience, disdain for authority, and general disrespect for public morals, was to set the stage for the successive disgraceful orgies of burning, looting, vandalism, and death, with the criminal elements of the slum proletariat taking over. Ironically, when police called upon these civil rights leaders to help control the rampaging mobs, they were, if found, completely ineffective.

With the recklessness of complete ignorance or irresponsibility, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) sent its mobile gangs of young clergymen from place to place to take over the revolution despite expressed objections of local leaders, even mobilizing schoolchildren to face police clubs, dogs, and fire hoses, breeding ill will and jeopardizing Negro jobs by promotion of nuisance tactics. No matter how many minions might be jugged by the police, the Reverend King always contrived to get out in time for his next speaking engagement.

James Farmer, the professional pacifist and war resister who heads the Congress of Racial Equality, has played an even more sinister role with outright challenges to law, order, and public peace. Like SCLC, this outfit operates schools of subversion where graduates are trained in how to march on city halls and courthouses, fall limp when arrested, and in other ways make pests of themselves.

Not to be outdone by these competitors for the scarce civil rights dollar, the veteran National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), saw the expedience of adopting the same tactics of boycotts, sit-ins, marches, and picketings. It even went much further by thinking up the de facto school segregation gimmick which has kept the North and East in an uproar for the last 3 years.

The empty assumption behind this campaign is that schools predominantly attended by Negro children are ipso facto segregated and therefore inferior; and that to equalize public education this imbalance must be corrected by moving the Negro children into predominantly white schools. Since this was and is obviously impossible, what small victories have attended these herculean efforts have been pyrrhic. Nowhere have school boycotts, marches and besiegements of boards of education done else but worsen race relations.

The millionaire-subsidized National Urban League stretched absurdity still further by coming out publicly for preference being shown Negroes in employment and promotion because they are so far behind whites. This was and is doomed to failure in our basically competitive society but it adds up to another reason for suspicion and hatred of white people.

All of these civil rights leaders have joined in a loud chorus denouncing "police brutality" or the forceful suppression of crime which flourishes in every large Negro community. Every subordinate from coast to coast joined in the hue and cry although decent Negroes as well as whites suffer from this criminal element. The cry sounds in many cities with monotonous regularity, for "civilian review boards" to help wreck discipline and restrain the police from doing what they are hired to do. This outcry has emboldened the Negro criminal element and lowered its respect for and fear of the police.

The respectable bulk of Negroes has been reduced to silence by the terrorism of the agitational element. Every Negro who has openly opposed its illegal and senseless actions has been denounced as an "Uncle Tom," an enemy of his people and lackey of the whites.

One distinguished and authentic Negro leader, the Reverend Dr. Joseph E. Jackson, president of the 5-million strong National Baptist Convention of America, Inc., was hooted off the stand in Chicago's Stadium because he expressed views opposed to those of the professional agitators. The current president of the Philadelphia branch of the NAACP has had a field day denouncing the conservative middle-class Negroes in the organization.

Craven politicians have contributed much to this insurrectionary atmosphere by not standing up to the intellectual authors of violence and subversion. Consider the spectacle of New York's Mayor Robert F. Wagner skulking through the basement of New York's City Hall rather than have thrown out the beatniks picketing his office. Of other high officials permitting their work to be disrupted in the name of civil rights; of needed public construction being halted by CORE beatniks; of President Johnson being booed at the New York World's Fair. The power structure has been long suffering but much too cooperative for its own good.

Most of the civil rights leaders who have sparked these insurrections would still be unknown if it had not been for the mass communications media which publicized them on every occasion, put them on innumerable television programs, and wrote profiles of them, as if they wanted this racket to succeed. At the same time newspapers, magazines, radio, and television sought out not a single Negro with an opposing viewpoint. It is hard to remember such a one-sided presentation.

Just prior to the Los Angeles shambles, a local radio station had on one of its programs an ex-criminal. Charlie Sims, head of the gun-carrying Louisiana Deacons for Defense and Justice. Undoubtedly tens of thousands of Los Angeles Negroes heard and applauded him.

When returning Governor Brown of California described the Los Angeles shambles as "a state of siege" he spoke aptly. President Johnson expressed horror over the bloody orgy but did not speculate on the causes of it all. To find the source he needed to look no further than Negro civil rights leaders with whom he has frequently conferred, especially when they promised to suspend demonstrations until after the 1964 election.

Now that the civil rights law of 1965 and the voting rights laws are operative, he and everybody else had a right to expect that we would see an end to demonstrations, picketing, arson, looting, and vandalism. But these evils are easier started than stopped, and they just don't go away because another law is on the books.

What this country badly needs is public officials who will not temporize with illegality and disorder garbed in the mantle of civil rights and equality; who will suppress crime and violence regardless of color; judges who will act with speed and vigor to jail disturbers of the peace; and a more responsible communications media that will refrain from persistently exciting the idle, envious, and lawless.

National Lotteries in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to illustrate for the Members of this House the success of the lottery device throughout Europe. The fruits of this success have been great. Billions upon billions of francs, marks, lire, pounds, and pesetas have accumulated in the coffers of European treasuries to serve the public welfare.

In Europe, the lottery is used almost without exception from the Artic reaches of Scandinavia to the shores of the Mediterranean. The Scandinavian nations—Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland—use lotteries to promote reforestation, science, tuberculosis research, opera, and the theater, among other things. The Scandinavian lotteries took in $94 million last year, of which the several governments took $42.7 million—including some earnings taxation. Iceland has private lotteries yielding tax revenues to the government.

The Benelux nations—Belgium, Luxembourg, and Holland—have lotteries which in 1964 brought in about $33 million, of which more than $10 million was profit, aiding numerous charities and rural development projects.

Britain and Ireland utilize the lottery idea in different ways. The British Premium Bond Lottery awards prizes on lucky bonds rather than interest on all. In 1964, net receipts came to $143 million on premium bonds. In Ireland, the Hospitals Trust received $8 million from the Irish Sweepstakes, and the government received $2.6 million in stamp duties from gross receipts of $43.4 million.

Spain, France, and Portugal have important lotteries, the gross receipts of which were $325 million in 1964, with income to the respective governments totaling about $150 million. The money was used for, among other things, the Spanish Red Cross, skin disease research, and charitable contributions. Gibraltar, Cyprus, and Malta also have lotteries, which took in over $4 million and produced a profit of $1.2 million.

Greece has a lottery primarily benefiting welfare agencies. Its gross income in 1964 was $32 million, of which the government retained $7 million. The Italian national lottery, which benefits hospitals, orphanages, and education, had receipts of about $100 million, with half of this staying in government hands as profit.

Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Liechtenstein unanimously back the lottery concept. State and federal lotteries in these nations brought in almost $600 million last year. The net income came to about $200 million. The German state lotteries were by far the biggest. Some of the proceeds are earmarked for youth activities, sports, and health.

Even the Communist nations have lotteries, by and large, although a few continue to shun gambling as an unfortunate example of democratic decadence. Estimates of recent years have put the volume of the Russian lottery at about $100 million. The Polish lottery's receipts in 1964 came to $4 million, with the government's profit of nearly $1 million going mostly to the general tourist fund. Romania and Bulgaria operate lotteries, but information as to receipts is not available. Czechoslovakia's lottery took in more than $4 million in 1964, with about $2 million going to the government as profit. The Yugoslavs have a lottery which had gross receipts of more than $10 million in 1964. The net income of more than $1½ million went to orphanages, mental institutions, and the Yugoslav Red Cross. Hungary's lottery took in $48 million last year, and realized income of about $20 million.

The experience of Europe proves just what bluenose moralists deny—that the gambling urge is best channeled and controlled so as to work for the people. Lotteries can make gambling dollars work for the public good, whereas illegal gambling can only lend its profits to the underworld's drive against society. I hope that we will profit from the lucrative experience of these European nations. By utilizing the lottery, they have made commonsense pay financial and social dividends. We need such commonsense now—we need a lottery.

Library of Congress Analyzes Tax Sharing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD an excellent analysis of the Federal revenue sharing proposal which is the base of my tax sharing for the education bill.

This analysis prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress looks into both sides of the tax sharing plan very carefully. It also outlines some of the history this plan has made. I feel it deserves the attention of every Member of Congress.

ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S PROPOSAL TO SHARE RISING TAX REVENUES WITH STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

One proposal which may receive serious consideration by the 89th Congress and which may stir up considerable controversy is the recommendation that the Federal Government channel excess Federal revenues to State and local governments.

This proposal is not new. More recently it has been espoused by Dr. Walter W. Heller, who recently resigned his official position as chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. As far back as in June of 1960, while still chairman of the Economics Department of the University of Minnesota, he proposed that rising Federal revenues be distributed to State and local governments with little or no Federal strings attached.

This recommendation did not begin to receive serious attention by the Democratic administration until last spring. This was because other more pressing fiscal measures, such as the tax reduction bill, were receiving primary consideration, and also due to the fact that the Federal budget has been running chronic deficits since 1960. However, our expanding economy, spurred on by enactment of the Revenue Act of 1964 early this year, now holds promise of possible budget surpluses within the next 2 years and makes serious consideration of this proposal possible.

The Democratic Party platform adopted last summer specifically stated that the Federal Government should give consideration to the "development of fiscal policies which would provide revenue sources to hard-pressed State and local governments to assist them with their responsibilities." The Republican Presidential nominee, Senator Barry Goldwater, also recommended that a portion of Federal income taxes be returned to the States and that these governments be given a larger share of revenues derived from inheritance taxes.

In a statement issued on October 28, 1964 President Johnson declared the intention of the administration to carry out the pledge the Democratic Party had made to seek ways of providing additional help to State and local governments. As a means of carrying out this intention he proposed that the Federal Government should make available to State and local governments "some part of our great and growing Federal tax revenues—over and above existing aids." [1]

President Johnson then appointed a task force composed of individuals from Government and business and headed by Joseph A. Pechman, Director of Economics at the Brookings Institution, to study the possibility of setting aside a fixed percentage of Federal revenues each year in a trust fund for distribution to State and local governments. A report has just been made by this task force and submitted to the White House, but most of its details have been kept confidential.

Two basic considerations have prompted the administration to consider the possibility of sharing additional Federal revenues with State and local governments.

First of all, the steady and the more recent rapid growth of our gross national product and the leveling off of defense expenditures due to the closing down of certain military installations is expected to produce a budgetary surplus by the end of fiscal year 1966. It is feared by administration economists that the realization of these surpluses before full employment of manpower and resources is achived will cause a fiscal drag on our economy and will retard the business expansion we are currently enjoying.

The second underlying factor is that State and local governments are badly in need of new revenue sources to meet the ever-growing needs of their citizens for additional schools, hospitals, health and welfare services. State and local expenditures are continuing to climb at a rapid rate. During the 10-year period from 1954 through 1963 the expenditures of these governments more than doubled, having increased from $36.6 billion to $74.9 billion. State and local indebtedness increased even more rapidly during this same period—from $38.9 billion to $86.4 billion. Wth archaic tax systems which place heavy reliance on sales taxes, fees and property taxes rather than taxes on incomes, it is becoming increasingly difficult with each pass-

[1] Presidential statement No. 6 on economic issues. "Strengthening State-Local Government," Oct. 28, 1964.

ing year for State and local governments to support the rising costs of those programs so vital to the well-being of their citizens.

The full details of the task force report on this proposal are not known. However, it is understood that a formula has been recommended which will provide that 1 or 2 percent of the Federal personal income tax base (which is taxable income after exemptions and deductions) will be set aside annually in a trust fund for distribution to State and local governments. With a tax base of $250 billion anticipated for fiscal year 1965, State and local governments would receive anywhere from $2.5 billion to $5 billion annually should such a formula be formally approved. As the economy expands and Federal revenues rise, more would automatically become available for distribution to State and local governments under this plan.

It has been proposed that this money be given to the States unconditionally. This means that State and local governments would be free to make their own determinations on just how the money will be spent. Also, there would be no Federal supervision or administration of the expenditure of these funds once they are disbursed.

These amounts would be in addition to payments which are already made under various programs of Federal aid, some of which have been in operation for years. In the current fiscal year 1965 such payments to State and local governments are expected to amount to $10.6 billion. They are disbursed for specific purposes such as for highway construction, airport construction, school construction and maintenance, public assistance, etc. They are allocated under varying formulas prescribed by law. These formulas frequently require State matching and have generally been devised so that the poorer States receive more aid than the richer States. Each program is subject to close supervision and control by the administering Federal agency.

It is not known just how these additional funds will be allocated among the States. They may be disbursed according to a formula based upon population or average income or both. It has been reported that the task force studying this proposal has recommended that perhaps a relatively small proportion of the payments be distributed on the basis of average income and the remainder on a population basis.

These blocks grants represent a departure from the conventional method of disbursing Federal aid. The disbursement of $28 million to the States under terms of the Surplus Distribution Act of 1836 represents the only instance in U.S. history when Federal funds have been granted to the States without conditions governing use of the funds. However, the money was originally deposited with the States; but its return never was requested.

Canada and Australia have both made unconditional payments to local governing bodies.

Assuming that legislation embodying this general proposal is introduced during the next Congress, the earliest date that it would become effective would probably be at the end of fiscal year 1966, or possibly 1967, contingent, of course, upon a continued expansion of economic activity.

Since the precise details of the administration proposal have not yet been worked out, it is not possible to give a specific evaluation of it. However, some of the basic arguments for and against a general proposal that the Federal Government redistribute to State and local governments certain tax revenues are briefly given below.

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF THIS PROPOSAL

In an expanding economy and under present tax rates Federal revenues increase on the average by about $6 billion yer year. Administration economists fear that these additional taxes will siphon off too much money from the private sector of the economy. A Federal surplus will thus result before full employment of manpower and resources is achieved. Such a surplus has the effect of retarding economic growth, and in time, the forces of recession set in. It is believed that enactment of this proposal will avert this fiscal drag which such budget surpluses may exert upon our national economy.

It is true that appropriate tax reduction measures will also counteract the restrictive effects on the economy that a budget surplus produces. However, tax reduction bills take too long to enact, and a recession may be well on its way before such legislation can take effect. By making excess revenues available to State and local governments automatically, action gets underway immediately to offset the contractive effect of such surpluses.

Once it is agreed that it is the wisest economic policy to spend these excess Federal revenues, it can be demonstrated that the largest area of unmet national needs lies in the services provided by State and local governments. Additional Federal grants to these needy governments will provide them with additional revenues upon which they can depend and will relieve in some measure the critical shortage of funds which constantly harasses them. Such grants will enable them to better meet the growing requirements of their people for more schools, hospitals, heatih and welfare services.

State and local governments have been increasing their outlays much more rapidly than the Federal Government during the past few years in an attempt to meet their mounting obligations. State and local governments are currently spending about $75 billion per year; by 1972 their expenditures are expected to reach $120 billion. On the other hand, Federal spending has remained relatively stable and may rise from the current level of $98 billion predicted for fiscal year 1965 to only $110 or $115 billion by that time.

Because of the severe shortage of funds which has faced State and local governments in the past, the Federal Government has found it necessary to intervene by means of special aid programs to help to bring about some solution to this difficult problem. Without additional Federal aid these governments are not going to be able to fully meet the burgeoning demand of their citizens for necessary services.

It may be argued that State and local governments will not use these Federal funds wisely if they are granted or will reduce their own taxes and expenditures for necessary programs. Experience of the past, however, indicates that such fears are groundless, and that this will not be the case. A large proportion of total State and local outlays over the past years have been used for educational, health, and welfare purposes—an indication that they are cognizant of the needs of their people in these areas and are attempting to meet them.

Grants made to State and local governments without the usual strict supervision will enable these bodies to operate more independently—free from Federal control. Local officials will be free from Federal domination, and the spread of a growing Federal bureaucracy will be halted. State and local governments will thus be in a stronger financial position, and a better fiscal balance will be achieved between Federal, State, and local governments.

Unconditional grants will free the Federal Government from much redtape and overhead currently necessitated in the administration of Federal aid programs. Present aid programs are becoming so numerous and diverse that they are becoming unmanageable. During the fiscal year 1963 the Treasury Department itemized some 66 programs of direct aid to State and local governments. These do not include numerous other programs of assistance disbursed directly to individuals and institutions within the States. During the past 10 years direct payments to State and local governments have almost tripled—increasing from $3.8 billion in fiscal year 1956 to an estimated $10.6 billion in the current fiscal year 1965. During the last Congress some 10 to 30 additional aid programs were authorized, depending upon how one considers a separate program. Making additional revenues available to State and local authorities without the usual strict controls would enable Federal officials to devote more of their time and energy to more pressing problems of national defense, international relations, etc. They would also be freed from constant pressuring from lobbying groups seeking special projects or benefits for their particular districts.

Unconditional grants will be a boom to low-income cities and States. Stringent matching requirements currently imposed by the Federal Government on numerous programs make it difficult for some of these governments to take full advantage of the proffered assistance, or, if they do take advantage of this aid, frequently it must be at the expense of other vital services. If the funds are allocated primarily on the basis of population (as has been proposed by the task force report), the poorer and more needy areas will stand to benefit more than the richer districts.

Since States and localities may well spend these excess funds for educational purposes, it can be argued that this would relieve the Federal Government from making a decision on the controversial question of granting Federal aid to religious institutions.

Federal grants made with few or no strings attached will foster healthy competition among theh State, county, and city governments for this aid.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST THIS PROPOSAL

First of all, such a plan presupposes continued prosperity and the realization of Federal budget surpluses. While it is true that since 1961 we have been enjoying an expansion of economic activity, full employment of our labor force and full utilization of our industrial capacity have yet to be attained. During the past 30 years budget surpluses have been the exception rather than the general rule. A Federal surplus has been realized in only 6 years out of the 30-year period from 1935 through 1964. Still another deficit is anticipated for the current fiscal year 1965, and in the years following there is no guarantee that a surplus will automatically be produced. If such Federal assistance were made available only in those years when a surplus is expected, State and local governments would find it difficult to plan their spending programs with such an indefinite and uncertain arrangement. Once they received Federal funds under this program, they would automatically count on receiving them year after year. It would not be fair to make such a distribution contingent on the state of our national economy from year to year, the condition of which may abruptly change overnight.

Some fear that without strict Federal supervision and control, State and local governments will not use the funds in the right way. Knowing that additional funds are forthcoming from the Federal Government, they may be tempted to reduce their own taxes and curtail vital programs. There is apprehension that rural-dominated State legislatures will make allocations of the funds which will not be in the best interest of the majority of citizens. County leaders are fearful that the money may never trickle down below the State level. Similarly, civil rights advocates fear that in the South the funds will be spent to support segregated schools, housing, and other facilities. Failure of the Federal Government to control the actual distribution of funds below the

State level will undoubtedly cause bitter controversy among State, county and city leaders as to just how these funds will be spent.

It is argued that additional funds forthcoming from Washington will only cause State and local governments to become more and more dependent on our National Government rather than stronger and more self-reliant as advocates of this proposal assert. It is also feared that Federal power will be enlarged rather than diminished by giving further aid to these governing bodies.

Rather than doling out excess funds to State and local governments, some feel that any surplus funds should be used to reduce our large national debt. This fall, the public debt reached its highest point in history, and latest Treasury Department releases report that it now amounts to $315.5 billion (as of November 13, 1964). There is also strong sentiment by Cabinet and other Federal officials that the funds can better be spent to support needed Federal programs such as mass transit, cancer research, welfare programs, etc., and that these programs should not be sacrificed for the sake of aiding State and local governments.

Right now administration aids are carefully studying the report submitted by the task force on this proposal. Should President Johnson recommend that legislation be introduced embodying this general principle, that the Federal Government share rising tax revenues with States and localities, it is bound to represent one of the more important measures to be considered by the 89th Congress. Undoubtedly, the main controversy will revolve around just how much Federal control and supervision shall be exercised over the disbursement of these funds.

Further Objections to Construction of Naval Vessels in British Yards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, the present situation in Vietnam which is making necessary the withdrawal of a number of vessels from the reserve fleet for conversion and use to transport men and supplies to that area, is pointing up the difficulty some of the shipyards are having because of the loss of many of their skilled workers. Yet, despite that fact, the Defense Department would cripple our shipyards still more, by having some of our naval vessels built abroad.

In this connection I found an article in the August 24 edition of the Baltimore News-American, by the maritime editor, Joe Wachtman, extremely interesting. There is every indication that the British yards, heavily booked with orders, mostly foreign, will not be able to meet the standards required of our shipyards, and I strongly urge the Defense Department to give very careful consideration to this matter before placing any orders in the British yards. If they must place some defense orders in Great Britain, let it be of other items, not ships which will do further harm to our shipbuilding industry, so vitally necessary for our national defense, and in any national emergency.

For the information of the Members, I am inserting the article referred to above, in the Appendix:

Great Britain's shipbuilding industry, with 1.5 million tons of new orders during the first 7 months, has more contracts to build ships for foreign customers than in any period since 1957.

According to the Journal of Commerce, foreign buyers are being offered 10-year loans at 5½-percent interest on 80 percent of the cost of new ships built in Britain as an incentive to bring production at the yards up to the physical maximum of 1.75 million tons a year. British shipowners must go overseas to get comparable terms.

However, an acute shortage of skilled shipyard labor, poor performance by subcontractor, and delays in delivery of new vessels still pose formidable problems for the industry.

A proposal that some $60 million in orders for U.S. Navy support vessels be ordered from shipyards in Great Britain has met stiff opposition from Maryland's congressional delegation, led by Representative EDWARD A. GARMATZ and Senator DANIEL B. BREWSTER.

The orders already held by shipyards in Great Britain amount to approximately three times the tonnage on order from shipyards in the United States.

Hon. Clarence J. Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, a great deal has been said about the lifelong record of accomplishments of my good friend and valued leader, the late Congressman CLARENCE J. BROWN. His achievements have been many and these visible monuments he leaves behind. Far more important, in my judgment, is the indelible mark he leaves on many of us who knew him as a kind friend, wise councilor and personal advocate. Congressman BROWN advocated the personal causes of every Ohio Republican in particular but all of his colleagues in general. He was as interested in helping young Congressmen achieve committee assignments or other personal requests they desired as any Member of this body and was always available for help. In fact, it was generally known that he was the first one to see.

He seemed to take a particular delight in advising we younger Members as we struggled to "learn the ropes." The House of Representatives was his life and he gave of it to each of us who asked. To my way of thinking, this imprint on each of us, especially those with less than 10 years of service, which came from our close association with CLARENCE J. BROWN is the most significant parts of his more than 2½ decades of public service in these halls. His name was always mentioned with respect and he was like a father to all of the younger Members. I know that it is personally impossible to repay the debt that I owe this fine man who represented Ohio's Seventh Congressional District.

Politics is a vehicle for public service. It is also a vehicle for power. In this day and age, all too many choose the latter course and put statesmanship and public service second, power first. CLARENCE J. BROWN was a man who served in the highest tradition of public service and placed these considerations preeminent in his life. What power he had came from the respect which he earned through his personal integrity and from the loyalty of those who loved him. It came not by the base political grasp for power which typifies all too many men who dominate the world political scene. I count it as one of my real blessings to have served with and to have known the Honorable CLARENCE J. BROWN, of Ohio, a public servant in the highest tradition envisioned by the founders of this Republic. I readily acknowledge my debt to him as one who fought my battle through the years—battles for soundness in Government policy, operation, and finance—and it is with deep humility that I join my colleagues in expressing my sincere regrets to the survivors of this great man. We shall miss him. There are few on the horizon who can fill his shoes and a little bit of America has gone with the passing of CLARENCE J. BROWN, of Ohio.

Riots Are Anarchy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH HARVEY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I include the following editorial, "Riots Are Anarchy," from the Knightstown Banner, Knightstown, Ind., of August 19, 1965:

RIOTS ARE ANARCHY

The riots in Los Angeles and Chicago are a matter which deserve the Nation's immediate attention.

In recent years, the crime rate has been growing at a phenomenal rate, and the recent riots are the ultimate in crime. As a matter of fact, it is actually anarchy and deserves the most impressive penalty which can be found.

Many observers have thought that criminals have been dealt with too lightly in some areas, and this is becoming a national problem. Several causes are immediately seen, as noted below:

1. There is widespread unemployment and welfare society in areas most closely affected. As the youths see others in more fortunate circumstances and note that they are not very likely to have the wonderful things they see on television, they become despondent. Dope is peddled which heightens their problems. They are led by radical speakers, and observers note that hopelessness overtakes them. The unemployment may be caused by the fact that industry does not need unskilled workers very much any more, and they cannot find work. It may be safely said that the minimum wage and increased payroll tax laws have caused many employers to cut off unnecessary workers or to find labor-saving machinery that eliminates the unskilled. Consequently, these families know nothing but welfare, and their environment and early guidance does not help them become educated.

2. The leftwing politicians and others state that persons on welfare should not be required to work for their handout—even

though most cities and counties are desperately in need of extra work on streets, roads, roadsides, etc. It is plain wrong to handout welfare and to permit the recipients to loaf and find other pastimes which lead to the results seen last week. If those persons were kept busy at least part of the time, they'd have that much less time to find criminal pursuits. Of course, those who are sick or unable to work should not be expected to work, but those who are capable of working should be put to work at jobs every city and county needs. Even if the county and city gives them a welfare handout and pays them, too, at least, they'd be occupied and feel they had achieved something besides receiving a plain handout.

Now what should be the penalty for the rebellion? Several thousand were arrested, and it is doubtful that there are enough prisons to go around. Society would cry out if the penalty is too severe, but how do you cope with such a state of anarchy without dealing with the offenders harshly?

The next few weeks will be important as the courts must face the great problem of handing out penalties for the hundreds who are arrested.

To deal with it as lightly as some will expect would certainly invite more of the same, and no one would be safe on the street or to have stores near such areas.

It should be mentioned that help will be needed to educate and guide these youths in the right direction in the future. If the Job Corps can do the job, more power to it, but so far it has only produced high-salaried administrators and excessive costs for the program. Why not utilize city schools and conduct more intensive night schools to reduce the tremendous cost of administering and the very great problem of maintaining discipline in the Job Corps? Also attention must certainly be given to the morality of sterilizing mothers who keep producing illegitimate children and potential criminals and wards of society.—R.T.M.

Many Grant-in-Aid Programs Unmanageable: Tax Sharing Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, an article by Richard F. Janssen in the November 17, 1964, edition of the Wall Street Journal points up many of the problems and advantages of the plan to divert part of the Federal tax take to the States.

One significant point Mr. Janssen makes is the growing unmanageability of present grant-in-aid programs. I feel that my tax sharing for education bill will successfully avoid many of these increasing problems.

The article follows:

SHARING REVENUES: A PLAN TO DIVERT PART OF FEDERAL TAX TAKE TO STATES HITS SNAGS—WHITE HOUSE ASKS NO-STRINGS AID, BUT SOME OFFICIALS FAVOR EARMARKED GRANTS—LEGAL QUESTIONS ARE RAISED

(By Richard F. Janssen)

WASHINGTON.—Determined efforts of the Johnson administration's top economic strategists to wrap up a multibillion-dollar package of unfettered aid for the States are running into strong internal opposition.

The Treasury is expected to oppose the whole idea of such a diversion of Federal revenues, even questioning its legality. Many officials of the Health, Education, and Welfare Department, Labor Department, and other agencies that run specialized Federal aid programs are challenging the proposal in its original no-strings form, arguing the States couldn't be counted on to use general aid money in the right way.

What's more, early reaction filtering in from outside the administration is largely critical. Soundings among legislators indicate resistance to any big giveaway of congressional purse string power, plus fear the States wouldn't use the money for the best purposes. Special interest groups, including the AFL-CIO, are voicing apprehension on like grounds.

The certain upshot: Even before the unprecedented package gets to Congress, it will show signs of considerable manhandling within the bureaucracy, and some substantial strings will have been attached. Very possibly, the extra funds for the States may be earmarked for such broad purposes as education, recreation, and welfare.

ACTION MAY BE DELAYED

The timetable for action also may be slowed down. While the administration may still submit a revenue-sharing proposal to Congress early next year, the suggested effective date might be no sooner than mid-1966. And congressional contention might well put the date off until mid-1967.

The basic idea espoused by Walter Heller, who's just bowed out as chief economic adviser to President Johnson, is that hard-pressed State governments should share directly and automatically in the Federal Government's rising tax collections. In its purest form, the idea is simply to divert cash to States before it ever reaches the Treasury and let them use it any way they like.

This would be a drastic change from the usual Federal aid programs in which grants are rigidly earmarked for such special functions as subsidizing school lunches or acquiring a specific patch of woods for parkland. So drastic a change, in fact, that to administrators of many existing aid programs it appears to be a waste of funds they would much prefer to spend through their own programs on what they see as pressing national needs.

While philosophic issues and technical details alike remain to be thrashed out in heated administration huddles, the broad outlines have been drawn by one of the President's Great Society task forces. The report of the group headed by Joseph Pechman, Brookings Institution tax specialist, is still confidential, but it's expected to prove the most important, most controversial document to emerge from any of the study units. The report has gone to the White House and the first staff conclave to review it was held this weekend.

ONE PERCENT OF TAX BASE

The essence of the plan is to siphon off a fixed proportion of Federal revenues each year. One way under consideration is to take 1 percent of the tax base, which is taxable personal income after deductions and exemptions. The projected $250 billion base for 1965, for instance, would mean a $2.5 billion boon to the States. As the economy grows, the States' slice would be increased accordingly. By 1970, it's estimated, the base could be $340 billion and the States' share $3.4 billion.

(The money would go into a special trust fund; neither the inflow nor outflow would show up in the Government's regular budget. This would enhance the idea that the money is not tainted Federal aid but is the rightful property of the States themselves.)

How to parcel out the sum among the States is sure to be the subject of much pulling and tugging in Congress. But the present thinking is that two-thirds of each year's lump sum will be spread through all the States on a straight per capita basis. Thus a State with 5 percent of the Nation's population would receive 5 percent of this chunk of aid.

To avert objections that too much aid would go to rich States that don't need it, the planners propose distributing the other one-third among about a dozen poor States, presumably concentrated in the South, in addition to their regular share.

WARN OF BITTER FIGHTS

While the plan is designed to skirt some objections, officials find it is arousing many others. Already some State or local leaders are warning of bitter fights over how to spend the aid money, with many citizens eager for State help to parochial schools and others just as ardently opposing it. The prospect of Federal tax dollars going even for general State aid to public schools could prompt considerable congressional balking.

Unless some curbs are built into the law, it would "violate the principle that Congress control both the raising and spending of revenue," one authority worries. Among lawmakers, some also fear much of the money could be spent in the South for segregated facilities or used the "wrong way" by rural-dominated State legislatures. There's some sentiment among city Congressmen to hold off until reapportionment gives a stronger voice in State legislatures to urban areas. And while generally pleased by the revenue-sharing idea, many county officials are leery that much of the money will "stay at the State level," one says, and want "some sort of string attached so that the money will trickle down to our level, too."

If the plan does clear Congress, it would soon prove almost sacrosanct, some warn, reasoning that States couldn't even get salaries without assurance that the Federal funds will be forthcoming. This would be reason enough to go slow; supporters of the plan don't hope to put it into effect until the fiscal year starting in mid-1966. And even that goal may be over optimistic. The basic chances of congressional approval are enhanced, though, it's believed, by Democratic capture of several important legislatures in this month's elections; the Democratic majority in Congress can be sure more of the money will go to State houses ruled by the same party.

WHY CRITICS WORRY

So far, most of the infighting against revenue sharing is by administration men who would rather see bigger appropriations for their own aid programs—mass transit, cancer research or whatever; "some of those guys are worried that their own budgets will go up only 5 percent instead of 10 percent," grumbles one supporter of the aid plan. And at least one Cabinet officer, its known, is privately arguing that fresh doses of Federal aid would make States more dependent on Washington rather than stronger and more independent, as sharing advocates contend.

The idea's backers believe the overriding argument in favor is the one expressed by President Johnson in a preelection statement. "At the State and local level, we see responsibilities rising faster than revenue," the President said, "while at the Federal level an average annual revenue growth of some $6 billion provides a comfortable margin for Federal tax reduction, Federal programs, and more generous help to State and local units."

If the Government runs much of a budget surplus before the U.S. economy is performing up to full potential, officials fear, economic growth will be stunted by the process of pulling more dollars out of private hands than are put back. But income tax reduction is "too cumbersome" to seek from Congress each time an unwelcome surplus looms, officials argue. And with defense spending leveling off or sagging, the Government can hardly boost its own spending as fast as its revenues rise, they reason.

BIG GROWTH AREA

"Let's face it, the big growth area in the whole economy is spending by State and local governments," says one administration strategist, who finds the Federal aid idea an ideal "middle ground" between the other options. From about $70 billion a year now, spending by State and local governments will have sprinted to around $120 billion annually by 1972, a private authority predicts. But the Federal budget will have shuffled up from the current $97 billion annual rate to only a $110 billion to $115 billion range by then, he figures.

The experience of recent years indicates the public favors more services at the local level rather than from Washington, officials say. The Federal roster of 2.5 million civilian employees is actually a bit under the 2.6 million of 1952, they note, while the payrolls of State and local units have bounded from a little over 4 million then to nearly 6 million now.

But, barring new Federal aid, local governments probably can't meet burgeoning public demand for more and better schools, police protection, and the like without severe strains, planners worry. Despite many new and higher taxes, localities have had to increase their debt vastly to meet their spending budgets, bringing obligations of local units alone up to around $63 billion last year from under $19 billion in 1950.

Partisans of revenue sharing concede that goal could also be approached by parceling out more Federal receipts in the usual way through specific grants to States and cities. But this would have serious drawbacks, the Heller camp believes. Such grants already have leaped to about $10.6 billion this year from $3.1 billion a decade ago, and much more growth in such programs would make local governments even more dependent on Washington for day-to-day guidance, they worry.

PROBLEM OF MANAGEABILITY

One very practical reason for more free-wheeling Federal aid, a supporter says, is that present grant programs "are beginning to exceed the level of manageability." The last Congress added from 10 to 30 new ones, he estimates, depending on how narrowly one defines a separate program. The latest Federal budget lists about 85 local-aid grant activities varying from $400,000 for drainage of coal mines to $2.8 billion for general relief or "public assistance." As the grants proliferate, agencies are increasingly encountering overlaps.

The detailed Federal rules for operating such programs are arousing misgivings at State and local levels, too. This month the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations warned of "points of friction in Federal-State relations in the administration of public assistance." The Commission, a bipartisan body which includes Cabinet officers, Congressmen, and local officials, said Federal controls over use of grant funds should be "kept to a minimum;" it complained that under present law, for instance, the U.S. relief grants can't be used to aid otherwise eligible persons who are patients in mental or tubercular hospitals.

The Late Honorable Clarence J. Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, one of the most able and valuable Members of this body has been stricken from the rolls. The death of CLARENCE BROWN comes as a loss not only to the Congress but to the entire Nation. For more than a quarter of a century this departed colleague served the cause of good government. He did so with his wisdom, his statesmanship, his leadership, and his dedication. It would be difficult to name a man who has done more during a similar period of time.

CLARENCE BROWN WAS always found in the front ranks when battlelines were drawn that involved prudence, economy, freedom, and commonsense in the operation of our Government. He was a partisan, but he always put the welfare of the country first. He never wavered, never faltered, never retreated. He seemed to rise above the hysteria and emotionalism which often clouds the issues that arise here. With calm judgment and decorum he plodded along, always adhering to those basic principles which are fundamental.

To the family I extend my deepest sympathy in their bereavement.

Adlai Stevenson's Legacy—A Tribute by Stanley G. Karson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, Stanley G. Karson is a native son of Massachusetts. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Karson of Sheffield, Mass., have long been wedded to the philosophy of the Democratic Party and both have been ardent workers in its behalf. They passed on to their son their enthusiasm and dedication to the causes in which they deeply believed. Stanley, inherited too their devotion to the great leaders of the Democratic Party. During the campaigns of 1952 and 1956, he was a member of the Stevenson campaign organization. Presently, he is assistant director of the Institute of Life Insurance in Washington.

Stanley Karson's closeness to Adlai Stevenson gave him the privileged opportunity of knowing Ambassador Stevenson intimately. He recorded some of his observations in a fine letter to the Berkshire Eagle, of Pittsfield, Mass., on July 24, 1965. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include his tribute, "Adlai Stevenson's Legacy" in the RECORD:

ADLAI STEVENSON'S LEGACY

The words have all been written—almost all. But, here are a few more for Adlai Stevenson, from one who knew him less intimately than some, but more than most.

I am one of the millions whose life has been made more meaningful through his nobility and humanity. Years ago we were dubbed, much to his amusement, the "Stevenson cult." He knew we were there and I like to think this knowledge sustained him in many trials. We were indeed there—from the beginning to the end.

I was luckier than most, I guess, because I was able to work with and for him during three national campaigns. From the moment he came, uninvited though greatly welcomed, to a small party for Young Democratic leaders I gave in Washington in March of 1952, I became a Stevenson disciple. Through the incredible draft movement at the Chicago convention a few months later, I followed him in the most inspiring presidential campaign of our time.

When he conceded, with such infinite grace, to the general and to the hour that night in Springfield, I was there, weeping. I shouted, voicing the hopes of millions, "Next time, Governor"—and he grimaced.

But the next time came. Serving on his campaign staff a full year in 1956, I remember how it was said he wasn't quite the same, mainly because he had taken to heart the criticism of 1952 that he had neglected and alienated the party professionals. If his strategy was wrong (even though dictated by experts), his pursuit of reason continued unabated throughout that frustrating year. On election night that November I drove home slowly from his heaquarters, not crying now, only a little bitter at the fate which pitted him once more against a legend.

Our numbers dwindled the next 4 years, through the disenchantment of a double defeat. But many of us began to prepare for 1960—and this in spite of his stand that he could not fight for a third nomination from a party he had led twice to defeat. With pitifully little time and planning and money, we went to Los Angeles in July, knowing we had only one real weapon and hope—the magic of Adlai Stevenson himself. That magic proved its power, if only for a few wonderful hours there, but it could not overcome the months and years of work for the convention nominee.

A month later, during a period he was being constantly touted for Secretary of State, we were driving alone for over an hour from an Ohio airport into town, and I said, "Governor, you know you're a unique force in American politics. I don't wish to sound overly dramatic, but you are to millions the conscience of America. Don't you think that as a private citizen, outside the Government, free to speak out when necessary, you would be more effective than as the captive voice of any administration?"

He replied slowly, "But, Stan, how long can I be a conscience?"

History's final judgment on this point may never come, but his overriding sense of duty took him to the United Nations 6 months later. Here, the world listened to him with unusual respect and sympathy, and in the process, America did not seem quite so unctuous to the small nor quite so menacing to the large.

Now, that he is gone, even those who derided him in his own land are mourning. How strange that is, because he was never able to appear real to them while alive. All the cynics, in and out of politics, never understood this man, so they never trusted him.

They operate within a totally different framework of life and society, in which the byword is power and the end always success. Sadly unable to comprehend, they saw in his deep humility a politician's pose, in his candid rationality a weak indecisiveness, in his rare integrity as unforgivable naivete.

But the legion that loved him understood.

And, now that he is gone, the fog seems to roll in more thickly, the wind chills more quickly, and the road seems longer and harder to travel.

Of all the memories of Adlai Stevenson, the one I shall never quite forget is little remembered by the world. It was at the end of a grueling 1952 campaign trail, climaxed by a familiar whistle-stop train ride through Ohio, Indiana, ending back home in Illinois. The last stop before Chicago, that Saturday night before election, was the grey industrial city of Gary. To the crowd collected at the rear of the train, he seemed confident, but to

those of us who had been with him he was weary and quite prepared for the worst.

Finishing his prepared talk, he looked out over the crowd and the country and spoke of this autumn of hope and travail. We can look back, he said, and be proud of what we have said and done. Whatever may be in store now, we have no regrets for we know what we have done is right. And, he said, that is the important thing, after all.

That, for me, is Adlai Stevenson's legacy.

STANLEY G. KARSON.

SHEFFIELD.

States Need Aid Without Federal Restrictions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, the January 28, 1965, issue of the Reporter contained an excellent article on the revenue sharing plan by Alan L. Otten and Charles B. Seib.

They describe the history of the tax sharing plan and I think their analysis deserves the attention of every Member of Congress:

NO-STRINGS AID FOR THE STATES?

(By Alan L. Otten and Charles B. Seib)

As the Federal Government's programs have grown in size and importance, so has popular uneasiness over the increasing centralization of power in Washington. The proposals advanced in President Johnson's state of the Union message, by increasing Federal involvement in a wide range of national problems, run the risk of aggravating another old problem—the relationship between Washington and the State and local government. To counterbalance the trend toward greater Federal intervention, a plan to strengthen the role of the States by turning back to them a small portion of U.S. Treasury tax receipts was suggested last spring by Walter Heller, then chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

The plan was the object of detailed study by a Presidential task force headed by Joseph Pechman, a Brookings Institution economist. The task force report has never been made public, but its general outlines have become well known. Each year the Federal Government would set aside in a special trust fund an amount equal to 1 percent of all personal income subject to tax. For example, in calendar 1965 this income will be about $250 billion, so the fund would start with about $2.5 billion, or approximately one-quarter the amount Washington now grants through specific programs to State and local governments. This amount, of course, would increase as taxable income rises. The money would be distributed automatically to the States, generally in proportion to population but with some adjustments to the needs of the individual States. Each State could spend the money as it pleased, except for one or two general prohibitions, such as those against outlays for highways or public buildings. The radical part of the Heller-Pechman proposal is this relative freedom from Federal controls.

In the past decade, Federal aid has more than tripled, from $3.1 billion in fiscal 1955 to over $10.5 billion this fiscal year, or about 14 percent of State and local general revenues. These grants now issue from a dozen different Federal agencies under nearly 70 programs, ranging from help for airports and low-cost housing to educational television and control of venereal disease. Most of them go to the States, a few directly to cities or counties. Some require no State or local matching funds, other anywhere from 10 to 75 percent. Some go on a straight population basis, others under a needs formula, and most under a combination of all three. The Heller-Pechman plan is above all an attempt to help States and local communities without expanding Federal powers and responsibilities. Washington has never before seriously considered such a solution.

To be sure, some Federal moneys were turned back to the States with no strings attached in 1836. Sales of public land were running at a high clip, a business boom had customs receipts soaring, and the Federal Government was covering all its needs and had paid off its debts. The Jacksonians accordingly voted to distribute a $37 million surplus in four installments to the States. Three had been made when the panic of 1837 wiped out the remaining surplus.

THE TASK FORCE LEAK

In recent years the problem has come under study both in and out of Washington. The Eisenhower administration offered to yield some tax revenues to the States if they would take over some spending programs, but Congress balked at giving up the taxes and the States rebelled at assuming responsibility for the spending. Heller, who had learned at first hand of State problems as a fiscal adviser to Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman when Freeman was Governor of Minnesota, began casting around for some new approach soon after becoming Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers in 1961. Gradually, he and some of his economist friends came to favor the no-strings grants.

The plan seemed an effective compromise between the advocates of more Government spending and those who want stronger States. Or looking at it from the other end, it was likely to offend the planning-minded less than tax cuts and the States' righters less than new direct and tightly controlled Federal grants. The Pechman task force left its organizational meeting with President Johnson under orders to study all possible ways of helping the States and cities but with the clear impression that the President was chiefly interested in Heller's plan. This belief was strengthened when the platform adopted at the Democratic Convention in August argued that "consideration should be given to the development of fiscal policies which would provide revenue sources to hard-pressed State and local governments."

During the campaign, Barry Goldwater called for a portion of Federal taxes to be turned over each year without restriction to the States and cities, but he was merely reaffirming a long-standing conservative proposal that the various Federal aid programs be replaced by a single grant, while Heller wanted the no-string grant to be in addition to existing programs. In the final days of the campaign, the White House issued a position paper that promised "intensive study * * * to methods of channeling Federal revenue to States and localities which will reinforce their independence while enlarging their capacity to serve their citizens." This was commonly interpreted as a Johnson endorsement of the Heller plan, and at that point some proponent of the plan leaked the outline of the task-force recommendations to the New York Times, along with the inference that the President had subscribed to them.

The tactic boomeranged. The President, increasingly sensitive about news leaks that he does not himself generate, was annoyed. Opponents in and out of the administration, who had been wondering just how seriously to take the plan, decided to take it very seriously and jumped into action with a variety of objections. The ensuing controversy ended when the President, at a mid-December background session for newsmen, declared that premature disclosure of the task-force recommendations had generated such opposition that he had decided to put the plan aside at least for a year.

In the meantime, the plan will continue to have the support of a small band of Government officials and academicians, chiefly undoctrinaire liberals, and, for obvious reasons, the conference of State Governors. Their argument is simple: the entire Federal-State-local system is being threatened by the inability of the State and local governments to meet their skyrocketing financial obligations. Their general spending has soared from $11 billion in 1946 to $64.8 billion in 1963—many times the percentage growth in Federal outlays. The total could easily top $100 billion by 1970.

General revenues of the States and localities, including Federal aid, have had a hard time keeping up. Debt has risen from $15.9 billion in June 1946 to $87.5 billion last June. Their income, heavily dependent on local property taxes and State sales taxes, doesn't rise as rapidly with economic growth as does the income-tax-oriented Federal system. Many State constitutions bar income taxes; one State alerady has a 5-percent sales tax, and 3- and 4-percent sales taxes are common. Attempts to raise existing tax rates or levy new taxes are politically risky. Moreover, State and local economic development officials are pessimistic about the number of new industries that might be driven away by higher tax rates.

Federal tax receipts, on the other hand, are rising by about $6 billion a year. In fact, some economists worry because they are increasing so fast and taking so much spending money out of circulation that they may become a fiscal drag on the economy and cut off the current boom. These economists suggest with Heller that some of the Federal revenues be put back into circulation by giving them to the States and cities.

OPPOSITION ARGUMENTS

By far the most vocal opponents of this approach are those who fear the scheme would offer Congress a pretext to reject new or expanded specific grant programs or even to cut back existing ones. Many of these critics work for such grant-oriented departments as Labor, Commerce, Agriculture, and Health, Education, and Welfare. But many more are to be found outside Government in organized labor, education, welfare, and health groups.

The influential National Education Association is fearful that the plan could be used as an argument against specific aid-to-education legislation. As an official of a leading welfare organization put it: "I can see it now—we go up to the Hill to get more money for our programs and the Congressmen tell us, 'Why, you don't need that. Mr. Heller is going to take care of all that.'"

The intense hostility of these groups reflects, in part, their high hopes for the new Congress. "This is a defeatist plan—the kind you come up with after you've tried everything else and gotten nowhere," one labor lobbyist argued. "You don't come up with it at a time like this, when your changes of getting everything you've always wanted are better than ever."

Many administration officials continue to tell these groups, as they always have, that direct Federal spending or tightly controlled Federal grants is the surest way of securing their goals. They contend that State and local governments are too apt to use the money for the wrong purposes—for padded State payrolls instead of housing, for graft and payoffs, instead of mental health, for industrial development projects in the South to lure plants from the North instead of for education. Many areas, they charge, will

merely use the Washington money to finance a cut in local tax rates.

"With the conservative nature of the Oregon Legislature," said Representative EDITH GREEN, Democrat, of Oregon, "and with the control of the lower house in the hands of Republicans who have never been willing to invest wisely in education * * * I would be even less than enthusiastic" about turning money back to the States without tight Federal strings. A union leader was even blunter: "The labor movement has had years of experience with State legislatures, and we just don't trust them. Practically every bit of progress we've made in the last 30 years we've made at the Federal level."

Quite a few union officials also fear that without control, funds returned to States and cities wouldn't be spent under the Federal wage, overtime, and fair employment practices standards governing most grant programs. Civil rights groups fear that, directly or indirectly, Southern Governors might use the funds to finance segregated schools.

Many local officials wonder how much of the new Federal funds would actually be passed along to them from the States. The National League of Cities (until recently the American Municipal Association), for example, representing officials of over 13,000 communities, asked the President either to send large chunks of the grant money straight back to the localities or to earmark it for State distribution to local governments.

Most business associations tend to oppose the plan, preferring that any revenue not spent by Congress for essential Federal programs be returned to individuals and companies in the form of tax cuts. The Catholic Church joined the ranks of the opposition for still another reason. No State now makes general grants to parochial schools, and most have specific constitutional bars against such aid. On the other hand, the chances of getting aid through a Federal education bill have been improving.

PROPONENTS' ANSWERS

In the face of such intense organized opposition, the plan's supporters are avoiding a public debate for the time being. Private talks with them, however, produce a detailed rebuttal that runs along these lines:

First of all, they do not want Congress to use the plan as an excuse to block specific new grant programs for education, mass transit, and the like, and do not see why it should. There is plenty of Federal money to go around, they maintain, to permit $2 billion or so of Federal excise cuts, $3 billion or so of extra spending for expanding the programs already voted by Congress, and several billions for new programs—as well as for their own plan for aiding State and local governments.

In any case, they argue, many States and cities are now so financially pressed that they will find it hard to avail themselves of new Federal grant programs that require local matching funds. This was a major argument advanced by the executive committee of the Governor's conference in its endorsement of the Heller plan. Few States, for example, have given any sign of voting matching funds for the job-retraining program, even though this will become a requirement on July 1, if Federal funds are to continue to be available; thus far, the program has been entirely Federal.

Moreover, many officials believe that the traditional grant programs have induced many States and cities to overspend in order to qualify for extra Federal funds. For example, they claim that many States build unneeded interstate highways because they get nine Federal dollars for each one of their own. Or they boost old-age assistance payments higher than they can afford because they get proportionately more Federal dollars. Poorer States in particular feel obliged to put a disproportionate share of their funds into federally matched programs such as highways and airports rather than into such unaided programs as fire and police protection.

Backers of the Heller plan believe that the States would be less liable to waste the no-strings aid. They argue that reapportionment will soon produce legislatures better prepared to take care of urban and suburban needs, and that even now most legislatures are using every cent they can find for worthy causes such as education and mental health.

"At a meeting of Governors and local officials a few months ago, I asked what they'd do if they suddenly got a big chunk of money to spend as they wished," one Washington advocate of the new plan reported. "Every one of them, and there were many from the South, said they'd spend it on schools—that this is where the pressure is."

To the objection that some States might use the new Federal funds as a device to permit tax cuts, the plan's backers reply that spending pressures are just too great. At the most, they predict, extra Federal money might be used to avoid or delay tax increases, thereby substituting dollars raised from a progressive Federal income tax for those raised through regressive State and local sales and property taxes.

Even the stanchest advocates of the Heller plan concede that a few Southern States might try to use the money for segregated schools and other segregated facilities. But they hope the new Civil Rights Act would prevent this. They would also be willing to incorporate some special civil rights safeguards and guarantees that the usual overtime, prevailing wage, and other labor standards apply to any use of the new Federal funds.

The Heller-Pechman plan, though not a part of President Johnson's program, will at least be discussed as Congress takes up various aspects of his wide-ranging legislative proposals. Perhaps after the special interest groups have had a crack at getting what they want from the new Congress, after more reapportionment has been accomplished, and after business groups see that increasing Federal revenues are not going into tax cuts but into extra Federal spending, there will be less opposition to the plan. It then may be seen for what it is: a fresh approach to a basic problem of American politics. "Do you want to have stronger States or don't you?" asks Heller. "Frankly, I do. It's just that simple."

The Most Deadly Illness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of the Members to an editorial in the Thursday, August 19, Chicago Daily News which speaks for itself in a most objective, practical, and philosophical manner:

THE MOST DEADLY ILLNESS

The 20-month trial of former S.S. officers and men charged with involvement in the murder of an unknown number of persons in the Auschwitz concentration camp ended today. From this distance the individual judgments are almost immaterial; of far greater concern is the picture redrawn in massive detail of this particularly revolting example of man's potential for degradation. The very vagueness of the statistics on victims for whose murder these defendants were tried—between 2,500,000 and 4 million—provides one arresting aspect. So great were the numbers of those led to slaughter and so casual was the concern of those in charge of the apparatus that books were kept only haphazardly. Better books were kept on the end products: the pounds of gold realized from dental fillings, and the tons of fertilizer from body ash.

As useful as recalling the results of this grim and systematic exercise in mass brutalization is to remember how it started—in a welter of well-fanned hate.

Throughout the centuries man's capacity to hate has been prized and used by politicians on one scale or another—politicians who often thought their purposes justified the means; politicians who frequently did not discover until too late the fission-like fury of the stuff they sought to harness and direct. Hitler and Mussolini could have found warnings in the fate of Danton and Robespierre, had they cared.

The lesson is useful here and now because hate has been high in the domestic news—on one hand among the uniformed whites senselessly and viciously charging the Negro marchers at the Selma bridge; on the other hand among Los Angeles Negroes chanting "kill, kill, kill" as they ran wild in that city.

The rule of law, instituted because of man's distrust of himself, has always managed to prevail over hate in the long run. But an immense amount of agony could have been spared, and can yet be spared, by leaders comprehending the deadly nature of this ever-lurking sickness of men's souls.

Tax-Sharing Bibliography

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD a bibliography on tax sharing prepared by Marie Murray, an economic analyst of the Economics Division of the Library of Congress Legislative Reference Service. It lists some of the more important articles dealing with tax sharing—both pro and con. It is a valuable index to scholarly material on the subject. Many of these articles I am today inserting in the Appendix for my colleagues to read:

TAX SHARING: A BRIEF LIST OF REFERENCES, 1961–65

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Otten, Alan L., and Charles B. Seib. No-strings aid for States? The Reporter, January 28, 1965: 33–35.

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Revenue rebates sought by States. Christian Science Monitor, January 25, 1965, page 11.

States bid Johnson revive plan to give them share of tax. New York Times, March 23, 1965, page 1.

States look to Heller plan. New York Times, May 23, 1965, page 12F.

Tax sharing plan may get review. New York Times, March 24, 1965, page 18.

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Western Governors urge States share in U.S. revenues. Washington Post, July 13, 1965, page A7.

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Gail Cummings, Catholic War Veterans Oratorical Champ

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, I was very proud to learn this week that a constituent of mine, Miss Gail Cummings of 314 Second Street, Jersey City, has brought national acclaim to the 14th District of New Jersey.

Miss Cummings, a June graduate of St. Dominick's Academy in Jersey City recently won first place in the national oratorical finals conducted by the Catholic War Veterans of America in New York City.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert at this point in the RECORD, an account of Miss Cummings' victory which was published in the August 24, 1965, edition of the Jersey Journal. I would like all Members to see the type of outstanding young people our district is producing.

The article follows:

GAIL CUMMINGS: CATHOLIC WAR VETERANS' ORATORICAL CHAMP

"I'm always nervous," says Gail Cummings, but her feats belie her words.

A June graduate of St. Dominick's Academy, Gail, who lives at 314 Second Street, Jersey City, has a distinguished career in public speaking, climaxed by the first-place prize in the Catholic War Veterans nationwide oratorical contest, held at New York City's Waldorf Astoria Hotel.

But despite her forensic talents, Gail will forego a public speaking career and attend St. Vincent's Nursing School, New York City, in the fall. St. Vincent's has no organized forensic club.

"I've wanted to be a nurse since I was about 10," says Gail, 18, who joined St. Dominick's forensic society during her freshman year. One of her teachers, Sister Ferrer, "really helped me a lot and got me interested in the league," she says.

"I used to go off in corners by myself and practice my speeches," Gail said, "and people would hear me talking to myself and think I was buggy." But despite an occasional unsettling stare, Gail feels it was all worthwhile.

"I find that I have much more poise in speaking and it's easier to get my ideas across. That will help me no matter what I do later on in life."

She attributes her success to "just speaking to people naturally and saying what I want to say as simply as possible." A large part of the credit, she said, goes to her mother, "who encourages me in everything I do."

Like many 18-year-olds, Gail is fond of show music. She also likes Robert Kennedy and Barbara Streisand. New York City's Greenwich Village attracts her, and the area's toy stores hold a particular appeal.

"People should be kinder to each other and more considerate," is Gail's guiding philosophy. This credo is reflected by her nursing ambition and by her sincerity—"I just can't speak on a topic I don't like," she says.

"Little kids are my favorite people in the world," says Gail, whose other favorites include "the ocean" and long walks. She is also an avid reader.

Curiously, Gail is not a good debater. "I tried out for the debating team, but I was just no good at it," she recalls. "The boys hooted me off the team."

Tax Sharing Probed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, the Monthly Review of the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco in its February 1965 issue carefully looks into many facets of the revenue sharing plan. It underlines the fact that the financial needs of the State and local governments grow more acute every day:

DOLLARS FROM THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Before leaving the tumult of Washington for the hurly-burly of academic life, Prof. Walter Heller sparked a new tax debate by proposing that the States receive an automatic distribution of some Federal revenues every year. Under the Heller plan, the Federal Government would assist the State and local governments, beset as they are by the necessity of meeting rapidly expanding public needs out of comparatively restricted tax systems, through automatic transfers of Federal tax revenues to be used at the discretion of the individual States.

The future of the Heller proposal is certainly problematical, in view of the possible reluctance of congressional and administration leaders to relinquish fiscal responsibilities to other jurisdictions, and again in view of the objections of administrators of present programs to the channeling of funds to other uses. But whatever the fate of this proposal, the transfer of increased amounts of Federal revenues to State and local governments through ongoing programs seems assured.

The Federal grant-in-aid system, an existing system which lacks only the automatic and discretionary features of the Heller plan, has already assumed a major role in the revenue structure of State and local governments. Throughout the postwar period, this type of intergovernmental expenditure has been largely responsible for filling the gap between the needs and resources of State and local governments, and for making possible the growth and improvement of public services which have been achieved in those jurisdictions.

GROWTH OF GRANTS

In 1963, State and local governments were able to raise twice as much revenue from their own sources as they did a decade earlier, but their income from Federal grants more than tripled during the same period. Between 1957 and 1963 alone, the income from grants more than doubled. The variety of grant programs has also increased steadily; by April 1964, the "Catalog of Federal Aid to State and Local Governments" listed authorizations for Federal assistance to State and local governments under 115 different programs.

State revenue from the Federal Government increased from $3.5 billion in 1957 to $7.8 billion in 1963, and Federal grants thus rose from 18 to 23 percent of total general revenues of State governments. The greatest increase in recent years has been grants for highway construction and related activities, which more than tripled in the 1957–63 period. The interstate highway program accounted for much of this growth. During the same period, grants to States for education increased by more than 170 percent, and grants for State health and welfare programs grew by nearly 75 percent.

State grants to the various units of local government have grown in line with the revenue that State governments have been able to raise from their own sources. State grants to municipalities traditionally have been larger than the total volume of Federal grants—fortunately so, since the financial resources available to local governments are less easily expandable than are the financial resources of State governments. For example, property taxes are by far the most important source of tax revenue for local governments, but any increase in the revenue which can be raised from this source is strongly dependent upon increases in property values. (Property tax revenues have recently kept in step with revenues from other sources, however, as a result of increases in assessments and in tax rates as well as increases in property values.)

State grants to local governments increased from $7.3 billion in 1957 to $11.9 billion in 1963, in each year amounting to about 30 percent of the total general revenue of local governments. Most of the increase was in grants for education and health and welfare. Meanwhile, a small reverse flow of grant money has shifted from local governments to State governments, but this has accounted for only about 1 percent of the income of State governments.

Not surprisingly, the increase in the intergovernmental flow of funds has been especially high in the West. Between 1957 and 1963, the volume of Federal grants to State and local governments in the 12th District increased 145 percent. During that period, the contribution of Federal grants to the total general revenue of all district government units increased from 12 to 16 percent.

Grants to State governments in the district from the Federal Government increased more than 150 percent between 1957 and 1963. Grants to States for educational purposes showed the greatest increase, more than tripling over the period, but highway and health and welfare programs grew almost as rapidly. In each specific case, Fed-

eral grants grew by more than State direct expenditures.

Revenue from the Federal Government financed more than 40 percent of the direct expenditure of 12th District States in 1963, compared with slightly over 30 percent in 1957. Highway grants showed the greatest proportionate increase, but the growing importance of grants for financing State expenditures for education and welfare and health was also apparent.

WHY GRANTS?

Generally speaking, the Federal system of grants-in-aid contains a variety of specific grants geared to specific programs, but with some differences in operational detail. Although a few Federal grant programs allow administrative discretion to determine the allocation of funds, most of the authorizations for such programs enumerate detailed conditions for fund allocation. A given grant program usually contains two provisions to determine the share of funds each State will receive: one provision regarding the manner in which the appropriations for the program will be apportioned among the grantees as an offering of Federal aid, and another provision regarding the funds to be raised by each grantee for its share of the project. The distribution of Federal grants is thus a function of the program needs, the financial needs, and the fiscal capacities of eligible recipient governments. In addition, the willingness of State and local governments to increase revenues in order to obtain matching funds is also a significant factor.

Basically, grant programs are undertaken as a means of redistributing fiscal resources in order to induce recipient governments to undertake programs deemed socially desirable by the Federal and State Governments. However, grants-in-aid are also a means of narrowing the gap between the fiscal needs and the fiscal resources of State and local units of government. The taxing and borrowing powers of local governments are limited by a myriad of constitutional and statutory restrictions; local governments, deriving their fiscal powers from the State, are generally dependent upon property taxes as their major source of tax revenue. State governments, although possessing much more extensive tax resources than local governments, are still somewhat more restricted than the Federal Government in their ability to raise funds. In principle, then, grants-in-aid permit the collection of revenue from the most effective and efficient tax base, and the execution of governmental activities at the most efficient and effective level.

Intergovernmental expenditure affects both the level and the direction of State and local government spending. Federal aid usually calls forth more expenditure than the amount of the additional revenue it provides, because matching requirements generally oblige State and local recipients to provide a certain proportion of the money to finance any given project. Grants also affect the direction of State and local government spending, since all Federal grants and most State grants are authorized for specific uses in specific programs.

The intergovernmental flow of funds includes more than just grants-in-aid in the strict sense of "gifts" (conditional or unconditional) from one governmental unit to another. Revenue sharing is another possibility; for example, States in which national forests are located receive 25 percent of the revenues from the operation of those forests by the Department of Agriculture's Forest Service. In addition, loans, advances, and technical assistance provide other types of intergovernmental aid.

FOR WHAT PURPOSE?

In fiscal 1963, 39 percent of total Federal aid to State governments consisted of highway grants. Another 35 percent of total Federal aid went for public welfare, and yet another 15 percent for education. Other important uses of grants were employment security administration, health and hospitals, natural resources, and airports.

State grants are made to all types of local governments—counties, municipalities, schools districts, townships, and special districts. More than half of the intergovernmental expenditure of States goes to school districts, while counties and municipalities receive most of the remaining portion of States aid. States generally follow the Federal practice of utilizing grants to finance specific nonrecurring expenditures such as construction and research, but fully one-twelfth of State grants are made for "general local support."

Education is by far the most important function financed by State aid; in 1963, for the Nation as a whole, 59 percent of State grants were made for that purpose. In the same year, public welfare accounted for 16 percent of the intergovernmental expenditure of States, and highway grants accounted for 12 percent more.

DISTRICT PATTERNS

In the West, the Federal Government supplied about 16 percent ($1.8 billion) of the $11.6 billion of the total general revenue of State and local governments in 1963. In addition, State grants totaling $2.5 billion accounted for a third of the general revenue of the district's local governments.

In 1963, revenue from Federal grant-in-aid programs accounted for more than 40 percent of the total direct general expenditures of 12th district States—a substantially higher level than the rest of the country. These Federal grants financed about 37 percent of the States' expenditures for education, 44 percent of highway expenditures, and 90 percent of expenditures for health and welfare. State governments actually received much more in public welfare grants than they spent directly, since many of their welfare expenditures were incurred for activities carried out at the local level.

Federal grants to local governments in the West are much smaller in volume than Federal grants to States. In contrast to the pattern in the rest of the country, however, school districts in 12th district States received by far the largest proportion of Federal grants to local governments—more than half of the total received by all units of local government.

The pattern of State grants to the various units of local government in the West also differs from the pattern in the rest of the country. A larger proportion of the total intergovernmental expenditure by 12th District States is made for health and welfare (more than one-fourth of the total, compared with less than one-sixth elsewhere), while a smaller proportion is allocated for education (54 percent, compared with 60 percent) and for highways (9 percent, compared with 13 percent).

The role of Federal grants in each individual State varies in line with its distinctive needs. In most district States, the largest portion of State revenues from the Federal Government in fiscal 1963 was spent for highway construction and related activities. In Arizona, Idaho, Nevada, and Oregon, highway grants accounted for more than half of total Federal grants to States. But in California, which received the vast bulk of the district's share of Federal aid, one-third of State revenue from the Federal Government was spent on health and welfare, one-third on education, and only one-fourth on highways.

In sum, grant programs have provided an equitable method of financing projects (such as highway construction) in which national objectives are involved, and they have also stimulated State-local activity in such projects. They have provided a means of stabilizing State-local revenues, of extending assistance in recession periods, and of distributing tax proceeds collected at the most appropriate level of government to the jurisdiction best equipped to carry out the desired community objective. In view of these manifest advantages, the continued expansion of grant programs in the rapidly growing West appears all but certain.

For Civil Obedience

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the country has been shocked by the senseless riots in Los Angeles which some have attempted to justify under the vague banner of civil rights.

Having supported the 1960, 1964, and 1965 Civil Rights Act, I cannot conceive of any justifiable case being made for the wanton disrespect for law and order that we saw in Los Angeles and have witnessed on a smaller scale elsewhere.

The Suburban Life, an outstanding publication serving southwest suburbs of Chicago, most effectively editorialized on the subject of civil disobedience in its August 18 edition which I direct to the Members' attention:

FOR CIVIL OBEDIENCE

Rule of law, rather than of men, has governed this Nation a long time, and governed it well. Phrased differently, it has been principle that has stood foremost, not momentary expedience.

This was true, that is, until minority groups mobilized to "secure the blessings of liberty" to themselves and their posterity, which an oppressive majority had worked diligently to deny them. The trouble, of course, does not lie in the quest for equal rights, per se. The trouble arose with what has been euphemistically termed "civil disobedience".

The dubious casuistry which sought to justify halting traffic, urinating in a public square, dumping garbage and other illegal acts on the basis that certain laws are unjust (and indisputably many of them unjust) has at last been put down for what it is.

Two weeks ago U. S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., ruled in Montgomery, Ala., that lawlessness cannot be excused because civil rights demonstrators (or anybody else) consider certain laws morally wrong.

In refusing to accept jurisdiction of cases involving demonstrators being tried by the State courts for such various charges as trespassing, loitering, disturbing the peace and refusing to obey law officers, Judge Johnson ruled:

"There is no immunity conferred by our Constitution and laws of the United States to those individuals who insist upon practicing civil disobedience under the guise of demonstrating or protesting for 'civil rights'. The philosophy that a person may—if his cause is labeled 'civil rights' or 'States rights'—determine for himself what laws and court decisions are morally right or wrong and either obey or refuse to obey them according to his own determination, is a philosophy that is foreign to our 'rule-of-law' theory of Government."

We say hooray for Judge Johnson.

We think a good many civil rights leaders agree with him (perhaps only privately so

far), and hope others will soon, if they don't already.

Like any revolt, the civil rights protest has started to get out of hand, to slip away from the control of its leaders, and thus has come to threaten revenge and ruin, rather than the reform sought by the leaders.

We sense this feeling in a remark made recently by Whitney Young, director of the National Urban League. Young said, "A rally or a demonstration does not guarantee a job or prepare anyone for one * * *. A speech is not a program." He added, "While Negroes expect equality from whites, they must demand excellence from themselves."

This isn't "Uncle Tom" talk; it isn't the same old (and untrue) story, that the Negro must catch up with the whites, that the Negro isn't ready for equality. What it does mean is that while rallies and demonstrations and marches draw a lot of attention (some of it the wrong kind), such displays cannot accomplish more than a fraction of what solid, grueling work can do. Actions speak louder than words. For example: the fact of a decent Negro family living in friendliness and peace between two white families speaks far more loudly and reassuringly than can a hundred statements of conscience or civil rights motorcades.

Of course attention must be called to injustice, wherever and whenever it exists. There are legal ways of doing this, ways which have been used with great success by citizens of this country since its birth.

To try to shortcut now, to violate the law in order to change it, might gain short-term rewards. But in the long run those who choose these means over the legal and decent methods will find to their (or their children's) dismay that they have destroyed what they set out to achieve, and that those blessings of liberty will be lost for both black and white, forever.

Governors Back Tax-Sharing Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, for some time the revenue-sharing plan has had the enthusiastic support of our States' chief executives, which these three news articles from the New York Times—March 23, 1965, March 24, 1965, and May 23, 1965, respectively—clearly show. I think this broad support gives all the more impetus to my bill and demonstrates the need for an early hearing by Congress.

The articles follow:

[From the New York Times, Mar. 23, 1965]

STATES BID JOHNSON REVIVE PLAN TO GIVE THEM SHARE OF TAX

(By Charles Mohr)

WASHINGTON, March 22.—The Nation's Governors asked today that President Johnson permit a new study of the so-called Heller plan to distribute some Federal income tax revenue to the States.

Last fall an advisory committee to the President on Federal-State relations endorsed the plan, which was first advanced by Walter H. Heller, early in 1964, when he was chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

Mr. Johnson later shelved the proposal in anger, however, when news of the committee's recommendation leaked to some newspapers.

The Governors are asking that Mr. Johnson organize a joint Federal-State study of the Heller proposal, which most of them favor. Mr. Johnson's reaction was not immediately known.

The President returned to Washington at 4:57 p.m. today after a long weekend at his ranch in Texas. This evening he was host to 42 of the 50 Governors at a White House dinner, called primarily to give the Governors a briefing on domestic and foreign affairs.

Mr. Johnson told the Governors he was acutely conscious that his highest responsibility was to make sure that the United States kept its word, whether in South Vietnam or in Selma, Ala.

Because the dinner was closed to press coverage, no formal text for direct quotation was available, but a guide to his prepared remarks became available.

The President asked the Governors to work with him to make certain that as the Nation moved ahead faster no one was left behind because he was poor, sick, young or old, or because he lived in the wrong region, or because the color of his skin was different.

Authoritative sources said Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach had been asked to brief the Governors on the civil rights crisis and on the proposed voting-rights bill.

Gov. George C. Wallace, of Alabama, was among those who did not accept the President's invitation. Gov. Paul B. Johnson, Jr., of Mississippi, also was absent. Some sources said disapproval of the voting-rights bill and of the use of Federal forces in Alabama to protect the Selma freedom march had probably contributed to the rejections of the invitations.

The Governors of Florida, Alaska, Arkansas, Illinois, Nevada, and Indiana also were absent, apparently because of prior commitments.

This afternoon seven Governors who are on the Federal-State Relations Committee of the National Governors' conference met with Buford Ellington, Director of the Office of Emergency Planning, Mr. Johnson's newly named liaison man with Governors.

SMYLIE MAKES PLEA

Gov. Robert E. Smylie, of Idaho, said they had asked Mr. Ellington to urge the President to authorize the new joint study of the Heller plan.

The plan proposed giving the States—through a trust fund—about $2.5 billion of income tax collections a year, which they could use virtually unconditionally.

Governor Smylie, a Republican, said that if the States got more funds, "the very programs which Congress is attempting to supply could be more effectively supplied at the State level."

Despite the President's displeasure at the news leaks regarding the plan last year, the plan is not entirely dead. It is described as still under study in the Budget Bureau, although not under active consideration.

The plan is opposed by Government administrators and Congressmen who believe in more stringent Federal control of welfare and other programs.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara were on the program tonight to brief the Governors on such subjects as Vietnam and defense. All Cabinet members except Agriculture Secretary Orville L. Freeman were present.

Most of the Governors brought their wives, who were shown a movie about the White House by Mrs. Johnson during the briefings.

White House sources said the President planned a similar meeting with 111 American mayors of the larger cities sometime in the future.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, Mar. 24, 1965]

TAX-SHARING PLAN MAY GET A REVIEW—JOHNSON EXPECTED TO BACK STATES' PLEA FOR STUDY

(By Charles Mohr)

Washington.—President Johnson will probably be receptive to a plea by the Nation's Governors for a new study of a plan to distribute about $2.5 billion a year in income tax revenues to the States, informed sources said today.

These sources expect the Governors to make a concrete suggestion for a joint Federal-State study of the plan at their annual Governors' conference in Minneapolis early in July.

Mr. Johnson entertained 42 of the 50 Governors at a White House dinner last night, which he called primarily to give them a generalized briefing on foreign and national affairs.

Administration sources indicated that similar contacts with the Governors could be expected in the future. One possibility is that the Federal-State relations committee of the national Governors' conference will have more frequently meetings with President Johnson and his Cabinet.

It was learned that at the dinner last night the Idaho Governor, Robert E. Smylie, chairman of the Republican Governors' committee, expressed the support of Republican Governors for the President's policy in Vietnam.

A number of other Governors, including Democrats, also expressed support for the Vietnam policy following briefings on the subject by President Johnson, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara.

The President plans to invite 111 mayors to a similar dinner soon. Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, who has been designated as a liaison man with city governments, is arranging the dinner.

Last night the Governors informally advanced a request that Mr. Johnson consider a Federal-State study of the so-called Heller plan to distribute some Federal tax revenues to the States.

Walter H. Heller advanced the proposal early last year when he was chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. A presidential advisory committee later endorsed it.

However, when the committee endorsement leaked to the press, the President shelved the proposal.

Some sources said Mr. Johnson nodded his head affirmatively when Gov. Carl E. Sanders of Georgia raised the matter on behalf of his colleagues. Governor Smylie told reporters today that the President had given a receptive response.

Sources close to the President said he had made no commitment to adopt—or even definitely to restudy—the Heller plan. However, they expect him to respond favorably if the Governors put forth a detailed proposal.

Twenty-four Governors attended a breakfast this morning at the Hilton Hotel to hear Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel discuss the administration's $1.3 billion aid-to-education bill.

The bill would require more work by State departments of education. It would provide $10 million in grants to help pay for this extra work. This and other State aspects of the plan were discussed.

Several Governors expressed pleasure over the dinner and briefings. Gov. Frank G. Clement of Tennessee said, "I felt reassured" after the Vietnam briefing.

One Governor remarked, however: "I can't say we learned much you don't already know."

[From the New York Times, May 23, 1965]

STATES LOOKING TO HELLER PLAN—FEDERAL AID IS SOUGHT TO EASE REVENUE GAPS

(By Robert Metz)

Soaring budgets and ever-widening revenue gaps have caused many State governments to look wistfully toward Washington in the hope that President Johnson will revive the Heller plan.

Under the plan, the Federal Government would divide some of its revenues with the several States. The idea, a brainchild of former presidential economic adviser Walter H. Heller, is "buried pretty deep right now," according to a tax adviser to Congress.

The idea of the plan is to turn over almost unconditionally to the States about $2.5 billion in Federal tax revenues each year.

President Johnson put an advisory committee to work on the idea last fall. The committee's favorable recommendation of the proposal was shelved when it was leaked to newspapers.

GOVERNORS FAVOR PLAN

Last March, the Nation's Governors, most of whom favor the idea, asked the President to permit a new study of the plan. Informed sources indicated then that the President was receptive to the idea.

Mr. Johnson has proved to be an aggressive tax innovator, and the Government is thoroughly committed to the use of tax policy to accomplish its goals.

The President very well may view the Heller plan as an approach to the problem of encouraging local governments to finance their share of Great Society programs.

Many Governors would experience a sense of considerable relief if the Heller plan made them less dependent on sometimes slow-moving State legislators for new revenues.

More than one leading State has been run like a fiscal Toonerville Trolley, without financial tracks worthy of the name.

Michigan, for example, has had to delay payment to State employees on occasion while legislators fought over politically charged tax proposals.

Republican Gov. George Romney finally persuaded the legislators to adopt new taxes, but Michigan's problem is still acute.

Candidates for the New Jersey governorship have often pledged in advance that they would not consider an income tax, if elected. The property tax has brought in the bulk of New Jersey revenues, weighing heavily on the railroads.

Even in New York State, where Governor Rockefeller has attacked the matter head-on with one of the Nation's heaviest State income taxes, the revenue problem is far from solved.

A UNION OBJECTION

New York has used the municipal bond market heavily to bridge revenue gaps. So much so, in fact, that bond rating services last fall dropped the credit rating on State bonds from the top to the second highest level.

The Heller plan has its opponents.

Many mayors are against the Heller plan because they fear little money would go for urgent city needs. The Governors are frequently of a different political philosophy and often depend to a high degree on support from farm communities.

The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations criticized the plan some months ago.

The union wanted to see existing grant-in-aid programs retained and extended. The union thought there would be no assurance that the funds would be spent on what the union believed the State needed. Unions are largely urban and they also fear rural domination.

The Health, Education, and Welfare Department came out against the idea because the grants were not to be restricted. It feared the money might not be wisely spent by the States.

The agency helps administer grant-in-aid programs.

If the Government chose to use the money to build schools, or to serve some other special purpose, the funds might then be distributed on the basis of school population. One method of distributing the money that seems fair to some of those who have weighed the problem is to allow the States to share in proportion to their overall population.

No doubt many Governors will want the money to go back to the States who paid in the funds. This poses problems because it is difficult to say who paid the tax. It would be unfair to make the rebate on the basis of tax collections because much of the money coming from Michigan, for example, is excise tax paid at Detroit on automobiles bought elsewhere.

If the United States adopts the Heller plan, it will not be the first nation to collect taxes for its subdivisions.

During World War II, the Australian Government in the interests of central control and streamlining, took over the revenue-gathering chore from the various taxing authorities.

Every year, the Government holds a Premiers' Conference, which was described by one Australian official here as a "pretty hefty sort of a session where the various Premiers go to get some of the money back from the Government."

At the conference, the money is allocated by a complicated formula based primarily on population. Certain less-developed states such as western Australia and Tasmania get additional grants to help with their problems.

The official said that some states are "by no means happy" about what they get. "About 6 to 8 months ago, the Victoria state parliament talked about levying its own income taxes. The population cried out in anger and the idea was hastily dropped.

If the money is to go back to the States according to the amount each contributed, the Tax Foundation's work in this field might be instructive.

This private foundation compiled population statistics, income statistics, consumptino data, data on distilled spirits, new-auto registrations and similar material.

The statistics were related in a formula to the taxes collected by the Federal Government and used to measure the impact of all taxes on individual States.

The results of that work for figures taken for fiscal 1964 follow:

State	Total Federal tax burden		
	Percent distribution	Amount (millions)	Per capita
Total	100.00	$106,317	$564
Alabama	1.06	1,127	337
Alaska	.12	128	516
Arizona	.69	734	471
Arkansas	.51	542	292
California	11.43	12,152	691
Colorado	1.02	1,084	553
Connecticut	2.09	2,222	833
Delaware	.46	489	1,027
Florida	2.57	2,732	483
Georgia	1.47	1,563	378
Hawaii	.37	393	566
Idaho	.27	287	403
Illinois	6.83	7,262	713
Indiana	2.33	2,477	528
Iowa	1.20	1,276	459
Kansas	1.01	1,074	483
Kentucky	1.07	1,138	368
Louisiana	1.18	1,255	367
Maine	.43	457	465
Maryland	1.99	2,116	643
Massachusetts	3.35	3,562	683
Michigan	4.34	4,614	569
Minnesota	1.07	1,775	507
Mississippi	.52	553	241
Missouri	2.30	2,445	565
Montana	.32	340	481
Nebraska	.72	765	524
Nevada	.27	287	780
New Hampshire	.33	351	560
New Jersey	4.28	4,550	703
New Mexico	0.38	$404	$397
New York	12.92	13,736	776
North Carolina	1.61	1,712	360
North Dakota	.25	266	420
Ohio	5.53	5,879	578
Oklahoma	1.00	1,063	427
Oregon	.93	989	542
Pennsylvania	6.27	6,666	584
Rhode Island	.50	532	601
South Carolina	.72	765	308
South Dakota	.27	287	389
Tennessee	1.27	1,350	365
Texas	4.43	4,710	456
Utah	.44	468	476
Vermont	.17	181	464
Virginia	1.92	2,041	471
Washington	1.63	1,733	568
West Virginia	.66	702	395
Wisconsin	2.04	2,169	534
Wyoming	.18	191	567
District of Columbia	.68	723	906

"Free" Medicare? Hardly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH HARVEY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I include the following editorial, "'Free Medicare? Hardly," from the Palladium Item, Richmond, Ind., of August 19, 1965:

"FREE" MEDICARE? HARDLY

If anyone is laboring under the delusion that the medicare phase of President Johnson's Great Society is free, some facts and figures about social security tax rates starting next January 1 will soon dispel that dream.

At the moment, wage earners under social security are taxed for a total of $174, with the money taken from the first $4,800 earned. Employers are taxed an identical amount for each employee. There is no choice for either one.

Starting in 1966, the amount taken from the employee will be $277.20. The same will be true for employers. The increase over 1965 amounts to slightly over $100 from the employer as well as the employee, but to soften the weekly blow, it will be withdrawn from paychecks covering each employee's first $6,600 of earnings instead of his first $4,800. Those who do not earn $6,600 will pay only on what they earn.

The rate will climb steadily through the years. Starting in 1967, with the employer continuing to match each amount, each employee will be taxed a maximum of $290.40; 1969–72, $323.40; 1973–75, $356.40; 1976–79, $359.70; 1980–86, $366.30, and 1987 and thereafter, $372.90. The latter is based on a tax rate of 5.65 percent for both employer and employee.

The social security tax rate boosts are being levied to finance the two-part program of health care for the aged, and increased social security benefits.

It is apparent that much of the Federal income tax cut about which we heard so much will pretty well be wiped out by the social security tax increases, at least for millions of middle-bracket taxpayers.

For instance, a man with a wife and two children who made $6,600 in 1963 paid $576 in income taxes and $174 in social security taxes, a total of $750.

By 1973, provided there are no changes in income taxes, a man in this situation will be paying $356 in social security taxes and $432 in income taxes, for a total of $788.

So there goes the income tax cut down the drain.

Those with larger families will especially notice the increased costs. Since their income tax bills did not go down as much, due to a relatively low cost to start with because of more dependents, their social security taxes will climb along with those of everyone else.

There always is a tendency to think that when the Federal Government steps in with a so-called windfall for the taxpayers, such as an increase in social security benefits, or a program such as medicare, that it is all free. That's entirely wrong.

Tax Sharing Will Help Restore a Creative Federal System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, last December, Mr. Robert L. Heilbroner, writing in the New York Times Sunday magazine, December 27, 1964, wrote a very penetrating analysis of the share-the-tax-revenue plan which asks the very important question of how serious we are when we speak out for a viable and creative federal system. If we want to practice what we preach then indeed we must provide the States with the resources to participate in the system.

The article follows:

THE SHARE-THE-TAX-REVENUE PLAN

(By Robert L. Heilbroner)

Now up, now down; a few weeks ago said to be at the head of the administration's proposals, now rumored to be in the ashcan; but sooner or later certain to command national attention and debate is that rarest of rarities—a really new idea in domestic economic policy. Very simply, it is a plan for the Federal Government to help State governments by regularly and systematically turning over to them a fixed portion of Federal tax revenues to be used as the States see fit.

Since the Federal Government is likely to have embarrassingly large tax revenues in the future and since the States will unquestionably have embarrassingly small ones; and since the Federal Government is inhibited, for various reasons, from embarking on large-scale new expenditure programs, whereas the States have so much to do they don't know what to do first, one would think that the tax-sharing plan would command the happy assent of all. Instead, a mere first glimpse of the plan has already sparked one of the sharpest debates in many years—a debate that arises from profoundly differing conceptions of American government.

The idea of tax sharing has been evolving for some time. Last June, before his retirement as Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Walter Heller had already formulated the main outlines of a plan to channel Federal revenues to the States, and had deeply interested the President in it. Thereafter, during the summer and early fall, a task force of economists, under the chairmanship of Joseph A. Pechman of the Brookings Institution, refined the details of the Heller plan. Now their report is at the White House, where, it is said, it is being kept under wraps for the moment, perhaps to be unveiled in 1966.

Although the actual details of the task force report are still secret, there is general agreement that four recommendations constitute its main substance:

1. Each year a certain percentage of Federal income-tax revenues would be set aside for State distribution. If the initial set-aside were 1 percent of income-tax revenues, the tax share for the States would come to about $2.5 billion in this current year. Over the years ahead, as tax revenues grow, this sum will increase; by 1970 it is estimated to be roughly $3.5 billion. (Congress could, of course, increase the percentage of set-aside as well.)

2. The funds earmarked for the States would thereupon be credited to a trust account, before being handed over to the States themselves. This has the advantage of keeping the entire transaction out of the Federal budget, a perfectly legitimate maneuver, since the money is not being "spent" by the Federal Government but only transferred by it to the State governments who will indeed spend it. At the same time, needless to say, the trust device is a nice way of keeping up Government expenditures—even though they are recorded officially at the State and local level—without swelling the politically sensitive Federal budget. (Lest this be thought an insidious innovation of the administration, it should be noted that the trust fund is an old established financial mechanism, widely used for State-aid programs such as highway construction.)

3. The plan thereupon envisages the trust fund being turned over to the States with little or no limitation on its use. If any "strings" at all are to be attached, they are thought of as being of the most general nature, such as a broad prohibition on use of the funds for highway projects, or their consignment to unspecified "education or welfare" purposes.

4. Finally, the tax-sharing plan would help the poorer States somewhat more than the richer ones. Most of the trust fund would be distributed on a per capita basis, but not all of it. A portion of the fund—perhaps even as much as 25 percent—would be reserved for use by the poorer States only. Thus a State like New York, with a relatively high income level would indirectly contribute more to the trust fund that it would get back by way of tax-sharing, whereas a poor State like West Virginia would be a relative gainer through the plan. For New York, the tax-sharing plan would mean additional receipts of about $200 million, or about 7 percent of its budget expenditures; for West Virginia, receipts of perhaps $3.5 million, or 9 percent of its 1964 budget.

On its face, the tax-sharing plan seems to be a brilliant political move—and, one would think, very much in the typical Johnson style—a move to woo the States and to enhance the Federal Government's prestige at the same time. But while there may be considerable political mileage in it, much more than politics lies behind the idea. To Walter Heller, or to the Pechman task force, the rationale for the tax-sharing approach lies in two very big problems to which the plan offers at least partial answers.

The first of these is the already large, awesomely mounting total of State and local needs. In part the trouble here stems from our "baby boom" of the late 1940's. What was then only a perambulator parade has now swept through our elementary and high schools, and is in the process of inundating our colleges. As a result, State and local expenditures on education have exploded. Three billion dollars in 1945, $7 billion in 1950, $11 billion in 1955, $22 billion today and probably around $50 billion by 1975.

But education is not the only source of vastly expanded State and local expenditures. As urban and suburban areas have grown and population densities have increased, the cost of maintaining health and sanitation, recreation and transportation, welfare and simple public order has increased disproportionately. According to the National Planning Association, total spending by the States, towns and cities, already over $55 billion, will rise in another 10 years to almost $155 billion.

Yet, while the States look forward with uneasy certainty to an unprecedented need for public expenditure, they cannot look with anything like equal assurance to revenues large enough to match their needs. In the main the States rely on property and sales taxes for their revenues (only 7 percent of all State revenues come from income levels), and raising these taxes is a difficult business.

Property taxes are traditionally fought by the real-estate interests, whose power at State and local levels is very great, while sales taxes are not only politically unpopular with the electorate but are already bumping up against the tacitly accepted ceiling of 5 percent in many States. At the same time the States are loath to impose or increase income taxes, for fear these will drive individuals or businesses across State lines.

To be sure, the States have not yet scraped the bottom of their tax barrels, and necessity has a way of bucking up legislators' courage. There is, in addition, the possibility of additional borrowing, particularly for educational outlays. But given the inertia and frictions of local politics, and the fact that State debts have climbed from $34 to $90 billion in the last 10 years, the prospects of finding revenues adequate to fast-growing needs are not bright. The squeeze, already noticeable in too many State educational and welfare budgets, will certainly get worse, unless new sources of income are developed.

This need of the States, then, is the first of the problems the Heller plan may help solve. The second is the so-called "fiscal drag" that arises from the powerful suction exerted by Federal income taxes.

As individual incomes increase, along with economic growth, income tax liabilities rise even faster, since individuals typically move up into higher tax brackets. Thus, the result of every sustained rise is gross national product is an even faster accumulation of income taxes in the hands of the Federal Government.

This in turn poses a substantial problem for further growth. For unless the Federal Government, having sucked taxes out of the Nation's pocketbooks, now returns this money to the Nation's pocketbooks by spending it, the growing hoard of income-tax receipts will act to slow down—perhaps even to halt—further economic expansion.

In this dilemma, two possibilities suggest themselves. First, the Government might try another tax cut, thereby diminishing the pull of its suction machine, and incidentally giving the States a chance to impose their own taxes in lieu of lowered Federal taxes. Second, the problem of drag could be overcome simply by spending the additional tax revenue each year as it comes in.

Unhappily, both courses have their difficulties. A tax cut, if it is used by large numbers of families as a means of augmenting their savings, will not fully overcome the drag problem. In addition, there is the consideration that the new private spending created by a tax cut is not likely to reach into the corners of the economy that most need help. Finally, as one experienced observer has stated, it is difficult for States to move against the tide of a national tax cut, even if they would like to raise State levies to fill the gap left by lowered Federal taxes.

Hence, many economists would prefer the opposite tack—spending the added tax revenues through new Federal programs. But the hitch here is one of political realism. However, much large new Federal spending programs may commend themselves to liberal economists, myself included, it is uncertain whether programs of the dimensions

required would find congressional—or even widespread public—approval today. Our arms budget is gradually declining, thereby releasing funds that might be used for welfare purposes. But judging by what seems to be the fiscally conservative tenor of the times, it will not be easy to shift funds wholesale from arms to housing, education, or antipoverty programs.

Hence, the likelihood of spending for those purposes the $6 million per year of additional tax revenues that are projected for the years ahead seems very remote. On the contrary, the prospect of rising revenues in the face of falling defense needs is sure to rouse ever-popular demands for paying back the national debt, or for constitutional limitations on the income tax, or for other nightmarish favorites of populist-conservative economics.

Therefore, the double relevance of the Heller plan. Not only does tax-sharing come to the aid of the hard-pressed States with the only large-scale source of funds available in the near future, but at the same time it provides a way of removing fiscal drag—while, as a bonus, it simultaneously dampens demands to pay back the debt or do away with the income tax. As a creamy blend of short-run expediency and long-run public interest, the idea seems hard to beat.

Understandably, the Heller plan has the vigorous support of many State governors, including Rockefeller of New York and Brown of California. Congressmen are less willing to commit themselves publicly so early in the game, although many middle-of-the-road Republicans and Democrats seem favorably inclined (indeed, some moderate Republicans wish they had made it a public issue first).

As to where President Johnson stands, it is hard to say. Publicly committed to helping the States with their financial problems, he has first leaked favorable and then unfavorable comments on the Heller plan. At the moment it appears that the plan will be allowed to languish for a while. Yet it seems a good bet that sooner or later someone will discover its merits. If it isn't President Johnson, it might very well be one of the moderate Republicans.

Meanwhile, however, opposition has broken out from an unexpected source. The first denunciations of the Heller plan have begun to come in—from the side of labor and from some of the more articulate spokesmen for the liberal point of view.

Much of their dissatisfaction is focused on what all admit to be the weakest part of the present scheme—the very large area of freedom left to the States in disposing of their Federal shares. Liberals and labor representatives alike are aghast at the thought of handing over Federal revenues for the support of Mississippi's school or law-enforcement system.

Although they are not against aiding some State programs, they want Federal help to be carefully limited to specific ends, as is the case with the $10 billion of existing State-aid programs. In addition, many liberals are afraid that the States will merely use their Federal tax receipts as an excuse to lighten States taxes, thereby getting us more or less nowhere.

Proponents of the plan have counters to these arguments. While admitting that some strings are inevitable, they point out that the grant-in-aid technique, now spread over 80 different programs, is so unwieldy that it threatens to become unworkable. Hence, while agreeing with general strings (such as prohibition of the use of funds for segregated educational activities), they strongly oppose adding to the bureaucratic load of finely defined grants.

In addition, they points out, the Supreme Court's decisions on segregation and reapportionment provide new safeguards on the States' use of funds. And as for the argument that the States will merely use their Federal revenues to slough off their own taxes, proponents of the plan assert that pressures are so great on the States that, much as they might like to, they will not be able to cut back their own taxes.

But it is not really on these questions that the debate grows sharp. Lurking in the background and giving animus to both sides of the issue is a much deeper and less easily settled question—the role that State government should play in shaping the economic and political future.

Basically, the liberal opposition does not trust the States to play a creative role in that future. As Christopher Jencks puts it in the New Republic, "Even a casual survey of 20th century politics suggests that the major pillars of the status quo have been the 50 States. Conversely, the major force for innovation and progress has been the Federal Government."

If by the 20th century we mean since 1930, there is much to support Jencks' view (before then the States were often in the vanguard of social reform). Admittedly, however, in recent years the very words State and local government have given rise to dreary associations of mediocrity, timidity, and graft, whereas Federal Government has conjured up at least the hope of intelligence, imagination, and effective administration.

Yet, on second thought, the stereotypes blur. For, without denying the generally inferior level of State performance compared with Federal, it is impossible to tar all the States with the same brush. As Jencks himself mentions, there are the pioneering efforts of California in establishing 2-year community colleges (and in erecting an impressive statewide network of university campuses); and to this we can add the bold educational policies of Wisconsin; the massive State-city planning of Boston, Pittsburgh, New Haven; the growing sophistication of antidelinquency programs (compare New York's efforts with those of 10 and 20 years ago); the growth of interstate compacts on water use or transportation; the steppingup of antipollution programs.

"With some exceptions, largely in the Southern and Southwestern States," says Prof. James Maxwell, an authority on these matters, "the States have faced up with considerable courage to the problems that have beset them." As a crude index of their willingness to act, we might note that State and local expenditures in recent years have been rising twice as fast as the gross national product.

Therefore, it seems a bit premature to write off the States as hopeless, particularly when so many of their faults—low morale, sluggish performance, lack of publicity—are remediable, at least to some degree, by the additional funds. To be sure, it is doubtful that the States will themselves initiate and organize the large-scale programs that are necessary to attack some of the major problems of the late 1960's, such as chronic poverty, urban decay or technological unemployment. But then there is no reason why the Federal Government cannot continue to exercise leadership in these critical areas.

Meanwhile, someone must pick up the bill for the Nation's schooling, for its basic welfare services, for its humdrum but desperately important sanitation and health needs, for its police and fire departments, its public parks and beaches, its roads and streets. Unless we want all these functions ultimately centered in Washington, the States and localities must have the wherewithal to provide these services independently on a generous scale.

It may be, of course, that it is too late, that the States are already nothing but an outmoded framework imposed on us by the past, and that we should not now bend our energies to salvaging what is unsalvageable. But again it may not be too late. If the 20th century preaches the lesson of economic centralism, it also teaches the virtues of political decentralism. The effort to strengthen the States at least seems worth the try. As Walter Heller says, "If we are serious about the idea of creative federalism, now is the time to do something constructive about it."

Whether during this Congress or not, it seems likely that we shall very soon have to make up our minds as to how serious we are.

Milton J. Shapp, of Ohio and Pennsylvania, a Major Industrialist, Testifies in a Human Way About a Human Matter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, fortunately for the Nation, some businessmen ignore the cliches and dogma handed out by some of our best known trade associations.

Last week I listened with amazement and pleasure to a Philadelphia industrialist, Milton J. Shapp, president and chairman of the board of the Jerrold Corp., who testified on unemployment compensation before the House Ways and Means Committee, H.R. 8282. In short order, I recognized that here was a business statesman who did some serious thinking on a serious matter and arrived at conclusions contrary to those of most big businessmen.

He noted that a consumer-oriented economy like our own which is based heavily on credit cannot afford a drop in buying power caused by unemployment. He was willing to pay higher taxes toward unemployment benefits as a means to maintain the market. He felt that the proposed bill (H.R. 8282) "did not go far enough to achieve maximum benefits."

Here was a businessman whose testimony ran exactly counter to a whole host of businessmen critics of a bill to improve our unemployment compensation laws.

Milton J. Shapp was born and educated in Cleveland and part of the time he resided in my district. I discovered, too, that he graduated from Case Institute of Technology.

What has been Cleveland and Ohio's loss has been Pennsylvania's gain because this social-minded industrialist who knows how to make profits also has displayed on more than one occasion his sensitivity to human needs. Particularly his concern for our senior citizens' role in our industrial economy, as expressed in his testimony, is an example of his interest in the well-being of his fellow man.

It is with pleasure that I insert in the RECORD Mr. Shapp's testimony before the Ways and Means Committee of Thursday, August 19:

TESTIMONY OF MILTON J. SHAPP, PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, THE JERROLD CORP., PHILADELPHIA, PA., THURSDAY, AUGUST 19, 1965, IN SUPPORT OF THE MILLS-MCCARTHY BILL, H.R. 8282, BEFORE THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, WASHINGTON, D.C.

My name is Milton J. Shapp. I welcome and appreciate the opportunity to appear

before this committee to express my views on certain changes in the unemployment compensation program, which I feel are essential in order to make it more equitable for employers and employees; and to prevent certain abuses which presently operate to the detriment of some States and regions of the country.

I am a businessman—president and chairman of the board of the Jerrold Corp., of Philadelphia, Pa. This is a company which I started with but two employees in 1948.

Our company today operates 4 factories and engineering laboratories in Pennsylvania and New York, and employs approximately 1,600 people. In addition, we are major stockholders in nine other companies operating in Illinois, Indiana, Virginia, Mississippi, and Florida.

Jerrold is a member of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce and the Manufacturers' Association of Greater Philadelphia. Our executives participate actively in the affairs of the American Management Association.

For many years I was a member of the Young Presidents Organization, and served as president of its Philadelphia chapter in 1959.

I was the first chairman of the Manpower Utilization Commission in Philadelphia and have served as a consultant to the U.S. Department of Commerce on area redevelopment problems.

I presently serve as vice chairman of the National Public Advisory Committee for Area Redevelopment, and as a consultant to the Office of Economic Opportunity.

I appear before you as an individual businessman—not as a spokesman for any of these groups. However, my position is conditioned by experience in all these activities.

In the main, I support the proposals contained in H.R. 8282 to strengthen and broaden the unemployment compensation program, but have certain reservations that the proposed bill does not go far enough to achieve maximum benefits.

In supporting this bill, my views run contrary to those of many business spokesmen. It may seem odd that a businessman should support proposals calling for increased tax contributions from business, but at this point in our history it should be clear to all businessmen that programs that assist individuals in our society—programs that improve or sustain their ability to participate as producers and consumers—help all business.

I do not like to pay higher taxes of any sort any more than other businessmen. Nonetheless, I recognize fully that just as it is necessary for our company to spend more money each year for research to develop new products, for training programs to develop a more highly skilled work force, for tools and machinery to increase efficiency and productivity, so it is necessary to increase payment for certain taxes to achieve higher levels of economic growth in this Nation in order that our company can benefit from more stable markets in which to sell its products.

Unemployment compensation is a form of consumer income for large numbers of families. Even in these so-called prosperous years, many people face intermittent or long terms of unemployment.

It is a pleasure to observe the reduction in unemployment rates. Even so, with more than 5 percent of our Nation's reported work force without employment now, this is no time to relax in an effort to strengthen the Nation's economy. Further, when it is considered that the average period of unemployment has varied between 9.5 weeks to about 14 weeks in duration this year, this means that during this calendar year (at one time or another) approximately 22 to 25 percent of the individual members of the work force will be unemployed. While this estimate may not be exact because the same worker may be laid off two or more times during the course of his year, this does give an approximation of the size of the problem, because nationally this represents over 15 million workers.

In my home State of Pennsylvania, now enjoying a modest boom because of the prolonged period of national economic growth, this means that at one time or another this year between 400,000 to 500,000 members of the labor force will be without employment.

In our highly complex, consumer oriented, economy, which is based so heavily upon credit, it is obvious that continuity of income is an essential factor contributing not only to the well being of the individual and his family, but to the general health of his local community and the local stores he supports. An ever-widening arc of wholesalers, manufacturers, service industries and the very structures of government at all levels are affected by the welfare of each individual.

Even small contractions at the base of our economy can spread rapidly, and all too frequently require drastic cures out of all proportion to the minimal preventative measures that might have obviated them.

The unemployment compensation program has been of extreme benefit to the Nation ever since it was first adapted in 1937, but updating the program on a national level is long overdue.

Some of these changes and improvements are incorporated in H.R. 8282, and deserve solid support.

First, as proposed, the taxable base should be expanded to gain increased sources of funds, thus permitting greater benefits which will provide more realistically for the needs of unemployed in all income brackets. It is a common and growing phenomenon for skilled, comparatively high paid employees (as well as those on the lower wage rung) to become unemployed by reason of massive layoffs or technological displacement. The structure of compensation should provide a built-in adjustment factor to meet changes in incomes and the cost of living, as well as the changing economic structure of both the employed (and their wage levels) and the unemployed, and their wage levels.

The appointment of a special advisory commission to take place 3 years after the enactment of H.R. 8282 is an important step in this direction for it will at least assure constant review of the tax rate, wage base, and benefit structure.

Second, the broadening of the program as envisioned in H.R. 8282 to cover approximately 5 million additional workers is important. For example, about 37 percent of Pennsylvania's labor force are employed by companies not covered by unemployment compensation. Over 60 percent of Pennsylvania's unemployed last May were not receiving benefits. Our goal eventually should be to extend coverage to all members of the labor force. (See table II, addendum.)

Third, the provision of H.R. 8282 establishing what is essentially a national reinsurance program granting Federal funds for an additional 26 weeks of benefits to workers unemployed more than 26 weeks, is a step long overdue.

It is particularly important to protect workers in Pennsylvania, where the cyclical nature of heavy industry provides major employment in boom periods and creates unemployment of long duration during the period of recession. (See addendum.)

Fourthly, the provisions requiring States to adopt uniform standards for providing benefits represent a step in the right direction, but do not go far enough. Herein lies a basic weakness of H.R. 8282 as presently proposed.

The nature of unemployment in the United States is such that our unemployment compensation program must be made uniform nationally. Uniform standards should be developed for use by all States in determining tax rates, benefits, qualifications for participation, program criteria, and their administration.

There are two very important reasons why this should be done.

First, the magnitude of Federal expenditures among our 50 States profoundly affects State and local economies. Increasing Federal influence incurs increased responsibility and requires more direct participation by the Federal Government in the unemployment compensation program.

Federal polices governing procurement, the building of a new military base or space facility, or the abandonment of an old one, granting of contracts, etc., can and often do create areas of economic boom or disaster within individual States or communities regardless of the strength of the national economy. It is estimated that Government procurement policies affect over 20 percent of all employment—directly or indirectly—in the Nation.

The unequal effect on the various States of Federal activities and policy decisions argues against making unemployment compensation programs the sole responsibilities of the individual States.

Secondly, many States are presently using their unemployment compensation laws as lures to attract new industry. Benefits to the unemployed are stripped in an effort to present a favorable "tax climate" for industry. Pennsylvania's new unemployment compensation laws are a glaring example of this sort of inequity.

Individual States should not be permitted to charge some employers lower unemployment compensation taxes as a lure to attract industries from other areas. Such preferential premiums should not be permitted on a national level. The uniform national policy adopted for social security taxes should be adopted for unemployment compensation.

The tax bonus has been justified by making an analogy between unemployment compensation tax payments and insurance premiums; i.e., the careful business manager is to be rewarded for maintaining steady employment in the same manner he is rewarded for taking steps to prevent hazards of fire and theft.

The comparison is specious.

It is based on the assumption that an employer will take steps to maintain steadier employment of his work force if he receives a bonus in the form of a lower unemployment compensation tax rate for so doing. A good business manager will always attempt to adjust his schedules to maintain as steady a work force as possible. But I have never yet met a businessman who retained unneeded members of his work force for any period of time just because of the unemployment compensation tax bonus that might be granted.

I am willing to wager that 99 percent of the people in charge of hiring or firing for American business firms do not know what rates of unemployment compensation their firms are paying, or what rates they might pay under different hiring conditions. Workers are hired and fired to meet production requirements of the employer, not to merit unemployment compensation tax bonuses.

Certain types of businesses—for no justification at all—are favored by the present law simply because they are non-seasonal in nature, do not depend upon Government contracts, or have no specific contracts to fulfill within a stated period of time. They pay lower unemployment compensation taxes not because their management maintains steady employment to earn the bonus, but because their year round volume of business is relatively steady.

Construction companies, manufacturers of seasonal products, resort hotels, contractors to the Government and hosts of other businesses pay higher unemployment compensation tax rates, not because they object to providing steady employment, but because the nature of their business is such that the exercise of good judgment makes it necessary to hire and fire to meet schedules.

In Jerrold's main Philadelphia plant, for example, a shift from electronic tubes to transistor components drastically reduced the number of employees required to produce the same number of amplifier units. A 40-percent increase in sales for these products happily saved jobs. This good fortune is not always the case for employees and such employment has nothing to do with minimizing unemployment compensation tax rates.

It is claimed that companies with fluctuating employment should pay higher unemployment compensation taxes because their employees draw more heavily on the fund. This is true, but we must remember a lower rate offered to steady employers is not a reward—it is a windfall; a windfall received for being in a stable employment industry that is often dependent for its stability of operation upon the compensation payments made to the unemployed of less stable employment companies.

Last April, the Bureau of Employment Security in Harrisburg, Pa., reported that 41,064 employers had been assigned reduced payroll tax rates under new amendments to Pennsylvania's unemployment compensation law. Those receiving reduced rates in 1965 represent 21.8 percent of the State's employers, but they pay only 5.3 percent of the total payroll taxes. Obviously, 78.2 percent of Pennsylvania's employers paying 94.7 percent of the taxes are receiving no reductions.

In July, 1965, the Lancaster (Pa.) New Era carried a series of articles featuring the growth of Pennsylvania's economy during the past 4 years and quoted a number of company executives to the effect that the change in Pennsylvania's unemployment compensation law last year was responsible for expansion of their companies in Pennsylvania. The results of a poll were published which indicated that whereas in 1963 only 32 percent of Pennsylvania's executives thought the unemployment compensation tax administration was satisfactory, 67 percent thought so in 1965.

Now frankly, I consider all of this rather meaningless, because when the differentials in the tax rates are analyzed, even a 1-per cent tax bonus which represents about 2½ cents per hour (based upon Pennsylvania's average wage) is a rather insignificant and certainly a temporary factor for inducing industry to move from another State into Pennsylvania. But the insidious feature of this type of State competition is that to create this illusion of "better tax climate," concessions must be made to certain types of industrial taxpayers and these concessions can only be made by stripping benefits to be paid to the unemployed, which perverts the purpose of the law.

Attached is a copy of testimony I submitted to the Pennsylvania Task Force on Unemployment Compensation on December 16, 1963, in which I opposed the then proposed amendments to the Pennsylvania fund. I would appreciate it if this statement were to be included as part of this record.

I have been approached many dozens of times to locate my factories in other States. All sorts of inducements have been offered, including those of reduced unemployment compensation taxes. As a citizen I abhor this type of approach and doubt seriously if this factor has ever been of major consideration when other employers have made plant location decisions. Nonetheless, the practice is widespread, and because there is little if any real benefit to be derived by using unemployment compensation rate reductions as a lure, I am doubly distressed, because the victims of this practice are those who can least afford it—the unemployed, who are stripped of needed benefits.

Further, existing businesses are adversely affected by this practice because consumer funds are withdrawn from circulation.

This insidious practice can be stopped quickly and firmly by amending the present Mills-McCarthy bill, H.R. 8282, to charge all employers in all States the same rate of unemployment compensation tax.

The need for eliminating this practice is highlighted by another serious problem. In the ever widening search by individual States for methods of reducing benefit costs, one that has found much favor is the deduction of one-half social security benefits and all of private pension benefits paid for by the employer. This is an iniquitous and social evil, adversely affecting hundreds of thousands of Americans each year. In Pennsylvania alone, official estimates for 1965 are that 3,000 claimants involuntarily unemployed, who are eligible for social security or pension benefits, will be entirely disqualified and 25,000 will have their weekly unemployment compensation benefits sharply reduced; reduced in many instances from $45 to $3 or $4 per week.

The loss to these 28,000 unemployed Pennsylvanians for this year will total $13.8 million, averaging $482 per claimant.

The absurdity of this situation is emphasized by the result of the recent enactment by Congress of a 7-percent increase in social security benefits. Assuming that this amounts to $8 per month for many recipients, one-half of this increase will be deducted by the State of Pennsylvania from those claimants who are in unemployment compensation status, and similarly one-half of the amount to be paid retroactively to January 1 will be deducted from claimants who were in the unemployment compensation benefit status during the last 6 months.

Every level of government has expressed concern about the diminishing role of senior citizens in our industrial economy brought about by changing practices. Older people who are laid off are freqeuntly not even granted an interview for new employment because of arbitrary wage barriers.

Their search for employment for which they have so much to contribute is hampered by rules and requirements which make age an almost total barrier to acceptance. Such workers, many of them still in physical prime, have been dismissed solely because they reached a chronological age determined by company or management-labor policies.

Solid American citizens, they still have the need and desire for work. They have problems of family maintenance and support. Their pensions are meager and inadequate, and in most cases amounting to less than $100 per month. Their status in society deserves and has earned for them a decent living standard that requires full employment.

Yet these objects of our concern, whose plight has been called one of the most pressing in today's society, have become the subject of overt, regressive action by many State legislatures in the continuing, heedless demand to reduce unemployment compensation benefits. This group above all others has been seized upon a prime object for exclusion from the unemployment compensation program at a time when their need for it is the greatest.

Statistics accumulated by Federal agencies will support the thesis that a significant and important part of our gross national product is produced by workers in their sixties and seventies. Actual experience shows that these people are in the labor market, are seeking work, are working and are producing; despite the protestations by varicus State legislators seeking reduction in cost that they are out of the labor market.

I believe and earnestly advocate that this committee could strike a great blow of help and importance to the senior citizens of this country by inserting a standard prohibiting the States from deduction of social security and pension benefits, thus restoring to this segment of our population the same status and protections persons younger than they now have.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank you and members of your committee for the opportunity to place my views into this record. As I have indicated, I support the concepts embraced in H.R. 8282 to expand unemployment compensation coverage and benefits and to increase the tax base. I can only hope that in your deliberations you will agree with my arguments and take an additional major step and make unemployment compensation taxes uniform nationally and thereby benefit the majority of employers and employees alike.

ADDENDUM: SOME PERTINENT STATISTICAL DATA

1. Table I indicates the effects on selected industries of a modest recession such as that experienced in Pennsylvania during 1960–61.

While total employment in the State declined only 1.7 percent, manufacturing employment, which accounted for 38.7 percent of the wage and salary employment, declined 4.2 percent—2½ times as much. Nonmanufacturing employment declined less than 1 percent (0.68 percent).

By the end of 1964 manufacturing had not yet reachieved its 1960 level, while nonmanufacturing had risen steadily since 1962.

Service industries, particularly those of finance, insurance, and real estate experienced no declines in 1960–61, but showed a steady growth pattern. Primary metals and fabricated metals experienced substantial declines from which they were slow to merge—despite recent general prosperity.

It is not surprising to learn that the industries with the greatest proportion of employees in Pennsylvania's new minimum (1 percent) unemployment compensation tax rate group presently includes real estate, personal services, wholesale and retail trade and insurance. Those with the highest proportion in the maximum tax rate group (4 percent) include primary metals (47 percent of all employers) and fabricated metals (46 percent of employers). Contract construction had the highest percentage (76.3 percent) in the maximum rate group.

2. Table II gives an indication of the large numbers (approximately one-third) of Pennsylvania's labor force who are not covered under the existing unemployment compensation legislation.

3. Table III indicates the incidence of unemployment in Pennsylvania, as compared to the average number of unemployed—the figure on which unemployment rates are based.

The numbers of those unemployed in Pennsylvania during the course of a year who receive the benefits of unemployment compensation are a fraction—and a diminishing fraction—of the total of the labor force.

TABLE I.—*Pennsylvania employment patterns in selected industries, 1960–64*

[1960=100]

	Total	Nonfarm	Nonfarm wage and salary	Manufacturing	Nonmanufacturing	Primary metals	Fabricated metals	F.I.R-E	Service and miscellaneous
1960	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1961	98.0	98.3	98.0	95.6	99.3	89.9	94.2	101.9	101.9
1962	99.3	99.6	99.5	97.3	101.0	90.2	94.2	103.6	106.1
1963	99.2	99.7	99.6	97.1	101.2	89.9	94.1	103.6	106.7
1964	101.3	100.2	101.5	99.4	102.9	95.9	94.0	104.6	108.8

TABLE II.—*Covered employment as a percentage of total employment, and civilian labor force—Pennsylvania, 1960–64*

[In thousands]

	Employment in unemployment compensation covered companies (1)	Civilian labor force (2)	Percent 1/2 (3)	Total employment (4)	Percent 1/5 (5)
1960	3,000	4,701.1	63.7	4,309.2	69.7
1961	2,900	4,675.4	62.0	4,234.7	63.6
1962	2,900	4,650.6	62.4	4,282.8	67.9
1963	2,900	4,610.4	63.0	4,278.1	67.8
1964	2,900	4,631.8	62.7	4,365.2	66.4

Sources: (1) Employment security statistics: Bureau of Employment Security, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; and (2) Pennsylvania employment and earnings: Bureau of Employment Security, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

TABLE III.—*Estimates of yearly incidence of unemployment in relation to unemployment rates for covered and total employment—Pennsylvania, 1960–64*

	Covered employment			Total Pennsylvania	
	Average number of weekly payments	Estimated total number unemployed	Average number of weeks payment	Average number unemployed	Estimated total number unemployed
	Thousands	*Thousands*		*Thousands*	*Thousands*
1960	157.7	602.6	14.6	391.9	1,030
1961	196.6	609.9	18.0	440.7	865
1962	147.3	531.6	15.5	367.8	980
1963	139.2	489.2	15.9	332.3	950
1964	105.5	391.5	15.1	266.6	715
1965 (estimated)	86.4	186.3	10.9	224.4	482

Sources: (1) Employment security statistics: Bureau of Employment Security, Commonwealth of Pensylvania; and (2) Pennsylvania employment and earnings: Bureau of Employment Security, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Tax Sharing for Education Will Help States Meet Their Responsibilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, two articles in the December 30, 1964, edition of the Christian Science Monitor by Mr. Nobuo Abiko and Mr. William H. Stringer respectively, make the very valid point that the pressing financial needs of the States are not being seriously dealt with at the national level in a manner which will emphasize the important role of the State and local governments as opposed to Washington's role. My tax sharing for education bill offers the Congress the opportunity to provide the States with additional financial resources to meet their traditional responsibility in education.

The articles follow:

FEDERAL FUNDS DEBATED

STATE VIEW

(By Nobuo Abiko)

CHICAGO.—If there is one thing State governments need, it is more money.

As population expands, so do State services. And, of course, budgets.

But State governments are understandably reluctant to raise taxes. They would much rather get the money elsewhere.

From the Federal Government, for instance.

For a while earlier this year, this seemed a possibility. Walter W. Heller, former chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, proposed a plan to give a portion of Federal income tax revenues back to the 50 States. President Johnson assigned a task force to work out details.

It has since been reported that the President has temporarily set the plan aside. If so, it is a setback for many State services.

None of the States, of course, have been counting on this money. But all of them can readily name ways of using it.

Priority of projects

A sample survey of States by the Christian Science Monitor indicates that:

Almost all the States would spend the extra funds first for education.

Many rank mental health next in priority.

Some might also apply the money to their share of State-Federal matching fund projects.

In sum, a Federal tax refund would help States to upgrade or expand essential services. In some States, it would probably forestall or minimize otherwise necessary tax hikes. In others, it would possibly be used to reduce existing rates.

In any case, its greatest beneficiary would be education. This means public elementary and high schools, State colleges and universities, "special education," adult education—the entire spectrum.

Louisiana, for one, makes no doubt of its position.

"The administration," says State Comptroller Roy R. Theriot, "has an inflexible policy of dedicating any tax windfall or other money from unforeseen sources first to the education of our children, then to the education specifically of retarded children, and third to adults in order to reduce our high rate of illiteracy."

Most States need more facilities for higher education.

In New Jersey, for instance, a recent report said the State's public colleges need $134 million for capital construction. Since then, the State passed a $40 million bond issue. That covers less than one-third.

Michigan last year increased aid to higher education by some 350 percent, according to State Comptroller Glenn S. Allen, Jr. But college enrollments are always climbing. Part of a Federal refund would doubtless be used for capital outlays.

In Illinois, the master plan of higher education, calls for an extensive statewide system of 2-year colleges. But who has the money to build them?

It is a similar story in public elementary and secondary education.

Local school districts constantly press State capitals for higher per pupil aid. Property owners, whose taxes account for much of the education dollar, are already burdened.

Increasing pupil enrollments are not the only problem by any means. School systems need more teachers. Current teachers want more pay.

Then there are the special education programs.

California, for one example, would like to institute compensatory education for culturally deprived children, particularly those from minority groups. The State now has a pilot program, but that is all.

Nevada needs trade schools. California wants to revise its vocational guidance program, which has not changed in 20 years.

Mental health is another field where States want to do more—if they had the money.

Illinois claims one of the best programs in the country, but it has to scratch to provide staff salaries and opertaing funds.

Michigan's two major concerns in this area are retarded children and mentally disturbed children, according to Mr. Allen. Any Federal refund dollars left over from education would probably be applied here.

"We have started many new programs in mental health on a small scale," says Mr. Allen. "Our first job is to build these up."

In Texas, Gov. John B. Connally is reportedly exploring the idea of allotting part of a Federal refund to cities for mental-retardation programs. Some doubts exist whether this plan would be legal under the Texas constitution.

Some States might want to put a portion of the refund back into their share of Federal matching-fund projects.

Gov. Grant Sawyer of Nevada calls it "a very intriguing possibility." State Comptroller Theriot of Louisiana says it would be "a good thing."

California would consider it the best thing. This way, reasons Hale Champion, California's director of finance, the State could in effect, pay for many State-Federal projects

largely out of Federal money and relieve an already burdened State budget. California has the highest State budget in the Nation.

If President Johnson does approve the tax refund plan, most States would want no strings attached to it.

"If they take away the right of the State to allocate the money as it sees fit," says Louisiana's Mr. Theriot, "they haven't given us a thing."

At its meeting here in November, the executive committee of the Governors' conference unanimously passed a resolution endorsing the tax refund "without any degree of Federal control."

"This was the first resolution ever passed by the executive committee," reports Governor Sawyer, 1964–65 chairman of the committee. "That's how strongly we felt about it."

California's Mr. Champion, however, definitely favors some restrictions. Says he:

"Many problems to be solved on the State level today require breakthroughs of one kind or another. These can't be had by fragmenting the money among the States. They are better attacked by research on a cooperative national basis.

"The old de Tocqueville idea of the States as laboratories," he adds, "is not entirely valid in the complexities of modern times."

An official from another State says he favors a few conditions "so that the low-tax States don't stay low service and put the burden on the rest of us."

Some low-tax States have such inadequate college facilities, for example, says this official, that students from those States "come to us to be educated. This puts an extra burden on us."

Of one thing, however, all States are positive:

They can definitely use a Federal refund, however large or small.

UNITED STATES VIEW

(By William H. Stringer)

WASHINGTON.—President Johnson will await a more favorable moment to push the dramatic proposal to transfer annually a chunk of Federal income to the States without strings.

"The proposal is dormant, not abandoned," a White House official stresses.

Actually the administration never intended to ask Congress, this coming year, to approve the plan to hand back to the States a portion of each year's Federal income tax collections. The idea, advanced by Walter W. Heller, recent Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, was plentifully discussed, but only as something intended for a slightly more distant future.

Of course President Johnson himself has ruefully noted that, when a startling new proposition like this gets leaked and talked about, opposition to the plan builds up.

This has happened to the no-strings sharing proposal. Members of Congress have begun to criticize a plan that would remove Congress from the "decision process" on how funds should be expended. George Meany, president of the AFL–CIO, has worried that State legislatures would allocate the money without traditional safeguards protecting unions and minority groups.

Trust fund

Government economists advocate postponing the plan until the revenue picture is different. When and if continuing prosperity produces an excess of revenues on the Federal side, while the States still suffer from lack of funds, then bring the plan into operation, they argue.

Right now, many States do lack revenues, but the Federal Government also faces a deficit, and President Johnson has plenty of programs for spending Federal money—and he intends to hold on to the Federal revenue necessary for administration programs.

A fixed portion of personal income tax collections would be set aside, probably 1 percentage point of the tax rate. This would make $2.5 billion available under present rates and revenue.

This money would not appear in the budget's receipts and expenditures columns, being paid instead into a trust fund.

The sum would be distributed to the States annually to be used in whatever way they wished. Probably there would be a ban on use for highways construction, but few other strings would be attached.

This money would be in addition to the present grants-in-aid to the States which, together with other specific programs, means that about $10 billion now is annually distributed to the States from Washington.

Tax brake

The States would share according to their population. This would mean that the richer, highly industrialized States would have turned in to Washington somewhat more than they got back.

A main argument of Mr. Heller, it is understood, is that there will be continuing need to assure that rising tax receipts do not choke off growth and prosperity when a boom begins to flourish. In 1964, the big Federal tax cut was intended to lessen the pressure of this tax brake on the booming economy.

Another and useful way to reduce this pressure in the future, it is argued, is to hand over some of the tax-collected money to the States to spend.

Crucial needs

What troubles Congress and some officials is apprehension that some States might not make the most effective use of the moneys. Some of the country's most pressing needs today are declared to be in the fields of education, health, and welfare. No doubt a large portion of the $2.5 billion would be directed, by State governors and legislatures, to meet pressing demands in education, health, and welfare.

Still there are those who say the Federal Government should always insist on some control, that the present system of grants-in-aid should be expanded, instead of handing over no-strings funds.

Those who advocate the no-strings plan note today's pressures to reduce Federal taxes, at a time when many pressing physical needs of the Nation are still unmet. They believe that, since the plight of State treasuries is generally recognized, this plan would serve both to help the States and to stave off drastic tax reductions at a time when national needs are crucial in such fields as education.

But whatever the arguments the Johnson administration believes they will be more persuasive—as well as more familiar—a year from now.

Is Russia Outstripping United States in Military Space Programs?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Human Events of August 21, 1965:

IS RUSSIA OUTSTRIPPING UNITED STATES IN MILITARY SPACE PROGRAMS?

(By Holmes and Hunter Alexander)

Moscow, U.S.S.R.—Spaceward, the course of the Russian Empire moves onward.

Here on the firm earth of Red Square, hundreds of Muscovites congregate every hour to watch the simple but symbolic changing of the guard at Lenin's Tomb. All Russians have been taught that their Communist empire will inherit the world. But ever since the first space spectaculars with the 1957 sputniks, Red propagandists have been boasting that the Soviet Union will bury its American archenemy in the skies.

Today that bragging, imperious in undertones and overtones alike, becomes openly ominous. Four times in the past 2 months, Red Star (a newspaper published by the Defense Ministry) has trumpeted the claim that Russia now has orbital space rockets with the capacity of wiping any aggressor off the face of the earth.

There is no doubt at all about the intended identity of the aggressor and among American scientists back home there is little doubt about the weapon.

There is little doubt because the United States spent 7 years and $10 million between 1958–65 to plan the nuclear-powered space orbiting system called Project Orion. We have high-ranking scientists who believe the Russians have copied or adapted Orion, which has been declassified since October, 1964. The Russians might easily have cracked the secrecy before that.

The nuclearized Orion was downgraded and doomed as an American military experiment when our disarmament zealots started dickering for a test ban treaty in 1962–63. On the safe assumption that the Russians know as much as we do about the Orion technique, here is approximately what Red Star is hinting at.

It is a first generation vehicular system that is capable of carrying 8 men and 100 tons of payload to Mars and back. It is a jet-propelled engine or engines powered by a nuclear reactor which, in effect, bombs a shield at the rear of the vehicle and drives it forward. The usual limitations of temperature do not affect this vehicle because the hot debris of the explosions makes only a momentary contact with the shield. The limitations of using full nuclear power are also absent because the reactor is outside the vehicle.

Guidance, mobility, range, the exchange of crewmembers, and the restocking of the payload are all within this space cruiser's capability. Its potentials as a raider of earth targets, and as an interceptor of our space satellites, are almost limitless. It may not be the never-never ultimate weapon, but it will do until another comes along.

Two American authorities have written gingerly this year on the subject. The description given above is roughly taken from an article by physics Prof. Freeman J. Dyson of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton University. Under the title, "Death of a Project" in the July 9 issue of Science, Dr. Dyson tells how Orion was kicked out of the Defense Department program by Secretary McNamara and the now-Secretary of Air, Harold Brown, and how it perished in NASA after its secrets were aired.

Dr. Dyson ruefully writes that Project Orion was "suppressed for political reasons." He doesn't openly say, as other military-minded scientists have said, in off-record dudgeon, that the central political reason for Orion's cancellation was to keep open the disarmament talks with Russia.

An American authority who writes even closer to the awful truth about the Soviet monopoly on this weapon for "wiping any aggressor off the face of the earth" is Mose L. Harvey, formerly with the State Department's Division of Research for U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe. In the 1965 winter issue of Orbis, a quarterly journal of world affairs, Mr. Harvey speculates on "a strategic breakthrough by the U.S.S.R. * * * in the form of an orbitting platform in space." With the present Russian vehicle undoubtedly in mind, Mr. Harvey gives this chilling prediction:

"At a maximum, the Soviet might succeed in locking the United States outside of space and thereby force upon it a second-class, if not a captive, status."

Such are the Russian dreams of empire. They have a promise of reality for one reason only. The reason: the U.S.S.R. has militarized its space program—whereas our program is oriented to peace and publicity.

Pechman, Percy Support Tax Sharing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, in April at the symposium sponsored by the American Bankers Association the revenue-sharing concept was given another boost by Joseph A. Pechman, director of economic studies at the Brookings Institution and Industrialist Charles A. Percy of Illinois. This article in the April 3, 1965, issue of Business Week represents the wide backing the revenue-sharing plan is receiving.

The article follows:

NO-STRINGS FEDERAL AID FINDS BACKERS AT FORUM—PLAN THAT JOHNSON SHELVED LAST FALL FOR REDISTRIBUTING FEDERAL REVENUES IS SUPPORTED AT ABA SYMPOSIUM BY ECONOMIST JOSEPH PECHMAN AND INDUSTRIALIST CHARLES PERCY

Last fall, President Johnson shelved a proposal to redistribute a portion of Federal revenues to State and local governments. Today, the tax-sharing plan is very much alive again.

Early last week, 42 Governors urged the White House to permit a new study of the plan. And on Friday, at a tax symposium of the American Bankers Association, the plan was publicly urged by Joseph A. Pechman, director of studies for the Brookings Institution and the man who headed Johnson's hush-hush Great Society task force on intragovernmental fiscal relations.

Pechman's plan aroused lively discussion, and warm support from an unexpected source: Illinois Republican Charles H. Percy, board chairman of Bell & Howell Co.

DOUBLE GOAL

Supporters of the plan claim that it is the most direct way to cope simultaneously with two problems:

The ever-growing need of State and local governments for more money.

The drag that some economists see on the U.S. economy, because Federal revenues—at full employment—would rise by some $6 billion each year.

Opponents of the plan concentrate their fire on the fact that it entails the allocation of funds to State-local governments on an untied basis, with no Federal controls over how the money is spent. The handling of Federal grants—running above $10 billion a year—has always been a touchy political point. The civil rights issue has made the point even sorer, lest Southern States spend untied funds on segregated schools.

The first proposal for no-string allocations was made last fall by Walter Heller, then chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and the whole idea is often called the Heller plan.

SUPPLEMENT

Pechman's version would use the untied general assistance only as a supplement to existing practices. He believes that State-local revenues themselves will rise enough to cover part of the increased needs. And he feels that the traditional controlled grants-in-aid will continue to increase, constituting "the basic method of providing assistance to the States and local governments."

Still, he argues, that leaves many State-local services of national importance that cannot be appropriately dealt with by specific grants. Particularly in education, he says, such needs are so urgent that untied grants are essential. What's more, he adds, they would spare the Federal Government unnecessary administrative burdens.

LOCAL SPUR

Pechman's idea found its chief, if unexpected, defender in Percy, who maintained that untied grants would encourage independence and responsibility in local authorities.

"Adequate State revenues could truly revitalize State government," Percy said. "No longer would local political issues revolve around revenue problems to the point where other important issues are downgraded or ignored."

Percy also attacked the argument that no-strings grants would be a massive redistribution of income from industrial States to poorer States. He said that the money would be used by the poorer States to meet national goals that would otherwise not be met. Furthermore, he argued, if national funds helped improve education in the South, it might cut the present costly flow of illiterates into his own State of Illinois.

PLENTY OF ANTIS

The no-strings plan met varied opposition at the ABA meeting.

Labor economists assailed the whole idea, stressing the possible use of the funds to bolster segregationist causes in the South.

From the business side, the plan was lambasted by President George S. Moore, of New York's First National City Bank. He said that State-local revenues had been rising by an annual 8.3 percent for a decade, enough to cope with admittedly greater needs.

"If our city fathers are going to run to Washington as an escape from local fiscal disciplines," Moore said, "the economic drag of high Federal income tax rates will be perpetuated."

The bankers also heard an urgent plea for tax reform from the outgoing Treasury Secretary, Douglas Dillon, who spoke of some of the tax-equity measures that were dropped from the 1964 tax cut bill. The incentive aspect of fiscal policy, Dillon said, "has fallen on fertile soil, but what we have said about equity has often fallen on harder soil."

Hon. Clarence J. Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, the late CLARENCE J. BROWN, of Ohio, was already firmly established as a leading Member of the House of Representatives before I took my seat in this Chamber.

It took only a few days for me to discover that CLARENCE BROWN's reputation for integrity and for adherence to high principles was earned by his performance in committee and on the floor of the House.

One of the most forceful and convincing debaters in congressional history, CLARENCE BROWN was respected by all of his colleagues in the Congress and by this Nation as a whole.

His passing leaves a great void in this historic Chamber. His contributions to our Republic are a part of the permanent record of our Nation. Their benefits have been not only for this generation but for the generations yet to come.

I extend my sympathy and that of Mrs. McClory to the surviving members of CLARENCE BROWN's family.

Higher Education Act of 1965—Minnesota Needs It, the Country Needs It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, as never before there is a great need to promote excellence in our colleges and universities. Nationally, the number of college and university students has doubled in the past 10 years. It appears that this accelerated rate of growth will continue so that in 8 years the student population will double once again.

In Minnesota, we feel the pressure of this group. Since 1954 our college age youth have increased by 50,000 and we have not been able to expand our facilities fast enough to provide for them all. The regrettable fact is that this year, at the University of Minnestota alone, we have had to turn away 1,500 students who would have been qualified to enter if there had been money to pay for enough teachers, books, and classrooms to handle them.

Mr. Speaker, colleges in Minnesota must have help from Congress just as the colleges and universities in other States need this help.

The Higher Education Act of 1965 provides badly needed financial aid for college students, for college libraries, and for more college buildings and facilities.

URBAN EXTENSION SERVICES

There are many parts of the bill that I would choose to commend. The extension services proposals of title I represent a wise response to some of the significant problems of our growing metropolitan areas. New improved community services programs providing special courses, conferences, seminars, would make possible the fresh appraisal of community problems. Through special adult education courses, a community could make of its valuable college resources a practical tool to assist in the solution of its urban and suburban problems.

COLLEGE LIBRARY AID

A great library is the heart of any great college or university. The time has come to insure a higher level of excellence for our Nation's library facilities. The University of Minnesota and other colleges throughout the country will be able to build up their library collections with part of the $50 million provided for libraries under this bill.

Colleges have not been able to keep up with the literature explosion in recent years. The new influx of students and the new fields of study and research make such demands on college library budgets that Federal funds have become necessary. At the University of Minnesota, for example, the library is able to fill only 48 percent of the requests for books by students using the library. Four years ago, it could handle 65 percent of the requests. This deficiency must be corrected, and the State cannot do it alone.

COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS

Whereas, in some areas, the facilities even of our great universities are inadequate, many of our large institutions have resources enough to share. It is often true that these resources in fact would be better used if they were shared. Thus, it would seem both appropriate and economical for colleges and universities, large and small, to develop interinstitutional cooperative programs. Our weaker and developing institutions, which do serve a vital function, could be greatly strengthened and revitalized through the development of cooperative programs with our stronger and more secure schools.

AID TO STUDENTS

I have an especially keen interest in title IV of this bill. This title, I think, rightly suggests that all needy students who are qualified to do college level work should be eligible for financial assistance. This aid should not be limited to the scholastic elite.

If we pass the Higher Education Act of 1965, undergraduate students will now be able to get outright financial grants. Usually, the only student grants have been either GI bill payments to the veterans or scholarships for a small number of the brighter students. At the University of Minnesota in my district, for example, 2,300 students have applied for freshman scholarships, but only 1 in 5 will be granted because of the shortage of funds. But under this bill, Minnesota colleges will have $1,500,000 more each year to distribute as grants to students needing financial help.

Work study jobs will be available to many more students under this bill. Last year a student had to be from a low-income family. We are now amending the law to give part-time jobs to students "who are in need of the earnings from such employment to pursue courses of study at such institutions." Nationwide, a total of 300,000 students will be able to get part-time work in this way.

FEDERAL GRANTS FOR COLLEGE FACILITIES

Doubling of Federal aid for construction of college facilities is the most vital part of this bill. University of Minnesota Vice President Stanley J. Wenberg testified before Congresswoman EDITH GREEN's subcommittee that "the critical need today is for Federal funds for buildings, facilities and equipment for higher education."

This bill increases from $230 million to a new level of $460 million the authorization for grants for undergraduate facilities. Minnesota colleges have serious need for the $10 million share our State will have for fiscal year 1966 if this bill is passed. Funds are needed for our fast-growing system of State colleges, for new junior colleges, for our strong State university, and for the excellent, high quality private colleges found throughout Minnesota.

The University of Minnesota has a carefully worked out plan for constructing new buildings and for remodeling old over a 10-year period. It is divided into 2-year phases to match the biennial sessions of the State legislature.

But, nonetheless, the university request for $35.7 million in 1966 was slashed to $12.5 million by the legislature. The 1963 request of $21.7 million was cut to $7.5 million. The 1965 request of $48.5 million has been cut to $19 million. Thus, in recent years, we have been able to get little more than one-third of our university building budget financed by the State legislature. I can only conclude from our own experience in Minnesota, and our Governor supports me on this, that there is a great need for a vast infusion of Federal funds if we are to avoid serious weakening of our colleges and universities.

OPPOSITION

I know there is opposition to this bill from these who do not want grants and loans for students and from some who use the war in Vietnam for opposing domestic programs. But I believe our Nation cannot avoid acting now to strengthen higher education. In Minnesota alone, the growth in numbers of college age youth will result in 118,000 attending college in our State in 1970 compared with 38,000 in 1954. Our States, cities, and private colleges cannot afford to meet this challenge alone. Federal assistance through the Higher Education Act of 1965 is a must.

Governors Want Tax Sharing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, an article by Tom Wicker in the New York Times of July 27, 1965, shows the favorable response of the States' chief executives to tax sharing at the recent Governors' conference in Minneapolis.

I feel my bill of tax sharing for education may well pave the way for tax sharing for other purposes, and I urge the Governors to join with me in securing early consideration of my legislation.

THE HELLER TAX PLAN—GOVERNORS FAVOR SHARING IN FEDERAL REVENUE BUT WHITE HOUSE HOLDS BACK

(By Tom Wicker)

MINNEAPOLIS, July 26.—Virtually all the harried politicians who serve as Governors of American States like the idea of the so-called Heller Plan, but many have different ideas of what it is or ought to be.

Governors are a hard-pressed lot, squeezed between rising demands for State services, declining ability to finance them, and growing debt. Thus, the Heller Plan's basic idea—that the Federal Government should share its more abundant revenues with the States—is as alluring to them as an election without an opponent.

But the White House has never formally advanced the proposal originated by Walter W. Heller, former chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. The basic reason is that the questions now being raised by thoughtful Governors have not been resolved.

Among the Governors, there appears to be a consensus on only two points, about one of which the White House well may take a different view.

SENTIMENT FOR STRINGS

Most discussions of the proposal here conclude that revenues turned over to the States by the Federal Government ought to be what Governor Rockefeller of New York called "noncategorical grants"—that is general fund money that the States could use as they pleased, for their most pressing needs.

In the White House, however, there is considerable sentiment for giving the money to the States, if at all, with "strings attached"—that is, specifying that it be used to finance education or some other program that the States might bypass or starve if left undirected.

The other point on which the Governors seem agreed, and one on which the White House almost surely would concur, is that the Federal Government ought to collect the money first, then turn it over to the States.

Some Governors, like George Romney of Michigan, express a preference for having the Federal Government relinquish tax sources that would then be picked up by new State taxation. And Gov. Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon pointed out certain administrative difficulties that could arise when the tax collector was different from the tax spender.

They conceded, however, that there would be no guarantee that the States could or would pick up any tax sources that might be abandoned to them by the Federal Government. One of the most serious problems all Governors face is the political resistance of State electorates and legislatures to increases in State and local taxes, particularly when the Federal Government has been reducing taxes.

Another vexing question is the distribution formula. If the Federal Government gave back money to the States in proportion to what each contributed to total Federal revenues, big States like New York and California would get the lion's share.

Governor Rockefeller, recognizing this, proposed instead a distribution on a straight per capita basis. But that would provide the major States only a slightly smaller proportion of the funds.

Governor Hatfield and other small-State Governors favor a distribution formula that would include other factors—for instance, the degree of a State's need for assistance, and the level of a State's efforts to finance its own programs.

There are further questions, mostly speculative, about the effect of Federal-State revenue sharing on the Federal system. Would it bring the States a new vitality and make them more active partners—even the dominant partners—in meeting problems of education, housing, roads and welfare?

Or would it simply increase State dependence on the Federal Government and give Washington a new source of bureaucratic power over such activities?

ONE POINT CLEAR

Only one point is really clear: the States need help. State taxes leaped from $4.9 billion in 1946 to $24.2 billion last year. In 1963 alone, property taxes went up 7.3 percent, sales taxes went up 8.7 percent and State corporate and individual income taxes rose 7.5 and 6.3 percent. State debt climbed from $15.9 billion in 1946 to $90 billion today—

even concurrently with a rise in Federal aid from $2.7 billion in 1954 to about $11 billion this year.

But Mr. Heller and other economists predict that Federal revenues, reflecting rising prosperity, and increasing at a rate approaching $6 billion a year, may soon exceed Federal expenditures and produce a brake on economic expansion—that is, take more money out of the economy than is put into it.

In these circumstances, they say, the Government must either cut taxes again or find new and beneficial ways to use its revenues. Most of the Governors seem to think Dr. Heller was right, therefore, when he said that "if we are serious about the idea of creative federalism, now is the time to do something constructive about it."

Education: Investment in Human Capital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article from the August 1965, Monthly Economic Letter of the First National City Bank of New York.

The article, prepared by economists in the employ of one of America's largest financial institutions, presents the case for investing "seed money" in education today so that we may reap a crop of educated and thinking citizens tomorrow.

EDUCATION: INVESTMENT IN HUMAN CAPITAL

Education today is in the midst of a great boom. During the past year, some 53 million people—or roughly 28 percent of all Americans—were enrolled in school. Total cash outlays for public and private schools amounted to an estimated $36 billion, up more than tenfold from $3.4 billion in 1940. Nearly 2¼ million persons were employed as teachers, instructors, and professors. It is manifest from such figures that education is one of our greatest industries.

Higher education has been expanding most spectacularly. College enrollments have grown from 1.4 million in 1939–40 to nearly 5 million last year; 2 out of 5 persons of college age (18 to 21 years) were enrolled last year compared with only 1 out of 7 in 1939–40. By the midseventies, enrollments are expected to exceed 8 million, with more than half of all 18-to-21 year olds going to college.

Behind this boom is a growing demand for education. Whereas high school had been a standard of attainment for earlier generations, it is clear that college is now becoming a common goal. Employers have raised their educational standards. Parents know that their children will need more and more schooling to enter and succeed in occupations and professions that offer better incomes and higher status. They not only spur their sons and daughters to greater efforts in school, but work hard to pay their way through college and graduate study.

But is education being overemphasized? Are too many people going to college? At least until the last decade, many economists seemed to think so. In 1949, for example, Prof. Seymour Harris, of Harvard, warned that the increase in college-trained workers would so flood the job market that "a large proportion of the potential college students within the next 20 years are doomed to disappointment after graduation, as the number of coveted openings will be substantially less than the numbers seeking them."

More recently, however, economists have come up with persuasive evidence that education is not only a good investment for individuals, but is an important key to the Nation's economic growth. They regard investment in education as capital embodied in people—"human capital"—that is as important as capital embodied in plant and equipment—or "nonhuman capital."

HUMAN AND NONHUMAN CAPITAL

That education is an important form of capital is not a new discovery. Economists as far back as the 17th century were well aware of the importance of earning abilities embodied in human skills. In his "Wealth of Nations," Adam Smith explicitly recognized the acquired abilities of people as a form of capital:

"The acquisition of such talents, by the maintenance of the acquirer during his education, study, or apprenticeship always costs a real expense, which is a capital fixed and realized, as it were, in his person. Those talents as they make a part of his fortune, so do they likewise of that of the society to which he belongs."

In the days when slavery and other forms of involuntary servitude were common, scholars apparently had fewer inhibitions about recognizing the capital value of human abilities. In more recent times, even though some economists continued to theorize about human capital, this aspect of economics was generally neglected. With the massive growth of physical capital (plant and equipment, housing, inventories, etc.), together with the availability of voluminous statistics on capital assets and physical production, virtually all economic studies emphasized the role of nonhuman capital.

But this one-sided view has led to some serious errors. Thus, it has been widely assumed that it is the increase in the amount of capital per worker that primarily explains the growth of productivity per worker in advanced economies. This belief has led to the use of simple capital-output ratios in planning for economic development of less-developed countries, in which it was assumed that there was a fixed relationship between the amount of physical capital invested and the increase in output that could be expected. Results of such planning have often been quite disappointing in practice.

On the other hand, a number of recent economic studies, have revealed that investment in human capital—education, on-the-job training, health, etc.—has played a much bigger role in U.S. economic growth than previously realized. Thus, in his study, "The Sources of Economic Growth in the United States," Edward F. Denison calculated that the rising educational level of the labor force (including managerial and technical personnel) was responsible for 23 percent of the growth in real national income between 1929 and 1957. In contrast, the increase in physical capital accounted for only 15 percent, while the general advanced of knowledge was seen as contributing 20 percent. Using a different method but with similar results, Prof. Theodore Schultz of the University of Chicago has estimated that the yield on our investment in educational capital over roughly the same period accounted for about one-fifth of the rise in national output.

Denison's study also indicated that the relative importance of education has been growing. In the previous 20 years, 1909–29, he calculated that increased education of the labor force accounted for 12 percent of economic growth while the buildup of physical capital accounted for 26 percent. The greater appreciation of education as an economic force thus appears to reflect shifts in the underlying facts of economic life.

Such figures point up the fact that a modern economy does not depend simply on installing more and better machinery to attain rising efficiency. Not only are skilled engineers needed to design and install the improved equipment, but more technically trained personnel are required to plan and manage production, to sell and service the product and conduct research for newer and better products. A growing modern economy also requires more and more scientists, teachers, doctors and health specialists, advertising and sales people, computer programers and technicians, and mechanics and maintenance workers of all kinds.

GROWTH IN EDUCATION

Since the turn of the century the amount of education invested in people has grown at a striking rate. By 1960, the average member of the labor force had spent nearly twice as many days in school as his counterpart in 1930. Since 1890, the proportion of youngsters age 14 to 17 in school has risen from 7 to 94 percent. The percentage of youths 18 to 21 years of age attending college has climbed from 3 to 42 percent.

While some of this increase in schooling stemmed from the prohibition of child labor, compulsory school attendance laws and the relative decline of agriculture, it primarily reflected the growth of family income. With each succeeding generation, increasing prosperity enabled more and more families to bear the costs of sending their children through high school and in many cases to college. The movement off the farm brought more families into urban communities where educational institutions were readily accessible and greater training was required of those seeking employment.

As parents well know, expanding education costs a lot of money. Since 1900, expenditures for formal education in the United States have risen over 100 times from $264 million to $34 billion in 1963–64. In contrast to the widely fluctuating growth in physical capital formation, cash outlays for education have been climbing faster and more steadily.

While the rise in education spending reflects increased school attendance, it also stems from the sharp climb in outlays per pupil. Over the period 1900 to 1964, when enrollment in public elementary and secondary schools increased about 2½ times, expenditures per pupil rose 40 times. Spending for higher education has grown even more dramatically with the twentyfold increase in enrollments during this century. Expenditures per student have multiplied eight times from $229 in 1900 to $1,920 in 1964, reflecting the rise in faculty salaries and growing expenditures for research and other activities.

In calculating the investment in education, cash outlays for schooling are not the whole story. No less important are the earning opportunities passed up by students in order to go to school. The earnings foregone are a real cost to the student and his family. Professor Schultz has estimated that the percentage of total education costs attributable to earnings foregone by students was 43 percent for high school, 53 percent in college and 55 percent in postgraduate and professional school.

All told the education capital embodied in people has risen much faster than the stock of physical capital. Professor Schultz has calculated that the stock of education capital in the labor force as of 1957, measured by its total cost, was 8½ times its 1900 level. In contrast, the stock of physical capital, as estimated by Prof. Raymond Goldsmith, of Yale, had risen only 4½ times since 1900.

And even this estimate of education capital is undoubtedly too low. Changing technology and the increasing degree of specialization require more or less continuous training and retraining, much of it on the job. Prof. Jacob Mincer of Columbia has calculated that investment in on-the-job training measured in terms of costs, is as important

as formal schooling for the male labor force and equals more than half of expenditures on formal education. It is estimated that the on-the-job capital embodied in the male labor force grew at an annual rate of 5.36 percent between 1939 and 1957.

RETURNS ON EDUCATION CAPITAL

Despite recurrent fears that the growing number of high school and college graduates would glut the labor market, the earnings differentials in favor of better educated workers have been well maintained. From 1940 to 1960, the proportion of men 25 years and older who had completed 1 to 4 years of high school rose from 27 to 40 percent, while men with some college training rose from 10 to 18 percent. Nevertheless, between 1946 and 1958, average incomes of male high school graduates rose much more rapidly than those with only grade school education, as the annual income differential jumped from $600 in 1946 to $1,800 in 1958.

Income statistics indicate that the massive increase in college men has not hurt their relative earnings. In 1939, the average income of college graduates was 57 percent more than that for high school graduates, and in 1956 and 1961, the relative margin was roughly the same. Demand for college-trained people has kept up with the supply. With the advance of science and technology, the growth of specialized occupations in industry and Government has absorbed the increased flow of graduates from colleges and universities. Thus, from 1950 to 1964, while the male labor force increased by 11 percent, the number of professional and technical workers doubled.

A summary measure of the financial returns associated with education can be seen in the accompanying chart. Developed by Herman P. Miller of the U.S. Bureau of the Census, these figures indicate that additional years of schooling have been closely associated with substantial increases in lifetime incomes over the past generation. Based on Miller's calculations, the average male high school graduate in 1961 could expect to receive one-third more in lifetime earnings than a youngster with only an elementary school education. A man who finishes college could expect to make almost two-thirds more than the average high school graduate.

There are, of course, many factors in addition to education that account for increased earnings. People who finish college tend to have more drive, innate ability, and physical and financial capacity to get through. These qualities all contribute to earning capacity. Even after allowing for such factors, economists have found that most of the differences in earnings between high school and college graduates remain.

A HIGHLY PROFITABLE INVESTMENT

In his "Poor Richard's Almanack," Benjamin Franklin said, "An investment in knowledge pays the best interest." Though generations of Americans have acted on this belief in getting an education, they have done so without precise knowledge of the likely payoff.

However, in a recent study for the National Bureau of Economic Research entitled "Human Capital," Prof. Gary Becker, of Columbia, made careful estimates of the return on college education. He found that after allowing for the superior abilities of college graduates, the average rate of return in the form of increased earnings came to more than 12 percent. This compares with a little over 7 percent for the average return on total assets in manufacturing. Such high financial returns from advanced education suggest that parents are acting with good foresight in saving or borrowing money to send children to college.

Similarly precise estimates of the return on high school training are lacking because it is much harder to separate the increase in earnings attributable to native abilities from that stemming from high school training. Without such adjustment, Professor Becker's figures show rates of return for high school graduates ranging from 16 to 28 percent for various years.

These calculations indicate that education does indeed "pay the best interest." But aside from the private return to individuals, increased education pays large dividends to society as a whole. As noted earlier, Denison attributes 20 percent of the growth in U.S. national income between 1929 and 1957 to the general "advance of knowledge," which is largely a byproduct of educational activities.

EDUCATION AND NATIONAL GOALS

Economic advancement, of course, is not the sole aim of education. As has always been true, the acquisition of knowledge is an end in itself. The greatest return for the student will continue to be the fulfillment of his individual capacity for intellectual and personal development.

Nevertheless, there is good reason for stressing the economic benefits of increasing education. The goals of the Nation, as well as of its citizens, require full development of our resources. As John W. Gardner, the newly appointed Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, recently pointed out, the demand for educated manpower is a condition of modern life:

"The demand for high-talent manpower is firmly rooted in the level of technological complexity which characterizes modern life, and in the complexity of modern social organization. And more important than either of these is the rate of innovation and change in both technological and social spheres. * * *

"And the importance of education in modern society is not limited to the higher orders of talent. A complex society is dependent every hour of every day upon the capacity of its people to read and write, to make complex judgments and to act in the light of fairly extensive information. When there is not this kind of base on which to build, modern social and economic developments are simply impossible."

The growing importance of human capital does not mean any downgrawing of physical capital. Indeed, accumulation of both kinds of capital are inexorably intertwined in economic progress. The welfare of the Nation depends on our increasing investment in both the human capacities of our citizens and the physical capacities of automated facilities and equipment.

From this viewpoint, the sharp increase in young people joining the labor force during the latter sixties may be regarded as a huge addition to the Nation's capital stock. They embody more education per person than ever before. Investment in plant and equipment is also rising rapidly. If we make full use of our growing capital stocks in coming years, the world may well see an authentic great leap forward, American style.

Right-To-Work Debate: Nullification of Such Laws Unlikely To Have Much Impact

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, in light of the continuing controversy over the passage of H.R. 77, I would like to insert into the RECORD an article from the Wall Street Journal that sums up the matter very well.

The article follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, July 8, 1965]

RIGHT-TO-WORK DEBATE

(By Joseph Mathewson)

DES MOINES.—A union official asserts right-to-work laws impoverish workers and also the professional people who serve them, and cause "the growth of slums, deliquency, disease and crime." At the same time a defender of the laws contends repeal of them would pave the way for "destruction of all individual freedom and the rising on this soil of a Hitler."

These statements are typical of the heated current debate over the proposed banning of right-to-work laws by Federal legislation. But talks with labor leaders and businessmen in States with such statutes indicate they have much less impact on both unions and companies than all the sound and fury seems to indicate.

For a realistic, grassroots assessment of right-to-work legislation, consider Iowa, one of the 19 States all in the South, Midwest, and West, with right-to-work laws. The lines of debate are clearly drawn in Iowa, for Democratic Gov. Harold Hughes made an unsuccessful effort in this year's legislative session to legalize the union shop. Under right-to-work laws, a union and an employer cannot negotiate a union shop contract, which requires employees to join the union in order to keep their jobs.

DE FACTO UNION SHOPS

Despite the Iowa law, there are many de-facto union shops in the State, notably in construction and printing. Kenneth Lewis, manager of Master Builders of Iowa, a contractors' association, says that "in certain urban areas any employer who would hire a nonunion man would find the union men walking off." Printing unions control apprentice training and issue the vital journeyman's card to qualified workers; as a result most printing operations are completely unionized. "It's only practical for a guy to join the union," declares one printing company executive.

Even in industries where unions lack such controlling strength, their membership often is high. "In most of our plants a great majority of the workers, usually 100 percent, are members," says an official of the United Packinghouse Workers of America. Union membership runs to 92 percent of the 2,600 hourly workers at Aluminum Co. of America's rolling mill at Bettendorf, and to over 85 percent of 4,500 at Collins Radio Co.'s plant at Cedar Rapids.

Alcoa, Collins, Deere & Co.—which is the State's largest employer with 15,000 workers in 4 plants—and other multistate companies already have union shop clauses in their national labor contracts, and these would automatically go into effect in Iowa if right to work is nullified.

So most company executives find the Iowa law gives them little if any business benefit. "I just don't think it makes any difference," comments Frank M. Dickey, Deere vice president in charge of industrial relations and personnel. The company's wages, benefits, and grievance procedures are the same as in its union shop plants in neighboring Illinois.

Although some businessmen contend smaller companies would be more susceptible to union pressure if the law is struck down, many of these firms, too, already are highly unionized. State Senator Vern Lisle of Clarinda, who voted in the legislature to maintain the right-to-work law, nevertheless says that if nullification comes, "I doubt if it would make too much difference to small companies." He himself heads Lisle Corp., which makes special tools for auto repairs and employees 175. "We've had a

union for over 20 years," he declares, "so I can't say repeal would hurt."

Some businessmen confess privately that if they have a union at all they'd prefer to have it represent all the workers. "I'd much rather have a strong union leadership which speaks for all the people than a weak group," says one personnel manager. "We don't have any direct contact with nonmembers," he explains.

Of course, not all Iowa companies are unionized, and unions may be encouraged to step up their organizing activities if right-to-work is ended. However, nullification actually would grant unions no new legal powers in this area; and where they have encountered stiff opposition from employers in the past they're likely to find it still. Another Senator-businessman, Warren Kruck of Boone, says his Kruck Plumbing & Heating Co., which employs 26 plumbers, suffered during one 6-year period when it was unionized, and he vows, "I'll retire before I'll do it again."

Some companies, to be sure, have legitimate economic concerns about the possible loss of the right-to-work law. If the law is struck down, Maytag Co., with its main office and plant at Newton, expects a union shop demand and possibly a long strike by the United Auto Workers, according to E. F. Scoutten, personnel vice president. He asserts the union would be strengthened in any such "death strike" because its members couldn't withdraw in protest of a lengthy walkout. The UAW local did lose members during a 10-week strike in 1955, and Mr. Scoutten feels this exerted pressure on the leaders to settle, though the local's president, Robert Hopkins, denies this.

On the union side, most Iowa labor leaders, like the businessmen, feel the right-to-work debate has been exaggerated. "To a degree it's an emotional issue," Charles L. Davis, president of the Iowa Federation of Labor declares. Beyond that, he adds, "it's darned hard to evaluate."

In some areas of the country, unions do expect to benefit if right-to-work legislation is killed. The Kansas AFL-CIO says this would end troublesome "harassment" from lawsuits brought under the state's right-to-work statute by companies and by nonunion workers who've been fired and allege discrimination. Southern unions figure they could reduce their constant efforts to keep members in the fold. "Union leaders wouldn't have to be continually rabble-rousing to prove their worth," says Roy Evans, president of the Texas AFL-CIO.

INDIFFERENCE IN LOUISIANA

Though there's some truth in the businessmen's argument that a right-to-work law helps a State in the competition for new industry, the State chamber of commerce in Louisiana, the only Southern State without such a statute, doesn't include this in its vigorous campaign for legislation to improve the business climate. "Other laws are more important," declares Lamar Walters, the chamber's executive vice president.

Why, then, all the emotion over right-to-work?

Some executives simply don't like having to deal with unions. "I'm opposed to unions," declares Clarence E. Elsas, senior vice president of Fulton Industries, Inc., Atlanta. "They have too many grievances." Also, businessmen have a personal distaste for requiring a worker to join a union to hold his job. Asserts Maytag's Mr. Scoutten: "Nobody would take seriously a suggestion that you should require membership in a church or fraternal organization. This is as significant a denial of civil rights as you can think of."

Labor leaders see right-to-work legislation as a matter of union prestige and public image. "It creates a real bad climate for unions," says W. M. Montague, president of the Georgia AFL-CIO. Mr. Davis of the Iowa federation feels a right-to-work law classifies union people as "second-class citizens" and attaches a "stigma" to membership. Paul Swaity, southern regional director for the Textile Workers Union of America, declares, "Psychologically it will be a tremendous victory if unions can win this." He says the issue has received such great prominence in southern newspapers and on television that ending right-to-work would give the impression "unions are moving forward."

Whatever the merits of right-to-work legislation, the potential impact of its nullification appears to have been blown out of all proportion by the public debate over it.

Republican Governors Endorse Tax Sharing Concept: Urge Consideration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, in mid-July the Republican Governors' Association in conjunction with the Ripon Society solidly supported the tax sharing plan. This article from the July 13, 1965, issue of the New York Times indicates the high degree of their enthusiasm for this constructive approach to solving the growing financial dilemma our States face.

The article follows:

TAX-SHARING PLAN PRESSED BY GOP—TWO GROUPS BACK REVERSION OF SOME U.S. INCOME TO STATES

WASHINGTON, July 12.—The Republican Governor's Association and the Ripon Society jointly announced their support today for the Heller plan of sharing part of the Federal income tax with the States on a no-strings basis.

The Ripon Society, centered in Boston, is a group of liberal and moderate Republicans from the universities, business, and the professions.

The Heller plan takes its name from its original advocate, Walter W. Heller, former chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. It calls for a fixed portion of the Federal income to be turned back to the States for any use desired by the States except highways, which are already liberally financed by Federal funds.

A PREVIOUS ENDORSEMENT

The plan was endorsed last year by a Presidentially appointed group headed by Joseph W. Pechman of the Brookings Institution. However, the President declined to adopt it for his program this year, partly because he was upset that its main contents had leaked to the press and aroused criticism in some quarters.

The idea is not dead, however. Mr. Pechman saw the President last Thursday evening, together with other leaders. A major choice may confront the President in his program for next year before another income tax cut and adoption of the Heller plan.

Today's joint Republican statement called the plan one of the few really new major policy ideas that has been advanced in recent years. It said the State and local governments face a crisis because at the moment when the future is rushing in upon them with such remarkable speed, they are victims of a financial resource base which is decades out of date.

"Let us admit that we are speaking without apology in defense of a Federal system," the statement continued. "We are not speaking against the Federal Government. We believe that we cannot seize the future unless the various orders of government become allies rather than enemies."

Gov. Robert E. Smylie, of Idaho, chairman of the Republican Governors' Association, noted in a statement "the once friendly attitude of the President" and said his group "stands ready to cooperate with the States, with the President, and with the Congress in working out a detailed plan for the accomplishment of this salutary objective."

RIPON SOCIETY'S VIEW

John S. Saloma III, president of the Ripon Society, said, "We firmly believe that the Republican Governors and the new generation of Republican leaders in the States repsent the real hope for the future of a new Republican Party.

"We believe that strengthening State and local governments will be one of the great challenges of a new and exciting era in our political history. And one of the first problem areas where Republicans must provide creative leadership is in finding adequate tax revenues for expanding State and local services."

Today's jointly issued statement said that almost every imaginable tax resource has already been subjected to increasing and often undesirable pressures. It said more and higher State income taxes were no solution because cutthroat competition for industry and labor makes it extremely difficult to raise income taxes at the State level.

Dale Mabry and Tampa Sertoma Clubs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAM GIBBONS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, I have received a petition which I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. As men are known by their deeds, it is always a pleasure to call attention to those who by their deeds rendered a worthwhile public service.

The petition follows:

AN INSTRUMENT OF PETITION ADDRESSED TO THE HONORABLE SAM M. GIBBONS, MEMBER, U.S. CONGRESS, 10TH DISTRICT, FLORIDA

Whereas a system of free private enterprise is one of the fundamental institutions and basic features of this great Republic; and

Whereas such a system requires certain freedoms and rights; namely, personal liberty: the right of the individual to choose his occupation in any part of the country or the right to produce and consume what he likes; private property rights; which historically has served as the stimulant to individual initiative that has given this Nation the greatest economic and cultural progress known to man; contractural rights: which have made it possible for individuals to bind together an economic system that encourages cooperation among individuals as much as competition, for the ultimate good of all; and

Whereas the sons of this great Nation have always demonstrated a willingness to share his blessings with others of his choosing and in his own way; and indeed, is a singular attribute almost unique to the people of this Nation; and

Whereas there came into being on April 11, 1912, an organization called Sertoma International that dedicated the full resources of its membership to the preservation of the principles of this system; to the expansion of the idea that wherever there are communities with problems, then the businessmen

of that community should lead in the resolution of those problems; further, that its member clubs dedicate themselves to the highest ideals of other concepts of service to mankind; and

Whereas there have been established certain Sertoma Clubs in the treasure city of Tampa, Fla., which have strived to achieve the highest objectives contained in the Sertoma idea; and

Whereas these clubs, through their extension programs, have recently sponsored the creation of the Dale Mabry Sertoma Club of Tampa whose charter membership established a 53-year record of 127 men; and did become the ninth largest Sertoma Club in the three nations of International encompassing Mexico, the Dominion of Canada, and these United States; and

Whereas, it generally and broadly recognized that certain individuals, as outstanding Sertomans and citizens of Tampa, were primarily responsible for creating the Dale Mabry Club the largest single resource for service to man within the State of Florida; and

Whereas certain of these same individuals at great personal sacrifice of time, energy, and money, did also travel frequently to San Juan, P.R., to establish the "missionary" Sertoma Club in that territorial area; and

Whereas in bringing together the most outstanding businessmen on that island to assume these great responsibilities, they have at the same time reinforced the very finest tenets of the American way which have produced all we treasure, that seems beautiful and significant, and that which we cherish, nurture, and protect through the precepts of Sertoma International: Therefore be it

Recognized that the Dale Mabry, and downtown Sertoma Club boards of directors, acting in concert, and in the name of InterBay, Evening, Ybor City, North, all being Sertoma Clubs of Tampa, Fla., by means of this instrument do single out these individuals as personifying that measure of service and personal code of conduct that is the Sertoman; and do hereby

Resolve, That since Bill L. McCoy, Jr., does intend to visit our Nation's Capital during the week of August 23, 1965, and because, along with Gilbert E. Turner, William A. Spamer, J. Rex Farrior, Jr., L. E. Barnett and Eustasio Fernandez, are chief among those who are the subjects of this resolution, and to whom our community owes so much, we believe it only fitting that the Honorable SAM M. GIBBONS, our Member of Congress, 10th District, should take the necessary action to appropriately recognize the outstanding achievements of each of these above named through the person of B. L. McCoy and, should pursue, through available means, to have spread upon the pages of the RECORD of the 89th Congress, this recognition and appreciation of all Sertomans in the 1,500 mile district extending from Tampa, Fla., to San Juan, P.R.

GEORGE H. SOHL,
President, Dale Mabry Sertoma Club, Tampa, Fla.

MALCOLM F. MICK,
President, the Tampa Sertoma Club, Tampa, Fla.

NCAA, AAU Both Selfish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, Dick Hackenberg in the Chicago Sun Times ran a series of articles recently regarding the feud between the NCAA and the AAU which I feel pretty well sums up the situation. It was interesting to note that Col. "Red" Blaik, former West Point coach, pointed out in his testimony this week that both groups are at fault and even suggested compulsroy arbitration as the only solution.

Under unanimous consent, I include the Hackenberg articles:

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, Aug. 16, 1965]

GUIDE AIDS WITNESSES IN FEUD DISPUTE

(By Dick Hackenberg)

WASHINGTON.—Perhaps Bill Reed, the esteemed commmissioner of the Big Ten, put his finger on the crux of the issue when he said, "The Amateur Athletic Union quarrel is not with the National Collegiate Athletic Association, but with the respective federations which it supports."

When the Senate Commerce Committee begins a 10-day investigation of the dispute in room 318 of the Old Senate Office Building, Monday morning, only the sport of track and field will be considered, as the focal point of the fracas.

The U.S. Track and Field Federation (USTFF), therefore, will be carrying the NCAA banner onto the battleground created by Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON, Democrat, of Washington, chairman of the committee, to bring about a satisfactory conclusion of the war.

The NCAA (or USTFF) side of the argument is crystalized in a question-answer guide for its witnesses at the hearings, a copy of which has come into my possession.

Question. What are the conditions in the United States responsible for the basic conflict?

Answer. In the United States, as in no other country, the high schools, junior colleges, and colleges are responsible for both the developmental and competitive programs which give this country its strength in the most popular Olympic as well as professional sports.

Because the sports club system is * * * common to most of the rest of the world, administrative power was assumed and has been retained by the AAU.

Question. Do the schools and colleges dispute the AAU's authority as the national governing body in track and field for international competition?

NO INTERNATIONAL ISSUE

Answer. No, they do not. (They) do not believe the AAU is truly representative of track and field interests in the United States * * * but there is nothing in the rules and regulations of the NCAA or USTFF which is in conflict with AAU authority for international competition.

Question. The AAU says it is the only organization which may sanction track and field meets * * * in purely domestic competition. Is this true?

Answer. The transparency of this contention is disclosed by the AAU statement that the NCAA has the right to sanction a meet composed of 300 college athletes, but if there are 300 college athletes and only one noncollege athlete, then only the AAU may sanction the meet.

Question. On what does the AAU base its contention that it alone has the authority and the right to sanction "open" meets in the United States?

Answer. The AAU does so by extending its international authority (recognized by the International Amateur Athletic Federation) to claim absolute authority domestically.

Question. As opposed to the exclusive sanctioning claims of the AAU, what is cooperative sanctioning?

Answer. It simply means that each organization which has athletes participating in a particular meet has the right to attest to the conditions of that meet for its own athletes. It is non-restrictive of the rights of others.

Question. Why does the NCAA (and USTFF) feel it is necessary to sanction competition conducted by other than its own constituency (AAU or any other private or promotional source)?

MUST MAINTAIN STANDARDS

Answer. The schools and colleges have always felt and met the responsibility and obligation to examine the conditions of competition of their enrolled student-athletes in order to prevent improper exploitation * * * and to guarantee, as nearly as possible, standards of competition equal to those conducted by the schools themselves.

Question. Does the dispute threaten in any way competition by our best collegiate and high school athletes in the Pan American or Olympic games?

Answer. No it does not. These trial meets are conducted by the U.S. Olympic Committee. No NCAA or USTFF sanction is required.

AAU KIND TO COLLEGES, IT INSISTS

(By Dick Hackenberg)

WASHINGTON.—The National Collegiate Athletic Association, in its quarrel with the Amateur Athletic Union, fusses and fumes that it is not getting the recognition that its affluent influence upon American sports deserves.

Its standard-bearer in the Senate Commerce Committee hearings which began Monday, the U.S. Track and Field Federation, will claim that USTFF members are responsible for:

More than 90 percent of all track athletes and competition in the United States.

More than 90 percent of all track coaches in the United States.

More than 90 percent of all track facilities in the United States.

And more than 90 percent of all dollars invested in U.S. track and field activities, some $200,000,000, yet.

Undaunted by the onslaught of the "Ninety Percenters," the AAU will contend that the NCAA not only is fighting for something it already has, but that a revised roll call of its collegiate strength may be in order.

With a knowing, fatherly and supposedly understanding nod, the AAU will express a willingness to welcome back this wayward child to the fireside of its far-flung family.

To which the NCAA and the USTFF probably will say, "Poohey." and tell the old man to drop dead.

The NCAA maintains that the AAU is a senile fuddy-duddy, that its system is antiquated, that its attitudes are unchanged since its founding in 1888. Not so, says Jay-Ehret Mahoney, a past president.

GROWN WITH COLLEGES

"The AAU was originally organized to protect the amateur athlete through the strength of a union of amateur athletic clubs," Mahoney points out.

"Its foundation and strength was the athletic club for there was little organized school or college competition at that time (prior to the turn of the century).

"In the course of years, as school and college athletics grew, AAU officials helped in the formation of associations to promote and conduct these sports.

"The AAU long has recognized the autonomy of the educational institutions of America, as well as certain service and religious organizations.

"It is truly a coalition through which all organizations concerned can have recognition, voice, and vote. What is lacking is the active participation of organizations entitled to representation."

The AAU will point with pride, in this regard, to the NAIA, the National Association

of Intercollegiate Athletics, whose membership embraces 463 so-called small colleges.

TESTIMONY COULD BE DECISIVE

The testimony of A. O. Duer, executive secretary of the NAIA, could be damaging to the NCAA case. He will tell the Senate committee that the NAIA has been fighting the NCAA for 26 years and that it has found the AAU to be the finer friend of collegiate athletics.

He will testify that Walter Byers, executive director of the NCAA, has declared that the NAIA had no right to exist, even though 125 colleges of the NCAA have maintained membership in the NAIA.

He will point out that the NAIA right to hold membership in the U.S. Olympic Committee was challenged by the NCAA in 1960, when the AAU befriended the smaller colleges.

He will recall that Byers walked out of a U.S. Olympic Committee meeting in protest of that body's decision that an NAIA basketball team could participate in the 1960 Olympic trials. The trials were won by the NAIA All Stars, against Ohio State, the NCAA champions.

The dispute is not entirely territorial in nature, but there can be no doubt that the AAU has extraordinary strength in the East. Bob Kiphuth, the former Yale athletic director, alines himself solidly behind the AAU.

"At a recent Olympic Committee meeting in Chicago," he says, "sports bodies independent of the AAU voted almost unanimously against the NCAA and they know the score better than anybody."

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, Aug. 18, 1965]

FINDS NCAA "LESS GUILTY" THAN AAU

(By Dick Hackenberg)

WASHINGTON.—Progress is a wonderful thing, but sometimes it takes divergent paths, and therein lies the cause of the horrendous hassle between the Amateur Athletic Union and the National Collegiate Athletic Association.

Commenting on the revolt which has torn asunder the democracy of American sports participation, Archie Williams, U.S. 400-meter champion in the 1936 Olympics, said:

"I think track was better in the old days. When you wanted to compete, all you had to do was ask your mother."

It is back to this rudimentary virtue that Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON, Democrat, of Washington, and his Senate Commerce Committee would turn the tide of pugnacious puerility which has engulfed the mature minds of our athletic empire.

The committee's hearings into the feud got off to a surprisingly pleasant start Monday morning when both sides agreed to a moratorium for the duration of testimony-taking and evaluation thereof.

Now if the committee can delay announcement of its findings for 50 years, perhaps the NCAA and AAU will outgrow their petty differences.

As an unbiased (I hope) observer who has done considerable research into the dispute, I find both bums guilty of abject selfishness in the first degree, total lack of consideration for the athlete himself and disregard for America's sports image.

The issue boils down to the age-old labor question of "boycott or lockout?" And since the case of Gerry Lindgren, Washington State University distance runner, spurred the Senate committee into action, it will serve admirably as an illustration of what I mean.

CAUGHT IN BIND

In this instance, I find the NCAA "less guilty" of the two.

Lindgren wanted to compete in the AAU championship track meet at San Diego, Calif., principally because performances therein would determine makeup of the U.S. team which later confronted the Russians at Kiev.

Gerry asked for and received NCAA approval to compete, a procedure which the NCAA deems necessary because Lindgren is a college athlete and WSU is an NCAA member school.

This approval was rejected by the AAU, no doubt fearful that its acceptance would open the door to "cooperative sanctioning," to which it is unalterably opposed on the grounds that this power is its alone.

Caught in the bind, Lindgren competed anyway and thus placed himself in violation of NCAA rules, not because he did not have NCAA approval but because the AAU rejected it.

For the life of me, I cannot see why the AAU should shun NCAA endorsement, which simply means that the NCAA had found conditions of the meet in harmony with collegiate standards, a compliment, if you will.

On the other hand, I feel that the NCAA, once it had approved Lindgren's participation, could have been big enough to ignore the AAU rebuff and permit Gerry to run without threat of reprisal.

However, it must be admitted that the NCAA at least "tried," and I suppose any guy has the right to get sore when the little old lady he's offered to help across the street hits him in the head with her umbrella.

AAU THE MORE STUBBORN

The stubborn refusal by the AAU to recognize the NCAA's interest accrues more guilt, in my book.

The AAU ,which professes to feel friendly toward collegiate sports, can ill afford such an arrogant attitude toward a group which unquestionably supplies the bulk of American athletes.

In June, Gavril Korobkov, coach of the Russian track and field team, told the Associated Press that the United States' "chief advantage is the annual, vast flow of fresh athletic forces from the schools * * * showing results which are on a par with our qualifying standards for the international-class master of sport degree, and in some cases even higher."

Since Russia seems to be the chief target of the projection of the American sport image, this is not to be taken lightly.

The nod here goes to the NCAA, but it's a lousy fight.

Canada Shares Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, an article in the July 27, 1965, issue of the New York Times shows how Canada has successfully shared taxes with the Provinces since World War II.

While I am not in full agreement with every aspect of their plan, I think their success in this field merits our close attention as we seek to provide the States with the additional financial resources to shoulder their growing responsibilities.

The article follows:

TAXES SHARED IN CANADA

OTTAWA, July 26.—The Federal Government and 10 Provinces of Canada have shared income tax collections under an abatement agreement since World War II.

In all Provinces except Quebec the Federal Government collects personal and corporation income taxes and abates a share to the Provinces.

The percentage going to the Provinces has increased over the years. This year the Provinces get 21 percent of the personal income tax. Next year it will rise to 24 percent. Corporation tax revenues are divided on a somewhat different basis.

Canadian law gives both the Federal and provincial governments the right to levy income taxes on individuals and corporations. But after the war, the Federal Government persuaded the Provinces to let it do the levying and collecting to avoid duplication. The share is agreed upon by conference between the provincial and Federal authorities. Then Parliament must approve the result.

The Provinces may at any time levy more taxes than they receive as abatement from the Federal Government. But so far only Saskatchewan and Alberta have chosen to do so. These Provinces collect an additional 6 percent to pay hospital insurance programs.

Last year Federal tax abatement was worth $860 million to the Provinces. In addition, $225 million went to the Provinces in equalization payments designed to give poor Provinces a per capita share comparable to the per capita average that goes to the two wealthiest Provinces, Ontario and Quebec.

Quebec shares in the abatement program but has insisted on doing the collecting itself.

Project Head Start a Success in Colorado

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to call the House's attention to a successful project in Fort Logan, Colo.

Mr. Dan Telk has written me about the Project Head Start program under his direction. In view of the criticism that has been attached to much of the poverty program, it is heartening indeed to note a success.

I am particularly pleased that such a success has taken place in the district I represent in the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, here is the letter from Mr. Telk:

SHERIDAN SCHOOL DISTRICT No. 2,
Fort Logan, Colo., August 20, 1965.

Congressman ROY MCVICKER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MCVICKER: As the working director of Project Head Start No. 5229, Sheridan School District No. 2, Arapahoe County, Fort Logan, Colo.; I am happy to report that the program has been a tremendous success.

We have had six classrooms in operation since June 28, and finished our 8-week program on Friday, August 20. There were 84 children enrolled in our program, and we are convinced that most of these children are ready to start kindergarten this fall. The attitude of the children and the parents has improved toward school in an unbelievable manner. The parents know that the schools do care about them and theirs.

Six professional teachers acted as head teachers: Mrs. Lorraine Adamson, Mrs. Orvetta Lee Carter, Miss Janice Hardy, Mrs. Ann Williams, Mrs. Adelia Butler, and Mr. Patrick Franklin.

There were six adult assistants from the neighborhood, and nine high school girl assistants who were employed through the NYC, and one cook from the neighborhood.

Volunteer assistants from the neighborhood, both teenagers and adults, gave of their time in a most unselfish manner.

Our program followed the recommended curriculum of the Early Childhood Development Centers throughout the Nation, as presented by the NVEA. The schoolday was unstructured and gave each child an opportunity for optimum growth.

One of the most vital ingredients was the warmth of interchange between teachers and children, teachers and aids, aids and children, staff and parents. A happy, relaxed atmosphere filled with delightful antics of children and complete appreciation and understanding by adults prevailed throughout the entire session. All were sorry to see the happy times come to an end.

The lunch program was more than adequate and provided not only a balanced diet for one meal, but enabled us to improve our rapport with the parents.

Every child had a complete physical examination, dental check, eye check, hearing test, and those who needed them were given psychological help.

Parents were involved at every opportunity and community resources were called on and used extensively.

All in all, we, in the Sheridan school system feel that Project Head Start has been a smashing success and we hope that the Government sees fit to continue the program.

Sincerely yours,

DAN TELK,
Director, Project Head Start, No. 5229, Fort Logan, Colo.

Hon. Clarence Brown

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, years ago during the period when our beloved colleague, the Honorable JOE MARTIN was Speaker of the House, it was my privilege to serve on a select committee of the House under the chairmanship of the Honorable CLARENCE BROWN. I had known him for a goodly number of years and I knew him for a strong, forthright Member of Congress. I knew him for a man of courage who never hesitated to stand by his convictions. However, it was not until my service with him on the select committee that I really appreciated the human qualities and learned of the warm friendship of CLARENCE BROWN.

He was for many years one of the outstanding Members of the House. His qualities of leadership were those which quickly bring a man to the fore and which are recognized on both sides of the aisle. He was able in debate and strong in his convictions. Unquestionably, he was one of our ablest Members.

His is a voice that will be greatly missed in Congress. He was an earnest student of government and an experienced legislator. He spoke and worked on the basis of years of experience and knowledge of the workings of government. Always a stanch defender of the prerogatives of the House, he was nevertheless fair and courteous in his dealings.

We who have known him as a friend feel a great sense of personal loss. We who knew him both as a friend and a legislator know that the halls of government have experienced a great and lasting loss.

Tax Sharing Needs as Soon as Possible

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, Charles J. Stokes, writing for the Christian Science Monitor, on January 18, 1965, described much of the opposition to tax sharing but one significant point he made is that the continued demands on the States for increased services and spending must be faced as soon as possible.

I believe my bill of tax sharing for education represents a solid, viable, and cogent way to meet these continuing demands.

The article follows:

HELLER PROPOSAL SCANNED: CRITICISM MOUNTS
(By Charles J. Stokes)

State and local spending will exceed Federal spending in 1965, unless some emergency arises in the international situation.

Look at Walter W. Heller's proposal to coordinate State, local, and Federal fiscal policies in the light of that fact. While details of Dr. Heller's plan have not yet been made public, a general idea of the impact can be gained.

Dr. Heller, former head of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, proposes that the Federal Government give the States relatively unrestricted grants. This money would come out of Federal taxes. It would supplement State and local revenues.

If this were done, and if the States and municipalities did not increase their own taxes, the effect would be like a tax cut at the Federal level.

U.S. HOLD SLIPS

Really at issue is how Federal fiscal policy shall be determined. State and local governments can now offset the effects of a Federal tax cut, for example, by increasing their own taxes.

Moreover, defense spending is now becoming less and less important. This means that Federal civilian spending is being cut to a relatively small amount, reducing the margin of Federal fiscal control over the economy.

Current theories and attitudes toward Government spending, debt, and fiscal policy were developed in an unusual period in American history—a 25-year stretch in which Federal spending dominated the fiscal scene. Now thinking on the subject is returning to a more traditional base.

OPPOSITION GROWS

Opposition to the Heller proposal—even without the technical details—is growing. Sources close to the congressional Joint Committee on the Economic Report say that sharp criticism of any such plan is coming from these six sources:

Labor unions: Wary of the rural bias in State legislatures, unions are unwilling to see fiscal power transferred from Washington to the State capitols. Moreover, they argue that welfare programs are in danger without strong Federal control.

Civil rights groups: These particularly oppose the unrestricted nature of the grants. They want to see Federal power used to remove segregation.

Social agencies: The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and related agencies at the State and local levels see a danger to current programs in their fields of interest.

Local interests: Mayors and other municipal authorities recall the difficulty in getting help from State legislatures. They are still quite uncertain how the Heller proposal would affect the cause of reapportionment. They would rather see urban aid expanded at the Federal level. They are especially apprehensive that suburban communities—the most likely beneficiaries of reapportionment—might be less generous than the rural areas.

State interests: Even at the State level there is some uncertainty about the impact of this proposal. There is a general feeling that these governments are weak politically—and, some observers say, ethically. Rather than strengthen the Federal system, this might weaken it—particularly in the jungle of diverse income, sales, and interstate commerce taxes.

Democratic liberals: They argue that the Heller plan is no substitute for Federal fiscal policy. Such passing the buck does not relieve the President and Congress of their constitutional responsibility for action to solve national problems.

BAKERS BIDE

Prof. James Tobin, of Yale University, former member of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, says that when the Brookings Institution study group has presented its report on the plan, most of these questions will turn out to be illusory. Joseph Pechman, of Brookings, though not ready to make a statement, points up the growing need for an integrated fiscal policy.

It is now clear that this is unlikely to be part of the Johnson administration's legislative program this year. But there is a possibility that it may get to the House floor in some other form.

Whether or not the Heller proposal or something like it becomes a serious issue in this Congress, the impact of massive State and local spending remains to be dealt with.

National Gallery Calendar of September Events

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege for me to submit for publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the calendar of events of the National Gallery of Art for the month of September.

Certainly the cultural center of our Nation's Capital, the National Gallery houses one of the world's finest collections of painting and sculpture. It is an activity center as well. The gallery regularly sponsors concerts and lectures, tours, and films on the arts open to all who are interested at its beautiful building on Sixth Street and Constitution Avenue.

The calendar of events follows:

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART CALENDAR OF EVENTS, SEPTEMBER 1965

Galley Hours: Weekdays, 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Sundays, 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. Through September 6 the summer hours will continue: Weekdays, 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. Sundays, 12 noon to 10 p.m. Admission is free to the gallery and to all programs scheduled.

Collections: Paintings and sculpture from the Andrew Mellon, Samuel H. Kress, Wide-

ner, and Chester Dale collections, with gifts from other donors, are on the main floor. American primitive paintings from the collection of Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch, Kress Renaissance bronzes, and Widener decorative arts on the ground floor.

New exhibition: John Singleton Copley: "A Retrospective Exhibition," Central gallery. September 19 through October 31.

New publication: Catalog, John Singleton Copley, 1738–1815; 168 pages, 10 by 7 inches; with introduction by Jules David Prown; 16 color plates, 87 black and white illustrations; $3.50 postpaid.

New reproductions: color postcards. Cranach, "A Prince of Saxony," "A Princess of Saxony"; Artist Unknown, "A View of Mount Vernon, the Seat of General Washington"; Canaletto, "The Portello and the Brenta Canal at Padua"; Redon, "Wildflowers"; Gentileschi, "The Lute Player"; Limoges (12th century), "Chasse of Champlevé Enamel"; Poussin, "The Assumption of the Virgin"; Ghiberti, "Madonna and Child." Five cents each. Mail orders under $1, add 25 cents handling charge.

The 1965 Christmas Card Catlogue: Available upon request.

Films and lectures: On Sunday, September 5, and Monday, September 6, a film will be presented in the auditorium. A series of Sunday lectures related to the Copley exhibition will begin on September 12.

Concerts: The National Gallery of Art concerts resume on September 26, at 8 p.m. in the East Garden Court.

Cafeteria: Open to the public Monday through Saturday, 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. Sundays, 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. Through September 6 the summer hours will continue: Monday through Saturday, 11 a.m. to 8:30 p.m. Sunday, 12 noon to 8 p.m.

MONDAY, AUGUST 30, THROUGH SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 5

Sculpture of the week: Desiderio da Settignano. "Saint Jerome in the Desert" (Widener collection), gallery 16, Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour: "Introduction to the Collection." Rotunda, Monday, 11 and 3; Tuesday through Saturday, 11, 1, and 3; Sunday, 2:30 and 5.

Sunday film: "Lust for Life": Vincent van Gogh. Produced by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. Lecture hall, 4 and 7.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, THROUGH SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 12

Labor Day film: "Lust for Life": Vincent van Gogh. Produced by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. Lecture hall, 4 and 7.

Painting of the week: Biagio d'Antonio da Firenze. "The Triumph of Scipio Africanus" (Samuel H. Kress collection), gallery 13, Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: "The English Approach." Rotunda, Tuesday through Sunday, 1; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: "Introduction to the Collection." Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11 and 3; Monday, 1; Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "The Massachusetts Tradition in Furniture." Guest speaker, Richard H. Randall, Jr., assistant director, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. Lecture hall, 4.

All concerts, with intermission talks by members of the National Gallery staff, are broadcast by station WGMS-AM (570) and FM (103.5).

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 13 THROUGH SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 19

Painting of the week: Blakelock. "The Artist's Garden" (gift of Chester Dale), gallery 70, Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: "The French Approach." Rotunda, Tuesday through Saturday, 1; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: "Introduction to the Collection." Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11 and 3; Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "John Singleton Copley." Guest speaker: Jules D. Prown, professor of art history, Yale University, New Haven. Lecture hall, 4.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 20 THROUGH SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 26

Painting of the week: Rubens. "The Assumption of the Virgin" (Samuel H. Kress collection), gallery 42, Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: "The Spanish Approach." Rotunda, Tuesday through Saturday, 1; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: "Introduction to the Collection." Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11 and 3; Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "Contrast in Temperaments and Talents: West and Copley." Speaker: Grose Evans, curator of extension services, National Gallery of Art. Lecture hall, 4.

Sunday concert: National Gallery Orchestra, Richard Bales, conductor, Nancy Ellsworth, violin, Mark Ellsworth, viola. West Garden Court, 8.

Inquiries concerning the gallery's educational services should be addressed to the Educational Office, 737–4215, extension 272.

President Johnson's Pledge on Tax Sharing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, in the closing days of the 1964 presidential campaign, President Johnson in a rare moment agreed with Senator Goldwater and pledged his administration would carefully look into the matter of revenue sharing by the Federal Government.

While his enthusiasm for this plan may have waned since then, I think it is important that the RECORD contain his original statement of October 28, 1964, and the commitments he made at that time in line with the Democratic Party platform.

The statement follows:

STRENGTHENING STATE-LOCAL GOVERNMENT

(Presidential statement No. 6 on economic issues)

In line with the Democratic platform, this administration is moving ahead on the "development of fiscal policies which would provide revenue sources to hard-pressed State and local governments to assist them with their responsibilities."

At the State and local level, we see responsibilities rising faster than revenues, while at the Federal level an average annual revenue growth of some $6 billion provides a comfortable margin for Federal tax reduction, Federal programs, and more generous help to State and local units.

The National Government, as a constructive partner in a creative federalism, should help restore fiscal balance and strengthen State and local governments by making available for their use some part of our great and growing Federal tax revenues—over and above existing aids.

It should also strengthen existing programs of Federal-State-local cooperation in such vital areas as public assistance, public health, urban renewal, highways, recreation, and education.

Intensive study is now being given to methods of channeling Federal revenues to States and localities which will reinforce their independence while enlarging their capacity to serve their citizens.

Bloomfield, Iowa, Democrat Comments on Los Angeles Riots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, the recent rioting in Los Angeles resulted in a tragic loss of life, caused destruction to a vast amount of property and, with good reason, shocked and frightened the Nation.

Of course, there can be no justification whatever for the riots. Those who took part in the rioting did so without any rational purpose and displayed utter contempt for law and order.

Nevertheless, the question remains: Why did it happen?

One of the best editorials on this point that has come to my notice appeared in the August 19, 1965, issue of the Bloomfield Democrat of Bloomfield, Iowa, and I would like to call it to the attention of my fellow Members.

As the editorial notes, the reasons for the riots are not easy to find. There is no simple answer, and quite likely we will never be able to discover all of the causes.

But at least one thing is certain, and that is that nothing like the Los Angeles riots should ever happen again in an American city. To that end, we should explore as deeply as possible into the causes of the Los Angeles riots.

Such an investigation is essential, and the knowledge gained from it should be kept constantly in mind during the years ahead.

The editorial from the Bloomfield Democrat follows:

LOS ANGELES RIOTS

Newsmen, race leaders, politicians and police officials are searching for answers as to why the Los Angeles suburb of Watts broke into a riot and near revolution last week.

The riot torn area is almost 90 percent Negro and it was the Negroes who looted, committed arson and participated in the sniper fire as well as the rock throwing.

Negroes as well as whites have condemned the activities and pleaded for an end as soon as the rioting began, but it took police and National Guard troops to finally quell the rioting.

There is no doubt that the Negroes were completely in the wrong in their actions over the weekend. Their actions were irresponsible and provided no means to an end.

Why did the rioting begin and why did it continue with such fierceness? The answer is complex and not as simple as explanations like a revolt against an unfriendly police which was offered by many

of the Negroes themselves or such explanations as the weather.

The closest answer, as to why, probably lies in the social and economic conditions in which the residents of Watts lived. We say this despite the fact that Watts residents are reasonably well off when compared to Negro slums in New York, Chicago and other cities.

But the following statistics released over the weekend shed much light on why Watts broke into rioting:

Two-thirds of the adults have less than a high school education.

One-eighth of the adults are technically illiterate.

Eighty-seven percent of houses over 25 years old.

Lowest income per capita of any Los Angeles area except for the skid row refuge for alcoholics.

Population approaching 90 percent Negro.

About 30 percent of children from broken homes.

More than 500 parolees from California prisons living in Watts.

Narcotics addicts, prostitutes, and alcoholics through the area.

A high crime rate.

These figures indicate that the residents of Watts were living in an area that was undoubtedly filled with hatred and a tendency to disregard the laws made and enforced by the more affluent whites.

There can be no doubt that the Negroes are to be blamed for the riots and other actions of lawlessness that took place in Watts. They started the rioting and participated in it.

But these are only superficial blames. There are blames that lie under these and we believe these can be placed squarely on the white man's shoulders.

The Negroes—in all parts of the Nation—have long been subjected to treatment as second-class citizens. They have received the second-rate jobs and have been forced to live in the worst areas of our cities. The Negroes have not had the opportunity to get the schooling that the whites have gotten.

The rioting—which was by no means distinctive to Los Angeles—is a revolt against this type of treatment by the white society. The spark was a small incident, but the roots of the riot were deep and placed there by the white citizenry.

While condemning the actions of the Negroes in Watts, we ask that each white citizen of the United States stop and take a look at his attitudes and actions toward the Negro. This view will probably show the deep-rooted reasons for the Los Angeles riots.

The Late Honorable Clarence Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with all our colleagues in this Chamber in expressing my heartfelt grief over the loss of a distinguished and dedicated Member of Congress, CLARENCE J. BROWN.

In his more than 26 years of service to this body he never faltered in pursuit of the goals he felt were right and just. We have lost a gallant man and a fine legislator.

CLARENCE BROWN was an American in the true sense of the word. And even in the turmoil of the legislative battleground when the fighting was its most difficult, CLARENCE BROWN never once lost the respect of his colleagues. A man like this is difficult to find so the grief at his passing is magnified.

Mrs. Clausen and I extend our most profound sympathy to the family of this great man and we shall cherish his memory always.

CLARENCE BROWN was certainly one of the kindest most considerate men to serve in the Congress. You always knew actually where he stood on every issue. Throughout the years, he has held the respect of all who were privileged to know or serve with him. He was referred to as a fiscal conservative. While he may have been conservative in spending other people's money, in particular the overburdened taxpayer, I knew him to be one of the most liberal-minded men of our time. CLARENCE BROWN was a wise man and he shared this great wisdom with anyone within hearing distance of his firm and positive voice. In the great "forest" of congressional talents, CLARENCE BROWN stood like a "redwood giant" among the men who knew and loved him.

Drum Corps Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, on August 15, the Drum Corps Week was officially inaugurated for this year. During this time there will be numerous exhibitions and contests to mark this annual event and bring it to the attention of the general public. So, at this time, I would like to take the opportunity to commend and encourage the concept and practice of the many drum corps organizations that this week honors.

The drum and bugle corps have become very much a valuable part of the American scene. They not only provide color, excitement, and entertainment to our pageants and parades, but these organizations also give the youth of our Nation the opportunity to participate in an activity that is enjoyable, fulfilling, and constructive. These participating youths are taught the value of cooperation, discipline, and the sense of an effective group spirit. For this these organizations well deserve the honor and best wishes which our Nation is extending to them this week.

I sincerely hope that the activities of this week will inspire and encourage those youths who have as yet found no worthwhile activity in which to participate as responsible and socially accepted individuals. But, here in these drum and bugle corps organizations they have a valuable example to consider and follow as constructive and conscientious young Americans. Therefore, let us hope that this week does achieve its desired goal to influence and alert our youth to the benefits and satisfaction of such activities.

During this Drum Corps Week I would like to join with my colleagues in Congress and with all Americans in supporting this worthy organization. And, I am confident that by the drum corps' own example, and by our support, these associations can be extended to even more than the present million members who participate in such activities. I am sure that this week will be a beneficial step in that direction.

So, today, I am proud to congratulate the drum corps throughout America and to sincerely thank them for what they have given to the youth of our Nation.

Republicans in the Schoolroom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Holmes Alexander:

REPUBLICANS IN THE SCHOOLROOM

(By Holmes Alexander)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—That widespread notion that Mr. Johnson has convinced practically "everybody" and has quelled the opposition to his Vietnam policies is one more sought by the White House than achieved in reality.

In truth, the President's energetic exercises at playing the Great Educator have come out wrong. He has turned what in midsummer was a nonpartisan war into a quarrelsome political debate at summer's end. He has made, as it were, a blackboard jungle out of his White House schoolroom.

Nearly all the Republican House Members who came in like lambs for the White House briefings of August 9, 10, 11, went out like growling lions. FRELINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey, certainly not a problem pupil of bipartisanship, fired off a furious newsletter to his constituents depicting L.B.J. as a "well-meaning" martinet who ran the show like a kindergarten.

MACGREGOR of Minnesota dared to ask why we shouldn't blockade the North Vietnam port of Haiphong, which is receiving tons of war material. He hadn't directed the question at L.B.J., but the President roared at him for trying to plunge us into war with the Soviet Union.

Another Republican ventured that we ought to hit more "significant" targets in North Vietnam. Again, the President snatched away the question from one of his aids and replied that "somebody's always trying to get us to drop the bomb," meaning the H-bomb, which hadn't been mentioned.

The President had assembled a classy panel to give the Congressmen a background. But advisors like McNamara and Rusk, Harriman and Goldberg, Maxwell Taylor, and Eugene Black, were limited to 5 minutes apiece, and were taken off their feet like schoolboy debaters at the ringing of a bell which some attendants said was an alarm clock.

The listeners were sworn to secrecy, and then given stale statistics which they'd already read in the newspapers. The hush-hush testimony of General Taylor turned

up in the Sunday papers as an interview, indicating that the administration loves and trusts reporters more than it does Republicans.

GOP House Members went back to the Hill audibly muttering "snow job" and "gag rule." They set their staffs to work at preparing a blistering white paper on Vietnam.

GERRY FORD, of Michigan, the minority leader, had gone to the briefings in a nervous mood, but he had a right to be more embarrassed for the President than for himself. The President, over the previous weekend, had blasted him for breaking a confidence concerning the postponement in calling out the Reserves. But this correspondent was one of nine reporters at the off-record luncheon of July 29, where FORD was accused of having spilled the beans. Neither my notes nor my memory showed that he had revealed what the President said he revealed.

Others present were correspondents for the New York Times, the Milwaukee Journal, the Los Angeles Times, the Chicago Tribune, the Scripps-Howard papers, Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report. Every one of the guests, orally or in writing, has now exonerated FORD.

Back in World War II, a much-decorated bombardier was chewed out by his commanding officer because aerial photographs showed that a target in snowy Norway had been left unscathed. Instead of making excuses my friend, Bombardier Joe Westbrook, answered Col. Bo Rendel of the 392d Bomb Group with such cyrstalline truth that it lingers in memory after more than 20 years. I don't see why the President shouldn't use the same language in clearing up his accusation of FORD. What Lieutenant Westbrook said was:

"Sir, I not only bombed the wrong target, but I missed that."

A Reminder

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply concerned about the displays of complete absurdity, extreme bias, and blatant hypocrisy which characterize the remarks of those who attempt to discredit the President of the United States, Negro leaders, and the civil rights movement by charging them with full responsibility for the Los Angeles riots. I am all the more concerned because some of this accusatory hogwash has issued from Members of this body.

Mr. Speaker, I fully recognize that the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is a free and open forum for Members of Congress, but I am equally committed to the principle of responsible use of that organ. To that end, I wish to respond to comments of a few Members, made both in the RECORD and outside of it, with respect to responsibility for and during the riots.

Of those Members referred to, one chose to dwell upon the issue of individual responsibility, employing words of columnist William S. White as well as some of his own. In doing so, in the RECORD of August 18, he either forgot or deliberately ignored the fact that the two most frequent objects of his criticism, the President of the United States and Dr. Martin Luther King, had literally beat him to the punch.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that individual responsibility is an issue in relation to the unfortunate and wholly deplorable Los Angeles outbreak. To recognize this is but to acknowledge that the President was correct in condemning the use of violence and terror as destructive of "the essential right of every citizen to be secure in his home, his shop, and in the streets of his town." It is but to agree with the position of Dr. King who favored "the use of the full force of the police power to quell the situation in Los Angeles." If it is this sort of response which the gentleman approves, I can assure him that he is in agreement with the President, Dr. King, most of his colleagues, and the entire American population—even though he failed to identify with the position of these two great American leaders.

President Johnson did not rest his case with the few words I have quoted. He went on to say that "killing, rioting, and looting are contrary to the best traditions of this country," reminding the gentleman and everyone else that he was referring as well to the more numerous acts of violence and terror of the Ku Klux Klan and other anti-Negro southern terrorists. His theme was surely that which my colleague imitates and reiterates, and I quote the President's more pointed and responsible words:

> Equal rights carry equal responsibilities. No person has the right to inflict harm upon the life and property of others. Every person has the responsibility to uphold law and order. I call upon all Americans to fulfill that responsibility.

Mr. Speaker, it should be patently clear to even those at the lowest level of mental capacity that these are not the words of one who would incite our citizens to violence, murder, pillage, and riot. Yet, another Member of this House, according to the Washington Post, August 15, declared that President Johnson was to blame for the Los Angeles riots. This is an absurd, ridiculous, false, and malicious charge; and all the more since the Member making it represents, the very state which has the worst record for racial violence in the Nation's history.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot remain silent while misguided minds contrive to discredit, defame, and revile our conscientious, dedicated, and sincere President.

That the remarks of President Johnson and Dr. King are not self-explanatory to some is a result of the machinations, the frustrations or the stupidity of bitter, prejudiced, hate-filled people. Their unequivocal opposition to Negroes taking their rightful position in total American milieu so beclouds their thinking that they see nothing but evil where good abounds. Likewise, they see nothing but whiteness where blackness abounds, as in their own constituencies.

Mr. Speaker, it seems necessary, therefore, to remind them that violence and terror against the Negro or any unpopular person or group are part and parcel of the situation out of which the Los Angeles riots sprang. Let them be reminded, too, that such patterns of behavior, both organized and unorganized, and by both public officials and private citizens, are a way of life among Southern whites in their treatment of Negroes as a race. Thus, there can be only an unfavorable comparison of that behavior when contrasted to the extraordinary, highly exceptional occurrences in Los Angeles, Harlem, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Rochester, Chicago, and Springfield.

Let them be reminded of the violence and terror perpetrated against Negroes by white persons in their own State at Tuscaloosa and Oxford, at Haynesville and Jackson, at Birmingham and Philadelphia, at Selma and McComb. Let them be reminded and, lest they forget, remind them I will—again, and again, and again.

Let them be reminded that they exemplify the epitomy of hypocrisy when they condemn the Los Angeles rioters with righteous indignation but fail to condemn the violence against Negroes and civil rights workers in their own States and constituencies. I am determined that they shall not be allowed to forget.

What were their responses to the Tuscaloosa and Oxford riots on the campuses of the State universities? Did they condemn the rioters or did they excoriate the law enforcement efforts of the Federal Government? Did they publicly demand that State authorities "deal with those criminals as criminals," as the Member insists that California do with the Los Angeles rioters; or did they justify those riots as legitimate responses to a so-called Federal invasion?

Did they insist that those hooligans should be tried for the crimes they committed; or that they must be held responsible as individuals? And, when no one was punished by the States, did they accuse the Governors of fostering and condoning criminal anarchy, as they have accused the President of the United States?

Mr. Speaker, what did they say when the Selma-to-Montgomery marchers were set upon and ruthlessly beaten and trampled by unconscionable men acting under color of law? How did they react to the cold-blooded murders of Medgar Evers, James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, Rev. James Reeb, Jimmie Lee Jackson, Mrs. Liuzzo, and Johnathan Daniels?

Perhaps the obvious difference between the views and responses of President Johnson and Dr. King, on the one hand, and some of my colleagues, on the other, is that the President and Dr. King are unalterably and unequivocally opposed to all violence, terror, murder, and intimidation; while those Members only condemn when perpetrated by persons other than their own white constituents or by the Klan.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that this is hypocrisy, pure and simple, and I intend to expose it on every occasion through every medium available to me. This is my duty and I shall discharge it with such vigor and conviction that it shall be known and remembered throughout the land. Let them be reminded and remind them I will.

Tribute to the Honorable Clarence J. Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I regret the tragic necessity of expressing at this time my deep sense of personal bereavement at the passing of my friend and colleague of many years in this House, the Honorable CLARENCE J. BROWN of Ohio.

When he passed to his eternal reward, he had completed 50 years of public service which began in 1915 when he assumed the office of State statistician of Ohio. He was elected his State's Lieutenant Governor 3 years later. At 23 he was the youngest elected State officer in Ohio's history.

He was elected Ohio Secretary of State in 1926, and was reelected to serve three successive terms. Under his leadership the election laws of Ohio were completely redrafted and have since served as models upon which other States have based reforms in their electoral machinery.

CLARENCE BROWN came to the Congress to serve Ohio's Seventh Congressional District in 1938, and was reelected to every succeeding Congress, often without opposition.

My hard-working friend, CLARENCE J. BROWN, dedicated to his district, his constituents, his State, and his country, rarely missed a rollcall and never neglected to answer a constituent's letter. His slogan in so many of his campaigns was typical of the man: "Stick to the man who sticks to his job."

He served his party long and faithfully, as a delegate to its national conventions, as a member of its national committee, and as a congressional campaign manager.

He was a successful businessman and farmer in private life. He was reared in Blanchester, Clinton County, Ohio, was graduated from the high school there, read law with a local attorney, and then attended Washington and Lee University. He was made an honorary member of Omicron Delta Kappa by that university in 1946. He also received an honorary LL.D. degree from Wilmington College in 1928.

His service on the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in his early years in Congress gave evidence of his ability and the seriousness which he brought to all of his congressional duties. His later service on the Government Operations Committee and the House Rules Committee was outstanding.

All who knew him will miss his outspoken integrity, his unfailing good will, and his informed counsel. The deepest sympathy is extended to his children in this hour of their grief. They have lost a beloved father, the House of Representatives has lost a dedicated and able senior Member, and the Nation has lost one of its most patriotic sons.

The Withered Arm—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit to my colleagues the second timely article from Newsweek by Ray Moley on our faltering merchant marine:

THE WITHERED ARM—II

(By Raymond Moley)

Above the din of jet aircraft, the news did not penetrate to the Senate Appropriations Committee that the future of our position in southeast Asia rests on sea transport. Simultaneously with the ominous weakening of Singapore in the defense of the crucial Malacca Strait, the committee canceled a cargo ship added by the House to the building program which is a vital part of our power to meet critical events in the Far East.

War in Vietnam, like the Korean War, is a maritime operation that rests on our capability of delivering men and equipment across thousands of miles of sea. For Korea we had "a bridge of ships" which is gone today.

In an article recently prepared for publication, Adm. John D. Hayes, U.S.N., retired, points up that in the Korean War, Japan was a base of operations not unlike Britain in the war against Germany. We have no such nearby base today and must depend on the more distant Okinawa, Guam and Philippines. In Japan there is virulent opposition to our Vietnamese policy and a political situation that is none too stable.

FINISHED WITH ENGINES

At Danang, Hayes points out, Marines landed from virtually the same ships that landed their ancestors on Okinawa in 1945 and at Inchon in 1950. The 173d Airborne Brigade was not airlifted from Okinawa to Saigon. It was transported in aging LST's, of which only a few now remain.

When the Korean war began, we had 2,868 fairly new and efficient dry-cargo ships. Today there are only 131 under 15 years of age. In the Government reserve there remain, along with the famous old Liberties finished with engines, a few hundred efficient World War II vessels. The Navy, calling last year for ships for an amphibious exercise, found that about 157 ships of the active merchant fleet could meet requirements of speed and cargo-lifting equipment and, of these, only 121 had an additional required feature in standard cargo rig.

In 1957 the replacement program of the subsidized lines began to take effect. The world's finest ships are among the 99 built at vast expenditure by those companies with the help of the Government's construction subsidy to the shipyards. They have very great speed, which is of the essence in wartime. Where shore facilities are inadequate for unloading, they are self-sufficient. Many ships of the subsidized fleet are already in service to Vietnam. But the building program in the face of developing demands in the Far East has been slowed down by budgetary decisions.

An air transport carries limited cargo, but this is a question of millions of tons. Besides, all aircraft are hungry consumers of fuel, which is transported by sea. There is great tanker tonnage available, but we are deficient in those of handy size for shallow ports. Only a few have been built.

THE LENGTHENING REACH

Equipment must go by sea not only to an increasing number of American troops but also to the South Vietnamese Army. Food must go to the population, and bases must be built with material brought by ship. Meanwhile, cargo ships must haul the supplies for Armed Forces elsewhere. There is the lifeline to Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and Alaska. A number of vessels are committed by law to serve essential trade routes. We ship foreign aid and must also try to continue to carry the 5 percent of our commercial cargoes that go by U.S. ships—when they are not strikebound.

More than 99 percent of all American overseas transport is by ship.

May we look for help from our maritime friends? The price is rising, for they are busy and also carry for the Russians and Red China. Many of their ships have been thriving in the enemy supply line to the Vietcong. While the power of Britain falters at Singapore, her shipping companies—whining "Freedom of the seas"—lengthen the Communist reach toward the free world's British-protected jugular vein east of Suez. Japan, like Britain and West Germany, builds ships for the Communists, and demands that we return Okinawa—a staging base for the war in Vietnam. It is in that peculiar one world of international shipping that we must now shop around to supplement our fourth arm of defense.

Governor Scranton's Building Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Pittsburgh Press, August 24, 1965:

GOVERNOR SCRANTON'S BUILDING PROGRAM

Governor Scranton has proposed an increase of almost 50 percent in the borrowing power of the General State Authority, which borrows money to build State buildings and then gets the money back through rentals. And it is a recognition of the newly realized importance of higher education that fully two-thirds of the increase would be devoted to that purpose.

The 14 former State teachers colleges, now reconstituted as liberal arts State colleges, for instance, offer college courses at substantially less tuition cost than other institutions. They are reported now as having full enrollments and turning away qualified applicants. Mr. Scranton's program would invest $137,500,000 in these institutions, and there is little doubt that such a program would accommodate more students.

Pennsylvania State University's growth for many years has been dependent on how much money it could budget. The proposed program would provide $30,500,000 for facilities for this university. Another $125,400,000 would go to buildings for State-aided universities, with Pitt getting $19,641,561.

The next largest item in Mr. Scranton's program—largest of its kind to be suggested yet—would go toward a juvenile delinquency control program. Again, this is a known need; the Scranton program would build up to present and prospective requirements. Other projects, in "standby" category, would supply housekeeping requirements at various State institutions.

A word of caution may be in order. Desirable as these projects are, and assuming that they are within the financial capacity of the State government, it should be pointed out that if they are undertaken, they will swell the budget requirements for each of the affected institutions. If more dormitory space results in more students, it also will result in more teachers and more operating expenses. There is thus an assured additional cost, beyond the cost of the physical facilities themselves.

Before acting on the program, the legislature should check carefully the financial effects on each of the institutions that will be included. Growth to meet a need is highly desirable; but growth should be carefully planned to avoid a sudden outstripping of the financial abilities of the colleges.

We have had recently in Pittsburgh an example of what can happen when quick growth of a university outstrips its money resources. Undoubtedly, the University of Pittsburgh can use the facilities Mr. Scranton listed for it in his new program. The legislature should be sure that Pitt can afford them and that providing them will not disrupt the Pitt budget.

The Situation of the Hungarians in Transylvania

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, it gives me a real pleasure to join my distinguished colleagues, ably led by the gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN] in discussing the sorry plight of the 1.75 million Hungarians in Rumania who are the special target of Communist persecution by the Rumanian Communist regime. On March 25, 1965, I introduced a resolution together with many of them to condemn the discriminatory practices of the Communist Rumanian Government against the Hungarian minority.

Disconcern for human rights, denial of equal economic opportunity, forced settlement of those with professional diplomas into purely Rumanian areas several hundred miles from their place of residence, slow, but constant elimination of any instruction in Hungarian language in schools, police terror against those who dare to dissent even in a mild form denial of the freedom to attend the church services and let children attend religious classes, are all forms of persecution devised to break the will of the population to exist as an ethnic unit, and to "solve the Transylvanian question" by breaking up into atomized units the Hungarian minority.

This is not only contrary to what we believe in the West about human rights and dignity, and about equal rights to all citizens, it is even against Communist theories in this respect, though between theory and practice there are usually unbridgeable chasms in Communist states. But even international obligations are being violated by the Rumanian Communists. For in the 1947 Paris Peace Treaty which gave to Rumanian rule the northern, more Hungarian-inhabited parts of Transylvania, there was a clause that the Rumanian Government will "not discriminate among its citizens on the basis, of sex, religion, or language." The many witnesses, journalists clearly prove that such discrimination does exist in Communist Rumania in violation of the treaty pledge.

Rumanian Communist constitution even extends the equal rights to all citizens and also assures the free cultural and linguistic development of the nationalities in Rumania. All these guarantees are violated by the constant practices of discrimination, which are less in the form of statutes, but in the form of administering the statutes and ordinances. For example, there still exists an ethnically diluted "Mures-Magyar Autonomous Province," but though it was established as a reservation for Hungarian culture and self-administration, it has Rumanian police officials, most of the two councils are mixed or completely Rumanian, and in the theater at the capital of the province, Marosvasarhely—Turgu Mures—the plays are performed in Rumanian 5 nights, in Hungarian once or twice a week, and even those are usually translations from Rumanian. The place and street names are supposed to be, under law, bilingual; visitors report unanimously that there are no Hungarian place names left, and only a few old bilingual street names in some suburbs. Also even in the "Mures-Magyar Autonomous Province"—which never housed more than 29 percent of the Transylvanian Hungarians—railway, post and other officials either do not know or refuse to answer in Hungarian, and even the sales clerks in the cities only speak in Rumanian in order not to lose their jobs.

Mr. Speaker, under these circumstances it is our duty to solemnly protest these abridgements of human and civil rights and to make sure that when negotiations are conducted with the representatives of the Communist Rumanian Government these facts are also taken into consideration by our policymakers. Therefore, I am joining my colleagues in strongly denouncing this unjust discrimination which finds its immediate origin in the sympathetic attitude of the Hungarians in Transylvania toward the heroic Hungarian freedom fighters in 1956.

Farm Minimum Wage To Trigger Food Cost Rise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, the blanketing of farm labor for the first time under the minimum wage law, as proposed in the bill (H.R. 10518) approved by the Committee on Education and Labor, will certainly mean, if enacted, a rise in food and fiber costs of substantial proportions throughout the Nation.

Moreover, the legislation could have devastating consequences for the workers themselves.

It certainly will hasten the substitution of machines for manpower on our farms, and eliminate thousands upon thousands of farm jobs. This would mean a new migration of unemployed farmworkers to our cities, to create poverty faster than it can be cured.

Mr. Speaker, the impact upon the majority of commercial farm operations may be severe indeed, for where profits do now exist in agriculture they are thin and these operators are unable, under present prices paid to farmers, to absorb the added cost of the wage levels contemplated by the new legislation. These costs must be passed on to consumers in the form of higher prices for food and fiber, or the farmers themselves will be forced into bankruptcy.

These are my conclusions, and I am sure this represents the judgment of other Members of this body, after attending this morning an informal meeting of House Members to review the provisions and evaluate the impacts of H.R. 10518, this new minimum wage legislation which soon will come into this Chamber for consideration.

Mr. Speaker, I am entirely in sympathy with all effort to improve the income and working conditions of farm labor. But I am convinced that a minimum wage law in itself, without other considerations and adjustments, could be disastrous to the farmworkers themselves. These questions first must be answered:

First. How will the consumer react to higher food costs?

Second. Where will the hard pressed farm operators get the money to pay the increased wages, unless there is an increase in food and fiber prices?

Third. What will prevent the movement of fruit and vegetable production just across the border into Mexico, where there is plentiful labor and vast areas of fertile acres now are being opened to irrigation? Such a movement already has begun.

Fourth. How many hundreds of thousands of jobs will be eliminated in agriculture by the substitution of labor saving machines?

Fifth. How will our cities cope with the problem of the new influx of unemployed farm people who are untrained for work in these cities, and must look to relief for sustenance?

Mr. Speaker, the Nation has just been agitated by the prospect of a small increase in the cost of a loaf of bread. An increase of seven-tenths of 1 cent in the price of wheat in a loaf was contemplated originally in the Omnibus Farm Bill that passed the House last week, as our Committee on Agriculture sought to improve the income of our wheat producers who have not had a raise in pay in 15 years. The millers and bakers told us the seven-tenths of a cent increase in the wheat cost would mean a 2 cents a loaf hike in the price of bread. The consumer resistance was such that we amended the farm bill to provide that the Government, instead of consumers,

bear the cost of the small pay increase we were giving wheat farmers. This amendment satisfied consumers and the farm bill then passed without trouble.

I am wondering what the consumer reaction will be to a general increase in food costs, as the result of the establishment of minimum wages for agriculture.

Mr. Speaker, many Members of Congress are unaware of the provisions of the new minimum wage legislation. Therefore, I am listing those provisions of the bill of direct importance to farmers, as follows:

First. Extends coverage to all temporary and seasonal farmworkers.

Second. Extends coverage to permanent farmworkers if employment of such workers by a farmer in any quarter is 300 or more man-days—about four full-time workers.

Third. A temporary or seasonal farmworker is defined as one employed for 12 or less consecutive weeks by the employer.

Fourth. The minimum wage for farmworkers would be $1.15 an hour beginning July 1, 1966, and $1.25 an hour beginning July 1, 1968.

Fifth. No provision is made for piece rate workers. Thus each such worker would be paid the minimum wage regardless of production.

Sixth. No provision is made in the bill for prerequisites. However, the act itself defines wages to include the reasonable cost, as determined by the Secretary of Labor—who is authorized to fix such reasonable costs by regulation—of board, lodging, or other facilities.

Seventh. Prohibits employment in agriculture of any worker under 16 years of age, except first, members of the farmer's family and second, workers 12 to 15 with parental consent who lives at their permanent residence and commute daily to work.

Section 3(1) of the act might be construed to authorize the Secretary of Labor, if this provision were enacted, to prescribe by regulation the conditions under which 14- or 15-year-old workers might be employed away from home.

Eighth. Eliminates the exemption from minimum wages of agricultural processing and marketing enterprises "in the area of production."

Ninth. Narrows the exemption from overtime of agricultural processing and marketing concerns to 14 weeks, 10 hours a day, and 48 hours a week and limits exemption to seasonal enterprises processing or handling "highly perishable" commodities.

Tenth. Repeals the present exemption from minimum wage and overtime of logging crews under 12 workers.

Eleventh. Repeals the present exemption from minimum wages for cotton gins, tobacco processors, and fruit and vegetable transporters, but provides an exemption from overtime for such operations.

Twelfth. Repeals the exemption from minimum wages of country grain elevators, but provides an exemption from overtime if such elevator employs not more than five workers.

Thirteenth. Although the bill itself does not refer to sharecroppers, it is the intention to be made clear in the legislative history, that sharecroppers are to be subject to the minimum wage provisions unless they have independent management responsibility for the operation of the farm.

Other provisions of the bill increasing the general minimum wage and extending coverage to many not now covered would materially increase the costs of goods and services purchased by farmers. In 1964 farm costs reached the record level of 70 percent of gross farm income.

Mr. Speaker, I mentioned earlier that several Members of the House met informally this morning to review the provisions and evaluate the impacts of H.R. 10518. With the permission of the House, I am inserting at this point summaries of observations made during this meeting by spokesmen for agriculture and related industries:

EFFECT OF H.R. 10518—MINIMUM WAGE BILL—ON FARMERS AND FARMWORKERS

The agricultural provisions of the proposed bill are directed primarily toward heavy labor utilizaing crops. These are fruits, vegetables, tobaccos, and, in certain areas, cotton.

THE EFFECT ON FARMERS

The general effect of the proposed legislation will be to increase farmers' costs at a time when production expenses are running at about 70 percent of gross income. Since the bill will increase labor costs in rural areas and of many small businesses, farmers will pay more for the goods and services they purchase. Coupled with its agricultural provisions, the bill will have a double-barreled impact on farmers' costs.

Specifically the legislation can be expected to have the following effects on farmers:

First. Forcing smaller, marginal producers out of business;

Second. Forcing some producers to shift to other less labor intensive crops at a possible reduction in income to them and an aggravtion of surplus problems of certain of these crops;

Third. Undermining incentive methods of payment which will require growers to pay some workers more than their productivity warrants and to increase their supervision;

Fourth. Increasing farmers' record-keeping requirements;

Fifth. Increasing competition from foreign-produced agricultural commodities;

Sixth. Forcing mechanization on an unsound basis;

Seventh. Placing youth employment programs in agriculture under the discretion of the Secretary of Labor.

THE EFFECTS ON WORKERS

The effects of the bill on farmworkers can be summarized as follows:

First. Reduced employment opportunities, particularly for the least capable of the farm work force;

Second. Possibly reduced earning opportunities for those workers for whom employment is available since the incentive method of payment would be virtually eliminated;

Third. Availability of fewer perquisites unless properly valued and counted toward the minimum wage.

EFFECT OF H.R. 10518—THE MINIMUM WAGE BILL—ON THE FRESH FRUIT AND VEGETABLE INDUSTRY

The labor situation in the fresh fruit and vegetable industry is already critical, the result of a number of circumstances which include the staggering blows inflicted by the refusal of the Secretary of Labor to certify the need for adequate supplies of suitable supplemental labor.

Consequently, the effects of the passage of H.R. 10518 would be both immediate and far reaching. There would be significant impact in these respects:

With respect to the establishment of a minimum wage, the bill would cause greater unemployment among those most in need. The elimination of marginal workers would become an economic necessity. The piece rate method of payment is essential to efficient operations in the fresh fruit and vegetable industry by properly rewarding the efficient workers.

With respect to the elimination and/or reduction of overtime pay exemptions now in the law, the bill is undesirable because:

First. The essential seasonal nature of perishable crops such as fruits and vegetables has not changed since it was recognized by Congress when it first passed the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938. Crops ready for shipment or processing must be handled immediately—or lost. A 40-hour week is not enough. A 48-hour week is not enough. Fourteen weeks of exemption are not enough. The Labor Department's own studies support these contentions.

Second. Although the theory of penalty overtime pay is to spread employment, it is absurd to try to apply it to the fresh fruit and vegetable industry where even now during shipping seasons there is not enough suitable labor available to packing sheds and processing operations.

Finally, while the smaller grower would be financially wrecked by the impact of H.R. 10518, the larger producer will simply accelerate the already well-established trend to open up huge, productive, low labor cost areas in other countries, especially Mexico, abandoning operations in the United States.

The Foreign Agriculture Service, USDA, provides the following rounded-off information on the import-export situation between the United States and Mexico, with respect to fruits and vegetables, fresh and processed:

[In thousands]

Year	Fruit imports from Mexico	Fruit exports to Mexico	Vegetable imports from Mexico	Vegetable exports to Mexico
1964	$32,000	$3,500	$37,000	$4,000
1963	25,000	3,000	32,000	3,500
1962	19,000	2,500	27,000	2,500
1961	18,000	2,500	18,000	4,000

EFFECTS OF H.R. 10518 ON COTTON

The enactment of H.R. 10518 would have a very serious adverse effect on cotton farm income.

First, the price of things which cotton farmers buy would necessarily be raised by the inflationary impact of the increase in the minimum wage to $1.75

per hour and the broad extension of coverage.

Second, it would force immediate and complete mechanization of all cotton farms except the extremely small ones which could get by with family labor.

Obviously, very few farmers could afford to keep workers who have been employed in handpicking and chopping. Thousands of workers with minimum skills will lose their jobs in areas with relatively few job opportunities which means most will be forced to go on relief. Farmers whose volume of cotton production is not large enough to justify buying a cottonpicking machine will be the most adversely affected. The stores in the rural communities and towns across the cotton belt where the workers had been trading will lose this business as the workers migrate to the cities seeking employment. This sudden migration to the large cities of thousands upon thousands of farmworkers and their families will aggravate the existing problems such as housing, schooling, and so forth.

Third, the cost to the farmer of ginning and marketing his cotton will be increased by about 2 to 3 cents per pound as a result of the elimination of most of the exemptions for handlers and processors. Cotton gins will lose their minimum wage exemption but will retain the overtime exemption. Warehouses, compresses, and cottonseed crushing mills will probably lose all of their exemptions or at least have only very limited overtime exemptions. (Bill is not clear on this point.) Ginning, warehousing, and compressing of cotton are performed as a service for farmers. There is no alternative but to pass on increases in costs to the farmers in the form of higher charges for these services.

The prices received by cottonseed crushing mills for oil and meal are set by competition which is primarily with soybean oil and meal. Accordingly, cottonseed crushers have no alternative except to offset their higher costs in the form of lower prices paid to farmers for cottonseed.

The increases in cost for handling and processing as a result of higher wages and overtime payments which would occur if H.R. 10518 were enacted will be compounded by the lower volume of cotton to be handled and processed as a result of cotton legislation which passed the House last week.

The cotton farmer cannot pass on his increased costs to anyone, since his product must meet the fiercest kind of competition from synthetic fibers and other competing materials at home and abroad and from foreign-grown cotton.

SELECTED DATA ON COTTON PRODUCTION COSTS FOR MID-SOUTH AREA AT MINIMUM WAGE OF $1.25 PER HOUR

(NOTE.—Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, and West Tennessee.)

Average minimum cost per bale for hand hoeing (at an average yield of a bale in acre): Normal year (35 to 40 hours),[1] $44 to $50; wet year (50 to 55 hours),[1] $63 to $69.

Average minimum cost per bale for hand picking (with 175 pounds of seed cotton picken in 9-hour day, 71 hours would be required to pick 1,375 pounds of seed cotton to make a bale of lint cotton),[1] $89.

[1] Based on Farm Management Records, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Average minimum cost per bale for hand hoeing and hand picking[2]: Normal year, $133 to $139; wet year, $152 to $158.

Gross value of cotton produced (per 500-pound bale at 1965 support price for average grade), $142.

EFFECT OF H.R. 10518—MINIMUM WAGE BILL—ON FARMER COOPERATIVES

The effect of extension of minimum wage and reduction of seasonal overtime exemptions as contained in H.R. 10518 will have a doubly adverse affect on farmer cooperatives. First, farmer members of cooperatives will come under the minimum wage for the first time. Secondly, farmer cooperatives, particularly in the first handling and processing of fruits and vegetables, cotton ginning and cotton seed processing and the first handling and processing of dairy products, will be faced with rising wage costs, as the result of the application of minimum wage and reduction of seasonal overtime exemptions.

Both the increase of farm wage costs and the rise in wage costs in farmer cooperative operations will be borne by the farmer. It is an economic fact in cooperatives that any increase in wage costs, without a corresponding increase in the efficiency of operation, is directly reflected on the income of farmers through lower patronage dividends.

This may have a significant affect on farm income since farmer cooperatives in the U.S. market approximately 30 percent of all fruit and vegetables, 25 percent of all cotton and cotton products, and about 60 percent of all dairy products. Even with this substantial share of the market of these products, cooperatives will be unable to pass all rising wage costs along to consumers because they do not control total output of the industry.

Farmer cooperatives employ approximately 200,000 workers in the cotton, dairy and fruits and vegetables industries. The full effect of the provisions of H.R. 10518, if all differentials are maintained, will be to increase straight time wage costs 40 percent over a 5-year period. The increase will be greater for newly covered employees with current hourly wage levels below $1.25 an hour. Seasonal overtime exemptions are to be reduced 50 percent to 73 percent over the next 5 years. Information is limited on the full impact of the proposed increase in minimum wage and reduction of seasonal overtime exemptions. However, based on the information supplied by our membership, the average increase in seasonal payroll costs, both from straight time and overtime, if this measure is enacted, will range upward to 14 percent per annum. This rapid rise in wage levels far exceeds the economic guidelines suggested by this administration.

The sharp upward pattern of wage levels which will occur if H.R. 10518 is enacted will force producers, handlers and processors of agricultural products to seek alternatives. For the fruit and vegetable industry, one alternative is already available. A land survey in Mexico conducted this year by a member of the National Council, indicates there are between 3½ and 4 million acres of prime agriculutral land available along with adequate water, labor and transportation. This expanse of land is sufficient in size and potential productivity to supplant all of the acreage in the commercial production of vegetables in the United States. For fruits, particularly citrus fruits, it has been reported by the USDA Foreign Agricultural Service that some 93,000 acres of citrus will, or have been, planted during 1964 and 1965 in the area of Monterey, Nuevo Leon, Mexico. With about 175,000 acres already planted prior to 1964 and with a continuing trend of planting equivalent to what occurred in 1964 and what is occurring in 1965. Mexico will have between 1970 and 1975 an acreage in citrus equivalent to the 783,000 acres now in production in the United States. The expected growth of the fruit and vegetable industries in Mexico can jeopardize employment for nearly 400,000 U.S. workers currently engaged in packing, handling and processing of fruit and vegetables.

[2] Does not include other costs such as land preparation, planting, seed, cultivation, fertilizer, insecticides, land, taxes, etc.

EFFECTS OF H.R. 10518 AND S. 1986—MINIMUM WAGE BILLS—ON CANNING INDUSTRY

The proposal:

First. Would rewrite sections 7(b)(3) and 7(c) of the Wage and Hour Law that allow canners of seasonal and perishable fresh fruits and vegetables 28 weeks of exemption from overtime so that only a single 14-week period of exemption limited to 10 hours a day and 48 hours a week would be available. The House bill would further restrict the exemption to "highly perishable" commodities.

Second. Would repeal the "area of production" exemption.

Third. The House bill would raise the industrial minimum wage to $1.40 an hour in July, 1966; $1.60 an hour in July 1967; and $1.75 an hour in July 1968, and would place agricultural labor under a minimum wage of $1.15 in July 1966, and $1.25 an hour in July 1968.

Fourth. The Senate bill would require the payment of double time after 48 hours a week this year, 47 hours next year, 46 hours the following year, and 45 hours thereafter, unless exemptions otherwise apply.

Industry position:

The canning industry is opposed to any proposal to limit the existing seasonal exemptions from the overtime penalties of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

First. Congress recognized the necessity for the seasonal canning exemptions when the law was passed in 1938 and Congress has resisted every effort since that time to repeal or modify these provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act. The processing of perishable agricultural crops requires prompt handling from the field and through the cannery. Ripening is controlled by nature and crops must be canned without delay when ready. Quality can only be achieved by this action and the consumers' interest must be protected.

Second. Canning is an industry including many relatively small businesses located in rural agricultural environments and should not be subjected to the labor standards of urban industrialization.

Third. The imposition of penalty overtime at any time during the canning of fresh, perishable agricultural products would not be effective in spreading employment as the industry presently offers seasonal jobs to available qualified workers to the maximum extent practical.

Fourth. The seasonal exemptions apply only to perishable crops that must be processed when harvested. Highly perishable crops such as peas, corn, green beans, tomatoes, peaches, apricots, cherries, and plums cannot be stored for later canning.

Fifth. The full 28 weeks authorized by the present law are needed in handling the seasonal crops that periodically mature from spring through the fall.

Sixth. The proposed legislation will add significantly to canners' cost of operation without achieving the stated purpose "to reduce unemployment and to strengthen the economy by a better distribution of work presently performed." Higher prices to the ultimate consumer will necessarily result.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

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Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut Ave.
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Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, Wyoming.

Appendix

Raymond A. Hare Nominated To Be an Assistant Secretary of State—West Virginian Has Outstanding Record as Foreign Service Officer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, it is gratifying that President Johnson has nominated another West Virginian for an important appointment.

Raymond A. Hare of Martinsburg, W. Va., a foreign service officer of the class of career Ambassador, has been nominated to be an Assistant Secretary of State. A Government employee since 1924, Mr. Hare has a vast background of experience to bring to this extremely important position. The responsibilities are heavy but Mr. Hare's capabilities and experience admirably qualify him for the post.

He received his early education in Martinsburg, Cape Vincent, N.Y., and Maine. He also attended the public schools of Manchester, Iowa. He graduated from Grinnell College with an A.B. degree in 1924 and with an LL.D. in 1937.

His parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Hare, are now living in Martinsburg. They are 90 and 86 years of age respectively. The senior Mr. Hare was associated with the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, serving as an apprentice for some years in Maine and at Cape Vincent, N.Y. He later went to Manchester, Iowa, where he was superintendent of the fish hatchery there. The Hares also have a daughter, Mrs. Harold Lien, of Sarasota, Fla.

Mr. President, Raymond A. Hare has served his country well and I ask unanimous consent that his biographic résumé of Government service be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the résumé was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RAYMOND A. HARE

Born: Martinsburg, W. Va., April 3, 1901.

Education: A.B., Grinnell College, 1924; LL. D., 1957.

Marital Status: Married.

EXPERIENCE

Non-Government

Instructor, Robert College, Constantinople, 1924–27.

Executive Secretary, American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant, 1926–27.

Government

Appointed Clerk, Constantinople; vice consul, Constantinople, 1927.

Appointed FSO unclassified and vice consul of career; vice consul, Constantinople, 1928.

Assigned to Paris for language study, 1929.

Detailed to department, 1930.

Vice consul, Paris; vice consul, Cairo; Appointed secretary in the diplomatic service; vice consul, Paris, 1931.

Vice consul, Beirut, 1932.

Vice consul and third secretary, Tehran, 1933.

Appointed, FSO–8, 1934.

Appointed consul; consul, Tehran, in addition to duties as third secretary; assigned to department, 1935.

Appointed, FSO–7, 1936.

Appointed, FSO–6, 1938.

Second secretary, Cairo, 1939.

Also second secretary, Jidda; consul, in addition to duties as second secretary, Cairo, 1940.

Appointed, FSO–5, 1942.

Consul and second secretary, London; first secretary, London, in addition to duties as consul; appointed FSO–4; area adviser, U.S. group, Dumbarton Oaks Conversations on International Organization; liaison officer, Chicago Aviation Conference, 1944.

Appointed FSO–3, 1945.

Assigned to Department; political adviser, U.S. delegation, first Assembly U.N., London; secretary to American Delegation Paris Conference; detailed to National War College, Washington, 1946.

Appointed FSO–2; member special mission to Nepal; chief division of Middle Eastern and Indian Affairs; chief division of Secretary Asian Affairs, 1947.

Deputy Director, Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, 1949.

Appointed FSO—1; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and African Affairs; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs, 1949.

A.E. & P. to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia; also E.E. & M.P. to the Kingdom of Yemen, 1950.

Appointed FSO, class of Career Minister, 1952.

A.E. & P. to the Republic of Lebanon, 1953.

Director General of the Foreign Service; member, board of examiners for Foreign Service, 1954.

A.E. & P. to Egypt, 1956.

A.E. & P. to the United Arab Republic, 1958.

Also E.E. & M.P. to the Kingdom of Yemen, 1959.

Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs; personal representative of the President, with the rank of Special Ambassador, to head U.S. delegation to inaugural ceremonies of Republic of Ghana and inauguration of President of Republic of Ghana, Accra; appointed FSO, class of Career Ambassador, 1960.

A.E. & P. to Turkey, 1961.

Memberships and clubs: Not stated.

Office: American Embassy, Ankara, Turkey.

Home: Care of American Embassy, Ankara, Turkey.

Legal residence: West Virginia.

Present position: Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Turkey.

Bitter Taste of Apartheid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, the costs of segregation, wherever practiced, are high and inconvenient, its supporters find. In South Africa, the asininities are boomeranging. The New York Herald Tribune reports, in the following article, on public resistance to that Government's July 1 law that servants must go home, out of town, at night:

BITTER TASTE OF APARTHEID IN THE HOME AND ABROAD

JOHANNESBURG.—Life is getting rough in South Africa. Since July 1, it has been illegal to have more than one servant living in (in the backyard, that is) except by special license. Unless the licenses, and the dodgers of the new law, proliferate quickly, there will have to be some changes.

In Johannesburg, for instance, with its 70,000 white householders and 76,000 African domestic servants, some households will have to make the sacrifice. In an upper bracket home in Johannesburg's northern suburbs, madam has a girl, master a garden boy, the children a nanny and often there is an ebony "John" in blancoed tennis shoes and white cotton gloves to wait on the family at table.

Only about 5,000 white families, mostly those in service flats, have no servant at all.

LOGIC?

The logic of the new law (which was passed in 1963 but suspended until now because of administrative difficulties) is not easy to determine. Its architect, the Deputy Minister of Bantu administration, M. C. Botha, said, when announcing its promulgation in May, that the main purpose was to bring benefits to the servants by enabling them to enjoy the social and recreational amenities of the African townships rather than stay cooped up in suburban backyards.

This is doubtful. In fact, the 25,000 servants who, in Johannesburg and Pretoria alone, will now have to join in a sundown trek to the townships in buses and trains that are already inadequate and dangerously overcrowded, will have their working day stretched from about 4 a.m. to 10 p.m. Food (normally provided from the family's table), rent, train, and bus fares will all be new expenses, to be paid for out of wages that currently average between £8 ($24) and £10 ($28) a month.

And thousands of married couples who live together on their employers' premises will be split up, with one or other having to move into cavernous "bachelor" hostels in the townships.

The Government's real motive seems to stem from a desire to camouflage the rapidly increasing rate of economic integration. The Government is tacitly encouraging this integration (at the expense of its Bantustan policy) so as to throw up a rampart of eco-

nomic strength against the dangers threatening the republic from outside.

But if "white" South Africa cannot maintain its whiteness all the time, it can at least be made whiter by night by sending the servants home.

Home, for them, will now be in the sprawling African "locations," which are not only out of town but also out of sight. Given white South Africa's extraordinary capacity for self-deception, it will be easy for the whiteness of the night to produce the illusion that apartheid has at last brought them to the promised land of separation and security.

INDUSTRY

And it can be done without jeopardizing economic development, since the massive influx of African labor into the key areas of the economy, as distinct from the innocuous area of domestic service, will remain unaffected.

All the same, the new law, like so much other apartheid legislation, is likely to end up as little more than a book entry. There is simply no accommodation for the displaced servants; municipalities will probably feel forced to grant exemption permits wholesale.

There is strong public resistance, too. Estate agents fear that the value of palatial suburban homes with their 3-acre gardens will slump. Even ardent Government supporters have criticized the one-servant law as a move that might increase the white divorce rate.

Tribute to Miss Mollie Strum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. KENNEDY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, a constituent of mine, who was also a trial attorney in the Department of Justice when I was Attorney General, was honored recently by the Chamber of Commerce of Puerto Rico for her long record of understanding and cooperation with Puerto Rico, not only in her official capacities but in her legal, professional, and literary life as well. More especially was she honored with a certificate of appreciation for these achievements and for a paper on Puerto Rico, which she presented to the Inter-American Bar Association at its recent meeting in Puerto Rico.

Because Miss Mollie Strum, recipient of these honors, is from New York City, and because I wish to sponsor increasingly good relations with the people of Puerto Rico and among Puerto Ricans residing in States of the United States, I ask unanimous consent that a copy of the letter from the Chamber of Commerce of Puerto Rico to the President of the United States, dated May 28, 1965, making reference to the citation, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAY 28, 1965.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PRESIDENT JOHNSON: We have today honored a lawyer of the U.S. Department of Justice, Miss Mollie Strum, who has been here for the purpose of attending the Inter-American Bar Association Conference held jointly with the American Bar Association and the Puerto Rican Bar Association.

More than a thousand lawyers and judges from the United States and Latin America attended the meetings and presented numerous papers on a variety of subjects. It appears that Miss Strum was the only one who devoted her efforts to a study concerning our island, which was the host to this important conference.

Her paper on the subject of: "Puerto Rico—Its Unique and Important Position in World Trade" revealed her knowledge of our problems and our accomplishments and a heartfelt friendship for the people of Puerto Rico. During the last decade, Miss Strum has had several occasions to come to Puerto Rico to represent the United States in customs cases. Thus we know her as a brilliant and able Federal lawyer and a sincere and fair friend.

It was our pleasure to honor her with a certificate on this occasion and we know you will be pleased to know about it.

Respectfully yours,

JUSTO PASTOR RIVERA,
President, Chamber of Commerce of Puerto Rico, San Juan, P.R.

The Changing Role of Libraries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHIL M. LANDRUM

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech entitled "The Changing Role of Libraries":

THE CHANGING ROLE OF LIBRARIES

(By William T. Knox)

It is my great pleasure to be able to meet with you today and share some thoughts about the role of libraries in the information systems of this country and of the world. First, however, I must apologize for having been caught in the position of a well-known diplomat who was intercepted by an ambitious reporter last week, as the diplomat was rushing into an international meeting. The reporter asked what the diplomat thought about a critical international problem. The diplomat replied, "Don't bother me now, I must make a speech; this is no time to think."

The title of this speech, "The Changing Role of Libraries," was selected quite a few months ago. Having decided that the role of some libraries or of all libraries in certain fields of knowledge is indeed changing, I now find myself in the position of the parent who, having decided on a name for the unborn child, anxiously awaits to see whether the name will actually fit. Instead of James, it might have to be Jane. This group assembled here today has within its power to prove or disprove my selection of "the changing role" of libraries, as opposed to what some people have said is "the changeless role" of libraries.

Indeed, there are some librarians who feel that the role of libraries is, in fact, changeless. They see no problem if they just had more money, more books, more space, and more staff. They point out that libraries have existed for several millenniums in much the same basic form as they now exist. There are large elements of truth in this, of course. Dr. Vernier Clapp's excellent book, "The Future of the Research Library",[1] focused attention on the two basic problems which have concerned librarians for many years: Self-sufficiency of the local collection, and interdepedence between library collections. And the list of problems facing general research libraries with which Dr. Clapp ends his book are the familiar ones of catalog improvement, better recordkeeping, etc. I hasten to add that I know Dr. Clapp is actually aware of other types of problems in our information transfer system. It was under his stimulus that the study of mechanization at L. C. and the study by Dr. Licklider on libraries for the year 2000 were begun. My point simply is that a recent, major treatise on the future role of libraries discussed the problem along lines familiar to librarians for many years.

Yet I do not believe this is the complete story—at least not for science and technology. And it is on behalf of science and technology that I talk with you today. It may be that the procognitive systems Dr. Licklider created in his book, which bear almost no resemblance to traditional libraries, will come into being first in science and technology.

Let me digress now to point out one of the mechanisms by which the interests of science and technology are currently related to the interests of the library community.

The Federal Government's Committee on Scientific and Technical Information (COSATI), of which I am now chairman, is a subcommittee of the Federal Council for Science and Technology. The FCST is the overall advisory and coordinating mechanism for activities within the entire executive branch of the Federal Government for science and technology. I also assist Dr. Donald F. Hornig, the President's Science Advisor and Director of the Office of Science and Technology. The OST advises and assists the President in overall coordination, planning, and evaluation of Federal programs in science and technology. COSATI is the principal mechanism for obtaining individual agency views and reaching agency consensus on desirable activities and programs of the Federal Government with respect to information systems for science and technology. The Office of Science and Technology provides an executive device for implementing the recommendations of COSATI.

COSATI's principal activities in its 3-year existence have been focused on coordinating the very large information programs already operating within the various executive agencies and in promoting standardization of the tools of the trade, such as indexing vocabularies, classification schemes, microforms, etc. Recently it has moved into another area—that of planning for more effective and efficient information systems in science and technology.

The large majority of COSATI's membership is from outside the library community, simply because the large bulk of Federal expense and effort in this area is not concerned with traditional library functions. Yet it is inconceivable to me that viable plans can be laid by COSATI for achieving a more efficient and effective network of national information systems in the field of science and technology without the active involvement of the library community.

It is a matter of sad record, however, that out of some 20-odd plans for achieving this more effective and efficient national network of information systems in science and technology, not one of the more widely discussed plans has originated from within the library community. And not surprising, few of the plans bore much resemblance to traditional library operations. Does the library community believe there is no need, no problem,

[1] Clapp, V. W., "The Future of the Research Library," Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1964.

here? If there are needs and problems, does the ancient and honorable practice of librarianship feel it has nothing to offer towards the solution of these problems, the satisfying of these needs? Does my previous comment about the different nature of science and technology really apply here?

With only a few exceptions (most of whom are here today), those in the information services business at the close of World War II—meaning, those in the library business—did not recognize the dramatic changes that were then stirring in their market. The sweeping national interest in research and engineering in the physical sciences as an instrument of national security and of economic growth, together with the resultant dramatic changes in the market for information services simply went unnoticed.

What were these changes? First, there were the quantitative changes—the volume of information and the number of R. & D. clients increased markedly as a result of the massive Federal spending for R. & D. related to national security. Then, there were the qualitative changes—scientific and technical information was packaged in new forms, such as the technical report; clients wanted faster answers, and answers covering a larger number of disciplines; the value of information decreased more rapidly with the passage of time, so that in some fields of education, as in medical schools, only the serial literature of the last few years was accurate. In addition, fewer individuals bought their own books and journals, preferring to be served by the organization's library; the Federal Government became the major supporter of the Nation's research and development program, and under its leadership major national goals were set and large programs undertaken. Finally, there were revolutionary changes in the technology applicable to information service operations.

Since libraries are almost exclusively staffed by people trained in the humanities. I will assume that you are also predominantly humanities-trained. This is an important point when the role of libraries in science and technology is examined.

Let us look at science and engineering closely. What is scientific research? The discovery of natural phenomena, and the organization of these observations into what we call "laws of nature." There are some scientific disciplines, mainly descriptive, which deal with transient phenomena, such as taxonomy and anthropology. But the great majority of scientific research deals with the never-changing laws of the physical world. As a result, the only penalty to be paid for losing or discarding old information in science is the necessity for repeating the experiment.

Furthermore, it is safe to say that the continuing improvement in the tools for conducting scientific research make today's experiment much more meaningful than yesterday's. Just within my research career of slightly over 20 years, the increased precision of measuring, and hence understanding, the reactions taking place in petroleum processing has been awe-inspiring. Had I been asked, 20 years ago, to let my imagination run wild in describing some desirable measuring devices, I doubt that I would have been bold enough to describe what today are ordinary tools. In a similar manner engineering gets done. The penalty paid for poor engineering is usually a more costly design or poorer performance. These are not light penalties, but they are hard to estimate in advance and we are used to them.

This is different—so different—from the humanities and the law, whose very content is the product of human intellect and of emotional responses to life at a given point in time. Once lost, these cannot be recaptured. For the humanities, the library is the laboratory. For the law, the library is the essential starting point.

But for science and technology, I would guess that, if one or two libraries in the United States had a complete collection of published material, and could find a requested item and supply a copy promptly on request, every other library in the Nation could safely discard all published material over 20 to 30 years old in science and technology. The savings in library space and construction costs are staggering to contemplate.

Let me mention another aspect of library use by the scientist and engineer. In almost every case, they have a problem to solve. They do not want access to all the information, much of it outdated, bearing on the problem. The specific, best information to solve the problem at hand is the answer desired, not a number of books and bound volumes of journals which might (or might not) have the answer. The need is for less, not more, information—but information of a higher degree of pertinence.

In general, scientists and engineers have a fairly good idea of the information needed to solve their problems. They may not express their need clearly; they will in many cases need guidance to the right shelf. But most of the time they know what information they need.

I hear murmurings about the need for browsing. We would all agree that browsing is a different service from supplying documents or information on request. Should a system be designed to accommodate browsing without a clear understanding of the extra costs associated with the extra service? Does a system designed to permit browsing perform its other functions as efficiently as it could in the absence of browsing? Furthermore, while browsing on occasion is an established behavior pattern of the present generation, might this not be due to the inefficiency of the present information transfer system in the libraries? Might not a better system, more flexible and responsive to the user, eliminate browsing?

Perhaps a literary culture could support a large, traditional library-type storehouse of knowledge for use at some remote time by some person whose needs are very ill-defined. However, we are in an industrial society and will remain there for the predictable future. This industrial society is dependent on active exploitation of information for its forward momentum and continued progress. As the sum total of potentially useful information grows by leaps and bounds, so do the difficulties of exploitation. While for some cultures and some disciplines the traditional storehouse-of-knowledge concept may be valid, I believe that today and in the future, libraries must dedicate themselves to the active exploitation of recorded knowledge and must pay relatively less attention to the acquisition and storage of information and more to those parts of the service which will promote the active use of information. This is especially true for college and university and other research libraries.

It was during the past 20 years that "information divisions" were widely created, instead of "libraries"; that a large number of professionally trained people entered the information services business, but not as "librarians." And a number of competent entrepreneurs more sensitive to the changing market found a real opportunity to provide information services, and with profit to themselves.

This turn of events was not preordained. It took a positive turning-away from the problem by the general library community to bring about this situation.

One of the exceptions to the general trend—and a brilliant exception—was the National Library of Medicine, then under the leadership of Col. Brad Rogers. The thinking and planning which lay back of the National Library of Medicine's bold plunge into the new era of librarianship was eloquently told by Scott Adams, now Deputy Director of the National Library of Medicine, before the American Library Association last summer.[2] I can do no better than to quote from his talk:

"A principal feature of the scientific revolution is the emergence and rapid development of interdisciplinary science funded by mission-oriented government agencies, and the displacement of the older scientific disciplines. This phenomenon is creating major stresses on the institutional forms through which science is conducted; for example, university organization, and institutions of primary and secondary scientific publication. The same forces are operating on the research library, which has been and is a passive rather than an active instrument in scientific communication. Its function has traditionally been not to exploit, but to create resources for others to exploit. And interdisciplinary science needs active, not passive assistance."

You are aware of the results of the National Library of Medicine's decision to render active, not passive assistance. Its Medlars program, now being extended on a trial basis to several other large libraries, has been a success. Special interest bibliographies are being regularly produced, and additional ones are planned. Even broader programs are envisioned in the Medical Library Assistance Act of 1965, which has just had a very favorable hearing before the Subcommittee on Health of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Now let us turn to some of the comprehensive plans and thinking inside the executive branch of the Federal Government, as represented by COSATI and OST, about national information systems, and the role of libraries in these systems. As you can gather by the questions I have raised so far, we have no neat, pat answers to the problems of national information systems.

About 6 months ago, an interdepartmental COSATI task group began to review the scientific and technical information activities within Federal Government with a goal of developing a plan for improvement of scientific and technical information activities in the United States. In order to do this in a realistic fashion, it was necessary to review the activities outside the Federal establishment, since the non-Federal and Federal activities are mutually dependent on one another and large sums of Federal funds go directly or indirectly to support these activities. Very early in the deliberations of the COSATI task group the importance of continuing dialogs with representatives of the various components of the complex of information systems in this country was recognized. Within the Federal Government there is a readymade mechanism; namely COSATI. But for non-Federal scientific and technical information activities there is no such mechanism. My appearance today is a response to the task group's sense of obligation to keep this segment of the information community informed and to solicit your comments. In particular, it is to present the task group's preliminary thinking regarding a concept toward which the information systems in the United States could strive. And although this meeting is an unwieldy mechanism for getting your suggestions and comments, I hope you will be stimulated to channel your reaction through your society representatives to COSATI. The task group would be especially interested in a definition of the part that ACRL feels its member libraries should play and its plans for fulfilling these responsibilities.

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[2] Adams, Scott, "The Scientific Revolution and the Research Library," Library Resources and Technical Services, vol. 9, No. 2, Spring, 1965.

The task group recognizes the great importance and extensive character of informal communications, such as meetings of all kinds, distribution of preprints, etc., but up to the present has focused its efforts on formalized communication mechanisms. Similarly, education related to the communication of scientific and technical information, and the initial distribution of research and development results, will get later consideration.

The task group is being assisted by a study team from the System Development Corporation. As a first result of this cooperative effort, I hopefully anticipate a report to be issued this fall. The functions and relations of major components of the document-handling system, such as the national libraries, college, university and other research libraries, abstracting, indexing, and alerting services, will be studied specifically. Another major area of interest will be the impact of advanced technologies on the information transfer network.

The specific concept accepted by the task group for further testing has not been finalized. I stress that it is only a beginning, and the task group is anxious to have this group and others, such as professional societies, industrial associations, and the business press, review, criticize and suggest modifications. Completely new approaches to a useful concept would also be welcomed.

The body of the national network of information systems, as now visualized, would be made up of two parts, i.e., a complex of library systems (document-oriented, such as traditional libraries), and a complex of information evaluation and retrieval systems (information-oriented).

The heart of the system would be a number of national libraries handling the documents in such fields as medicine, agriculture, engineering, earth sciences, physical sciences, behavioral sciences, etc. Each of these national libraries would be concerned with such matters as acquisition, exchange, bibliographic control, such as cataloging, indexing, and the like. As tentatively visualized, these would be structured, operated, and administered in somewhat similar manners, each responsible to a specific Federal agency with primary mission responsibilities in the field of interest of the assigned library. Coordination and compatibility among the libraries would be a primary goal from the beginning. A question for early resolution would be the mechanism for bringing about this coordination.

The complex of library systems would be the existing library systems (Federal; college and university; public; specialized (industry, institutes, etc.), schools). These libraries would, as now, look to the national libraries for loan of documents, catalogs, etc., as may be appropriate, and would, in turn, provide some of the input to those libraries.

The complex of evaluation and retrieval systems would consist of those activities of the Government agencies, universities, industries, and societies (professional, scientific, and trade) that are concerned with providing information, as opposed to documents, to rather specific audiences. Elements of this system would be designed to:

1. Provide secondary current awareness;
2. Analyze and evaluate information;
3. Facilitate searching through deep indexing and other means; and
4. Retrieve information on request.

These activities are normally much more closely identified with the research and development programs and the scientific disciplines than are the document-oriented activities centered on libraries. They do require scientific and technical orientation and competence of the participating personnel.

So much for the outline of the task group effort. Let me again stress that this thinking is preliminary, and is susceptible to great change, especially from the users of the proposed system. Please take seriously your personal involvement and responsibility for guiding the evolution of a more effective and efficient national network of information systems for science and technology.

In terms that are more specific to the needs of college and university libraries—your needs—the national complex of library systems might have these characteristics:

(a) National libraries that take responsibility at the broadest level for:

1. Producing comprehensive catalogs available on a current basis in a form that is useful to State and local systems. A firm requirement here is a technique and system that allows national libraries to furnish catalogs that can be manipulated with computers, yet at the same time handled manually, since cost or other considerations may compel some college and university libraries to operate on a manual basis for some years to come.

2. Developing national union lists of serials, with identification of selected holdings. These lists must be in a form that can be easily manipulated so that they can be a basis for State or other specialized lists set up by libraries to match their own particular needs.

3. Clearly defining the individual national libraries' subject areas of responsibility, and assuming responsibility for the acquisition of and service on all materials in each area so identified.

4. Finally, developing and maintaining on a current basis indexes of the items in the national library collections.

(b) There should be State and regional library systems which draw on the national libraries and develop services and tools of their own to provide:

1. State or regional catalogs;
2. State or regional union lists of serials;
3. Acquisitions programs that match service needs without duplicating national collections in subject areas of little regional or State interests; and
4. A planned program for automatic data processing, computer, facsimile and transmission facilities, when these are identified as useful components of a system, that allow libraries to turn to other State or regional services rapidly and economically.

(c) Local library systems such as school, public, college, or university libraries that:

1. Draw on the regional as well as the national library systems and services and collections, and yet at the same time have adequate working collections to meet their own high-frequency demands.
2. Arrange adequate techniques to connect themselves vertically to regional or national services and collections and horizontally to libraries having special services within their region.

The cooperation both in planning and operation that the foregoing entails is obvious. Standardization, yet at the same time, maintenance of some degree of flexibility at all levels; feedback loops, horizontal and vertical, that assure responsive planning for new or changing needs; staffs better trained and differently oriented than they are today—all will be involved.

As you know, there has been much favorable testimony from the library community and from user groups in favor of two bills pending before the Congress—the higher education bill and the medical library bill. The bills, if enacted, will involve the expenditure of large sums of money raised from the tax-paying public. As Mr. Gordon Williams said at the SLA meeting last month, the Congress cannot be expected to supply the necessary funds until a reasonable national system has been planned. Doesn't the public have the right to ask that the library community organize itself and operate with maximum efficiency? Are the present, voluntary schemes for cooperative cataloguing complete and prompt? Was the experiment of some years ago to catalogue at source damned prematurely for reasons which could be overcome given enough willingness to cooperate and to coordinate library procedures? Is it even necessary, in science and technology, to have a catalogue other than the indexes and other guides to the periodic literature produced by professional societies, two of our national libraries, and other non-library groups? How will libraries apply the new technologies of information transfer? How will libraries employ the products of the new specialized information centers?

These are challenging questions to you. The answers are within your field of expertise. I am sure you are more than equal to the task.

I close by quoting again from Scott Adams:

"As we move toward the 21st century, I think our responsibility as research librarians is clear—to understand the forces which are reshaping our society—to interpret those forces in terms of the changes required in our institutions—and to have the vision and the boldness to plan at a national level the provision of research library resources and services for a new age."

Oakland, Iowa; A Progressive Town

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I recently read an editorial in the Council Bluffs Nonpareil which praised Oakland, a small town in my district. Although Oakland has a population of only 1,340, it is one of the most progressive and forward-looking towns in the State of Iowa.

This small town has a golf course, swimming pool, library, and a park, and is now in the process of building a beef packing plant and nursing home.

I thought that the successes of this progressive town might be of interest to my colleagues.

The editorial follows:

[From the Council Bluffs Nonpareil, July 16, 1965]

CONFIDENCE AND ENTHUSIASM PERVADE THE AIR IN OAKLAND

Oakland, the fourth largest town in Pottawattamie County, is experiencing a boom of major proportions. Just last week it was announced that a beef packingplant, expected to employ as many as 75, will be completed in early 1966. This plant is the largest of many planned or proposed building projects in the Oakland community.

In addition to the packingplant, a nursing home is scheduled in the immediate future. There is a possibility of a new elementary school being built soon, and a new U.S. post office is being considered for Oakland.

Although its population in the last census was only 1,340, Oakland has a golf course, a municipal swimming pool, a fine public library, and a good park. Long considered one of the strongest agricultural towns in southwest Iowa, the businesses in Oakland over the years have done a fine job of providing necessary goods and services to the town and the nearby rural area.

At the present time, there is a feeling of genuine confidence and enthusiasm in Oakland. This enthusiasm becomes quite contagious and has a way of bowling over the

opposition of those who "know it can't be done" and those "who like the town the way it is."

What is that little something which makes it possible for one small town to show all the signs of a boom while most towns of its size are slowly fading away? It is difficult to point out exactly what provides the spark but we think it must be the community leaders.

In a small town, an enormous amount of good can be done by a few people working with the betterment of the community at heart. A few individuals, working separately or together, who are willing to devote a few hours a week to thoughts and actions aimed at improving their community can do wonders.

We think therein lies the secret of Oakland's success. Due to the generosity of the late Frank Eckels, long a respected community leader, and the followthrough of younger citizens, the golf course and the library came into being. From that time, Oakland has displayed far more than its share of community growth and pride.

How far the present impetus of community accomplishment can carry Oakland is difficult to say. Those of us who know the young businessmen that are providing the spark in that community wouldn't want to sell them short. We wish them all the luck in the world.

A Veto by the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAYMOND F. CLEVENGER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. CLEVENGER. Mr. Speaker, the President went to great pains to explain that he vetoed the important military construction measures only because he was advised it was an unwarranted and unconstitutional restriction on the power of the President to deal quickly and decisively with national emergencies.

The newspaper reaction to this decision has been extremely favorable as this editorial from the August 24 Philadelphia Inquirer illustrates. This incisive analysis deserves wide distribution, and I insert it in the RECORD at this point:

A VETO BY THE PRESIDENT

We support strongly President Johnson's veto of the $1,780 million military construction bill. The veto is a weapon that Mr. Johnson has used sparingly. In this instance he used it wisely.

It should be emphasized, however, that the bill he vetoed is an essential piece of legislation which needs to be enacted at this session of Congress. In view of the critical situation in southeast Asia it would be folly to postpone vital military construction projects until next year. We urge Congress to remove or modify the provision to which the President objected and then proceed promptly to pass the measure again.

The veto was aimed at a section of the bill that would have forbidden the President to close any military installation, or reduce its functions substantially, unless an advance notice of 4 months were given to the Senate and House Armed Services Committees. Mr. Johnson declared—rightly so, in our opinion—this would be congressional intrusion upon constitutional powers of the Presidency.

Aside from the constitutional question, the provision would hamstring national security and defense. In these troublesome and uncertain times it is necessary to maintain military flexibility. If the President deems it advisable—for the safety of the country and to maintain maximum efficiency of the Armed Forces—to shift the functions of a military base to some other location, he ought to be able to do so speedily and without political interference. It is neither reasonable nor prudent to demand that he notify Congress 4 months in advance.

We would advocate that, as a routine matter of policy, the President make a practice of consulting with Congress and keeping its Members fully informed on changes of status in military installations—but he should not have his hands tied by a mandatory 4-month waiting period. To impose unwarranted restriction upon Presidential power to act decisively and immediately, in the national interest, is to tamper dangerously with the security of the country.

Why We're in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID S. KING

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. KING of Utah. Mr. Speaker, recently the trustees of Freedom House in New York, a distinguished and well-informed group of patriots, issued a balanced, temperate, and wise statement concerning this Nation's involvement in Vietnam.

The reasons advanced by these Americans for continuing to support free South Vietnam in its struggle against aggression are, I think, incontrovertible. Highlights of the Freedom House statement appeared recently in the Deseret News of Salt Lake City, Utah.

I offer for entry in the RECORD the highly interesting editorial on this matter, "Why We're in Vietnam," and I rise to salute the officials of Freedom House for the excellent statement which they advanced. This editorial—and the Freedom House statement—will lend balance and perspective to the national dialog on Vietnam:

WHY WE'RE IN VIETNAM

As any American who has followed the course of events in Vietnam knows, there are plenty of valid reasons for being critical of the U.S. involvement there.

Among them is the danger of spreading our military forces too thin, of doing the South Vietnamese fighting for them, of fighting an unfamiliar type of warfare on the enemy's terms rather than on our own in a land where it's hard to distinguish foe from friend, and of drawing Red China into the conflict in such a way that might bring on world war III.

These criticisms—and others—are being loudly voiced by the administration's critics in the intellectual community.

The administration and its supporters maintain, however, that the North Vietnam Government is just a puppet being manipulated by Red China for the purpose of spreading its Communist empire, that the will of the Vietnamese people to resist this aggression is attested to by the hundreds of thousands who have given their lives fighting it or who have fled before its advances, that the United States is receiving help in Vietnam from a score or more of nations, and that opinion polls show the great majority of the American public believes President Johnson is doing the right thing in Vietnam.

In a debate where both sides are so diametrically opposed, what's the ordinary citizen to believe?

In the interest of clarifying the thinking being done about Vietnam, the trustees of Freedom House in New York have issued a credo which makes a great deal of sense. It includes:

Our withdrawal from Vietnam under present circumstances cannot be sustained on moral grounds. * * * Having freely accepted responsibility as a world power and a champion of freedom, the United States would dishonor that role by defaulting on its promises and commitments. Such default would not only abandon men, women, and children to cruel reprisals; it would seriously undermine the credibility of our commitments to other nations.

The decision to halt Communist aggression—whether in Vietnam, Laos, or the Congo—is clearly in the interest of the United States and other nations of the free world.

We welcome the recognition of a common interest which has prompted Australia, New Zealand, and South Korea to take an active part in the present struggle. We hope other allies will join in the defense of free world areas threatened by Communist wars of national liberation.

The United States is not embarked on a military crusade against Communist nations. Our record in dealing with the Iron Curtain nations of Europe and living peaceably with their Communist-controlled societies is our credential.

We regret the world is still racked by force rather than run by reason. But we also see no hope for reason until the force of lawlessness is checked. Our troops and arms are not mere engines of destruction; they are instruments of prevention. We mean to use them as judiciously as possible. But we do mean to use them effectively.

The objective of our involvement in Vietnam is not total annihilation of the Communist Vietcong; rather, it is to convince them by the only means they apparently understand—strength and the willingness to use it—that the best interests of all will be found not on the battlefield but at the conference table.

In working to achieve the goal of an honorable peace in Vietnam, the administration needs the wholehearted support of the American people.

Near East Refugee Problem

SPEECH

OF

HON. KEN W. DYAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. DYAL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend the thoughtful and careful presentation of my colleague, the gentleman from California [Mr. ROOSEVELT], on the refugee problem in the Near East. He has performed a great service in the last few weeks in bringing to the Congress the problem of the arms race and its dangers, the water conflict and today his excellent suggestion on refugees. He has performed a great service to the

House and the State Department in his research and analysis.

Mr. Speaker, when I traveled in that land I discovered that every effort had been made to settle the Arab question in an equitable and just manner. I discovered that there were Arabs in the Knesset and there were at least three Arab political parties, with complete freedom to participate in the affairs of government. Arab Christians are permitted freedom of religion and enjoy the use of their own language. The Israeli Government maintains Arab schools. There are over 250 state schools for Arabs with some 34,000 pupils. You may be assured that there is freedom and opportunity for these people within the new nation. Under the Israeli Government they have made advancement and progress, far in excess of their fellows across the border. The refugees have been forcibly kept from returning and have been maintained as a festering sore in the Near East. The truth that I speak here today has been well documented. This House knows that it is true, our State Department knows that it is true. We should, therefore, make it plain to Mr. Nasser and his puppets that they should quit playing politics with the unfortunate lives of these poor people.

Mr. ROOSEVELT'S suggestions on the floor this week deserve careful consideration.

American Academic Community Supports Freedom House Statement on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the teach-ins on the American college campus and the Poet Robert Lowell's dramatic refusal to participate in the White House Festival of the Arts have widely been interpreted as an indication that America's intellectuals do not agree with our policy in Vietnam.

I have never felt this to be the case and I want to call your attention to a graphic piece of evidence which demonstrates the general support which President Johnson has in the academic community.

Faculty members at 70 colleges, universities, and other institutions of higher education—a total of more than 130 in all—have endorsed the Freedom House statement which declares that withdrawal from Vietnam under present circumstances would be morally indefensible and that the decision to halt Communist aggression is in the vital interest of the free world nations.

Evidence of this kind of general support is so important that I include the August 23 Freedom House release in the RECORD at this time:

AMERICAN ACADEMIC COMMUNITY SUPPORTS FREEDOM HOUSE STATEMENT ON VIETNAM

More than 130 members of the American academic community have publicly backed the position of the U.S. Government in South Vietnam. Their action was taken in endorsing a Freedom House statement, which declares that the present policy of the United States "deserves the wholehearted support of the American people."

Faculty members at 70 colleges, universities, and other institutions of higher education in the United States are among those expressing their agreement. Although a majority are in the fields of political science and international relations, the group includes scholars from a wide range of academic disciplines. A professor of economics at Cornell University, however, withheld his signature although he agreed with the statement and has "written various public officials to this effect." He expressed the feeling that "it is inappropriate for individuals with expertise in one field to use their position to attempt to influence the public."

The endorsements are in response to a letter mailed to a selected list of persons in academic life by Leo Cherne, chairman of the Freedom House Executive Committee. Writing on behalf of Freedom House, Mr. Cherne declared: "Too long, we feel, those with opposing views have been left a clear field to present themselves to the world as the single voice of American intellectuals."

In addition to the faculty members, hundreds of Americans in all walks of life have written to declare their agreement with the Freedom House statement on Vietnam. Most of them backed up their declaration with a contribution to permit the statement to be disseminated more widely.

They overwhelmingly endorsed the view that if the "aggression against South Vietnam—disguised as a 'war of liberation'—is not successfully resisted, more aggression and perhaps even larger scale war will follow."

The Freedom House statement included a credo of support, which declared that withdrawal from Vietnam under present circumstances would be morally indefensible and that the decision to halt Communist aggression is clearly in the interest of the free world nations. At the same time the statement noted that the United States is "not embarked on a military crusade against Communist nations" and that American military operations are "only part of the substantial U.S. program to enlarge the economic, social, and political future of the Vietnamese people."

The Freedom House effort to enlist support for our Government's Vietnam policy was welcomed by President Johnson in a letter to the organization's public affairs committee, dated July 19, as follows:

"I believe your statement in support of the policy of the United States toward Vietnam reflects the strong opinion of most Americans. What you say takes increased importance from your long and courageous record of opposition to all forms of tyranny.

"I am grateful for the position stated in your credo of support and I hope that others who feel as you do may be willing to join in this expression. Effective public support of our national purpose in Vietnam will hasten the coming of the peace which is our common purpose."

The members of the academic community who have endorsed the administration's policy in Vietnam are part of a growing list of faculty members who are communicating their views to Freedom House. New sponsors are adding their names daily; the list to date follows:

SPONSORS OF FREEDOM HOUSE STATEMENT

American International College: C. S. Samra.

The American University: Ernest S. Griffith, dean, School of International Service; Loy W. Henderson, director, Center for Diplomacy and Foreign Relations.

Bowling Green State University: Emanuel Solon, department of chemistry.

Brandeis University: Max Lerner, professor of American civilization.

Brooklyn College: Harry D. Gideonse, president; Hyman Kublin, department of history; Ivan D. London, department of psychology.

Brown University: William T. Hastings, professor of English emeritus.

Bryn Mawr College: Angeline H. Lograsso.

Carleton College: Reginald D. Lang, department of government and international relations.

The Catholic University of America: B. S. Browzin.

Claremont Graduate School: George S. Blair.

Claremont Men's College: William S. Stokes, senior professor of comparative political institutions.

The College of Idaho: George V. Wolfe, professor of political science.

Columbia University: Daniel Bell, professor of sociology; Zbygniew Brzezinski, director, research institute on Communist affairs; William K. Jones, professor of law; Willis L. M. Reese, director, Parker School of Foreign and Comparative Law; Joseph H. Smith, professor of law.

Cornell University: Charles Ackerman, department of sociology; George H. Hildebrand, department of economics; Jacob Wolfowitz, department of mathematics.

Dartmouth College: John W. Masland, department of government.

Drew University: Will Herberg.

Elmhurst College: Royal J. Schmidt, professor of political science and history.

Fairfield University: John Norman, department of history.

Gallaudet College: Kurt Beermann, professor of history and political science.

George Washington University: Franz Michael, associate director, Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies.

Georgetown University: James D. Atkinson, department of government; Walter W. Wilkinson, department of history; Rev. Gerard F. Yates, S.J., international student programs.

Harvard University: Robert Braucher, professor of law; Carl J. Friedrich, professor of government, Littauer Center; Morton H. Halperin, Center for International Affairs; George C. Homans, department of social relations; Samuel P. Huntington, professor of government; William L. Langer, professor of history; Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr., department of government; George H. Quester, Center for International Affairs; George C. Shattuck, Medical School; Roland W. Thorwaldsen, Center for the Study of World Religions.

Hofstra University: Robert A. Christie; John C. Moore, department of history.

Hollins College: Victor Zitta.

Indiana University: Robert F. Byrnes, director, Russian and East European Institute; John E. Stoner, department of government.

Lehigh University: H. S. Braddick, department of international relations; Aurie N. Dunlap, department of international relations; A. Roy Eckardt, department of religion.

Macalester College: Arthur Upgren, department of economics.

Marquette University: Arthur C. Marlow, chairman, political science; Quentin L. Quade, department of political science; Eric Waldman, department of political science.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Lincoln P. Bloomfield, department of political science; Ithiel de Sola Pool, department of political science; Lucian W. Pye, department of political science.

Miami University: Dan N. Jacobs, professor of government.

Michigan State University: Charles R. Adrian, chairman, department of political science; Wesley R. Fishel, department of political science; J. Oliver Hall, department of social science.

New York University: Sidney Hook, department of philosophy; Frank N. Trager, professor of international affairs.

Ohio State University: James A. Robinson.

Princeton University: Rowland Egger, Woodrow Wilson school of public and international affairs; Brooks Emeny, advisory council, Woodrow Wilson school of public and international affairs; William W. Lockwood, Woodrow Wilson school of public and international affairs.

Ripon College: William Fleming, chairman, department of political science.

Rutgers—The State University: Donald G. Herzberg, executive director, the Eagleton Institute of politics.

Sacramento State College: George Tokmakoff, department of history.

Saint Louis University: Francis J. Corley, department of history.

Smith College: M. Salvadori, department of history.

Southern Illinois University: William Goodman, chairman, faculty of government.

Stanford University: Stefan T. Possony, director, international political studies program, Hoover Institution.

State College, Shippensburg, Pa.: Benjamin Nispel, dean of arts and sciences.

Texas A. & M. University: Daniel Russell, professor emeritus of sociology.

Texas Christian University: Charles W. Procter, department of government.

Texas Western College: S. D. Myres, department of government; Roland I. Perusse, department of government.

Tulane University: Henry L. Mason, professor of political science.

University of Bridgeport: Victor E. Muniec, Justus M. van der Kroef, department of political science.

University of California, Berkeley: Eric C. Bellquist, department of political science; Joseph P. Harris, department of political science; Seymour Martin Lipset, director, Institute of International Studies; Frederick C. Mosher, department of political science; William Petersen, department of sociology; Robert A. Scalapino, department of political science; Raymond J. Sontag, department of history; Aaron Wildavsky, department of political science.

University of California, Los Angeles: J. A. C. Grant, Robert G. Neumann, department of political science.

University of Chicago: Morton A. Kaplan.

University of Cincinnati: Paul F. Power, department of political science.

University of Colorado: James L. Busey, department of political science; Edward J. Rozek, department of political science.

University of Connecticut: Arthur Bronwell, dean of engineering.

University of Maryland: Walter Darnell Jacobs, department of government and politics.

University of Michigan: Russell Fifield, department of political science.

University of Minnesota: Carl A. Auerbach, professor of law; Harold C. Deutsch, chairman, department of history; Samuel Krislov; C. H. McLaughlin, department of political science; Arnold M. Rose, professor of sociology.

University of Montana: Thomas Payne.

University of Pennsylvania: William R. Kintner, deputy director, Foreign Policy Research Institute; Robert Strausz-Hupe, director, Foreign Policy Research Institute.

University of Pittsburgh: Daniel S. Cheever, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs; John O. Hall, director, overseas programs, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs; Donald C. Stone, dean, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs.

University of Richmond: Spencer D. Albright.

University of South Carolina: Robert W. Foster, professor of law; James E. Larson, professor of political science.

University of Tennessee: Douglas Carlisle, department of political science.

University of Texas: Page Keeton, dean, school of law.

University of Washington: Imre Boba, Far Eastern and Russian Institute; Karl A. Wittfogel.

Upper Iowa University: Charles B. Clark.

Utah State University: Jay M. Bagley, civil engineering department; Carlton Culmsee, dean, College of Humanities and Arts; Elliot Rich, civil engineering department.

Wabash College: George A. Lipsky, political science and geography department; Warren W. Shearer, economics department.

Western Washington State College: Manfred C. Vernon, department of political science.

Yale University: Eugene V. Rostow, professor of law; Walter R. Sharp, professor emeritus of international relations; Alexander von Graevenitz, department of microbiology.

Yeshiva University: Joseph Dunner; Roman Vishniac, professor of biology.

Additional listings: Robert A. Goldwin, director, Public Affairs Conference Center, University of Chicago; William V. O'Brien, chairman, Institute of World Policy, Georgetown University; Robert Sobel, Department of History, Hofstra University.

Federal Government and Washington: Partners in Crime and Vice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to tell the Members of this House about the uninformed partnership of the Federal Government and the State of Washington in keeping gambling illegal in Washington and thus making gambling's lucrative profits available to the underworld.

Last year, the parimutuel turnover in Washington came to $30 million. More significant—and more menacing—is Washington's illegal gambling activity. Testimony before the McClellan Committee indicated that off-track betting comes to about $50 billion annually throughout the Nation, with this figure accounting for only some 42 percent of the national annual illegal gambling total, which would thus be $120 billion. On a population basis, illegal gambling in Washington would come to about $1.92 billion a year so that Washington is really a lucrative stamping ground for the syndicate. The mob cuts itself 10 percent of the illegal gambling take which means that they must be prospering mightily in Washington. Government-run gambling would siphon these moneys from mob treasuries putting gambling revenues to work for the people.

The best way to make gambling work for the public good—since it is basically ineradicable—is a national or series of State lotteries. If the State of Washington would wake up to social and financial reality, it would legalize, regulate and control gambling so that the gambling urge of the people of Washington could be made to work for rather than against society.

Why Does Not Economy Begin at Home?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the situation in the Post Office Department is unbelievable indeed. Each day, my attention is called to some new and outrageous example of inefficiency. Just a few weeks ago, I called to the attention of my colleagues the incredible disappearance in the mails of over a half-million dollars worth of coin "proof sets" produced by the U.S. Treasury. This was a prime example of the gross incompetency with which our Post Office Department is presently being operated.

While Post Office Department officials contend they are taking steps to improve our mail service, the record is to the contrary.

My distinguished colleague on the other side of the aisle, the Honorable GEORGE SHIPLEY, of Illinois, recently made some very pointed comments about economy in the Post Office Department. They were reprinted in the Omaha Postal Clerk and I ask unanimous consent to enter this article in the RECORD.

The article follows:

DEPARTMENT ATTACKED BY ILLINOIS CONGRESSMAN

The following article appeared in the Nixie local 239, Springfield, Ill.

(What Representative SHIPLEY thinks of the mail service. Reprinted by permission of Gene Callahan, Illinois State Register political reporter.)

U.S. Representative GEORGE SHIPLEY, of Olney, has leveled severe criticism at the administration of Postmaster General John Gronouski for a Post Office decision to consolidate seven rural mail routes in SHIPLEY'S 23d District. Here are excerpts from SHIPLEY'S attack:

"Recently the Post Office Department announced it was going to cut some of the expenses within the Department and there would be a great savings to the taxpayers.

"It appears the Postmaster General is falling into the same old trap of the Washington bureaucrats in deciding where these savings should be made. It seems it is customary when the bureaucrats in Washington decide on savings, it is always savings someplace where it does not affect them."

SHIPLEY goes on to tell of his trip to Gronouski's office to complain of the cut in rural service.

"When I drove down to the Department, I pulled in front of the building which has a long drive about 500 feet long. This drive was filled to capacity with limousines and Cadillacs equipped with telephones and chauffeurs. But to the Postmaster General it is not a waste of money when you invest it in Cadillacs and limousines which are for the Department executives to travel around Washington and the country at taxpayers' expense.

"There is a limousine for the Postmaster General, one medium sedan for the Deputy Postmaster General and three medium and six light sedans for the various other postal executives. These are just for traveling around the District of Columbia. Nor was it a waste of funds for the Postmaster General to have ankle deep, plush carpeting and a reclining lounge chair in his office.

"The Department administrative staff in Washington numbers 1,498 and they have re-

quested 266 new employees for fiscal year 1966.

"The Postmaster General wants to cut down on the little rural route jobs which pay about $4,000 to $5,000 a year, but he certainly doesn't think it is wasteful when he requests 266 additional employees for his office. I can't figure out how he thinks he is saving the taxpayers money when he takes employees out of the rural areas and surrounds himself with new employees in the District of Columbia, where there are far too many employees already. If cuts are to be made, they should be made in Washington and not in rural areas.

"There would be more economy in Government if people in Washington, such as the Postmaster General, would do away with air-conditioned Cadillacs, chauffeurs, telephones in cars, red carpets and lounge chairs. Frankly, they could do away with a chauffeured Cadillac and there would be a lot less cost to the taxpayers than doing away with a rural route that we need. The air-conditioned, chauffeured limousines are not essential but the rural routes of America are."

SHIPLEY and Gronouski are both Democrats.

The above concludes the portion quoted from the Nixie. We in the State of Nebraska and local 11 are well aware of the waste in regional and top departmental offices. Recently four or five top Wichita regional officials came to Omaha to present the curtailment proposal to local 11 people. Then several weeks later a three- or four-man delegation from Wichita traveled the State of Nebraska telling the different communities about the sectional center concept. According to one Federationist in an outside town nothing was mentioned about the removal of RPO cars from the trains. My question is how much did the per diem and travel cost these men. The total savings for the Department in the proposal was less than $2,500.

Teen Pickle Pickers Fail as Bracero Replacements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, many self-styled experts on farm labor have belittled and scoffed at the earnest pleas of Michigan cucumber farmers for help in harvesting the 1965 crop. The Johnson administration even selected this crop for one of its Great Society experiments by establishing the A-team program, the letters of another alphabetical creation meaning "athletes in temporary employment as agricultural manpower."

Today, cucumbers are rotting in the fields or are becoming so large they are no longer suitable for packing.

The Detroit Free Press sent one of its able writers into the Michigan cucumber growing areas for a firsthand report on the situation. The writer, John L. Dotson, Jr., has presented a very graphic picture of what is happening to the cucumber harvest.

His article, which appeared in the Free Press under the heading "Teen Pickle Pickers Fail as Bracero Replacements" follows:

TEEN PICKLE PICKERS FAIL AS BRACERO REPLACEMENTS

(By John L. Dotson, Jr.)

Sixteen-year-old Stan Brazille admits now that he didn't know what he was getting into.

He signed up as a pickle picker on a Saginaw area farm one day last week and found himself bent into one of the most excruciating positions he'd ever known.

"Backbreaking," he grimaced. "It was just backbreaking."

But, it was the first job he had ever had and he wasn't going to let it whip him. Stan showed up again the next day with his bagful of sandwiches and a canteen of cold water, ready to do battle with the sun and the hidden fruits on the 12-inch high vines.

Brazille, a Saginaw High School senior, and most of the boys around him had no idea why their services were in such great demand this year. Or of the controversy that surrounded their employment.

They were the domestic replacements for the Mexican braceros, the hard-working laborers whose annual trek to the Michigan pickle fields had been banned by Congress this year.

But, the question was, were they adequate replacements? Even if they learned how, would Brazille and the others stay at the job long enough to complete the harvest?

That first day, they had worked 6 hours. They expected to put in a full day and see what it's really like the second day. The field man in charge had showed the boys how to do the job the first morning.

Bend over, with your legs straight and about 3 feet apart, straddling the row of cucumber plants. Roll back the vine on one side and pick all the cumumbers longer than your thumb. Then, roll back the other side and do the same.

Over and over again, it was roll, pick, roll, pick, step, roll, pick, roll pick, step, through with one row, there was another to begin. The field man in charge made sure there was never an idle moment.

There aren't enough pickers in the pickle fields this year to have one able bodied, willing soul waste a minute.

At latest count, there was a shortage of 1,000 pickers at the peak of the crop, according to a survey by the Michigan Employment Security Commission, growers and processers claim that figure is far short of the actual need.

Saginaw Valley and Thumb area farmers are feeling the pinch the hardest. They had employed nearly 6,000 of the 13,800 Mexicans that had been imported for the harvest in 1964. This year they had cut back their planting by nearly a third, figuring they could get at least 4,000 domestic laborers through an intensive recruitment program.

They failed.

The result is hurting every cucumber farmer just as badly as the extended drought, which was the worst they had seen in nearly 30 years.

"That's a truckload of garbage I've got," said farmer Hank Keytylo, as he backed the latest harvest from his 20-acre cucumber patch into the receiving dock at the H. W. Madison Co. in Pinconning.

"I'll get $50 for the whole truckload," he griped. "Any other year, I'd get $150 for a truckload.

The trouble was that Keytylo's cucumbers, like most others in the valley, had been allowed to grow too large. And, large pickles are what a processor can do best without.

Pickle cucumbers, unlike the long, green table variety, are short, stubby fruits—the smaller the better for processing.

"I can't go on growing pickles at that rate, Keytylo said. Neither can other farmers.

Unless something is done, they say, Michigan can forget about the title of King Pickle.

The growers had warned Congress and the rest of the agencies involved in the elimination of the bracero program that Americans just wouldn't pick pickles the way Mexicans did.

"The Latins are built for the job," said one farmer. "They're used to stooping in the fields all day and they're used to the heat. You can't get Americans to do the same thing."

"Poppycock," say Government labor officials. "That's just the impression that the growers would like everyone to get so that next year they can cry again to Congress for the return of braceros," one aid said.

The growers tried right up to planting time in May to get Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz to approve the importation of Mexicans for the Michigan fields. One committee recommended 5,000 for the harvest, but Wirtz was adamant.

The pickle farmers are the only ones in Michigan who miss the braceros because they are the only ones who used them. Every other crop in the State was picked by domestic laborers last year, except some truck crops, for which a handful of braceros was kept on.

There are several reasons Michigan farmers miss their braceros.

The Mexicans lived in migrant camps near the pickle fields and worked according to the cucumber growth. When the pickles grew fast, they worked longer hours and got through the fields more times. That meant money in the farmer's pocket.

For this, the Mexicans got a dollar an hour, a healthy wage by their standards. The rate of exchange gave them 12 pesos at the border, which bought a great deal more food and clothing in Mexico than it would here. That meant less money out of the farmer's pocket.

This year, cucumber growers are paying $1.25 an hour to anyone over 16 years old and 95 cents an hour to younger pickers.

To replace the braceros, most pickle growers associations headed into Texas to line up friends and relatives of the few Mexican-American families that had traveled to the pickle fields with the braceros in other years.

Some, like the Croswell Pickle Growers Association, Inc., which supplies cucumbers for Aunt Jane's Foods, hired former migrant crew leaders to scour the Texas villages during the winter.

Erasmo (Eddie) Contreras, whose home is in Alamo, Tex., recruited more than 900 in the Rio Grande Valley to fill the shoes of the 1,290 braceros the Croswell growers had used the year before. The firm added another 500 local laborers to the force to make up the difference.

Just to make sure there'd be no waste in the cucumber fields, Field Manager Russell Horn said, Croswell ordered only 1,400 acres planted this year, a 47-percent reduction from last year.

"We're not short now, but maybe in the next 10 days we will be," Horn said.

It all depends on the weather. If there are warm nights and plenty of rain, the cucumbers may grow too large for pickling before they can be picked.

As it is this year, there are gangs of overripe, pumpkin-yellow cucumbers lying in the rows between the vines.

Vlasic Foods Co., a Detroit-based firm, put up a $20,000 deposit with a private Texas recruiting agency for 2,000 field hands for the 6-week pickle harvest. Only 500 showed up.

It caught Vlasic off guard. The year before, it and Crown Pickle Co., which Vlasic acquired during the winter, employed 2,000 braceros. It was too much to make up.

"We had hoped earlier that we'd get 60 percent of the crop," a spokesman said. "But, now it looks as though we'll only get 40 percent.

"We gambled and we lost."

No one is ready to say for sure yet, but that loss undoubtedly will come out of the consumer's pocket. All of the companies based in Michigan are buying up pickling cucumbers anywhere they can get them—usually at high prices.

The National Pickle Growers Association tried to coordinate the recruitment programs of its members in an effort to keep them from competing with one another. Allowed to go their own way, the association reasoned, the growers undoubtedly would converge on Texas. And somebody would be hurt that way.

Grower associations were assigned States to work, along with MESC representatives. Each spent weeks in the out-of-State labor offices, interviewing and signing up prospective pickers. It seemed to work, for nearly every grower approached the harvest with a full work complement on his books.

But, when the time came, the growers were rudely awakened.

The Dailey Pickle Co., of Saginaw, looked forward to the arrival of 240 "stags" from Kentucky to augment the 500-man force it had recruited in Texas.

"Some of the boys got off the buses at rest stops and never got back on," said Herb Turner, Dailey general field manager. "We lost nine from one bus in the first half hour after they arrived in Saginaw."

They ranged in age from teenagers to an old man of 72. One had a wooden leg and two others were blind in one eye.

The exodus grew in the first days after the crews got into the fields. Last week, 3 weeks into the season, there were 26 left.

"It cost us thousands in transportation and advances to the laborers," Turner said. Dailey had advanced the laborers a portion of their first week's salary to buy food for the week. And, the firm had promised free transportation to anyone who would stay through the pickle harvest.

The same thing happened with the 130 "stags" that the H. J. Heinz Co., of Saginaw, recruited in Mississippi. Only 15 are left.

Their excuses for leaving are all the same. The work's too hard. The sun's too hot. And they're homesick.

Through it all, Turner claimed, Dailey has been able to hold its own. It has recruited 125 regular pickers right in Saginaw and Ron Wenzel, a Mackinaw Township eighth grade teacher who works at Dailey in the summer, has organized an 80-boy crew for daily hauls to local fields.

Dailey also is using 100 youths from Puerto Rico under one of the many experimental programs that were instituted as a stopgap for the braceros.

Few of the other efforts were as successful as the Puerto Rican import program. The MESC scoured the State's 388 high schools for potential pickers, but came up short when picking time came.

In Saginaw, the State agency had lined up 500 in a recruitment program, said Al Festerling, who heads the farm labor office there. But, when the growers' first calls came, few showed up. The MESC conducted a heavy radio-newspaper drive and finally came up with 250.

Half of them have quit since then and the MESC office is working 7 days a week in an effort to fill those gaps.

A brainstorm of the U.S. Department of Labor was the "A-team" (athletes in temporary employment as agriculture manpower) program, which was designed to aid the Nation's farmers and develop its athletes.

Teams of high school boys were to be organized under a coach to pick cucumbers during the day and practice their sport on the off hours.

But, most Michigan farmers had little faith in the A-teams. Fifteen teams, with a total of 368 boys, were placed out of the hundreds that were formed. Some worked well. Others disintegrated. Seven were left in the fields at the end of the last week.

The poverty war program even provided some pickle pickers, but its contribution was negligible. Twenty-five-man crews were formed in Detroit, Lansing and the Upper Peninsula.

Detroit's crew never got to the field because the company it was to work for refused to provide the necessary barracks housing.

Some small success was achieved by the Michigan Catholic Conference, which placed 50 boys in the pickle fields after a 4-week training program. It has lost only eight from the crew.

Youth labor, however, is going to be lost to the farmers in another week or two, when schools reopen. How badly their loss will be felt depends on the weather—as does everything else in the cucumber industry.

Farmers are complaining also that they are losing their migrant laborers to out-of-State recruiters who are seeking workers for the Ohio and Indiana tomato fields.

It's gotten so bad, farmers say, that there's competition among local growers for pickers. There have been reports of pirating by recruiters who are offering laborers $1.35 an hour to go over the hill to another farm. That's 10 cents more an hour than the going rate.

The only likely answer to the problem is mechanization. Growers are experimenting with several different machines this year, but they give only one machine half a chance of succeeding.

That is the "once-over harvester," which gobbles up cucumbers, vines and all. Before it can be used successfully, however, scientists will have to develop a new strain of pickle cucumber that will bear all its fruit at one time.

Until then, Michigan's pickle cucumber growers will have to continue to find and develop new domestic stoop-labor. With a year's experience, they should find it an easier task next year.

For Stan Brazille and his buddies, the work will be as hard as ever and the sun will be just as hot next year.

In Tribute to Adlai E. Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE L. HAYS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following poem in tribute to the memory of Adlai E. Stevenson, by Miss Marty Hale of Steubenville, Ohio:

DEAR GOD—

We asked for one to speak for us,
Not one to pound a desk and fuss;

A man of deep integrity—
A man of simple honesty;

And work that all men should be free,
And do his best for you and me.

A man with talent to convey,
The things we think but cannot say.

The good Lord listened to our prayer—
Knew such a man and placed him there.

He proved to be the perfect one,
Thanks, God, for Adlai Stevenson.

—MARTY HALE.

Alabama Minister Sets Attorney General Right on Some Facts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, Attorney General Katzenbach is having a field day sending his registrars into the South, discrediting local public officials and conscientious citizens and disparaging any effort on the part of the people of Alabama and other southern States to comply with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the voting rights bill of 1965. The Attorney General is aided in his campaign against the South by a sympathetic press which chronicles all of his charges, but carefully refrains from printing any of the facts regarding the registration of Negroes.

Now, a respected and well-known clergyman, Rev. J. G. Green, pastor of the Camden Baptist Church, Camden, Ala., has endeavored to help the Attorney General by reminding him of some facts. I include Reverand Green's letter as a part of these remarks so that my colleagues and Americans in other sections of the country may have a little better understanding of the true situation:

CAMDEN BAPTIST CHURCH,
Camden, Ala., August 20, 1965.

Hon. NICHOLAS KATZENBACH,
U.S. Attorney General,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SIR: As of this date, August 20, 1965, Federal registrars established offices in Camden, Wilcox County, Ala. for the purpose of registering citizens to establish voting eligibility. As a citizen of Wilcox County, and one who has made every effort to implement normal and effective compliance with the legal requirements pertinent to voting registration and civil rights, I wish to voice and hereby register a personal citizen's complaint.

In the following review of facts, it is humbly suggested that you, dear sir, are guilty of complicity in prejudged vindicitiveness, which has been perpetrated upon all the good citizens of this county. It is my personal contention that misleading information concerning Wilcox County has been given the American public by news releases from your office as late as August 18, 1965, when our officials were accused of noncompliance with current voting laws. The facts do not bear out your contention.

By personal appeal to you, it is hereby requested that the Federal registrars be recalled immediately, in view of the following:

On March 5, 1965 the following persons visited the office of Federal District Judge Daniel H. Thomas for an unofficial ruling as to voting procedures in Wilcox County. The group included; State Senator Roland Cooper, Probate Judge Bill Dannelly, Circuit Solicitor Blanchard McLeod, chairman, Wilcox County Board of Registrars, A. L. Wall, and this correspondent. It was resolved, as of that date, that voluntary compliance with all applicable voting laws would be made.

As of March 15, 1965, registration of all citizens began without regard as to race, creed, color, or national origin.

On April 28, 1965, the Federal Appeals Court of New Orleans had served on the Wilcox County Board of Registrars an in-

junction restraining the board from any discrimination, and setting down minute details for compliance. This has never been rescinded or changed.

Between March 15 and August 15, 1965, there were 10 registration days. During that time there were 750 Negroes certified and 300 are in the process of certification, making a total of 1,000 plus actually on the rolls. Please note that as of March 5, 1965, no, repeat no, Negroes were registered. This seems to be an incredible evidence of voluntary compliance, that has not been duly recognized by you.

On Monday, August 16, 1965, 2 days before your assignment of Federal registrars, 112 applications were taken from Negroes. There was no interference by any person, and voluntary compliance was publicly evident.

Sir, is it too late to appeal to your sense of fair play? Let us consider some other developments that reveal prejudgment and, in fact, make us feel that it is not compliance that you wish to achieve.

Three weeks prior to the passage of the voting rights bill your office recruited Federal registrars from among civil service employees.

Prior to passage of said bill you had confiscated the office of the soil conservation officer in our Federal building. His office was moved to the basement of that building.

Our local officials were told that we were "on your list," and that rather than frighten the American public to the fact that a stampede was taking place, that assignment of Federal registrars would be done a "little at a time, until all of the South was registered." Therefore, nothing would have been sufficient for compliance in the light of this attitude.

Acting under the injunction of April 28, 1965, the Wilcox County Board of Registrars asked for unofficial rulings from Federal Judge Daniel Thomas, and Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers, as to a conflict with the voting rights bill of 1965. They were told to proceed as instructed by the Federal Appeals Court. Two of your employees visited Mr. A. L. Wall and told him to disregard the injunction and proceed under instructions of a personal letter from you. Rather than to try to resolve these valid legal differences you chose to use it as a vehicle by which to appoint Federal registrars in Wilcox County. Thus, a group of honorable men who have been doing their utmost in a difficult job, were summarily side-stepped with the open declaration that they were violating the law. To this day they stand condemned by your actions.

On the matter as to who is to be registered, you have made a very strange decision. It concerns illiterates. Today, your registrars told State Senator Roland Cooper that the applicants not only did not have to read or write, but they did not have to show legal proof of age or that they were, in fact, legal residents of this county or State. This leaves a very grave doubt as to the sincerity of purpose. Recently one local civil service employee asked your recruitment officer how the voting of these illiterates would be handled. He was told, "We will cross that bridge when we come to it." This would indicate that we have the horrible specter of Federal referees instructing voters in every local and national election from this day forward.

In reference to your public statement of massive white illiterate registrants, proof is needed. It is not true, in this county, and you are urged to make such proof public, if you have it, since this is the basis upon which you are now registering Negro illiterates.

Finally, the 1960 Federal census reveals that there were only 1,465 Negroes with an 8th grade education or better, in this county. As we have educated these people, at great cost and personal sacrifice, they have left us for more fertile fields. In the light of the above, two-thirds, of these people were registered in less than 6 months in 1965. How can you, a lawyer, tell our people that we have not complied? How can you justify your actions?

This has not been an easy letter to write. From one side of the country to the other, we are being told how we should live and attend to our affairs. A Government which is supposed to be servant of all for the general welfare, has become master of all for the benefit of a few. Twice this correspondent wore the uniform of this country. At that time, as now, only literates could stand beside us—yet, willingly we defended the weak, the needy, the important, the illiterates, and felt this was our least duty. As one called of God, I have lived to see a sad day come to our country, in spite of personal efforts to treat all men fairly and to live honestly with them. Thus admitting years of error in the past, and looking honestly at present achievements, I ask you sincerely if you perpetrate this wrong against our people, both black and white? The last vestige of good will (a good will that has been slowly eroded by men of dubious intentions), among the races, and respect for the Federal Government, seemed to fade this morning with the advent of your personal vindicative registrars. We who have had to live with the scandal of massive illegitimacy which has been subsidized by a Federal dole, now must bow down to indolent illiteracy, which will constitute an overwhelming majority.

I pray you sir, in God's good name, please reconsider.

Respectfully,

J. G. GREEN.

Hon. Clarence J. Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. JACKSON E. BETTS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, in the days to come we will realize more and more the great loss we have suffered in the death of CLARENCE BROWN. I have never known a man whose career embraced so many activities and who excelled in so many endeavors. He was truly a talented statesman and politician. He was proud to be a politician and felt that being one gave him the opportunity to be of service to his country. As a youngster I followed his career as Lieutenant Governor and secretary of state. I campaigned with him when he ran for Governor and when I came to Congress I had the high privilege of becoming a colleague which led to a friendship that I shall always cherish.

He had that quality of character which drew people to him. Much has been said of his official life which reflected great devotion to duty and commanded the respect and admiration of us all. But it was in his personal life that one can estimate him as a truly great man. Those of us who were close to him not only enjoyed his friendship, but had the advantage of his sage advice that came from a clear and logical mind and years of experience. I always felt welcome to go to him for counsel and when I left I had a sense of security in being well armed with his words of wisdom.

Also, aside from his official life, he was a devoted family man. From our conversations, I am sure that every decision he made took into consideration Mrs. Brown and his children.

When Prime Minister Ramsey McDonald eulogized Queen Alexandria, he said:

> She represented to us not only the emblazened life of courts, but the domestic affection of humbler places.

Much the same could be said of CLARENCE BROWN. His life was not only notable for his successes in politics and statesmanship, but also for his qualities of devoted friendship and his readiness to share his wisdom and experience with those of us who sought and needed it.

And so I am sad, not only because the Nation has lost a dedicated and courageous American and our party a faithful and inspiring leader, but because I have lost a dear friend. My wife, Martha, and I extend our deepest sympathy to his family.

Adlai's Call to Public Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, one of Illinois' distinguished newspapermen is Irving Dilliard, formerly of the St. Louis Post Dispatch. Since his retirement from that great newspaper he has been writing a column in which he comments on current matters in a most perceptive and interesting manner. His column written at the time of the death of Adlai E. Stevenson is a fine tribute to the man whom he knew so well and I am pleased to include it in my remarks for Members to read:

ADLAI'S CALL TO PUBLIC SERVICE

(By Irving Dilliard)

The perspective that comes with the few days that have passed since his death makes it plain that no Illinoisan since Lincoln, and few Americans, have been so widely admired or highly esteemed as Adlai E. Stevenson—the midwestern Governor who as an internationally respected diplomat, became democracy's most eloquent spokesman of his time.

Second thoughts about Stevenson and his career suggest much more to say than that he twice bore the Democratic standard against General Eisenhower, the World War II commander, and hence was twice foredoomed to defeat. Lose the highest prize he did. But many who won it are little remembered, while we may be sure that Adlai Stevenson's campaigns of "talking sense to the American people" are already an imperishable part of our political heritage.

Countless figures in our political life have compiled black records that cause people to turn from politics in dismay. What a contrast Adlai Stevenson was to these self-servers.

LED MANY INTO PUBLIC SERVICE

For Stevenson was an inspiration to a whole generation of rising political leaders. Many hundreds of men and women went into politics—at the grassroots, at the State and National levels—in the 1950's because of his example. The roll of Congress today

contains Members who answered Adlai Stevenson's call to public service.

Through these men and women, from the precincts to Washington, the United Nations and other world capitals, Stevenson's influence for progress and betterment will be deep and lasting.

Much more needs to be written about his years in the Governor's office in Springfield. For Stevenson had a way of persuading political opponents to work together for the common good. He knew that constructive State government was nonpartisan. And so the record shows that under his leadership a Republican-controlled legislature enacted a Stevenson program that reformed the boss-ridden State public utility commission, that took the State highway police out of partisan spoils, that opened the way for modernization of the State constitution, that scored many other victories for the people whom government is intended to serve.

It was on the basis of his outstanding record as Governor of one of our most populous States that Stevenson was prevailed on to run for President in 1952. Not many men are the subjects of a genuine draft. Stevenson was. His own desire was for 4 more years at the desk of Altgeld and Pifer, Lowden and Horner, but he yielded to the call of his party as a soldier accepts the assignment, whatever it may be.

MEANINGS NEVER CLOUDED

When they could not come even close to his shafts of political wit, his political opponents spread the comment that his humor was over the heads of the voters. That of course was nonsense. Everybody knew exactly what he meant when he said the reason his opponents were having trouble standing on their platform was because it was "like standing on a bucket of eels."

Stevenson's great 573,000 majority in 1948 carried Truman to a paper-thin 33,000 edge in Illinois. That gave Truman Illinois' large bloc of electoral votes and helped mightily to defeat Dewey. Oddly enough it was the call for a change in Washington after the Truman administration that proved more of a handicap than Stevenson could overcome.

Lincoln's War Secretary Stanton, standing at the Emancipator's deathbed, said unforgettably, "Now he belongs to the ages." The same words apply to Adlai Ewing Stevenson—of Illinois, the United States, and the world.

L.B.J. Voting Rights Bill Invitation To Fraud

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, most Americans have been concerned for some time with doing something about cleaning up our elections. There have been many questionable areas, especially in the 1960 presidential campaign, and those who are concerned about maintaining our form of government are worried about fraudulent elections, crooked voting machines, and voting of nonresidents and even, in some cases in modern history, of voting people long since dead.

When the President's voting rights bill was before Congress, a determined effort was made to add a clean elections amendment, but apparently the majority was not concerned in protecting the people against election frauds and the bill is now the law of the land.

The following editorial from the Huntsville Times, Huntsville, Ala., reminds us of what can happen and what may happen in the administration's mad haste to sign up every illiterate voter regardless of residence to insure an honest vote.

[From the Huntsville Times, Aug. 20, 1965]

FRAUD MADE EASY?

It requires no deep study to recognize the voting rights law seems be riddled by loopholes which could lead to wholesale fraud in elections.

Proof of residency is being waived, either through intent of the law or interpretation by Federal registration officials.

We hold that it should be of grave concern that no test of literacy, whether oral or written, can be administered. Applicants cannot even be required to fill out a simple application for registration.

Witnesses to the applicants' place of residence are not required. There has been no mention that applicants are required to swear to their place of residency.

In other words, it appears—on the surface, at least—that anyone could drive to Selma and readily become a registered voter in Dallas County and still maintain his voting privilege in his home county.

If a voter were disposed, he might even register in a number of Alabama counties. What would stop such a person from voting for the State or National candidate of his choice in a half-dozen counties on election day?

Amending the Immgration and Nationality Act

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 2580) to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Chairman, I rise to support H.R. 2580, the long-awaited bill to repeal the national origins quota provisions from the Immigration and Nationality Act.

The national origins quota system has been the object of a continuing controversy ever since it was enacted in 1924. The intention with which it was enacted has always been apparent. This intention was to check the flow of immigration that this country had experienced early in this century from southern and eastern Europe. That so-called threat to our national institutions has long since passed. But the national origins quota system has remained on the statute books to give a false impression of the actual immigration policy of the United States.

It has given a false image because it simply has not controlled the flow of immigration as it was intended to do. As has been pointed out many times in the hearings and discussions concerning the pending legislation, the present quota system has controlled only one-third the immigration this country has experienced since the Immigration and Nationality Act was enacted in 1952. The national origins quota system has been chipped away by the enactment of numerous laws granting admission to refugees, victims of disasters, and relatives of U.S. citizens and permanent residents.

It is clearly apparent by now that the national origins quota system is not only highly discriminatory, but that in fact it has proven itself ineffectual because it does not comport with our national aspirations and ideals. As President Kennedy stated in his immigration message of July 23, 1963, "The use of a national origins system is without basis in either logic or reason. It neither satisfies a national need nor accomplishes an international purpose."

The pending bill would replace the present quota system with a system of preferences based on a first-come, first-served principle but with a limitation of 20,000 immigrants from any one country in a given year. The new system would go into effect on July 1, 1968, after a 3-year phaseout of the present system. The new system would increase immigration, which now averages around 300,000 a year, by more than an estimated 60,000; a 20-percent increase. The bill would, in addition, strengthen the existing safeguards of American workers from the effects of immigrants seeking to enter the United States to find employment.

This is a reasonable bill. It is the product of nearly 3 years of labor on the part of the Subcommittee on Immigration of the Committe on the Judiciary. It will replace a system that has no justification on the basis of principle or experience. I therefore urge that it be adopted.

Results of a Public Opinion Poll in the 18th District of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT J. CORBETT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. CORBETT. Mr. Speaker, herewith I am including the percentage results of my latest poll of public opinion in the 18th District of Pennsylvania. The 18th District of Pennsylvania is made up of all of the northern part of Allegheny County and is considered part of Metropolitan Pittsburgh, which it borders on the north and east. It is better than 90 percent residential and industrial, bordering both the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers.

The district is about evenly divided between Republicans and Democrats and is definitely regarded as independent in its voting habits. Our responses to these polls over a long number of years has been most gratifying.

The poll follows:

TABULATED RESULTS FOR POLL CONDUCTED JUNE 1965

1. Do you think U.S. interests in southeast Asia are vital enough to continue our military activities in Vietnam? Yes, 67 percent; no, 33 percent.

2. Do you agree that President Johnson acted wisely by his intervention in the Dominican Republic? Yes, 81 percent; no, 19 percent.

3. Should the Federal Government outlaw poll taxes as a qualification to vote in State and local elections? Yes, 68 percent; no, 32 percent.

4. It is now proposed that rent subsidies be paid to aid the needy. Would you so vote? Yes, 16 percent; no, 84 percent.

5. Would you support a pay raise for members of our Armed Forces? Yes, 77 percent; no, 23 percent.

6. Should the States be permitted to have one body of their legislatures elected from districts based on considerations other than just population? Yes, 46 percent; no, 54 percent.

7. Do you feel the need for additional legislation to control the sale and ownership of firearms? Yes, 63 percent; no, 37 percent.

8. Are you fearful that we are about to have another round of inflation (perhaps as much as a 10-percent price increase by July 1, 1967)? Yes, 73 percent; no, 27 percent.

9. Do you believe that labor laws should be uniform throughout the United States rather than as a matter of State jurisdiction? Yes, 46 percent; no, 54 percent.

10. Do you favor construction of the Lake Erie-Ohio River Canal? Yes, 20 percent; no, 80 percent.

11. Do you believe that the courts are overprotecting the rights of the accused in criminal actions? Yes, 82 percent; no, 18 percent.

12. Would you rate President Johnson's performance in office to date as (a) good? (b) fair? (c) bad? (a) 28 percent; (b) 58 percent; (c) 14 percent.

No Crop Like Perique

SPEECH

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, in the Parish of St. James which borders the Father of Waters between Baton Rouge and New Orleans, there is grown a tobacco crop known as perique.

This culture has been the subject of many articles and has been studied by peoples from all over the earth. It is unique to St. James Parish.

St. James today combines agriculture and industry. Today, along the Mississippi are great petro-chemical, aluminum, and other industries, but the richness of the soil and the industry of the people still makes agriculture a vital part of the economy.

The people of St. James are famous for their friendliness and enjoyment of life as well as their appreciation of good food and their dedication to good citizenship.

An old friend of mine, Mel Leavitt, a distinguished television commentator and author, has written about perique in the August 19, 1965, issue of the Clarion Herald. Under leave to extend my remarks I include his article in full:

NO CROP LIKE PERIQUE

There is no land like it in the world. And there is no crop like perique.

Planted in Kentucky, it comes up looking and tasting like any other tobacco. When other tobaccos are planted in St. James, they come up looking and testing like perique.

The world's entire supply of perique tobacco is grown and processed along one small ridge that borders the Mississippi River on the east bank. The area extends from Convent, through Gramercy, and ends at Vacherie de Grande Pointe.

The secret is known alone to a few Acadian descendants who have lived here since their ancestors migrated to St. James Parish two centuries ago from Nova Scotia.

It is as much a "process" as it is a "crop," a painstaking formula developed, with typical French artistry, from a tiny seed given them by the Indians.

Laboratory scientists at Louisiana State University have experimented with various soil compositions, moisture rations, chemical additives, and what not. They have failed to duplicate what the natives do naturally.

Perique is a geographical oddity, an agricultural mystery, a scientific enigma.

Jacob Martin, descendant of one of the original tobacco farmers in St. James, says:

"Around here, we say a man must be crazy to grow perique. But we keep growing it."

The St. James countryside is studded with large, open-end barns within which can be seen hanging the browning tobacco leaves. The odor is pungent. Taken "straight," the effects of the tobacco can be sickening.

Perique seeds are the size of pinheads. Ten thousand seeds can be contained in one tiny thimble. The planting, cultivation, cutting, and curing are a carefully timed, precisely calculated process.

The tobacco is cut by hand at a certain point in its growth, always in the late evening, and then left in the fields overnight. The next morning it is brought in early, while still limber, to avoid parching by the sun and breakage of the tender leaves.

The tobacco hangs from the rafters of long sheds until the leaves turn brown, then is taken down and "stripped." Dust is beaten from the leaves, again by hand, over a barrel. The stalks are saved and used later as fertilizer for the next crop. Nothing is left to waste.

Groups of 15 and 20 people assemble in the tobacco sheds to assist in the "stripping." First, moisture—a most important element in perique processing—is applied by a thin spray. The leaves are left awhile to absorb just the right amount of moisture and then turned over to the "strippers."

They gather in family circles, all ages, male, and female, and laugh and gossip and work all day, stripping the main stems out of the leaves. The raw tobacco is tied in one and a half pound packages and put in barrels.

These barrels are watertight, made of iron, and packed tightly. An exact amount of pressure is applied, using an old-fashioned buggy axle. The tobacco remains in the barrels for a month, is then repacked and repressed, the process repeated, and then repeated again. The "curing" continues for about 3 months.

By fall, the finished product is ready for inspection and shipment. Perique is sent out from St. James to England, Ireland, Turkey, and other lands to be used as a mixture, mainly in pipe tobacco. Straight perique is virtually unsmokeable and unchewable.

St. James residents tell of friends who have tried to chew it or to smoke it straight and "wound up vomiting for 3 days."

Mr. Martin says simply: "It has the kick of a jackass."

Martin's grandfather bought an original 1,800 acres as a land grant from the Government over a century ago, paying 25 cents an acre.

"It was covered, this land," he says, "by enough virgin cypress to build the city of New Orleans. No one knew then how rich it was."

Jacob recalls going to school in a horse and buggy. Still standing is a miniature Catholic chapel, not much larger than a garage, where the Martin family once attended Mass. Now, they go by car to church in town. The chapel remains in the middle of Grandfather Martin's 1,800 acres, a reminder of a more personal time. Perique grows all around it.

Farmers in St. James today find sugarcane more profitable and dependable than perique. They use the latest mechanized methods. However, most of the farms still retain perique fields, maintaining a fond tradition, even when unprofitable.

"It's a family crop," Jacob Martin told me. "No one makes much money on it. We couldn't make anything at all; in fact we'd lose, if everybody didn't help."

Jacob now lives in a comfortable home, next door to one of his seven children. One son is sheriff of St. James Parish. Another moved to Texas as an engineer. Another lives down the road a piece and grows perique. We met him in the middle of his field, a jovial man, his face tanned and toughened by the sun.

"Growing perique is an art," the younger Martin said. "With the French you know, there is an 'art' to everything. That is why we continue to grow it. Why no one can duplicate it."

The younger Martin looked across his field. Waves of heat rose in uncertain rhythms. Sweat ran down his face in rivers. Before him stood a part of a crop he'd tried to grow a slightly different way using modern methods. It was rotted. He shaded his eyes, squinting into the sun.

"It's a wheel that turns," he said. And he made a circular motion with his hand. "We keep saying: 'When this generation passes on, the next generation won't do this.' It's a lot of humbug. I think they'll carry on. It won't change. Some things do. Some things don't."

The oldest house in Grande Pointe, built more than 100 years ago, still stands where Grandfatehr Martin built it. The inner walls are "mud daub," made of mud, moss woven into it, sturdy enough to resist a century of storm and wind. The indestructible cypress boards are notched and nailed with the original wooden pegs. One of Martin's relatives lives in it.

Jacob Martin pointed toward the garden.

"See that," he said. "Squash, tomato, okra, eggplant, bell pepper. Everything for a good gumbo. We have a 100-pound freezer in back of our kitchen. Always filled. Everything we need we grow ourselves. Except chickens. Cheaper now to get them at the supermarket."

"These women," Jacob continued, "they still work 12, 14, 16 hours a day. In perique time they get up at 4 a.m., do the housework, cook the breakfast and the dinner before 7 a.m., so they can spend the rest of the day working the tobacco."

It's hard work, but they seem to thrive on it.

"One thing," said Jacob, "we don't need the Government to help us."

The wheel turns. Some things change. Some things don't.

That's why this strange tobacco still grows here, and will grow only here, nowhere else. Nowhere in the world.

Brighter Day in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, how are we faring in the Vietnamese war?

Many competent and sophisticated observers, inside Government and out, now are expressing cautious optimism concerning the progress of the war there.

The summer offensive of the Vietcong aggressors has not been an unqualified success. A recent operation by U.S. Marines in the Van Tuong Peninsula was a striking military success. And many observers feel that other signs are developing which give us reason to be hopeful.

Two excellent editorials on this subject appeared recently in newspapers in the Washington area. I commend them to the attention of my colleagues, and I offer them today for inclusion in the RECORD. The first, entitled, "Brighter Day in Vietnam," appeared in the Washington Evening Star, Wednesday, August 25; the second, entitled, "Optimism, Cautiously," appeared in the Baltimore Sun on the same day.

[From the Evening Star, Aug. 25, 1965]

BRIGHTER DAY IN VIETNAM

There is no reason to doubt that the dominant feeling in Washington official circles today is one of optimism with respect to the war in Vietnam.

Almost nothing is being heard from the Cassandras who, just a few months ago, were shouting from the housetops that the United States was headed for a major disaster in southeast Asia. They are silent, significantly so, and the reason is not hard to find.

For some weeks now the tide of war has been slowly turning in South Vietnam. There have been no spectacular victories of late for the Vietcong. The monsoon season is approaching its end and the massive Communist assault, which the pessimists feared, has yet to materialize. Finally, last week's smashing victory at Chu Lai by the U.S. Marines has put a new face on the whole business. It had been accepted as gospel that a numerical superiority of 10 to 1 was needed for successful offensive operations against the guerrillas. But the Marines, with a superiority of less than 3 to 1, trapped the unit of some 2,000 battle-hardened Vietcong, dug them out of their caves and tunnels, and decisively defeated them in the worst setback of the war for the Communists.

The difference probably was in airpower and superior firepower. These are advantages, however, which the enemy cannot take away from us. And the demonstration at Chu Lai of their effectiveness must be causing serious second thoughts in Hanoi about the wisdom of any mass attack on U.S. positions. In this connection a word might be said about the bombings by the B-52's and other aircraft. They have been ridiculed as attacks which accomplished nothing except to devastate jungle areas abandoned by the Vietcong. Yet the evidence is accumulating that these bombings have kept the Vietcong off balance, prevented any large massing of their forces, and have seriously depressed their morale.

It is true, of course, that the course of battle does not necessarily run in one direction all the time. In Vietnam, it may change again. But for the moment there is plenty of reason to believe that cautious optimism is justified, and that mounting pressures and fading victory hopes may serve before too long to bring the Communists to the conference table.

[From the Baltimore Sun, Aug. 25, 1965]

OPTIMISM, CAUTIOUSLY

Cautious and tentative optimism about Vietnam in Washington is based on a number of factors, among them the failure of the Vietcong to step up its activities as heavily as had been expected during the monsoon season, supposedly favorable to their sort of fighting, and last week's successful Marine action on the Van Tuong Peninsula.

As to the first, no one knows why the Vietcong have not so far taken greater advantage of the monsoon. Perhaps they are hurt more than had earlier been thought. Perhaps they are having troubles of morale and supply. And perhaps to a considerable degree the monsoon is more supposedly than really favorable to them; perhaps their capabilities in rainy conditions are not, after all, so distinctly superior to those of their opponents.

As to the Van Tuong Peninsula battle, as it may properly be described, Mark S. Watson has noted in the Sun that conditions were exactly right for that undertaking. These conditions he lists as: a sufficiently large force of U.S. troops concentrated at one point, well armed and trained for this kind of fighting; a compact concentration of the Vietcong, so that a well-planned attack could envelop an entire enemy force; exact intelligence of the enemy concentration; perfect coordination of all U.S. elements, with no less-trained troops taking part; a false sense of safety on the part of the Vietcong. In addition we may note that, unlike most of the inland areas of Vietnam, the Van Tuong Peninsula had the character of a field for decisive—locally decisive—battle. Merely from the published air photographs, it looked like a battlefield.

The rarity of a coincidence of such conditions is written in the bitter record of fighting in Vietnam over many years. The action does suggest that in other specifically American operations similar conditions will be sought for, and the geography of Vietnam suggests that they will be along the coast, not inland. But this is not to be read as the beginning of victory. Any optimism must continue to be most cautious, and most tentative, most limited, in the short term and in the long. And in Vietnam, what in any case is the definition of "victory"?

Activities of the Rightwing Minutemen Organization in Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNN E. STALBAUM

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I want to call to the attention of my colleagues that my good friend, Congressman JOHN A. RACE, of Wisconsin's Sixth District, has received support from a Milwaukee television station in his efforts to document the activities of the militant, rightwing Minutemen organization in Wisconsin.

The TV editorial of WTMJ-TV, on Friday, August 20, said RACE deserved encouragement for his work in spotlighting the Minutemen efforts to enlarge the scope of their activities.

The editorial follows:

BROADCAST ON WTMJ-TV BY MR. BOB HEISS, 10:15 P.M., FRIDAY, AUGUST 20, 1965

Last month California became the 24th State to make private armies illegal. At the time, the State's attorney general, Thomas Lynch, said: "We cannot allow bands of deluded individuals to wander our deserts and mountains armed with grenades, bazookas, mortars, and machineguns, and plotting outrageous schemes of guerrilla warfare."

Of course they can't. No State should. If Wisconsin's laws are inadequate our legislature ought to ban armed groups. Perhaps Federal legislation is needed to cope with the growing threat.

Wisconsin's Sixth District Congressman, JOHN RACE, is mustering forces to get such legislation on the books. He is aiming particularly at the Minutemen, which is a militant, rightwing organization. Although the Minutemen claim their primary purpose is to protect American citizens from Communist subversion, RACE fears the organization itself may be an embryonic subversive group. He charges that while the Minutemen are voicing a callous disregard for the leaders and policies of the Federal Government, they are hurriedly amassing a large arsenal of automatic weapons. In this connection, Minutemen leaders urge members to join gun clubs so they can get free ammunition from the Government. This creates a ludicrous situation in which any potentially subversive organization could be partially subsidized by Washington.

Although the Minutemen organization probably has made its greatest gains in California, RACE says he has proof of activities in Wisconsin. Representative RACE has carefully documented his reasons why groups such as the Minutemen should be outlawed. He is gathering more evidence before deciding whether to sponsor restrictive legislation. He deserves encouragement. For while the Constitution confers upon private citizens the right to bear arms, it certainly does not give them the right to form private armies. This must be stopped.

Now It Can Be—Fresh Water Anywhere

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN R. DAVIS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, my hometown of Waukesha, Wis., was, in earlier days, known as one of the great watering places of the Middle West. Here, mineral spring water has been bottled for decades. To this "Saratoga of the West" came Mrs. Abraham Lincoln in the years of her desperate search for restoration of her health.

In 1965, Waukesha has again achieved worldwide renown as a watering place—this time through the efforts of Aqua-Chem, Inc., probably the best known of all the producers of desalting plants for making fresh water.

As a matter of interest to my colleagues, relating to this highly current and greatly significant matter, I set forth here the lead article from the August issue of Wisconsin Business News magazine:

NOW IT CAN BE—FRESH WATER ANYWHERE

The state of the art is a favorite expression these days when summarizing progress made in a particular scientific or mechanical area.

In the matter of converting seawater to fresh water, no one company is more aware of the state of the art than Aqua-Chem, Inc., Waukesha, a subsidiary of Cleaver-Brooks Co., Milwaukee.

Aqua-Chem is the first and only company in the world devoted entirely to the manufacturing of water desalting units. Desalting plants by Aqua-Chem—over 4,000—account for nearly 50 percent of all such plants operating in the world today.

Land-locked and coincidentally located in a city known for its pure spring water, Aqua-Chem has shaped and fused metals into desalination plants from Point Barrow, Alaska, the northermost city in the United States, to a lonely U.S. Navy Base at McMurdo Sound, Antarctica, and from southern California around the world to Kuwait.

Visitors in the beautiful Princess Hotel in Bermuda enjoy Aqua-Chem pure water converted from the sea near the island resort.

Our Navy men on the supercarriers *Independence* and *Enterprise* shower daily with pure water converted from the sea by Aqua-Chem units.

Passengers on the two Italian luxury liners, *Michelangelo* and *Raffaello*, can drink, swim in, bathe in, and eat fresh vegetables cooked in pure water converted from the sea.

Patients in many hospitals like the King Edward Hospital, Hamilton, Bermuda, have received intravenous injections containing water purified from the Atlantic Ocean.

Italy's largest steel producer, Italsider, at Taranto has an Aqua-Chem unit converting nearly 1,200,000 gallons of fresh water per day—water ultrapure with less than one part of salt per million parts of fresh water.

An 800,000 gallons per day plant extension by Aqua-Chem has given one of the largest seawater desalting plants in the world—located on the island of Aruba, Netherlands Antilles—a total capacity of 3,300,000 gallons of fresh water per day.

The importance of adequate supplies of fresh water has been underscored recently by developments along the Atlantic coast from Maine to Virginia where a combination of drought and eroding shores has created shortages of water as well as serious pollution of deep water wells.

New York City and its environs, heavily dependent on its aqueduct and reservoir supply system, has been particularly hard-hit. Eroding shores along the New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland coasts have succeeded in forcing saline water into nearby fresh water wells.

What then is the state of the art in the water conversion field? Can we meet this challenge to our greatest natural resource, not only here in the United States but throughout the world?

Last year, by special invitation of a Presidential task force, Gordon Leitner, Aqua-Chem executive vice president, reported that his company could guarantee performance on water desalination plants in the 50 to 150 million gallons per day range, using nuclear energy as a power source.

Fred Loebel, president of the company and holder of many vital patents in the field, has revealed that Aqua-Chem has accomplished design studies for a 25-million-gallons-per-day plant for the Puerto Rico Water and Power Commission—a 50-million-gallons-per-day plant for the Presidential task force—and a 150-million-gallons-per-day unit for large municipalities such as the Los Angeles and Long Island, N.Y., areas.

A representative set of figures from the 50-million-gallons-per-day plant indicates a cost of 34 cents per 1,000 gallons of fresh water, within range of the ability to pay most municipalities requiring large capacity plants.

While large capacity plants are getting the major share of attention from planners, packaged plants have also attracted interest.

Loebel reports that another dimension of Aqua-Chem has been its packaged unit concept for hotels, resorts, institutions, etc., and that there is a growing market for these all over the world.

Packaged plants, he says, are getting larger as well as smaller, or because of technological advancements, a plant of x capacity built just 5 years ago would be much more compact today. Marine plants are now one-half the physical size they were 10 years ago.

Aqua-Chem, for instance, has six plants on order in the 100,000-gallons-per-day size and one in the 200,000-gallons-per-day capacity—all high temperature, multistage flash evaporators—that will be fully packaged, complete with all piping, pumps, controls ready to go when set down, and utilities connected.

Loebel discloses that his company now has the capability of putting a 500,000 gallons-per-day plant on a flat-car and will be able, in a short time, to completely package a 1 million gallons-per-day plant.

Aqua-Chem has manufactured the three largest marine sea water conversion plants in the world—280,000 gallons per day for the U.S.S. *Enterprise* and two 240,000 gallons-per-day units for the new twin luxury liners, *Michelangelo* and *Raffaello*.

Every cabin—from tourist to first class—on the latter ships has a private bathroom.

More than 300 modern flash evaporator plants on all types of ships throughout the world from nuclear submarines to the first nuclear-powered transport, NS *Savannah* have been designed and manufactured by Aqua-Chem.

Aqua-Chem, though, is not only looking up—at 150 million-gallons-per-day plants—but down as well, as the low-capacity unit.

As Loebel puts it, "Sometimes it's more difficult to build small things. It's more difficult, for instance, to make a wristwatch than an alarm clock."

For several years, Loebel has been working on the development of domestic units from 1 to 50 gallons per day. He has a unit now with almost no moving parts and a hot water tap as well as cold water tap.

Aqua-Chem has manufactured a number of 5 gallons-per-day units and is marketing them on a limited basis. In addition, the company has made a number of the 50 gallons-per-day-size units for the Army Medical Corps for field use in producing sterile water for intravenous injection solutions.

A couple of dozen vending machines of the 50 gallons-per-day capacity are being test-marketed in the southern California area.

Is there an overall market to justify this development activity?

Certainly. A recent survey indicates that more than 3 million people in 1 million households are now served by public water systems with 1,000 parts per million of dissolved salts. The U.S. Public Health Service considers this type of water unfit to drink.

And water pollution problems are becoming increasingly acute throughout the Nation.

Aside from the obvious health benefits—absence of salt, nematodes, bacteria, etc.—pure water has numerous other bonuses.

Contrary to popular belief, pure water is not flat. Cool and aerated, it has a pure flavor very few people have experienced. The flat idea, Loebel discloses, comes from distilled water left on shelves for months and tasted warm. Even the best spring water, he says, would be unpalatable under similar conditions.

Pure water, the Aqua-Chem president claims, really opens up new dimensions in cooking. Market studies show that people who have once tried the pure, desalted water in coffee, soups, for cooking seafood, in ice cubes and water for cocktails, never want to return to their old water supply, even if it is fairly good.

Uses for small units would be in contaminated areas where private wells suffer from septic tank pollution, detergent contamination or from sea water itself; in areas where qualitative problems are great—bad taste, foul odor, etc.; in vacation or mobile homes; and in hospital and commercial laboratories where the need is great for sterile water.

Aqua-Chem, says Loebel, is cooperating with President Johnson who has called for a major breakthrough in the cost of desalting water and urged the beginning of a bold new program toward converting large quantities of heavily salted water at the lowest possible cost in the shortest time.

"Whether the source of energy needed to desalt water be the atom, coal, oil or gas, the work accomplished by our research and engineering has made us ready," Loebel concludes.

New Coinage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, last Friday I had the honor to witness the manufacture of the one-millionth pound of clad metal for our new coins.

The ceremony took place at the Metals and Controls Division of Texas Instruments, Inc., in Attleboro, Mass. It marked the first stage of a large contract that will not only transform our coinage system but will prove to the world the usefulness and serviceability of clad metals.

Already clad metals are contained in every household, every automobile, every TV set and every radio, but all this seems only the beginning of a dramatic expansion of the use of such metals in every phase of American life.

We were particularly pleased to have as guest of honor at this ceremony my colleague from western Massachusetts, Congressman SILVIO O. CONTE. I ask unanimous consent that a portion of his speech be printed at the conclusion of my remarks:

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN SILVIO O. CONTE

Today when I can see the results of a protracted legislative battle, I am satisfied that all the long hours of study, meetings, debates and speeches were worth every minute of the effort expended.

Today we stand at the end of a long and torturous road and at the beginning of a new era. I look back on my call for a new system of coinage for this country, which I first made more than 3 years ago—a coinage system that would break the tie of dependence upon an ever more critical supply of silver. We all look back on the tradition of silver coins. That tradition could be traced back to 1792, but today had become a luxury that we simply could no longer afford. We all look back on periods of serious coin shortages, of doubling and redoubling our annual coin production, of working our mints 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, and still not bringing the supply of coins in line with the demand for them.

More importantly, for Metals and Controls, for the people of Attleboro, for all of Massa-

chusetts, and this country, we are looking ahead today. We are looking forward to a new system of coins that will fulfill their primary function—that of a circulating medium of exchange. We are moving away from the hoarders and speculators who sought to make a private profit on the silver market by holding our coins as a source of silver.

We can see ahead that the new production of silver will now be available for the industrial and defense needs of that metal. These needs are critical to the security of our country and the very life's blood of many manufacturers, including the fine silversmiths of Massachusetts and all New England.

We are indeed fortunate to have the world's largest producer of clad metals right here in Attleboro. Metals and Controls has, to a large extent, made possible the removal of the shackles of silver on our coinage system. Calling upon the experience gained over half a century, the answer to the many faceted problem of finding an up-to-date, workable new coinage material was found in the adoption of the materials systems concept pioneered by Metals and Controls.

You have a demanding new $30 million customer in the Bureau of the Mint. But I assure you that their praise for a job well done will not be outweighed by their demands. I understand that Metals and Controls has already been dubbed the "glamour" division of Texas Instruments after receiving the largest contract in the history of your parent company. But we are celebrating only one of the many applications for clad metal that the near future holds.

I am especially pleased that bright new prospects are ahead, not only for our coins but for you here at Metals and Controls, the people of Attleboro and all of Massachusetts. Through your research and development efforts and your unsullied reputation for jobs well done, you have brought home to Massachusetts a real boon in terms of new employment and bolstering the economy of the State. As the new dimes and quarters begin circulating, I, and many others across this country, will be reminded daily of the contribution you have made, following in the tradition of achievement everyone has come to expect of Bay Staters.

Joke of the Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE D. WAGGONNER, JR.

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, the social apologists have now, at long last, completely run out of excuses for the race riot in Los Angeles recently.

At various times they have blamed the heat, the humidity, poverty, the South, and every other lame excuse imaginable except the true reason: an absolute lack of personal responsibility on the part of the rioters.

To cap the climax, Attorney General Katzenbach, with a straight face, has told an audience in Boston that the race riots in Los Angeles had nothing to do with civil rights. They were caused, he said, by narcotics.

This is the first inkling anyone has had that this was, in reality, a revolt of, we assume, the users against the pushers.

Mr. Katzenbach's statement is so amusing I would like to make it a part of the RECORD. The story is presented here in its entirety as it appeared in the Washington Post on August 25. You will notice that the story has a rather inconclusive ending but I am not at all surprised:

LOS ANGELES RIOT RIGHTS LINK DENIED BY KATZENBACH

BOSTON, August 24.—U.S. Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach said last night that the recent Los Angeles rioting had nothing to do with civil rights.

"It was a riot. I don't think it had anything to do with civil rights," Katzenbach told the 95th congress of the American Correctional Association.

Katzenbach said a "good deal of narcotics" was involved in the Los Angeles riots.

H.R. 9811: The Farm Bill

SPEECH

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9811) to maintain farm income, to stabilize prices and assure adequate supplies of agricultural commodities, to reduce surpluses, lower Government costs and promote foreign trade, to afford greater economic opportunity in rural areas, and for other purposes.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Chairman, the goals of this bill are very closely related to national prosperity and national security. The bill recognizes the interdependence of agriculture, industry, business, large and small, and the overall urgent need for a vibrant, vigorous, healthy economy.

Such an economy is essential, not only to maintain desirable prosperous conditions which must exist, not only in the country and must not be allowed to wane, but also are vital to our great national potential which is so important to a strong, well balanced national defense at this time, when the Nation is beset by grave, international complications and threats.

It is true, so far as I am concerned, that farm legislation usually presents very serious problems that require most mature consideration. The problem of grain surpluses alone has been distressing, challenging, costly, and up to recent times, apparently insoluble.

However, of late farm income is higher, grain surpluses have been cut drastically, exports of farm products are at record levels, more land has been protected for posterity, consumer food prices have been reasonable, and food distribution programs have been expanded.

The complaint is still made that the farmer is far away from a parity position with our citizens in industry and commerce and is not sharing equitably in their prosperity. Whether that be true or not, there are definite signs that agriculture is more stable and that surpluses are being gradually but definitely reduced.

With respect to the bill itself, I have been concerned about the possibility that certain of its provisions would increase the price of bread. However, now that an appropriate amendment has been agreed upon to prevent this from happening, we are assured that the price of bread to the consumer will not be increased solely as a result of this bill and we will have to look to other sources to assess responsibility for any unreasonable rise in the cost of bread and take corrective action accordingly.

Moreover, the bill has been drawn to continue the exemption enjoyed by milk producer-handlers from marketing orders which they currently enjoy, and no producer-handler will be forced into a Federal market unless he increases his total business to an unreasonable point, where his augmented increase would logically and equitably warrant some change of status. The provisions in this regard are flexible, and I believe fair to producers, who will receive higher fluid milk prices on the base rather than on a blend price on all production without causing dislocation of consumer prices.

New producers and hardship cases would share in the expanded growth of markets, and other corrections would be made in the operation of milk marketing orders which should not only be helpful, but would provide safeguards for producer-handlers as well as other producers. Under these provisions, it is made clear that the bill does not alter the legal status of producer-handlers of milk under the existing act.

I would like to point to the fact that, in addition, the Committee had made it very clear that it approves keeping the producer-handlers avenue of marketing open to dairy farmers without undue burdens, and insubstantial violations shall not be deemed to be justification for producer handlers inclusion in the pooling requirements of any Federal order. In a word, there will be a rule of fairness for handler-producers and other producers.

The Committee has expressed its disapproval of certain administrative restrictions on producer-handlers such as levying assessments on milk because of violations occurring on a single day and for other reasons related to the manner in which business is conducted.

I do not believe that any producer-handler or any other producer has anything to fear from this bill, and I do not believe that any producer or dealer who is operating his business as a bona fide producer-handler need to be at all concerned that this bill will change their status.

The feed-grain provisions of title III have been another subject that has given me great concern, and I am glad to note that the Committee is also providing proper language to insure that prices to users and consumers of feed would not be excessive or unreasonable.

The committee statements in this regard are also very assuring on the point that price levels to consumers and users of feed grain will not be unfavorably affected by the bill.

Another provision of the bill to strengthen the overall economy from the standpoint of my district and area is the retention of the provision for one-

price cotton which I think will be helpful to the textile industry, to the textile machinery manufacturing industry, and all those associated with it, as well as to labor and many other people who are engaged in these businesses.

The existence of two-price cotton has been a serious injustice which in the interest of my district and country, I have sought for a long time to eliminate, and I am very well satisfied that the bill provides for the maintenance of the one-price cotton system, and hope that this provision of law will be retained in the future, because the very idea of two-price cotton is repugnant as well as very harmful to many of our important industries—and economic distortion which cannot be justified.

Like many others, I am very unhappy about the high cost of the farm program in general, and particularly the extremely difficult surplus problem, but it seems to me that this bill moves in the direction of strengthening our national economy, as a whole, and in working out many of these most vexing problems, and I think that it is generally in the interest of my district, my State, and the Nation and our free enterprise economy which must be zealously guarded and preserved.

It would be a national error to allow the objections of large sectional, major crop producers and their powerful organizations to impose their will on farm legislation. These groups must be treated fairly and equitably, but to permit them to load down this bill with costly special privilege provisions that would work a great injustice to many farmers, would be unconscionable, and I am glad the bill avoids this very dangerous pitfall which would bring unfavorable results to the farmers of my district and area, among others, and place additional, unwarranted burdens upon consumers and taxpayers.

The House must continue its efforts in the fture to improve farm legislation.

A Federal Heraldic Authority for the United States of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, for the information of my colleagues and the general public who are interested in the subject "Heraldry" I am pleased to invite attention to the following article on the subject of Mr. F. B. Koepnick, Esq., and Mr. L. B. Barnes:

A FEDERAL HERALDIC AUTHORITY FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

(By F. B. Koepnick, Esq., and L. B. Barnes)

AUGUSTAN SOCIETY

The use of heraldic achievements in the United States of America should be regulated by a Federal agency that is also empowered to grant and matriculate arms. Violations of the laws regarding heraldry should be punished in the same fashion as are the violations of the regulations of other Federal agencies.

Lest our readers reject these contentions out of hand as unfair or totally impractical, let us discuss the reason for our point of view—and the problem involved. First, why bother with Federal regulation of heraldry?

The need arises out of abuses. We have become acutely aware of firms which promiscuously promote and sell spurious, plagiarized, or stolen "family name" coats of arms (sometimes called "family crests"). Our especial peeve in this area is the fraud that is perpetrated upon people who are ignorant of the subject of heraldry, but nevertheless attracted to it for obvious reasons. And most of all we cannot conceive of any value whatsoever in displaying the property of someone else. For that is exactly what plagarized arms are. The true importance of heraldry does not lie merely in its patterns, pleasing designs, or artistic value: the essence lies in the word "achievement." No one who has been defrauded into parting with his money for something to which he is not entitled has "achieved" anything.

Few students of heraldry will maintain that the present situation actually expresses the true meaning of heraldry. What, then, of the problems involved in obtaining Federal legislation in this area?

Our chief difficulty lies in convincing the American public of the validity of our statements regarding the present abuses of heraldry. General Washington recognized that in our kind of society and government these problems would be difficult, to say the least. For some peculiar reason we are a nation who (as a whole) have little respect for royalty and/or nobility. In fact most Americans find great pleasure in "hitting themselves over the head" with braggadocio of their most "humble" ancestry. Whatever pride Americans have (and, looking at our political situation, we wonder), at least it is not pride of ancestry—except in reverse. For example: in Houston, Tex., the home of one of the authors of this article, the entire population is quite proud that the famous battle of San Jacinto took place nearby. It is common knowledge that while Gen. Sam Houston was indeed armigerous, his "army" was a motley crew of toughs, gunslingers, renegades, and at least a few suspected horse thieves. If there were any armigers in that crew they were ironically either Mexican or Spanish. Yet today the "bluebloods" of Houston society make every effort to show descendancy from the heroes of San Jacinto.

This brings us to the second question—that of a fons honorum. Whence do we presently derive this source? The nearest thing we have ever had in this category is the creation of "an officer and a gentleman by act of Congress." We have no sustained royalty or nobility in which could be reposited such authority of honor. Certainly the President of the United States could not be involved, for his is a temporary office. Neither do we see how Congress could become such a "fountain." Being elected to represent and legislate is far different from being a source of honor. The only other instance of honors dispensed in the United States is that of the bestowing of doctorates upon selected candidates by various institutions of learning. Since this system is quite random and individualistic (many times motivated again by politics) neither would this approach be satisfactory.

One organization that readily comes to mind as an acceptable repository would be the Library of Congress. A committee would have to be set up, of course, with all the requisite powers; it would have to be a nonpolitical permanent group of scholars. It would then have to have a specific dispensation from the Congress, signed by the President, authorizing this body to hold, maintain and dispense heraldic honors. Perhaps the Patent Office could maintain the legal authority to enforce whatever rules or laws may be applicable.

Lacking a fons honorum, we must create one; it offends logic to maintain that we could simply assign the duties of such a body to an already-existing office or assembly. It also offends logic to insist that a sovereign nation cannot create such a source of honor; otherwise one would have to maintain that the United States is not a nation in its own right.

On the more practical side, how can the creation of a Federal heraldic authority be promoted? One things first, perhaps, of an armigerous Member of Congress, or holder of some other high office. Our late President Kennedy was armigerous, and might have seen fit to do something for the subject. Yet his entire political success was based on his concern for the "revolutionary class." We suggest that if heraldry ever does become a part of future Americans, it will have to be introduced and promulgated with little emphasis on past history, nobility and/or royalty. After all, most Americans simply are not armigerous by ancestry. Therefore it would become necessary for contemporary applicants to have an appropriate blason designed and registered under contemporary (republican) conditions. What a challenge indeed for a "modern American" herald to be called upon to augment the "arms" of the famous Gemini astronauts, Lt. Cols. Edward White and James McDivitt.

The president of the Augustan Society has suggested a possible program toward the establishment of a Federal heraldic authority: First, the seeking of Members of Congress willing to assist; second, publication of material in as many news media as possible setting forth the problem posed by individuals and firms selling arms to those not entitled to them; third, the preparation and distribution of propaganda justifying the establishment of a Federal heraldic authority; and fourth, the enlistment of aid from American genealogical and heraldic groups.

We must convince the American public that an heraldic authority is worthwhile. Not all that we have to sell is abstract, such as "pride of ancestry" or "family inspiration," or even "personal and individual property;" actually we have the form and beauty of heraldry which is already fascinating and applicable in hundreds of tasteful ways. We propose to increase the use of this art form by giving it the meaning and purpose it deserves.

If our effort is worthwhile, we trust we will be rewarded with assistance. If our remarks here have been meaningless because they are divorced from today's republican realities, we also trust we will learn of our errors. In any case, we welcome comment—and, hopefully, encouragement and support.

The World Turned Upside Down

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith a very interesting column written by Walter S. Farquhar and published in the August 23 issue of the Pottsville, Pa., Republican:

THE WORLD TURNED UPSIDE DOWN

America's victory at Yorktown was mainly a siege.

True, the Americans and French were strong enough to take the offensive, by that time, and they did push back the forces of Lord Cornwallis into a narrow peninsula, where the British commander felt assured he would be supplied from the sea, by the strength of the British Navy. Instead, it was the French Navy, which moved in, thereby cutting off all necessary supplies from the invading army.

The outcome was near starvation—and disease. There was smallpox in the British camp, and rations were low. No help was in sight. There was nothing to do, but surrender.

So, by the terms of surrender, the British marched out between a mile long line of troops, Americans on one side, French on the other, and laid down their arms. And their band played "The World Turned Upside Down," a popular air of the period, which was singularly appropriate to the occasion of a proud empire's bowing in defeat to a rebellious colony. There was art and wit in that, which was not lost on such true gentlemen as George Washington and the Marquis de Lafayette.

Washington and Lafayette had sympathy for the humiliation of a proud adversary, Lord Cornwallis, and did what they could to alleviate it. They even agreed that the British general's sword should be surrendered by proxy. And, of course, with the fighting over, the siege was lifted and the late enemy fed.

How sad the occasion must have been for the common British soldiers, too, as they marched between the long lines of Americans and French. They were true to the old flag, under which Washington had been proud to fight, in the time of Braddock's defeat. They, too, were patriotic.

There is an analogy between Yorktown and America's situation in Vietnam, today.

The American President is willing to negotiate, but will not be pushed out. He was not responsible for the original invasion, 8,000 miles away, and he was not the man who set up Diem as ruler of the Vietnamese. Diem was in New York when he was put in power. But Americans are proud, just as Cornwallis was. They do not intend to be driven out and, unlike Cornwallis, they can be supplied from the sea. They cannot occupy every square yard of jungle in even so small a country as Vietnam, but they can hold on definitely on defense. Remember, Waterloo, Gettysburg, and Malvern Hill were defensive victories.

But Asian peasants are very different than were Washington and Lafayette. As President Johnson asks, "Who can I negotiate with?" He cannot negotiate because the peasants have no official capital, while North Vietnam can assert that, since the war is not a declared one, they are not officially involved.

Exactly that is the situation. Who is involved? North Vietnam? China? Russia? All of them? If they are, they should be willing to negotiate, even through the United Nations, which is not the one-sided organization they may take it to be.

Why need they humiliate proud America? President Johnson wants only to withdraw with honor? His soldiers cannot be starved out, as was the case with Cornwallis, but he does not propose to be pushed out—and on that principle, Americans will stand with him, right or wrong or any other way, even though they are not imperialists.

Washington and Lafayette showed respect for the feelings of Cornwallis. Is Mao, an intelligent man, incapable of understanding that the very principles he professes to believe, include sympathy for the feeling of a proud opponent?

America will not march out as the band plays "The World Turned Upside Down." It must be "The Star Spangled Banner."

Project Hope—Dr. Ronald Yankee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, a recent article in the Washington Post cites the good will that follows the dedicated work of Americans abroad.

In the article by William Payne, Project Hope—Dr. Ronald Yankee, who is employed as a research investigator at the National Cancer Institute in Bethesda, describes the warm feeling expressed for Hope while the S.S. *Hope* was in Guinea.

Dr. Yankee said:

Every day, every 2 or 3 hours, when our white trucks would leave the ships to carry doctors through the city to their jobs, Guinean children would line the streets and wave their Hope milk cartons. They knew why we were there—to help them.

Dr. Yankee was aboard the hospital ship during the last 2 months of the vessel's 10-month mission to Conakry, Guinea, on the west coast of Africa. The friendship for the United States created by Hope in Africa followed similar Hope successes in Asia and South America. I am sure the story will be the same in Central America, when the S.S. *Hope* sails to Corinto, Nicaragua. I place the August 24, 1965, Washington Post article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 24, 1965]

WASHINGTON DOCTOR ENDS 10 MONTHS ON SS "HOPE" IN GUINEA

(By William Payne)

Modern American medicine fought ancient African disease for the past 10 months in the former French-ruled west African republic of Guinea.

Teams of American doctors and nurses aboard the hospital ship, the SS *Hope*, vaccinated 125,000 Guineans, treated thousands more and performed hundreds of major operations starting last October. The ship was anchored in the harbor of Conakry, the republic's capital.

Dr. Ronald A. Yankee, a Washington internal medicine specialist, returned here last week after working without pay aboard the ship. SS *Hope*, which is sponsored by Project Hope, will dock in Philadelphia September 1.

Dr. Yankee, 30, of 4000 Tunlaw Road NW., said in an interview that even the Guinean medical personnel were in poor health when the ship arrived. Initially, he said, the Guineans would tire after working several hours.

Later, after eating better, they gained weight and could work longer.

Dr. Yankee found many Guineans suffering from parasitic diseases—hookworm, bilharzia, and ameobiasis.

Malaria, he said, plagues most Africans, and as a matter of course, each patient was treated for it. "We did this because later if they ran a fever while we were treating them we would know it wasn't malaria."

He also found a surprising number of ulcer cases "Not only did we find cases among the young, educated and more Westernized Guineans," he said, "but also among the tribal people from the bush. Primitive people have their worries and fears too."

Dr. Yankee, who is a research investigator at the National Cancer Institute in Bethesda, encountered a case of Berkitt's lymphoma, a disease that causes tumors in the kidneys, jaws and ovaries. The disease is found in a wide belt across Africa.

Dr. Yankee, born in Franklin, Mass, is a graduate of Tufts University and received his medical degree from Yale University. He spent his residency in Michigan.

He was one of a group of rotating specialists who volunteered for Project Hope to train and assist Guinean specialists. However, when he arrived, he learned that Guinea had only 16 African doctors and none of them specialists in internal medicine.

Dr. Yankee worked aboard ship in chest and internal medicine clinics. S.S. *Hope* doctors accepted cases sent to them by doctors under contract to the Guinean government. Some of these doctors, he said, were from Eastern Europe and North Vietnam.

Dr. Yankee found patients in Guinea to be like those in the United States. After a few days in a hospital they wanted their rooms spotless and needed constant attention, he said with a smile.

Yankee, admits to having been bitten by the "Africa bug" and would return at the drop of an airplane ticket. He is sure that what was done in Guinea had meaning.

He said: "Every day, every two or three hours, when our white trucks would leave the ship to carry doctors through the city to their jobs, Guinean children would line the streets and wave and shout "OPE." Some would even wave their Hope milk cartons.

"They knew why we were there—to help them."

Mexico Sugar Lobbyist's Attack Unwarranted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CATHERINE MAY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, during the hearings on the extension of the Sugar Act last week, Mr. Oscar Chapman presented a statement before the House Committee on Agriculture requesting sugar quotas for Mexico. In his statement to the Agriculture Committee, Mr. Chapman suggested that our domestic sugar production should be reduced, presumably so that Mexico could have an increased share of the U.S. sugar market.

I took exception to many of the statements that Mr. Chapman made in his presentation, because there is no justification for the line of reasoning he pursued.

I therefore include my responding statement during the course of the sugar hearings, to appear at this point in the RECORD:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE CATHERINE MAY OF WASHINGTON, REGARDING STATEMENT OF OSCAR L. CHAPMAN, ON BEHALF OF ASSOCIATION OF SUGAR PRODUCERS OF MEXICO BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON H.R. 10496, TO AMEND AND EXTEND THE PROVISIONS OF THE SUGAR ACT OF 1948, AS AMENDED

Mr. Chairman, I have read and reread the statement of the representative of the Mexican sugar industry, Mr. Oscar Chapman, and my reaction is one of shocked surprise.

In the first place, I question Mr. Chapman's wisdom in including in his statement, as a representative of a foreign sugar industry, a wholly unwarranted, unprovoked, grossly unfair, and gratuitous attack on American sugar producers. I should like to remind Mr. Chapman and the Association of Sugar Producers of Mexico, who hired him to represent the association before this committee, that the Sugar Act is domestic legislation of the United States of America, and that the Mexican sugar industry has a place at this table only at the sufferance of the U.S. Congress. It is indeed poor manners, to say the least, for any foreign interests to make a plea for a preferential place in this market by launching an attack on American producers—which Mr. Chapman, as spokesman for Mexico, has done. Certainly, as far as I am concerned, it has prejudiced his case with me, as a member of this committee.

Secondly, I cannot allow Mr. Chapman's testimony to go unchallenged in the record of this hearing.

The first obvious inaccuracy occurs very early in his testimony, where he says that the administration bill contains "provisions for a substantial increase in domestic production." This is not true. The truth is that under the terms of this bill our domestic producers will have to reduce their production, and not increase it. The temporarily increased marketing rights which the bill provides for the domestic beet and mainland cane producers would enable them to market, gradually, in an orderly manner, the additional sugar they produced in response to the request of the U.S. Government.

Our Government asked for more domestic production, may I remind you, when foreign producers failed to meet their obligations to this market. But this bill anticipates reduced, not expanded, domestic production. Both domestic beet and mainland cane producers have already taken acreage cuts this year, and further cuts are anticipated for next year, under the terms of this bill. Mr. Chapman, therefore, is mistaken when he says that the administration bill contains "provisions for a substantial increase in domestic production."

Equally misleading are Mr. Chapman's attempts, by questionable use of statistics, to show that domestically produced sugar costs American consumers more than foreign-produced sugar. He completely ignores the fact that in the same markets domestically produced beet sugar never sells for more and usually sells for less than refined cane sugar made from imported raw sugar. He also completely ignores the obligations the American producer must meet in order to qualify for the conditional payments which Mr. Chapman calls a "subsidy." American producers must pay minimum wages, established by the Government, to the workers in their fields. They must not hire any child labor. They must comply with acreage restrictions, and they must meet other stringent requirements. He fails to point out that the Mexican sugar industry, although receiving the United States price, is not obligated by the Sugar Act to meet any of the requirements the domestic producers must meet in order to receive that price. The Sugar Act does not require Mexican producers to pay minimum wages to their workers or to comply with any of the other restrictive provisions which apply to the domestic industry.

Mr. Chapman also ignores the very basic fact that every pound of sugar produced in the United States, on American farms, in American factories, adds to the economic strength of or Nation, while every pound of sugar we buy from Mexico or any other foreign country diminishes the employment of Americans and adds to our balance of payments problem. If Mr. Chapman is going to draw from statistics on the balance of trade between the United States and Mexico, he should use the full statistics which reflect such Mexican income as tourist expenditures of American citizens in Mexico, and should not insult this committee with partial references to trade between the two countires.

In addition, Mr. Chapman has ignored the fact that Mexico has not been among those foreign countries in which production of sugar is a main source of national income as is the case with many foreign suppliers of raw sugar to the United States. Mexico enjoys many other potential exports to the United States.

In Mr. Chapman's sudden concern for the state of the U.S. Treasury, I am surprised that he did not propose reinstatement of an import fee on foreign sugar—which the administration some months ago said it would include in its sugar legislation recommendations, but which the administration abandoned under pressure from Mexico and other foreign countries. In the absence of such a suggestion by Mr. Chapman, his attempt at promoting equity seems strangely out of place.

Particularly strange is his statement in view of the fact that Mr. Chapman is a former Secretary of the Interior. As such, he should know—and I am sure he really does know full well—the importance of the beet sugar industry to reclamation projects of the west, and to American agriculture in all areas where it is produced. Mr. Chapman surely knows that the United States has been making heavy expenditures in an effort to reduce production of surplus crops. He surely knows that if American farmers cannot grow sugarbeets they must turn to other crops which may be in surplus. When American farmers are allowed to increase sugarbeet plantings, they can divert acreages of surplus crops.

Mr. Chairman, I am sure that at least some of my colleagues share my view that Mr. Chapman, by the very nature of his unwarranted and nonfactual statement, has not helped Mexico's request for a larger share of the U.S. sugar market.

Voting Rights Compliance Is Encouraging Sign

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, at his news conference recently, the President expressed his strong approval for the progress made in voter registration in the South since the passage of the historic Voting Rights Act of 1965. Administration officials estimate that over 58,000 southern Negroes have gained the franchise since the passage of the act—some through Federal registration procedures, and others through voluntary compliance in southern counties.

This is a highly gratifying outcome—one which should hearten all proponents of civil rights and indeed, one which should give satisfaction to all who have faith in the willingness and ability of our citizens to abide by the law.

This legislation will mean awesome and staggering social changes in many areas where old traditions will inevitably fall away. But justice demands that change come. The future will require firmness on the part of Federal officials in enforcing the law; it will also require warmhearted encouragement to citizens to obey the law of the land.

In his recent statement the President offered both firmness and encouragement. I applaud his statement, and I applaud the law-abiding citizens who have made the results of recent days possible.

In this connection I offer for entry in the RECORD a highly interesting editorial which appeared in the Miami News on August 12, entitled "Voting Rights Compliance Is Encouraging Sign":

VOTING RIGHTS COMPLIANCE IS ENCOURAGING SIGN

Remembering the bitter debate and thoughtless threats over the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act, it comes as a surprise to learn that in the past year, the Government has had to file only 12 court suits to force compliance with the law.

This fact alone encourages Justice Department officals to hope that compliance with the Voting Rights Act, signed by President Johnson last week, will be largely voluntary.

So far, the Department has found it necessary to send Federal examiners to only nine counties and parishes in three States. In a Louisiana parish, whites paid little attention as four Federal registrars began registering Negroes. In Mississippi, the State had already relaxed its voting requirements before the registrars arrived.

At the same time, the Justice Department has filed suits to abolish poll taxes in Alabama, Texas, and Virginia, and officials of those States are considering their course of action. It would be gratifying if those States bowed gracefully, as the poll tax will almost certainly be judged a device to deny Negroes the vote.

It seems evident that very soon the Negro will have completely equal access to the polls in all sections of the country, and this will be a good thing.

It is hard to defend democracy as a system of government and still insist that large blocs of citizens cannot participate in the democratic process because of their color.

Allied Enterprises of Kosciusko Is Product of Community Effort

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped has recently taken note of the fine work being done by Allied Enterprises, of Kosciusko, Miss. The Committee authorized the publication of an article about this workshop in the September 1965, edition of its bulletin, "Performance."

The establishment of this workshop in Kosciusko is a real step forward in serving the handicapped. It also represents a gain to the community and to my State in that handicapped individuals are able to contribute to the economy—not just take from it.

The article written by Frances B. Briggs of the Mississippi Division of Vocational Rehabilitation is as follows:

ALLIED ENTERPRISES OF KOSCIUSKO IS PRODUCT OF COMMUNITY EFFORT

(By Frances B. Briggs, Mississippi Division of Vocation Rehabilitation)

When an entire community decides to do something for its disabled citizens, results are immediate, and success is usually assured.

That's what happened in Kosciusko, Miss. Proof of this formula for success is a rapidly expanding sheltered workshop, Allied Enterprises. Here approximately 60 disabled persons from eight counties are undergoing evaluation and training, leading to job placement, while doing important subcontract work for industry.

Within 6 months, the workshop expects to have 150 trainees doing subcontract work for local industries.

Formal opening of Allied Enterprises' new $150,000 building (its third location since the workshop's organization in 1961) took place on June 8.

Gov. Paul B. Johnson addressed a large group of local citizens, legislators, industrialists, vocational rehabilitation, and employment security commission staff members.

A feature of the program was the presentation of a citation from the President's Committee to the Lawrin Lamp Co. of Kosciusko for its contribution to the program for hiring the handicapped. H. Paul Messmer, liaison representative on the President's Committee, made the presentation to Mrs. John J. Fischer, company president.

Allied Enterprises of Kosciusko, the largest of six sheltered workshops conducted by the Vocational Rehabilitation Division, Mississippi State Department of Education, is a product of the efforts of the entire community.

The project began on a shoestring when in 1961 a group of Kosciusko civic leaders, headed by Banker Roby Coleman, decided that the time was ripe for doing something constructive for a large group of severely disabled citizens of Attala and surrounding counties.

The vocational rehabilitation district office, already aware of the need for a facility for evaluating and training those unable to obtain jobs in competitive employment, was eager to help with the project.

The local employment service, with the approval of the Mississippi Employment Security Commission, also aided the local groups in organizing the workshop.

A group of civic leaders compose the workshop advisory committee. This committee is still active in the workshop program.

A small building was rented, with the various civic groups dividing the rent costs. The city of Kosciusko contributed water and electric facilities free of charge.

The Lawrin Co., lamp manufacturers, who in 1961 moved to Kosciusko from Chicago, contracted for a small amount of subassembly work. Five trainees began work—and the workshop, then known as the Attala County Sheltered Workshop, was in business.

The workshop originally operated under the direction of the Blind Division, Mississippi State Department of Welfare. Later it was taken over by the Mississippi Easter Seal Society, and even later, by the vocational rehabilitation division.

The workshop satisfied Lawrin Co.'s president, the late John J. Fischer, and as he enlarged his contract, the facility was able to add trainees. Some had never worked outside their homes, did not know how to take instruction, or how to get along with fellow trainees. Even following a set routine was difficult for some of the trainees.

Gradually, however, firm but gentle discipline paid off. The trainees began to realize that when they didn't "goldbrick," their weekly paychecks were larger. Competition between worktables resulted in pride in production records.

The workshop staff recalls the delight that some of the trainees showed on receiving their first paychecks. For some it was the first money they had ever earned.

The Industrial Development Corp. of Kosciusko, a civic organization which works for the industrial development of the area, spearheaded the movement for a new building. Various local, county, and State organizations assisted with the project.

In 1964, the Mississippi Legislature authorized Attala County to withhold for 5 years 2 of 4 mills of tax money due the State, with the withheld portion to be used to pay off the loan for the erection of a $150,000 workshop building. The city of Kosciusko donated the site, and the county board of supervisors developed it.

The new building comprises 40,000 square feet of industrial space, and the air-conditioned offices of the vocational rehabilitation district. Sam S. Burton is VRD counselor in charge of the workshop; Mrs. Eleanor Scruby is evaluator, and James Melton is production manager.

Fifty trainees are currently assembling lamps for the Lawrin Co. Ten others are inspecting, folding, and boxing garments for Garan, Inc., clothing manufacturers. Both companies expect to enlarge their contracts with the workshop within the near future, Burton said.

Allied Enterprises of Kosciusko represents an idea that became a successful reality because an entire community decided to help its disabled citizens.

Clarence J. Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, a close friend, a dedicated colleague, and one of the truly outstanding Members of this body has passed on. Every member of this body and everyone who knew him throughout this great country is saddened by the fact that CLARENCE BROWN will no longer sit as a distinguished Member of this body.

I rise both as an individual Member who knew, admired, and respected our beloved colleague and as chairman of House Republicans to express for each and every Member on this side of the aisle our profound regret at the passing of one of the truly outstanding Members of our ranks.

Mr. Speaker, CLARENCE BROWN was more than a great legislator, more than a great American, more than a dedicated citizen. He was a great human being in the very best sense—to his family which so obviously was of central concern; to his colleagues, as teacher, counselor, fellow legislator and friend; to his constitutents whom he served so long and so well; and to his country whose greatness he loved and whose time-tested institutions he labored to preserve and improve.

Mr. Speaker, to CLARENCE BROWN'S family, I extend my very deepest sympathy as one of his many friends who share with them a deep sense of loss.

The Case of the Supersecret Superhighway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I have made a strong protest to the Bureau of Public Roads against a plan of Gov. Otto Kerner to relocate a long stretch of Interstate Highway 55 in Illinois.

The Governor wants to abandon plans for upgrading a 118-mile segment of U.S. Highway 66—the heaviest traveled route in Illinois—and build a new highway swinging east to serve a $259 million plant which Jones & Laughlin Steel Co. plans to build at Hennepin, Ill.

The Governor's proposal is a rank case of sectional favoritism to benefit a single industry in callous disregard for the needs of other parts of the State and the national interest.

The Kerner curve, as the Bloomington Pantagraph aptly dubs it, would carry Interstate 55 in a wide arc away from the U.S. 66 corridor—the most direct route between Chicago, the Nation's second city, and St. Louis, the gateway to the Southwest.

It would increase the Interstate 55 mileage between the two cities 30 to 40 miles.

In advancing his plan the Governor put off for the indefinite future any action on the modern highway needs of Decatur—now Illinois' third biggest city outside Chicago. The Interstate System was designated to link every city in the country with a population of 50,000 or more. Decatur, which grew from 78,000 in 1960 to an estimated 85,022 in 1964, is the only such city in Illinois left off the Interstate System.

Governor Kerner's public works director, Francis Lorenz, admits that the Interstate 55 realinement has been in the works for 3 years but that Decatur never was considered for a highway relocation.

The State's decision was a closely guarded secret until August 10 when the Governor disclosed it simultaneously with transmission of the formal proposal to the Springfield regional office of the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads.

The story that has since unfolded could be titled "The Case of the Supersecret Superhighway." I will give the Governor and his highway department credit for one thing; this was the best kept secret in Illinois since the first nuclear chain reaction under Chicago's Stagg Field in 1942.

I am glad to say that the Federal Highway Administrator, Rex M. Whitton, has expressed his agreement on the need for public hearings before a final decision by the Federal Bureau.

Under leave to extend my remarks I include copies of my correspondence with Mr. Whitton:

AUGUST 13, 1965.

Mr. REX M. WHITTON,
Federal Highway Administrator, Bureau of Public Roads, Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. WHITTON: Gov. Otto Kerner has approved a plan for a radical realinement of Interstate Highway 55 in Illinois. The I-55 designation was awarded 9 years ago to the direct Chicago-St. Louis corridor that follows the route of U.S. Highway 66—the heaviest traveled highway in Illinois and one of the busiest in the United States. It has long been recognized as the shortest route between the Nation's second and third largest cities, Chicago and Los Angeles.

I understand that the Governor's proposal is contained in a letter from Mr. Virden E. Staff, chief engineer of the Illinois Division of Highways, to Mr. C. F. Monnier, division engineer of the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads in Springfield. The plan calls for diversion of Interstate funds from more than 130 miles of the U.S. 66 corridor from a point south of Lincoln, Ill., to the intersection of I-55 and I-80 west of Joliet. The diverted funds would be used to build a new interstate segment from south of Lincoln to a connection with I-80 near Peru, Ill.

As presented to the public the plan was deceptive. It was not made clear that a major rerouting of I-55 is being proposed. It was presented as a mere diversion of funds between highway segments. Insufficient emphasis was given to the fact that the affected U.S. 66 segment actually will be taken off the Interstate System if the Governor's plan goes through. No mention was made of the fact that the I-55 designation will go to the new north-south leg. I am informed that the present interstate highway from LaSalle-Peru to the Joliet area will carry the dual designation of I-55 and I-80.

Most serious of all, is the apparently well-founded report that the plan is the result of a deal with a major steel producer. The following is from a news article in the August 11, 1965, issue of the Decatur Daily Review:

"Theodore F. Morf, deputy chief highway engineer, said the proposed new route fulfills commitments made Jones & Laughlin Steel Co., to locate a $259 million plant near the small town of Hennepin on the Illinois River."

The people of Illinois are entitled to know the nature of these commitments. The Governor's plan will have an adverse impact on scores of communities and hundreds of individual business enterprises in Illinois. A thorough investigation of the reasons for this ill-considered decision should be made. These are some of the other questions that remain to be answered:

1. The Interstate System was designed to link the Nation's major cities by direct limited access freeways. How can this purpose be served by the Governor's proposal which lengthens the most direct interstate route between Chicago and St. Louis by at least 30 miles?

2. The 1965 cost estimate for completing the Interstate System, which the Secretary of Commerce submitted to Congress, represents an increase of $5.8 billion over the 1961 estimate. To what extent will the proposed Interstate 55 diversion further increase the cost, bearing in mind the need to build a new bridge over the Illinois River near Hennepin?

3. The Illinois Division of Highways argues that the proposal affords access to the expanding industrial development between Peoria and Springfield and provides a freeway connection between Chicago and Peoria. But it removes Bloomington, Pontiac, Dwight and numerous smaller communities from I-55. Isn't this a case of sectional favoritism?

4. Won't it also adversely affect already committed operators of service stations, motels, restaurants and other businesses the entire length of Interstate 55 by making it less attractive to interstate travelers in competition with other planned interstate connections between St. Louis and Chicago?

5. Part of the U.S. 66 route the State proposes to remove from the Interstate System is a 33-mile segment between Interstate 80 and Gardner, Ill., which already has been built to interstate standards with 90 percent Federal, 10 percent State funds. How does the State propose to reimburse the Interstate System for this mileage which reverts to the primary highway system on which Federal-State costs are split 50-50?

6. Because of the design changes that will have to be made and the public hearings that Federal law requires, to what extent will this proposal delay completion of Interstate 55 in Illinois?

I am convinced, Mr. Administrator, that this plan is disruptive of the Interstate System. It proposes to transform the shortest Chicago-St. Louis route into a freeway that meanders over east-central Illinois, principally to benefit a single industry. I urge you to reject it promptly. However, if you do feel that it should be given consideration, I ask that you direct the Federal Bureau of Public Roads to conduct a public hearing at which all interests affected by the Governor's decision will have full opportunity to express their views.

I shall look forward to an early reply to this request.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM L. SPRINGER.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS,
Washington, D.C.

Hon. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SPRINGER: Your August 13 letter opposing a proposed realinement of Interstate Highway 55 in Illinois was received at the same time as an advanced copy of the State's proposal transmitted by our field offices. I can do little more at this time than acknowledge such a realinement has been proposed by the State since our review of it is just getting underway.

I have read with interest your statements and the questions you raise. Our review will be directed toward them, but I do not believe we should summarily reject the proposal.

We are receiving a number of expressions on this matter some of which also suggest public hearings. I agree with that principle and am urging the State of Illinois to schedule informational meetings on the proposed change.

I appreciate receiving your views and assure you no hasty action is in the offing.

Sincerely yours,

REX M. WHITTON,
Federal Highway Administrator.

American Policy in Vietnam Has Support of Academic Community

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, most informed Americans know that the current American policy in Vietnam is receiving widespread support within the academic community. We recently have had a graphic demonstration of support for this policy and for President Johnson. More than 130 members of the academic community have publicly endorsed a Freedom House statement which declares that the present policy of the United States "deserves the wholehearted support of the American people."

The story of this endorsement deserves the widest possible distribution and under unanimous consent I place the August 23 Freedom House release in the RECORD at this point:

NEW YORK, August 23.—More than 130 members of the American academic community have publicly backed the position of the U.S. Government in South Vietnam. Their action was taken in endorsing a Freedom House statement, which declares that the present policy of the United States "deserves the whole-hearted support of the American people."

Faculty members at 70 colleges, universities and other institutions of higher education in the United States are among those expressing their agreement. Although a majority are in the fields of political science and international relations, the group includes scholars from a wide range of academic disciplines. A professor of economics at Cornell University, however, withheld his signature although he agreed with the statement and has "written various public officials to this effect." He expressed the feeling that "it is inappropriate for individuals with expertise in one field to use their position to attempt to influence the public."

The endorsements are in response to a letter mailed to a selected list of persons in academic life by Leo Cherne, chairman of the Freedom House executive committee. Writing on behalf of Freedom House, Mr. Cherne declared: "Too long, we feel, those with opposing views have been left a clear field to present themselves to the world as the single voice of American intellectuals."

In addition to the faculty members, hundreds of Americans in all walks of life have written to declare their agreement with the Freedom House statement on Vietnam. Most of them backed up their declaration with a contribution to permit the statement to be disseminated more widely. They overwhelmingly endorsed the view that if the "aggression against South Vietnam—disguished as a war of liberation—is not successfully resisted, more aggression and perhaps even larger scale war will follow."

The Freedom House statement included a credo of support, which declared that withdrawal from Vietnam under present circumstances would be morally indefensible and that the decision to halt Communist aggression is clearly in the interest of the free world nations. At the same time the statement noted that the United States is "not embarked on a military crusade against Communist nations" and that American military operations are "only part of the substantial U.S. program to enlarge the economic, social, and political future of the Vietnamese people."

The Freedom House effort to enlist support for our Government's Vietnam policy was welcomed by President Johnson in a letter to the organization's Public Affairs Committee, dated July 19, as follows:

"I believe your statement in support of the policy of the United States toward Vietnam reflects the strong opinion of most Americans. What you say takes increased importance from your long and courageous record of opposition to all forms of tyranny.

"I am grateful for the position stated in your credo of support and I hope that others who feel as you do may be willing to join in this expression. Effective public support of our national purpose in Vietnam will hasten the coming of the peace which is our common purpose."

The members of the academic community who have endorsed the administration's policy in Vietnam are part of a growing list of faculty members who are communicating

their views to Freedom House. New sponsors are adding their names daily; the list to date is attached.

SPONSORS OF FREEDOM HOUSE STATEMENT

American International College: C. S. Samra.

The American University: Ernest S. Griffith, dean, School of International Service; Loy W. Henderson, director, Center for Diplomacy and Foreign Relations.

Bowling Green State University: Emanuel Solon, department of chemistry.

Brandeis University: Max Lerner, professor of American civilization.

Brooklyn College: Harry D. Gideonse, president; Hyman Kublin, department of history; Ivan D. London, department of psychology.

Brown University: William T. Hastings, professor of English emeritus.

Bryn Mawr College: Angeline H. Lograsso.

Carleton College: Reginald D. Lang, department of government and international relations.

The Catholic University of America: B. S. Browzin.

Claremont Graduate School: George S. Blair.

Claremont Men's College: William S. Stokes, senior professor of comparative political institutions.

The College of Idaho: George V. Wolfe, professor of political science.

Columbia University: Daniel Bell, professor of sociology; Zbygniew Brzezinski, director, Research Institute on Communist Affairs; William K. Jones, professor of law; Willis L. M. Reese, director, Parker School of Foreign and Comparative Law; Joseph H. Smith, professor of law.

Cornell University: Charles Ackerman, department of sociology; George H. Hildebrand, department of economics; Jacob Wolfowitz, department of mathematics.

Dartmouth College: John W. Masland, department of government.

Drew University: Will Herberg.

Elmhurst College: Royal J. Schmidt, profesor of political science and history.

Fairfield University: John Norman, department of history.

Gallaudet College: Kurt Beermann, professor of history and political science.

George Washington University: Franz Michael, associate director, Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies.

Georgetown University: James D. Atkinson, department of government; Walter W. Wilkinson, department of history; Rev. Gerard F. Yates, S. J., international student programs.

Harvard University: Robert Braucher, professor of law; Carl J. Friedrich, professor of government, Littauer Center; Morton H. Halperin, Center for International Affairs; George C. Homans, department of social relations; Samuel P. Huntington, professor of government; William L. Langer, professor of history; Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr., department of government; George H. Quester, Center for International Affairs; George C. Shattuck, medical school; Roland W. Thorwaldsen, Center for the Study of World Religions.

Hofstra University: Robert A. Christie; John C. Moore, department of history.

Hollins College: Victor Zitta.

Indiana University: Robert F. Byrnes, director, Russian and East European Institute; John E. Stoner, department of government.

Lehigh University: H. S. Braddick, department of international relations; Aurie N. Dunlap, department of international relations; A. Roy Eckardt, department of religion.

Macalester College: Arthur Upgren, department of economics.

Marquette University: Arthur C. Marlow, chairman, political science; Quentin L. Quade, department of political science; Eric Waldman, department of political science.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Lincoln P. Bloomfield, department of political science; Ithiel de Sola Pool, department of political science; Lucian W. Pye, department of political science.

Miami University: Dan N. Jacobs, professor of government.

Michigan State University: Charles R. Adrian, chairman, department of political science; Wesley R. Fishel, department of political science; J. Oliver Hall, department of social science.

New York University: Sidney Hook, department of philosophy; Frank N. Trager, professor of international affairs.

Ohio State University; James A. Robinson.

Princeton University: Rowland Egger, Woodrow Wilson school of public and international affairs; Brooks Emeny, advisory council, Woodrow Wilson school of public and international affairs; William W. Lockwood, Woodrow Wilson school of public and international affairs.

Ripon College: William Fleming, chairman, department of political science.

Rutgers—The State University: Donald G. Herzberg, executive director, the Eagleton institute of politics.

Sacramento State College: George Tokmakoff, department of history.

St. Louis University: Francis J. Corley, department of history.

Smith College: M. Salvadori, department of history.

Southern Illinois University: William Goodman, chairman, faculty of government.

Stanford University: Stefan T. Possony, director, international political studies program, Hoover institution.

State College, Shippensburg, Pa.: Benjamin Nispel, dean of arts and sciences.

Texas A. & M. University: Daniel Russell, professor emeritus of sociology.

Texas Christian University: Charles W. Procter, department of government.

Texas Western College: S. D. Myres, department of government; Roland I. Perusse, department of government.

Tulane University: Henry L. Mason, professor of political science.

University of Bridgeport: Victor E. Muniec; Justus M. van der Kroef, department of political science.

University of California, Berkeley: Eric C. Bellquist, department of political science; Joseph P. Harris, department of political science; Seymour Martin Lipset, director, institute of international studies; Frederick C. Mosher, department of political science; William Petersen, department of sociology; Robert A. Scalapino, department of political science; Raymond J. Sontag, department of history; Aaron Wildavsky, department of political science.

University of California, Los Angeles: J. A. C. Grant; Robert G. Neumann, department of political science.

University of Chicago: Morton A. Kaplan.

University of Cincinnati: Paul F. Power, department of political science.

University of Colorado: James L. Busey, department of political science; Edward J. Rozek, department of political science.

University of Connecticut: Arthur Bronwell, dean of engineering.

University of Maryland: Walter Darnell Jacobs, department of government and politics.

University of Michigan: Russell Fifield, department of political science.

University of Minnesota: Carl A. Auerbach, professor of law; Harold C. Deutsch, chairman, department of history; Samuel Krislov; C. H. McLaughlin, department of political science; Arnold M. Rose, professor of sociology.

University of Montana: Thomas Payne.

University of Pennsylvania: William R. Kintner, deputy director, foreign policy, research institute; Robert Strausz-Hupe, director, foreign policy research institute.

University of Pittsburgh: Daniel S. Cheever, graduate school of public and international affairs; John O. Hall, director, overseas programs, graduate school of public and international affairs; Donald C. Stone, dean, graduate school of public and international affairs.

University of Richmond: Spencer D. Albright.

University of South Carolina: Robert W. Foster, professor of law; James E. Larson, professor of political science.

University of Tennessee: Douglas Carlisle, department of political science.

University of Texas: Page Keeton, dean, school of law.

University of Washington: Imre Boba, far eastern and Russian institute; Karl A Wittfogel.

Upper Iowa University: Charles B. Clark.

Utah State University: Jay M. Bagley, civil engineering department; Carlton Culmsee, dean, college of humanities and arts; Elliot Rich, civil engineering department.

Wasbash College: George A. Lipsky, political science and geography department; Warren W. Shearer, economics department.

Western Washington State College: Manfred C. Vernon, department of political science.

Yale University: Eugene V. Rostow, professor of law; Walter R. Sharp, professor emeritus of international relations; Alexander von Graevenitz, department of microbiology.

Yeshiva University: Joseph Dunner; Roman Vishniac, professor of biology.

Additional listings: Robert A. Goldwin, director, Public Affairs Conference Center, University of Chicago; William V. O'Brien, chairman, Institute of World Polity, Georgetown University; Robert Sobel, department of history, Hofstra University.

NOTE.—This list is incomplete as new signers are added daily; institutions are indicated for identification only.

Eulogy to Clarence Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, it is with a profound sense of loss that I join my colleagues in paying tribute to our departed colleague and friend, the Honorable CLARENCE J. BROWN.

The death of CLARENCE BROWN has brought to a close the outstanding career of an illustrious son of a State which has produced many distinguished Americans. Starting his career as Lieutenant Governor of Ohio at the age of 23, in an era when youth in politics was very uncommon, CLARENCE BROWN also served as secretary of state of Ohio before being elected to serve his first term with the 76th Congress.

He served with distinction as a Member of this House for more than a quarter of a century. He has left an indelible mark in the committee room and in these chambers. His honesty, integrity, ability, and leadership will long be remembered by those of us who remain to carry on the work of this body.

If there is anything that CLARENCE BROWN would have liked to will to each and every one of us, it most likely would

have been his love for our country and his deep concern for its welfare which he repeatedly demonstrated in these legislative halls.

To CLARENCE BROWN's son and daughters and other members of his family, I offer my heartfelt sympathy. May the good Lord bless them and give them courage to face the morrow with hope for the future.

Rioting or Registration?—Which Way America?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, one of the Nation's foremost weekly newspaper editors, Harry Volk, has written a most discerning editorial in the Lakewood Post, which is published in the 23d District.

In the aftermath of the terrible and tragic Los Angeles riots, he writes thoughtfully of one of the major domestic problems confronting our Nation.

I commend his excellent article to the attention of my colleagues:

RIOTING OR REGISTRATION—WHICH WAY AMERICA?

(By Harry Volk)

An uneasy truce has settled over the 56-mile-square area of southeast Los Angeles, where a Negro ghetto has served as a military bastion for snipers and firebombers who have ripped the fabric of American society with a racial war as violent as the Arab-French battle in the city of Algiers.

The toll is far more than the 33 dead, the hundreds injured and the $175 million in damages.

The toll is that the helping hand of millions of whites stretched out to Negroes in their desperate fight to become first-class citizens will be quietly withdrawn in fear and horror; that segregated Negro ghettoes will become even more so, just as whole areas of cities in Algeria became off limits to non-Arabs; that the economic life of the burned-out and looted ghettoes will stagnate; and unemployment, the root evil of the breakdown of Negro family life, will worsen; that white racists will preach "we told you so" with telling effect as gun stores sell thousands of weapons to whites in areas bordering Negro ghettoes that have been targets for Negro guerrilla forays.

In brief: anarchy threatens to replace law and order in our major cities and the fabric of American society, still solid and comforting with all its ugly patches, will be ripped and torn so that all Americans, both white and black, will live in a land, not of freedom, but of fear; a land where blind race hate will replace reason.

This is the realistic assessment of Los Angeles that President Johnson and white and Negro leaders must make.

There can be no progress for the Negro to implement his legal victory for equal rights; no progress in wiping out the degradation and discrimination in employment and housing that has brought a breakdown in family life to the point where lawlessness and anarchy is inevitable; no progress toward integration as Americans, not Negroes—unless the Nation can work on these tremendous problems in a climate of calm and good will.

The Federal Government and the millions of people of good heart and good will, both white and colored, have worked hard in recent years to root out the factors that have produced Negro apathy and despair—but the 6 days of murder and pillage in southeast Los Angeles have damaged their success.

The riots in Los Angeles emphasize the urgency of the Negro problems and the dispatch required in their solution—but the riots in Los Angeles also aggravate the very problems the Nation is trying to solve.

In assessing Los Angeles, both white and Negro leaders must take into account that in dusty courthouses, in the Deep South, in the Old Confederacy, the stronghold of the white supremacists, Negroes by the thousands were enrolling to vote this past week under protection of the newly adopted Voting Rights Act, winning the franchise denied for nearly a century, yet granted all Americans by the 15th amendment.

With the right to vote and political power, the Negro need no longer flee the South and crowd into the slums to aggravate the Negro problems in the major cities.

The problem of the Negro is the American problem. Failure to ameliorate it and eventually solve it will mean failure of this Nation as a land of freedom.

America can exist as a police state; as Los Angeles is existing today as a police city.

Or the Great Society for all Americans, as envisioned by President Johnson now and the Founding Fathers nearly two centuries ago, can endure and improve—still the example of the good life for all the world to emulate.

The rioting captured the headlines; the registering of Negroes to vote in the Old Confederacy captures the imagination.

For all Americans, the question must never be bullets rather than ballots.

The bullets will not only take the life of Americans, senselessly, but will eventually take the very life of this Nation as we know it.

He Never Lost Touch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, the people of Florida were sad to learn of the resignation of their faithful servant, State superintendent of public instruction, Thomas D. Bailey, who has served since 1948. He is known as an outstanding educator not only in Florida but throughout the Nation. His progressive ideas have contributed to the outstanding school system of Florida. The efforts of this great man in behalf of education will be difficult to replace.

I enclose herewith an editorial from the Tallahassee Democrat which reflects the feeling and high esteem which the people of Florida hold for Tom Bailey:

HE NEVER LOST TOUCH

Tom Bailey, rising from country schoolteacher to State superintendent of public instruction, has never lost the plain, frank sincerity with which he dealt with the one-room school class and its unschooled patrons.

Nor has he ever stopped searching for a better way to carry on the essential mission of his profession and his public office, which is to educate children.

He has built a staff of specialists in modern educational methods and guided them with the practical hand of the old schoolmaster and politician that he is. Mere theory hasn't been enough to suit him; his test of achievement has been applied to results.

He has worked hard, politically, for higher teacher salaries, more money for better school buildings and instructional facilities; but those efforts have been, to him, only the means to an end—better educated children.

He and his staff have not been swept away in the educational whirlwind which would suck all school programs into a common funnel and homogenize the product. From his common sense philosophy, we have developed a fine system of junior colleges and we have a good set of plans for a vocational-technical training school system in the hands of builders. We have courses in our schools which emphasize the moral principles of a godly nation, and teach every youngster the differences between the communism and American free enterprise societies. Yet we have not minimized the need to give our youngsters the best college preparatory academic instruction they are capable of taking.

Plain talking Tom Bailey has not always been the darling of educational philosophers and professional education leaders, but he has helped keep public schooling close to the people of Florida while powerful forces and desires work to put it in the centralized hands of masterminds somewhere.

It is not far-fetched to say that recent frustration and fatigue from fighting those forces contributed to Bailey's decision to retire before the end of his term.

Florida will miss his practical, moral approach to public education.

Quenching Our Thirst

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial, which appeared in the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner on August 18, 1965, expresses quite well the current interest—sparked particularly in the Northeast by necessity itself—in our water resources. As 1 of the 37 Congressmen who have sponsored the Lower Colorado River Basin project, I am happy to note that more and more of uor citizens are coming to realize the depth and immediacy of this problem and are seeking to find means to avoid such critical water shortages in the future:

QUENCHING OUR THIRST

When the country's biggest metropolitan center gets into trouble it cannot resolve, the problem becomes a matter of national concern. President Johnson has accordingly responded to this challenge and the Federal Government is now assuming a direct role in the alleviation of New York's pressing water shortage.

"Water crisis teams" composed of experts have been rushed to the New York region and other drought-stricken areas of the Northeast.

The administration cannot—yet, anyway—make it rain, and whatever measures are to be instituted do not detract from the seriousness of the situation. The proposal, how-

ever, to initiate a $4 million water-resource planning survey of the northeast area is an ambitious step toward the avoidance of similar crises in the future.

A more tangible move is the announced investigation of the desalinization potential of the area. This program is to be carried out by the Atomic Energy Commission and the Department of the Interior. We wish it all speed and success. If salt water can be made fresh, by the economically feasible use of nuclear power, then water shortages could well join other quaint memories of history.

However, it should be realized that desalinization or any other method of providing more fresh water for New York City or other parts of the Northeast should be approached largely through private enterprise development.

It is true that Federal funds may be necessary to assist in getting a desalting program or any other development of additional water supplies started. But the cities and States which use this water should pay for it and have control of its use. Los Angeles and other western cities have been paying for their development of water and controlling its use for many years.

The Far West is vitally interested in what is happening in New York City, because there now has been created a real understanding in Washington, D.C., and the East of what our southwest water problems have been for generations.

Now, our national legislators can realize and sympathize with us in our problems out west, where we who need more and more water are looking hopefully for Federal study and planning to divert a small portion of the waste waters from the Columbia River into this area.

Civil Rights Leaders Flayed for Negro Rioting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, 70-year-old George S. Schuyler, a reporter and editor more than 40 years, is one of the best known Negro journalists in America. In an article which appeared in the Commercial Appeal of Memphis, Tenn., on August 19, 1965, he gives his analysis of the cause of current Negro rioting.

Mr. Schuyler, the author of "Black No More" and "Slaves Today," is associate editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, a weekly Negro newspaper with a circulation of 59,836. He has long believed that civil rights leaders are encouraging the Negro masses to bitterness and lawlessness.

Some of his journalistic adventures have been as special correspondent to South America and the West Indies in 1948 and 1949, French West Africa and the Dominican Republic in 1958, and Liberia in 1931 for the New York Post. He was editor of the National News in 1932 and served as special assistant in publicity for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1934 and 1935. He was awarded the Lincoln, Mo., University School of Journalism citation of merit in 1952.

The article is as follows:

[From the Commercial Appeal, Memphis, Aug. 19, 1965]

CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS FLAYED FOR NEGRO RIOTING

(By George S. Schuyler)

NEW YORK, August 18.—The current crop of anti-white disturbances, like those in the past, is the inevitable consequence of the increasing competition between rival civil rights groups led by career agitators vying for the profits of organized pandemonium. Never have so many innocent people been betrayed by so few for so little.

There are as many different kinds of Negroes as there are white people, and most of them deplore the bad reputation they have been given by the excesses of the agitational and criminal elements of their so-called race. They respect life and property. They own millions of homes, automobiles and modern utensils and do not cram the jails.

Like their white counterparts, they are eager to live in peace. They have no illusions about the marching, mobbing, picketing, vandalizing, Negro element. They know there is a lot of law in the end of a policeman's nightstick, and they want it used.

Above all, these Negroes wish white people in authority would stop flattering and encouraging the sorcerer's apprentices leading astray the mentally retarded and criminally bent black minority.

Utilizing the traditional techniques of "spontaneous" disorder, well known to Communists, Nazis and other political perverts, the self-appointed leaders of the Negro revolution have for years recklessly incited young Negroes to mass action inside (and often outside) the urban Negro enclaves.

In turn they have denounced "police brutality," "the white power structure," "residential segregation," "de facto segregated schools," "job discrimination," "phony white liberals," and a whole gamut of grievances which could not possibly be solved or even ameliorated in a century, if then, and will never lessen racial conflict.

Constant suggestions of a long hot summer and conditions getting worse before they get better, are but invitations to hoodlums, arsonists, and vandals, aided by white beatnik amoralists and malcontent leftists currently disturbing our campuses.

Not a single one of these trumpeted evils is nonexistent here nor in any other country similarly circustanced. They are products of our color caste system which will never be improved by Negro insurrection. They are in all multiracial and multiethnic societies from Soviet Muslim Asia to Central Africa.

These problems are more agitated here because the United States has been a sitting duck for left-wing moralizers who have made millions of well-meaning Americans feel like Nazi racists; and who have persuaded gullible Negroes into believing the only thing holding them back is persecution.

Only the most self-serving demagogs, arrogant know-it-alls, or men with social revolution in mind would stir up a social situation so fraught with tragedy for Negroes, or profess to believe that any predominant social class would willingly surrender power, prestige, and pivileges in the face of threats and violent demonstrations.

Ever since the long and futile Montgomery bus boycott (settled not by marching but by Federal court order), the peripatetic Dr. Martin Luther King and his posse of political parsons in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) have roamed the country collecting coin and infecting the mentally retarded with the germs of civil disobedience, camouflaged as nonviolence and love of white people.

Phoney prayers for the salvation of white oppressors and chanting slave songs fooled nobody except possibly the utopians and wishful thinkers. Only the unwary and true believers thought this program was anything but pixiliated.

As many Negroes foresaw, the net result of this long encouragement of civil disobedience, disdain for authority and general disrespect for public morals, was to set the stage for the successive disgraceful orgies of burning, looting, vandalism, and death, with the criminal elements of the slum proletariat taking over. Ironically, when police called upon these civil rights leaders to help control the rampaging mobs they were found completely ineffective.

With the recklessness of complete ignorance of irresponsibility, the SCLC sent its mobile gangs of young clergymen from place to place to take over the revolution despite expressed objections of local leaders, even mobilizing schoolchildren to face police clubs, dogs, and fire hoses, breeding ill-will and jeopardizing Negro jobs by promotion of nuisance tactics. No matter how many minions might be jugged by the police, the Reverend King always contrived to get out in time for his next speaking engagement.

James Farmer, the professional pacifist and war resister who heads the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) has played an even more sinister role with outright challenges to law, order, and public peace. Like SCLC, this outfit operates schools of subversion where graduates are trained in how to march on city halls and courthouses, fall limp when arrested, and in other ways make pests of themselves.

Not to be outdone by these competitors for the scarce civil rights dollar, the veteran National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) saw the expedience of adopting the same tactics of boycotts, sit-ins, marches, and picketings. It even went much further by thinking up the de facto school segregation gimmick which has kept the North and East in an uproar for the last 3 years.

The empty assumption behind this campaign is that schools predominantly attended by Negro children are ipso facto segregated and therefore inferior; and that to equalize public education this imbalance must be corrected by moving the Negro children into predominantly white schools.

Since this was and is obviously impossible, what small victories have attended these herculean efforts have been pyrrhic. Nowhere have school boycotts, marches and besiegements of boards of education done else but worsen race relations.

The millionaire-subsidized National Urban League (NUL) stretched absurdity still further by coming out publicly for preference being shown Negroes in employment and promotion because they are so far behind whites. This was and is doomed to failure in our basically competitive society but it adds up to another reason for suspicion and hatred of white people.

All of these civil rights leaders have joined in a loud chorus denouncing police brutality or the forceful suppression of crime which flourishes in every large Negro community. Every subordinate from coast to coast joined in the hue and cry although decent Negroes as well as whites suffer from this criminal element.

The cry sounds in many cities, with monotonous regularity, for civilian review boards to help wreck discipline and restrain the police from doing what they are hired to do. This outcry has emboldened the Negro criminal element and lowered its respect for and fear of the police.

The respectable bulk of Negroes has been reduced to silence by the terrorism of the agitational element. Every Negro who has openly opposed its illegal and senseless actions has been denounced as an "Uncle Tom," an enemy of his people and lackey of the whites.

One distinguished and authentic Negro leader, the Rev. Dr. Joseph E. Jackson, president of the 5 million strong National Baptist Convention (NBC) of America, Inc., was hooted off the stand in Chicago's stadium because he expressed views opposed to those of the professional agitators. The current president of the Philadelphia branch of the NAACP has had a field day denouncing the conservative middle-class Negroes in the organization.

Craven politicians have contributed much to this insurrectionary atmosphere by not standing up to the intellectual authors of violence and subversion. Consider the spectacle of New York's Mayor Robert F. Wagner skulking through the basement of New York's City Hall rather than have thrown out the beatniks picketing his office; of other high officials permitting their work to be disrupted in the name of civil rights; of needed public construction being halted by CORE beatniks; of President Johnson being booed at the New York World's Fair. The "power-structure" has been long-suffering but much too cooperative for its own good.

Most of the civil rights leaders who have sparked these insurrections would still be unknown if it had not been for the mass communications media which publicized them on every occasion, put them on innumerable television programs and wrote profiles of them, as if they wanted this racket to succeed. At the same time newspapers, magazines, radio and television sought out not a single Negro with an opposing viewpoint. It is hard to remember such a one-sided presentation.

Just prior to the Los Angeles shambles, a local radio station had on one of its programs an ex-criminal, Charlie Sims, head of the gun-carrying Louisiana Deacons for Defense and Justice. Undoubtedly tens of thousands of Los Angeles Negroes heard and applauded him.

When returning Governor Brown of California described the Los Angeles shambles as "a state of siege" he spoke aptly. President Johnson expressed horror over the bloody orgy but did not speculate on the causes of it all. To find the source he needed to look no further than the Negro civil rights leaders with whom he has frequently conferred, especially when they promised to suspend demonstrations until after the 1964 election.

Now that the Civil Rights Act of 1965 and the voting rights law are operative, he and everybody else had a right to expect that we would see an end to demonstrations, picketing, arson, looting, and vandalism. But these evils are easier started than stopped, and they just don't go away because another law is on the books.

What this country badly needs is public officials who will not temporize with illegality and disorder garbed in the mantle of civil rights and equality; who will suppress crime and violence regardless of color; judges who will act with speed and vigor to jail disturbers of the peace; and a more responsible communications media that will refrain from persistenly exciting the idle, envious, and lawless.

Freedom of the Baltic States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, throughout the past 25 years the Communist Kremlin has continuously imposed the most extreme hardships and cruelties upon the Baltic peoples with the direct objective of destroying their traditional desire for and dedication to personal liberty and freedom.

The Baltic States are more than 700 year old nations and they have the same right to be free and independent as any new state in Asia or Africa. We should have a single standard for freedom. The denial of freedom to any people in any place in the world by any power on earth is an intolerable action and if permitted to stand constitutes a persistent threat of the extinction of liberty everywhere, even here in the United States.

Mr. Speaker, that is why this House rightfully and resoundingly approved, last June 21, House Concurrent Resolution 416, designed to focus appropriate attention, through Presidential action, on the barbarous acts of the Russians and create a climate of world pressure to influence the departure of Soviet occupation troops and authorities from the Baltic States. This resolution, Mr. Speaker, is now pending in the Senate and I most earnestly urge and hope that the Members of the Senate will also overwhelmingly adopt this resolution in the very near future.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I would like to include a "letter to the editor," entitled "Free the Baltic States" which appeared in a recent issue of the New York Herald Tribune. The letter follows:

FREE THE BALTIC STATES

To the HERALD TRIBUNE:

The U.S. House of Representatives has passed a resolution to urge the President (a) to direct the attention of world opinion at the United Nations and at other appropriate international forums to the denial of the rights of self-determination for the peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and (b) to bring the force of world opinion to bear on behalf of the restoration of these rights to the Baltic peoples.

Since World War II, almost all of the colonial peoples of Africa and Asia have attained independent status. On the other hand, the leaders of the Soviet Union are following a course of archreactionary policy, trying to turn back the wheels of history and progress by holding in subjugation once independent Baltic States and other eastern and central European countries—and a privileged colonial empire in the very heart of Europe. Sooner or later the course of history will prove the futility of the Russian Communists in continuing their system of plundering and exploiting European peoples.

Since there can be no double standard in international affairs and morality, the U.S. Senate should concur in the resolution of the House of Representatives thus taking an important step toward the acceleration of the restoration of the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

Clarence Brown Tribute

SPEECH

OF

HON. DEL CLAWSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, it was with deep sadness that I learned of the death of CLARENCE BROWN, of Ohio. Many specific examples come to mind of counsel and support which he furnished to me, but perhaps the greatest gift he provided for a freshman Member of this House privileged to enjoy his friendship was the example he set of untiring service to the people of his district in Ohio, and to the Nation, from the special pinnacle of responsibility he had earned among his colleagues.

CLARENCE BROWN was a big man in physique and in spirit, and he took a broad, expansive view of the Washington scene. His friendship and his helpfulness will always be a treasured memory of my service in this body. Mrs. Clawson and I join in sending our sympathy to the family of this fine man.

Case of the Missing Coins

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago I learned that over $500,000 worth of coin proof sets produced by the U.S. Treasury were lost in the mail by the Post Office Department.

At that time I demanded an explanation of how such a thing could happen. I regret to say the Post Office Department's answer was not very satisfactory and I have requested a more detailed explanation.

Since then, it has become clear that the Post Office Department's explanation for the loss of 36,000 coin proof sets was not very satisfactory to a great number of postal patrons throughout the country. In this respect I call the attention of my colleagues to an article written by Columnist Andrew Tully:

CASE OF THE MISSING COINS

(By Andrew Tully)

WASHINGTON.—The Post Office Department has come up with a typically preposterous defense in the matter of the loss of half a million dollars' worth of collectors' coins entrusted to its casual care.

A departmental spokesman seeks to soothe the citizenry with the statistic that the coin sets reported not received are less than 1 percent of the total mailed. That is to say, nobody should make a fuss merely because 36,086 sets out of a total of 3,949,235 were undelivered.

These sets were mailed by the Philadelphia mint in 1964 and early 1965. They are so-called "proof" sets, sold to coin collectors and dealers for $2.10 a set, although experts estimate the value of each set at $14. Each set contains a half dollar, quarter, dime, nickel, and penny in mint, or original, condition.

CONGRESSMAN SPEAKS OUT

Post Office officials have announced that 16 department employees were arrested for inshipment thefts last year and 20 have been arrested so far in 1965.

Neither this fact nor that 1 percent loss figure gives me comfort, because 1 am convinced by now that the inefficiency of the Post Office Department is a subject for congressional investigation.

On Capitol Hill, where most Congressmen live in terror of the lobbying influence of our 600,000 postal employes, Representative GLENN CUNNINGHAM, Republican, of Nebraska, says the missing coin sets are "another

prime example added to the thousands I have already received, of the continued poor mail service."

O, FOR THE PONY EXPRESS

I believe that I qualify to join Representative CUNNINGHAM'S army of victims. Either somebody is picking on me personally, or the time has come to junk all those mail trucks and flying machines and return to the days of the pony express. During the last 2 years, I have had to complain to postal inspectors an average of almost once a month about mail that was either delivered late or never delivered.

Three Washington lawyers report they never entrust important papers to the mails, but deliver them by messenger—even if it means a trip to New York City.

In the case of the missing coin sets, the Post Office has suggested the thefts were all the Philadelphia Mint's fault. A spokesman noted that the sets bore a provocative return address: The U.S. Mint. In other words, mail will sometimes get delivered so long as the mailer avoids suggesting that it might be valuable.

Wisconsin Legislature Joint Resolution Concerning Location of Proposed 200 Bev. Proton Accelerator in State of Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, the Wisconsin Legislature, in a joint resolution, has memorialized the President, the Congress, and the Atomic Energy Commission to locate the proposed 200 Bev. proton accelerator in Wisconsin and has expressed its wholehearted intent to provide a sum sufficient for the purchase of a site and construction of suitable auxiliary facilities if the accelerator is so located in Wisconsin.

Under unanimous consent, I include the complete text of Wisconsin Assembly Joint Resolution 105 in the RECORD at this point.

The resolution referred to follows:

ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION 105

Joint resolution memorializing the President and Congress of the United States and the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission to locate the proposed 200 Bev. proton accelerator in Wisconsin and expressing wholehearted intent to provide a sum sufficient for the purchase of a site and construction of suitable auxiliary facilities if the accelerator is so located in Wisconsin

Whereas the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission is considering alternative sites as a location for the construction of a 200 Bev. accelerator; and

Whereas the University of Wisconsin has submitted a proposal for a Wisconsin site as the choice for the new accelerator and its research mission; and

Whereas Wisconsin offers an ideal site, ample and inexpensive utility services, multiple transportation facilities, a skilled labor force, excellent scientific, educational, cultural and recreational opportunities for the scientific staff; and

Whereas the location of the accelerator in Wisconsin would correct the serious imbalance of the distribution of Federal scientific facilities among the major geographic areas of the country; and

Whereas the Government, educational institutions, business community, labor unions and entire citizenry of the State of Wisconsin have enthusiastically expressed complete endorsement of the Wisconsin site for the contemplated accelerator; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the assembly, the senate concurring, That the Legislature of Wisconsin urge the President and Congress of the United States and the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission to locate the contemplated 200 Bev. proton accelerator at the proposed Wisconsin site; and, be it further

Resolved, That the Legislature of Wisconsin express its intent to provide a sum sufficient for the purchase of a site and the construction of suitable auxiliary facilities for the proposed accelerator if it is located in Wisconsin; and, be it further

Resolved, That properly attested copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of the U.S. Senate, and the Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives, to the Chairman and the Director of the Division of Research of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and to each Member of the Wisconsin delegation in Congress.

ROBERT T. HUBER,
Speaker of the Assembly.
JAMES P. BUCKLEY,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.
PATRICK J. LUCEY,
President of the Senate.
WILLIAM P. NUGENT,
Chief Clerk of the Senate.

Molotov Cocktails

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I am preparing legislation that will make the use or possession of a Molotov cocktail a Federal offense subject to very severe penalties.

One has but to look at the great devastation in Los Angeles to realize the fearsome consequences of its use. It was found here that there was no adequate means of defense against this bomb when it was in the hands of anyone bent on destruction.

The ingredients necessary to create a Molotov cocktail are readily available to anyone. A glass container, an inflammable fluid and a rag wick are the only things required.

Just a few men, armed with Molotov cocktails could cause more damage to a city than a major bombing raid. Anyone traveling by air over that section of Los Angeles that was subject to the riot would believe that here indeed was a bombed-out area. The major share of the 787 damaged and 209 totally demolished buildings there were destroyed by the use of these homemade bombs.

I believe that the enactment of a law, containing strong penalties against their use or possession would have a sobering effect on those criminals who are considering the use of such a destructive weapon.

Many police officials have stated that they consider large riots as armed insurrections and thus outside of their jurisdiction. They believe that these mass violence efforts should be handled by State or Federal troops. It has been demonstrated that in most cases local police forces cannot cope with the riots that have taken place in our major cities.

I certainly agree with President Johnson that these throwers of the Molotov cocktail are destroyers of constitutional rights and liberties.

I have been told that a dozen men could practically level the city of Washington with just a few dollars' worth of these destructive bombs.

Criminally inclined people usually strike where they feel that the repercussions are the lightest. I believe that we should emphasize to them now that civil disobedience accompanied by violence will be met head on and that the creators of such violence will be severely penalized. Such a warning is necessary now.

We certainly have demonstrated that reforms of proven abuses or inequalities can be handled through legislative process. I have consistently supported all those measures that have been pointed toward this end.

The people of our Nation certainly should possess security against the attacks of the criminal. Only the most severe penalties will deter criminal rioters who would take over our cities through fire, caused by the Molotov cocktail.

I would suggest that a conference be called of all officials concerned with the control of riots. This conference to consist of local officials, State Governors and Federal officials. Such a conference could submit plans that could call for immediate action against lawless rioters. These defiers of the law must be warned that a state of violence will not be tolerated in this country.

American Labor Opposes Trade With Communists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, while I recognize that a number of well-regarded and well-intentioned voices have been raised in the American business community in behalf of broadened and intensified trade relations with the Communist bloc, I continue to have serious doubts that such a policy would advance the long-term national interests of the United States.

In this connection, it is interesting to note an expression by a major figure of organized labor in opposition to expansion of trade with the Communists. I refer to a speech, which recently came to my attention, made by David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union at the conven-

tion of his organization in Miami Beach, Fla., on May 12, 1965, the text of which address I include at this point under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix as follows:

AMERICAN LABOR OPPOSES TRADE WITH COMMUNISTS

(Abstract of speech by David Dubinsky, president, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union at opening session, ILGWU's 32d convention, Miami Beach, Fla., May 12, 1965)

The world is again in a state of mounting tension. We need only look at Vietnam and Santo Domingo. In both countries, the Communist elements have used military action to attempt to impose their dictatorship. These military actions were incited by Moscow, Peiping and Havana. They seek to weaken our country's prestige and destroy it as the leading force in the free world.

Like the Nazi aggressors of yesterday, the Communist aggressors of today begin their aggression against areas nearest to them and furtherest from us. If they get away with this, they will move next against areas further from them and nearer to us. But neither the terrorist guerrilla war in Vietnam nor the murderous strife in Santo Domingo is as far from us as some might think it is.

MEET THREAT OF AGGRESSION

In a world where distances are getting smaller and smaller, the threat of aggression must be met wherever and whenever it occurs. It is easy to yield to aggression. But that is suicidal. It is always hard to resist and defeat aggression.

But that is absolutely necessary if freedom is to survive and mankind is to be saved from another and even more terrible world war.

SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT

I urge you delegates to rally to the support of the President in his prompt, effective action to halt the enemies of freedom in Vietnam and Santo Domingo. We want the President to know that we go all the way with him when he tells the world—and I quote: "The American nations cannot, must not and will not permit the establishment of another Communist government in the Western Hemisphere." The President deserves the support of the American people and of liberty-loving people everywhere for his vision, determination and vigor, in such a crucial period.

The Communists always give fancy names to their foul deeds. When they destroy democracy, they say they are building a new and higher democracy. When they wage terroristic guerrilla warfare to wipe out the national freedom of a country, they shout they are waging a "war of national liberation."

When they act as fifth columnists for Moscow or Peiping, they want us to believe that they are superpatriots. When they were forced to pull out the nuclear missiles, after they had sneaked into Cuba for aggression against our country, they posed as lovers of peace. The Communists are experts in doubletalk. We know that.

Even a popular revolution committed to democracy and social justice can be distorted and destroyed by the Communists, once they are allowed to infiltrate the movement. This is what has been happening in Santo Domingo. There, democratic forces allowed Communists to infiltrate their ranks and take over the leadership.

There is a very important lesson to be learned from these tragic events. No matter how few the Communists may be, once they are allowed to penetrate a democratic movement, they twist its aims, shift its course, and ruin it. And once the Communists take power in any country, they make everybody else powerless. This pattern continually repeats itself in Communist strategy and tactics.

COMMUNISTS ARE REACTIONARIES

The Communist movement is a reactionary movement, hiding behind radical phrases. We can never defeat it by supporting other reactionaries. We can never defeat it by military means alone. We must help build healthy and prosperous democracies dedicated to social justice.

The trade unions must play a decisive role in defeating communism by strengthening democracy and securing decent conditions of life and labor for the people. This holds true in Vietnam as well as in Santo Domingo. Fortunately, our Government realizes the urgent need for great social reforms in these countries and is supporting such efforts.

President Johnson can count on our union's support, I hope, of this effort to help the Dominican people return to democratic constitutional government.

Along with the rest of organized labor, we welcome the steps taken by the administration to establish effective inter-American peacekeeping machinery. It should be the policy of our government to grant full diplomatic recognition only to constitutionally established democratic governments. We should not repeat the mistakes made by recognizing governments that were not elected by the people and who did not represent the democratic spirit of that people and of that nation.

SELF-STYLED LIBERALS

I must also say a few words about some self-styled liberals who never miss a chance to condemn American foreign policy. Of course, they never find time or reason to criticize the Communists. These self-styled liberals never get tired of raving against our Government for attacking Communist military installations in North Vietnam, but we have yet to see their advertisements in the press, or their picket lines, or their marches protesting against the Communists bombing our embassies or burning our libraries. It is high time that they faced the facts of life.

I will never forget when Stalin executed Ehrlich and Alter, the two great Jewish labor leaders of Poland, considered in their countries the Meanys and Greens of the labor movement. They were executed as spies for Hitler. When we called a protest meeting, these very liberals told us we ought to keep our mouths shut because Russia was an ally in a war and, therefore, we should not criticize; we should not protest.

But here, when it is anything against our country, they are full of vigor and determination and machinations.

In view of the continuing hostility of all Communist governments to our country, I cannot see why some American businessmen are trying to increase trade with them and give them long-term credits. These governments are working overtime to hurt and destroy us. Why, then, should we help them when they are in serious economic difficulties? Where is the sense in making a few dollars in profits one day and then facing the danger of losing your country, your business, and even your very life the next day?

BUSINESS AS USUAL?

Business as usual with Brezhnev, Gomulka, or Tito today is just as senseless and dangerous as was doing business as usual with Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese military dictators yesterday. But credits, liberal trade terms, and technical aid have never helped any dictatorship become democratic, peaceful or considerate of the needs of their people. And I appeal to the convention to endorse the unanimous opinion of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO taken at its meeting last February in this city, when it declared:

"No trade or credits concessions should be accorded to Moscow, Peiping, or any Communist government without an adequate political quid pro quo like ceasing subversion and invasion of Vietnam, dismantling the wall of shame in Berlin, and calling off their military infiltration of the Congo. Only under such conditions can trade and credits be a valuable weapon in the hands of the Western democracies in their dealings with the Soviet Union and other Communist regimes, and in furthering human freedom and world peace."

Seeds of National Disintegration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, these are times of wondrous events and high adventure. This is the age of science and technology, of men in space and deep under the oceans. This is the day of two-car families, deep freezers, stereo, and television. At no other time in history have people lived as comfortably and as free from want as we do. But, we are paying for the material things and the comforts not only with money. The price includes indifference to our fellow man, rejection of civil responsibility, and apathy toward our moral obligations as citizens of the greatest country in the world.

Quite recently, the well-known and highly respected Mr. Frank McGee of the National Broadcasting Co. delivered a radio commentary that vividly and dramatically described what is happening to some of our people. He exposed a frightening symptom of moral decadence—apathy—that contains within it the seeds of national disintegration. I urge every Member to read and think long about Mr. McGee's comments. I think he has said what each one of us has felt and believed to be the awful truth.

The commentary follows:

This is Frank McGee, NBC News—emphasis, second thoughts.

We are becoming a spectator nation. And one of the bitter fruits of this indulgence in entertainment is that some of us have become apathetic about reality and the problems of our neighbors. We have substituted for real people the personalities of the world of illusion as it can be bought at the movie house or caught on television. This steady diet often drains us of our emotions. We are unable then to respond to the challenges of reality that demand our involvement. We are unable to respond to these challenges because we are played out from long hours spent in front of the TV set or at the movie house.

Viewing the world from the sidelines has made some of us apathetic to the true human condition. Oh, we can get involved all right—but in the wrong way and with the wrong people. The trials and tribulations of the heroine in the soap opera engulf us completely. We are haunted by her problems, the choices she faces—will she marry nice Dr. X or evil Dr. Y. We wonder if her mother will ever come out of the coma * * *. But if a woman is attacked outside our front door or in the street before us, do we heed her calls for help? Do we rush to her aid? Very rarely, if at all. We are, you see, apathetic. We have become involved enough

in other people's problems for the day—the other people on TV. Besides, our involvement with them entails no responsibility on our part. All it asks and all it gets is slack-jawed tube watching—an activity which endangers neither the mind nor the body. All it does endanger, however, is society, which needs more involvement and less apathy from its citizens.

There are numerous incidents showing how apathetic we are. Whatever the reasons—and substitution of illusion for reality is but one—these incidents did take place because no one bothered to get involved.

Remember the 38 witnesses who saw or heard Catherine Genovese stabbed to death in New York last year? Not one of them did anything about it. Their excuse: "We don't want to get involved." Then there was the case—it also happened in New York—of the 18-year-old girl who was raped while working during the day in her office. She escaped, ran screaming to the street. A crowd of about 40 persons gathered. Not one of them stepped in to help when her assailant appeared and began to pull her back into the office building. The police arrived just in time to prevent her from being dragged back upstairs again and they arrested the man. Similar cases of public apathy have been reported elsewhere.

What can we do about it? Well, so troubled are some Americans by apathy that they have begun a $2½ million campaign to get the public to fight crime and juvenile delinquency on the local level. The drive is sponsored by the National Council of Crime and Delinquency. The Ford Foundation has donated a $1¼ million. The council will raise a matching sum to finance the campaign of public education. According to one of the officers of the council, the group is, in his words, "going to find new ways of involving the average person."

So the council hopes to alert citizens across the land to their responsibilities in the fight against crime which President Johnson says cannot be waged without full public participation. So maybe some of us better get out of our easy chairs and forget about the problems of those who live in the world of illusion and devote more time to the problems of those around us, living in the real world.

Capt. Samuel Chester Reid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to submit an editorial written in memory of Capt. Samuel Chester Reid, once a resident of the Lower East Side of Manhattan, written for the East Side News by Mr. Abe E. Eisenstein. The East Side News is a publication having wide distribution throughout the Lower East Side of Manhattan in my congressional district.

The article follows:

CAPT. SAMUEL CHESTER REID

(By Abe E. Eisenstein)

August 25, Wednesday, is the 182d anniversary of the birth of the not-to-be-forgotten famed East Sider, who resided at 27 Cherry Street, sea captain and distinguished naval officer, hero of the War of 1812, and the man responsible for the permanent design of the present American flag—Capt. Samuel Chester Reid.

Son of Lt. John Reid (a British naval officer who resigned his commission and joined the cause of the American Revolution) and Mary (Chester) Reid. Samuel Chester Reid was born in Norwich, Conn. He went to sea at the age of 11. At 20, he was master of the brig *Merchant of New York*.

Commanding the frigate *General Armstrong* (246 tons, 90 men, 9 guns), Captain Reid repulsed the British attack in 10 hours of fighting the heavily-armed vessels (*Carnation, Rota, Plantaganet*, under Commodore Edward Lloyd, with 2,000 men) on September 26, 1814, at Fayal, in the Azores, and helped delay their journey with reinforcements and military supplies, and enabled Gen. Andrew Jackson to win the battle of New Orleans.

On his return to New York City, Captain Reid and his defenders were feted by the city fathers and was given a silver tea service by the New York merchants. General Lafayette also presented him with a set of service plates.

Reid was subsequently first harbormaster and warden of the Port of New York. He invented a signal telegraph, reorganized the pilot-boat system, and established a lightship off Sandy Hook. He is given credit for the present design of the American flag. Congress adopted his suggestion of retention of the original 13 stripes and the addition of a star for each new State. Mrs. Mary Reid had the distinct honor of sewing the first flag of this kind in her home, and it was flown over the U.S. Capitol, Washington, D.C., on April 12, 1818.

Samuel Chester Reid married Mary Jennings on June 8, 1813. They had eight children. Captain Reid died at his home near Franklin Square, Manhattan, at the age of 78 and was buried in Green-Wood Cemetery, Brooklyn. *Samuel Reid*, a destroyer, at Leyte in World War II, was named in his honor.

We salute the memory of Capt. Samuel Chester Reid, a great name in the naval annals, and a true American patriot.

Wisconsin Legislature Joint Resolution on Conservation Technical Assistance and Conservation and Resource Development Works

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, the Wisconsin Legislature, in a joint resolution, has memorialized Congress to restore funds for conservation technical assistance and for conservation and resource development works.

Under unanimous consent, I include the text of the Wisconsin Assembly Joint Resolution 69 in the RECORD at this point.

The resolution referred to follows:

ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION 69

Joint resolution memorializing Congress to restore funds for conservation technical assistance and for conservation and resource development works.

Whereas this is a time for greater attention to the beauty of the Wisconsin and American countryside, for recreational and wildlife developments on privately owned lands, and a stepped up "slow down" of silting and pollution in our streams, rivers, lakes, and harbors; and

Whereas in keeping with President Lyndon Johnson's statement to the 18th convention of the National Association of Soil and Water Conservation Districts, when he said: "In the last 30 years, we have through conservation programs, fought an important and winning struggle to save our Nation's most basic resources—our soil and water. I remember, as do many of you, how desperate was the problem and how long seemed the odds against us when we began. The success we have achieved today is proof of how well we can work together—from the Federal level to the local level—to do the things our Nation needs done for the present and the future"; and Wisconsin joins with the growing number of Senators and Representatives in Congress, and farm and conservation organizations, private organizations and individuals from our villages and cities in the impending battle to maintain an effective U.S. conservation effort: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the assembly, the senate concurring, That the Wisconsin Legislature hereby protests the cut of $20 million in conservation technical assistance and of $100 million in cost sharing for conservation and resource development works on privately owned lands proposed by the U.S. Bureau of the Budget. Seventy percent of the Nation's lands are in private ownership and this slash would be a reversal of national policy of support for the family farm and for farmers least able to pay for essential conservation work; be it further

Resolved, That the Wisconsin Legislature protests the proposed reduction of present Federal technical assistance to the 72 county soil and water conservation districts in Wisconsin by approximately $315,000, estimated at $4,500 per county district; further protests the proposed 40 percent reduction in Federal cost sharing in applying soil and water conservation practices to safeguard for the future the natural resources of our State and Nation; and further protests the shifting of this responsibility from the Federal Government to private land owners and local units of government; and, be it further

Resolved, That truly attested copies of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to Hon. Kermit Gordon, Director of the U.S. Bureau of the Budget; and, be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the members of Wisconsin's congressional delegation, with the request that they take all appropriate action to draft, introduce, and enact legislation which will restore Federal funds for conservation technical assistance and for conservation and natural resource development works to the necessary minimum levels.

ROBERT T. HUBER,
Speaker of the Assembly.
JAMES P. BUCKLEY,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.
PATRICK J. LUCEY,
President of the Senate.
WILLIAM P. NUGENT,
Chief Clerk of the Senate.

Our Heritage in Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, James G. Cobb, formerly of Roanoke but now of Norge, Va., near Williamsburg, won the Virginia State American Legion Oratorical Contest for 1965.

It was my pleasure to again see Mr. Cobb and his distinguished father, the Reverend James K. Cobb, at Virginia Boys' State, meeting this year at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg.

I commend young Cobb's outstanding address to the attention of the Congress and the people of our country:

OUR HERITAGE IN FREEDOM

(By James G. Cobb)

The date was June 7, 1776. Richard Henry Lee, delegate from Virginia, rose to address the assembly. "Mr. President, I move that this convention formally adopt a declaration of independence from the mother country." And with those words, America was conceived in liberty. Blood would stain those green fields at Lexington and Concord; but for the first time, it would be American blood, not British or French or Spanish, but American. Those men had taken on an awesome task. Thirteen small and insignificant colonies had insulted and rebuked the authority of the mightiest nation in the world. "That revolt must be crushed. Those rebels must suffer the consequences of treachery." Those were the edicts decreed by the British rulers, but they forgot one thing. They forgot that those "rebels" possessed a fervent dedication to their cause, the making of a democracy within the framework of freedom.

This, then, was the beginning. For the 55 men in Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia, there were days of writing and rewriting that lasted through the hot summer. But then on a September day, the tired men were finished. A mere 6,000 words were coined and defined and with the document before them, the men sensed a rendezvous with destiny; a destiny for themselves, their country, and the future of all mankind; a destiny that was allied only to God and conscience.

The heart of this great document called the U.S. Constitution was based on the rights of the individual. Those men knew as they signed it that through compromise and conviction they had produced a political system that embodied three great principles: the word was freedom, the tendency was one of equal opportunity, and the method was constitutional government. The true magic of that method contained in the Constitution was the fact that those words were the voice and spirit of the people; that its flexibility was later stated by Jefferson of Virginia, who said, "No society can make a truly permanent constitution. The earth belongs to the living generation." Yes, to the living generation, that's the secret of its greatness that has extended over 175 years. It is ours to glorify or disgrace, ours to defend or ours to destroy.

That document was for all men and it is many things to me personally as well. It's a funny feeling called pride that I get while listening to the Star Spangled Banner played before a Friday evening football game. It's my father preaching the word of God to our congregation. It's my mother rushing home from school to be there when her children arrive, preparing supper and rushing off to a PTA meeting. It's my sisters and their feelings of security that stem from living in a country that says we may advance into areas of higher education and contribute to all humanity as far as our individual potential will take us. I know this and I am proud of it, but this is something of the past and my heritage, what of our present problems and needs? What have you and I done to preserve and continue the word, freedom, the tendency of equal opportunity and the method of constitutional government?

Isn't there too much general complacency in our country today? More than ever before, we seem to forget that freedom is not free; that there are responsibilities incurred in being a citizen. For instance, we tend to stay at home if it's raining on election day. We tend to consider local elections less important than federal, and there are other examples of apathy that alarm me and make me want to shout to all people of the danger involved. We've been warned of the dangers of indifference many times before. In 1837 Abraham Lincoln had this to say, "at what point in our American way of life shall we expect danger? All the armies of the world led by a Napoleon, and all the money and ammunition put into one stockpile could not kill democracy. If disaster comes, it must come from within; it cannot come from without." Arnold Toynbee, the renowned historian has warned us that of the 21 great civilizations, nineteen have crumbled from within.

In light of these facts, what should be our future duties as citizens? We should continually reevaluate the motives and tools of constitutional government. I am reminded of the story of a group of college students who were exploring nearby mines and caves and carried with them three tools essential to their project. One was a pickax. With the pickax, the students could chip rocks and discover new specimens. This pickax represented a spirit of curiosity and adventure. The second article was a headlamp which illuminated obstacles in their path. This light, shining down from above, symbolized spiritual guidance. The third article was a coil of rope. The coil of rope represented not only a tie to the past but a means by which these students were bound together as they edged forward into the unknown. Ladies and gentlemen, our Constitution is the means by which we are bound together in a common incentive and tradition. As we freemen are confronted by challenges put to us by shackled peoples, we should remember that this is but our own, modern-day "rendezvous with destiny." The late President Kennedy once said, "It is our God-given destiny to demonstrate to the entire world that man's aspirations for progress and social justice can best be achieved by freemen working within our democratic institutions. Then democracy will really be the destiny of humanity."

The word "freedom" is of paramount concern in the minds of America's youth. We the young people want to preserve and continue the word "freedom," the tendency of equal opportunity, and the method of constitutional government, but we are facing a most formidable opponent. Atheistic communism has pointed to us and threatened to destroy us. It should be our task as citizens to stay awake and informed on international and internal happenings; to use our freedoms of speech, press, and religion—to keep these rights alive and growing. Let us remember that through the word, the tendency, and the method, our country has sacrificed for the cause of freedom more than any other nation in the history of the world.

Not only on Armistice Days and Pearl Harbor anniversaries should we remember those gallant soldiers who have defended our heritage, but we should often pause and consider their heroic deeds at Normandy, Okinawa, and Heart Break Ridge; and then we should pledge ourselves anew to law and order, to live and build on the principles of justice, freedom, and democracy, to use our American heritage for the preservation and help of all humanity. Let us remember that it is not only for us but for future generations as well that the word, freedom, the tendency of equal opportunity, and the method of constitutional government, must be kept alive and growing.

Consider the wall in Berlin, the chaos in Africa, the unrest in Asia. With shadows of war, ignorance, and poverty hovering over us, we must prepare ourselves with education and pray for God's guidance and abiding faith that we might fell these shadows with renewed vision and courage.

President Kennedy presented us with this thought, "Man today holds in his hands, the power to abolish all human suffering and the power to abolish all human life." As one of today's commentators has so aptly said, "For America and the world, it is greatness or it is failure. And the time for greatness is now."

Defining the Government-Industry Relationship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, no Member of the House of Representatives needs to be acquainted with the fact that the might and strength of this Nation is the unprecedented integration of every facet of our society. One of the principal elements of that integration is our enormous industrial strength, produced over the length of our history in the climate of free enterprise. That industrial power has been called upon twice in this century to preserve the principles of democracy and the freedom of man.

We are now living in a great new age of technology, the widest expression of which is American industry. The mobilization of technology through industry to solve our national problems has become the responsibility of the Federal Government more than ever before. The evolution of the partnership between Government and industry has come about naturally and with reasonable restraint.

An article appearing in a recent issue of Air Force magazine, entitled "Defining the Government-Industry Relationship," by Mr. J. L. Atwood, is most illuminating and penetrating. Mr. Atwood heads a company that receives its principal income from the Federal Government within the framework of our free enterprise system. He has enunciated his concepts of that relationship, which are sound and which are certainly the product of years of experience. I strongly urge every Member to read and think about the ideas Mr. Atwood has expressed:

DEFINING THE GOVERNMENT-INDUSTRY RELATIONSHIP

(NOTE.—The space program, with President Johnson's backing, is attaining an air of permanence, and there is no sign of significant cutback in defense as some have predicted. The government-industry partnership, which has brought us this far, has changed somewhat in the process but looks as though it will be enduring. It must be protected by both partners. Government must remember that the free-enterprise system is still the best method of finding solutions to problems and work to keep competition alive. And industry must keep in mind that government is its customer and treat it as such while maintaining independence.)

(By J. L. Atwood)

(Mr. Atwood is chairman, president, and a director of North American Aviation, Inc. He has been with North American since 1934. He became president in 1948. That same

year he was awarded the Presidential Certificate of Merit for his contributions to the war effort during World War II. This article is condensed from a speech to the Second Space Congress of the Canaveral Council of Technical Societies at Cocoa Beach, Fla., on April 7, 1965.)

The President of the United States has laid down a clear-cut space program for many years ahead. In his report to Congress on U.S. Aeronautics and Space Activities in 1964, he said: "We expect to explore the moon, not just visit it or photograph it. We plan to explore and chart planets as well. We shall expand our earth laboratories into space laboratories and extend our national strength into the space dimension."

While there has been a general presumption that the space effort will not end with the moon, and although the National Aeronautics and Space Administration has already begun the unmanned probe of the planets, we have not heretofore had from the President of the United States such a clear-cut declaration of our long-range space objectives. For this reason, President Johnson's statement may be comparable in importance to President Kennedy's original summons to the moon voyage 4 years ago. This public affirmation of the plans upon which NASA is already well launched helps to certify the permanence of the U.S. space commitment. We begin to be assured that the U.S. space program will be a continuing and integral part of the national purpose and the national economy.

It is to be noted that this commitment is made in the face of Soviet ambiguity as to its lunar plans. Less and less, the U.S. space program hinges upon a so-called race with the Soviet Union. More and more, it draws sustenance from our own well-based space objectives.

This joint space effort supplements the major peacetime partnership program between Government and industry in the national defense effort. While this effort has been continuous through our history, its scale has fluctuated enormously in response to prevailing conditions of war or peace. Since the Korean war, however, national policy has called for a continuing high level of defense procurement to maintain a strong national posture in the so-called cold war. Suggestions as to the impermanence of this defense program have so far proven wrong. Today the space program is added to this defense program; the U.S. Government and industry are partners in planning and carrying out the most massive joint peacetime effort in their history.

The apparent permanency of this massive joint program brings up pressing questions of political and economic philosophy. Reconciling the American principle of private enterprise with the requirements of our national defense and space programs has become one of the major—though least-publicized—issues of our time. The question is, can a large portion of American industry depend for its major market on a single customer—the U.S. Government—without losing its independence?

The solution to this question is up to industry fully as much as to Government.

Consider briefly the specific American principle at issue. To us the concept of liberty has always included the right to make our living in any honest endeavor of our choice, to own property, and to enter the marketplace with labor, services, or goods to be sold for private gain.

In pursuit of these freedoms, and within a framework of law and order, we have built a dynamic economy unequaled in the history of the world. To maintain its vitality we have tried—not always successfully—to limit the Government's role to that of umpire. This governmental role has been especially useful in helping to maintain the very life and breadth of free enterprise—namely, competition and opportunity.

This same limitation of roles between business and Government can be applied to preserve the aerospace industry's integrity in its close working relationship with the Government. On the one hand, industry is the principal performer of research, development, and production work, although it is strongly supplemented in the research field by universities and certain other nonprofit organizations. On the other hand, while Government serves as the umpire—so to speak—of this private activity, its ability to judge effectively depends upon the vast body of knowledge it derives from that same private activity. This knowledge comes not only from technical advances in research-and-development programs, but also from company proposals for new business.

In fact, it is in competitive proposals that innovation often makes its appearance, and this innovation represents an asset to the Government even if it is not followed by a contract. Moreover, some of the most valuable data available to the Government come from unsolicited proposals, which contain creative ideas that might not otherwise find their way into the Government's fund of knowledge. A significant percentage of industry proposals to the Government for new business are unsolicited, and there are a number of additional concepts, discussed informally, that lead to solicited, competitive proposals. While only a fraction of these proposals are successful from an individual company's standpoint, each of them adds technical data—often of considerable importance—to the Government's reservoir of knowledge.

In turn, the Government is able to stand on this eminence of understanding and gain a visibility that would otherwise be impossible, and which no single contributor could ever attain. This visibility is used in planning defense and space needs, determining specific requirements, choosing between the manifold responses to those requirements, and monitoring the progress of defense and space programs.

These twin roles of Government and industry, therefore, have at least two interlocking advantages. For industry, there is the opportunity to provide many technical choices to any given problem through competitive proposals. For Government, the accumulation of knowledge through these same proposals and through contract performance affords the best possible visibility from which to judge between competitive solutions.

If, hypothetically, there were only one industrial contractor as there is now only one customer, neither of these advantages would exist. But the individual work of many thousands of companies constitutes immeasurable strength both for the industry and the Government.

Therefore, while every contractor goes through the disappointment of creating something that does not strike a ready response, he must recognize that the customer—with limited funds available—is constantly choosing between many innovations of which the single contractor is unaware.

And this accumulation of information and invention—applied or not—represents a corpus of technical knowledge that uniquely qualifies the customer—as no single participant could be qualified—to judge the competitive entries.

In any discussion on the division of roles between government and industry in this country, one must reckon with the impressive technical achievements of the Soviets in weaponry and in space. Without discounting these achievements, we may note that the more autocratic the Government, the more short-term efficiency it can apparently achieve and the shorter the leadtime of its priority programs. However, without the alternate approaches possible in a competitive system, the solutions are often less than optimum; this shortcoming has shown up rather pointedly in the lagging Soviet record in planetary shots to date. I believe that, in the overall space program, our own approach will surpass that of the Soviets; the recent Gemini and Ranger missions lend support to the conjecture that we have already closed the gap substantially. In the long term, a government truly representative of the people, and a government-industry system yielding the best of many choices, must in the end prevail. We all know, from the relatively low percentage of company proposals that win competitions, that no one organization can have a monopoly on the best approach to anything. Superior strength must accrue to the system in which the judge is not one of the participants, and is, therefore, free to choice impartially from rival solutions, unhampered by any enchantment he might otherwise have with a solution of his own.

If the Government's most effective role is that of umpire or judge, the next question is, How far should it go in overseeing the participants?

Let us being by considering the Government's basic obligations. In the fields of national defense and space activity, it is charged with carrying out the policies and the objectives of the American people. More specifically, the Department of Defense and NASA must procure the best possible systems and equipment at the lowest possible cost, and often in the shortest possible time.

In a day when technological advance was relatively slow and new procurement was accomplished largely through shelf items and fixed-price contracts, Government surveillance was large limited to judging the performance of end items. The Nation could generally afford two or three models by different manufacturers to fulfill the same function, and could then pick the best of these for follow-on production.

But with the steep acceleration of technology in the past 15 years, new weapon and space systems have required such technical advances that research and development have constituted the major element in aerospace sales. And all of the Nation's hopes have been riding on only one model for each particular function. The Nation cannot afford to develop more than one kind of Polaris submarine, any more than it can afford to develop more than one means of putting the first men on the moon.

For all these reasons, the Government's interest in the day-to-day work of the contractors—as against reviewing only the results—has damatically increased. Industry should recognize this legitimate interest.

Accompanying the rise of R. & D. for example, has been a whole family of contract types. Since the fixed-price contract and its inherent profit incentives were not readily applied to research and development, the new contract types provided other incentives—still making the most of the competitive and profit motivations characteristic of private enterprise. This process of contract refinement continues—nourished by further suggestions from both Government and industry.

Another milestone in the evolving relationship between Government and industry is the establishment of weapon system contracting. With the need for closer integration of subsystems at the design and development stage, the day-to-day management of system development is usually delegated to a prime contractor or to several associate prime contractors. It is difficult to see how many of the systems developed in the last decade could have emerged with optimum performance without use of this management device.

More recently, the Defense Department has developed a system of contractor evaluation, largely for the purpose of rewarding efficiency and penalizing inefficiency in future competitions. While these requirements may sometimes seem onerous, it is difficult to criticize the intent of a system to recognize merit and stimulate maximum performance.

Industry can well take note that many, if not most, of these attempts to clarify the

Government-industry relationship were designed to strengthen that relationship, not destroy it. There is an enormous difference between the two intentions, and while we should welcome sincere efforts to improve the system, we are more than justified in resisting Government restrictions that are unnecessary in carrying out its legitimate duties. In this close relationship between Government and industry, the traditional role of umpire still serves as a valid yardstick in measuring the Government's prerogatives.

It should be noted at this point that there is precedent for a far different Government role in defense procurement. Almost from the beginning of the Republic, Federal arsenals were established for the manufacture of muskets and ammunition. Then and now, the Navy has made many of its own ships as well as ordnance. Generally, such Government manufacture has involved the production of similar items over many years, with little need for new development. It is at the point where defense equipment requires innovation that arsenal manufacture becomes questionable. Such innovation is best accomplished when there is a choice of alternate solutions. When the umpire is also one of the players, his judgment may become less than objective.

Historically, attempts at Government manufacture of military aircraft have either been sporadic or have gradually given way to private manufacture.

The point to be drawn is that private manufacture of defense and space systems and equipment must be earned by superior performance. It does not fall to American industry as a divine right. We may not expect to be mere order-takers from a generous Uncle Sam. And while we believe strongly in private enterprise as a keystone of the American economy, it does not occupy this position just because we say it does. Rather, it has won this position by past performance. It can maintain this position by continuing that performance.

What is more, today the demands upon our performance have multiplied manifold over those that prevailed when the national policy of private aircraft manufacture was established. Soaring performance requirements have put a premium on technical capabilities and the management techniques for applying such capabilities. A few of these areas call for continued improvement.

In the field of basic research, we must develop not only the most proficient scientific teams, but must improve our visibility of probable future requirements in order to channel their work.

In applied research, our problem is not only to advance the state of art, but to create faster means of communicating technical advances within the professional community.

In the broad field of research and development, both the customer and the contractor must encourage creativity. A radical solution may sometimes be almost as easy to apply as the mere improvement of an old solution. One of the current examples of success in a novel approach is microminiaturization, which was conceived in joint research efforts by the Government and industry and pursued in component development by several companies.

Throughout the spectrum of contractor operations, we must look for even better means of assuring quality, value, and reliability. The industry has tried in every way to reduce these factors from qualitative judgment to quantitative analysis. At the same time we have looked for new ways to encourage what has always been the real basis for quality—pride of workmanship on the part of each individual employee.

In managing our programs, we should come to the realization that success is measured not alone in achieving the required performance levels, but also in the manner in which we meet cost and schedule estimates. While recognizing that research-and-development work can never be priced and scheduled with the precision of volume production work, it is time for us to acknowledge that weapon and space system contracting is no longer in its infancy. We have gained a vast working experience with our customers and with each other as contractor and subcontractor; together we have invented and applied advanced tools for management visibility and decision; we have developed and are still perfecting managerial techniques to match the complex technical and logistics tasks we face.

In all of these areas, it is a tribute to industry that great improvements have already been made. Yet few of us would assert that no more possibilities for improvement remain.

Let us remember that the two-sided relationship between industry and Government is really one between supplier and customer. In such a relationship, it is the customer who has the most influence. Maintaining this relationship depends upon continual proof that private industry is a better source in providing defense and space systems than a Government-owned industry. The customer, both civilian and military, is not generally hostile to private industry, but neither is it permanently committed in this field if the performance does not meet its needs. In short, we of industry can never be content to rest our case on economic doctrine. We must continually prove and reprove our mettle through performance and results.

Thus, to the question of whether private industry engaged in defense and space activity can maintain its integrity, the immediate answer is that both industry and Government have been working intensively on this problem for many years. They have applied an effort of the first magnitude and have gone far toward meeting the additional complications brought on by accelerated technological progress. They will continue to succeed in their effort if they both recognize that there is a vast difference between changes to improve the system of industrial procurement, on the one hand, and changes which would destroy such industrial procurement, on the other. It is my firm conviction that, insofar as we achieve the first and avoid the second, we will not only preserve the American freedoms that we cherish, but will also enhance our strength and security on this planet.

A Federal Payment Formula—Essential for Good Home Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, radio station WWDC expanded its views on home rule on July 27.

WWDC president, Ben Strauss, cogently presented the arguments for a Federal payment formula and refuted the arguments against home rule without such a formula. The formula stated:

> Without the formula payment approach, home rule could be a disaster.

Mr. Speaker, a Federal payment formula for the District of Columbia is essential because the new government must be able to predict its resources. Good program planning by the District of Columbia has been made nearly impossible by the necessity of waiting for the Congress to pass on the District of Columbia budget, and in particular, the size of the Federal payment each year.

Under unanimous consent I place the full WWDC editorial at this point:

PROGRESS ON HOME RULE

(NOTE.—Broadcast of this editorial by WWDC President Ben Strouse began July 27, 1965. We welcome comments.)

The point was made again and again as the Senate passed the District of Columbia home rule bill: The very heart of the proposal is the Federal payment formula. Without it, no home rule plan is meaningful.

Nor does WWDC believe that the arguments against the formula payment plan hold water.

It's claimed a District of Columbia tax assessor might make arbitrary claims against Federal property in Washington. We find this idea far-fetched. The law specifically empowers a Federal official—the General Services Administrator—to check District of Columbia's tax calculations and insure they are reasonable. If this should not protect the Federal interest, the very presence of Congress a few blocks away will deter unjustified claims on the Federal treasury by District of Columbia officials.

Nor would Congress be setting a precedent and opening the door to tax claims by other local governments around the country. The precedent for a Federal payment to the District of Columbia is already 86 years old and must be considered well established. Not even opponents of home rule advocate its abolition.

Nor can it be argued the formula payment would discourage local taxes. Rather, the reverse would be true. As matters now stand, the real estate taxes in the District of Columbia are regularly increased with no assurance at all that Congress will increase the annual payment by one dime.

This station believes in home rule. But let's face it. Without the formula payment approach, home rule could be a disaster. That's why in the House negotiations over self-government for the District of Columbia, the formula payment plan must not be compromised away.

Hon. Clarence J. Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN J. FLYNT, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, once again death has broken our circle of colleagues and friends. I was saddened by the announcement of the death of our beloved and respected colleague, the Honorable CLARENCE J. BROWN, late a Representative of Ohio.

By any criteria and standards, CLARENCE BROWN would be classified as a leader of the House of Representatives. He was close to and representative of the people of his district and his State. He was articulate as an advocate of legislation which he supported and as a protagonist of legislation which he opposed. He was a skillful exponent of his own views and the views of his party.

As the ranking minority member of the Committee on Government Operations,

as well as the Committee on Rules, CLARENCE was a penetrating and knowledgeable questioner of witnesses. He was a powerful exponent of his position in debate in this forum. The respect and admiration which he earned as a Member of Congress, and as a human being, will continue to inspire us.

CLARENCE BROWN made many contributions to the House of Representatives, to the United States, to his native State of Ohio, and the district which he represented with distinction and honor for 27 years. He was admired and respected by his friends and neighbors in his district and throughout the State of Ohio, and he served both ably and with credit. He was equally admired and respected by his colleagues.

I am grateful for and treasure the friendship which existed between us. He was at all times congenial, courteous, and warmhearted. He was one of the Members whom I knew before my election to Congress, and as such, was one of the first upon whom I immediately called when I first came to Washington. I am glad to have had the opportunity to serve with CLARENCE BROWN in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Three times within the past year, the specter of death claimed other members of his family and now, with his passing, sorrow comes once again to his family.

We share that sorrow, and Mrs. Flynt and our children join me in extending our heartfelt sympathy to his loved ones who survive him.

Hon. Clarence J. Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, it is with a sense of deep sadness that I join with my colleagues today in expressing my profound sense of loss over the passing of our distinguished friend and colleague from Ohio, the Honorable CLARENCE J. BROWN.

The people of Ohio have lost a great and dedicated Member of the Congress. The Nation has lost a strong defender of the principles which made our country great and a fearless advocate of sound and constructive government.

His long and distinguished career of public service, beginning with his election as Lieutenant Governor of Ohio in 1919, and extending through every Congress since the 76th, have left behind CLARENCE BROWN many accomplishments which will remain as lasting monuments to his memory.

He was a kind, considerate, and friendly man whose counsel and presence will be missed not only by Members of Congress but by the employees of the House and countless others who came to know him and who now mourn his passing.

Mr. Speaker, I always respected the judgment of our departed friend and admired his great devotion to sound principles of government. We will miss CLARENCE BROWN in the Congress. His place will be hard to fill. His record of service will remain an inspiration to all of us.

To the members of his family I extend my sincere sympathy on the great loss which they have sustained. May they take comfort in the thought that CLARENCE BROWN leaves behind him a rich heritage for his family, his State, and his country.

Committee on Banking and Currency, Further Expenses of Conducting Studies, Investigations, and Inquiries

SPEECH

OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRIEDEL. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Are there copies of the resolution and the report or the hearings available? The distinguished gentleman from Maryland showed me a copy of the resolution for a fleeting moment beforehand.

I just wonder if they are available for the general membership? If not, what is the need for haste in regard to this item?

Mr. FRIEDEL. Well, some of these subcommittees are out of funds and they need additional funds to conduct their investigations. Several of the full committees and some subcommittees do not have any more funds.

Mr. HALL. If the gentleman will yield further, are there copies of the resolution that the House has under consideration available for all of the Members?

Mr. FRIEDEL. Yes, there are.

Mr. HALL. I have inquired at the desks and the book rooms and I cannot find one, although, as I say, the distinguished Chairman of the Subcommittee on Accounts did show me a copy ahead of time.

Mr. FRIEDEL. I can give the gentleman my copy. It is available.

Mr. HALL. If the gentleman will yield further, will the distinguished Chairman tell us—I understand that there is a need for haste and that the committee is out of money. I furthermore understand that, by the committee amendment, they have cut the request from $325,000 down to $97,000; is that correct?

Mr. FRIEDEL. The request for the Banking and Currency's Subcommittee on Housing was reduced from the $235,500 requested to $97,000.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. FRIEDEL. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. I do not know exactly what the reason for haste is. The committee is not out of money. They have over half of the money they were allocated. We have given them just this morning money enough to run them until March. This could wait until later this evening or tomorrow or next week, I would think.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman would yield further, that really was in anticipation of my next question. I wondered if the distinguished Chairman would tell us how much money was allocated in the beginning to this particular Committee on Banking and Currency and how much they have remaining?

And the third question is, does this go through the balance of the 89th Congress, or the first session or the calendar year?

Mr. FRIEDEL. This provides additional funds through March 31, 1966. By providing these funds now, the subcommittee should have enough money to carry on its investigations through the first 3 months of the next session. Our committee will then have sufficient time to review the subcommittee's needs for the balance of the 89th Congress and approve any additional funds required.

Mr. HALL. I appreciate the action of the committee. Does the gentleman know how much they have on hand, and what the original request was, the original request at the beginning of the year?

Mr. FRIEDEL. The subcommittee has a balance of $33,000, which is not sufficient for the balance of this year and the early part of next year while they are waiting for additional funds to be approved by our committee.

Mr. HALL. This is the amount on hand. How much did they receive from the gentleman's committee at the beginning of the year?

Mr. FRIEDEL. $150,000.

Mr. HALL. I thank the gentleman.

Destroyers of a Free America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson spoke for many of us last Friday when he voiced indignation and regret over the Los Angeles riots.

The President said in pointing out the real lesson to be learned from Los Angeles:

> A rioter with a Molotov cocktail in his hands is not fighting for civil rights any more than a Klansman with a sheet on his back and a mask on his face.

At the same time the President reaffirmed his commitment to the civil rights movement. "We shall overcome," said Mr. Johnson, "And I am enlisted for the duration."

These words from the President who has been responsible for enacting more civil rights legislation in his brief period in the White House than in the last 90 years were not lost on the American people. I particularly would like to call the

attention of my colleagues to two excellent editorials which recently appeared in the New York Times on August 21 and the New York Journal American on August 22.

The editorials follow:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, Aug. 21, 1965]

DESTROYERS OF A FREE AMERICA

President Johnson, whose brief tenure in the White House already has brought the adoption of more legislation to make Negro rights secure than all of the last 90 years, has set forth movingly the real lesson of the Los Angeles riots. It is that the rights of the Negro and every other American depend on respect for law. No free society can survive, much less perfect itself, without a full acceptance of the President's thesis that "neither old wrongs nor new fears can ever justify arson or murder."

Every responsible civil rights leader has recognized from the start that law was the foundation of the struggle for genuine equality in voting, education, housing, employment, and access to public accommodations. The emphasis all the major organizations put on congressional action and the Federal courts was itself a testament to their belief that reliance on constitutional process was both the key to eradicating this historic injustices that humiliated the Negro and the assurance that the key would work.

The President's condemnation of racial hoodlums, black and white, was accompanied by a renewal of his commitment to stand with the Negro "for the duration" in the fight to banish the ghetto and to rekindle hope in the hearts that long ago surrendered to despair. In Los Angeles, however, feuding between Mayor Yorty and Governor Brown threatens to impede—perhaps even to upset—efforts to improve communications between Negroes and whites and to seek cures for the ingrained social evils of the city's slums.

The Governor has appointed a distinguished interracial committee to look into the causes of the riots and recommend safeguards against future eruptions. The mayor has trumpeted his displeasure at this action. Political jealousies can only exacerbate a situation in which irrationality already is dominant. The Los Angeles antipoverty program, which might have provided some alleviation of the frustrations that exploded so destructively in Watts last weekend, was held up by political maneuvering. The city's officials will have to share the culpability if after the catastrophic warning the riots have given them they dawdle now in attempting to extirpate the ills of the slums.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Journal American, Sunday Aug. 22, 1965]

L.B.J. STOP SIGN

However tortured the Negro has been by racial discrimination, "a rioter with a Molotov cocktail in his hands is not fighting for civil rights any more than a Klansman with a sheet on his back and a mask on his face."

The quoted denunciation, with which all law-abiding Americans, white and Negro, must agree, is President Johnson's strong, indignant and warning condemnation of the horrifying riots in Los Angeles.

It is a vehement declaration of disappointment and anguish, shared by all Americans except the small, but violent, minority that viciously seeks to counter injustice with lawlessness. The bitter and sickening fury of reckless malcontents produced a devastation that "bore no relation to the orderly struggle for civil rights that has ennobled the last decade."

Indeed, as President Johnson has stressed, the terrorizing events occurred at the very time that thousands of Negroes at long, long last were registering under the voting rights law.

"Neither old wrongs nor new fears can justify arson and murder," he said, and leaders of the Negroes' civil rights cause, grieved over the Los Angeles disaster, agree.

Placing the racial struggle in proper perspective, the President has emphasized that the acquisition of civil rights is attended by responsibility, and responsibility by obligation.

"We cannot and must not in one breath demand laws to protect the rights of our citizens and then turn our backs and wink, and in the next breath allow laws to be broken that protect the safety of our citizens. There just must never come the hour when any citizen, whoever he is, can ever ignore the law or break the law with impunity."

There is universal assent, among people of good conscience, to President Johnson's powerful delineation of a basic philosophy of democracy.

Sharing of Federal Tax Revenues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the Governors of the various States, meeting in national conference, urged the President to appoint a task force to study the possibility of returning to the States each year a portion of Federal tax revenues collected, without Federal control.

Mr. Speaker, in July at Minneapolis at their 57th annual meeting, the Governors adopted the following resolution. I endorse this resolution and respectfully commend it to the attention of the President and to the Congress:

SHARING OF FEDERAL TAX REVENUES

Whereas in the American division of governmental functions among local, State and Federal bodies, the exercise of powers at various levels is inseparably related to the distribution of taxing authority; and

Whereas the larger percentage of total tax revenue collected at any one level, the greater will be the power of that government; and

Whereas today the Federal share of total taxes collected exceeds 70 percent, while State and local governments each account for only about 15 percent of the total; and

Whereas if present tax trends continue, local governments cannot meet public demands for more and better schools, highways, health facilities, police protection and the like, without severe strains upon their respective economies; and

Whereas despite new and higher taxes, local governments have had to increase their debts vastly to meet their spending budgets, bringing obligations of local units alone in excess of $63 billion last year as compared to $19 billion in 1950; and

Whereas the latest Federal budget lists approximately 85 local grant-in-aid activities, and as a consequence these programs are beginning to exceed the level of manageability; and

Whereas the dollar value of grant-in-aid programs has increased from $3.1 billion a decade ago to more than $13 billion this year, and the continued growth of such programs makes State and local governments even more dependent upon the Federal Government; and

Whereas such programs often force the States to spend tax moneys excessively in certain areas in order to match the allocation of Federal funds; and

Whereas sharing of Federal tax revenues with State governments, as proposed by certain economic advisers of the present national administration, not only would enable State governments to accept more responsibility in providing needed services for their citizenry but would also tend to decrease the alarming trend toward complete Federal domination; and

Whereas it is vital and essential to strengthen State and local self-government: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the National Governors' Conference affirm the position of its executive committee endorsing and favoring study of the proposal to strengthen both the capabilities and the self-reliance of the States by return of a portion of Federal tax revenues each year to the States, without Federal controls attached as a condition to the grant; and be it further

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to create or reactivate at the earliest possible time a task force on this subject, including representation of State and local governments.

Increased Red Activity Seen in Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD (DICK) ICHORD

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, Ben Meyer, a writer for the Associated Press, has prepared a brief summary of the ever-increasing Communist nonmilitary activities in Latin America. This summary appeared as an article in the August 23 edition of the Washington Star and in one paragraph Meyer said:

Hundreds of Latin Americans are trained yearly in Cuba in sabotage, civil disorders, guerrilla warfare, propaganda and subversion, U.S. officials say.

Mr. Speaker, South Vietnam is many thousands of miles away and it is difficult for Americans to understand how the Communists manage to carry on their so-called war of liberation. However, Latin America lies very close to our own shores and what happens there is vital to our interests. Therefore, Communist subversive activity in Latin America is a problem we must not ignore. In Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, and Venezuela the Communists are not merely knocking at the door, they are doing their best to beat it down.

The professional insurgent is the single most important weapon in the Red arsenal. For years the Freedom Academy proponents have been trying to explain that fact to the Congress and to the people. H.R. 9713 is now awaiting action in the Committee on Rules and soon this body will decide whether or not an institution where research on Communist methods and tactics that would lead to the development of countermethods available to the free world in repelling the nonmilitary aggression of

our self-avowed enemies and in extending freedom and self-government to all nations is really necessary. These countermethods would be formulated into an operational science which could be taught to government personnel, private citizens, and selected foreign nationals.

It is already too late to stop the war in Vietnam by nonmilitary means alone, but it is not too late to learn from that war and apply the knowledge in places like Thailand, Guatemala, Colombia, and Kenya in order to prevent those places from becoming Koreas and Vietnams. Dollars and guns are not enough to stop these illegitimate revolutions. The United States must learn to cut out the cancerous subversion before it threatens the freedom of a nation and the security of the United States.

I strongly urge each Member to absorb the article and decide just what he or she is going to do to stop this quiet infiltration. The hope of mankind lies in American foreign policy; when we will learn that it is not enough to react and protect, rather, it is imperative, if self-government is to prevail, to use our initiative in extending and preserving freedom. The Freedom Academy bill represents a beginning in meeting the Communists head on and it represents the hope of freemen that any form of tyranny must be destroyed.

I take this opportunity to commend Mr. SELDEN, of Alabama, for his efforts in warning America of the threat in Latin America. He has done a service to his country in bringing this information to the attention of the Congress, now it is for us to do what needs to be done.

The Freedom Academy legislation needs your attention, and your support.

Mr. Speaker, I include the above mentioned article at this point in the RECORD:

INCREASED RED ACTIVITY SEEN IN LATIN AMERICA

(By Ben F. Meyer)

Four months ago the State Department informed a congressional committee that the threat of increased Communist activity in Latin American is "very much with us."

"Difficult and dangerous days still lie ahead," the Department added.

Since then, a buildup in Communist bombings, killing, kidnappings, riots, demonstrations, and subversion has been reported.

U.S. officials privately express deep concern over the situation. They say it appears things are going to get worse.

FOUR NATIONS HIT

Three key South American nations—Colombia, Peru, and Venezuela—have come under intensified attack. Guerrilla bands, Communist-led, are in Guatemala.

A stage of siege prevails in Colombia.

Troubled areas of Peru are under virtual martial law and nationwide a state of emergency and suspension of constitutional rights have been declared twice.

Venezuela has struck back with widespread arrests of Communists and their followers.

So far, the violence of the Communist campaign appears concentrated in these four countries.

But, as the Central Intelligence Agency told the same congressional group—the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Latin America—other nations are not being overlooked in the campaign it said is generated chiefly in Communist Cuba.

CASTRO FOOTS BILL

The Communist dictatorship of Fidel Castro spent more than a million dollars on subversion and violence in Venezuela alone in 1960–64, the CIA informed the subcommittee, headed by Representative ARMISTEAD SELDEN, Jr., Democrat, of Alabama.

To mention a few others, CIA said it was told that the Castro regime spent $250,000 in Guatemala, $50,000 in Salvador, and $30,000 in Panama in recent years.

SELDEN said a Havana congress of hemisphere Communists last November was designed specifically "to give new impetus to Communist activity in the Western Hemisphere." Hundreds of Latin Americans are trained yearly in Cuba in sabbotage, civil disorders, guerrilla warfare, propaganda and subversion, U.S. officials say.

Not a country in Latin America appears to have escaped troubles with the Communists.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided,* That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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Anderson, Clinton P., *N. Mex.* — 6 Wesley Circle
Bartlett, E. L., *Alaska*
Bass, Ross, *Tenn*
Bayh, Birch E., *Ind*
Bennett, Wallace F., *Utah*
Bible, Alan, *Nev*
Boggs, J. Caleb, *Del*
Brewster, Daniel B., *Md* — 1327 33d St.
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Fong, Hiram L., *Hawaii* — 5519 Uppingham St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Fulbright, J. W., *Ark*
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Harris, Fred R., *Okla*
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Hayden, Carl, *Ariz*
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Kuchel, Thomas H., *Calif*
Lausche, Frank J., *Ohio*
Long, Edward V., *Mo*
Long, Russell B., *La*
McCarthy, Eugene J., *Minn.* — 5916 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md.
McClellan, John L., *Ark*
McGee, Gale W., *Wyo*
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Magnuson, Warren G., *Wash.* — The Shoreham
Mansfield, Mike, *Mont*
Metcalf, Lee, *Mont* — 453 First St. SE.
Miller, Jack R., *Iowa* — 5417 Kirkwood Dr., Bethesda, Md.
Mondale, Walter F., *Minn*
Monroney, A. S. Mike, *Okla.*
Montoya, Joseph M., *N. Mex.*
Morse, Wayne, *Oreg* — 4000 Mass. Ave.
Morton, Thruston B., *Ky*
Moss, Frank E., *Utah*
Mundt, Karl E., *S. Dak* — 122 Schotts Court NE.
Murphy, George, *Calif*
Muskie, Edmund S., *Maine*
Nelson, Gaylord, *Wis*
Neuberger, Maurine B., *Oreg.*
Pastore, John O., *R.I*
Pearson, James B., *Kans*
Pell, Claiborne, *R.I* — 3425 Prospect St.
Prouty, Winston L., *Vt*
Proxmire, William, *Wis*
Randolph, Jennings, *W. Va* — 4608 Reservoir Rd.
Ribicoff, Abraham A., *Conn*
Robertson, A. Willis, *Va*
Russell, Donald S., *S.C*
Russell, Richard B., *Ga*
Saltonstall, Leverett, *Mass* — 2320 Tracy Pl.
Scott, Hugh, *Pa*
Simpson, Milward L., *Wyo*
Smathers, George A., *Fla*
Smith, Margaret Chase (Mrs.), *Maine.*
Sparkman, John, *Ala* — 4928 Indian Lane
Stennis, John, *Miss*
Symington, Stuart, *Mo*
Talmadge, Herman E., *Ga*
Thurmond, Strom, *S.C*
Tower, John G., *Tex*
Tydings, Joseph D., *Md*
Williams, Harrison A., Jr., *N.J.*
Williams, John J., *Del*
Yarborough, Ralph, *Tex*
Young, Milton R., *N. Dak* — Quebec House So.
Young, Stephen M., *Ohio*

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Secretary—Felton M. Johnston.
Sergeant at Arms—Joseph C. Duke.
Chief Clerk—Emery L. Frazier.
Secretary for the Majority—Francis R. Valeo.
Secretary for the Minority—J. Mark Trice.
Chaplain—Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D.

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Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences

Messrs. Anderson (chairman), Russell of Georgia, Magnuson, Symington, Stennis, Young of Ohio, Dodd, Cannon, Holland, Mondale, Tydings, Mrs. Smith, Messrs. Hickenlooper, Curtis, Jordan of Idaho, and Aiken.

Committee on Agriculture and Forestry

Messrs. Ellender (chairman), Holland, Eastland, Talmadge, Jordan of North Carolina, McGovern, Bass, Montoya, Mondale, Russell of South Carolina, Aiken, Young of North Dakota, Cooper, Boggs, and Miller.

Committee on Appropriations

Messrs. Hayden (chairman), Russell of Georgia, Ellender, Hill, McClellan, Robertson, Magnuson, Holland, Stennis, Pastore, Monroney, Bible, Byrd of West Virginia, McGee, Mansfield, Bartlett, Proxmire, Yarborough, Saltonstall, Young of North Dakota, Mundt, Mrs. Smith, Messrs. Kuchel, Hruska, Allott, Cotton, and Case.

Committee on Armed Services

Messrs. Russell of Georgia (chairman), Stennis, Byrd of Virginia, Symington, Jackson, Ervin, Cannon, Byrd of West Virginia, Young of Ohio, Inouye, McIntyre, Brewster, Saltonstall, Mrs. Smith, Messrs. Thurmond, Miller, and Tower.

Committee on Banking and Currency

Messrs. Robertson (chairman), Sparkman, Douglas, Proxmire, Williams of New Jersey, Muskie, Long of Missouri, Mrs. Neuberger, Messrs. McIntyre, Mondale, Bennett, Tower, Thurmond, and Hickenlooper.

Committee on Commerce

Messrs. Magnuson (chairman), Pastore, Monroney, Lausche, Bartlett, Hartke, McGee, Hart, Cannon, Brewster, Mrs. Neuberger, Messrs. Bass, Cotton, Morton, Scott, Prouty, Pearson, and Dominick.

Committee on the District of Columbia

Messrs. Bible (chairman), Morse, McIntyre, Kennedy of New York, Tydings, Prouty, and Dominick.

Committee on Finance

Messrs. Byrd of Virginia (chairman), Long of Louisiana, Smathers, Anderson, Douglas, Gore, Talmadge, McCarthy, Hartke, Fulbright, Ribicoff, Williams of Delaware, Carlson, Bennett, Curtis, Morton, and Dirksen.

Committee on Foreign Relations

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Committee on Government Operations

Messrs. McClellan (chairman), Jackson, Ervin, Gruening, Muskie, Ribicoff, Harris, Kennedy of New York, Metcalf, Montoya, Mundt, Curtis, Javits, and Simpson.

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

Messrs. Jackson (chairman), Anderson, Bible, Church, Gruening, Moss, Burdick, Hayden, McGovern, Nelson, Metcalf, Kuchel, Allott, Jordan of Idaho, Simpson, and Fannin.

Committee on the Judiciary

Messrs. Eastland (chairman), McClellan, Ervin, Dodd, Hart, Long of Missouri, Kennedy of Massachusetts, Bayh, Burdick, Tydings, Smathers, Dirksen, Hruska, Fong, Scott, and Javits.

Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

Messrs. Hill (chairman), McNamara, Morse, Yarborough, Clark, Randolph, Williams of New Jersey, Pell, Kennedy of Massachusetts, Nelson, Kennedy of New York, Javits, Prouty, Dominick, Murphy, and Fannin.

Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

Messrs. Monroney (chairman), Yarborough, Randolph, McGee, Brewster, Hartke, Burdick, Russell of South Carolina, Carlson, Fong, Boggs, and Simpson.

Committee on Public Works

Messrs. McNamara (chairman), Randolph, Young of Ohio, Muskie, Gruening, Moss, Metcalf, Jordan of North Carolina, Inouye, Bayh, Montoya, Harris, Cooper, Fong, Boggs, Pearson, and Murphy.

Committee on Rules and Administration

Messrs. Jordan of North Carolina (chairman), Hayden, Cannon, Pell, Clark, Byrd of West Virginia, Curtis, Cooper, and Scott.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel Sheraton-Park, Washington, D.C.
Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 4852 Hutchins Pl.
Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut Ave.
Mr. Justice Harlan, of New York, 1677 31st St.
Mr. Justice Brennan, of New Jersey, 3037 Dumbarton Ave.
Mr. Justice Stewart, of Ohio, 5136 Palisade Lane.
Mr. Justice White, of Colorado, 2209 Hampshire Rd., McLean, Va.
——— ———.

OFFICERS OF THE SUPREME COURT

Clerk—John F. Davis, 4704 River Rd.
Deputy Clerk—Edmund P. Cullinan, 4823 Reservoir Rd.
Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 6004 Corbin Rd.
Reporter—Henry Putzel, Jr., 3703 33d St.
Librarian—Vacancy

UNITED STATES JUDICIAL CIRCUITS

JUSTICES ASSIGNED

TERRITORY EMBRACED

District of Columbia judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. District of Columbia.

First judicial circuit: ——— ——— ———. Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Puerto Rico, Rhode Island.

Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Harlan. Connecticut, New York, Vermont.

Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Brennan. Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virgin Islands.

Fourth judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia.

Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black. Alabama, Canal Zone, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas.

Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Stewart. Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee.

Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark. Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.

Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas. Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Guam, Hawaii.

Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, Wyoming.

Appendix

Gessner T. McCorvey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the cause of good government has lost one of its most distinguished contributors in the person of Mr. Gessner T. McCorvey, who passed away last week.

As a past president of the Alabama State Bar Association, Mr. McCorvey earned the undying and high esteem of lawyers everywhere. But on a broader scale his keen insight into public affairs together with his complete dedication to excellence in government made of him a solid citizen who served as an inspiration to all who knew him.

I include an editorial which further recognizes Mr. McCorvey as it appeared in the Mobile Press Register newspaper for Sunday, August 29:

GESSNER T. MCCORVEY

His city, his State and his Nation have lost, in the death of Gessner T. McCorvey, a citizen whose service was unceasing and outstanding in causes he knew to be both right and vital.

It truly may be said that if enough Americans of his time had worked as ably and steadfastly as he did for sound principles and practices in government, at the Federal level in particular, this nation would not be distressed as it is today by multiple problems that have grown up in the past three decades for lack of wise counsel and direction.

This Nation has never had, and will never have, a more stalwart spokesman for the fundamental American system than Mr. McCorvey. He was able, vigorous and indefatigable in defending this system against doctrines and forces hostile to it.

His devotion to constitutional government, to the preservation of States' rights as a cornerstone indispensable to the national well-being, gained for him far-flung applause and encouragement from fellow Americans who saw as he did the dangers of departing from the course charted by the Founding Fathers.

He stood firm and strong in warning and resistance as the trend has shifted more and more power to the Federal Government and left the States with less and less voice in their own affairs. Though disappointment came often, his resoluteness as a champion of the kind of government needed to assure the Nation enduring maximum achievement and prosperity never weakened.

Gessner T. McCorvey served with enthusiasm and distinction in many important fields during his long, useful life, and always without fanfare, always without seeking credit or acclaim.

One of his State's distinguished lawyers, he graduated from the University of Alabama with an A.B. degree in 1902, received an LL.B. degree soon afterward, and recently received an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from his alma mater.

He had been a member of the board of trustees of the University of Alabama since 1923, and was one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the Crimson Tide football team, on which he was a star player himself in his college days.

During longtime membership on the Alabama State Democratic Executive Committee, his tenure in its chairmanship continued longer than that of any other who has served in that capacity. He maintained a keen, active interest in politics, although not aspiring to public office.

The high esteem in which he was regarded by the legal profession is illustrated, for one noteworthy example, by the fact that he was a past president of the Alabama State Bar Association.

Gessner T. McCorvey was a solid citizen in the truest sense of the term. His service to his city, his State and his Nation is incalculbale, immeasurable.

He served long and well in causes that urgently need the services of more men of his truly magnificent character.

Station House Questioning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, as a lawyer, I am concerned professionally with what happens in our courts and our efforts to achieve justice. As a former member of the District of Columbia Committee, the application of principles and procedures by officers of the District to local law enforcement is likewise of concern to me.

There has long been controversy over procedures employed in the questioning of suspects in the District. Recently, some new procedures were put into effect by Chief Layton under which persons may undergo "station house questioning" for a period of 3 hours, provided certain conditions are first met as to giving them information concerning their rights.

This procedure, as the Washington Post recently pointed out, is "flagrantly at variance" with what has come to be called the Mallory rule as a result of the Supreme Court decision in the Mallory case. The observations of the editorial, which was published on August 14, entitled "Dealing With Suspects," are worth noting.

I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 14, 1965]

DEALING WITH SUSPECTS

Metropolitan Police Chief John Layton has now put into effect some new procedures for "station house questioning" of arrested persons. These were recommended by U.S. Attorney David Acheson who is moving on to new responsibilities where he will not be obliged to pick up the tab for this somewhat dubious counsel he has left as his legacy. We think that if the police and prosecutors obtain convictions on the basis of evidence gained through these procedures, they will surely encounter reversals in the court of appeals and in the Supreme Court.

Under the new procedures, an arrested person brought to a police station is to be advised by the police that he need not answer questions, that what he says may be used as evidence in court, that he may summon a lawyer if he can afford one and that if he cannot afford a lawyer, one "may be appointed" for him when he goes to court, although not while he is being interrogated at the station house. With this ritual completed, the arrested person may be interrogated for as much as 3 hours "exclusive of interruptions."

It seems to us that this procedure is flagrantly at variance with the command of the Supreme Court which declared unanimously in the Mallory case that an arrested person "is not to be taken to police headquarters in order to carry out a process of inquiry that lends itself, even if not so designed, to eliciting damaging statements to support the arrest and ultimately his guilt." The Court went on to stay that "circumstances may justify a brief delay between arrest and arraignment * * * but the delay must not be of a nature to give opportunity for the extraction of a confession."

There is another grievous flaw, as we see it, in the procedure instituted by Chief Layton. To say that a suspect with money may have the help of a lawyer in a police station but that a suspect without money may not have such help is to flout the American promise of equal justice under law. We think that the courts, quite properly, will find themselves obliged to reject evidence obtained in such a discriminatory way.

It has now become quite fashionable to blame the courts—and the appellate courts especially—for failures to convict accused persons stemming from the failure of law enforcement authorities themselves to observe the laws they are supposed to enforced. Deputy Attorney General Ramsey Clark shed some light on this obsession in a speech the other day to the American Bar Association convention. The Mallory rule, he pointed out, "is raised in only a handful of the hundreds of felony cases prosecuted each year. Court rules do not cause crime. People do not commit crime because they know they cannot be questioned by police before presentment, or even because they feel they will not be convicted. In the long run, only the elimination of the causes of crime can make a significant and lasting difference in the incidence of crime."

Sad as it may seem, there is no easy, comfortable, inexpensive road to the conquest of crime. The most costly and dangerous road of all is the road which takes short cuts across the procedural restraints imposed by the Constitution, blaming the courts for insisting upon these restraints and encouraging the police to ignore them.

One Boy's Contribution to the Image of Young People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LLOYD MEEDS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, more and more these days people are taking the time to recognize the enormous merit to be found in most of this Nation's young people. We are dwelling less on the shortcomings of those relative few who go astray. I think this modification of emphasis is important. It is common for one generation to feel that the younger generation is going to the dogs. Doom for the young people has been predicted by some people in each era for centuries.

Today, urban sprawl, poverty, the rapid advance of technology, and our complex and rapidly moving society, pose great problems for our youth. Real problems develop among our young people and delinquency rates are, in point of fact, growing. But, as we focus our concern on the problems of delinquency, dropouts and all the other problems of youth, we should not lose sight of the high degree of maturity and responsibility possessed by most of our young people.

In my district, I know, we have a great deal of reason to be proud of our youth. An excellent example is Dan Wollam, a 14-year-old boy from Anacortes, Wash.

This summer Dan has been very busy. Working for the city clerk, Dan has been eagerly learning about the operation of municipal government. He has "contributed greatly to our organization," in the words of Anacortes city mayor, Earl Diller.

This 14-year-old lad has also compiled a history of the city. Originally planned as a mimeographed pamphlet, Dan decided to have published in printed form so he could fully utilize the available fund of old pictures of the community. June Williams, editor of the Anacortes American tells me:

> He made all the arrangements with our printer, and even went out and sold ads on his own to help cover costs.

A summary of his activities this summer includes not only his work in municipal government, but he has done historical research, initiated a business project for which he served as manager, production supervisor and sales staff. In addition, he has been making plans for the forthcoming school year because last spring he was elected student body president of this junior high school.

I request unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD an article about Dan Wollam published in the August 5 issue of the Anacortes American. It tells of the work and aspirations of this young man and serves clearly to demonstrate that there is ample reason for optimism about this younger generation.

June Williams, speaking for the community, has said, "We are all very proud of our Danny." I would add that we should all be more alert to the teenage Dannys in America, for they are young people of whom we should all be proud.

The article follows:

YOUNG EDITOR MARKETS "ANACORTES STORY"

"The Anacortes Story," compiled by Dan Wollam, presently on sale here, represents the culmination of 3 years of research into the early-day history of the community by the young publisher.

The project had its inception when young Wollam, as a sixth grader, made a report on the history of Anacortes and was encouraged by his teacher, Don Dixon, to pursue his study.

This year, in response to a request from Junior High Principal Irvin Rydberg, Dan dug deeper into files of the Anacortes American and other sources to prepare a textbook which could be used in the schools as a part of the course in Washington State history.

The present booklet, beautifully printed and containing many interesting sidelights on early Anacortes, resulted. Extra copies were printed for sale to the general public with all profits above the cost of printing to go to the Anacortes History Board.

Another phase of Dan's interest in history is his involvement in present-day government.

When he was in the sixth grade, apparently a crucial year in his development, the boy organized a student trip to the State capitol at Olympia, where he had made all arrangements for visits to both houses of the legislature, the supreme court, and the Governor. Some 30 students shared the important experience.

Last year, Dan organized a similar trip for 60 junior high student body officers, legislators, and other interested students.

This summer, in preparation for a hoped-for position as a page in the U.S. Congress at Washington, D.C., Dan has been serving without pay at Anacortes City Hall where he is cleaning out, sorting, and filing material which has accumulated in storerooms since 1891. So far, he says, "bushels of scrap paper have been discarded."

Born in Anacortes, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Wendell Wollam, Dan has attended the local schools and next year will be president of the junior high student body. He was a member of the junior high senate as a seventh grader.

Tribute to George E. Allen, Sr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, one of my colleagues in the Virginia Senate in 1916 was a young lawyer from Lunenburg County, Va., named George Edward Allen. He served with distinction in the State senate for a number of years and then moved to our capital city of Richmond to engage in the practice of law. In more recent years, three fine sons have joined his law firm which now is one of the really outstanding firms of trial lawyers in the State.

Prince Edward County, Va., is known throughout the Nation because of the court action brought against the school board of that county to force the integration of public schools. A three-judge court ruled against the Government in that case but was overruled in the opinion filed by Chief Justice Warren in the famous case of Brown versus Board of Education, and so forth, decided in 1954. Incidentally, the Supreme Court did not see fit to pay any attention to the opinion of the three-judge court in the Prince Edward case or to make reference to the testimony presented in that case pro and con which the three-judge court had heard. In any event, the integration issue has been a rather bitter one in Prince Edward County ever since.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the news item from the Evening Star of Washington of July 10 entitled "Richmond Lawyer Wins Bar Citation," and a copy of that citation. George Allen, of Richmond, was courageous as a young State senator in 1916 and he has been courageous ever since. All of his many friends in Virginia and I were pleased when the American College of Trial Lawyers publicly recognized his outstanding accomplishments.

There being no objection, the article and citation were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, Aug. 10, 1965]

RICHMOND LAWYER WINS BAR CITATION

MIAMI BEACH.—An 80-year-old Richmond, Va., lawyer has been given the first Award for Courageous Advocacy by the American College of Trial Lawyers for representing a Negro in Prince Edward County, Va.

George E. Allen, Sr., a lawyer for 55 years and a past president of the Richmond bar, was honored here for his representation of a Harvard Law School student, Fred Wallace.

Wallace, while assisting two Negro Virginia lawyers in Farmville, had been arrested and charged with felonious assault with intent to maim or kill after an incident involving local police officers at the courthouse.

Bernard G. Segal, president of the College of Trial Lawyers and cochairman of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, said Allen took the case when no local lawyer would represent Wallace.

The chairman of the selection committee, Leon Jaworski, of Houston, Tex., said the award was intended both to recognize courageous advocacy and to inspire other lawyers to represent unpopular defendants.

"The obligation of all attorneys is to accept representation in all causes, whether they be in public favor or disfavor," Jaworski said.

Wallace's case still is before the court, Segal said.

AWARD FOR COURAGEOUS ADVOCACY TO GEORGE EDWARD ALLEN BY AMERICAN COLLEGE OF TRIAL LAWYERS

Distinguished and fearless trial lawyer, your career represents the highest traditions of the trial bar. From your first days as a lawyer, you dedicated yourself to trial practice, and early earned a reputation for skill and courage in advocacy. For 55 years, you have been actively appearing in trial and appellate courts.

During this period, you have also served with distinction as a member of the senate of your native State of Virginia in which you have resided for 80 years, and in posts of honor in the organized bar at national, State, and local levels, including the presidency of the Richmond Bar Association, the chairmanship of the board of governors, litigation section, of the Virginia State bar, the presidency of the Virginia Trial Lawyers Association, and the chairmanship of important committees in the American, the Virginia, and the Richmond Bar Associations. Your

lectures in trial practice in Virginia and surrounding States, and in places far removed from your native State—in New York, in Texas, in Mississippi, and elsewhere—have brought you deserved appreciation and commendation. Early in the history of this college, you were honored by election as a fellow.

It is, however, your record as a courageous advocate, fearlessly representing your clients without regard to the unpopularity of their cause, which commends you to the college for this award. By your conduct, you have given meaning to and have carried out the high precepts of that most important canon of the legal profession and that touchstone of the code of trial conduct of this college, that no fear of public disfavor should ever restrain a lawyer from the full discharge of his duty in the representation of any unpopular client or cause.

In your career, you have appeared on numerous occasions in behalf of parties regarded by the community as offensive to its mores or in prosecution or defense of causes which were widely condemned at the time of your representation.

After one such case in 1956, the presiding judge in a Virginia court declared that he "never saw a case more ably presented." He then wrote: "I am only repeating what I have heard many times by lawyers in * * * Virginia and that is that George E. Allen, viewed from the standpoint of both integrity and ability, is at present the outstanding trial lawyer in Virginia."

In July 1963, at an age when most lawyers seek to ease their burdens, you accepted the difficult and extremely unpopular representation of a Negro charged with crime, on a day made tense by civil rights demonstrations and unrest. You were asked by the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, a committee of lawyers which had been formed at the request of the President of the United States, to enter this case, after others had refused to do so solely because of the inevitable community and client repercussions. At the age of 78, you unhesitatingly accepted this representation without fee. So unpopular was the case that as stated in the affidavit in support of the motion for change of venue, you could not find a white lawyer who would serve with you as local counsel. Undeterred, you have immersed yourself with zeal, with dedication, and with talent to every aspect of this long and immensely time-consuming litigation involving legal questions of the utmost importance.

To you, George Edward Allen, in recognition of the courage, the skill, and the dedication which you have exhibited during these 2 years in defense of this unpopular cause, and indeed during your more than half a century of distinguished practice at the bar, reflecting highest credit upon you and upon the legal profession, the American College of Trial Lawyers, through its board of regents, proudly presents this first Award for Courageous Advocacy.

BERNARD G. SEGAL,
President.

———,
Secretary.

MIAMI BEACH, FLA., *August 8, 1965.*

Better Time Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. MACKIE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. MACKIE. Mr. Speaker, whether it has to do with appointments in the office, getting the children off to school, keeping transportation schedules, attending meetings, shopping, eating, or most anything else of consequence in our day-to-day affairs, we all live by the clock. Time is almost as much a part of our lives as breathing.

Yet how do we stand, timewise?

This Nation is again in the midst of another season of needless and widespread confusion resulting from the scramble involving standard time and daylight saving time. Indeed, this time situation has reached such a chaotic stage that the United States has been described as the "worst timekeeper in the world."

In some States, standard time is required for official State business while the local communities observe daylight saving time for all other purposes. Many counties of some States observe daylight saving time while others do not. In some areas, unauthorized "wildcat" observance of daylight saving time has created special pockets of confusion. And a great deal of the difficulty can be traced directly to the wide variations in the starting and closing dates for daylight time. Nor is my own State of Michigan any stranger to these frustrating mixups.

Certainly there is much that can be said on the merits of daylight saving time. But it is a case of a good principle leading to a bad result as it stands right now. Americans treasure local option in all things, but when it comes to time, this is one of those matters in which uniformity is far more important than local whims. No one wants to force daylight saving time on communities which do not desire it, but at least those that do could and should agree on uniform starting and ending dates.

These dates, in my opinion, should be the last Sunday of April and the last Sunday of October—and I accordingly urge that the necessary steps be taken to bring this about promptly.

The Agriculture Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, the House has passed the so-called omnibus farm bill. If the measure is enacted by the Senate, Members of Congress, producers, consumers, and all others interested in the economy of our great Nation should be under no illusion that it is a bonanza for American farmers. The real problems affecting agriculture were discussed in depth by Harry E. Rash, president of the First State Bank, Thayer, Kans., in a speech delivered to the Elk County Livestock & Cattlemen's Association annual beef tour in Howard, Kans., July 14, 1965. Mr. Rash's remarks deserve your attention, and I am pleased to insert them in the RECORD:

THE AGRICULTURE SITUATION

(By Harry E. Rash, president, First State Bank, Thayer, Kans. Prepared for Elk County Livestock and Cattlemen's Association Annual Beef Tour, Howard, Kans., July 14, 1965)

The past 2 years I have been a member of the agriculture committee of the Independent Bankers Association. June 18 and 19, 1965, a midwest agriculture conference for IBA member banks was held at Sioux City, Iowa. The title was "How Can a Bank Meet the Problem of a Declining Rural Economy." The IBA agriculture committee has been trying to present this problem to the IBA member banks and to the public for the last 3½ years.

The statement of Budget Director, Kermit Gordon, that the top 1 million farmers in America "could produce all of the Nation's farm needs including our large commercial exports," in the January 9 issue of Saturday Review, and the statement by President L. B. Johnson in his budget message of January 25, "Farming alone cannot be expected to provide a decent living in the future for more than 1 million farm families," dramatized vividly the deterioration and ruin facing our rural communities. The U.S. News & World Report in the March 22 issue says, the White House states as No. 1 U.S. farm problem—"How to liquidate some 2.4 million American farmers." This is still the No. 1 problem even after 20 years of legislation during which time 2.6 million farmers have left the land. The impact of this proposal in the Midwest is that 860,000 farmers (65 percent) are surplus. This is the equivalent of all the farmers in the States of Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, plus Colorado, even though it is not in the Midwest. These are some of the headlines that have confronted all of us this year.

Our IBA agriculture committee met in Washington in February 1965. The IBA agriculture committee position paper was presented to Vice President HUMPHREY and the President's Council of Economic Advisers. We were shocked when we learned there was nothing in the administration's economic plans for agriculture.

This position paper has been printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and reprinted by many organizations. The Kansas Grain & Feed Dealers Association reprinted it for its Bulletin No. 38, dated May 24, 1965. Let me repeat some of the highlights of that paper for you. "Rural banks cannot much longer continue to supply the credit needs of rural America. Since 1951, farmers have been using credit as a substitute for earned income because of depressed agriculture raw material prices. With the inception of its agriculture research programs 3½ years ago, the IBA has warned repeatedly such credit could not continue indefinitely. The IBA has urged action be taken to revive the economy of rural America before the point of no return was reached, but the downward drift has been allowed to continue."

Concern mounts, or at least persists, in some quarters that the total debt in this country has been approaching alarming proportions. Why the concern? Because excessive use of credit in past periods is recognized by business cycle analysts as a major factor in generating depressions.

On June 1 Federal Reserve Board Chairman Martin sounded a warning that he sees a buildup of "disquieting similarities between our present prosperity and the fabulous twenties," among them "a large increase in private domestic debt."

It is the responsibility of the head of our central banking agency and his Board associates to keep a sharp lookout for signs of trouble and take action in ample time. The Chairman made the point quite concisely: "When economic prospects are their brightest, the dangers of complacency and

recklessness are greatest. As our prosperity proceeds on its recordbreaking path, it behooves every one of us to scan the horizon of our national and international economy for danger signals so as to be ready for any storm."

Our own economic history is very clear. In periods when the goods and services in all sectors of the United States were priced equitably, our Nation has enjoyed approximate full employment, almost complete utilization of all raw material production, and relative prosperity in all sectors of the economy, including agriculture.

On the other hand, in the periods when one, or more, sectors of the economy is unduly depressed, there was no cash market for some portion of the goods and services produced in the other sectors. The result is that the entire economy suffers from underconsumption, underemployment, and a greater dependency on credit.

The economic facts proving this latter point are numerous. Two will suffice. Agriculture's share of the national income dollar has declined from 5.83 percent in 1951, to 2.49 percent in 1964, a relative decline of 42.7 percent. Private debt, meanwhile, has increased from 86 percent of gross national product in 1951, to 130 percent of gross national product by the end of 1964, a relative rise of 51.1 percent.

How long can we continue to substitute credit for earned income? No one really knows, but it is an economic fact that the "money stopped" in 1929 when private debt reached 154 percent of gross national product.

Our contention has been, that not only agriculture, but also all of the businesses in rural America, and all of the suppliers of manufactured goods in industrial America—and they are legion—have suffered materially from the underpayment to agriculture from 1951 to date.

Rural America comprises an estimated 30 percent of all of the people in the United States, to say nothing of employee families of the rural industrial suppliers. The cumulative loss of this potential market in just rural America could have a devastating effect on the total economy, some day, just as the cumulative loss of this market from 1921 on, led very substantially, to what happened in 1929, and most assuredly to what happened from 1929 to 1933.

In 1929 we were operating at a high level of production and consumption and economists were telling the American people that we were never going to have another depression.

But, from 1929 to 1932 we made the error of permitting the price we placed on products of the soil to fall off 54 percent. This reduced the supply of newly earned income to use in operating our economy 54 percent. This in turn as a result of the loss of approximately a seven times trade turn of this newly earned dollar forced a reduction of 54 percent in the national income.

Specifically our national income fell off from $87.5 billion in 1929 to $40.2 billion in 1933—a loss of $47.6 billion. This reflected a loss of seven times the drop in gross farm income of $6.8 billion from 1929 to 1931.

The failure to maintain price was placed on surplus. The record however reveals that there was no surplus of production. In fact starting with fiscal year 1922–23 up to 1942–43 our total imports of farm products exceeded our exports every year without exception.

The depression was due entirely to our shutting off the newly earned income from agriculture. In 1933 total production in the United States of all products was 25 percent less than in 1929 and we had 4 million more customers inherent in our population growth. In other words we couldn't consume 75 percent of 1929 production due to a shortage of $47.6 billion in national income in 1933.

According to accepted economic theory the drop in price should have increased consumption. This theory fails to recognize that a drop in prices forces a loss in income. A loss in income means a loss of purchasing power.

The seven times trade turn of gross farm income was pointed out to society by Carl H. Wilken in 1941 as the result of his research under the name of the Raw Materials Council of Sioux City, Iowa. Economists however failed to set up a balance sheet of the economy and looked upon the trade turn as a mystic theory.

Let us take a look at this trade turn. During the depression years 1930–41 the economy as a whole lost $563 billion of national income or approximately $7 for every dollar that gross farm income remained below the 1929 level. In 1930–41 we absorbed the operating loss caused by our failure to maintain the value of our new wealth production by doing without the goods that this amount of money would have purchased at 1929 prices.

In the past 14 years we have tried to offset the loss by debt expansion. We have expanded the total debt from $566 billion at the end of 1950 to approximately $1,350 billion at the end of 1964, an approximate increase of $784 billion.

From 1940–43 with prices recovering to the 1925–29 level together with a 17-percent increase in farm production the gross farm income increased from $11 to $23 billion—an increase of $12.4 billion.

Our national income moved up from $81.6 to $170.3 billion in 1943—an increase of $86.7 billion in 3 years, just the reverse of the loss in income from 1929 to 1933. This increase in income was the result of the increased farm prices together with the increase of production. In fact where price ceilings were established by the OPA they used 1925–29 records of retail prices as a yardstick.

In 1941 Mr. Wilken mailed a copy of his study to the secretaries of agriculture in the 48 States and their national organization after studying the facts spearheaded the move to establish 90 percent price supports for farm products by legislation in 1942. Examination of the hearings before the House and Senate Agriculture Committees proves this conclusion.

The 90-percent price support worked effectively and efficiently. It kept the price of farm products in balance of 100 percent or parity with other products. By doing so for the period 1943–52 it protected our earned income with which to finance the war and provide the necessary farm production.

Misrepresentation of the 90 percent price support has led society to believe that the 90 percent price support was a subsidy to agriculture. This is a mathematical impossibility. Agriculture cannot be subsidized unless through supports and Government payments it receives over 100 percent of price balance or parity.

Actually agriculture is subsidizing the consuming public by the low prices. Food costs have risen less since 1947–49 than most other consumer items in the cost of living index. The farmer gets none of the increase in cost for the food he produces. In fact, he receives 15 percent less for the farm food market basket than he did in 1947–49.

In addition to our own production we utilized approximately $3 billion of net imports in the period of 1949 to 1952 as the devaluation of the British pound reduced world prices below our support level. As we became the highest market in the world we became the best market in the world.

Because of lack of protection from these cheaper imports we were the dumping ground until our agriculture prices were brought down to the world level. The important reason why we didn't have a surplus and were also able to use the additional imports was that during 1943–52 farm prices were in balance with other segments of the economy. In the 10-year period we averaged $31.1 billion of gross farm income and $216.7 billion of national income. We had $6.97 of national income for every dollar of gross farm income entering our monetary cycle.

Now let us take a brief look at the record following 1946–50. In this period we have averaged $37.3 billion of gross farm income, thus generating an average of $261 billion of earned national income. We have rapidly increased wages in this period and created an operating loss. For the other segments of the economy to have been in balance with wages and interest we should have averaged $417.8 billion national income.

Instead with only $261 billion earned income it resulted in an operating loss of $156.8 billion per year or a grand total of $2,195 billion in the 14 years. This was similar to the operating loss in the period of 1930–41.

As a result of the debt expansion we averaged $377.1 of national income of which $261 billion was earned income. This equals a difference of $116 billion a year of unearned income per year to offset part of the losses caused by our failure to maintain gross farm income in balance with wages and interest. We have used this unearned income but owe the debt borrowed to create it.

In 1946–50 gross farm income was in balance with wages and interest as farm prices were protected by price supports.

In 1946–50 the parity between private enterprise and wages and interest was in balance and private enterprise was receiving 100 percent of income parity. In 1964 the income parity for private enterprise was 54.8 percent and was forced to balance with the underpayment to agriculture.

The point I wish to make it that we have devoted our time and research to increase production and become more efficient. That by doing so without a study of the price factor we have permitted price manipulation to force us to lose $2,100 billion of what could and should have been earned income. Agriculture has not participated in any of the gain in national income.

Fundamentally income is production times price, and they are equally important in generating income. If we maintain the proper price of what we produce we will have the money income with which to utilize our production. The record proves we have not investigated the effect of price on our production in creating the necessary income for distribution. Stated bluntly, we have failed to investigate one-half of our economic problem.

We pride ourselves as having a capital economy. Agriculture is the foundation of this capital economy. The capital investment in agriculture is equal to two-thirds of the value of current assests of all corporations in the United States or three-fifths of the market value of all corporation stocks on the New York Stock Exchange. Yet many of our economists look upon agriculture as an unnecessary part of the economy which can be liquidated.

Let us take a brief look at the treatment of this tremendous industry. In 1947 after a return of about 4.25 percent on capital the hourly earnings of all labor including management of agriculture was $1.01 per hour. Now in 1964 the hourly wage is only $1.06 even after liquidating over 2 million farms. The hourly wage if industrial labor in 1947 was $1.22 per hour and in 1964 was $2.54—more than doubled. The farmer was penalized for his efficiency by receiving only 5 cents an hour increase from 1947 to 1964 while all industrial labor with far less efficiency received an increase of $1.32 an hour. This increase in wages in industry was paid for with unearned income created by adding the overall mortgage against future income.

Translated into per capita income, agriculture earned $982 per capita in 1964 as compared to a per capita personal income of nonfarm people of $2,636. To exist with

only $982 earnings from agriculture, farmers had to earn $534 per capita from nonfarm sources, making a total of $1,516 of personal income per capita. This reveals that even after the liquidation of 2 million farms agriculture is being paid only 57 percent of parity and less than the minimum wage.

Secretary of Agriculture Freeman, in a statement before the Senate Agriculture Committee Wednesday, June 16, 1965, said, "The income of farmers is disgracefully low despite progress that has been made in recent years in stabilizing farm prices and production. Fewer than 400,000 of the Nation's more than 3 million farms provide the families who operate and manage them with anything close to parity of income. By this I mean approximately the wages of skilled factory workers and a reasonable return on investment. The majority of farmers today do not even earn the equivalent of the minimum wage."

Secretary Freeman should be commended for presenting this testimony. One important political fact that needs to be recognized by all of us interested in agriculture is that the U.S. Department of Agriculture does not speak for the producer. The USDA is representing the consumer. This is a cold hard fact. The farmer is producing for 28 consumers and in so doing has lost his representation because of his efficiency. Some way must be found to go around the USDA and show the dependency of the Nation on a prosperous agriculture.

Agriculture as we know it, which includes the State of Kansas and the great Midwest cannot continue on this low-income basis. Agriculture is headed for financial disaster which will bring on an economic collapse just as it did in the 1930's.

Agriculture is entitled to compensation for its efficiency. Productivity of the American farmworker in the 1950's increased 5.4 percent a year. Output per man-hour in nonagricultural industry increased by 2.1 percent a year. More efficiency is not the answer. The answer is to recognize that the American farmer is entitled to the American market at a parity price level. Past history has demonstrated that the American economy can generate earned income to absorb its production if there is parity of income.

Hon. Clarence Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES A. MOSHER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. MOSHER. Mr. Speaker, long before I ever became a congressional colleague of CLARENCE BROWN, I knew him as a fellow "country editor" in Ohio. I knew him as a tower of strength in the profession in which some of us take pride, that of publishing and editing small community newspapers.

Therefore, I counted myself doubly fortunate when I won the privilege of being associated with CLARENCE BROWN in the U.S. Congress, where I have also known him as a tower of strength.

Losing CLARENCE BROWN is a great loss for all of us, but doubly so for me. I am saddened beyond words to express.

Therefore, I will say only very briefly that—even when I occasionally disagreed with him, and we often joked together about those disagreements—I had a tremendous respect for CLARENCE BROWN'S extraordinary ability, wisdom, and professional skill, his stubborn loyalty in support of his strong beliefs, his great loyalty to his friends, his family, his profession, his State, and his Nation.

I was personally indebted to him for his helpful advice and assistance in many, many ways. I had a great admiration and affection for CLARENCE BROWN. Like all of us here, I will miss him greatly.

Columnist Alarmed at President's Ill-Considered Remarks on Riots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, responsible public officials, police officers, and citizens across the land were amazed at the ill-considered remarks of the President last week in which he tied the possibility of riots in Washington to the passage of the home rule bill by Congress. This is indeed a new experience for the American people to have the Chief Executive threaten mob violence if certain legislation is not passed.

Some editorial writers have quickly jumped to the President's defense and, as usual, are doing all possible to discredit any who dare criticize his statement. These apologists, however, cannot wipe his words from the record, nor from the minds of millions of Americans who heard him on radio and television, including the hoodlums who will gladly accept even the slimmest invitation to riot.

The well-known columnist, Don MacLean of the Washington Daily News, clearly stated the reaction to the President's press conference in a column which appeared in the News, August 27. I include it here as a part of these remarks:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Aug. 27, 1965]

DON MACLEAN

By now, the President doesn't need the likes of me to tell him how poorly conceived were his remarks about the possibility of a riot here. The editorialists and, I'm sure, his advisers, have already done that. My personal view is that what the President said was the greatest flame-fanning act since Nero and his fiddle at Rome. What I want to do today is (1) tell the President what it is like to live in the mouth of a cannon and (2) thank him for making it more likely that some nut will pull the trigger.

I live about 30 blocks from the White House, in a neighborhood called Mount Pleasant. (In contrast to many of L.B.J.'s leading liberals, who live safely tucked away in Maryland or Virginia.) There's no ghetto of any kind in Mount Pleasant, not even a white one. I have never had anything but the friendliest relations with my neighbors, be they Negro or white. In short, we are a happy mixture of people who get along just swell. The riots in Los Angeles made all of us nervous, because, in truth, none of wants any trouble.

HERE'S HOW IT IS

There is a serious rate of violent crime in our area. But it affects everyone equally. The crimes have caused many of us to take precautions. After several attempts were made to break into my house, I surrounded it as best I could with a 6-foot fence. After a girl running from an attacker pounded on my door one night seeking safety, I called the police and the next week bought a gun. I figure that something worse may happen another night, and I want a gun if he has one. My wife suggested watchdogs, and I got two German shepherds.

You don't know it is? Well, on Saturday night in Mount Pleasant, it is worth your life to walk to the store. An elderly man was killed for $2 in the bright sunlight, while washing his car. A man was shot out by my mailbox. Many a night we've watched from a second floor window as gangs of men have battled in the alley with boards and pipes. Ever hear the "thunk" a pipe makes when it hits a human head? The sound carries quite a distance. What is it like living in Mount Pleasant? It's calling home often every time you go out to make sure your family is all right.

THANKS A BUNCH

But President Johnson wouldn't know about any of that, because he has never lived in a section of town such as this. He simply wants to get the home rule bill passed, and if it takes a friendly little warning about a riot to do it, well, what's power for if you don't use it?

So, while the President is down in Texas, we in Mount Pleasant would like to thank him for the suspenseful days ahead. He certainly used the old bean yesterday when he said, "I want to warn you in the District of Columbia that the clock is ticking * * *."

Petition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH HARVEY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Post. As usual the Post has taken a wrong turn. It is improper to ask the House leadership, either majority or minority, to sign a discharge petition.

The article follows:

PETITION

The Speaker of the House of Representatives has it in his power, by a simple signing of his name, to liberate the District of Columbia. If he affixes his signature to the home rule bill discharge petition now lying on the desk before him, he will undoubtedly, through the power of his leadership, attract the additional signatures necessary to make the petition effective. If he withholds his signature, others may mistakenly take his example as a justification for not signing; and the petition may well fail. Speaker McCORMACK'S statement yesterday that "the Speaker doesn't sign petitions" is, therefore, profoundly dismaying.

There is no doubt whatever where JOHN McCORMACK'S wishes lie. He is an ardent champion of civil rights. And home rule for the District of Columbia, make no mistake about it, is essentially and inescapably a civil rights matter. It is a civil rights matter, first, because it involves the right of

American citizens to share in the shaping of their own affairs; and it is a civil rights matter, in addition, because the opposition to home rule in the House District Committee is rooted, as everyone knows very well, in resistance to giving Negroes their full share in direction of the District.

Speaker McCormack was a preeminent leader in forging the Civil Rights Act of 1964; indeed, it was he, more largely perhaps than any other individual, who led the House to inclusion of a strong fair employment practices section in this measure. Speaker McCormack was also one of the foremost influences in fashioning the formidable Voting Rights Act of 1965; it was he who made the House version tougher than the Senate's. Through the whole of his political life, Speaker McCormack has believed in and fought for the principle of government by the consent of the governed.

The Speaker said to reporters just recently: "I have supported home rule through all my years of service." After a breakfast meeting of Democratic congressional leaders at the White House on Tuesday, Mr. McCormack told reporters that he hopes the discharge petition will be approved quickly and remarked that, while the leadership does not sign discharge petitions, "we are urging Members to do so."

With the highest respect for the Speaker, we submit that this is an anomalous position. In the current situation, it may prove disastrous. If the Speaker of the House, the majority leader, and the majority whip refuse to sign a petition for a purpose to which their party has pledged unequivocal support, the men in the ranks can hardly feel committed; and Republicans in the House, whose support is indispensable and whose party has also promised home rule for the District, may feel relieved of any obligation.

Mr. McCormack knows, better, perhaps, than anybody else, that the discharge petition, in President Johnson's words, is "the only practical means of getting the bill on the floor." No one can doubt that the Speaker has thus far refrained from signing the discharge petition only because he feels conscientious scruples about employing the power of the speakership in this manner. Asked the other day, however, if it is not unusual for the leadership to back a procedure bypassing a committee, he said what is manifestly true: "This is an unusual bill. It has been hanging around for many years."

In his comprehensive study of the House of Representatives, "Forge of Democracy," Neil MacNeil notes that leadership participation in a discharge petition is by no means unprecedented. "Occasionally," he writes, "the House leaders themselves have been forced to use either the discharge petition or Calendar Wednesday to overcome the recalcitrance of a committee chairman or even an entire committee." Speaker McCormack himself must recall that in 1938 the great Sam Rayburn himself, when he was majority leader, signed a successful petition to bring the wage-and-hour bill to the House floor by the discharge petition route.

Washingtonians can have no doubt that Speaker McCormack will make his decision carefully and conscientiously. Respectfully, we urge him to weigh in the balance against the considerations of precedence and of the self-restraint imposed by leadership, the fact that the President of the United States has appealed to him for help, the fact that the political party of which he is an eminent leader has pledged itself to home rule, the fact that the House over which he presides has been frustrated for 16 years by the District Committee.

And we urge upon him, in addition, one more consideration: that the Americans living in the Capital of the United States have submitted a petition, too, a petition patiently presented Congress year after year and session after session, a petition for enjoyment of the most elementary of political rights.

Honeywell Corp. Helps Make Gemini 5 Mission a Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, Americans have a right to be proud today following the successful completion of the Gemini 5 mission.

Lt. Col. L. Gordon Cooper, Jr., and Lt. Comdr. Charles Conrad, Jr., have shown heroism, almost superhuman endurance, and tremendous skill in their unparalleled 8-day flight in space. They richly deserve the great tributes and the many honors which a grateful nation will heap on them in the weeks ahead.

I believe that it will not detract from the superb achievement of Astronauts Cooper and Conrad if attention is called to the remarkable organization of the Gemini mission by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. The bringing together of so much scientific and technological abilities is an accomplishment of the first order.

Many thousands of people and many companies have made the Gemini 5 flight the outstanding success that it was.

Local pride in the Twin City contribution to this effort compels me to point out the part the Honeywell Corp. had in building the inertial reference and control equipment for three of the major Project Gemini vehicles, including the spacecraft, the Gemini launch vehicle, and the Gemini Agena target vehicle.

Below is a brief description of each of the subsystems built by Honeywell:

GEMINI SPACECRAFT

Attitude control and maneuver electronics (AMCE): Consists of two three-axis rate gyro packages, a power inverter and a reaction jet switching device called the orbit attitude and maneuver electronics (OAME) and a signal processor and reaction jet controller called the attitude control electronics (ACE).

The ACME system basically provides control and maneuver signal processing throughout the entire Gemini mission.

Inertial measurement unit (IMU): Consists of a four-gimbal, all-attitude inertial platform, system electronics and power supply.

The IMU serves as Gemini's attitude reference and, during rendezvous and reentry maneuvers, provides digital measures of velocity changes.

Cryogenic gaging and display: Consists of three capacitance-type sensors with three corresponding miniature indicators and associated electronics.

This subsystem continuously measures and indicates the quantity of liquid oxygen and hydrogen available for spacecraft environmental control and fuel cell systems.

GEMINI LAUNCH VEHICLE

Three-axis reference system (TARS): A strapdown system consisting of three hermetically sealed integrating gyros, pitch programer, roll programer and timer.

The system senses pitch, yaw and roll attitude displacements used for stabilization and control of the vehicle. It also provides preset roll and pitch command signals and can accept external guidance commands.

GEMINI AGENA TARGET VEHICLE

Three-axis reference system (TARS): A strapdown system consisting of three integrating gyros and associated electronics.

In conjunction with horizon scanner and radio links, the system provides attitude and displacement signals to the flight control system for precise orbital injection and attitude control while in orbit.

Three of the major spacecraft subsystems are produced by Honeywell under contract to McDonnell Aircraft Corp., principal Gemini contractor. These are the attitude control and maneuver electronics, the inertial measurement unit, and the cryogenic gaging and display subsystems.

Three-axis reference systems for the Gemini launch vehicles are built under contract to the Martin Co. Those used in Gemini Agena target vehicles are produced under contract to Lockheed Missiles & Space Co.

Report to the People of the 12th Congressional District of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

THE YEAR 1965: A YEAR OF ACHIEVEMENT

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, 1965 will go down in history as the year which initiated the advent of the Great Society. Large measure of credit for this achievement must go to the 89th Congress. Working long hours during the past 8 months, this Congress enacted more legislation of enduring benefit to our people than any other Congress in our national history, the full impact of which will not be felt immediately. In the long run, however, they will undoubtedly overshadow any previous attainments.

When we reflect upon the gigantic strides which this Congress took in the area of domestic legislation, we must remember that these were not achieved overnight. In most instances, the legislative enactments of this session represented the culmination of many months—even years—of study and preparation by the legislative committees of the Congress. In some cases—for example, the new medicare and health laws, the excise tax reduction, housing and education—the proposals approved in recent months have been actively considered by the Congress for several years. And so while the breakthrough came in this session, it has been building up for a good many years.

I also want to stress at the start that issues of foreign policy held, and will continue to hold, the attention of the Congress. The mounting crisis in Vietnam, the threat of a Communist takeover in the Dominican Republic, the foreign aid program, and other developments in the field of foreign affairs received most thorough consideration. Responding forthrightly and courageously to the challenge which confronts us on the world scene, this Congress acted promptly and decisively on all measures required for our national security and for the survival of freedom abroad.

These achievements would not have been possible without the able and devoted leadership of President Lyndon B. Johnson. With consummate political skill and quiet determination, and with the stanch support of the Democratic majority in Congress, he built a magnificent legislative program on the foundations laid down during the administration of President John F. Kennedy. He proved himself an outstanding Chief Executive—one of the great Presidents of our country.

There is one thing that we must always keep in mind. The cost of government is high today on all levels: local, State, and Federal. Our Federal budget is reaching the $100 billion mark. Our national debt amounted to $316 billion on June 30, 1965—and the interest on that debt alone was in excess of $11 billion last year. While our economy is strong and growing we must look ahead and exercise restraint.

In large part, the cost of Government reflects the needs and the aspirations of our people. We want to—and we certainly should—meet all of the urgent needs of the American Nation. They should be met first on the local and the State levels. The Federal Government should assume responsibility only when our local communities, and the States, find it impossible to cope with urgent problems. Beyond that, however, we should remember that there are dangers to excessive deficit spending and that the only real source of funds available to our Government is the money in each taxpayer's pocket. Increasing taxes can stifle initiative, dampen our economic progress and, in the long run, do more harm than good to the entire Nation. To meet the increased obligations, Congress raised the national debt limit from $324 to $328 billion.

This is my report to you of the breakthrough legislation of the 1st session of the 89th Congress. We are continuing our work in committees and in conference—grinding away the must legislation which will either be added to the already impressive record of this session by the time you receive this report or will be accomplished in the second session which convenes in January 1966.

In the area of foreign policy, the Gold Cover Act was signed into law by President Johnson to eliminate the requirement of the Federal Reserve banks to maintain certain reserves in gold certificates against deposit liabilities. This is limited only to reserves related to Federal Reserve deposits and has no effect on the gold cover of Federal Reserve notes. In the Federal Reserve Act of 1913 banks were required to maintain reserves in gold certificates against the deposits it holds. A problem created by this act in the course of normal growth and the money supply needs of our economy is one of the reasons for the incurrence of a deficit in the international balance of payments by the United States. To offset this problem, the Gold Cover Act was enacted. This is one of the facets to assist our economic growth and expansion by increasing the supply of money for investment and insuring international acceptance and confidence in the U.S. dollar. This is and has been a prime factor in the expansion of trade by our country for many years.

The authorization for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency was amended to permit it to continue its operations at a level higher than it has been able to do in the current fiscal year. The purpose of this Agency is to explore, develop, recommend, and if approved by the President, negotiate possible alternatives to the arms race in order to enhance our national security. As a sponsor, I received one of the pens which President Johnson used in signing the act into law. The act also provided that no agreement obligating the United States to disarm or reduce its Armed Forces can become effective without prior congressional approval. I have not been happy over the achievements of this Agency to date. The actions and operations must be stepped up before a review of the requests in the coming year. This need is more apparent to me after having served as one of the managers on the part of the House of Representatives to seek agreement on the amendments of the Senate and the House.

The Immigration and Nationality Act, generally known as the Walter-McCarran Act, was amended to abolish the national origins quota system effective July 1, 1968. The amendment established an annual limit from all former quota countries, with preference being given to persons with skills and professional abilities. Fortunately, an amendment was defeated which would have established quotas for the countries in the Western Hemisphere. I sponsored another amendment to permit retarded children entry into this country. These children, after all, are part of the family and the main purpose of the original law was to reunite families. It was under this law that I had the good fortune to reunite many of my constituents.

Over the years, I have introduced two separate bills which are incorporated in the amendments approved in this session. One of these is the provision to abolish the national origins quota system and the other is to establish the quota on the latest census figures, rather than the 1920 census.

These amendments were long overdue and could have been passed had there not been pressure to repeal the entire immigration law; however, it is difficult to repeal a law that has been passed in Congress by an overwhelming majority.

Articles relating to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, more commonly known as the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund capital were amended to provide for expanded loan programs to private enterprise in underdeveloped countries.

The law amending the Interamerican Development Bank Act authorizes the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the Fund for Special Operations of the Bank. The IDB is the principal financial institution of the Interamerican system and constitutes one of the most essential elements in the drive toward economic and social development in Latin America. All of the countries of Latin America are members of the IDB with the sole exception of Cuba which is no longer eligible to join.

The amending legislation improves the administration of the Bank and, from the standpoint of the United States, is beneficial in that funds hitherto provided entirely by the United States to the Social Progress Trust Fund will hereafter be provided in part by the Latin American countries.

Congress authorized the President to carry out United States obligations under the International Coffee Agreement to regulate the importation of coffee; to have a certificate of origin on all coffee exported or reexported; and to keep records concerning importation and consumption of coffee. This act requires an annual report to Congress concerning the operation of the agreement.

I served on the committee which sponsored a bill to construct a new chancery to replace the damaged one in Saigon, Vietnam. A new chancery is needed to house the large U.S. mission to that country. The new building will have sufficient land to maintain security and will not abut the street as our present chancery does.

We should look with favor upon continued U.S. support for the Gorges Memorial Laboratory located in Panama City, Republic of Panama. The laboratory is a research establishment which directly contributes to the health of U.S. citizens. It has an international reputation and a longstanding record of service in the Western Hemisphere for the obliteration and prevention of malaria and other tropical diseases.

The Peace Corps was amended and extended, and $115 million was appropriated to continue this highly effective program. Volunteers now serve in 45 countries and there is continuing pressure from foreign governments for more volunteers.

Amendments were approved to provide that readjustment allowances which are normally paid to volunteers in lump sums at termination of service shall be considered for income tax purposes to have been paid each month; to provide for health examinations, immunization and dental care preparatory to service, and comprehensive health examinations for former volunteers within 6 months after termination of their services; and to increase from 100 to 200 the number of volunteers who may be assigned for secretarial and clerical duties.

As a sponsor of this legislation, I again received a pen from President Johnson on the occasion of his signing this bill into law.

The Foreign Assistance Act of 1965 provides economic and military assistance to foreign countries, which is a major factor in the conduct of our Nation's foreign policy. Through these aid programs, we have sought to contain the march of world communism and to assist the underdeveloped countries to economic viability.

The purpose of foreign aid is to strengthen those who would be free; provide hope for those who would otherwise despair; and to help those who would help themselves.

The duration of the program, the kinds of assistance we provide and the amount we spend will depend on the progress made in coping with the Communist menace and bringing economic and sociopolitical stability in the less developed countries. At the same time, however, the emphasis and direction of our foreign assistance program will not be without change. Our program has been and must continue to be responsive to changes in world conditions.

As one of the managers on the part of the House of Representatives on this bill, I was gratified that the Senate receded on the issue in dispute and extended the authorization for 1 year, with each House making a review.

Two other important bills are the Foreign Service Act to strengthen our Foreign Service, and the Foreign Buildings Act which authorizes the building of our embassies and chanceries abroad.

An unusual amount of meaningful legislation affecting our every-day lives and designed to bring us closer to the goals of the Great Society was enacted.

A much-needed constitutional amendment was proposed which enables the President to name a Vice President when that office becomes vacant. More important, it provides two procedures by which the Vice President can become Acting President when the President is unable to perform the duties of his office and, equally important, procedures by which the Chief Executive can later resume his duties.

Under the first procedure, it is established that the officials to whom the President must give his written declaration of inability are the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives. It is made clear that, in the case of voluntary self-disqualification, the President's subsequent transmittal to the same officials of a written declaration to the contrary—that is, that no inability exists—terminates the Vice President's exercise of Presidential powers and duties and the President resumes them.

Under the second procedure, the Vice President and a majority of the principal officers of the executive departments may transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. The Vice President will immediately become Acting President. Under this procedure, the President must also submit, to the same officials, his written declaration that no inability exists; however, he shall resume his office only if the Vice President and the majority of the principal officers of the executive departments do not transmit, within 4 days, their written declaration that the President is still unable to discharge his duties. If such a disagreement exists, Congress shall decide the issue within 21 days.

The action taken by the Congress must be ratified by three-fourths of the States to become a constitutional amendment.

The Department of Defense, for which the largest expenditures of our Government are required, was allocated funds to provide for military construction, including support and the needs of the Active Forces, the Reserve components defense agencies, and military family housing. The latter has been neglected too long; therefore, this year's bill emphasized more comfortable and attractive housing and improved on-base family housing.

To insure that all uniformed services personnel will, now and in the future, receive a level of compensation comparable to that enjoyed by others in our economy, a bill was enacted to provide: First, a much-needed basic pay increase for all uniformed services personnel; second, payment of a variable reenlistment bonus; and third, a statutory requirement for an annual Presidential review of the adequacy of military pay and allowances and a quadrennial review in respect to the principles and concepts of military compensation.

Legislative steps were taken to effectuate the 15th Amendment to the Constitution, since the historic struggle for realization of this constitutional guarantee indicates that our national achievements in this area have fallen short of our aspirations.

The Voting Rights Act will eliminate the application of different standards to different people. It provides for the suspension of literacy tests and other devices in areas where there is reason to believe that such tests and devices have been and are being used to deny the right to vote on account of race or color; authorizes the appointment of Federal examiners in such areas to register persons who are qualified under State law, except insofar as such law is suspended by this Act, to vote in State, local, and Federal elections; empowers the Federal courts, in any action instituted by the Attorney General, to enforce the guarantees of the 15th Amendment, to authorize the appointment of Federal examiners, pending final determination of the suit or after a final judgment in which the court finds that violations have occurred; provides criminal penalties for intimidating, threatening, or coercing any person for voting or attempting to vote, or for urging or aiding any person to vote or attempt to vote; and provides civil and criminal remedies for enforcement of this act.

The Juvenile Delinquency Act was extended for 2 years, with increased appropriations. With conditions as they are today in this field, this may emerge as a permanent need.

The Social Security Amendments of 1965, including medical care for the aged, is considered the most significant and far-reaching legislation ever considered by a Congress. The social security program which was initiated in 1935 has been amended many times, such as the addition of survivors' benefits in 1939, extension of coverage to the self-employed in 1950, and the inclusion of disability benefits in 1956.

The amendments of 1965 are historic because they meet many urgent needs of our citizens such as extension of the program to the needy, to crippled children, to the millions of our citizens whose primary source of income is social security benefits, and most important, to our older citizens.

The structural changes of broadest concern are the hospital and medical provisions, such as: hospital care of up to 90 days for each illness, with a $40 deductible for the first 60 days and a $10 deductible for the remaining 30 days; posthospital or nursing home care, including bed and board, nursing care, physical, occupational, and speech therapy, and services of medical social workers, interns, and residents, for up to 100 days for each illness, with a $5 deductible per day after 20 days; home health visits by nurses or technicians for up to 100 visits per year; outpatient hospital diagnostic services, with a $20 deductible and a coinsurance proviso; and a voluntary medical insurance plan with a premium of $3 per month for physicians' and surgeons' services and other services and supplies.

There are important features outside the medical field. Retired persons are permitted to increase their outside earnings to $1,500, and 20 million beneficiaries of social security will receive a 7-percent increase in benefits. The act provides increased monthly benefits for persons who retire at or after 65; establishes a continuation of children's benefits to age 22 for full-time students; and reduces benefits for widows at age 60. Provisions relating to blind persons reduce by half the number of quarters required for blind persons disabled prior to age 31, with a minimum of 6 quarters required, and make available disability benefits to sightless individuals aged 55 and over who are unable to engage in their past occupations.

I consider the major structural changes to this law so important that I have secured some booklets which include an analysis of the act. I will send this to those who write to my Washington office requesting a copy. My number is limited—first come, first served.

The Community Health Services Act was extended for 5 years, through fiscal 1970, with grants authorized to States and communities for mass immunization programs against polio, diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, and measles. The general and special health services, including those for migratory workers, the chronically ill and aged, were extended for 1 year and grants were provided for research to improve such services.

In the field of mental health, $224.1 million was authorized through fiscal 1972 for grants to community mental health centers for professional and technical staff; $205.5 million for training of teachers of the handicapped and retarded children; and $80 million for research, demonstration projects, and construction of related facilities.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act is a major piece of legislation enacted to strengthen and improve the quality and number of education opportunities.

The act was amended and extended to improve educational programs for disadvantaged children and to give Federal funds to public school districts whose burdens have been increased due to the presence of Federal installations in their area. The federally impacted areas rubric is a new concept of "impaction."

The Federal money can be used by local authorities to raise the level of education in their districts. It can be used for school library resources, instructional materials, library books and textbooks. Under this program, the allotment of Federal money to each State will be in proportion to the State's total school enrollment.

The Higher Education Act of 1965 was enacted to endeavor to correct the many difficulties in institutions of higher learning which have erupted as a result of the desire of students to seek advance learning. Existing facilities have become overcrowded and, as new institutions have sprung up across the country, academic quality has often been sacrificed for the sake of growth. This is characterized by inadequate library resources, a lack of qualified teachers, packed classrooms, and insufficient scholarship funds. The Higher Education Act was designed to overcome or at least to ameliorate some of these problems.

The principal provisions are designed to encourage support for college and university community service projects; to upgrade college libraries and make more extensive the cataloging services of the Library of Congress; to improve library services by establishing Federal programs for research and training in this area; to strengthen developing institutions by financing cooperative programs; to aid struggling colleges by establishing a national teaching fellowship program to attract outstanding young scholars; and to extend the benefits of college education by providing educational opportunity grants for exceptionally needy students and reduced-interest student loans. This legislation also aims to ease the pressure of overcrowded academic facilities by making more flexible provisions relating to public community colleges and technical institutions.

The Older Americans Act created the Administration on Aging within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, under the direction of a Commissioner to be appointed by the President. This agency will serve as a clearinghouse of information on problems of the aged and aging; will administer grants provided by the act; will develop, conduct, and arrange for research and demonstration programs; will provide technical assistance and consultation to State and local governments; and will prepare and publish educational materials dealing with the welfare of older persons.

For its initial year of operation, $5 million was provided, with an additional $3 million for its second year and such sums as Congress may appropriate for the next 3 fiscal years in grants to States for community planning and coordination and training of special personnel. Money was also provided for public or nonprofit private agencies for study, development, demonstration, and evaluation projects relating to the needs of the elderly.

The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, one of the most prominent bills of this Congress to which the President referred as "the single most important breakthrough" in the field of housing in the last 40 years, features provisions that will have an impact on disadvantaged persons, small businessmen displaced by urban renewal, and on programs in large and small cities.

Under the rent subsidy plan the Government will pay part of the rent of low-income families accepted as tenants in new nonprofit housing projects built or owned by private, nonprofit groups—churches, cooperative, labor unions, or limited-dividend corporations. A family will pay roughly 25 percent of its total income for rent with the Government paying the difference to the owner.

Other provisions contained in this bill include: First, matching grants for water and sewage facilities for localities and construction of community centers, youth centers, and neighborhood facilities in low-income centers; second, programs permitting public housing families to be placed in empty units in existing apartments, with the permission of the landlord, who would be paid a subsidy; third, a new system of very low down payments on home mortgages for veterans who have not used their veterans' housing rights; fourth, matching grants for urban beautification for parks and playgrounds; and fifth, loans for fixing rundown properties in urban renewal areas.

A new executive department was established to give Cabinet-level recognition to urban problems. The general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people will receive high priority. This is long overdue. No limitation is placed on the size of communities that may benefit from any program assigned to the new Department of Housing and Urban Development, and both small villages and large cities are included within its scope.

Several governmental reorganization acts were passed, including two which I feel are most important—one affecting the Bureau of Customs and another which merged the Coast and Geodetic Survey with the Weather Bureau, to form a new agency within the Department of Commerce.

The repeal of excise taxes has been advocated by your Representative since I first had the honor to represent you in Congress. The removal of wartime excise tax of jewelry, furs, cosmetics, luggage, business machines, sporting goods, televisions, radios, and many other items will represent a reduction of about $4.7 billion over a 3-year period.

This latest tax repeal will bring the total tax reduction to an astonishing $20 billion by 1969. In 1962 a 7-percent investment credit was given to business and a liberalized depreciation allowance was made. In 1963 a $14 billion individual and corporate income tax deduction was granted. These three major tax revisions were the result of a vast change in policy inaugurated by President Kennedy and implemented by the recommendations of President Johnson.

The purpose of the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act is to establish a comprehensive Federal program to deal with cigarette labeling and advertising with respect to any relationship between smoking and health, whereby the public may be adequately informed that cigarette smoking may be hazardous to health by inclusion of a warning to that effect on each package of cigarettes.

The sum of $1,092,400,000 was earmarked to assist that section of the United States, a mountain area extending from northern Pennsylvania to northern Alabama, known as Appalachia. This area is endowed with natural resources but beset in many areas by problems of unemployment and lack of decent living conditions. Under this statute, special programs are provided for: First, construction of an Appalachian highway system to open up areas with developmental potential, using materials indigenous to the region; second, grants for construction and operation of health facilities; and, third, a land improvement and erosion control program. Provision has also been made for development and utilization of water and related resources, including flood control, generation of hydroelectric power, prevention of water pollution and development of recreational facilities as well as improvement of rivers for navigation, and so forth. Additional provisions were made for vocational education facilities, sewage treatment works, and urban planning grants.

The Manpower Development and Training Act was extended, expanded, and improved. This program which has trained 340,000 individuals and made 67,000 handicapped persons employable since it was launched in 1962, was continued for 3 years until June 30, 1969, and provides $454 million for the operation of these programs. This bill creates a job development program to stimulate on-the-job training where there are shortages of trained workers and is expected to create at least 10,000 jobs a month.

The problem of "good water" is, as we in New York well know, one of the most pressing problems facing this country today. Water is our greatest national resource and is not only important now, but pure water must be preserved for untold generations to come.

Two important bills pertaining to water were passed this year. The first establishes a Federal Water Resources Council and River Basin Commission to coordinate planning for maximum use of resources and assist States in such planning. The second, the Water Quality Act of 1965, establishes the first permanent national program for a comprehensive attack on water pollution.

The saline water conversion program, which is designed to develop economically feasible processes for converting sea water and other saline water to fresh water, was amended by extending the research and development program for 5 years, through 1972; $85 million was appropriated to conduct, encourage, and promote fundamental scientific research and basic studies to develop the best and most economical processes and methods for converting saline water into water suitable for consumptive purposes; to conduct engineering research and technical development work to determine the results of the research and studies in order to develop processes and plant designs to the point where they can be demonstrated on a large and practical

scale; and to study methods for the recovery and marketing of commercially valuable byproducts resulting from the conversion of saline water.

The Secretary of the Interior, who administers the program, is authorized to acquire the services of chemists, physicists, engineers, and other personnel by contract or otherwise; to enter into contracts with educational institutions, scientific organizations, and industrial and engineering firms; to make research and training grants; and to utilize the facilities of Federal scientific laboratories.

In order to prevent a crisis in our rapidly dwindling supply of silver, Congress enacted legislation to conserve this essential metal which is used for defense, industry and the arts. Since 1792 silver has been the major ingredient of our coinage alloys for all but minor coins. If the present rate of silver consumption were continued, our Nation would run out of silver within 2 or 3 years.

The bill eliminates the use of silver in all denominations of coins except the silver dollar; authorizes the minting of a new type of coin to replace the present dime, quarter, and half dollar; permits continued production for 5 years of 900 fine silver coins; and establishes standby authority to prohibit, curtail or regulate the exportation, melting or treating of any coin of the United States. These last two provisions are to insure a smooth and rapid transition from present silver coinage until the new coinage system is established.

The new coins will be of such size, weight and electrical resistivity as to be compatible with rejector mechanisms of existing vending machines and other coin-operated devices.

The Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act was amended to provide for increased control over the distribution of depressant and stimulant drugs through increased records and inspection requirements and by making possession of the drugs other than by the user illegal outside the legitimate channels of commerce. Authority over counterfeit drugs by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is increased.

Such controls are necessary since it has been found that over 50 percent of these drugs are distributed through illegal channels. Drug abuse has its affect in all aspects of life, from the abuser's family, and community to rising juvenile delinquency, crimes and highway traffic accident rates. That is why this legislation was urgently needed.

The National Commission on Food Marketing, an organization composed of Members of Congress from both parties to study and appraise the marketing structure of the American food industry, was granted an extension of 1 year in which to make a final report to the President and Congress. When submitted, this report will be an analysis of the changing structure of this industry from farmer to producer to consumer. It will suggest ways for the maintenance of an efficient and competent food industry in the future on the basis of studying past changes and trends which seem likely to continue into the future.

The Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 is based upon three previous acts: the Area Redevelopment Act, the Public Works Acceleration Act, and the Appalachian Regional Development Act.

The 1965 amendments to the Area Redevelopment Act corrected many deficiencies in that act by: First, providing for the public facilities necessary to a complete and effective program of economic development; second, expanding the business loan program to create new employment; third, expanding technical assistance and research programs; fourth, providing for expanded economic growth in natural centers to provide jobs for residents of neighboring distressed areas; and fifth, encouraging economic programs on an interstate or regional basis.

The Public Works Acceleration Act of 1962 had two basic purposes: To provide immediate temporary employment through the accelerated construction of public works in distressed areas and to help these communities become more attractive for industrial development. The results were most encouraging. Approximately 7,700 projects, involving a Federal expenditure of $843 million, provided an estimated 2 million man-months of employment and spurred economic development in needy areas. The 1965 act retains many features of the previous law, but is more restrictive as to area eligibility and requires for most projects a general relation to overall economic development.

The Appalachian Regional Development Act was enacted in this session of Congress. During the almost 2 years it was being considered, it became apparent that there were other regions in the Nation which could benefit from a similar approach to regional economic development. Therefore, the act was amended and extended to include other needy regions.

The Universal Military Training and Service Act contains a provision making it unlawful for anyone to forge or alter a draft card, but there no provision against knowingly destroying or mutilating draft cards. This was corrected by and amendment to the act providing that, upon conviction, anyone who knowingly destroys or multilates a draft card would be subject to a fine up to $10,000 or 5 years imprisonment. This is a straightforward answer to those who would make a mockery of our efforts in South Vietnam by engaging in the mass destruction of draft cards.

The authorization for the omnibus farm bill is one piece of legislation which I supported reluctantly, and only after the deletion of the provision which would have increased the cost of bread. The program is too costly and needs basic changes to help the small farmer, to help the consumer-taxpayer, and to improve the distribution of surpluses to the needy. To accomplish this, I have advocated a return to the supply and demand theory—with direct payments to the farmer in place of subsidies. The present bill does accomplish more toward this theory. One cannot have a floor for cost while a sky limit on price.

I will continue my fight to change this legislation, which I am sure should not cost the Nation $20 billion yearly.

My geshundheit bill was introduced by me in an endeavor to obtain Federal legislation to help the sufferers of hay fever, having learned from one of my constituents, Mr. Herman Aaronoff, that programs instituted on the local level have afforded little relief from this problem. I introduced a bill for Federal action to expand the research and experimentation for the eradication of ragweed. This would take the form of an amendment to a section of the agriculture law.

There are 1 million sufferers of hay fever in New York State alone and 10 million in the United States. There are 4,000 deaths per year and many medical bills and man-hour losses as a result of this health problem. It seems unfortunate to me that nearly $20 billion can be spend on the Agriculture Act, of which much is allocated for the eradication of witchweed, which impedes the growth of grain, while no funds are included for the eradication of ragweed, which is detrimental to the health of our Nation. In line with this, I am endeavoring to augment an air pollution control law for the mandatory control of air pollution to clear the air for the better health of the people of our city, our State, and our Nation.

In the field of labor-management relations, several laws were enacted to meet existing problems. The most important was the repeal of section 14(b)—the right-to-work provisions—of the National Labor Relations Act of 1947. These right-to-work provisions represented a departure from the principle recognized in the original act that a uniform national labor relations policy is necessary and desirable. Congress considered it appropriate, at the time section 14(b) was approved, to permit States to experiment in this area. However 18 years of experimentation and experience has demonstrated that uniformity in our labor laws is the sounder policy.

An analysis of collective bargaining experience over the past 15 years demonstrates beyond doubt that the regulation of contractual provisions concerning union membership is an integral part of any fully developed labor relations code. The issue of union security has been an important issue in collective bargaining negotiations; has been regarded as essential to the survival of the collective bargaining principle; has often been the cause of industrial friction and unrest; and is intimately involved in the give and take of bargaining. This is evidenced by the increased scope of Federal regulations dealing with organizational and recognition picketing, with union elections, with the rights of union members, and with the internal affairs of labor organizations, including the right to join a union.

Most important, section 14(b) has been seized upon by interests seeking to promote so-called right-to-work laws by representing that they will attract industry and will provide competitive advantages in the form of weak unions and low labor costs. Such actions have aroused the bitter opposition of workers and others who believe that our economy can and should provide good wages and good working conditions. States that do not have such laws have quite naturally

regarded efforts to attract industry in this manner as unfair competition. These right-to-work contests have not only divided Americans in various States, as stated by the President in his message to Congress, but have set States against States in this tug and haul to attract or retain industry.

Allow me to clarify my position on this legislation. I believe that the right to work issue involved in the repeal of section 14(b) is basically misunderstood. No one can deny the right to work, any more than one has an inherent right to live. The right to work cannot be taken away by any government, Federal or State. The question of the repeal of 14(b) is not the right to work but the right to bargain freely for the right kind of work under the right conditions. Men who work have the right to organize through collective bargaining, to earn repectable wages and acceptable working conditions.

Less controversial but equally important action by Congress amended the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 to permit employer contributions for joint industry promotion of products in certain instances, or a joint committee or board empowered to interpret provisions of collective-bargaining agreements. These programs would be permissive, not mandatory, subjects of collective bargaining. It will not be an unfair labor practice to refuse to bargain over such matters.

The amendment approved by Congress refers to product promotions only. For instance, the Operative Plasters and Cement Masons might choose to promote plaster through a jointly administered program while other contractors and craft unions may choose to promote the use of other materials. It is the purpose of the amendment to permit this.

The following safeguards to jointly administered funds were provided: First, payments must go to a separate trust; second, funds cannot be commingled with any other funds; third, funds cannot be used in programs that are employer or management functions or labor organization functions; and fourth, the applicable requirements of the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act apply to the trust fund.

CONCLUSION

For any detailed information you desire, please write to me in Washington as my office is open all year for your service. I take this opportunity to thank you for placing your faith in me and to assure you that I have represented you to the best of my ability.

Five Meters To Go

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, if you give an editorial writer 2.54 centimeters, he will generally take 1.6093 kilometers. My hypothesis is proven by a recent editorial from the Montgomery, Ala., Journal in which the editors spoof the proposal that the United States adopt the metric system. I would like to share this clever journalistic endeavor with my colleagues:

FIVE METERS TO GO

Brace yourself for some odd sounding football if Congress decides to adopt the metric system this year. Imagine yourself at the Alabama-Mississippi game. "First and 9.144, with Alabama on the Mississippi 27.432 meterline. Avoirdupois takes the snap from Short-ton, fades, looks for a receiver, throws short to Troy. Troy is at the 13.716, at the 4.573, touchdown. Troy, the 1.8288 meter, 82.6430 kilogram end, has done it again. Alabama leads 13 to 0." Imagine explaining football to a woman under these circumstances—Montgomery, Ala., Journal.

Arkansas: The Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the Georgia-Pacific Corp. is one of the largest producers and distributors of plywood in the world. This fine company has a plant in Mobile, Ala., and in several other communities in southwest Alabama, as well as other States of the South. The Georgia-Pacific Corp. is a good neighbor and an asset to any community.

Recently Mr. R. B. Pamplin, president of the Georgia-Pacific Corp., addressed the Rotary Club in Little Rock, Ark. In this address, Mr. Pamplin pointed out the growth of his company in Arkansas and the South. What he said about Arkansas can very well apply to other Southern States.

Mr. Pamplin also had some very pertinent comments to make concerning what he refers to as "religious socialism." I think that all Members would be interested in reading Mr. Pamplin's speech and I therefore include it herein as a part of my remarks:

ARKANSAS: THE LEADER

(An address by R. B. Pamplin, president, Georgia-Pacific Corp., before the Rotary Club, Little Rock, Ark., August 5, 1965)

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

I had the honor this morning of addressing your economic education workshop program. It was a wonderful experience for me. You are to be congratulated on being the national leader in economic education.

There are so many good things to say about Arkansas and your leadership that I cannot help but feel extremely proud to be a part of it. You have all of the factors here in this State to make Arkansas the leader in future growth.

You have an excellent business climate.

Your people are interested in business as signified by this economic workshop.

Governor Faubus and his associates, including the legislators, have done and are doing everything possible to encourage business.

As mentioned this morning, you have the top leadership in Congress (more so than any State in the Union) in the persons of Senators MCCLELLAN and FULBRIGHT and Representatives MILLS, HARRIS, GATHINGS, and TRIMBLE.

In other words, you have the top leadership in the country at all levels. Over and above this, you have the support of your people. When you couple this with the great natural resources of Arkansas, the answer cannot be anything but growth and prosperity.

We felt very fortunate in being able to acquire the Crossett and Fordyce properties for they contain some of the best timber and timberlands in your State. And I want to tell you here and now that we have done a lot at these operations to justify your confidence in us, but we still have a long ways to go. And with your continued cooperation, "you haven't seen anything yet." As you know, we have just recently announced a $50-million expansion at Crossett which will double our pulp and paper capacity—and we have more plans and new ideas for further development at this location.

Resulting from the expansions that we have made and are going to make at Crossett and Fordyce, you will see similar developments throughout your State. A good example of this is our pine plywood development at Fordyce and Crossett which will lead to additional plywood plants for your State.

Together, we can feel proud in being the first to develop southern pine plywood. I would like to point out what this is going to mean to Arkansas by giving you what is going to take place at Crossett:

We were cutting approximately 80 million feet of logs annually in two sawmills. We are replacing these two sawmills by utilizing this 80 million feet of logs in two plywood plants. The statistics will show that the two sawmills employed 473 people, the two plywood plants will employ 688 people—an increase of over 40 percent—the annual payroll of the two sawmills was $1,600,000, the annual payroll on the two plywood plants will be approximately $2,900,000—an increase of 80 percent.

The percentages are significant in that the plywood plants will employ in excess of 40 percent more people, and these people will be earning on an average about 23 percent more than they earned in the sawmills. These will be better paying jobs, upgrading our employees and the communities. This is important.

The sales from the two sawmills amounted to approximately $8 million. The sales from the two plywood plants will amount to $16 million. Sales up 100 percent.

Some of the other products that we are now making at Crossett (most of which have been developed in the past few years) are as follows:

Unbleached paper. We have two machines making unbleached paper. They were installed some time prior to our acquiring the Crossett properties.

Charcoal briquets—made from waste material from flooring plants and hardwood sawmills.

A full line of tissue products, including facial tissues, bathroom tissues, and towels, which we are making principally from understory oak in our pine stands. This mill was built last year and is the first and only mill in Arkansas making tissues.

Paper bags, which are used in grocery stores and other shops for packaging. We just recently completed this plant and it has a capacity of 945 million bags annually.

Milk containers: this plant was completed this year. We make the board from pulp manufactured at Crossett, after which it is polyethylene coated and made into milk containers. This plant has a capacity of 800 million milk containers annually. We intend to expand this plant immediately to make boxes for ice cream, freezer cartons, etc.

Flakeboard: This plant was completed several years ago. Understory gum in our pine stands is used as the raw material, and we are now in the process of increasing the capacity of this plant. The board is used as core stock for desk tops, furniture, cabinet doors, etc.

Resin plant: This plant was completed last year to supply resin to our flakeboard and plywood plants.

A variety of chemicals, including acetic acid, tall oil, alcohol, turpentine, and dried soap.

Under our Crossett division, we have something over 900,000 acres of lands, 200,000 of which are in Mississippi. We expect to build up this land ownership to over 1 million acres. These lands are to be operated on a sustained yield basis, and we are doing a lot of work to increase our growth on these lands. In other words, the plants that we have built and are building will be a permanent part of the Arkansas economy as we have the natural resources to support these plants. In our plans, we are making due allowance for buying the raw materials from our neighbors who may want to have an outlet for their timber and raw materials.

We also try to be good citizens wherever we operate. We permit hunting on our timberlands, except in the immediate area of Lake Georgia-Pacific, and there are numerous deer camps on our property. Fishermen and recreationists enjoy Lake Georgia-Pacific, a 1,700-acre reservoir created to assure a constant supply of water for our Crossett operations. A 47-acre park on the southeast side of the lake provides picnic shelter and tables, charcoal grills, fish-cleaning facilities and restrooms. We award annually to six outstanding high school graduates college scholarships in the amount of $1,200 each. We encourage our people to become active in and support civic, political and church activities. In other words, we try to work together for our mutual advantage and for a better Arkansas.

The new plants that we are putting in are going to force competition to put in new plants. With the new developments in agriculture here you will find more jobs opening up for more people. These jobs are being upgraded to where your people are going to have larger incomes. This, in turn, leads to more buying power. You will see bigger and better homes, better furnished. Or in other words a better standard of living. With your leadership and natural resources, you cannot miss.

Since you have wonderful leadership here, I want to mention something on another subject that has been on my mind for some time. I may be putting my foot in my mouth, but I want to share with you my thinking with the hope that you will give it consideration and prayer in order that our church life will not slide into religious socialism.

I was taught and still believe that the Bible is the infallible word of God, and that the chief functions of the church are: Saving souls for Christ, administering spiritual needs to its members—which would include Sunday Schools, counseling, funerals, marriage, etc.—benevolences—which include missionaries abroad—financial assistance to new churches, etc.

I also thought and still believe that the Christian way of accomplishing things is through prayer and setting an example. However, there is a liberal group today that thinks otherwise and has taken control of some of our denominations and seminaries. This group includes: Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, stated clerk of the United Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A., located in Philadelphia; Dr. Theodore A. Gill, president, San Francisco Theological Seminary; Bishop James A. Pike, bishop for the California Episcopal Church, located in San Francisco.

There are many others whose names will come to your mind by the mention of these few.

This group feels that the Bible is no longer the infallible word of God—and instead of emphasizing man's spiritual salvation and Christian living on a personal basis, they seem to be more interested in what they call "the whole man," and are attempting to legislate every facet of man's environment. This includes our foreign policy (including Vietnam), employment practices, housing, education, minority race problems, and other national legislation.

To illustrate what is happening, let me discus for a moment the race question. And let me make it clear at the outset that I am in sympathy with giving the minorities equal rights. Our company has been among the leaders in fair employment practices. We will continue to honor our moral and legal obligations. However, I am not in sympathy with the program that this group has been following—advocation of breaking the law to carry out its ends—for if law and order breakdown for this purpose, then law and order will break down for other purposes as well. This is so unnecessary as we have law enforcement officers and courts to see that justice is done. We have the legislature and Congress to change the laws through orderly procedures, when this is necessary. This is the American way of doing things, and this is the right way.

This same liberal group seems to want to run not only the church but also the State and the country. They have built up quite a formidable organization. And if responsible citizens don't stand up and be counted, we may find that they are accomplishing just that. They have already taken control of the National Council of Churches and are certainly using the council to their advantage.

Through their leadership, the National Council supported freedom marchers in the South last summer. This was aiding and abetting public disorder and disobedience of the law to obtain social reform by legislation.

Through their leadership, the National Council advocated a boycott of the products of the Hammermill Paper Co. because Hammermill was locating a new plant in Alabama.

Through their leadership, the National Council advocated the recognition of Red China by the United States and advocated that Red China be admitted to the United Nations.

Through their leadership, the National Council advocated that agricultural workers be placed under workmen's and unemployment compensation laws, minimum wage laws, and unionized in a manner to bargain under the National Labor Relations Board.

Whether certain of these actions are right or wrong is not the point. The point is that the National Council, under the pretense of Christianity, is seeking to settle issues which have divided people everywhere in all parts of the Nation for years. Its activities are helping to divide and destroy our churches as we know them. when instead the National Council should be engaged in activities to unite and build up our individual churches. Then, too, I cannot believe that the National Council is expressing the true feeling of the church members it claims to represent. Instead, I think that this liberal group is using the National Council for its ends.

This same group is the leader in the movement for one church. That is, having all of the denominations unite into one body. Such a centralization of power would be exactly what they would like to have. You and I can imagine what they would do with it.

What are we going to do about it?

The first step should be to make sure that our individual churches and denominations withdraw from the Nation Council of Churches and start working against the National Council. It is true that there are some services which the National Council is rendering and could continue to render to the various denominations, but the abuse of power and authority by such a council is more dangerous than any benefits which we can hope to receive.

A second thing that we can do is to oppose any and all steps toward a single church. I do not mean by this that denominations should not cooperate with each other. Some steps have been taken in that connection which are long overdue and are desirable. However, it is not necessary for denominations to merge in order to accomplish this. Competition among denominations is a virtue and not a sin as a lot of the leaders in this movement would have you believe. The best results are achieved in science, business, politics, education, athletics, and everything else you can name by having diversity concurrent development.

The most important thing is not to give this much power to such leaders with such ambitious goals.

This country was set up on the basis of separation of church and state and we should make sure that this is continued. Encroachment by the church on the affairs of the State should be jealously guarded. I do not know of any group less qualified to run the affairs of state than the ministers of our country.

I have enjoyed the privilege of being with you today, and hope that I get a chance to visit with you in the not too distant future. Thank you very much.

Gabon Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. MACKIE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. MACKIE. Mr. Speaker, a small but potentially rich nation celebrated the fifth anniversary of its independence last week. We wish to extend our best wishes to His Excellency, Leon M'Ba, the President of Gabon, and to His Excellency, Aristide N. E. Issembe, the Gabonese Ambassador to the United States.

In the span of 5 years, Gabon has made remarkable economic progress, especially in regard to its vast mineral wealth. Each year, along with 700,000 tons of wood, it exports about 1 million tons of crude oil, 600,000 tons of very high-grade manganese, over 1,000 tons of 30-percent uranium oxide, and about 1,000 kilograms of gold.

Gabon is bounded on the north by Rio Muni and Cameroon, on the east and south by the Republic of Congo—Brazzaville—and on the west by the Atlantic. The main river—the Ogooué—is navigable to N'Djole, about 150 miles inland.

Gabon is a Republic with a presidential form of government. Its constitution provides for a unicameral National Legislature which now has 47 members.

We congratulate the people of Gabon for their impressive progress since independence—strong economic growth coupled with social program, especially in the field of education, will make Gabon an outstanding example of how the people of a new nation can give themselves a better life.

Chicago Alderman and His Wife Take First-Hand View of Operation Head Start

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, never in the history of our country, or any other country in recorded history, has so much been done for education at all levels and in all activities than in our day, and the first session of the 89th Congress, which has accomplished so much in so many fields, is certain to be remembered for the tremendous and magnificent record it has made in education.

No program more reflects what I like to think is the true spirit of the American people, a concern for their brothers and a desire to help those less privileged, especially the children, than the Head Start program. This is an operation, carried on by men and women of good will and dedication, to supply to children prior to their school enrollment a sort of preparation that may have been denied them in the restricted environment of their homes. It is calculated to free the children of embarrassments and unfavorable reactions and prepare their minds for an understanding and welcome reception of the teaching strating with their enrollment in regular school.

Alderman Leon M. Despres, with his wife, have visited all the Head Start schools in the fifth ward of the city of Chicago. By unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include the alderman's report of his findings as published in the August 25, 1965 edition of the Hyde Park Herald:

REPORT ON HEAD START

(By Fifth Ward Alderman Leon M. Despres)

In our fifth ward this summer we have helped to hatch a new educational system for American children—Operation Head Start. It is soul-stirring and heart-warming beyond expectations. To see it firsthand, last week Mrs. Despres and I went to visit all the Head Start schools in the ward—Carnegie, St. Cyril (SWAP), First Presbyterian, Fiske, and Murray. In addition, we visited the two Head Start schools at Lincoln Memorial Church, the Kozminski Social Center, and the remarkable district 14 special summer school at Dumas, which also has Head Start classes.

We visited 15 to 20 Head Start rooms and found each one brightly colored with the children's paintings on the walls. The quality of the classrooms was a great credit to the teachers and their training. In each room we learned to look for the doll center, the household center, the store center, the science center, the music center, and the library. Naturally, all the children looked attractive and interesting. The groups averaged about 15 children, with a teacher, an assistant, and an aid. The children were free to use a great variety of materials and acquire broad experience on their own and without formal control.

Although there were differences among the classrooms, all teachers made an effort to recognize the individual personality of the child. His pictures were posted on the wall, his name was posted on various devices. "Who Am I?" seemed to be, in fact, the theme of Operation Head Start.

When left to themselves and given the opportunity to use the varied materials available, the children showed imagination and creative ability. Occasionally we noticed a tendency to cast a child into a mold, where he saw less meaning in his activity and probably learned less.

In most cases, the 7-week results have been startling. Children have shown improved ability to take part in social groups, and express themselves. Teachers reported that at the beginning most children hung back, showed shyness, and were reluctant to join a group, but overcame their shyness before the term was over. Operation Head Start simply expanded our children's worlds and opened windows of the world beyond.

The private schools were able to experiment in some ways not available to the public schools. For example, the public schools served only milk and cookies, but First Presbyterian experimented with a variety of food to increase the child's experiences. They reported:

"One mother said, 'But my child doesn't eat celery,' just shortly after the child had been gently scolded for grabbing a little too much celery a little too fast."

The public schools, on the other hand, had superb equipment due to large-scale purchases.

Were there shortcomings? There were imperfections, but no shortcomings. There were variations among individual teachers; not all of them reached the highest standards of freedom, experience, and ability. There was incredible paperwork required by a Washington administration evereager to overmeasure achievement.

Should Operation Head Start be continued? It must be continued. Seeing it in operation makes any observer see how important it is to our society. The expansion of the child's personality, its exposure to new experiences and sensations, and the removal of constrictions are critically important in developing a generation which will be free to take advantage of our country's opportunities.

The effect on the teachers is wonderful, too. Obviously they felt stimulation and enjoyment. As one fourth grade teacher said: "My work in Head Start has really opened my eyes to what can be done with younger children."

What happens later when the Head Start child goes to regular school? What happens when the Head Start child, who has experienced freedom and stimulation and whose eyes have learned to see the people around him and the leaves on the trees enters kindergarten and joins a regimented class of 50 under a single teacher? How do we continue his meaningful development? Here is at least a $64 billion question. Children and parents who have tasted meaningful education cannot be expected to accept a system of authoritarian or segregated schooling with either praise or thanks. That is why I believe that Operation Head Start represents the beginning of a whole new system in American education.

At the Carnegie Head Start graduation, the speaker said: "I used to live on a farm. My father said you could lead a horse to water but you couldn't make him drink. I observed, however, that if you left salt around, the horses licked it, and then they drank all right."

Our district 14 summer school at Dumas was another example of new education for our children. It is a noncredit summer school where children learn more, and learn it more quickly, and enjoyably than in their regular school. Principal Seman Peltz has assembled a wonderful faculty of good teachers. As he says: "You don't need more money for good teachers. You need to provide good working conditions and an exciting program."

Especially exciting at Dumas was the program for parent activity. Mrs. Naylor, the assistant principal from McCosh Elementary School was conducting a stimulating, new VIP (very important parent) program, including a group of father-counselors, the VIP program may revolutionize the old parent-teachers' association concept.

The importance of an available fathers' group was illustrated by a neighborhood boy who heard about the program, came into the Dumas school one day, and told a teacher simply: "I want a father." The teacher, referring to another teacher next to him, said: "Come along with us. We'll both be your father." The boy replied, however, "I just want one father."

As we left Dumas School, we stopped in the gymnasium and auditorium and saw two walls covered with pictures of Negro-Americans. One wall had the conventional portraits from our country's past. The other had about 25 photographs of outstanding Negro-Americans of today, an inspiring gallery of successful men and women who were just not equalled 30 years ago. Among them I was proud to see a fifth ward resident, Prof. John Hope Franklin.

The trip was a heady glimpse into the future. I wish everyone in the fifth ward could have taken it. Even more than a glimpse into the future, it was a tremendously encouraging glimpse of the present.

Visiting Congressmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, during the past several years all branches of the Federal Government and many citizen-sponsored organizations have been doing a fine job of developing better understanding between nations.

This has been accomplished chiefly through various programs that resulted through an exchange of visits of private citizens from business and agricultural organizations, educators, government agencies, and students. This activity has had a terrific impact on world understanding and is to be applauded.

Last Friday and Saturday my colleague, the Honorable JOHN C. CULVER sponsored a visit of three urban area Congressmen to the farms and fields of eastern Iowa with the help of his Agricultural Advisory Committee. Congressman CULVER and his three big-city colleagues are to be commended for their contribution to the development of better understanding between the urban and the rural areas of our Nation. It is to be hoped that like exchanges will develop for a creation of better understanding of other problems that exist in the various regions of our Nation. Congressman BERT BANDSTRA has previously called the attention of my colleagues to this visit with a comment in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The editor of the Cedar Rapids Gazette has expressed his deep appreciation of Congressman CULVER's efforts in an editorial. In the belief that these comments concerning the Congressman's visit will be of interest and value to all the Mem-

bers of Congress, I submit it herewith for publication in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

[From the Cedar Rapids (Iowa) Gazette, Aug. 23, 1965]

VISITING CONGRESSMEN

Congressman CULVER of the Second District made the most out of a good idea when he invited three big city congressional colleagues from the East to Iowa for a visit last weekend.

The trio, one of whom frankly admitted he had never before been west of Pittsburgh, stayed on farms, toured other farms and some of the larger manufacturing plants in the district. They got a good once-over-lightly idea of the kind of a life a farmer lives, what he has to put up with in the way of daily chores, the big investment he has in land and equipment and the ever-present risk he takes on both the weather and the market. Undoubtedly they will have more appreciation of the farmer's lot next time they vote on farm legislation of any kind.

Exchange visits are always the best eye-openers, whether they are of the farm-city type that periodically go on here in Iowa, or the farm-farm type, the city-city type, or you name it type. You can't help broadening your knowledge when you take steps to learn something of the other fellow's problems.

In the very nature of things, Congressmen from rural States like Iowa have a much better opportunity to become acquainted with problems of their city colleagues than vice versa, because the capital is in a large city completely surrounded by other large metropolitan areas. And too often those Congressmen used to living in cities don't have the time, or don't care to take it, to visit rural States.

So our hat is off to the three big city Congressmen—JOHN MURPHY, of New York, THOMAS MCGRATH, of New Jersey, and WILLIAM GREEN, of Philadelphia—for being interested enough in Iowa to pay us a visit.

It is our frank opinion that visits like this to various parts of the country would be far less expensive and more useful than many of the "fact-seeking" junkets too many Congressmen make abroad at the taxpayers' expense.

Administrative Cost Savings by Veterans' Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, those of us interested in veterans' affairs were very pleased when the President announced on January 2, 1965, that he had appointed a Veterans' Administration career employee, Mr. W. J. Driver, as Administrator of Veterans' Affairs. Mr. Driver joined the Veterans' Administration in 1946 and except for the period of his recall to active military service during the Korean conflict, he has continuously served in various positions with this agency. As a result of these years of service, he has acquired an extensive knowledge of the complete operations of the Veterans' Administration. Under Mr. Driver's leadership, the Veterans Administration, through improved methods, procedures, organization, and employee incentive, saved $33,194,542 in administrative costs during fiscal year 1965.

Following are explanations of how these savings were accomplished:

Changes in management, administrative, and professional activities of the Veterans' Administration guardianship program are saving over $2 million annually. Recurring service for certain categories of cases was discontinued, requirements for periodic accounting by legal custodians were eliminated, attorneys were relieved of many nonlegal duties and assignments of professional personnel were adjusted to more effectively utilize their skills.

In the loan guarantee program, the Veterans' Administration acquires some residential properties through defaults on loans. Prompt disposal of these properties saves repair and maintenance costs. In fiscal years 1964 and 1965, a vigorous campaign sold 62,500 of these homes, saving $9 million in maintenance and upkeep.

The Veterans' Administration maintains a continuing and vigorous effort at every organizational level to obtain employees' ideas for improvement. During fiscal year 1965, 21,071 suggestions were received. About half were adopted with measurable savings of $1.1 million and significant benefits which cannot be readily evaluated in dollars.

Closing of a regional office in Dallas, Tex. and reassignment of its workload to the Waco regional office saved over $300,000 in manpower and space requirements. Consolidations of this type are made when the demand for benefits in an area can be met by expanding the territorial jurisdiction of another regional office.

In Philadelphia, economy, and effectiveness of operations were improved by organizational changes and physical relocation. Housing of the insurance and regional office activities under one roof and single management permits better utilization of available resources and substantial space savings.

The use of computers in Veterans' Administration insurance activities has resulted in faster and more accurate service to policyholders, and the merging of activities at two locations into one. Transfer of Denver insurance activities to St. Paul saved 90 man-years annually and reduced space requirements for total savings of $690,000 per year.

The establishment of a Department of Data Management places all data processing activities of the Veterans' Administration under management of a single organizational element. Formerly VA had 108 installations operating conventional electric accounting machines. Now we are 22 percent along in our plan to have only 19 data processing branches and centers provide all necessary automated support and service for the Agency. Annual savings amount to $750,000 thus far.

Veterans' Administration officials recognized several years ago that purchase of computer systems can be more economical than leasing. VA now owns all of the 13 computers it operates. This is saving $3 million a year over various lease arrangements. The $7.5 million spent on these purchases is amortized in about 3 years.

Adjustments in veterans' monetary benefits required by legislative changes are now accomplished by computer processing. An increase to beneficiaries authorized by the 88th Congress was adjusted by computer for 13 cents a case—the cost per case under old manual adjustment methods would have been $1.69. In this instance the total adjustment cost was $150,000 rather than $1,900,000.

It cost the Veterans' Administration $23,000 and took 6 days to pay the 1965 Government life insurance dividend. Under the old manual methods it would have cost $1.4 million. Per individual dividend this is a reduction from 27 cents to one-half cent. Computer techniques made this possible.

We now prepare Veterans' Administration life insurance premium, lien interest, and loan interest notices automatically by computer. The change from a manual-mechanized method reduced manpower and equipment costs by $100,000 annually, while functioning with greater speed and accuracy.

Timesaving automatic data processing techniques have been introduced in inventory and control of pharmacy stocks. The time formerly spent by pharmacists on these administrative duties is now devoted to the increasing professional workload. Time saved is valued at $33,000 per year.

Systematic reviews to improve programs and operations are required at all levels of the Veterans' Administration. We conduct them under a self-appraisal system. The Department of Medicine and Surgery's accomplishments in fiscal year 1965 are especially noteworthy. Systematic reviews in 25 functional areas of field operations produced 1,769 improvements and annual savings of over $3 million.

Administrative support elements in small hospitals were reorganized into Business Services Divisions. Annual savings of $172,000 were achieved by combining supervisory functions and improving manpower utilization.

Reevaluation of Veterans' Administration policy on loan of X-ray film eliminated a film reproduction laboratory in Columbus, Ohio, saving $17,00 annually. Original X-ray film rather than a reproduced copy is now loaned to private physicians and nongovernment hospitals.

Used X-ray developing solution and exposed X-ray film are sent to the three Veterans' Administration supply depots for extraction of silver and sale of the film. Gain from volume sales of the silver and film is substantially greater than when they were sold by individual field stations. Receipts per pound of film are up as much as 500 percent. Net income of $221,000 was derived from this effort in fiscal year 1965.

Some of our medical installations have buildings physically separated by as much as several miles. We determined that food could be basically prepared in a main kitchen and transported safely in heated or refrigerated carts without affecting taste and patient acceptance. Kitchens were consolidated at four of these installations serving 13,000 meals a day, reducing costs by $92,465 a year.

Annual savings of $60,000 were achieved by consolidating mail handling activities in Washington, D.C. A single point for receipt and dispatch of mail at the main building eliminated duplicate functions with no adverse effect.

The reduced workload in the vocational rehabilitation and education program enabled us to consolidate it with the compensation and pension program, saving $36,150 per year.

In our insurance activities, using improved procedural techniques we have increased the production of individual employees. This increase in the National Service Life Insurance Accounts Sections results in a 12 percent greater span of accounts to each work station. Realinement made possible by these workload adjustments has reduced our total work stations by 38 saving $322,000 annually.

Simplified procedures, organizational improvements and better management controls saved $341,600 in administrative services operations at agency headquarters. Sixty-one positions were eliminated with no loss in operating effectiveness.

Mechanized card filing equipment for 30 million index cards has been installed in regional offices. This equipment permits faster service and saves $55,900 annually in manpower and space.

Centralized procurement has reduced our cost of some office machines by 30 percent. Overall, this method of procurement saved $125,000 in fiscal year 1965.

Summary of cost reduction examples

Savings from 24 examples shown above	$25,383,593
Savings from the 59 examples itemized below	7,810,949
Total	33,194,542

ITEMIZED LIST OF ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Reduction of computer diagnostic time	32,640
Shipment of data by air freight	57,000
Conversion of USGLI to ADP	123,000
Notice of death processing change	21,200
Conversion to Federal telecommunications system	9,660
Prevention of overpayments in reopened awards	6,000
Transfer of activities from Somerville Supply Depot to Philadelphia DPC	107,000
Teletype and data transmission operations	9,804
Personnel reorganization	7,500
Analysis of nutritive content of menus	17,600
Ratings at local offices in certain pension cases	6,500
Microfilming insurance paid dividend cards	14,690
Consolidation of teletype activities	15,400
Teletype service consolidation	6,645
Off-schedule requisition transportation costs	15,572
Magnetic ink encoders	7,960
Consolidation of VA teletype net control stations	162,000
Internal audit, VAH, Fayetteville, N.C	33,400
Internal audit, VARO, Lubbock, Tex	29,888
Credit statement of prospective purchaser and contract of sale	5,000
Personnel statistical reporting phase of PAID	43,000
Reduction of electric accounting machine rentals	65,000
Establishment of administrative management division	8,600
Conversion of management personnel inventory to tape	12,000
Processing applications for hospitalization	60,436
Determination of V.R. & E. eligibility by adjudicators	74,250
Improved efficiency in income questionnaire processing	19,050
Savings on new depot items	1,504,000
Improved platemaking process	10,000
Survey of chief attorney offices	12,000
New work measurement system—chief attorney program	30,400
Conversion of actuarial operations to ADP	310,793
Storage of inactive records	11,060
Passenger vehicle services for D.M. & S. field stations	150,000
Workload in relation to resources-nursing service	20,000
Reduction of audiology examination backlog	1,057,400
Cross-training of adjudicators and educational advisers	28,000
Correspondence when child reaches age 18	140,435
Preparation of insurance awards	45,500
Maintaining loan guarantee real property accounting records	30,144
Portfolio loan accounting for delinquent accounts	37,500
Revision of investigative procedure	16,000
Reorganization of NSLI direct pay units—St. Paul	97,860
Tape-to-tape transfer of insurance records	7,790
Agency teletype system—circuit leasing	$12,312
Management evaluation, Hines data processing center	59,500
Management evaluation, St. Paul data processing center	15,000
Consolidation of V.R. & E. workload	25,000
Transfer of field station EAM processing	83,000
Digitronics study—Philadelphia and St. Paul	50,000
Computer calculation of insurance awards	13,500
Registrar/contact admission screening procedures	1,000,000
Drug costs reduced	700,000
Adjustment in supervision of rehabilitation training	667,000
Discontinuance of insurance locator file	20,000
Special study, administrative services	264,460
Translation unit abolished	40,000
Processing insurance loan repayments	25,000
Expense of procuring title evidence	356,500
Total	7,810,949

Karin Walsh, Outstanding Editor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, the sudden death of Karin Walsh, managing editor, operations, of the Chicago-Sun Times was a shock to the thousands of Chicagoans who knew him as an honest, conscientious newspaperman dedicated to the best interests of the city of Chicago.

Mr. Walsh served our city ably in the field of journalism for over 30 years and through his efforts, objective, accurate and timely news articles were brought to the people.

He started his newspaper career in 1936, after graduating from the Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, and by diligence and dedication worked his way to the top of his profession. His colleagues and his friends knew him not only as an outstanding newspaper editor, but as an individual who gave freely of his time and energy to all civic and charitable causes. His firmness went hand in hand with his fairness, and able young people could always count on him for guidance and help in their journalistic careers.

Mr. Walsh was responsible for devising an unusually accurate straw-poll system for use at election time. This poll became so widely known and so highly regarded that major newspapers on the east coast are planning an adaptation of the Chicago Sun-Times' for use by their own dailies.

I know that Karin Walsh will be sorely missed by his friends, by his colleagues, and indeed by all Chicagoans whom he served so well. Mrs. Annunzio joins me in extending our condolences to his family.

The following is an article which appeared in the Chicago Sun-Times on August 29, 1965, on the death of Karin Walsh:

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, Aug. 29, 1965]

EVANSTON RITES MONDAY FOR KARIN WALSH, EDITOR

Requiem mass will be offered at 11 a.m., Monday, at St. Mary Church, 1421 Oak, Evanston, for Karin Walsh, managing editor-operations of the Sun-Times. Burial will be in All Saints Cemetery.

Mr. Walsh, who was 51, died of a heart attack Saturday in New York City. He had gone there to attend conferences with officials of the New York Herald Tribune planning adaptation to New York of an unusually accurate straw poll system Mr. Walsh helped devise.

He was stricken in his room Friday afternoon at the Belmont-Plaza Hotel. His companion, Henry A. Kalcheim, Chicago attorney, took him to New York's Madison Avenue Hospital, where Mr. Walsh died a few hours later.

Tributes to Mr. Walsh for his attainments came from civic, business, educational, and political leaders.

KERNER IN TRIBUTE

Governor Kerner said:

"Karin Walsh occupied a position of great responsibility in his community and he was worthy of it.

"He was proof that nice guys, nice, hard-working and able, do finish first. First not only in position, but in the hearts of their friends and fellow citizens.

"I knew Karim for more than 20 years. I liked him and respected him very much, and I will miss him.

"Mrs. Kerner and I extend our condolences to his family and to his colleagues at The Sun-Times."

DALEY STATEMENT

Mayor Daley said:

"With the sudden passing of Karin Walsh, Chicago lost a great editor and an outstanding citizen. In the many years he served as an executive, Mr. Walsh represented the highest standards of journalism with his objectivity, insistence for facts, and responsible news judgment.

"Both as newsman and an individual Mr. Walsh gave freely of his time and energy to all civic and charitable causes. I shall miss him as a friend. I extend my sympathy to his family."

Marshall Field, editor and publisher of the Sun-Times and the Daily News, commented:

"Karin Walsh was a fine news executive with a true feeling for Chicago. We shall miss him very much."

"SHOCKING NEWS"

Albert Pick Jr., president, Pick Hotels Corp.:

"This was most shocking and unbelievable news. I had known him since he was a boy and watched him go from the bottom to the top of his profession. He made a great impact on the news world. He will not only be missed by his paper, but by the city."

Edward W. Logelin, vice president-Chicago, United States Steel Corp.:

"I've known and watched Karin Walsh's work for 20 years. He was one of the ablest newspaper men I ever met, and, even more important, I have considered him as anyone who met him did, the kind of a friend you were proud to have known."

Dean Ira W. Cole, Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University:

"He was one of the most colorful newspaper men in the Chicago tradition of a tough city editor type. Now he is a part of tradition.

AIDED YOUNG REPORTERS

"Underneath the toughmindedness, he cared a tremendous amount for the city, for the Sun-Times, for his staff. I will remember his judgment and desire to reach out and bring along new reporters. He was will-

ing to give young people a chance, and he was rarely wrong in his judgment."

Y. J. Peak, assistant vice president, Illinois Bell Telephone Co.:

"Karin was an innovator and refused to follow the beaten path day in and day out. He never allowed himself—or others—to get into a rut. And his firmness was always matched with fairness. I have lost a very good friend and Chicago a tremendous citizen."

NATIVE CHICAGOAN

Mr. Walsh was a native Chicagoan but moved to Oak Park in early childhood. He attended Fenwick High School in the suburb. He was a member of the school's first football team and made its first touchdown.

Mr. Walsh began his newspaper career in 1936 after attending Northwestern University's Medill School of Journalism.

In 1940, he was named Sunday editor of the Times, predecessor to the Sun-Times. In 1942 he was named city editor, at age 28, youngest in the Nation to hold such a post on a metropolitan daily.

After the merger of the Sun and the Times in 1948, he continued as city editor, a job he held until last September 1, when he became managing editor-operations.

During his career, he had covered or directed coverage of almost every major news story in the city and State.

WON BROUN AWARD

In 1946, Mr. Walsh and two other Times men—Jack McPhaul and the late James McGuire—won the Heywood Broun Memorial Award. This was for an investigation and series of stories that won freedom for Joseph Majczek, an innocent man serving a life sentence for murder. In 1959 he won the Marshall Field Award for editorial excellence.

Mr. Walsh had been active as a member of the staff that annually for years conducted a journalism seminar at MacMurray College, Jacksonville, Ill. With other news executives he helped plan in-training jobs for NU journalism students on Chicago newspapers.

Last May he was elected president of the City News Bureau, a cooperative news-gathering organization for Chicago media.

He also was a member of the management board of the Newspaper Division of Field Enterprises, Inc.; a member of the Continuing News Study Committee of the Associated Press Managing Editors; first vice president and governor of the Chicago Press Club, and a director of the Chicago Press Veterans Association.

In the 1950's, Mr. Walsh conducted the award-winning radio show "Night Desk" over WMAQ.

Survivors include the widow, Mina Breaux Walsh; two sons, Breaux and Elmer "Buzz"; a daughter, Sheila Anne; a sister, Mrs. Robert Gill, of Oak Park, and two brothers, John F., of Oak Park, and James C., of St. Louis.

The family asked that in lieu of flowers contributions be made to La Rabida Jackson Park Sanitarium. It is a research and treatment center for children with rheumatic fever and related maladies.

Visitation 3 to 9 p.m. Sunday at John L. Hebblethwaite Chapel, 1567 Maple, Evanston.

Clarence J. Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, I have just received a letter from our former colleague, the Honorable Carl T. Durham, who ably and effectively represented the Sixth District of North Carolina for 12 years, retiring January 3, 1961. Mr. Durham asked me to convey to the Congress his thoughts concerning CLARENCE J. BROWN. I am honored to have this privilege:

Mr. Speaker, in the death of CLARENCE BROWN, I have lost a friend. Our country has lost a great statesman. He was forceful and effective in the House, a body of men and women he loved so much. We were both of the class of the 76th Congress. To have known him and served with him is gratifying to me. He served his country nobly. To his family I extend my love and sympathy.

Tribute to the Late Honorable Clarence J. Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILBUR D. MILLS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, it was with a sense of deep sadness that I learned of the passing of my close friend and colleague of many years in the House of Representatives, the Honorable CLARENCE J. BROWN.

CLARENCE BROWN and I came to the House of Representatives at the same time, taking our seats in the 76th Congress, and we have served together as close friends since that date. I have appeared before the committee on which he had the honor to serve with such distinction, the Committee on Rules, on many, many occasions in my capacity as chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, and I can say with deep sincerity and from this personal knowledge that his firmly held convictions, his integrity, and his conscientious devotion to duty were exceeded by no Member of this body. His career was one of outstanding service to his State as a young man before he came to the Congress, in addition to his successful conduct of important business interests in his home State. I know of no individual whose grasp of the role of the legislative branch of the Government was firmer or whose knowledge of the intricacies of the various departments of Government was more extensive. The positions he took were always cogently argued and intelligently defended.

CLARENCE BROWN was one of the most well-liked Members of this body. His good sense of humor, his disarming candor, and his high personal standards were qualities well known and appreciated by all of us. Indeed, he was possessed of those attributes of character and personality which we all envied and admired. We are saddened by his death because of his stature, and men of his character are few and far between.

To his family, I express deep and sincere condolences in their time of sadness. His family, his friends, and constituents can take solace in the knowledge that CLARENCE BROWN served his country well and that he left a monument of achievements in the legislative history of the many hundreds of major legislative proposals to which he contributed and which he helped to shape. His influence will continue to be felt in the lives of hundreds of thousands of our citizens through this medium for years to come.

The St. Louis-Globe Democrat Speaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the St. Louis Globe-Democrat is not a southern newspaper. It is recognized as one of the outstanding papers in the Midwest and is held in high esteem throughout the Nation.

The Globe-Democrat recently presented its views on the Los Angeles riot in an editorial which reflects the opinion of most responsible Americans.

I commend the following editorial for what I consider to be an absolutely correct evaluation of the causes of our Nation's increasing lawlessness:

WHAT COULD AMERICANS EXPECT BUT DEMONSTRATIONS AND RIOTS?

For half a decade the way has been paved for the eruptions of lawless violence that increasingly pock the Nation. Politicians from President Johnson down have nurtured and praised scofflaw demonstrations.

Clergy have told their congregations to go ahead and break unjust laws. Priests, rabbis, and nuns have paraded the streets, or joined sit-ins, to show their support for civil rights—while violating ordinances that have nothing at all to do with civil rights. They have told Negroes to do the same.

Civil disobedience has not only been condoned by the American establishment; it has been encouraged and hailed. Before Adlai Stevenson died, he had said, "In the great struggle to advance civil and human rights * * * even a jail sentence is no longer a dishonor but a proud achievement." And the establishment cheered.

Radicals have gone into Negro communities and preached fear, mistrust, even hatred of the policeman as a brutal and natural foe. And the establishment has said, yes, we need civilian review boards.

If the courts are too slow in redressing your grievances, bypass the courts and go into the streets, the Negro has been told time and again.

Recently, a Negro community took the Nation at its word and Los Angeles reaped the whirlwind.

For several nights in a row rioters, looters, and thugs ran wild, atacking, beating, and burning in as disgraceful an exhibition of lawlessness and anarchy as this civilized Nation has witnessed.

It was only the weariness of the rioters and automatic weapons that finally quelled this insurrection against law and order.

One can see the great paradox of the liberal protestations today in the person of Dick Gregory, once a comedian, but now one of the most ubiquitious racial incendiaries in the Nation. He has preached distrust of the white man, he has organized and participated in demonstrations which have led communities to sword's point.

In Los Angeles he took a bullet in the thigh reportedly trying to stop the type of riot for which his kind have been largely responsible.

There are many Negro and white communities in this land where police could take the night off and crime would not increase. In such communities the commitment to law and order is no more than a natural extension of the community's accepted moral code.

There are other communities where practically the sole deterrence to anarchy is the police patrol. Law and order in such areas is a habit induced by police presence.

While the distinctions may be crystal clear in the chairs of Academe, they are lost in the ghettos and slums.

No less are we reaping what we have sown in northern California, where some 300 demonstrators attempted to halt a troop train carrying men bound for Vietnam. One girl who had clambered aboard actually sounded as though her rights had been violated. "I was beaten and pulled off the train," she protested indignantly.

Such radicals are convinced they alone have the right to take the law into their own hands. They believe this because the establishment has long winked at the excesses of their demonstrations.

For years this country has been on a binge of permissiveness, of toleration, of indulgence, not only for lawbreakers and demonstrators but criminals. We had better sober up.

A Line of Moderation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT G. STEPHENS, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, recently Mr. Howard H. Zumbro, editor of the News-Reporter, Washington, Ga., carried an editorial in his paper commending the work of Mrs. Esther Peterson, Special White House Assistant for Consumer Affairs. I agree with the sentiment he has expressed. I am pleased to place this editorial in its entirety in the RECORD to be read by all the public:

A LINE OF MODERATION

When a Special White House Assistant for Consumer Affairs was appointed some 18 months ago, numbers of interested people feared—or hoped as the case might be—that this would be followed by an antibusiness campaign, in which the consumer would be depicted as a helpless innocent, wide open to the ravages of heartless, money-hungry producers, retailers and others concerned with the consumer trades.

That, happily, has not happened. The head of the new agency, Mrs. Esther Peterson, has found a great deal that is good in the way the American consumer is served. She has stressed the need for more aggressive efforts to eliminate true consumer frauds—a goal with which every legitimate businessman is in completey sympathy. And, as one authority puts it, the new program she is directing "Recognizes that too many people have been assuming too much with respect to the kinds of protection the consumer needs. Consumer education—to teach the consumer how to look out for herself—is getting more attention, and business organizations will have a chance to play their part."

If new legislation in the consumer's interest proves to be really needed, it will come into being. But the big point is that a good many people who claim to speak for the consumer have vastly exaggerated that need. It is a simple matter to take some isolated incident of chicanery and blow it up until it appears to be a general practice. It is equally easy to make consumers as a whole seem ignorant and ill-prepared to make their dollars do proper duty—when as every producer and retailer knows, the great bulk of them are exceedingly canny buyers who can't be stung twice.

Questions for the Clergy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I am setting forth in the RECORD an editorial appearing in the Thursday, August 26, St. Louis Globe Democrat entitled "Questions for the Clergy." I believe these are important questions to be answered. I would be happy to place in the RECORD whatever answer the clergy involved, or others who may wish to enter the dialog may care to make.

Certainly there must be a national dialog on this serious issue.

The editorial follows:

QUESTIONS FOR THE CLERGY

We are confident that the clergy, who have taken part in any of the lawless demonstrations in the name of civil rights, will ignore Senator ROBERT BYRD's criticism of their activities as "shocking." In their own minds these ministers, priests, nuns, and rabbis are as firmly convinced of the rectitude of their actions as Governor Wallace is of his.

Like Senator BYRD, we cannot impugn the motives of the clergy. But we do ask that they review what the Nation is reaping in order to reevalue what they have sown.

First, the clergy tolerated and then urged disabedience of bad laws, such as southern laws ordering segregation of bus terminal lunch counters. These laws were then dutifully violated by massive sit-ins and the majority of the Nation applauded. But somehow, as could have been predicted, the connection between the disobedience and the "bad law" was lost.

Is it a bad law that forbids strewing New York sidewalks with garbage, blocking bridges at rush hours? Is it a bad law that says one must not block Chicago's streets or interfere with movement in public offices?

Yet, clergy have violated these supposedly good laws. Why? To draw public attention to certain grievances of the Negro community, for instance the failure to bus Negro children to white public schools, they respond.

Well, Catholics in Missouri cannot have their children bussed to Catholic schools, which they feel is a deep injustice. Having failed to get this "grievance" redressed in the legislature, should they block the streets of city and county? Or do Negro grievances alone justify violation of local ordinances?

Radicals and pacifists in California believe they have a right to block trains to protest our Vietnam policy. Many Americans believe our policy of recognizing Communist nations is immoral. Should they block the embassies of these nations with their bodies?

We ask the lawless demonstrators among the clergy this: What would happen to the rights of us all if every group which felt it had a legitimate grievance followed your example in protesting it?

In honesty, is the answer not chaos and the destruction of the society which has given us all such a measure of freedom and so many legitimate means of redress?

The clergy will say Senator BYRD is wrong in denouncing them for inciting violence when all their lawless demonstrations and acts of civil disobedience have been nonviolent. Technically, the clergy is right.

But a man is responsible not only for his actions, but the results of his actions if he can both predict and avoid them.

A hundred ministers, priests, and nuns parading down the main streets of a racially embittered rural Dixie town in mid-June, in violation of local ordinances and a century of ingrained custom, may be a nonviolent demonstration.

But is it not provocation, an incitement, an agitation of the short-tempered, ignorant red-necks in that area?

Suppose some concerned Alabamians, upon reading of the horrors of New York streets, took it upon themselves to drive to Gotham en masse and obtain a permit to march, one hot June afternoon, down 125th Street in Harlem, with placards damning black violence on the subways and demanding laws to preserve the community from ravages of Negro criminals.

That demonstration might be technically nonviolent, but were one of those whites hit with a brick from a rooftop or shot dead, could the whites say they did not provoke anyone, that they had no responsibility for the ensuing death.

Can the northern clergy who spent a day down in Dixie marching in front of the enraged white community really say they are in no way responsible for the climate of racial bitterness and tension that followed, out of which came some berserk night rider to murder a woman on a highway?

Is there greater understanding and love between the races in Chicago or Selma because clergy lay down in the streets of one or marched in the streets of the other? We think not.

H.R. 9567: The Higher Education Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. HORACE R. KORNEGAY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9567) to strengthen the educational resources of our colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in post-secondary and higher education.

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Chairman, I was not present on the floor of the House last Thursday, August 26, when the Higher Education Act, H.R. 9567, was up for consideration. I have been ill with pneumonia and by doctors' orders have not been allowed to return to Washington as yet.

Since I was not able to secure a live pair in favor of the bill on final passage but was only paired generally, I should like to go on record as to my interest in and support of this legislation.

In my congressional district in North Carolina 13 institutions of higher learning are located, 4 of them State-supported institutions. I have had so many appealing letters from young people in the district who ardently desire to secure a college education but whose families cannot finance the cost in whole and sometimes in part. These young people, the potential future leaders in a complex

and demanding culture, need assistance to realize their dreams and to fit themselves for the roles they should be able to play in the future development of our country. While I had some reservations about certain portions of the bill, I felt its beneficial aspects outweighed the aspects about which I had reservations.

In addition to assisting students, the bill will be of benefit to colleges and universities in construction expansion programs necessary to meet the burgeoning student population, will encourage and strengthen the developing institutions of the country struggling to help meet this need, and will improve and upgrade college and university libraries, as well as provide for training of more librarians. More educational training to more people and a program of continuing education can be provided through the community service courses under title I of the bill.

It is my hope that in toto the bill will prove beneficial to students, institutions, and communities in the challenging years that lie ahead of us here in the United States.

The Man Who Invented Labor Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial, entitled "The Man Who Invented Labor Day," from the Railway Carmen's Journal, September 1965:

YOU'LL HAVE A HOLIDAY MONDAY, BECAUSE OF A MAN NAMED MCGUIRE—THE MAN WHO INVENTED LABOR DAY

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This article was submitted by Brother Henry H. Krukemeier, Lake Worth, Fla., who retired from the car department of the N.Y.C., Cleveland, Ohio, on Apil 1, 1957, with 32 years' service. He is a member of lodge 1055 and has received his 20- and 30-year continuous membership pins.)

Labor Day, in four swift decades, has become as firm a part of American holiday tradition as the Fourth of July. But Labor Day has its own special personality. A sharp demarcation between summer's lazy gold days and autumn's back-to-school or work call, the long weekend extending over the first Monday in September is the time Americans customarily take to the open on wheels.

Cities turn inside out in a scramble of cars, buses, trains, and planes. Parks and resorts are crowded. The White House—for Labor Day is celebrated everywhere on American soil from the Virgin Islands to Samoa—formally beseeches all merrymakers to take care.

The morning after the holiday, the Nation's gainfully employed—now 70,851,000 strong—return to duty, feeling industrious or exhausted as the case may be. And hardly anyone remembers that he owes his last fling of summer to a red-haired, silver-tongued Irish-American named Peter J. McGuire, the National Geographic Society recalled recently.

McGuire is both Labor Lay's founder and forgotten man.

Born in New York's East Side in 1852, McGuire learned all about labor—hard manual labor—at 11. With his Irish-born father fighting in the Civil War, the boy had to begin supporting the family, by shining shoes, hawking newspapers, sweeping the floors of department stores, and holding horses for shoppers. Soon he was working in factories.

The youth went into cabinetmaking and swiftly rose to leadership in the Nation's struggling labor movement. His career was helped by his eloquence—and perhaps a little by his admirable wax-tipped, handlebar mustache. But he charmed none of his employers by pioneering the 8-hour day and helping to found the American Federation of Labor.

On May 8, 1882, McGuire addressed the Central Labor Union in New York. A black bow tie quivered against his celluloid collar as he cried out for a festive day, about midway between July 4 and Thanksgiving to permit public tribute to "those who from rude nature have delved and carved the grandeur we behold."

He was then—at 29—president of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and an active leader in the Knights of Labor.

McGuire argued that there were other holidays representative of the religious, civil, and military spirit, but none "representative of the industrial spirit." He said he believed the first Monday in September was the most desirable date. The Central Labor Union agreed and adopted a resolution to clinch the matter.

So it came to pass that on September 5 the first Labor Day was observed in New York. Employers took an exceedingly dim view, and gave few workers the day off. Some were threatened with dismissal if they paraded. Trouble was expected.

Nonetheless, 10,000 people showed up to march along Fifth Avenue to the stirring strains of "Killarney." The old New York Herald reported that members of the Bricklayers Union were "wearing white aprons and carrying no clubs, although they had been chosen by the Central Labor Union to act as special police. They may have had bricks in their pockets."

A picnic, dancing, and speechmaking—by McGuire among others—set the style for Labor Days to come. Fireworks showered cascades of color over buildings where the first electric lights had recently been installed.

Not long after the first parade, the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor voted for an annual shindig. On October 9, 1884, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada (which later became the American Federation of Labor) voted in Chicago to make the celebration national.

The Labor Day idea spread rapidly. Oregon made it a legal holiday in 1887. Congress, with a startling lack of dissension, gave it a stamp of approval by legalizing observances in the Territories and the District of Columbia in 1894. All the States, by 1923, had fallen into line.

Yet few history books and encyclopedias ever mention the founder's name. Perhaps it should be repeated: Peter J. McGuire.

A Statement on H.R. 8282, Employment Security Amendments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE R. POOL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, the Public Affairs Luncheon Club of Dallas has prepared the following statement regarding H.R. 8282, the Employment Security Amendments, to which they strongly object. With your permission I include their remarks in the RECORD:

It is with unlimited alarm that some 500 members of the Public Affairs Luncheon Club of Dallas view the administration's obvious attempt to usurp still another Government program—that of unemployment compensation—from the hands of State control and place it under Federal control.

This bill would increase the average weekly benefits paid to an unemployed person, increase the number of months an unemployed person can stay jobless and still receive Government checks and increase both the unemployment tax rate and the maximum amount of annual wage against which this tax can be levied.

The enormous cost of this program would almost certainly force State taxes up with the increase in benefits. State employment taxes today average about $3 billion a year. Estimates of the increased costs for the new program—if Congress OK's it—range from $3.5 to $4 billion, which would double the current cost.

We earnestly urge that you and your committee emphatically reject this total proposition on the basis of lack of substantiating testimony on the bill to date, absence of a complete analysis and vagueness, other than that portion which provides that a person may be able to draw unemployment benefits equal to two-thirds of his average weekly salary for an entire year.

Further, under the present system many abuses have apparently been revealed and to increase unemployment benefits in this country's current chaos would only compound these abuses.

It is our opinion that the greatness of these United States was built—not impaired—by the apparent belief of its citizens that it was unwise to offer a man a handsome reward for remaining jobless over a protracted period of time. Therefore, again and urgently, we urge that you unite to defeat H.R. 8282.

Mrs. J. KIRBY SMITH,
President, the Public Affairs Luncheon Club.

Mrs. JOHN BOOKHOUT,
Chairman, the Resolutions Committee.

Connecticut Newspaper Sees Need for Egg Marketing Order

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year I introduced a bill, H.R. 7008, to establish a nationwide marketing order for eggs. I did so because I believe that this is the best way to solve the present pricing situation which is proving detrimental to poultry and egg producers.

When we recently had the omnibus farm bill under consideration in the House, an amendment by our distinguished colleague from New York, the Honorable JOSEPH Y. RESNICK, to set up an egg-marketing program failed by a very close vote. The major reason for it was that this legislation had not been acted upon by the Committee on Agriculture. I, therefore, hope the committee

will give due consideration to this proposal.

Meanwhile, the plight of the poultry and egg industry in Connecticut is continuing and we are no nearer a solution than before. In this connection, I want to call to the attention of my colleagues a brief editorial which appeared on August 21, 1965, in the New Haven Journal-Courier dealing with this problem. I am pleased to insert the editorial in the RECORD:

[From the New Haven (Conn.) Journal-Courier, Aug. 21, 1965]

REPRESENTATIVE ST. ONGE WANTS EGG MARKETING ORDER

More hens are laying more eggs in Connecticut than was the case 20 years ago. But they are earning less for their family-farm operators than they did then.

While several Congressmen were worried about the effects of a higher wheat processing tax on bread and Representative JOHN S. MONAGAN, Democrat, of Connecticut, Fifth District, was debating Maine potato costs with Representative WILLIAM D. HATHAWAY, of that State, the plight of the egg producers is getting attention from Representative WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE, Democrat, of Connecticut.

ST. ONGE fears that a large part of the egg industry at the family-farm level may be lost not only in Connecticut but in other States as well. He has sounded a warning in testimony before a House Agricultural Subcommittee.

The Connecticut Congressman wants something done about it. Specifically, he wants action through a self-help program, in the form of a nationwide marketing order for table eggs. This, as provided for in a bill ST. ONGE has introducer, would require the approval of two-thirds of the producers and the Department of Agriculture.

The Second District which the Legislator from Putnam represents is an agricultural section of the State. Representative ST. ONGE is undoubtedly aware of the problems of his poultry-raising constituents. But he speaks, as well, for the egg consumers and not alone for egg producers when he calls for a marketing order. Such programs work two ways in their effects.

Connecticut residents have long been familiar with milk marketing orders and commodity production controls of one kind or another. The proposed egg marketing setup ought not to be too difficult to accept. The proposed program could work to the benefit of the family-farm egg producer while assuring the rest of us a full quota of a staple item in the American diet.

Meanwhile, the trend is for higher prices.

JWV Applauds Defeat of Rotten Borough Amendments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following news release from the Kings County Council of the Jewish War Veterans.

Speaking for the council, County Commander Leon Deutsch indicates strong support of the one-man, one-vote principle enunciated by the Supreme Court. He noted that the Dirksen amendment was defeated on the same day that the voting rights bill was sent to the President for his signature. Both these actions are part of the continuing struggle to guarantee full and equal representation in our legislative bodies.

The news release follows:

JWV APPLAUDS DEFEAT OF ROTTEN BOROUGH AMENDMENTS

The Kings County Council of the Jewish War Veterans, under the leadership of Leon Deutsch, county commander, advises the public at large, and the Members of both Houses of the U.S. Congress, that it is extremely pleased that the U.S. Senate on August 4, 1965, saw fit to defeat the so-called Dirksen proposal—a constitutional amendment which would have permitted one house of a State legislature to be apportioned on the basis of factors other than population. It has long been part of the JWV legislative program to defeat any such proposal and to sustain the one-man, one-vote principle.

County Commander Deutsch, speaking in behalf of Kings County Council, stated: "We agree with the characterization of U.S. Senator JOSEPH D. TYDINGS, of Maryland, that the Dirksen proposal and other similar proposed amendments are rotten borough amendments for they permit our State legislatures to be as malapportioned as the famous boroughs of 19th century England that were represented in Parliament notwithstanding the fact that they had little or no population."

Commander Deutsch noted that in 1962, there were incredible disparities in the apportionment of our State legislatures. For example: "The vote of some rural Vermont citizens were worth 987 times the vote of their urban neighbors. In California, the Los Angeles senator represented 4 million persons while one of his colleagues represented only 14,000. In 1962, less than 20 percent of the population could elect a majority of the State senate of eight States. In Nevada only 8 percent of the people could control the senate. While there has been substantial progress since 1962, our legislatures are still a long way from fair apportionment."

Commander Deutsch declared: "We of the Jewish War Veterans believe in the principle of equal representation. The Dirksen proposal and similar efforts to amend the Constitution so as to allow the apportionment of one State legislative house on factors other than population is an unconcealed drive to destroy this principle and to give to a minority a permanent veto over the majority of the people's will. At a time when we have been and will continue to be concerned with insuring and widening the franchise of the Negro, it would be a mockery to deprive those of our citizens, black and white, who live in the suburbs and cities, of their right to equal representation in our legislatures."

Continuing his statement, Commander Deutsch stated: "It is particularly gratifying, in this connection, to note that Congress on the very same day it defeated the Dirksen proposal, passed and sent to the President for his signature, the voting rights bill—a significant piece of legislation, which will insure and widen the franchise of the Negro. The passage of such legislation has also been a consistent part of our legislative program. These two actions are interrelated and on both scores, Congress is to be greatly commended."

We of JWV sound one note of caution. We are aware that Senator DIRKSEN and others have promised to continue this ill-advised fight against the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court. We shall remain vigilant and will use all of our resouces to help block and defeat any future efforts to continue the "rotten boroughs."

The Jewish War Veterans is the oldest active war veterans organization in the United States.

Federal Government Guilty of Abusing Its New Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, on August 26, 1965, the Charlotte (N.C.) Observer contained an editorial entitled "Federal Government Guilty of Abusing Its New Power." This editorial is a very interesting one and should be read by people everywhere, and more particularly by the Government employees who are involved in the Prentiss, Miss., motel incident.

The Charlotte Observer is a member of the Knight newspaper group and has always been moderate in its approach to our racial problems. For that reason I believe it is significant that this paper has raised objections to the activity of the Federal Government in this case.

Under unanimous consent I place the editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD:

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT GUILTY OF ABUSING ITS NEW POWER

The Federal Government, with all its billions of dollars worth of resources, has shamed itself in its zeal to give the right to vote to Negroes in Jefferson Davis County, Miss. The property rights of Mrs. Alagene Allen have been callously trampled upon.

Mrs. Allen owns Magnolia Courts, the only motel in the small town (population 1,321) of Prentiss, the county seat.

The county is 1 of 14 in the Deep South to which Federal registrars have been sent. But the U.S. Post Office had no space for them to set up shop in Prentiss, and no other space was available.

Consequently, the General Services Administration initiated condemnation proceedings against the Magnolia Courts. A Federal district judge, acting under eminent domain, ordered the motel to make four units available to the registrars for a 60-day period and set payment for the use at $3,000.

That's a per-unit daily bill of $12.50, no grand sum.

But in addition to getting four units at this modest cost, the Government has removed all furniture from the rooms, cut doors in the walls to provide access between the units and put new locks on the doors.

About 6 months ago Mrs. Allen voluntarily desegregated the motel in order to accommodate some soldiers, and her business fell off about a third.

No doubt the business will be further damaged by the sight of scores of would-be voters lining up to be registered in the commandeered motel rooms.

The occupation of the four rooms under eminent domain is no doubt legal, and legality may even be stretched to knocking new doors in the walls of Mrs. Allen's establishment. But legal or not, the GSA should have left the motel alone, condemned a small plot of land or an empty lot and placed a surplus Army trailer or a Quonset hut on it as a place to register voters.

If that should for any reason be impractical, then the Government should have condemned all of the motel and paid Mrs. Allen a fair price for it.

As the matter now stands, agents of the Federal Government have initiated an outrageous, unwise, and insensitive act in the name of a good cause. This procedure is an affront to common decency and fair play. It provides handy ammunition for all who still oppose the extension of elementary rights to Negroes.

If President Johnson himself does not act to stop this kind of misuse of the power with which he has helped to arm Federal officials, he and the cause he espouses will come up short at the bar of public opinion.

Remarks of Edwin A. Martinson at School Dedication at Marshfield, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, in view of the news we have been hearing recently about a threatened teachers strike in New York City, and about the discord that has been affecting school systems in other large communities, I would like to bring the attention of the House to the progress being made by the town of Marshfield in my own State of Massachusetts.

Marshfield, a small community in my 12th District, has recently opened a new junior high school—a project which brings to a total of $6 million the sacrifice in taxes which the residents have made in education since 1953. This, I think, is a great tribute to the confidence which this small town places in the future of its youth.

As we all know, the House passed last week a bill to provide Federal aid to higher education. I said at that time that one thing the Federal Government cannot do is provide students with the will to learn or professors with the inspiration to teach. And, indeed, we see in the little community of Marshfield that it is local initiative and dedication and sacrifice which are the real foundations of educational progress.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to an excellent speech by a man most highly esteemed for his many years of service to the school system of Marshfield, and in whose name the new school will be dedicated, Mr. Edwin A. Martinson. Some of Mr. Martinson's remarks certainly deserve to be reproduced in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I include them as follows:

At a time like this I can only think back over the years and realize the great sacrifice that our citizens have undergone to maintain and improve their school facilities.

When you realize that the citizens of Marshfield mortgaged themselves to the amount of $6 million from 1953 to 1964, only then does the full impact of voluntary self-sacrifice come to the fore. Such acts are hallmarks of a select community. * * *

This structure is welded together with brick and mortar, a beautifully designed and equipped building. But to me it is also welded together with an intrinsic and invisible bond that results only from a fine spirit of mutual confidence, respect, and understanding between all who are immediately concerned. * * *

I want to make a point of this because it exemplifies the highest quality of citizenship that we should all strive for in education, community government, and in the search for the good life.

For myself, it was with regret that I found it necessary to terminate my service during the past school year and it is is my hope that this building will always stand as a beacon symbolizing those fine human qualities so necessary in public service in an American democracy: the highest mutual confidence, the highest mutual respect, and understanding.

Aid Ends to the Republic of China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, on June 30, 1965, 16 years of American economic assistance to the Republic of China ended, a culmination of dynamic efforts on the part of Taiwan and the United States to achieve self-sustaining economic and social growth in the country.

The economic success of the Republic of China illustrates what foreign aid can accomplish when accompanied by relative stability and effective self-help effort.

The Christian Science Monitor recently hailed this successful foreign aid mission in two articles which I would like to insert in the RECORD.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, July 6, 1965]

FORMOSA'S GRADUATION

We can think of a number of reasons to say "bravo" at the announcement from Washington that the Republic of China on Formosa no longer needs American economic aid. For example:

We are delighted that Formosa—despite the ever-present threat from Communist China, the need to settle hundreds of thousands of mainland Chinese refugees and soldiers, the tremendous damage done the island during World War II—has been able to work up to a state of self-sufficiency.

We believe that Formosa's hard work and good showing will strengthen the island's claim to independent status from Communist China.

We welcome this further evidence that American foreign aid can and does result in an economically handicapped area's learning to pay its own way.

We also welcome this relief to the American taxpayer, who, with remarkable patience, has seen himself taxed year after year for the United States' vast worldwide economic and military assistance program.

It is sometimes hard in the face of what seem to be never-ending demands on America's pocketbook, to step back and view the foreign aid program dispassionately. Furthermore, this view is often distorted by the almost unimaginable complexity of the operation. On top of this, we are likelier to hear of those cases where foreign aid is abused, goes awry or is repaid in insults rather than with thanks than of those cases where aid is successful.

Yet in the two decades since the end of World War II this aid has done incalculable good. Perhaps its most sensational success was that of putting a ravaged Western Europe back on its economic feet through the Marshall plan. But on every continent, except the Australian where postwar aid was not needed, there is a long list of successes. Some of these have been outstanding, others have been more modest, still others have not been as great as they might have been. Each in its way, however, has contributed toward a safer, happier, healthier, stabler world.

While welcoming these feats, we should never lose sight of the fact that, at its best, foreign aid is abnormal and should be temporary. The founder of this newspaper, Mary Baker Eddy, once quoted with warm approval an apothegm which reads: "The noblest charity is to prevent a man from accepting charity; and the best alms are to show and to enable a man to dispense with alms."

We trust that this will always remain the aim of American foreign aid. We believe that Formosa's case shows how successfully this can be done.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, July 2, 1965[

AID FOR FORMOSA ENDS

TAIPEI, FORMOSA.—Mission successful.

These two words are a fair assessment of an American effort to make the Republic of China's economy capable of supporting itself.

The economic aid program ended here June 30, but American military assistance, which has so far amounted to more than $2.7 billion, is being continued.

The United States has contributed $1,465 billion to the economic aid program in the 15 fiscal years since 1951.

But aid budgeted in previous years will keep flowing through 1967 in the form of power generating equipment and other items.

GROWTH HAILED

This aid will amount to approximately $47 million in the second half of the current calendar year, $66 million in 1966, and $18 million in 1967.

The U.S. Ambassador, Adm. Jerauld Wright, said in a recent speech: "One of the marvels of the present age is the economic growth of the Republic of China."

In saying this, the Ambassador had such facts as these in mind:

Industrial production in the Republic of China increased by three times since 1954.

Agricultural production has doubled in the past 15 years.

The per capita income has risen from about $70 a year in the early 1950's to more than $150 a year at the present time.

Electric power generation is now more than a million kilowatts, compared with only 33,000 at the end of World War II.

Manufactured goods, less than 10 percent of nationalist China's total exports in 1950, now form almost half the country's exports.

The American staff of the Republic of China mission from the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) here has dwindled from a peak of 148 in 1959 to 21 now. All will have gone by the end of 1967.

The American decision to terminate grant aid to the Republic of China was announced last year.

One reason for the decision was that this island could obtain credit from the World Bank, the Export and Import Bank, and other financial and business institutions, and it could earn sufficent foreign exchange from exports.

Coral Gables Chapter of Military Order of the World Wars Urges Inclusion of 2-Year Colleges in ROTC Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, during the Civil War it became apparent to many that aside from our professional military men—that is, the graduates of the Military Academy at West Point—our officer corps was lacking in training. When the Morrill Act was passed on July 2, 1862, an effort was made to alleviate this problem by requiring the so-called land grant colleges to teach military tactics.

What grew out of this teaching of military tactics was the Reserve Officer Training Corps—ROTC—which has been the backbone of our officer corps in two world wars and various other conflicts during the last 100 years.

Today, Mr. Speaker, we are faced with a situation which is something of an anomaly. Throughout the country in the post-World War II era, there has been a rapid growth and expansion of a new type of educational institution—namely, the 2-year or junior college. Under present law, however, these institutions are not authorized—except in a very few instances—to teach military tactics.

These 2-year colleges are today performing a vital service by alleviating, to some extent, the over-crowded conditions which exist at 4-year colleges. For many who attend the 2-year institutions, the education they receive there is enough to satisfy their wants. However, there are those who wish to continue and broaden their education by continuing at a 4-year college in order to receive a degree.

It is on these individuals that a recent resolution of the Coral Gables Chapter of the Military Order of the World Wars focuses attention. If these students wish to receive a Reserve commission in the Armed Forces of our country, they are at a serious disadvantage.

The only way in which they can offset the lack of classroom training received by others during their first 2 years in the ROTC basic course is attendance at camp during the summer between their sophomore and junior years. This is in addition to the regular encampment required of all members of the ROTC advanced course during the summer between their junior and senior years. Since the summer offers to many students an opportunity to earn a large portion of their school expenses, the present situation automatically excludes many individuals who possess the leadership qualities and ability required of our officer corps.

It is for this reason that I wish to bring to your attention the above-mentioned resolution. It succinctly urges the inclusion of 2-year colleges under the ROTC program so that those students transferring to 4-year colleges will find themselves on an equal footing with their fellow students who have been in attendance at the 4-year institution right along:

Whereas in many States the civilian educational institutions are building 2-year junior colleges as the primary step toward higher education, and for the students of the 2-year junior colleges who desire to continue on for a baccalaureate degree, 2-year senior colleges; and

Whereas there is no provision for the establishment of Senior Reserve Officers' Training Corps at these 2-year colleges; and

Whereas students of junior colleges are now deprived of the opportunity to complete the first 2 years of the senior ROTC course of instruction which leads to a commission in the Armed Forces; and

Whereas as a result of the above it would appear that a vast number of young men are excluded from having an opportunity to serve their country to the fullest extent of the advantages of learning acquired during their college years, in a commissioned capacity: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the national headquarters of the Military Order of the World Wars take such action necessary to have existing law, Section 2102: Establishment; of Chapter 103: Senior Reserve Officers' Training Corps; of Public Law 88-647, dated October 13, 1964, amended so as to include 2-year junior and senior colleges in the training program, thereby granting the students of 2-year junior and senior colleges the same right to participate in the Senior Reserve Officers' Training Corps curriculums that is, at present, authorized for students enrolled in 4-year educational institutions offering such a course.

Not Just "Back to School"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, across the country students are returning to school. There has been much proper and practical emphasis on the value of education, and it is important to note the grassroots appreciation of acquiring the fullest possible education.

Numerous publications are using their editorial pages to inspire the proper attitude toward returning to school. One of the most effective editorials I have noted appeared in the Palos Regional, Palos, Ill., on August 26.

NOT JUST "BACK TO SCHOOL"

The seasons of the year run their course swiftly. No one knows that better than our tens of millions of youngsters. For the summer vacation is nearly gone and the beginning of the next school year approaches swiftly.

Many, perhaps most, will return to school with a feeling of regret. Summer vacation, with all its sports and many-sided attractions, is fun. It's only human nature to wish it could continue forever. But, for all of the laborsaving progress that has been made, we still live in a world in which work and knowledge are essentials. And the advances of science and technology have vastly increased the kind and amount of education that is needed if the young person is to have a successful and rewarding career as an adult. Little room is left for the uneducated and the half-educated. Those who lack at least a high school education face a tough road ahead. And college training is of necessity demanded by more and more employers.

Nowadays, stress is laid on physics, mathematics, the chemical arts, and other of the sciences. But the boy or girl who learns only a trade or a profession is but half a person. The finished student must have at least fair working knowledge of literature, the other fine arts, and economics. It is in this classification that the schools, in too many instances, seem to have failed. Too many graduates leave the halls of ivy with an insufficient understanding of this country's economic system and the system of representative government it supports, which together have protected the individual's liberty and made this Nation great and powerful. Lack of understanding of the political and economic heritage by which we live is a most serious weakness in a world torn by conflicting and angry ideologies.

Let the student return to school with a will. And let his school properly prepare him for a constructive place in the world he will enter as an adult.

Immigration Reform

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 2580) to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 2580, to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, because I believe it provides many urgently needed and long-overdue reforms and revisions in America's present immigration system.

We are, in the words of John F. Kennedy, "a nation of immigrants"—and no country on earth owes more to immigrants than America.

As Franklin D. Roosevelt said in 1944:

All of our people—except full-blooded American Indians—are immigrants, or descendants of immigrants, including those who came here on the Mayflower.

Californians, particularly, have always had a special stake in our immigration policies—because we owe so much to the immigrants who came to our State from all over the world.

And we have always been an outward-looking people, coming as we do from many ethnic and cultural backgrounds—a true melting pot of the strength and diversity that has made America great.

For this reason, I welcome the opportunity to support the legislation before us today as the first major revision in our now long out-dated and highly discriminatory 40-year-old immigration system.

The last four Presidents of the United States—Johnson, Kennedy, Eisenhower, and Truman—have all opposed continuation of the discredited and ineffective national origins feature of the present

law, and have recommended enactment of a number of reform measures to secure a fairer, more equitable, and nondiscriminatory immigration system.

In vetoing what later became the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, President Truman stated:

This quota system—always based upon assumptions at variance with our American ideals—is long since out of date and more than ever unrealistic in the face of present world conditions * * * (its) greatest vice, however, is that it discriminates, deliberately and intentionally, against many of the peoples of the world. * * * The basis of this quota system was false and unworthy in 1924. It is even worse now.

President Eisenhower also sent messages to Congress recommending immigration reform, stating that experience in the postwar world demonstrated that the national origins method of admitting aliens needed to be reexamined, and a new system adopted which would admit aliens within allowable numbers according to new guidelines and standards.

On July 23, 1963, in his special immigration message to Congress, President Kennedy declared:

The most urgent and fundamental reform I am recommending relates to the national origins system of selecting immigrants.* * * The use of a national origins system is without basis in either logic or reason. It neither satisfies a national need nor accomplishes an international purpose. In an age of interdependence among nations such a system is an anachronism, for it discriminates among applicants for admission into the United States on the basis of accident of birth. * * * Accordingly, although the legislation I am transmitting deals with many problems which require remedial action, it concentrates attention primarily upon revision of our quota immigration system. The enactment of this legislation will not resolve all of our important problems in the field of immigration law. It will, however, provide a sound basis upon which we can build in developing an immigration law that serves the national interest and reflects in every detail the principles of equality and human dignity to which our Nation subscribes.

And in January of this year, President Johnson characterized the present immigration law as "incompatible with our basic American tradition."

He continued:

Over the years the ancestors of all of us—some 42 million human beings—have migrated to these shores. The fundamental, longtime American attitude has been to ask not where a person comes from but what are his personal qualities. On this basis men and women migrated from every quarter of the globe. By their hard work and their enormously varied talents they hewed a great nation out of a wilderness. By their dedication to liberty and equality, they created a society reflecting man's most cherished ideals. * * * Violation of this tradition by the national origins quota system does incalculable harm. * * * I do not believe it is either good government or good sense.

With this background of bipartisan presidential support for a major overhaul of our immigration policies, it is a real privilege to be able to support the present legislation, which, though still not perfect, represents a tremendous improvement over the existing system.

The bill's main provisions will:

First. Abolish the national origins quota system, which is based largely on birthplace and ancestry and is tied to the 1920 Federal census. Besides being highly discriminatory in both theory and practice, the national origins system has been a failure even as a device to control immigration by pre-determined percentages of national and racial stock.

For example, during the period since the 1952 law was enacted, only approximately one-third of all aliens admitted to the United States were quota immigrants admitted in accordance with racial or national eligibility. Despite this fact, the entire fabric of our immigration law has been blemished by the very existence of such a discriminatory system.

Second. Provide for a new and far more equitable system of preferential admission of immigrants based on close family relationships with U.S. citizens and permanent resident aliens. It also provides priority for immigrants with special skills and talents, for persons of exceptional ability in the sciences or arts, and for some openings to fill jobs where workers are in short supply.

Third. Put an overall 170,000 limitations—including 10,200 refugees and a maximum of 20,000 for any one country—on the number of immigrants who could be admitted to the United States in any fiscal year. This would not include "immediate relatives—spouses, children and parents of U.S. citizens—or "special immigrants" from the Western Hemisphere, both of which groups are considered outside the overal numerical limitation.

Fourth. Eliminate the present Asia-Pacific triangle provision, which greatly restricted immigration by people of Asian ancestry. Other discriminatory features of that provision were removed by Congress in recent years, and this bill will end them all—thus eliminating the last vestige of discrimination against persons of Asian descent from our immigration laws.

Fifth. Require safeguards to protect American workers from unfair job competition and to protect the economy against adverse working standards.

Mr. Chairman, I was gratified that the House did not accept the amendment to impose a numerical ceiling on immigration from the Western Hemisphere. Such a ceiling would, in my opinion, have adversely affected our historic good neighbor policy and would have disturbed the close, friendly relations we are attempting to build through the Alliance for Progress.

However, I am disappointed that the legislation before us continues a provision of the present law which discriminates against certain relatives of U.S. citizens or permanent resident aliens from the Western Hemisphere by requiring that they obtain a special clearance from the Secretary of Labor prior to issuance of a visa.

It is my intention to continue to work to eliminate this unjust and discriminatory provision of our immigration laws, so that intending immigrants from the Western Hemisphere will be accorded the same consideration as persons from other parts of the world with similar family relationships to U.S. citizens or permanent resident aliens.

With this exception, Mr. Chairman, I believe H.R. 2580 is a major improvement over our current policy.

It certainly does not "open the immigration floodgates" as some have alleged, for the actual increase in authorized annual total immigration will be less than 2,000 over the present number of quota admissions.

But, by eliminating the long-discredited national origins quota system and setting up an equitable selection system based on first come, first served within preference categories designed, first, to reunite families, and second to admit those with special knowledge or skills, this bill can make a real contribution to our Nation's foreign policy, while at the same time strengthen our domestic U.S. economic and cultural objectives.

For these reasons, I hope that H.R. 2580 will receive the wholehearted support of the Members of this House.

Cedar Rapids Gazette Points Out Need for Immigration Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, last week the House of Representatives took a wise and constructive step in passing H.R. 2580, which amends the Immigration and Nationality Act.

Reform of our immigration laws has been needed for many years. In fact, since the end of World War II, Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson have all recommended that the Congress take action in this direction.

In connection with the vote last week, I would like to call to the attention of my fellow Members an editorial from the August 14, 1965, issue of the Cedar Rapids Gazette of Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

As the editorial notes, the national origins quota system is unrealistic and, because of its favoritism toward selected ethnic groups, essentially inconsistent with the basic traditions of America.

The national origins system would be repealed by the bill passed last week by the House, and I am hopeful that similar action will be taken by the Senate before this session of the Congress ends.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I hereby include the editorial:

OVERHAULING IMMIGRATION

The House Judiciary Committee's recent 27 to 4 approval of a bill to reform the Nation's archaic immigration laws by no means has assured eventual passage of the measure, but it took a long step in the right direction.

Promoted off and on since President Truman's time, the bill would do away with the national origins quota system for admitting immigrants. That formula dates from 1924. It limits the annual influx from most European countries to a percentage of their natives represented in the U.S. census of 1920. Most other nations have been arbitrarily restricted to quotas under 100 per year.

This has been justly attacked as discriminatory to the point of virtual exclusion for people shadowed by a statutory prejudice of more than 40 years' standing. In allowing only a moderate overall rise in immigration (up perhaps 50,000 from the 5-year average of 350,000), the new arrangement would put on equal footing all nations outside the Western Hemisphere. Their nationals could enter under basic limits of 20,000 per country per year.

Significantly, too, the measure would establish new priorities in issuance of immigrant visas. Preference would go, in this order, to: Close relatives of U.S. citizens; scientists, artists and members of the professions; workers capable of filling domestic labor shortages; refugees from communism.

In present form, the bill undoubtedly has imperfections. Further work before it reaches final shape can be expected as a matter of course. But other than from diehard pockets of the isolation spirit so long discredited by modern-day reality, there can be no serious disput that the step it contemplates is overdue and urgent.

The Honor Roll for Grassroots Democracy—The Discharge Petition for Home Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post carried an editorial yesterday which deserves the attention of all Members of the House.

The discharge petition for the home rule bill, now on the Speaker's desk, is an opportunity for each Member of the House to publicly state his belief in our form of government—representative democracy. Signing of the discharge petition will, as the Post editorial states, earn each signer a place on a roll of honor and gratitude in the hearts of the residents of Washington, who have waited and worked so long and patiently.

Mr. Speaker, there is little political profit to be gained from support of home rule. The people who will be most grateful cannot elect one Member of this House.

Let me hasten to say, however, that there is something in the bill and petition for us. By granting the District home rule under the Senate bill, we will be freeing ourselves from the tyranny of District Monday. No longer will we have to expend our energy and our time in legislating on matters of little concern to our constituents and of purely local import.

Let us free ourselves, Mr. Speaker, from the burden of District Monday, and let us free the residents of the District of Columbia from unrepresentative rule. Let us sign the discharge petition and get on with the Nation's business.

Under unanimous consent, I include the full text of the Post editorial at this point in the RECORD:

HONOR ROLL

A roll of honor is being written in the House of Representatives. Inclusion in it is available on a first-come, first-serve basis to every Congressman who steps forward and affixes his signature to the discharge petition for the District of Columbia home rule bill. The names on that petition will command the gratitude and respect not along of Washingtonians but of all Americans so long as freedom is revered and the principle of government by the consent of the governed is respected in this land.

There can be no more than 218 names on this honor roll. When that number of signatures has been affixed to the petition lying on the desk in front of the Speaker of the House, the petition will at once become effective, and there will be no room for laggards. If, as we fervently hope and expect, the 218 names are signed before the last day of this month, the home rule bill can be called up for debate and a vote on September 13. No one seriously doubts that the House, like the Senate, will pass this measure if it is given an opportunity to do so.

The petition itself is simply a petition to permit the House of Representatives to get on with the orderly discussion and decision of its own legislative business. It is a device—the appropriate and orderly device devised by the Legislature's own rules—for bringing to the floor a bill which a committee has been flagrantly and wilfully dilatory in reporting. In this case, the House District Committee has kept the bill bottled up for 16 years—a span of time during which the Senate has endorsed home rule six times.

Let no one say, therefore, that the discharge petition is a disruption of the orderly procedure of the House. It is a restoration of orderly procedure. Let no one say that the discharge petition deprives the District Committee of a chance to consider the proposal. Its current hearings are a transparent contrivance for additional delay. There is not a clause or aspect of the home rule bill which has not already been thoroughly considered and debated and compromise and refined—in a score of past hearings and in debate by the Senate. Let the House now debate it—and bring the issue at last to a resolution.

The discharge petition is, in fact, a declaration of independence—a declaration of independence for the House itself from the tyranny of the District Committee, as well as a declaration of independence for the District of Columbia. It seeks for the Capital community the minimum measure of independence which is the birthright of all Americans. Members of Congress can sign it with the same pride that must have moved earlier Americans who signed the great Declaration that constituted the beginning of this Nation's history.

A Dream Comes True

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, August 14, a dream of 4 years became reality with the opening of a $1,200,000 meatpacking facility near Gooding, Idaho—in my congressional district.

Truly a monument to the forward-thinking residents of the area, this plant will employ up to 75 men when operating at full capacity, and will add a weekly payroll of $10,000 to the area's economy. This will be in addition to the many employees who will be working in associated industries, supplying services to the plant. It gives new meaning to the term "agri-business."

The plant—Stockmen's Meat Packing Corp.—contains a kill plant complex covering 52,000 square feet. The complete facility includes a large one-story concrete and steel kill plant, the largest and most modern in the Western States. The kill floor is designed to enable slaughter of 50 head of beef per hour, or 400 head in an 8-hour shift on a gravity rail system with the utilization of swivel spreaders, air knives, hide puller, and many other modern methods of processing cattle to fit today's market demands.

Mr. Speaker, many superlatives could be added to the above description of this one segment of the plant, and could be equally applied to the plant as a whole, or to other parts of it.

Above all—the completion of the plant shows what can be accomplished when men have dreams; and then get together, put their shoulders to the wheel, and work toward fulfillment of those dreams. In this case, the fulfillment has been an important addition to the economy of the area involved and to the State of Idaho.

Erratic Numbers Game

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the supporters of socialized medicine have long illustrated their idyllic picture of life under a system of government-controlled health care by pointing to the comparison in infant mortality rates in the United States and Sweden. The higher life expectancy and lower infant death rate in Sweden, so these critics of American medicine point out, demonstrates that socialized medicine is preferable to the American system. However, I was happy to read in the August 23, 1965, issue of the American Medical Association News that this "erratic numbers game" has been tellingly refuted by AMA president James Z. Appel.

I am pleased, therefore, to include in the RECORD, two articles from the AMA News, August 23, 1965, which demonstrates the fallacy of trying to prove a point of view by the use of bare statistics:

THE NUMBERS GAME

Critics of American medicine have demonstrated an interest in infant death statistics, but for a purpose of their own.

They seem to have a penchant for directly comparing such statistics for the United States with the statistics of a few other nations which have systems of socialized medicine.

This erratic numbers game with health statistics has been tellingly refuted by James Z. Appel, M.D., president of the American Medical Association.

Dr. Appel points out, "The charge that American medicine must take a back seat to foreign medicine most often is based on just two of the numerous tables in the United Nations' Demographic Yearbook. One denotes life expectancy; the other the infant mortality rate—the number of deaths among

infants under 1 year compared with the number of live births."

The statistics aren't at fault. It is the unreliable interpretation to which they are subjected after being taken from their intended use. The crude rates among the various nations may be useful for determining trends within specific geographic and cultural boundaries, but they should not be directly compared among nations with varying types of populations.

Opinions from medical leaders of other nations who also say that such direct international comparison of health statistics is ridiculous were noted by Dr. Appel.

The AMA president asserted, "It is, of course, a matter of record that Sweden's infant mortality rate is 1 percent below that of the United States and that the average Swede lives to age 73 and the average American to age 70.3.

"But it is also a matter of record that a Swede in Minnesota outlives a Swede in Sweden, and, furthermore, that suicides occur with much more frequency in Sweden than in the United States."

These points should be made about infant mortality statistics:

In comparing one nation's statistics with another's, it's not always certain that exactly the same events are being compared. In Sweden, for example, a baby is not considered born alive unless he actually breaths. In the United States, if there is heartbeat, movement of the voluntary muscles, or pulsation of the umbilical cord, it is considered a live birth whether or not the baby ever takes a breath. In Sweden, a child born with a beating heart but without the strength to breathe would be listed as a stillbirth and not reflect on that nation's infant mortality rate.

In some other nations, a baby is not legally born alive until his birth is registered with civil authorities, or he is baptized—technicalties that might not take place for a week or so after birth.

There is the matter of fetal death rate. In England and Sweden, it is higher than in the United States. From this, a person with blind faith in statistics could conclude that American physicians are bringing babies into the world who would die in the womb in these other nations.

It is difficult to talk about infant mortality without talking about abortion, which is legal in Sweden. A defective fetus can be destroyed there before birth, which has the effect of lowering the infant mortality rate.

"Even if it were possible to shuffle and adjust infant mortality and longevity figures to take into account differences in genetics, climate, the law, and reporting systems," Dr. Appel emphasized, "it's still not certain whether you would have a yardstick for measuring medicine."

Statistics are important. Used properly, they can lead to valid conclusions. But used improperly, they can prove any preconceived conclusion.

Dr. Appel concludes, "The point is, statistics are a complement, not a substitute, for trained intellect and commonsense. They pose questions, they don't answer them. They are slaves, not masters."

RUSSIAN STATISTICS

Earlier this year, in an article printed in the magazine, America, a writer attempted to show by the use of statistics that health care in socialized medicine countries is superior to that in the United States.

One of the main points in the article is a comparison of death rates in the U.S.S.R. and the United States. The author provides his readers with statistics based on crude death rates and the comparison, he notes, is "unfavorable to the United States." How valid are his statistics?

In 1958, a team of U.S. Social Security Administration officials visited the Soviet Union and reported: "In asserting that they have very high health standards, the Soviets claim to have the lowest death rate in the world; namely, 7.7 per 1,000 for 1956. This is well below the U.S. rate of 9.4. However, it is universally recognized that, from a scientific and analytical standpoint, the crude death rate is not meaningful since it depends in large part upon the age structure of the population rather than merely on mortality conditions. There is no question that at the present time mortality in the United States is still well below that of the Soviet Union."

The Social Security officials also said, "It is our opinion that the reliability of the Soviet figures is subject to question since no detailed figures by age appear to be available. The only specific figure that we obtained on mortality by age was in regard to the infant mortality rate, which was stated to be about 45 per 1,000 in 1956. This figure is well above the corresponding rate in the United States."

Fanning the Flames

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, an article in the Washington Daily News of August 27, 1965, written by Columnist Don MacLean, and dealing with the highly inflammatory statement made by President Johnson last week, should be read by the greatest possible number of our citizens. To that end, I offer it for reprinting in the RECORD, as follows:

By now, the President doesn't need the likes of me to tell him how poorly conceived were his remarks about the possibility of a riot here. The editorialists and, I'm sure, his advisers, have already done that. My personal view is that what the President said was the greatest flame-fanning act since Nero and his fiddle at Rome. What I want to do today is (1) tell the President what it is like to live in the mouth of a cannon and (2) thank him for making it more likely that some nut will pull the trigger.

I live about 30 blocks from the White House, in a neighborhod called Mount Pleasant. (In contrast to many of L.B.J.'s leading liberals, who live safely tucked away in Maryland or Virginia.) There's no ghetto of any kind in Mount Pleasant, not even a white one. I have never had anything but the friendliest relations with my neighbors, be they Negro or white. In short, we are a happy mixture of people who get along just swell. The riots in Los Angeles made all of us nervous, because, in truth, none of us wants any trouble.

HERE'S HOW IT IS

There is a serious rate of violent crime in our area. But it affects everyone equally. The crimes have caused many of us to take precautions. After several attempts were made to break into my house, I surrounded it as best I could with a 6-foot fence. After a girl running from an attacker pounded on my door one night seeking safety, I called the police and the next week bought a gun. I figure that something worse may happen another night and I want a gun if he has one. My wife suggested watchdogs and I got two German shepherds.

You don't know how it is? Well, on Saturday night in Mount Pleasant, it is worth your life to walk to the store. An elderly man was killed for $2 in the bright sunlight while washing his car. A man was shot, out by my mail box. Many a night we've watched from a second floor window as gangs of men have battled in the alley with boards and pipes. Ever hear the "thunk" a pipe makes when it hits a human head? The sound carries quite a distance. What is it like living in Mount Pleasant? It's calling home often every time you go out to make sure your family is all right.

THANKS A BUNCH

But President Johnson wouldn't know any of that because he has never lived in a section of town such as this. He simply wants to get the home rule bill passed and if it takes a friendly little warning about a riot to do it, well what's power for if you don't use it?

So, while the President is down in Texas, we in Mount Pleasant would like to thank him for the suspenseful days ahead. He certainly used the old bean yesterday when he said, "I want to warn you in the District of Columbia that the clock is ticking * * *."

Hon. Clarence J. Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to add my own words of farewell to "BROWNIE"—to our late, beloved colleague from Ohio, the Honorable CLARENCE J. BROWN.

CLARENCE, to those of us who were many years his junior in years of service, was the epitome of the "elder statesman"—wise and learned in the art of statecraft; schooled and toughened, at least on the outside, by the hard knocks of practical politics, but having underneath a heart full of kindliness and not just a little sentimental concern over the trials and tribulations of those of us who had—and have—so much yet to learn.

One of my fondest recollections of CLARENCE will be of those rather frequent moments when he would slip, unobtrusively, into the seat next to mine during a particularly complex parliamentary situation and say, "Now, watch this, Boy, you might learn something here"—and, with his guidance, I always did.

I was also always particularly impressed with CLARENCE's innate sense of honesty. He said only exactly what he thought—letting the chips fall where they may—and you always knew that whatever he said, even though you might have disagreed with it, was something he thoroughly believed or else he would not have said it at all.

And when he gave you his word—that was that.

His patriotism was unbounded, his dedication to his task complete, his devotion to the institutions of representative government unquestioning, and his service to the people of his congressional district, his State, and his Nation, unending.

Unending; that is, Mr. Speaker, until his presence was removed from this

Chamber that he loved so well—and that strong, confident, no-nonsense voice of his was forever stilled.

All of us will miss that voice—and that presence.

Yet, in the missing, we will also know how fortunate we were—and the Congress was—to have had him with us for awhile.

Mrs. Robison joins me in expressing our deepest sympathy to his two daughters and to his son.

Wrong Way Paul

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is ironic that the last two administrations, which have been so piously committed to helping develop the effectiveness of the United Nations, have, by their policies within the body, contributed to its instability and slow deterioration. The misguided administration policies, as applied to the U.N. are very dramatically described in an editorial in yesterday's Chicago Tribune:

WRONG-WAY PAUL

In 1962, when President Kennedy was seeking congressional approval to bail out the United Nations by buying a good part of the $200 million bond issue it was trying to sell in order to keep from going broke, Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, was busy assuring constituents that this would be a good deal.

His form letter to voters who questioned the investment made the point that Russia, among others, had refused to pay its share of the assessment to support U.N. peacekeeping forces in the Middle East and Congo. He referred to the fact that, under article 19 of the U.N. Charter, Russia would lose its vote in the U.N. General Assembly when its delinquency reached the equivalent of 2 years' dues.

"Every country which has to dig into its treasury to help amortize the loan," said Senator DOUGLAS, "will have a motive of self-interest to demand that Russia and these other countries in arrears pay up. Inasmuch as some non-Communist countries are in arrears, those who might be inclined to go easy on Russia would support the bond issue because this would force other countries on whom they would not be inclined to go easy to bear their full share.

"Therefore, in an all-out move to make all those in arrears pay up and to retain its own vote, the Kremlin would be forced, also, to pay its share. In this way, I believe the repayment of this bond issue would provide a lever for making the U.N. members, including Russia, pay their share of all the operations of that organization."

Whether Senator DOUGLAS' involved argument convinced anyone is not known. The United States did agree to take a major portion of the U.N. bond issue. Had the Senator's appraisal been correct, Russia would then have settled its delinquency with U.N. in order to retain its vote in the assembly.

But, as a sad reflection on the Senator's gift for prophecy, this did not happen. The other day, when the Soviet debt had reached more than $62 million, and a full 20 months after Russia had become subject to loss of its vote, Ambassador Arthur Goldberg announced that the United States was dropping its fight to strip Russia of its right to vote.

Now we are awaiting another explanation from Senator DOUGLAS why this capitulation is also in our best interest, as he said 3 years ago buying the U.N. bonds would be.

For Pennsylvania Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article from the Philadelphia, Pa., Inquirer:

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer]

FOR PENNSYLVANIA PROGRESS

Gov. William W. Scranton's record-smashing $442,100,000 biennial capital budget, submitted to the State legislature for approval, is a forward-looking program with major attention given to education. This, we believe, is putting the emphasis in the right place.

It is too early to pass judgment on individual proposals itemized in the budget, which will require careful scrutiny in each case to determine whether the sums recommended are reasonable and sufficient, but the Governor's broad objectives are admirable.

The $291 million earmarked for capital improvements in education includes $30,500,000 for Penn State and $135,700,000 for the 14 State colleges. It is our opinion that the 14 State colleges, formerly teachers colleges and now possessing a full range of academic credentials, constitute a grassroots network of liberal arts institutions which ought to be the backbone of public higher education at the regional level. We would like to see these colleges steadily upgraded, both in the scope of their curriculums and in the quality of instruction. Capital improvements recommended by the Governor should pave the way for gains in the desirable direction.

Temple University is slated to receive more than half of the total of $125,400,000 designated for universities in the State-aided category. Penn and Drexel also are to be assisted in important construction projects.

Money for capital improvements in higher education represents not so much an expenditure as an investment, with prospect of a generous return in long-term economic dividends. One of the first things companies ask about in looking for new plant sites is the availability of education and research facilities. Expanding and improving educational institutions in Pennsylvania should help to attract more industry and jobs to the State.

Prominent attention given in Governor Scranton's capital budget to juvenile delinquency problems in Philadelphia and elsewhere has come none too soon. We urge especially that early and affirmative consideration be given to funds to provide permanent and adequate relief for overcrowded conditions at the youth study center. More than $14 million is budgeted for construction of new juvenile reception ad development centers in Philadelphia and vicinity.

These long-range projects will not provide any immediate relief to overcrowded conditions at the youth study center, however, and the need to proceed with interim arrangements remains urgent.

Sour Grapes—Soviet Style

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, perhaps the real measure of the success of the spectacular Gemini 5 flight is the fact that Tass, the official Soviet news agency, was unable to suppress a transparent little attempt to belittle America's latest and most impressive achievement in space. Tass charged the United States with taking risks in order to "beat the Soviet Union at any price."

The ridiculous nature of this charge should be obvious to any television viewer or newspaper reader in the free world, and in Russia, too, for our Mercury and Gemini programs have been carried out cautiously, thoughtfully, with complete and elaborate back-up facilities and—unlike similar efforts in the U.S.S.R.—full public view. The world has seen our failures as well as our successes, and it has seen the deliberate pace, extensive testing and training and the high regard for the safety of our astronauts.

Answering Tass' revealing bit of "sour grapes" is an excellent editorial from the Quincy Patriot Ledger, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues in Congress. I agree with the editor that it is important for the American people to recognize the careful planning that goes into our manned space flight program—that we are winning the space race not because we were swift but because we have preferred being sure.

The editorial follows:

RIDICULOUS CHARGE

As the Gemini 5 space capsule continues to whirl around the earth, the Russian news service Tass has charged the United States with taking risks in order to "beat the Soviet Union at any price."

Anyone who has followed the progress of the U.S. space exploration program should recognize the ridiculousness of the Tass charge.

The United States, in fact, has taken it slowly and carefully from the beginning of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's first ventures into space. While recognizing Soviet superiority in some fields—notably in rocket thrust that gives the Russians the ability to orbit heavier payloads—NASA has been steadily closing the gap while at the same time completely overwhelming the Russian space effort in versatility and variety of space missions.

And during this tacit competition, at no time has NASA taken any chances with its manned space flight program. All voyages of the astronauts have been carried out completely in the open, and the concern for the lives of American astronauts and the elaborate system of backup safety devices have been thoroughly publicized.

The latest demonstration of NASA's cautious approach came on Thursday, the scheduled launch day for Gemini 5. As it turned out, it was not NASA's day, and a series of malfunctions caused the flight to be postponed. When the space vehicle was launched on Saturday, everything functioned perfectly until problems developed in the craft's power system.

This is what Tass is specifically sniping at. According to the Soviet news agency in a dispatch from its New York correspondent: "The flight program directors have been given the task to 'beat the Soviet Union' at any price with regard to duration of the orbital flight." The dispatch went on to say that the launching had involved "haste and definite risk" because the power-generating system aboard Gemini 5 "was never tested in actual space flight conditions."

But the flight went on anyway, according to Tass because "American scientists were compelled to carry out a crash program of developing a fundamentally new system intended to supply Gemini 5 with power for 8 days."

The power system on Gemini 5, in fact, is new. It is new to the United States and probably new to the Soviet Union, too, since there is no evidence the fuel cell system which changes chemical energy into electrical energy has ever been used on Russian flights. But according to one of Gemini 5's three flight directors, "The fuel cell system had extensive testing over the last 7 months."

And further, the Gemini vehicle has a backup system—the old storage battery source of power—which was sufficient to provide enough auxiliary power for about one and a half orbits and would allow proper reentry and landing. Had there been any danger to the astronauts, the flight would have been curtailed and the men brought down.

NASA was ready for that, too. A splashdown point for each of the Gemini mission's planned 122 orbits is plotted far in advance as part of the flight's contingency planning. And when it looked as if the power problems would continue, units in the Pacific were alerted to prepare for a possible landing 490 miles northeast of Hawaii.

As it turned out, the tough decision by Flight Director Christopher C. Kraft, who ordered the astronauts to save fuel by cutting off power in nearly all systems that were not critically necessary, apparently was the right choice. Mr. Kraft could have simply terminated the flight. But subsequently the power system started functioning as it should have and Gemini 5 has been given the go-ahead to continue the flight.

We think it is important that the American people recognize the careful planning for all emergencies that the manned space flight program always has insisted upon. Rather than being a headlong rush to be first in space as the Russians charge, the flight of Gemini 5 so far has further demonstrated American concern for the astronauts' safety.

The Higher Education Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. RODNEY M. LOVE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9567) to strengthen the educational resources of our colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in postsecondary and higher education.

Mr. LOVE. Mr. Chairman, I wish to commend the distinguished members of the House Education and Labor Committee for the fine piece of legislation it brings to the House today. The Higher Education Act of 1965 is an outstanding effort to strengthen the educational resources of our colleges and universities. Our Nation depends on these institutions to supply the manpower for our ever-increasing sophisticated society. Tomorrow's needs cannot be met with today's tools.

It is particularly significant that this legislature look to the vast middle-income group, for statistics show it is this group that provides the bulk of our talented young people. The Congress has provided for the underprivileged and the poor. Now its attention to the great storehouse of talent is significant.

I support this legislation and hope that further steps will be taken to continue aid to the middle class in their desire to educate their children.

To continue this effort I have introduced H.R. 8246, which would give certain tax relief for college expenses by amending the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide an additional income tax exemption for each dependent who is a full-time student above the secondary level at an educational institution. This is the next logical step for Congress to take.

Profile: China's First Lady

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, the United States is being honored with a visit by Mme. Chiang Kai-shek, wife of the President of the Republic of China. One of the most honored and respected women in the world today, this lady's visit to our country is most welcome. The entire Nation will benefit from the message and inspiration she brings to us.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article which appeared in the Washington Star of August 29, 1965, written by Jeff Endrst, who recently returned from Taiwan where he was given a rare opportunity to learn the day-to-day household and work routine of Chiang Kai-shek and his wife.

The article follows:

PROFILE: CHINA'S FIRST LADY

(By Jeff Endrst)

NEW YORK.—Mme. Chiang Kai-shek, a mixture of fiery emotions and gentle charm, is back in the United States to make the political rounds on behalf of her famed husband—for whom she once organized the Chinese Air Force, whose policies she debates with foreign diplomats, and with whom she devoutly worships in a private Methodist chapel in Taipei.

At 64 she is an Asian legend and far from retirement. A great-grandmother by marriage, she appears to be in her early forties, her exquisite figure cased in a black silk dress, topped by her usual pearl ornaments.

She is called "the Dragon Lady" by the Communists, and she shared with Jacqueline Kennedy a place on the Gallup list of the 10 most admired women in the world.

PERSONALITY CHANGE

She has lived mostly out of suitcases, fighting Chinese warlords, Japanese invaders, and Communist usurpers. Blending the lotus blossom aroma of her orientally delicate personality with the mentholated smoke of ever-present cigarettes, the first lady of Free China can ooze charm or lash out in anger.

Her long, lacquered fingernails stabbing the air, she tells visitors to the Chiang Kai-sheks' private residence at Youngming National Park that the die is cast in Asia, that the choice is freedom or slavery, and that Moscow would not send one soldier to help Peiping.

She is expected to enlarge on these theories during her lecture tour in the United States and in private talks with U.S. lawmakers, including possibly President Johnson.

Mme. Chiang speaks perfect English, sweetened by a slight southern drawl, which goes back to her early schooling in the United States. She graduated from Wellesley College, and has since picked up several dozen honorary degrees.

The Chiang marriage is reported to be a solid, close, and complimentary institution of 37 years. It has been childless.

The aging Generalissimo, now 78, does not permit any other female around his household or office. Although Madame suffers from bad insomnia, she never fails to get up at 6 a.m. to share in quiet meditation with her husband before breakfast. Then she returns to her room, hoping to catch more sleep.

The Chiangs seldom have separate meals. They entertain modestly and sparingly. They seldom go to downtown Taipei. Instead of traditional Chinese opera, they prefer television which brings predominantly American shows with the original sound tracks with Madame doing the impromptu translations for the President.

MILITARY KNOW-HOW

There is little doubt that "Madame," as she is commonly referred to in Taiwan, is the President's chief political adviser. She has some claim to military expertise, too. She is certainly the only woman in the world who personally supervised the building up of a national air force.

This happened in 1935 when she assumed control of her husband's forces then fighting the Japanese.

Sundays are reserved for the children of President Chiang's two sons by a former marriage and their grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

Mme. Chiang fondly recalls a conversation with the late Winston Churchill in Cairo during the war, which went as follows:

Churchill: "You think I'm a terrible old man, don't you?"

Mme. Chiang: "I really don't know. You believe in colonialism and I don't."

After several hours of talk:

Churchill: "Now tell me what do you think of me."

Mme. Chiang: "I think your bark is worse than your bite."

Higher Education Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9567) to strengthen the educational resources of our colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in postsecondary and higher education.

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Chairman, it is my privilege to speak today in favor of H.R.

9567, the Higher Education Act of 1965. I would like to compliment the chairman and the members of the Education and Labor Committee, on which I once served, for reporting this bill. It stands as eloquent testimony to the fact that we are becoming more and more aware of the needs of our educational communities, and of the importance of higher education itself.

I represent a community which is well known for its educational facilities and its academic excellence. The Third Congressional District of Connecticut boasts such educational institutions as Yale, Southern Connecticut State College, New Haven College, Quinnipiac College, and Albertus Magnus College. I am proud to say that these institutions are responsible for educating a great number of Connecticut youths and also many students from other parts of the country.

Recently I received a letter from the president of one of the above-named institutions. In explaining the reasons for supporting H.R. 9567, he pointed out that the whole philosophy of the bill seemed to apply to small, emerging community colleges. To some extent, I would agree with him. H.R. 9567 is in many ways directed toward helping smaller, less wealthy institutions develop improved facilities and educational standards of excellence.

For example, title II of this bill is designed to help colleges which are financially weak in building up and maintaining libraries suitable to the needs of an institution of higher learning. Research by the Education and Labor Committee has shown that 50 percent of our 4-year institutions and over 80 percent of our 2-year institutions fall below the minimum standards in the number of volumes in their libraries. To correct this problem title II provides for the authorization of funds to be used for grants to institutions of higher learning for the explicit purpose of acquiring library materials. Other parts of title II will aid in training more librarians and in strengthening the resources of college and research libraries.

Title III is also specifically designed to strengthen developing institutions of higher learning. Recent evidence indicates that an alarmingly high percentage of our coleges are offering substandard educational programs. Shortages of good teachers and financial resources combine to threaten many smaller schools with loss of accreditation. Title III provides a 5-year program of grants to institutions of higher education and to teaching fellows to assist in raising the quality of these developing institutions. These grants will be used to support cooperative interinstitutional arrangements between colleges, or between colleges and other organizations, and also for the establishment of a national teaching fellowship program. These cooperative arrangements and teaching fellowship programs should promote higher quality teaching in emerging colleges.

Title IV of the Higher Education Act is designed not so much for developing colleges, as for qualified but needy students. It sets up an improved program of grants and low-interest loans for these youths who are unable to finance a college education on their own. The need for such a program cannot be seriously debated. Colleges without heavy endowments are simply not able to provide enough scholarship aid to students from low- and middle-income families. Many qualified, intelligent young people are presently denied a higher education because they fail to obtain scholarship aid and cannot afford to finance 4 years of college.

Title V is another program for smaller colleges. It amends the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 to aid in bridging the gap between the grants asked for by various colleges, and those actually awarded. Last year only six of the nine colleges asking for aid in Connecticut received same, mainly because there were not enough funds to go around. Title V is designed to alleviate this problem.

As my correspondent pointed out, several titles of the Higher Education Act of 1965 will help the smaller, emerging colleges. It will improve libraries, educational facilities, and the quality of teachers and institutions. But this act really goes much further than that. Its main thrust is toward the less wealthy student who cannot afford a college education. By seeking to provide funds for this student, H.R. 9567 goes to the heart of the education problem. It seeks out the qualified youth, who under normal circumstances would not be able to complete his education. By making funds available to him, as well as by helping to improve the quality of our smaller colleges, H.R. 9567 seeks to extend the promise of academic achievement to all who desire it, and to open the door to a better life for many young American citizen.

A Proposition To Create Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, at a time when the Nation is spending billions of dollars to fight poverty, there is under serious consideration before the Area Redevelopment Administration and its successor agency, the Economic Development Administration, a proposal to shift poverty around and to create new poverty.

I have reference to applications for $2,700,000 of Government funds to establish a vast integrated broiler complex in the New Castle area of western Pennsylvania.

Mr. Speaker, the poultry industry already confronts the prospect of market gluts from overproduction, and this industry suffers periodic price disaster. To bring in huge new production with Government funds would create havoc in the broiler industry. This proposition is dangerous. It is absurd and it simply does not make sense.

The loans would not create any net increase in employment. Any new employment at New Castle would create unemployment in established broiler producing areas.

The loans, as proposed, would be made in an area where substantial unemployment does not exist, according to the standards set by the Area Redevelopment Administration.

The loans would add approximately 350,000 broilers per week to national production, where both capacity and production now are more than adequate.

The existing broiler industry, which has financed its own production and merchandising facilities, would be forced to compete with a new facility using Government money on long terms and at very low interest.

Moreover, if the proposed New Castle facility is a sound proposition the money sought by the applicants to the ARA will be available to them from private sources on the same basis that private money is available to the established industry.

Mr. Speaker, the New Castle applications have been pending before the ARA for several months. Numerous Members of Congress cannot understand how any serious thought ever was given to them. We have conveyed our thinking to the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Freeman, and to the ARA Administrator, Mr. Batt. Still this proposition hangs over the broiler industry like the sword of Damocles.

The Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 has been enacted by the Congress and signed by the President. The EDA now succeeds the ARA. One provision of the new act reads:

> No financial assistance under this act shall be extended to any project when the results would be to increase the production of goods, materials, or commodities, or the availability of services or facilities, when there is not sufficient demand for such goods, materials, commodities, services, or facilities to employ the efficient capacity of existing competitive commercial or industrial enterprises.

Since by any definition broilers are a commodity, and the New Castle complex would most assuredly increase the production of broilers, and all economic indicators point to a period of increased broiler production in the months ahead, there is no question but that this language in the law specifically enjoins ARA or EDA from granting the New Castle loans.

Mr. Speaker, a specific potential for hurt and harm to people shows up in the proposed loan in the light of the war on poverty in which we, as a nation, are now engaged. Do we want to spend Government money to shift poverty from one area to another? There have assertions that the areas around New Castle have been poverty ridden. Yet, my information is that these sections have been removed from the areas designated in need of aid, according to ARA standards. Now, Chatham County, in North Carolina, a county which I am privileged to represent in the Congress, produces a large volume of broilers, many of which are marketed in western Pennsylvania. Shall we now use Government money to shift this North Carolina production to Pennsylvania and thereby subsidize the

creation of poverty conditions in North Carolina?

Mr. Speaker, I said earlier that if the proposed New Castle facility is a sound proposition the money sought by the applicants will be available to them from private sources, on the same basis that private money is available to the established industry.

I have a copy of a letter written to several Members of the Congress by the senior vice president of one of the principal banks in Philadelphia. This banker writes:

Some of our customers in the poultry industry have expressed great concern to us over the proposed establishment of a large integrated poultry operation in New Castle, Pa., with the support of the ARA. This bank has substantial loans to the poultry industry and we too share their concern. For many years the industry has been plagued periodically with overproduction and it appears unwise at this time to further complicate the problem with a Government subsidy in the form of long-term, low-rate loans. Many of those in the industry feel that governmental controls and supports are needed to restrain production. I do not agree with this approach but do feel strongly that it is illogical to use Government money to bring more chickens on the market when supplies are already excessive.

From my own knowledge, I am confident that no private lender would seriously consider financing such a project and it is my impression that as a matter of fact the unemployment situation in the area is not large enough to qualify it for the ARA.

Present chicken prices and profits are good but this is closely related to the high price of beef and pork. When the latter corrects itself with the large number of breeder birds and flocks producing hatching eggs, and with the long-term commitments of the broiler industry to raise these birds, it seems certain to us that there will be an extended period of lower prices and substantial losses.

I certainly hope you will look into this. I feel the ARA's program is a good one but that this would certainly be a misuse of it.

Mr. Speaker, several Members of the House are urging me, as chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, to set public hearings of this committee, for the purpose of making a thorough exploration of the proposed New Castle poultry loans. I assure these Members that such a hearing will be held unless there is some early indication that the ARA or its successor agency, EDA, will reject this proposition completely and finally.

Tribute to Karin Walsh

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, one of the foremost journalists of this generation, Karin Walsh, died last Saturday. I am deeply sorry that his sudden death at the age of 51 has taken his superior talents and his devotion to the city of Chicago from our midst.

For 29 years Karin Walsh covered or directed the coverage of almost every major news story in the Chicago area. His rise to prominence in his field was meteoric—he was city editor of the Chicago Times at the age of 28—and his subsequent leadership of the Times and its successor, the Chicago Sun-Times, confirmed the talents he demonstrated so early in his life.

In addition to his creative editorial direction, Mr. Walsh had a strong love for his native city and a passion for justice. In 1946 he and two other Times reporters won the Heywood Broun Memorial Award for an investigation that led to a full pardon for Joseph Majczek, an innocent man who was serving a life term in prison for a murder conviction.

Marshall Field, publisher of the Chicago Sun-Times, said that "Karin Walsh was a fine news executive with a true feeling for Chicago. We shall miss him very much." I share that sense of loss, along with the many men and women who knew and admired Karin Walsh and his services to journalism and to Chicago. I extend heartfelt sympathy to his widow and their three children.

Mr. Speaker, the best measure of a man is most often found in the judgments made of him by his fellow workers. Karin Walsh was highly regarded by his employees and his superiors at the Chicago Sun-Times, where he was managing editor-operations at the time of his death. I wish to submit for the RECORD the eulogy offered by the Sun Times today:

KARIN WALSH, 1914–65

From the moment he took his first assignment as a beginning reporter on this paper—covering the Granville Avenue "L" wreck of November 24, 1936—Karin Walsh showed the talent and drive that were to bring him to the top in his chosen field, journalism.

His rise was unusually fast. He covered difficult, wearying assignments such as the Ohio-Mississippi River flood of 1937 with the ability of a seasoned reporter. His maturity of judgment and an obvious managerial capacity brought rapid promotion.

In less than 6 years he was named city editor, at 28 the youngest person in the country to hold such an important post on a metropolitan newspaper.

In the ensuing years, Karin Walsh won the respect, admiration, and affection not only of his own staff but of all those with whom he dealt outside—public officials, business and professional men, and workers on other papers.

Last September he was named managing editor-operations and in his broader responsibility was adding additional pages to his successful career when death came suddenly Friday night at the age of 51.

At the end, Mr. Walsh was engaged in a project that dated back to his first contact with this newspaper. Before joining our staff as a reporter he had worked as a member of our straw vote crew polling voter sentiment in the 1936 election campaign.

In later years he directed subsequent straw polls and acquired a national reputation because of the accuracy of his work. New York Herald Tribune officials asked him to teach them his system and he was in New York for conferences when he was stricken.

When the occasion demanded Mr. Walsh could be the tough and unsentimental city editor of Chicago tradition. But no newspaper editor can be as successful as he was without a deep sentimental feeling for his city and the people in it—as individuals, not statistics.

Born in Chicago and educated at Fenwick High School and Northwestern University, he loved his city and dedicated himself and this newspaper to improving it. He devoted long hours to improving the field of journalism itself, beginning with his own staff where he worked long and patiently developing able men and women to carry on in the standards of news responsibility, objectivity and accuracy in which he believed. For many years he served as a member of a staff that conducted annual tour seminars for college and high school students at MacMurray College in Jacksonville. On these occasions and others where he served as a master of ceremonies he displayed a wit and scholarship that were further evidences of his versatility.

Those of us who have shared in Karin Walsh's fine career will miss him deeply. We grieve with his widow, Mina, whom he met and married when she too, was a reporter for this paper. His daughter, Sheila, and his sons, Breaux and Elmer, should remember their father with pride. He was a great newspaperman.

A Connecticut Textile Firm Shows the Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert into the RECORD an article published recently in Textile Industries, a monthly publication.

Entitled "Stafford Printers' $1 million Program," this article tells about the efforts and success of Stafford Printers, Inc., a dyeing and printing firm of textiles located at Stafford Springs, Conn., in my congressional district. This firm is doing a marvelous job in reversing the trend of the textile industry in New England by breathing more life and energy into it, producing newer and better products, and meeting the challenge of our technological age.

About 2 years ago I participated in the launching of the firm's million-dollar expansion program. I am therefore highly pleased at the progress that has been made over this short period of time. The experience of Stafford Printers should serve as an example and an encouragement to the rest of the textile industry in New England as to what can be accomplished where there are new ideas, skill, and most of all the will to attain success.

The article reads as follows:

STAFFORD PRINTERS' $1 MILLION PROGRAM: A NEW ENGLAND DYER AND PRINTER OF SYNTHETICS AND BLENDS FOR EXCLUSIVE APPAREL MARKETS IS BREATHING NEW LIFE INTO ROLLER PRINTING

No industry has been more challenging in recent years than roller printing. Even among better managed plants, profit margins have shrunk in the face of shorter runs and year-round strike-offs. The entire industry has suffered because its technology has been dormant for too long. Yet roller printing yields superior effects in skilled hands and offers a productive potential second to none.

The challenge, then, is to raise efficiency to a new high without sacrificing quality or compromising on styling. This is the chal-

lenge that Stafford Printers, Inc., is meeting today. This New England (Stafford Springs, Conn.) dyer and printer of synthetics and blends for exclusive apparel markets has been carrying out a million dollar program at a time when plant liquidations have been common above the Mason-Dixon line.

Late in 1964, Stafford completed a major part of this program with the installation of a $300,000 range, designed to wash-rinse-relax, finish, and heat-set an unlimited variety of printed fabrics. The 310-foot range offers the economies of a continuous operation and of a strategic location that conforms to a U-shaped layout of all plant processes. Built for high speed operation, the range will easily meet Stafford's printing capacity, now at an alltime high of 20 million yards annually. This increase has been achieved without expansion, as we shall now see. It also has been part of the going program at Stafford to breathe new life into roller printing.

The formula: People, ideas, and money; One of the first operations to come under study a few years ago was the costly and often troublesome strike-off. To colorist and printer, it resulted in loss of production, while to the stylist it often brought frustrations as adjustments to color, engraving, and technique went on. To management, it represented a misuse of the printing machine and did not guarantee repeat business.

As Stafford management saw it, the strike-off should be carried out as a sampling operation, completely separated from production departments. The first milestone was passed when a strike-off machine of original design proved successful in experimental trials. Further refinements were made as needed and the machine went into full time use in 1963, soon proving its worth in dollars and cents, besides vastly improving customer service. Today, after more than a year of operation, it has boosted the production of six machines by 30 to 40 percent, in essence adding to capacity the equivalent production of two machines.

Briefly, the machine removes the burden and the cost of striking off on the printing machine, where often 1½ to 2 hours are required for setting up, and as much as 6 to 8 hours for adjustments to color and engraving. In contrast, the strike-off machine can be set up in a matter of minutes; it requires only about 6 ounces of color per roller; and it can produce samples from 1 yard up to 35. It has brought a new way of life to the converter, for now he can strike-off an entire line and get trade reaction before committing himself to the plant. Besides, he doesn't carry a distressed inventory of finished goods and his cash isn't tied up in speculative merchandise. He commits himself only after orders are actually placed.

A very important aspect of this program is that it is changing printing at Stafford into a science. For one thing, the strike-off machine closely simulates actual conditions of printing; and for another, all colors and ingredients are weighed in grams on laboratory scales. This procedure assures high accuracy and prevents contamination of shades since the formulations are prepared under more strict conditions.

In summarizing results, Vice President Robert Verlik has this to say: "We feel that our strike-off program actually helps both converter and printer. There is no pressure on the converter to put his line into production because we aren't holding up our machines. We make money on the repeat business; however, this year for the first time we incurred no losses on our strike-offs."

In a parallel program, Stafford has been closely studying the printing operation with the aim of reducing downtime and seconds. Now under study and development, with the assistance of outside engineering firms, is a vastly simplified mandrel system; an easier means of feeding color; and a radically new approach to "doctoring," which actually eliminates the doctor blade. The long-range aim at Stafford is to give the printer new tools and materials for closer control of the operation without changing the basic roller printing concept.

In another equally vital program, Stafford has organized a laboratory staff of chemists and technicians under the direction of Paul Minto, who holds a masters degree in chemistry from the University of Nottingham. Several things make Stafford's laboratory program unique. First of all, it has not been organized to serve as a repair shop for salvaging spoiled fabric, but rather to give a sound, scientific foundation to new processes, finishes, and coloring systems. As such, it is also changing printing into a scientific coloring technology, complementing Stafford's engineering efforts to eliminate the art from printing.

Like all well-equipped laboratories, the facilities include a physical testing room and all the apparatus required for chemical testing of colors and finishes. For experimental and development work, there are laboratory padders, a printing machine, and sample dyeing facilities. Routine tests are carried out by assistants to relieve chemists for more important work. Two years ago, the laboratory developed a printing system for polyester/cottons, and now has in work several projects to meet the market's changing demands for new color techniques.

The laboratory has still another function: It serves as a starting point for a training program. Here the trainee has a chance to reveal his abilities and interests. A talent for color matching makes him a candidate for a position in the print shop or dyehouse; while an interest in fibers and fabrics can lead to a position in finishing, which has become an expanded operation.

The training program has much flexibility. After the trainee leaves the laboratory for plant work, he can return for further study. This is often necessary because the range of fibers and blends has grown tremendously at Stafford, requiring diverse color classes and exacting procedures.

Bringing out the best in color and fabric: Not to be overlooked in this account of Stafford's printing program is the work of the engineering and maintenance department, which in recent years has been assembling, installing, and relocating equipment at an astounding rate. Most recently, the department assembled and installed the 310-foot range for washing-rinsing-relaxing, tenter-drying, finishing, and heat-setting printed fabrics. The unique component in this four-stage range is the rinsing-relaxing unit, of original design, the first of its kind in the world. Its significance is that the processing of synthetics and blends has now entered a second stage, where higher productivity is achieved with a great improvement in quality.

The need for such a unit has been coming about gradually at Stafford as production began to shift heavily to more exotic fabrics and blends, requiring extremely close technical control. On a recent visit to Stafford, for example, an examination of the print line revealed the following fabrics: a polyester/rayon broadcloth, a textured polyester blouse material, a knitted Creslan dress fabric, an Arnel triacetate jersey, a rayon taffeta, a sheer nylon dress fabric and a number of experimental fabrics of textured crepe effects.

Aside from the fact that most of these constructions call for controlled processing after printing to obtain relaxation-shrinkage and proper hand, the colors used require thorough washing-rinsing for optimum fastness, brightness, and cleanness, without staining of white grounds. Since disperse, cationic, acid, and fiber reactive dyes are principally used, there are problems in rinsing and soaping off. There is a disperse yellow, for example, with a strong tendency to redeposit on fabric during soaping and rinsing.

These needs prompted Stafford to take a long look at open-width processing techniques since results in the "slop" washer were not altogether satisfactory. A fabric processed in rope form tends to be pulled excessively over the reel, to offset the benefits of a prolonged steeping in relaxed condition. Furthermore, processing in the slop washer is a batchwise operation and therefore more costly.

But the chief disadvantage of processing continuously in open width is that the "dip and squeeze" principle of most conventional equipment exerts only a slightly beneficial effect. Most open soapers are therefore extremely long and space consuming. What Stafford wanted was a unit of compact design, offering a high washing-rinsing efficiency at high speed. While management began an exhaustive study of washing-rinsing equipment on the market, the plant staffs began to work on some ideas in original equipment which would accommodate larger quantities for fabric to assure proper relaxation.

From these studies, a practical design evolved, including the design of the entire range, consisting of a tenter-dryer, a loop dryer and a tenter-heat-setter. (See drawing and photographs.) But before the washing-rinsing-relaxing unit was installed, the laboratory made many tests on color and fabric processed in trial runs on individual components of the range. At the time of this writing, the range has been operating over a month, processing a wide variety of knits and wovens.

Eventually, the rinsing-relaxing unit may prove successful for boiling-off and "developing" textured crepe effects on polyester fabrics. It has a high enough capacity for additional work. But for the time being it is used mainly to process print goods and it is bringing out the expected results in color and fabric.

It is interesting to note that fabrics processed at Stafford require special handling in finishing to obtain desired hand, shrinkage, and appearance. To achieve these, Stafford prefers to bring out inherent properties in fiber and fabric rather than to put in chemical finishes. In this concept, heat-setting is very important and Stafford uses three heat-setting methods—contact, loop dryer, and tenter—selecting the one best suited to end results.

For the future—growth without expansion: In launching the million-dollar program several years ago, Stafford hired an architectural firm to study plant operations and make recommendations for the best utilization of space. The resultant layout of processes follows a U-shaped pattern throughout the one-story plant. Its outstanding advantage, perhaps, is that it allows for future modernizations. Some plans are still on the drawing boards, but none of these calls for physical expansions. As Robert Verlik says, "* * * by adding machines you invite trouble because your overhead goes up and this can hurt you in the slow periods. We would rather replace a machine with a modern one, or renevote, to get higher efficiency."

But what Stafford prefers to do above all else is to pioneer and build new processes, as this article has tried to emphasize.

Torrents of Billions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, the article which I have requested be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD was written by

Gen. Hanford MacNider, of Mason City, Iowa, a former U.S. Ambassador to Canada, a former national commander of the American Legion, and a much decorated veteran of two World Wars.

General MacNider, for many years president and chairman of the board of the Northwestern States Portland Cement Co., is gravely concerned as to the future of this Republic for which he has fought so valiantly. His views, as printed in the house organ of his company, follow:

TORRENTS OF BILLIONS

When this part of the world took a beating from the spring floods, we knew that the year was establishing an alltime record for property destruction. Few of us realized what torrents of billions of dollars were soon to be pouring out of our almost one-party Government in Washington, eroding our Nation, the purchasing power of our dollar, the value of our savings and our retired pay, and the insurance for old age which most of us have spent a good part of our lives in accumulating.

Now it is an off day without the announcement of more billions to augment the ever blackening tides of the Great Society which are swirling around the foundations of our once free economy. All this at the same time we are committing ourselves deeper and deeper into an undeclared war which can well add many more billions to our national debt. There is no visible end in sight.

It is our money, of course, because the Government has no funds except what it takes away from us in taxes. No one, certainly not our Congress or our present administration, seems to have any worries about where their present course is taking us. Perhaps we can afford it, but do not think that we are not going to pay the bill, if not ourselves then our children and their children after them. It is not going to be a very happy heritage that we shall be handing down to them. Even with an abrupt change in the Nation's leadership, a big part of the present socialistic program now well under way is going to be irrevocable in the immediate future. There will be blood, sweat, and tears for every one of us who works for a living in this country. We cannot go on forever spending what we have not got to make life easier for those who cannot, do not, or will not work, not only in our own country but all around the world.

Of all the deluge of purely welfare legislation that has become law or is still before our Congress, there is only one phase of this spendthrift maze; namely, the medicare bill, which makes any pretense of self-liquidation and that is to be taken out of the hides of those who work and those who must provide the jobs. Across the years, these two groups have contributed equally to build up future social security payments.

Now both will be directed to pay in ever-increasing amounts for the hospitalization and medical care of our whole citizenry who have reached the age of 65, estimated at almost 20 million people. No one begrudges the old, the sick, the indigent, and the helpless decent treatment and this country has always taken care of them without directly penalizing those who comprise our working population.

This year, the most a worker under social security has to pay is $174, and his employer has to pay the same amount. The worker earning at least $6,600 will pay $277 next year, and his employer the same. In 1967 and 1968, each will pay $290 and by 1973 they will be paying $356 or over $700 a job, no mean amount. This is to help support a program whose cost is now being estimated at $6½ billion a year and no one knows to what astronomical heights it will grow in the future. In compensation, the working man will receive a slight (7 percent) increase in his future social security pension while he and his employer directly furnish the money for the care and hospitalization of all citizens over 65, whether they have ever worked or not.

No one can predict what this tax on America's production will do to the American economy or to our ability to hold down the cost of living and still make a market here and abroad for what we can offer in food, goods, and services. When that program really gets underway, it will bring a series of terrific jolts, not only to industry but to every individual working man and woman in America. Apparently that is what it is going to take to make the Nation realize what this administration and its Congress have done to it in its scramble for votes and perpetuation in office.

There will be a day of reckoning when this country will have to decide what we can do with the most appalling mass of swarming bureaucracy in our history, and how we can protect ourselves against it. Certainly no one is going to do it for us.

We of the working population and those who employ us constitute the machinery which has built the greatest nation in history.

Socialism has never built anything. It tears down a nations' character and that of those who make it. It leads down the slippery path to disaster, dictatorship, and even worse. It is all written in history for anyone to read.

We had better be doing something about it. We owe that to those who will follow us in America.

HANFORD MACNIDER.

More on Jet Noise—Novel Test Over Long Island—Part VIII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 12, 1965

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, August 27, 1965, industry and Government joined in performing a novel and unique scientific experiment in the continuing search for the answer to the problem of aircraft noise. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration conducted the noise control research test with the use of a lighter-than-air blimp loaned to NASA by the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.

The test was conducted over Long Island Sound by flying the NASA Convair 990 jet flying laboratory past the Goodyear blimp which was equipped with devices for measuring noise with sensitive sound equipment and other recording instruments. NASA officials hope to gather data on sound patterns, measured in flight, for use in noise control research.

The following press release issued by NASA outlines the scope of this unique test:

GOODYEAR BLIMP TO AID NASA STUDY OF SOUND PATTERNS

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration has obtained the short-term loan of a Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. blimp for a study of sound patterns created by airplanes in flight.

The 1-day test, weather permitting, is scheduled for August 27 over Long Island Sound where the blimp will fly at an altitude of about 2,000 feet at less than 10 miles per hour.

NASA's Convair 990 jet flying laboratory will be flown at low speeds past the blimp at varying close distances while a detailed pattern of sound field created by the airplane is recorded.

The blimp, used generally by Goodyear for promotional work, such as its present association with the New York World's Fair, will provide a "skyhook" on which NASA scientists have mounted sensitive sound recording instruments.

The test is part of NASA's aircraft noise research program to better the understanding of the generation of sound and its spread through the air to the ground. By measuring the sound patterns in the air, data will be provided free of the complicating influences of ground and water surfaces.

Many measurements of aircraft sounds have been made in the past, but little has been collected in the free air without the interference of reflected sound waves. By obtaining measurements in flight, scientists will have a standard base of sound patterns for use in correlating various laboratory research studies directed at noise control.

The project is under the technical direction of NASA's Langley Research Center, Hampton, Va., with management by the NASA Headquarters Office of Advanced Research and Technology.

The blimp is one of two owned by Goodyear, and they are the only lighter-than-air craft still in service. The company is supporting the NASA test at no charge.

The Convair 990 prototype is based at NASA's Ames Research Center, Mountain View, Calif.

Mr. Speaker, the abatement of aircraft noise at its source is a fundamental problem which NASA is researching. Those of us who are deeply concerned with the aircraft noise problem will watch very closely for the results of this latest and extraordinary experiment.

The blimp landed at Flushing Airfield in Queens, N.Y., on Friday afternoon, August 27 and I had the opportunity to visit the airfield that afternoon to examine the Goodyear blimp used in the experiment by NASA officials. At the airfield I spoke to Lt. Roy Belotti, Sr., airship pilot—U.S. Navy, retired, now in the employ of the Goodyear Co. Lieutenant Belotti who spent 20 years in the Navy—12 of which were spent with lighter than air ships described the flight to me.

I have previously visited Cape Kennedy and the NASA Langley Research Center to discuss with those most knowledgeable in noise control research, the plans and projects which may lead to a breakthrough in this puzzling and serious problem.

I have sounded the alarm on many aspects of this problem during the past months in order to alert my colleagues in the House to the fact that aircraft noise is a national problem. I will continue to sound the alarm and urge congressional action.

Mr. Speaker, on August 19, 1965, I wrote the following letter to the President of the United States proposing a Presidential Commission to examine into the problem of jet noise in depth and to propose solutions to the Congress:

AUGUST 19, 1965.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In the era of the Great Society there is a problem which cries out for your attention—that is, the pollution of the airways with the noise from jet planes. Jet noise affects the daily lives of those living in and around the periphery of the more than 100 jetports in the United States; and as small jet aircraft is developed, millions of people living around our airports will become equally affected.

I have lived in the shadow of Kennedy International Airport these past 18 years and, accordingly, I speak from personal experience. Since the coming of the jet planes, my family life and the family lives of all the residents on the periphery of this multiple-landing-strip airport have been seriously disturbed and disrupted. No longer is it possible for us to enjoy the full use of our property. Telephone service is disrupted; television reception is interfered with; and even away from our homes, all our services on Saturdays and Sundays, wedding ceremonies and funerals, are disturbed.

Since I have come to Congress in January and because of the seriousness of this problem to my constituents, and all those who reside in neighboring districts bordering on Kennedy Airport, I have proposed legislation calling for increased research in an effort to find a solution to the problem of jet noise. I have also introduced legislation to protect against the expansion of the problem by providing assistance for proper land use studies and buffer zones in connection with the establishment of new airports, as well as, around the existing airports.

Mr. President, we now have over 100 jet airports in our Nation. Airports, located in every one of the 50 States, now have facilities to accommodate jet aircraft, and therefore, the lives of a great many of our citizens are affected by the problem. This is not a local problem.

Mr. President, the answer to the aircraft noise problem will come only when you, from your high position, recognize it as national in scope and consider the appointment of a commission to examine it in depth and propose solutions to the Congress. As an American I cannot accept the statement that "there is no solution." A nation which can send a spacecraft to explore the planet Mars surely can find the answer to this problem.

Mr. President, deafening noise is as much a "pollution of the air" as chemicals and fumes. In the ear of the Great Society we must protect the health and lives of all of our citizens, equally affected by such contamination. The air we breathe and the noise we hear affect young and old alike—the poor and the rich in all walks of life—of all political persuasions—surely it is a problem national in scope.

I respectfully request your consideration of this far-reaching problem.

Very respectfully,

HERBERT TENZER,
Member of Congress.

The above letter was hand delivered to the White House. On August 19, the following telegram was received from the White House in answer to the above letter:

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D.C., August 19, 1965.

Hon. HERBERT TENZER,
Lawrence, Long Island, N.Y.:

The problem of aircraft noise is one which deserves our serious consideration. Your suggestion of a Presidential conference on the subject is under consideration in my office in connection with studies presently underway as discussed with you by Dr. MacLeod. Be assured the problem is receiving our continuing attention.

DONALD F. HORNING,
Special Assistant for Science and Technology.

I respectfully urge all my colleagues in the House of Representatives to support my proposal for a Presidential Commission and for congressional hearings on H.R. 2086, H.R. 7981, H.R. 7982, and related bills dealing with the subject of jet noise abatement.

U.S. Goals in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, there can be no confusion or misunderstanding about the purposes and objectives of U.S. policy in Vietnam. These have been made abundantly clear by the President and by those responsible for conducting our foreign affairs.

Speaking informally, the President has stated that the United States must demonstrate the integrity of its commitment to South Vietnam. This commitment was undertaken by our treaty obligations by bilateral agreements made by President Eisenhower, and by the promises of three Presidents. To uphold the honor of this Nation and to insure world peace by standing firm against aggression, we are following the only possible course in Vietnam.

In conjunction with our opposition to aggression, we are seeking a peaceful settlement of this conflict. Our willingness to negotiate was reiterated by Secretary of State Dean Rusk on a CBS television program. Secretary Rusk reminded the Communists that it was the aggression by northern forces against South Vietnam that precipitated this struggle. Despite no indication of the withdrawal of these forces, we are prepared to seek a peaceful solution.

I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following articles from the August 30, 1965, edition of the New York Herald Tribune.

The first article, by Roscoe Drummond, concerns the President's definition of our commitment in South Vietnam. The second article, by David Lawrence, deals with Secretary Rusk's statement of our offer for a peaceful settlement.

The articles follow:

THE MEANING OF HONOR: THE PRESIDENT TELLS WHY WE ARE FIGHTING IN VIETNAM

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—There are some questions only the President of the United States can answer. It is his constitutional duty to conduct foreign relations. He alone is Commander in Chief.

Many Americans still have nagging questions about why we are in Vietnam. The President's most effective answers often come when he is speaking informally and spontaneously—rather than in his set speeches.

This column reports the President speaking informally and spontaneously on questions which concern the safety of the United States and the peace of the world—and gives his candid and innermost thinking.

Question: Was there no other choice but to defend South Vietnam?

President Johnson: "You know the major alternatives as well as I do and I won't take time to repeat them. You can think of a thousands problems, a thousand complications, about this ball of wax out there in southeast Asia. We have to confront this utter complexity and find a few simple, fundamental propositions on which this Nation moves.

"And what are those simple propositions? One, the fact of aggression. Can the thousands of armed men and large quantities of arms sent down from North Vietnam to South Vietnam take over that country by force? If you don't believe this is really aggression, go see Bob McNamara or Dean Rusk and let them show you the complete evidence."

Question: Do we really have a commitment to South Vietnam?

President Johnson: "I'm not going to take the case to the Supreme Court as to whether we were legally compelled to come to her defense. Our commitment was voluntarily and deliberately entered into on the basis of the SEATO treaty, on the basis of the bilateral arrangements made by President Eisenhower with the Government of South Vietnam, on the basis of annual appropriations thoroughly discussed with the Congress for aid in both the economic and political affairs of South Vietnam for 10 years, on the basis of the commitment of three Presidents—we have a commitment.

"We know we have it. The South Vietnamese know we have it. The Communists know we have it. So, if anyone doubts we have a commitment, let them look at the facts."

Question: What does that commitment mean?

President Johnson: "What does it mean? If I can leave you with one thought I would say that you must understand that the integrity of the American commitment is the principal pillar of peace in the world today. If anything happens to the integrity of that commitment, we are lost.

"I have used the word 'honor' with respect to Vietnam. When I have done so, some have tended to say, 'Oh, dear me!' As if this were an expression out of 18th century diplomacy—for a king who had become offended because his daughter was refused in marriage to the son of another king."

Question: What do you mean by "honor"?

President Johnson: "Let me tell you what honor means—concretely. Toward the end of President Eisenhower's administration, he was presented by Chairman Khrushchev with an ultimatum: 6 months in Berlin and out. And President Eisenhower said to Chairman Khrushchev: 'No, Mr. Chairman, you can't do that to the United States.' And Khrushchev had to believe it.

"In the summer of 1961, Khrushchev said to President Kennedy: 'Out of Berlin, or there will be war.' This was at the Vienna talks in June 1961. President Kennedy looked him straight in the eye and said, 'Mr. Chairman, if that is what you want, that is what you will have. It will be a cold winter.' And it was utterly to the life of this Nation that Mr. Khrushchev believed that.

"When the Russian missiles entered Cuba, President Kennedy had to say to Mr. Khrushchev, 'Mr. Chairman, these missiles have to go. Period. Paragraph. They have got to go. And you have a chance to get them out peacefully, but they have got to go.' The life of this Nation depended at that moment on Mr. Khrushchev believing him.

"We are now saying to Hanoi and Peiping 'Gentlemen, you are not going to take over

South Vietnam. You're not going to do it.'

"If you were a Berliner, if you were a Thai, you would be living on the basis of the American commitment. If Moscow or Peiping or Hanoi ever thought that commitment was not worth anything, then no one is in more danger than you and I in this room. The entire Nation is in danger.

"That is what honor means in this situation. It takes guts. You have the life of nations wrapped up in this word."

This is what the integrity of America's commitment to South Vietnam means to the President of the United States.

TODAY IN WORLD AFFAIRS: U.S. PEACE OFFER IS NOW CLEAR TO REDS

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—By this time, the Governments of Red China and the Soviet Union have had several days in which to analyze a document containing a comprehensive exposition of the American Government's intentions with respect to peace in Vietnam. If the Communist regimes don't take advantage of the olive branch being offered them, it must be surmised that they are still unaware that, by prolonging the war, they inevitably will risk the devastation of Hanoi by air bombardment and the demoralization of the North Vietnam Government.

There has just been an outpouring of nearly 40,000 words by officials of the U.S. Government and a Republican committee, as well as a State Department news conference, covering every phase of the delicate problem in Vietnam. But the hour-long television program over the CBS network really built the foundations for a peace negotiation—if the Communists are seriously interested.

Not only did Secretary of State Dean Rusk, U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, and Presidential Assistant McGeorge Bundy express themselves freely, but the three CBS reporters—Richard C. Hottelet, Marvin Kalb, and Harry Reasoner—all asked pointed questions and got some forceful answers, even though the latter were couched occasionally in diplomatic jargon.

The television audience as a whole may not have grasped the true significance of what was being said, and perhaps it wasn't expected to, as the real audience was far away in other lands. There's little doubt that the foreign offices in Peking and Moscow, to whom verbatim transcripts were available through embassies here, can read between the lines and perceive that there's a chance to make peace now without much complication and that there may be greater difficulty later on if the war is prolonged.

Emphasis was placed, of course, on America's readiness to negotiate, and the point was made that the military successes in recent days might "help us bring nearer the day when there would be effective negotiations." But the heart of the argument was the indicated formula as to how peace could be made. Secretary Rusk recalled that the Chinese had been talking about an immediate withdrawal of American forces as a precondition to negotiations, and described this as "quite an unrealistic point of view," because the intervention of American forces in the first place was due entirely to the invasion from the north into South Vietnam. Secretary Rusk added:

"Now one would suppose that peace requires that there be a withdrawal of those North Vietnamese forces that have penetrated into South Vietnam. If you don't like the word withdrawal, you can use the word redeployment, but it is that infiltration which is solely responsible for the presence of American combat forces in South Vietnam."

Secretary Rusk reiterated that the United States has "no interest in military bases or a permanent military presence in southeast Asia." He was unequivocal in his statement that there is a "deep commitment to the simple notion of self-determination."

There were questions asked as to whether the United States is interested in pursuing the war into Red China's territory, and this was vigorously denied. Secretary Rusk stressed, moreover, that the United States does not want to escalate the war. He said:

"We would hope very much that the time will come when it will be recognized on the other side that pushing this matter militarily is not worth the risk at the end of the trail, and therefore that they will bring this to the conference table for settlement. * * *

"I myself cannot believe that it is a rational idea that the principal powers involved in this business could look with favor upon the outbreak of a general war. It doesn't make sense from anyone's point of view."

Mr. Rusk didn't speak of the Red Chinese as "enemies" but referred to "our colleagues in Peiping" as he said:

"If they want to test whether or not the United States is aggressive, then let them live at peace with their neighbors and they would find out that the United States is not aggressive with respect to mainland China."

The whole discussion shows clearly to Peiping that there is a way to make peace. It adds up to a willingness by the United States to refrain from bombing North Vietnam provided there is an indication of a withdrawal of Communist forces back to North Vietnam. This then could lead to a cease-fire, and talks could proceed indefinitely on other points at issue.

Congressman Culver Helps Iowa Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I feel it is good when steps are taken to build stronger ties among rural and urban sections of the country. I would like to call to the attenion of my fellow Members an article from the August 20, 1965 issue of the Des Moines Register describing the visit of three eastern Congressmen to northeast Iowa at the invitation of our colleague JOHN CULVER, who represents the second district of Iowa.

Congressman CULVER arranged the trip to show the metropolitan Representatives JOHN MURPHY of New York, THOMAS MCGRATH of New Jersey, and WILLIAM GREEN of Philadelphia, the problems of Iowa farmers and the importance of a good farm program.

On this occasion the Congressmen visited several farms near Olin in Jones County where they had the opportunity to view the methods, equipment, and conservation practices of modern agriculture, and to frankly discuss current farm problems. Additionally, they attended a county fair in Decorah and a farm meeting in Independence, toured plants in Cedar Rapids, and were shown historical points of interest and tourist facilities in Dubuque, McGregor, Marquette, Spillville, and Fort Atkinson.

As the Representative of Iowa's Fourth District, and a member of the House Agriculture Committee, I share JOHN CULVER's conviction that we can gain increased support for our State and greater interest in its growth through this type of first-hand view of our farms and factories.

It is clear from the article that this visit was extremely successful in promoting better mutual understanding. It is also significant that the trip was sponsored by CULVER's Agricultural Advisory Committee which represents all farm organizations in an effort to find and further those areas of agreement which are commonly shared by all farm interests.

I want to commend JOHN CULVER for his efforts, and my three eastern colleagues for their desire to learn more about the people and problems of the Midwest to assist them in effectively serving the national interest in Congress.

The article from the Des Moines Register follows:

THREE BIG CITY LAWMAKERS VISIT FARMS

(By Gene Raffensperger)

OLIN, IOWA.—"I'm going to let my hair down with you fellows," said Dillon Storey, 58, a Jones County farmer, as he talked Friday in his farm yard with three eastern big city Congressmen.

Storey, a member of the Farmers Union and the National Farmers Organization, told the visiting Congressmen that his gross income in 1964 was $30,965 but that expenses, taxes, and other operating costs, left him with a net loss of $420.39.

He detailed the plight of some farmers in terms of parity price, said hog and cattle prices currently promise a better year for farmers, and said the feed grain legislation had given him some important income.

Representative JOHN MURPHY, Democrat, of New York, whose district includes Brooklyn and Staten Island, told Storey, "We don't get that same picture portrayed to us most of the time from the Agricultural Department. I guess we hear more from the big producers and the meatpackers."

MURPHY and his eastern colleagues didn't hear much from the big producers Friday. They heard mostly from Iowa farmers operating family farms.

WITH CULVER

MURPHY, Representative THOMAS MCGRATH, Democrat, of New Jersey, and Representative WILLIAM GREEN, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, were in Iowa with Representative JOHN CULVER, Democrat, of Iowa, who represents the district that includes Jones County.

CULVER said he asked the eastern Congressmen to come here to learn first hand the problems faced by farmers in the hope that through mutual understanding the two sections of the country both would benefit.

MURPHY, 39, represents a metropolitan section of New York. Green, 27, represents a section of Philadelphia. McGrath, 38, represents Atlantic City and the South Jersey shore area.

None had been on a Midwest farm before Friday. Green cheerfully admitted he had not been "west of Pittsburgh."

The four Congressmen were in the House Chamber in Washington, D.C., until 8 p.m., Thursday to vote in favor of the administration's farm bill. Seven hours later, after flying and driving all right, all were bedded down in Iowa farm homes in Jones County.

MCGRATH who stayed at the farm home of Glenn Brown, southwest of Olin, was up at 6:30 a.m., after 3 hours sleep. Wearing a white shirt and tie, he donned a borrowed set of coveralls and rubber boots and set out with Brown on "chore time."

FEEDING CATTLE

Brown is feeding 221 Angus and Hereford cattle and McGRATH went along on the trip to watch.

"Do your young people stay on the farm," asked McGRATH.

"No, they do not," said Brown. "I do not know what will become of this land when our generation is gone. Young fellows have to have so much now to start farming that many of them just do not start."

McGRATH and Brown then drove to the farm home of Grover Benischek where CULVER was the house guest. They were joined by GREEN, whose host was Jast Stingley of Center Junction, and MURPHY, whose host was Harry Carbaugh of near Clarence.

The breakfast that followed might not fairly be described as "a typical Iowa farm breakfast." It included melon, juice, eggs, bacon, toast, sweet rolls, and coffee. Nonetheless it was typical hearty farm fare.

At Olin, a group of 50 or so were waiting to greet the visitors.

Outside the Triangle Cafe, Ralph Coppess, 68, who farms near Wyoming, Iowa, buttonholed MURPHY.

"Out your way they are more congested and people are always in a hurry, aren't they?" asked Coppess. MURPHY nodded.

"What are you going to do about that water problem," continued Coppess.

BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY

"We are hoping a hurricane will dump a load in our reservoirs," smiled MURPHY. "You certainly have beautiful country here and plenty of water too," said MURPHY.

"Yes, our problem is surplus," said Coppess.

"We handled a little bill on that last night," said MURPHY, referring to the farm bill vote in the House.

"How did you vote," said Coppess.

"The right way," said MURPHY. "I told JOHN [CULVER] that now I understand why they send big men to Congress from here so they can twist a few arms."

"Well, I guess you have to help one another out," said Coppess.

"I was just ribbing him a little," Coppess said later, referring to his talk with MURPHY.

Asked if he was a Republican or Democrat himself, Coppess winked "I've voted both ways."

CULVER, incidentally, did not carry Jones County in 1964 when he won election to Congress from Iowa's Second District.

VIEWED MACHINERY

At the Paul E. Paulsen farm near Scotch Grove, the visitors saw a lineup of what it takes in the way of machinery to run a farm.

Paulsen had his equipment tagged with the new price and the present market value of each piece. Totaled up, the new cost was $92,285. Valued at present, the machinery was $33,115.

"You have to be a mechanic and a welder and everything, don't you?" asked MURPHY.

"And a businessman," said Paulsen.

Putting his hand on an $8,000 tractor, Paulsen said "It takes a lot of hogs to buy one of these."

Cletus Hughes of Cascade asked MURPHY, "Did you ever think what would happen to the steel industry out east if the farmers out here lose their purchasing power?"

"I sure have," said MURPHY. "I'm worried, too, about feeding the people out east."

The farm tour ended at the farm of Eldon Airy in Linn County near Marion where farm women prepared a thresher-type dinner served outdoors.

Talking to reporters and others there, GREEN and McGRATH said they would have voted for the farm bill regardless of what action Midwestern Congressmen took on the controversial 14(b) (right to work) legislation.

WIDESPREAD TALK

There was widespread talk that Democratic strategy on the two bills called for farm belt cooperation on the labor bill in return for eastern support of the farm bill. Iowa Democrats in the House supported the labor bill.

CULVER said one purpose of the tour here by the easterners was to show that Congressmen represent not only their own districts but the Nation.

The Agricultural Advisory Committee, a farm group formed by CULVER in the Second District, picked up the cost of bringing the three eastern Congressmen here. The bill totaled abou $175 each.

Later Friday, the Congressmen toured Collins Radio and Quaker Oats in Cedar Rapids. Today they will visit Dubuque, McGregor, Marquette and Decorah.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

West Virginia Makes Significant Use of Project Head Start—Mineral County Implements Valuable Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, at 556 Project Head Start centers in West Virginia, 18,440 needy children have received valuable instruction from professionals and volunteers aimed at preparing them to enter the first grade of school this fall. An outstanding result was achieved in Mineral County.

A total of $3,284,079 was spent on Project Head Start in West Virginia during fiscal 1965 of which amount the Federal share of 90 percent equalled $2,873,302. The latter was a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Through this program, children of the poor hopefully will be able to enter the first grade on an equal basis with other children.

In March of this year, Sargent Shriver, in an address to the joint session of the West Virginia Legislature, appealed for volunteers from the public. The director said that educators tell us these children will begin the first grade already 6 months to a year behind children from normal homes and families, and that by the third grade they will be 1 year to 18 months behind. The prevailing pattern is that, at the 10th grade, if they progress that far, they will drop from school and most of them fall into tragic poverty, perhaps for life.

The program in West Virginia for the most part has improved the child's health, emotional and social development, and has expanded mental processes and broadened perception.

Progress in this effort in our State has been accentuated by the personal and official leadership of Governor and Mrs. Hulett C. Smith. The first lady of West Virginia has traveled in many sections of our State encouraging local participation. Her enthusiasm was contagious and constructive.

Mr. President, an excellent article on the subject appeared in the Mineral Daily News-Tribune of Keyser, W. Va. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Mineral Daily News-Tribune, Aug. 25, 1965]

HELD 8 WEEKS—367 CHILDREN ATTEND HEAD START CLASSES

A total of 367 children attended Head Start classes which were held for the past 8 weeks in 30 child development centers in Mineral County, ending last Friday, Harold K. Carvey, Director of Head Start for Mineral County, said the program has proven very successful. Thirty teachers, all trained in early childhood development during a week's intensive instruction at West Virginia University, have conducted the program, together with aids for each class and other volunteer helpers.

According to Mr. Carvey, the philosophy of the program is based on the development of the whole child by the use of concerte materials. Included have been learning experiences aimed at improvement of health, helping emotional and social development by encouraging self-confidence, self-expression, self-discipline, and curiosity; and expanding the child's mental processes. Every effort has been made to include activities in the daily program which are designed to meet the special needs of the individual children who were enrolled in the program. Creative experiences stressed the use of concrete materials such as clay, easel painting, fingerpainting, cutting and pasting, and other art activities which enabled the child to express himself according to his individual feelings.

Music and rhythmic activities using both records and singing have been coordinated with clapping, marching, and a variety of finger-play rhymes. Children manipulated puzzles, counted objects, and played games which were all learning experiences. Many of the children have visited the fire department where they climbed on trucks, rang bells, and gained firsthand experiences about fire protection. Some children went to farms, watched cows being milked, and learned many facts about milk. Other groups visited local fairs, the post office, the swimming pool, and participated in other activities which gave them direct experiences so valuable to the development of the child on an individual basis. Thus, each child who participated in Head Start progressed at his own rate as an individual.

All children enrolled in Head Start in Mineral County were given complete physical examinations. Dr. Staggers, Dr. Rogers, and Dr. Pagan cooperated in this effort. Eye examinations were given by registered nurses, Mrs. Maggie Williams, Mrs. Virginia Northcraft, and Mrs. Bertha Smith. These nurses also gave each child the Tine test for tuberculosis. Jean Abernathy assisted in this part of the program. Each child not only received a thorough physical checkup but where defects were found, parents were referred to the proper agency for correction. Complete dental checks were also made for all children by Mrs. Florence Giffin, dental hygenist.

J. R. Haines, guidance director for Mineral County schools, conducted a complete psychological testing program for all children enrolled in the child development centers. A staff of 10 workers was trained by Mr. Haines to administer the tests used in this program. These included the culture fair test, the color pyramid test, and the preschool achievement test. Each teacher also evaluated the children in the class using the student evaluation questionnaire, the behavior inventory, and the psychological screening procedure. The results of these tests will be made available to the first grade teacher where each child enters school and will be invaluable in aiding the teacher to continue the child's instruction at the level where he is now functioning. As a result of this information these children should be able to progress further in their first year of school. The evaluations include information about every aspect of the child as an individual.

Another important part of the Head Start program has been the serving of snacks and lunches to the children. Not only have the children been given nourishing meals prepared by 11 cooks throughout the county, but the children have learned to eat together at tables with the other children. Both teachers and aids have eaten all snacks and lunches sitting with the children at their tables. This has been a time of conversation, the children learning to talk with each other at the table. Also, manners have become more important to some as they observed each other and the adults at the table. This is a valuable preparation for the school lunch program. All meals were furnished at no cost to the parents.

Children in the Head Start program in Mineral County particularly enjoyed riding the school bus to and from school. Eleven drivers transported the children to the centers daily.

Mr. Carvey stated that he believes the program in this county has been a complete success and that he hopes it will not only be continued next year but will also be extended to include prekindergarten children.

Great Society Moves on Under L.B.J. Prodding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARLE CABELL
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, we are accustomed to dividing men into those we call "men of ideas," and "men of action." We describe some as practical men, others as visionaries.

But occasionally we encounter a man who is striking because he represents the capacity for ideas and for action—combined.

I believe that the chief architect of the Great Society is proving to be such a man. I believe that the experience of the last few months—and the promise of the years to come—give ample proof of his leadership qualities.

What do we mean when we speak of the Great Society?

What does the future hold? What does the President envision for the Nation whose destiny so largely rests in his hands?

An excellent commentary which suggests the answers to these questions appeared recently in the Dallas Morning News. I submit for inclusion in the RECORD, and I commend to my distinguished colleagues, this article: "Great Society Moves on Under L.B.J. Prodding." It appeared on August 21, and it offers enlightened analysis of the program which

President Johnson hopes to bring to fruition during his Presidency:

GREAT SOCIETY MOVES ON UNDER L.B.J. PRODDING

(By Allen Duckworth)

The Great Society is no longer a mere blueprint.

Under the guidance of the architects and contractors, Lyndon B. Johnson and Co., construction is well underway. This isn't a prediction that it will be a successful, working social structure. Only time and history can record that. But progress is at a breathtaking pace.

This near-Utopian program is unique.

True, in the exciting "first 100 days" of Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration, the Congress rubberstamped most every revolutionary idea he sent to the Hill. But circumstances were different. F.D.R. was trying to prop up a faltering economy which had created breadlines, bank failures, and a discouraged populace.

President Johnson's Great Society was projected not in time of depression, not as an emergency, but in a time of the Nation's greatest period of prosperity, and in a time of military demands.

Mr. Johnson's idealistic aim, it appears from his numerous public declarations, is to make more Americans prosperous, more people better educated, more people better housed, more people enjoying equal rights in every manner, more people given better medical care.

He has combined those aims with attention to solution of problems such as water and air pollution, abundant water supplies, protection of the country's natural beauty, advancement of the arts and sciences, help for cities with their many urban problems, upgrading agriculture and improving Government efficiency.

Since the late Mr. Roosevelt became President, our Chief Executives have coined phrases to indicate their national programs. F.D.R. had his New Deal, Harry Truman followed with his Fair Deal, John F. Kennedy called his the New Frontier. And now, L.B.J. has the Great Society.

Mr. Johnson, 6 months after becoming President, mentioned the Great Society for the first time in outlining his goals in an address at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, May 22, 1964.

"The Great Society," he said then, "rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice * * *. But that is just the beginning."

The President expanded on the theme during his inaugural address last January, and spelled out details in his state of the Union message to the Congress. Later, he became more specific in additional messages confined to single subjects.

"The Great Society," he continued, "is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents.

"It is a place where leisure is a welcome chance to build and reflect, not a feared cause of boredom and restlessness. It is a place where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce, but the desire for beauty and hunger for community."

Mr. Johnson, in his state of the Union message last January, declared:

"The Great Society asks not only how much, but how good * * *.

"I propose that we begin a program in education, to insure every American child the fullest development of his mind and skills.

"I propose we begin a massive attack on crippling and killing diseases.

"I propose we increase the beauty of America and end the poisoning of our rivers and the air that we breathe.

"I propose we carry out a new program to develop regions of our country that are now suffering from distress and depression.

"I propose we make new efforts to control and prevent crime and delinquency.

"I propose we eliminate every remaining obstacle to the right and the opportunity to vote.

"I propose that we honor and support the achievements of thought and the creations of art.

"I propose that we make an all-out campaign against waste and inefficiency."

Mr. Johnson, in an idealistic address at the University of Kentucky, said his Great Society program is part of a continuing revolution in this country.

"We are children of revolution," he declared. "The history of America is the history of continuing revolution. That revolution has conquered a continent and it has extended democracy. It has given us unmatched mastery over nature and it has given us the tools to conquer material wants. It has set the stage for a new order of society—devoted to enriching the life of every human being on a scale never before thought possible. True, these revolutions have been peaceful; but they have shaken the entire globe."

The American ideal, he continued, is to show the way to the liberation of man from every form of tyranny over his mind, his body, and his spirit.

His aim of a Great Society extends to the entire world.

"We care that men are hungry—not only in Appalachia, but in Asia and in Africa and in other spots of the world.

"We care than men are oppressed—not only among ourselves but wherever man is unjust to man."

A new concept for immigration is part of the Great Society program. The President has requested, and it is carried out in the House bill sent to the floor, that the national origins quota system be abolished.

Ten percent of those admitted to the United States from other countries will be refugees fleeing from catastrophe or oppression. Six percent is allocated to "political refugees."

Another 10 percent will be those with skills needed by American industry. Those who are artists or professional persons will have a 10-percent quota.

There also is a category for admission of brothers and sisters of American citizens.

"We are not merely a nation," Mr. Johnson said in his immigration message to Congress, "but a 'nation of nations.'"

Actually, he does not intend to substantially change the number of immigrants admitted each year—only the manner in which they will be selected.

Individuals, not government alone, must help build the Great Society, said Mr. Johnson. It is a tremendous challenge, needing arduous struggle, hard labor, and involving "great danger," the President admitted.

Eventually, he predicted, all of this will be successful and would lead to "triumph over all the enemies of mankind."

Making Air Travel Safer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I would like to call attention to the fact that this Nation's scheduled airline industry is devoting much effort and money these days in a continuing effort to provide the air traveler with the most dependable and safest air transportation in the world.

Specifically, I would like to note that recently Trans World Airlines has announced the purchase of two systems, one of which will make possible even more dependable service on its fleet of DC-9 jets. The other is a newly developed fire protection device which will be installed on TWA's entire fleet of 111 jet aircraft.

The DC-9 fleet which TWA will begin putting in service early next year will have the industry's first fully automatic data analysis system, developed by TWA and Lockheed Aircraft Service Co. The system will monitor 50 separate parameters of engine information and provide a daily "health report" on the operation of the aircraft's engines and systems. The data will be recorded on paper tape which will be removed from the aircraft at the termination of the flight and then transmitted over the company's teletype system to the TWA maintenance base in Kansas City where rapid computer analysis will facilitate quick and accurate diagnosis of maintenance requirements.

In its constant program to make air travel ever more safe, TWA has purchased from the Fenwal Co. in Ashland, Mass., a unique protection device which is designed to virtually eliminate the possibility of lightning igniting volatile fuel vapors vented from the jet aircraft's fuel tanks. The system detects a flame as it enters the fuel vent scoop on the wing and in a fraction of a second a special extinguishing agent is dispersed to kill the flame and eliminate the possibility of fire and/or explosion.

These two systems which will increase the dependability and safety of TWA's flights will undoubtedly be adopted by other airlines, many of which have already expressed special interest in them. TWA's expenditure of some $750 thousand is well worth the price for the benefits these systems will provide.

TWA is to be congratulated for its leadership in working with the manufacturers in the testing and development of these systems.

I ask unanimous consent that two press releases and some additional information regarding these new developments may appear in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TWA TO PURCHASE FENWAL FIRE PROTECTION DEVICE

Trans World Airlines has approved the purchase of a unique protection device from Fenwal, Inc., to augment those systems already in general use on all its jet aircraft, according to an announcement by Raymond M. Dunn, senior vice president and system general manager.

Mr. Dunn said the entire TWA fleet of 111 jet aircraft would be equipped with the new device which is now undergoing final tests at the Fenwal test site at Ashland, Mass. Cost of the system to TWA will be approximately $400,000.

The new device is designed to virtually eliminate the possibility of lightning igniting volatile fuel vapors vented from fuel tanks. The system detects a flame as it enters the fuel vent scoop. In milliseconds a special extinguishing agent is dispersed into the surge box in advance of the flame front. Thus an inert block is established between

the vent and fuel system. Flame suppression has been proven by exhaustive tests to be capable of providing this effective block faster than required under the most extreme conditions which might be encountered in actual flight operations.

Mr. Dunn said that Fenwal is prepared to produce the systems as soon as final approvals have been granted by the FAA and manufacturers. Following these necessary approvals, TWA will begin installing the systems on its jet aircraft.

The new aircraft flame suppresion system is an outgrowth of Fenwal's many years of experience in manufacturing explosion suppression and advance inerting systems for industry. Almost 200 of these systems are now in use by plastic, food, chemical and other manufacturers.

TWA PURCHASES DC-9 MAINTENANCE RECORDER

The aviation industry's first fully automatic data analysis system was unveiled today by Trans World Airlines and Lockheed Aircraft Service Co. after 2 years of joint pioneering development in the field of airborne maintenance recording.

TWA will equip its fleet of 20 DC-9 jet transports with the system, which will be manufactured by LAS at its plant in Ontario, Calif.

The DC-9 installation, monitoring 50 separate parameters of engine information, will mark the first fleetwide application of automatic airborne data collection to provide a daily "health report" on the aircraft engines and systems.

Automatic Data Analysis System (ADAS), as the system is commonly called, will greatly reduce DC-9 cockpit paperwork by automatically recording data reflecting the state of performance of all monitored components.

Recorded on punched paper tape, the data will be transmitted by teletype to the airline's overhaul base at Kansas City, Mo., where rapid computer analysis and printout facilities quick and accurate diagnosis of maintenance requirements.

In announcing the $350,000 initial order to LAS for the DC-9 fleet, A. E. Jordan, TWA's vice president of technical services, estimated that the system would result in savings of approximately $200,000 annually for the airline.

TWA INSTALLS LOCKHEED MAINTENANCE RECORDER SYSTEM

A practical airborne maintenance recording system was made possible by the cooperative engineering efforts of Trans World Airlines and Lockheed Aircraft Service Co. that began in April 1962.

TWA, at that time, launched the technique to install a Lockheed maintenance recorder system on one of the airline's Boeing 707-131 aircraft.

The Lockheed system monitors and records numerous measurements for defining the performance and condition of a wide variety of systems for subsequent technical analysis on the ground.

This basic diagnostic tool is provided for defining and locating troubles in the many aircraft systems and also permits prediction of impending malfunctions in those systems. Through the latter capability it affords the potential of replacing major components such as engines, generators, and air conditioning units only when deteriorating performance of the system indicates such action is necessary, rather than on an arbitrary time control basis.

The DC-9 ADAS follows this basic concept. Through electrical sensors located at vital points in the aircraft, temperatures, pressures, positions and other similar information relative to the system and its performance are sensed.

As the system will be installed initially, on TWA's DC-9's, data from approximately 50 parameters will be automatically scanned three times each flight; at takeoff, during climbout and later in cruise flight. The system will also take an automatic data scan upon its initiation by the flight crew. This is accomplished by pressing a switch in the cockpit.

As the data is being scanned it will be punched out on paper tape along with necessary teletype address and end-of-message information to insure its proper transmission to the airlines' overhaul base computer center in Kansas City.

Each flight leg will contain its own complete message including the flight number, flight leg, day, month and aircraft number.

The paper tape message will be removed from the aircraft immediately upon flight termination and transmitted over telephone lines. Thus, the data can be made available to engineering and maintenance personnel at TWA's overhaul base within 5 minutes after a flight has terminated at any of TWA's domestic stations.

The data will also be fed into a computer for more extensive analysis by techniques such as TWA's flight log analysis program which is used in determining jet engine performance.

In the flight log analysis technique the aircraft's flight log serves as the recording medium. During stabilized cruise of each jet flight, the aircraft's flight engineer takes readings from some 40 cockpit instruments denoting the performance status of the aircraft. Information on the plane's gross weight, engine speeds, static air temperature, ram air temperature, mach number, engine pressure ratio (EPR), the exhaust gas temperature (EGT), the speeds of the low (N_1) and high (N_2) compressors, the fuel flow and similar data is noted in the aircraft's flight log.

At the first stop, a copy of the information is given to a teletype operator who sends it to the Kansas City base.

Early each morning the data is read into a computer for analysis and preparation of a report.

This report, with the latest engine data and past performance history, is provided for review by the powerplant engineering group when they arrive for work that morning. The performance of each Pratt & Whitney JT-3, JT-4, JT-3D and JT-8D and each General Electric CJ805 engine is thus analyzed daily. If an engine's performance on any one of TWA's 112 jet aircraft shows a sharp deviation from normal, corrective maintenance is initiated quickly.

By incorporating the DC-9 into the flight log analysis program, monetary savings comparable to the annual savings of $4,000 per engine now being realized on other fleets of jet aircraft will also be obtained on the forthcoming two-engine Douglas jetliners.

ADAS will provide many advantages over other methods of data collection including the following:

1. Greater accuracy in collecting data.
2. Quicker data response for indicating engine hot section deterioration problems.
3. Additional maintenance sensitivity by monitoring functions not displayed in the cockpit, such as engine oil breather pressure, engine oil filter differential pressure, and metal contamination build-up. This additional information provides important signs in early detection of impending deterioration in the basic engine.
4. Expansion, through the addition of a magnetic recording unit, into more sophisticated flight and maintenance systems capable of recording 500 or more parameters is possible. Utilizing this capability, improved maintenance trouble analysis, both at line stations as well as at TWA's overhaul base will be realized.

ADAS also has the capability of accepting a small airborne computer, thus providing in-flight analysis of monitored data for quick pinpointing of defective units and components once the aircraft arrived at its destination.

The basic system is thus designed to provide those many maintenance benefits which can be realized today and, at the same time, has the flexibility and expansion capability to meet the challenges for ever improving maintenance techniques for years ahead.

Recreational Potential on Iowa Farms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, soil conservation and recreational resources in my State have always been two of my greatest interests. Since I represent the people of the Seventh District in southwest Iowa, I am sure you will not find this surprising.

Recently the Carroll Times Herald, a seventh district newspaper, carried a timely and most informative article on these very topics.

To give my colleagues an idea of the great progress being made by Iowa soil conservation farmers in this area, I would like this article entered in the RECORD. The article follows:

RECREATION POTENTIAL ON IOWA FARMS

Iowa soil conservation farmers are building a great potential recreation resource on Iowa farms, according to Marvin R. Larson of the Carroll County soil conservation district.

He listed a few figures from recent accomplishment reports, as proof. There are approximately 30,000 farm ponds for livestock water and structure ponds for erosion control in the State. Records show that over 17,000 of these ponds have been stocked with fish.

In the Carroll County soil conservation district, 37 farm ponds have been built and 37 farm ponds have been stocked with fish, mainly bass and bluegills.

Most of these ponds are not fished as hard as they could be, Mr. Larson said adding, "a great deal of first class fishing recreation is available here and it is not being used." Ususally all that is necessary, in order to fish in a farm pond, is to request the permission of the owner. Most farmers, short on available time, are glad to have responsible fishermen help in harvesting the fish produced in the farm ponds. The considerate fisherman, in turn, is glad to share his catch with the owner of the farm pond.

Conservation farmers hold the key to wildlife abundance because what they do to the land reflects directly on what happens to wildlife, according to Mr. Larson. To date, approximately 70,000 acres in the State have been improved specifically for wildlife. Conservation farmers are doing this at the approximate rate of about 5,000 acres each year. These wildlife areas are located on farmland where approximately 90 percent or more of the wildlife in Iowa is produced.

Wildlife area improvement consists of planting trees and shrubs, or seeding grasses or forbs for the benefit of many forms of wildlife. Many existing good wildlife areas are merely protected and maintained, and these areas are also important to our Iowa wildlife.

Hedgerow planting on conservation farms in the State is reported to be approximately

500,000 rods, which is over 1,400 miles or an average of more than 15 miles for each soil conservation district in the State.

Many hunters and wildlife conservationists can take some measure of comfort in seeing the return of these hedges. They benefit wildlife and at the same time fit in with a complete soil and water conservation farming pattern.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I have been requested to include in the RECORD the newsletter which I have been sending to the people of the Seventh District of Alabama. In response to this request, I ask permission to extend my remarks and include the Washington Report of January 15, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORTS: 89TH CONGRESS CONVENES

(By Congressman JIM MARTIN, Seventh District, Alabama)

The most significant remarks at the opening of the 1st session of the 89th Congress, were contained, of course, in the President's state of the Union message. As each proposal from the White House is sent to Congress and the committee reports begin to come in, I will discuss individual programs in detail. At this moment we can take only an overall look at what the President proposes.

If he is successful in getting through all his programs, a radical change will have taken place in our form of Government of the United States of America. We simply cannot turn all our responsibilities and the responsibilities of the States over to the Federal Government without the loss of individual freedoms. When a strong Federal Government undertakes to house, feed, clothe, provide jobs, medical care, education, recreation, and all the necessities and luxuries of life, that is socialism no matter how we sugar coat it.

I think there is good sound commonsense in a statement by Congressman OTTO PASSMAN, Democrat, of Louisiana, who said: "The last election brought great changes here. Nevertheless, I do not believe that the voters gave a mandate to Congress to bankrupt America or destroy our sovereignty. In the next 2 years, the voters must tell this to Congress again and again."

THE FIRST PROPOSALS

As expected, the program which will be pushed the hardest by the liberals for quick action is medicare. I have serious reservations about tying hospital care or medical care for the elderly to the social security system. It will greatly increase taxes for working people and will threaten the solvency of the social security fund which is already $331 billion in the hole.

The plans for Federal aid to education put Washington in tight control of American education at every level and will add over a billion dollars to the tax rolls the first year with demands for untold billions in the years to come. The South greatly needs help in improving our educational facilities—but the question to be answered is—at what price and how will the money be spent?

For instance, New York is one of the richest States in the Union, and yet it will receive $92 million from the Federal Government for aid to education. The personal income of the citizens of New York State is over $55 billion. The State spends more than $2.5 billion a year for education. So it is not clear why it could not spend an additional $92 million, including the $50 million for New York City, which pays the largest amount of taxes of any city in the State. Can we afford the price of Government control? Is it worth the monetary gain?

The President's proposal to change our immigration laws to permit entry into the United States of cheap coolie labor from the Asia-African nations and encourage greatly increased immigration of Negroes from Jamaica, Trinidad, and Tobago threatens to add to our welfare rolls, increase unemployment, and face American workers with hordes of cheap labor to crowd the marketplace for jobs. These are just a few brief comments on the far-reaching effects of some of the liberal legislation Members of Congress will be considering. I have an open mind on all the President's proposals and intend to study each one fully after hearings are held and the various committees of the House report on them. Only then will I make up my mind on how to vote on each proposal.

NEW REPUBLICAN MEMBER RECEIVED

It was most encouraging to watch the reception given Congressman ALBERT W. WATSON, of South Carolina, by Republicans after he had been stripped of his seniority by northern liberal Democrats because he stood by his convictions. As he attended his first meeting with his fellow Republicans after changing his party affiliation, he was given a unanimous ovation by all the Republican Members of the House. This is a good sign of the growing strength of a solid two-party system in the South and their growing influence in the Republican Party.

No Rubberstamps on the Hill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, there has been some talk of late in certain circles to the effect that the 89th Congress is serving as a rubberstamp for the administration.

To my mind, the rubberstamp charge reflects a rather naive view of the legislative process, and I was, therefore, pleased to note an article refuting the rubberstamp allegation in the August 29, 1965, issue of the New York Times.

Many of my fellow Members probably will find this article of interest and, under leave to extend my remarks, I hereby include it in the RECORD:

L.B.J. AND CONGRESS—NO RUBBERSTAMPS ON THE HILL

(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, August 28.—"The rubberstamp 89th Congress," intoned the Richmond News-Leader recently, "once more has demonstrated its spineless acceptance of the proposition that what Lyndon wants, Lyndon gets."

This echoing judgment was delivered on the occasion of the House's passage of the bill to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, and it was typical of many loving appraisals this Congress has absorbed—particularly from those who disapprove of Lyndon Johnson and all his works.

Well, this week the rubberstamp 89th Congress spinelessly made it clear to Mr. Johnson that if he expects to get the 14(b) repealer through the Senate, he'll probably have to break a filibuster. The rubberstamp 89th Congress then spinelessly whacked Mr. Johnson across the seat of his pants with an unwanted amendment that sharply altered his immigration bill.

Congress, in fact, was feeling so supine and steamrollered this week that when Mr. Johnson, on television, made the strongest plea that any President had ventured for home rule for the District of Columbia—and one of the strongest pleas for any piece of legislation ever to come from a President—it responded by doing almost exactly nothing.

THE DOTTED LINE

None of Mr. Johnson's well-trained House leaders signed the discharge petition that would bring the homerule bill to the floor. Only one Member of his docile Texas House delegation affixed his signature. Only 4 of the President's 20 devoted committee chairmen got down on the dotted line.

Some rubber. Some stamp.

Everybody knows, of course, that Lyndon Johnson and the 89th Congress are putting together the most extensive record of legislative accomplishment since F.D.R.'s Hundred Days. Some students of legislative accomplishment, not content with this superlative, insist on going all the way back to Woodrow Wilson and 1913 for comparison.

But if there is a rubberstamp bill among the major measures passed, it could only be the $1.06 billion program to aid secondary education; the President jammed that one through virtually without change by pleading with Congress not to risk reopening the religious and racial disputes that had blocked every other school bill.

Congress forced the President to accede to a major change in the voting rights bill, a change that seeks the overthrow of State poll taxes by the Federal courts. The House Ways and Means Committee produced a major expansion of the Johnson medicare bill, all by itself.

THE PRUNING TIME

The legislators pruned several proposals out of the massive administration housing bill, then sharply trimmed its most experimental feature—the rental subsidy plan. Urban Democrats went so limp before the farm bill that they rubberstamped Mr. Johnson's so-called bread tax right out of it.

The antipoverty program is getting through more or less unscathed, but not without a hard fight and a long debate that has disclosed no lack of congressional spine—only a shortage of opposing votes.

Mr. Johnson's vaunted program to beautify the countryside has been rubberstamped out of sight. Representative L. MENDEL RIVERS, the scourge of the Pentagon, stuffed an overswollen military pay raise right down the throats of Secretary McNamara and the President. Mr. Johnson is fighting a rearguard action against a civilian pay rise he considers inflationary, and twice he has had to veto measures he believed were congressional invasions of executive prerogatives.

The Senate took counsel of J. Edgar Hoover, not Mr. Johnson or Secretary Rusk, and now is sitting tight on the consular treaty with the Soviet Union. The President's own majority leader, mild MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana, took the lead in backing him down on his plan to close a number of veterans hospitals.

And if anyone thinks he sees a rubberstamp mark anywhere on a foreign aid bill that was locked up for weeks in a House-Senate conference, he had best not point it out to Larry O'Brien, the harassed chief of Mr. Johnson's congressional liaison team.

O'BRIEN'S SAD LOT

None of this record of independence, inspiration, obstinacy, and occasional idiocy

refutes the remarkable achievements of the President and the 89th Congress. None of it means that Congress is out of hand and digging in for an anti-Johnson explosion. None of it signifies that Mr. Johnson does not know his legislative stuff, and certainly nothing in the records suggests that Congress has really developed the sort of active, sustained, and intelligent influence or national policy that ought to be its true role in the 20th century.

What the 89th Congress and Lyndon Johnson have demonstrated is that for the first time in years, the legislative and executive branches are in the traces together, however uneasily; that if the Presidency is still the paramount force in the American Government, the Congress is neither an obstructionist anachornism nor a rubberstamp.

It is, in fact, a live-wire sort of place, these days, with a mind of its own. Ask Larry O'Brien. Ask Mr. McNamara. But if you ask Lyndon Johnson, duck quickly.

Suvivorship Benefits for Servicemen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Public Law 881 of th 84th Congress which was effective January 1, 1957, was enacted after a select committee had studied survivorship benefits in the 83d and 84th Congresses. The basic benefits of this legislation was dependency and indemnity compensation, otherwise designated as DIC.

In addition to this benefit members of the Armed Forces were given full coverage under the Social Security System and the 6 months' death gratuity was liberalized to provide a greater benefit in the lower ranks.

In the same Congress there was enacted a bill which I had the honor to sponsor and which originated in the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, the so-called War Orphans Educational Assistance Act, which provides monthly payments of as much as $110 a month for 36 calendar months for the children of men who lost their lives in the defense of their country. The age of the child is generally set from 18 to 23 years.

In view of the situation in Vietnam and other troubled areas, I have received many inquiries concerning these benefits. I recently had the Veterans' Administration prepare a series of charts showing the commuted value of such benefits. I was greatly pleased to see the sizable benefits provided by existing law.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include as part of my remarks the case of a private first class who dies at the age of 20 and who leaves dependent parents:

SURVIVORSHIP BENEFITS FOR SERVICEMEN DYING FROM SERVICE-CONNECTED CAUSES

ASSUMPTIONS

1. Private first class, U.S. Army;
2. Age 20 at death;
3. Death was service connected;
4. Two years' service at death;
5. Two years in grade at death;
6. Assumed average monthly pay was $105;
7. Base pay at death was $148.50 a month;
8. Left dependent parents (no other income), age 45;
9. Parents live out their expectations of life (mother, 32.1 years; father, 27.1 years).

Benefits

Payee	Paying agency	Type of payment	Payment period	Payment rate	Total payments
Mother	Veterans' Administration	38 U.S.C. 412(a)	181 months [1]	[2] $60.30	$11,274.30
Father	do	do	121 months [3]	60.30	7,296.30
Mother	do	Disability insurance compensation.	385 months	[4] 55.00	19,173.00
Father	do	do	325 months	[5] 55.00	15,213.00
Total					52,956.60

[1] Beginning at age 62.
[2] Increasing to $66.30 after death of the father.
[3] Beginning at age 62.
[4] Decreasing to $33 at age 62 and then increasing to $66 after death of the father.
[5] Decreasing to $33 at age 62.

NOTE.—Guaranteed minimum is $160 a month (38 U.S.C. 412(a)).

Remarks by Mario T. Noto, Baltimore, Md.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. FALLON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, recently the Honorable Mario T. Noto, Associate Commissioner, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, addressed the Diamond Jubilee Supreme Convention of the Order Sons of Italy, in Baltimore, Md. Commissioner Noto has for many years served most ably in our U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service dedicated to the best interest of all. It is indeed a pleasure for me to place his address in its entirety in the RECORD to be read by all of the public:

REMARKS BY MARIO T. NOTO, ASSOCIATE COMMISSIONER, U.S. IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE, AT THE DIAMOND JUBILEE SUPREME CONVENTION OF ORDER SONS OF ITALY, AUGUST 25, 1965, BALTIMORE, MD.

OPENING REMARKS

I extend greetings to all the delegates and participants of this Diamond Jubilee Convention of the Order Sons of Italy. The accomplishments of this proud organization attest to your untiring and dedicated efforts and labors. Each of you, every member and all of us of Italian ancestry throughout the United States may well be proud of your achievements. You exemplify the true spirit of the Italian immigrants who grouped together in common ideals and beliefs to promote unity in a foreign land where they came to plant their roots.

At a gathering such as this, few are given the privilege to speak, and to be included among the few is an honor which I have accepted with genuine appreciation. I feel like the new doctor who was called by the coroner. He told the young doctor that he had made a mistake in filling out the death certificate. He told him he knew the form was complicated but as a doctor he must not sign his name in the space "cause for death." The new doctor looked at the coroner and with candor replied, "I may be a new doctor, but I must be honest." May I then take this occasion as an opportunity to offer you some of my reflections which you may find pertinent to the theme of your convention.

It is said, that to know nothing of the past is to little understand the present and to have no conception of the future. Let us then for a brief interlude revert to the past.

Sixty years ago, a group of serious minded and dedicated men met in New York to form an organization. They signed their names to a simple and yet impassioned document. This document chartered a fraternal organization—named the Order Sons of Italy. These men dedicated their purpose in simple but most meaningful language. Its unbreakable pledge ordained the allegiance of these men in the words "We, the members of the Order Sons of Italy in America, being a part of the United States of America, which we serve at all times with undivided devotion, and to whose progress we dedicate ourselves."

With these words, their aspirations and activities became assimilated into the broad and challenging patterns of the American way of life. These men were fully aware of the responsibilities they undertook. They knew they could do one of two things. They could bring honor and glory to their ancestry; or they could mutilate the dream of the future immigrants who wished to follow. But only time would tell. And it did—in the rolls of honor in government, in industry, in culture, and in every cornerstone of American endeavor. Every avenue of human effort is lined with some contribution to our country's greatness.

Who were the dedicated men who grouped together to found this order? They were representative of the type of Italian immigrant to this country—of men and women possessed with God given strength and determination. They were plain people—from small towns and valleys and mountains. They left their native land because they wanted to share in the spirit of hope, liberty and justice which this land offered. They migrated to unchartered lives in a foreign land equipped only with the endowments of birth and a faith in the future.

These early immigrants encountered bigotry and prejudices. Some of the kindest and most pungent words were "guinea" or "wop" or "dago." But without murmur they accepted the abuses and man-made hardships; and yet they seized every opportunity to give of their work and culture. They gave heart, muscle, knowledge and loyalty.

Their gradual fusion with the multinational immigrants who came to this land before and after them has helped to produce an amalgamated society which has no parallel in the world.

The value of what they have given to America and its way of life has been recognized by no less than five Presidents of the United States. Each has advocated the elimination of that portion of our immigration laws which has closed the doors to those

who would be immigrants amongst us except for their place of birth. And yet, despite the obstacles of the national origins system of our immigration laws, and within our one short generation, the Italian immigrant and his offspring has repaid America generously. His payments may be found not only in all that makes our country, but in other lands of the world—where his sons sleep in foreign soil, where they fell in defense of American ideals. He needs no praise or eulogy from me or any other man—for he has written his own history here with the calluses of his hands and the blood from his heart.

Our immigration law has had the effect of opening our doors to persons judged by race and place of birth rather than on an individual's worth to society. It ironically has discriminated with severity against southern and central Europeans. The formula of the national origins system is without basis and logic. Our own President Johnson has said, "There is no consistency in an American policy that both recognizes equality and capriciously bars immigration from countries of southern Europe."

And again it was our own President who in his first state of the Union message declared his solution in offering the criteria, "Ask not in what country were you born, but what can you do for our country?" He has consistently demanded a change to end the national quota. He has asked that each applicant be considered chiefly on the basis of occupational skill and family ties. This can only serve to enhance our Nation in the world community.

The story of the accomplishments of the Italian immigrant whether on this planet, or in this hemisphere or in America can be told in many, many ways. But the past is too well known. Its immeasurable value is well documented in the pages of history.

But now, what is the present and what is the future? The present and the future must reach greater heights. For the story of the American with Italian ancestry must be told in the forms of the beliefs, the ideals and the values which he has. It must be told to promote the truth, and to instill a deeper unity and stronger effort to further enrich our beloved country. It must be told to remove the ugly stains of prejudice made by those in our midst, who are still intolerant and condemn a whole people because of a few.

Unfortunately, there are a few of our ancestry who have not contributed to our greatness—instead they have detracted. But, in each flock some sheep must go astray—and as with some peoples of all nationalities, so it has been with some of Italian ancestry. The truth must be accepted. But it must also serve to enlighten and educate the bigots—who must be taught to accept the principle that each man must be judged and be accepted or rejected on his own record—and not on his ancestry.

Frequently, one reads or hears of the account of criminal activities of specific individuals. But too often the searchlight of sensationalism seems to shine on Italian names. We are told of the Italian or Sicilian mobster. Some of these were born here, some were brought here in childhood and some matured abroad. But the end product is not a creation of nationality or ancestry. And with the passage of time and addition of each succeeding name an unfair image has been presented. Where the facts are true—they cannot and should not be denied. Truth cannot and must not be suppressed—it must be surfaced.

But for the sins of the few wrongdoers, the image is not a true mirror of the 22 million people here who share the Italian ancestry. The image unjustly clouds in the minds of the public the true value of these God-fearing, loyal, and dedicated Italian-Americans.

In a recent national publication depicting the fight of a large city against crime, of seven photographs shown of criminals, six had Italian names. An additional five photographs on another page had Italian names. No one disputes that the guilty must be punished. The law must be enforced with all the vigor it commands. The criminal cancer in our society must be curbed—regardless of nationality. But it is sinful to suppose that one creed, color, or ethnic group has a monopoly on crime. Yet, there are some who would lead us to believe this.

God endowed each mortal with a will and destiny and each is accountable for his own to society. But a religion, a race, or an ancestry must not be held accountable or adjudged guilty for the wrongs of the few. Let no common heritage be tarnished for those few.

And what is the answer to a false image? Can we remove it? Not only can we, but we must. The achievements of the past are prologue. But the positive achievements of today and the continuing contributions of the future to our society must be brought into sharp focus for all people to take note. But this cannot be nor should it be the responsibility of one voice or one organization. It must be the many. At each opportunity let the voices speak individually and in unison to point to the record of the good deeds. Let the people be informed of the true worth of those of Italian ancestry, but, let no one hesitate to denounce criminality regardless of nationality or ancestry.

The Order Sons of Italy was not organized as a pressure group nor must it be. It is what it should be an assembly of faithful people who share a common ancestry. The community of its interests and objectives which units its members is not different from that of the DAR, B'nai B'rith, the NAACP, and similar organizations. It seeks no special privileges. It is dedicated to the task of reflecting the collective qualities of a people of one heritage and to achieve equalities for all peoples regardless of race, color, or creed. But above all, within our society it displays the whole heart, whole mind, and the whole spirit of a people. Your organization is dedicated to the freedoms founded in 1776 and their preservation.

Let one fact be abundantly clear. Let there be no doubt. Ancestry is no expedient or justification for the worth of an individual. But neither shall it be the basis for rejection or ridicule. Ancestry cannot and must not be a substitute for ability or honor. Let no one clamor for recognition or reward on the basis of national origin. Recognition and reward must be commensurate with ability, not ancestry. In America the true test must lie in the virtue and value of man alone and not in the cry for ethnic recognition. As sons and daughters of immigrants we possess priceless heritage; and we hold to certain truths individually and collectively. We believe that where we find dissension, we must bring together; where we find need, we must provide; where we find wrong, we must remedy, and that when we are right we must prove it.

To the bigots, to the unscrupulous, and to the prejudiced, we shall continue to respond with understanding and compassion. We shall continue to give generously of ourselves in toil and battle just as we have in the past and are doing in the present. To those who would question our unity, we say we are united for duty to our President and country; to those who question our sincerity, we say let our deeds be judged and to those who question our loyalty, let history be the proof.

I seek neither approbation or acclaim for what I speak. A man must account only to his God, his country, and himself for his beliefs. If what I have said is responsible then I alone am accountable for my words.

National Literacy Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, the tremendous strides this Congress has made in the field of education, such as passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and, more recently, the higher education bill, demonstrates our awareness of the importance of education to our national well-being. A column written by Mr. Wilfrid Dellquest which appeared in the Lincoln Heights Bulletin-News, Los Angeles, on August 22, 1965, expresses quite well one aspect of the reasoning behind my authorship of the resolution, already passed by the House, asking the President to proclaim a National Literacy Week. As Vice President HUMPHREY pointed out in a recent speech:

You've never heard of a country that has gone broke spending on education—that's because you don't spend, you invest.

Mr. Dellquest's column follows:

THE DARKENED LAMP

(By Wilfrid Dellquest)

Today's eye opener: "Ignorance is the night of the mind, but a night without moon or star."—Confucius.

Two million Americans: Congressman GEORGE E. BROWN, JR., of California, introduced a resolution, which passed the House of Representatives, asking the President to proclaim the week of September 13–18 as "National Literacy Week." Congressman BROWN mentions some disturbing figures. Two million adult Americans cannot read or write; 8,300,000 others have less than 5 years of schooling, and more than 22 millions of working age have spent less than 8 years in school. When considered in relation to the continuous extension of suffrage and the expectation that more and more Americans will personally participate in decisions of government, this incidence of illiteracy is a cause for grave alarm.

Broad pattern: Every election result in our Nation is essentially a collective decision made by individual citizens. Government officials who determine and administer public policies are both responsible and responsive to the people. Of course, it does not always work out that way, and there are occasional departures from this rule, but none will deny that it is the broad pattern under which our Government operates, and it remains the target toward which we all must strive. This has a great deal to do with illiteracy. A representative democracy such as ours, in order to be effective, depends basically upon two things: communication and understanding. Communication with and among the people, and the understanding by the people of the problems with which they are faced, are successful only to the extent to which the people are educated. An American who is unable to read or write cannot adequately communicate with his neighbors. If his education is insufficient, he cannot intelligently grapple with issues that demand his answers, and those issues frequently affect his life and his personal interests with profound impact. His lack of education also impels him to act from emotion rather than through reason, and makes him the easy prey of those who seek to hood-

wink and deceive him. In the jungle of life, he is a tiger without claws.

If the lamp flickers: The fact that a democratic republic can succeed only to the degree that the electorate is educated was recognized by the wise and experienced leaders who founded our system of government. The Government, from the beginning, has accepted responsibility for the education of the people. True, administration of public education is preferable on a local level where local needs are better understood, but the National Government has always stood watchfully in the background, ready with its resources to back up and implement local efforts. Such gestures as the proclamation of National Literacy Week are bound to be helpful. This is a way of saying officially that the American people are aware of the superlative necessity of assuring to every citizen an equal opportunity of achieving the best education possible. The consciousness of the public to the gravity of this problem cannot be too strongly awakened. The lamp of learning must not be permitted to flicker. If it becomes extinguished, all our hopes and splendid dreams and our vision of a better life will fall into the abyss of darkness and futility. As we love our America, this must never happen.

President Johnson's Position on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EARLE CABELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, in light of the continuing controversy over Vietnam, I insert in the RECORD an article that appeared in the Dallas Morning News on August 12, which deals with President Johnson's position on this subject:

[From the Dallas Morning News, Aug. 12, 1965]

PERSONAL REPORT: WASHINGTON

(By Robert E. Baskin, Chief)

President Johnson continues to explain and discuss his policies in Vietnam on any and all occasions, and there are those in Washington who believe he explains too much.

However, in the light of Hanoi's attitude about the conflict of southeast Asia, Mr. Johnson is well advised to make our intentions as clear as he possibly can.

Most great wars result from miscalculations.

On two occasions Germany misjudged the attitude of the American Nation on war in Europe. Japan, prior to World War II, also believed that the United States did not have the stamina to come back from a devastating blow to its Pacific possessions.

In these cases, the miscalculations were in large part created by the conduct of dissident American citizens—the pacifists, the America Firsters, the militant pro-Nazi elements, the Communists, and all the others who created disturbances against U.S. support of the democracies of the world.

In the foreign press the activities of these organizations gave a distortion of the true sentiment of this Nation. In totalitarian lands it is hard to visualize such disturbances as may occur in a democracy, caused by tiny minorities, without coming to the conclusion that the Nation is badly divided on an issue.

This appears to be the case of the ruling circles of Communist North Vietnam today.

The men of Hanoi have taken note of the pacifist marchers at the White House and at the Capitol and the utterances of such newly emerged foreign policy experts as the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King and probably have decided that Mr. Johnson has a divided country on his hands.

This conclusion can only add to the determination of Ho Chi Minh to intensify this campaign against South Vietnam and, more important, take the risk of bringing on a major thermonuclear war.

Peiping, too, appears to be suffering under the delusion that the United States, as a whole, is somewhat reluctant about carrying on the war to preserve the independence of South Vietnam. The Red Chinese press has emphasized, in pictures and stories, the activities of the "peace at all costs" demonstrators in Washington and elsewhere.

The leaders of the Soviet Union probably have a more realistic appraisal of the situation in the United States, but they evidently are having a hard time talking realistically these days to Peiping and Hanoi.

How can the delusion be dispelled?

This is the problem that confronts Mr. Johnson. The administration knows full well that the erroneous beliefs in the southeast Asian Communist capitals must be eradicated to prevent miscalculation bringing on another great war.

Mr. Johnson has repeatedly stated that the American Nation is solidly behind our policies in Vietnam, and there has been every reason to believe that this is true.

But only this week radicals marched on the Capitol and created a disturbance that got bigger headlines abroad than Mr. Johnson's own statements about American policy and determination.

Mr. Johnson has just concluded a new round of briefings for Congress, and these briefings were singularly free of dissent. Governors, businessmen, and other national leaders are being kept well advised of developments in Vietnam. The President seems determined to remove the chances for a devastating miscalculation.

But a small handful of the population continues to demonstrate and agitate against the Vietnam policy. These demonstrators have been treated so mildly in this National Capital that one can only wonder what kind of special privilege they enjoy. Ordinary citizens cannot lie down in White House driveways without fear of punishment. Ordinary citizens cannot storm the Capitol itself and receive such solicitude as the pacifists got this week before the police finally did crack down. Ordinary citizens cannot block traffic and the sidewalks without paying the penalty.

But the demonstrations—by strange misfits from our urban areas and certain universities—continue to go on. And Peiping and Hanoi watch and listen.

There is a question as to how long our national authorities can afford the luxury of extending privilege to these off-beat people.

Federal Government and Maryland: Partners in Crime and Vice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to tell the Members of this House about the combined ignorance of the Federal Government and the State of Maryland in keeping gambling in Maryland illegal and thus wide open for mob exploitation. Illegal gambling is a popular pastime in Maryland—and unfortunately its revenues are not going to the public treasury, but rather are going to finance a multitude of organized crime's enterprises.

The pari-mutuel turnover in Maryland last year came to $212 million. Illegal gambling is far more significant in Maryland, just as it is nationally. Testimony before the McClellan committee in 1961 put off-track betting at $50 billion a year nationally. Other estimates put off-track betting at about 40 percent of the national illegal gambling total. This would make illegal gambling of all kinds come to about $120 billion a year in the United States. This figure, of course, represents total turnover—the same $10 bill can be won and lost many times the same night, with no economic effect in the end if you break even, except the bit clipped off each time by the proprietor. On a population basis, Maryland's share of this national illegal gambling total comes to $2.16 billion annually. This may be a very good estimate. Ten years ago, the Massachusetts Crime Commission, in pegging Massachusetts' gambling at about the same figure, said that citizens of that State spend more on gambling than on groceries. Perhaps the same is true of Maryland. There is no doubt that illegal gambling is big business in Maryland's southern counties. Inasmuch as the mob gets to keep about 10 percent of the total turnover as profit, Maryland may be a $200 million a year tidewater treasure chest for the organized crime empires.

The way to take gambling revenues away from organized crime and put them to work for the people is a national lottery. Only Government-run gambling can be trusted to keep the profits of the gambling urge in public hands for public tasks. The European experience has shown how the lottery represents social and financial commonsense. America needs a national lottery as soon as possible.

Project Head Start

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, in its first 3 months of operation, the Office of Economic Opportunity announced 260 projects which have affected every State in the Nation. One of these programs, Project Head Start, has been subjected to even more severe criticism than have the other programs. Apparently our ultraconservative friends would much rather wait for the deprived children involved in this program to grow into adulthood. Then the problem could be dealt with by expanding our law enforcement agencies and penal institutions.

Recently the Des Moines Register carried a letter from my good friend, Mrs.

Elizabeth Richards, of Red Oak, Iowa, replying to one such criticism. I herewith submit this letter for the benefit of my colleagues. You will note that Mrs. Richard's sophistication on this matter stands as evidence of the fact that her own community is not lacking in strong and practical leadership.

The letter follows:

[From the Des Moines Sunday Register, July 25, 1965]

MAKES REPLY TO LETTER ON HEAD START

To the EDITOR:

Iowans have a great newspaper in the Register. Your reporting and presentation are outstanding for fairness. As a supporter of President Johnson's programs under our Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, as one vitally insistent on creating respect for this evolutionary piece of legislation, I thank you for Open Forum's July 18 letter from Dr. Robinson critical of the preschool Project Head Start and for the short enthusiastic letter printed immediately under it sent by the lady from Thornton who is actually working in the project.

I wish only one word could have been different in that lady's testimonial letter. She called it "the Government's Project Head Start" instead of "our Government's Project Head Start." The success or failure of these programs is to be ours in our own local communities independent of, though cooperating with, consultants and experts in Washington and Des Moines.

Dr. Robinson failed to note that school board members alone cannot accept or reject the programs. Responsibility for beginning this program will rest with officially designated community action agencies. Local citizens from many segments of a community must plan together with their own experts how much or how little of the Federal financial or technical aid their community wants.

There will be little chance for power-grabbing consultants in the education or any other professional field to take advantage of the Federal grants.

The cynical approach to the new Federal framework for breaking poverty cycles is one that foot-draggers and self-appointed experts often use. They dread change because new ideas and new people brought into the situation challenge their status as know-it-all experts.

Iowans ask facts from their newspapers and their leaders. They will then be prepared for change and will adapt it intelligently to their special needs.

MRS. ELIZABETH RICHARDS.

An Analysis of the Problem of Right To Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROGERS C. B. MORTON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, the following analysis by Mr. L. W. Kern, president of the Maryland Highways Contractors Association, dealing with the whole problem of right to work is in the public interest.

Mr. Kern is a member of the board of directors of the contractors division, American Road Builders Association. He serves on their president's council and is vice chairman of their Bacon-Davis watchdog committee. I am glad to include his analysis for the RECORD:

THE PROBLEM OF RIGHT TO WORK

(An analysis by L. W. Kern, president, the Maryland Highways Contractors Association, Inc.)

On July 28 another step was taken in the plan, which step by step, can be seen unfolding. The House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States took its final action in one of the presently proposed two changes in labor legislation—it voted 221 to 203 to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

That act of retrogression seems to indicate that many people, including some Congressment who voted for repeal, must have failed to realize certain significant facts.

It also warrants this supplement to our July 20 analysis: "A Stepping-Stone—Toward What?"

In weighing the pros and cons of the legislation which labor unions are demanding, it must be kept in mind that the labor unions of today are huge, powerful and especially-privileged private business enterprises, engaged in the profitable business of organizing the unorganized. The unorganized are the some 58 million workers (more than two-thirds of the Nation's workforce) who have not chosen, or as yet have not been forced, to become so organized.

The Current Major Demands of Labor Unions

1. Labor unions are demanding the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law. In other words, these private business enterprises are demanding (a) the nullification of certain legislation (right-to-work laws) which presently exists in more than a third of the States, (b) the taking away from all of the States the right to enact such legislation, and (c) the further expansion of their present exclusive privilege to practice discrimination in the area of employment.

2. Labor unions also are demanding the enactment of legislation (a so-called "situs picketing" bill) which would give them the privilege to strike, picket and cause work-stoppages at any construction site for the sole purpose of driving their competition (both nonunion and/or other unions) off the job without being in violation, as at present, of the secondary boycott. In other words, these private business enterprises are demanding the legalization of the privilege of using force (the awesome power of the picket-line with its obvious potential of causing emotional outbursts and violence) as a legitimate method of eliminating their competition and inflicting compulsory unionism upon the construction industry and its millions of employees.

PART I—RIGHT-TO-WORK LAWS

Right-to-work laws do not restrict any privilege which Federal law gives to workers

1. Any worker today can join any labor union of his choice, which will accept him, without placing his employment in jeopardy.

2. A bare majority of the voting workers in an appropriate segment of their employer's personnel can vote into existence a collective bargaining unit, and elect the labor union of their choice as the exclusive representative of, and collective bargaining agent for, all the workers in said unit.

3. Workers can strike against and picket their employer for a wide variety of reasons.

Right-to-work laws do not restrict labor unions in their federally granted privilege to solicit recognition and represent workers

1. Labor unions can solicit either employers and employees to obtain their recognition of the labor union as the bargaining agent for the workers in question.

2. Labor unions so recognized henceforth are the exclusive representative of, and collective bargaining agent for, all of the employees in the designated collective bargaining unit including (a) those employees who may have voted against such representation and (b) those employees who may not have had opportunity to vote, as would be the case when an employer, of his own volition or because of economic pressure, creates the collective bargaining unit. (Note: The privilege to speak for all was insisted upon by the labor unions, and contributes greatly to the prestige and political power wielded by these private business enterprises.)

It is only in the two areas of "discrimination in employment" and "financial gain" that right-to-work laws limit the power of labor unions

1. The Federal Government's laws and the edicts of its agencies permit these private business enterprises to require (in the absence of a State law to the contrary) the union shop in which employment is conditional upon membership in, and/or the payment of money to, the labor union.

2. To the contrary, right-to-work laws prohibit employment being made conditional upon membership or nonmembership in, and/or upon the payment or nonpayment of money to, a labor union.

PART II—THE PROPOSED "SITUS PICKETING" LEGISLATION (LEGALIZED SECONDARY BOYCOTTS)

1. As noted in our basic analysis of July 20, labor unions have the right to picket any construction site for any purpose other than the outlawed secondary boycott and do so, therefore, it is obvious that these private business enterprises are attempting to have the Congress, in effect, legalize this crippling action in the construction industry.

2. It may well be that the AFL–CIO has grown weary of attempting to organize the unorganized of the construction industry by the legitimate and highly favorable means now available to all labor unions, or, that they are finding it increasingly difficult to sell their services to workers in these days of Davis-Bacon and other Federal wage controls. In any event, it is reasonable to assume, from the reliably reported statements of several of its high officials, that this labor union, a private business enterprise, intends to use the proposed legislation in an attempt (a) to eliminate its competition, both union and nonunion, (b) to enforce compulsory unionism, and, (c) to attain a monopoly of the construction industry.

3. District 50 (United Mine Workers of America) realizing that the proposed legislation would be detrimental to its individual interest, has opposed said legislation, however, district 50 frankly stated that it will withdraw its opposition if said legislation is amended to such an extent as to let it continue to be an illegal act to picket for the sole purpose of driving its affiliates off a job.

4. Secretary of Labor Wirtz was ill advised in saying that in the construction industry no one is an innocent bystander and that contractors know "whether union and nonunion men are going to be drawn together and whether trouble will be the product of this mixed marriage." The very nature of construction work is conducive of such mixed marriages. Construction of public works projects is performed under contract provisions which prohibit any discrimination in the prequalification of bidders, and require that award be made to the lowest qualified bidder.

5. This proposed legislation undoubtedly will result in widespread, cleverly timed, and crippling strikes, picketing and work stoppages. Many imperative school, hospital, housing, highway, and other defense installation projects will be affected. Federal, State, county, and municipal construction timetables, budget provisions and tax structures will be upset.

6. No construction, whether union or nonunion, would be immune. But few contractors could financially survive the prolonged periods of enforced inactivity while labor

unions engage in a final interunion battle for supremacy.

7. Nonunion firms would have only the choice of putting their employees into the picketing labor union, or getting out of the construction business and into—what?

WARNING

1. Do not allow yourself to be misled (either deliberately or inadvertently) into reading into seemingly factual statements more than the complete facts warrant. For example—31 States do not have a right-to-work law. Proponents of the repeal of section 14(b) are constantly stressing this fact. In making their point, however, they make statements such as: 31 States have refused or have consistently refused to pass such a law. Now, Maryland is one of those 31 States, and, while it is a fact that several times in the past (when such a law was proposed) the general assembly did not pass such a law (a) the last time was back in 1958, and (b) such failure to enact is not per se indicative of either opposition or a willingness to be deprived of the right to enact. Further—it is also a fact that just this year, when there was introduced into the Maryland General Assembly a house resolution simply to "request the Maryland Delegation in Congress to support the enactment of the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law," said resolution did not receive favorable consideration. This gives rise to the question—what are the complete facts regarding the other 30 States?

2. The following partial quote is a timely warning taken from the pages of the U.S. News & World Report:

"When you're hit it's too late to see the red light. When you're poisoned, it's too late to read the label. When savings, freedom, country are gone, it's too late to inquire if there is any real difference between communism, socialism, liberalism. It's too late then, and it's useless."

CONCLUSION

You do not have to be antiunion and/or antilabor to oppose these two proposed changes in labor legislation.

Labor unions seem to fear the existence of section 14(b) as a hindrance to their grandiose plans for control of the construction industry.

For this reason alone, Congress should retain, intact, section 14(b).

It should be against the interest of the general public to permit private business enterprises to use the force of the boycott to destroy their competition and to monopolize an entire industry—an industry which is basic to the continued growth of the Nation's economy.

For this reason, Congress should retain those provisions in the Taft-Hartley Act which prohibit secondary boycotts at construction sites.

Congress also should reject any legislation which would, and/or could, be construed to water down the business safeguards in existing labor legislation.

To do otherwise would unleash uncontrollable economic forces.

A Little Five-Letter Word

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, " 'Peace,' that simple five-letter word, " is what President Johnson recently termed his most urgent concern during the troubled times in which we live today.

I am profoundly impressed with the President's strenuous and dedicated efforts to achieve peace and I want to call to the attention of all within my hearing the bankruptcy of the Communists who cry, "Peace, peace," when there is no peace—anywhere in their plans or in their programs for the world they seek to dominate.

An excellent commentary on the President's striving for peace, and the silence of Hanoi, appeared August 26 in the New York Post. I offer that interesting editorial, "A Little Five-Letter Word," for entry in the RECORD today.

A LITTLE FIVE-LETTER WORD

President Johnson's latest exposition of U.S. objectives in Vietnam is solemn assurance to the world that military victories in the field are being used to reinforce rather than replace the movement to the bargaining table.

The President employed a vivid image to underscore the double-barreled nature of his present policy. U.N. Ambassador Goldberg, he said, as his left hand, was doing everything possible to get negotiations going, while Defense Secretary McNamara, as his right hand, was bringing home to the Communists the determination of the United States not to be pushed out of Indochina.

" 'Peace' that simple little five-letter word," Mr. Johnson emphasized with evident feeling, "is the most important word to us in the English language at this time."

"We do hope they're listening," the President added, in a reference to Hanoi.

The President reaffirmed the U.S. desire for negotiations shortly after Hanoi appeared to back away from the helpful clarification of its approach to a settlement that had been broadcast by Lord Brockway.

What lies behind Hanoi's backing and filling can only be conjectured. The debates in Washington no doubt are mirrored in the Communist capitals. Doves and hawks are not exclusively Western birds. In East-West diplomacy, moreover, doves have a way of turning into hawks when the public spotlight flushes them out.

Lord Brockway reported that North Vietnam no longer was insisting on U.S. withdrawal in advance of negotiations. Hanoi insists there has been no change in the position that it put forth last April. Does this contradict Brockway? Whether "the most correct solution of the Vietnamese problem," as Hanoi calls its plan, can be reconciled with U.S. requirements still needs to be ascertained through a diplomatic probing operation that requires both delicacy and persistence.

But the operation may accelerate once the Communists realize that time is no longer working for them on the battlefield.

Anniversary of Trinidad-Tobago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, 3 short years ago, on August 31, 1962, the newly independent country of Trinidad-Tobago joined us in the world community of free nations as an equal and sovereign state. On this memorable occasion, we wish to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Eric Williams, the Prime Minister of Trinidad-Tobago; and to His Excellency Sir Ellis Emmanuel Innocent Clarke, C.M.G., the Trinidad-Tobago Ambassador to the United States.

In this short period of time, we have witnessed in this country an economic progress that has been greatly encouraging, we have seen the peaceful and nondisruptive transfer of governmental power to an indigenous government, and we have seen the people of this new country respond to their challenge with rejoicing and accept their new responsibilities with conscientiousness.

The island of Trinidad lies 7 miles off the northeastern coast of the continent of South America. The island of Tobago is 19 miles to the northeast of Trinidad. Thus, this new nation occupies an important place in the pattern of the world's commerce. The many international airlines that stop at Piarco Airport make it one of the area's busiest and most important. Likewise, the many intransit travelers that are enchanted by the island's beauty and thus make their visit there more than a stopover point have given rise to a rapidly expanding tourist industry. For the islands of Trinidad and Tobago are indeed among the world's most beautiful tropical paradises, covered as they are with lush vegetation and the vibrant tropical colors of a profusion of flowers the year round. Mountains, savannas, rivers, forests, coastal mangrove swamps, and quiet sandy beaches make these islands a varied and pleasing home for the 900,000 citizens of this new nation.

Trinidad and Tobago were formerly colonies in the British Empire, after being ceded to England by Spain in 1802. From the time of its discovery by Columbus in 1498, on his third voyage, these islands have welcomed peoples of many nationalities and many different customs. Spaniards, Caribs, Arawaks, Negroes from Africa, English, East Indians, French, Dutch, and many more representatives of the world's varied cultures have made their common home in this beautiful setting. Thus, today, the islands of Trinidad and Tobago have a culture uniquely their own, and they may be justly proud of it. Calypso, steeldrum bands, and many other enrichments for the lives of men have originated in these islands.

The most impressive and encouraging accomplishment of the fine people of this new nation, though, has not been that of successfully advertising their sunny beaches, but rather the tremendous economic growth and development that has taken place in the last decade or so. So successful have been their efforts, their hard work, careful planning, and astute administration, that the per capita income of the people of Trinidad and Tobago is one of the highest in the Caribbean. The national income more than doubled from 1951 to 1961, and has continued to grow rapidly. Stability in government, growing markets, government cooperation and incentives, the friendly people and fine living conditions, all have contributed to bring needed foreign investment to the island. The economy of

the islands is now gaining its needed diversity, as fertilizer plants, oil refineries, and electrical plants are added to sugar mills, cocoa plantation, and textile mills.

With rising standards of living, increasing educational opportunities, a spirit of dedication to progress, and a willingness to sacrifice time and energy to build a better future, the prospects are indeed bright and healthy for the future of Trinidad and Tobago.

We salute the government and people of this young nation today, not only as the occasion of their third anniversary of complete independence, but for the inspiring, courageous, and bold example that they have set for other new and developing nations throughout the world to follow. Peace, progress, prosperity have all been accomplished with, by, and through their natural freedom. Trinidad and Tobago are to me and for many others a shining example of what free men, working together in a free economy, can accomplish. Most sincerely, then, we congratulate Trinidad and Tobago on this, their independence day, and wish them the most happy and prosperous of futures.

How's That Again?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EARLE CABELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, after a serious and frightening period of unrest, the Dominican Republic today seems to be moving toward some kind of stability. This movement may be fitful and hesitant—but I believe it is taking place, and I believe that it promises to vindicate the action taken by President Johnson in dealing with the Dominican crisis.

The administration encountered a hail of criticism when it suggested that Communists and extremists were threatening to seize control of the Dominican Republic last spring. At that time, extremists in the fray preferred not to identify themselves frankly as Communists. But recently Dominican leftists have boldly allied themselves with the international Communist movement, and the former Popular Socialist Party has announced that henceforth it will be known as the Communist Party.

I am one who has strongly supported the President's actions in the Dominican crisis from the beginning, and I believe that these recent events surely justify the decisions taken by the President when chaos erupted in the Dominican Republic.

The threat of communism in Latin America is no illusion; it is no myth; it must be dealt with forcefully and decisively.

In this connection I place in the RECORD an editorial from the Dallas Morning News of August 13 entitled, "How's That Again?":

[From the Dallas Morning News, Aug. 13, 1965]

HOW'S THAT AGAIN?

Students of political evasive action will long admire the dexterity with which American accommodaters are able to make themselves scarce when facts prove them wrong.

Several months ago President Johnson intervened in Santo Domingo to prevent the Communists from taking over a revolution and a country.

Quite naturally, the rebels responded with the standard denial that there were any Communists within 100 miles. In the school of evasive action, this is known as the "ain't-nobody-here-but-us-progressives ploy."

Also naturally, those U.S. liberals who make it an article of faith that everyone to the left of center is honest, clean, reverent, trustworthy, and so on took the rebels at their word.

They immediately leaped to the defense of their fellow liberals. They castigated the President and the State Department severely for even implying that there might be a pink tinge to the rebellion.

They did, that is, until the other day when the two leftist parties in the rebel zone of Santo Domingo began a fierce, loud, and public battle over which would win the right to be called the Dominican Communist Party.

The former Popular Socialist Party announced that it is now to be called the Communist Party. It took an ad in the paper to explain that everyone has always known it was Communist in ideology and that the new name is scientifically exact.

The Popular Movement, beaten to the punch, bitterly accused the creole revisionists of trying to steal the mantle of Marxism-Leninism from the true believers (i.e., the Popular Movement).

What our own progressives have to say about the interesting debate in Santo Domingo is unknown at this time. None of them has been seen in this field of discussion since the Dominican Reds' ad campaign began.

How Jersey City Will Use Rent Subsidies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, during debate on the rent subsidy sections of the housing bill I was roundly criticized by some editors in my State who said that individual neighborhoods could not be integrated under the bill. I had warned that one of the main pur- of the rent subsidy program was to economically integrate middle and upper income neighborhoods. One of our Alabama Senators took me to task and he was supported by several editors.

Of course, we know now that is exactly what is being done and those who wrote the bill and those of us who took part in the debate knew that it would be done.

Just how far the rent subsidy program may be used to relocate individual families is shown in a news item from the Montgomery Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala., in the issue of August 25, "Jersey City Considers Rent Subsidy." I include the item as part of these remarks:

[From the Montgomery Advertiser, Aug. 25, 1965]

JERSEY CITY CONSIDERS RENT SUBSIDY

(By Milton Haynes and Allan Sloan)

Hudson County ghettos and slums may become just an unhappy memory if the rent subsidy section of the mammoth $7.5 billion housing bill does its job.

The subsidy, designed to help low-income families move into decent housing, will be paid by the Federal Government to owners of new, nonprofit housing projects owned or built by private, nonprofit groups.

But should such housing prove unavailable, local housing authorities—who will administer the program—will be able to lease dwelling units and move subsidized tenants into them.

The family will pay about one-fourth of its total income for rent, with the government supplying the difference.

The program is a radical departure from previous concepts of public housing. Formerly, "slum" buildings were torn down and their tenants moved into massive projects, such as Marion Gardens, which were erected where the slums once stood.

These projects did provide decent housing, but they could not break the slum pattern and in time deteriorated themselves.

Professor of Sociology Steven Doyle, a teacher at St. Peter's College, explains why and tells why he believes the rent subsidy program will help:

"People in the projects haven't had any experience with quality housing; they just don't know how to treat it. They don't know anything about material like shellac and varnish.

"Consequently, the housing deteriorates; there's writing on the walls and the floors get scuffed."

Doyle believes this pattern can be broken with the aid of "the subtle social psychological theory" which underlies the legislation.

Rent subsidies, he says, "are not a giveaway—they provide an entree to middle class society" where the former dwellers will be able to "assimilate middle class values." rather than being influenced adversely by their slum surroundings.

Government officials, civic leaders, and Jersey City residents are looking forward to seeing a new Jersey City as the bill's provisions are fully implemented.

"A bill of this type is long overdue and is just what Jersey City needs," says Julian Robinson, director of health and welfare. "With the Federal Government helping people to move into proper housing, this will help a great deal to clear away the slum areas in the city."

Although the provisions of the bill are not aimed at any particular ethnic groups, it is expected that Negroes and Puerto Ricans, who occupy a large segment of the slum areas, will benefit significantly from the new measure.

Rev. J. Jesse Jackson, pastor of St. Michaels' AME Church and head of the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, called the bill "one way of helping to alleviate slums, and ghettos."

"Our No. 1 problem is housing," says Rev. Leonard Ballesteros, pastor of the predominantly Spanish-speaking congregation at the North Baptist Church.

"Now we may be able to solve the housing problem. The bill will have more of a long range effect, however, since people are attached to neighborhoods and won't be moving out right away."

Reverend Ballesteros says that for the past 3 years Spanish-speaking people have been slowly moving out of the downtown area and that the bill is likely to cause this to increase.

Carmelo Iglesias, one of the leaders of the area's Puerto Rican community, said the bill is a wonderful measure, but added that it may not go far enough. The Government might "go a step farther and pay larger part of the poor families' rent," he suggested.

With the Federal Government taking a hand in the payment of rent, observers view the bill as a step toward the end of de facto segregation.

Conrad Vuocolo, director of tenant relations for the Jersey City Housing Authority, sees the bill as having "great social significance to many people.

"This bill might even help to improve the social climate in Jersey City," he said. "It will definitely aid in the integration of housing since the inability to pay the rent will no longer be a serious barrier."

A similar view was expressed by Dr. Marcus E. Carpenter, a member of the Jersey City Urban Redevelopment Board.

"With the Federal Government willing to supplement the rent of poor persons, the selectivity which tends to keep out nonwhites from proper housing will be broken down," he said. President Johnson will be remembered as a "really great President who was deeply concerned about the human race," Carpenter added.

The new housing bill, besides getting rid of slums and ghettos is also expected to cause a building boom in Hudson County.

"A bill of this sort should act as a spur to the building of new apartment houses in Jersey City, Hoboken, and other towns in Hudson," said C. Jerome Lombardo, vice president of C. B. Snyder Organization, Hoboken, whose firm negotiates for builders of apartment houses.

"A lot of builders are afraid to build because they fear that they would not be able to get the rent," he said. "Now that the Federal Government is willing to supplement the payment of rent for the poor, builders will be encouraged to build."

Noting that the new measure also makes all veterans eligible for loans, Lombardo said this, too, should encourage veterans to build homes.

"There are a lot of old buildings in Hoboken which need tearing down. The bill should help to clear up the slums and provide decent housing for veterans and the poor."

Carter Williams, a salesman-broker with D & W Realty Co., Jersey City, said the bill should provide a boom to housing rehabilitation in the downtown areas as well as throughout the county.

Not all real estate men are in full accord with the bill, however. Sidney H. Korse, president of the Jersey City Real Estate Board, although welcoming the bill since "it will give some help to the very poor," criticized it as "a form of socialism."

"It makes people wards of the Government and takes away all incentive from them," he said.

"Why should a man try to better his economic position so that he would be able to live in a better house when he knows that the Federal Government will subsidize him?"

Korse said the bill will kill all incentive for homeownership on the part of many people since it will now be more profitable to rent.

There are others, too, who are somewhat concerned about the rent subsidy bill. "There are people who are very shrewd about misrepresenting their resources," says Oliver Lewis of 177 Arlington Avenue.

Secretary Wirtz, Please Note

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, repeated pleas for laborers to harvest a number of important Michigan crops have made little impression at the U.S. Department of Labor. Meanwhile cucumbers are rotting in the fields and cherries are goint to waste on the trees.

In the last-minute effort to salvage the apple crop the Michigan Farm Bureau is appealing to Secretary Wirtz for help. I hope the farm organization's letter will have the good fortune to fall into the hands of someone who knows a little something about farm operations and particularly the harvesting of farm crops.

To acquaint my colleagues from other States with what is happening in Michigan, I submit for consideration a letter I have received from Mr. Dan E. Reed, legislative counsel for the Michigan Farm Bureau, and a copy of a letter the president of the same organization has sent to the Secretary of Labor. They follow:

MICHIGAN FARM BUREAU,
Lansing, Mich., August 27, 1965.

Hon. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR AL: The farm labor situation in Michigan has reached critical proportions and individual farmers are being forced to abandon crops, or are harvesting crops of lower quality because the pickers have not been available when the crop was at its prime.

The pickle acreage, which was reduced by uncertainty of labor supply at planting time, has had some moisture and is showing improvement. This increased load is putting the inadequate picking force further behind. Pickle acreage is being abandoned because unpicked oversize cucumbers are ruining the vines. We are now at that point where the schools are reopening, and this added squeeze on available help is disastrous.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which Michigan Farm Bureau President Elton R. Smith has sent to Secretary of Labor Wirtz. President Smith has been around the State and in contact with farmers in many areas during the last few weeks, and has accurately expressed his concern to the Secretary. In discussing the abandonment of part of the 1965 cherry crop, President Smith referred to a "short crop." This should have read "the short of estimate crops." It actually is in the general range of what might be called a normal crop, but picked out far below the official estimates.

It is too late to do much about cherries that have been abandoned, although some processors are still working, at reduced levels, processing salvaged fruit. The pickle harvest could still be improved with more adequate labor supply.

The apple harvest, however, lies ahead of us. Michigan is the third producer in the Nation and, at present, we appear to be heading into a critical shortage of harvest labor.

Michigan farmers would appreciate any assistance you can give in solving this problem.

Sincerely,

DAN E. REED,
Legislative Counsel.

MICHIGAN FARM BUREAU,
Lansing, Mich., August 26, 1965.

Hon. W. WILLARD WIRTZ,
Secretary of Labor,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SECRETARY WIRTZ: Critical farm labor shortages have already caused serious crop loss in Michigan. These shortages exist today and the opening of schools, which begin in many areas on August 30, will cause further crop damage and loss.

Reliable estimates indicate that 10 to 15 percent of Michigan's short cherry crop was left on the trees because of lack of pickers. Shortage of pickers during parts of the season also caused harvest of the crop to be delayed, resulting in loss of quality and heavy cull from wind bruise and scald.

The pickle crop, with the acreage already severely cut at planting time because of uncertainty regarding picking help, is now being lost on the vines for want of labor.

You indicated last June that there would be adequate help for crop harvest and rejected the recommendation of your five-member Michigan Farm Labor Panel. This panel, composed of qualified nonfarm people familiar with the Michigan economy, found and reported to you that "There is a prospective need for the authorization of a supplementary labor supply of 5,000 foreign workers." The panel indicated that, in its judgment, "the employment of this number of foreign workers in the 1965 harvest will have no adverse effect on the standards and employment of domestic labor."

Mr. Secretary, the loss of 10 to 15 percent of a crop may not seem important to you in Washington, accustomed as you are to dealing in billions of dollars, but to a Michigan farmer this portion of his crop could easily mean the only income above expenses that he might hope to have. Already faced, in many areas, with serious loss from drought, this avoidable loss seems to us inexcusable.

In your letter of July 12 addressed to our office, you indicated that you did not see any major problem in the pickle harvest after school reopens. You cited figures to show that there were only 11,253 braceros employed in Michigan pickles on August 31 of last year. Mr. Secretary, that was only 1,500 less than the bracero employment at the peak in mid-August. These weeks have been, and are, very important to pickle producers. If we had 11,000 braceros here now, our situation would be very different.

Looking ahead, the prospects for apple harvest are alarming. With industrial employment at high peak and factory workers being recruited on the streets of our cities, where is the apple picking labor to be found? How is this crop to be harvested? It must be remembered that Michigan does not stand alone in the farm labor picture. Some of the help we regularly depend upon has been drawn off to other areas and to other States, which intensifies our critical situation.

What answer can you suggest that we give farmers who are asking for help?

Sincerely yours,

ELTON R. SMITH,
President.

The San Gorgonio Wilderness Area: Need for Recreational Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, one of Los Angeles' most outstanding journalists is Mr. Vincent X. Flaherty. As a sportswriter, Mr. Flaherty has been in the vanguard of many successful programs promoting athletics and recreation. It is to his credit that Los Angeles acquired a major league baseball team, for it was by his energetic efforts that the former Brooklyn Dodgers were transferred to Los Angeles.

Now Mr. Flaherty has a new, and equally vital project—one that I heartily support. To provide an accessible and much needed recreation area for the people of southern California, he is advocating the opening of a portion of the San Gorgonio Wilderness Area in the San Bernardino Mountains for the development of winter sports. If provided, this naturally lovely area, which is a short distance from Metropolitan Los Angeles, would open up new recreational horizons to millions of southern Californians.

Federal legislation is needed to make this dream a reality; and, to this end, Mr. Flaherty has written a series of articles in the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner. I am pleased to have the privilege of inserting these articles in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that you may hear of this most worthy and important proposal. Today, I introduce the first of a four-part series which will appear in the RECORD throughout this week:

THE BATTLE OF MOUNT SAN GORGONIO

(By Vincent X. Flaherty)

While thousands of perspiring Los Angelenos sit around fussing and fanning themselves with tall glasses of iced tea, or go gunning impatiently along the frenetic freeways, heading for the nearest beach, treat yourself to a very cooling topic:

Snow.

Until recent weeks, believe it or not, there was plenty of it some 80 miles down the San Bernardino Freeway. Indeed, like a billowy blanket of frosted raw cotton, it had covered the northern slopes of Mount San Gorgonio since last autumn. Some 8 months in all.

But after driving 80-odd miles, there was—as always—one tantalizing hitch. You could see all that wonderful snow in the distance, but you couldn't get to it. That is, unless you are willing and are able to lug a 50-pound pack, hike, camp overnight and then climb a rocky timberless grade many hikers refuse to use.

News about San Gorgonio is particularly pertinent at this moment. There is a great to-do going on about it back in Washington. Congress is now considering the question of whether 10 percent of the whopping mountain ought to be used for winter sports.

It is important to inject here that San Gorgonio is not a mountain in the singular sense. Not simply one mountain rising to a conical point. It is a 15-mile-long range, 10 percent of which would be as remote as a lost Tibetan village.

The Land Committee of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee is now considering several bills that have been introduced by California Congressmen, all aimed at opening what could be one of the greatest winter sports areas in the entire world. Ninety percent of the region would remain classified as wild area.

On the opposition side is a host of nature lovers, many of whom never have seen San Gorgonio and many who do not want others to see it. No wonder thousands of southern California kids think a snowball is something on which to pour chocolate syrup.

THE QUEEN

Meanwhile, old San Gorgonio, all 11,502 feet of her, sits broodingly with her head veiled in clouds, her vast shoulders reaching out enormously in either direction.

She is the undoubted queen of all southern California mountains, and rightly so. She is the highest and biggest, and further distinguishes herself from all the rest because her highness wears a gaudy crown of snow when all other southern California mountains are barren.

This ermine-clad dowager is amply proportioned. Her skirts sweep down from her lofty throne and cover 33,400 acres—classified as a wild area. But, for all of her enormity, she strikes a forsaken posture against the horizon. Her highness suffers many bitter months of winter, spring and, sometimes, early summer—alone.

Weeks and months go by when her highness rarely has a visitor—no one to pay her court. There is a reason for this. Her castle in the clouds is cut off from the outside world by snow, discouraging access to her northern slopes until late spring or beyond.

NO SHELTERS

During the heavy snow months when winter sports would be at their robust best, her highness lives in a forbidden world of white. Hardly the hardiest groups of skiers would dare risk the upper reaches at that time. Why? Because if you are caught in a blizzard or are injured, you could die. There are no shelters permitted.

That is why the Alpine Ski Club had to wait until the second week of June before staging its annual San Gorgonio giant slalom race. They made it in, all right, but only after backbreaking hardship.

It was an ordeal because Uncle Sam refuses to allow the installation of roads, ski lifts, first aid and sanitary facilities or a comfortable day lodge and other creature comforts taken for granted at other great ski areas of the world.

You see, Uncle has been browbeaten by zealous nature groups and, most assuredly, misled by some. He has been told a ski area would spoil the scenery, ruin the wilderness and has been further misguided by the topper of all unpardonable untruths, to wit:

"There are other winter sports areas in Southern California almost as good."

Not even the Federal Bureau of Investigation could find another real snow area in the southern half of California.

THE OLYMPICS

Kenneth L. Wilson, retiring president of the U.S. Olympic Committee, says this one area would produce more good Olympic winter sports athletes than any other place in America. Why? Because of consistent snow and the fact San Gorgonia is planted smack dab in the middle of 12 million people. No other snow area in the world has that advantage.

"There would be literally thousands of people making use of it," said Wilson on an exultant note, after soberly reflecting upon the way our U.S. Olympic winter athletes ran a poor third in the 1964 games at Innsbruck.

Our greatest drawback," he added, "is the lack of winter sports facilities with which to develop and train athletes. The Russians outnumber us in this by a tremendous margin."

The advantages of San Gorgonio as a potential Olympic asset are obvious. And nearby colleges and high schools would be quick to organize ski teams and leagues—once access to snow is assured.

It also can be safely said San Gorgonio one day could be selected by the International Olympic Committee as a site for the Winter Olympic Games. This, alone, would draw millions of tourist dollars to southern California.

RECREATION

Of greater importance, of course, are the year to year recreational benefits.

Entire families would be able to visit San Gorgonio during the long snow season. Skiing could be had at its finest. Thousands of southern California youngsters would discover sleds for the first time. An outdoor ice skating rink would be an inevitable part. There could be perfect tobogganing.

And some transplanted easterners, nibbled by a nostalgic urge, could visit the snow and make it seem like Christmas. In short, everyone, so inclined, could visit the snow on Sam Gorgonio for the first time.

There are many business people in the San Bernardino and Riverside areas who recognize the possible opening of winter sports on Gorgonio as a certain boom—a boom in terms of merchandising, real estate, hotel, motel, restaurant, transportation and related businesses.

Robert Six, president of Continental Airlines, told the writer San Gorgonio would be certain to stimulate the air travel business, even to the point of special airliners to cope with the winter sports demand.

EASY DRIVE

For the people of Los Angeles, it would be an easy automobile drive. As of now, when southern Californians want to enjoy snow on a consistent basis, they must plan ahead in terms of 350-mile or 450-mile junkets (one way) to Mammoth Mountain. San Gorgonio is minutes away from many communities. It is less than 2 hours from Los Angeles city hall.

That is why thousands of southern California skiers are raising an ever louder voice in outraged demands to know why they are denied the right to an unused area on the upper reaches of the deserted mountain.

People who understand winter sports have a clear vision, blurred not at all by fantasies and nonexistent problems.

Basically, they are as much of the nature-loving breed as many who fancy themselves knighted defenders of all outdoors. They envision San Gorgonio as the finest winter area anywhere, and with reason. They have been around. Many have enjoyed the classic slopes of the German, Austrian, Swiss and French Alps, from Garmisch-Parten-kirchen and Innsbruck to Chamonix.

Hence, they can no longer tolerate the anguished hue and cry about skiing installations "ruining everything," and you cannot blame them. Take a look at that huge, sprawling mountain range and you will know immediately a ski cable on Gorgonio would be about as discernible as a gray, silken thread across the back of an elephant a hundred yards away.

PROTEST

However, for the opposition, everything is incredibly out of focus.

One of the most preposterous prospects of all is the one that goes: "We want to keep San Gorgonio just as it was 10,000 years ago" despite the incontrovertible fact no mountain remains the same, even within the quick span of 100 years.

Certainly San Gorgonio hasn't. Occasionally rampant nature has taken care of that. The old girl has had her face lifted on many occasions by time's surgery. And the California population bombardment has done the rest.

Mounting population precipitated an epidemic dispersal of San Gorgonio's wild life. Her two tiny lakes have all but gone dry.

Only one thing remains pretty much as it used to be in San Gorgonio's recorded history: Snow. The only mountain in southern California with a predictable ermine cloak, San Gorgonio remains the undoubted snow queen.

Write your Congressman.

Blunting Vietcong's Goals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, as the ancient and familiar proverb goes: "Where there's life, there's hope."

Well, there is life—and vigor, and determination, and earnestness in this Nation's commitment to the struggle in South Vietnam. And today, it seems, there is hope.

The situation in that war-torn land is still grave and tragic. There is great loss of life, serious instability yet in the political structure of South Vietnam—and the continuing aggression of the Vietcong, supported by Communist strategists in Hanoi, remains a serious obstacle to peace there.

But, as the monsoon season draws to a close, American policymakers are finding encouragement in the fact that the expected Vietcong offensive was not as successful as it might have been. Our Marines have scored a great victory recently, and there is even some optimism that a hoped-for resolution in the conflict may be somewhat nearer.

This is slim encouragement for optimism but encouragement there can be hope, however fleeting, in the events of recent days.

I am happy to offer for inclusion in the RECORD an excellent editorial from the August 24 editions of the Mason City, Iowa, Globe Gazette. This editorial, entitled "Blunting Vietcong's Goals," briefly but competently sets forth some excellent thoughts on this matter:

BLUNTING VIETCONG'S GOALS

Vietnam still does not reflect a rosy picture. But perhaps there are faint, flickering signs of hope.

They're not much. But they are sufficient to permit a bit of optimism that the Communist-backed Vietcong will not achieve the victory they have striven for so hard during the rainy season—when the weather favors their kind of hit-and-run guerrilla warfare.

The fact is that the monsoon season is drawing to a close—only a few more weeks of drumming rain and overcast skies to go. The further fact is that while the Vietcong have hit South Vietnam hard, they have not knocked out the shaky government.

Another morale booster was the significant victory won by U.S. marines in what was the biggest single engagement of the conflict. Replacement of such high losses by infiltration will be slow and costly.

Nobody close to the scene believes that anything which has transpired to date will discourage the Communists from terminating the hostilities at this time.

But it does mean that the basic strategy of keeping the South Vietnam Government as a political entity, while applying military pressure to show the Reds they cannot achieve victory on the battlefield, does appear to be working.

President Johnson's goal, of course, is to persuade the Communists that they must forego this battlefield and seek a solution at the conference table. But there still is no assurance this will be achieved after this rainy season—or even the next.

The United States will be in South Vietnam, expending lives and military assistance, for a long time to come. The successes and trends are still dwarfed by the massive setbacks during the last 2 years.

Heraldry in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in a previous issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD I inserted a most enlightening and interesting article by Mr. Fessel B. Koepnick on the subject of Heraldry. I am pleased to place in the RECORD another article by the same author:

HERALDRY IN AMERICA

(By Fessel B. Koepnick, Esq., Augustan Society, Heraldry Society)

Events of recent years, coupled with past American history, indicate a sooner or later surge in the interest of heraldry in America. Indeed, this interest has already materialized. As regards past American history let us admit that many if not the majority of the first leaders of our Republic were indeed armigerous, and many were directly descended from nobility, from President Washington onward, and including at least several of the group who landed at Plymouth Rock. And these many armigerous families have been regularly augmented through continuing immigration. In fact the backbone of leadership of our Republic is armigerous. Nonarmigerous persons know this, even though they also resent it. Nevertheless, these same persons themselves aspire to coat armor, and prove it by their enthusiastic though ignorant effort to acquire spurious or illegal so-called family name coats of arms. Thus, the net result of our now affluent society.

Sooner or later the matter is going to demand some kind of regulation and conformity. Our (successful) trademark, patents, and copyrights system prove this sufficiently. It also proves that the matter can be successfully regulated, although in a democracy without a fons honorum (fountain of honor) there is the ever-present danger of politics. Even in England, where the fountain of honor lies with the Sovereign, the "new society" has created a situation which comes dangerously close to politics. The College of Arms is firm and rigid in the regulation and control of heraldry by authority of the Sovereign, and has been for hundreds of years. Today the "commoner" who is not armigerous and who attempts to secure a grant of arms must conform to specific requirements including that of character. When the applicant is unable or unwilling to do so he immediately screams foul and if he has any influence with certain nonarmigerous politicians, one can imagine the turmoil. Such is the ever-present danger. But, like any other worthy effort, this must be contended with successfully.

The events of recent years actually go back to the early 1920's the period after World War I, when the Government created the Institute of Heraldry as a department within the U.S. Army. One would get the impression that this agency is purely military and is purely Army. The facts are not entirely such. The Institute of Heraldry is responsible for designing, matriculating, issuing, recording and authorizing blazons for any and all Government agencies, bureaus and departments, including the Army and the Air Force and even the Navy. Consequently, persons interested in heraldry in America should not take this agency lightly. While they have made many mistakes through the years they have not been serious, and are attributable entirely to the limited experience of early personnel.

Actually, the father of American (military) heraldry was Col. Robert E. Wyllie, a coast artillery officer who contributed several articles around 1923. From that period, there has been possibly some 10,000 distinctive insignia made and used by various Army units. Admittedly, of this number many were errors. Errors in design, manufacture, tinctures and shape. As time passed, many units disbanded, reconstituted, reassigned, redesignated, and many even retired. And the Institute of Heraldy is busier today than ever before because the American Army is in a very fluid state of continuing change and reorganization. Mounted (horse) cavalry has become armored units; infantry has become airborne; armored; rangers; special forces (guerrilla); coast artillery went to antiaircraft and now to missiles, and many, many other such changes. Many units became "cadres" for the creation of entirely new units.

As a result, the new unit inherited the blazon of its parent and in some instances the English system of cadency was used, in others the Scottish cadency was used. Canting is used to admirable success. Symbols meaningfully used and in regulatory order. Tinctures concur with the colors of the branch of arm and/or service, and in canting as well. The institute encourages the fantastic variation of shapes of the shields which attempt to make each insignia exactly that which it is called, that is, distinctive.

All of which indicates the ability of the Institute of Heraldry, and the necessity of all heraldic minded persons and organizations to seek some means of liaison with the agency. If any effort of our own is to be successful in our endeavor, then we must go along with these people. At the moment they are not inclined toward specific relations with organizations or individuals outside of government. Our success in establishing contact, relations, and communications with this group of personnel will probably have to be a result of our ability to do so through our elected Congress and Senate. The time is at hand to begin such an effort. The effort may succeed moreso if we can locate and engender interest with armigerous Congressmen. But perhaps like a late President who was indeed of an armigerous family, his greatest effort and personal success was the result of his urgent denial of his noble heritage, many politicians will never admit that they are other than descendants of immigrant serfs. Most Americans still glory in claiming birth in an imaginative log cabin.

Most Americans are not armigerous. Yet if an applicant, if of good character, he should be able to engage the services of a competent herald who will honestly design the appropriate blazon for him. It should be registered under his State trademark or patent laws. If some national system can be created, the registry should lie within such central agency. The net effect of this effort would be the elimination of the present houses who peddle spurious and illegal coat armor to gullible individuals may of whom honestly are seeking an individual blazon.

The Lynch Trial of Marcos Perez Jimenez

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to insert my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an article by Harold Lord Varney, who is president and founder of the Committee on Pan American Policy. As such, he has been in the forefront of the fight to induce Washington to wage an all-out battle against communism in Latin America. Formerly the political editor of American Mercury, he was also adviser to the Republic of China between 1947 and 1948.

At the time Perez Jimenez was scheduled for deportation, I lodged a vigorous protest with the Department of State against this atrocious procedure. Deportation had been authorized by the U.S. Supreme Court, but the final power lay in the hands of the Secretary of State.

This was the first time in the history of this country that deportation was permitted involving a political exile who had been a former head of state of the country to which he was being returned.

Perez Jimenez was sold into bondage in exchange for a mess of pottage which quickly soured. This inhuman act by the Kennedy administration will forever be a black mark against the self-proclaimed high ideals of that administration.

The article follows:

VENEZUELA: THE LYNCH TRIAL OF MARCOS PEREZ JIMENEZ

I left the plane at Maiquetia. After 8 years, I was back in Venezuela.

Naturally, I was greatly curious to see the changes which had taken place in that fabulously rich country. My last sight of Venezuela had been in the closing months of the Presidency of Marcos Perez Jimenez, just before the Leftist revolution which brought Romulo Betancourt back to power. I had carried away a vivid impression of a country bursting with progress under the driving leadership of the man who has been recognized, even by his adversaries, as one of the great Latin American builders of modern times. What, I thought, had the Betancourt-Leoni regime done to top Perez Jimenez? How had the government's annual flow of $700 million in oil royalties been spent to improve Venezuela?

My interest had been whetted by the news, just before I left New York, that the Leoni regime had petitioned the United States for permission to sell $15 million worth of Venezuelan bonds on the American market. Was it possible that the Betancourt-Leoni Accion Democratica Party was conducting such a massive public improvement program that it had overextended itself?

My cab swept me over the magnificient Autopista toward the capital. That beautifully engineered highway, literally carved through the mountains, was planned and built by Perez Jimenez. I asked the driver to continue along San Martin Boulevard where the 30-story twin towers of the Centro Bolivar command the Caracas landscape—another of Perez Jimenez' projects, cut through the hovels and slums that formerly filled the heart of the Venezuelan capital. In the distance was the imposing Central University, surrounded by its beautiful university city—now a forbidding nest of Communist student terrorism. The university complex, once a great center of learning, had also been conceived and built by President Perez. In the far distance were the forty 15-story apartment houses constructed by Perez Jimenez to provide inexpensive housing for the people of Caracas.

We swung onto the stately Eastern Highway, an eight-lane elevated boulevard which led to my hotel; that highway too was a monument to the constructive determination of Marcos Perez Jimenez. I reached the Tamanaco, one of the great hotels of South America, to be told that it had also been planned and built by the government of President Perez.

It was saddening to realize that the architect of all of these public works was now lying in a Caracas prison, on trial before his political enemies and thus forced to face the usual barrage of political accusations.

A good rule to follow when seeking information in a Latin American city is to ask the taxi driver.

"Where are some of the buildings which have been put up by Betancourt and Leoni? I asked innocently.

The driver treated me to one of those characteristic Latin shrugs, "Nada," he answered, "nothing. Too many hands."

Obviously, the "hands" he had in mind were those which deliver the democratic vote to the Betancourt-Leoni twosome. Later, when I was told the facts about the great armies of leftist, Communist, and deadbeat henchmen who have been glued into fictitious government jobs, I began to more fully understand where the annual $700 million in oil royalties had gone. I learned that since the exit of President Perez the public payroll had snowballed from 900 million bolivars per year to a present total of 3 billion bolivars. A lot of democratic votes can be kept in line with that kind of money.

Of course, the Action Democratica, when it talks to Americans, has an alibi: Betancourt hasn't built public works in Caracas because he is spending money in rural Venezuela on agrarian reform. I recalled President Kennedy's visit to the model agrarian community of La Merita in 1961, when he shouted glowingly that Venezuela under Betancourt, with its agrarian reform, was giving an example for all Latin America to follow. I asked one of my friends to drive me out to La Merita so that I could check the progress.

"La Merita," my friend bellylaughed, "there is no La Merita. It was closed after Kennedy left, when everybody moved away." The whole agrarian exhibit, it seemed, had been only a plant to fool a checkwriting and impressionable young President into believing that a great agrarian program was underway.

All of this was not, of course, surprising; for anti-Communist President Perez Jimenez's successors—Romulo Betancourt, and his long-time secretary, Raul Leoni—are not the sort of men who see anything wrong in employing graft and fraud if something is to be had in the process for their comrades of the left. Remember that Betancourt, despite his honorary degree from Harvard, his coming lecture series at UCLA, and his strange favor with American liberals, was one of the founders of the Venezuelan Communist Party; that he was exiled for his Communist Party activity in 1928, whereupon he went to Costa Rica to co-found the Costa Rican Communist Party with Manuel Mora Valverde (his brother-in-law). Remember, too, that it was Betancourt who provided the credentials that got Communist Fidel Castro into and out of Bogotá in 1948, when Castro was one of the leaders of the famous Communist butchery of Bogotá.

And we remember Betancourt's statement, from the notorious Barranquilla letters authenticated by the U.S. military attaché at Caracas: "With vaseline we may be able to insert into the people all of Marx and all of Lenin."

Remember, too, his published letters of the late thirties, when he wrote for publication in La Hora of Costa Rica: "It doesn't mean that I deny my Communist affiliation. I am and I will be a Communist." Or the Betancourt letter of September 25, 1934, which he published in a San Jose newspaper, in which he said: "I am and always have been a Communist." Or his letter of February 15, 1937, published in a Caracas newspaper: "It is very urgent to determine that the necessary revolution for transforming Venezuela only can succeed if it is conducted, led, and centralized by the Venezuelan Communist Party."

Today, few will doubt, Romulo Betancourt is being more clever about his leftist activity. It is as he wrote to his accomplice Raul Leoni in one of the captured Barranquilla letters: "In case there is any misunderstanding, let me point out to you here, publicly and openly that I have been called a Communist. But I think we should act in a little more foxy way at this time to win what we need."

And, what Betancourt and Leoni need they try to get—through fraud, deceit, terror, or anything else handy at the moment. They now need to rid themselves of the threat of anti-Communist Marcos Perez Jimenez. But we will have a great deal more to say of that later in this article.

I

Throughout my visit to Venezuela, the impression grew that I was in a country in decadence. Venezuela touched greatness for a brief moment in the 1950's, before the men of the left had moved in. Now it is no longer advancing. It is living upon the fruits of its past, while the Accion Democratica plunderblund frantically clutches power and all its emoluments. The mainstream of the nation's economy is stagnant.

Of course, no such picture of Venezuela has penetrated the United States. Popular articles in the American press, as well as the fervid speeches of HUBERT HUMPHREY, are forever full of snide references to Betancourt's having cleaned up the mess left by Perez Jimenez. To read the highly colored stories of democratic progress in Venezuela under Romulo Betancourt, one gets the concept of a nation humming with achievement and purpose. Unhappily, there is no such Venezuela. Like La Merita, such descriptive prose is a Potemkin exhibit, thrown up by the Accion Democratica and its gullible and leftist American friends, to convince the United States that Venezuela, under the left, has made more progress than under the right. The Venezuelan people are not impressed by such hogwash. They know the bitter truth.

Even in stately Caracas, the scars of the Accion Democratica years are plainly visible. I was driven out to see the shanty towns which ring the city and which shelter the unfortunates who are not sharing in the Accion Democratica perquisites. Under Perez Jimenez, an energetic housing program was rapidly eliminating this nightmare. In Perez's last year, after great effort, he had been able to reduce the hovels to five thousand dwellings. Now, after 6 years of Betancourt and Leoni, they have increased to 100,000—with more appearing daily.

Throughout Venezuela a strangling unemployment stalks the country. There had been virtually no unemployment in 1957 when I was there before, yet the latest figures disclose that there are now some 550,000 unemployed. If the United States, with its greater population, had the same ratio of jobless to population, we would have in our midst a desperate army of 11,500,000 citizens without jobs—almost the maximum high in our great depression. And, because of its great birthrate, 70,000 new potential Vene-

suelan workers are reaching working age every year, to swell the problem. The Accion Democratica has no jobs for them.

These grim but inescapable facts have now worn off the phony luster of the Betancourt regime. The Venezuelan public is fed up with the Accion Democratica and its moist and empty promises. At the last election, Raul Leoni barely squeaked through, with but 32 percent of the vote. He rules today only through a coalition of unstable splinter parties, known as the Amplia Base. Betancourt discreetly stays in New York, where he is lapping up the sort of lionization from American liberals and leftists that he no longer receives in Venezuela. He is also consulted by President Johnson.

Surely, even the merest tyro can detect in today's Venezuela the unmistakable signs of the profound political crisis ahead. If it comes, it will be the first important instance of a nation, which has been taken over totally by the Left, returning by popular choice to the anti-Communist right.

II

The above supplies a revealing backdrop to the insane performance which is now being staged before the Supreme Court of Venezuela—the attempt to railroad Marcos Perez Jiminez to a prison term on a manufactured charge of corruption. Such an attempt to immobilize and discredit Perez Jimenez, and to thus remove him from politics, is the last desperate gamble of Betancourt and his weak understudies (Raul Leoni, Jovito Villalba, and Rafael Caldera) to stave off Venezuela's swing to the right. Perez Jimenez is the only Venezuelan anti-Communist of stature who is capable of leading a successful movement against the leftist incompetents. The word is out that he must be destroyed, and now.

The former President would not be in a prison cell today if it were not for the interference of the United States. An exile in Miami, Perez Jimenez was caught in the swirl of the ill-advised intrigues between President Kennedy and Romulo Betancourt in 1961–63. It is nearly certain that President Kennedy on the occasion of Betancourt's visit to the White House during February of 1963, promised to deliver Perez Jimenez to Betancourt on condition that Betancourt aid the United States against Castro. Since Betancourt was Castro's former teacher and sponsor, this was a clever dodge. The promise was purportedly given even before the courts had acted, and in shameless disregard of the hitherto unbreached American tradition of political asylum. For 2 years, after the extradition, the former President lay in a Caracas prison. His trial opened on April 9.

It is important to understand that in the eyes of the Venezuelan public the corruption charge has placed upon Perez Jimenez little or no moral stigma. Latin Americans are used to the mutual bandying of accusations of corruption when governments fall. In the case of Betancourt and the Accion Democratica, the cry of corruption is an old gambit. Certainly Perez Jimenez is not the first victim of Betancourt's false charges of corruption. Romulo has tried it before.

Back in 1945, when the Accion Democratica won its first term of power, Romulo Betancourt followed his victory by indicting two former Presidents of Venezuela—Eliazar Lopez Contreras and Isaias Angarita—for misuse of funds. With them in the dock was a third defendant, Uslar Pietri. They were found guilty and their property confiscated. When Perez Jimenez and the military triumvirate came to power in 1948, although there were copious grounds for similar accusations against the deposed Accion Democratica leaders, it was decided to end this vicious circle of persecution of political adversaries, and no charges were made against Betancourt. The confiscated property was restored to Betancourt's three victims.

How lightly Betancourt actually holds his charges of corruption is shown by the fact that Uslar Pietri, one of the 1945 defendants, was taken into the Leoni cabinet in 1964, and former President Lopez Contreras is now a highly honored exhibit at all current Accion Democratica public functions in Caracas.

It appears, however, that Betancourt has made a major mistake in extraditing and placing Perez Jimenez on trial. He has dangerously miscalculated Venezuelan public opinion. Instead of discrediting Perez Jimenez, the persecution has martyrized him. A wave of personal sympathy for the former President swept over the country while he was being held in prison. Coinciding with the national mood of disillusionment with Betancourt, this mounting pro-Perez Jimenez feeling suddenly became a political force. It has now begun to panic the leftists.

The dam broke on April 9, the day Perez Jimenez was brought from prison to court. A miracle occurred. An unorganized and spontaneous outburst of support for Perez rocked Caracas. Sympathizers appeared with brooms and hoses to cleanse the streets over which his car would pass on the way to the Supreme Court building. Thousands lined the sidewalks. Women and children threw flowers at the general's car. A roar of "Viva Perez Jimenez" broke from thousands of throats. It was the unexpectedness of the demonstration that made it so strikingly important. It was as if multitudes of people, who had silently endured the privations and sufferings of the Accion Democratica years, had at last found their collective voice and were calling for the return of the President under whom life had been better.

The Accion Democratica regime immediately realized the importance of stopping this popular outburst before it endangered their dictatorship. The seccond day, the approaches to the supreme court were sealed off by a deep line of armed troops. Passes were required for entrance, and applicants were screened. A score or so of Perez Jimenez's followers were placed under arrest to frighten the demonstrators. Even one of the Perez Jimenez lawyers, Rafael Perez Perdoma, was placed under temporary arrest. The intimidation went further. A Caracas TV station was courageous enough to place a strong supporter of Perez Jimenez, Erwin Burguera, on the air to present the Perez case. Burguera was seized by the police and held in prison for 47 days.

The press was also intimidated. The influential Capriles newspapers had demanded the liberation of the former President. As a result, Miguel Capriles, the editor of La Esfera, was arrested and charged with anti-government activities, and proceedings were instituted to abrogate the parliamentary immunity of one of his editors. To hurt the Capriles press in the pocket book, the Government next indicated to the big American oil companies that it would be to their advantage to withdraw their advertising from Capriles. To the shame of America, all complied.

But these awful events were overshadowed by the public registering of names of Venezuelan citizens demanding Perex Jimenez's liberation. Friends of the former President circulated petitions throughout the country. In order to avoid the suspicion of fraud, all signers were asked to affix their identity numbers—a dangerous step in a country which is a quasi-police state. These names were printed in full-page advertisements in La Esfera and other newspapers. To date, approximately 50,000 such signatures have been obtained and published. They are still pouring in at a mounting rate.

When we examine the published names, another surprising fact strikes us. Although the names of some distinguished persons appear, these are not predominantly the Venezuelan elite. Nor are they former jobholders under the Perez administration. For the most part, they are the names of ordinary nonpolitical citizens who have had enough of Accion Democratica. It is the voice of a broad cross section of the Venezuelan people. One highly significant appearance among the petitions is a list of 8,000 trade unionists. When realizes that Betancourt and his agents control the Venezuelan unions with an iron hand, such a defection is symptomatic.

III

Against such a setting, the question assails us: Can Perez Jimenez secure a fair trial in the Betancourt courts? Is there a hope of acquittal? Here we find ourselves in the world of surmise. Let us look at the mise en scène before which the trial is taking place.

The Supreme Court of Venezuela, which is sitting in full to hear this historic case, is stacked with Perez Jimenez's political enemies. It is ironic that, although the stately supreme court building was erected by Perez Jimenez, none of his adherents are on the bench. It is a court which has been made over and handpicked by the leftist regimes which have held power since his departure.

The president of the supreme court, Hugo Ardilla Bustamente, is an undisguised Accion Democratica politician. He was the chairman of the independent committee for Raul Leoni in the 1963 presidential election, despite the strict law that justices of the supreme court may not engage in partisan politics. Another justice is Gonzalo Barrios, whose brother is minister of the interior in Leoni's cabinet. He controls the political police. Perez Jimenez's counsel, Dr. Rafael Naranjo Ostty, after persistent efforts, has succeeded in disqualifying two or three justices who have been particularly virulent in their anti-Perez Jimenez bias. But others remain.

The atmosphere in the courtroom is indicated by an occurrence on the first day of the trial. A woman rose from the spectators' seats and interrupted the proceedings with a screaming outburst of obscenities directed at the seated Perez Jimenez. When she was quieted, it was discovered that she was the sister of Cesar Tinoco Richor, one of the Justices on the bench. Although, under Venezuelan law, her offense called for a prison sentence of 8 days, she was released without charges.

The prime exhibit of bias in the case is Attorney General Jose Antonio Lazada, who is prosecuting the fiasco. Lazada envisages himself as a sort of native Vishinsky, who will come out of the trial with the laurels of a hanging prosecutor. He has reason to hate Perez Jimenez. During the latter's Presidency, Lazada held a minor position under him as consultant of prisons. When it was discovered that he was spending his time working for the leftist Accion Democratica, Perez Jimenez fired him. Lazada anticipates his revenge in this trial.

But Perez Jimenez also holds an ace card in the trial. He is being defended by Venezuela's outstanding advocate, Rafael Naranjo Ostty. If Lazada looms as the Vishinsky of the trial, Naranjo comes as an unpolitical Clarence Darrow of the Venezuelan bar. All his life, Naranjo has fought brilliantly for unpopular causes. As a youth he was imprisoned and tortured by Dictator Gomez for his defense of union labor. An unpolitical figure, he had no acquaintance with Perez Jimenez while the latter was President. But when Perez approached him to be his defender, he was so impressed by the palpable injustice of the legal trap which Betancourt has contrived that he offered to plead the case without a fee. The clash of two such contrasting advocates gives moving drama to the courtroom scene.

I visited Naranjo in his unique Shangri-la home in the heart of the Caracas business district. Here, too, are his offices. One enters a grilled gate from the crowded street and finds himself in a tropical retreat. Scores of toucans and other rare birds of bright plumage, in their cages, fill the paths with sound. Giant royal palms, heavy with

creepers rear from the flower beds, making a cool interlocking ceiling against the fierce sun. Pagodas, scattered throughout the grounds, give restful spots for leisure and conversation.

Reclining in a hammock in one of these pagodas, Naranjo talked to me about the case. He has no doubt that he will win it, despite the stacked deck which confronts him in the supreme court. He bases his defense upon the obvious illegality of a political trial for an extradited former president, under the terms of the Venezuela-United States Extradition Treaty. Moveover, he cites the fact that the Venezuelan constitution of 1953 (operative during Perez Jimenez's presidency) specifically prohibits persecution for crimes committed by a president in the practice of his public functions. Unless the court is ready to hand down a kangaroo decision, Naranjo is confident that the law of Venezeula stops Lazada at every point.

Of course, there can be no illusion that this is other than a political trial. Had Perez Jimenez been willing to come to terms with the ruling leftists, as Pietri and Lopez Contreras have done, he would be a free man today. The left always has an open gate for apostates. But in the tough Andean nature of Perez Jimenez there is no touch of the apostate. He will fight on, at all costs, because he believes that he is right. He also believes fixedly that anti-communism, and not the Betancourt brand of crypto-communism, is the wave of Venezuela's future.

Of course, the outcome hangs heavily upon public opinion, both in Venezuela and in the United States. The Leoni government wants desperately to liquidate Perez Jimenez; but it does not dare risk a judicial crime in the revealing glare of publicity now beating upon the case. In Venezuela, the balance of public sympathy has already swung heavily against the Accion Democratica course. Accion Democratica is straining upon the limits of the possible.

Meanwhile, in the United States, the pro-Betancourt bias of most of our press has refrained from giving the American people any clear knowledge of what is taking place in the Caracas courtroom, and of its likely historic consequences. Our leftists have done a thorough propaganda job about Venezuela under the Accion Democratica. So all-out is the press buildup of Romulo Betancourt that even some active American conservatives hesitate to stand up and be counted on the Betancourt issue. They rationalize their position by saying: "Betancourt has fought the Communists"—disregarding the open fact that he has fought only his propaganda rival, Fidel Castro, while advancing his own brand of "communism under another name" with impunity. The liberals have profited richly from this induced confusion on the part of the right. With the late John F. Kennedy, they have made Betancourt's name so holy that no writer who wants to make a living dares to attack him. And yet, Betancourt and his Accion Democratica must be X-rayed and exposed to the American people if there is ever to be reason in our Latin American policy.

While I was in Venezuela, I was horrified to read that at that very moment Betancourt was being honored in New York by an organization whose leaders bristle with those cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities for association with subversive efforts, and that the President of the United States, himself, had sent a letter to the dinner eulogizing Betancourt. It was poetic justice that, after the President had made such a gesture, Betancourt insolently tossed off a speech savagely attacking the Johnson intervention in the Dominican Republic. It is such an incident as this, blackly headlined in the pro-Betancourt press in Caracas, that gives the fading Accion Democratica a continued lease of prestige in Venezuela. Today, Accion Democratica's greatest asset is the impression that Washington is behind it. The Johnson administration's continuing policy of support for Betancourt needs to be stopped. It is alienating nonleftist Venezuelans. It is intervention in its most unprofitable form in the politics of a sensitive country.

Perez Jimenez, the hounded prisoner in the Caracas courtroom, is undoubtedly the political key to Venezuela's future. In the last 3 years he has looked into the very mouth of hell, and he has not flinched. He looms today as the one possible leader who can spark a hemispheric swing to the anti-Communist right. He has been smeared unmercifully, and he is still being smeared. His enemies dismiss him as a playboy, despite his unrivaled achievements. True, he has none of the dour and unsmiling solemnity with which a Betancourt has impressed an anemic American intelligentsia. Perez Jimenez is a lover of life, who lives by the code of his lusty Andean heritage, and millions of Latin Americans love him for it—for that and for his anticommunism.

In his present exposed situation, it is the duty of every anti-Communist American to try to save him. His own Venezuelan people are trying courageously to pull him out of the leftist jaws. With Naranjo's eloquent voice on their side, they may succeed in doing it on their own. But it would be a melancholy spectacle, at this juncture, if American anti-Communists failed to come to the support of one who is so conspicuously fighting the anti-Communist battle in Venezuela.

Thanks to a thoroughly dishonest press coverage, many misinformed American conservatives are today unknowingly cheering for the Venezuelan left. The press blackout is pervasive. Unless it is answered and defeated, it will help to kill the spirit of anti-communism in Venezuela. The long-range American anti-Communist purpose has suffered so many withering defeats in late years that it cannot afford another disaster. It would be a shameful epitaph upon today's America to be remembered as the nation which rescued a Romulo Betancourt when his own people were ready to spew him out.

Vietnam and the Long View

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I want to call to the attention of my colleagues an article written by Emmett Dedmon, executive editor of the Chicago Sun-Times, after a recent extensive tour he made of southeast Asia. I feel this article merits the particular attention of the Members of Congress because it presents a whole new outlook and a refreshing long-range view of the chances for achieving our goal of peace, not only in Vietnam, but in all of Asia.

Mr. Dedmon has returned from his tour with the conviction that Vietnam represents a defensible position for the United States but that "we should not delude ourselves that it constitutes a policy for Asia." He points out that East and West have different histories, different cultures, and in some cases different values, making it difficult to achieve a meeting of the minds as quickly as we in the West hope to achieve it. The eastern view appears to be that it will take at least "10 years or so" before a significant thaw in relations between the United States and Red China can be expected.

It is encouraging to learn from Dedmon's report that the predominant feeling in southeast Asia is that the U.S. presence in Vietnam is not generally regarded as a colonial or oppressive enterprise.

Mr. Dedmon tells us that the southeast Asian countries feel the U.S. program would be more effective if it were identified with long-range social reforms. It is to this end that consideration is being given by the United States to establishing an Asiatic Bank and Edward Lansdale has been assigned to Vietnam to help develop a Government structure capable of bringing about this social reform.

The article by Mr. Dedmon, which appeared in the Sun-Times on August 29, 1965, follows:

On a wall at Angkor Wat, the great temple in Cambodia constructed from the 9th to the 12th century, there is a mural showing Khmer (Cambodian) soldiers fighting off an invading band of Chams, one of the tribes who eventually came to be known as the Vietnamese.

"Yes," said our Cambodian guide with no trace of rancor, "the Vietnamese people have always caused difficulties in Asia far out of proportion to their numbers."

Thus it was on a green plateau in Cambodia, far removed from any evidence of contemporary civilization, that I found what was to be the most relevant commentary during a summer's pilgrimage to southeast Asia in search of answers about Vietnam.

Purposefully, I had avoided Vietnam except for two brief interludes between airplanes in Saigon. For I was not interested in the war, which is in Vietnam, but in the prize of peace, which is all of Asia.

As I left the United States early in July, the debate over our policy in Vietnam was raging louder and louder; and, it seemed, to me, at a frenetic pitch hardly conducive to sensible mediation about long-range goals of foreign policy.

It was a relief, then, to find that the din of the dispute decreased in almost direct proportion to our approach to Vietnam.

Asia has a long history in which war has never been as neatly codified as we in the West have done in order to bring orderliness to the teaching of history. As you stand in Asia, you begin to understand that it would never occur to the leaders of these ancient peoples that any solution would be sought as quickly as was being demanded in the United States or Western Europe.

Asia is a land of ancient quarrels. Cambodia, for example, which recently broke off relations with the United States has even greater animosity toward its neighbor nation of Thailand. And Cambodia's dispute with Vietnam is grounded more substantially in disagreement over borders resulting from the historic surge of armies than in ideological differences with the South Vietnam Government.

All these nations recognize both tacitly and explicitly the American presence in Vietnam as a buffer against territorial encroachment by China. And they fear China the nation much more than China the harbinger of international communism.

Many of these peoples trace their ancestry to early incursions of armies from China. It is clear that they regard those periods when Western powers served as a buffer to the giant from the north to be centuries as near to tranquility as any they have known.

From their point of view, then, the stalemate in South Vietnam is much to be pre-

ferred to any quick solution which might lead to an American withdrawal.

The nations of the West, preoccupied with their own diplomatic and policy objectives, often forget that these smaller nations have objectives and historic thrusts of their own.

As Mark Gayn observed in these pages a few weeks ago: "Asia is now in the throes of the biggest revolution in history. At its heart lies man's protest against the feudal yesterday and the hungry today. This revolution will last for decades and will envelop most of the countries that lie between the longitude of Moscow and Peiping."

Certainly the people of these nations in the "third Asia" between China and India have much more to fear from the familiar specter of hunger than from the incomprehensible patterns of atomic war.

When Western diplomats speak of the so-called domino theory which suggests all these nations will promptly "fall" if the United States should withdraw from Vietnam, they merely perpetuate a myth of uniformity where there is really diversity.

Although it may not seem so in the light of the test of strength between the great powers, it is paradoxically true that a continuing American commitment in Vietnam is bringing to Asia more stability than instability.

These are nations whose great cities have made miraculous postwar leaps directly into the booming economy of the mid-20th century. The tourist in these cities finds himself constantly among wide expressways and avenues, traffic jams (many of them with two-wheeled vehicles predominant), neon signs and air-conditioned office buildings.

Though the rural areas still struggle with the slow gait of the water buffalo and centuries-old techniques of farming, they are gradually (excluding India and Indonesia) beginning to rise above the level of bare subsistence. The women, who have borne the loads of these nations on their backs and in their hands, have even found time to fill the open windows of their shuttered huts with such frills as brightly colored curtains.

These people, for whom the material benefits of the modern world are at last beginning to be dimly discernible, obviously don't want the war to be brought into their own rice paddies. But neither do they find anything in the present situation to suggest that the American war effort in Vietnam is in any sense a colonial or oppressive enterprise.

In the Philippines, this view was reflected by Manila's Mayor Antonia J. Villegas, who had been a leader in the Philippine campaign to neutralize the rebellious Huks at a time when the Huks presented the same kind of threat that the Vietcong do in South Vietnam.

Villegas said there was very little real consciousness in the Philippines about our effort in Vietnam. He attributed the failure of the Philippine National Assembly to vote additional troops for Vietnam more to the fact this is a presidential election year than to any reluctance to support the American position.

However, Villegas felt that the U.S. program would be even fore effective if it were identified with long-range social reforms rather than merely military objectives. This view, of course, is shared in Washington and presumably was behind the recent assignment of Edward Lansdale to Vietnam to help develop a viable governmental structure which might produce and offer such a program.

For his own part, Villegas expressed a willingness to establish a training program in the Philippines where South Vietnamese village and provincial leaders could be brought for a training institute that would (1) indicate how the Philippines dealt successfully with the Huks and (2) help train leaders so government could be effective at the local level in Vietnam.

Leaders in other countries echoed this need for an identifiable social program (from the Vietnamese Government as distinguished from the U.S. aid program for southeast Asia).

Everywhere there was pessimism about the possibility of early negotiations to end the fighting in Vietnam. But if there was pessimism, there was no sense of doom about such a delay.

No one with whom I talked expected that Ho Chi Minh would be persuaded to come to the conference table for a period of months—or until he was convinced that the United States had the patience and determination to stay in Vietnam. They look upon our increasing troop commitments and aggressive tactics in Vietnam, not as many American intellectuals do as a threat to war, but as the only way to the conference table.

At the same time, they talked about "10 years or so" as the period which would probably be required before there was any significant thaw in the relations between the United States and Red China. Nor did this seem to alarm any of China's neighbors. In Asia, one was reminded again, they have always been inclined to bet on the tortoise and not on the hare.

This suggestion that the solution in Vietnam is still months away in no way minimizes the American agony over the presence there of our troops or the dangers of an escalated war.

Freedom has always required such commitments of this Nation, however. We should not lose sight of the fact we are fighting not to impose our will on others but to assure a climate in a world grown small that will permit our free institutions to survive.

For this reason, it is doubly important that we do not become so obsessed with extracting ourselves from an unhappy position in Vietnam that we forget our objectives. Those objectives will not be served if we fail to provide for the development of a sound civilian government in Vietnam during any armistice or if we fail to begin a review of our whole Asian policy.

As Bill Mauldin suggested in a cartoon last Sunday (and reproduced today) China's ultimatums may be 10 or 20 years in the making. Our responses and plans should be no less deliberate.

Another discovery of the visitor to Asia (who is willing to listen) is that the competition among these countries is not geared to Vietnam at all but to the developing Afro-Asian sense of community.

It is not without significance that in most of the areas we visited—the Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Cambodia, Hong Kong, Japan—discussion of the future political course of these countries began with the mention of the proposed Algiers conference last June.

In the United States we had a tendency to treat Algiers as a strictly monolithic Red Chinese propaganda show. Certainly that was what Red China hoped it to be.

But many of the Afro-Asian nations who had first met at Bandung in Indonesia in 1955 for what President Sukarno grandly called the first intercontinental conference of colored peoples in the history of mankind had different ideas. They were hoping to find their own arena for international recognition and development independent of the great power struggle.

When, earlier this year, the Algiers conference was being organized, Albert Ravenholt wrote in the Chicago Daily News that "the stakes are considerably higher than perhaps is appreciated in Washington, London, or Paris."

The Chinese Communists were hoping to use it to attack both the United States and the Soviet Union. (They had even hoped to exclude the Soviet Union—a rather bold gesture at a meeting representing Asia, for Russia's portion of Asia is second only to China's.)

The other nations, however, wanted the meeting to be one where they could talk at least in part about their mutual problems of poverty, land reform, and mechanization for their archaic industries and agriculture.

Fortuitously, Ahmed Ben Bella was ousted as President of Algeria in June while most of the delegates were en route to the conference and at a time when the machinery of the conference was very much under Red China's control.

In what is now regarded as an abrupt diplomatic defeat for Red China, the conferees voted to postpone the meeting until November 5 because of the ouster of the President of their host country. The postponed conference may not be held at all. But if it is held, it is a certainty that it will be much less dominated by China and may provide the beginnings of a long-range area organization for these developing countries.

It will still probably be a headache for the United States. As a Western power we will probably come off with faint damnation; certain we can hope for no praise.

Still, the Nations there (if it is held) will be aware that their independence from Chinese domination would not be possible at all if it were not for our presence in Vietnam. At the same time, we should remember they are looking beyond Vietnam.

Vietnam represents a defensible position. We should not delude ourselves that it constitutes a policy for Asia.

Therefore, as these so-called neutralists or Afro-Asians come together, we should be sure we look at their meetings as more significant than mere propaganda forums.

Our effectiveness in helping such moderate nations as Japan, the Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, Iran, Ethiopia, and Malaysia bring into being imaginative plans for progress and reform will in the long run be a lot more important to our position in Asia than decisions over the bombing of North Vietnam.

Finally, we should not forget that these new and emerging nations are in fact thousands of years old. We are bound to make mistakes in dealing with them, for we have different histories, different cultures and in some cases different values.

But the one mistake we cannot afford is to look for easy answers or to be impatient in the search for quick answers.

Asia has been waiting in semi-isolation for thousands of years. We will not find our way through its labyrinth in so short a period as the decade we have been in Vietnam.

Lyndon Johnson Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, recognizing that we have been operating in the 89th Congress under a one-party system, and in most cases a one-party press, it is interesting to note at least some change in the attitude of the press, as evidenced by the attached article by Laurence M. Stern, a staff writer for the Washington Post, entitled "Lyndon Johnson Today," which was published in the September issue of the Progressive.

The article follows:

LYNDON JOHNSON TODAY

(By Laurence M. Stern)

Wondrous and inscrutable is the chemistry of Presidential public relations. For 18 months it sustained for Lyndon B. Johnson

an incredible bull market of personal popularity.

He was the Presidential colossus who seemed to have reduced all about him to Lilliputian scale. On Capitol Hill he was the miracle man credited with bringing to harvest a treasure of social legislation such as the Nation had not seen since Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal 3 decades ago. Foreign capitals looked upon him with a growing sense of disquiet but also with a growing fascination: Here was a President who was as uninhibited in the use and display of American power as any in their memory. Certainly he wore the fastest gun and carried the biggest stick since Teddy Roosevelt.

The American people—not Georgetown or Berkeley, Greenwich Village or Madison, Wis.—but Americans by the tens of millions accepted and supported his leadership. The well-thumbed public opinion polls in the President's pockets told him so.

But as the summer of 1965 ripened in Washington, a subtle reaction set in. Objectively, little seemed to have changed. The big bills were still coming to harvest—medicare, voting rights, education, housing. In Vietnam the war and the prospects for settlement continued to look worse day by day. In Paris the willful Charles de Gaulle was intransigent in thwarting the grand design of the United States for a cohesive Atlantic community. In Santo Domingo there was a rancorous atmosphere of stalemate.

The locus of change was Washington. It was an alteration not of measurable facts so much as the imponderables of political atmosphere. There was, for one thing, a flowering of journalistic critique directed not so much against the mainstream of Johnson policies but at the Presidential person and his "style."

The President-watchers in Washington depicted what some might have taken as a new Lyndon Johnson; a host of uncommon adjectives emerged to describe him—crude, volcanic, tyrannical, power seeking—but no longer 10 feet tall. A sense of irriation was welling in the Capital City at the big Texan's coarse-grained and imperial ways. Stories that had made the rounds of the dinner and cocktail circuit now found their way into print. Example: There was this State trooper who caught up with a speeding white Lincoln on a Texas highway, took one look at the man behind the wheel and gasped: "Oh, my God!" And the driver growled—"That's right, and don't ever forget it."

Irritations grew in foreign capitals, too, at the decline in consultation by Washington before such crucial international decisions as the bombing of North Vietnam and the intervention in Santo Domingo. "We're expected to do chores for you in Hanoi," one widely respected European observer confided, "and yet our Government is not informed of major policy decisions until after they are carried out." How does the White House view this growing buzz of discontent abroad? "Presidents have too often been captives of those who are not President," one top-ranking Johnson man answered with a touch of testiness. "Informing is not consulting" contends one influential Washington columnist who is devout in his admiration for the President but who concedes that shrinkage of meaningful contact between the White House and other world capitals is a conspicuous weakness of the Johnson administration.

Suddenly the writing of a Lyndon Johnson profile became an imperative art form in Washington journalism. A British correspondent flew from London to Austin in pursuit of the quintessential Lyndon, and drew an appreciative but unsparingly clinical portrait of the President, including some favorite scatological usages.

The marvel of it all is that for the more than 30 summers Lyndon Johnson has spent in Washington he has been all these things: crude, volcanic, and power seeking. Those lash marks on the backs of the White House aids in Herblock's memorable cartoon, "Happy Days on the Old Plantation," were by no means fresh wounds.

Creeping normalcy has returned to Washington after the profound shock of President Kennedy's assassination and the eerie political convulsion of the 1964 campaign, when a major party was captured by the rump movement of a candidate who, in his heart, wanted to repeal 30 years of American history. The United States had been through a lot.

The real and the mythical Lyndon Johnson probably come closest to coinciding in his management of the Nation's domestic affairs. During his first 20 months in the White House, Mr. Johnson reaped from Congress those fruits which Democratic oratory had sown through at least five prior presidential elections.

It is trite to say that Lyndon Johnson understands Congress as perhaps no President before him. But it is unarguable: He knows all the sharps and flats, the faults and tolerances.

It is also true that the 89th Congress from which President Johnson was to wring his most impressive string of victories is, like the Roosevelt Congresses of the 1930's, a sport of history and politics. It took a Barry Goldwater as well as an incumbent Lyndon Johnson to fashion such a Congress. There was also a Supreme Court ruling on reapportionment that was to make its first impact in the makeup of the 89th, battering down some of the rotten boroughs that helped to sustain private hegemonies on Capitol Hill. The Johnson landslide had added nearly 40 Democratic votes in the House to ratify his programs and 2 in the Senate over those majorities with which John F. Kennedy had had to work.

For the first time since earliest New Deal days the conservative coalition, which had laid the heavy hand of deadlock over White House-Capitol relations, was significantly breached. That venerable band of autocrats such as Senator HARRY F. BYRD and Representative HOWARD W. SMITH, of Virginia, and Senator RICHARD RUSSELL, of Georgia, which had delighted in frustrating Chief Executives for years, was suddenly mute and passive. At one time Lyndon Johnson had, of course, been the preeminent member of their club.

The famous Johnson doctrine of consensus (the term is Walter Lippmann's, the President insists, not his) is nothing other than a total commitment of Mr. Johnson's formidable energies toward the center of the public spectrum—whether the issue be a railroad strike or a legislative program. Membership in the consensus party is especially open to those with the constituencies and the votes, whether in the establishments of civil rights, big business, big labor, or the Senate minority. The consensus party embraces the Negro revolution's Martin Luther King, Jr., big business' John T. Connor, labor's George Meany, and proper Republicanism's Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. President Johnson's comprehension of men and their power is what stamped him as a genius of the Senate machine and is one of the most practical gifts he brought to the White House.

Mr. Johnson has played the role of a typical southern conservative on racial matters until well into the late 1950's. His transformation into the most ardent champion of the American Negro ever to occupy the White House has evoked taunts of criticism from conservative Republicans and liberal Democrats. But this change in the man is another measure of the awesome ambition and sense of political purpose that helped to win the 1964 presidential election for him, the prize denied to generations of highly skilled southern politicians since the Civil War.

The famous Johnson pliancy was piquantly underscored in two editions of the same Lyndon Johnson biography—one published in 1956 and the second in 1964—by Booth Mooney, his former Senate aid. The later edition was sanitized of uncomplimentary references to Americans for Democratic Action (for which the President has little personal regard) and of tributes to States rights.

In his domestic programs the President has played the role of a great consolidator, bringing to fruition proposals enunciated long before he came to office. But the role of the American President is to innovate too. And in this area of performance the Johnson administration has so far failed to score any marks of distinction.

The efforts by the administration to impart to itself a cachet of culture have been lumberingly ludicrous. It has resulted in a war on automobile junkyards (a species of eyesore in which Texas leads the Nation) just at the time shattered automotive hulks have become the rage of the New York Pop art salons. The solemn gimmickry of the beautification campaign has planted a few flowers in the squalor of Washington's slums, courtesies of the First Lady. But on the wholly meaningful issue of roadside controls, the administration made strategic concessions to the billboard lobby led by an auld Johnson acquaintance from Waco, Tex.

While Mr. Johnson has brought a new sense of momentum to Capitol Hill, the doctrine of consensus has put a cautionary break on another less-visible sector of Government—the regulatory agencies. No longer is there heard the abrasive crusading of the early New Frontier days, such as former Federal Communications Commission Chairman Newton W. Minow's assault on the "wasteland" of television.

How can it be forgotten that it was in a regulatory arena over which the FCC held life-or-death authority that the President's Texas television empire flourished? The Pulitzer Prize winning series by the Wall Street Journal's Louis M. Kohlmeier showed how the L.B.J. Co. prospered under a series of seemingly providential rulings by the Commission. While there is no evidence on the record of overt intercession by Mr. Johnson in behalf of the company, few in the President's home town of Austin take seriously the official assertion that Lady Bird with her business acumen did it all.

President Johnson has enjoined his men to act as "judges, not advocates" even though their primary statutory responsibility must be to serve as public watchguards.

The White House looked the other way when the tobacco lobby and its congressional agents suspended the rulemaking powers of the Federal Trade Commission on cigaret advertising. That two of the President's oldest Washington confidants, attorney—now U.S. Supreme Court Justice—Abe Fortas and former Kentucky Senator Earl Clements were associated with the tobacco industry lobby is a fact that is certain not to enhance confidence in the integrity of governmental process in the Great Society.

Also Mr. Johnson has shown no special pleasure at the vigorous policies of the Kennedy-appointed Federal Power Commission toward regulating the gas and electric utility industries. The FPC superviser rate structures that, in aggregate, cost consumers sums many time the amount which, as taxpayers, they provide for the antipoverty program.

The central question is not whether Mr. Johnson wants Charles R. Ross, the proconsumer Vermont Republican whose reappointment to the FPC dangled for a full year, or Joseph C. Swidler, the retiring chairman, to serve on his Federal Power Commission. The matter of appointments is a jealously held prerogative of the Presidency. Rather, the issue is whether Mr. Johnson wants to continue the strong regulatory policies begun under Swidler or favors a return

to the easy-going policies of the Eisenhower era.

Foreign policy has been the special despair of President Johnson's public relations. This is a truism that exasperates the White House. Nothing cuts more keenly than invidious comparisons between the Kennedy and Johnson techniques of foreign policy management. "No disrespect to John Kennedy," a Johnson staffer told me, "but we haven't had a Bay of Pigs."

Another close-hand observer of the President said, "The most important thing to remember about this very complicated man is his appreciation and understanding of power—brute power." Apply this Johnsonian trait to the Vietnam crisis, and the outlook is chilling indeed.

The Bay of Pigs was a humiliation to John Kennedy, but it was also a lesson. Its meaning was distilled in an observation quoted from Mr. Kennedy by historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., on the issue of whether to launch supplemental raids against Cuba or allow American prestige to accept the blow of failure. "What is prestige?" asked President Kennedy. "Is it the shadow of power of the substance of power? We are going to work with the substance of power."

How much more sanely or more succinctly could the purpose of American policy be stated?

In Vietnam, President Johnson tirelessly preaches that "our national honor is at stake, our word is at stake" in preventing the spread of communism from North to South Vietnam. This is the rationale for the commitment of U.S. forces in the hundreds of thousands to an American ground war in Asia.

Two months before his death, President Kennedy expressed the American commitment in Vietnam in these words:

"In the last analysis, it is their war. They are the ones who have to win it or lose it. We can help them, we can give them equipment, we can send our men out there as advisers, but they have to win it—the people of Vietnam against the Communists."

It was President Johnson himself who said only a year ago: "Some others are eager to enlarge the conflict. They call upon us to supply American boys to do the job that Asian boys should do. They ask us to take reckless action which might risk the lives of millions and engulf much of Asia and certainly threaten the peace of the entire world. Moreover, such action would offer no solution at all to the real problems of Vietnam." Today President Johnson is leading the Nation deeper and deeper into the quagmire that threatens to explode the detente in the cold war with the Soviet, achieved after 15 crisis-filled years, and escalate into nuclear war.

President Johnson's course in Vietnam has long worried those Senators within his own party who are the acknowledged leaders in foreign policy matters, such as Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, of Arkansas, and Senate Majority Leader MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana. There has been speculation that this weighed heavily in the President's July 28 press conference statement announcing a 60-percent increase in the U.S. troop buildup but also expressing for the first time a willingness to discuss Hanoi's proposals—proposals the administration not long ago termed unnegotiable.

There seemed, too, a new note of flexibility in the President's affirmation of the right of the South Vietnamese to "shape their own destiny in free elections in the south or throughout all Vietnam under international supervision." This contrasts with the pejorative declarations in recent months and weeks for nothing less than a "free and independent South Vietnam"—presumably meaning a U.S.-certified government in Saigon.

In Latin America there is the bitter fruit of resentment at the occupation of the Dominican Republic by 21,000 marines and paratroopers, as well as the enunciation of a new doctrine of intervention in the internal politics of the hemisphere.

History's excuse for John Kennedy in the Bay of Pigs may be that he was a new President and had become a captive of bureaucracy's momentum and the so-called expertise of the CIA. He lived to repent it and to change the course to avert even greater disaster.

Now a far weightier verdict has been reserved for Lyndon Johnson as he tries to steer a course between the shadow and substance of American purpose in a world made more dangerous each day by the growing belligerency of its major powers.

Roosted Chickens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, as Congress is being forced to legislate on home rule for the District of Columbia under threat of mob violence, murder, and looting if it does not comply, I think every Member of Congress and every American should read an article which was written for the San Francisco Examiner by George N. Crocker and reprinted in the Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser.

So that all may consider what appeals to mob action and the extension of the welfare state is doing to America, I include Mr. Crocker's article as a part of these remarks:

ROOSTED CHICKENS

(By George N. Crocker, in the San Francisco Examiner)

In July of last year, I wrote a column titled "Plan of Revolution." It foreshadowed the kind of insurrection of which we have been given a small sample in Watts, Los Angeles. I had no crystal ball; but over the years I had made some study of the battle plans of the international network which intends to see America brought to her knees some day.

An article had come off a European press in an magazine called Revolution. Its author was an American Negro, Robert F. Williams, who had skipped to Cuba to broadcast anti-American propaganda, and who later went to Red China to do the same. Its title was "United States of America: Revolution Without Violence?"

Its thesis was that the revolution has started, will not succeed without violence, and that there will be violence. "The new concept of revolution defies military science and tactics," Williams wrote. Then he gave a preview of the Watts rehearsal:

"When massive violence comes, the United States will become a bedlam of confusion and chaos. The * * * workers will be afraid to venture out on the streets to report to their jobs * * *. Stores will be destroyed and looted. Property will be damaged and expensive buildings reduced to ashes * * * and all manner of sabotage will occur. Violence and terror will spread like a firestorm * * *. The new concept is lightning campaigns conducted in highly sensitive urban communities * * *. It dislocates the organs of harmony and order and reduces central power to the level of a helpless, sprawling octopus * * * rioting takes place * * * sniping * * * terror."

The chickens are coming home to roost. The country asked for what it is getting. In 1960 it installed in power liberal ideologues who have a faulty conception of man and his nature; and it entrenched them more deeply in 1964. They believe that man is a product of material forces, that external environment is to blame for his errant ways.

And the more they attempt to legislate us into utopia, the more incapable they are of preventing rampant increase of crime, growing contempt for law and those who enforce it, and the disintegration of the moral and legal codes which permit society to function in an orderly way.

Blackmail by mob action has been recklessly encouraged, even though it is a beast whose appetite will prove insatiable and whose unchecked rapacity can only lead to the end of the American republic. In 1963, President Kennedy, calling for what was to become the Civil Rights Act of 1964, said on national TV, "Unless the Congress acts, their only remedy will be in the street."

In 1964, Adlai Stevenson told an audience at Colby College that "even a jail sentence is no longer a dishonor but a proud achievement."

If the people who live in Watts, Los Angeles, read their newspaper on Thursday, August 5, 1965, this is what they read:

"As it was 189 years ago, so today the cause of America is a revolutionary cause. And I am proud this morning to salute you as fellow revolutionaries. Neither you nor I are willing to accept the tyranny of poverty, nor the dictatorship of ignorance, nor the despotism of ill health, nor the oppression of bias and prejudice and bigotry. We want change. We want progress. We want it both abroad and at home—and we aim to get it."

This was President Johnson proclaiming himself a fellow revolutionary. He did not mean to call for insurrection; but who builds a bonfire in a high wind? People in Watts don't draw fine distinctions. To them, a revolution is a revolution, not a calm debate in a legislature. The next Wednesday hell broke loose in Watts.

From the liberals the old cliche came like a knee jerk or a hiccup; unemployment was to blame. But what odds will you give against the hypothesis that if they could take the marauders, looters, arsonists and snipers of Watts, install them in a posh section of Los Angeles and give each a job, within five years most of them would have ceased to work, would be lappers at the public trough, and the area transformed into a slum and ghetto, in which a lady would tremble to walk alone?

For they are being corrupted by a false philosophy. For a generation, the main thrust of liberal policy has been to pulverize moral and legal guidelines and to drain from the American consciousness the meaning of free will and personal responsibility.

This is the virus that afflicts black and white alike, and blocks any realistic approach to the race problem. Barry Goldwater had the courage to say this last fall. The country was not listening.

The Quiet Victory of the Cigarette Lobby

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, the September issue of the Atlantic Monthly contains an excellent article by Elizabeth Brenner Drew on the

passage of the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act. As you recall, this measure was approved by the House last June and appeared to many as an "effort by Congress to meet its responsibilities to the public health by dealing forthrightly with the hazard of cigarette smoking."

As Mrs. Drew's article points out, however, it was quite the opposite. The bill that passed, H.R. 3014, actually watered down the labeling requirement of the Federal Trade Commission on cigarette packages and prohibited for 3 years any regulation of other cigarette advertising which would require notice that cigarettes are a health hazard.

At the time this bill was passed, I stated in a weekly news column that "too many important interests would be adversely affected by this requirement, and so the health of the American people must take a back seat to the tobacco growers, the processors, the advertisers, the distributors, and the many others who live off of the cigarette industry."

Mrs. Drew's fine job of reporting speaks for itself:

THE QUIET VICTORY OF THE CIGARETTE LOBBY: HOW IT FOUND THE BEST FILTER YET—CONGRESS

(By Elizabeth Brenner Drew)

At the Public Health Service's annual Christmas party last year, some of the agency's employees entertained their colleagues by singing their own version of "On Top of Old Smokey":

On top of Old Smoking
A year has gone by
But the smoke we're deploring
Still gets in our eye.

They were lamenting the fact that a full year had passed since the report of the Surgeon General on smoking and health warned that "cigarette smoking is a health hazard of sufficient importance in the United States to warrant appropriate remedial action," and that still no such action had been taken. This summer Congress passed a bill requiring that cigarette packages carry the warning "Caution: Cigarette Smoking May Be Hazardous to Your Health," but the same song can be sung at the next Christmas party, and the next one, and the next one.

To hear its sponsors tell it, the new legislation "is a forthright, historic step toward the responsible protection of the health of this Nation's citizens" (Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON, Democrat, of Washington), one that "constitutes a legislative approach in which we can take some degree of pride" (Representative OREN HARRIS, Democrat, of Arkansas). In fact, however, the bill is not, as its sponsors suggested, an example of congressional initiative to protect public health; it is an unabashed act to protect private industry from Government regulation. Behind the facade of a requirement for printing a warning on cigarette packages (which is not expected to deter smoking much), Congress tied the hands of the Federal Trade Commission by forbidding it to proceed with its own plans to apply much more stringent regulations. Had it not been for Congress, the FTC, which is charged with preventing unfair and deceptive trade practices, would have required a warning both on cigarette packages and in cigarette advertising. The effect of the advertising regulation is what the cigarette industry most feared; Congress obliged by forbidding it for at least 4 years.

In another remarkable provision, the law prohibits State and local governments from taking any action on cigarette labeling or advertising. It is one thing for Congress to prohibit the States from enacting legislation which overlaps and is inconsistent with its own requirements, as in the case of the labeling, but it is a far different thing for Congress to refuse to act, and to prohibit the States from acting, as in the case of cigarette advertising.

The tobacco industry's success at winning from Congress what it wanted while still providing the lawmakers with an opportunity to appear to be all in favor of health was a brilliant stroke. The industry brought it off because the tobacco lobby employed unusually skilled and well-organized strategy; because it hired some of the best legal brains and best-connected people in Washington to help with the fight; because it successfully grafted onto its built-in congressional strength from tobacco-producing States a sufficient number of Congressmen to whom the issue was not one of health, or even of the tobacco industry, but one of curbing the powers of regulatory agencies, such as the FTC; and because it succeeded in throwing a heavy smoke screen around the health issue. And finally, it was the industry's good fortune that President Johnson remained aloof from the battle.

The report of the Surgeon General's special advisory committee on smoking and health was instigated at the behest of private health organizations, such as the American Cancer Society, which sought a definitive Government position on the accumulating studies pointing to a connection between smoking and disease. The panel of 10 scientists established in 1962 to make the study had the approval of the health groups and the tobacco industry, for all parties had been allowed to veto any proposed member. The cigarette industry, it was widely assumed, had been boxed in.

After 14 months, the panel's report was printed under the security regulations usually reserved for top-secret reports to the National Security Council, and on a Saturday (the stock market was closed) early in January 1964, it was handed out to reporters locked in the State Department auditorium until the stipulated hour for the report's release. The Surgeon General's panel unanimously found that smoking was related to lung cancer, chronic bronchitis, emphysema, cardiovascular diseases, and cancer of the larynx.

Among those who were ready and waiting for the report was the Federal Trade Commission, which had rejected past requests for action, pending a definitive answer to the health question. Within days after the report was released, the Commission announced hearings on proposed new trade regulations for the cigarette industry.

Also ready for the Surgeon General's report was the tobacco industry. Sometime in late 1963, the distinguished Washington law firm of Arnold, Fortas & Porter turned up as counsel to the Philip Morris Co. The Fortas in the firm's title is Abe Fortas, personal counsel and confidant to President Johnson—and later his first choice for the Supreme Court. Faced with the probability that the FTC would move against the companies, the industry formed a committee of lawyers from Arnold, Fortas & Porter and other top Washington firms, one representative of each of the "big six" tobacco companies—R. J. Reynolds, American Tobacco, Brown & Williamson, Liggett & Myers, P. Lorillard, and Philip Morris—and one of the industry's defense lawyers for personal injury suits alleging that smoking had induced cancer. This committee met almost daily, from the time of formation in early 1964 through completion of congressional action of the labeling bill this year. It covered every contingency for the companies: it planned the industry argument in the FTC hearings, it planned a court test of the FTC ruling if that became necessary, and it deeply involved itself in the maneuvering in Congress. Once the issue came before Congress, the lawyers' committee wrote testimony, drafted bills and amendments, served as central casting for witnesses most likely to sell the industry's point of view, and fed to friendly Congressmen statements and questions to be asked of witnesses. In gossip-prone Washington, there inevitably was speculation on whether Fortas' involvement had anything to do with the conspicuous absence of any mention of the smoking issue in President Johnson's message to Congress making various proposals in the field of public health. It is more likely, of course, that this omission was due to understandable reluctance on the part of the President to take on a bruising fight that would pit him against many members of his own party. Anyway, according to people in the Capitol, when the time came for key votes on the Hill, Fortas was busy on the telephone.

While the lawyers' committee was providing the legal brainwork for the industry, the political expertise and the overt lobbying were supplied by Earle C. Clements, former Democratic Representative and Senator from Kentucky, former Senate majority whip and lieutenant to then Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson, and former director of the Senate Democratic campaign committee, which dispenses vitally needed election funds. In 1964, Clements registered as a lobbyist for the big six. A more ideal man could hardly have been found, for not only did Clements have excellent political connections; he was well liked, he was a gentleman, and he was a shrewd master of legislative infighting. Clements is believed to be the one who sold the tobacco companies on the core of their strategy, a strategy which seems now the obvious one because it worked, but which was not so obvious at the time: go to Congress and accept the package label (the least alarming and most inconspicuous one possible) in exchange for protection against advertising requirements and State regulation. The industry would then give the impression of a sweet reasonableness, whereas a rigid position might bring more severe consequences. The label might even be a boon of sorts, providing a new defense in future personal injury cases brought by cigarette smokers.

Before the FTC ruling appeared, the industry had to decide whether to fight it in the courts or to seek relief from Congress. Guessing—correctly—that Congress was a surer thing (and a court test could always come later anyway), that is where the industry went. Clements is credited with persuading OREN HARRIS, chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, to hold hearings in mid-1964 on the question of cigarette regulations, even before the FTC announced its decision later that June.

As the hearings ambled into the late summer and time for going home to get reelected neared, the committee asked the FTC to delay the effect of the rulings, since Congress would not have time to act by the end of the session. The labeling ruling was to have gone into effect on January 1, 1965, and the advertising ruling 6 months later. The FTC complied with the committee's request, pushing the effective date for both regulations back to July 1. Thus the stage was set for this year's fight.

The normally fiercely competitive tobacco companies had long since learned to practice brotherhood when their economic interests were at stake. In 1954 in the face of major studies suggesting a link between smoking and disease, tobacco manufacturers, growers, and warehousemen, under the guidance of Hill & Knowlton, a major public relations house, established the Tobacco Industry Research Council (since renamed the Council for Tobacco Research—U.S.A.). This group has handed out over $7 million in research funds, a good bit of which has produced studies showing other causes of cancer and heart disease besides smoking. In 1958 the

tobacco manufacturers established another organization, the Tobacco Institute. The institute ordinarily speaks for the industry and regularly issues a bulletin called "Reports on Tobacco and Health Research," which shows a remarkable facility for ferreting out research indicating causes of lung and heart disease other than smoking. Some examples from one issue: "Miners' Lung Cancers Triple Average"; "Rare Fungus Infection Mimics Lung Cancer" (well nigh impossible to differentiate clinically), and so on. Another issue duly reported evidence that charcoaled beef was conducive to cancer. Just after the Surgeon General's report came out, it was announced that the six major companies were giveng $10 million to the American Medical Association for research into smoking and health.

The industry's togetherness, as well as its careful preparation for the battle against regulation, was also apparent when it was announced with much ado in the spring of 1964 that the industry would embark on self-regulation in cigarette advertising, to cut the appeal of the ads to children and to stop saying or implying that smoking is good for the health. No longer would cigarette ads be placed in college newspapers or comic books; no longer would there be testimonials by noted athletes (but athletic programs were still sponsored); the virile young men and sweet young things who light up on television ads would have to be 25; and there would be no advertising on programs primarily aimed at children. The regulations were drawn up by the same lawyers' committee that was preparing for the fight in Congress.

The exact strength of the tobacco industry itself in Congress—that is, the number of Members in each Chamber from areas heavily dependent on tobacco growing, distributing, and processing—is difficult to gage and largely irrelevant. The tobacco people claim that some 21 States and 700,000 farm families are involved in the industry, undoubtedly counting States and farms where tobacco growing is of minimal importance. Whatever the claims of the companies, the figures on the place of the tobacco industry in the American economy are impressive: In 1963, Americans spent over $7 billion on cigarettes, buying 510 billion of them, or 4,350 for each person over 18 (as compared with 3,500 in 1950). Each year the Federal, State, and local governments take in at least $3 billion in taxes on the sales of cigarettes alone. And tobacco companies currently spend over $250 million on advertising.

On an issue of such importance to some of its members, the entire Southern congressional bloc will tend to stay together. In addition, because Federal regulatory power over a large industry was at stake, a healthy percentage of the Republican Members were natural allies for the Southerners on this issue. The fact that a requirement of a warning in cigarette ads might curtail cigarette advertising and therefore cause a considerable loss of revenue for the broadcasting industry influenced still more Members. The National Association of Broadcasters submitted statements firmly opposing any advertising regulation ("a substantial expansion of the role now played by Government could seriously impair the effectiveness of industry self-regulation by undermining incentive"), and the broadcasters are understood to have been doing their own contacting while the bill to overturn the FTC was moving through Congress. Congressmen are particularly sensitive to the viewpoint of local station owners, and they were aware of where the broadcasters stood.

Whatever there was of the other side was simply no match for this array of forces. Within the executive branch, the Public Health Service had to go it alone. The PHS did its best, however, to rally around itself what friends it had. Shortly after the Surgeon General's report came out, the PHS, the Cancer Society, the American Heart Association, the National Tuberculosis Association, the American Public Health Association, (comprising public health workers across the country), and a number of other private health groups formed an unusual Federal-private body called the National Interagency Council on Smoking and Health. The AMA was not among the health-oriented groups which joined up. What testimony there was on the side of putting the FTC regulations into effect was better presented because of the council, and, more important, the council informed State health societies and doctors about what Congress was actually doing and stirred up a number of letters and telegrams to Congressmen, urging them to hold fast for the advertising rule.

These efforts had some effect on the waverers. But the PHS was hurting from lack of true friends in Congress, an institution that has developed over the years a curious bifocal view of health issues. The lawmakers enthusiastically vote hundreds of millions of dollars—more, usually, than is requested—for health research, for when it is simply a matter of research, what Congressman is against health? However, when the health officials go to Capitol Hill with proposals to put research findings into effect—to curb air pollution or discourage smoking—they are the skunks at the lawn party. For on these issues there are large economic interests at stake.

The tobacco strategists correctly deduced that the focal point for the right to overturn the FTC would be the Senate Commerce Committee. The full Senate and the full House could be expected to follow the lead of the committee reporting out the bill, for both committees preside over legislation which affects a wide range of commercial interests and therefore have considerable leverage in their respective Chambers. ("Everybody and his dog has business before those committees at some point," says one Hill aid.) The House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, heavily laced with Southerners and conservatives, would be no problem; it could be expected to report out a bill requiring the label but forbidding, permanently, the FTC to require health warnings in cigarette ads. This would put the industry in the strongest possible position for bargaining with the Senate.

The Senate committee was not such a sure thing. The six Republicans were reliable enough, for this was clearly a crucial issue for Senator THRUSTON B. MORTON of Kentucky, second-ranking GOP member of the committee, former chairman of the Republican National Committee, and current chairman of the fund-dispensing Senate Republican campaign committee. On the Democratic side, however, the only member whose political life required defense of the tobacco industry was ROSS BASS, of Tennessee, a freshman. Early in the hearings, Senator VANCE HARTKE, of Indiana, another Democratic committee member, emerged as a tireless cross-examiner of those who opposed the industry's point of view. When questioned about Senator HARTKE's seeming devotion to a cause of minimal importance to his own State, his aids took pains to explain that his interest did not stem from his long-time friendship with Clements, as some believed, or from the fact that Clements' campaign committee had given HARTKE vitally needed election funds. HARTKE himself said that he had come to the hearings thinking that there "must be some connection" between smoking and health, but came away "completely astonished" to find that the connection had not been proved. This gave the industry eight sure votes, and there were others on tap. What it wanted, however, was for the bill that went to the floor to have the support of Chairman MAGNUSON and of as many committee members as possible.

The industry's task was more difficult than it might have been if Senator MAURINE B. NEUBERGER, Democrat, of Oregon, had not won a seat on the Commerce Committee when Congress opened in 1965. Mrs. NEUBERGER had long called for closer Federal regulation of cigarette merchandising. Now she had an opportunity to challenge the witnesses who appeared before the committee and to proselytize her colleagues. To offset the attempts to undercut the FTC rulings, Mrs. NEUBERGER introduced legislation giving congressional sanction to what the FTC was trying to do. But in this she stood virtually alone.

The industry's presentation at the Senate hearings was masterful. Bowman Gray, chairman of the board of R. J. Reynolds, appeared for the industry, which carefully did not bombard the committee with too many tiresome witnesses, and the tone of his testimony was more in sorrow than in anger. Mr. Gray pointed out that the tobacco companies were "profoundly conscious" of the health questions and were zealously researching the problem; that "many distinguished scientists * * * are of the opinion that it has not been established that smoking causes lung cancer or any other disease"; that "millions of persons throughout the world derive pleasure and enjoyment from smoking" (as if someone were proposing to abolish the right to smoke); and that the central purpose of advertising was to compete among products, not to induce people to smoke. Mr. Gray said that the industry was naturally opposed to warnings both on labels and in advertisements, but his testimony was interlarded with the "howevers" and "ifs" that signaled the industry position: If a label is required, have Congress require it, and spell out its terms, rather than leave this to the dangerous FTC or the health-conscious Health, Education, and Welfare Department, parent agency of the Public Health Service. And if Congress requires the warning label, it should not interfere with "the right to advertise—an essential commercial right": "I am confident that the Congress will reject this extreme proposal."

Throughout the hearings, the industry, with the help of friendly Senators, carefully built a record designed to show that medical opinion was split over the Surgeon General's report—despite the fact that no medical group has ever denied its validity and only a small minority had dissented—that whatever Mrs. NEUBERGER or the FTC wanted to do was "extremist," and would wreak havoc in a basic American industry as old as Jamestown; and it made very effective use of the "excess" argument. According to this argument, excessive smoking may be dangerous, but so is excessive drinking, or overheating, or driving too fast. Would Congress want to put warnings of possible death on liquor, food, and automobiles? Where would it all end? This line of reasoning ignored the fact that the Surgeon General's report was not talking only about excessive smoking, and in fact stated that no safe level of smoking could be established. But the technique worked very well.

The committee quickly disposed of Mrs. NEUBERGER'S, and the FTC's, approach on a 12-to-2 vote and settled down to the real issue, which was how long to suspend the effect of the FTC's ruling on advertising. Chairman MAGNUSON and a number of the committee's members were opposed to suspending it permanently, as the House had done, for this, too, was "extremist," and unseemly, for the rulemaking authority of the regulatory agencies is supposedly independent of Congress. Where there is conflict, the issue is supposed to be decided in the courts. Moreover, although the permanent suspension may have been something devoutly to be wished by the cigarette industry, it was not something realistically to be expected. After some seesaw voting, MORTON, BASS, and HARTKE agreed with MAG-

NUSON to vote out a bill to require a label on packages by the following January and to suspend the advertising for 3 years after that. In the committee's report to the Senate, only Mrs. NEUBERGER objected to the suspension.

The united front of the committee and canny confusing of the issue undermined Mr. NEUBERGER's attempt in the full Senate to reduce the time of suspension. As the time for the voting approached, a number of Senators honestly believed that all they were about to do was to join the Commerce Committee in taking the heroic step of warning the public about the health dangers in smoking. Despite last-minute efforts by Mrs. NEUBERGER, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, their aids, and David Cohen, a lobbyist for the Americans for Democratic Action, to explain what else was involved, her amendment was defeated 29 to 49. The Senate then went on record to pass the bill by a vote of 72 to 5.

Meanwhile, the House committee had behaved predictably, voting out a bill to require a label on the side of the package and to bar the FTC permanently from requiring a warning in ads. The only surprise was that Mr. HARRIS and his colleagues felt compelled to indulge in a blatant breach of congressional etiquette to get the bill passed. One quiet Tuesday afternoon, with no prior notice, with only a few Members on the House floor, and with the bill's principal opponent, Representative JOHN E. MOSS, of California, out of town (but with the tobacco strategists in the gallery), the bill was called up. Moss, the sole member of the Harris committee to dissent in the committee's report and one of the Democratic Party's House whips, had had an understanding with the House leadership, or so he thought, that the bill would not be brought up until Thursday, 2 days later. Moss was flying back from Europe while the bill was being debated and arrived at Dulles Airport a half hour after the House passed the bill by a voice (unrecorded) vote.

Though some were surprised at the speed with which the House conferees acquiesced in the Senate's shorter ban on the FTC requirement for the warning in cigarette advertising, it was the logical thing to do for a number of reasons, among them columnist Drew Pearson. Mr. Pearson had begun to sniff out what was going on in the cigarette fight, and on the day that the House-Senate conferees first sat down to work out their differences, his column in the morning Washington Post was headlined, "Steamroller Goes Through House." This was not the sort of image that the tobacco companies were seeking. In addition, the companies knew that even a permanent ban would not be all-protective in the event more and more research showed direct links between smoking and disease, and if the public became sufficiently aroused. Also, Senator MAGNUSON was standing firm for the Senate's terms.

The best strategy at this point then, was to accept the Senate bill—with two exceptions—and to go away quietly. The first exception was that the House conferees would not accept the Senate's provision that the label be on the front of the package (though there is reason to wonder how many know what is printed on the front or the side of cigarette packages other than the brand name). After some haggling, the Senate and House conferees decided to require that the warning "appear in conspicuous and legible type," but not to require that it be placed anywhere in particular, just that the place be "conspicuous." The second request—and this, too, was granted—was that the ban on the FTC action should expire on July 1, 1969, rather than on January 1. This way, there will once again be time for Congress, with another presidential election year just behind it, to go to bat for the cigarette industry and filter the "harmful elements" out of any new proposals.

The Nation's Future Highway Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. FALLON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday the President signed into law Senate Joint Resolution 81, the authorization of $3 billion for the Interstate System for fiscal year 1967. On that occasion, Mr. Speaker, the President issued a statement which, in my opinion, was an outstanding expression of the position of the administration on the Nation's future highway program.

Because of the significance of these remarks of the Chief Executive, under unanimous consent, I include them at this point in the RECORD:

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

With the signing of this legislation, we are authorizing the largest single year apportionment of Federal aid to the States for highways.

The highway to be built and improved under the Federal aid highway program will save time, save money, and save the lives of motorists. They will strengthen our national economy and our national defense. They will increase the markets for the products of our farms and they will give flexibility to the movement of people and goods in our growing urban areas. They will broaden the travel and recreational opportunities for all Americans. They will permit everyone to see the beauty and grandeur of America conveniently, comfortably, and safely.

This legislation also provides for the study of the orderly continuation of the Federal aid highway program. Congress has asked that it be provided with regular estimates of the future highway needs of the Nation. This administration, through the Department of Commerce and its Bureau of Public Roads, has a study underway of our future highway needs. On the basis of that study, I will, in January 1968, consider legislation for a program of Federal aid to the States for highways to continue after the expiration of the present program in 1972.

This legislation also provides the tools for a coordinated national attack on highway accidents. It provides that the Secretary of Commerce shall develop uniform standards for State highway safety programs. The death of over 48,000 persons on our highways last year and the prospect of an even greater total this year give urgency to a national safety effort. The approach provided for by this legislation is in keeping with the traditional Federal-State relationship through which the Federal aid highway program has operated so successfully. It recognizes the primary responsibility of the States for highway safety and at the same time acknowledges the Federal Government's responsibility to lead and coordinate.

This legislation, however, is but part of what is needed to insure that our highways will be able to meet the increasing demands placed upon them. I have proposed to Congress legislation to insure that the highway trust fund will receive the revenue it needs so that the States might receive Federal aid sufficient for the timely completion of the Interstate Highway System. I have also submitted to Congress legislation that will insure that the enormous public investments in highways will be protected from roadside blight and that highways will serve the increasing public demand for the beautiful as well as the merely utilitarian. The everyday driving of Americans provides the greatest opportunity to see and enjoy the beauty of our Nation. The higher standard of living and the increased leisure time of Americans have created a demand for scenic and recreational roads. I anticipate that the Congress will shortly act on these needs.

This proposed legislation meets a public need, in reality a public necessity and is going to be pursued with all the vigor of the executive department until acted upon.

We are a nation of almost 100 million drivers and 90 million vehicles. By 1970 we will be driving a trillion miles a year in America. We cannot depend on the roads of yesterday to carry the motor traffic of today and tomorrow. The life and pocketbook of every American are affected by the efficiency of our motor transportation system. The legislation now before Congress is necessary if we are to meet the new needs essential to the progress of our motor transportation system.

I appeal to all patriotic citizens interested in the improvement and continued development of our highway system to unite to the end of making that system adequate, superior in construction and most important, attractive and beautiful.

The President's Use of a Double Standard in Dealing With Southern and Northern States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson makes quite a case about how he wants to be President of all the people when he takes part in the carefully arranged television spectaculars from the White House. However, in practice he exercises a considerable change in attitude when faced with using Federal power against Southern States or Northern or Western States.

If someone stubs his toe in Alabama or Mississippi or other Southern States it is usually enough to bring down a terrifying denunciation of State officials, police officers and the people of the area generally, followed usually by sending in Federal troops or nationalizing the National Guard. But what happens when one of the worst riots in the history of the Nation takes place in California where 36 died including policemen and firemen in the line of duty, where burning and looting was openly carried on and caught by cameras for all the major networks and leading magazines, and where over 3,000 persons were arrested?

Well, the President said they should not have done these things. He was so disturbed that he appointed a Commission to go out and talk things over to see what these folks wanted from the Federal Government so they would not burn and loot and murder anymore. Now it appears that even those arrested on the scene of the rioting are going to be dealt with kindly and the blame placed on the white community or on our ancestors, but certainly not on these who committed the deeds.

How long, I wonder, will the law-abiding, decent citizens of America stand for this double standard in the use of Federal power?

In a column by David Lawrence in the Washington Evening Star of August 26, Mr. Lawrence explains the "Discriminatory Use of Power":

DISCRIMINATORY USE OF POWER SEEN

(By David Lawrence)

The Federal Government is failing to recognize that the right to live and to be free from injury to one's body or property is a civil right of both whites and Negroes in Los Angeles and elsewhere. The U.S. Attorney General now brushes off the recent riots as regrettable, but as having nothing to do with civil rights.

The President has appointed a commission to study the sociological problems and recommend measures of correction. But the fact remains that, if the riots had happened anywhere in the South, there would have been Federal troops on the job as well as hundreds of FBI agents to run down the criminals and the instigators of the disturbances. There would have been a massive utilization of the Federal machinery of investigation and prosecution.

It will be recalled that Gov. Edmund Brown of California telegraphed Gov. George Wallace of Alabama last March after the demonstrations at Selma, as follows:

"As an American citizen, I must strongly protest the brutal treatment of Negro citizens of Selma, Ala., by members of your State police force. In the name of justice and humanity, I urge you to call off your State troopers and correct the injustices suffered by the Negro people of your State."

But now that National Guard units have been ordered into active service in California and several other non-Southern States, the Negro organizations have shifted the emphasis to the police chiefs, whose removal from command they have been demanding in various cities, including Los Angeles.

A Democratic Senator, Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, gave on Monday in the Senate a summary of what happened in Los Angeles. He said:

"At least 36 people are dead, including policemen and firemen.

"Between 700 and 800 persons have been treated in hospitals and many more are believed to have been injured.

"More than 4,000 persons—almost all of whom were Negroes—were arrested.

"Fire damages are estimated at $175 to $200 million.

"It cost the taxpayers more than $250,000 daily to keep the nearly 15,000 National Guardsmen on duty, and a like sum daily to maintain 1,000 law-enforcement officers and conduct other activities necessary to control the racial insurrection."

Was what happened in Los Angeles entirely a spontaneous affair, or were there malcontents who had something to do with preparing and directing the steps leading to the riots? What has been done since to deter any future outbursts in that same area or in other parts of the United States? Excuses and alibis on sociological grounds have been offered. Commissions have been appointed by the State as well as the Federal Government. But what deterrent influences have actually been set in motion to warn hoodlums and demonstrators throughout the country that, if they commit crimes, they will be arrested and punished?

United Press International dispatches report that, as of Tuesday, out of the 4,000 persons arrested in the Los Angeles riots, more than 2,000 are still in jail, and 1,831 have been arraigned on felony charges and 772 on misdemeanor charges. Between 300 and 400 have been released on bond, and an undetermined number of others are expected to post bond. Many who were arrested pleaded guilty and have been sentenced. The sentences varied from judge to judge in 28 municipal courts, and ranged from 90 days to 6 months in jail. But it would appear that some of the demonstrators will get off with no more fine than is customary in a traffic violation.

Many of the participants in the riots were, indeed, manipulated, if not directed, by outside organizations, some of the Communist type, as has been mentioned in several speeches in the Senate. The major question still is whether the instigators of all this crime are to go free—the persons and organizations behind the riots who helped to fan the flames. It is in this respect that the Federal Government has failed. If this had been in Mississippi or Alabama and a crime against a Negro or a civil rights worker had been committed, there would have been no hesitancy in using to the fullest extent the Federal power of investigation and prosecution.

The latest civil rights laws provide Federal penalties for those persons who discriminate on account of race or color, and there certainly were plenty of instances in Los Angeles in which small businesses were damaged due to racial feeling—in fact, some of those which bore signs indicating they were owned by Negroes were immune from injury.

A great deal of rationalization about the power of the Federal Government to use the "interstate commerce" clause of the Constitution to protect civil rights has been heard in recent months. Yet, in Los Angeles, where the property damage runs into the tens of millions, little is being done by the Federal Government to detect and prosecute those who inflicted severe damage on businesses in California engaged in interstate commerce.

Evidently there is discrimination in law enforcement, too, and the Federal power is being used on a selective or arbitrary basis.

Banking Antitrust Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in line with the current discussion, public debate, and hearings concerning proposed changes in the Bank Merger Act of 1960, I believe it is timely to call the attention of Congress and the American people to the following excellent statement by my good friend John A. Mayer, president of the Mellon National Bank & Trust Co. in Pittsburgh, Pa.

John Mayer is one of the outstanding bankers in our Nation today, and I feel his views from such a position of responsibility deserve every consideration on the vital issues of banking antitrust laws and their enforcement.

To contribute to this key debate in the field of antitrust then, I submit the following letter by John A. Mayer:

MELLON NATIONAL BANK & TRUST CO.,
Pittsburgh, Pa., August 27, 1965.

The Honorable JAMES G. FULTON,
House of Representatives,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JIM: Now that hearings are being held in the House on S. 1698, the proposed Bank Merger Act of 1965, I would like to take this opportunity to strongly urge your support of this measure and to ask you to so notify the members of the House Banking and Currency Committee and the leadership of the House.

As you know, this bill would place a limit of 30 days in which the Justice Department could file suit against a bank merger after the merger had been approved by the appropriate banking agency. Obviously, the banking industry cannot be expected to live without a clear set of ground rules governing bank mergers. In the Bank Merger Act of 1960, it seems obvious that the intent of the Congress was to give to the appropriate Federal banking agency the final power of decision as to which mergers would be in the public interest, having taken into account both general banking factors and the competitive factors. However, the court decisions since that time have had the effect of placing a cloud over mergers duly approved by the appropriate Federal banking agency, and future mergers will be subject to the same problem. I believe that S. 1698 will at least partially reestablish the intent of Congress as expressed in the Bank Merger Act of 1960 and will do much to clear up the unwholesome atmosphere that now prevails concerning bank mergers.

Every decent citizen wants to obey the laws of the land; however, as a corollary, it seems axiomatic that the citizen has a right to know what the laws are. The idea that the Justice Department can make new rules and apply them retroactively to existing situations seems to me to be not in keeping with the basic tenets that have permitted America to become great as an industrial and commercial country.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN A. MAYER.

Project Head Start Impresses Consultants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, while many of the programs under the direction of the Office of Economic Opportunity recently have been subject to congressional scrutiny and criticism, it is gratifying to note the praise given Project Head Start in Lowell, Mass.

Two consultants for Project Head Start recently visited the Lowell organization and were particularly impressed with the fine work of Mrs. Margaret Joy, head of the Lowell Day Nursery, who set up and managed the local program. Through the efforts of such dedicated teachers as Mrs. Joy disadvantaged preschool children will grow up as more responsible and useful citizens. I salute Mrs. Joy for her unselfish work on behalf of the community.

I am sure that other Members will be interested in this encouraging report as it appeared in the Lowell Sun. Under unanimous consent I insert it in the RECORD following my remarks:

[From the Lowell (Mass.) Sun, Aug. 23, 1965]

PROJECT HEAD START IMPRESSES CONSULTANTS

LOWELL.—Lowell's handling of Project Head Start has "impressed" two consultants from Washington who looked over the operation as it draws to a close this week.

Arriving early today, Miss Dorothy Levens, a consultant in child development for Project

Head Start, who has been visiting similar programs throughout New England during the summer, and Dr. Helen Van Alstine, a medical consultant, toured all five school centers in Lowell where Project Head Start has been operating for the past 8 weeks.

"We are impressed with the fine relationship between teachers and children," Miss Levens told the Sun.

"This is an extremely important part of these programs," she emphasized.

Project Head Start provides preschool training for children during the summer months. It is an adjunct of the Federal programs to aid the disadvantaged members of communities throughout the Nation.

"We have also been impressed with the type of experiences these children enrolled in the program have been given in Lowell," Miss Levens said.

She had special praise for the leadership of Mrs. Margaret Joy, head of the Lowell Day Nursery, who took on the job of setting up and running Project Head Start.

"Mrs. Joy worked hard and well. Lowell is fortunate to have had her backing in the program."

Miss Levens and Dr. Van Alstine are both on the regular staff of Vassar College during the remainder of the year. They were asked to review Lowell's progress in the Head Start program, along with other New England communities.

They lunched today in Lowell with members of the Head Start staff.

At Vassar, Miss Levens is an assistant professor of psychology and director of the laboratory nursery school. Dr. Van Alstine is one of the physicians at the college.

The Settlement Cook Book Co. Has an Outstanding Record of Philanthropies in Milwaukee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, on September 2, the Settlement Cook Book Co. of Wisconsin will publish the 32d edition of its excellent cookbook.

This is a significant event in Milwaukee. For, since 1901 when the company published its first book, it has poured all its proceeds into educational, recreational, and other philanthropic causes in the Milwaukee area. About a half million dollars has been given to charities and used to finance projects—including farsighted innovations in social service and education—to help Milwaukeeans build a better life for themselves and the community.

Many of the programs supported and helped by the Settlement Cook Book Co. foreshadowed programs that are now part of the war on poverty.

The company started the nursery school at the State teachers college and financed part of its operations. The requirement that some of the children in the school come from the area served by the settlement house made it something of a forerunner of the valuable Operation Head Start program. The Milwaukee child care centers were supported by the company, and Americanization and English classes were financed from 1901 to 1920 and again when refugees were fleeing from Hitler.

The record of the company's philanthropies is a long and proud one. It includes aid for the training and rehabilitation of the unskilled and the homebound, scholarships to aid needy students, and equipment for technical and vocational schools. The company also contributes regularly to the United Community Services fund and to the Milwaukee Jewish Welfare fund drive.

It is my privilege to salute this company and the public-spirited men and women who have carried out its work over the years. Their accomplishments are an example worthy of note and emulation wherever men and women are striving to create better communities.

Appointment of Postmaster General John Gronouski as Ambassador to Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 2, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, seldom is a State honored by a native son as the State of Wisconsin has been recently by its own John Gronouski. It is, in fact, an honor which Wisconsin shares with the entire Nation.

In September 1963, Mr. Gronouski answered the call of the late President Kennedy to join his Cabinet by accepting the appointment as Postmaster General. In February of this year and following a period of distinguished and intelligent leadership, Mr. Gronouski was reappointed to that post by President Johnson. And again only last Sunday, John Gronouski, with the dedication and deep commitment which has characterized his personal and public life, once more accepted a new and challenging call to public service by answering to his appointment by President Johnson as Ambassador to Poland.

In returning John Gronouski to the country from which his grandparents came, President Johnson is to be commended. There is no doubt that the competence, intelligence, and vigorous leadership which has marked his Cabinet career will come to bear in this highly important post as our representative to Poland. Certainly in view of the heightened tension in southeast Asia and the growing importance of Warsaw as a meeting ground of possible peace, his ambassadorial post takes on added significance.

From throughout Wisconsin and across the Nation has come warm confirmation of John Gronouski's qualifications to assume this post. To that supportive chorus I am pleased and equally honored to add my own endorsement and expression of best wishes.

To that end I could think of no more fitting expression than to share with my colleagues at this time President Johnson's own comments of praise in announcing Mr. Gronouski's appointment. President Johnson's remarks follow:

GRONOUSKI APPOINTMENT

Early in 1964, speaking at V.M.I., I pledged my administration to a policy of building bridges across the gulf which had divided us for more than two decades from the people of Eastern Europe. I said then, "They will be"—I said—"bridges of increased trade, of ideas, of visitors, and of humanitarian aid."

Our hopes for these people of these countries are identical to their own aspirations for their own future. We want to strengthen their ability to shape their own society, and we seek to bring every European nation closer to its neighbors in the ties of peace.

And so today I am very pleased to announce one of the most important steps this Nation has yet taken to implement that policy. I am asking a member of my Cabinet, a vigorous, intelligent, highly trained and deeply committed public servant—Postmaster General John Gronouski—to serve as U.S. Ambassador to Poland.

I have discussed this assignment at great length with Secretary Rusk and other top key officials in the Department of State, and we believe that Mr. Gronouski's appointment reaffirms our strong desire for increased trust and friendly cooperation between Poland and the United States.

Mr. Gronouski is going to Warsaw to do everything in his power to further increase understanding and good will between Poland and our country.

He is a grand and a very warm human being who enjoys people. His background and his experience uniquely qualify him to translate American ideals to Poland and Polish ideals to America.

POLISH TIES CITED

I have asked Mr. Gronouski to say to the peoples and to the leaders of Poland that a deep and historic bond exists between Poland and the United States. Let, therefore, trust grow between us. Let us strengthen that bond, and let us work together for the peace and the liberty that we all seek for all peoples everywhere.

John Gronouski is the man, I think, that can carry that message. America is in his blood, but so is Poland. He was born the grandson of a Polish immigrant. He is a member of the Polish Institute of the Arts and Sciences of Chicago, a director of the Pulaski Foundation, the honorary chairman of the committee for an endowed chair in Polish studies at the University of Chicago. In 1963 he became Postmaster General by selection of President Kennedy. He was the first American of Polish descent to ever serve in the Cabinet, and it was my great pleasure to reappoint him to the post of Postmaster General last February.

But John Gronouski is more. He is one of the very few men with a doctor of philosophy degree ever to sit in the Cabinet. As an expert on international economics and on government finance, he has established a most outstanding record in one of the great progressive States of the Union—Wisconsin. He is a talented administrator who has opened up new paths of progress for the postal service of the United States.

Just as another very extraordinary American who I'm delighted to see here with us today. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, left the Supreme Court to accept—a very extraordinary, highly significant diplomatic assignment, John Gronouski is now leaving the Cabinet with a distinguished record and high honor to serve his President and his country.

And he is, by the way, enhancing a very noble and unique tradition, for the man who really set up our postal service, our first Postmaster General, also went on to later serve his country as Ambassador. His name was Benjamin Franklin.

The Church-Related School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, the church-related schools of our Nation fulfill a unique and vital role.

And what is this contribution? I have seldom seen it as well defined as in the following article. It is written by C. Burgess Ayres, headmaster of Shattuck School, an academy existing under the auspices of the Episcopal Church in America at Faribault, Minn., in my congressional district. This article appeared recently in an issue of the Shattuck alumni magazine and I now share it with my colleagues:

THE CHURCH-RELATED SCHOOL IN MODERN SOCIETY

(By C. Burgess Ayres)

In an age which has been described over and over again as an age of anxiety, where front pages of our newspapers show a crumbling of absolutes, when college students parade with four-letter Anglo-Saxon vulgarities on placards in the name of freedom of speech, when a public school teacher buys an ad in a newspaper and lashes out at the "slick, empty life of students frozen with sophistication," where children from good homes are more interested in "goof balls" than even golf balls, certainly, we may conclude there has been a crumbling of standards.

This poses a problem for the foundation of education—the family, the church, and the school. Mr. Conant pinpointed a facet of this problem when he stated, "It is an uneven contest when the choice between easy and tough programs is left entirely up to the students—to students with convertibles, plenty of ready money, and community approval for spending most of their evenings in social activities."

The independent school—whether church affiliated or not, for the most part, has chosen the tough program—the tough curriculum, both imaginative and creative.

Like the stereotype of a politician, these independent schools can point with pride to small classes, individual counseling, development of advanced placement courses. In general, pursuing the goal of academic excellence. The rich vein of the mother lode of academic excellence has been constantly worked by these independent schools. This work should go on in the future if the independent school is to justify itself. Is this goal of academic excellence enough? What final good is served when a student scores a 700 verbal and a 780 mathematical on the scholastic aptitude test?

To put it another way. What is the final good for a student who can run like the dickens on his intellectual legs and only crawl on his moral knees?

The Soviet Union has defined the ultimate values to be instilled in the "New Soviet Man." Values which give a high priority to academic excellence. The men or man who currently controls the Kremlin dictates the final truth based on Marxism-Leninism. I recall a vivid illustration of the ridiculing of our faith I saw in Leningrad in 1962. Walking along the Nevsky Prospect I came upon the Kazan Cathedral which had been converted into a religious museum. Upon entering, the first thing I saw was a gigantic picture of the first cosmonaut, Titov. He was pointing toward outer space. Underneath was an inscription which I laboriously translated with the help of my Russian dictionary to read: "The inhabitants of Asia, Africa, America, Europe, Australia heard the voice of a Soviet cosmonaut. It was the voice not of a divine being—not of a fictionalized divinity. It was the voice of a man from the planet earth—the voice of a man from the new socialistic world."

Obviously, if Titov or anybody else had not found the transcendental power of faith and the meaning of reverence on earth, then it was unlikely that he would find the ultimate meaning of devotion in space. The above poses dramatically the conflict between the metaphysical and the divine versus the material and physical.

In truth, in our own country, today most of our students are more impressed by the power of lasers than the power inherent in the story of Lazarus. Here, the issue is joined because the church-related school assumes that the devine being is not a fictionalized divinity, but a living God. Nevertheless, it is foolish to assume all students share the school's assumption. Today, we are working with students who are growing rapidly in many ways. They are by definition seekers. They also take different poses. They are self-styled atheists or agnostics; but above all else, they are seekers after meaning. They respect facts and seek the truth. Also, they respond to the Judeo-Christian principle of service, of compassion. Otherwise, the Peace Corps would have been a pipe dream. They respond to the havoc caused by the flooding of the Mississippi by filling sand bags and doing other back breaking jobs.

The church-related school should meet these wiry young intellects head on. Not in the sense of Freud, who concluded that religion is a neurotic response to life's problems: a universal neurosis of humanity. Nor like Dr. Karl Jung, who maintained that religion meets man's deepest needs and that the lack of religious conviction is the basic cause of every neurosis he found in his patients. It is self-evident that Jung's attitude toward religion is hardly more complimentary than that of Freud. What he was saying, I think, was that a man who believed in something enjoyed better mental health than those who had no conviction. Take a nice, religious pill and you'll feel much better.

WHAT IS THE FINAL GOOD FOR A STUDENT WHO CAN RUN ON HIS INTELLECTUAL LEGS AND ONLY CRAWL ON HIS MORAL KNEES

The church-related school is committed to religious principles neither as medicine, nor in a narrow sectarian sense, but to a life of ultimate devotion. The measure of success is our ability to present religion to our students in ways relevant to our time.

The Reverend Dr. James I. McCord, president of the Princeton Theological Seminary, has this to say about the state of our faith: "It (referring to the decline in religious influence) has come about because of the church's introversion, her preoccupation with outmoded forms and structures, and her practice of sterile self-analysis that has produced confusion about her mission and responsibility. The church has not grasped the opportunity to be an all-inclusive society, the place where every human being may make a contribution to the wholeness of mankind." Oliver Wendell Holmes suggested one way when he said that a page of history may be worth many sermons.

For example, let us examine the question of power: of final authority.

In American history classes, students study the classic reasons for the separation of church and state. They learn why the writers of the Constitution were determined to set up a secular state. Nevertheless, the essential point is lost if the students don't recognize this instrument of government as basically a religiously inspired document. The principle of separation of powers was the recognition that total power whether exercised by a tyrant or the tyranny of the mob was corrosive. The Founding Fathers were not prepared to grant total power or set up any kind of absolute infallible authority. Thus, the concept of constitutionalism implies not only the negative limitation of power, but also the affirmation that the state's goal is the increase in opportunities for the development of the individual as the seat of ultimate spiritual, political, and creative authority.

James Orwell put this in another perspective when he said, "When man stops worshipping God, he starts worshipping man." This, of course, is the stuff of authoritarian governments.

In our own time, we have seen the corrupting effect of totalitarian government; both on the right in nazism and its awful spawn Auschwitz and Dachau; and also on the left in communism whether it be under the sick despotism of Stalin or the more benign rule of Khrushchev or the unknown quality of his two successors. Whatever men have their hands on the power levers of the Kremlin, the Soviet Government claims infallibility in the creation of the new Soviet man: highly trained, technically skilled, with values dictated by socialistic realism.

The rights of man are irrelevant to an infallible authority. A limited political authority affirms the uniqueness of man.

When I was in college, higher education seeking complete objectivity ruled out anything that could not be measured by instruments of science or objective fact. But faith, compassion and devotion while intensely subjective are abstractions which can be known by a rational inquiry of our Judeo-Christian background. However, objectivity continues to place roadblocks in the search for ultimate meaning.

Reviewing a proposed classroom text an editor wrote: "The exceedingly open treatment of the role of religion in the search for truth will be poorly received in many schools. * * * Although my community is remarkably free from bigotry, I have had to move with much greater caution than this presentation seems to observe in the discussion of these things. I agree with the importance of religious thinking to the students, but I do not feel that it can be as openly presented as this text does."

My question is, "Why should we 'pussy foot' on this question of final devotion—of final power?"

General Eisenhower said at Hartford, Conn. in 1954, "Science has provided weapons which mean, not only is the whole nation in arms, but the whole nation is constantly exposed to the threat of destruction. We have arrived at that point, my friends, when atomic war does not present the possibility of victory or defeat but only the alternative in degrees of destruction. The institutions of learning, together with the church have become the true mobilization centers of those forces which may now save civilization and preserve those forms of life and those concepts of human dignity on which our civilization has been based."

If these words are simply pious platitudes and thus have little relevance to us, then we can skip the whole matter. However, I think they do have a vital message for a teacher in a church-related school. Not only has he the right, but also the duty to point out the basic ideas of religion—that man is made in the image of God and at the same time, he has been a sinner ever since his dismissal from the Garden of Eden. This quality is the basis for man's choice and it becomes inescapable that man is perfectible, but is not perfect. Only God is perfect—only God infallible. It is this capacity for choice that makes man unique and becomes the basis for a free society. The basic distinction between the United States and the U.S.S.R. is a distinc-

tion based on religion. I see no reason to avoid saying so.

THE MEASURE OF SUCCESS IS OUR ABILITY TO PRESENT RELIGION TO OUR STUDENTS IN WAYS RELEVANT TO OUR TIME

This crucial matter of choice is illustrated by Rudolph Nureyev who felt the Kirov Ballet at Le-Bourget Airport in 1961. He eventually joined the Royal Ballet. Obviously, reporters have asked him many, many times why he left the Soviet Union. His answer is illuminating: "My leaving Russia was purely artistic and not political. I was never a member of the Communist Party. Artistically, I have found more personal freedom in the West. I have found the freedom to fail, to be pessimistic. Today all Soviet art is optimistic. The sun always shines. At the end of Swan Lake, all must end happily. However, when I was in Vienna, I produced Swan Lake. I had the prince die at the end. He lost. This was tragic in a way that official Soviet art could not understand."

I think I should add here that the Soviet State had foreordained what was true, noble and good. There was little room for an individual to express his own God-given creativity or reflect his attempts at perfectibility knowing that he never can be perfect.

Let us go back in time to Aeschylus's Antigone. She is faced by a terrible choice. Whether to obey the divine law and bury her traitor brother or to defy her uncle who had forbidden on pain of death the burial of her brother's corpse. The dialog is worth repeating:

"The KING. Yet hadst thus courage to transgress my law?

"ANTIGONE. Thy writ, O King hath not such potence as will overweigh the laws of God, not graven upon stone, immutable which whence they come none knoweth, not of today nor yesterday, but fixed from everlasting to eternity. What though man rage, I must obey that law and count it but a little thing to die."

Here, then, is the eternal conflict between the all-powerful state and the individual.

Then what does history say of compassion; of humility? These principles can be illuminated by comparing two great wartime leaders—Lincoln and Stalin. Both successful and yet there is vital distinction.

Both were responsible officials dedicated to preserve their respective nations. Both resorted to violent means. We recall Lincoln for a time eliminated the legal cornerstone of individual right—habeas corpus. Lincoln's most successful general was called "The Butcher." The vital difference is apparent in Lincoln's second inaugural when he stated, "Both the North and the South read the same Bible, pray to the same God, each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any man should dare ask the just God's assistance in wringing bread from the sweat of other men's faces.

"But let us judge not, lest we be judged. The prayers of both could not be answered—that of neither has been answered fully." Certainly, here is recognition of power far greater than that of the Confederacy or of the Union Government. A tacit recognition that this power has its own purpose which mortal man can dimly see. Finally, Lincoln recognized that God's judgment transcended his understanding and embraced both sides. Historically, we can profitably ponder the idea that if Lincoln's second inaugural had remained the basis for the reconstruction of the South would there have been such a heritage of hatred?

Let us turn to the most contemporary of men, Dag Hammarskjold, and his poetic autobiography, "Markings": "We are not permitted to choose the frame of our destiny, but what we put into it is ours. He who wills adventure will experience it—according to the measure of his courage—"Through me there flashes this vision of a magnetic field in the soul, created in a timeless present by unknown multitudes, living in holy obedience, whose words and actions are a timeless prayer.'

"God does not die on the day when we cease to believe in a personal deity, but we die on the day when our lives cease to be illuminated by the steady radiance, renewed daily, of a wonder the source of which is beyond all reason—at the frontier of the unheard of."

This certainly is a rare opportunity for the teacher to place in historical perspective—the ultimate meaning of a life of reverence. A life of devotion which transcends any technological development or transcends the grasping for material desires as ends in themselves. Superficial desires which the hidden persuaders of the mass media constantly spew forth.

The noblest and most viable role of educators is toward ultimate reverence. The reverence to help a student in his own boyish world make the distinction that the physiques on Muscle Beach are meaningless unless this healthy body is used for a higher purpose—devoted to God's will. I have no quarrel with physical isometrics if in time they become spiritual.

I am reminded of the poignant lines of Houseman's "To an Athlete Dying Young."

"Eyes the shady night has shut
Cannot see the record cut,
And silence sounds no worse than cheers,
After earth has stopped the ears.
Now you will not swell the rout
Of lads that wore their honors out,
Runners whom renown outran
And the name died before the man."

And finally we come back to the concept in the story of Cain—not that man is his brother's keeper (Cain's query) but the Lord's unspoken answer that he is his brother's brother. Only such final devotion can put in perspective hooded night riders and bigotry everywhere.

Also, it follows that the gift of the Lord in terms of material resources all over the world should be seen as man's stewardship and not simply for man's personal exploitation.

So, I submit that the proper end of education is to engender devotion and reverence. Then and only then are teachers truly educating in the fullest sense of the word by leading students out from self-centered lives based on superficial desires; leading them away from idolatry and irreverence toward devotion of the true, the beautiful and the good, leading them toward the wisdom of St. Paul when he proclaimed, "The perfect freedom is service of Thee."

A Good Public Servant Leaves the Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of regret that I learned about the planned departure from Government service of one whom I have come to know as a dear friend in recent years. I refer to the Honorable James A. Reed, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, who is leaving shortly to resume his private law practice.

Jim Reed is a most capable public servant and a very able administrator. As Assistant Secretary of the Treasury he had much of the administrative and other responsibilities of the U.S. Coast Guard, including the formulation of its policies and many of its activities. He did much for the Coast Guard, over and above the ordinary demands upon his time and energy, in his untiring efforts to be helpful to this very important governmental function.

As a member of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, and particularly its subcommittee on the Coast Guard, Coast and Geodetic Survey, I had the opportunity to observe Jim Reed in operation at committee hearings and at other occasions when he spoke up for the Coast Guard. His departure from Government service is a distinct loss. We shall miss him, his good counsel, and his sincere friendship.

Split-Level Critic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, the Cleveland Plain Dealer, aptly named for its candor and forthrightness, published on August 26 a short but pungent editorial commentary upon the recent so-called Republican white paper on Vietnam.

We may thank the Plain Dealer for succinctly summarizing that shoddy and threadbare document and pointing out its incredible internal contradictions.

In the space of a scant 38 pages or so, the Republican ghostwriter heaped contempt upon the Democratic administration for first, being involved in a war; second, escalating that war; third, not escalating the war enough; and fourth, for seeking peace and negotiations.

This is a troubling and pathetic attempt to box the President of the United States in on every side. Fortunately the President is too big a man to fit into the flimsy Republican box.

I offer this editorial, "Split-Level Critic," for entry in the RECORD:

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer, Aug. 26, 1965]

SPLIT-LEVEL CRITIC

We listened to U.S. Representative GERALD R. FORD's carpings about the war in Vietnam, and we must ask: "Mr. FORD, which size war do you want?

Representative FORD's Republican "white paper" damns the Democratic administration (1) for having any war at all; (2) for stepping up the war (which is what Republicans had urged); (3) for keeping the war too small, and (4) for feeling for a path to the peace table.

This multilevel, concave-convex omnibus viewpoint makes the GOP right and the Democrats wrong no matter what President Johnson does. That is what makes it weak, if not pointless. It has too many points.

The GOP was on sounder ground last week when it warned the White House: "You can have guns (in Vietnam) or butter (in domestic social legislation), but not both at once."

And former President Dwight D. Eisenhower too was on sounder bottom when he refused to quibble about partisan overtones.

He brushed aside the question whether he meant economic or military aid when he promised to help South Vietnam.

Mr. Eisenhower backed the President. In that way he avoided smashing up the delicate threads of war and peace operations now so tenuously interlaced around the unhappy Vietnamese people.

He would be a good example for Representative FORD to follow.

Los Angeles: Cause and Effect

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PRENTISS WALKER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. WALKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, there recently appeared a newspaper article in the Meridian (Miss.) Star, by Mr. George S. Schuyler, prominent Negro newspaper columnist, in which the author makes some most interesting observations on the causes and effects of the recent rioting in Los Angeles.

In the August 25 issue of the Star, Mr. Schuyler points to a deal between President Johnson and the so-called civil rights groups as being one of the basic causes of such riots. I strongly recommend this article to my colleagues and compliment the author for his courage and wisdom. The article reads as follows:

RIVAL CIVIL RIGHTS AGITATORS BLAMED FOR MUCH OF RIOTING

(By George S. Schuyler)

NEW YORK.—The current crop of anti-white disturbances, like those in the past, is the inevitable consequence of the increasing competition between rival civil rights groups led by career agitators vying for the profits or organized pandemonium. Never have so many innocent people been betrayed by so few for so little.

There are as many different kinds of Negroes as there are white people, and most of them deplore the bad reputation they have been given by the excesses of the agitational and criminal elements of their so-called race. They respect life and property. They own millions of homes, automobiles and modern utensils and do not cram the jails.

Like their white counterparts, they are eager to live in peace. They have no illusions about the marching, mobbing, picketing, vandalizing Negro element. They know there is a lot of law in the end of a policeman's nightstick, and they want it used.

Above all, these Negroes wish white people in authority would stop flattering and encouraging the sorceror's apprentices leading astray the mentally retarded and criminally bent black minority.

Utilizing the traditional techniques of spontaneous disorder, well known to Communists, Nazis and other political perverts, the self-appointed leaders of the Negro revolution have for years recklessly incited young Negroes to mass action inside—and often outside—the urban Negro enclaves.

In turn they have denounced police brutality, the white power structure, residental segregation, de facto segregated schools, job discrimination, phoney white liberals, and a whole gamut of grievances which could not possibly be solved or even ameliorated in a century, if then, and will never lessen racial conflict.

Constant suggestions of "a long hot summer" and "conditions getting worse before they get better," are but invitations to hoodlums, arsonists and vandals, aided by white beatnik amoralists and malcontent leftists currently disturbing our campuses.

Not a single one of these trumpeted evils is nonexistent here nor in any other country similarly circumstanced. They are products of our color caste system which will never be improved by Negro insurrection. They are in all multiracial and multiethnic societies from Soviet Muslim Asia to central Africa.

These problems are more agitated here because the United States has been a sitting duck for left-wing moralizers who have made millions of well-meaning Americans feel like Nazi racists; and who have persuaded gullible Negroes into believing the only thing holding them back is persecution.

Only the most self-serving demagogues, arrogant know-it-alls, or men with social revolution in mind would stir up a social situation so fraught with tragedy for Negroes, or profess to believe that any predominant social class would willingly surrender power, prestige, and privileges in the face of threats and violent demonstrations.

Ever since the long and futile Montgomery bus boycott (settled not by marching but by Federal court order), the peripatetic Dr. Martin Luther King and his posse of political parsons in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) have roamed the country collecting coin and infecting the mentally retarded with the germs of civil disobedience, camouflaged as nonviolence and love of white people.

Phoney prayers for the salvation of white oppressors and chanting slave songs fooled nobody except possibly the utopians and wishful thinkers. Only the unwary and true believers thought this program was anything but pixilated.

As many Negroes foresaw, the net result of this long encouragement of civil disobedience, disdain for authority and general disrespect for public morals, was to set the stage for the successive disgraceful orgies of burning, looting, vandalism, and death, with the criminal elements of the slum proletariat taking over. Ironically, when police called upon these civil rights leaders to help control the rampaging mobs they were found completely ineffective.

With the recklessness of complete ignorance or irresponsibility, the SCLC sent its mobile gangs of young clergymen from place to place to take over the revolution despite expressed objections of local leaders, even mobilizing schoolchildren to face police clubs, dogs, and fire hoses, breeding ill will and jeopardizing Negro jobs by promotion of nuisance tactics. No matter how many minions might be jugged by the police, the Reverend King always contrived to get out in time for his next speaking engagement.

James Farmer, the professional pacifist and war resister who heads the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) has played an even more sinister role with outright challenges to law, order, and public peace. Like SCLC, this outfit operates schools of subversion where graduates are trained in how to march on city halls and courthouses, fall limp when arrested, and in other ways make pests of themselves.

Not to be outdone by these competitors for the scarce civil rights dollar, the veteran National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) saw the expedience of adopting the same tactics of boycotts, sit-ins, marches, and picketings. It even went much further by thinking up the de facto school segregation gimmick which has kept the North and East in an uproar for the last 3 years.

The empty assumption behind this campaign is that schools predominantly attended by Negro children are ipso facto segregated and therefore inferior; and that to equalize public education this imbalance must be corrected by moving the Negro children into predominantly white schools.

Since this was and is obviously impossible, what small victories have attended these herculean efforts have been pyrrhic. Nowhere have school boycotts, marches, and besiegements of boards of education done else but worsen race relations.

The millionaire—subsidized National Urban League (UNL) stretched absurdity still further by coming out publicly for preference being shown Negroes in employment and promotion because they are so far behind whites. This was and is doomed to failure in our basically competitive society but it adds up to another reason for suspicion and hatred of white people.

All of these civil rights leaders have joined in a loud chorus denouncing police brutality or the forceful suppression of crime which flourishes in every large Negro community. Every subordinate from coast to coast joined in the hue and cry although decent Negroes as well as whites suffer from this criminal element.

The cry sounds in many cities, with monotonous regularity, for civilian review boards to help wreck discipline and restrain the police from doing what they are hired to do. This outcry has emboldened the Negro criminal element and lowered its respect for and fear of the police.

The respectable bulk of the Negroes has been reduced to silence by the terrorism of the agitational element. Every Negro who has openly opposed its illegal senseless actions has been denouced as an "Uncle Tom," an enemy of his people and lackey of the whites.

One distinguished and authentic Negro leader, Rev. Dr. Joseph E. Jackson, president of the 5-million strong National Baptist Convention (NBC) of America, Inc., was hooted off the stand in Chicago's stadium because of he expressed views opposed to those of the professional agitators. The current president of the Philadelphia branch of the NAACP has had a field day denouncing the conservative middle-class Negroes in the organization.

Craven politicians have contributed much to this insurrectionary atmosphere by not standing up to the intellectual authors of violence and subversion. Consider the spectacle of New York's Mayor Robert F. Wagner skulking through the basement of New York's city hall rather than have thrown out the beatniks picketing his office; of other high officials permitting their work to be disrupted in the name of civil rights; of needed public construction being halted by CORE beatniks; of President Johnson being booed at the New York World's Fair. The "power structure" has been long-suffering but much too cooperative for its own good.

Most of the civil rights leaders who have sparked these insurrections would still be unknown if it had not been for mass communications media which publicized them on every occasion, put them on innumerable television programs and wrote profiles of them, as if they wanted this racket to succeed. At the same time newspapers, magazines, radio and television sought out not a single Negro with an opposing viewpoint. It is hard to remember such a one-sided presentation.

Just prior to the Los Angeles shambles, a local radio station had on one of its programs an ex-criminal, Charles Sims, head of the guncarrying Louisiana Deacons for Defense and Justice. Undoubtedly tens of thousands of Los Angeles Negroes heard and applauded him.

When returning Governor Brown of California described the Los Angeles shambles as a state of siege he spoke aptly. President Johnson expressed horror over the bloody orgy but did not speculate on the causes of it

all. To find the source he needed to look no further than the Negro civil rights leaders with whom he has frequently conferred, especially when they promised to suspend demonstrations until after the 1964 election.

Now that the Civil Rights Act of 1965 and the voting rights law are operative, he and everybody else had a right to expect that we would see an end to demonstrations, picketing, arson, looting and vandalism. But these evils are easier started than stopped, and they just do not go away because another law is on the books.

What this country badly needs is public officials who will not temporize with illegality and disorder garbed in the mantle of civil rights and equality; who will suppress crime and violence regardless of color; judges who will act with speed and vigor to jail disturbers of the peace; and a more responsible communications media that will refrain from persistently exciting the idle, envious and lawless.

Outrageous Diversion of Ship Repair Work From the Port of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the following telegram addressed by President John C. Hilly of the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce to the director of the Atlantic coast office, U.S. Maritime Administration, concerning the outrageous diversion of ship repair work from the port of New York:

AUGUST 26, 1965.

Capt. THOMAS A. KING,
Director, Atlantic Coast District, U.S. Maritime Administration, New York, N.Y.

The Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce wishes to go on record as being unalterably opposed to any action by the Federal Government in diverting ship repair work from the port of New York on the spurious grounds that the port is lacking either the facilities or the skilled labor to handle such work.

There are few, if any, harbors in the United States with a more complete and diversified range of ship repair facilities than are available here. Further, we question the logic of any statement contending that there is a shortage of shipyard manpower when the current level of employment in the shipyards in this port is only a fraction of what it was at the time of the Suez crisis. It is true that many former shipyard workers have perforce found employment in other industries because of the uncertain nature of this business in recent years. But it is equally true that many of these skilled craftsmen would be willing to return to these yards if they had some assurance that their employment would not be subject to the vagaries of Federal policies seemingly bent upon favoring shipyards in other ports at the expense of the port of New York.

We join Brooklyn borough President Abe Stark in decrying this diversion of work needed by our yards here, and make special note of the fact that the borough of Brooklyn, once a thriving shipbuilding and ship repairing center, has been reduced by this type of attrition to its present lowly state, and that even the few remaining yards here and their employees are threatened by continued diversion from the port of ship repair work essential not only to these yards but also the national security.

JOHN C. HILLY,
President, Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce.

We Must Speak to Each Other

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, of great concern to me is the recent unanswered charge of police brutality which has been alleged in my city of Los Angeles. An excellent comment on the situation appeared in an editorial in the Los Angeles Times on August 29, 1965, which I believe my colleagues, and every thinking American, will find of interest. Under unanimous consent, I place it as part of my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD:

WE MUST SPEAK TO EACH OTHER

Unfortunately, for a variety of reasons, practical communication between Los Angeles city authorities and the Negro community has largely broken down in the turbulent wake of the Watts riots.

This situation arises from the Negroes' unresolved criticism—some of it measured, some bitter—of Los Angeles police methods where their people are concerned.

Mayor Yorty and Chief Parker vigorously insist that allegations of so-called police brutality are both unwarranted and unprovable. As a result, perhaps, there seems to be no desire on their part to sit down with representatives of various Negro groups, to get to the heart of the matter.

At the outset, it should be stated that the issue is not police tactics during the recent riots, but a longer ranged problem, involving relations with the entire Negro population, including many who reside far from Watts itself.

It is likely that Negro complaints hinge more around their resentment of alleged police attitudes and procedure, than outright brutality. From what the Times has learned, most Negroes believe there is a double standard of law enforcement, one set for Caucasians, the other for Negroes.

Moreover, because of the rather complicated procedure for airing grievances, many feel frustrated in their attempts to reach a sympathetic ear.

Certainly such a condition, if indeed it exists, is not the result of a deliberate code. A dedicated lawman, Chief Parker's sole aim is fighting crime in a 460-square-mile city with an insufficient force.

His patroling officers must act fast when crime occurs, or even threatens. Enforcement in sectors where lawlessness abounds is a dangerous business. Understandably policemen cannot use kid gloves on hoodlums of whatever race or color.

For the benefit of the entire population, and particularly those law-abiding Negroes who live in Watts, crime must be controlled. If it gets out of hand, everybody suffers, as witness the appalling riots of 2 weeks ago.

Because of the breakdown in communication between the city and an important minority segment, however, these facts tend to become obscured.

At the lower economic levels of the Negro community, rightly or wrongly, the policeman looms as the representative of "the white man's law," rather than the universal protector. Even in the more affluent areas, he is all too often looked at askance, avoided, regarded as potentially hostile.

No useful purpose, of course, has been served by the recent angry demands for Chief Parker's scalp.

By the same token, Los Angeles can no longer afford the continuing impasse that prevents—to use the cliche—a sensible dialog between a large segment of the citizenry and those who govern them.

As New York's assistant chief, Police Inspector Harry Taylor, told Times Columnist Paul Coates: "Even when we know a grievance is unjustified, we can't just say the hell with it, we're right so we'll ignore them. We have to explain why we're right."

Our municipal authorities might discover to their intense surprise that most Los Angeles Negroes earnestly want efficient law enforcement. And the latter might learn, to their equal surprise, that simple adjustments are possible in police methods, which would improve a deteriorating situation.

Unless this dialog commences, the problem will grow. Inevitably, if nobody in authority responds, the discontented minority will listen increasingly to the irresponsible voices of dissent, who seek only to inflame.

The Times believes that Mayor Yorty has a unique opportunity for statesmanship at this critical moment. He need not retreat from his position that the Los Angeles Police Department is among the Nation's best.

He need only meet this civic challenge by immediately opening the door to a full, frank discussion of an obvious problem—then take the lead in finding a just solution.

Politics: The Man Who Delivered the Goods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, there was an article in this morning's New York Times, by Tom Wicker, which pays tribute to a man we all know, and whom we hold in high esteem—Hon. Lawrence F. O'Brien, who is currently the special assistant to President Johnson, in charge of congressional liaison.

In the few years he has been at the White House, first with President Kennedy and now with President Johnson, Larry O'Brien has demonstrated a remarkable ability to get things done.

He is an astute and accomplished politician, yet he is warm and approachable, and has done much to add dignity and honor to the role of the political lobbyist, which can be, as we all know, an onerous and thankless job. His efforts with the Congress have been fantastically successful in bringing about the passage of much of the legislative programs of both Presidents, without uncalled for pressures and without alienating the individual Members of the Conress.

He has been a strong right arm for the White House, and one which cannot be easily replaced. However, I was delighted to see that his dedication and devotion have been rewarded by nomination to Cabinet rank as Postmaster General. He will bring to the Post Office

Department a tremendous ability, a capacity for work, and a talent for organization. His past record of achievements, and his potential for the future, as well as his grasp and understanding of all issues and problems, will certainly continue to benefit not only the Department to which he has been appointed, but the entire country as well.

He richly deserves this recognition, and I extend my warmest congratulations to him on this occasion. My best wishes for every success in the future go with him.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the New York Times article in the RECORD at this point:

POLITICS: THE MAN WHO DELIVERED THE GOODS

(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, August 30.—Larry O'Brien is a man in the finest traditions of our many former Postmasters General. He knows nothing whatever about delivering the mail, but he is an absolutely professional politician who has shown two Presidents that he knows how to deliver the goods—both on election day and when the roll is called up yonder on the Hill.

O'BRIEN'S TECHNIQUE

General O'Brien—as something in excess of 20,000 personal friends soon will be entitled to call him—is a smiling Irishman who would not be caught dead saying "yes" or "no" if 150 other words could be substituted to the same effect. He has made just enough enemies in 4 years in Washington to crowd a telephone booth, and he is admired in both parties for his political organizing genius and for his effective work on behalf of the Kennedy-Johnson legislative program.

O'Brien's contribution to the practice of modern politics was simple but revolutionary. After decades when political bosses in cities and States alike had operated on the theory of keeping the electorate as small and manageable as possible—to keep to a minimum the risk of unruly voters getting out of hand—O'Brien took the opposite view. In the three major campaigns he ran for John Kennedy (no matter who was the titular campaign boss), he brought as many people into action as possible—by registering new voters, by organizing masses of volunteer workers, by seeking out voters where candidates never had looked before.

So massive has been the legislative achievement of the Johnson administration that it is customary to give most of the credit to the President himself. He deserves a lot of it, but O'Brien the congressional liason chief for both Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Johnson, has played a larger role than is generally realized.

IMPROVED LOBBYING

In the first place, under his leadership the White House lobbying activity has been better organized and more efficient. It has acquired more personnel, more autonomy, more respect and more legitimacy than any similar operation in the past, and therefore, it is an improved, if not a new, tool of Presidential power.

It is Washington folklore, for instance, that in 1964 Mr. Johnson salvaged the tax cut and civil right bills Mr. Kennedy had not been able to get through Congress before his death in 1963. In fact, Mr. Kennedy had predicted "an 18-month delivery" for 1964 and it probably always will be a question whether O'Brien's spadework might not have produced these measures had Mr. Kennedy lived; O'Brien thinks the bills would have passed in any case.

Even this year, with the massive majorities provided by the election of 1964, O'Brien's work with Congress has been vital to Mr. Johnson. The key element in any lobbying program is to understand the legislation thoroughly; only then can it be presented to a legislator in such a way as to make him see that it will help him politically—or at least not hurt him so much as he has thought. O'Brien and his staff—far from relying, as myth would have it, on twisted arms, patronage, and the pork barrel—have made this process of study and persuasion one of the President's most formidable weapons in seeking such controversial items as the rental subsidy in the housing bill or the voting rights act.

All of that is more or less public. In a more personal and private matter, Larry O'Brien also delivered the goods early in 1964. The sharpest of the transition from John Kennedy to Lyndon Johnson was then past. Ted Sorensen was leaving the White House staff; Kenneth O'Donnell wanted to; Pierre Salinger would leave in the spring.

AVERTING POSSIBLE DISASTER

If at that moment the popular and respected O'Brien also had resigned—so members of the old Kennedy staff said privately—there would have been a wholesale exodus, damaging Mr. Johnson in two ways. It would have appeared to signal a lack of confidence in him that could have been disastrous in an election year; it might have left him with too few experienced men to run either the White House or the coming campaign.

But Larry O'Brien stayed, in one of the crucial acts of a crucial time, one of many for which he deserves the respect in which he is held here. He will still have that respect at the Post Office Department; he will still be delivering the goods next election day, and if past achievements are any guide he may even get the mail delivered twice a day.

The Foreign Service in Kipling Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, in our concern over the situation in the trouble-spots of the world and our criticism of lapses in U.S. diplomacy, such as those that occurred in the Dominican Republic early this year, we often forget the good work being done day in and day out by foreign service officers all over the world. My own constituency has contributed one such individual, David A. Macuk, a resident of Fair Lawn, who served for over 4 years in American diplomatic posts in Pakistan. While serving as Consul and political officer in the U.S. Consulate in Peshawar, Mr. Macuk covered by jeep and horse the rugged country of Northwest Pakistan—the locale of many of Rudyard Kipling's stories. His contacts with the people of the area has contributed to the underlying bond of friendship and respect between the two countries.

Mr. Macuk is a fine example of those foreign service officers who serve their country selflessly and help to keep it the most powerful country in the world. In order to publicize the work being done by our fine foreign service officers, I am inserting in the RECORD a State Department description of Mr. Macuk's experiences:

NEW JERSEY DIPLOMAT COVERS "KIPLING COUNTRY" BY JEEP AND HORSE

The rugged mountain country of northwest Pakistan—the locale of many of Rudyard Kipling's stories—provided some exciting adventures for U.S. Foreign Service Officer David A. Macuk, who traveled by jeep and horse on consular field trips in the area.

Mr. Macuk, 33, a New Jersey resident, was interviewed here after returning from a 4-year tour of duty in Pakistan. He served both in the American Embassy in Karachi and the U.S. Consulate in Peshawar.

The Peshawar Consular District stretches along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border from the desert city of Loralai in the south to the mountains of Chitral in the north. "This is the former Northwest Frontier Province of British India, the gateway to south Asia. It has been a traditional invasion route ever since the Aryan migrations into India," Mr. Macuk notes.

"The mountainous border area of West Pakistan is incredibly rugged and the tribal structure of its society fascinating. I knew enough of the Urdu language to communicate with the tribesmen in most cases, but when they spoke various dialects of the local Pushtu language, they left me far behind," he says.

Travelling mostly by jeep, Mr. Macuk sometimes had an armed escort of Government frontier scouts. "These scout units are steeped in history. One of them, the Khyber Rifles, is a reminder of the days when a British military post guarded the famous Khyber Pass."

Mr. Macuk's most hair-raising reporting trip was made on horseback over tortuous mountain paths. "My only previous experience on 'horseback' had been an occasional pony ride when I was a kid," he recalls. "The horse provided for me insisted on walking on the outside edge of the narrow path instead of hugging the mountainside. This gave me a wonderful view of the gorge below but some scary moments."

On another occasion, he visited the area near the highest mountain peak in his consular district—over 25,000 feet high. In a neighboring village he found people living in stone houses only 5 feet high. "These people were extremely hospitable, and pleased that a foreigner had taken the interest to come and see them."

On one field trip, the American diplomat visited the valleys of Kafiristan, inhabited by a fair-skinned, pagan tribe, known as Kafirs. "No one really knows their origin," he relates. "Among the various theories advanced is that they are descended from soldiers in the army of Alexander the Great."

Mr. Macuk had a highly gratifying experience in the valley of Parachinar near the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. There a farmer proudly displayed American varieties of cucumbers and cabbages, which he had raised from seeds obtained in the United States.

"This man," Mr. Macuk recounts, "visited America under a farmer exchange program. He traveled widely in this country for several months, learning about America. Because of the warm reception he received here, he has a deep affection for the United States."

Mr. Macuk's family accompanied him on the trip to Parachinar. "My wife was invited into the women's quarters and was warmly welcomed by the ladies of the household," he adds.

Prior to his assignment in Peshawar, where he was consul and political officer, Mr. Macuk served in the Economic Section of the Embassy in Karachi as an economic officer—acting primarily as assistant commercial attaché.

"My main responsibility while stationed in Karachi was to explore, and report on, opportunities for American businessmen in Pakistan," he states. "This required travel-

ing to various cities, contacting local business men and members of the chamber of commerce to assess business conditions."

Mr. Macuk is presently assigned to the Office of South Asian Affairs in the Department of State as the Economic Desk Officer for Pakistan.

Marine Cpl. John Stowell Tells Why He Is Fighting in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, when we witness the sorry spectacle of young men dodging the draft, and the unwashed shiftless beatniks marching in protest against our anti-Communist policies, it is heartwarming to read of a young marine who knows why he is fighting in Vietnam.

Cpl. John Stowell, USMC, in letters to his mother, Mrs. John C. Stowell, Hazlehurst, Miss., clearly expresses his love for his country, and his understanding of the necessity for the United States to halt the spread of godless communism.

Corporal Stowell, and his kind are representative of young America—not the Pacifist types constantly advocating anarchy. It will be the Corporal Stowells who will preserve liberty.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this fine young marine, who should serve as an inspiration to the entire Nation. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include excerpts from letters he has written his mother. They were printed in the Jackson, Miss., Clarion-Ledger on August 25, 1965:

STATE MARINE IN VIETNAM TELLS WHY HE'S FIGHTING

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following are excerpts from letters to Mrs. John C. Stowell of Hazlehurst from her son, Marine Cpl. John Stowell, who has been in South Vietname for over 5 months. Mrs. Stowell provided the Clarion-Ledger with the letters.)

DEAR MOM: Things are not going too well here. It looks like we will be here for a long time. The general (Victor H. Krulak?) talked to us today and we are in for an all-out bloody war before too long.

Don't worry I am not afraid and am among the ranks of the best fighting men in the world. The monsoon season sets in around late September and that is when the Vietcong will attack in full force. It is a season of rain and clouds and we lose our air support, which they are waiting for.

Let them come, we are ready. They are all around us now in the hills and we are their prime target. The Vietcong are nothing but men with a uniform on.

We are U.S. Marines which I am very proud to be a part of. The man with the rifle that walks and sweats, tired and in need of a rest. But when the rifles are firing and bombs bursting we charge with new strength, courage, and a will to accomplish our mission which no military force in the world can resist.

The Vietcong are not half the men marines are.

WHY?

Mom, you ask why the marines are here. I will try to tell you.

We are preventing the Communists from taking over another country in the free world. We are also helping people who have been enslaved by the Communists for almost 20 years. The Communists want southeast Asia because it is a stepping stone to Australia, Africa, and the world. We marines with the help of God will prevent that.

I look at it this way. I am fighting now so that my family and other families back home will not be fighting Communists in the future.

COMMUNIST CLOSE

The Communists are closer to our beautiful America than anyone at home can realize. That's why we are here.

I did want to leave the Marines Corps and study to become a doctor but, I must stay until the fighting is over and the Communists are beaten.

Fighting is what I am well trained in and it is my duty to my God and my country to stay until it is over. I pray that peace will come soon.

Mail is an inspiration to me and about all that I have to look forward to. It gives me courage to charge enemy positions under fire and forget the word fear.

We were scared when we first landed on the beach (at Da Nang), but now the heat and endless combat patrols makes us too mad and ready to fight to be afraid. I have lost a few buddies and two out of my squad which makes me and others more eager to kill the Communists.

SITUATION TERRIBLE

The situation here is terrible and the friendly people could be the enemy. The Vietcong are forcing these poor village people to throw grenades at us by threatening to kill the rest of the family.

I wonder what it would be like to sleep in a bed, drink anything cold and walk on a sidewalk and not this sandy beach, with dirty water waist deep everywhere.

We have been an many patrols and have many more to go on.

I had better clean my rifle.

Your loving son,

JOHN.

Justice for a New Era

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise to call attention of the Congress and the American people to the excellent and well-reasoned address of the Honorable Royce H. Savage, which appears in a leading article of the August issue of the Journal of the American Judicature Society:

JUSTICE FOR A NEW ERA

(By Royce H. Savage)

(NOTE.—Royce H. Savage, who is general counsel for Gulf Oil Corp., delivered this address before the 1965 graduating class of the University of Tulsa in Oklahoma. Royce H. Savage has been general counsel of Gulf Oil Corp. since November 1961. He resigned the position of U.S. district judge for the northern district of Oklahoma after 21 years of service. Judge Savage, who was born March 31, 1904, at Blanco, Okla., was 36 years of age when appointed to the bench by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. He received a bachelor of arts degree from the University of Oklahoma in 1925 and an LL.B. degree there in 1927. During his tenure on the bench, he was active in promoting improvements in the administration of justice, such as procedures to expedite the trial of cases. He was serving his second term as the district judge representative for the 10th circuit in the Judicial Conference of the United States at the time of his resignation. The court in which he presided gained the reputation of being first among Federal courts in the Nation for prompt disposition of cases.)

How impotant better judges are is suggested by the words which Gilbert and Sullivan put in the mouth of the Lord Chief Justice of England:

"The law is the embodiment
Of everything that's excellent,
It has no kind of fault or flaw
And I, my lords, embody the law."

We all know that a good judge can apply imperfect law to dispense justice, and a bad judge can pervert good law.

Thus, the competence of your judges is determinative of the quality of justice you receive. In turn, your kind of justice may prove decisive in whether society progresses or deteriorates in your time. For, quite simply, justice represents the cornerstone of civilization.

I think it is fair to assume that you and your generation will need the civilizing power of justice more than Americans ever have before. The administration of justice is becoming at once more difficult and more critically imperative. Now and in the future the compelling fact is that we must have better judges.

A full half century of study by bench and bar, and actual trial in some States, has developed better methods for selecting judges. There can be no doubt that enacting these procedures into law will assure a superior judiciary for the era ahead. We have the proven means at hand. I want to enlist you in the campaign to adopt these means to improve our justice.

What is wrong with out methods of selecting judges? In most of our States, judicial aspirants run for election either as party nominees or on nonpartisan ballots. If vacancies occur on the bench between elections, interim judges are appointed to fill them by the Governor. Theoretically, the arrangement sounds democratic and effective. In practice, like so many high-minded creations of man, it proves less than satisfactory.

The system of asking the voters to make the original selection of judges at the polls has proved to be an extension of the democratic process to the point where it produces undesirable results. Experience has shown that the public simply does not, and cannot, adequately inform itself about the numerous candidates who may be running. Poll after poll has been taken which demonstrate that few can name a judicial candidate for whom they voted and most vote for the nominee of their party without any awareness of qualifications.

Actually, 50 percent of our judges are appointed even where elective systems exist. Vacancies occur through death or retirement before the expiration of the terms for which judges are elected. The Governor appoints a judge to complete the unexpired term. The appointed judge then runs for reelection; and since he runs as an incumbent, he has a decided advantage. But he got on the bench by political appointment.

The result is that the power of original selection essentially resides in political leaders, who consider judicial office as patronage to be dispensed in the party interest, as they do other offices. Party interest does not always equate with the public interest, and the quality of the judiciary is invariably impaired.

Clearly, reforms are urgently needed in both our judicial appointive and selective systems. The remedy, for which I urge your active support, lies in the American Bar Association's merit selection and tenure plan.

This plan, first adopted by Missouri in 1940, and frequently referred to as the Mis-

souri plan, has been in use sufficiently long that evidence of its workability is overwhelming. Today 11 States use some version of it. Undoubtedly, its universal adoption would represent a giant step toward a better judiciary.

The merit plan in simple form is a three-stage process consisting of: First—the nomination of all judges by an impartial commission; second—mandatory appointment of judges by the Governor from the commission's slate; and, third—periodic noncompetitive election of the appointed judges after serving on the bench.

The benefits are enormous. The plan provides a commission on which leading lawyers, who actually know the persons best fitted for judicial service, and laymen who are interested in the best administration of the laws, can cooperate, investigate, and present the Governor a list of the top men available. The plan permits nomination of persons who, by scholarly nature or nonpolitical leanings, would never engage in the old type partisan campaign. Thus, it gives the Governor a choice of the best.

The apopinted judge serves until the next general election following a year on the bench. He then must submit himself to the voters. The single issue is: "Shall Judge Blank be retained in office? Yes or No." If the voters answer yes, the judge serves another full term and then again submits his name for popular ratification.

Normally, the sitting judges will be reelected on the yest-no ballot. This procedure virtually assures that superior men, having been placed on the bench, can continue there without engaging in the hurly-burly of politics, without taking time off from public business to campaign, and without begging for political funds and favors. Should a judge prove a disappointment, newspapers and the bar can campaign against his reelection. Unfit judges have been rejected.

None of the 11 States which have adopted aspects of a merit plan like that in Missouri have ever repealed it. The movement is all the other way. Although Midwestern in origin, the plan is now being pushed in 19 additional States throughout the country. The reasons are summed up by a Missouri judge as follows:

"[Under the plan] I know we have a truly independent judiciary. Our litigants are receiving a higher quality of justice and our people have a growing confidence in our courts. Excellent lawyers now agree to serve on our bench who would not submit themselves to the ordeals of the old political system. We have attracted some outstanding young men * * * who desire to make the judiciary their career, and whose vigor and energy are needed. The courts have been completely free in every respect from party politics."

JUDICIAL REMOVAL PROCEDURE NEEDED

However, the merit plan does not provide the whole remedy for a better judiciary, because we must also have adequate and effective procedures to unseat judges who prove unfit, or whose fitness deteriorates. As pointed out, open dereliction can be punished by the voters. Less dramatic unfitness might never come before the eye of the public at large. Examples are senility, alcoholism, laziness, chronic absence from work, and arbitrary and discriminatory actions. Only the lawyers and litigants appearing before a judge may become aware of such faults which to them can prove catastrophic.

The problem plagues all courts. It reaches as high as the U.S. Supreme Court. One senile Supreme Court Justice once wrote an opinion stating the exact opposite of what he had agreed with his colleagues to say.

THE CALIFORNIA COMMISSION

In California, this problem finally caused an explosion which led the way to reform when a murder trial was interrupted for 4 days because the judge disappeared on an "alcoholic binge." Subsequent investigation turned up a number of shocking cases of judicial unfitness and neglect. Of five judges in one county, four had been absent for as long as a year due to ill health. One metropolitan judge had presided during only nine mornings in 2 years. Others were too old to adequately discharges their duties.

Faced with these disclosures, the California Legislature was moved to pay heed to the advice, given years before by Albert Kales, the author of the Missouri plan, who declared:

"An arbitrary or disagreeable course of action by a judge arises principally from the fact that he is subject to no authority which can receive complaints against him and act upon those complaints. * * * The best protection * * * is a duly constituted body of fellow judges * * * to whom complaints as to the conduct of judges may be brought and who [can] exercise a corrective influence."

In 1960, California voters approved the creation of a commission on judicial qualifications comprising five judges named by the supreme court, two lawyers named by the State bar association, and two citizens named by the Governor.

The commission is authorized to investigate charges against any judge of a California court. It can conduct hearings and recommend to the supreme court the removal of a judge for willful misconduct, failure in his duties, or intemperance. Or it can recommend the judge's retirement for disabilities interfering with his duties.

Complaints may be made to the commission by any private citizen. As we would surmise, the majority received are from dissatisfied litigants or others with a personal ax to grind. But the unwarranted charges are quickly closed out, and for the protection of both, accuser and judge must be kept confidential. The opportunity for the citizens to take such action strengthens confidence in the courts.

Once the commission is convinced that a complaint has merit, it sends the judge a registered letter outlining the charge and adds politely: "Please comment."

So far, the investigation of complaints by the commission has resulted in 26 resignations. These cases involved chiefly physical disability, habitual intemperance, and impaired mental condition. The resignations were not attended by untoward publicity. Only one judge defended the charges brought before the supreme court. He won and continues on the bench.

In some cases, questionable acts or conditions not felt to warrant charges were called to the judges' attention. Usually this served to bring about an improvement. Meanwhile, the commission's activities demonstrate to all California judges that they are under surveillance by a public equipped to act against judicial unfitness, a discipline that undoubtedly maintains the bench at a higher level of efficiency.

Last fall, Oklahoma voters had an opportunity to vote for a similar plan when State question 415, providing for a court on the judiciary was submitted at the general election. It received a majority of votes cast on the measure but failed because of the so-called silent vote. The plan would set up a court with jurisdiction in cases involving removal of judges. I commend it to your support when it is resubmitted, as surely it must be. After all, why should you tamely submit to a dilution of justice by unfit judges, particularly when their rulings may affect your whole life?

I should be dismayed if anyone construed my remarks as a general attack upon the character and competence of all our judges. I must emphasize that by far the great majority of our judges are earnest, able, and conscientious.

THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY

Let us give a moment's attention to the Federal judiciary. The Federal bench represents the largest example of the appointive system, with the President appointing all Federal judges with the advice and consent of the Senate. The exalted office of the presidency fails to purify this system of the undesirable features of appointment. Federal judges have life tenure. More precisely, in constitutional language, they serve during good behavior. This feature has the virtue of establishing an independent judiciary, relatively free from outside pressures, but vulnerable in that the damaging influence of a bad appointee can be exerted from the bench as long as he breathes.

I agree with the thesis advanced by Herbert Brownell, President Eisenhower's first Attorney General, in a Saturday Evening Post article entitled, "Too Many Judges Are Political Hacks." While Attorney General, he investigated and made recommendations to the President on all judicial appointments. But, because Senate confirmation is required, Federal judgeships have been traditionally treated as senatorial patronage. This operates, says Glenn Winters, "not so much to improve the quality of the appointments as to make political footballs out of them." I call your attention to some statistics which will dispel any lingering doubt as to the political character of such appointments. Of the 203 judicial appointments made by President Eisenhower, 190 were Republicans and 13 were Democrats. Of 154 judges appointed by President Kennedy in less than 3 years, 141 were Democrats. Thus far President Johnson has a perfect record—his 26 appointments are all Democrats.

Brownell sees our appointive system as producing not so much corrupt as mediocre judges. This is because lawyers are likely to be appointed who orient their careers toward politics rather than toward excellence in the law. These, he feels, do more damage than dishonest judges, since the corrupt are frequently men of ability and usually wait for the main chance. In contrast, the mediocre judge muddles justice in every case that comes before him.

I have never suffered from any illusion that my own appointment at age 36 to the Federal bench came because I had attained a position of eminence at the Oklahoma Bar. I had supported my great and good friend, Josh Lee, who was the successful candidate for the U.S. Senate. Those who opposed me suggested that I was too young to be a Federal judge. I was forced to admit that this objection had merit. The only response I could make was that, if I could be given sufficient time, I would inevitably overcome the handicap of youth. This I have accomplished.

You will forgive me for asserting that political appointments are not invariably bad. Despite the obvious weakness of our appointive system, most Federal judges are able, conscientious, and dedicated. The administration of justice in the Federal courts has through the years and on the whole been maintained at a respectably high level. But the conclusion is inescapable that it is not compatible with the public interest for politics to weigh heavily in the appointment of judges.

It must be recognized also that the impeachment method of removing Federal judges is so cumbersome that it has been successfully resorted to only four times in the history of our Nation. And the impeachment process is the only means provided for determining whether the constitutional standards of good behavior have been adhered to.

What, then, can or should be done to improve the Federal judiciary? It seems apparent to me, as it has to many others concerned with this vital problem, that the

reforms that have been adopted in some States and which we have here discussed can, and in some form should, be adapted for Federal usage.

Why should we not have an impartial commission with the responsibility to provide the President with a list of those best qualified for judicial office? Why should we not have adequate and effective means of removing unfit judges from the Federal bench? This is not to say that we should jeopardize the independence of the judiciary by exposing judges to the risk of removal for unsubstantial or capricious grounds.

These reforms are desirable, urgent, and indeed vital to the continued strength and good health of our democratic way of life. A constitutional amendment may be required but the Constitution has been amended to effect changes of far less consequence to the Nation.

And while we pursue the slow and tortuous process of achieving judicial reform by legislation and amendment of State and Federal constitutions, there is yet another avenue open to us which offers some promise for quick improvement.

The public enthusiasm for the merit selection plan is now reflected in the decisions of a few State and municipal chief executives to create a nonpartisan nominating commission as a voluntary aid in the filling of judicial vacancies by appointment. The first to do so was Governor Scranton, of Pennsylvania, who, in announcing his creation of a judicial nominating commission in January of 1964, said, "It is essential to our free society that the American people hold their judges in highest esteem and that they regard them as the symbol of impartial, fair, and equal justice under law, and this goal can be achieved only if the public believes that the judges who preside in its courts are selected on the basis of merit only * * *."

This practical method of judicial selection based on merit alone is rapidly gaining momentum. Those who have followed Governor Scranton's commendable example are Governors Love, of Colorado, Erbe, of Iowa, and Volpe, of Massachusetts; and Mayors Wagner, of New York, and Currigan, of Denver.

We might even presume to suggest that the President, with the acquiescence of U.S. Senators, should create a nonpartisan commission to aid him in guarding against mediocrity on the Federal bench.

JUDICIAL REFORM NEEDS CITIZEN SUPPORT

This is a cause, the success of which depends significantly on you and the members of graduating classes throughout the Nation. In this respect, I would join with the conclusions of the American Assembly which just last month recommended that "citizens committees on the courts be established in all parts of the country to enlist the informed and active support of the public in the cause of judicial reforms."

The battle for freedom and justice never abates. Will our children join our names with those who carried on the battle? On many bloody fields of combat, and in many civic arenas, my generation has sought to make its contributions, however you may judge them. But surely one of our enduring achievements has been the concept of new laws and new procedures that will foster a better judiciary.

We look now to you to carry on this work beyond the limits of our strength, and to give it universal application. If you succeed, you will have won a victory which will prove one of the strongest supports of our democracy and provide a better life in your era.

Higher Education Act of 1965, H.R. 9567

SPEECH

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9567) to strengthen the educational resources of our colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in postsecondary and higher education.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Chairman, this is one of the outstanding bills of the session and whenever it is enacted, as I urge and feel sure it will be, it will render truly immeasurable service to the cause of education throughout the country, and it will bring unprecedented benefits to everyone concerned in education, particularly to very many earnest young people who are seeking to secure a sound, modern education.

There are many factors that dictate the strong support of the House of this legislation. The almost incredible growth in the number of college and university students in the past 10 years and the projected growth which between now and 1970 will move from 4.8 million students to 6.9 million students, and by 1973 to 8 million students, representing an increase of 100 percent in something less than one decade. It is almost certain that this accelerated growth will continue in the next decade.

Since the war, the number of institutions of higher education in this country has risen 250 percent, from 866 to approximately 2,300. As the number of high school students wishing to enter higher education institutions increases, the number will continue to grow.

In view of the tremendous increases, both of students and schools, it is not surprising that problems of all kinds should develop requiring the attention of the Congress. Buildings, libraries, dormitories, study halls, research and recreation facilities and many other essentials have been and are urgently needed.

Qualified teachers are in especially great need. Adequate scholarship funds are urgently needed, and fortunately, this bill moves to provide some substantial solution to all these problems.

The bill would enhance library resources, college and university community service projects. It would be a special boon to college libraries, providing funds for the purchase of books and other library materials, and improving the library services generally by the establishment of Federal programs for research and training in this area.

It would strengthen the younger institutions by support of national teaching fellowship programs, attracting outstanding young scholars to such institutions.

It would extend the benefits of college education to increasing numbers of students by providing educational grants for needy students, by establishing an interim program of federally-guaranteed, reduced-interest student loans, by stimulating and assisting State-guaranteed student loan programs, and by extending and liberalizing the college work-study programs.

It would firm up title I and title II of the Higher Education Facilities Act by easing the pressure of undergraduate, academic facilities and making more flexible provisions for public, community colleges and technical schools.

I personally believe, and I think this belief is shared by many Members of this House, that this bill is one of the most important bills to come before Congress for a long time. I am gratified that there is such strong recognition in this body of the needs of expanding educational facilities and opportunities for all young Americans qualified to pursue higher education and thus fit themselves for the complexing tasks of present and future which are bound to grow in scope, importance and complexity with each passing year.

Deserving young men and women, through no fault of their own, who currently lack the means of pursuing their educational ambitions will be invaluably assisted by this and other measures Congress has passed in recent times. The amount of good that this and related programs will do could not possibly be measured or evaluated. But we can be sure that the results flowing from this enlightened legislation will redound not only to the benefit of the very many individuals as can avail themselves of these programs, but also to the incalculable betterment and strengthening of our entire Nation.

It would take too long for me to elaborate on the many benefits of education that this bill will provide and the great encouragement that it will give to countless students.

It will suffice for me at this time to say that there are few things more important to our country than the providing of adequate facilities and adequate means to furnish our ambitious young people with the best education that the Nation can provide.

The fruits of these programs will be more manifest in the next generation, but they will be visible almost as soon as this bill is enacted, because it will insure to millions of young Americans the higher education and training in liberal arts, the professions, science, teaching, and every field of human endeavor that would not be possible otherwise, for many of them to receive. This fact in itself will do more to reaffirm the faith of young America in the ability of this great free system of ours to meet every contingency and to develop the human resources as well as our material resources in the interest of, and for the benefit of individuals and of our collective, American society.

I want to compliment the committee for bringing out this fine bill, which I proudly and strongly support, and I urge its immediate passage by the House.

Israel Cummings—The Inspiring Saga of a Poor Boy From the Lower East Side

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to enclose an article written by Fred Warner for the East Side News, a weekly publication with wide circulation in my congressional district in New York City.

The article, truly an Horatio Alger success story, concerns Israel Cummings who was born and raised in Manhattan's Lower East Side, who has never forgotten the underprivileged children of that area. Thousands of East Siders, young and old, go to the Israel and Leah Camping Grounds in Brewster, N.Y., as a result of his efforts.

Mr. Cummings prides himself as "the man who never forgot," and as the Representative of that area of New York City which encompasses so many of the poor and underprivileged, I readily concur in that description of this native son of New York who has endeavored quite successfully to repay his country for the many privileges it has afforded him.

The article follows:

ISRAEL CUMMINGS: THE INSPIRING SAGA OF A POOR BOY FROM THE LOWER EAST SIDE

(By Fred Warner)

The youngsters who are growing up on the lower east side today nothing about the gas light era or the horse drawn vehicles on the streets everywhere, 7 decades ago.

They live in centrally heated homes which are installed with the very latest gadgets and household appliances for the general purpose of making life most enjoyable and worthwhile, as a rule.

This was not the case of the days of the hero of this story who was born not far from the thriving outdoor market places in the vicinity of Hester Street, 76 years ago.

Actually, he was born on February 23, 1889 of foreign parentage. His father was a dyer who had settled here 11 years previously from Lithuania, a little country in Europe. Although very poor, the family was proud and industrious.

As fortune changed hands and times became bad with them, this boy quit school—the old Public School 20—at the youthful age of 13 and went to work for a woolen jobber named Abraham Cohen, in order to augment the meager earnings of his father at the time.

This was in 1902. However, within a year thereafter, this young lad learned the intricacies of the trade of woolen jobbing so rapidly that he was promoted to the status of a buyer and again immediately afterward to the exalted position of general manager of the business until 1916.

In that year, with his brother, David, he founded the firm of Israel Cummings & Bro., woolen jobbers. Although just 27 years old then, he soon developed a reputation among trades people for personal integrity and honest dealings.

These dual good qualities stood the firm well as business assets, so much so, that by 1938 both his brother and himself were about to expand the business with but very little investment of their own, into the present multimillion-dollar establishment known nationally and internationally as the Shamokin Woolen Mills, Inc., New York City, leading manufacturers of woolen fabrics in this country.

Our hero, as you may have guessed by now, is the boy, Israel, who was poor in youth, well-to-do in adolescence, wealthy in early manhood, and is now a millionaire in his golden years of existence.

Honesty, good human understanding, perseverance, love of fellow man, all combined to achieve for him the prominence in business and in community affairs which he so aptly deserves.

As a philanthropist, astute businessman, benefactor of the poor and needy, all of these things are visible expressions of the man whose chief aim in life is not to amass fortunes for the sole personal satisfaction of being wealthy, but mainly for the enhancement of human goals in the promotion of better standards of living for people in general, regardless of race, creed, or color, wherever such needs are apparent.

Israel Cummings has been the president of the Shamokin Woolen Mills since its inception. He is seemingly in robust health except for a little dental trouble now and then. He appears to be vigorous in action and personable when approached.

He delights in being characterized as "the man who never forgot." He is readily friendly, jovial in appearance, and possesses a propensity to kid you while at the same time penetrating deeply into your mind to ascertain for his edification the business being discussed.

When you ask him about his interests and activities in respect to the part he plays as member, trustee and honorary president of the alumni association of the Educational Alliance, he shrugs and says "I like to help people to help themselves."

In 1917 Mr. Cummings married the former Leah Ruth Goldberg, daughter of Sholom Goldberg of Kovno, Lithuania, a Hebrew scholar. The couple has two daughters, Carol Shirley and Joyce Beula, who is now Mrs. Sidney Horwitz.

It is said that in his youth, young Israel Cummings liked athletic pursuits and joined the Educational Alliance in those days and soon became active in track, basketball, wrestling and weightlifting.

This earlier physical fitness program, which most recently was espoused by our late and beloved President John F. Kennedy, is the direct result of the good state of physical and mental health Mr. Cummings enjoys today.

To encompass the scope of this man's public image is to pay a visit to his office on the 44th floor of a prominent office building in the garment district near 34th Street, and gaze upon the many scrolls, plaques, citations and other memorabilia collected throughout the years of his adult life and placed on the walls in mute but significant testimony of the dozens of honors bestowed upon him by colleges, universities, public agencies, private agencies, foreign nations, the Armed Forces of the United States, clubs, synagogues, churches, and others.

In his spare time, Mr. Cummings indulges in philately and numismatics. That is to say, collection and study of postage stamps and the science of coins and medals, respectively.

He is a life member of the Navy League of the United States, was the financial secretary and later a director of the Hebrew Free Loan Society. He also holds memberships in the 92d Street branch of the YMHA and the Grand Street Boys' Association.

He has been interested in the Affairs of Yeshiva University since 1923 and is currently a member of the president's council and chairman of its athletic committee.

In 1953 he was cofounder of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine at Yeshiva University. Since 1945 he has been serving as a trustee of both the Rabbi Jacob Joseph School here and vice president and trustee of its hall of fame committee.

He is a member of the National Woolens Association, Chambers of Commerce of the United States, the Masonic Order (Shriner), and the Kiwanis Club. He is vice president and trustee of the American Biblical Encyclopedia Society, also a founder of the Hebrew National Orphan Home.

In January 1961, he attended the first White House Conference on the Aged at Washington, D.C., as an official delegate of the State of New York. Currently, he is treasurer of the New York Council, Navy League Scholarship Fund, 202 East 44th Street.

Soon after returning from the Washington Conference on the Aged, he was appointed chairman of the 1962 building fund of the educational alliance, which was created to erect one of the first low-income residential apartments for older persons, in the United States.

He was awarded the button of the Legion of Honor of Israel in 1960 and a citation for outstanding service from the same country in 1962.

Many years ago, going back to his early manhood, Mr. Cummings joined the New Era Club of the educational alliance, and, because he never forgets, in 1962 he inaugurated the Israel Cummings lecture forum series at the club to bring well-known speakers before its members.

He is the chairman of the health and physical education committee of the educational alliance, its camp expansion committee, joint camps committee for Camp Leah, Camp Salomon, Camp Edalia, and Cummings Village.

He serves, too, as a director of Surprise Lake Camp, and a trustee of Camp Loyaltown. He was elected to the halls of fame of the education alliance, Yeshiva University, the Rabbi Jacob Joseph School, and the old Public School 20.

Aid to Higher Education

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9567) to strengthen the educational resources of our colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in postsecondary and higher education.

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to take this opportunity to express my strong support for H.R. 9567, the Higher Education Act of 1965.

The demands on our colleges and universities have increased tremendously in recent years. In fact, our Nation's college population has more than doubled in the last 10 years alone—and it will continue to expand at a rapid rate for the foreseeable future.

Historically, America has always recognized the vital necessity of education in the development and prosperity of our land. Beginning with the provisions of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 setting aside a portion of the new territory for educational use, through the Morrill Land-Grant College Act of 1862, the GI bills following World War II and Korea,

and the 1958 National Defense Education Act, the Federal Government has assumed leadership in the effort to provide full educational opportunity for all our citizens.

Mr. Chairman, the legislation before us is designed to assist in correcting some of the most pressing problems in higher education today: the lack of qualified teachers, overcrowded facilities, inadequate libraries, and insufficient aid for low- and middle-income students.

In doing this, H.R. 9567 provides assistance in five major areas:

First, to support universities sponsoring community service projects aimed at solving specific urban and suburban problems—a pioneering effort to develop an urban extension service to parallel the outstanding success of our Agricultural Extension Service programs.

Second, for improvement of college library resources through grants for the purchase of books and training of librarians.

Third, to strengthen small, developing institutions through cooperative programs with larger universities or educational organizations, and through establishment of a National Teaching Fellowship program.

Fourth, for financial assistance to undergraduate and graduate students, especially from low- and middle-income families—a four part effort including: First, an increase in NDEA student loan assistance and initiation of a new educational opportunity grant program for exceptionally needy full-time undergraduate students; second, encouragement for the States to set up student loan insurance programs; third, Federal insurance for loans to graduate and undergraduate students, regardless of family income, but with partial Federal payment of interest for students from families with less than $15,000 annual income; forth, a broadened and expanded college work-study program to include any student needing aid, although students from low-income families will continue to receive preference.

Fifth, to double the construction grant program for both graduate and undergraduate academic facilities under the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, this legislation recognizes that nothing is more important to America and to our Nation's future well-being than the fullest possible development of our human educational resources.

It represents an act of faith and a solid investment in the future of this great country, and I strongly urge that it be passed by the House today.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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Appendix

National Lotteries of Africa and the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to bring to the attention of the Members of this House the lotteries of Africa and the Middle East. Most of these are thriving institutions which bring in considerable revenues to serve varied purposes, often school and hospital construction. Africa's lotteries brought in gross receipts of about $14 million last year, while net profits came to about $4 million. The Middle Eastern lotteries brought in gross receipts of nearly $62 million in 1964, with net profits coming to more than $21 million.

In North Africa, the Moroccan and Libyan lotteries brought in $3.6 million in gross receipts. Profits came to almost $1 million. Ghana's lottery grossed $3 million in 1964, with net profits coming to $1.5 million, these profits being applied to the treasury. Southern Rhodesia's lottery took in better than $4.5 million, of which a $745,000 profit supported social services. The lotteries of Ethiopia, Nigeria, Cameroon, Sierra Leone, Tanzania and Congo—Brazzaville—took in gross receipts of some $2.8 million, with net profits coming to about $675,000. Most of these profits went for welfare, medical and school expenditures. Gabon and Tanzania have also recently established lotteries, and Uganda is now using the lottery device in the form of a premium bond lottery, whereby prizes are awarded in lieu of part of the interest in government bonds.

In the Middle East, lotteries are a popular fundraiser for hospitals and schools. The biggest lottery is that of Israel, which grossed $26.7 million last year, retaining a net profit of $8 million, which profit went for school and hospital construction. Iran's lottery took in $19.1 million in 1964. The net profit, spent for the same objectives as Israeli profits, was almost $7 million. Turkey's lottery reaped $9.4 million last year, of which $4.3 was net income to the Government, being allocated to the general treasury fund. Syria, Iraq, and Lebanon operated lotteries bringing in a total of $6.5 million in 1964. The three lotteries achieved a profit of $2 million, most of which was spent on health services, schools, and social development, except for Syria's profit, which was spent on trade promotion.

The lotteries of Africa and the Middle East are not fat with revenue like the rich lotteries of Europe, yet even these poor nations have the sense to realize that so long as gambling is ineradicable, it is wise to make sure that its profits work for the people, not for those criminals who would prey on their fellow man. If we were wise enough to establish a national lottery in America, that lottery would attract receipts which would dwarf the revenues of the European lotteries, just as those receipts dwarf the African and Middle Eastern lottery revenues. We in America need a lottery—and need it now.

Hon. Clarence J. Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. DANIEL D. ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, in my 7 years of service in this body I have been privileged to meet and work with many fine legislators who are dedicated to public service. Some occupy seats on the opposite side of the aisle, and although we differ on many of the issues considered on this floor, I am pleased to number them among my good friends. So it was true with CLARENCE J. BROWN, of Ohio.

As a man of strong convictions he was a stalwart person for the conservative desires of his followers, and yet, he was not aloof to the arguments of those opposed to his principles. He accepted the challenges they presented and reacted with a keen mind injecting a light sense of humor in his objections and responses. He had qualities that commanded respect, but I never knew him to demand respect. On the contrary he was a "good Samaritan" to many freshmen Congressmen. He ignored party labels when experienced guidance was needed and requested of him, for he had great respect for the prinicples of this House in which he toiled and he was dedicated to its dignity and order. One could not help but respect him for this dedication.

We will miss this statesman for his experience and abilities are irreplacable. But may the human qualities he possessed and the warm friendship he exposed to all of us become an everlasting monument to his memory in this Chamber. We were privileged to have known CLARENCE BROWN personally, but those who follow in his footsteps will have the privilege to look to his record for the example of public service in the highest tradition. It will indeed be an inspiration.

I extend my deepest sympathy to his family for their loss is much greater.

The 20th Anniversary of the Cathedral of the Pines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NORRIS COTTON

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, last Thursday, August 26, the Cathedral of the Pines at Rindge, N.H., observed its 20th anniversary.

Created as a living memorial to their son, Sanderson, who was lost as an American pilot in World War II, the Cathedral of the Pines has exceeded the fondest expectations of Dr. and Mrs. Douglas Sloane. Designed as a nonsectarian place of worship and meditation for all people, of all faiths, from all walks of life, this beautiful outdoor cathedral has attracted visitors from throughout our country and the world. Contained within its boundaries is the altar of the Nation, dedicated and recognized by Congress as a national memorial to all of our men and women who gave their lives in the war service of our country. I may say that I take pride in the fact that I was helpful in obtainng that formal recognition by the Congress.

I ask unanimous consent that an excellent editorial appearing in the Fitchburg, Mass., Sentinel under date of Friday, August 20, 1965, be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD. I believe the editorial writer's comments, entitled "Twenty Years of Ecumenicism," will be of interest to the hundreds of thousands who have had the privilege of visiting this place of worship for all our people.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE 20 YEARS OF ECUMENICISM

For 20 years folks have been coming to our region from every State in the Union and from every quarter of the globe to visit Cathedral of the Pines at Rindge, N.H.—to worship, to pray, to meditate, to honor America's war dead and silently to renew their faith in their God and in the heritages of the Republic.

Young children, teenagers, youth, middle-aged and senior citizens—some erect and robust, some in wheelchairs, some sightless—all are touched alike by the serenity of the cathedral, the beauty of natural surroundings, and the spirit of reverence that pervades the outdoor shrine and altar of the Nation.

At first they came by tens and twenties, as Douglas and Sybil Sloane launched their project in memory of their son, Sanderson, who was shot down over Germany in World War II. In the beginning, Dr. and Mrs. Sloane knew not the farflung significance and importance of their work but its meaning unfolded as the plan grew under the guidance of the Great Architect.

Worshippers and visitors soon came by the hundreds, then by the thousands, and often

by the tens of thousands, so that today, as the cathedral prepares to observe its 20th anniversary, the total number of those who have come is counted in the millions.

Folks of all religious faiths, national origins, and ethnical backgrounds—white, black, yellow, brown—all have found at the cathedral a true brotherhood that is expressed not in words but in the simple act of acceptance of one another as "of one blood."

From its very start the cathedral has been a living presence of the ecumenical spirit; and the truly unique 20th anniversary service next Thursday at 2:30 p.m., to which the public is invited, will be in keeping with the ecumenicism of the cathedral's two decades of history. The three great religious faiths, Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant, and others, will be represented among participating celebrants.

Before the miracle of Pope John XXIII, Cathedral of the Pines was in its own quiet way voicing the brotherhood of man under the one God. Negro preachers can and do climb the pulpit to address a gathering of whites and blacks, the churched and the unchurched, the reverent worshipper and the scoffer, all of whom are inescapably touched by this marvelous human enactment in a setting of grandeur and beauty.

Ageless Monadnock suggests the perpetuity of the cathedral and a quiet, rugged growth of its influence.

Fortunate is Montachusett to count the cathedral as one of its greatest assets and blessings, whose radiating influence in the world is not yet fully glimpsed by most of the region's residents.

L.B.J.'s Changing of the Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, the August 30 editorial in the Washington Daily News is a typical example of the favorable newspaper reaction to the President's appointment of Postmaster General John Gronouski to the post of Ambassador to Poland, and the elevation of Lawrence F. O'Brien, the Special Assistant to the President, to the Cabinet job vacated by Mr. Gronouski.

The New York Herald Tribune of August 30 emphasized the importance of President Johnson's recent appointment of Postmaster General John Gronouski as Ambassador to Poland.

As the editorial states:

Mr. Gronouski, as a close associate of President Johnson in the Cabinet post he is now leaving and as the grandson of Polish immigrants is himself exceptionally qualified to serve as a bridge between Washington and Warsaw.

These excellent editorials deserve the widest possible readership, and I insert them in the RECORD at this time.

[From the Washington Daily News, Aug. 30, 1965]

O'BRIEN IN THE CABINET

Larry O'Brien has demonstrated in a variety of assignments his capacity to fill a job of Cabinet rank.

He is a skilled political organizer, as he showed in the campaigns which carried John F. Kennedy to the Presidency as well as in President Johnson's 1964 landslide.

He also is an astute legislative manager. As the President's right-hand man on Capitol Hill, he has been largely responsible for the massive flow of legislation through Congress this year.

His appointment as Pastmaster General inevitably gives a flavor of politics to the Post Office Department. But this is nothing new. Indeed the office more often than not goes to a leading politician—as witness James Farley under Franklin Roosevelt and Arthur Summerfield under Dwight Eisenhower.

Assignment of his predecessor, John A. Gronouski, as Ambassador to Poland seems equally fortunate. As the grandson of a Polish immigrant, Mr. Gronouski is a good choice to carry out the President's desire to "build bridges" between the United States and the Iron Curtain countries of Eastern Europe.

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Aug. 30, 1965]

L.B.J.'S CHANGING OF THE GUARD

There must have been some red faces in the Washington press corps when President Johnson announced the new changes in his official family. One correspondent recently confided to his readers his exclusive information that Lawrence O'Brien would leave the White House by Labor Day for a public relations job. Another concluded that President Johnson's recent reappointment of John A. Gronouski would assure him the Cabinet hat of Postmaster General for the next 4 years.

The shifts announced yesterday, of course, were motivated by something much deeper than the President's special delight (even on a birthday occasion) in upsetting the speculations and conclusions of newspapermen. The President disclosed some time ago his special interest in "building bridges" to the East. One of the key spans in any bridge of that kind obviously is Poland. Mr. Gronouski, as a close associate of President Johnson in the Cabinet post he is now leaving and as the grandson of Polish immigrants, is himself exceptionally qualified to serve as a bridge between Washington and Warsaw.

Mr. O'Brien's succession to the vacated seat gives formal Cabinet recognition to a man who played a key role in securing congressional approval of the legislative program first advanced by President Kennedy and then carried forward by President Johnson. More than that, it will insure that Mr. O'Brien's public relations talents will remain in the service of the President and his program for a Great Society.

Housing the Veep in Style

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER H. MOELLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. MOELLER. Mr. Speaker, it may be said that during the past decade the Vice Presidency of the United States has come of age. More and more Americans have become aware of the active role of the Vice President in national affairs. The office has gained in stature and the demands made upon the incumbent and his family have increased mightily. I believe the Nation is in honest debt to our Vice President and to our citizenry to provide residential and official services suited to the esteem in which the Vice Presidency is held in our day.

I am sure that the excellent editorial in the August 29 issue of the Columbus Sunday Dispatch deserves a wide readership.

The editorial follows:

HOUSING THE VEEP IN STYLE

Twenty years ago the Washington Evening Star carried an editorial which said, in part, "The Vice President is really a standby President. He should receive enough salary to enable him to live in a style befitting his high position. And it would not be overdoing things to relieve him of the task of house hunting by assuring him of a rent-free home for him and his family."

With the increased stature of the Vice Presidency today these sentiments of a generation ago are even more pertinent now than they were then.

Considering the Disneyland-type airports we have built for third-level nations and the billion-dollar boondoggling we have financed in far and ungrateful lands, we could do a lot worse than give our present and future Vice Presidents a respectable and official residence.

The movement for establishing such a residence is stirring in Washington. It has been somewhat obscured from public view by the befogging birth struggle of the Great Society.

The family of HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Lyndon Johnson's Vice President, is comfortably and happily ensconced in a green and white four-bedroom home in suburban Washington, a house that is free and clear and paid for by the Veep himself.

But there are indications the Humphrey family would be willing to make whatever sacrifice might be involved in moving into the elite circle of the officially housed.

A Beautiful Scholarship Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS C. McGRATH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. Speaker, each year in the United States we hear of the crowning of myriad beauty queens whose titles run the gamut from "Miss Dill Pickle" to the galactic eminence of "Miss Universe."

The formalization of the great American pastime of visual appreciation of feminine beauty developed in Atlantic City, largest city in the second district of New Jersey, which I have the honor to represent, in 1914.

In that year, a young lady named Viola Walsh was crowned Queen of the Carnival, an event designed to open the famed resort's summer season. Miss Walsh thus became the forerunner of a dynasty of queens now known as Miss Americas.

World War I intervened, and it was 1920 before the carnival idea was renewed in Atlantic City. That year, a "Fall Pageant" was held, with its central attraction a parade of decorated floats and folding chairs entered by various nearby cities. However, it was the young ladies who graced the floats which proved the most popular attraction and

in 1921, the first of the Atlantic City beauty pageants was held.

Eight young ladies were entered in that contest and the winner was a 16-year-old blond representing Washington, D.C., Miss Margaret Gorman, who was chosen fairest of the eight and crowned "Miss America." The title has become a byword.

From 1921 through 1927 the beauty contest was held in Atlantic City, with contestants sponsored by newspapers in various cities. Prizes for the beauty queens ranged from huge trophies to motion picture contracts, and an American tradition was well underway.

Financial difficulties eliminated the annual pageant from the Atlantic City schedule of attractions from 1928 through 1933, and the 1933 pageant was a financial flop, too. But in 1935, the current unbroken series of beauty pageants began and attained growing success through the years to such a point that the Miss America pageant is now flattered by dozens of imitations across our Nation and throughout the world.

In the early forties, Miss America pageant secured as its assistant director Miss Lenora Slaughter of St. Petersburg, Fla. When she became its director shortly after, she embarked on bringing to fruition a pet dream—the awarding of scholarships as prizes for Miss America contestants.

This dynamic woman, who was herself denied a college education, succeeded in securing a $5,000 scholarship for the winner of the 1945 Miss America title. Bess Myerson, who competed as Miss New York City, became the first scholarship recipient.

The idea gained in popular acceptance and soon the Miss America Scholarship Foundation was created and is still growing. Miss Slaughter's ultimate goal was reached in 1952 when every contestant in the national finals at Atlantic City received a scholarship prize, ranging from $100 to the top award—to Miss America—of $10,000.

This year, on September 11, every contestant in the Atlantic City pageant will win at least a $300 scholarship, a dozen or more will receive scholarships of between $1,000 and $3,000, and Miss America will go home with a $10,000 scholarship prize. Furthermore, each of the 50 contestants in the national finals will come to Atlantic City on Labor Day with scholarships of at least $1,000 already won along with their State titles.

Today, scholarships are awarded as prizes in not only each of the 50 State pageants, but also in many of the 3,500 preliminary contests held throughout the length and breadth of the United States.

It is estimated that 70,000 young women have taken part in Miss America competition at some level this year, and some 700 of them will attend college this fall with Miss America scholarship prizes.

Also of interest is the fact that since 1945, 341 national finalists who competed in Atlantic City have received a total of $675,957 and have entered 212 different colleges and universities, in addition to those scholarship awards used for private instruction of a variety of types. A total of $6 million in scholarships has been presented at all levels of Miss America competition since 1945.

As the United States views with growing concern the overcrowding of our institutions of higher learning and the increasing costs of obtaining that learning, I feel we can be proud of this example of American ingenuity which has combined the appreciation of feminine beauty with practical necessity and devised the most durable of all beauty pageants in combination with the most worthwhile rewards for which an American youngster can wish.

Distinguished Service to Scouting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. MACKAY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. MACKAY. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to offer for the interest of my colleagues this proclamation honoring a historic movement and an outstanding constituent of mine—Mr. Hubert Lee. Mr. Lee was a member of the Lone Scouts of America, the group founded in 1915 by Mr. W. D. Boyce and which later merged with the Boy Scouts. Mr. Lee was the founder of the W. D. Boyce Award for distinguished service for scouting. Mayor Ivan Allen proclaimed August 15–21 as W. D. Boyce Week in Atlanta and mentioned Mr. Lee in this recognition of a fine and historic cause.

The proclamation follows:

PROCLAMATION

Whereas one evening in 1909 the late W. D. Boyce, of Chicago, became lost in a London fog and was led to his destination by an unknown scout who refused to accept pay for his services, saying, "I am a Boy Scout. Scouts do not accept tips for helping others"; and

Whereas as a result of this encounter, Mr. Boyce went to the founder of the British Boy Scouts, Sir Richard S. S. Baden-Powell, who gave Mr. Boyce a trunkload of boy scout pamphlets and literature; and

Whereas W. D. Boyce returned to the United States and incorporated the Boy Scouts of America (with others) in 1910; and

Whereas W. D. Boyce in 1915 founded the Lone Scouts of America, so that scouting could be enjoyed by boys in the country and remote places; and

Whereas the Lone Scouts of America were merged with the Boy Scouts of America in 1924 and are now a part of the Boy Scouts of America; and

Whereas members who wrote for and illustrated the old Lone Scout magazine up to 50 years ago, as well as other old-time Lone Scouts of America, are organized into the Elbeetian Legion of Old-Time Lone Scouts and meet annually in various sections of the Nation as well as Canada and other countries; and

Whereas the Elbeetian Legion of Old-Time Lone Scouts will hold their golden anniversary reunion in Chicago the week of August 15–16, 1965; and

Whereas a Georgian, Hubert F. Lee, is a 50-year member of the old Lone Scouts of America and founded the W. D. Boyce Award for Distinguished Service to Scouting; and

Whereas the W. D. Boyce Award is to be presented to two old-time editors, Charles J. Merlin, Hudson Heights, N.J., since 1918 editor of the Elbeetee magazine and founder of the Elbeetian Legion, and to Harwell E. West, a former editor of Old Lone Scout magazine, at the golden anniversary reunion, by Hubert F. Lee, a member of the Governor' staff: Now, therefore,

I, Ivan Allen, Jr., mayor of Atlanta, do hereby proclaim August 15–21, 1965 as W. D. Boyce Week in Atlanta and urge all citizens of this State to honor the memory of the man who started the Boy Scouts of America and the Lone Scouts of America.

IVAN ALLEN, Jr.,
Mayor.

A Great West Virginian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, the current issue of the George Washington University magazine contains a very interesting article concerning the Honorable William Lyne Wilson, a noble West Virginian who served as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee during the period while he was in the House of Representatives from 1883 to 1895. He also served as Postmaster General of the United States, during which time he introduced the rural free delivery system.

During his academic career, he served as president of West Virginia University and later as president of Washington and Lee University.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include the following profile of the Honorable William Lyne Wilson written by Dr. Elmer Louis Kayser, university historian and professor of European history:

WILLIAM LYNE WILSON—MEMBER OF CONGRESS, PASTOR, PROFESSOR, POSTMASTER GENERAL

(By Elmer Louis Kayser, university historian and professor of European history)

William Lyne Wilson, A.B. 1860, A.M. 1865, LL.B. 1867, LL.D. (honorary) 1883, was one of those gifted individuals who blended together fruitfully public service and the academic life.

Wilson was born on a farm near Smithfield, Jefferson County, (West) Virginia, May 3, 1843, and moved to Charles Town, following the death of his father. In 1858 he entered Columbian College, was initiated into Sigma Alpha Epsilon Fraternity and joined the Enosinian Society. He was graduated in 1860 and was immediately offered an assistantship in Latin. This he declined in order to begin his studies for the master of arts degree at the University of Virginia. He had been at Charlottesville but 6 months when Virginia seceded from the Union. Mere lad though he was, Wilson, as his letters show, had been well aware of the gathering storm. While he was at College Hill at the time, his mother was in Charles Town during John Brown's raid and trial. Living in the borderland, in the very midst of the new States agitations, he was confronted with a choice between the old Virginia and the new Virginia. The old Virginia was his choice. In the fall of 1861, the 18-year-old joined a Confederate quartermaster unit. Six months later on April 1, 1862, he enlisted in the 12th Virginia Cavalry "to serve for a

period of 3 years or the war." "Five feet eight inches tall, fair complexion, blue eyes, light hair, and by profession a student," he took his place, as he later said, "an humble private in those half-clad, half-fed, but uncomplaining ranks." A private he remained all through the war.

Immediately following Appomattox, Wilson was offered an assistant professorship in Latin in Columbian College. The master's degree for which he was working at the University of Virginia at the time he joined the Confederate forces was now conferred upon him by Columbian. In the fall of 1865 he entered upon his duties as a member of the faculty of the college. Tradition long has held that Professor Wilson began his teaching in his Confederate uniform, although his most recent biographer seems inclined to doubt it. (Festus P. Summers, editor "A Borderland Confederate." University of Pittsburgh Press, 1962, p. 105. Many of the biographical details in this article have been drawn from this very interesting compilation of Wilson's Civil War letters and other papers.)

The law school was beginning its century of unbroken activity, which we celebrate this year, just as Wilson started his teaching career. Entering the law school the young professor was able by study in the evenings and on Saturdays to combine teaching with study. He received his LL.B. in 1867. Any hope that he might have had of entering immediately upon the practice of law in his home town was blasted by the reconstruction law in West Virginia that excluded former Confederates from the bar. For the time being he continued teaching the classics and in 1868 he married Nannie Judson Huntington, the daughter of his former preceptor, then his colleague.

Adoniram Judson Huntington (1818–1903), Wilson's father-in-law, is remembered as the best loved teacher of his time in the college. He studied at Columbia (New York), Brown and Columbian from which he was graduated in 1843. During two brief periods he served as a pastor, but 51 years of his life were spent on the faculty of Columbian College as a teacher of the classics.

Wilson's teaching at the college came to an end in 1871 when his Confederate disability was removed and he began the practice of law at Charles Town. In rapid succession he became city attorney, trustee of the local academy and county superintendent of schools. At the same time he was gradually working his way into politics. In 1880 he was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention and in the campaign of that year he spoke throughout the State and was chosen as a presidential elector. Once again, education was to claim his attention but not for long. His academic background, his eloquence and his popularity led the board of trustees of West Virginia University to call him to the presidency of the institution. Two weeks after he entered upon his duties as president of West Virginia University, he was nominated Democratic candidate for Congress from the Second District of West Virginia.

With only 3 weeks left for campaigning before the election, he preached the principles of Jeffersonian democracy in every part of his large district and won a tight contest with a plurality of 10 votes. At the same time that Wilson was thus politically involved, his efforts to reorganize the curriculum and the educational structure of the university, brought him into acrimonious controversy, reopening old hatreds of the days of the war. He was, however, a man who could and did conciliate without compromising his principles.

Wilson represented his district in the Congress of the United States from March 4, 1883, to March 3, 1895. These 12 years in Congress brought him great distinction. He was ever ready to speak for North-South reconciliation.

On the question of the tariff which was then returning as a central theme of debate and legislation, Wilson became an acknowledged expert. As permanent chairman, he delivered the keynote address at the Democratic Convention in Chicago in 1892. He became chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House and introduced, and secured the passage through the House, of a tariff bill only to have the bill virtually amended to death in the Senate. Known as the Wilson-Gorman Act, it became law without the signature of President Cleveland. Defeated in the election of 1894, President Cleveland appointed Wilson Postmaster General. During his tenure he introduced the private penny postcard and rural free delivery.

A Cleveland Democrat, but not a Bryan Democrat, following the election of 1896 and the inauguration of McKinley, Wilson once again left active politics and accepted the presidency of Washington and Lee University. From time to time he still spoke out on public questions, but his best efforts were devoted to giving Washington and Lee a place of educational leadership in the new South.

He died in Lexington, Va., 3 years after becoming president on October 17, 1900. Few graduates of the university have had a career as varied, as useful, as distinguished as this scholar in politics, this statesman in academe.

The Decline of Personnel Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, several Members of Congress have expressed sincere and grave concern about the manner in which Otto Otepka and his associates were treated by the Department of State. It is almost impossible to amply depict in a short statement all of the important highlights of what happened, and the complex array of events are meaningful only when read in full detail.

While a complete account of these events would easily fill a good sized book, I have a chronology which in summary reveals at least from 1960 to the present time the fact that there was calculated design to purge Otepka and his supporters if not by specious, unfounded, and disgraceful accusations, then by frustration, economic sanctions, and the psychology of fear.

Beginning in 1960, organization changes, deliberate and accidental, contributed to the downgrading of personnel security. Since that year the Department of State has had four different Deputy Under Secretaries for Administration, three different full-time Administrators of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs—plus two full-time Acting Administrators owing to vacancies—three different full-time Directors of the Office of Security—plus one full-time Acting Director due to a vacancy. Each has had a forum in advancing and implementing his ideas of organizational realinements in security. In the final analysis the chief result was the loss of continuity and stability.

Those who have the opportunity to read the chronology I present here, may draw their own conclusions and prepare their own condensations from it as to what may be the most significant appropriate presentation. I welcome the opportunity, however, to offer it here for those who seek to help this dedicated group of career employees who have been so treated by their Government.

The chronology follows:

THE DECLINE OF PERSONNEL SECURITY—DEPARTMENT OF STATE 1959–65

In July 1953 the State Department established a personnel security program that embraced the qualities of loyalty, security, efficiency, economy and integrity. Despite strong resistance from entrenched cliques and factions, screening procedures were thorough and reasonably employed though not completely successful in weeding out undesirable employees. Organizational changes and purges of competent security officers began in 1960 resulting in congressional investigation and criticism. Continuity and stability were lost by frequent shifts in top managerial jobs. The deterioration of sound security practices may be noted in the following events:

JUNE 1959

William O. Boswell, a career Foreign Service officer, was appointed as Director of the State Department's Office of Security. The Deputy Director was Otto F. Otepka, a career civil service employee (Otepka was designated to that post in April 1957, having come to the Department in June 1953 under Scott McLeod).

Boswell vowed to his associates he would eradicate the McLeod image in the Office of Security. He promised that his plans for reorganization would be carried out after he "got his feet wet."

OCTOBER 1960

Boswell requested Otepka voluntarily to relinquish his post of Deputy Director in order to personally supervise, full time for 2 years, a Boswell-conceived project involving the review and reconsideration of security records on all State Department personnel at the officer level. The need for the project had the full concurrence of John W. Hanes, Jr., then Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs (SCA).

Boswell told Otepka he would not abolish the post of Deputy Director; that Elmer Hipsley, Chief, Division of Physical Security, would be designated as Otepka's successor. Otepka then questioned Hipsley who insisted he had no designs on Otepka's job. Hipsley ascertained it was not Hanes' intention to remove and replace Otepka as Deputy Director but only to have him organize and direct a vitally important mission. Otepka himself endorsed the special project but demanded he should retain his Deputy Director job. Boswell agreed.

NOVEMBER 1960–FEBRUARY 1961

Otepka formally detailed to project and continued as Deputy Director. He drew up plans to implement the project. He obtained the temporary detail of security evaluators Harry M. Hite and Billy N. Hughes to conduct preliminary studies.

Hanes resigned soon after the national election of November. Harris Huston temporarily was designated as Hanes' successor.

Roger Jones appointed as Deputy Under Secretary for Administration (January 1961).

MAY 1961

Otepka completed and submitted detailed background studies and plans to carry out the project. His plans were approved by Boswell and Roger Jones.

JULY 1961

Otepka was authorized to staff the special project. In addition to Hite and Hughes, he obtained as evaluators, Raymond Loughton from the Department of Defense, and John R. Norpel, Jr., and Francis V. Gardner

both former FBI agents. Otepka and his staff were physically transferred from the Office of the Director on Boswell's orders.

Salvatore Bontempo was appointed as Administrator, SCA.

AUGUST 1961

Otepka completed his evaluation of the William Wieland case. He submitted an adverse recommendation on suitability directly to Jones. Otepka reserved judgment on security factors pending the decision on suitability factors. Boswell refused to review Otepka's evaluation. He ordered Otepka to bypass Bontempo.

OCTOBER 1961

A member of the Evaluations Division previously chosen by Boswell, informed Boswell that the Evaluations Division which he said had been dominated over the past several years by old guard, ultraconservatives, had gradually gotten rid of such persons and there was now a new vanguard of a more progressive approach—persons of a liberal bent.

NOVEMBER–DECEMBER 1961

Boswell informed Otepka that his position of Deputy Director and 24 other security jobs were to be abolished on Boswell's recommendation through a reduction in force.

Department officials, including Jones, pacified public and congressional reaction by explaining Otepka's services would be utilized in a senior position where he would continue to supervise the special project.

Reduction in force retention register arranged by Department so that Otepka bumped Hipsley from his job as Chief, Division of Physical Security. Hipsley, by formal paper transfer, would be reduced to a lower grade position. Hipsley and Otepka strongly protested this arrangement.

Otepka and Hipsley testified before Senate Internal Security Subcommittee regarding the planned personnel reductions and security officer shifts.

JANUARY 1962

Reduction in force implemented. Otepka was reassigned as chief, division of evaluations. His special project staff was transferred with him. Hipsley's authority reduced. He was reassigned as chief, division of domestic operations, one of three new divisions created from the organization he formerly headed.

After 5 months' consideration by Jones, Otepka finally was notified in writing that Wieland had been cleared on loyalty, security and suitability. Case became a cause celebre when President Kennedy berated a newspaper correspondent for calling Wieland a security risk.

Bontempo resigned after a controversial 6 months in his job.

FEBRUARY 1962

Otepka orally informed Boswell that after reviewing accomplishments of evaluation division over past year (during Otekpa's detail to special project) he had discovered numerous cases where security clearances for high ranking appointees had been antedated in contravention of security regulations. Boswell rebuffed him.

MARCH 1962

Jones, Boswell, and Hipsley testified before Internal Security Subcommittee.

APRIL 1962

Boswell began dismemberment of evaluations division (April 5) by transferring various evaluative functions to his execeutive office.

Otepka testified (April 12) before the Senate subcommittee in contradiction to testimony of Boswell and Jones and in support of Hipsley. Otepka pinpointed high level irregularities in handling Wieland case and described the inordinate number of waivers of investigations granted in cases of applicants for highly sensitive positions. He disclosed that many security clearances had been antedated with Boswell's and Jones' apparent knowledge.

John F. Reilly succeeded Boswell (April 16).

MAY 1962

Reilly informed Otepka he had been chosen to attend the National War College (for 10 months beginning August 1962), normally a high honor and desirable placement for future progress. Otepka stated willingness to attend but delayed formal acceptance pending his own inquiry into the late selection.

In response to the Internal Security Subcommittees' written inquiries, Jones admitted 152 waivers of investigation had been granted and 44 security clearances had been backdated, all involving high-ranking officers.

JUNE 1962

Jones reappeared before Senate subcommittee (June 7). He explained that Otepka had been selected for the War College because he was a "tired and worried man who needed a break." He said he was not displeased with the testimony of Otepka on April 12 but he "did not think it was appropriate."

Otepka declined his War College selection (June 17) after ascertaining there was no intention to return him to security work.

JULY 1962

David Belisle appointed as special assistant to Reilly and given powers of a Deputy Director, including supervision over Otepka's evaluations division.

William Orrick, a Justice Department official, replaced Roger Jones who resigned.

James Devine, a Justice Department official, reported for duty and swearing in as a replacement for Bontempo. By a last minute shuffle, Devine was sent to Geneva, Switzerland, as a U.S. representative to United Nations specialized agencies.

AUGUST–OCTOBER 1962

Reilly and Belisle instituted various organizational changes affecting evaluative functions; additional functions transferred from Otepka's jurisdiction. Otepka and qualified and conscientious members of his staff were hindered and harassed. They were frequently criticized for alleged mistakes. Staff promotions were held up.

Elmer Hipsley assigned (August) to Geneva, Switzerland on Reilly's request after constant frustrations with Reilly.

Office of Security removed (September) from SCA complex and placed directly under Deputy Under Secretary for Administration.

Abba Schwartz appointed as Administrator, SCA (September 14).

NOVEMBER 1962

Senate Internal Security Subcommittee issued a report covering its 1961 and 1962 hearings on State Department security. Otepka was fully supported. Other officials were criticized for lax security practices. The report detailed numerous deficiencies and recommended their correction.

DECEMBER 1962

Civil Service Commission submitted additional information on the Wieland case to Department for investigation and evaluation. Reilly sought to have Otepka disqualify himself from the evaluation. Otepka insisted it was his responsibility to review any security case as Chief of the Division. Reilly agreed to let Hite evaluate it, but he first ordered complete file sent to Robert McCarthy, not a qualified evaluator, in another Division, to tell Reilly what was in it. Otepka said he could do that himself since he was intimately knowledgeable of the case. Reilly demurred.

By the end of the year the special project started in July 1961 which Jones said would continue under Otepka had been virtually abandoned due to backlogs of other work created by the Reilly-Belisle abortive reorganizations.

FEBRUARY 1963

Reilly authorized transfer of intelligence reporting function from the Office of Security. The transfer had been recommended by J. Clayton Miller while Miller was engaged on a management study of paper flow. Miller at the time shared office space and a safe with Wieland. They had complemented each other's studies.

Otepka recalled (February 21) to testify before Internal Security Subcommittee. He described the abortive reorganizations and the failures by his superiors to give him efficiency reports for rating periods ending in 1961 and 1962.

MARCH 1963

Otepka testified before the Subcommittee on March 6, 11, and 19. He furnished information about attempts by Harlan Cleveland, condoned by Reilly and Belisle, to appoint without proper security clearance and investigation, individuals whom Cleveland wanted on a committee to study and recommend to him the elimination of preappointment investigations of Americans employed in the United Nations and other international agencies.

On Reilly's instructions, a tap was placed on Otepka's telephone by security technician Elmer Hill. Otepka's safe was surreptitiously opened by a professional "safecracker" and its contents examined and copied. A young female secretary, pursuant to prearranged plans, began to carry away Otepka's trash bag at periodical intervals for delivery to Reilly's office where its torn contents were pieced together and examined for clues that Otepka might be furnishing information privately to the subcommittee.

APRIL 1963

William J. Crockett replaced Orrick who resigned.

Reilly testified before Internal Security Subcommittee (April 25 and 30). His statements were in material conflict with Otepka's. After testifying on April 25, Reilly personally asked Otepka to get him "off the hook" with Senator Dodd who had criticized him for not allowing Otepka to re-evaluate the Wieland case.

Otepka complained to members of Reilly's staff that there was interference on his telephone.

Otepka assigned Norpel to make a confidential survey for him on security processing operations in evaluations division. On learning this, Reilly derided Norpel, who defended Otepka.

MAY 1963

Hite finally was successful in obtaining Wieland file from McCarthy. File included no entry to show what McCarthy had done with it.

Otepka continued to detect interference on his telephone. Otepka was informed by knowledgeable witness that there was a concealed listening device in his office as well as the telephone tap, and that Frederick Traband, Otepka's immediate assistant, was surveilling Otepka in his office. Otepka confronted Traband, who vehemently denied it.

Reilly testified before Internal Security Subcommittee (May 21, 22, and 23). Subcommittee counsel J. G. Sourwine told Otepka either he or Reilly was lying and suggested that Otepka prepare written statement, offering documentary proof to substantiate his testimony. Otepka dictated 39-page statement in his office. Typewriter ribbons containing partial impressions of the typed statement were retrieved by Reilly from Otepka's trash bag and transcribed.

JUNE 1963

Internal Security Subcommittee questioned (June 19) Traband, Joseph Rosetti, and Terence Shea, three of Reilly's cohorts who were monitoring and inspecting Otepka's trash bags. Each admitted his role.

Rosetti denied knowledge of any tap on Otepka's phone. He admitted that Reilly surreptitiously had broken into Otepka's safe.

Otepka discovered (June 25) a member of his staff, Joseph Sabin, was secretly working on a case not assigned to him by Otepka. A portion of the file was taken by Otepka to his desk. Sabin left his office, and 5 minutes later Reilly burst into Otepka's office and in a livid rage seized the file and shook a pointing finger in Otepka's face. In the next 15 minutes Reilly removed a copying machine from Otepka's suite of offices.

On June 27, Reilly, Belisle, and six security officers entered Otepka's office and in the presence of his subordinates changed the locks on his safes and impounded all of his files. Otepka was banished from his office to a small cubbyhole and instructed to "write a handbook on security operations."

Simultaneously, Reilly ordered evaluators Norpel and Hughes to routine investigative duties pounding the bricks. Otepka's secretary, Mrs. Eunice Powers, was banished to another office and assigned to transcribing machine dictation.

JULY 1963

Hughes sent to New Orleans on detail.

Belisle ordered Otepka not to enter the Evaluations Division. Employees instructed not to furnish any information to Otepka.

Elmer Hill testified (July 9) before Internal Security Subcommittee. He denied any knowledge of tap on Otepka's telephone.

Belisle appeared July 29. He also denied any knowledge of tap.

Department of Justice rule on basis of Department's request for an opinion that no grounds existed to prosecute Wieland for alleged false testimony before Internal Security Subcommittee. Belisle immediately had McCarthy prepare a statement (July 19) that Wieland had been fully recleared and instructed Loughton to issue a formal clearance. This abortive action was rescinded when Crockett learned of it. Belisle then tore up the record copy of the memorandum drafted for his signature in the presence of Hite and Loughton.

AUGUST 1963

Reilly appeared before subcommittee (Aug. 6). Denied any knowledge of tap.

Otepka appeared August 12. Stated he had information his telephone had been tapped. Testified with aid of his 39-page statement and appended documents which were formally admitted into the committee record.

Crockett issued instructions August 13 and 14 forbidding further testimony by Department employees without his express permission.

Otepka questioned by FBI agents on August 14, 15, and 16 regarding furnishing information to an unauthorized person (i.e. chief counsel of a U.S. Senate committee). Otepka was satisfied there was no case against him at Department of Justice.

Unaware of Crockett's instructions Otepka testified before subcommittee again on August 16 and supplemented his testimony thus further contradicting his security bosses.

SEPTEMBER 1963

Hite completed the new evaluation of the Wieland case. He recommended that Wieland be dismissed as a security risk.

The Department filed formal charges against Otepka seeking his dismissal for conduct unbecoming an officer in furnishing information to the Subcommittee and for allegedly mutilating certain documents, portions of which allegedly were found in his trash bag.

Otepka was confidentially and reliably warned by Stanley Holden that the cubbyhole to which Otepka had been banished was under telephone and other surveillance. Holden also informed him that he had found a tap on his own phone which he traced to Elmer Hill's office.

Rosetti and McCarthy visited Holden at his home during working hours where Holden was recuperating from mysterious injuries to his face and tongue. Holden was threatened with reprisals if he did not tell Rosetti and Reilly whether he had informed Otepka through another source that Otepka's phone had been bugged.

OCTOBER 1963

Senator DODD, accompanied by Sourwine, on October 4 delivered a strongly worded 10-page memorandum to Rusk highly critical of State Department security practices.

Otepka appealed the charges against him. He admitted furnishing information to the subcommittee explaining he was obligated morally and legally to tell the truth and rebut the falsehoods of Reilly and others. He denied mutilating any documents and denied he knew who did.

Rusk appeared before the subcommittee and detailed the charges against Otepka. He was strongly challenged for his stand on Otepka by nearly all of the Senators present who backed Otepka. Rusk lifted the ban against further testimony by his subordinates.

NOVEMBER 1963

The State Department rejected Otepka's appeal and ordered his dismissal but deferred the date of his separation if he appealed initially to the Department rather than to the Civil Service Commission.

Senator DODD denounced the order of dismissal on the Senate floor (November 6) and accused State officials of perjury in denying the telephone tap.

Reilly, Belisle, and Hill quickly submitted explanatory letters to the subcommittee on Rusk's instructions, partially recanting their previous testimonies. They now admitted a tap was "attempted" but it was unsuccessful. The subcommittee released their recanting statements and their prior testimony to show their contradictions. Enraged, DODD said the three officers should be charged, not Otepka.

Belisle was recalled to testify on November 14. He stuck to the story in his recanting letter that he was out of town when the tap was placed and therefore had no knowledge.

Reilly reappeared on November 15. He maintained that the tap had been attempted but did not succeed.

On November 18, Hill blew the whistle on Reilly and Belisle. He not only said the tap was successful but he delivered two reels of Otepka's taped conversations to an unidentified person at Reilly's instructions. He said Reilly knew the contents of at least one of the conversations. Reilly and Hill resigned on that day. Belisle, incredibly, was retained and assigned to review Hite's evaluation of Wieland and prepare his findings for Crockett.

Otepka appealed to the Department asking that the charges be dismissed because he had acted properly and the whole case was vitiated and tainted by Reilly and Belisle's perjury. Otepka asked for a hearing.

Raymond Laugel, a career Foreign Service officer, became the acting head of the Office of Security.

DECEMBER 1963

Crockett appointed George W. French, a retired Army colonel, and Wilson Flake, a retired Ambassador, to conduct an investigation into the disclosure of wiretapping and the deficiencies in security practices as set forth in the 10-page Dodd memorandum.

Flake and French twice attempted to question Otepka in detail about wiretapping and lax security practices. On advice of his attorney Otepka demurred saying he would stand on his testimony before Congress which he felt he should not now discuss because the State Department had made him an adversary and he preferred to air out the case in the forthcoming administrative hearing that he had requested.

JANUARY 1964

The Department gave Otepka a list of six employees from which it requested that Otepka select one as a hearing officer. Otekpa objected to the entire roster on the grounds that these persons were all employees subject to Rusk's commands and jurisdiction. Otepka asked for an independent hearing officer unconnected with the Department.

Flake and French interviewed evaluators Norpel, Hite, and Edwin A. Burkhardt. They entirely supported Otepka and criticized practices of the Office of Security that were initiated and implemented by Reilly and Belisle.

Otekpa sent two memorandums to Laugel listing all the impediments imposed on him since June 1963 by Reilly and Belisle asking that they be lifted (no answer ever received).

Norpel testified before Internal Security Subcommittee in support of Otepka.

Norpel was returned to the evaluations division after a protest to the legal office about the nature of his duties. He had in the meantime been compelled to discharge firearms over his objection. This aggravated a hearing loss about which he had informed the Department at the time of his appointment.

Hughes permanently transferred to Memphis, Tenn.

FEBRUARY 1964

Crockett directed Otepka to review and segregate all the files which had been impounded in Otepka's office by Reilly in June 1963.

Reilly officially went off State Department payroll after having the date of his resignation extended due to his hospitalization.

MARCH 1964

G. Marvin Gentile succeeded Reilly as the head of the Office of Security (March 2).

Otepka commenced (March 2) the review of the files as ordered by Crockett. The files were moved for this purpose to an office adjacent to Otepka's cubbyhole. On advice of his attorney, Otepka began to prepare a written inventory of each document reviewed. Upon learning this Gentile promptly terminated this assignment and removed the files to an unknown location.

Hite testified before the Internal Security Subcommittee (March 3) in support of Otepka.

Loughton, Norpel, Hite, and Gardner, all originally selected by Otepka for the special project ordered by Boswell, together with Howard Shea (investigations division) and Edwin Burkhardt (evaluations division) were removed from their security officer designations and transferred (March 16) to the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs as administrative officers for the ostensible purpose of reviewing "cases" of certain foreign nationals. All received instructions not to discuss their assignment due to its sensitive nature.

APRIL 1964

Norpel, Hite, Burkhardt, and Howard Shea appealed to the Civil Service Commission their removal from security officer classifications.

The four appellants plus Gardner and Loughton who did not appeal, unanimously voiced their complaints officially to their superiors about the "make work" nature of their assignment, complaining that they were idle for inordinate periods of time and that the assignment was far beneath their experiences and capabilities.

Crockett instructed Otepka (April 30) to hold in abeyance the assignment given him by Reilly in June 1963 (preparing a handbook) and to undertake instead the cataloging and indexing of the CONGRESSIONAL REC-

ORD and other public documents containing data on security problems.

MAY 1964

Crockett restored Otepka's secretary (Mrs. Powers) to him. He avoided Otepka's other requests for removal of the various impediments imposed on him by saying he was not aware of them and would look into them (no followup ever received by Otepka).

JUNE 1964

Traband, formerly Burkhardt's supervisor, submitted a derogatory report on him saying that Burkhardt's "emotional displays of temper and cutting remarks to coworkers when obviously upset adversely affected the serenity of the office and the ability of his coworkers to concentrate." Traband's comments were an implied and unfair reference to the fact that Burkhardt had defended Otepka firmly to his associates.

After continuing frustrations stemming from the undesired idleness and the demeaning nature of their assignment to which they had been ordered on March 16, Loughton and Gardner at their persistent request were transferred elsewhere—Gardner to a management analyst and Loughton to training for consular work. Norpel was designated as officer in charge over Hite, Burkhardt, and Shea.

JULY 1964

Department finally informed Otepka of its decision on Otepka's request for an independent hearing officer. The request was rejected and Otepka was required to choose one of the six persons offered by the Department.

The Civil Service Commission ordered the Department to restore Hite's, Norpel's, Shea's, and Burkhardt's security officer classifications but rejected their other claims that the reassignment was a reduction in rank.

AUGUST 1964–AUGUST 1965

Otepka's isolation and impediments remained unchanged. He testified before the Internal Security Subcommittee in August. He was followed by Crockett and other Department officials, including security officers who were involved in the surveillance of Otepka and others who supported him. It became imperative therefore, from time to time, to postpone by mutual agreement with the Department, Otepka's hearing in the Department which was originally scheduled for November 1964 until Otepka could obtain the published hearings before the subcommittee.

During this period Hite, Norpel, Shea, and Burkhardt continued to perform insignificant tasks akin to clerical work. Their justifiable complaints to their superiors were unavailing.

In April Crockett ordered Norpel to El Paso, Tex., for permanent duty as an investigator which was not only demeaning but based on past experience with misrepresentations of his Department superiors would in his estimation again expose him to gunfire that would be injurious to his health. At the same time Shea was ordered to Denver, Colo., an assignment in the terms of his experience also demeaning to him. When the Department failed to give them adequate reasons for their removal from their established residences in Washington, D.C., they did not report to the respective posts and are delaying their decisions until such actions are rescinded or sufficient reasons are given.

As a consequence, the Department has removed Norpel and Shea from the payroll. Both have appealed to the Civil Service Commission on several grounds, including their primary claims that the actions were in reprisal for their defense of Otepka.

Hite and Burkhardt continue in their assignment in the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs isolated from contact with their superiors and coworkers.

Otepka was deprived in June 1965 of a normal salary increase due to a decision made by French, concurred in by Crockett, that Otepka's work in carding the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is "not of an acceptable level of competence." Otepka has consistently informed Crockett and French that owing to the fact that he was made an adversary by the Department he must devote as much of his time as possible to preparing his defense against the charges. This has become a monumental task for Otepka because of the notoriety he has obtained and the interest and support he has received from so many Members of Congress.

Otepka's hearing date is now set for October 11, 1965. It is hoped by then all of the pertinent testimony of important Department witnesses before the Internal Security Subcommittee shall be published.

Colorado Poll Results

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, at the beginning of this session of the Congress, I gave high priority to the preparation and distribution of a questionnaire to the people of the Second District of Colorado, whom I have the honor to represent.

The questions were carefully constructed to permit the widest possible range of opinions in order to inform me of the thinking of the citizens of the second district.

Mr. Speaker, the Second District of Colorado consists of the four metropolitan counties surrounding Denver—Adams, Arapahoe, Boulder, and Jefferson—plus the two mountain counties of Gilpin and Clear Creek. We have one of the highest average educational and economic levels of any congressional district in the country. The proof of these statistical facts was shown by the response I received. Almost 17,000 individuals, couples, and even whole families took the time and the effort to discuss and answer the questionnaire, providing their own stamp and envelope, and returning it to my office.

It is amazing to note that we are still receiving a trickle of answers daily, even though the huge task of tabulation has been completed.

As the replies started returning to my office, I faced the choice of immediately sending them out for tabulations or of first studying and analyzing them myself. I chose the latter course—reading and noting each completed questionnaire. A great number not only checked the answers but also added personal comments to further clarify their views.

As a result, I feel that I am much better acquainted with the people I represent. Their insights have given me guidance and clarification as I pondered the complex and controversial issues before this Congress.

Frankly, I am proud of the men and women I represent. They are well read, and well informed.

I now have the final tabulations available. I know the results will be of interest to the Congress.

In reporting the tabulations, I wish to stress that during the last campaign and continuing through this Congress, I have never attempted to conceal my own opinion on any issue, or to cease being outspoken on my philosophy of government.

Equally important, I have maintained to the best of my ability an open and inquiring mind, willing to admit that I could be wrong and soliciting new answers to troubling questions.

Mr. Speaker, it is the primary duty of a Congressman to represent, as best he knows how, all the people of his district. He alone must make the final decision on issues facing the Congress based on what is best for his district and for the country. No poll can tell him how to vote. No poll should tell him how to vote. However, a poll honestly and intelligently taken of the people in his district—as mine was, thanks to the long, hard work of a veritable army of volunteers plus my own staff—can strongly indicate how the people view and interpret what is happening in the country in terms of their own best judgment and interest.

If the results of a questionnaire indicate that the Congressman and the people he represents are thinking differently about various issues, then one of two things has happened; either the Congressman is badly out of step with his district, or else the people of his district have not been given sufficient information and opportunity to understand the issues.

Happily, Mr. Speaker, most of the people of the Second District of Colorado appear to be in accord with my own voting record thus far in Congress and with a great majority of the overall policies of this administration, based upon their answers to my questionnaire. The results show that the people I represent desire a progressive, but prudent and cost-conscious Federal Government, as I do.

The quality of the responses cannot be conveyed with mere numbers or percentages, so I am taking this opportunity to paint a substantive picture with this verbal report.

On both foreign and domestic issues, the majority of the people who answered are in favor of the administration's present course. They believe that we should hold to our present policy in Vietnam, that we must maintain and strengthen the United Nations and that we must continue our present Cuban policy of isolating Castro economically and diplomatically. They believe that the foreign aid program must be constanly reexamined and kept in step with the changing international scene.

On problems at home, I am particu- impressed by their support of President Johnson's policies. More than three-fourths believe in some form of Government health care, about two-thirds believe strongly in some form of Federal assistance to education and more than half are firmly behind the President's outlines for his long-range goals.

On the local Colorado scene, Mr. Speaker, my constituents appear to view high property taxes and the industrial growth rate as the two most pressing problems. More than one out of fourth indicated property taxes as the greatest

problem, and nearly 1 out of 5 marked the poor industrial growth rate as most serious. Unemployment appeared as the greatest problem to only 5 percent of those answering, and inadequate community services and facilities was the concern of less than 5 percent.

I especially want to call attention to the fact that only one-third favor the so-called Dirksen amendment, 54 percent oppose it and the rest indicated no choice.

On the question of the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law, a small majority—52 percent—of my answering constituents favored its retention, as opposed to its repeal, which I myself favored.

An interesting split of opinion developed from the question relating to the tax reduction program before Congress. Nearly one-third thought it more important to reduce income taxes, an almost equal number favored lowering excise taxes and the remainder thought it better to defer any more tax reductions. The only tax cut measure before this Congress was the major excise tax cut of over $4.7 billion which I voted for.

The response on the agricultural program illuminates the perplexity of so many of us attempting to grapple with this problem. Well over one-fourth left this section blank, while about one-fifth favored abolition of price supports and one-third expressed their desire to gradually reduce supports. The remainder of answers related to specific measures in this complicated area.

The most gratifying response of all came in answer to the question "Do you favor having your Congressman poll you on your views?" Ninety-nine percent said yes.

I am grateful to those who participated in this survey. The results and many extended remarks of those who answered have been such a helpful guide and a useful indicator of the opinion of the people I represent that I am planning to use this immensely valuable method of polling my constituents again during the next session of Congress.

Vietnam Not Only Crisis Spot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, though in recent months attention has been focused on the Vietnam situation, it is important that we remain constantly aware of the other serious problem areas in the world caused by Communist aggression and deceit.

An editorial in the Los Angeles Times of August 23, 1965, contains a timely reminder of the existence of these trouble areas and the need to maintain our capacity to deal with them.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the editorial for inclusion in the RECORD:

[From the Los Angeles Times, Aug. 23, 1965]

VIETNAM NOT ONLY CRISIS SPOT

The Communists have chosen Vietnam as the proving ground for their theories on so-called "wars of liberation"—by which they mean revolution aided and abetted by Peiping and/or Moscow.

It is essential to the Western position all over the world, then, to see to it that this semihidden kind of aggression does not pay.

However, it would be a great mistake to forget that Vietnam is simply the point on the Communist spear. The threat is global and long-range, as well as local and immediate.

Important as the war in Vietnam is, the United States cannot afford to neglect the other potential trouble spots around the world.

West Berlin is quiet at the moment, but the Soviets have periodically tested our determination to defend it, and presumably will again. We cannot allow a preoccupation with Vietnam to erode the credibility of our commitments in Europe.

The Chinese Reds are trying to stir trouble in Thailand, whose security is guaranteed by the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, in which we play a leading role.

Closer to home, it is far from certain that our intervention has permanently removed the peril of Castroite subversion in the Dominican Republic. And, Communist-led national liberation fronts are active and dangerous in Colombia and Venezuela.

We must be certain that we maintain the capacity, military and otherwise, to deal with crises in areas like these where we have treaty obligations, or where our national interest is directly involved.

The Johnson administration should guard against the temptation to pay for the war in Vietnam by reducing our forces elsewhere, or by putting off the development of new or improved weapons which are need to keep our edge over the Soviets.

This does not mean, however, that the United States can or should be the cop-on-the-block for every world trouble spot.

Threats to peace exist in the Indonesia-Malaysia confrontation, in Kashmir and Yemen, and potentially in the Congo.

Our influence, and in some cases our economic aid, can be helpful in keeping the powder kegs from exploding. And, we can help damp the fires when they start.

In these areas and many others, however, it is not primarily our security or our interests which are threatened, but those of our allies.

The nations of Western Europe are strong enough now to carry part of the load, and we should let them do so.

Where America's neoisolationists go wrong is not in recognizing the limits of our power, but in using this as an excluse to urge retreat from our real responsibilities.

Eulogy to Clarence J. Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, when word of the death of our colleague, CLARENCE J. BROWN, of Ohio, reached Capitol Hill, the flags of our Government buildings here were lowered to half staff. When his body was placed in its final resting place, the flags were once again raised to full staff. This merely symbolizes a pause in the works of Congressman BROWN. Although the voice of our colleague will not again be heard in these halls, the seeds of sound government which he sowed during his career in Congress will produce and reproduce to the everlasting benefit of our Nation.

Representative BROWN played a vital part in the enactment of much major legislation that has moved our country forward. He was a man of firm convictions and yet a man willing to listen to those who differed with him. Although sometimes there were those in this House who disagreed with his political philosophy, they listened to his side of every proposal and admired him for his courage.

He contributed immensely to the success of the first and second Hoover Commissions on which he served. He was an active participant on the committees to which he was assigned. He was not just a legislator—he was a great American who loved his Nation dearly. Personally I shall miss his counsel and his fellowship.

I extend my deepest sympathy to his family.

President's Position on Outer Space

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GALE SCHISLER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. SCHISLER. Mr. Speaker, as Majority Leader and Chairman of the Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee, as Vice President, and as the Nation's Chief Executive, President Johnson has advocated the devotion of our resources to the peaceful exploration of space.

Just this Sunday in his press conference statement at his Texas ranch, the President said of Gemini V fight:

This flight of Gemini V was a journey of peace by men of peace.

Although the President's go-ahead signal on the Air Force Manned Orbiting Laboratory is an extension of military technology into space for the first time, this project should be viewed in the context of our oft-stated determination to develop space for the good of mankind.

The MOL is a logical next step which builds on the success of the Gemini flights. And, as this August 6 editorial in the Chicago Daily News concludes, there is no reason to think that it is anything more. As the President also said in the Sunday press conference:

No national sovereignty rules in outer space. Those who venture there go as envoys of the entire human race.

The timeliness of this editorial is apparent and I insert it in the RECORD at this time:

[From the Chicago Daily News, Aug. 26, 1965]

THOSE SPIES IN THE SKY

The Russians are both late and naive in making the charge that Gemini 5 is a spy mission. Late, because cameras in American and Russian spy satellites have been snapping pictures of the earth's surface for a

long time. Naive, because if there ever was a mission in which everything was open and aboveboard, it is the flight of astronauts Gordon Cooper and Charles Conrad. If they are spies, the word has lost all meaning.

Any venture into space may, of course, produce knowledge useful for military as well as civilian purposes. It was the Russians' concentration on military rocketry that gave them an early lead in space.

It is quite possible that some of the experiments undertaken by the astronauts in their 8-day Gemini 5 mission will be helpful to military planners, just as the Russian cosmonaut flights doubtless helped the Soviet planners. But the primary goal is to learn about space, not to spy on the earth beneath.

President Johnson neatly disposed of the Russian complaint by inviting Soviet scientists to witness the next Gemini launching. Would the Russians be willing to let American scientists watch their next cosmonaut flight?

In quite a different category was the President's go-ahead for a manned orbiting laboratory (MOL). This $1.5 billion project is admittedly military, operating directly under the Defense Department. The job of the MOL, in which crewmen will work in orbit for as long as a month at a time, will be to develop and test equipment related to the defense of America.

Much as we regret this overt intrusion of military technology into space, it is necessary, indeed inevitable, following as it does the development of missiles and unmanned satellites which can observe the earth for long periods of time.

President Johnson pledged again that the United States would not put weapons of mass destruction into orbit. The MOL will be one means of insuring that no other nation does it, either.

Ambassador Goldberg's Stand in the U.N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, I have followed with closest scrutiny the policy statements which have been enunciated by our new Ambassador to the United Nations, the Honorable Arthur J. Goldberg.

My practice of law over the past 35 years has sharpened my cognizance of the bluntly precise aspects as well as of the legal subtleties of the critical issue he had to face immediately upon assuming office. My own knowledge of the facts, based upon my participation in many Foreign Affairs Committee sessions, together with our discussions with Ambassador Goldberg, has convinced me that he deserves our commendation and support for the statesmanship and legal skill he has displayed in his first crucial assignment.

We are all aware that the United Nations has been in serious financial trouble because the Soviet bloc, plus France and some of the Arab countries have refused to pay their share of U.N. peacekeeping operations. What all of us were not aware of was that in spite of clear provisions of the U.N. Charter, an advisory opinion of the World Court, and the earlier acceptance of that World Court ruling by the General Assembly, it had become evident that a majority of the United Nations would refuse to apply the loss-of-vote sanction of article 19 of the charter to those members who persisted in refusing to pay.

I have seen the charge that in stating the U.S. position in the light of these circumstances, Ambassador Goldberg has been guilty of abject surrender. This is just not so. I have read the carefully worded statement which Ambassador Goldberg regretfully made to the U.N. Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations on August 16. In my considered judgment, it represents a judicious, mature and pragmatic facing of the facts of life.

Before discussing Ambassador Goldberg's statement in detail, it is pertinent to examine the basic premises. Article 17 of the charter gives to the General Assembly budget authority and specifies that "the expenses of the organization shall be borne by the members as apportioned by the General Assembly."

To enforce payment of such apportioned expenses, article 19 specifies that:

> A member of the United Nations which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the organization shall have no vote in the General Assembly if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding 2 full years. The General Assembly may, nevertheless, permit such a member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the member.

Early U.N. peacekeeping missions were authorized by the Security Council. As a result of the peacekeeping operations in Korea, the General Assembly, in 1950, passed the Uniting for Peace resolution to circumvent the problem of the Soviet veto in the Security Council. A Soviet veto had been avoided only because the Soviet delegate had seen fit to absent himself from the meetings of the Council. The Uniting for Peace resolution provides that whenever Security Council action on a threat to the peace is thwarted by a veto, the General Assembly can be called to act by the vote of and seven members of the Security Council or a majority of the U.N. membership.

The significance of this resolution in strengthening the General Assembly's responsibility on issues of peace and security became evident at the time of the Suez crisis. The Security Council was deadlocked by British and French vetoes. The General Assembly met in emergency session and took steps which led to the creation of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East.

The financial problems of the United Nations began with these peacekeeping operations in the Middle East in 1956 and with those in the Congo in 1960—which had been initiated by the Security Council without objection by the Soviet. The Soviet bloc refused to pay assessments for these operations, in addition to their regular budget amounts. France refused for the Congo, and certain of the Arab States refused for the Middle East peacekeeping operations. Their refusal was not based on inability to pay, but on the ground that the assessments were illegal and therefore not binding.

At the request of the General Assembly, the International Court of Justice examined the question and in July 1962 by a vote of 9 to 5, held that the expenditures authorized in the General Assembly resolutions on the Congo and the Middle East operations were expenses of the organization within the meaning of article 17 of the United Nations Charter. In this opinion, the majority also rejected an argument that had been made that all peace and security operations must be financed through agreements pursuant to provisions of article 43 of the UN Charter. This is the article, never effectuated because of Soviet intransigeance, which provides for member countries, subject to their constitutional processes, to make armed forces available to the Security Council for peacekeeping purposes.

The advisory opinion of the World Court was accepted by the General Assembly in December 1962, by a vote of 76 to 17, with 8 abstentions. In spite of the Court decision, France, the Soviet bloc, and a few others continued their refusal to pay their peacekeeping assessments.

Although the World Court decision had been accepted 3 years ago by a very substantial majority in the General Assembly, it became evident that many were extremely reluctant to impose the loss-of-vote penalty of article 19 of the charter. This reluctance grew to outright opposition and when Ambassador Goldberg assumed his new duties he found himself confronted with clear and unmistakable evidence that if he insisted on a vote to enforce the penalty the United States would find its position overwhelmingly rejected by the majority of members of the General Assembly.

The penalty provisions are not discretionary where nations are able to pay. To push for what could only be an adverse vote would be tantamount to pushing the Assembly into a repudiation of the clear provisions of article 19 as well as its own earlier approval of the Court decision. We must not forget that the United Nations had its birth a scant 20 years ago. It has rendered great service to mankind in this short span in spite of the intransigence of a few of its member states, whose unwillingness to abide by the rule of law has led the Organization into this state of affairs.

In his statement to the U.N. Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, Ambassador Goldberg made it abundantly clear that, without prejudice to our position on the applicability of the penalty to those who refuse to pay, we recognize the opposition of the majority of the Assembly and will not seek to "frustrate that consensus, since it is not in the world interest to have the work of the General Assembly immobilized in these troubled days."

Ambassador Goldberg emphasized at the same time in permitting any member to evade the principle of collective financial responsibility, the United States "reserves the same option to make exceptions if, in our view, strong and compelling reasons exist for doing so."

Like most who have had an opportunity to study the United Nations and give serious reflection to its potentials, Ambassador Goldberg's action was designed to preserve the indispensable peacekeeping capacity of the United Nations.

I feel one can do no better than to use the significant words of Ambassador Goldberg when he said:

The world needs a strengthened—not a weakened—United Nations peacekeeping capacity. Those who are prepared to help strengthen it—the overwhelming majority—must be in a position to do so with or without the support of the reluctant few until they learn, as they surely will, that a workable and reliable international peace system is in the national interest of all members.

To those words I subscribe most fully. When he uttered them, Ambassador Goldberg was voicing the deepest wish of all who genuinely strive and hope for a world in which sovereign nations will settle their differences by rule of law, a world in which the horrors of aggression and conflict will become a thing of the past. In his dedicated efforts to work for these goals, distant as they may now seem, Ambassador Goldberg deserves our best support.

Computers and Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAM GIBBONS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an interesting article in the summer issue of Electronic Age, concerning computers and legislation. It deals with the experience of the Florida Legislature in adapting some of the modern electronic tools to our legislative process. It seems to me that it is an intelligent approach to keep Members and the public better informed as to the legislative program. I believe that Congress could profit by an investigation of the potential for bringing new techniques to our legislative process.

The article follows:

COMPUTERS AND LEGISLATION

(By Thomas I. Bradshaw)

A bestseller in the legislative wing of Florida's stately capitol has proved to be a computer-generated daily log covering thousands of bills and scores of actions taken from introduction to final fate—an opus that has been dubbed "instant history."

This "electronic score card" program, which was activated at the opening of the 1965 Florida Legislature on April 6, has attracted the interest of lawmakers from other States and Members of the U.S. Congress, who have been plagued with the seemingly insurmountable task of keeping informed by traditional methods of legislative reporting.

At the start of this year's Florida Legislature, it was anticipated that some 3,000 bills would be introduced during the 2-month session. The total eventually reached 4,600.

This spring, Florida's State representatives and senators for the first time were able to put their fingers quickly on any given piece of legislation—to answer an inquiry from a constituent, to follow the progress of bills with which they were directly involved, or to evaluate measures they might wish to pursue.

Popularity of the computerized legislative index was immediately evident around the tables placed outside the senate and house chambers. Secretaries and aids stood in line to consult copies of the computer report, and newspaper, radio, and television representatives took advantage of the computer-prepared digest as a guideline for their coverage of legislative activities.

"Evidence is clear to me now that this effort could in large measure revolutionize the legislative process," says Senate President James Connor. "These computer records give to each senator instant history of all bills and serve to answer many questions that formerly required extravagance in time and effort."

House Speaker E. C. Rowell has this to say: "I heard praise of our new electronic program ringing throughout the entire Capitol Center. Data processing certainly has found its place in the Florida Legislature."

Prior to the daily computer reports, legislators seeking information on a specific bill had to visit the office of the chief clerk of the house or senate secretary, a chore involving considerable time and inconvenience since as many as 150 actions can be taken on the floor or in committee on a bill before its enactment or rejection.

"Now, they can tell at a glance the status of every bill," says J. Ed Straughn, director of Florida's revenue commission, whose RCA 301 data processing system did the work on its spare time. "The reports keep legislators in close touch day by day with all actions taken by their colleagues. These reports of the previous day's actions, available before the next session began, made members of the 1965 legislature better informed and, therefore, more effective representatives of their constituents and the State of Florida."

The system was adopted by the Florida Legislature on the recommendation of Senate Secretary Edwin Fraser and Mrs. Lamar Bledsoe, house chief clerk, after an inspection of a computer project in Iowa. The Iowa system entails a time lag of 1 to 2 days. In Florida, a report on legislative actions is available by 8 a.m. daily, including those taken in committee sessions the previous night.

The great diversity of Florida's economy makes it all the more imperative that each legislator be familiar with the measures sought by adjoining or even far-removed counties. Consider the following:

Tourism is, of course, one of the major aspects of Florida's revenue input. A bill submitted for the purpose of obtaining an airport for one municipality—or the enhancement of an existing one—could have certain effects on other localities.

Forest fire measures authorized by specific legislation for one area of the State could have a direct bearing on the needs and programs of other regions.

A resident of Dade County (Miami) has a definite interest in bills affecting the handling of the State's beef production, particularly where there is a possible reaction on the prices the Miami housewife will pay for her steaks or hamburger.

Although the Florida citrus crop is confined to one portion of the State, legislation governing that facet of the agricultural picture is of interest to those living outside the Citrus Belt.

The State's waterways, both land-locked and sea-connected, are of great concern to all Florida residents, both from the standpoint of food supply and in the field of recreation.

In brief, every member of the legislature has a need to know about all bills put in the hopper at the capital in Tallahassee. Without such readily available reference to the tremendous volume of legislation on an up-to-date basis, he cannot operate at maximum efficiency. He is, in effect, in the same position as a scholar would be in a large library with no librarian and no index to direct him to the facts and figures he requires. To carry the comparison further, the scholar may track down his book but may very likely not be the latest edition available.

It was this pressing need for a better way of doing things that prompted the house and senate to send Mrs. Bledsoe and Mr. Fraser to Iowa to see what that State was doing with a computer in the field of legislative indexing. What they saw was good enough to convince them that Florida had to inaugurate a similar program.

They were not completely satisfied with the end results in Iowa, but in their report upon their return to Tallahassee they noted that the Iowa project pointed the way.

After a series of conferences among legislative leaders, it was decided to proceed with the legislative index program. The RCA 301 serving the Florida revenue commission was available to take on the job, and the commission's data processing team felt confident the program could be put into effect with little difficulty.

Computer specialists from the commission and RCA electronic data processing put their heads together. They came up with a system of numerical codes, employing either 3 or 4 digits, designed to facilitate the flow of information into the computer system.

The team of computer programers began by assigning code numbers to each member of the house and senate. Other code listings were drawn up for all standing committees in both chambers, for approximately 180 actions that are repetitive and applicable to many bills, and to 475 major legislative categories ranging from wildlife conservation to worthless checks.

For example, Senator S. D. Clarke, of Jefferson County, is known to the computer as 007, a number popularly associated with Ian Fleming's fictional hero, James Bond.

The senate standing committee on temperance became, for data processing purposes, No. 342.

The code number 710 represents introduction of legislation, while 503 indicates the measure was adopted, and 979 in computer language means "withdrawn."

The official records of actions on the floor or in committee are the house and senate journals. Pages for these manuscripts are prepared on a spot basis by clerks assigned to the two chambers and committee sessions. Their notations are prepared for printing in the journals—which are not readily available to individual senators or representatives.

To adapt the procedure to computerization, a separate group of clerks was assigned to strategic locations during sessions. Using the raw text of journal pages, these specialists entered code numbers on mimeographed forms to indicate actions taken, sponsors of bills, and the category involved.

William H. Corbett, director of data processing for the revenue commission and the State comptroller's office, says that, through use of the numerical codes and standard reporting forms, the computer clerks did not have to resort to tedious pencil pushing to relay the information for preparation of the electronic scorecard.

The forms with encoded insertions were sent to the revenue commission's computer center in the Carlton Building, a block from the capitol. There, a team of keypunch operators turned out punched cards to feed the information into the computer system, including permanent entry on the magnetic "history tape."

The entire process was further expedited each morning by the entry into the computer of all new bills that had been filed

for introduction on that specific day. In other words, the computer had initial data on legislation even before formal introduction on the floor.

All the encoded forms were in the hands of the data processing center by 7 or 8 p.m. daily. Within 2 hours, the computer was turning out the individual printout sheets that made up the compiled log or scorecard report.

The process of updating information in the computer's memory continued through evening committee sessions. As a result, the overnight report—distributed to the scheduled points of reference—had the very latest accounting, even of actions taken but a few hours earlier.

The computer production included not only the scorecard printout but a voluminous index to make it that much simpler for legislators and others to turn quickly to a specific bill in the legislative index.

A separate computer-motivated report listed the bills introduced by the various members of the house and senate by bill number and by member name.

During the 1965 session of the legislature, 30 copies of the daily log were produced each night. Plans for the next session call for the production of sufficient copies for all representatives, again on an overnight basis.

At the conclusion of the recent session, a complete computer-prepared report on all bills moving through the legislative process was produced for each lawmaker. The same plan will be followed at subsequent sessions.

"The modern computer equipment and techniques at our disposal make it possible to do a wide variety of things," says Director Straughn. "In effect, we can plow the data field, sow the seed, and reap the information harvest with the same tool."

The Pending Gun Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent statement presented by Mr. Carl Wolff, Washington editor of several sporting and firearms industry publications.

In a calm and reasoned manner it points out the evils of restrictive Federal firearms legislation now pending before the Congress.

HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE—THE POSITION OF GUNS AND THE SHOOTING INDUSTRY MAGAZINES ON THE PENDING GUN BILLS

(Presented by Carl Wolff, Washington editor)

The philosophy of the administration and its legislation seems to be that all guns legislation is good legislation. To be sure, the misuse of firearms is bad—bad for the Nation's world image and for its citizens. But, it is equally sure the ownership and use is good—good for the Nation's defense posture from the industry and citizen viewpoints, good for home protection against intrusion, good for the economy, for wildlife, conservation, and outdoor recreation.

Then let us reject the idea that gun legislation is good legislation, or bad, for that matter. Equally, let us agree there are proper laws covering guns and their sales just as there can be and are improper laws covering guns and their sale.

Pending before this committee is some of the most restrictive gun law ever proposed, that sponsored by the administrative branch of the Federal Government which would enforce the provisions should they become law. The fact that the administration has proposed amendments to remove the totally obnoxious provisions does not make the less observed or only unjustly harsh provisions any more palatable.

The major points of the measure are:

1. Stop all interstate sales of firearms to citizens as it falls within Federal Government authority. This provision would also curtail all firearm shipments except for the repair of weapons as "authorized" by the Federal Government.

2. Choke the importation of firearms. This would be done by a ban on military surplus, and a system where other weapons would need individual licenses.

3. Give the Secretary of the Treasury broad authority to issue gun regulations governing the sale of weapons in the different States. A part of this authority spelled out in the bill would be to disallow out-of-State residents to purchase handguns. The Members of Congress themselves are the best example of this hardship.

4. Eliminate the small businessman and the firearms craftsman from the trade by means of a stiff annual tax. Is there any other tax in the Nation designed to work a hardship on the small business?

As a practical matter all these aims are virtually unchanged by the administration's amendments. Frankly, we believe the administration has not justified its position or even provided this committee with the basic facts on which to base legislation. The inability to answer the committee's question as to how the existing Federal and National Firearms Acts are administered is only one of many points which prove the depth of their studies. Their testimony consisted of tidbits of information only, assembled to support the proposed law.

Generally, proper Federal regulations should be limited to preventing people from purchasing firearms in violation of reasonable local laws as the opportunity falls under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. Reasonable is the key word here because it is surely in the self-interest of the United States to encourage rather than discourage the possession and use of firearms.

This point was made clear in the testimony of Representative JOHN P. SAYLOR, Republican, of Pennsylvania, when he cited two official reports by the Defense Department stating that the better soldiers had a history of association with firearms. And, it was pointed out by the Sporting Arms Ammunition Manufacturing Institute that a healthy domestic industry is essential from the defense product on standpoint.

Conservation and wildlife are also areas which will be adversely affected by the administration's proposed laws. If it is not so why are the wildlife and conservation people objecting?

Most affected, however, will be the millions of shooters and the thousands and thousands of small businesses across the country who earn a portion or all of their living from the shooting sportsman. The range of these businesses goes further than a first look would indicate. The city sportsman virtually pours money into the rural areas of the country for the leasing of property, the right to hunt, for lodging and food, guides, and for all of the other services that generally go with the sportsman's vacation. The range of this business also includes the year around making of all kinds of outdoor equipment. The total turnover in funds may run as high as $2 billion per year.

For these and other reasons, including self-defense, Federal law attempting to support unreasonable State law is not in the best interest of all America. It can only be done at the expense of those citizens who do not live under the unreasonable laws. Not allowing citizens to ship or receive firearms in interstate commerce, as proposed by the administration, is an example of this unreasonable approach which works such hardships.

Gun legislation has been active in the Senate for some 2 years, yet no effort to review guns from other than the crime standpoint has been made. If guns are thought of in terms of crime only, only one conclusion can be drawn. Even though it would be wise, perhaps, for the House to forego action toward enactment of any restrictive law until it has the benefit of this deliberation.

In the meantime a study group within this committee could be established to develop impartial information on the so-called gun problem. Already Congressman KING has initiated friendly discussion among the interested parties to the present gun legislation to see where agreements can be reached. These informal discussions should be given formal status and their scope broadened.

New ideas for Federal action, including how to eliminate the unsafe junk from the American market such as the poorly made starter pistols, should be probed. We can think of no more poetic justice than to have these junk merchants and manufacturers stuck with their inventories.

Consideration should also be given to requiring that the Federal Government provide Federal licensees with a yearly listing of all State and local laws. Then, these selling guns in interstate commerce could readily see if the purchaser was violating the law.

Also, the committee should make an impartial evaluation of the matters of tax and tariff pending in the bill in this area where the House has the constitutional directive to initiate action. These matters have been touched upon from the pro and the antigun sides, but they are too complex to base judgment upon any testimony from the crime viewpoint.

The importation of firearms and parts runs into all facets of the sportsman's industry. A domestic fraternity which may run as high as $200 million a year has been built largely through the citizen's access to military quality surplus alone. While no large portion of this fraternity depends entirely on imported surplus, most of their profit margins do. If profits disappear closure will follow.

The small businessman and the individual craftsman should not be overlooked in terms of his importance to the whole industry. A review of current patents granted for developments in the firearms field will prove their importance. The patent range from new lubricants to new designs of cartridges where the powder chamber becomes part of the projectile.

The military significance of original ideas should not be overlooked. Consider the names of Gatling, Williams, and now Stonner. In the beginning they tinkered with ideas. Perhaps they were, like the Wright brothers, called crackpots. It is safe to say that young inventive minds will be turned away from tinkering with guns should a stiff yearly tax be written into law. Under terms of the new bill they would probably be called manufacturers.

If legislation must go forward at this time, there is a measure pending by Committee Member CECIL KING, Democrat, of California, aimed at the suspicious area of purchases of handguns, sight unseen, through interstate commerce. This is a good basis for compromise, as such endorse it. The most effective way for the Federal Government to prevent circumvention of local laws through interstate shipment is to make the carrier responsible for compliance. Compliance could be accomplished in each case through placing a local phone call where and if it were needed.

If the carrier did not want this responsibility the firearms traffic should be put under the jurisdiction of the mails. Such a Fed-

eral law should spell out that the party under Federal jurisdiction should do no more than comply to local law.

Much of the fear which has been generated by the pending gun bills comes from the overenforcement of firearms laws. An example of this overenforcement was called to the attention of the committee by Representative SAYLOR through his personal experience in the District of Columbia. Unlawful harassment in the Nation's Capital, whereby a shotgun was illegally retained pending the signing of an illegal registration form, is minor compared to the illegal enforcement of mysterious licensing of handguns.

Congress has provided a 48-hour delay before a handgun is terminated. This 48-hour delay has been extended into nearly a month while an overworked police department processes a so-called application. It is not clear what the application is for, but if it is refused, the would-be handgun purchaser is not told why, nor is any reason required. But, on the application he is required to say why he wants the weapon, where he works, and where he was even born. While the application is pending something of an investigation is made. Personal questions as the investigator may care to ask will, as a realistic matter, affect the outcome of the application request.

Such overenforcement of the existing legal authority exist in many areas of this Nation. Is it any wonder that frightened gun owners seen plots to confiscate guns within the administration bill? Much of this doubt would be cleared up if the administration were to issue a meaningful declaration of policy on the whole gun ownership picture.

The committee may find it of interest since they would enforce any law passed and in view of the fact that the pending bills only represent their request for restrictions at the present time.

We sincerely ask: Is the present legislation only a few more steps in the administration's ultimate objective of weapons by permission only? How far will the Federal Government ultimately go?

The right of gun ownership, like that of receiving uncensored mail, and the protection of the private citizen, is a yardstick where the Government's faith in the integrity of its citizens may be judged. We thank the committee for the way it has conducted its hearings and for allowing us to present our views. We believe the gun owners to be in just hands. Thank you again.

APPEDIX I—THE MISUSE OF FIREARMS

In attempting to limit the legal sale of guns, proponents refer to the Uniform Crime Reports for the United States. The latest report, that for 1964, indicates that 55 percent of the 5,090 murders were committed with firearms during that year. A frightening figure, but how would it be curtailed by the pending law?

The administration admitted to the committee that the hardened criminal will continue to get the tools of his trade. A probing of this admission will disclose that professional criminals now go to extremes to obtain weapons whereby they cannot be traced should it be found after use. Then, there are some, largely juveniles, who use homemade zip guns, etc.

The vast majority of gun murders, however, appear to have been committed by persons who have some time had their firearms. It should be pointed out that of these as all weapons are, seem to have been hold over and over again from hand-to-hand over which the Federal Government would still have no authority or jurisdiction.

The administration has yet to prove legal red tape on the Federal level in obtaining a firearm has or will prevent one murder. Firearms are just too available over the back fence, etc., for Federal legislation to have any measurable effect.

Firearms actually play a smaller part in attacks upon a person than the data on murder would indicate. The 184,900 aggravated assaults in 1964 more correctly put firearms into the crime picture. The same crime report shows only 15 percent of these aggravated assaults were committed with firearms while 40 percent was with knives or other cutting instruments, 23 percent with blunt objects or other such weapons, and 22 percent with personal weapons, teeth, and hands, etc.

It should be pointed out too that when a gun is used the aggravated assault is more likely to come to the attention of the authorities.

This is not to say that the number of murders by gun per population will not be reduced if the amount of firearms the general public has is reduced, but this is an argument for the confiscation of guns, not for more redtape in the purchase. It is reasonable to assume the crime by gun will continue regardless of any additional gun laws and that if a crime could be prevented by gun another weapon will be used.

What will happen is that more citizen liberty will be taken in the attempt to correct the social evils of those who prey on the citizen. Because criminals now use devious methods in obtaining weapons, the legitimate purchases will be the real target of the pending bills.

If this is not true, the administration at least has the obligation to prove by what access, which the proposed law would change, that the criminal types get their guns. This they have not done.

The Meaning of Honor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the most revealing and fascinating of the recent journalistic analyses of the President's policy in Vietnam appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of August 30 under the distinguished byline of Roscoe Drummond.

Quoting President Johnson directly, Mr. Drummond offered an impressive catalog of defenses of our position in South Vietnam. Mr. Drummond's excellent commentary has long been familiar to newspaper readers. In presenting these words of the President, he has again made a distinguished contribution to the national dialog on Vietnam.

I offer this excellent article "The Meaning of Honor" for entry in today's RECORD:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Aug. 30, 1965]

THE MEANING OF HONOR: THE PRESIDENT TELLS WHY WE ARE FIGHTING IN VIETNAM

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—There are some questions only the President of the United States can answer. It is his constitutional duty to conduct foreign relations. He alone is Commander in Chief.

Many Americans still have nagging questions about why we are in Vietnam. The President's most effective answers often come when he is speaking informally and spontaneously—rather than in his set speeches.

This column reports the President speaking informally and spontaneously on questions which concern the safety of the United States and the peace of the world—and gives his candid and innermost thinking.

Question: Was there no other choice but to defend South Vietnam?

President Johnson: "You know the major alternatives as well as I do and I won't take time to repeat them. You can think of a thousand problems, a thousand complications, about this ball of wax out there in southeast Asia. We had to confront this utter complexity and find a few simple, fundamental propositions on which this Nation moves.

"And what are those simple propositions? One, the fact of aggression. Can the thousands of armed men and large quantities of arms sent down from North Vietnam to South Vietnam take over that country by force? If you don't believe this is really aggression, go see Bob McNamara or Dean Rusk and let them show you the complete evidence."

Question: Do we really have a commitment to South Vietnam?

President Johnson: "I'm not going to take the case to the Supreme Court as to whether we were legally compelled to come to her defense. Our commitment was voluntarily and deliberately entered into on the basis of the SEATO Treaty, on the basis of the bilateral arrangements made by President Eisenhower with the Government of South Vietnam, on the basis of annual appropriations throughly discussed with the Congress for aid in both the economic and political affairs of South Vietnam for 10 years, on the basis of the commitment of three Presidents—we have a commitment.

"We know we have it. The South Vietnamese know we have it. The Communists know we have it. So, if anyone doubts we have a commitment, let them look at the facts."

Question: What does that commitment mean?

President Johnson: "What does it mean? If I can leave you with one thought, I would say that you must understand that the integrity of the American commitment is the principal pillar of peace in the world today. If anything happens to the integrity of that commitment, we are lost.

"I have used the word 'honor' with respect to Vietnam. When I have done so, some have tended to say, 'Oh, dear me.' As if this were an expression out of 18th century diplomacy—for a king who had become offended because his daughter was refused in marriage to the son of another king."

Question: What do you mean by "honor"?

President Johnson: "Let me tell you what honor means—concretely. Toward the end of President Eisenhower's administration, he was presented by Chairman Khrushchev with an ultimatum: 6 months in Berlin and out. And President Eisenhower said to Chairman Khrushchev: 'No, Mr. Chairman, you can't do that to the United States.' And Khrushchev had to believe it.

"In the summer of 1961, Khrushchev said to President Kennedy: 'Out of Berlin, or there will be war.' This was at the Vienna talks in June 1961. President Kennedy looked him straight in the eye and said, 'Mr. Chairman, if that is what you want, that is what you will have. It will be a cold winter.' And it was utterly to the life of this Nation that Mr. Khrushchev believed that.

"When the Russian missiles entered Cuba, President Kennedy had to say to Mr. Khrushchev, 'Mr. Chairman, these missiles have to go. Period. Paragraph. They have got to go. And you have a chance to get them out peacefully, but they have got to go.' The life

of this Nation depended at that moment on Mr. Khrushchev believing him.

"We are now saying to Hanoi and Peiping, 'Gentlemen, you are not going to take over South Vietnam. You're not going to do it.'

"If you were a Berliner, if you were a Thai, you would be living on the basis of the American commitment. If Moscow or Peiping or Hanoi ever thought that commitment was not worth anything, then no one is in more danger than you and I in this room. The entire Nation is in danger.

"That is what honor means in this situation. It takes guts. You have the life of nations wrapped up in this word."

This is what the integrity of America's commitment to South Vietnam means to the President of the United States.

Edward W. Kuhn, of Memphis: New American Bar Association President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE W. GRIDER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. GRIDER. Mr. Speaker, an outstanding Memphis attorney, Edward W. Kuhn, is the 89th president of the American Bar Association. This week he was honored at a reception given by the Tennessee Bar Association. Under unanimous consent I include at this point in the RECORD a statement by the president of the Memphis and Shelby County Bar Association and an editorial from the Daily News of Memphis about this latest honor for our distinguished hometown lawyer.

[From the Daily News, Memphis, Tenn., Aug. 30, 1965]

MEMPHIS ASSOCIATION PLEDGES SUPPORT

(By Marvin C. Goff, Jr., president, Memphis & Shelby County Bar Association)

Pride and inspiration belong to the Memphis & Shelby County Bar Association because of the selection of another of its past presidents to serve as the president of the American Bar Association.

However, our illustrious member is eminently qualified and will perform his duties in an admirable manner. Edward W. Kuhn will more than maintain the high caliber of leadership that the American Bar Association demands and deserves in its line of fine leaders of the past, including that of Walter P. Armstrong some 25 years ago.

We of the Memphis Bar are so proud and so happy to join with the Tennessee Bar Association in its honoring of Mr. Kuhn. Our hopes, blessings, and pledges of support go with him as he gives his time and services.

[From the Daily News, Memphis Tenn., Aug. 30, 1965]

MEMPHIS STANDS TALL

Memphis stands tall, Edward W. Kuhn, and proud because you, one of its own native sons, is the newly elected president of one of America's most influential groups, the 120,000-member American Bar Association.

His story is typical of "the American story"—that proverbial "rags to riches" routine.

As a young man he worked on the Memphis Fire Department at the station at Front and Union during summer months to pay his way through college and law school. His records of accomplishment and service is prima facie evidence that he will be one of the historymaking presidents of the ABA, and when the end of his leadership rolls around the ABA will stand taller in its public image, Memphis will stand taller too, as another hometown boy proves his mettle in service on a national front and President Kuhn, himself a tall man in physical stature and character, will stand even taller because of a job well done.

International Space Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, the August 30 New York Times carried an editorial which expresses well the hopes of President Johnson for international cooperation in space exploration. The editorial follows:

COOPERATION IN SPACE

President Johnson struck an appropriate note in his comments on the feat of Astronauts Cooper and Conrad in Gemini 5. He did not gloat over the evident Soviet discomfiture at the United States forging ahead in the space race. Nor did he follow the repeated Soviet practice of claiming that a particular achievement in the cosmos somehow proved the superiority of one political system over another. Instead, he appealed to all nations to join together for the conquest of space, an arena in which cooperation could help ease world tensions.

In dealing with so alien a realm as space, it would seem self-evident that, as the President said, "Those who venture there go as envoys of the entire human race. Their quest, therefore, must be for all mankind, and what they find should belong to all mankind." Until now, however, space exploration has been largely an extension outside the atmosphere of the rivalries and fears that plague men on earth. The Soviet propaganda machine last week sought to discredit the Gemini 5 flight as primarily a miltiary experiment intended to advance the interests of "American imperialism." And even President Johnson yesterday could not resist the temptation to seize this historic achievement as the occasion for announcing an extensive series of trips abroad by this country's astronauts, a proposal reminiscent of the propaganda journeys made by Moscow's space heroes.

Yet his call for cooperation in space and his expression of hope that the appointment of Postmaster General John A. Gronouski as Ambassador to Poland will lead to mutual trust leaves no doubt about Mr. Johnson's desire to improve communications and relations with the Communist world. The United States has repeatedly called upon the Soviet Government to cooperate in space, including a joint effort to put men on the moon. Earlier the Kremlin leaders may have felt that such appeals were motived by American backwardness in space research. But in the wake of Gemini 5's record performance there should be no illusions in Moscow now about the genuineness of the President's new offer of partnership.

In this changed situation the Soviet propaganda campaign depicting military goals as predominant in the American space program is alarming. This argument implies that the Soviet Union must intensify, rather than end, the space race. Those pressing this view in Moscow received, unfortunately, helpful ammunition from the President's announcement last week that the Department of Defense has been ordered to develop a manned orbiting laboratory. There are many who view this as a step toward the space battleships that continued rivalry may produce in the future.

But the President's statement yesterday should help to dispel these fears. He has made clearer than ever that this country sincerely wants full cooperation in space. If Gemini 5's flight helps to bring that objective closer, its immediate political contribution will rival its enormous gains for science and for technology.

Need for American Merchant Marine Emphasized

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, for some years I have been contending that our maritime policies appear to be favoring the buildup of the merchant marine of foreign countries at the expense of our own. I have been reminding the Congress, that in times of emergency, based on our past experience, we cannot depend on foreign flag ships to carry troops or supplies for us, but must depend on our own ships. If we continue our policies which are reducing the size of our merchant marine, we will not have the necessary ships available when needed.

This morning's Baltimore Sun carries an article by the maritime editor, Mrs. Helen Bentley, which furnishes proof of my contention that we cannot depend on foreign flag vessels and must maintain an adequate merchant marine of our own. For the information of the Members, I wish to insert the article in the RECORD:

U.S. SHIP GETS VIET CARGO FOREIGN VESSELS REJECTED

WASHINGTON, August 31.—An American-flag ship was assigned today to pick up 3,000 measurement tons of Vietnam-bound cargo that 2 foreign-flag ships refused to carry to the war zone. A measurement ton is usually figured at 40 cubic feet.

As a result the cargo will reach Vietnam 2 weeks later than originally scheduled—and will be aboard the SS *Bay State*—the Defense Department said tonight. It will sail September 8.

"This instance is a perfect example of why the United States cannot afford to risk its security depending on foreigners to carry emergency cargoes," said Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union (AFL–CIO).

"Some lives of American boys may be lost as a result of this delay."

The cargo amounts to about 10,000 weight tons of construction equipment and material and general Army supplies.

Originally the cargo was loaded aboard the Mexican freighter *El Mexicano* in Long Beach, Calif. Friday, a Mexican official in Washington protested that Mexico's laws prohibits its ships from entering any war area.

The same cargo then was assigned to the Greek-flag freighter *Stamatios G. Embiricos*.

Once again the cargo was loaded, but the Greek crew refused to sail.

THREE CALLED COMMUNISTS

The NMU said that 16 of the crew members were involved in the refusal to "sail to Vietnam for the imperialists." Three crewmen were professed to be Communists, the NMU added.

The *Bay State* is owned by States Marine Lines.

The Associated Press reported that a spokesman at the terminal where the cargo is stacked up said that the States Marine-Isthmian Agency had offered the Greek crew a $10,000 bonus to ship the cargo, but it had refused.

—H.D.B.

A Delightful Travelog

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the gracious hostess of the Governor's House on Balboa Heights, C.Z., Mrs. Robert J. Fleming, Jr., whose husband is Governor of the Canal Zone and President of the Panama Canal Company, has written, under a July date, a very interesting, informative—and thoroughly human—account of travels of herself and Governor Fleming in South and Central America, and of some family visits of Mrs. Fleming in the United States. The story of these travels and visits were, by her, reduced to narrative form, and sent to some of her many friends in the homeland, including the city of Washington.

These touch-and-go trips by air, sea, and land to some of the most beautiful cities and scenic regions of Latin America are described in vital fashion; and a hazardous nocturnal experience in a lonely Panamanian jungle is flashed on the screen for good measure.

Believing that what is thus told might prove of interest and value to the general public, under leave granted, the story is herewith included as a part of these remarks:

GOVERNOR'S HOUSE,
Balboa Heights, Canal Zone, July 1, 1965.

DEAR FRIEND: We are so busy most of the time that I find it difficult to concentrate on anything but the immediate doings of each day. Fortunately we are bearing up well, but this soft life makes me pause every now and then to tell myself it won't last much longer and I will be back with Cinderella and the mops and brooms; so I am enjoying it.

Last November I had a quick, 3 weeks tour of South America. I flew to Santiago, Chile, and took a bus and boat tour through the lakes region of Chile and Argentina. This is in Patagonia and it was lovely. At Bariloche, Argentina, on Lake Nahuel Huapi, they told me there was the oldest tree in the world, the Cohué—but I wonder where our Sequoia comes in. Anyway, this area of Argentina is so fascinating and its natural growth of trees and plants so unusual that Walt Disney sent his artists there to get their ideas of forests for his movie, "Bambi."

I flew into Buenos Aires and spent 4 days with friends, and was as scared of the driving there as in any foreign city I have ever been in. I am a museum goer. Each city has something different and lovely to see; so it is worth the time. This was springtime in South America; so everything was in bloom.

From Buenos Aires I took an Italian ship to Rio de Janeiro. We had stops at Montevideo, Uruguay, and Santos, Brazil—the largest coffee port in the world, where I bought 2 pounds of coffee for 20 cents.

Rio is a city of enchanting vistas—the sea, the harbor, the hills, in daylight or dark, are wonderful. Again I stayed with friends, which made the 4 days pass all too quickly—and I had flown home before I knew it.

All of this gave me strength for the adventure Bob[1] and I had on Christmas Day. We were alone (no servants anywhere) and we decided to go on a picnic on a little used one-way road through the jungle. To make a long story short, our car refused to get up a steep, graveled hill. So, at 5:30 we started walking. We did have a flashlight which we used at times, and at 11:30 p.m. we walked out of the jungle. It was 12 miles we found out when they went for our car next day. We suffered no ill effects except a few sore muscles; and we vowed never to go off again down here without letting someone know where we were headed. I might tell you that the jungle on a moonless night is very silent—an occasional bird calling, and a rustle of leaves near the road once in a while—but we saw nothing. Eerie.

In January I flew to San Francisco to be with Elie[2] and John and Robert John Fleming Pace for a month. The baby is darling, and I found out I easily slipped back into housekeeping.

I flew to Los Angeles to see my brother and his family; then took the train east, stopping a few days in Denver where it snowed, and I loved every minute of it. Then on to Morton, Pa., to visit Patricia and Ben Beasley and their four. Whoever draws the cartoon "Family Circus" must have four children the ages of our four grands, because the cartoon is so like them.

In April Bob and I were guests of the Colombian Government for a week. We spent most of our time at Popayan for the Easter week processions, all at night. The last night there were thousands of people out to watch, and being a Catholic country, everyone was so quiet it was most impressive. We also had tours of Cali and Bogotá.

And last month Bob and I drove from here to Guatemala. Central America has much to offer in the way of spectacular scenery; the people are courteous and friendly; and other than half the road in Panama and all the road in Costa Rica, pavement all the way. In 3 more years the Inter-American Highway will be worth the trip—not that it isn't now—but the first 2 days were just like driving in our country early in the century—potholes, rocks, narrow, etc.

We also flew to Yucatan, Mexico, to see the Mayan ruins; then we flew back here, and our car came by ship.

We are at home until next year when Bob retires; so you have a few more months to plan your trip to come to Panama to visit us. Please do.

Sincerely,

ELEANOR FLEMING.

P.S.—Somewhere I should have mentioned that Prince Philip visited Panama last fall. Bob was invited to everything for him, and I to several. His visit ended with a formal dinner on the Royal Yacht *Britannia* with Bob, me, the Lieutenant Governor and his wife the only Americans out of 30 people. It was a delightful evening—he is truly "Prince Charming."

E. F.

[1] Governor Fleming.

[2] Daughter of Governor and Mrs. Fleming.

Render to Caesar and to God

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to insert my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include a sermon delivered by the Reverend Robert B. Watts, LL.B., LL.D., D.D., at St. James by the Sea Episcopal Church in La Jolla, Calif., on August 15, 1965.

The Reverend Dr. Robert B. Watts of 7949 Princess Street, La Jolla, is eminently qualified to make his sermon of that Sunday. He was graduated from Bates College in Lewiston, Maine, and later from Yale Law School. He was Phi Beta Kappa and editor of the Yale Law Journal. He practiced law in Chicago and New York. He was chief assistant U.S. attorney in New York City for several years, and special assistant to the Attorney General of the United States for many years. He was general counsel for the National Labor Relations Board and argued many of its cases in the Supreme Court. He was a vice president and director of General Dynamics Corp. He was ordained in 1958 in the Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles.

The sermon follows:

RENDER TO CAESAR AND TO GOD

(By the Reverend Robert B. Watts)

Last night I laid aside the sermon which I had prepared for today, because of an irresistible feeling that I must offer certain suggestions and conclusions concerning the Christian response and reaction to the holocaust of riots through which we are passing—highlighted by the bloody events in Los Angeles.

Since this may well be regarded as a controversial sermon, I wish to make perfectly clear that it represents my own views as a lawyer and as a priest. None of my colleagues in this parish is aware of what I am about to say. My notes have not been reviewed by anyone.

My views are presented by the authority which was conferred upon me at my ordination and, I believe, follow the guidance and impulse of the Holy Spirit. Incidentally, no individual priest or bishop can rightfully claim to speak for the whole church under ordinary circumstances, and I make no claim to be doing so now.

There is no need for me to recount the horrors of the riots which have been occurring, particularly in Los Angeles, during this past week. We have all followed the unspeakable events which have been and still are taking place there as well as in Chicago and in Springfield, and we all must have clearly in mind the earlier riots in our Southern States.

I speak today because I believe that many Christians are desperately confused about what their position should be in respect to these events.

That they are confused is readily understandable when one looks about and reads and listens.

No later than last Friday evening, the bishop of California is reported in our press as having in San Diego criticized the stand of the Episcopal Church on civil rights. He

is quoted as saying that "If people are kept busy making things for the ladies' bazaar they feel holy and good even though they may deny persons' rights to be persons." And he is quoted further as saying, "The secularist is just a nasty fellow when he demonstrates for civil rights."

You will note that the right reverend sir leaves quite a blank—at least in his published remarks—what constitutes demonstrating for civil rights. He thereby leaves the readers of his quoted remarks under the unhappy conclusion that any demonstration involving civil disobedience is all right and should be supported and accepted by Christians.

Would he say that the wild and lawless demonstrations in Los Angeles are all right? Or if not, where would he draw the line? We simply don't know—and hence we are confused at what position a Christian should take.

But let us look at another ecclesiastical aberration, with which I desire to register complete opposition.

There has been advanced by various philosophical followers of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., one of the most extraordinary suggestions ever made in Anglo-Saxon or American legal annals. As a mixture of sophistry and softheadedness, brewed by nonlegal or corroded legal minds, I assert that this suggestion has spawned the present wave of destruction now sweeping the country.

In brief, this proposed doctrine is that if any individual citizen or group of citizens, after meditation, come to the conclusion that any law is unjust; and further conclude that if apprehended he or they are willing to accept the penalty imposed for violation of the law—then it becomes morally justifiable to break the law openly and notoriously.

Of course the worst thing about this doctrine is that there are no dividing lines in it. If it is valid for a small violation, it applies equally to a more serious one. Once you start this approach there is no stopping. It is like a roller coaster which nears the top of the track. Once you push it over a little bit, it plunges down all the way.

The amazing thing is that many clergy of this church, including both priests and bishops, have openly and officially accepted this doctrine. Episcopal clergymen have received written expressions of this doctrine for their guidance. And large numbers of clergy of this and other communions have been sent, or have gone on their own volition, to Southern areas for the sole purpose of expressing racial concerns by open law defiance pursuant to this new assertion of moral right.

Finally, as sorely distressed Christians we see instance after instance of reluctance on the part of elected officials to meet lawlessness quickly and firmly lest there be an adverse effect upon their personal political careers at the ballot box. Thank God, not all our officials are of this character, but too many are.

All these things we see and hear and read. We are furthermore frequently assailed with bits and pieces of Scripture, with quotations which seek to justify a Christian do nothing attitude.

And the result is all too often complete confusion and deep concern over what is right for us to do as loyal Americans and good churchmen. We are morally disarmed and brainwashed. We are reluctant to act in defense of our liberties and our country. We are afraid to speak out and let our voices be heard in demanding a return to law observance by all citizens—white, yellow, black, red, priest, bishop, or missionary.

What shall we do? What may we do as Christians?

In offering an answer, I do so humbly and with complete recognition of the right of others to reach the opposite conclusions which I have described, and with which I emphatically disagree. Moreover, what I offer does not assert to be the only answer. It is, however, an answer to which the Holy Spirit has given me guidance, and one which I believe to be valid both in law and in Scripture. And I shall be ready to defend it in any forum, whether ecclesiastical or otherwise.

Let us start with the basic legal fact that we live in a country where all ultimate power resides in the people.

By their representatives in Constitutional Convention, large areas of this power have been given over to the Federal Government, with other areas reserved to the several States.

Furthermore, certain individual rights and protections have been reserved for the people themselves, as set out in the Bill of Rights. Without naming them all, we are quite familiar with the fact that under our Constitution we are assured the protection of life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness (but with no guarantee that we shall be successful in that pursuit), freedom of speech and freedom of religion.

But we should be equally familiar with the fact that none of these rights is absolute. Every one of them is held subject to equal rights of others. Thus, if we kill or commit grave felonies we may lose our liberty and perhaps our life. If we enter business to make a fortune, our ineptitude may result in our becoming bankrupt. If, in a public place such as this large church or a theater, we falsely cry "fire" we have gone beyond the permissive limit of our right of free speech. And even though we feel deeply about our religion, we have no right to attempt to force others to believe or act as we do.

In brief, all of our rights are balanced by the protection of similar rights in others.

One final point requires mention. Since ultimate power is in the people they have the right, if a majority so desire, to overthrow their existing form of government and substitute another in its place. And if a majority have no such desire, they have the right to use all necessary power to suppress an insurrection or rebellion against them.

With these fundamental legal rules clearly in mind, we may proceed to evaluate for ourselves the legal and constitutional status of deliberate rioting, burning, looting, killing, and general destruction of the public peace—all in the name of civil rights demonstrations.

It should be perfectly clear that no asserted individual right can justify, under our system of government, the destruction of rights in others. It should be equally clear that neither you, nor I, nor any other persons—however exalted he may be or regard himself—has the right to say that what was wrong before becomes morally right if the acting party is willing to be punished if caught.

Should any such warped thinking protect me if I were caught setting fire to a hospital? Should any such claptrap justify me in hurling Molotov cocktails at innocent travelers on the public highways? Should any such reasoning morally justify me in stopping the whole process of law enforcement in a great city?

The answer is, I submit, that which not too long ago propelled a somewhat obscure New Englander into the Vice-Presidency—from which he succeeded to the Presidency. Paraphrased only as to one word, his answer was, "There is no right to demonstrate against the public safety." And with that, Calvin Coolidge crushed a strike by the police in the city of Boston.

That ringing declaration electrified the country. It stopped short a vicious new idea. It was correct under our form of government.

Now we are face to face with a whirlwind largely fostered and encouraged by our vacillation, our attempt at appeasement and the participation of some of us in this new theory of morally justifiable lawlessness.

As our own Governor says, we now face insurrection—an attack upon the very existence of our own Government. When that point is reached, we must first use overwhelming force to crush and destroy every vestige of danger; and then destroy this sickness of mind which has led so many to defy law and order.

But what about the theological problem? Can we, dare we, protect our way of government and our individual rights and still call ourselves Christians? Here I part with many of my ecclesiastical colleagues and give you a ringing "Yes."

And what is my authority? The only ultimate authority which our Church recognizes—the Holy Scriptures. Read for yourselves verses 13 through 17 of chapter 12 of the Gospel of St. Mark. You all know the story.

It is the one in which the Pharisees sought to trap Jesus in an inescapable dilemma by inquiring of Him whether they should obey the civil law of Rome or the law of God. It was believed that either answer which might be given would destroy Him.

You remember how Jesus then called for a Roman coin and asked whose face appeared on the coin. The answer was "Caesar's." And then came the Divine response, just as valid today as then. "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and to God the things that are God's."

Jesus didn't tell them to decide whether they liked the Roman taxes, or whether the tax collectors were brutal and unjust—and, if so, to start a turmoil and demonstration by breaking the Roman law. He told them to obey the laws, and not to forget to carry out God's laws as well.

Is that reconciliation of rights and duties impossible for us to follow? Is the formula unworkable today? Can we, as Christians, use that resolution of our confusions?

I say we can and should; and I offer these three concrete suggestions as to how we can do it:

First, we should stand solidly in support of the Constitution and laws of our Government, resorting to the courts and not the barricades if we feel grievances. We must once and for all reject the doctrine of a morally justified civil disobedience.

Second, we should counteract the pressure which already has tremendous effect with some of our political leaders—to temporize and compromise with lawlessness if only it be tagged "civil rights"—by exerting every ounce of our personal influence to encourage equal and courageous law enforcement.

Then third, having done these things, we should—as Christians—seek by all lawful and proper means to help our neighbors to achieve civil equality of treatment and betterment of opportunity for self-improvement. We should do as our young people of this parish are doing for 2 weeks, going to underprivileged people (in this case Indians) and helping them build schools and hospitals and other needed things. We should come to this and to other churches as powerhouses where we can worship God, be refilled with His power, and then go out into the world to teach His ways.

God's power is limitless. With it we can change the world, and if we are faithful it will surely prevail.

Draft Dodging

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL D. ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, in Monday's Washington Post, William

S. White wrote a profound analysis of a young American's "equal right to a chance to live as well as to die." Patriotism made this country grow. I hope Mr. White's views will put us back on that track. Under leave to extend my remarks I include the article that appeared in the Washington Post:

DRAFT DODGING—NEEDED: EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE

(By William S. White)

Not a moment too soon President Johnson has ended the spectacle of able-bodied young men rushing into marriage to avoid the mere possibility of being drafted and the even more remote possibility of ever being called upon actually to give honorable military service to their country.

Not 1 in 20 who is greeted by selective service will in any case ever hear a shot fired in anger. In some parts of the country, however—very rarely in the deplorable South or the hardly less deplorable Southwest, by the way—these revolting little clots had been exchanging breathless wedding vows with girl friends to make it absolutely certain that Uncle would never, never ask them to do anything at all for the United States of America.

When, last week, the President closed this shabby escape route, the most appalling scenes of all ensued. His order stated that men married after August 26 could no longer automatically free themselves from the draft. Thus some of the supposed pride of our youth were to be seen hysterically hammering on the doors of every sort of sleazy marriage broker in order to beat the midnight deadline of August 26–27. It was the night of love among the draft dodgers.

To put it at its most charitable, girls who marry boys of this sort, with this sort of motive, are entering a traditionally decent state called matrimony through back alleys that are not very pretty.

But it is no good talking any more about this thing; the whole subject is too squalid for words. The country ought to turn constructively from this nasty scene to reconsider the whole of its draft policy. Many, this columnist among them, have long known that the only fair method of raising up our forces is to establish and firmly apply a strictly universal draft.

Duty is duty. And the momism and dadism we have followed of exempting or repeatedly deferring boys because they were in college—usually meaning because they had fathers able to send them—and grabbing up the poor and helpless for the rifle companies is simply indefensible.

As far back as the Second World War every officer associated with combat saw it over and over: the replacements at the front came largely from 18- and 19-year olds who had never seen a college door and never would, never known much opportunity and never would. Too many boys of privilege were off at the university of something or other while the dying was being done by another class altogether.

Many Americans spend a good part of their lives howling against discrimination. But the discrimination that sends a ragtag of a boy off to battle and another boy equally strong only off to some course in plastics-making, modern dance—or, yes, even to that sacred thing called science—is profound and mortal, indeed. And who howls about this discrimination?

Moreover, the whole affair has now become even more poignant with the war in Vietnam. In many cases boys excused from even the possibility of military service while other boys are fighting in the jungles of Vietnam are not only avoiding their share of a common duty and the honorable obligations of their generation. They are also the beatnik sponsors of screeching demonstrations and teach-ins which with coldly self-righteous cruelty are slandering both those who are doing their duty and the Nation for which they stand and fight.

We must face it. If we mean all we tirelessly say about equality of opportunity we must accept as well an equality of sacrifice. To be sure, universal military service might unhappily interrupt if not destroy here and there a promising intellectual career. But every boy has an equal right to a chance to live as well as to die. And the history of genius is rich with instances where the most unpromising of all have at length ennobled the world with their skill and talent.

Tribute to Joseph Barbera

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to pay tribute to Mr. Joseph Barbera who died on Saturday, August 28, 1965. The loss of Mr. Barbera, a genuine friend and a great leader, is a tremendous loss to me personally and to the hundreds of thousands of Chicagoans who respected his leadership, his sincerity and his dedication to the improvement of better understanding among all ethnic groups in our city.

Mr. Barbera was recognized as one of the prominent trial lawyers in Chicago, and in addition, was acknowledged to be an outstanding civic leader. He had served as president of the Association of Plaintiffs' Lawyers in Illinois and was an active member of the Illinois Bar Association, and numerous other professional organizations.

He served as the first president of the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans, an organization which he founded over 15 years ago. At its inception, the joint civic committee had a membership of only a handful of Italo-American organizations, but under the dedicated guidance of Joseph Barbera, it grew and prospered. Today, with a membership of over 40 Italo-American organizations representing over 500,000 people, the joint civic committee plays an influential part in the civic and charitable affairs of Chicago. Beyond this, it has given the Italo-Americans in our city cohesiveness and strength in solving community problems, in opposing discrimination of minority groups, and in participating in civic, charitable, and government affairs. Through Mr. Barbera's active, untiring efforts, prestige and honor have been reflected once more on Americans of Italian descent and on their countless contributions toward the building of a better America.

Joseph Barbera served superlatively in the best interests of the people. He leaves a shining record of his devotion, his ability, his helpfulness and his generosity. He shall be missed not only by myself, but by his friends, his colleagues, and indeed, by all the people whom he served so well. Mrs. Annunzio joins me in extending our heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Joseph Barbera on her great loss.

I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Mr. Barbera's biography as it was published in the program book of the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans at a testimonial dinner held in his honor on Sunday, February 11, 1962. The biography follows:

JOSEPH BARBERA, PRESIDENT EMERITUS, JOINT CIVIC COMMITTEE OF ITALIAN AMERICANS

The Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans takes great pride in honoring Joseph Barbera, its president emeritus, at this testimonial dinner, and in presenting him with a special recognition award as a token of appreciation for his many years of loyal, devoted and outstanding leadership.

From 1952 to 1960 Mr. Barbera served as the capable and dynamic leader of this enterprise. It was during this period that the joint civic committee made steady and impressive progress, emerging as a potent force of constructive social action in the Italian American community. It was under his leadership, for example that the committee 3 years ago planned and sponsored huge Columbus Day parades which have become the most outstanding events of their kind in Chicago.

As president of the committee, Mr. Barbera intelligently and enthusiastically guided the affairs of the organization, creatively developing many positive activities which have promoted the growth and progress of our people. Without question the joint civic committee has become an instrumentality for strengthening the leadership of our people, a force for collective action and a symbol of our improved prestige and status.

First and foremost, the joint civic committee with Mr. Barbera as its president has vigorously protested discrimination toward persons of Italian origin and at all times has sought to protect, preserve and defend the good name of persons and groups of Italian extraction. It can truly be said that the committee today stands as a civic citadel ever vigilant in fighting all defamation of Americans of Italian extraction.

Among other outstanding activities which Mr. Barbera initiated during his term of office was the establishment of the Enrico Fermi Memorial for which a grant of over $10,000 was raised for prizes to architects from more than 100 nations who submitted designs for the memorial. Another important project was the Gangimi Fund of over $6,000 used for medical expenses for a destitute Italian boy brought to this country for expensive and complicated medical treatment. In addition thousands of dollars were raised and expended for educational assistance to children of indigent Italian families.

Thus, the joint civic committee, thanks to Mr. Barbera's brilliant leadership and generous financial support, has firmly been established as an enterprise vitally concerned with the needs of Americans of Italian extraction in the metropolitan area of Chicago, ready to function whenever its prestige or position is in any way affected or threatened.

While the above information has focused attention on his civic accomplishments, Joseph Barbera's colorful career as an outstanding trial lawyer is in itself a fascinating story, revealing as it does the remarkable accomplishments of an immigrant boy who rose to a distinguished niche in the legal profession.

Extremely popular among his fellow lawyers, Mr. Barbera, a friendly, down-to-earth type, bears a reputation as a fearless fighter, a miracle man, and a genius. His benign personality belies his explosive, highly intelligent mind.

Born at Campobello di Mazzara, Trapani, Sicily, in 1904, he was brought to this country 3 years later. His education included public schools in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Wharton

Extension School at the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Chicago and in 1933, he gained his LL.B. degree from DePaul University Law School.

Mr. Barbera was admitted to the Illinois bar in 1934 and for more than 25 years has specialized as a trial lawyer in civil cases and in workingmen's compensation cases.

He is a member of Sigma Delta Kappa Law Fraternity, American Bar Association, Illinois State Bar Association, Chicago Bar Association, Kane County Bar Association, National Association of Claimants Compensation Attorneys, the Justinian Society of Lawyers, Catholic Lawyers Guild, Workmen's Compensation Lawyer Association and associated editor of the NAACA Law Journal. In 1955–56 he also served as president of the Association of Plaintiff's Lawyers.

In addition to his continued close affiliation with the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans, Mr. Barbera is also active with many other Italian organizations. He is a member of the board of trustees of Villa Scalabrini and a member of the Italo American National Union.

Mr. Barbera is married, lives on the South Shore. He is also a member of the South Shore Country Club, the Chicago Athletic Association, and the National Lawyers Club, Inc.

These are but a few of the highlights of Joseph Barbera's illustrious and distinguished career, the full story of which would reveal many other constructive achievements. His work and his leadership is an inspiration to all of us.

We are proud of him as a person and professional man, but also above all because he is the president emeritus of the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans, which on this occasion, presents its special recognition award as a token of its deep appreciation.

The War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, as my colleagues in the Congress are well aware, there has been much discussion regarding the war on poverty legislation, that is, the degree of its effectiveness in alleviating the plight of the poor; the lack of appropriate "poor" representation on the various implementing committees at the local level; and the general misdirected use of funds made available for this purpose.

I firmly believe that the basic worth of this legislation has been realized, and its potential is being most realistically planned for, witness the greatly expanded program in this area which is currently pending action by House and Senate conferees.

There is much work to be done in perfecting this fresh approach and I certainly am not one to apologize for some problems which have arisen from this novel plan to alleviate some of our less fortunate citizenry. In any new venture one should certainly not anticipate total and complete and immediate success. If that be the case, surely he will be disappointed. But the secret of lasting and more effective success, especially in this case, will be found in perfecting legislation. This is what we have in mind at this juncture, as we consider the differences between the House and Senate versions of the poverty legislation 1965.

However, I want most emphatically to point out that there have been some rather fine accomplishments through the poverty legislation. In this regard, I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, for the benefit of my colleagues as they consider the poverty legislation in its final version, a very good editorial from Ebony magazine, the September issue, concerning Operation Head Start.

The article follows:

[From Ebony magazine, September 1965]

LET'S MAKE HEAD START REGULAR START

Of all the programs to come out of President Lyndon B. Johnson's Office of Economic Opportunity (the administrative office of the widely publicized war on poverty) none seems to have captured the public's fancy quite so much as has this summer's Operation Head Start. In schools, churches, community centers, housing projects, etc., across the Nation, thousands of 4- and 5-year-old tots were given a "head start" in learning by attending special nursery school classes financed by the Federal Government. Designed to prepare poor children from culturally deprived areas for kindergarten this fall, the 8-week nursery schools, on the whole, were tremendously popular. In Gulfport, Miss., some 600 children registered at the beginning but within a week more than 700 were attending. In West Memphis, Ark., white residents turned down a Head Start program and then watched in amazement as the Rev. James F. Estes, president of 1-year-old Arkansas Community College, asked for and got a $25,054 grant from the OEO to set up a school for 150 children. Some 200 children signed up and Estes solicited private donations to take care of the extra 50 children rather than turn any away. The Chicago Board of Education enrolled some 20,000 in its Head Start program and thousands of other children in the city attended nursery schools operated by churches, parochial schools, and community organizations.

THE NEED WAS THERE

The Federal Government was on solid educational ground when it urged the setting up of nursery schools for deprived children. Educators have known for years that the slum child of 5 years could be as much as 2 years behind the average in his cultural development and his readiness for learning. His vocabulary is usually limited, the range of his experiences is narrow and, in many cases, he has not even learned to play with other children.

The slum child often comes from a home where the parents have limited formal education and where the parents are so engrossed in making enough money to provide the necessary food, clothing, and shelter that they have little time to give a child even the minimum needed to prepare him for his first year in school. Many come from homes with only one parent.

Six years ago, with the aid of a Ford Foundation grant, the Couzens elementary school in Detroit started an exprimental nursery school. Bert Pryor, administrator-director of the project and assistant principal at Couzens, says that the program was started because the average 5-year-old child who came to the school located in a low-cost housing project was 2 years behind other 5-year-olds from better-income families. He says, "These children were sent to kindergarten without knowing their colors, unable to count to five, unable to tie their shoes, and many with a vocabulary one-tenth of what a 5-year-old vocabulary should be."

The first group to enter kindergarten after having attended the preschool program, showed a remarkable achievement. Of 15 children, 13 were in the upper brackets of the kindergarten and the other 2 were average. During the regular school year the preschoolers met from 4 to 6 p.m. every other day, making it possible for the project to use the daytime kindergarten facilities.

MOTHERS ENCOURAGED TO HELP

In the Couzens nursery school program, all mothers were encouraged to help in assisting the teachers with the children. The mothers were taught to lead the children in games, to help them learn skills such as tying their shoes and putting on their coats and jackets. Those who could were given the task of reading stories to the children and leading them in songs that helped them to learn colors and how to count. In most of the Head Start programs across the country, the Government urged administrators also to make use of mothers and other volunteer help from the community. In many cases, the mothers learned what they should be teaching their younger children at home in order to prepare them for school. In the program at Couzens and in most of the Head Start programs this summer, trips to museums, zoos, children's concerts and similar places designed to broaden the experiences of the children were stressed. Mothers were urged to accompany the children so they they, too, could broaden their experiences. In Chicago, Mrs. Oneida Cockrell, a pioneer in nursery school education, took mothers of children from the Head Start project in which she was working on special trips so that they could learn to take their own children on city tours after Head Start was over.

NURSERY SCHOOLS NOT NEW

Strangely, the Couzens Nursery School experiment attracted educators and other interested visitors from as far away as Hawaii. It is strange, for nursery schools are really nothing new. There were three nursery schools in the United States in 1918, and by 1931 the number had grown to 500. Private nursery schools and experimental schools attached to universities have always been popular with the privileged few who need them the least, and nursery schools for the poor, encouraged and financially supported by the Federal Government, first came into being under President Franklin Delano Roosevelt during the depression. In 1933, some 2,400 nursery school programs were in operation in the United States, most of them supported by the WPA. During World War II, the Federal Government put its support behind nursery schools, known then as Child Care Centers, where working mothers could leave their children from 2 to 5 years of age under the capable care of trained preschool teachers. At their peak, the Child Care Centers throughout the country had nearly 130,000 children enrolled.

MAKE 'HEAD START' THE REGULAR START

With the impetus generated by this past summer's Operation Head Start, it would be well worthwhile if school boards, particularly those in large cities, would continue the preschool program as a part of the public schools. If the children from deprived areas can benefit from an 8-week summer session this year, then why should not the children who will reach kindergarten age next fall be given the same opportunity for at least one semester during the regular school year. In his article "Civil Rights and Education," starting on page 110 of this issue, Francis Keppel, U.S. Commissioner of Education, says, "If we in education begin our work with 3- and 4-year-olds, with nursery school classes, we have a powerful chance to be influential in canceling out deprivations that will otherwise affect every aspect of their lives." Bert Pryor, of the Couzens School experiment, said, "We feel that possibly the critical time in a child's life are the years between 3 and 5 * * *. If at this time we

can reach the child in an educational program and reach the parents to work with them * * * we can probably do more of value than at any other period in the child's life."

The huge post-World War II crop of children has left the elementary and high schools and is now jamming the colleges. In many elementary schools there is now space available for a nursery school program for the 3- and 4-year-olds.

If the Federal Government can help support such a program in the summer, then why cannot that support be continued throughout the year. The underprivileged child deserves every break he can get. Operation Head Start should be made operation regular start.

The First Sea Trials of the U.S.S. "Benjamin Franklin"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the Members a letter I received this morning from Admiral Rickover bringing to my attention the sea trials of the U.S.S. *Benjamin Franklin* which was constructed by the Electric Boat Division of the General Dynamics Corp. in Groton, Conn.

I feel that the contents of this letter concerning Benjamin Franklin are well worth the review of the Members as he was a man who helped to shape the lives of all Americans and to whom our thoughts should turn for strength and guidance in these most difficult times.

The letter follows:

U.S.S. "BENJAMIN FRANKLIN"
(SSBN 640),
At sea, North Atlantic, August 30, 1965.

The Honorable JAMES A. BURKE,
U.S. House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. BURKE: We have just successfully completed the first sea trials of the U.S.S. *Benjamin Franklin*, our 30th Polaris nuclear submarine. We also have in operation 22 attack-type nuclear submarines, making a total of 52. The *Benjamin Franklin* was built by the Electric Boat Division, General Dynamics Corp., Groton, Conn.

This ship is named for Benjamin Franklin (1706–90), one of the most illustrious of our Founding Fathers. A plain man of the people, his life was the American success story writ large. In his autobiography he speaks of his "lowly beginnings" and notes with quiet pride that he "emerged from the poverty and obscurity" of his birth to "a state of affluence and some degree of reputation in the world." He did so purely on merit for he was, in every sense of the word, a self-made man, owing little if anything to luck or the assistance of others, never pushing ahead at the expense of a fellow man.

Franklin was the youngest son of a poor tallow chandler who had migrated to Boston from England and married as his second wife the daughter of a former indentured serving maid. With 17 children to raise, he could give Benjamin only 2 to 3 years of schooling, but he encouraged him to study on his own, a habit which was to remain with Franklin all his life. At 10, the boy went to work in the family shop; at 12, he was apprenticed to his half brother to learn the printing trade, this being considered a suitable vocation for one whose love of books was already manifest.

In later life Franklin often remarked that he could not remember a time when he did not read. Books were his teachers. Through them he made himself a well-educated man. Taking the best authors as his models, he worked hard at perfecting his writing, eventually achieving a simple, lucid style. His thirst for knowledge never ceased. Since he wanted to read foreign books, he decided at 27—a busy young merchant—to teach himself to do so. "I soon made myself so much the master of the French," he remarked, "as to be able to read the books with ease. I then undertook the Italian." Later on, "with a little painstaking, acquired as much of the Spanish as to read their books also." He read not only for instruction but for enjoyment. His taste was catholic. All his life, men of learning and position, who would ordinarily not bother with an artisan, sought Franklin's company. He supposed it was because "reading had so improved my mind that my conversation was valued."

At 17 Franklin had learned all his brother could teach him and was ready to make his own way in the world. He went to New York but could find no work there, so continued on to Philadelphia. This is how he describes his arrival there after a long and uncomfortable trip—walking 50 miles, getting nearly shipwrecked, and helping to row a boat part of the way: "I was dirty from my journey; my pockets were stuffed out with shirts and stockings; I knew no soul, nor where to look for lodging. I was fatigued with traveling, rowing, and want of rest. I was very hungry and my whole stock of cash consisted of a Dutch dollar." He bought three large bread rolls. Wandering about town, munching, he met a fellow traveler. He gave her and her child two of his rolls. Thus did Franklin enter the town that was to become his permanent home, where he would rise to wealth and fame.

Seven years later he owned his own printshop, a stationery store, and a newspaper. He had in the meantime perfected his art by working for 18 months in England and could do the most intricate and difficult print jobs. At 26, he began the highly profitable annual publication of Poor Richard's Almanac. He managed his affairs so ably that at 42 he retired with an income equivalent to that of a royal governor. Though he was good at it, moneymaking never interested him, except as a means to obtain leisure for the things he really enjoyed: reading, study, scientific experimentation, social discourse, and correspondence with men of similar interests.

While still a journeyman printer, he had founded a club for sociability and self-improvement, called the Junto, of which he later said that it was "the best school of philosophy, morals, and politics" then existing in Pennsylvania. Its membership of about 12 consisted of alert, intelligent young artisans, tradesmen, and clerks who liked to read and debate. They met Friday evenings to discuss history, ethics, poetry, travels, mechanic arts, and science (then called natural philosophy). It has been said of this group that it "brought the enlightenment in a leather apron to Philadelphia."

Franklin, who was full of ideas for improving life in Philadelphia and the colonies in general, submitted all his proposals to the Junto where they were debated. Once accepted, members worked hard to get them put into effect. As a result, improvements were made in paving, lighting and policing the town; a volunteer fire department and militia were formed; a municipal hospital was established; the foundations were laid for what became the University of Pennsylvania and the American Philosophical Society. Of most lasting importance, perhaps, was Franklin's plan for a subscription library, the first in the colonies. Access to books, he felt, meant that "the doors to wisdom were never shut." The idea caught on. He noted with satisfaction that the numerous libraries springing up everywhere "have improved the general conversation of Americans, made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the colonies in defense of their privileges." The value of knowledge to man and society has never been put more succinctly.

When he was 40, Franklin discovered electricity. It was then a sort of magic, a parlor trick. Franklin—ably supported by his Junto—threw himself into experimentations and developed a workable theory which he proved in his famous kite experiment. In the 6 years between 1746 and 1752 his contributions to electricity changed it from a curiosity to a science, and in the process made him world famous. His writings on electricity were compared with Newton's optics; he became the friend of most contemporary scientists, was made a member of virtually every scientific society and received honorary degrees from 20 universities. He was the first American scientist to win universal acclaim; the first American author to have his books translated and read as widely in Europe as in America. When he was sent to Paris, as America's first Ambassador to a major power, the admiration of France for Franklin's scientific achievement in catching lightning and putting it to man's use contributed not a little to the success of his mission: winning the help of France to the revolutionary cause.

As a man of leisure, Franklin found himself more and more drawn into public service, this being expected of anyone who had the time and ability to serve. He became a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, the Committee of Five charged with drafting the Declaration of Independence, the Second Continental Congress, and the Constitutional Convention. In one way or another, he represented America abroad a total of 25 years, becoming an exceedingly skillful diplomat. His statement, in hearings before Parliament, of the case of the Colonies against the hated Stamp Act was masterly and helped bring about the repeal of this act. He was among the first to recognize that not merely "taxation" but "legislation in general" without representation could not be borne by Englishmen, whether they lived at home or abroad. The bond uniting England and its colonies, he argued, was the King, not Parliament. Had his "dominion status theory" been accepted, the war might have been prevented but, as he sadly remarked, "there was not enough wisdom."

At 65, Franklin began his autobiography, intending it for his son. When pressure of public duties interrupted work on the book, one of his friends pleaded with him to complete it. All that had happened to Franklin, he urged, was of great historic interest since it was "connected with the detail of the manners and situation of a rising people." Moreover, the way he had planned and conducted his life was "a sort of key and explained many things that all men ought to have once explained to them, to give them a chance of becoming wise by foresight."

His philosophy of life, the virtues he cultivated—competent workmanship, honesty, industry, and frugality—are within everyone's grasp; they are as important to a good and successful life today as in his time. No American child ought to grow to adulthood without having read the autobiography of this talented, wise, and good man, who personified all that is best in America. "Merely by being himself," wrote Mark van Doren, "he dignified and glorified his country."

Respectfully,

H. G. RICKOVER.

Braidwood's Centennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN N. ERLENBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, 100 years ago, when coal was king, the city of Braidwood, Ill., was born. With the birth of the atom, many of Braidwood's coal mines have been played out and abandoned, but the city of Braidwood—small in size and in population compared to other great cities of our Nation, but strong in spirit and typical of American legend—lives on.

It was my privilege and pleasure to play a small part in Braidwood's centennial celebration on Sunday, August 22; and I would like to bring the good people of Braidwood to my colleagues' attention by reprinting herewith the speech which I delivered on this very special occasion:

BRAIDWOOD'S CENTENNIAL: A HUNDRED YEARS

You who are townspeople are proud, as well you should be; and we who are your neighbors seek in some small measure to share in your pride, whether we are deserving or not.

As time is gaged in this country, 100 years is a long time, for it is not yet five centuries since Christopher Columbus set forth to sail around the world in a westerly direction. It is less than three and a half centuries since the Pilgrims dropped anchor at Plymouth.

Three hundred years ago, English soldiers seized New Netherlands from the Dutch and renamed it New York.

The English passed the Stamp Act in 1765—200 years ago this year.

And a century ago—what happened in this year when Braidwood was born?

Charleston, S.C., the city from which the Civil War was started, was evacuated by the Confederate Army in February.

Brig. Gen. George Custer defeated Confederate Jubal Early at Waynesboro, Va., in March.

Gen. Robert E. Lee surrendered his army of 28,000 men to Gen. Ulysses S. Grant on April 9; and Gen. Joseph E. Johnston surrendered 31,000 confederates to Gen. William T. Sherman at Durham Station, N.C., 9 days later.

The Confederacy was dead.

While the war was being concluded, other great events were occurring.

On February 1, Abraham Lincoln approved the resolution submitting the 13th amendment to the States, a symbolic but unnecessary step—unnecessary because a constitutional amendment does not require a Presidential signature.

This was the amendment abolishing slavery, however, and now Abe Lincoln wanted none to doubt his sentiments about the buying and selling of human beings.

A month later, on March 4, Lincoln delivered one of his greatest speeches—his second inaugural address—"With malice toward none, with charity for all," he said; and we have been a hundred years trying to live up to his noble words.

And 40 days afterwards, tragedy struck and a joyful nation was saddened by the senseless murder of our great President. That happened 100 years and 4 months ago.

On April 19, 1865, the funeral service for Abraham Lincoln was held at the White House, and soon the funeral train began its meandering journey—to Baltimore, and Harrisburg, and Philadelphia; to New York, and Albany, and Buffalo; to Cleveland, and Columbus, and Indianapolis.

Then north to Chicago on May 1, 16 days after the assassination and south to Springfield, where the train arrived at 9 o'clock in the morning of May 3.

Yes, that last leg of the journey went over the Gulf, Mobile & Ohio tracks, and the train passed through Braidwood early in the morning of May 3.

Just about a century ago, Abe Lincoln was back home in Illinois. The Union had been saved. Slavery ended before the year was out, with ratification of the 13th amendment.

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude * * * shall exist within the United States," the amendment said.

Section 2 is just one sentence long: "Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

It would be wonderful if Braidwood and this 13th amendment, which were launched at about the same time, had needed only an auspicious start to be assured of success. But things just don't work out that way.

Braidwood was started in a day when coal was king—when it was needed to heat the Nation's homes, to fire the railroad's boilers, and as coke to help make the Nation's steel. A few years after Braidwood's start, another use was added: its heat was used to generate the Nation's electricity.

Many of Braidwood's coal mines have played out and the abandoned diggings, once unsightly scars, have been put to man's use—as places where he can have a good time.

Always, when the town has seemed about ready to die, there have been people who have said, "No."

"We don't want our town to die," they have said. It's a good town, and they have worked to make it a better one—worked sometimes cheerfully, sometimes desperately, but above all, they have worked.

We have had to do some work to keep the 13th amendment alive, too; and we still have some more work to do.

When men were deprived of the legal right to hold other men in slavery, they invented other forms of bondage; so that, although they could no longer buy and sell other human beings, they could and did still seek to assert their ownership of them in other, more subtle ways.

First, the effort was made to contend that former slaves were not citizens of the Southern States, but Congress sent to the States the 14th amendment.

Listen to what it said:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States * * * are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. * * * No State shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Several States rejected this concept of liberty, and it was necessary for Congress to do some persuading to get the legislatures in North Carolina and South Carolina to reverse themselves and ratify the amendment.

In order to make certain the rights of citizens, Congress went too far, in the opinion of some people in the North, as well as in the South. In that connection, it is interesting to note that Congress permitted the Carolinas and Georgia to reverse their ratification from "No" to "Yes," but it refused to recognize the attempted withdrawals of Ohio and New Jersey.

Some of us today, nearly a hundred years later, are inclined to agree with the people in those two States who believed they had found a defect in the amendment—people who thought it went too far.

The Supreme Court used this 14th amendment as a basis for its recent one-man, one-vote decisions; and as a result, Senator DIRKSEN has within recent days led an effort to amend the 14th amendment. It should be noted here, parenthetically, that, while some lovers of liberty dissent from the decisions, some others wholeheartedly agree with the High Court; and Senator DOUGLAS is a leader in this latter group.

But I digress.

Congress and the States subsequently found it necessary to adopt another amendment giving Negroes the right to vote.

Again, the second section of that amendment gave to Congress the power to enforce the article by appropriate legislation; and one such piece of legislation was passed by both Houses of Congress early this month—the voting rights bill.

Since the end of World War II nearly every Congress has broadened civil rights in some manner—most recently with the Civil Rights Act passed in 1964 with bipartisan support.

Each time one of these pieces of legislation comes to us, we are reminded that we are having to fight the Civil War all over again. This, of course, is an exaggeration, but it does draw attention to the fact that liberty is not assured to us, any more than is the continued existence of Braidwood. In our dynamic society, we must everlastingly reassert our goals; and we must everlastingly work for the betterment of our towns.

Braidwood would not have survived these past 100 years without the determination and the faith of the people who have lived here.

Liberty will not survive either, unless freemen strive ceaselessly to extend its blessings to all men of good will.

One of our greatest glories as Americans lies in our belief in this truth, and in the firmness of our conviction. We have held fast to our conviction, even when it hurts.

As an example, we occupied Cuba at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War; but we had promised to set her free, and we did; and I have heard no criticism in recent years of that act, even though all of us hope for and work for a different government in Cuba.

For we do not seek to own Cuba.

Had we desired, we obviously could have had Cuba in our hip pocket long ago. No, we don't seek to own Cuba, but we do want to see the Cuban people free. We do want them to enjoy the liberties which we enjoy.

We showed our love of liberty at the end of World War II, when we sent Gen. Douglas MacArthur into Japan. He commanded an army of occupation, but he also established a representative government—and he did it within the framework of Japanese traditions and experience.

After nearly half a century of education and preparation for self-government, we set the Philippines free. They have embarked upon nationhood in the knowledge that we are standing by to help, perhaps to counsel, but not to dominate.

We have done much to spread freedom—much to extend liberty abroad, even while it has been imperfectly enjoyed here at home.

It is true that we still must work to extend freedom here at home—still must work a hundred years after we had fought a long and bloody war to assure it—still must work a hundred years after we had adopted a constitutional amendment to require our citizens to grant it.

It is also true that the people of Braidwood still must work to make their town a better place in which to live—must strive even though the goal will never be completely attained.

I think it is interesting that Braidwood, born in the age of coal may one day soon rise to a new plateau of eminence in the age of atom.

To Mayor Bohac and to the people of Braidwood, I extend my congratulations on this centennial of your town; and with my

own felicitations, I bring the good wishes of the people throughout our 14th Congressional District.

God bless you, and God bless Braidwood.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my newsletter to the people of the Seventh District of Alabama of February 4:

WASHINGTON REPORT: HOUSE VOTES AGAINST AID TO NASSER

(By Congressman JIM MARTIN, Seventh District, Alabama)

By a vote of 204 to 177 the House of Representatives turned down a proposal to continue giving aid to Nasser who has insulted the United States and belittled the millions we have already given to his country. On a bill for supplemental appropriations for the Agriculture Department, the House approved a Republican resolution to prohibit any of the money being used to give American surplus wheat to Nasser. Thus we have served notice that Congress and the American people are fed up with socialist-minded dictators who accept our help and then insult the United States, condone the burning of our libraries, attacks upon our Embassies, and the desecration of our flag. By this vote the House has reasserted the kind of strong leadership the free world needs and which it is seeking from us.

The vote was a defeat for the administration. In spite of Nasser's outburst last month when he told us we could go jump in the lake, the administration announced 5 days later that it was going ahead with plans to provide the Egyptian dictator with $17 million worth of surplus wheat. We have been supplying Nasser with about $140 million in food yearly under a 3-year agreement which expires next June 30.

In addition to taking a strong stand against aiding our enemies and those who side with our enemies, the House debate on this bill pointed out the phoniness of the administration's budget so loudly hailed as being kept under $100 billion. Before the ink was dry on the budget message, here they were asking for $1.6 billion additional funds, for the Agriculture Department alone.

The vote also pointed up the basic difference between the two parties; 128 of the 141 Republican Members of the House voted to deny aid to Nasser. No Republicans were recorded in opposition to the amendment. On the other hand 177 Democrats voted with the administration against the amendment. Only 76 Democrats joined the Republicans to pass the measure.

MEETING WITH SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

This week I had a meeting with the Secretary of the Navy, Paul Nitze. The Secretary briefed several Members of Congress on problems concerning the Navy. Among the topics discussed was the necessity for a raise in the pay scales for military personnel. I agree with Secretary Nitze that an adequate increase is necessary to attract the highest type personnel to the military services and to give them the incentive to stay in the service. In this technical age, we need trained and skilled people, and we can't keep those with the necessary skills unless we are willing to pay them reasonable wages.

BRIEFS OF THE WEEK

Our international monetary position has reached a new record low. In the last decade our short-term liabilities to foreigners, which are callable in gold, increased from $13.6 to $25.9 billion. In the same period our gold stocks diminished from $21.8 to $15.6 billion. Meanwhile, our international balance-of-payments deficit continues at the rate of about $3 billion per year.

Our formal debt continues down the primrose path. The formal debt of the National Government has reached nearly $313 billion. The informal debt, including future liabilities, has reached $1.25 trillion. Last year's deficit was a resounding $8.3 billion, and prospects look no better this year.

Crime rates, particularly crimes of violence and crimes against property, continue to surge. The threat of violence and disorder hangs ominously over numerous communities. Washington continues as the crime capital. Yet the administration is pushing for home rule, which would accentuate the tragic situation. In addition the administration is calling for legislation to open the door to thousands of immigrants from the undereducated and unskilled areas of Asia and Africa to add untold millions to our already teeming cities.

HISTORY PAUSES

The whole world stood in hushed silence this week to mark the passing of the greatest personality this century has produced. Indeed, the march of history paused for an instant in eternity to pay tribute to the life and accomplishments of Winston Churchill. No person living today has been unmarked by the life of this man, and generations yet unborn will be the beneficiaries of his courage, his inspiration, and his stirring words in defense of freedom and human dignity.

My wife, Pat, and I joined other Members of Congress in a memorial service to Winston Churchill in the Washington Cathedral, an inspiring and momentous occasion.

The San Gorgonio Wilderness Area—Need for Recreational Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I take great pleasure in inserting the second in the four-part series of articles by Mr. Vincent X. Flaherty in the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner on the proposed recreational development of the San Gorgonio Wilderness Area:

[From the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, Aug. 27, 1965]

J.F.K. AND A MOUNTAIN

(By Vincent X. Flaherty)

In early February 1963, the writer mailed a note to Mrs. Evelyn Lincoln, personal secretary to President John F. Kennedy. I asked if she would be so kind as to see if the President might find a few minutes for me.

When the letter went fluttering down the glass mail chute in Washington's Mayflower Hotel, I must confess I was suddenly wrenched by a particularly aggressive twinge of conscience.

I wanted to talk to the President about a small portion of vast Mount San Gorgonio—and its very real potential as the most patronized winter sports recreation area in the world.

Just the same I experienced an instant of doubt. What in the world was I thinking of bothering the President of the United States on a matter so trivial in the overall scheme?

I had covered a major portion of the Kennedy presidential campaign of 1960 for the Hearst Headline Service, and had been in touch with him throughout that grinding period. Once aboard the campaign special we had quite a discussion about the U.S. Olympic problems. There was disunity between the governing athletic groups, the Amateur Athletic Union and the National Collegiate Athletic Association.

After election, the President asked me to write a brief on the Olympic situation, reiterating points previously discussed and suggesting solutions. The President was concerned with three things: (1) the development of more and more athletes of Olympic quality; (2) The AAU-NCAA feud, and (3) physical fitness in general. I wrote the brief.

NO MOLEHILL

But now, I felt I was coming to see him on a molehill mission, which it was, compared to other matters, even though it was about a mountain. A mountain in San Bernardino County known as San Gorgonio. No molehill in the minds of many southern Californians.

Then again, San Gorgonio would have much to do with the development of America's future Olympic teams. Indeed, because of its natural excellence of snow and terrain and because of the enormous surrounding population, it would be certain to win top priority with the International Olympic Committee as a site for the winter games. Maybe, after all, there was clear justification to see the President. Two days after the request was mailed, Mrs. Lincoln confirmed an appointment when another person had to cancel out.

I spent more than a half hour with President Kennedy that cold Washington morning of February 8, 1963. So as not to take up too much time, I had prepared a prospectus for him. It stressed the advantages already mentioned here, plus San Gorgonio's unique features, its rare northern exposure which insures predictably consistent snow, and the fact Gorgonio is the only snow mountain in America within easy reach of a huge population. In this case, 12 million southern Californians.

MOST USE

Without exaggeration, I said, San Gorgonio would be the most used winter sports area in the world and would outdraw such popular, but comparatively remote, ski places as Sun Valley, Aspen, and Squaw Valley.

The President read the full 4-page prospectus, which took some doing. It was typed single space. He ran back through it and questioned me on certain points. He became sharply interested when I said skiing facilities should be made free to organized youth groups, the Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Boys Clubs, and underprivileged youngsters who otherwise couldn't afford to take up skiing. These would become Olympic winter athletes of the future.

"How could this be done?" the President asked.

"I know of at least two groups of men willing to make the facilities free to youth organizations," I said. "It should be the No. 1 requirement of any group undertaking the operation."

SPORTSMAN

The President, a conservationist by conviction and a sportsman by nature, was even then pushing the wilderness bill. Hence, he was acutely conscious of wilderness needs. But he also knew such resources should be available for the recreational needs of the greater number of people.

Many thousands of people would use a comparatively small area of Gorgonio every week from 5 to 6 months per year, with still

an overwhelming 90 percent of the wilderness area remaining for others.

The latter group, according to Forest Service estimates, amounts to more than 53,000 in an entire year.

Having been a skier himself in New Hampshire before a recurrent back injury ruled it out, the President knew winter sports would not impair the wilderness values of San Gorgonio. The scenery, the natural grandeur of the area, is as important to winter sports people as to nature lovers.

Surprisingly, President Kennedy was more than vaguely familiar with San Gorgonio. He remembered it as the long, snow-covered mountain range he had seen while flying to and from Los Angeles and Palm Springs.

The President fingered the edges of the prospectus meditatively for an instant then put it on his desk.

"This is a wonderful idea," he said. "It ought to be done."

THE SECRETARY

Before I realized what the President was doing, he had pushed a button on his direct-line Cabinet telephone. Then, in an aside to me, he said: "I am calling Secretary Freeman. Can you go over if I can arrange for you to see him?"

Of course, I was eager to go, Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman prevailed over the U.S. Forest Service which in turn, supervised San Gorgonio.

In another instant I heard President Kennedy mentioning my name.

"Orville," he said, "I am sitting in my office with an old friend of mine. I think he has a good idea and I'll appreciate anything you can do."

After a pause, President Kennedy concluded with:

"Then it will be all right to send him over now?"

With that, J.F.K. hung up and turned to me.

"Secretary Freeman has time to see you," he said. "You'd better get going to the Department of Agriculture. Good luck, and let me know how you make out."

I spent 40 pleasant minutes with the Secretary of Agriculture and gave him a copy of the San Gorgonio prospectus I had written for President Kennedy. The Secretary had hardly finished the first paragraph when he grinned broadly and his eyes widened.

"This," he exclaimed, "is about that mountain in California."

HE KNEW

Out of all of America's mountains and the millions of acres of national forest and wilderness land, the Secretary knew about a mountain in San Bernardino County and a trifling 3,500 sought-after acres.

Rapidly, Secretary Freeman named nature organizations opposed to opening even 10 percent of this massive mountain for winter sports. He couldn't name one organization for it—business, civic, or otherwise. Why? Because there just wasn't one group that had bothered. Not at all illogically, people think things like this come automatically. "It ought to be done," they say, and let it go at that.

Naturally, the Secretary of Agriculture remains neutral on all such matters until an organized group, not just an individual, comes along to present the other side of the argument.

Unfortunately, since the passing of the wilderness bill, the fate of San Gorgonio no longer is controlled by Secretary Freeman or the Forest Service. It is in the hands of Congress. Figuratively, it is in your hands now.

In looking back, however, I do not think Mr. Freeman will mind the revelation of a bit of advice and encouragement he gave to me. If I mustered support on Capitol Hill, he said, it would help him to make San Gorgonio available for winter sports. He told me to talk to Representative Harry R. Sheppard, of San Bernardino, and to as many southern California Congressmen as possible. Through the kindness of Representative CHARLES H. WILSON of Los Angeles, I did this the same day—met Representative Sheppard, who was very openminded on the subject.

I have since talked to many California Congressmen—many of whom had no idea about Gorgonio's magnificent winter sports potential.

It took a long while, a lot of missionary work, to muster the kind of congressional support Secretary Freeman would need. In November, when I thought I had enough, the Nation was stunned by President Kennedy's tragic death. It was not time to go back to Secretary Freeman. I came home and the wilderness bill changed the picture after that.

In so many words, President Kennedy told me this. On the night of February 8, 1963, I had looked over Washington newspapers in my room at the Mayflower Hotel, had freshened up and was about to make a quite belated start for dinner at 9:30 p.m. when the phone rang.

Wearily, I picked it up.

"Vince?" a voice said.

"Yes—who is this?" I asked.

"This is Jack," the voice said. Then came that inglorious moment I had sometimes read about.

"Jack who?" I asked, recognizing the Kennedy voice too late. He wanted to know how I had made out with Secretary Freeman. Fumblingly I blurted out, "Mr. President," and as quickly as possible told him what had happened.

"Keep plugging," the President said. "It'll work out."

Tribute to Bishop Ján Vojtassák

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, the death of the Most Reverend Ján Vojtassák, bishop of Spis Diocese, Slovakia, is being mourned throughout the world. His service to his church and to mankind will always be remembered.

Bishop Vojtassák visited the United States in 1926 and was overwhelmingly received in Middlesex County, N.J., where many of his countrymen live.

A memorial mass was held for this great religious leader and man on August 28, 1965, at the Vatican Pavilion, World's Fair.

I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article covering the mass and also a story of Bishop Vojtassák's life compiled by Mr. John C. Sciranka, editor of the Falcon, the publication in which the article appeared.

The article and story follow:

TRIBUTE TO BISHOP JÁN VOJTAŠŠÁK AT VATICAN PAVILION, WORLD'S FAIR

The Vatican Pavilion at the World's Fair was filled with Slovaks for the memorial mass on Saturday, August 28 for the late Bishop Ján Vojtaššák, who died at the age of 88 in Bohemia after being imprisoned by the Communists for 15 years. Father John F. Oravecz, was celebrant, Archbishop Vagnozzi, Apostolic Delegate from Washington, D.C., Bishop Bryan J. McEntegart of Brooklyn and Cardinal Spellman through Msgr. John Gorman, expressed their sympathy to the Slovak people. Archbishop Vagnozzi stated in his telegram to Father Oravecz:

"On the occasion of the mass to be offered in Vatican Pavilion for the late Bishop Ján Vojtaššák wish to join with Slovak people in mourning death of beloved and revered shepherd. May the Lord in His goodness grant this noble soul eternal rest."

And the Most Rev. Bishop Bryan J. McEntegart, D.D., of Brooklyn, N.Y., sent this message to Father Oravecz:

"It was with sadness that I learned of the death of His Excellency, Bishop Vojtaššák, who was held in such high esteem by the Slovak people.

"I was pleased to learn that you have been chosen to offer a memorial mass for this distinguished prelate on August 28, 1965, at the Vatican Pavilion.

"Accordingly, may I ask you to convey my sincere sympathy to the people of Slovakia and urge them to draw strength and courage from the inspiring faith and loyalty which was exemplified in the life of this man of God.

"May the merciful Lord grant Eternal rest to His faithful servant. With a blessing, I am faithfully yours in Christ."

Although sad, but it was a great day for the Slovaks at the Vatican Pavilion with Bishop Vojtaššák's big picture in the sanctuary. Thousands of visitors have viewed it and expressed their sympathy. Msgr. Stephen J. Krasula, P.A., his assistant, Father Robert Tomlian, Brother James Koza, S.J., of Fordham University and 8 priests and 50 nuns took part in the memorial mass. Representatives of Slovak fraternal organizations were present.

The memorial services were held under the auspices of the eastern district of the Slovak Catholic Federation of America, of which Rev. Michael J. Churak is supreme chaplain.

BISHOP JÁN VOJTAŠŠÁK, MODERN MARTYR OF SLOVAKIA

On August 4, 1965, the Most Reverend Ján Vojtaššák, bishop of Spiš diocese, Slovakia, died in a home for retired priests in Bohemia. He was born on November 14, 1877, in Zakamenný Klin, Orava County, Slovakia. On July 1, 1900, he was ordained to the priesthood. On November 13, 1920, he was named one of the first three Slovak bishops, after the creation of the first Republic of Czecho-Slovakia, by the late Holy Father, Benedict XV, and consecrated by the late Clement Cardinal Micara in the historical city of Nitra, the See of the first Slovak archbishop, St. Methodius on February 13, 1921.

It was in Nitra that the Slovak Ruler Pribina established the Church of St. Emeram in Slovakia in 833 A.D., which was the first Christian church in central Europe.

Bishop Vojtaššák was a great patron and benefactor of the Catholic Press in Slovakia even before World War I. He published the "Holy Family" (Svätá Rodina), a monthly magazine, which was very popular among the Slovaks in America. Providentially, the pastor of the Holy Family Slovak Church of Brooklyn, N.Y., is offering this Mass for his soul.

He did the most admirable propagation of the Holy Eucharist throughout his Spiš diocese and Slovakia. Various orders and religious congregations found a most generous patron in him. He was responsible for the expansion of the Congregations of Redemptorists, Jesuits and the School Brothers in his diocese.

As professor and rector of a seminary, he aided the eductaion of youth and encouraged vocations. Hundreds of priests and laymen in Slovakia and in exile owe their education to his generosity and will always remember him as their great benefactor.

As a bishop he spent large sums of money for the restoration of many historical churches and institutions.

As an official of the Catholic charity in Slovakia he was concerned with the welfare of widows, orphans, and the aged.

When the Republic of Czechoslovakia was established in 1918 he was one of the signers of the famous Declaration of Slovak Independence proclaimed in the city of Turciansky sv. Martin.

He went out of his way in 1925 to meet the American Slovak pilgrims in Rome during the Holy Year and was always interested in the welfare of the Slovaks in the United States of America.

In 1926 he visited the United States with three Slovak bishops; namely, the Most Reverend Marian Blaha, Pavel Jantausch, and Jozef Carsky, all deceased. They attended the International Eucharistic Congress in Chicago, Ill., and visited most of the Slovak parishes in this country. Tens of thousands of American Slovaks greeted them.

In 1945, Bishop Vojtaššák was arrested and interned for 7 months in his native Slovakia by the radicals. In 1950 he was arrested again and according to the NCWC news service, Washington, D.C., he was one of the three bishops convicted in 1951 by the Czechoslovak Communist government of treason and collaboration with the enemy for denouncing the closing of Catholic convents and monasteries. He received a "clemency sentence" of 24 years and a fine of $10,000.

And according to Religious News Service of New York City. "Bishop Vojtaššák was known as an exemplary prelate and a man of great charity and apostolic zeal. He had been released from detention by the Czechoslovak Government in 1963, along with Jozef Cardinal Beran, Archbishop of Prague, who was made a prince of the church last February."

This memorial mass, celebrated by the Reverend John F. Oravecz, pastor of Holy Family Slovak Church, Brooklyn, N.Y., is offered for the soul of the departed modern martyr of Slovakia, as Bishop Vojtaššák is known by his American friends and admirers, organized in the Slovak Catholic Federation of America, which represents 3 million Slovaks in the free world. Its official organ is the "Good Shepherd," 205 Madison Street, Passaic, N.J. (Member of the Catholic Press Association.)

When the Communists imprisoned him, American Slovaks raised their protests for his liberation. On July 10, 1949, His Eminence Francis J. Cardinal Spellman presided at a solemn mass, offered in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City, by the Right Reverend Monsignor Stephen J. Krasula, P.A., one of his closest friends and countryman, which was attended by 3,500 American Slovaks. Rt. Rev. Msgr. Cyril J. Potocek, V.C., preached on this occasion. The Voice of America and the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD admired his courage and sacrifices in February 1941 on the occasion of his 40th anniversary of consecration. Appeals for his liberation were sent to the United Nations on that occasion.

George R. Lamade, Publisher

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, the State of Pennsylvania lost one of its most outstanding citizens, and Williamsport lost one of its most devoted and active civic leaders with the death on August 25 of George R. Lamade. The well known and respected publisher of Grit often was referred to as "Mr. Williamsport." In May of this year the Greater Williamsport Chamber of Commerce presented to him the Meritorious Achievement Award for outstanding community service. This was only one in the long list of many such recognitions of George Lamade's community leadership and public service. There were few fundraising campaigns, local or State emergencies, improvement programs that he did not see through to a successful conclusion.

George's warm engaging personality, his fine character and the principles by which he lived will endear him in our hearts forever. His active leadership, his foresight, his many contributions to the betterment of his community and fellow man have left a lasting impression. An editorial in his newspaper, the Grit, simply and eloquently expresses the respect and deep affection for him that his friends, his employees, the community and the people of north-central Pennsylvania share.

GEORGE R. LAMADE, PUBLISHER

George R. Lamade's talents and gifts of leadership meant as much to Williamsport as they did to Grit Publishing Co. He was devoted to both during his lifetime.

It is difficult to mention any civic agency or activity that did not profit from Mr. Lamade's conviction, sympathetic interest, constructive influence, and helpfulness. Born and reared in Williamsport, he went through life believing that he owed an obligation to his city to insure its continued growth and well-being. A bulwark of strength when the going was roughest, he was always looking ahead, charting new goals, foreseeing needs, and planning to meet them.

Grit attained unparalleled growth under his direction. He loved the small communities throughout the Nation just as he loved Williamsport, and he strove constantly to improve Grit, the better to serve smalltown people and to meet their needs.

One of his distinguishing marks as a publisher was his desire always to improve the working conditions and the benefits of Grit employees. His door was open to any personal problem, just as it was to any civic challenge or difficulty.

Mr. Lamade believed strongly in basic American freedoms, the American way of life, and the dignity of the individual. He provided the theme for Grit's 75th anniversary when he wrote about the Bill of Rights.

"Clearly," he said, "it is Grit's duty to defend and preserve this greatest instrument in America for liberty and freedom."

The list of his awards and honors is long—from the community, from schools of journalism, from the publishing field. Yet he was the most humble of men, quickest always to give to others the full credit for accomplishment.

Grit Publishing Co., Grit family of employees, and Williamsport are much the better off today because George Lamade lived and worked among us. We have lost both a leader and a friend.

The Franking Privilege Outside Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, this morning the Subcommittee on Postal Rates of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, of which I am a member, met to hold hearings on H.R. 9058, a bill introduced by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POOL] to allow free use of the mails to report dividend and interest payments as required for income tax purposes. The bill further provides for the Internal Revenue Service to reimburse the Post Office for the costs of such free use of the mails.

I support this bill, which charges to the Treasury Department the cost of collecting tax information which is extremely beneficial to the Internal Revenue Service in the carrying out of their duties. It would provide free use of the mails for the purpose of supplying information on interest and dividend payments required by title 26 of the United States Code, sections 6042, 6044, and 6049. This law was enacted in the Revenue Act of 1962.

The Treasury Department has estimated that since the enactment of this law, the Federal Government has collected billions of additional tax dollars. The latest estimate is that an additional income of one-half billion dollars annually is reported from those receiving interest and dividends because of the filing of these form 1099 information returns.

The major cost of these returns is in the form of labor and the time it takes to compute the information required and to transfer this information to the form 1099. This cost is borne by the private individuals and companies who have to send in forms 1099 as well as sending in all other tax information required of every taxpayer: this bill will relieve those individuals and companies that have to file these forms from having to absorb the mailing costs as well. The total cost of this service to the Government will be only between $3 and $4 million per year.

It seems the least we could do for these people is to pay the postage cost of mailing these returns to the individual taxpayer and to the Treasury Department. I urge my colleages on both sides of the aisle to give support to this measure—at better than a 100 to 1 return, it is a real bargain.

Ambassador Torbert, New Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to submit the following biographical sketch of Ambassador Horace G. Torbert, Jr., newly designated Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations.

I wish to compliment Secretary of State Dean Rusk on this appointment. Ambassador Torbert is a long-time career

Foreign Service officer and brings with him great experience to this new post. The Torberts are certainly an outstanding American family. We in Congress are pleased to welcome them to Washington, D.C.

I am also happy to submit for the RECORD this letter from my good friend, Douglas MacArthur II:

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, September 1, 1965.

Hon. JAMES G. FULTON,
House of Representatives.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FULTON: I am indeed pleased to inform you that Secretary Rusk has designated Ambassador Horace G. Torbert, Jr., of Massachusetts, as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations. Ambassador Torbert is a career Foreign Service officer with more than 18 years of distinguished service with the Department of State. He has had assignments to several key European posts. His must recent assignment took him to Africa, where he has been serving as our Ambassador to the Somali Republic since 1962. I am attaching a brief biographic sketch for your information.

Ambassador Torbert has asked me to let you know that he wishes to be of all possible assistance to you and members of your staff. His room number will be 7256, and he can be reached on extension 3276.

With every good wish and warm personal regards.

Sincerely,

DOUGLAS MACARTHUR II,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

BIOGRAPHIC SKETCH—AMBASSADOR HORACE G. TORBERT

Ambassador Torbert was born on October 17, 1911, in the District of Columbia. He is a graduate of Yale University and received the degree of M.B.A. from Harvard University in 1934. He was with a pulp and paper manufacturing firm from 1934 to 1942. In World War II he attained the rank of lieutenant colonel in the Army. Following his discharge he was a management consultant with the Bureau of Budget in 1946–47.

Appointed as a Foreign Service officer in 1947, his first post was Madrid, where he served until 1950. He spent the following 4 years at Vienna, then went to Salzburg as consul in 1954. After returning to the United States in 1955 to attend the National War College, he served 2 years in Washington. He was officer in charge of Italian and Austrian Affairs, and became Deputy Director and then Director of West European Affairs.

In 1958, Mr. Torbert was assigned as Counselor of Embassy at Rome, and in 1961 he was assigned as Counselor of Embassy at Budapest. He was appointed to his present position as Ambassador to the Somali Republic in 1962.

Ambassador Torbert is married to the former Anne Cassel Holloway, and they have two sons: William Rockwell, a recent Yale graduate and James Randolph, a sophomore at Columbia University.

Water Resources Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, the problem of maximum use of our water resources is growing more important each day, especially in sections of the Northeast where water shortages are reaching crisis proportions. Public understanding of the problems is imperative to their efficient and effective solution.

Hon. ROBERT E. JONES, of Alabama, chairman of the Natural Resources and Power Subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee, on which I am honored to serve, provided some concise observations on the water problem, especially in regard to the need for pollution abatement, in a letter published in the New York Times this week.

I am pleased to insert his remarks in the RECORD:

FIGHT FOR CLEAN WATER

To the EDITOR:

The New York Times is performing a valuable public service in keeping its readers informed of problems relating to our Nation's water resources. Your extensive and comprehensive coverage of this vital area—such as the articles on the recent U.S. Public Health Service tristate conference on Lake Erie pollution—has been in the best tradition of responsible journalism.

The urgency of developing methods to provide for the optimum reuse of water and of cleaning up our Nation's rivers and streams was stressed continually in the many hearings on water pollution control and abatement held by the Natural Resources and Power Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations during the 88th Congress. Our hearings also brought out the fact that water would be this country's major resources problem within one decade.

If the present situation is any indication, we may well beat that prediction by several years.

The current drought has had a dramatic impact on the lives of millions of Americans; polluted waters have affected the lives of millions more. But I suspect that to still other millions these are remote problems which affect only "the other fellow." This is not a sectional problem. Its ramifications will affect every American.

If this country is to continue to prosper, all of us—individuals, industry, conservation organizations, and Government at all levels—must work together to insure that the present water crisis will not recur and that the waters of our country will be returned to their original state of purity with all practicable speed.

In the final analysis, it is only through an alert and informed citizenry that the fight for clean water will be won.

ROBERT E. JONES,
Chairman, Natural Resources and Power Subcommittee.

WASHINGTON, *August 20, 1965.*

Metropolitan Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, we recognize that big government consumes big taxes, and we therefore continue to fight a desperate action to stem the tide of the bureaucratic monstrosities which are challenging our local communities. A most effective, timely editorial expressing a very commonsense and sound viewpoint on this issue appeared in the Tri-City Advertiser on Thursday, August 26, an outstanding publication serving communities in my district.

The editorial follows:

METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT?

Suburbanites should be alert to the fact that obviously the scheme for a grand metropolitan government has not been abandoned.

That comes to light after a recent disclosure in a broadcast that, in a test vote, suburbanites voted, in some instances as high as 5 to 1 against any such proposal while the city dwellers voted in favor but by no such wide measure.

This proposal for a metropolian government embracing all of suburbia, proposes the consolidation of the police and fire departments and the school system under one rule.

The objective is reduced taxes.

If you have never heard of this poppycock before, we suggest you begin to take a good look at it since it has been in the minds of the big city political machines for a good many years. Several feeler attempts were made to consolidate the suburban police departments with the Cook County police several years ago, in which this writer had the opportunity of playing a part in kicking this objective out of the back door. We will detail this later in following editions.

There seems to be some evidence according to those who are familiar with political procedure, that in certain suburban areas there already are key leaders at work to promote the metropolitan government idea and to lay the groundwork for the extension of the machine that for some time is said to control about everything in the big city and in the county.

We believe this phony idea is nothing more than the desire on the part of some individuals to extend their powers for the sake of power alone and to perpetuate the reign of a party that, from where we sit, is promoting the enchroachment of Federal power into the rights of the States.

Any attempt on the part of the big city fathers to encroach on suburbia should be, in our opinion, detected early and opposition developed before we are all embraced in the tentacles of big city politicians.

From our vantage point, we observe that we have excellent fire and police protection. Moreover, our local government is made up of our fellow citizens whom we know intimately.

Once we delegate power to strangers and set up the machinery for increased political patronage, we can bid a fond farewell to local governments. None of us wants to see that happen.

Unquestionably, a great many people are about sick and tired of the egotistic attitude of those who obviously want to go down in history as saviors of mankind.

We suggest that those who are so minded, remember that there was but one Saviour of mankind. He is well known to all Christians.

Unfortunately, the world has paid but little heed to His teachings, which have been all but ignored by those who seek the crown of glory.

We suggest that these egotists, and others pay a little more heed to what the Master tried to teach us—before it's too late.

One A-Team Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, the A-team program was generaly a flop—almost totally unsuccessful.

The idea of giving young boys an opportunity to learn the disciplines and values of work, an opportunity to earn extra money, an opportunity to use their summer school vacations for worthwhile endeavors, and an opportunity to travel to California was admirable. Most everyone applauds the idea. We have been successfully utilizing this idea for years.

But the Department of Labor did not understand specialty agriculture in California, nor the labor problem, nor kids. There was practically no planning. Many misrepresentations were made to the boys and their coaches. Farmers could not prepare on short notice for the great influx of kids coming to California for a summer jaunt.

Only one team stuck it out.

These boys, their coaches, and the growers are entitled to congratulations and high commendations. The program did not measure up to their expectations, but they demonstrated a seriousness, a commitment, a pride and team spirit which should redound to their favor and satisfaction in sports, education, and life.

These are the kind of boys who deserve great respect. These are the type of young people whom we should champion.

Their parents, their schools, and their communities can be truly proud of them.

Eric Brazil, a perceptive reporter for the Salinas Californian, tells the following story:

BEST A-TEAM LEAVES VALLEY—IOWANS COMPLETE 6 WEEKS

(By Eric Brazil)

The best A-team in the Salinas Valley left for home today.

Thirty-one teenaged athletes temporarily employed as agricultural manpower boarded a bus for eastern Iowa, having completed 6 weeks of work in the valley's strawberry fields.

The sustained performance of the boys from Notre Dame, Orange, and St. George High Schools in Cresco, Waterloo, and Lansing, Iowa, has been a bright spot in the Labor Department's controversial A-team farm labor program.

NOT ONE LEFT

While the dropout rate among the 900 A-team boys who arrived in June to help handle the strawberry harvest crisis has been inordinately high, the Iowa team didn't lose a single man. It left with its roster, as well as its pride, intact.

Supervisor Charlie O'Brien, a pipe-smoking bachelor who has coached basketball and baseball at Notre Dame High in Cresco for 7 years, said that his team lost just 40½ man-hours of work in 6 weeks.

The boys averaged $1.24 per hour picking freezer strawberries. Highest average wage was $1.87 per hour. Most of the boys said they were able to save about $120 as a result of their work foray to California.

Why did the Iowa A-team succeed while most of its counterparts were having serious day-to-day difficulties—or failing completely?

O'Brien said it was a matter of pride and team spirit. For one thing, the boys didn't want to let the folks back home down. For another, "we saw a chance to be the only team that stuck."

"Besides," O'Brien said, "the team had a first-class cook in Bob Purdonie, a former merchant seaman who works at the C. W. Englund labor camp on Airport Boulevard. And, at Salinas Strawberries, the world's largest strawberry-growing operation, the boys found a particularly sympathetic and effective field foreman, Lupe Gomez."

The boys add another note of explanation. "The coach (O'Brien) had a lot to do with it. He made thing interesting," Paul Bateman, 17, of Cresco, said.

LAID DOWN LAW

O'Brien, a very mild-mannered man, laid down the law, and the boys obeyed. "There were no disciplinary problems," he said, "and on this score alone, I'm proud of the boys."

Unlike most of the A-teams, the Iowa boys cleaned their own barracks. O'Brien purchased the broom and told them to use it, so the barracks "wouldn't look like a goldarned mess" and to give them a sense of responsibility.

Because the boys had to arise at 5 a.m. on working days, the barracks lights went out at 9:30 o'clock at night.

After work during the week the boys played softball in a field behind the labor camp with colleagues from New Mexico, Kansas, and Idaho. O'Brien bought the softball equipment.

O'Brien didn't permit the boys to hitchhike (that would be just asking for a headache), but they got around pretty well all the same—to San Francisco, Santa Cruz, the Monterey peninsula and to the California Rodeo in Salinas.

Notre Dame and St. George are Catholic high schools, and many of the Iowa boys were taken in hand by the Catholic community of Salinas. They were guests at a Knights of Columbus barbecue and at a dance at the Sacred Heart parish hall. They swam at the Sacred Heart pool.

O'Brien said that he "never had to fight to get the kids back in the field" of a morning; and in fact, some of them worked when they might reasonably have been expected to visit a doctor instead.

The boys weren't exactly enthralled with the job of strawberry picking, and they did not make as much money as they expected. "It was boring," said Ken Hackan, 17, of Cresco. "I thought I'd make a little more."

WON'T RETURN

Ron O'Brien, 16, of Cresco, who usually picked 18 crates of berries a day and was one of the team's top pickers, said that "it wasn't so bad, but I'm not coming out next year."

Ken Schemmel, 17, of Cresco, said that "the weather surprised us. It was colder than we expected."

Dan Metzdorff, 17, of New Albin, a student at St. George High, said that arriving in the Salinas Valley and finding out exactly what the wages and working conditions were was a bit of a shock for everyone.

"But we didn't have much choice, we were so far away from home," he said.

Metzdorff enjoyed playing on the predominately Notre Dame High strawberry picking team for 6 weeks, but he doesn't intend to let brotherly feeling dull his competitive instinct in the fall, when football season begins. "St. George and Notre Dame are in the same conference," he said, "and we're going to beat them this year."

STILL LIKE BERRIES

Familiarity with strawberries has apparently not bred contempt for them among the boys. "We still eat 'em, every day," Allan Grube, 17, of Cresco, said.

"Those boys can eat like horses," said Purdonie, their favorite cook, who believes that, while they came to camp a little wild, they settled down quickly and became "real gentlemen."

Yesterday afternoon, fulfilling a pledge, the Iowa boys stepped briefly out of the role of gentlemen strawberry pickers and tossed O'Brien in the shower, as a rowing crew would a winning coxswain.

Happy Birthday, Malaysia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson and the Secretary of State Dean Rusk celebrated the anniversary of independence of a trusted and loyal friend in a most peculiar manner.

According to an article in the Washington Post today, they chose the second anniversary of the founding of Malaysia as the date to reveal that the United States has offered to renew an atoms-for-peace agreement with Indonesia.

As most of us know outside the State Department and the White House, Malaysia has been having its difficulties with Indonesia for quite some time.

Indonesia's Sukarno has made it a matter of national policy to destroy Malaysia, a nation less than one-tenth Indonesia's size and with emphasis upon economic growth rather than military conquest.

As a reward for this aggression, the United States has supplied Indonesia with an atomic reactor and is paying part of the cost of the building to house it.

With this reactor, Indonesia can train the atomic scientists to create the atomic bombs which Sukarno states his nation will explode in the near future.

With the Kappa 8 rockets Sukarno recently purchased from Japan, Indonesia will have the beginnings of a delivery system for these atomic bombs.

What did Malaysia receive as a birthday present?

More appeasement by the United States toward a neighbor pledged to its destruction.

Happy birthday, Malaysia.

For the benefit of my colleagues, articles from the Washington Post and U.S. News & World Report follow:

[From the Washington, D.C. Post]

UNITED STATES WOULD RENEW INDONESIAN A-PACT

(By Richard Halloran)

The United States has offered to renew an atoms-for-peace agreement with Indonesia, officials said yesterday.

The offer is in line with current American attempts to maintain an even temper in response to Indonesian President Sukarno's vociferous anti-American pronouncements.

President Johnson, on the advice of Secretary of State Dean Rusk, decided to give the go-ahead signal. A diplomatic note to Djakarta outlined the American proposal to continue the agreement for 5 more years.

A spokesman for the Indonesian embassy said that no reply had come from Djakarta and that no indication of the Indonesian thinking on the proposal had been received.

The agreement, which expires September 20, covers a research reactor situated at the Technical Institute at Bandung. It was purchased from General Dynamics and uses uranium fuel leased from the United States.

If the agreement is renewed, Indonesia will be allowed to continue using the ura-

nium fuel. No new funds are involved in the renewal.

The United States has proposed that safeguard inspections be conducted by the International Atomic Energy Agency instead of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, as in the past.

Indonesian scientists got the reactor running last spring, after which the United States advanced $350,000 to Indonesia as its share of the building cost.

[From the U.S. News & World Report]

JAPAN'S ROCKETS: A FUTURE NUCLEAR THREAT?

TOKYO.—Uneasiness is being expressed in Japan over the sale of 10 Japanese Kappa 8 space-observation rockets to militant Indonesia.

The uneasiness is not concerned with fear that the two-stage Kappas will be converted to military use by Indonesia. The Sukarno government has been buying ground-to-air and air-to-air military missiles from Switzerland and Russia.

What bothers many Japanese is that Indonesia claims it will soon carry out its first atomic-bomb test. If so, it is reasoned here, Indonesia will want a delivery system, and might go shopping in Japan.

WHAT ROCKETS CAN DO

Behind the concern is this background in Japanese rocketry:

Japan's Kappa series was developed primarily by the Tokyo University Institute of Space and Aeronautical Science. Some of the rockets have reached altitudes of 124 miles. Kappas have been sold by a commercial firm to both Yugoslavia and Indonesia.

Tokyo University scientists have since headed development of a three-stage Lambda, a 63-foot rocket which has soared up 621 miles.

Now the same scientists are working on a 40-ton, four-stage Mu rocket. The Mu is expected to put Japan's first earth satellite—a 220 pounder—into orbit by late 1967.

NUCLEAR WARHEAD?

It is technically possible to convert the Lambda to military purposes. But the Mu, it is claimed, would be even better: A nuclear warhead could simply be substituted for the satellite in the fourth stage.

Comment in the Japanese newspaper, The Asahi Shimbun: "This kind of worry cannot be disregarded in view of the fact that America and the Soviet Union are actually doing the reverse. That is, they're using large-type, long-distance military missiles for launching artificial satellites."

Japanese are now asking: With a commercial trading firm free to sell abroad rockets developed by Tokyo University, who can or will prevent their export for military purposes?

A top foreign office official, asked about that aspect of the problem, replied only that "the government is convinced Japanese rockets will not be used for military purposes" because "launchings are observed by Japanese technicians."

Another point of worry: What if a Socialist government took over in Japan? Would that mean that Indonesia, Cuba, or Ghana could buy Japanese-made rockets for any purpose? There has been no official comment.

SUKARNO'S BOMB

Japanese experts see Indonesia's nuclear capability this way: Indonesia has a small U.S.-made test reactor at Bandung Technological University. It was installed a year ago.

A second test reactor was supplied by Russia and installed this year in Jakarta. It is not yet in operation.

Question is: Has Indonesia had time to make enough plutonium 239 for a bomb? Japanese experts agree: Definitely not. They say that if President Sukarno keeps his promise to have Indonesian A-bombs in the near future, they will be imports from Red China.

Discharge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, in a day and age in which self-government is the moving force around the globe, it is heartening to see that we may finally be getting around to doing the same for the District of Columbia.

I emphasize the word "may," because at this time an attempt to discharge home rule legislation from the House District Committee and allow the House to work its will is faltering. As of this morning, the petition drive needed 32 more signatures for the 218 necessary to get the bill out of committee.

I note that most northern and western Democrats have signed up, but only about 25 Republicans have done so. Can it be that the party of Lincoln is afraid to risk home rule for a city with a Negro majority? I hope my colleagues on the other side of the aisle will prove that Lincoln means as much to them as it does to the rest of the Nation by signing the discarge petition.

In this connection, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial from Tuesday's New York Times:

DISCHARGE

"When in the name of heaven are we going to give the people at the seat of the Nation a chance to participate in the democratic process?"

President Johnson asked that question of his party's congressional leaders last week as he exhorted them to make a genuine effort on behalf of home rule for the District of Columbia. It is a good question.

The Senate has approved the home rule bill for the sixth time in the last 16 years, but the District Committee in the House has once again fixed its death grip upon the bill. The committee, led by Representative JOHN MCMILLAN, South Carolina Democrat, is heavily stacked with old-line Southerners who oppose self-government because Washington is 60 percent Negro.

A petition has been filed in the House to discharge the bill from the District Committee and bring it to the floor for a vote. Such petitions require 218 signatures, but as of yesterday only about 175 members had signed. Speaker JOHN MCCORMACK and his top assistants are backing the drive for signatures, but have refused to sign themselves because of the tradition that the leadership always defers to committee chairmen. This makes practical sense when a regular standing committee is involved, but the District Committee more nearly resembles a kangaroo court. Once home rule is achieved, the committee could and should be abolished. It is an excrescence on the body politic.

If Speaker MCCORMACK were to sign the petition, he would be in a strong position to challenge Representative GERALD FORD, the minority leader, for it is here that the real difficulty lies. Most of the northern and western Democrats have signed, but fewer than 25 Republicans have done so. Is the party of Lincoln afraid to entrust the Negro citizens of Washington with the right of self-government? Representative FORD and the Republicans in the House are in danger of disgracing themselves on this issue.

Tragice Evidence of the Need for Narcotic Legislation: Letter in Support of H.R. 9051

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, the following letter speaks for itself. I have deleted the name and address of my correspondent to prevent additional sorrow.

The letter follows:

Representative EMANUEL CELLER,
Chairman, House Judiciary Committee,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE CELLER: I rejoiced when I read your article in the Medical Tribune and Medical News dated Wednesday July 28, 1965. I pray that you will be successful with bill H.R. 9051. Drug addiction is so vicious and tragic that only those individuals that come face to face with the problem, or are its victims understand the true problem and need for your enlightened bill.

Unfortunately this problem entered my family in 1947. After my younger brother was discharged from the Army he was introduced to drugs. My family having no knowledge of drugs or addiction could not understand the change in my brother. A family friend finally told me that my brother was addicted to drugs. To learn about this problem I read available material then turned to the Government for help. The family was able to persuade my brother to enter Lexington for treatment where he stayed about a month and left without being cured. He landed in Chicago broke and called home for aid. Three times I sent fare money and three times this money was spent on drugs. Finally I wired money to a friend that bought a ticket and put my brother on the train. When he arrived home the family discovered my brother had pawned his suit, shoes, extra clothing and an expensive leather suitcase. From that time on life was and still is a nightmare for everyone. My brother, to satisfy his habit borrowed or stole everything including my salary. He was unemployed, filthy in appearance, ate little and kept odd hours. In 1949 I left for Europe and a few months later my brother was arrested for possession of drugs and imprisoned for 5 years. On my return home in 1960 the pattern had changed only to the extent that my brother was working 6 to 7 days a week to pay for his habit. He is still employed but is always without funds. He has one change of clothes which the family gave him, he seldom cuts his hair, his teeth are rotten, he usually sleeps home about 2 to 3 hours a night during the week and on weekends, still in his filthy clothes, disappears. His room is littered with small pieces of toilet-like paper and a glass of water. He is cadaverous and dirty in appearance, eats little and has reached the point where he looks, lives, and acts like an animal. Last week I called several places seeking aid. One office told me that it was a police matter, another said they were planning an outpatient clinic in the future. In other words no one offered me any concrete help. Drug addicts are sick and helpless people. The drug pusher feeds off these unfortunate creatures. My brother makes over $5,100 per year, yet he will not pay at home $10 a week for room and board; nor by clothes to keep himself neat. I am at the end of my wits. To put him in the street would mean he would be homeless, sleeping in basements, doorways and perhaps if he stretched his money he

would take a cheap hotel now and then. In the long run he would be picked up by the law and sent to prison.

As of this writing I feel he would be better off locked up to save himself and relieve the family of the burden they must now bear. His is a nightmare world, a world on the fringes of society. My brother is talented, and excellent portrait artist but can seldom concentrate on his work. As most addicts seem to lack the willpower to seek a cure, some provision should be made under certain circumstances to allow the addict's family to commit him for treatment.

I wish to thank you for thinking of those unfortunate creatures, the addicts that walk in darkness and whose only certain release seems to be in death. Death I say because the law enforcement agencies will never be able to dry up the source.

Sincerely yours,

——— ———.

Operation Head Start

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, the past summer has been the time of one of the most encouraging developments in recent U.S. history for education and for the fight on poverty.

That development is Operation Head Start, the nationwide project for preschool training to prepare underprivileged youngsters for entrance this fall into the first grade. The project has been a striking success. It is a fine example of the results which can be achieved when local organizations cooperate creatively with the Government in worthwhile and humanitarian projects.

The Milwaukee Journal of August 21 published an editorial entitled, "Off to a Better Start," which sets forth some highly interesting statistics concerning Operation Head Start. I am happy to present this excellent editorial for entry in today's RECORD:

OFF TO A BETTER START

Operation Head Start, the exciting antipoverty project, is preparing thousands of children from poor and culturally deprived neighborhoods to make a good beginning when they enter school this fall. Obviously the project is reaching only part of the children needing this help.

A survey of preschool enrollment, made by the Census Bureau last October for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, shows how closely preschool training is related to family income. Only 181,000—4.3 percent—of the 3-year olds in the population were in school. Nursery schools are predominantly private. Yet just 2.2 percent of the 3-year-olds in families with incomes less than $3,000 were enrolled compared with 8.5 percent in families with incomes of $7,500 and up.

About 617,000—14.9 percent—of 4-year-olds were in school. This included only 7.3 percent of those in families with incomes below $3,000 compared with 23.6 percent in families of $7,500 or more.

Of the 5-year-olds, 2.4 million were in school—58.1 percent. Again the relationship between enrollment and income prevailed—only 38.1 percent of the 5-year-olds in families under $3,000, but 77.6 percent of those in the $7,500 and up families.

"We have known for a long time that large numbers of American children enter the first grade with all sorts of cultural and economic handicaps," says Wilbur Cohen, the onetime Milwaukeean who is Undersecretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. "This survey gives us valuable new guidelines for our efforts to reduce the great social and economic waste that results from widespread educational deprivation in the early years of life."

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I include, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, my newsletter to my constituents of January 28:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman JIM MARTIN, Seventh District, Alabama)

APPOINTED TO COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS

At my request I was appointed to the House Committee on Public Works. I sought this committee appointment because the areas of legislation for which the Public Works Committee is responsible are most important to our Seventh District and the whole State of Alabama.

The committee has functions relating to the development of rivers and harbors, flood control, public buildings and grounds, public works, and water power. After I was named to the committee, I was appointed to the Subcommittees on Rivers and Harbors, Flood Control, Watershed Development, and Public Buildings. The Seventh District of Alabama is especially involved with the work of all these endeavors. The Tennessee River, the Warrior, the Coosa, the Alabama, and the Tombigbee have important work to be done before they are to reach their full potential, contributing to the prosperity and progress of our State.

Watershed development is most vital and when I think of such projects as the proposed Bear Creek watershed in the western part of the district, I am convinced that in the months ahead I can serve the people I represent to the best advantage as a member of the Public Works Committee.

REMARKS ON FOREIGN AID

Last week I was privileged to make my first speech to the House of Representatives. The administration's budget request for foreign aid funds was publicized as the lowest since the inception of foreign aid in 1948. I took the floor of the House to point out some facts, and said in part, as follows:

"The President was quoted as saying his foreign aid request is the smallest in the history of the foreign aid program. What are the real facts?

"Fact No. 1 is that the President's request for foreign aid funds for fiscal 1966 is $130 million more than last year's appropriation and $380 million more than the appropriation for fiscal 1964.

"Fact 2: He inserted in his message a separate request for an additional $750 million for aid to Latin America.

"Fact 3: There is already on hand $6.5 billion in unexpended funds, money previously appropriated by Congress, but not yet spent.

"It is not fair to the people of the United States to present budget requests in terms of juggled figures and statements which make us believe we are spending less money when the fact is we are spending more. Let the administration present to Congress legitimate budget requests, stated in plain language, so we, and the people we represent, may have the opportunity to judge all proposed programs on their merits and in their true light."

INAUGURATION

My wife, Pat, my staff, and all of us enjoyed the inauguration ceremonies. I was especially proud of the Alabama float and was pleased to note the burst of applause which greeted our Governor, George Wallace, when his car passed the reviewing stand in front of the White House.

Among those enjoying the week's activities with us were Mayor and Mrs. Les Gilliland, of Gadsden, and my newly appointed research assistant, Morgan Smith, and Mrs. Smith of Birmingham.

CONGRESSIONAL STAFF COMPLETE

I am pleased to announce that my office staff in Washington, Gadsden, and Jasper is now busily at work. It is highly gratifying to have Ralph Marlatt as my administrative assistant. He is a man of broad governmental background and knows Washington as few other men do. He has served 15 years with such outstanding Members of Congress as Walter Judd, of Minnesota, and Bruce Alger, of Texas. So I am fortunate, indeed, to have Mr. Marlatt with me. Also with us in Washington is Mrs. Louise Van Allen, of Fort Payne, Miss Susan Hamilton, of Gadsden, and Miss Pat Connelly, of Washington. Mrs. Ann Carlton, of Gadsden, will direct activities in that office at 107 Federal Building. Mrs. Gale Schlitt will have charge of the Jasper office located in the Post Office Building. Mr. Kenneth Holland, of Horton, will be my field man working through both the Gadsden and Jasper offices. Our entire operation is designed to give the best kind of service to all the people of the Seventh District who have any business whatsoever with the Federal Government.

Farewell Carl Rowan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, today one of America's outstanding public officials returned to private life. He is Carl Rowan, former Director of the U.S. Information Agency and U.S. Ambassador to Poland.

The position of USIA Director is, in my estimation, one of the most difficult Federal posts. He is constantly the target of criticism, both domestic and foreign, for the actions and omissions of the Agency.

Despite these difficulties, Mr. Rowan carried out his duties with distinction and success. He and his associates have made America better understood by peoples around the world by their publications, broadcasts, and other activities.

In past months I have had several opportunities to work with Mr. Rowan and

his staff. They have been unfailingly courteous and helpful.

Mr. Rowan returns to private life to pursue the occupation he left to come to Washington, that of writer and journalist. Although his formal ties with the National Government are dissolved, I am certain that our Nation will be able to count on his continuing counsel and advice in the days ahead.

Nor would it surprise me if Mr. Rowan were to return someday to Government and once again give of his ability and experience.

As Mr. Rowan leaves Government, he may justly carry with him a sense of pride in a good job well done. I am sure my colleagues join me in commending him for his fine efforts and accomplishments in the service of the United States. We wish him well in all of his future endeavors.

MDTA Extends a Helping Hand to Muskegon Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, the Nation's problem of unemployment would be largely solved if only the jobless were trained and qualified to fill the thousands and thousands of jobs that are available. Newspaper help-wanted ads are crammed with job opportunities. American industry needs and wants qualified workers.

The Nation's economy, now generating a gross national product in excess of $665 billion a year, is soaring as never before. Yet the rate of unemployment in our country stubbornly refuses to budge below 4½ percent.

Long before President Johnson launched his much-heralded war on poverty, Congress had already enacted, with bipartisan support, the Manpower Development and Training Act. The success of this measure, which provides training for men and women in skills that are needed, has been gratifying.

Unlike some of the less realistic programs which are now springing up as part of the "war on poverty" MDTA seeks to match skills with an actual demand for skills.

As one who supported MDTA, which was truly the product of bipartisan cooperation, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to a significant application of the law in Muskegon, Mich., a city that I have the honor to represent.

The program there, which is referred to as the multiyouth project of the Muskegon public schools, was established earlier this year and centers its activities in the Muskegon Area Skill Training Center at 1183 Laketon Avenue, Muskegon.

I wish each Member could have the opportunity, as I did recently, to visit this exceptional center.

The project was started through the cooperation of such civic groups as the Muskegon Area Development Council, the Muskegon County Youth Commission, the Muskegon County Drop-Out Committee, the local chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League, the Michigan Department of Parole, United Youth, the Michigan Department of Probation, Muskegon Community College and Muskegon High School.

These agencies combined their efforts to study the scope and extent of the dropout problem in the Muskegon area. Facts they obtained were presented to the Muskegon office of the Michigan Employment Security Commission, and plans were laid out for a multiyouth program in the Muskegon area.

A $450,000 budget for a 72-week project was approved by the Michigan Office of Vocational Education, and the Muskegon public schools was designated the administrative agency for the project.

The program, which began June 1 in an unused factory, is not aimed simply at "keeping kids off the streets." Its realistic purpose, as required by the Manpower and Training Act, is to train youths in skills that the local branch of the Michigan Employment Security Commission knows are in demand. There are plenty of indications that its graduates will be in demand by industries that are located in the Muskegon area.

Training dropouts is no easy task, and the director of the Skill Training Center, Harry D. Moulton, knows it. As Moulton explained in a recent report, the project is divided "into two distinct and separate phases: one which we call basic education, and the other occupational training."

He outlined the program as follows:

Basic education: Job sampling, an exploratory shop experience, is designed to determine the youngster's wants and needs, as well as finding what his abilities are in particular job areas. The boys, as an example, will spend approximately 7 weeks in the welding area and rotate to the woodshop area for a 7-week period, rotate then to the machine shop area for 7 weeks, and finally move into the auto service station mechanic program for 7 weeks. During this period of time, through evaluation on the part of the instructor and the counselor, and through a student evaluation of his wants and needs, a particular occupational area is determined where the trainee could best perform when he went out into industry to become a member of the labor force.

Another phase of basic education is classroom instruction. This deals with communications (English), computations (math), job orientation, personal health, and personality development.

Occupational training: The occupational training offered at the Skill Center was authorized by the local MESC office. The local office determined the areas where unemployment existed, and the occupations were cited by them as those needing more trained persons. The occupational areas scheduled for training at the Skill Center are auto service station mechanics, clerical skills, food service, metal machine operators, nurse aid orderly, combination welder and woodworking machine operator. The length of the various occupational courses varies because of the time needed to teach the necessary skills. The auto service station mechanics program is 20 weeks long, clerical 21 weeks long, food service 20 weeks, metal machine operators 20 weeks, nurse aid orderly 4 weeks, combination welder 35 weeks, and woodworking machine operator 20 weeks long.

Some 187 youngsters 16 to 21 years old, who have been out of school at least a year and have been declared unemployable by the MESC, were enrolled in the program at mid-August. The project is authorized to train 200 youths.

The youths are paid $20 a week while attending the program unless they qualify as an adult because of two years of work experience. For those who qualify as adults, payments are based on a formula that takes Michigan unemployment compensation and family responsibilities into account.

The trainees put in 5, 8-hour days each week at the center. Instructors and specialists who have been or will soon be working with them under Moulton include:

Joe Miller, assistant director; John Dorris, Terry O'Connell, Mrs. Adele Jardine and Donald Sommerfeld, counselors; Fred Roys and Clark Twining, mathematics, Jim Price, Delore Crane and Mrs. Alice Hundley, communications; Mrs. Ada Jaeger, R.N., personal health; Mrs. Virginia Dressen, R.N., health occupations; Mrs. Kay Coleman, clerical; Mrs. Bonnie VanRagenmorter, food service; Herbert Mills, woodworking; Lyman Gauld, welding; Ted Ohler, machine shop; Fred Smith and Jim Young, auto shop.

On the basis of my visit, I would say that those associated with the multiyouth program of the Muskegon public schools are doing an excellent job. They deserve commendation and encouragement for their energetic, imaginative and realistic approach to one of the basic problems of our day.

In addition, I believe that Members of Congress who recognized this need and extended a helping hand through the MDTA can be proud of their role in showing the way to many who had lost it.

An American Success Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, 25 years ago a man named Henry Federman sold his watch to help obtain passage from England to the United States. This was the first of over a million watch and clock sales that Mr. Federman has made in the last 25 years.

Henry Federman was born in Germany. In 1938, with the solidifying of nazism in his native country, Feder-

man moved to England. After 2 years there working in a bank he came to New York and founded the Pan-American Barter Co.—the parent of the now world-renowned Sheffield Watch Co., of which he is chairman of the board.

America has produced many Horatio Alger success stories and Henry Federman's is merely another in the great tradition of American enterprise. His initiative and business acumen have built that first watch sale into a multi-million-dollar organization.

I am pleased to join with his many friends in wishing him continued success.

A Bill Requiring Delivery of Social Security Checks on First of Each Month

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill which provides that the monthly social security checks to all beneficiaries should be delivered on the first day of each, instead of on the third of the month as is the practice now. Should the first day of the month occur on a Sunday or legal holiday, the checks are to be delivered on the next day.

What prompted me to introduce this measure was the experience encountered by the millions of social security beneficiaries during the Fourth of July holiday this year. You will recall that July 3 was a Saturday and no mail was delivered. Then came Sunday, July 4, and the holiday was observed on Monday, July 5. The mail was first delivered on Tuesday, July 6, but many of the beneficiaries did not receive their checks until late in the afternoon after the banks had closed for the day and they could not cash their checks until the next day.

This means that almost an entire week had gone by of that month before these people could have their money. It was a great inconvenience for many of our elderly and retired people who depend on their monthly social security payments as their only source of income and livelihood. This is unfair to them.

I am certain that no one desires to make it difficult for these people in their receipt of this assistance to which they are entitled in their declining years. They should receive it promptly and in sufficient time to enable them to cash their checks and use the funds as needed, rather than have to worry over a long weekend or holiday when they will get it. The inconvenience caused to these elderly beneficiaries when long delays ensue is for them a serious matter and a source of anxiety in their old age.

We know that our veterans receive their pension or disability compensation checks on the last day of each month, while retirees from our Federal service get their retirement checks on the first day of the month. Why not do the same for those who are entitled to receive social security checks? Surely, the Social Security Administration could arrange to have the checks prepared several days earlier, and I feel certain that the Post Office Department would gladly cooperate in taking the necessary steps to have the checks delivered on the first of each month.

It may seem like a minor matter to some people, but it is of major importance to millions of our senior citizens. For this reason I have introduced my bill and I hope that we can get early action on it.

In this connection, I insert two articles into the RECORD which discuss the problem. They are written by Mr. Arthur E. McEvoy, managing editor emeritus of the New Britain Herald, and published in New Britain, Conn. Mr. McEvoy very ably points out the unfair treatment of our elderly citizens by the delays. I commend his fine articles to the attention of all Members of Congress.

The articles, which appeared on July 6 and August 3, read as follows:

[From the New Britain (Conn.) Herald, July 6, 1965]

SOCIAL SECURITY CHECKS LANGUISH OVER HOLIDAY WEEKEND

(By Arthur E. McEvoy)

These lines are addressed to Mr. Celebrezze in behalf of retired folks in this city who were unable to cash their July social security checks at banks until today because of the long holiday.

They hope that the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will take the Social Security Administration over his knee and give it a good paddling with a warning not to let it happen again.

LANGUISHED ALL WEEKEND

Last Saturday the mailman came down the street with those ever-welcome pieces of green paper that may be exchanged for money. But people who cash them at banks found them useless and they languished until this morning in cookie jars, under mattresses, in empty coffee tins, and in billfolds. Not until 9 a.m. today were the recipients able to pass them through the wickets of the bank tellers and walk out with money in their pockets.

This column gladly repeats a suggestion published some time ago that the Social Security Administration arrange to mail checks early payable on other than the third of the month when the third falls on Saturday, especially when the following Monday is being observed as a holiday.

Although many retired persons take their checks to stores when buying their weekly provisions, others prefer to do business with banks. This segment of the "golden age" population is at a disadvantage when a protracted weekend holiday occurs.

PLAN AHEAD

In the year 1966, July 3 will fall on Sunday. No mail will be delivered Monday, Independence Day and social security checks will not be received until Tuesday.

Oldsters wonder why the Social Security Administration doesn't plan ahead, issue checks for their convenience, and sweeten up the sunset years for those who can "remember when" their names were on a weekly payroll.

[From the New Britain (Conn.) Herald, Aug. 3, 1965]

BEGIN THE MONTH WITH A SOCIAL SECURITY CHECK

(By Arthur E. McEvoy)

A pioneer champion of social security for the elderly is waging a one-man campaign to have checks delivered to beneficiaries on the first day of the month instead of the third to allow them to prepare their budgets for the month to follow.

James J. Lee of Willimantic, a former State commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and a retired postmaster of his home city, has sent to Congressman WILLIAM ST. ONGE, of the Second Connecticut District, a clipping from this column published on July 6, protesting the delivery of the July checks which made it impossible for many beneficiaries to cash their checks over the protracted Fourth of July holiday from Friday night to Tuesday morning when banks were closed.

SPEAKS TO CONGRESSMAN

Mr. Lee spoke to the Congressman on the desirability of making checks available on the first of the month at the June 25 VFW convention in Bridgeport and followed up their discussion with a letter explaining his views and, later, the clipping from the Herald.

To the Observer, Mr. Lee wrote, "By accident and good fortune I picked up a New Britain Herald of July 6 and saw your article on the editorial page, 'Social Security Checks Languish Over Holiday Weekend.' "

ADVISES BUDGETING

"While I am not a social security beneficiary, I have tried on occasion to get the Government to return the delivery of the social security checks to the first day of the month where they originally were. At one time last year I got a reply from the head of the social security in Washington that beneficiaries should budget their checks so they would not run out of money at the end of the month. I asked the official for a plan whereby I might instruct some of the elderly how to budget $78 a month but got no reply."

Social security checks are received at post offices usually on the last day of the month with instructions to the postmatser not to deliver them until the following third, Mr. Lee wrote, adding "I do not think it's fair to single out social security beneficiaries while most other Government checks are delivered on the first day of the month, if a working day."

In the July 6 column referred to, the Observer recommended delivery on dates when banks are open for business.

Mr. Lee's July 5 letter to Congressman ST ONGE, printed with his permission, follows:

"Following up my recent conversation with you at Bridgeport in relation to social security checks being held in post offices for delivery on the third day of the month, the July delivery is a good example of the inconvenience to which social security beneficiaries are subject.

"These checks usually arrive at the post office on the last day of the month with a directive label which instructs the postmaster to hold the checks for delivery on the third day of the month."

AWKWARD DATE

"Since this year July 4 fell on Sunday, supposed to be a great and special holiday and observed on July 5, this means that the banks are closed, in this area anyway, from Friday p.m. to Tuesday a.m.

"The social security checke were delivered on Saturday, July 3, and of course very many do not receive delivery until the afternoon, as late as 4 p.m., which precludes much chance of cashing them."

PROMOTED SOCIAL SECURITY

"While I am not personally concerned, as I am not under social security, I was very active on behalf of promoting the social security bill, in fact we were about the State almost every night combating the propaganda against enactment of the social security bill.

"The arrangement to deliver the social security checks on the third of the month is supposed to relieve the post offices of this extra mail delivery on the first of the

month. Personally, I believe it is easier for the post offices to deliver the checks when they arrive than to rehandle and store them.

"I believe it is unfair to the elderly people and also it violates the intent of the original Social Security Act. For many years following enactment the social security checks were always delivered on the first of the month, when deliverable."

DELAY IS RECENT

"To the best of my recollection, the change to delivery on the third of the month was made about 10 years ago."

In his reply to Mr. Lee's letter, Congressman ST. ONGE wrote "I am having a bill drafted and will introduce it in the very near future. I shall send you copies of this bill and will also insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the article from the New Britain Herald."

Politics: The Man Who Delivered the Goods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I see where the Nation is gaining a new Postmaster General and the President is losing his legislative pro, Larry O'Brien. Larry's achievements for both Presidents Johnson and Kennedy are so monumental that there is little that needs to be said. Or as a noted politician once remarked, "Let's look at the record." For those of my colleagues who may have missed it, I would like to call to their attention the following column by Tom Wicker in the New York Times of August 31:

POLITICS: THE MAN WHO DELIVERED THE GOODS

(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, August 30.—Larry O'Brien is a man in the finest traditions of our many former Postmasters General. He knows nothing whatever about delivering the mail, but he is an absolutely professional politician who has shown two Presidents that he knows how to deliver the goods—both on election day and when the roll is called up yonder on the Hill.

O'BRIEN'S TECHNIQUE

General O'Brien—as something in excess of 20,000 personal friends soon will be entitled to call him—is a smiling Irishman who would not be caught dead saying "yes" or "no" if 150 other words could be substituted to the same effect. He has made just enough enemies in 4 years in Washington to crowd a telephone booth, and he is admired in both parties for his political organizing genius and for his effective work on behalf of the Kennedy-Johnson legislative program.

O'Brien's contribution to the practice of modern politics was simple but revolutionary. After decades when political bosses in cities and States alike had operated on the theory of keeping the electorate as small and manageable as possible—to keep to a minimum the risk of unruly voters getting out of hand—O'Brien took the opposite view. In the three major campaigns he ran for John Kennedy (no matter who was the titular campaign boss), he brought as many people into action as possible—by registering new voters, by organizing masses of volunteer workers, by seeking out voters where candidates never had looked before.

So massive has been the legislative achievement of the Johnson administration that it is customary to give most of the credit to the President himself. He deserves a lot of it, but O'Brien, the congressional liaison chief for both Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Johnson, has played a larger role than is generally realized.

IMPROVED LOBBYING

In the first place, under his leadership the White House lobbying activity has been better organized and more efficient. It has acquired more personnel, more autonomy, more respect, and more legitimacy than any similar operation in the past, and therefore it is an improved, if not a new, tool of presidential power.

It is Washington folklore, for instance, that in 1964 Mr. Johnson salvaged the tax cut and civil right bills Mr. Kennedy had not been able to get through Congress before his death in 1963. In fact, Mr. Kennedy had predicted "an 18-month delivery" for 1964, and it probably always will be a question whether O'Brien's spadework might not have produced these measures had Mr. Kennedy lived; O'Brien thinks the bills would have passed in any case.

Even this year, with the massive majorities provided by the election of 1964, O'Brien's work with Congress has been vital to Mr. Johnson. They key element in any lobbying program is to understand the legislation thoroughly; only then can it be presented to a legislator in such a way as to make him see that it will help him politically—or at least not hurt him so much as he has thought. O'Brien and his staff—far from relying, as myth would have it, on twisted arms, patronage and the pork barrel—have made this process of study and persuasion one of the President's most formidable weapons in seeking such controversial items as the rental subsidy in the housing bill or the voting rights act.

All of that is more or less public. In a more personal and private matter, Larry O'Brien also delivered the goods early in 1964. The sharpest of the transition from John Kennedy to Lyndon Johnson was then past. Ted Sorensen was leaving the White House staff; Kenneth O'Donnell wanted to; Pierre Salinger would leave in the spring.

AVERTING POSSIBLE DISASTER

If at that moment the popular and respected O'Brien also had resigned—so members of the old Kennedy staff said privately—there would have been a wholesale exodus, damaging Mr. Johnson in two ways. It would have appeared to signal a lack of confidence in him that could have been disastrous in an election year; it might have left him with too few experienced men to run either the White House or the coming campaign.

But Larry O'Brien stayed, in one of the crucial acts of a crucial time, one of many for which he deserves the respect in which he is held here. He will still have that respect in the Post Office Department; he will still be delivering the goods next election day, and if past achievements are any guide he may even get the mail delivered twice a day.

Vision, Wisdom, and Water

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, the south bay aqueduct of California's State water project is now serving homes, farms, and factories in Alameda and Santa Clara counties, south of San Francisco Bay.

The whole State joined in celebration when work on the south bay aqueduct was completed and the first water flowed through to the terminal reservoir July 1, 1965.

Gov. Edmund G. Brown was the principal speaker at the civic luncheon in San Jose which celebrated the dedication of the new facility.

The address that Governor Brown gave that day is particularly valuable for reference because it documents salient points of the past, present and future of California's water development. The text of his talk is truly a memorable commentary and I am pleased to place it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

VISION, WISDOM AND WATER

(By Gov. Edmund G. Brown)

Today we have kept another promise and we have reached another milestone in California history.

Today we dedicated the first completed aqueduct of the greatest water project in the history of man.

Just 4 years ago, it was my privilege to be present when water from the aqueduct first entered the Livermore Valley. It was a great day for me as Governor to be present when water poured into the terminal facility of the south bay aqueduct. I believe it was a great day for San Jose and a great day for the State.

For San Jose, the cause for rejoicing should be obvious.

This $50 million project will be able to deliver 210,000 acre-feet of water for use by the 1½ million citizens who live in Santa Clara County and the Livermore Valley.

The water will be used for groundwater recharge to support irrigation—for domestic and industrial use. It will help alleviate the triple threats of overdraft, saltwater intrusion and land subsidence.

We are well aware that saltwater intrusion and subsidence result from excessive withdrawal of water from the groundwater basin. Since the 1920's, the State has been studying the problem of saltwater intrustion into the fresh groundwater supply beneath the land fringing the south San Francisco Bay.

The city of San Jose has sunk 12 feet in the last 50 years. This subsidence has caused wells to collapse. It has created drainage problems. It has been the reason for many expensive projects of flood control.

Now the south bay aqueduct will help us solve these major problems of intrusion and subsidence. And it will do more.

Near Livermore, the south bay aqueduct—through the Del Valle Reservoir—will provide recreation, local water conservation and flood control.

The economic benefits will be enormous. In an 80-year period, for example, the south bay aqueduct will return $153.3 million in benefits to the areas of service. Those benefits will be above all costs, including construction, operation, maintenance, and interest on State bonds.

Between now and the year 2010—when all use will be for municipal and industrial purposes—irrigation benefits in the Livermore Valley will total $13.9 million.

In every sense of the word, this is a multipurpose achievement.

Every part of this State, bar none, will benefit directly or indirectly from the State water project, of which the south bay aqueduct is so important a part. And today's ceremony will be followed by many celebrations to come.

In 1968, we will complete construction work for water delivery to counties in the San Joaquin Valley. In 1971, we will deliver

water to Los Angeles County and in 1972, to San Bernardino and Riverside Counties.

The State water project is on schedule. That is one reason I want to pay particular tribute to Bill Warne, the State director of water resources. He is a tough bureaucrat. He has devoted his life to compromising into being great conservation projects for Federal and State Governments. And to moving these projects ahead on time.

I like being Governor. And let me tell you this. One of the things I like best about it is that, as Governor, it was my privilege to fight for and win the battle of the water project a few years ago.

We fought for passage of the Burns-Porter Act in the legislature. We fought for voter approval of the $1.75 billion bond act. And we won.

One of our host organizations today, the Feather River Project Association, played a major role in winning that battle. San Jose civic leaders helped, too. I thank you for the part you played and I believe we all had our reward at that dedication this morning.

California voters who approved the bond issue need only look across the continent today to measure the wisdom of their decision.

The people of New York City are being asked to conserve water. Fountains in the parks and along the sidewalks of New York are dry. You must ask for water in a restaurant. And those are just the first results of a water shortage.

The people of California made up their minds to prevent water shortage 5 years ago. And today the State water project is moving ahead right on schedule. And we are doing this in the face of fiscal pressures and population needs that have never been met by any other State.

Let me give you one or two examples.

Today we must build the schools and colleges and highways to meet the needs of a population that has doubled every 20 years since the turn of the century. Today, we must devise the plans for mental health, crime prevention, and public health for a population that will double again in the next 20 years. Today, we must make the plans for a California that may have 54 million residents by the year 2020.

This is a heavy obligation. It cannot be escaped. It can and must be met by all Californians—by civic leaders, by university experts, local government, and, certainly, every political leader. It has nothing whatsoever to do with partisan politics.

What, for example, will our water needs be in the future?

The State water project is developing 4.2 million acre-feet of water. That will take care of California's needs until 1990. At that time, California must develop an additional 10 million acre-feet to supply the requirements of the year 2020.

We may not all be around to turn on the water faucets in 1990—but our children will, and their grandchildren will be on hand in 2020. And we know from experience that we need a lead time of 25 years to plan, obtain authorization and financing, and design and construct a major project. This means 25 years from the planning table to the water tap.

Today, then, instead of just congratulating one another on what we have already accomplished—let me give you a brief look at four ways in which we are working today to encourage the development of our water supply in the future.

First, waste water reclamation is already being developed on a small scale in southern California.

At present, about 100,000 acre-feet of treated waste waters are returned to the groundwater basins, with 25,000 acre-feet planned for replenishment. The total conservation of waste water represents about 11 percent of the total sewage of the area. As technology and public acceptance increases, this source of additional water will grow in importance.

Second, desalination: The southern California coast has been selected as a prime site for a large-scale desalination test center of the Federal Office of Saline Water.

We are encouraged by new studies of the use of nuclear energy for seawater conversion, along with the production of large blocks of electrical energy. The metropolitan water district of southern California has entered into contracts with the Department of the Interior and the Atomic Energy Commission. They are investigating the potential of construction of such a dual-purpose plant along the seacoast of southern California.

The State department of water resources is also studying the possibility of constructing a dual-purpose plant as a part of the State water project. If it is feasible, it would provide energy for the Tehachapi pumping lift and additional water for the south.

Desalination of seawater and irrigation return flows looks increasingly promising. For the present, however, conversion of saline water on an adequate scale is still too costly.

Third, groundwater basin management: This can be a major source of water development, through long-term regulation of water imported and percolated from areas of surplus runoff. In the future, surface sites that are suitable for building dams and reservoirs may decline or become very expensive. It will then become imperative that we use the storage capacity of the groundwater basins to their utmost—as you are doing here today.

Fourth, in addition to everything else, we must develop the surplus water from the north coast.

The department of water resources recently completed a 7-year study of the north coast. The purpose was long-range planning—and also to select the site for the initial north coastal conservation facility of the State water project. As a result, we have selected the upper Eel River for development to meet our full State water project commitment.

Development of the upper Eel River will make available a firm annual water supply of about 900,000 acre-feet for diversion to the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta.

Long-range plans for the north coast provide for staged construction of a series of projects to meet water needs as they arise throughout the State. The Upper Eel River development will be followed in time by projects in the Trinity River and adjacent basins. Three physically integrated projects, called the Trinity River development, would develop a total annual yield of 1.8 million acre-feet from this source.

We do not expect that the Lower Eel River will be developed until much later—mainly because of the high cost of relocating the Northwestern Pacific Railroad. But about 1 million acre-feet of new annual yield can be developed on the Lower Eel River when it is needed.

The Klamath River, including the Lower Trinity River, will be the remaining major source of undeveloped surface water in the State. The Klamath is California's water "bank account." About 6 million acre-feet of firm annual yield—and perhaps more—can be developed from runoff of the Klamath and Lower Trinity Rivers. It appears now that a development of this magnitude will not be needed before the end of this century.

Something else is equally clear.

We are engaged in work of such magnitude that no single agency or level of government can hope to do the job alone. This applies to planning—financing—construction—and operation.

And this brings me directly to a subject of major importance—the regional water project.

It is true that—on a mean annual basis—California has enough water to meet future needs. But there are many reasons why we may find it inadvisable to rely solely on waters within the borders of our State.

To begin with a sizable share of our internal water resources would be very costly to develop. Even more important, California just cannot afford to isolate herself from the urgent water needs of sister States. Without our participation in regional planning, the whole concept may fail. At the least, it may be delayed to the great disadvantage of the West as a whole.

Remember this. The economy of our sister States affects the economy of California. We cannot be insensitive to our neighbors without harming ourselves. If we appear before Congress with a dog-in-the-manger, self-centered attitude, we will invite equally intransigent replies from other States. Our neighbors will then insist that California forego Federal funds which have done so much to help us conserve our natural resources and increase our prosperity.

I have therefore worked hard to move our great State into a role of leadership in regional water development.

Two years ago, people like myself saw merit in Arizona and California joining hands on a single piece of legislation to develop the Lower Colorado River Basin. We were called optimistic dreamers, or worse. Well, so be it. I was also an optimist in 1959, when I was equally convinced that we could break our own water stalemate if each party did his best to understand the position of his opponent.

I am still an optimist.

Last February, both of California's Senators and 33 of our 38 Congressmen, joined by the 3 Arizona Congressmen, introduced identical legislation to authorize the Lower Colorado River Basin project. It is an offshoot of the Pacific Southwest water plan. It is a major step leading toward westwide regional planning for water development. As soon as favorable action is taken in the House of Representatives, Arizona's Senator HAYDEN has promised support for this legislation.

The bills to authorize the Lower Colorado River Basin project have been endorsed by Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall. They have been favorably commented upon by the Bureau of the Budget. There is a good chance that hearings will be scheduled later this summer.

The proposal would authorize the central Arizona project, two new dams on the Colorado River, channel salvage and a development fund. It would recognize that existing projects have a priority to Colorado River water supply over the central Arizona project. California's priority would be limited to 4.4 million acre-feet annually until a minimum of 2.5 million acre-feet is imported into the Colorado River.

All of this marks progress in regional planning. And this is not all. My administration, along with water leaders in our State legislature; namely Senator James Cobey and Assemblyman Carley Porter—have worked hard at organizing an interstate water council. We have met with considerable success.

About 2 weeks ago, I returned from Portland and a meeting of the Western Governors' Conference. The Governors there approved formation of an 11-State Western States Water Council. They will establish sound principles, including protection of the States of origin.

We should note that the council was formed on the basis of unanimous action by all the States in drafting the rules of organization. One rule specifies that policy recommendations require unanimous support. One reluctant State, then, could block effective action by the group. Whether this is a drawback remains to be seen—but

so far, the States have achieved unanimity. There is a reasonable chance that we will continue to work on this common ground.

California must present a unified front. We cannot tolerate internal divisions over water—the very lifeblood of our State. We can develop a cooperative program of regional water development. We can do this if we try to understand our neighbor's point of view—which is the best course of enlightened self-interest.

The south bay aqueduct—and the achievements to follow it soon—are the best proof that cooperation is essential if we are to produce good results.

We had to fight hard to win approval of the State water project. And today, let me make a suggestion.

Get in an airplane one of these days and fly over this State. As you watch California roll by under the wings you will know that the fight was well worth it.

You will see deserts that will produce billions in agricultural wealth because of this project.

You will see little towns that will become big cities.

You will see barren wastelands that will become vast recreation centers.

You will see the construction workers building a great river—a river that will enrich our economy and our lives. You will see the south bay aqueduct—and you will, I feel sure, resolve to go on building California in the future.

A Mischievous Movement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been called to an editorial appearing in the Evening Star on January 19, 1878, relating to the issue of so-called home rule for the District of Columbia.

The editor, Mr. Crosby S. Noyes, was writing at a time when the Nation's Capital had just terminated an unfortunate experience in local self-government and the Congress was considering the creation of the commission form of government under which the District has now been operating for some 87 years.

Under unanimous consent I place the editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD:

A MISCHIEVOUS MOVEMENT

It seems that an effort is being made to induce Congress to pass a bill restoring the right of suffrage to this District. Some of the parties concerned in this effort are of the demagog or speculative stripe who enjoyed some rich pickings under the last elective form of government, and hope to renew them if they can have the control of the ballot box again. Others are citizens who have an honest but mistaken belief that the ballot is the sovereign panacea for all the ills that District flesh is heir to; but the number of this class of suffragists is very small. The great body of our citizens have come to the conclusion from dearly bought experience that whatever may be the advantages of suffrage for communities who exercise some real power in voting, its only effect here is to fasten upon the taxpayers the direct responsibility for the burdens of debt incurred by our local elective government for expenses connected with the National City that should be shared by the general government. Congress has in various ways recognized the justice of the claim that the Government should pay its fair proportion of these expenses, and what is now needed is a united effort by our citizens to have a bill passed—the Hendee bill or any other—that will settle definitely what that proportion shall be. The passage of such a measure would do more to revive confidence and set business in motion than any other possible thing, and it would be very unfortunate if its adoption should be hindered by the injection of this suffrage question into the discussion. The ballot is a meaningless bauble in this District, over which Congress has exclusive control, and it would be the height of folly for us to lose the present favorable opportunity for getting legislation from Congress vitally important for every citizen, by clamoring for something that we don't want and would work only mischief to us if we got it.

Evil Aimed at Other People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a Life Line radio program on August 23, 1965:

EVIL AIMED AT OTHER PEOPLE—ANTI-SEMITISM IN RUSSIA

There are those who would like to disclaim it—but they can't. For the hammer and sickle has been indelibly stamped on this book. Published by the Soviet Government, it preaches hate and contempt of Jews.

A brainchild of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and released in December of 1963, the book is, ostensibly, a tract against the Jewish religion. The contents and socialist-style cartoons are presented in such a fashion as to incite anti-Semitism. This is certainly not hard to do, since excesses against the Jews are commonplace in the Soviet Union.

A careful study of the book reveals the depravity of the Communist mind. When it was shown to one U.S. Senator, he was quick to point out the difference between what the Soviets do internally—and what they proclaim externally.

And to illustrate, the lawmaker displayed a copy of the current English language Communist propaganda magazine, U.S.S.R., carrying a glowing pictorial story of the so-called "opportunities of Jews and the freedom of worship they have in Russia."

With a few words the Senator succinctly explained, and with the use of two of the Communists' own propaganda tools, he graphically demonstrated why the mistaken ideology of communism has succeeded. Simply stated, it has been able to expand rapidly throughout the world by using the big lie technique.

Certainly no more vivid example of this lying propaganda can be found than in the Communist treatment of the Jews in the Soviet Union.

Communists often have trouble keeping their lies straight. While they tell the world one thing, they tell their people another. The truth of the matter is always something else.

To the rest of the world, Communists would have people believe that there is no anti-Semitism under Marxism. But the Communist practice disproves their claims. The facts prove that their official line is nothing but lies. Let's look at the facts, as reported recently in survey, a publication of B'nai B'rith International Council here in the Nation's Capital.

In Survey's special report, entitled "The Status of Jews in the Soviet Union," it is reported that the Jews are one of 108 nationality groups in the Soviet Union. And, according to Soviet law, Jews are recognized as a nationality group as well as a religion. As a nationality group, they are the 11th largest in the Soviet Union.

Just how do the Communists control the Jews in Russia? They require all Soviet youth, at the age of 16, to register to receive an identification card which lists nationality. This identification card must be carried throughout the individual's life. If both parents are Jewish the registrant must be recorded as Jewish. However, if one parent is not a Jew, the choice can be made to claim the nationality of that parent. It is believed that many do claim the non-Jewish nationality to escape the suppression that accompanies identity as a Jew.

How many Jews are there in Russia today? It has been estimated that there are between 2½ and 3 million who claim the Jewish nationality in the Soviet Union. Almost 5 years ago the Council of Affairs of Religious Cults (a government body charged with dealing with the non-Orthodox religious groups in the U.S.S.R.) published a report stating that there were some 500,000 in the Soviet Union who observed the Jewish faith.

But no other religious group is also considered a nationality group. This unique situation makes special difficulties for Jews under Communist rule. The political elite in the Soviet Union have developed a strong majority of control over the rest of the nationalities. This ruling elite is 60 percent Russian and 20 percent Ukrainian.

In 1939 Jews represented 10 percent of the Central Committee of the U.S.S.R., but their numbers have been diminished to about one-third of 1 percent. The Stalinist rationalization for reducing the Jewish representation from the political elite is typical of their big lie technique. According to the Russian line it was done—yes, you guessed it—in the interest of preventing anti-Semitism.

As only Communist propaganda can reason, anti-Semitism has been prevented by prohibiting Jews from participating in the government or by being fairly represented.

Anti-Semitism, which had been somewhat covert, became quite apparent in Russia in 1948. At that time a full scale press campaign was launched, a campaign which emphasized the implication that Jews were disloyal. Following this diabolical attack many of the long-standing Yiddish institutions were dismantled by the Communists, and the cultural expression of Jews was stifled. Then, in 1952, 26 leading Jewish intellectuals were secretly tried and executed.

Years 1949 to 1953 were known as the "black years." Hundreds of Jews were sent to concentration camps, camps from which they never returned. Others lost their jobs. It was during this period of terror that many Jews, fearing eventual exile to the Far East, actually kept their personal things packed and ready to travel.

The climax came in January of 1953, according to the Survey, special report of the B'nai B'rith International Council. After 4 years of heightened and stimulated suspicion against Jews, Pravda helped create a pogrom or massacre atmosphere. It was accomplished by charging that Jewish murder physicians had planned to assassinate Soviet military and civilian leaders in a doctor's plot.

This evil was exposed after Stalin's death and some of the tension relaxed, but Khrushchev never made an effort to condemn the previous anti-Semitism. Though there have been short periods when the pressure is lessened, Jews in the Soviet Union

dread the time when intensity will be increased once more.

Because Jews are considered a nationality and a religion in the Soviet Union, persecution against them is especially pronounced. There is a strict control of the official representatives of those who observe the Jewish faith. No official Jewish delegation is permitted to visit their counterparts outside of the Soviet Union.

In Moscow, Jews are warned against having contacts with visiting Jews or diplomats from Israel who might come to their synagogue for prayer. They have even been warned against shaking hands with visitors.

Since the time of the Communist takeover, the printing of the Hebrew Bible has not been allowed. No prayer books could be printed until 1958, when 3,000 copies were allowed to roll off the press. Still today, the manufacture of Jewish religious articles is strictly forbidden.

With each passing year, the providing of matzo for the Feast of the Passover becomes a more difficult problem. Although solemn public assurances are made that the unleavened bread will be available, the Communist regime has tightened the restrictions to the point that bakeries are no longer permitted to bake matzo. If the Jews plan to have matzo for Passover, they must do their own baking.

Perhaps the most apparent evidence of the attack against the Jews is seen when one attempts to visit their synagogues in Russia. In the last 10 years more than 80 percent of them have been closed down. In cities where there were sizable Jewish populations, synagogues have been literally padlocked. There are now less than 90 such Jewish houses of worship in the entire Soviet Union.

Today in Russia the Jew can usually predict when another synagogue has been marked for closing. The Marxist modus operandi seldom varies. First, there is the press campaign of suspicion and hostility toward the Jews. As an example, not long ago a synagogue was closed shortly after the local newspaper had charged that the house of worship was being used for what it described as "shady profiteering agreements."

The synagogue of Lvov was closed after a year-long campaign by the press which charged that it had been used as a center for currency speculations and criminal machinations.

The Survey report also points out that discouragement of Judaism has been intensified by the fact that there are now only about 60 rabbis in the entire Soviet Union. An equally frustrating factor in the propagation of the Jewish religion is the fact that there are no facilities for training new rabbis. It is estimated that there are presently only two or three seminarians enrolled in rabinical training. Certainly that allows for little future leadership for a half million who cling tenaciously to their faith.

Thus the Communists continue their evil aimed at other people. Yes, their propaganda experts are often embarrassed when they play their hand of anti-Semitism too far. Many times these clever manipulators have been caught redhanded—with their hate, their prejudices, their sham, their hypocrisy, their big lies showing. What they had planned as subtle and effective propaganda against the Jews has exploded in a revelation of the stark, naked truth concerning their technique of evil and deceit.

But the Communists are not unduly concerned over their slips. They are banking heavily on the natural tendency of freedom-loving people to forget the unpleasant; on the apathetic inclination of countless others to disbelieve what is too inhumanly shocking; and on the tremendous desire of all for peace.

The Communists are convinced that the average American is much more concerned with maintaining peace than with exposing and defeating those who would destroy both peace and freedom. So, the atheistic campaign goes on. The latest maneuver was a decision by the 22d Congress of the Communist Party to step up its program for overcoming of religious prejudices.

That is just more of Communist double-talk, or manipulation of the big lie technique. It means that the Communists plan to overcome religious prejudices, literally, by conducting a broad program of atheistic propaganda.

It is an unpleasant but inescapable fact that the world must deal with the almost overwhelming atheistic force of communism. Deal with it we must—if we are to live at peace for any length of time. This destructive force is ever at work to destroy men of good will, always in the name of peace.

The final outcome of this battle will depend on our individual reaction to its evil, its evil aimed at other people. How are we reacting? Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the U.S. Senate, has something to say on the subject. "Alas," he said, "this turning the other cheek technique is at the heart of much of the 'peace now' protests which in these days of destiny are coming from church pulpits, from peace-at-any-price pacifists, and from college campuses which prate the same sophistries which brought on World War II.

"It must be remembered," the Senate Chaplain warned, "that when the Master confronted evil aimed at other people 'He looked 'round about on them with anger.' He was utterly unruffled no matter what men did to Him and what lies they told, but when injustice and duplicity and cruelty reached out to maim others who were defenseless, His anger rose to the fury of a tempest * * *

"To be Christ-like is never to be neutral, placid, or complacent when evil is having its malignant way with individuals or with society," concluded Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, in his column in the Washington (D.C.) Star.

As we reflect upon the inhumanity of communism, as we look behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains, as we glimpse, if but briefly the captive nations, we cannot—we simply must not—turn the other cheek, in the name of peace. The fate of the Jews in Russia could well be the fate of freedom-loving people the world over. Peace and freedom are indivisible.

Who will come forward to defend peace and freedom? The fate of both rests with your personal decision.

Until we meet again, remember: The Soviet Constitution guarantees "freedom of anti-religious propaganda," but the government does not allow for the freedom of religious institutions to propagate their beliefs.

John J. Shaughnessy, a Patriotic American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, it would be a sad oversight if the recent passing of an obscure citizen from Brooklyn, a one-time minor Government civil service employee, but without doubt a most dedicated patriot, were not to receive due recognition in the Congress of the United States. More than any other single man, John Shaughnessy carried on a tireless campaign to make certain that all American exports were clearly and unmistakably labeled "Made in the United States of America." A resolution (S. Con. Res. 40) to this effect was passed by the Congress in 1953 but for many long years was almost ignored. No one pressed for its implementation harder than John J. Shaughnessy. No one was more aware of the way in which countries, such as the U.S.S.R., could take advantage of our exports, particularly under the foreign aid program, by claiming them as their own, unless they were properly labeled.

John Shaughnessy expressed himself most clearly, for example, in an open letter he wrote to the late President Kennedy, published in the Manchester Union Leader on March 14, 1963. On that occasion he wrote:

> Since we have a law compelling foreign importers to identify goods shipped here with the full name of their country—spelled out—why then can't American merchants and governmental entities do likewise and show American origin with the proper legal name of our country, "United States of America" on every item and every container unit—intermediate and master—for foreign or domestic use or consumption?
>
> We have nothing to be ashamed of in this line of human endeavor because the material which emanates here is the best obtainable anywhere on earth.
>
> My longtime efforts for "Mark American" have been purely altruistic. I never had anything to gain personally nor any other motive except to enhance the prestige and thereby promote the welfare of my country and yours.

Fortunately, the work of this fearless and indomitable citizen has in large measure been rewarded with success. As I stated over 3 years ago—February 15, 1962:

> I am pleased to note that with the assistance of the present administration, a substantial improvement has now been attained and Mr. Shaughnessy's quest is not in vain.

The Department of Commerce found at that time that 75 percent of all the goods being shipped from 8 major ports were then "properly identified by use or predominant markings to indicate U.S. origin."

But vigilance in the continued execution of this policy is essential. It is up to us in the Congress to make certain that the efforts of Mr. Shaughnessy will continue to bear fruit to the benefit of our country in the years ahead.

Near East Speech

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been drawn to a statement by my distinguished colleague, the

gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN], in which he states that I linked German reparation to the Jews with my call for greater response by Israel to Arab refugee claims. I made no such link whatsoever, which the gentleman seems to appreciate when he says:

I realize that by no stretch of the imagination did the gentleman infer there could possibly be a connection.

In the next sentence, he makes such a connection. I regret, of course, that he should have done so and I only repeat, as I said in my own remarks, that because Israel has collected substantial reparation for German injuries to Jewish people, it is fitting and just, as Israel herself has constantly recognized, that there be a just settlement of claims of Arab refugees. I merely urge a stronger initiative, in order to commence the dialog necessary to achieve peace in the Near East.

Higher Education Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9567) to strengthen the educational resources of our colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in post-secondary and higher education.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, the Higher Education Act of 1965, which we have before us today will be a vital contribution to our progress in education and our progress as a nation. One of the significant features of our times is the extraordinary relevance of higher education to almost every aspect of our lives. Protecting the future as well as the past, our colleges and universities have become the bulwark of our society. No more endurable than a weak system of military defense, our higher education system must be strong to fulfill its increasingly essential role.

At the present time higher education in the United States is neither as strong nor as accessible as it must be if it is to serve effectively. Such factors as the spiralling costs of attending college, the growing college age population which will have increased 100 percent between 1960 and 1970, the exploding amount of new knowledge, demands for services of our educational institutions, present urgent problems for higher education.

The purpose of H.R. 9567, the Higher Education Act of 1965, is to overcome some of these problems by strengthening the educational resources of our colleges and universities and providing financial assistance to students for education beyond the high school. Responsive to pressing needs, the legislation provides a coordinated program for meeting our commitment to education.

Among the needs which this bill meets, there is none, in my opinion, more acute, than the need to provide opportunities for all our young people—regardless of family income level—for education to the limit of their abilities. As President Johnson has said, "Higher education is no longer a luxury, but a necessity." Without the high-level education and training necessary for living in a complex and uncertain world and working in a changing labor market, an individual is unable to achieve democracy's promise of freedom and dignity. The hopelessness and helplessness of poverty is not caused so much by a shortage of money as a shortage of education. The recently enacted Elementary and Secondary Education Act will do much to alleviate the ills of educationally deprived children, but opportunities remain limited and unequal until all able youths have access to higher education.

Title IV of the Higher Education Act recognizes the fact that college attendance is related not so much to intellectual ability as ability to pay. It authorizes a comprehensive 5-year program of student financial aids to make the benefits of higher education available to needy students and ease the financial burden for students from middle-income families. The package of student aids provided by the bill includes educational opportunity grants of $200 to $800 annually, guaranteed student loans with partially subsidized interest, and an expanded and liberalized work-study program.

One year at a public institution now costs on the average $1,560. Under this program a student from a low-income family would be enabled to meet this expense through a combination of various types of assistance to fit his individual needs. For instance, he could receive a $500 educational opportunity grant, a $500 loan or scholarship from other sources, and earn the additional $560 through the work-study program.

It is estimated that approximately 130,000 needy students could be assisted by educational opportunity grants in the first year of the program and thousands of students from low- and middle-income families would be aided by the guaranteed loan and work-study programs. This assistance will mean for many the crucial difference between getting a college education and not getting one. The impact of such a program could be great in my district where the median years of school completed in the adult population is 9.2.

Another title of the Higher Education Act of 1965 to which I would like to call special attention, is title IV which authorizes assistance to institutions of higher education of applying their leadership and resources to the urgent problems of urban society.

As a Representative from one of the most heavily urbanized areas in the world, I am convinced that this program has particular significance for the people of my district. Like most large urban areas, we are making an effort to cope with problems related to housing, employment, race relations, recreation, health, juvenile delinquency and poverty. However, the magnitude of many of these problems requires that much more be done. The colleges and universities of New York City, armed with badly needed funds, could provide invaluable assistance through increased public service programs. The major types of activities would include cultural, technical, research and coordination services and adult education and extension programs. I look forward to seeing this program written into law.

The other provisions of H.R. 9567 have my wholehearted support as well. Title II which will aid college and university libraries reaches the heart of education itself. The cooperative programs authorized by title III for strengthening the academic resources of developing institutions are essential in expanding educational opportunity. Title V, by doubling the amount available for construction grants to universities and colleges for academic facilities will help meet urgent classroom shortages.

If enacted the Higher Education Act of 1965 will be the most significant legislation in higher education since the Land-Grant Acts which had such a large role in shaping the history of higher education and the history of the country. More than ever before the welfare of this Nation depends upon the investment in its human resources. The funds allotted for this legislation would represent a sound and wise investment in the future. I give my strongest support to this act.

Wartime Benefactor of Famed 100th Battalion and 442d Regiment Dies in Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday I received word that a very dear friend of mine had passed away. I was deeply shocked to learn of the death of Earl Finch. Like other members of the 442d Combat Team and the 100th Infantry Battalion, I was a beneficiary of his kindness and understanding.

News of his death took me back to the days when the dark clouds of suspicion hung over the heads of all Americans of Japanese ancestry during the early period of World War II. Earl Finch appeared as a welcome sunbeam breaking through the ominous clouds bringing us assurances that there was sunshine beyond. It was his kind of friendship and understanding which spurred the men of the 100th and the 442d to the fame and record they did establish in World War II. To those of us who were fortunate enough to know him, Earl Finch and his memory shall always serve as a symbol of true friendship in time of need.

Mr. Speaker, the Honolulu Advertiser published an editorial on this great person, and I place it at this point in the RECORD:

EARL FINCH

Earl Finch, who died Thursday, remained something of an enigma to the end of his too brief life.

From the time, more than 20 years ago, that he began befriending Japanese-American servicemen in his hometown of Hattiesburg, Miss., scores of newspaper and magazine writers have tried to "explain" Finch.

None of them really succeeded. Whether they were suspicious or sympathetic, none could quite believe this man from the rural South who made it his personal mission to change the lot of the Nisei in uniform.

It was a mission that engulfed his life. He devoted thousands of dollars and more thousands of hours to simple acts of friendship that demonstrated his faith in these men—and his understanding.

Finch apparently was a man who was utterly incapable of hatred. Reared in an area where racial prejudice is part of the community heritage, he could not hate servicemen from Hawaii because of their ancestry.

And when he was suspected and reviled—made almost an outcast—because he befriended these men, he could not find it in his heart to hate his own people. For he understood them, too, and the forces that made them as they were.

Long afterward, trying to explain it all, Finch would say of his Mississippi boyhood neighbors: "These are good people; they just don't understand. They're clinging to their past and their traditions, and they haven't been able to catch up with the world."

"Don't blame them," he would say. "I have to feel sorry for them."

Hollywood made various attempts to film Finch's amazing story. One company was ready to begin production when Finch turned down the script, though it was a good one. He couldn't accept it, he said, because it would show the people of Hattiesburg in an unfavorable light.

That seems to have been Earl Finch's secret, the "angle" that no one could find. He simply could not hate, he could only understand. And because of that, not many could understand him.

He followed the dictates of his heart because they were what was important to him. In doing it, Earl Finch, the rancher and smalltown merchant, became a much greater man.

And now that he has gone, Hawaii is the poorer. And so is all our world, including the South, which gave him to us.

A $10 Cadillac

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, the following article, sent to me by a constituent, satirically denounces massive Federal spending which is imposing a monstrous debt on generations yet unborn. Personally, Mr. Speaker, I have no desire to drive a $10 Cadillac, nor will I be a part of the movement saddling our children with the cost of our luxurious living.

I commend the article to my colleagues:

Robert Coulson, member, Illinois Senate, in Michigan Medicine: "There is no trick to this," said the man. "I'll sell you a brand new Cadillac, this year's model, for $10. I'll sell you as many as you want. Or any other make of car on the same basis. Any color or model and I'll make the same offer next year when you wish to trade it in.

"For my profit," he continued, "all I want is a note for $30,000 payable 20 years from now, and signed by your relatives and neighbors."

My first reaction was suspicious refusal. It seemed that he was making too much profit. There was too great a difference between $5,000 advanced now and $30,000 repaid in 20 years. But then the gnawing doubt began to assail me.

I would not have to repay any of it. Perhaps my children and neighbors could easily afford the money when the debt came due.

If there is any kind of inflation, repudiation, or invasion, then I could beat the game and have a Cadillac for $10.

And even if none of those things happen within the 20 years, my grandchildren and the neighbors' grandchildren can refinance the note and promise to pay $60,000 in 20 more years and they can wait for the inflation, repudiation, or invasion.

There is a great temptation to gamble on the hope that something will happen. Meanwhile, the Cadillac would be mine to enjoy. So I selected a white convertible, paid the $10, and drove happily away.

But how did that huckster and I manage to get my relatives and friends to sign those notes? Easy. We cut them in on the same deal. We had no trouble at all getting them to vote on the scheme and turn the whole thing over to our Government officials to handle for us * * *.

I expect that I will be dead before it is time to pay the piper. My grandchildren? Well, surely they will be at least as smart as I am. All they need do to beat the game in their time is to repudiate the debt, inflate the currency, or (if they are not too smart) refinance the national debt.

You know, sometimes I suspect that something is wrong with this whole scheme of more benefits from Washington at no cost except an increase in the national promise to pay in the distant future. But I don't seem to be able to explain it—even to myself; after all, I am driving that white convertible.

U.S.S. "Benjamin Franklin"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of this distinguished body to a letter I recently received from Adm. Hyman Rickover, father of the nuclear submarine. In his letter Admiral Rickover reports on the successful completion of the first sea trials of our 30th Polaris nuclear submarine, the U.S.S. *Benjamin Franklin*. This ship is named for a distinguished native of Boston and one of the most illustrious of our Founding Fathers, Benjamin Franklin.

Mr. Speaker, I consider the successful completion of the sea trials of the U.S.S. *Benjamin Franklin*, a fitting tribute to a Bostonian who in his day displayed the same intelligence, ingenuity, and inventiveness that is necessary today to build a nuclear submarine.

It is a real pleasure to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point Admiral Rickover's letter:

U.S.S. "BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,"
(SSBN 640),
AT SEA IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC,
August 30, 1965.

Hon. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
U.S. House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. O'NEILL: We have just successfully completed the first sea trials of the U.S.S. *Benjamin Franklin*, our 30th Polaris nuclear submarine. We also have in operation 22 attack type nuclear submarines, making a total of 52. The *Benjamin Franklin* was built by the Electric Boat Division, General Dynamics Corp., Groton, Conn.

This ship is named for Benjamin Franklin (1706–90), one of the most illustrious of our Founding Fathers. A plain man of the people, his life was the American success story writ large. In his autobiography he speaks of his lowly beginnings and notes with quiet pride that he emerged from the poverty and obscurity of his birth to a state of affluence and some degree of reputation in the world. He did so purely on merit for he was, in every sense of the word, a self-made man, owing little if anything to luck or the assistance of others, never pushing ahead at the expense of a fellow man.

Franklin was the youngest son of a poor tallow chandler who had migrated to Boston from England and married as his second wife the daughter of a farmer indentured serving maid. With 17 children to raise, he could give Benjamin only 2 to 3 years of schooling, but he encouraged him to study on his own, a habit which was to remain with Franklin all his life. At 10 the boy went to work in the family shop; at 12 he was apprenticed to his half-brother to learn the printing trade, this being considered a suitable vocation for one whose love of books was already manifest.

In later life Franklin often remarked that he could not remember a time when he did not read. Books were his teachers. Through them he made himself a well-educated man. Taking the best authors as his models, he worked hard at perfecting his writing, eventually achiving a simple, lucid style. His thirst for knowledge never ceased. Since he wanted to read foreign books, he decided at 27—a busy young merchant—to teach himself to do so. "I soon made myself so much the master of the French," he remarked, "as to be able to read the books with ease. I then undertook the Italian." Later on, "with a little painstaking, acquired as much of the Spanish as to read their books also." He read not only for instruction but for enjoyment. His taste was catholic. All his life, men of learning and position, who would ordinarily not bother with an artisan, sought Franklin's company. He supposed it was because "reading had so improved my mind that my conversation was valued."

At 17 Franklin had learned all his brother could teach him and was ready to make his own way in the world. He went to New York but could find no work there, so continued on to Philadelphia. This is how he describes his arrival there after a long and uncomfortable trip—walking 50 miles, getting nearly shipwrecked, and helping to row a boat part of the way: "I was dirty from my journey; my pockets were stuffed out with shirts and stockings; I knew no soul, nor where to look for lodging. I was fatigued with traveling, rowing, and want of rest. I was very hungry and my whole stock of cash consisted of a Dutch dollar." He bought three large bread rolls. Wandering about town, munching, he met a fellow traveler.

He gave her and her child two of his rolls. Thus did Franklin enter the town that was to become his permanent home, where he would rise to wealth and fame.

Seven years later he owned his own printshop, a stationery store, and a newspaper. He had in the meantime perfected his art by working for 18 months in England and could do the most intricate and difficult print jobs. At 26 he began the highly profitable annual publication of "Poor Richard's Almanac." He managed his affairs so ably that at 42 he retired with an income equivalent to that of a royal governor. Though he was good at it, moneymaking never interested him, except as a means to obtain leisure for the things he really enjoyed: reading, study, scientific experimentation, social discourse, and correspondence with men of similar interests.

While still a journeyman printer, he had founded a club for sociability and self-improvement, called the Junto, of which he later said that it was "the best school of philosophy, morals, and politics" then existing in Pennsylvania. Its membership of about 12 consisted of alert, intelligent young artisans, tradesmen, and clerks who liked to read and debate. They met Friday evenings to discuss history, ethics, poetry, travels, mechanic arts, and science (then called natural philosophy). It has been said of this group that it "brought the enlightenment in a leather apron to Philadelphia."

Franklin, who was full of ideas for improving life in Philadelphia and the Colonies in general, submitted all his proposals to the junto where they were debated. Once accepted, members worked hard to get them put into effect. As a result, improvements were made in paving, lighting, and policing the town; a volunteer fire department and militia were formed; a municipal hospital was established; the foundations were laid for what became the University of Pennsylvania and the American Philosophical Society. Of most lasting importance, perhaps, was Franklin's plan for a subscription library, the first in the Colonies. Access to books, he felt, meant that "the doors to wisdom were never shut." The idea caught on. He noted with satisfaction that the numerous libraries springing up everywhere "have improved the general conversation of Americans, made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentleman from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the Colonies in defense of their privileges." The value of knowledge to man and society has never been put more succinctly.

When he was 40, Franklin discovered electricity. It was then a sort of magic, a parlor trick. Franklin—ably supported by his junto—threw himself into experimentations and developed a workable theory which he proved in his famous kite experiment. In the 6 years between 1746 and 1752 his contributions to electricity changed it from a curiosity to a science, and in the process made him world famous. His writings on electricity were compared with Newton's optics; he became the friend of most contemporary scientists, was made a member of virtually every scientific society and received honorary degrees from 20 universities. He was the first American scientist to win universal acclaim; the first American author to have his books translated and read as widely in Europe as in America. When he was sent to Paris, as America's first Ambassador to a major power, the admiration of France for Franklin's scientific achievement in catching lightning and putting it to man's use contributed not a little to the success of his mission: winning the help of France to the revolutionary cause.

As a man of leisure, Franklin found himself more and more drawn into public service, this being expected of anyone who had the time and ability to serve. He became a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, the Committee of Five charged with drafting the Declaration of Independence, the Second Continental Congress, and the Constitutional Convention. In one way or another, he represented America abroad a total of 25 years, becoming an exceedingly skillful diplomat. His statement, in hearings before Parliament, of the case of the colonies against the hated Stamp Act was masterly and helped bring about the repeal of this act. He was among the first to recognize that not merely taxation but legislation in general without representation could not be borne by Englishmen, whether they lived at home or abroad. The bond uniting England and its colonies, he argued, was the King, not Parliament. Had his dominion status theory been accepted, the war might have been prevented but, as he sadly remarked, "there was not enough wisdom."

At 65, Franklin began his autobiography, intending it for his son. When pressure of public duties interrupted work on the book, one of his friends pleaded with him to complete it. All that had happened to Franklin, he urged, was of great historic interest since it was "connected with the detail of the manners and situation of a rising people." Moreover, the way he had planned and conducted his life was "a sort of key and explained many things that all men ought to have once explained to them, to give them a chance of becoming wise by foresight."

His philosophy of life, the virtues he cultivated—competent workmanship, honesty, industry and frugality—are within everyone's grasp; they are as important to a good and successful life today as in his time. No American child ought to grow to adulthood without having read the autobiography of this talented, wise and good man, who personified all that is best in America. "Merely by being himself," wrote Mark van Doren, "he dignified and glorified his country."

Respectfully,

H. G. RICKOVER.

Samuel F. Pryor, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I note that my good friend, Samuel F. Pryor, Jr., vice president of public relations and governmental affairs at Pan American World Airways, is retiring after 25 years of service.

Mr. Pryor has had a distinguished career with Pan Am. He has established a worldwide reputation in his field.

He holds a Medal of Merit presented to him by President Truman for skillfully and successfully directing the World War II airport development program that led to the construction of 50 strategic airbases in Latin America and Africa.

Mr. Pryor's friends are legion; so is a listing of the many civic, charitable, and fraternal organizations to which he has contributed his time and talents.

We in Connecticut are confident that he will continue to play an active, vigorous, and skillful role in the affairs of his community.

My one regret is that we will have to share him with Hawaii. H is planning to divide his time between his permanent home in Field Point Park, Greenwich, and his ranch on the island of Maui, Hawaii.

A Great Newspaper

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, as the Alliance for Progress enters its fifth year, we should recognize that it needs the strong support of all of us. Unfortunately, this momentous hemispheric experiment has often been belittled by those who have not taken the time to study its great achievements. Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD an editorial which points out that such attitudes can become self-fulfilling prophecies. The editorial is from a great newspaper, published in Miami Springs, Fla., by Latin Americans, and called Diario Las Americas. The publisher of this newspaper is Francisco Aguirre and the editor is Dr. Horacio Aguirre.

Diario Las Americas is an extremely valuable daily addition to our knowledge of Latin America.

The editorial follows:

FOUR YEARS AFTER THE PUNTA DEL ESTE CHARTER

It is 4 years now that the institutional bases of the Alliance for Progress were laid, upon the signature of the Punta del Este Charter in Uruguay.

Constantly, there are persons who with marked looseness emit opinions about the Alliance for Progress without being duly informed on the subject. They generally emit pessimistic concepts, repeating perhaps what others have said, but without bothering to confirm such information.

It is true that the Alliance has met many obstacles in its operation, even because it being something new and of so vast proportions, it was logical this should happen. It is also true that at the beginning it lacked the necessary flexibility to orient the coordination between the United States and the Latin American governments. Also, the lack of political stability in some instances, as well as the Communist subversion in others, have been negative factors in the grandiose project. But this does not in any way mean that positive and transcendental accomplishments have not been made which will steadily grow at the same pace the Alliance for Progress moves ahead.

It is all right that those who are in position to do it may point out with objectiveness the errors committed, but it is not right that, as a systematic point, any person lacking official data and knowledge of the subject, may speak of absolute or big failures in connection with the Alliance.

Perhaps there may be some who exaggerate its benefits, but these are few. The most are the severe critics who, with or without bad faith, repeat the accusations that against the Alliance have been spelled by elements who are completely in the dark about its operation or who have perverse interest to discredit it.

The Alliance for Progress needs the decided backing of all and each of the governments that signed the Punta del Este Charter, and it also needs, as an equally fundamental fact,

the support of all the live forces of those nations, signers of the charter.

One of the important aspects of the Alliance for Progress is provided, precisely, by the participation of the private individual, of the private concerns, in the realization of this gigantic project. And these sectors of the national life of each American Republic have the duty to contribute with their intelligence, their capacity and their enthusiasm, to the success of the Alliance.

Brooklyn Has Its Own TV Celebrity Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article from the August 29, 1965, edition of the New York Herald Tribune.

We are extremely proud that excellent telecasts are emanating from the NBC-TV color studio in my congressional district in Brooklyn. The celebrities who appear on these telecasts have received an enthusiastic reception from our people. Just as the tree that grew in Brooklyn gave a boost to horticulture, we are delighted that these most enjoyable shows are elevating culture throughout the land.

The article follows:

BROOKLYN HAS ITS OWN TV CELEBRITY CENTER

Hollywood and Vine—the crossroads for celebrities—has a counterpart here in the East. At Avenue M and 14th Street in Brooklyn, NBC-TV studio is a gathering place for some of the world's greatest performers. The impressive building houses two immense stages, one being used for the distinguished Bell Telephone Hour color telecasts. People in the neighborhood have grown accustomed to the faces of some of the world's leading performers and on occasion are invited to watch rehearsals for the live hour-long show.

It is not uncommon to see a quiet group of teenagers standing near the entrance waiting for a glimpse or perhaps the autograph of their idol. Last season, when actor-singer Robert Goulet was rehearsing—at the same time that international opera sensation Joan Sutherland was taping for a future program—a group of about a dozen young girls waited patiently at the entrance. Mr. Goulet left the studio unnoticed and the loyal fans still kept their vigil. Finally, a production assistant went to the door and announced, "Girls, I'm sorry, but Mr. Goulet is gone for the day." The spokesman for the group said, "But we're not waiting to see Robert Goulet—we are waiting to see Miss Sutherland."

UNFORGETTABLE

They were invited into the studio where, in rapt silence, they listened while the famous Joan Sutherland rehearsed with Donald Voorhees and the Bell Telephone Orchestra, an experience "not ever to be forgotten," according to the Sutherland fans.

No matter what the individual's taste—be it opera, ballet, jazz, concert, or musical comedy—if he waits a little while at the doorway he is bound to see one of the top artists in his chosen field; "something for everyone" seems to be the format of this program, now in its 26th year, and as an example of the variety and extent of performers in the continuing parade to Avenue M and 14th, here is a quick turn through the alphabet for a very brief list of artists who have appeared there for rehearsals and telecasts: Louis Armstrong, Count Basie, Harry Belafonte, Ray Bolger, Maurice Chevalier, Van Cliburn, Bing Crosby, Eileen Farrell, Ella Fitzgerald, Dame Margot Fonteyn, Sir John Gielgud, Benny Goodman, Lena Horne, Guy Lombardo, Yehudi Menuhin, Rudolf Nureyev, Gregor Piatigorsky, Carl Sandburg, Tommy Sands, Andres Segovia, Serendipity Singers, Helen Traubel, Bobby Troup, Fred Waring, Robert Young, and Igor Youskevitch.

The studio building itself covers an entire block and has a 178- by 88-foot stage area, the largest television studio in the world. Batteries of overhead spotlights have a capacity of almost 1 million watts—enough to light a community of 3,000 homes. Five television cameras and two overhead sound booms directed from a control room with a 15-foot-long control board, through the rehearsals and the final live telecast. Approximately 300 people direct their efforts toward a smooth show—these include artists, technicians, set and costume designers, make-up and wardrobe people, musicians, studio cops, painters, carpenters, photographers, writers, producers, and, yes, sandwich vendors who supply nourishment during rehearsal breaks.

LOCAL APPEAL

"Show biz" is usually regarded by laymen as an unapproachable razzle-dazzle really known only to those who are "in." But the Brooklyn NBC studio has a very human appeal for local Brooklynites, and to prove this point: At the first telecast of the "Telephone Hour" 6 years ago, a small lady sat in the stands making rapid notes on filecards held in a small box on her lap. Obviously, one of the wardrobe mistresses. Five or six programs went by, with the busy little lady—now on a first-name basis with the director, camera crew, producer, and many of the stars—keeping her meticulous notes. It was about at this point in the program's television progress that it was discovered that the "wardrobe lady" was actually an admirer of the program and that she was keeping—and has kept to this date—exact records for each program of stars (numbers sung or danced, costumes, and other pertinent data). She is now as familiar to those involved with the show as a television camera, and each show night has a bag of candy which she offers to the stars and all those connected with the program. Her fastidious recordkeeping continues.

BUSY CORNER

This fall the corner of Avenue M and 14th will again be in the ascendancy for local "stargazers." For instance, the first "Bell Telephone Hour" of the season, on September 26, will star Ginger Rogers, Ella Fitzgerald, Roberta Peters, Earl Wrightson, Nancy Dussault, John Davidson, and Ferrante and Teicher. During the year ahead, other celebrities to watch for will be Lena Horne, Robert Merrill, Pete Fountain, Victor Borge, Patti Page, Joan Sutherland, Benny Goodman, Henry Fonda, Robert Young, and Jane Morgan, just to mention a few. Yes, there is a Hollywood and Vine in Brooklyn.

Sing-Out 1965: Youth With a Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, August 23, it was my privilege to be present at a special invitational performance of "Sing-Out 1965," presented by Moral Re-Armament for Members of Congress, the administration, the judiciary and the diplomatic corps at the Washington Hilton Hotel.

"Sing-Out 1965" is a musical variety show with a message. It employs a cast of over 100 young people from 52 college and university campuses in 17 countries. They put the enthusiasm of youth behind ideas and ideals of justice and fairplay that are age old.

This ensemble soon will leave for the Far East where they will perform in Japan and Korea. They hope to bring Asians a better understanding of American youth, an image certainly different from the juvenile delinquents and beatnik and rock'n rollers they all too often observe.

The performance here in Washington was an exhilarating experience.

The young people sang and danced with the aplomb of professionals. Their songs were catchy and carried a message of moral rearmament. In order to acquaint those Members of Congress who were not able to attend the concert with the work of "Sing-Out 1965," I am including in the RECORD at this point two reviews which appeared in the press. One is a column by Ruth Montgomery which appeared in the August 28 issue of the New York Journal-American. The other is from the Christian Science Monitor of August 26, 1965.

It is my hope that these reviews will provide the incentive for Members of Congress who have not yet seen "Sing-Out 1965" to attend the performance planned after Labor Day when the boys and girls return to the Nation's Capital:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Journal-American, Aug. 28, 1965]

YOUNG AMERICA'S REAL IMAGE

(By Ruth Montgomery)

WASHINGTON.—One hundred college-age Americans are off to Korea and Japan next month to try to convince Asians that rioting students on our university campuses are not typical of U.S. youth.

More than 4,000 people thronged a hall here this week to view "Sing-out 1965," the variety show which student members of Moral Rearmament are taking on tour in Asia. Ninety-six Members of Congress and 54 foreign ambassadors sponsored the showing here.

Stan Musial, president Johnson's physical fitness adviser, who visited the Mackinac Island headquarters of Moral Rearmament earlier this month, said of the preparations for the Asian tour:

"I wish the Peace Corps could get this sort of training. The Peace Corps needs to learn more than just an occupation in order to be effective in the countries they go to. There is an instant need for a multiplication of what you are doing here. You are giving youths an aim and purpose for their lives."

After appearances at university campuses throughout Japan, the visit will be climaxed by an assemblage of governmental, youth, and labor leaders at Odawara, outside Tokyo.

The troupe hopes to proceed to India, where Mahatma Grandhi's grandson, Rajmohan Grandhi, is in charge of arrangements. Grandhi, 29-year-old editor of a weekly newsmagazine in India, attended the summer seminar at Mackinac, and said of it: "This is the young America we must take to Asia, to change the image of what America stands for; to show its dedication, patriotism and selflessness. And also to give Asians some of this same enthusiasm and patriotism they need today."

The theme of the conference revolved around the idea that our way of life is producing: "technical giants but moral dwarfs;" that technological knowhow can be "animalizing" unless it is paralleled by a "humanizing" process which develops "moral fiber, guts, and character."

Half of today's world population is under 18 year of age. By next year half of the U.S. population will be under 25. Youth is therefore a potentially explosive force which, unless channeled into productive paths, can lead to upheaval and rioting for the mere sake of rioting.

Students attending this summer's seminar complained of the "vacuum" on American campuses" because no one shows us what to do." Resentful of the "noisy minority," which is giving the United States a bad image abroad, 100 of the students are forgoing college for a year, and raising their own finances for the Asian trip, in order to demonstrate that the vast majority of young America is patriotic and idealistic.

[From The Christian Science Monitor, Aug. 26, 1965]

WASHINGTON SING-OUT WITH A MORAL BEAT

WASHINGTON.—"We Americans ought to be the most revolutionary people on earth."

"We've got the power and speed to make a new tomorrow." "We are a go generation."

The young people of Moral Re-Armament (MRA) were belting it out—their songs and their philosophy—on invitation of nearly 100 Members of Congress and members of the diplomatic corps. This was "Sing-out 1965"—the MRA musical morality play for this year.

The next stage for the show, after a stopover at their headquarters at Mackinac Island, Mich., will be Japan. Then South Korea. Later India.

"You can't think crooked
And live straight.
If you're a chauffeur
Or a chief of state;
Clean up the nation
Before it's too late."

HURRICANES OF LAUGHTER

On stage were youngsters from 17 countries and in the United States, from 52 campuses. They went from laughter, always in hurricanes, to the sudden, deep serious:

"Freedom isn't free;
Freedom isn't free;
You've got to pay a price,
You've got to sacrifice,
For your li-ber-ty."

FACES AND GESTURES

The listener was a watcher, too. The faces of the cast, and their gestures, were left almost as free, and certainly as individualist, as the MRA philosophy they espoused. The director of the performance, Henry Cass, a producer of Shaw and Shakespeare at the Old Vic in London and now director of the Westminster Theater, let everyone cut loose in his own way much of the time.

Faces were studies in personal exuberance; gestures were strenuous or lilting or a quiet rapture, in various shades of light and dark colors, in the midst of powerful choruses. The loudspeakers could have been turned off and the 4,300 people in the huge ballroom of the new Washington Hilton would have vibrated just the same.

For a few moments there was unwonted quiet. Four girls sang wistfully, after the folk fashion of the day, turning the hearty and militant tone of the evening into poetry, but always making the same point:

"Run and catch the wind * * *
Think of something big to do;
Run and catch the wind.
Think of something big to do;
Someone else will follow you;
Run and catch the wind."

SHARP REFERENCES

There were a few sharp references to the "moaning and groaning" on today's campuses, to a pacifist, antipatriotic minority—just enough to make the point that this was a different type of youth, ready to lay its patriotism on the line and work with energy for "the stuff of which this Nation's made."

"Up, up with people," they sang, lifting the audience onto its swaying feet. With this concern, "there'd be a lot less people to worry about; and a lot more people who care."

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Appendix

Plight of the South Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I call to the attention of my colleagues a very eloquent editorial printed in the State, of Columbia, S.C., on August 11, 1965, entitled "This, Too, Will Pass." This editorial contains so much candor and so much truth, pointing out that the Johnson administration is trying to put the people of the South through another tragic era of reconstruction.

I commend these editorial comments, Mr. President, to the attention of all of my colleagues. I, therefore, ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIS, TOO, WILL PASS

We southerners lived through one "tragic era" of Reconstruction. We can live through another.

Renewed exposure to the force bills of a vindictive Federal Government will not be easy, or pleasant. But this is a time for determination, not despair. It is a time for sorting things out, for thinking things through, for storing up memories of men and their missions—all against a day of political reckoning.

Difficult days lie ahead. Living through them will take courage, and character, and perseverance, and—most of all—patience. But let true southerners never forget that what confronts us today is as a Sunday school picnic compared with what faced our people a century ago.

Then, as now, a hostile administration—burning with resentment against the South and yearning to establish itself as the party of perpetual ascendancy—controlled Washington. Then, as now, every effort was made to build a powerful and perennial political machine out of the ranks of the southern Negro. Then, as now, there was eager willingness to condemn, convict, and punish the white southerner simply because he is white and southern, irrespective of the weight of evidence in any given case.

But then, the oppression of the South came at the hands of radical Republicans. Today, it comes at the hands of radical Democrats. Then, the white people of the South stood shoulder-to-shoulder in their grim determination to regain control over their own governments and their own destinies. Today, too many white southerners have sold their unprincipled souls for political gain, economic favors, or Federal patronage (or patronizing).

But even so, the plight of the South today is far better than it was during the first Reconstruction. In large measure, we are paying the price of our own progress. Much of the Federal persecution now heaped upon the South stems from the region's assertion of political independence in 1964. (Only a fool would contend there is no relationship between the Goldwater vote of last year and the Johnson persecution of this year.)

And the economic progress of the South is a source of frustration and envy to the union bosses who thus far have been unable to dominate this region as they have others. The Johnson administration and the Nation's labor bosses seek to correct that situation by hitting the South where it hurts—through the right-to-work laws which have brought industry, and jobs, and economic well-being to the region.

The South seems to be marked for every sort of subjugation which can be mustered up by a man who long since abandoned his own lightly held pretense of being a southerner.

Lyndon B. Johnson has loosed upon a proud land the unscrupulous zealots who promote civil disorder in the name of civil rights. He has stirred up that equally-odious collection of mischief-makers who parade under the variegated names of the Ku Klux Klan. He has proudly signed his name (in company with Martin Luther King) to a bill which opens the floodgates for illiterate, untutored, and unqualified Negroes to influence the course of Government in the South.

But Lyndon Johnson has not broken the spirit of the self-respecting southerner who will not be goaded, or browbeaten, or bribed or cajoled into surrendering either his pride or his place. When Lyndon Johnson has moved on into whatever niche inexorable history may reserve for him, these words of Henry W. Grady will still be remembered in the South:

"If there is any human force that cannot be withstood, it is the power of the blended intelligence and responsibility of a free community. Against it, numbers and corruption cannot prevail. It cannot be forbidden in the law, or divorced in force. It is the inalienable right of every free community. It is on this, Sir, that we rely in the South. Not the cowardly menace of mask or shotgun, but the peaceful majesty of intelligence and responsibility, massed and united for the protection of its homes and the preservation of its liberty."

The Questionable Immigration Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN R. DAVIS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, too late to affect the course of action in the House, but not too late, perhaps, to influence action in the Senate, the press of the country has begun to be aroused about the shortcomings of the immigration bill which recently passed the House.

The attached recent editorial in the Minneapolis Tribune bespeaks a real concern, a concern in which I share:

QUESTIONABLE IMMIGRATION BILL

The immigration bill just passed by the House, under pressure from the administration and various national minorities in this country, is a strange piece of business. It wipes out the present quota system, which favors western and northern Europe, and sets up new restrictions for all countries except those of the Western Hemisphere. No quotas would apply in the New World.

This means that Latin America and the Caribbean islands, which have been contributing an increasing flow of their overpopulation, would be free to send unlimited numbers to the United States in the future. They now account for about a third of the approximately 300,000 immigrants yearly.

Latin America's population exceeds that of North America. There the birth rate per 1,000 population is 40; in North America it is 24. Thus, the prosperous-looking United States is likely to lure more and more Latins in the people-crowded years ahead. So the immigration bill discriminates against the rest of the world in favor of Latin America.

Also, the bill would bring an immediate 50,000 boost in immigration from the quota countries. There was a time when the frontiers of this Nation cried out for settlers. But the frontiers are no more, and America, by many standards, also is becoming overpopulated. Maybe it's time for the United States to be thinking about future living room for its own people, rather than to be so concerned about providing an escape hatch for teeming peoples elsewhere.

The Senate has a serious assignment to undo the mischief of the House bill. A subcommittee made a start by approving a limitation on hemisphere migrants.

Vietnam Airman Hits Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to a letter written by an American serviceman in Vietnam—A1c. James A. Ferguson of Lincoln Park, Mich., whose home is in my congressional district. This letter appeared in the "Public Letterbox" of the Mellus Newspapers, which are published in Lincoln Park, Mich.

In this letter, Airman Ferguson captures the spirit of the American fighting man which has carried the United States victory in every war in which this Nation has participated. This young man, whose father fought in World War II, has a remarkable insight into the real issues that we are facing in the Far East and throughout the world.

For this reason, and because I think that Airman Ferguson's letter should receive wider recognition, I include it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

VIETNAM AIRMAN HITS COMMUNISM

To the EDITOR:

Today I had a chance to read an Armed Forces newspaper, the Stars and Stripes,

dated August 9. There is an article in it that left me with a cold chill.

It is about a number of youths in America that think the job we are trying to do over here in Vietnam is a waste of time.

WILL STAND ALONE

It discourages me to think that these people—the leaders of tomorrow—want to stand aside and see Communist strongholds established, one after another, until we find ourselves standing alone in the world.

If Vietnam falls to communism, our problem will not stop there. It will go on as it has in Berlin, Korea, China, and countries of Europe.

If you are bothered by a pain that continues, you find a cure. This is what we have to do now with the Communist push.

CHOKES FREEDOM

Its growth has to be arrested before it chokes out all the freedom we have ever known.

The United States has seen Berlin and Korea occupied and fall to the ways of communism. At last our country has finally started to tell this growing child, "No. Hands off." We must teach it that it cannot have everything it wants.

I am 22 years old. This is the first time I have tasted war, and have seen the destruction that it brings. My father fought in the Second World War, in the Pacific area.

Now I am proud to serve my country, as he did. If it becomes necessary, I will lay down my life for the country I love and want to see stay free for my sister's children. I do not want to see them grow up in a Communist world.

I just can't see how these young agitators, who, before, were stuffing each other into cars and telephone booths, and were interested in panty raids, now have become the leaders of groups which think that pulling out of Vietnam will settle all problems.

WANT WORLD CONTROL

The Communist goal is world control, where no man has his natural rights—where everybody works to please the dictators, not himself.

This kind of world I do not want. I will fight to preserve my rights and to insure that the generations that follow have the same rights.

I just had to let off some steam that has built up in me from reading articles about the actions of some of the kids of my generation.

JAMES A. FERGUSON.

Suggested Guidelines on Cutting Up Sugar Pie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Sugar Market Review issued August 16 by Thurston Greene & Co., New York sugar brokers, contained some timely comments about how the Committee on Agriculture should cut up the sugar pie.

Here are the comments:

DOES THE UNITED STATES REALLY ALLOCATE FOREIGN SUGAR QUOTAS SENSIBLY?

At the present time, Washington is considering where the United States should hand her overseas sugar quotas for the next 5 years. Suddenly (and in some cases, temporarily) all foreigners have become our bosom pals and there isn't anything they wouldn't do for dear old Uncle Sam.

Washington and the House hearings have been packed with foreign sugar pleaders, their lobbyists, and their press agents. Strong attempts are being made to influence the President, high administration executives, and important Congressmen. It is a scene for the American people to look upon with considerable dismay and some disgust, in view of our serious international difficulties as well as our sugar crises of 1963 and 1964.

Now that our import surcharge has been abolished, a U.S. sugar quota is, without a doubt, one of the most valuable assets in the world. This is reflected in the size of fees available to Washington lobbyists acting this year in behalf of foreign sugar interests. At present price levels, one small, 10,000-ton cargo of raw sugar commands a premium of $1 million on the U.S. market over the world market. As they say on Broadway: "That ain't hay."

Our sugar quotas are now, more than ever before, an instrument of foreign policy. They can be used most effectively to win friends and influence people. As such, the right to decide their allocation would seem to rest more properly with the executive branch, rather than with Congress.

In order to relieve pressure on Washington officials and Congressmen, and to prevent accusations of favoritism and strained diplomatic relations in the future, it would seem worthwhile for the United States to declare guidelines which will be followed in establishing foreign country sugar quotas. We suggest the list should include the following items:

1. The extent to which the foreign country agreed to supply us, versus the world market, when we needed sugar badly in 1963 and 1964.

2. The foreign country's ability to produce and ship sugar to us uninterruptedly.

3. The foreign country's willingness to carry a modest reserve supply of sugar for the United States.

4. The relationship of the country's home sugar consumption to her sugar production as a whole. Countries where sugar is a major export item should be given preference over countries where a high percentage of the sugar crop is consumed at home. This is particularly true in underdeveloped countries.

5. Quota preference should be assigned to those countries having a system which assures the passing along of an equitable share of the high U.S. premium to individual farmers, laborers, and millworkers. In some countries, the high U.S. sugar price is pocketed by Government officials and millowners, while the United States goes on supplying foreign aid and economic assistance to these countries. It must be kept in mind that the U.S. balance-of-payments crisis will be further strained by elimination of the import fee on sugar, thus making it imperative to know where our high sugar premiums go in these foreign lands.

6. Preference should be shown in assigning sugar quotas to those countries who have regularly supported U.S. policies in: (a) the United Nations; (b) Organization of American States; and (c) South Vietnam and southeast Asia.

7. The degree of cooperation of each country in adhering to international agreements with respect to production controls and orderly marketing of sugar, should be taken into account, so that the present, disastrously low price levels may be raised to provide a better economy for many impoverished sugar producing countries.

This Marine Knows "Why"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES M. HANLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, recent newspaper articles have pointed out, somewhat painfully, the attempts by certain groups throughout the country to undermine America's position in Vietnam. Opposition to our firm stand on this Asian frontier has taken the form of draftcard burnings, blocking troop trains, and demonstrations in front of the White House.

Although the right to oppose and to debate is fundamental to American democracy, one cannot help but wonder if those responsible for such activities really understand what the world situation is like and what America's commitment to her sister nations really means.

I take the liberty of inserting in the RECORD today the remarks of a young man from my congressional district who does understand, and who has taken the time to explain what we are up against. He is not off demonstrating somewhere. He is fighting to preserve the freedom of those demonstrators.

The remarks follow:

IN YOUR OPINION: THIS MARINE KNOWS "WHY"

To the HERALD-JOURNAL:

I am writing this letter in hope that the young people of New York State can find out why we are engaged in a war in a country thousands of miles away from the United States. A war that some people object to so badly that they harass our President with picket signs, hold demonstrations, burn their draft cards, and jump on troop trains in an attempt to stop their fellow countrymen from doing their duty. Every day this is seen in the papers all over the world along with articles about a woman who was called on the phone and was told that it served her husband right for being killed in combat when he was doing his duty at the time.

I don't believe that these people have ever seen old men, women and young children eat out of garbage cans to survive.

I don't believe that they have seen homes full of children whose parents were killed by the Communists.

I don't believe that they have had to put barbed wire around their homes to keep out men who would kill them if they didn't feed them or believe in their cause.

They have never lived in a country that has had to ask help from another to keep its country free. They are used to the life of movies, TV, plenty of food, good wages, and good times. They sleep at night knowing that they are safe and secure away from all the misery of war and death. I hope that it can be expressed to these people that if we weren't in Vietnam or other countries, that they wouldn't have these things. You just can't sit in your own backyard and let these things pass you by.

After all the war and death that our country has seen since the First World War, you'd think that we had learned our lesson. But to see these individuals pull these stunts you seem to think it was all in vain. You can tell these people that our men are proud to

be defending their country and their loved ones, and helping people that need our country's help so bad. I only wish that we could take these objectors and put them on a ship and send them to Vietnam so they could see for themselves, and give them some pride in their American heritage.

At this time I am not in a combat area, but if I were asked to go I would be proud, and would feel lucky as to have been asked to fight for my country and what it stands for.

When my son is old enough to ask me where I was during the hard times of our country and during the war in Vietnam, I will be able to say:

I wasn't burning my draft card, calling up widows, harassing our President or jumping on troop trains in protest of our country's policy. I will say that I was doing my duty as an American and I was proud of it.

Sgt. ROGER J. DEHES.

Residence for Vice President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, recently, considerable publicity, both pro and con, has been sent out about the Government building a home for Vice Presidents, present and future. I am satisfied 98 percent of the American people are very much in favor of providing a suitable residence for its second executive official, the Vice President of the greatest Nation in the world.

Congress should have provided an executive residence for the Vice President of the United States many years ago. With numerous duties, both social and otherwise involved in the office of the Vice President, it is indeed official negligence on the part of Congress to further delay the construction of an official home for Vice President HUMPHREY and future Vice Presidents in generations to come.

The following is an editorial from the Gary Post Tribune on this important matter:

A HOME FOR HUBERT

The house that HUBERT HUMPHREY really wants probably won't be available for 7 years or so, but he should not be forced to wait that long before moving. As Vice President—not because he is HUBERT HUMPHREY—he rates a suitable official residence.

Recent history has showed that the Vice-Presidency is not the relatively insignificant office it once was. The Vice President is a standby President, and his office should not be regarded as second class. Providing the Vice President with a rent-free home in which state functions could be held seems elementary.

However, it is hard to get enthusiastic over a bill introduced by Senator GEORGE SMATHERS, of Florida, who wants to give the Vice President a 33-room Victorian manse called Admiral's House. It is used as a residence for the Chief of Naval Operations—a kind of relic atop Observatory Hill in the Capital's fashionable Northwest section. SMATHERS would include a $100,000 annual appropriation for maintenance, and at its age, the old place might require that much.

The manse has considerable historical value and should be maintained, but is not the kind of a home a fellow would campaign for.

Senator MIKE MONRONEY, of Oklahoma, has introduced a bill that would authorize appointment of a three-member commission which could spend up to $1 million to select and acquire a suitable residence. MONRONEY's bill seems more sensible, despite the chance the commission might go through that million and ask for more.

Congress may come up with a better suggestion than either SMATHERS or MONRONEY has, but at least the two proposals should get the legislators going on a serious discussion of the problem. The legislators, not the Vice President, should do this house hunting.

The Legislative Sourcebook of the State of California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CECIL R. KING

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. KING of California. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues in the U.S. Congress the legislative sourcebook of the State of California, a scholarly work published by a noted veteran California legislator, the Honorable Don A. Allen, Sr.

Assemblyman Allen recently released the long-awaited sourcebook authored by him. This sourcebook was printed and bound in a stiff back cover because of the unprecedented demand for his earlier sourcebook on the California legislature from 1849 to 1962. The record will show that over 30,000 copies of the fragmentary document have been released to libraries, schools, and other sources.

In response to the expression of such keen interest, Allen stated he has now expanded what was originally an historical listing of legislators and districts into, the first formation in 1849; a thorough analysis of the history of reapportionment in California; the record of those legislators who have served the State so well; a history of the changes in the legislative districts with related population figures; systematic data on committee chairmanships and legislative turnover; and bibliographies on reapportionment and the California Legislature, which together represent the finest single set of carefully screened and well-documented bibliographies presently in existence on these subjects.

This idea of a comprehensive study of the history of the legislature first came to him in 1940 when he was chairman of the Assembly Factfinding Committee on Governmental Efficiency and Economy. His interest in this subject continued in the intervening years, from his departure in 1947, when he was elected to the city council in Los Angeles, until his return in June 1956.

Realizing the great changes that had taken place during his years of absence from the legislative halls, he undertook a series of endeavors which have led to this current project, commencing with a number of memoranda to his colleagues in the legislature. Soon individuals, organizations, libraries and scholars from various colleges and universities were asking for so many copies that multilithing and other more informal printing processes became inadequate to supply the demand.

There has been so much assistance rendered to him in the preparation of this legislative sourcebook, as well as with the earlier version, much of which work has been done by State employees and some of his personal employees that he has waived all question of royalties. Therefore, this book is a labor of love with no monetary gain whatsoever.

The cost of this book has been held to a minimum of $3 per copy. There will be no free distribution.

It is hoped that the newly printed format of this volume will provide a more permanent record of his research and should facilitate its use by the legislature, the scholarly community, and the general public.

Health Profession's Educational Assistance Amendments of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 3141) to amend the Public Health Service Act to improve the educational quality of schools of medicine, dentistry, and osteopathy, to authorize grants under that act to such schools for the awarding of scholarships to needy students, and to extend expiring provisions of that act for student loans and for aid in construction of teaching facilities for students in such schools and schools for other health professions, and for other purposes.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Chairman, I rise as chairman of the Republican policy committee to report the action taken at our meeting Tuesday, August 31. The committee adopted a statement on the Health Professions Educational Assistance Amendments of 1965, H.R. 3141, which I would now like to read:

REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE STATEMENT ON HEALTH PROFESSIONS EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE AMENDMENTS OF 1965, H.R. 3141

Due to the rapid expansion of the U.S. population, it is apparent that unless there is a significant increase in the number of medical school graduates, this Nation will not have an adequate supply of medical personnel. Moreover, the recent enactment of the medical care for the aged legislation undoubtedly will result in new and greater demands for medical services. These needs must be met and the Republican Policy Committee continues to support legislation that will afford adequate and appropriate assistance to our medical, dental, and other health profession schools and students.

Therefore, we endorse the 3-year extension of the current program of matching grants to aid the construction, replacement, or rehabilitation of teaching facilities for the training of physicians, dentists, professional public health personnel, optometrists, phar-

macists, and podiatrists. The current program which H.R. 3141 extends has funded 63 projects and has made possible 2,279 new first year places. It is the type of assistance that Republicans traditionally have supported and endorsed.

Similarly, the student loan program that is extended for 3 years is a sound and meritorious program. Of the 152 schools of medicine, dentistry, osteopathy and optometry that are eligible, 147 have established student loan funds and to date there have been more than 10,000 student borrowers.

We are especially concerned by the provisions of H.R. 3141 which provide basic and special improvement grants to medical schools which can be used for any purpose including salaries and administrative expenses. For the first time, the Federal Government may assume the responsibility for providing a portion of the operating funds of every school of medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, and optometry in this country. Every such school, rich or poor, large or small, public or private, that files an application for a basic grant, and gives reasonable assurances that it will increase its first year enrollment by 2½ percent or by five students, whichever is greater, will be paid $12,500 plus $250 for each full-time student the first year, and $25,000 plus $500 for each full-time student the next 3 years. And every such school, that is recommended by the National Advisory Council and satisfies the Surgeon General that it will use the money to maintain or to provide for accreditation or specialized functions, will be paid a special grant not to exceed $100,000 the first year; $200,000 the second year; $300,000 the third year; or $400,000 the fourth year.

This is a dramatic shift from the present program of selective assistance to one of outright Federal subsidy. Furthermore, there is no participation or coordination by a State agency. All payments flow from the Surgeon General directly to the recipient school. Certainly these grants are significantly different from the brick and mortar grants and the specific grants that have until now constituted the Federal assistance to higher education. Therefore, we urge that these provisions be stricken from the bill.

Gemini 5

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Jessie M. Williams, of Chicago, Ill., composed a very deserving poem in honor of our Astronauts L. Gordon Cooper and Charles Conrad on their historic flight into space.

I welcome the opportunity to offer this poem for the interest of my colleagues. The poem follows:

GEMINI 5

'Round and 'round again,
It's the Gemini 5;
Happy, hale and hearty,
Splash down safe they dive.

Eight days up in space,
Many, many miles;
Back again to planet earth
Crossing many stiles.

Well done, heroes, shouts the world
For you have reached your goal;
Success in what you aimed for,
Accomplishment all told.

Cheers to all who work in space
Both up and on the ground
Our country's very proud of you,
You're heroes of renown.

True Americans never fail
Our standards always high;
With patriotism in each heart,
Our colors ever fly.

But God gave man the wisdom
To do the things they do;
So we thank Him in gratitude,
For all that has come true.

Without Him it could never be
He is our guiding light,
God bless America.
He blessed us with His might.

Ohio—The Blue Ash Airport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. GILLIGAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. GILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, today the Federal Aviation Agency announced a grant of $727,180 to the city of Cincinnati to create a year-round, executive-type airport on property the city owns in the Blue Ash, Ohio, area. This grant should prove to be of very great benefit to the citizens of Blue Ash and Greater Cincinnati.

I speak on the subject today because of its importance to our community and because I believe that my colleagues in the House would like to know what the creation of this kind of airport, with contiguous recreational and industrial park facilities, could mean to many similar communities throughout the Nation. As all of us know, our Nation is growing economically in what I call 20th century industries— those developed by improved technology which require skilled labor and modern 20th century air and ground transportation systems.

At a meeting in the FAA offices in late July 1965, I stressed to Maj. Gen. William McKee (retired) Administrator of the FAA, Mr. Cole Morrow, Director of Airports Service, FAA, and Mr. Edward Stimpson, Assistant Administrator for Congressional Relations, that the Blue Ash, Ohio airport site had unique facilities for a test-tube study of what could be done with an area which had great possibilities for the location of 20th century industries. The lands owned by the city of Cincinnati amount to nearly 1,500 acres. In that space will be located the airport, an industrial park, a recreational area, and pleasant residential properties. It is located in a rail and interstate road complex, and in the path of industrial expansion proceeding to the north of Hamilton County. All of these facilities and lands, if properly used, should produce a model of economic development which could be copied across the Nation.

For the benefit and study of the citizens of my community and my colleagues, I would like to explain fully the use of the FAA grant.

First. The proposed airport would be an executive-type airport and not a commercial airport. Small company and private planes would use the airport, but not large, commercial, passenger planes.

Second. The proposed airport would not be much different than the present airport. Currently the Blue Ash Airport is a secondary, turfed airport, which is unusable for most of the time between early November and late April because the ground is unsuitable for landing. Private owners and corporations find it necessary to move their planes to Lunken Airport during that period, causing inconvenience and expense.

The grant would permit the construction of a 4,000-foot concrete runway, along with taxiways, sewering, and improvements of land near the airport. Thus a year-round airport will be created.

Third. The new runway, if built, should greatly assist the safety of the residents of Blue Ash.

The current east-west runway has consistently caused concern for the safety of the residents near it, because planes using it now must come over residential areas on their landings and takeoffs. The new southwest-northeast runway which will be constructed will permit over 90 percent of takeoffs and landings to occur over an area covered by expressways and railroad tracks and property, which will endanger no residential areas. Because the wind blows from the northeast only 10 percent of the time, landings into the wind from the southwest will seldom occur, and when they do, they will be made over a clear zone of over 3,500 feet in length and considerable width, which consists of proposed golf course properties.

Fourth. There will be no costs to the village of Blue Ash. Matching funds to the Federal grant will be made by the city of Cincinnati in the amount of over $727,000, which will take the form of the supplying of the land for the airport.

Fifth. Some residents have expressed concern that such an airport would prevent the development of a community college on the Blue Ash properties because of the noise affecting academic studies. Their fears are unfounded, because representatives from the board of regents, the University of Cincinnati, and sound engineers have already tested out this problem, and find that aircraft noise will be no problem to the development of a community college. If such a college is placed elsewhere in Hamilton County, it will be because of other reasons entirely. Indeed, it would be advantageous for an airport to be so close to a community college, for today many professors are flying from the larger campuses to the smaller campuses for classes. The Ohio State University has a regular commuting system for such purposes.

What are the advantages which should accrue to the Greater Cincinnati area as a result of this grant?

First. A problem which has remained unsolved for over 15 years is now solved. Conflicting ideas on the nature of the airport, disagreements among village, city, and county officials have been resolved. The bonds sold by the city over these years, and upon which it has paid

a large amount of interest, will be paid by the sale of the lands not used for the airport.

The total land area involved consists of some 1,535 acres. Two-thirds of this land will be sold, and one-third retained for airport use. Of the land that will be sold, it is probable that two-thirds will be zoned for industrial use as an industrial park, and one-third will be zoned residential. Such zoning will be done by local authorities. It should be stressed that the Federal Government grant and responsibility is only for airport construction, and will have nothing to do with eventual nonairport land uses.

Second. The selling of land for industrial and residential land use should add a large amount of taxable property to the Blue Ash tax rolls, which in turn should provide for improved municipal and education services. Hangars and other buildings built by whatever public authority will manage the airport are also taxable, and revenues will come to Blue Ash from those sources.

Third. A large number of jobs of semiskilled and skilled categories should be created in the Blue Ash area by the influx of industry into the industrial park. Greater Cincinnati, and the Blue Ash area as well, would benefit by increased industrial job availability. Additionally, airport services will require manpower for operation.

Fourth. The kind of industry coming into the area as a result of the airport will be of the modern light industrial type, which would not bring with it the problems of air and water pollution which accompany basic heavy industry. Additionally, if properly zoned and regulated, the industrial park can become a pleasant addition to the community.

Fifth. Those progressive industries which would settle in the industrial park around the airport would add to the social life of the community and would have great capacity for growth. It has been proved time and time again that those management groups willing to use company planes are also those which are progressive and creative.

Sixth. A large recreational area, either municipally owned or leased to private operators, will be built on the west side of the airport. An 18-hole golf course and a par 3 golf course will be constructed there, replacing the course lost to area residents because of recent expressway construction.

I am hopeful that now the community, including the business and civic leaders who have looked forward to this airport for so long, will now band together to plan for rapid maximum development of the lands.

No Room for Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. HARVEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial from the August 25, 1965 edition of the Detroit News. I am certain that we will all agree there is absolutely no room for playing politics with the serious and difficult war conditions confronting our country in Vietnam. This editorial, I feel, should serve as a warning sign to all Americans against playing Viet politics.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the editorial for inclusion in the RECORD:

PLAYING VIET POLITICS

Political parties have every right—indeed they have a duty—to explain their positions on controversial public issues.

Thus no one should fault either the Republican Party or the Democratic administration for putting out their own versions of the background to the war in Vietnam.

But when the White House puts out a new pamphlet, "Why Vietnam?" to explain the American commitment and objectives in Vietnam, just before the House Republican Conference makes public its own white paper on the same subject, it appears to be more than coincidence.

And then when the President schedules a press conference on the very day the Republicans had earlier announced plans to issue their statement at a news conference, it becomes clear the White House wants to overshadow the GOP presentation.

That comes dangerously close to playing politics with the serious business of the war in Vietnam.

Aid for Stranded Youths

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, in the midst of much criticism and unjust charges of failure in the war on poverty, it is good to hear a clear journalistic voice raised with some firsthand knowledge about the Job Corps and what it is trying to do.

One of the outstanding editorial writers in the 20th century, Erwin D. Canham of the Christian Science Monitor, has written an article on a Job Corps camp in his home State of Massachusetts. I feel it deserves as wide a readership as possible and therefore I am placing it in the RECORD for the benefit of any who may not have had the opportunity to see it.

The article follows:

AID FOR STRANDED YOUTHS

(By Erwin D. Canham)

I've seen a little of the Job Corps this summer. It has a camp at South Wellfleet, on Cape Cod, not too far from our house. One afternoon a neighbor, initially critical of the whole Job Corps idea, brought three of the lads to a little talk session under his trees, with 15 or 20 men of affairs and experience who have retired to the Cape. Another time, my wife and I visited the camp itself, looked over their educational program, and had lunch with them.

The Job Corps is a vivid indictment of the American educational system. Over 20 percent of the fellows in the camp are illiterate. Yet they have been passed from grade to grade up through the public schools until they get virtually into high school. Never all along the way have they learned to read and write.

Others, though literate, had been unable to cope with certain subjects, like math. They, too, had been promoted but they could not go on to technical education. They wanted to. They needed remedial education. And the Job Corps is giving it to them.

TEACHER'S TASK

Probably teachers in many parts of the United States are hard pressed, and cannot give the special attention which these individuals seemed to need. Perhaps they have no alternative to promoting them, year after year, until they drop out. Doubtless there are many schools where this dosen't happen, the individual gets the attention he needs, his defects are remedied, and he goes on to useful further education and a job.

The lads I talked with came from all parts of the country. A minority of them were Negroes. Some were from big cities, some from the Appalachian hill country, some from other rural islands where education had passed them by. Recruiting agents for the armed services had recently visited the camp, given the boys examinations, and found themselves unable to accept any as qualified for enlistment. Their major defects were educational.

REMEDY SOUGHT

Some of the corpsmen seemed to be working hard to remedy their disadvantages, so they could reenter school and prepare for useful life. One husky Negro lad from Omaha told me he had passed the requisite courses, would soon transfer to an urban Job Corps camp, and then go back into school and a job. Full-time teachers as well as volunteers from the Cape Cod community were working with the men, to help them get back into the educational stream. There was a good relationship between the boys and the local people.

A pretty high percentage of the lads who volunteer for the Job Corps do not stick. Some are under great pressure to come home: the family needs them. Others are homesick. Others are fed up with the sandy wastes of Wellfleet, and yearn for the West Virginia hills.

The corpsmen were given an excellent Yankee luncheon, which we had on the same cafeteria line: chowder, stuffed striped sea bass, a brownie for dessert. We had had stuffed bass for supper the night before at home, and it was no better.

DANCES HELD

I suppose what the boys missed most was girls, although this could have happened in the most exclusive ivy-covered New England prep school. They had had a dance or two, with white and Negro girls coming down from Boston. They remembered the dance with pleasure.

They did not seem to be working very hard, although a good deal was slowly getting done to tidy up and equip their camp. They had an excellent carpentry shop. But I gathered that their work span, concentration, and interest were pretty variable.

The Wellfleet camp was run by officers who double in developing and operating the Cape Cod National Seashore. The camp is in the park area. The atmosphere was good.

I remember visiting CCC camps in the early days of the New Deal. They were different. Their boys came straight from hunger and desperate homes and widespread unemployment. The Job Corps reflects, perhaps, a more relaxed and endemic kind of desperation: boys washed ashore by a stream that is still flowing vigorously and which they can reenter. Perhaps they, and we, need to awaken more responsibly to the conditions in 1965 which continue to produce sadly ill-equipped young men.

Right To Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER H. MOELLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. MOELLER. Mr. Speaker, we are now witnessing the tensions between management and labor in the steel industry, and we have endorsed certain legislation concerning right-to-work laws. I submit that in much of our modern debate we overlook too quickly the concepts that the ability and the opportunity to work are a gift and responsibility as well as a right, that faithful work brings its own benediction of joy to the worker, and that the chief aims of labor and management are not financial, but fraternal.

It seems to me that management and labor do not perform their constructive functions in a free society pursuing a Great Society by being antagonists struggling for personal gain. Instead, they need to lead the way as partners committed to sharing our abundance of blessing with all Americans and our fellow men throughout the world.

I am pleased to submit for broad reading an excellent editorial on this subject which appears in the Lutheran Witness Reporter of August 22, 1965:

RIGHT TO WORK

Labor unions have made a boon to workers. No doubt about it. Trade unions have done much to protect the rights and economic status of their members. Organized labor has won for them improved working conditions and fringe benefits. Many unions also carry on magnificent programs for the health, education, and general welfare of members and their families.

But all the labor unions in the United States list a total membership of some 17 million.

In July, says the August 16, 1965, U.S. News & World Report, there were 74.9 million jobholders in the Nation and 3.6 million unemployed.

Organized labor speaks for less than one-fourth of the workers of America.

Much basic labor legislation, such as the measure now before the U.S. Senate to knock out right-to-work laws in 19 States, is slanted in favor of the unions.

To give all the workers of America a voice and vote in labor policies and practices—above all, to give every American the right to work—the labor movement needs some reorganization.

Needed still more is reorganization along management-labor lines rather than labor versus management.

Strikes tying up whole industries and communities are an anachronism in this age of enlightenment and abundance. That statement applies to management as well as labor.

Management and labor need to work together every day and iron out their problems as partners who take pride in their mutual endeavors.

Work is a gift of God. It enables men and women to exercise their talents, and it relates them to people.

Work is a joy. A job well done brings a sense of achievement—not just a check at the end of the week or month.

Work makes for the common good from the livelihood it earns for the worker and his family to the end result of the general public served by the finished product.

Work is too much of the essence of life in these United States to become a football kicked around by labor leaders, industrial giants, and politicians.

Management-labor relations need a thorough overhaul. Both sides should forget selfish concerns and consider making work a cooperative venture.

Scripture has some pertinent counsel here: "Let each of you look not only to his own interests but also to the interests of others."

New Horizons for Los Angeles Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, amid the noisy headline-generating activities of a small minority of today's youth it is not always easy to hear the voices of our serious-minded, determined young people who are quitely taking advantage of opportunities to attain a decent place in society despite many handicaps.

Through the Youth Opportunities Board of Greater Los Angeles hundreds of teenagers and young adults are being prepared for careers in useful occupations and to become productive and self-reliant citizens. Many who might never have had a chance to lift themselves from the morass of dependency caused by lack of education, training, and motivation now have a new outlook and hope for their future.

What these opportunities mean to these young people is best expressed by them. I was gratified to receive recently letters from some of these young people who live in my district which I wish to share with my colleagues. These letters are impressive, but perhaps most significant in these letters is the revealed pride and knowledge that goals once considered unobtainable are now within their reach, and their expressesd determination to master the techniques necessary to achieve these goals.

The letters follow:

JULY 7, 1965.

Congressman AUGUSTUS HAWKINS,
House of Representatives, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HAWKINS: Today, I realize I've been asleep for many years. I sometimes dream what I as an individual can do, not only for myself but my friends as well. Now, I am ready to accomplish any goal that I desire.

My first accomplishing effort began here at the Youth Opportunities Board of Greater Los Angeles.

Opportunity, which stands to be the most effective noun in our great title, meaning a good chance for advancement or progress.

This is exactly what our centers represent to those who apply themselves to further their education in the field of their choice.

I've chosen the field of clerical training. Upon entering in this field, I was a student who had hardly looked at a typewriter, much less typed on one. But, I can sincerely say, my goal was to learn how to type. On this very day, I type 35 to 40 words a minute accurately. This is an example to show you, Congressman AUGUSTUS HAWKINS, the progress I've made through the help and assistance from the staff here at our Youth Opportunities Board.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

JULY 13, 1965.

Congressman AUGUSTUS HAWKINS,
House of Representatives,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Today I realize getting a truly liberating education, an education that will enable me to reach my maximum potential is much like the chicken and the egg. Before a chicken can begin life, it must break the shell in which it is enclosed. Break the shell and reach a new horizon.

I am a high school dropout who enrolled in the South Central Training and Employment project and I must say that I feel now that I am employable.

I learned that pushing back the boundary of ignorance is an exciting adventure. There is too many things to be learned ever to waste time or to become bored.

I would like to state that if it wasn't for the South Central Training project and its efficient staff I would still be the egg.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIE M. WICKS.

JULY 6, 1965.

Congressman AUGUSTUS HAWKINS,
House of Representatives,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HAWKINS: Just a few lines to express my feelings and thoughts about the trade I'm now learning.

A few months ago I began my course in clerk—typist. As I began my classes, I said to myself, "Is this what I would like to be in the life of tomorrow?" And the answer was, "Yes, that I would do my best to gain my lifetime trade."

The trade that I'm learning now I think that I can make it when I finish. I have obtained more satisfaction out of this than in high school. Now my vocabulary is improving more and more, and I can understand many things that used to give me trouble.

I feel that I can achieve many things now than before I started this trade. To me this is a chance for me or anybody else that participates in these activities to get ahead in life.

Yours sincerely,

LANIS J. DOMIO.

MY PROGRESS

(By Katherine Parker)

Since getting into the clerk-typist program, at YTEP I have learned more than I did in my whole 12 years in school. In the last 2 months I have gone from 120 words per minute to 405 words per minute in my reading class, and I know that this will help me in the future. My math was very poor. I did not really care too much about it, but here I have learned to like it. I have even improved in it, for if I was given a test in all of the basics, I know that I could make a wonderful mark.

I have especially enjoyed the last 2 weeks in the math class, for the teacher showed us how to do things that I thought I could never do, and I found it to be very easy. In the English class the teacher had us write a sentence with one or more of the words that she put on the board, and I found that I could look at the words and then write two or more sentences in a few minutes and I think it was very nice. I still do not know to much about the parts of speech, but I hope to in the near future.

I think that this is one of the nicest things that could ever happen to me or anyone, being given another chance to a better life as a person and prepare them for jobs that will be opening in the future.

I am glad that I enrolled, for now I know that I will have a better chance in the future with the training I am now receiving here at YTEP. What I am learning now no one can take from me, either now or in the future. My thanks to everyone who has made all of this possible.

The Los Angeles Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, it has been a part of our national faith that knowledge is power—and that the key to the solution of our most persistent problems lies in seizing upon the fullest possible knowledge about those problems.

The shattering events of recent days in Los Angeles demand not only statements of alarm, they demand a serious and concerted effort at every level of responsibility to gain knowledge: knowledge not only about the events in Los Angeles, but about the deeply submerged causes of those events.

The State of California, under the leadership of Governor Brown, has named a commission headed by John McCone, the distinguished former director of the Central Intelligence Agency, to investigate the causes of the riots. And the President of the United States, acting responsibly and decisively, has appointed a high level group to lend Federal assistance to the search for knowledge which can prevent future tragedy like the tragedy of Los Angeles.

I applaud these actions and in this connection I place in the RECORD a remarkably sage and temperate editorial from the Christian Science Monitor of August 23. Its title is a terse and urgent admonition to us all: "Get the Facts."

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Aug. 23, 1965]

GET THE FACTS

No task before the American people today is more important or more immediate than that of pinning down the root causes and the needed cures of the still deepening racial crisis.

Deeply shaken by the terrible events in Los Angeles, the State of California has named an eight-man commission of distinguished citizens to look into the causes of the riots. Headed by former CIA Director John A. McCone, the commission will have subpena power and will hold hearings.

This is desirable. But whether it will be enough depends wholly upon what the commission does. If the resulting report is forthright, profound and detailed, it can contribute in a major way to the American people's understanding of a problem which must be solved and solved as quickly as possible. If the report adds little or nothing to what is already known about the causes of Negro disaffection and alienation, the situation will remain where it was.

Technically those who termed the Los Angeles riots an "insurrection" may not have been correct. But in figurative terms the word applies to the events of those 5 days. Even when discounting the large element of pure hoodlumism and criminality which entered into the disaster, it is nonetheless the fact that the Los Angeles riots represented in part a Negro upsurge against what they considered to be the intolerable conditions in which they found themselves in a predominantly white society.

This does not excuse the rioting, which went far beyond any legitimate expression of discontent however deep. But it does help explain the rioting. Only when this is understood can America be certain that it has penetrated to the mental attitudes which made such a tragedy possible.

It is self-delusion to believe that there will be any quick or decisive solution to the problem of Negro poverty, anger, disillusionment and all their attendant ills. This is a problem which will require a great adjustment in the thinking of many whites. It demands a more critical self-examination on the part of the Negro. It requires a practical application of the principle of the brotherhood of man unconcerned with the color of one's skin.

But underlying all this there must be a nationwide understanding of just what the problem is, how deep are its implications. Without such an understanding, America cannot be sure that it is on the path of solving the problem.

Federal Government and Nevada: Partners in Crime and Vice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to tell the Members of this House about gambling in the State of Nevada. During the last few months, I have been describing the estimated extent of illegal gambling in States where all gambling but parimutuel betting is illegal. Nevada as is common knowledge, is the State where gambling is a legal and flourishing industry. Directly and indirectly, gambling revenues are essential to Nevada's prosperity as they are to no other State.

Last year, the parimutuel turnover in Nevada came to a modest $5 million. It is impossible to say how much the total amount gambled in Nevada each year comes to. Suffice it to say that the profits of the gambling casinos are vast. Unfortunately, some of this money finds its way into mob treasuries. It is not enough merely to legalize gambling. Even legal gambling can still bankroll the mob if not controlled absolutely. To my way of thinking the answer is government-run gambling.

To this end, Mr. Speaker, I urge the Members of this House to bring gambling under Government auspices via the technique of a national lottery. Throughout Europe, the lottery device has proven itself not only as a moneyraiser, but as a device for removing one of the greatest financial mainstays of organized crime, thus striking at crime itself.

The Waiting Game

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, Eli Lilly Co. of Indianapolis, Ind., is without peer in the pharmaceutical field, and is generally recognized as a pacesetter in the drug industry.

A very penetrating and informative article concerning this great company and its excellent management personnel appears in the September issue of Forbes magazine.

Under unanimous consent, I place Forbes' article in its entirety. The article follows:

THE WAITING GAME

Most companies achieve success by molding their business strategies to fit a given set of competitive circumstances. A few, however, prefer to hold with their traditional ways until circumstances shift in their direction. Such a company is Indianapolis drugmaker Eli Lilly & Co., whose 58-percent jump in first-half profits indicates that the world may at last be moving its way.

In the immediate postwar years, a host of important new drugs began to flood the market. To introduce them, most companies dispatched armies of "detail men" (salesmen) into the field, set up warehouse networks and inundated doctors' offices with spectacular promotional materials. The results more often than not were rapid growth and some of the fattest profit margins in U.S. business.

Many a drug company, aided by television's power to reach mass audiences, also plunged headlong into the hurly-burly of proprietary drugs. Just as many have used the acquisition route to growth. Pfizer alone, for example, has made 31 acquisitions in the last 5 years.

And then there is Lilly, which has stuck tenaciously to business tactics that were born in another era. When most drug companies were expanding their direct distribution to druggists and hospitals, Lilly held stubbornly to wholesaler distribution. What was good enough for founder Eli Lilly and son Josiah, who ran the company after him, is good enough for grandsons Josiah, 71, and Eli, 80, who are still chairman and honorary chairman, respectively. Today Lilly is the only big drug outfit that sells exclusively through wholesale houses.

THAT'S ENOUGH

Similarly, Lilly scorns growth by acquisition. "We've made three in our 90 years," says Eugene N. Beesley, who became the first nonfamily president in 1953, "and that's enough." This despite Lilly's sockful of cash—over $51 million at last count, more than total current liabilities, with $41 million of it in Government issues earning at best only 4¼-percent pretax.

Lilly also turns up its nose at the fast-growing proprietary drug market. Entering that field, says Beesley, might irreparably harm "the image we've tried to build for years and years with doctors, who dislike the idea of home medication."

Over the years, Lilly's stubborn adherence to its conservative ways has produced conservative sales and profits. Some competitors, alert to the postwar environment, have managed to lift sales by 10 percent a year, and net 30 percent or more on their

stockholders' equity. Lilly, by contrast has plodded along during the past 5 years with a 5-percent annual sales gain (to $264 million) and a 12-percent return on equity.

COMING ITS WAY

Now, however, changing industry conditions may better suit Lilly's style of play. The era of spectacular new drugs seems to be about over. Last year only 17 new drugs were brought out by the entire industry versus 27 in 1962 and a record 63 in 1959. In this situation Lilly, which has carefully built up a spread of more than 900 drug products, is not so dependent on a single product line as, say, Parke, Davis is on Chloromycetin or Smith Kline & French on Thorazine and its derivatives.

Another current plus for Lilly is its reputation with the medical profession, cultivated through its huge 1,100-man force of detail men. As industry research yields fewer new products and the going gets tougher in the marketplace, Lilly's careful fence mending with doctors, as exemplified by its avoidance of proprietaries, should pay off increasingly.

Moreover, Lilly's own research program—one of the industry's largest, amounting to 10 percent of sales and more each year—has finally been yielding some profitable new products. In the last several months Lilly brought out Keflin, a new broad-spectrum antibiotic; Dymelor, a new oral antidiabetic, and C-Quens, a sequential birth-control pill developed jointly with Syntex. These helped greatly in lifting first-half profits this year by 58 percent to $1.29 per share on a 26-percent sales gain to $164 million.

Based on this showing, President Beesley thinks 1965 full-year profits will top $2.50 a share (versus $1.99 in 1964) on sales of more than $300 million. But despite this big jump, little else is apt to change around this old company that is still 75 percent controlled by the founding family. It can be counted on to stick to traditional ways rather than shifting to meet changing conditions, although its Elanco agricultural chemical subsidiary is getting more top-level attention these days. In the past, when drug markets were wide open, this stubbornness may have cost the company sales and profits. In the present tightening market, however, Lilly's very conservatism could be just what the doctor ordered.

The San Gorgonio Wilderness Area: Need for Recreational Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I herewith introduce the third of a four-part series by Mr. Vincent X. Flaherty of the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner on the proposed recreational development of the San Gorgonio wilderness area:

HJELTE IN "SKI ON GORGONIO" CAMP

(By Vincent X. Flaherty)

George Hjelte, one of America's top authorities on large-scale recreational planning, outdoor programs, and conservation education, unequivocally states that failure to open 10 percent of the San Gorgonio wild area for winter sports is a colossal mistake.

During the past 40 years, the impact of Hjelte's work has been felt from Berkeley to Los Angeles as the director, general manager, and innovator of outdoor programs throughout California. He has been in direct charge of recreational installations for cities, beaches, and mountains, including the San Bernardino Mountains where San Gorgonio is located. He has been summoned by the White House for the benefit of his thinking.

In an interview with the writer, Hjelte branded opposition to the San Gorgonio winter sports area as being absolutely ridiculous. He should know. He is California's foremost expert on all phases of outdoor activities.

Would a snow sports development in any way impair San Gorgonio for other uses?

"Certainly not," he said. "Installations necessary for the enjoyment of skiing will, by the very nature of the case, be confined only to the upper north slope—and to that 10 percent of the area where nature provides enough snow.

"As of now," Hjelte added, "the tremendous demand for ski recreation in southern California can be served only during the very few days when there is snow cover on other southern California mountains. Some years there is absolutely no natural snow cover anywhere in southern California, except on San Gorgonio, which always—always has its share.

"Consequently, devotees of the sport must journey to northern California. Thus, time and expense entailed denies skiing to thousands of southern Californians—even though nature has provided a superb place and abundant snow by their very door."

Asked if a winter sports area on San Gorgonio would fill a definite need, Hjelte said:

"Of course it would. Youth and family groups among our great masses must have someplace to go beyond summer months to accommodate outdoor life. They will incorporate winter sports in their programs if the San Gorgonio slope is made accessible, as it should be. Skiing is no more foreign to me than camping and other outdoor activities I have been associated with. I have worked at Mammoth Mountain and other ski areas during the course of my career."

AN EXPERT

Hjelte, longtime recreation and conservation expert, paused an instant. Then he said:

"After 40 years, I should know something about public demand."

The foregoing should end harmful rumors that have been circulated to the effect that Mr. Hjelte is adamantly against a winter sports installation for San Gorgonio. It should eliminate the argument of a leading opponent, the Sierra Club, which says a winter sports area would destroy the wilderness values of the entire mountain.

The Sierra Club might be enunciating its worst fears, with horrific visions of a real estate development and galloping commercialism, but even some of the most zealous members know this would not be allowed by the U.S. Government—which would retain control of the area. Their ambition is to lock up the whole place and keep it as a lonesome, unpeopled wilderness.

To date, the Sierra Club has done a mighty job when one considers the fact only 53,000 people (Forest Service estimate) visited San Gorgonio last year—just about the size of one baseball crowd that might attend a game between the Los Angeles Dodgers and the San Francisco Giants.

COMPARISON

Three million recreation-seeking people attended major league baseball games in Dodger Stadium last year on some 140 days, while only 53,000 bothered to visit San Gorgonio during a period of 365 days.

Granted that watching baseball is an indolent form of recreation, it still demonstrates southern Californians like the opportunity to get outdoors in greater numbers than people in any other area in the world. But the hard fact remains that they have fewer and fewer places to go.

How many people do you suppose would flock to a winter area on Gorgonio if one were made available? Considering the abundance of skiers and others who like to visit the snow, the area could attract 50,000 or more on weekends, so get out your pencil. More people in a few weekends than now visit San Gorgonio in an entire year—and they would be using only 10 percent of the terrain.

VAST POTENTIAL

Indeed, the current Gorgonio annual attendance record of 53,000 could be exceeded in one day, say for a world ski championship.

Most assuredly San Gorgonio would rank with the Dodgers and Disneyland as a tourist attraction.

The miracle of it all is that there are a dozen possible winter sports sites along the 15 miles of range that is called Mount San Gorgonio. This fact at once defeats the propaganda circulated by some conservationist who shout: "A ski area would rip the heart out of the mountain"—which is not a mountain, but a range.

READY MADE

A winter area could be placed any one of many places along the miles and miles of snow-clad northern summit, leaving 30,000 acres untouched, including the heart.

If ever nature prepared readymade skiing areas on any range of mountains, Gorgonio is that range. Gouged straight down her northern slopes, as if by collossal claws, the timberless ski runs are already there and waiting in classic design.

Yet, there stands southern California's highest mountain range, bankrupt in the realm of attendance figures when only 10 percent of massiveness would put the huge mountain into the outdoor business, put her on the tax rolls in a big way, as one of the world's greatest winter sports resorts.

There are already thousands of frustrated skiers in southern California, ready to go. Within a short time there would be thousands more, with whole families taking it up.

Opponents claim winter sports would destroy things for youth groups which have camping installations miles away and thousands of feet below any point where a winter sports area might be placed.

Some of the opposition, whether misled or not, never has pointed out that the winter area would occupy a spot seldom used by anyone, even when the snow melts in the summer. When the snow is gone, all that is left is a timberless waste, heavily cluttered with small rocks.

The opposition never has pointed out that thousands of California youngsters could enjoy snow and take up skiing or sledding for the first time. Nor have the opponents mentioned the possibility organized youth groups as the Boy Scouts, Campfire Girls, and religious youth organizations could use the facilities free of charge, plus group skiing instruction. This is a point that has been stressed among southern California Congressmen who want it to become a mandatory part of the opening of Gorgonio for winter sports.

MORE FACTS

Another thing the opposition never mentions is the fact that ski lifts become strangely attractive to campers and hikers once an otherwise impassable snow area is opened.

Wilderness must be preserved, of course, but this unique snow area should be put to multiple use, as the rules of the Forest Service state.

In southern California, mind you, there are 1,654,000 acres of national forest land. Forests in the southern half of California add up to more than enough to cover the whole State of Rhode Island.

In southern California's 89,700 wilderness acres, approximately 35,000 are in the San Gorgonio range. Untold thousands of winter sports people in southern California need only 10 percent of that. The opposition claims this would be a terrible loss.

NOT SO

In the first place, this would be no loss at all because winter sports do not damage wilderness values. In the second place, with all of the unused northern summit areas going to waste—utter waste—it would be like a millionaire losing $10. He wouldn't miss it at all. But if a poor man lost the same sum, it would be a calamity.

Southern California is a wilderness millionaire—yet, paradoxically—is poverty-stricken for lack of winter sports areas. Yet you hear kids complain they have no place to go, nothing to do, while parents yammer about juvenile delinquency.

If southern Californians want the finest winter sports area in the world, one that will serve a million people or more—and will inevitably develop athletes for the U.S. Olympic team. Then they'd better write their Congressman now.

The National Rivers & Harbors Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to submit for insertion in the RECORD a letter which I have received from Mr. Henry H. Buckman, president of the National Rivers & Harbors Congress. The National Rivers & Harbors Congress has made many contributions in the field of water resources. The letter from Mr. Buckman tells of the organization itself. I feel that it will prove of interest and value to the Congress of the United States.

The letter follows:

NATIONAL RIVERS & HARBORS CONGRESS,
Washington, D.C., August 9, 1965.

Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
The House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: On behalf of the members and officers of the National Rivers & Harbors Congress I write to thank you for your inspiring letter of greeting to us on the occasion of our 52d annual convention. It was my privilege to read your communication to the delegates assembled from every State in the Union.

Throughout the years you have been guide, philosopher, and friend to all who seek to further the public welfare through the wise use and conservation of our water resources. Your statesmanlike concern for the needs in this field, not only for the electorate you serve in particular, but of all America, has been an inspiration to your colleagues in Congress and to State and Federal officers throughout the Nation. To you and other patriotic men of vision within and without the Congress of the United States its people owe their present ability to bequeath to following generations a timely realization of our ever-increasing need for adequate provision for all aspects of the use and conservation of water.

The National Rivers & Harbors Congress was founded 64 years ago as a nonprofit, nonpartisan national organization. It has maintained that character throughout its existence. The great number of distinguished men and public officers in both the National and State Governments; men of divergent political philosophies and party affiliations who have been and are members, directors, and officers of this organization bear witness to this. The nature of the organization and its objectives have served to continually increase its usefulness throughout the years.

The National Rivers & Harbors Congress is founded on the proposition that so long as the several States and the Federal Union are dedicated to representative government, the education of the people and their representatives regarding water is the most appropriate and the most direct avenue leading to the objectives we seek to attain. These may be grouped under four main heads: namely, the development of a prudent but dynamic governmental policy embracing all aspects of the potentials, use and conservation of our water resources; the implementation of this policy by carefully planned and prudently undertaken projects; research with respect to water by competent scientific and technological authorities; and the planning, development and correlation of the use of our water resources as basic elements in the national defense.

Therefore, the efforts and activities of the organization comprise the encouragement of factfinding with respect to water, including its nature, occurrence, potentials, use and conservation; the correlation of such data; its widest practicable dissemination; and the appropriate application of such to specific projects.

As a major means for the implementation of its educational policy, the National Rivers & Harbors Congress has created an independent, nonprofit, educational trust foundation, the Bureau of Water Resources. This institution has proposed to give to the Federal Government a Water Resources Educational Building, to be located in Washington on suitable Government property, and to provide in perpetuity for its appropriate equipment and its maintenance and operation under Government direction. The trustees of the Bureau of Water Resources are presently awaiting the enactment by Congress of pending permissive legislation.

We have assumed the task of contributing to the molding of public policy respecting water. We believe that we can best do this through a continuing effort to educate our people in the full meaning of our water resources to them. We are satisfied that the people through their representatives in the Congress of the United States may be safely relied upon to do what is best in this field when they are fully informed. Our basic, self-imposed task is the dissemination of information and the making of such recommendations as we believe to be called for by the facts we find. We are unalterably opposed to pressure-group methods. Only thus have we been able to gain and hold the confidence of our members within and without the State and Federal Governments which we possess today. We recognize that there are debatable grounds in the field of water, and that there must be room for and respect for divergent opinions.

The structure and the procedure of the National Rivers & Harbors Congress have been molded by the experience of nearly three-quarters of a century. The necessity for all possible accuracy of the facts upon which its positions and its recommendations are based is only equaled by the necessity for adequate deliberative procedure to insure its positions and recommendations against misguided enthusiasm or selfish interest. It is for these reasons that the organization functions as follows:

The seat of ultimate authority lies in the national directorate which presently comprises 21 members elected by vote of the qualified membership of the organization assembled in convention. Each of these directors, drawn from all major geographical areas of the country, serves for 3 years unless reelected for a like term. One-third are elected each year. This board of national directors have the sole power to adopt, amend, or rescind bylaws, and to create and abolish all committees and to review their findings with respect to policy. They also elect each year for 1-year terms the executive officers, and, through the bylaws or by direct action, prescribe their powers and duties.

The executive officers are: The president, the executive vice president, the secretary, and the treasurer. The president is the chief executive officer and exercises the authority customarily vested in this office. Subject to the judgment of the board, authority with respect to policy and all appointments is delegated to the president.

Realizing that constructive results require drawing from the rank and file of the membership all possible information and opinion, and that full opportunity must be provided for due consideration, and for debate of opposing views, as well as means for obtaining judgment as to such, the board has long since created a number of operative committees to each of which is assigned a major aspect of water potential, use or conservation. The desirability of giving to each of these committees a nationwide character carries with it the difficulty of holding more than very occasional meetings of members widely separated by geographical distances. To offset this, all such committees are authorized to conduct their discussions, deliberations, and balloting by mail. This procedure enables each operative committee to examine deliberately and thoroughly all questions coming within its purview throughout the year. It enables the committee to formulate and prepare its annual report in the light of ample deliberation, canvass of opinion, and a majority vote of the whole committee. It enables the main body of the whole membership of the organization in convention to rely upon the validity of the findings in a report thus produced, and serves to prevent any hasty or uninformed action.

The geographical distribution and nonpartisan character of the National Rivers & Harbors Congress are well illustrated not only by the diversification of its membership but by that of its directorate, its national vice presidents, and the chairmen of its operative committees. Among these individuals, in alphabetical order, are:

Representative MARK ANDREWS, of North Dakota, cochairman of the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

Representative WAYNE N. ASPINALL, of Colorado, cochairman of the Committee on Use and Treatment of Saline Water.

Hon. William V. Bailey, of Michigan, secretary, and a national director.

Representative JOHN A. BLATNIK, of Minnesota, a national vice president and cochairman of the Committee on Water Use and Pollution Abatement.

Hon. Henry H. Buckman, of Florida, president, and a national director.

Hon. W. B. Camp, of California, a national director and cochairman of the Committee on Use and Treatment of Saline Water.

Col. Frank H. Collins, USAF (retired), of the District of Columbia, a national director.

Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, of Illinois, a national vice president.

Senator ALLEN J. ELLENDER, of Louisiana, a national vice president.

Hon. Walter H. Gahagan, of New York, a national director.

Hon. Joseph W. Grimes, of South Dakota, cochairman of the committee on irrigation and reclamation.

Hon. Al Hansen, of Minnesota, a national director, and cochairman of the committee on projects.

Senator SPESSARD L. HOLLAND, of Florida, a national vice president.

Representative W. R. HULL, of Missouri, cochairman of the committee on resolutions.

Hon. R. L. Ireland, of Ohio, a national director.

Representative JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., of Massachusetts, a national vice president, and a national director.

Senator JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, of Arkansas, chairman emeritus.

Hon. Dale Miller, of Texas, cochairman of the committee on inland navigation.

Hon. Lester S. Moody, of Georgia, a national director.

Brig. Gen. John L. Person, U.S. Army (retired), of Kentucky, executive vice president and a national director.

Hon. Francis A. Pitkin, of Pennsylvanja, a national director.

Hon. Harry H. Saunders, of Florida, a national director.

Representative ROBERT T. SECREST, of Ohio, cochairman of the committee on projects.

Representative ROBERT L. F. SIKES, of Florida, a national vice president.

Hon. Gleason N. Stambaugh, Sr., of Florida, cochairman of the committee on inland navigation.

Hon. J. E. Sturrock, of Texas, a national director and cochairman of the committee on water use and pollution abatement.

Brig. Gen. James R. Townsend, of North Carolina, treasurer, and a national director.

Hon. Clarence R. Tull, of Maryland, a national director.

Hon. William H. Webb, of Maryland, a national director.

Hon. Herbert G. West, of Washington, a national director.

Senator RALPH W. YARBOROUGH, of Texas, a national vice president, and a national director.

Hon. John Young, of Texas, cochairman of the committee on resolutions.

The National Rivers & Harbors Congress will continue to emphasize the necessity for the education of our people with respect to the fact that the economic strength of America to be derived from an adequate and correlated use and development of our water resources is a basic element in our national defense. For continuing successful resistance to major and prolonged enemy attack, adequate water for every use is needed. Failure to meet almost all such needs can disastrously hamper our war effort. Not the least of these war needs is the ability to transport cargoes on our rivers and canals including the now-building canal across northern Florida urged by us for many years to circumvent the barrier of the Appalachians by thus moving materials and supplies safely along inland channels between the midcontinent and the East across instead of around the great salient of that peninsula.

With every good wish, Mr. Speaker, I am,

Respectfully and sincerely,

HENRY H. BUCKMAN,

President, the National Rivers & Harbors Congress.

The Fight Against Smut Peddlers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, the House Select Subcommittee on Education whose chairman is the very hard working gentleman from Pennsylvania, the Honorable JOHN H. DENT, is presently conducting hearings on my bill, H.R. 7465, which would set up a 16-member study group to consider the whole problem of pornography.

Witnesses before our subcommittee have presented a very telling case for action in this field. I insert at this point in the RECORD a very convincing article by O. K. Armstrong which appeared in the September edition of the Readers' Digest.

I urge all Members to read this excellent article. Mr. Armstrong makes some very telling points, and I should like to associate myself with his views.

The article follows:

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE SMUT PEDDLERS

(NOTE.—The balance of power is shifting toward the decent-minded public, but the drive will fail unless a carefully mapped program is followed in every community.)

(By O. K. Armstrong)

A dramatic and significant battle is swirling across the United States today. Fighting on one side are the publishers, distributors and sellers of obscene material—a business estimated to gross currently more than a billion dollars a year. In the opposite camp are public prosecutors, parents, teachers, and other citizens alarmed at the rising tide of newsstand and mail-order pornography and determined to do something about it.

The stakes in this battle are high. For the peddlers of smut it means the right to maintain and expand their markets. Newsstands flaunt magazines loaded with suggestive nudity and paperback books filled with detailed portrayals of illicit and abnormal sexual relations. To impressionable youths, this flood of pornography conveys the notion that adultery and perversion are acceptable, that moral standards are passé.

APPEALING TO THE PRURIENT

The battle began in earnest in 1955, when, following a Kefauver committee investigation of the pornography racket, U.S. cities launched intensive crackdowns against obscenity. But the resulting court cases produced conflicting rulings and confusion over what is legally obscene. Guidelines were imperative if the drive on obscenity was not to collapse.

In June 1957 a decision by the U.S. Supreme Court supplied those guidelines—most important, an explicit definition of obscenity. Known as the Roth ruling, it affirmed convictions of Samuel Roth of New York and David S. Alberts of California, both possessors of long records as pornography distributors. Writing the historic opinion for the majority of the Court, Justice William J. Brennan declared:

"Implicit in the history of the first amendment is the rejection of obscenity as utterly without redeeming social importance. We hold that obscenity is not within the area of constitutionally protected speech or press." The ruling then proceeded to this definition: "Obscene material * * * deals with sex in a manner appealing to prurient interest." The test should be "whether to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole" makes such a prurient appeal.

Champions of decency hoped that the new decision would clarify the issues in obscenity cases once and for all. Among them was Charles H. Keating, Jr., a Cincinnati, Ohio, attorney who, in 1956, founded Citizens for Decent Literature.[1] Keating recognized that the Roth ruling, along with the State and local laws it guarded, could serve as a powerful weapon in the attack on commercialized filth.

[1] See "Poison in Print—And How To Get Rid of It," the Reader's Digest, May 1964.

Lawyers who defended pornography dealery, however, immediately denounced the Roth decision as "vague and unworkable." And, apart from the Roth ruling, other problems were apparent. A bookseller in Detroit, for example, had sold a paperback novel to a detective. He was convicted of violating a Michigan law forbidding the sale of publications containing materials injurious to youth. Then the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the State law. The Court ruled that the law's effect was "to reduce the adult population of Michigan to reading only what is fit for children." This decision made it clear that laws covering the sale of materials objectionable for children must not be applied to the public in general.

Another case, *Manual Enterprises, Inc.*, v. *Day*, which came before the Supreme Court in 1962, illustrated a pitfall of improper procedure. In this case, three members of the Court stated that the Postmaster General should not seize material and require the vendor, through an injunctive action, to prove his right to distribute it. Thus, "prior restraint"—censorship before distribution or sale—by the Postmaster General was a major factor in this reversal of a lower court judgment.

LEARNING THE PITFALLS

Keating was not disheartened by such decisions. The trouble, he saw, was that the smut dealers were often represented by wily specialists in obscenity law who were ready and willing to pull every legal trick in the book to defend their clients. On the other side were police chiefs and district attorneys with heavy caseloads and limited, sometimes inexperienced staffs.

Keating now began an intensive study of the legal pitfalls, to help representatives of the public to compete. He talked with police officials and public prosecutors and examined the obscenity statutes in the 50 States. During his researches, he met James J. Clancy, a deputy district attorney in Burbank, Calif., who had been highly successful in preparing obscenity cases for prosecution.

Both men saw that obscenity laws varied from State to State. Some of these statutes needed updating, others rephrasing to bring them into line with the Roth ruling. Citizens for Decent Literature started an educational campaign for the revision and strengthening of these laws.

Next, Keating and Clancy offered their knowledge and experience to any prosecutor who wanted it. Today Keating spends a substantial amount of his time helping to prepare briefs and advising prosecutors on details of obscenity statutes. Clancy's CDL work became so demanding that he joined the national staff as full-time legal counsel. The two men have filed amicus curiae (friend of the court) briefs to assist prosecutions in a number of obscenity cases.

Another strong arm is the U.S. Department of Justice. Because of the big increase in obscenity cases in recent years, the Department's general-crime division has established a staff of legal experts responsible for dealing with pornography in the mail and in interstate commerce. Two specialists in this field, Edward J. Pesce and Theodore Kleinman, are assigned full time to the work. They help Federal district attorneys follow correct procedures.

SHIFTING THE BALANCE

Through such efforts, the balance of power is now shifting in the legal fight against obscenity. Since the Roth decision, scores of convictions in obscenity cases, obtained in State and Federal courts, have not been appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. Records also disclose that from June 1957 to June 1965 the highest court has denied review in 22 criminal convictions for obscenity-law violations.

While these signs are encouraging, some court decisions are alarming—as, for example,

a 1963 ruling by Judge J. Irwin Shapiro in the trial court of Queens County, N.Y. The officials of a news-distributing company had been arrested on charges of selling books alleged by the district attorney to be obscene. Judge Shapiro admitted in his ruling that "fully 90 percent of each book is filled with lurid descriptions of sexual activities, in sufficient detail to act as an erotic stimulus to those so inclined," and then dismissed the defendants with this astonishing dictum:

"In the opinion of the court these books are unvarnished trash, but novels and stories of no literary merit have a place in our society. There are those who, because of lack of education, the meanness of their social existence, or mental insufficiency, cannot cope with anything better." Shapiro's ruling prompted Life magazine to ask editorially, "Is any book legally obscene anymore?" The case is currently on appeal.

More ominous still was the thinking of two U.S. Supreme Court Justices in voting to reverse two Florida civil-proceedings decisions which found the books "Tropic of Cancer" and "Pleasure Was My Business" to be obscene. The Supreme Court reversed these judgments in June 1964 by a close 5-4 verdict, with concurring votes cast by Justices Hugo Black and William O. Douglas. In their opinion, the Roth test was unconstitutional. Both Black and Douglas hold that freedom-of-press guarantees forbid restraint on what may be published.

Fortunately, this is a minority view among Supreme Court Justices. To date, the Court has never ruled in favor of pornography or obscenity per se. In a recent decision, Chief Justice Earl Warren underscored the responsibilities that officials and citizens must face:

"Courts are often presented with procedurally bad cases, and in dealing with them appear to be acquiescing in the dissemination of obscenity. But if cases were well prepared with the appropriate concern for constitutional safeguards, courts would not hesitate to enforce the laws against obscenity."

MEETING THE CHALLENGE

This challenge can be met if a three-point program is followed:

1. Police and prosecutors must study obscenity laws and know the proper procedures to enforce them. If prosecutors are inexperienced in handling pornography cases, they should secure the aid of veteran legal fighters of the racket. District attorneys should concentrate on prosecuting the worst smut peddlers in their areas, attacking the sale of filth so offensive that its meaning and menace are self-evident.

Laws and ordinances should, if necessary, be revised so that their wording is consistent with that of the Supreme Court's decision in the Roth case. State legislatures and municipal councils should keep in mind these principles:

(a) Prior censorship (before distribution, showing or sale) has been practically outlawed by the courts.

(b) Nudity and obscenity are not synonymous; the manner and purpose of the showing of nudity, and the intent to arouse prurient interest, determine the offense.

(c) District attorneys should draw on a Federal law enacted in 1958, which allows prosecution of pornography purveyors not only in thee locality where they mail their filth, but also where it is delivered. This law is proving a powerful weapon.

2. Try all obscenity cases in a criminal court, before a jury. The criminal court, with jury, is the forum that assures the greatest chance of success, for the 12-person jury, drawn from the local community, can best assess offending materials on the basis of known "community standards." Chief Justice Warren has declared: "It is my belief that when the Court said in Roth that obscenity is to be defined by reference to 'community standards' it meant community standards—not a national standard, as sometimes argued."

Appellate courts are reluctant to overturn verdicts of juries in criminal trials that are properly conducted. In some States, however, the prosecution does not have the right to a jury trial if the defendant waives it. The law should be changed to give the prosecution this right in all criminal cases.

3. The public must strengthen and use every legal means to fight obscenity. "The main reason obscenity laws are not enforced," says Keating, "is public apathy." Citizens in any community can organize to battle the traffic in filth. They should be widely representative of all churches, of parent-teacher associations, women's clubs, civic clubs, business, and labor organizations. These citizen groups should study the newsstands and bookstores and file complaints with public prosecutors when material appears to violate obscenity laws. In addition, they should become familiar with the laws that control obscenity, demand revisions where necessary, and insist upon enforcement.

Here is a crusade against a rising evil which all of us—with our courts—should pitch into and win.

Chrysler Dedicates Belvidere Assembly Plant—The Nation's Newest and Most Modern

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, Monday, September 13, is a red letter day in the 12th District of Illinois for it is on that day that a great new Chrysler Corp. plant will be dedicated at Belvidere, Boone County, Ill. In addition to the fact that this is the first Chrysler plant to be located in Illinois, it is the most modern and most efficient automobile assembly plant in the world.

It is not my purpose to recall the entire success story of the Chrysler Corp. This story has been chronicled frequently during the past several years. However, the $50 million which this corporation is investing to manufacture new Plymouth and Dodge passenger cars on a 250-acre tract in Belvidere is impressive evidence of the success story of the Chrysler Corp. during this decade of the 1960's.

Mr. Speaker, on the formal opening date of its plant on September 13, Chrysler will have approximately 1,400 new employees at Belvidere. Within a year it is expected that more than 2,000 employees will find work in this great industrial complex. Within several years the plant may engage as many as 5,000 employees in the production of new automobiles on a two-shift operation with an output of 960 cars per day or more than 200,000 passenger cars per year. The total payroll from such a full operation would exceed $30 million annually.

I would like to indicate a few of the factors which contributed to Chrysler's decision to locate its new plant in this area of our Nation. First and foremost, I am informed that the Chrysler representatives liked the people they met and the prospective employees with whom they visited as they searched for the plant location. Second, of course, the Chrysler Corp. found that Belvidere was convenient to many of the suppliers who produce component parts for their finished products. Third, the transportation facilities were conducive to this move with rail transportation available over the tracks of the Chicago and North Western Railway, and motor transportation on the great Illinois toll road and other major highways.

Favorable State and local tax laws were another important element as were, first, the climate, second, the opportunity for expansion, third, suitable schools, and fourth, adequate community services available to the industrial, business, and residential properties in this area.

Mr. Speaker, I do not mind adding that the advent of Chrysler Corp. to the 12th District has set off an economic boom in Belvidere and Boone County as well as in the surrounding counties. The effect on the real estate market and retail business in Belvidere has been fantastic. The community enthusiasm in support of this great development has been heartening to all and bespeaks well the future cordiality which is bound to prevail between Chrysler Corp. and its employees on the one hand, and the other residents of the community where Chrysler is located.

Mr. Speaker, I want to commend first of all the president of the Chrysler Corp., Mr. Lynn Townsend. He has provided the kind of executive leadership and qualities of citizen responsibility which contribute to keep American industry in the forefront. These individual characteristics of Lynn Townsend are recognized throughout our land and the entire free world. Such other Chrysler Corp. executives as Virgil E. Boyd, group vice president; Robert Anderson, group vice president; and Joseph F. Kerigan, vice president and group executive, have directed and will continue to oversee operations in the Belvidere plant as well as in other Chrysler plants. They are entitled to a generous share of the commendations directed to the Chrysler Corp. management.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to make particular mention of James G. Shepherd, the plant manager at Belvidere. Jim Shepherd has seen this $50 million plant rise from a corn field to the great and complex structure which it is today. I visited the plant with him several months ago before the assembly line had started to operate and before most of the machinery and equipment had been installed. Jim Shepherd makes his home in Belvidere, and he has lived and will continue to live with the day-to-day operations of this enormous plant. He is one who has shouldered great responsibility and upon whom much of the success of Chrysler Corp.'s operations in Belvidere will depend.

It would be impossible to identify and enumerate all of those who are responsible for bringing this great industrial establishment to the 12th District of Illi-

nois. However, in recalling the events leading to the location of the Chrysler plant in Belvidere, it seems important to mention the early interest of Mr. Ben Heineman, chairman of the Chicago & North Western Railway, in this location. I would also like to recall the important part played by Fred Shappert, publisher of the Belvidere Daily Republican and a leading engineer and bridge builder in Belvidere; William Freek, city attorney of Belvidere; Robert MacGruder, executive secretary of the Belvidere Chamber of Commerce; and many persons in the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce. Mayor Lester Cunningham who has served as mayor of Belvidere during the entire period, together with the members of the Belvidere City Council, has provided full cooperation from the time this Chrysler plant was first proposed back in 1963.

I am informed that Gov. Otto Kerner, of Illinois, will be present on the occasion of this plant dedication, as will many other State and local public officials and civic leaders. To them and to all of us who reside in and serve the people of Illinois, this new Chrysler plant is a great tribute.

But, Mr. Speaker, the principal tribute on this occasion is to the genius of American business—the great private enterprise system—and to the thousands of men and women who will work and produce in this plant, those who belong to management and to labor; for we are all part of the system of individual freedom and private enterprise which has inspired our Nation to great industrial, social, economic, and spiritual heights. To the executives, to the shareholders, to the men on the assembly line, to the engineers, to the designers, to the many women employees, to the supervisors and managers, to the maintenance men, to the advertising agencies, to the dealers, and especially to the customers—indeed, to all who have contributed to the successful completion and opening of this plant—I extend warm and hearty congratulations.

Mr. Speaker, I bring this message to my colleagues in the House and to those citizens of the Nation who will see these remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. This is a great testimony to the American system of government which assures freedom, and to the men and women who, under this atmosphere of freedom, individually and in joint and corporate enterprises rise to such greatness as is characterized by Chrysler Corp. in its new industrial plant at Belvidere, Ill.

Hawaii College Student: Vietnam Testing Ground of U.S. Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, on the eve of his returning to the United States after several weeks in South Vietnam, much of which was spent in the hinterland, William Kinaka, a Ph. D. candidate from Hawaii, described America's commitment in that area as "the testing ground of our commitment to develop the backward nations of the world."

Mr. Kinaka was a member of a group of young Americans who went to Vietnam under a program sponsored by the Agency for International Development.

Mr. Kinaka's views, as well as the background of the AID-sponsored program, are found in an August 25, 1965, Honolulu Star-Bulletin story, which follows:

ISLE STUDENT COMPLETES AID WORK IN VIETNAM

A Honolulu college student who has spent the summer in the rice paddies and provinces of South Vietnam, believes that U.S. commitment there is a testing ground of American policy.

William Kinaka, 25, of Honolulu, is an international relations major at the American University in Washington, D.C.

He is one of a group of American college students who are returning to the United States next week, convinced that U.S. efforts in Vietnam are basically justified.

Kinaka said the U.S. role there is "the testing ground of our commitment to develop the backward nations of the world. If we don't do it in South Vietnam we'll be forced to do it elsewhere."

Thomas F. Butler, 27, of Bayonne, N.J., said: "2 months in the rice paddies is worth 2 years in the classroom." He is a graduate student in Asian affairs at Seton Hall University, New Jersey.

Nineteen Americans ranging in age from 23 to 33 lived and worked with the Vietnamese people, under the U.S. operations mission. This is an aid program sponsored by the Agency for International Development.

Most of the students said they were in support of U.S. policies on Vietnam before they arrived.

With few exceptions, they charged that critics of U.S. policies in Vietnam, especially students who are spearheading protest activities are ill-informed.

"They're not crackpots, but they just don't understand what's going on here," Butler said. "It's easy to live in a world of theory."

Kinaka, a graduate student, is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Toshio Kinaka, Lahaina, Maui.

Heroics of Chinese Boatman Save Seven on Downed Plane

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to salute a Chinese boatman who displayed great courage, according to reports by the Associated Press, in rescuing seven of our American servicemen in Hong Kong last week after a C-130 troop transport crashed into the bay there. Fifty-eight of our boys, most of them U.S. marines, lost their lives in this crash; and another seven of them probably would have perished in the flaming waters of the bay if it had not been for the heroism and quick action of Mr. Ng Kam-shing, a 29-year-old barge foreman who came to their rescue.

Our Lord Jesus Christ said, Mr. Speaker, "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." Mr. Kam-shing, without hesitation, showed that he was willing to lay down his life for American citizens whom he did not know. His willingness to sacrifice his life to save others shows that he is a friend to all mankind—a most noble virtue, Mr. Speaker. By his courageous act, Mr. Kam-shing showed his love for all mankind, and his heroism was offered in the highest spirit of Christianity.

Mr. Kam-shing deserves commendation, not only from the Congress and our National Government, but also from all Americans, particularly those who have sons and husbands and fathers across the seas, fighting in Vietnam today. I am proud to salute him for his uncommon bravery in a very perilous situation.

If such valor were displayed by a fellow American soldier in saving the lives of his comrades at arms, most assuredly such a man would have been awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor or some other high military honor. If an American civilian citizen had done this heroic act, he, too, would have been accorded an award from our Government, or some other form of tribute, for his courage.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I am happy to commend to my colleagues in the Congress this exciting story of selfless heroism by a barge boatman, a citizen of China, and not of this country, who was willing to brave death in order to save seven American servicemen. Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD an Associated Press story on this man's heroism—how he saved the lives of seven Americans—which apeared on page 1 of the Times-Picayune, New Orleans, La., newspaper of August 26, 1965. The copy follows:

HEROICS OF CHINESE BOATMAN SAVE SEVEN ON DOWNED PLANE

HONG KONG, August 25.—Seven of thirteen men who survived the crash of a U.S. Marine transport plane in Hong Kong harbor owe their lives to a Chinese boatman, witnesses said today. Fifty-eight American servicemen, most of them U.S. Marines, perished in the crash.

As cranes lifted the wreckage to the shore, witnesses told of the heroism of Ng Kam-shing, 29, who braved burning oil from the plane to snatch survivors to safety. Ng, a barge foreman, was working when the C-130 troop transport plunged into the bay.

The four-engine plane, with a crew of 6, was carrying 63 marines and 2 Navy men back to Vietnam after a period of rest and recreation. It plunged into the bay shortly after takeoff yesterday. Some said it appeared to have had engine trouble. There was an explosion, perhaps two, the plane caught fire and sank in 20 to 30 feet of water.

"There was fire all about from burning oil," said one witnesses, "but Ng jumped into a small sampan, picked up two other barge workers and began rowing to where the plane was sinking.

"He dodged the burning oil and got close to the plane, where he picked up two survivors trying to swim away. Then they pulled back and picked up a third.

"The sampan was small and already it was overcrowded, but Ng and the other two men stopped to pick still another man out of the water.

They delivered these four men to persons on shore and then turned around and went back and got three more marines who were trying to swim through the oil-covered water."

Another witness, a Chinese woman, said she believed more than the 13 got out of the plane but burned to death or drowned.

"I saw several other men trying to swim for shore," she said. "They were screaming for help. Then I saw the fire from the burning oil go over them and when it lifted I could not see them again."

Suffering from shock, burns, and fractured limbs, the 13 survivors were taken to Queen Elizabeth Hospital.

Speculation about possible sabotage to the plane circulated through Hong Kong. A U.S. spokesman declined comment. A source close to the U.S. consulate said this was because any comment "on any aspect of the crash is improper prior to convening of an official inquiry board Wednesday."

Needed: New Approach to Expenditure Evaluation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Charles L. Schultze, Director of the U.S. Bureau of the Budget, as published in the Tax Foundation's "Tax Review" of August, is most interesting because Mr. Schultze reports a number of new ideas which he has in mind in regard to preparing the budgets which are submitted to the Congress by the President:

NEEDED: NEW APPROACH TO EXPENDITURE EVALUATION

(By Charles L. Schultze, Director, U.S. Bureau of the Budget)

We will, in this decade, be called upon to make an enormous number of decisions as a nation to meet challenges imposed by our domestic development and our international position. These will be decisions to recognize or ignore new needs; decisions to abandon, enlarge, or revise old activities; decisions to modernize and make more efficient the means for carrying out Federal programs; decisions to act individually or collectively through private or public instrumentalities; and decisions to act through one or another (or more than one) of the levels of Government which make up our American Federal system. Federal spending levels will be determined almost wholly as a by-product of these decisions. Both the quality of our national life and the productivity of the economy will be determined in large part by the efficiency of these decisions. Overall fiscal policy can help us achieve full employment. But the level of national output and national welfare we achieve, when at full employment will depend in an important way upon how well we make individual program decisions about Federal spending. We can misuse our national resources:

By failing to employ Federal spending in areas where it can best achieve important national purposes; and,

On the other side of the coin, by using resources in the Federal sector inefficiently or to keep obsolete and low priority programs intact.

The quality of the budgetary decisionmaking process in the Federal Government is, therefore, a big element in overall fiscal strategy. How wisely the choice between tax cuts and expenditure increases is made depends upon how well the Government is geared to making intelligently the thousands of individual program choices which arise each year.

The efficient allocation of resources in the Federal sector of the economy requires two kinds of choices:

First, a choice of the least-cost method of carrying on a given program—in other words, cost reduction.

Second, a choice of where to allocate budgetary resources among the many competing claims of existing and proposed new programs—we might best describe this as program evaluation.

PROBLEMS IN MAKING PROGRAM DECISIONS FOR $100 BILLION BUDGET

In the most fundamental sense these are not two different approaches to the decisionmaking process. Whether a particular action is labeled "cost reduction" or "program evaluation" depends on the viewpoint of the observer. For example, in supplying our troops abroad in the event of war, we must make decisions about the proper mix of airlift, sealift, and overseas prepositioning of equipment. We want to achieve the desired level of supply capability with the minimum budgetary impact. From one viewpoint, say that of the Secretary of Defense, this could be called a cost-reduction program—how to achieve the necessary supply effectiveness at least cost. To the various armed services involved, this might appear to involve a program evaluation decision—a choice among aircraft, ship, and floating depot procurement programs.

Even though the two aspects of efficient resource allocation—cost reduction and program evaluation—are closely related, we can and have distinguished between them in our approach to this problem. We have undertaken, and are continuing to develop, steps to build into the Federal Establishment the institutions and the analytic capability for continuous application of both of these concepts.

Before this committee I would like to concentrate on the problem of program evaluation. This is not because I believe that cost-reduction programs are unimportant. You are all familiar with Secretary McNamara's cost-reduction program, and the billions which it has made available both for tax reduction and for financing other programs. And in March of this year the Bureau of the Budget, at the President's direction, issued instructions to other agencies to set up a similar formal program in their own operations. Yet, in the long run the major questions of efficient resource allocation are going to revolve around program decisions—the evaluation of and choice among alternative programs.

The problem of the President, the Congress, and individual department heads in making the program decisions which go into a $100 billion budget is a staggering one. The total expenditures of the Federal Government, including the trust funds, equal the combined annual sales of the 45 largest U.S. corporations. In order for top policy officials to cope with the vast number of decisions involved and to be in a position to make rational choices, it is important that we improve the decisionmaking process. Our major need is a much wider application of improved methods, techniques, and systems analysis to the definition of program objectives, the measurement of performance, and the weighing of alternatives as the basis for decisions.

MUST BE ABLE TO ANALYZE PROGRAM OUTPUT TO MAKE INTELLIGENT BUDGET CHOICES

The first and most difficult of these tasks is defining program objectives in specific terms capable of being analyzed. Not only must they be specific, they must be associated with definite time periods within which the objectives are to be accomplished. The programs of the Federal Government have an output. They result in something being accomplished in a given time span—providing a given type of military capability, or helping to educate a specific number of children each year, or providing a particular set of recreational opportunities, and so on.

Too often, budgetary decisions are made in terms of the level of support for an organizational unit, or the quantity of inputs purchased. In order to make intelligent budget choices, however, we really want to be able to analyze the output of a program and compare what we get for what we have to pay. To do this, we need to be quite specific about program objectives. While quantification is always desirable, we can miss the real sense of many government undertakings if we confine our attention to quantifiable dollars and cents kinds of measures. What we need is a more careful analysis of our objectives throughout the full range of governmental activities: not only in defense, where much work has been done, but also in the poverty program, in transportation, in education, in health, in the conduct of foreign affairs, and in the administration of justice. We are making a start in these and other areas.

STRESS IMPORTANCE OF FINDING HOW PROGRAMS CONTRIBUTE TO GOALS

To do a good job in most of these areas we will have to go beyond formulating our objectives more clearly and analytically. We will also have to develop indicators that tell us how well—or poorly—we are doing. In short, we need measures of effectiveness. It would be extraordinarily naive to suggest that we can get simple measures that can tell us how we are doing in education or health of foreign policy, for our objectives in these fields are complex. But we can develop measures of effectiveness that are not only useful but, I would submit, essential if we are to understand how our programs contribute to our objectives. And it is not beyond our ability to measure the performance of important aspects of our highway system, or our educational system, or our foreign aid program. To what extent does each different type of training within our manpower training program contribute to a reduction in unemployment and an increase in productivity, and how do each of them compare in relation to the cost of training? What values—of timber, recreation, and soil quality—are enhanced by the forest fires preventive activities of the Forest Service? Can we determine the effectiveness of a dollar spent on bringing students to the United States under the cultural exchange program compared to the effectiveness of assisting those who are coming under private auspices? We do much of this now in government simply as a matter of good management. But we can do it more systematically and better.

We must not stop at this point for there is an additional crucial step in this process. It is the development and comparison of alternative ways of doing the job. We need to examine and reexamine existing programs as well as new ones and look for different and better alternatives. In some cases, programs have endured for many years—long after their original purpose has changed—sometimes without administrators realizing it. This process of examining alternatives may lead to a better job being done, or it may lead to cost savings. Sometimes, with luck, it leads to both.

I think you will agree that this kind of analysis cannot be sensibly carried out on a short term, ad hoc basis, rushing to meet budget deadlines. Instead, it calls for a continuing effort to study our existing and proposed programs in the needed depth. We need to deepen our understanding about objectives and measures of effectiveness, and to develop increasingly better alternatives over time. To do this requires that we have highly qualified people in our program evaluation staffs throughout the Government, and I am pleased to note that in several agencies we do indeed have some outstanding people carrying out these tasks.

BETTER SYSTEMATIC ANALYSIS METHODS CAN STRENGTHEN LEADERSHIP'S HANDS

I don't want to leave the impression that this approach is particularly complicated or esoteric. Still less do I want to suggest that computers are going to take over. Nothing could be further from the truth. The subject matter we deal with is too complex and too uncertain to be capable of much useful analysis by computers. On the contrary, the use of better and more systematic methods of analysis in Government can do much to strengthen the hand of our top political leadership. At present, problems often come up for decision at the highest political levels in a form which prevents the making of sensible choices. The objectives may be unclear, the contribution of particular programs to these objectives obscure, the costs highly uncertain, and most commonly the relevant alternatives missing. The analytic approach I have been discussing could do much to define problems in ways much more useful to the President and the Congress than is now often the case.

While few domestic agencies have yet inaugurated the full range of program analyses and budgetary planning associated with the names McNamara, Hitch and Enthoven, it is a mistake to think that the Bureau of the Budget and civilian departments and agencies have never attempted cost-benefit or cost-effectiveness analysis. In many agencies today we find examples of attempts to apply the notion of return on investment. For example, the Internal Revenue Service insists on a payoff ratio of at least 6 to 1 in the return on any added investment of resources in tax audit and collection activity. In developing and justifying the application of the user charge principle to various types of Federal activity, some analyses have been made which are a version of what I would call a return on investment approach.

Moreover, the budget process itself requires the Bureau, at least implicitly, to undertake a kind of cost benefit or program analysis in arriving at the recommendations it makes to the President with regard to Federal expenditures. What the Bureau is now embarking on is therefore properly regarded as a further evolution and refinement of a central part of its undertaking. What we hope to do, in close cooperation with the departments and agencies of the Federal Establishment, is to apply a more systematic and continuing process to the decisionmaking task faced by the most bureaucratically submerged section chief, all the way up to the Presidency. In this undertaking we will apply and adapt where possible many of the techniques and approaches which have proved fruitful to date, primarily in defense applications.

FISCAL POLICY FREED FROM CONSTRAINT; MUST HAVE EXPENDITURE CONTROLS

In summary, our goal is to improve the present budgetary process in order to make available to Department heads, the President, and the Congress a crisp and specific analysis of program objectives and accomplishments measured against costs. With this background, proposed program changes can be evaluated quite explicitly in terms of services rendered and results achieved. And all of this must be in a form which makes it possible for policy officials to see quite clearly the consequences of their choices in terms of governmental effectiveness and budgetary costs.

It is these choices also, which will largely determine the fiscal policy issues involved in the question of tax cuts versus expenditures increases.

We have, I believe, come a long way from the unbalanced view that the only sound fiscal policy was a balanced budget every year, regardless of the state of the economy. The adimnistration, the Congress, and the public now look upon fiscal policy as a powerful means of helping the Nation achieve full employment and rapid growth, and—when the circumstances warrant—an equally powerful means to damp down inflationary demands. Your committee has played a singularly important role in this process, as I am confident future economic historians will attest.

As we have made progress in this direction, a new obligation has been placed upon us.

If each change in expenditures is no longer to be matched by an exactly equal change in taxes, we must provide an alternative mechanism for insuring that spending decisions are under careful control. We have freed fiscal policy form an arbitrary constraint. But constraints on expenditures we must have. A new approach to expenditure evaluation is, I am convinced, a necessary corollary to the new fiscal policy.

Sees Need for De Gaulle-Johnson Meetings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, a New York Times editorial writer just returned from Europe sees the need for not just one but several personnel meetings of Presidents Johnson and De Gaulle.

The Republican factfinding mission which studied NATO problems in Paris in June included a Johnson-De Gaulle meeting among its recommendations.

The Times writer, Mr. Robert Kleiman, presented this timely comment in the August 30 issue of the New York paper:

EUROPE AND NATO: THE COMING CRISES

(By Robert Kleiman)

Rarely has one of President de Gaulle's semiannual press conferences caused as much advance nervousness as that now scheduled for September 9 in Paris.

The French President has indicated clearly to a number of foreign visitors that he plans a major new assault against the whole imaginative structure of European and Atlantic institutions built painstakingly over the past two decades. And it is certain that serious crises lie ahead both for the Common Market and NATO.

"NATO is the American military occupation of France," one of De Gaulle's most trusted cabinet ministers told a British leader recently.

THE PARTNERSHIP PROBLEM

The real problem in NATO is that American predominance has persisted long after Europe's revival. President Kennedy eloquently expressed the need 3 years ago to move toward an "equal" partnership. But De Gaulle's Foreign Minister was able to reply to his critics in the French National Assembly recently by remarking that the Kennedy formula "has never since been repeated" by President Johnson.

A clear, strong lead from Washington has been lacking in Europe since President Johnson's abrupt decision in December to shelve the project for a multilateral nuclear force. There is fear now that the increasing American involvement in Vietnam may hamper a new initiative. And Europe's own political uncertainties impede a concerted response to the Gaullist challenge, for three critical elections now are pending.

ELECTION PROSPECTS

The West German elections September 19 are likely to return another weak government. But there is an outside chance of a "big coalition" of the Socialists and Christian Democrats that would impress France. A NATO crisis might even produce a shotgun wedding.

Britain's election may be avoided by Labor for another year. A vigorous new bid at that time to enter the Common Market—possible if Wilson wins, but certain if Heath is the victor—would alter the entire political balance in Europe, whatever the French reaction.

Finally, General de Gaulle has yet to announce whether he will run for reelection in December. Approaching 75, he has asked one former aide: "If I diminish, will you have the courage to tell me?" But the expectation is that De Gaulle will run, be reelected and proceed with his effort to remake the Common Market and NATO. His stated aim in both is to reduce integration, reemphasize national sovereignty.

"The General now is thinking of the situation after he is gone," said one of his closest associates. "In the Anglo-French-American triumvirate he proposed in 1958, De Gaulle could have spoken as an equal. When he is gone, France and Britain will be small countries compared to the United States. A European political-military union led by France? That is not possible at present; the others will not follow. The General's objective now is to restore to France its freedom of action."

De Gaulle's chief target in NATO is the integrated command structure and particularly, SHAPE—the Supreme Headquarters near Paris presided over in turn since 1951 by American Generals Eisenhower, Ridgway, Gruenther, Norstad, and now, Lemnitzer.

SUFFOCATING FORCE

"The general feels SHAPE is suffocating us—destroying the independence of the French general staff," said one of De Gaulle's Cabinet Ministers. "We will make formal proposals in the course of next year to dissolve the integrated military structure of the alliance, particularly SHAPE, and to return to a normal alliance of national armies."

If the other allies disagree, he continued, they cannot expect SHAPE to remain on French soil. In the absence of an agreed military structure, France would denounce the North Atlantic Treaty—as any member can, beginning in 1969.

In any event, existing Franco-American base agreements "must be renegotiated." The American airbases, supply dumps, and lines of communications to Germany cannot continue under American command.

It would be an error to suppose that De Gaulle is bluffing or that he is unprepared to go this route. But it would be an equal error to activate contingency plans and begin to relocate SHAPE and American lines of communication in the Low Countries. Nothing would be more certain to assure French withdrawal from NATO.

WAITING FOR TALKS

What De Gaulle has been seeking in all his pressure moves against NATO since 1958 is a broad gaged strategic negotiation with the United States. By 1969 De Gaulle will have

waited 11 years for that confrontation. Four years now have passed since the Presidents of the United States and France have even conferred.

The French President's closest associates believe "a compromise is possible." It might be wise for Washington to find out what it might be before deciding that it is unacceptable. But a simple Johnson-De Gaulle meeting would not produce this result. The two Presidents, surrounded by their principal advisers, would have to meet regularly and frequently with each other—and with their chief allies—over a considerable period of time. If they do, they might even strengthen NATO, rather than rip it to shreds.

Psychological Weapons for the Cold War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Dr. K. P. Mangold from the 1965 winter edition of Orbis, a publication of the Foreign Policy Research Institute of the University of Pennsylvania.

Dr. Mangold suggests ideological weapons which the United States could profitably employ in the cold war.

This article suggests an interesting new approach for the United States in the psychological side of the cold war conflict, and is an area deserving further investigation.

The article follows:

LENIN'S CARDINAL RULES OF POVERTY AND RECALL: NEGLECTED IDEOLOGICAL WEAPONS FOR THE WEST

(By K. P. Mangold)

In the ideological-psychological arena of the cold war, the West has scored few victories. In part, this failure may be ascribed to the pluralism of Western society and the pragmatism of Western man, perhaps even more to a neglect of propaganda techniques and the art of communicating ideas. Our shortcomings in this field also result from a serious underestimation of the success of Communist propaganda. Above all, we have failed to unmask Communist ideology, to reveal its contradictions and implausibility, and to stress the gap between words and deeds, thought, and practice. To do this, the Western ideological specialist must know his enemy,[1] the Communist ideology and its Marxist, Leninist, Stalinist, and Maoist interpretations, and he must possess a practical knowledge of applied psychology.

The fundamental principles of Leninist-Marxism[2] are usually neglected in our vast literature on communism and in our designing of ideological weapons to wage the conflict forced upon us. Some of these almost forgotten Leninist principles can be used with devastating effect against the various contemporary communisms—if we can overcome our reluctance to experiment and engage in this form of warfare. In this paper, we will examine the two Leninist principles of poverty and recall, and attempt to show why they would make valuable psychological weapons and how they can be used.

Footnotes at end of speech.

LENIN'S CONCERN WITH THE COMPOSITION OF THE BOLSHEVIK FACTION

Both before and after the November revolution, Lenin was totally concerned with the composition of the organization he controlled. Before the revolution, Lenin did not hesitate to split the Russian Social Democratic Party when some members were not in accord with his ideas. Although most of Lenin's program was accepted at the 1903 London Congress, his proposal to restrict party membership to those actively participating in revolutionary work was rejected. Lenin then organized his own majority (Bolshevik) faction separately so that it would be composed of dedicated revolutionaries willing and prepared to seize power by violent means.

After the revolution, Lenin insisted upon the enforcement of a personal poverty rule which limited the earnings of all Bolsheviks and elected officials, regardless of rank or position, to a party-prescribed maximum approximately equal to the wages of a skilled workman. This measure again reflected Lenin's primary concern with the composition of his party, for it tended to discourage well-paid managerial personnel from seeking party membership or elective office. Lenin hoped to preserve the proletarian composition of the ruling Communist Party and Soviet officialdom by keeping out careerists who cared more for money than for communism or public service. An ascetic himself, Lenin favored low salaries as a means of maintaining tight discipline and strengthening the dedication of party workers. He also believed that a true revolutionary should have only a minimum of personal needs. In short, his views were similar to those which produced the vows of poverty and chastity in the church.

In April 1917, Lenin issued his slogan, "All power to the Soviets." He claimed that the Soviets were more democratic than the parliamentary democracies of the West because the indirect electoral system of the Soviets made it very easy for constituents to recall their representatives at any time.

That Lenin's followers were the only Marxists to prefer Soviets to parliaments has been widely publicized, but Stalin's fundamental break with Leninism on the issue of indirect versus direct electoral systems—and thus on the issue of recall—has been almost entirely neglected. Perhaps one reason for this is that Stalin's democratic constitution of 1936 stated that all elected officials and representatives were subject to recall. But Stalin made recall inoperable from below by abolishing the indirect (caucus) electoral system of the Soviets. He thereby abolished the Soviets, in their genuine and historical form, above the local level.

Formerly, small groups of voters elected one of their number to represent them in the local soviet. It was easy then for such a small group to discuss recall of its representative in the local soviet. The same principle of small electoral groups applied to the election by the local soviet of representatives to the district soviet and so on up through the urban, provincial, and national soviets to the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union. Stalin's constitution abrogated this principle of small electoral groups by replacing them with large electoral districts whose voters elected one representative directly, as in parliamentary elections, to the Soviet of the Union, one of the two houses of the Supreme Soviet.

Stalin's parliamentary elections consisted of a "race with only one horse." Since only one candidate was offered to the voters, they had no choice but to elect him. Whereas the small groups of voters in the indirect soviet elections usually nominated their own candidates, this uncontested candidate was nominated from above by Stalin's oligarchy. An electorate which is not even allowed to nominate its own representative can hardly be in a position to recall him. In the absence of the freedoms of speech, press, and assembly, it would also be impossible for the voters of an electoral district to meet in order to decide to recall their representative.

The following words, written by Lenin toward the end of 1918, show how fundamentally Stalin broke with him by abolishing the indirect electoral system of the soviets, thereby quietly abrogating soviet recall.

"The indirect elections to the nonlocal soviets make it easier to hold Congresses of Soviets, it makes the entire apparatus less costly, more flexible, more accessible to the workers and peasants at a time when life is seething and it is necessary to be able quickly to recall a deputy or to elect him to the general Congress of Soviets.

"Proletarian democracy is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy; the Soviet Government is a million times more democratic than the most democratic republic."[3]

Stalin knew how soviet recall had helped to make the soviets more radical between March and November 1917.[4] In case of popular unrest—when life is seething—the use of recall might change the composition of the soviets to such an extent that they would help to organize a revolution against him, as the reconstituted Petrograd soviet helped to overthrow Kerensky. By abolishing the soviets and recall beforehand, Stalin made certain that spontaneously elected soviets, such as sprang up after the Tsar had been overthrown in March 1917, could come into being only after a revolution had already overthrown his personal dictatorship—a most unlikely event. Stalin's abrogation of the procedure of soviet recall from below could, therefore, serve to delay action in case a revolutionary situation should develop.[5] In sum, Stalin's abrogation of soviet recall was the final step in his managerial counterrevolution from above.

THE FAILURE OF LENINISM

After the Revolution, soviet recall procedures helped to enforce the poverty rule, for the mere suspicion that a representative's income was in excess of the party maximum could result in an immediate recall for which no justification was required. By means of the poverty rule and soviet recall, Lenin hoped to preserve a dictatorship of the proletariat through which the class of managers could be directed and controlled. But Leninism failed; it turned into Stalinism in less than two decades.

This transformation has been attributed to many different factors. The most important and most neglected one is that the poverty rule soon proved unenforceable in the case of high-ranking officials. Enforcement by soviet recall became less effective the higher the official's position above the grassroot level. While important officials supposedly received only "workingmen's wages," security measures made it necessary to provide them with special housing and transportation. Such perquisites could easily be increased to include special food, clothing, servants, medical service, access to educational institutions, and career opportunities for their children. In this way, an economically privileged party elite gradually emerged. This party elite in turn saw to it that those immediately below them also obtained hidden economic privileges. So it went, from the top down, through one rank after another.

As their numbers increased, the economically privileged officials became bolder in their disregard for the poverty rule.. The workingmen's wages were supplemented by payments for articles and royalties from books. In 1929, the Politburo abolished the poverty rule in the case of high-ranking

officials, but it did so by an unpublicized decree and without establishing a permissible party maximum for these officials. Stalin evidently wanted this important deviation from Leninism to attract as little attention as possible.

Most of Stalin's speech of June 23, 1931, "New Conditions—New Tasks in Economic Construction," concerned the need for the incentives which wide wage differentials create. In this respect, he did not deviate from Leninism, for Lenin himself recommended paying exceptionally high salaries to industrial experts and technicians in order to increase production. The real significance of this speech lay in Stalin's recommendation that party members be given the incentive to become industrial experts themselves. In this roundabout manner, Stalin, without openly mentioning the poverty rule, indicated that it was to be abolished altogether. The publicized discussions of Stalin's speech emphasized the fact that great inequalities in pay are compatible with the principles of Marx and Lenin, during the transition from capitalism to communism. Thus Stalin concealed his break with Lenin in regard to the poverty rule and at the same time denounced the advocates of equality as enemies of Marxism and Leninism.

The purpose of Lenin's poverty rule was, of course, to keep these inequalities out of the party and the soviets. His basic principle was that labor, as the owner of the main means of production, should control the experts and managers. But, according to Lenin, labor can exercise such control only by means of a Communist Party which, as the general staff of the proletariat, represents labor. This control cannot help but come to an end as soon as the general staff of the proletariat consists primarily of high-salaried experts and managers. Lenin might have encouraged able party members to become experts by providing them with the necessary educational facilities, but once they had become experts, he would no doubt have asked them to resign from the party if they showed any signs of being dissatisfied with workingmen's pay.

As Lenin's legitimate ideological heir, Stalin could not afford to let his controlled press publicize the fact that his defense of wide range differentials for experts was unrelated to the poverty rule—which applied only to party members and elected officials. But why was it not publicized by Stalin's enemies abroad? This question is a matter of more than historical interest, for Chinese Communist leaders today denounce Russian communism as a fraud because a privileged bourgeois stratum of well-paid officials and intellectuals rules the people in the same manner as capitalists rule capitalist nations.

THE IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT BETWEEN MOSCOW AND PEIPING

To the extent that the ideological conflict between Moscow and Peiping involves questions of strategy and tactics, each side can justify its own position by quoting from Marx and Lenin. But the two Communist giants are also arguing over which is moving faster toward the goal of communism. Peiping could prove conclusively with quotations from Marx and Lenin that de-Stalinization is a hoax as long as the Russian Communists, including the leaders in the Kremlin, have not revived the poverty rule, abolished Stalin's fake parliament, reinstituted genuine Soviets with an indirect electoral system, and subjected themselves to Soviet recall. Evidently Peiping is unwilling to mention these fundamental principles of Leninist-Marxism—because the Chinese Communists themselves do not observe them.

Most U.S. experts on communism seem to believe that the best action we can take regarding the ideological strife between Peiping and Moscow is to let it run its own course without major Western efforts to exploit it. They believe that the Russian and Chinese leaders are doing a much better job than Americans could do of describing for the rest of the world each other's unfavorable straits. But this is only one aspect of the matter. There is also the danger that Peiping's attacks on the Kremlin will redound to Moscow's eventual benefit because they make Russian communism more acceptable to Socialists and moderate Marxists in Western Europe.

For instance, the Moscow-oriented Italian Communits Party has recently scored remarkable gains at the expense of the center parties, and Harry Schwartz believe that in the future Moscow might even recognize the Japanese Socialist Party as the "genuine Marxist-Leninist party of Japan." [6] This infiltration of the Socialist parties might conceivably lead to a revival of Moscow's "popular front" policies of the late thirties. Moreover, the Moscow-Peiping conflict would seem to be contributing to the disintegration of NATO, at least to the extent that it encourages President de Gaulle to base his long-term policy on the possibility that Russia will become increasingly "embourgeoisized" and Western-oriented—a development which may some day lead to De Gaulle's dream of a united Europe that stretches from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The notion that the Russian imperialist bloc is becoming a fat Communist state and thus gradually moving toward a system closer to reform socialism and in some respects to social capitalism, has gained some support in the West among those who desire above all a relaxation of tension or a resumption of profitable trade. Peiping's accusations here again tend to improve Moscow's image in the West.

Peiping has charged, in essence, that Russian communism amounts to a form of state capitalism and that the Kremlin leaders merely represent a new ownership class composed of party members, bureaucrats and intellectuals who reap the profits from the nationalized means of production. This line of attack will not diminish the attraction which Moscow holds for non-Marxist Socialists or non-Leninist Marxists, for these two groups have never advocated subjecting their members to a poverty rule after coming to power and expropriating the capitalists. Therefore, the existence of an economically privileged class composed of party officials, bureaucrats, intellectuals, and managerial personnel is not inconsistent with non-Leninist socialism.

On the other hand, non-Leninist Marxists have advocated parliamentary democracy with competitive elections. Although the outcome of such elections may amount only to the replacement of one set of high-ranking bureaucrats with another, competitive elections involve a discussion of issues and therefore a certain amount of freedom of press, speech and assembly. The essential difference between the Moscow and Peiping versions of communism and the non-Leninist socialisms is not the predominance of an economically privileged managerial class, but the unrestricted dictatorship of such a class.

Therefore, it is clear that the poverty rule and Soviet recall are exclusively fundamental features of Leninism alone. These two principles differentiate Leninism fundamentally from non-Leninist, parliamentary Marxism and from Stalinism.

THE PROPER SILENCE ABOUT THE POVERTY RULE

Although Milovan Djilas denounced communism as total state capitalism, he could have presented his thesis more convincingly had he mentioned Lenin's poverty rule and Soviet recall. He wrote:

"While the country was being industrialized, Stalin began to introduce considerable variations in wages, at the same time allowing the development toward various privileges to proceed. He thought that industrialization would come to nothing if the new class was not made materially interested in the process, by acquisition of some property for itself." [7]

By new class Djilas means the Communist Party, especially its leadership. But by ignoring Stalin's abrogation of the poverty rule, Djilas fails to show how Stalin's introduction of "considerable variations in wages" affected party members. The above quotation illustrates the way in which Stalin's speech of June 23, 1931, was misinterpreted—even by such men as Djilas who should know better—as an introduction of wage differentials instead of as an abrogation of Lenin's poverty rule. Stalin could not have introduced wage differentials, because they already existed during Lenin's lifetime; indeed, by the time of Stalin's speech they had become as wide as in most capitalist countries. Stalin could only have increased these wage differentials. The important fact which Djilas should have mentioned is that, until Stalin did away with the poverty rule, the party bureaucracy could not benefit from these wage differentials because their wages remained limited to workingmen's wages. Until this fact is mentioned, all reference to a new economically privileged ownership class is premature.

After Stalin did away with the poverty rule, well-paid managerial personnel no longer made an economic sacrifice when they joined the party; consequently, party membership became more attractive to persons in the professions, because it smoothed the way to more remunerative appointments. Stalin changed the composition of the party by liquidating almost all of the old Bolsheviks who had participated in the seizure of power and the civil war, and, at the same time, by admitting to the party many economically privileged new members who, from scientists to foremen, were more representative of management than of labor. The following statistics mentioned by Djilas are interesting, but they fail to describe clearly the managerial transformation in the proletariat's general staff and how it obtained its economic privileges.

"In 1927, on the eve of industrialization, the Soviet Communist Party had 887,233 members. In 1934, at the end of the first 5-year plan, the membership had increased to 1,874,488. The privileges and the class were expanding more rapidly than industrialization itself." [8]

According to Djilas, Marx foresaw that the victorious proletariat might be in danger from its own bureaucracy,[9] but he fails to mention in this connection the two most important measures which Marx recommended in order to combat this danger. Lenin summed them up in the following phrase: "All officials, without exception [are to be], elected and subject to recall at any time, their salaries reduced to workingmen's wages." [10]

Max Eastman, convinced that Stalin was far worse than Hitler, denounced the Socialists and liberals who defended Stalin's Russia. He admired Lenin and believed that, if he had lived longer, he might have solved the crisis in socialism and prevented the nationalization of the means of production from leading to a form of Hitlerian gangster rule.[11] Although he mentions the high salaries paid to Stalin's officials, Eastman fails to mention the poverty rule to which they should have been subjected; although he denounces Stalin for destroying Lenin's Soviets, he fails to explain how Stalin destroyed them—by abolishing the indirect electoral system, and thereby making recall from below impossible. James Burnham is another writer who argued that Stalinism was a managerial dictatorship essentially similar to Hitlerism.[12] Yet his thesis could have been presented more convincingly by mentioning the abrogation of the poverty rule

Footnotes at end of speech.

and the subsequent change in the composition of the vanguard of the proletariat.

Djilas, Eastman, and Burnham are not alone in failing to mention Lenin's poverty rule; no prominent Communist deviationist seems to have denounced Stalin for abrogating it. Lenin himself remarked upon the reluctance of fellow Marxists to mention this rule. After quoting from Marx to emphasize the importance Marx placed upon the personal poverty rule for government officials, Lenin wrote:

"And it is precisely on this most striking point, perhaps the most important as far as the state is concerned, that the teaching of Marx has been entirely forgotten. In popular commentaries, whose number is legion, this is not mentioned. It is proper to keep silent about it." [10]

Lenin was evidently complaining about Marxist commentators. Perhaps these Marxist theoreticians hoped to obtain important posts in a post-revolutionary government and, therefore, did not care to mention a rule which would reduce their standard of living and rob them of the fruits of their revolution.

But can the same thing be said about such Communists or ex-Communist authors as Eastman, Burnham, and Djilas? They could not have been concerned about their economic and political privileges as officials in a new revolutionary government. Then, why did they not strengthen their case against Stalin by stressing his abrogation of Lenin's poverty rule? Burnham, by overlooking or ignoring this, failed to show how the managerial transformation took place in the composition of the Communist Party, and Djilas failed to prove that the Communist Party had become a new ownership class. The fact that neither mentioned this rule leads one to suspect that the proper silence that has been maintained is due to some underlying psychological phenomena.

A PSYCHOLOGICAL VIEW OF THE PROPER SILENCE

The full significance of Stalin's speech of June 23, 1931, was first explained to the author by a few White Russian refugees who belonged to the former landowning nobility that had supported the czar. They claimed that the abrogation of Lenin's poverty rule for party members and officials would lead to the replacement of the former feudal lords and capitalists by an economically privileged party elite. The author, while working in Russia for 2 years between 1934 and 1936, first as a civil engineer and later as a physician, found the same opinion frequently expressed by dissatisfied peasants and workers.

I found that many indoctrinated and dedicated party members seemed to have a mental blindspot regarding the poverty rule. Affecting a desire to learn about Marxist theory, I asked them to explain certain pages from the Lenin's "State and Revolution"—in which the importance of the poverty rule was emphasized several times. Time and again, party members read these pages and commented on purely incidental and unimportant items. They did not seem to comprehend the poverty rule. When the significant passages were pointed out to them, the reaction of party members was usually one of confusion and irritation, which often developed into suspicion and anger. The mental blindspot which enabled these dedicated Communists to read about the poverty rule without comprehension was similar to what George Orwell, in his book 1984, called crimestop, or protective stupidity.

Anyone who lived in Russia during Stalin's great purge knows how dangerous it was merely to be suspected of thinking that Stalin's abrogation of the poverty rule was a fundamental break with Leninism. I was frequently warned that thousands of persons disappeared overnight for less than that. Under these circumstances, a mental block that kept one from thinking about the poverty rule became a prerequisite for survival. But Communist deviationists in Western democracies did not need such protection. Why did they not expose Stalin's break with Leninist-Marxism?

Communist partisanship seems to be due to a "state of mind" that remains essentially unchanged even when dissatisfied Communists turn into ex-Communists or anti-Communists. For instance, Djilas was supposed to have been a Communist before he ever read Marx or Lenin. Although he denounced communism, he favors democratic socialism and refuses "to criticize communism as an idea" because he continues to aspire to the "ideas of equality and brotherhood among men." [11]

Communists advocate an extreme form of egalitarianism. However, their natural desire for personal economic privileges conflicts with this professed egalitarianism and must either be repressed as selfish and inconsistent or justified by rationalization about why some should be more equal than others. This conflict cannot be rationalized away without repressing all knowledge of the poverty rule. On the other hand, antiegalitarians and individualistic peasants opposed to collectivization have no reason to repress their knowledge of the poverty rule. The more these peasants hated Stalin, the more they idolized Lenin. They believed that Lenin meant for them to improve their lot when he gave them the land which Stalin later took away. The liked to tell the story of how Lenin, as he lay in critical condition following an assination attempt, refused the special rations ordered by his doctors. Party members, on the other hand, criticized Lenin for endangering the revolution by risking his life in such a foolish and undisciplined manner. But the peasants believed that Lenin wanted to let everyone know that his strict observance of the poverty rule was more important to the revolution than his own life.

The millions of rank-and-file party members in Russia and China cannot all be cynics and opportunists; many of them sincerely believe that they are faithful disciples of Marx and Lenin. But the more sincere they are, the more they must repress all knowledge of Lenin's poverty rule. This in turn makes them vulnerable to the psychological shock therapy or the brainwashing technique of repeatedly confronting them with irrefutable arguments based on such principles of their faith as Lenin's poverty rule.

DEMORALIZING SINCERE COMMUNISTS

Lenin maintained that anything is good as long as it benefits the dictatorship of the proletariat: it follows that Stalin's policies can be justified only if they can be shown, in the light of Leninist-Marxism, to have strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat. This can be proved only by employing Lenin's strict interpretation of the economic determinism inherent in the historical materialism of Karl Marx. Stalin himself defined economic determinism in these simple terms: "Whatever is man's manner of life, such is his manner of thought."

Economic determinism is supposed to be a universally true scientific principle when applied to large groups of individuals. Leninist-Marxism acknowledges that some individuals must be excepted from this universal principle: for instance, the wealthy industrialist Friedrich Engels supported Marx financially and was his most faithful collaborator. Therefore, when trying to reason with a dedicated Communist, it is necessary to assure him that he may be an exception and that, therefore, the economic privileges he enjoys may not affect his own devotion to the cause of the proletariat.

However, can he truthfully maintain that millions of other party members are also exceptional? Either historical materialism is not a correct scientific principle or such a large group of economically privileged individuals must constitute an exploiting class which, no matter what ideology it professes, desires only to increase its material privileges and to satisfy its lust for power at the expense of the proletariat.

Indoctrinated Communists cannot refute this argument; consequently, they do their best to evade it. But there are many discreet ways of bringing it to their attention. Every mention of the poverty rule sows seeds of doubt. Tantrums of anger cannot keep these seeds from sprouting. Frequent mention of the poverty rule eventually causes sincere Communists to think thoughts which they previously repressed as unthinkable: the proletarian revolution has failed because Leninist-Marxism did not work; all the suffering for the sake of a classless Utopia has been in vain because the capitalist class has been replaced by a more disciplined class which exploits with brutal efficiency laborer, peasant and everyone else who does not belong to it; this class has robbed labor by false pretenses of all the freedoms, rights and privileges labor enjoys under capitalist democracy. And why? Because Lenin's Communist Party has become an anti-Communist Party.

When a sincere Communist begins to ponder these matters, he can preserve his self-respect only by joining the opposition. If he is afraid to do so, he may become, to some degree, an opportunist and a demoralized indolent and corrupt party member.

The poverty rule, used in conjunction with the strict economic determinism of Leninist-Marxism, constitutes psychopolitical dynamite in the case of all but conscious opportunists.

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND PROPAGANDA

The Kremlin's concept of peaceful coexistence consists not only of competition between economic systems, but also of propaganda and ideological subversion designed to bring about wars of liberation. If nuclear warfare can be avoided, the West may still lose unless it can win the cold war on the ideological-psychological battlefield.

The regimes in Moscow and Peiping, like Hitlerism, are unrestricted oligarchical dictatorships that are internally oppressive and externally aggressive. The world would have been spared great misery if Hitler could have been overthrown by propaganda before he started a world war. The West has the good fortune of possessing in Lenin's poverty rule a propaganda weapon which it did not have against Hitlerism. No ideological principle was violated when Hermann Goering amassed his private fortune. However, the leaders in Moscow and Peiping are extremely vulnerable to ideological subversion, for example, to a skillful use of radio broadcasts about the facts of Lenin's poverty rule and Soviet recall. Their vulnerability is demonstrated by the scrupulous care both China and Russia take to avoid mention of these two fundamental principles of Leninist-Marxism in their bitter ideological conflict.

While political and economic factors may prevent people—including Communists—from practicing what they preach, they nevertheless do become captives of the ideologies they profess; some more, some less, but almost all to some extent. Therefore, crises of conscience may be provoked in Communist minds, provided the inconsistencies between their words and their deeds can be proved to them.

Djilas repeatedly refers to the "moral crises" of conscience, caused by the conflicts between theory and practice,[12] which afflict party members. He himself must have suffered from such crises of conscience for he not only sacrificed his political position as the second most powerful man in Yugo-

Footnotes at end of speech.

slavia, but he also took the chance of being shot instead of imprisoned.

It should be part of a Western psychological offensive to try to provide widespread crises of conscience in the ranks of sincere Communists. Such an operation will require the employment of various techniques and forms of communications. It is possible that sincere young Communists would become confused dissidents within a few months. Our propaganda would seek to focus the dissatisfaction of the exploited workers and peasants upon the rank-and-file party members in their midst. This pressure gradually developing from below, coupled with jealousy of the more luxurious living standards of the higher echelon Communist officials, would hasten the development of "crises of conscience" in the party's lower ranks and spread ideological confusion and strife. Once a "crisis of confidence" has been created within a leadership group, that group loses confidence, its will is weakened, and the process which will eventually produce a fundamental political change has been initiated.

Propaganda directed against Russia would also be designed to expose de-Stalinization as a hoax. Popular discontent forced "de-Stalinization" upon Khrushchev. As one of Stalin's main accomplices in crime, he sought to rid himself of Stalin's unpopular political image. But it clung to him stubbornly in spite of his attempts to drape himself with Lenin's still popular appeal. By denouncing Stalin as a criminal and removing his corpse from Lenin's mausoleum, he tried to make more convincing his promises of a classless utopia in the foreseeable future. But his promises could have been exposed as mere talk, for he made no move to replace Stalin's fake parliament with a genuine soviet with effective recall or to enforce the poverty rule for all party members and elected officials.

A FEASIBLE PROPAGANDA WEAPON

Would U.S. officials be reluctant to use such propaganda? Might they be afraid of bringing about a revival of Leninism and a strengthening of its appeal by reminding the peoples under the dictatorial rule of the various Communist oligarchies of the poverty rule and soviet recall? Such a fear would be unrealistic. History records no instance in which a powerful and numerous ruling class renounced its privileges and power voluntarily. Millions of opportunistic party members, who manage to keep their crises of conscience under control, will not give up their privileges without a fight. They will not voluntarily revive Leninism.

In 1917 the middle class in Russia was small and largely ineffectual. Today, however, there is a large intellectual middle class unaffiliated with the party and desirous of more political freedom. Many members of this middle class remember Lenin fondly for his encouragement of small capitalist enterprise in industry in order to promote the production of consumer goods. Contrary to the opinion widely held in the West today, we should identify our political interests with this nonparty middle class instead of with those of the fat Communists. This middle class could provide the leadership for a gradual evolution toward democratic government responsible to the electorate, with constitutional guarantees to prevent a return to dictatorship. A revival of small capitalist enterprises might then be expected. Such a profound transformation in Russia might also lead to the disintegration of the Russian imperialist state when the national minorities that constitute almost 50 percent of its population create truly independent republics for themselves. This would represent a decisive cold war victory for the West.

Many Russian workers and a high percentage of Russian peasants have suffered so much under the communism of Stalin and his successors that they are thoroughly disenchanted. On the other hand, they associate Lenin less with communism than with the rights of organized labor, individual agricultural enterprise, and Soviet democracy. They also know that Leninism and Soviet democracy failed in that they led to Stalinism. If a movement for political reform were to arise in Russia today, it would seem that the worker and peasant, like the middle class, would prefer a constitutional democracy. There is no doubt that millions of peasants would stream out of the collective farms and revive private agricultural enterprise.

Major reforms are unthinkable, however, as long as millions of indoctrinated and dedicated Communists in the lower party ranks control the armed forces and Government apparatus. An initial step toward this end would be the demoralization of rank-and-file Communists by irrefutable arguments based on their own political philosophy.

U.S. propaganda experts may be reluctant to use as propaganda tools the Leninist principles of poverty and Soviet recall because they believe such an effort holds little prospect of success. They may feel that Russian audiences are largely immune to the publication of contradictions between theory and practice. If this is the prevailing attitude, then I would suspect that either these officials do not clearly understand these principles or they believe that they belong merely to the utopian theories of a prerevolutionary Lenin, such as the withering away of the state and payment according to need instead of work or ability.

These utopian theories obviously cannot be used for propaganda purposes, for most Russian citizens must find it entirely unreasonable to expect the Russian state to wither away as long as the danger of war and capitalist aggression exists. They also know that payment according to need instead of work is supposed to become a reality only after pure communism has been attained. In the meantime, inequalities in pay are necessary in order to construct the industrial base without which communism is unattainable. In fact, according to Leninist-Marxism, there cannot be any contradictions between theory and practice during the transition period from capitalism to communism—provided the welfare of the proletarian dictatorship is served.

Soviet recall and the poverty rule, applicable to party members and elected officials only, were not, however, theoretical concepts to be adopted upon the attainment of the Communist utopia. They came into being with the November 1917 revolution and remained effective, to a considerable extent, for 19 and 14 years respectively. Stalin, by abrogating them, transformed the proletarian dictatorship into a managerial dictatorship. It is only after this fact is established that the hypertrophy of the bureaucratic apparatus and the gross inequalities in pay can be cited as instruments of oppression and exploitation used by the managerial-ownership class.

The experts may still persist in opposing the use of the two fundamental principles of Leninism as propaganda weapons on the grounds of ineffectiveness. They speak of "post revolutionary generations" and the absence of "true believers" in the contemporary Communist states as invalidating such a propaganda effort. Perhaps an example drawn from our own experience will help to explain the relationship between these principles and the crisis of conscience.

The American Revolution proclaimed all men to be born equal in spite of the prevalent practice of slavery. This concept has caused more crises of conscience in America's post revolutionary generations than in the revolutionary generation that proclaimed it. The civil rights revolution in pragmatic, nonideological America and its attendant crises of conscience reflects the deep contradiction between our professed revolutionary ideals and American practice. The depth the crisis has reached is precisely attributable to the fact that every citizen knows of the contradictions between American reality and American ideals.

It should be far easier to spark a comparable crisis in Russia and even in China—countries in which ideological purity or heresy provides either the foundation for what is right or the lash against what is socially wrong. It would not be a difficult task to acquaint the people oppressed by the so-called Communists with the contradictions their masters would like to conceal.

Whether an ideological time bomb can be exploded inside Russia and China cannot be known in advance. There are no precedents to go by, since the United States has deliberately eschewed the waging of ideological conflict. At the very least a test could be made to determine the worth of this proposal for assuming the psychological offensive. The cost would be trivial, and the gains might be immense.

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[1] "Know the enemy and yourself, and in a hundred battles [you will suffer] no defeats." Sun Tzu, circa 500 B.C.

[2] Although Lenin had many original ideas, Leninism consists primarily of Lenin's particular interpretation of Marxism, hence the use in this article of the term "Leninist-Marxism." Stalin used the term "Marxism-Leninism" in order to imply that all non-Leninist interpretations of Marxism are not Marxist.

[3] V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky" (New York: International Publishers, 1934), p. 30.

[4] The first soviet, in Petrograd, was established in March 1917, to be followed by many others throughout Russia, most of which were in essence municipal legislatures. Politically, the most important soviet was that of Petrograd. During the 7 months of the democratic Russian regime, numerous elections were held for these soviets and many individual deputies were recalled. In this process the more conservative (i.e., Socialist Revolutionary and Menshevik) deputies were gradually eliminated, until by September 1917 the Bolsheviks achieved majority status in the Petrograd soviet and elected Trotsky president of the soviet. A similar process took place in the Moscow soviet. The systematic application of the recall principle, therefore, not only radicalized the soviets but proved to be one of the main techniques through which the Bolshevik seizure of power was engineered.

[5] It is significant that the introduction of Stalin's democratic constitution coincided wiht the culmination of his great purge.

[6] Harry Schwartz, New York Times, July 26, 1964, sec. E, p. 5.

[7] The New Class (New York: Praeger, 1958), p. 49.

[8] Ibid., p. 49.

[9] Ibid., p. 58.

[10] V. I. Lenin, "State and Revolution" (New York: International Publishers, 1932), p. 38.

[11] Max Eastman, "Stalin's Russia and the Crisis in Socialism" (New York: Norton, 1940).

[12] James Burnham, "The Managerial Revolution" (New York: John Day, 1941). He also warned that Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal amounted to the displacement in the United States of the capitalists as a ruling class by a managerial class.

[13] Lenin, "State and Revolution," op. cit., pp. 37–38.

[14] Djilas, op. cit., pp. vi–vii.

[15] Djilas, op. cit., 158–163.

Labor Day, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1965

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, Labor Day, one of our major national holidays, sprang from quiet beginnings. It was in 1894 that President Cleveland signed the bill making it a holiday in the District of Columbia and territories. Now every State sets aside a September day to honor all those who work.

Certainly there can be no more fitting way to honor the men and women of our history whose toil made us the great Nation that we are. Nor can we more suitably salute the workers of today whose efforts continue to make us what we are. At the anvils and the desks, the plows and the typewriters, the drawing boards and the powersaws, the test tubes and the blackboards, the steering wheels and the cash registers, are the millions of Americans who clothe us, feed us, protect us, inform us, entertain us and provide our needs and wants. Our entire heritage is the fruit of their labor.

It took work to build the Nation; it had to be settled, explored, cultivated, built upon, freed, governed, and maintained. The lot of the men who did the work was not always an easy one.

As we matured and grew, the problems of our workingmen, like those of their brothers around the world brought on a working men's revolution. Men joined together for strength to bargain with their employer. They fought—literally—to obtain fair treatment and fair play for their work.

Gaining strength as it advanced, the union movement brought legislation to support it.

There is no question that the union movement has been among the greatest economic factors in the forward, upward progress of this Nation.

Higher wages, increased purchasing power, better and healthier working conditions and shorter hours, have all contributed tremendously to the standard of living we now enjoy and the rest of the world tries to achieve. It is greatly to the credit of the workingmen that we have become the prosperous Nation we are.

Our free workers have long been our pride and the place of the worker a proud one. For in America it has never been a sign of class or status not to have to work. The workingman who provides for himself and his family has long been among the American heroes.

As I think over the history of labor in the United States there comes to mind the men and groups who have fought to make the dream a reality—the leaders, the writers, the public officials who added their words and deeds to the effort.

I think of the men and groups who were instrumental in seeing legislation to benefit labor become law. And I look with pride upon the part my own Republican Party has played during the century of its existence. It was the Republican Party that established in 1868 the first 8-hour day for Government workers, setting the pace for all industry. In 1884 it was the GOP which established the U.S. Bureau of Labor and elevated it to a Cabinet-level Department in 1913.

The union movement was endorsed in the GOP's 1898 platform and the same year the Republican-sponsored Erdman Act was passed, prohibiting management from firing workers for union membership. In 1926 the Republicans enacted the railway labor law, still used as a model for settling labor management problems.

The GOP outlawed yellow-dog contracts under the Norris-LaGuardia Act and prohibited indiscriminate injunctions and strikes.

Republicans have traditionally fought for the rights of the individual workers and for the dignity of every man and woman who contributes to the greatness of our Nation through his work.

Americans have never looked down upon a good day's work, nor have they been afraid to do their part. This is why we are a great and free nation.

St. Francis General Hospital Centennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, 100 years ago a group of Franciscan sisters established, in a small frame house in Pittsburgh, a badly needed hospital. From that meager beginning has grown the present great medical center—St. Francis General Hospital.

A larger frame structure was renovated to accommodate 30 patients in 1866 and in 1868 a charter was granted. In 1871 was dedicated a stone building as St. Francis continued to grow. Since then a number of improvements have been made: a new addition in 1891, a renovation of the entire hospital in 1897, construction of a powerplant and laundry in 1907, a north wing in 1910, a laboratory in 1917, the school of nursing building in 1930 and the south wing in 1960.

On September 10 this year, St. Francis will begin, with appropriate ceremonies including dedication of a time capsule, its centenninal year. A record of outstanding service and charity has made St. Francis one of the Nation's great hospitals.

St. Francis was one of the first general hospitals in this country to establish a department of psychiatry as an integral division.

General patient admissions last year numbered 20,014, personnel 1,576.

St. Francis has the largest number of beds in the Pittsburgh-Allegheny County area, the average number being 782, not counting bassinets.

It is my privilege and honor to salute St. Francis and its staff members and all those who preceded them for their work in building this hospital to its present preeminence.

I am sure that my successor as Congressman 100 years from now will be able to salute St. Francis General Hospital again for a second century of dedicated service to the people of Pittsburgh.

James F. Hillman—Pittsburgh Civic Leader Makes Strong Plea for Good Conservation Practices in Mining Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to call to the attention of Congress and the American people the fine recommendations made by outstanding Pittsburgh civic leader, James F. Hillman, for progressive conservation policies and practices in our U.S. coal mining and strip mining areas.

We in the United States must protect our land, which is a priceless heritage, an unreplaceable national asset. James F. Hillman has pioneered so successfully and has been so outstanding in leadership to show that good conservation practices really pay over the years.

James F. Hillman and the Harmon Creek Coal Corp., which he heads, are shining examples of progressing public leadership with a civic and community conscience, that takes responsibility for future generations.

I am sure the Congress will be interested in hearing of the responsible and dynamic accomplishments of my good and respected friend, James F. Hillman, of Pittsburgh, in order that they can evaluate the recommendations and policies for good conservation which Mr. Hillman advocates and has practiced with success for years:

JAMES FRAZER HILLMAN

James F. Hillman, president of Harmon Creek Coal Corp., located near Burgettstown, Washington County, Pa., has pioneered in restoration of coal-stripped land and conservation. He has gone far beyond the letter of the law in reclamation work, and has pushed vigorously for more stringent requirements than the current Pennsylvania laws on strip mining. The Florence Mine, of Harmon Creek Coal Corp., has been visited by teachers, mining experts, conservation leaders, scouting and sportsmen's groups, and recreation leaders either to study or to enjoy the reclaimed acres at the mine.

In June 1965 Mr. Hillman was awarded an honorary degree by the University of Pittsburgh because of his numerous contributions to civic improvement and development. Back in the grimy forties he created Pa Pitt's Partners to develop better housekeeping by city officials and by private citizens in the city of Pittsburgh.

For 2 years Mr. Hillman was chairman of the Allegheny Conference on Community Development at the time when such benefits as smoke control were put into effect. He had worked hard as trustee and later

as president of the Board of Shadyside Hospital. He is a member of the Men's Advisory Committee of the Home for Crippled Children, a trustee of Carnegie Library, a member of the Fine Arts Committee of the Museum of Art of Carnegie Institute, a trustee emeritus of Carnegie Institute of Technology.

James Hillman has been senior warden of Calvary Episcopal Church and recently chairman of a major fund-raising drive for Calvary. With two other men he was cochairman of a drive to raise funds for the Pittsburgh school board to build the Pioneer School for Physically Handicapped Children. He is also president of the Pittsburgh Park and Playground Society.

At present he is striving to attract new industry to the reclaimed land of Florence Mine in order to bring new jobs to an economically depressed area of western Pennsylvania.

PROPOSAL FOR RECLAMATION AND LAND USE OF COAL-STRIPPED AREAS

(By James F. Hillman)

At long last the need of conservation of national resources and the restoration of land disturbed by strip mining and other forms of surface mining are recognized by Pennsylvania and many other States as nonpartisan tasks of high and immediate priority. Proper use of this stripped-over land during and after reclamation is the theme I venture to develop.

LAND USE BY HARMON CREEK COAL

To cite the background of my proposal, my associates and I of the Harmon Creek Corp. operate a strip mine in Washington County, in western Pennsylvania. We have had the good fortune to be able to cope successfully with the attendant restoration problems of strip mining since 1937, and during all the consequent years we continued to develop a complete land reclamation practice. After the high wall and the steeply precipitous mounds of earth incurred in strip mining were both contoured to an angle of repose there were planted grasses, legumes, trees, and shrubs. Of 5,066 acres presently owned by this company slightly over 2,300 acres have been mined and 2,240 acres reclaimed. in addition to the acreage in grasses and legumes over 2½ million trees and shrubs have been planted.

A lake of approximately 12 acres of pure water has provided fishing facilities for the adjacent population. Two baseball fields, a recreational park with a large swimming pool, a model airplane field, and an area reserved for Boy Scout overnight camping have also been made available for the community. The end result has been the decision of a large corporation to build a manufacturing plant on property acquired from us. They were induced to build their plant there because of the many contiguous recreational areas.

A very significant factor in our operation is the increased use of our strip pits for the disposal of industrial waste material from an industrial plant located some 15 miles from our mining operation. This waste material, after being dumped in the strip pit, is covered with some 60 feet of earth from the high bank and the precipitous mounds of spoil bank which resulted from the mining procedure. We contemplate increasing this type of land use to include disposal of other types of waste material such as auto graveyards, etc.

STRIPPED AREAS AND WASTE DISPOSAL

In Pennsylvania and other coal-producing States where strip mining exists, substantial areas of land have been taken out of use by this activity. It has been estimated that some quarter of a million acres have been strip mined and unreclaimed in Pennsylvania alone. Since strip mines have an average depth of about 50 feet below the surrounding ground level, a huge disposal area, capacious enough to last many years and for many waste disposal purposes, exists in these pits.

In most strip-mining States, a large part of such areas have reverted to public ownership after the coal has been extracted. We propose specifically that this publicly owned stripped-over land be used for disposal of many forms of waste material as a component part of their land restoration in a manner akin to our procedure. Appropriate fees would be charged to the corporations and subdivisions of the State who would use this land for this waste disposal and thus greatly defray or perhaps eliminate the cost of the land reclamation.

There also are many thousands of acres in many areas of this country of unreclaimed stripped-over land owned by individuals and corporations. We further propose, therefore, that the affected States make studies of the appropriate means to induce the owners of such stripped-over land (even to the final step of exercising the right of eminent domain) to use the land for the economic disposal of industrial waste, automobile junkyard disposal, and municipal waste collections for the many cities and communities of each State. There is at least one large company which has developed a means of carrying municipal waste in specially designed containers which can be readily handled from the truck or freight cars to the final disposal area with one-man operation.

MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM

An article by Bruce Biossat, in the Pittsburgh Press of August 2, 1965, on the torrent of problems discussed at the recent conference of Governors, gave this stunning example: "California today spends an astonishing $330 million a year just to get rid of wastes of all kinds—sewage, industrial waste, etc. By 1990 it must spend $1 billion for this purpose * * * and California is running out of land in which to bury such wastes."

Our rapidly increasing population has created the utter need of a proper and complete system of waste disposal in an efficient manner, and we submit the foregoing with the thought that it might in many localities be a partial or perhaps a complete solution of this problem.

More on the Trading Stamp Controversy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I have been conducting informal discussions with members of the American business community in an endeavor to ascertain if the cost of the widespread use of trading stamps is coming out of the pocketbook of the consumer. Today, Mr. Eugene R. Beem, vice president of the Sperry & Hutchinson Co., made a radio statement questioning my motives in conducting this inquiry.

I will not be bought off. I will not bow to threats or pressure nor will Mr. Beem's name calling deter me from my avowed purpose of protecting the housewife against the misleading tactics of some trading stamp companies. As for presenting a biased view of trading stamps, yes, perhaps I have a bias—I am biased in favor of the consumer.

Mr. Beem obviously can not make this claim—for he is employed by the S. & H. stamp company to play with figures that tug at the purse strings of the American housewife.

In the past I have represented retail organizations who have distributed stamps and also those who do not distribute any stamps. If he charges that I am currently employed it is either a blatant lie and would lead me to seriously question any figures he has issued or he is so behind the news as the outdated information the stamp companies are passing out to justify their spurious claims. I have given up all my business interests.

For over 25 years I was engaged in the marketing business and because of this I know where to look for some of the bodies. Among others my organization dealt with many stamp companies. The more I look into this picture, the more I find facts the stamp companies would like to remain buried.

Cotton Exports Drop

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the latest indication of the failure of the current cotton program comes in the form of a report that cotton exports dropped in yardage 33 percent and in value 25 percent during the first 6 months of the year. A representative of the International Cotton Advisory Committee predicted in Geneva that exports of raw cotton from the United States will fall from 5.7 million to 4 million bales during the entire year. These two items add up to more trouble for those who have a stake in a healthy cotton industry in the United States.

Unfortunately, the cotton program passed by the House of Representatives offers no hope of improvement.

Below are two items from the Daily News Record of August 23:

U.S. COTTON EXPORTS TO DROP 1.7 MILLION BALES IN YEAR: ICAC

GENEVA.—Exports of raw cotton from the United States will fall from 5.7 million to 4 million base during this year, a representative of the International Cotton Advisory Committee predicted here.

At the first meeting of the United Nations Trade and Development Board's Committee on Commodities statements were heard from all representatives of independent commodity councils. The representatives of the ICAC also noted that exports of all cotton-producing countries would go up except the United States. This would pose a special problem as the United States already holds about half of the 28-billion-bale world cotton stock, he said.

COTTONS EXPORTS DROP 33 PERCENT IN YARDAGE DURING FIRST HALF

(By Sig Scheier)

NEW YORK.—U.S. exports of cotton fabrics declined 33 percent in yardage and 25 percent in value during the first 6 months of this year, Census Bureau figures show.

A total of 156.5 million yards of cotton fabrics was shipped from January through June of this year, down from 233.6 million in the same period last year. Value was off to $49 million in this period from $65.7 million a year ago.

Canada accounted for a substantial portion of this 6-month decline; shipments to that country dropping 30 percent to 71.6 million yards from 101.9 million yards the previous year.

The major portion of the January-June decline to all countries was in cotton gray goods, off 48 percent to 46.4 million yards from 88.5 million. Finished cotton fabrics declined 24 percent in this period to 110 million yards from 145.1 million.

During June, exports of cottons recovered to 36.3 million yards worth $8.4 million, the best monthly showing for a year. However, a year ago the figures were 46.3 million yards with a value of $11.6 million.

Shipments to Canada comprised 14.6 million yards of the latest monthly total, down from 20.8 million a year ago.

Cotton gray goods made up 9.8 million yards of the June 1965 total, compared with 18.8 million a year ago. Indicative of this decline were 845,000 yards of print cloth fabrics, off from 4.2 million, and 415,000 yards of sheetings compared with 1.6 million.

Finished cottons were fairly stable with 26.6 million yards in June, compared with 27.5 million a year ago. An unusual shipment of 10.4 million yards of cheesecloth and gauze to Japan was the main reason for this showing.

Other finished cloth categories were down sharply in June, including print cloths with 3.6 million yards, compared with 8.6 million, broadcloths with 1.3 million yards, compared with 2.1 million; drills, twills and sateens with 3 million yards, compared with 4.9 million, and denims with 1.9 million yards, compared with 2.4 million.

Exports of cottons remnants in June fell to 712,000 pounds from 3.2 million a year ago, reflecting sharp declines in shipments to the Philippines, Thailand, and Italy. Value also declined sharply in the latest month to $368,000 from $1,750,000 a year ago.

For the first 6 months of this year, remnants exports dropped 46 percent in poundage to 7.7 million from 13.4 million, while declining in value by 39 percent to $5 million from $8.2 million.

Another Labor Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, next Monday we will observe another Labor Day. Typical of the wholesome, meaningful editorial commentary on this annual occasion is the editorial from the August 19 edition of the Lemonter, a Graphic Newspapers publication serving the southwest suburban region of Cook County. With leave granted I place it in the RECORD as part of my remarks:

ANOTHER LABOR DAY

The months and the seasons roll by fast. Soon Labor Day will be here, bringing with it another long and welcome holiday weekend.

It is among the newer of our national holidays, but it is universally observed within this country. It was established to celebrate and to commemorate the tremendous contributions the working people have made to the progress, strength, and development of this Nation. That is still its purpose, though that purpose has become more and more a time for fun and a momentary escape from the serious matters of life.

Over the years, American labor has gone far indeed. Tremendous advances have been made in wages, working conditions, job security and all other labor benefits. Labor's status is a high one nowadays. That is as it should be. At the same time, the Nation is entitled to demand an equally high sense of responsibility on labor's part. It must demand that labor's powers be used with restraint, and with the national interest always in mind. This, certainly, has not always been the case.

After all, the legitimate goals of labor, organized or unorganized, are the same as those of all other groups within the country—a better life, under a system which guarantees the maximum freedom to the individual. That is what we should determine to strive for this Labor Day.

The Need for Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, in the days of Henry Thoreau, the popular concept of a genius was that of a more or less eccentric person who invented something novel, exciting, or useful. Many of our 20th century geniuses are recognized more for their bookish and retiring manner. Nevertheless, there are a few geniuses in circulation today who are indeed as colorful as their predecessors of centuries past. One such man is Admiral Rickover.

There is little doubt that he meets the specs of the Thoreau era formula for genius—a more or less eccentric person who invented something novel, exciting, and useful.

Eccentric? We will leave that for a future paragraph.

Inventor? It is doubtful that the admiral can take full credit for inventing the nuclear submarine, but there is little doubt that Hyman can claim that he "fathered" the "nuc boats." We each received a letter from him a couple of days ago which originated from the U.S.S. *Benjamin Franklin*, his 52d "child." These pelagic creatures have little difficulty establishing themselves as novel, exciting, and useful.

Getting back to the matter of eccentricity, it would be an understatement to suggest that he is occasionally outspoken. But of all the admiral's idiosyncratic pronouncements, I find his instructions to visiting staffers the most fascinating. Outside the door to his office hangs a reminder carrying the following message:

The list below is the current popularity rating for excuses. Please specify by number. To save time for yourself and for me please give your excuse by number.

1. I thought I told you.
2. That's the way we've always done it.
3. No one told me to go ahead.
4. I didn't think it was very important.
5. I'm so busy I just can't get around to it.
6. Why bother, the Admiral wouldn't buy it.
7. I didn't know you were in a hurry for it.
8. That's his job, not mine.
9. I forgot.
10. I'm waiting for an OK.
11. That's not in my department.
12. How did I know this was different.
13. Wait till the boss comes back and ask him.

Not only is Admiral Rickover interested in reforming the habits of his staffers who suffer from bureaucratic paranoia, but his greatest peeve is the state of U.S. education today. He has alienated more than one alumnus by his stinging criticism of the U.S. Naval Academy.

More recently the admiral provided us the additional benefit of his views when testifying in regard to the Higher Education Act of 1965. A recent editorial in the Boston Globe discusses Admiral Rickover's testimony, citing his views as a "healthy influence."

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I place the very well-written editorial in the RECORD:

[From the Boston Globe, Aug. 31, 1965]

THE NEED FOR REFORM

(By Ralph McGill)

Henry Thoreau entered the following in his journal of January 1, 1853:

"After talking with Uncle Charles the other night about the worthies of the country, Webster and the rest, as usual, considering who were geniuses and who not, I showed him up to bed, and when I had got into bed myself, I heard his chamber door open after 11 o'clock, and he called out in a stentorian voice, loud enough to wake the house, 'Henry, Was John Quincy Adams a genius?' 'No, I think not,' was my reply. 'Well, I didn't think he was,' answered he."

Uncle Charles was satisfied, accepting the words of his nephews—whom later generations came to view as at least something of a genius. Time was when the popular concept of a genius was that of a more or less eccentric person who invented something novel, exciting, and useful.

But in our time the broadening of science in our daily life, accelerated and underscored by the marvels of the space age, has enabled us to note that there are many geniuses about. Indeed, a large majority of the students admitted to such an institution as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology may accurately be described as young geniuses.

Demands of science, industry, and the humanities, however, have revealed a need for educational reform in method and curriculum in the elementary and secondary grades. The already serious shortages of teachers is sure to be at a critical point in our colleges and universities by 1970 or sooner.

Adm. Hyman Rickover, an admitted critic of American education, provided testimony on the Higher Education Act of 1965 which brought new focus on yet another controversy. He strongly criticized the policy of industry and Government luring off professors from both undergraduate and graduate level to serve as consultants. In his testimony Rickover said:

"The primary function of educational institutions is to pass on to our children the intellectual heritage of the past, and in so doing to develop their mental capacities. Institutions at the university level—that is in graduate studies—have the additional responsibility to reinterpret and expand existing knowledge—to engage in what is properly speaking academic research. Such research does not interfere with, indeed it enhances, the education of students who have

completed their general education and are specializing in a particular professional field. But the student gains nothing and loses much when his professor goes off consulting in Government or industry, leaving him to be tended by a substitute, all too often a graduate student working while he writes his doctoral thesis.

"It is generally recognized that we have a shortage of first-rate liberal arts colleges and graduate universities; the shortage springs from a lack of qualified professors. We shortchange our youth when we exacerbate the already existing deficit by deflecting college and university professors from their proper task. We adults have been complacent, but the students feel bitterly about this. Much of the research being done for the Government is of dubious value to the student, possibly also to the Government, while the practice of using professors as consultants is wholly detrimental to the students for whom the college and the university exist."

Rickover advocated Government aid to teaching salaries so that the professors might be more ready to remain in teaching positions and not to be tempted by consultant salaries of industry and Government.

Many educationists are made uneasy by Rickover. They try, with little success to discount him. He remains influential. His disclosures of the educational gaps in high school graduates who volunteered for service in nuclear submarines—and of the need to set up schools to teach them what their schools had failed to provide—led to considerable reform.

His congressional testimony and his continued writings and addresses on proposed reforms in higher education will be a healthy influence.

Home Rule Fine, With Exceptions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, in view of the mounting pressure for the establishment of home rule in our Nation's Capital, I believe it would be wise for all of us to heed the words of caution so well expressed by the Charleston, W. Va., Gazette, the State's largest Democratic newspaper. The Gazette advocates modified home rule for Washington and it explains its reasoning in the following editorial:

HOME RULE FINE, WITH EXCEPTIONS

American tradition is on the side of those who now are seeking home rule in Washington, D.C.

That tradition holds that people are fit to govern themselves and that those who govern should be chosen by the governed.

In general, the Gazette supports the proposition that the people of Washington should be permitted to govern themselves. But there are certain qualifications which should be attached to any home rule legislation.

Washington belongs to the people who live there, but it also belongs to the people of the United States. The citizen of Montana, for instance, should have some voice in the appearance, if not the government, of his capital city. The uniqueness of Washington as both a residential-business city and a capital city makes it imperative that a kind of modified home rule would best suit it.

It is the understanding of some observers that real estate promoters are among those pushing hardest for home rule, and that they expect home rule to eliminate Federal provisions regarding the city's architecture. At present, builders are not permitted to erect skyscrapers or any structure which would tend to detract from, or fail to harmonize with, the magnificent architecture of the Government buildings. Home rule legislation should by all means continue this protection for what is surely one of the world's most beautiful cities.

It would be absurd to expect the Federal Government to surrender all its prerogatives to local government, for Washington is something more than just another American city.

Home rule for Washington must be home rule shaped to accommodate the needs of a Federal capital.

Father Junipero Serra Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, on Monday of this week the Serra Club of Washington sponsored a wreath-laying ceremony at the statue of Father Junipero Serra which stands in Statuary Hall of the Capitol.

The occasion commemorated the 181st anniversary of the death of the Spanish Franciscan priest who has earned a place in American history for his important role in developing California. It was Father Serra who built a chain of 21 missions which were centers of education and agriculture in the early days of the Far West.

For his achievements, the State of California has recognized him by setting his statue in the Statuary Hall as one of its first and most distinguished citizens. The Serra Club, a group of Catholic men promoting vocations to the priesthood, have taken his name and his devotion to duty as their guide.

Principal speaker at the wreath laying was the gentleman from California [Mr. TALCOTT]. His remarks cited the inspiration to be gained from recalling Father Serra's life, and the application which his heritage may find in modern times.

In order to bring Father Serra's accomplishments to the attention of this body, I include Representative TALCOTT's speech at this point:

SPEECH OF BURT L. TALCOTT, U.S. CONGRESSMAN, FOR THE CEREMONY COMMEMORATING THE 181ST ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF FATHER SERRA, STATUARY HALL, THE CAPITOL

Reverend fathers and protractors of the inspiring legacy of Father Junipero Serra, each daily session of the House of Representatives is opened with a reading from the Scriptures—and a prayer—before any business is conducted. An impressive custom which reminds us that we are a Christian nation.

Because we are honoring an extraordinary Christian and because we are meeting in the Capitol in the very room where the House of Representatives once met, I thought it would be appropriate to quote Jeremiah, chapter 40, verse 4: "Behold, all the land is before thee: Whither it seemeth good and convenient for thee to go, thither go."

Father Serra's motto: "Always to go forward; never to look back" may have been the inspiration for one of my political heroes, Thomas Jefferson, when, in 1816, he wrote to John Adams: "I like the dreams of the future better than the history of the past."

An anniversary of death is an appropriate time for reviewing the past, but also a propitious time for surveying the future. Too often men are remembered for what they wrote, rather than for their work. To me, Father Serra's record of work and accomplishment is his greatest legacy.

Pursuing his motto, and his faith, Father Serra, in spite of lameness and material poverty, during a brief span of approximately 15 years, left his indelible mark on the history and landscape of California. We honor Father Serra today at a time when an old pride, and a new emphasis, should be accorded plain work.

His primary mission may have been the conversion of the Indians; but he was not content with merely serving the spiritual needs of the natives. He was among the first to try to educate the neophytes; he helped to establish civil government in California. He promoted agriculture. The Franciscans' early irrigation systems remain marvels of engineering and of ingenuity. They constructed mills for the crushing of maize into flour. Husbandry of cattle herds, at the missions, formed the basis for the present beef industry of our State. His trails became the skeleton of our roads and superhighways. The Spanish influence, imported by Father Serra, has branched afar from the famous El Camino Real.

The greatest living monument to his work is probably the "rosary chain" of his missions. The many works of Father Serra, and his followers, are manifest in almost every aspect of life today in California.

The scenic and historic 12th Congressional District, which I have the honor to represent, contains 7 of the 21 missions, including the Carmel Mission where Father Serra died—and where he is buried.

For these reasons, Father Noel Moholy permitted me to participate in honoring Father Serra's memory by securing the authorization of the Congress for the striking of a commemorative medal.

On occasions of great significance to the Nation, the Congress approves legislation authorizing the Treasury to use the facilities of the U.S. Mint to strike medals in commemoration of the event.

Only a few people outside of Congress, but certainly Father Moholy, appreciate the uncommonness of a commemorative medal and the tribulations involved in attaining passage of an act of Congress.

The entire California congressional delegation first adopted a resolution urging the striking of the medal. Thirty-two Members joined me in sponsoring a bill to authorize the medal. Senator KUCHEL introduced a similar bill in the Senate.

The Committee on Banking and Currency screened all of the many bills proposing the minting of various coins and medals. Of all the bills introduced, only three were signed into law during the 88th Congress.

One of the first Serra medals to be minted was given to me; I have carried it ever since.

By his presence here in Statuary Hall, Calif., recognizes him as one of its first and most important citizens. All denominations consider him as one of our greatest pioneers. The Padre Junipero Serra 250th Anniversary Association, and all friends of Father Serra, should be proud that the Congress of the United States, through the authorization of the commemorative medal, has recognized his birth as an occasion of extraordinary national significance.

Today, as much as ever before, we need the same dedication to purpose and devotion to work that Father Serra exemplified—if the cause of Christianity is to cope with today's

terrible challenges of secularism, materialism, and communism.

As the Indians who lived in early California found inspiration in the ministry and work of Father Serra, I trust that we who live in the larger world community of today will find inspiration and incentive in Father Serra's great and wonderful work.

Longfellow in his "Psalm of Life" seemed to capture a measure of what Father Serra's philosophy means to this layman:

"Let us, then, be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate;
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labor and to wait."

Reverend Fathers and guests, I have appreciated the opportunity to participate in this remembrance of the life and death of Father Serra.

Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WESTON E. VIVIAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr, Speaker, the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act is one of the most controversial issues to come before the House this session. It is now pending in the other body.

A great deal of conflicting information has been disseminated about the actual effect of the repeal of section 14(b). I stated in a report to the people of the Second Congressional District of Michigan that the repeal would not mean that employees operating under employer-union negotiated union shop agreements would have to participate in union activities in any way, but only that they would merely have to pay union fees. Many people have been concerned about the forced association aspects of the repeal of section 14(b); for this reason, the distinction between membership and the payment of fees is a very important one indeed.

Mr. Speaker, the Monroe Evening News is the daily newspaper serving the citizens of Monroe County, Mich. It has been a respected voice in the county for over 140 years. The Evening News took an editorial stand against the repeal of section 14(b), but it has recently published an Associated Press article that clearly sets out the distinction between forced union membership and the requirement that all employees operating under a union shop contract pay union fees: pay for the representation that the law compels the union to provide all employees if it has been selected by a majority of them. I commend the Monroe Evening News for publishing this lucid article, and I recommend it to the Members of the House.

The article follows:

[From the Monroe (Mich.) Evening News]

WASHINGTON.—If your employer negotiates a union shop labor contract, can the union legally force you to become a member to keep your job?

The answer appears to be no, although neither side in the current congressional fight over the issue has emphasized it.

The union can force you to pay dues but it can't force you to join.

This is true in the 31 States where the union shop is now legal, and would apply to all States if organized labor is successful in its drive to kill the 19 State laws that now ban the union shop.

It is true even though the Taft-Hartley Act says a union and employer can negotiate a contract requiring membership in the union as a condition of employment.

The current fight in Congress is over repeal of section 14(b) of Taft-Hartley, which now permits any State to ban the union shop. Nineteen States enacted such laws and many other States have been the scene of bitter battles over the issue.

Repeal of 14(b), which already has passed the House and appears headed for passage in the Senate, would make union shop contracts legal in all States.

OPPONENTS CHARGE

Opponents charge the union shops means compulsory unionism.

But even though the Federal law uses the word "membership," the National Labor Relations Board has ruled and been upheld by the courts that payment of dues and initiation fees is enough to satisfy the law.

This, in effect, is the agency shop.

"Basically, all we get by repealing 14(b) is an agency shop," said a spokesman for the AFL-CIO.

The agency shop basically satisfies labor's argument against workers who take wage gains won by the union but refuse to join and help pay the costs of bargaining.

Under Federal law, a union must bargain for all workers in a plant whether or not they are union members.

AGENCY SHOP LEGAL

Under the agency shop, workers who oppose joining a union pay their way but don't have to join.

Under the union shop, they not only must pay the dues but have to join the union.

But the NLRB in a 1949 case soon after Taft-Hartley was enacted, said: "The employee having offered to pay the dues and fees has done all that can be legally asked of him."

In other words, the union can accept or refuse the dues but cannot then demand the employee be fired for refusing to join.

The U.S. Court of Appeals in Chicago upheld the ruling and in 1951 the Supreme Court refused to review it, thus leaving the decision of the lower court standing.

The case involved three employes of Union Starch & Refining Co. in Granite City, Ill. They agreed to pay dues under a union shop contract but refused to attend a union meeting or take an oath of allegiance to the union.

TRIO FIRED

The company fired them at the demand of the Grain Processors Independent Union but the NLRB ordered them reinstated.

The court of appeals, in agreeing with the Board, said, said it was not the intent of Congress than anyone be fired for any reason except refusing to pay dues and initiation fees.

Presumably, this could be extended to require payment of any special assessments levied on all members of the union.

The ruling by the NLRB was a close one—a 3-to-2 vote, but subsequent Board rulings have agreed with the majority decision and it has never been successfully challenged in court.

With the nationwide debate centering on the repeal of 14(b), it is conceivable the issue could come up again and eventually find its way to the Supreme Court.

While labor spokesmen have made the point that no one would be forced to join a union if 14(b) is repealed, they have not stressed it.

"Obviously, they would prefer that employes under a union shop contract become active members of the union—not just dues payers.

POINT IGNORED

The Right to Work Committee and Republican allies fighting repeal haven't mentioned the point at all—drumming hard on the charge of forced union membership.

But under questioning, both sides generally agree.

Asked whether any worker could be forced into a union against his will, the AFL-CIO replied "Absolutely not."

Representative ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, Republican leader of the unsuccessful House fight against repeal, concedes the point but adds:

"I think it is a technical distinction without very much practical meaning. It just makes some people feel a little better."

Reed Larson, executive vice president of the Right To Work Committee, contends "It's an inconsequential point."

He cites the case of three workers who refused to join a union for religious reasons in Indiana after that State last January repealed its law banning the union shop.

FORCE CLAIMED

Larson said the AFL-CIO International Association of Machinists tried to force the three members of the Christadelphian sect to become union members under a union shop contract at the Arkla Air Conditioning Co. in Evansville.

The case was settled without a court fight when the three were permitted to pay the equivalent of union dues without joining the union.

Robert H. Brown, a Machinists official said:

"The workers are completely satisfied with the way in which we responded to their beliefs and allowed them to remain on their jobs, and the way in which the union continues to secure gains and benefits for them."

One of the three men later joined the union, Brown said.

Commenting on the Evansville case, Frank C. McAlister of the Indiana State Chamber of Commerce said the Christadelphians negotiated "their own little agency shop."

Lake County Congratulates Robert Manry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. WILLIAM STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, at their August 28 meeting the Lake County commissioners adopted a resolution congratulating Robert Manry on his daring sailboat trip from Falmouth, Mass., to Falmouth, England. With unanimous consent I place a copy of this resolution in the RECORD:

Whereas Robert Manry, a citizen and resident of Willowick, Lake County, Ohio, has completed a challenging and courageous voyage in sailing a 13½-foot sailboat, affectionately known as *Tinkerbelle*, across the Atlantic Ocean, displaying unusual initiative, daring, and courage; and

Whereas this unparalleled voyage is unusual and is equal to that of many heroes of the past in American history, and again points up the pioneer spirit of adventure still alive in our country; and

Whereas we here in Lake County are grateful to claim him as our own, and we herein express our thanks and gratitude for this tremendous achievement: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the board of county commissioners do extend their congratulations

to Robert Manry and order the clerk to spread this resolution upon the pages of the journal of the board of county commissioners and to send a certified copy of this resolution to Robert Manry and to the mayor of the city of Willowick, Ohio.

Resolution adopted.

LOUIS VINOCUR,
Acting Clerk.

PAINESVILLE, OHIO, *August 28, 1965.*

United States Steel Corp.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States Steel Corp., Mr. Leslie B. Worthington, recently presented at the New York Coliseum, under the title "Dilemma: People in Motion," an excellent survey of the future transportation needs of the American people.

At a time when the Congress is considering further action in this field, Mr. Worthington's comments are of particular interest to all of us in the House of Representatives.

Under leave to extend my remarks I include the text of his presentation:

DILEMMA: PEOPLE IN MOTION

(Remarks by Leslie B. Worthington, president, United States Steel Corp.)

Each of us was party this morning to one of the dilemmas of our time: People in motion. People going from one place to another.

Regardless of how we traveled here to the Coliseum—whether by taxi, or subway, or private automobile, or bus; whether we came to New York from out of town by train, bus, automobile, or airliner—we have all been part of an unusual transit drama. It is a pageant flawed by one commanding inconsistency—not so much in evidence here where the transit system is more efficient than most, but outside New York where the paradox is clear to see: That we possess the technical ability to orbit ourselves about the planet at 18,000 miles an hour, while we're often helplessly bogged down in rush-hour traffic jams. Where we frequently lose in short-distance ground travel the time advantage we gain by traveling long distances by air.

It's the strangest of ironies, is it not, that we've narrowed to gap in space travel while we've allowed the gap in ground transit to widen. For a time it looked as though we might find less frustrating delays in commuting to the moon before we eliminated the agonizing delays of commuting between our homes and offices.

But none can resist the forces of change for long. And one of the strongest forces at work to change our transit habits is, surely, the Nation's burgeoning population. Our population today is twice what it was in 1900. Five years ago, 113 million people—63 percent of our total population—lived in 212 metropolitan areas which included the adjacent suburbs. The Census Bureau has projected this growth pattern to the year 2000 and makes this rather startling prediction: By that time, 235 million of us—74 percent of our total projected population—will reside in the Nation's top 300 metropolitan areas. Expressed still another way, the bureau suggests that one-half of the country's total population in the year 2000 will be living in only 48 major metropolitan centers.

Such an expansion of the Nation's corporal mass is already having its effects on the central core of our cities. It was from this core, you'll remember, that multitudes fled to the suburbs after World War II. Some of those who watched the exodus in those days felt they were officiating at the last rites of our metropolitan centers. And, in fact, our cities were afflicted with a certain economic anemia during the 1950's from which they are only now recovering—thanks to urban renewal programs and now rapid transit projects.

Today, the central core, itself, is exploding with new vitality. Some experts on population shifts now contend that many who flocked to the suburbs with children to raise in the mid-1940's are now returning to the core and to the convenience of high-rise apartment living—the kids now off to college or married and off on their own. Certainly the central core of 20 years ago has now spread to engulf those quiet suburban areas that once gave us shelter and solace.

Add to this phenomenal growth in population the unshakable attachment most of us feel for the automobile, and the transit crisis in our cities suggests an embryo of a national emergency. Proportionately, automobile ownership is increasing faster than the population.

Government surveys tell us that more than 90 percent of all of our travel in urban areas is done by motor vehicle; that by 1980—a scant 15 years away—there will be about 100 million automobiles in use.

And we complain now that we've had to harness our automobiles on city streets at speeds which would have embarrassed the old grey mare.

Little wonder that what is a transit headache today—without remedy—could become a nightmare tomorrow.

But, happily, this dilemma of people in motion is getting a lot of remedial attention these days. Both public and private sectors of the economy are working separately and together to reach a solution. The 1964 Federal grant of $375 million for transit equipment and feasibility studies has helped to encourage action by cities which recognize deficiencies in their transit systems. And in the Nation's large metropolitan centers, a number of locally financed programs are underway to close the transit gap. But all the programs have one common denominator: to create a system which will comprise a balance of transportation modes—private automobiles, buses, commuter trains, and subways.

The story of what's happening from coast to coast is too familiar to all of you for me to recite in detail. But it does warrant a brief review as prolog to what we will show you this morning.

In new systems, San Francisco leads the pack. If the system now being built in that city does not become the model for all to follow, it will at least enjoy the distinction of having been the first. At a cost of $1 billion, the system will comprise 75 miles of routes when it is completed in 1971.

Los Angeles is now conducting feasibility studies into a proposed system, the core of which will be a new 65-mile rail transit line. Atlanta is also planning a system of about 65 track miles.

Pittsburgh is busy. In just a few weeks, the city's skybus experiment will begin as one possible solution to the transit shortage there.

Here on the east coast, an 11-mile rail system will connect Camden and Kirkwood, N.J. And the most ambitious system of all is now being investigated to connect Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Washington in a high-speed transit corridor.

In addition, cities such as Chicago, Cleveland and New York are extending their systems and adding new rail and bus equipment. So critical is the need for a balanced system here in New York, for example, that Alfred Perlman, president of the New York Central, said recently that should the city suddenly lose its commuter railroads, 40 highways, each of four lanes, would be needed to bring people into town.

But transit authorities and governmental agencies are not the only groups at work to ease our transportation woes. So, too, is United States Steel.

Ours is a company whose predecessor firms were identified with transportation as early as the last half of the 1800's when the Nation's railroads were lacing the continent with steel rails. Indeed, it was steel rails which accounted for most of the production of the country's infant steel industry until 10 years before the turn of the last century.

Since then, however, we've produced steel and shaped it into bridges and subways. Our cements and reinforcing steel have helped to build the Nation's highway system. We've rolled the sheet products converted by the automakers and railway carbuilders into passenger cars, buses, and railroad rolling stock. We make and sell railroad wheels and axles.

So, it isn't without some previous knowledge and experience that we have taken up our self-assigned role in metropolitan rapid transit.

Indeed, our commitment to the rapid transit market will permit United States Steel to do what it does best: combine our steelmaking capability with the technical and engineering knowledge of our people to help our customers use our products to their full potential.

As we unfold our transit story this morning, some of you may think at first that we've invaded the field of the designer. May I emphatically assure you that this is not our intention. We are not transit system designers. We are not component designers. We are not car designers. This fine art is better left to our good customers who've been designing things of steel with great success for many, many years.

We are, however, designers—if I may be permitted the poetic license—designers of the steel product. And we know what can be done with it. We know which steel should be used for which application in order that the designer may economize both in his materials and in his costs.

There is no question that the economic rejuvenation which the mass transit boom will exert in our cities will be amply evident. But not so clearly drawn at this point is the effect this boom will have on the total metropolitan environment.

I refer to how well we use the land areas freed for transit rights-of-way and stations and numerous other structures which may be required; how well we blend these elements into their surroundings. After all, this transit renaissance in our cities is also a logical extension of the monumental urban rebuilding that has taken place over the past decade.

Representing, as I do, a company with a serious obligation to the architectural and building profession, I would hope that when we tear down the old lofts and warehouses, the antiquated office buildings, we take care not to rebuild with old and antiquated ideas. I would hope that we allow our cities to breathe from within; that we make the landscape part of the cityscape.

I would hope that we exercise the same wise and tutored use of the physical environment as we have learned to exercise in the use of our materials. We must strike a balance between the space above the building's foundation and the space around it.

This, we recognize, is primarily the purview of the urban planner and his architects and engineers. But we at United States Steel are ready to help them create such environments.

It is to dramatize this total product capability, backed by our offer of engineering and research assistance, that we have assembled this metropolitan transportation program.

U.S. Policy Toward Communist China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year I raised several questions in regard to our policy toward Communist China which I felt should be the subject to greater public discussion.

I recently asked Dr. Harold S. Quigley, a noted expert on Far Eastern affairs, to comment on these questions. I feel Dr. Quigley is eminently qualified to discuss this complex issue. He has been a lifelong student of Asia and is professor emeritus of the University of Minnesota. Dr. Quigley has written extensively in his field, his two latest books being: "The New Japan: Government and Politics," and "China's Politics in Perspective."

I include Dr. Quigley's comments at this point in my remarks:

Hon. DONALD M. FRASER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FRASER: For what they may be worth, I offer a few words relative to the questions raised in your statement.

Your first question: "Has our policy toward Communist China been equally successful (as compared with our policy toward the Nationalist Government)?"

My answer would be "No." We have not succeeded in isolating China. On the contrary her government has been recognized by numerous governments, including those of Britain, France, and the Scandinavian countries. Our embargo policy has injured ourselves while not stopping trade between mainland China and numerous countries. Our policy has prevented contacts between American and Chinese journalists and scholars. It has stimulated Chinese charges of imperialism. In my judgment it is an empty, futile policy.

Your second question: "In what ways are U.S. national interests advanced or retarded by current U.S. policy toward Red China? Could U.S. national security interests be advanced by a change in our policy toward Red China?"

In my judgment, Red China has not and does not now menace the national security of the United States. No one can forsee the future of China's power but the possibility of a first-rank military China becoming a menace to our security is greater under our present policy than it would be under a change of policy. "National security interests" are differently defined by different persons, but however widely defined, so long as this country maintains its strength industrially and militarily, our interests can be protected. Our danger lies in overextending our conception of our security interests to the point where they do not, in fact, relate to our national security.

Your third question: "Is our policy which seeks to restrain aggression or Communist aims of Red China made more effective by preventing communication with that country? Does a policy of strength and firmness necessarily displace policies of wider communication with that same country?"

My answer is "No." On the contrary, this feature of our policy limits our mutual knowledge of each others' opinions and actions. Our sources are secondhand. This feature is contemptuous of our own citizenry as well as of the Chinese. It is deeply resented by our press and students of Asian culture.

Your fourth question: "Is U.S. opposition to diplomatic recognition and to admission of Red China to the U.N. the heart of U.S. policy toward Red China, or could U.S. policy change without necessarily altering the U.S. position on these questions?"

I have noted that the two aspects of our policy most criticized by businessmen and the press have been the trade embargo and the prohibition of private visits to mainland China. Possibly these aspects are open to consideration of change, though the evidence for this guess is slight. But for the adjournment of the U.N. Assembly the matter of Peiping's admission to the U.N. seemed about to be taken out of our hands. I noted that President Johnson, in his speech of April 7, discarded "Peiping" for "Peking" and our long-time talks with the Chinese Ambassador in Warsaw are de facto recognition. I feel that the sticking point on the question of recognition is Taiwan. Under the treaty of 1954 we are not legally bound after 1964. But I have noted no easing of our or Peiping's position on that issue.

Your fifth question: "Would a change in U.S. policy toward the admission of Red China to the U.N. be viewed by the non-Communist nations as a weakening of U.S. resolve?"

I think that on the contrary it would be welcomed as a realistic change. Our major allies are embarrassed by the fact that our policy differs from theirs. India favors admission despite her dispute over a boundary with China. The supporters of recognition and admission have increased in the U.N. Assembly year after year. It is reasonable to think that a government which takes this view should regard our taking it as weakness? Too much is made of the idea that a policy cannot be changed without loss of prestige. Even if prestige were important, which I doubt, surely it is not lost by the proof of intelligence regarding policies which seem to me to be un-American in that they lack the humane quality of America.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD S. QUIGLEY.

Whom We Shall Welcome

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives recently passed a piece of legislation which is long delayed and certainly much needed, if we are to be known and respected as a nation dedicated to freedom and equality. The immigration reform bill will go far in destroying the ignominious stain of the national origins quota system that for so long robbed our Nation of valuable talents and skills.

I think the following editorial from the Washington Post cuts to the heart of the matter and calpably points up the benefits that will result from this legislation.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Sept. 2, 1965]

WHOM WE SHALL WELCOME

The House of Representatives has passed an immigration bill that does honor to America. This country has been called a nation of immigrants. Historically it has offered freedom and opportunity to those seeking these boons in a new home; and in return it has received from its immigrants immeasurable strength in manpower and resourcefulness and in cultural diversity.

Strangely, however, Americans became fearful of immigrants and instituted forms of ethnic discrimination in admitting them which dishonored this country's traditions. Reporting on the problem 12 years ago the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization under the chairmanship of the late Philip B. Perlman warned that "we cannot be true to the democratic faith of our own Declaration of Independence in the equality of all men, and at the same time pass immigration laws which discriminate among people because of national origin, race, color, or creed."

For the ignoble origins quota system, the House has now substituted a system of selection on the basis of skills useful to this country and in demand here and also according preference to the relatives of those who have become citizens or resident aliens under the old law. The bill fixes reasonable over-all limits on immigration. We hope that the Senate will give this measure a prompt endorsement.

The Asian Development Bank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, 2 weeks ago, I inserted in the RECORD some material relating to the Mekong River Basin development project. Today, in keeping with efforts to bring important developments in the Pacific community to the attention of my fellow Members of Congress and in hopes of encouraging decisive, positive action in this area, I should like to set forth my own findings surrounding the establishment of the Asian Development Bank.

It is clear to me that the Bank offers the Pacific community an opportunity that is rich with promise. It is an important institutional structure by which we can encourage the development of Asia by Asians on a self-help, business-like banking basis. It is an institution that will serve the common interests and help achieve the unified goals of the Pacific community of free nations—peaceful, purposeful, and rapid economic development of Asia which will dramatically better the living standards of Asian Peoples and enormously benefit all peoples through increased trade, tourism, and cultural exchange.

The Asian Development Bank is an opportunity which we must not let pass.

Following is a detailed and, we trust, helpful discussion on the Bank:

HISTORY OF THE ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

Since its formation in June of 1945 the United Nations has been working toward

"peaceful change—the establishment of universal human rights, the guidance of new societies into political self-determination, the lifting of old economies to decent standards of living, so that individual men, women, and children in these societies may know freedom from servitude, want, illness and illiteracy." In 1952 the General Assembly in order to further the achievement of these principles formed three regional agencies one of which was the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. The formation of this Commission was the first of the United Nations' many and continuing efforts to promote regional identity and cooperation—a community spirit—among the nations of Asia and the the Far East. As ECAFE membership expanded and the organization matured the guiding concept of this region's development began to take form. Small in size and a scattered diversity of resources makes it virtually mandatory for the members of the region to correlate their development plans and look toward interregional cooperation in industrialization and markets. It is this conception of economic interdependence and cooperation in development which underlies ECAFE's many activities.

ECAFE has established a number of objectives for promoting accelerated regional economic cooperation which are significant to note in the context of the present economic activities in southeast Asia: First, measures to promote intraregional trade, e.g., special incentives, reduction of trade barriers, ECAFE codes of trade practice; second, regional cooperation in commodity production and export; third, regional cooperation in the field of shipping and ocean freight rates; and fourth, regional cooperation in the field of industrial development. These objectives have been formulated in three regional projects: an Asian road system, the Lower Mekong River Basin project and the Asian Development Bank. Like the United Nations itself, ECAFE has only the power assigned to it by the consent of its participating members. As a result, the organization undertakes many surveys, but takes decisive action only when backed by the dynamic force of popular opinion, often triggered by one or more of its more affluent and developed members. This propulsive force was the U.S. role in the Asian Development Bank. President Johnson's endorsement was the extra push needed to organize the proponents of the bank for a commitment to action. Both Japan and India have been anxious to see the formulation of ECAFE's Bank idea into a functioning institution since its proposal by the minister's conference in Manila in the fall of 1963. By October of 1964, the Asian members of ECAFE had built up enough steam to vote an ad hoc committee of nine specialists to investigate the possibilities of an Asian Development Bank and to draw up a tentative charter for the other ECAFE members to study for an insight into what the term "Asian Development Bank" actually encompassed.

It was not, however, until after President Johnson's April 7 speech at Johns Hopkins that the Asian members of ECAFE became acutely aware that the idea was taking hold. The firm act of the United States offering $200 million in capital for the formation of the Bank was just the impetus necessary to push the Asians to actual monetary commitments. Japan offered to match the U.S. offer, and several of the other members of ECAFE collectively contributed $200 million making a total capital commitment to date of $600 million.

Mr. Eugene R. Black, the President's special emissary on Asian economic development and former President of the World Bank, presented U.S. suggestions for modifications of the proposed charter at the June meeting of the ECAFE committee of nine experts in Bangkok, Representatives at this conference subsequently paid visits to all of the regional and nonregional ECAFE members and to the Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development—the northern European trade community organization—to review the present Bank proposal and enlist their support.

The whole Committee, which at present represents nine Asian ECAFE countries, convened again in Bangkok early in August to reconsider the charter in the light of the consultations. This same group will compile a draft charter which will be circulated to all interested governments. The interested governments are expected to convene, probably in October of this year, for subsequent negotiations on the draft charter. When these negotiations are completed, a ministerial session, probably to be held in December of 1965, has been proposed for the initialing of the articles of agreement. If the draft charter is satisfactory, approval of the Congress will be sought for U.S. participation.

Generally, the idea of an Asian Development Bank has been well received by its potential benefactors. Cambodia's interest has been tentative, however, while the North Vietnamese have condemned the proposal as "President Johnson's rotten carrot." Indonesia will not receive a visit due to her recent withdrawal from the United Nations and simultaneously from ECAFE which has sponsored the Bangkok meetings.

POTENTIAL OF THE BANK

The theme of the Asian Development Bank from the time of the conception of its basic principle by ECAFE in 1963 to the present has been "a long-range development plan for all of southeast Asia, led by Asians, to improve the life of Asians." This concept is the strength of the proposed Bank, both for ratification of the charter and for a respected institution. The Bank as it stands today will be Asian in character. It stems from Asian initiative. It will be located in Asia and have a predominantly Asian staff. It will have substantial Asian capital. In fact, the basic principle of an Asian bank for Asians is being carried through by the ratio of subscription of the $1 billion capital—60 percent subscribed by the regional members and 40 percent by the nonregional members including the United States, Western Europe, and possibly the Soviet Union.

The U.S. Government feels that a well-designated Asian Development Bank which has substantial financial and other support within the region could be extremely useful in promoting regional and subregional development and in focusing the major sources of capital and technical assistance on national development programs. Taken in this light, the role of the Asian Development Bank is not just a mere lending institution; it is also a catalyst for regional economic cooperation by Asians with Asians. The Bank promises to be a successful way for Asia to provide her our own economic leadership for here own less-developed constituents.

PROPOSAL FOR AN ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

The financial role of the Asian Development Bank should be twofold: one to utilize its own capital and the other to use its position to encourage private as well as governmental financing for projects within the region. In addition the Bank should be in a unique position to stimulate regional and subregional cooperation through its proposed nonlending functions of a technical assistance nature. The type of bank financing suggested by the ECAFE group of nine experts is geared toward projects contributing effectively toward sound and harmonious economic development of the region including regional, subregional, and national projects. Projects which should, according to Mr. Black, normally include the fields of industry, agriculture, transportation, communications, and mining, as well as financial assistance to national and subregional development banks. The expert group and Mr. Black agree that large infrastructure projects should not normally be financed from the Bank's own resources, although the Bank might contribute jointly with other donors in the financing of such projects. In addition the Bank would participate in any review of country development plans which were initiated or accepted by the countries of the region. The Bank should do what it can to promote private investment within the region.

PAID-IN CAPITAL

Paid-in capital of the developed countries would be convertible but the procurement would be made only in countries which are members of the Bank, according to the proposed charter. The developing country members, on the other hand, would be required intially to contribute 50 percent convertible currency and the remainder in their national currencies.

The administration is willing to agree to a 50 percent paid-in capital formula, the remainder being subject to call. Payments would be made in five installments, the initial installment with the establishment of the Bank, thus the payment of capital subscriptions would be complete in 4 years.

It is the general feeling of the administration that the participation of nonregional ECAFE members should be by, first, participation in share capital; and second, opening of capital markets to the sale of Bank bonds, with the provisos that each country's liability for the Bank's borrowing is limited to the

amount if its callable capital and subject to a provision of prior agreement before the Bank can sell bonds in that particular country.

Bank investments should be in projects which are economically and technically sound and capable of producing fairly rapid repayment. A small portion of the Bank's paid-in capital should be set aside for soft loan purposes.

LENDING TERMS

The Asian countries are proposing that the bulk of the Bank's regular capital should be loaned on hard terms similar to those of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The IBRD's terms are currently a unitary 5½ percent interest rate for all countries. Loans should be allowed maturities up to 30 years and grace periods varying normally up to 6 years, generally in relation to the economic situation in the country and the country's debt servicing capacity and the type of project. The consultative committee has proposed that soft loans from regular capital will be made only in special circumstances on terms similar to those of the International Development Association—IDA. The IDA's soft loan terms are currently three-fourths of 1 percent interest, 10-year grace, and a 50-year repayment. Applicants for soft loans with the lowest debt servicing prospects and limited access to substantial quantities of concessional assistance sources such as IDA, AID, and certain consortium members, will be given due account. Subject to the view of the members up to 10 percent of the total paid-in capital could be devoted to this soft window.

In addition to these soft loan terms provided by the Bank charter, the United States at the June meeting in Bangkok proposed that a Southeast Asian Regional Development Fund be established with the Bank bearing the responsibility for the selection of the projects and the administration of these funds which are held in trust. These funds distributed by the Bank would include $100 million contributed by the United States, subject to congressional approval, and sufficient participation by other members to make the fund a truly multilateral operation. Contributions to the Fund could be tied to U.S. procurement and could be used for hard or soft loans or grants for projects of a regional or subregional character.

MEMBERSHIP IN THE BANK

The United States favors full membership in the Bank for nonregional members of ECAFE. Ninty percent of the voting shares, in the view of the United States, should be distributed proportionately to the size of capital contributions. On this basis over 60 percent of the voting rights would still be vested in regional members. The group of nine experts suggested that the votes in the Bank should be weighted in proportion to the size of the country's subscription and that only the lower end of the 5 to 20 percent range should have votes distributed equally. This arrangement would give regional members over 60 percent of the total votes. Regional members include Japan, Australia, and New Zealand.

ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT OF THE BANK

The Board of Governors of the Bank should probably meet annually, make general policy, and delegate detailed policymaking and executive control to the Board of Executive Directors and the President who should be Asian. The best plan is felt to be that the Board should be made up of 10 members, 7 from the regional countries. It is anticipated, however, that a formula will be used in distributing Board positions which will enable the United States, as a substantial shareholder, to hold as a permanent seat one of the three places on the Board set aside for nonregional participants.

LOCATION

In accord with the founding principle of a bank for Asians run by Asians, the Asian Development Bank will be located within the region. The United States is not interested in playing an active role in determining the choice of location of the Bank.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE BANK AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

It is felt that the Bank should certainly collaborate closely with the national development banks or institutions where this may assist in effective channeling the Bank's resources in the interests of economic development.

PROBLEMS AND IMPLICATIONS

Although the national press has published comparatively little on the subject of the Asian Development Bank since President Johnson's April 7 speech in Baltimore, it has focused attention on some of the implications of the Bank proposal and potential problems.

There has been much speculation since April as to how the Congress would respond to the President's commitments to the Bank. To counteract this criticism it has been suggested that a delegation of Congressmen be brought into the active formation of the Bank to help quell opponents of the President's plan in Congress.

Other newspaper reports have conjectured that the U.S. offer to Russia to become a charter member of the Asian Bank is a device to intensify the split between Russia and Red China.

Finally, other observers point out that the administration is dangling the Bank on a string before North Vietnam, by implying that if hostilities should cease they too could participate in the institution. Hanoi has responded indicating that she saw this lure aspect clearly by calling the Bank, "President Johnson's rotten carrot."

Without arguing the merit or lack thereof of these and other implications and speculations, it is safe to say that the encouragement and support of such an institution is a dramatic step for our foreign policy in the Far East. It also marks a constructive and we believe preferable alternative to post-World War II American aid.

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WESTON E. VIVIAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, for over 80 years, the Adrian Daily Telegram, a newspaper located in my district, has been informing the citizens of Lenawee County, Mich., on the local, national, and international events which daily affect their lives.

A recent editorial in the Daily Telegram, entitled "How Much Security," discusses the history of the social security program, particularly the role which social security income and the medicare program play in the lives of the elderly of our Nation. The editorial is brief but uncommonly sound. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues. It follows:

[From the Adrian Daily Telegram, Aug. 23, 1965]

HOW MUCH SECURITY?

The social security measure adopted 30 years ago provided retirement income for 25 million workers. The ultimate goal was to provide retirement funds, as a matter of right, for all the Nation's aged. The 25 million figure seemed a good place to start, and at a reasonable scale.

The program has been expanded greatly since those days of the 1930's. Some 76 million Americans now are covered including professional people, farmers and businessmen. About 20 million already are receiving benefits, an average of $80 a month. The maximum now is $135.90 a month.

Next year the average monthly payment goes to $149.90 a month. In 1971 the maximum rises to $167.90 a month. Social security sweeteners have been enacted in each of the last 7 general election years, all of them calling for a greater expenditure of social

security funds and oftentimes also calling for higher social security payments.

Last month President Johnson signed the biggest sweetener of all, the medical care program for all persons over 65 years of age. It ended a two-decade struggle to obtain approval of such legislation. Again, the social security cost, both to employee and employer will be increased.

The social security program has been a great boon to the American people. It has helped people prepare for old age who might not be able to meet the demands of this period in life any other way. The medical care program, while it will be costly, will benefit many older people. A nest egg is easily wiped away in the twilight years during one long seige of illness.

Cost has a bearing on the operation of the social security system, of course. But the key to success or failure lies in deciding where security should end. Social security must not stifle ambition. It must not smother a willingness to work. It must not penalize aggressiveness. It must not undermine determination. It must not discourage the desire for independence.

It must not erect roadblocks to initiative. It should permit people to retire in dignity but it should not convert them into useless vegetables. Thank heavens, we are safe, so far.

Manolo Reyes—First President of the Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, Manolo Reyes, a prominent Cuban newsman now living in exile in Miami, Fla., was recently installed as the first president of the Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami.

The programs outlined by Mr. Reyes in his installation speech reflects a deep love of the country and a profound and abiding faith in the future of his brave land now swept by terror and tyranny.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Mr. Reyes' remarks to the attention of my colleagues:

Few have been the occasions in which a group of citizens from the United States and Cuba have gathered together for an event like the one taking place tonight: the official chartering of an association devoted to help and serve mankind, supported by Cuban exiles living in a land of liberty.

Consequently, this event of extraordinary importance, shows undoubtedly the gratitude of the people of a nation that have been treated like real brothers by the people and the Government of the United States. A brave and noble people that will not be bought, nor surrender, and are fighting to break the chains of communism, with the conviction that in their freedom they will bring also liberty for the entire American continent.

As president of the Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami, elected by the free and democratic vote of its members, I express to all and each one of the distinguished personalities of Latin America and to the Federal, State, and local authorities of the United States, the testimony of our deep gratitude for your presence in this act, which will encourage us to proceed on the long road ahead of us and which ratifies an old friendship, proving, now more than ever that we are not alone.

Why was the Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami organized?

First of all, because of God's willingness; and second, because a group of Cuban and American citizens decided to create another way of helping humanity. This is a troubled world where although the word love is constantly repeated, we forget most of the time that only when serving mankind can we truly prove our love for our fellow beings.

Interpreting the way of thinking of the members of the Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami, I want to express our gratitude to four American citizens without whose cooperation this institution would not have been possible. They are: A. L. Plager, Steve Collinson, Charles Nelson and John D. Barfield.

Who should be members of the Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami?

Those who love their country distinguish themselves from others because they serve the cause of liberty without stopping to thank about the cost of sacrifice, while the others try to obtain something of personal interest with the least sacrifice.

The Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami will be composed of the first kind of people. We reject the others.

A nation has two wrong types of citizens: Those who do not belive in their country, and those who express belief in their country but do not do anything for it.

The Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami will accept those who want to work for the benefit of mankind, and for their own country, Cuba, which was not born to be enslaved.

For this reason, the Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami will be composed of exiles who have been forced to abandon Cuba because of communism, and who will pledge themselves to work in favor of all Cubans, those within the martyred island as well as those in exile, hoping to receive as their only reward: the right to serve humanity and the cause of liberty.

What are the plans of the Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami?

For approximately 7 years, the Cuban people have suffered in their flesh Communist oppression. Children growing today in what was once called the Pearl of the Antilles, are not Cubans; under the pressure of a frightful indoctrination they are being converted into youths without spiritual values; without Pan Americanism; and without true Cuban feelings. It is a Communist-inspired youth.

When Castro-communism is defeated, it will be necessary to save this youth, who have not seen the light of truth, and we have to prepare the ways and means so that they can learn a new idea, of which they are ignorant, the concept of liberty.

The future of nations depends on education. Liberty is obtained by breaking the chains of ignorance.

Therefore, the Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami, a civic, nonpolitical and nonprofit association, having the basic understanding that education is freedom, proposes to study as many concrete plans as possible to help decommunize the people of Cuba, and especially the Cuban youth of today which is under the perverse influence of Marxist-Leninism.

In the meantime, we intend to help in every way we can the children of our country in exile, in order for them to learn the advantages of growing and studying in this country—the cradle of democracy—but at the same time to help them to maintain our traditions; our customs; our history; our Cuban way of life, until the moment they will be able to return to our country, once it is liberated from communism.

Many of them will be the future leaders of the new Cuba and must be prepared for that event.

Moreover, the Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami will spare no work or effort to act as one more bridge of friendship, understanding and help between the people and the authorities of the United States or Latin America and the Cuban community in exile.

For all these purposes we invoke, now and forever, God's help, and the help of all the citizens of the free world, who, fortified by good faith and friendship, may wish to share the trials that we now suffer and our happiness once Cuba is freed from communism.

The Cuban Sertoma Club of Miami is one more means created to help gain the peace in a Cuba liberated from communism and to this effect we respectfully request from this moment on as many valid promises as possible to help the creation of a new Cuba, the pride of all Cubans and of a continent which is being redeemed from communism by a nation nailed to a cross of suffering in the middle of the Caribbean.

But, Cuba will never die. Yesterday it suffered the ailment of dictatorship. Today it suffers the epidemic of communism. But rising above the transitory illness that affect its health Cuba lives and will live forever.

And now, let's all get to work.

State Technical Services Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 3420) to promote economic growth by supporting State and regional centers to place the findings of science usefully in the hands of American enterprise.

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Chairman, this bill would initiate the first comprehensive effort to make the tremendous benefits of national research activities available to American business, commerce, and industry throughout the country. This would be an effort beneficial to many localities, to American enterprise and to the whole American economy.

This is in the best sense a cooperative, grassroots program. It encourages States to mobilize their industries and institutions to make full technico-economic surveys and to formulate long-range economic plans. Many agencies in my own State of Maryland are already engaged in such planning, and this legislation would further those efforts and help other States to begin similar projects. The planning aspects of this bill could also have many "spin-off" effects in promoting increased cooperation among industries and institutions on innumerable local tasks.

The programs developed on the basis of such preliminary planning will be pinpointed to meet the problems of free enterprise within each State. The types of technical assistance which can be utilized are limited only by the perception and imagination of the committees involved. Through technical advice, through seminars and discussions, through the dissemination of information, local industries will be lifted into enhanced competitive positions as they begin to take full advantage of the technological advances of recent years.

I share the view, expressed in the additional views in the committee report, that every care should be taken to avoid duplicating present programs of technical assistance. But I share the entire committee's hope that this program will reach far beyond existing efforts, and will enable local businessmen throughout the Nation to acquire knowledge and information not readily available from any other source.

As the sponsor of a similar bill, H.R. 7474, introduced on April 14 of this year, I commend the committee for its prompt action in reporting this measure to the House, and I urge its enactment.

Address of the Honorable L. Mendel Rivers at the Dedication of the U.S. Naval Supply Center, Charleston, S.C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. BATES

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent of the House, I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the address delivered by the distinguished chairman of the House Armed Services Committee at the dedication of the new U.S. Naval Supply Center at Charleston, S.C.

It was my pleasure to be present during this ceremony, and I think all the Members will be interested in reading Chairman L. MENDEL RIVERS' remarks. His message was preceded by a stirring address by the Chief of the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, Rear Adm. Herschel J. Goldberg.

The dedication ceremony took place on September 1, which also happened to be the first day the new pay increase went into effect for members of the uniformed services. In addition, it was the 27th wedding anniversary of our distinguished colleague from South Carolina.

I was impressed with Chairman RIVERS' remarks. I was impressed with the new supply center and, as always, I was impressed with the dedication and motivation of the men who devote themselves to the tedious but indispensable tasks of keeping our fleet ready for any type of combat at all times.

The text of Mr. RIVERS' message was as follows:

Admiral Goldberg, Admiral Dorsey, Admiral Batchellor, Captain Palmer, Captain Stern, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, I am indeed grateful, Admiral Goldberg, for your introductory remarks.

I think it goes without saying that I have a very personal interest in this dedication ceremony, not just because it is in my congressional district, not just because it will enhance our fleet readiness, and particularly our Polaris capability, but because it strengthens beyond the shadow of a doubt a prophecy that I made several years ago when I said that Charleston would become the nuclear deterrent capital of the free world.

And, of course, it is obviously gratifying to me and to the members of the House Armed Services Committee that an occasion such as this should take place on the same day that the members of our Armed Forces become entitled to a long overdue, highly deserved, but in some areas a still inadequate, pay increase.

I am, of course, delighted that the President saw fit to sign the pay bill which was conceived by the House Committee on Armed Services, was written by the House Committee on Armed Services, reported by the House Committee on Armed Services, and which passed the House of Representatives and, as modified, by the Senate, unanimously. I still believe the original House bill was better in some respects than the bill that became law, but considering the fact that our bill provided an overall increase of 10.6 percent and the final version was 10.4 percent, I don't think we did too badly.

It is a wonderful thing to be here in an atmosphere of efficiency—an atmosphere of determination—an atmosphere of confidence—an atmosphere of patriotism. It is refreshing in many ways to leave, for even a day, an atmosphere that is commingled with dedication, offset by the voices of appeasement—an atmosphere of victory now, dulled by those who clamor for negotiation, even knowing it must be at the price of surrender.

I doubt whether there is anyone within the sound of my voice, including those whose loved ones are now serving in South Vietnam, who would recommend or even give a second thought to the possibility of a negotiated peace in South Vietnam if it would lead to the eventual takeover of all of southeast Asia by the Chinese Communists.

Here in Charleston, and particularly at this naval base, we all speak the same language—the language of victory—the language of pride in America.

And what could be more fitting than to dedicate this new naval supply center to the memories of two flag officers, John Jerome Gaffney and Samuel McGown, who served their Nation with distinction and brought great honor to their native State of South Carolina?

In many ways these men brought to or helped develop in Charleston an ability that not only strengthened our naval activities in this area, but made such a lasting impression on officials in Washington that they turned more and more to Charleston for the difficult task of supplying the Atlantic Fleet.

I know the records of these two great and distinguished South Carolinians and naval officers will inspire those who perform their daily tasks here, for they achieved high rank and high positions of responsibility during a period of our history when high rank was a rare attainment.

I do not mean to imply that it is easy today to become an admiral, but let's say that the odds are a little better today than they were when Admiral Gaffney and Admiral McGowan served.

I hope that those who serve here will be always conscious of the vital role they play in the defense of our Nation and indeed the defense of the free world.

Fleet readiness and logistic support do not have the drama and the glory that are the attractions of other branches of the Navy or of the other services.

You can't charge a machinegun nest with a voucher or a requisition.

You can't bomb a bridge in South Vietnam with a specification.

You can't eliminate a Vietcong guerrilla with a computer.

But without these items, there could be no victories.

As you know, I am not endeared to computers and some of the results they produce, but I am fully aware of the important part they play in providing the support without which our fleet and our fleet marine forces cannot long function.

Don't ever underestimate the indispensable part you play here in the struggle to preserve freedom. A generator not delivered can mean a submarine not on station. A shaft not repaired on time can mean a loophole in our antisubmarine warfare fence. And a payroll not met can bring unnecessary hardship to countless servicemen and their families.

I have just touched upon a few of the items that fall within the responsibility of this supply center. Multiply that by many thousands of responsibilities and the complexity of the supply system then begins to unravel itself, not in clarification, but in magnitude.

I would remind you as I have in the past that this is the nuclear deterrent capital of the free world. I was taken to task for making that statement by well-meaning individuals who, observing the ostrich with his head in the sand, believe they can block out the realities of life.

Well, I can assure you of one thing. I am not a diplomat and I never claimed to be one. I am not a strategist and I certainly don't claim to be one. And I suppose there are those who don't believe I am a legislator, although I do claim to be one.

But there is one thing I claim without fear of even honest contradiction; it is that I am a realist, a pragmatist, if you will. And I say to you once again, and I will repeat it over and over again, that Charleston, this navy yard, our air station, in fact the entire environs of Charleston, constitute one of the great assets in the arsenal of democracy.

There is no city in the world with more loyal employees. There is no city with more dedicated members of the uniformed services. And there is no city in the world that can compare with the people of Charleston and the surrounding counties in their dedication to the principles of Americanism, the principles of constitutional government, and the conviction that our way of life must and will prevail.

We Condemn Lawlessness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, the people of Mississippi, white and Negro alike, have a deep resentment for those who commit acts of violence. Our people deplore white acts of violence against Negroes—as they deplore, also, acts of violence by Negroes against white people.

A recent act of violence against a Negro in Natchez, Miss., has brought about a situation there that threatens the peace of the community, unless the community unites in concerted action to preserve the peace. Threatening, reckless, and inflammatory statements have been issued by radical Negro spokesmen that have added fuel to the fires of racial unrest, further aggravating an already bad situation.

In the midst of the tension and turmoil a responsible voice of leadership was sounded by the Natchez Democrat newspaper in a front-page editorial which appeared on August 29, 1965. The editorial which appeared in the Natchez Democrat spoke the consensus of Natchez peo-

ple who do not want their beautiful and historic city to suffer.

Mr. Speaker, every precaution is being taken in the city of Natchez and the State of Mississippi to avert disaster. I am confident that the people there will not try to take the law into their own hands, but will leave it to the duly constituted authorities to handle the situation, and the city will soon return to its normal state of calm, peace, and good will among its people.

I am pleased to include the text of the aforementioned editorial, which I consider quite significant, and certainly a contributing factor toward preserving the peace:

WE CONDEMN LAWLESSNESS

Natchez was truly shocked shortly after noon on Friday when a homemade bomb placed in the automobile of George Metcalfe, Negro president of the Natchez chapter of the NAACP, exploded as he tried to start his car, causing critical injuries to him.

There can be and are no reasons or excuses for such an attempt on the life of Metcalfe or any other person, whether white or colored in this community and we and the vast majority of the people of Natchez and Adams County, regret, deplore, and condemn this action and other violence and violations of the laws of Natchez, Miss., and these United States.

The great majority of the residents and citizens of Natchez, both white and colored, down through the years and today are peaceful and law abiding. They believe in the protection of the rights, life, and property of all of our people.

We know of no community where there has existed, down through the years and through trial and tribulation, a better understanding between the members of the races. We believe that this understanding and consideration of the rights of each other continues to exist today as it has in the past.

In Natchez and Adams County, as in all communities, there are minority elements—hoodlums, renegades, and criminals—who have no regard for law and order; no regard for the rights, life, and property of others. These are the people who are responsible for the cowardly and despicable act of Friday.

We in Natchez cannot and will not tolerate such actions, or any actions in violations of the laws of this community, this State or this Nation. We know that we speak for the vast majority of the people of our community when we solemnly denounce such actions and call upon Sheriff Anders and his deputies, Chief of Police J. T. Robinson and his policemen, the officers of the Mississippi highway safety patrol and the Federal Bureau of Investigation to spare no expense and leave no stone unturned to ascertain the person or persons responsible for the dastardly crime of Friday and to bring them to justice.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has sent into Natchez some of their finest investigators in the Nation. The State highway safety patrol has also sent to Natchez their very finest men. These men, cooperating with the local officials, have expressed a solemn determination to leave no stone unturned and no effort spared to find and prosecute those responsible for the bombing on Friday. We have every confidence that their efforts will be crowned with success.

We wish to commend the mayor and board of aldermen for their action in offering a reward of $2,000 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of those guilty of this crime. We urge all of our citizens, whether white or colored, to lend their full cooperation to all of the officers in this investigation and feel confident that they will do so.

Again, let us say that lawlessness of any type or kind cannot and will not be tolerated in this community, and all violators, whether white or colored, must and will be arrested and prosecuted.

Natchez, down through the years, has been a model community and set an example of such to the rest of the State and the Nation. We are confident that the Friday crime will be solved; that the guilty person or persons will be found and punished; that lawlessness of any type will be eradicated through the efforts of our people and law enforcement officers and that the true image of Natchez—a city of peace, understanding and culture—will be restored.

Let us also congratulate our peoples, both white and colored, on their maintenance of peace and calm during the past 2 days and say that we have every confidence that they will continue to maintain law and order and work together to restore a better understanding between all of the peoples of our community.

Don't Let the Dresses Fool You

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, Miss Dena Snodgrass, who is a prominent historian of Jacksonville, in my State, has written a most interesting story about Seminole Indian costumes. It appeared in the Florida Times-Union on August 29. I am sure it will prove to be interesting reading to the Members of Congress, and I include it in the RECORD:

DON'T LET THOSE DRESSES FOOL YOU

(By Dena Snodgrass)

The Seminole Indian warrior of the past century was neither frail nor feminine yet his favorite clothes were frilly frocks, sashes, bows, and feathers.

These clothes were in absurd contrast to the natural fierceness of the typical Seminole whose name might be, in English translation, Wildcat, or Mad Wolf, Panther, or Snake. There were milder names, to be sure, such as Trout, Deer, Cloud, and Pine Tree but all were as manly and brave as ever drew a bow.

The Seminole Indians first came to Florida in the early 1700's from Alabama and southwest Georgia. They were a branch of the Creeks and their name meant one who lives apart or separatist.

These were the ancestors of the Seminole tribes in Florida today. At the time they came to live in Florida there were no other Indians here for those which the Spanish and French found here had disappeared almost to the last man, felled by war and disease.

The clothes the Seminoles wore when they first traveled south, were beginning to evolve out of some obscure past. Perhaps they were inspired by the finely woven calico and other printed cotton goods brought into the wilderness by traders and their mule trains.

Basically, these clothes consisted of a tunic dress for the men and a shawl-blouse and full skirt for the women. The frills and flounces were added as desired.

Evidently the styles satisfied a sense of the theatrical and appealed to something basic in the Indian nature for they have endured. The older men of the tribes in Florida today still wear, on occasion, the traditional tunic dress. The colors are much gayer than they were a century ago and the patchwork and applique are more intricate but the basic concepts are there, relatively unchanged.

The Seminoles probably had a greater effect upon Florida history than any other group of Indians who lived in the State at any period of its history. This is because of the war which was waged to capture them and remove them to the West, a move which many of them, led by Osceola, contested hotly.

Off and on for 7 dreary years (1835-1842) this war was fought, weather, high water and insects permitting. Frontiersmen from throughout the Southeast volunteered, as was the custom, for a few months only. They fought in fall and winter, returned home to plant spring corps, thereby escaping the summer's still, sticky heat in the wilderness.

The war was fought against a foe who disappeared into forest or swamp or remained concealed in high tree tops, seeing but unseen.

Life in Florida was rather perilous during these times. To make it less dangerous and to provide some protection for the few settlers on the frontier, block houses and stockades were built where all could hastily gather in safety against Indians on the war path.

Fort Lauderdale, Fort Myers and almost a dozen other towns had their beginnings or derived their names from these Seminole war forts.

The little settlement of Jacksonville also had its blockhouse. The town had adopted its new name, honoring Gen. Andrew Jackson, in June of 1822. Counting from that date, it was only 13 years old when the Seminole war began.

In 1837 a young Army doctor, Jacob Rhett Mott, visited the little town as he passed northward by boat returning to his native Charleston, S.C.

He was totally unimpressed by "the largest place on the river" as Jacksonville had been described by its prideful citizens.

"We reached Jacksonville by 1 o'clock at night," Dr. Mott wrote, "where we stopped until morning for the purpose of taking in wood. I had time enough to walk through this miserable little place with a brother officer, while the operation of wooding was going on; but saw nothing worthy of commemoration in its dozen scattered houses and sandy streets."

There was nothing sissy about warriors who defied the United States for 7 years of war and commanded the attention of the Nation's best generals (including Zachary Taylor and W. T. Sherman), all at a cost of some $40 million.

The war dragged to a close in 1842.

All the Indian chiefs were either captured and removed to the West, or dead.

No one was left to conclude a treaty and the few remaining braves retired to the Everglades. The Army then declared the war at an end.

These men were defeated, but they were not sissies, even though they did wear dresses.

In this instance, clothes did not make the man.

Polish Soldier's Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the following resolution adopted on August 15, 1965, at the Polish Falcons Camp in Somerville, N.J., in observance of the Polish Soldier's Day:

RESOLUTION OF THE POLISH FALCONS CAMP IN SOMERVILLE, N.J., IN OBSERVANCE OF THE POLISH SOLDIER'S DAY

We Americans of Polish birth or descent resolve the following:

Whereas the stable and unswerving line of our activity and purposes has been and will continue to strive toward the restoration of full freedom and independence to Poland under a democratic system; and

Whereas the existing Communist system imposed on and forcibly maintained in Poland by Russia is not only far from being free and independent, but even does not show a tendency toward softening of the dictatorial regime, as was the case with other countries behind the Iron Curtain; Now therefore:

1. We brand the hypocritical policy of the Communist regime as far as the recognition of Poland's western boundaries on the Oder and Neisse Rivers by the United States and other countries is concerned. Both the declaration of the regime as well as the policy pursued by the latter indicates that they are merely interested in a Soviet monopoly in this territory. This only incites us to double our efforts, so that the frontier be finally recognized by the United States and other countries of the free world.

2. We also endorse Poland's rights to the western frontiers with Lwow and Vilna, which were grabbed from Poland by force and lawlessness.

3. We reiterate our annual demand that the case of the Katyn Forest Genocide be investigated by the United Nations Organization, and we brand the tactics of the regime to prevent an open and frank discussion on this subject both in Poland and on the international arena.

4. We solemnly protest against the increasing persecution of the Catholic Church in Poland. We demand that the Commission on Human Rights look into the continuous violation in Poland of the principle of religious tolerance, which was guaranteed by the United Nations Charter, as well as investigate the practice of depriving the Polish population of such citizens' rights as is freedom of speech and assembly, and primarily freedom of the press.

5. We also protest against the regime's persecution of the Polish writers, scientists, and artists who strive for an ever-increasing freedom of their creative work. We shall alarm the Western world whenever the Communist regime will commit new violations which so far disgraced it in the opinion of the civilized world.

6. With regard to the so-called Moczar program which under the pretense of fraternal collaboration tends to perpetrate Communist infiltration into Polish veterans organizations in the United States and in the Western world by means of the Association of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy (ZBOWID)—we can only express contempt. If Moczar and ZBOWID really desire closer ties with our veterans organizations and Americans of Polish descent—let them abolish visas in the tourist exchange with Poland and let them allow free access into Poland of our publications and newspapers printed by both the veterans and Polonia, as well as Polish books printed in exile.

7. We promise to do everything in our power to assure splendor and success to the millennium of Poland's Christianity observance in 1966 in the United States, which will remind the American Nation of the 1,000-year existence of Poland as a Christian, civilized and independent state.

8. While rejecting the idea of an atomic war for the liberation of Poland and other countries under Communist occupation, we fully support an American policy which will help the Polish nation liberate itself and recover independence; in particular we favor the bridge-building policy of President Johnson, provided, however, that these bridges will connect the United States with the Polish nation and not the Communist regime.

9. We support the Government of the United States in its determined fight against the aggressive Communist front.

Long live the United States.

Long live the persevering people of Poland in their fight for freedom.

Joseph M. Oliver Aided by U.S. Coast Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 9, 1965

Mr. HAGAN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including a letter from a friend and constituent, Mr. Joseph M. Oliver. I believe Mr. Oliver's comments on his recent experiences with the U.S. Goast Guard will be of interest to my colleagues.

The letter follows:

SAVANNAH, GA.,
August 30, 1965.

Hon. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN,
Member of Congress, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR ELLIOTT: On yesterday, my 19-year-old son and I, and Col. A. S. Britt, U.S. Army, retired, and his 20-year-old son, were trolling for mackerel just off of Wassaw Island. Quite early in the morning at the sea buoy we somehow became separated from the larger boat with which we were traveling, developed motor trouble, which we were unable to repair, and had to drop anchor. At the time the wind had shifted to the northeast, the seas were making up, and although the 18-foot fiberglass boat was entirely seaworthy, we began to feel some apprehension. Our families eventually notified the U.S. Coast Guard and within 15 minutes we saw the very welcome sight of a searching Coast Guard helicopter. The pilot messaged a willingness to take off anyone hurt or in distress and notified that Coast Guard surface assistance was on its way and should arrive within about 2 hours.

In the meantime the anchor failed to hold and we drifted some miles southward so that the surface craft, which was delayed had difficulty finding us when it arrived at about 8 p.m. By that time the wind and waves were so high that we felt it probably impossible to be towed in. We also felt it extremely dangerous to attempt to transfer to the Coast Guard cutter and so did its skipper, Mr. W. J. Redditt, BM1. Again the helicopter, because of the inherent risks of taking us aboard in the darkness and in gale winds, agreed to take us off but only as a last resort under these circumstances. BM1 Redditt and his most able crew threw us a line and brought us on in without further incident. The helicopters, three in turn, kept us under surveillance the whole way and aided the cutter in locating the channel markers.

These services were rendered under very difficult weather conditions and with, of course, some risk to the personnel involved.

Frankly, this is one time a native Georgian fervently welcomed Federal intervention.

I hope you will pass on to their superiors my commendation of Comdr. James Flessas and his men of the U.S. Coast Guard helicopter service and BM1 Redditt and his men on the cutter. May I add, in addition, that we received most courteous, as well as efficient service. It almost makes you glad to pay your taxes.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH M. OLIVER.

Coral Gables, Fla., City Commission Supports Legislation To Protect the Immunity of Interest on State and Local Obligations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, speaking for a community of exceptionally well-informed and interested citizens, the City Commission of Coral Gables, Fla., has often provided me with suggestions and recommendations of significant merit. For this reason, I would like to bring to the Congress' attention a resolution adopted by the city commission, requesting all members of the Florida delegation to support legislation to protect the immunity of interest on State and local obligations. The careful study and genuine interests behind this resolution deserves the attention of all Members of Congress.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION 11584

Whereas U.S. local government units are faced with increasing financial burdens in meeting the needs of their people at the local level; and

Whereas the ability of local governmental units to assume these burdens requires the continued exemption from Federal taxation of the obligations which local governments must issue to provide essential public services; and

Whereas indirect Federal taxation of the interest on State and local obligations received by investors has been proposed in the form of a prorated reduction of expense deductions which such investors would have in full but for their receipt of such municipal interest; and

Whereas such indirect taxation by such proration is denied to the States and local governments with regard to Federal obligations because Congress has prohibited it by section 3701 of the Revised Statutes of the United States; and

Whereas reciprocity in intergovernmental exemption of Federal and State and local obligations should be reinforced and not diminished; and

Whereas Federal taxation of interest received by investors on State and local government obligations will cause a deterioration of the ability of such governments to finance their costs locally thus leading to greater dependence on Federal aid; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the commission of the city of Coral Gables, That the commission of the city of Coral Gables, Fla., is strongly opposed to any Federal legislation or policy which weakens the ability of local governments to support their own financing.

That the Commission of the City of Coral Gables urgently requests all members of the delegation of the State of Florida to the U.S. Congress to support the introduction and passage of Federal legislation to protect the immunity of interest on State and local ob-

ligations by providing reciprocity in the intergovernmental exemption of Federal and State and local obligations so that interest on obligations of State and local governments should not be considered directly or indirectly in the computation of any tax imposed by Federal authority if under section 3701 of the Revised Statutes of the United States the interest on obligations of the United States may not similarly be considered in the computation of similar State or local government taxes.

Unanimously passed and adopted by the City Commission of the City of Coral Gables, Fla., this 20th day of July, A.D. 1965.

C. L. DRESSEL,
Mayor.

Attest:

LORETTA V. SHEEHY,
City Clerk.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 3, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include my report to my constituents of February 11, 1965:

PUBLIC WORKS COMMITTEE CONSIDERS APPALACHIA BILL

(Washington Report From Congressman JIM MARTIN)

The Committee on Public Works, of which I am member, is considering the Appalachia bill at the present time. This is one of those pieces of legislation upon which a Member of Congress must search the deepest recesses of his conscience to find the answer as to how he should vote. One thing is certain, when a bill comes before the House a Member must vote either "Yes" or "No." It is not possible to say, "Yes, but * * *." There is no argument with the objectives of the Appalachia bill. All of us are concerned with the poverty of some of our people. I am deeply aware that there are those in the 7th District who are victims of poverty through no fault of their own. We should and must find a way to help them.

The problem arises in considering what the present proposal will do. Congress is being asked to vote billions of dollars of your money to help better the economic condition of a part of our country. Some of this money will be spent in our area, in the counties of the 7th District. Here are some of the questions in connection with the bill demanding an answer:

"How much of the total money will be spent in Alabama? Will the funds be used to help those in need or will they be used instead as a political slush fund? Are the funds going to be spent on legitimate projects which will bring lasting benefits to our people? How much of the money is going to States which do not have critical problems?"

To find answers to these questions I intend to thoroughly study the bill, take part in its consideration before my committee where I will have an opportunity to question its sponsors and those who will administer it. Only after such thorough consideration will I make up my mind on how I will vote.

Of one thing you may be sure, I will not use the poverty of some of our people for political purposes. I will vote my honest convictions in what I believe to be the best interest of the people I represent. I shall report my vote and the reasons for it to you so that the people will be the final judges of my action.

ALABAMA DEFENDED

I was proud to be a member of the Alabama delegation in the House last Thursday when we presented a united front in defense of the people of Selma and other communities in our State. For days we had been reading distorted stories of happenings in Selma. We were able to put into the RECORD facts which the people in other sections of the Nation had not had the chance to read. We showed that the people of Selma were making a conscientious effort to obey the law and that racial tensions and hatreds were being stirred up by imported agitators whose main purpose in continuing racial tensions rather than helping to find proper solutions to trying problems.

BRIEFS OF THE WEEK

A startling exposure of Soviet piracy was made this week by Prof. John Isaacs, director of the Scripps marine life research program. He disclosed that a Navy radar picket ship chased a Russian fishing trawler away from an anchored buoy 150 miles off the coast of San Diego. The Russians had stripped the buoy of instruments. This was not the first case of such piracy. The Russians know we are ahead of them in learning the secrets of the sea, and a shortcut to catching up is to frisk our research buoys and steal our equipment.

Here are some facts on spending during the last 4 years of Democrat administration: 1961, spending $99.5 billion or $2.3 billion more than was received; 1962, spending $107.7 billion or $5.8 billion more than was received; 1963, spending $113.8 billion or $4.1 billion more than was received; 1964, $120.3 billion or $4.8 billion more than was received. The outlook for fiscal 1965 is for spending $121.3 billion or $4 billion more than will be taken in, and the forecast for 1966 is spending amounting to $127.4 billion with an additional $4 billion deficit. Yet we are being told this is a frugal administration.

I am happy to report that my wife, Pat, is enjoying an active part in the potilical life of Washington. She was elected as treasurer of the 89th Congress Club, an organization of the wives of Members who were newly elected in November.

The Crisis in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 3, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Columnist Arthur Hoppe has written two rerecent columns covering his views on current subjects—the peace feelers for the settlement of the Vietnam war and the personal relationship between the President and the Vice President. The latter column appeared on August 31 in the San Francisco Chronicle and the other one appeared on September 1. The columns follow:

[From the San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 1, 1965]

A NEW RECORD IN PEACE FEELING

(By Arthur Hoppe)

Some confusion has cropped up about the number of peace feelers we have made in Vietnam. Several administration officials claim we have made 15. Others are using the figure 23. A State Department janitor thought it was 47. And President Johnson keeps saying "countless."

Actually, the discrepancies over the number of peace feelers is due to the inevitable delay in processing our claims by the International Peace Feeler Certification Committee (IPFCC) in Geneva, Switzerland. The text of an exclusive interview with Herr Doctor T. Homer Pettibone, executive director of the committee, will perhaps clarify the situation.

Question. It is your responsibility, Herr Doctor, to certify peace feelers?

Answer. Yes, and a grave responsibility it is. All nations, as you know, contend they are more peace loving than all other nations. In a crisis, each invariably claims it has extended more peace feelers than the other. In each case we examine the facts and, if circumstances warrant, certify that it is a genuine peace feeler—either an official, a semiofficial or an unofficial peace feeler.

Question. You have three classes of peace feelers then?

Answer. Indeed. There is also class four, trial balloons, and class five, unadulterated hogwash. You'd be surprised how many class five certificates we issue.

Question. What of the delay in certifying American peace feelers in Vietnam?

Answer. Frankly, some American peace feelers have been difficult to classify. Take the American vice consul in Kuala Lumpur who suggested to the British cultural attaché who shopped at the supermarket across the street from the Polish Embassy that he casually inquire of the Yugoslavian butler what concessions the North Vietnamese would make if they were hit daily with 50-pound instead of 500-pound bombs.

Question. Certainly those aren't trial balloons.

Answer. Perhaps not. But what of the State Department aid in Bechuanaland who actually patted a visiting Red Chinese technician on the back? On the surface, a genuine unofficial peace feeler. But we were forced to rule it a case of mistaken identity. As the State Department does not recognize Red Chinese.

Question. A shame.

Answer. Yes. A more moving case before us is the White House official who threw a bottle in the Potomac carrying the message: "Whoever finds this, let's negotiate." The committee agreed it was typical of current American policy in Vietnam—warm, sincere, and unclassifiable.

Question. Is a compromise possible, Herr Doctor?

Answer. Well, we did consider lumping all American claims together and awarding a single certificate for a new world's record in long-distance, marathon peace feeling. But in the end we regretfully rejected them all as uncertifiable.

Question. Good heavens, you mean they were bogus?

Answer. Oh, no. It was a dedicated and bold assault on the peace feeling record. Indeed, never have so many felt so much for so few. But to date, unfortunately, nobody has ever got felt.

[From the San Francisco Chronicle, Aug. 31, 1965]

ELBIE JAY, FASTEST DEAL IN THE WEST

(By Arthur Hoppe)

Howdy there, folks. How y'all? Time for another tee-vee visit with the rootin'-tootin' Jay family—starring ol' Elbie Jay, who always deals from the top of the deck. If'n it's his deck.

As we join up with ol' Elbie tonight he and his pretty wife, Birdie-Bird, are just a-settin' down to a hand of bridge with the man he loves and trusts above all others, the man he elevated to the second highest office in the land, the unforgettable fighting moderate, Hubert Horatio Whatshis-name. Making a fourth is Mrs. Whatshername.

HUBERT (holding Elbie's chair). Well, well, and how are you feeling tonight, sir?

ELBIE. Always thinking of yourself. Don't forget that I gave you your job. I gave you fame and power. I made your name a household word. And don't you forget it, Homer.

HUBERT. It's Hubert, sir.

ELBIE. There you go, always trying to get your name mentioned. And speaking of that, didn't I see your name in the paper this morning. That's twice in 6 months, Herbert.

HUBERT (blanching). Honest, sir; it was an accident. A traffic accident. I ran over a little old lady and a reporter with an encyclopedic memory recognized my name.

ELBIE. Well, don't let it happen again. There's no room for publicity seekers around here. The papers only got so much space. Now, let's see. You shuffle there, Birdie-Bird. That's it, shuffle them good. And you cut, Higbert. That's right, cut them a couple of times. And I'll deal. Hmmm. I reckon I'll take these 13 cards here and you folks can divvy up the rest, fair and square.

HUBERT. Gee, that's a fine deal, sir. Would you like to bid now?

ELBIE. Seven no-trump.

HUBERT. Gosh, that's a brilliant bid, sir. And I haven't even seen your hand.

MRS. WHATSHERNAME. I'm afraid I'll have to doub. Ouch.

HUBERT. She passes too, sir.

ELBIE. A fine woman. You may all be seated now. And I'll just lead this little ol' king of hearts here.

HUBERT. A marvelous lead, sir. I'll just have to play my little old three of hearts. Whoops.

ELBIE (thunderstruck). You played the ace.

HUBERT (pale and trembling). Honest, sir. It was an accident. I strategically planned to eat the ace later when you weren't looking. I reached for the three, but my hands were all sweaty and——

ELBIE. Another accident? Hmmm. I always said, Hirschel, that your eyes were set mighty close together.

HUBERT (pleading). Oh, please don't say you don't trust me, sir. I'll kill myself.

ELBIE. What? And get your name in the papers? You wouldn't dare.

Can Hubert find happiness in humble obscurity? If he knows what's good for him? Tune in to our next episode, folks. And meantime, as you mosey on down the trail of life, remember what Elbie's ol' grandaddy used to say:

"Happy is the humble man who don't expect a great deal. But he ain't near as happy as the dealer."

Survivorship Benefits for Servicemen—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 3, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, following my earlier remarks on survivorship benefits, I include as a part of my remarks a table showing the benefits available to a private first class who suffers a service-connected death and who leaves a widow and one child:

SURVIVORSHIP BENEFITS FOR SERVICEMEN DYING FROM SERVICE-CONNECTED CAUSES

ASSUMPTIONS

Private first class, U.S. Army; age 20 at death, death was service-connected, 2 years service at death, 2 years in grade at death, assumed average monthly pay was $160, base pay at death was $148.50 a month; left widow, age 20, and a child, age 1; widow lives out her expectation of life (55.6 years), child receives maximum number of payments, widow does not remarry.

Benefits

Payee	Paying agency	Type of payment	Payment period	Payment rate	Total payments
Widow	HEW	Social security	204 months [1]	$60.30	$12,301.20
Child	do	do	252 months [2]	60.30	15,195.60
Widow	VA	Social security (38 U.S.C. 412(a)).	163 months [3]	66.30	10,806.90
Do	do	DIC	667 months	138.00	92,046.00
Child	do	WOEA	36 months	110.00	3,960.00
Total					134,309.70

[1] Until child reaches age 18.
[2] 204 months to age 18 plus 48 months in full-time training.
[3] Beginning at age 62.

Tasks of Teachers and Trustees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend to my colleagues the remarks made recently by Mr. C. H. King, vice president, board of trustees, of the Jackson Public Schools. Mr. King spoke on the subject, "Tasks of Teachers and Trustees," and I think excellently defined some of the items of hard work which are required of teachers and administrators.

Under leave to extend my remarks I include the address:

TASKS OF TEACHERS AND TRUSTEES

(An address made to the professional staff, Jackson Public Schools, Mississippi State Coliseum, Jackson, Miss., Aug. 30, 1965, by C. H. King, vice president, board of trustees).

I

This preschool meeting of the professional staff of the Jackson Public Schools affords the board of trustees a few moments to greet you collectively and to welcome you as you go to your important posts of duty that will combine to give this school district a well-regarded program of public education for more than 38,000 pupils and adults.

As a corps of educators, more than 1,500 in strength, you bring nearly 16,000 years of teaching experience to your tasks. For this talented and skilled know-how to be employed for an average of 9 calendar months, citizens of this district and State have obligated themselves to remunerate you in the total sum of $8 million.

All of you are graduates of recognized colleges and universities. Many of you hold postgraduate degrees. Numbers of you have reinforced your education further and have made more preparation for your work through extensive travel or by work experience that adds to or sharpens up your professional competence.

II

At the outset I wish to emphasize that the board of trustees takes great pride in the caliber of the professional staff of the Jackson Public Schools and in your effectiveness as teachers and principals. We recognize that numerous demands are made upon you. We know of your personal desire to be adequate to every call. Aside from your work in classrooms and in school offices we know, too, there are conferences, departmental meetings, in-service education activities, faculty meetings, committee work, parent-teacher meetings, clinics, workshops, and other sessions that make a bid for your time. I am certain these are so regular and insistent that you reach the place where you almost cry out for time to teach and to prepare for teaching. Yet as remote from your immediate responsibility as some of these demands may appear to be, how can you be an effective educational team member unless you counsel, or share, learn, and participate with your colleagues and with others in this common enterprise?

You have not complained. To the contrary your enthusiasm and determination to do your work even better have marked you as teachers to be admired and respected far and near.

May I comment that school board members have extra demands made upon their time, too? Did you know that in the past 5 years, which is the term of office of a school board member in this State, that your school board met 190 times? And because we have wanted to see you at work we visited a school every week of each school session, totaling 180 visits in these 5 years. And we have had to read reports, studies, school publications, proposals, laws, petitions, recommendations, contracts, periodicals on school management, bulletins, court decrees, and memoranda by the reams, it seems, that relate to the operation and administration of these public schools that we serve. We have suspicioned that our central office staff operates a special press just to keep us reading and studying reports of your work. All of these materials and documents we have had to appraise, or seek more information, debate, and make decisions as they affect you and your work. This is the nature of our extra work—our in-service education, our faculty meetings, our workshops, our PTA meetings, our homework—all of which we have done along with our basic work of making a livelihood in spare time. So I submit that trustees are understanding with you and appreciate the fact that there is more to a public school assignment than in what one's major duty seems to be.

Your wonderful spirit and great energy inspire us, and we are determined that we shall represent all of you and all of our children to the very best of our ability in the management of this excellent school system.

Your unspoken but sensed support and understanding come to us from your warm handclasps, or from your friendly glances. They disclose to us your good will and dedication to this undertaking, and they sustain us in our work as your school trustees and

contribute great satisfaction to us in the performance of our duties. We appreciate this and thank you.

III

You are a sophisticated group. You know that preparation for this new school session began shortly after you went to work a year ago, both on your part and on the part of the trustees and its staff. I would note three things which have been done in getting ready for this year that we consider significant: (1) The board of trustees has revised and updated its policies and regulations. Provision will be made in faculty meetings and in other groups for all of you to become acquainted with these modifications. These changes are designed to improve administration and school operations. (2) The school year has been lengthened. You will be able to instruct our children 179 days this year, instead of the legal minimum teaching period of 175 days. This added time should prove helpful to teachers and pupils. (3) Approximately 65 more teaching stations will be in use this year. This means that the average teaching loads in elementary schools should be slightly better this session than heretofore.

This brings us to the point of observing that this board recognizes that buildings, supplies, teaching aids, policies, and methods are important, but above all of this and fundamental to teaching and learning is a staff of intelligent, energetic, and enthusiastic teachers. This you are.

IV

I have tried to emphasize in this brief greeting that as a knowledgeable body of educators and as a deeply interested board of trustees we have common goals and similar responsibilities—each demonstrating a strong desire to give unsparingly the time and energy required to insure all children who come to us to learn that their reliance on us is justified.

Recently I learned that 54 million students will be enrolling in schools and colleges within a few days. This is better than one-fourth of our Nation's population. Nearly 2 million teachers are now returning to elementary and secondary schoolrooms. What a tremendous utilization of manpower.

"Strange words you use for this great force
That surges at your feet;
'Curriculum,' 'grade,' and 'readiness,'
and 'requirements to meet.'
"On the beach of time our teachers stand,
The restless tide rolls in,
And everywhere, throughout our land
A thousand schools begin."

You have our best wishes for this new year as school begins in this district.

Time Enough

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, the September 1 New York Journal-American carries an excellent editorial concerning the 8-day reprieve of the scheduled steel strike won by President Johnson.

The writer points out that this provides more than enough time for the companies and the unions to reach a reasonable, noninflationary settlement—a statement with which I know we agree.

This editorial deserves the widest possible readership, and I insert it in the RECORD at this point:

[From the New York Journal-American]

TIME ENOUGH

The reprieve of 8 days that President Johnson won in the scheduled steel strike should give negotiators for the 10 major companies and the union more than sufficient time to reach a reasonable, noninflationary settlement.

As always in a case like this, the interests and welfare of the American people come first, and that very much includes our men in the strange and sinister fighting in Vietnam. A prolonged strike in a basic industry like steel would impair the war effort and dislocate the economy.

Moreover, there is no valid reason for a strike. The industry is healthy; the workers are well paid. Now that the negotiators have taken one step in agreeing to the postponement, they should take the bigger one and get this thing settled. The interests of the country require it.

The Real Alabama—Part LII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 3, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, August 22, the Birmingham, Ala. News published a handsome supplement entitled "Alabama—Young Industrial Giant."

The introduction to that substantial document includes information of general interest, and I include it here:

Alabamians today stand in the marketplaces, but not with their hats in their hands. They believe that they have made an economic broad jump unequaled in the Nation's history. And they have done this within less than two decades.

It is as simple as it should have been predictable.

Alabama has a great deal to sell and has sold it well.

Best of all, the full potential of a State rich in natural resources and blessed with an abundance of forests and waters has barely been scratched.

The sons and daughters of a rugged pioneer stock are living up to the traditions of the hardy men and women who moved into Alabama from the north into the foothills of the Appalachians and followed the old trails along the Raccoon, Lookout, and Little Mountains.

They traversed the lower eastern portion of the Tennessee Valley, an area Alexis de Tocqueville described as one of the world's most picturesque regions.

This was the course taken by the first white man whose footsteps imprinted the preface to recorded history of the State. And this was less than a half century after Columbus raised a landfall in the New World.

Man's time in Alabama—at least so far as can be established beyond question—dates back 10,000 years. These were the cave dwellers, the artifacts of their existence on display at Russell Cave National Monument.

Out of the West many centuries ago, according to their own legends and linguistic and archaeological studies, came the Indians who gave the State its name with their words "Alba amo." Literal translation is "Here we rest," woven into the State motto as a romantic and treasured relic but a total contradiction of modern Alabama's relentless stride into the future.

Four centuries and a quarter ago this summer, history and the white man met for the first time in Alabama.

This was to be but a brief synopsis, written in blood and disillusionment and flavored with a high degree of irony. It was only the beginning of an enthralling continued story. When the episode was done the book would slam shut and history wouldn't pick up threads of the tale again for more than a century and a half.

Out of the territory that was to become Georgia 200 years later, Hernando de Soto led a party of several hundred noblemen and pack bearers. De Soto came with high qualifications as adventurer and conqueror, a hero of Spain's conquests of Nicaragua and Peru and as Governor of Cuba.

When De Soto's party moved into the Coosa Valley of today's eastern Alabama in July 1540, its fortune hunters were drawn by stories of great Indian riches in gold and jewels as inexorably as the Coosa-Alabama Rivers they followed are drawn to the gulf.

Fevered by stories of treasure just beyond the next ridge or stream, the Spaniards moved from the Cherokee domain into the Creek Nation which ruled the greater land area of Alabama.

This is where you move from the highlands into the rolling prairies studded with foothills and escarpments, laced with streams and great rivers. Slightly to the west are the beautiful plains of the Black Soil Belt, which takes its name from the color of the earth. This is broad and level, gently waving land. About 300 years later, this would be the stage for Alabama's storybook plantation era, its cotton kingdom, and heartbreak.

Taking hostages along the way, De Soto was soon to confront Creek Chief Tuskaloosa, a proud giant. Spanish imperiousness and Indian pride inevitably reached a conclusion at the fortified Creek capital of Maubila.

A battle that ebbed and flowed for a day in its ferociousness, ended in slaughter of the Creek inhabitants. De Soto, dragging his battered remnants and Phyrric victory behind him, fought his way up through hostile land to the Mississippi.

Left behind was his claim of Spanish dominion over the territory. He and his dons had come in search of gold. They had walked across and through treasure every step of the way and never recognized it. It would be centuries before the white man would capture and tame the real treasures of the land.

Wait a mostly unrecorded 162 years after DeSoto and move south of the Black Soil Belt and Chunnunnugee Ridge. Here the coast plain sets in, gently undulating and barely perceptible in its easy roll. This is where Alabama commences to tilt almost indifferently toward the sea.

In these coastal plains is a great storehouse of the State's natural wealth, great forest areas and yet barely touched mineral resources. This is also where Alabama's flowing oil potential was first tapped relatively few years ago.

Go almost to lands' end on the western edge of Alabama in 1702. There in the Mobile area Sieur de Bienville raised France's flag, the second of six banners to fly over the territory. French dominance in the coastal region would continue until 1763. Two decades of British dominion would follow. But the zesty flavor of France was to persist in the State's oldest city until today.

England's 20 years of rule was not a happy one, beset by trouble in the original colonies and the sly influence of the Creek Alexander McGillivray, a man of Scotch, French and Creek blood and an active agent of Spain.

The trickle of settlers to Alabama about the time of the Revolution became a mild flood at war's end, back into the general

area through which DeSoto pushed his way south 253 years earlier.

The last days of the Indian in Alabama were not quite over, but the fire was lighted with the total massacre of whites at Fort Mims north of Mobile. Hunted and fought into central Alabama, the Red Sticks stirred to warpath by British-imported Tecumseh were finally crushed by Andrew Jackson's men at Horseshoe Bend in 1814.

Alabama was now on the threshold of statehood, entered the Union in late 1819 as the 22d State.

In 1837 the Indian fought the last battle on his native soil. By 1839 he was gone, shuttled away by Federal decree, leaving only his burial mounds and history.

Alabama was now entering its lush era of a cotton economy. This would continue until 4 years of war wrecked almost everything but the new State's determination. Reconstruction left deep scars and problems, but the people felt the first stirring of the move from almost total agrarianism toward a need for economic supplement.

Running well into the 20th century this was an era of casual exploitation, flamboyant politics and the spectacle of two-a-day comics attempting to mimic the soft Alabama drawl. Alabama, it appeared, had become a tolerated museum piece, something to be chuckled over but almost ignored in the world of industry.

At this point, Alabama shucked its jacket.

The State rolled up its sleeves and set to work with its sights set high on the scale of industrial progress. Determined to meet the needs of a fast changing technology Alabama geared itself for economic development in ways which are now paying dividends.

Alabama has developed industrial muscle. Across the State, the shifting economy moves from farm to city. Little more than two decades ago, Alabama was 70 percent rural. Today, the ratio brushes near the 60 percent urban level.

In the past 30 months the State has experienced a phenomenal industrial growth amounting to a billion dollars in new and expanded industry.

This dramatic milestone underscores the pleasant fact that industry continues to move into Alabama, changing the face of the State, the lives of its people and opening broad opportunities for its new neighbors.

This Alabama of 1965 is not a new thing industrially. Rather, it is simply a far more robust figure of its basic self. It is a patchwork, but not a hodgepodge, of progress distributed through all 67 counties. It has grown to a stature of new plants, jobs and payrolls unrecognized even by some of its own citizens today.

From over the Nation, industry moves into Alabama in increasing flow.

Why?

Because business likes Alabama's multiple and abundant offerings.

How the Excise Tax Reduction Saves You Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker. I would like to call the attention of the Congress to a public service advertisement in this Thursday morning's Washington Post. This information notice does much to explain and clarify the nature of the excise tax cut. The Washington Post should be commended for this public service. Other public mediums and newspapers would do well to follow this excellent example. The article follows:

HOW THE EXCISE TAX REDUCTION SAVES YOU MONEY

Excise tax cut. You've probably heard these three words many times in the past few months. But at the same time, you may be a little confused by it all. There are sizable savings to be made from the new tax cuts—some obvious—some not so obvious. Here is basic information to help you understand the new law:

TWO TAXES ARE INVOLVED

You should know how these taxes work in order to know the savings you can expect to receive:

Retailers' Federal excise tax: This tax—10 percent of the retail price—was formerly added at the time of the sale. The amount of the tax was usually shown on the price tag. This excise was eliminated entirely on June 22.

Manufacturers' Federal excise tax: This tax has applied to a wide range of goods at the manufacturing level. It generally ranged from 5 to 10 percent of the manufacturer's price to the retailer, and has been a "hidden" tax for the consumer. Most manufacturers' excise taxes were reduced or eliminated on June 22; some ohters are being reduced at later dates, or in stages.

MANY PRODUCTS ARE AFFECTED

The ladies will save money from the removal of the 10 percent retail excise tax on jewelry, cosmetics, fur coats, diamonds, and handbags. Men shoppers on the lookout for a new set of golf clubs and/or a power mower (less than 30-inch cut) should know that the manufacturers' excise tax on these items has been removed. Both men and women benefit from the repeal of retail excises on luggage, watches, billfolds, and clocks—and from the manufacturers' excise tax cut on automobiles, cameras, film, and a wide range of appliances. These are just a few of the savings you can expect to make as a result of this new legislation.

NOT ALL PRODUCTS ARE INCLUDED IN THE TAX CUT

Understandably, some customers have been confused by which items are affected. For example, the following are not affected: washing machines, sewing machines, vacuum cleaners, bicycles, camping equipment, boats and outboard motors. Check the list at right for more detailed information on which products are affected. These tax reductions are designed to boost an already prosperous economy, help create jobs, as well as provide you with savings on many types of goods. Good shopping.

Excise cuts and repeals

Item taxed	Amount of tax	Action
Effective June 22, 1965:		
Jewelry, furs, cosmetics, toiletries, luggage, handbags.	10 percent of retail price	Repealed.
Passenger automobiles	10 percent of manufacturer's price.	Reduced to 7 percent retroactive to May 15, 1965.
Air conditioners	do	Repealed retroactive to May 15, 1965.
Business machines, sporting goods (except fishing equipment), phonograph records, musical instruments, television sets, radios, phonographs, photographic equipment and film, pens and mechanical pencils, 3-wheel trucks, school buses.	do	Repealed.
Refrigerators, freezers, electric, gas, and oil appliances.	5 percent of manufacturer's price.	Do.
Effective July 1, 1965: Safe deposit boxes	10 percent of rental charge	Do.
Effective noon, Dec. 31, 1965:		
General admissions	10 percent of amounts over $1.	Do.
Race, dog track admissions	20 percent	Do.
Cabarets	10 percent of bill	Do.
Effective Jan. 1, 1966:		
Passenger automobiles	7 percent	Reduced to 6 percent.
Local and long-distance telephone and teletype service.	10 percent	Reduced to 3 percent.
Telegraph service	do	Repealed.
Communications wire and equipment service	8 percent	Do.
Private communications service	10 percent	Do.
Club dues and initiation fees	20 percent	Do.
Pipe and chewing tobacco and snuff	10 cents a pound	Do.
Electric light bulbs	10 percent of manufacturer's price.	Do.
Automobile parts	8 percent of manufacturer's price.	Do.
Effective Jan. 1, 1967:		
Passenger automobiles.	6 percent	Reduced to 4 percent.
Local and long-distance telephone and teletype service.	3 percent	Reduced to 2 percent.
Effective Jan. 1, 1968:		
Passenger automobiles	4 percent	Do.
Local and long-distance telephone and teletype service.	2 percent	Reduced to 1 percent.
Effective Jan. 1, 1969:		
Passenger automobiles	do	Do.
Local and long-distance telephone and teletype service.	1 percent	Repealed.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 3, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include my report to the people of the Seventh District of Alabama for February 18, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT—SELMA DEFENDED BY CONGRESSMAN JIM MARTIN

Two of my Republican colleagues from Alabama, JOHN BUCHANAN and GLENN ANDREWS, joined me last week in taking the House floor to give the facts on the situation in Selma. The day before the liberal Democrats who had gone to Selma spent several hours painting a sordid picture of Selma and

castigating the law enforcement officers there. In our presentation we Alabamians pointed out that the rights of all people may be secured only through the process of law and order. Violence in the streets, defiance of duly constituted law enforcement officers and mob rule results only in anarchy and threatens freedom for all the people of a community and the Nation.

It would be interesting to see how tolerant many of the northern liberals would be if their communities were subjected to the mob rule such as Selma has experienced. I wonder how forgiving they would be if their courts were disrupted, their business ground to a standstill, their young people drawn from their classes by some promise of utopia or some threat of impending doom. Of course, the liberals will not answer these questions. Too many of them do not want a reasonable discussion of social problems. They are more concerned with votes than they are with the welfare of individuals.

COMMITTEE APPROVES APPALACHIA BILL

My Committee on Public Works approved the Appalachia bill after a long and heated meeting. While the objectives of this legislation are laudable, the bill is poorly written and in many cases, discriminatory. Every attempt by the Republicans on the committee to improve the bill was beaten down by the Democrat majority. It is evident the liberal majority is going to pass whatever legislation demanded by the administration without change and regardless of the cost to the people.

In order to correct at least part of the inequity of the bill, I tried to have Lamar County included in the bill. I came within one vote of succeeding, even some of my Democrat colleagues giving me support. Another attempt will be made to include Lamar when the bill is before the House. If the Appalachia bill is really supposed to help poorer areas, Lamar is far more entitled to be included than many sections named in the measure.

BRIEFS OF THE WEEK

A move to correct some of the abuses which have developed in the financing of the Rural Electrification Administration, has been undertaken by some Republican Members of the House. Since its inception in the 1930's, REA has cost the people of the United States some $1.1 billion as the difference between the 2-percent interest rate the agency pays to borrow money from the Government and the 4.25-percent rate the Government has to pay to borrow the money it lends to REA. REA has gone far beyond its original purpose of bringing electricity to isolated rural areas. It is now a giant subsidized monopoly which threatens the operation of private power companies. Legislation introduced would make interest rates to REA more realistic.

The value of the dollar is now down to 44.8 cents in spite of the fact the administration insists there is no inflation. There has been a steady decline since the advent of the New Frontier and the Great Society. The dollar was worth 46.9 cents in 1960, 46.4 in 1961, 45.9 in 1962, 45.4 in 1963, and 44.8 in 1964. Evidently the Great Society will be achieved when the dollar is worth nothing and all of the people are poverty stricken.

What are our young people being taught in high school and college? National surveys of high school and college juniors reveal: 71 percent would deny an accused person the right to confront his accuser, 40 percent believed certain groups should be denied the right of peaceful assembly, 41 percent believed that we should cancel freedom of the press, 34 percent favored denying free speech to certain people, 26 percent would allow search and seizure without consent, 53 percent voted for Government ownership of banks, railroads, and steel companies; 56 percent voted for close Government regulation of all business, 62 percent said that the Government has the responsibility to provide jobs, 62 percent thought a worker should not produce all he can, 61 percent rejected the profit incentive as necessary to the survival of a free enterprise system, 84 percent denied that patriotism is vital and plays an important part in our lives. These surveys were conducted by Northwestern University, Purdue University, and U.S. News & World Report. The results emphasize the real educational challenge we face in America.

What Is the Mississippi Marketing Council?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, Mississippi has been on the low rung of the economic ladder for decades. For too long we were dependent on agriculture—mainly cotton—to provide a livelihood. However, eventful changes are taking place; significant strides are being made for maximum development and utilization of our total resources.

Under the wise leadership of Gov. Paul B. Johnson, Jr., the Mississippi Legislature created in 1964 the Mississippi Marketing Council. Earlier this year, in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Commerce, the council sent a trade mission to Europe. Its success can be measured by the fact that it brought back $3 million in orders for Mississippi goods.

The key figure in the council is its secretary, Gene A. Triggs, a youthful and resourceful figure. In a recent address Mr. Triggs outlined the goals of the council. It is a pleasure to make his remarks available to Members of Congress:

WHAT IS THE MISSISSIPPI MARKETING COUNCIL?

(By Gene A. Triggs)

(NOTE.—Mr. Triggs is secretary of the Mississippi Marketing Council. The following is the revised text of a speech delivered by Mr. Triggs in Jackson earlier this year.)

Mississippi is one of the top cotton-producing areas of the world. Our 1964 cotton lint production totaled 2,232,000 bales and we averaged 748 pounds of lint per acre. Yet we ship more than 1.5 million bales of cotton out of Mississippi each year to be processed into finished products elsewhere.

Almost 60 percent of Mississippi's land is classified as forest land. We continue to lead the Nation in the number of tree farms. Our State has 3,335 tree farms totaling 3,171,874 acres. Presently we are growing 30 percent more timber than is being cut, yet we import many wood products and products derived from wood, and in most areas of the State there is no market for our timber.

Mississippi has more beef cattle than any Southern State east of the Mississippi River. On January 1, 1965, we had some 2,192,000 head of cattle with a total farm value of $177,552,000. In 1963, the number of cattle commercially slaughtered in Mississippi reached an all time high, yet we rank only 22d among all States in the number of cattle slaughtered and import much of our table-ready meat and virtually all of our leather goods.

These examples could be continued almost indefinitely. In spite of our rapid and spectacular gains in manufacturing and processing, in attracting industry and capital, in too many ways Mississippi is still an economic colony—a supplier of raw materials at 30 cents per pound, and a buyer of finished goods at $1.30 per pound. The marketing council intends to do everything possible to help Mississippians realize for themselves that dollar per pound difference.

We believe that we can do this through analysis of our present position, careful planning, adequate promotion, and intelligent reasoning; in short, we believe that we can market Mississippi's resources and products more profitably.

This is an oversimplification of the marketing council's work and aims, but it is the basic reason for its existence—to aid Mississippi's economic growth through improved marketing of Mississippi's potential, resources and products, and to work for more profit for our State's agriculture, industry, and commerce.

Mississippi's ability to produce has been forcefully demonstrated. The problem today is not the production of goods, but the marketing of goods. Because so much of Mississippi's present and potential wealth is in agriculture and forestry, the marketing of these products is of paramount importance.

Let's look for a moment at our production ability:

In 1963 we produced 142 million pounds more of cotton than we produced in 1943. We also produced about 23.5 million more bushels of soybeans, 1 million more bushels of wheat, 191 million pounds more rice, 18 million pounds more of pecans and 29,000 tons more tung nuts. In the same 20 years our output of livestock products has nearly doubled. Last year Mississippi produced over 307 million pounds more beef, 511 million pounds more broilers, 1.6 million pounds more turkey meat and 1.2 billion more eggs than in 1943.

Mississippi producers have kept up with scientific advancements also. In 1930 it took 50 pounds of feed to produce 77 eggs; today, 50 pounds of feed will produce 145 eggs. In 1930 it took 15 pounds of feed 15 weeks to produce a 3-pound broiler; today, 7 pounds of feed will do the same job in 9 weeks.

Approximately $800 million worth of goods and raw materials were processed and distributed by businesses engaged in marketing agricultural products in this State in 1964. We believe that the work of the marketing council can ultimately double this figure.

This, then, was the thinking that prompted the creation of the Mississippi Marketing Council.

In an address to a joint session of the Mississippi Legislature in January 1964, Governor Johnson said:

"Mississippi has the resources and Mississippians have the skills to produce vast quantities of raw agricultural and forest products * * * our problem lies not in quantity of production * * * but in (1) product improvement, (2) processing and manufacturing, and (3) distribution and sales. * * * we need to process more of these raw products to an end-product stage within * * * our State. * * * It is for these purposes that I have advocated * * * the creation of the marketing council. * * *"

The 1964 regular session of the Mississippi Legislature responded with passage of House bill 70, creating the Mississippi Marketing Council. This bill says:

"There is hereby created within the Mississippi Agricultural & Industrial Board the Mississippi Marketing Council * * * for the purpose of stimulating the development of new markets for Mississippi agricultural and forestry products, and further encouraging the establishment * * * of industrial operations processing agricultural and forestry raw products to an end-product stage, ready

for sale to the markets of the Nation and the world."

The marketing council consists of 15 members, appointed by the Governor, representing various segments of agriculture and forestry, industry and commerce.

The Governor designates the chairman and the vice chairman of the council and appoints an associate director for agriculture and forestry of the A. & I. board who shall serve as secretary of the marketing council and "shall discharge the duties and responsibilities of the agricultural industries department of the A. & I. board."

To coordinate the work of the A. & I. board and the new programs of the marketing council, a special liaison committee was established from A. & I. board members, and Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin was asked to serve as chairman.

At the initial meeting of the council, it was agreed that seven new areas of activity should be immediately pursued. When combined with the work of the existing agricultural industries department, they provided a basic course of action for the council. These areas of activity include:

Home community work: Revitalization of small towns and rural areas throughout the State.

National markets: Developing additional national markets for Mississippi products.

Forest products: Development and sale of additional Mississippi forest products.

Buy Mississippi: Encouraging all Mississippians to buy Mississippi-made products.

Export and imports: The development of additional world markets for Mississippi products.

Processing operations: Encouraging the establishment of additional processing activities in Mississippi.

Information: Informing Mississippians about the work of the council and opportunities developed by it; and.

Agricultural industries: Continuing to encourage and assist in the location of industries in Mississippi which will utilize our agricultural and forestry products.

Committees were appointed from among the members of the council to develop and execute specific programs of action to accomplish tangible results in these areas.

Let us look at some of the work currently being done and being planned:

The work of the council, where possible, will be directed specifically toward helping the economic growth and development of our smaller communities and rural areas. This is the reason for the creation of our home community committee. A suggested plan of action for such communities and areas is being developed by the council and will shortly be available to them. In this work, the council can serve as both a clearinghouse for existing programs and provide liaison with other interested State and Federal agencies. In this work, the council will work closely with our State extension forces, Mississippi Farm Bureau field representatives, area development associations, members of the boards of supervisors, and others similarly interested.

The council's national markets committee has requested an inventory of all items, products, articles, and things processed or manufactured in the State which can be marketed more successfully in the Nation at large. This information should be kept up-to-date and will be directed toward those most likely to aid the council in reaching its goals. The national marketing program also includes a careful analysis of those groups to which Mississippi products may be sold and the coverage of such prospects by letters, personal contacts, and appropriate advertising as marketing opportunities arise.

Our forestry resources should be more closely inventoried. To do this, close cooperation and teamwork will be necessary with the Mississippi Forestry Commission, Forest Products Laboratory, U.S. Forest Service, and others interested in the development of Mississippi's forest resources. Opportunities presented by new technical developments will be pursued. Included in this work will be the encouragement of profitable sales to new forestry-utilizing industries such as pulp and paper mills, pine plywood mills, and stud mills. The location of new pine plywood manufacturing plants in the State in recent months is the type of opportunity that we will pursue and attempt to develop.

The marketing council is already in close contact with the existing Colonel MIM (money in Mississippi) organization and will cooperate fully in encouraging Mississippians to buy more Mississippi-made and processed goods and products. The Colonel MIM program estimates that some $800 million in wholesale sales and some $200 million in retail sales are made by out-of-State firms to Mississippians. If we can cooperate in getting one-half of these sales to Mississippi firms, the economy of the State will be directly benefited by approximately $500 million. In addition to Colonel MIM cooperation, special promotional programs are being developed in an effort to increase purchases of Mississippi products by Mississippians. The marketing council will work closely with the resources development committees, community development clubs, civic clubs, extension workers and others who will be interested in the same goals.

Exports of manufactured goods from the State of Mississippi to foreign countries amounted to over $77 million in 1960 and the State's exports of agricultural products at that time amounted to $136.9 million. Both of these figures have increased substantially in the last few years with the completion of improvements at Gulfport and Pascagoula, and increased emphasis on foreign trade. We are confident that the marketing council can aid Mississippians in increasing profitable exporting. Accordingly, the export/import plan of action calls for the immediate publication of a five-language Mississippi Trade Directory for the State.

Under the direction of the marketing council, Mississippi sent its first trade mission to Europe in May and June of this year. Some 17 Mississippi business leaders, traveling at their own expense, visited 26 cities in 10 Western European countries and brought back to the State over $3 million in orders for Mississippi goods. The U.S. Departments of Commerce, State, and Agriculture helped coordinate the mission. A similar mission, led by the Governor, is planned for Latin America in November.

Other States have conducted missions of this type profitably but Mississippi is unique in having in existence the marketing council to promote the mission and to serve as a clearinghouse and follow-through agency for the opportunities it uncovers. The council will, and is, serving as a clearinghouse for all types of import-export information and we urge those of you interested to contact us on this subject.

We have barely scratched the surface on the opportunites for increased processing operations in Mississippi. One example: Mississippi is one of the few places in the world where soybean oil and cottonseed oil are produced side by side in great volume. However, little or no added economic advantage is realized by our people from this great reservoir of food and industrial oils because we ship it all out of Mississippi for processing into finished products elsewhere. In turn, Mississippians import all of their cooking oils, salad oils, margarines and other soybean and cottonseed oil products. We believe that feasibility studies will uncover other processing operations for us. Immediately we are pursuing the handling of surplus eggs, the possibility of canning Mississippi beef and pork for export, and other projects of a similar nature. We no longer ship live poltry out of the State when we can increase our profit by shipping processed birds; we can apply this lesson elsewhere.

The Mississippi public must be kept aware of the work of the marketing council and the opportunities developed by it. Therefore we are conducting a systematic program of public information including material prepared for newspapers, radio and television, public speeches and talks and the presentation of exhibits.

The marketing council has contracted for space for Mississippi manufacturers and producers to exhibit their products in the New International Trade Mart Building now being completed in New Orleans. This new trade mart will serve as a showcase for Mississippi's products to the thousands of international businessmen who will look on this facility as their first stop when arriving in this country.

A billion-and-a-half dollars of cargo flows through this port each year and as the crossroads of this area for international traders and tourists, we know this is an excellent opportunity to siphon off some of this business and activity and route it to the State of Mississippi.

These, then, are some of the specific activities of the council, its committees and its staff. The work is being done, some of it is now completed, other phases will be completed later. The program of the council is flexible. We can change, amend and modify our tactical activities as time and conditions warrant. Our overall strategic objective remains constant: to improve the economy of Mississippi through any and all marketing activities which can profitably affect our people.

The aims and objectives of the work mentioned above are those which we believe we can accomplish. They are a start and, we believe, a start in the right direction.

There has been some confusion in the minds of many people about the relationship of the marketing council and the A. & I. board. This is natural. The marketing council is a new organization and the A. & I. board has been in existence for some time.

The Mississippi Agricultural & Industrial Board has done a magnificent job for this State and is doing so now. The work of the A. & I. board and the work of the area development organizations throughout the State and the chambers of commerce have done much to improve Mississippi's economy.

The A. & I. board—and other area development organizations—has worked long and hard to attract outside interests to the State: tourists, capital, new, and expanding industries.

The record speaks for itself. Capital investment is up, tourist inquiries are coming in at a record pace, new and expanding industries have made news for years now.

In working toward attracting these outside interests to our State, more and more Mississippians were, themselves, educated and informed as to the opportunities lying dormant in Mississippi.

Agriculture and forestry, as the State's No. 1 industry, have been and are vital elements of our economy. It was reasoned that it would be logical to develop them to their utmost profitable utilization. The biggest gap in this was in marketing.

This thinking helped lead to the creation of the marketing council.

The work of the marketing council will supplement and complement the economic development work done by the A. & I board and others. The programs of the two work hand in hand. Their common objective is the stimulation of our State's economic growth. Their emphasis is complementary but different; their tactical methods pursue different areas.

We believe that the marketing council will fill a gap that has existed in our economic development work. We believe that it will be

of tremendous benefit to our producers of agricultural and forestry products. We believe that it will improve the economy of our smaller communities and rural areas. We hope that it will uncover new uses for our products and enable us to market them more profitably. We believe that it will increase our commercial trade with other areas of the Nation and the world and will at the same time make more Mississipians aware of the wisdom of using and buying Mississippi products. It is a clearing house of information, it is a service agency, it is a liaison group.

It provides a cooperative effort and new approach to the old problem of making more money for Mississippians.

L.B.J., Ike, and Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GALE SCHISLER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 3, 1965

Mr. SCHISLER. Mr. Speaker, William S. White's column of September 1, 1965, commenting on the strong comradeship between President Johnson and former President Eisenhower is particularly worthy of note.

Mr. White, after noting that their adverse views on domestic issues—even back when Mr. Eisenhower was President and Mr. Johnson, Senate majority leader—never prevented their thinking alike on foreign policy matters, makes this incisive statement:

The political pro, Mr. Johnson, and the old soldier, General Eisenhower, have one essential quality in common. Both know that we can live with domestic disagreements but that when the honor and safety and troops of this Nation are engaged abroad, this Nation can have only one President and one policy at a time.

The profound insight of Mr. White's commentary was never more apparent than in this column. Under unanimous consent of my colleagues, I include it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

[From the New York Journal-American, Sept. 1, 1965]

L.B.J., IKE, AND UNITY

(By William S. White)

WASHINGTON.—The strongest comradeship in the history of the White House between an ex-occupant and an incumbent has been sealed between President Johnson and former President Eisenhower. It is a partnership that begins at the oceans' edges and looks outward abroad. Domestically, these twain rarely meet.

On the great and somber foreign crises of our days, General Eisenhower, the erstwhile Allied commander in chief, is marching with the onetime lieutenant commander in the Navy, Lyndon Johnson, in unison and mutual understanding. About home matters, they don't talk much. Implicitly, they simply agree to disagree, and let it go at that.

General Eisenhower has always been rightly preoccupied with what he calls national security issues. And even if he had ever been or were now enchanted with home questions, no intrusion into the privacy of the Johnson-Eisenhower relationship would be required to report that the general would have no trouble at all in repressing his enthusiasm for, say, the Johnson concept of the Great Society.

But President Johnson's approaches to the outer world, whether in Vietnam or the Dominican Republic, are deeply approved by the general. And these approaches today are powerfully defended by him from merely partisan Republican criticism.

The long and short of it is that the urgent and highly professional politician who is Lyndon Johnson, and the professional soldier who, as President, so often found politics a great nuisance, have made up a team to defend this country's bottom foreign interests as they see them.

The former President is not merely carefully consulted on what the State and Defense Department people like to call the big picture. He is, by President Johnson's standing orders, kept intimately informed on all the smaller pictures which at last make up the large mosaic. He receives briefings not simply on all high and settled and evolving national strategies, but also on all their components—including, for illustration, the most secret operations and estimates of the Central Intelligence Agency.

It is a relationship of magnanimity on General Eisenhower's part and of deep appreciation on Mr. Johnson's part. All the same, it could hardly have come about but for the circumstances of the past.

In the 8 years when General Eisenhower was a Republican President, Senate Democratic Leader Johnson was not terribly keen about all Eisenhower domestic policy, any more than General Eisenhower today is madly keen about all Johnson domestic policy.

But in all those years Senator Johnson neither pettily attacked President Eisenhower abroad nor permitted his more eager Democratic colleagues successfully to do so In a sense, in his retirement, General Eisenhower is repaying generosity with generosity.

The more important truth is that the political pro, Mr. Johnson, and the old soldier, General Eisenhower, have one essential quality in common. Both know that we can live with domestic disagreements but that when the honor and safety and troops of this Nation are engaged abroad, this Nation can have only one President and one policy at a time.

This is the basis of their association—this and also what happens to be a basic and mutual personal liking.

In the highest and strictly nonpartisan sense, it is a good thing for the country. In the smaller and more political sense, it surely does Mr. Johnson no harm. For the President is fully aware of the accuracy of field reports, notably from the Midwest, that he would be in a great deal more trouble today, especially with the war in Vietnam, but for the fact that the Republicans generally know that General Eisenhower is being truly listened to all the way down to the bottom of that barrel of eels which we must confront in the world outside.

GOP White Paper: Hard Line or Soft?

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 17, 1965

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, Robert Spivack's recent column on the GOP white paper is worthy of mention for several reasons. The most basic is that Mr. Spivack makes the point that this oversimplified paper which at once criticizes American policy in Vietnam and at the same time urges support of it not only overlooks the realities of the situation in southeast Asia and fails to take account of changes in the American Government, it also declines to offer any constructive alternative.

I commend this article to my colleagues in the Congress and under unanimous consent insert it in the RECORD at this time:

GOP WHITE PAPER: HARD LINE OR SOFT?

(By Robert G. Spivack)

The biggest problem for the loyal opposition when there is a President like Lyndon B. Johnson in the White House is not "loyalty"—of that there is no question—but in knowing what to oppose.

No better example of the Republican dilemma is likely to be found than in the so-called white paper entitled "Vietnam: Some Neglected Aspects of the Historical Record," issued by the House GOP Committee on Planning and Research.

Other than politics, the reason for issuing this paper at this time is obscure. What its authors seemed to be trying to do was to portray the President as at one and the same time, the leader of a war party and an appeasement party.

They also sought to picture the Republicans as a "peace party" since President Eisenhower never committed the use of American troops to protect South Vietnam, yet left the impression that had their hard-line policies prevailed, the situation in southeast Asia would never have deteriorated.

Since an opposition party cannot just fold its tents and quietly steal away, I suppose the House Republicans are entitled to an E for effort in composing this paper but I'm afraid they would not get passing marks on its content.

What was wrong with it?

In the first place, it was oversimplified. It did not give sufficient attention to the conditions which gave rise to the fighting when the French were still there, treating the Vietnamese as vassals. It did not recognize the changing character of the conflict as the South gradually began to undertake a program of social reforms. Finally, just to list three items, it did not recognize the changes that were taking place in the Diem regime.

Next to these neglected aspects, the House Republicans failed to take into account changes in the American Government, under L.B.J., or the circumstances which persuaded the President to take a stronger stand toward North Vietnam than did either President Eisenhower or President Kennedy, neither of whom was so directly challenged.

One part of the white paper does raise some fundamental points which are more persuasive than the paper as a whole. "To what degree miscalculation on the part of the enemy has brought about this state of affairs, no one can be sure," the House Republicans said. "It is clear, however, that many of the words and deeds of the past 4 years could only have encouraged underestimation of the constancy and firmness of the Nation in the pursuit of its foreign policy goals."

It then cites a number of comments made during the Kennedy era and the 1964 campaign as well as the "abrupt reversal of policy, leading to the overthrow of the leader whom the Government of the United States had been ardently supporting (i.e. Diem)."

No American President could count on any substantial degree of public support at home if he ran for cover or buried his head in the sand when an enemy determined to bury us actually began shooting at U.S. soldiers. That would have confirmed Red China's assertion that we were a "paper tiger" and Khrushchev's view that we were "too liberal to fight."

After 33 pages of criticism the white paper urges all Americans to "support whatever action is needed" to keep South Vietnam independent and to end Communist aggression.

Perhaps there will be another white paper letting the President know what "is needed." Until then, he'll just have to struggle along without the benefit of this advice.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 3, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include my newsletter to the people of the Seventh District of Alabama for February 25, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT—FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY A MUST NOW

(By Congressman JIM MARTIN)

As many people contemplate the expected rewards in the dreams created by the glowing promises of the Great Society, too many overlook the growing crisis which threatens the whole structure of our economy. Reckless Federal spending and totally irresponsible fiscal policies are constantly reducing the value of the dollar, causing a continued drain on our gold supply, and could result in chaos.

I am not trying to be an alarmist, but I did attempt to arouse interest in a return to fiscal sanity in remarks I put into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. In the 4 years since the inauguration of a Democrat administration we have traversed the "New Frontier" and embarked upon the "Great Society"—a promisory golden age of Pericles—with deficit spending, mounting debt, dwindling gold and persistent unemployment marking every step of the way. Central authoritarian government has made sure that Federal contamination has insidiously or ruthlessly intruded into our State and local governments, our businesses, our homes, our daily lives. We have tried to spend ourselves rich, smart and secure, but all we have really done is undermine our basic structure of government, weaken our free enterprise system and impair our citizenship vis-a-vis the Federal bureaucracy.

Since January 1961 the Federal spending level has increased by 25 percent from $80 to $100 billion; we have sizable deficits in each intervening year—our last balanced budget was in 1960; we have added $30 billion to the public debt; we have had a deficit every year in our balance-of-payments position; our gold supply has been reduced to its lowest level in decades. We are cutting our defense spending in the face of an alarming deterioration in world political conditions while we spend more for so-called welfare purposes.

Now is the time for perceptive, forthright action to put our fiscal house in order. It is foolhardy and irresponsible to think that this impending crisis will disappear if we ignore it; it will be ruinous if we think that we can sweep it under the rug and go on our merry spending way. We must immediately adopt disciplined monetary policies that clearly demonstrate our firm resolve to protect the purchasing power of the dollar. Our fiscal policies must again reflect a determination to live within our means. Our economy must be kept competitive and free to operate without this stifling influence of Federal domination. If we will do these things, then, and only then, will we be able to achieve a great society that is something more than political hokum.

BRIEFS OF THE WEEK

Before the President tries to discourage travel abroad by American citizens by imposing a $100 tax in order to ease the drain on our gold supply, perhaps he should look into the millions we are making in illegal payments abroad. About $200 million a year is flowing abroad to veterans and beneficiaries of social security who are not citizens of the United States. Some $75 million worth of VA checks go to foreign countries. About 150,000 beneficiaries of social security payments live abroad, of which 60 percent are not U.S. citizens. We are paying social security to 3,096 noncitizens in West Germany, 7,094 noncitizens in Greece, 1,197 noncitizens in Ireland, 215 noncitizens in Israel, 20,093 noncitizens in Italy, 3,695 noncitizens in Japan, and 314 in the Netherlands. We are even sending payments behind the Iron Curtain to Yugoslavia. In addition people are receiving U.S. payments who live in Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, the Congo, Costa Rica, Ecuador, the Ivory Coast, Luxembourg, Monaco, Panama, the Philippines, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and Upper Volta.

By a vote of 288 to 92 the House passed H.R. 45 to authorize the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the Fund for Special Operation of the International American Development Bank. The bill carried an authorization of $750 million. I voted against the measure because it was brought out in debate it will further jeopardize our balance of payments problem.

The House voted 302 to 63 to extend the life of the Disarmament Control Agency for 3 years with appropriations of $40 million. I voted against the extension. At a time when our enemies are arming to the teeth, American boys are dying in Vietnam and our world position is deteriorating, it borders on stupidity to spend millions of dollars on disarmament programs. We can do much better by enunciating a strong foreign policy which will convince the Communists they cannot achieve their goal of world domination. When we convince them that we are not weak and will do whatever is necessary to protect our Nation and the free world, that will be the time to talk about disarmament.

Those interested in obtaining reprints from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of my speech in the House of Representatives on Selma, please write me at 1515 Longworth Building, Washington, D.C.

The San Gorgonio Wilderness Area: Need for Recreational Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, today I conclude my insertions in the RECORD of the four-part series by Mr. Vincent X. Flaherty in the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner on the need for recreational development of the San Gorgonio Wilderness Area.

The article follows:

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Herald-Examiner, Aug. 29, 1965]

THE MEN WHO BOOST SAN GORGONIO

(By Vincent X. Flaherty)

Three men who have been superlatively active in the progressive sports picture of southern California are Bing Crosby, Bob Hope, and Walt Disney, but perhaps that is not doing them justice. Their influence has been felt nationally and internationally, to the benefit of all Americans.

These three have done more for the U.S. Olympic teams than any individual or group of individuals associated with the world of entertainment.

All three are strongly in favor of opening 10 percent of the long San Gorgonio range (85 miles from Los Angeles) for winter sports. They all agree it would be one of the finest winter sports area in the world.

Walt Disney was the man behind the Squaw Valley winter Olympics a few years ago, and staged a spectacle which, in its way, outdid Disneyland.

TELETHON

Hope and Crosby have been longtime supporters of the Olympic movement, seeing as how the Russians are out to show the world Americans are second best when it comes to physical superiority.

You probably will remember Bing's and Bob's great 14½ hour Olympic telethon of 1952, an all-network show which kept the Nation up all night and brought in a financial deluge which paid expenses for the U.S. Olympic team to make it over to Helsinki in good style.

That show was sponsored by the Hearst Newspapers and set an all-time television entertainment record for viewers that never has been approached, thanks to Hope and Crosby.

Crosby, Hope, and Disney have much in common. They are all outdoor types, but maybe Disney has an edge on the other two this year because he was chosen the honorary national chairman of National Wildlife Week for 1965 by the National Wildlife Federation.

CONSERVATIONIST

Disney is a conservationist, yet when you ask him about the scarcely used San Gorgonio range, he says:

"I certainly hope the eyes will be opened of the powers that be * * * serious consideration should be given to the opening of San Gorgonio as a winter sports area. Certainly 10 percent of it cannot hurt anything, but would be a great thing for southern Californians.

"I know the wilderness people are opposed to this," says Disney, "but I don't think making part of San Gorgonio into a sports area would conflict with their interests. It could certainly be controlled and it is such an ideal location in this big densely populated area of southern California that it should be used. Skiing is a fast growing and clean sport and we need part of San Gorgonio."

Few people know more about the winter sports situation in southern California than Disney. He pioneered skiing in this State, dating all the way back to 1937, when he was the first financial backer of Hannes Scholl in the opening of the Sugar Bowl. They even named a principal mountain there Mount Disney.

Disney knows whereof he speaks concerning San Gorgonio, too. Some years ago he had a survey made of San Gorgonio and found that any one of several spots along the range would be excellent for winter sports. But in those days the public had not yet been aroused to San Gorgonio's great potential.

NO DOUBT

At a luncheon with Walt, Disney was outspoken in his conviction San Gorgonio can provide one of the world's greatest winter sports areas.

At that time, Disney told the writer:

"There is no doubt about it. It could be a wonderful place. But until now the nature groups prevail over the wishes of the majority because the majority isn't organized.

Hope and Crosby agree with Disney wholeheartedly. Particularly after pondering the

clobbering the Soviets gave our winter Olympic team at Innsbruck.

"San Gorgonio would be the most-used skiing area in the world," said Hope. "What other winter sports place can you find with millions of people in its back yard? It's a cinch it would produce more good athletes for the winter Olympics than any other—by a wide margin. There's no place like it.

"I often think of San Gorgonio's terrific potential when I am driving back and forth between Palm Springs and my home in San Fernando Valley," added Bob. "It is an injustice to the public that part of it hasn't been opened long before now. If there is anything I can do, I'm ready. Everyone can pitch in and help, too, by writing their Congressmen."

Bing Crosby's thinking coincides with Hope's as to San Gorgonio's evident Olympic values, but Bing goes even beyond.

"The facts speak for themselves," he told the writer. "San Gorgonio is the only real consistent snow area in all of southern California—it qualifies in all respects as one of the great winter sports places in the world. So what are we waiting for?

"If Congress insists that organized youth groups will get to use this place free of charge, I don't see how anyone can honestly stand in the way of it. Instead of running the streets kids would have a big incentive to join the Boy Scouts and other good youth organizations.

FOR KIDS

"Sure, San Gorgonio would be a great development center for Olympic athletes," said Bing. "That's obvious. But today every youngster is getting to be an underprivileged kid. They don't have the recreational opportunities you and I had years ago. There are a million kids in southern California who would jump at the chance to take up winter sports. Let's give it to them."

Mel Pierson, commissioner of parks and recreation in Los Angeles, is a man actually conscious of southern California's growing recreational problems. He is quite familiar with the San Gorgonio situation.

"I have long felt San Gorgonio should be an important park asset for the people of southern California," he said recently. "I believe we should take steps to make it more available to the public. It is my feeling that wilderness areas so close to urban areas cannot be guarded and so protected that the general public cannot make use of them. I believe wilderness areas should be preserved, but in areas away from highly developed urban communities."

Pierson, too, points out the great distances southern Californians must now travel to northern California to enjoy winter sports when San Gorgonio is the only mountain in southern California laden with snow—just as good, potentially, as the best winter sports areas in the High Sierras. The commissioner stresses the utter folly of keeping San Gorgonio closed to skiers when it always has snow from fall until late spring.

"It should be made available now," says Pierson. "This, of course, does not mean it should be opened for all kinds of commercial development, but merely that we open it for mass public use to serve this highly populated area. There would still remain the overwhelming wilderness acreage for other uses."

Now that the fate of winter sports for southern California is in the hands of the House Interior Committee, California Congressmen at last are trying to bring forth a solution.

Representative KEN W. DYAL, who represents San Bernardino County, where Gorgonio is located, introduced a bill to open part of the range for family winter sports usage some months ago. A long step in the right direction.

In a show of gathering strength for the movement, Los Angeles Congressmen followed the example. Companion bills have been introduced by Representatives JAMES ROOSEVELT, CHARLES H. WILSON—and now, reportedly, EDWARD R. ROYBAL, of Los Angeles also, is about to introduce a bill. There is also evidence of support from northern California in the form of a San Gorgonio bill introduced by HAROLD ("BEZZ") JOHNSON.

DELUSION

Representative JOHNSON fathered the Squaw Valley winter sports project. It brought California its first winter Olympic games. But if this appears to be a show of overpowering strength, do not let the foregoing delude you.

Last year, JOHN P. SAYLOR, a Congressman from Pennsylvania, knocked San Gorgonio out of the box when it was proposed to be made available by means of an amendment to the wilderness bill. Had the amendment gone through, a comparatively small portion of the San Gorgonio Range would have been made available last year.

The Pennsylvania Congressman is a leading conservationist, honored with numerous plaques and scrolls. SAYLOR, although he never has seen San Gorgonio, caught Congress on a slow day when there were only 112 Members on the floor of the House. After a scattering of debate, SAYLOR successfully slaughtered a southern California dream—this, despite the fact the House Interior Committee already had voted to open 10 percent of Gorgonio for skiing.

Unless southern California's congressional delegation shows a solid front this time, SAYLOR and other eastern Congressmen, prodded by a conservationist lobby, will deprive southern Californians of Gorgonio's winter values again. In other words, an eastern faction shaping a destiny for southern California.

FIRE BUILDS

Representative WILSON, of Los Angeles has done a tremendous job in building a fire under the mounting movement to open part of the Gorgonio Range for winter sports. WILSON has contacted every member of the California congressional delegation and filled them in on the San Gorgonio potential.

If the eastern congressional faction gets as busy as last time, however, San Gorgonio will be knocked down again, maybe for the last time.

Incredibly, the movement to open San Gorgonio for winter sports has the solid backing of major newspapers of southern California. The Herald-Examiner has supported the idea for years. So has the Los Angeles Times. And so has the San Diego Union, whose winter sports fans are even worse off than those in Los Angeles. San Diegans must travel 860 miles (round trip) to the nearest dependable snow in northern California—Mammoth Mountain. The lucky people of Los Angeles only have to travel 700 miles round trip.

Seven hundred miles, when a better snow resort can be had straight down the San Bernardino Freeway, a quick automobile ride of 80 miles.

The journalistic tipoff is the fact the San Bernardino Sun-Telegram, also, has been supporting the San Gorgonio winter sports movement for years, and Gorgonio is located right there, in San Bernardino County.

Add to this the absolute truth that each newspaper named has been a great asset in the conservation cause, more so, you may be sure, than some of the militant self-styled conservationists who never have been any nearer to a wilderness than their own backyard.

If you want the greatest winter sports area on part of the San Gorgonio Range, there is only one thing to do:

Write your Congressman.

Alaska: The Last Best Hope

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH J. RIVERS

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. RIVERS of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, newspaper or magazine articles or columns that describe our home States favorably for their climate, for their beauty, or for some other aspect are always a delight to encounter. Some such articles are more—they are enthusiastic, and they are enthusiastic about the right things as we see them. And, reading them makes us feel just radiant.

A recent column by the conservation editor of Scripps-Howard newspapers, Mr. Edward J. Meeman, certainly makes me feel radiant, for he describes very well what I feel about Alaska. Mr. Meeman's column was written shortly after he returned from a 12-day trip to Alaska as a member of the National Park Service's Advisory Board. So that others may have the opportunity of reading his excellent account of what Alaska is, I insert it here:

ALASKA: THE LAST BEST HOPE

(By Edward J. Meeman)

JUNEAU.—Abraham Lincoln called the United States "the last best hope of earth." In these States, freedom and democracy, made effective by the Federal principle, gave the human race, which had hitherto failed, its opportunity to make a success of God's experiment in mankind.

And, Alaska is the last best hope of these United States.

That I say, after having toured Alaska with Interior Secretary Stewart Udall's Advisory Board on National Parks.

"The lower 48" as Alaskans call them, allowed their natural resources to be plundered and wasted. Misled by "the myth of superabundance," as Secretary Udall calls it, 19th-century Americans destroyed their forests, slaughtered their animals (exterminating some of them), exhausted their soil, depleted and polluted their waters, and at the 11th hour seeks to restore them.

Alaska, one-fifth the size of "the lower 48," is rich in unplundered natural resources, with green lands, pure waters, and abundant wild animals. Here can be done what should have been done and not done in the lower 48. Here the exploded "myth of superabundance" need never be believed. Thus Alaska is the last best hope of the United States.

We saw this vast State of hope and promise from every means of transportation—plane and train, bus and automobile, boat and the giant ocean-going craft which the State built to connect the port cities of the inner passage, and which they modestly call ferries because they will carry your car, trailer, or truck as well as you, but which are also luxury vacation ships. We saw it from walking boots.

We saw range after range of snow-capped, green-sloped mountains, topped by the continent's highest, 20,320-foot Mount McKinley, shining in the sunlight.

In McKinley Park we saw the pageant of wild animals moving in our gaze—a herd of caribou, many moose, bear, goats, and even a porcupine. A great brown bear fished with us in the river at Brooks Camp in Katmai.

From our boat in Glacier Bay National Monument, we saw the great chunks of ancient blue ice crumble and fall into the

bay with a loud crash, we saw seals sunning themselves on the miniature icebergs; Udall sighted a whale.

Katmai needs only a change of name from "monument" to "park" to be recognized, with its 4,200 square miles, as our largest national park and one of our most interesting. Here our helicopter landed in what was called the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes after the mighty eruption of 1912 which buried more than 40 square miles with ash, though there are only a dozen smokes now. We peered into the craters and felt the warm steam which still rises. Fine lakes and streams abound.

So many are the wonders of Alaska that few Americans have ever heard of Wood-Tikchik, though it is one of this Nation's finest recreation areas. It contains 1,453,014 acres, and its feature is a chain of clear, cool, and pure lakes, averaging 15 to 20 miles in length and 1 to 3 miles in width, in which the fish are jumping. Rimmed with mountains for scenery, of course. The State of Alaska has selected it as an area of public lands in which it is interested, and natives have laid claim to a portion of it, but its future is undetermined. It could become famous as a Chain-of-Lakes Park.

In many areas there are so many rushing streams and waterfalls as to seem almost commonplace.

No area is richer in wildflowers than Alaska—even in the tundra of the high mountains and the Arctic. Cultivated flowers in the gardens are large and brilliant. Vegetables are the largest and tenderest.

Though it is a land of long winters of short days and short summers of long days, so many discriminating people have found happiness in its beauty and delight that others are sure to come.

This growing population will have a great but joyous responsibility. They will be the custodians of the last best hope of these United States.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 3, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my Washington Report to my constituents for September 6, 1965:

POLITICS AND POVERTY

(Washington Report from Congressman JIM MARTIN)

One of the hit songs of the musical show of some years back, "Fiorello," was "Politics and Poker." Today under Lyndon Johnson, the theme song of his administration is fast becoming "Politics and Poverty." Nothing is being overlooked by the President in using every facet of Government to sew up even a single vote. Poverty is the key word to initiate Federal programs, control schools, supervise business and industry, reduce the power of the police and local law enforcement agencies, and constantly build a larger and larger image of L.B.J. as the sole power to deal with and solve all human problems. Many Members of Congress are becoming very much concerned with the handling of the poverty program which is being openly and arrogantly used by the Democrats to strengthen their political machines and to control future elections. Whether enough Congressmen will be sufficiently concerned to reassert the legislative powers of Congress remains to be seen.

HOME RULE BILL A TEST

Some of this concern may have been the reason the President has had such difficulty in securing the needed 218 signatures to the discharge petition for home rule for the District of Columbia. Even though L.B.J. and Martin Luther King injected the idea of riots and violence in Washington if Congress failed to meet their demands on home rule, some Congressmen were reluctant to sign under that kind of threat. Responsible Congressmen, who take seriously their obligation to represent the people, resent pressure by the President or self-styled leaders of minority groups. Passing legislation under threat of violence and demonstrations is contrary to the American way, and most Congressmen put honor, love of country and responsibility to the people above party politics. It is time the pioneer spirit is revived among our people. The President should be informed, in no uncertain terms, that his use of poverty, race and other vote-getting gimmicks is not good politics. The country simply cannot afford to support millions in idleness or to improve the economic condition for those who do not care enough to try to help themselves, just to perfect the Johnson political machine.

MORE ON RENT SUBSIDIES

For the further enlightenment of the junior Senator from Alabama and those editorial writers who are still insisting that his housing bill with its rent subsidy provision cannot be used to force integrated neighborhoods, I call attention to several items from the September 6 issue of U.S. News & World Report:

"NEWSGRAM, TOMORROW.—Change is occurring in goals of this country's Negro 'revolution.' Equal rights no longer are the goal. Rights are guaranteed by law. Equal opportunity is outmoded, too. It's recognized in law. Equal results now are the goal the Government itself is outlining. It's not quite clear what 'equal results' will involve. Rent subsidy to help Negroes move from slums to suburbs is one phase of the new program to get results. Income 'supplements' to bring all incomes up to $3,000 is another. More are being thought up. In the new goal is at least the suggestion of similarity to the dictum of Karl Marx: 'From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs.' Costs to reach the new goal can be very high."

WASHINGTON WHISPERS

Some liberal Democrats in Congress are pictured as showing some alarm about the political reaction that may come from use of rent subsidies to move Negro families from city slums into better-class suburban neighborhoods. In Washington, D.C., a proposal is being advanced which calls for some 6,000 poverty-stricken Negro families to be moved from the city to the Capital's suburbs in Maryland and Virginia.

DANGER FACING BIG CITIES

(From an article)

"The idea of subsidized incomes has been suggested with Federal payments to families with incomes below a fixed level. Rent subsidies, authorized by a new Federal Housing Act, are seen as one way to help break up Negro ghettos and scatter Negroes through white neighborhoods. In Washington, D.C., officials are seeking to move 6,000 Negro families to the suburbs through this plan."

REPORT ON REPEAL OF SECTION 14(b)

The fight to keep section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act which protects the rights of the States to have or not to have right-to-work laws is not over. Although the liberals passed the bill in the House, the Senate is stiffening opposition against repeal. At the present time about 26 Senators have agreed to take part in extended debate on repeal after all other Senate business has been concluded. This could mean action to repeal right-to-work laws will not be taken in this session and this will give the people more time to let their Senators know how they feel about this bill before it is taken up again next year. Among those leading the fight against repeal is Senator DIRKSEN.

President's Warning on Steel

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson has again acted with resourcefulness and tact in handling an extremely difficult problem—the crisis posed by the contract negotiations in the steel industry.

When the talks seemed stymied on the eve of the strike date, he called the parties together and impressed on them the heaby public interest in the conclusion of the discussions without costly work stoppage. This was a logical followup to his statement at his press conference a few days earlier.

The decisions which will be made in Pittsburgh this week are of vital importance to every person in this country and to people in other parts of the world.

The Milwaukee Journal of August 26 analyzes this cautionary declaration of the President, elaborating in further detail the costly effects of a strike in steel. I commend this analysis to you and place it in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal, Aug. 26, 1965]

PRESIDENT'S WARNING ON STEEL

President Johnson"s stern reminder of the heavy public responsibilities borne by management and labor representatives in the current steel negotiations was appropriate and timely.

"The decisions which will be made in Pittsburgh this week are of vital importance to every person in this country and to people in other parts of the world," the President said at his press conference.

This is so because steel remains by far the most important industrial material, three times as large in industrial production as all other metals combined. An excessive wage settlement—one beyond the voluntary wage-price guidelines suggested by the administration—would very likely result in a hike in steel prices. This surely would touch off hikes in a broad range of other prices. Because it is so basic to other industries, steel cannot avoid being treated as a special case.

"There must be continued cost and price stability in our American economy and I expect full and complete responsibility in the current wage negotiations, and I expect continued stability in steel prices," the President said. To emphasize the point, he also took exception—and properly so—to the generous 5 percent average pay raise for all Federal workers just approved by a House committee. The administration had recommended a 3-percent increase.

The immediate concern now, however, is what happens in steel. What steelworkers mainly need are growing markets for steel if they are to avoid more serious job losses. And the companies should know that price stability and high operating rates are vitally important for their own well-being. It is in both their interests, as well as the Nation's, that a fair, noninflationary settlement be reached quickly.

George Schuyler

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. George Schuyler, a noted Negro reporter and editor, has written a most interesting article which appeared in the Dallas Morning News for August 19, 1965, dealing with racial problems in the United States. Because there is always two sides to every issue, I would commend this article to this body as worthwhile reading:

[From the Dallas Morning News, Aug. 19, 1965]

RACIAL AGITATORS HIT—MANY INNOCENT BETRAYED BY FEW

(NOTE.—George S. Schuyler, a reporter and editor for Negro newspapers and magazines for over 40 years, is one of the most controversial Negro intellectuals in America. He has long believed that Negro Americans, in their own interest, should be conservatives rather than radicals in U.S. politics, and that they have been led astray by power-hungry civil rights leaders.)

(By George S. Schuyler)

NEW YORK (NANA).—The current crop of antiwhite disturbances, like those in the past, is the inevitable consequences of the increasing competition between rival civil rights groups led by career agitators vying for the profits of organized pandemonium.

Never have so many innocent people been betrayed by so few for so little.

There are as many different kinds of Negroes as there are white people, and most of them deplore the bad reputation they have been given by the excesses of the agitational and criminal elements of their so-called race. They respect life and property. They own millions of homes, automobiles, and modern utensils and do not cram the jails. Like their white peers, they are eager to live in peace. They have no illusions about the marching, mobbing, picketing, vandalizing Negro element. They know there is a lot of law in the end of a policeman's nightstick, and they want it used.

Above all, these Negroes wish white people in authority would stop flattering and encouraging the sorcerer's apprentices leading astray the mentally retarded and criminally-bent black minority.

Utilizing the traditional techniques of spontaneous disorder, well known to Communists, Nazis and other political perverts, the self-appointed leaders of the Negro revolution have for years recklessly incited young Negroes to mass action inside (and often outside) the urban Negro enclaves.

In turn, they have denounced police brutality, the white power structure, residential segregation, de facto segregated schools, job discrimination, phony white liberals and have pronounced a whole gamut of grievances which could not possibly be solved or even ameliorated in a century, if then, and will never lessen racial conflict.

Constant suggestions of a long, hot summer and conditions getting worse before they get better, are but invitations to hoodlums, arsonists, and vandals, aided by white beatnik amoralists and malcontent leftists currently disturbing our campuses.

Not a single one of these trumpeted evils is nonexistent here nor in any other country similarly circumstanced. They are products of our color caste system which will never be improved by Negro insurrection They are in all multiracial and multiethnic societies from Soviet Muslim Asia to Central Africa. These problems are more agitated here because the United States has been a sitting duck for left-wing moralizers who have made millions of well-meaning Americans feel like Nazi racists and who have persuaded gullible Negroes into believing the only thing holding them back is persecution.

Only the most self-serving demagogs, arrogant know it alls or men with social revolution in mind would stir up a social situation so fraught with tragedy for Negroes or profess to believe that any predominant social class would willingly surrender power, prestige, and privileges in the face of threats and violent demonstrations.

Ever since the long and futile Montgomery bus boycott (settled not by marching but by Federal court order), the peripatetic Dr. Martin Luther King and his posse of political parsons in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) have roamed the country collecting coins and infecting the mentally retarded with the germs of civil disobedience, camouflaged as nonviolence and love of white people.

Phony prayers for the salvation of white "oppressors" and chanting slave songs fooled nobody except possibly the utopians and wishful thinkers. Only the unwary and true believers thought this program was anything but pixilated.

As many Negroes foresaw, the net result of this long encouragement of civil disobedience, disdain for authority, and general disrespect for public morals was to set the stage for the successive disgraceful orgies of burning, looting, vandalism, and death, with the criminal elements of the slum proletariat taking over. Ironically, when police called upon these civil rights leaders to help control the rampaging mobs, they were, if found, completely ineffective.

With the recklessness of complete ignorance or irresponsibility, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference sent its mobile gangs of young clergymen from place to place to take over the revolution despite expressed objections of local leaders, even mobilizing schoolchildren to face police clubs, dogs, and firehoses, breeding ill-will and jeopardizing Negro jobs by promotion of nuisance tactics. No matter how many minions might be jugged by the police, the Reverend Mr. King always contrived to get out in time for his next speaking engagement.

James Farmer, the professional pacifist and war resister who heads the Congress of Racial Equality, has played an even more sinister role with outright challenges to law, order, and public peace. Like SCLC, this outfit operates schools of subversion where graduates are trained in how to march on city halls and courthouses, fall limp when arrested and in other ways make pests of themselves.

Not to be outdone by these competitors for the scarce civil rights dollar, the veteran National Association for the Advancement of Colored People saw the expedience of adopting the same tactics of boycotts, sit-ins, marches, and picketings. It even went much further by thinking up the de facto school segregation gimmick which has kept the North and East in an uproar for the last 3 years.

The empty assumption behind this campaign is that schools predominantly attended by Negro children are ipso facto segregated and therefore inferior and that to equalize public education this "imbalance" must be corrected by moving the Negro children into predominantly white schools. Since this was and is obviously impossible, what small victories have attended these herculean efforts have been pyrrhic. Nowhere have school boycotts, marches, and beseigements of boards of education done else but worsen race relations.

The millionaire-subsidized National Urban League stretched absurdity still further by coming out publicly for preference being shown Negroes in employment and promotion because they are so far behind whites. This was and is doomed to failure in our basically competitive society, but it adds up to another "reason" for suspicion and hatred of white people.

All of these civil rights leaders have joined in a loud chorus denouncing police brutality or the forceful suppression of crime which flourishes in every large Negro community. Every subordinate from coast to coast joined in the hue and cry, although decent Negroes as well as whites suffer from this criminal element. The cry sounds in many cities, with monotonous regularity, for civilian review boards to help wreck discipline and restrain the police from doing what they are hired to do. This outcry has emboldened the Negro criminal element and lowered its respect for and fear of the police.

The respectable bulk of Negroes has been reduced to silence by the terrorism of the agitational element. Every Negro who has openly opposed its illegal and senseless actions has been denounced as an "Uncle Tom," an enemy of his people and lackey of the whites.

One distinguished and authentic Negro leader, the Reverend Dr. Joseph E. Jackson, president of the 5 million strong National Baptist Convention of America, Inc., was hooted off the stand in Chicago's stadium because he expressed views opposed to those of the professional agitators. The current president of the Philadelphia branch of the NAACP has had a field day denouncing the conservative middle-class Negroes in the organization.

Craven politicians have contributed much to this insurrectionary atmosphere by not standing up to the intellectual authors of violence and subversion.

Consider the spectacle of New York's Mayor Robert Wagner skulking through the basement of New York's city hall rather than have thrown out the beatniks picketing his office; of other high officials permitting their work to be disrupted in the name of civil rights; of needed public construction being halted by CORE beatniks; of President Johnson being booed at the New York World's Fair. The power structure has been long suffering but much too cooperative for its own good.

Most of the civil rights leaders who have sparked these insurrections would still be unknown if it had not been for the mass communication media which publicized them on every occasion, put them on innumerable television programs and wrote profiles of them as if they wanted this racket to succeed. At the same time newspapers, magazines, radio, and television sought out not a single Negro with an opposing viewpoint. It is hard to remember such a one-sided presentation.

Just prior to the Los Angeles shambles, a local radio station had on one of its programs an ex-criminal, Charlie Sims, head of the gun-carrying Louisiana Deacons for Defense and Justice. Undoubtedly, tens of thousands of Los Angeles Negroes heard and applauded him.

When returning Gov. Edmund Brown of California described the Los Angeles shambles as "a state of siege," he spoke aptly. President Johnson expressed horror over the bloody orgy but did not speculate on the causes of it all. To find the source, he needed to look no farther than the Negro civil rights leaders with whom he has frequently conferred, especially when they promised to suspend demonstrations until after the 1964 election.

Now that the Civil Rights Act of 1965 and the Voting Rights Act are operative, he and everybody else had a right to expect that we would see an end to demonstrations, picketing, arson, looting, and vandalism. But these evils are easier started than stop-

ped, and they just don't go away because another law is on the books.

What this country badly needs is public officials who will not temporize with illegality and disorder garbed in the mantle of civil rights and equality, who will suppress crime and violence regardless of color; judges who will act with speed and vigor to jail disturbers of the peace, and more responsible communications media that will refrain from persistently exciting the idle, envious and lawless.

A Serious Threat to Children—PKU

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, for many years, the Nation has been conscious of the growing number of mentally retarded children. In the first half of this decade, a great impetus developed to try to find some answers to the problems relating to mental retardation in children. Medical science stil has many questions yet to answer. However, one of the great developments in coping with this problem has been the discovery of a test to detect phenylketonuria in a new born infant. The State of California has recently passed a law encouraging the testing of infant children, which can be done very easily by either a pediatrician or the parents, at home.

I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article from the May issue of the PTA magazine, published by the Parent and Teachers Association, describing this serious threat to children and offering new hope to parents who desire to avoid the dread outcome of this serious disease relating to mental retardation in children:

A SERIOUS THREAT TO CHILDREN—PKU

Phenylketonuria (fen-il-ke-to-nu-re-ah)—PKU, for short—is known to be an important cause of a preventable defect that occurs in some infants and young children. An inborn error of metabolism, PKU is characterized by a unique type of mental retardation. The infant is born apparently normal but has a basic enzyme deficiency that leads to deterioration of the brain.

If the defect is known, however, the newborn baby can be put on a special diet to prevent the toxic effect. This must be done soon after birth. Otherwise the special diet will not help, for mental retardation will already have set in.

Three drops of blood can be the means of discovering the deficiency before any brain damage can take place in the fetus or new born child. A new maternal PKU screening test may detect the tendency in the mother prior to, or very early after, conception. If the mother-to-be follows the preventive diet, her offspring will not be likely to suffer from this type of brain damage.

PTA members and their friends are hereby asked to urge their State legislators to enact legislation making it compulsory for each expectant mother and newborn infant be tested for PKU. The legislation should also provide for public education about PKU, for aid to the parents of the little victims (the cost of the special diet is high), and for a thorough program of recordkeeping. The entire program should be conducted by the State Department of Public Health, which should be allowed to set standards and rules.

Six States already have such mandatory laws: New York, Massachusetts, Louisiana, Rhode Island, Illinois (permissive), and Oregon. All States should have them.

Clergymen Must Obey the Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 3, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the recent rioting in Los Angeles and the alarming increase in crime make it imperative that we rededicate ourselves to a renewed respect for the law. Without law we are not a civilized society, but rather a people reverting to the law of the jungle. The rights of all the people are safe only in a society ruled by law in which the proper respect is shown for the observance of the law and where transgressors against the law and against society must pay the penalty for their transgressions.

One of the tragedies of our time is that many well-intentioned persons, including members of the clergy, motivated by the high purpose of eliminating injustices and inequality, have allowed themselves to be entrapped by those who believe any means is justified to obtain a good end and who are willing to disregard the law when it does not fit into the attainment of their goals. Consequently, we have broken down the respect for law and order and have encouraged the less highly motivated and the criminal to scoff at the law with the result that robbery, rape, murder, and crimes of violence are daily occurences on the streets of our cities.

In his column in the Washington Evening Star of September 2, David Lawrence quotes Rev. Dr. Robert B. Watts, an Episcopal minister, who reminds his fellow clergymen that they, too, must obey the law. Mr. Lawrence's column follows:

EPISCOPAL MINISTER REPLIES TO KING

(By David Lawrence)

It isn't often that a clergyman has also had a successful career as a Government lawyer and in private business. Ministers have rarely had the opportunity to study the law of the land as was the experience of Rev. Dr. Robert B. Watts, pastor of an Episcopal church in La Jolla, Calif.

A sermon delivered by Dr. Watts since the Los Angeles riots deplores the doctrine that it is all right to disobey an "unjust" law. The latter idea, enunciated by Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Negro leader, has aroused considerable objection not only among clergymen but among laymen as well throughout the country.

Dr. Watts graduated from Yale Law School, where he was editor of the Yale Law Journal. He practiced law in Chicago and New York, and was chief assistant U.S. attorney in New York City for several years and served also as special assistant to the Attorney General of the United States. He was with the National Labor Relations Board for 9 years from 1934 to 1943. For 3 of these he was general counsel of the Board and argued many of its cases in the Supreme Court of the United States. He served also in business as vice president and general counsel of Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corp., and later with General Dynamics Corp. He was ordained in 1958 in the Episcopal diocese of Los Angeles. Dr. Watts, in his recent sermon, said:

"There has been advanced by various philosophical followers of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., one of the most extraordinary suggestions ever made in Anglo-Saxon or American legal annals. As a mixture of sophistry and softheadedness, brewed by nonlegal or corroded legal minds, I assert that this suggestion has spawned the present wave of destruction now sweeping the country.

"In brief, this proposed doctrine is that if any individual citizen or group of citizens, after meditation, comes to the conclusion that any law is unjust, and further conclude that if apprehended he or they are willing to accept the penalty imposed for violation of the law, then it becomes morally justifiable to break the law openly and notoriously.

"Of course the worst thing about this doctrine is that there are no dividing lines in it. If it is valid for a small violation, it applies equally to a more serious one. Once you start this approach there is no stopping. It is like a roller coaster which nears the top of the track. Once you push it over a little bit, it plunges down all the way.

"The amazing thing is that many clergy of this church, including both priests and bishops, have openly and officially accepted this doctrine. Episcopal clergymen have received written expressions of this doctrine for their guidance. And large numbers of clergy of this and other communions have been sent, or have gone on their own volition, to southern areas for the sole purpose of expressing racial concerns by open law defiance pursuant to this new assertion of moral right.

"Finally, as sorely distressed Christians, we see instance after instance of reluctance on the part of elected officials to meet lawlessness quickly and firmly lest there be an adverse effect upon their personal political careers at the ballot box. Thank God, not all our officials are of this character, but too many are."

Dr. Watts declared that it ought to be perfectly clear that no person, "however exalted he may be or regard himself, has the right to say that what was wrong before becomes morally right if the acting party is willing to be punished if caught." He pointed out that clergymen have a duty not only to support the Constitution and laws of the land, but to reject the doctrine of a morally justified civil disobedience. He urged that there be no compromise with lawlessness, and he added that Christians should "seek by all lawful and proper means to help our neighbors to achieve civic equality of treatment and betterment of opportunity for self-improvement."

While it is understandable that there should be a difference of viewpoint as to the wisdom of participation by the clergy in public demonstrations, there has been much discussion among the clergymen as to how far such activities should extend. There is widespread sentiment that clergymen, as individual citizens, may express themselves freely on problems of human behavior, but that ministers ought not to take part in sit-ins or lie-ins in any mass protests which can incite violence.

It is apparent that many of the younger clergymen are taking the position that, since the objective is worthy, any method used to achieve it is permissible, whereas the clergymen of more mature years, irrespective of their sectarian affiliations, are arguing that clergymen have the same obligation as do other citizens to obey the law.

Steel: L.B.J. Put Prestige on the Line

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 16, 1965

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, all of us would agree I think that President Lyndon Johnson is a remarkably successful Chief Executive. The fact of his success sometimes obscures a rather basic truth—his fights have not always been easy ones. Many have been difficult, controversial struggles in which he laid his personal prestige on the line.

The fact he won those battles should not keep us from recognizing and commending him from risking to enter them in the first place.

An outstanding article by Marianne Means in the New York Journal-American of September 1, 1965, makes this point with rare clarity of thought. Beginning with the President's intervention in the railroad negotiations of last year and coming up to the present steel talks and the discharge petition on home rule, Miss Means demonstrates the courage with which the President has backed matters in which he believes.

This article deserves further distribution and I place it in the RECORD at this time:

[From the New York Journal-American, Sept. 1, 1965]

STEEL—L.B.J. PUTS PRESTIGE ON THE LINE

(By Marianne Means)

WASHINGTON, September 1.—President Johnson's intervention in the steel crisis demonstrates his willingness to put his prestige boldly on the line for matters in which he believes even when he runs grave risk of defeat—and subsequent embarrassment.

Not all Presidents have been so agreeable to sticking their necks out, or felt themselves able to do so.

President Johnson, however, has not hesitated to throw his weight behind projects and solutions he feels would not reach fruition without him. His highly publicized discussions with steel—union and management officials—and his personal announcement of the 8-day postponement of the strike deadline represent the latest example in a series of such Presidential moves.

HOME RULE BILL

He recently called, for instance, for support for a petition now circulating in the House to get a bill that would give home rule to the District of Columbia out of the District Committee. It is highly unusual for a President to openly back a congressional petition, because such petitions are devices for getting around the traditional procedures of Congress and Presidents usually hesitate to encourage Congress to break tradition.

The President did not seem to be bothered by the fact that House Speaker JOHN MCCORMACK, Democrat, of Massachusetts, and House Whip CARL ALBERT, Democrat, of Oklahoma, have refused to sign the petition and the petition is currently woefully short of the required 218 signatures.

President Johnson also intervened in last year's railroad crisis, calling labor and management to the White House and personally supervising contract negotiations until an agreement was reached and a nationwide strike averted. The President acted in the face of prevailing hopelessness over the railroad deadlock.

He risked a personal defeat if his intervention had not succeeded in a year when he was running for election.

OPERATING THEORY

President Johnson's theory of operating in the White House is to throw all of his resources into a fight to get what he wants. He has not avoided controversial issues.

Some Presidents, however, felt chary of expanding their prestige on projects of less than the highest significance. They have helped only mildly and privately, saving their popularity points for the biggest battles.

President Kennedy followed this practice in some measure. Frequently he told visitors that he was hoarding his prestige for the battles he expected after the 1964 election, when he hoped to have been reelected by a wide margin.

The late President had given up on medicare and was going to wait until after 1964 to make another major effort to see it pass Congress. He was also holding back a well-developed outline for what became President Johnson's war on poverty, expecting to propose the project during his 1964 reelection campaign.

Gen. William C. Westmoreland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I have had the pleasure of knowing Gen. William C. Westmoreland for a number of years. As I am sure everyone knows he is in command of our operations in Vietnam. I first met General Westmoreland when he held a command in Korea; later as the Superintendent of the Military Academy at West Point.

Mr. Edwin White has written a very fine word picture and description of General Westmoreland which appeared in a recent issue of the Dallas Morning News. I include the article at this point in the RECORD:

OUR GENERAL AT THE FRONT

(By Edwin Q. White)

SAIGON, VIETNAM, August 21.—Striding rapidly toward the helicopter, the man in fatigue uniform and jungle boots glanced to his left, then stopped suddenly and asked, "What's over there?"

Ducking under the tail of the waiting helicopter, Gen. William C. Westmoreland went to see for himself. The commander of American military forces in Vietnam found a group of soldiers reinforcing a mortar emplacement. They were members of part of the 1st U.S. Army Division that arrived recently in Vietnam.

Westmoreland asked each man a few questions, then returned to the helicopter and was whirled away for a look at other units stationed near Saigon.

The two door gunners peered over their weapons as the green countryside fell away beneath the chopper. Westmoreland hunched forward in his seat and talked over the noise of the engine.

"I always like to be with troops in the field," he said. "You have to get out and see them * * * to see what they're doing and how they're getting along. It gives you a perspective that you can never get back in headquarters.

"Of course, the trouble is there is just never enough time."

With more than 70,000 American military men now in South Vietnam and more expected soon, Westmoreland finds increasing demands on his time.

"I still try to get out at least three times a week," he said, "once for a full day and twice for a half day each."

There are endless rounds of conferences, meetings and briefings. Countless reports must be handled. Ceremonies and official social functions must be attended. All these things take up time.

Westmoreland has given orders that the men of his command work at least 60 hours a week. His own day starts at 6:30 a.m., with a few brisk calisthenics and a light meal. It normally winds up late at night with him poring over material that must be read. Added up, it makes for a workweek of considerably more than 60 hours.

Westmoreland, who received his fourth star of a full general 1 year ago, officially heads the Military Assistance Command Vietnam (MACV), and the newly designated U.S. Army Vietnam. The latter was set up July 21 in a move to streamline the American chain of command in Vietnam, replacing the former U.S. Army Support Command.

The nature of the establishment here dictates that Westmoreland work closely with the American diplomatic mission, and also with the young men who hold power in the Saigon government. The premier is Nguyen Cao Ky, a flying general who still actively commands the Vietnamese air force. At 34, Ky is 17 years younger than Westmoreland.

Westmoreland emphasizes repeatedly that the war here is different from any other war. Because this is true, it poses problems for the American military commander that require the talents and skills of politician, diplomat and umpire as well as soldier.

Despite the thousands of Americans that have poured into the country, the war here technically is Vietnam's war. U.S. soldiers, Marines, airmen, Navy and Coast Guard men are here to assist and support the Vietnamese in their fight against the Communists. There is no joint command. South Vietnam is a sovereign country, a point that some of its military leaders have been known to carry to an extreme.

Westmoreland, a trim 6-foot, 180-pound man with cropped gray hair and a firmly chiseled jaw, recently climbed to the top of a mound of red Vietnamese earth during a field trip and looked at the upturned faces of a group of American troops gathered around him.

"I asked for you to come here," he said, "because I needed you to help us in our effort to help the Vietnamese. You have come a long way from your homes and your families.

"You have come to a country and a people that are strange to you. But these are good people. They have fought long and they have fought well against Communist aggression. We are here to help them in this fight. Force must be used to resist force."

Westmoreland is no stranger to war in far-off lands. Born March 26, 1914, in Saxon, S.C., he was graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1936. In May 1941, he was with the 9th Infantry Division when it headed for action in World War II and fought through the campaigns of Tunis, Sicily, Normandy, Northern France, the Rhineland, Ardennes and Central Europe. He won the Legion of Merit for actions in North Africa and Sicily.

Returning from Europe after World War II as a colonel, Westmoreland completed airborne training and in July 1952 came to the Far East. He commanded the 187th Airborne

Regimental Combat Team in three campaigns of the Korean war.

Westmoreland came to Vietnam in January 1964 as deputy commander of MACV. He became acting commander of the assistance command that June and formally took over as commander August 1, 1964.

Westmoreland has no illusions about the different war that is being fought in Vietnam.

With his heavy, dark brows crinkled against the slashing brilliance of the Vietnamese sun, he will go to his troops in the field and say:

"This is a different kind of war than we have ever had to fight before. There is no front and no rear. There are no battlelines. The enemy is to the front, to the rear, to the right and to the left.

"He is aggressive and he is cunning. He must never be underestimated. But I know you are better soldiers, that you can face the challenge of this different kind of war and that you can do the job that must be done here."

Often described as a "soldier's soldier," the lean general moves among his troops in the field without any sign of pomp or bluster. When possible, he has a few personal words for each man. Often he meets men who have served with him in other wars.

Back in the helicopter, he pulls a field jacket around his shoulders to guard against the sudden change from the steamy temperatures of the ground to the chilling winds that beat through the doors.

"It's a lot different here," he says, "but they're good soldiers. They'll do all right.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided*, That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

Foreign Assistance Funds Available for Obligation, Fiscal Years 1957–66

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend, and with the thought that it might be of ready reference when the House debates the foreign assistance appropriation bill tomorrow, I include a tabulation showing total funds available for obligation for the mutual defense and development program for each of the last 9 years, and for the current fiscal year, 1966, as estimated under the bill reported by the Committee on Appropriations. In other words, it reflects what the committee proposes for this year and what Congress has done over the 10-year period.

One-third of the total for the current year 1966 is for military assistance in South Vietnam and several other countries.

Two-thirds of the total is for economic assistance and development, including substantial amounts for South Vietnam and southeast Asia and for the Alliance for Progress initiated in 1960 in Latin America.

The right-hand column—column 5 of the table—shows that total obligational authority proposed in the committee bill for 1966 is far below what Congress allowed for obligation 5 years ago in fiscal year 1961, for example—over $1 billion below.

The committee bill is likewise far below fiscal 1962. It is also far below fiscal 1963. It is sightly below last year. It is even below fiscal year 1960, the last year of the previous administration.

In fact, the total estimated available for obligation this year under the committee bill is lower than the amount for any of the last 9 years.

The table follows:

Foreign assistance—Mutual defense and development program [1]

STATEMENT OF AVAILABILITIES—10 YEARS (FISCAL YEAR 1957 THROUGH 1966)

[In millions of dollars]

(1)	Budget estimate [2] (2)	Appropriation (3)	Unobligated carryovers, recoveries, reimbursements, etc. (4)	Total available for obligation (5)
1957				
Military	3,000.0	2,017.5	388.7	2,406.2
Economic	1,860.0	1,749.1	271.2	2,020.3
Total	4,860.0	3,766.6	659.9	4,426.5
1958				
Military	1,600.0	1,340.0	722.1	2,062.1
Economic	1,786.9	1,428.8	398.6	1,827.4
Total	3,386.9	2,768.8	1,120.7	3,889.5
1959				
Military	1,800.0	1,515.0	272.2	1,787.2
Economic	2,375.1	1,933.1	218.8	2,151.9
Total	4,175.1	3,448.1	491.0	3,939.1
1960				
Military	1,600.0	1,300.0	317.6	1,617.6
Economic	2,830.0	1,925.8	180.0	2,105.8
Total	4,430.0	3,225.8	497.6	3,723.4
1961				
Military	2,000.0	1,800.0	173.9	1,973.9
Economic	3,025.0	2,631.4	96.9	2,728.3
Total	[3] 5,025.0	[3] 4,431.4	270.8	4,702.2
1962				
Military	1,885.0	1,600.0	290.3	1,890.3
Economic	2,890.5	2,314.6	768.0	3,082.6
Total	4,775.5	3,914.6	1,058.3	4,972.9
1963				
Military	1,500.0	1,325.0	393.5	1,718.5
Economic	3,461.3	2,603.9	251.5	2,855.4
Total	4,961.3	3,928.9	645.0	4,573.9
1964				
Military	1,405.0	1,000.0	317.9	1,317.9
Economic	3,120.3	2,000.0	418.6	2,418.5
Total	4,525.3	3,000.0	736.5	3,736.4
1965 [4]				
Military	1,055.0	1,055.0	270.5	1,325.5
Economic	2,461.7	2,195.0	131.8	2,326.8
Total	3,516.7	3,250.0	402.3	3,652.3
1966 [5]				
Military	1,170.0	1,170.0	88.0	1,258.0
Economic	2,289.5	2,115.0	257.6	2,372.6
Total	3,459.5	3,285.0	345.6	3,630.6

[1] Title I of the bill, representing funds for the economic and military assistance programs traditionally understood to constitute the "foreign aid program" (sometimes called the "mutual security program").

[2] Represents executive requests as reflected in "House documents" and summarized in "Budget estimates" column of annual House Appropriations Committee reports adjusted to include supplementals.

[3] Includes $600,000,000 for special Latin America program (just preceding the Alliance for Progress).

[4] Preliminary.

[5] Committee bill.

Source: Prepared by the Agency for International Development, Sept. 2, 1965.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, a word about the coverage of this table.

The figures pertain to military and economic assistance programs—title I of the bill, foreign assistance. These are the programs traditionally understood to constitute the "foreign aid program," or, as it is sometimes referred to, the "mutual security program." As such, they do not, of course, take in all oversea or foreign-type expenditures of the Government—nor has the so-called foreign aid program ever been considered or understood to be so all embracing.

There are, and for many years there have been, a number of activities involving U.S. operations overseas or other expenditure programs having oversea aspects to them. Obvious examples are the Peace Corps; the Public Law 480 program of sales of our surplus agricultural commodities for the currencies of the countries concerned; construction of oversea military bases; and so on. These are outside the so-called foreign aid program; traditionally, they always have been outside of it.

The table I have inserted is consistent with the one used last year. And it is on all fours with the traditional concept and understanding of the so-called foreign aid or mutual security program. I hope it will be helpful.

Gadsden Is on the Go

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, there are those who have attempted to malign my State of Alabama and the South by trying to prove that our economy is stagnant and our cities dying. It is true that in some areas with a heavy concentration of unskilled workers, the rate of unemployment is high. This is not due to a lack of economic growth but rather to the fact that we just cannot import industry fast enough to take care of the concentration of unskilled workers who are unemployed on land that no longer produces cotton. In time, we will solve this problem. It could be done much faster if other areas of the country whose people are concerned with conditions of the unskilled worker in the South, white and Negro, would open the doors of their communities and help to relocate on a voluntary basis those who would like to move to an area of less concentrated unemployment.

In spite of this problem, the story that the South is dying because of its racial policies is simply not true. My own hometown of Gadsden is certainly on the go. Our people are looking ahead, new industry is coming in, and our citizens, colored and white, will all benefit from the new opportunities created.

The following editorial from the Gadsden Times gives an account of our city's advance:

[From the Gadsden Times, Sept. 2, 1965]

PRACTICAL SUPPORT OF CITY'S ADVANCE

Practical application can be given to the claim that "Gadsden's on the Go."

Figures released by Alabama Business, a publication of the University of Alabama, show the beginning of an almost record business summer for Gadsden.

Some of this is reflected in the 8.3 increase in retail sales for the first 6 months of this year, with a similar increase in bank debits. Too, following a statewide trend, the people of Gadsden are seemingly putting a greater the normal share of their disposable income into savings.

(Personal income of Alabamians has shown one of the sharpest increases of any State this year, according to a report from Business Week magazine. For the first 6 months of 1965, Alabama's personal income is up 10.7 percent compared to last year. The national average was up 7.8 percent.)

Another area of Gadsden's healthy financial condition is seen in building activity, not enjoyed so well in Birmingham, Tuscaloosa, and other sections in the State.

Unemployment claims were down 9.5 percent in the same survey period.

These are figures that can talk, and they tell a most encouraging story of just how well off Gadsden really is.

With a rejuvenated community spirit firmly established among our citizens, plus a rosy financial environment, in the weeks and months ahead we should be quite safe to assume that even greater days lie just beyond.

Topsfield Civil Defense Training Center Rated No. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, recently, Brendan Malin of the Boston Globe called the attention of the Massachusetts community to the Massachusetts Civil Defense Training Academy in Topsfield, Mass. This unique institution is a national model of instruction in the provision of community services in the event of natural or manmade disasters.

Among the students at the academy have been police, fire, military, and other State officials from all over New England and from New York, Chicago, and Washington as well.

The situations for which they are trained range from military catastrophes to such natural disasters as flood, drought, and hurricane. Under leadership of State Civil Defense Director Allan R. Zenowitz, the academy has prepared numerous officials to respond effectively and efficiently in time of crisis.

Under unanimous consent I include the text of the Boston Sunday Globe article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

TOPSFIELD CD TRAINING CENTER RATED NO. 1

(By Brendan Malin)

This weekend 60 Coast Guard Reservists from Greater Boston have been at one of the busiest, if least-prominent, training centers in the country.

In a building which might be mistaken for the stately residence of a retired business tycoon they have been undergoing intensive drill in rescue processes—to be applied during fire, hurricane or flood havoc, or in the event of enemy action against the United States.

This is the Massachusetts Civil Defense Training Academy and, although sheltered by the sylvan retreat that is Palmer State Park in Topsfield, it represents an effective showcase for the success of Massachusetts Civil Defense as an essential and growing community service.

The Topsfield training center has been rated by the U.S. Department of Defense as the No. 1 school of its type in the country.

As such it has drawn "students"—military, police, firemen, and key State officials—from Chicago, New York, Washington, as well as the six New England States. And the result has been the protective screening of a whole network of communities from the hazards involved in manmade or natural disasters.

Civil defense has a military connotation, conveying the impression of an organization which would spring to life only in the dire circumstances of an enemy attack on the United States. This, of course, is an entirely false interpretation, ignoring growth of CD into the field of emergency planning—to marshal local or State forces in the event of a major fire, to organize drought relief or flood rescue, to provide instant hospitalization at the point of disaster, to disseminate the concept of safety in home and school, office, and factory.

State Civil Defense Director Allan R. Zenowitz analyzes the new and expanding role of civil defense in these words: "People must realize that civil defense is not a military establishment. It is strictly a civilian organization—it is another adjunct to municipal government, like a fire department."

Zenowitz, a major in the U.S. Army Reserve, sees civil defense as the vital planning and provisioning element in coping with emergencies, ranging from simple accidents in the home to the protection of the population in the event of nuclear attack.

As a starting point in this kitchen-to-bomb-shelter concept, there is the medical self-help training program, the aim of which is to educate one person in every family in the steps to be taken when a domestic mishap injures a member of the household or when a local fire or disaster threatens many lives. It ranges from the treatment of burns and the application of bandages to protection against radioactive fallout. The plan has been enthusiastically supported by Cardinal Cushing and many other church leaders.

Under it, civil defense personnel provide instruction in the schools, to the employees of industry, to city and town council staffs and to nurses.

Hospitals throughout the State also work in close liaison with CD. Tufts Medical School sends its freshman students to take part in the disaster training program at Topsfield, and the University of Massachusetts cooperates in the provision of radiological monitoring courses.

A recent CD innovation is the provision of mobile hospitals for instant movement to the scene of a disaster.

Director Zenowitz says that each of these hospitals will accommodate 200 patients. "We have over 100 of them now," he explains, "prepositioned at major population centers. They have surgery, X-ray, and similar equipment built in and they can be assembled for movement to the scene of a local disaster within 20 minutes."

A recurrent emergency in which civil defense now plays a major corrective role is drought. CD has been the agency providing Governor Volpe with daily reports on the parched lands of Massachusetts, and since November of 1964 it has organized pumping and piping facilities for the delivery of more than 3 billion gallons of water to affected regions.

Even more valuable is the function of civil defense in establishing an intentory of recurrent water requirements. Thirteen task forces representing local volunteers from industry and labor, were set up throughout the State to help with solutions.

Training and the coordination of local leadership are key aims of civil defense, says Zenowitz, who points to the success achieved in securing the cooperation of vital State businesses in emergency planning.

Representatives of the Massachusetts petroleum industry have conferred with CD officers on plans for governmental control of gasoline in the event of a national emergency. And N.E.T. & T. technicians are working with CD on plans for emergency communications.

In these and other key industrial and distributive fields more than 2,000 volunteers cooperate with civil defense in planning for the continuance of vital services—food, fuel and commerce, for example—in the event of a military or natural-disaster emergency.

And the aspect of civil defense about which nobody likes to think—nuclear attack.

Zenowitz points out that the technical-advisory facilities of civil defense are available to homeowners in the provision of shelters. But he concedes that the obstacle of apathy on the part of individual citizens has yet to be overcome.

Public shelter programs are the responsibility of the city and town authorities, and Zenowitz explains that instead of lagging in this enterprise, Massachusetts is slightly ahead of the national average so far as shelter provision is concerned.

Shelters, licensed as of this month, provide accommodations for more than two million persons. Of these, almost a million spaces are fully stocked with food, water, medical kit and radiation monitoring equipment.

Of these totals, 1,194,000 public shelter spaces—387,047 of them fully stocked—are located in the city of Boston.

Ambassador to Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD an excellent editorial in the South Bend Tribune commending President Johnson for his appointment of the distinguished Postmaster General, John Gronouski, to serve as our Ambassador to Poland.

I agree with the Tribune praising this appointment and I am confident that Mr. Gronouski will represent our country effectively in a most significant post.

The editorial follows:

AMBASSADOR TO POLAND

President Johnson's selection of John Gronouski as Ambassador to Poland was an inspired appointment.

Mr. Gronouski will return to his ancestral homeland as the first American of Polish descent to serve in the Cabinet of a President of the United States, an achievement that cannot fail to impress the people of Poland.

The ties of friendship between the people of Poland and the United States are long and strong, running back to the infancy of our country. Those ties have survived even the official Communist "hate America" line which most ordinary Polish people stubbornly resisted swallowing. They will surely listen with interest and respect to as much

of the American story as the new U.S. Ambassador is permitted to tell them.

The post of U.S. Ambassador to Poland is important in another, unique way. It provides the single point of diplomatic contact between Washington and Communist China, and therefore demands an ambassador who has an intimate knowledge of U.S. foreign policy.

As a Cabinet member in both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, Ambassador-designate Gronouski is well qualified to relay U.S. policy to Peiping, particularly as it concerns southeast Asia, where China has shown an unfortunate tendency to underrate American determination to resist Communist aggression.

Eulogy to the Honorable Clarence J. Brown, Representative From the Ohio Seventh District

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, the departure from this earth of the Honorable Clarence J. Brown, of the Ohio Seventh District, is an event of profound sorrow, in every conceivable respect. For here was a man of character, quality, wisdom, and ability—a man whom all of us had cause to admire and reason to respect.

As a veteran of service in 14 consecutive Congresses, Clarence Brown established a record of renown—a record rendering him superior, beyond a doubt, to the average cut of his fellow Congressmen.

Having served as a member of the Government Operations Committee in company with Clarence Brown, I have reason to know from firsthand experience the power of his intellect, the force of his opinions, the strength of his personality. All these combined to establish his as one of the outstanding public personalities of his particular generation. Nor was that his only claim to honor and distinction, for in the personal sense Clarence Brown was also a man of highest quality.

Twice elected to high office in the State of Ohio, and once the Republican nominee for Governor, Clarence Brown became, in time, a powerful figure in the Ohio Republican organization. As such, he served as the friend, confidant, and ardent supporter of the late Senator Robert A. Taft.

From 1944 to 1964 he was Republican committeeman for Ohio; from 1945 to 1948 chairman of the executive committee of the Republican National Committee; campaign director of the Republican National Committee for the year 1946. In several Republican National Conventions Clarence Brown had the honor of leading those forces dedicated to the presidential aspirations of Senator Robbert A. Taft.

As a Congressman he was no less active. Entering the House originally in 1939, Clarence Brown achieved a reputation in this chamber as a man of ideas and action, combined. He conceived and drew up legislation creating both the first and second Hoover Commissions, with the object of reorganizing the Executive Branch of the Government. He also served on both Commissions. He was the ranking Member of the House Committee on Rules; the ranking Member of the Committee on Government Operations, and chairman of the Ohio Republican delegation.

Mr. Speaker, the passing of Congressman Clarence J. Brown is mourned not alone by his family and friends, but also by his constituents, his colleagues and the Congress itself. Yet, the loss our Nation has suffered is comforted by the memory of the man and the inspiration which his ideals give to us all.

I Do Not Believe It Will Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very fine article which appeared in Linn's Weekly Stamp News concerning the philatelic section of the Post Office Department. This article will be of great interest to all philatelists.

I DON'T BELIEVE IT WILL WORK

At least successfully. I refer to the Post Office Department's decision to eliminate the philatelic agency in Washington for all but $25 spenders. This is to become effective October 9 when the agency is to cease operations. Some genius has reported to Postmaster General Gronouski that the new policy will reduce Department operating expenses by $100,000. Now cutting expenses in Government is a desirable way of doing things, even though we never achieve this necessary and still unattained goal. The boys in Washington throw it away faster than it can be saved, and here I'm writing as a taxpayer and not a philatelic editor.

The well-being and popularity of stamp collecting in the United States was assisted considerably by the institution of the philatelic agency in 1921. Collectors found it difficult to obtain fresh, nicely centered copies of stamps at their local post offices. In fact, not too many post offices stocked commemoratives and other special issues, and those which did had undesirable material from a philatelic viewpoint. Many times the small stock received by the postmaster was reserved for himself and friends and the "outsider" got nothing.

To correct this situation, the agency was established. At times its service was ridiculously slow, from 3 to 8 months behind on filling orders. It did, however, provide collectors with a source for all issues of face value and in desirable condition. And of most importance as far as the Post Office Department was concerned, it was the only operation, of the many carried on, that provided a profit year after year.

Forgetting about profit, it would seem that keeping the Philatelic Agency in operation would be a service to the taxpayers. There is no hesitancy in pouring millions of dollars down the drain to cater to, and woo the votes of, other special areas of the population. To me, the attitude of Mr. Gronouski and his Department is another indication of their regarding stamp collecting and its adherents as necessary evils, and possibly, low-grade nuts, who are to be humored with as few crumbs as can be gotten away with.

Doing away with the agency will expose collectors to local post offices where more often than not they will find: poorly centered stamps; philatelically ignorant, snotty post office clerks; favoritism, whereby friends of the local postmaster, or the window clerks will get the cream, and possibly all the available stamps; philatelic windows which are open at difficult hours; an uninterested and intolerant attitude toward stamp collectors.

Other nations around the world are doing an increasing number of favorable things to entice the stamp fan to their new issues. They have found this financially profitable, as has our own Post Office Department; they have also found it a good way to acquaint others with their countries.

What does Mr. Gronouski plan to do with the $100,000 saved? He probably will use it to buy paper and envelopes for letters to go around the Nation announcing the curtailment of some other postal service.

In citing statistics bearing on the closing of the U.S. Philatelic Agency October 9, Postmaster General Gronouski advised a 2-month study had been made of orders. Simply, it was found that: 33 percent of them were for less than $3, 82 percent of them were under $25, 18 percent amounted to more than $25.

The 18 percent brought in 75 percent of the dollar total.

Now this is all well and good, but I'm sure this distribution is generally close to the national pattern of spending on many types of goods. If our Nation's merchants exist and profit on this pattern, so should the Philatelic Agency.

Especially, when in the past, the spending by collectors has given the Post Office Department the only profitable department of the entire postal establishment.

Cultural Exchange

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the President is to be congratulated on his appointment of Prof. Charles Frankel of Columbia University to the post of Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs. The administration is fortunate in having been able to persuade Professor Frankel to undertake this most important assignment, which I am confident he will carry out with distinction. I include herewith the following editorial from the Washington Post of August 25, 1965, with which I emphatically agree:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Aug. 25, 1965]

CULTURAL EXCHANGE

Selection of Dr. Charles Frankel as Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs affords a heartening indication that President Johnson attaches great importance to this subtle assignment. He should. Cultural exchange can not be said to control the relations between great powers. But it affords the best hope for reciprocal understanding, friendship, and peace.

Dr. Frankel is a professor of philosophy at Columbia University. He is a scholar, a man of learning, who commands the respect of intellectual leaders abroad as well as at home. If in this sense he is a citizen of the world, he is also an articulate and forceful representative of American values, interests, and points of view; he has been expressing these American points of view quietly but persuasively in international conferences for some time and will thus bring to his assignment much experience as well as intellectual capacity.

The Department of State needs Dr. Frankel's talents as levening to the ordinary usages of diplomacy. The times may not now seem entirely auspicious for the exploitation of common educational and cultural interests among nations. But no opportunity for the development of such interests should be neglected. Dr. Frankel can be counted upon to develop them imaginatively and resourcefully.

Civil Rights in West Tennessee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, we in west Tennessee are doing everything humanly possible to comply with all Federal laws. Recently demonstrations were held in Brownsville, Tenn., by the civil rights group and the Ku Klu Klan.

There appeared in the August 20 States-Graphic, one of the outstanding weekly newspapers of the Nation, of which Owen Burgess is the editor, a fine editorial, and also an editorial from the August 17 Nashville Banner, also an outstanding newspaper, complimenting Brownsville and Haywood County relative to the fine conduct of all the citizens there.

The reprint of the editorial from the Nashville Banner, and also the editorial from the States-Graphic follow:

[From the States-Graphic, Aug. 20, 1965]

WELL DONE, HAYWOOD COUNTY—A CRISIS RESOLVED WITH GOOD SENSE, GOOD WILL

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—(Nashville Banner editorial of Tuesday, Aug. 17.) This editorial was the result of two demonstrations in Brownsville on Saturday, August 14. A civil rights group gathered just after noon, with representatives of the Ku Klux Klan making an appearance later in the afternoon.)

In the area of human relations, nothing outranks good sense and good will—in conscience employed—as the twin arbiters of any boiling dispute can arise: the vital ingredients to hold a community together when circumstances of storm beset it from within or without. And for that pattern of responsible conduct, a salute is in order to the good citizens of Haywood County, white and Negro alike.

The tempest visited upon them was not of their making. It attained the boiling point with opposing forces, uninvited, there arriving on what could have been disastrous collision course. The disturbance was prompted and inflamed largely by out-of-State extremists on both sides.

Those elements of pressure were on hand for an explosion which was not allowed to occur simply because the decency cherished by the majority of that citizenry did not abdicate.

Nor did law enforcement default. Authority at the local level and the State level stood its ground—backed in this instance by the sentiment of a people refusing either to countenance or appease the lawless. Standing on the sidelines, just in case, were two able representatives of State authority, Safety Commissioner Greg O'Rear and Elmer Craig, chief of the Tennessee Highway Patrol.

With individual and community pride, accepting the responsibility in both particulars, Haywood Countians worked together to spare Brownsville and environs the disgrace of riot and hoodlum violence.

What could have become, in miniature, another Los Angeles explosion, was averted, because a law abiding constituency made its weight felt in the scales of public decision. As parties equally to the courage, the judgment, and mutual good will it took, white and Negro citizens together turned thumbs down on disorder, and stood as one on the side of the law.

They won a victory there, for justice and amity. They have supplied a notable example—an object lesson—not only for Tennessee, where elementary decency has prevailed, but for parts of the United States where it has not.

Individual and community self-respect are primary assets strengthening the moral fiber. Respectful of authority and self-discipline, they are essential to social order and civilization itself. Never more in need of an example for defusing an emotional time bomb, and by intelligent community action removing it, the Nation can find it in Haywood County, Tenn.

[From the States-Graphic, Aug. 20, 1965]

WE FEEL MUCH BETTER

It is indeed gratifying to know that at least one metropolitan newspaper has recognized, and complimented, the citizens of this area, and it is with great joy that we reproduce the above editorial.

We have long known that our citizens were par excellence, and know the above will give us all a so-called "shot in the arm" whereby we will continue to stand fast and not let agitators upset our long-cherished reputation for cultured, law abiding, hospitable citizenry.

We also want to compliment members of the State highway patrol, who stood by to give help if requested by local police officers, in no way throwing their weight around and "taking over" the situation.

We commend them for their fine work and for saving us the embarrassment of losing face during a critical situation.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include my Washington Report to the people of the Seventh District of Alabama for March 11, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman JIM MARTIN, Seventh District, Alabama)

HELP FOR THE AGED IN PAYING MEDICAL BILLS

Few of us would disagree that something must be done to help those in the upper age brackets who have passed their productive years and are faced with heavy medical costs. The question is, how is the best way to do it? The highly publicized medicare bill proposed by the President will not do the job. In fact, people are being greatly misled as to exactly what is in the medicare bill. It is misnamed because it does not pay any medical costs. It provides a limited payment for some hospital care. It is not confined to helping the needy, even millionaires can draw benefits paid for by taxing low and middle income wage earners.

On the other hand the eldercare bill, which I have introduced along with other Members of Congress (my bill is H.R. 5046) provides more benefits, including doctors' bills, does not increase social security taxes and will cost less money to operate. It does not set up a new Federal bureau to come between the patient and the doctor, nor does it increase Federal intervention in the rights and responsibilities of the States.

Little noticed in the well-organized propaganda campaign for medicare is the announced objective of its proponents—complete Government operated medical care for all the people. Whatever this is called, it is socialized medicine. No less an authority than Labor Leader Walter Reuther, one of the key planners of the Great Society, told members of his union that the adoption of the present medicare bill is only the beginning. The real goal, Reuther said, is to provide all medical care for all the people. The only way the people can head off turning the finest medical system in the world over to the social planners and the advocates of socialized medicine is to begin a nationwide letter writing campaign with every interested citizen contacting his own Representatives and Senators to urge the adoption of eldercare and the defeat of the administration's medicare scheme.

TAX HOAX

Have you filled out your income tax forms yet? If you have you now know how you were tricked last year into believing you got a bigger tax cut then you actually did. Do you suppose the Johnson tax cut was just a political gimmick to win votes in an election year? Here is what happened. When the tax cut was passed last year, the withholding tax rate was reduced. The trouble is that it was reduced more than the actual tax cut fixed in the bill. This oversized cut in withholding rates (underwithholding) made the tax cut appear to be greater than it actually was. Whether purposeful or accidental, this worked a cruel hoax on the unsuspecting taxpayer in the middle and lower income brackets. The result is that most people will now have to borrow money and pay interest to meet the demand of the Government for payment in full of the surprise tax liability due April 15. I am supporting a bill which would permit you to pay this extra tax in installments over the next 12 months.

BRIEFS OF THE WEEK

The great stampede

Under pressure from the White House and ruling out any move to alter, change, or in any way improve the bill, the House voted 257 to 165 to pass the Appalachia bill. The Great Society has now become the Great Stampede to increase the role of the Federal Government in our lives, build up the welfare state, up Federal spending and take over all the responsibilities of the States and the people. I voted against the bill when it became apparent that the bill was not designed to help a limited number of counties suffering from chronic unemployment, but rather the groundwork for a national boondoggle to spend the taxpayers' money in every part of the country, in rich counties as well as poor counties.

Although the President insists the United States is loved around the world, a State Department report just released shows that from July 1962 to December 1964 there were 53 cases of damages to United States build-

ings through mob violence in foreign countries. Since President Johnson's state of the Union message on January 4, 1965, there have been more than a dozen new assaults which have damaged American Embassies and other U.S. property. We have done nothing more than protest. Maybe we should think about these attacks on American property and American prestige, much of it encouraged by Communist governments, when we vote on the foreign aid bill.

One of the Great Society plans is to create instant veterans. Under the program to train 8,000 young men who cannot meet the minimum physical and mental requirements for military service, a youth could serve 1 day and then be discharged as a veteran, eligible for veterans' benefits for which other servicemen have had to serve long periods in uniform.

Who Is To Say?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, our Nation's first family that occupies the White House so well, was the subject of an editorial, "Who Is To Say?" in the Sheboygan Press of Sheboygan, Wis., on September 1, 1965.

I believe all my colleagues, regardless of political affiliation, will enjoy reading it. Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit it for printing in the RECORD:

[From the Sheboygan (Wis.) Press, Sept. 1, 1965]

WHO IS TO SAY?

One of the questions of lesser importance, but of considerable interest these days is—just what should a President do with his family? We thought we were the only ones wondering about it occasionally, but then a well-known Sheboyganite stated rather emphatically, "But, we elected L.B.J., not the womenfolk." It seemed that he was a little perturbed about Luci, her boy friends and her poetry; about Lynda, her canoe travels, her desert digging and her magazine articles and even about Lady Bird, her travels, her beautification programs and especially about the on-going presence, always one, two or three of them in the press conferences, in all the photographed situations where L.B.J. appears.

This well-known Sheboyganite had done a little more thinking on the subject than we had done. He could remember Caroline and John-John but insisted they were a lot younger than Lynda and Luci. He remembered with nostalgia that Jacqueline didn't like politics and the political necessities of life in the White House. He was full of praise for Bess Truman who, he said, stayed way in the background and let Harry "run the store." He even approved of Mamie although he insisted, in rather colorful language, that Ike showed to better advantage in the Army than he did as any kind of a President, either at Columbia or in Washington. He felt a little bit confused when we brought up the subject of Eleanor; she didn't really supplement or represent F.D.R., she ran her own show.

So, who is to say? It is evident that the L.B.J. family is a very closely knit family—each one very proud of each of the other. It is also very evident that L.B.J. really likes people and thinks his own people are among the finest. Just let us be proud that here is a rather typical American family who, having moved into the White House, into the spotlight of the First Family, have not seen fit to change their earlier ways. Who is to say that naturalness is not better than artificiality, that affection is not better than avoidance, that close family ties are not better than the broken family picture of which we see and hear so much these days?

Election is something like marriage—one doesn't marry the whole family; but it does come along in the deal. If hard work, political skill, obvious effort, and close family ties are important aspects of a successful administration—the Johnson administration will go down in history. We think they are good attributes and that the First Family—all of them—are making a fine contribution to our times.

It Can Happen Here

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNN E. STALBAUM

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, the Elkhorn Independent, a weekly newspaper located in my district, recently ran an article on the Ku Klux Klan and its activities in southeastern Wisconsin 40 years ago.

The article clearly shows that "it can happen here" so far as Klan activities in the northern part of the Nation are concerned. With the recent increase in Klan activities in some northern communities I am inserting the article in the RECORD for the information of my colleagues:

[From the Elkhorn Independent]

KLAN ACTIVE HERE 40 YEARS AGO

Efforts to revive the Ku Klux Klan, recall the activity of the organization in Walworth County more than 40 years ago.

Memories of the organization in this area are not pleasant for it was a tense period in which all Protestants were suspected of being members.

A historical account of the Klan from its beginning in Civil War days to the present time provided an excellent term paper researched and prepared by Patricia Kenney, a junior at Elkhorn High School.

The 1920's marked the day of the Klan in Wisconsin. It was in that year that the Klan was born on the U.S.S. *Hawk* in the Milwaukee River. The year 1924 marked its hightide but by 1928 it was almost down to nothing.

Racine and Kenosha were thoroughly imbued with the Klan, although the organization was statewide. Racine held a klonvocation on the edge of the city with an estimated 30,000 Klan members in attendance. Some 2,000 more were initiated. Hiram W. Evans, national head of the organization, was present and spoke to the gathering. Thousands of curious Racine people took up stations on a hill overlooking the park and watched the costumed ceremony and cross burning.

Milwaukee was not quite as enthusiasic as Racine and had only 4,400 members Their klonvocation drew 15,000 klansmen. When the Klan offered to help clean up Milwaukee, Mayor Daniel Hoan replied in no uncertain terms that they were not welcome, adding that the city has no need for "hoods and nighties" to insure law and order.

The Klan charged a $10 klectoken and $7.50 for the membership K-Du, Knights of Kamelia. At that time the organization in Wisconsin was not in bad financial condition.

One of the propaganda stories was the belief of members that Columbus was a Jew and a pirate and the discovery of America did not belong to him but to Leif Ericsson. One journalist wrote the headline, "Kannot See Kolumbus: Klan Likes Lucky Leif."

Elkhorn did not escape involvement with the Klan. Several citizens of the city probably were members, but only two or three of the organizers ever admitted it. All Protestants were suspected of membership. It played a part in at least one sheriff's election as accusations of memberships were made and denied.

The Klavern headquarters was in Darien, in a building which resembled a cattle barn at the fairgrounds. The secret meetings were held there, illuminated by burning crosses. Hundreds of curious citizens lined the roadsides in their cars and watched from a distance.

A cross burning was held in a farm field east of Elkhorn off highway 12, preceded by a silent parade of hooded klansmen through the city. Neither the parade nor the cross burning ceremony lacked spectators.

There was a tense atmosphere in the town. Citizens feared being accused of membership because they could not provide proof in defense. A town that had lived in citizen harmony, suddenly found itself in fearful division. It was a fertile field for rumor mongers and a situation that made a vast majority of citizens heartsick.

An organizer from Elkhorn came into the independent office to talk to the Eames brothers, who were operating the paper following the death of their father. The late Clifford Eames, brother of Claude Eames, was a man of action who did most of the fighting for his younger brother. The organizer told his story and Cliff gave him until the count of five to get out or he'd throw him out. He overstayed the count and ended up in the street.

Within a week the story had spread that the Eames brothers had joined the Klan at Darien. The situation was distressing for the young partners, and it got worse, for within 2 weeks more than 15 Catholic subscribers had stopped their paper.

The partners in desperation appealed to their friend, Father William Eggers of St. Patrick's church. They told their story and he remarked, "You are obviously telling the truth or you wouldn't be here at all." As we left the parsonage, he said, "I'll see if I can help you."

He never explained what he did, but all of the subscribers returned to the mailing list within a few days.

The Klan disappeared for many reasons. One was the reported infiltration by racketeers and the fact that the organization had been split into factions. In 1944 the collector of internal revenue assessed the Klan $685,305. It is not known how he arrived at the figure but he said that the back taxes had to be paid. The officers of the Klan saw no other alternative than to disband the organization. This was done in Atlanta and what was left of the Klan apparently went underground.

End of an Era: Harold W. Wright

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, Los Angeles has lost a truly dedicated and

effective public servant with the untimely passing on August 28, 1965, of Mr. Harold W. Wright, general manager of Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Wright has been associated with the chamber of commerce for 40 years. During the course of his service he made many significant, lasting contributions to the welfare of his community, State, and Nation.

The September 6, 1965, issue of Southern California Business, published by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce carries an item containing several tributes to Mr. Wright and his work.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit these tributes for inclusion in the RECORD:

END OF AN ERA: HAROLD W. WRIGHT

Harold W. Wright died on August 28, 1965.

His passing was not marked by flags at half mast on public buildings, nor was a period of mourning declared for the citizens of Los Angeles.

The ceremonies which honored his memory were few and simple: The city council and county board of supervisors adjourned with appropriate memorial resolutions; the chamber closed its doors on the day of his funeral; the city's two major newspapers published small but warm editorials about him.

None of these things, however, was worthy of the magnitude of his contributions to Los Angeles—and there is a simple explanation.

During his 40 years with the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Wright did not, as he easily could have, strive for personal glory.

A master strategist, a brilliant tactician, Mr. Wright obviously felt that he could be most effective behind the scenes. His counsel was sought and received on every major project in this city in recent years—but he never asked for, and seldom received public acknowledgment for his work.

Those accomplishments which were publicly acknowledged centered on the inauguration of international airline service to the city, the establishment of a citizens committee for city beautification, the achievement of major league baseball status and the occasion of the first national political convention in Los Angeles.

Beyond these were the trade shows, clean air campaigns, market expansion programs, movements to bring more water to the Southland, dynamic industrial development work, management training seminars and hundreds of other action programs designed to aid in the growth of the Los Angeles area, all of which were started by or guided by Harold W. Wright.

But only a very few knew it. Among those who knew may be found some small tribute:

"I was on the chamber's board of directors for 8 years and have worked continually with him (Mr. Wright) since that time. He had a penchant for being the real leader of many projects without letting anyone know about it—he continually gave the credit to a committee chairman, a director or to the chamber president * * * I don't think there is one chamber president who has held office in the past 20 years who wouldn't agree that 90 percent of his job was done by Harold Wright. * * * In Harold, more than any other man I know, existed those qualities which make it almost impossible to replace him."—HAROLD QUINTON.

"He was one of the really fine men I've ever known—a truly great man * * * he was a Christian man, a family man who had complete integrity and extremely good judgment * * * he was the kind of worker who never pushed himself * * * very self-effacing * * * he had the capacity to think out loud, and what he thought nearly always turned out to be right * * * his contributions to the chamber were unparalleled."—CHARLES S. THOMAS.

"An extraordinarily high degree of membership participation has long been the cornerstone of the strength and leadership of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. It has also been the hallmark of Harold Wright's long and loyally dedicated career of service to the chamber and to the community. The wellsprings of this strength and the continuity of its direction can be attributed in large measure to Harold's fine mind and character and to his quiet, unassuming, and selfless manner. All of us who have worked with or near Harold have been guided by his total integrity, penetrating insight, anu broad forward vision. We have been warmed and heartened by his kindly spirit and keen sense of humor. We have shared his high sense of principle and purpose and to some degree his tribulations and problems. The one thing Harold would neither share or partake of was the limelight. His modesty was pure and compelling—and therein lies the essence of his goodness, the touchstone of his leadership, and the key to the kingdom to which Harold has now returned."—OSCAR T. LAWLER.

These are but a few of the tributes which those associated with the chamber feel or will say when the board of directors has a small memorial service this Thursday.

They will say that Harold W. Wright was a human being who recognized that those he met and had to deal with were also human and he accorded them that dignity.

They will say that his great loves, other than his family, were the city, the chamber, and the system of private enterprise. But no amount of praise will do justice to the man's accomplishment and dedication.

What is to be done now? The more sentimental will reminisce about days and events gone by. The more dedicated will renew their efforts to continue the programs which he started or to help achieve the goals which he envisioned.

All, however, for a long time will feel the loss of strength, direction, optimism, and dignity which occurred with the passing of Harold W. Wright.

John Blatnik Shows Keen Grasp of Water Resource Utilization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, on August 26, my distinguished colleague, the Honorable JOHN A. BLATNIK, of Minnesota, addressed the International Water Quality Symposium in Washington.

Probably there is no Member of the Congress better qualified to speak on the subject of our national water problems than the gentleman from Minnesota. He has given both tirelessly and skillfully of his time and talents and energies to improving the quality of the Nation's water supply, and is in a very real sense, the "father" of our nationwide antipollution program.

Because Mr. BLATNIK's remarks displayed such a perceptive grasp of America's problem in effectively utilizing its water resources, I would like to commend them to my colleagues:

We have come together in this symposium on a mission which a short time ago would have seemed incredible to most people—finding ways to assure that when our children have grown to manhood in this bountiful country we inherited in our own childhood, they shall not want for a glass of water.

From the once green hills of New England, running down the Eastern seaboard as far as Richmond, Va., millions of Americans are for the first time joining those from other sections of our country in raising the cry of water shortage.

Is America really suffering a water shortage?

The answer is "No."

Our country is suffering from a hundred years of mismanagement, waste, devastation, and neglect of its water resources.

There is a shortage of scientific and technical know-how. There is and there has been for a long time a shortage of public funds and public attention directed to solving our water problems. But there is no shortage of water anywhere in the United States, except in the traditionally arid sections of the West. Nor need there ever be a shortage.

This may come as a surprise to the 20 million people in eastern Pennsylvania, eastern New York State and New Jersey who are anxiously watching their reservoirs, worrying about the coming winter, and belatedly trying to conserve water in their homes and factories. Yet in this same area, drained primarily by the Delaware and Hudson Rivers:

As much as 20 billions gallons of water are being lost to the ocean each day because of inadequate reservoirs and water retention schemes,

An additional 20 billion gallons each day are lost to human use because of water pollution, and

An unlimited, endless supply of water lies off the coast, water which experts tell us could be turned into clean, fresh water at a cost of about 30 cents per thousand gallons.

Here, then, are three sources of good, fresh water—rain water which needs only retention and good management, waste water which needs only proper celaning and pollution control, and salt water which scientists can transform if we have the will to match our need.

Why are not all three of these sources now pouring their billions of gallons into our drought-stricken areas?

One reason is the piecemeal, uncoordinated approach to water problems through which we have spent billions and billions for flood control to protect people from too much water, while neglecting the even greater evil of too little water.

Another reason why the available sources of water are not being used is our lack of technical know-how. We still do not know as much as we should about the earth's most plentiful element—about how to take salt out of water or to clean up sewage, or how to restore waste water. A society which has spent billions on space research has until now been miserly in financing research into man's most fundamental need, excepting oxygen.

A third reason and perhaps the basic reason is the public apathy of the past. The old saying that one never misses the water until the well goes dry is as true of metropolitan New York and Philadelphia today as it was on the Iron Range in Minnesota, when I was a boy. Few people then and few people now spend much time worrying about water so long as it keeps coming from the tap.

But in many parts of the country water from the tap is slowing down to a trickle. What shall we do?

First of all we must expand and enlarge and coordinate our public works programs. When our highway programs were uncoordinated, our road problem was in the same shape as our water problem is now.

We are solving that problem by a massive integrated Federal and State program based on a realistic estimate of future needs. That is the only way we can solve the water shortage. The total cost of the highway program will exceed $41 billion—and the battle against water shortages must be waged on the same scale.

One of the promising future avenues for water management is the linking together of our water supplies into a national network, making excess amounts of water in one basin available to a neighboring basin which may be suffering a water shortage. California is planning such a system today, which will transport water over the entire length of the State, a distance equal to that from Chicago to New Orleans. Public power used a similar grid system for years, in bringing excess generating capacity in from one area to meet peakloads in another.

We need to speed up our research. The water desalinization program recently approved by the President calls for up to $185 million in the next 5 years. It is estimated that by 1970 this program will be producing millions of gallons of fresh water.

Under the Federal Water Pollution Act of 1962, two national and five regional water research laboratories are now being constructed to serve every region of the country. I am hopeful that an even stronger research effort may be made in water pollution control—research which can recapture the water we new water purifying devices and techniques. our rivers and lakes and make them suitable again for recreation, fishing, and other good uses.

We are already making some progress in new water purifying devices and techniques. The little California town of Santee now has four lakes for boating, fishing, and swimming whose water consists entirely of reclaimed municipal wastes—water which has been so well and thoroughly cleaned up as to make it safe for all these uses. We need much more progress, however, in this field—progress which can only be accomplished by recruiting more scientific brains and by sponsoring more research and demonstration programs.

This California town is proof of what can be done to overcome the threat of pollution. To state the case for water pollution control simply, it's one of action. Action at every level of government. If no other good has come from the worst water crisis that has gripped New England in two centuries, at least it has brought a much needed awareness of the importance of water. It has caused people to act. It has created an appreciation of water that is long overdue. Now water vies with the weather as a conversation piece.

This has not always been the case. A decade ago it was a real struggle to pass the first Federal water pollution control bill. It was my honor to author that bill. Much has happened since those warring days of getting Congress to accept legislation that would make the Federal Government a full partner in the fight against dirty water. But the greatest part of the task still lies ahead.

If there is one lesson that can be gleaned from the legislative gains of the past decade, it is this: The most realistic, the most practical solution to the impending national water crisis is the prevention, control, and abatement of pollution. To pollute water is to destroy it. What good is it to have water at your doorstep if it is unusable? Some areas are forced to use water as many as six times. Reason then dictates that unless we solve or at least abate the ravaging effects of pollution, the water crisis will never be solved. The key phrase is "Reuse of water"—over and over and over again, until this process of reuse has become a standard procedure in all consumption of water.

Five years ago I predicted on the House floor that we would have a man on the moon before we have a solution to the water problem. I still stand by that statement. It is an irony of our time that while we have unlocked the mysteries of outer space and the mysteries within the smallest atom, we are still baffled by the problems of sensible use of our natural resources. We have allowed every major river system in the United States to become polluted. We have not learned to substitute synthetics for water as we have plastics for steel, saccharine for sugar, and nylon for silk. We have failed to do these things because we have lacked the sense of national direction that world crises forced us to assume with respect to the atom and the space race.

Let us hope that it will not take an urgent crisis to galvanize our country to action against water scarcity.

This Congress has been an active one in the field of water legislation.

Presently in conference and expected to be favorably reported is an additional forward measure to assist in efforts to prevent control, and abate pollution. S. 4, the Blatnik-Muskie bill, will provide leadership to the national move to halt pollution by creating the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration. This agency will be better equipped to more forward vigorously and effectively to enforce the Federal law. The enforcement procedures followed under the act have been remarkably successful in bringing about cooperative remedial action both by municipalities and industries involved. We fully expect that this will continue at an even more accelerated pace.

All of these programs will play an important role in meeting this challenge of dwindling water supplies in a Nation whose population will double in the next 35 years. But as I said earlier, programs far more costly and far more ambitious must be enacted in the years to come. Symposiums such as this will prepare the Nation for the effort which lies ahead, an effort calling for the same kind of teamwork among Federal, State, and local governments and private businesses that has made it possible for us to conquer another dilemma, our highway shortages with the greatest public works program in the history of the world.

Two thousand years ago North Africa was a blooming, prosperous region, the center of a rising civilization. But over the course of 20 centuries, because of the waste and neglect of natural resources, this fruitful garden area degenerated into a bleak desert, and a great civilization withered and disappeared. The Arabs who inhabited that region have been ridiculed by history, and perhaps justly so. But we in America in one short century have succeeded in destroying the major part of our natural resources. The heedlessness which stripped the famous cedars of Lebanon from the land, causing the water to run off the soil, has been repeated many times on a far larger scale in our country. We have ruined our natural resources, destroyed our grazing lands, ruined our farm soil in many regions, depleted our mineral resources, recklessly destroyed the beauty of our countryside, and now we are on the verge of the ultimate folly—destruction of our water resources.

It is an honor for me to take part with you in this symposium, in an attempt to promote the reforms that the situation demands. Your presence here is evidence that you are determined to develop the means and arouse the public support that will make it possible for the Congress to move boldly and energetically in the preservation of our natural resources. I congratulate you on your program, and I am grateful for being allowed to participate in it.

Launching of the 30th Polaris Submarine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under date of August 30, 1965, I received a letter from Adm. Hyman G. Rickover notifying me of the sea trials of our 30th Polaris nuclear submarine, the U.S.S. *Benjamin Franklin*—SSBN-640.

The Polaris nuclear submarine carries 16 missiles with nuclear warheads of great power. These missiles can be launched from beneath the surface of the ocean, they have ranges in excess of 2,000 miles, and each submarine has much more explosive power in their 16 warheads than all the bombs dropped by allied bombers in World War II.

Admiral Rickover has been the energizing force behind the development of nuclear-propelled Navy submarines and surface ships. He is not only known, however, for his naval accomplishments, but he has acquired notable recognition as an author and lecturer. Another talent which both Admiral Rickover and his wife possess is an intensive and extensive knowledge of the history of the United States and our great national leaders.

Because his letter contains much information on Benjamin Franklin, whose name the latest Polaris submarine proudly bears, I am, under unanimous consent, including the letter with my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD:

U.S.S. "BENJAMIN FRANKLIN"
(SSBN 640),
At Sea, North Atlantic, August 30, 1965.

DEAR MR. HOLIFIELD: We have just successfully completed the first sea trials of the *U.S.S. Benjamin Franklin*, our 30th Polaris nuclear submarine. We also have in operation 22 attack type nuclear submarines, making a total of 52. The *Benjamin Franklin* was built by the Electric Boat Division, General Dynamics Corp., Groton, Conn.

This ship is named for Benjamin Franklin (1706–90), one of the most illustrious of our Founding Fathers. A plain man of the people, his life was the American success story writ large. In his autobiography he speaks of his "lowly beginnings" and notes with quiet pride that he "emerged from the poverty and obscurity" of his birth to "a state of affluence and some degree of reputation in the world." He did so purely on merit for he was, in every sense of the word, a self-made man, owing little if anything to luck or the assistance of others, never pushing ahead at the expense of a fellow man.

Franklin was the youngest son of a poor tallow chandler who had migrated to Boston from England and married as his second wife the daughter of a former indentured serving maid. With 17 children to raise, he could give Benjamin only 2 to 3 years of schooling, but he encouraged him to study on his own, a habit which was to remain with Franklin all his life. At 10 the boy went to work in the family shop; at 12 he was apprenticed to his half brother to learn the printing trade, this being considered a suitable vocation for one whose love of books was already manifest.

In later life Franklin often remarked that he could not remember a time when he did not read. Books were his teachers. Through

them he made himself a well-educated man. Taking the best authors as his models, he worked hard at perfecting his writing, eventually achieving a simple, lucid style. His thirst for knowledge never ceased. Since he wanted to read foreign books, he decided at 27—a busy young merchant—to teach himself to do so. "I soon made myself so much the master of the French," he remarked, "as to be able to read the books with ease. I then undertook the Italian." Later on, "with a little painstaking, acquired as much of the Spanish as to read their books also." He read not only for instruction but for enjoyment. His taste was catholic. All his life, men of learning and position, who would ordinarily not bother with an artisan, sought Franklin's company. He supposed it was because "reading had so improved my mind that my conversation was valued."

At 17 Franklin had learned all his brother could teach him and was ready to make his own way in the world. He went to New York but could find no work there, so continued on to Philadelphia. This is how he describes his arrival there after a long and uncomfortable trip—walking 50 miles, getting nearly shipwrecked, and helping to row a boat part of the way: "I was dirty from my journey; my pockets were stuffed out with shirts and stockings; I knew no soul, nor where to look for lodging. I was fatigued with traveling, rowing, and want of rest. I was very hungry and my whole stock of cash consisted of a Dutch dollar." He bought three large bread rolls. Wandering about town, munching, he met a fellow traveler. He gave her and her child two of his rolls. Thus did Franklin enter the town that was to become his permanent home, where he would rise to wealth and fame.

Seven years later he owned his own printshop, a stationery store, and a newspaper. He had in the meantime perfected his art by working for 18 months in England and could do the most intricate and difficult print jobs. At 26 he began the highly profitable annual publication of Poor Richard's Almanac. He managed his affairs so ably that at 42 he retired with an income equivalent to that of a royal governor. Though he was good at it, moneymaking never interested him, except as a means to obtain leisure for the things he really enjoyed: reading, study, scientific experimentation, social discourse, and correspondence with men of similar interests.

While still a journeyman printer, he had founded a club for sociability and self-improvement, called the Junto, of which he later said that it was "the best school of philosophy, morals, and politics" then existing in Pennsylvania. Its membership of about 12 consisted of alert, intelligent young artisans, tradesmen, and clerks who liked to read and debate. They met Friday evenings to discuss history, ethics, poetry, travels, mechanic arts, and science (then called natural philosophy). It has been said of this group that it "brought the enlightenment in a leather apron to Philadelphia."

Franklin, who was full of ideas for improving life in Philadelphia and the Colonies in general, submitted all his proposals to the Junto where they were debated. Once accepted, members worked hard to get them put into effect. As a result, improvements were made in paving, lighting, and policing the town; a volunteer fire department and militia were formed; a municipal hospital was established; the foundations were laid for what became the University of Pennsylvania and the American Philosophical Society. Of most lasting importance, perhaps, was Franklin's plan for a subscription library, the first in the Colonies. Access to books, he felt, meant that "the doors to wisdom were never shut." The idea caught on. He noted with satisfaction that the numerous libraries springing up everywhere "have improved the general conversation of Americans, made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the Colonies in defense of their privileges." The value of knowledge to man and society has never been put more succinctly.

When he was 40, Franklin discovered electricity. It was then a sort of magic, a parlor trick. Franklin—ably supported by his Junto—threw himself into experimentations and developed a workable theory which he proved in his famous kite experiment. In the 6 years between 1746 and 1752 his contributions to electricity changed it from a curiosity to a science, and in the process made him world famous. His writings on electricity were compared with "Newton's Opticas;" he became the friend of most contemporary scientists, was made a member of virtually every scientific society, and received honorary degrees from 20 universities. He was the first American scientist to win universal acclaim; the first American author to have his books translated and read as widely in Europe as in America. When he was sent to Paris as America's first Ambassador to a major power, the admiration of France for Franklin's scientific achievement in catching lightning and putting it to man's use contributed not a little to the success of his mission; winning the help of France to the revolutionary cause.

As a man of leisure, Franklin found himself more and more drawn into public service, this being expected of anyone who had the time and ability to serve. He became a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, the committee of five charged with drafting the Declaration of Independence, the Second Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention. In one way or another, he represented America abroad a total of 25 years, becoming an exceedingly skillful diplomat. His statement, in hearings before parliament, of the case of the Colonies against the hated Stamp Act was masterly and helped bring about the repeal of this act. He was among the first to recognize that not merely "taxation" but "legislation in general" without representation could not be borne by Englishmen, whether they lived at home or abroad. The bond uniting England and its colonies, he argued, was the King, not parliament. Had his "dominion status theory" been accepted, the war might have been prevented but, as he sadly remarked, "there was not enough wisdom."

At 65, Franklin began his autobiography, intending it for his son. When pressure of public duties interrupted work on the book, one of his friends pleaded with him to complete it. All that had happened to Franklin, he urged, was of great historic interest since it was "connected with the detail of the manners and situation of a rising people." Moreover, the way he had planned and conducted his life was "a sort of key and explained many things that all men ought to have once explained to them, to give them a chance of becoming wise by foresight."

His philosophy of life, the virtues he cultivated—competent workmanship, honesty, industry, and frugality—are within everyone's grasp; they are as important to a good and successful life today as in his time. No American child ought to grow to adulthood without having read the autobiography of this talented, wise, and good man, who personified all that is best in America. "Merely by being himself," wrote Mark van Doren, "he dignified and glorified his country."

Respectfully,

H. G. RICKOVER.

"Committed to What?"—An Editorial From St. Louis Post-Dispatch August 22, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, I believe that the controversy which has arisen surrounding the origin of our Nation's commitment in South Vietnam has generated, unfortunately, far more heat than light.

In an attempt to shed some light upon the matter in controversy, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on Sunday last published a highly informative editorial entitled, "Committed To What?" That newspaper's analysis deserves careful examination by every Member of this body who is interested in learning the true facts of the matter.

This is a time for deep thought and for serious, responsible action—not for irresponsible partisan bickering.

In the hope that this matter may be set right and the true facts in the matter known to all, I submit this fine article for entry in the RECORD:

COMMITTED TO WHAT?

There is a legitimate question to be raised about the nature of the American commitment in Vietnam, but it is not the one raised by General Eisenhower when he briefly slid off the reservation last week.

General Eisenhower indicated to a press conference that, while he fully supports President Johnson's present policy, he had never intended to make a military commitment. His famous letter of October 23, 1954, to President Diem pledged foreign aid, he said, but not military assistance. President Johnson has frequently quoted this letter to document his claim that he is carrying out pledges made by Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy before him.

The facts of history do not support General Eisenhower's interpretation of the origins of the Vietnam adventure. His own memoirs amply document his readiness to become involved in military as well as economic aid to the Saigon regime.

Before the fall of Dienbienphu, President Eisenhower fully backed John Foster Dulles' effort to organize an international cover for American intervention in support of the failing French. That was Dulles' alternative to a negotiated settlement at the Geneva talks, which he did his best to scuttle. The Eisenhower administration gave up the alternative, not from any reluctance to engage American Armed Forces, but because neither the British nor the French, nor any other significant power, would join us in prolonging the war; and without such collective sanction Congress would not agree to it.

The record also shows that, after a Geneva agreement was reached in spite of Dulles, the United States set out unilaterally to build up a military bastion in South Vietnam, thus destroying the neutrality envisioned at Geneva. As President Eisenhower said in his letter to Diem, the purpose of our offered aid was "to assist the Government of Vietnam in developing and maintaining a strong, viable state, capable of resisting at-

tempted subversion or aggression through military means." This meant, inevitably, helping Saigon to fight a civil war. The great bulk of our aid was military, and it involved a growing number of American military advisers, rising from 650 to some 2,000 during the Eisenhower administration.

Thus we have always had a military commitment in Vietnam. What we have not had—and this may have been what General Eisenhower was trying to say—is a commitment to take over as our own a war against an indigenous revolution which only an indigenous government can fight.

President Eisenhower's offer of aid was conditioned upon the Saigon government's undertaking reforms that would make South Vietnam a strong, viable state. The reforms were not carried out, the viable state was not created. In these circumstances, and after 11 years of massive aid, no moral obligation whatever requires the United States to escalate our commitment from one of assistance to one of sole responsibility for a major land war in Asia.

The national honor which President Johnson invokes has been fully satisfied by what we have done already. Today the objective of our military operations should be not to win the total victory over the Vietcong which the Saigon regime could not win, but to bring about negotiations in which a reasonable political settlement, based upon the principles of the 1954 Geneva accords, can be worked out.

That is how President Johnson now describes his purpose. But he is under constant pressure to convert these limited objectives into the unlimited ones of war against North Vietnam, war against China, or war against communism. General Eisenhower could make his best contribution not by beclouding the origins of the Vietnam policy but by enlisting unequivocally behind the limited objectives proclaimed by the President.

The Steel Situation

SPEECH

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

(Mr. GROSS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I join with the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON] in commenting on the statement just made by the majority leader of the House, Mr. ALBERT. It is interesting to note that the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT] says this country is wallowing in prosperity while at the same time Congress is voting through programs and expanding others costing hundreds of millions and billions of dollars allegedly to take care of the millions of persons said to be poverty stricken.

Mr. Speaker, even the Democrat leadership cannot have it both ways. If there is prosperity in this country it is on borrowed time and borrowed money. It is on the basis of mortgaging the future of our children and their children.

Mr. Speaker, I join with the gentlewoman from Ohio in the earnest hope that there will be no strike, but let me say that continued borrowing and deficit spending in the billions of dollars can only result in increasing inflation. Inevitably, there is nothing the steel manufacturers can do except increase the price of their products.

How many more times are we to be told that we live in a nation reeking with prosperity when the cold, hard figures show that the public and private debt is more than $1,200 billion? When the facts of life show that this Nation's Federal debt alone exceeds the governmental debts of all other governmental debt in the world?

Andy Borg—Commander in Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, a high honor has been bestowed on a citizen of Wisconsin who is also one of my constituents. On August 20 in Chicago, Ill., at its 66th national convention Andy Borg was elected commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

It was with a feeling of pride that we in Wisconsin learned of this high honor which has been accorded to Andy. One of our finest, he was born and raised in Superior. A distinguished member of the bar and a tireless worker for community betterment, he is held in the highest esteem by all who know him.

As a longtime friend of mine whom I have had the honor and pleasure of knowing practically all of my life I join with all of Andy's friends in congratulating him on his election to the highest office of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, that great veterans organization of 1,300,000 oversea combat veterans. This achievement reflects high honor upon his native Superior where he lives and serves and upon our entire State. We are indeed pleased with his election to this most important office.

Following his election, Andy addressed the convention and I am inserting his informative and inspiring address in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. This acceptance speech sets forth most clearly and eloquently his views with respect to the critical issues facing this Nation and the hopes and purposes of veterans and their families in the field of veterans' affairs. His understanding of the problems of this Nation and its veterans will continue to make his organization a leader and champion of the veterans cause.

The truth of the matter is we in Wisconsin and Superior were not really surprised that Andy should be elected to this high position of leadership. His reputation as one of the most knowledgeable in the field of national and international issues is well known to all of us.

As a native of Superior, Andy received his basic education when he graduated from the Superior State Teachers College and then received his law degree at the University of Minnesota.

Like so many World War II veterans before he could launch a career, World War II intervened. Andy volunteered to serve in the Navy and his distinguished service was culminated by serving as Judge Advocate with the Seventh Fleet in the Southwest Pacific and as a member of the Foreign Claims Commission. He was discharged with the rank of lieutenant commander.

Returning to Superior to resume his law career, Andy became a tireless worker for the Veterans of Foreign Wars and improving our community.

His service in the Veterans of Foreign Wars is unsurpassed. As an active member in the Veterans of Foreign Wars his post recognized his leadership qualities by electing him as post commander. Andy has moved onward and upward to increasingly more responsible and broader positions in the Veterans of Foreign Wars which has culminated in his election to the Veterans of Foreign Wars highest office.

His public service is as impressive as his VFW service. He has served as vice president of the Wisconsin District Attorneys Association and also as vice chairman of the Great Lakes Port Commission. A past president of the junior chamber of commerce, he is presently a member of the Police and Fire Commission of the city of Superior.

Other civic activities include his serving as chairman or director of the Community Chest, juvenile guidance committee, State labor counciliation panel, Superior Northern League baseball team, and many others besides membership in the local and State bar associations and as a member of the Eagles, Moose, Elks, Shriners, and chamber of commerce. Andy is married and has three children, one daughter and two sons.

All of us in Wisconsin extend to Andy and his family our warmest congratulations on his election to this high office and are confident that under his leadership the Veterans of Foreign Wars will continue its high reputation and prestige as it redoubles its efforts to strengthen this Nation and service to its veterans and their families and survivors.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that a biography of Andy Borg be printed after my remarks and also the acceptance speech of the new commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars be printed after my remarks.

ANDY BORG, COMMANDER IN CHIEF, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

Andy Borg, 54, of Superior, Wis., was elected to the office of commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States on August 20, 1965, at the VFW's 66th annual convention held in Chicago, Ill.

Born and raised in Superior, Borg is now actively engaged in the general practice of law with the firm of Borg, McGill & Moody. He is a former district attorney, having been elected while still serving overseas during World War II. Borg is a graduate of Superior State Teachers College, Superior, Wis., and the University of Minnesota, where he received his law degree.

During World War II, Borg served as a legal officer and judge advocate with the 7th Fleet in the Southwest Pacific. He also

served as a member of the Foreign Claims Commission while he was in service.

Borg has served the Veterans of Foreign Wars on a post, district, department, and national level for many years. He was a district commander 2 years; judge advocate, Department of Wisconsin, 3 years; and in 1954–55 served as department commander. He was selected as a member of the All American team of department commanders for the year. On a national level he has served as vice chairman of the national security committee, national council of administration member, 1956–58, and three terms as a member of the important national budget and finance committee. He was elected to serve as judge advocate general during the year 1962–63. He has also been very active at the national conventions, having served on the national by-laws committee, chairman of the general resolutions committee, and chairman of the committee on finance and internal organization, among others. In 1958 he was elected by the national council of administration to the management board of the Veterans of Foreign Wars employees' retirement plan, a position which he still occupies.

Mr. Borg is married and has three children, a daughter and two sons.

Besides his VFW interests, Borg is also very active in civic and other organizational work. He has served as vice president of the Wisconsin District Attorneys Association and vice chairman of the State of Wisconsin Great Lakes Port Committee. He is a past president of the Junior Chamber of Commerce and of the Association of Commerce, and is a present member of the Police and Fire Commission of the city of Superior. Other committees that he has served either as chairman or director are the Community Chest, Juvenile Guidance Committee, State Labor Conciliation Panel, and Superior Northern League baseball team. He is also a member of the American Legion, Eagles, Moose, Elks, F. & A.M., Shrine, United Commercial Travelers, chamber of commerce, and both local and State bar associations.

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH BY ANDY BORG

It is difficult, indeed, for me to realize that for the next 12 months I am charged with the grave responsibility of representing the men who have fought this Nation's wars. I do not accept this responsibility lightly, but rather, I accept it understanding full well that we are faced with one of the most critical periods in the 66-year history of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The struggle ahead looms large, but I want you to know that it is my intention to carry our fight to the enemy—to those who would strip the Nation's war veterans of all that a grateful nation has given. Yes, I will carry on this fight, because our fight is right.

I am deeply grateful that you, the representatives of our 1.3 million members have given me this opportunity to serve. It is an opportunity afforded few men in life and I pledge to you my full devotion to our cause.

Now for a few minutes let's look at some of the problems ahead.

And first I want to discuss a matter that disturbs me greatly. It is the tendency on the part of some people—especially the editorial writers—to look down on this Nation's war veterans. They would cut away the veteran's benefits and cast him adrift. They ask: What is so special about a war veteran?

Well, let me tell you something—the veteran is something special. He became something special the moment he slipped into his uniform. The fact that he was selected made him something special and put him in a class by himself. He was committed to fight to the death for the ideals of freedom around the world.

And then I would remind you that only the best physically, mentally and morally are called to war; hence, only the best are a special breed—the elite. The tragedy of war is that only the best are fit to be killed and disabled.

From the heights of Iwo Jima to the jungles of Vietnam the veteran is a special breed. He can make an amphibious landing; he can take a hill; he can storm a bunker; he can annihilate the enemies of freedom. But he can also feed the widow and orphan; he can become the friend of children in foreign lands; he can charm more people than the most experienced diplomat. And yet they ask: "What is so special about the veteran?"

Well, I say to you that the very fact that there are those who dare to disagree is what makes the veteran something special. He fought so that all might have the right to disagree, and the irony of it is that it is those who disagree the most who fail to recognize that the veteran is something special. Of one thing both our friends and enemies can be sure, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States shall continue to remind this Nation that we are something special.

Now let's discuss another problem.

Our obligation to assist veterans and their dependents—set forth in our congressional charter and certainly inherent in the very nature of our organization—is paramount and must never be neglected.

On this occasion I want to emphasize the significance of the recent decision to close several Veterans' Administration installations. That we were successful in saving 15 of the 32 installations slated for closing is to our credit, but the fact that our victory was only partial underlines the determination of those dedicated to the dismemberment of the Veterans' Administration and to drastic curtailment of veterans' benefits.

Let's analyze for a moment the sources of these attacks on veterans' benefits or the philosophy thereof. Generally we can blame the social planners and the Budget Bureau economizers. Budget Bureau officials made it plain that the VA closings were for the purpose of freeing funds to finance other new and expanding Federal programs—programs which are to be the foundation of the so-called great society. As fighting men we have been pitted against foreign foes, first to make this a free society and several times since to preserve our freedom. Nothing could be more ironical than to curtail the benefits of the veterans who established the free society in order to finance the noble venture called the Great Society, which would be impossible without the free society. We face, therefore, the constant demand for additional funds for other programs and the efforts to economize at the expense of the veteran. Well let me tell you once and for all, the Veterans of Foreign Wars will not tolerate the erosion of our veterans' benefits program and we will fight tooth and toenail anyone who starts whittling away at those rights.

We face a rough road ahead. Our enemies will attack again and again. We must not only be alert to and vigorously oppose such attacks, but we must also be a modern day Paul Revere and alert and involve all veterans in this effort. I stand ready to personally participate in this defense of veterans' benefits with all vigor and skill I possess. As Commander-in-Chief I shall commit whatever resources of our organization are necessary to win this fight. As veterans we know that the only proper objective in war is victory, and nothing less than complete victory shall be our objective in the long hot war to preserve and improve benefits for those who fought with courage and honor. We will gain this victory because our fight is right.

One way to strengthen our hand is to have the Congress, our great friend and ally, participate more fully and in greater detail concerning the planning and operation of our VA hospital and medical programs. To gain this end we are lending our full support to House Resolution 202—which, in essence, provides the House Veterans' Affairs Committee with authority to veto any major construction as well as any proposed closings of VA installations. This bill has already been reported out favorably and it is my fervent hope to have this bill enacted into law before the 89th Congress finally adjourns.

Now—as to a third fight—

Just as we are concerned about legislation, to us veterans of foreign wars there is no issue of greater importance, no problem closer to our hearts than the protection of freedom and the survival of our Nation.

Because our Nation and the beliefs for which it stands are so dear to us, we must continue to be aware of the dangers confronting our Nation. You and I know—and every member of the VFW knows—that the threat to freedom is communism.

Today, our Nation and our allies are being besieged by evil, atheistic Communist aggression. It comes in many forms—economic, political, propaganda, and war by proxy. It is at one time overt and insidious. It is, all of the time, relentless. The VFW can take justifiable satisfaction that we have never been fooled by the false smiles and hypocritical promises of Communist leaders. We know that in spite of what we say, they are determined to destroy us. We are determined that they shall not.

Of all the issues facing our Nation today, none is more vital, none more serious than the struggle in Vietnam. The Veterans of Foreign Wars stand four square in support of our Government's policy to win that war.

Let us make no mistake about it. We are face to face with Communist aggression in South Vietnam. We are there because three Presidents of the United States have given their solemn promise to help those who are fighting to protect their freeodm. We know, too, that such action is necessary, and it is right, because freedom has no more room for retreat. We know that if South Vietnam should fall, then all of southeast Asia, Thailand, and Malaysia are marked for the Red kill.

In short, it would mean that if we should lose in South Vietnam, we would inevitably be faced with a bigger and bloodier war under far less favorable circumstances. Let us clearly understand that in fighting in South Vietnam we are also fighting because of our own national self-interest. Those in the United States who are picketing and protesting our policy in South Vietnam apparently don't understand what South Vietnam means to the security of the United States—or they don't care.

And while all eyes are turned toward South Vietnam, we must also keep an alert eye on Communist Cuba. Some Americans may be forgetting Cuba, but the Kremlin isn't. Some months ago I witnessed firsthand how the Kremlin has turned what was originally a toehold in Cuba into a stronghold. We must be alert to this danger.

In Europe we stand fully behind the maintenance of NATO. For NATO, even with its internal difficulties, is the bulwark holding back Communist aggression in Southern and Western Europe. Its destruction has been, still is, and will continue to be a key purpose of Moscow foreign policy. Freedom has been defended through NATO power and we must continue to maintain that sort of power in the future.

And now let us speak concerning what—above all else—stands between victory and defeat. As we of the VFW well know, the ultimate factor in the defense of freedom is the personnel of our Armed Forces. On them rests the fate of our Government and the destiny of our Nation.

Congress has passed—and the VFW vigorously supported—the recent pay bill for the Armed Forces, but pay and living conditions have a long way to go before they will be what they should be for our man in uniform.

It is high time that our governmental officials—and this includes the computer experts and budgeteers—stop trying to find new ways of picking the pockets of our fighting men. It is high time, rather, that our Government officials begin to figure out how the rights of the servicemen can be protected and be expanded to show our gratitude for what he is doing to protect us in these perilous times. Above all, a new GI bill, at least equivalent to that famous legislation of World War II and Korea, must be approved for those men serving on the battlefront with expeditionary forces.

I realize full well that I have covered a good deal of ground and asked for an awful lot up to this time. I am sure there are many of you saying this all sounds good but can't be accomplished. Let me assure you that I realize full well that the job will not be easy. I realize also that Andy Borg cannot do the job, but there is someone who can do the job. I am speaking of you, the representatives of our one million three hundred thousand members, and of all of those men eligible to join our crusade.

And make no mistake about it, my comrades, if we are to succeed in achieving our goals, we must embark on the greatest membership campaign in our history. We no longer have time for internal bickering, we no longer can stand idly by while others do the work, we no longer can put off until tomorrow what should have been done yesterday. Our hour of destiny has arrived. We will fulfill that destiny, or we will have failed our Nation's veterans both dead and alive.

I defy one man in this Hall to say that he does not know at least five men eligible for the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. I challenge every man in this Hall to go out and sign up those five eligible veterans. Comrades, as I have said so many times, our fight is right, and membership is might. When I appear before the House Veterans' Affairs Committee next spring, I want to be able to tell that committee that I represent not only the continuing 1,300,000 veterans presently on our rolls, but also 500,000 new veterans who have enlisted in our cause because our fight is so right. My comrades, these are numbers that politicians understand, and we must make the politicians understand that we do mean to win our fight.

I plead with all of you to start this very day not only to enroll these new members, but also to start chartering new posts so that our voice is dominant in every village and hamlet and in every metropolitan and suburban community in this Nation. You can win this battle just as you have won victory on the battlefields of the world. It will take the same dedication and the same devotion, and we will expect and accept nothing less. Comrades, the hour is short, and the need is urgent. Please join with me in this crusade; let it not be said 1 year from now that we have failed.

We can, we shall, we must win these fights, these fights which are so right.

Thank you.

Sea Strike Over

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, the August 30 Baltimore Sun makes clear that important gains have been made by the recent maritime labor settlement.

Because President Johnson allowed collective bargaining to run its course, we now have in the President's words, "a firm basis—for resolving manning disputes resulting from automation without interruption of operations."

This thoughtful editorial analysis deserves the widest readership, and I insert it in the RECORD at this time:

SEA STRIKE OVER

The long maritime strike, with its serious adverse effect on the Nation's economy, is now at an end. Regardless of the details of settlement, which have yet to be weighed fully, the most promising long-range result is to be found in President Johnson's statement that "a firm basis has been laid * * * for resolving manning disputes resulting from automation without interruption of operations."

Automation in the Nation's merchant fleet is inevitable if we are to be competitive with foreign fleets. Steps toward that end have been taken, but more must come. The men who man our ships and their unions know that. The stumblingblock has been how to accept the inevitable without disruption in maritime employment. Now measures toward the removal of that block are in motion.

In another statement announcing the end of the strike the President said that a way has been opened for a new and responsible maritime policy in this country. That we need a new policy is beyond question; we have been operating under statutes and regulations that have become obsolete or ineffectual in the light of the high level of competition in world waterborne commerce that has developed in the last 10 or 15 years.

Because of our high wage and operating costs, we have been at a disadvantage in that competition. If the disadvantage is now to be eased or eliminated under a new maritime policy, as the President suggests, the outlook from our point of view in foreign trade has been brightened materially.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to include my report to my constituents for March 4, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman JIM MARTIN, Seventh District, Alabama)

WATER POLLUTION

Water pollution is becoming a serious problem throughout the United States. This past week an important hearing on water pollution featured testimony of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York. He and his representatives came before my Public Works Committee and cited several problems existing in his State arising over the mounting population, increased industrial activity, and other factors in an expanding economy. An administration bill has already been introduced in Congress to expand the Federal participation in the water pollution problem as it exists in New York and other States.

Alabama has water problems, too. However, as compared to New York, we are in a much better condition regarding the pollution of our streams. Already several groups are at work on this problem back home, and since my appointment to the Public Works Committee, I have been studying, not only ways of alleviating water pollution, but assisting in water conservation, water transportation, water recreation, and other factors involving water. In some of these areas the Federal Government has a legitimate role. In others Federal participation is questionable. I expect to have more detailed reports on this from time to time as new legislation is considered.

RULES CHANGES

Many of us were disturbed, earlier in this session, because of the reduction by the liberal leadership of the power of the Rules Committee. Now the Speaker and a majority of the House can arrange between them to take a bill away from the Rules if it hasn't been reported out in 21 days. They can bypass the Rules Committee and the proven orderly legislative procedures and bring a bill directly to the floor for action or send it directly to conference, regardless of objections, when it has passed the House and Senate but is in dispute.

The Democrat leadership also shook the seniority system (which has been a major campaign issue with all southern Democrats) by demoting to a rank below freshmen, both JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, of Mississippi, and ALBERT WATSON, of South Carolina. This punishment was exacted on two southern Congressmen for voting their convictions in the November election. Congressman WATSON has now resigned from Congress and will seek reelection by his constituents as a Republican. The ultimate result of this juggling of congressional traditions and procedures is to weaken the South's entire position in the Congress, both House and Senate. It diminished the influence of a great southern statesman, Congressman HOWARD SMITH of Virginia and longtime chairman of the House Rules Committee. It has placed undue power in the hands of Eastern liberals. This Congress has witnessed almost the completion of the shift of control from the hands of many outstanding conservative statesmen, most of them southerners, placing the power in the hands of Eastern liberals who now make policy for the National Democratic Party and the voice of the conservative South is almost extinct within that party.

ELECTED TO REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE

I was highly pleased to be elected to the House Republican Policy Committee as the unanimous choice of the 89th Club. This club is composed of all the Republican Members, from every section of the Nation, elected to the House last November. The Republican Policy Committee is made up of Members of the House representing each of the major standing committees of the House, the various regions of the country and one at large Member to repersent the newly elected Republicans. I appreciate very much this honor accorded me by my colleagues. It affords me an opportunity to become an effective voice for the South in Republican decisions as they affect legislation. I shall endeavor to represent my district and my State with determined leadership on this important committee. I consider it one of the important steps in our objective to achieve stronger recognition for the South in national affairs.

DINNER WITH THE PRESIDENT

Last Thursday evening my wife Pat and I, along with some other Congressmen and their wives, enjoyed dinner with the President and Mrs. Johnson. It was an exciting experience to visit the White House with all its history. We were briefed on the current situation in Vietnam by Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Secretary of Defense McNamara. While Pat, Mrs. Johnson, and other ladies toured the White House, I had an opportunity to

talk to the President on some of the more pressing problems confronting Alabama. He agreed to meet with me for a more detailed explanation of those matters in which Alabamians are deeply concerned. I shall do my best to keep him informed and to enlist his support in our continued efforts in behalf of the people of Alabama.

The Balance of Payments, the Gold Drain, and Your Dollar

SPEECH

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 3, 1965

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, on August 30, 1965, the Republican coordinating committee approved an outstanding report submitted by its task force on Federal fiscal and monetary policy entitled, "The Balance of Payments, the Gold Drain, and Your Dollar."

The task force on Federal fiscal and monetary policy is composed of distinguished citizens from public and private life who have expert knowledge of this complex field of policy. The chairman of the task force is Maurice H. Stans, who was Director of the Budget Bureau of the Federal Government during the Eisenhower administration. The vice chairman is Mr. George Champion, chairman of the board of directors of the Chase Manhattan Bank of New York City. Along with these distinguished citizens, the following members serve on the task force:

William H. Avery, Governor of Kansas.

Julian B. Baird, Under Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs, 1957–61.

FRANK T. BOW, Representative from the 16th Congressional District of Ohio.

George S. Eccles, president of First Security Corp., Salt Lake City, Utah.

Mrs. Rosemary Ginn, Republican national committeewoman for Missouri.

Cliff Hansen, Governor of Wyoming.

Kenneth C. Kellar, Kellar, Kellar & Driscoll, attorneys, Lead, S. Dak.

Peter O'Donnell, Jr., chairman of the Republican Party of Texas.

Clarence B. Randall, Special Assistant to the President on Foreign Economic Policy, 1956–61.

Raymond J. Saulnier, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, 1957–61.

Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman of Atomic Energy Commission, 1953–58.

Robert D. Stuart, Jr., national committeeman for Illinois.

Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Commerce, 1953–58.

JOHN J. WILIIAMS, U.S. Senator from Delaware.

The subject matter of this report is one of the most difficult and persistent problems which confront the National Government. As might be expected from the caliber of the people who participated in drafting this report, the document clearly analyzes the basic causes and presents nine specific workable recommendations for coping with them. This report should lead to better understanding of the nature and gravity of the problem. I hope that it will spur the administration to a reconsideration of some of its policies in order to deal effectively with a situation which could contribute to a breakdown in the international monetary system and a depression of serious proportions.

Mr. Speaker, I include at this point the text of the report made by the task force on Federal fiscal and monetary policy of the Republican coordinating committee:

THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, THE GOLD DRAIN, AND YOUR DOLLAR

SUMMARY

I. The U.S. balance-of-payments position and loss of gold evidence a critical situation.

The facts

The gold supply of the United States has dwindled from $23 billion to under $14 billion in the last 8 years.

In the first 6 months of 1965 the loss of gold was $1.2 billion, exclusive of a transfer to the International Monetary Fund.

The country is committed to keep approximately $9 billion in gold to back its currency, leaving less than $5 billion of gold to use in foreign payments.

For the last 7 years American dollars have been flowing overseas (for investments, imports, loans, foreign aid, tourism, military purposes, and other spending) at a rate that has exceeded the inflow of dollars from other countries by an average of about $3 billion a year.

As a result, the country now owes $28 billion in short-term dollar balances held by foreign claimants, for which they can demand payment, directly or indirectly, in gold.

The margin of our exports over imports has shrunk alarmingly in recent months, at the rate of about $2 billion per year, from earlier levels.

In early 1965, the net outflow of dollars was stemmed only by the Government's admittedly temporary expedient of harshly restricting American direct business investments abroad and limiting private lending overseas.

The significance

The United States has failed to bring its international balance of payments into even temporary equilibrium except by the imposition of ultimately self-defeating Government controls.

The Government's management of the Nation's monetary and fiscal affairs has shaken the confidence of other nations in our ability to find lasting solutions to our balance-of-payments problem.

The international monetary system, which relies heavily on the dollar as the key international reserve currency, has been impaired by the U.S. balance-of-payments deficits to the point where drastic changes in the system are being called for.

Unless these conditions are corrected promptly, they can lead to loss of value for the dollar, loss of American strength at home and leadership abroad, loss of vigor in our economy, and loss of jobs, welfare, and security for individual Americans.

II. The Democratic administration has not only failed to deal effectively with these conditions but has contributed to making them worse:

It has attempted to reassure the public with unwarrantedly optimistic statements instead of facing the problem with appropriate action.

It has consistently opposed the use of time-proven methods of monetary and fiscal restraint.

It has adopted artificial controls over the outward flow of capital as an expedient to avoid the decisive steps needed for an effective long term solution.

Its major actions, which restrict American investment in foreign countries, are such as to be ultimately self-defeating.

Many of its efforts and proposals have been so picayune as to be meaningless, such as cutting down the small amount of goods American tourists can bring back from overseas without payment of duty.

It has persisted in out-of-date programs which involve excessive military spending in Europe.

It has allowed foreign aid programs to cause an excessive drain of our dollars.

It has allowed the balance-of-payments difficulties to grow to a point where proposals are being made for changes in the international monetary system which seem destined to reduce the role of the dollar as the principal international reserve currency.

It has followed monetary and fiscal policies which impair the Nation's capability to deal constructively with economic recessions.

III. The Republican Party recommends that the following measures be adopted by the administration and the Congress without delay:

1. Give top priority to developing a solution to our balance-of-payments problem which will be lasting and constructive for the rest of the world as well as for ourselves.

2. Jointly, with our allies among the major industrial and trading nations, work aggressively to strengthen international monetary arrangements along noninflationary lines.

3. Lend support to a monetary policy which will narrow interest rate differentials between the United States and other countries.

4. Adopt domestic fiscal policies which avoid inflation and which preserve an ample reservoir of strength to deal with any unexpected crisis or unfavorable economic development.

5. Enlarge efforts to build export trade, including tax, depreciation, and other economic policies, and the encouragement of technological and productive superiority, to enhance the competitive position of American business and labor.

6. Increase promotional efforts to encourage foreign tourism in the United States, with greater reliance on private agencies.

7. Redetermine the extent of need, under present conditions, for United States military forces in the European theater, with the objective of reducing our expenditures there.

8. Confine American military assistance generally to countries' committee to the side of the free world in the struggle against Communist subversion and aggression.

9. Reduce the cost of foreign economic aid programs, primarily by directing assistance to those countries which maintain a hospitable climate for private investment capital, and by stimulating private initiative here and abroad to lead in their development.

This Republican program calls for the responsible use of fiscal and monetary policies, for realistic reductions of Government oversea economic and military programs, and for steps to increase the return flow of dollars. It would provide a fundamental and lasting solution to our balance-of-payments problem.

Once a program of this character took hold it would be possible to discard the administration's expedients. The recent restrictions on duty-free imports by American tourists could be relaxed immediately. The stopgap measures to limit private overseas investment—the interest equalization tax and the so-called voluntary restraint program—could be dismantled at an early date.

Adoption of this Republican program would serve notice to the world of our determination to manage our financial affairs

constructively, to defend the dollar, to build our national vigor, and to enhance our moral, military and economic power to outperform and outlast world communism.

It would allay concern over the adequacy of international liquidity and provide a solid foundation for world economic stability, development and prosperity.

In addition, it would enable the United States, as the possessor of the world's strongest economy, to deal from a position of rebuilt and growing strength in negotiations to improve the international monetary system.

All Americans can proudly and confidently support this program and its objectives.

THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, THE GOLD DRAIN, AND YOUR DOLLAR

The balance-of-payments problem in the international accounts of the United States, and the outflow of gold from the United States, are symptoms of a danger affecting every American's job, and income, the future prosperity of the rest of the world as well as the United States, and, in the larger picture, the question of whether the free world will maintain the economic strength to prosecute and eventually to win the cold war.

Continued failure to deal adequately and promptly with the problem could contribute to a breakdown in the international monetary system with the possibility of bringing to the United States and other free nations a depression of serious proportions and duration. In such circumstances, everyone would suffer.

This paper analyzes the problem as follows:

1. Evidence of the problem.
2. How the situation developed.
3. The problem today.
4. The failure of the Democratic administration's attempted solutions.
5. The Republican recommendations.
6. The urgency of achieving a lasting solution.

Evidence of the problem

Existence of the problem is confirmed by the volume of material appearing in the public press about it, the profusion of speeches being given by administration officials telling what they are doing about it, their claims that their efforts are working, their explanations of failures, and their attempts to answer criticisms of their policies. Repeated warnings by monetary organizations, experts, and officials abroad indicate their concern.

Only this year the administration recommended, and Congress passed, a bill which eliminated the requirement for gold as a backing for the deposit liabilities of our Federal Reserve banks, retaining only the 25-percent gold requirement against the note liabilities of the Federal Reserve system. This was an emergency measure to free more of our gold stock for payment of foreign claims. The administration had allowed itself to be forced into a position where it had to change the law or break it. The move postponed an eventual reckoning, but contributed nothing to finding a solution for the basic problem or to stopping the demand for gold.

Dramatic, objective evidence is also available in the economic statistics:

1. Beginning with 1958, the United States has had a large international payments deficit every year, which means that more dollars have flowed out of the country than have come back into it.

2. Gold has been moving overseas to finance part of these deficits, with the result that the country has lost about one-third of its gold stock of 8 years ago.

3. The short-term claims of foreign holders against the United States are now twice its gold stock, and if all the holders of these claims were to demand payment in gold we could not pay half of them.

In short, there is widespread agreement among authorities, among leaders of both political parties, within the Government of the United States and among officials of other countries, that the U.S. international finances are in disorder. The statistics show clearly that this is the case.

How the situation developed

For many years prior to World War I, and until the depression of the 1930's, England was in effect the world's banker. The pound sterling was recognized everywhere as the preferred medium for payment of international debts, transfers of capital across national borders, and for foreign exchange uses generally. In the thirties, this international payments system broke down and balances began to be settled in many different currencies with continually fluctuating rates—a condition which in itself hampered international trade and was an obstacle to general worldwide recovery from the great depression.

Following World War II, the United States emerged as the world's strongest economy. The economic strains of war were less severe on it than on other combatant nations. Its industrial plants were not damaged as were those of other countries. The accumulated demand of the war years resulted in a rapid expansion of our industrial plant and brisk economic activity.

At the same time, the United States assumed responsibility for helping to repair the destruction in other countries. The wartime "arsenal of democrary" for Western civilization converted itself into the peacetime supplier of goods, services, and capital to rebuild the ravaged economies of our friends and enemies alike. In this the efforts of private capital were supplemented by Marshall plan grants and by other foreign aid programs.

This employment of national strength and wealth resulted in the establishment of the dollar as the world's principal reserve currency. It was an accidental benefit. It was unplanned. But it helped the world and it bestowed prestige on the United States as the world's financial and economic leader.

During much of this postwar period the United States ran a deficit in its balance of payments, as dollars flowed abroad to help rebuild the world. The dollar was in demand everywhere. It was not just "good as gold," it was better. The United States became the world's banker, providing its international currency needs. Its balance-of-payments deficits, if held within reasonable limits, would not have been dangerous; they would, up to a point, have merely offset the surpluses of the war years, while helping to meet the world's need for international financial liquidity.

But by the late 1950's things were beginning to change. The "dollar gap" had disappeared. We were faced abroad by rebuilt industrial nations competing with the United States for export markets and investment opportunities. Deficits continued, however, as did foreign military and economic assistance commitments, the latter with emphasis transferred largely to underdeveloped and Communist-threatened nations.

As the finances of industrial nations improved, it was only natural that their officials and bankers felt it wise to build their gold holdings. This, too, would not have been harmful to the United States if it had been held within reasonable bounds. Unfortunately, that has not been the case. Failing to respond adequately to our gold losses and and our balance-of-payments deficits, the Democratic administrations since 1960 have not applied the measures necessary to maintain the Nation's gold supply and the future strength of the dollar.

In 1959 and 1960, when the balance-of-payments deficit first became a matter of concern, the Eisenhower administration had responded promptly, as noted in the January 196[illegible] Economic Report of the President: "* * * the effort centered on measures to increase U.S. exports and to reduce the balance-of-payments impact of Government military and economic programs abroad in a manner consistent with our responsibilities."

Specifically, the Eisenhower action included these steps: (a) a national export expansion program, including improved arrangements for guarantee of short- and intermediate-term export credits by the Export-Import Bank, and active governmental support for reduction of foreign discriminatory restrictions on U.S. goods and services; (b) reorientation of activities of commercial attaches of our embassies abroad and State Department policy generally, from one of assisting foreign businessmen in selling to the United States, to a policy of promoting export sales of American products; (c) measures, as early as October 1959, to tie military and economic assistance activities of the Department of Defense, International Cooperation Administration, and Development Loan Fund to procurement in the United States; (d) an executive order in January 1961 prohibiting U.S. citizens and organizations from holding gold abroad; (e) measures in 1960 to effect a progressive reduction in the number of military dependents in Europe; (f) initiation of negotiations with Germany that eventually resulted in that country assuming a major share of the cost of maintaining U.S. military forces there; (g) appropriate monetary and fiscal policies to provide incentives to attract foreign funds and to keep dollars at home, as well as to avoid the potential inflationary pressures that could have developed in the course of financing a large public debt increase in 1959.

This multipronged approach, which was accepted in the United States and abroad as both timely and effective, was inadequately followed up by the succeeding Democratic administration. It even blithely reversed some of the most effective measures.

So now a truly ironic situation has developed. The revitalized and financially stronger European governments have grown alarmed at our lack of financial discipline and have decided that gold bars may prove a better long-term investment than dollars. This conviction on their part has been affirmed by their concern about present U.S. policies of stimulating growth by artificially low interest rates and unduly expanded credit.

Whatever the motivation of other governments, the result has been that they have put pressure on the dollar, exchanging it for gold. The consequence, for which our own Government's policies are responsible, has been an undermining of the dollar's standing as the world's leading reserve currency.

The administration's attitude of nervous disapproval of foreign gold demands, its meager palliatives and harshly restrictive efforts to remedy matters, together with its continuing barrage of publicity to bolster domestic political confidence, have caused growing concern. Actually, the administration's attempts to deal with the problem are compounding it rather than solving it.

The problem today

Few people realize frully the extent to which the prosperity of the United States, and of all other nations, is dependent on the exceedingly complex arrangements for the international flow of money and gold, whether as payments for imports and exports, as investment capital, as intergovernmental loans and grants or as changes in the reserves backing an individual country's currency.

Nor are they fully aware of how easily and rapidly that whole system, which is based primarily on confidence, can deteriorate through poor management.

The key to understanding the situation created by the deficit in the U.S. balance of

payments and loss of gold lies in understanding how the world's money supply is provided and how that supply is used to fuel the world's economic machinery.

There is not enough gold in the world to handle all the transactions for which a medium of exchange is needed. Faced with this situation, creditors in international trade will accept hard currencies in lieu of gold. A hard currency is one that is both in good supply and is well-managed by its country of origin, so that people have faith that it will remain hard and not deteriorate through inflation.

When the supply of gold to handle world transactions is inadequate, an additional medium of exchange—a hard currency—is needed to supply liquidity. The liquidity for world use today is supplied principally by the U.S. dollar. The British pound has been in second place as a "key currency."

Currencies get into world circulation through their home country running a balance of payments deficit, more dollars (for instance) flowing out each year than flowing in.

In the postwar period, the world looked to the dollar with confidence; the willingness of foreigners to hold the increasing amount of dollars resulting from the recurring annual deficit in the U.S. balance of payments was a sign of the dollar's stable value and acceptability as a dependable medium of exchange. But these accumulated deficits have now built up to $25 billion worth of dollar claims against the United States with only about $14 billion in gold stock to pay them (of which only $5 billion is now legally available for such use).

So, the problem resolves itself into four critical aspects:

1. How to manage our economic affairs to merit and retain a role of world financial leadership.
2. How to manage the world's key currency, the dollar, so as to maintain confidence in it.
3. How to maintain adequate but not excessive international liquidity.
4. How to strengthen present world monetary arrangements.

The problem of confidence in the management of the dollar is central. If other countries regain confidence in that management, a balance-of-payments deficit of reasonable size can be a symtom of strength, not of weakness. Dollars bearing interest will again be in more demand that non-interest-bearing gold. And the gold drain will either terminate or reverse itself.

Under these circumstances, the United States, with its house in order, and its currency the strongest in the world, can take the lead in improving international monetary arrangements to achieve world economic growth and stability for the years ahead.

The failure of the Democratic administrations' attempted solutions

The Democratic administrations have had almost 5 years to solve the problem but have failed to do so, because they have attempted to deal with symptoms rather than underlying causes. Like treating a patient with a fever by putting him into a tank of cold water, this may alleviate some of the discomfort, but it is no substitute for a good antibiotic to kill the germ responsible for the ailment.

The Democratic administrations have tinkered with the difficulties by attempting to adjust some items of inflow and outflow of payments. They have not gotten at the basic causes, the principal ones of which are their own monetary and fiscal policies. In seeking to achieve political objectives by easy money policies, and by entering into large governmental spending commitments, they have sown the seeds of future economic weakness. These policies do not inspire confidence at home or abroad.

Most of the direct steps the administration has taken have been too little and may also have been too late. Some have been of so little consequence as to have negligible effect. The measures that have had some effect are of a short-run type, sure to be destructive in the longer run of our national and international interests.

Here are the principal measures undertaken by the administration:

1. Reduction of duty-free allowances for American tourists returning from other countries.
2. Export trade promotion and assistance.
3. Promotion of foreign tourist travel in the United States.
4. An interest equalization tax.
5. The President's "voluntary program" to reduce private U.S. investments abroad.
6. Partial tying of foreign aid to exports; and steps to offset overseas military costs by sales of military material to other countries.

There have been other steps, too, but they are miniscule. For example, tours abroad by West Point and Annapolis undergraduates were canceled; this will save less than $1 million in a multibillion dollar problem, at the loss of familiarizing our future officers with military installations and terrain in countries where they may someday be called upon to defend American interests. An item like this, which reduces the average annual dollar outflow by about one one-hundredth of 1 percent at a cost in future military advantage, is a "little-think" approach.

The widely publicized recent move to reduce further the duty-free allowance to returning American tourists is an unnecessary harrassment of the citizenry to give the appearance of action in the hope that time will make a real effort unnecessary. The administration in 1965 proposed the momentous step of reducing the allowance from $100 to $50. The Congress wisely rejected this bit of silliness.

Promoting export trade is sound policy. At present only 4 or 5 percent of the American gross national product goes into export channels. Much more needs to be done to build our export markets.

Increasing foreign tourist travel in the United States is highly desirable. Reducing our present "tourist gap" (what our tourists spend abroad less what foreign tourists spend here) of $1.6 billion or more annually could help our balance of payments and stimulate better international understanding in the process. However, coupling such a program with injunctions to Americans to stay home is international double talk not conducive to achieving either objective. Cultural isolationism is a poor weapon with which to advance the cause of a free society against the aims of communism.

Twice the administration has attempted to stem the adverse balance-of-payments tide by major expedients. In 1964, it requested and secured from Congress an interest equalization tax to reduce American portfolio investment overseas. When this failed to produce all the desired results, it adopted in 1965 a "voluntary program" for restriction of private U.S. investment abroad. These measures turn back the clock on 30 years of progress from isolationism and protectionism toward progressive reduction of barriers and toward an expanding world movement of capital and trade. They are steps backward, inviting retaliation in kind, for which this country and the rest of the world will suffer.

Actually, one of the largest continuing and expanding sources of dollar inflows is the returns on investments made in earlier years. A study made by the Brookings Institution estimated that, on a cumulative basis, the dollar outflow initially entailed in new direct foreign investment and loans is fully offset in 5 years by the dollar inflow it produces, and that by the 10th year it has produced inflows more than twice the amount of the initial outflow. The administration's policy of restricting foreign investment means that in future years this increasing return flow is sacrificed to the expedient of temporary relief from tough decisions that ought to be made in other areas. This is penny wise, pound foolish government.

Apart from the potential loss in investment income, the administration's restrictionism entails other major fallacies. It is hostile to business freedom, it militates against international cooperation, it inhibits growth of free markets, it reduces export opportunities, it tends to cause balance-of-payments problems for other countries, it invites retaliatory protectionism, and impedes the development of economies in other free world countries by denying to them the capital to build the stability and strength to withstand Communist enticements. It is contrary to all that America stands for.

Another serious concern relative to the so-called voluntary controls is the sanctions available to the Government for enforcing voluntary compliance and the possibility that under the stress of some future temporary emergency such voluntary controls might be hardened into compulsory controls. Undesirable as controls by Government intrinsically are under a free enterprise economy, their imposition on international commercial and financial exchanges has the added penalty that they are interpreted abroad as possible signs of a deteriorating economic position.

When so much of the problem has to do with maintaining the confidence of the financial community at home and abroad in the management of our monetary affairs, such measures, or even indications that such action may be considered, have a strong tendency to compound the problem rather than contribute to its solution.

The Democratic administration concedes that the restrictions on foreign investments are intended as temporary measures, not a permanent solution. It hopes that a permanent solution will somehow happen, but it has no evident program for causing it to happen. It has freed some domestic gold reserves by getting Congress to withdraw part of the requirement of gold as a backing to our monetary and banking system, but this merely bought time—it created no more ability to pay international debts.

The deficits of recent years would have even larger except for the fact that some foreign countries have made prepayments on their postwar debts to the United States. It is doubtful that this can be relied upon much longer as a significant source of payment inflows, in view of the relatively small remaining amounts that are likely to be collected from the countries that have made such prepayments.

The United States cannot solve this problem by reducing gold reserves, nor by a facade of restrictive, short run, penny wise, little-think, isolationist measures. Such measures may cover the problem up for a short time, but are misleading none of the experts at home or abroad. It is their confidence, in this case, that is the key to the problem.

Neither will the American people be satisfied for long with little more than good intentions. They will look for careful analysis, depth of understanding, discrimination between cause and symptom, and purposeful and determined actions.

The Republican recommendations

Top priority must be assigned to restoring and maintaining a reasonable balance in the Nation's international payments through genuinely effective, long-range policies. To this end, the Republican approach rests on the following premises:

The solutions should be directed at underlying causes, not merely at symptoms.

They must contribute to both domestic and international economic stability and growth.

They must help to provide adequate but not excessive international liquidity and world monetary reserves.

They should make possible the prompt withdrawal of restrictive government controls over American investments in foreign countries.

They should foster expanding international trade, travel, investment and cooperation among free world nations and people.

They must be aimed at strengthening, and then maintaining, the U.S. position of international financial leadership.

The Republican Party recommends that the following measures be adopted by the administration and the Congress:

1. Give top priority to developing a solution to our balance-of-payments problem which will be lasting and constructive for the rest of the world as well as for ourselves.

2. Jointly, with our allies among the major industrial and trading nations, work aggressively to strengthen international monetary arrangements along noninflationary lines.

The role of the United States should be to lead in consideration of any changes in the world monetary system. It cannot permit other countries to usurp its position as the world's banker or to lead it into unwise compromises.

International meetings are timely from the standpoint of the present need for improved world monetary arrangements. Prospects for the success of such meetings will be greatly improved, however, when the United States can participate from a position of leadership based on management of its international payments through sound long-range policies rather than on expedients such as so-called voluntary controls of capital outflow.

The United States should develop its positions and its plans for strengthening the world's monetary relationships. The objectives should be:

1. The supplying of adequate but not excessive world liquidity.

2. The providing of a means of discipline to assure adjustments by countries when needed to keep their international accounts close to balance.

3. Maintaining of adequate facilities for emergency coping with temporary balance-of-payments deficits of individual countries.

4. The providing of policies and means to promote expanding and competitive trade and unrestricted movement of capital.

5. The assuring of arrangements to reduce the possibility of individual countries disrupting the international monetary structure through unsound domestic economic policies.

The International Monetary Fund has met these requirements with a laudable degree of success. Further improvements to maintain that record and to augment the capability of the Fund to achieve these objectives are now in order and preferable to radical plans for change or to creation of wholly different experiments through new international systems.

Changes in the world monetary system should be evolutionary and gradual, to minimize speculation and instability. They should progress in orderly fashion. The present system, stemming from the Bretton Woods agreement, has bridged the transition from World War II's ravaged world to today's vastly expanded international trade and capital development. It can be adapted to present world needs without revolutionary change. The United States should point the way.

3. Lend support to a monetary policy which will narrow interest rate differentials between the United States and other countries.

The administration's failure to encourage use of corrective monetary policy is a major underlying cause of the balance-of-payments problem. Its rigid and uncompromising commitment to easy money as a magic key to domestic expansion is a poor choice of means as opposed to wise and flexible policies serving all the valid goals of domestic and international expansion. Our European creditors are watching with increasing impatience for the United States to exercise the monetary discipline which alone can establish their confidence in the continued soundness of the dollar.

The administration has consistently favored a policy of artificially low interest rates, regardless of cost to other national objectives. Low interest rates are appropriate in a period of economic slack; they are wholly inappropriate during a period of high economic activity marked by inflationary warnings and accompanied by an unsolved balance-of-payments problem. Interest rates which are market determined, rather than politically determined, will rise in periods of high demand. In so doing they act as a brake on reckless expansion of credit, curb the tendency to excesses in the business cycle, apply restraint over the outflow of funds from the country, attract inflows from other nations, and moderate inflationary tendencies. This administration's policy of insistence on artificially low interest rates is damaging to our national interests both in courting domestic inflation and in contributing directly to our balance-of-payments problem.

In the past 4 years, the administration's easy money policies have expanded credit twice as fast as the rise in real production. Interest rates are well below those in other industrial countries, and the amount of personal, private, and government (local and State as well as national) debt in the United States is so high as to be cause for comment if not general concern.

All of this risks loss of confidence in the dollar. Foreign holders of dollars know by bitter experience that sooner or later credit inflation brings price inflation. They know that failure to use monetary and fiscal policy properly has been a major cause of every devaluation of currencies in history.

Further credit inflation in the United States could involve the heavy risk of a boom and bust pattern which would be damaging at home as well as abroad. Responsible use of credit policy can help avert such developments, and contribute to balanced expansion in both domestic and international economic sectors.

4. Adopt domestic fiscal policies which avoid inflation and which preserve an ample reservoir of strength to deal with any unexpected crisis or unfavorable economic development.

The administration's fiscal brinkmanship can lead to disaster. The Vietnam situation, for instance, will involve many billions of dollars in increased military spending, and may provide a severe test of whether we have the reserve economic strength to provide adequate flexibility with which to meet this heavy increased burden on the budget without pronounced inflation.

A nation, like an individual, should preserve a reserve of strength, because it can never know when emergencies will develop. It is unwise to assume that new economic nostrums can repeal the ups and downs of the business cycle or immunize us from the fiscal demands of military emergencies. The overstimulation of growth by excessive Government spending, with deliberate deficits in times of unprecedented prosperity, are an invitation to crisis.

The administration claims credit for having held the budget deficit to $3½ billion in the last fiscal year; but this is after crediting $3 billion of largely nonrecurring receipts from Federal Reserve bank surplus, liquidations of Government stockpiles, and sales of loans and mortgages. A minor recession like that of 1958, with the budget already so overburdened, could result in a deficit of $20 to $30 billion or more under the present administration's policies. This would not only be inflationary; it would very likely ignite already apprehensive feelings in world financial circles and could result in a run on the dollar that would play havoc with our whole economy and hopes of continued progress. The adjustments for every person from such a consequence could be unbelievably harsh. They would mean vastly higher costs of living, reduced hours of work, fewer jobs and less income, the wiping out of savings, pensions and insurance, and the decline of morale and purpose.

This is not a prediction that these things will happen. It is a warning that they can happen. The safe course is to avoid economic fantasies that rigidly deny common sense and the repeated experience of history. Our Government spending policies must not reject entirely the proven worth of capital creation through saving, building reserves for emergencies, and maintaining a long run balance between income and expenditures.

5. Enlarge efforts to build export trade, including tax, depreciation, and other economic policies, and the encouragement of technological and productive superiority, to enhance the competitive position of American business and labor.

One of the most favorable factors of inflow in our balance of payments equation in recent years has been the excess of our exports over imports. American technology has outpaced the world and its products are in high demand.

Notwithstanding this, American exports are a very low percentage of our national output and are exceeded in this proportion by many European countries and by Japan. The potentials are much greater than we have achieved, and our present Government activities to induce increased trade could be improved. Our share of total world export trade has not kept pace with the growth of world exports since formation of the European Common Market. Here again, improved results can be obtained through coordinated private and Government action.

Independent committees of economists, businessmen, labor leaders, export-import bankers, and marketing experts, cooperating with the Government, should be encouraged to devise and promote new and imaginative practical means for increasing sales of American products and services abroad. This should include stimulating, and removing impediments to, American private investment in other countries. Such investment builds markets for American-made goods. Private enterprise needs only to be unleashed, and made aware of the existence and location of markets, for our exports to mount under the stimulus of the profit motive.

The Government can help by adopting tax, depreciation, and other economic policies that enhance the competive position of American business and labor. It can further relax depreciation allowances to encourage plant modernization. It can stimulate industrial research. It can gradually reduce the tax burden within responsible fiscal policy. It can aid in locating potential markets and communicating that information to appropriate industries. It can help by increased dissemination in diplomatic circles of the truth that freedom of enterprise in all nations will build an expanding economy and trade from which every nation will be the better and stronger.

The administration should particularly address itself vigorously to negotiating reduced barriers to trade with European countries. It should make a determined effort to further enhance the status and responsibilities of State Department commercial attachés.

Purposeful measures to reorient policies and personnel consistent with the changes in international trade conditions of the past 10

years are urgent. The situation is no longer one of the "dollar gap" and world recovery, but one of brisk competition with other revitalized nations.

In recent months the margin of exports over imports has shown an alarming drop. While some of this can be attributed to temporary conditions, it appears likely that the favorable 1964 margin of our foreign trade will not be repeated in the near future unless more aggressive and effective governmental action is applied.

6. Increase promotional efforts to encourage foreign tourism in the United States, with greater reliance on private agencies.

Americans spend billions of dollars touring in other countries, and this undoubtedly contributes in many ways to improved understanding among peoples. Contrary to administration policy, American tourism abroad should not be discouraged.

Other nations might well benefit, too, if more of their residents knew the United States at first hand. Expenditures by foreign tourists in this country are now around a billion dollars a year, less than 40 percent of what American tourists spend abroad. With increased prosperity around the world, many more foreigners could be attracted to this country, especially if they could be made confident as to costs, facilities and attitudes. The administration's efforts at improvement have been marginally effective.

This is a job that can be done best by private action with effective Government support. Independent committees of travel agencies, hotel and motel owners, transportation companies, the press, and others should be encouraged to develop programs for enticing tourists to this country. The effective operation of such programs will do more for the United States by word of mouth goodwill from satisfied visitors than any amount of official Government propaganda. Our balance of payments can be improved in this manner while the people, customs and intentions of our country are appreciated by more and more friends from other nations.

7. Redetermine the extent of need, under present conditions, for U.S. military forces in the European theater, with the objective of reducing our expenditures there.

The time has long since arrived when a substantial reduction of our military establishment in Western Europe would appear to be wise if not necessary. Approximately 700,000 military and associated personnel are still being maintained in Europe, at a net outflow in the balance of payments of about $1.5 billion (approximately half the recent annual balance-of-payments deficits). A force of this size was unquestionably desirable 15 years ago, as an emergency protective matter, when our European allies were weak and relatively defenseless. But with their economic recovery, the Western European countries should be able to marshall their own conventional forces against invasion, backed by our continuing firm commitment to assist in their defense. A small detachment our our forces can serve as evidence of this commitment, backed by our newly demonstrated ability to airlife reinforcements swiftly to any place in the world from central bases in the United States, and by our strategic air and missile striking forces.

An immediate reappraisal of the extent and character of our European-based military forces and financial commitment in the light of these changes in conditions should be undertaken both in our country and with our friends abroad as a matter of urgency. The results should substantially reduce our expenditures there.

These observations are backed by military experts and have been enunciated by both Democratic and Republican leaders. They were expressed by the Democratic majority in a 1965 report of the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress:

"The committee urges that the review of Government expenditures abroad focus particularly on the possibility of reducing our troop commitments in Europe * * *. Our overseas manpower was not cut back to the extent which the massive increase in our airlift capability would have permitted * * *. We must reduce our military expenditures in these countries."

There is no reason why our European friends, given a full appreciation of our views should continue to depend on us to carry such large forces on their soil. Our commitment to the preservation of freedom in Western Europe will not be reduced by a return of a considerable portion of these forces to our shores.

8. Confine American military assistance generally to countries committed to the side of the free world in the struggle against Communist subversion and aggression.

Last year American military assistance was given to more than 60 countries. In some nations American-supplied arms were used in local revolutions by forces inimical to free world interests. A more discriminating selection of military aid beneficiaries is necessary.

Our military assistance programs should be limited generally to countries and administrations which are clearly committed to the free world and opposed to international communism. Military aid should consist almost exclusively of equipment produced in American plants, and should be directed to the free nations surrounding the Communist orbit, who are our first line of defense, and nations seriously threatened with Communist takeover by subversion or revolution. Any exceptions should be rare and should be required to be clearly justified in terms of our own overriding national interests. It is unsound to give weapons to nations when we cannot be sure that they will be used in our common defense, or to nations from whose hands they may proceed into the possession of enemy forces.

More realistic overseas military assistance programs will reduce the burden they impose on our balance-of-payments problem.

9. Reduce the cost of foreign economic aid programs, primarily by directing assistance to those countries which maintain a hospitable climate for private investment capital, and by stimulating private initiative here and abroad to lead in their development.

There is little doubt of the basic desirability of our foreign economic aid objectives. In their 17 years many of these programs has served effectively in building the free world and promoting the development of emerging nations. But this does not necessarily warrant their continuance at present levels.

In fiscal 1965, loans, grants, and other assistance of various kinds were made to an approximate total of 100 countries. There is little doubt that close examination will show incredible inefficiency, waste, mismanagement and misdirected effort in many of these programs. Some loans are made in dollars on terms which clearly indicate that neither the principal nor interest is ever going to return to this country. Some grants merely help to support local political objectives or to pay running expenses of insolvent governments. Some programs support foreign government-owned projects which ought to be done by private agencies under appropriate local incentives and encouragement. Many are of doubtful value to the country intended to be beneficial. Many should be ended. A realistic evaluation of these facts would result in a significant reduction in foreign aid costs.

The growth of industry and capital in the developing nations would be achieved more efficiently and more effectively under the discipline of the profit system than under any other form. This is the secret of our unparalleled American material progress and it should be exported with confidence and conviction.

Private initiative, both from the United States and within the underdeveloped nations should be recognized and encouraged as the key to sustained growth and development. Private capital can perform far more effectively than government socialism. Our aid ought to be directed to nations that accept this philosophy.

Furthermore, other industrial nations of the free world should be induced to shoulder a larger share of the burden of assistance to developing countries, both directly and through United Nations multilateral programs. Their efforts in this respect should be commensurate with their capabilities.

Assistance to other nations by the U.S. Government should be limited largely to our foodstuffs, fibers and goods—and only to the extent needed by them in excess of their ability to pay. The United States should and can also provide technical assistance in solving problems of agriculture, industry, commerce and government in accordance with the proven procedures evolved in our own country.

Such measures would benefit other nations more in the long run because we would be showing them the solid way to development and growth, within the potentials of their own resources and capabilities, rather than stimulating the illusion that largesse from the American taxpayers will bring "instant progress."

The administration position appears to be that all such expenditures are absolutely necessary, and that every effort is being made to minimize their balance-of-payments impact. It argues that 80 to 85 percent of economic aid purchases are tied to exports and that more than one-third of military expenditures are offset by military exports from the United States.

While much of foreign aid is tied to specific exports, in many cases such aid releases dollars which otherwise would be spent in the United States, to be spent instead in Western Europe. Some experts maintain that this occurs to such a degree that our economic foreign aid is effectively tied to net exports to the extent of only 50 to 60 percent. A more realistic policy would concentrate our efforts in countries where help can be used soundly and stop the flow of dollars to areas and for purposes which merely support purchases from other nations. Such a policy need not damage our economic development efforts.

As part of foreign aid reforms, the number of beneficiary nations should be reduced. Commitment by recipients to free enterprise principles should be a precondition to economic aid wherever possible.

Finally, the various aid expenditures—for grants, loans, international loan funds, agricultural products, Peace Corps, United Nations multilateral programs, refugee relief, and others—should be brought together into a single appropriation request for consideration by the Congress each year, so the American public is fully informed as to the total involved.

These measures would reduce the drain of our dollars and make the entire program more effective as an instrument of foreign policy, as a contribution to world progress, and as an aid to individuals and nations in learning that solid lasting growth is best attained by responsibility, planning and work under the incentive of private ownership and competition.

An analysis of the derivation of balance-of-payments deficits shows clearly that the international transactions of the private sector in this country are regularly in balance. The Government's outlays for military and economic aid programs overseas exceed its receipts of dollars from foreign countries, and in that sense account for the entire balance-of-payments deficits of recent years.

It is ironic that, under these conditions, the administration's major actions to deal with the problem have been restrictive measures directed at the private sector. Clearly, a major review of Government spending overseas is in order, and recommendations 6, 7, and 8 are directed at that objective.

The urgency of achieving a lasting solution

Apprehension about the future of the international monetary situation is increasing. The United Kingdom is facing a severe monetary crisis. France is converting more and more of its liquid holdings to gold. These events have raised storm signals for countries all over the world. The result could be a serious contraction of world liquidity and economic activity. This must not happen.

Whether the problem is an immediate one of impending economic dislocation, or the longer range one of strengthening the international monetary system, in both cases management of the dollar and maintenance of confidence in it are central to achieving successful solutions since it is the world's principal medium of exchange.

The Republican Party would be derelict if it did not raise its voice to call attention to an extremely serious situation in time for effective action.

The dollar is still the world's strongest currency. The United States is still the leader of the free world. There is yet probably enough time for prompt action successfully to correct the present deteriorating situation and maintain our position as the leader in building a world society where every man can share in the material benefits that are a precondition to individual freedom, dignity, and opportunity to lead the good life.

In publishing this paper, the Republican Party serves notice to the party in power that it must be responsible for the consequences of continuing failure to take prompt and suitable action to solve this vital problem.

Federal Government and South Dakota: Partners in Crime and Vice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to tell the Members of this House about the interrelation of gambling and crime in the State of South Dakota. The partnership of the Federal Government and the State of South Dakota in resisting legalized gambling merely insures that illegal gambling profits support underworld rather than public projects.

Last year's parimutuel turnover in South Dakota came to about $5 million. By my estimates, computed on the basis of testimony given before the McClellan committee, illegal gambling has a turnover of $120 billion a year in the United States. On a population basis, South Dakota's share of this total would be $480 million a year. This figure is too high, to be sure, but despite this, it is safe to say that there are tens of millions of dollars illegally gambled each year in South Dakota, and that much of this turnover contributes a profit to the mob, thus subsidizing all kinds of crime and vice.

What we need is government-operated gambling, so that satisfaction of the ineradicable gambling urge is not a function—a profitable function—of the underworld, but a government-run concession to social and financial reality. I feel that the best such device is a national lottery or a series of State lotteries. The time to act is now.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to include my newsletter to my constituents of March 18, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman JIM MARTIN, Seventh District, Alabama)

ANARCHY

When does the right of citizens to peacefully assemble cease to be a right and become anarchy? This is a question all Americans must ask themselves as a result of the tragedy of Selma. In remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD I reminded Members of Congress of the reason for the formation of this Government by quoting from the Declaration of Independence:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—that to secure these rights governments are instituted among me."

Governments are instituted among men to preserve the rights of all the people through law. Without the rule of law, there is no legitimate function for a government, and only those individuals would survive who could successfully take from their fellowman whatever their needs and desires demanded.

Now, from Webster's Dictionary we remind ourselves of the definition of anarchy: "Anarchy: (a) absence of government (b) a state of lawlessness or political disorder due to the absence of governmental authority—absence or denial of authority."

NO RIGHT TO INCITE VIOLENCE

What has gone on in Selma is anarchy. There has been a denial of authority and political disorder in revolt against governmental authority. Unless there is a return to reason and respect for law and order in Selma and in other places throughout the Nation, the anarchy which has been encouraged may well consume the fires of freedom of all the people of America, and the rights of all will perish including the rights of the minority with which we are presently concerned. Completely ignored in the demand for demonstrations in defense of so-called civil rights is the fundamental fact that the right to demonstrate does not include the right to incite anybody to violence.

There has been no reason for the demonstration in Selma; no reasons for the illegal sit-ins in the Justice Department or the White House; no reason for the marching in Detroit and Chicago and New York and Los Angeles. The Negroes in Selma have and have had the right to register and vote, and they are registering. I am told 350 were registered in that little community in the past weeks. The President of the United States promised Martin Luther King that the voting bill he demanded would be sent to Congress. All the demands of the civil rights leaders have been met and are being met. So why the demonstrations? Why the resort to anarchy?

BLUEPRINT CALLED FOR PROVOCATION

The goal was set forth in the blueprint for Selma, reprinted last week in the National Observer. The entire Selma operation was planned to arouse public sentiment around the country for the passage of a Federal voting law to take from the States the constitutional right to determine voter qualifications.

The law the President proposes does away with all qualifications. It will make it possible to register anybody of voting age, regardless of his ability to read or write or comprehend. If such a law is passed the South will never be the same, and neither will the rest of the country. We cannot remove completely all qualifications of intelligence for those who vote without bringing disaster down upon the South and the whole United States. The history of all countries which have provided no guarantees for rule by the illiterate proves that democratic procedures cannot operate unless the voters have at least the intelligence to know for whom they are voting and why. I am opposed to the President's bill.

What to do about it? We must come up with a better bill to keep our country from disaster. We must present a bill that will guarantee the rights of all qualified citizens to vote. At the same time we must protect the constitutional right of the States to determine voter qualifications. I am working on such a bill and have met with the Republican leadership to enlist party support behind such legislation. I am convinced we can stop the unthinkable measure proposed by the President and that we can get support from enough Southern Democrats to pass a bill which will not change our American system of government, nor return the South to the reconstruction period.

Hon. Clarence Brown

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 23, 1965

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, with the recent passing of CLARENCE J. BROWN a great American has disappeared from the national scene. Having achieved State and national prominence in a lifetime of notable public service, he has left a large void in the leadership councils of his party, his State, and the Nation.

There is loneliness where he once walked among us. But there is no want of a memorial to his work as a statesman. Of all his legislative accomplishments, he was most proud of his role in creating the First and Second Hoover Commissions. The modernization of the Federal bureacuracy which resulted from the recommendations of the Hoover Commissions stands as a monument to his genius—a monument that will continue to benefit all Americans far beyond his life and times.

I count it a great privilege to have served with CLARENCE BROWN in this

House and on the Committee on Government Operations of which he had been ranking Member since the beginning of the 89th Congress.

Throughout the remainder of my life I shall cherish and draw inspiration from the memory of the courage, integrity, and patriotism of CLARENCE BROWN, a great public servant.

To his family to which he was so devoted, I extend my deepest sympathy.

Horton Salutes Opera Theater of Rochester

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, in my home community of Rochester, N.Y., this is a very special day for art and culture. There is being presented on local television this evening a full-length production of "The Medium," an opera by Gian Carlo Menotti.

Tonight's television production really began many months ago when Opera Theater of Rochester presented "The Medium" in the Hochstein Music School auditorium. The presentation was stunningly successful; so much so, that several agencies began a collaboration that has led through the intervening period to tonight's telecast.

Those participating—and those I want to commend—are Rochester Area Educational Television Association (RAETA), WHEC-TV (channel 10), the Rochester Musicians' Association (local 66), Community Savings Bank, and the cast and staff of Opera Theater of Rochester.

The cooperation of all the above made possible this community first. RAETA donated its studios, facilities and personnel in order to videotape the opera presentation. WHEC-TV is giving 1 hour of its prime commercial time this evening. The musicians' association gave 1 hour of free rehearsal time for the entire orchestra, composed of members from Rochester's famed Philharmonic. The Community Savings Bank is meeting the balance of the expenses. Dr. Paul Freeman, opera theater musical director, has been a guiding artistic light from start to finish; and many other individuals also have spared no effort nor amount of time to bring about this cultural achievement.

I am proud of all of them and delighted to have this opportunity to bring their unique endeavor to the appropriate attention of my congressional colleagues.

Mr. Speaker, I also take pleasure in sharing the contents of two published reviews which Opera Theater of Rochester's initial presentation of "The Medium" gained in my community's daily newspapers:

[From the Rochester (N.Y.) Democrat and Chronicle, May 14, 1965]

OPERA THEATER SCORES HIGH IN DOUBLE BILL

(By Harvey Southgate)

Opera Theater of Rochester, in its second production of the season last night in the Hockstein Music School, made clear that its successful performances of the past were no accident. Here is a serious minded group of talented persons who obviously intend to stay in the community opera field and steadily improve their product. Rochester had better sit up and take notice.

Last night the company again overcame the handicaps of a small stage and a low budget to present a double bill that was well sung, well acted, and in some moments powerfully gripping. The lyric charm and lightness were in the early Mozart opera, "Bastien and Bastienne," and the dramatic power in the Menotti thriller, "The Medium," in which Gloria McMaster, former Eastman School student, gave a standout performance.

Dr. Paul Freeman conducted the performance, which had the priceless advantage of and orchestra of 18 top players, most of them members of the Rochester Philharmonic. These, according to the program, were there "by special arrangements with the Rochester Musicians' Association," a handsome gesture by the association to give a major musical boost to the performance.

Concerning "The Medium" it can be said without any reservations that this was a performance to bring out the full flavor of the eeriness and musical power of Menotti's story about a fake medium who, after hoaxing others at her manipulated seances, has a terrifying experience of her own. In the midst of a seance she feels the clutch of a hand on her throat and is driven frantic in her effort to find the answer.

Mrs. McMaster lived the part every minute, sang the difficult music convincingly, acted the big climatic ending with restraint yet power.

Vincent Benedetto played the mute Toby with pathetic realism, and Reba Gilman as the daughter, Marylee Osborn, William Wagner (of Buffalo) and Antoinette Miller as the seance seekers were excellent.

"Bastien and Bastienne" is a delightful trifle about a pair of rustic sweethearts who have a falling out and are brought together by a discerning old man who pretends to be a magician.

Carmen Fernandez, Eastman School student from Puerto Rico, was a charming Bastienne in singing the personality. Peter Pesco as Bastien and William Briggs as the magician were happily cast.

The opera was presented as a play in a nobleman's garden, preceded by some of the Mozart "Nachtmusik" and dances prettily done by Judy Johnston, Helen White, and Anne Marie Decesare.

A second performance of the entire bill will be given tonight.

[From the Times-Union, May 14, 1965]

OPERA THEATER SCORES IN STAGING DOUBLE BILL

(By George H. Kimball)

Opera Theater of Rochester last night unveiled a double bill of contrasting works in a production that sparkled with gorgeous voices, smooth staging, and musical rewards galore.

Staged in Hochstein's Music School Auditorium were Mozart's little romantic comedy, "Bastien and Bastienne," and Gian-Carlo Menotti's tragic "The Medium." (A repeat performance is scheduled tonight at 8:15.)

To this observer the production was Opera Theater's most effective and enjoyable to date.

A professional pit orchestra (mostly members of the Rochester Philharmonic) gave Conductor Dr. Paul Freeman and the singers solid support throughout.

Soprano Carmen Fernandez and tenor Peter Pesco as the lovers Bastien and Bastienne and bass William Briggs as Dr. Colas whose "magic" dissolves their quarrel did more than justice to the lilting Mozart score.

The dark moods of "The Medium" were eloquently projected in the vocal work of Gloiria McMaster as Madam Flora and Reba Gillman as Monica.

The latter and dancer Vincent Benedetto as the mute Toby were the acting standouts of the evening.

There were laudable contributions, too, from Antoinette Miller, Marylee Osborn, and William Wagner (guest artist from the Buffalo Opera Co.) as the medium's dupes.

A trio of dancers—Judy Johnston, Helen White, and Anne Marie DiCesare—performed to "Eine Kleine Natchmusik" to set the mood for the Mozart opera.

Stage directors were Dr. Louis Hetler and Dr. William Owens. Set designer was Dr. Leonard Barkin.

Formal Dedication of New Building Marks Microwave Associates 15th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, recently it was my pleasure to participate in the formal opening of the newest building of Microwave Associates, Inc. of Burlington, Mass.

This remarkable firm was first founded in 1950 by four young engineers and it now covers more than 190,000 square feet on its 15th anniversary.

The firm has pioneered in the production of microwave components for radar, telemetry and communication systems. In this connection, it has made enormous contributions to our defense and space technology.

I include a press release announcing the opening of its new building in the RECORD and extend my congratulations to firm President Dana W. Atchley and all the employees who have made the success of Microwave Associates, Inc. possible:

FORMAL DEDICATION OF NEW BUILDING MARKS MICROWAVE ASSOCIATES 15TH ANNIVERSARY

BURLINGTON, MASS., Aug. 23, 1965.—In observance of Microwave Associates' 15th anniversary, President Dana W. Atchley welcomed employees and guests to "open house" and formal opening ceremonies of the firm's newest building. Honored guests at the ribbon-cutting ceremony were Massachusetts Congressman F. BRADFORD MORSE, and two of the firm's original founders, Richard M. Walker, vice president and manager of the Waveguide Systems Division and Vess C. Chigas, chairman of the board and president of Microwave Associates International. In recognition of their services to the firm, Mr. Atchley presented both men with 15-year awards.

In his opening remarks, Mr. Atchley commented that the new two-story building

brings Microwave Associates' space in Northwest Industrial Park to a total of 190,000 square feet, representing an additional step in the firm's long-range program of growth through the development and manufacture of microwave components for radar, telemetry and communication systems. He cited the fact that this growth has been made possible largely through the team work and joint efforts of the firm's entire work force.

Congressman MORSE paid tribute to Microwave Associates' growth and cited the firm's contribution to both the State and Nation through its participation in the U.S. defense effort, and in providing greater opportunities within the Commonwealth.

Democracy for Democracy's Capital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I have been an advocate and a worker for home rule for the District of Columbia ever since I came to the Congress. I am delighted that the discharge petition, which it was my honor to file on August 24, was successful last Friday.

Support for home rule is nationwide. I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial from the September 7, 1965, edition of the New York Herald Tribune.

The editorial follows:

DEMOCRACY FOR DEMOCRACY'S CAPITAL

Supporters of home rule for the District of Columbia scored a major victory when the 218th signature was finally affixed to a discharge petition to bring a stalled home rule bill out of the House District Committee. This southern-dominated committee has been the traditional graveyard of home rule bills, six of which have passed the Senate in recent years. The committee's desperate maneuver last Thursday, when it hastily reported out a substitute measure which would give most of the District to Maryland, was more an obstructionist prank than a serious legislative effort; the focus now is going to be on the Senate-passed bill, which, now that it has been discharged, can next be brought to the House floor on September 27.

The high-pressure White House lobbying on this issue offended a good many Congressmen, and not without reason. But now that the signatures have been gotten, what matters is the question of home rule itself. This is a highly charged emotional issue, on both sides, and while some of the opposition has been on racial grounds (Washington is the only major city with a Negro majority), some has been sparked by the dismal example other cities have set of municipal corruption and mismanagement. If Washington gets home rule, and escapes this, it's going to be a political miracle.

But the arguments for home rule remain compelling. True, the District of Columbia was established for the express purpose of providing a home for the Federal Government; this remains its purposse, and the Federal Government has to insure that it provides a suitable home. All Americans have a stake in District government. But it also is a home for 800,000 people, who live there and pay taxes there and depend on its municipal facilities, and these people deserve a voice in their own government. The United States looks a bit ridiculous trying to sell the concept of democracy abroad, yet denying it to the residents of its own capital—especially when it does so on the ground that the 800,000 U.S. citizens resident in the District of Columbia, the seat of Government of the United States of America, can't be trusted with the management of municipal affairs. It's high time to bring democracy to democracy's capital.

Labor and Its Goals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the annual Labor Day Award given by the Diocese of Pittsburgh was made this year to a distinguished labor leader, Mr. Edward J. Leonard. Mr. Leonard is general president of the Operative Plasterer's and Cement Masons' International Association. He served his community on the City Council of Pittsburgh from 1938 to 1951. He is a former chairman of the Allegheny County Housing Authority and played a leading role during the time that authority carried out a slum clearance and building program.

Mr. Leonard has written an excellent article, "Labor and Its Goals" in the September 5 issue of Our Sunday Visitor. Under leave to extend my remarks I include that article at this point. I commend it to all Members of the House:

LABOR AND ITS GOALS

(By Edward J. Leonard)

Labor Day is a day of celebration, of parades, speeches, and other activities, all attesting to the dignity of the laboring man. In the larger metropolitan cities, a Labor Day Mass is celebrated where members of the trade union movement offer up the holy sacrifice of the Mass, asking the blessing of God upon their families and their employers.

There is an interesting contrast in the celebration of Labor Day in the United States and the celebration of May Day in foreign countries. In other parts of the world, in Europe, South America, and in the Communist countries, May 1 is celebrated as a holiday called the "Workers' Day." In Communist countries it is selected as a holiday for the workers but, in reality, it is a day of propaganda for the perpetuation of the class struggle and ultimately, world domination by the Communists. The workers march through the streets with arms raised and fists clenched. Their banners carry the emblem of the sword and the sickle, and they preach a message of hate against the capitalist countries and the free world. In other European countries, May 1 is celebrated as a holiday by Socialist-dominated trade unions. In the Western World, however, Catholics celebrate May 1 in the liturgy as a day dedicated to St. Joseph the Worker.

On the threshold of our annual Labor Day holiday, it would be well to stop and ponder on two question: (1) What was the cause for the formation of labor unions in the United States? (2) What has the trade union movement done for the people in the United States, the workingman and his family?

Labor unions were created by the innate natural instinct of man to better himself; to secure an increase in wages and better working conditions. In other words, to raise his standard of living; to have security in his old age, and for the education of his children. The formation of labor unions had its beginnings in the aspirations of man, not only to better his own economic conditions, but also of his brother worker. Thus, the cause for the establishment of trade unions has a spiritual and moral foundation; namely, to assist his fellow workmen in securing better wages and working conditions. This is an ageless instinct of man.

Labor unions were formed out of the felt necessities of the times. Employers were exploiting the workmen, paying low wages for long hours, offering no job security, and denying workmen the right to bargain or to join a labor organization. The great depression of the 1930's gave a dramatic impetus to the organization of workers into labor unions. Further, Federal and State legislation has aided immensely in the development of strong and powerful international unions.

YEARS OF GROWTH

As one reflects and looks back over the last 50 years in the labor movement, we find that the men who founded the first local and international unions in this country were inspired with great ideals and love of their fellowmen. Local unions were formed in various cities of the United States by individual craftsmen who had a burning zeal to help their fellowmen to secure better wages and working conditions. These men met in lonely garrets and attics with a small group of men from a given shop, and would ask the workers to join the union. Many worked without pay, and they were given the derogatory name of a walking delegate.

After the local union secured a certain number of members, they would be granted a charter of affiliation by the American Federation of Labor. As soon as a number of local unions had been chartered in certain areas, delegations from these local unions were called upon to meet in a specific city for a convention, and these local unions then formed the international unions. Thus, it can be said that the formation and establishment of trade unions in the United States, both on a local and international level, was brought about by the highest aspirations known to man, namely, to try to aid his brother worker in securing better working conditions.

It is easy to state this on paper, but behind the simple statement of how the trade unions had their beginning in this country, there has been a heroic story of suffering, hardship, struggle, bitter litigation, strikes, and picket lines.

At the turn of the century some courts, and many employers, looked upon labor unions and labor leaders as engaging in a criminal consiracy to violate the laws of free enterprise. Many labor union officers and members were sentenced to jail terms or fined because they engaged in a strike for an increase in wages, a demand for better working conditions, or the shortening of working day hours. The men who formed the trade union movement in America were imbued with a burning zeal and they frequently suffered imprisonment and other indignities. The members of the trade union movement today are the beneficiaries of their brotherly love, their zeal, and their wisdom.

AIDED SOCIAL LEGISLATION

The establishment of labor unions was brought about by the ageless aspiration of man to better his working and living conditions. This has ever been the end object and purpose of their formation and continued existence. Not only have local and international unions brought about increased wages and better working conditions, but they have also been the cause of the passage of much beneficial social legislation.

The American Federation of Labor brought about the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act. This law restricted the power of the Federal courts to issue injunctions enjoining the right to strike or picket.

Then came the most important piece of labor legislation ever enacted in the United States, namely, the National Labor Relations Act of 1932. This act guaranteed the workingman of the United States the right to join a union of his own choosing, and, in turn, compelled employers to recognize and bargain with the majority representative of his employees.

The National Labor Relations Board was established to conduct elections by secret ballot among workers, and to certify the union to their employers as the exclusive bargaining representative of his employees. The employer was compelled by the mandate of the Federal statute to sit down and bargain with his employees. The National Labor Relations Act guaranteed the formation and establishment of a free trade union movement by declaring company formed or dominated unions illegal.

Then followed the Fair Labor Standards Act setting the minimum wage in a given industry, and the compulsory payment of time and a half for overtime hours of work. These three statutes benefited the active workingman.

Finally, in 1933, came the Social Security Act which provided for unemployment benefits and pension or retirement benefits for both men and women.

These four statutes, enacted by Congress in the 1930's were interlaced and interwoven. Without fear of contradiction, these laws are the finest program of social legislation ever enacted by any country. They have brought great benefits to the working classes of this country, and the American Federation of Labor was a primary force in the passage of this legislation.

DUTIES OF MEMBERS

As we celebrate this Labor Day of 1965, all Catholic men and women, who are members of trade unions, must and should be forces for good in our local and international unions. They should be motivated by the same aspirations and ideals that inspired the early members of the trade union movement to aid and help their brother workers. They must give expression to that which is instilled in all of us to do good and avoid evil. They should strive to develop their own spiritual and intellectual lives and to work for social justice. They should be an active influence for good. They should rise above the provincial and geographical prejudices of their localities. They should participate actively in a city and State program to remove and prevent racial discrimination in hiring, or racial discrimination in housing accommodations. They should participate and aid and assist the local communities' poverty programs. They should strive to become leaders in their unions. They should advocate and carry out the teachings of the Catholic Church on the principles of social justice, as exemplified in the teachings of Pope Leo XIII, and the late beloved Pope John. They must have the desire to move upward and to move forward, and to seek the better things of life as expressed in the statement: "A man's reach must exceed his grasp or what is a heaven for."

Indianapolis Times Comments of U.S. Policies in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD an editorial from the August 28, 1965, issue of the Indianapolis Times with respect to the policies of our Government in Vietnam during recent years.

The editorial follows:

LOOK FORWARD, NOT BACK

Republicans have the right—and indeed the duty—to criticize President Johnson's current handling of the Vietnam crisis when they think he is wrong. So do Democrats, for that matter.

But no good purpose is served by the partisan wrangle over which party or which President was responsible for our Vietnam involvement in the first place.

The question is not what was done or should have been done in 1950 or 1954 or even last year. It is what we are going to do now to achieve our objectives and end the war. Whether it was President Truman, President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, or President Johnson who committed us to our present role in southeast Asia is beside the point today.

The facts are that we are there, that we have the twin goals of punishing aggression and restoring the peace, and that we are not going to quit until we achieve those goals.

Republicans can help by following General Eisenhower's lead and looking forward, not backward. He made it clear he will have no part of any attempt to exploit Vietnam for partisan advantage, and that he gives Johnson 100 percent support in the present situation.

Democrats can help by silencing efforts to blame today's difficulties on actions launched during the Eisenhower years. What does it matter now?

Everybody can help by forgetting this silly squabble and getting on with our main business—which is winning, and ending, the war.

Survivorship Benefits for Servicemen III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Members will recall that I had the Veterans' Administration prepare tables showing the commuted value of benefits available to survivors of servicemen. My example today is that of a sergeant who has served 7 years and leaves two dependent parents:

SURVIVORSHIP BENEFITS FOR SERVICEMEN DYING FROM SERVICE-CONNECTED CAUSES

ASSUMPTIONS

1. Sergeant, U.S. Army.
2. Age 25 at death.
3. Death was service connected.
4. Seven years' service at death.
5. Three years in grade at death.
6. Average earnings, $251.10 a month (base pay).
7. Left dependent parents, each age 50 (no income other than shown).
8. Left no widow or child.
9. Parents live out their expectations of life (mother: 27.7 years; father: 23 years).

Benefits

Payee	Paying agency	Type of payment	Payment period (months)	Payment rate	Benefits		
					VA	HEW	Total
Father	Veterans' Administration	Disability insurance compensation.	[1] 144	$55.00	$7,920		
			[2] 132	22.00	2,904		
	Health, Education, and Welfare.	Social security (38 U.S.C. 412(a)).	[3] 132	76.30		$10,071	
Total					10,824	10,071	$20,895
Mother	Veterans' Administration	Disability insurance compensation.	[1] 144	55.00	7,920		
			[2] 132	22.00	2,904		
			[4] 56	50.00	2,800		
	Health, Education, and Welfare.	Social security (38 U.S.C. 412(a)).	[3] 132	76.30		10,071	
			[4] 56	84.00		4,704	
Total					13,624	14,775	28,399
Grand total.					24,448	24,846	49,294

[1] As 1 of 2 parents to age 62.
[2] Rate adjustment, due to social security income.
[3] Social security as 1 of 2 parents from age 62.
[4] Rate of payment as sole surviving parent.

A Salute to the Teenagers of Conneaut, Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. WILLIAM STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, a well-known sumer resort on Lake Erie in my district received nationwide attention over the July 4th weekend due to the disturbances of teenagers that eventually led to a full scale riot. These teenagers were not from our district.

In contrast to this activity, this past Labor Day weekend saw the teenagers in this same county of Ashtabula perform a public service that I think deserves equal attention by the American press.

On Labor Day over 1,200 travelers on Interstate 90 were served free coffee, doughnuts, and cake by high school seniors from Conneaut, Ohio. David Olds, the class president said:

It was great to see people so happy.

This project was the teenagers own idea. They worked in shift from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. In addition to the refreshments each traveler was given a brochure published by the State entitled, "The Wonderful World of Ohio." People from

California to New England were heard to comment with amazement, "and they won't take a penny." Class funds, as well as donations from local merchants, provided the supplies.

The generosity of the seniors from the Conneaut High School and their concern for their fellowman speaks highly of the fine people who live in the city of Conneaut. Conneaut is known as the gateway to the State of Ohio due to its strategic location in the northeastern corner of our State and with such thoughtful and industrious teenagers the future of Conneaut is indeed a bright one.

Mr. Speaker, I felt I must point out to my colleagues this action by a group of teenagers. It is time we pay them the compliment of recognizing their outstanding and valuable services to their community instead of downgrading them as a group for the careless and irresponsible action of a few.

I am proud that Conneaut, Ohio, is in the 11th Congressional District.

Miss Henrietta Mace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, there are few people who are so close to the heartbeat of the people as welfare directors. A thousand problems are brought to them every day. Calmly, efficiently, quietly, these directors chart new courses for people in difficulty, alleviate pain, provide housing for those in need, care for children, ease the last days of the elderly.

I feel honored to pay tribute to the Nation's county welfare officers in including the following story from the Havre de Grace Record in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It is a well-merited tribute to Miss Henrietta Mace who has been the Director of Public Welfare for Harford County, Md., for the past 19 years. Along with every citizen of Harford County and of the State of Maryland, I wish her golden years to come.

The article follows:

[From the Havre de Grace Record]

MISS HENRIETTA MACE

Miss Henrietta Frazier Mace, director, Harford County Welfare Board, has announced that she will resign August 31, 1965. Tonight, she will be honored at a dinner attended by friends and associates of Harford County and the State of Maryland.

Miss Mace became director of Harford County Welfare Board in 1946 and has witnessed many changes in social thought and practice during her 19 years in Harford County. She started her social work career when she worked in the outpatient clinic at Delaware Hospital in Wilmington, Del. In the late 1920's, she returned to Baltimore County, where she did voluntary social work. She began working as a caseworker for Baltimore County Welfare Department on March 1, 1934. Later she was on the staff of Department of Public Welfare, Baltimore City.

Miss Mace was graduated from the Friends School in Wilmington. She studied at Johns Hopkins University and graduated from University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work in 1945. Miss Mace is an active member of the National Association of Social Workers and is an accredited certified social worker. She is also a member of the International Association of Social Workers and the Soroptimist Club of Bel Air.

PET PROJECT

One of Miss Mace's many pet projects is the welfare department's children's services, which started at the beginning of her administration. At that time there were less than two dozen children in care. In July 1965, there were 165 children in this program. During this time the adoption program was started and each year there has been an increasing number of children permanently placed for adoption.

Efficiency and minimum cost of operation can be noted during Miss Mace's administration. Harford County continues to hold the middle position of the 24 Maryland counties in their net expenditures for public assistance and administration. Although population in Harford County has more than doubled during Miss Mace's administration, the net cost of the welfare program has shown substantially less increase, compared to other counties with expanding population.

When Miss Mace became director, the total number of persons receiving assistance was 316 for an average month. Those administering the program were the director, four caseworkers, and two clerks. The number of caseworkers increased to 11, with Miss Mace as both director and supervisor, until 1961, when a supervisor was added to the staff. In an average month during 1965, the caseload has been approximately 601 cases (old-age assistance, aid to families of dependent children, aid to permanently and totally disabled, and general public assistance).

In addition, 509 persons receive medical assistance to the aged. There are over 903 children being supervised under foster care and aid to families with dependent children by the Harford welfare during a typical month. The present staff includes the director, 3 supervisors, 16 caseworkers, and 7 clerical staff.

SERVED ON MANY BOARDS

In addition to numerous agency responsibilities, Miss Mace has served on many local boards. She helped start the school for the retarded. Also, she served on a committee of three persons to initiate the Harford County Council of Social Agencies. Recently, she worked with legislators to establish the Citizens Nursing Home, which is under construction here. Miss Mace has also served on the following boards: TB, Mental Health Society, economic opportunity program, including the Community Action Program, civil defense, and Committee for Aged For the past 5 years, she has served on a board which sets up regional meetings in Harford and Cecil Counties for social workers and has been an active member of the Maryland State Conference of Social Work Board.

MUCH TRAVELED

One of Miss Mace's special interests is traveling. She has used annual leave to visit in South America, Mexico, Caribbean, and Bermuda, as well as numerous trips through the Eastern States. After retirement, she plans to continue these trips and would like to go to Europe, Hawaii, Alaska, and distant States in the United States. Miss Mace also plans to pursue her hobbies in copper, pewter, and silverwork and ceramic design, and she might get time to catch up on some of the books she has been saving for this time.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include my Washington Report, my weekly newsletter to my constituents, of March 25, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman JIM MARTIN, Seventh District, Alabama)

THE ASSAULT UPON THE SOUTH

The massive assault upon the South, and in particular upon Alabama, was continued in Congress last week. It began with the Monday night address by the President to a joint session of Congress. Never before has a Chief Executive of the United States made such a concerted attack upon a sovereign State, its elected officials, and its people. The whole effort was designed to get enactment of the President's voting rights bill.

The President's demand that Congress pass his bill at once and without changing a line, was clearly out of order. Under the Constitution the Congress is the legislative body. The President is to administer the laws of the land and the functions of Government. He cannot demand or force Congress to pass certain bills and he has no right, under the Constitution, to demand that Congress take bills prepared by him without adequate study and debate.

If Congress is stampeded into passing legislation because the President is subject to pressure by street mobs, we will have taken a long step toward dictatorship.

The President's voting rights bill, H.R. 6400, is wrong. It is unconstitutional. It is not a bill to insure the rights of all citizens to vote. It is directed against six Southern States. Under the President's bill, these Southern States may not deny the right to vote to illiterates, felons or anyone for any reason, but other States may. This startling admission was made by Attorney General Katzenbach in the first day's hearings before the House Judiciary Committee. Hearings, incidentally, which were started before Members of Congress could even get a copy of the bill.

To legislate in such an atmosphere of hysteria is irresponsible and without precedent. I am opposed to the Preisdent's bill. I have been working on a countermeasure with leaders of both the Republican and Democratic Parties. My suggested bill would remove any existing injustices in the application of voting laws, but it would protect the rights of the States to exercise their constitutional authority to determine voter qualifications.

ALABAMA DELEGATION DEFENDS OUR STATE

On Wednesday the entire Alabama delegation in the House took the floor in defense of our State and our people to answer some of the charges made by the President. I was more proud than ever on that day to be an Alabamian and a southerner.

In my own remarks I made an effort to present facts on voter registration of Negroes in Alabama to refute the President's televised statement that "the only way to break the barriers in the South is to have a white skin." Even the Washington Evening Star in a strong editorial pointed out that that statement by the President "was not a fact."

The fact is that 115,000 Negroes are registered and voting in Alabama. This figure

represents more than 20 percent of the total vote cast in Alabama in the presidential election of 1960. Research to which I have had access and the facts I presented to the Members of the House show that the vast majority of qualified Negroes in Alabama are registered. Those who are not registered, for the most part, are ineligible because of convictions of felonies or by reason of illiteracy. To abolish literacy tests and to give the franchise to those who cannot read or write or comprehend, is to turn the government over to those who are not capable of governing. We have seen the result of this in countries where illiterates do have the vote and where there is constant turmoil and revolution.

COMMUNIST INFLUENCES AT WORK

During the past week I have made a number of statements in Congress and in the RECORD pointing out the Communist influences at work among the leadership of the demonstrations. Even such liberal writers as Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, in their column in the Washington Post, pointed out the leftwing influence of the leaders of the Selma demonstrations on Martin Luther King and in fomenting the violence which has occurred there. The President, himself, admitted to me, that Communists were active in the demonstrations, but said you cannot keep them out.

Maybe they cannot be kept out, but that is all the more reason why the President and Congress should not knuckle under to the mob rule they created.

BRIEFS OF THE WEEK

By a vote of 203 to 177 the House defeated a bill which would raise the salaries of Supreme Court Justices. I was proud to vote against it. One of the tragic parts of the President's appearance before Congress was to see the Justices of the Supreme Court applauding his demands for legislation. This is supposed to be an impartial body which must judge the constitutionality of legislation on its merits, but evidently they have already prejudged this bill.

Our current Government under the Johnson administration has been labeled the "Great Busted Society" by the nationally read columnist, Jenkin Lloyd Jones. Jones says the national debt is ignored, controlled inflation is called necessary, and the fact that every nation which has so ignored economic laws has gone busted is ignored. The last balanced budget was in the final fiscal year of the Eisenhower administration which produced a surplus of $1.2 billion. Since then we have had deficits of $3.8 billion, $6.3 billion, $6.2 billion, and $8.2 billion.

Manpower Development and Training Act Helps Minneapolis Young People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 3, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, a major legislative achievement of the Kennedy administration was the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, now renamed the Manpower Act. I would like to to call the attention of the House to one example of the effective implementation of the Manpower Development and Training Act in my home city of Minneapolis.

The following article from the North Minneapolis Post described the success of a program involving 10 Minneapolis young people, the Minneapolis youth development project, the Wells Memorial Settlement House, the American Bindery Co., and the Bureau of Apprenticeship Training of the Department of Labor:

BOOKBINDERS JOIN ON-THE-JOB PROGRAM

Mr. and Mrs. Saul Rusoff are the proprietors of the American Bindery Co., 310 Plymouth Avenue North. Their business is to rebind books.

The Rusoffs early this year met with the Youth Development Project staff to ascertain how they as employers could cooperate with the Government in employing and training disadvantaged youth.

The YDP through its youth employment coordinator, Edgar Pillow, contacted the bureau of apprenticeship training, D. W. Holen, and together with Bruce McBeath, youth program director at Wells Memorial Settlement House, 1120 Oliver Avenue North, developed an on-the-job training and counseling program for 10 disadvantaged youth, ages 18 to 21.

Under this program, the employer pays the wages of the 10 youths and then the Federal Government reimburses the employer for the costs of supervision and instruction on the job. This relieves an employer of the sometimes additional expenses incurred in training beginning employees. The program is helpful to employers with moderate size firms who cannot afford to institute training programs of their own, and it is especially helpful in providing employment and training opportunities for unskilled youth with potential.

In proportion to the industry that is present in Minneapolis, there have been very few on-the-job training programs instituted for youth, and particularly for disadvantaged youth. Past experience has indicated that on-the-job training when conducted by an employer or an industry far surpasses other means of training. The youth becomes acquainted with actual work experience and current skill training, in addition to learning the attitudes that an employer expects of an employee on the job.

The Rusoffs also hire many college youth during the summer enabling them to continue to finance their education. The Rusoff's hiring of disadvantaged youth is not a new experience for them. They have been doing it for several years out of a sense of social responsibility to help all youth. This is the first year the Rusoffs have received any financial assistance to help them in their work with disadvantaged youth.

The 10 youths that participated in the on-the-job training program at the American Bindery Co. were a composite group. Some were high school graduates, some were dropouts; some were males and some were females. The most common characteristics possessed by the youths were their lack of skills and previous successful work experiences. A genuine wish and need that all of them had was for a job.

Because of the lack of previous successes in their lives many of the youth were somewhat defensive and tense when the program began. In recognition of this probability, Wells Memorial Settlement House under their "Project Employment" program provided ongoing counseling to the youth in combination with the employer.

The Rusoffs, because of their experience in employing and working with youth of varying abilities and attitudes, were especially helpful in teaching skills and providing the realistic vocational counseling that can only take place on an actual job.

An indicative example: One of the youths, long unemployed and with a 9th grade education, was afraid to begin training on the machinery at the bindery. The proprietor gradually worked the youth over to a less advanced machine and taught him how to use an ordinary ruler to obtain simple mathematical calibrations needed for the operation of the machine. There are other examples that could be cited where frustration and fear of failure on the part of the youth have changed to confidence and productivity.

As the 5 week on-the-job training program is about to terminate, some of the achievements that can be cited are that 9 of the 10 youths that were employed by the Rusoffs are still with them; that three of the dropouts have indicated to the proprietor they intend to return to school this September and have asked and received the promise of 10 hours employment weekly while going to school; all of the youths who complete the program will receive a personal letter of recommendation as to their achievement from the proprietor; and finally the youth themselves, because of this responsible and successful work and training experience have something marketable to offer to their future employers.

Party Politics in Vietnam War Deplored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Raleigh (N.C.) News and Observer is more than a newspaper: it is a fine old institution.

That newspaper's statesmanlike voice and its refreshing frankness were raised recently in comment on the attempt by some Republican Members of this body to place the responsibility for the war in Vietnam upon the Democratic Party and the Johnson administration.

This was the comment of the News and Observer: "The attempt is ridiculous on its face."

Mr. Speaker, I deplore this action by the House Republicans and I offer this excellent editorial, "More of the Same," for entry in the RECORD.

The editorial, which appeared August 26, follows:

MORE OF THE SAME

The attempt by House Republicans in the Congress to blame the war in Vietnam on the Democratic Party is ridiculous on its face. And it is surely made more ridiculous because the same Republicans are pressing for an expansion of the same war.

Republicans have long been fond of arguing that every major war which this country has fought in the last 75 years was initiated and fought when Democrats occupied the White House. This latest move to pin a partisan label on war seems hardly more than more of the same.

If any kind of generalization can be made about the differences between the two political parties when faced with a military crisis, it is that Republicans nearly always insist on a more militant, hard line posture. The reason they do is because such "toughness" is thought consistent with a whole cluster of conservative notions.

Barry Goldwater indulged this idea more than any other respected political figure in recent years. During the last presidential campaign he was joking—but speaking a "truth" his audience understood, nonetheless—when he said he would like to lob a couple of nuclear bombs into the men's room of the Kremlin.

Of course, most Republicans do not want this country in a war. But many do believe that as an instrument of foreign policy, our bombs and rockets should be rattled more loudly. And if Communists don't show proper respect for our military might, we should more quickly demonstrate it.

Presumably this is why congressional Republicans are pressing for a greater military commitment in Vietnam. Even without questioning their oversimplified judgment on that point, it should be obvious that the Vietnam war is not a "Democratic Party war."

Mr. Speaker, the New York Post, also on August 26, discussed this matter lucidly and forcefully in an editorial entitled, "The GOP Hunts for an Issue." I offer this brief but interesting editorial for the RECORD, and I hope that my colleagues of both parties will find it enlightening.

[From the New York Post, Aug. 26, 1965]

THE GOP HUNTS FOR AN ISSUE

The white paper on Vietnam issued by House Republicans without the blessings of either General Eisenhower or Senator DIRKSEN is a sad little performance.

There is no passion evident in it either for peace or war—only for partisanship.

Can anyone, after reading the white paper, say clearly what its authors are after in Vietnam, except to score a few political points?

Our military involvement in Vietnam, they say plaintively, is not a consequence of President Eisenhower's commitment. Does that mean they are against it? Hardly, since they also call for total victory, although they are not willing to demand a military escalation commensurate with such an objective.

The document is a jumble of shreds and patches whose political purpose is clear.

The authors are trying to revive the formula that served the GOP so well in 1952 when it simultaneously denounced the Democrats for "Truman's war" and for failing to stand up to the Communists.

Dream on, fellows, if you think this is a winning issue in 1966.

Bridging With a Flair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I was delighted to read the perceptive editorial of the Baltimore Sun on President Johnson's appointment of John Gronouski as Ambassador to Poland. Mr. Gronouski has had a distinguished career as a public servant. His present assignment is one which requires the abilities which he possesses and makes felicitous use of his Polish origins. It is my pleasure to include this editorial from the Sun of August 31, 1965 in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

[From the Baltimore Sun, Aug. 31, 1965]

BRIDGING WITH A FLAIR

President Lyndon Johnson has raised the ratio of career ambassadors to political ones from 2 to 1 to 3 to 1 in the past 2 years. This has been good for State Department morale and good for the Nation's interests overseas. It has also tended to overshadow the care and imagination the President has used in selecting noncareerists.

On Sunday the President named Postmaster General John Gronouski to be Ambassador to Poland, an appointment that is an excellent example of imagination and care.

Mr. Gronouski is a highly esteemed public servant. He has been adequate in his present job, one in which "adequate" is an adjective of high praise. He has been a teacher of economics and banking and the tax commissioner in his native Wisconsin, earning praise and respect. This record and his interest in international finance are recommendations enough for his new job. But there is more.

He is the grandson of a Polish immigrant, a director of the Pulaski Foundation, a speaker of the language.

Last year the President promised to build bridges to eastern Europe. To be precise, what is needed is bridge rebuilding, certainly in the case of Poland. As the President said Sunday, part of Mr. Gronouski's job is to strengthen the "deep and historic bond" between the two countries.

The choice of a Polish-American whose rose to the top in this country as a public servant is bridge rebuilding with a flair.

Federalist Meeting in San Francisco Calls for Stronger United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 3, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, at the time of the U.N. General Assembly meeting in San Francisco last June, the World Association of World Federalists also met in that city. The 1,000 delegates from 31 countries discussed vital steps needed for strengthening the United Nations.

I have unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD an excellent report from the August 11 issue of Christian Century, written by Howard Y. Williams, field director for the United World Federalists, Minnesota branch:

WORLD FEDERALISTS VIEW THE U.N.

More than 1,000 delegates from 31 countries came to San Francisco June 20–26 (the week of the United Nations' 20th anniversary celebration) to attend the 12th Congress of the World Association of World Federalists—held concurrently with the 10th Assembly of United World Federalists, which implements the world movement in the United States. Japan, with 100 representatives, had the largest delegation from abroad.

Among the world leaders who participated in the sessions were two ambassadors to the United Nations: Chief S. O Adebo, of Nigeria, and H. E. Rossides, of Cyprus; President Carlos P. Romulo, of the University of the Philippines, a former president of the U.N. General Assembly; Luis Quintanilla, who formerly represented Mexico in that Assembly; Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, of Pakistan, a member of the International Court of Justice; and Hideki Yukawa, of Japan, a Nobel prize winner (in physics).

Discussion centered on three major freedoms all agreed must be achieved through the U.N. in the next 20 years: freedom from war, freedom from want, and freedom from diversity. Consensus was reached on the following goals that must be achieved if those freedoms are to be realized; complete and enforced disarmament in all nations through carefully controlled stages, a permanent U.N. peace force and an effective inspection system, revision of the General Assembly so it will have power to adopt binding rules and regulations, revision of the Security Council to change its voting system and make it responsible to the General Assembly, strengthening of the International Court of Justice, initiation of a world development program involving the spending of $70 billion annually instead of the present $8 billion, adoption of a reliable and adequate revenue system to support a strengthened U.N., clear reservation to the member states and their people of all powers not granted to the U.N., extension to all nations of eligibility for membership in the U.N.

Since most of these changes would require revision of the U.N. Charter, the delegates declared that a conference for revision of that document must be called at the earliest possible date. They agreed that unless the outmoded charter is altered to give the world body the power it needs to deal with the modern world, a third world war is inevitable. Speaker after speaker held that if the aims of peace are to be realized there must be a revolution in men's minds, a higher standard for human relationships. Said Chief Adebo, "The old slogan, 'If you want peace, you must prepare for war,' is nonsense. We must declare, 'If you want peace you must prepare for peace.'" On all sides one heard the assertion that today it takes more than courage to fight for peace than to fight in war.

Delegates recorded their conviction that the door to peace is now open as never before, that nothing less than enforceable world law can succeed, that only a strengthened U.N. can keep the human race from committing suicide. Luis Quintanilla suggested that the atom bomb deserves the Nobel peace prize for having spurred mankind's efforts toward realization of a warless world.

President Robert Buron of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's center in Paris stressed the need to mobilize youth for peace, pointing out that young people's response to the Peace Corps demonstrates their readiness to go anywhere in the world where help is needed.

The delegates were obviously disappointed in President Lyndon Johnson's address at the U.N. anniversary program late in the week; they had hoped to hear a more dramatic appeal for measures to achieve peace. Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK, of Pennsylvania, however, reminded participants in the Congress that President Johnson't speech did contain some constructive elements: an invitation to the U.N. to move into the Vietnam situation; support for a U.N. peacekeeping force; an appeal for arms control; stress on the need for a worldwide war on poverty, disease, and illiteracy; the declaration that $5 spent on birth control is worth more than $100 spent on economic development; and a call to give reality to the U.N. Charter.

Norman Cousins, editor of the Saturday Review, was elected president of the world body, whose next congress will be held in Oslo, Norway, in 1967. C. Maxwell Stanley, a businessman from Muscatine, Iowa, was elected to a second term as president of United World Federalists.

HOWARD Y. WILLIAMS.

A Vacation for Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker we have just reached the first week in September.

It has been a long time since we adjourned prior to this time of year. This year is obviously no different.

The following editorial, broadcast over the McLendon Corp. radio stations in Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, San Francisco, Chicago, and Buffalo on August 25, 1965, suggests a reasonable and rational solution to Washington's heat:

VACATION FOR CONGRESS

(An editorial by the Old Scotchman, Gordon McLendon, president of the McLendon stations.)

We must agree wholeheartedly with those who propose a set annual vacation for Congress. Many national regulatory agencies, including the Federal Communications Commission, regularly adjourn for 1 month during the summer.

Congress should also adjourn from August 1 until after Labor Day—a period during which Washington's heat is at its worst. Congressional work is taxing and demands the most alert minds. Yet, after months in session, an overtired Congress which is beset by Washington's stifling summer heat postpones legislation demanding real thought.

Congress is a year-round job now. Members of Congress must, in the best interest of this Nation, have a vacation preferably in the worst summer months in Washington, and at a time when school is out and they can take their families on vacation. Such a vacation period for Congress from August 1 until after Labor Day is only good sense.

After Watts, What?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD a most thoughtful editorial from the August 27, 1965, issue of the South Bend, Ind., Tribune concerning the tragedy in Watts, Calif.

The editorial follows:

[From the South Bend (Ind.) Tribune, Aug. 27, 1965]

AFTER WATTS, WHAT?

In the Watts section of the city of Los Angeles, the guns are silent, the ashes are cold, the troops are gone from the streets. The searing, wrenching, terrifying riot is over, put down by force as it had to be.

The question for Watts, for Los Angeles—yes, and for South Bend and every urban community in the North—now is: What next?

Do we hire more policemen and keep our National Guards on alert and hope neither will be needed? Do we wrangle irrelevantly about police brutality and mistake a symptom for a root problem?

Or do we face up at last to the existence, in the midst of but alien from middleclass manners and morals and attitudes (but very much in tune with middleclass aspirations), of a jobless, often hopeless hate-fulled, primarily colored minority all too ready to resort to what has been called "the violence of despair?"

This minority is characterized by a matriarchal family pattern in which the husband and father is usually out of work and frequently out of sight, in which almost a quarter of the children are born out of wedlock and most grow up with little or no discipline, in which youngsters find no incentive at home to learn or to succeed, in which "whitey" is the symbol of their despair, but only because "whitey" is as easily identifiable to them as they are to him.

What has to be done? First of all, channels of communication with this minority must improved, or in some cases established. Job training and then job opportunity must be furnished to adults, special assistance and motivation must be provided to children in school and younger.

Escape from the ghetto must be possible for those who are willing to work their way out.

None of these things will be done easily or quickly. Even those communities in which they are undertaken may be asked to show great patience in the next generation or two as further outbreaks of violence boil up from the despair.

But unless the effort is made, the very fabric of society will be threatened. That's how serious the problem is.

Resource Development Discussed by Elmer Staats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, early this summer the Honorable Elmer B. Staats, Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget, appeared before the 52d national convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress to deliver informal remarks on the status of the development of America's natural resources.

This status report, which gathers together programs of the Corps of Engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Department of Agriculture, and all other agencies which participate in development of natural resources, provides a good view of the efforts being made in this direction by the Federal Government. Few officials in Government are in a better position to comment on this broad field than Mr. Staats, one of our ablest public officials.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to have these remarks by Mr. Staats printed in the RECORD at this time:

"THE NATURAL RESOURCES BUDGET," INFORMAL REMARKS BY HON. ELMER B. STAATS, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE BUDGET, EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I'm sorry to be late. I almost thought for a moment that I had come too early when I heard Floyd Dominy use that word "deep freeze," because I thought he was going to talk about me.

It's a pleasure to have a chance to come and meet with this group. I'm afraid I won't be able to give you quite the oration that Floyd has given you because I've been so busy wrestling around with his projects, I haven't had a chance to write such a speech. But seriously, I would like to give you a little bit of a status report, I might call it, rather than a formal address, as to where it seems to me we have made some significant advances, since we had our last meeting with you a year ago.

And I'd like first to remind you that with respect to expenditures in the budget as a whole for natural resources programs—and in this, as you know, we include all of the resource agencies—this growth has been a very phenomenal growth. There has been an increase from $1.7 billion in 1960 to an estimated $2.7 billion in 1965. Roughly this is about a 60 percent increase, or more than twice as fast a growth as has taken place in the budget as a whole for the Federal Government. I think this is a very important fact.

The increase in expenditures in recent years indicates the importance of conservation and development of natural resources to the Nation's economic growth, and the extent of Federal support for natural resources activities despite the restrictive budgetary policy that we have had to follow. There are many thing in the budget that we would like to do more of, and that particularly applies to the area of natural resources development.

Reference has been made to the fact that last year was a conservation Congress, and I dare say that this year will also be a conservation Congress, because of the great attention and time and interest in new legislation which the Congress enacted last year, and I'm sure will again this year.

Now the 1966 budget recommended funds for the Corps of Engineers to start construction on 37 new projects with an estimated total Federal cost of $777 million. Development since January has resulted in shifting four of these proposed starts to the fiscal year 1965, and adding one more proposed project for fiscal 1966. In addition, the Corps of Engineers is expected to undertake 19 new planning starts.

The 1966 budget provided for the Bureau of Reclamation to start five new water resource projects, involving a total Federal cost of $103 million. It also provides loans for four small reclamation projects, and in addition, three new planing starts. For the TVA, the budget provided for one large steam power plant to be started in 1966, involving an estimated cost of $150 million, and in addition, four new water resource projects were recommended for starting involving a Federal cost of $48 million.

In addition to the projects being initiated by the Corps of Engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation, and the TVA, the budget recommended funds for the Department of Agriculture to assist local units of government in starting construction of 70 new watershed protection projects in 1966. Since the budget was presented to the Congress, funds have been recommended and appropriated to finance the Appalachian program in the 1965 and 1966 period. Funds provided include 10 additional watershed projects in the Appalachia region.

Now I'd like to mention just briefly where we stand with respect to the current 1965 rivers and harbors bill. Since 1962, when the last omnibus bill was enacted, the Bureau of the Budget has reviewed and has completed its clearance action on 105 project authorization reports. Of these, 60 have been cleared since January of this year, so you can see we've been pretty busy over in the Bureau. As of today we're fairly current. Only seven final project reports for the Corps of Engineers are pending in the Bureau of the Budget as of today. In addition, we have 40 advance reports, but final project reports have not yet been received in the Bureau. The reports cleared by the Bureau of the Budget as of today involve an estimated total Federal cost of a billion and a half dollars.

Many of you are interested, I know, in the status of the basin monetary authorizations. The budget recommendations for the Corps of Engineers for 1966 included funds to advance developments on various comprehensive river basin projects which are subject to monetary authorization ceilings. A

number of these river basin projects will require an increase in the authorization ceiling to permit the work to proceed during fiscal year 1966. Legislation to provide the increased monetary authority was passed by the House on May 12, 1965, and reported by the Senate Public Works Committee on May 27, 1965.

The House bill provides increased monetary authorizations of $263 million for 10 river basins to cover expected requirements for the fiscal year 1966. The Senate Public Works Committee, as you may know, has reported a bill which provides for authorization to cover both 1966 and 1967. We hope, and I'm sure that General Graham here hopes, that the Congress will act very early with respect to working out this difference between the House and the Senate.

I'd like to refer for a little while to the major legislative enactments that have taken place since I last met with you here. Several major legislative proposals have been recently enacted by the Congress, which will materially advance the conservation and development of important resources, contribute to the Nation's economic growth and the well-being of our citizens, and improve the natural beauty of our surroundings. Among these are the following: The Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965. This act became effective January 1, 1965, and funds have been appropriated already to initiate programs in the current fiscal year—that is, the fiscal year 1965.

The act established a special fund financed from admission and user fees at Federal recreation areas, the proceeds from the sale of surplus real property, and the fuel tax motorboats to provide grants to the States for planning, acquisition and development of outdoor recreation resources, and to finance the acquisition of land for Federal recreation areas. The total program financed under the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act is expected to reach an annual level of $150 to $200 million, so you can see that we have a major new source of financing of this highly important—increasingly important—areas of recreation development. Much of this will take place around existing reservoir projects if the States propose that in their applications to the Federal Government. As you know, 60 percent of this fund will go to the States. The other 40 percent will be used directly by the Federal Government for recreation land acquisition.

The second important piece of legislation is the Water Resources Research Act of 1964. This act provides a new program of Federal grants to establish water resources research centers in the State colleges and universities and additional grants to support research at these centers. Funds were provided in the current budget to begin the new program, and additional funds are being requested in 1966.

The third act which is of importance is the Wilderness Act, enacted last year, to establish the National Wilderness Preservation System, and provided for the protection and preservation of our remaining wilderness areas.

Another action which we discussed with you last year, which is nearing completion, is the Water Resources Planning Act. Bills have passed both the House and the Senate and are now ready to go to conference. The House conferees have been appointed. The Senate is expected to do so very shortly. This legislation provides, as you may know, for the establishment of a Water Resources Council at the Federal level to improve the coordination on an interagency basis of our water resources programs, including those of Agriculture, the Army, the Interior Department, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare from the standpoint of their pollution control activity.

Now there's one thing in particular that I would like to mention that I personally think is of growing importance in connection with adequate planning, and that has to do with flood control. Floods in the Pacific Northwest on the last Palm Sunday resulted in the loss of 40 lives and more than a half billion dollars in property damage. It could easily have been twice that much if it hadn't been for the Federal, State, and local flood control systems in the Pacific Northwest. For the Nation as a whole, flood damage loss averages $700 million a year. This is a shocking statistic, and one which I think is unjustified. We can and we should build additional flood control structures. But experience has shown that this is not the key to the solution of the flood problem. The main reason underlying the current flood problem is that we continue to build in the flood plains—areas which are subject to flooding—without adequate planning.

In Tennessee, 30 municipalities have adopted some form of regulation to assure appropriate use of flood plain lands. Maricopa County in Arizona, where Phoenix is growing by leaps and bounds, is effectively working on flood plain regulations to complement flood control measures to reduce future flood damage.

Now the Corps of Engineers will probably need more appropriation authorization in this field to assist localities through its flood plain information program. The Corps of Engineers has done a great deal of good work in this area, and I know it's prepared to help to the extent that it has funds and authority to do so. But I would personally like to urge that this group give more consideration to this problem, because it just doesn't make any sense to go ahead and spend the large amounts of money and suffer the damages in lives and property in areas where flood plain zoning should be effected and where we should avoid that kind of damage.

I mentioned this in connection with the Water Resource Planning Act because this is one of the kinds of things that we hope can be stimulated as a result of efforts under that legislation.

Another proposal which is under consideration is the Federal Water Project Recreation Act. This legislation likewise is in conference, and is expected to be reported shortly. The new legislation for the first time will provide uniform policies for recreation and fish and wildlife benefits and costs of multipurpose water resource development projects, and will provide the Secretary of the Interior for the first time with authority comparable to that of the Corps of Engineers for recreation development at projects constructed by the Bureau of Reclamation. We are happy to say that this bill finally represents a wide measure of consensus among the Federal agencies, and among all groups interested in this important area of utilizing our Federal water resources projects for recreation development. We expect and hope that this proposal will receive final action in the very near future.

A third bill which I would like to mention is the Water Quality Act of 1965, which is currently under consideration in the Congress. This bill is strongly supported by the administration. Conferees have been appointed on the House side. The legislation would amend, as you may know, the Water Pollution Control Act to establish a Water Pollution Control Administration in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It would initiate a new 4-year program of grants for projects which will demonstrate new methods for controlling waste discharges.

Water pollution is becoming a major national problem. We've got to find the answer to this problem, and we've got to find it soon. In many of the Nation's rivers and streams, the quality of water is rapidly deteriorating. The amount of waste being dumped into our rivers, even with the waste treatment now provided, is equivalent to the untreated sewage of 75 million people. Of the communities of the United States having sewer systems, nearly 20 percent still discharge untreated sewage into the Nation's waterways. To this must be added the enormous wastes produced by modern industry and the return flow from agricultural use, containing increased salt, increased fertilizers, and increased pesticides.

The Congress is considering this major bill to help reverse this deterioration of our water supply. As I mentioned, it has the firm support of the President, and I hope that it would have the strong support of this group.

A fourth measure that's under consideration at the moment—I'd just like to mention briefly—the President referred to it in his message to the Congress on natural beauty—is the proposal to establish a National Wild Rivers System. This bill would establish for the first time a system for preserving the free-flowing stretches of our great scenic rivers. This is a difficult measure to accomplish. It's controversial, because it does run counter to other objectives. But it is a very important step forward, and I think the President very wisely pointed out the need for beginning to develop a system for preserving these wild rivers before they are permanently lost.

The next item is one of growing importance, and greater and greater concern to the Federal Government, and this is the desalting program. Last year the President directed the Department of the Interior and the Atomic Energy Commission jointly to prepare a new program to accelerate the Nation's efforts to reach a breakthrough in the research on desalting technology. Funds have been requested for a greatly expanded program to advance the techniques of desalting sea and brackish water, and legislative authority has been requested to increase the overall authorization for the program from $75 to $275 million—so we mean business in this area. There is much that is new in terms of technology. Water which less than 10 years ago cost $10 per thousand gallons is now down to a dollar, and it is going down still further.

I would like to mention also to you today a development in which I think we can take a great deal of pride—the Pacific Northwest-Southwest intertie—and for which congressional approval was given during the last year. This is going to result in increasingly effective use and development of our power resources, both public and private. And it will fit in beautifully with the new treaty that we have with Canada. It's almost impossible to overstate the significance of this development, which will represent the largest electrical transmission system undertaken in this country. It will tie together the public and the private electrical systems from Vancouver, British Columbia, and Seattle, Wash., to Los Angeles, and Phoenix, Ariz.

Now I would like, in closing, to refer to one other matter, and this is, it seems to me, one which likewise could stand discussion and support from this group. We are facing more and more the problem of regional water scarcity in this country. Floyd Dominy and Secretary Udall and we have been wrestling for months with an administration approach on the central Arizona project. The project itself is not an extremely difficult one, but the problem that was really difficult was the allocation of water from the Colorado River.

The west coast faces a long-term acute water problem. We all, I think, know that. It has been dramatically pointed up by the controversy growing out of this project. But it is by no means limited to the west coast. Look what is happening to the Great Lakes area. Look what is happening to the water table in our Midwest and our Southwest. Look what is happening in New England and New York, where New York is already by the first of June, having to ration water, with the dry period still ahead of us.

With all of these factors taken into account, the President has approved a proposal

to establish a National Water Commission, which would be made up of distinguished private citizens and given adequate staff and adequate funds to make a study of water supply and water requirements over the next 50 years. In other words, this should be a long-term projection, and we ought to look specifically at this problem of interbasin importation. But equally as important, we've got to look at ways in which we can conserve our water supply, ways in which we can promote the desalting of water, so that we can use the brackish water of the Southwest and the salt water of our coastal areas. We've got to look at the question of what we can do to reuse water, and that means pollution control. It seems to me that this is a further recognition of the fact that water is of growing importance to the economy and the future of this country, and it's going to be only by the use of great imagination and measures which are unconventional that we will be able to continue to grow as a nation and continue to fully utilize the great resource which is represented by water in this country.

Thank you very much.

The Mansfield Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, along with others who have long advocated negotiations to bring the war in Vietnam from the battlefield to the conference table, I would like to commend the distinguished senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] for his timely and pointed address of last week.

As columnist Roscoe Drummond stated in a recent article:

With the help of Senate Majority Leader MIKE MANSFIELD, an Asian expert in his own right, President Johnson has now opened all doors to a negotiated settlement of the war in Vietnam.

Senator MANSFIELD's great contribution, as columnist Roscoe Drummond has succinctly summarized the major points of his address, is that he has outlined three different roads which this country is prepared to follow to reach the conference table. He has reviewed the major areas of agreement and disagreement between the parties, and he has made clear, to those at home and abroad, that President Johnson is both sincere and committed in his desire to achieve negotiations and a just settlement.

Mr. Speaker, I include Mr. Drummond's summary and commentary on Senator MANSFIELD's excellent address and associate myself fully with the Senator's position:

THE MANSFIELD MESSAGE

(By Roscoe Drummond)

With the help of Senator Majority Leader MIKE MANSFIELD, an Asian expert in his own right, President Johnson has now opened all doors to a negotiated settlement of the war in Vietnam.

Speaking for the White House as well as for himself, Senator MANSFIELD made it clear that all roads lead to the conference table and that by taking any one of them Hanoi can have peace instead of war.

There are three such roads to negotiation acceptable to the United States:

1. We will negotiate with or without a cease-fire, with or without a truce. Hanoi can choose. We prefer a cease-fire, but don't insist upon it.

2. We will go to the conference table without any advance commitment as to what either side would accept as a settlement. We would not be committed to the conditions Hanoi might want. Hanoi would not be committed in any way to the conditions we would want: that is to say, unconditional discussions.

3. We are also willing to go to the conference table after a careful review of positions on both sides to see whether a basis for agreement is conceivable before formal discussions begin: conditional discussions, if Hanoi prefers it that way.

It was at this third door to discussions on which the Democratic Senate Leader rapped the hardest. He compared the objectives outlined by President Johnson in various speeches and the objectives set out by Hanoi on April 12. He found that on three out of four stated objectives, both sides were in substantial agreement:

On the right of the people of South Vietnam to have a government of their own choosing without violence or coercion from any quarter.

On the right of the people of North and South Vietnam, on the basis of a peaceful, free and verified plebiscite, to decide whether or not to unite the two halves of the country.

On the desirability of having all foreign bases and troops removed from both South and North Vietnam after peace is restored.

Either side might phrase these conditions in different terms, but basically each is saying the same thing. That is why Senator MANSFIELD says he sees a "narrowing of the issues" and hopes that his effort in that direction will show Hanoi that there is a basis for early negotiation.

A wide difference does exist on one objective. Hanoi wants the Communist Vietcong to have a major role in any government in South Vietnam, but the Government of South Vietnam doesn't want any part of the Vietcong. We're prepared to leave this issue to the verified decision of the people of South Vietnam, if Hanoi is.

The MANSFIELD speech did two other things:

For the United States, it closed off the most serious chink in the unity of the Democratic Party in support of the President's military actions in Vietnam.

Senator MANSFIELD has been a partial critic and, more recently, a reluctant advocate of the President's course. His latest speech shows that Hanoi might as well give up its hope that disunity within the United States will force the Government to stop defending South Vietnam.

For Hanoi, the MANSFIELD speech might add credibility to Mr. Johnson's repeated willingness to negotiate. The Communists have been saying that the President's talk of peace was only a cover-up for his desire for war. MANSFIELD, speaking as one who opposed the air raids to the north, makes the peace overtures even more meaningful.

New Hope for Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, good news never seems to travel as fast as does bad news, and maybe this is why we are so prone to pay attention to the latter. We have heard hard criticism of the Job Corps. All of the failures seem to get front page coverage.

Recently the Des Moines Register carried a story about the productive side of the Job Corps. I feel that the positive aspect of this program is often overshadowed by the adverse criticism. For that reason, I would like to share this positive, analytical article with my colleagues.

The article follows:

JOB CORPS GIVES YOUTH NEW HOPE

The slender 16-year-old youth dropped out of North High School here during his sophomore year. School officials said he just wouldn't go to classes.

Out of school, he couldn't find a job. So he spent most of his time "running with a gang, or hanging around street corners."

His family? He didn't know where his father was. He lived with his mother and five other children on an aid to dependent children (ADC) grant and the little work his mother could find.

A few weeks ago, the youth boarded a jet airplane and was flown to San Francisco, Calif.

OWN BED

There he became an active member of the Job Corps, in training at Camp Parks, near San Francisco, as a working cog in the Federal Government's massive antipoverty program.

He recently wrote a social worker here that for the first time, "I have a bed of my own with sheets that aren't full of holes." He figures the Job Corps will keep him out of trouble "with the law."

He is one of 80 Iowa boys, including 23 from Polk County, who now are receiving training at Job Corps camps spread from coast to coast. In addition, four Iowans have joined the Women's Job Corps.

The Job Corps is for unemployed men and women, aged 16 to 22. It is designed to teach them marketable work skills and experience.

Theoretically, after they leave the Job Corps they will have something to offer a prospective employer besides a strong back.

NOT PERFECT

Whether this will be the actual case remains to be seen. Few have "graduated" from Job Corps training. In fact, the program still is experiencing growing pains in many areas.

There have been riots at the Job Corps camp in Morganfield, Ky., where a "protection racket" was reportedly uncovered. And one Iowan in another camp reported to his parents that some of the local youths were giving the trainees a rough time for dating the local girls.

Raymond Driver, director of the Youth Opportunity Center in Des Moines, which screens Job Corps applicants, concedes that the program is something less than perfect.

"I expect our letters from Job Corps trainees are running 60 percent complimenting it," he said, "with 40 percent complaining about something."

PRIDE

Most antipoverty officials feel this program, if its original objectives are followed, has great potential to instill confidence and pride in a youngster and help him become self-supporting, instead of a troublemaker or a welfare recipient.

Take the case of another Iowan, age 19. He left school last year because he couldn't "keep up" with his classroom work. In the 1½ years after he left school, he worked exactly 3 months—laying sod at 94 cents an hour. He was rejected by the Army.

School tests showed he was "mentally slow," but physically fast—he lettered on the track team. But Job Corps tests revealed he was not as mentally slow as earlier tests revealed.

Today he is at Camp Kilmer, N.J., taking vocational training in metal working.

He wrote recently to two of his buddies to "come on in." Both enlisted and one is now in training and the other is waiting for assignment.

FACTORS

What sort of youth does the Job Corps want?

There is no hard and fast low-income requirement, but the youth must meet some other "environmental factors" that virtually assures, says Driver, that he is from a poverty-stricken family, or otherwise needs help.

Among these factors: youth lives in substandard housing, has parent who is unemployed, underemployed or with a health or mental problem; his family is on welfare; his living conditions are overcrowded; he has been rejected by military service, or he is a school dropout.

The Job Corps rejects youngsters with a history of crime, drunkenness or other "serious antisocial behavior."

Said Driver: "The Job Corps is not a rehabilitation outfit. There are too many others that want and need help to tackle extreme behaviorial problems."

However, many youths are given remedial courses—such as in reading—in addition to job training.

APPLICATIONS

About 200 applications for the Job Corps have been received by Driver's office, which serves Polk, Warren and Madison counties.

About 50 are awaiting assignment, 11 have been rejected for physical or behavorial reasons, another 4 have returned home from training centers because of homesickness or "failure to adjust."

It's significant that most of the trainees were volunteers—no active recruiting drive has been underway, although Driver hopes to get one going soon.

This system has its faults, Driver admits.

JETS

We're not reaching all those who really need the help," he said. "We hope to get into a sort of low-key recruiting drive and talk to many youngsters individually."

But one help in recruiting has been the Job Corps policy of shipping trainees to camps by air—preferably on jets. The youngsters like the idea of taking a long plane trip.

This practice creates some problems because for many it is their first time in an airline terminal, let alone on an airplane.

Each youngster is carefully briefed by local officials on what airline to get on, where he has to change planes and what to do once he gets to his destination.

TEN CENTS FOR PHONE

In fact, each is given a tag, showing his name, destination, and a phone number to call if he gets lost. Officials make sure that each trainee has a dime to make the phone call, if necessary, and is given instructions on how to get a telephone operator.

Recently, Driver, changing planes at O'Hare Airport in Chicago, noticed 3 young fellows with the tags roaming around a sort of lost look.

They were Job Corps trainees hunting for the place to board their plane.

Driver steered them to the correct ramp.

Said he: "For some of these kids, it's their first time away from home. Believe it or not, they don't know how to go about asking questions from a stranger."

U.S. Change of Position on U.N. Article 19 Is Wise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 3, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the decision by the Government of the United States to withdraw the issue of enforcing article 19 from the General Assembly has met with wide support in this country. It appears to be generally recognized that despite the rightness of our Government's position on the enforceability of assessments for peacekeeping, to continue to press for enforcement of article 19 would not strengthen the United Nations.

Several editorials commending the administration for the position which it has taken at the U.N. are indicative of this general public support.

The editorials follow:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Aug. 17, 1965]

GAINING FACE IN THE U.N.

The United States will not lose face, but gain, it, by accepting the will of the United Nations majority in the long dispute over payment for peacekeeping operations.

Ambassador Goldberg's announcement that our Government is dropping its efforts to enforce article 19 of the charter in this particular case was pitched on exactly the right note. He did not retreat from our previous position that the article should have been applied, thus depriving France, the Soviet Union and others of their votes; but he recognized the fact that a majority of the members disagrees. The consensus is that the Assembly should proceed normally. We accept the consensus because "it is not in the world interest to have the work of the Assembly immobilized in these troubled days."

That is the complete answer to conservative critics who can be expected to assail the Johnson administration for "appeasement," for "backing down." Very few of these critics, it will be noted, have made themselves conspicuous as friends of the United Nations. Most of them rather are ultranationalists who look upon the U.N. as a nuisance if not a sinister conspiracy against American sovereignty. They did not conspicuously support the U.N. peacekeeping operations at issue, either; but they were ready enough to paralyze the Assembly indefinitely in trying to collect dues for them.

President Johnson deserves great credit for deciding that our interests, and the world's, are better served by putting the U.N. back in business than by obstinately insisting upon having our own way. He was badly advised in the first place to force a showdown in circumstances where, though we could claim to be legally correct, we lacked power to insure compliance with our views. He showed courage in declining to persist in an imprudent position simply because he had once adopted it.

Now the way is clear for the Assembly to resume normal operations with its regular session next month, and we predict that Ambassador Goldberg will not be handicapped in the slightest by any humiliation of retreat. On the contrary, he and his Government will gain enhanced respect for having put the good of the U.N. above our own national views.

[From the Baltimore Sun, Aug. 18, 1965]

COLLECTIVE SECURITY

President Kennedy used to say that the small powers, rather than the large nations such as the United States, are the ones that need the United Nations. His point was that the United States is strong enough to protect itself—to guarantee its own national security—but that the smaller nations should be able to look to the United Nations for the collective security which could protect their independence.

This point still is valid, and is worth serious thought now that the United Nations is preparing to lay out a new course under conditions far different from those visualized by the United States when the world organization was formed 20 years ago, and far different from those desired by the United States now. The Soviet Union, pursuing a policy which tries to disguise aggression against independent governments under the heading of wars of liberation, has succeeded in crippling the peacekeeping operations of the United Nations. By use of its veto in the Security Council, it long has been able to immobilize that body so far as actions contrary to Soviet policy were concerned. By refusing to pay its peacekeeping assessments it has effectively nullified the "uniting for peace" actions by which the General Assembly sought to get around the Soviet veto in the Security Council. It is possible that some kind of voluntarily financed peacekeeping functions can be established as the United Nations looks to the future; this is one of the matters which demand careful attention now by the small powers which make up a majority in the General Assembly.

The U.S. Government could maintain its own domestic and foreign policy without the United Nations, and in any case we will necessarily have defense forces sufficient to safeguard our own interests. But President Johnson has decided that in behalf of world peace and the rule of law in world affairs, in which, of course, the United States has a deep and permanent interest, the United States will do its part—by giving up its demand for the suspension of the voting rights of the Soviet Union, France and other nations which have refused to pay their peacekeeping assessments—to keep the United Nations alive. But the small powers, who refused to press the assessment issue against the Soviet Union, must be expected to accept a greater responsibility for the future work of the United Nations.

Puerto Rico Oils Its Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, Puerto Rico continues to raise its standard of living by building its economy.

The new Governor of one of America's beauty spots, Roberto Sanchez Vilella, is building on the tradition of Operation Bootstrap, which was started by his predecessor, Governor Muñoz Marín.

The following article about the latest step in the development of Puerto Rico appeared in the August 23, 1965, edition of the New York Herald Tribune:

PUERTO RICO OILS ITS ECONOMY

(By Ruth Gruber)

SAN JUAN.—"It's oil politics."

Puerto Rico's Governor Roberto Sanchez Vilella sat behind his huge mahogany desk in the elongated, marble-floored, chandelier-hung palace of La Fortaleza.

"Despite the sniping by the big oil companies, we're going right ahead with our contract with the Phillips Petroleum Co. to build a petrochemical complex on the southern coast of the island near Guayama."

The Governor, relaxed and self-confident, was talking of the hottest issue on the island—the multi-million-dollar project designed to import feedstock oil from Venezuela, process it, and generate satellite plants to produce consumer goods and ultimately create jobs for 32,000 people.

It is the island's most ambitious industrial thrust in its own war against poverty. All that is needed now is President Johnson's approval of a change in the oil quotas to allow Phillips to import 50,000 barrels of oil a day into Puerto Rico. The major oil companies are waging their own war in Washington to stall or stymie the project.

"There's too much at stake for us," the Governor told me, "to allow these oil companies, who were totally uninterested in the project when we went to them a few years ago, to take pot shots now and try to prevent us from going ahead on schedule. We're sure they won't go too far anyway. They must realize that some day they may want to start a petrochemical complex here too.

"We have to have this kind of industry to keep our economy healthy. In terms of human beings, it will have great impact—special schools to train skilled workers; housing, social services; and we can spread the satellite plants through the island. It may help slow down the rate of migration to the mainland, and the very high internal migration to metropolitan San Juan."

But oil politics can play havoc on a small island whose greatest natural resource is people. There are danger signs in the economy. Already a number of factories, such as textile plants, whose profits were marginal or whose tax exemptions have run out, have put their machinery on ships and moved back to the mainland, or shut down completely.

Is Operation Bootstrap facing a crisis? Is the bright promise of Puerto Rico now in grave danger? I talked at length with Rafael Durand, administrator of the Economic Development Corporation of Puerto Rico. He is the boss of Fomento, and Fomento is the backbone of the economic revolution.

"I would say," he told me, "that we must orient our economic development to cope with a whole set of negative factors that could have a serious impact on our development.

"We're worried about the Kennedy tariff rounds, which would lower duties into the United States. Products from the Far East could compete with some of our textiles and light industries, and some 30,000 jobs here could be eliminated.

"We still haven't solved our unemployment problems. In the decade of the fifties, we had a reduction of 80,000 people in the labor force, most of them people who migrated to the mainland. In the first 5 years of this decade, 1960–65, an additional 26,000 people entered the labor market. Some are young people coming of age; some are skilled workers returning from the States. We can find jobs for only some of them. The planning board has estimated that we must create a minimum of 30,000 jobs a year if our economy is to remain healthy."

These are some of the reasons, he explained why Fomento is putting its trust behind the core petrochemical complex. And this was why he and the Governor are convinced the U.S. Government will ultimately agree to make the Phillips project possible.

"We're committed to going ahead," Durand said. "We're already buying 2,000 acres of land in Guayama. We're spending money on new roads, water, power, plans for building the pier and dock facilities, and we're refinancing the Puerto Rico Industrial Development Co. so that it will have the money to invest in each of the satellites."

Fomento is working on other plans, too, to bring heavily capitalized industries to the island. There is some indication that the island has copper, some nickel, and cobalt, and Fomento is now negotiating with stateside companies to explore and mine.

It is also working on a plan to develop a scientific community on the University of Puerto Rico campus at Mayaguez on the west coast. "We hope to attract the best minds of the world," Duran said, "to come to the island to do research in science and industry, and especially to develop our own young people.

"But it is not only for Puerto Rico that we need these new kinds of industry. We need them for our image, and America's image in the world.

"The oil quotas were set up for national defense and national security. I believe that letting us go ahead with the petrochemical complex is in the interest of national security. A healthy Puerto Rico is important for America. The antipoverty program will require a lot of Federal money. This one will not require a penny of Federal funds.

"Puerto Rico is America's hope in the Caribbean. Here we are, Latin people, like the Cubans and the Dominicans. Yet, unlike them, we have been able to grow and improve our standards of living.

"As long as the United States can prove to the world that a developing area like Puerto Rico has been able to defeat poverty and keep its democratic institutions intact, then the United States can succeed in its efforts to help other developing areas of the world understand the purposes and philosophy of democracy."

L.B.J. Nips Steel Strike by Wise Use of Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson displayed dynamic leadership and sound judgment last week by using the power of his office to avert a major steel strike which could have crippled our Nation's economy.

The Sacramento Bee, in an editorial dated September 1, 1965, correctly stated:

L.B.J., as the highest representative of all Americans, have proved again that he will use wisely Presidential power, which is the embodiment of all the power in democracy.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the text of the editorial:

L.B.J. NIPS STEEL STRIKE BY WISE USE OF POWER

The United States is a nation permeated by power blocs—political, economic, technological, religious, and financial.

The greatest wastage of power has been in the Presidency. But President Lyndon B. Johnson is using that power to the hilt.

His latest assertion of power lay in his achievement in obtaining an 8-day postponement of a scheduled steel strike.

In a psychological masterpiece L.B.J. summoned the top negotiators of labor and management from Pittsburgh to Washington. From the vantage point of the White House they were shown the whole Nation. This is the lookout from which the President has to operate. And there the negotiators could see that the interests of the country far exceed those of any single segment.

Of course such active intervention from Johnson creates real pressure on both sides of the steel dispute. All is not sweet conversion to the public interest by any means.

When the negotiators agreed to stay 8 days longer at the conference table, they proved that labor does not have to take the picket line immediately if agreement is not reached at the expiration of the original contract.

Once before Johnson used the power of his office in the same way to halt what would have been an economy-shattering railroad strike.

This exercise of the maximum potential of his great office is in marked contrast to the time when former President Dwight D. Eisenhower permitted a 117-day steel strike, explaining all the while the Government should not interfere with free enterprise.

Because of the overwhelming dependence of free enterprise on steel and purchasing power L.B.J. has acted to serve, not only the public at large, but private capitalism.

Power is dangerous in a democracy when it is used for nonproductive dominance. But when it is used as a generative force that is something else again. In this case Johnson's use of Presidential power may well generate heightened responsibility in both labor and management, to the great gain of democracy and the Nation's Vietnamese policy.

L.B.J. as the highest representative of all Americans, has proved again that he will use wisely Presidential power, which is the embodiment of all the power in democracy.

Blind To Run Cafeterias

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, creative new approaches to the problems of our society are always necessary if we are to meet the needs of today. Often we are prone to shrug our shoulders and let someone else try out these new ways of doing things. Because it takes courage to try a new program, I was especially heartened to read of the decision of the executive council of the State of Iowa to contract with the Iowa Commission for the Blind to run the cafeterias in the statehouse and the State office building.

The story of this decision was reported recently in the Des Moines Register, and I include it here so that my colleagues might learn of this endeavor and become aware of the advancements being made in this field of rehabilitation in my State under the able direction of Mr. Ken Jernigan. Other Congressmen may wish to investigate the possibility of starting similar projects in their States.

The story follows:

BLIND TO RUN TWO CAFETERIAS

The Iowa Commission for the Blind will take over operation of two cafeterias at the statehouse and the State office building on October 1.

At the request of Gov. Harold Hughes, the Iowa Executive Council agreed Tuesday to negotiate a contract with the commission.

The two cafeterias, which do about $200,000 of business a year, have been operated by Mr. and Mrs. Frank Marsh under a contract that will expire September 30.

The Marshes have managed State cafeterias 22 years.

Hughes, council chairman, asked that the operation be turned over to the Blind Commission as part of its rehabilitation program.

Council members said the contract to be negotiated with the commission will be similar to one under which the agency currently is operating a small cafeteria in the State office and laboratory building at East Seventh Street and Court Avenue.

Under that contract, the State receives 4 percent of the gross income from the operation. The commission took over that cafeteria last spring and is expected to do about $35,000 in business a year.

The Marshes have operated the cafeterias on the ground floor of the statehouse and on the sixth floor of the nearby State office building under a contract that gave the State half of the net profit exceeding $12,000 a year.

State Auditor Lorne Worthington said the State's share has been between $1,500 and $3,000 a year.

Worthington said Tuesday the Marshes earlier this year had indicated they did not wish to continue the cafeteria operation after their current contract expired.

The Blind Commission will operate the cafeterias with both blind and sighted persons.

The executive council had asked the State division of vocational rehabilitation whether it was interested in operating the cafeterias, and was told it was not.

The division supervises programs for the physically handicapped.

The Blind Commission now will operate three of the four cafeterias on the capitol grounds. The fourth is in the Iowa Employment Security Commission building and is operated by an individual under a separate contract with the commission.

Murrow's Indictment of Broadcasting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COMPTON I. WHITE, JR.

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, the approach of fall signals the start of a new television season, that annual exposure of millions of Americans to the products of an industry which has not yet reached full maturity. The late Edward R. Murrow in a 1958 speech told of his doubts and fears about the future of television and radio in outspoken terms worth repeating in 1965. The following is the first part of Mr. Murrow's speech, published for the first time this summer by the Columbia Journalism Review:

This just might do nobody any good. At the end of this discourse, a few people may accuse this reporter of fouling his own comfortable nest; and your organization may be accused of having given hospitality to heretical and even dangerous thoughts.

But the elaborate structure of networks, advertising agencies and sponsors will not be shaken or altered. It is my desire if not my duty to try to talk to you journeymen with some candor about what is happening to radio and television in this generous and capacious land.

I have no technical advice or counsel to offer those of you who labor in this vineyard that produces words and pictures. You will forgive me for not telling you that the instruments with which you work are miraculous, that your responsibility is unprecedented; or that your aspirations are frequently frustrated. It is not necessary to remind you of the fact that your voice is amplified to the degree where it reaches from one end of the country to the other, does not confer upon you greater wisdom or understanding than you possessed when your voice reached only from one end of the bar to the other. All of these things you know.

You should also know at the outset that, in the manner of witnesses before congressional committees, I appear here voluntarily—by invitation—that I am an employee of the Columbia Broadcasting System—that I am neither an officer nor a director of that corporation—and that these remarks are of a do-it-yourself nature. If what I have to say is responsible, then I alone am responsible for the saying of it. Seeking neither approbation from my employers, nor new sponsors, nor acclaim from the critics of radio and television, I cannot well be disappointed. Believing that potentially the commercial system of broadcasting as practised in this country is the best and freest yet devised, I have decided to express my concern about what I believe to be happening to radio and television. These instruments have been good to me beyond my due. There exists in my mind no reasonable grounds for personal complaint. I have no feud, either with my employers, any sponsors, or with the professional critics of radio and television. But I am seized with an abiding fear regarding what these two instruments are doing to our society, our culture, and our heritage.

Our history will be what we make it. And if there are any historians about fifty or a hundred years from now, and there should be preserved the kinescopes for 1 week of all three networks, they will there find recorded in black-and-white, or color, evidence of decadence, escapism, and insulation from the realities of the world in which we live. I invite your attention to the television schedules of all networks between the hours of 8 and 11 p.m. eastern time. Here you will find only fleeting and spasmodic reference to the fact that this Nation is in mortal danger. There are, it is true, occasional informative programs presented in that intellectual ghetto on Sunday afternoons. But during the daily peak viewing periods, television in the main insulates us from the realities of the world in which we live. If this state of affairs continues, we may alter an advertising slogan to read: "Look now, pay later." For surely we shall pay for using this most powerful instrument of communication to insulate the citizenry from the hard and demanding realities which must be faced if we are to survive. I mean the word survive—literally. If there were to be a competition in indifference, or perhaps in insulation from reality, then Nero and his fiddle, Chamberlain and his umbrella, could not find a place on an early-afternoon sustaining show. If Hollywood were to run out of Indians, the program schedules would be mangled beyond all recognition. Then, some courageous soul with a small budget might be able to do a documentary telling what, in fact, we have done—and are still doing—to the Indians in this country. But that would be unpleasant. And we must at all costs shield the sensitive citizens from anything that is unpleasant.

I am entirely persuaded that the American public is more reasonable, restrained, and more mature than most of our industry's program planners believe. Their fear of controversy is not warranted by the evidence. I have reason to know, as do many of you, that when the evidence on a controversial subject is fairly and calmly presented, the public recognizes it for what it is—an effort to illuminate rather than to agitate.

Several years ago, when we undertook to do a program on Egypt and Israel, well-meaning, experienced, and intelligent friends shook their heads and said: "This you cannot do—you will be handed your head—it is an emotion-packed controversy, and there is no room for reason in it." We did the program. Zionists, anti-Zionists, the friends of the Middle East, Egyptian and Israeli officials said, with a faint note of surprise: "It was a fair count. The information was there. We have no complaints."

Our experience was similar with two half-hour programs dealing with cigarette smoking and lung cancer. Both the medical profession and the tobacco industry cooperated in a rather wary fashion. But in the end of the day they were both reasonably content. The subject of radioactive fallout and the banning of nuclear tests was and is highly controversial. But according to what little evidence there is, viewers were prepared to listen to both sides with reason and restraint. This is not said to claim any special or unusual competence in the presentation of controversial subjects but rather to indicate that timidity in these areas is not warranted—by the evidence.

Recently, network spokesmen have been disposed to complain that the professional critics of television have been "rather beastly." There have been hints that somehow competition for the advertising dollar has caused the critics of print to gang up on television and radio. This reporter has no desire to defend the critics. They have space in which to do that on their own behalf. But it remains a fact that the newspapers and magazines are the only instruments of mass communication which remain free from sustained and regular critical comment. If the network spokesmen are so anguished about what appears in print, let them come forth and engage in a little sustained and regular comment regarding newspapers and magazines. It is an ancient and sad fact that most people in network television, and radio, have an exaggerated regard for what appears in print. And there have been cases where executives have refused to make even private comment on a program for which they were responsible, until they had read the reviews in print. This is hardly an exhibition of confidence.

THEIR OWN TRADITION

The oldest excuse of the networks for their timidity is their youth. Their spokesmen say: "We are young; we have not developed the traditions, nor acquired the experience of the older media." If they but knew it, they are building those traditions, creating those precedents every day. Each time they yield to a voice from Washington or any political pressure, each time they eliminate something that might offend some section of the community, they are creating their own body of precedent and tradition. They are, in fact, not content to be "half safe."

Nowhere is this better illustrated than by the fact that the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission publicly prods broadcasters to engage in their legal right to editorialize. Of course, to undertake an editorial policy, overt and clearly labeled, and obviously unsponsored, requires a station or a network to be responsible. Most stations today probably do not have the manpower to assume this responsibility, but the manpower could be recruited. Editorials

would not be profitable; if they had a cutting edge they might even offend. It is much easier, much less troublesome to use the money-making machine of television and radio merely as a conduit through which to channel anything that is not libelous, obscene or defamatory. In that way one has the illusion of power without responsibility.

IT ISN'T NEWS

So far as radio—that most satisfying and rewarding instrument—is concerned, the diagnosis of its difficulties is rather easy. And obviously I speak only of news and information. In order to progress it need only to go backward to the time when singing commercials were not allowed on news reports, when there was no middle commercial in a 15-minute news report; when radio was rather proud, alert, and fast. I recently asked a network official: Why this great rash of 5-minute news reports (including three comercials) on weekends? He replied: "Because that seems to be the only thing we can sell."

In this kind of complex and confusing world, you can't tell very much about the why of the news in broadcasts, where only 3 minutes is available for news. The only man who could do that was Elmer Davis, and his kind aren't about any more. If radio news is to be regarded as a commodity, only acceptable when salable, and only when packaged to fit the advertising appropriation of a sponsor, then I don't care what you will call it—I say it isn't news.

My memory also goes back to the time when the fear of a slight reduction in business did not result in an immediate cutback in bodies in the news and public affairs department, at a time when network profits had just reached an all-time high. We would all agree, I think, that whether on a station or a network the stapling machine is a poor substitute for a newsroom typewriter.

One of the minor tragedies of television news and information is that the networks will not even defend their vital interests. When my employer, CBS, through a combination of enterprise and good luck, did an interview with Nikita Khrushchev, the President uttered a few ill-chosen, uninformed words on the subject, and the network practically apologized. This produced a rarity. Many newspapers defended the CBS right to produce the program and commended it for initiative. But the other networks remained silent.

Likewise, when John Foster Dulles, by personal decree, banned American journalists from going to Communist China, and subsequently offered contradictory explanations. For his flat the networks entered only a mild protest. Then they apparently forgot the unpleasantness. Can it be that this national industry is content to serve the public interest only with the trickle of news that comes out of Hong Kong? To leave its viewers in ignorance of the cataclysmic changes that are occurring in a nation of 600 million people? I have no illusions about the difficulties of reporting from a dictatorship; but our British and French allies have been better served—in their public interest—with some very useful information from their reporters in Communist China.

One of the basic troubles with radio and television news is that both instruments have grown up as an incompatible combination of show business, advertising, and news. Each of the three is a rather bizarre and demanding profession. And when you get all three under one roof, the dust never settles. The top management of the networks, with a few notable exceptions, has been trained in advertising, research, sales, or show business. But by the nature of the corporate structure, they also make the final and crucial decisions having to do with news and public affairs. Frequently they have neither the time nor the competence to do this. It is not easy for the same small group of men to decide whether to buy a new station for millions of dollars, build a new building, alter the rate card, buy a new Western, sell a soap opera, decide what defensive line to take in connection with the latest congressional inquiry, how much money to spend on promoting a new program, what additions or deletions should be made in the existing covey or clutch of vice presidents, and at the same time—frequently on the same long day—to give mature, thoughtful consideration to the manifold problems that confront those who are charged with the responsibility for news and public affairs.

What About Los Angeles?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK E. EVANS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial entitled "What About Los Angeles?" that was printed in the Colorado Springs Free Press on August 18, 1965.

The editorial, I believe, rightfully deplores the recent riots in that city, while it also seeks to bring some understanding of the causes of the rioting. I commend these editorial comments, Mr. Speaker, to the attention of all of my colleagues:

WHAT ABOUT LOS ANGELES?

What about Los Angeles?

How long are Americans going to allow the conditions to exist that cause riots such as happened there?

What are the causes of these terrible actions?

These questions naturally come to mind anytime we take up a newspaper and read about these events.

It is our view that these things must be solved by changes, vast changes in our way of life.

It must become possible for these people to attain the dignity for which they are striving.

It must become possible for these people to move out of these ghettos into decent, proper housing, the best they can afford and it must become possible for these people to afford better than they have now.

It is historical fact that any ghetto breeds discontent and is like a time bomb set to go off on the slightest incident. This, unfortunately, has been proven true in Los Angeles.

It is very well to say that members of a minority race are different, that they live in a different manner from us, that they have different values. But, these statements completely ignore the fact that something must be done, that you can't dismiss a problem with a shake of your head and a statement of resignation.

We of the white race should remember that there are places in the world where a blue-eyed blond is in the minority and, usually, is treated better than our minority races.

And the problem can't be solved by condemning these people for rioting, although none of us can help but deplore the death and hardship that is being endured by many innocents in Los Angeles.

The first necessity in the case of a riot is control by the city, county, or State authority.

Rioting is wrong, morally and legally, and must be stopped.

But, so is denying education to a person.

We have said we don't know the answers.

But we do know that the people of the Caucasian race are in part to blame for the situation in Los Angeles. Remember that the Caucasian brought the Negro here as a slave, few Negroes came here as free men. And Caucasians have kept Negroes in a state of semiservitude ever since.

We know also that the Caucasian race must help the Negro and all minority races to better themselves. We must accept our responsibility and work with the Negro organizations to accomplish the things we can do to help.

Remember, the Negro is not a child and not to be treated as one. The help of the Caucasian is to be on the basis of man-to-man, not man to Uncle Tom.

There are two important words in this problem: education and economics. The two are interlocked and must be considered that way.

Better education will lead to a better economic situation. Better economic situations lead to better education.

There are lazy, shiftless whites and there are lazy, shiftless people of every race. But, don't think because you know one of these that he represents all members of that race.

Let's talk, let's reason, let's act.

Colorado Springs is approximately 1,500 miles from Los Angeles by auto, but it is right next door when it comes to thought.

Let's keep our backyard clean.

National Crime Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to congratulate President Johnson on his recent demonstration of outstanding leadership in establishing a National Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice to study crime in the United States and to recommend ways to reduce and prevent it.

Later this week the Commission will have its first organizational meetings here in Washington to officially launch its intensive 18-month survey.

The Commission's work will be to seek out "comprehensive national answers" to the mounting problem of crime in America, by conducting "the first systematic, nationwide study ever made of the entire spectrum of crime problems, ranging from its causes at one extreme, to arrests and rehabilitation at the other."

Among the distinguished citizens named by the President to serve on the Commission are three prominent Californians: State Attorney General Thomas Lynch; Otis Chandler, publisher of the Los Angeles Times, and Thomas Cahill, San Francisco police chief.

In announcing his approval of Executive Order 11236, which created the new Commission, the President declared:

I hope 1965 will be regarded as the year when this country began in earnest a thorough, intelligent, and effective war against crime.

He gave the Commission a twofold task of determining "the causes of crime

and delinquency, measures for their prevention, the adequacy of law enforcement, and administration of justice, and the factors encouraging respect or disrespect for law at the national, State, and local levels," and, from these inquiries, "to develop standards and make recommendations" for action by government at all levels and by private individuals and groups to "prevent, reduce, and control crime and increase respect for law."

The President continued:

The present wave of violence and the staggering property losses inflicted upon the Nation by crime must be arrested * * *. We must come to grips with the problems of punishment versus rehabilitation, of protecting society from criminals while, at the same time, working to prevent the development of potential criminals * * *. The Commission obviously cannot solve all the problems related to crime. But I do ask it to commit wisdom, energy, and experience to the central need of this and any civilized society: the safety of its citizens.

Certainly, Mr. Speaker, few could deny that the problem exists and is growing worse. The recent report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation showed the trend of serious crime continued upward in 1964, recording some 2.6 million serious crimes across the Nation last year—for a 1-year increase of 13 percent over 1963.

Since 1940 the crime rate in this country has doubled. And since 1958, it has increased at a rate five times as fast as our population growth.

Of special urgency and concern is the growing problem of juvenile delinquency and youth crime. For instance, young persons under 18 were responsible for 37 percent of the serious crimes solved by police last year, and arrests in this age group for offenses of all types, except traffic violations, increased 17 percent—with the greatest incidence occurring in suburban areas.

In view of this alarming situation, the task of President Johnson's new National Crime Commission will be, as he stated in his message to Congress last March "one of consummate difficulty and complexity."

I agree with the President that the Commission's job could scarcely be more important, and I join him in the hope and expectation "that its work will be a landmark to follow for many years to come."

However, Mr. Speaker, because of the great personal importance I attach to the President's effort to analyze the nature of crime in America, and to launch a comprehensive and successful attack on its causes, I would be less than candid if I did not express my deep disappointment at the lack of wider representation from America's various minority communities on the National Crime Commission.

Certainly, the announced membership of the President's Commission constitutes an outstanding list of distinguished citizens who can be expected to make a significant contribution to the drive on crime.

But it is most regrettable that additional members of minority groups have not so far been selected to participate in the work of the Commission.

I am confident such men and women would be extremely valuable in researching and investigating the causes of our rising crime, and in developing useful recommendations to reduce and prevent it. Minority persons have a unique contribution to make in this effort because of their special knowledge and personal understanding of many aspects of these problems, particularly in the areas of juvenile delinquency, youth crime, narcotics, correction and rehabilitation.

For this reason, I would strongly urge the Attorney General, in his capacity as Chairman of the Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, to request the President to appoint a broader spectrum of minority group representation to membership on the Commission, so that their special talents and valuable contributions can be made available in this vital work.

Thirty-three Teens Aid VA Patients

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I enjoy paying tribute where tribute is due, especially when it is due to the younger generation. The Jeffersonian of Thursday, August 26, 1965, has brought to my attention the work of 33 young people of my district who have spent their summer as volunteers in the many departments of the Perry Point Veterans' Administration hospital. I am proud of these young people. I commend them for their faithful devotion to those who are old and ill and need their services. I feel young people especially, and all young people who have spent their summer in constructive service, deserve commendation. The future of America is safe in hands like theirs. I am happy to include their names in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article follows:

THIRTY-THREE TEENS AID VA PATIENTS

Dr. Lee G. Sewall, Director of Perry Point VA Hospital, announced this week 33 local youth volunteers are spending their summer giving service regularly at the Veterans Hospital.

These 33 local youth volunteers serve weekly on special assignments.

They report regularly for duty in such varied services as nursing service, radiology, registrar, library, medical records, physical therapy, pharmacy, corrective therapy, manual arts therapy, medical laboratory, occupational therapy, recreation, research and canteen beauty shop.

This group has been sponsored by those organizations of the Veterans Administration Voluntary Service Committee emphasizing youth activities as well as coming from local youth groups. The youth volunteers are interviewed and oriented to the hospital program in the same manner as the adult volunteers.

The youth volunteers are Donna Jean Arndt, Christina Koch, Ann Polk, Sharon Pillersdorf, Kit Sager, Laura Sample, Charlotte Walker, Shirley Walker, Barbara Lodsin, Margaret Williams, Charles Barney, Joyce Adams, Marta Tibbels and Darlene Riale.

Also, Nancy Jones, Lois Pope, Nancy Truitt, Sherry Widdoes, Katherine Giese, Marcia Williams, Francis Ciufo, Deborah Harvey, Mary Jo Murray, Messrs Andrew Buchanan, Randolph Moore, Mark Murphy, Howard Ross, Alan Rothfield, Darlene Hutchinson, Frances Ryan, Messrs Robert Hobday, III, and Richard Reynolds.

Dr. Sewall said, "management and staff at Perry Point VA Hospital are most enthusiastic in having these youth volunteers as a part of the hospital family. Their presence and assistance are great morale boosters to the hospitalized veterans."

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Appendix

St. Louis Post-Dispatch Discusses Bank Merger Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I am not a member of the Subcommittee on Domestic Finance of the House Committee on Banking Currency, but I am very much interested in the excellent hearings the chairman of that subcommittee, and of our full committee also, the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, has been conducting on the bank merger bill, S. 1698. When possible I have tried to sit in on some of the hearings, chiefly the one in which Attorney General Katzenbach testified.

Chairman PATMAN has made it clear that he believes legislation of such far-reaching importance—and complexity—should have the most careful committee review. I certainly agree with that. As one who is openminded on the various provisions of the legislation and wants to know not just what it would do in a specific case involving a single merger but also what its overall impact would be on competition in our banking system, I am indeed glad that Chairman PATMAN has worked to build such a comprehensive hearing record on the legislation.

Consequently, I would like to contribute to the discussion on this legislation an editorial which appeared recently in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, one of America's greatest newspapers, evaluating some of the features of the bank merger bill and of the Attorney General's criticisms of the legislation.

This legislation deserves the widest possible public review and discussion, and I congratulate Chairman PATMAN for his efforts to bring the controversial provisions into full view, the better for the Congress and the American people to make intelligent decisions on this matter. In that spirit, I submit for inclusion in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the editorial referred to, entitled "Limiting the Banking Merger Bill," as follows:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Aug. 24, 1965]

LIMITING THE BANK MERGER BILL

Attorney General Katzenbach occupies strong ground when he objects to that part of the bank merger bill which would relieve from antitrust litigation mergers already accomplished. He says this section of the bill constitutes special legislation by which Congress would set itself up as a super-tribunal to overrule the decisions of the courts. We think he is right.

The bill in question, introduced by Senator ROBERTSON and already approved by the Senate, has one good purpose and that is to set fair ground rules for future litigation over bank mergers. This section would require the Department of Justice, if it is going to challenge a merger that has been approved by the proper regulatory agencies, to do so within 30 days. The intention is to eliminate the confusion and uncertainty that arise when a merger is given the green light by the Comptroller of the Currency or the Federal Reserve system and then, months or years later, subjected to antitrust prosecution. The banks involved are entitled to know promptly whether they are to face prosecution or not.

It is something else again, however, to grant certain banks exemption from the antitrust laws by retroactive legislation. In some cases, the courts have actually rendered decisions finding that the antitrust laws had been violated. Surely it would be bad policy for Congress to enact legislation declaring, in effect, that those laws had not been violated.

The House can make the Robertson bill fair to everybody by reducing it to a simple statement of the ground rules governing antitrust prosecutions in future mergers.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I also submit for inclusion in the RECORD at this point an interesting editorial on the same subject from the New York Times of September 1, 1965, as follows:

BANK MERGER MORASS

The House Banking and Currency Committee is wrestling over a Senate-approved bill that owes its origins to the messy state of banking regulation. In an attempt to clear things up, the proposed legislation would exempt banks from antitrust prosecution for mergers made to date and would limit their exposure to antitrust laws on future mergers.

There is a need for simplifying the morass of rules and regulatory agencies in banking. If the Nation's banks have sometimes been slow to serve the public interest it is partly because the restrictions on them have hindered their ability to innovate and to compete against other financial institutions. Congress moved to remedy the situation in 1960 by approving a Bank Merger Act which gave authority over mergers to the three Federal banking agencies. But the legislation only complicated matters, for the Justice Department got into the act. It challenged six bank mergers and won a key decision in the Supreme Court that could jeopardize previous bank acquisitions.

The proposed new remedy would give the Department 30 days in which to challenge a merger already approved by the regulatory authorities; if it failed to do so, the merger would then go through. Attorney General Katzenbach is not happy about this time limit, but it would give the Justice Department more of a veto power over proposed mergers than it has had to date. At the same time, it would make banking rules less capricious and uncertain, thus permitting sounder planning by the industry.

The main dispute is over the proposal to exempt all previous mergers, including the six now in litigation. Supporters of this retroactive provision, among them Chairman William McChesney Martin, Jr., of the Federal Reserve Board, argue that it is impossible to unscramble these mergers in a way that would increase competition. Opponents, such as Mr. Katzenbach, and Federal Reserve Governor J. L. Robertson, insist that unscrambling—though difficult—is possible and that exempting the six would amount to granting them private relief from the law.

Private relief may be justified for the three mergers that took place before the Supreme Court effectively changed the rules. If merged banks in that category are now forced to separate, the chief beneficiaries would not be the public but banks which were merged under the same rules at an earlier date and, which the Justice Department has no intention of challenging. But there is no justification at all for exempting mergers that took place after the Supreme Court ruling when banks were put on notice of the risks involved in merging.

The attempt to apply a blanket retroactive exemption is hardly consistent with respect for the law or its enforcement. The banking industry should not get special favors, but neither should it be subject to unduly restrictive or conflicting rules. Even the positive provisions of the proposed legislation attack the symptoms rather than the root of banking's problems. What is needed most is to replace the surplus of regulators and the surfeit of regulations by practical and uniform rules applied uniformly.

Hon. Emanuel Celler Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include a resolution adopted by the Delegates of the 29th biennial convention of the Supreme Lodge, Order Sons of Italy in America. The convention which met in Baltimore, Md., August 25–29, 1965, unanimously adopted this resolution expressing its appreciation of the leadership and support demonstrated by our colleague, the gentleman from New York, the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary EMANUEL CELLER, whose talents were responsible in great part for the successful enactment of legislation to the Immigration and Nationality Act which recently passed the House.

The resolution follows:

THE HONORABLE EMANUEL CELLER, CHAIRMAN OF THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The Supreme Lodge, Order Sons of Italy in America, at its 29th biennial convention, unanimously resolved to express its appreciation to you for the leadership and support you have demonstrated in the 89th Congress, as follows:

"Whereas during the past 40 years our country has practiced an immigration policy

that was discriminatory and inimical to the best interests and the humanitarian principles of our country; and

"Whereas in this 89th Congress, as well as during your long years of faithful service to our country, you sensed the conscience and pulse of the country and exerted your efforts consistently therewith; and

"Whereas you have always directed your great and humanitarian statesmanship toward the benefit of man and country, and this was exemplified by your support of H.R. 2580: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That this fraternal order, whose parental roots stem from a land that gave Western civilization many great American and world leaders, extend to you and your family our gratitude and best wishes for a long and happy life, with God's blessings."

Advice to Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER H. MOELLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. MOELLER. Mr. Speaker, educational opportunity for all of the youth of our land has been a penetrating concern of this Congress. Never before in the history of our country has so much attention been given to the development of our educational institutions so that our youth could receive the kind of educational experiences so necessary in our generation and for their future good. The doors have been opened to them, but the young people must choose to enter those doors. The editorial which appeared in the September 1 issue of the Pomeroy, Ohio, Daily Sentinel is an appeal to our youth to seize their opportunities, and I commend it as worthy of a wide reading and a ready response.

The editorial follows:

ADVICE TO YOUTH

One of the most important programs in the Nation that is now being called forcibly to the attention of as many persons as possible is the one directly under the leadership of our Vice President dealing with youth opportunity. Mr. HUMPHREY has been lauded by the President for his able leadership in this field, and it is deserving of attention of leaders in every field clear down to the grassroots. With school bells about to ring it is imperative that all young people be urged at every opportunity to return to the classroom and complete their education. We know that there is a temptation to leave the schoolroom for immediate gain, but we must impress every student that over the long haul there is nothing that will be of more value than at least a high school diploma, and with assistance now offered for students by the Government to continue into the fields of higher education.

The time has long since passed when a young person could leave school without a diploma and expect to build a rewarding future. The unskilled jobs in every sector of the country have been declining for many years, but in the past few decades the number has been greatly accelerated to the point that is alarming. Young people must be informed of this trend, and made to realize that if they join the company of dropouts that has now reached the massive figure estimated at 750,000 boys and girls during the coming school year. All a youth has to do is look at the statistics to see where he or she is headed. They will find that their company has the highest rate of unemployment in the country. That figure will go still higher unless many change their mind and continue their education.

The cold statistics show that a person who graduates from college earns nearly two-thirds more than a high school graduate. A high school graduate earns over three-fourths more than a person who did not finish 8 years of schooling. In July of this year the unemployment rate for young people was 12.3 percent. That rate is more than two and one-half times that for all workers in the labor force. A student who drops out of school between the ages of 16 and 21 can expect to be a statistic among the 16.6 percent of unemployed at these ages and it figures out at almost four times the national average. Last October there were 14 million young people between the ages of 16 and 24 out of school. Over 5 million of that number, or 36 percent, were school dropouts. One of the saddest figures is that 6 out of 10 dropouts are in the 16 to 17 age bracket. If the trend continues we will have 32 million adults who are not high school graduates in the work force by 1975.

There are many reasons why students drop out of school. We should note these youth, and do all in our power to help them return to the all important job of getting an education. If any intelligent youth is faced with the above figures he or she will surely think twice before they leave the classroom. Part of cause is economic, but with all of the programs now available that hurdle should be easily cleared. Stay in school as long as possible is the best advice we can offer youth.—D.C.W.

National Lotteries of Australia and the Far East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

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India and Pakistan, between which nations a border war now rages, both used the lottery device during 1964, by giving prizes in lieu of a percentage of what would otherwise be normal interest on government bonds. Himalayan Nepal, in the mountains north of India, has private lotteries, as does remote Afganistan in the northwest. Ceylon's national lottery took in $1.4 million in 1964, with the $600,000 profit being used for national development.

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The two enemies, Indonesia and Malaysia, both have lotteries. Malaysia's took in gross receipts of $16.5 million in 1964, leaving the Government an income of $4 million, which was expended upon social welfare. Indonesia's lottery also aided social welfare, but to a lesser extent. Gross receipts in 1964 appear to have been in the neighborhood of $1 million, with profits half that much, but a lack of a definitive exchange value for the Indonesian currency makes precision impossible.

Nationalist Chinese Formosa has a lottery which grossed $5.9 million in 1964, earning a $2.6 million profit for the treasury. The lottery of the Island Republic of the Philippines grossed $13 million and earned an income of $4 million for charity and local organizations.

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Where Oh Where Are the Workers?

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Every time crop harvesting time arrives we must witness a repeat performance of the ritual. Growers request such-and-such number of braceros because in their best judgment that is how many they need. Mr. Wirtz, sitting in his spacious office in Washington, D.C., decides in his wisdom that the growers only need one-tenth, one-fifth, or one-third as many braceros as they say they need. Senator GEORGE MURPHY cranks up his mimeograph machine and runs off a goodly supply of statements sternly criticizing Mr. Wirtz for his stubbornness and his callous disregard for Mr. MURPHY's constituents. He may run off an extra sheet or two

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If there are enough domestic workers available to harvest the crops, as Mr. Wirtz contends, then the Labor Department should should find them or else stop giving out phony information. Obviously there are not enough domestic laborers—at least not enough who are willing and able to work—or the growers would not need 25,000, 16,500 or 8,900 braceros, however many it is they need.

It is not enough for the domestic workers to be somewhere on paper. They must be in the field picking tomatoes.

Food for Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

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OF IOWA

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FOOD FOR DEFENSE

We need national food reserves. For most of the past 25 years, Government has held large amounts of wheat, feed grains, cotton, and at times milk products. They have often been costly to taxpayers and embarrassing to Government officials.

During World War II and the Korean conflict, these surpluses proved to be an important national asset. If the war in Vietnam should drastically speed up or spread, these reserves again could be of vital importance to us.

Today Government has about $13 billion of stockpiled goods. Only about a third of this is farm products. The rest includes metals and strategic materials.

Few of us would argue that we need as large a reserve of farm products in storage as Government now holds. Such excessive stocks can threaten farm markets. Many people look upon them as a costly burden.

During the past few years the amount of stored surpluses has gone down. But so far, Government has never officially designated how much food we need for national security.

Our national security demands that we establish the amount needed as an adequate reserve for feed grains, wheat, cotton, soybeans, milk products and other essential farm products. These national security reserves should be financed outside agricultural programs.

It is surely not fair—or even wise—to continually point to all of our present Government holdings of farm products as a cost of farm programs. It is not right to mark up all of this cost as a kind of taxpayers' handout to farmers.

Setting aside such a reserve would not solve the farm problem of overproduction. But it would provide for the Nation's needs in time of emergency. And it would treat these reserves on a basis of need rather than on the basis of "helping out the farmer."

We're Talking Too Much

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Senator MANSFIELD, the majority leader, made a speech the other day which was essentially a restatement of our aims in Vietnam. He threw in two additional points, that there must be provision prior to negotiations for a secure amnesty and a willingness on all sides to accept a cease-fire and a standfast. Otherwise, there was nothing new in it.

Since this speech is supposed to have had the prior approval of the President, there is reason to note with some concern Senator MANSFIELD's reiteration of the Johnson statement of July 28: "We insist and we will always insist that the people of South Vietnam shall have the right of choice, the right to shape their own destiny in free elections in the South, or throughout all of Vietnam under international supervision."

There is all the difference in the world between free elections in the South and elections throughout all Vietnam. In the former case there would be a right of choice. In the second, there would be none, for such an election would surely be won by the Communists. To agree to any such condition as this would be to capitulate to the Communists, despite all our brave words, and to sell the South Vietnamese down the river. We hope that this was not the essential message that Senator MANSFIELD, with the President's approval, was trying to get across to Hanoi.

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Senator JAVITS was among those who applauded the MANSFIELD speech. He said we should constantly reiterate our willingness to negotiate, which, in fact, the President has been doing. Then the New York Senator added: "I hope very much that these efforts are not misunderstood as indicating an irresolution on our part."

With this, he put his finger on what may well be the Achilles' heel of our repeated bids for peace. We should stop talking about our willingness to talk, and let our willingness to fight speak for itself for a while.

The Real Alabama—Part LIII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

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OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, several parts of the Nation are experiencing serious shortages of water. We are all conscious of the need for water in our community and economic lives.

In this connection I call attention to the following article which appeared in a special supplement of the Birmingham, Ala., News for August 22, 1965:

Industry needs water in huge quantities. Alabama has it. In many parts of the Nation the water table is falling. Water becomes more and more precious.

Alabama has no such problems.

Aware of the problem in other sections of the Nation, the U.S. Senate recently made an investigation, concluded that this country will need an additional 300 billion gallons of water a day during the next 20 years.

Much of this additional water, the Senate survey concluded, must come from the Southeast.

Rainfall averages 55 inches a year in Alabama, a key southeastern State, and an abundant supply of ground water exists beneath the surface. Precipitation in most of the South exceeds 40 inches a year, compared with the 30-inch national average. And rainfall is considered the ultimate source of ground water.

Waters of Alabama's network of great river systems supply modern industry needs and provide the means for processing and transporting products. Rainfall, great rivers, and bountiful ground water combine for the State's abundant resource.

Alabama's geologic conditions are favorable for the storage of ground water.

P. E. LaMoreaux, State geologist, says no other large area in the Nation and few other places in the world meet so favorably the conditions for optimum supplies of ground water as do the gently dipping sand, gravel, and limestone beds in the southern Atlantic and gulf coastal plain and the Mississippi embayment.

Alabama is almost at center of those areas.

LaMoreaux estimates that in the coastal plain area from Texas to Georgia, which includes Alabama, there are 20,000 cubic miles of fresh water in storage, or water enough to cover the 49 continental States to a depth of 35 feet.

Alabama rivers discharging into the Gulf of Mexico include the Warrior-Tombigbee and Coosa-Alabama systems, the Chattahoochee, Choctawhatchee, Pea and Conecuh Rivers and others.

LaMoreaux explains that while large sources of water exist in Alabama, they would not be of value to industry unless their quality allowed extensive use. While the water varies greatly in quality, he adds, in general it may be classed as "some of the best natural water in the Nation."

that was discriminatory and inimical to the best interests and the humanitarian principles of our country; and

"Whereas in this 89th Congress, as well as during your long years of faithful service to our country, you sensed the conscience and pulse of the country and exerted your efforts consistently therewith; and

"Whereas you have always directed your great and humanitarian statesmanship toward the benefit of man and country, and this was exemplified by your support of H.R. 2580: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That this fraternal order, whose parental roots stem from a land that gave Western civilization many great American and world leaders, extend to you and your family our gratitude and best wishes for a long and happy life, with God's blessings."

Advice to Youth

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As an example of looking ahead, the Birmingham district in recent years has more than doubled its supplies of natural industrial water. This comes from the Lewis M. Smith Dam and reservoir on the Warrior. This water is of such low temperature and clearness that it is considered the finest water for industrial purposes in the Nation.

Of Alabama's water picture in general, LaMoreaux concludes, "We truly live in one of the greenest and best watered parts of the world."

Warped View of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Daily News has made a suggestion which I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues. It is a suggestion for an appropriate punishment to be given those mop-headed demonstrators who recently have been tearing up their draft cards.

The suggestion is that, cruel and unusual though it might be, these young men be required to read some American history. If we think of punishment as a means of achieving rehabilitation, surely this punishment would be peculiarly appropriate.

Mr. Speaker, without objection, I insert at this point in the Appendix the editorial to which I have referred, taken from the Daily News of August 20, 1965:

[From the Chicago Daily News, Aug. 20, 1965]

WARPED VIEW OF AMERICA

Some young men have lately been protesting our involvement in Vietnam by tearing up their draft cards, and Congress is considering what punishment should be prescribed for that offense.

The required reading of American history suggests itself as possibly remedial in some such cases, though the courts might consider it cruel and unusual punishment for some of the mop-headed demonstrators with their allergies to all things decent or sensible.

For it is deeply embedded in national doctrine that no one may choose only those parts of the American system that happen to suit him, and turn his back on all the rest. That would be anarchy, but it would also be indecent and stupid.

Tolerance for opposing viewpoints, acquiescence in majority decisions, and acceptance of the law are far more than moral desirables; they are practical democratic necessities. Protest is part and parcel of the system, but only up to a point. Generally speaking, that is the point where protest transgresses the law or imperils the public welfare. If there is any other reasonable way for democracy to work, we do not know of it.

There is a common thread linking the draft card destroyers with those Americans who agree with everyone who says what a miserably wrong-headed country America is, and with the likes of the New Jersey college professor who said recently, "I do not fear or regret he impending Vietcong victory in Vietnam, I welcome it."

These must be pitifully warped people, unable to accept the reality that even the greatest Nation must fall short of perfection; that citizenship involves cherishing the Nation for what it is, along with striving to correct its failings.

What is certain is that a better nation will not result from burning draft cards, or belittling America, or hoping the other side wins in Vietnam. It won't come, either, from people burning churches, or from people throwing rocks and toppling bystanders' cars in the streets.

As a matter of fact, there isn't much wrong with America that wouldn't be cured if the energies of all the faultfinders could somehow be applied to constructive ends.

The Older American Worker: Age Discrimination in Employment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, yesterday W. Willard Wirtz, the Secretary of Labor, issued the traditional Labor Day statement. I found his remarks concerning efforts now being made to eliminate discrimination in employment on the basis of race, sex, and age were exceptionally pertinent.

Discrimination against the older worker is now being studied by the Select Subcommittee on Labor, of which I am chairman.

Under unanimous consent I place the Secretary's Labor Day statement, his testimony before my subcommittee, and the introduction to his report of June 30, "The Older American Worker: Age Discrimination in Employment," in the RECORD:

REMARKS OF W. WILLARD WIRTZ, LABOR DAY, 1965

This year, Labor Day means looking back with satisfaction and it means looking ahead with great encouragement and with hope.

In the last year, there have been more jobs created than ever before in the history of this country.

Unemployment, lower today than it has been in the last 8 years, gains on every front. And yet we look ahead too, with even more promise for the future. This summer more than 800,000 boys and girls went to work who wouldn't otherwise have gone if it hadn't been for the special programs that American industry put before them.

We look ahead now toward a year in which we are going to put youth employment behind us and give every boy and girl in this country an opportunity for the work which is that boy or girl's birthright. We look back on a year in which we have virtually eliminated racial discrimination as far as unemployment is concerned and we look ahead toward a year in which we will take great strides—make great strides—toward the elimination of racial disadvantage as far as work is concerned.

We face squarely this year the problem of discrimination on the basis of sex and we look ahead toward a year in which that problem will be behind us. We look ahead particularly this year toward the facing of the problem of discrimination against older workers, and we mean by older workers not just those over 60 or 65, but those who work at a disadvantage even after 45 or 50, and I count one of the real challenges of the next year ahead the elimination of that kind of discrimination.

And so on this day of parades and picnics, a day, too, when we look back at what we've done, we look ahead at what we, at the height of the affluence of the greatest nation in the world and history, can do with all that we have before us to assure full work opportunity for every man and woman; every child who has finished his education in this country.

Thank you.

STATEMENT OF W. WILLARD WIRTZ, SECRETARY OF LABOR, BEFORE THE SELECT LABOR SUBCOMMITTEE, HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR, ON EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS OF THE OLDER WORKER, AUGUST 25, 1965

I welcome the opportunity to participate in these hearings which deal with what my June report to the Congress, on the older American worker, called a pressing piece of unfinished business for those who consider it not heresy, but the fullest reverence, to include the perfectibility of life within the human competence.

This unfinished business is the combined task of establishing a public policy regarding discrimination based on age and of meeting the problems of American workers which are associated with advancing years. These years can in many ways be the best, if we only use the means at hand to make them so.

Employment—usefulness—is the difference for most people between life's having meaning or no meaning. Yet today, all too often, as a worker grows older he finds the doors of employment opportunity closed to him.

Only a small proportion of new employees hired today are 45 or older. In 70 percent of the establishments surveyed by the Employment Service for my report to the Congress, less than 5 percent of the new hires were workers 45 and over. One-fifth of the employers hired no workers over 45. Overall, only 8.6 percent of the total new hires represented workers 45 and over.

About half of all job openings which develop in the private economy each year are closed to those over 55. A quarter are closed to those over 45.

The consequences both to the economy and to the individuals involved of this waste of human resources show up in lost potential production, human hardship, and frustration.

Last year we averaged 1 million unemployed workers 45 years of age and over. During the course of the year about four times that many experienced some unemployment. The majority of these found work again within a few weeks.

But two-fifths of those between 45 and 65, and three-fourths of those 65 and over, were out of work for 15 weeks or longer. One in six of those under 65, and one in three of those 65 or over were out of work for 27 weeks or longer.

About a billion dollars was paid out to workers 45 and over in unemployment insurance in 1964. A substantial proportion of this can probably be charged to age restrictions. The loss in potential production would amount to two or three times the size of these payments. The loss from involuntary retirement might be even greater; it might run to several billion dollars a year.

Although the employment of older workers has shown marked improvement during the first half of this year—they have begun to benefit from the general improvement in employment over the last 4 years—for all too many, reemployment will continue to be difficult or impossible because of various forms of direct and indirect age discrimination.

What became crystal clear from our year-long study was that the problems faced by older workers will yield to no single, simple solution.

Arbitrary and unjust discrimination, where it exists, must be stopped, but to rest at this

would be to rest with less than halfway measures. Private retirement, pension, insurance and health plans, and seniority practices which on the whole protect and reward workers, operate against the reemployment of older workers, and need to be modified. The means of bringing jobs and workers together should be strengthened. Finally, we must enable our citizens of all ages to keep themselves better attuned to rapid progress, periodically to be refreshed through further knowledge and a new outlook, to catch up on education of which they were deprived or which they did not fully appreciate earlier.

Our study made it very clear that age discrimination bears little resemblance to discrimination based on ethnic or religious grounds. We did not find the dislike or malice that one encounters in racial discrimination.

The issue of discrimination revolves primarily around judgments regarding the effect of age on ability to work productively.

Yet we know that chronological age is a poor measure of ability or potential performance. On the key issue of physical capability, medical research gives no support to restrictive age lines which have been drawn. To the contrary. The aging process has, in most cases, little effect on skill before age 60.

Yet physical capability was by far the most frequent basis cited for age limits. Seventy percent of the firms which set age limits on this ground reported no study or investigation as a basis for judgment. Age limits purportedly based on physical demands of the job varied widely for the same types of jobs. Some employers hired older workers for jobs from which other employers barred them because of age.

Nor are chronological age limits supported by studies of work performance and productivity. There are wide variations among individuals in every age group, only very small declines in average performance up to age 60 even in factory production work which taxes physical stamina, and no decline in clerical occupations where a great many age limits are found.

Our study shows also that age restrictions are clearly related to the supply of labor and availability of jobs.

Higher proportions of older workers were hired in the skilled occupations, in the traditional crafts and in the professional and semiprofessional occupations where widespread shortages exist, and in the expanding but traditionally lower paid sales and services occupations.

The lowest proportions hired were in semiskilled and unskilled industrial occupations and in clerical occupations.

Employers were often quite frank in telling us that they would waive performance for younger workers if older workers were the only group available. Age limits were set at higher points for scarce skilled and managerial talent than for semiskilled or unskilled workers.

It thus becomes clear, as our report states, that "The fundamental fact that will determine the situation of the unemployed worker is the condition of the national economy * * *. Full employment comes first in any serious intention to eliminate the disadvantages which unemployed older workers must overcome."

But there are also many specific problems which need positive action to resolve.

Our report recommended action in four areas. As the report indicated, these recommendations derive only from the directive and the study. They do not constitute proposals by the administration. Their ultimate consideration will necessarily be as part of a broader balancing with other important measures involving other needs.

First, we need to eliminate arbitrary age discrimination in employment where it exists.

We have explored the possibility of new nonstatutory means of dealing with arbitrary discrimination. That area is barren.

Twenty States and Puerto Rico now have statutes prohibiting arbitrary discrimination in employment on the basis of age. We have conferred with the administrators of these laws and made detailed reviews of experience in seven States. The administrators are agreed that the statutes provide a strong foundation for an aggressive education program. The laws clearly have reduced the more obvious forms of discrimination, such as age specifications in help wanted ads. Most of the States are hampered by inadequate funds and staff. Some States report, however, that job opportunities have increased for older workers since their laws were enacted.

About two-fifths of the complaints filed under these laws by workers alleging age discrimination have been found by the State authorities to warrant administrative action to bring the employer into compliance.

The Federal Government needs to declare and implement a national policy with respect to hiring on the basis of ability rather than age. It is clear from State experience with statutes prohibiting age discrimiantion in employment that they can help reduce such practices when well administered and well enforced. It is also clear that an educational program, most essential to good administration and achievement of good results, is far more effective when based on a statute.

Even though a claim of arbitrary discrimination is found to be unsubstantiated, public responsibility should extend to acting upon other needs of the worker which may have given rise to the claim—reeducation, training, counseling, health care, or just placement assistance.

Second, we need action to adjust certain institutional arrangements where they work to the disadvantage of the older worker.

Pension plan limitation were cited by some employers as a reason for not hiring older workers. This is only in part a cost question, perhaps in lesser part. Many private pension plans exclude new employees beyond a certain age from coverage—one-third of them at age 55; one-half at age 60.

Similarly, promotion-from-within policies and staffing policies designed to maintain a work force age balance often restrict hiring to lower paid entry levels considered unsuitable for older workers.

Seniority systems which protect workers with long service may—where units are narrow and rules rigid—result in layoffs of older workers with long service from one unit while new workers are being hired in another.

Early retirement is also a mixed blessing for the older worker. On the one hand it makes it possible for some to retire when faced with displacement or layoff; on the other it tends to push downward the maximum age at which employers will hire new workers.

The President's Committee on Corporate Pensions made a number of recommendations to the President last January. These, particularly those for vesting and portability of pensions, deserve serious consideration.

New forms of private annuity coverage should be encouraged to provide some retirement income for older workers without increasing the new employer's pension costs inordinately or requiring modifications in his pension plan.

A comprehensive formal review is also needed for our systems of providing income during disability, to fill gaps in coverage and income protection in such a way as to remove obstacles to employment of both older and handicapped workers.

We should like to see assistance provided to private parties in collective bargaining in the complicated area of seniority. Surely procedures can be devised which will open up added employment opportunities for displaced workers with years of industrial service while protecting the seniority rights of employed workers.

The third area of action involves the increased avaliability of work by creating more jobs and improved matching of skills and jobs.

The U.S. Employment Service and its affiliated State services constitute the first line of operations. We know from experience that much more can be done for the older worker when a concentrated effort is made. The resources of the employment service have been taxed by the employment needs of many disadvantaged groups and of the postwar baby crop that has been swelling the labor force.

Additional part-time work opportunities are needed for persons approaching or already in retirement, not only in private employment but in community and public services. The poverty programs, health and medicare programs, education, social services, recreation, homemaking, repair and maintenance services suggest possibilities.

Further, our collective efforts and our thoughts must take some new directions.

Job redesign can enable more older workers to function effectively at high levels of productivity. In the past we have tried to fit people to jobs—we need also to fit jobs to people.

Beyond the work span, the prospects of increasingly longer periods of retirement dictate better preparation and planning for those years—many more programs are needed, possibly under joint labor-management sponsorship patterned after some which have already proven their value.

It is far better for individuals and for society to seek ways to develop, preserve, and utilize human abilities, than to cast them aside, lose their contribution, undermine their sense of human dignity, and add to mounting welfare costs.

As long as many community tasks remain undone, many services remain unprovided, and people who are willing and able to work are idle, local communities should be encouraged and assisted financially to undertake such tasks and provide such services.

We recognize that such opportunities cannot be provided everywhere to everyone who needs them. Special consideration should therefore be given to meeting the income needs of the tens of thousands of unemployed workers between age 55 and 65 who have inadequate financial resources, have exhausted their unemployment compensation, are not yet eligible for retirement benefits, and have no prospects of employment.

The fourth and last area of action may involve the most important steps we can take and therefore may call for the most far-reaching solutions.

Men and women are living longer than in the past while the world of ideas, of knowledge, of work is changing more rapidly. No person today can afford to fall very far behind in the race between education and catastrophe.

One of the older worker's greatest handicaps is that he often has insufficient education to meet the requirements of today's jobs. This is perhaps the most important single barrier to the reemployment of displaced workers when they are competing with better educated youngsters. Three-fifths of our work force 55 years of age and over has less than a high school education; more than one-fifth has less than 8 years of schooling.

Our experience under the Manpower Development and Training Act has taught us that retraining programs for many older workers must be custom tailored. Though there are still too few in Manpower Development and Training Act training programs, we now have some means of assisting those

who are unemployed. As yet, however, we have no adequate means for enabling workers to complete their educations while they are still employed and before they become vulnerable to displacement as technology changes or plants relocate.

The situation calls for a new system of continuing training and educational opportunity to prepare workers, while they are still employed, for job changes, to reduce their vulnerability to displacement, to protect them against discrimination, and to open the way to satisfying activity in retirement.

Such a program should be available, with appropriate financial assistance, to workers who failed to obtain good educations earlier or who need to refresh or modernize their knowledge or their skills.

The methods of financing the program would require thorough study. Some form of contributory educational insurance might be envisaged. Exploration is also needed of methods of interweaving work with new types of adult education, with educational sabbaticals.

All of these proposals constitute an investment in people which would benefit not only the individuals it would serve, but the entire economy and all of society.

I realize that bringing the variety of programs I have sketched here to fruition is a long task which cannot be completed in 1 year or even 2. We have tried to take a long look ahead, and suggest a course along which to proceed. The time is at hand to start the journey.

INTRODUCTION TO "THE OLDER AMERICAN WORKER"

The poet Browning could write of growing old, and say of it: "The best is yet to be, the last of life, for which the first was made."

A century later, reality has still not caught up with that poetry. Although scientists and doctors have extended life with almost incredible ingenuity, and have eased some of the physical pains of old age, there has been no comparable invention regarding the uses of these long years of vigorous active life that now commence at the point where, until almost this generation, life began rapidly to ebb. Yet, this is in truth a miracle, a new age of man; and it is hardly to be wondered that it has brought with it new problems as yet unsolved, indeed as yet hardly examined.

The Social Security Act of 1935 established a historic precedent, but security is no more than a foundation for satisfaction, and not itself enough. Subsequent legislation—various housing acts, parts of the antipoverty program, provisions to cover some of the costs of illness that comes with age—has recognized the right to grow old in decency. Yet decency, too, is meager reward.

Meeting the problems associated with advancing years remains, accordingly, a pressing piece of unfinished business for those who consider it not heresy, but the fullest reverence, to include the perfectibility of life within the human competence.

There is, in this connection, no harsher verdict in most men's lives than someone else's judgment that they are no longer worth their keep. It is then, when the answer at the hiring gate is, "You're too old," that a man turns away, in another poet's phrase, finding "nothing to look backward to with pride, nothing to look forward to with hope." If that verdict is fair on the facts, it can only be viewed as part of life's bruising mystery. But if that verdict is unfair or unnecessary, it is part of man's inhumanity to man that can be and must be stopped.

All of this is the context of the Congress provision, in section 715 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, that:

"The Secretary of Labor shall make a full and complete study of the factors which might tend to result in discrimination in employment because of age and of the consequences of such discrimination on the economy and individuals affected. The Secretary of Labor shall make a report to the Congress not later than June 30, 1965, containing the results of such study and shall include in such report such recommendations for legislation to prevent arbitrary discrimination in employment because of age as he determines advisable."

This report is presented in response to this requirement.

The congressional directive was carefully and precisely worded, avoiding prejudgment of the influence of discrimination on the employment of older workers, recognizing subtly that not all discrimination in this area is "arbitrary," asking a broad consideration of all "factors which might tend to result in discrimination" in employment because of age, and requesting a report on the consequences of these factors both on the economy and on the individuals affected. These guides have shaped this report.

The development of responsible and effective public policy regarding discrimination based on age requires as steadfast and unfearing confrontation of reality as did the development of a national policy opposed to discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. But there is an essential difference.

The Nation has faced the fact—rejecting inherited prejudice or contrary conviction—that people's ability and usefulness is unrelated to the facts of their race, or color, or religion, or sex, or the geography of their birth. Having accepted this truth, the easy thing to do would be simply to extend the conclusions derived from it to the problem of discrimination in employment based on aging, and be done with the matter. This would be easy—and wrong.

The gist of the matter is that "discrimination" means something very different, so far as employment practices involving age are concerned, from what it means in connection with discrimination involving—for example—race. It means in connection with the age question, furthermore, several different things.

Employment discrimination because of race is identified, in the general understanding of it, with nonemployment resulting from feelings about people entirely unrelated to their ability to do the job. There is no significant discrimination of this kind so far as older workers are concerned.

The most closely related kind of discrimination in the nonemployment of older workers involves their rejection because of assumptions about the effect of age on their ability to do a job when there is in fact no basis for these assumptions. It is this which Congress refers to, in section 715 of the Civil Rights Act, as "arbitrary discrimination."

A third type of discrimination—which should perhaps be called something else entirely—involves decisions not to employ a person for a particular job because of his age when there is in fact a relationship between his age and his ability to perform the job. The only reason for marking out this third area is that it clearly does exist so far as the age question is concerned, but does not exist so far as, for example, racial or religious discrimination are concerned.

There is finally, so far as age is concerned, that kind of "discrimination" which results when an employer turns an older man or woman away, not because of concern about the individual's ability to perform the work, but because of programs and practices actually designed to protect the employment of older workers while they remain in the work force, and to provide support when they leave it or are ill. Seniority and promotion-from-within systems, and pension and insurance programs, are a mark of civilization. They vastly enhance the dignity, the security, the quality of the later years of life in the United States. At the same time, ironically, they sometimes have tended to push still further down the age at which employers begin asking whether or not a prospective employee is too old to be taken on.

With these distinctions between various kinds of "discrimination" in mind, it is important, next, to recognize that there are two sets of value judgments to be made regarding any particular kind of discrimination based on age.

The most obvious of these judgments must be made in terms of the justification for particular employment practices in relationship to the efficient operation of a particular enterprise and of the economic system as a whole. This includes the value to the system of making maximum use of the Nation's full manpower potential, of each individual's full capacity.

What is less obvious, indeed still unclear, is the extent to which account is properly taken of the value to the individual of opportunity which the most efficient operation of the system as a whole might not provide. The prevailing assumption is that people are created for jobs not jobs for people. The difference between a great and a lesser society—particularly one which prides itself on being individual-oriented rather than system-oriented—includes its readiness review this traditional assumption. The point is clearest in the case of an older person whose economic value becomes marginal in traditional marketplace terms, but for whom employment is the difference between life's having meaning and no meaning. This is not just a matter of human concern for the individual. There may well be involved a choice for the rest of us between paying, as customers, a few cents an hour of that individual's wages (and getting the value of his productive potential) or, in the alternative, paying, as taxpayers, the full amount of his welfare upkeep (and getting nothing in return).

It is proper reminder, as part of a preface to policymaking regarding a question involving age, that while each of us is growing older as an individual we are growing younger (at least for the present) as a whole population.

It is true, on the one hand, that the absolute number of older persons—and therefore the number of persons who may be the victims of age discrimination in employment—is growing rapidly.

There are today 22 million men and women between the ages of 45 and 55, almost 17 million between the ages of 55 and 65, and 18 million 65 and over.

These numbers are all significantly greater, both, in absolute terms and as a proportion of the entire adult population, than was true 10 years ago, or 20, or 50.

By 1975, there will be almost 24 million men and women between 45 and 55, about 20 million between 55 and 65, and about 21 million 65 and over.

Because young persons go to work later than they used to, and more and more older women are going back to work, the number of workers age 45 and over continues to grow; and older workers will still make up more than a third of the work force in the years ahead.

So the problem area is increasing significantly.

At the same time, however, the median age of the population in the United States is going down.

Half of us are today under 29.

By 1975, half of us will be under 26.

What this mean is that a Nation which already worships the whole idea of youth must approach any problem involving older people with conscious realization of the special obligation a majority assumes with respect to "minority group" interests. This is, to be sure, one minority group in which we

all seek, sometimes desperately, eventual membership. Discrimination against older workers remains, nevertheless, a problem which must be met by a majority who are not themselves adversely affected by it and may even be its temporary beneficiaries.

The discrimination older workers have most to fear, however, is not from any employer malice, or unthinking majority, but from the ruthless play of wholly impersonal forces—most of them part of what is properly, if sometimes too casually, called progress.

Over a sixth of the railroad engineers in the United States are 65 or older. But airline transport pilots must retire at 60. Astronauts are not hired after 35.

The same advancing science that is extending people's productive lives is contributing to putting lower age limits on employment.

This results partly, at least for the present, from the increase in educational requirements for many jobs, and from the fact that older workers today have less formal education, on the whole, than younger workers. Among male workers 45 to 54, nearly one-third of those who are white, and almost two-thirds of the nonwhite group, have not gone beyond the eighth grade. Among male workers 55 to 64, nearly half of the white group and more than three-quarters of the nonwhite group have not gone beyond the eighth grade. This is in sharp contrast to the education of young persons now entering the work force.

Any formal employment standard which requires, for example, a high school diploma will obviously work against the employment of many older workers—unfairly if, despite his limited schooling, an older worker's years of experience have given him the relevant equivalent of a high school education.

In 1964, about 3½ million workers 45 years old or older were involuntarily unemployed at one time or another. As the number of older workers increases, the problem of their job readjustment and unemployment will be compounded. The achievement of fuller employment opportunity in the economy as a whole will provide more jobs for older workers. At the same time, the pace of changing technology, changing jobs, changing educational requirements, and changing personnel practices increases the need for special efforts if older workers' employment prospects are to improve significantly.

The findings which follow in this report identify the extent to which there is evidence of age discrimination of various kinds, particularly arbitrary discrimination, as a factor in the unemployment of older workers.

The conclusions and recommendations suggest measures which can and should be taken to increase the economic and social well-being of the Nation and the satisfactions of life for millions of older American workers who will otherwise be the victims of discrimination in employment based on age.

Hon. John W. McCormack Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include a resolution adopted unanimously by the delegates of the 29th biennial convention of the Supreme Lodge, Order Sons of Italy in America, who met in Baltimore, Md., on August 25–29, 1965. The delegates to the convention have commended our illustrious Speaker, JOHN W. MCCORMACK, upon his outstanding leadership demonstrated in connection with the recent passage by the House of the legislation amending our immigration law.

The resolution follows:

TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE, HONORABLE JOHN W. MCCORMACK

The Supreme Lodge, Order Sons of Italy in America at its 29th biennial convention, unanimously resolved to commend the forthright leadership you demonstrated in this 89th Congress as follows:

"Whereas during your many years of most honorable service to our country you have demonstrated an exemplary conduct and devotion that have won our hearts and admiration of us all; and

"Whereas, during the present session of Congress and throughout your career of public service, you have served with outstanding leadership, as well as with deep understanding and compassion; and

"Whereas, in recent days through your Chamber of the House of Representatives, a most discriminatory and capricous immigration policy, after remaining on our statute book for more than four decades, has met its demise: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Order Sons of Italy in America, extend to the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, Speaker of the House of Representatives, its profound appreciation as well as its best wishes for a long and happy life."

Incentive Under Attack Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, an excellent editorial appeared in the August 24, 1965, edition of the Shelby Daily Star, Shelby, N.C., with respect to H.R. 8282, the proposed Employment Security Amendments of 1965.

I certainly concur with the views expressed in the Star editorial. I feel my colleagues in the Congress will find the editorial to be most interesting and informative, and I insert it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

[From the Shelby Daily Star, Aug. 24, 1965]

INCENTIVE UNDER ATTACK AGAIN

Employer, employee incentive will take a terrific licking if the Congress ever passes H.R. 8282, which now is before the Ways and Means Committe of the U.S. House of Representatives.

North Carolina Employment Security Commission Chairman Henry Kendall cut through the complexities of this matter in an appearance before the committee last week. He characterized the whole of H.R. 8282 for what it really is, a blatant first step toward "ultimate Federal control of unemployment insurance."

He hit the button squarely in the center.

But the individual facets of this federalization attempt are as intriguing as the projected results of the whole. Their collective impact on incentive—individual as well as corporate—would be catastrophic.

One of these catastrophic possibilities was addressed admirably well recently by the Daily Advance of Elizabeth City. That newspaper noted in an editorial that:

"One of the things it (H.R. 8282) proposes is abolishment of the 'experience rating table'—a device * * * (which) means that companies in low-unemployment industries do not pay as much unemployment tax as do companies in high-unemployment industries. Since 1943, the experience rating tables of North Carolina have saved employers some $400 million in unemployment taxes.

"To abolish savings of that order would be to rob North Carolina employers of any incentive to set their individual employment policies with an eye toward their cumulative effect on statewide unemployment levels."

Some few States have been either unable or unwilling to compile comparable records. Therefore—and since nothing bugs the Federal establishment like State-level successes—the goal now appears to be control of the many because of the shortcomings and failures of the few. That is ridiculous on its face.

It is, however, merely a beginning. For H.R. 8282 soars continuously from the sublime to the ridiculous.

Consider first that H.R. 8282 proposes adding 26 weeks of Federal unemployment benefits after an individual had exhausted the 26 weeks of State benefits presently provided.

Then understand that H.R. 8282 would require every State to pay unemployment compensation to those who, without good cause, had voluntarily quit their jobs.

Tie the two together. Fifty-two weeks of assured compensation, plus an open invitation to quit whenever the mood strikes. The results are too obvious to elaborate upon.

But there's more.

Presently, those men and women discharged by an employer for willful misconduct on the job are due no benefits. For example, a person fired for drinking on the job is, so to speak, on his own.

H.R. 8282, however, would provide such an individual with unemployment compensation.

Existing regulations stipulate also that persons out of work through no fault of theirs receive compensation—within specified limits—until such time as the Employment Security Commission or the individual comes up with suitable work.

That makes sense, apparently, to all save the backers of 8282. For they'd require every State to continue paying unemployment compensation to those seeking work but refusing to accept suitable employment.

Such proposals cater only to the slothful instincts.

North Carolina's existing program is unsurpassed in human scope and incentive emphasis. Rather than attempting to scuttle it and like programs in other States, the Congress and the administration should be pressing for nationwide emulation.

Hon. Peter W. Rodino, Jr., Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the resolution adopted by the delegates of the 29th biennial convention of the Supreme Lodge, Order Sons of Italy in America, held in Baltimore, Md., on August 25–29, 1965. The resolution comended the outstanding work performed by our colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey, PETER W. RODINO, JR., in support of H.R.

2580 to revise the Nation's immigration system to eliminate the national origins quota system and set general priorities for admission to the United States.

The resolution follows:

The Supreme Lodge, Order Sons of Italy in America, at its 29th biennial convention in the city of Baltimore, unanimously resolved to pay tribute to Congressman PETER W. RODINO, JR., of New Jersey, for his personal and official efforts in behalf of Italian and racial minority people of the world, as follows:

Whereas Congressman RODINO has distinguished himself during his 17 years of outstanding service as a great American statesman and an equally great humanitarian; and

Whereas through these years of service Congressman RODINO has fought for the underprivileged and the oppressed; and

Whereas as a vigorous and effective leader he has constantly fought for social reforms for the benefit not only of the American society but for all mankind; and

Whereas Congressman RODINO has diligently and constructively contributed to worthy causes abroad as well as in the United States, as an active delegate to the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference and the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration; and

Whereas thanks to Congressman RODINO's persistent efforts and talents, H.R. 2580 was passed in the House of Representatives during the 89th Congress; and

Whereas the Americans of Italian heritage as well as all racial minority people can be justly proud of his many humanitarian contributions: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Supreme Lodge, Order Sons of Italy, in convention assembled, extend a special commendation to Congressman PETER W. RODINO, JR., of New Jersey, for his effective, lifelong work as a champion of the underprivileged, as well as its best wishes for a happy life and continued success in his already illustrious career.

Wheat Shipment to the Soviet Bloc

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to vigorously express my objections to the proposed reversal of American policy that half the American commercial wheat sales to countries in the Soviet bloc be shipped on American-flag vessels.

In my opinion, it is bad enough that we trade with the Soviet bloc. I see no reason to give the Soviets our wheat to alleviate their grain shortages. I say this because a grain shortage in the Soviet bloc generally forces a cutback in planned industrial building and development, and such a cutback is to our benefit. As far as I am concerned, those who want to trade in wheat with the Soviets as a quick way to pick up our balance of payments without trading strategic material miss the fact that American wheat, while not itself strategic, frees Communist planners to concern themselves with other cold war economic production. Our policy is clearly short sighted.

Mr. Speaker, let me repeat. I do not support trade in wheat with the Soviet bloc. Still less do I feel that American interests ought to be sacrificed to promote this trade at any cost. That is why I oppose sacrificing American maritime interests so that this wheat can be made more attractive to the Soviets. If the Soviets will not buy this wheat when it includes costs of shipment in American ships, then we should not sell it to them.

I know that the wheat producers, grain merchants, and railroads want these wheat sales to the Soviets, whatever the boon to the Soviet economy or whatever the detriment to the American merchant marine. This is pure financial opportunism.

Just a few weeks ago, the Johnson administration surrendered to the Communists in the United Nations on the question of loss of voting power because of unpaid dues. Now the administration wants to surrender on the terms of trade in wheat. There seems to be no limit to the administration's willingness to surrender on financial and other questions with respect to which it would be sensible and proper to take a stand against the Soviets. This is in marked contrast, unfortunately, to the administration's willingness to buy rice paddy acreage with blood in Vietnam, after having seemingly passed up some opportunities to negotiate.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that the administration will not drop the requirement that wheat shipped to the Soviets be shipped 50 percent of the time in American-flag ships. We have seen too many surrenders on easy fields of battle. Let us not compound our mistakes.

VISTA Volunteer Accepts Challenge To Help Others

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, at the present time over 1,000 dedicated individuals are serving in the war on poverty as volunteers in service to America. The VISTA program is designed to abolish poverty by directly involving dedicated individuals in a person-to-person program with the poor themselves.

VISTA volunteers represent no one segment of our society. They are men and women from all economic backgrounds and they range in age from 18 to 82 years. They have all committed a year of their lives to assist fellow human beings work their way out of poverty.

Recently, in Chicago, a group of VISTA volunteers completed an intensive 6-week training program. One of the volunteers, Mr. John C. Rowlett, a young man of 23, was asked to sum up the feeling of his group about the VISTA program and the work they had set out to do. I believe his speech at the VISTA graduation is evidence of what a dynamic program VISTA is proving to be in our national effort to eradicate poverty.

It is my pleasure to insert into the RECORD Mr. Rowlett's remarks which follow:

SPEECH MADE BY JOHN C. ROWLETT, CHICAGO, ILL., JULY 1965

It would be impossible to summarize in a few remarks the meaning or the significance of these past 6 weeks to those of us who are here tonight. Part of the value of this experience from the point of view of the trainee is that it has been a unique and particular experience to each of us—that from it there are as many different responses as there are individuals in this group, that from here we will spread out all over the country in a variety of roles and responsibilities, each with his own purpose, his own goal, his own direction.

We responded initially to the opportunity of service with VISTA either out of a sense of dedication or, perhaps, in search of a sense of dedication. We responded in a very real way to the challenge of the late President Kennedy of service to this country—not to its Government, but to its people—to our people. We are aware of the momentous tide of transition in our society and in this world. We are aware of the importance of including all the people in the movement of our era if our way of life is to prove valid and to grow with the tide. To choose VISTA, which means to choose the goals of VISTA, is to affirm and promote an ideal of living or a living ideal, especially with that segment of society which has the most right to question its validity. We are being tested as individuals, and we are testing as individuals, the question of whether or not the ideal of living—the opportunity of contributing to and participating in a democratic society—is in fact available to all the people. It is a question which must be settled in a positive manner before further real growth is possible. It is the necessary foundation upon which we as individuals and as a country, will build the future.

The past 6 weeks could be called an orientation to the culture of poverty. But it has been more than an academic exposure. We have met with those who suffer through no fault of their own, and we have seen reflected in their eyes the measure of our own responsibility. We have met with those whose lifework it is to alleviate the pain of human suffering and we have see through their eyes some of the avenues which are available to us to make the ideal a living reality. With our people in the field, we have learned, or reaffirmed in experience, that the value and importance of individuals is not lost in their separation from the larger society, though neither is it fulfilled. We have learned that our role is not simply one of giving, but that it is one of making ourselves capable of accepting the bounty which our people have to give and of making available to them the opportunity to contribute to the larger society. More than money, the real currency of value which we receive in our work will come from our people themselves. In the staff of this training program and in those dedicated people whom they have brought before us, we have been impressed with the quality of commitment not only to us but to those people we all serve. From them we have learned the necessity to articulate our own commitment. We have learned the importance of direction, of specific purpose, and of a foundation of knowledge and values in the work we are about to do. We have learned that if our work is to attain a strength of a lasting and meaningful sort, we must as individuals be-

come a part of the sharing community of servants which dedicates itself to the life of the poor—that we must be prepared to give to those with whom we work as much as to our people.

This, and much more, we have learned and experienced. The effects, however, will be proved not tonight, but over the next 10½ months and, beyond that, in the future which we make for ourselves. What can be said is that not one of us will leave here with his life untouched or unchanged or without an added measure of depth. We are grateful, and we are eager to meet the challenges ahead.

Retired Officer Radiation Victim

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. GILLIGAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. GILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am astonished and understandably puzzled over developments in connection with a dispatch by the Associated Press in August of this year on the alleged plight of Comdr. William W. Mitchell, USN, retired, a resident of Norfolk, Va. This report appeared in newspapers throughout the country, and a number of my constituents clipped and sent it to me along with urgent requests that I look into the matter and try to do something in Commander Mitchell's behalf. I have done just that. I believe it is manifestly evident from the dispatch and the reply to my inquiry from the Department of the Navy why I am placing this material in the RECORD. So far as I am able to determine, there has been no retraction or correction published. I am including in the RECORD the published report, along with pertinent portions of the letter sent to me by the Navy Department answering my inquiry:

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY,
OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS,
Washington, D.C., September 3, 1965.

Hon. JOHN J. GILLIGAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GILLIGAN: In response to your recent thoughtful expression of interest on behalf of Lt. Comdr. William W. Mitchell, U.S. Naval Reserve (retired), I should like to report that the Navy had thoroughly investigated the statements in the newspaper stories on this case and found them largely inaccurate. A complete review of both medical and personnel records indicate that Lieutenant Commander Mitchell was not present at the Bikini tests, was not exposed to excessive radioactivity during his active naval service, and that he does not suffer from a disease induced by radioactivity. He was originally retired for and has been treated frequently since in Naval facilities, for general and cerebral arteriosclerosis.

Sincerely,

K. L. VETH,
Rear Admiral, U.S. Navy
Chief of Legislative Affairs.

RETIRED OFFICER RADIATION VICTIM

NORFOLK, VA.—A retired American naval officer, one of the few Americans ever to suffer an overdose of atomic radiation, lies dying at his home in Norfolk. He is broke, heavily in debt, and his sacrifice in line of duty is unrecognized by fame or medals.

He is Comdr. William W. Mitchell, U.S. Navy (retired). He is 65 years old but he looks 85, for his has suffered much since 6:35 p.m. (e.s.t.) July 24, 1946.

That was the hour at which the United States exploded an atomic bomb underwater at Bikini atoll in the pacific. The underwater explosion was one of a series of postwar atomic tests.

Some 75 warships and 12 smaller craft took part in the tests. Commander Mitchell was engineer officer aboard the observation ship U.S.S. *Wharton*.

Half an hour after the atomic explosion sent a column of water half a mile wide at the base a mile into the air, the *Wharton* cruised into ground zero, checking radioactivity and making other scientific measurements.

Then began one of the most bizarre chains of circumstances of the atomic age. First a pump failed in the *Wharton's* engineroom.

The pump failure caused a condenser failure and the engineroom filled with steam. The ship went dead in the water, only a few feet from ground zero, and lay dead there for an hour while repairs were made.

The captain ordered the machinist responsible for the pump failure court-martialed for neglect of duty. The machinist had been told to replace the pump but had not done so. Commander Mitchell was appointed defense counsel for the machinist.

A key piece of evidence in the court-martial was a bronze intake valve. The valve was directly exposed to the sea water during the entire sequence of events, hence it soaked up a tremendous dose of radioactivity from the very water in which the bomb had been exploded.

Since the valve was a piece of defensive evidence Commander Mitchell took it to his room for safekeeping. He put it under his bed and it stayed there the entire 5 weeks prior to the court-martial.

In 1946 no one knew much about the hazards of radiation and Commander Mitchell's action by 1946 standards was perfectly logical.

By the time the officers and crew of the Wharton were checked with a Geiger counter in Bremerton, Wash., several weeks later, Commander Mitchell's body made the counter buzz like a rattlesnake.

They checked his blood count but it was still normal.

The next year, while he was on duty at Pearl Harbor, he learned his blood count was dropping. They couldn't X-ray him. His body was so hot that the X-ray film came out black. It would be 4 years before he would "cool" enough to be X-rayed successfully.

Finally, in 1949, he was well enough to be released from Bethesda. The Navy gave him a medical discharge.

He settled in Norfolk and started raising hamsters which he sold to Government and private agencies for medical research.

Five years ago his condition began to worsen. In 5 years his body aged 20 years, but he still hung on to his hamster business.

He had to sell out his hamster business at a loss and he and his wife are now in danger of losing their home to satisfy their debts.

Commander Mitchell has willed his eyes to the blind and his radiation-poisoned body to science.

Needed: Inside Braces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, recently there appeared in the Christian Herald an article entitled "Needed: Inside Braces." Since we have been reading about and observing the influence of the Executive power upon our colleagues, I thought it would be most beneficial for all the Members of the House of Representatives to read this worthwhile article:

NEEDED: INSIDE BRACES

A Congressman was having a hard time explaining his vote on a measure objectionable to the right-minded members of his constituency. At last he said, "But gentlemen, you simply don't understand the outside pressure brought to bear on a man in my position." "Outside pressure," roared an old sea captain in the audience. "Where are your inside braces?" Inside braces are made of the strongest substance. Set firmly in place, they are able to withstand the pressure of outside temptation wherever or however it is applied.

Johnson's Call for Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT E. SWEENEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. SWEENEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of the House to a timely editorial by the Cleveland Plain Dealer of Wednesday, September 1, 1965, dealing with President Johnson's call for economy in Government operations.

There can be little doubt that with our commitments abroad and our ever-mounting defense costs, that this call for reduction in spending plans by $9 billion for next fiscal year is timely. Many of us suspect that there are many areas wherein the Federal Government can "wring out the water" from agency budgets and thereby affect reductions in spending.

The reports of the General Accounting Office are most complete in their description of governmental waste in spending and it is well that we all concern ourselves with this waste.

This administration has a commitment from the voters to increase governmental efficiency and certainly it is refreshing to note that the President intends to carry out that commitment. It will be interesting as well to see what the various agency heads do in an effort to effect economies in their various departments. I would urge that 6 months from now we take another look at the results.

The editorial of the Cleveland Plain Dealer on this subject follows:

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer, Sept. 1, 1965]

JOHNSON'S CALL FOR ECONOMY

President Johnson, in calling on Government agencies to reduce their spending plans by $9 billion for the next fiscal year, shows concern over the spiraling costs of the war in Vietnam.

These costs will continue to depend on unforeseeable circumstances of the fighting. A problem of guns versus butter might well arise. And the agencies, Mr. Johnson, is saying, must be constantly aware of this in making budget demands.

They apparently have asked—in nondefense areas and outside essential Great Society programs—about $6 billion more than they will spend in the present fiscal year.

Such proposals by agency heads are usually made with some possibility of bargaining in mind but the President has made plain that this is no time for that. The $6 billion, under his orders, will be lopped from the requests at once.

Further and much more importantly, he has asked for a reduction of $3 billion from their present spending figures on older programs. He called for a sharp look at the least essential of these and a "rigorous and searching quest" for all other possible means of saving.

With the Nation properly committed to a growing antipoverty fight, to the spread of educational opportunity and to other necessary domestic crusades, there can be no place for bureaucratic waste.

There especially can be no place for such waste as defense costs mount. And only defense costs should be allowed to interfere with advancement of major aspects of the Great Society program.

Rivers Delivers—Tribute to a Great Committee Chairman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times magazine in its edition of August 29, 1965, published a magnificent tribute to our colleague, Hon. MENDEL RIVERS, the great chairman of the Armed Services Committee.

The article is entitled "RIVERS Delivers" and is a tribute to his determination to assert congressional prerogatives in the area of defense—to adhere to responsibilities and obligations assigned the Congress by the U.S. Constitution.

I am sure that this article will be of tremendous interest to all Members and to the American people. I, therefore, under unanimous consent, include it in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

"RIVERS DELIVERS"—THE POWERFUL ARMED FORCES CHAIRMAN FROM HELL HOLE SWAMP COMES UP WITH PLUMS FOR GI'S AND THE HOME FOLKS

(By Don Oberdorfer)

WASHINGTON.—Twenty-five years ago this summer LUCIUS MENDEL RIVERS, a lanky and impecunious young politician out of Hell Hole Swamp in South Carolina, opened his first campaign for Congress at the annual watermelon festival in a country town. Not long ago he returned to the same event—as the new chairman of the Armed Services Committee of the House of Representatives and, as such, one of the most important figures in the American Government.

Chairman RIVERS came back to Estill, S.C. (population 1,800), at the wheel of a shiny new Buick sedan, given by him admiring friends at a nearby Air Force base. In the back seat as his guard of honor were two of America's most glorified space heroes, Gemini Astronauts Virgil (Gus) Grissom and John Young, and the director of the national space program, James E. Webb.

On a rough-hewn platform under the live oak tree by the Seaboard depot, they received the cheers of farmers in their best store-bought clothes, and women in gay bonnets, and exuberant children. There was fried chicken, and Brunswick stew, and slaw; and talk of the Moon and Mars and the universe beyond, and of a poor boy from the swamps who amassed power enough to summon astronauts and their boss to the Estill watermelon festival.

"Hooray, MENDEL," cried a voice from the crowd. "Pour it to 'em, MENDEL," boomed another.

"You won't shake these people, brother," confided the tall, white-maned lawmaker to a companion. "If they're for you, nothing else matters."

The ascendency of MENDEL RIVERS is a success story in the grand tradition of congressional seniority, under which a patient lawmaker from a safe district need only tend his fences at home and wait for disaster or old age to overtake his seniors on the ladder of committee leadership. Last fall Representative Carl Vinson of Georgia stepped down at age 81 after more than two decades as a powerful committee potentate. At 59, MENDEL RIVERS' time had come.

Beyond that, the new chairman of Armed Services is an unpredictable and flamboyant politician with strong opinions he is quick to voice. In 1950, he publicly urged President Truman to threaten North Korea with an atomic bomb, and in 1960 he urged President Eisenhower to order an invasion of Cuba. The following year, in a House address, he sprang to the defense of the John Birch Society and "its courageous and perceptive founder," Robert Welch. Asked recently if he regretted that speech in the light of later events, RIVERS replied: "Not a damn bit * * * There's a lot more reason to say a good word for them than for CORE or some of these other outfits."

Since he inherited the chairmanship early this year, RIVERS has continued to express his instant opinion, to the dismay of some close friends. "I happen to know as much about the Constitution as does the Attorney General," he informed the House recently, and on another occasion asserted that the Spanish military forces of Generalissimo Franco were "the greatest allies we ever picked up * * * one of the few on earth I trust." On August 11, in a Hartford address, he suggested that the Nation prepare itself to wipe out Red China's nuclear capability, or ultimately lose the battle for Asia. This statement brought anguished protests from colleagues in both House and Senate—but RIVERS was unperturbed.

"Nobody on earth can walk in this office and tell me what to do," proclaims RIVERS in his salty Carolina brogue, and in his very first year as chairman, his actions have been as independent as his words. When Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara proposed a military pay increase costing a half billion dollars a year, RIVERS dismissed it as "disgracefully inadequate," and deftly engineered a pay raise of twice as much. The House and Senate backed him up, and a week ago President Johnson reluctantly signed the pay bill, complaining that it was double what he thought was needed.

At the same time, however, the President flatly rejected another Rivers initiative, this one designed to obtain for Congress a legal say-so in the closing of domestic military installations. The South Carolinian was angry over the procedure of past base closings, when Congress was not consulted in advance despite the economic and political repercussions which plague lawmakers from the areas affected. At first RIVERS and his colleagues demanded a legislative veto over base closings. After some jockeying on Capitol Hill they settled for much less—an amendment to the $1.7 billion military construction bill, which claimed for them the right to be informed of such calamities in advance. Even so, President Johnson vetoed the measure—and sternly warned that the base-closing bid was "a fundamental encroachment" on Executive power.

The sum of all this is a sharp break with the tradition of Chairman Vinson, who in recent years was loath to interfere decisively with the plans of the executive branch. Vinson's understanding was an important prerequisite of the McNamara revolution which has swept the Pentagon since 1961 but which appears to be losing its momentum. Whether the next phase will be consolidation or counterrevolution is not clear, but in any case the RIVERS regime will be an important fact of life. Furthermore, this is the prospect for many years ahead. Secretaries of Defense may come and go—but Chairman RIVERS will just keep rolling along.

Behind the reassertion of congressional authority is the passionate belief among many lawmakers that they have been denied a rightful role in military policy specifically granted them by the U.S. Constitution. "Congress has been shunted aside by the Pentagon over the past several years in determining our defensive and offensive military structure," RIVERS declared recently. "We have been invited to sit at the table but we have not been invited to join in the meal, so to speak. This time is over. We are going to carve the roast for ourselves from now on."

The banquet hall for this suggested feast is the Armed Services Committee room of the Rayburn House Office Building. It is a cavenous powder-blue chamber adorned with a high American eagle, military flags with battle streamers, the brass windlass cap from the sunken battleship *Maine* (retrieved from Havana Harbor after the Spanish-American War), and oil portraits of Democrat Carl Vinson and Republican Dewey Short, the two previous chairmen of the committee since its creation in its present form in 1947.

Peering down at the witness table, the press, and the public, are 2 elevated tiers of desks for the 38 committee members and their leading aids. In the center of the highest tier sits the chairman, his long face and shock of white hair framed by two tiny American flags which jut out from the Gothic-style rostrum in front of him. On the front of the rostrum, facing the witnesses before this imposing tribunal, he has placed a walnut plaque with his favorite quotation in gold letters:

"U.S. Constitution—article 1—section 8—The Congress shall have Power * * * To raise and support Armies * * * provide and maintain a Navy * * * makes Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces."

In delegated performance of this charter, the Armed Service Committee exercises primary jurisdiction in the House over the vast affairs of the Pentagon, which soak up almost half the Federal budget and the energies of nearly 1 worker in every 10 throughout the land. In addition, the committee is the informal watchdog of the Central Intelligence Agency and the other organs of secret warfare, and since early this year has received a classified intelligence briefing every Tuesday morning.

In recent years the Armed Services Committees of the House and Senate, though generally acquiescent, have slowly been tightening their hold over procurement of weapons of war. First the Pentagon was required by law to obtain specific congressional authorization for purchases of aircraft, missiles and naval vessels; then for research and development of these items as well; then for research and development of all varieties. This year Congress moved ahead again. Now for the first time all new tanks and other tracked combat vehicles must also be authorized by law.

Last year the House Armed Services Committee and its subcommittees met 366 times

and approved 80 bills, affecting every congressional district and nearly every major community in the land. In these deliberations, the committee members must consider both the national interest and their own political interests, for many of them are promoters and defenders of large military complexes and production facilities in their home areas. Understandably, the committee has always been the bastion of a strong defense—though how much of this is due to farsighted patriotism and how much to pork is difficult to assess.

In 1960, for example, RIVERS was the chairman of a special subcommittee on military airlift which recommended a broad program for the modernization of the Military Air Transport Service (MATS). As a result, powerful new airplanes were acquired which have seen valuable service in every U.S. military operation since then. When not in use, much of this fleet is parked on the runway at Charleston Air Force Base, a MATS facility, on the outskirts of the principal city in the Congressman's home district.

In 1962, RIVERS chaired another special subcommittee, this time on Navy shipbuilding, which recommended a huge increase in procurement. No doubt the subcommittee was sincerely concerned about the disastrous consequences of fleet obsolescence, but it did not escape notice that more shipbuilding would also mean more jobs at the Charleston Naval Shipyard. The other two members of the special shipbuilding study unit were Representative Porter Hardy of Virginia, the congressional sponsor of the Norfolk Navy Shipyard in his home district, and Representative William Bates of Massachusetts, the former paymaster of the U.S. Navy and a leading backer of the Boston Naval Shipyard. (Pursuing this study, RIVERS has recently charged McNamara with almost total neglect of strong Navy striking forces, resulting from either "inadvertence" or "a planned degradation of the future role of our naval striking forces." McNamara has denied the charge.)

Though he never served a day in the service, Chairman RIVERS has close personal and political ties with the military. Many high-ranking officers are among his closest friends, and for years he has been the host of an annual Capitol Hill luncheon for the Joint Chiefs of Staff (featuring Carolina quail and Charleston she-crab soup). Because of his sponsorship of military pay bills, he has been called "the champion of the GI's."

The signs of this military rapport are most dramatic back home in Charleston, where "RIVERS Delivers" has become a sure-fire political slogan. To the casual observer that promise has been fulfilled and overfulfilled. The city now boasts a huge Air Force base, an Army depot, a naval shipyard, naval station and fleet headquarters, Polaris submarine center, naval minecraft base, naval supply depot and ammunition base, and naval hospital. The annual defense payroll of at least $127 million is the backbone of the local economy.

On some occasions RIVERS has claimed personal credit for assignment of the Polaris center, the minecraft base and the naval supply depot, as well as the new 500-bed veterans hospital being built in Charleston while others around the country are being closed. On other occasions he attributed all this to good fortune and the area's assets, but adds, "Naturally, I take all the credit I can get."

Representative ROBERT L. F. SIKES, of Florida, a senior member of the Appropriations Committee who has often competed with his friend from South Carolina for defense bases, declared recently, "If he puts anything else in Charleston the whole place will sink completely from sight from the sheer weight of the military installations." Nevertheless, the latest defense construction bill approved by the Armed Services Committee contains $11.7 million in new facilities for the Charleston bases.

It should not be assumed from this that the First Congressional District of South Carolina is immune to the gusts of economy which have been blowing through the Pentagon's domain. Recently the Defense Department bravely announced the closing, in the town of Yemassee of the Marine Corps Transportation Shed (employment: three). At the same time, however, Charleston was assigned another squadron of Polaris missile submarines with a complement of 2,200 men.

Today the port city is replete with reminders of the man who keeps it prosperous. There is Men-Riv Park, a bustling Navy housing development, and the L. Mendel Rivers postal annex. Out the Rivers Gate of Charleston Air Force Base stretches Rivers Avenue, a tree-lined, four-lane highway filled twice each day with the automobiles of defense workers. At a fitting site along Rivers Avenue a group of civic clubs is soon to erect a sculptured bust of the Congressman, half again as large as he is in life.

Withal, RIVERS is not entirely accepted among the proud old Charleston aristocrats who dominate much of the city's spirit, if not its daily life. Significantly, all of the Rivers monuments are in North Charleston near the Air Force base and the navy yard, and none are below Broad Street in the old city, where money still has its uses but a family tree is more important.

This unusual circumstance helps explain an unusual personality, a man with a passion for attention and acclaim who is also a shrewd backroom politician, a hail-fellow extrovert who is also a loner, an idolater of John C. Calhoun who wears his hair long on the back of his neck, Calhoun-style, but who also loves the roar of aircraft motors, has recently purchased an airplane and is learning to fly.

RIVERS was born in a village crossroads known as Gumville, near Hell Hole Swamp, in rural South Carolina, where his father, who died when he was 8, operated a turpentine still and a small farm. The family later lost the land and moved to North Charleston, then a down-at-the-heels mill village, which was pretty much ignored by the rest of the historic old city. (Today North Charleston, because of the military installations, is more populous than Charleston proper.)

"I had to work hard for everything I ever got," the Congressman recalled in a recent interview. "As a boy I sold newspapers, milked cows, worked in the sawmill and the asbestos mill. North Charleston didn't have a high school, and I had to go down to Charleston; it was so hard I flunked my first year. I went to the College of Charleston just long enough to get to law school and went to law school just long enough to get my degree."

His big chance came in 1940 when the incumbent Congressman died in office and the Charleston Democratic organization chose as the anointed successor a successful local businessman, and former big-league baseball player, named Alfred H. von Kolnitz. It was an unfortunate choice, for the German Army at that moment was marching through northern Europe to the dismay of most of the world. RIVERS began his campaign at the rural watermelon festival, and he searched the small towns and the settlements at the forks of the creeks for votes, all the time castigating the city machine back in Charleston. "When he pronounced 'Fritz von Kolnitz,'" recalls a friend, "you could almost hear the Nazi troopers goose-stepping." RIVERS won a surprise victory, and has never faced serious opposition since.

As his origins and history suggest, RIVERS is a man of great determination and ingenuity. In his early days on Capitol Hill he earned the now-forgotten title of "OLEO" RIVERS because of his colorful and ultimately successful, campaign to repeal the special Federal tax on colored oleomargarine. The issue was popular at home, where cottonseed oil and soybean oil were produced for oleomargarine, and RIVERS declared that his oleo tax repeal bill was "the greatest piece of legislation ever struck off by the hand of man."

"You do not get Bang's Disease from oleomargarine; you do not get tuberculosis," he repeated time and again to his amused colleagues in the House. In another speech he added, "Butter will kill you deader than a Job's turkey, but eat a little margarine and you will look like a million dollars."

For years his colorful ways and mercurial nature failed to endear him to his committee chairman, Carl Vinson, but somewhere along the line RIVERS decided the older man should be his friend. "He courted Uncle Carl something fierce," recalls a mutual friend. In one speech several years ago, RIVERS classed his chairman with John C. Calhoun (whom he has called "the greatest man in our history"), Henry Clay, George Washington, Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, Daniel Webster, Jefferson Davis, Stephen Decatur, John Paul Jones, Thomas Edison, Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin D. Roosevelt, John Pershing, William Halsey, George Marshall, and Sam Rayburn.

"As St. Paul sat at the feet of our Master," RIVERS declared more recently, "it has been my honor to sit at the feet of Carl Vinson." Nevertheless, the South Carolinian is frank to state that he operates quite differently from his predecessor. "If I tried to emulate Mr. Vinson," he says, "somebody would knock my head off. I've got to do things in my own way."

The Rivers way is far more democratic than Vinson's, who as a veteran committee chairman often decided the issue first and informed his colleagues later. RIVERS, on the other hand, maintains the closest liaison with the senior members of Armed Services, who are informally designated as a policy subcommittee.

In addition to the chairman, the group includes Democrats PHILIP J. PHILBIN of Massachusetts and F. EDWARD HÉBERT of Louisiana, and Republicans WILLIAM H. BATES of Massachusetts and LESLIE C. ARENDS of Illinois. It meets privately to ponder and plan in detail almost every committee initiative, and RIVERS has informed Secretary McNamara that military secrets hitherto confided only to the chairman are now to be shared with the group. One irreverent member calls it the junta.

With 25 years of experience behind him, RIVERS has a sure grasp on the complicated undercurrents of congressional-military relations. He has made his way into almost every harbor, and knows by heart the location of all the sandbars. Moreover, he is one of the most arduous workers on Capitol Hill.

A senior member of Armed Services recently recounted that "there was a time early in January when our committee met at 10 o'clock, then in February at 9 o'clock, then in March we started to meet at 8 o'clock. In April and May we came in at 7:30 o'clock. Now (July) we even have meetings at 7 in the morning." The personal inclinations of the chairman are responsible for this extraordinary schedule. RIVERS finds it impossible to sleep much after 5 a.m., and is usually in his office at the Capitol before the sun is up.

While Congress is in session, Rivers resides in a ranch-style house in suburban McLean, Va. Other members of the family are Mrs Rivers, the former Margaret Middleton of Charleston; daughter Marion (named for Francis Marion, the Revolutionary War "Swamp Fox"), who is an employee of the House Committee on the District of Columbia, and L. Mendel Jr., who will enter Princeton University this fall. Another daughter,

Margaret, is married and lives in Grosse Point, Mich.

Even the most junior members of the Armed Services Committee say their chairman is highly solicitous of their welfare, and that he has persistently urged them to take advantage of the domestic and foreign "inspection tours" he can arrange. Rivers himself, a devoted traveler, spent a total of 46 days last year on official trips to England, Frnace, Germany, Italy, Spain, Switzerland and Turkey.

Whatever the cause, the solidarity on the committee has been impressive. On March 3, for example, Rivers had plenty of support when he introduced his billion-dollar bill to raise military pay. At the suggestion of Armed Services aides, all but three of his fellow committee members introduced carbon copies of the plan as their own.

Representative Smauel S. Stratton of upstate New York, who declined to sponsor the pay bill, was jolted to receive angry telegrams from servicemen's lobby groups within hours after he made his decision, and before the committee proposal could even be processed and printed. Stratton has turned out to be the most outspoken dissenter from RIVER'S rule, and twice has cast lonely record votes against otherwise unanimous committee actions. Outwardly, at least, the chairman is untroubled by this outcropping of dissent. "Stratton disturbs me as lightly," he informed reporters, "as the tilted swallow's wing disturbs the limpid glassy solitude of some clear pool."

The dominant mood on the Armed Services Committee today is an eagerness to prove that Congress, and not Secretary McNamara, is really the boss. Behind this are some McNamara mistakes as well as bruised egos on Capitol Hill. The lawmakers and their senior aids are particularly incensed by McNamara's reputation for perfection in all things, and are spoiling for a chance to show up his errors. RIVERS himself often pays tribute to McNamara's ability and accomplishments—but in the next breath recoils in anger against his lack of deference to Congress. "Who in hell is McNamara that we should be treated this way?" boils the chairman, recalling the lack of consultation about military base closings last fall. "As long as I'm chairman we're going to assert our constitutional rights."

It is tempting to predict, as many observers do, that with the elevation of MENDEL RIVERS, an irresistible force on Capitol Hill has been set against an immovable object in the Pentagon. This may be pessimistic, for since the days of George Washington the Nation's history is replete with congressional-executive conflicts over military affairs, and most of them ended in reasonable accommodations.

"All MENDEL is really trying to do is to let everybody know he is the chairman now," says an old friend, "and to show that Congress is an equal partner in defense matters. He'll make his points and he'll simmer down. He'll take his walk in the rose garden, too, just you wait and see."

The acquisition of great power often has a way of changing and tempering those upon whose shoulders it descends. In the case of MENDEL RIVERS, the very contemplation of power left its mark. A former heretic who bolted the Democratic Party to back STROM THURMOND for President in 1948 and Dwight Eisenhower in 1952, RIVERS was found last fall introducing Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson to the voters of Charleston along the route of the Lady Bird Special. Though he remains a strong opponent of civil rights legislation, RIVERS' voting record has shifted perceptibly toward support of the Johnson administration in other respects. In recent months he has voted for the food stamp plan, the mass transit bill, the poverty program, and the proposed National Council on the Arts, none of which is notably popular in the South Carolina low country.

Moreover, his personal behavior has become more muted since the time, not many years ago, when he was known far and wide as one of the champion hell-raisers of Capitol Hill. Several years ago he gave up drinking, and now vows fiercely that "I'm not going to touch alcohol as long as I live. I'm not going to do anything to hurt this committee."

Still MENDEL RIVERS has shown no public or private disposition to swerve in the boldly independent course he has set for himself in military affairs. In the words of PHILBIN of Massachusetts, he "never falters, never hesitates, never draws back once he is sure he is right."

Not long ago, for example, a witness before RIVERS' committee suggested that the battle over military pay be deferred once again until another White House study committee could mull it over. From the majesty of his flag bedecked throne high above the witness table, the Congressman from Hell Hole Swamp stared down with disfavor and disbelief. "This is my time," he answered firmly. "This is my generation. This is the only chance I'll have to do something for my country."

Hollywood Stars Shed Fear of Liberal Causes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article:

HOLLYWOOD STARS SHED FEAR OF LIBERAL CAUSES

(By Peter Bart)

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.—A posh new Beverly Hills discotheque called the Daisy was the scene of a party the other evening attended by a lustrous galaxy of Hollwood stars, directors and producers.

The affair, despite its gay trappings, turned out to be a costly one for the guests. By the end of the evening, Marlon Brando, Richard Burton, and Sidney Poitier had parted with $5,000 each. Harry Belafonte and James Garner were $3,500 poorer and Paul Newman, Burt Lancaster, and Mike Nichols were out $1,000.

FUNDRAISING

The party was tossed on behalf of a militant civil rights group, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), whose officials had appealed to the movie colony for support to meet a desperate shortage of funds.

The contributors turned out to include a surprising number of Hollywood luminaries—surprising because SNCC is generally considered to be the most radical and controversial of the major civil rights organizations.

Such activity could never have been possible under the reign of the old-time studio czars who kept their top stars under tight contracts and vetoed any controversial involvement.

This tradition was fortified during the late 1940's when Hollywood was under attack by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and "uncooperative" actors were quickly blacklisted.

In those days (and to some degree even today) actors who came out for liberal causes could count on being slapped down or snubbed by the conservative columnists such as Hedda Hopper, Louella Parsons or Mike Connolly.

ERASE FEAR

Today the residue of political fear seems to have been almost erased. At Hollywood social gatherings it is no longer considered gauche to talk about politics or civil rights. Even television stars such as Robert Vaughn, Dan Blocker, and Raymond Burr risk sponsor disapproval and speak out on political subjects.

Invitations to the SNCC party were signed by Harry Belafonte, Mr. and Mrs. Richard Burton, Mr. and Mrs. Burt Lancaster, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Newman, Mike Nichols, and Sidney Poitier.

Among the invited guests were Lauren Bacall, Lee Marvin, James Garner, Stanley Kramer, Nancy Wilson, and Tony Bennett.

After a cocktail hour, Poitier delivered a short passionate address in which he said that the Los Angeles riots were "only a symptom of the underlying social diseases eating away at the fabric of society." James Forman, executive director of SNCC, pleaded for funds and then the stars started calling in their pledges.

Brando tossed in his $5,000 and MAX Youngstein, the producer, who was presiding, challenged someone to meet this pledge.

"I'll meet it if you don't mention my name," shouted Richard Burton. "Such diction," marveled Youngstein.

James Garner, who had put up $2,500, offered an additional $1,000 if four persons would pledge $250 each; the four were quickly located.

Within 45 minutes SNCC was well over $50,000 richer and the stars returned to their drinks, sampled the buffet or took a turn at the frug or the monkey.

Veterans' Center in Mountain Home, Tenn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, we in Tennessee are certainly proud of the Veterans' Administration Center that we have in Mountain Home, Tenn.

We have one of the finest domiciliary units of the Veterans' Administration there and also a fine general medical and surgical hospital with 575 beds and 58 nursing care beds.

There was an excellent article in the Nashville Tennessean of Nashville, Tenn., one of the finest newspapers of the Nation, written by Max York. This article is so outstanding and about such a fine institution, I feel it should be brought to the attention of the Congress.

The article follows:

LAST HOME FOR THE OLD SOLDIERS

(By Max York)

MOUNTAIN HOME, TENN.—Drive through the gate and take a winding road through the trees past a big brick building.

Come to a wide street marked Dogwood Avenue. Turn right. See a place of trees and grass and park benches. Old men sit on the benches between the dogwoods and

cross the grass around an old-fashioned bandstands. They sit on the front porch of buildings that look like college dormitories, taking in the early morning sun.

Each man seems alone in his thoughts. Only now and then does one share his thoughts with a neighbor. These are men who live in the past. They remember.

Once there were wars. Once there were families and friends. Once they were young.

These are men who charged with Teddy Roosevelt up San Juan Hill. They endured the trenches of France in World War I. Now they are old and they have come here to live and die in dignity, the way an old soldier should.

This is the Mountain Home Veterans' Administration Center. A mile and a half away in downtown Johnson City, oldtimers still call this place the Soldier's Home, the name it was given when it opened in 1903. Today the center is more than just a soldier's home. It has a large hospital serving much the same purpose as the VA's hospital in Nashville, and it has a domiciliary.

The domiciliary is the home for old servicemen. Most of its residents are men who wore the uniform of one of the armed services during wartime. Others have peacetime service-connected disabilities. All have chronic medical problems which will not permit them to hold a job.

The resident buildings are much like Army barracks. Each man has a bunk and a locker for his clothing. A few men lie in their bunks. All bunks are neatly made, GI style.

In the basement of one of the buildings, Joe Nadeau sits at his workbench in a hobby shop. Nadeau is in his eighties, and is a bit hard of hearing, but he doesn't seem that old. He talks like a young man.

"Yeah, I build miniature houses," Nadeau says. "This is the old home place. I'm just putting the finishing touches on it."

He plugs an electric cord into a wall socket. A house lights up.

If you ask Nadeau, he will tell you about his part in the Spanish-American War.

"Eight of us boys from Augusta, Maine, joined up and were sent down to Fort Ethan Allen, in Vermont," he says. "We marched a lot and they tried us out to see how straight we could shoot. They gave us a blue uniform. After a while, they shipped us out to the west coast and we took a boat to the Philippines.

"We were in 2 or 3 skirmishes. The insurrectionists would fire on us from the fields. The bullets went over our heads. We fired into the bushes to keep those fellows from charging out at us with bolo knives.

"We had a good captain and he took care of us. We only lost one man. He drowned trying to swim a river with his uniform and rifle."

Outside, some of the men are busy at small tasks. Others have completed the work expected of them this morning. They are free until chow time.

"The Civil War boys used to parade down Dogwood Avenue in uniform," says John Benson, administrative officer. "They were old men, but still they marched. The place was pretty military then. It's strictly civilian now.

"The men used to come in by train. The side next to the railroad tracks used to be the front entrance. It's the back now. Things change. This used to be a self-sustaining community. It grew its own food, baked its own bread. That's not practical any more.

"That's Buffalo Mountain over there, and those buildings over there belong to East Tennessee State University. A lot of men travel a long way to get here. Some of them pass up other domiciliaries to get here. They come here because it's so beautiful."

The mountains seem blue through the early morning haze. A lone man sits beside a lake filled with Japanese lilies.

"They say Governor Brownlow was responsible for this place being here," Benson says. "He kept telling the people in Washington that the weather here was ideal for a home. Then when a group of them came down to inspect the area, the weather cut loose. It was just about the worst weather the town had ever seen. But apparently the Governor was able to convince them that it wasn't always that way."

At the theater, a couple of the domiciliary men are preparing the building for the Friday morning inspection. The brass shines like pure gold.

"This theater is a replica of the Ford Theater in Washington, the place where President Lincoln was shot," Benson says. "The buildings here were designed by Stanford White, the famous architect."

White also designed much of the decorative detail of Madison Square Garden. A few years after Mountain Home was built, White was shot to death by Harry K. Thaw. The two men were in love with the same beautiful New York actress.

Behind the stage, there is a replica of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington. It is brought out once a year for Memorial Day services. The beauty of the services here are said to rival those at Arlington.

Near the back door, there is a record player with a single record in the playing slot. The record is "Taps."

Open the door, and look out across gently rolling hills. Row after row, white grave markers dot the hills. Between the graves, bright red peonies are in bloom. Five mounds of clay disturb the landscape. Five graves are waiting. Soon five more men will join the 4,100 men representing every war from the Civil War to Korea.

"We keep five graves open at all times," Benson says. "That's just in case the weather isn't right for digging. We have our own greenhouse. Every man gets a bouquet of flowers for his grave. The funeral is a military funeral. We have a firing squad made up of men who live in the domiciliary. They wear uniforms representing all the services—leggings for the Navy, a white helmet for the Air Force, a white belt for the Marines and the regular Army uniform.

"Usually there won't be many people at the funeral. There will be the honor guard, the chaplain, and maybe one or two men who knew him while he was here. Most of the men have lost contact with friends on the outside. A lot of them have outlived family and friends. Not long ago, we buried a World War II man, and he had 23 cars at his funeral. A lot of the men who die here are buried in family plots somewhere else."

Col. Lee B. Harr, director of the center, says 432 men died here last year. In March this year, 53 men died.

There are no buglers around any more. The record with "Taps" has taken their place.

They say the chapel next door has been written up by Robert Ripley. It's shaped like an "I." You enter by the front door, and if you turn to the left you walk into the Protestant chapel. Turn right, and you walk into Catholic services.

In the nursing care building a woman volunteer in a gray uniform writes a letter for a man with no legs. A therapist is trying to get an old man to walk. The old man would prefer to stay in bed. The therapist knows a man can fight death more surely if he is standing on his own two feet.

"Leave me alone, dern you!" the old man says.

"A lot of men come here only with the clothing on their back," Benson explains. "We issue them a minimum amount of clothing. If they have a pension, they have to buy their own clothing. We issue no spending money. Some of the men don't have pensions. So they have no money to spend. We can't issue cigarettes any more because the Government considers them a health hazard. This can be pretty rough on a 75-year-old man who has been smoking most of his life."

On the front porch of one of the residence buildings, a group of domiciliary oldtimers sits in the sun, telling stories. All are in their late 60's or early 70's. All served in World War I.

"I was stationed down at Fort McClellan at Anniston, Ala.," says Sam Miller, one of the two blind men in the group. "It was Christmas. We were all in town celebrating. We had a curfew. Everybody had to be back on the base by midnight. The buses were crowded. Sometimes if you wanted to get in the bus, you crawled through a window. Well, I got there just in time for the last bus. It was about to pull out. I started crawling through the window. Somebody behind me got hold of my leg and pulled me out. The next thing I knew the bus was gone.

"Well, I started hitchhiking. This car pulled up. Somebody said, 'Get in, soldier.' I got in. There sat two generals. I said 'Excuse me, sir.' I started to get out, but they wouldn't let me. They wanted my name and serial number. I told them. They kept ribbing me.

"We went into the camp the back way, and after a while the car stopped. One of the generals looked over at me and said, 'Son, you reckon you could slip back into your company without getting caught?'

"I got out and saluted. 'Yessir, I think I can,' I told him."

"Captain Pugh (O. L. Pugh) here and I were down on the Mexican border watching out for Pancho Villa back before we got into World War I," says Mayo Foster, the other blind man. "He was down at Matamoros and I was over at El Paso. We saw plenty of cactus, horny toads and black snakes. The boys in my outfit used to dress up in civilian clothes and go over into Juarez to see the bullfights. There were plenty of girls over there and plenty of tequila and mescal."

"You had to be careful," Pugh says. "If they caught you over there in uniform, they had a right to shoot you. We would go into towns down there and find the bodies of 50 people in the streets where Villa's men had come in and shot anyone who opposed them."

"I was with the 115th Machinegun Battalion in France," Foster says. "I remember the wharf rats, the cooties and the mud. I came to a hole one day and I started to jump in, but luckily I looked in first. That hole was full of those rats. They were trapped in there. They were skinny. You could tell they were hungry. I decided to take my chances with the shot and shell.

"Englishmen would follow rats. They said if the rats were leaving a building, they were, too. I saw the rats leave a building one day, and 5 minutes later a shell hit it.

"Finally, I got gassed when a shell hit a tree near where I was. The wind was blowing right toward me. That did it. I couldn't talk for a while. They brought me home in a hospital ship. Never did get to see Paris."

"I was with a hospital unit," says Thomas L. Taliaferro, a man with one leg. "I was 7 months on the front. You never saw the like of legs shot off and arms shot off. Sherman was right. War is hell. I try to forget about it. I guess I've been right successful at it."

"I remember having hardtack and bacon for Thanksgiving dinner in 1917," says Henry C. Ross. "I was 24 years old, a sergeant in the engineers."

"My service was short and sweet," says Frank Bird, a Kentuckian. "I was in OCS

when the war ended. I had just been married 4 months and I didn't like the Army. They asked our group how many wanted to finish OCS. Only one man raised his hand. They let us out. My three boys served in the Navy in World War II."

"I met the Prince of Wales at a boxing match in London," Pugh recalls. "He sat next to me and smoked one of my Camels."

"The champagne and mademoiselles, that's all water under the bridge now," Miller muses.

Back in the street, a man on a bench waves.

"That's Angelo," Benson says. "He served in the Italian Army in World War I and in our Army in World War II."

Colonel Harr has been the center director since 1934, except for time out for service in World War II.

"There has been only one Civil War veteran here since I've been here," he says. "I heard one day that this man had checked in. I went over to see him. 'I hear you fought with Grant at Richmond,' I said. 'God, no,' he said. 'I fought that Grant for 4 long years.' So the last Civil War veteran here wore gray. A lot of time had gone by so he got to stay."

"You know," Benson says, looking out over the cemetery, "each of them in some small way was a hero. We've done what we could for them. We know this place isn't a home. But it does have dignity. A man needs dignity."

Project HOPE

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, a recent newspaper story in the Oak Park Oak Leaves illuminates the benefits that come to both sides involved with the humanitarian work of Project HOPE.

In the article, Dr. Harry T. Nagel, of Melrose Park, Ill., cites the accomplishments of the SS *Hope* in Guinea, Africa: 12 men trained in basic dentistry where only one dentist had existed; advancement in surgical, nursing and lab skills; vaccination of over 125,000 children.

But Dr. Nagel, who worked without pay aboard the ship for 2 months—with the exception of 2 weeks when he traveled to neighboring Sierra Leone to set up an immunization program—explains the rewards he received from his volunteer mission to Africa:

Sixteen-bunk dormitories (aboard the ship), affectionately known as "jungles," kindle a fellowship and understanding among men in a common cause, from which you reap unbelievable benefits, not to be equaled in any other way.

Mr. Speaker, with permission granted I place the Oak Leaves article in the RECORD:

Twelve thousand miles and two months is a lot of travel and a long time to be away from home. "But," says Dr. Harry T. Nagel, chairman of the pediatrics department of Westlake Community Hospital, Melrose Park, "every mile and every minute made an unforgettable experience. It is probably the most rewarding service a doctor can render."

Dr. Nagel, of course, was referring to his recently completed voluntary tour on the SS *Hope* to Guinea on the southwest coast of Africa.

The SS *Hope* (Health Opportunity for People Everywhere) is the principal activity of the People-to-People Health Foundation, Inc., Washington, D.C., an independent, nonprofit corporation. Its basic objective is to teach medical, dental and paramedical personnel in less privileged lands the latest techniques of U.S. medical sciences.

With the finest and newest equipment the SS *Hope* is office, laboratory, and classroom to its staff of specialists and 40 carefully chosen nurses. While treatment of the sick is a very important function of the ship and its personnel, the major *Hope* program is training and teaching.

Much has been accomplished by *Hope* and its men and women instructors. Great advancement has been made in surgery, hospital laboratory techniques, dentistry, anesthesia administration, and all other areas, among the native medical and health people.

When *Hope* arrived in Guinea the only anesthetic used was the old drop ether method. After the 2-month period more than a dozen male nurses were fairly capable anesthetists. There are no dentist in Guinea, but *Hope* training developed 13 native Africans into technicians of simple dentistry, extractions, fillings and cleaning.

The field of nutrition is given particular attention. One of the modern miracles on board is the "iron cow," an ingenious machine which converts sea water into pure drinking water. This water is then used to dissolve powdered milk, which in turn is cartoned for distribution among the natives.

The great majority of native African nurses are men, whose responsibilities, due to the scarcity of doctors, are far greater than their American counterpart. Male nurses are selected from the local hospitals and, in rotation, attend classes on board ship for 6 to 8 weeks.

The course of instruction, on the high level of American nurses' training, is so complete and thorough that upon "graduation" they are generally well qualified in all-around nursing requisites.

The lack of native female nurses results in making midwives a primary necessity. Most, unfortunately, are woefully lacking in the knowledge of the best practices. Large numbers of midwives are properly trained by the nurses in the large gynecological service on the ship.

In Dr. Nagel's opinion, the most noteworthy accomplishment in Hope's long list of successes is the effectiveness of an immunization program. Since October 1964, over 100,000 African children have been inoculated against whooping cough, diptheria, tetanus, and polio.

Except for 2 weeks that Dr. Nagel was "on loan" to the ministry of health in Sierra Leone, to aid in the establishment of their immunization program, S.S. *Hope* was also his home.

"Sixteen-bunk dormitories, affectionately known as 'jungles,' kindle a fellowship and understanding among men in a common cause, from which you reap unbelievable benefits, not to be equaled in any other way," Dr. Nagel says. "I hope I may again be privileged to give my time and services to the S.S. *Hope*."

Augustine La Corte and Unico National

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I report to my colleagues the election of my distinguished constituent, Augustine La Corte, as president of Unico National. "Gus," as he is known to his many friends, well deserves the honor. I extend warm congratulations to him and his charming wife, Sarah.

The motto of Unico National is "Service Above Self." It has lived up to its motto by fostering a scholarship program which has helped many young men and women to attain a college education, and ultimately go on to positions of leadership and responsibility.

Unico National is a constant reminder to the people of America of the great contributions made by Americans of Italian descent in our Nation.

I am sure that under the leadership of Gus La Corte, this fine organization will continue to grow and to render dedicated public service.

Render to Caesar and to God

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, the wild and lawless riots and demonstrations in Los Angeles recently still occupy much space in our communications media. However, a most unique and courageous sermon by the Reverend Robert B. Watts delivered at St. James-by-the-Sea Episcopal Church, La Jolla, Calif., is most certainly worthy of close attention and studied consideration.

Dr. Robert B. Watts resides at La Jolla, Calif. He was graduated from Bates College in Lewiston, Maine, and from the Yale Law School. Here he was a Phi Beta Kappa, and editor of the Yale Law Journal.

His illustrious career included being chief assistant U.S. attorney in New York City for several years and included repeated appointments as a special assistant to the Attorney General of the United States. He was National Labor Relations Board general counsel and argued many of its cases in the Supreme Court. For many years he practiced law in Chicago and New York. He was a director of General Dynamics Corp.

Father Watts was ordained in 1958 in the Episcopal diocese of Los Angeles. Before being ordained as a priest of the Episcopal Church Father Watts wrestled with law enforcement and legislative problems.

Reverend Watts' sermon of August 15, 1965, follows:

RENDER TO CAESAR AND TO GOD

(By the Reverend Robert B. Watts, LL.B., LL.D., D.D.)

Last night I laid aside the sermon which I had prepared for today, because of an irresistible feeling that I must offer certain suggestions and conclusions concerning the Christian response and reaction to the holocaust of riots through which we are passing—highlighted by the bloody events in Los Angeles.

Since this may well be regarded as a controversial sermon, I wish to make perfectly clear that it represents my own views as a

lawyer and as a priest. None of my colleagues in this parish is aware of what I am about to say. My notes have not been reviewed by anyone.

My views are presented by the authority which was conferred upon me at my ordination and, I believe, follow the guidance and impulse of the Holy Spirit. Incidentally, no individual priest or bishop can rightfully claim to speak for the whole church under ordinary circumstances, and I make no claim to be doing so now.

There is no need for me to recount the horrors of the riots which have been occurring, particularly in Los Angeles, during this past week. We have all followed the unspeakable events which have been and still are taking place there as well as in Chicago and in Springfield, and we all must have clearly in mind the earlier riots in our Southern States.

I speak today because I believe that many Christians are desperately confused about what their position should be in respect to these events.

That they are confused is readily understandable when one looks about and reads and listens.

No later than last Friday evening, the Bishop of California is reported in our press as having in San Diego criticized the stand of the Episcopal Church on civil rights. He is quoted as saying that "if people are kept busy making things for the ladies' bazaar they feel holy and good even though they may deny persons' rights to be persons." And he is quoted further as saying, "The secularist is just a nasty fellow when he demonstrates for civil rights."

You will note that the right reverend sir leaves quite a blank—at least in his published remarks—what constitutes demonstrating for civil rights. He thereby leaves the readers of his quoted remarks under the unhappy conclusion that any demonstration involving civil disobedience is all right and should be supported and accepted by Christians.

Would he say that the wild and lawless demonstrations in Los Angeles are all right? Or, if not, where would he draw the line? We simply don't know—and hence we are confused at what position a Christian should take.

But let us look at another ecclesiastical aberration, with which I desire to register complete opposition.

There has been advanced by various philosophical followers of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., one of the most extraordinary suggestions ever made in Anglo-Saxon or American legal annals. As a mixture of sophistry and soft-headedness, brewed by nonlegal or corroded legal minds, I assert that this suggestion has spawned the present wave of destruction now sweeping the country.

In brief, this proposed doctrine is that if any individual citizen or group of citizens, after meditation, come to the conclusion that any law is unjust; and further conclude that if apprehended he or they are willing to accept the penalty imposed for violation of the law—then it becomes morally justifiable to break the law openly and notoriously.

Of course the worst thing about this doctrine is that there are no dividing lines in it. If it is valid for a small violation, it applies equally to a more serious one. Once you start this approach there is no stopping. It is like a roller-coaster which nears the top of the track. Once you push it over a little bit, it plunges down all the way.

The amazing thing is that many clergy of this church, including both priests and bishops, have openly and officially accepted this doctrine. Episcopal clergymen have received written expressions of this doctrine for their guidance. And large numbers of clergy of this and other communions have been sent, or have gone on their own volition, to southern areas for the sole purpose of expressing racial concerns by open law defiance pursuant to this new assertion of moral right.

Finally, as sorely distressed Christians we see instance after instance or reluctance on the part of elected officials to meet lawlessness quickly and firmly lest there be an adverse effect upon their personal political careers at the ballot box. Thank God, not all our officials are of this character, but too many are.

All these things we see and hear and read. We are furthermore frequently assailed with bits and pieces of Scripture, with quotations which seek to justify a Christian "do nothing" attitude.

And the result is all too often complete confusion and deep concern over what is right for us to do as loyal Americans and good churchmen. We are morally disarmed and brain-washed. We are reluctant to act in defense of our liberties and our country. We are afraid to speak out and let our voices be heard in demanding a return to law observance by all citizens—white, yellow, black, red, priest, bishop or missionary.

What shall we do? What may we do as Christians?

In offering an answer, I do so humbly and with complete recognition of the right of others to reach the opposite conclusions which I have described, and with which I emphatically disagree. Moreover, what I offer does not assert to be the only answer. It is, however, an answer to which the Holy Spirit has given me guidance, and one which I believe to be valid both in law and in Scripture. And I shall be ready to defend it in any forum, whether ecclesiastical or otherwise.

Let us start with the basic legal fact that we live in a country where all ultimate power resides in the people.

By their representatives in constitutional convention, large areas of this power have been given over to the Federal Government, with other areas reserved to the several States.

Furthermore, certain individual rights and protections have been reserved for the people themselves, as set out in the Bill of Rights. Without naming them all, we are quite familiar with the fact that under our Constitution we are assured the protection of life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness (but with no guarantee that we shall be successful in that pursuit), freedom of speech, and freedom of religion.

But we should be equally familiar with the fact that none of these rights is absolute. Every one of them is held subject to equal rights in others. Thus, if we kill or commit grave felonies we may lose our liberty and perhaps our life. If we enter business to make a fortune, our ineptitude may result in our becoming bankrupt. If, in a public place such as this large church or a theater, we falsely cry "Fire," we have gone beyond the permissive limit of our right of free speech. And even though we feel deeply about our religion, we have no right to attempt to force others to believe or act as we do.

In brief, all of our rights are balanced by the protection of similar rights in others.

One final point requires mention. Since ultimate power is in the people they have the right, if a majority so desire, to overthrow their existing form of government and substitute another in its place. And if a majority have no such desire, they have the right to use all necessary power to suppress an insurrection or rebellion against them.

With these fundamental legal rules clearly in mind, we may proceed to evaluate for ourselves the legal and constitutional status of deliberate rioting, burning, looting, killing, and general destruction of the public peace—all in the name of civil rights demonstrations.

It should be perfectly clear that no asserted individual right can justify, under our system of government, the destruction of rights in others. It should be equally clear that neither you, nor I, nor any other person—however exalted he may be or regard himself—has the right to say that what was wrong before becomes morally right if the acting party is willing to be punished if caught.

Should any such warped thinking protect me if I were caught setting fire to a hospital? Should any such claptrap justify me in hurling Molotov cocktails at innocent travelers on the public highways? Should any such reasoning morally justify me in stopping the whole process of law enforcement in a great city?

The answer is, I submit, that which not too long ago propelled a somewhat obscure New Englander into the Vice Presidency—from which he succeeded to the Presidency. Paraphrased only as to one word, his answer was, "There is no right to demonstrate against the public safety." And with that, Calvin Coolidge crushed a strike by the police in the city of Boston.

That ringing declaration electrified the country. It stopped short a vicious new idea. It was correct under our form of government.

Now we are face to face with a whirlwind largely fostered and encouraged by our vacillation, our attempt at appeasement, and the participation of some of us in this new theory of morally justifiable lawlessness.

As our own Governor says, we now face insurrection—an attack upon the very existence of our own government. When that point is reached, we must first use overwhelming force to crush and destroy every vestige of danger; and then destroy this sickness of mind which has led so many to defy law and order.

But what about the theological problem? Can we, dare we, protect our way of government and our individual rights and still call ourselves Christians? Here I part with many of my ecclesiastical colleagues and give you a ringing "Yes."

And what is my authority? The only ultimate authority which our church recognizes—the Holy Scriptures. Read for yourselves verses 13 through 17 of chapter 12 of the Gospel of St. Mark. You all know the story.

It is the one in which the Pharisees sought to trap Jesus in an inescapable dilemma by inquiring of Him whether they should obey the civil law of Rome or the law of God. It was believed that either answer which might be given would destroy Him.

You remember how Jesus then called for a Roman coin and asked whose face appeared on the coin. The answer was "Caesar's." And then came the Divine response, just as valid today as then. "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and to God the things that are God's."

Jesus didn't tell them to decide whether they liked the Roman taxes, or whether the tax collectors were brutal and unjust—and, if so, to start a turmoil and demonstration by breaking the Roman law. He told them to obey the laws, and not to forget to carry our God's laws as well.

Is that reconciliation of rights and duties impossible for us to follow? Is the formula unworkable today? Can we, as Christians, use that resolution of our confusions?

I say we can and should; and I offer these three concrete suggestions as to how we can do it:

First, we should stand solidly in support of the Constitution and laws of our Government, resorting to the courts and not the barricades if we feel grievances. We must once and for all reject the doctrine of a morally justified civil disobedience.

Second, we should counteract the pressure which already has tremendous effect with some of our political leaders—to temporize

and compromise with lawlessness if only it be tagged "civil rights"—by exerting every ounce of our personal influence to encourage equal and courageous law enforcement.

Then third, having done these things, we should—as Christians—seek by all lawful and proper means to help our neighbors to achieve civic equality of treatment and betterment of opportunity for self-improvement. We should do as our young people of this parish are doing for 2 weeks, going to underprivileged people (in this case Indians) and helping them build schools and hospitals and other needed things. We should come to this and to other churches as power houses where we can worship God, be refilled with His power, and then go out into the world to teach His ways.

God's power is limitless. With it we can change the world, and if we are faithful it will surely prevail.

We Cannot Choose What Laws We Want To Obey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Al McIntosh, editor of the Rock County Star-Herald of Luverne, Minn., observed in a recent editorial, "We have heard a lot about rights but we have heard mighty little about responsibilities." That, in a nutshell, is the feeling of many Americans today, and, under unanimous consent, I include the McIntosh editorial in full in today's RECORD:

WE CANNOT CHOOSE WHAT LAWS WE WANT TO OBEY

The day may be coming when the individual may not be as free as he has been to decide what law he will obey—if he chooses.

Out of the tragedy of Los Angeles has come a public revulsion against those who take the laws of the land in their own hands.

Many in America, disturbed by the rising tide of violence and crime in America, have been sickened with the hoodlumism and crime that has made our cities deathtraps.

There is much talk of beautification and restoration of our cities. It is now time that the primary emphasis be laid on making the cities safe—and beauty secondary.

We have been through an era where the messiahs have preached nonviolence while winking at crime.

The picket line has been their answer for every problem. If you didn't like the school superintendent get out a picket line. If you didn't like the mayor organize a demonstration. If you don't like our policy in Vietnam then try to block troop trains by lying across the railroad tracks. If you don't like anything or anybody get busy painting placards.

The illegal demonstration has become the order of the day. In some cases Federal funds have illegally been used to hire buses to transport picketers to demonstrations.

We have heard a lot about "rights" but we have heard mighty little about "responsibilities." The messiahs, who have been terribly silent about responsibility have felt free to preach "kill, kill, kill."

This era is not over but the days of unlimited hoodlumism and criminal activity may be more limited than we now believe.

There is a growing awareness in the public mind that it is time to demand that citizen's right to be free of criminal violence comes ahead of his attacker's constitutional rights.

That is what Lewis F. Powell, Jr., retiring president of the American Bar Association, said recently.

Crime is our No. 1 domestic problem and criminal justice is in a terrible state of constitutional disarray.

Powell listed three symptoms of deteriorating law and order. They are:

1. Willful violations of law and court decisions, sometimes by officials sworn to uphold them.

2. The doctrine that only "just" laws should be obeyed and that every man is free to determine for himself what is "just."

3. The growing use of coercion from demonstrations and sit-ins to street mobs as a means of enforcing political views.

The protection of the individual comes first, beyond the constitutional rights of the defendants.

No society can long endure where the individual determines for himself what law he will, or will not, obey.

Local Initiative Aids Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WESTON E. VIVIAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of my colleagues here in the House, one of the finest local efforts now going on in support of education in Blissfield, in the Second District of Michigan, the district I am privileged to represent.

In Blissfield, on the evening of Saturday, September 18, citizens will gather at a folk song festival, to support the Mary Magdaline student loan fund. This event, supported by local Blissfield organizations such as Rotary, Kiwanis, and Jaycees, is to raise money for a college loan fund for a graduate of Blissfield High School.

Just last week, we here in Congress also set aside money for loan funds—for graduates from schools throughout the Nation. The higher education bill, of which I was one of the sponsors, passed both the House and the Senate. But as Blissfield, Mich., demonstrates, much can be done and is being done at the local level with local effort and local initiative to foster education, to assure that every single youngster in this country can gain the opportunity to receive all the education he or she is capable of using. I intend to be at the Blissfield High School, on September 18, and I hope that the event will be a wonderfully successful one.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD the editorial from the Blissfield Advance of August 12, 1965, which explains the aim of the Mary Magdaline student loan fund:

SONGFEST FOR A STUDENT LOAN FUND

As a memorial to the late Mary Magdaline DeLoach, following her death on August 1, 1964, her family established a student loan fund in her name to be administered by the Blissfield Board of Education.

It wasn't a large sum, but it was sufficient to allow one Blissfield high school graduate to attend college this past year on borrowed money.

This was one of Mary Magdaline's principal interests during her lifetime, providing both the incentive and the opportunity for learning. She counseled a number of students who came into our home, encouraging them to prepare themselves for the future, trying to help them realize their aspirations.

It is time now to replenish the fund, if we can. And we think we can do so by sponsoring a folk song festival here in Blissfield.

Tentatively, the date of Saturday evening, September 18, is open for use of the Blissfield high school gymnasium, to present a public entertainment.

Esthetically, it should be a smashing success.

Financially, we hope people come in such numbers that we can pack the gym. It holds 1,600 at a basketball game, 2,000 with seats on the floor. Wouldn't that be marvelous? I think it can be done.

Already, we have received some encouragement. There is a heightened interest in folk singing. Recording artists whose albums are selling like hot cakes seem to indicate a trend. The popularity of campus hootenannies broadcast on television appears to be undiminished.

Professional balladeers are finding bookings easy, and audiences appreciative. Amateurs, when given a chance, love to perform. Many of the songs are so well known that sing-alongs are often the best part of the musical fare.

I think there is something deeply satisfying in a melody you share with others. Remember the songs we used to sing as boys and girls around a campfire? Remember the cluster of friends around an organ of a lamplit evening? And how lustily we lifted our voices at the family reunions and picnics and alumni get-togethers.

In all of human endeavor, nothing offers so much of a double dividend as enjoying yourself thoroughly while at the same time benefitting a worthwhile cause.

That's why I have high hopes that Blissfield's first folk song festival will bring crowds and crowds, and be the first of many.

Some professional talent has volunteered to make an appearance here as well as some talented amateurs whom it has been our good fortune to hear. The board of education has shown its interest by waiving a fee customarily charged for use of the gym since the proceeds all go into the student loan fund.

September 18 is still 5 weeks away, but if there are no slip-ups, when that evening arrives, all I can say is "Y'all come."

Statement in Support of H.R. 168

SPEECH

OF

HON. RAY ROBERTS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 168 introduced by the distinguished chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, the Honorable OLIN E. TEAGUE. This bill is similar to my bill, H.R. 10391. As a combat veteran, I am pleased that the Committee on Veterans' Affairs has reported this bill and recommended its passage.

Mr. Speaker, Congress has long recognized the sacrifices made by our veterans who have sustained disability as a result of service in the Armed Forces of this great Nation. We have sought to pro-

vide them compensation in the form of financial remuneration and to provide adequate hospitals and medical facilities. The present system of disability compensation dates back to 1933 under the Roosevelt administration. Rates of compensation for our service-disabled veterans were last increased in 1962.

H.R. 168 proposes a 10-percent increase in the compensation payments to our disabled veterans adjusted to the nearest dollar. These increases are designed to compensate for the increases in the cost of living. The figures recommended by the committee will bring our rates of compensation more closely in line with increased living costs.

I support this bill because I believe that there is no greater service than service to our country. We must assist our fellow veterans who have made great sacrifices for the sake of preserving our Nation and our way of life. I strongly urge the passage of this bill.

Democratic Freshmen in Congress Get Help for Reelection Fight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH HARVEY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, the September 8 Wall Street Journal article I am calling to the attention of my colleagues is typical of some of the Johnson administration tactics and efforts to reelect as many of the Democratic freshmen as possible in 1966. Because of the obvious subterfuge of the related techniques it seems to me this informative article deserves maximum distribution.

The article follows:

DEMOCRATIC FRESHMEN IN CONGRESS GET HELP FOR REELECTION FIGHT—MINDFUL OF THEIR SUPPORT IN KEY VOTES, THE ADMINISTRATION AIDS THEM IN HOME DISTRICTS

(By Alan L. Otten)

WASHINGTON.—A few days ago, about 50 bankers, businessmen, farmers, school administrators, county officials, and other residents of Representative JOHN HANSEN'S Iowa congressional district came to Washington at their own expense for 2 days of briefings on the multitude of Federal programs available to help their area.

They heard poverty-fighter Sargent Shriver, Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman, Housing Administrator Robert Weaver, and more than a dozen other top spokesmen for the Great Society.

The session was organized by Representative HANSEN, but the turnout of so many high officials was due less to his ingenuity or persuasiveness than to another attribute: Mr. HANSEN is one of 48 freshmen Democratic congressmen who last November unseated Republican incumbents.

President Johnson badly wants Mr. HANSEN and his 47 colleagues reelected next year to provide, as they have this year, the vital margin for passage of crucial Great Society bills. The word has gone out through the administration to do everything possible to give these all-important freshmen a helping hand.

White House staffers, agency officials, the Democratic National Committee, and House Democratic leaders are all joining in the most ambitious freshmen aid program ever.

FAVORS FOR FRESHMEN

Agency officials turn a specially attentive ear when freshmen call for help on a stymied project for the folks back home, and make sure the newcomers get the chance to put out the first announcements of defense contract awards new housing or public works projects, and other Federal favors for their districts. House leaders arrange helpful committee assignments for the newcomers (all four freshmen from Washington State got their first committee choices) and try to insure at least a full hearing for bills that might particularly help them.

The White House includes freshmen at publicity-producing bill-signing ceremonies, and it's a rare freshman who doesn't now have two or three Presidential pens. Every month each of the 48 receives a notice of all Cabinet members and other top appointees who will be in his district the coming month on Government business and will be willing to stay to speak at a fund-raising lunch or dinner.

The national committee arranges for each freshman to meet secretly, with a White House man sitting by to show the President's interest, with Congressional liaison men from a dozen or more agencies; the lawmakers are told to be quite specific about the ways they need help from the agencies. The committee has assigned half-a-dozen special staffers to the freshman contingent—to write speeches and newsletters, help with special problems in administrative agencies, recruit staff (and even persuade one man that it would be poor politics to hire as his chief administrative aid the 27-year-old son of his biggest campaign contributor). The committee also has elaborate arrangements to teletype the lawmakers' press releases directly to city rooms of hometown papers and to transmit recorded or filmed statements swiftly to back-home radio and TV stations.

RESULTS BACK HOME

There's evidence that this special interest is yielding meaningful results where it counts back home. Representative WESTON VIVIAN, of Michigan, feels his freshman status helped make the Small Business Administration sympathetic to a hometown insurance company whose reserves had fallen because of unusually large tornado damage claims. Representative ROY MCVICKER, of Colorado, found that a call to the White House helped a constituent get a hearing—previously refused—on a claim for disability benefits from the Federal agency he'd been working for.

Hearing the Senate might soon act on a Republican-sponsored bill to set up a Herbert Hoover national historical site in Iowa, House leaders tabbed for early action a similar measure sponsored by freshman Democrat Representative JOHN SCHMIDHAUSER; it was his bill that became law.

For quick voter impact back home, Representative JOHN RACE, of Wisconsin, phones the Democratic National Committee a statement that the Giddings and Lewis Machine Tool Co., of Fond du Lac, has received a $16,000 contract to train 60 workers in electronics and machine assembly; Representative DAVID KING, of Utah, phones that the U.S. Information Agency has just informed him the Mormon Tabernacle choir has been invited to represent the United States at the Toronto fair of 1967. A recording machine at party headquarters takes down the Congressmen's statements and relays them to radio stations in their home districts.

What's more, the committee made special arrangements to air express to TV stations in Representative WILLIAM HATHAWAY'S district in Maine, for showing that same night, his filmed announcement of administration approval for building the Dickey Dam on the St. John River.

"We still have to work to get things done," concludes Michigan's Mr. VIVIAN, "but the word is clearly out not to slam doors in our face just because we're low on the committee lists."

Declares Representative ROBERT SWEENEY, of Ohio: "My father was a Congressman and I used to be around his office and I worked on Capitol Hill part time when I was going to college. I've never seen any freshman class paid so much attention. But," he adds, "it's bread cast on the waters for the administration."

This session's legislative record makes vividly clear the reason for the administration's concern for the future of the freshman class. Again and again the 48 new House Democrats who replaced Republicans have provided the votes to attain Mr. Johnson's major goals.

From this group came no less than 46 House votes against the Republican alternative to the administration's medicare bill—a proposal rejected only by 45 votes. Forty-four of the newcomers voted for the new Department of Urban Affairs, approved only by 33 votes. Thirty-nine of them voted against the House Republican motion to kill the administration's rent subsidy plan, rejected by a mere six votes.

Says Majority Leader CARL ALBERT: "This is a very dedicated group. Without them, we couldn't have passed aid to education, medicare, rent subsidies, and a good many more. We want them back."

CONFIDENT OF COMEBACKS

Administration officials seem increasingly confident that most of the 48 will be coming back for a second term. "Many of these were flukes in the first place," says a White House strategist. "They were carried in by the Johnson landslide or the anti-Goldwater landslide, however you want to call it. But incumbency has some advantages, and most of them feel that being part of a Congress that has produced so much important legislation will help. And then there's all we're doing to help them. I'd say now that barring a real Republican tide next year, there's only a handful that won't come back."

To be sure, many ingredients of the Democrats' freshman aid program are not new or unique. Republicans try to do somewhat the same for their Congressmen; being in power, though, permits the Democrats to do far more for their incumbent lawmakers. Many aid techniques are available to all House Democrats, and have been so before, but it's the narrowly elected freshmen who need and use the help the most.

Not all the freshmen are enthusiastic about the aid program. Mr. Schmidhauser says, "There's a lot of talk about the advance information we get, but the fact is I still find out about a lot of new Federal programs in my district by reading about them in the papers." Another freshman complains, "There's a tendency among national committee officials to spend more time bragging about what they're doing than actually doing things."

AN AILING PROGRAM

Several freshmen share the view of Representative FLOYD HICKS, of Washington, that "The most important thing they can do to help me get reelected is to get this session adjourned so I can get back home and start talking to voters." Colorado's Representative MCVICKER, vice president of an informal club of freshmen Democrats, maintains that "If they'd give us an air credit card, they could forget about everything else. We're killed by the cost of those weekend trips back to the district to keep up our contacts."

Some Democratic devices haven't worked out too well, either. This year national committee officials launched an effort that seemed like a natural: To get an unofficial

campaign organization set up in each freshman's district that would staff his office there on a volunteer basis, carry on year-round voter registration campaigns and line up speaking invitations for him (with the round-trip fare home paid by the inviting group).

To advance this notion, three two-man teams held over 40 meetings around the country. But, partly for fear of the wrong public reaction, very few of the freshmen have tried to follow up on this spadework, and a national committee official concedes: "It's not working as well as we'd like. A number of Congressmen were scared by the publicity the meetings received back in their districts."

Boulder Youth Corps Fights "Poverty Amid Riches"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, much has been written in recent months about the scandals and the shortcomings of the war on poverty. It is therefore particularly gratifying to me to be able to call to the attention of the Congress a project in my district which is helping to build a generation of good citizens.

Boulder County, Colo., is a revatively wealthy community, boasting fertile farming areas, a thriving industrial complex and a stimulating intellectual environment, nurtured by the University of Colorado.

But like all such communities, Boulder County has problems. How it is coping with one of those problems is graphically described by Thomas R. Wolzien of the Boulder YMCA staff in an article written for the national YMCA magazine. It is a progress report on Boulder County's Neighborhood Youth Corps program, sponsored by the Boulder YMCA and spearheaded by its able young director, Ken Karr.

I am including the text of the article in the RECORD.

The article follows:

"The thing I like best about the NYC program is knowing that people care about what becomes of you."

The speaker could have been a 17-year-old girl who dropped out of school during the ninth grade, or a 20-year-old 10th grade dropout, or an 18-year-old married girl who left school after 10th grade. All are enrollees in the Boulder County, Colo., Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) program, sponsored by the Boulder YMCA.

Many areas of the United States have been tagged "pockets of poverty" by Government economists. Many areas could be called pockets of riches. But few counties have the problem of "poverty amid riches," as does Boulder County.

The center of Colorado's booming research and development industry and home of the University of Colorado, Boulder County faces the problem of how to employ a significant number of unemployed and undereducated residents put out of work with the collapse of the county's coal mining industry during the last two decades.

Before World War II, Boulder County was one of Colorado's largest coal mining areas. With the advent of automated mining equipment, more desirable gas and electric heating, and exhaustion of coal resources in the area, great numbers of men with mining their only skill found themselves unemployed.

Their children—those who have been forced to leave school to help support their families—are among the young people receiving aid from the Boulder County Neighborhood Corps through a work-training program.

The program places youth in newly created jobs at nonprofit and governmental organizations to accomplish work not previously done throughout the county. No employees of any organization are replaced by young people working under the NYC program.

Soon after the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was adopted, civic minded Boulder County residents began planning for the establishment of an NYC program in the county. Under the sponsorship of the YMCA and endorsement of city, county, State, business and labor officials, a program proposal was submitted to the U.S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration in February 1965. The proposal and a $73,390 grant for 20 weeks operation were approved 2 months later.

Boulder's NYC program, the first of its kind in Colorado, draws its 70 enrollees from young people between the ages of 16 and 22 who are unemployed and no longer in school. About 85 percent of the enrollees are high school dropouts.

During the typical workweek, enrollees spend 4 8-hour days working at job sites through Boulder County. Enrollees are training to become clerk typists, auto mechanics, welders, electricians, plumbers, building maintenance men, and secretaries under the program.

At job sites, enrollees work under the direct supervision of a staff member of the organization for which he is working. Supervisors are responsible for teaching enrollees as much as possible about the job for which the young person is responsible.

Enrollees spend 1 day each week in individual or group counseling sessions. During group sessions participants discuss financial problems, learn how to establish a budget, how to apply for jobs and employer expectations of young workers.

Individual counseling periods take up personal problems of enrollees, family relationships, work habits and enrollee abilities and aptitudes. Participants are given the general aptitude test battery and other tests to help determine their potential abilities and skills.

Approximately 50 percent of the enrollees are from minority groups in a county where about 12 percent of the population could be considered from minority groups. Fifteen percent are married; many have young families.

Why did the young people enroll in the program? One boy said, "When I first heard about it I thought, 'Man, here is my chance to get some kind of training where I won't undergo cross-examination to see if I had experience or not.'"

"Getting jobs through the NYC program may sound easy to many," said Ken Karr, project director, "but it's all new to these youngsters. They have to apply for the job themselves. We don't place them in a specific job; just in the program. We feel that enrollees must learn about the real world of work as part of their training."

From what conditions do NYC enrollees come?

One 18-year-old girl arrived in Colorado from northern Louisiana in mid-1964 with her parents, husband, and baby daughter. She dropped out of school during 10th grade to get married. Her family moved to Colorado hoping to find better jobs and less discrimination. Although she did not plan to reenter school when she began the NYC program, she now hopes to take business courses during the 1965–66 school year. Under the NYC program, she is training to become a secretary.

A young man who finished only eighth grade is married and has one child. Before entering the NYC program, he had drifted from one unskilled job to another and finally was unemployed for 10 weeks. Now working for a city-owned electric company, the boy says he thinks the NYC is a "real good program. I think if people help it along it can do a lot of good. There are not a lot of opportunities for people like me when they (most employers) won't give us jobs."

Why did he drop out of school at 16? The young man said he was behind in every class in every grade. His parents were divorced when he was 12. From that time until he turned 16 he was shuttled from one foster home to another all across the country.

Seeing how hard it is to get employment without schooling, one enrollee keeps encouraging his friends to stay in school. "I tell them they had better get an education. They see how hard a time I've had. I tell them not to quit school," he said. This enrollee was never encouraged to stay in school or reenter before he joined the NYC program.

NYC counselors encourage dropouts to gain more education by returning to school full time, taking night school classes, or attending a trade school.

To the question of whether participants like the NYC program, the answer is an overwhelming yes. In a survey of more than half the enrollees, 87 percent said that they would like to remain in either the in-school or out-of-school NYC programs in October 1965, when the current contract expires.

One 17-year-old girl who last attended ninth grade wrote, "I think the NYC program is wonderful if kids are willing to try. And I think all of us realize how lucky we are to have somebody who is willing to help us get started in life. I owe a big thanks and more than words can ever say to all of the people connected with this program. All who support it the consulars [sic] and the supervisors. Thank you all."

The most frequent complaint heard from enrollees is that they are not allowed to work enough each week. Most would like to be employed at least 40 hours a week. One girl said, "I wish the working hours were longer, but since this is a Government operation, it can't be helped."

Other complaints reflect the nearly experimental aspect of the program. Problems have been encountered in finding enough job sites for all enrollees and developing a curriculum for group counseling sessions to interest young people differing in age and experience by up to 5 years, according to Project Director Karr.

Karr said, however, that program operation in general is quite satisfactory. Some enrollees have been dismissed from the program. One was asked to leave for continued absence from his job, while another was dismissed because of consistently poor work habits.

In Boulder, the underlying philosophy of the NYC program is that effort spent today in educating and making stable workers of untrained youth will more than pay for itself by keeping enrollees' names off welfare rolls in years to come.

Organizations for which enrollees are working are required to pay 10 percent of the total program cost of $83,750 for the first 20-week program. The Federal Government pays the remaining 90 percent. After the first 2 years of operation in the area, funds will be provided by the Federal Government and local organizations on a 50–50 matching basis.

Enrollees may remain in the program for up to 2 years. All enrollees, however, are encouraged to find other work as soon as they can learn a basic skill through NYC.

Boulder's YMCA board of directors has approved a new project proposal to extend the program for an additional 6 months until April 15, 1966. Additional personnel will be added to the existing staff to help enrollees needing immediate remedial or vocational education. The Boulder school district has agreed to provide facilities and equipment for further vocational training. NYC in Boulder County currently employs a director, two counselors, and a secretary.

Perhaps the most encouraging story to come out of the Boulder County NYC project is that of a 20-year-old boy who hitched a ride to Colorado because the State was one of the few where he could find relief from asthma attacks. His parents could not afford to move to a dryer and higher climate from Illinois where they live.

After arriving in the Boulder area, the boy found a few odd jobs, but was unable to make enough to live. He was discovered in the Rockies west of the city with the clothes he was wearing his only possessions by a local minister.

After a week, during which he found several jobs through the Boulder YMCA's job referral service, the Youth Employment Service, he was worked into the NYC program as a business machine repair aid for the Boulder Valley school district.

Recently, the office machine repair supervisor for the school district said that he will hire the boy as a district employee when he completes his NYC training. However, the young man has found an occupation which he likes and now wants to gain further training in office machine repair, perhaps through one of the large office machine manufacturers.

Hawaii's Sugar Workers Highest Paid in the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I am very proud indeed to call attention to the fact, at a time when sugar legislation is presently under consideration by the House Committee on Agriculture, that Hawaii's sugar workers are the highest paid in the world.

According to statistics released by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, a nonprofit organization of plantations and individuals united for the purposes of maintenance, advancement, and protection of the sugar industry in Hawaii, the average daily earnings of Hawaii's sugar workers reached a new high of $25.22 in June 1965.

This increases the existing wage gap between Hawaii's sugar workers and their counterparts elsewhere in the United States and the world, according to an August 18, 1965, Hawaii Tribune-Herald story which reads as follows:

HAWAII'S SUGAR WORKERS HIGHEST PAID IN THE WORLD—SUGAR PAY AVERAGE HITS $25.22 A DAY

Average daily earnings of Hawaii's sugar workers reached a new high of $25.22 in June, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association reported.

This increases still more the wage gap between Hawaii's sugar workers—already running far ahead in front—and their counterparts elsewhere in the United States and the world, the report said.

The $25.22 breaks down into $18.93 in cash wages and $6.29 in fringe benefits.

For the first 6 months of the year, the average daily earnings came to $24.53.

These figures compare with average daily earnings of $24.10 in 1964.

No directly comparable figures were immediately available for other areas. However, latest available figures issued by the U.S. Department of Agriculture last year for field workers only show these amounts: Florida, $11.92; beet area, $11.28; Louisiana, $10.49; and Puerto Rico, $7.10.

Small Centers May Be the Answer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal of criticism directed at various aspects of the war on poverty program. Not a little bit has landed on the Job Corps.

It was refreshing, therefore, to read in one of the Ninth District's fine newspapers an editorial account of the Branchville Job Corps camp near Tell City, Ind.

I commend this article to those who would try to gain a better perspective of the kind of efforts that are being made to help thousands of young Americans find a better life.

SMALL JOB CORPS CENTERS MAY BE ANSWER TO TROUBLE

We came away from a day-long visit to the Branchville Job Corps Center near Tell City last week with a deep appreciation of the task faced by foresters who are operating the program and no less sympathy for the young men who are struggling to overcome the serious handicap which has been thrust upon them more by environment than by lack of ability.

We visited the Branchville Center after reading at length about the troubles in the Job Corps operation at Camp Atterbury, and it was about the same time as our visit to Branchville that trouble developed at the Kentucky center. Consequently, we were apprehensive about what we would find at Branchville. What we found, however, was a serene camp in a beautiful wooded setting, small enough that all of the youths there get to know one another, and well enough staffed by dedicated people that trouble would be difficult to start.

Another factor is that we are convinced that all of the youths at Branchville are there because they want to be, and they want to be there because they realize that without some kind of help in obtaining a basic education and vocational training, life ahead is going to be more of the same that they had been accustomed to. About half of the youths at Branchville came from big city slums. We talked to several boys who were from New York City where they had lived in abject poverty, unemployed, undernourished, undereducated and with an almost hopeless future.

We admired one young colored youth who had been homesick, but bravely declared while pointing at his head "I'm not leaving here until I put something up here.

We were aghast at the lack of education of most of the youths. Our guess is that many of the young men had never been inside a school building. Living among the masses in the big city slums, it would be relatively easy for them to escape the compulsory school laws. And most of the youths come from homes which are broken or vice-ridden. The environment was the lowest possible.

Most of the youths have records of minor crimes and misdemeanors, but the Job Corps does not accept youths who have been convicted of major crimes or felonies. Most of the minor crimes involved petty larceny or disorderly conduct. No wonder, though.

George Smith, director of the Branchville Center, observed that 15 of the youths sent to his camp so far have been unable to read or write. That means just what it says. They could neither write their names or recognize them if someone else wrote them.

There has been virtually no trouble with the boys at Branchville, but most disturbed youths were those who could not read. Smith said, however, that once they began their reading course and were able to begin reading anything, the disciplinary problem with them virtually vanished.

An indication of the low level of education among the Job Corps youths was given by Leon Kridelbaugh of Bedford, the U.S. Forester who is coordinating Job Corps activities at Branchville and at Vesuvius, Ohio.

At Vesuvius, 50 of the youths there wanted to enlist in the Army after President Johnson made his speech several weeks ago about the situation in Vietnam and when he announced that draft calls would be doubled and that more volunteers were needed.

A recruiter was summoned to the center to conduct tests. Fifty boys took the preliminary test which is quite brief and simple. Fourteen passed. They were then sent to a recruiting center where they were given a more thorough mental test. Two passed this test and one of the two was finally accepted for military service. The other 49 returned to the Job Corps camp.

The point we wish to make in this article, however, is that if all of the Job Corps camps were like that at Branchville, trouble would be at a minimum.

As Smith explained, "we get the bottom of the human barrel here. We get the uneducated, potential criminals from the worst environments." He conceded that it was a major challenge to try to develop these boys into useful citizens. But it is our opinion after observing activities at Branchville that the camp officials are having remarkable success. And it was truly inspiring to observe the spirit and determination of the youths there, many of whom were sleeping in good beds and eating three square meals a day for the first time in their young lives.

Instead of large Job Corps centers where many hundreds or even thousands of these youths are congregated, it would be far better, particularly for the youths themselves, if they were assigned to the rural camps such as Branchville. Here the youths become part of a large family, all coming from similar environment and circumstances, all seeking a chance in life.

Furthermore, we can think of no better persons to operate such camps than foresters and we doubt that the staff at Branchville could have been better if the members had spent all of their lives in preparation for the job.

We are not proponents of Federal aid to anything, but we'll buy the Branchville program. It is a great humanitarian effort and we wish it complete success.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include my Washington Report to my constituents for April 1, 1965:

A CHALLENGE FOR AMERICA'S CLERGY

(Washington Report from Congressman JIM MARTIN)

This week I wrote to Bishop John Wesley Lord, of the Methodist Church to suggest a program whereby America's clergy could lead a great crusade that would strike at the roots of the problem facing the Negroes in the South. I explained to Bishop Lord the real trouble is economic—the lack of opportunity in counties of the South where as high 80 percent of the population is colored and tied to a soil which is no longer productive. With little education and no industry these people are forced to eke out a meager existence. It is beyond the economic capability of the Southern States to solve this problem.

My challenge to Bishop Lord was that he as a religious leader who has expressed concern for the Negroes of the South by marching in Selma, urge the Methodist churches across the Nation to join in helping to relocate Negroes from the South who would like to move to another section of the country where they can have equal opportunity for a good job at good wages so they can raise their families in the best American tradition. If each church would take a family or 2 or 10 to the vast areas of this bountiful country where Negroes comprise less than 10 percent of the population, welcome them into their communities in the true spirit of brotherhood which is the basis of our Judeo-Christian beliefs, help to retrain them, get them jobs, within 5 years, or at the most 10, most of the problem would be solved.

Bishop Lord answered me with a form letter explaining his reason for going to Selma, but completely ignoring the contents of my letter to him. This is the sad part of the present situation—too many feel that basic problems can be solved by demonstrations and by working up passions against a particular section of the country and its officials, but are unwilling to face the true facts of the cause of the disease, much less put forth the effort it will take to help all Americans truly realize the American dream.

AID TO EDUCATION

This week the House debated and passed the Federal aid to education bill, disguised as a bill to help the children of the poor. I opposed the bill and voted against it on final passage. I am against general Federal aid to education and that is the real purpose behind the President's bill. It will lead to further increased pressure by the heel of federalism on the people and the States. A natural followup of this bill will be complete Federal control of local school systems and compete dictation by a Federal bureaucrat from Washington, making local control of our schools and the efforts of the PTA a thing of the past. Lest you think this is just scare talk on my part, let us look at the minority views in the report on H.R. 2362, the President's bill:

'This bill is a thinly veiled attempt to launch a general Federal aid to education program by means of a spurious appeal to purposes which it would not adequately serve. It manages to incorporate the worst features of general aid with the worst features of specialized aid, while dispersing limited funds to 90 percent of our school districts without regard to need."

The minority views further contain this startling statement:

"This bill contains very dangerous provisions which would permit the U.S. Commissioner of Education to establish Federal-local schools and facilities without the approval of a State education agency and financed 100 percent with Federal funds. This is the most direct and far-reaching intrusion of Federal authority into our local schools systems ever proposed in a bill before Congress."

I pointed out the hypocrisy of the bill, and of those who have been encouraging the Selma demonstrations, in a speech to the House in support of an amendment to the bill by Congresswoman EDITH GREEN, of Oregon, to actually make the Federal funds available to the children of the poor. Under Mrs. GREEN's amendment, Alabama would receive $13,602,000 more than we will under the President's bill. Further necessity for the amendment is indicated in the figures which show that the President's bill will give Alabama $140 in aid for each schoolchild in poverty while in New York the amount will be $353 per schoolchild in poverty. Yet, Alabama's effort amounts to $4.21 per capita income as against $4.69 in New York, almost the same. No Alabamian can justify such inequality. If the bill is to help the children of the poor, why would our children receive less than half the amount that a child receives in New York, one of the richest States in the Union? Naturally, the administration forces shouted down the Green amendment.

Further, inequities under the President's bill are shown in figures which reveal the 10 most wealthy counties in the United States receiving twice as much in grants as the 10 poorest counties. For instance, Montgomery County, Md., a suburb of Washington, D.C., is the wealthiest county in the country with an average annual income of $9,317 per family. This just happens to be more than eight times the average family income in Tunica County, Miss. In Tunica County 54 percent of the school-age children come from families with a yearly income of less than $2,000. In Montgomery County only 2 percent of all school-age children come from families with a yearly income of less than $2,000. Yet in the President's bill Montgomery County will receive $572,000 while Tunica County will receive $350,000, or almost a quarter of a million dollars less than the richest county in the entire United States. The result of the President's bill, which he says is to "help the impoverished," actually makes the rich richer at the expense of the poor who are paying Federal taxes to help underwrite this program.

Demolishing Some Economic Myths

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by Robert G. Spivack which appeared in the September 3, 1965 edition of the New York Journal American.

Mr. Spivack, in publicizing Prof. Delbert Snyder's book, will help destroy the economic myths he discusses.

The article follows:

DEMOLISHING SOME ECONOMIC MYTHS

(By Robert G. Spivack)

Although the Republican Party is fragmented, with its moderate and right-wing groups engaged in a fierce struggle for control, there remains one area of agreement among all factions—the desirability of "economy in government."

Now as the war in Vietnam begins to show its effects, the Eisenhower and Goldwater wings of the GOP insist we must make a choice between guns and butter, between military necessities and welfare "luxuries."

The argument has surface plausibility, but is it soundly based?

The feeling that everyone, including the Government, should seek to live within his means, and that failure to do so is irresponsible and even immoral, is closely linked to what we were taught as children. Debt is sinful. In the case of the national debt, there will be retribution in the form of inflation and national bankruptcy.

If such are your convictions, or if the whole topic leaves you feeling unprepared and uneasy, find yourself a copy of "Economic Myth and Reality (Prentice-Hall) by Prof. Delbert Snyder of Miami University at Oxford, Ohio. This slim volume is a lively and provocative discussion of the common myths about the way our economy works.

Reading it is like taking a refresher course in economics and you can expect some surprises. These are among the myths that Professor Synder demolishes:

The value of the dollar is determined by its gold backing;

The primary purpose of taxes is to furnish revenue to the Government;

Automation is a curse;

Labor unions are primarily responsible for the high standard of living of the American worker; and

Tariffs against foreign goods are necessary to protect jobs and our standard of living.

Politicians of all schools, not Republicans alone, have made a ritual of paying homage to "balanced budgets." But Professor Snyder shows the ways in which the Federal budget differs from that of an individual household. The same "rules of prudent behavior," he insists, do not apply to both.

In theory and by example he explains lucidly the need in time of recession "to develop a deliberate budget deficit, either by increasing Government spending or by decreasing tax rates, or both." To do otherwise, to try through reduced governmental spending to balance the budget, results in "a still greater reduction in national production and income and therefore in the source of tax revenue." The recession is inevitably deepened.

The corollary of this approach, he suggests, is the "conscious creation of budget surpluses" when the economy is experiencing or threatened with inflation.

It is Professor Snyder's gift that he makes all this not only intelligible but interesting.

During recent ad hoc hearings conducted by several New York Congressmen on the policy we ought to pursue in Vietnam, an economist who favors complete American withdrawal and whose sympathies appeared to be with the Vietcong took the same line as that of certain Republican spokesmen.

He did not urge curtailment of Federal spending for welfare purposes, but he did argue that the costs of the Vietnam conflict were throwing the whole economy out of kilter. From this premise he argued, not on "moral" but on economic grounds, that it was unwise to remain on the course the President has charted.

If the war continues there's likely to be considerable propaganda by those, with different and often conflicting motives, to the effect that American boys are suffering and dying far from home, while here the stay-behinds live in luxury and comfort.

But this is altogether different from saying that the Government must now begin to choose between cut-backs on welfare programs and meeting our military needs. For the foreseeable future we are able to afford both.

Curtain Lifts a Trifle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID S. KING

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. KING of Utah. Mr. Speaker, the tremendous feats of space exploration of the last few years have been marred by the aura of secrecy and the cut-throat competition between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union particularly has kept its space program shrouded in mystery; telling virtually nothing about experiments either before or after they are attempted, and revealing very little about whatever scientific facts are subsequently uncovered. The United States has at least told beforehand of launches and has released most scientific discoveries made. More importantly, the United States has allowed the space flights of her astronauts to be reported in their entirety to the country and the world.

A new step toward understanding was taken recently when President Johnson invited the Soviet Union to send an observer to the launching of Gemini 6 in October. While it is not immediately apparent what the response of the Soviet Government will be, the importance of the Johnson invitation is apparent. The President is attempting to encourage communications between the two space giants. At the same time, he is demonstrating the U.S. confidence and capability in space.

An editorial which appeared in the Salt Lake City Tribune August 27 recognizes the importance of the Johnson venture. I think that these opinions merit a wider public disclosure and, therefore, present them here:

[From the Salt Lake Tribune, Aug. 27, 1965]

CURTAIN LIFTS A TRIFLE

In inviting the Soviet Union to send a top scientist to the launching of Gemini 6 next October, President Johnson made a gesture of good will which emphasized the openness of American society. It is also possible that, by providing a grandstand seat, he would like to impress the Soviets with U.S. accomplishments in space exploration.

Press dispatches from Moscow indicate the Kremlin is not likely to accept, perhaps believing that Mr. Johnson hopes an exchange of visits can be arranged later. The United States has announced its space flights in advance and has given them full publicity while in progress. The Soviet Union has been far more secretive, though in recent months more and more information has been released.

This week the Kremlin lifted the curtain a bit further with the premiere of a documentary film about Lt. Col. Alexei A. Leonov's first walk in space. The movie shows Leonov emerging from Voskhod II and floating freely in space. Also included are brief closeups of the assembly of a booster rocket, the interior of Voskhod II while in orbit and unusual scenes of the recovery of earlier cosmonauts along with their heat-charred space vehicles.

The film emphasizes Soviet achievements without revealing Soviet secrets, a course the United States has always followed in the coverage of its space flights. Obviously the spur of competition has awakened the Kremlin to the value of publicity.

We hope the trend continues. When restrictions on communication are lifted, better understanding is almost inevitable.

Vietcong's Goal Is Overthrow of Existing Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the Vietcong's goal is the overthrow of the existing government. This is the conclusion of James V. Hall, AID official in Vietnam and a former East-West Center grantee, after a tour of duty in Vietnam. Mr. Hall's views were expressed in an interview by the Honolulu Star-Bulletin on September 2, 1965. The newspaper account reads as follows:

NOT IDEALISTS, OFFICIAL SAYS—OVERTHROW REGIME IS VIETCONG GOAL

The Vietcong should not be visualized as simple, downtrodden peasants struggling against overwhelming odds.

Neither should they be considered a collection of insidious fiends bent on terror and destruction, according to a visiting AID (Agency for International Development) official.

James V. Hall, AID official in Vietnam and a former East-West Center grantee, said last night "both of these idealized concepts do great harm to a deeper understanding of what is going on in Vietnam."

Although there may be among the ranks of the Vietcong some idealistic young men fighting for what they believe to be right, they are far from being representative of the Vietcong, Hall said.

"And although there are certainly some insidious and diabolical thugs among the Vietcong," Hall said, "they, too, are not representative of the Vietcong as a whole."

The plan of the Vietcong, he explained, is "a protracted struggle conducted methodically in order to attain specific intermediate objectives leading to the final overthrow of the existing order."

In this master plan, Hall said, no one individual matters; no one thing matters.

The only thing that matters is the final overthrow of the existing government, he said.

Concerning the civilians' role in Vietnam, Hall said, eight free world nations from Europe, Asia, and America are providing much needed medical assistance.

"In all," he said, "52 doctors and 147 medical assistants from nurses to laboratory technicians are working daily, sometimes around the clock, to save lives and provide medical care which could otherwise be lacking."

The eight nations are Australia, France, Italy, Japan, South Korea, New Zealand, the Philippines, and the United States.

The largest single contingent comes from South Korea, he said.

Hall pointed out that problems to be worked on during the coming year in Vietnam include the elimination of the black market, improving customs and tax collections and foreign exchange control and the establishing of priorities for allocation of manpower.

Victory for L.B.J. and OAS

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include at this point in the RECORD, Virginia Prewett's recent column on the progress which is being made in the attempts to reach a solution to the Dominican problem. The article points out the importance to the United States of the recent break in the stalemate and of the OAS action which helped bring that break about:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Sept. 3, 1965]

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC PACT VICTORY FOR L.B.J. AND OAS

(By Virginia Prewett)

The settlement of the Dominican stalemate is a great triumph for President Johnson's foreign policy. It is equally a triumph for the OAS majority who backed up U.S. policy in Santo Domingo in the face of shrill criticism.

Obviously, the die-hard Communists and the die-hard military clique in Santo Domingo will remain threats to the Dominican nation's chances for peace and reconstruction.

But both sides have long since lost both their domestic and foreign support. As the realities have grown clearer with time, the hemisphere-wide hubbub over "intervention" in Santo Domingo has gradually died down everywhere except among the extremists.

TOP CHANGE

The most significant change of front has been that of the Christian Democratic Party.

At one time, this group which controls Chile's administration, officially supported the thesis that the OAS peace force should be withdrawn from Santo Domingo and the Caamano Deno faction should be recognized as the legal government of the republic.

Chilean officials also condemned the United States and OAS actions in Santo Domingo as an "outrage."

However, the meeting of hemisphere Christian Democratic leaders, held in Venezuela very recently, voted for the formation of a Dominican provisional government—the United States and OAS solution.

DECLINED SUPPORT

The 30 Christian Democrats who attended the meeting also declined to support the Christian Democratic representatives from the Caamano Deno camp against those from the junta side. The Dominican factions were told to settle their own differences.

Meanwhile, in the Dominican Republic, the intransigent military and the Communist

hardliners tried up to the last to prevent a peaceful setlement.

For instance, the mortar shells fired into the OAS peace force on the eve of the final accord obviously came from the northern sector controlled by the Imbert forces.

GAMBLE FAILED

The Imbert junta's last-gasp gamble for popular support on Sunday, August 29 proved a resounding failure. The junta promised to get out 100,000 supporters. Less than 10,000 showed up.

On the rebel side, the die-hard Communist groups also failed more than once to prove they had popular support. And the sincere Democrats around Col. Caamano Deno have had a prolonged object lesson during the months when they have been bottled up with the extreme leftists.

For at the beginning of the enforced truce, the leftist extremists were estimated to control less than a third of the militants around Colonel Caamano. But Colonel Caamano gradually saw the Communist militants get control of about two-thirds of his penned-up force. At times Colonel Caamano himself was virtually their prisoner.

Socioeconomic Forces Assure Vending's Global Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, when this body recently passed the Coinage Act of 1965 it solved some pressing problems for many businessmen. Among those is the young but flourishing food vending industry. One of the Nation's outstanding manufacturers of food vending machines is located in my district and I was very proud sometime ago to see that the organization, the Vendo Co., was presented with an "E" Award by the Department of Commerce for excellence in international trade. At that time, the president of the company, E. F. Pierson, outlined the story of the rapid growth of the industry both here and abroad. I commend his remarks to you, Mr. Speaker, and to our colleagues:

SOCIOECONOMIC FORCES ASSURE VENDING GLOBAL INCREASE

The concept of automatic merchandising is spreading throughout the world at a much more rapid rate than is generally recognized.

In virtually every country, on every continent, a total of more than 5 million automatic venders sell approximately $5,800 million of merchandise annually.

On a global basis, automatic merchandising is growing at a rate of 16 percent annually, and there is nothing on the horizon to indicate it has reached its peak. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe vending has only begun a long upward climb.

For many years, automatic merchandising has been considered one of the important growth industries of the United States, and it is still growing at a healthy rate of 9 percent each year, 50-percent faster than the 6-percent increase shown by gross national product. As a matter of fact, vending in this country has consistently topped itself in sales each year for the past four decades; last year's $3.5 billion represents an alltime high. Differences between this country's rate of growth and that of the world at large are explained in terms of a greater volume of sales here, as well as the rapid expansion of overseas markets.

As vending expands its worldwide scope, it is affecting many related fields of activities. Its impact on other areas is revealed in the following figures:

Steel: More than 92,000 tons of steel and 62,000 tons of tin plate are used in the manufacture of vending equipment.

Automotive industry: Approximately 78,000 cars and trucks service vending machines, using 240,000 tires and 98 million gallons of gas annually. Gasoline requirements equal 57 tank cars each working day.

Agriculture: Total farm land under cultivation for raising products sold through venders amounts to 1,850,000 acres.

Each year, the following amounts of products are sold through venders:

[In millions of pounds]

Nuts	140
Sugar	1,025
Corn	100
Tobacco	256
Wheat	138

The entire yield of approximately 178,000 cows is required for vended products.

Packaging Materials: Items packaged in paper, plastic or foil for vended candy, food, cigarettes, and other products number 14,500 million annually.

Paper cups and cartons alone, stacked one on top of the other, would stretch 410,000 miles—from here to the moon and almost back.

TRENDS ASSURE GROWTH

In looking ahead to the continued expansion of vending in the marketplaces of the world, we see that the same elements which have formed a pattern for vending's rapid growth in the United States exist virtually every place in the world today.

Three fundamental trends assure vending's growth on an international scale: Rising populations; bettered economic conditions, due in great part to new prosperity through increased industrialization; and a new sociological concept of the dignity of the individual.

In every country in the world, rising populations are swelling consumer markets. The population explosion is not confined to any one nation or continent. The Gallatin Annual of International Business lists these annual population percentage increases: United States, 1.6; India, 2.3; Germany, 1.3; France (metropolitan areas), 1.2; the Netherlands, 1.3; United Kingdom, 0.8; South Africa, 2.6; and Japan, 0.9.

Far more significant, however, than the sheer increase in numbers of persons on the globe, are socioeconomic developments which are literally changing the face of our world.

MORE JOBS, BETTER PAY

Emerging nations, bettered standards of living, greater industrialization of former agricultural nations—all these things are creating a new concept of man and his place in society. As more and more countries move from agricultural to industrial economies, more jobs become available in technical and production fields, offering better pay than those which for centuries provided the only type of work available. These jobs are creating new middle classes in many countries which formerly recognized only very wealthy and very poor groups. The very existence of these new middle classes acts as a leaven throughout society, putting new emphasis on the dignity of the individual man. Native ability rather than the accident of birth, is the new criterion. On numerous levels, man now enjoys greater freedom and greater opportunity to advance his personal fortunes than his forbears ever knew.

Along with this new concept of the dignity and worth of the individual, however, frequently comes resistance to time-honored forms of livelihood. Changing concepts of occupational status often make it difficult to obtain help in such vital areas as personal catering. As new jobs unfold, and men see glimmering vistas ahead of even greater opportunities, there is less and less inclination to enter work areas which are traditionally associated with catering to the needs of others.

In this new world, where bettered economic conditions are frequently accompanied by shrinking labor supplies in basic service areas, vending fills a gap between ancient customs and modern demands. By placing volume food catering on a self-service basis, vending frees the individual man from the role of servant, while at the same time providing modern facilities to take care of stepped-up demands for food and refreshment in the new marketplaces of the world.

SHORTAGE OF FOOD WORKERS

Shortages of labor in the food service field in the United States have become increasingly apparent in recent years. These shortages include both top-level supervisory people and those who assume less responsibility, down to and including busboys and cleanup help. At the top, the shortage is less noticeable to the casual observer. There are many fine dining establishments, operating on a very prosperous basis. Behind the scenes, however, competition for food supervisors is keen. Although 59 colleges in the United States are accredited to offer food service degrees, there are not enough graduates to meet the demand, and enrollment in these courses is not showing the tremendous increase evident in other academic areas. Young people with food service degrees are eagerly sought out by restaurateurs, but the managerial group which is being developed is not sufficient to fill all available positions.

A logical way for management to solve the need for food service supervisors is to dip into secondary levels and elevate cafeteria managers and hostess-managers to positions of greater authority. In some cases this is a good solution, but for the most part it merely compounds the problem of staffing a good restaurant or cafeteria, taking individuals away from jobs where they are making valuable contributions, and creating new vacancies at lower levels.

It is as difficult to find qualified persons for second-level food service jobs as it is to find managerial personnel. There is a sharp decrease in the numbers of workers entering the food service area at secondary or lower levels. Who wants to cook or make salads or wait tables or clean when he or she can get a job with better pay or better hours at a local industry? Many of these persons regard their jobs as temporary, until something better comes along.

An official of the Hilton Hotel organization remarked recently that one of his major problems is finding and keeping trained and dependable persons for semiskilled and unskilled jobs. In order to staff their kitchens, chain hotels conduct training sessions for kitchen and restaurant personnel in virtually every city in which they operate—and repeat these sessions endlessly, in order to keep up with normal labor turnover.

In their search to find help, many major hotel and restaurant chains have been reaching into European labor markets to recruit workers. But now, with unparalleled prosperity in Europe, this supply is dwindling. Men who formerly took pride in being waiters or assistant cooks now often aspire to a different kind of work; girls who normally would look for work as waitresses now want dress-up jobs.

AUTOMATIC SERVICE A SOLUTION

In casting about for ways of solving this problem of insufficient help, some companies

are turning to vending for their volume food operations. In large-scale food programs, where many persons are served regularly, vending has already made a significant impact on food service in this country.

The preparation of food in central kitchens for distribution to outlying points makes it possible to reap several benefits. In the first place, fewer workers are required, and the services of top echelon people can be used to best advantage. Secondly, those who work in central kitchens have the advantage of regular hours, steady work schedules and production-type jobs—significant factors in stabilizing employment. In the third place, food of consistent quality can be served on a volume basis, meeting today's sophisticated demands for high quality even though food is mass-produced and mass-served. Last and by no means least, substantial savings of time and money may be effected with vending.

We have termed this new concept of food service a "revolution in distribution"—and we can look for a much more rapid development of automatic service in other countries than we have seen in the United States. Many things have already been pioneered—vending equipment, packaging, methods of preparing food and serving it. Engineering, market research, public acceptance—much of the basic work has already been done, and techniques need only be applied as the demand arises in other lands. Timing is still the important thing, but it is more a matter of when than how.

JAPAN WELCOMES VENDING

Japan, with the only modern industrialized economy in Asia, is making rapid strides in vending. As Japan moves toward a broad-based consumer economy, large-scale foreign competition is forcing wages up.

Japan's GNP shows the highest percentage increase of any nation during the past 4 years—66.6 percent, as compared with 7.9 percent for the United States. Japanese people have more money to spend than they did formerly, and they like to spend it in a manner which reflects a westernized way of life.

Automatic coolers for soft drinks and coffee venders are found in many public places in J..pan today. Service stations and garages offer their customers automatic refreshment; offices have coffee venders in convenient locations. A number of completely automatic food facilities have been opened in urban centers, and people respond readily to the concept of automatic service. The "snack" eating habit, so prevalent in the West, fits into the Japanese custom of eating a number of small meals a day. I have noticed that while older people always sit down to dine, whether they are eating a full meal or merely drinking a beverage, young people are adopting the practice of eating a snack out of hand as they stroll about. As Western and Eastern customs merge, automatic merchandising is finding ready-made acceptance.

LIVELY EUROPEAN MARKETS

In my recent travels I have had occasion to observe the casual manner in which Europeans take automatic venders for granted. Especially in West Germany I was impressed with the amount of vending on the autobans. Both food and refreshment are available to motorists in automatic venders in wayside stations. I would say there is a good deal more highway vending in Germany than in this country, and in terms of speed and good food at reasonable prices, it is a boon to the motorist.

Germany, where labor receives the highest wages in Europe, offers a lively market for the full range of modern vending equipment. Its recreational and leisure-time activities are booming—bowling, boating, touring, and so forth, and all consumer tastes are sophisticated, commensurate with a growing discretionary purchasing power.

France, which still has substantial inequities in income and living levels, is also moving in the direction of a high-consumption economy and French metropolitan centers offer new markets for vending. Italy, surging with unmatched speed into our 20th century industrial renaissance, is sending national purchases to record levels. In Italy there is increasing emphasis on vocational and on-the-job training, because of a high percentage of unskilled workers, and a brand new worker class is coming into being, representing great consumer potential.

MEXICO'S BREAKTHROUGH

One of the most dramatic settings for a vending installation in any part of the globe is found in Mexico City, at the new National Museum of Anthoropolgy. In this beautiful building, one of the most handsome in the world, a modern automatic cafeteria offers a remarkable contrast to the wonders of an ancient civilization. In the midst of a great treasury of Mexican art and culture, an installation of automatic food and refreshment venders provides the most advanced type of volume food service the world has devised. Mexican citizens are feeding pesos into the venders at a rate which surpasses expectations. Sales from the automatic cafeteria, in fact, are greater than those of a conventional cafeteria in the same building.

Also in Mexico City, coffee venders are being used in new office buildings as management copes with the "break" concept which is basic in today's workaday world. Office hours from 8 to 5 mean that employees must either have on-premise sources of refreshment, or be allowed to leave the premises—and management absorbs the loss when work schedules are interrupted by trips away from the office. Automatic venders, by providing a convenient source of refreshment, keep workers in the buildings and help make labor more productive.

In 1960, for the first time in Mexico's history, the urban population outnumbered the rural, and there is a rising middleclass and professional elite. Per capita income, although rising, is still only between $400 and $500 in urban areas, but Mexico's forward progress makes it inevitable that it will represent an excellent market for all types of consumer products in the years ahead.

I could list specific examples of the growing acceptance of vending in many other countries. In the United Kingdom, vending is well on the way to becoming a national way of life, as installations in factories provide good, low-cost food for industrial workers, and street venders offer a convenience for the average citizen. In many European countries, "store front" vending has been practiced for many years, bridging the gap between consumer demands and restricted hours of sales. In Saudi Arabia, the popularity of carbonated soft drinks is opening the way for expanded automatic service.

In virtually every instance, vending is adapted to meet a specific need. It is both flexible and universal, and there is every reason to believe that in the years ahead we will see an acceleration of automatic merchandising on a worldwide basis which will make everything which has happened to date in our vigorous industry seem scarcely worth mentioning in comparison.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my newsletter, Washington Report, of April 6, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT—THE VOTING RIGHTS BILL

(By Congressman JIM MARTIN, Seventh District, Alabama)

Congress is going to pass a voting rights bill. My personal belief is that no new legislation is necessary. There are enough laws on the books now to protect the right of every qualified American citizen to vote without discrimination because of his color, his race, or his religion. Proper enforcement of present laws would assure that right. However, we are faced with a situation which is unprecedented in American history. The President has demanded that Congress pass a bill on voting rights and, spurred by the emotion which is gripping our country at the present time, Congress will pass such a bill. So when Members of Congress vote on this bill they will not have the choice of either taking the President's bill or have no bill at all. The only chance we have to defeat the President's bill, with all its discrimination and retaliatory moves against the South, is to adopt a better bill. We can protect the right of qualified citizens to vote and at the same time preserve the constitutional guarantees of the States to determine election laws and voter qualifications.

I have been working unceasingly for such an improved bill and the Republican Members of the House will offer one as a substitute for the President's bill. While the Republican bill still does not meet fully my original conception, it is a much better measure than the President's bill.

1. The Johnson bill applies to only a few States and only to a few counties in other States where there is a literacy test and less than half the adult population was registered or voted in the last election. The Republican bill applies to the Nation at large including every State and every county in every State where discrimination in registration and voting is being practiced.

2. The Johnson bill undertakes by statute rather than constitutional amendment to outlaw poll taxes in State and local elections. The Republican bill does not deal with poll taxes.

3. The Johnson bill authorized a State to win an exemption from coverage by proving that it had not practiced racial discrimination against a single individual a single time in the last 10 years. This is a reversal of the concept that the accused is presumed innocent until proven guilty. Since the Republican bill applies to all States, there is no need for such a provision.

4. The Johnson bill provided that, after the effective date of the bill, no State legislature could enact an enforceable change in its voting laws without first bringing a lawsuit for a declaratory judgment against the United States in the Federal court in the District of Columbia seeking prior approval. The Republican bill, recognizing that such a procedure violates the doctrine

of separation of powers, States rights, and the very definition of the Federal system itself, has no such provision.

5. The Johnson bill outlaws all literacy tests in States covered by the bill. The Republican bill provides that a sixth-grade education will raise a presumption of literacy and that those with less than a sixth-grade education may still be able to prove that they are literate.

6. The Johnson bill fixes criminal penalties against both officials and private citizens for coercion and intimidation of prospective voters. Since the mandate against racial discrimination in the 14th and 15th amendments runs against officials only and not private citizens, these penalties are subject to constitutional attack. The Republican bill provides penalties against officials only.

This brief explanation clearly shows that the Republican bill will safeguard the constitutional rights of the States and individuals. This is the problem Congress will face to take the President's disastrous bill or the Republican bill.

There will be no other choice.

To reiterate my own position:

1. I believe that every qualified American citizen should have the right to vote.

2. I believe that right is guaranteed under present laws and that no new legislation is necessary.

3. I believe that we must prevent the President's bill from becoming law if we are to save our present form of Government, a representative Republic.

It Is Reds Who Want To War, War Not Jaw, Jaw

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, the United States has not been idle by any means in seeking a solution to the war in Vietnam. The Sacramento, Calif., Bee, in an August 31, 1965, editorial, recapitulates the efforts made by our Government and other nations since last summer to encourage discussions which will ultimately lead to honorable negotiations.

I commend this editorial to the attention of my colleagues:

IT IS REDS WHO WANT TO WAR, WAR NOT JAW, JAW

For the record, it should be emphasized that the U.S. declaration that it is willing—and will remain willing—to negotiate its quarrel in Vietnam is not an idle pronouncement. It has backed up this assurance repeatedly with overtures for the last year and intercessors concerned with the trend of things in Vietnam—England, for example—have at the urging of the United States appealed to the Communists to cease fire and talk.

To document that record, let us go back to late summer, 1964, and pick it up from there.

In August 1964, U.N. Secretary General U Thant at the suggestion of the United States offered to visit Hanoi and Peiping to discuss resolution of the Vietnam crisis. He was spurned by the Reds.

In February 1965, Britain proposed that the Geneva Conference be reconvened to explore the dispute. Communism balked.

In April 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson in a speech at Johns Hopkins University offered "unconditional discussions" and the Communists charged: "Swindle."

In the same month Foreign Secretary Patrick Gordon Walker of Great Britain went on a peace mission to Hanoi and to Peiping. In both capitals he was refused an audience.

There were two other developments in April—nonalined nations urged a settlement and North Vietnam and Red China refused to consider the petition. India called for a cease fire and maintenance of present borders. Peiping and Hanoi both vetoed the proposal.

In May 1965, President Johnson called off bombing raids over North Vietnam for 5 days to demonstrate this Nation's anxiousness to negotiate and all the moratorium won from the reds was the smear: "Hoax."

Also in May, a Canadian envoy asked of Hanoi its conditions for peace and was told this would require the unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces. This, of course, was neither possible nor feasible.

In June, Britain's Prime Minister Harold Wilson sought to set up a peace plan and was branded by Peiping as a "nitwit." In July, a British leftwing leader, Harold Davies, went to Hanoi to seek the Communist's terms. He too was rejected.

So reads the record of the American and the free world effort to bring the Communists to the negotiations table.

Mao Tse-tung may have summed up the Communist attitude most precisely when he said one does not negotiate a war away when one is winning.

China and Southeast Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID S. KING

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. KING of Utah. Mr. Speaker, as the fighting wears on in Vietnam, we in America are beginning to learn what it is to fight this new and stubborn enemy; we are beginning to learn what makes him act and think the way he does. Yet, we must not tire of learning more about him; as long as the Asian Communist is our enemy, he is our concern.

I feel that the American people should look carefully at what another Asian has to say about Chinese Communist ambitions. Dr. Purnendu Kumar Banerjee had 2½ years of service as India's Charge d'Affairs in Peiping before coming to the Indian Embassy in Washington as Minister. He gave an address on July 14, entitled "China and Southeast Asia" in which he describes the Communist Chinese mentality and ambitions in an acutely interpretive manner.

While I want to stress that I do not take sides in the unfortunate clashes of the past week between India and her neighbor, Pakistan, I do feel that Dr. Banerjee's comments are worth careful consideration.

The speech follows:

CHINA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

(By Dr. Purnendu Kumar Banerjee)

As all of you know, the Chinese Communists are followers of military conquest. I will start with a quotation from Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Chinese Communist Party. "The struggle for socialism may require nuclear war. No one can foresee the number of human lives which a future war may take. It may be one-fourth of the inhabitants of the world. Half of mankind could easily be destroyed, but the other half would survive. In half a century, or a whole century, the population would grow again by more than half." This statement was made in Moscow in 1958.

Here is another statement made later on regarding the liberation movement in southeast Asia and South America. "The war will be a bridge over which mankind will pass into a new era in history. The world can only be reorganized by means of rifles. We stand in revulsion of war—we have no use for it. But war can only be abolished through war. If you want war to go out of existence, stick to the rifle and the battlefield." This is the philosophy of China, and through this philosophy China is trying to conquer southeast Asia.

CHINESE COMMUNIST OBJECTIVES

All of you know of the aggression that took place in November 1962. To most of you it is known as a territorial problem, but it is not a territorial problem. It is a symptom of the political ambitions that China has in southeast Asia, and it is a very significant symptom. I firmly believe that if this territorial problem were settled, that there would still be the Chinese threat.

China's ambition is to influence, if not to control, the whole of Asia. One of the major objectives is India. The Chinese are therefore continuing their effort, using military, political, economic, and diplomatic methods. The Chinese will again apply military methods to India at the time that suits her and at the place convenient to her.

Now look for a moment to see how Communist China lives today. Economically, politically, and communistically they have made certain progress. I have seen malnutrition, but I have never seen starvation in China. They seem able to equalize the poverty.

You find a deep rift between the Soviet Union and China. What the future will be is very difficult to say. I believe that the rift will develop further between the two Communist parties, but not between the two countries.

Some of the western European countries are watching the Chinese market. However, the Chinese Communist market is now a very limited market. The Chinese do not have enough foreign exchange to buy the things they want from abroad. In addition, the Chinese have to pay for the grain that they need to buy each year from countries like Canada, Australia, and Argentina. Also it is not possible for other countries to have trade with China on a profitable basis because the type of consumer goods and light industrial goods the Chinese are producing are not quality goods, and they will not find a market in an advanced country.

THE COMMUNIST METHOD

Chinese political diversity depends on military preparedness. The Chinese have the largest land army in the world, including about 200 divisions. These divisions are not equipped in a sophisticated way, it is true. But their equipment and training fit into China's plan of infiltration, guerrilla warfare, and subversion. These are the characteristics of the Communist wars in Asia, in South America, and in Africa. From that point of view, the vast land army, traditionally equipped with small arms, is just suitable for the purpose.

To achieve their objective, the Chinese are applying a twofold method. One is an interparty approach, and the other is an interstate approach.

On the interparty approach, they have tremendous differences with the Soviet Communist Party. The Chinese are claiming the leadership of the Communist world and the leaderhsip of the Communist Party. They realize that it may not be possible to take that leadership away from the Soviet Union, so they are concentrating on Asian, African, and Latin American countries. The Chinese tell the underdeveloped countries that they can't wait, that they must achieve "liberation" through militant and other violent means.

In this interparty struggle, you find that the Chinese Communists have tremendous influence in the non-Communist countries of southeast Asia for example in the Japanese Communist Party which is the largest Communist Party outside of the Communist world, and also in the Indonesian Communist Party.

In my country we have a Communist Party, and there is a split. One section is supporting Peiping, and another section is supporting the Soviet Union.

On the interstate level, you find that China is being very correct in her relationship with other countries. They are trying to influence at a state level so that their impact at a party level will be more effective. In some of the non-Communist countries, the Chinese have been very cooperative and helpful to the governments concerned. The whole thing has been planned, and there is a definite line of action.

THREAT TO INDIA

Very few people, outside of the southeast Asian area, have realized the great threat of Chinese communism to southeast Asia. My country is one of the first to become a victim. But we are not afraid. We are rooted in the democratic principles, and we have adopted a constitution with freedom and democracy as important cornerstones.

The Chinese threat, and certainly the Chinese attack, was a very great shock to us. Our economy is not a war economy. Our objective is to improve our people—to educate them, clothe them, and give them medical help. These are our problems. We had never thought that a neighboring country which had been talking all the time in terms of peace and friendship would come and stab us in the back. But now we have resolved to meet the Communist threat on all fronts. We are willing to make sacrifice because we are defending our hard won freedom, our democratic way of life, and our desire for peace.

We know in India how dear these values are to you in America. * * * We appreciate the very timely help and assistance you gave us, when we needed them most, to stop the Chinese aggression. We also hope for your continued help, your assistance, and your example.

Murrow's Indictment of Broadcasting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COMPTON I. WHITE, JR.

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the second half of the late Edward R. Murrow's speech on the future of radio and television, which has been published in the Columbia Journalism Review:

MURROW'S INDICTMENT OF BROADCASTING

DOLLARS OR DUTY

Sometimes there is a clash between the public interest and the corporate interest. A telephone call or a letter from the proper quarter in Washington is treated rather more seriously than a communication from an irate but not politically potent viewer. It is tempting enough to give away a little air time for frequently irresponsible and unwarranted utterances, in an effort to temper the wind of criticism.

Upon occasion, economics and editorial judgment are in conflict. And there is no law which says that dollars will be defeated by duty. Not so long ago the President of the United States delivered a television address to the Nation. He was discoursing on the possibility or probability of war between this Nation and the Soviet Union and Communist China—a reasonably compelling subject. Two networks—CBS and NBC—delayed that broadcast for an hour and 15 minutes. If this decision was dictated by anything other than financial reasons, the networks didn't deign to explain those reasons. That hour-and-15-minute delay, by the way, is about twice the time required for an ICBM to travel from the Soviet Union to major targets in the United States. It is difficult to believe that this decision was made by men who love, respect, and understand news.

So far I have been dealing largely with the deficit side of the ledger, and the items could be expanded. But I have said, and I believe, that potentially we have in this country a free enterprise system of radio and television which is superior to any other. But to achieve its promise, it must be both free and enterprising. There is no suggestion here that networks or individual stations should operate as philanthropies. But I can find nothing in the Bill of Rights or the Communications Act which says that they must increase their net profits each year, lest the Republic collapse. I do not suggest that news and information should be subsidized by foundations or private subscriptions. I am aware that the networks have expended, and are expending very considerable sums of money on public affairs programs from which they cannot hope to receive any financial reward. I have had the privilege at CBS of presiding over a considerable number of such programs. I testify, and am able to stand here and say that I have never had a program turned down by my superiors because of the money it would cost.

But we all know that you cannot reach the potential maximum audience in marginal time, with a sustaining program. This is so because so many stations on the network—any network—will decline to carry it. Every licensee who applies for a grant to operate in the public interest, convenience, and necessity, makes certain promises as to what he will do in terms of program content. Many recipients of licenses have, in blunt language, welshed on those promises. The moneymaking machine somehow blunts their memories.

The only remedy for this is closer inspection and punitive action by the FCC. But in view of many this would come perilously close to supervision of program content by a Federal agency.

So it seems that we cannot rely on philanthropic support or foundation subsidies, we cannot follow the "sustaining route," the networks cannot pay all the freight, and the FCC cannot or will not discipline those who abuse the facilities that belong to the public.

What, then, is the answer? Do we merely stay in our comfortable nests, concluding that the obligation of these instruments has been discharged when we work at the job of informing the public for a minimum of time? Or do we believe that the preservation of the Republic is a 7-day-a-week job, demanding more awareness, better skills, and more perseverance than we have yet contemplated?

I am frightened by the imbalance, the constant striving to reach the largest possible audience for everything; by the absence of a sustained study of the state of the Nation. Heywood Broun once said: "No body politic is healthy until it begins to itch." I would like television to produce some itching pills rather than this endless outpouring of tranquilizers. It can be done. Maybe it won't be, but it could. Let us not shoot the wrong piano player. Do not be deluded into believing that the titular heads of the networks control what appears on their networks. They all have better taste. All are responsible to stockholders, and in my experience all are honorable men. But they must schedule what they can sell in the public market.

CORPORATE IMAGE

And this brings us to the nub of the question. In one sense it rather revolves around the phrase heard frequently along Madison Avenue: "The Corporate Image." I am not precisely sure what this phrase means, but I would imagine that it reflects a desire on the part of the corporations who pay the advertising bills, to have the public imagine, or believe, that they are not merely bodies with no souls, panting in pursuit of elusive dollars. They would like us to believe that they can distinguish between the public good and the private or corporate gain. So the question is this: Are the big corporations who pay the freight for radio and television programs wise to use that time exclusively for the sale of goods and services? Is it in their own interest and that of the stockholders so to do? The sponsor of an hour's television program is not buying merely the six minutes devoted to his commercial message. He is determining, within broad limits, the sum total of the impact of the entire hour. If he always, invariably, reaches for the largest possible audience then this process of insulation of escape from reality, will continue to be massively financed, and its apologists will continue to make winsome speeches about giving the public what it wants, or "letting the public decide."

I refuse to believe that the presidents and chairmen of the boards of these big corporations want their "corporate image" to consist exclusively of a solemn voice in an echo chamber, or a pretty girl opening the door of a refrigerator, or a horse that talks. They want something better, and on occasion some of them have demonstrated it. But most of the men whose legal and moral responsibility it is to spend the stockholders' money for advertising, are removed from the realities of the mass media by five, six, or a dozen contraceptive layers of vice presidents, public relations counsel, and advertising agencies. Their business is to sell goods, and the competition is pretty tough.

A LITTLE COMPETITION

But this Nation is now in competition with malignant forces of evil who are using every instrument at their command to empty the minds of their subjects, and fill those minds with slogans, determination, and faith in the future. If we go on as we are, we are protecting the mind of the American public from any real contact with the menacing world that squeezes in upon us. We are engaged in a great experiment to discover whether a free public opinion can devise and direct methods of managing the affairs of the Nation. We may fail. But we are handicapping ourselves.

Let us have a little competition. Not only in selling soap, cigarettes, and automobiles, but in informing a troubled, apprehen-

sive but receptive public. Why should not each of the 20 or 30 big corporations which dominate radio and television, decide that they wil give up one or two of their regularly scheduled programs each year, turn the time over to the networks, and say in effect: "This is a tiny tithe, just a little bit of our profits. On this particular night we aren't going to try to sell cigarettes or automobiles; this is merely a gesture to indicate our belief in the importance of ideas." The networks should, and I think would, pay for the cost of producing the program. The advertiser, the sponsor, would get name credit, but would have nothing to do with the content of the program. Would this blemish the corporate image? Would the stockholders object? I think not. For if the premise upon which our pluralistic society rests—which, as I understand it, is that if the people are given sufficient undiluted information, they will then somehow, even after long, sober second thoughts, reach the right decision—if that premise is wrong, then not only the corporate image but the corporations are done for.

There used to be an old phrase in this country, employed when someone talked too much. It was: "Go hire a hall." Under this proposal, the sponsor would have hired the hall; he has bought the time; the local station operator, no matter how indifferent, is going to carry the program—he has to. Then it's up to the networks to fill the hall. I am not here talking about editorializing, but about direct straightaway exposition as direct, unadorned, and impartial, as fallible human beings can make it. Just once in a while let us exalt the importance of ideas and information. Let us dream to the extent of saying that on a given Sunday night the time normally occupied by Ed Sullivan is given over to a clinical survey of the state of American education, and a week or 2 later the time normally used by Steve Allen is devoted to a thoroughgoing study of American policy in the Middle East. Would the corporate image of their respective sponsors be damaged? Would the stockholders rise up in their wrath and complain? Would anything happen other than that a few million people would have received a little illumination on subjects that may well determine the future of this country and, therefore, the future of the corporations? This method would also provide real competition between the networks as to which could outdo the others in the palatable presentation of information. It would provide an outlet for the young men of skill, and there are some even of dedication, who would like to do something other than devise methods of insulating while selling.

WEALTHY AND FAT

There may be other and simpler methods of utilizing these instruments of radio and television in the interests of a free society. But I know of none that could be so easily accomplished inside the framework of the existing commercial system. I don't know how you would measure the success or failure of a given program. And it would be hard to prove the magnitude of the benefit accruing to the corporation which gave up one night of a variety or quiz show in order that the network might marshal its skills to do a thoroughgoing job on the present status of NATO, or plans for controlling nuclear tests. But I would reckon that the president, and indeed the majority of shareholders of the corporation who sponsored such a venture, would feel a little bit better about the corporation and the country.

It may be that the present system, with no modifications and no experiments, can survive. Perhaps the moneymaking machine has some kind of built-in perpetual motion, but I do not think so. To a very considerable extent the media of mass communications in a given country reflect the political, economic, and social climate in which they flourish. That is the reason ours differ from the British and French, or the Russian and Chinese. We are currently wealthy, fat, comfortable, and complacent. We have currently a built-in allergy to unpleasant or disturbing information. Our mass media reflect this. But unless we get up off our fat surpluses and recognize that television in the main is being used to distract, delude, amuse and insulate us, then television and those who finance it, those who look at it and those who work at it may see a totally different picture too late.

I do not advocate that we turn television into a 27-inch wailing wall, where longhairs constantly moan about the state of our culture and our defense. But I would just like to see it reflect occasionally the hard, unyielding realities of the world in which we live. I would like to see it done inside the existing framework, and I would like to see the doing of it redound to the credit of those who finance and program it. Measure the results by Nielsen, Trendex, or Silex—it doesn't matter, the main thing is to try. The responsibility can be easily placed, in spite of all the mouthings about giving the public what it wants. It rests on big business, and on big television, and it rests at the top. Responsibility is not something that can be assigned or delegated. And it promises its own reward: good business and good television.

Perhaps no one will do anything about it. I have ventured to outline it against a background of criticism that may have been too harsh, only because I could think of nothing better.

Someone once said—I think it was Max Eastman—that: "The publisher serves his advertiser best who best serves his readers." I cannot believe that radio and television, or the corporations that finance the programs, are serving well or truly their viewers or listeners, or themselves. I began by saying that our history will be what we make it. If we go on as we are, then history will not limp in catching up with us.

We are to a large extent an imitative society. If one or two or three corporations would undertake to devote just a small fraction of their advertising appropriation along the lines that I have suggested, the procedure would grow by contagion, the economic burden would be bearable, and there might ensue a most exciting adventure—exposure to ideas, and the bringing of reality into the homes of the Nation.

To those who say: People wouldn't look, they wouldn't be interested, they're too complacent, indifferent, and insulated—I can only reply: There is, in one reporter's opinion, considerable evidence against that contention. But even if they are right, what have they got to lose? Because if they are right, and this instrument is good for nothing but to entertain, amuse, and insulate, then the tube is flickering now and we will soon see that the whole struggle is lost.

This instrument can teach, it can illuminate; yes, and it can even inspire. But it can do so only to the extent that humans are determined to use it to those ends. Otherwise it is merely wires and lights in a box. There is a great and perhaps decisive battle to be fought against ignorance, intolerance, and indifference. This weapon of television could be useful.

Stonewall Jackson, who knew something about the use of weapons, is reported to have said: "When war comes, you must draw the sword and throw away the scabbard." The trouble with television is that it is rusting in the scabbard—during a battle for survival.

Report of the American Assembly: 1964-65

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following report:

REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ASSEMBLY: 1964–65

One of the great moments of literature is found in the immortal work of Cervantes. Don Quixote came into possession of an article that he affectionately termed Mambrino's helmet. Admonished by critics that it was only a barber's basin, he insisted that though they may have seen one thing, he saw the true thing: "That which you call a barber's basin was and is and shall be the helmet of Mambrino." Neither he nor they could be persuaded otherwise.

That brief episode symbolizes much of the world's idealism as well as its realism, its courage, its magnificence—and its foolishness. In place of the meaningful exchange of ideas there was a stubborn tenacity. Whatever the episode represented, it could never be called a conference. Sancho Panza brought it to a close by naming the article a helmet-basin; everybody went on his way but nobody was satisfied.

The point need not be labored. Whoever is always right and always sure of himself—whether it be nation, institution or person—has been deserted by his angels. The outline of truth, as we are able to know it, comes not from the courage of aloofness but from the courage of contact—the prolonged rub of opposites.

The ancient Greeks understood this—the Greeks, who not only invented freedom but also perfected the processes of communication that go with it. They believed that complex social problems are solved after careful examination and reasoning by thoughtful people together, and that the good word is the forerunner of the good work. While discussion flourished the Greeks flourished. In contrast, the Dark Ages characterized chiefly by a breakdown of association among the intelligentsia, showed that intellectual isolation is worse than physical separation. The Renaissance saw the rebirth not only of art but of the other forms of communication as well. Mutual exchange in good words is the glory of mankind; and the concepts of progress and human dignity have meaning only insofar as we can talk about them.

In all forms of high endeavor—music, painting, poetry, politics—communication is a joint venture in give and take. Proceeding on this principle and operating in the realm of national affairs and public policy, the American Assembly promotes discourse by providing an atmosphere of moderation in which men and women of good will but diverse pursuits sit and reason together. The assembly urges that they speak in all candor and that, unlike the participants in the Cervantes dialogue, they listen with hospitable interest. This is admittedly hard work, for in the educational system of the United States there is no course in listening. We teach the art of composition, of persuasion, of effective speaking; how to write more powerful letters, how to influence and gain objectives. The art of listening we must acquire through experience, often at great pain.

The American Assembly gives impulse to both arts. Repeated and multiplied many times and in many places the experience of give and take helps to form sound conclusions for national policy on vital issues. During 1964–65 the American Assembly, in furtherance of this belief, held meetings in places and with sponsors as follows:

The Eastern Canadian-American Assembly on the United States and Canada, July 1964, at Mont Gabriel, Quebec, with the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

The Western Canadian-American Assembly on the United States and Canada, August 1964, at Harrison Hot Springs, British Columbia, with the University of British Columbia.

The Rocky Mountain Assembly on the Population Dilemma, September 1964, at Logan, Utah, with Utah State University.

Minnesota-Dakotas Assembly on the Population Dilemma, September 1964, at Moorhead, Minn., with the University of Minnesota and associated colleges and universities.

North Central Assembly on the United States and the Middle East, September 1964, in Michigan with Albion College.

An assembly on the United States and the Middle East, October 1964, at Muncie, Ind., with the Ball State University.

The Pittsburgh Assembly on the United States and the Middle East, October 1964, with the World Affairs Council of Pittsburgh.

The 26th American Assembly on the Congress and America's Future, October 1964, at Arden House.

An assembly on Cultural Affairs and Foreign Relations in November 1964, at Athens, Ohio, with Ohio University.

An assembly on the United States and Africa, November 1964, at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, with the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

The San Francisco Assembly on the United States and Canada, November 1964, with the World Affairs Council of Nothern California.

An assembly on the Congress and America's Future, November 1964, at Palm Springs, Calif., with Occidental College.

The Ohio Valley Assembly on the United States and Canada, January 1965, at Louisville, Ky., with the University of Louisville, the English-Speaking Union, and the Louisville Courier Journal.

The 10th Southern Assembly on the Congress and America's Future, January 1965, at Biloxi, Miss., with Tulane University.

The Pacific Northwest Assembly on the Congress and America's Future, February 1965, at Cottage Grove, Oreg., with the University of Oregon.

An alumni association assembly on the United States and Latin America, March 1965, in Houston, with Rice University.

An assembly on the United States and Canada, March 1965, at North Manchester, Ind., with Manchester College.

The Seventh Air Force Academy Assembly on the Congress and America's Future, March 1965, at the U.S. Air Force Academy, Colorado.

The New England Assembly on the United States and the Middle East, April 1965, at Chestnut Hill, Mass., with the World Affairs Council of Boston.

The 27th American Assembly on the Courts, the Public, and the Law Explosion, April 1965, at Arden House.

North Central Assembly on the United States and Canada, May 1965, in Michigan with Albion College.

The Mid-America Assembly, on the United States and Canada, May 1965, in Stillwater, Okla., with Oklahoma State University.

An assembly on the Congress and America's Future, May 1965, at Airlie House, Virginia, with the George Washington University.

The Minnesota-Dakotas Assembly on the United States and Canada, June 1965, at Moorhead, Minn., with the University of Minnesota and associated colleges and universities.

An assembly on the United States and Canada, June 1965, in Logan, Utah, with Utah State University.

On the basis of Arden House techniques each assembly reached independent conclusions, which were published and circulated by the cosponsor. In addition, each made exclusive use of authoritative American Assembly background volumes for advance reading, on the theory that the weight of public opinion varies directly with the reliability of the information which supports it.

PUBLICATIONS

These volumes are also designed for college and university use and for the general reader. In 1964–65 the readership continued to grow. In the first few months of 1965–66, the total circulation will exceed 1 million. Following are some outstanding figures to date:

"Arms Control," 91,214.

"Atoms for Power," 26,452.

"Automation and Technological Change," 25,508.

"Cultural Affairs and Foreign Relations," 21,571.

"The Federal Government and Higher Education," 27,786.

"Outer Space," 29,062.

"The Population Dilemma," 42,270.

"The Secretary of State," 28,781.

"United States Monetary Policy," 28,887.

"The United States and Africa," 77,597.

"The United States and the Far East," 44,663.

"The United States and Latin America," 44,710.

"The United States and the Middle East," 13,676.

"Wages, Prices, Profits, and Productivity," 30,172.

Special editions of "Outer Space and Cultural Affairs and Foreign Relations" appeared in New Delhi, India.

A new volume on cultural affairs and international understanding, prepared under the editorial supervision of Takdir Alisjahbana and C. J. Eliezer as background for the Asian-American Assembly (Kuala Lumpur, 1963), was published by the Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, for circulation in Asia and North America.

Spanish and Bengali editions of "Arms Control" appeared in Mexico City and New Delhi, respectively.

"U.S. Monetary Policy" (ed., Jacoby), "The Federal Government Service" (ed., Sayre), and "The Representation of the United States Abroad" (ed., Barnett) were revised in second editions.

TRUSTEES AND OFFICERS

Arthur G. Altschul, George S. Craft, Douglas Dillon, and Sol M. Linowitz were elected to membership on the board of trustees; and Robert W. Woodruff resigned after a long period of service which is here recognized with gratitude.

William K. Selden, recently executive director of the National Commission on Accrediting and formerly president of Illinois College, was elected vice president; and D. Grant Sherlock became secretary in place of Paul M. Eisele, resigned.

THE YEAR AHEAD

During the year 1965–66 the American Assembly will undertake at least three new programs, one more per year than has been customary for the past decade.

The United States and Japan, subject of the 28th American Assembly. Prof. Herbert Passin of Columbia University will be editorial supervisor.

State legislatures, the 29th American Assembly with Chancellor Alexander Heard of Vanderbilt University as editor.

The United States and the Philippines, subject of the Philippine-American Assembly to be held at Davao, Mindinao, Republic of the Philippines, with the cooperation of the America-Philippines Society. Under the editorial supervision of Prof. Frank Golay, Cornell University economist, the background volume will be written by both Philippine and American authorities.

By the time this report is printed, the Pan-American Assembly on Population will have been held in Cali, Colombia, with the cooperation of the Universidad del Valle, the Association of Colombian Medical Schools and the Population Council. Participants will come from North, Central and South America.

A new volume on Latin American population problems (ed., J. Mayone Stycos, of Cornell University and Jorge Arias, rector of the University of San Marcos, Guatemala) will be published—the Spanish version in South America and the English in the United States.

"The Population Dilemma" (ed., Philip M. Hauser) will be published in a special edition in New Delhi for circulation in India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. A Spanish version is also expected.

Following the procedures of the President's Commission on National Goals, which was administered by the American Assembly, the Committee on Goals for Dallas, appointed by Mayor Erik Jonsson, will submit its report in 1966.

Assemblies, large and small, formal and informal, on many subjects will continue to be sponsored at Arden House and across the Nation.

FINANCIAL

In fiscal 1964–65 gifts from foundations, corporations, individuals, and miscellaneous sources amounted to $291,502.46, including:

From the Population Council, $65,000 toward the support of the extended program on the population dilemma.

From the Walter E. Meyer Research Institute of Law, $10,000 toward the program on the courts, the public, and the law explosion.

From the Rockefeller Foundation, $15,000 toward the program on the courts, the public, and the law explosion.

From the Ford Foundation, $90,000 for the 29th American Assembly on the United States and Japan.

From the Laurel Foundation, $10,000 toward the program on the courts, the public, and the law explosion.

From the National Municipal League, $5,000 toward the program on State legislatures, the 29th American Assembly.

From W. Averell Harriman, $24,590 toward the support of the general and administrative account.

From the Mary W. Harriman Trust, $12,500 toward the support of the general and administrative account.

In the same period expenditures for individual assembly programs and general and administrative costs totaled $294,996.36.

The trustees and officers of the assembly express their gratitude to all persons, corporations and foundations who contributed.

HENRY M. WRISTON,
Chairman of the Board.
CLIFFORD C. NELSON,
President.

FACTS ON THE AMERICAN ASSEMBLY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Trustees: Dwight D. Eisenhower, honorary chairman, Pennsylvania; Arthur G. Altschul, New York; William Benton, New York; Courtney C. Brown, ex officio, New York; William P. Bundy, District of Columbia; John Cowles, Minnesota; George S. Craft, Georgia; Douglas Dillon, New Jersey; Marriner S. Eccles, Utah; Thomas K. Finletter, New York; Alfred M. Gruenther, Nebraska; W. Averell

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Officers: Clifford C. Nelson, president; William K. Selden, vice president; D. Grant Sherlock, secretary; Olive B. Haycox, treasurer; and Mary M. McLeod, assistant to the president.

Founded by Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1950 when he was president of Columbia, the American Assembly is a national, nonpartisan, educational institution incorporated in the State of New York.

The gift of Arden House, Harriman, N.Y., by W. Averell Harriman, and its refitting as a site for undisturbed consideration of major public issues, were essential to the original American Assembly plan.

Using the procedures established at Arden House, the assembly has also joined the following for meetings across the United States and in other countries:

Albion College, University of Arizona, Associated Colleges of the Midwest, University of Arkansas, Aspen Institute, Ball State University, Battelle Memorial Institute, Brigham Young University, University of British Columbia, Brown University, University of California (Berkeley), University of California (Los Angeles), Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Cleveland Council on World Affairs, University of Colorado, Creighton University, Dallas Council on World Affairs, University of Denver, Denver High Schools.

Drake University, Duke University, Emory University, English-Speaking Union, University of Florida, the George Washington University, University of Illinois, Indiana University, State University of Iowa, the Institute for Strategic Studies (London), the Johnson Foundation, University of Kansas, Kansas City International Relations Council, Lawrence College, University of Louisville, University of Malaya (Kuala Lumpur), Manchester College, Michigan State University, University of Michigan, University of Minnesota.

University of Missouri, University of Nebraska, University of New Mexico, North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Occidental College, Ohio University, Oklahoma State University, University of Oklahoma, University of Oregon, Phelps-Stokes Fund, the Principia College, University of Puerto Rico, Rice University, Ripon College, St. Louis University, Southern Methodist University, Southwestern at Memphis, Stanford University.

University of Tennessee, University of Texas, Town Hall, Los Angeles; Tufts University, Tulane University, U.S. Air Force Academy, Utah State University, Universidad del Valle (Colombia), Vanderbilt University, University of Vermont, University of Washington, Washington University, Western Reserve University, University of Wisconsin, World Affairs Council of Boston, World Affairs Council of North Carolina, World Affairs Council of Pittsburgh, University of Wyoming, National YMCA.

The assembly also cooperates with organizations, clubs, and study groups in holding informal "little assemblies."

American Assembly books are published by Prentice-Hall, Inc., and Frederick A. Praeger, Inc.

For further information write the American Assembly, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.

Can Weathermen Tame a Hurricane?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the Christian Science Monitor for Monday, August 30, featured a very interesting article by Neal Stanford, "Can Weathermen Tame a Hurricane?" Mr. Stanford described Project Stormfury, a joint program being carried on by the Weather Bureau and the Navy which attempts to weaken hurricanes by cloud seeding.

"It is hoped it will be found," Mr. Stanford wrote, "that proper and regulated seeding can modify hurricanes and take the worst sting out of them." But, he continued, "the project officials cannot be 100 percent sure that seeding, rather than modifying a storm, might not intensify it."

Project Stormfury is a fine example of the many weather modification experiments now being conducted despite lack of certainty about the basic processes involved. Because of this combination of great activity, lingering gaps in scientific information, and great public confusion, I have introduced a bill, H.R. 10173, requiring the President to make a comprehensive report to Congress on the status of all weather modification activities in the United States. This report would inform the Congress and the Nation of the progress being made, and of the problems which remain. The existence of such elaborate and ambitious projects as Stormfury demonstrates, I think, the need for such a report, and I hope that the Congress will favorably consider my bill.

Mr. Stanford's article follows:

CAN WEATHERMEN TAME A HURRICANE?

(NOTE.—For years the U.S. Weather Bureau and the Navy have been tracking storms and issuing warnings to ships, aircraft, and the public. Now the Bureau (part of the new Environmental Science Services Administration) and the Navy are seeking ways to modify the weather—in this case hurricanes.)

(By Neal Stanford)

WASHINGTON.—If a hurricane can be tamed, Uncle Sam intends to do it.

That is the purpose of Project Stormfury, a joint Weather Bureau and Navy operation now underway in the Caribbean and western Atlantic. It involves seeding hurricanes and cumulus clouds in a bid to reduce the fury of these destructive storms.

This is the hurricane season, and so one group of weather experts, scientists, and researchists is in the Caribbean experimenting with 30 or more tropical cumulus clouds to see what the effect of repeated and concentrated seeding is.

Another group is out in the western Atlantic carrying on seeding experiments with actual hurricanes. The important thing is to do enough seeding over a long enough period to be convinced that any results that can be identified can be reasonably attributed to the seeding and not just a fluke of nature.

This seeding procedure is somewhat technical, but basically it involves seeding clouds surrounding the eye, or center of the storm, with silver iodide crystals in order to release latent heat. This is hoped to trigger a chain of events, leading to a basic change in the circulation and structure of the storm.

It is not expected to actually stop a hurricane, but it is hoped it will be found that proper and regulated seeding can modify hurricanes and take the worst sting out of them.

EXPERIMENTS IMPROVED

Seeding clouds to weaken the fury of a hurricane is not a new idea. But what makes this year's experiments different and a marked improvement of what has been done before is the development of new seeding techniques. Seeding is done with silver iodide generators from aircraft flying over the hurricane or storm areas. These make it possible to seed a large volume of the cloud "chimney" that is near the hurricane eye in one flyby of a plane. This, if all goes according to plan, will take some energy away from the wind system near the eye of the storm. This could reduce wind speeds and at least lessen hurricane damage.

The generator involved is the Alecto, developed by Dr. Pierre Saint Amand and other scientists of the Naval Ordnance Test Station. It is a small piece of equipment, only 3 inches in diameter and 8 inches long—and weighs only 7 pounds—not including the 4 pounds of propellant mix it contains. When fired from a plane it produces a plume of smoke through 20,000 feet of vertical fall, burning out in 40 seconds.

Incidentally the rules for this Stormfury experiment call for no seeding of a storm or hurricane that could be expected to strike a populated area within 36 hours after seeding. The reason is that despite high hopes for good results from seeding, the project officials cannot be 100 percent sure that seeding, rather than modifying a storm, might not intensify it. Everything suggests that massive and sustained seeding will decrease the storm's power, but no one knows for sure.

ATTEMPTS MADE IN 1963

The only previous efforts along this line were in 1963, when seeding was done over isolated cumulus clouds in the Caribbean. This time the hurricane's central eye is being seeded five times every 2 hours, with many Alecto units being dropped on each seeding run. Also this time the seeding area is to be closely monitored by planes for a 17-hour stretch—3 hours before seeding until 6 hours after the last one, in order to record changes in the storm characteristics.

Between 1900 and 1964 there were 299 hurricanes in the North Atlantic and Caribbean area. Of these, 119 reached the coast of the United States. Through 1964 12,280 persons had been killed by hurricanes. Total damage is not known.

However, seasonal damage has averaged between $5 million and $50 million annually in recent years. In 1954, 1955, and 1964 damage was estimated at between $500 million and $5 billion each year.

Hurricanes are defined as tropical cyclones with winds of 74 miles per hour or higher.

When the highest winds are from 39 to 73 miles per hour, they are called tropical storms. When winds are under 39 miles per hour they are called tropical depressions.

Hurricanes are called typhoons in the western north Pacific; baguios in the Philippines; willy-willys in western Australia; and just cyclones in the Bay or Bengal and Indian Ocean.

June through November is the hurricane season in the western Atlantic. The months of most frequent hurricane occurrence are August, September, and October. Here is the hurricane frequency record for the 76-year period in which records have been kept:

January, 0; February, 0; March, 1; April, 0; May, 2; June, 17; July, 26; August, 104;

September, 141; October, 69; November, 12; December, 2.

The average is under 5 a year, but it has been increasing, so the average in the last 10 years is 6 per year.

TOTAL OF 11 IN 1 YEAR

The greatest number in any calendar year was 11 in 1916 (6 reached the United States) and in 1950 (3 reached the United States). No hurricanes were observed in 1907 and in 1914.

Records indicate that the strongest winds near the center of the storm often reach a sustained speed of 74 to 100 miles per hour at the surface, and occasionally 125 to 150 miles per hour, with gusts of even higher speeds. At the eye itself winds fall off abruptly. The highest winds possible in a hurricane are not known, but there is evidence from damage that speeds of more than 200 miles per hour have occurred.

In small hurricanes the area affected may be less than 30 miles in diameter. In some hurricanes it may extend out to more than 100 miles. Beyond the central area less intense winds may cover an area 500 miles in diameter.

In the tropics the entire storm moves forward very slowly, less than 15 miles per hour. As hurricanes move northward the forward speed generally increases, reaching 40 miles per hour. The 1938 hurricane that passed through New England was moving almost 60 miles per hour. Hurricane Carol, in 1954, moved about as rapidly after passing Cape Hatteras, N.C.

Rainfall from hurricanes range from 5 to 10 inches at most coastal locations near the storm center. But amounts over 30 inches have been recorded. When a tropical storm moves inland, winds usually decrease rapidly but heavy rains continue to fall. This was true of Diane in New England in 1955; and in Texas after the storm of September 1921.

A large part of the storm damage, and fatalities stemming from hurricanes comes from the storm tides involved. The height of the surge can be as great as 15 to 25 feet higher than the normal tide.

ENERGY TREMENDOUS

In 1 hour an average hurricane releases energy equal to the electric power generated in the United States for 1 year. It is the equivalent in energy to 10 Hiroshima-type A-bombs every second.

Hurricane Flossie (1956) dumped 50 billion tons of water on the U.S. mainland—enough to cover a fourth of the United States with an inch of water.

No one really knows whether Stormfury is going to open the door to hurricane control or not. But the experimenters are hopeful. Dr. Robert M. White, Chief of the U.S. Weather Bureau, says that "if our Stormfury hurricane hypothesis is sound, it would appear that we may be able to modify hurricanes some day. Hurricane experimentation presents enormous potential rewards for the Nation."

Stormfury is the key with which Dr. White and Project Director Dr. Joanne Simpson of the Weather Bureau hope to unlock these rewards.

Another Success for Local Jobs Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, It has been my pleasure to point up some of the successes of the newly established Job Corps camp operated by the Department of Forestry at Alder Springs in my Fourth Congressional District of California. I am pleased to include another article recently printed in the Willows Daily Journal pointing up a representative group of three enrollees graduated from the camp into specific urban mechanical courses from whence their skills will be effectively utilized for society:

[From the Willows (Calif.) Daily Journal, Sept. 2, 1965]

TRIO AT JOB CAMP EARN PROMOTIONS

A trio of Alder Springs Job Corpsmen have completed their basic educational courses in less than 2½ months and are being transferred for training in specific skills, Director A. R. Groncki said today.

He and Educational Director Stanley Lynch praised the youths for ambition and eagerness to learn.

Edward Chock of Hawaii leaves this week for the Gary urban center in central Texas, where he has elected to learn drafting and electronics.

In a farewell ceremony at the camp Tuesday he received a pen and pencil set engraved with his name.

"I will never forget the chance that Alder Springs has given me," he commented.

Gerald Lessner and Jack Qualls have also completed the educational program and will follow Chock to the Gary urban center within the next few weeks.

Lessner, who drove a truck before entering the Job Corps, will be trained in diesel mechanics, and Qualls will study radio and TV repair.

The youths passed through several grade levels in attaining the required proficiency in mathematics and reading to enable them to be transferred to the urban center for training in specific skills.

In a brief interview they expressed thanks for the opportunity they had been given to learn skilled trades.

They also said they appreciated the friendliness with which they had been received in Willows though they acknowledged that there was little for them to do in the way of recreation such as dancing and informal get-togethers with others in their age group.

For such activities the corpsmen are being driven to Sacramento and San Francisco.

Award to Mr. Philip Goldberg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I want to call to the attention of this body the fact that the National Council of Senior Citizens at its medicare victory celebration on August 2 singled out, along with distinguished Members of Congress, the labor movement, and other elements in our national life, Mr. Philip Goldberg, president of the Hamilton Life Insurance Co., of New York City, and the inscription on his award read as follows: "To Philip J. Goldberg for outstanding work on behalf of elderly citizens."

Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY, in commenting on this recognition as he presented the award to Mr. Goldberg, said:

He was an outstanding example of the type of businessman who put public service ahead of private profit—who recognized the need to play a constructive role in seeing to it that the business community cooperated with government and gave leadership and talent to the development of programs beneficial to all Americans.

Mr. Goldberg had declared in a speech in October of 1964 that the very nature of medicare is such that it requires a partnership of Government and private enterprise and that in his opinion the legislation was truly in the spirit of the American tradition and in the realization of President Johnson's Great Society. He further stated that it was his firm conviction that just as social security grew to be a boon to the life insurance industry so would medicare prove beneficial to the health insurance field.

Mr. Goldberg indeed deserves credit as do many other American businessmen of his type for the kind of interest they take in religious, civic, and political affairs and I am delighted to be able to add my praise to that of Vice President HUMPHREY and John Edelman, president of the National Council of Senior Citizens, in their tribute to him for the willingness to courageously speak out even when it is unpopular with some of his colleagues in order to fight for decent standards of economic and social well-being for all Americans.

U.S. Merchant Marine: Our Fourth Arm of Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, the war in Vietnam has produced a new awareness of the importance of a strong merchant marine to the overall strength of the Nation. This need has been repeatedly emphasized by our colleague, the gentleman from California, WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD, who has stressed the importance of seapower to our national security.

The Glendale News Press in a September 3, 1965, editorial warns that neglect of our merchant marine, known as our fourth arm of defense, could seriously impair our security. The News Press states:

The Defense Department's error in failing to recognize the need for a strong, modern merchant fleet to retain balance in our defense posture is moving the Nation closer to a perilous situation.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the editorial for inclusion in the RECORD:

OUR FOURTH ARM OF DEFENSE MUST BE STRENGTHENED

Mounting demand for supplies for American forces in South Vietnam, along with an

escalation of the war effort, brings into focus the need for accelerated programs to solve the problems of the U.S. merchant marine.

Further, it points up the urgent need for the United States to move at all possible speed to correct a glaring logistics failure that threatens future U.S. aid to any part of the globe where atheistic communism might choose to apply new pressures.

Representative WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD, Republican, of California, charges that Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, by relying on air movement of troops and supplies, underestimated the importance of sea power. MAILLIARD predicts the Defense Department may have to charter as many as 200 merchant ships to supply American needs in Vietnam.

This confirms the judgment of Navy officers who all along have predicted that the U.S. merchant fleet, our withering Fourth Arm of Defense, could not support an escalation of the war in southeast Asia, and that we would have to depend on foreign shipping.

The Defense Department's error in failing to recognize the need for a strong modern merchant fleet to retain balance in our defense posture is moving the Nation closer to a perilous situation.

Dependency on foreign ships to haul war materiel to our fighting men is fraught with dangerous implications.

Maritime allies could put conditions on their ships to seriously hamper our freedom of action, as they did in vetoing economic and naval blockades of Red China.

It is impossible to fight a war effectively when any other nation has a say in military decisions that must be made by the United States alone on the basis of its national policy and judgment.

Since World War II this country has built too few cargo ships. The merchant fleet is aging and dwindling to the point where we have only 900 active vessels, compared with Russia's 1,200, and the Soviet Union plans to triple its tonnage by 1980.

Air movement of troops and supplies on a short-term basis, like the Santo Domingo situation, or bolstering forces as we did at Guantanamo Bay, could hardly sustain troops involved in another South Vietnam any more than it can handle the present southeast Asia logistics.

It is imperative in the national interest that the President and Congress work in consort to restore our flagging Fourth Arm of Defense to the point where this country will be able to keep the supply lines open to our troops wherever they are called.

World Peace Through Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, next week Washington will be the host to a World Conference on World Peace Through Law. As the distinguished columnist, Roscoe Drummond, points out in the following article from the September 3, 1965, edition of the New York Herald Tribune, this conference will be a defeat for the cynics.

I urge those who said it couldn't be done to register now for the conference so that they may see for themselves.

The article follows:

ABA CONFUTES THE CYNICS—PEACE THROUGH LAW—A DRAMATIC BEGINNING

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—Mark down the World Conference on World Peace Through Law in Washington, September 12–18 as a signal and magnificent defeat for the cynics.

The cynics said it couldn't be done. They said it was silly to think it could be done and sillier still even to try it.

The cynics said that, with hot water in many parts of the earth and cold peace everywhere, this would be no time to talk about peace through law.

But the leaders of the American Bar Association didn't think so at all. They thought this was the best time to start, because something needed to be done before it was too late.

World law, let alone world peace through law, is not just around the corner. Far from it. But a tremendous and exciting start has been made.

As a result, more than 2,500 leading lawyers and jurists from 110 countries, including 65 chief justices, 153 high court justices, and 59 attorneys general or ministers of justice, will gather in Washington to draft plans for new international courts, to codify and strengthen international law, and to build acceptance for an alternative to force—for resort to the bench rather than resort to the battlefield.

The first such conference in history was held in Athens in 1963, when the leaders of the legal profession from more than 100 countries formed the World Peace Through Law Center, which now has 2,000 dues-paying members, a sizable annual budget, and a $100,000 gift for a world headquarters building.

It has already compiled the first of 50 volumes bringing together all of the international law existent into a world law code for ready use.

It is developing proposals for expansion of the world court through regional courts for easier access and for still lower "trial courts" to make it easier for nations to turn to law to settle many lesser disputes.

It is publishing for the first time a directory of law, judges, and lawyers of the world, a long needed and valuable tool for the legal profession.

Lawyers from most of the Iron Curtain countries will be present for the conference, which is a meeting of individuals, not of governments. Lawyers from North Korea and North Vietnam have not responded. Peiping coined a phrase and denounced the meeting as an "imperialist plot."

It all began when, 8 years ago, the then president of the American Bar Association, Charles S. Rhyne, followed Winston Churchill, Chief Justice Warren, and the Lord Chancellor of London to the podium in London's historic Guildhall and proposed that all lawyers join in a common effort to make law strong enough to replace force as the controlling factor in the fate of man.

Mr. Rhyne, a Washington attorney, has been working at it ever since—and to good effect.

It wouldn't be safe to assume that things won't keep on happening. For two reasons:

Lawyers constitute the most powerful segment of society in most every country on every continent.

When the legal profession of the entire world mobilizes its influence and talents, as it is now doing, a powerful force is in motion. No miracle, but a solid beginning which points the way the nations must move if we are ever to lay hold of a means to make peace equal to our means to make war.

The world's legal profession is magnificently giving its services to a new client—civilization itself.

St. Augustine's Birthday Celebration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, this past week, I participated in many of the events commemorating the 400th birthday of St. Augustine, Fla., the oldest city in the United States. I was master of ceremonies at the ceremonies which introduced the beautiful commemorative stamp in observance of the 400th anniversary of St. Augustine and the State of Florida. I also attended the dedication program of the Pan American Center and the subsequent dedication of the spanish building. Many dignitaries from Spain and from the Organization of American States attended the commemorative events. I am pleased to enclose for the RECORD articles which appeared in the New York Times, the St. Augustine Record, and the Florida Times-Union, which tell more in detail about the birthday events of St. Augustine:

[From the New York Times, Aug. 29, 1965]

ST. AUGUSTINE'S BIRTHDAY PARTY IS UNDERWAY

(By C. E. Wright)

ST. AUGUSTINE, FLA.—On September 8, or exactly four centuries from the day that Adm. Don Pedro Menendez de Aviles came ashore to establish St. Augustine, this ancient city's year-long quadricentennial celebration will get underway.

A prolog celebration started yesterday, which was the date (Aug. 28, 1565) that Menendez sighted the Florida coast. A special Florida stamp commemorating the city's 400th birthday was issued yesterday.

Today and tomorrow, there will be evening ceremonies on the restored portion of St. George Street, two blocks of which will be renamed Calle Real, as the Spanish originally called it. There will be a formal dedication of the restored buildings on the street, including the latest addition, the Ribera House.

ADMISSION CHARGE

The restored Ribera House is being furnished with 16th-, 17th- and 18th-century period pieces acquired in Spain, and with paintings of the same era recently purchased at Christie's in London. There will be a small charge of admission to the house, at which hostesses will acquaint visitors with its history.

Dedication of the Pan American Center has been set for next Saturday. This event, and the subsequent dedication of the Spanish Building, will be highlighted by international participation. A delegation of top officials from the Organization of American States and another from Spain will be present for these ceremonies.

The Spanish Building and the Hispanic Garden, which separates the former structure from the Pan American Center, will be dedicated next Sunday. A statue of Queen Isabella of Spain, who was ruling when Christopher Columbus made his famous voyage, will be unveiled in the Hispanic Garden. It is the work of Mrs. Anna Hyatt Huntington, a noted sculptor, who donated it to the restoration project.

SPANISH TREASURE

Still another structure erected for the quadricentennial, the Florida Building, will house on its first floor a portion of the treasure that was recovered from the Spanish ships that were wrecked off the Florida coast 250 years ago.

England's contribution to the quadricentennial will be a collection of maps, charts, and documents relating to navigation in the Caribbean in early days. These exhibits will be on loan for a year, and are expected to be housed in a building to be constructed early in 1966.

The Spanish Building will contain art treasures, furniture, tapestries, and other items of the decorative art, all of ancient vintage and contributed by Spain. The Spanish motif is also being carried out in two new restaurants. One of them is in the heart of the reconstructed area; the second restaurant has just been opened on Avenida Menendez, near the old fort.

One important difference between these restaurants and their counterparts, as they may have existed centuries ago, is that the new ones are air conditioned.

DAYS IN SPAIN

A gala feature of the opening festivities will be "Dias de España" (Days in Spain), which will start next Saturday evening and continue for 5 days. There will be strolling troubadours, fireworks displays, dancing in the streets by flamenco dancers from Spain, Spanish and French sword fighting and other continuous entertainment. Also 30 gaily decorated booths will line St. George Street.

At noon on September 8, the Roman Catholic Church will conduct an open-air high mass in the area adjacent to the new Votive Church, which is under construction. The mass will be offered by Archbishop Joseph P. Hurley, assisted by six priests.

A log altar, resembling as closely as possible the one that Father Lopez used for the first mass on September 8, 1565, has been built for the occasion. At least 4,000 worshipers are expected to attend the commemorative mass.

[From the St. Augustine (Fla.) Record, Aug. 27, 1965]

CEREMONY AT CASTILLO: COMMEMORATIVE STAMP WILL BE ISSUED TOMORROW

Tomorrow will be a red letter day in St. Augustine with the introduction of a commemorative stamp in observance of the 400th anniversary of St. Augustine and the State of Florida.

The three-color stamp will be introduced in a ceremony being sponsored jointly by the Post Office Department and the National Park Service in the courtyard of Castillo de San Marcos Monument starting at 10:45 a.m. Congressman D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS will act as master of ceremonies and Assistant Postmaster Tyler Abell will give the commemorative stamp address. Abell will present this stamp album to H. E. Wolf, chairman of the National Quadricentennial Commission.

Other dignitaries coming for the occasion include Juan Ramon Parellada, consul general of Spain in New Orleans, Mayor Louis Ritter of Jacksonville, and Elbert Cox, regional director of the National Park Service representing the Department of the Interior.

The ceremony will open with a band concert by the 536th Air Force Band from Patrick Air Force Base.

Included in the hour-long ceremony will be a choral presentation by the cast of the St. Augustine quadricentennial drama, "Cross and Sword," and the presentation of St. Augustine's colorful royal family.

Following the stamp ceremony the new facilities of the National Park Service developed for the 400th anniversary will be open for inspection. The public is invited to attend the colorful ceremony, and for this day entrance fees have been waived. All facilities of the National Park Service at St. Augustine will be open to the public all day without charge.

Originally the ceremony was scheduled to take place on the fort green, but it has now been moved to the courtyard inside of the fort which will provide better acoustics for the speakers, band and chorus.

A unique feature will be the availability of the quadricentennial commemorative stamp at the fort. Also, the Post Office Department will be set up to cancel stamped souvenir programs in the fort. These programs will be distributed at the entrance to the fort beginning Saturday morning.

The commemorative stamp, featuring a Spanish explorer and done in red, yellow, and black, will go on sale at the post office in the morning. The Post Office Department is already processing a quarter of a million requests for first day cancellations and is expected to do a rush business tomorrow as the new stamps go on sale.

[From the Florida Times-Union, Sept. 5, 1965]

ST. AUGUSTINE FROM THE BEGINNING THERE WAS THE CROSS

ST. AUGUSTINE.—"On Saturday the 8th, the admiral landed with many banners spread, to the sound of trumpets and salutes of artillery. As I had gone ashore the evening before, I took a cross and went to meet him, singing the hymn, 'Te Deum Laudamus.' The admiral, followed by all who accompanied him, marched up to the cross, knelt, and kissed it. A large number of Indians watched these proceedings and imitated all they saw done."

From the diary of Father Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajales, September 1565.

And so it was that Christianity and civilization began in America. This landing, the Mass that followed and the immediate building of a community marked the birth of a nation on the grounds of the Mission of Nombre de Dios in St. Augustine on September 8, 1565, 400 years ago this coming Wednesday.

Captain-General Don Pedro Menendez de Aviles, the Spanish Conquistador, and Adelantado of Florida, waded ashore at a point now known as the Mission of Nombre de Dios more than a half century before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, 4 decades before the English settled Jamestown and 210 years before the American Revolution.

After attending Mass on the shore of Matanzas Bay, they made friends with the Indians, moved into the great house of their village and built a fortification protected by 24 brass cannon.

They called the settlement St. Augustine and the site of their actual landing, Nombre de Dios * * * Name of God.

From this humble and difficult beginning, priests and laymen advanced fearlessly into an unknown and trackless continent, carrying the twin torches of Christianity and civilization.

On Wednesday, some 4,000 persons, including representatives of foreign governments, will travel to the mission to attend a concelebrated High Mass which will mark the founding of the Catholic Church in America.

The concelebrated High Mass, which was restored to the Western rite by the present Ecumenical Conference after several centuries, will be the first ever celebrated in the diocese of St. Augustine.

Archbishop Joseph P. Hurley, Bishop of the diocese of St. Augustine, will celebrate the Mass. Cocelebrants will be six monsignori of the diocese. The Mass will be the initial observance of the 400th anniversary of the Catholic Church in America.

Archbishop Hurley has been a strong force in the State and Nation in focusing attention on the American heritage that seems to have been overlooked, or, at least, not emphasized by many historians.

"In general," the archbishop has stated, "Americans know American history—all but the first chapter. Our country started with the planting of Christ's cross and with the offering of the mass, the sacrifice of redemption. It is the story of St. Augustine. It is the story of Father Lopez, conquistador for Christ."

In order to help tell the first chapter of American history and to perpetuate the heritage Spain gave to America, the St. Augustine Foundation was formed under the archbishop's guidance more than 2 years ago.

The St. Augustine Foundation is a nonprofit organization comprised of priests and laymen from all segments of the sprawling diocese which extends from the Georgia-Florida border to a point near Vero Beach and from Naples on the west coast to the Apalachicola River.

The stated purpose of the foundation is to initiate a national demonstration of faith in God and love for country. This demonstration will take two forms, one of a spiritual nature, the other physical.

The mass this week will be the first of many religious events which will take place at the mission and at the Cathedral of St. Augustine, one of the oldest church buildings in America.

The highlight of the religious events will be a eucharistic congress which will be held in St. Augustine in the spring. Other services in commemoration of the religious beginnings of America, will take place during the coming year.

The diocese of St. Augustine and the St. Augustine Foundation have undertaken a dynamic and dramatic construction program on the grounds of the mission in observance of the 400th birthday of the Catholic Church in America.

To prepare, so to speak, for the completion of the quadricentennial monuments, the mission grounds have undergone a vast improvement program, including construction of a 150-car parking area with space for 10 coach-type buses.

Perhaps the most dramatic of the memorials will be a 20-story stainless steel, illuminated cross—called the Great Cross, or the Beacon of the Faith.

An architectural and engineering achievement which promised to make it unique, the Great Cross will stand untethered at a point adjacent to Matanzas Bay on the grounds of the mission where Menendez began the first settlement in America.

The cross, according to authorities, will be the tallest in the Western Hemisphere. It has been designed to withstand more than the highest winds ever recorded in Florida—without support.

It is under construction in Boston and will be shipped to St. Augustine in 50-ton sections in the near future. Because of the extremely critical problems of placing the joined sections as a single 20-story unit into the ground, engineers and architects ordered a short delay in the placement procedure. Originally scheduled for placement in a giant socket on a gleaming white triangular base this month, no firm erection date has been announced as yet.

The second quadricentennial monument is a votive church, which is now under construction. The church, made of native coquina stone, will have dual altars, one in the interior, the other outdoors facing a plush meadow.

Wednesday's concelebrated high mass will be said in the outdoor sanctuary before the sweeping walls of the coquina apse on an altar of logs being constructed for the event.

Adjacent to the votive church and connected by a curving covered walkway will be the center for historic research of Spanish Florida. The St. Augustine Foundation has become the depository for one of the largest collections of historic documents concerning the Spanish occupation with the acquisition on microfilm of the east Florida papers from the Library of Congress, and the Stetson collection from the University of Florida. These records now join the mission's extensive holdings of original documents.

The mission research library will be open to students, scholars, and historians as well as the general public.

Another phase of the construction of the monuments honoring the quadricentennial is the restoration and expansion of the Cathedral of St. Augustine, one of the oldest church buildings in the Nation. The parish itself is the Nation's oldest.

Murals of special wood laminate which will resist cracking and peeling, will tell the story of the founding of the Catholic Church in America.

Other paintings and murals will line the walls and the sanctuary and chapels, according to the architect, George Stickle of St. Augustine.

The quadricentennial monuments, skillfully blended with the old structures on the mission grounds, and the restored cathedral are expected to attract national attention and help bring St. Augustine to its proper place in history as the birthplace of the Nation.

Pulp Sex Novels Thrive as Trade Comes Into Open

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, as the author of H.R. 980, a bill to provide for the return of obscene mail matter, which overwhelmingly passed the House several months ago and which is now awaiting action by the other body, I am constantly reminded of the ever-growing need to curb the rapidly expanding trade in obscene literature. In this connection I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to an article which appeared in the Sunday, September 5, edition of the New York Times:

PULP SEX NOVELS THRIVE AS TRADE COMES INTO OPEN

(By Paul L. Montgomery)

The pulp sex novel, once considered the preserve of pasty-faced men in shabby overcoats, has emerged from underground to become an $18 million a year business.

This year, by conservative estimate, the burgeoning industry will produce 500 lurid titles exploring Lesbianism, nymphomania, male homosexuality, sado-masochism, fetishism, incest, and other pursuits that used to be treated primarily in medical journals.

In the well-ordered dirty-book stores, of which there are now a dozen in midtown Manhattan, special sections are set aside for the most popular categories of aberrance. The largest emporium displays 1,000 titles, ranging from "Address for Sex" to "Wife Traders."

Much of the expanded market, however, has come from other outlets. Racks of the sex paperbacks blossom these days in many cigar and candy stores, and even some drugstores. They are a profitable item.

To some, the ready availability of the prurient indicates progress toward American maturity in matters sexual. Others, including the censorship groups and most churches, do not agree.

"A veritable floodgate of obscenity [has been] opened in the last 12 months in the form of obscene pocket books, magazines, and greeting cards, to such an extent that it is unbelievable," the Mayor's Citizens Anti-pornography Commission reported recently.

There are few on either side of the argument, however, who would deny that the increasing number of sex novels are badly written, joyless, repetitious, and twisted in their emphasis on the sneaky and the abnormal. It is difficult not to regard many of the outpourings of extravagant language and soaring passion as boring, if not comical.

Even those who write and publish the works feel they are engaged in a less than noble profession.

FRUSTRATION A FACTOR

One commercial writer who has produced a number of the pulps says he writes "by and large for men who are afraid of women." He believes that men buy such books to feel superior to the heroines, who are either sexually insatiable, inclined toward Lesbianism, or aggressively given to other unattractive practices. Thus the book buyer, the writer says, "feels he's not really missing a lot in relating so poorly to women."

The editor of a leading line of sex books believes his audience is primarily made up of "frustrated men." The books, he says, allows such men to "transfer their guilt feeling about their inadequacies from themselves to the women in the book." Lesbianism is the most popular theme at present, he believes, because the reader "gets two immoral women for the price of one."

The writers of the pulp novels get a flat rate averaging $750 or $1,000, although some smaller concerns pay much less. It takes about 2 weeks to complete a book.

According to one editor, many of the men, and the few women, who write sex books have enough talent to move on to better things, but very few do. On the whole their lives are disorderly and speculative; few have families or live outside the large cities.

THREE CLASSES OF PUBLISHERS

The publishers fall generally into three classes. First there are the three middle-of-the-road ones—Midwood Books and Lancer Books, both of 185 Madison Avenue, and Beacon Publishers, 808 Third Avenue. A second class, which produces slightly more sensational items, are the dozen or so concerns in Chicago, Detroit, and on the west coast.

The third group, which is responsible for what the trade calls "the very rough stuff," consists of fly-by-night operators. These are men, generally of unsavory character and long experience in the trade, who conduct their business wherever there is space for their suitcase.

The suitcase operators generally begin by assemblying two or three manuscripts, though they are not above stealing stories that have been printed by others. They get them printed cheaply, usually in a run of 50 or 60 thousand. The books appear with an imprint like "An Atlas Book" but have no publishers' name or address. They then sell their output to a distributor for about half the cover price and move on.

The fly-by-night product is selectively distributed—that is, it goes only to "trustworthy" outlets. Most of it is available in the midtown stores.

SUGGESTION EMPHASIZED

The more respectable concerns put out a polished product, long on suggestion but short on actual prurient content. Larry Shaw, the editor of Lancer Books, says he judges manuscripts "on whether the writer has a story to tell aside from sex." Readers of the concern's Domino Books—the sex book line—would be "really disappointed if they are looking for pornography," Mr. Shaw says.

The 10 Domino Books for August and September include 7, that judging from the covers, have a lesbian theme. The others, the covers say, are about a "desperately wanton woman," an "untamed, man-crazy temptress," and a "Manhattan apartment overflowing with warmly wanton girls."

Mr. Shaw notes that there are fewer and fewer taboos to be observed in sex books. "The censors have suffered several setbacks nationally," he says. "Our main problems now are the local level."

Until 2 or 3 years ago, nymphomania was the most popular theme for the pulp paperbacks. Since then, however, lesbianism has gained the ascendancy, although it appears now to be losing ground to male homosexuality. Books about sado-masochism and fetishism, generally involving secluded castles, bullwhips, tight leather suits and spike-heeled boots, have also become popular.

SELLING TRICKS USED

The preparation of the final package is regarded in the trade as a high art. The key elements are a lurid cover painting—generally costing $200 or $300—spicy blurbs on the front and back covers and the first inside page, and a suggestive title.

Some title words apparently have a hypnotic effect on buyers. One compilation of current books includes "Flesh Avenger," "Flesh Drunk," "Fleshpot," "Flesh Castle," "Flesh Cousins," "Flesh Fancy," "Flesh Hunt," "Flesh Prize," "Flesh Town," "Flesh Village," and "Flesh Whip."

The manuscripts are also carefully edited. Some writers get carried away and have to be toned down from anatomical specificness to general suggestiveness. Most concerns remove all profanity. It is not considered to be in good taste.

Four-letter words, which are common in serious fiction, are carefully avoided, because they are considered to have an antierotic effect on readers. One sex book writer who was asked if he used obscenity in his stories replied "Good God, no—that's dirty."

Because a lot of the buying of pulp books is on impulse, most publishers try to get some mention of sex in each paragraph. In this way, the casual browser will be caught up in the product no matter where he opens the book.

The last task is to give the book a message. This practice is based on a Supreme Court ruling defining obscenity as material "utterly without redeeming social importance."

A letter to writers from one sex book publisher discusses the matter in depth. "Essentially, we are interested in publishing adult novels exploring lesbian or heterosexual love as it applies to our society today," the letter begins.

Then comes the message:

"The attitude of society toward all the plot ingredients should be carefully considered. Whatever is frowned upon by society should not, obviously, be advocated in the plot. For example, in stories dealing with lesbianism, whether or not the characters ultimately decide to practice lesbianism is less important than their realization that such practice would result in financial, social, emotional and/or psychological problems which would offset the advantages they might find in lesbianism. Therefore, if they did decide to practice it, they would be doing so with full knowledge that their lives would not be completely happy."

RULING RECALLED—1963

Actually, in a 1963 ruling, State Supreme Court Justice J. Irwin Shapiro shifted the ground of the argument somewhat. His decision is regarded as a landmark by both civil libertarians and dirty-book publishers.

Justice Shapiro ruled that pulp sex novels, while "profane, offensive, disgusting and

plain unvarnished trash," still " have a place in our society."

"There are those who, because of lack of education, the meanness of their social existence or mental insufficiency, cannot cope with anything better," he argued. "Slick-paper confessions, pulp adventure, and comic-book type of magazines provide them with an escape from reality.

"In an era of bikinis, which reveal more than they conceal of cinemas, which show females swimming in the nude—one must conclude that these books, in the mores of these days, do not constitute hard-core pornography. Coarse they are, but so is much in our civilization."

LOW PRINTING COSTS

The books cost from 5 to 7 cents a copy to print. Shipping, which is absorbed by the publisher, comes to another penny. The publisher generally realizes about half the cover price, which can range from 50 cents to $1. The other half is divided between distributor and retailer. Press runs range from 50,000 copies for the small concerns to 100,000 for the large ones.

The estimate for the sex book industry's annual income of $18 million, a conservative figure, is reached by multiplying the year's harvest of titles (500) by an average press run (60,000) and an average price (60 cents).

Retailers can increase their profits, however, by blacking out the original cover price and raising it a quarter. When this is done, the book is generally wrapped in cellophane to give it an extra illicit look and to discourage aimless browsing.

After the distributor, the last step in the production is the retailer. These are generally a group of tight-lipped, harassed men who must bear the brunt of police raids, fines, and pressures from censorship groups.

"I'm a businessman," the owner of one midtown store says. "If these creeps want to buy those books, I can't stop them. I don't even think about it; I just sell."

As he spoke, a group of purchasers milled around in the shabby "gentleman's section," pawing the products. Every once in a while the clerk would say mechanically, "All right, pick 'em out, pick 'em out—you can read them at home."

FEW GET RICH

It is generally agreed in the trade that only a very few distributors and publishers have grown rich from the dirty-book trade. Most in the business seem perpetually to be on the ragged edge of existence. "The only ones this business is good for are lawyers," one writer says.

There is no evidence that the pulp business is slackening. The writers and publishers continue to turn out the product, although some do it reluctantly.

Recently, a man in a respectable profession was appalled to find that a friend of his who writes dirty books under a pseudonym had dedicated one of them to him. He called the writer on the phone.

"How come," he asked, "you put my name in the book when you won't even use your own?"

"I should put my name on a book like that?" the writer replied.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include my report to my constituents of April 8, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT FROM CONGRESSMAN JIM MARTIN, SEVENTH DISTRICT, ALA.

BOYCOTT IS UN-AMERICAN

Martin Luther King's arrogance in calling for a boycott of Alabama has exposed his irresponsibility and caused many who have been misled by him to have second thoughts as to his real motives. His pious statements about wanting to improve life for the Negroes sounds hollow when he advocates wrecking Alabama business and industry which provide jobs for thousands of Negroes.

It will be my continued purpose to expose the false motives of the selfseekers in America as well as those who would destroy our traditions of freedom and who would scrap the Constitution.

In a news story last week in the Washington papers a business firm, the Childs Securities Corp., announced it was going along with the demands of the self-appointed savior of American Negroes and boycotting Alabama. In answer I stated in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD: "I am amazed and shocked that a reputable business firm would be so unethical and so lacking in American principles as to participate in such an action. The support of an economic boycott against a whole State and its people is a well organized Communist technique which has been used to topple every government which the Communists have taken over."

I shall continue to call to the attention of Congress and the American people any business firm, union or other organization which joins in the un-American action of taking part in a boycott of Alabama.

CALL FOR COMPLETE INVESTIGATION

In a speech to the House of Representatives I called upon the House Committee on Un-American Activities to conduct a thorough and complete investigation of all groups "responsible for lawlessness and violence." I included CORE, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Ku Klux Klan, the Southern Christian Leadership, NAACP, and the Southern Conference Education Fund. Calling for this investigation, I said, in part:

"Nearly 2 months ago I asked the President and the Members of this body to use their great influence to bring an end to the defiance of law and order in Alabama. I deplored then, and I deplore now, acts of violence and the tearing down of law and order. No decent, self-respecting, law-abiding American condones murder or those who incite to murder. We are against lynching and mob rule and killing whether inspired by cowardly riders in the night or pious hypocrites agitating in the public streets.

"On numerous occasions I have pointed out the Communist influence in some of the organizations responsible for the demonstrations in Selma and other places. These charges should be investigated, not shrugged off by these leaders as the leaders of violence did so casually on several TV interviews last Sunday.

"I call upon the American people to stop following false leaders who trade upon our national trait for compassion for our fellow man to engage in un-American pursuits."

WATER POLLUTION CONTROL BILL

The Republican policy committee, of which I am a member, unanimously endorsed the water pollution control bill, S. 4, after it had been improved through Republican efforts in my Committee on Public Works. The bill, as amended, meets with the approval of the State governments, industry, and all organizations concerned with cleaning up our rivers and streams. We cannot deny that the steadily increasing pollution of the once clear waters of the United States has become a problem of concern to all Americans. Here again, our task was to put into proper perspective the role of the Federal Government, the States, local communities, industry, and private individuals. The Senate version gave undue powers to the Federal Government. The House version has removed the dangers of Federal control and domination.

HOUSE ACTIONS

The House approved unanimously the Water Resources Planning Act. In this area too there is a proper function for the Federal Government. This bill establishes a Water Resources Council and provides for the setting up of river basin planning commissions with plans for Federal, State, interstate, local and private development of our water resources.

The House approved also, with only one dissenting vote, a bill to help our older citizens by authorizing assistance to the States in developing improved programs at the community level to help solve the problems created by aging.

By a unanimous vote the House approved H.R. 4257, to amend the Manpower Training Act of 1962. The history of this legislation has been good, and progress has been made toward retraining American workers unemployed because of technological advances. The amendments strengthen the program and assure better cooperation between Federal and State governments.

SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS

As far as time and the demand of legislative business permits, I will continue to tell the story of the South in other sections of the Nation and report to southerners the attitudes existing elsewhere. This past weekend I spoke in Atlanta, Ga., Raleigh, N.C., and Birmingham. In addition I made several TV appearances and radio broadcasts.

Our Trade Policies Puzzling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, on September 3, 1965, the Glendale News Press contained a very perceptive editorial which discusses inconsistencies in our foreign and trade policies. It underscores some of the major reasons there is confusion on the part of both our allies and the people over the policies of this administration.

As the editorial concludes:

It is pure folly for this country to be fighting what the President has termed an "all-out war" on the one hand and then enter into agreements with Communists in another part of the world to feed Hanoi's men at the front.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the editorial for inclusion in the RECORD:

OUR TRADES POLICIES PUZZLING

With Russia intent upon challenging the United States at the world trade marketplace, the need for careful reevaluation of trade policies becomes increasingly apparent.

Proposed sale of $250 million in subsidized American wheat to the Soviet Union, for instance, is inconceivable at a time when American boys are fighting and dying in South Vietnam to preserve the freedom of southeast Asia.

Concern over balance of payments is small excuse for subverting our friends and sub-

sidizing our enemies. It is all the more ironic that we should be considering such a proposal when atheistic Communists in that corner of the world are destroying millions of dollars worth of U.S. warplanes.

The United States cannot on the one hand condemn Canada, Argentina, Great Britain and France for trading with Red China, Russia and their satellites, when it is prepared to ship wheat to Russia to sustain Vietcong and North Vietnamese combat forces.

Although the United States leads the Soviets at the international marketplace with $39.9 billion in imports and exports recorded in 1963, compared Russia's $15.4 billion, Russia's foreign trade is growing at a pace nearly double that of the American rate.

Chemicals, paint solvents, synthetic fibers, wheat and even tallow for making munitions have been shipped by the United States to Russia, bringing a distinct chill to those who recall how, just before Pearl Harbor, the United States shipped scrap iron to Japan, and even tried to do business with Hitler.

It is time the free world waged serious economic war on the enemy, putting an end to this ridiculous firtation. If it is to continue to lead the cold war offensive, the United States must take the initiative.

Our allies showed good cooperation when trying to topple the Castro regime through economic sanctions until the United States announced its eagerness to sell wheat to Russia. Our British friends could hardly be blamed for selling buses to Castro. Soon after that, France, Spain and others expanded trade with Cuba and the dike burst.

It is pure folly for this country to be fighting what the President has termed an all-out war on the one hand and then enter into agreements with Communists in another part of the world to feed Hanoi's men at the front.

Utah's Symphony Orchestra

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID S. KING

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. KING of Utah. Mr. Speaker, Salt Lake City, Utah, has become, in the past years, one of the real cultural centers of the Western States. Salt Lake City is one of just seven cities in the United States to have its own ballet company. Salt Lake City has both legitimate theater and the excellent theatrical performances of the University of Utah. And Salt Lake City hosts its own symphony orchestra.

The Utah Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Maestro Maurice Abravanel, has been recognized as one of the finest in the country. Although Salt Lake City, compared to the giant metropolises on the east and west coast, is still only a small city, it has been able to sponsor, develop, and appreciate not only the many other fine cultural activities but also this excellent musical group.

The orchestra performs in the beautiful Mormon Tabernacle in Salt Lake City, famous for its size and history and its marvelous acoustics. Almost all of the musicians in the orchestra work full time at other jobs, giving their night and weekend hours to their devotion to excellent music. Maestro Abravanel has won a fine reputation in his own right and, during the off season for the Utah symphony, spends time traveling on tours as guest conductor in the United States and Europe, and making recordings.

We in Utah are all justifiably proud of our fine symphony orchestra as a part of the excellent cultural achievements made by our State.

Earlier this year, Maestro Abravanel was interviewed for a Voice of America program, which is now being broadcast throughout the world.

The following is an exerpt of that interview which appeared in the Deseret News of Salt Lake City:

STORY OF UTAH'S ORCHESTRA TOLD FOR VOICE OF AMERICA BROADCAST

Question. Salt Lake City has an orchestra which is astonishing. The Utah Symphony Orchestra is one of the very best in the country. How did it develop in the community of Salt Lake? Were there any special features in the cultural life of the community that you found when you came or have developed since you came?

Answer. Salt Lake City and Utah were settled by Mormon pioneers. They had a musical tradition. Early Mormon times were very hard and on their very long journey from the east, the Mormons had the habit of first singing together before they went to sleep at night. When they came to the Salt Lake valley, which was completely desert at the time, even before they had the necessities of life, they built a bowery where they could sing and dance. This was before they had roofs for homes over their heads. So there has been a musical tradition from way back .

This I may say is the only place I know in the United States where people came, not in pursuit of a better life materially speaking, but because of an ideal. And that naturally gives a certain color to the whole population whether Mormon or not.

Question. How do you characterize this symphony?

Answer. Well, I think I am very objective about this orchestra. You have read the reviews where it says that the Utah Symphony plays almost always better than many, many, many orchestra anywhere. And I'll tell you why. This orchestra has a fantastic esprit de corps. They have a fantastic pride in their work. We have quite a few top musicians who could sit in any orchestra anywhere in the world. But my musicians are happy. I have also many housewives, students, and young people in the orchestra. In first rehearsals of a new work, we don't go too much in detail. But the people take their music home. They have a tremendous pride in their work. We meet from 6 to 8:30 at night. Six, meaning that they can have full-time jobs, eat their dinner, and rush to rehearsals. Eight-thirty, meaning that if they have band jobs, they can leave and still take the band jobs. So it is a shoe string, high wire, high rope operation. And it works.

Question. Could you tell us something about the community support of the symphony?

Answer. I can tell you very simply. The community down to the very last man or woman is very proud of their symphony and loves this orchestra. People stop me on the street and say, "Mozart was so beautiful last night. Can't you record it?"

So that spirit is there. It shows also with 3,750 subscribers for 13 concerts a season. This is the only city of this size that has an orchestra of this quality and also an orchestra that gives some 75 concerts in a season and that records. We have right now 34 recordings in the catalog.

We make it a practice when any small town can pay about half our costs, we will go no matter how far it is. And we go yearly to little places that have no more than 4,000 or 5,000 inhabitants. Sometimes it is started by one lady, a manager, or newspaper.

Question. I still must ask how does one account for so much esprit? Is it the fact that your musicians perform such magnificent works that so many other musicians don't have the opportunity in which to participate? Is it the fact that this community is so much alive? Is it these surroundings? How do you account for these things, Mr. Abravanel?

Answer. I discovered here in Salt Lake that you have something you don't have even in Zurich, Switzerland, or in Munich. Within 40 minutes here you have your choice of 7 canyons and 2 or 3 places where you are 12,000 feet. We have the best skiing slopes. You go there and you have complete silence, blue sky, snow in the air, fresh clear air. You know I believe that contributes to the atmosphere to make good music. I believe this is the reason. There is a natural selection. Those musicians who don't love music very much do not have to stay in the orchestra. The money is not that good. They can leave. But when they do, they make room for younger people who have the devotion and to stay in the orchestra.

I am very convinced that music, more than any other art, is most important as an art. Every art is important. We all agree that all societies are being judged more by their artistic achievements than anything else. That naturally includes painting and poetry and sculpture and everything else. But music has a completely different function in addition in our modern civilization. Music is much more important than just something for music lovers. I believe we should come back to ideals of past times where everybody had a music education. This is a very needed ingredient in our lives.

Question. Tell us about the Tabernacle hall where you perform your concerts.

Answer. The president of the Mormon Church, President David O. McKay, made the best speech for the Utah Symphony many years ago when he said he was very grateful every time we were playing and were heard on broadcasts because of the good influence. For several years now we have been playing in the Tabernacle for our concerts completely free of charge which is naturally a very important contribution.

Question. Today, Mr. Abravanel, was a particularly delightful day in that I got a profile not only of your symphony orchestra, but of your city. You have a relationship here between orchestra, conductor, and city which is quite unique. I would say it is almost unique in the world in the sense that the qualities of leadership and enthusiasm which your conductor has brought with the symphony, combined with the background of the community, have given it a character which is quite remarkable in the least.

It is a rather impressive picture we have of an exceedingly lively cultural institution in an exceedingly lively city. It will be quite a shining star in our firmament of lectures.

Answer. The Utah Symphony is one thing I did help create. There is an orchestra now when before there was none. We have opera now, done very well. We have ballet, thanks to a first-rate choreographer. We have chamber music, a woodwind quartet, and a brass choir that play in the elementary schools. We have composers who have their works performed. We have teachers because our players have the time to teach. So we have an entire musical culture right here at home. We make is possible for young talented people to perform. Most of my people are Salt Lakers who had never played in an orchestra. We have the spirit of continuity. We have young

people who know they have a chair in the orchestra and they will not have to go away to be recognized. The audience knows this, too, because they are their parents and their friends. This is their orchestra. It's as simple as that.

Ike Makes It Clear: With L.B.J. on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the differences of opinion among some Members of this House about what we should or should not be doing in South Vietnam has been interpreted in certain quarters as a rupture in our bipartisan approach on foreign policy. The recent statement of support for the administration's position by former President Eisenhower did much to correct this impression. I commend it to your attention, Mr. Speaker, and to that of our colleagues:

IKE MAKES IT CLEAR: WITH L.B.J. ON VIETNAM

This week the Nation again had the pleasure of watching the Dwight D. Eisenhower crusade for peace in action. An impressive performance it was, for it left no doubt of where the former President stood. And what Ike did, it seems to us, was good for the Nation and for the Republican Party as well.

We have no doubt that President Johnson was grateful for the firm statements of support not only on Vietnam but also on the administration's decision to back down in the United Nations dues dispute. In fact, the anti-U.N. people, ready to pounce on Ambassador Goldberg's announcement in New York, were cut down by General Eisenhower almost before they had a chance to make their first move.

But the big development was on Vietnam. Until quite recently, the GOP has racked up a remarkable record of responsible support of the administration's foreign policy. In fact, the needling has come chiefly from some Democrats on Capitol Hill and from a fuzzy-thinking (and relatively small) segment of the population that just won't remember the lessons of Munich. Nevertheless, the ghost of Munich is walking again, and the former President, acutely conscious of the meaning of appeasement, stated the case for drawing a line in southeast Asia with exquisite clarity.

He also noted the need, in time of crisis, for presenting a united front to the world. Granted that there always will be certain dissenting noises in the background, it should be clear that the United States is united on its policy in southeast Asia. Here is the President, of one party, and a former President, of the other, speaking almost with one voice.

We would not attempt to sort out the confusion of statements this last week that prompted General Eisenhower to speak so candidly. On the one hand, there seemed to be a Republican attempt to show that there is a division between General Eisenhower and President Johnson. There was also the implication that someone was using the former President for political purposes. All of which, it seems to us, added up to so much nonsense. And some Republican spokesman did not add much luster to the party's record of bipartisan support in foreign policy.

But indirectly, good may have come of it all. The former President felt that he had to say, once more, what he thought he had said quite plainly before. With Lyndon B. Johnson and with the vast majority of Americans, he stands for peace and freedom. In the case of South Vietnam, that means that the line must be drawn against aggressive communism and that, if the terrors of all-out war are to be avoided, there can be no retreat until peace and freedom are guaranteed for the Vietnamese people.

That is what Dwight Eisenhower said. Mr. Johnson should be grateful for this restatement by an elder statesman so widely respected here and abroad. The Nation should be grateful. And so, come to think of it, should the Republican Party.

Agricultural Labor in California—A Realistic Review

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to publicly thank the Secretary of Labor for his certification last week of 9,500 additional Mexican workers to save the California tomato harvest from catastrophe. The workers were certified on the recommendation of the Secretary's California Farm Labor Panel who are to be commended on their efforts to remain continuously abreast of California's ever-changing agricultural labor problems.

California growers this year have stampeded to mechanize, to use women and children and athletic teams to harvest at wage rates which are the best in the Nation, higher than any contemplated minimum wage law and competitive with industrial wages in many parts of the country. Additionally, better than three-fourths million dollars is being paid by growers in a futile attempt to recruit farmworkers in other alleged pockets of surplus labor in other parts of the country.

Hank Tweith's Independent Herald of Yuba City, Calif., further puts this issue in perspective as follows:

THE QUALITY OF LABOR

The quality of mercy may drop gently from heaven but the quality of labor does not, and, if the mercy of growers in Sutter-Yuba isn't strained this season, their patience with the quality of their work crews has been tested mightily.

If this facet of the farm labor problem hasn't percolated through the thousands—more likely millions—of words that have been spoken and written on this year's labor crisis, it is only because the farmer and his spokesmen are not as articulate as they should be in presenting agriculture's case.

Over the years some of the most unpleasant words that have ever blotted paper have been the accusations that farmers deliberately exploit their hired hands by depressing wages. This complaint is no more valid against growers than it is of any employer who is faced with the chore of using labor in production, sales, and service. To show a profit on operations, growers, like factory owners, automobile dealers, and hot dog stands must get marketable production from their work force.

This has been particularly true in California where farmers actually mass-produce fruits and vegetables—almost half of the total U.S. production—and they do so from a cornucopia of abundance that permitted in other days—when labor costs were low—considerable waste.

Yet, the California farmer has, for more than a generation, paid the biggest farm payroll in the Nation and maintained the second highest pay rate scale—exceeded only by Washington State where the hired labor pool is small and crop production small.

But in recent years as quality standards have stiffened and labor costs have climbed, economic survival has depended greatly upon the yield per acre a grower could achieve. High yield cannot be obtained with a labor force that is careless or casual or, in a true sense, unskilled.

This skill factor in farming is surrounded by misinformation concerning the degree of skill required from an adequate farmworker. The myth is exaggerated, of course, by the fact that the pertinent requirements are of a nature not marketable anyplace else but in agriculture such as the ability to work long hours under a hot sun in a dusty field with constant strain on muscles most of us don't even know we have.

It is no special criticism of men and women in the Nation's heaviest pockets of unemployment that they do not have, in this stage of an industrial-urban society, those skills. Some people cannot sew or cook and there are others who cannot handle the equations of stellar navigation.

When growers complain— ofttimes bitterly—that 200 workers reported to a field or orchard at 7 a.m. and that by 9 only a handful were still working, they may be inclined to comment—or at least find themselves as saying—the crews are "too lazy" to work. In calmer moments, most of them might agree that the labor available is frequently simply unable to perform the function of climbing trees or bending over hours at a time. Some people, it is reported, cannot write news stories, repair television sets, or play the piano.

Because wages in farming are based on production—as strangely enough they are in every nonpolitical activity and sometimes there—growers have used as much as they could, piece rate pay scales for their work force, paying some startlingly high paychecks under this system to some of their hired hands.

But piece rate scales are only a means of measurement and do not help a grower get a crop out of orchard or field when fruit or vegetables are at precisely the right stage of maturity. Too early or too late means an unmarketable harvest. Unskilled labor on any pay scale means damaged trees and vines and wasted efforts by other crop handlers.

When gang labor was the complete key to the California harvest with as many as 700,000 people working at peak seasons and in a time when there was more farm background in the Nation's populace than there is today, it was possible with a combination of skilled farmworkers and a large number of eager hands and strong bodies to deliver a satisfactory tonnage. Seven tons of peaches per acre or 10 tons of tomatoes

wasn't bad then although such growers go quickly bankrupt now. With relatively low yields, with lenient quality standards and with low wage rates, there was still a margin of profit for farm operators.

But as wage rates have risen—and they have been going up steadily for more than a decade—there has developed sharper labor management on farms and greater research into automation to eliminate the more arduous phase of farmwork—the hauling, the lifting, the bending—and to retain still the services of those who could stand the heat, the dirt and the monotony of farm harvests.

Some of sharp vision may have noticed the decline of winos on farm payrolls in recent years—a direct result of management recognition that a part-time worker at full-time pay hurts production and inflates payrolls.

Until this year in California, the Mexican bracero filled the gap where management and machines has not yet reached. For years, legally and illegally, he had been part of the California farm scene but in recent years he was a regulated "package" force, assigned almost exclusively to special crops, and his loss in the first 8 months of this year has affected harvests of lettuce, strawberries, cotton, sugarbeets, asparagus, dates, and tomatoes to varying degree depending not on substitute labor but on advancements in mechanization for each commodity. His background in a native agricultural society, where, for the most part, he worked in one form or another of husbandry or didn't work at all, made him ideal for the seasonal activity which creates almost all of the farm jobs in California. He was transported here under contract, did what was asked of him or was sent home and was available when needed.

He was no more "enslaved" than are the Beatles to make contracted appearances and his wages were the prevailing scale of the district where he worked—set by the Government, not the grower—and were very high in relation to what he could make in Mexico and substantial by any standard when he was truly skilled. As a matter of fact he was not "cheap" as a worker. Last year in the Sacramento Valley, the minimum bracero wage was $1.25 an hour, the average was $1.50 and ranged to $2.50 and higher for some workers. In addition, the grower picked up a payroll charge for administration, transportation, insurance, room and board that added up to, at least, another $1 an hour per man.

But the bracero did get the work done whereas his substitutes this year in the same fields, including football players, women, and other youngsters have not done so well no matter how willing. Too many growers this year have found themselves paying a minimum of $1.40 an hour for a production with a cash value of $1 or less. How many plumbing firms could afford to pay their artisans pipe and lug 40 percent more than their services would bring in the marketplace?

In the farm labor crisis of 1965, the most frustrating situation has been the bland statements by Government officials and labor union leaders that growers could get all the help they need if they would pay enough. Yet, how may physicists, concert musicians, topflight salesmen, competent executives and skilled administrators would they get—at any scale—with an ad in the morning newspaper? Somewhat more, we suspect, than the 14 tomato pickers located in one combing of Louisiana.

One of the requirements for learned utterances on the criteria for farm labor should be a week's work in a peach orchard or tomato field, or, even, the relatively soft job of hoeing sugarbeets on a summer's afternoon in the Sacramento Valley.

These experts on labor might discover the farmer's problem is almost as simple as delivering a pound of flesh without a drop of blood.

Congressman Horton Welcomes March of Dimes Big City Meeting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, On October 4 and 5, 1965, in Washington, the National Foundation, March of Dimes—will convene its most important meeting of the year. At that time, more than 500 top-level volunteer leaders, representing all 50 States and every major city, will plan the 1966 March of Dimes campaign against birth defects, one of the Nation's leading causes of premature death and disability.

The importance of their task cannot be overstated. Each year in the United States, an estimated 250,000 babies are born with significant birth defects. Sixty thousand children and adults and an estimated half million unborn babies die as a result of these defects. With the exception of heart disease, no other condition claims so many lives.

Some of the causes of these tragedies are known. The news media recently focused attention on the thousands of defective children being born to mothers infected with German measles during last year's epidemic. In most cases, however, neither causes nor means of prevention nor specific methods of treatment are known.

The National Foundation—March of Dimes, has made a strong beginning in the fight against these problems through its national network of treatment centers and an international program of scientific research. It is to map a program of expansion in this urgent campaign that these volunteers from across the country are meeting here in Washington.

The National Foundation—March of Dimes, since its establishment in 1938, has always believed that the way to solve a problem in America is to bring its importance home to the public. When the people are convinced that the job is important enough, they will do something about it. That is what happened in the fight against polio when the public, through the March of Dimes, achieved one of the most important medical victories of our time: the development of the Salk and Sabin vaccines.

The men and women attending this national conference will be truly representatives of the people of their States and communities, where they are laboring to bring about an awareness of the birth defects problem. They are the chairmen of each State March of Dimes organization, the State chairmen of women's activities, and the chairmen of the largest of the foundation's 3,100 county chapters. Last year, they and their counterparts coordinated the work of an army of some 3 million volunteers, including a corps of nearly a million Marching Mothers who visited an estimated 10 million homes distributing educational materials and seeking financial support for the March of Dimes.

Mr. Speaker, it is obvious that a great part of America is involved in this massive struggle. I know that all the Members of this House join with me in welcoming these dedicated people to our Capital City and in wishing them every success as they plan the important work of attacking the scourge of birth defects.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include my weekly report to my constituents of April 22, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT FROM CONGRESSMAN JIM MARTIN, SEVENTH DISTRICT, ALABAMA

THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION RESOLUTION

The House passed House Joint Resolution 1, proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing for presidential succession. The vote was 368 to 29 and I was one of the 29 voting against the resolution. This is one of those technical pieces of legislation not easy to explain, but I feel there is grave danger in approving an amendment to the Constitution which would make it possible for an appointed official, never having been approved by the people, to become President of the United States.

Under this proposal, upon the death of the President, the Vice President, having taken the oath as the new President, would appoint a new Vice President. His appointee would have to be approved by the Senate and House, but there are no restrictions as to whom he could appoint. I could not help but think whom the present Vice President, HUBERT HUMPHREY, might appoint if fate decreed that he became President. Certainly, his choice would be approved by the present liberal majority in the House and Senate. This worries me when I remember that on their first vote after having been sworn in as Members of the 89th Congress and having taken an oath to uphold the Constitution, 149 Members of this Congress voted not to seat the legally elected Members of Congress from the State of Mississippi. What could happen in the future, and what kind of man could be appointed as Vice President if some later Congress, made up of ultraliberal-radicals, decided to impose their choice on the people? It is too dangerous a power to confer lightly.

I believe we should follow the present order of succession which makes the Speaker of the House next in line for Vice President.

When the Vice President moved up on the death of a President, the Speaker would become Vice President and the House would elect a new Speaker. In this way we would insure that those holding the highest and most powerful offices in the land would have been approved, at least in their selection originally, by the people. The succession amendment will now have to be approved by a majority of State legislatures and I hope some consideration may be given these points.

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN GROUPS

The House approved an appropriation of $50,000 to permit the House Committee on Un-American Activities to investigate the Ku Klux Klan. I voted for the appropriation because I believe we should bring out in the open all the facts concerning any group where there is suspicion of un-American activities. I did, however, urge the House to include in the investigation such organizations as COPE, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, NAACP, and the Southern Conference Education Fund. If these groups and their leaders have nothing to hide, why should they object to a full and complete investigation of their activities, their motives, and those who plan demonstrations and call for breaking the laws of the land. It was quite interesting to note that the liberals in the House were against the investigation because they were afraid it would lead to a demand for an investigation of all these organizations.

SOCIALISM FAILS AGAIN

While the Johnson administration hails each additional step toward socialism as a victory, the world witnesses another failure in socialism—France is going broke under its state controlled, socialistic programs. Last year the Government-owned railroads in France lost $20 million. (Yet, the railroad union leaders just a few weeks ago called for the U.S. Government to take over the railroads here.) The French Government-operated gas company lost $7 million in 1964. The Paris airport lost $6 million last year. Paris subways and bus systems continue to run up big losses. The French Government last fall conceded that its medicare program was bankrupt. One hundred and twenty-two nationalized industries in France are losing money. In contrast, private industry in France is flourishing.

Before we go whole hog for the Great Society, Lyndon Johnson promises through socializing more and more of the private sector in the United States, it makes good sense to take a look at Socialist failures whenever private incentive is taken away and private initiative curtailed.

The United States built the greatest economy in the history of man, offered greater benefits to more people and created the highest standard of living, all under private enterprise. Let's not lose that spirit now by turning to new economic systems here, systems which have been tried by country after country and have failed in every instance.

Health Professions Educational Assistance Amendments of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 3141) to amend the Public Health Service Act to improve the educational quality of schools of medicine, dentistry, and osteopathy, to authorize grants under that act to such schools for the awarding of scholarships to needy students, and to extend expiring provisions of that act for student loans and for aid in construction of teaching facilities for students in such schools and schools for other health professions, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I should like to address myself for a moment to the provisions of this bill which will revise the current system of securing accreditation for schools of nursing under the Nurses Training Act of 1964.

The committee bill contains a provision which will allow the official accreditating body to be a regional accrediting agency or State approval agency in the case of schools which offer associate degree programs of nurse training. This provision will correct an obvious deficiency in the existing law which was even recognized by the Office of Education when it designated the National League for Nursing as the sole accrediting body for funds, under the act of 1964. At that time the Office of Education stated that amendment of the law might be necessary in view of the special circumstances which many of the junior colleges were in.

The part that the associate degree programs have been playing in our country has been well documented in the general debate but I would like at this time to insert in the RECORD some statements, provided by the National Association of Junior Colleges, which reflect the feeling and need for the amendment which is contained in the committee bill:

STATEMENTS REGARDING QUALITY OF ADN PROGRAMS EXCERPTED FROM RECENT CORRESPONDENCE

Helen M. Wolfe, president, California League for Nursing, January 15, 1965:

"The quality of California associate degree programs in nursing can be documented by student performance on the licensing examination and in the work situation. This includes the following results in the California State test pool examination:

"1959 (967 examinees):

Mean for all five tests

Associate degree program	576
Diploma program	551
Baccalaureate program	582
1962 (1,263 examinees):	
Associate degree program	544
Diploma program	548
Baccalaureate program	573"

Albert E. French, president, State University of New York, Agricultural and Technical College, Canton Branch, August 17, 1965:

"The community colleges in New York State have been successful in training registered nurses in associate degree programs. One such college had yet to have a failure in the State board examinations a year or so ago after more than 5 years of operation. The advisory committee at this college found general satisfaction among employers of nurses with graduates of associate degree programs."

James L. Wattenbarger, director, Division of Community Junior Colleges, State of Florida, Department of Education, August 17, 1965:

"The quality of these programs has been unquestioned from the start. We used guidelines developed by the nursing profession. We applied the same careful planning procedures and analysis of quality all along the way. The success of our programs may be in part measured by the success of the graduates in their State examination. The percentage of students who successfully pass their State board examinations is very high. The enclosed graph shows these facts for November 1964."

William G. Dwyer, president, Board of Regional Community Colleges, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, August 20, 1965:

"Since the early 1950's, community colleges have offered associate degree programs in Nursing. Students completing this course of study have enujoyed outstanding success in the State R.N. examinations. This approach to providing more nurses was developed under a Kellogg grant and represents a change in training from an apprenticeship (3-year diploma school program) to an educational program (2-year ADN at a junior/community college)."

Edward Simonsen, president, California Junior College Association, August 27, 1965:

"The success of associate in arts degree graduates in State licensure examinations has been excellent. Cooperating hospitals, the medical profession, and the communities have been most enthusiasitc about the programs."

Preston N. Tanis, director, Northwestern Michigan College, August 24, 1965:

"During the past 3 years, we have been able to develop an associate degree nursing program which was badly needed for some time in this part of Michigan. To date, our graduates have satisfactorily passed their State board examinations and have been admitted without any difficulty as registered nurses."

Randolph Newman, president, Santa Rosa Junior College, August 19, 1965:

"Santa Rosa Junior College has had a program in professional nursing since 1945. The program is under our jurisdiction and is subject to accreditation by the State of California Board of Nursing Education and Nurse Registration. We have graduated 391 students from our program and its quality is indicated by the fact that during all of these years only four have failed to pass the licensing examination which would permit them to follow the profession in this State."

Roy F. Bergengren, Jr., president, Daytona Beach Junior College, August 24, 1965:

"We have an outstanding associate degree program in nursing education and have graduated highly successful classes. Ours is one of a number of Florida programs established with the assistance of the Kellogg Foundation and the State Board of Nursing."

Oscar H. Edinger, Jr., president, Mount San Antonio College, August 19, 1965:

"The quality of our nursing program and its enthusiastic community and professional support is amply attested to by the eagerness by which our graduates are sought, and by the enthusiastic participation of the advisory committee on which is represented almost every major medical facility in the district. We have maintained a 100 percent placement record of graduates, and many of them have rapidly risen to leadership and supervisory positions. The college placement office and the department chairman of nursing consistently receive more job orders than the number of students that can be accommodated in the program. It is common practice for doctors' offices, civil service agencies, and hospitals to send brochures, application forms, and descriptive materials describing the benefits to be derived from employment with their institutions as inducements for our students."

H. R. Buchser, president/superintendent, San Jose City College, August 23, 1965:

"That our nursing program is of high quality if reflected in our graduates' success in the RN examination, in which they have constantly scored in the top quarter in com-

petition with graduates from all California schools of nursing. Our program is strongly supported by hospitals, the medical and nursing association, and the Citizens Advisory Committee in the community."

Civil Rights, Yes; Civil Disobedience, No

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the struggle for equality before the law and in the eyes of our fellow men continues and doubtless will continue as long as man is on this earth.

The major struggle on this front in America today is the struggle for equal opportunity and equal protection of the law.

The following article by Louis Waldman, which appeared in the August 1965 edition of the New York State Bar Association Journal, is a complete reply to those who would advocate—in the pursuit of justice—civil disobedience.

I commend the article to the attention of our colleagues:

CIVIL RIGHTS—YES; CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE—NO: A REPLY TO DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

(Address delivered by Louis Waldman on Saturday, June 26, 1965, before the summer membership meeting of the New York State Bar Association, at the Laurels Hotel, Monticello, N.Y.)

On Wednesday, April 21, 1965, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., addressed a meeting of the Association of the Bar of the city of New York on the subject "The Civil Rights Struggle in the United States Today." In that address Dr. King made a strong and eloquent plea for civil rights for our fellow citizens of the Negro race. He also dealt with another subject of far-reaching importance, not only to Negroes, but to every single American and to our Nation as such, a subject on which he has spoken and written before: his program for civil disobedience as a means of achieving not only civil rights but to remedy all injustice.

Insofar as Dr. King made a plea for Negro civil rights, I say with emphasis: Civil rights—yes. Insofar, however, as Dr. King advocated civil disobedience, I say with equal emphasis: Civil disobedience—no.

For myself, long before Dr. King was born, I espoused, and still espouse, the cause of civil rights for all people along with causes aimed at abolishing poverty and lifting the standards of workingmen, regardless of race or color, to a higher level of civilized existence, and providing for equality before the law, human dignity, and social and economic justice. In my world we were, and are, color blind. I have never ceased believing in the rightness of these causes. I am happy to say that more and more Americans, not only in the profession of the law, but in every walk of life are enlisting in the realization of these dreams, which are at the heart of the American dream.

The Nation's response, and the ever-growing support for civil rights for the Negro, is reflected by the actions of all three branches of our Federal Government, by the U.S. Supreme Court, beginning with *Brown* v. *Board of Education* in 1954, by the Executive, from the White House down, and by Congress enactment of new legislation, a process continuing up to the present. And this, it should be recorded in the interest of truth, is also the fact in the overwhelming number of our States, going back many years.

But this must be proclaimed for all to remember: The unanimous decision in *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, which is the foundation for the progress made in the last 10 years, was not achieved by civil disobedience; sit-ins, lie-ins, or marches. On the contrary, it was achieved by reason and the appeal to traditional constitutional principles.

Now the rights of Negroes to enjoy the same civil rights as do other Americans, to equality before the law, to equal opportunity, to an education, to a job, to vote under a system of voter qualifications applied uniformly to all citizens, are all based on our constitutional system of government, and the laws enacted under the Constitution. Those who assert rights under the Constitution and the laws made thereunder must abide by that Constitution and the law, if that Constitution is to survive. They cannot pick and choose; they cannot say that they will abide by those laws which they think are just and refuse to abide by those laws which they think are unjust. And the same is true of decisions on constitutional principles.

The country, therefore, cannot accept Dr. King's doctrine that he and his followers will pick and choose, knowing that it is illegal to do so. I say, such doctrine is not only illegal and for that reason alone should be abandoned, but that it is also immoral, destructive of the principles of democratic government, and a danger to the very civil rights Dr. King seeks to promote.

Stripped of all pejorative rhetoric, what is this program of civil disobedience which Dr. King advocates? In his address on April 21, Dr. King said the following:

"Before I close I feel compelled to comment briefly on the oft-heard charge that we who urge noncooperation with evil in the form of civil disobedience are equally lawless."

And, continuing, he said:

"The devotees of nonviolent action* * * feel a moral responsibility to obey just laws. But they recognize that there are also unjust laws."

Dr. King then performs intellectual acrobatics by jumping from the premise—that he and his devotees recognize that there are also unjust laws—to the asserted right to violate such laws that conscience tells him is unjust, that is, in the sole judgment of the violator. He defines an unjust law as:

"One in which people are required to obey a code that they had no part in making because they were denied the right to vote"; and also as being:

" * * * One in which the minority is compelled to observe a code that is not binding on the majority."

According to this logic, every person under 21 or the millions of noncitizens, all denied the right to vote, have no obligation to obey the law. Now, as to the minority logic. There are thousands of laws throughout the land which apply only to minorities, and are "not binding on" the majorities. For example, we are all familiar with laws which provide that application is limited to "cities of 1 million or more," or "cities of less than 100,000," or just cities as opposed to towns or villages. We all know of laws that apply only to bankers, farmers, trade unions, manufacturers, sailors, or electricians or other trades or groups, but do not apply to the great bulk of the rest of the Nation, to the majority. May all such laws be ignored by the affected minority because they do not bind the majority?

These glib generalizations in Dr. King's advocacy of civil disobedience are as bad as they are illogical. For, when literally applied by many of his followers, who do not have the sophistication and training of Dr. King, such shibboleths lead to an intellectual, religious, and moral justification for doing illegal acts of which violence and lawlessness are but the extreme expressions.

"In disobeying such unjust laws," continues Dr. King, "we do so peacefully, openly, and nonviolently. Most important, we willingly accept the penalty, whatever it is."

Apparently Dr. King thinks that in violating laws "openly," he and his followers are more virtuous than those who violate laws secretly. As a matter of fact, the reverse is true. The open violation of law is an open invitation to others to join in such violation. Disobedience to law is bad enough when done secretly, but it is far worse when done openly, especially when accompanied by clothing such acts in the mantle of virtue and organizing well advertised and financed plans to carry out such violations. The secret violator of law recognizes his act for what it is: an antisocial act; he may even be ashamed of what he is doing and seek to avoid disapprobation of his neighbors. But the open violator, the agitating violator, acts shamelessly, in defiance of his neighbor's judgment and his fellow man's disapproval.

After his address Dr. King was asked questions and he gave answers, all recorded. The answers to some of these questions are most illuminating.

Dr. King was asked whether he thought "there is a right to disobey an unjust law" in those places "where the Negroes actually have the right to vote." This is Dr. King's answer:

"There may be a community where Negroes have the right to vote, but there are still unjust laws in that community. There may be unjust laws in a community where people in large numbers are voting, and I think wherever unjust laws exist people on the basis of conscience have a right to disobey those laws."

There we have it. If this philosophy were accepted and carried out by the 20 million American Negroes, it would be enough to disorganize our entire society and produce an intolerable chaos and a denial of individual liberty to every other American.

But, note carefully, Dr. King does not limit his philosophy to Negroes. He says "wherever unjust laws exist people on the basis of conscience have a right to disobey those laws." To this I say that we are all fully aware that human beings, being what they are, "conscience" can be, and sometimes is, elastic, conforming to what people want, both overtly and subconsciously. But, as Dr. King must know, civil disobedience cannot end with Negroes alone. You cannot build a fence around this kind of program. Other people become involved.

The consequences of Dr. King's program, if allowed to continue, would be disastrous to our Nation. For example, if Dr. King's erroneous and ill-founded advocacy of civil disobedience were applied, let us say, to the labor movement and its 15 million organized members, think of what it would mean. It is common knowledge that the labor movement is convinced, and in good conscience believes, that section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law discriminates in favor of States having the so-called "right-to-work" laws, and is unjust. What if in the last 18 years the labor movement had proceeded with a program of civil disobedience as outlined by Dr. King, and had used its organizational power to stage marches, "nonviolent marches" of course, sit-ins, "nonviolent sit-ins" of course, and other activities—would not such actions tend to disorient our politically organized society? Let us suppose further that George Meany, his executive council, and the AFL-CIO unions did all of these things not only with respect to section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law, but also with respect to other laws, city, State, or Federal, which

they honestly and in good conscience believe to be unjust to labor. What would happen to our country, to our industries, to our commerce, to our trade, to our existence as a civilized community?

The same applies to all other segments of the Nation, to farmers, to merchants, to bankers, to manufacturers, to pacifists, to Catholics, to Protestants or to Jews. Whatever the group, if they decide in the name of religion, morality or personal conscience that certain laws are unjust, then, according to Dr. King's program, they would be justified in carrying out civil disobedience.

Again I ask: If this be so, where would our Nation be? Where would our freedom be? Where would our civil rights be?

Dr. King has, not only at this meeting, but at other meetings recently, referred to Hitler's Germany and said that "everything that Hitler did in Germany was legal."

Apart form the fact that in this bare assertion Dr. King is telling only part of Hitler's role in relation to law, he is making an invidious comparison between Hitler's Germany and the United States. I deeply resent it. Most Americans in their right senses should resent it as well. Hitler's Germany was the product of a vicious megalomaniac who was a curse to Germany and the German people, as he turned out to be a curse to other people, and the world at large.

But I want to remind Dr. King, whenever he makes his next speech and compares Hitler and Hitler's Germany to the United States, to tell his audience also that Hitler, when be began in the middle 20's and until he finally escalated himself into becoming the Chancellor of that unhappy nation, followed the philosophy and practice of direct action and civil disobedience. To Hitler and his devotees the laws of the Weimar Republic and the treaties made thereunder were unjust. And from small beginnings to violating one law after another he built a movement which was prepared to accept and obey the laws he thought were just and to defy and violate the laws he thought were unjust.

Hitler's Germany and all that it represents in modern experience, with all its tragic consequences, is a most potent argument against civil disobedience. There are any number of other experiences in the world in this century alone, where those who advocated and organized movements to defy the laws made by their governments, particularly democratic governments, have brought evil to their countries and to the world. Numerous Communist as well as Facist examples come to mind and should not be passed over.

And let us not think that Dr. King's advocacy of civil disobedience is just for the South. He was asked what are the main differences between North and South insofar as civil rights are concerned, and his answer came in a flash:

"Let me say that the problem in a sense is the same. There may be a difference in degree, but not a difference of kind."

And so civil disobedience applies to the North as it does to the South, in Dr. King's view. The reason why the North is to be included in the civil disobedience program, according to Dr. King, is that the North is guilty of broad injustice in three areas: unemployment, housing, and education. Yet, it is patently obvious, that these three problems involve broad social and economic policies, on the justice or injustice of which thousands of laws, touching on these questions, honest men may in good conscience differ.

Then, as if to cap the climax of the April 21 meeting, came the last question:

"Dr. King, does your concept of civil disobedience include such tactics as obstructing sites where Negroes are not employed, where those who use such means are willing to accept the consequences, but are not quarreling with the justice of any law?"

Dr. King's answer which is self-revealing, I set forth in full, as follows:

"I think all of our demonstrations and all civil disobedience must be centered on something. In other words, the goals must be clearly stated. I think we have to face the fact that there are instances wherein the process of frustration with the structure of things, people find themselves in positions of not quite being able to see the unjust law. But they see injustice in a very large sense existing. Consequently, they feel the need to engage in civil disobedience to call attention to overall injustice. At that point they are not protesting against an unjust law. I would say that there are very few unjust laws in most of our northern communities. There are some unjust laws, I think, on the housing question and some other, but on the whole the laws are just. But there is injustice, and there are communities which do not work with vigor and with determination to remove that injustice. In such instances I think men of conscience and men of good will will have no alternative but to engage in some kind of civil disobedience in order to call attention to the injustices, so that the society will seek to rid itself of that overall injustice. Again I say that there must be a willingness to accept the penalty.

"I think there must be, always, in a nonviolent movement, a sense of political timing. I do not believe in the indiscriminate use of any form of demonstration. I think we must be well disciplined and think through our moves, and we must clearly define our goals. I think some of us, for example, felt that the stall-in at the World's Fair didn't quite meet that test because certain goals had not been clearly defined. On the other hand we understood the discontent and the impatience and the frustration, and the disappointment, that led individuals to feel that in an unfair world, maybe people should not be finding it too easy to get to a World's Fair. But at the same time we must set clearly defined goals, in calling for demonstrations and practicing civil disobedience."

This answer, like many others, is full of holes and dodges. For example, according to Dr. King, as long as there is "discontent" and "disappointment" individuals have a right to "feel that in an unfair world, maybe people should not be finding it too easy to get to a world's fair." And thus stall-ins to block the road between New York City and the World's Fair on opening day in 1964, instead of being condemned, gets to be "understood."

From the same sources came the suggestion that, as a further demonstration of "discontent" and "disappointment" with "an unfair world" people should open their faucets in their private homes and let water run to waste. A simpler name for this conduct is sabotage. Where is the end to this type of civil disobedience? It seems that private sabotage, stall-ins on the highway, lie-ins in the White House, in the offices of Governors and mayors, and in the offices of other governmental agencies, do not suggest that the end is in sight.

There is also implied in Dr. King's last answer, that if once you state your goal, then you are justified in proceeding with marches and demonstrations, to a point which, it seems to a lawyer, is constitutionally indefensible. Let me illustrate with a graphic example that has only come to the fore in Chicago this very month. In the June 13, 1965, New York Times, there appeared a story under the head of "150 Jailed in Chicago Sitdown Over Rehiring of School Chief." The repeated demonstrations in Chicago were designed to compel Mayor Richard J. Daley to discharge Dr. Benjamin C. Willis as superintendent of schools. The demonstrators stated their goal, "Ben Willis must go." Their demonstrations included lying on the streets to obstruct traffic, sit-ins at city hall and other familiar techniques.

The demonstrators, according to the Times, "* * * were led today by the Rev. John Porter, a Negro minister who is head of the Chicago affiliate of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and by Robert Lucas, also a Negro and chairman of the Chicago branch of the Congress of Racial Equality."

Unfortunately, we have reached a point where, if you can gather a large enough group who will chant and sing loud enough, and if that group can obstruct the normal operations of life in the community or of agencies of government and that group's actions are carried out repeatedly, then they seem to feel that they have acquired a legal right to do so. Police are "brutal" when they stop such actions; mayors are "unfair" if they seek to protect life and property; and judges and the law are denounced.

Now, why?

Dr. King has written a book called "Why We Can't Wait," in which he tells us his philosophy and purpose:

"The purpose of our direct-action program is to create a situation so crisis packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation."

At another point, he says: "Actually, we who engage in nonviolent direct action are not the creators of tension. We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive. We bring it out in the open, where it can be seen and dealt with."

Thus, we have the philosophy and purpose of Dr. King's program. It is to produce "crisis-packed" situations and "tensions". Such a purpose is the very opposite of nonviolence, for the atmosphere-of-crisis policy leads to violence by provoking violence. And the provocation of violence is violence. To describe such provocations as "nonviolent" is to trifle with the plain meaning of words.

The perpetual crisis technique has been used by the Communist movement throughout the world. Both Communist governments and parties follow it. As I said, it was also used by Hitler in Germany, both on his road to power and after power came to him, as a means of justifying his arbitrary, brutal and barbarous policy. It has been used by every Fascist country we learned to know and abhor in this century. It is disruptive of democratic society and institutions.

Whether Dr. King knows it or not, or wills it or not, the policy of perpetual crisis, of provoking "tensions," as he calls it, and of civil disobedience, are disastrous to the Negro people themselves, to civil liberties and to constitutional government. Such a policy flies in the teeth of the very purpose of our Constitution, which is clearly stated in the preamble to be, among other things, "to insure domestic tranquility."

It is time that the organized bar is heard on this question. It is time that we tell Dr. King and his devotees of civil disobedience that the rule of law will and must prevail, that violators of the law, however lofty their aims or position in society, are not above the law. Correction of injustices by intimidation, by extra-legal means, or inspired by fear of violence cannot longer be continued. And law enforcement authorities must make it clear that we are a constitutional government and the laws enacted pursuant to our Constitution must be obeyed whether the individuals or groups affected by those laws believe they are just or not.

In absolute as well as relative terms, we in the United States have built a democratic constitutional system second to none. We have done so by recognizing the proper roles, assigned by our history and governmental philosophy, to the separation of powers in our Government. This separation

recognizes the sovereignty of States and distributes the political and governmental authorities and functions at the Federal level. It lays down the fundamental principles which regulate the relations of government with citizens and inhabitants of our land. It establishes the rule of law through constitutions and the Bill of Rights.

Our Nation has survived because of the dedication to these principles. Our Nation will continue to live as long as all of us, from lawyer to ditch digger, from judge to police officer, insist on according respect and obedience to these basic values of our society.

Head Start Plan Made Year Round

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, during debate on the Antipoverty Act Amendments, I suggested that the experience of Pittsburgh poverty fighters, operating under the Mayor's Committee on Human Resources, might well serve as a pattern for other cities encountering difficulties with their programs. It gives me great pleasure to note a new success by the Pittsburgh program. So encouraging have been the results this summer of Project Head Start in my home city that plans are being formulated to make it a yearlong part of the antipoverty effort. Under leave to extend my remarks I include a report on our Head Start program from the September 3 issue of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette:

HEAD START PLAN MADE YEAR ROUND—PRE-SCHOOL AID HAILED AS SUCCESS BY MAYOR BARR

Results of Pittburgh's Project Head Start have been so encouraging plans are underway to make it a year-long part of the city's antipoverty effort, Mayor Joseph M. Barr said yesterday.

Project Head Start is a comprehensive education, health and social service program designed to help preschool children from disadvantaged neighborhoods to "catch up" before starting first grade or kindergarten this term.

SOME 1,160 PARTICIPATED

Some 1,160 children took part in the summer program in 58 public and parochial school centers. Mayor Barr said:

"The results are encouraging to all of us. Federal officials have indicated Pittsburgh's program was one of the best run in the country. Because of the good results and the demonstrable need for this kind of preschool program, planning is now underway to make Project Head Start a permanent, year-long part of Pittsburgh's antipoverty effort."

Every child in the summer program received a comprehensive physical and dental examination, including testing for sight, hearing and anemia. All children were served breakfast and lunch each day.

Special trips were arranged to take the children to libraries, the zoo, parks and museum. "For most of these children, this was their first exposure to such facilities," Mayor Barr said.

OVER 2,000 HOMES VISITED

Children were selected for Project Head Start by citizens' committees in each of eight designated neighborhoods. More than 2,000 homes were visited.

Families found in need of additional health, legal or social services were referred for assistance through the community action program.

Primary credit for success of the educational phase of the program goes to the Pittsburgh Public School Board and the Catholic school system, which established the neighborhood centers, Mayor Barr said. Seventeen community agencies provided services.

The program was administered by the Mayor's Committee on Human Resources, Inc., a nonprofit corporation.

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Appendix

The Epic of Benjamin Russell Hanby

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GALE W. McGEE

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix to the RECORD, "The Epic of Benjamin Russell Hanby," an essay on the life of the American songwriter by J. Fred Rippy.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE EPIC OF BENJAMIN RUSSELL HANBY

(By J. Fred Rippy)

Although he died shortly after the middle of his 34th year, Benjamin Russell Hanby quickly became famous as a writer of the words and music of popular songs—well known not only in the United States but also in most of the Western World. Born within a mile or so of the village of Rushville in southeastern Ohio on July 22, 1833, some 12 years after the adoption of the Missouri Compromise, he died in Chicago on March 16, 1867, at the beginning of the unpleasant Reconstruction Era.

He is said to have written as many as 80 songs; and at least 4 of them have been sung by many people in many lands. Those most popular in the United States are: "Darling Nelly Gray"; "Up on the House Top," sometimes listed as "Santa Claus"; and "Ole Shady," which is a song of a contraband runaway slave. Perhaps the most widely sung overseas is a religious hymn entitled "Who Is He in Yonder Stall?"

Hanby's father and the years of trouble during which they both lived seem to have been the main sources of Benjamin's inspiration. Both the father, William Hanby, and his son hated oppression and devoted themselves to religion, education, and freedom for all human beings.

A native of Pennsylvania, Will Hanby was a playmate and chum of William McGuffey, who became the author of popular readers adopted year after year in schools of the United States from their first appearance until after the end of the 19th century. But William Hanby was an orphan boy who soon became an indentured servant of a bad man named Good: Jacob Good, an ex-convict from England who specialized in exploiting apprenticed boys and engaged in other rackets besides, escaping from his crimes by forcing his boys to serve him as alibis and liars.

But Bill Hanby was not a youth devoid of moral scruples. His mother was a very religious woman and had taught him to tell the truth. He refused to lie even for his stern master; whereupon the bad man named Good beat this apprenticed boy half to death and threatened to punish him even more severely if he ever attempted to run away.

Already, however, Bill Hanby had heard of the Northwest Territory where "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude" was permitted by Federal law, and he soon ran away toward the West. Making a perfect storybook escape from a second-story window, he hid by day and traveled by night until he supposed he had reached Ohio. Moving westward thereafter in broad daylight, he spied a house on top of a hill; and making his way to it to beg for food and directions, he discovered to his dismay that he was in Virginia and the house belonged to a planter and slaveowner. However, the owner was away from home, and his wife, though suspecting that the boy was a runaway indentured servant, was a kindhearted lady who pitied and shielded the lad and helped him to escape to his destination. Near Rushville, in southeastern Ohio, William Hanby soon found employment in the harness business with a man named Miller, worked his way up rapidly to a partnership, and fell in love with Mr. Miller's daughter Ann.

Then, at this critical moment, William Hanby's conscience began to pain him more than usual, until finally he confessed that he was a refugee, a runaway indentured servant from the forested hills of Pennsylvania. The Millers did not seriously condemn him. They merely urged him to do what he probably already had in mind to do; namely, return to Pennsylvania and effect a settlement with Jacob Good. But when Bill Hanby arrived there he found his former master determined to force him to serve out his term of apprenticeship; and the efforts of the bad man were defeated only by the intervention of a humane judge and the payment of a fine that consumed nearly all of young Hanby's savings.

Nevertheless, Bill traveled back to Ohio in a happy mood despite the depletion of his purse, happy because he was now free in both body and mind; and, of course, he soon married Ann Miller. Moreover, he eventually became a minister and a bishop in the Church of the United Brethren, helped to found Otterbein College (1845), and offered his 5-room house—by then almost filled with children—for occasional use as a station for runaway slaves arriving by underground railroad. Among those sheltered and hidden was a runway from Kentucky named Joseph Selby who arrived in 1842, and in that house on his dying bed told the pathetic story of a long-lost sweetheart named "Nelly Gray," who had been carried away to the Deep South by a slave trader.

Benjamin Russell Hanby was only 9 years old at this time. But he never forgot this pathetic and dramatic experience; and a few years later, while on a visit to Kentucky, he witnessed a slave auction that refreshed his memory of the deathbed scene of his childhood. Finally, in the year 1856 he poured the tenderness and tears of his sensitive nature into the words and music of "Darling Nelly Gray." Although he was 23 at the time he produced his popular song, he was only a sophomore. His higher education had been delayed by hard work required to support the large family of a preacher. By this time music had gained his primary interest—perhaps with one exception: a girl named Kate Winter, with whom he had fallen in love.

Kate Winter was the only child of fairly wealthy parents who lived in a big house in Westerville, Ohio, near the Otterbein campus, and Kate's mother tried to break up this love affair. But her efforts were in vain.

Otterbein's music teacher, Cornelia Walker, taught both Kate Winter and Ben Hanby, felt that the two were a good match, and encouraged their courtship. Serving as a sort of post office for the couple, she carried their letters back and forth on her visits to the two homes. The Hanby's finally managed to arrange a party in honor of Kate; and during a pause on that occasion, a group of Otterbein college students stepped forward and sang "Darling Nelly Gray," sang it in public for the first time; and that conniving music teacher exclaimed: "Ben, that's a wonderful song; you should have it published." And published it was before the end of the year 1856—with a dedication to Cornelia Walker.

But it was 2 years later, after Ben had received his diploma from Otterbein College, before he and Kate were married. Arguing that the wide popularity of his song was compensation enough for Ben Hanby, the publisher had tried to deprive him of his royalties, and a tedious lawsuit had brought only a small return, half of which he had to share with an attorney. It therefore seemed desirable to find a salaried position before assuming the obligations of matrimony.

Benjamin Russell Hanby worked in many occupations during the remainder of his short life. He traveled in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and other States as agent for his alma mater; taught in an Ohio academy; became pastor of a United Brethren church; was forced to resign from his pastorate because he insisted that instrumental music should be a part of public worship; established a small music school for little children.

By the year 1864 he had become so widely known by virtue of the popularity of his songs that the John Church Music Co. of Cincinnati employed him, and the following year he was able to transfer to the more distinguished musical establishment of Root & Cady in Chicago, where for the rest of his brief life he wrote songs for schools and churches and the common people; and in collaboration with George F. Root—a songster already famous for his "Just Before the Battle, Mother," his "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys Are Marching," and several others—Hanby published a musical periodical, "Our Song Birds," in 1866–67.

Did Ben Hanby's musical career bring him material fortune as well as almost global fame? This writer must confess that he cannot answer that question satisfactorily because such biographical sketches as he has been able to discover are mostly silent on this subject. Ben's wife's parents, described as wealthy, could easily have financed him and Kate and their two small children; and, like many artists of his day and before and after, Benjamin Russell Hanby was probably little concerned with material gains. Rich or poor, he lived at a most opportune era for the producer of songs for the people. It was a period of crisis that culminated in civil war and its bitter aftermath, and he resided in one of the main centers of Northern agitation and propaganda. And yet, at least one of his songs was widely sung by both sides in the conflict and was destined to be sung in both North and South for many years to come.

"Darling Nelly Gray" became a campfire song of the Union Army and, strangely enough in view of its antislavery sentiment, was also loved in the South and sung by Confederate soldiers both in camp and on the march. It was surpassed in popularity among Southerners only by "Dixie." Pickett's men played "Darling Nelly Gray" on their way to Gettysburg, and the Con-

federates sang and played it during the Siege of Vicksburg.

General Fitzhugh Lee named his horse Nelly Gray, and the horse ridden by Jefferson Davis as he reviewed the Army of Northern Virginia bore the same name. Pickett mentioned the song in letters to his young sweetheart. And, needless to say, it was a favorite of Generals Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan. It was also a favorite of Texas cowboys along the Chisholm Trail and at the trail's end in Abilene and Dodge City, where they sang it in the saloons and as they staggered along the streets. Nor was it unfamiliar to those who traveled westward in covered wagons. Its most poignant lines are these:

"My eyes are getting blinded and I cannot see my way.
Hark! there's somebody knocking at the door.
Oh! I hear the angels calling, and I see my Nelly Gray.
Farewell to the old Kentucky shore.

"Oh, my darling Nelly Gray, up in heaven there they say
That they'll never take you from me any more.
I'm a-coming, coming, coming, as the angels clear the way,
Farewell to the old Kentucky shore."

Perhaps no other song produced by Hanby was so widely known and acclaimed in this country. But "Ole Shady" could be heard for years and years on the steamboats that plied the Ohio and the Mississippi and their tributaries, in the river settlements along their banks—and at several Republican National Conventions as well.

Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, during the Civil War, had refused to surrender runaway slaves to their Southern owners unless the owners would swear allegiance to the Union, and had declared their runaways contraband in case the owners refused, thus bypassing the Federal fugitive-slave law. Informed of this new policy, the Negroes fled from their masters by the thousands, and "I's contrabande" became a happy phrase among them:

"Oh! yah! yah! darkies, laugh wid me,
For de white folks say Ole Shady is free:
So don't you see dat de jubilee is a-comin',
Comin'. Hail! mighty day.

"Ole Mars got scared and so did his lady,
Dis chile breaks for Ole Uncle Aby,
Open de gates out, here's Ole Shady a-comin',
Comin'. Hail! mighty day."

As late as 1896 Theodore Roosevelt was greeted upon his arrival at the Republican convention by this improvised verse from that famous song of the runaway slave:

"Get up, ole gal, an' blow your horn,
Don't you see de dust arisin' ober de corn?
Dat's Teddy Roosevelt, shore's you' born,
A-comin'! Hail mighty day."

The third verse of the original song, a favorite of General Sherman, could hardly have been welcomed by the South during the war and the years immediately following:

"Good-bye Mars Jeff, good-bye Mis'r Stephens
'Scuse dis darkey for takin' his leavins.
'Spect pretty soon you'll hear Uncle Abe's a-comin'.
Comin'. Hail mighty day."

Nor was "Up on the House Top," Hanby's popular Christmas song, first published in 1864, much appreciated and sung in the South, so far as I have been able to discover, joyful and beautiful as such verses as this seem to me:

"Up on the house top reindeer pause,
Out jumps good old Santa Claus;
Down thro' the chimney with lots of toys
All for the little ones, Christmas joys.
"Ho, ho, ho! Who wouldn't go!
Ho, ho, ho! Who wouldn't go!
Up on the house top, click, click, click,
Down thro' the chimney with good Saint Nick."

And the same has been true in the South of Hanby's worshipful hymn to Jesus Christ, the first verse and chorus of which I quote:

"Who is He in Yonder stall?
At His feet we humbly fall.

" 'Tis the Lord, O wondrous story!
'Tis the Lord, the King of Glory;
At His feet we humbly fall,
Crown Him, crown Him Lord of all."

But Ira D. Sankey and Dwight L. Moody, in the course of their great revivals, made the hymn familiar in the North and in the British Isles, where it soon appeared in all the Protestant hymnals and whence it was carried by missionaries to most of the world.

I conclude my essay with a laudatory statement found in an address recently delivered by Judge Earl Hoover of Cleveland[1] in the Church of the Presidents—National Presbyterian Church—on Connecticut Avenue in Washington, D.C.:

"Born near an Ohio crossroad. Never had much money to jingle in his pockets. Wrote his music mostly from Ohio crossroad villages: "Darling Nelly Gray" at Westerville; "Ole Shady" at Seven Mile; "Up on the House Top" at New Paris. Finally, after all this apprenticeship on the crossroads, he gets a big break and is brought to Chicago, but death cuts him down almost immediately.

"In this epic story move Generals Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Lee, and Pickett; slavery; the underground railroad; the War Between the States; the Battle of Gettysburg; the Siege of Vicksburg; the March From Atlanta to the Sea; * * * political campaigns; Negro minstrel troupes; * * * Robert Ingersoll and James G. Blaine; Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey; Robert Todd Lincoln and Teddy Roosevelt; * * * the Church of England; * * * a young Ohio minister forced to give up his pulpit because he brought musical instruments into the church; a youth whose music swerved the course of history, * * * enlivened the campfires both of the Confederacy and the Union, of the pioneer traveling west in his covered wagon, and of cowboys driving cattle * * * from Texas to Abilene; music—immortal music—that encompassed the globe and still, after a century, is sung on every continent.

[1] In the preparation of this sketch I have relied heavily upon Judge Hoover's eloquent address, which was inserted in the Appendix (pp. 4406–4412) of the daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for Aug. 9, 1965. Very brief accounts of Hanby's life and works have appeared in the "Dictionary of American Biography" (vol. 8, p. 217, with a bibliographical note) and "The National Cyclopaedia" (vol. 23, pp. 124–125).

Judge Hoover, perhaps too enthusiastically under the fervor of State pride, proclaimed Hanby the Stephen Foster of Ohio. There are, of course, many similarities. Both composed Negro songs and both died young, though Hanby's working time was 5 years shorter than Foster's.

The Real Alabama—Part LIV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, one of the remarkable facts of Alabama's economic strength is the extensive and still-growing system of waterways. The following article from the Birmingham News describes that development:

Fourth in the Nation in miles of improved waterways open to navigation, Alabama has the potential to move into the No. 1 position among all the States. Today's 1,000 miles of 9-foot channel may well extend to a full 1,700 miles within a few years.

Of prime importance is the fact that continuing studies for more navigable mileage as well as work on actual projects is underway. Congress already has authorized comprehension development of the State's river basins to provide navigation, hydroelectric power, flood control, recreation and many other benefits. Funds are on hand for work on some of these projects. Continuing modernization and improvement is a certainty.

The Tennessee River enters Alabama near Chattanooga, flows south, west and north more than 250 miles where it again enters Tennessee and moves on to join the Ohio River at Paducah, Ky. A 9-foot navigation channel now extends from Knoxville through Alabama to confluence with the Ohio.

More than 13 million tons of cargo are now transported each year through the Alabama portion of the Tennessee's flow, the route connecting the State's inland ports at Florence, Muscle Shoals, Decatur, Huntsville and Guntersville.

The Warrior and Black Warrior Rivers flow through and serve a rich mineral and manufacturing area in and near the Birmingham district. The Warrior flows south to its confluence with the Tombigbee and then joins the Alabama to form the Mobile River. Tombigbee headwaters rise in northeast Mississippi and west Alabama. A strong move is underway to obtain funds to dig a channel connecting this system with the Tennessee, opening up the Midwest to Alabama industry for direct water transport.

A half century ago the Federal Government built a series of small locks and dams to provide navigation from Mobile to Port Birmingham, a total of 467 river miles, including tributaries. Greater tonnage, bigger barges and tugboats made those facilities obsolete, and the Government is now in the final stages of completing a modernization program replacing those installations with four larger locks and dams, 110 feet wide and 600 feet long.

The Warrior-Tombigbee is one of the busiest and most useful water routes in the Southeast, and has an increasingly important role in industrial Alabama. More than 50 industrial plants have located along its banks in recent years.

Alabama Power Co. has built a large hydroelectric dam on the headwater tributary to control the downstream flow and maintain a 9-foot navigation channel at all times.

Alabama and Coosa Rivers and tributaries form one of the largest river systems in the Southeast. From its head at Montgomery to gulf level at the mouth it extends 314 miles. From Rome, Ga., to Montgomery, the Coosa flows 286 miles. The basin contains 27 Alabama counties, an area which in recent years has moved from an agricultural to an industrial economy.

Navigation has been possible on the Coosa from Rome to the rapids below Childersburg, Ala. The Alabama has been navigable through the years to light-draft vessels and the lower 125 miles has been of sufficient depth to carry modern tugs and barges two-thirds of the year.

Congress has authorized one navigation dam and two multiple-purpose dams on the Alabama to provide a 9-foot channel from the mouth to Montgomery and up the Coosa to Wetumpka, a total of 325 miles.

Alabama Power is in the midst of a huge construction program on the Coosa, following which the Government is expected to install locks to provide navigation from

Mobile to Gadsden within the next decade. Improvements from Gadsden to Rome are assured.

Also authorized by Congress is the development of the Chattahoochee for 265 miles from the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway to Phenix City, Ala. This will provide a 9-foot navigation channel, reduction of flooding, development of hydroelectric power, and increased water supply. Dam construction is progressing.

Improvement of the Choctawatchee and Conecuh Rivers is anticipated within a few years. The Corps of Engineers is engaged in studies on navigation, flood control, and other benefits.

When planned improvements on the State's waterways are completed by the end of 1970, every county in the State will be within 60 miles of navigable water.

As business and Government leaders see it, this will be the key to Alabama becoming the Southeast's economic leader.

Invitation to Violence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I am pleased to call to the attention of my colleagues an excellent editorial broadcast over Jefferson Broadcasting Co. of Charlotte, N.C., on August 31, 1965. The editorial is entitled "Invitation to Violence." I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this editorial be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INVITATION TO VIOLENCE

Students of psychology are familiar with the negative suggestion that brings positive results. If you tell a child not to play in the mud, you need not be surprised to find him playing in the mud in the next 5 minutes. Telling him not to do something may put the idea in his mind when he may not have thought of it before.

President Johnson's warning that there may be riots in the District of Columbia, which is now 60-percent Negro, if the Capital's racial problems are not solved could be put in the class of the negative suggestion that might lead to an unfortunate result.

Riots do not occur as the result of planning by the general public, and probably very few people in Washington have been considering starting a riot. But there seems to be a general feeling in Washington that the President phrased his warning in an effort to force Congress into acting on a home rule bill for the city.

If enough discontented people chose to do so, they might reason: "The President says we can riot if we don't get home rule. So let's go."

Of course, the President did not think of it in that way at all. But as a former schoolteacher, he might have recalled Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar." This was the classic example of a negative suggestion by Marc Anthony that incited a mob, led to civil war, and almost overthrew an empire.

The tinderbox of Washington is in many ways as dangerous today as Rome was when Mark Antony made his famous speech. Because there really is imminent danger in the situation, it is even more important to avoid saying anything that could be taken as an invitation to violence.

Possible home rule for Washington and racial tensions there are two different things, and no one should be encouraged to think they are connected. Under normal conditions, we would say that the people of the city should have a greater voice in their local affairs. But as the President said, Washington does not have normal conditions.

The reason that Congress has governed Washington up to now is because so many of the city's problems concern Federal rather than local services and institutions. It is quite probable that not enough attention has been given in the past to the needs of the private population. But if there is a time of crisis now, then this is not the time to change the system drastically.

Washington has many problems in housing, employment, education, and rising crime rates that would not be solved overnight by giving home rule to the residents. Yet their sullen frustration at these problems is only needled further by public statements from the President which are intended to put political pressure on Congress, but might have the result of making an explosive situation worse.

This is no time to be striking matches in powder factories.

Invitation to respond has been sent to White House Press Secretary Bill Moyer.

Southern Justice Is Segregated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, on August 27, Natchez, Miss., civil rights leader, George Metcalfe, was seriously wounded when a bomb, hidden beneath the hood of his car, exploded as he turned on the ignition. The FBI in Mississippi immediately announced it would take charge of the hunt for the bombers and Mayor Nosser, of Natchez, called for the apprehension and bringing to justice of the criminal. But a forecast of major trouble in Mississippi has been made. Both Klansmen and members of the militant Negro Deacons for Defense are known to be heavily armed. Negro citizens of Mississippi have declared that since there is a total collapse of law and order in that State and since they cannot obtain protection from Federal sources, they will no longer suffer murder and atrocities upon their homes and persons without defensive action.

Mr. Speaker, I have two recent news articles, one from Look magazine and one from the Washington Post, which set forth in starkest terms the story of southern justice which has now brought us to this fearsome threshold.

The articles follow:

[From Look magazine]

SOUTHERN JUSTICE

(By Charles Morgan, Jr.)

They were an unlikely trio on an unlikely trip. Few young people go to Philadelphia, Miss., except to visit the campgrounds of the "granddaddy of county fairs." Neshoba County's people are older; most of the young folk move away.

Michael Schwerner, 24, and Andrew Goodman, 20, both northerners and white, had hope for Neshoba County and, indeed, all of Mississippi. Their Negro comrade, James Chaney, 21, of Meridian, Miss., had hope, too—that Negroes might be free, that Negroes and whites might learn to live together. They were special young men. That is why they disappeared on a June night in 1964.

Forty-four days later, their bodies were dug out of a red-clay dam on the old John Townsend place, 5 miles from Philadelphia. They had been shot to death. Chaney's body had been mangled.

Southern justice is segregated. Judges, juries, sheriffs, police, troopers, and FBI agents are white. So are jailers, bailiffs, marshals, lawyers, stenographers, clerks, and coroners who command southern courthouses and jails and electric chairs.

Federal courts, 11 Southern States

	Total	White	Negro
Circuit court judges	12	12	0
District court judges	65	65	0
U.S. commissioners	253	253	0
U.S. clerks	28	28	0
Deputy U.S. clerks	321	321	0
U.S. attorneys	29	29	0
Assistant U.S. attorneys	158	153	5
Jury commissioners	109	109	0
U.S. marshals	29	29	0
Deputy U.S. marshals	165	156	9

In the Deep South, where Sunday morning foot washing may precede Sunday evening killing, justice is a weapon of repression. Lawmen are elected because they "know how to handle niggers." So do judges. Yet Negroes are told to fight their battle in white courts—courts that free white killers of Negroes, but punish Negroes harshly for minor offenses against whites. Meanwhile the list of dead is growing:

William L. Moore, 35, white Baltimore postman. Shot near Attalla, Ala., April 23, 1963.

Medgar W. Evers, 37, NAACP field secretary. Ambushed in Jackson, Miss., June 12, 1963.

Denise McNair, 11, Cynthia Wesley, Carol Robertson, and Addie Mae Collins, 14, Negro schoolgirls. Killed in church bombing, Birmingham, Ala., September 15, 1963.

Johnny Robinson, 16, Negro. Killed by policeman's shotgun after church bombing, Birmingham, Ala., September 15, 1963.

Lemuel A. Penn, 49, Negro school official returning to Washington, D.C., from Army Reserve training. Killed by shotgun blast on north Georgia highway, July 11, 1964.

Jimmie Lee Jackson, 26, Negro. According to witnesses, shot by State trooper while protecting his mother from beating, Marion, Ala., February 18, 1965. Died, February 26.

The Reverend James J. Reeb, 38, white Boston Unitarian minister, clubbed, Selma, Ala., March 9, 1965. Died, March 11.

Viola Gregg Liuzzo, 39, white Detroit housewife, killed on U.S. Highway 80 near Selma, Ala., March 25, 1965, following Montgomery march.

And there are forgotten casualties: Walter Bergman, freedom rider from Detroit, crippled in a beating on a bus near Birmingham. He will spend his life walking with canes. Little Sarah Jean Collins, 12, almost totally blinded in the bombing of the church in Birmingham, Ala.

And forgotten murders: Emmett Till, 14, Negro, murdered August 28, 1955. His killers went free. Mack Charles Parker, 23, Negro, lynched April 25, 1959. No one remembers the names of the two white men killed in the Ole Miss riot, Oxford, Miss., September 30, 1962. And no one will ever know how many more victims lie awash in the swamps and bayous of the Deep South.

The struggle in the South is not a battle for law and order. It is the struggle of law, new law, against the harsh, old order. Troopers and deputies who club demon-

strators in Selma, Ala., bombings and arson across the South, the murdered, blinded and maimed are all part of a willful defiance of law.

In all the above killings, not a single conviction has been obtained.

Mickey Schwerner, James Chaney, Andrew Goodman may have cried out that night in June 1964. We will never know. If they did, they cried for justice.

[From the Washington Post]

SEGREGATION THRIVES ON JIM CROW JUSTICE

(By Jack Nelson)

ATLANTA.—You might say it was a case of conscience.

In a State capitol building in the South, a State official and a reporter were poring over records of criminal cases. They had waited until it was dark outside because the official had wanted it that way.

"When it comes to the Negro, the callousness of some courts is unbelievable," he had said. "Certainly, I'll help you all I can. I can show you plenty of cases. But come at night."

Politically, he could not afford to be identified with an attempt to pinpoint the evils of Jim Crow justice, which pervades southern courthouses, enforcing segregation with a cruel double standard of crime and punishment.

But he wanted to help because the injustices of the system sickened him.

"Don't even identify the State," the official said as he handed the reporter a stack of records. "It's immaterial anyway. The same things happen in other States."

A teenage Negro boy, who had never been in trouble, was hunting when a gang of white boys on a drinking binge happened by and decided to "devil" him. One of them grabbed his gun and it accidentally fired, killing the son of a leading citizen.

An all-white jury convicted the Negro of murder and sentenced him to life imprisonment.

"If the boy had been white," a witness said, "he never would have been tried."

An elderly white woman, jaywalking despite being repeatedly warned by police, was killed when she walked into the side of a car driven by a Negro. No case was made immediately, but several days later, after pressure by the woman's relatives, the Negro was charged with manslaughter.

A white neighbor, who witnessed the incident, said he was "not a nigger lover," but that the Negro was railroaded.

"If it had been two white men," he said, "nobody would have pulled time."

A white man does not have to die for a Negro to be prosecuted for a major crime as a result of an auto accident in one case where a white man suffered a broken leg in a two-car collision, an elderly Negro man was sentenced to 8 years for assault with intent to murder.

Negro teenagers often suffer harsh punishment for first offenses.

One youth without an arrest record had left his State looking for a job. Hungry and penniless, he broke into a small grocery and was eating Vienna sausage from a can when local police collared him. He got 5 years for burglary.

A Negro youth, whose family had worked for his white employer for more than 40 years, began taking chewing gum, candy, and ice cream from the white man's grocery. He received a 6-year sentence for burglary because the court thought he was "getting out of hand."

Eying the stack of records and declaring they comprised a "small sample" of the injustices he has seen, the State official declared:

"Certainly a man should not be sentenced just to satiate some prejudice in the courtroom or the community. But that is what often happens. Something must be done to guard the rights of people unable to take care of themselves."

More than half of the cases shown the reporter involved defendants who were tried or pleaded guilty, without benefit of counsel, on accusations drawn by prosecutors.

"The most glaring abuses are in that area," the official said.

None of those cases in any way concerned civil rights demonstrations.

But, reports by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission document, hundreds of instances in which Negroes in desegregation cases and Negroes and whites in civil rights demonstrations have been treated unjustly by courts and law enforcement officers in the South.

Daniel H. Pollitt, professor of law at the University of North Carolina, has pointed out that even attorneys seeking to defend civil rights workers often run into trouble in Jim Crow courtrooms. Writing in the December 1964, North Carolina Law Review, Pollitt declared:

"The small band of southern attorneys who undertake 'racial' litigation often find the common courtesies of the bench and bar denied them."

Of the arrest of Clyde Kennard, the first Negro applicant to all-white Mississippi Southern University, Pollitt wrote:

"He was convicted of stealing five sacks of chicken feed on the basis of rather tenuous evidence. His lawyer was charged with contempt of court for explaining to the press that the sentence of 7 years hard labor was a 'mockery of justice.' "

Warren Fortson, a young white attorney in Americus, Ga., recently charged that officials used morals charges against two teenagers, the daughter and son of two prominent Negro families, to prevent them from taking part in civil rights demonstrations.

"We have made great progress in desegregation and race relations," Fortson said. "But the courthouse crowd has done everything they could to harass. The oppression of the courts and law enforcement are Negroes' major grievances now."

Republicans and Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I was honored to serve as a member of the task force on human rights and responsibilities which drafted the position paper, "Equality in America: A Promise Unfulfilled," approved and released by the Republican Coordinating Committee at its August 30 meeting here in Washington. In an editorial praising the Committee for its action, the Christian Science Monitor expresses the feeling that the Republican Party "has legitimate historical justification for its present call for action on civil rights in a balanced framework of Federal, State, local, and private participation."

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPUBLICANS AND RIGHTS

Republicans continue to move forward responsibly in statements on individual rights and public responsibility.

This is in keeping with the civil rights traditions of the party of Lincoln. In recent years these traditions have been upheld by such action as that of Dwight Eisenhower in obtaining the first modern civil rights legislation from the U.S. Congress. They appeared to be threatened last year when the Republican standard bearer, Senator Goldwater, defied most of his colleagues and voted against the Civil Rights Act.

Recently, after the Los Angeles riots, Mr. Goldwater said: "I don't discount the agitation that took place, but I think we better get on with the job of providing training, providing incentive, and providing integration wherever it doesnt' exist for all people, whether they be Negro or white, whose education and economic backgrounds have not been as fortunate as some of the others."

Now the Republican Coordinating Committee has issued a paper on civil rights that not only deplores "violence, illegal breach of the peace by any kind of mob," but asks for positive governmental action in support of law.

For example, it calls for "immediate and full implementation" of a provision for fast desegregation of schools in the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

But the Republicans wisely did not stop with urging necessary Federal measures. They said that, "as Republicans, we believe that while civil rights is a national problem and national responsibility, it is also the responsibility of State and local governments as well." And it took the next and no less important step of urging "private action at the local level to insure equal opportunity for all in the fields of education, housing, employment, and public accommodations."

Clearly, if the action outlined here had been undertaken more fully in the American past, the involvement of the Federal Government would have been less demanded in recent years. In the solid South, for example, the prevailing Democratic forces all too often supported a status quo not in keeping with national ideals.

As the Democrats moved to center stage in the struggle for civil rights there was a danger that Republicans would turn back on their party's ideals and exploit white dissatisfaction with change. It would be naive to discount political motives in the new Republican alinement with the trend of minority progress. Yet we feel the party has legitimate historical justification for its present call for action on civil rights in a balanced framework of Federal, State, local, and private participation.

No Division on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAYMOND F. CLEVENGER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. CLEVENGER. Mr. Speaker, efforts to split our determination to face the Communist threat in Vietnam into petty political factions were squelched by former President Dwight D. Eisenhower. I believe the following article from the Saginaw, Mich., News of August 22 does an outstanding job of setting these matters to rest:

[Saginaw (Mich.) News, August 22, 1965]

IKE'S "ROT" DECLARATION REAL SERVICE TO NATION IN VIETNAM STRUGGLE

Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, now almost 5 years out of the Nation's highest office, has done the Nation a distinct service by playing down as "rot" any suggestion that he and President Johnson are divided on present American policy in Vietnam.

While setting forth the exact meaning of the kind of aid the United States had pledged to South Vietnam as far back as 1954, the former President put in perspective the history of how that pledge has grown over the years to present full-scale military involvement.

At the same time, the former Chief Executive has eased the path considerably for Mr. Johnson by declaring that he backs present administration policy "as any good American should," and that there is no division with the White House on this score.

In light of frequent references by both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations to the American aid pledge to South Vietnam—much of it detailed in a letter written by General Eisenhower to President Diem in 1954—Ike chose to break his long silence with a full explanation of what American aid meant as translated into the situation which prevailed in southeast Asia at that time.

Mr. Eisenhower had a right to set the record straight and his explanation can stand on its merit. Aid then meant economic help, not military, as the general explained, and the need for military assistance, which was then not felt necessary, was to have been predicated on full SEATO response, not unilateral action. As it turned out, SEATO response never materialized when massive military assistance became necessary in 1961.

Further light is shed on recent history with the reminder that the U.S. commitment made during the Eisenhower years was tied to the premise that the Diem regime would achieve stability in South Vietnam. This, likewise, failed to materialize as a bad situation grew worse bringing the Diem downfall in 1963, open civil war heightened by Communist infiltration, and a succession of bad governments.

Thus, without saying it in so many words, the former President has made it clear that the decisions of a major military nature were carried forth by his successors in their best judgment—which he fully supports.

Mr. Eisenhower's simple declarative, however, was jumped on by doubters and taken as indication of a major break with administration policy. In setting the record straight on all scores, Mr. Eisenhower's statement of position is clear and edifying.

As he himself suggested, how would it look in the eyes of the rest of the world for a former President to be publicly mouthing disagreement with Mr. Johnson's Vietnam policy in times like these? Mr. Eisenhower has indicated this to be unthinkable. And it is.

Paperback Smut Thrives as Outlets Continue To Grow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, it is difficult to imagine that in a country like ours, which is reputed to be enlightened, educated, and alert to moral and social evils, a sordid industry which preys on the perversity in men, is expanding into an $18 million-a-year industry. This is the obscene literature racket, which wholesales in pornography and smut.

Mr. Paul L. Montgomery, writing in the New York Times on September 5, outlines the extent of the market in this trash. His story explains the new trends in sordid books, the increase in the number of outlets, and the prediction for even greater sales in this printed filth.

As one who has worked hard in an effort to set up controls on this traffic, I welcome this well documented story, which should help alert parents and others who want to protect our youth and our society from material which appeals to the prurient and the abnormal.

In two Congresses, the U.S. Senate has passed legislation which I have introduced which provides for a Commission on Noxious and Obscene Matters and Materials. I have introduced this bill again in this Congress. The number of the bill is S. 309.

I am happy to report that the Subcommittee on Education, in the House of Representatives, under the chairmanship of Congressman DENT, of Pennsylvania, is holding hearings on a bill almost identical to mine which was introduced by Congressman DANIELS, of New Jersey. I predict that in this Congress we will be able to take action necessary to hit a body blow at the distribution of obscene matters.

Because the article by Mr. Montgomery is so timely and so well written, and because I believe it bolsters the arguments which I and 28 other Senators who have cosponsored my bill believe in, I ask that the story by Mr. Montgomery be included in the Appendix of the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PAPERBACK SMUT THRIVES AS OUTLETS CONTINUE TO GROW

(By Paul L. Montgomery)

The pulp sex novel, once considered the preserve of pasty-faced men in shabby overcoats, has emerged from underground to become an $18 million-a-year business.

This year, by conservative estimate, the burgeoning industry will produce 500 lurid titles exploring lesbianism, nymphomania, male homosexuality, sado-masochism, fetishism, incest and other pursuits that used to be treated primarily in medical journals.

In the well-ordered dirty book stores, of which there are now a dozen in midtown Manhattan, special sections are set aside for the most popular categories of aberrance. The largest emporium displays 1,000 titles, ranging from "Address for Sex" to "Wife Traders."

Much of the expanded market, however, has come from other outlets. Racks of the sex paperbacks blossom these days in many cigar and candy stores, and even some drugstores. They are a profitable item.

To some, the ready availability of the prurient indicates progress toward American maturity in matters sexual. Others, including the censorship groups and most churches, do not agree.

"A veritable floodgate of obscenity (has been) opened in the last 12 months in the form of obscene pocket books, magazines and greeting cards, to such an extent that it is unbelievable," the mayor's citizens antipornography commission reported recently.

There are few on either side of the argument, however, who would deny that the increasing number of sex novels are badly written, joyless, repetitious and twisted in their emphasis on the sneaky and the abnormal. It is difficult not to regard many of the outpourings of extravagant language and soaring passion as boring, if not comical.

Even those who write and publish the works feel they are engaged in a less than noble profession.

FRUSTRATION A FACTOR

One commercial writer who has produced a number of the pulps says he writes "by and large for men who are afraid of women." He believes that men buy such books to feel superior to the heroines, who are either sexually insatiable, inclined toward lesbianism, or aggressively given to other unattractive practices. Thus the book buyer, the writer says, "feels he's not really missing a lot in relating so poorly to women."

The editor of a leading line of sex books believes his audience is primarily made up of "frustrated men." The books, he says, allow such men to "transfer their guilt feeling about their inadequacies from themselves to the women in the book." Lesbianism is the most popular theme at present, he believes, because the reader "gets two immoral women for the price of one."

The writers of the pulp novels get a flat rate averaging $750 or $1,000, although some smaller concerns pay much less. It takes about 2 weeks to complete a book.

According to one editor, many of the men and the few women, who write sex books have enough talent to move on to better things, but very few do. On the whole their lives are disorderly and speculative; few have families or live outside the large cities.

THREE CLASSES OF PUBLISHERS

The publishers fall generally into three classes. First, there are the three middle-of-the-road ones—Midwood Books and Lancer Books, both of 185 Madison Avenue, and Beacon Publishers, 808 Third Avenue. A second class, which produces slightly more sensational items, are the dozen or so concerns in Chicago, Detroit and on the west coast.

The third group, which is responsible for what the trade calls "the very rough stuff," consists of fly-by-night operators. These are men, generally of unsavory character and long experience in the trade, who conduct their business wherever there is space for their suitcase.

The suitcase operators generally begin by assembling two or three manuscripts, though they are not above stealing stories that have been printed by others. They get them printed cheaply, usually in a run of 50 or 60 thousand. The books appear with an imprint like "An Atlas Book" but have no publishers' name or address. They then sell their output to a distributor for about half the cover price and move on.

The fly-by-night product is selectively distributed—that is, it goes only to "trustworthy" outlets. Most of it is available in the midtown stores.

SUGGESTION EMPHASIZED

The more respectable concerns put out a polished product, long on suggestion but short on actual prurient content. Larry Shaw, the editor of Lancer Books, says he judges manuscripts on whether the writer has a story to tell aside from sex. Readers of the concern's Domino Books, the sex book line, would be really disappointed if they are looking for pornography, Mr. Shaw says.

The 10 Domino books for August and September include 7 that, judging from the covers, have a lesbian theme. The others, the covers say, are about a desperately wanton woman, an untamed, man-crazy temptress and a Manhattan apartment overflowing with warmly wanton girls.

Mr. Shaw notes that there are fewer and fewer taboos to be observed in sex books. "The censors have suffered several setbacks nationally," he says. "Our main problems now are the local level."

Until 2 or 3 years ago, nymphomania was the most popular theme for the pulp paperbacks. Since then, however, lesbianism has gained the ascendancy, although it appears now to be losing ground to male homosexuality. Books about sado-masochism and fetishism, generally involving secluded castles, bullwhips, tight leather suits, and spike-heeled boots, have also become popular.

SELLING TRICKS USED

The preparation of the final package is regarded in the trade as a high art. The key elements are a lurid cover painting, generally costing $200 or $300; spicy blurbs on the front and back covers and the first inside page, and a suggestive title.

Some title words apparently have a hypnotic effect on buyers. One compilation of current books includes "Flesh Avenger," "Flesh Drunk," "Fleshpot," "Flesh Castle," "Flesh Cousins," "Flesh Fancy," "Flesh Hunt," "Flesh Prize," "Flesh Town," "Flesh Village," and "Flesh Whip."

The manuscripts are also carefully edited. Some writers get carried away and have to be toned down from anatomical specificness to general suggestiveness. Most concerns remove all profanity. It is not considered to be in good taste.

Four-letter words, which are common in serious fiction, are carefully avoided, because they are considered to have an antierotic effect on readers. One sex book writer who was asked if he used obscenity in his stories replied "Good God, no—that's dirty."

Because a lot of the buying of pulp books is on impulse, most publishers try to get some mention of sex in each paragraph. In this way, the casual browser will be caught up in the product no matter where he opens the book.

The last task is to give the book a message. This practice is based on a Supreme Court ruling defining obscenity as material "utterly without redeeming social importance."

A letter to writers from one sex book publisher discusses the matter in depth. "Essentially, we are interested in publishing adult novels exploring lesbian or heterosexual love as it applies to our society today," the letter begins.

Then comes the message:

"The attitude of society toward all the plot ingredients should be carefully considered. Whatever is frowned upon by society should not, obviously, be advocated in the plot. For example, in stories dealing with lesbianism, whether or not the characters ultimately decide to practice lesbianism is less important than their realization that such practice would result in financial, social, emotional and/or psychological problems which would offset the advantages they might find in lesbianism. Therefore, if they did decide to practice it, they would be doing so with full knowledge that their lives would not be completely happy."

YEAR 1963 RULING RECALLED

Actually, in a 1963 ruling, State Supreme Court Justice J. Irwin Shapiro shifted the ground of the argument somewhat. His decision is regarded as a landmark by both civil libertarians and dirty-book publishers.

Justice Shapiro ruled that pulp sex novels, while "profane, offensive, disgusting, and plain unvarnished trash," still "have a place in our society."

"There are those who, because of lack of education, the meanness of their social existence or mental insufficiency, cannot cope with anything better," he argued. "Slick-paper confessions, pulp adventure and comic-book type of magazines provide them with an escape from reality."

"In an era of bikinis, which reveal more than they conceal; of cinemas, which show females swimming in the nude—one must conclude that these books, in the mores of these days, do not constitute hard-core pornography. Coarse they are, but so is much in our civilization."

LOW PRINTING COSTS

The books cost from 5 to 7 cents a copy to print. Shipping, which is absorbed by the publisher, comes to another penny. The publisher generally realizes about half the cover price, which can range from 50 cents to $1. The other half is divided between distributor and retailer. Press runs range from 50,000 copies for the small concerns to 100,000 for the large ones.

Retailers can increase their profits, however, by blacking out the original cover price and raising it a quarter. When this is done, the book is generally wrapped in cellophane to give it an extra illicit look and to discourage aimless browsing.

After the distributor, the last step in the production is the retailer. These are generally a group of tight-lipped, harassed men who must bear the brunt of police raids, fines, and pressures from censorship groups.

"I'm a businessman," the owner of one midtown store says. "If these creeps want to buy those books, I can't stop them. I don't even think about it; I just sell."

As he spoke, a group of purchasers milled around in the shabby "gentleman's section," pawing the products. Every once in a while the clerk would say mechanically, "All right, pick 'em out, pick 'em out—you can read them at home."

FEW GET RICH

It is generally agreed in the trade that only a very few distributors and publishers have grown rich from the dirty book trade. Most in the business seem perpetually to be on the ragged edge of existence. "The only ones this business is good for are lawyers," one writer says.

There is no evidence that the pulp business is slackening. The writers and publishers continue to turn out the product, although some do it reluctantly.

Recently, a man in a respectable profession was appalled to find that a friend of his who writes dirty books under a pseudonym had dedicated one of them to him. He called the writer on the phone.

"How come," he asked, "you put my name in the book when you won't even use your own?"

"I should put my name on a book like that?" the writer replied.

Automobile Liability Insurance Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN DOWDY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, following House action on the automobile liability insurance bill, the Evening Star published an editorial entitled "Thanks to Mr. SICKLES" which was so falsely misleading that it was apparent to anyone familiar with the provisions of the bill that the editorialist had not even bothered to read the bill, or to otherwise inform himself as to the contents thereof.

Had the editorialist read the bill, he surely, if he subscribes to "If you read it in the Star it is true," would not have endeavored to leave the impression with his readers that "motorists from every Congressman's home district" would be protected against uninsured motorists in the District of Columbia; nor would he have sought to leave the idea that the "many thousands of Senator TYDINGS' constituents (who) drive into Washington everyday, and run the risk of being hit by an uninsured motorist would receive any protection or consideration under the provisions of the bill passed by the House.

The truth is that the bill specifically excludes from its benefits any person who is not a resident of the District of Columbia; and it specifically excludes from its benefits any person who owns an interest in a motor vehicle. Any person who is resident of any congressional district, or who is a constituent of Senator TYDINGS is excluded from the benefits of the bill.

The fact, if it be a fact, that the editorial was written in ignorance does not excuse the editorialist from his duty to inform himself, nor does it excuse the Star from its duty and responsibility to correctly inform the public.

The editorial is an example of the kind of false propaganda foisted not only upon the people, but upon unsuspecting legislators who might, in misplaced faith in an irresponsible presentation, whether by a newspaper or otherwise, pass upon a proposal with as little exposure to the facts as evidenced by the Star in this instance.

Mr. Wallace M. Smith called this matter to the attention of the Star and asked for a more accurate presentation but same was not forthcoming. As a part of my remarks, I include Mr. Smith's correspondence with the newspaper, as well as his letter to me:

AMERICAN MUTUAL
INSURANCE ALLIANCE,
Chicago, Ill., September 9, 1965.

Hon. JOHN DOWDY,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DOWDY: Today is the last hearing session of the Senate District of Columbia Committee on the District of Columbia uninsured motorist problem. Inasmuch as the Evening Star has not seen fit to publish our recent letter commenting upon its erroneous statement relative to this legislation, I thought perhaps it would be an appropriate time for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Again thank you for all of your assistance and cooperation.

Sincerely,

WALLACE M. SMITH.

AUGUST 11, 1965.

EDITOR,
The Evening Star,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Inasmuch as you supported the Commissioners automobile liability insurance bill for the District of Columbia and in such a biased manner, I trust that you will print in full in your newspaper the enclosed letter which presents some observations from another viewpoint.

Very truly yours,

WALLACE M. SMITH.

[From the Washington Evening Star, Aug. 10, 1965]

THANKS TO MR. SICKLES

The upset vote, 173 to 156, by which the House has approved a first-rate automobile liability insurance bill for the District can

be attributed almost entirely to the efforts and determination of Representative CARLTON SICKLES, Democrat, of Maryland.

When the House District Committee reported out an inferior insurance program recommended by the Dowdy subcommittee, it seemed that the long fight for real protection against the more than 35,000 uninsured motorists who are a constant menace in Washington was doomed. But Mr. SICKLES was not prepared to accept defeat. He took the House floor yesterday, fully explained the superior merits of the so-called Commissioners' bill and persuaded a majority of his colleagues that he was right. Needless to say, this was a major contribution to the welfare, not only of the people of Washington, but also to motorists from every Congressman's home district who have frequent occasion to use the streets of the National Capital.

The scene now shifts to the Senate. On March 25, Senator BIBLE, chairman of the Senate District Committee, introduced a bill which affords the same protections that are in the House-approved measure. Unfortunately, the Bible bill has been quietly reposing ever since in a subcommittee headed by Maryland's Senator TYDINGS. No hearings have been held and time is fast slipping away. There appears to be no important opposition in the Senate, but there is a real danger that the bill will die there simply because of failure to act.

Many thousands of Senator TYDINGS' constituents drive into Washington every day, and run the risk of being hit by an uninsured motorist. We should think that this consideration, if nothing else, would prompt him to begin hearings without delay on the Bible bill.

AUGUST 11, 1965.

EDITOR, THE EVENING STAR,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We wish to comment upon your editorial of August 10, 1965, "Thanks to Mr. SICKLES," and the error contained in it relative to the irresponsible motorist legislation. That legislation would provide for the creation of an unsatisfied judgment fund from which pedestrians in the District of Columbia could make claims for injury and damage suffered from involvement with an uninsured motorist. As a necessary result it puts the District of Columbia government in the insurance business.

At the outset and at the risk of embarrassing Mr. SICKLES, we would remind you and the public that Mr. SICKLES could not find time to attend the hearings held before his very own committee. His absence alone casts doubt as to a thorough knowledge of the problem that was developed by the hearings.

We quote from your editorial: "Needless to say, this was a major contribution to the welfare, not only of the people of Washington, but also to motorists from every Congressman's home district who have frequent occasion to use the streets of the National Capital" and further in the same editorial you stated that "Many thousands of Senator TYDINGS' constituents drive into Washington every day, and run the risk of being hit by an uninsured motorist. We should think that this consideration, if nothing else, would prompt him to begin hearings without delay on the Bible bill."

We would call to your attention that the language of the bill passed by the House of Representatives, at the urging of Representative SICKLES, would not provide protection to any person except a resident of the District of Columbia. Furthermore, the language of that legislation, for all practical effect, restricts recovery to only noncar-owning persons. In other words, recovery from the unsatisfied judgment fund is limited to resident pedestrians of the District of Columbia who are struck by uninsured vehicles.

Also we would call to your attention that these pedestrians have contributed nothing to the fund for their protection. In the case of an innocent uninsured motorist who is involved in an accident with another uninsured motorist who is at fault, the innocent uninsured motorist can collect nothing from the fund. Inasmuch as the innocent uninsured motorist has contributed $40 to the fund, is it equitable to deny him recovery from such fund, and permit the innocent pedestrian to collect from the fund when he has contributed nothing to it?

In line with the erroneous statement of yours pointed out above, we would call further attention to the fact that approximately 1 million automobiles operate on the streets of the District of Columbia every 24-hour period. Of this figure only 214,000 are registered in the District. It is easily seen, therefore, that there are approximately 786,000 visitors to the District of Columbia each day. Of this figure, none will be protected by legislation passed at Representative SICKLE'S urging last Monday. Again, it is easy to see that those Congressmen who voted for the legislation were not doing a service to their many constituents who visit the Nation's Capital.

Numerous statements have been made by your newspaper and the proponents of this legislation that when payment from the fund is made on behalf of an uninsured motorist, such uninsured motorist will be removed from the streets by taking his driver's permit, registration, and automobile tags, until he has repaid the fund for the expenditures made on his behalf. This simply is not the case, inasmuch as the bill states that an agreement arrived at between the uninsured motorist and the fund, in such a statement, will allow him to continue to operate his car.

In the States of New Jersey and Maryland in the operation of their unsatisfied judgment funds over the years, only 6 percent of the payments made on behalf of these uninsured motorists has been collected. This has been a great factor in the deficits of the New Jersey and Maryland funds to the point, respectively, of $4 million and $3.7 million.

The argument, of you and Mr. SICKLES, that Chairman DOWDY'S bill is punitive in that it levies an assessment on the uninsured motorist and takes his car from him applies also to the Sickles amendment, by your own words.

At the hearings before Chairman DOWDY'S committee, the proponents of this legislation stated on numerous occasions that access to the unsatisfied judgment fund would be only for non-car-owning pedestrians. This, they pointed out, would make the fund different from that of New Jersey and Maryland funds in that due to the small number of persons having access to the fund the $40 assessment would be sufficient for keeping the fund financially sound. The record of the hearings will show that these same proponents stated on several occasions that they were willing to have the fund opened up for claims against it by many other classifications of claimants. They went so far as to say that a visiting school child here in Washington could be interpreted to be a resident of the District of Columbia in order to file a claim against the fund. As a result of these statements, certainly to open the fund to these other claimants will create a deficiency on the basis of the $40 fee and bring about the same results for the District of Columbia that have existed for several years in the States of New Jersey and Maryland.

Additionally, there is this dilemma concerning the fund. If you keep the number of claimants small enough the fund will be financially solvent with a topheavy bureaucratic administration to take care of the few claimants; or if you expand the fund to take care of the many victims, then the fund cannot operate on a sound financial basis.

It is our belief that if either a person must present evidence of financial responsibility or pay the $40 assessment for the unsatisfied judgment fund, such requirement will cause many of the financially responsible persons to become financially irresponsible. The basis for such belief is simply that if a person will be allowed to operate his vehicle on payment of the $40 fee, this will be done in preferences to paying a minimum of $80 for the comparable insurance coverage. Additionally when the persons pays the $40 assessment fee, he is going to believe that since the government will take care of his liability, he need not do anything further to take care of his responsibility to the public. It is a fact that in New Jersey and Maryland, under this type of law, the number of financially responsible persons was reduced, upon its enactment.

The bill, H.R. 9918, which was reported from the House District Committee, and which you describe as an "inferior insurance program" would strengthen and improve the financial responsibility laws of the District of Columbia. The financial responsibility type of law is now the law in 50 States. The improvement sought for in these laws and encompassed in Chairman Dowdy's bill, H.R. 9918, has been adopted by 14 States. A remarkable record of increasing the percentage of insured motorists in these States has been achieved through adoption of these laws. When such a result occurs, this means that the entire public would be protected and not only the residents of a single jurisdiction.

We are in agreement with you that the constituents of Representative SICKLES and Senator TYDINGS drive into Washington every day and run the risk of being hit by an uninsured motorist. As we have stated, not one of these constituents as a pedestrian or as an automobile owner will be protected under the legislation which you have lobbied for so ably. We do not know if your error was intentional or unintentional, but we do know that it is an error. We hope Senator TYDINGS will take note of it when his committee considers this legislation.

It is our belief that the public and the Congress should be concerned over the freedom of a newspaper such as yours to influence legislation through misleading and erroneous statements and articles and to do such with impunity. We feel sure that under your motto, "If you read it in the Star it's true," you will correct your erroneous and misleading statement to the public and to the Congress.

Very truly yours,

WALLACE M. SMITH.

Last Chance for 14(b)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix to the RECORD a broadcast editorial from Jefferson Standard Broadcasting Co., of Charlotte, N.C., entitled "Last Chance for 14(b)." This editorial was broadcast on August 6, 1965, and points up the importance of preserving for all people in this country the right to work without being forced to join a union.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAST CHANCE FOR 14(b)

The U.S. Senate has a great opportunity before it to rescue Congress from its recent reputation. If the history books of the future give this Congress a name, chances are that name will be borrowed from the commentators who are calling it a rubber-stamp for the administration.

The House of Representatives has voted to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. The Senate now must consider its decision, and it is the best place for the basic issue at stake in this question to be debated and settled. That basic issue is freedom.

Section 14(b) allows States to pass laws guaranteeing a worker the right to hold his job whether he wants to join a union or not. So this is not a case of employee versus employer; it is not an issue between union and management.

Shall the States be free to choose or not to choose to pass right-to-work laws? Shall the workers be free to decide whether they want to join unions or not? Or shall the only remaining freedom be the freedom of labor unions to force every employee in the Nation to join a union where contracts apply, and pay dues, whether they want to or not?

The argument that section 14(b) is unfair to union efforts to recruit new members or organize new industries does not seem to be borne out by their increasing power and influence. Nor does the argument stand up that workers suffer because of lower wages and unemployment. According to the Department of Commerce, personal income, numbers of jobs available, and rises in hourly wages have increased by a greater percentage in right-to-work States than in those where the union has a monopoly on employment.

At a time when the Nation's lawmakers are supposedly increasing personal rights in making the vote available, employment widespread, education possible, and religion a matter of personal observance, they are moving to throttle the worker's right to work where he wants to under conditions he chooses. If it is improper for the Government to say you must join a certain church to worship, a certain party to vote, or attend a certain school for an education, how is it proper to say you must join a certain private union in order to work?

The answer is that Congress is not considering freedom, but politics. In their drive to get an airtight monopoly over employment, the unions look forward to organizing workers all over the country and dictating elections to an even greater extent.

And the President got almost unanimous election support by promising the reward of repealing section 14(b), so his overwhelming pressure on the House was a reflection of that political debt.

If the Senate votes to preserve the workers' right to freedom of choice, they can do a great service to the country. If they vote that freedom is for the unions only, the rubberstamp Congress will become marked with indelible ink.

Invitation to respond has been sent to U.S. Representative BARRATT O'HARA of Michigan.

Federal Government and Idaho: Partners in Crime and Vice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to bring to the attention of the Members of this House some statistics concerning gambling in the State of Idaho. Idaho is another of those States where the partnership of the State and Federal Governments in keeping gambling illegal is tantamount to a partnership in perpetuating illegal gambling's bankrolling of organized crime.

Last year, the parimutuel turnover in Idaho came to $600,000. Illegal gambling was far more extensive. Testimony given to the McClellan committee supports an estimate placing nationwide illegal gambling at $120 billion annually. On a population basis, Idaho's share of this sum would be $480 million. This seems excessive, but no doubt an Idaho illegal gambling turnover in the tens of millions is passing through mob hands, and a part of this sticks in the form of profits. Mob gambling profits bankroll every seamy form of vice known.

The answer is National or State lotteries. Government-run gambling makes gambling dollars work for rather than against society.

West Virginia Governor, Hon. Hulett C. Smith, Urges Firmness in Vietnam—Acclaims President Johnson's Actions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, it is important that men in positions of public responsibility counsel with their constituency on the vital issues of the day. The sharing of information and views is fundamental to the molding of the citizen consensus which must underlie basic rational policy.

For this reason, it is gratifying to note that the Governor of West Virginia, Hon. Hulett C. Smith, is actively contributing to public discussion of questions of national and international significance.

A recent participant in briefings at the White House conducted by President Lyndon B. Johnson, Governor Smith has sought an early opportunity to communicate his thinking to the people of West Virginia.

Believing that my colleagues in the U.S. Senate will find Governor Smith's comments worthwhile, I request unanimous consent that his press release of September 5, 1965, be printed in the Appendix.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BECKLEY.—American withdrawal from South Vietnam would bring "neither peace nor victory," but a serious shift in the balance of world power, Gov. Hulett C. Smith said tonight.

Speaking at the 33d annual Kferian Reunion here, the chief executive devoted his address to the Vietnamese situation. Governor Smith was present recently for a White House briefing on the situation by President Johnson, and has maintained a close interest in the Vietnam situation.

"Our powers there is a vital shield, as most of the non-Communist nations of Asia cannot, by themselves, resist the grasping ambitions of Asian communism," he said.

"We are there because, as President Johnson has said, 'we have a promise to keep,'" he told his audience.

"We failed to halt Hirohito, Mussolini, and Hitler in time. We must not fail to halt Ho Chi Minh and Mao Tse-tung," he asserted.

The Governor pointed out President Johnson's desire for a peaceful settlement in Vietnam.

"The only path for reasonable men is the path of peaceful settlement.

"And once the Communists know, as we do, that a violent settlement is impossible, then a peaceful solution—as the President has pointed out—is inevitable," he said.

He said America has asserted its willingness, at any time, to go from the battlefield to the conference table, to begin unconditional talks with any government on Vietnam.

The Governor said West Virginians should be concerned with what is happening in Vietnam because, "We are West Virginians, and West Virginia boys are fighting and dying in Vietnam.

"And as the battle rages, and Vietnam goes through this time of trial, we must let them know we realize they are fighting for us—and for our freedom, and the security of this planet—as well as for the freedom of the people of this small, war-torn southeast Asia country," the Governor added.

Smith quoted a letter sent to President Johnson by an American soldier's mother. The soldier's letter said, in part:

"It's easy to sit in front of the ol' TV and say, 'Aw, to hell with Vietnam.'

"I don't think anyone here feels that way.

"It's disheartening to know so many back home do.

"If we say 'to hell with Vietnam,' we might as well say, 'to hell with southeast Asia' * * * then, maybe, 'to hell with Europe * * * South America * * * Africa' * * * and then, maybe, 'to hell with freedom.'"

The War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, the war on poverty is doing much in this Nation to help the underprivileged. If we examine the program, we discover that the greatest effort is being expended in the highly populated urban areas, with somewhat less emphasis placed in suburban and rural communities. This is rightly so, because the needs in these areas is probably not as great, although we must recognize that poverty pockets do exist outside the big cities.

It is highly commendable, therefore, that some communities are helping themselves, using methods similar to those programs now being conducted as part of the war on poverty program.

One such effort, a work-study project for high school students, has been organized without Federal help by the boards of education in the communities of Lyndhurst and Rutherford. About 20,000 people live in each of these towns. The joint program they have organized is enlisting the aid of local

industry to give high school students who do not plan to go to college valuable on-the-job training before graduation.

Started last year on a trial basis, the program was so successful in its initial year that it has been expanded sixfold for the coming school term.

At this point, under unanimous consent, I insert into the RECORD an article written by Judith Bender, staff writer for the Herald-News of Passaic-Clifton, N.J., which very capably describes this program:

RUTHERFORD BROADENS WORK-STUDY PROGRAM—INITIAL GROUP OF 15 GROWS TO 90; TEACHERS SEEK CAREERS FOR CLASS

(By Judith Bender)

RUTHERFORD.—A program that has proven successful in other school districts and was partially tested here last semester will be expanded this fall to include about 75 to 90 students in Rutherford and Lyndhurst high schools.

FIFTEEN IN FIRST PHASE

The work-study program, as it is called, was introduced last spring to about 15 students in the trade and industrial area. This month, according to Dr. David J. Brittain, superintendent of schools, the program will move into the distributive education and office occupations phases.

Under the distributive education category, jobs will be found in variety and department stores, supermarkets and banks. The office jobs will be mainly in clerical categories—in typing, filing, and operating business machines.

However, these jobs are not merely to keep teenagers off the streets, according to the man coordinating the distributive education phase, James Garrigan, of Upper Montclair.

"We're looking for career opportunities for these children," he declared forcefully in a recent interview. "We don't want them to work as employees to be hired and fired at someone's whim. We want them to be able to stay in a job, once they have chosen in it, and make it more than a livelihood."

Garrigan is currently involved in preparing a slide presentation for both parents and prospective employees, and is signing up companies for the fall term.

Once the program is explained, he said, companies are generally enthusiastic.

The senior class students enrolled in the program spend a half day in school and a half day on the job. Juniors spend the full day in class. Their work is closely supervised in both areas. Said Dr. Brittain: "We don't make any bones about it; if their work doesn't suit an employer or, if the students are not satisfied, we find other jobs for them.

The school superintendent was pleased about the results of the program to date.

"There is no question about the effect on the children and on their motivation for staying in school," he said. "They no longer doubt the value of staying in school once they see their academic work tying in with their jobs."

The academic subjects include English, social studies, and physical education. Students also get supplementary training in their own special area to buttress information learned on the job.

Rutherford and Lyndhurst are cooperating in the venture and costs of the program—supported in part by State aid. The other supervising coordinators of the program are Richard Arricale, office occupations, and John Kopf, trade and industry.

W. D. Boyce Week in Georgia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, the Governor of Georgia recently proclaimed August 15–21, 1965 as W. D. Boyce Week in Georgia in honor of the founder of the Boy Scouts of America and the Lone Scouts of America.

Georgia is honored to have a 50-year-member of the old Lone Scouts of America, Hubert F. Lee, who founded the W. D. Boyce award for "distinguished service to scouting."

I ask unanimous consent that the Governor's proclamation be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the proclamation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROCLAMATION: W. D. BOYCE WEEK

BY THE GOVERNOR:

Whereas one evening in 1909 the late W. D. Boyce, of Chicago, became lost in a London fog and was led to his destination by an unknown scout who refused to accept pay for his services, saying "I am a Boy Scout. Scouts do not accept tips for helping others"; and

Whereas as a result of this encounter Mr. Boyce went to the founder of the British Boy Scouts, Sir Richard S. S. Baden-Powell, who gave Mr. Boyce a trunk load of Boy Scout pamphlets and literature; and

Whereas W. D. Boyce returned to the United States and with others incorporated the Boy Scouts of America and founded the Lone Scouts of America, so that scouting could be enjoyed by boys in the country and remote places; and

Whereas members who wrote for and illustrated the old Lone Scout magazine up to 50 years ago, as well as other oldtime Lone Scouts of America, are organized into the Elbeetian Legion of oldtime Lone Scouts and meet annually in various sections of the Nation as well as Canada and other countries; and

Whereas a Georgian, Hubert F. Lee, is a 50-year member of the old Lone Scouts of America and founded the W. D. Boyce award for "distinguished service to scouting"; and

Whereas the W. D. Boyce award is to be presented to two oldtime editors, Charles J. Merlin, Hudson Heights, N.J., since 1918 editor of the Elbeetee magazine and founder of the Elbeetian Legion, and to Harwell E. West, a former editor of the old Lone Scout magazine, at the golden anniversary reunion of the Elbeetian Legion; now

Therefore, I, Carl E. Sanders, Governor of the State of Georgia, do hereby proclaim August 15–21, 1965, as "W. D. Boyce Week" in Georgia and urge every citizen to honor the memory of the man who started the Boy Scouts of America and the Lone Scouts of America.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the executive department to be affixed, this 13th day of August 1965.

By the Governor:

CARL E. SANDERS,
Governor.

D. D. BARNARD, Jr.,
Secretary, Executive Department.

The Negro Vote in Tuskegee, Ala.: What It Means in Race Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of my colleagues an article from the July 1 issue of the Reporter on the experience in Tuskegee, Ala., with a voting majority of Negro citizens. Federal registrars, under the enacted voting rights bill of 1965, are now working in 14 counties in southern communities to assure Negro citizens the right to vote by putting them on the voting rolls when county officials will not do so. This work of Federal registrars needs and must be swiftly extended. Reports of defiant communities are in the hands of the Department of Justice and are steadily increasing. Yet, here again, is an experience which illustrates that man's greatest enemy and defeating force is unfounded fear. The Negro citizen's desire is to be an equal participant in the processes of government. As Author Paul Good illustrates from the Tuskegee experience "reasonable men," white and black, "realize that political alinements on racial lines can only stifle progress and encourage chaos."

The article follows:

TUSKEGEE'S NEGRO MAJORITY

(By Paul Good)

TUSKEGEE.—The voting rights bill is still bumping along in Congress, but this black belt city has already experienced what many whites fear the law will produce in some parts of the Deep South—a Negro voting majority. So far, the white community has not been engulfed by the predicted electoral black wave, although an election has come and gone in which Negroes had the votes to mount one. What happened in Tuskegee reveals many of the problems that the Deep South will face when the voting rights bill is finally enacted and universal Negro suffrage becomes a legal possibility. Hopefully, it may also contain patterns for peaceful adjustment to a new way of political life in Dixie.

Tuskegee is in Macon County where about 80 percent of its 27,000 population is colored. A white visitor walking through the sleepy city square with its inevitable Civil War monument is the exception, the light face in the crowd. There are approximately 140 southern counties where the whites are in the minority, a dozen of them in Alabama; in hundreds more, Negroes constitute 30 to 40 percent of the population.

The voting bill would apply to most of these areas since they are in States where less than 50 percent of the eligible electorate is registered and literacy tests are required. In Alabama, for example, 70 percent of the 1,434,000 eligible whites are registered as compared to less than 25 percent of the 481,000 voting-age Negroes. Across the line in Mississippi, about 8 percent of eligible Negroes can vote. Once the bill is passed, Federal registrars can make voters out of the disenfranchised.

A year ago Tuskegee was in racial turmoil. A Negro boycott of white stores, in retaliation for an attempt to gerrymander all Negro

districts out of the city limits, had badly hurt business. Tuskegee High School had been closed under pressure from Gov. George Wallace after thirteen Negro students were admitted by Federal court order. When the court ordered the Negroes enrolled in the high schools of neighboring Notasulga and Shorter, white students first boycotted them, and later extremists—who were never apprehended—burned the $250,000 Notasulga High School to the ground.

There was virtually no communication between the races, and Negro demands for improved city services, for representation in the police department, and desegregation of public facilities were rebuffed time and again.

Today, two Negroes sit on the five-man elected city council, the first of their race to govern in Alabama since Reconstruction. The high school has reopened on a desegregated basis and there even have been mixed PTA meetings. Three Negro policemen ride with their white counterparts and commerce is slowly beginning to pick up. Black men sit on the city planning board and the housing board, and there is a Negro woman clerk in city hall. Many elements brought about this transformation. But the prime mover was the Negro vote.

"My experience has been that the white people tend to learn only when forced to learn," says Prof. Charles G. Gomillion, a faculty member at Tuskegee Institute and a veteran Negro civic leader. "There is no voluntary relinquishing of power. We had to get the vote."

Tuskegee Negroes got the vote only after an arduous legal battle; in last summer's municipal and county elections they outregistered whites by 1,133 to 1,029 in the city and 3,733 to 3,479 in the county. The white county registration figure is interesting. In May, 1964, the Civil Rights Commission noted that there were only 2,818 whites of voting age.

Tuskegee is typical of the Black Belt only in terms of Negro numbers and white resistance to their playing a meaningful role in civic life. The presence of Tuskegee Institute sets the town apart. Founded in 1881 by Booker T. Washington, the institute has long provided an enclave of colored citizens who are intellectually, culturally, and economically the superior of most of Tuskegee's white residents. An integrated Veterans' Administration hospital also supplies a financial and social stimulus unique in the Black Belt. The institute and the hospital put $12 million into the Macon County economy, more than cattle or cotton. It is a long way, in short, from the cotton-grubbing existence of a Lowndes or a Wilcox County where white supremacy is a way of life and where, until recently, not a single Negro was registered to vote even though Negroes of voting age outnumbered whites by 2½ to 1.

"Tuskegee is atypical," concedes Prof. Stanley Smith, dean of the institute's sociology department and one of the two Negro city councilmen. "But the results of what happened here aren't. That's why it's vital we succeed in what we're doing—to demonstrate that southern whites and Negroes can come together on issues and not be polarized politically because of race."

THE GERRYMANDER THAT FAILED

In the past, Tuskegee was run by a handful of old elite families who manipulated white voters and managed to block even Negro Ph. D.'s from the ballot box. But by 1957, it became clear that Negro pressure to register was not going to let up. So the State legislature passed a bill that not only gerrymandered virtually every Negro residence outside the city limits but made it possible, if whites so decided, to wipe Macon County off the map, parcelling it out among adjoining counties. Professor Gomillion fought the bill up to the Supreme Court, and in *Gomillion* v. *Lightfoot* (the latter being the mayor of Tuskegee and the epitome of its limited aristocracy) the Court unanimously ruled the gerrymander unconstitutional.

While that put Negroes back in the city, it didn't necessarily get them on the voting rolls. On registration days, registrars sometimes hid from them and when flushed out rejected their applications for trivial mistakes. In March 1961, U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., issued an omnibus ruling to correct past grievances and to assure future compliance with his directive requiring the registration of qualified Negroes.

By the spring of 1964, both moderate and diehard whites had to face up to the fact that the Negroes could now outpoll them by a few hundred votes in the late summer elections. But the Negroes, speaking principally through the Tuskegee Civic Association headed by Professor Gomillion, insisted that it was not their intention to take over the city. Some moderates believed them and decided that the time had come to work together.

They were mostly small businessmen driven to the wall by the boycott; just how much this spurred their civic conscience is a matter for speculation. But they began what one Negro described to me as a whispering campaign, in which they secretly pledged to cooperate with the Negro leadership.

Professor Gomillion and the civic association decided to try to elect only two eminently qualified Negroes to the city council and to back white men who agreed to work with them for the other posts. But this smacked of tokenism to some Negroes and produced a situation that will undoubtedly be duplicated many times once the voting bill is passed.

A Negro group calling itself the Nonpartisan Voting League saw no reason to practice forbearance on principle after a century of white intransigence. Their spokesman was Detroit Lee, an employee of the VA hospital in his early forties, one of the plucky band of Negro parents who had sent their children to desegregate the Notasulga High School after Wallace closed Tuskegee High. The league ran four men for the city council and Lee, admittedly inexperienced in law, chose to run for probate judge against County Sheriff Preston Hornsby, even though Negroes agreed that Hornsby was an Alabama anomaly—a sheriff who was decent to black people.

When the votes were counted after the August 11 election and a September 15 runoff, the white and black candidates backed by the civic association had all won handily. In no instance did the candidates of Lee's Nonpartisan Voting League receive more than 10 percent of the Negro votes and Lee himself finished a distant third to Hornsby.

Why didn't Tuskegee Negroes "vote black" as whites had warned they would?

Dr. Walter Judkins, who teaches at the institute's Veterinary School, offered one explanation. Like Detroit Lee, he had sent his son into Notasulga. Judkins is a Negro militant who, despite a master's degree, was rebuffed for 20 years before he was finally registered in Tuskegee.

"Certainly we could have blocvoted, subjugated the whites, and had an all-Negro town government," he said. "But we didn't want to exchange a white bureaucracy for a black one. We wanted the best." "Why," his wife added, "trade one no-good for another no-good?"

Lee, cast as a demagog by some Negroes, sees things differently. His point of view seems especially pertinent to communities that do not have an institute to provide intellectual leadership.

"They keep telling us, 'Be a responsible citizen,' " he said. "Now, how are you going to learn if you don't do it? I think at least four Negroes should be on that council, based on racial proportion. Maybe some wouldn't have been too qualified. We might have made a mess of it first time around but we could have redeemed ourselves the next time. I'm not talking about a desire for revenge on the whites but that we simply deserve the opportunity to make errors."

The opportunity to make errors on the Tuskegee council was entrusted to Dr. Smith, Negro minister K. L. Buford, and three white men, J. Allen Paker, a banker, John Sydes, a car dealer, and L. M. Gregg, the only incumbent reelected. Elected mayor with the backing of the civic association majority was a dry goods store owner, C. M. Keever, who had suffered greatly during the boycott and had become in the process a force for change. He went to Negro homes soliciting votes, something that was unheard-of for a white politician in 1964 but that will be less remarkable in 1966.

"I wanted the opportunity to do something for my fellow man," Keever told me. He is an unremarkable man in his fifties, a churchgoer and joiner whom time and circumstance thrust into an unlooked-for role. "I didn't pull any punches in the election. I told people we were going to run Tuskegee on a nonracial basis. And to date, I have not got the first discouretous phone call from a white person, not one unkind word."

Then he added unsmilingly:

"Of course, there are a lot of people who don't speak anymore."

LEARNING TO GOVERN

The council faced not only personal problems but the practical ones of how to run the city. Though most were educated, they were, with the exception of incument Gregg, utterly inexperienced in managing civic affairs. Moreover, they found Tuskegee suffering from years of maladministration. At 5 mills, city taxes are absurdly low. So are water rates. There was enough money in the treasury to maintain city services and even to improve them slightly, but not enough for the radical improvements Negroes wanted. It was all very well that the La Rose Restaurant exchanged "colored" on its neon sign for "all welcome." But when the shouting and tumult of civil rights protest dies in the Deep South after an election like Tuskegee's, there remain the basic prosaic needs of black citizens long unfulfilled.

Paved roads, for example. The average southern Negro considers blacktopping only less important than the vote and better schools. White governments traditionally do not spend money to pave streets in Negro neighborhoods. The dust in the summer and the mud in the winter have become marks of segregation on Negro floors.

Early this spring, I attended a city council meeting that wrestled with the paving problem. No Tuskegee residents were present, although Negroes are now said to be petitioning meetings in increasing numbers. The meeting was marked by extreme (and it might be said, self-conscious) interracial courtesy, and its general air of soberness was lightened by smalltown banter. The principal discussion concerned the establishment of a priority system for blacktopping with the understanding that Negroes would get first consideration—a meaningless formality perhaps, since most white streets are paved already. A white council member said that pending public works legislation in Congress and perhaps the Economic Opportunity Act might provide the necessary financial assistance.

"Yes," said Reverend Buford. "But these Federal studies might take a year or more. I think it would be well to begin our own studies sooner. Can we afford to wait? I don't think so."

"I don't think so either," seconded Councilman Sydes, whose trade is largely Negro.

"I want to live in Tuskegee," Buford concluded forcefully.

But to date, none of the homely but symbolically important blacktopping has begun. Even with the help of Councilman Gregg's experience, his fellow members must feel their way into the mechanics of governing. Federal aid, for instance, may be available, but precisely how do you get it? Meanwhile, the mud of the winter is giving over to the dust of summer. And some Negroes are getting impatient. Professor Smith is acutely aware of this.

"The financial element has me worried," he says. "Whether we'll continue to have the resources to serve the people. If our program fails, then Negroes will become disillusioned. In the next election they may throw out the incumbents and put in an all-black slate. This would defeat our philosophy—that Negroes can't go it alone in the South. Let's face it. We're in an overall minority of about 30 percent, so we have to work together. That's why what's happening in Macon County is so much bigger than Macon County in its psychological effect on preventing this political polarity that could follow the voting-rights bill."

If Tuskegee is having troubles, what will be the experience in cities and counties which lack its wealth of Negro talent? One thinks of those unnumbered towns built around a cotton gin and a gas station where the education level of white may reach the Alabama average of 10 years compared to an average of 6 years for Negroes. Can Negro—and white—leadership be produced from men whose natural abilities to lead have atrophied under the southern system of nongovernment? Professor Gomillion, for one, does not see any dramatic breakthrough resulting from the bill.

"Even with Federal registrars," he says, "there isn't going to be any black wave in most areas. Look at the situation here in Macon County, after all our efforts. Out of nearly 12,000 voting-age Negroes, fewer than 4,000 are registered. And nowhere near all of them came out to vote in our last election, critical and unique as it was. Economic intimidation is still a potent weapon down here. Rural Negroes who live on plantations will get thrown off if they register. Negroes who exist on credit can't afford to have it cut off. White registrars can use subtle ways of obstruction and intimidation on people still unsure of their rights.

"I say southern Negroes shouldn't expect the millennium from this bill, or any civil rights bill. I don't mean you should get discouraged or apathetic but go into it with your eyes open. I'm called an old fogy when I advocate financial responsibility to get free from dependence on the white man. But dependence means subservience. Negroes must realize you can't have it both ways—full citizenship at the ballot box and total dependence at the grocery store."

Professor Gomillion does not advocate his Tuskegee approach with its emphasis on forbearance for all of Alabama or the South. He stresses that each Negro community must tailor its approach to the degree of white cooperation, its own abilities, and its peculiar needs.

Oddly enough, of all the whites and Negroes interviewed in Tuskegee, Mayor Keever seems most optimistic about southern adjustment to the new law.

"We're not going to solve it overnight, of course," he said in his shop while a newly employed Negro clerk waited on a Negro customer. "But I feel optimistic. White citizens have to speak out, openly discuss political problems with the colored and get working together. If the colored feel like they want to take over everything, the whites should say: 'Look, you're in the majority, you can win and dictate. But please don't do what we did in the past.'"

But Neil Davis, the owner and editor of the moderate Tuskegee News, does not feel so sanguine. "I'm afraid that whites in the State haven't learned very much from Tuskegee or anything else," he said. "I'd like to believe that they have. But there's been no leadership from the top, from (Governor) Wallace, and so as of now, white leaders in heavy Negro-concentration areas are just as determined not to give in as they were 5 years ago.

"But I do think that if big Negro voting lists can be produced under this bill, then decent-intentioned white leaders will be emboldened to speak out and take over from the diehards. This may sound contradictory after my pessimistic appraisal. But I think that in most counties there are enough literate, enlightened, civilized people—school teachers, ministers, businessmen—who can provide leadership if they get the chance. There is one tremendous force working in their favor—the absence of a spirit of revenge on the part of most Negroes."

"BUT WE HAVE RESPECT"

Throughout the South there are many white men who will try to impede the enforcement of the voting-rights bill as they did the school-desegregation law. In Tuskegee itself, however, the seeming inevitability of Negro franchise appears to have overwhelmed white opposition. Professor Smith points out that part of the secret of success was the overall integration of schools, shops, and city hall, rather than setting up as an integration target a lone institution which could also be zeroed in on by white-supremacist diehards. The Tuskegee segregationists are not happy, of course, but they are apparently making their own personal adjustment. Tuskegee has no tradition of violence and everybody is proud of that.

"But before," Dr. Judkins said, "there was this pseudocordiality, this thing of, 'You're a nice boy, John—in your place.' Now with the boycott and the vote, we finally have respect. And don't think the situation here was so different because of the institute. We had the brains and the money but it made no difference. We were niggers the same as a man chopping cotton. Now the old spurious affection is gone and a lot of people I thought were my friends aren't. But we have respect."

If respect for the potential power of the Negro has grown, so have apprehensions over its effects. A few months ago, Gov. Paul Johnson of Mississippi told me that the presence of Federal voting registrars could start "another Civil War." The idea of Negroes voting on a mass scale is repugnant, and to a certain type of southern mind, a Federal presence implementing it is maddening, reviving as it does memories of Reconstruction. For the time being, Southern white politicians like Johnson or Wallace recognize that Negroes can still be handled in rural areas, Federal bill or no. But registration activity in urban centers, spurred by national civil rights groups, will inevitably spread its message of possibility.

Tuskegee, for all its special qualities, presents a logical course for the South to follow, though it is to be expected that white diehards and Negroes unreconstructed with a vision of racial cooperation will seek polarity. But reasonable men on both sides will realize that political alinements on racial lines can only stifle progress and encourage chaos.

Already in Tuskegee, whites and blacks who a year ago spoke to each other in whispers are preparing to announce in a clear, firm voice that there is hope for racial cooperation. John A. Welch is chairman of the Committee for a Greater Tuskegee, an interracial group with about 40 percent white representation. As May ended, the committee was planning for the first time since its inception last fall to publicize the Tuskegee experience in the hope that other Alabama communities might benefit from it. Before, members were afraid of being premature in calling attention to their experiment.

"But now," said Mr. Welch, "we believe that if it can happen here, it can happen anywhere."

Still, much depends on how fast undereducated and previously disenfranchised Negroes learn to make intelligent use of the new vote.

"Even here in Tuskegee," warns disgruntled candidate Detroit Lee, "we've been deprived for so long we hardly know how to do with the ballot when we get it. It's like a chicken tied to a stake so long he forgets how to walk."

Congressman Ray J. Madden Brands 14(b) in Labor Day Speech at Crown Point, Ind.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include the address of the Honorable RAY J. MADDEN at the AFL-CIO Labor Day picnic at the Fair Grounds at Crown Point, Ind., on September 6, 1965.

As Congressman MADDEN, a member of the Rules Committee, handled the rule and opened the historic debate in the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States on the repeal of 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, his speech at Crown Point will hold unusual interest for his colleagues in the Congress and the American people generally. The speech follows:

Labor Day, 1965, can truly be observed and celebrated not only by members of organized labor but by the American people. This year, 1965, the working men and women of America have economically arrived at the greatest heights of recognition and prosperity than any year in our Nation's history.

Older folks need only reflect and look back to the early days of this century and compare the deplorable working conditions, low wages, long hours, and child labor sweat shops to realize the up-hill fight American workers made against powerful opposition to be able to participate as a recognized segment of American economy. As late as the 1920's men and women were working in the mills and factories for $2 and $3 a day and in some cases 7 days a week and a 12-hour day was the standard.

Low wages brought about lack of buying power and as the population increased, unemployment became the Nation's problem. In 1929 and the early thirties, our Nation was hit by the most devastating depression in our history. Closed factories, businesses and bank failures, home and farm foreclosures brought turmoil, unemployment and hunger to millions of our citizens. Congress passed legislation in the middle 1930-40 period that inaugurated a change in our economy so that millions of the neglected working people in America would, in the future, have something to say about their government.

I need not remind the older people in this audience about the legislation enacted 30

years ago which included the Wagner Act (labor's Magna Carta), social security, housing, protection of bank deposits, home and farm loans, retirement security, living wage legislation, and many other bills which gave the common people an opportunity to enjoy some of America's potential abundance.

During the last intervening years our people have become educated to the fact that prosperity is built on public buying power. They have learned that all American families are entitled to share in an income sufficient to provide a home and some of the modern conveniences and necessities which this modern age has to offer.

A PINNACLE YEAR: 1965

In the past 8 months the 89th Congress has enacted the greatest program of progressive legislation in the history of any nation. These programs strengthen our economy and provide opportunity for millions of Americans who have been struggling under financial handicaps which should have been corrected generations ago. This session of Congress has passed more than 100 public laws beneficial to the economy of our Nation. They range widely over such fields as education, medical care, housing, transportation, employment, public finance, farming, voting rights, mental health, conservation, and labor.

MEDICAL CARE AND HEALTH

After a generation of consideration by many Congresses, medical care legislation for the elderly, better known as medicare, was signed by President Johnson on June 30. Most of the benefits will be available beginning July 1, 1966, although those relating to nursing home care won't be until January 1, 1967. Both hospital bills and doctor bills are covered.

Nursing home and special legislation for mentally retarded is also provided in the bill. In separate legislation a bill was enacted extending through June 30, 1968 Federal assistance for mass immunization of preschool children against polio, diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, and measles.

DEPRESSED AREAS AID

The House passed a bill authorizing about $3.3 billion through June 30, 1970, to help rejuvenate the economies of U.S. depressed areas plagued with or threatened by chronic unemployment.

The money would be used mainly for such projects as building waterworks, waterlines, sewage treatment plants, sanitary and storm sewers, industrial parks, police and fire stations, tourism facilities, airports, watershed protection, and flood-prevention projects. This legislation will aid the economy and employment in all sections of the Nation. It will bring about a great market for automobiles, refrigerators, machinery, food, and other necessities which will aid all sections including the Calumet region of Indiana.

AID TO EDUCATION

After years of controversy, broad Federal aid to education became a reality with the President's signature April 11 on the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. It authorizes $1.3 billion in the fiscal years begun July 1, mostly to aid public and private students in low-income areas. Of the total, $1.1 billion is to be allotted to the Nation's school districts according to the number of pupils aged 5 to 17 within their boundaries whose families have annual income of less than $2,000—about 5 million children in all.

Other portions of the new act would establish "supplemental educational centers" to provide such special services as remedial instruction, finance textbook purchases, and other instructional materials, and expand federally supported educational research with emphasis on setting up regional, university-based research centers. The measure's authority extends over 3 or 5 years, depending on the section, but it allocates funds for only the first year.

President Johnson's bill to aid higher education passed the Congress last week.

The above bill was supplemented in this session by another bill which will aid millions of American youths to secure facilities, loans to attain college and university educations both academic and professional. I remember 10 years ago I participated in a debate on the floor of the Congress for a Federal aid to education bill that was defeated by only 4 votes out of 390 votes cast. That bill, had it been enacted, would have made a great start but by reason of a political coalition of reactionary Members of the House, the legislation was defeated. Had we been successful then hundreds of thousands of our youths during the last 10 years could be reaping the benefits of college and university educations to prepare themselves for the problems of this modern space age and scientific world in which we live.

VOTING RIGHTS

About 2 months ago I opened the debate on the floor of the House for the bill which was eventually enacted and signed by the President giving all American citizens the right to vote. This American right has been guaranteed by the 15th amendment of our Constitution. The legislation was the second civil rights bill enacted in 2 years.

This voting right law will eventually be the final culmination in complete freedom for millions of Americans who have been denied the right of franchise in the past.

EXCISE TAX CUT

Congress passed a measure reducing excise taxes by $4.6 billion between now and January 1, 1969. These special wartime taxes were levied in World War II and in the Korean war. Here's the schedule of repeal, in part:

Retroactive to May 15, 1965: Repeal of the 10-percent tax paid by manufacturers on air conditioners; reduction to 7 percent of the 10-percent manufacturer's tax on autos.

Immediately: Repeal of the 10-percent retail tax on jewelry, watches, furs, cosmetics, toilet preparations, luggage, and handbags: repeal of the 10-percent manufacturer's tax on business machines, sporting goods (except fishing equipment), phonographs, records, musical instruments, cameras, film, radios, televisions, pens, mechanical pencils; and repeal of the 5-percent tax on refrigerators and freezers, and of lesser taxes on matches, lighters, and playing cards.

ANTIPOVERTY AID

This Congress passed far-reaching legislation properly called the Antipoverty bill which will rehabilitate and give employment eventually to millions of unemployed over the Nation. We hear a great deal of criticism from certain sources on the legislation as to its cost. The critics do not mention that the restoration of jobs to millions are creating taxpayers instead of tax consumers. Millions will be taken from the relief rolls of local, State, and Federal tax units. This expenditure is not a dole, but an investment in contented and self-providing taxpaying American citizens.

REPEAL OF 14(b)

I handled the rule and opened the debate on the repeal of 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law.

Section 14(b) provided that any State which enacted restrictive antilabor laws—those laws would take precedent over the provisions of the Federal Taft-Hartley Act. The Indiana Legislature, last spring, repealed the so-called right-to-work law which is a misnomer for section 14(b).

Thirty-one States have either repealed or rejected the so-called privileges granted under 14(b) or the mislabeled "right-to-work" law.

Section 14(b) has made it possible for thousands of corporations and companies to close their business and factories in Indiana and other Northern States, and move into so-called low-wage right-to-work States. Right to work is in reality a tricky or phony label—a better label would be "14(b) States."

By reason of these runaway industries and an influx of newly established industries into antilabor areas, millions of factory workers are underpaid and, in most cases, are submitting to the same working conditions as in the early part of this century. These millions of workers are not in the market for $3,000 to $4,000 automobiles or $200 to $300 refrigerators, or thousands of other productions which are manufactured in living-wage States. Economists agree that the big depression in the early thirties was brought about by reason of lack of buying power for millions of workers in America. I am quoting verbatim the two closing paragraphs of my speech to the Congress during the debate on 14(b): If 14(b) is not repealed millions more will be working in transplanted industries in 14(b) States at low wages. Buying power will recede and unemployment and recession will again destroy our prosperity.

"The issues involved in the repeal of section 14(b) is as simple as any bill ever presented to Congress."

NO. 1

"If a Member of Congress believes that 19 States in the Nation can openly disregard the rights and working conditions of working men and women as set out in the Wagner National Labor Relations Act he should vote to retain 14(b)."

NO. 2

"If a Member of Congress believes that the 31 States who reject the phony labeled 'right-to-work' law and believe that labor is a part of the American economy with the right to collectively bargain as an integral body on wages and working conditions, he should in conscience vote for the repeal of 14(b). All the excuses and doubletalk we hear in this Chamber today will not change the above two simple propositions."

ONE MAN, ONE VOTE

The House upheld the decision of the Supreme Court on equal legislative reapportionment. A powerful special interest lobby worked to permit one branch of our State legislatures to be elected by geographical apportionment instead of by population. This effort by political bosses to gain control of our State legislative branches is still pending in the Senate. President Johnson is opposing this political power grab.

IMMIGRATION

The House passed immigration legislation which abolished the bigoted 41-year-old "national origins" provision of our immigration laws. This bill will fairly distribute immigrant quotas to all nations without prejudice as to nationality, race, or religion.

Our Nation became the leader of the world by reason of the amalgamation of immigrants from all nations and races throughout the globe. This legislation will not in any way let the bars down indiscriminately to people of every nation to successfully knock at our door demanding admission and citizenry. The bill would place all nations outside the Western Hemisphere on a population pro rata, equal footing with added provision that immigration from a single country could not exceed 20,000 per year. Western Hemisphere nations would be exempt from the 20,000 and so would the spouses, children and parents of U.S. citizens living in many countries.

SOCIAL SECURITY

The new social security amendments should add about $1.5 billion a year to retail sales.

The increased spendable income should start flowing into the economy in mid-September as a result of the 7-percent boost

in social security payments and other benefits that are retroactive to January 1.

SOLVENCY

Critics of the Johnson administration continually talk about the national debt. They carefully fail to mention that our national debt in 1965 is "percentagewise" much lower in comparison to our gross national production than the same percentage comparison was 20 years ago.

Last week I requested the exact figures from the U.S. Treasury. They reported the following facts:

In 1946, public debt $270 billion, gross national product $202.8 billion.

In 1954, public debt $271 billion, gross national product $362 billion.

In August 1965, public debt $319 billion, gross national product $650 billion.

The $650 billion economy of gross national product of 1965 is double our national debt which reveals that the New Frontier and the Great Society have been a great stimulant to employment and prosperity.

Time and space do not allow me to give all the facts of progress during this 89th Congress. After adjournment I plan to make a detailed report on our accomplishments to the citizens of the Indiana First Congressional District.

Minnesota Firm Makes Food Items for Gemini 5 Flight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, flight of Gemini 5 successfully tested not only the high qualities of Astronauts Gordon Cooper, Jr., and Charles Conrad, Jr., but the reliability and suitability of many items involved in America's space program. Certainly not the least of these is food.

The Pillsbury Co. in Minneapolis has been granted important contracts for the research and development of space food items for the Mercury, Gemini, and Apollo manned space programs. I include as part of my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD the following account of Pillsbury's contributions to the Gemini 5 in-flight menu:

Astronauts Gordon Cooper and Charles Conrad, following a pattern established in earlier space flights of the Gemini and Mercury series, ate space foods prepared by Pillsbury's research and development laboratories. There is one difference: the bite-sized, compressed foods which first went aloft with Scott Carpenter on a strictly experimental basis provided part of the nourishment required to sustain life during the 8 day, orbital flight of Gemini 5's astronauts.

The Pillsbury items scheduled by NASA for the Cooper-Conrad mission—each ready to eat and requiring no reconstitution—were brownies, gingerbread, pineapple, fruitcake, date fruitcake, apricot cereal bars, strawberry cereal bars, toasted bread cubes and cinnamon toast.

Cooper and Conrad were programed to eat 4 meals each day, providing a daily average of approximately 2,500 calories. The selected menu, which included a number of items in addition to those supplied by Pillsbury, was designed to maintain body weight at zero gravity under light physical activity. The 8 Pillsbury items were designed to provide a high energy source that supplemented the rehydratable foods in the menu for each meal. They required no preparation time and provided solid food consistency.

Among objectives of the Gemini 5 flight was evaluation of the effects of prolonged exposure to space environment by the 2-man crew. Five of seventeen experiments scheduled were medical in nature. Six of the experiments repeated tests conducted on previous Gemini flights. Several had implications for nutrition, including the inflight exerciser, inflight phonocardiogram, bone demineralization, human otolith function and visual acuity tests.

Each item on the menu was scientifically formulated to meet rigorous specifications for conditions of temperature, pressure, relative humidity, salt atmosphere, oxygen atmosphere, shock, acceleration, vibration, and acoustical noise. These conditions could be destructive to conventional foods and might well be encountered during normal or emergency flight situations.

Certain combinations of conditions, such as high temperature and high vacuum, are particularly destructive. However, they are being met successfully by research and development work that led to improved ingredients, processes, coatings and packages. These improvements have broad future implications for the preparation and preservation of convenience foods for the housewife as well as astronaut.

Among Pillsbury people involved in the project are Dr. Howard Bauman, assoicate director of research, serving as associate program manager; Kenneth J. Young for processing; Dr. Jack R. Durst, formulation; Bruce A. Drew for quality assurance; Dr. David K. Cunningham, chemical analysis; Dr. Charles E. Neal, microbiology, and Kenneth A. Parlour, packaging.

The same team is working on a contract for the research, development and supply of food required for NASA's Apollo program, aided at placing an American astronaut on the moon.

Giant Rail Merger Intelligently Opposed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, a recent issue of the Cincinnati Enquirer contained a well-stated, succinct column by Ed Wimmer, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business, about a Philadelphia industrialist named Milton J. Shapp who has been a leader in the fight to block the largest merger ever contemplated in the history of American business.

The proposed merger of the New York Central and the Pennsylvania Railroads would join two behemoths in the field of transportation. Their total assets amount to more than $6 billion.

No sooner had Ed Wimmer's splendid piece appeared, when there was another bolt from the blue proposing the merger of two more giants in the rail industry—the Norfolk & Western and the Chesapeake & Ohio.

Such proposals bring up the question whether the hierarchies of our big corporations are not doing more to socialize our economy than the Communists.

It is not a very large step to move from one or two monopolistic rail lines in the East—the very heartland of the country's industrial complex—to full State ownership.

This last step most of us wish to avert.

It is fighters for the American free, competitive enterprise system like Milton Shapp, a Philadelphia businessman, and Ed Wimmer of the National Federation of Independent Business who are giving their time, energy, and money to keep America from being strangled by monopolies.

I believe it is time for Congress to have a close look-see into what the proposed rail monopolies mean not alone to the areas where the railroads themselves operate but to America's total economy. The faster Congress does a thorough job on this matter, the better it will be for the country.

Meanwhile, a vote of confidence to such men as Milton Shapp and Ed Wimmer.

There are many businessmen in my district who know Ed Wimmer's column and appreciate the valiant fight he has put forth for the small and independent businessman.

While I have not always agreed with Mr. Wimmer and the National Federation of Independent Business on some public matters, I realize they have had a pretty good batting average through the years.

There follows the Ed Wimmer column I mentioned:

OPPOSITION TO RAIL MERGER MOUNTS—BIGGEST COMBINE

(By Ed Wimmer)

Since 1962, Milton J. Shapp, board chairman of the Jerrold Corp. in Philadelphia, has been carrying on a one-man crusade to halt the proposed merger of the Pennsylvania and New York Central Railroads. Says Mr. Shapp:

"We are dealing with monopoly power, and its social and economic dislocations. This merger would combine the first and third largest railroad systems into the biggest industrial consolidation in American history. Assets involved would amount to at least $6 billion, or 60 percent of all assets of all carriers in the East."

In line with our own past comments on concentration of power, Mr. Shapp points out that "25 proposed directors of PRR and NYC were, or are, directors of corporations with reported assets of $113 billion," and "have close economic ties with the railroads and each other." He continues:

"Such a leviathan would be able to dictate terms to all other remaining carriers in the East who would depend for survival upon receiving a fair share of the interconnecting freight. There also would be widespread disruption of services to hundreds of communities, and the loss of thousands of jobs in Pennsylvania, alone."

Mr. Shapp quoted New York Central's president, A. E. Perlman, who said in 1959: "I do not think it is in the public interest for the two largest railroads, plus all the railroads that PRR controls, to become one system."

Unlike far too many successful businessmen who have watched free enterprise go down the drain (merger by merger), these last few years, Mr. Shapp not only blasts the unparalleled neglect of facilities and deterioration of railroad services, but he sees in the readiness of powerful men to strike hands in a substitution of competition for combination, monopolistic diversification, interlocking conspiracies, and emphasis on giantism

in all things—an end to anything even "related" to free enterprise.

Other antimerger fights in the railroad industry, such as the heated objections of Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific officials to a wedding between Union Pacific and Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railroad, is strengthening all antimerger sentiment, and helping the case against the PRR–NYC plans. Says William J. Quinn, president of the Milwaukee road: "We will fight this merger (his railroad and Union Pacific) with every resource at our command."

No writer could depict the mess in which the railroads (on the whole) now find themselves, but, as Mr. Shapp said, the answer to competition in the transportation field "won't be found by reducing it." What this country needs is a moratorium on all mergers by major corporations, so that everybody can get down to the business of doing business without trying to monopolize it. Individuals like Milton Shapp may be America's last line of defense.

The Riot That Didn't Happen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the rioting in Los Angeles has made us all painfully aware of the tensions that grip many of our cities and of the tragic consequences that may ensue when there is no responsible local leadership to ease them. It is not my purpose here to assess blame for the Watts outbreak. An official board of inquiry has been assigned that task. My purpose is to set forth an account of how a potentially similar incident was averted in my home city of Trenton, N.J. That story was written by Mr. Guy Darst, a sensitive and able reporter for the Trentonian, a daily newspaper published in Trenton. The accompanying editorial needs no elaboration. It places the meaning of the events recounted by Mr. Darst in perspective and reminds all those in positions of responsibility that violence is the handmaiden of despair. The city of Trenton and all of its residents should be grateful that Mr. Albert Robinson and the Reverend S. Howard Woodson understand that simple fact and acted upon it.

The article and editorial follow:

[From the Trentonian, Aug. 28, 1965]

THE RIOT THAT WASN'T—COOL HEADS SAVED CITY FROM SERIOUS TROUBLE

NOTE.—Just 2 weeks ago, while Negro rioters battled police and National Guardsmen in Los Angeles, Trenton came to the brink of similar uncontrolled rioting. The behind-the-scenes story of what happened and how it was stopped is revealed here.

(By Guy Darst)

The near-riot at Hetzel Field Tuesday night is causing no end of speculation on what happened, what is happening, and what is going to happen, but another similar event has received little attention.

It isn't generally known, but on the weekend of August 14–16, Trenton nearly turned into another Los Angeles.

The place was the Battle Monument area. The participants would have been about 60 Negro male youths. Their grievance was what they thought was an unjustified arrest.

The story of how and why the peace was kept reflects great credit on Negro leaders, as well as on the police department and, to a lesser extent, on the city administration.

What follows is an account of what happened, pieced together from several reliable sources:

On the night of Friday, August 13, the white owner of a well-patronized poolroom on North Warren Street asked an inebriated customer to leave.

Upon the refusal of the customer to leave, the owner, according to witnesses, brought out his German shepherd and turned him loose on the customer. After being bitten three times, the customer insisted the owner summon police.

The customer wanted to complain against the owner, but the owner's story was that the customer had attacked his dog. The customer was arrested for disorderly conduct.

At this point, another customer asked: "Why are you locking him up?" And pointing at the owner continued: "He's the one that you should lock up."

The owner then said to the policeman: "Lock him up to; he's another troublemaker." The policeman then arrested the second man, who immediately started a violent verbal protest.

The policeman hustled him into the patrol wagon along with the man under the weather. One account says the protesting young man was wrestled into the wagon.

The men were baled out that evening. The next day, the young men of the neighborhood decided to picket the poolroom.

According to several persons on the spot, the picketing was going to be most unpeaceful. Between 2 and 3 p.m., Albert "Bo" Robinson, manager of the Prospect Village project of the Trenton Housing Authority, happened along, and was asked to help.

Robinson told the would-be pickets: "If I'm in this, you'll picket my way, and you'll do it right. No blocking the sidewalk, no interfering with traffic, no shouts and commotion."

AGREE TO PICKET

Robinson grew up in the area and was well known for his connections. So the picketing format was agreed to, and from 3 until 7:30 p.m. that Saturday afternoon Robinson and four others carried signs protesting the presence of the poolroom, and specifically the owner.

Police were on the scene, and seeing Robinson, figured the situation was well in hand. The poolroom was empty after the picketing began, and closed at 5 p.m. instead of the usual postmidnight hour. It hasn't opened since.

Saturday night most sports in the area took their entertainment elsewhere, and the only incident was a brick tossed through the plate glass poolroom window.

Sunday was even quieter, but Monday was the day of most tension.

The two young Negroes, both in their early twenties, who had been arrested Friday night appeared before Municipal Judge Albert Cooper—without a lawyer and without a single witness in their behalf.

On hearing their stories, and those of the poolroom owner (who said his dog had been attacked) and the arresting officer, Judge Cooper sentenced both men to 90 days in the workhouse.

News of the sentencing spread like wildfire, because everyone in the area had expected only a fine for the protesting youth. A worker in a large nearby industrial plant, he had no police record, in contrast to the other man arrested.

A crowd began to gather shortly after 1 p.m. Later accounts put it at about 60 young Negro males between about 16 and 25, of whom an estimated dozen had jobs. Their aim was not picketing, it is now clear.

One nearby merchant with close contacts among the youth after receiving much conflicting advice from fellow merchants and the youngsters themselves called Robinson, again Robinson immediately called the Rev S. Howard Woodson, Jr., pastor of the Shiloh Baptist Church, former city councilman and presently member of the New Jersey Assembly.

Reverend Woodson arrived about 4 p.m. "I didn't see anybody pour gasoline, but I saw the empty 5-gallon can by the building and gasoline on the floor inside," he said later.

NOT MAD AT COPS

Reverend Woodson immediately began circulating through the crowd with Robinson and the merchant who called Robinson, talking to leaders of various subgroups.

They weren't particularly angry with the police, but were out to "mess up" the poolroom and its owner.

Reverend Woodson extracted a promise that the leaders would do nothing until noon the next day, and said in the meantime he would talk to Judge Cooper.

A few minutes before 5 o'clock, Reverend Woodson arrived at the First Precinct Police Station, where Capt. James George, commanding in the place of the regular precinct commander, was just about to leave for the day.

"I'll stay here all night if I have to," he said, and immediately called in Sgt. Frank Brady, who probably knows the area better than any other policeman.

Sergeant Brady confirmed the area's problems with the poolroom, and both officers set about hand picking a detail of seven policemen, mostly Negro, to patrol the area that night.

The next morning, Reverend Woodson spoke to Judge Cooper, who, on the basis of new evidence, in particular evidence dealing with the propensities to violence of the dog, ordered the steelworker released.

The first poolroom customer, the cause of all the trouble, will evidently stay in for a while. A 10-month-old warrant for his arrest on atrocious assault and battery charges was delivered to the workhouse this week.

At noon Reverend Woodson and others involved in keeping order drove to the workhouse, and returned with the steelworker to the corner of North Warren Street and Pennington Avenue to show the roughly 50 hangers-on there and in the area they had kept the faith.

That was the end of the immediate danger to the city, but the ramifications go on.

It is impossible to overestimate the seriousness of the situation that Monday afternoon. Gasoline was in fact poured, and the young man who allegedly poured it was being egged on by the crowd to light it when Reverend Woodson arrived.

LIVED ON HANDOUTS

The youngster in question had been sleeping in parked cars for the past 8 days because he had been thrown out of the home of what family he had. He had managed to eat by handouts from friends.

Some persons say he had a Molotov cocktail (bottle of gasoline with a cloth wick used as a bomb), but persons on the scene deny this. However, accounts by persons not known for untruth say there were two sticks of dynamite on the scene, and five Molotov cocktails. Rumors of hand grenades seem to be simply rumors. Of course, a large assortment of bricks, bottles and other missiles were on hand, and those men with guns had them.

"Believe me, it was touch and go," a white merchant in the area said. It's still touch

and go, for the poolroom owner's place has been threatened in more than one way if he tries to open up again, or open under a "front." He's trying to sell but so far has found no buyers, and city council is going to consider ways and means of putting him out of business as a public nuisance. His dog has been involved in other incidents, and the police say he's a menace.

Councilman Carmen Armenti (who is, say persons in the area, the only city official other than policemen ever seen in the area. But it's in his ward) spent more than 3 hours on Thursday talking to persons in the area, and arranged a meeting with Mayor Holland and some of the peacekeepers.

The city has already arranged a few jobs for some of the more financially desperate protesters with city agencies. However, the Faukner Act doesn't permit it to hire persons with criminal records, so some other, under-21 participants will probably get jobs with the neighborhood youth corps.

Just the first question HRW Director William Faherty asked persons sent to him Wednesday was "Do you have a record?" if so, there was little that could be done immediately.

It is surprising that more complaints were not directed against the police in the whole episode. During the tense moments on Monday afternoon, no policemen were seen, which caused no end of sarcasm.

NEVER A TARGET

Yet the arresting officer was, as far as can be determined, never a target for the young men. In fact, he was on overtime as part of the city's special program to put more men on the streets. His usual duties are with the traffic division.

Not knowing the area, or the parties to the original dispute, he was not a party to criticism. What criticism there was was directed at the assignment of men to the area who didn't know it, who are somewhat fearful of its inhabitants, and who, as a result, are somewhat less than polite.

"Sergeant Brady, he's different. When he asks us to move off the corner, he doesn't growl, and sometimes he'll talk to us about baseball or other stuff," said one jobless youth after it was all over.

The administration is considering steps to improve police relations with this area, but no decisions have been made yet.

Everyone in the area agrees the key to the situation is jobs. Jobs that provide a sense of accomplishment and a decent salary are stayed with, but unfortunately hard to come by because of the low level of skills and ability of most ghetto youngsters.

Also unfortunately, it's the salary that counts most. Materialism is rampant. No more than 10 of the 60 gathered on Monday had jobs, yet everybody wants sharp clothes, fancy cars, women, all the rest. A realization of the materialist basis of life is the key to any efforts to improve the area.

And efforts to improve the area—where were they? Unfortunately, the city's antipoverty organization, United Progress, Inc., was completely out in the cold, and didn't know that anything was going on until everything was all over.

This is in great contrast with the East Trenton area, where United Progress, Inc. staff members and Domestic Peace Corps (VISTA) workers have been concentrating attention. They were, if not responsible entirely, at least in the forefront of efforts Tuesday night to keep matters from getting out of hand.

There is not a United Progress Inc. recruiting sign in the monument area. United Progress, Inc. staffers have been busy in other areas of the city organizing community efforts there.

The United Progress, Inc. on-the-job-training program, a more than $600,000 affair, is barely getting off the ground. City Council has approved the purchase of the old Eagle Tavern on South Broad Street for a services center, in which the job-training staff will be located, but the center will service only the poor areas of South Trenton.

THREE CENTERS PLANNED

United Progress, Inc. officials say that after that center gets going, it will be 6 months before the next one can be started in another designated poor area, because all available staff members will be used in the first one. In all, three are planned.

Now the "war on poverty" is supposed to involve the poor in their own fate, and although the aggrieved were certainly poor, those who managed to stop trouble aren't.

This springs up the question: What was the basis of Reverend Woodson's appeal?

Part of his appeal was the nature of his argument—that any violence to the pool hall would inevitably harm the adjacent business establishments, with whom nobody had any immediate quarrel, and render homeless those living in apartments over the block of buildings. The inevitable depression of the Los Angeles rioters after the event was pointed out ("You will be sorry, baby").

Part of his appeal was that he was known as a man with many connections, who knew where to go and who to talk to, and who has in previous years helped a large number of poor Negroes in trouble.

Reverend Woodson, the merchants say, is in the habit of coming around to the area from time to time—for lunch, to get a haircut, or for some other reason. For this and other reasons he can talk the language of the aggrieved Negro youth. His first words Monday on arriving, it is reported were: "What's happening, baby?"

Reverend Woodson, after all, is a politician, and the city's most successful Negro politician at that, which makes him the city's best-known Negro by default.

But Reverend Woodson is not the city's only Negro leader, and nothing illustrates the complexity of the Negro world (which like it or not, is separate from the white world) better than the whole monument affair.

It is widely reported, but without names being mentioned, that another well-known Negro leader, for reasons of his own, tried to egg on (by telephone, yet) leaders of the various subgroups in the Monday crowd. Most persons who were at the scene now refer to this person (or these persons) with scorn, but they admit that the question of whether to take their advice on that afternoon was not one that admitted a flat yes or no answer.

[From the Trentonian, Sept. 1, 1965]

A TRAGEDY AVERTED—TRENTON WAS FORTUNATE

The story of a near-tragedy was told last Saturday by the Trentonian's Guy Darst in a full-page article headed, "The Riot That Wasn't." As he put it, "On the weekend of August 14–16 Trenton nearly turned into another Los Angeles."

On a reduced scale, the sort of thing that happened in the Watts area of Los Angeles (and to a smaller degree in other cities) was very nearly reproduced in Trenton's Battle Monument neighborhood. There was the relatively minor incident—an arrest with racial overtones—that provided the spark. And there were (and remain) the underlying conditions to provide the dry tinder that would change a brief spark into a holocaust.

But Trenton was fortunate. It was fortunate to being with, in having certain leaders among the Negro community both willing and able to exert a constructive and pacifying influence.

It should be noted—and is perhaps the most important point—that this leadership was not one-way. That is, it was not exerted merely "to keep the Negroes quiet," but also to secure a remedy for the injustice which caused the unrest in the first place.

This seems to us important because we can not imagine any lasting racial peace—or peace of any kind, for that matter—that is not based upon justice. It is from despair of receiving fair treatment through normal channels that arises the irrational fury of such outbursts as have been seen in Los Angeles.

The prompt and conscientious response of the police department, once it was made aware of the situation, is also to be commended. It may be cause for alarm that the police had to be made aware of the impending trouble by nondepartmental sources.

But all the leadership and all the most conscientious police work could not have saved the situation but for one other element—luck. There were times—as Mr. Darst's article makes clear—when actions were taken with only minutes or perhaps seconds to spare.

We can probably count on our police department to remain conscientious. We can probably count on such Negro leaders as Mr. Albert Robinson and the Reverend S. Howard Woodson to remain energetic and effective. But we can not count on our luck to hold good forever.

Thus the most significant thing that can be done to prevent such occurrences in the future lies in removing those underlying conditions which turn minor incidents into major conflagrations. Fortunately, the city administration and the so-called antipoverty program are displaying an active interest in such work.

Durability Is Not Enough

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Austin S. Murphy, Ph. D., managing director of the Savings Banks Association of New York State:

DURABILITY IS NOT ENOUGH

(By Austin S. Murphy, Ph. D.)

(When he joined the Savings Banks Association of New York State as managing director in 1963, Austin S. Murphy was already well known as an economist active in banking and business throughout the State. At the time, he was a trustee of the Erie County Savings Bank in Buffalo. As a chairman, director, or active member of various boards and civic committees in the Buffalo area, he played a prominent part in efforts to stabilize the economy and step up the industrial development of Erie County. Dr. Murphy served as a consultant to Bell Aerosystems Corp., American Airlines, Curtiss-Wright, General Mills, and Manufacturers & Traders' Trust Co., and is the author of numerous economic studies, including "Reasons for Relocation" and "Forecast for Industrial Expansion in Buffalo and the Niagara Frontier." In 1950 he edited the first "Handbook of New York Labor Statistics." He has served as dean of the schools of business administration of Seton Hall University and Canisius College, and in the course of his career has lectured on economics at a number of the State's universities, including New York University, and at Fordham, where he received his Ph. D. in economics in 1949. Dr. Murphy served with the U.S. Board of Economic Warfare and the New York State Department of Labor. Im-

mediately prior to joining the Savings Bank Association he was director of the education department of the National Association of Manufacturers.)

If savings banking in New York State is to play in the future the vital and dynamic role it does today and has throughout its history, it must continue to adjust to the vast changes that are taking place in the American economy and in the structure of American society. The times in which we live, and the new times that are directly ahead, call for new thinking, new programs, new services, and new legislation to make possible the adjustment to change.

Nowhere is change more evident in our society than the altered age structure of the American population. In 1964, the median age of people in this country was 28.3, and the average age in the United States at this moment is probably below 28 years.

More than one-third of our population is under 18. Since 1960, it has been reported, our teenage population has grown by 30 percent, while the entire U.S. population has grown by only 8 percent.

It has become commonplace to refer to American society as "youth oriented." The term, however, is an understatement. We are not merely youth oriented; we are actually a society of young people.

The implications of this fact for the American enterprise system are great, and for savings banking they are tremendous, because the young people who today comprise so large a proportion of our population are children of affluence.

They are reaping the benefits of the hard work and thriftiness of their ancestors and predecessors. Scarcely anyone under 40 remembers the great depression of the 1930's. The dominant segment of our population today was brought up during the post-World War II boom, and has direct experience only of prosperity.

Thrift does not come naturally to these young people, as it did to earlier generations of Americans. The concept of saving for a rainy day has little general meaning for them—for they have not experienced any rainy days, nor do they seriously expect bad times. The idea of saving now to make purchases later finds little favor with this generation; in its experience, credit in its numerous forms is and has always been an accepted and unquestioned way of life.

The fact that earlier generations worked and saved in order to make possible today's way of life may be of historical interest to young people, like the fact that their fathers fought in World War II, but it has no present reality for them.

For these reasons, it is unlikely that traditional and conventional methods of encouraging and promoting thrift are going to be effective with the increasingly large percentage of young Americans. This is not to say that thrift is outmoded or no longer meaningful, but rather that the value and meaning of thrift today must be presented in terms different from those used in the past.

It is not enough—if indeed it ever was enough—to put up a sign reading savings bank and expect people to come in, motivated by nothing more than a desire to practice the virtue of thrift.

Today, savings banks must and do offer a wide range of services, to meet the personal financial needs of individuals and families in an economy that has undergone vast changes since these banks were originally organized. Tomorrow they must offer more, and they must reach out to more people.

While attitudes change as the nature of our population changes, the need for thrift and savings remains constant. Every family needs a savings program—although the extent and purpose of the program may vary according to age—and the economy has a continuing and increasing need for the capital generated by individual and family savings.

The savings banks of New York State recognize the fact that people's thrift needs differ according to age group and other factors, and they have developed programs to meet these differing needs.

It is demonstrable, for example, that people are more likely to buy a home, major appliances, furniture, and the like when they are in the 20- to 30-year age group—even though their full earning potential has not yet developed—than when they are past 65. Therefore it is probable that younger families are going to borrow more, and save less, than older people.

How are borrowers to be converted into savers?

If they borrow from institutions which are heavily dependent on income from personal loans to produce profits, the tendency will be to keep them borrowing.

On the other hand, if people were able to borrow from their savings bank for ordinary consumer needs, they would be encouraged at all times to save, and to continue to do so on an increasing scale as their borrowing needs lessened. At the present time, however, the law does not grant savings banks in New York State the authority to make personal loans.

It is time this situation was changed, and time to weigh the consequences of failure to change it. The major consequences will be two:

First, as more and more people enter the age group in which they must borrow to make major purchases, they may well find it increasingly difficult to do so. Studies show that there is already a gap between demand for personal loans in New York State and supply available from existing sources—and that the gap will grow, reaching $2.5 billion by 1970.

This gap need not exist; it can be rapidly closed by authorizing savings banks, which have funds immediately available for this purpose, to make personal loans.

Second, thriftiness may gradually disappear as increasing numbers of people are nurtured in a philosophy of borrowing and not saving, and the American economy—especially in the state which for so long has been the financial center of the Nation—cannot afford a dwindling supply of saved capital.

Contributing to this philosophy is the fact that we are getting richer all the time. Family income is up 30 percent over a 10-year period—and this percentage is based on constant dollars, allowing for inflation.

The number of families with income of less than $5,000 is in a steady long-term decline, while the number of those with income over $7,000 is in a long, steady uptrend.

The most spectacular gains have been made in the number of families with income over $10,000. Since 1947, families in this country with incomes over that level have risen from 7 percent of the population to 20 percent, in terms of adjusted dollars.

Because of its increasing youth and its increasing affluence, our society has been moving further and further from the foundation of hard work and thrift on which it was originally based. Over a period of 28 years there has been a steady, almost uninterrupted uptrend.

More and more people have been living—and living well—through the benefit of institutions set up long before their birth, and the relationship between production and work has been largely obscured.

Yet, even in this modern society, it is not necessary for people to borrow at the expense of saving; it is not necessary to adopt an either borrow or save attitude. Borrowing and saving are equally important parts of an overall individual or family money management program.

They are not to be thought of as diametrically opposed, for to practice thrift is to manage one's financial resources in the wisest and most efficient way—a way that may include borrowing in the early stages of family formation and career building.

Savings banks, dedicated to individual and family financial management and programing, are uniquely equipped to preserve thriftiness, by preserving the balance between borrowing and saving, and by converting borrowers into savers. People who borrow in an atmosphere of thrift will be encouraged to save while they are repaying the loan, and to step up their savings in the future; they will find extra motivation to become savers rather than borrowers.

How much better for individuals to borrow for personal needs from a savings bank—which, by its intrinsic nature and purpose, will strive to convert them to net savers—rather than from another kind of bank which, for earnings purposes, will seek to keep them net borrowers.

The future holds great challenges for savings banking and it also holds great promise.

The savings banks of New York State have amply proved their ability to move with the times and to adapt to change. They have protected their depositors' funds, and made them grow, through wars, depressions, and wide fluctuations in the economy. They have amply demonstrated not only their strength, but also their vitality.

In the broad economic realm, individual savings are necessary as the cornerstone of future growth.

Thrift built the America in which we live and thrift must build the America of tomorrow as well.

Savings banks, as the basic thrift institutions, provide the cornerstone on which thrift is built. This is the vital service they perform for the preservation and growth of our free enterprise system.

Tennessee Citizens, Elk River Development Association, Back Tims Ford Project by TVA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Tims Ford Dam and Reservoir project approved by the House is of the greatest importance to the citizens of Tennessee. Approval of its construction will mean a new era of economic development in middle Tennessee.

The citizens in my State realize the importance of this project and they are reflecting their interest and their will in this matter.

Under unanimous consent, I include a petition signed by many fine citizens to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The petition of endorsement follows:

RESOLUTION BY THE ELK RIVER DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION, FAYETTEVILLE, TENN.

Resolution by ERDA members and other citizens of the Elk River Valley in support of the Tims Ford project on Elk River

Whereas the Tennessee Valley Authority has conducted a feasibility study on the Tims Ford project as a part of a coordinated development and water control system for the Elk River and its tributaries; and

Whereas from said study the project is declared feasible and that the advantages and benefits to be derived therefrom will outweigh the costs 1.4 to 1.0; and

Whereas TVA has stated that they are ready to begin construction and have submitted a planning report to the Bureau of the Budget and requested funds for Tims Ford; and

Whereas it is for the benefit and welfare of the people of the area, and the Tennessee Valley that TVA proceed immediately with the construction of Tims Ford Dam; and

Whereas the Elk River Development Association, organized in 1959, and with a current membership of 2,400 people, has worked long and hard to promote this project along with many other worthwhile programs; and

Whereas the Tennessee Elk River Development Agency was created in March, 1963, by act of the Tennessee State Legislature. The agency has the same objectives as the association and has legal status and has worked with the association and TVA in agreements to assure maximum benefits from the Tims Ford project: Be it therefore

Resolved, That we the undersigned ERDA members and other citizens of the Elk River Valley respectfully request that the Senate concur with the House of Representatives in providing funds for the Tims Ford project.

Royalston's 200th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I represent a part of our land that is rich in history. The proud heritage of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts began at Plymouth in 1620, when a sturdy band of Englishmen arrived on these shores to build a new and better society. They and their families soon spread out, to the north, to the south, and many to the beautiful western hills and valleys that now comprise my congressional district.

These settlers grew and prospered. They were joined by others, of different religious and national backgrounds, but all eager for a new and better life in a young, free land. As a result, many of the communities in my district are this year celebrating their 200th anniversaries. Royalston, in Worcester County, Mass. is one such community.

It is always a pleasure for me to take note of such an historic occasion as a bicentennial year. But in Royalston's case it is a special pleasure, and I want to share it with my colleagues in the Congress. It is special because among Royalston folk there is a long tradition of mutual trust, friendship, and civic spirit of which any American community could be proud.

One hundred years ago, the Honorable A. H. Bullock gave an eloquent speech commemorating Royalston's centennial year. The sentiments he expressed at that time hold true today, and they go a long way toward explaining the kind of tradition in Royalston. Mr. Bullock said in part:

I apprehend that scarcely an ancient town in the State can present a parallel with this. Such has been the uniformity, the harmony, the serenity of this smooth current of population, from the commencement until now, that the present occasion is furnished with little that is eventful and with nothing that is dramatic. A town far away from the sea, and therefore without the inspiring excitement of ocean commerce—a precinct that bears no vestige of the aborigines, and is in this respect so unlike the more southerly towns, which had half a century of life crowded with Indian traditions, that I cannot find that those original lords ever lighted a pipe or a fire here, a church without a schism in a century, a ministry that never knew how to quarrel, a people that have walked the paths of unambitious duty; these make our record uninteresting for the public address. But these also make our claim to the highest distinction of municipal fame. This agreeable progress of four generations, without anything that is startling in savage or civilized adventure, has made our history comparatively tame; but it is the tameness of beneficence, of a people who have been content without observation to pour the ceaseless tributaries of a small and distant town into the swelling volume of the growth, the power, and the renown of the State.

In fact, Mr. Bullock was being a bit modest. There are many interesting sides to Royalston's history, and in 1917 Mr. Lilley B. Caswell compiled a town history of no less than 550 pages. Mr. Caswell begins by recording the original grants and purchases of land in Royalston—one as early as 1737—and describes the proprieters meetings held "at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern" in Boston. He reports that the first permanent settlement was made in 1762, when six families established residence. When the French and Indian War ended shortly thereafter, these intrepid settlers were joined by others, and soon there were 75 homesteads dotting Royalston's hillsides.

Roads were laid out, mills were built, and a meeting house was erected. The growth and development of the little community was such that within 3 years it was ready to achieve the status of a full-fledged township. Responding to a petition by the townspeople, the general court on February 19, 1765, passed "An act for erecting a town in the County of Worcester by the name of Royalston." And thus took place the event that we are commemorating this year.

I am sure that my colleagues in Congress will join me now in saluting this sturdy and responsible community for her progress and achievement in the past, and on this, her 200th birthday, will offer her our warmest wishes for success in the years ahead.

Survivorship Benefits for Servicemen IV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, previously I have inserted in the RECORD the benefits available to a sergeant who has lost his life and who leaves dependent parents. Today I want to include as a part of my remarks, the benefit to survivors of a noncommissioned officer when he leaves a widow and two children:

SURVIVORSHIP BENEFITS FOR SERVICEMEN DYING FROM SERVICE-CONNECTED CAUSES

ASSUMPTIONS

1. Sergeant, U.S. Army.
2. Age 25 at death.
3. Death was service-connected.
4. Seven years service at death.
5. Three years in grade at death.
6. Average earnings $251.10 a month (base pay).
7. Left a widow, age 25, and two children, ages 1 and 3.
8. Widow lives out her expectation of life (50.8 years).
9. Children receive maximum number of payments.
10. Widow does not remarry.

Benefits

Payee	Paying agency	Type of payment	Payment period (months)	Payment rate	Total payments
Widow	HEW	Social security	[1] 204	$63.80	$13,015.20
2d child	HEW	do	[2] 252	[3] 63.80	16,562.40
1st child	HEW	do	[4] 228	[5] 63.80	14,788.80
Widow	VA	Social Security (38 U.S.C. 412(a))	[6] 165	81.30	13,414.50
Do	HEW	Disability insurance compensation	609	151.00	91,959.00
2d child	HEW	WOEA	36	110.00	3,960.00
1st child	HEW	WOEA	36	110.00	3,960.00
Total					157,659.90

[1] Until youngest child reaches age 18.
[2] 204 months to age 18 plus 48 months in full-time training.
[3] $63.80 to age 18; $73.90 from age 18 through age 21.
[4] 180 months to age 18 plus 48 months in full-time training.
[5] $63.80 to age 20; $73.90 from age 20 through age 21.
[6] Beginning at age 62.

Population

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Christian Science Monitor states very succinctly my attitude toward the efforts now being made by many governments toward the study and implementation of family planning programs:

CURBING OVERPOPULATION

Perhaps the outstanding mark of the post-World War II period is the worldwide demand that all men share in the blessings of progress and prosperity. This irresistible demand lies behind the vast upsurge now taking place among formerly lethargic peoples,

the rise of scores of new nations, the yearning for education and enlightenment, and the desperate struggle for technological achievement which characterize our times. It also lies behind the growing realization that, all over the globe, progress and prosperity are jeopardized by another phenomenon of this era—the population explosion.

With this realization there has come the late—but not too late—conviction that practical steps must be taken to combat overpopulation. National governments, social organizations, international aid structures, even the United Nations itself have seen in varying degree the necessity to keep population in line with natural resources.

The last few years have witnessed both a far wider public recognition of the problem and a willingness to take practical steps to meet it.

Foremost among these steps is the dissemination of information on birth control. When done on a voluntary basis such dissemination is worthy of both private and governmental support. It places the decision upon the individual's conscience, where it belongs, and it avoids offending either religious or traditional sensitivities.

It is welcome news that both the United Nations and the U.S. Government are now prepared to support birth control programs wherever these are requested or instituted by local governments. Indeed, in many areas such programs are a virtual necessity if other aid programs are to achieve their goals.

As individuals and nations strive to achieve a higher standard of living and a higher concept of living, they will recognize more and more clearly that these must have their origin and foundation in a higher sense of family life. And while such a sense has nothing to do with wealth, it is also true that too many mouths to feed, inadequate opportunities for education and all the stresses and strains which come from grinding poverty make a responsible and elevated family life difficult and often impossible.

A sensible, voluntary limitation on population growth benefits families, peoples and nations. It is one of the dire necessities of this age.

Poll Shows Strong Support Among Iowans for the War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, on August 29, 1965, the Des Moines Sunday Register carried the results of a poll showing strong support in my home State of Iowa for the Federal antipoverty program.

According to the results of the Iowa poll, conducted by the Sunday Register, 66 percent of all Iowans feel there is a need for such a program in Iowa. An even larger majority, 79 percent, believe there is a need for the antipoverty program in the United States as a whole.

Strong public support is essential for the success of any Federal program, and it appears obvious from the results of this poll that the people in Iowa are prepared to give such support to the war on poverty.

I am hopeful that the Office of Economic Opportunity here in Washington will match this public support with the cooperation necessary to make the Iowa antipoverty program a success.

My fellow Members probably will be interested in the detailed results of the recent Iowa poll and, under leave to extend my remarks, I hereby include the article from the Sunday Register in the RECORD:

[From the Des Moines Sunday Register, Aug. 29, 1965]

SEVENTY-NINE PERCENT OF IOWANS SEE NEED OF POVERTY PROGRAMS

A 79-percent majority of Iowans feels there is a need for the Government's antipoverty program designed to provide jobs and further education for persons in low-income families, the Iowa poll reports.

A smaller number but still a majority—66 percent—thinks there is need for such a program in Iowa.

Iowans were asked the following questions:

"The Federal Government has established a nationwide antipoverty program designed to provide jobs and further education for persons in low-income families.

"(a) Do you think there is or is not a need for such a program in Iowa?"

[In percent]

	Need	No need	No opinion
Total	66	25	9
Men	61	30	9
Women	71	20	9
RESIDENCE			
Cities (over 50,000 population)	68	23	9
Cities (5,000 to 50,000 population)	72	19	9
City-town (under 5,000 population)	59	29	12
Farm	67	26	7
POLITICAL			
Republican	57	37	6
Democrat	73	17	10
Independent	68	21	11
INCOME			
Under $5,000	70	18	12
$5,000 to $7,999	69	25	6
$8,000 and over	58	37	5

"(b) Do you think there is or is not a need for such a program in the United States?"

[In percent]

	Need	No need	No opinion
Total	79	12	9
Men	76	15	9
Women	82	9	9
RESIDENCE			
Cities (over 50,000 population)	83	10	7
Cities (5,000 to 50,000 population)	79	11	10
City-town (under 5,000 population)	73	15	12
Farm	83	9	8
POLITICAL			
Republican	75	18	7
Democrat	83	6	11
Independent	80	11	9
INCOME			
Under $5,000	79	8	13
$5,000 to $7,999	80	12	8
$8,000 and over	80	16	4

"(c) How effective do you think the antipoverty program will be in solving problems of low income families—very effective, fairly effective or not effective?"

[In percent]

	Very	Fairly	None	No opinion
Total	13	55	21	11
Men	11	52	26	11
Women	15	58	16	11
RESIDENCE				
Cities (over 50,000 population)	17	51	22	10
Cities (5,000 to 50,000 population)	15	58	18	9
City-towns (under 5,000 population)	13	51	22	14
Farms	7	61	23	9
POLITICAL				
Republican	9	48	32	11
Democrat	16	58	15	11
Independent	14	58	17	11
INCOME				
Under $5,000	22	47	16	15
$5,000 to $7,999	11	60	21	8
$8,000 or more	10	53	31	6

Williston Academy Celebrates Her 125th Anniversay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, western Massachusetts has long been noted for its fine educational institutions. Amherst, Williams, and Smith Colleges and the University of Massachusetts are just a few of the outstanding schools in my congressional district.

Less well known but equally important are the large number of excellent preparatory schools in the area. One of these, Williston Academy in Easthampton, Mass., this fall begins her 125th academic year. To celebrate this historic anniversary, a number of special events have been planned, including a National Education Conference to be held on the Williston campus next month.

This week, as schools all over the land are opening their doors for another year, is a fitting time for me to call the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives to the story of one fine school, Williston Academy:

THE STORY OF WILLISTON ACADEMY

Samuel Williston (1795–1874), son of Easthampton's first minister, Payson Williston, was a Yankee entrepreneur who accumulated a fortune from the industries he created for the small town near the Connecticut River. He gave liberally to needy educational institutions and founded Williston Academy in 1841. With pride and purpose his school is celebrating the 125th anniversary this (1965–66) academic year.

Mr. Williston started his considerable fortune by selling cloth-covered buttons made by his wife. The community is still dotted with buildings of industries he originated or promoted—elastic webbing from a Goodyear patent for vulcanizing rubber thread, covered buttons, cotton yarn, and spool cotton. Nearby Amherst College for men and Mount Holyoke College for Women benefited from his largess.

During its 125 years over 14,000 have attended Williston and with rare exceptions all graduates have gone on to colleges. The present student body of 440 in 5 grades (8th through senior high school) include 24 foreign students from 14 countries of which 9 are U.S. citizens. Since its founding there have been, as Williston wished, foreign students on the campus each year.

Since the first senior class matriculated graduates have attended the finest colleges in the East, ones located in every State and many foreign countries. As career men they have made their marks in professions, government and military service, industry, the sciences, as clergy and educators.

Phillips Stevens, during his 17 years as headmaster, has planned and executed a program of development keeping the school abreast of curricular and teaching trends and increasing and improving the physical plant. Facilities have been increased to provide for a growing student body, a reflection of the burgeoning teenage population wanting college preparatory education. The 250 acres include extensive playing fields for sports in which every student is required, if physically able, to participate. Modern dormitories, a handsome chapel, a replica of a typical early New England church, and an enclosed skating rink are the most recent additions.

Dedicated young masters have brought the newest techniques and philosophies to the classrooms. As did their predecessors 125 years ago, they coach athletics and assume duties necessary in supervising a large resident student body. The masters are able, through the school's plan of continuing education for the faculty, to study for graduate degrees, and have a year on salary to study and travel.

This year, Williston Academy is observing its 125th anniversary by recalling its meaningful history, and a program of other special events to celebrate the memorable year. A carefully planned contribution to secondary education in the United States will be made at the school's fourth annual education conference in October. Twenty-five men and women selected from hundreds of nominees will be cited for their outstanding contributions to secondary education. A panel of secondary school teachers and another of college teachers will present and discuss with the 200 conferees "the social-emotional behavorial problems confronting the student making the transition to higher education and the effect of such problems on the student's academic-intellectual achievement in higher education."

The featured speaker will be talented and inspiring Rev. Richard P. Unsworth who is the dean of the Tucker Foundation, Dartmouth College, formerly the chaplain of Smith College and a member of the religion department.

Easthampton residents will attend an open house October 10, and tour the school whose founder, Samuel Williston, had done so much for the community. Selectmen will be dinner guests. A 30-minute TV documentary film of the academy is planned and will be shown on several stations. Area newspapers will commemorate the occasion with numerous stories and page spreads. Alumni will gather May 15 for a special anniversary program and will be addressed by Vice Adm. Lawson P. Ramage, a graduate of the class of 1926, commander of the 1st Fleet of the Pacific.

Dr. Jean Paul Mather, executive vice president of the University City Science Center in Philadelphia and former president of the University of Massachusetts, will give the annual Samuel Williston lecture. As a finale to the observance, Dr. Charles W. Cole, former Ambassador to Chile and president emeritus of Amherst College, will give the commencement address.

It Is a Good American Customs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Customs Service has been guarding the borders of our country for 176 years. Despite an almost unbelievable increase in its workload, it does a superb job with less personnel on its payroll than it had in the time of President Calvin Coolidge. The Bureau's overworked inspectors are sometimes criticized for alleged lack of courtesy. These occasional lapses are fully investigated, and, generally, they prove to be based on lack of public understanding of the customs inspector's onerous task and the demands made upon him by an ever-increasing influx of passengers, especially at the John F. Kennedy International Airport in New York where arrivals average 13,000 daily—as compared with 7,000 to 8,000 daily 1 year ago.

Offsetting the critical comments of some few passengers, I invite attention to an illuminating editorial called to my attention by Mr. John J. Murphy, president, National Customs Service Association, published in the current issue of Forbes magazine on the devotion to duty by our customs inspectors, and under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House I should like to include the article with my remarks:

IT'S A GOOD AMERICAN CUSTOMS

U.S. customs is a $2-billion-a-year business with 9,300 civil service workers sharing multiple and complicated responsibilities under U.S. laws.

For Americans returning from foreign travel and for foreigners visiting America, this important arm of the U.S. Treasury Department boils down to the neatly uniformed man who checks out one's bags and boxes to see that what isn't allowed in isn't brought in, and that what's dutiable over the $100 allowance is collected. These inspectors have a job of unique difficulty, unique importance.

For the tired, usually glad-to-be-back American tourist, this short session with the customsman is the first contact on the home front. For the foreigner, it is his first real contact with Americans in fabulous, fabled America. The customs inspector is supposed to achieve two sometimes incompatible things: convey a cheerful, polite welcome while rummaging through one's luggage to be sure that the relevant laws of this land are not being violated—intentionally or unintentionally.

Try that job out some time. For 8 hours at a clip. Going through hundreds of assorted suitcases and all manner of containers full of dirty laundry, new antiques, grotesque souvenirs. Luggage belonging to fat, sweaty, pushing, belligerent people; to thin, cold people; to people who may or may not speak English, sometimes printable, sometimes not; to mothers with squawling children; to big men and to bad men.

To coin a phrase, I should think the task would drive a saint nuts, and frankly I marvel at the equanimity and the genuine helpfulness with which these fellows get 99 plus 44/100 percent of their job done.

This was all brought to mind when I read in the papers recently several letters chewing out the U.S. Bureau of Customs.

As one who has to travel often into and out of many countries, I've been through countless other customs. I don't recall ever seeing tourists in any land have any difficulties. With returning native sons, however, it's frequently a far different story.

If any returning American thinks he gets much of an examination he ought to watch British Customs give returning Englishmen a going over! I have seen their inspectors take Britons returning from a weekend abroad and turn their luggage literally almost inside out—and make them do likewise with all their suit pockets and the coats over their arms.

Through Kennedy alone over 2 million come pouring past the customsman.

Out of these tens of thousands perhaps two dozen are loud or nasty in their beefs. On behalf of the other thousands of us who have some appreciation for what is done and how well it is done by our customsmen, a salute and warm "thank you" is long past due.

In all fairness—could any of us handle this tough job half as well, if at all?

World Peace Through Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, on September 2, 1965, I joined with a number of my colleagues in sponsoring a concurrent resolution which expresses the sense of Congress that World Law Day be officially recognized.

In connection with the 20th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, Congress adopted a concurrent resolution last June to encourage international cooperation within the framework of law and order. Subsequently, President Johnson proclaimed September 13, 1965, as World Law Day, thereby emphasizing the need to strengthen international cooperation through law and legal institutions.

On this day, September 13, leading jurists, lawyers, and legal scholars from 120 countries throughout the world will gather in Washington to discuss the development of legal rules and judicial systems and their application toward the maintenance of world peace. The series of meetings will last for a whole week and will be known as the World Conference on World Peace Through Law.

The purpose of the several resolutions my colleagues and I introduced in Congress, in addition to official recognition of World Law Day, is also to welcome to our shores the many hundreds of jurists and scholars from abroad during their deliberations. We are very proud that our Nation's Capital was chosen for this significant meeting, coming especially at a time in world affairs when peace through law and order is a crying need of humanity everywhere. Their task is not merely to talk of peace through law, but also to draft plans for new international courts, to codify and strengthen international law, and to de-

velop greater acceptance of the principle of law and order rather than resorting to force and aggression.

The legal profession and all those associated with that profession—and that includes indirectly parliamentarians of all nations—have a magnificent opportunity to show the way for mankind to seek and attain peace through law and order. Any progress in this direction will be to the advantage of civilization and the survival of humanity.

Outlook on Vietnam Improves

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my newsletter of recent date, Capital Comments, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The newsletter follows:

OUTLOOK ON VIETNAM IMPROVES

(By JOE L. EVINS, Member of Congress, Fourth District, Tennessee)

An air of cautious optimism is running through congressional and administration circles as reports reach Washington that U.S. military power is being applied with increasing effectiveness against the Vietcong in the battles in southeast Asia.

It is too early to overstate the case—to indicate that the tide has turned generally. But the fact is that in the first major U.S. engagement of the war on the Van Tuoung Peninsula near the U.S. air base at Chu Lai, this Nation demonstrated to North Vietnam just what happens when the Vietcong is forced to stand and fight in regimental strength.

The Communists were soundly beaten, caught in a military trap, cut off from escape and cut to shreds. The message implicit in this encounter will not be lost on Ho Chi-minh, the premier of North Vietnam.

The feeling here is that American military might is being felt in Vietnam. Our planes are strafing and bombing strategic military targets in North Vietnam. Our troops are assisting the South Vietnamese in detecting the enemy in South Vietnam and aggressively attacking. Supply routes have been bombed repeatedly and the stream of the enemy troops and materiel into South Vietnam slowed markedly.

The Communists do not understand democracy. They do not understand that while there is some American disagreement and dissent that we are united. Simply because there is some dissent from President Johnson's foreign policy does not mean that this dissent will be reflected in any degree in the Nation' military effort.

As a matter of fact, there has been remarkable unity on American policy in Vietnam among members of both parties—and this unity seems to be growing stronger as President Johnson's determination begins to bear fruit in terms of greater success for the forces of freedom.

Ambassador Averill Harriman reportedly made it clear to the Russians that the U.S. commitment in South Vietnam will be backed to the hilt, that there will be no equivocation and withdrawal to permit a Communist takeover.

The North Vietnamese had let it be known that during the monsoon season it would make its major effort to drive American forces into an untenable position in Vietnam. The nation is well into the monsoon season and the Vietcong has been unable to muster the resources and the men to make the gigantic attack necessary to inflict a telling defeat on the South Vietnamese and American troops.

Morale in South Vietnam appears to be rising. Reports indicate it is weakening in North Vietnam.

All of these factors add up to a more optimistic mood on Vietnam. But we are not out of the woods. The advantage in a guerrilla war is with the aggressor. He can pick his time and spot for an attack. He can concentrate forces overwhelmingly superior to the forces he is attacking. He is operating in familiar jungles.

The casualties in the Vietcong and its North Vietnamese elements are rising. They are being pounded. Their supply lines are in jeopardy. And, most important, they are losing face.

Losing face in the Orient is a prelude to losing everything. It means loss of spirit, lowered morale, less cooperation from civilians, and a loss of prestige and power.

The sands of history are shifting in Vietnam. And time now may be running on our side—the side of liberty and freedom.

Sea-Air Blockade of Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, a sea-air blockade of North Vietnam is the only way the Allies can win in South Vietnam according to the author of an article which appears in the comment and discussion section of the September 1965 issue of the U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings which is published by the U.S. Naval Institute at Annapolis, Md.

I submit for inclusion in the RECORD this article by Rear Adm. Robert H. Rodgers, U.S. Navy, retired:

AMERICA'S BEST WEAPON

(By Rear Adm. Robert H. Rodgers, U.S. Navy, retired)

The only way that the United States can win in Vietnam, in my opinion, is with a naval blockade of North Vietnam. President John F. Kennedy had only to threaten to blockade Cuba to bring the Soviet Union to terms. Had the blockade been employed, Fidel Castro would have withered on the vine. When communism can no longer expand its influence with open sealanes, communism will die.

The most dangerous act, short of all-out war, is reprisal. One reprisal begets another. The Communists act, then we react. How can we regain the initiative?

Our current dilema results from failure to employ sea power properly. Why has blockade been a dirty word to our policymakers? The failure to blockade Red China in the Korean conflict was due to the Department of Defense's land concept, the Department of State's abhorrence of the word, and the constant prodding of our Allies, who feared most a loss of trade.

The blockade has always been accepted in international law as a legal step short of war. The main ingredient in war is armed conflict. The naval blockade avoids this.

Recognized blockades include:

1. A paper blockade established by merely stating that an area is out of bounds. No force is used and none is intended. It might scare the timid, or bluff those who fear its expansion to more effective steps.

2. A commercial blockade using persuasion to encourage friendly nations to refrain from trade with an offending state. Commercial blockades seldom succeed as evidenced by the current U.S. action against Cuba.

3. The war blockade employing an all-out effort to bottle up an enemy after hostilities have commenced. The allied blockades of Germany in both World Wars are examples.

4. A pacific blockade with the closing of a sea area until such time as a limited objective is attained. Used in connection with an ultimatum, it is not only an act short of war, but, in many cases, it will prevent one.

The essence of blockade is effectiveness. There must be a clearly defined area into which ships venturing must confront real danger. The Declaration of Paris (1856), which was agreed to by all major powers including Russia, clearly supports the use of a pacific blockade.

In 1827, Great Britain, France, and Russia blockaded Greece in order to induce Turkey, with whom they were at peace, to accept mediation in its war with the Greek insurgents. Since that incident, a pacific blockade has had the full sanction of international law.

This code, like common law, is affected by social and technical developments. Bolstering a blockade by new weapons and methods falls within accepted usage. For example, mines, radio, radar, aircraft, and underwater demolition teams could be employed in such an operation.

In Vietnam the United States faces ultimate defeat as long as it tries to slug it out in the jungles, employ air strikes, or make an uneasy and temporary peace. A new approach is needed.

It is proposed that the U.S. Navy activate, equip, train, and position a strong blockading force. Its composition would include minelayers, underwater demolition teams, destroyers, and supporting ships. Carrier forces would back up the blockade by providing air cover, by warning of approaching ships, and by showing force.

This blockade force would lay a minefield around the entrances to North Vietnam's ports. Additional minefields, perpendicular to the coastline, would be planted as barriers to coastal shipping. The largest ship or the smallest junk would be in grave danger should she attempt to run the blockade.

U.S. warships would warn off shipping, search the suspicious, and detain or reroute ships attempting to breach the blockade.

The mine blockade gives the greatest coverage with a minimum effort. It is equally effective against friend and foe.

In Vietnam the shallow Gulf of Tonkin is a prime target for mines. Mining it would close the water supply lines to China and prevent the replenishment of the Vietcong.

Such a blockade would also be effective against Communist China and Cuba, should the conditions warrant.

To blockade China it is only necessary to cut off seven ports. Ninety percent of that nation's trade would be halted by such action. Vessels bound for Hong Kong would be searched to see that they did not carry cargo destined eventually for Red China. In retrospect, the United States would be much better off if a blockade had been used in the Korean conflict in place of disastrous land warfare.

Cuba has only four main ports. It would be simple to seal off this Communist base. The longer such action is put off, the more difficult it will be.

It took the United States a century to build its seapower. It should not be thrown away. It is unthinkable that the United States should attempt to engage the Russian or Chinese hordes on land. This Nation's policies should be oriented toward the weapons and methods that it excels in.

The best bet is to restrict action to operations on the sea, over the sea, under the sea, and from the sea. In war or peace, the safe path is to make a judgment as to where the balance of power lies, and having made that judgment to act decisively.

Guard Mergers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I include herewith for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a series of editorials which discuss the proposed National Guard-Reserve merger. I believe they are factual, clear, and worthy of consideration:

[From the San Diego Union, Aug. 10, 1965]

GUARD MERGER SAPS DEFENSE—NATION MUST RELY ON RESERVES

Discussions on military manpower held in Washington in recent weeks certainly reached the high ground of incongruity.

The need for additional manpower to meet the needs of an expanded war in Vietnam were made clear. The President, after considering a callup of the Reserves, decided instead to meet the need by increasing draft quotas.

It was incongruous that while the President was making his important and necessary decision, Defense Department witnesses were asking a House committee to merge the Army Reserves into the National Guard.

As proposed, the merger would reduce the authorized drill strength of the Guard and Reserves from 700,000 to 550,000 men. Aside from savings estimated at $150 million, proponents of the merger argued that the merger would balance the men with the equipment to produce efficiency and readiness.

The fact is inescapable, however, that the total manpower strength of our standby armies would be reduced by 150,000 men at a time when Communists are increasing their aggression and subversion throughout the world.

We would suggest that the more proper course would be to increase weapons and equipment to meet the needs of both the Guard and Army Reserves instead of cutting the manpower to existing weapons.

There are other compelling reasons against the proposed merger of the Reserves into the Guard.

One is the fact that the Reserves, the only military standby organization wholly controlled by the Federal Government, are vital to the security and defense of the United States. So is the National Guard, which is partially controlled by the States.

Today as never before, the United States must be in a position to muster quickly a ready combat force to meet any threat to our freedom wherever it erupts. The Reserves have proved their worth time and again in every major war in which the United States has fought.

While the increased draft is essential, it will be many weeks before the new men are recruited and trained. Even after they join combat forces, the United States will need a reservoir of trained men in reserve that can be met only with a strong National Guard and Army Reserve.

Merger of the Reserves and the National Guard is not feasible now or in the foreseeable future. Furthermore, continued pressure by the Pentagon for the merger at a time when military manpower needs are expanding can serve only to undermine the morale and recruitment of all the Reserves.

[From the Buffalo Evening News, Aug. 19, 1965]

VITAL GUARD MISSION

Reliance upon prompt action by National Guard units to restore order in riot-torn Los Angeles—as in the breakdown of law in Rochester last year—illustrates a vital point about the Guard's historic role as a peacetime force readily available to every State for the preservation of domestic order and public safety.

When it became clear that the Los Angeles police could not cope with the spread of last week's riots, California moved in units of its Guard camped nearby. But for the presence of guardsmen under competent command and trained in dealing with such emergencies, the Los Angeles nightmare might have become infinitely worse.

Such peacetime use of the Guard gives added weight to arguments by opponents of Defense Secretary McNamara's drive to merge all the Nation's Reserve forces under the National Guard. They fear this would result ultimately in shifting the citizen militia to total Federal control.

The National Guard legally is a State-administered military force, subject to competent orders of State or Federal authorities in providing protection of life and property and preserving peace. In its dual State-Federal missions, it is subject to callup as part of the Nation's wartime military forces.

But if Guard units became the Nation's sole source of reserve manpower as the McNamara plan provides, critics can well wonder how long it would be before the Pentagon would insist upon calling all the shots in the chain of command—thus scrapping any State jurisdiction for all practical purposes. Aside from this fundamental issue of weakening a vital police instrument of the States, moreover, there's the additional consideration that the McNamara plan would concentrate the Guard's strength in just a handful of priority units.

Fortunately, the House Armed Services Committee rejected so radical a reserve realinement—and in telling Mr. McNamara to come back with a plan more acceptable, the Congressmen undoubtedly had in mind the potential hazards in weakening the historic military balances in our Federal system. A wise precaution, we think, against crippling an essential Guard mission.

[From the Long Beach (Calif.) Press-Telegram, Aug. 16, 1965]

WISE MILITARY DECISION

The decision made last week by a House Armed Services subcommittee to kill Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara's proposal to merge the Army Reserve into the National Guard was a wise one.

As subcommittee chairman, F. EDWARD HÉBERT, Democrat, of Louisiana, pointed out, the plan for all practical purposes would have destroyed the Army Reserve by transferring all of its organized training functions to the National Guard—a State-controlled organization.

As pointed out last week in a series of three articles on these pages by Press-Telegram Sunday Editor Everett W. Hosking, Secretary McNamara's proposal was creating a bitter split between the Guard and reservists just when the Nation most needs to present a strong, united front against the Communists.

It seems to us that Mr. McNamara's computers have been spinning their wheels—that someone forgot to feed it the facts of Korea, the Berlin airlift and the Cuban crisis where reservists played a major role.

A big point has been made by Secretary McNamara that the National Guard units are better equipped than Reserve units. This would seem to point out that the Department of Defense has been at fault rather than the units of the Reserve.

George C. Marshall, one of the Nation's greatest soldier-statesmen, was lavish in his praise of the Reserve. He was quoted many times as saying that but for 150,000 trained Reserve officers available in 1940 it was questionable if we could have prepared quickly enough to win World War II.

Figures compiled by the Reserve Officers Association which is composed of both Guard and Reserve officers show that 98 percent of the officers killed in action during World War II were reservists.

We are thankful that the merger proposal has been buried and we hope that it will not be revived.

We feel that the Nation needs its Reserve, its National Guard, and its Regular military men all working together in a spirit of national unity.

It is obvious with our Sino-Soviet confrontations all over the globe that the United States needs to have available every trained military individual possible.

Our Nation needs to constructively build its strength—not tear it down.

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Aug. 12, 1965]

RESERVE MERGER KAPUT

Congress has definitely shelved Defense Secretary McNamara's proposal for abandoning the Army Reserve and attempting to shift its members into the National Guard. Chairman F. E. HÉBERT's House Armed Services subcommittee refused yesterday to act on the legislation.

This is a most sound decision. We can think of no change in our reserve posture more foolhardy at this time. Mr. HÉBERT declared the scheme would have resulted in "immediate and serious loss in combat readiness of the affected Reserves" and clearly would not be in the national interest.

He is dead right. This merger plan was dead wrong.

It would have destroyed the trained Army Reserve, slashed overall Reserve components from 29 divisions and 11 brigadies to 8 divisions and 16 brigades, cutting the total strength from 700,000 to a maximum of 550,000. At this period of Vietnam crisis, every unit of Reserves may be needed at instant notice. It would be hard to conceive of a more inopportune time to scrap the Army Reserves.

Mr. McNamara thought the suggested cut would "streamline" reserves and save $156 million. No doubt some streamlining is needed; certainly more equipment is urgently required.

But destroying the Army Reserve and trying to force members into politically commanded State Guards would streamline nothing but a highway to hazard. We can't afford such economy with a hot war escalating.

Sam Rose, "Mr. VA," Chief Contact Division, Veterans' Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, much has been said of the anonymous civil servants who assist Members of this body in various ways to better serve their constituencies. We have, over the years, accepted their services but on all too few occasions have we had the opportunity

to meet with these individuals, to learn something of their personal backgrounds. For this reason, I am pleased to be able to bring to the attention of this body a story written for Naval Affairs, a publication issued monthly by the Fleet Reserve Association on Sam Rose, Chief of the Contact Division, Veterans' Administration. I also take pleasure at this time in commending Mr. Rose for the many years of service he has completed with the Veterans' Administration and for the assistance he has rendered, not only to Members of Congress and their staffs but to the thousands of veterans and their families who have come to him for advice and guidance. His has been a job well done and I am certain that all of you will join me in wishing him many more years of good health so that he may continue to serve his country and his fellow man.

The story follows:

SAM ROSE

Shipmate Sam Rose, honorary member of the Fleet Reserve Association, will be one of the main speakers during the opening ceremonies of the 38th national convention, September 14, in Miami Beach, Fla. Shipmate Rose will be representing the Honorable William J. Driver, Administrator of Veterans' Affairs. Our shipmates always welcome Shipmate Sam or "Mr. VA" as he is most commonly known to top Veterans' Administration officials and all veterans organizations.

Almost 50 years ago, Sam Rose joined a forerunner of the Veterans' Administration, known then as the Bureau of War Risk Insurance.

Now, as Chief of the Veterans' Administration's Central Office Contact Division, Washington, D.C., his vocation is his avocation. He spends long hours, days and nights, assisting veterans and their dependents.

Sam Rose is the contact patriarch of the Veterans' Administration in the point of longevity. He has had the longest continuous service of the Veterans' Administration's 175,000 plus employees.

In those years, Sam Rose's efforts in helping veterans, widows, and orphans have won the gratitude of every President since Woodrow Wilson and many veterans service organizations.

Mr. Rose has received many citations and awards but of all of them, he is proudest of the VA's Medal of Honor, the Veterans' Administration's Exceptional Service Award, the highest award one can receive in the Federal Government.

Mr. Rose was educated in Yorktown, Va., and Baltimore, Md. We worked for the Sun Life Insurance Co. of America, Baltimore, Md., before he joined the Government. He entered military service in 1918 and served in the War Risk Division of the Judge Advocate General's Department and at discharge was a regimental sergeant major.

He returned to the War Risk Insurance Bureau in January 1919 and rose steadily to the position of Chief of the Veterans' Administration's Central Office Contract Division in 1937.

In addition to Mr. Rose's official VA functions, he has been national radio officer for the American Legion and the Jewish War Veterans for many years. For his service, the veterans organizations have awarded him many plaques, citations, and similar honors. For years he has been a member of the advisory board of the national rehabilitation commissions of the American Legion, the United Spanish War Veterans and the Jewish War Veterans.

Mr. Rose has been married to Doris Edith Rose since December 1918. They have two sons and a daughter. One son is Dr. Morton H. Rose, now a practicing physician and internist in Washington, D.C. The other son, Dr. Jerome V. Rose is also a practicing physician, but in Palo Alto, Calif. Mr. Rose's daughter is Mrs. Vivienne Stark whose husband is Dr. William Stark of George Washington and Children's Hospital of the District of Columbia.

Mr. and Mrs. Rose have 10 grandchildren.

Shipmate Sam will be ready to answer the many questions of our members and widows during the convention. He asks only that you have the complete question in writing giving the fullest details as to the correct full name, address, and military service or VA claim number so that he may research it fully and reply to you by mail if he is unable to answer your question at the convention.

Federal Times Hails Fine Record of Postmaster General John Gronouski

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the eminent writer, political philosopher, and social historian Henry Brooks Adams once observed in great wisdom that experience was an arch to build upon.

Indeed, it may have been with that thought in mind that President Johnson framed his recently announced appointment of Postmaster General John Gronouski as Ambassador to Poland. Noting the need to span the gulf of misunderstanding which has too long divided the people of the United States and Eastern Europe, the President reiterated his determination to "build bridges of increased trade, of ideas, of visitors, and of humanitarian aid." It was in that sense, I believe, that Mr. Gronouski's appointment was regarded by the President as an important step in the fuller implementation of that policy.

Confirmation of Mr. Gronouski's qualifications for this new post have come from around the country. Now, from the editorial pages of the Federal Times of September 15, 1965, comes another expression of his outstanding achievements as Postmaster General. It is this deep and distinguished experience as a dedicated public servant which will unmistakingly serve as an arch to build upon.

Within the fine record of accomplishment outlined in the editorial is to be found the promise that Mr. Gronouski's efforts in Poland will most assuredly provide the bridge of new understanding and trust which we seek so eagerly with the people of Poland.

The editorial follows:

A FINE RECORD

John A. Gronouski's tour as Postmaster General is coming to an end. It is a career with a record of accomplishment that is well worth reviewing.

The Post Office Department is not a spectacular place to work. People take the delivery of mail for granted. The only time they are aware of the Department is when delivery falters. Thus, many of Gronouski's achievements will go unheralded as he leaves the Post Office.

He has held the top Post Office job for just about 2 years. In that short span of time he has initiated and developed programs which will affect the Post Office operations long after his departure.

His two major accomplishments undoubtedly have been the development of extended use of ZIP code; and the setting of new standards for employee-management relations in the Post Office Department.

ZIP code proved it was possible to employ brains as well as brawn in speeding mail delivery. His revolutionary outlook on labor relations gave postal workers a large voice in deciding the conditions under which they would work.

Seven national unions have won the right to exclusive recognition as bargaining agents in the postal crafts; more than 12,000 labor-management contracts have been made in local post offices.

Gronouski has been firm in his insistence that postmasters and other officials consult employee organizations on issues which concern them.

Perhaps the greatest example of this is his recent ruling that employee groups have the right to join in the formulation of rules governing promotion paths. This is a plan unmatched in government, as well as private industry.

Gronouski was the first Postmaster General to seek limits in the length of the workweek. He also was first to urge overtime pay for postal substitutes.

His relations with the unions have been good. Whenever there was disagreement, he has handled it with a skill in diplomacy that will stand him in good stead in his new post as Ambassador to Poland.

Being an outstanding public official requires more than just a knowledge of the mechanics of the job. It takes a special kind of courage—the courage to pursue an unpopular course when you believe it to be in the best interest of the Nation and the Department.

Gronouski's recent defense of the administration pay proposals is an example of this type of courage. True, his job required him to follow the administration line on the proposed raises. But, he presented his case with a vigor beyond the call of partisan interest.

While not necessarily agreeing with his stand, we have to admire his courage in the face of mounting opposition.

His courage again was demonstrated in his stand on the use of ZIP code. This is technological change of a major nature. People do not readily understand it, therefore they fear and ridicule it. It takes both skill and tact to sell a program which many people believe will cost them their jobs.

Through it all, the Postmaster General has defended his ground and pushed for expansion of the system. Mail volume is growing. It is virtually impossible to handle the workload without changes in methods and equipment.

It took both courage and foresight for Gronouski to shake off centuries of tradition—to recognize that just adding manpower would not solve the problem of a growing mail load. The annual volume will reach 100 billion pieces in a couple of decades.

The Postmaster General also has made major—albeit quiet—changes in employment policies in the post office.

The Department is the Nation's largest employer of Negroes—some 90,000. Under his leadership, these people and members of other minority groups have been given a chance to employ their talents to greater advantage.

He has constantly stressed the need for postmasters to hire and promote solely on the basis of skill without regard to race or related factors.

Now, he moves on to a new field. The traits he demonstrated as Postmaster General will be of great value to him in his new job. He approaches his new role with the

same eagerness with which he took on the post office job.

He is learning Polish under the guidance of a tutor. In Warsaw, as he did in the post office, he will be able to speak to the people in their own language.

As Postmaster General he has done an outstanding job in what is essentially a thankless post. We wish him well in his further service.

United States Took Only Position It Could on U.N. Dues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, when the United States recently withdrew its objection in the United Nations to the right of dues-delinquent members to vote in the Security Council, the cry was raised in some quarters that there was something shameful about this action. An editorial in the August 20, 1965, edition of the Sacramento, Calif., Bee sets forth in excellent fashion the soundness of our position.

The editorial follows:

[From the Sacramento (Calif.) Bee, Aug. 20, 1965]

UNITED STATES TOOK ONLY POSITION IT COULD ON U.N. DUES

The United States merely adopted a realistic, affirmative policy in withdrawing its objection in the United Nations to the right of dues delinquent members to cast votes in the Security Council.

The premises outlined by U.S. Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg are substantially well founded.

First, he said the United States still is convinced these nations have an obligation to pay. And morally they do.

However, he said it is impractical to tie up the U.N. still more months in such a time of tension over the dues disagreement. And it is.

Better that the United States withdraw its objection for the time being, he said, and let the U.N. proceed with its business, than to forfeit the influence the U.N. could have on crisis spots in the world community. This is the better part of wisdom.

Immediately there was reaction pro and con in the Congress and some of it was predictable.

U.S. Senator BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, of Iowa, chairman of the Senate Policy Committee, charged that the United States had "given in completely" and called the withdrawal "shameful."

The answer to this is that the United States merely recognized that it was embracing a precarious minority opinion on the matter of U.N. assessments and had to face the real question: Was it wiser, in the long run, to give an inch in one opinion, in the face of a rigid majority, or hold fixed to one position and thereby chance the wreckage of the U.N. itself?

There is another answer to HICKENLOOPER. In withdrawing its objection, and permitting the U.N. to get moving again, the United States made it clear that if the other members chose not to be bound by the article stipulating members must pay their assessments whether they support a certain policy or not, neither is the United States bound. This gives the United States an important lever in the future.

Lastly, there can be no absolutes in international bargaining. There has to be give and take and no one nation can win them all.

The United States in this instance held to a position it considered right so long as it was practical. When it became obvious its resistance could imperil the U.N., however right this Nation might be in the one premise, it acted wisely in temporizing that resistance. In the end it was a choice between an article in the charter or perhaps the U.N. itself and the United States chose wisely.

Wallaces Farmer Poll Shows Little Racial Prejudice Among Iowa Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, racial prejudice has long been one of the great problems confronting this Nation. As yet we have not completely solved this problem, but I think it is fair to say we are well on our way to doing so.

I believe the vast majority of Americans today feel that all citizens, no matter what their race, should enjoy equal rights and opportunities under the law.

The civil rights legislation of recent years, including the Voting Rights Act passed by this session of the Congress, —reflects the widespread public sentiment against racial discrimination.

In this connection, I would like to call to the attention of my fellow Members a poll published in the September 4, 1965, issue of Wallaces Farmer magazine.

This poll indicates that 72 percent of the farmers in my home State of Iowa consider the character of their neighbor more important than his race. This, I think, accurately reflects the enlightened attitude of the Iowa farmer.

I might add that last spring I mailed out questionnaries to my constituents in the Fourth Congressional District of Iowa, a predominately rural area. Included was a question on voting rights legislation.

The results of my poll were as follows: 81.5 percent in favor of voting rights legislation, 12.2 percent against and 6.3 percent undecided.

These figures are substantially the same as those in the results of the Wallaces Farmer poll, which I hereby include in the RECORD:

WALLACES FARMER POLL: LITTLE RACIAL BIAS AMONG IOWA FARMERS

How would Iowa farmers feel about having Negro neighbors? Few have had that experience.

The Wallaces Farmer poll asked a cross-section of Iowa farm people this question:

"Suppose a Negro family moved on the farm next to you and their children went to the same school as your children. How would you feel about this?"

Farm people answered: *Percent*

1. OK with me. Important thing is kind of folks they are, and not what color... 72
2. Don't think I'd like it. Might stir up trouble, especially in school..... 13
3. I'm dead against it. We don't want any Negroes in our neighborhood..... 7
4. Undecided..... 8

"We would get along fine out here in the country," said a young farmowner in Monroe County. "But in the city or down South it would be different."

"Color makes no difference," said a young woman with three children in Greene County. "It's whether they are all-around good citizens."

An older woman in Union County said, "I wouldn't like it too well, but I wouldn't say anything as we are all God's children."

A woman in Sioux County thought there might be trouble. "I'm afraid they would be picked on at school," she said.

"My children were in school with Negroes and got along fine. But I'm definitely aginst integration. I want no part of it and definitely no intermarriage." This was the view of a farmer in Monona County.

Women were slightly more in favor of a Negro neighbor than were men:

[In percent]

	Men	*Women*
O.K. with me	69	75
Wouldn't like it	14	13
Dead against it	10	5
Undecided	7	7

Farm Bureau members and nonmembers voted about the same way. Young women were more inclined to vote "O.K. with me" than were young men.

A young woman in Monona County said, "I'm from Kentucky but never went to school with Negroes until college, and they were well behaved. I don't like the idea of intermarriage. They shouild help their own people and not stir up so much trouble."

An elderly woman in Hamilton County said, "I went to school with Negro children in Kansas and we got along fine."

A farm woman in Bremer County had this comment, "It's not the color that matters, it's the people. I was at a party the other night and there were three Negro women, one Japanese, one Korean, and five white Americans—a regular U.N. gathering. I thought it was wonderful."

Education made some difference in the way folks voted. Women of different educational levels voted as follows:

[In percent]

	8 years or less	9 to 12 years	Some college
OK	62	75	83
Trouble	7	15	11
Against	10	5	1
Undecided	21	5	5

Different religious groups voted about alike. Democrats and Republicans lined up much the same way.

A woman in Davis County said, "I would not mind for one Negro family in the neighborhood if they were progressive, nice folks. But I would not like to have several families move in."

"My children go to school with Negroes now," said a young mother in Marion County. "I can't see that it hurts them any, and they don't think anything about it."

An Allamakee County woman had doubts, "I've never had anything to do with Negroes." Then she added, "But the Negro teacher they had downtown was a good man, I guess."

"You can't judge a man by the color of his skin," said a middle-aged farmer in Johnson

County. "There are lots of white people that I wouldn't want living next to me. The right kind of people is the thing to go by."

Crusade for Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, on September 3, 1965, Baltimore, Md., was the site of first day ceremonies on the occasion of the issuance of a special 5-cent traffic safety stamp.

The Safety First Club of Maryland campaigned for 5 years for the approval of this stamp; and for that reason Baltimore was given the privilege of serving as the site for the first day issuance ceremonies.

The 5-cent traffic safety stamp will help call attention to the tragic traffic toll registered during 1964: 48,000 deaths, 3,840,000 injuries, 285,000 pedestrian casualties, more than 1,300,000 casualties from speeding; and 18,960 deaths on weekends, almost 40 percent of the total. Over the last weekend alone, 536 Americans lost their lives in traffic accidents.

As one of the highlights of the first day program, the Safety First Club of Maryland sponsored a "stamp out accidents" luncheon on September 3 at the Lord Baltimore Hotel in Baltimore. Principal speakers at the luncheon included Frederick C. Belen, Deputy Postmaster General; the Governor of Maryland, the Honorable J. Millard Tawes; and Mayor Theodore R. McKeldin, of Baltimore.

The executive committee for the observance included Morris A. Kasoff, general chairman; William F. Laukaitis, postmaster of Baltimore city; Warren M. Bloomberg, assistant postmaster of Baltimore city; Delegate Maurice Cardin, cochairman; Aaron B. Cohen, cochairman; Judge Edgar P. Silver, cochairman; Congressman SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL, cochairman; Paul Huddles, president of the Safety First Club of Maryland and Maurice R. Shochatt, executive vice president, Safety First Club of Maryland.

The citizen's committee included J. Charles Beasley, Melvin M. Berger, Paul El Burke, Oliver D. Davies, David Gordon, James Hajimihalis, Richard G. Hunter, Philip Kershner, Morton Levinstein, Samuel Matz, Jay H. Monfred, Sidney B. Needle, Mose Ottenheimer II, Bernard Potts, William J. Ryan, Lee A. Strassner, Richard H. Thompson and U.S. Marshal Frank Udoff.

As part of the celebration, a traffic safety postage stamp commemorative brochure was issued by the Safety First Club of Maryland. In conjunction with this event, President Johnson transmitted a message to me which I would like to insert at this point in the RECORD so that all our citizens may know of the President's concern about the tragic loss of life resulting from careless driving.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, August 24, 1965.

The issuance of the special traffic safety stamp is a good opportunity for me to express my deep concern over the mounting death toll on the Nation's highways.

Last year, nearly 48,000 Americans died in traffic deaths. Most of them could be prevented. I intend to recommend steps next year to mount a major campaign against such senseless and terrible loss of life.

I hope the issuance of this stamp will call public attention to the need for safe and efficient driving practices and that it will be a "stop-look-and-listen" reminder to every American to drive as if the next mile could be his last.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

I also ask unanimous consent to have the remarks of Governor Tawes, Mayor McKeldin and Deputy Postmaster General Belen included at this point in the RECORD in the hope that they will impress upon all our citizens the need for safe driving to reduce the slaughter on our Nation's streets and highways. These three addresses follow:

GREETINGS BY GOV. J. MILLARD TAWES, AT THE ISSUANCE OF TRAFFIC SAFETY STAMP CEREMONIES, BALTIMORE, MD., SEPTEMBER 3, 1965

Chairman Kasoff, Reverend O'Hara, Rabbi Shusterman, Governor Terry, Deputy Postmaster General Belen, Mayor McKeldin, Mr. Newton, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, today marks the culmination of 5 years of effort by the Safety First Club of Maryland. I offer them my sincere congratulations and I know that it was because of their efforts over these past 5 years that the State of Maryland, and, in particular, Baltimore City, has been honored by being the site today of the first-day issuance of the U.S. traffic safety commemorative postage stamp.

The stamp itself, our presence here today, and the ceremonies connected with this event, all have the same purpose—to serve as a reminder and as a plea to the people of our State and of the entire Nation to exercise the highest degree of caution on the highway.

The selection of Friday, September 3, for this ceremony further demonstrates the purpose of this occasion. Today on the eve of the Labor Day holiday weekend, with the dire predictions of recordbreaking deaths on our roads and highways, let us express our confidence that the people of America will realize the need for a special degree of care these next 3 days. To emphasize this need, the Governors of most of the States and myself, as Governor of Maryland, have asked that travelers turn their lights on low beam during the daylight hours tomorrow, Sunday, and Monday.

Studies have shown that this action has a definite safety value. Its greatest value lies, perhaps, in that it shows that traffic safety is a common problem and that ultimate responsibility rests with the individual motorist.

All of us concerned in an official capacity with traffic safety are, in the final analysis, limited in our efforts.

Legislatures can pass more and more stringent motor vehicle regulations. Law enforcement officers can be more and more vigilant. Trial magistrates can levy stronger and stronger penalties on persons guilty of violations.

Organizations such as the Maryland Traffic Safety Commission and the Safety First Club of Maryland can promote traffic safety with all the facilities at their command.

All of these efforts, as important as they are, will only achieve partial success if the individual motorist fails to assume the ultimate responsibility which is his.

Only when each and every motorist has a healthy respect for the vehicle he is driving and for the dangers inherent in its use can we expect to overcome this terrible waste of lives and property.

I am appalled by the latest fatality statistics for our State thus far in 1965. We are far ahead of our fatality figure of this date last year.

As Governor of the State of Maryland, I plead with our citizens to exercise the most extreme caution on the road not only over this Labor Day weekend, but for the remainder of the year.

Not a single life need be lost if every—I repeat—every motorist will obey the rules of the road.

I have an especially pleasant assignment today, and that is to present to our distinguished guest and principal speaker, the Honorable Frederick C. Belen, a certificate designating him as an honorary citizen of the State of Maryland.

I would also like to officially thank Mr. Belen for his part in causing the first issuance of this traffic safety commemorative postage stamp to be held here in Baltimore. It is indeed a high honor for Maryland.

As chairman of the national teenage safety pageant, I have the honor of presenting an award to Postmaster General John A. Gronouski in recognition of his interest in traffic safety and of the excellent safety record of the postal service, which has one of the largest fleets of vehicles on the roads today. I will ask Mr. Belen to accept this award on behalf of Postmaster General Gronouski.

Thank you.

REMARKS OF MAYOR THEODORE R. MCKELDIN, UPON THE OCCASION OF THE FIRST DAY CEREMONIES LUNCHEON IN HONOR OF THE TRAFFIC SAFETY COMMEMORATIVE POSTAGE STAMP, BALTIMORE, MD.

Today is hardly a beginning in Baltimore's efforts at traffic safety, but neither is it an ending of the kind which signals that we can cease our efforts.

It is, however, a significant point along the way.

The beginning of the specific efforts which have culminated in today's ceremony goes back some years to the start of the campaign of the Safety First Club of Maryland to have a traffic safety postage stamp issued.

The end of efforts at traffic safety is and should be nowhere in sight as the need for attention to good safety practices becomes ever more urgent.

Today is appropriately a time for expressions of congratulation and appreciation, and I would like to take this occasion to offer the congratulations and appreciation of the people of Baltimore to the members of the Safety First Club of Maryland for their relentless campaign not simply to have the stamp issued, but to promote traffic safety in all its aspects.

I would also like to express the appreciation of the city of Baltimore to the U.S. Post Office Department for its decision to issue the handsome and meaningful stamp in our city.

I think it is particularly noteworthy that this event should come only a week after the announcement by the National Safety Council that Baltimore is to be one of two cities to receive its top honor—the Trustees Award—for the best long-range accident-prevention activities during 1964 and thus far in 1965.

The other city is Hamilton, Ohio.

As the National Safety Council's winner in the over 350,000 population category, Baltimore will receive a specially designed art creation in Steuben glass fashioned to symbolize the flame of life that accident prevention seeks to sustain.

It will be my privilege to represent Baltimore in Chicago in October at the award ceremonies.

I am certain that at that time there will be fitting references to the fact that the traffic safety commemorative postage stamp, with its emphasis on enforcement, education and engineering, was issued in the city of Baltimore.

This is as it should be, and I once again extend the city's appreciation to all those who are in any way responsible for today's events for their good work in helping make Baltimore one of the most safety-conscious cities—perhaps the most safety-conscious city—in the Nation.

REMARKS BY FREDERICK C. BELEN, DEPUTY POSTMASTER GENERAL, AT THE DEDICATION OF THE TRAFFIC SAFETY STAMP, BALTIMORE, MD., SEPT. 3, 1965

Today we issue a stamp of special significance.

Besides its commemorative value, the traffic safety stamp is particularly important.

It is intended to remind the Nation's motorists that they must improve their driving habits. It is an appeal to the national conscience to take every possible step to prevent accidents and the needless tragedy and death that go with them.

Today is the beginning of the last big holiday of the summer—the Labor Day weekend—and millions of Americans will be on the Nation's highways headed for beaches, parks, and the homes of relatives to take advantage of the warm weather.

We choose this time for our stamp ceremony because we want to dedicate this weekend to a safe journey home for every vacationing American.

The Labor Day weekend ranks with the Fourth of July as the most hazardous for the driver and his family. Last year 557 persons died in traffic accidents during the Fourth of July weekend; the toll was even worse for Labor Day: 561 died during that holiday in 1964.

Again this year the National Safety Council is predicting major tragedy for the Labor Day weekend. We must prove this prediction wrong.

Safety is no accident. It is a very deliberate endeavor, and it must be promoted and cultivated and encouraged if it is to be achieved.

Such work can be undertaken with no less zeal and determination than that displayed here in Baltimore by the Safety First Club of Maryland.

This organization, now under the able leadership of President Paul Huddles, has been a persuasive force for traffic safety in this State since 1956. Twice the club has won National Safety Council awards for its work.

Its successful campaign to reduce traffic accidents in Maryland is an inspiring demonstration of what might be done if its work were emulated in other States and cities and towns throughout the country.

Let me tell you what I've learned about the well-balanced program developed by the Safety First Club.

It sponsors a message of safety that is regularly delivered to the public through radio and television announcements, newspaper articles, billboards, special conferences and exhibits, pamphlets, stickers, and special mailings.

It builds for a better tomorrow by passing along a tradition of traffic safety to our youth.

It presses for passage and enforcement of proper laws to safeguard those who use our streets and highways.

It gives awards and recognition to individuals who have contributed significantly to traffic safety.

Governor Tawes has given major credit to the Safety First Club for enactment of the 1961 law requiring the State's 140 high schools to offer driver education courses. Now the club is seeking even more extensive driver education programs, and it is supporting the formation of teenage traffic courts in Maryland communities similar to the one in Baltimore that has earned so much admiration and respect.

Morris Kasoff, past president of the club, has secured a grant that provides two teachers with driver education scholarships to the University of Maryland each year.

Two major revisions of State law—chemical tests for drivers accused of intoxication and a drivers' point system—were original projects of the Safety First Club.

It was this organization that first polled city legislators in 1957 and discovered a consensus in favor of hiring meter maids. The poll was in good part responsible for the program that is in operation today.

And it was the Safety First Club that championed a memorial to Thomas Harry Riley, late traffic analyst of the Baltimore News-American, and in 1961 contributed the plaque dedicating the new Patapsco River Bridge in his name.

All these projects took considerable time, but the Safety First Club, once convinced of its cause, is a persistent organization.

I can testify to that.

The club's campaign for a traffic safety stamp arrived at the Post Office Department a number of years ago and the campaign for the stamp never stopped.

The drive for a commemorative stamp began more than 6 years ago when your Congressman SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL spoke in your behalf and inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a request for such a stamp.

Congressman FRIEDEL pointed out that traffic safety is not just a problem in Maryland.

He said: "We need to make each and every automobile driver conscious of the fact that it is his personal responsibility to drive safely for the protection of himself and his fellow citizens."

He endorsed the suggestion of the Safety First Club that a special stamp would be an excellent method of calling the national attention to this effort.

Your Congressmen, GEORGE FALLON and EDWARD GARMATZ, took up the cause with no less enthusiasm than SAM FRIEDEL. Like the Safety First Club, all three men are persuasive and persistent, and their good arguments did a lot to convince us of the value of such a stamp.

As Congressman FRIEDEL said 6 years ago, no war or calamity has taken the lives of so many of our people as traffic accidents.

And yet, we all know that accidents can be prevented. That they are not is waste.

President Johnson is particularly concerned about the waste of manpower through accidents. He is concerned about the cost and the lost worktime and most of all about the pain and human suffering or death for which nothing ever compensates.

The President has said: "Americans have always placed the highest value on human life, in accord with our concept of the worth of every individual. As the public repository of our social ideals, Government has a direct obligation to express our regard for human life in every measure necessary to safeguard and protect it."

President Johnson has inaugurated a new program to meet the problem of accidents in the Government service. It's called Mission Safety–70, and through it the President has devised a rather direct method of dealing with the problem.

He is ordering the heads of Government offices to reduce the number of employee injuries and injury costs 30 percent by 1970.

We in the Post Office Department intend to meet our share of that commitment.

A good place to begin is with our traffic safety program. Last year our fleet of 88,000 postal vehicles drove 1.1 billion miles and averaged a little more than 14 accidents for every million miles on the road.

That average is down about 5 percent from the year before. The number of fatal accidents involving postal vehicles is down 8 percent even though the national fatality average increased 5½ percent last year.

We are particularly proud of the accomplishment of our 31,000 rural letter carriers who drove 593 million miles last year and incurred fewer than two accidents per million miles.

Still, even with our improvements, our overall safety record in the Post Office is the worst in the Federal Government. Disabling injuries deprived us of 303,000 workdays last year and cost us $27 million in lost time, sick pay, and attendant items. And, of course, the unnecessary suffering inflicted upon our employees is beyond any value in dollars.

That time, money, and effort all could have been used to provide additional service to the American public.

We intend to see that our record undergoes a rapid and dramatic improvement. Safety is a high priority project at the Post Office Department. The Postmaster General has made it the direct responsibility of our top headquarters and regional officers and postmasters. All of them have been directed to submit plans and suggestions for safety improvements.

We are going to make a post office by post office search of safety records, and we intend to accord the good ones proper recognition. The rest are going to get a thorough examination, and if improvements are not forthcoming, we're going to bring the responsible official to Washington and ask why.

Safety performance is going to have a more important place in our postmaster appraisal program; it will become a consideration in promotions within the Postal Field Service.

Right now, our bureau of personnel is analyzing safety suggestions and mapping our general plan for achieving President Johnson's safety objectives. We are establishing a safety performance review group at headquarters to review activities at the post office level.

And we intend to solicit advice from those private businesses and industries that have developed the most distinguished records in safety. We are about to establish an advisory safety committee made up of executives from such firms.

With the Safety First Club, we at the Post Office share a firm commitment to motor vehicle safety equipment.

The Safety First Club is campaigning for greater use of seat belts among the general public. We at the Department are spending $350,000 to install seat belts in all of our motor vehicles. We are issuing firm instructions to our drivers and supervisors that these belts are to be used and not ignored.

In addition, we have contracted with private firms for a series of executive tests in order to determine the best type of automobile construction and safety features. We are giving special attention to the three-wheeled mailsters used by some of our city letter carriers. We have had some complaints from one of our employee unions, and we want to make sure that no employee is driving an unsafe motor vehicle.

From the results of these tests, we expect to learn how to build a safer vehicle for all our postal drivers. Perhaps the innovations and safety advances pioneered in postal vehicles will be adopted by the manufacturers and used to construct an improved automobile for the general public.

We would be glad to make this contribution to the public welfare, of course, but this does not change the fact that ultimate responsibility for safety on the highways is in the hands of the individual driver.

He is the one who must get the message to drive carefully.

There is no better way to reach him than through the public-spirited efforts of such organizations as the Safety First Club.

That group was begun in 1956 as the inspiration of two men—J. O. Shuger who was president for 6 years and Executive Vice President Maurice R. Shochatt—and has since grown to 400 members and influence beyond its numbers.

It is an example of a united, articulate citizenry doing something about a problem that concerns all of us.

The traffic safety stamp is a proper commemoration of that effort; we dedicate it to a continuing crusade for safer streets and highways over all America.

I bid you all safe journey home.

Thank you.

Federal Revenue for the States?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Walter W. Heller served the United States with honor and distinction as an economic adviser to President Kennedy and President Johnson. Dr. Heller is continuing his great service to our country as professor of economics at the University of Minnesota.

Dr. Heller on July 27 addressed the 57th annual Governors' conference at the Radisson Hotel in Minneapolis, Minn., on "The Economic Outlook for State-Local Finance." Dr. Heller made a brilliant analysis of the economic picture and I recommend his entire address.

I especially commend to the attention of my colleagues the climax and final portion of Dr. Heller's address which follows:

TRANSFERS TO STATE-LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Finally, I want to examine with you the claims of the State and local governments. Let me briefly plead their general case—your case, as chief executives of the 50 States—and, in the process, pose a basic question about the future of our national fiscal system.

The essence of the case is a fiscal mismatch:

The supply of readily available Federal revenues in the years ahead will rise faster than the demands on the Federal purse.

The State-local situation is reversed—expenditure demands will rise faster than the readily available revenue supply.

Past history on this score is compelling: while Federal outlays have been rising more slowly than GNP, from 1953 to 1963, State-local expenditures rose nearly 9 percent per year, or almost double the GNP rise. From $28 billion in 1953, they rose to $65 billion in 1963. State spending alone rose from $12 billion to $28 billion. And no letup is in sight:

Demography burdens State-local budgets, not just by the 19 percent overall population growth from 1953 to 1963, but by the 40 percent rise in the 5-to-19 age group and the 29 percent increase in the over-65 group.

Mobility and urbanization call for ever more new schools, sewers, roads, parks and the like.

Prosperity generates demands for better schools, roads, mental hospitals and so on, faster than it generates added State-local revenues.

Price trends in construction and the services of teachers, for example, continue to work against State-local budgets.

Looking ahead, Joseph A. Pechman—using a modest 7-percent rate of increase—has projected State-local expenditures of $103 billion in 1970. Side by side with this, he foresees receipts (including normal growth in Federal grants) rising to only $88 billion.

This would leave a $15 billion gap to be closed by new State-local tax boosts.

In trying to finance this gap, State and local bodies should, can, and will do more to tax themselves—the doubling of State tax collections between 1953 and 1963 provides evidence on this point. But even leaving aside the political hazards of raising taxes, the States have to cope with some serious economic and institutional handicaps: Interstate competition and fear of keeping out or driving out industry and wealth; limited jurisdiction and less-than-ideal administrative size; great disparities in economic, and hence taxable, capacity; heavy reliance on tax sources that are not very responsive to economic growth.

Yet, in the face of these barriers, the simple fact remains that many of the functions essential to a great, good, and growing society are carried out by State-local government; education, community development, mental and physical health, recreation, welfare—the list is not short.

So, as we declare future fiscal dividends, it will be important to choose ways and means that will help redress the Federal-State-local fiscal balance and strengthen our federalism. What we seek is clear: a fiscal federalism that not only serves essential national interests but preserves the strength, vitality, and responsibility of State-local government.

The prospect of further fiscal dividends also raises a basic question about the kind of overall tax system we want to design. Do we want one in which—to put it in extremes—we dismantle the progressive and comparatively equitable Federal income taxes while leaning ever more heavily on regressive and comparatively inequitable State-local property, sales, and excise taxes? Or do we seek a tax system in which the powerful Federal income tax is used to support expenditures which otherwise would not be made, or would have to be financed from regressive tax sources? One cannot consider the Federal-State fiscal problem without keeping this question constantly in view.

FEDERAL SUPPORT AND STATE FISCAL EFFORTS

In reviewing the fiscal difficulties of the States and their need for more generous Federal support, I don't for a moment overlook the strong helping hand the Federal Government is already holding out, nor the fiscal efforts that are being made—and those that still have to be made—by State and local governments.

Federal tax and budget policy has already given State-local treasuries a powerful assist in various ways:

The most spectacular is the rise in Federal grants from $3.1 billion 10 years ago to the $13.6 billion programed in this year's budget.

Less direct is the State-local bounty derived from 1964's huge income tax cuts. Some $3 billion extra a year will flow into State-local coffers from the 1964 cuts alone, a 7-percent boost for both State and local tax revenues. Most of this comes from economic expansion generated by tax reduction, but for 16 of the income tax States, reduced deductions for Federal income taxes are boosting revenues more directly.

Also significant is the $4.7 billion excise tax cut enacted last month. This offers not only the indirect benefits of an expanded State-local sales, excise, and income tax base, but provides interesting opportunities for States to rush in where the Federal Government will no longer tread (or will tread only lightly); e.g., excise on telephone service (intrastate), automobiles, admissions, and deeds of conveyance. Yet, the list of effective opportunities for State and local governments to move in is surprisingly short.

Even with these impressive fiscal assists, State Governors and legislatures did a brisk business in new and used taxes this year. In the first 6 months of 1965, I was surprised to find this record of major tax actions:

Sales tax: Two new entries (Idaho and New York) and nine increased rates.

Personal income tax: One new entry (Nebraska) and eight increased rates.

Corporate income tax: Seven increased rates.

Cigarette tax: One new entry (Oregon) and 20 increased rates.

Liquor tax: Six increases.

Gasoline taxes: Eight increases.

This spate of tax increases bears witness to the great fiscal pressures on State governments and also suggests that their fiscal courage and capacity are not exhausted. The adoption of personal sales tax exemptions (in the form of income tax credits and refunds) in Indiana and Colorado attests to the ingenious attempts being made to couple revenue with equity considerations.

Courage, effort, and ingenuity in drawing more revenue more equitably from State and local sources are surely required. And States seeking broad Federal grants derived from the income tax should ask whether their case may not suffer from having no income taxes in one-third of the States, anemic ones in another third, and tough ones only in the remaining third.

Yet when all is said and done in an era when painful fiscal pressures at the State-local level coexist with pleasant fiscal dividends at the Federal level, State and local governments have a commanding case for stronger Federal financial support.

What forms that support might usefully take will be discussed with you by Mr. Pechman. But let no one assume that a commanding case is synonymous with a convincing one—or that the fiscal battle can be won by endorsing one plan or another.

Battles are won in our society by developing a consensus. And that consensus will emerge only out of fiscal performance and fiscal persuasion of a high order. There are no shortcuts. I wish you well.

Alabama Citizens Support Tims Ford Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Tims Ford Dam and Reservoir project approved by the House is of the greatest importance to the citizens of Alabama.

Indicative of this importance is the support of citizens of that great State who have signed petitions declaring their backing for this needed project.

Under unanimous consent, I include a copy of the petition to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, believing it to be of widespread interest.

The petition of endorsement follows:

RESOLUTION BY THE ELK RIVER DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

Resolution by ERDA members and other citizens of the Elk River Valley in support of the Tims Ford Project on Elk River

Whereas the Tennessee Valley Authority has conducted a feasibility study on the

Tims Ford project as a part of a coordinated development and water control system for the Elk River and its tributaries; and

Whereas from said study the project is declared feasible and that the advantages and benefits to be derived therefrom will outweigh the costs 1.4 to 1.0; and

Whereas TVA has stated that they are ready to begin construction and have submitted a planning report to the Bureau of the Budget and requested funds for Tims Ford; and

Whereas it is for the benefit and welfare of the people of the area, and the Tennessee Valley, that TVA proceed immediately with the construction of Tims Ford Dam; and

Whereas the Elk River Development Association, organized in 1959, and with a current membership of 2,400 people, has worked long and hard to promote this project along with many other worthwhile programs; and

Whereas the Tennessee Elk River Development Agency was created in March 1963 by act of the Tennessee State Legislature. The agency has the same objectives as the association and has legal status and has worked with the association and TVA in agreements to assure maximum benefits from the Tims Ford project: Be it therefore

Resolved, That we the undersigned ERDA members and other citizens of the Elk River Valley respectfully request that the Senate concur with the House of Representatives in providing funds for the Tims Ford project.

War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, throughout the country today various cities, counties, and agricultural centers are setting the wheels in motion to fight economic deprivation of varying kinds and descriptions.

Oakland, Calif., in my congressional district, is one of the communities that has been in the forefront of the so-called poverty war. Recently, the Oakland Tribune published several articles written by a Tribune reporter, Mr. Dick Ricca, highlighting what is being planned and what is currently being accomplished with respect to Oakland's efforts. I am pleased to insert these articles in the RECORD because I believe they clearly demonstrate what can be done with judicious planning:

[From the Oakland (Calif.) Tribune June 29, 1965]

BIG CITIES KEY BATTLEFIELDS IN BAY AREA WAR ON POVERTY

(NOTE.—How goes the war on poverty?

(To get the answer to that question, Tribune Reporter Dick Ricca talked with officials involved in antipoverty programs in the bay area at the State, Federal and local levels.

(Here is another report on the status and progress of programs in Alameda and Contra Costa Counties.)

(By Dick Ricca)

Big cities are the major battlefield in the war on poverty in the bay area.

By June 30, 1966, Oakland officials expect to receive more than $2.4 million from the Federal Government for a wide variety of antipoverty programs.

In Contra Costa County, the city of Richmond has received the lion's share of $1.1 million already granted to the county.

The people who are spending the money will tell you this is not nearly enough money to meet the needs that exist in the urban areas, but it still represents the big share of the funds being made available now.

BIGGER PROBLEM

There are many reasons why Oakland and Richmond should receive such a large slice of the antipoverty pie.

One obvious reason is the fact these two cities have more people with poverty-related problems than other East Bay communities.

But an even more important reason is the fact that they have an efficient cadre of public officials who have become experts at "grantsmanship."

"Grantsmanship" might best be described as the art of getting money from public and private agencies seeking to support experimental programs of civic betterment and improvement.

Oakland has officials at many levels in a number of public agencies who have had more than a measure of success in bringing money into Oakland from various public and private agencies and foundations looking for a pilot program or an experimental project to finance.

MAJOR SUCCESS

Before now, their most successful effort had been the Oakland interagency project.

The interagency project grew out of the discovery that a number of public and private agencies always seemed to be dealing with the problems of the same people.

A family on the welfare rolls, for example, often turned out to be a problem for the schools, police, probation authorities and the health department.

So the interested agencies joined forces for a coordinated approach to these problem families.

At first, the representatives of the various agencies merely shared information and served as an institutional clearinghouse, but, gradually, an organizational framework developed.

Specific programs were built on the framework when the Ford Foundation picked Oakland's interagency group as the vehicle for a multimillion-dollar experimental project.

But the Ford Foundation grant didn't just drop unbidden from the blue.

Oakland had to compete for it against other big cities.

City and school administrators and the executive directors of private agencies involved had to develop plausible projects and programs which would catch the interest of the foundation representatives.

SOME PITFALLS

The scramble for funds from Ford and other groups, such as the Rosenberg Foundation, provided an excellent education in all the subtleties and pitfalls of "grantsmanship."

In a very real sense, it served as basic training for Oakland's entry into the war on poverty.

Dr. Norvel Smith, who took over as director of the interagency programs in 1963, indicated that Oakland learned its early lessons in grantsmanship well.

One of the reasons, Dr. Smith said, that Oakland refused to become part of the proposed Alameda County Economic Opportunity Agency was the fact Oakland would have had nothing to gain from such a relationship.

Alameda County could offer smaller communities coordination and technical assistance in planning and developing programs and applying for Federal funds to finance them.

"We knew we already had ample experience and technical know-how because of our experience with the interagency programs," Smith said.

So Oakland chose to go it alone and, as a result, was virtually first in line by the time Congress had passed President Johnson's antipoverty package.

There is no apparent duplication, but it is obvious that experience with the interagency projects has given Oakland a decided edge when it comes to developing programs which will meet the requirements and objectives of the antipoverty legislation.

In addition to the Federal grants it is now receiving and expects to receive, Oakland is still operating with Ford Foundation money and, Smith said, the city expects to receive a supplementary grant from the Ford Foundation for even more experimental programs and pilot projects.

POVERTY WAR "SLASHED CITY YOUTH CRIME"

There has been a "dramatic and significant" decline in juvenile delinquency in Oakland this summer, apparently as a result of the war on poverty youth programs, according to Alameda County Superior Court Judge Lionel Wilson.

"This was apparently a factor—possibly an important factor—in easing tensions that could lead to Los Angeles-type riots in Oakland," Judge Wilson told the Oakland Economic Development Council (OEDC) meeting this morning.

Wilson quoted Oakland police juvenile officers, juvenile court officials, and Alameda County Probation Department officials as saying juvenile crime had dropped "significantly" and the drop in the number of inhabitants at juvenile hall was "startling."

COMPILATION PENDING

Wilson said statistics to be compiled at a later date, undoubtedly would bear out these off-the-cuff estimates by directors of agencies dealing directly with delinquency.

Judge Wilson is chairman of OEDC, the agency which directs Oakland's war on poverty programs.

Norvel Smith, executive director of the city's department of human resources, said, "When you take 850 young people from low-income families off the street and give them jobs, you're bound to have some effect."

"EVIDENCE CLEAR"

Smith declined to speculate on how far the youth employment programs had gone in preventing possible riots. "But the evidence is clear that juvenile delinquency dropped. Our programs were serving the age group that could have created trouble."

John Pierce, OEDC director of youth programs, said 1,000 persons in the 16–21 age group took part in youth programs sponsored by the city, school department, and the Alameda County Central Labor Council.

All were from families with less than $4,000 per year income. Pierce said 70 percent were male and 30 percent female.

FALL EXPANSION

Pierce said action taken by the OEDC directors today may lead to 1,050 full-time and 600 part-time jobs for youths under war on poverty programs this fall.

Pierce said the programs this fall will be expanded to include war on poverty youth workers in Federal and State agencies—including public hospitals. The summer programs were confined to city and nonprofit agencies, including summer camps.

Pierce said hundreds of youth jobs would be available on September 7, when some of the year-round programs go into effect. He said the youth—technically called "neighborhood youth corps aids"—won't replace persons in existing jobs.

RECRUITING DRIVE

Dr. Smith said there would be a "crash program of recruiting" for youth jobs.

Smith criticized new Federal regulations which he said would cut down the effectiveness of the youth programs by lowering from $4,000 to $2,500 the level of family income

needed for a youth to qualify for the program.

"Numerous studies show that a $6,200 income for a family of four is the 'break even point' for a family living in Oakland," Smith said. He said he has contacted Representative JEFFERY COHELAN in an effort to get the Federal rule changed.

Judge Wilson said the impact of the war on poverty programs on juvenile delinquency was obvious during 2 weeks he spent on the juvenile court bench in San Leandro recently. "Delinquency normally goes down in the late summer, but the drop was almost unbelievable this summer," the judge said.

[From the Oakland (Calif.) Tribune, July 1, 1965]

POVERTY WAR TARGET AREAS IN CITY ARE PINPOINT—FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MAKES GRANT OF $111,742 TO COVER COST OF PROGRAM—VOLUNTEERS ASKED TO "MOVE OUT"

(By Dick Ricca)

The map on the wall in Dr. Norvel Smith's office shows four target areas for Oakland's antipoverty program.

They are the areas where most of Oakland's poor and disadvantaged live.

Every community has its target areas.

But few communities in Alameda and Contra Costa Counties know as much about the neighborhoods where poor people live as the city of Oakland.

Dr. Smith, head of the city of Oakland's Department of Human Resources and executive director of the Oakland Economic Development Council, estimated there are 150,000 persons living in the four target areas who are poor enough for the antipoverty programs.

FIT DEFINITION

They are people who fit the definition of poverty set forth in the Economic Opportunity Act.

They are members of families with a total annual income of less than $4,000. Some of them are fathers and husbands without a job. Many of them are on welfare.

By June 30, nearly a dozen public and private agencies and organizations will spend $2.4 million in an effort to meet the needs and problems of 75,000 persons living in the target areas.

This is the kind of precise information it takes to carry on a campaign against poverty.

Outside of Oakland, the information isn't that precise.

HAYWARD PROGRAM

In the Hayward area, for example, programs involving 2,000 persons are under way.

Elliott Henderson, newly appointed director of the Hayward Area Economic Opportunity Organization, said he will spend the next 8 months "trying to really identify" the people in his area who need antipoverty help.

According to the 1960 census, however, there are 8,919 families in the Hayward-San Lorenzo area with incomes under $4,000.

In Oakland, Dr. Smith is charged with coordination and evaluation of the various programs to be financed with Federal antipoverty funds. He also has the job of planning and developing new programs.

The Federal Government has approved a grant of $111,742 to the Oakland city manager's office to cover the cost of participation in the programs by Smith and his staff in the department of human resources.

TYPICAL EXAMPLE

Oakland's programs can be taken as typical examples of the kinds of things antipoverty money is being used for in the bay area.

Here's how the rest of the Federal money will be spent.

The Oakland public schools will spend $542,086 for inservice training of teachers and counselors, preschool education, language development, remedial reading and summer school programs for poverty children.

Parochial schools in the Catholic diocese of Oakland will receive $35,325 to finance special educational programs for economically and culturally deprived children.

The Legal Aid Society and the Family Service Bureau will spend $74,593 on a program to provide neighborhood services in the four target areas.

SPECIAL SERVICES

The Oakland Visiting Nurses Association will spend $14,709 to provide special emergency homemaker services in the target areas.

The Council of Social Planning will spend $26,567 on neighborhood organization programs in the target areas. The goal of these programs will be to teach residents how to organize themselves for community political and civil action.

An organization known as the Public Health Research Association will spend $29,174 on the operation of family planning clinics to distribute information and advice about birth control.

YOUTH JOB PROJECT

The Alameda County Central Labor Council, AFL–CIO, has received $235,761 for a program to provide summer jobs for high school age young people. The purpose of the project will be to help young people develop good work habits and basic work skills.

The Labor Council program will also provide jobs for a number of unemployed union craftsmen, who will work as supervisors of the young people working in the various projects.

All of these programs have been approved, but Oakland has a number of other applications pending, including a request for funds to extend existing programs through June 30, 1966.

JUST A STARTER

Smith said the special programs financed by the Federal funds will make a meaningful start in dealing with the problems of poverty in Oakland, but they won't do the whole job.

He estimated it would require from 6 to 8 years of aid at the current level to cope with the problems of 80 percent of the people living in the four target areas of the city.

The other 20 percent, he indicated, are people with multiple problems, such as debilitating physical or emotional handicaps, who would probably continue to require public assistance in one form or another for many years to come.

The war on poverty should make it easier, and necessary, for social and charitable agencies to work with the poor instead of for them.

That was the advice given to Alameda and Contra Costa County agency representatives yesterday at a mobilization institute for the United Bay Area Crusade.

"Middle class volunteers in your agencies are going to have to get used to the idea that the poor are going to become members of the team," Dr. Norvel L. Smith said.

Dr. Smith, director of the city of Oakland's Department of Human Resources, is the administrator in charge of most of the city's Federal antipoverty programs.

EXPLAINS ROLE

He appeared at the United Crusade meeting to explain the role of volunteer agencies in the war on poverty.

He said Oakland's antipoverty programs represent a coalition of the efforts of large public agencies and small volunteer agencies.

"Volunteer agencies have a very significant contribution to make in many areas," he said.

He urged the agency representatives to work to have their organizations "move out and extend your horizons" in finding ways to bridge the gap which normally exists between the agency and the people it is trying to help.

REACH UNREACHED

"The city of Oakland's strategy has included efforts to make agencies more aggressive in reaching out to serve low income people. You must reach the unreached.

"An important part of our program involves hiring the poor to perform clerical tasks and other subprofessional jobs in the agencies which serve them," he said.

He explained that this would be one way to bridge the gap between the poor and public and private agencies.

The Ypsilanti Greek Theater

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WESTON E. VIVIAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, today the New York Times recognized one of the most vital and unique theater experiments to be undertaken in this country, the Ypsilanti Greek Theater. The idea to bring classical Greek drama to the citizens of Ypsilanti, to the entire southern Michigan and northern Ohio region, was conceived by my good friend, Mrs. Clara Owens. Her tireless, inspired efforts have brought this project to the point where a substantial sum of money has been donated, and artists of great talent and experience have agreed to participate.

Mr. Speaker, on Monday, the House will have the opportunity to schedule for debate an act to establish a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. This bill has already passed the Senate. If passed by the House, and signed into law by the President, it will stimulate new pursuits of excellence in the arts and human studies throughout our Nation.

One of the first projects which should be considered by the new foundation is the Ypsilanti Greek Theater. The Ypsilanti Greek Theater will benefit not only the district which I am privileged to represent in the Congress; it will also benefit millions of Americans from throughout every part of the land, who will some day travel to Ypsilanti to experience the great works of the classical Greek drama. I commend to my colleagues today's article by Louis Calta, published in the New York Times. I ask that it be printed at this point in the RECORD.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 9, 1965]

YPSILANTI PLANS A GREEK THEATER—$2.5 MILLION PROJECT IS SET—ALEXIS SOLOMOS TO DIRECT

(By Louis Calta)

If Alexis Solomos has his way—and he is confident that he will—ancient Greek drama will "come alive" for American audiences next summer in Ypsilanti, Mich.

The 47-year-old former director of the Greek National Theater, pausing briefly here yesterday after his arrival on the *Queen Elizabeth*, said he hoped to "present Greek tragedy not as something out of a museum but as something live." "I hope it will get into the blood of the American theatergoing public," he added.

Mr. Solomos, who was accompanied by his wife, Katherine, and two daughters, has been engaged as artistic director of the Ypsilanti Greek Theater, which plans to present Greek drama and comedies in English in a $2.5 million, 1,900-seat amphitheater.

The theater will be built on a city-owned site adjacent to the Huron River. It will be enclosed, heated, and air conditioned. Harry Weese, architect for the Washington Arena Stage and the Orlando (Fla.) Theater, has designed it along "classic Greek lines." Work on the venture is expected to start in October. The opening is scheduled for next July.

PATTERSON AND ELDER TO HELP

Tom Patterson, founder of the Stratford (Ontario) Shakespeare Festival, will be executive director of the new theater but will continue as planning consultant for Canada's first permanent Shakespearean theater. Eldon Elder, Broadway scenic designer, will act as theater consultant to Mr. Weese.

Mr. Solomos, who has staged several off-Broadway productions, said that he was "very excited" about returning to the United States. He held high hopes for the Michigan theater season, which is to become an annual event.

He explained that students from Eastern Michigan University would participate as apprentice performers and technicians, but that the bulk of the acting company would be professional. Students will take part in the productions as part of their drama courses.

"We hope to make it not just another summer festival but an international center of Greek drama," he said. "Ancient Greek drama can be compared to a Hitchcock movie if properly done. For example, look at the popularity of 'Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?' It brings out the various inner truths in a savage manner just as the ancients did."

Mr. Solomos said that until 15 years ago ancient drama was unknown to the general public even in Greece.

"But when we started working on them we realized how much uneducated people got a kick out of them. The wisdom, poetry and human experience in Greek theater is something the American public can understand."

The director had come to the United States because he was "bored with doing the same thing every year in Greece." He said he planned to remain in Michigan for 1 or 2 years.

The Ypsilanti Greek Theater is the brain child of Mrs. Clara Owens, a 58-year-old high schoolteacher of English, who is president of the theater group's board of directors.

Mrs. Owens said yesterday that the idea for a classic theater in Ypsilanti occurred to her 2 years ago. "I decided it was high time we had a restoration of Greek culture and drama in the United States."

She said the Michigan city was "a good place" for such a venture because it was "in the center of a tremendous population—about 5 million." "We are 10 minutes from Ann Arbor, 30 minutes from Detroit, 45 minutes from Toledo and about 1 hour from Lansing," she continued. "Moreover, we have more than three-quarters of a million high school and college students within a radius of 60 miles."

About $200,000 has already been donated to the project, Mrs. Owens said, and she expressed confidence that the total amount needed will be raised. Spyros Skouras has agreed to serve on the group's board of directors, as has Joe Nederlander, theater owner. Judith Anderson and Melina Mercouri have offered to appear at the theater.

The Rich Love That Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, September 8, 1965:

THE RICH LOVE THAT POVERTY

(By Frank Getlein)

Recent congressional criticism of the poverty program, when not concerned with the program's boss, Sargent Shriver, has centered on the unexpected appearance of the certifiably non-poor among the beneficiaries.

This does not mean those corporations large and small that have found the war on poverty a profitable enterprise.

Still less meant are those political lieutenants, proteges, and relatives who have been placed in charge of various sectors of the battleline. Poverty has been close to the heart of politics ever since the Romans invented the office of tribune as a kind of early Sargent Shriver. The power of the big city bosses, from Tweed to James Michael Curley and Hinky-Dink Henna, has been based squarely on poverty. It is not at all impossible that the most important effect of the poverty program will be to return poverty to politics as a permanent endowment, thus retrieving the ground lost over the years to civil service and the general affluence.

The target is not even those teachers and social workers who have been lured away from their customary stations in the pre-Shriveresque ministry to the poor and the ignorant by the simple offer of double wages to join the program. Here, however, we are getting close to the target area, for here is the spectacle of poverty money being ladled out neither to the poor themselves—although it has always been taken for granted that some disbursement to the poor is unavoidable—nor to the corporations and political torpedoes who already constitute a vested interest in poverty, but to individuals actually working in specific applications of program principles.

What is really upsetting the men on Capitol Hill is the fact that the non-poor are getting in on the handout end.

In various spots around the country, it is charged and not denied, children of $20,000-a-year families have been enrolled in Operation Head Start, designed to give poor children that preschool momentum that rich children are felt to get automatically just from hanging around with their own well-read, well-bred, well-adjusted parents.

The problem is a delicate one. Head Start is aimed at letting poor children catch up with rich children, somewhat, a commendable objective. But if rich children sneak into the program, already ahead in the race due to the influence of their nifty parents, they will maintain and perhaps increase the distance separating them from their poor contemporaries.

Program spokesman got that one back over the net with very little trouble. Softly, as in a morning sunrise, it was pointed out to irate Congressmen that, after all, if the program were severely limited to poor children, the poor children would suffer, since we learn not only from formal instruction but, perhaps even more powerfully, from those around us. The presence of rich kids in the program, far from being a deprivation to the poor kids, taking away from them a percentage of the instruction, time, and energy intended for them alone, was actually an added bonus. They could thank their lucky stars the rich kids were placed in the program by their patriotic parents, for their presence gave the poor children that extracurricular instruction in the way of the world you could never get from a teacher, even one at double pay.

The lesson, of course, to be learned by the poor kids is that if the poor happily come up with something of value, the rich, like a shot, will move in.

The original Head Start, if it comes to that, was devised by Maria Montessori for kids in the Roman slums barely 50 years ago. Today, it is hardly possible to have a high-class suburb, anywhere from Cambridge to Evanston and beyond, without a Montessori school for the rich.

The rich are glad to be rich but suspicious that the poor have some secret treasure denied the rich. For this reason, the rich implacably appropriate the foods, the dress, the dances, even the homes of the poor.

They have taken not only bouillabaisse but the entire south of France that produced it, not only clam chowder but Cape Cod.

In Washington about a generation ago, they began moving in on the then largely Negro slum of Georgetown, fearful as always that the poor were getting away with something behind those 18th century bricks. Today, the area is completely white, almost completely rich, proving once more that if you let in one family, pretty soon there goes the block, the street, the neighborhood.

This process of jealousy felt by the rich against the poor is beyond politics. It's elemental. There is no reason in the world to imagine it can be kept out of the poverty program. Indeed, it was there from the start, for the director is not only rich but occupies the key position, the crucial spot, in the culture of affluence, that of son-in-law.

The Runaway Horse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, in the past several months we have witnessed the not too gradual movement toward one-party government under one-man rule. The Congress of the United States has frequently been nothing more than a rubberstamp for legislation fashioned in the inner sanctum of the bureaucracy. We are not even given the opportunity for free speech when the gag rule is placed over this former deliberative body. The people of the United States will not much longer tolerate what has been going on in this Congress.

We should consider all points of view; we cannot do so if the only dominant voices in government are those of a small group on the ultraliberal left.

The St. Paul, Minn., Pioneer Press on August 1 carried an editorial which effectively warns of the danger to representative government.

THE RUNAWAY HORSE

Anyone following the daily deliberations of the House of Representatives must be struck by the ruthlessness with which the Democratic majority of so-called liberals is flexing its muscles. It is not, in fact, a deliberative body. The leadership's imposition of a gag rule in the debate over right-to-work laws has such an arrogant denial of the true legislative process that even such a stanch supporter of repeal as Representative PAUL C. JONES of Missouri was moved to damn his party in a short angry speech.

The Congress has been described as a rubberstamp body, held firmly by its ears by a tough and persuasive President. But in fact its majority is more of a runaway horse and Johnson must be doing more reining of this animal than whacking it with any stick. It is a distinctly liberal majority which does not reflect the wide spectrum of beliefs of its constituencies. It has gone far to the left and in this position is a denial of the pleasant system we have had of two great national parties whose tents have sheltered those of many diverse viewpoints.

It is moved in part by the overwhelming penalty of not going along: the denial of fair shares of the Federal treasury for local projects. There is a large freshman class, sitting in Congress mainly because of the awful Republican rout of 1964, which feels a natural insecurity about reelection in nominally Republican districts and which is totally dependent on the benevolence of the Federal Government and Democratic National Committee.

But the main push on it comes from its superliberal activists. Now free of most of the former restraints, they want radical changes in a society that has prospered unbelievably under a system in which restraint was forced by the necessity for compromise, for genuine debate, for the honest consideration of the views of others. Representative government is in a sad and critical state. Its main hope rests in the reconstruction of the two-party system in 1966.

Speak Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of the Members to an editorial in the Sunday, August 29, Calumet Index which is one of the most timely yet brief and pertinent editorials which has come to my attention for some time:

SPEAK UP

To obligate our resources and prestige as completely as this country is doing in Vietnam, and yet to be as poorly informed and uncertain of our goals as we are, is a travesty. And before we—as a people—awaken from our slumber as to what we are really in, this travesty could become tragic.

Opinion has been divided as to the wisdom of our present course and it is becoming more so. We pray that those with voices loud enough to be heard in Washington will speak up.

Unless there is mounted an informed and vigorous criticism that will stimulate a real search for facts to replace the confusion, wishful thinking, and delusion, we fear that President Johnson and Defense Secretary McNamara will continue to vacillate and find themselves—and us—mired in muck up to our chins.

Profiles in Wyoming Greatness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, in my series of Wyoming greats commemorating my State's 75th anniversary, I am particularly pleased to present this profile of my beloved friend and mentor, the late Joseph C. O'Mahoney.

STRUGGLE AS A YOUNG MAN

Joseph Christopher O'Mahoney was born in Chelsea, Mass., November 5, 1884, the son of Irish immigrants. Following his father's death, he moved to New York at the age of 18 with an older brother, studying at nights, working in the day, and attempting an education as best he was able. His brother's tuberculosis forced a move to Boulder, Colo., where O'Mahoney worked as a newspaperman. In 1915 he wandered northward to Cheyenne and settled there as city editor of the old State Leader.

In 1917 he was appointed secretary to Wyoming's newly elected U.S. Senator John B. Kendrick. In Washington, Joe O'Mahoney attended Georgetown University, won a law degree in 1920, and returned to Cheyenne to set up the practice of law and begin his career as possibly the greatest lawmaker in the history of Wyoming's 75 years of statehood.

APPOINTED SENATOR

In 1932, O'Mahoney helped formulate the national party's platform and served as a vice chairman of the Democrat National Campaign Committee under his good friend, national chairman, James A. Farley. Following Roosevelt's election that year, O'Mahoney was appointed first Assistant Postmaster General by his friend, Jim Farley. He resigned that post in December 1933 to accept an appointment to the U.S. Senate, designated by Wyoming's Governor, his friend, Leslie A. Miller, to fill a vacancy caused by the death of the beloved Kendrick, his former boss.

According to Raymond Moley, Joe O'Mahoney "neatly telescoped the usual 2- or 3-year novitiate on Capitol Hill, emerging after a few months as one of the most respected young members."

FOUGHT COURT-PACKING PLAN

He came into the national spotlight when he fought against President Roosevelt's Supreme Court organization plan. As a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, he authored a minority report condemning Roosevelt's plan to increase the court from 9 to 15 judges and "tampering with the hallowed institution which separates the power in American Government." For this he won national respect of the American bench and bar, but his relations with F.D.R. were never again the same. Gone were the halcyon days of "Joe O'Mahoney and the New Deal."

STUDENT OF ECONOMICS

In 1938 Congress created the Temporary National Economic Committee. Under the leadership of O'Mahoney as its chairman and of such men as Thurman Arnold, Leon Henderson, and the late Dr. John D. Clark, this probe was carried on for almost 3 years, studying the concentration of wealth in American industry. The author I. F. Stone declared that these investigations "will rank with the great inquiries of the past" and called O'Mahoney's final TNEC report "a document which deserves to be read by every American."

OUTSTANDING LEGISLATOR

Senator O'Mahoney established an outstanding record as a sponsor of important legislation. He twice put through defense funds to make airpower of America the most effective in the world; in 1945 he authored a resolution to submit to the States the question of abolishing the poll tax.

In the same year he introduced legislation asking Congress to support America's participation in a worldwide international agreement to outlaw the use of the atomic bomb.

Although a New Dealer, O'Mahoney lacked the propensity for big spending. He was tightfisted with the dollar and kept hammering away at inflation, high prices and Government participation in private industry through foreign deals. He felt foreign cartels were never fully aired so that the American people could know what their great corporations were doing in the world market.

DEVELOPER OF WYOMING

Although his close New Deal associations made him a national power, he always pumped for the development of the West. In 1944 he presented to Congress the bill for projects of the Missouri River Basin—Glendo and Boysen Dams; the O'Mahoney-Hatch Oil Leasing Act of 1946 served to make wildcatting more profitable and oilfield investments more attractive; he secured the authorization for the multimillion-dollar Trona plant near Green River and for the alumina plant at Laramie; he pushed through an authorization for the Bureau of Mines building at the University of Wyoming; when Fort Warren was slated to be abandoned at the close of the war, O'Mahoney used his prestige to the limit to save it and, by a personal appeal to Air Force authorities, was successful in having the post changed to an Air Force base.

After 19 years in the Senate, he lost narrowly in the 1952 Eisenhower landslide. He spent 2 years in private law practice, then easily made his Senate comeback in 1954. Senator GALE MCGEE, Democrat, of Wyoming, served as his legislative assistant in 1955–56. I am proud to have served on his staff briefly in 1942.

In June 1913, he married Agnes Veronica O'Leary of Massachusetts. They were childless, but helped to raise her young relatives, and guided literally dozens of Wyoming young people along life's paths.

A well-liked Washington figure, he was known for his unaffected warmth, sincerity, and good humor, and as one "who speaks for the wide open spaces of Wyoming with a Boston accent." He battled in the great tradition of Western progressives with a capacity for fierce indignation and dedicated effort against those who extracted great riches from our soil and water without making a contribution for the benefit of future generations. Joe O'Mahoney will go down in history as one of the greatest Senators of all time.

U.S.S. "Benjamin Franklin"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Adm. H. G. Rickover is always thoughtful, considerate, and respectful to the Members of Congress. The admiral's recent letter to my colleagues is a gem and a collector's item.

Mr. Speaker, Admiral Rickover's letter follows and I wish every school boy and girl in the United States could memorize this inspiring letter:

U.S.S. "BENJAMIN FRANKLIN"
(SSBN 640),
At Sea, North Atlantic,
August 30, 1965.

Hon. W. J. BRYAN DORN,
U.S. House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. DORN: We have just successfully completed the first sea trials of the U.S.S. *Benjamin Franklin*, our 30th Polaris nuclear submarine. We also have in operation 22 attack-type nuclear submarines, making a total of 52. The *Benjamin Franklin* was built by the Electric Boat Division, General Dynamics Corp., Groton, Conn.

This ship is named for Benjamin Franklin (1706–90), one of the most illustrious of our Founding Fathers. A plain man of the people, his life was the American success story writ large. In his autobiography he speaks of his lowly beginnings and notes with quiet pride that he "emerged from the poverty and obscurity" of his birth to "a state of affluence and some degree of reputation in the world." He did so purely on merit for he was, in every sense of the word, a self-made man, owing little if anything to luck or the assistance of others, never pushing ahead at the expense of a fellow man.

Franklin was the youngest son of a poor tallow chandler who had migrated to Boston from England and married as his second wife the daughter of a former indentured serving maid. With 17 children to raise, he could give Benjamin only 2 to 3 years of schooling, but he encouraged him to study on his own, a habit which was to remain with Franklin all his life. At 10 the boy went to work in the family shop; at 12 he was apprenticed to his half brother to learn the printing trade, this being considered a suitable vocation for one whose love of books was already manifest.

In later life Franklin often remarked that he could not remember a time when he did not read. Books were his teachers. Through them he made himself a well-educated man. Taking the best authors as his models, he worked hard at perfecting his writing, eventually achieving a simple, lucid style. His thirst for knowledge never ceased. Since he wanted to read foreign books, he decided at 27—a busy young merchant—to teach himself to do so. "I soon made myself so much the master of the French," he remarked, "as to be able to read the books with ease. I then undertook the Italian." Later on, "with a little painstaking, acquired as much of the Spanish as to read their books also." He read not only for instruction but for enjoyment. His taste was catholic. All his life, men of learning and position, who would ordinarily not bother with an artisan, sought Franklin's company. He supposed it was because "reading had so improved my mind that my conversation was valued."

At 17 Franklin had learned all his brother could teach him and was ready to make his own way in the world. He went to New York but could find no work there, so continued on to Philadelphia. This is how he describes his arrival there after a long and uncomfortable trip—walking 50 miles, getting nearly shipwrecked, and helping to row a boat part of the way: "I was dirty from my journey; my pocket were stuffed out with shirts and stockings; I knew no soul, nor where to look for lodging. I was fatigued with traveling, rowing, and want of rest. I was very hungry and my whole stock of cash consisted of a Dutch dollar." He bought three large bread rolls. Wandering about town, munching, he met a fellow traveler. He gave her and her child two of his rolls. Thus did Franklin enter the town that was to become his permanent home, where he would rise to wealth and fame.

Seven years later he owned his own printshop, a stationery store, and a newspaper. He had in the meantime perfected his art by working for 18 months in England and could do the most intricate and difficult print jobs. At 26 he began the higly profitable annual publication of Poor Richard's Almanac. He managed his affairs so ably that at 42 he retired with an income equivalent to that of a royal governor. Though he was good at it, moneymaking never interested him except as a means to obtain leisure for the things he really enjoyed: reading, study, scientific experimentation, social discourse, and correspondence with men of similar interests.

While still a journeyman printer, he had founded a club for sociability and self-improvement, called the Junto, of which he later said that it was "the best school of philosophy, morals, and politics" then existing in Pennsylvania. Its membership of about 12 consisted of alert, intelligent young artisans, tradesmen, and clerks who liked to read and debate. They met Friday evenings to discuss history, ethics, poetry, travels, mechanic arts, and science (then called natural philosophy). It has been said of this group that it brought the enlightenment in a leather apron to Philadephia.

Franklin, who was full of ideas for improving life in Philadelphia and the Colonies in general, submitted all his proposals to the Junto where they were debated. Once accepted, members worked hard to get them put into effect. As a result, improvements were made in paving, lighting, and policing the town; a volunteer fire department and militia were formed; a municipal hospital was established; the foundations were laid for what became the University of Pennsylvania and the American Philosophical Society. Of most lasting importance, perhaps, was Franklin's plan for a subscription library, the first in the Colonies. Access to books, he felt, meant that "the doors to wisdom were never shut." The idea caught on. He noted with satisfaction that the numerous libraries springing up everywhere "have improved the general conversation of Americans, made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the Colonies in defense of their privileges." The value of knowledge to man and society has never been put more succinctly.

When he was 40, Franklin discovered electricity. It was then a sort of magic, a parlor trick. Franklin—ably supported by his Junto—threw himself into experimentations and developed a workable theory which he proved in his famous kite experiment. In the 6 years between 1746 and 1752 his contributions to electricity changed it from a curiosity to a science, and in the process made him world famous. His writings on electricity were compared with Newton's Optics; he became the friend of most contemporary scientists, was made a member of virtually every scientific society, and received honorary degrees from 20 universities. He was the first American scientist to win universal acclaim; the first American author to have his books translated and read as widely in Europe as in America. When he was sent to Paris, as America's first Ambassador to a major power, the admiration of France for Franklin's scientific achievement in catching lightning and putting it to man's use contributed not a little to the success of his mission: winning the help of France to the revolutionary cause.

As a man of leisure, Franklin found himself more and more drawn into public service, this being expected of anyone who had the time and ability to serve. He became a member of the Pensylvania Legislature, the Committee of Five charged with drafting the Declaration of Independence, the Second Continental Congress, and the Constitutional Convention. In one way or another, he represented America abroad a total of 25 years, becoming an exceedingly skillful diplomat. His statement, in hearings before Parliament, of the case of the colonies against the hated Stamp Act was masterly and helped bring about the repeal of this act. He was among the first to recognize that not merely taxation but legislation in general without representation could not be borne by Englishmen, whether they lived at home or abroad. The bond uniting England and its colonies, he argued, was the King, not Parliament. Had his dominion status theory been accepted, the war might have been prevented but, as he sadly remarked, "there was not enough wisdom."

At 65, Franklin began his autobiography, intending it for his son. When pressure of public duties interrupted work on the book, one of his friends pleaded with him to complete it. All that had happened to Franklin, he urged, was of great historic interest since it was "connected with the detail of the manners and situation of a rising people." Moreover, the way he had planned and conducted his life was "a sort of key and explained many things that all men ought to have once explained to them, to give them a chance of becoming wise by foresight."

His philosophy of life, the virtues he cultivated—competent workmanship, honesty, industry, and frugality—are within everyone's grasp; they are as important to a good and successful life today as in his time. No American child ought to grow to adulthood without having read the autobiography of this talented, wise, and good man, who personified all that is best in America. "Merely by being himself," wrote Mark van Doren, "he dignified and glorified his country."

Respectfully,

H. G. RICKOVER.

The Genius of Richard Strauss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, Erich Leinsdorf is perhaps America's most dis-

tinguished conductor. He is well known for his insistence upon perfection and his skill in achieving it. His Boston Symphony Orchestra is renowned for its brilliance and precision, and his interpretations of musical masterpieces are among the most popular available.

Recently Mr. Leinsdorf chose to share his interpretation of Richard Strauss with us, but in a special way. Mr. Leinsdorf wrote an article for the Atlantic Monthly expounding his theory of why Strauss' music is the way it is. The article has helped me to better understand and appreciate Strauss, and so I would like to share it with my colleagues.

Mr. Leinsdorf's article follows:

THE GENIUS OF RICHARD STRAUSS

(NOTE.—Born and schooled in Vienna Erich Leinsdorf, conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra for the last three seasons, has a particular affinity for the music of Richard Strauss. His immense experience and his intellectual perception give him a unique position in the world of music.)

(By Erich Leinsdorf)

When I was born, Richard Strauss was 48 and was composing the second version of "Ariadne." I have wondered for most of my life what happened in the second half of his creative period, what happened to the composer of "Elektra" and "Salome," of "Don Quixote" and "Ein Heldenleben." Why did he stop writting tone poems and turn exclusively to opera, and why did these operas become more and more archaic instead of more and more progressive? Why do we have "The Egyptian Helen," "Friedenstag," "Daphne," "Liebe der Danae," and then again an elaborate conversation piece, "Capriccio"?

Why did the composer who undertook great subjects such as "Salome" and "Elektra," and a comedy such as "Rosenkavalier," then turn into the byways of literature to write a rehash of a musical language that became so stereotyped that in the last of his output one sometimes does not know where a piece starts and where it ends.

It is easy to say that the wellspring of creativity weakened with old age, but it had in fact already weakened in his late forties. If he had not been the overwhelmingly important and significant composer that he was and still is today, it would not be quite as tantalizing a question to answer. I believe (and this is my real motive for indulging in this personal evaluation of Strauss) that after many years of search, I have found the key to the puzzle.

There is no doubt in my mind that Strauss up to the time of the First World War was one of the all-time significant, great, and important composers. It is not the issue here whether he is going to last as long as Beethoven or Mendelssohn. I feel completely certain that the Strauss of the five or six early tone poems and the Strauss of the first three big operas is going to survive for many decades, not merely in Munich and Salzburg and Vienna, but wherever virtuoso symphony orchestras exist and opera stages with fine singing actors function.

I do think that any important creative artist, be he a composer, painter, or literary figure, is a representative of the period during which he works, and Strauss is a superb and supreme representative of the Wilhelmian period. This is a distinctive period, during which Germany expanded madly, to the point of a great world conflict with Britain. Strauss represents, in the best and the worst sense of the word, this Wilhelmian period, but his representative nature could not adjust to the profound changes which the First World War wrought in the fabric of our civilization. He could not really mirror the world as it became in the wake of the 4-year disaster of 1914–18. I would suggest that the composer Strauss, who had been in his earlier life a complete extrovert, became after the world war an introvert, and wrote only for himself. The choice of libretti and the constant refinement of musical formulas into clichés would substantiate this belief.

The spirit of the Wilhelmian era, so brilliantly executed, so brilliantly represented in many of Strauss' early tone poems and in the big operas, has naturally led to the loud opposition currently expressed by some of our most intellectual and discerning critics. They may not be aware that one of their probable motives is an inner objection to the whole Wagnerian-Wilhelmian complex.

There has been, particularly in the wake of the Nazi era, a complete identification (not quite justifiably) of the creative minds of people such as Wagner and Strauss with the worst elements in German political history. Although there is considerable evidence that both Wagner and Strauss were violently anti-Semitic, and Fascistic in their philosophical political outlook, it would be rather arbitrary to make this a cause for denying the supreme genius of both.

Wagner, who lived as a youth through the 1848 revolution and took part in it, witnessed later a Germany which grew from a federation of many small principalities into the mighty German Reich. Strauss, who was born 6 years before the birth of the Reich, lived through its glory and saw it being shattered. The destruction of that German Reich was an event of tremendous importance, and Strauss' personality by that time was so totally identified, through his early success, with the Wilhelmian era that he was unable to come to terms with anything else.

But if we can set aside for a minute our own objections and our own revulsion against the steel helmets and the mustachios, we may come to admire the sensitivity and the pity, the human understanding, which have gone into the best of Strauss' writing, particularly if we do not take the literary programs of his symphonic poems too seriously. We should hold on to the twinkle in his eye, to his humor, to evidence such as the fugue in "Zarathustra," where he makes fun of science and of polyphonic writing, at which he, like many another great composer, was not a master.

Even in "Heldenleben" the music of the Antagonists is funny, while the youthful sweep depicting himself as the great E-flat Major hero, psychologically stemming from the key of Beethoven's "Eroica," need not be considered as arrogance and presumption; it is merely youthful exuberance, and unquestionably a work of genius. The description of the wife, the companion, in the violin solo, the way in which she escapes into another tonality each time the man nearly has his way, the finesse of playing with notes, the intense delight in subtle allusions—these are signs of a true creative giant.

Such allusions and refinements are not limited to the student who reads the score; they are part and parcel of a huge structure which in its totality appeals to the naive listener through gorgeous sound, through fine, although somewhat uncritical, melodic invention, through a post-Wagnerian and very original sequence of harmonic modulations, and through a display possibility of instrumental virtuosity that is second to none.

As the all-time masterpiece of that symphonic era, I would unhesitatingly choose "Till Eulenspiegel." Strauss, both in his symphonic poems and in his operas, was always at his best when he could depict the seamier side of life. I find his Till more convincing than his Don Juan; I find his Don Quixote and Sancho Panza more convincing than his Zarathustra and his Hero. I find his Herodias and Herod more convincing than Jokanaan, and Clytemnestra more convincing than Chrysothemis. In these two scores—"Salome" and "Elektra"—the direction of modern music is forecast by Strauss.

Had he been able to shed the cloak of the Wilhelmina era and become a representative of the twenties and thirties, he, rather than Alban Berg with "Wozzeck," might have been the one to have created the supreme operatic masterpiece. There is a direct line from Herodias via Clytemnestra via the nurse in "Frau ohne Schatten' 'to figures like Marie in "Wozzeck" and to Wozzeck himself. Here, I think, lies the real tragedy: that this man, who at the age of 50 had acquired an incredible technique of composition, was by that time at the end of his career because the only age which he could represent had arrived at its historic end.

If you don't want to take a performer's word and if you don't want to accept a conductor's enthusiasm and documentation that Strauss was a great composer, we must look a little bit deeper into some of his masterworks. The performer, of course, especially the singing actor and the fine orchestral player, has always been in Strauss' corner; less so the solo instrumentalist, for whom he has written hardly anything, except a few early works such as the violin sonata—and, of course, that masterpiece of a cello solo, "Don Quixote." This was not intended for a soloist at all; it was written for the orchestra's first cellist, and only now, with brilliant solo cellists in our American orchestras, are we able to do justice to the work by rehearsing the tone poem as a tone poem instead of treating it as an accompaniment to a concerto.

The greatness of Strauss lies in the fact that he constitutes the last link in a long chain of development, that he carries forth certain findings that have been developed over the centuries. "Rosenkavalier" is the successor to three supreme masterpieces of the comic lyric stage: "The Marriage of Figaro" by Mozart, "Die Meistersinger von Nünberg" by Wagner, and "Falstaff" by Verdi. It is not an original thought at all to declare Octavian the direct descendant of Cherubino. It was even so intended. The figure of the young boy, who could not adequately be represented on stage by a man and whose in-between age of life was best entrusted to the acting and singing of a woman, found in Octavian no less an interpretation of genius than in his great predecessor, Cherubino.

When we compare the development of Strauss with that of two near-contemporaries, Gustav Mahler and Arnold Schönberg, we become immediately aware that he was a much more significant representative of the age which produced him than the other two composers. Mahler and Schönberg, equally under the influence of the titanic Wagner, took other roads. The two composers—maybe it was their origin from Jewish families which made them less susceptible to the grandeur and to the posture of the Wilhelmian era—started quite differently from Strauss. Schönberg began as super-Wagnerian, only to abandon the style and to revolt against it, creating in the process something which became epochmaking for composition in the 20th century. He is, of course, still a controversial figure, at least with the music-listening public. Mahler, who died in 1911 when Strauss had not yet reached the summit of his own development, left a few very large symphonies and a number of songs, which have led for the past half century a somewhat precarious existence, admittedly loved only by a handful of central Europeans, who during the thirties and forties tried in vain to convince their friends in a more international setting of the work of these great works. Only in the sixties have they come to mean more to the public; and they have done so at just the time when

the intelligentsia among music lovers has moved away from Strauss.

As I stated before, many interwoven motives can be traced. Politics on a less than conscious level plays a role; yet the best of Strauss has the same immediacy today in America, in France, England, or Italy, as it has always had in Strauss' native country. "Heldenleben," Zarathustra," and "Don Quixote," the three large symphonic poems, then "Death and Transfiguration," "Don Juan," and "Till Eulenspiegel," the three shorter symphonic, poems, seem to me to embody the best of Strauss; they are preceded by two more tentative pieces," Aps Italien" and "Macbeth," followed by two excursions into a somewhat overly expanded score," Sinfonia Domestica" and the "Alpine Symphony."

After his 50th birthday, which I consider a less significant date than the outbreak of the First World War, Strauss began to lose contact with the world as it was and being a sensitive creative artist, he evidently felt his own alienation. Rather than try to understand where the world and the world of music were moving, he withdrew more and more into a realm of his own. Just before the war, "Ariadne" was composed. This is a symbolic choice of a remote comedy idea. He followed it with an attempt to recreate the shocker success of "Salome," this time in ballet form and called the "Legend of Joseph," probably one of his weakest scores. After that, Strauss recovered a lot of the old magic in "Frau ohne Schatten," a long score with some of his greatest and finest music, unfortunately quite lost in an enormously difficult libretto, which, taken from an exquisite fairy tale by Hofmannsthal, never quite made it as a dramatic creation.

The joining up of several themes is also attempted by Strauss on several occasions at this time. His fugatos are done with tongue in cheek. He writes a short and very academic fugue exposition in "Zarathustra," where the subtitle "Of Science ("Wissenschaft") indicates that for Strauss the science of music is symbolized by fugal writing. The intricacies in that particular spot are really more for the eye and the enjoyment of the reader; they incorporate not only fugal responses in circles of fifths, going from C to G to D to A, but also a most scientifically, or shall we say mathematically, complex broadening of the metric pattern. The way the triplets are used as quarter triplets, half triplets and double half triplets is purposefully academic, and very amusing.

The question which I have never been able to answer is whether Strauss would have been able to write a fugato which was not academic. The opening to the third act of "Rosenkavalier" is in fugal style, and some of his later orchestral introductions are attempts at genuine polyphony. The sextet prelude of his final stage work, "Capriccio," is a case in point. I once had the opportunity of hearing the piece in concert, together with the "Metamorphoses for Twenty-three Strings," and neither of these two works of his late period stands up as anything but a composing exercise, no doubt a diversion for the composer in his old age. He was entitled to this pleasure, as he had made an immortal contribution to music—immortal in that it will live to make people rejoice for many generations. But polyphony was not his forte, which may explain why he could not go the way of Schönberg.

Even his vocal ensembles, brilliantly as he treated voices, are rarely genuine polyphony. For example, in the trio in "Rosenkavalier" we never have three legitimate vocal lines. There is always some accompaniment and some filling. He is a supremely agile man with the notes and could pretend many things which were never quite there. What was always there, up to and including large portions of "Frau ohne Schatten," and later in parts of "Arabella," was great invention of tunes—sometimes modeled after past eras, sometimes adapted in a tasteful and ingenious manner—a fabric of sound, constantly keeping the interest alive, and a beautiful interplay of motifs when the literary poetic program inspired the composer.

Pieces like "Don Juan" and "Eulenspiegel," and most of "Heldenleben," of "Don Quixote," and of Zarathustra," are not written too many times in a century, and if I emphasize the critique of that which is not genuine in Strauss, it is because I believe that the observance of the composer's centennial anniversary would have been ever so much more just if we had not fallen into the error of either the humdrum admirer who finds everything terrific, or the biting negativist who tends to show Strauss as another second-line 19th-century composer who by some error of nature lasted well into the 20th century.

Admittedly, his principal shortcoming was his lack of developmental technique. The young Strauss made a great virtue of this. His most successful symphonic poems are therefore the relatively brief ones, and those where the narrative of the music never attempts to broaden into a truly symphonic structure after the Beethoven model. The development of thematic material which was the basis of the great symphonists of the Beethoven-Brahms school was certainly not Strauss' strong suit. Coming as he did from the romantic Wagnerian school of esthetics, where literature, painting, associative music, and linking of various art forms interested the educated world, it is no wonder that the architectural and structural elements should interest Strauss less than the pictorial and associative possibilities of music. When he attempts the very broad forms ("Sinfonia Domestica," the "Alpine Symphony"), his symphonic weakness defeats the essential naivete of the subject matter. "Sinfonia Domestica" is a light work spread out over three-quarters of an hour and involving a huge orchestra. So is the "Alpine Symphony," which I still consider one of the happier inventions of Strauss except that it is too long and requires too large an orchestra to have a complete unity of purpose. It is as if a speaker who had a small topic came with a huge manuscript of 10,000 or 15,000 words and delivered a light after-dinner speech in stentorian tones.

But when we turn to the Strauss of the short symphonic poems, such as "Eulenspiegel" or "Don Juan," there is nothing but absolute perfection. It is probably not coincidence that his strongest operas are the one-act works, because Strauss, when extending himself in a grand design, uses more than the permissible amount of stuffing. There is no doubt that in all operatic writing, high points of invention alternate with filling. This is equally true of Wagner and Verdi, and probably the only operatic composer who escaped this was Mozart, who used recitative, which is the equivalent of a musical low gear.

Strauss was most successful in his one-act works "Salome" and "Elektra." Even "Rosenkavalier," a sublime and superb masterpiece of comic opera, has long passages of stuffing, best proved by Strauss' own suggested list of cuts, which have remained standard practice in all opera houses (except for some super-Straussian zealots, who have in recent years restored every bit of filling of the original score in performance).

What is it exactly that makes a set of musical themes good for structural, developmental musical treatment, and others not? The Beethovenian or Brahmsian materials are germs rather than tunes. Strauss, on the other hand, is always eager to invent tunes, and these do not lend themselves as readily to development and variations as short germinal motifs. I think that one of the reasons why "Eulenspiegel" remains such a masterpiece is that its thematic material is brief and succinct; in the very opening lies the nucleus which lends itself in innumerable variations to many kinds of treatment. It is significant that the sequence of intervals of "Till's" first motif has a quite different meaning when it appears in the third act of "Tristan"; most musicians are not even aware of this sameness, which only proves that the same germ can be developed in totally different ways. Unless you notice interval structure, your ear would hardly perceive that the "Tristan" and "Eulenspiegel" sequences are the same notes; yet they do show that Strauss and his musical language come directly from Wagner. As Strauss conceives his symphonic poems he adds a touch of Mendelssohnian lightness and elegance, and there is hardly any connection between the orchestral sonorities which Strauss produces and those of Wagner.

Strauss' orchestration is in certain ways far more difficult than Wagner's, and yet it is far easier to produce a well-sounding Straussian tone poem than a well-sounding Wagnerian excerpt with exactly the same kind of orchestra. Wagner did not double instruments nearly as much as Strauss. His musical fabric is a great deal more exposed, while Strauss doubles and redoubles his important themes to such a degree that many less-than-perfect instrumentalists are still able to produce a brilliant and effective orchestral performance. In this respect the 20th-century composers are superior to the 19th-century masters of the orchestra

Debussy had the same ability as Strauss, maybe even to a greater degree, of enabling second-rate groups to sound first-rate because of the way he set the individual rchestral parts. Strauss is not quite so simple because his technical demands on all chairs are enormous. Many of the passages for the strings are so well covered by pedal points in the horns and doubled by woodwinds that a lack of the last technical finish sometimes becomes an asset when broad strikes are required rather than chamber-music finesse.

I heard years ago a funny and authentic story about Strauss visting a German opera group known as the Wanderbühne. They were preparing "Intermezzo" at the time, and the musical director of the group was very proud that the innumerable notes in their exact setting of German diction—at this Strauss was an unsurpassed master—had been rehearsed with the most precise, meticulous observation of every 32d and 64th, of every piano, pianissimo, of every accent and half accent. When he said to Strauss, who assisted at the rehearsal, "Master, every smallest note is being produced with the utmost exactness," Strauss, in one of his moods, said, "Tell me, my dear friend, why do you want it so exact?"

The ego of Strauss was a monumental one. The self-assurance, often more than self-assurance—arrogance—was there, together with an openly avowed materialistic interest in his outward success and its exploitation. When a performance of one of his works was brought to his attention, the performer would receive a picture postcard showing the master himself and on the back, in the familiar, very legible handwriting, there would be a few appropriately grateful and thoughtful words. He was the perfect politician who knew that a picture postcard with a thank you would make of the performer a Strauss devotee and a Strauss pioneer, if pioneering for the great Strauss were needed.

I discern in the life and work of Richard Strauss this formulation: a youth rapidly advancing from promise, talent, facility, and proficiency to true genius; a mature genius producing half a dozen orchestral works, a great many lieder, and three to five, according to taste, supreme operas. The tragedy of Strauss and the vulnerability of his renown came when he outlived the era which he had most eloquently represented in his best music.

President Johnson's Rededication of the United States to the Alliance for Progress Is Praised by the Milwaukee Journal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the establishment of the Alliance for Progress has put us on the right road in our efforts to assist our neighboring countries to the south. But there is still a long journey ahead before the peoples of South America achieve the social reform and economic progress that they need and desire.

Thus, President Johnson's rededication of the United States to continued and increased efforts under the Alliance for Progress last month was most heartening.

In a recent editorial the Milwaukee Journal rightly praised the President's remarks and pointed out their significance.

I include the full text of the editorial hereafter:

[From the Milwaukee Journal, Aug 21, 1965]

ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS GETS RENEWED PLEDGE OF SUPPORT

President Johnson's encouraging words on Latin America may provide a timely tonic for the Alliance for Progress, now entering its fifth year.

This valiant effort to help build up a troubled continent has brought token progress in certain areas. But the region is still beset by most of the problems that brought the alliance into being.

While population is growing at about 3 percent annually, food production is increasing slowly, if at all. Last year 11 alliance countries had a per capita food production index below that of a decade ago.

Although 14 countries have enacted some type of major agrarian reform legislation, implementation has been far too slow. Softening in world prices of several tropical products threatens the foreign exchange earnings of several nations. Medium- and short-term debt burdens of other countries remain onerous; Argentina, Chile, Colombia, and Mexico alone face obligations totaling $1.9 billion this year, which almost exceeds the total external assistance projected under the Alliance.

The President offered no fast and painless cure for these massive headaches. There are none. What he did give were firm reassurances that despite the complexities and the disappointments the United States would live up to its pledges to the Alliance.

Specifically, he reaffirmed this country's support for more economic integration of the type which has had a heartening beginning among five republics in Central America. More significant was his pledge to help strengthen the new international coffee agreement, to explore ways of stabilizing cocoa prices, and to seek elimination of the United States import fee on foreign sugar.

This country has been legitimately criticized in the past for failing to harmonize its commodity and trading policies with the Alliance. The administration is to be commended for making a start toward correcting this situation.

None of these measures, even if implemented rapidly, will automatically halt the social and economic turmoil that grips the vast southern continent. But each is an essential building block for the foundation that must be laid to achieve sustained progress.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

Appendix

West Virginia's Salem College—One of Nation's Best Little Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, September 10, 1965

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, with the passage of the higher education bill of 1965, future students of this Nation will have a much greater opportunity to acquire a complete education. But with the ever growing number of students requiring and seeking higher education, it is extremely important that we utilize all our institutions of higher learning to their fullest capacity. I am particularly happy, therefore, that special reference was made in the higher education bill acknowledging the unique contribution which the smaller college has to make to our overall educational objectives. Because the smaller colleges of this Nation perform a most useful role in our total educational approach.

A good example of the special role of the smaller college was reported in the September 5 issue of Parade magazine in an article entitled, "One of the Best Little Colleges—Here's Why." "The Best Little College" referred to in this article is Salem College in Salem, W. Va. This acknowledgement of a program of innovation and experimentation which typifies Salem College is personally very gratifying to me because of the long identification which I and my family have had with this splendid school, from which I was graduated. The record of Salem College in providing high quality education is well known to me since my grandfather was one of the original founders of that institution in 1888. The Randolph family has continued to identify itself with Salem College and I serve as a member of its board of trustees.

I have always believed that our smaller colleges, such as Salem, add an extra dimension to the educational process. This extra dimension is the feeling of rapport and close communication which exists between student and teacher as well as between student and administration. This personal touch is particularly important at a time when many of our larger universities are experiencing great troubles due to student rebellion at the "depersonalization" of highly populated major institutions.

The smaller colleges have contributed outstanding leaders in every field of human endeavor. Many of my distinguished colleagues are alumni of small schools. And certainly the cause of the smaller colleges has no better testimonial than in the person of the President of our Republic.

In submitting this article on Salem College, West Virginia, I am certain that the faculty and students of this vital college would agree that this story not only honors this West Virginia school, but is a tribute to the spirit and the zeal which inspires all the smaller colleges in our Nation. President Duane Hurley, of Salem, has provided significant leadership as the president of the Council for the Advancement of Small Colleges.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article in Parade magazine be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ONE OF THE BEST LITTLE COLLEGES—HERE'S WHY

(By Sid Ross and R. H. Hubbard)

SALEM, W. VA.—"I just got lazy in my senior year and my grades went down. I graduated with a C average and didn't do well in my college board exams."

"I know I've got the ability to do good college work. I just didn't apply myself in high school."

"I was sick during my sophomore and junior years, so I didn't wind up with grades that were too good. My college boards were pretty poor, too."

These are familiar words. Thousands of high school graduates have similar problems; they seem to be capable of doing college work, but their records make it almost impossible to get into a decent college. At best, they have the slim hope of entering on probation, which means they'll be under greater pressure than the average student.

But that's not the way it will be for Bill Killingsworth, Oliver Letts, and Karen Lutz, the three youngsters quoted above. In spite of their poor high school records, they all have an excellent chance of entering college this fall without being on probation. What's more, they'll already have as many as 6 hours of credit, which will lighten the load in their freshman year.

COLLEGE BOUND

Bill, Oliver, and Karen are among some 175 students who have just finished a new kind of summer school at Salem College here. Called the college bound development program by its originator, Dean of Admissions Dale Dickens, the 8-week session not only gives students with poor high school records a chance to show they can do college work, but it provides a basic training course in study and work methods.

Dickens started the program when he found many youngsters being denied admission to college, even though tests showed they had the ability to do the work. Others with good records had been poorly prepared in high school and soon found themselves hopelessly behind. "As educators, we didn't want to point-blank eliminate kids with poor records," Dickens points out. "We felt the important thing was to find out if they had real potential and then give them a chance to make good. And we also felt that there were many young people whose marks were adequate for admission, but who needed help in making the transition from high school to college work."

When word went out that this small liberal arts institution—which opened its doors in 1888 and boasts National and State leaders in government, education and industry among its distinguished alumni—was offering a new kind of summer course for entering freshmen, about 275 applications were promptly received from students in West Virginia and surrounding States. Most were recent high school graduates with marginal records, but a number had been out of school a year or more, working or in the service. Some had already been accepted at Salem and at other colleges, but seized the opportunity to sharpen their skills and get used to college before actually beginning in the fall. The applicants were given special tests, and their high school guidance counselors were consulted. No one was accepted who didn't show a potential for doing college work, and about 100 were rejected.

Key to the Salem program is its stress on adjustment to college life. Even students whose high school records are excellent sometimes turn out to be woefully incapable of picking up the techniques of note-taking, preparing assignments, budgeting time, preparing for examinations and writing research papers. Without these elementary skills, many promising students fall by the wayside in college; for the marginal freshman such a lack is usually fatal.

SPECIAL HELP

The first 3 weeks of the Salem program are devoted primarily to concentrating on these areas along with special help for those who have reading problems. Crucial to this period, too, is intensive individual counseling for each student.

During the second phase of the college bound development program, each student takes two stiff academic courses for a total of 20 hours a week. "There's no physical education or badminton in this curriculum," Dickens emphasizes. "Students can choose from six subjects—English, history, psychology, sociology, math, and speech. And they go to class 5 days a week, too."

The courses are demanding, and students have to make a C or better—higher than the C-minus average required of regular freshmen. "It's a real heavy load, but we don't pull any punches," says Miss Elizabeth Whipple, coordinator of the program. "Our preliminary testing indicates that these kids can do the work, and since we've started this program I've checked out some of the highest grades I've ever seen here at Salem."

If students survive the rigorous 8-week program, they will be accepted as full admission, and they'll already have six credits toward a degree. If they don't make it, Salem won't accept them at all—not even on probation. However, by the end of the course, counselors know their students so well that they can suggest suitable work and study areas for them, such as vocational, industrial, or office training.

"We feel that if a youngster doesn't show the motivation and desire to work hard here, maybe he should drop college—for a year or two anyway," Miss Whipple says. "But as for the rest, we have high hopes that the heavy concentration of individual counseling and evaluation, the repair of bad study habits, and other academic roadblocks, will make it possible for these young people to really go places in college."

The college bound program costs a flat $400, covering tuition, room and board, testing, and incidental fees. But it's worth every penny to the students.

"When I came here I needed help in my reading skills, and I had to learn how to use my time properly," Karen Lutz said. "I wouldn't have been able to go to college without this course. I've always wanted to be a teacher, and now I'll be able to do just that."

Creation of Urban Post Is Milestone for United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, the creation of a Cabinet post for urban affairs is a milestone for the United States. The 80 percent of Americans living in urban areas will at last have equal representation on the President's Cabinet with those who live in the rural areas. The importance of this new Department is described in the September 3, 1965, edition of the Sacramento, Calif., Bee.

I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues:

CREATION OF URBAN POST IS MILESTONE FOR UNITED STATES

At long last the United States officially has recognized the cities as equal in importance with the rural areas. Congress has enacted a long-overdue law providing for an urban affairs post in the Cabinet.

The Cabinet until now has been as badly apportioned as the U.S. Supreme Court found some State legislatures to be. Long after the United States became a Nation whose majority lived in the urban areas the administrations in Washington dealt with urban affairs through a second echelon of special agencies while the dwindling rural population was represented at the top level of policymaking in the Cabinet.

Now this aberration formally has been corrected, at least in the charts of national administration.

Most of the talk in Congress which led to the creation of an urban affairs post was about housing and the many national agencies which deal with urban financing and construction. The new post seemingly was conceived as an efficient consolidation of these agencies into one department.

The urban challenge, however, is much more than housing. It is also transportation—how to move cars and people, what the ideal mix should be among trains, mass transit and rapid mass transit and the automobile. It is also the amenities of urban living—beauty, proper zoning, planning, and slum clearance. It is human welfare. It is the ghetto, the polluted air, and water supply. It is all these things and as many more as life itself embraces.

Much will have to be left to local authorities but the Federal Government can provide planning funds, guidelines, and standards as well as numerous grants and loans for what urban dwellers need.

It is therefore vital that the first U.S. Secretary of Urban Affairs be a broadgage man who sees the whole problem and sets about to administer to the 80 percent of Americans living in urban areas. Let President Lyndon B. Johnson name a Secretary of this character, a man like himself who will maximize the full powers and opportunities of his office.

Tribute to Dr. Albert Schweitzer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, September 10, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, with the loss of Dr. Albert Schweitzer, the world has lost a phenomenal man who will forever be thought of as a man who thought more of others than he did of himself. In the brief span of one man's lifetime, Dr. Schweitzer made contributions which will outlive him by generations. The man himself was a legend, and the legend will continue although he has departed from life.

Among the many fine tributes which have been published concerning the life of this humanitarian, one of the finest I have seen appeared in the Monday, September 6, 1965, issue of the Taylor Daily Press. This paper is edited and published by Mr. David Hoster, a respected journalist in Texas and the writer of the editorial which appeared in the Taylor Daily Press.

As a tribute to Albert Schweitzer, I ask unanimous consent that the text of this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A CHOSEN MAN OF GOD

Dr. Albert Schweitzer, a man of peace and a great humanitarian, a man of such stature that only a few are known in each century, has been laid to rest in the Africa that he served and loved.

Dr. Schweitzer's life has not always been serene and his philosophies and activities have caused a stir even though his talents and efforts have been bent toward serving mankind.

An Alsation, he grew up to be a brilliant student, a musician, and an expert on the organ and the music of Bach, a clergyman in his Lutheran faith, and a philosopher and a missionary doctor in Africa.

In each field, he achieved a position of respect before moving on. However, by far the greater portion of his life was spent in his jungle hospital in what was then French Equatorial Africa.

Since his death Sunday, world leaders are paying respect to him as a man of peace. Ten years ago he was honored when he received the Nobel Peace Prize. The funds from this award went toward construction of a compound for lepers.

But many leaders in the world have not always been kind in what they have said about him.

During World War I he was moved from French Africa as an enemy alien, and intended for the duration, his work at a standstill. After this discouraging experience he returned and restarted his missionary program.

He was criticized for his developing philosophies based on reverence for life by some of the more formal religious thinkers.

He was criticized for turning his back on a promising career as a clergyman and as a musician in Europe to take up his missionary work.

He was criticized for his paternalistic attitude toward Africans when French Equatorial Africa became the independent nation of Gabon. His attitude and efforts were not in keeping with developments in the race relations field yet for many decades he loved and served the people in his sphere during a time when little attention was being paid by anyone else.

We might say that Dr. Schweitzer outlived his time. We might say that Dr. Schweitzer turned his back on the establishment and made his way and performed his service to man without the aid of the formal alinement of missionary endeavor. We could say, too, that Dr. Schweitzer in his "Quest for the Historic Jesus" and in his other philosophic writings provided the basis for further criticism by some of the hot shot thinkers of our day.

But in the sphere and influence of this man's life he has thought of others and not of himself. He gave what he had to others and did not accrue it unto himself.

He may have outlived his times but his contribution to this earth will live on regardless of his span. Even while he was dying, the work that he started moved on as an emergency operation was being performed on a native.

So his work will live on. But while the eulogies are sounding, let us not forget that too many people failed to recognize the gift he offered. We are all fortunate to have lived in a time and to have known of the work of a truly great man of all times.

He was one of God's really chosen people.

Harper Receives National Fraternity Distinguished Career Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, as one of the many friends and admirers of Bob Harper, whom many of us here on the Hill have known for years, I am happy to see that his work as Director of Public Information, Savings Bonds Division of the Treasury Department, has been recognized by the Sigma Phi Epsilon Fraternity. I am pleased to include in these remarks a recent release pertaining to this award:

HARPER RECEIVES NATIONAL FRATERNITY DISTINGUISHED CAREER AWARD

Robert E. Harper, Director of Public Information, Savings Bonds Division, U.S. Treasury Department, Washington, is selected by his national collegiate fraternity, Sigma Phi Epsilon, to receive one of its initial citations bestowed upon alumni "who have distinguished themselves in their chosen fields of endeavor."

His citation is in the category of advertising, publishing, public relations, and association management. Presentation ceremonies are to feature the anniversary banquet of the 29th Grand Chapter Conclave in New York, at the Biltmore, Tuesday evening, August 31, 1965, at 7 o'clock.

Headquartered in Richmond, Va., where it was founded at Richmond University, Sigma Phi Epsilon, more familiarly known as "Sig Ep," is represented on college campuses nationwide by 162 undergraduate chapters numbering more than 74,000 members who wear the only heart-shaped fraternity pin.

Harper is a journalism graduate of the University of Alabama, where he was chapter president, and a native of New Orleans. He began his career in publishing with city and State newspapers and magazines. He is also a member of Sigma Delta Chi and Kappa Tau Alpha, professional and honorary journalistic fraternities, respectively.

Another Constitutional Convention Ahead?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, September 10, 1965

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I was pleased that the committee reported the Dirksen amendment, Senate Joint Resolution 2

The Members of the Senate who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 7, 1965, will recall that I made a statement that day in behalf of the resolution, of which I am proud to be a cosponsor I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the August 1965 issue of a pamphlet published by the Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, entitled "Another Constitutional Convention Ahead?"

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANOTHER CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION AHEAD?

"Congress * * * on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments."—U.S. Constitution, Article V.

Shortly before the closing session of the Federal Convention of 1787, Virginia's George Mason addressed himself to the proposed plan of amending the Constitution. It is, he said, exceptionable and dangerous. If the proposing of amendments depends ultimately upon Congress, he continued, then "no amendments of the proper kind, would ever be obtained by the people, if the Government should become oppressive," a possibility he "verily believed" would be the case.

Gouverneur Morris then proposed to add language requiring a convention to propose amendments upon the application of two-thirds of the States; the proposal was seconded by Mr. Gerry, and adopted.

The Senate, in its recent refusal to approve Senator DIRKSEN's proposed reapportionment amendment (S.J. Res. 2), may have given impetus for such a convention, the first in our history.

Twenty-seven States already have passed resolutions memorializing Congress to call a constitutional convention on the reapportionment issue. Upon notification of seven more such resolutions, Congress seemingly would be required to call a convention.

The word "seemingly" cannot be avoided. No legislation exists concerning the scope of this section of article V; no procedures have been devised that may be instituted under it.

Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, recently stated: "In my opinion, and that of other observers, there is little real expectation that the Congress will call a convention even if two-thirds of the State legislatures pass the applications. It cannot, I believe, be forced to do so. I shudder to think what would happen were it to be called."

The Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government disagrees with the Senator's interpretation of article V. The word "shall" always has been construed in the law as a mandatory commandment.

But the Senator has raised interesting questions—questions that may soon become pressing legal issues because of the Senate's lack of faith in the people's ability to control their own legislative processes.

Must State resolutions calling for a convention be identical in language and punctuation? Would delegates selected by a malapportioned State legislature have legal authority to represent their State? Once convened, would a constitutional convention be vested with a hunting license to make any changes in the constitution it wishes, or would its amendatory power be limited?

Other questions are raised: How would the States vote in such convention—one vote per State, as in the original Federal Convention—or would some other formula be involved? Finally, should Congress receive the requisite number of resolutions calling for a constitutional convention, and refuse to act, would the Supreme Court have authority to order such a convention, or does such power fall within the "political thicket" that the Court so often declines to enter?

We do not pretend to have the answers to such questions. Should the requisite number of resolutions be forwarded to Congress calling for a constitutional convention, a long period of litigation may be anticipated before the answers are apparent.

The Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government urges only that the Congress reconsider its stand on reapportionment, and submit to the States a proposed amendment that will allow one House of a State legislature to be apportioned on some basis other than population.

The existence of the power of the States to call a constitutional convention, although never used, continues to provide an adequate remedy to the people of the States should congressional abuses become an evil requiring a constitutional amendment.

Prompt congressional action on a reapportionment amendment may prevent an even greater evil—the calling into existence of a body with unlimited power to amend—or completely disregard—the Constitution of the United States.

Almost Said Mouthful

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, the August 24 edition of the Post Register, published in Idaho Falls, Idaho, contained an article by Mr. Holmes Alexander dealing with the subject of an appointment made by Mr. Sargent Shriver, Director of both the Peace Corps and the War on Poverty.

One can only ponder, Mr. Speaker, on whether or not Sargent Shriver can successfully wage a war on poverty with such lieutenants.

The article follows:

ALMOST SAID MOUTHFUL

(By Holmes Alexander)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—You don't put a wolf to guard a sheepfold—or do you? Or hire a riot-raiser to advise on the administration of an act of Congress—well, hardly ever.

But Sargent Shriver, Director of both the Peace Corps and the War on Poverty, admits to hiring a man named Paul Jacobs and paying him out of the taxpayers' pocket to help at "planning the program" for abolishing poverty in the United States.

Who is Paul Jacobs? His name turned up in some background research which this correspondent has undertaken on the Los Angeles race riots.

Jacobs was described in the Los Angeles Times of May 6 as an "architect" of Shriver's Job Corps in California. He was identified in the same story as one of the leaders who instigated demonstrations at the University of California against the President's foreign policy. Jacobs said that intellectuals must "refuse to affiliate themselves in any way with the U.S. Government" in its anti-Communist actions in the Dominican Republic. "We resign from the horrible war" he declared in presenting a pacifist manifesto signed by 50-some California University professors. Later that same day 40 students, led by one James Petras, held a rally and publicly burned their draft cards.

The name of Jacobs, a labor organizer and author, was not mentioned by Senator GEORGE MURPHY, Republican of California, who had called us together last week to discuss the Negro uprising in Los Angeles. But the Senator did relate the Negro insurrection to the insurrectionist activities on the Berkeley campus, and specifically to the rites of burning draft cards. A little shoe leather work soon disclosed that MURPHY had asked Shriver on May 12 to identify Jacobs—Jacobs who seemed to the Senator a strange animal to keep around the sheepfold of the American poor.

Is it tenuous reasoning to connect domestic insurrection with the anti-Communist wars we are fighting? Are the Molotov cocktails that killed Americans in California out of the same arsenal as the weapons of the Vietcong? Well, Senator MURPHY told us that the Los Angeles looting was so well executed that there must have been a "rehearsal." I learned later that he probably was thinking of the Black Muslim handbills distributed in Los Angeles and urging Negroes to "rise up and take what's rightfully theirs." MURPHY mentioned the gathering of "militant bands" of Communists in California to exploit the rioting.

The American people are slow to believe that "rehearsed" crime in the streets can be part of the same battle their sons are fighting against Communists in the field of war. The American political leaders of the day are scared stiff that in preaching self-pity and antipoverty, they have taught lawlessness and anticapitalism—which are what the Communists themselves have taught the poor in other lands.

Senator MURPHY, fast becoming a respected figure in Washington, stopped just short of saying much that needs to be said. But he did suggest a connection between civil disobedience by the intellectuals and rioting by the underprivileged. He did have in mind that lack of vigilance, such as Shriver's hiring of a man like Jacobs, relates to the general inability of the liberals to control those forces which their preachments have set in motion.

MURPHY should have said more. He stopped too soon. But he may have started some somber trains of thought.

Grady Hogue, Distinguished Junior College President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, September 10, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, in this age of advancing education, the part which the junior college plays in

our American educational system is growing in importance. Texas is fortunate in having Mr. Grady Hogue as president of Cisco Junior College.

Grady Hogue's life has been full of achievements and distinguished service from his war record to his teaching record. At the young age of 30 he became president of Cisco Junior College, and since that time he has built the college into an outstanding educational institution.

To provide a description of this man's worthy accomplishments, I ask unanimous consent that an article entitled, "Prexy Hogue, Cisco Junior College, Geared for the Future" which appeared in the Sunday, August 15, 1965, issue of the Abilene Reporter-News, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PREXY HOGUE, CISCO JUNIOR COLLEGE, GEARED FOR THE FUTURE

(By Katharyn Duff)

CISCO.—What role or roles the junior college will be assigned eventually, when all the educational changes now in the making are completed, Grady Hogue, president of Cisco's 2-year college does not know.

The junior school will have its place in academic things to come, he is sure. Present trends indicate it will be a significant position.

But changes are pretty certain to come in this as in all levels of schooling, Hogue thinks. And he and his college want to be ready for them.

In preparation for what may be coming, Cisco Junior College has already undergone considerable revamping and plans more.

It has expanded its academic offerings, on the one hand, and has at the same time moved deeply into the technical-vocational field.

Faculty has been beefed up with new teachers and with advanced training for veteran instructors. The school plant has been expanded, about threefold in the last 6 or 7 years.

As an immediate result of all this, Cisco Junior College enrollment has mushroomed, triple now what it was when Hogue took over the presidency in the fall of 1956.

("The fastest growing thing in Cisco at least," Hogue describes his college in his dry, east Texas manner.)

As an eventual result, Hogue hopes, the college will be able to make with ease any adjustments it may be called on to make.

Hogue is a stocky fellow whose forehead is getting higher and whose belt is getting a bit longer as he nears his 40th birthday this November 14.

He has a deceptive country-boy air about him.

Oh, he is from the country, born and reared in Brownsboro, near Athens in Henderson County, a community he says has "360 population—on Saturday afternoon."

But as does many another "ole country boy" he is more than a mite savvy about city ways.

He is more than casually acquainted, too, with the intricacies of higher education in general and with the Texas version of it in particular.

He should know his way around in his field—as a member of the Texas Legislature he authored and coauthored a goodly number of laws under which the State's junior colleges operate.

Hogue is one of five children and the only son of Mr. and Mrs. C. L. Hogue, residents now of Clyde where they operate an automatic laundry.

The girls in the family are Wanda (Mrs. C. F.) Lowry of Council Bluffs, Iowa; Geraldine (Mrs. Walter) Morris who is the postmistress at Brownsboro; Vanda (Mrs. Bill) Sandercock of Providence, R.I., and Sue (Mrs. Kenneth) Webb of Albuquerque, N. Mex.

Grady was graduated from Brownsboro High in 1943. He workd in one term at Don Morris Junior College, Jacksonville, then went into service.

He joined the Marine Corps, got his basic, then was off to the Pacific for duty with the 1st Marines during that famed division's journey from the South Pacific north, island by island, toward Japan.

He spent his 18th birthday in combat, and a good many more days too.

He acquired one Purple Heart from a shrapnel wound in a leg. He was eligible for another, perhaps, but figured he had better not report it.

On one of the island engagements the Marines had cleared the beach area of Japs but out there on this tiny speck in the harbor, this minute island off from the shore over there, an enemy gun crew was holed up.

The gunfire from this tiny island got to be right annoying and one night three young marines, Grady included, decided to do something about it.

The trio went out and "captured" the island. In so doing a bullet fired off by one of the young marines happened to ricochet and clip Grady right good.

Since this was a more or less independent action, he decided maybe he didn't need to ask for that second Purple Heart.

Later on he rather wished he had.

When servicemen started coming home on the point system he was a few points short of those needed—a shortage another Purple Heart would have corrected.

But finally the repatriation got around to Corporal Hogue. He returned to Texas in January of 1946, after 30 months overseas, and enrolled immediately in Henderson County Junior College at Athens.

His parents moved shortly to Kilgore and Grady with them and completed junior college at that east Texas town.

He went on to East Texas State at Commerce, where he earned his bachelor's degree in 1950, his master's in 1951.

Out of college, Hogue took his first teaching job, as principal of Detroit (Tex.) High School.

It was at Detroit that he was married to a local girl whom he had met at East Texas State, Mable Harrison.

Next year the couple was at Martins Mills, in Van Zandt County, where Hogue was, among other duties, the high school coach. (He had a right good season, he says—thanks in part to the fact Martins Mills had won the State championship the year before in its class football.)

The next year, 1953, he went on the faculty of Henderson Junior College, at Athens, as science teacher and, later, as head of the science department.

He was with the Athens college until accepting the Cisco job in the summer of 1956.

And during that time he had his career in lawmaking.

Hogue had been bitten by the political bug some time earlier and finally took the plunge in 1952, announcing as candidate for the legislature from the 26th District, then composed of Henderson, Van Zandt and Rains Counties.

He was elected, over two opponents, reelected in 1954.

As a member of the house, Hogue was active in work for school legislation, particularly that affecting junior colleges. Another major interest was water legislation, including his sponsorship of a bill creating a new reservoir on the Sabine.

He served on the important house revenue and taxation committee, motor traffic and education panels, and chairmanned the public printing group.

After 4 years' House service, Representative Hogue made a bid to become Senator Hogue.

He ran in the Democratic primary in the spring of 1956 against Representative Bill Wood, of Tyler, for nomination to the Senate post.

He ran hard nad came close to winning. But Wood led him, by 400 votes, and that wound up one budding political career.

Hogue was offered a school supertendency in east Texas that summer and was on the verge of accepting it. He went in to the president of Henderson College, Orval Pirtle, to offer his resignation.

Why not stay in junior college work? Pirtle suggested to him, pointing out that Hogue was unusually experienced in this field, author of a master's thesis on the junior college, author of junior college legislation.

Why not, Pirtle suggested further, investigate an opening for the president of Cisco Junior College?

Hogue accepted the suggestion. He contacted Cisco. He was promptly elected.

When he took over the Cisco post he was 30, one of the youngest college presidents at the time.

From his first days at Cisco Hogue has operated on the principle of "don't wait for tomorrow—go out to meet it."

Immediately he began a drive to expand the local school's faculty, curriculum, academic standards, plant, and enrollment.

When Hogue arrived the college had 146 students for its fall semester.

Enrollment has climbed steadily since. As of the end of this July some 550 had enrolled for fall classes. Total, by the time the session begins, is expected to be close to 600.

When Hogue arrived the college campus had three permanent and two temporary buildings.

Since then five buildings have been added to the plant: Student Memorial, a women's dorm and classroom building, a boys' dorm and cafeteria, a science building, another boys' dorm—and the Victor Hotel.

This eight-story Victor Hotel (purchased at a cost of only $42,000) has been refurbished and is being put in use as a boys dorm. Located six-tenths of a mile from the campus, the hotel, with its own dining facilities, represents an expansion of the physical plant.

A like expansion, a movement of campus activities to another part of Cisco, came when Humble Pipeline gave the school its old camp, named "Humbletown," a 15-acre, seven-building layout which the college uses as site for its auto mechanics department, one of its vocational branches.

Other buildings are in the planning stage. One, a fine arts building, awaits a grant of $150,000, 40 percent of cost, from a Federal school construction program. A student center and more dorms are being eyed.

Academic program of the school has been strengthened with the addition of new courses and the upgrading of standards.

All members of the faculty have master's degrees or more advanced ones. About half the faculty does advanced college work each summer.

Cisco College gained membership in the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools in 1957.

While advancing in the academic field, the college has moved rather deep into the technical-vocational field.

The college is one of 14 junior colleges over the State directed by the Texas Education Agency to offer tech-voc training.

One of these programs is for vocational nurses. This, too, expands the Cisco College.

Three months classwork for LVN's is offered at Cisco and at Graham. Then the student LVN's is assigned on-the-job train-

ing in cooperating hospitals in Jacksboro, Graham, Breckenridge, Albany, Cisco, Eastland or Ranger. Some 50 women are now in the LVN program which started 3 years ago.

Incidentally, these who are in the tech-voc programs are not counted in the official school enrollment since they do limited academic work.

Another tech-voc training program, started last January, is that for auto mechanics.

In a completely different line, the college offers technical training in data processing, one of the important new fields of the world commerce. Advanced electronic equipment is provided for the teaching program. And the college is proud to announce, Hogue says, that one of the most amazing of the new computers, the IBM System 360, is on order and will soon be available for student training.

Other tech-voc training is offered in "office occupations," secretarial training, in photolithography, in other fields—and still other courses will be added as need for them is established, Hogue says.

Whether the junior college of the future will be pointed more toward academic training or toward technical and vocational training Hogue does not know. Currently, both get emphasis.

For many students terminal education is found here. For others, junior college is a preparatory school for advanced work. (Currently, some 80 percent of those who complete Cisco Junior College go on to a senior institution.)

Whether prep or terminal, Hogue thinks the student finds in the junior college a well-rounded educational program.

This particular junior college has a full sports program, ranking as high as second in the Nation in junior college track, third in junior college basketball. There is a music program, a band and drill team, and planned social activity.

Cost per year for tuition, books, room, board and fees for academic work here is $680. A student work program is provided whereby students who need to help themselves can work up to 15 hours per week at $1.25 an hour, earning a maximum $675.

Assistance programs are also provided for tech-voc students, if needed.

Cisco college is one of the older west Texas institutions of higher learning—and it has had one of the more checkered careers.

It was started in 1908 as Briton Training School. Its early years were successful but when World War I came along a mass exodus of its students to military service did it in.

The Christian Church, in the early 1920's took over operation of the school and ran it for nearly two decades under the name of Randolph College.

The depression hit the school hard and the association with the Christian Church ended, when, with the leadership of R. N. Cluck, the school was reorganized in 1940 as Cisco Junior College, a State-aid school operating under a local tax district.

The elected board of regents, headed currently by Dr. H. C. Brown, is responsible for operations.

Income for the school is from the tax district, from State junior college grants, from tuition and fee, student services, and from gifts.

Local taxes net some $50,000 which goes for construction and plant maintenance. State income is some $200,000 for instructional costs of the academic program, some $40,000 for the technical programs. Student revenue increases the funds to make the college a half-million dollar or so operation. Seventy-five are employed, aside from students.

Many of the gifts come from Cisco folk. A major friend from out-of-town is Henry Rockwell of Houston, lumber company executive, whose gifts have included the president's home, funds to remodel the house, and funds to underwrite a scholarship program.

As president of the local college, Hogue becomes involved in many community projects. He is, or has been, vice president of the Cisco Chamber of Commerce, noble grand of the IOOF Lodge, chairman of the United Fund, district training chairman for the Comanche Trail Council of Boy Scouts, a member, too, of a variety of educational associations.

He and his family—the Hogues have four children, Mary, 12, Deborah, 9, Grady Claude, Jr., 6, and John, 6 months—attend First Methodist Church which he serves as board member.

Since his departure from the legislature, Hogue's political activities have been limited. (He describes himself as a middle-of-the-road Democrat.) The politicking he does do is in behalf of junior colleges in general and his in particular.

This twin cause sends him on frequent trips to Austin since schools such as his operate under the State, under the Texas Education Agency heretofore and in the future under the new super board which will direct the State's higher education program.

But one bit of politicking attracts him not at all. He is one junior college president who is not attempting to expand his school to a 4-year program.

Cisco College will not, in the foreseeable future, ask for senior college rank, Hogue says. Its best mission, he thinks, is that of the junior college, the assumption of whatever roles the educational fortunes may bring it.

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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Appendix

The Gronouski Transfer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, on a recent visit to my congressional district in Wisconsin one of the questions asked of me on many occasions concerned my good friend, Hon. John A. Gronouski, Wisconsin's only member of the President's Cabinet until last month. General Gronouski was the first citizen of Polish descent to be a U.S. Cabinet officer and was formerly Wisconsin State tax commissioner. It was my privilege to be present at the White House in January of this year when General, now Ambassador, Gronouski took the oath of office for a new 4-year term.

In today's mail I received the following article written by Lucien C. Warren of the Buffalo Courier-Express on September 5, 1965. The article follows:

VIEWED AS DEMOTION—GRONOUSKI TRANSFER SCORED

(By Lucian C. Warren)

WASHINGTON.—The departure of John A. Gronouski from President Johnson's Cabinet is not settling well with many Americans of Polish descent.

Replacement of Gronouski as Postmaster General by Presidential Assistant Lawrence F. O'Brien has provoked a sour reaction in areas with large numbers of Polish Americans, such as Buffalo, Detroit, Chicago, and New York City.

Even though Gronouski was named U.S. Ambassador to Poland, this is not considered by all to be a sufficiently high honor to make up for the fact that the first citizen of Polish descent to be a U.S. Cabinet officer now no longer enjoys that honor.

"If Johnson wanted to have someone of Polish descent as Ambassador in Warsaw, he could easily have found someone else," said a Buffalo Polish American in an angry letter to a Member of Congress. "He didn't have to remove Gronouski from the Cabinet."

(However, Stanley P. Turkiewicz, of 195 Townsend Street, Buffalo, said on his return home Friday night after 2½ years in Warsaw as chief of American Relief for Poland, that "the people of Poland just love Mr. Gronouski's appointment.")

Polish-language newspapers in the United States have unanimously indicated their dislike at the way L.B.J. is playing musical chairs with one of their ethnic group.

EDITORIAL CRITICISM

A front-page editorial in the Polish Daily News of Chicago, with the headline—"Loss for Polonia"—said that "American Poles are being ignored when it comes to Federal jobs. They are being taken away from us. The latest decision of the President is proof that the interests of citizens of Polish descent are being ignored."

From Chicago's Polish Daily Zgoda came the harsh comment: "No matter what we think about this change, one thing is plain—Gronouski was pushed one grade lower from a membership in the Cabinet to be a diplomat under the Secretary of State."

LOSS FOR AMERICAN POLONIA

The Polish Daily News in Detroit sorrowfully suggested that the shift was a "great loss for American Polonia," while the Polish Morning World in New York City said it "doubted whether the position of Ambassador, despite its importance, could be recompense for the loss."

Meanwhile, in Congress, Representative EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, a fourth-term Republican from Chicago, reacted sharply with this statement before the House:

"I have grave doubts over any practical value in the Presidential action kicking Postmaster General Gronouski downstairs. Despite his complete lack of knowledge in postal affairs prior to taking office as Postmaster General, Mr. Gronouski was certainly active and progressive, although not completely effective."

DERWINSKI charged that Gronouski, when he became Postmaster General, did not speak the Polish language and "has since acquired only a fragmentary knowledge of that tongue."

However, two of the most prominent Democrats of Polish descent in the House have risen to the defense of the presidential assignment.

Representative THADDEUS J. DULSKI, of Buffalo, acknowledged in a statement that there are "those who will cast shadows over this appointment and downgrade its significance," but the Buffalo Democrat insists that "this is a promotion for the Postmaster General." He said Gronouski himself so regards it.

CITES GOLDBERG PRECEDENT

DULSKI compared the shift in assignments to the way L.B.J. reassigned Arthur Goldberg from the Supreme Court Bench to the United Nations ambassadorship.

Representative CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, Democrat, of Wisconsin, issued a statement commending President Johnson for the ambassadorial assignment of Gronouski, calling it a "new and challenging call to public service."

It is no secret that the nationalities divisions of both political parties are busy assessing the effects of the Gronouski appointment and that in general the Republicans are pleased and the Democrats glum.

By watching districts where the vote is mainly from Polish Americans, the two parties have observed a fluctuating loyalty on the part of this ethnic group.

In the early Franklin D. Roosevelt years, Republicans were able to capture only between 25 and 30 percent of the Polish American vote, but this rose to a high of 45 percent in 1956 when President Eisenhower was reelected, dipping to 28 percent in 1960 and only 15 percent in 1964, when Goldwater's bomb-rattling and social security viewpoints didn't set well.

If the disappointed reaction to the Gronouski shift carries over, President Johnson may have just made a sizable gift of votes to the Republicans in 1966 and 1968. The gift is rated by some political observers as even more sizable because of a similar unhappy reaction among some citizens of Italian descent over what they feel was the yanking of Anthony J. Celebrezze from his Cabinet post of Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to become a Federal judge.

Eloy Alfaro International Foundation Award to Dr. R. W. Puryear

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 13, 1965

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama has bestowed honors on a number of distinguished Americans and is planning yet another decoration ceremony here in Washington on September 15, 1965. Among the guests will be a well-known Negro educator from Florida, who earlier this year was presented with the highest award of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation. I refer to Dr. R. W. Puryear, president of Florida Memorial College. Dr. Puryear was awarded the Grand Cross of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation in recognition of his "distinguished contributions to culture and humanity, and for his outstanding merit and accomplishments in the field of education."

The presentation at that time was made by Dr. Herman A. Bayern, American provost of the foundation. I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Bayern's remarks and the acceptance speech of Dr. Puryear be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF DR. BAYERN

Dr. Puryear, we are here this evening in testimony, first, of our faith in the ideals of American democracy; secondly, in our devotion to the cause of universal education as the bulwark of these ideals; and third, because of our confidence in the cooperation of all the peoples of the Western Hemisphere in the preservation of human freedom and peace of all the peoples of the world.

Such was the pattern of the life of our standard bearer, the immortal Eloy Alfaro, the great democrat of Ecuador. As President of Ecuador at the turn of the century, he expanded and furthered educational institutions of his own country. He appealed to the Spanish monarch to establish peace, and to grant the people of Cuba the freedom for which they yearned and bled. Now, those people of Cuba pray once more that somehow, perhaps by divine guidance, they will again see freedom restored—the freedom which Dr. Castro and the Soviet Union wrested from them in direct violation of the Monroe Doctrine.

The Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama gathers and encourages the permanent political and moral values of America. Eloy Alfaro was the most outstanding Ecuadorean in the Western Hemisphere. The action and thought which he placed at the service of his country were instrument and agency of the highest aspiration of half the globe. He worked for a broad

land; he strove to raise the social level of the Indians; to spread education among his countrymen; to banish the exploitation of man by man; to act for the defense of liberty, regardless of frontiers; to create American public laws; and to free the flesh and the spirits from their chains.

The Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama has neither political nor lucrative purposes. Its finality is to pay tribute to the memory of Eloy Alfaro, and make available all knowledge of his life and works as a statesman and liberator. What Alfaro undertook and accomplished in half a century, constitutes the essential transformation of normal people.

Our guest of honor, Dr. Puryear, was awarded the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma by unanimous vote of the board of dignitaries, in recognition of his distinguished contribution to culture and humanity, and his outstanding merit and accomplishments in the field of education, in his work for worthwhile endeavors, and in further recognition of his efforts toward the establishment of international peace.

Eloy Alfaro was a citizen, not only of his native Ecuador, but of all the Americas. The personal integrity, the unwavering defense of the principles of truth, justice, and friendship among nations, the self-control and self-sacrifice that marked about one-quarter of a century of unflagging service to his fellow man, extended way beyond the confines of his own country, Ecuador.

He was a rebel and a conspirator, but his rebellion and conspiracy were directed against hatred, injustice, discord, and tyranny. He was the leader of a generation fired with the hope and desire that responsible political action would enhance the prosperity of their country and the welfare of their people.

Were Eloy Alfaro alive today, he would be in the forefront of the effort to preserve for the Western Hemisphere the pan-American unity of freedom-loving people—a unity that would be the perpetual harbinger against an attempt of any form of despotism to plant the tyrant's heel on even the tiniest portion of the soil of our pan-American nations, such as the Soviet Union and Castro have actually done in Cuba, just 90 miles from here.

It is most fitting, therefore, for us this evening that we of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation have selected to receive this highest award a great American, humanitarian, and educator. None can ever doubt the limitless faith of our guest of honor in the ideals of democracy and in the belief of our guest of honor that it was not from human hands, but from the Great Creator that every man, woman, and child inherits the inherent right of life to human liberty, to happiness, and to equal opportunity, for learning, which has been the lifework of Dr. Puryear, and with such opportunity the priceless possession of truth, which alone can make man free.

None can be unaware of the indefatigable service of guest of honor to the cause of the United States, the Organization of American States, the Inter-American Defense Board, and to all other such agencies created by all our dedicated Presidents in order to bring peace to this hemisphere and all over the world.

It is fortunate that these vital factors in the life of our distinguished guest of honor are recorded for all the world to see in a lifetime of service as an outstanding educator, private citizen, as a civic leader in his community. We know of no one, who by his service to mankind, and to the cause of international peace, has more fully and brilliantly earned this great honor, which we are about to have the privilege of bestowing this evening.

You know, my dear sir, that you now join a very select and elite group of Americans who have been similarly honored in the past. They include former Presidents John F. Kennedy, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, and Herbert Hoover; President Lyndon B. Johnson, Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, and other dignitaries such as FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, that other well-known educator Dr. Milton Stover Eisenhower, Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, former Gov. Averell Harriman, the late General of the Armies Douglas MacArthur, Senators MANSFIELD and DIRKSEN, and the Honorable GEORGE A. SMATHERS, Florida's outstanding dedicated American of whom we are all proud, and who typifies the caliber of men holding this high honor.

Indeed, we further the ideals to which we are dedicated, we who are here this evening. We do honor to ourselves, when, in behalf of the Eley Alfare International Foundation of the Republic of Panama, we carry out its determination to honor our guest of honor, Dr. Puryear.

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH OF DR. PURYEAR

I did not think that this kind of thing would happen, and yet, you share with me, certainly, the happiest moment of my life. I must say to you quite frankly that any suggestion of hard work, any reference to success, would not have been possible had I not had the good fortune and the privilege to have stand by my side the sweetest sweetheart in the world—my wife.

It is a real source of joy and pleasure to see friends in this audience who have been a part of any effort we have had. And I am deeply grateful. May I say to the foundation, thank you.

A careful examination of the life and activities of Ely Alfaro reveals the catholicity of his interests and abilities and the quality of his accomplishments. Ely Alfaro—soldier, patriot, statesman, martyr, and world citizen—was one of the outstanding leaders of his generation, and gave freely of his imagination and energy to individuals and to civic and political groups who sought his counsel and assistance in fostering responsible political action in the interest of prosperity and human welfare. He was an astute observer, a keen analyst, a wise counselor, an active promoter of worthy causes, and a great citizen.

I appreciate the high honor you have bestowed upon me and accept the Ely Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma with humility and gratitude. Whatever meritorious services and accomplishments in the field of education I have been able to achieve, are largely attributable to the influence and assistance of my colleagues and associates. For many years now I have enjoyed the encouragement of and profited by the inspiration from a wonderful faculty here at Florida Memorial College, and have been sustained aand urged forward by an innumerable host of colleagues, friends, and associates in all walks of life. Mind you all, this great honor, and again, I thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, as we view present-day society, both at home and abroad, we observe that social problems arise, and existing problems are aggravated, when a society creates or accepts instruments of change, yet fails to understand, anticipate, and deal with the consequences of such action. We refer here not only to instruments of change in the narrower sense, but also to the changing cultural forces that take hold of people. Thus, for example, nationalism creates a social problem when it animates or encourages men while they still do not understand or at least they fail to meet the consequences of their actions.

Indeed, during the past half century we have witnessed a staggering array of events and problems. Internally, this Nation has experienced the First World War, the farm problem, the great depression of 1929 and the thirties, unemployment on an unprecedented scale, massive relief programs, the increasing centralization of government, great conflicts between labor and management and even within the labor movement itself, expansion of armaments and tremendous expenditures for military purposes, the Second World War, and all the problems following the victory, from inflation and strikes to crime and political corruption.

Externally, we have seen the rise of totalitarianism states and their isms, the threat to capitalism and the democratic states, the emergence of the Second World War with its elaborate instruments of destruction, the quick collapse of nations during World War II and consequent chaos of Europe, the mounting struggle of the ideologies of capitalism and communism, and the strenuous but often vain efforts of the United Nations to make peace permanent.

As we reflect on these and other world and domestic problems, including the problems of race and class, the contributions of Eloy Alfaro to the solution of societal problems and world peace stand out sharply. Indeed, when problem situations arose he tempered the rigidities of the rules when he felt the best interests of any individuals, groups, and nations were being jeopardized. He invariably went to considerable effort to find alternative openings for persons and groups in meeting problems of the situation of the hour, so that new opportunities for success might ensue from past failures. So, as we face the vicissitudes of life, as Eloy Alfaro did, we, too, may well declare with Henley:

"Out of the night that covers me
Black as the pit from pole to pole
I thank whatever Gods there be
For my unconquerable soul.

"In the fell clutch of circumstance
I have not winced or cried aloud.
Under the bludgeonings of fate
My head is bloody but unbowed.

"It matters not how straight the gate,
How charged with punishment the scroll.
I am the master of my fate,
I am the captain of my soul."

I thank you.

Education for Cold War Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Veterans' Affairs Committee is currently holding hearings on more than 50 bills which propose to provide education and other readjustment benefits to cold war veterans.

The Honorable Peter Wheeler, Director of the Department of Veterans' Services of the State of Georgia, a past president of the State Directors of Veterans' Affairs, appeared as spokesman for the National Association of State Approval Agencies in connection with this bill. I believe that Members will find Mr. Wheeler's statement of particular interest, in view of his outstanding record as a leader in veterans' affairs and his experience in the administration of the World War II, Korean conflict and war orphans' education programs.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT BY PETE WHEELER, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE APPROVAL AGENCIES, BEFORE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS, SEPTEMBER 7, 1965

Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee. My name is Pete Wheeler. I am Director of the Department of Veterans Service from the State of Georgia. I am immediate past president of the National Association of State Directors of Veterans Affairs. I am acting as spokesman today for the National Association of State Approval Agencies.

The National Association of State Approval Agencies, you may recall, is composed of employees of agencies established by the executive order of the Governor of the State or by State law, to inspect and approve institutions and others offering educational and vocational training to veterans, under VA programs. Most of these agencies are State departments of education. They include, however, veterans' service departments, veterans' councils, State apprenticeship councils, and other State agencies.

This association favors the results Senate bill 9 will produce. Our members, veterans' affairs specialists and educators, have supervised this same program on a person-to-person level for many years. Each of us has observed the transformation of near illiterates to high school graduates; of laborers to skilled technicians; of high school graduates to doctors of philosophy.

National progress—educational and economic, for they cannot be separated—generated by previous GI bills is well known to this committee, whose members have been its creators and advocates.

This national progress generated by the original GI bill, can be measured in terms of degrees obtained, technicians trained, earning power, or taxation. But the best expression of its success has come in the form of subsequent legislation applying principles of the original GI bill, to meet other problems. Although there are other facets involved, what is the Economic Opportunity Act, but mass education legislation? The National Defense Education Act is another form of the recognition of the desirability of mass educational opportunity. And there are many others.

This association has searched the record of previous GI bills, and on the cold war GI bill. No organization and no individual has questioned the results that previous bills have produced, or that Senate bill 9 will produce.

Those against the bill base their opposition on the theory that the Federal Government should treat the veteran and the nonveteran alike in terms of educaion. The fact is they are not alike in terms of education—academic or vocational. This difference is due directly to the Federal Government itself.

Another argument put forth against the bill is that no federally assisted readjustment is needed, because today a young man can plan ahead. The plan-ahead theory is completely dispelled by events of recent months. What young man could plan ahead for the increased draft quotas? What young man, in the service, could plan ahead for an Executive order extending his enlistment? But, even assuming a young man knew exactly when he would enter the service, and when he would be discharged, how could the best planning put him in the same competitive position of his nonveteran counterpart? The nonveteran has a 2-year advantage in education, academic or vocational. He has a 2-year advantage in job experience. He has gained this advantage because the Federal Government gave it to him, when it drafted the veteran. No amount of planning can erase this advantage.

Another argument goes that these are peacetime veterans, therefore they deserve nothing. This argument is premised on the theory that benefits after service constitute a bonus for risks encountered during the enlistment period. It is also the argument used by those who would limit the application of Senate bill 9 to veterans of Vietnam.

A reasonable expenditure for readjustment to civilian life cannot be equated with the idea of a bonus.

But, assume we are talking in terms of a bonus, and nothing more. If we award this bonus on the basis of risk, then we've got problems in measuring these risks. A man stationed at Fort Benning, Ga., is only a few hours away, by air, from Vietnam. How much difference is there in the risks he encounters and the risk encountered by a man serving in a headquarters company in Saigon?

Or, relate the risk of a man in service today, with one who serves when there is no Vietnam. The fact that we maintain a large Military Establishment, even when we are not directly engaged in shooting, of itself shows that the risk of war, in our modern world, always is great.

We do not believe that a reasonable readjustment provision amounts to a bonus, but we say that those who do regard it as a bonus for risks assumed should consider carefully the distinction, if any, between great risk and little risk in this era of the brush war.

In conclusion, the National Association of State Approval Agencies urges passage of Senate bill 9, because:

1. The results of this kind of mass education bill have proven beneficial to the individuals involved, and to the Nation.

2. The need to maintain a large Military Establishment will require the people of our Nation to ask, or demand, that about half our young men give 2 years, or more, of their lives to the military, thereby inflicting a disadvantage upon them, which this bill can, in part, remedy.

3. This bill applies to all who have undergone this federally inflicted disadvantage, and each should have the opportunity to remedy it alike.

Tribute to Woodrow Seals, Outstanding U.S. Attorney, at Texas State Bar Convention and by Houston Chronicle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 13, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, my home State of Texas is fortunate in having Woodrow Seals, of Houston, as the U.S. attorney for the southern district of Texas. Under his supervision, the U.S. Attorney's Office in Houston has achieved a high level of efficiency and distinction. Only last month it was notified by the Attorney General that it was one of 13 of 92 U.S. Attorney's Offices that was current every month last fiscal year in all four categories of work—criminal cases, criminal matters, civil cases, civil matters.

But the excellent job done as U.S. attorney by Woodrow Seals is only one of his accomplishments. During the Texas State Bar convention this year, Woodrow Seals was presented an award for his long-time service to the criminal law section of the bar and to criminal law practice. U.S. Attorney Woodrow Seals is largely responsible for the new State code of criminal procedure recently adopted by the legislature in Texas.

The many contributions of Woodrow Seals to the legal profession and to the Federal Government as U.S. attorney were recounted in a tribute delivered to Woodrow Seals at the State bar convention at the time of his award presentation, and later in an editorial which appeared in the Houston Chronicle.

Woodrow Seals organized the Houston Criminal Lawyers Association and led in the organization of the section of criminal law and procedure of the State bar of Texas.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of that tribute to Woodrow Seals which appeared in the August 22, 1965, issue of the Texas Bar Journal, the editorial in the July 5, 1965, issue of the Houston Chronicle, and two articles reporting the presentation of the award from the July 2, 1965, Fort Worth Star-Telegram and the July 4, 1965, Houston Chronicle be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

[From the Texas Bar Journal, Aug. 22, 1965]

CRIMINAL LAW LUNCHEON: TRIBUTE TO WOODROW SEALS

Mr. Fellbaum said, "Woodrow Seals came to Houston right out of law school in the spring of 1950 and opened a law office. He was in the general practice of law until he was appointed U.S. attorney for the southern district of Texas in July of 1961.

It is appropriate that the criminal law section recognize Woodrow because he was the moving party in having this section organized in 1957. Prior to that time he had served as chairman of the committee on criminal law and procedure and, like many people, recognized that there was needed in the State bar a section made up of both prosecutors as well as defense lawyers. He was on the first nominating committee and got this section off to a good start. He was made chairman of the criminal law section in 1959.

Woodrow has served as a member of the State bar, the grievance committee, prosecuting committee, and committee on professional ethics. All of you know that these are hard-working committees and very little honor attached to membership in these committees.

When there was a need for a referral service in criminal law and bail bond reforms and problems in solicitation in the jails in Houston, and the Houston Bar Association at that time not being too concerned for these problems, Woodrow organized the Houston Criminal Lawyers Association and served as its secretary as well as president.

It was while he was chairman of the criminal law committee in 1959–60, of the Houston Bar Association, that he proposed to the State bar that the old State committee of criminal law and procedure be eliminated and in its place be organized in conjunction with the district and county attorneys section a new section of criminal law and procedure. This year we have seen four important developments in criminal law and it is only natural that Woodrow would have something to do or say about all of them. In 1956, following the Washburn murder trial in Waco, Woodrow wrote an article in the Texas Bar Journal condemning the televising of criminal trials. A few

weeks ago, as you know, the Supreme Court spoke on this matter in the Estes case.

In a few weeks, the Federal courts will begin paying lawyers when they are appointed. Woodrow introduced a resolution at the State bar convention in July of 1956, calling on the State Bar to favor compensation for counsel when they are appointed to represent people who are unable to pay, and opposed the Public Defender System in Federal courts.

The August 22, 1956, Texas Bar Journal makes interesting reading of the debates on this resolution. The resolution passed and probably has some effect on the new law, as well as did Mr. Seals' appearance before Congressman EMANUEL CELLER, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. This, too, was about 10 years ago.

Thirdly, Governor Connally recently, in the last few weeks, signed into law a bill revising the State Code of Criminal Procedure. I am sure that many of you have forgotten that Woodrow Seals started this by resolution in July of 1957 at the State bar convention when he asked that a committee be appointed to make a study and see if there was a revision needed of the Code of Criminal Procedure. This resolution was passed.

As a result of this resolution, Woodrow was made chairman of a special committee to make this inquiry. On this committee was Judge Woodley of the court of criminal appeals, Mr. Leon Douglas, State's attorney. Mr. Les Procter, district attorney of Travis County, and Charles Tessmer of the Dallas bar. This committee reported back to the State bar convention in 1958 that a complete revision was needed, and as a result of this the State bar directors instructed the President of the State bar to set up the committee. This was the Erisman committee, and this revision was enacted into law a few weeks ago.

Finally, the problems in the bail bond law which has plagued the administration of criminal justice for some time is now being met in Houston by a project sponsored by the Harris County Grand Jury Association and the Council of Churches of Greater Houston. It was only natural that Woodrow Seals was the principal speaker at this Bail Bond Conference held a few weeks ago in Houston, in which the Manhattan project was explained to State criminal judges, justices of the peace, district attorney and his staff. Many of you know of Woodrow's long interest in reforms in bail bond and know that he helped write the first bail bond regulatory law and helped lobby it through the legislature.

Not only has Woodrow been a worker for the bar association, but he has been a worker in the community as well. Among the many things, I think it is appropriate that I tell you that he is presently serving on the board of directors of the Community Council of Greater Houston; the Texas Bill of Rights Foundation; the United Fund of Greater Houston; the Houston Council on Human Relations; and the Planned Parenthood Association of Houston.

He has held every office that a layman can hold in the local Methodist Church, and I thought you would like to know that 2 years ago, as a delegate from his church to the Texas Methodist Conference, he introduced the resolution, which passed, calling on all Methodist-related institutions to integrate their facilities.

Woodrow serves his country as a lieutenant colonel in the Air Force Reserve, and as an Air Force liaison officer.

Woodrow serves his bar association, his country, his community and his church.

[From the Fort Worth (Tex.) Star-Telegram, July 2, 1965]

BAR CITES ATTORNEY, MORNING STAR-TELEGRAM WRITER

Star-Telegram Reporter Bob Schieffer and U.S. attorney, Woodrow Seals, were cited for special awards Thursday by members of the criminal law and procedure section of the Texas State Bar.

Schieffer received the criminal law Chairman's Award for a study he conducted in early February concerning the responsibility of attorneys to represent indigent persons in criminal cases.

Seals was presented an award for his long-time service to the section and to criminal law practice.

The attorney organized the section in 1957 and has been one of its guiding forces.

In the citation he was recognized for being one of the first attorneys to call for a revision of Texas criminal laws and later serving on a committee to make an inquiry which resulted in the new revisions being signed into law this year.

Schieffer, courthouse reporter for the Morning Star-Telegram, investigated the responsibility imposed on criminal lawyers by recent court rulings and how Texas lawyers and judges were facing up to the responsibilities.

The story appeared first in the Star-Telegram and later appeared in the Texas Bar Journal.

The awards were presented at the law section's noon banquet at Blackstone Hotel.

About 300 lawyers attended the session at which Deputy U.S. Attorney Ramsey Clark was featured speaker.

Earlier Thursday journalism awards were presented to Carl Freund of the Dallas Morning News Austin Bureau, Warren Fulks of Dallas radio station KRLD and Henry Guerra of San Antonio television station WOAI.

Each of the winners received $200 in cash and a citation from Attorney Homa Hill of Fort Worth, bar public relations committee chairman.

[From the Houston (Tex.) Chronicle, July 4, 1965]

ATTORNEY SEALS IS HONORED BY STATE BAR

FORT WORTH.—U.S. Attorney Woodrow Seals of Houston today was honored by the State Bar of Texas criminal law section for his contributions to jurisprudence and justice.

Houston attorney, Ernest S. Sellbaum, a bar director, presented a certificate of merit to Seals at a luncheon in the Blackstone Hotel.

Sellbaum cited Seals for "his dedication to the advancement of the science of jurisprudence and contribution to improvement in the administration of justice."

Sellbaum said, "Seals is partially responsible for the new State code of criminal procedure because he proposed in a resolution at the 1957 State bar convention that a committee be formed to study possible revision of the code. Seals was chairman of the committee study."

Other contributions by Seals include his serving as chairman of the criminal law section in 1959–60 and his part in writing the first bail bond regulatory law in Texas.

[From the Houston (Tex.) Chronicle, July 5, 1965]

SEALS HONORED

The State bar of Texas did well to honor U.S. Attorney Woodrow Seals of Houston for his contributions to criminal jurisprudence and justice.

Seals was largely responsible for the comprehensive new State code of criminal procedure. It was he who proposed, at the 1957 State bar convention, that a committee be formed to study revision of the code and he was chairman of the committee study. He also was chairman of the criminal law section in 1959–60 and participated in writing the first bail bond regulatory law in this State.

Seals was cited for his "dedication to the advancement of the science of jurisprudence and contribution to improvement in the administration of justice," Well said.

A Brief History of Intervention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues and the general public to a fine article entitled "A Brief History of Intervention" which was published in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on June 27, 1965. This piece was written by Mr. Harry George Mellman, of University City, Mo., as part of a thesis for the degree of doctorate of philosophy at the University of Illinois in 1940.

I am inserting it in the RECORD today because of its current relevance and value in creating some needed perspective on our foreign policies of today:

A BRIEF HISTORY OF INTERVENTION—FROM THE DAYS OF DOLLAR DIPLOMACY TO THE DAYS OF THE GOOD NEIGHBORS—BUT NOT BEYOND

(By Harry George Mellman)

(NOTE.—Harry G. Mellman, a resident of University City, wrote "The American Policy of Intervention in the Caribbean" in 1940 as an abstract of a thesis for the doctor of philosophy degree at the University of Illinois. A few extracts are reprinted here.)

At the Havana Conference, in 1928, Charles Evans Hughes, the head of the American delegation, defended the American policy of intervention as a means to protect American lives and property in the Caribbean. This was an oversimplification of the entire situation; for, aside from protecting lives and property, the American Government has played the role in this area of missionary, broker, policeman, and, in general, overlord.

THE MIRROR OF PUBLIC OPINION

Before the Spanish-American War, the attitude of the American Government was definitely opposed to intervention in the affairs of other states. In 1898, however, it found itself in the position of taking up arms to aid the Cubans in their fight for independence. Having taken an active hand in Caribbean affairs, the Government was now prepared to develop a new attitude.

Within several years, the United States had made a ward out of Cuba by retaining for itself the right to intervene in the island. Furthermore, the United States had taken the Isthmus of Panama, in which the right of intervention was secured, and had placed the Dominican Republic in what might be termed "protective custody."

Secretary of State Elihu Root attempted to limit the sphere of action of the American Government in the Caribbean; and, for several years, although the United States held a dominant position in this area, it attempted, at least, to refrain from taking action in elections and other matters. Before 1909 the American Government possessed the right of intervention; but it assured the states of the Caribbean that they need fear no intervention unless conditions reached anarchy.

The advent of Philander C. Knox to the State Department meant a new policy for the United States. This is the period of dollar diplomacy; in the period also the State Department began to question the right of a de facto government to have de jure recognition from the United States. It was during the Taft administration that the United States intervened actively in the affairs of the Caribbean countries. Where Theodore Roosevelt had secured the coopera-

tion of the President of Mexico in promoting the peace of Central America, Knox preferred to take action alone to extinguish bad men from the area and thus to find the solution of the problem. In order to protect American lives and property in Nicaragua, Knox proceeded to secure a government more amenable to the wishes of Secretary Knox.

The closing year of the Taft administration brought with it a new interpretation of the American right to intervene in Cuba. No longer would the United States wait to intervene until Cuba reached the state of anarchy; Knox would exert his influence to prevent that state from being reached. The American Minister in Havana was authorized to veto any act of the government which he believed to be against Cuba's best interests.

Woodrow Wilson brought to American foreign policy in this area a new idealism which, although the President was unaware of it, fitted into the scheme of things set up by Knox. Wilson hated the use of force in international relations; but he was equally vociferous in his thunderings against those who used force in domestic affairs—even in foreign states.

In Mexico, Huerta was eliminated after the landing of troops at Vera Cruz, presumably to exact an apology which Huerta refused to give, and to prevent the landing of supplies going to his government. Marines occupied Haiti and set up an autocratic government of their own rather than one which might have been regarded as constitutional in Wilson's use of that word. A military government was set up in the Dominican Republic, while in Panama troops were in compelte control of a whole province in order to secure justice for Americans there.

It is truly ironic that a President who had been in general opposed to the use of force in international relations should himself so frequently order the use of forcible means to secure his ends.

Perhaps it is best to interpret Wilson by the use of his own words, written long before he had the position of Chief Executive: "The man who sits in the calmness and stillness of a study and cavils at a man who is in the midst of the infinitely various and difficult affairs of the actual arena of public matters should be very careful to revise his judgments before he condemns the man."

The reaction to the World War, the increasing number of complaints against the presence of American troops in the Caribbean, and the appointment of Hughes to be head of the State Department brought about a sudden change in the policy of the United States. Plans were made to withdraw troops from the Dominican Republic, and improved conditions were forthcoming in Haiti. However, when Hughes was replaced, the American policy began to return to the old position.

It is clear that Frank Kellogg was unable to regard the small countries of the Caribbean as in any way outside the American sphere of action. The Secretary of State hated and feared bolshevism, and thought that he saw it becoming prominent all over Mexico and Central America. "Property" became again the "key" word of the American policy; and when Mexico showed little regard for the rights of property, Kellogg announced that his patience was exhausted and it might be necessary for the American Government to take measures, forcible ones if necessary, in order to protect American property as well as lives. In Nicaragua, the protection of property absorbed the interest of the State Department, and soon after their evacuation, under the Hughes policy, in 1925, the marines were returned.

Already, however, the Latin American States were prepared to take up the cudgels against this American policy and those which had preceded it; and at the Havana Conference of 1928 it was apparent that the United States must either give up its policy of meddling in Caribbean affairs on a unilateral basis or be faced with the possibility of being without friends anywhere in the Western Hemisphere.

It is during the Hoover administration that we have the first signs of what was later called the policy of the good neighbor. Herbert Hoover announced that during his administration, at least, the United States would not use force to secure or maintain contracts between American citizens and foreign governments. After a study of conditions in Haiti, Hoover announced that plans were being made for the evacuation of the marines from that country. Withdrawal was begun of the forces in Nicaragua. The nonrecognition policy of Knox and Wilson had already been given up with the recognition in 1930, in various Latin American countries of new governments which had gained power through the use of force and revolution.

It remained for Franklin D. Roosevelt to complete the task of ending the policy of intervention. The only troops still left in the Caribbean, those in Haiti, were withdrawn, the right of intervention in Cuban affairs under the Platt amendment given up and, in general, this right was given up in every country. President Roosevelt himself announced that "the maintenance of constitutional government in other nations is not a sacred obligation devolving upon the United States."

For those who still doubted the sincerity of the American President's declaration, the United States, at the conference of 1936 at Buenos Aires, became a signatory of a convention in which it renounced the right to use force, under international law, under any circumstances, and specifically agreed to the provision that "intervention by one state in the internal or external affairs of another state is condemned." The break with the past was now complete.

Vietnam: Nation of Refugees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 13, 1965

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point an excellent article entitled "Vietnam: Nation of Refugees," written by Harry Altshuler and published in the New York World-Telegram of August 16, 1965; and an excellent article entitled "The Plight of Refugee in Vietnam," written by Leo Cherne and published in the Des Moines Register of July 6, 1965.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York World-Telegram, Aug. 16, 1965]

VIETNAM: NATION OF REFUGEES

(By Harry Altshuler)

Leo Cherne went to Vietnam to look for refugees—and found a nation of them. He saw wounded youngsters crowding hospitals two or three to a bed; mothers trudging endless roads carrying their children; villagers with nowhere to flee, camped in the open beside the ruins of their homes.

"The truth of Vietnam today is that the Vietnamese are a nation of refugees," he said, describing a recent 10-day visit to the war-ravaged country.

Cherne, a lean, graying man of 53, went as chairman of the International Rescue Committee, which for more than 30 years has been helping refugees from despotism and war.

INTO DENSE JUNGLE

The IRC now is mounting the biggest emergency effort in its history to provide some of the medicine, food and shelter so desperately needed by the Vietnamese.

Cherne went to the town of Dong Xoai, in dense jungle 60 miles northwest of Saigon, by Army helicopter along with a U.S. Army civil affairs team.

Their purpose was to find out what was left of the town after it had been overrun by Vietcong Communist forces, what the emergency needs were and how they could be met.

They learned these things and more, for there recently has been a major shift in Vietcong tactics, the villagers said.

MURDER, PLUNDER

Now it has become an all-out effort to scorch the earth, to kill indiscriminately and to leave no means of livelihood, no grain or rice, behind.

The war was never easy on the villagers. For years it has been the policy of Vietcong raiders to seize most of whatever food they found under guise of taxation; to conscript whatever 14, 15, or 16-year-old lads fell into their hands, and to kill or kidnap village officials, teachers, or nurses.

Now it is worse.

"The Vietcong entered every home and hut," Cherne said. "They took every grain of rice, every bit of dried fish or meat. Every penny of money. In a town of 3,000 inhabitants, they killed or injured more than 1,000—and these victims were civilians, not troops. Hundreds of children were maimed, blinded, or killed.

They left behind not one single day's food. Within 24 hours the U.S. Army provided a week's supply of rice, and I undertook to buy 2,000 pounds of dried fish in Saigon. Army helicopters flew it in, and flew out the wounded."

Why the new policy of total terror?

Cherne said it is "a short-term effort * * * but the Communists are putting all their chips on it." He said: "They cannot carry food with them; they must live off the land, so they are deliberately risking their future, sacrificing the long-term continuity of food supplies, in the effort to create maximum paralysis and panic right now.

OFFICIALS FLEE

"They hope they can leave Saigon isolated and produce the collapse of the whole structure," he said, stabbing at the air with his cigarette.

So far, no major provincial capital has fallen. "But there is no reason to believe that will continue," said Cherne.

"Village government," he said "has become tenuous in nature."

In Dong Xoai, there was no vilage chief and no assistant chief. The chief had suffered a flesh wound and left in a copter for hospital treatment. The assistant simply fled. Nobody was ready to blame him; they knew the finger was on him. If he had stayed he would have been killed or kidnaped in the next Vietcong raid. Nobody wanted the job.

Local government simply evaporated, Cherne found.

"It is hard to be critical; local authorities are certain to die if they remain," he explained. "Already, more than 10,000 chiefs have been murdered or kidnaped."

A few Americans are working with the Ministry of Social Welfare, which attempts to care for the floodtide of refugees.

Cherne recalled one of them, a young Negro nurse who had volunteered for a Vietnam job after serving a 2-year tour in the Peace Corps in Africa.

SHRUGS OFF DANGER

"How do you feel about doing war work—after devoting 2 years to the cause of peace?" Cherne asked her.

"It is the same effort for the same purposes," she told him proudly.

As for the danger, the nurse said she felt it, but shrugged it off: "You get used to it."

That was the attitude of the Vietnamese, too, who have been living with war for 20 years. They get used to war. But they are not used to the new type of total terror, Cherne said.

In Quinhom, a major coastal city, the biggest city in Binhdinh province, he learned there were 94,696 registered refugees in the province as of July 1. Since the total population of the province is 804,000, more than 10 percent of its inhabitants were refugees.

TIN-ROOFED SHACKS

They were camped in hastily built shacks off the main highway through the town. Some were in refugee centers built by the refugee themselves, with material provided by the Vietnamese Government. Living conditions were primitive.

"It is clear the problem is not going to disappear," Cherne said, "so now there are efforts to build more durable facilities."

These—according to pictures that fluttered in a sheaf from his hands to the desktop—will be tin-roofed shacks along a dirt path, hardly equaling the Waldorf-Astoria in elegance, but still an improvement over present living conditions for the refugees.

In 12 coastal cities, there is a total of about a half million refugees. Some 70,000 of them turned up in the last month alone. It is believed that another 300,000 unregistered refugees are in Saigon, where they drift in to live with relatives and friends.

Another million are like those in Dong Xoai—refugees who cannot flee, surrounded by the Vietcong. Their homes have been destroyed, but they cannot leave the area.

This is the group Cherne sees as in the most serious trouble. The Vietnamese army and civilian organizations try to fly emergency rations to the villages, but in many villages the helicopters cannot land. Their story then must remain untold, though it can be imagined.

UNTOLD STORY

What he saw with his own eyes and what he was told by the villagers and officials has convinced Cherne that there is no love among the people of Vietnam for the Vietcong.

Are the peasants supporting and sheltering the guerrillas?

"On the contrary," he asserted, "having been savagely victimized by the Vietcong, they view them as their enemies."

[From the Des Moines Register, July 6, 1965]

THE PLIGHT OF REFUGEES IN VIETNAM

(By Leo Cherne)

SAIGON, SOUTH VIETNAM.—Vietnam has become a nation of refugees. Some 380,000 peasants and villagers have crowded into the coastal towns as a result of Vietcong harassment.

Wherever the Vietcong have struck or threaten to strike—and this covers much of the countryside right up to the edge of Saigon—the Vietnamese people are often uprooted, homeless, ill or wounded, hungry. They are in desperate need of the essentials of life—food, clothing, shelter, medical care.

VOTING WITH THEIR FEET

The refugee problem is nothing new for Vietnam. In the summer of 1954, shortly after the defeat of the French and the signing of the Geneva agreement which partitioned the country along the 17th parallel, a massive flow of refugees from the Communist north had already begun.

The International Rescue Committee (IRC) set up an emergency program to aid these people who were voting for freedom in the only way they could, with their feet. Eventually almost 900,000 Vietnamese cast their lot with freedom by making the trip from the north.

The direction of the refugee flow clearly contradicts the claim that the Vietnamese do not understand the nature of the struggle against communism or are indifferent to the rule by the Communist north. Only about 10,000 Vietnamese crossed the 17th parallel heading north and many of those were Vietcong cadre returning home for more training.

THEY MUST FLEE AGAIN

Many who escaped south 10 years ago, now must flee again. They are the peasants and the villagers of Vietnam, the very people the Vietcong are supposed to have won to their side. My observations and conversations with Vietnamese and Americans here, have convinced me that the Vietcong have so savagely terrorized the peasantry that they have made them their mortal enemies.

I helicoptered from Saigon to Dong Xoai shortly after the siege which resulted in 33 American and 650 Vietnamese casualties. The Vietcong had burned out a large portion of the town. For a brief time they had occupied the village. They entered every household and stripped it of every scrap of food and every piaster which could be used to buy food.

When the Vietcong retreated they left Dong Xoai a smoldering ruin and streets filled with broken, smashed bodies (many of them women and children)—some dead, others dying, still others condemned to live the rest of their lives horribly maimed.

U.S. RESCUE MISSION

The dust of battle had hardly settled when personnel from the U.S. Operations Mission (USOM) (our civilian aid program) and the U.S. Army Civil Affairs officers entered the town to take an inventory of needs.

It was arranged to fly in 5,000 kilos of rice. On behalf of the IRC I undertook to obtain 500 kilos of protein-rich fish and 50 pounds of salt, also to be flown in by U.S. Army helicopter.

These supplies, together with some powdered milk which Vietcong somehow missed, kept the people of Dong Xoai from starving in a country in which starvation is rare.

Emergency medical treatment was begun immediately.

I have read much about our military involvement in Vietnam. But at Dong Xoai I could not help thinking that much of our work in Vietnam is not military in the strict sense, that much of our efforts are constructive, even life sustaining.

The children are a very special part of the tragedy of Vietnam. I have seen more horribly injured, broken, maimed children in a week in Vietnam than in my lifetime. There are perhaps 100,000 war-orphaned children in Vietnam.

EMERGENCY FUND DRIVE

We in the IRC have set an emergency fund goal of $2.5 million—the highest in our 33-year history. The majority of these funds will go to aid the orphans. We also have undertaken a program to provide an initial $500,000 in medicines to aid the Vietnamese. We hope to get a large measure of support from the American people.

The task of raising this kind of fund is herculean, but it is only a small part of what must be done to aid this nation of refugees. If we fail to alleviate the pain and suffering of these people, no matter what the outcome of the war in Vietnam, we will have failed in our purpose as Americans and as human beings.

Tax Sharing for Quality Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 18, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, I have had encouraging response to a bill, H.R. 10696, that I recently introduced which would provide for the Federal Government to share its revenues with the various States for the purpose of improving their educational systems. Senators, Representatives, Governors, State legislators, educators, journalists, and interested citizens have rallied in support of this proposal. I think it is, in concept, one of the greatest advances the 89th Congress can make in the field of education.

In the Knoxville News Sentinel of August 29 Mr. Mike Miller pointed up some of the background to this measure. Believing it of interest to my colleagues, under unanimous consent, I include "BROCK'S Idea Wins Support" in the Appendix of the RECORD:

BROCK'S IDEA WINS SUPPORT: SCHOOL AID PROPOSED

(By Mike Miller)

WASHINGTON.—Republican Representative WILLIAM E. BROCK, of Tennessee's Third District, has unveiled the product of 2 years of study and hard work in the form of a bill to turn 5 percent of the Federal income tax money collected by Uncle Sam over to State and local governments to finance their school systems.

BROCK'S proposal should make interesting reading for Knox Countians, who will go to the polls next month to decide whether to levy a 1-cent local sales tax upon themselves to meet the mounting costs of education. The Chattanoogan is confident that his formula for tax sharing for education would help bail the States out of a seemingly hopeless dilemma without raising Federal taxes and without further centralization of control in Washington.

Representative BROCK, first elected to the House in 1962, says he had been in Washington only 6 months when he concluded that something had to give or the Federal system as we know it would destroy itself. State and local governments, he says, are reaching their limits in levying taxes to meet the soaring costs of government.

EDUCATION COST SPIRALS

State and local expenditures last year were six times as great as in 1948. Education costs alone went up 700 percent during the same period. And the cost of education nationally is expected to double in the next 7 years.

Meanwhile, the States are taxing everything in sight to stay above water. State and local taxation is increasing twice as fast as income with no relief for the taxpayer in sight.

Representative BROCK says Congress has responded with big Federal aid programs that don't really meet local needs since they are drafted for the country as a whole. While California's urgent need is for construction money for school buildings, Tennessee's crying need is for higher teacher salaries, he said.

So BROCK set out to draw up a plan to share Uncle Sam's take with the States, leaving enough flexibility for the States to

apply the funds to the most urgent needs without too many strings attached. The idea was simple enough, but the formula for carrying it out has perplexed some of the Nation's finest minds.

A LOT OF RESEARCH

Over the past 2 years, BROCK has contacted every Governor and conferred with many leading educators. He studied Canada's tax rebate program and worked closely with the Brookings Institution. Now the formula has taken shape and one who helped put it in final form is young Victor Ashe of Knoxville, a student at Yale who is working as a congressional intern in Representative BROCK's office this summer.

Generally speaking, half of the fund would be returned to the States solely on the number of students enrolled in its public schools. The other half would be allocated on each State's effort—the percentage of gross personal income being spent on education.

Representative BROCK says his formula is unique in offering an incentive to the States without creating such a gap between those States doing the most and those doing the least as to discourage those States at the bottom. Alhough Tennessee ranks low on the effort scale, BROCK says his plan would increase the State's dollar investment per pupil by more than 35 percent.

While BROCK is a conservative who is prone to knock the big Federal Government, he acknowledges that the Federal income tax is the best vehicle for carrying out his plan. "It is highly efficient and generally equitable. It expands with a growing economy. It has, on the whole, been administered most effectively at the Federal level," he said.

The idea of sharing Federal tax revenues with the States popped up when Barry Goldwater proposed it on a large scale during the presidential campaign last year. The Johnson administration replied that it was studying that very thing. But Goldwater had no details of how it would work, and the administration has so far failed to act.

BROCK knows his plan will be controversial, but he is already picking up support. The Republican task force on education met to study the proposal after BROCK introduced it last week. Some members of the tax-writing House Ways and Means Committee have expressed interest.

BROCK hopes for hearings before the committee early next year.

My Responsibility to America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BIRCH E. BAYH

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 13, 1965

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, recently I had the opportunity to meet with the Indiana delegates to the Rexall Teen Forum. The interest in national and international affairs displayed by these young people was very impressive.

One of the delegates, Nycha Schlegel, of Daleville, Ind., has submitted to me a copy of her essay entitled "My Responsibility to America." Because of the fine concepts it expresses and the excellent quality of this essay, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MY RESPONSIBILITY TO AMERICA

(By Nycha Schlegel, Daleville, Ind.)

In a very few years we, today's youth, shall be the adults in a very highly complex world. Because our future actions may well decide between freedom or tyranny for the coming generations, we have the immediate responsibility of preparing ourselves to meet this great burden which will be placed upon us.

We must, first of all, learn to accept and live with our fellow men regardless of their color, religion, or background. If this lesson is not learned well, our society is destined to fail.

Next, each of us must find his place in the world. Although very few people will attain greatness, we must all live our lives in a useful capacity. We must not only discover how we shall use our lives, but we must educate ourselves as much as possible in order to achieve success and happiness in life.

It is necessary that we prepare ourselves now to be respected citizens in our democratic society. Since we shall soon be able to select our own leaders in elections, we much educate ourselves now so that we shall be able to make the intelligent choices so vital to our continued freedom.

Finally, we must learn to have faith in our great democratic society. This faith must be so great that we may instill in our heart such a burning desire for freedom and truth that we cannot be content until this same freedom and truth is enjoyed by everyone in the world.

Cy Rice, Veteran Milwaukee Newsman, Retires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, after 43 years of active service, one of Wisconsin's best known and best loved newspapermen has announced his retirement. He is Cyrus F. Rice of the Milwaukee Sentinel.

Cy began his career on the Milwaukee Journal, moved to the Chicago Times and old Chicago's American. Since 1941 he has worked for the Sentinel except for a brief period in 1962 when he was a television commentator and reporter. Although he has attracted a wide reading audience for his weekly columns on drama and literature, he probably is best known as a political writer.

For the past 18 years, Cy Rice has covered local, State, and National politics, from party conventions to grassroots ward meetings.

In fact, the very last story which Cy covered as a regular working newsman was a meeting of Milwaukee's 11th Ward Democratic Unit at which I reported on Vietnam. It always is a pleasure to see him, but I felt extremely privileged that his last news story was on my remarks of that evening.

Cy Rice is one of a vanishing breed of newsmen. He is a genuinely memorable personality, a colorful writer, and a fiercely independent spirit.

Although he knows the city of Milwaukee as few others do, his horizons extend far beyond the limits of our community. An interest in the law spurred him to obtain a law degree from Marquette University. Well read in American and English literature, he has written with depth and insight on writers and writing. He has been a lifelong devotee of the theater, and numbers among his acquaintances some of the Nation's top stage personalities.

As a political writer Cy Rice has few peers. He had the ability to coax information out of politicians which they might have been reluctant even to tell their most trusted confidants. He talked to political figures as if he were a friend, not a newspaperman. And even though he often printed what they told him, he seldom lost a friendship because he was scrupulously accurate, and never broke a confidence.

Such was Cy's skill that Republicans saw him as a Republican and Democrats as a Democrat. Even his fellow reporters were at a loss to pinpoint his political learnings. If Cy had a point of view, he let Duffy J. Guffey express it.

Duffy was a character Cy created as Milwaukee's "alderman at large." A toughly cynical politician, Duffy occasionally broke into print to make humorous, pertinent, and sometimes biting comments on the lighter aspects of the city's political scene.

The late President Kennedy was a fan of Duffy's and of Cy Rice. The two men became acquainted in 1960 when John F. Kennedy, then the Massachusetts's Senator, stumped the State of Wisconsin in the presidential primary. Cy Rice covered his campaign.

Many Milwaukeeans remember—and I'm sure Cy will never forget—President Kennedy's 1962 visit to Milwaukee for a fund-raising dinner. As the President left his plane a group of local dignitaries was waiting. But the President had spotted Cy Rice standing in the large crowd along a storm fence.

The Chief Executive, ignoring others including the local politicians for a moment, strode to the fence to greet the newspaperman. It was an experience about which Cy has written on more than one occasion.

Even though he is officially retired, Cy will continue to write for his wide audience. The Sentinel editors have promised that his weekly column on drama and literature will continue. Even Duffy J. Guffey may turn up now and then. He also plans to write articles for the local publication, Exclusively Yours.

I am sure his many friends and readers join me in wishing Cy Rice many more years of journalistic achievement.

Mr. Speaker, in order to acquaint my colleagues further with the distinguished career of this colorful American journalist, I am pleased to insert at this point in the RECORD articles on the retirement of Cy Rice which appeared in the Milwaukee Sentinel and the Milwaukee Journal of Friday, September 3, 1965:

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel, Sept. 3, 1965]

CY RICE, SENTINEL POLITICAL WRITER, RETIRES; ENDS 43 YEARS AS NEWSMAN

(By Harvey Schwandner)

Around midnight Thursday, Cy Rice yanked a cover over his typewriter in the

Milwaukee Sentinel city room and strode off to retirement.

He is 65 and he feels it in his bones. That's the way he puts it and he should know.

Cy Rice has put in almost 43 years in the news and communications business. He is one of Wisconsin's most widely known newspapermen.

For years he has covered politics with a hard and sometimes cynical eye. He has also covered the theater with deep affection, insight, and knowledge.

He has covered most of the runs in our town at one time or another. He has a host of friends outside the city room as well as in it. He knows who has the answers and he knows how to get stories when the youngsters fail on their faces.

Cy Rice is one of the few remaining characters in our profession. He has the capacity to almost destroy a typewriter with a scowl when he is working on a difficult story. Sometimes he grumbles to his machine when the words do not come just right.

When it is necessary to roar at a missing copy boy, he can do it with the best of them, in a voice composed of gravel and cinders.

A 100-percent Irishman, Cy has a sense of humor that goes deep.

Some years ago he invented a character, Duffy J. Guffey, "Milwaukee's alderman at large," a portly fellow with a scowl, a fat cigar, and a bowler hat.

Mr. Guffey, according to Rice, held forth at Herman's Heist on Meinecke Avenue.

When Guffey was not putting away boilermakers and helpers, he spewed forth wisdom on issues of the day and the general sins of political life.

Politicians read the word from Guffey with delight and sometimes twinges. The reason—sometimes the barbs hit home.

Rice's love of the Irish and Ireland moved him some years ago to visit the land of his ancestors. He tramped over much of the country and came back feeling refreshed.

Rice lives with his wife, Cleo, at 773 North Prospect Avenue.

Cy Rice has a law degree but he has never practiced law. He studied law at Marquette University while working nights at the Sentinel.

Just why he never quit the newspaper business to go into law has never been explained completely by Barrister Rice and it's a bit late to push the matter now.

When Cy retires, he is going to put more effort into his only hobbies—reading and walking. He will also continue to write a weekly column for the Sentinel on the theater and literature.

And if Rice should happen to bump into Duffy J. Guffey on Meinecke Avenue and take a few notes, you just might see that in print, too.

[From the Milwaukee Journal, Sept. 3, 1965]

CY RICE ENDS LONG CAREER AS SENTINEL POLITICAL WRITER

Cyrus F. Rice retired Thursday as a full-time reporter with the Milwaukee Sentinel after 43 years in news and other communications work. His retirement coincided with his 65th birthday. Rice will continue to write a weekly column on drama and literature for the Sentinel. And, there may be an occasional humorous column on politics about the fictional character Rice created: Duffy J. Guffey, Milwaukee alderman at large.

For the last 18 years, Rice specialized in political reporting, from ward meetings to national conventions.

Rice worked on the Milwaukee Journal as a reporter and rewrite man from 1923 to 1936. From 1936 to 1941 he worked on the old Chicago Times and the former Chicago American as a reporter, and worked for a publicity firm.

Since 1941 he has worked for the Sentinel except for a brief period in 1962 as a television commentator and reporter on WISN-TV.

Rice also plans to continue writing articles of general interest for the local publication Exclusively Yours.

The veteran reporter said he planned trips to New York City, Washington, and Minneapolis in the near future. He plans to attend plays and view new theaters in those cities, using the experiences for his weekly column.

Rice also is planning a trip to England and Ireland next spring.

He was born in Minneapolis September 2, 1900. He attended Minneapolis schools and St. Thomas College, and was enrolled for 2 years in the Marquette University College of Journalism.

In 1946, he received a law degree from Marquette. He attended law school while working as a reporter for the Sentinel.

Survivorship Benefits for Servicemen—V

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I have previously indicated the benefits and the commuted value of such benefits to privates and noncommissioned officers who lose their lives today in defense of their country. I want to include as a part of my remarks today the case of a second lieutenant who has 4 years of service at the time of his death and who leaves dependent parents:

SURVIVORSHIP BENEFITS FOR SERVICEMEN DYING FROM SERVICE-CONNECTED CAUSES

ASSUMPTIONS

1. Second lieutenant, U.S. Army;
2. Age 23 at death;
3. Death was service connected;
4. Four years' service at death;
5. Four years in grade at death;
6. Assumed average monthly pay was $329;
7. Base pay at death was $384.30 a month;
8. Left dependent parents (no other income), each age 50;
9. Parents live out their expectations of life (mother, 27.7 years; father, 23 years).

Benefits

Payee	Paying agency and type of payment	Payment period	Payment rate	Total payments
		Months		
Mother	VA: Social security (38 U.S.C. 412(a).	[1] 188	[2] $90	$17,414
Father	do	[3] 132	90	11,880
Mother	VA: DIC	332	[4] 55	12,172
Father	do	276	[5] 55	9,372
Total				50,848

[1] Beginning at age 62.
[2] Increasing to $99 after death of the father.
[3] Beginning at age 62.
[4] Decreasing to $11 at age 62 and then increasing to $50 after death of the father.
[5] Decreasing to $11 at age 62.

Progress in Hydrospace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, on August 24, I had the pleasure of reporting to my colleagues the kickoff of what may be the greatest undersea adventure ever experienced by man. At that time Project Sealab II was just getting underway.

Today, I am pleased to inform my colleagues that the daring experiment is progressing with undreamed-of success. The following articles in this week's Time and Business Week magazines describe with precise detail the continuing progress of our bold men in hydrospace:

[From Time magazine, Sept. 19, 1965]

JOURNEY TO INNER SPACE

From under the churning Pacific last week came the sound of a human voice: "Greetings, earth people." Far from a Jules Verne fantasy, it was the breezy salutation of one of the men of Sealab II, the U.S. capsule in inner space 205 feet down on the ocean floor, one-half mile off the coast near La Jolla, Calif. The 10 aquanauts on board, led there 2 weeks ago by astronaut-turned-aquanaut Scott Carpenter, were winding up the first part of a 45-day adventure that aims to discover man's capacity to live comfortably and work effectively at the lower depths.

A project of the U.S. Navy and the University of California's Scripps Institution of Oceanography, Sealab is the Nation's most ambitious effort thus far to explore and eventually exploit the ocean's great store of food, oil, and mineral resources. In Sealab I, which submerged last year off Bermuda, four Navymen proved that they could stay down at 192 feet for 9 days. Now 3 teams of 10 aquanauts each plan to stay underwater for 15 days at a stretch, with Carpenter remaining a whole month.

Sealab II will enable the United States partly to catch up with, and in several respects to exceed, the undersea exploits of France's Jacque-Yves Cousteau (Time cover, Mar. 28, 1960). He has stationed teams of divers at 80 feet for 1 week. This week, in his third major project, six French divers in a spherical capsule will live for 15 days at 330 feet in the sea off the Riviera resort at Cap Ferrat.

PAPA TOPSIDE

Built at a cost of $850,000, Sealab II is a 12-by-57-foot steel cylinder that houses a well-equipped scientific and medical laboratory, a compact galley, and a dining area with bunks lining the walls. Standing by on the surface is a support barge linked to Sealab by an umbilical cable for power and communications. From the barge, Navy Capt. George F. Bond, 50, whom the aquanauts call "Papa Topside," bosses the exercise, chats with them by intercom and observes them by closed-circuit television.

Topside keeps a careful watch over the aquanuts' condition. Each morning the doctor on board sealab takes blood, saliva, and urine samples, checks the quanauts' heartbeats, brain waves, and blood pressures. The aquanauts are tested for sight and hearing, strength, and coordination. At night each man sits down to an Electrowriter to file a confidential report to the surface on how he feels and, as Bond says, "what stinks about the program."

TOPSY-TURVY LIFE

Supplies are lowered to sealab in a small, pressurized capsule—an aquatic dumbwaiter that brings in such goodies as chocolate cake and fresh meat to supplement the aquanauts' stock of freeze-dried food. The men can watch commercial TV but prefer to peer out the portholes at the fish looking in at them. During the flight of Gemini 5, Aquanaut Carpenter even chatted directly with Astronaut Gordon Cooper. In case of emergency, the men could get power and fresh water from a tube linking them to shore, and they could surface in a 14-foot capsule anchored outside the sealab.

In the pressurized, artificial atmosphere of the capsule, life can be trying and topsy-tury. Matches will not burn and water boils only at temperatures above 300°. Fried foods are forbidden because of the greasy fumes. Fresh eggs can be dangerous: the toxic hydrogen sulfide given off by their yokes cannot be "scrubbed" out of the air with sealab's purifying gear. The atmosphere has to be rigidly controlled. Because ordinary concentrations of oxygen become toxic when breathed under pressure for a long period (causing convulsions and pulmonary disease) and nitrogen has a narcotic effect, the aquanauts breathe a special mixture of gases: 4.3 percent oxygen, 18 percent nitrogen, and the rest helium. Even this mix is not perfect. Helium is so much lighter and less dense than nitrogen that the human voice resounds at a higher pitch than normal and words tumble out rapidly, producing a Donald Duck falsetto. To make themselves understood, the men must speak an octave lower and much slower than usual.

DEEP DANGERS

The aquanauts are doing more work than had been expected. They have set up an outdoor station to measure ocean currents, and are performing about 100 marine biology and oceanography experiments. Each morning at least two of them put on rubber "wet" suits, strap on Mark VI breathing apparatus and slip out through a hatch on the bottom of the capsule. (The hatches can be held open without flooding the sealab because the pressure inside is equal to the pressure of the water outside.)

The sea's extreme cold limits trips in ordinary wet suits to 2 hours at most, and darkness and the dangers of the deep prevent the aquanauts from venturing beyond a 225-foot perimeter. Neither do they swim more than 30 feet up or down, lest they fall victim to the deep sea diver's greatest fear—the bends. If a diver comes up too fast, gases that have dissolved in his bloodstream from breathing under pressure form bubbles that lead to dizziness, nausea or even death.

On the sorties outside, the aquanauts photograph the neighborhood, tag fish to record their movements, and collect marine samples. They are building concrete-block pyramids as fish homes, and will lay "sidewalks" with a gelatin mixture that is expected to harden into a firm surface on the soft ocean floor. To experiment with underwater salvage, the Navy will sink an old fighter plane, have the aquanauts fill it with lightweight polyurethane foam, then see if the foam displaces enough water and is buoyant enough for the plane to float to the surface.

The aquanauts this week expect to get some help from a 7-foot, 270-pound bottlenose porpoise named Tuffy. Trained by the Navy, Tuffy has been taught to come swimming at the sound of a buzzer. He will live in a pen near the support barge, carry messages and cables between the lab, its divers, and topside.

BLOOMING HEALTH

As the first team prepared to leave the lab and be replaced by a second crew last week, the men were physically in top shape, except for minor ear infections that are common to divers who use hooded swimsuits. Doctors reported that the men were in excellent psychological health. Sealab's Captain Bond was particularly impressed with the aquanauts' performance. "That's what this experiment is all about," he says, "to see what man can do underwater."

[From Business Week magazine, Sept. 11, 1965]

MAN TESTS HIS LIMITS IN THE OCEAN'S DEPTHS

(NOTE.—Navy's Sealab II, down for 45 days off California coast, is making the biggest attempt yet to measure human capability to live and work for long periods under the sea.)

Sometime this weekend, nine U.S. Navy aquanauts will wind up a 15-day stay under 205 feet of water and rise to the surface of the ocean 1 mile off La Jolla, Calif. Behind them they will leave their underwater living quarters—Sealab II—and a 10th aquanaut, Comdr. M. Scott Carpenter, on loan from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Carpenter will remain on the ocean bottom for another 15 days. He will be joined there by a second group of nine divers and scientists, both Navy and civilian. At the end of their tour they will give way to a third and final group, which will occupy the $850,000 Sealab II until October 12.

Major attempt: Altogether, the 45 days of experiments, both in and out of the underwater laboratory, will add up to the most massive research effort yet to measure man's capability to live and work for long periods under the ocean.

Last year, in the Sealab I experiments off Bermuda, four men stayed down 11 days at 193 feet. In 1963, Capt. Jacques-Yves Cousteau of France and four other men operated for 30 days out of quarters submerged at a depth of 33 feet.

The Navy moved its Sealab experiments to La Jolla this year because researchers wanted to experiment in water that was colder, and where visibility was poorer. In both Sealab experiments, however, they have been able to leave and reenter their underwater home freely as they work and explore the ocean around them. They can make "bounce dives" to depths below the capsule. But in the current tests, they are not permitted to return to the surface until the end of their 15 days of duty.

I. FIVE YEARS TO GO

The Sealab experiments are administered jointly by the Navy's Special Projects Office and the Office of Naval Research. They are part of the Navy's "man-in-the-sea program," which will run to 1970. Representatives of the Scripps Institution of Oceanography trained for Sealab II and are on the teams.

The goal of the program, as explained by Capt. George F. Bond, of the Navy Medical Corps, is "to give man the capability to freely explore the continental shelves of the world." Bond is principal investigator for the Sealab project.

Mobility: But although the men can move about, Sealab II cannot. It is tied to the ship that services it, and from there to shore by a cable that carries it electrical power and water. The Navy would like to cut this umbilical cord and Bond thinks it will in another 3 years.

"At least one of the many sources of autonomous power that are being considered ought to come through for us," Bond says. Then a successor to Sealab II would have the mobility of a submarine.

At present, however, Sealab II is little more than a pressurized cylindrical tank—12 feet in diameter and 57 feet long—with 3 compartments and living quarters for 10 men.

Its pressure is set for the depth at which it happens to be operating—in this case, 205 feet. This permits the divers to enter and exit without passing through an airlock (although they must go through a cage that protects the entrance from sharks).

The air bottles the men carry contain the same breathing gas mixture as Sealab II itself—from 76.5 to 80 percent helium, 16 to 19 percent nitrogen, and 4 to 4.5 percent oxygen.

Great expectations: Though tied to shore, Sealab II is expected to open new worlds for marine biologists and geologists. By staying down for 15 days at a time, they should be able to do research that, were they operating from the surface, would take years to complete.

A diver in a "hard helmet" pressurized diving suit can remain at a depth of 205 feet for only 30 minutes. After that, he must undergo decompression for 4½ hours. This greatly reduces his daily underwater effectiveness. An underwater-based aquanaut can stay down 15 days or longer with only one decompression—but it must last 34 hours.

Bond estimates one diver working from Sealab II can do the work of 35 divers operating from the surface in the same amount of time.

II. THE EXPERIMENTS

Just how much and what kind of work is possible, however, is one of the questions still unanswered. Many work experiments are planned for Sealab II. These include the erection of a sea-bottom oil drilling rig, the salvage of a Navy aircraft, the building of various research structures, and the setting up of an underwater automatic weather station.

Sealab II personnel will be testing thermally heated suits to see how this can improve their daily underwater work quotient. Other experiments will cover the psychological effects, if any, of confined living over extended periods. These tests, as well as the physiological studies, are the prime reason for keeping Carpenter down for 30 days continuously, and for keeping another aquanaut, Lt. Robert E. Sonnenburg, of the Navy Medical Corps, down for two 15-day periods. Sonnenburg, a member of the first team returning to the surface this weekend, will descend again with the third group.

The purposes: The Navy is anxious to know how long it can safely keep men underwater in order to enhance its abilities at salvage and construction. And it also has its eyes open for ways to strengthen its underwater warfare capabilities.

Commercial operators are anxious to move under the ocean on a more efficient basis, too. They—and representatives of foreign navies—are eagerly following the sealab experiments. Bond says, "The commercial operators are all over us, particularly salvage operators and mining specialists."

This leads Bond to warn that although the Navy has fairly well satisfied itself that man can work underwater, and now is determining the degree, this doesn't mean that the Sealab II idea is ready for commercial exploitation. "It is still experimental, and commercial adaptation is perhaps 3 years away."

The superior machine: One question arises: What can free divers, working out of an underwater base, do that manned submersibles with manipulative devices cannot do?

Capt. Ray A. Spencer, on-the-scene commander of the project for the ONR, answers: "A man with 10 fingers and a brain is superior to a machine. He can do more things, move faster, react faster." Thus, it is vital to find out how much he can do.

Surfacing: The first team made a free swimming descent to their ocean home on August 28. They plan to return to the surface aboard a "personnel transfer capsule," a diving bell whose pressure and gas mixture are identical to Sealab II's.

But before they can resume normal living habits again, they must undergo the 34 hours of decompression. This is a gradual lowering of the pressures on their bodies from the extreme high pressure of 100 pounds per square inch experienced at their 205-foot depth to a normal surface pressure of 14.7 pounds per square inch. In the process, the helium that saturates their bodies, is vented safely through their lungs.

Communications: On the first night in Sealab II, the aquanauts listened to a brief radio conversation between Carpenter and two of his fellow astronauts, orbiting in Gemini 5.

The aquanauts are in daily touch with a surface staging vessel by means of a two-way intercom, an electronic writing machine (a Victor Electrowriter), and through closed-circuit television. Mail and small items are sent down in pressurized pots, called the "dumbwaiter."

Bond, who conceived the idea of the "saturation" dive, is called "Papa Topside" because he usually commands his divers from the surface staging vessel. But on August 31, he swam down to reenlist one of his Navy divers, torpedoman's mate first class Billie Coffman.

Bond says the next steps in the Navy's deep submergence projects will be to try for greater depths, first to 400 feet with Sealab II, then to 600 feet, and then perhaps to 1,000 feet.

"Most important to us is 600 feet. That will give us mastery of all the world's continental shelves."

Nothing Is Free

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include an editorial appearing in the Bakersfield Californian on August 18, of this year. The editorial deals with a subject which many of us have been trying to "get over" to the public, namely, that all money spent or given by the Federal Government must first come from the American taxpayer. The editorial quotes my colleague, GLEN LIPSCOMB, with approval.

The editorial follows:

NOTHING IS FREE

When will Americans realize that the money spent by government is taken first from the people? Government does not get money from thin air. Government owns no mysterious source for revenue. Tax dollars provide the money spent by government.

California Congressman LIPSCOMB's conclusion makes sense:

"It should come as no surprise to anyone that the money the Federal Government spends must ultimately come from the people, though all too often it seems that this fact is overlooked or ignored."

Perhaps Americans are ignorant because, except for income and property levies, most taxes we pay are hidden. Everything Americans buy, from an article so small as a loaf of bread to one so large as an automobile, carries a multitude of taxes levied at the raw material, manufacturing, processing, transporting, retailing and other levels. Those taxes, like all other costs in the production of goods and services, must be paid by consumers.

This economic truth tends to be lost in face of widespread belief that government "gives" Americans goods and services. Government can "give" nothing. Government takes tax dollars from the citizenry, now or at some future date, to pay the costs. Moreover, government tacks on handsome sums to cover administrative and bureaucratic overhead.

Nothing material in this world is free—government least of all. Each governmental spending project should be evaluated with this truth in mind.

UPEC Marks Its 85th Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, just recently the Portuguese Union of California, also known as the UPEC marked its 85th year of dedicated service to the citizens of Portuguese ancestry who live in this country, particularly in the western part of the United States.

This is a truly great organization with a remarkable list of achievements. I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial from the San Leandro Morning News of August 27, 1965, which gives an appropriate tribute to this fine society:

UPEC MARKS ITS 85TH YEAR

The contributions made to the history of both San Leandro and the State of California by citizens of Portuguese descent are many and great. They include significant achievements in cultural, business, and religious activities that are at least on an equal level with those made by any other group, one of the more outstanding being the formation of UPEC, otherwise known as the Portuguese Union of California.

The organization, founded on August 1, 1880, in San Leandro by 30 Portuguese immigrants under the leadership of Antonio Fonte, was set up as a fraternal insurance society, a purpose it has admirably fulfilled as shown by its having paid out over $14 million in benefits during the past 84 years.

However, it is far more than just a fraternal insurance society, the oldest organized in California. Over the years, as its subordinate councils spread throughout the State and into Nevada, it has become a powerful cultural and social force.

How it has managed to do this is substantially due to the peculiar genius of the Portuguese people—a genius which enabled the citizens of Portugal, always a tiny country, not only to provide a disproportionately large number of the world's explorers and create one of the world's greatest empires, but also to make one of the greatest contributions to the history of democracy in the enlightened racial policies of the Portuguese people.

In the case of UPEC, this inherited genius has manifested itself repeatedly. It was shown initially in the organization's rule that membership would be extended to include anyone, regardless of national origin or religious and political beliefs. It has been shown subsequently in a variety of ways, one of the more obvious being in its gift to the city of San Leandro of the beautiful white marble statue in Root Park, commemorating the early settlement of Portuguese in California.

And it will be shown in yet other ways still—one of them being the creation of an extensive library of Portuguese books which will be available to the public in the new UPEC building in the heart of San Leandro.

In view of the extraordinary achievements of this organization and the contributions which it and the people of Portuguese ancestry have made and will continue to make to make to the life of the city and State, the Morning News today, on behalf of all citizens of the area, congratulates the UPEC and those of Portuguese descent, and expresses the wish that the festivities of the 79th Annual Convention of UPEC, to be held beginning today and extending through Tuesday, will be the best yet—to be exceeded only by those of the future when ever greater achievements have been recorded.

Assistant Secretaries Are Presidential Emissaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Daily News recent editorial, which follows these remarks, outlining the success of the Latin American trip recently taken by Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Jack A. Vaughn suggests a profound truth.

President Johnson understands foreign policy management much better than many are willing to concede. He has assigned the best men he can find to Assistant Secretary positions. He has sent them on person to person diplomatic trips. The policy is working.

The Washington Daily News editorial also gives credit where credit is due to Jack Vaughn, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. I know my colleagues will join me in commending Secretary Vaughn for having performed so ably.

The editorial follows:

MAN SOUTH OF THE BORDER

When President Johnson sent Jack Vaughn on a 2-week tour of seven Latin American nations, the apparent purpose was to shore up lagging enthusiasm for the Alliance for Progress.

As Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Mr. Vaughn not only carried rank, but added prestige as a special emissary of the President, to whom he now will report.

But he did something else—he spent a lot of time talking to people and looking in on their problems. While he also conferred with political leaders, it was his direct contact with people that highlighted his trip.

As one observer noted, it has been a long time since an American official has got saddle sores from riding on the shoulders of citizens in a foreign country. Mr. Vaughn literally was hoisted to the shoulders of enthusiastic peasants as he visited small villages in Bolivia, for instance. His reception nearly everywhere was spontaneously warm.

This suggests several things: That the peoples of other countries, if they know about American efforts to help, are genuinely friendly, regardless of the reigning politi-

cians. And that Mr. Vaughn represents a type of diplomat the like of which we could use more of. He speaks fluent Spanish and his knowledge of South American countries comes of long and energetic experience. His penchant for getting out into the fields and villages is the most effective type of diplomacy.

President Johnson seems to have picked just the right man for this assignment, judging by reports from the Vaughn tour.

The So-Called Crime Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, both this body and the Senate have passed a so-called crime bill. Neither bill meets the situation.

The following editorial broadcast by WTOP here in Washington on September 1 and 2, 1965, makes several important points with regard to these bills. One of the most important of these points is that a person who has been accused or arrested for crime is not a criminal and cannot be considered one until the charge is proved in a court of law.

It is my strong hope that no so-called crime bill will be forthcoming from the Congress until the Crime Commission makes its report.

The editorial follows:

THE SO-CALLED CRIME BILL

This is a WTOP editorial.

We can sympathize wholeheartedly with the effort by Congress to find new ways to fight crime. The crime bills passed by both the Senate and the House are in large part a reaction to increasing lawlessness in the District of Columbia. An object of both measures is to remove some of the restrictions on police, particularly in regard to arrest procedures. It seems to be a common assumption that the courts are too lenient with criminals and that law-enforcement officers are operating under too many legal handicaps.

But a common assumption is not necessarily a correct assumption. One problem in regard to the crime bills is that nobody seems able to prove that the Mallory Rule, for example, has any real bearing on how much crime is committed. Many people say there's a connection—but satisfactory evidence to that effect seems to be lacking.

What is even more important is that the court decisions which have raised such a hullabaloo have an impeccable purpose—which is to protect the most basic rights of citizens. The point ought to be made again and again that an arrested person is not a criminal. Neither is an accused person. He becomes a criminal only when he is proved so in a court of law. Some of those who complain about "coddling criminals" tend to ignore the process of law which is essential to everyone's freedom. The courts are performing a vital function by protecting individual rights and the attempt to modify their rulings should not be undertaken lightly.

So there are the two crime bills. The House version we consider to be totally unacceptable in many of its parts. The Senate version is more considered and restrained. Even so, finding a common ground between the pair of measures may be beyond the talents of the congressional conferees. If so, new crime legislation will be delayed awhile longer. Which could be a very good thing.

This was a WTOP editorial, Jack Jurey speaking for WTOP.

Students From Kalamazoo School District Awarded Trip

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, the past week three high school students from the Kalamazoo school district attended a seminar on foreign relations in Washington, D.C., accompanied by Dr. W. C. Chen, of Kalamazoo College, and Mrs. Grace Mauzy, of Central High School. The students were awarded this trip, sponsored by Kiwanis, for superior achievement in their studies. During their stay they had the opportunity to hear Mr. Rostow, Mr. Siscoe, Mr. Vaughn, Mr. William Bundy, and Secretary Rusk, in a briefing for the American Political Science Association.

My colleagues will find that these young citizens gained great insight and belief in their Government and express deep appreciation of the complexities, stability, and greatness of our democratic institutions. The following paragraphs were written by these students after attending the seminar:

REMARKS BY JOE HUGUENARD

I feel I have come to understand the enormous complexity of the decisions which must be made by our Government officials and which by their very nature will affect thousands of people both here and abroad. My observations have reconfirmed my belief and trust in America and her leaders as well as given me a realization that America is lead by men who reflect both the spirit and the conscience of the American people.

REMARKS BY KATHIE JOSLIN

Coming to Washington has been a broadening experience for me. I came with doubts in my mind as to the sincerity and dedication of our leaders. Many important people have taken time to talk with us and to answer questions, which relieved my fears. Washington seems to me a symbol of our freedom. During the 3 short days of my visit, I have remained overwhelmed by the dignity and honor of our Nation's Capital. Never before have I been in such a friendly atmosphere. The relaxed race relations and the concern of all the people for our well-being have given me added faith in the American people. I am leaving now with reassurance in our Government and our ideals.

REMARKS BY MIKE SLAUGHTER

My witnessing some of the origins of our Nation's policies has rendered two related yet distinct impressions. My position on the controversial American foreign policy was continually reaffirmed by each State Department speaker. Secretary Rusk's address, I believe, gave me the greatest satisfaction; however, each presentation exemplified the great technical skill and competence these men possess under pressure. These traits are mandatory in maintaining our commitments. In addition, I've experienced a renewed confidence in our leaders that stems solely from the multitude of background observations I have made during my stay. One may memorize a number of pertinent facts, but he perhaps does not understand the concepts behind them. In Washington, I received many facts, and, more important, I felt the concepts upon which our Nation was founded.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my Washington Report to my constituents for May 13, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(From Congressman JIM MARTIN)

FEDERAL AID AND FEDERAL CONTROL

When Congress was discussing the Federal aid to education bill we were solemnly assured by the administration and proponents of the bill that no Federal controls over our schools would ever follow the enactment of Federal aid to education. The people were told that those of us who suggested such a thing were just trying to scare them. What happened?

The very first order issued by the Commissioner of Education, Francis Keppel, following passage of the school aid bill, cracked down on school districts in the South. The Commissioner ordered desegregation under rules he laid down by a target date he determined and failure to meet his demands would result in withdrawal of Federal funds.

The desegregation plans of the Commissioner would represent a surrender by local and State authorities to Washington dictatorship in the operation of the schools. Yet, many school districts are struggling to comply in order to obtain the Federal funds. This should be a warning in accepting the promises of those who advocate turning local responsibilities over to the Federal Government.

If there are those who don't believe the extent to which Federal bureaucrats will go in establishing Federal controls, take a look at some of these quotes from the letter sent by Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel to school districts that have not submitted a plan of desegregation that meets his demands:

"The plan for desegregation submitted by your school district to comply with title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been reviewed by the staff of the Office of Education. * * * On the basis of our review, the plan submitted lacks the provisions which would be necessary to find it adequate under this regulation. * * * The law and the regulations require school authorities to take the necessary action to end the dual system of schools for white and Negro students as quickly as possible if the district is to participate in federally assisted programs. * * * I am enclosing a document which sets forth the guidelines by which I will be governed in determining the adequacy of desegregation plans * * *."

These quotes from the Commissioner's letter point up the dictatorial attitude of the Federal official who will have the power over local and State school boards. I intend to develop this matter and will address the House of Representatives on it as soon as my research is complete. In the meantime, I

would be interested in receiving from local school districts, their comments on the orders of the Commissioner of Education for desegregation and copies of any correspondence they may have had with the Office of Education.

SUPPORT POLICY AGAINST COMMUNIST AGGRESSION

Congress approved the President's request for a vote of confidence in his Vietnam and Dominican Republic policies by passing a supplemental appropriation of $700 million to finance these military operations. I voted for the proposal. It would have been more proper for the President to use funds he has available for this purpose or to include the request in a regular appropriation, but the special request did have merit in showing to the world, especially the Communist world, that Americans are united in opposition to Communist aggression.

Approval of the President's action in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic by all Republicans (his only opposition came from a handful of Democrats) does not mean we are happy with the overall foreign policy of this administration. The Dominican Republic is but one of the danger spots in Latin America. Castro Communists are carrying on a wide range of subversive activities in several other Latin American nations, including Guatemala, Venezuela, and Colombia. Since last November Communist guerrilla forces infiltrated those three nations and have been engaging in violence looking toward the seizure of power. In a meeting with State Department officials, I asked about Cuba's role in training Communists and was told that in Havana thousands of hard-core Communists are being trained, equipped, and sent out to subvert neighboring countries.

Therefore, we cannot stop with the restoration of order in the Dominican Republic. The source of the disease, Communist aggression in the Western Hemisphere supported and encouraged by Soviet Russia and Red China, must be eliminated. We should return to the determination of the Cuban resolution passed by Congress October 3, 1962, which stated we must "prevent by whatever means may be necessary, including the use of arms, the Marxist-Leninist regime in Cuba from extending its subversive activities." It is far past time for our State Department to support a strong, militant force of Cubans in exile in their determination to free their homeland. There must be no more Bay of Pigs, no more backing down when we impose a blockade of Cuba. Until the Castro regime has been eliminated and the influence of Soviet Russia and Red China removed from Cuba, we will continue to have Communist subversion and revolution in Latin American countries, and the United States itself will be in peril from the missiles aimed at us from this Communist fortress only 90 miles away. It should be made clear that determined action in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic to stop Communist aggression are not isolated incidents, but a renewal of U.S. policy to support our allies and all those nations who are determined to remain free.

World Law Day

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in favor of House Concurrent Resolution 468, expressing the welcome of the American people to the participants in the Washington World Conference on World Peace Through Law. The measure is identical to that which I introduced in the House on September 2.

The Conference will bring together leading jurists and lawyers from 120 countries throughout the world to discuss the development of legal rules and judicial systems and their application toward the maintenance of world peace. They will be here not only to discuss possible methods of establishing peace through law, but also to draft plans for new international courts, to codify and strengthen international law, and to develop greater acceptance of the principle of law and order rather than resorting to force and aggression.

The American people fully support the efforts of this Conference, one of the landmarks of International Cooperation Year. We look forward to the Conference's contribution to the cause of peace throughout the world.

Ella Gale's "$$$ and Sense"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I deem it a privilege to bring to the attention of our colleagues, a new book, Ella Gale's "$$$ and Sense—Your Complete Guide to Wise Buying," with a preface by that great Senator, PHILIP A. HART, of Michigan.

The book is of unusual interest not only because it covers a subject dear to the heart of every Congressman—economy and how to stretch the dollar—but because it is the subject of concern to every man and woman who over the years has felt the pinch of the increase in the cost of living.

We try to provide our families with the good things of life—improve our standard of living—give our children the best possible education—but the task becomes increasingly burdensome not only because so many things cost so much but because our system of marketing makes it more and more difficult to make intelligent choices. Writing on this subject in his preface to the book, Senator HART says:

No reader of this book needs to be told of the many frustrations consumers endure today. Unfortunately, we are all too familiar with the new refrigerator that doesn't freeze, as well as the old—a car that runs worse after being repaired—and the soap that doesn't get clothes sparkling white as the ad promised.

The thorn on the rose of our spectacularly high standard of living, it seems, is that as the number of the magnificent products vying for our purchasing dollar increases so does the difficulty of making wise buying decisions.

The Senator goes on to recommend Ella Gale's "$$$ and Sense" saying:

That's why I attribute a great value to "$$$ and sense" and the basic information which Ella Gale has jammed into it. The whole gambit of purchasing decisions is covered here—and covered well, whether you absorb one or two new facts—or 1 or 200—I would rate this book as a significant contribution to consumer education.

"Ella Gale has described well the satisfaction which can be derived by the individual who knows that she is spending her money as wisely as possible. And, I add a loud 'Amen'."

I add a second loud "Amen" and I would tell you that I have known Ella G. Roller who is writing under her maiden name, Ella Gale, since 1947, and find she is an expert who knows how to translate technical information into the idiom of the people. This she has done admirably in her new book, "$$$ and Sense."

She takes such a technical subject as how to figure true interest rates and in ABC's writes so that any housewife can tell the true rates on her installment charges. She provides a new, easy cost-weight table, developed at Cornell University, which the reader can take into the store and use, to figure at a glance, the cost per pound of, say, a 3-pound 3½-ounce box of detergent selling for 74 cents.

Ella Gale believes that "the difference between having money and having money worries lies in good management of what you have." In the chapter "How To Stretch Your Food Dollar," she says:

If you want to succeed in cutting food bills, you must read the ads, the label and comparison shop. These are your weapons to protect your husband's hard earned $$$. It takes time and patience, but as you gain experience you'll develop speed.

Writing on the problem of deceptive packaging, Ella Gale says:

Let's concede that manufacturers may have a problem involving settling of powdered products such as instant coffee and cocoa. But what kind of problem is there with box cookies or spaghetti or macaroni?

And, most sensibly, she asks:

Why can't the box be made to fit the contents * * * why do some manufacturers kid us with a puffed out package full of hot air?

She suggests:

To make sure you get the best buy for your money, compare one brand with another by comparing net weights and prices of each. Don't take for granted that identical boxes or cans have the same net contents. And, don't take for granted that a box or bottle that looks bigger contains more. Be a comparison shopper to make sure. It pays dividends.

Ella Gale gives practical money-saving tips on meat and even tells when it is better for you to select large, medium, or small eggs. She also advises on how to save on canned and frozen foods, milk, cheese, cereals. When it comes to food, you name it, it's there. Of ice cream she says:

If you buy a brand that tastes full of air, switch to another brand. There is no point in paying for extra air when you can inhale it free.

In 1939 Ella Gale, testifying before the old Anti-Monopoly Committee, known then as the Temporary National Economic Committee, pointed out that the

brand is not necessarily a guide to quality nor is the price. These themes run throughout her book. She urges that we check the ads and compare prices and in "$$$ and Sense" gives her own examples comparing actual prices, quality and services, offered by discount houses, department stores, mail-order houses, chain and independently owned stores. She not only tells how to save dollars when purchasing household appliances but give a complete rundown on installation charges, operating costs and how long the appliances will last. In addition to household appliances and food, she has fascinating chapters on clothing, house furnishings, white sales, trading stamps, discount stores, and credit buying. She tells how you can save money and how you can lose it by buying seconds or imperfects. She shows how a demonstration or floor model can be a good buy or a poor risk and she forecasts new developments in the exciting world of synthetic fibers and fabrics. The chapter "Your Dream Home" is of interest to people in big cities and small towns, single people and those with families. It helps them decide between the city, suburbs, and country, whether to rent, buy, or build and when a bargain is not a bargain.

Ella Gale's "$$$ and Sense" makes sense for men and women who want a dollar value for every dollar spent. It is indeed a guide to wise buying.

Boy Saves Drowning Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, I invite my colleagues to read an article which appeared in the Alameda (Calif.) Times-Star on September 8, detailing how Mickey Waldear, a 14-year-old Alameda boy, rescued a man who was in the process of drowning in a swimming pool. In this day and age when people are confused, it is refreshing to read of a young man who, at the risk of his own life, did not hesitate to do his duty. I hail you, Mickey Waldear.

The article follows:

LOCAL BOY SAVES DROWNING MAN—FULLY CLOTHED YOUTH RESCUES VICTIM IN POOL

A 14-year-old Alameda boy yesterday received hero's honors for rescuing a man from the deep end of a swimming pool.

The youth who performed the rescue is Mickey Waldear, son of Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Waldear of 1118 Bay Street.

Young Waldear and his brother, Chris, 13, were playing ping-pong beside the swimming pool at Highlands Inn, vacation resort near Carmel, when they heard a woman shout for help.

The local youth turned and saw the woman's husband drowning in the deep end of the swimming pool, unable to make it to the side.

Although fully dressed, Waldear jumped into the pool and pulled the man to safety.

The management of the hotel singled out young Waldear for honors when they learned of the rescue.

AWARD

He was given an award of merit by the Highlands Inn, which was accompanied by a letter of praise by the president, Robert J. Ramsey.

"It was a pleasure to have had you and your family with us, and we all appreciate your valiant act at the swimming pool," Ramsey wrote.

The award itsely read:

"This is to certify that Michael Gordon Waldear, most courageously, and without thought of his own welfare, dived into our swimming pool, fully clothed, in order to help an older person who was attempting to swim in deeper water than advisable.

"This young man was most gracious in his assistance, and most modest in his acknowledgement of the feat accomplished."

GRADUATE

The youth, who was graduated from Haight Elementary School last June, will enter Alameda High School next week.

Young Waldear, according to his family, was "modest" about his heroic act.

"The most important thing to him seemed to be to get out of his dripping clothes and go back to his ping-pong game," his mother, Helen Waldear, Lincoln School nurse, said.

A Look at Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL D. ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I read with great interest an article which appeared in today's Chicago Sun-Times newspaper, titled "A Look at Chicago," which is indeed a tribute to our fine city. I would like to have this article printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 13:

A LOOK AT CHICAGO

The current Look magazine makes us seethe with civic indignation.

An article about American cities starts with these words: "There has been so much talk lately about what's wrong with our cities that some people forget what's right with them.

Look took a look at what's right with Detroit, San Francisco, Houston, Washington, Baltimore, and New York. It described people or accomplishments of which those cities can be proud. Then the magazine examined Chicago and all it saw was the Robert R. Taylor Homes, a public housing project that it described as a concrete and steel city ghetto.

The articles about the other cities were exhilarating. They were in the spirit of Look's own description, "This issue is about people who find (cities) very much alive and people who are determined to make them better." The article about Chicago was depressing and unrepresentative.

As observers of the social scene ourself, we cannot object to another publisher writing about life in a crowded city public housing project. The project exists. It is crowded. But it is not representative of the kind of progress Look found in the other cities. That kind of progress is here—but in this issue, Look chose to overlook it.

If Look wants to take another look at Chicago we refer its editors to a talk recently given by Leo Burnett, a Chicago advertising executive who finds Chicago very much alive, to use Look's own words. His research is up to the minute.

What Mayor Jerry Cavanagh has been doing since 1961 in bringing Detroit back to life, Mayor Daley has been doing for 10 years.

Hartford can be properly proud of its Constitution Plaza but in Chicago more new buildings have been erected in the last 10 years than in any other city in the world. San Francisco can properly be proud of the new 75-mile rapid transit network it is planning but Chicago already has 540 miles of rapid rail service, 467 on suburban commuter trains and 73 by CTA. CTA operates the largest fleet of air-conditioned rapid transit cars in the United States.

Look told of Washington's pride in the accomplishments of its woman architect, Chloethiel Woodard Smith, who emphasizes the need for beauty and delight in constructing buildings. Reports Burnett: Chicago can be proud of the quality and beauty of its new buildings. Fortune magazine last January said that Chicago office buildings constructed over the past several years have displayed a striking high average level of architectural quality. But then, this is to be expected in Chicago, birthplace of some of the world's greatest architects.

We could go on and on telling of what's right with Chicago;

The new University of Illinois campus at Chicago Circle. More colleges and universities (58) than any other city. The largest private school system in the Nation—the Catholic schools.

The three new honey locusts for the new civic center, probably the largest trees ever transplanted in Chicago.

The new Oak Street beach with its concrete promenade. Beaches that can be used for swimming.

The great private urban renewal structures: Lake Meadows, Prairie Shores, University Apartments, Carl Sandburg Village, the housing program for the aged, Ford City, the finest air pollution control program in the Nation, acknowledged by the Saturday Review, the Nation's convention capital.

The reduction in crime. The best traffic safety record of big cities. Our new police department. The best fire department of any city over 1 million population.

The greatest medical center in the world.

The world's biggest and busiest airport. The rail hub of the Nation. More extensive motor-trucking services than any other city.

A great symphony orchestra. A great opera company. Great museums.

On second thought, our indignation with Look has cooled. The magazine has given us an excuse to remind Chicagoans of some of their achievements.

U.S. Bureau of Public Roads Policy Ruining Wildlife and Conservation Areas Criticized Strongly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, a strong voice has been raised against the ruthless policies of the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads in blasting "whiz ways" straight through parks, recreation areas, college campuses and conservation and wildlife areas. We are los-

ing many of our U.S. national heritages forever because of this shortsighted policy, which roughly brushes aside the values of recreation areas, parks, campuses, wildlife and conservation areas.

Mrs. Thomas M. Waller—Mrs. Wilhelmine Waller, known to many thousands as "Willie" Waller—makes an excellent statement to protect our priceless U.S. heritage and strongly states her opposition to the present policy of Federal Highway Administrator, Rex M. Whitten, of the Bureau of Public Roads.

This brings up my repeated question, "Why does the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads, in its policy of blasting through new whiz ways, run directly contrary to the President and Mrs. Johnson's statement of policy and work for beautification and for saving our wildlife and conservation areas, college campuses, parks, and recreation areas?"

Mrs. Waller speaks with competence and authority as witness before the Subcommittee on Public Roads of the Senate Public Works Committee for she is currently a member of Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor's Advisory Committee on Highway Beautification.

In addition, Mrs. Waller serves as a member of the advisory council to New York State's Conservation Commissioner, and she is a trustee of both the Mianus Gorge Natural Area and the Arthur W. Butler Memorial Sanctuary. She has also served from 1953 to 57 on the board of planners for the township of Bedford, N.Y.

Having long held the post of conservation chairman, Mrs. Thomas Waller is now the president of the Garden Clubs of America.

I believe Mrs. Waller's excellent statement should be called to the attention of the American people and the U.S. Congress as well as all people interested in gardens, wildlife conservation, parks and recreation areas. It is a pleasure to offer her thoughtful statement before the Senate Subcommittee on Public Roads for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

STATEMENT ON AUGUST 13, 1965, HEARING ON S. 1974 BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS, SUBCOMMITTEE ON ROADS, THE HONORABLE JENNINGS RANDOLPH, CHAIRMAN

Mr. Chairman, I am Mrs. Thomas Waller, of Bedford Hills, N.Y., president of the Garden Club of America, a national organization with member clubs from coast to coast and in Hawaii.

I greatly appreciate the opportunity of appearing before this committee.

In considering S. 1974, we realize that every year a million acres change from open country to concrete, stone and masonry, that bulldozers gouge out some 3,000 fresh acres of the United States daily. Our collassal highway building programs are literally gobbling up land; a freeway wipes out the equivalent of a 50-acre park with every mile. Furthermore, big dams are too often built at the wrong places, for development agencies are constantly seeking cheap power, regardless of the ensuing damage to wildlife, water and wilderness assets and recreational sites.

Our concern is with damage inflicted unnecessarily, which could be avoided, by consideration of all aspects of the problem, not merely those of the highway engineers. A review of the current conservation activities of our members provides evidence of our continuing efforts in the public interest to protect conservation and recreational assets from the damage—and often obliteration—caused by the building of new highways, dams, and overhead powerlines. There is not sufficient time to tell you of the various areas endangered by projects of this kind, which our clubs are striving to protect in 14 States from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A list of the areas in jeopardy and projects involved is submitted with this statement.

Our experience leads us to feel that the chief spoiler of our conservation resources is the Federal Bureau of Roads, which has more power today to shape our physical environment than any such group has ever before had in peace time. All too often this Bureau fails to build its projects in accordance with concepts of sound planning and conservation and, even today, seems to be unresponsive to the need for protecting conservation and recreational assets. S. 1974 will provide a much-needed review of their actions, but it does not contain the necessary teeth to provide effective and long-overdue legislation.

At the recent White House Conference on Natural Beauty the Panel on Scenic Roads and Parkways recommended that the Department of the Interior should resolve any problems where conservation values were involved, should a controversy arise between two governmental agencies, and we believe that this recommendation should be embodied in S. 1974, if this legislation is to be effective.

I give you, as an example of the necessity for some brakes on the power of the Federal Bureau of Roads, when conservation and recreational values are at stake, the case I know best, as it is in my own hometown. It involves a 10-mile segment of Interstate 87 from Armonk to Katonah, in Westchester County, N.Y. The State of New York twice recommended a so-called westerly alinement for this 10-mile section of road, and only after two refusals by the Federal Bureau of Roads reluctantly agreed to accept an easterly alinement, generally referred to as the Chestnut Ridge route. This location will destroy priceless conservation and recreational resources.

Under the terms of the instructional memorandum, dated May 21, 1963, the Department of the Interior reviewed this section of the highway in question and stated: "We find that the report of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, following its investigation of the alternate routes for this highway, strongly recommended against selection of the Chestnut Ridge route (which would violate substantial conservation and recreational assets). The report was concurred in by the Secretary of the Interior and transmitted by him to the Secretary of Commerce, with a recommendation that the alternate westerly route be utilized."

Despite the position taken by the Department of the Interior the Federal Bureau of Roads still insists that the Chestnut Ridge alinement be used.

The Garden Club of America is particularly outraged by this action, as the two natural area sanctuaries, in Chestnut Ridge, which will be irreparably damaged if Interstate 87 is built through the area, were both given by our members, and our two local clubs conduct educational programs therein.

The responsible public agencies which strongly recommend the selection of the westerly alternate location as being less detrimental to the important conservation values in the area concerned, are as follows:

State of New York: Department of Conservation; Department of Commerce; and Department of Public Works.

County of Westchester: Department of Public Works, Department of Planning.

Village of Mount Kisco: Village Board, Planning Board.

Town of Bedford: Town Board, Planning Board.

Village of Pleasantville.

National conservation organizations which are on record as opposing a road through Chestnut Ridge are: The Nature Conservancy; the National Audubon Society; Garden Club of America, Northeastern Zone; National Committee on Encroachments of Recreation and Park Lands; American Association for the Advancement of Science Study; Committee on Natural Areas as Research Facilities; the Wilderness Society; Wildlife Management Institute; Conservation and Research Foundation.

And to this list can be added 13 local conservation groups which took the same stand: Byram Lake Committee; Saw Mill River Audubon Society; Brinton Brook Wildlife Sanctuary; Aubudon Center of Connecticut; Beaver Valley Conservation Association; Mianus River Gorge Conservation Committee; Emergency Conservation Committee of Northern Westchester and Putnam Counties; New Jersey Audubon Society; Hawk Mountain Sanctuary; Rusticus Garden Club; Pound Ridge League of Women Voters; Bedford Garden Club; North Castle League of Women Voters.

The plain facts are that the route selected by the Federal Bureau of Roads bisects two existing natural area sanctuaries, comprising 250 acres and destroys entirely the prospect of enlarging these two sancturaies into a conservation area of more than 2,000 acres with an estimated value of $5 million, which gifts of land have been assured by written statements from adjacent property owners. The two sanctuaries are currently used by the public in general, and hundreds of school children.

The westerly location, by contrast, goes through the small 17 acre Marsh Sanctuary, which has little prospect for growth. In fact, few people even know that it exists. Despite this, Mr. Rex Whitton states by letter on June 22, 1965: "The selection of the Chestnut Ridge Route for Interstate 87 in Westchester County, N.Y., was not based on the ignoring or overriding of conservation consideration, but, instead, was based on those facts," and the press release from his department, when the selection of the Chestnut Ridge alinement was announced, reads "This was favored over the so-called western line, which bisects the nearby Marsh Sanctuary, Mr. Whitton said, because the eastern line is shorter and affects less acreage in the wildlife areas. In other words, Mr. Whitton sets his judgment on conservation values, and that of the Federal Bureau of Roads, above that of other responsible public agencies, and an appallingly strong and important list of conservation groups.

We feel that this case is proof of the need for legislation such as S. 1974, and we believe that this bill will do much to implement President Johnson's "New conservation." We strongly urge its enactment with the addition of the following amendment to section (b):

"3. Should a controversy, involving the protection of fish and wildlife and recreation resources in the area of the project, arise between two Federal Departments, the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior shall resolve the problem."

Respectfully submitted,

MRS. THOMAS M. WALLER.

Garden Club of America members have recently been working with others to protect areas in the following States from damage by highways, dams, and various commercial developments:

ARIZONA

Oppose the cutting of 2,000-foot swath by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers through the middle of a 45-mile stretch of the Salt and Gila River bottom lands near Phoenix.

Oppose the building of Bridge Canyon and Marble Canyon Dams, Lower Colorado River Basin projects of Bureau of Reclamation.

CALIFORNIA

Oppose the request of the city of Oakland to the U.S. Corps of Engineers to fill in 130 acres of San Francisco Bay.

Endorse Assemblyman Z'berg's bills to curtail near absolute authority of State department of highways.

Oppose freeway construction in National Tribute Redwood Grove near Crescent City. The Garden Club of America provided funds for establishment of this grove.

Oppose H.R. 8443, which provides amendment to the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 which would permit erection of head wires and high tower near Woodside.

Oppose building of Topatopa Dam and public highway in the Sespe Creek project, thereby destroying the last nesting grounds of the condor.

CONNECTICUT

Oppose highway in East Rock Park, New Haven.

Oppose contamination of the Connecticut River by the Connecticut Yankee Atomic Powerplant near Haddam.

ILLINOIS

Oppose invasion of Morton Arboretum by four-lane highway—protest successful.

Oppose intrusion of Wheeler National Wildlife Refuge by Interstate 65.

MAINE

Oppose State highway department plan to cut through the Scarborough Marshes, recently acquired by the State game and fish commission.

MASSACHUSETTS

Oppose development of Mount Graylock by tramway authority group.

Oppose opening national wildlife refuge to public hunting.

MINNESOTA

Oppose the Northern States powerplant in order to keep the St. Croix River for recreation.

Oppose logging and vehicular intrusion by the Bureau of Forests in the Boundary Waters Canoe area. Protest successful.

MISSISSIPPI

Oppose housing development on Eye Horn Island.

MONTANA

Oppose Bureau of Reclamation's plan to build two water storage dams in the Bob Marshall Wilderness area.

NEW YORK

Oppose building of Con Edison pump storage hydroelectric plant, and resulting damage to Harvard Black Rock Park, Storm King Mountain, Hudson River. Approved by the FPC.

Oppose location for proposed Oyster Bay-Rye Bridge over Long Island Sound.

Oppose irreparable damage in two natural area sanctuaries (given by two Garden Club of America members) and loss of 2,000 acres of potential park land if Interstate 87 is located in the Chestnut Ridge area, Westchester County.

Fire Island, Long Island. Threat of a four-lane highway resulted in such protest that the Fire Island National Sea Shore was established.

Oppose destruction of Great South Bay, Long Islands, marshlands, by filling in, pollution, and dredging practices.

Oppose reconstruction plans for Route No. 17, which would result in the ruination of the Beaverkill and Willowmere River.

OHIO

Worked for Swamp Creek Park proposal, Toledo, which resulted in saving 410 acres for Toledo Metropolitan Park Board.

Oppose invasion of Emerald Belt, Cleveland, by highway.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Oppose the damming of the Santee River Basin.

TENNESSEE

Oppose locating Interstate 40 through 35 acres of Overton Park, Memphis.

Oppose the building of the Tellico Dam.

VIRGINIA

Oppose building of Salem Dam, Fauquier County, which would flood 36 miles of the Rappahannock River, eliminating a wildlife sanctuary.

Fauquier County—Beverly Mill, historic landmark threatened by proposed highway construction; saved by Secretary Udall's intervention.

Oppose section in the Assateaque Island bill, which would permit the building of a highway in the national seashore, causing damage to the Chincoteague National Wildlife Refuge.

The Doors Are Open to a Settlement in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, Daniel Webster once said, "God grants liberty only to those who love it, who are always ready to guard and defend it." This is what we are doing in Vietnam; we are guarding and defending liberty.

President Johnson has opened all doors leading to a negotiated peace in Vietnam and only Hanoi is holding it up. All of us hope that the day will soon come when Ho Chi Minh will agree to meet at the conference table.

The following column by the distinguished journalist, Roscoe Drummond, describes how willing and able we are to meet at the conference table in an effort to resolve the issues in Vietnam.

The article follows:

THE DOORS ARE OPEN

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—With the help of Senator MIKE MANSFIELD—an Asian expert in his own right—President Johnson has now opened all doors to a negotiated settlement of the war in Vietnam.

Speaking for the White House as well as for himself, Senator MANSFIELD made it clear that all roads lead to the conference table and that by taking any one of them Hanoi can have peace instead of war.

There are three such roads to negotiation and all are acceptable to the United States:

1. We will go to the conference with or without a cease-fire, with or without a truce. We'll negotiate under either circumstance. Hanoi can choose. We prefer a cease-fire, but don't insist upon it.

2. We will go to the conference table without any advance commitment as to what either side would accept as a settlement. We would not be committed to the conditions which Hanoi might want. Hanoi would not be committeed in any way to the conditions we would want. Namely, unconditional discussions.

3. We are also willing to go to the conference table after a careful review of positions on both sides to see whether a basis for agreement is conceivable before formal discussions begin. Namely, conditional discussions, if Hanoi prefers it that way.

No door is closed. All avenues are open.

It was at this third door on which the Democratic Senate leader rapped the hardest.

Mr. MANSFIELD compared the objectives outlined by President Johnson in various speeches and the objectives set out by Hanoi on April 12. He found that on three out of four stated objectives both sides were in substantial agreement:

On the right of the people of South Vietnam to have a government of their own choosing without violence or coercion from any quarter.

On the right of the people of North and South Vietnam, on the basis of a peaceful, free, and verified plebiscite, to decide whether to unite or not to unite the two halves of the country.

On the desirability of having all foreign bases and troops removed from both South and North Vietnam after peace is restored.

Either side might phrase these conditions of peace in different terms, but basically each is saying the same thing. This is why Senator MANSFIELD says he sees a "narrowing of the issues" and hopes that his effort to narrow the dispute will show Hanoi that there is a basis for early negotiation.

A wide difference does exist on one objective. Hanoi wants the Communist Vietcong to have a decisive or major role in any government in South Vietnam and the Government of South Vietnam doesn't want any part of the Vietcong. That's what the war is all about. We're prepared to leave this issue to the verified decision of the people of South Vietnam—if Hanoi is.

The Mansfield speech did two other things:

For the United States it closed off the most serious chink in the unity of the Democratic Party in support of the President's military actions in Vietnam. Mr. MANSFIELD has been a partial critic and, more recently, a reluctant advocate of the President's course. His latest speech shows that Hanoi might as well give up its hope that disunity within the United States will force the Government to stop defending South Vietnam.

For Hanoi, the Mansfield speech might add credibility to Mr. Johnson's repeated willingness to negotiate. The Communists have been saying that the President's talk of peace was only a coverup for his desire for war. Not true. And MANSFIELD, speaking as one who opposed the air raids to the north, makes the peace overtures even more meaningful.

Monroe County Memorial to Mrs. George R. Navarre

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WESTON E. VIVIAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, the citizens of Monroe, located in the Second Congressional District of Michigan, which I am privileged to represent in the House of Representatives, recently held groundbreaking ceremonies for the Lillian Stewart Navarre Library in Monroe. The ceremonies, attended by Mayor William J. Agusta, City Director Leonard E. Leis, Monroe County NAACP Chapter President Charles Campbell, Jr., and County Librarian Mrs. Karl Daume, and others, celebrated the beginning of the construction of a fitting memorial to one of the most outstanding citizens ever to live in Monroe County.

If true citizenship is involvement for the betterment of one's community, Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Navarre was an extraordinary citizen. She served Monroe as a

teacher, member of the board of education, librarian, and member of the Monroe County Historical Society. She served the State of Michigan as State librarian and member of the State housing study commission. Mrs. Navarre's life stands as an example of what private citizens dedicated to civic betterman and progress can accomplish. I commend to my colleagues the following excerpts from an article in the Monroe Evening News, and a thoughtful editorial published in the same newspaper:

CIVIC LEADER DIES IN HOME

Mrs. Navarre's failing health curtailed her services on the Monroe Board of Education to which she was elected in 1960 in an unprecedented field of 12 candidates. A strong advocate of improved library facilities in the schools, Mrs. Navarre worked diligently and effectively in improving the school curriculum. She was not a candidate for reelection at the conclusion of her 4 years of service.

She was State librarian from 1933 to 1935, returning to Monroe December 2, 1935, and devoting the better part of the next 13 years to the development of the Monroe County Library. The dedication of the Edward D. Ellis headquarters building on South Custer Road in 1955 manifested the thoroughness of that development under Mrs. Navarre's guidance.

She resigned as county librarian in June 1947, with August 1 as the effective date, but continued to serve on the Michigan State Library Board, being named chairman in December 1955.

Mrs. Navarre was born in Frenchtown Township April 5, 1889, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Stewart. She attended a rural school in Frenchtown and graduated from Monroe High School in 1906, retaining an active interest in the school and its activities throughout her life.

She attended Michigan Agricultural College at East Lansing, now Michigan State University, and graduated from Michigan State Normal College at Ypsilanti, now Eastern Michigan University, with a life certificate in teaching and a bachelor of pedagogy degree.

She taught for 5 years in one- and two-room schools in Monroe County and was principal for a year of the Macomb County Normal School, a training school for rural teachers.

Returning to Monroe, she taught 7 years in the Monroe public schools and was principal for a year of the Lincoln Elementary School, giving her a background which proved of benefit in her years of service on the Monroe Board of Education. Both of her parents were rural school teachers as well as successful farmers.

Her active teaching career concluded in 1926 when a ruling by the board of education here prevented married women from holding teaching jobs. She had married George N. Navarre June 26, 1918, in Monroe.

Mrs. Navarre continued active in the field of education, doing a great amount of substitute teaching and also serving as county school examiner.

She became interested in politics in the early 1930's and became one of the State's best known Democratic women. She served as cochairman of the Monroe County Democratic Committee and her services to the party were responsible for her appointment by Gov. William Comstock as State librarian in August, 1933.

She had helped organize the Jane Jefferson Club of Monroe County and was largely instrumental in bringing Ruth Bryan Owen (later U.S. Ambassador to Denmark) to Monroe during the 1932 political campaign.

Mrs. Navarre's ability as an organizer and as a coordinator of the activities of others, in addition to her background in teaching and education, made her exceptionally well fitted for the State work. She was often called as a consultant on library matters.

Mrs. Navarre was an advocate of enlarged library services throughout her career and the merger of the Monroe County Library and the Dorsch Memorial Library of Monroe was largely the result of her consistent efforts. She was instrumental in obtaining changes in State law necessary to implement broadened library services.

She was always in the forefront of activities publicizing Monroe County, believing throughout her life in the destiny and development of the county.

One of her projects was the work of the Monroe County Historical Society in enhancing the historical heritage of the region. She took the lead in marking the site of old St. Antoine's Catholic Church on North Custer Road, the first church in the region. The site already had been marked but Mrs. Navarre wanted a more complete marking and a better setting to serve as a symbol of the religious life of the pioneers.

In 1949, Mrs. Navarre was appointed to the State's housing study commission by Gov. G. Mennen Williams. She was named to represent the farm housewife in the work of the commission.

A member of the Monroe County Historical Society since its reactivation in the 1930's. Mrs. Navarre was elected president in January 1962.

A LIFETIME OF DEDICATION

The passing of Mrs. George R. (Lillian Stewart) Navarre will be noted with sorrow by many citizens of the county in which she spent her lifetime.

Few residents, men or women, have maintained over such a long span of years a dedication to citizenship and to the brotherhood of man as did Mrs. Navarre.

As teacher, librarian, club member, historian, and mentor, her life touched countless numbers of county residents through the years. Her interest in the well-being of the county, in the progress of its communities and in its people was unflagging. Her official connections with the schools—as first a teacher and then a school board member—and as a librarian—both at county and State levels—were well known. Her interests in civic projects of all kinds, from community center to community planning, are perhaps lesser known.

She lived her life with constant thought and dedication to the responsibilities of citizenship. She kept herself informed on a wide range of topics—religion, politics, international affairs, civil rights, education and many others. She gave freely of her time for countless causes she regarded as worthwhile to her county or to her community or to her township, serving on many diverse advisory committees during more than half a century of active adult life.

Not only was she a dedicated wife and mother, she was a self-appointed conscience to many of her friends and acquaintances. She took her responsibilities as a citizen seriously, frequently arranging meetings of people she knew whom she felt should be exchanging views on this or that subject of current interest.

Years after most of her contemporaries had retired and left the battle of life to others, Mrs. Navarre continued as fresh and active a role in community affairs as others many years her junior.

An outstanding and permanent memorial to her civic effort is Monroe County's library system. She pioneered the way for its development with relief funds in the early days, later with penal fines money. More recently, her devoted work has been a major factor in planning the East Side library project.

Her sincerity, her purpose, her dedication to the responsibilities of citizenship will long inspire her many friends and acquaintances, young and old.

Peace Corps Volunteer Tom Hale Serving in Niger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the quality of Massachusetts Peace Corps volunteers has been high in the 4 years during which they have served in all continents of the earth. The latest issue of the Volunteer magazine contains an article by Tom Hale of Lexington, Mass. who is serving under difficult conditions in the recently independent country of Niger.

Tom and his fellow volunteers have done outstanding work in developing improved rural attitudes toward the need for literacy and the use of more modern agricultural techniques. I ask unanimous consent to include the article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

C'EST DU PROGRÈS AU NIGER

(By Tom Hale)

TILLABÉRI, NIGER.—The 43 volunteers who arrived in Niamey last September in the third Peace Corps group to Niger had been told they would be undertaking a difficult assignment. Niger, a landlocked semi-Saharan country, is one of the least developed of West Africa's newly independent nations. The rugged climate and the isolation would combine to undermine the morale of the new volunteers, warned the Peace Corps staff.

After nearly a year the Peace Corps project in Niger is still in good spirits, a little worse for wear but determined to assist in the effort to change the traditions which tie most of Niger's people and her economy to the past.

All illusions volunteers may have had about building tangible symbols of progress have by now been trodden under by the daily routine of teaching nutrition and child care, demonstrating animal-drawn agricultural equipment, or delivering another bundle of booklets to a rural-village adult-literacy class. Most volunteers have managed to adjust to the desert heat, the living conditions in locations sometimes hundreds of kilometers from the nearest town, and the limited variety of local food and high cost of imports, clothing, and hardware in the small but growing capital of Niamey.

In spite of these handicaps volunteers continue their work at upcountry outposts in Niger. And there are some diversions.

For example, hardly a volunteer working with agricultural cooperatives has escaped the shattering arrival of Peace Corps Director C. Payne Lucas at some distant village market. Lucas, a fervent advocate of learning the local language, at first invariably greeted the village chief with a hearty "goodbye" usually in the wrong dialect.

Most volunteers have made a special effort to learn either Hausa or Djerma, and many can handle themselves in any situation with a dialect, while a few speak the local language fluently.

Another problem is the inferiority complex bred by the proximity to Nigeria, a com-

paratively wealthy country on Niger's southern border which boasts 15 times as many people and a modern capital city. Nigeria is a well-known West African nation, but try to convince an American friend, relative, or magazine-subscription agency that Niger is a different, independent country. Only Allah knows how much mail from the United States is filed in the dead-letter departments of Niger's neighbor to the south.

Transportation has been another problem. In the wake of a new Peace Corps policy limiting the distribution of vehicles, many volunteers have purchased horses or camels. Those who got new jeeps discovered that maintaining a vehicle on the country's washboard roads imposed certain obligations, usually repairing tires. Niger's dirt roads are regularly smoothed by a tractor which drags a wire brush,. and half-inch brush slivers which break off in the road find their way into Jeep tires with alarming frequency. While no one has approached the Peace Corps-Niger record of 11 flats in one day, several volunteers are now considered agrégé (adept) in the fine art of flat-fixing.

Despite a few gripes about the minor problems of life in Niger, most volunteers are encouraged by the signs of progress—a group of farmers learning to use steel plows they have purchased with the aid of a government-sponsored credit program; a villager reading the provisions of a loan-repayment form thanks to adult literacy classes; a rural mother permitting her child to be treated at a local clinic; and Director Lucas greeting village chiefs using the proper salutation in the right dialect.

C'est du progrès au Niger.

The New Era

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I submit for reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, an editorial entitled "The New Era," taken from the Pensacola Journal of Wednesday, August 25. It tells of the very fine manner in which the August edition of Florida Trend magazine recounts the amazing growth pattern of northwest Florida's new era.

The editorial follows:

THE NEW ERA

Behind an attractive cover portraying Pensacola's Chemstrand plant in its industrial radiance, the August edition of Florida Trend magazine tells the amazing growth patterns of northwest Florida's new era—a time when the Panhandle draws its economic strength from chemicals, pine trees, and tourists.

The cover, typifying our area's new-found niche in the growing chemical industry, shows northwest Florida's largest industrial plant producing nylon. And this photograph, like others sprinkled throughout the more than 20 pages of words and pictures on northwest Florida and Pensacola, sets the mood for a moving tribute to this new era.

Florida Trend, an influential magazine of business and industry, sketches the recent economic development of the Panhandle and all of north Florida in a seven-page narrative, including many photographs of Fort Pickens, Pensacola, and Panama City deep-water ports, St. Joe Paper Co., at Port St. Joe, Armstrong Corp Co., at Pensacola, Miracle Strip Beaches, and Pensacola Naval Air Station.

But the real story of Pensacola is sandwiched into a 16-page report sprinkled with splashes of color photography and words befitting the heritage and culture of one of the Nation's oldest cities. This section portrays the true Pensacola story, its four centuries of yesterdays, the contrasting landmarks and scenic beauty, the importance of the U.S. Navy in our city's past and future, the excellent fishing and outdoor recreational advantages, the impact of the golf bug and the traditional Pensacola Open Golf Tournament, the various industries and their major roles in the community.

"Pensacola," says Florida Trend, "is not only one of the old cities of the United States but also one of the first in Florida to attract major industrial plants. Its port (Pensacola has the largest natural harbor on the Gulf of Mexico); its proximity to choice markets (New Orleans, Mobile, Atlanta, Birmingham, Jacksonville and Tampa are within overnight access) excellent labor resources and transportation advantages have long been recognized as prime assets by industry."

The magazine tells of Chemstrand ("It is the world's largest wholly unified nylon plant"), St. Regis Paper Co. ("The plant now turns out 1.5 million pounds of bleached and natural kraft papers daily from four enormous machines."), Helden Newport Chemical Corp. ("One of the pioneer industries in the area, having been established in 1924 to process turpentine, pine oil and resin from pine stumps."), Armstrong Cork ("With about 500 employees and 35 buildings on 34 acres on Pensacola Bay, Armstrong Cork Co.'s Pensacola plant dates from 1930."), Escambia Chemical ("Employing more than 430, Escambia Chemical has an industrial complex consisting of 10 plants on a 2,100-acre site at Pace, on Route 90 outside of Pensacola.") and others, including Archer-Daniels-Midland, Florida Drum Co. and the newest Southern Plywood Corp.

Too, there is the miracle strip: "Tourism is the most important industry along the miracle strip." The military installations: "The Pensacola Naval Air Station is known around the world as the basic training center for Navy pilots. Only slightly less well known is Eglin Air Force Base, the largest such base in the United States. When combined with Eglin Gulf Test Range, which extends over the Gulf of Mexico, for the the testing of Air Force weapons, particularly rockets, the base covers nearly 45,444 miles."

Panama City comes into the picture with Tyndall Air Force Base and its $30 million-a-year payroll, the U.S. Mine and Defense Laboratory, International Paper Co. and the new Deer Point fresh water reservoir which could supply a city the size of Detroit.

"Pensacola's major industries are timber-oriented and chemical plants," Florida Trend says, "taking advantage of north Florida's excellent forests or proximity to the Louisiana and Texas oil fields. Many business leaders of the area expect the Petro-chemical industry to grow appreciably in the future.

"There are two factors behind this reasoning; first, oil exploration in the area is expected to lead to major finds; and second, the development of barge transportation, especially after the Cross Florida Barge Canal is completed, will mean easier access to raw materials as well as direct, lost-cost barge access to rich northeastern U.S. markets for petro-chemical products."

The Gulf Intracoastal Waterway already rims the Gulf of Mexico from Brownsville, Tex. to Carrabelle, Fla., and barges busily ply between Pensacola and major Louisiana and Texas ports. When the canal is completed some years hence, it will connect the Gulf Intracoastal and the busy Mississippi waterways systems with the Atlantic Intracoastal which stretches from Florida north to New Jersey and New York. Industrial development people say that when this happens, numerous new plants will locate along its shores in Florida to take advantage of the low-cost transportation it will offer."

Florida Trend has penned an excellent portrait.

Myth and Reality in the Subcontinent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article written by Joseph Kraft, in the Washington Post on September 11, 1965:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 11, 1965]

MYTH AND REALITY IN THE SUBCONTINENT

(By Joseph Kraft)

Fighting over Kashmir expresses a double refusal to face reality. The Pakistanis still dream dreams that they can push around a neighbor five times their size. The Indians still dream dreams that Communist China is not a threat to their security.

In these conditions, the best, likely outcome is not a settlement of the Kashmir issue—nice as that might be. The best, likely outcome, the sensible target of diplomatic efforts, is an underlining of the realities that would cause both sides to cease from asserting claims they cannot safely press home.

Having meted out the blame evenly to foreigners, however, it is useful to look at the American role. This country has at stake many lives, and its good name; for if the subcontinent collapses, the Asian game is not worth the Vietnamese candle. But, far from having instilled in friends and allies a sense of the realities, the United States has first nursed their illusions, and then, when these were shattered by events, been rude.

At the outset, there was the pactomania period that followed Korea. Pakistan became the favored anti-Communist client, keystone of the SEATO and CENTO alliances and a chief recipient of American goodies. While there were provisions forbidding use of military aid against India, behind these clauses there was a knowing American wink.

The wink said that the Pakistanis were sturdy, anti-Communist Moslem chaps who, armed with American equipment, were more than a match for the neutralist, effete, and slightly Bolshy Indians. It was in that spirit that the Kennedys threw their glamorous Mount Vernon gala for President Ayub back in 1961, and that Lyndon Johnson, as Vice President, toured Pakistan and struck up his famous friendship with the camel driver.

Then in 1962, India was attacked by the Chinese Communists. The United States embarked upon a program of military assistance to New Delhi. That aid, offered without any return pledge for a settlement on Kashmir, cultivated the illusion that this country could be counted on to stop the Chinese while also strengthening the hand of the Hindu and military nationalists in Indian politics. Since the death of Prime Minister Nehru, these forces have been steadily pushing Prime Minister Shastri toward integration of Kashmir into India.

With the United States giving military aid to India, there was bound to be a cooling in Pakistan's love affair with this country. Indeed, by the fall of 1962, the Pakistanis were already normalizing border relations with Communist China. There followed an air agreement between India and Pakistan,

frequent visits of Chinese officials, and talk, at least, of aid.

Instead of accepting the inevitable in good part, this country reacted with a show of pique. For a starter, there was the stormy exchange between President Johnson and Pakistani Foreign Minister Z. A. Bhutto when the Foreign Minister came to Washington to participate in the Kennedy funeral ceremonies. The President put aside ceremony to dress down the Foreign Minister on the subject of an impending visit to Pakistan by Chinese Premier Chou En-Lai. The American official who formally bade farewell to Bhutto was so embarrassed by the episode that he could say nothing on the ride from Washington to the airport.

There followed a series of pinpricks that improved nobody's temper. Secretary Rusk was apparently offended because Foreign Minister Bhutto instead of joining him in Teheran for a CENTO meeting chose to accompany President Ayub on a visit to Moscow. After Bhutto dropped a few loose remarks about American imperialism, President Johnson cancelled, in a way that at least looked abrupt, a scheduled visit to Washington by President Ayub.

Then, in July, for reasons that could only be political, Washington postponed its contribution to the international consortium that is funding Pakistan's superb development program. It was in those circumstances, having just been rebuffed in the sharpest way, that Pakistan made the decision to force the issue on Kashmir which has set in motion all the present trouble.

I do not mean to imply that the United States, because it was first too sweet and then two rough to Pakistan, was responsible for the fighting. That is not the case by any reasonable measure of cause and effect. Still, the record teaches some lessons of importance to this country.

For one thing, it is almost always the American interest that international relations be conducted on a basis of tact and good manners; in the end, this country tends to pay most for explosions of temper. Secondly, there are always deep political pitfalls in undiscriminatingly military reactions to the threat of Communist aggression.

Key De Gaulle Advisers See Hope in Federal Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, press interpretations of French President de Gaulle's news conference of last week leaves the impression that he is adamantly opposed to any form of supranationalism—whether by means of the Common Market, European federation, or a wider Atlantic federal union.

Certainly, his recent moves have been toward French independence. He pulled France out of Common Market negotiations because he did not want majority vote substituted for national veto—at least until the agricultural issue was settled.

In his press conference he gave notice that by 1969 at the latest, France will have no part of the present integrated command structure of NATO.

In his press conference he also said:

I do not believe that this type of national abdication would be justified.

By "this type" he meant arrangements in which France would "take a back seat, put aside its national personality within international organizations constructed so that the United States can exercise, either inside or from outside, a dominant influence to which we have only to submit."

He thus qualified his criticism of "a federation called European, which would in fact be Atlantic."

Perhaps De Gaulle is gun shy of alliances for much the same reasons once set forth by the first U.S. President, George Washington.

In his farewell address Washington warned that alliances could be entangling and thus impair national effectiveness. He said all alliances, in all time, have been subject to interruptions and infractions.

Still, the same Washington in the same speech spoke favorable of a government for the whole in order to make possible the efficacy of the Union.

In its present form NATO is a union but a very imperfect one. Dressed up with a command structure which Washington himself might well describe as "entangling," it is nonetheless simply an alliance. As such it is of course subject to the same historical weaknesses which were just as obvious in Washington's day as ours.

Given the opportunity, would De Gaulle embrace a federal-union government for "the whole" as did Washington in an earlier era?

Suggestions that the answer may be affirmative come from Clarence K. Streit, editor of Freedom & Union magazine and for many years an advocate of a NATO federal union government. He was recently in Paris interviewing key advisers to President de Gaulle on the question of NATO's future.

Here is his report, prepared for the September issue of the magazine:

HOPE FOR ATLANTIC FEDERATION FOUND IN THREE DE GAULLE ADVISERS

The main thing politically speaking, I got from my recent trip to Europe was greater cause to believe that the best hope for meeting both the Gaullist and the anti-Gaullist difficulties, which Atlantic unification faces, lies in transforming NATO into a 15-nation federal union.

I brought back also a greater sense of the urgent need to push this solution forward more energetically on both shores of Atlantic, and (perhaps most of all) in the once great—and still potentially great—island in between. This urgency stems particularly from:

Declining European confidence in the United States and in President Johnson;

Growing pessimism as regards the danger of a currency crash precipitated by devaluation of the pound;

Receding belief in the danger of Communist aggression in Europe, which hitherto has been NATO's main cement, coupled with little understanding that the resulting Atlantic disunion allows communism to advance much more safely through a monetary crash;

Increasing division among the Europeans themselves, along with stagnation of thought and action, as a result of the coming parliamentary elections in Germany in September and the presidential election in France in early December.

With all this comes the growing force of two approaching deadlines. The first is January 1, 1966, when the Treaty of Rome ends the veto power in the Common Market, as regards agricultural and a number of other decisions—although the right to blackball a new member, which France exercised against British entry, would continue. The second deadline comes on August 24, 1969, when the NATO treaty will have been in force for 20 years, and the provisions in it allowing any ally to withdraw takes effect.

These two dates are now generally deemed disuniting factors because the Gaullist government is using them as means of pressure to retain its full veto power in the Market and to secure no less radical revision of the NATO treaty. The latter revision, we shall see, need not, however, weaken the treaty; it could strengthen Atlantica.

President de Gaulle is now the only powerful active force in Atlantica, thanks to President Johnson having defaulted leadership in this region ever since he entered the White House. Following Washington's example, the other Atlantic capitals now confine themselves to reacting like it, more or less querulously, to what Paris says and does. Since President de Gaulle is thus the precipitating factor in the situation, I would now turn to my main point and give some of the new reasons I found to believe that Atlantic federation is the best, if not the only, hope for effective Atlantic unification at present.

Twelve men have the ear of President de Gaulle, according to an article in May Réalités by the well-informed political editor of Le Monde, Pierre Viansson-Ponte. Three of the 12 have been friends of mine for periods ranging from 15 to 35 years. Two of them are among the half-dozen whom the General is said to be considering as possible successors. I shall refer to the three here as X, Y, and Z. On this trip, I saw all three—and Z several times.

All three I know to be convinced Atlantic Unionists of many years standing. Another of the 12 shares this view, to my knowledge; I do not know the private attitude of the other eight. It seems to me that there is hopeful significance in the mere fact that at least one-third of the 12 and one-third of the six are Atlantic Unionists. Certainly this fact does not fit into the picture of President de Gaulle that pervails in Washington, and elsewhere. Still less does what my three friends told me.

When I saw X, I reminded him that:

Soon after he had come to power with the general, I had asked him, in 1959, to use his influence to have France lead, jointly with the United States or alone if need be, in calling the proposed convention to explore the possibilities of transforming NATO into an Atlantic federation. He had told me at the time that he himsef was ready to "go for" in this direction, but must consult the general.

After that consultation, he had informed me of the result. It was not at all the rejection of my proposal which so many in Washington, and elsewhere, would have thought "inevitable," by their reasoning that, since the general opposes federation in Europe, and also the present U.S. role in NATO and the Atlantic Community, he must a fortiori oppose the Atlantic federal union proposal. The answer which X gave me was, instead, that France was still so weak that, if it took this initiative, Washington would not listen. The French Government would first have to bring to an end the war then going on in Algeria, stabilize the franc, and restore the economy.

After reminding X of this 1959 talk of ours, I pointed out that all three of these conditions had now been met: The Algerian war was ended. The franc had been restored to its 1914 gold value. The economy was so properous that France for several years had been among the nations with the greatest balance-of-payments surplus. In the light of this changed situation, I asked, what was his thinking now on the subject.

"I have been giving the Atlantic problem—and the long view of it—a great deal of thought, a great deal, lately," he answered. One reason for this was that he now "had more time to think" another was that in a few years any ally would be free to withdraw from NATO.

"If NATO is going to remain the present purely regional military pact it now is," he added, in a matter-of-fact tone, "it is finished as far as France is concerned." It must be revised before 1969, he continued, to include the global questions that affect the Allies, and widened also to include economic, monetary, and other nonmilitary affairs.

Mere revision of the Atlantic treaty, I said, was not enough. Too much time had been lost. A change as revolutionary—but as peaceful—as the change from the Articles of Confederation to the Federal Constitution in U.S. history was the only prudent solution now. The time had come to raise our sights to this level, turn from patching the obsolete to building an enduring new structure. This was imperative if only because of the rising threat of a world monetary crash, and the resulting depression, from which communism alone would profit.

When our 13 States had 13 different dollars, this monetary chaos and consequent danger of social upheaval had provided the incentive then for the revolutionary change from alliance to federation. Leadership in Atlantica now should have the foresight, wisdom, and courage to harness the monetary danger now to similar constructive aims. Reverting to the opportunity for such leadership which its strengthened position now gave France, I said:

"The improvement has been so remarkable, in fact, that, considering the situation facing the French, British, and American Governments in 1959, it seems to me that France, with the weakest cards, had done much more with them than the other two."

"That is true as regards Britain," Monsieur X said, "but not as regards your country. The United States remains the world's strongest power by far. And there lies the heart of the difficulty. The result is that the relations between it and us, and the other Western European nations, remains one in which the latter are in the position of receiving, or asking, while Washington is in the position of Lady Bountiful, granting favors. This is not a good basis for friendly relations."

To X, this was obviously the heart of the difficulty, not only for France but for a Western Europe in general. I believe he is right, both as regards his thinking that the enormous power of the United States, and the resulting problem of balancing it fairly, is the main problem from the French standpoint, and also as regards its being the nub of the matter for the other European allies.

Clearly, Monsieur X could not conceive of the United States sacrificing any of its power that mattered, least of all its power to go it alone or handle as it thought best the interests it now has "all round the globe." The "State Department and the Defense Department feel—enjoy—the power they now wield, and naturally want to keep it." It was equally inconceivable to X that any self-respecting Europeans could remain in the position of "accepting" whatever minor concessions Washington might accord (grant) them, while remaining in the driver's seat.

I answered that I could understand this feeling in France and in Europe, and agreed that there could be no real solution of the problem, so long as the relationship of the European nations with the United States remained on the present basis of national sovereignty. No matter what slices were cut off it, the result would still be baloney; Washington would remain a dominant giant, towering above its European allies. But the American federal system, I reminded him, had long assured a fair and yet workable arrangement between large and small States by its Senate-House balance. This balance was made possible because the essential unit in a Federal Union is the sovereign citizen, not the sovereign state, as in an alliance.

A Federal Union—as my friend, X, knew from our previous communications—safeguards the equal status of each sovereign citizen in both his roles—as citizen of his own state or nation, and as a citizen of the Union. In the former capacity, he would retain, in an Atlantic Federation, equal voting power in the Senate. The national government would lose its power to instruct and recall the nation's Senators, since they would be elected by the people and responsible only to the citizens.

At the same time, the citizen of every nation in the Union would gain equal voting power with all other citizens of the Union in the House of Representatives, since the number of these Representatives from each nation would be proportionate to its population. The equality of the sovereign citizen, whether he lived in the smallest or the largest nation, was further assured by the fact that the consent of both Senate and the House would be required for action.

"Once the NATO alliance is turned into a Federal Union," I concluded, "France and our other allies would no longer be faced with the U.S. Government's colossal power. The basic relationship thereafter would be the equal democratic one of sovereign citizen to sovereign citizen. Each citizen of France, and of every European nation in the Union, would enjoy the same voting power as would every American citizen, in electing his representatives in both Federal Houses, and in choosing the Federal Executive. The combined voting strength of the European nations in the Senate would guarantee each of them against American domination resulting from its huge population, and the combined voting strength of the American members of the House would safeguard the United States against domination by any European bloc in the Senate."

Our Federal Union association, Monsieur X already knew, has long been working to get the United States to invite its NATO allies to explore the possibility of transforming the present government-to-government relation to this federal citizen-to-citizen one. I pointed out that we have made substantial progress, especially in recent years, in gaining influential support for this proposal. I cited evidence of this with which our readers are familiar, but which is news to most Europeans, because their press, like the U.S. press, has not reported it.

"A major obstacle we now face" I went on, "is that most Americans think that such an offer would be naive because they assume, from the reports they read of President de Gaulle's statements, that France would inevitably reject it. But suppose that we should nonetheless succeed in our efforts; suppose that Washington should propose to its NATO allies that their delegates explore with ours in a convention the Atlantic federation idea. What do you think would be the response here?"

After a thoughtful pause, Monsieur X answered slowly: "If the United States made such an offer of federal union, it would change the situation radically for us, and all concerned. Personally, I would be happy to participate in such a convention."

He thought this favorable reaction would be general in Europe, where thinking on the future of Atlantica and of Europe was now very confused. He was clearly troubled himself about their future, and skeptical that Washington in the foreseeable future would offer such a Federal answer to the problem. He said that he would be glad to talk with any U.S. Senators or Members of the House who were thinking along such lines.

I then explained the two approaches to such action which American supporters of it are now considering:

1. Governor Rockefeller's proposal that the purpose of the convention be to seek agreement on a solemn declaration that the eventual goal is to turn NATO into a Federal Union, and to fix a tentative timetable for achieving it by stages.

2. The idea of harnessing the present monetary danger to the Atlantic Union cart by calling the convention to "explore the possibility of creating a common Atlantic currency, 'and related matters.'" I stressed the importance of the three words so quoted: They allowed the convention to explore also the political, military, nuclear, and economic matters that are tightly related to the monetary question, and thus tackle the problem as a whole, as did our Convention in 1787.

Monsieur X agreed that the monetary peril was now a much better motive power for Atlantic Union than was the military one. He also agreed that it was essential, however, to assure that the "related matters" were added to it. He saw constructive possibilities, too, in having the convention aimed at agreement on federation as the eventual goal, and on target years for transition to it in the monetary, economic, nuclear, military, and political areas. I got the impression from his attitude toward both approaches that it might be best to combine them.

About an hour later that day I had a talk with my old friend, Monsieur Y, in the key office he occupies. I told him of the answer X had given (in boldface type, page 4) to my question. Y found it very significant.

"The readiness of X to participate in such a Federal Convention means he believes it would have the general's support," Y commented at once. 'His [X] participation would be interpreted by everyone to mean the project had the Gaullist stamp of approval."

This indicated to me that Y considered X very close indeed to President de Gaulle's thinking on this subject.

Before telling of my talk with X, I asked Y the same question that I had asked X. Y thought the European and especially the French reaction to such an offer would depend a good deal on its timing. He explained he meant that action to revise the NATO treaty must start "well before 1969, when any ally can withdraw," and that "between now and 1969 there will come a moment when such an American proposal to federate would go over big." I suggested that this moment might be hastened by the danger of devaluation of the pound bringing the monetary crisis to a head this autumn. He agreed it might well be the precipating factor.

Before coming to Paris I had sent Y the statement which Senator FRANK CARLSON had made May 31, on the occasion of his coming on the Board of the Federal Union association. In it the Senator had urged that "all in NATO cease blaming our towering troubles on this or that ally" and "begin to explore, as our forefathers did, whether the basic fault does not lie in the alliance structure itself."

The statement went on to back Governor Rockefeller's Federal Union proposal. The Senator's concluding paragraphs are given in the box below.

My friend Y told me that on his own initiative he had personally given the full Carlson statement to President de Gaulle, because he found it so important. When he saw the President again a few days later, he continued, the general had told him that he found the statement very interesting, and had added:

"When the time come for us to get down to fundamentals with our American ally, I shall keep in mind Senator CARLSON's statement."

I am not sure how to interpret these cryptic words, but was pleased to find that

both Y and my friend Z, to whom I repeated them, considered them a favorable reaction. Certainly it would seem a favorable sign that the Senator's strong Federal statement not only was thus read by the general but was not dismissed as out of the question. Nor is this all.

PARIS WHITE HOUSE READS F. & U.

When I happened to ask Y, who gets Freedom & Union regularly by airmail, if he had read a recent article of mine in it, he answered: "I not only read it, but I read everything you write on Atlantic Union. What is more, I keep them all filed over there [pointing to a filing cabinet]. And I can assure you, further, that your magazine is also read and kept on file in the Elysée Palace [the Paris White House]."

How can all this be accounted for by those who accept the view of President de Gaulle held by the State Department and echoed by most of the U.S. press? If his rejection of a sincere U.S. Atlantic Federal offer is so sure that there's no use in even sounding him, why does a Frenchman who knows the general's thinking much better than does Secretary Rusk, venture to give him the Carlson statement?—and get a reaction he deems favorable?

If the general is moved only by delusions of grandeur and nationalistic aims, why should such a magazine as Freedom & Union be read in his establishment—let alone receive apparently more consideration there than in the White House? Is the answer perhaps that the federation we urge gives the best safeguards against any nation dominating Atlantica—and that what the general really seeks to block is not closer union with the United States but any solution of the Atlantic relationship that lets Washington continue to dominate?

After leaving Monsieur Y, I saw that evening my third friend among the dozen "who have De Gaulle's ear"—Monsieur Z. I had seen him a couple of times before since arriving in Paris, and knew that he too believed that the General's door remained open to a genuine offer by Washington to explore Atlantic federation. I told him of my talks with X and Y. (All three have known each other, of course, for many years, but each seemed very interested in what the other two had said to me on our common concern.)

Z shared Y's view of the significance of X's answer to my question and interpreted it in much the same way. He was pleased to learn that Y had handed Senator CARLSON's plea for federal union to the General and got the reaction he did. Monsieur Z made some concrete suggestions—which I cannot divulge now—on what should be done next to advance our cause in France.

My talks with X and Y clearly encouraged Z in the Atlantic Union views and hopes he had previously expressed to me. They left him sharing the conclusion which I myself drew from my talks with all three De Gaullist friends that day—June 22—and expressed that night in my notebook in these words: "Am confirmed in the thought that if the United States offers Federal Union to France it will have a good reception." They left Z, as they did me, cheered by the most optimistic conclusion I heard that day. It came from Monsieur Y; his parting words when I left his office were these:

"You know, mon cher, I think that one of these days practically everyone is going to wake up and find he was an Atlantic Federalist all along."

—CLARENCE STREIT.

The statement by Senator CARLSON, referred to in Mr. Streit's article, was issued May 31. In it the Kansas Republican and member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee urged Atlantic Federal Union. Here was his concluding comment:

Obviously the goal of Federal Union involves great difficulties—but I believe they are much less "towering and troubling" than those which President Johnson agrees we face by our present course.

It will take time, of course, to reach this goal—and how much time de we have left? We must speed action—and we shall hasten it greatly merely by joining with our allies in a solemn Declaration that our final objective is an Atlantic Union. When we have reached that agreement, can we not agree on a tentative timetable for reaching the goal?

Once we Americans decided to send men to the Moon, we fixed a time for achieving even that unprecedented goal—and our Atlantic goal is not unprecedented. In our own history we have the best of precedents for Federal Union of the Free. It must encourage us to lead now in this enterprise of bringing more of Heaven down to Earth—a truly "towering" enterprise, but not a troubling one.

Schweitzer Monument: His "Reverence for Life"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, much has been written and is being written on the life of Albert Schweitzer, world citizen. He has been criticized by some who say that his jungle hospital and his approach to helping the Africans was old-fashioned. Perhaps his methods were outdated, but the philosophy which carried him through his work is as up-to-date as the most modern medical laboratories of civilized society. The philosophy of Dr. Schweitzer, "reverence for life," is timeless. It is the spirit which is the basis of our modern day Peace Corps. It is the ideal for which Albert Schweitzer foresook the comforts of civilization and thereby kindled the imagination of the world. I am sure it is this "reverence for life," which sparks the youths of our country to volunteer for the Peace Corps and continue the "Great White Father's" work all over the world.

Mr. John Griffin, associate editor of the Honolulu Advertiser was one of the few who saw Dr. Schweitzer at work in his African jungle hospital. Mr. Griffin's cold and analytical but nontheless inspiring article which was published in the September 6, 1965 issue of the Honolulu Advertiser follows:

SCHWEITZER MONUMENT HIS "REVERENCE FOR LIFE"

(By John Griffin)

Albert Schweitzer was many things in the 90 years just ended by death in his east Africa hospital.

He was a Renaissance figure who won youthful fame in music, philosophy, theology, and then a half century ago, left civilization to become the world's most famous missionary doctor.

As a Peace Corps official last year, I was fortunate enough to see him in the image most of the world carries—the elderly figure with the sun helmet, white hair and mustache working with the natives in a riverside hospital surrounded by the vast African jungle.

And yet Schweitzer's place in history will not be marked by the patchwork of rough buildings he has constructed on a hillside by the vast Ogooue River.

It has already been announced that his work will continue. Doubtless the foundation that bears his name could raise many millions.

But it is an irony of Schweitzer's passing that his memory may best be served by replacing his life's work with a new hospital designed for the Africa of today and the future.

For it is no great secret or scandal that in many ways the great doctor and his hospital were as out of date as the colonial-era pith helmet he wore.

In his devoutly paternal way, he viewed the Africans as intellectual children who would be more comfortable in a hospital with living facilities as primitive as their villages.

Perhaps the saddest aspect of Schweitzer's passing is that, while he may leave such a hospital, he leaves no Africans behind trained to staff it.

And yet the French and others, in Gabon and elsewhere in Africa, have provided well-used modern hospitals and have shown that "natives" can be trained as doctors, nurses, and technicians.

The real monument to Schweitzer is not a ramshackle hospital on a lonely hillside, although he and this hospital have saved many thousands of lives.

The monument is that he gave up a life of greatness to live what has been called a philosophy of great simplicity.

He has identified this philosophy as "reverence for life." It says that man has a duty to care about other living things, including the suffering of his fellow men.

Albert Schweitzer is great, then, as one of the world's great symbols of humanitarian ideals.

No bickering over his outdated ideas on medical facilities and the capabilities of Africans should overshadow the fact he was the Peace Corps 50 years before it was founded.

Many have and will continue to improve on his approach and methods. Few will find a better view of man's duty in this world.

The Alliance for Progress: A New Face and Force

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, despite many fine accomplishments, the Alliance for Progress still has a long and difficult road to travel if it is to achieve the bright objectives that were so bravely set forth 4 years ago.

But as John Goshko points out in an article which appeared in the Washington Post yesterday, a new and constructive force has come to the Alliance in the presence of Jack Hood Vaughn, the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. He deserves our commendation for his recent intensive and successful tour of Latin America.

Mr. Speaker, I include this article for our colleagues' consideration and attention:

VAUGHN SQUEEZES LOVE INTO LATIN ALLIANCE

(By John M. Goshko)

"What it means," said the U.S. official, "is that the bankers are giving way to the Peace Corps types."

Standing by the edge of a dusty road in rural Ecuador, the official was referring to a speech that had just been delivered in perfect Spanish by a red-haired "gringo" named Jack Hood Vaughn. He is Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, and at that moment 2 weeks ago, he was midway through a 17-day, 26,000-mile tour of Mexico, El Salvador, Panama, Ecuador, Chile, Bolivia, and Peru.

His objective, hammered at in an endless chain of speeches, was to assure Latin Americans that the Alliance for Progress still looms large in the affections of the Johnson administration. He delivered this message in terms that were distinctly different from the tone with which Washington has addressed the Latins during the past year and a half.

Instead of the lectures on budget balancing and currency stabilization that the Latins have come to expect from visiting U.S. officials, Vaughn talked mostly of the "human side" of the Alliance and of how President Johnson regards the ambitious scheme for social and economic change as the Latin American counterpart of the Great Society.

"AYAYA VAUGHN"

Today, Vaughn is back at his desk in Washington. But the reasons for his trip are fixed in the kaleidoscope of images that arose as he traveled: the Aymara Indians on Bolivia's windswept Altiplano hoisting him to their shoulders amid shrill cries of "Ayaya Vaughn" ("Long live Vaughn"); the elderly woman in the slums of Santiago, Chile, who gave Vaughn an apple because she wanted to do something for "a friend of President Kennedy"; the children in a Salvadorean village who had been taught by a Peace Corps volunteer to tootle the "Star-Spangled Banner" on their grabbag collection of instruments.

Each of these incidents, spontaneous and free of government premeditation, illustrates the basic vein of goodwill that exists toward the United States among Latin Americans. It is, however, a goodwill rooted in a situation that poses a special problem for the Johnson administration.

Vaughn himself met this problem in Nogales, Chile, where he visited an emergency housing center for people made homeless by recent earthquakes. The residents, who were building a makeshift town square, told Vaughn and U.S. Ambassador Ralph Dungan that they planned to name it "John F. Kennedy Plaza" and inquired if the American Embassy could provide a bust of the late President.

It was only the latest in a flood of similar requests that the Embassy has received from all corners of Chile. But, as Embassy officials admitted under questioning, they have yet to be asked for a bust of Lyndon Johnson.

THE KENNEDY ERA

It is clear that United States popularity and enthusiasm for the Alliance built up during the Kennedy era has steadily declined.

To a great extent, this was inevitable. President Kennedy, as the creator of the Alliance, as a visitor to Latin America and as a man who died a martyr's death, was hard to replace in the favor of Latin audiences.

Even more, however, the Johnson administration's lack of "image" in Latin America has been the result of the personnel and the policies directed at hemispheric problems since Mr. Johnson entered the White House. But this, as the official standing in the dusty road said, is changing.

Essentially, the story can be summarized in the differences between two men. Vaughn, the people-oriented son of a Montana cowboy who entered the State Department from the Peace Corps; and his predecessor, Thomas C. Mann, the prototype of what the administration likes to call the "hard-nosed professional" in diplomacy.

Until now, the story has centered on Mann, whom President Johnson invested with the joint titles of Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs and U.S. Coordinator of the Alliance. A specialist in economic matters, he was, in Mr. Johnson's words, "the one clear voice" of U.S. Latin American policy.

There is no question that the Alliance made striking advances under Mann's prodding. But these had to do with growth rates and other matters most readily measurable by the bar graphs that are understood and appreciated only by economists.

While this focus may have been necessary, it was hardly the heady stuff to which the Latins had become accustomed in the Kennedy period. Nor were matters helped any by the austere, reserved Mann's impatience with the Latin love of ceremony and by his tendency to hector the Latins in schoolmasterly fashion.

In short, if the Alliance has prospered materially these past 2 years, it has starved emotionally. And, as a result, it has fallen prey to a restless discontent that has caused critics to write the Alliance off as just another foreign aid program.

Now, the administration apparently has elected to go back to first principles and attempt to reinfuse the Alliance with some of its old zeal. In this, the 45-year-old Vaughn has emerged as the operative figure.

His background seems to be excellent. He visited Mexico as a teenager, studied Spanish in college and taught it at the University of Pennsylvania. His two decades of Government work included service as cultural affairs officer and Agency for International Development representative in Africa and Latin America. He was Director of the Latin American program for the Peace Corps and then became Ambassador to Panama.

But Vaughn, who inherited the Latin American portfolio when Mann moved up to Under Secretary of State, has been an unknown quantity. Overshadowed by Mann and bogged down by the Dominican Republic crisis during his first weeks in office, his views on overall Latin policy did not register clearly.

In the cornfields and housing projects of Latin America, however, they came through loud and distinct. Essentially, he said the future emphasis of the Alliance must be on the "human sector"—on providing the slum dweller and campesino with the education and care that will take him into the mainstream of modern life.

Perhaps he summarized it best in an address to the U.S. Embassy staff in Santiago. Noting that he had been a bureaucrat for almost 20 years, Vaughn said he wondered why bureaucrats were so afraid to use the word "love" in talking about American efforts to help underdeveloped nations and people.

"Tom Mann," said one listener, "would have gagged before he got a line like that out."

The diffident and soft-spoken Vaughn peppers his remarks with such unabashed sentiments. On the career Foreign Service, for example:

"If I had my way, every young Foreign Service office who now spends his early career stamping visas would be forced to put in 2 years with the Peace Corps or 2 years in private business as a salesman or an assistant assembly-line foreman—anything that would teach them how to deal with people and get along with them."

Regarding the future of the Alliance, Vaughn cites a long list of projects ranging from what he describes vaguely as "building institutions" to the "need to convince the wealthy Latins that they should take their money out of their European and North American bank accounts and put it into the development of their respective countries."

But the major need, he adds, is education. "And by that I don't mean building classrooms. I mean upgrading the quality of education from the primary to the university level, training more teachers and improving the skills of those who are already there."

In Chile, Vaughn points out, only 30 of every 100 children who enter the first grade finish primary school. "Yet Chile is one of the more advanced countries educationally. It just shows how much there is to be done in the education field. If it's not done, the Latins are licked before they start."

Despite their zeal to strike out in new directions, Vaughn and his associates are careful to stress that the new emphasis does not mean a repudiation of Mann's basic approach to Latin America. What is being done now, they insist, is only the next logical step.

"Until now," Vaughn says, "the emphasis had to be on economics. There were several countries that had to be bailed out of bad financial fixes, and there had to be a drive for the basic economic changes like income tax reform and agrarian reform.

"Now, 14 of the 19 Latin countries in the alliance at least have such reform laws on the books. Basic economic development has reached a point where much of it can be turned over the Inter-American Development Bank and other lending agencies, and now we can concentrate the direct U.S. aid on the social sector."

In addition, Mann, who now is third-ranking man in the State hierarchy, has general authority over U.S. policy in all underdeveloped areas and thus continues to have the final say on Latin American matters. He also continues to be Lyndon Johnson's principal adviser on the area and is expected to remain so.

"But," says one State official who has worked under both men, "despite their different personalities and approach, there's really no dispute between Tom and Jack.

"Mann is sure to step in when there's an important economic question up for discussion or when it's something involving Mexico (a country where Mann served as Ambassador and in which he retains a special interest). But the social development field just isn't his cup of tea, and he's sure to leave what's done there pretty much up to Vaughn."

The implication seems to be that while Mann will remain overseer of the administration's Latin American strategy, the choice of tactics will be left to Vaughn.

In exercising this choice, he seems determined to heed the admonition once advanced by a now-forgotten Latin American statesman: "You must remember that your money is important to us. But it is not all that we want. We want your attention and your affection as well. We are like a woman that way."

The U.N. Embargo Against Red China and North Korea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call the attention of my colleagues to excerpts from a forthcoming book on the timely subject of East-West

trade. Now in the form of an article called "The U.N. Embargo Against Red China and North Korea," it demonstrates the efficacy of trade controls against the Communist camp. It is the work of Dr. John Norman, professor of history and government at Fairfield University and the author of "Edward Gibbon Wakefield: A Political Reappraisal" and "Labor and Politics in Libya and Arab Africa" as well as numerous articles.

The first part of the article follows:

THE U.N. EMBARGO AGAINST RED CHINA AND NORTH KOREA

(By John Norman, professor of history and government at Fairfield University)

Before the United Nations itself undertook any embargo action in the Korean conflict, the United States had already persuaded the West to curtail its trade in war items with the East. For example, a short time before the American recommendation for U.N. sanctions, Prime Minister Clement Attlee stated on May 3, 1951, that no military materials had been shipped to Red China from Britain in the previous 3 months. He assured the House of Commons that British policy on strategic exports, including rubber, was being formed in full agreement with Washington, and that U.N. sanctions were being discussed. These discussions had been going on since the early part of the year.

On February 1, 1951, the General Assembly of the United Nations, by a rollcall vote of 44 to 7 with 9 abstentions, adopted resolution 498(V) condemning the Communist Government of China as the aggressor in Korea. A signal point of this resolution called for the establishment of a committee which would consider the implementation of further sanctions against North Korea and its sister aggressor, Communist China. The General Assembly's move, which was opposed by the five Soviet bloc votes and those of India and Burma, represented the first unified, multilateral step in the U.N. toward economic restrictions against the Communists. Resolution 498(V) also provided for the formation of a Good Offices Committee whose task was to pursue the continuing United Nations policy of seeking an end to the hostilities in Korea.

The sanctions committee, later named the Additional Measures Committee (AMC), consisted of the members of the Collective Measures Committee; i.e., Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Egypt, France, Mexico, Philippines, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia. At the AMC's first meeting on February 16, Ambassador Selim Sarper of Turkey was elected Chairman, Joseph Nisot of Belgium Vice Chairman, and Keith C. O. Shann of Australia Rapporteur. During this session, Burma and Yugoslavia announced that they would not be able to participate in the committee's work. At the next meeting in March a subcommittee of five members (United States, United Kingdom, France, Australia, and Venezuela) was constituted to study practical measures and priorities. This unit recommended unanimously on April 19 that, when the full group considered additional measures to be invoked against Communist China and North Korea, priority should be given to the consideration of economic sanctions. The recommendation was accepted by the AMC on May 3, 1951.

Ernest A. Gross, Deputy U.S. Representative, introduced a draft resolution to the Additional Measures Committee which argued for a complete embargo of war materials against North Korea and Communist China. He pleaded that "no soldier in Korea should be the target of a bullet manufactured in the free world," and that a U.N. embargo would help persuade Peiping to agree to a peaceful settlement. The unanimity of the subcommittee in advocating priority of economic measures and its acceptance by the AMC was not as simple as it seemed.

Initially, at least, the U.S. proposal received a rather cool reception and aroused some apprehension both within and without the assembly. Sir Gladwyn Jebb of Great Britain and M. Francis Lacoste of France declared that their governments had long since enforced economic measures as comprehensive, at least, as those proposed in the draft resolution. They felt that official assembly affirmation of controls, which were already being effected by most member states, would yield few practical benefits, while perhaps endangering the prospects of a cease-fire in Korea. Gross, on the other hand, stated that the U.S. proposal was definitely in accord with the three outstanding United Nations objectives: (1) supporting its forces in Korea, (2) helping to end aggression, and (3) helping to achieve a peaceful settlement. Meanwhile, outside the General Assembly, in the British House of Commons, the controversy reached a more heated pitch. Appearing before that body, Defense Minister Emanuel Shinwell declared that Britain had stopped exports of strategic materials to Communist China. The opposition strongly challenged Shinwell's comments and indicated that the United States was not satisfied with Great Britain's behavior in the matter of strategic embargoes.

After spirited debate, the draft proposal was slightly amended and approved by the Additional Measures and First Committees and finally on May 18, 1951 resolution 500(V) was adopted by the General Assembly. Forty-seven nations favored the resolution, none voted in the negative, eight abstained, and the five Soviet bloc delegates did not participate. The pertinent sections of General Assembly resolution 500(V) recommended that every state:

"(a) Apply an embargo on the shipment to areas under the control of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and of the North Korea authorities of arms, ammunition, and implements of war, atomic energy materials, petroleum, transportation materials of strategic value, and items useful in the production of arms, ammunition, and implements of war;

"(b) Determine which commodities exported from its territory fall within the embargo, and apply controls to give effect to the embargo;

"(c) Prevent by all means within its jurisdiction the circumvention of controls on shipments applied by other states pursuant to the present resolution;

"(d) Cooperate with other states in carrying out the purposes of this embargo;

"(e) Report to the Additional Measures Committee within 30 days and thereafter, at the request of the Committee, on the measures taken in accordance with the present resolution."

Though not embodied in the resolution, the AMC recommended—when it submitted its draft to the Assembly—that the primary responsibility for guarding against the circumvention of the embargo, through transshipment and reexport abuses, should be met by the states wherein the exported items originated. The report recognized that many and varied practical difficulties precluded "instituting transshipment licensing in each state over all items controlled by every other state." The committee urged that each state obtain assurances about the end use of goods prior to their exportation. As noted in the General Assembly's embargo resolution, each state, individually, determined which commodities it exported should be included under the proscribed categories of the embargo list. Since it was highly conceivable that one state might prohibit the exportation of items and another state allow quested that states permitting shipment of goods which were so embargoed by others avoid expanding trade with Communist China and North Korea.

Under the provisions of the resolution the AMC was to serve as a continuing group, receive progress reports from member and nonmember states, conduct research in methods of achieving optimum effectiveness, and inform the General Assembly of action taken in these instances. Resolution 500(V) also reiterated the United Nations policy of desiring the attainment of its objectives in Korea by peaceful means, and to this end the Good Offices Committee was directed to continue its good offices.

Vigorous opposition to the embargo resolution was expressed by the Soviet Delegate, Yakov Malik, and his four satellite comrades. Malik charged that the United States and the aggressive core of the United Nations had pressured the action, which was absolutely illegal, since the imposition of such sanctions was solely within the jurisdiction of the Security Council. Claiming that this was a flagrant violation, the five Soviet bloc Delegates refused to participate in the voting.

In rebuttal, Dr. Antonio Quevedo of Ecuador contended that the legality of the Assembly's resolution could not be challenged since it was being passed pursuant to the Security Council's basic resolution of June 27, 1950, which advocated all possible aid to stop aggression and establish peace in Korea.

Gross adroitly answered the Soviet objection by pointing out that on a previous occasion members of the Communist bloc had thought it within the competence of the General Assembly to impose economic sanctions against a nonmember State. He quoted the Polish draft resolution and Byelorussian amendment thereto, of November 1 and 4, 1946, wherein they had urged the member nations of the General Assembly to "terminate diplomatic and economic relations * * * with Franco Spain." The Soviet logic was manifestly inconsistent.

Although India abstained from voting on the ground that it had opposed the original Resolution 498 (V) which had established the AMC on February 1, 1951, Sir Benegal Rau of India declared that his country had not sent war materials to Communist China or North Korea, nor did it intend to. Burma seconded India's stand. Nationalist China regarded the resolution as too limit ' and vague.

On June 15, the United States submitted its first report to the AMC. Commenting on this event, Mr. Gross declared that in his opinion, the economic measures being taken against the Chinese Communist aggressor would not only be impressive, but, as far as the free world was concerned, would be very close to 100 percent efficient. They would help bring closer the day when the conflict would end and the United Nations aims achieved through peaceful means.

The report consisted of a summary of the measures taken by the United States to control its trade with the aggressors, accompanied by documentary annexes. The report stated, among other things, that the scope and detail of the U.S. munitions list, the list of atomic energy materials and the U.S. positive list might aid cooperating countries in implementing the embargo by offering a basis for effective customs administration, control of transit trade, and control over transport of forbidden shipments which it was the aim of the United States resolution to fulfill. The report went on to say that the United States would prevent by all the means within its power the evasion of controls on imports imposed by other countries under the U.N. resolution, and would cooperate fully with other countries and the additional measures committee in executing the purposes of the embargo.

The U.N. Secretary-General reported that by the end of June reports and messages concerning the embargo resolution had been received from 40 member and 9 nonmember

states. Thirty-one member and three (a subsequent report mentioned four) nonmember states reported that they had implemented the resolution, and two member states had abstained from voting on the resolution because they did not trade with the areas subject to the embargo. The five Soviet bloc member states reported that they had refused to transmit the text of the May 18 resolution to their respective governments on the ground that it was illegal. Similar messages had been received from the nonmember Soviet satellites of Hungary and Rumania.

By the end of September the score concerning the embargo resolution was as follows:

Member nations: Twenty had taken economic action prior to passage of the resolution and subsequent measures represented no substantial change; 19 nations had taken definite steps upon receipt of the embargo recommendation; 2 had submitted the sanctions for their governments' consideration; 3 were implicitly exempt, for they had not traded in such items with the Communists.

Nonmember nations: Seven states had either formally or implicitly, because they had no economic intercourse with Communist areas, implemented the resolution; three governments had taken the matter under consideration. The attitude of the Soviet bloc has already been indicated above.

In addition to the United States, which in its initial report enumerated specifically items under proscription, France, Britain, the Netherlands, Indonesia, and the Philippines outlined in careful detail, in their first reports, those commodities which they deemed to be under the generic categories of the embargo.

The United Nations embargo resolution was a significant landmark in that it was the first truly serious attempt to impose international economic sanctions against an aggressor. As opposed to the League of Nations sanctions against Fascist Italy in its aggression against Ethiopia, the United Nations embargo achieved more unity in adoption, more universality in scope, and more effectiveness in application. A comparison of the United Nations action and that of the League of Nations points up this contrast. Although only three nations formally opposed sanctions against Italy in 1935, the unity was but superficial, for the restrictions adopted were rendered practially innocuous by the deliberate omission of oil and other items useful in the production of weapons. And, manifestly, "the sanctions that were put into force did not seriously interfere with the Italian conquest of Ethiopia nor deeply disturb its economic life [since] they were neither universal, extensive, nor prolonged enough to do so." In contrast, the U.N. sanctions included petroleum and "items useful in the production of arms, ammunition, and implements of war."

Some of the more significant reactions to the AMC embargo are worth noting. The New York Times editorialized thus:

"The committee's action marks the first major success of the patient but persistent efforts of our Government to bring other nations into line with a step which the United States had taken long ago. There can be little doubt that the Senate hearing on the dismissal of General MacArthur, which has focused wide attention on the continued flow of war materials to our enemies, helped to bring this about. In particular, it helped to persuade the British Government to drop its opposition and to support a measure which, the British delegate explained, had also become necessary because of the continued unwillingness of the Peiping regime to make any move toward a cease-fire or a peaceful settlement."

Ernest G. Chauvet of Haiti remarked that the Additional Measures Committee should have been renamed the "Late Measures Committee." Newsweek commented that it was not till 102 days after its formation on February 1 that the AMC recommended any additional measures.

The noted authority on the U.N., Leland Goodrich, observed that the AMC after reporting on the largely favorable response of U.N. members, ceased its operation when the truce talks started. It made no proposals as to the effectiveness or strengthening of of measures adopted or the specific additional measures to be imposed. Hence there was scarcely any of the centralized coordination needed, despite the great degree of cooperation secured by the United States.

Though Goodrich was correct in saying that the AMC stopped functioning when the armistice negotiations began, the U.S. Government still considered it a continuing body. Walter P. McConaughy, Director of the Office of Chinese Affairs, stated in 1954 that the armistice did not end the aggression in the absence of a political settlement, so that Peiping's threat called for "a continuance of the concerted U.N. economic sanctions." He went on to prophecy that if Pieping were permitted to trade freely, it would ignore the consumer needs of the Chinese people and concentrate on industrial and strategic imports required to construct a military economy which might later be directed against the United States. McConaughy made a particularly accurate prediction concerning the prospect of a Sino-Soviet rift resulting in part from trade restrictions: "By maintaining a policy of pressure and diplomatic isolation we can at least slow the growth of the war-making potential of Communist China and retard the consolidation of its diplomatic position. A relationship of dependence on the senior partner as complete as we can make it will not make the embrace any more congenial for either the Soviet senior partner or the Chinese Communist junior partner."

Communist reactions were alternately defiant and defensive. For weeks Peiping called for lifting of trade controls once a Korean truce was signed. The Peiping Kwang Ming Jih Pao blamed the U.N. embargo for severely hurting the economies of the southeast Asian countries, which had had a large and long-time trade with China. The pro-Communist Ta Kung Pao of Hong Kong expressed a general sentiment when it said: "Once the war comes to an end, there will be no longer any justification for the embargo and the capitalist countries will be no longer under any obligation to carry out the illegal embargo resolution of the U.N. In connection with this, official quarters in Britain have already expressed their views. They have said that if an agreement is reached on armistice in Korea, the policy of embargo should be revised. The propaganda chief of the Indonesian Government has also said that an armistice in Korea would be beneficial to Indonesia, because the embargo on rubber shipments to China would no longer be valid.

Somewhat earlier, William D. Pawley, Special Consultant to Secretary of State Dean Acheson, declared in Hong Kong that truce talks did not justify loosening economic sanctions against China. He also said that Hong Kong officials had been "understanding and cooperative," but that the United States wanted them to help more than they had. It was no secret that Peiping was able to buy some strategic items smuggled in from Hong Kong and Macao despite efforts to prevent this illicit trade.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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Ernest G. Chauvet of Haiti remarked that the Additional Measures Committee should have been renamed the "Late Measures Committee." Newsweek commented that it was not till 102 days after its formation on February 1 that the AMC recommended any additional measures.

The noted authority on the U.N., Leland Goodrich, observed that the AMC after reporting on the largely favorable response of U.N. members, ceased its operation when the truce talks started. It made no proposals as to the effectiveness or strengthening of of measures adopted or the specific additional measures to be imposed. Hence there was scarcely any of the centralized coordination needed, despite the great degree of cooperation secured by the United States.

Though Goodrich was correct in saying that the AMC stopped functioning when the armistice negotiations began, the U.S. Government still considered it a continuing body. Walter P. McConaughy, Director of the Office of Chinese Affairs, stated in 1954 that the armistice did not end the aggression in the absence of a political settlement, so that Peiping's threat called for "a continuance of the concerted U.N. economic sanctions." He went on to prophecy that if Pieping were permitted to trade freely, it would ignore the consumer needs of the Chinese people and concentrate on industrial and strategic imports required to construct a military economy which might later be directed against the United States. McConaughy made a particularly accurate prediction concerning the prospect of a Sino-Soviet rift resulting in part from trade restrictions: "By maintaining a policy of pressure and diplomatic isolation we can at least slow the growth of the war-making potential of Communist China and retard the consolidation of its diplomatic position. A relationship of dependence on the senior partner as complete as we can make it will not make the embrace any more congenial for either the Soviet senior partner or the Chinese Communist junior partner."

Communist reactions were alternately defiant and defensive. For weeks Peiping called for lifting of trade controls once a Korean truce was signed. The Peiping Kwang Ming Jih Pao blamed the U.N. embargo for severely hurting the economies of the southeast Asian countries, which had had a large and long-time trade with China. The pro-Communist Ta Kung Pao of Hong Kong expressed a general sentiment when it said: "Once the war comes to an end, there will be no longer any justification for the embargo and the capitalist countries will be no longer under any obligation to carry out the illegal embargo resolution of the U.N. In connection with this, official quarters in Britain have already expressed their views. They have said that if an agreement is reached on armistice in Korea, the policy of embargo should be revised. The propaganda chief of the Indonesian Government has also said that an armistice in Korea would be beneficial to Indonesia, because the embargo on rubber shipments to China would no longer be valid.

Somewhat earlier, William D. Pawley, Special Consultant to Secretary of State Dean Acheson, declared in Hong Kong that truce talks did not justify loosening economic sanctions against China. He also said that Hong Kong officials had been "understanding and cooperative," but that the United States wanted them to help more than they had. It was no secret that Peiping was able to buy some strategic items smuggled in from Hong Kong and Macao despite efforts to prevent this illicit trade.

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Appendix

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my newsletter to the people of the Seventh District of Alabama for May 27, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(From Congressman JIM MARTIN)

JOB OPPORTUNITIES NEEDED

Regardless of the good intentions of those who demand that the South immediately solve the problems facing its concentrated Negro population, the basic problem will remain until we have improved education and made more job opportunity. Employment for unskilled and uneducated whites and Negroes is the fundamental need. The right to vote means little to a man who cannot find a job by which he cannot support himself and his family.

With the heavy concentration of Negroes in many southern counties, it is not possible to create in those local areas the job opportunities needed. The so-called civil rights leaders, who shed crocodile tears over the plight of the Negroes, are not concerned with jobs for them. This is apparent in the efforts of Martin Luther King and other agitators to discourage industry from locating or expanding in Alabama and other Southern States—even though their boycott hurts most the very people they claim to want to help.

LETTER TO BISHOP LORD

Several months ago I wrote a letter to Bishop John Wesley Lord of the Methodist Church, pointing out the problem and the inability of the South to provide job opportunities without assistance. I suggested to the good bishop that the churches of America take the lead in promoting a plan to give those Negroes who would like to relocate in a section of the country where they could find jobs, and opportunity to do so. In my letter, I pointed out that if each church congregation in the Nation would open their arms and hearts to one, two or more good Negro families, making them welcome in their communities, help to educate them and find jobs for them, within 5 or 10 years at the most, the race problem would disappear.

Unfortunately, Bishop Lord never answered my letter. I received a form letter from him in which he presented arguments justifying his joining the Selma demonstration, but he made no mention of my letter or its contents. Perhaps he did not read it, although I did write him a second letter calling attention to the first, and this one he ignored completely.

There are many good peple in the United States who are deeply concerned about the plight of the Negro in the South, but they are opposed to assuming any responsibility in their own communities. This was shown in a recent Gallup poll in which northern whites opposed relocation of Negroes from the South. Fifty-two percent of those questioned in the North opposed having Negroes move into their neighborhoods. Even of the 33 percent in the North who favored relocation, one-third opposed having them move in as neighbors.

This is the kind of hypocrisy prevailing among many northerners on the race issue. This prevents the only workable solution—giving Negroes equal job opportunity and educational opportunity in every State and section of this Nation. Until the Northern States, many of them with less than 1 percent Negro population, are willing to accept the colored as neighbors and friends as we do in the South, agitators will continue to flourish, and our country will be weakened by the hatred that has been generated against the Southern States for more than 100 years. I am trying to change this attitude by contacting national magazines, as well as civic and religious leaders, to urge them to at least consider lending their efforts toward taking concrete and effective action in helping impoverished southern Negroes to enjoy to the fullest the American dream in every section of this great land.

ANTIDUMPING BILL

On May 26, I introduced an amendment to the Anti-Dumping Act to plug loopholes in present laws which permit foreign manufacturers to injure American industry by dumping their goods on American markets at low prices. This practice hurts business, industry and, most of all, American workers. This bill to correct the situation is supported by a number of Members of Congress in both House and Senate and in both political parties. The bill is now pending before the Ways and Means Committee, and I am hopeful we can get action on it in this present session.

HOME RULE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

There will be a determined effort in this Congress to give the District of Columbia home rule. Lyndon Johnson is urging it, and all the liberals, who control this Congress, are behind the effort. The next month will be devoted to citywide observances to push for turning the Federal City over to locally elected politicians. As the pressure for home rule is applied, it is interesting to study recent population figures. Twenty-five years ago 28.4 percent of the people in Washington were colored, 71.6 percent white. Today 58.2 percent are Negro. Among youngsters under 20, more than 70 percent are colored. There are 183,000 fewer whites in the District today than there were 15 years ago. Crime in the District has jumped upward by 83 percent in the last 7 years, with 87 percent of all major crimes committed by Negroes. Ten thousand Negroes are on relief. Of the 4,529 illegitimate babies born in the District in 1963, 4,145 were Negro—one-fourth of all the births in Washington.

THERE IS A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE PARTIES

The basic difference between the Republican and Democratic Parties was shown in a recent questionnaire sent by a California Congressman. These were some results:

On unseating the duly elected Mississippi delegation in the House at the demand of the Mississippi Freedom Party, 50 percent of the Democrats answering the questionnaire agreed; 55 percent of the Republicans answering opposed.

On a complete test ban of nuclear weapons to enable the United States to maintain its lead over the Communists, 46 percent of the Democrats favored it, while 61 percent of the Republicans were against such a ban.

Fifty-eight percent of the Democrats were in favor of liberalizing our immigration laws, while 46 percent of the Republicans were opposed to letting down the bars.

U.S.S. "Benjamin Franklin"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the successful completion of the first sea trials of the U.S.S. *Benjamin Franklin*, our 30th Polaris nuclear submarine, is a significant milestone in the development of U.S. seapower and one which deserves our recognition.

I am proud of the fact that a native of Canton, Ohio, Capt. Donald M. Miller, was in command of the U.S.S. *Benjamin Franklin* during these trials and it is indicated that he will continue to be its commanding officer after the submarine is commissioned.

My congratulations and good wishes go to Captain Miller and Mrs. Miller, the former Marquita Mize, of Canton, whom I remember well, their children and his parents, Mr. and Mrs. D. S. Miller, of St. Petersburg, Fla.

I ask leave to include with my remarks a most interesting and informative, even inspirational, letter concerning Benjamin Franklin which I received from Admiral Rickover at the time of the sea trials. The letter has a lesson in it for every patriotic American:

U.S.S. "BENJAMIN FRANKLIN"
(SSBN 640),
AT SEA, NORTH ATLANTIC,
August 30, 1965.

Hon. FRANK T. BOW,
U.S. House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. BOW: We have just successfully completed the first sea trials of the U.S.S. *Benjamin Franklin*, our 30th Polaris nuclear submarine. We also have in operation 22 attack-type nuclear submarines, making a total of 52. The *Benjamin Franklin* was built by the Electric Boat Division, General Dynamics Corp., Groton, Conn.

This ship is named for Benjamin Franklin (1706–90), one of the most illustrious of our Founding Fathers. A plain man of the people, his life was the American success story writ large. In his autobiography he speaks of his "lowly beginnings" and notes with quiet pride that he "emerged from the poverty and obscurity" of his birth to "a state of affluence and some degree of reputation in the world." He did so purely on merit for he was, in every sense of the word, a self-made, man, owing little if anything to luck or the assistance of others, never pushing ahead at the expense of a fellow man.

Franklin was the youngest son of a poor tallow chandler who had migrated to Boston from England and married as his second wife the daughter of a former indentured

serving maid. With 17 children to raise, he could give Benjamin only 2 to 3 years of schooling, but he encouraged him to study on his own, a habit which was to remain with Franklin all his life. At 10 the boy went to work in the family shop; at 12 he was apprenticed to his half brother to learn the printing trade, this being considered a suitable vocation for one whose love of books was already manifest.

In later life Franklin often remarked that he could not remember a time when he did not read. Books were his teachers. Through them he made himself a well-educated man. Taking the best authors as his models, he worked hard at perfecting his writing, eventually achieving a simple, lucid style. His thirst for knowledge never ceased. Since he wanted to read foreign books, he decided at 27—a busy young merchant—to teach himself to do so. "I soon made myself so much the master of the French," he remarked, "as to be able to read the books with ease. I then undertook the Italian." Later on, "with a little painstaking, acquired as much of the Spanish as to read their books also." He read not only for instruction but for enjoyment. His taste was catholic. All his life, men of learning and position, who would ordinarily not bother with an artisan, sought Franklin's company. He supposed it was because "reading had so improved my mind that my conversation was valued."

At 17 Franklin had learned all his brother could teach him and was ready to make his own way in the world. He went to New York but could find no work there, so continued on to Philadelphia. This is how he describes his arrival there after a long and uncomfortable trip—walking 50 miles, getting nearly shipwrecked, and helping to row a boat part of the way: "I was dirty from my journey; my pockets were stuffed out with shirts and stockings; I knew no soul, nor where to look for lodging. I was fatigued with traveling, rowing and want of rest. I was hungry and my whole stock of cash consisted of a Dutch dollar." He bought three large bread rolls. Wandering about town, munching, he met a fellow traveler. He gave her and her child two of his rolls. Thus did Franklin enter the town that was to become his permanent home, where he would rise to wealth and fame.

Seven years later he owned his own print shop, a stationery store, and a newspaper. He had in the meantime perfected his art by working for 18 months in England and could do the most intricate and difficult print jobs. At 26 he began the highly profitable annual publication of Poor Richard's Almanac. He managed his affairs so ably that at 42 he retired with an income equivalent to that of a royal governor. Though he was good at it, moneymaking never interested him, except as a means to obtain leisure for the things he really enjoyed: reading, study, scientific experimentation, social discourse and correspondence with men of similar interests.

While still a journeyman printer, he had founded a club for sociability and self-improvement, called the Junto, of which he later said that it was "the best school of philosophy, morals and politics" then existing in Pennsylvania. Its membership of about 12 consisted of alert, intelligent young artisans, tradesmen and clerks who liked to read and debate. They met Friday evenings to discuss history, ethics, poetry, travels, mechanic arts and science (then called "natural philosophy"). It has been said of this group that it "brought the enlightenment in a leather apron to Philadelphia."

Franklin, who was full of ideas for improving life in Philadelphia and the Colonies in general, submitted all his proposals to the Junto where they were debated. Once accepted, members worked hard to get them put into effect. As a result, improvements were made in paving, lighting and policing the town; a volunteer fire department and milita were formed; a municipal hospital was established; the foundations were laid for what became the University of Pennsylvania and the American Philosophical Society. Of most lasting importance, perhaps, was Franklin's plan for a subscription library, the first in the Colonies. Access to books, he felt, meant that "the doors to wisdom were never shut." The idea caught on. He noted with satisfaction that the numerous libraries springing up everywhere "have improved the general conversation of Americans, made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the Colonies in defense of their privileges." The value of knowledge to man and society has never been put more succinctly.

When he was 40, Franklin discovered electricity. It was then a sort of magic, a parlor trick. Franklin—ably supported by his Junto—threw himself into experimentations and developed a workable theory which he proved in his famous kite experiment. In the 6 years between 1746 and 1752 his contributions to electricity changed it from a curiosity to a science, and in the process made him world famous. His writings on electricity were compared with Newton's optics; he became the friend of most contemporary scientists, was made a member of virtually every scientific society and received honorary degrees from 20 universities. He was the first American scientist to win universal acclaim; the first American author to have his books translated and read as widely in Europe as in America. When he was sent to Paris, as America's first Ambassador to a major power, the admiration of France for Franklin's scientific achievement in catching lightning and putting it to man's use contributed not a little to the success of his mission: winning the help of France to the Revolutionary cause.

As a man of leisure, Franklin found himself more and more drawn into public service, this being expected of anyone who had the time and ability to serve. He became a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, the Committee of Five charged with drafting the Declaration of Independence, the Second Continental Congress, and the Constitutional Convention. In one way or another, he represented America abroad a total of 25 years, becoming an exceedingly skillful diplomat. His statement, in hearings before Parliament, of the case of the Colonies against the hated Stamp Act was masterly and helped bring about the repeal of this act. He was among the first to recognize that not merely taxation but legislation in general without representation could not be borne by Englishmen, whether they lived at home or abroad. The bond uniting England and its Colonies, he argued, was the King, not Parliament. Had his dominion status theory been accepted, the war might have been prevented but, as he sadly remarked, "there was not enough wisdom."

At 65, Franklin began his autobiography, intending it for his son. When pressure of public duties interrupted work on the book, one of his friends pleaded with him to complete it. All that had happened to Franklin, he urged, was of great historic interest since it was "connected with the detail of the manners and situation of a rising people." Moreover, the way he had planned and conducted his life was "a sort of key and explained many things that all men ought to have once explained to them, to give them a chance of becoming wise by foresight."

His philosophy of life, the virtues he cultivated—competent workmanship, honesty, industry, and frugality—are within everyone's grasp; they are as important to a good and successful life today as in his time. No American child ought to grow to adulthood without having read the autobiography of this talented, wise, and good man, who personified all that is best in America. "Merely by being himself," wrote Mark van Doren, "he dignified and glorified his country."

Respectfully,

H. G. RICKOVER.

Cultural Influence of the Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, it often seems that under the ideas of Government predominating today we are teaching people to have their hands out waiting for whatever gifts may be coming down to them from Washington.

We all agree that where needs are justified, and where Government action can reasonably meet those needs, this kind of action is appropriate. But we have gone far beyond what can be justified by reasonable men.

We have gone dangerously far in the direction of downgrading responsibility of the family, the church, and the community. As a result the breakdown of family life is already evident: we have seen results beginning to appear, and certainly the situation will become worse before it gets better.

Individuals in our country today need perhaps more than anything else a balanced set of moral values if we are to meet the swiftly changing environment. And a balanced set of moral values is acquired in the home.

This subject was handled most expertly and effectively recently in an address by Mr. Floyd O. Toomey at a meeting of the Gavel Club in Mobile, Ala.

I include the text of the address because of its importance to all of us:

CULTURAL INFLUENCE OF THE HOME

(By Floyd O. Toomey)

On September 23, 1943, a mother of six children became a widow, but worse than this, the responsibility of raising those six children rested entirely upon her 34-year-old shoulders. With no income and no training to enable her to get a job to earn an income, she had to rely on the only means of livelihood that she knew anything about; that was farming. For the next 17 years this mother not only maintained a home, but she put in a full day in the fields. There was the land to break, the crops to plant, the cultivating to do, the harvesting, fences to mend, livestock to feed, but she had help; she had those six children. Both the boys and the girls were required to do their share in the home and on the farm.

In 1960, 17 years later, this proud mother saw the last of those children receive his high school diploma. Would you say that children brought up under these conditions could have possibly received any cultural influence at home? Well, let's see if they did. But first, let us define what we mean by cultural influence. We mean developing by education, discipline, and training. Let's relate each of these items to those children.

1. Developing by education: Under the leadership of this mother these children developed the attitude that their education was

so important that their mother was willing to work 18 hours a day. It was so important that they were required to devote every available moment toward the financing of that education. The things that we appreciate and value the most are the things that we work the hardest for. That was the attitude that those children had.

2. Developing by discipline: Every time those children committed a wrong it was discussed with their mother, but after she had given them their whipping. This mother believed that you must first get the child's attention if you are going to have proper communication. These children developed the attitude early in life that no matter what their goals were, they would be required to discipline themselves to many walks of life if they ever expected to accomplish those goals.

3. Developing by training: As those children left home one by one to take their position in life, they remembered their mother's goal was to prepare them for this very occasion, and they knew they were prepared because their mother was willing to pay the price. Their mother was willing to give of herself whatever it took. She was also willing to require that they give of themselves whatever it took in order that they would be prepared.

My two sisters, three brothers, and I are very much indebted to this widow for the cultural influence that we received at home because this widow is our mother.

Fellow adults, workers, and parents, what are we doing to help give our children that cultural influence? What are we doing to help our children develop by education, discipline, and training? With the help of many devoted schoolteachers I think we are doing a fine job of developing our children by education, but that's far more than we can say for discipline and training. Crimes are being committed at the rate of four per minute. Children 18 years and under are committing a frightening 72 percent of those crimes. At the beginning of 1965 it was estimated that 400,000 automobiles would be stolen this year. It was also estimated that 62 percent of those automobiles would be stolen by youths 17 years and under. One out of every six brides is pregnant at marriage. Then we ask the question, What are we doing in the field of discipline and training? It is evident that we are holding the light so our children can see how to commit crimes and steal automobiles; we are making the bed so our daughters can get pregnant because those children are most sorely the results of their upbringing. We can't deny this, because the Bible teaches us that if we train those children in the way that they should go, when they are old they will not depart from it.

Why have we failed in discipline and training? The primary reason is because we are living too fast. We don't think we have the time to devote to our children that is required to give them the proper cultural background. In the olden days, if someone missed a stagecoach he just waited around two weeks until the next one came along, but today we almost have a heart attack if we miss just one section of a revolving door. Life has a price tag; you and I as adults and parents must be willing to pay that price.

Let's pause for a moment and look at yesterday, today, and tomorrow. Yesterday, if we as parents failed in the rearing of our children there was a good chance that the schoolteacher would take over where we left off, and if the schoolteacher was not able to furnish this cultural background, then our police force would demand discipline and training. Today, the schoolteachers have absolutely no discipline authority and our police force is fast losing any discipline authority they once had. Tomorrow, neither the schoolteachers nor the police force or law enforcement people will have any discipline or training authority within their command. Our responsibility to our children is more so today than ever before because if they don't receive that cultural influence at home, they will not get it at all.

I want to plant one idea firmly in your minds. Whether you and I like it or not, we are either a stepping stone or a stumbling block to our children; if and whe we accept anything less than the best at all times—not only from ourselves but from our children, then we are most surely a stumbling block to that child. Which will you be?

Proposed Amendment of H.R. 7371 on Bank Holding Company Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 7371 is before the House this week. I plan to offer an amendment to it and solicit support of my proposed amendment. For many years banks have been prohibited from engaging in nonbanking businesses; this on the theory that if the nonbanking business should experience financial difficulties, the bank might be inclined to bolster it to the detriment of the depositors of the bank.

In 1956 Congress, for the same reason, passed a law which said that even a bank holding company would be prohibited from undertaking nonbanking businesses on the side. Yet that 1956 law left many exemptions. The Federal Reserve Board has recommended sweeping elimination of such exemptions. When the hearings were held on H.R. 7371, it was pointed out that the Alfred I. du Pont testamentary trust will clearly be, by H.R. 7371, eliminated from the exemptions along with similar holding companies, if any; but there still remain vast areas of exemptions such as a large bank and subsidiaries, and church and labor organizations.

It is the purpose of my amendment to eliminate all exemptions, as recommended by the Federal Reserve Board. This carries out the intention of Congress in its original concept of the danger hoped to be eliminated. In my opinion the hearings on the bill are sufficently extensive to justify the elimination of all exemptions and that is precisely what H.R. 7371 will do after my amendments are added to it. I hope you can support me in this amendment. My amendment reads as follows:

AMENDMENT TO H.R. 7371 OFFERED BY MR. BENNETT

Page 2, add the following at the end of the bill: "SEC. 2. (a) The first sentence of section 2(a) of such Act is amended by changing 'each of two or more banks' to read 'any bank' each place it appears therein.

"(b) The first sentence of section 3(a) of such Act is amended by changing 'company becoming a bank holding company' to read: 'bank becoming a bank holding company or of any other company becoming a bank holding company with respect to more than one subsidiary bank'.

"SEC. 3. The second sentence of section 2(a) of such Act is amended (1) by striking 'no company shall be a bank holding company which is registered under the Investment Company Act of 1940, and while so registered prior to May 15, 1955 (or which is affiliated with any such company in such manner as to constitute an affiliated company within the meaning of such Act), unless such company (or such affiliated company), as the case may be, directly owns 25 per centum or more of the voting shares of each of two or banks, (C)', (2) by changing '(D)' to read 'and (C)', and (3) by striking ', and (E) no company shall be a bank holding company if at least 80 per centum of its total assets are composed of holdings in the field of agriculture'.

"SEC. 4. (a) Section 4(c) of such Act is amended—

"(A) by striking ', or to shares lawfully acquired and owned prior to the date of enactment of this Act by a bank which is a bank holding company, or by any of its wholly owned subsidiaries' from paragraph (4).

"(B) by adding 'or' at the end of paragraph (6).

"(C) by striking:

"'(7) to any bank holding company which is a labor, agricultural, or horticultural organization and which is exempt from taxation under section 501 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954; or'.

"(D) by redesignating paragraph (8) as paragraph (7).

"(b) Section 4 of such Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"'(d) With respect to shares which were not subject to the prohibitions of this section as originally enacted by reason of any exemption with respect thereto but which were made subject to such prohibitions by the subsequent repeal of such exemption, no bank holding company shall retain direct or indirect ownership or control of such shares after two years from the date of the repeal of such exemption, except that the Board is authorized upon application by such bank holding company to extend such period of two years from time to time as to such holding company for not more than one year at a time if, in its judgment, such an extension would not be detrimental to the public interest, but no such extensions shall extend beyond a date five years after the date of repeal of such exemption.'"

Springfield, Mass., Local 33, Amalgamated Meat Cutters, Food Store & Allied Workers of North America, AFL-CIO, Celebrates 25th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, Springfield, Mass., Local 33 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, Food Store & Allied Workerks of North America, AFL-CIO, which encompasses Hampden, Hampshire, Berkshire, and Franklin Counties in Massachusetts, and the State of Vermont, celebrated its 25th anniversary over Labor Day weekend.

I had the distinct honor and pleasure of being a guest speaker at this dinner on September 5 at the Red Barn in Hat-

field, Mass. This silver anniversary dinner for the members of this local was one of the most impressive events that I have attended in my 30 years of public service. I ask permission to have included with my remarks in the Appendix a letter of congratulations addressed to Mr. Stanley E. Dominick, secretary-treasurer of local 33, from Thomas J. Lloyd, international president, and Patrick E. Gorman, international secretary-treasurer; a copy of my address to the membership; and a copy of the 25th anniversary dinner program:

AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS &
BUTCHER WORKMEN
OF NORTH AMERICA,
Chicago, Ill., August 30, 1965.

Mr. STANLEY DOMINICK,
Local Union No. 33,
Springfield, Mass.

DEAR BROTHER DOMINICK: It is a distinct pleasure to congratulate local 33 on celebrating its 25th anniversary.

A quarter of a century ago neither your local nor the international union enjoyed in the labor movement the same strong position it holds today. When the charter was issued for your fine organization, the world was marching toward the brink of another horrible war. This all led to a madness which we thought could not occur again.

A lack of brotherhood throughout the world is still evident in the many small battlefields presently covering the entire face of the earth. It is to be regretted that most of the God-given intelligence of man is still being poured into strengthening the animal—Homo sapiens. Science is lengthening his arms, sharpening his claws, feeding his ferocity and developing him into a fiercer animal.

When we think of the enormous amount of intelligence required in preparing for our defense against modern war, we will realize the unholy effort that is being wasted in the awful game of killing. There is no hope for humanity even if civilization does survive if we continually concentrate our intelligence on merely becoming fiercer animals.

Even in the wonderful achievement of the two Gemini astronauts and the circling of the earth 120 times in 8 days, this brought on the accusation, at least from one great country, that this whole space project was a spy project. In such preparation there only lies the way of death. Even the experts cannot deny the reference in the Good Book "Except we repent of it, we shall all perish."

There is a consolation, therefore, in those of us who belong to the trade union movement because we do not teach hate—we teach brotherhood. We do not teach war—we hate it because we know that the vast majority of those who fight all wars are the workers and the sons of workers. "Pacem in Terris" means much to us.

During the 25 years of the existence of local 33, your local union has gained terrifically for its members. Their lives have been made better as a result of the charter issued. The members' children are going to high schools, universities and colleges. This would have been impossible had not the wage rates and working conditions been improved substantially as they have been. It shall be our responsibility and our duty to continue to preach brotherhood, love of neighbor, and fear of God.

We congratulate your local union and know that with the fine officers it has at present, the progress will continue.

With best wishes, we are,
Fraternally yours,
THOMAS J. LLOYD,
President.
PATRICK E. GORMAN,
Secretary-Treasurer.

LABOR DAY GREETINGS TO THE AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS

(By U.S. Representative EDWARD P. BOLAND)

It is with particular pleasure that I join you in your celebration of Labor Day this year. It is indeed a triple celebration for all of us gathered together here.

First, we are, as are people all over the land, celebrating this day to honor the working men and women who have contributed to the growth, the strength and the prosperity of America.

Second, we are able to celebrate your 25th anniversary as a local of the Amalgamated Meatcutters—25 years of service in the interest of each of your members, and, of course, 25 years in which you as members have also contributed to the strength and stability of the union.

Third, we are able to celebrate the achievements in national legislation which, in their benefits to the working man, stand unrivalled at least since the days of the New Deal in the 1930's.

For over 80 years now, Labor Day has been celebrated in this country in order that all Americans can pause and give due recognition to the working men and women of this Nation. When we stop to consider how working men have increased their skills year by year, how they have struggled to improve living standards for themselves and their families, how they have outdone themselves in setting production records in war and in peace, this annual recognition is but a small token of the gratitude all of us must feel toward American labor and all it stands for.

Your local, part of a national union that is nearly 70 years of age, has without question done its part to achieve these goals here in Massachusetts. You have worked with some success to improve wages and working conditions and to create a better life for your families. It is a task that you will continue to work at for the next quarter of a century with equal vigor and devotion, I am sure, and I wish you well in this endeavor.

That the Congress this year has had the welfare of the working man in mind needs, I believe, little elaboration. The record is clear at hand. The House of Representatives has already passed the amendment to section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act which would put an end to the so-called right-to-work laws, laws which more accurately would be called the freeloader laws, laws which permit a few workers to take wage increases but to avoid bearing the costs of operating the unions which were instrumental in bringing about these increases. The Senate will, I feel confident, follow the lead of the House, before adjournment.

Action is already well underway to extend minimum wage legislation to restaurant and service employees and to farm workers.

One of the greatest accomplishments of this—or for that matter any other Congress—is medicare. Adequate medical care for the elderly under social security has been a long time, too long a time, in coming. Now for the first time, the elderly citizens of this Nation can face the future without undue worry over their ability to meet the costs of hospital care and other health services. They won't have to lose their pride by taking public welfare, simply because they cannot afford to pay a doctor bill.

A major accomplishment of this Congress, one in which all Americans can take pride, is the voting rights bill which will help guarantee the right of all citizens to vote in Federal elections, regardless of race.

The Housing and Urban Development Act that has just passed the Congress is the most sweeping one since the Housing Act of 1949. It will do much to enable the poorer citizens of this land to get better housing than has been available to them heretofore, through an expansion of public housing, a new rent supplement program, and other liberalizing provisions.

The Public Works and Economic Development Act will make it possible for many of the poorer communities of this Nation to get help in strengthening their economic situation by the construction of water supply facilities, sewage systems, and community buildings. This special aid to distressed areas will make them more attractive to industry and will enable them to improve the living and working conditions of their citizens.

The new Department of Housing and Urban Development will prove a great benefit to millions of Americans in our larger cities, at last giving the problems of larger cities a a focus in the Federal Government that will facilitate their solution.

The elimination of many excise taxes and the reduction of others will benefit all of you who are contemplating buying automobiles, luggage, jewelry, handbags, radios and television sets, and scores of other items on which these taxes were formerly imposed either at the manufacturers' level or at the retail level.

In full recognition that the education of our young people is one of the most pressing needs of this Nation, if the future of our country is to be one of peace and prosperity, this Congress has already passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and the House has passed the Higher Education Act, both of which provide additional assistance to educational institutions of our land.

I could go one for some time in adding to this imposing list. A program of aid to Appalachia is underway; the war on poverty has been expanded. But I do not need to go into details. The record stands for all to see. It is a record I am proud of. It shows that the Congress is well aware of the needs of the working people of this Nation and their families. Labor Day is indeed an appropriate occasion to call this record to your attention.

Thank you for allowing me to participate in this happy celebration with you.

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1965, HATFIELD RED BARN IN HATFIELD, MASS.

PROGRAM

Smorgasbord served from 5 to 7 p.m.

Address of welcome, Harold B. Shea, vice president and general chairman.

Toastmaster, Stanley E. Dominick, secretary-treasurer, and honorary chairman.

HONORED GUEST SPEAKERS

Clifton C. Caldwell, district VI director and international vice president.

Edward P. Boland, Congressman from Massachusetts.

George D. Hammond, senator, representing Hampden-Berkshire districts.

Montana Jurist Author of Nation's Pioneer Pension Plan for Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARNOLD OLSEN
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. OLSEN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, Judge Lester H. Loble of Helena, whose judicial work in the field of juvenile delinquency has achieved nationwide notice, has another unique accomplishment to his credit, and one which he recently shared with us: The old-age pension act which he introduced as a

member of the 18th session of the Montana Legislature in 1923 was the first such bill ever passed in this country. Gov. Joe Dixon signed it into law on March 6, 1923, and presented the signatory pen to Judge Loble.

Besides the house bill itself, the society has received a transcript of the proceedings of the house of representatives of February 28, 1935, which included the passage of a resolution recognizing this pioneer legislation as humanitarian and "record in the records of this State this notable achievement so that generations to come may be duly appraised of this contribution to the welfare of mankind."

The first pension ever paid under any such measure was disbursed at the Lewis and Clark County Courthouse where Judge Loble now presides. Loble, who was called to Washington by President Roosevelt to consult in the matter of the national Social Security Act early in his administration, is a particular favorite of the historical society, and rightly so. A member of our board of trustees during several vital years, he was more responsible for the construction of our present building than any other individual.

Exploring the Undersea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, an undersea experiment of unusual interest has been in progress nearly 3 weeks in the waters off San Diego, Calif. Understandably, it has attracted less attention nationally than the more spectacular activities of our orbiting astronauts.

However, as the Washington Post has pointed out in a Sunday editorial, the long-range achievement of our oceanographic research could well match or exceed what we shall do in space. It may be, for example, that the seas will prove a source of food and other necessities for a swiftly rising world population.

In assuring America's lead in the infant oceanographic sciences, much depends on House passage of legislation similar to that already enacted by the Senate, establishing a National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development. Four civic and scientific leaders from my home community of San Diego testified last month in favor of such legislation.

I submit for the RECORD a copy of the Washington Post editorial from the edition of September 12:

EXPLORING THE UNDERSEA

Although the Navy's team of aquanauts now in an experimental underwater project off California has yet to catch the public's fancy, the oceanographic research effort of which their *Sealab 2* is a part could have an even greater impact than the space program on the lives and future well-being of Americans. The aquanauts, led by Astronaut M. Scott Carpenter, a Navy commander, went underwater on August 29. Working in shifts, they are scheduled to spend 45 days in the *Sealab* capsule at a depth of 210 feet.

Their reactions to prolonged periods in *Sealab's* artificial environment and in the ocean depths will provide vital information on man's ability to explore and work on the world's continental shelves. Difficulties that have already occurred indicate that undersea exploration, heretofore granted only limited funds for research and development, is not likely to advance as spectacularly as the space program.

In any event comparison with the space program can be misleading. In view of the long established and diffuse programs already carried on by nine agencies of the Federal Government, creation of a nautical NASA would be impractical. Yet a central focus within the Government is needed. In fiscal year 1966 the Government will spend about $140 million on oceanography. The Navy has more than half the funds. The Departments of Commerce and Interior and the National Science Foundation also have large appropriations. There also is an opening for private initiative in oceanography.

Toward these ends the Senate has passed a bill sponsored by Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON, chairman of the Commerce Committee, calling for a National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development to coordinate Federal programs. A separate commission, largely made up of persons outside Government, would conduct a survey to set guidelines for private and Government cooperation in oceanography. Though the House has yet to act, a subcommittee headed by Representative ALTON A. LENNON, of North Carolina, is drafting a bill that should emerge in a form similar to the Senate's. Congressman LENNON argues persuasively, however, that the Interagency Committee on Oceanography must be strengthened and that the Federal Council for Science and Technology, which operates under the President, can fill the role of Senator MAGNUSON's proposed Council.

There is bound to be a steady proliferation of oceanographic programs in the future. The vast resources that lie in the sea and under the ocean beds that cover seven-tenths of the earth eventually must be tapped. It would be a pity to allow military considerations, important as they may be, to dominate the research effort in which there is still a hope of international cooperation. For this reason, particularly, a unified Government policy is much needed.

Tennessee's Third Congressional District Shows Conservative Leanings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce that the results of my 1965 legislative questionnaire sent to 95,000 homes in the Third Congressional District of Tennessee reflect strong conservative sentiments. The poll which was taken in April and May was answered by 11,855 persons in the 11-county area of my district.

The strongest response was voiced on the question, "Do you approve of the Federal Government consistently spending more than its income?" 93.7 percent said, "No," while only 3.4 percent favored this action.

The results of the other questions for the district were as follows:

1. Do you feel Tennessee should continue to have the authority to pass State right-to-work laws? 87.4 percent said, "Yes," 8 percent "No," and no answer from 4.6 percent.

2. Do you think a regional approach such as the Appalachian program is the best approach to solving economic problems? 19.2 percent said, "Yes," while 68 percent said "No," and 12.7 percent did not answer.

3. Do you believe the United States should continue to give American wheat to Egypt's Nasser? 4.7 percent responded "Yes," while 90.8 percent said "No," and 4.5 percent declined to answer.

4. Do you approve of the Federal Government consistently spending more than its income? 3.4 percent said "Yes," while 93.7 percent said "No," and 2.9 percent did not answer.

5. Do you believe Tennessee should have the right to apportion seats in at least one of the two houses of its legislature on some basis other than population (based for example on area) if approved by a majority of the people of the State? 73.3 percent responded "Yes," while 16.6 percent said "No," and 10.1 percent did not answer the question.

6. Do you support legislation which permits voluntary prayer and Bible reading in public schools? 91.5 percent said "Yes," while 6.1 percent said "No," and 2.3 percent did not answer.

7. Do you favor Federal aid to education (a) for teacher salaries? 22 percent said "Yes," and 66.9 percent said "No," while 11.1 percent did not answer; (b) For school construction? 32.6 percent said "Yes," while 55.9 percent said "No," and 11.5 percent did not respond; (c) Through a tax reduction for parents? 40 percent said "Yes," 46.4 percent said "No," and 13.5 percent did not answer; (d) Through an automatic rebate from Federal income tax to the State government? 46.5 percent said "Yes," and 40.7 percent said "No," and 12.8 percent did not respond.

8. In regards to our Vietnam policy, should we (a) increase military action? 55.4 percent said "Yes" while 10.6 percent said "No," and 33.9 percent did not answer. (b) Stay on our present course? 15.7 percent said "Yes," 24.7 percent "No" while 59.5 percent did not answer. (c) Get out immediately? 12.6 percent said, "Yes" and 31.2 percent said "No." 56.5 percent did not answer. (d) Negotiate with Communists for neutralizing the country? 12.5 percent said "Yes" while 31.2 percent said "No," and 56.2 percent did not respond.

9. Do you favor an agricultural program which has (answer only one):

(a) Rigid controls and quotas to regulate farm economy? 4.8 percent.

(b) Flexible price supports and voluntary land retirement? 12.5 percent.

(c) Gradual program leading to no controls, no supports and a free economy? 74.7 percent. Eight percent did not respond to the three parts of question 9.

10. Do you favor a medical care program for the elderly through (answer only one):

(a) Increasing social security taxes? 11.1 percent.

(b) A tax reduction to purchase private insurance? 21.6 percent.

(c) Voluntary plans without Federal participation? 42.1 percent.

(d) A combination of the above? 14.9 percent—10.3 percent did not respond to question 10.

A Bitter Legacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, it appears increasingly apparent that Machiavelli's "The Prince" must be used as the textbook for this administration. Especially does it seem that one particular admonition of Machiavelli is a guideline for the operations of this administration where he says:

It is not essential then, that a prince should have all the good qualities which I have enumerated above, but it is most essential that he should seem to have them; I will even venture to affirm that if he has and invariably practices them all, they are hurtful, whereas the appearance of having them is useful.

The two following articles show that the press is beginning to become alarmed at the processes used by this administration and is actually writing about them. The editorial entitled "A Bitter Legacy" which appeared in the Wall Street Journal on September 7 and the article by Mr. George Dixon, "Press-prestidigitators," which appeared in the Washington Post of September 13 are examples.

The articles follow:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Sept. 7, 1965]

A BITTER LEGACY

It is often said that Lyndon Johnson wields more power than any other President, at least in a time of less than full-scale war. The striking thing is that this remarkable concentration of power apparently bothers so few people.

The concern is not necessarily or only about how Mr. Johnson himself uses the power. Apart from the fact that he is rapidly adding to it through the expansion of the executive, he impresses most of the Nation as a man of restraint. More troubling is the meaning for the future, since it is plain that the country would be in deep difficulty if a man of dictatorial bent were ever elected, what with so much authority already embedded in the office.

An answer to that, perhaps, is that in such a circumstance Congress would rise up and if necessary impeach the man; we still do have the machinery to prevent or correct excesses. Yet a major reason for the rise of the executive is that Congress has for decades permitted a steady erosion of its responsibilities and prerogatives.

Moreover, there is no diminution in the incessant clamor of special interests for still further extensions of the Federal Government, which is to the say the power of the Presidency. It is almost unbelievable but unfortunately the case that this Federal mystique has grown by leaps and bounds—an insistence, contrary to all experience, that Federal authority can solve problems where others have failed.

A relatively small but revealing case in point: With prodigious lack of foresight, local politicians in New York City and other places in the Northeast neglected to assure sufficient water supplies to withstand a drought. Discomfort is here and now, disaster impends; finally, appeals were dispatched to Washington.

The administration, in response, decrees New York City and other sections to be disaster areas (the government of the city is a disaster, that is for sure) and extends financial aid. How much good it will do is debatable, but it is one more Federal intrusion that would have been entirely unnecessary had there been elementary competence at the local level.

Thus the localities, the States, the special interests reach out to Washington; at the same time the Federal officials exercise all the ingenuity at their command in figuring out new areas to invade, new responsibilities to take over. It is a formidable interaction. Repeated over and over, in endless variety and in ever-widening circles, and coupled with the complacency of Congress, it is building a Presidential force against which there seems no effective countervailing power.

Even this very evident buildup does not, so far as can be judged, excite any great worry or even interest; those who suggest a possible threat to liberties in the process are accused of seeing hobgoblins.

If there is indeed no danger, it may be asked why the architects of this Government took such extraordinary pains to prevent the emergence of a tyrant and to bind down each Federal branch in the chains of the Constitution. They, at any rate, knew that governments easily degenerate into dictatorships. The development should be still less mysterious to people of the totalitarian-scarred 20th century.

Whether practical political means of redressing the balance any longer exist, we would hesitate to venture; certainly they are hard to visualize. But that difficulty does not excuse anyone, least of all Congress, from looking at what is happening and considering what recourse might be feasible.

It would be a bitter outcome if this generation, legatees of free institutions, were to bequeath in turn a legacy whereby the citizen is secure in his liberty only at the whim of the executive.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 13, 1965]

PRESS-PRESTIDIGITATORS

(By George Dixon)

When the President switches from the Washington White House to the Texas White House his imagemakers try to switch from press secretaries to prestidigitators. They strive to create the optical illusion that L.B.J. is really back at the range, running everything, when he can be plainly seen motorboating for 7 hours on Lake Lyndon B. Johnson.

This is a rather difficult illusion, and can't be performed simply by yelling "Abracadabra." It might have sufficed for the old black magic, but the new black magic requires props.

The press-prestidigitators have decided that the most illusionary props they can use to bewitch the press are press releases. The theory is that if enough press releases are fluttered in front of a transplanted White House correspondent he won't be able to see the President in the flesh enjoying himself; only in the mind's eye, immersed in work.

In 4 days at the L.B.J. ranch, Assistant White House Secretary Joe Laitin performed a noteworthy feat of legerdemain. He issued 32 releases. They were actually from agency heads in Washington, but Laitin the Magnificient made them look as if they'd just materialized from the President.

The handouts might have been more bamboozling if there'd been more of them, but after conjuring up 32, Laitin seemed to have no more up his sleeve. It was heart rending to see him caught short like this. The most tragic part is that it needn't have occurred. Almost anybody with a mailing address in Washington could have provided him with enough handouts to baffle an incinerator.

For example here are just a few of the press releases I found stuffed under my door on returning to Washington:

One from the National Press Club announcing that its next speaker would be Indian Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari—and that one "timely topic" he would speak on would be "India's Role in Diplomacy."

Another from the Department of Agriculture, quoting Secretary Orville L. Freeman as beginning a speech with this original wit:

"In the North Country of my home State of Minnesota, folks still weave and tell tales of Paul Bunyan and his great Blue Ox. The Blue Ox left hoofprints so large it took three men to see across them. His head was so big the distance between the eyes measured 22 ax handles and a plug of tobacco. His horns were so wide it took a crow most of the winter to fly from tip to tip—and the winters are long in the North Country. Whether you look at the Blue Ox literally or as a legend, he certainly represented a lot of bull."

A release from NASA saying that the Gemini 7 astronauts might take off their space suits after launching and ride through the heavens for 14 days in their long underwear—and a companion piece from a French designer that she didn't like to see girls at St. Tropez shiver after they come out of the water, so she is designing fur coats to wear over bikinis.

The press communication that might have gotten a better play had it come from the White House unfortunately was a private one to me. It was from Sam Brightman, publicity director of the Democratic national committee, with this subtle suggestion that I make mention of the Washington Theater Club:

"I am reminded of the political candidate who ran this campaign ad: 'Do not vote for me because I am a legless veteran with 10 children.' So do not write something about this out of pity for an old man whose 12-year-old boy beat him at golf, whose 11-year-old girl can beat him at swimming, whose dog slobbers on him, whose cat bites him, and whose wife, Lucy, is vitally interested in the Washington Theater Club and said to me with a cozy snarl the other day, 'You and your funny friends—why can't you get them to do something for a worthwhile cause sorely in need of help?'"

The Real Alabama—Part LV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the state of business and industry in Alabama is thriving. It holds the promise of abundance and progress for the future.

To help show this the Birmingham News recently produced a supplement magazine section which is an excellent piece of work, demonstrating how and why the Alabama economy is one of strength and promise.

The following article is part of that supplement:

Alabama's people today have an annual purchasing power in excess of $6 billion. Per capita income is rising steadily, has made greater percentage gains within the past few years than most other States.

Average income per household is near the $6,000 annual level.

Payrolls from manufacturing plants alone now exceed $1¼ billion.

Average hourly and weekly earnings of Alabama's factory production workers are the highest in the Southeast.

Unemployment has declined steadily, reached a low ratio of 3.6 percent of the total civilian labor force at the end of 1964.

Unemployment compensation claims are at an all-time low.

At the end of last year, 73 national banks in the State had combined resources of $2,052,033,000. Their deposits were $1,838,353,000.

Combined assets of 172 State-chartered banks reached a 1964-ending record total of $893,563,000. This reflected an $82 million increase for the year. Deposits for the same period rose $73 million to a combined amount in excess of $805 million.

Savings and loan associations and State-chartered credit unions added hundreds of millions more.

Alabama, at the end of 1963, ranked second only to Hawaii in the amount of insurance per family in relation to income.

State residents have tripled their total annual expenditures for insurance of all kinds within the past decade, will expend an estimated $533 million this year on premiums.

Of 814 insurance companies licensed to do business in the State, 90 are domiciled in Alabama.

State, county, and municipal revenue collections, providing greater funds for public services and physical improvements, are setting new records. This is being accomplished, for the far greater part, by greater efficiency in collection rather than by increasing the industrial tax structure.

Both private and public business operation is turning more and more to modern data processing-computer equipment, resulting in lower operating costs, higer profits, and generally greater efficiency.

Located strategically in the center of nine major Southeastern States, Alabama's access to the regional, national, and international markets marks it as an ideal area for industrial expansion.

Magnificent Spirit of the Poles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES M. HANLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, a great American who has served this Government in a most commendable fashion is by Presidential appointment about to transfer his talents from his present Cabinet post to a most important and sensitive position in our Department of State.

I refer to a personality who enjoys the utmost respect and admiration of all who have been privileged to know and work with him, a truly great Postmaster General—John A. Gronouski—who will soon be serving the cause of better world understanding in his most challenging new assignment as U.S. Ambassador to Poland. In my humble opinion, the President has indeed made a wise choice. The combination of Mr. Gronouski's superior talent and his Polish background provide this country and the courageous Poles with a servant dedicated to the cause of all things good.

In reading the September 9 issue of the Omaha World Herald I observed an article titled "Magnificent Spirit of the Poles" by Ralph McGill which in effect concurs with my thinking on this matter. I take the liberty of inserting this material accordingly:

MAGNIFICENT SPIRIT OF THE POLES

(By Ralph McGill)

The appointment of John A. Gronouski as Ambassador to Poland reminds us of a magnificent people.

"Poland," wrote the great German war strategist, Gen. Karl von Clausewitz, "is a public road on which foreign armies constantly jostle one another."

No mountains rise above her plains. They were perfect for cavalry, as they now are wonderfully suited for tanks.

In the brief span from 1772 to 1793, Russia, Austria, and Prussia thrice dismembered her.

In 1846 Austria annexed a part of her territory.

During these and later years the oppression was cruel. An attempt was made to destroy the culture of the people and to reduce them all to the state of peasants. But her genius persisted.

Chopin's music was an accusation. Throngs listened to it in the great opera houses of Europe. It was, for all the melody, filled with crashing indictments of those who had sought to humiliate and debase his country. There was mourning in his nocturnes. There was thunder of defiance in his marches.

When World War I came on there was another musician, the statuesque Ignace Paderewski, he of the smouldering eyes and the marvelous hands, to play Chopin's music around the world and to make of the keyboard a voice accusing those who had persecuted his land and his people.

From 1914 through 1918 the Poles endured misery as severe as that ever imposed on any people anywhere.

But in 1918 when Germany herself collapsed, Poland was reborn after literally centuries of oppression.

In January 1919, the factions reached agreement and Joseph Pilsudski became President with the great pianist-statesman, Paderewski, as Prime Minister.

As is true today, the country had no assets. It had been ruthlessly drained of food and the means of production, and her railroads were ruined. The clamor of discontent was intense.

In 1920 the Poles, blazing with nationalism, went to war against the Soviet Union. The Communist troops drove to the gates of Warsaw. There they were thrown back and, worried by affairs at home, withdrew, leaving the Poles with victory.

Plagued with multiple political parties, affairs slowly disintegrated. In 1926 a desperate Pilsudski used the army to establish a dictatorship. The world depression came. Had the League of Nations been joined by the United States, the depression and the collapse of the new European countries with the subsequent rise of dictatorships might well have been avoided.

By 1939 German demands on Poland included abandonment of the Polish corridor. Russia offered aid. The Poles, knowing that if Russian troops came they would remain, refused.

On August 23 Russia and Germany shocked the world by signing a treaty. On September 1, Hitler attacked Poland. The Germans and Russians divided up Poland.

The sorrows of past centuries were as nothing compared with those of the Nazi occupation. It included large-scale murder by Germans and Russians. The Soviets cynically betrayed the Polish underground when it arose against the Germans, and then moved in and mopped up, putting the Communists in power.

But today we have the magnificent spirit of the Poles again in evidence, inspiring others of the Communist bloc to demand some individual freedom.

It's good to have a Polish-American going there as Ambassador.

Let Divergence Be Heard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker—

Never in all history, in this or any other country, have so few possessed the ear of so many, and the opportunity to inform, influence, and propagandize the American people as a whole, as is now the case of the three national TV network news departments.

The above statement is taken verbatim from an outstanding editorial in the Aurora, Mo., Advertiser.

I believe Mr. Robert Lowry, editor of the newspaper, has made an outstanding contribution to journalism by bringing this dilemma out into the open.

The editorial deserves to be not only read, but studied by our three major TV networks and their representative news and public service departments.

The editorial follows:

LET DIVERGENCE BE HEARD

Never in all history, in this or any other country, have so few possessed the ear of so many, and the opportunity to inform, influence, propagandize the American people as a whole, as is now the case of the three national TV network news departments.

In fact, except for the syndicated newspaper columnist and network radio commentators, until this generation, no one had had an audience which could be called nationwide, and there were significant differences between these and the almost monopolistic control now in the hands of NBC, CBS, and ABC.

For instance, even the great editorialists of the New York Times reached but a token part of the people of America directly. The top columnists wrote for many more, of course, but they shared this readership with dozens of other writers who, by most newspapers of any importance, were selected deliberately to provide divergent philosophies. And the same was true of the radio commentators who, because in their 15-minute time allotments they were expected to give at least a lick and a promise coverage of the news of the day, could do but a superficial job of attempting to influence according to their own beliefs. And for every Elmer Davis there was a Gabriel Heater to provide balance in the comment to which the American public was exposed.

It was undoubtedly not planned that way, and, in time, men of divergent philosophies may be expected to provide the balance of viewpoint TV news departments must attain if they are to discharge the responsibility inherent in the opportunity to be heard in almost all the homes of America, but it is undoubtedly true today that the comparative handful of men in charge of these three news departments, those with the national audiences, hold basic views so nearly identical, and hold them in such dedicated fashion, that to call them professionally dogmatic may not be overstating the case.

And since no newspaper editorialist or columnist, no radio broadcaster, no teacher, preacher or speaker can refute, or attempt to refute, what these groups may decide to present to the American people and reach any significant fraction of those who heard and saw the original presentation of NBC, CBS, or ABC, it is today of primary concern to an electorate which must have balanced information and balanced thought in order to reach correct decisions that divergence be obtained, somehow.

To recognize the dilemma is not to condemn the beliefs, or the motives, of the men who make up the TV news department staffs. The reverse is the case. These are sincere men, dedicated men, convinced men—zealots for the causes in which they believe. One can see eye to eye with them and still recognize the problem in the fact they so closely agree with one another on almost everything. For by this near unanimity among those few who reach national audiences day after day, the Nation is deprived of the opportunity to hear from those who, equally sincere, equally dedicated and convinced, and with equally high motives, hold to opposing philosophies.

To understand how this came about, one must recall that national TV sprang into being almost overnight, a few years following World War II, probably in the years between 1949 and 1953. The industry attracted the bright young men of the postwar generation, and those who were selected to appear on the screens in the Nation's living rooms had to be personable, have pleasing voices, be highly persuasive. The premium was on personality, traits and libness of tongue rather than soundness of judgment and intellect, though these, too, were welcomed, and quite often obtained.

These young men, vocal, interested imaginative, were, without exception, influenced by the troublesome times of their youth—the depression, the war. They were the bright young men who gathered at the footstool of the liberals of the Roosevelt New Deal; impatient with the past; condemning it as a whole because it was decidedly less than perfect; willing to toss out the good with the bad; questioning any belief held by an earlier generation and, in fact, inclined to reject for no reason other than acceptance by their fathers and grandfathers. And since TV was a young industry, there were no experienced teachers for them.

Today these are in the years of their prime, the highly proficient professionals of the TV tube, able to shatter by their competence those who disagree whenever they, in the quid-for-quo equal time, lean over backwards to be fair idea of justice they have adopted, appear with them because the latter are, almost without exception, even if talented and highly competent in other fields, amateurs in front of the TV camera and shattering them is as easy for the pros as taking candy from a baby. And on the reverse side of the coin is the equal facility with which these men can make those with whom they agree look good.

Today this handful of men who have the greatest power to influence the thinking of millions of anyone in all history are in control of the TV news departments of the three networks. Like all middle-aged men, their philosophy has hardened and set, subject to being altered to some degree but probably not to reversing a course.

And it is they who train, and attempt to mold in their own image, the young men entering television now who will take over in the future.

It must be said, in fairness, that the TV news services strive to afford the opportunity for those who disagree to be heard from time to time. The difficulty arises, not from their unwillingness, but inability, to do so on an equal basis. These men are themselves so strongly convinced of the soundness of their own beliefs and motives that their disagreement with the beliefs and their suspicion of the motives of those who oppose them shows through in the way their programs are conducted and the questions which are asked. And, even if this were not the case, occasional opportunities afforded those TV amateurs who uphold opposing, and usually more traditional, views could never counteract the day-by-day influence of the professionals.

Fortunately for the American people, incidents of complete rather than comparative unfairness in presentation of important questions have been rare, but they are not unknown.

So the problem remains and it is a serious one. Is Government control the answer? Of course not. To be of value, information and opinion must be free and fearless.

Break up the networks? Of course not. The wonderful entertainment they furnish the American people which could never be provided without network organization is too great a boon.

Interference from the outside? Again the answer is "No," as the only hope of correction of the present imbalance lies in the independence of the networks themselves.

Is there an answer? Yes, and the newspapers point the way when they, day after day, run columns by David Lawrence, Drew Pearson and Bob Considine, for example, side by side, no matter what the paper's editorial leanings.

Let the networks, like the press did years ago, set out deliberately to present divergent views. Let them search diligently for able, vocal, dedicated young men who believe devoutly in a philosophy opposed to that held by almost all those who now have such opportunities, give them equal opportunities, and then trust the American people to choose whom to believe.

We think the country, and the networks, would profit from the change.

Have You Ever Been Convicted of a Felony?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been called to an article in a recent edition of the Reader's Digest under the title "Have You Ever Been Convicted of a Felony?" Attorney Francis P. Noonan has written to me to express sincere concern for the future of American teenagers who must face up to the burden and the problem of criminal conviction. I am grateful to Attorney Noonan for his interest in this problem which I share, and I believe it proper to give wide coverage to this message by including it in the RECORD.

I would add my own personal note of caution and concern on the subject of young men who serve in our Armed Forces and who permit themselves to jeopardize their future by risking the hazards of discharges other than honorable. Not enough can be said on these subjects to caution our youth and to alert their parents to the position of jeopardy in which they place their future through episodes of crime which to a teenager may register as a prank.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that my colleages will read this article and pass it on to parents who should be aware and who should be concerned about the future of their offspring. With your permission I include herewith Attorney Noonan's letter and the article from the Reader's Digest which was condensed from the Clinton, Iowa, Herald:

WASHINGTON, D.C., *September 8, 1965.*

Congressman JOHN MONAGAN,
Longworth Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JOHN: As a member of the bar, I am greatly interested in the future of our American youth and especially, teenagers being burdened with the result of a criminal conviction. I often have had the vexing problem of trying to assist boys with civil service exams wherein they have to answer the question "Have you ever been arrested?" I am enclosing an article from the Reader's Digest.

This article "Have You Ever Been Convicted of a Felony?" should be brought to attention of every family. The penalty imposed for the commission of a crime is to keep others from committing the same crime. If the parents today could realize the severe penalty of a criminal record, then I believe they might be able to give more guidance. May I suggest, if you agree with me, that the enclosed article be published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, if it has not already been done.

Very truly yours,

FRANCIS P. NOONAN.

HAVE YOU EVER BEEN CONVICTED OF A FELONY?

(NOTE.—In sentencing two high school boys who had thoughtlessly made a practice of "borrowing" automobiles to go joy riding, a Midwestern district judge made the following remarks. They will be remembered by anyone who reads them.)

You come from good homes, both of you. Yet now you have been convicted of a felony—a crime for which you might be sent to the penitentiary. In this case I do not have to send you to the penitentiary. I am permitted to give you a parole.

But even if you never see the inside of a penitentiary or jail, you will not have escaped the penalties of your crime. The record of your conviction will be here as long as the courthouse stands. No amount of good conduct in the future can ever erase it.

Next year, or 10 years from now, or when you are old men, if you are ever called to be witnesses in any court of law, some lawyer will point his finger at you and ask: "Have you ever been convicted of a felony?" You will hang your head and admit that you have, because if you deny it, the records of these proceedings will be brought from the vaults and read to the jury.

The question will be asked for the sole purpose of casting doubt on your testimony. Convicted felons are not believed as readily as other persons.

Someday you may have a chance to live and work in one of the expanding countries of South America, and you will apply for a passport. You may not get it. You might enter Canada for a fishing trip, but you would not be allowed to stay. No country will allow you to become a resident. Your world is so much smaller than it was.

Someday you may seek a position in the civil service of your State or Nation. On the application blank you will find this question: "Have you ever been convicted of a felony?"

Your truthful answer will bar you from appointment. An untruthful answer will be detected because appointments are made only after investigation. The record is here to be found by anyone interested.

In a few years you will be 21, and others your age will have the right to vote—but you will not. You will be a citizen of your State and country, but you will have no voice in public affairs.

Someday the Governor may pardon you and restore your rights, but it is going to be humiliating to ask him. He'll want to know your whole record. It is a bad one.

I am granting you a parole. A parole is in no sense a pardon. You will report to the men who have accepted your parole as often as they may ask. Your convenience is not a matter of importance. You will also obey your parents. If your parents send you to bed at 9 o'clock, you will go without complaint. You will perform such tasks as are assigned to you. Your parole is a fragile thing.

Should the slightest complaint of your conduct reach this court, your parole will be revoked immediately and you will begin serving your sentence. You will not be brought back here for questioning and/or explanations. You will be picked up and taken to prison—without notice to you and without delay.

The World Court and World Peace Through Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the editorial page of today's Washington Post contains an appropriate welcome for the participants in the Washington Conference on World Peace Through Law. This editorial echoes the sense of Congress as expressed in House Concurrent Resolution 468, which was unanimously enacted recently.

The 2,500 participants in this Conference are among the foremost legal authorities in the world. Congress should look closely at the results of their deliberations. Particular attention should be paid to suggestions for how the United States can make the World Court more effective.

The editorial follows:

THE QUEST FOR WORLD LAW

Washington today becomes the focal point of the world-law movement. Four continental conferences in recent years led to the Conference on World Peace Through Law in Athens 2 years ago, and now some 2,500 judges and lawyers from 110 countries have assembled here for the similar purpose of extending the boundaries of international justice. They will talk in lofty terms of replacing violence with law, but most of their time will be spent on the vital business of improving courts, extending research, bridging legal gaps and analyzing the so-called treaty-making "explosion."

These lawyers and judges are practical men. They have no expectation of substituting world law for diplomacy and military force in the present context of international relations. What they seek is a speedup in the natural evolution of international law and judicial institutions. One of the problems they will tackle here will be the unification of some aspects of commercial law and the promotion of arbitration arrangements so that business may be more easily transacted across international lines. Another important question for discussion will be the extension of law to the no man's land of outer space.

To the pessimists who see no hope for a lawful world the sponsors of this movement reply that 80 percent of all the treaties known to man have been drafted in the last 20 years. Treaties are the primary staple of international law. Not all of them are constructive in purpose, but the mere proliferation of treaties suggests a widespread desire for orderly international relations. Treaties have multiplied faster than the means of interpreting and enforcing them, and this problem too will get much attention from the Conference.

We are especially hopeful that the Conference will be able to show how the World Court can be made more effective. This is one are in which the United States, with its crippling restriction as to the jurisdiction of the Court, is sadly out of harmony with the growing demand for law in the settlement of international disputes. By simply embracing the principle of judicial settlement of all legal disputes that may be properly carried to the World Court, the United States could make an enormous contribution to the "new world of law" that every statesman likes to talk about.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to include my report to the people of the Seventh District of Alabama for May 20, 1965.

WASHINGTON REPORT

(From Congressman JIM MARTIN)

CRIME IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Crime is the Nation's No. 1 problem. Our greatest challenge is to make our streets and highways and homes safe against the violence of murderers, rapists, and thieves. Nowhere is the challenge greater than right here in the Nation's Capital. Serious crime in the District of Columbia increased for the 35th consecutive month during April. There was an increase of 3,018 offenses in April 1965 over the same month a year ago. In just this 1 month there were 385 robberies; 886 housebreakings; 19 rapes. Crime increased in every crime category except criminal homicide. Five criminal murders were committed in April. Compare this figure for this one city with crime figures in the whole State of Alabama.

One of the reasons for the rising crime rate in Washington and throughout the Nation is the increasing leniency by the courts toward criminals. This was noted by J. Edgar Hoover who said recently, "Some members of the judiciary appear to be more concerned for the rights of repeating criminal offenders than for the unfortunate members of the public who are victimized by unrehabilitated burglars, robbers, rapists, and murderers." The increase in crime is a problem to be faced by Congress as well as every law-abiding American citizen.

TRADE WITH REDS

Communist Russia has always used trade as one of its strategic weapons in accomplishing its goal of conquering the world. The trade history of those countries who have tried to deal with the Communists reveals the ugly facts of how the Reds manipulate trade agreements to further the end of aggression and world conquest. In the face of the facts of history, it is surprising to find President Johnson now advocating expanding trade with the Communists. It is logical that Americans should ask, "Should we help the Communists by furnishing them with the goods they apparently cannot produce for themselves?"

Our advantage over the Communists in the cold war has been our productive genius. We have outstripped them in every field. Much of the unrest behind the Iron Curtain is caused by the failure of communism to provide the goods and services the people demand of any economic system. Now we come to an important decision: Should we help the Communist leaders strengthen their control over their own people and the nations they hold in bondage by providing them with consumer goods they cannot produce in the same quantity or quality as we can? In other words, should we help the Communists strengthen their own economy and help them make good their boast to bury us? It seems to me Congress and the American people had better take a long hard look at President Johnson's proposal for expanding trade with the Communists. American businessmen had better note the warning of history before they go too far in approving expanded trade with a self-announced enemy whose sole objective is the complete destruction of private enterprise and those governments in which private enterprise flourishes.

NATO TASK FORCE

As a member of the Republican task force on NATO and the Atlantic community, I had an opportunity to discuss the worsening relations of the United States with our NATO allies. While Republicans almost unanimously support President Johnson's determined action against Communist aggression in Vietnam and the Dominician Republic, we are deeply concerned about the seeming tendency to conduct foreign policy on a basis of political expediency rather than on a well-thought-out and constructive course of action.

A number of problems were discussed by our task force in a day-long meeting with members of the Foreign Policy Research Institute. Heading the delegation from the Research Institute was Dr. Robert Strausz-Hupe, professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania. For many years Dr. Strausz-Hupe has been recognized as an outstanding authority on Communist strategy, American foreign policy, the political, and military problems of NATO, and U.S. security affairs.

Our discussions with this eminent group of educators and experts in foreign policy will make it possible for me and the other members of the Republican task force to give to the people concrete facts. I hope our investigations may lead to the formulation of a foreign policy program which will be a much more effective force for keeping peace and freedom in the world than the confused and sometimes stumbling approach of both President Kennedy and President Johnson.

VOTING RIGHTS BILL FIGHT SHAPES UP

The liberals are determined to create havoc in the South. The House Judiciary Committee, under the chairmanship of Democrat EMANUEL CELLER of New York, has reported out a bill which contains a provision to abolish the poll tax in State and local elections. The Speaker of the House has endorsed this provision. Such a move to control State and local election laws is clearly unconstitutional, and I predict a real battle when this bill comes up for debate in the House. The Republicans will have a substitute bill which will protect the rights of the States to determine their own election laws and voter qualifications. The voting rights bill is now before the Rules Committee and can be expected to be sent to the House

shortly. The Alabama delegation in the House will be unanimous in its determination to protect our State and the South against this punitive legislation.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include my newsletter to the people of the Seventh District of Alabama for September 13, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(From Congressman JIM MARTIN)

FOREIGN AID FUNDS APPROVED—RESTUDY REJECTED

The House of Representatives, with an overwhelming Democrat majority, approved a $4.1 billion foreign aid bill. Although this amount is about $147½ million less than the President asked for in the 1966 budget, it is almost $92 million more than was spent on foreign aid in fiscal year 1965. This is a bookkeeping trick of the L.B.J. administration to make the people believe he is saving money—appropriation bills are passed which are below budget estimates, but higher than the amount spent in the preceding year. Thus, a Congressman can have it both ways by telling the people he voted to save money by cuting the President's budget, while actually he approves increased spending.

The minority views of the Republicans, which called for a restudy of the whole foreign aid program before approving additional billions was, as usual, rejected by the Democrat majority. The minority report to the foreign aid bill clearly shows how little is known about how foreign aids funds are used and how they are spent. For many years Republicans have presented some very basic reasons for redirecting our whole foreign aid program. The Congress and the American people have the right to know the size of American foreign aid programs.

CUTS COULD BE MADE

The minority report shows that foreign aid spending for 1966 could be cut without endangering U.S. foreign policy, conduct of the war in Vietnam, or our commitments to friendly nations. Here are some facts on foreign aid the people generally do not know:

1. The magnitude of foreign aid spending is not fully known by the average taxpayer. Total requests for foreign assistance purposes have been submitted to Congress this year amounting to over $7½ billion.

2. The unexpended balance (money appropriated in previous years and not yet spent) as of June 30, 1965, is estimated to be over $10.6 billion. This means we would not have to make any new appropriations for 2 years, plenty of time to restudy the whole program.

3. Our commercial trade balance with countries receiving our aid has dropped sharply since 1960. The Latin American commercial trade balance is particularly alarming.

4. There is a definite relationship between the gold outflow and the Federal Government's programs of spending in foreign countries.

5. We are frequently told not to worry about the dollars spent for foreign aid because most of them are spent in this country. This is not quite true. Close examination shows that money spent in this country is for total commodity purchases. In fiscal 1963 total foreign aid appropriations were $5.17 billion, but only $855 million was spent on commodity purchases, so only a small portion of foreign aid money is spent in this country.

6. There is strong evidence that administration officials pay little attention to the intent of Congress when it comes to spending the foreign aid money which Congress authorizes.

I do not advocate the complete elimination of all foreign aid programs, but before supporting additional spending greater emphasis must be placed on encouraging private development resources of our own and in the developing countries; and initiating projects of a grassroots nature such as feeding the hungry and development of education programs in which we know our aid will reach the mass of the people and not just a selected few foreign government officials.

WHAT WE REALLY SPEND ON FOREIGN AID

The people are led to believe that all foreign aid funds are in the mutual security bill. However, the following table shows the many foreign assistance programs and the amount the President has requested in the first 6 months of 1965:

New foreign aid funds requested in 1965

[In thousand dollars]

Foreign assistance requests, as amended (mutual security)	3,459,470
Receipts and recoveries from previous credits	209,770
Military Assistance Advisory Group	76,000
Export-Import Bank (long-term credits)	900,000
Public Law 480 (agricultural commodities)	1,658,000
Inter-American Development Bank (Latin America)	705,880
International Development Association (IDA)	104,000
Peace Corps	115,000
Contributions to international organizations	96,953
Permanent construction overseas (military)	85,986
Education (foreign and other students)	69,200
Ryukyu Islands	14,733
Migrants and refugees	7,575
Atomic Energy Commission (overseas)	5,900
Inter-American Highway (Latin America)	4,000
Total new foreign aid requests, first 6 months of 1965	7,512,467

Audit Etiquette

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the Internal Revenue Service at Cleveland has issued an interesting publication for its employees entitled "Audit Etiquette" which I wish to include with my remarks in the RECORD. I think it is a commendable effort on the part of the IRS to establish and maintain a good relationship with the individual income taxpayer whose account is under consideration by the Service.

I am particularly pleased to call this to the attention of the House because the idea for the publication grew out of conversations between IRS officials and Attorney George J. Tzangas of Canton, Ohio, one of the younger leaders in his profession, and in civic affairs in my hometown:

AUDIT ETIQUETTE

Be attentive to your personal appearance.

Be on time for all appointments.

Assure the taxpayer that examinations are necessary for compliance.

Deal with the taxpayer in a courteous and positive manner.

Confine your activities to the areas necessary in the examination.

Conduct your examination with a minimum of taxpayer inconvenience.

Use your time effectively.

Take care of records entrusted to you.

Return all records to where obtained.

Raise only real issues—never any for trading or bargaining purposes.

Clearly explain the results of your examination.

Avoid letting personal feelings influence your conduct or decisions.

Allow the taxpayer ample opportunity to substantiate his position.

Give objective consideration to explanations given by taxpayer.

Advise taxpayer of all his rights.

Compliment the taxpayer's record-keeping when deserving.

Never criticize the taxpayer or his representative.

Personal problems are never discussed.

Personal favors are never requested or accepted.

Conduct yourself in a professional manner.

Keep in mind the importance of good public relations.

The New Immigration Bill Which Passed the House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the following interesting newspaper article entitled, "Immigration Bill Will Benefit Italians," written by Jack Steele, Scripps-Howard staff writer, published in today's issue of the Washington Daily News:

IMMIGRATION BILL WILL BENEFIT ITALIANS—60,000 A YEAR EXPECTED TO ENTER UNITED STATES

(By Jack Steele)

Nearly 250,000 Italians who want to move to the United States will be the major beneficiaries of the new immigration bill which now seems certain to clear Congress this year.

State Department officials estimate that under the bill, which will abolish the 40-year-old national-origins immigration system, 60,000 Italian immigrants will enter the United States in the next 3 years.

This is nearly four times as many as could be admitted under present law.

Italian immigration presumably will continue at this 20,000-a-year rate—the maxi-

mum set for any nation under the bill—for at least a decade before the so-called oversubscribed list of Italian visa applicants is exhausted. At last count the list numbered 249,583.

The bill also will boost substantially the immigration from such countries as Greece, Portugal, Poland, China, and India—as well as from the newly independent Caribbean nations of Jamaica and Trinidad-Tobago.

QUOTAS POOLED

The new immigration system will not become fully effective until July 1, 1968. Meantime unused quotas of Britain and other countries will be placed in a pool to be used by nations with oversubscribed quotas.

The State Department says this pooling arrangement will clear for most countries except Italy the backlogs of visa applicants who get preferential treatment under the U.S. immigration laws.

Preferences go to relatives of U.S. citizens and alien residents and to persons with special job skills.

When the new law becomes fully operative in 1968 it is expected to increase total U.S. immigration by 35,000 to 50,000 a year. Immigration has averaged 290,000 a year for the past decade.

The bill, which cleared the Senate Judiciary Committee last week and is expected to be enacted without major change, will place these annual limits on future immigration: 170,000 from all countries outside the Western Hemisphere; 120,000 from Western Hemisphere countries.

In addition, 35,000 to 50,000 members of immediate families of U.S. citizens (parents, spouses and children) are expected to be admitted each year as nonquota immigrants.

ESTIMATES

The State Department has prepared these estimates of immigration boosts from major countries under the new bill:

Greece: 11,707 in the next 3 years compared with the present annual quota of 308.

Portugal: 1,554 in 3 years compared to its present annual quota of 438.

Poland: 28,718 in 3 years compared to its present annual quota of 6,488.

Asian countries which now have negligible quotas, also would get substantial increases.

The 3-year totals estimated under the new bill include 5,964 for India, 19,135 for China, and 988 for the Philippines.

The new China quota will include "Chinese persons" living in other countries.

The new bill will establish six preference categories, mostly for more distant relatives of U.S. citizens and aliens living in this country.

A new, third-preference category will be for members of the professions, scientists, and artists, and a sixth-preference category will be set for skilled or unskilled persons needed to fill labor shortages in the United States.

Only after these preference categories are exhausted will nonpreference immigrants be admitted.

The Reason for Opposition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the political practitioners who have imposed the war on poverty on the American people make every effort to show that those who oppose the program are against people or at least are blind to the desirability of raising family incomes which are very low.

But as the poverty war goes on it is becoming more widely understood that the greatest benefits are going to the "warriors" themselves, and so we see groups vying with each other for control of the program. It is becoming a question, as some have said, of who owns the poor.

The radio commentator, Paul Harvey, recently made some useful comments on this subject, and I include those comments here because of their general interest:

THE COST OF HANDING OUT THE HANDOUTS

(By Paul Harvey)

A city welfare worker in Chicago is paid $4,800 to $15,000 a year.

These are the people who hand out the handouts.

There are some even more plush patronage plums being plucked by party faithfuls under the Federal antipoverty program.

In Paterson, N.J., the director of the program is paid $18,500 a year. This is a thousand dollars more than the annual salary of the mayor of Paterson.

The New Jersey State director gets $25,000.

The local Washington, D.C., director gets $25,000.

There are at least two dozen staff members in the antipoverty program who are paid from $10,000 to $23,000 yearly.

A Negro leader in Chicago says the war on poverty in Chicago is being run for the benefit of Mayor Daley's political machine.

The Reverend Lynward Stevenson says the antipoverty payrollers in Chicago include 6 ward committeemen and 31 city hall appointees.

Is the antipoverty effort a smokescreen behind which to hide more millions of political payola?

Sargent Shriver, commander in chief of the President's war on poverty, will pay 54 of his civilian generals from $19,000 to $30,000 per year.

The Poverty Operations Board of New York City has on its payroll one person who is paid $500 a week as a part-time consultant. This same person is also a consultant to other government agencies.

Another New York consultant at $65 a day also happens to be a prominent Democrat and a city judge.

Almost forgotten now is the fact that this mammouth nationwide antipoverty war began as an effort to aid impoverished people in the coalfields of West Virginia and thereabouts.

Some of us, who have long resisted the compulsion to spend for the sake of spending on foreign aid, have insisted these doles might better be employed helping home folks.

When the President announced his intention to divert tax dollars to artificial respiration in Appalachia, we were willing to give that effort a chance.

Now it has turned into something far different—a billion dollar slush fund for playing pork-barrel politics.

Aid for home folks, in whatever form, is potent vote bait.

But so grotesquely top heavy is this boondoggle that Americans might rightly begin to wonder whether this war can be won by employing an army of high salaried mercenaries.

In Gum Springs, Va., $74,000 has been earmarked to fight poverty for 1 year—$54,000 of that will go to staff salaries.

Schedule for Conference on World Peace Through Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the Washington World Conference on World Peace Through Law begins today at the Washington-Hilton Hotel. Chief Justice Earl Warren is honorary chairman, and former Presidents Dwight Eisenhower and Harry Truman are honorary cochairmen of the Conference Sponsors Committee.

Members of Congress have been graciously invited to participate without paying the usual $50 registration fee. The full schedule of remaining activities is printed below. Discussions of each of these interesting topics is lead by a prominent international jurist. I plan to attent several of the events and hope that my colleagues will take advantage of the opportunity.

The schedule follows:

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1965

From 9 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.: Working session I—Section 1. Topic 1: "Existing and Proposed International Courts."

From 9 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.: Working session I—Section II. Topic 2: "Space Law."

From 1 p.m. to 2:30 p.m.: Luncheon.

From 2:30 p.m. to 5:30 p.m.: Working session II—Section I. Topic 3: "International Law in Domestic Courts."

From 2:30 p.m. to 5:30 p.m.: Working session II—Section II. Topic 4: "International Communications."

From 9 p.m. to 11 p.m.: An evening at the National Gallery of Art (black tie).

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1965

From 9 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.: Working session III—Section I. Topic 5: "Transnational Trade and Investment."

From 9 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.: Working session III—Section II. Topic 6: "Arbitration Tribunals."

From 1 p.m. to 2:30 p.m.: Luncheon.

From 2:30 p.m. to 5 p.m.: Working session IV—Section I. Topic 7: "Human Rights."

From 2:30 p.m. to 5 p.m.: Working session IV—Section II. Topic 8: "International Judicial Cooperation."

From 6 p.m. to 8 p.m.: Reception: Chief Justice, U.S. Supreme Court (by invitation).

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1965

From 9 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.: Working session V—Section I. Topic 9: "Disarmament."

From 9 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.: Working session V—Section II. Topic 10: "Industrial and Intellectual Property."

From 1 p.m. to 2:30 p.m.: Luncheon.

From 2:30 p.m. to 5 p.m.: Working session VI—Section I. Topic 11: "Creative Research and Education in International Law."

From 2:30 p.m. to 5 p.m.: Working session VI—Section II. Topic 12: "Expanding Structures of International Law: General Principles, Peace-keeping, International Organizations, etc."

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1965

From 9 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.: Plenary session: Presentation of summaries of committee reports and panel rapporteur reports.

From 1 p.m. to 2:30 p.m.: Luncheon.

From 3 p.m. to 5:30 p.m.: Plenary session: Work program for the future.

At 7 p.m.: Reception.

At 8 p.m.: Banquet (black tie). Presentation of world law awards.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1965

From 9 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.: Plenary session: Adoption of reports; approval of Washington document.

U.S. Civil Rights Groups Blamed for Stirring Hate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, the following article by George S. Schuyler needs no comment by me. It speaks for itself and is something which should be read by everybody who is truly interested in contributing to a solution of the race problem:

[From the Times-Picayune, Sept. 2, 1965]

U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS BLAMED FOR STIRRING HATE

PEOPLE BETRAYED, NEGRO JOURNALIST SAYS

(By George S. Schuyler)

(George Samuel Schuyler, 70-year-old Negro reporter and editor, is associate editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, a weekly Negro newspaper with a circulation of 59,836. A journalist for more than 40 years, Schuyler has long expressed belief that civil rights leaders are encouraging the Negro masses to bitterness and lawlessness. Some of his journalistic adventures have been as special correspondent to South America and the West Indies in 1948 and 1949. French West Africa and the Dominican Republic in 1958, and Liberia in 1931 for the New York Post. He was editor of the National News in 1932 and served as special assistant in publicity for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1934 and 1935. In 1952, the Lincoln University School of Journalism, in Jefferson City, Mo., awarded a certificate of merit to Schuyler. Schuyler, a resident of New York, is the author of "Black No More" and "Slaves Today.")

NEW YORK.—The current crop of anti-white disturbances, like those in the past, is the inevitable consequence of the increasing competition between rival civil rights groups led by career agitators vying for the profits of organized pandemonium. Never have so many innocent people been betrayed by so few for so little.

There are as many different kinds of Negroes as there are white people, and most of them deplore the bad reputation they have been given by the excesses of the agitational and criminal elements of their so-called race. They respect life and property. They own millions of homes, automobiles, and modern utensils and do not cram the jails.

Like their white counterparts, they are eager to live in peace. They have no illusions about the marching, mobbing, picketing, vandalizing Negro element. They know there is a lot of law in the end of a policeman's nightstick, and they want it used.

Above all, these Negroes wish white people in authority would stop flattering and encouraging the sorceror's apprentices leading astray the mentally retarded and criminally bent black minority.

YOUNG INCITED

Utilizing the traditional techniques of "spontaneous" disorder, well known to Communists, Nazis, and other political perverts, the self-appointed leaders of the Negro revolution have for years recklessly incited young Negroes to mass action inside (and often outside) the urban Negro enclaves.

In turn they have denounced "police brutality," "the white power structure," "residential segregation," "defacto segregated schools," "job discrimination," "phoney white liberals," and a whole gamut of grievances which could not possibly be solved or even ameliorated in a century, if then, and will never lessen racial conflict.

Constant suggestions of "a long hot summer" and "conditions getting worse before they get better," are but invitations to hoodlums, arsonists, and vandals, aided by white beatnik amoralists and malcontent leftists currently disturbing our campuses.

Not a single one of these trumpeted evils is nonexistent here nor in any other country similarly circumstanced. They are products of our color caste system which will never be improved by Negro insurrection. They are in all multiracial and multiethnic societies from Soviet Muslim Asia to Central Africa.

UNITED STATES SITTING DUCK

These problems are more agitated here because the United States has been a sitting duck for leftwing moralizers who have made millions of well-meaning Americans feel like Nazi racists; and who have persuaded gullible Negroes into believing the only thing holding them back is persecution.

Only the most self-serving demogogs, arrogant know-it-alls, or men with social revolution in mind would stir up a social situation so fraught with tragedy for Negroes, or profess to believe that any predominant social class would willingly surrender power, prestige, and privileges in the face of threats and violent demonstrations.

Ever since the long and futile Montgomery bus boycott (settled not by marching but by Federal court order), the peripatetic Dr. Martin Luther King and his posse of political parsons in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) have roamed the country collecting coins and infecting the mentally retarded with the germs of civil disobedience, camouflaged as nonviolence and love of white people.

Phony prayers for the salvation of white oppressors and chanting slave songs fooled nobody except possibly the utopians and wishful thinkers. Only the unwary and true believers thought this program was anything but pixilated.

STAGE IS SET

As many Negroes foresaw, the net result of this long encouragement of civil disobedience, disdain for authority, and general disrespect for public morals, was to set the stage for the successive disgraceful orgies of burning, looting, vandalism, and death, with the criminal elements of the slum proletariat taking over. Ironically when police called upon these civil rights leaders to help control the rampaging mobs they were found completely ineffective.

With the recklessness of complete ignorance or irresponsibility, the SCLC sent its mobile gangs of young clergmen from place to place to take over the revolution despite expressed objections of local leaders, even mobilizing schoolchildren to face police clubs, dogs, and firehoses, breeding illwill and jeopardizing Negro jobs by promotion of nuisance tactics. No matter how many minions might be jugged by the police, the Reverend King always contrived to get out in time for his next speaking engagement.

James Farmer, the professional pacifist and war resister who heads the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) has played an even more sinister role with outright challenges to law, order and public peace. Like SCLC, this outfit operates schools of subversion where graduates are trained in how to march on city halls and courthouses, fall limp when arrested, and in other ways make pests of themselves.

Not to be outdone by these competitors for the scarce civil rights dollar, the veteran National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) saw the expedience of adopting the same tactics of boycotts, sit-ins, marches and picketings. It even went much further by thinking up the defacto school segregation gimmick which has kept the North and East in an uproar for the late 3 years.

EMPTY ASSUMPTION

The empty assumption behind this campaign is that schools predominantly attended by Negro children are ipso facto segregated and therefore inferior; and that to equalize public education this "imbalance" must be corrected by moving the Negro children into predominantly "white" schools.

Since this was and is obviously impossible, what small victories have attended these herculean efforts have been pyrrhic. Nowhere have school boycotts, marches and besiegements of boards of education done else but worsen race relations.

The millionaire-subsidized National Urban League (NUL) stretched absurdity still further by coming out publicly for preference being shown Negroes in employment and promotion because they are so far behind whites. This was and is doomed to failure in our basically competitive society but it adds up to another "reason" for suspicion and hatred of white people.

All of these civil rights leaders have joined in a loud chorus denouncing "police brutality" or the forceful suppression in every large Negro community. Every subordinate from coast to coast joined in the hue and cry althought decent Negroes as well as whites suffer from this criminal element.

CRY SOUNDS

The cry sounds in many cities, with monotonous regularity, for "civilian review boards" to help wreck discipline and restrain the police from doing what they are hired to do. This outcry has emboldened the Negro criminal element and lowered its respect for and fear of the police.

The respectable bulk of Negroes has been reduced to silence by the terrorism of the agitational element. Every Negro who has openly opposed its illegal and senseless actions has been denounced as an "Uncle Tom," an enemy of his people, and lackey of the whites.

One distinguished and authentic Negro leader, Rev. Dr. Joseph E. Jackson, president of the 5-million-strong National Baptist Convention (NBC) of America, Inc., was hooted off the stand in Chicago stadium because he expressed views opposed to those of the professional agitators. The current president of the Philadelphia branch of the NAACP has had a field day denouncing the conservative middle-class Negroes in the organization.

Craven politicians have contributed much to this insurrectionary atmosphere by not standing up to the intellectual authors of violence and subversion. Consider the spectacle of New York's Mayor Robert F. Wagner skulking through the basement of New York's city hall rather than have thrown out the beatniks picketing his office; of other high officials permitting their work to be disrupted in the name of civil rights; of needed public construction being halted by CORE beatniks; of President Johnson being booed at the New York World's Fair. The "power structure" has been long-suffering but much too cooperative for its own good.

ONE-SIDED PRESENTATION

Most of the civil rights leaders who have sparked these insurrections would still be unknown if it had been for the mass communications media which publicized them

on every occasion, put them on innumerable television programs, and wrote profiles of them as if they wanted this racket to succeed. At the same time newspapers, magazines, radio, and television sought out not a single Negro with an opposing viewpoint. It is hard to remember such a one-sided presentation.

Just prior to the Los Angeles shambles, a local radio station had on one of its programs an ex-criminal, Charlie Sims, head of the gun-carrying Louisiana Deacons for Defense and Justice. Undoubtedly tens of thousands of Los Angeles Negroes heard and applauded him.

When returning Governor Brown of California described the Los Angeles shambles as "a state of siege" he spoke aptly. President Johnson expressed horror over the bloody orgy but did not speculate on the causes of it all. To find the source he needed to look no further than the Negro civil rights leaders with whom he has frequently conferred, especially to suspend demonstrations until after the 1964 election.

Now that the Civil Rights Act of 1965 and the voting rights law are operative, he and everybody else had a right to expect that we would see an end to demonstrations, picketing, arson, looting, and vandalism. But these evils are easier started than stopped, and they just don't go away because another law is on the books.

What this country badly needs is public officials who will not temporize with illegality and disorder garbed in the mantle of civil rights and equality; who will suppress crime and violence regardless of color; judges who will act with speed and vigor to jail disturbers of the peace; and a more responsible communication media that will refrain from persistently exciting the idle, envious, and lawless.

Ohio's Constitution Town: Louisville

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, Ohio's "Constitution Town," Louisville, is preparing once again for its observation of Constitution Day and Constitution Week, an activity that has twice won for the town the George Washington Medal of Honor of the Freedoms Foundation.

It was my pleasure to be the speaker at the first Louisville Constitution Day observance 13 years ago.

This year honor will be paid to Rick Whitemyer and Keith Minton, 1965 graduates of Louisville High School, for their outstanding essays on the Constitution of the United States. The usual parade is planned and the principal address at the Louisville stadium will be given by Prof. H. H. Walker of Malone College in Canton.

Much credit for this annual patriotic observance must go to its original organizer, Mrs. Olga T. Weber of Louisville, and to the Clapper family, editors and publishers of the Louisville Herald, who have supported the program throughout the years in their newspaper.

I would hope that this kind of program would spread to many other American cities and towns. Ceremonies observing Constitution Day and Constitution Week should refresh our understanding of the God-given document that protests our freedom and liberty.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my report to my constituents for May 6, 1965.

WASHINGTON REPORT

(From Congressman JIM MARTIN)

CLEAN WATER BILL

By a unanimous vote of 396 the House passed S. 4, the Water Quality Act of 1965. This is now a bill I supported. It was improved in the Public Works Committee, of which I am a member, largely through Republican efforts. As stated in the Republican views in the report on the bill, "The critical and growing problem of pollution of the waters of our Nation has been of steadily increasing concern to us, and it has become obvious that a solution can be found only through the concerted action of all levels of government." The amendments we were able to add in committee removed Federal standards, gave more incentive to the States to bear their full share of responsibility for cleaning up our rivers and streams, and encouraged continued effort on the part of private industries to solve the pollution problem.

THE INEQUITY OF FINANCING SOCIAL SECURITY

In remarks to the House of Representatives last week I again pointed out the danger of increasing the inequity of financing the social security system by adding medicare and ever-increasing benefits and depending on future generations to pay the bill. I objected to the medicare bill when it was before the House because it is needlessly compulsory and because it is financed by a regressive payroll tax that will reduce the take-home pay of many people who cannot afford to pay additional taxes. We are proposing to take almost $5 billion more in taxes next year just for social security purposes. The present $17 billion we now collect in social security taxes will almost double by 1972, and the total will continue to mount after that.

Under medicare proposals we are adding many billions of dollars to the more than $300 billion of existing unfunded obligations of the social security system. This huge deficit in financing social security means that younger and future members of our working population will be subjected to the inequity of having to pay not only the cost of their own benefits, but also the cost of beneficiaries who had preceded them in the program.

As our young citizens become aware of the fact that social security is not the bargain it now appears, we will find a growing resentment developing with respect to the irresponsible way we have approached our responsibilities. In order to protect the social security program of the future, we must stop weakening it by adding new programs and new benefits without providing adequate financing.

OBSERVATIONS AT THE END OF THE FIRST 100 DAYS

Much is being made of the quantity of legislation passed by this Congress in the first 100 days under pressure from Lyndon Johnson. But it has been pointed out by the Washington Evening Star that "quantity is not the same as quality." Much of the legislation that has been passed will return to haunt us. The big push of the Johnson administration has been to fortify its political position by increasing spending, increasing handouts, increasing Federal control. Congress is given no opportunity to deliberate or to consider legislation reasonably and thoroughly.

The prevailing attitude among the liberal majority in Congress is to be one of "take this legislation as it is—or else. Do not question the President. Do not waste time pointing out flaws in the bill—just pass it." Usually, a controversial bill is discussed in detail. Its immediate effect is considered. Its long-range results are analyzed and debated. This is good government, the proper way to legislate. It means progress, sometimes slow, but sure and steady and keeps mistakes at a minimum. But during this 100 days, the deliberative process in Congress has gone by the board. Legislation affecting all our lives and the lives of generations to come, is being pushed through Congress, some even without debate.

As bad as legislating under pressure from the White House, and maybe worse as far as danger to our Republic is concerned, is the increasing secrecy surrounding congressional actions. No less an authority than Congressional Quarterly magazine reported that, during the first 3 months of this session, Senate and House Committees held 35 percent of their meetings behind closed doors, compared to 31 percent last year. Even the pro-Johnson Washington Post said this "is a serious reflection on the state of our representative Government."

Such a far-reaching bill as medicare was pushed through the Ways and Means Committee without public hearings. Bill after bill is being reported without giving the people a chance to be heard. With Congress in the control of the President's party by a 2-to-1 majority, the voice of the minority is being stifled and representative government is threatened with extinction.

There is still hope. Hope because the minority in Congress is alert. We are doing our best to get the truth out to the people. When they know the facts, I am confident in the ability of the American people to demand an end to legislation by pressure, coercion and bribery. We should take heart, too, in remembering that the original 100 days began at Elba and ended at Waterloo.

Government Employees Salary Comparability Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, it is my belief that to have a good Government representing our Nation we must have capable people in it. Many jobs often demand long hours and ceaseless work.

I am in favor of the principle of the pay raise legislation. To attract quali-

fied employees to the civil servce system, we must provide pay scales comparable to those offered by private industries.

It is mandatory that we arrive at an equitable level of compensation for our dedicated Federal employees.

Mr. Vincent E. Jay executive vice president of the Federal Professional Association and Hon. Robert Ramspeck, consultant to the association testified before the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee on August 27, on the Government Employees Salary Comparability Act.

Mr. President I ask unanimous consent that their testimony be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF VINCENT E. JAY, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, THE FEDERAL PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION

Mr. JAY. My name is Vincent E. Jay, executive vice president of the Federal Professional Association. This association represents career professional and managerial personnel serving the Federal Government through the Nation and the world. I am accompanied by the Honorable Robert Ramspeck, consultant to the association, and Dr. Lewis P. McCann, president.

The association is a nonpartisan, nonprofit, individual membership organization engaged in consultation, education, and research. It is composed of Federal employees from most managerial and professional disciplines represented in the Federal service. Many of our members hold top-level career positions as well as staff and line positions, both in Washington and throughout the field service. We try to present the views of the entire professional segment of the Federal service, ranging from accountants to zoologists.

The Federal Government is finding it increasingly difficult to retain the best people for the most important managerial and professional positions, principally because of competition from private industry, universities, research organizations, trade associations, and the growing number of foundations.

While Government salaries have largely kept pace with rates paid in the private sector for employees in the densely populated clerical and postal grades, they lag in important higher level professional and managerial positions. It is imperative in the national interest that this discrimination against the most responsible members of the public service be ended as soon as possible.

The association's primary concern with regard to salary legislation is the early attainment of salary comparability for all Federal employees. The association believes that the administration has shown the way to this objective is the so-called administration bill, H.R. 8207.

This bill contains features that would facilitate early attainment of salary comparability for all grades. The most important feature in the bill is the responsibility assigned to the President of the United States to review and adjust salaries annually in accordance with the principle of salary comparability with the private sector of our economy, which the Congress established in 1962. The factual information gathered by the Bureau of Labor Statistics would make possible appropriate and proper comparisons.

For the Congress to authorize this responsibility and authority for the President would bring to the Federal Government one of the key management principles of major industrial organizations—that the Chief Executive must have the authority to make management decisions, while the board of directors—in our case, the Congress—and I have heard the former chairman, Olin Johnston, speak of the Congress as the board of directors—retains control in the form of veto rights. In effect, such a delegation of authority would raise the prestige and stature of the Congress. You have already given to the executive branch this kind of authority with respect to trade and craft employees whose salaries are periodically reviewed and adjusted locally by wage boards.

I will move over to the chart at this point, if you will excuse me.

This chart has two lines, and you have a copy of the chart in the statement. The orange line shows the wage board grade 7, the red is the GS–4.

Now, these two positions that are used here as a demonstration were comparable in 1943. The salaries were just about equal. By converting the 86 cents per hour, you come out with something like $1,786, or right close to the $1,800 for the GS–4.

In skills, training and so forth, they are comparable. As they go through, the trend shows that from 1943 through 1964, because of the annual review and adjustment, the wage board employee has been doing far better on his salary adjustment than the GS–4 employee to the extent where the difference is about $824, as of 1964 figures.

I was able to obtain the latest data on the wage board grade 7, which is $2.62, as opposed to $2.55 last year, so this would raise it still further to $968, or nearly a thousand dollars difference between these two formerly comparable positions.

We feel that this significantly demonstrates the importance of orderly salary review and adjustment on an annual basis for employees in the classified service, even at the lower grades. We strongly urge this committee to include in any bill you may adopt the provision that will allow the President to review and adjust Federal classified employees' salaries annually, with the President's recommendation to go into effect within a reasonable time period unless either body of the Congress disapproves.

We also urge the establishment of a Federal Salary Review Commission for the purpose of reviewing and adjusting congressional, executive, and judicial salaries every 4 years, also subject to the consideration and disapproval of the Congress.

The case for comparability needs no argument. It is true, however, that those Federal employees who are furthest from achieving salary comparability are those on whom the President and the Congress rely to perform the most important functions in the Federal service—the professional and managerial employees in the middle and upper grades.

This chart demonstrates the existing gap, in percentage and in dollars, between the salaries of these classified employees and their counterparts in the private sector of our national economy.

We have a green line showing the dollar lag between grades, starting at grade GS–2 through grade 18, showing that the dollar lag for, say, a GS–9, which seems to be about in the middle, is slightly more than $500, whereas the dollar lag at grade 17, where the point is the highest, is slightly over $2,500, and this, of course, would be an even greater lag if we had 1965 data.

The yellow line shows the percentage of increase that the Congress would have to provide for full comparability to be achieved at all grade levels.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not understand the green line.

Mr. JAY. The green line is the dollar difference.

The CHAIRMAN. The dollar figure?

Mr. JAY. The dollar difference; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. JAY. It goes up much more sharply than the percentage line because of the salary differences in the higher grades.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you calculate in the grade 18 that the percentage would be 10 percent below comparable private wages, is that it?

Mr. JAY. Just about that; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It stays about 10 percent from grade 11 to grade 18, is that correct?

Mr. JAY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Below grade 11, down to grade 1, it gravitates between grade 10 and grade 6, at a comparability level of around 5 percent?

Mr. JAY. That is right. The lag varies between 5 and slightly over 10 percent through the entire grade level; but, in the grades that you have identified, it is between 5 and, perhaps, 8 percent.

The CHAIRMAN. I was just trying to identify the table, because I am concerned with it.

Mr. JAY. The chart that I have just described measures only the lag through 1964. It would show an increase if 1965 salary data were available. Average salaries have been rising at about 3 percent a year in recent years, perhaps more than that.

The dollar loss at GS–9 is approximately $600, extending to over $2,500 at GS–17. Much of this gap was caused by the transfer of approximately $120 million from the middle and upper grades to the lower grades in the last pay bill. It is only proper and equitable that this sum be restored to the managerial and professional employees.

However, as responsible employees, we are concerned about overburdening the budget which has been carefully planned by this administration. Therefore, this association supports and urges the passage of the administration's pay legislation, H.R. 8207, in toto, as originally submitted by Congressman UDALL.

We believe we should willingly accept a 3-percent across-the-board pay increase now, even though this would leave us well below comparability, in exchange for the enactment of the orderly pay adjustment provisions.

We consider the latter of paramount importance, believing they would facilitate the eventual attainment of full comparability when, in the judgment of the administration, this could be done without jeopardy to the national economy.

If the Congress, in its wisdom, should decide not to approve the provisions for annual administrative adjustments and a quadrennial commission, we respectfully request the restoration of at least the lost $120 million to the middle and upper grades. Even restoration of the full $120 million would still leave the middle and upper grades below full comparability.

This ends my prepared statement, Mr. Chairman. I believe the Honorable Mr. Ramspeck and President McCann may have some additional comments to make, and I would appreciate it if Mr. Ramspeck would act as our anchor man. He is the best possible anchor man that we could have.

The CHAIRMAN. He has had a good deal of experience in all civil service matters.

Mr. JAY. We will be glad to answer any questions, of course, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. President McCann, do you have a statement?

Dr. MCCANN. Mr. Chairman, I think Mr. Jay has covered the issues that the association as a whole is concerned with. May we turn to our anchor man, Mr. Ramspeck?

STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT RAMSPECK, CONSULTANT, THE FEDERAL PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION

Mr. RAMSPECK. Mr. Chairman, as you and Senator CARLSON know, I served in the House with both of you, enjoyed it very much. I was there from 1929 through 1945 and was a member of the Civil Service Committee of

the House. At that time it was separate from the Post Office Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You left the Congress then to become Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, did you not?

Mr. RAMSPECK. No, I resigned from the Congress December 31, 1945, and became executive vice president of the Air Transport Association.

In 1951, when we were in the Korean war, the President asked me to take the chairmanship of the Civil Service Commission, which I did, on March 15, and I served through 1952.

I then spent 9 years as vice president of Eastern Airlines, and for the record I would like to say that both in Eastern and in the Air Transport Association I had some managerial administrative experience, and for 3 years after I retired from Eastern, I handled the hearings on grievances of nonunion employees of Eastern.

Out of the experience that I had, both in the Congress and in private industry, it became my very strong conclusion that the efficiency and the economy of any operation depends upon the administrative officials and the people who must be the leaders of numbers of employees if we are to have a good operation.

When these gentlemen began to organize the Federal Professional Association, they asked me to sit in on the founding committee, which I did, and I became very much interested in it and have since its formation acted as its consultant.

I became interested in it because it is the only organization of Federal employees that I know anything about which represents the people who must be the leaders in giving us good Government.

I do not mean to be critical of other organizations. I have great respect and admiration for the leadership of the postal clerks and the carriers and the other people in the postal service, and for the AFGE and the NFFE, but necessarily, they are oriented to the mass numbers of employees and they cannot be to the people that the Federal Professional Association represents.

In addition to the things I have mentioned, I have served on the panel which was set up by Senator CARLSON when he was chairman of this committee, which studied the postal service, and recently I served on a panel for the Postmaster General on postal rates.

I served also on a salary study committee set up by the late President John F. Kennedy, at which time I recommended that the panel suggest a salary of $35,000 for the Members of Congress, with $5,000 of it being tax deductible if expended for expenses incident to the job.

I am sorry you did not accept the $35,000, because I know you need it. The last year I was in Congress, Mr. Chairman, I kept an accurate account of the money which I had to spend because of the job I held, and I would have been just as well off working outside of the Government for $4,500 a year as I was in 1945 as a Member of the Congress.

The next year I worked with the Air Transport Association and they paid me twice as much salary, and in addition all of my expenses, and I could save some money—which I did. The reason that I quit the Congress was simply because I could not save any money as a Member of Congress, so I sympathize not only with your financial problems, gentlemen, but also with your complex problems in legislating for Federal employees and also for executives.

I come here this morning to urge your consideration of the needs, in this complex age in which we are living, for the people in the middle and the higher grades who must give the leadership to this Government if we are to get economy and efficiency. I think it is of the utmost importance and, while I am not here to oppose anything you may wish to do for the other employees, based upon my own experience in life (and it has been a pretty long one) and my experience in employment outside the public service, I think that this Government can be improved if we can keep the good people who come into the Government that are now being siphoned off by trade associations, by corporations, and by other private employers.

I found when I went down to the Air Transport Association that most of those people down there came out of the Government and the present president of the Air Transport Association, with whom, Mr. Chairman, I know you are well acquainted, Mr. Tipton, started his business career in the Treasury Department of the U.S. Government. Many of the other people in all of trade associations that I got acquainted with when I was with the Air Transport Association are people who had been offered more money outside of the Government and, of course, those private employers pick the best persons they can find.

So I think this committee and the Congress have a responsibility, which I am sure they will meet, to give us the best leadership we can get in the responsible management positions in this Government.

I have learned from experience that people operate better if they have good leadership.

The Government has become more complex and the problems involved are such that we cannot operate with mediocre people, and if we were left in the Government only with those who do not have much ambition or whose abilities are limited, we are not going to have good government.

It is a pleasure, Mr. Chairman, to see you sitting in that seat. I served with you in the House, and with Senator CARLSON and with Senator JENNINGS RANDOLPH. In fact, Senator RANDOLPH succeeded me as chairman of the House Civil Service Committee.

I am now what is called a senior citizen, I guess. I am retired. When I left the Civil Service Commission I retired under the Civil Service Retirement Act, not under the Congressional Act, I am sorry to say.

I also retired under the Social Security Act, having been employed outside, so my chief activity in life today is to be interested in what you all are doing up here and if I can be of any help, I am glad to do it.

I appreciate your listening to me and I hope you will give consideration to what is, in my personal opinion, a great need in Government today—to make salaries adequate so that we can keep the best people possible for us to get in the managerial and administrative, scientific, and professional fields. We need them, we must have them, and I am sure you all realize that.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Ramspeck, thank you you very much.

If we reach the comparable level that is paid in private industry to those in grades up to 18, you feel that these leaders in professional and scientific fields would continue—would choose to remain in Government rather than leaving and seeking careers in private industry?

Mr. RAMSPECK. I think most of them would, Mr. Chairman, because the Government has a good retirement system. The fact is, I think many of them who have stayed in have stayed only because they have a good many years of service and the retirement has been made very good. It is a generous system and, with the exception of perhaps some private corporations who provide very large retirement for their executives, I do not know of anything that can be compared with it.

The CHAIRMAN. How many people would you estimate are the employees your group is seeking a comparable pay scale for? I do not mean the membership of your association, I mean how many in Government actually are involved in the type of leadership and the type of peculiar, unusual, and, in many cases, scarce skills in professions and knowledge?

Mr. RAMSPECK. I think that there are approximately 250,000 of them, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. 250,000.

Mr. RAMSPECK. That is the evidence I have been able to get. In other words, about 10 percent of the people who come under the Classification Act.

The CHAIRMAN. And these represent men of all degrees and all grades, probably ranging up from, what—a GS-10 or below that? Where would you say they start?

Mr. RAMSPECK. Probably a few below that, but most of them are from there on up.

They are people, as you have described, with various capacities—scientists, lawyers, doctors and other professional persons. They are an important part of this Government, more so today than ever before, in my opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. We have gone into so many new activities that require these professional and scientific skills. That makes it even more important.

Mr. RAMSPECK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Randolph, do you have questions?

Senator RANDOLPH. Mr. Chairman, I am especially happy to be at this hearing when our former colleague is testifying. I do not want to presume to express appreciation to him for his service over a long period of time, but I do wish to have this record reflect the leadership of Robert Ramspeck for so many years on behalf of the Federal employees.

I wish to discuss very briefly the matter that you, former Representative Ramspeck, are now discussing—the value of professional people drawn from other fields to the Federal service.

I do this with a criticism of the present program, and I hope it is not carping criticism. I believe there are too many persons that are called into Government on a rather shuttle basis—they go back and forth, they come from universities. These are capable people, but they are here for 6 months; then they depart.

There are men and women drawn from other fields of endeavor that come into the Government and are here for only a few months and then return to other vocations.

I think this is wrong. I think we are doing an injustice to our leadership program within the agencies of Government when these people come in for a few months and then leave.

Now, I realize that there are times when we must call these people in, but I would like to have the comment from Representative Ramspeck as to whether my observation is valid.

Mr. RAMSPECK. Mr. RANDOLPH, I think it is valid. I served on the task force of both Hoover Commissions. If my memory is correct, the average length of service of under secretaries and assistant secretaries in the executive branch of the Government at that time was listed at 18 months. I do not know what it is today, but I felt at the time—and I still feel—that no man can master the problems of one of our executive departments in so short a time. The last Hoover Commission task force recommended that some method be devised for getting a clear division between the career people and the political appointees, and to develop a panel of political people who could serve on appointment, and I still think that is a desirable objective.

Just how we can get it, I do not know, but I think your criticism is valid, Senator RANDOLPH. It is one of the problems of the Government to have people come and go, come and go. It is a very difficult problem.

Mr. JAY. Mr. Chairman, if I might respond to that also, I agree wholeheartedly. The Federal Professional Association is less than 3 years old, and at our founding conference

the members at that time identified as one of the primary objectives of the association the establishment of a true career service for professionals.

It is important, indeed, to have people coming from universities, foundations, industry, and so forth from time to time, but in addition to this, it is even more important that a solid career service be established.

Senator RANDOLPH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator RANDOLPH.

Senator RANDOLPH. I will not pursue the matter longer in connection with the important hearing today. However, I believe it is a subject that our chairman and members of the committee would wish to consider. It could well be studied by our staff and we could perhaps have a hearing on it at a later date.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly the careermen in our scientific and professional levels are difficult to recruit and once we have them, we do not like to have them drained off by private industry. A reasonable salary is something comparable to what they would receive in industry.

Senator CARLSON. One of the joys you have out of having a rather lengthy service in the Congress of the United States is the pleasure of having been associated with, working with, and knowing people like Robert Ramspeck. I have known him for many years. I have appreciated the distinguished service he rendered in the Congress and outside of the Congress. He never heistated to take some of these positions that are of real value to our Federal Government, by serving on various boards and commissions.

He has rendered service, he is still rendering it, and I not only hold him in high regard, but also his recommendations. I do appreciate so much your appearance and I would say that the professional men of our Government have outstanding representation in the three men who are here this morning.

Senator RANDOLPH. Thank you, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator CARLSON.

We do appreciate your appearance here, President McCann, Mr. Jay, and your friend, Mr. Ramspeck, and we thank you for giving us the benefits of your testimony.

Mr. MCCANN. On behalf of our group we thank you very much, gentlemen, for giving us the opportunity to appear here this morning.

Centerville Iowegian Supports Aid to Higher Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, both the House of Representatives and the Senate have acted favorably on the Higher Education Act of 1965. The two versions of the bill contain some major differences, but I feel sure that these will be resolved in the best interests of all concerned.

On September 3 and again on September 7, the Centerville Iowegian of Centerville, Iowa, carried editorials strongly supporting legislation to aid higher education.

In my home State of Iowa, there has been a continually increasing recognition of the importance of higher education. This sentiment, I think, is accurately reflected by the two Iowegian editorials, which I would like to call to the attention of my fellow Members.

The Iowegian editorials, in commenting on the recent action by the Congress, bring out two important points regarding Federal aid to colleges, universities, and students in search of an education.

The first point is that there can no longer be any doubt about the need for Federal assistance in this area. As our society grows more complex, the need for more citizens with an advanced education increases accordingly. And it has become painfully obvious in recent years that private and public colleges and universities cannot meet this challenge without aid from the Federal Government.

The second point is that this session of the Congress has responded to help solve this problem. The higher education bill passed both the House of Representatives and the Senate by an overwhelming vote, and I think the Iowegian editorial of September 7 is correct in saying these votes reflected a "broad national consensus" in favor of the legislation.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I hereby include the two editorials from the Centerville Iowegian.

[From the Centerville (Iowa) Iowegian, Sept. 3, 1965]

INVESTMENT IN YOUTH

Two reasons principally argue the virtue of the measure, just approved by the House of Representatives, whereby the Federal Government would for the first time provide college scholarships for needy undergraduates. Either of these reasons would be sufficient in itself to warrant passage of this legislation. Taken together, they speak overwhelmingly in its behalf.

The first of the reasons in favor of this Federal scholarship program is that, as a matter of American philosophy, every young citizen should have opportunity to acquire as much education as he wants and can absorb. There is plain evidence that, under present circumstances, financial strictures deny this opportunity to many young men and women.

The second reason, one which comes under the practical heading, is that our society profits many times over on any investment it makes in education of the young. This is not a theoretical claim. It is demonstrable that over the long haul the average college graduate contributes far more to the economy than he would have without a college education. Other contributions to society that flow out of higher education are, though less readily calculable, nonetheless real.

The so-called educational opportunity grants provided in the bill would by no means pay the total cost of higher education. They would amount to no more than $800 a year. But in many cases such a grant would make the difference between being able to attend college and not being able to attend college. Such scholarships will be an investment in youth, to be paid off in terms of adults better fitted to play a sound part in the development of our society. It is an excellent investment.

[From the Centerville (Iowa) Iowegian, Sept. 7, 1965]

A SOUND DOCTRINE

One of the most extraordinary things about the proposal for Federal aid to higher education is the margin of its approval in Congress. The House passed a bill by a vote of 367 to 22, and a few days later the Senate approved a similar measure with only three dissenting votes. The Nation's legislators—reflecting, it seems clear, a broad national consensus—have resoundingly accepted the doctrine that higher education is of primary importance in our society, and that it behooves us to make such education available to as many young men and women as possible.

This is sound doctrine. There is no longer any question about that. The time when only a small elite received a college education is long since past. The time is past, too, when going to college was largely the prerogative of those from wealthy or middle-income families. We now recognize that in the future the great bulk of our citizenry will need the skills and understanding which are the fruits of education beyond the high school level.

The legislation approved by Congress will go a long way toward making this a reality. For the first time, Federal funds will be used to provide not merely loans but outright scholarship grants—averaging $500 and as high as $1,000—to those who otherwise would find college out of the question. In addition, there will be federally insured low-interest loans and a broadened work-study program whereby students can earn money to continue their education.

The Senate measure has wisely provided not alone for the initial year, but for 4 additional years. It is to be hoped that this feature will be retained in the compromise bill. Aid to higher education is a sound program in the best interests of the Nation, and it should be made clear that the program is here to stay.

Tribute to Deputy Attorney General Ramsey Clark

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, besides being the No. 2 lawyer for the Federal Government by title, and the son of a Supreme Court Justice, Deputy Attorney General Ramsey Clark, of Dallas, has distinguished himself on numerous occasions as a leading lawyer and civil servant.

After compiling an outstanding record as Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Lands Division, Ramsey Clark has proceeded through a series of special assignments with ability, knowledge and precise judgment, to his present position of Deputy Attorney General.

As an accounting of the accomplishments of this fine Texan, I ask unanimous consent that an article from the Sunday, September 5, 1965, Dallas Morning News entitled, "He Almost Grew Up There" be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Dallas Morning News, Sept. 5, 1965]

RAMSEY CLARK FEELS AT HOME: HE ALMOST GREW UP THERE

(By Mike Quinn)

WASHINGTON.—Ramsey Clark, a soft-spoken, easy-going Texan, carries the title of Deputy Attorney General in President

Johnson's administration but his role reaches far beyond the confines of being the Government's No. 2 lawyer.

Clark, at 37, has quickly and surely moved to the front as one of Mr. Johnson's most trusted personal representatives.

He has spent the last week in troubled Los Angeles heading Mr. Johnson's special task force for coordinating Federal help which will try to get at the heart of the trouble which spawned a bloody riot in the Watts community of America's largest city.

The son of Associate Justice and Mrs. Tom C. Clark, Ramsey practically grew up around the Justice Department. His father was Attorney General before moving to the Supreme Court.

Naturally, his father's being there creates situations which are worth repeating.

During the days following Mr. Johnson's landslide victory in November 1964, Ramsey Clark was called into the White House on special assignment. At the time he was Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Lands Division.

No sooner had he sat at a desk in the West Wing, than rumors began to fly that Mr. Johnson would move him there permanently.

This did not pan out, but Clark got in his share of work.

Early in the year, it was announced that the Veterans' Administration was planning to close a number of hospitals and nursing homes across the land. Congress raised a storm.

President Johnson, to see if VA had a point, called Clark into his office one day and told him he (the President) needed in a hurry a brief on whether the VA closings were justified or not.

Clark, taking Mr. Johnson at his word, went back to his desk and with little sleep put together a brief on the subject in about 24 hours.

Mr. Johnson looked the material over after Clark gave it to him. In a little while, the President was back. Dropping the brief on Ramsey's desk, Mr. Johnson said:

"Now, Ramsey, you wouldn't take that up and argue it before your daddy."

Clark, again taking Mr. Johnson at his word, set out to write another brief. As one White House staffer recalled, the final product was about on inch thick.

The President looked through this one in his office. He then—as before—walked into Clark's office and dropped it on the desk.

"Now you can take this one up and take on your daddy and Earl Warren too," the President laughed.

Clark himself on one occasion brought the house down at a University of Texas-Exes meeting honoring House Speaker JOHN MCCORMACK. Justice and Mrs. Clark were in the audience.

In his droll, dry way, Ramsey began to introduce Bill Moyers who in turn was to introduce MCCORMACK.

Clark began: "Mr. Speaker, Representative BROOKS, Congressmen, Mr. Justice Clark * * * (pause) and Mother."

The crowd roared.

It is apparently Clark's soft, easy-going way that makes him an ideal "special representative" for Mr. Johnson.

One aid said Clark could sit down in a group at a meeting and through his "folksy" approach get others to express their opinions.

Clark's second job for Mr. Johnson was probably his most ticklish.

The President selected Clark to be on hand for the Selma-Montgomery civil rights march earlier this year as the coordinator for all Federal interests involved from law enforcement to community relations.

This, however, was not Clark's first time in the troubled South. He was sent to Oxford, Miss., by the late President Kennedy during integration troubles at the University of Mississippi.

While his position makes it almost impossible for Clark to discuss these trips, he reflected some of his feeling in a speech in Birmingham in May.

"* * * Emerson said that an institution is but the lengthened shadow of a single man. A city is but the lengthened shadow of its leadership. What is your city of Birmingham or mine of Dallas but the fruits of the labors of leadership past? The history of cities shows that they rise and fall with the wisdom, the courage, the energy, and the imagination of their leadership. And as the cities that spurned the railroad waned so will any city which fails to face, to evaluate, and to resolve its major problems.

"The beginning for a city, as for a man, is as Socrates said to 'know thyself.' We cannot improve ourselves by pointing to the troubles of others. And if the problems in the ghettoes of the North are bad, this does not change Birmingham or Dallas."

He also said this about civil rights at a time when Alabama was explosively tense.

"Civil rights are legal rights and legal rights are created and protected by law. To violate the civil rights of another is to strike at the foundation of our society.

"We may not like a law. It may seem harmful or unjust. But the price of freedom is adherence to law and to the legal method of effecting its change. Democracy doesn't confer on the individual, the group, or the political subdivision, the right to choose the laws to be obeyed. Only anarchy offers that option."

Clark's quoting Socrates and Emerson in such speeches as Birmingham comes easy, since he is well read and holds not only his law degree from the University of Chicago but a master's in history.

As a matter of fact, his desire for the graduate history degree kept him from graduating from the university with a B.A. degree.

He wanted to go to law school in Austin, but the dean of the law school would not allow him to take a master's in history at the same time. So Ramsey packed up and with his wife, Georgia, moved to Chicago.

However, that one degree has strongly anchored him to Texas and in the fall, when it's football time, his blood runs "orange" as is the case with all rabid Longhorn fans.

This prompted some friends to present him with a bright orange and white striped dress shirt some months ago. To show he could go along with the joke, Clark—then president of the Washington Texas-Exes—wore it to a brunch honoring Darrell Royal after the 1963 season.

Ramsey and Georgia live in suburban Falls Church, Va., and have two children. When he can get time away from the office, Clark likes to read and listen to classical music—as does Georgia.

Classical music actually got Georgia into the speechwriting business for Ramsey last spring.

He was to make a speech to the Italian-American Society in Washington and wanted to mention some operas. Georgia rose to the occasion and wrote the part of his speech where he discussed this. It got the biggest applause of the evening.

While his time has been taken up with speeches, troubleshooting for Presidents, and appearances on Capitol Hill, Clark left a record in the lands division that attorneys there are still talking about.

While Assistant Attorney General, he cut down the case backload by 49 percent while the incoming cases—such as condemnation—were increasing about 60 percent.

He has also found time to interest attorneys in career Government service. Clark himself left private practice in Dallas to come to Washington. Now as president of the Federal Bar Association here he tries to convince attorneys to stay with Government and that they can contribute as much there as in private practice.

This all points to Clark being a busy man. But every man has to eat and with Clark, it could be Mexican food morning, noon, and night.

It could be easily concluded that while in Los Angeles getting to the heart of the riot problem, he has also found the best place in town to eat Mexican food.

Quietly Mennonites Aid Victims

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, September 3, 1965, an undetected tornado struck viciously into several areas of Wichita, Kans., which is in my congressional district. Fortunately, no one was killed; but there were many injured and property and personal destruction and loss will run into the millions of dollars. Many citizens suffered the complete destruction of their homes while more than 100 other homes were damaged by the savage storm.

It is heartening and reassuring to note the important assistance rendered by police and fire departments, Civil Defense, the Red Cross, and McConnell Air Force Base, and the prompt restoration of telephone and utility services. Neighbors helped neighbors in the monumental cleanup task. Volunteer agencies were ready to pitch in and help residents dig out of the disaster.

Forrest Hintz, staff writer for the Wichita, Kans., Eagle, has written an inspiring story concerning one of the volunteer groups which responded early—the Mennonite Disaster Service. The humanitarian work of this church group in Wichita is symbolic of the manner in which it always responds; and exemplifies the spirit of concern for others that spread throughout Kansas on that terrible Friday evening. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Wichita Eagle, published September 12, 1965:

QUIETLY MENNONITES AID VICTIMS

(By Forrest Hintz)

HESSTON, KANS.—There was little excitement in John Diller's voice as he called Fred Unruh at Newton, Kans. Disasters were becomming commonplace.

"Fred, it looks as though we have another one at Wichita," he said. "Call Reuben Janzen down there and have him see how bad it is. Tell him I'll send Cliff Bitikofer and Albert Ediger down from here to help him figure out what he needs.

That simple announcement September 3 came only minutes after a tornado roared through northeast Wichita, and because of it the Mennonite Disaster Service (MDS) swung into high gear.

At dawn the next morning, Janzen, 1227 South Topeka, Bitikofer and Ediger toured the stricken area and called Unruh.

"It's a mess," they said, "but all we need to do is clean up the area. We'll need 50 men."

Minutes later, the MDS mobile office, a converted bus, was on its way to Wichita and

a call for volunteers was being broadcast by a Newton radio station.

Almost unnoticed, 100 volunteers moved into the debris-littered streets and began bringing order out of chaos. There were no fancy uniforms, shiny station wagons or fund drives. The volunteers wore overalls, drove farm trucks and asked only "Where do you need us?"

Saturday night, Janzen again called Unruh. "We'll need 100 men Monday to finish up the job," he said. Monday morning, 250 volunteers swarmed into the area, and by Monday night the cleanup was 90-percent complete.

And the Mennonite Disaster Service volunteers left as quietly as they had arrived. Most residents had been unaware of their presence.

"It was one of the most amazing things I've ever seen," said William C. Salome, executive vice president of the Wichita Association of Home Builders.

"They worked side by side with local people; they took on the hardest and dirtiest jobs, and they asked nothing except to be of service to their fellowmen. They were magnificent, and without them the cleanup would have taken weeks.

"From the standpoint of the Wichita Association of Home Builders, there are not enough words to express our appreciation of the work these people did."

But MDS is an experienced hand at such things. Formed in 1950 at a Sunday school picnic of the Pennsylvania Mennonite Church of Hesston and the Hesston College Church, their first job was to help sandbag the Little Arkansas River in Wichita on May 17, 1951.

"We asked for 15 men and 1 truck," said Diller, coordinator of MDS. "Four hours later we had 45 men and 4 trucks on the scene. That's the way it always happens."

The service roster of MDS is simply a list of the disasters to hit Kansas—Udall, El Dorado, Haven, Dodge City, Syracuse, Newton, or wherever there is need for help.

There is a practical, hardheaded side to MDS, which is why the group does not overwhelm disaster victims with aid.

"Any of us can be hit by a disaster," Diller said. "When it happens the victims always are in a state of shock. We try to impress our people that the first thing to do is to listen to the victim, to let him talk it out. I don't know the psychiatry of it, but when he finishes talking we help him to help himself and try to make him see that it isn't hopeless.

"That's why we usually quit when the work is about 90 percent finished. By then the victims can do for themselves."

"Our people get a tremendous satisfaction from helping those who have need," Unruh, assistant coordinator, said. "I think this feeling means more to them than all the fanfare and publicity.

"I don't mean to sound pious, but to us, helping others is part of our Christian witness, a practical application of the parable of the Good Samaritan."

"We don't want to use the bulldozer approach in helping. We try to be sensitive to the immediate needs of the people affected, to render a personal service. For example, in the El Dorado tornado a man lost his false teeth, and to him they were important. We hunted for hours before finding them.

"MDS is not a case of streetcorner evangelism," Unruh said. "When people are in trouble they want help, not sermons. We don't believe that disasters are visited upon anyone as punishment. God doesn't take a tornado by the tail and stick it in somebody's yard because they've done wrong. Disasters have always happened, and we can best show our faith by the way we react to them. That is why we help."

Although MDS does have some formal organization, the effort is concentrated on assistance. There is no annual budget and no fund drive. The operation costs an average of $1,500 per year, mostly for telephone charges and a small amount of printing work. Necessary additional funds are supplied by the various churches and an occasional small contribution by grateful disaster victims who have been helped.

Since its inception, MDS has developed close cooperation between the general conference, headquartered in Newton; the Mennonite Brethren, headquartered at Hillsboro; and the Mennonite, headquartered at Elkhart, Ind. As a result, the program now has become worldwide in scope.

But what persuades a man to give his time, labor, and money to help others when there is no hope of reward? Part of the answer may lie in the cultural memory of the Mennonites.

"My parents came from Russia in 1907," said Isaac Ratzlaff, a carpenter from Goessel, Kan. "All our lives we've heard about the persecution of the Mennonites and how they went from one country to another until they finally settled here.

"That's why some of our boys are conscientious objectors, because our people have had such a history of wars and disasters.

"My folks appreciated a kind word from anybody because it was something they never heard in Russia. We're so grateful for the freedoms we can have here that it's become part of us to do for others.

"Because of the disasters our people have faced we can feel for other people when something happens, and we want to help. That's all there is to it. We want to help."

Pickles and People Concern Arlington (S. Dak.)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, the September 5 issue of the Sioux Falls, S. Dak., Argus-Leader contained an article by Bob Renshaw concerning the city of Arlington, S. Dak., and the steps the Commercial Club there has taken to bolster the economy of the area. The story of Arlington's efforts is in the best American tradition. When our Government is spending millions of dollars to improve the economy of areas throughout the country, it is heartening to see an example of a town which, through cooperative action, develops industry and its economy on its own. So that my colleagues and those who read the RECORD might have the benefit of this example, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PICKLES AND PEOPLE CONCERN ARLINGTON

(By Bob Renshaw)

ARLINGTON, S. DAK.—Quest of members of Arlington's Commercial Club for ways to bolster the economy of the community has led to its becoming the pickle capital of South Dakota for 1965.

Paul Derrick, Commercial Club president, said members had put in many hours trying to locate something to boost the economy of the community. They came to the conclusion that they couldn't compete effectively with large industry and decided to check into development of resources already in the community.

Don Steinle, local grocer, told about an uncle who operates a cucumber collecting station in Appleton, Minn., which added $60,000 to the economy of that community last year. He was appointed to look into possibilities for a similar station in Arlington.

Through efforts of the Commercial Club, the M. A. Gedney Co., Chaska, Minn., set up a collecting station in the old creamery building in Arlington. George Perry, retired implement dealer, was hired as local manager. Several young Arlington men are hired to handle the cucumbers and a local trucker hauls them to Chaska each day.

Seventy acres planted to cucumbers had to be guaranteed for the station to be set up. Perry estimates that 150 acres will be harvested by 135 growers in an area from Egan to Watertown and from Brookings to Lake Preston. Most growing is done as family projects on plots of from one-half to 3 acres.

With good care, $300 to $400 can be grossed from an acre. Cucumbers are purchased by weight with prices ranging from $8 per 100 pounds for the smallest to $1 per hundred for large cucumbers. It was pointed out by County Agent Otto Sckerl that it makes an excellent summer job for young people or a good 4-H project.

Getting people to work together in an effort to better their economic possibilities has led to more awareness of the agricultural economy upon which the town is dependent, it was pointed out. It has emphasized the fact that if things are done to help agriculture, the entire community is the benefactor.

Another project which took shape through Commercial Club efforts is Parkview Apartments. They will provide reasonably priced independent and dignified housing for 40 senior citizens.

Land has been purchased 2 miles north of town along Highway 81 for development of a municipal airport. Derrick said people of the community are much more development conscious than they were 10 years ago because they have become involved. Several more projects are in the works, he pointed out.

Hope of larger industries locating in the community has not been abandoned. A nonprofit industrial development corporation has been formed by selling shares to individuals—both city people and farmers in the surrounding area.

It was explained that it is felt this will provide an organization which will be more effective because it will have money with which to work while the Commercial Club has none. The development corporation will work on larger projects, but the Commercial Club will continue to work hand in hand and push for smaller projects within its means.

President's Address on the Fourth Anniversary of the Alliance for Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, the President's address on the fourth anniversary of the Alliance for Progress was a timely reaffirmation of our commitment to

progress and social reform through the Alliance.

The importance of this step in the context of contemporary hemisphere affairs is incisively demonstrated by this editorial from the August 19 Baltimore Sun, and I ask consent to its being printed in the RECORD at this point.

The editorial follows:

[From the Baltimore Sun, Aug. 19, 1965]

A HEMISPHERE

The President's remarks on the fourth anniversary of Punta del Este were more than a formal, routine, nod toward the Alliance for Progress. They were a reaffirmation of this country's commitment to the well-being of the hemisphere, and a revelation of Mr. Johnson's understanding of what the problems are. A reaffirmation was needed, at a time when in some of its aspects the Alliance has not moved as fast as many had been led to hope, and a time when our action in the Dominican Republic had created a widespread doubt, justified or not, as to our comprehension of Latin American affairs. A new statement of understanding was needed, too, and in just the terms the President used—terms of an awareness that a formal, routine, nod toward the Alliance in Latin America as in the United States economic progress and social reform have become inseparable.

Mr. Johnson was specific. The administration, he said, would seek the elimination of the import fee on sugar. He proposed the creation of a fund for such multinational projects as regional road systems, and an integrated fertilizer and pesticides industry. Beyond that he foresaw wider integration, with broadened markets, increased trade, tariff barriers broken down. "We must try to draw the economies of Latin America closer together," he said. Of course it will be difficult, especially in a continent the lines of whose economies in the past ran mostly to distant Europe, and a continent where so many countries still depend heavily on one crop or one mineral. No one ever expected it not to be difficult.

The difficulty is a challenge. It is also a necessity. The President did well to reaffirm our taking up of our portion of the challenge, and to emphasize how urgent the necessity is.

Tuffy Signs On

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Evening Tribune of San Diego, Calif., dated Friday, September 3, 1965:

TUFFY SIGNS ON—SEALAB AQUANAUTS SEEK ASSISTANCE FROM AN EXPERT

(By Leo Bowler)

Tuffy the porpoise will join the Sealab II project in La Jolla, September 13—barring rough water.

Forrest G. Wood, director of the Marine Sciences Division of the Point Mugu Naval Missile Center and Tuffy's boss, said the date could slip a little if high seas develop and make the move here hazardous for Tuffy and his handlers.

FLIGHT PLANNED

Plans call for Tuffy to be flown to Mission Bay in a helicopter, then be put aboard a Navy crash boat for the 45-minute run to the sealab site off Scripps pier.

Before he arrives, a home for Tuffy will be put together on the beach at La Jolla and towed to sea where it will be moored about 250 feet from the sealab mothership *Berkone*. The home will be a floating pen made of wood and heavy nylon fishnet. It will be about 20 by 20 feet and will extend about 7 feet down into the water.

PRACTICE PLANNED

A three-man staff from Point Mugu, including Tuffy's trainer, Wally Ross, will accompany the porpoise. Ross will give Tuffy a few days of practice dives in La Jolla before sending him down to sealab.

By the time Tuffy arrives, there will be a new team of aquanauts in sealab. Nine of the 10 men who went down last Saturday will come up September 12, leaving Comdr. Scott Carpenter below for another 15-day stretch.

TWO GET TRAINING

Two men on the second team have been given special training in handling Tuffy. They are John Reeves, a Navy photographer first class, and Kenneth J. Conda, torpedoman's mate first class.

When Tuffy is ready, Ross will let him out of his pen and one of the two aquanauts will use an underwater sound device to call Tuffy down to sealab.

One of Tuffy's exercises will consist of carrying a line from one of the divers to the other. This ability would be handy if a man were lost in the dark waters around sealab.

MESSAGE ROLE SOUGHT

Another test will be to carry messages from the surface to Sealab 205 feet below.

The purpose of the experiments is to see if porpoises can be trained to help divers at the bottom of the sea.

Yesterday, the aquanauts in Sealab got in a different kind of help in their work.

Workmen on the decks of the *Berkone* lowered a cluster of underwater television, still, and movie cameras to the bottom.

VIEWING PLANNED

The cameras are mounted on a framework and can be turned in almost any direction. The purpose of the unit is to allow the men on the *Berkone* to watch the operations of divers within range of the unit and record their actions.

The underwater television camera and the mechanism which turns the cameras by remote control from the surface vessel are of the same type as those used by the Navy in the hunt for the submarine *Thresher* which was lost in the Atlantic.

The camera and mount are made by Oceanographic Engineering Corp., of Del Mar.

Three of the aquanauts described the beauty of their undersea world yesterday in their first telephone interview since they entered the lab.

The three are Chief Photographer Jay D. Skidmore, 36, of Chula Vista; Berry Cannon, 30, an electronics engineer from Panama City, Fla., and Cyril J. Tuckfield, 43, chief engineman.

LIGHT BEAUTIFUL

Skidmore said the aquanauts live in a beautiful blue-green light which filters down from the surface of the sea above them.

"I think the first dive I made outside of Sealab was my biggest thrill," he said. "All of us are particularly interested in the sea, and the oceanographers are finding things here they did not know existed."

Skidmore said it is particularly interesting at night when the fish come up and peer through the windows at the men inside.

WE LOOK BACK

"We peer right back at them," Skidmore said. "Every time someone sees something new, we all rush to the windows to look. It's wonderful."

Skidmore and Cannon said the experiment is going well. They said they are having fun and getting plenty of work done.

Tuckfield, who has been doing much of the cooking for the aquanauts, said they appear to be hungry all the time.

"If we don't do anything else, we will certainly set an eating record while we're here," he said. "You know that hatch we come in and out of is 40 inches across. If we're not careful, we won't be able to get out when this is all over."

Water: Rural America's Greatest Need

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my fellow Members an excellent article from the September 1965, issue of the Iowa Rural Electric News, the monthly publication of the Iowa Association of Electric Cooperatives.

The article points out the need for legislation to aid rural communities in the development of water facilities. I strongly agree on the importance of such legislation, and I think it should be enacted this year.

Many rural communities have a critical need for water systems. In my home State of Iowa, for example, the latest figures of the U.S. Public Health Service show that about 290 rural towns, varying from about 100 to about 1,200 population, are without communitywide water systems.

As the article from the Iowa Rural Electric News explains, legislation to help solve this problem already has passed the Senate. S. 1766, which passed on July 23 by unanimous vote, would authorize the Farmers Home Administration to make up to $25 million annually in Federal grants for the development of rural water facilities.

Last month, the House Committee on Agriculture recommended passage of H.R. 10232, a modified version of the Senate bill. The House bill would provide for the development of rural sewer facilities, as well as water systems, and it would authorize the Farmers Home Administration to make up to $50 million annually in Federal grants.

As yet, the House of Representatives has not acted on H.R. 10232. But the provisions of this bill will meet some of the basic needs of rural America, and I strongly believe it should receive consideration in the near future.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I hereby include the article from Iowa Rural Electric News:

[From the Iowa Rural Electric News, September 1965]

WATER: RURAL AMERICA'S GREATEST NEED

Critical shortages of water are making headlines in many parts of the country, particularly in the Northeast.

Unless heavy rains hit the New York City area or unless residents drastically curtail use of water, that city will completely run out of water by mid-February. Similar problems of water shortages are cropping up all around the Nation.

Current water problems are not only confined to metropolitan areas. Even in Iowa

lack of pure water is causing some difficulties for dairymen who must meet increasing sanitary requirements for milk production. In still other cases, water supplies contaminated with high concentrations of nitrates are causing problems for farmers in this State.

Why all the sudden problem with water supplies? Drought is the cause of much of the current crises, of course. But it runs much deeper than that. Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall articulated the reason.

"It is only very recently," he says, "that we have begun to face the fact that our population is on a headlong collision course with natural resources."

The people of the United States, Udall declared, have long deluded themselves by nuturing a myth of the superabundance of resources. They have harbored an illusion that unrestrained growth was the golden key to the good life.

But now, with the world population hurtling toward 3½ billion, "the relationship of living things with one another and with their total environment poses a gigantic question mark over a future of increasing population and diminishing resources," the Secretary declared.

When people become aware of the problem, there is hope it can be solved. Several encouraging steps have been taken, including the recent Senate passage of a bill providing grants for rural water systems.

Sponsored by Senator GEORGE D. AIKEN, of Vermont, and cosponsored by 92 other Senators, the bill would authorize $30 million a year in Federal grants for building and planning rural water facilities. It also revises existing programs for water system loans and steps up an insured loan program from which the water loans and others are made.

A rural family that finds its water supply drying up would under this bill be able to join with neighbors to organize a central water supply co-op eligible for Federal help. Funds would be available to co-ops, public water supply districts, or other nonprofit organizations.

AIKEN, explaining the need for the bill, says some 30,000 rural communities need new water systems. The bill, he says would help many localities, whose growth is now strangled by lack of adequate water supplies, expand to absorb their share of the Nation's growing population.

Thousands of rural communities have incalculable potential for growth. Yet they can make no progress because they have no dependable water supply. They are unable by themselves to bear the cost of installing an adequate water system and are presently not eligible for Federal grants such as our larger towns and small cities enjoy.

Because of this handicap, Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana, and Senator AIKEN last January introduced a bill to amend the Rural Electrification Administration Act to provide a program for rural water systems with Federal grants under REA.

This bill encountered trouble not only in Congress but in administration circles, so on April 13 the two Senators reintroduced a modified version of the bill as an amendment to the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961.

The modified bill proved more acceptable.

"The national benefits which would result from a rural water system program are difficult to estimate but would certainly be enormous," Senator AIKEN says.

"There would, of course, be the broadened residential base for our increasing population, resulting in construction of new homes, and markets for appliances and supplies.

"It is estimated that the REA program has added $6 billion a year to our national economy. A rural water program should do as well," the Senator predicts.

With water available, more people would remain on the land, contributing to the Nation's growing food requirements or finding employment in local industries.

Small businesses would find it possible to locate in communities which cannot be considered unless a water supply is available.

Under this bill, S. 1766, no grants could amount to more than 40 percent of the cost of the project and no grants could be provided unless it appears that the installation of a water system would probably result in an increased growth of the community.

The bill provides no fixed rules on what type of water system a community would construct. Water might be obtained from existing natural lakes or streams, from reservoirs to capture spring rains, or from wells or other existing sources.

Senator AIKEN says, "I would not have anyone believe that the installation of water systems alone would meet the requirements of our rural communities. Many are also in need of waste disposal, recreation facilities, and many other items which make up a well-rounded community.

"However, community growth is out of the question without electricity and water.

"Thanks to the REA we now have electricity—our next step is to get the water," Senator AIKEN concludes.

Ed Kiley, a National Rural Electric Cooperative Association (NRECA) rural area development specialist, told a House agriculture subcommittee during recent testimony on the Senate-passed Aiken bill, "Without adequate water and sewage facilities, rural America will continue to be handicapped as compared with urban America.

"Rural electric systems, recognizing this, fully support all efforts to close this gap," he added.

To back up his testimony, Kiley presented supporting resolutions passed by the NRECA membership at annual meetings in 1964 and in 1965.

He questioned the $25-million yearly limitation for grants under this bill. Asserting this figure is too low if the program is to move ahead and achieve worthwhile results, Kiley added, "I am confident larger annual grant authorizations will be required in the years ahead."

Underscoring the need for this legislation, he pointed out that, although the Farmers Home Administration has made 900 water system loans, there is presently a backlog of 1,500 applications for such loans. These loan requests total over $225 million.

Kiley emphasized that Farmers Home Administration, through its 1,600 field offices, has demonstrated the ability to provide the service to do this job. The history of their water system program is unexcelled, he said. To date Farmers Home Administration has loaned over $100 million and only one loan of $60,000 is in default. This is less than one-tenth of 1 percent.

Civil Rights and Civil Wrongs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, two outstanding editorials on the subject of civil rights and civil wrongs appeared recently in the McDonald County Press of Noel, Mo., and the White River Leader of Branson, Mo.

I commend the authors of both articles for their perceptive analyses of one of the Nation's great problems, and I commend the articles to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the McDonald County (Mo.) Press, Aug. 26, 1965]

WHAT'S RIGHT WITH CIVIL WRONGS

The poet has said something to the effect that men do greater injustice under the guise of good than they do under outright evil.

If a man robs a bank of 50 cents, we put him in prison, but if he steals a million dollars from his Government (i.e., his fellow men) we make him a hero.

So it is with our present civil rights law—we're creating injustice under the guise of justice. A mandate has just been handed down by the U.S. Army to all presidents and instructors of clubs, colleges, schools, and State rifle and pistol associations enrolled with the director of civilian marksmanship that none of these organizations, to receive Federal assistance, can refuse or reject any applicant because of his color or his national origin.

Now, this law is, on the surface, just and right in that morally a person's color or his national origin should not be used to exclude him from anything American. But where the wrong arises is in the fact that this directive, like so many of its kind today, does not make clear the responsibility and obligation the applicant or recipient must exercise in order to ascend and hold his coveted place in society.

For example, suppose an all-white gun club, which permits its members privileges of purchasing, owning and using firearms and ammunition, refuses a Negro applicant membership because an investigation reveals that the applicant's own personal record does not live up to rules set by the organization. The rejected person can right off claim racial discrimination and make it stick. In other words, he is granted a privilege under the Government with no emphasis whatever on his responsibility.

It is curious to note that the Dodd bill, pending in Congress, is set up to restrict and limit the sale of firearms to irresponsible people. This came as an outgrowth of the Kennedy incident outrage wherein allegedly a mail-order weapon was used by a known socially irresponsible person to assassinate a President of the United States. Now, the Government, under the civil rights law, makes it mandatory that gun clubs under Federal or State jurisdiction accept anyone irregardless of color—unless, of course, he is white and has a dubious record.

What is to be the eventual outcome of the present civil rights movement remains to be seen, but it is going to be a bloodier sight than witnessed so far unless it is made clear that much more than a few demonstrations is all it takes to elevate a race of people to the highest pinnacle of society. There is no such a thing as freedom and liberty without responsibility. The passage of laws cannot cure basic ills of human society.

[From the White River Leader, Aug. 25, 1965]

RIGHTS NEED RESPONSIBLE BALANCE

This country has gone on a rights binge.

Everywhere the talk is about rights. Civil rights, criminal rights, minority rights, youth rights, old age rights, campus rights, off-campus rights, name the group and it will name its rights and organize a march.

But what about responsibilities?

We are constantly indoctrinating the upcoming generation to know their rights as citizens, but what about instructing them in their responsibilities as citizens?

Isn't it about time to balance the equation?

Of course, it's been favorite campaign fodder for years for politicians to sound out about how much they'll do for rights. They'll

try to outpromise, provide, preach, and propose each other on how they'll champion rights.

It sounds patriotic, noble, and anti-Communist to declaim on rights. To be for rights is almost like being for mother, country, and the flag. So what if it is purely vote bait?

But what about a politician taking the stump on the responsibilities of citizens.

Now rights without responsibility is just license. Rights mean to many "what I can get away with."

And we've educated a generation who knows its rights—sans responsibility: Everyone from the fellow traveler, union boss or corporation president who pleads the fifth amendment, to the street corner tough who knows the judge will go easy on him because he is underprivileged, to the smart aleck campus sophisticated who likes to banner four-letter words.

We saw some of the rights oriented crowd in Rockaway several weeks ago.

Now there is nothing wrong with our rights. They are what this country was founded on and has become great on. We've fought wars for rights. They are sacred to this country. But teaching rights without a supporting responsibility is out of order. Balancing our rights with responsibility is basic to teaching respect for law and order, the American way of life, community service, and even for rights themselves.

It's time we issued a call for perspective and quit drilling each other on our rights as citizens exclusively and get down to teaching some old-fashioned responsibility.

If we keep up our present pace our rights could be our last rites.

Water: A Dwindling Reserve

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, the Coinage Act of 1965 removes or reduces the silver content in dimes, quarters, and half dollars making an appreciable difference between the face value and the intrinsic value of coins. On August 18, I introduced a bill, H.R. 10539, which would create a water resources trust fund into which all the moneys made available to the U.S. Treasury through profits arising out of the minting of new coins will be paid. In the next decade, these coinage profits could amount to more than $5 billion.

I refuse to believe that the American know-how and ingenuity that can orbit men in space cannot better utilize water supplies and discover new sources. Mr. Speaker, the problem is acute today in certain sections of our country—by tomorrow, there may be a water crisis the whole country over. There must be a national, well-financed program to relieve clean water shortages and assure the public an adequate supply in the future.

There is an informative article by Veda Ann Tudor in the September issue of Washington World entitled "Water: A Dwindling Reserve", which I include as part of my remarks:

WATER: A DWINDLING RESERVE

(By Veda Ann Tudor)

" 'Til taught by pain, men really know not what good water's worth."—DON JUAN.

This pessimistic observation by Lord Byron might have been true in his time, but with the current emphasis on water shortage in the United States, it is no longer a truism. The subject is much discussed and cause for considerable concern in local communities, Federal and State Governments.

America faces a problem of water supply because of the carelessness of man and the caprices of nature. Secretary of the Interior Steward L. Udall in a speech on August 5 said that water is "our most abused natural resource."

"The constantly increasing population has to be measured against the unchanging amounts of water available on this planet. At present, these two factors—people and water—are on a collision course."

A concern about the lack of water has caused President Johnson to say recently that "There is no newer or more vital frontier for any of us than the one we must cross to a lasting abundance of fresh water for all mankind."

The current administration has moved creatively and energetically in that direction. The new Office of Water Resources Research, with appropriations voted by Congress, has approved over 400 water research projects in all of the States and Puerto Rico.

These projects operate from university research centers in the individual States. Since enactment of the basic law in 1964, about $8.7 million of Federal funds have been appropriated for these grants.

Specific problems of the drought-stricken areas of the northeastern United States are under study in more than 100 projects begun since July 1. They will take from 1 to 3 years to complete.

Research resulting from the new projects will provide information on improving efficiency of water use and conservation; development of auxiliary ground water supplies; improved waste treatment to reduce pollution; and improved planning and management of water resources through economic studies and basic hydrologic research.

As an example of other new Federal legislation on the problem, Congress passed the Water Resources Planning Act of July 22. It authorizes the President, with the concurrence of at least half of the States concerned, to set up commissions on a river basin or group of related basins. Each commission is to have primarily responsibility for comprehensive water and related land resources planning for the area under its jurisdiction. Funds will be provided jointly by the participating States and the Federal Government.

Other cooperation is necessary between local, State, and Federal Governments. The Director of the Interior Department's resource program staff stated that:

"Water pollution, inadequate municipal and industrial water supplies, waterfront blight, floods, need for power and irrigation water, and other critical water and related land resources problems cannot be handled satisfactorily by either the State or the Federal Government acting alone. These problems are closely interrelated, and the planning necessary to solve them can best be done by the States and the Federal Government in close and full collaboration."

Funds for this research are limited and should be used in the ways that will most benefit society. Secretary Udall believes that "dollars (alone) poured into an area will not cause the taps to gush forthwith."

What is the problem that has moved Congress to grant many millions of dollars in water research and related projects?

To the individual, the problem is simple. When he opens the faucet he expects water to flow, be it night or day, summer or winter. He wants the water to be clean, pure, odorless, and inexpensive. The unfortunate part is that in many areas of the United States today, it is becoming increasingly difficult for this to happen. No longer can these things be taken for granted. The Government is concerned that we shall be able to continue to use water as freely in the future as we have in the past.

There are three main causes for a short supply of water—drought, increased consumption, and pollution.

Natural supplies of water are distributed unevenly and greatly out of proportion to current prospective demands. Rainfall shortage is no longer restricted to the dry Western States. This year's gravest problems of water shortage appear in several Northeastern States.

Not only is rainfall short this year, but higher consumption of water is a growing problem too. According to the National Water Institute, per capita use of water supplies through public systems went up from 115 gallons a day in 1920 to 150 gallons a day in 1960; a 30-percent increase in 40 years. It is expected that the figure will reach 165 gallons daily by 1975.

Are we really running out of water? Researchers have hypothesized that if all of our rivers, lakes, and streams ran together, we would have 1,200 billion gallons of flow daily. This figure is four times the amount we shall withdraw daily for use this year, and twice as much as 1980.

The rise of personal water consumption is indicative of the unconcern that Americans have felt up until now about water. Scientists say that only about 5 or 6 pints of water per day are essential to normal bodily functions in Temperate Zone countries. A little over 2 pints are taken into the body in food, the rest in fluids.

It is interesting to compare these figures with current water needs as reported recently by Secretary Udall:

"The average American uses 50 gallons of water, for domestic purposes only, each day. If this seems excessive, consider these everyday tasks; flushing a toilet uses 3 gallons; dishwashing, 10 gallons; a tub bath, 35 gallons; one washing machine cycle, 25 gallons; a car wash, 60 gallons; and water for a 50- by 100-foot lawn, 1,000 gallons."

Although domestic water needs add up, they are considerably less than those of industry and commerce. In order to manufacture one dollar's worth of steel, the water supply is tapped for 1,400 gallons. For every pound of beef produced, 4,000 gallons of water are needed. A pound of cotton grown on irrigated land takes 1,300 gallons of water, and even a pint of beer requires 1 gallon of water to make.

There are two main classes of water use besides domestic and industrial. One accounts for about 10 gallons per capita daily and is called public use. It includes water for firefighting, street-cleaning, public building use, and maintenance of public parks.

The other class of water consumption in a city is loss through waste. The U.S. Geological Survey reports that leaks from the water mains and unmeasured leaks from faucets, as well as errors of measurement, appear to contribute to this loss. "This item is amazingly large, and generally even careful construction and management cannot reduce it to less than 20 percent of the total use."

When added up and counted all together, each and every one of America's 195 million citizens uses almost 1,400 gallons of water daily.

For each family of four the major categories of water use are as follows:

Municipal and rural domestic supplies: 445 gallons per day, 8 percent of total.

Irrigation: 2,520 gallons per day, 46 percent of total.

Industry: 2,520 gallons per day, 46 percent of total.

Future anticipated consumption of water over the next 25 years in industrial areas is 2½ times that of the present; for domestic supplies 1½ times; and for irrigation, 1⅓ times. Where will this water come from?

The answer lies partly in knowing where it comes from now. Of all water withdrawals, 73 percent is taken from streams, lakes, and reservoirs; 19 percent is fresh water drawn from the ground; 8 percent is saline water, largely from the ocean; and about 0.1 percent is reclaimed sewage. The rest of the answer is that more water must be made usable through improved means of desalinization, and pollution control.

Three important facets of the water problem that need solving according to the Interior Department are these; to make more efficient use of water; to develop improved quantitative evaluations of water supply and its quality, and to develop management practices based on scientific hydrology.

There are some critics who believe that the water shortage is really a myth; that there is enough good water available, but not enough good sense is applied to its use. They advocate that the only shortage concerned with water in the United States today is a clean-water shortage or a cheap-water shortage.

Such practices as conservation, flood, and erosion control, treating, and reusing industrial water, will be starting points to solving the impending water crisis. As the demand for water increases, innovations in technology, changes in attitude and policies, and increases in water costs will occur and alleviate some cause for concern.

The public can do much now to stop the lethargy that has clouded the water supply problem in the past. Citizens should support their local, State, and Federal Governments in planning to prevent and relieve water shortages.

The main thing is to know the facts, speak up on them, and support sound programs for the conservation, wise use, and development of water resources.

If these things are done conscientiously, no community in the United States has to run out of water today or in the future.

Commends Keogh's Efforts for Self-Employed Individuals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, a recent letter to the editor of the New York Times commends our colleague, the Honorable EUGENE J. KEOGH, for his consistent efforts to insure for our elderly a just and equitable system of social security. Representatives of the Authors League of America, the Authors Guild, and the Dramatists Guild cite Mr. KEOGH's assistance in eliminating the provision through which authors have in the past been deprived of the social security benefits to which they were entitled, and the letter refers also to Mr. KEOGH's continued efforts to insure that authors be permitted to establish retirement funds under Public Law 87–792.

Mr. Speaker, as a Representative of the State which has a higher percentage of elderly than any other, I am particularly interested in the efforts of Congress to respond to the needs of this group of American citizens. Mr. KEOGH's outstanding contribution in this area has long been recognized, and his sponsorship of Public Law 87–792, the now famous self-employed individuals tax retirement act of 1962, is regarded as a pioneering step in legislative history. On behalf of the many farmers in my district who, as self-employed individuals, benefit through this legislation and stand to benefit through Mr. KEOGH's currently pending H.R. 10, I am especially grateful for the Congressman's achievements and continuing concern.

Congressman KEOGH has been a decisive and effective leader in the struggle to insure financial security for those American citizens of retirement age. I am indeed pleased to place into the RECORD the fine tribute which has appeared in the New York Times, Sunday, September 5, 1965:

AUTHORS OVER 65

To the EDITOR:

As the Times noted in an editorial several months ago, while Government honors for artistic achievement by banquet and bouquet are certainly appreciated, there are also practical ways of aiding writers and artists. A recent and unpublicized example of this is worth citing and commending.

Authors or dramatists over 65 who continue to write have discovered to their dismay that they would lose their social security benefits if they received royalties from books published or plays produced before they retired. This penalty is imposed even though their current writing produces little or no income. By contrast, retired individuals who receive dividends from securities purchased before retirement do not lose their social security benefits.

ACTION BY KEOGH

When the Authors League brought this inequity to the attention of EUGENE J. KEOGH of Brooklyn, he moved swiftly to eliminate it. On his recommendation the Social Security Administration prepared corrective legislation which was enacted as part of the social security-medicare bill. Henceforth authors over 65 will not lose retirement benefits because people continue to buy their earlier books.

While this legislation is less colorful than a reception, and less spectacular than a new cultural center, it has practical advantages to authors, and they will probably appreciate it more. Mr. KEOGH's tribute to the creative arts should be recognized and applauded.

Other practical steps could be taken to eliminate penalties on authors for being authors. For example, Representative KEOGH and Senator EUGENE J. MCCARTHY have introduced a bill to eliminate a technical obstacle that threatens the right of authors to establish retirement funds under Mr. KEOGH's now famous H.R. 10 which applies to millions of other self-employed taxpayers. We hope that Congress will act speedily on this legislation.

REX STOUT,
President, the Authors League of America, Inc.

ELIZABETH JANEWAY,
President, The Authors Guild, Inc.

SIDNEY KINGSLEY,
President, the Dramatists Guild, Inc.

NEW YORK, *August 31, 1965.*

Trying To Buy Off the Anti-Communists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Chicago Tribune dated September 8, 1965:

TRYING TO BUY OFF THE ANTI-COMMUNISTS

Two anti-Communist Dominican Republic generals have told our Latin America correspondent, Jules Dubois, that American agents tried to bribe them to clear out of the country. There could hardly be better evidence that the United States is aware of the Communist character of the rebel holdouts in Santo Domingo and of Washington's desire to appease these Red elements.

The officers approached by the cloak-and-dagger crew are Brig. Gen. Elias Wessin y Wessin, known as the army's most resolute foe of the Communists, and Brig. Gen. Juan de Los Santos-Cespedes, chief of staff of the Air Force.

Wessin was paid a visit at midnight Sunday by Lt. Col. Joe Wyrick, Army attaché at the American Embassy, and David Phillips, an operative of the Central Intelligence Agency. He was offered a trip to all military installations in the United States and also to the Panama Canal Zone. In addition, the American agents offered to buy his home and other piece of property for $50,000. He was told that the Communists refused to surrender their weapons in the rebel sector of the capital unless he departed the country. An agreement under which a provisional government has been established called for surrender of the arms.

Gen. de Los Santos told Dubois flatly, "I was offered the sum of $300,000 and anything else I wanted if I would leave the country immediately." He said three agents made the offer.

Both generals indignantly rejected the attempt to buy them out. Gen. de Los Santos told the Americans he intended to remain in his post to insure that the Communists would not seize power, and that no money could buy his patriotism. General Wessin pointedly asked Dubois: "What is the United States fighting for? Is it fighting for democracy or for communism in the world?"

President Johnson in late April sent 21,000 marines and soldiers into the Dominican Republic with a declaration that he was acting to forestall a Communist coup d'etat. But once this force was on the scene, it took no action against the rebels, who were permitted to hold a square mile of the business and financial district of Santo Domingo. They are still installed there, and they are still armed.

As is to be expected, American officials are not talking. The Embassy in Santo Domingo says it knows nothing about approaches to the generals. The State Department aso is officially ignorant. The CIA will not discuss the attempted bribe or concede the existence of an agent named Phillips. The Defense Department also has no comment.

Yet it is established that bribes are part of the CIA's stock-in-trade. Last week the State Department first tried to deny the truth of a charge by Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore that the American Government offered him $3,300,000 to hush up the arrest of an American intelligence agent in 1960. The agent had offered a Singapore intelligence operative money in return for access to official secrets.

After the State Department denial, Lee made public a letter of apology he received in 1961 from Secretary of State Rusk, deploring "improper activities." The Department then made a turnabout and admitted Rusk had sent the apalogy.

In the seamy world of intelligence, bribes go with spying and dirty work. There is nothing exceptional about that. But why do we have to go around bribing anti-Communists to lay off Communists?

ACLU Ignores Children's Rights, Say Clergy of Four Religions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, three clergymen of Staten Island, N.Y., Rabbi Benjamin Wykansky, Rev. Walter Everett, and Rt. Rev. John J. Cleary, are directors of Operation Richmond, a program which is fighting pornography in the Borough of Richmond, much the same as Operation Yorkville is fighting this menace in the Borough of Manhattan. The following article from the Tablet of August 19, 1965, sums up the position of the clergy of four religions in Operation Yorkville, and I am sure it speaks for the clergy of Staten Island, as well as the mature adult of our country.

Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include this article:

ACLU IGNORES CHILDREN'S RIGHTS, SAY CLERGY OF FOUR RELIGIONS

DEAR SIR: The American Civil Liberties Union should reexamine in its entirety its rigid, doctrinaire, and absolutist position on the first amendment. In fact, the citizenry in general should take the time to examine the ACLU position in all matters that affect children. For we are living in an era of totalitarian secularism, a secularism which is being forced upon our unprotected youth by a few who are highly skilled in the courts and in the propaganda arenas.

In the area of pornography, for example, which is recognizedly having a degenerative effect upon the mental and moral health of American children, the ACLU has consistently defended the pornographers rights under the first amendment, ignoring the rights and liberties of children and their parents. The director of the New York Civil Liberties Union admitted that the $2 billion traffic in pornography could not exist without the union's defense of pornographers. The New York group carried a case to the State's highest court to have the one law which protected children from pornography invalidated as unconstitutional. They succeeded. When several replacement bills were introduced in the last session of the New York State Legislature, the New York Civil Liberties Union opposed all of them except one which was virtually unenforceable. A strong bill passed because of the concern of the great majority of the legislature.

The American Civil Liberties announced early this year that it would carry the appeal of convicted pornographer Ralph Ginsburg to the Supreme Court.

In keeping with its rigid reading of the first amendment, the ACLU is driving toward the elimination of chaplains from the Armed Forces. Again youth are ignored. Young men dying in Vietnam, for example, would be denied the services of ministers of God.

The ACLU is working presently to have abortion laws invalidated, once more giving no thought to the innocent victim, the child still to be born.

Beginning September 21, with the blessing of the New York Board of Education, the ACLU will conduct a 15-week course for all city (grammar and high school) social science teachers. The course is entitled "Teaching the Principles of the Bill of Rights." In this way, New York children will be indoctrinated in the ACLU ideology of absolutism and concomitant secularism.

It would seem that the time is past due for examination and reexamination of the ACLU stand in terms of children.

Rabbi Dr. JULIUS G. NEUMANN,
Congregation Zichron Moshe.
Rev. WILLIAM T. WOOD, S.J.,
Pastor, St. Ignatius Loyola.
Rev. JOHN E. PALLAS,
Representative Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America.
Rev. JOHN SHINTAY,
Pastor, Lutheran Church.
MANHATTAN.

Federal Government and Michigan: Partners in Crime and Vice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to tell the Members of this House about the unfortunate partnership of the State of Michigan and the Federal Government in making Michigan gambling a mob monopoly. If the Michigan and Federal Governments would legalize and regulate gambling, its revenues could be made to work for the public good, but so long as they keep it illegal, and negligently allow the mob to reap the profits of illegal gambling, they will be partners in all the evil financed by mob gambling profits. So, by their ignorance, the governments in Lansing and Washington will be partners in maintaining a multitude of sins.

Gambling is big business in Michigan. Last year, the parimutual turnover came to $174 million. Illegal gambling is more extensive. Offtrack betting was estimated before the McClellan committee to be about $50 billion annually, and it was estimated that this was some 42 percent of the national illegal gambling total which would then be about $120 billion. On a population basis, Michigan's share of this amount would be $5.04 billion annually. The 10 percent of this turnover that stays in syndicate treasuries will finance a lot of crime. That 10 percent makes the joint negligence of the governments in Lansing and Washington worth about a half billion a year to the underworld. If this seems far fetched, it should be remembered that a Massachusetts commission 10 years ago found more money gambled in that State than spent on groceries, and the Justice Department has estimated underworld gambling profits at $11 billion a year nationally.

If Michigan would face up to the moral facts of life, it would cease to be a feeding trough for organized crime and gambling. Our States and Nation need Government controlled and operated gambling to make gambling profits work for and not against the people. The best mechanism is a lottery.

The War in Vietnam and Christian Conscience

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. DOW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, the rector of my church in Nyack, N.Y., has raised some questions about Vietnam in a recent message to our congregation. When many voices are being heard, certainly the voice of a churchman cannot be ignored. I submit the message from Rev. George F. Regas, rector of Grace Episcopal Church:

THE WAR IN VIETNAM AND CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE

The night before Franklin D. Roosevelt died in Warm Springs, Ga., he was planning a trip to San Francisco to attend the organization of the United Nations. He was working on his speech when the stroke came—and these are the last words he ever wrote:

"Today we are faced with the preeminent fact that, if civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships—the ability of all people, of all kinds, to live together and work together in the same world, at peace. As we go forward toward the greatest contribution that any generation of human beings can make in the world—the contribution of lasting peace—I ask you to keep up your faith."

I must admit I find it difficult to keep up my faith in man's ability to establish a lasting peace. Why? Because it seems easier to gain support for the arms race and military solutions to our political problems than to challenge America and the free world to create real alternatives to communism and provide imaginative leadership that will supply the basic ingredients to lasting peace. "The guns and bombs, the rockets and warships are all symbols of human failure." "A world where every country can shape its own destiny * * * will never be built by bombs and bullets." "The only path for reasonable men is the path of peaceful settlement." One catches his breath when he realizes that President Johnson spoke these words on April 7, 1965. Nevertheless, it is now quite obvious that the war in South Vietnam against the Vietcong is an American war. What a momentous decision it was to commit the United States to a land war of steadily growing proportions in Asia. This staggering decision has been made without Senate debate. "The greatest deliberative body in the world is abdicating responsibility" because most men in Washington feel it too dangerous to criticize the war in Vietnam. They fear the cry of "appeasement of communism." Unless we can have an open forum across this great land where honest and sincere men and

women can debate the issues of peace, then there is little hope.

I have no technical competence in this field of international peace and I will leave military strategy and protocol to the experts. Yet I refuse to believe that there is nothing a Christian can say about the war. A minister is entrusted with a dynamic Gospel in a dangerous world and he must struggle to see its relevance. The souls and lives of all mankind are at stake.

The church must hold up Christ Jesus and somehow let Him speak to a world engulfed in strife and turmoil. What then does the Christian conscience say?

I do not think it says that we must withdraw from Vietnam immediately, no matter what. The Christian conscience opposes totalitarianism because it suppresses the life and spirit of man. The Christian wants America to seek the development of open, responsible societies with liberty and justice for all. So total abandonment of Vietnam is unacceptable.

Once this is said, I hasten to add that the Christian conscience should be against gambling on the possibility of a military solution on the problem in Vietnam. The press gives every indication that it is going to get worse—more cruelty, suffering and killing of men, women, and children. The hell of war has come again and the rain of fiery death is being poured out on a helpless peasantry who have been victimized by other people's wars for decades. And as we fight we support a military regime in South Vietnam that makes a mockery of democratic government. I am not a pacifist, but my Christian conscience stands condemned by what is happening in Vietnam. Let us be honest and admit our mistakes and work for an immediate cease-fire—even at the cost of substantial compromise. And as we sit at the conference table, let us have China present and all other groups who are aiding the conflict.

And more must be said by the Christian conscience: we must launch at once a major effort to heal and rebuild that wounded land of Asia. We must help provide real alternatives to communism. If we would commit our great world leadership to this course, then there would be a rebirth of faith in man's ability to establish a lasting peace. Cannot some of our politicians and our national leaders challenge us to give our energies and imagination, our sacrifice and blood, our patriotism and loyalty to the programs of healing as we have given them to the programs of destruction? For God's sake and the sake of all that is precious in humanity, let us pay the cost of peace—high as it may be. Let voices be raised in Congress that Americans become the peacemakers—feeding the hungry, clothing and housing the refugees, reaching out to help all victims of misery and removing the causes of injustice and tensions among men; so that men no longer have reason to fight one another. For the first time in history we have the knowledge and resources to transform the conditions of life on earth. We could build a new world of peace—and the dream of the centuries would be within our reach. Naive—you say. But we've never tried it; yet the methods of war and violence have always failed.

Christian people, let the spirit of Christ speak to us and through us to the Nation. Retaliation, killing, and cruelty—evil for evil—are not God's way. Somehow we must break the vicious cycle by dealing with our enemies with love and good deeds.

Pray. Think. Speak. Join others over the country who out of the Judeo-Christian faith have written to the White House: "Mr. President, we plead with you with the utmost urgency to turn our Nation's course before it is too late from cruelty to compassion, from destruction to healing, from retaliation to reconciliation, from war to peace."

GEORGE F. REGAS.

Upper Michigan—Part III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAYMOND F. CLEVENGER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. CLEVENGER. Mr. Speaker, some of the most dramatic proof that our Great Society is already giving us a greater society in which all Americans will be able to equally participate is found in reports on Project Head Start.

More than 1,100 underprivileged children in my upper Michigan district were enrolled in Head Start classes this summer. This program enlisted the help of 95 professional instructors and more than 300 cooperating citizens.

Until Project Head Start these nearly 1,200 preschool youngsters would have been destined to enter public schools as underdogs in the competition for knowledge. But no longer. Head Start has given them the head start they need to begin on an equal footing with youngsters from more fortunate families.

The story of Head Start in upper Michigan is extremely well told in the following article by Richard Bird in the Escanaba, Mich., Daily Press:

[From the Escanaba (Mich.) Daily Press, Sept. 8, 1965]

HEAD START IN UPPER PENNISULA FAVORED AS CONTINUING AID

(By Richard Bird)

With Labor Day past, the school year has begun in earnest throughout the Upper Pennisula. Among the children entering kindergarten this year are those who participated in Project Head Start in the summer. Teachers will begin to determine to their own satisfaction whether the controversial program was a success.

Project Head Start was designed to prepare preschool children of limited opportunity and from low-income families to cope more successfully with the regular school program. Emphasis was on developing the children socially, preparing them medically, and widening their range of concepts.

Head Start was provided for by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, basis of the Federal antipoverty program. Financing of up to 90 percent of the cost was specified, with the rest to be provided locally. Programs were run in most areas in the Upper Pennisula.

Who were the Head Start children in the Upper Pennisula? Were they the children who could most benefit from such a program? What was accomplished that could not have been accomplished in a regular school program? How did the parents react? Should the program be conducted again?

To find answers to these and other questions, UPCAP (Upper Pennisula Committee for Area Progress) sent me to visit the Upper Pennisula operations. I talked with school superintendents, program directors, teachers and assistants, and volunteers who ranged from mothers of the children to fourth grade school students.

FIRST TOOTHBRUSH

The Head Start children varied in background. There were 4-year-old children who did not know what a toothbrush was when given one. They had never owned toothbrushes. There were children who had no water in their homes and who were fascinated by the soap when given showers. There were children whose brothers and sisters had come to school in the winter, wearing rubbers, but no shoes—or jackets, but no shirts. There were children who came in from the woods and who had never seen a flush toilet before.

One of the questions asked Head Start children for testing was, "What day do we go to church?" One teacher reported that several times she got back the answer, "clothes," because the families of the children had been given free clothes at church. When asked if these conditions reflected apathy on the part of the parents, the Head Start directors said no. Most parents are concerned about their children, they said.

Superintendent Carl Kleimola, director of the Wakefield Township Head Start, said that in his area the problem was peoples' resistance to moving to another area, when lumbering and mining declined. He said that many men are commuting between the Ironwood area and the White Pine mine, 50 miles away, to work.

Principal Arthur G. Quinn, director of the Newberry Head Start, cited cases in his area of people being brought in as woodcutters during the lumber boom. When the decline came, the companies pulled out and the people were stranded.

NOT ALL DEPRIVED

Not all the children, however, were from economically deprived families. Although Head Start was primarily designed for children from families with an annual income of less than $3,000, the Office of Economic Opportunity said that "family income need not be a specific requirement for admission, as long as the program is primarily reaching the poor within the neighborhood."

In this way, a child whose father had a reasonably good income, but 17 children was allowed to participate. A mother had had trouble with other children in the family, so she asked that her child be allowed in the program. The wife of a department store manager wanted their child in the program, because he was an only child. She felt he needed exposure to other children in a sharing situation. The teachers felt this interaction was necessary so that when the children of low-income families entered kindergarten, they would not find themselves in a primarily strange peer group.

Teachers in the Head Start programs were generally enthusiastic about its accomplishments. The average number of children in a class was 15. Each teacher had at least one assistant. The small class size, coupled with the loosely structured program, allowed the teachers to give much more individual attention than is possible in the regular school programs.

As might be expected, shyness was the main problem of the children. One boy was so shy that his mother had to carry him in the first day and sneak out after the teacher had gotten his attention. It was the 4th week before he would finally take a job, that of turning out the lights at the end of the period. In the 7th week, he participated fully, making a paper clown with the rest of the children.

STILL BEHIND

The teacher said, "He is still behind, but how would he have been in kindergarten if he had not had this individual attention in Head Start?" In some cases older brothers and sisters of shy children were asked to come in to help draw the children out. This could not have been done in kindergarten.

Because of this concentrated effort, the teachers felt that the goals of the program were accomplished in the 8-week period. Some teachers even felt that 8 weeks was too long, that 6 weeks would have been enough to loosen the children up. All said that a followup program is imperative if the children were not to slip back into the deprivation of their environment.

There was little resistance to the program by parents. Most felt it was an opportunity for their children and were eager to have them in. Some who were hesitant wished afterward that they had put their children in. Mrs. Florence Bordeau, teacher in the Wakefield Head Start, told of one mother who paid a babysitter so that she could help in the program.

Family nights and picnics were held in all areas to allow parents to participate. In most areas, there were large turnouts. Parents who did not attend were usually those with large families at home or with night jobs. When asked if any mothers took advantage of the program as a "free babysitting service," Mrs. Meda Kinsella, of Raca Head Start replied, "no, most of the mothers have to make an extra effort to get youngsters up. Ordinarily, they could sleep in."

MORE EXPOSURES

Most of the Head Start children were exposed to more of the world around them, then the average children from more fortunate homes. The children in the Houghton-Keweenaw program were, on one occasion, taken to a play at the Keweenaw Playhouse. The seats for the children, approximately 124, were donated by the playhouse. On another occasion, the same children were taken to view Ranger III. This posed a hypothetical question, voiced by a teacher in the program. "Why should these kids be getting exposure to things like this, and others from higher income levels be left out?"

Hugh Holloway, superintendent of the Soo area schools had an answer. "Even with all this exposure, these kids will still be behind. You can't undo in 8 weeks what has been forming for 4 years. If they are ahead, it will only be in isolated areas." Principal Quinn agreed. "This is the big advantage, the headstart they get. It is not going to hurt the kids even though they get ahead of other youngsters in some areas. Maybe they need to be ahead of the less deprived children when they come into kindergarten."

Should the program be run again? "Yes," said Holloway. "The Economic Opportunity Act is just that, an opportunity act. We should test it completely. It will take several years to know how effective it has been. To give it a fair try, Head Start should be held for 10 summers, and followups made." In Calumet, a teacher agreed with this. She said that the program should be given year around, that without this experience, it takes at least 4 weeks in kindergarten to get going. In Wakefield Superintendent Klimeola said, "If the program were extended to all youngsters it would be justified. Ninety percent of all youngsters could benefit from the experience."

The reactions to Head Start this summer are significant in view of President Johnson's recent announcement urging that the program be turned into a permanent part of the U.S. educational system. The Office of Economic Opportunity has approved the extension of Head Start operations throughout the country.

In the Upper Peninsula the extension is being carried out through the six multicounty Community Action Agencies. The CAA's are delegating to the schools which are interested, funds and the responsibility to extend the program. The UPCAP is planning and preparing with the CAA's and the schools the preschool project proposals to be submitted to the OEO. It is expected that the proposals will be funded by November 1 in time for a winter program.

War on Poverty Boondoggle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, the attached article from the Palo Alto Times in my congressional district is a classic example of the ridiculous boondoggle which the war on poverty has become. To the credit of the Mountain View, Calif., Elementary School District Board of Trustees, they have refused a Federal handout and have proven that at least one group is concerned over the taxpayers' money.

The article follows:

MOUNTAIN VIEW REJECTS FUNDS: FEDERAL HANDOUT TOO COSTLY IN REDTAPE, TRUSTEES DECIDE

(By George Williamson)

Benefits of the Federal war on poverty are too expensive for the Mountain View Elementary School District, the trustees decided Thursday night.

They arrived at that conclusion after hearing that the district can save about $2,000 by implementing its own remedial education program free of the strings attached to an available $11,000 Economic Opportunity Act (EAO) grant.

District Superintendent Rolland Jones told them they would have to spend about $10,500 for material and personnel to unwrap the redtape that would be part of an EAO-financed package.

BETTER GEARED

On the other hand, Jones estimated the district could independently enact a program better geared to its specific needs at a cost of slightly more than $8,000. The trustees decided by a 4-to-1 vote to go it alone.

The school board thus in effect thanked the Santa Clara County Economic Opportunity Commission for pinpointing a need within the district, and backed away before Uncle Sam could reach for his wallet.

The arguments of Jones and trustees against accepting EOA funds for extension of the remedial education program revolved around the Federal Government's stipulation that 85 percent of pupils participating would have to be from "impoverished" families—less than $4,000 annual income.

Jones criticized this requirement from two perspectives; financial and philosophical.

From the cost standpoint, the price of ascertaining how many children's families have incomes of less than $4,000 would be prohibitive, Jones said. He claimed this factor and the multitude of reports required by the Federal Government would account for the bulk of the estimated $10,500 the district would have to spend to qualify for EOA funds.

STANDARD

Philosophically speaking, he said, a program which determines its scope by the criterion of income level rather than educational need is contradictory to the district's principles.

Jones added that a child's cultural and educational impoverishment is far from absolutely correlated to his family's financial circumstances. Furthermore, he added, the arbitrary designation of poverty-stricken families as those earning less than $4,000 a year is unrealistic in the bay area.

Trustee Sherman McCormick was the only board member to vote against rejecting the EOA funds. He said the district should take every advantage of EOA funds and programs that offer hope of salvaging "even one child."

The other four trustees supported a resolution for district officials to "pursue a program centered on remedial reading—but not limited to it—financed entirely by the school district."

Iron Curtain Doesn't Stop Flow of Isle Pineapple Juice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I am sure we are unanimous in the belief that the Iron Curtain must continue to be penetrated if we are to reach the oppressed masses of Communist satellites. There are many ways in which this is being accomplished, and Rumania shows some evidence of such penetration as the following article by Mr. Michael Goldsmith which appeared in the Honolulu Star Bulletin of August 4, 1965, relates.

Rumania is still under Communist domination and there is still very little contact between its citizens and the free nations. However, there are signs which suggest a slackening of the police state, as the elite of the new society adopt western standards of living and recreation.

One of the signs, as observed by Mr. Goldsmith, was Hawaiian-made pineapple juice being sipped beside the pool of Bucharest's Lido Hotel. I cannot but feel that the spirit of American aloha as symbolized by Hawaii's pineapple juice is beginning to penetrate the Iron Curtain to the people of Rumania, and in time we shall be able to extend a welcoming hand to Rumania as a free state.

The article follows:

IRON CURTAIN DOESN'T STOP FLOW OF ISLE PINEAPPLE JUICE

(By Michael Goldsmith)

BUCHAREST, RUMANIA.—Two bikini-clad Rumanian girls, sunbathing beside the pool of Bucharest's Lido Hotel, were sipping cool pineapple juice—made in Hawaii.

Between them, the voice of Louis Armstrong sang "Mack the Knife," from a portable tape recorder.

The restaurant overlooking the pool was crowded with elegantly dressed Rumanians, their cars parked outside on Magheru Boulevard.

This is Communist Rumania's "new society," the elite of the regime, enjoying rapidly improving living standards and a gradual relaxation of the police state system.

They include party officials, technicians, artists, professional men, university professors, executives in state enterprises and their families.

Many—but not all—are Communist Party members. They have learned to make the best of the Communist system and by Western standards they live fairly well.

Luxuries such as Scotch whisky and American cigarettes are freely on sale—at luxury prices. American-made chewing gum is in demand at the equivalent of 15 cents a stick.

Some of the women delegates at the recent congress of the Rumanian Communist Party appeared in styles copied from Paris models—and managed to change dresses twice or three times during the long working day.

It will be years before Bucharest has a parking problem. Automobile imports doubled last year, but still totaled only 8,600

cars for a population of 19 million.

Most of the automobiles went to members of the elite in the big cities. They alone can afford 36,000 lei for a 600-CC miniature car from Italy. The equivalent of $2,000 at the most favorable tourist exchange rate—or a full year's salary for a factory manager.

To an unskilled farmworker, the same car may represent his total income for more than 25 years.

The relative prosperity visible in the big cities is still undreamed of in most rural areas. Foreign tourists who stop in some of the poverty-stricken villages off the beaten track often find the population gathered around to stare at cars.

Western newspapers have gone on sale in Bucharest's main hotels this year, but they are intended mainly for foreign tourists.

Contacts between private Rumanian citizens and Western diplomats are still rare and furtive—a hangover from the Stalinist years when any Rumanian seen talking to a foreigner became a suspect.

The old fears are disappearing slowly. Rumanian guests are beginning to appear at Western diplomatic dinner parties.

The U.S. Embassy gives a weekly showing of American feature films, admission free. The only Rumanians who come to see the films are Embassy employees.

A weekly U.S. Embassy cultural bulletin printed in Rumanian sometimes disappears in the mails, although it is circulated by agreement between the two Governments.

As in other Communist countries, party control over artists and writers is being relaxed, but the party's watchful eye remains.

A group of young writers meeting on the premises of the Rumanian Writers Union calls itself the Nicolae Labis Circle.

Labis was a young Rumanian poet who killed himself in despair over Soviet suppression of the 1956 Hungarian uprising. His poems and short stories are appearing in print, and the group's use of his name shows how the wind has turned.

The group's literary weekly, Luceafarul (Evening Star), is regarded as the mouthpiece of unorthodox opinion in Rumania.

To Trade or Not To Trade With Russia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, there has been much speculation and much discussion about proposals to increase trade with Russia and other Communist-bloc countries. Recently, most of the attention has been focused on the possibility of additional sales of wheat, and perhaps other agricultural commodities, to Russia. The present provision that 50 percent of any such sales must be transported on American ships has been widely discussed, while hardly anyone talks of the moral issue involved. In my opinion, the 50-percent restriction should have never been approved. It should, therefore, be removed and when removed the real issue of trading with Russia at this time should be fully debated in a calm and dispassionate manner. It appears the basic question is whether we should trade at all with Russia at the very time she aids our enemy in Vietnam. In a recent column, Victor Riesel presents an interesting discussion of the National Maritime Union's views, and I am, therefore, inserting it in the RECORD. I sincerely trust leaders of the Maritime Union prefer the view expressed by our colleague, PAUL FINDLEY and, if so, they should withdraw their objection to removing the shipping restriction and join all Americans in efforts to fully explain and debate the overriding moral issue of trading with the enemy. Is it consistent to fight communism with the one hand and to feed it with the other?

INSIDE LABOR—LONGSHOREMEN'S CHIEF SAYS IT WILL "TAKE THE MARINES" TO CHANGE LABOR'S POLICY ON WHEAT TO RUSSIANS

(By Victor Riesel)

NEW YORK.—The Russians will have to choose between "propaganda and pumpernickel."

That's how the peppery Teddy Gleason, leader of 60,000 longshoremen put it when we talked dockside of reports that the Soviet Government was not purchasing U.S. wheat and other grains because of American labor's insistence that half the shipments go in American-flag vessels.

There was nothing belligerent in the voice of the bantam president of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA).

Quietly Gleason said it would take the marines to get grain loaded onto any ship, American or foreign, in Atlantic or gulf coast ports, if U.S. shippers did not get half the business.

And unless Gleason's followers load that grain, it won't get into the cargo holds. If "the marines" handle it, the American ships won't sail because their crews belong to Paul Hall's militant Seafarers, or the National Maritime Union. If the Government mans the ship, the marine engineers will strike again.

They're all bound up in the Joint Maritime Labor Committee, headed by Gleason.

"We will stand by the '50-50' agreement we made with President Johnson in February 1964 and we believe he will not pressure us into abandoning it," explained Gleason. "The word from the wheat bowl is that the Russians are not buying from us because American shipping costs are too high. True, the American shipping costs are some 6½ percent above the fees of the slave labor foreign-flag ships. But the Russians are spending a hundred times that 6½ percent on subversive propaganda against us; and on guns, missiles, and ground weapons for North Vietnam; and a million dollars a day to bolster Fidel Castro.

"Furthermore, to our definite knowledge, some of the wheat, which other nations are selling to the Soviets, is being transferred to Cuba and the Vietcong now."

Gleason and those of his colleagues such as the juggernaut Paul Hall would prefer that all grain shipments cease. But they're willing to move the cargoes as long as President Johnson requests it.

These anti-Communist labor men assert the Soviet Government is not really concerned with saving money involved. The unionists firmly believe that the Russian propagandists just don't want their people to see American-flag vessels heaved into Red ports.

Two years ago, when U.S.-flag ships delivered grain to Odessa and other Black Sea ports, the Russian populace hailed American sailors and treated them like heroes. This, the Moscow government, now seeking the Vietcong and Ho Chi-minh forces as allies, considers a hazard to its Asian alliances.

Certainly, say Gleason and Hall, the Russians don't want it to appear that their agricultural, food processing, and delivery systems have collapsed—and that they had to turn to imperialist America for rescue.

Gleason summed it up by saying the choice was between accepting the viewpoint either of Senator GEORGE MCGOVERN of South Dakota or Representative PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois. MCGOVERN has said: "From every standpoint—economic, political, and moral—it makes sense for us to sell surplus wheat to dollar customers even when we disagree on ideology."

FINDLEY says: "To me it is incredible to even contemplate expanded trade with the government which provides North Vietnam with the surface-to-air missiles which already have sent several U.S. airmen to their graves."

The working men of the waterfront, tough but not cynical, prefer FINDLEY's position.

The waterfront unions, which have not heard from President Johnson on the matter, have had their own research departments analyze the extra costs to the Soviets of shipping half of any wheat purchases in American freighters. This comes to a little more than $6 million on a hundred million dollar grain sale.

The Joint Maritime Labor Committee just does not believe that the $6 million actually makes a substantive difference to the U.S.S.R. The amount is "not very much more than the Soviets are spending every 6 months or so on bombs and terror in Venezuela, Bolivia, and Colombia," one waterfront labor man asserted.

At this point, Teddy Gleason gave the Russians the propaganda or pumpernickel ultimatum.

The Real Alabama—Part LVI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, forestry management has become an essential science in our country's timber industry. And nowhere is this important science being both developed and practiced more than in Alabama.

The following article from the Birmingham News newspaper explains it:

Virginia forests have a romantic, poetic tone. They are, in truth, beautiful. Through such forests the early Indians roamed and hunted in Alabama. Hernando DeSoto made his way through them, little knowing they'd become a mighty industry centuries later.

But virgin timber, for all its beauty and beckoning sanctuary, is not half so productive as managed forests. For many years and in growing numbers, Alabamians have realized just that.

Untrammeled forests in the Nation have proved that they will provide only about 18 cords of mature trees an acre. A managed forest, in one lifetime, can produce three times that much.

Those are hard economic facts and Alabame, with 67 percent of its land area in forests, has learned its lessons well. Alabama is growing 20 percent more timber than it is taking from its 21.8 million acres of woodlands each year. For the past 30 years the State has added about 100,000 acres of forest land each year and forestry experts believe this rate will hold until 1980.

"Plant the pines" has become the watchword in a State that is near the top in tree farming in the Nation, stands second in the

South. Presently, the State has more than 1.2 million acres in planted pines. For each 1,000 acres of planting, 10 new jobs are created in industry and other related jobs grow.

While pine is the mainstay of the State's forests, 95 percent of which is under private ownership, hardwoods have experienced stout resurgence in recent years. In the pulp and paper industry alone, 24 percent of pulpwood output derives from trees other than pines.

An enlightened lumbering industry, no longer intent upon cut-and-move-out practice, intensive research at Auburn University's experiment station and a paper industry eager to put as much or more back into the forests as it takes away—plus modern forest management—accounts for much of Alabama's success in protecting one of its top natural resources.

Forests primeval are things of beauty but they can't be cashed at the bank like a tree farm.

James Madison Said "Of Course" to Home Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to a splendid background article on home rule for the District of Columbia which appeared in the Outlook section of the Washington Post, Sunday, September 12, 1965.

This article, written by veteran Post writer, Richard L. Lyons, is perhaps the best brief history of the home rule problem which has appeared.

The article follows:

JAMES MADISON SAID "OF COURSE" TO HOME RULE

(By Richard L. Lyons)

After 91 years, Congress may prove James Madison right about home rule for Washington. Madison wrote in the Federalist Papers about residents of the Nation's Capital: "A municipal legislature for local purposes, derived from their own suffrage, will of course be allowed them."

"Of course," said Madison in 1788, so certain was he of the intention of the Constitutional Convention, where he had just played a major role. And for more than 70 years Washington did govern its own affairs, a fact that may surprise opponents who still deny the constitutionality of home rule.

Residents of Washington gave up voting in 1874 when the city went bankrupt and Congress agreed to help bail it out in exchange for running the place. Congress has acted as city council ever since, and no one in Washington has cast a ballot for a local official in the 91 years.

Now, at last, it looks as if Congress may be ready to move city hall back downtown. President Johnson wants, the Senate has approved, and House action is finally assured on a bill to let District of Columbia residents elect a mayor and council.

OL' UNPASSABLE

For those who came in late, this isn't a spur of the moment idea. Along with immigration reform, which now seems assured, home rule is the last unfinished business on a long list of bills that for 20 years and more seemed unpassable.

The St. Lawrence Seaway, statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, aid to education, civil rights, health insurance for the aged—all have become law. But not home rule, which first passed the Senate in 1949 and has been approved by that body five times since.

For 17 years, home rule was bottled up in the South-dominated House District Committee. It filled volumes of congressional hearings, gave work to editorial writers and organizations dedicated to good works and seemed more remote than the moon. But that was before the days of L.B.J.

The story of home rule begins with the losing of it, and the convenient guy to pin that on is Alexander Shepherd. He was the last Governor of the District during its brief fling with a territorial form of government from 1871 to 1874, and he sounds more energetic than many Commissioners who succeeded him.

Shepherd tried to pull the growing postwar Washington out of the mud with an ambitious public works program of paving roads and installing running water. In 6 months the city's bonded indebtedness was greater than that of all but seven States and there wasn't enough money in sight to pay it off.

IN THE FEDERAL FOLD

Leading citizens, shaken by the panic of 1873, were horrified at the thought of higher taxes. Throughout the century, local businessmen had been haunted by the fear that the Federal Capital might move away. A bankrupt city wouldn't help. And there was fear of the newly enfranchised Negroes, then about one-third of the city's population.

Congress investigated, and the solid citizens of Washington eagerly accepted a proposal under which Congress would pay half the city's local expenses and run the place. Fear of higher taxes and Negroes control were important factors then as now.

The temporary arrangement of 1874 was made permanent by an act of 1878 under which the District has been governed since. It provided for three Commissioners appointed by the President to carry out laws enacted by Congress. The Commissioners had some regulatory power but not a whole lot. For example, until 1953 it required an annual act of Congress to put the city on daylight saving time.

Whatever District residents may have felt about losing their vote, the Federal money looked good.

In 1892, the Democratic Party platform contained a flimsy home rule plank, but nothing more was heard of it.

The merchants and other solid citizens formed the Washington Board of Trade and became the local power structure, dealing comfortably with Congress without the annoyance of local politicians.

During 50 years of testifying on District suffrage, the Board of Trade has refined the major argument against home rule. It is that this is the Federal Capital, belonging to all the people, and that the Federal interest should not be endangered by turning control over to parochial-minded people who happen to live here.

F. Elwood Davis, president of the Board of Trade, testified at House hearings last month that under home rule "the priority interests of the Federal Government would be enmeshed and ultimately submerged in the concerns and conflicts of purely local affairs * * * The Federal city—and the interests of the Nation itself—would play second fiddle to the narrow demands of local precinct politics."

But the Board of Trade has testified for 59 years in favor of national representation—a vote for President and for voting Members of the House and Senate.

NEWSPAPER POSITIONS

National representation was the crusade of Theodore W. Noyes, editor and proprietor of the Washington Evening Star until his death in 1946. In 1888, Noyes, as a young reporter, wrote a series of articles in the Star expressing outrage that a city could complacently accept being run by a Congress in which it had no voice. He kept hammering away at it.

To Noyes and the Star, national representation has always been more important than home rule.

"The genuine American political birthright," said Noyes in later years, "is not municipal self-government but national representation."

With equal enthusiasm, the Washington Post has urged that first priority be given home rule, as more meaningful and also obtainable by statute rather than constitutional amendment.

Until his death 2 years ago, Washington Post President Philip L. Graham was a leader of the home rule drive. At a New York Herald Tribune forum in 1947, where other featured speakers talked about peace and the economy, Graham spoke about the need for home rule for the people of Washington.

"Their municipal government, such as it is, consists of appointed proconsuls neither responsible nor responsive to their will," he said.

During the 1920's and 1930's sporadic congressional hearings on District suffrage made little distinction between the two forms of voting, and neither got anywhere.

Washington Post Reporter Edward T. Folliard remembers a congressional hearing in the 1920's where an opponent thundered that home rule would turn Washington into a "black caliphate." Negroes then numbered less than one-third of the population.

NO NEW IDEAS

No basically new ideas have been added to the District suffrage argument for many years. In 1934, Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, proposed giving the city back to Maryland—as the Broyhill bill would do now. In 1946, the late Senator Pat McCarran, Democrat, of Nevada, was pushing a home rule charter commission bill—like the Sisk proposal today.

A bill to give the District a nonvoting delegate in the House—as the current administration proposes along with an elected mayor and council—was introduced in 1942.

In 1937, the late Senator Champ Clark, Democrat, of Missouri, introduced a proposal to return to a territorial form of government and called the District's voteless plight a "national disgrace." He added that "Congress is too busy to give proper consideration to local problems."

The District Suffrage Association was formed in 1937 with Wilbur D. Finch as president. He predicted the District would "get the vote" within a year, but was on firmer ground with this observation: "We must remember, however, that it is not a question of what we want but what the Members of Congress think we should get."

In 1938, an informal citywide referendum turned out 95,000 voters who backed national representation 13 to 1 and home rule 7 to 1. A 1946 vote sponsored by the board of trade endorsed national representation 6 to 1 and home rule 7 to 3.

A START IN EARNEST

The home rule movement started in earnest after World War II. Its springboard was the report of the LaFollette-Monroney committee which led to the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1946. The joint committee said Congress was too busy to waste its time debating minor District bills.

"The Nation cannot afford the luxury of having its national legislative body * * *

perform the duties of a city council for the District of Columbia," said the committee. "In order to relieve Congress of this extraneous workload and enable it to devote full attention to national legislation, we recommend that a plan for self-rule for the District of Columbia be provided as early as possible."

This triggered various actions. A small group, including several lawyers who had come here from enfranchised areas to work in Government before and during the war, formed what became the Washington Home Rule Committee. Its early members included Alexander B. Hawes, Sturgis Warner, Gerhard P. Van Arkel, Lloyd N. Cutler and Gerhard A. Gesell.

The Central Suffrage Conference was organized by Wilbur Finch, then president of the Federation of Citizens Associations.

Ultimately, the effort included 50 or more local and national organizations which launched a nationwide campaign to persuade Congressmen to vote for home rule. They produced several scrapbooks of favorable editorials, but no bill.

The list of those who worked for home rule would also include, as a starter, Edward Burling, Jr., J. C. Turner, Dr. Edward C. Mazique, Polly Shackleton, Carl Shipley, Herbert P. Leeman, Mrs. Marshall Hornblower, Woolsey Hall, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Walter E. Washington, Frank Jelleff, Alice Roosevelt Longworth, and Mrs. J. Borden Harriman.

Daisy Harriman, now 95, former Minister to Norway, former Democratic National Committeewoman for the District, marched for women's suffrage 50 years ago and worked actively for home rule until she was past 90.

At the Capitol, the then chairman of the House District Committee, EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, of Illinois, reacted to the LaFollette-Monroney report by creating a subcommittee on home rule. Former Representative James C. Auchincloss, Republican, of New Jersey, was chairman.

Auchincloss moved the first home rule bill to the House floor, where it was debated for 2 days in 1948 and then, under threat of a southern filibuster, was set aside by a Congress anxious to adjourn for political conventions.

"The government of no city in a democracy can possibly be efficient," Auchincloss had told the House, "unless it is controlled by the people who live here and is responsible to them."

The Auchincloss bill bore little resemblance to the present home rule measure. It provided for an elected mayor and council, but all their major proposals would have had to be ratified by Congress. It provided for dual voting; people living here but claiming voting residence elsewhere could vote in both places. It contained no assurance of a Federal payment.

That was the first and so far only time the House debated home rule. The Senate District Committee, run by northerners, sent a steady flow of home rule bills to the floor. The Senate approved them in 1949, 1952, 1955, 1958, 1959, and this year.

In 1949, a lively young member of the House District Committee, John F. Kennedy, filed a discharge petition to send the home rule bill to the floor. He announced that the petition, officially secret until filled up, had collected 211 of the required 218 signatures. Then Members started scratching their names off—a fatal malady that afflicted all home rule petitions until this year.

This and other tactics which kept home rule off the House floor were largely credited to Representative HOWARD W. SMITH, Democrat, of Virginia. Even after he became chairman of the potent Rules Committee, SMITH stayed on the District Committee to make sure that neither home rule nor other bills he considered dangerous passed.

In addition to Kennedy, another lively young Congressman who signed the 1949 petition was Richard M. Nixon. With six other Republicans, he sent out a letter to his GOP colleagues declaring that the opposition to home rule basically reflected opposition to civil rights legislation.

Seeing an opportunity to brighten the Republican civil rights image by backing self-government, the letter said that the Democrats "have left a fumbled ball on the field and we can pick it up and score the victory."

Fifteen years ago, home rule was not generally considered a racial issue. Washington still was only about one-third Negro. Some pro-segregationist Southerners signed the Kennedy discharge petition. Only in the last few years, as the Negro population rose above 50 percent, has the racial issue come out in the open. Much of the opposition has been inspired by fear that Negroes in control would raise taxes to meet low income needs.

Home rule was delayed, but time refined the bill, brought increasing official support and down through the years there has even been some fun.

In the 1930's, members of the junior chamber of commerce dressed up like Indians and dumped casks of tea into the Potomac, protesting taxation without representation.

On election days, members of the League of Women Voters put black-draped ballot boxes on busy downtown corners and handed out leaflets on voting.

In 1950, on the 175th anniversary of Paul Revere's ride, a home ruler dressed like a Minuteman galloped up to the steps of the Capitol and was photagraphed handing Congressman Kennedy a message about voting.

PRESIDENTIAL SUPPORT

In 1948, President Truman became the first President to urge home rule for Washington. Each of his successors has followed suit.

In the summer of 1948, Sturgis Warner and Louis Oberdorfer, later an Assistant Attorney General in the Kennedy administration, went to Philadelphia and persuaded the Republican National Convention to add home rule to its platform. Democrats had already done so. Both parties have pledged home rule ever since.

In 1951, District Commissioner F. Joseph Donohue spoke out for home rule, the first Commissioner in many years to urge that his job be abolished. It soon became the Commissioner's official position.

In 1953, the Supreme Court said that home rule was constitutional. In upholding two "lost" public accommodation ordinances enacted by the territorial legislature 80 years before, the Court said: "There is no constitutional barrier to the delegation by Congress to the District of Columbia of full legislative power."

The Constitution gives Congress "exclusive" jurisdiction over the District, but the Court said this meant only that no State could interfere in running the Federal City.

By 1956, Congress had provided for official party elections in Washington every 4 years to elect national convention delegates. Last year, the 23d amendment gave Washingtonians a vote for President. These actions started Washington residents back into the habit of voting and set up a base for electing a city government. Getting the vote for President to some extent blurred the old fight between national representation and home rule.

And over the years, the present bill evolved. Dual voting was eliminated. Local actions would be final unless vetoed by the President or overridden by Congress.

President Kennedy's major contribution was the automatic Federal payment formula, generally considered a sine qua non of effective self-government.

President Johnson supplied the muscle to move it to the House floor, where it is scheduled to be considered on September 27. The President hasn't lost a fight in the House yet this year.

Congress Must Act on Urgent Water Needs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, recently I introduced a bill, H.R. 10539, to establish a National Water Resources Trust Fund to look into new ways to help conserve the fresh water of America.

A timely article in the American Legion magazine of September on plans to undertake a giant fresh water project over a 20-year period in Canada, the United States, and Mexico graphically underlines the real urgency for Congress to act immediately on this growing crisis.

Mr. Tom Mahoney in "$100 Billion for Fresh Water" describes the water shortage problem and the need to act now. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

$100 BILLION FOR FRESH WATER?

(NOTE.—A gigantic water proposal for North America dramatizes the world water situation.)

(By Tom Mahoney)

The United States, Canada, and Mexico are giving serious consideration to a giant fresh water project. Its cost could exceed $100 billion. It could take 20 years to build. Its dams, streams, lakes, tunnels, and pumping stations would stretch south from the reaches of the Arctic to northwestern Mexico—and east as far as the Great Lakes. Its name is NAWAPA, standing for North American Water and Power Alliance. Of the many huge water impoundments foreseen in the NAWAPA scheme to catch and hold diverted Arctic runoff and surplus rains of the Northwest, the largest would be a 500-mile-long lake in the Rocky Mountain Trench, mostly in Canada.

Nothing highlights the growing importance of the world's fresh water situation quite so much as the seriousness with which this imagination-staggering project is being taken. Nor can it be seen in perspective without a summary of where we stand today with respect to the water dilemma.

Throughout the world, the chief problems are (1) too much water, (2) too little water, (3) polluted water, and (4) the growth of human demands for water beyond the perfectly normal and once satisfactory supply. Of these, too little water is most in the public eye in the United States this summer. Water, where it is needed, when it is needed, that is pure enough to drink and cheap enough to use in agriculture and industry, is one of the world's most feverishly sought resources. New York and more than 1,000 other American communities in recent months have had to restrict water usage to stretch the supply to meet the demand. The Northeast and some other parts of the country in the past 4 years have had the worst drought in 80 years.

Unless there is a heavy fall of rain in the Northeast between the writing and printing of these words, the New York metropolitan area, though most of it is lush green to the eye, will be in the midst of its worst drought in history in terms of the human demand for water. A New Jersey dairy recently offered its milk customers artesian well water at more than 16 cents a quart. Levels of the Great Lakes continue low. Even in usually wet Florida, scant rainfall and a flood control project have combined to threaten wildlife

and vegetation in Everglades National Park. Right now, a thousand of our cities probably aren't prepared to combat a major conflagration on a hot summer day without severe water curtailment.

Our population is growing rapidly and we use more water per capita than ever before. At an average cost to householders of only 50 cents per 1,000 gallons, or about 3 cents per day per person, it is one of the world's greatest bargains. Rainfall and snowfall have not increased, but the demand for water in the United States is now 5 to 8 times as great as it was in 1900. Between now and 1980, if current population and economic growth continue, it will double.

Only the Pacific Northwest, many experts agree, now has both the abundance of water and the facilities to meet such an increase. This does not mean that other parts of the country will run out of water, but it will require them to deal, one way or another, with a problem, which, in the words of a Senate committee, "will grow steadily worse until it reaches alarming proportions in the years 1980 and 2000."

The average American citizen may be staggered at how much water consumption is chargeable to him each day. What he consumes in his home is only a fraction of what is chargeable to him as the consumer, in terms of water used by farmers and industry to produce the products that end with him. Even the smallest estimate of daily water use per person is well over 1,000 gallons a day, of which 60 gallons or so actually run through his faucets. Other estimates are more than twice that.

According to a calculation of the National Water Institute, the average American now uses in some way 2,675 gallons of water every day. Only about 2 gallons of this goes down his throat in drink and food. All food contains water. Lean meat is 50 percent water. Watermelons, oranges, and other watery fruits are as much as 95 percent water. But beside the water he ingests, the average American requires 58 more gallons a day at home. Every minute a shower runs, 5 gallons are used. Every flush of the toilet requires 5 to 7 gallons. We use 5 gallons daily to wash, shave, and brush our teeth. A load of home laundry needs 27 gallons of water for 3 cycles, suds and rinses. Air conditioners, automatic dishwashers, and garbage disposals add to the water demand.

Meanwhile, farmers somewhere are using 766 gallons of water per consumer daily, growing food. Others are using 849 gallons to make electric power and industrial products for each of us every day. Beef cattle drink about 12 gallons of water daily; milk cows, 20 gallons; hogs, 3; sheep, 2; chickens, a pint a chicken. It takes 375 gallons of water to grow wheat for a pound of flour. It takes 13 gallons of water to brew a gallon of beer, 236 gallons of water to refine a gallon of alcohol, and more than 20,000 gallons of water to produce a ton of steel. A quality papermill producing 600 tons of paper a day requires 40 million gallons of water daily. The availability of water is a prime consideration today in the locating of new industrial plants.

The National Association of Manufacturers this year came up with a different set of figures for the average daily per capita use of water. These list 65 gallons a day for the home, 500 for food growing and only 470 gallons for industry, the last divided 300 for fuel-electric power and 170 for manufacturing. These total 1,035 gallons a day. A recent book calculates it at 1,660 gallons. Such differences are not surprising. Water pumped by utilities is measured accurately, but nearly everything else involves estimates. There are also more than 10 million private water systems, most of them suburban or farm families pumping from a single well, but also including sizable industrial operations. There is also a question of the meaning of "use" in industry. Some production processes consume water, others dirty or pollute it, and still others change it no more than water is changed by boiling an egg in it. The same water may be "used" many times and often is.

But whether our daily average per capita use is 1,035, 1,660 or 2,675 gallons, it is a lot of water. Where does it come from? The average U.S. nationwide 30 inches fall of rain and snow a year drops an average of 22,000 gallons of water a day for every American. More than two-thirds of this goes back to the skies through transpiration of plants and evaporation. The U.S. Geological Survey calculates that only 6,000 gallons per person per day flow into streams and waterbearing strata and become available for use. Allowing for floods, untrapped runoff and other variables, the Department of Commerce calculates that only a third of this—2,000 gallons—will be available most of the year. This figure is close to what the above calculations say we are now using.

Water problems are even more serious abroad. In the Middle East, Israel is on the brink of war with the United Arab Republic over the headwaters of the Jordan River. Israelis guard their reservoir above the Sea of Galilee like Fort Knox and have shelled bulldozers working on Arab water projects near the frontier. In India, lack of water and contaminated water kill more people than tuberculosis and cancer combined. In New Delhi, some hospitals haven't had enough water to sterilize surgical instruments. The World Health Organization estimates that every year 500 million people suffer from disabling diseases associated with unsafe water supplies and that diarrheal diseases caused by poor water kill 5 million infants. Water has to be barged to the Greek Islands and some of our own Virgin Islands. In some places over the world, street vendors sell water of doubtful quality at high prices.

"Anybody who can solve the problem of water," said the late President John F. Kennedy, "will be worthy of two Nobel Prizes—one for peace and one for science."

Most notable of the many who are attempting to do so is President Lyndon B. Johnson. He documented his interest in a foreword to a book by the late Senator Robert S. Kerr of Oklahoma, saying: "I am keenly aware that water management is our No. 1 economic problem. As a Texas rancher, I have learned the hard way about the trials of flood and drought."

Throughout the Nation we will spend about $10 billion on research and development of water resources next year, of which the Federal Government's share will be up from $1.2 to $1.9 billion. Programs endorsed by the President and backed by Congress include: (1) stepping up the Department of the Interior's program to desalt sea water, initiated under President Eisenhower and including efforts to develop desalination economically with atomic energy; (2) stepped up Federal measures to prevent pollution, including increased Federal aid for municipal waste treatment facilities; and (3) increases in Federal funds for the Committee on Water Resources Research of the Federal Council for Science and Technology.

Other U.S. agencies that will share in water-control and development projects next year include: The Atomic Energy Commission; the National Science Foundation; the Tennessee Valley Authority; and the Cabinet Departments of Agriculture; Commerce; Health, Education, and Welfare; and Defense. The Army Corps of Engineers, incidentally, has been dealing with water problems longer than any other government agency. President James Monroe turned to this agency for a survey of the Ohio River in 1820 when West Point was the only school teaching engineering in the country. While the flooded Mississippi spread ruin last spring, six great dams built by the Corps of Engineers checked and conserved the water of the swollen Missouri River.

On the worldwide level, the United States is taking part in the International Hydrological Decade. Hydrology is the science of water on land. The Decade is a 10-year program during which the scientists of some 60 nations will study all aspects of water under the sponsorship of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. The world's water supply will be mapped more accurately than ever before. There will be expeditions to measure the melting rates of glaciers and to see what happens to the runoff water. Taking part will be the World Health Organization, the World Meteorological Organization, the International Atomic Energy Agency, and the International Council of Scientific Unions. By extending the studies, which began this year, over a whole decade, participants believe they can provide reliable data for large-scale projects to meet the needs of 1975. These already are being proposed.

How can we increase our fresh-water supply? Remedies fall into three categories: (1) reducing our need for water; (2) making more efficient use of our present water supply; (3) finding new sources of water of which the NAWAPA project, which we'll take up last, is one of the most dramatic examples.

The individual householder isn't apt to be willing or able to reduce his direct use of water except on an emergency basis. But industry has made considerable progress in this direction in recent years.

Many companies have found it economical and efficient, as well as good community relations, to clear their water of pollutants so it can be used over and over. A 1949 National Association of Manufacturers' survey found only 18 percent of 3,000 reporting companies with facilities for treating their wastes. Ten years later, 69 percent had facilities. In 1948, eight States formed the Ohio River Valley Water Sanitation Commission. Less than 1 percent of the 3½ million people living along the Ohio and only 38 percent of the sewered population in its basin were served by sewage treatment plants. Treatment plants now serve 90 percent of the sewered population in the Ohio Valley, and four-fifths of the industrial establishments there have waste control and treatment facilities. There are now many other interstate commissions.

The chemical industry spends more than $100 million a year on water pollution control. Companies like American Cynamid, Du Pont, Dow, and Ciba Corp. not only have outstanding antipollution records, but are showing others how to do likewise. DuPont even imported four alligators to deal with nutria (a muskrat-like rodent) sabotaging pond walls and canal banks at its plant in Victoria, Tex. The Weyerhaeuser Co. has an outstanding antipollution record. So has the Humble Oil & Refining Co. But many other companies and at least 1,500 communities continue to dump untreated wastes into streams, creating health hazards to humans and killing fish—18.4 million of them in 1964, according to the U.S. Public Health Service.

Much water can be conserved by curbing evaporation, which for example, takes 7 feet of water a year off Lake Mead behind Hoover Dam in Nevada. A thin chemical film only one molecule thick has been found to curb evaporation from 9 to 63 percent in experiments at Eagle Pass, Tex.; Lake Cachuma, Calif.; Lake Hefner, Okla.; Sahuaro Lake, Ariz.; and in Australia and Nairobi, Africa. Winds, however, sometimes disrupt the film.

Other projects of the Hydrological Decade include discovery of huge underground reservoirs where water can be stored away from the heat of the sun, and elimination by chemicals of water-consuming weeds, another possible means of conserving water.

As to finding new sources of water, we have NAWAPA, desalination of sea water,

cloud seeding and the suggestion that big icebergs be towed from the Antarctic to California. A Scripps Institution of Oceanography man is almost alone in favoring the last. Making rain by seeding clouds with chemicals dropped from airplanes has fewer advocates now than it did before New York City amassed lawsuits totaling $1.25 million from farmers and resort operators after 1950 efforts. Most cloud seeding to date has been with silver iodide and dry ice, but recent research sponsored by the National Science Foundation at the University of Chicago and the University of Wisconsin indicate that less costly urea, a chemical commonly used for fertilizer, also can trigger snow or rain from water-laden clouds. At present, seeding requires moist clouds that might produce rain anyway.

Desalination of sea water, which is about 97 percent of the earth's water, is old but has advanced further since World War II than in all the previous centuries. Julius Caesar is said to have obtained a little fresh water for his troops by using the sun to evaporate sea water and recapturing the vapor. Ships have had desalting equipment since the 14th century and our nuclear aircraft carrier *Enterprise* has four distillation units that produce 280,000 gallons of fresh water daily. The new liner *France* has four units with a similar capacity. Our airmen flying over the ocean carry MK-2 sea water resalter kits that will take enough salt out of a little water to save their lives if they are forced down.

Only in recent years, however, have there been sizable desalting plants on land. Three built by Westinghouse Electric Corp. free our forces at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, from the pipeline whims of Fidel Castro. More than 100 shore edge desalting plants around the world are producing daily around 50 million gallons of water pure enough to drink. They produce it, however, at a cost much greater than natural water in the United States, and for desalted sea water to be used inland, transportation would add to its cost.

Its price has been brought down, however, from $4 to $1 per 1,000 gallons for optimum operations since 1952, when the Department of Interior's Office of Saline Water, working with more than 100 companies, began to test various alternative processes and underwrote construction of desalting plants at Freeport, Tex.; Wrightsville, N.C.; Roswell, N. Mex.; Webster, S. Dak., and elsewhere. Solar evaporation has been tested near Daytona Beach, Fla., and freezing processes at Cornell University and elsewhere. Coalinga, Calif., and Buckeye, Ariz., now meet all their modest needs by treatment of the brackish local water.

As research continues and atomic power is explored, sea water costs probably will drop further, though not in the near future. There is no question, however, of the practicality of desalination for arid areas overseas. Big desalination plants now serve Aruba in the West Indies and Kuwait in the Middle East. The abundant oil at Kuwait fires a plant obtaining 5 million gallons of fresh water a day from the Persian Gulf.

Israel, which now has three small desalination plants, is planning to build one 75 to 100 times larger than any in the world. It will cost $200 million, of which President Johnson has agreed that the United States will supply $50 million. It will use nuclear power simultaneously to generate electricity and to desalt sea water. A similar plant is being urged for Los Angeles. New York State plans a $4.7 million nuclear power and desalting plant on Long Island Sound in Suffolk County, to be built by 1968.

But of all the single projects now envisioned, NAWAPA is one of the boldest and most promising for at least 33 of our States, central and western Canada, and northwestern Mexico. It was conceived by Ralph M. Parsons, a Navy veteran of World War I and head of the big Los Angeles engineering and construction firm bearing his name. Parsons proposes bringing south water now going to waste in Alaska, Canada and the northwest United States—by a series of enormous artificial lakes, dams, tunnels and canals. There would be a connection through Canada to the Great Lakes and water provided to help maintain their levels. Some 20 years and $100 billion, about the cost of our moon program, would be required for NAWAPA.

Though it is the biggest construction project ever proposed, NAWAPA involves no new technology, nothing that is untried. The dams, reservoirs, tunnels, canals and power-generating plants are the same sort that Ralph Parsons, Henry Kaiser and other big contractors have been building. There simply will be more of them. The largest dam envisioned would be at Chitina on Alaska's Copper River, rising some 600 to 800 feet above the streambed.

NAWAPA's bold sweep can best be studied on a map. The headwaters of the Yukon and Tanana Rivers would be dammed, also the upper reaches of the Fraser, Columbia and Kootenay Rivers. The immense amount of water to be stored in the Rocky Mountain Trench in a lake 500 miles long, would be adjacent to Banff and Jasper National Parks. The trench is an area of mountain grandeur whose artificial inland sea would produce scenic and recreation benefits as well as power and water.

Proponents say the project will conserve enough water to irrigate 86,300 square miles. In delivering 20 million acre-feet of water to Mexico, the plan would enable that country alone to develop eight times as much new irrigable land as the Aswan High Dam will give Egypt.

It would not interfere with present Columbia and Colorado River projects except to make more water available for them. Eventually it would provide a navigable waterway from Vancouver on the Pacific to Lake Superior. This canal also would deliver irrigation water to the northern plains from Alberta to South Dakota and increase the flow through the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence system.

This gigantic project is proposed by a practical as well as imaginative engineer with an adventurous background. A native of Long Island, N.Y., Parsons was graduated from Pratt Institute's School of Engineering in Brooklyn in 1916 and joined the Navy as landsman for a machinist's mate. He was mustered out in 1921 as lieutenant j.g., and appointed aeronautical engineer under civil service and assigned to complete the Aeronautical Engine Testing Laboratory at the naval aircraft factory in Philadelphia.

In 1924, he was assigned to the *Shenandoah*, first American-built dirigible. While aboard her on a test flight 800 miles off Massachusetts, he stepped off the 8-inch catwalk and fell through the exterior covering of the ship. By grasping the edge of the catwalk he was able to save himself from plunging into the sea. "His fingerprints are still visible on the hardened duraluminum frame," reported a magazine writer aboard the craft. "It was the closest call I ever had," recalls Parsons. He was not aboard when the *Shenandoah* ended her career in an Ohio crash the next year.

After extensive experience in the engineering and construction of petroleum refineries, he formed his own company in Chicago. He moved this to Los Angeles in 1937 to become the engineering nucleus of the Betchtel-McCone-Parsons Corp., of which he was vice president and director of engineering. During World War II he directed big ship building, oil refining, and power and industrial projects for the War and Navy Departments, the Maritime Commission, and the Defense Plant Corp.

After the war, the Ralph M. Parsons Co. was reconstituted and it has since constructed huge projects in a score of countries. Its Government work has included design and construction supervisions of guided missile and space facilities (Minuteman, Titan, Nike-Zeus, and others) and civil works covering ground-water development, water transmission and distillation, including a desalting plant at San Diego, dams, canals, and irrigation.

In Los Angeles, Parsons became acquainted with the farsighted ideas of Donald McCord Baker, a California engineer who was one of the world's greatest authorities on water. During his long career, Baker served as a consultant to the Los Angeles Flood Control District, the National Resources Planning Board, Colorado River Board of California and many other bodies. He conceived the idea of a continental water conservation plan and turned it over to the Parsons organization before his death in 1960. The latter spent 5 years in research on it and produced NAWAPA.

Digested excerpts from an excellent description of NAWAPA given on the Senate floor by Alaska's Senator ERNEST GRUENING on July 1 are worth quoting here:

"In Alaska, the Yukon Territory, and British Columbia, tremendous quantities of fresh water flow unused to the sea. * * * Use of a fifth of this could transform the water picture of large areas of Canada and at least 25 States. * * * Keystone of the concept is the 900-mile-long Rocky Mountain Trench in Canada (altitude 3,000 feet). * * * A series of dams and power stations will provide the energy to pump the Arctic's fresh water up into the trench. From the trench reservoir, it would be pumped to a reservoir in the Sawtooth Mountains. From there, water would flow south by gravity via lined canals and tunnels, passing the Sawtooth Mountain barrier through a tunnel 80 feet in diameter and 50 miles long. Water for irrigation, power, recreational facilities, and other uses would flow by gravity for distribution to eastern Oregon, Utah, Nevada, California, Arizona, New Mexico, and northern Mexico. On the east slope of the Rockies water would be pumped into the Canadian and Purgatoire Rivers for distribution east of the Continental Divide, to be drawn on by New Mexico, Texas, Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, and Oklahoma. The Peace River Reservoir outflow, and diversions from streams on the east slope of the Rockies, could supply the Canadian-Great Lakes Canal. In excess of 40 million acre-feet per year would reach Lake Superior and provide irrigation and other water demands of Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and western Ontario. This part of the system would also yield considerable power.

"The NAWAPA concept includes a seaway between Lake Winnipeg and Hudson Bay via the Nelson River. Another seaway would connect Georgian Bay with James Bay. A navigation canal would connect the ore fields of Labrador and Quebec with the Great Lakes. These would provide Canada with cheap ship and barge transport, opening its iron ore, coal, potash, surfur, forestry, and agricultural resources to extensive development. The waterways would also contribute to the economic welfare of Ontario and Quebec, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York—all associated with the Great Lakes.

"Branching off from the Canadian-Great Lakes Canal, another canal, large enough for barges, would connect with the Missouri and Minnesota River systems to serve the needs of Montana, Wyoming, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, and Iowa. This concept offers means of solving problems otherwise insoluble. It will alleviate falling levels and pollution of the Great Lakes and augment the power potential of the Niagara and St. Lawrence Rivers. Good quality water in bulk could be supplied the States now using Colorado River water, which is excessively

high in minerals in its lower area. The excess salinity of Colorado River water delivered to Mexico under treaty would be reduced, removing a periodic source of international friction. To create NAWAPA it would be necessary only to do what we have done many times before, but on a much grander scale."

NAWAPA would create tens of thousands of jobs. It would directly benefit scores of industries. It would require $5 billion in construction equipment and tools, 100,000 tons of copper and aluminum, 30 million tons of steel, and $25 billion in labor. It is calculated to provide western North America with adequate water for the next 100 years.

But there are many obstacles. Premier W. A. C. Bennett, of British Columbia, is against exporting water to the United States. Some fear ruin for the Columbia River salmon industry. In a letter to the magazine Science, which has lauded the project, a Canadian wrote: "May we suggest instead that it would be more logical for the people to move where the water is? * * * We would be glad to welcome you to our invigorating climate. Please bring your industries with you."

But if we can negotiate with anybody, we should be able to do so with Canada and Mexico. Senator FRANK MOSS, of Utah, chairman of a Senate subcommittee that has made a preliminary study of NAWAPA feels it may rank in importance with the Louisiana Purchase in the development of the West. "It is not only completely feasible," he says, "it is almost inevitable."

Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard Business Rises to $70 Million

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the island State of Hawaii is once again meeting the challenge of our times and proving its economic and strategic value to our country. The current crisis in Vietnam has created a need that only Hawaii could meet adequately. During the last fiscal year the naval shipyard at Pearl Harbor overhauled 52 ships, modernized 2 destroyers and performed emergency repair work on ships en route to Vietnam.

A summary of the work being accomplished by Hawaii's Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard is found in the following article which appeared in the Honolulu Star Bulletin of August 17, 1965:

NAVY SHIPYARD BUSINESS RISES TO $70 MILLION

The State's largest industrial employer did nearly $70 million worth of business during the fiscal year ended June 30, up $5,700,000 from a year earlier.

Rear Adm. E. Alvey Wright, commander of Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard, said the upturn was due principally to overhaul work on submarines, and emergency repair work on ships en route to Vietnam.

Wright said the work pace should remain brisk and possibly increase in the months ahead.

In order to meet this workload, the work force is being expanded by 500 workers during the current fiscal year.

There are openings for engineers, marine machinists, pipefitters, and machinists, Wright announced.

He hopes most of these needed skills can come from people already living in Hawaii.

During the past year, the shipyard overhauled 52 destroyers, submarines, and service force ships of the Pacific Fleet.

Two World War II vintage destroyers were modernized to meet the needs of modern warfare during the year, and more than $700,000 was spent to retrain a large segment of the shipyard's work force.

This was necessary, Wright commented, to keep abreast of the technological improvements in nuclear submarines and guided missile ships.

Last year's shipyard payroll was $40 million and more than $2 million in supplies and services was purchased from numerous island business firms, making the shipyard a major contributor to the local economy.

In addition, $650,000 of naval ship repair work was contracted to commercial shipyards and industrial companies in Hawaii.

Letter on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WESTON E. VIVIAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, I have received many, many letters from constituents, in the past 8 months, concerning the grave and vexing problems which this country faces in Vietnam. But I have received none more sensible and more compelling, I think, than one from Mr. Robert R. von Oeyen, Jr., of Lambertville, in the Second Congressional District of Michigan, which I am privileged to represent.

I would like to share Mr. von Oeyen's letter with my colleagues, and place it at this point in the RECORD:

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE VIVIAN: Unfortunately, those of us who support a certain aspect of Government policy very seldom make that support known. Despite how your mail may be running, I'm sure you realize that most of us support the President insofar as the war effort in Vietnam is concerned. Very few of us like the situation—but most of us know that the present military policy in Vietnam is necessary not only for the well-being of the South Vietnamese whose Government invited us to help them, but for the well-being of all southeast Asia.

Most of us (I hope) also realize that the situation in Vietnam is caused by both nationalism, and international communism, which is the socioeconomic, political, and religious moving force behind the nationalists who are the Vietcong. Their relation to North Vietnam and indirectly to China is obvious. The Vietcong may eventually be beaten by U.S. military might and the troops of South Vietnam. But, and this is most important, the problems which caused them to seek a Communist solution will still exist. These must be solved—for the well-being of the South Vietnamese, and ultimately for the well-being of the United States. To solve these problems a program of reform—socioeconomic as well as political—is vital. This may entail a certain degree of Government socialism supported by a large amount of U.S. aid. Just what must be done is a very difficult problem that must be thoroughly investigated, taking into account religious differences, the sad tendency toward strongman rule, the unnatural split between North and South Vietnam, and, most especially the plight of the peasant who makes up 85 percent of the population of South Vietnam. We cannot begin too early to plan to win the peace in Vietnam. And we must be prepared for the cost to us this will take.

I spent last year as a student in the neighboring Republic of the Philippines. I learned something very important there. We, as Americans, must be primarily concerned about other nationals as the people they are, and not just as they relate to us—whether Filipinos, Vietnamese, Dominicans, Chinese, or whoever they are. If we would have that attitude, we would learn just what the problems others have really are, and we could help significantly.

Urging you to do your utmost in this area, I am,

Sincerely,

ROBERT R. VON OEYEN, Jr.

American Legion Defends Otto Otepka; Denounces State Department

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, the American Legion in its recent national convention in Portland, Oreg., is to be commended for the resolution it adopted denouncing the State Department for its persecution of Otto Otepka, chief security evaluator for that Department of Government.

At the same time the Legion commended the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee for its thorough investigation of the Otepka case and bringing to the attention of the public the facts concerning the persecution of this dedicated Government employee.

Otepka, in his long battle against the perjurers and others in the State Department, has had the support of past National Commander Don Johnson of the American Legion, and the resolution makes it clear that the Legion will tolerate no undermining of the Nation's security through attacks upon loyal citizens, and in this case a trusted security officer.

The resolution follows:

THE 47TH ANNUAL NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN LEGION, PORTLAND, OREG., AUGUST 24–26, 1965

Whereas Mr. Otto F. Otepka, Chief, Division of Evaluations, Department of State Office of Security, for the past 4 years has been subjected—on the part of his superiors in the Department—to undue duress, harassment, insults, and threat of dismissal; and

Whereas on September 23, 1963, Mr. Otepka was advised that the Department proposed to remove him from his appointment with the Department of State on charges that he had violated Department directives governing classified documents, specifically, that he had furnished certain classified documents to the chief counsel, U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee; and

Whereas Mr. Otepka met these charges, and appealed the dismissal notice, on grounds that the documents in question were turned over to the Senate subcommittee—then conducting an investigation of the administration of the Internal Security Act—in order to establish the verity of his testimony to the subcommittee, concerning lax security prac-

tices in the Department of State, as opposed to contrary evidence offered the committee by his superiors; and

Whereas the documents in question upheld Mr. Otepka's testimony, and subsequent hearings by the subcommittee brought out the fact that certain of his superiors and other employees of the Office of Security had otherwise misled or misinformed the Senate subcommittee; and

Whereas the code of ethics for Government service, expressed in House-Senate Concurrent Resolution 175, 85th Congress, 2d session, requires that any person in Government service: "Put loyalty to the highest moral principles and to country above loyalty to person, party or Government department;" and

Whereas the American Legion insists that the security program of the State Department be of the highest possible order; and

Whereas the Otepka case involves not only loyalty to the United States, it also involves the matter of the dignity of an individual human being; and

Whereas at stake in Mr. Otepka's appeal is (a) whether or not dedicated professional security officers in Government will be permitted to be so intimidated in the conduct of their vital work that the U.S. internal security program will be placed in jeopardy; and (b) whether or not the Congress—consisting of the elected representatives of the people—will preserve its right to oversee the behavior of officials in the executive branch: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the American Legion in national convention assembled in Portland, Oreg., August 24–26, 1965, That the American Legion deplores the treatment which Mr. Otto F. Otepka has received at the hands of his superiors in the U.S. Department of State, and commends the action of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in its thorough investigation of the Otepka case and related matters, and in its bringing to the attention of the public the true circumstances surrounding Mr. Otepka's dismissal from his important position in the Department of State.

Land Reform, American Style

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, refreshing news came to my desk in the form of an editorial written by William J. Kuhfuss, president of the Illinois Agricultural Association. It reported the substantial land reform that has occurred in the United States in the last 30 years. Today, only 20 percent of America's farms are owned by someone other than the operator. This compares with 42 percent 30 years ago.

Text of the editorial follows:

LAND REFORM, AMERICAN STYLE

In many countries of the world, land reform has accompanied the struggle for progress or survival. The feudal system eventually invites unrest. Land was owned by a wealthy few and farmed by a peasant many. In land reform, would-be benevolent governments take land from those who own it and give it in small parcels to those who have none. In some cases, ownership is given, but usually only the right to farm is given.

Mr. Abdu El Hasson, chief administrator of agricultural reform in Syria, recently visiting Illinois, is administering this privilege to farm in his country. In 1958, land reform was activated. The government took over all land. Large landholders were reduced to 80 hectares (2.47 acres per hectare) to operate. In 1963, the 80 hectares were reduced to 50 hectares. The would-be farmers with no land were given 10 hectares. If the job of farming does not suit the government inspector, the farmer loses his right to farm. This is typical centralized control and social reform.

The American system has been basically different. We have prospered by preserving a man's right to earn, own, and direct. Under this system we have been experiencing a kind of land reform—American style.

Thirty years ago, 42 percent of the land in the United States was owned by a landlord and farmed by a tenant. Today, only 20 percent of America's farms are owned by someone other than the operator.

With ownership and control must go responsibility. The dynamics and success of the American economy would indicate that a reasonable balance of responsibility has been exercised. Over-accumulations of capital have been retarded by taxation. Redistribution of wealth in America does take place. All too often the phrase, "shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves in three generations" truly illustrates redistribution does take place.

The farmer has improved his lot in America over the lot of farmers anywhere in the world and, while doing so, has improved America's lot. He has been free to earn, own, and direct. He has also been free to fail. In countries where land reform has been imposed, all farmers are guaranteed to be peasants forever. We do not want this kind of a guarantee in America.

People and methods change, truth and principles never do. As citizens, we each share the responsibility of preserving the American way.

Excessive Power of the Executive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, I do see hobgoblins—I do see a very definite and dangerous threat to individual liberties in the abdication of its constitutionally given powers by the Congress and its total submission to one-man rule. I am one who is bothered by the "remarkable concentration of power" in the Executive.

Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the September 7, 1965, edition of the Wall Street Journal presents a frightening thesis—is this generation, indeed, going "to bequeath in turn a legacy whereby a citizen is secure in his liberty only at the whim of the Executive."

Every Member of Congress should read—and heed—this editorial, Mr. Speaker. So should President Johnson. But, more importantly, it should be read by every citizen of the United States.

The editorial follows:

A BITTER LEGACY

It is often said that Lyndon Johnson wields more power than any other President, at least in a time of less-than-full-scale war. The striking thing is that this remarkable concentration of power apparently bothers so few people.

The concern is not necessarily or only about how Mr. Johnson himself uses the power. Apart from the fact that he is rapidly adding to it through the expansion of the Executive, he impresses most of the Nation as a man of restraint. More troubling is the meaning for the future, since it is plain that the country would be in deep difficulty if a man of dictatorial bent were ever elected, what with so much authority already embedded in the Office.

An answer to that, perhaps, is that in such a circumstance Congress would rise up and if necessary impeach the man; we still do have the machinery to prevent or correct excesses. Yet a major reason for the rise of the Executive is that Congress has for decades permitted a steady erosion of its responsibilities and prerogatives.

Moreover, there is no diminution in the incessant clamor of special interests for still further extensions of the Federal Government, which is to say the power of the Presidency. It is almost unbelievable but unfortunately the case that this Federal mystique has grown by leaps and bounds—an insistence, contrary to all experience, that Federal authority can solve problems where others have failed.

A relatively small but revealing case in point: With prodigious lack of foresight, local politicians in New York City and other places in the Northeast neglected to assure sufficient water supplies to withstand a drought. Discomfort is here and now, disaster impends; finally, appeals were dispatched to Washington.

The administration, in response, decrees New York City and other sections to be disaster areas (the government of the city is a disaster, that is for sure) and extends financial aid. How much good it will do is debatable, but it is one more Federal intrusion that would have been entirely unnecessary had there been elementary competence at the local level.

Thus the localities, the States, the special interests reach out to Washington; at the same time the Federal officials exercise all the ingenuity at their command in figuring out new areas to invade, new responsibilities to take over. It is a formidable interaction. Repeated over and over, in endless variety and in ever widening circles, and coupled with the complacency of Congress, it is building a Presidential force against which there seems no effective countervailing power.

Even this very evident buildup does not, so far as can be judged, excite any great worry or even interest; those who suggest a possible threat to liberties in the process are accused of seeing hobgoblins.

If there is indeed no danger, it may be asked why the architects of this Government took such extraordinary pains to prevent the emergence of a tyrant and to bind down each Federal branch in the chains of the Constitution. They, at any rate, knew that governments easily degenerate into dictatorships. The development should be still less mysterious to people of the totalitarian-scarred 20th century.

Whether practical political means of redressing the balance any longer exist, we would hesitate to venture; certainly they are hard to visualize. But that difficulty does not excuse anyone, least of all Congress, from looking at what is happening and considering what recourse might be feasible.

It would be a bitter outcome if this generation, legatees of free institutions, were to

bequeath in turn a legacy whereby the citizen is secure in his liberty only at the whim of the Executive.

George Durst: Metallurgist, Inventor, and Gentleman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, on August 20, 1965, a ceremony was held at the Metals and Controls Division of Texas Instruments, Inc., in Attleboro, Mass., marking the manufacture of the one-millionth pound of clad metals for the new coinage established under the Coinage Act of 1965.

I was pleased to be able to attend that ceremony and witness the metal-bonding process in operation. I was particularly interested to learn that the perfection of the process was the result of the inventiveness of a single individual, a man whose life has been devoted to the progress of technology in the field of metallurgy. That man is George Durst.

The conversion of U.S. coinage from traditional coin silver to alloys containing no silver was dependent upon a workable metallic substitute for the coin silver. The "Treasury Staff Study of Silver and Coinage," compiled after 2 years of intensive research and investigation, recommended the use of clad metals for a new system of coins; a copper core clad with an alloy of copper and nickel. The feasibility of converting to clad metals, thereby conserving our Nation's dwindling silver supply for vital national defense and industrial uses, would not have been possible but for George Durst, who perfected the metal-bonding process.

While it is true that some new methods of uniting metals into composites are being explored and some older, slower and more costly methods of bonding metals are still used, this man pioneered the first continuous, versatile and low-cost bonding technique. It is his process which, in significant measure, is contributing to the Bureau of the Mint's supply of clad metal for reliable change-over to silverless dimes and quarters.

A native of Austria and graduate of the Technical University in Vienna, he gained his metallurgical proficiency in the leading metals-producing companies of Europe. Fleeing from Nazi tyranny to the United States in 1939, he encountered considerable personal misfortune. Overcoming the hardships of displacement by war, he arrived in the city of Attleboro, Mass., to begin anew. He became a naturalized American citizen in 1945 and his personal and professional accomplishments exemplified a life of usefulness and reputation to his adopted city, State and country.

Upon coming to Attleboro, he joined the General Plate Division of Metals and Controls Corp., which today is known as the Metallurgical Products Group of Metals and Controls, Inc., a wholly owned subsidiary of Texas Instruments, Inc. He progressed in that organization from the position of technical assistant, to that of manager of its research and development effort. And, in the field of metal bonding, under his leadership—continuing to the present day—that research effort is preeminent in the area of advancing clad metal processes. Now retired, he continues to serve as a valued metallurgical consultant to Texas Instruments, and his keen mind as fluently as ever spurts ideas and theories for further advancing the technology of metals cladding.

Aside from the scores of United States and foreign patents he has been granted in his field, which, indeed, qualify and establish his renown as a metallurgist, he is thought of by his neighbors and associates not as a metallurgist at all, but rather as a kind and true gentleman.

It is a privilege for me to bring the accomplishments of Mr. George Durst of Attleboro, Mass., to the attention of my colleagues in the House. His technical expertise in the phenomena of metals has made possible the application of clad metals to advance the design, improve the quality, and often lower the cost of innumerable consumer and industrial products. No company working on the technical frontier—and few countries in the hard core—of the durable goods industries have not benefited from the clad metals made practicable by his processes and apparatus. In the years ahead, materials fabricated by his processes will make possible new products with performance characteristics otherwise impossible to achieve. Clad metal coinage is but one example.

Nikola Petkov Memorial Observance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the tragic story of the establishment of Communist dictatorships in the nations of Eastern Europe is well known. In direct violation of sacred agreements to support self-determination and freedom for these peoples who had suffered so long under the Nazi occupation regimes, the Soviet Union forced tyrannical puppet regimes upon them. In no other country is their perfidiousness and ruthlessness seen better than in Bulgaria. Operating through a front regime which relied on the terror of the Russian Army and local Communist "militia" bands the Communists summarily executed and silenced most opposition groups. Eventually all opposition parties were either destroyed or kept as powerless window-dressing official opposition groups.

But, Mr. Speaker, before this dismal history of brutality had run its course there appeared an example of courageous resistance to the destruction of freedom in this tourtured land. Nikola Petkov was the leader of one of the non-Communist parties which fought to prevent the Communist takeover. Even before the struggle against Communist tyranny began at the end of the war, he had established a record of fighting the supporters of the Nazis in Bulgaria. When it became apparent that the Communists would not allow free elections in late 1945, which would surely have seen them thrown out of the positions in which the Russian Army had put them, Nikola Petkov left the government and began his tragic fight. It was a foregone conclusion that the Russian bayonets would win. But still he led the opposition, risking his life to keep alive the hope of freedom.

Finally by July 1947 the Communists felt that they were ready to make their most atrocious move in wiping out all real opposition. They arrested Petkov on a series of ridiculous trumped-up charges and had their parliamentary majority—won earlier by rigged elections—declare his opposition party illegal. Then, in as blatant a mockery of a trial as Eastern Europe saw in those terrible days, they had Petkov convicted of what was the supreme crime, opposing their tyranny. His witnesses were intimidated into falsely accusing him. One important witness was not allowed to testify, probably because the torture used on him made him unfit to appear.

Mr. Speaker, in a crowning conclusion to his heroic stand against the Red terror engulfing his land, Nikola Petkov resolutely fought the charges against him. He never admitted his guilt, although we may imagine the barbarities used in an attempt to make him justify the Communists' accusations. He went to his martyr's death on September 23, 1947, without ever giving in to his enemies. His judicial murder has shocked the civilized world and provided an example of courage and hope to all those millions still living under the despotism of their Communist masters. So long as such men will arise to fight against their oppressors, there can be no doubt that someday the countries like Bulgaria, whose national memorial day we honor now on September 23, will again be free and democratic.

A Dead Marine Is a Tragedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. Speaker, at a time when the press is filled with tragic reports of American casualties in Vietnam, I call to the attention of our colleagues the recent words of Lt. Gen. Victor M. Krulak, Marine commander in the Pacific. Commenting on a battle at Van Tuong, General Krulak pointed out that U.S. losses were "proportionately light"

but he emphasized that no loss can be taken lightly. Said General Krulak:

A dead Marine is a tragedy. A wounded one is only somewhat less of a tragedy, and you can't equate flesh and blood with achievements in terms of the inspiration that this victory has given our side or the damage done to the enemy.

Going Into Orbit With Monetary Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, Treasury Secretary Henry H. Fowler's trip to the financial capitals of the world is an important step along the road to strengthening our international monetary system. I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to an editorial in the Kansas City Times of September 8, 1965, which points out the history-making importance of the Secretary's trip:

GOING INTO ORBIT WITH MONETARY REFORM

In due time you may hear almost as much about Henry F. Fowler's 2-week trip to Europe as you heard about the recent voyage of the astronauts. If the two trips were rated by their importance to immediate history, the Fowler trip would have to stand first. For it is, in effect, the beginning of the countdown on the procedures that may in time lead to a new international monetary system to finance world growth.

One problem of the Fowler trip is that it lacks the drama of new frontiers and all that. Nevertheless, it is being made because the United States has recognized the necessity for beginning at least preliminary negotiations on international monetary reform. A second problem is that France in particular has had a very dim view of the American initiative. Nevertheless, the initiative had to be taken, and the United States, through its Secretary of the Treasury, was the proper instrument for sparking action.

As Fowler and George Ball of the State Department travel Europe, they do have an important report in their briefcases that should convince some of the nations they visit. A few days ago, the International Monetary Fund, in effect, endorsed the American call for a free world conference to modernize the system. Fowler and Ball have another point on their side: In every way possible, Washington has made it clear that it is wedded in advance to no particular plan of monetary reform. It would be a tactical error for the United States, in a world sensitive to the meanings of power, to go into this matter with a preconceived "American plan," and say "This or nothing."

Nevertheless, if the United States must avoid ostensible quarterbacking, it must also prod its allies into some sort of conversations in the huddle. This Fowler and Ball are attempting to do. The first goal, presumably, is to initiate talks on a preparatory meeting at the International Monetary Fund session in Washington late this month.

But the process of monetary reform will be a long one and other astronauts will undoubtedly have flown much farther and much longer before there is any concrete result. Meantime, although the United States has a temporary grip on its balance-of-payments problem, the patterns of world trade grow more intricate and among the newer countries, in particular, there is an ever-expanding need for more and more capital. Thus each day makes the Fowler trip to Europe all the more important to history.

Survivorship Benefits for Servicemen VI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, my last discussion on the subject of survivorship benefits used the example of a second lieutenant, and today I wish to include as a part of my remarks the case of a second lieutenant who leaves a widow, age 23, and a child, age 3:

SURVIVORSHIP BENEFITS FOR SERVICEMEN DYING FROM SERVICE-CONNECTED CAUSES

ASSUMPTIONS

1. Second lieutenant, U.S. Army;
2. Age 23 at death;
3. Death was service connected;
4. Four years service at death;
5. Four years in grade at death;
6. Assumed average monthly pay was $329;
7. Base pay at death was $384.30 a month;
8. Left a widow, age 23, and a child, age 3;
9. Widow lives out her expectation of life (52.7 years);
10. Child receives maximum number of payments;
11. Widow does not remarry.

Benefits

Payee	Paying agency and type of payment	Payment period months	Payment rate	Total payments
Widow	HEW, social security	[1] 180	$90	$16,200
Child	do	[2] 228	90	20,520
Widow	VA (38 U.S.C. 412(a))	[3] 164	99	16,236
Do	VA, disability insurance compensation	632	167	105,544
Child	VA, WOEA	36	110	3,960
Total				162,460

[1] Until child reaches age 18.
[2] 180 months to age 18 plus 48 months in full-time training.
[3] Beginning at age 62.

The New Awareness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I would like to include an editorial which appeared in the Long Island Press of Sunday, September 12, 1965, entitled "The New Awareness."

Naturally, the creation of any new Federal agency or Cabinet-level department will bring with it complex problems and inevitable difficulties to be overcome. However, I am confident that, with our native ingenuity and know-how, we will be able to meet the changing times and the challenges of this 20th century, and thus leave for posterity an enviable record of accomplishment and achievement.

The editorial follows:

THE NEW AWARENESS

The creation of the new Cabinet Department of Housing and Urban Development is another sign America is beginning to face up to its difficult future.

As a piece of bureaucratic machinery, it will be no cure-all for what's ailing our cities and suburbs.

At first, it will have a hard time just finding itself. It will start off by taking under its wing the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the Federal Housing Agency, the Community Facilities Administration and the Federal National Mortgage Association.

But then the going will get rough because many of the most stubborn urban problems have ramifications beyond, below and above the city limits. Air and water pollution, delinquency, transportation, job training, airport planning, welfare programs, crime—the list is long—are now in domains of other Cabinet agencies. The inevitable frictions that will arise in sorting whose problem is whose will be another challenge on the roster of major challenges facing the new Agency.

What matters is not the size and complexity of the challenges, but that we are at long last recognizing and facing them. The Urban Affairs Department is part of the new awareness. So are the new apportionment rulings by the courts giving cities the representation so long denied them by the entrenched rural minorities.

The new awareness, however, must be more than a shift of emphasis and power from rural to urban. It must take in the understanding that what is ailing our cities is a symptom of deeper problems generated by the new machines and the proliferating populations that have burst into a society organized for another time.

America was originally the few against the wild. As the wilderness yielded, there emerged a fleeting moment of farm-centered graciousness—the New England town, the prairie village, graceful accommodations between man and nature.

But the frontier and the farm as we knew them are gone. The family farm has been replaced by a huge food-making business; a few men, machines and chemicals produce more, on less land, than thousands did a generation ago. The farmer's children have come to town—and so has the frontier.

Now America, instead of the few against the primitive wild, is the many against an untamed civilization. Left over from our yesterday's are mistaken social attitudes, outdated political patterns and short-sighted economic determinants more deeply entrenched than the brick, steel, and concrete mistakes they create and perpetuate.

We need less moaning for a gracious past that can be no more. We must face the

urban jungles with the same spirit of adventure and hope that the pioneers faced the West. Instead of streams to ford, we have rivers to clean; instead of forests to clear, we have slums to demolish; instead of trails to blaze, we have subways to build.

As we change the landscaping, let us give thought to the kind of life we want to lead in this new world; let us rethink and rediscover what a city is and what it's supposed to do and what we are supposed to do with it.

As President Johnson warned when he signed the law creating the new urban affairs agency: "It is not enough for us to erect towers of stone and glass or to lay out vast suburbs of order and conformity. We must seek—and we must find—ways to preserve and perpetuate in the city the individuality, the human dignity, the respect for individual rights and the devotion to individual responsibility that have been parts of the American character and strengths of the American system."

Poverty Funds for Needy, Not Political Payoffs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 31, 1965

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, many newspapers are disclosing these days the manner in which the so-called war on poverty is subverted into a gigantic political patronage giveaway which aids the party faithful as much, or more, than the poor. However, I believe few accounts put the case more succinctly than the following editorial from the New Haven Register of New Haven, Conn., which I commend to the attention of my colleagues:

POVERTY FUNDS FOR NEEDY, NOT POLITICAL PAYOFFS

The recent appointments of a motley collection of political hangers-on to New Britain's Office of Economic Opportunity (poverty program) were so repugnant to Joseph O. Dyer, Connecticut director of the program, that he has declared he will cut off all Federal funds to New Britain unless the job designations are rescinded.

Many would endorse Mr. Dyer's action and enjoy his choice of words. After looking over the appointees and their backgrounds, Mr. Dyer observed: "It's a program for the poor, not a political seminar."

The appointments to which Mr. Dyer objects were political. An attempt was made to tap Federal funds to reward the party faithful.

Mr. Dyer would not be so adamant in his opposition if he thought the appointees had acceptable qualifications for their jobs. Albert J. Gentile, a bandleader, was selected for an $8,000-per-year supervisory post. His best qualification was that he was a former campaign aid to Democratic Mayor James F. Dawson. Frank J. Rocco, also named for an $8,000 job, is a close associate of Representative Dominic J. Badalato. Both were recommended by Mr. Badalato who is a member of New Britain's Office of Economic Opportunity Committee. And two other members of this committee wound up with $5,000-a-year job appointments.

This prompted this pertinent observation from Mr. Dyer: "It is only elementary, parliamentary courtesy that you do not vote yourself into office."

Mr. Dyer's determination to cut off Federal funds to New Britain for its war-on-poverty program will exasperate the politicians who must keep the underlings happy. By his action Mr. Dyer certainly is exercising good executive commonsense and shows he recognizes the responsibilities of his office.

New Britain isn't the only city in the State with such abuses in the selection of totally unqualified, if not incompetent, personnel for the OEO program. His rigid review of appointees should be retroactive. New Haven might be a good starting point.

The Sinking U.S. Merchant Fleet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, as a result of the Vietnam conflict, a number of shortcomings in our defense posture have been highlighted.

The Los Angeles Times in an editorial on September 3, 1965, discusses the weakened condition of our merchant marine. The editorial dramatically illustrates the effect this condition can have on our ability to carry forward in Vietnam by citing examples showing delays in shipments to our servicemen.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I place the editorial in the RECORD:

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, Sept. 3, 1965]

THE SINKING U.S. MERCHANT FLEET

For the last 2 weeks, 3,000 tons of military cargo destined for U.S. forces in Vietnam has been shuttled around the Long Beach docks, in search of a carrier.

Efforts to move the cargo, first by a Mexican and then by a Greek freighter, failed. In the one case it was because the Mexican Government didn't want a ship flying its flag to enter the war zone, in the other because the Greek crew refused to go to Vietnam.

Now, belatedly, a U.S.-flag carrier has been found to do the job. The material should be on its way to Vietnam shortly.

If nothing else, the fiasco at Long Beach has again illuminated an increasingly critical maritime problem, the shortage of U.S.-flag carriers and the subsequent need to rely on not always reliable foreign vessels to move American Government cargoes.

It has also led to charges by the president of the National Maritime Union, Joseph Curran, that the Defense Department is violating U.S. laws on transport of military goods. These laws say that military cargoes must be carried on American ships—if those ships are available. For 2 weeks at Long Beach, apparently, no U.S. ship was available. This is the heart of the matter.

Over a period of time the U.S. merchant fleet has sunk to fifth-rate status, ranking in tonnage behind Britain, Liberia, Norway, and Japan in ocean-going merchantmen. Last year, U.S.-flag ships numbered 2,529, down almost 1,000 from 1949. But of these, only 912 were on active service by the early part of this year.

The problem can be put another way: of the estimated 315 million tons of export-import cargo U.S. ports will handle this year, little more than 9 percent will be carried on U.S.-flag vessels. And if present trends continue, only 3 percent will be carried in American bottoms by 1985.

Foreign competitiveness, together with high domestic construction, maintenance, and crew costs, explains the decline of the U.S. merchant marine. Even though $380 million in Government subsidies goes to the American merchant fleet annually, and even though various laws insure preferential use of U.S.-flag ships for Government cargoes, the decline continues.

Proposals for legislation to put new life into the merchant marine are now in the works, though congressional action can't be expected before next year at the earliest. Meanwhile there remains the pressing problem of moving military supplies to Vietnam as quickly as possible.

And quickly doesn't mean 2-week delays while a search for cargo carriers goes on.

Baltic Day at the World's Fair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, at this time I should like to include the very pertinent summary of the remarks delivered by Mr. Joseph Kajeckas, Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of Lithuania, on the occasion of Baltic Day at the World's Fair last September 5, 1965, in appeal for the liberation of the Baltic States from Soviet dominance.

The summary follows:

SUMMARY OF REMARKS MADE IN LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE BY JOSEPH KAJECKAS, CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF LITHUANIA, ON THE OCCASION OF BALTIC DAY AT THE NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR, SEPTEMBER 5, 1965

On this Baltic Day at the World's Fair, the thoughts of my Lithuanian countrymen go back to the 1939 World's Fair, when the Lithuanian flag proudly waved over the Lithuanian pavilion here in Flushing Meadow. Those were days of pride and achievement for Lithuania and the other Baltic nations, Estonia and Latvia. Since those happier days, freedom has been cruelly suppressed in our lands, but the hunger for freedom and free institutions has never left out brothers and sisters behind the Iron Curtain. Neither has the hope of freedom for the Baltic States ever left us who are privileged to live in freedom. And that is why we are gathered here today, beside a wayside shrine such as those which formerly existed by the thousands in my homeland. We are here to reaffirm our faith in a supreme justice and mercy. We are here to remind ourselves that tyranny cannot long endure in the world. We are here to encourage all free men to continue to fight for the liberation of the Baltic States and all captive nations.

Although the flags of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania no longer fly over the public buildings in our countries; although they have been ripped from their places of honor by totalitarian oppression, we can proudly say today that our flags are still here. And so, too, is our firm and unquenchable faith that the day of an honorable and just peace will yet dawn for all the peoples of the world. For the struggle to regain Baltic independence is, really, the struggle of all free men. This was very cogently emphasized just 10 days ago by Congressman HAROLD DONOHUE, of Massachusetts, with whose words I conclude: "The Baltic States are more than 700-year-old nations, and they have the same right to be free and independent as any new state in Asia or Africa. We should have a

single standard for freedom. The denial of freedom to any people in any place of the world by any power on earth is an intolerable action, and if permitted to stand, constitutes a persistent threat to the extinction of liberty everywhere, even here in the United States."

Current Comments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DEL CLAWSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, recent hearings before the Interior and Insular Affairs Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation demonstrated clearly two vital factors which those concerned with the water problems of the Colorado River must accept. First, of course, is the requirement of additional water to augment the river's dwindling supply. And, secondly, there must be basin-wide cooperation in a spirit of candor and mutual trust. I feel that the following article by Warren Butler in the Compton Herald-American of September 2 can be of assistance to us in reaching a better understanding of our problems.

Mr. Butler's article follows:

CURRENT COMMENT

(By Warren W. Butler)

There is a relatively new concept in the use of water which must be generally understood and properly provided for in the West of the United States, if not also in some other areas, if our growth is to be adequately provided for within the limits of financial reason. This might best be described as the transitional use of water. Necessity for the principle was made abundently clear over 5 days of hearings last week in Washington, D.C., before the Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation of the House of Representatives Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in the long established committee room in the Longworth House Office Building. The hearings were on the Colorado River Basin development bill.

But while the new principle was made clear its emergence was not without pain and controversy was not absent in the torrent of words that poured forth over the 5 days. Just as the more modern law of appropriation and equitable apportionment methods of handling water have found it difficult to prevail in times past over the more ancient system of riparian rights which goes far back into the English common law the new concept ran up against those reluctant to accept it.

TYPICAL EXAMPLE

One of the most typical, for example, was 81-year-old Ed Johnson, former Governor and U.S. Senator and even more famous as the dean of Colorado State water experts. To him Arizona was trying to steal Colorado's water for her central Arizona project and he found it difficult to believe that this use could be temporary while the importation of a big new supply into the basin, probably from Columbia River sources, was being arranged.

To the interested representatives of the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California present it was easier to understand the transitional concept. They had already been through years of controversy in the emergence of the concept of transitional use. They recalled that this concept was used to compromise 10 years of fighting to get the California Aqueduct project started to bring water from northern to southern California.

While Metropolitan and other users will temporarily use water arising in the Central Valley of California and surrounding mountains and flowing into the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta area, they will have no legal right to seek court injunctions against subsequent upstream diverters. And, as the flow into the delta declines, financing is provided under the settlement to bring more water into the delta area from the heavy rainfall areas of the north coast of California.

In somewhat the same sense, provision was made after the U.S. Supreme Court decree of June 3, 1963, to end the nearly half century quarrel between Arizona and California over waters of the Colorado River. The Court boldly departed from the law of appropriation and decreed differently. Had it not done so the civilization of the Central Arizona Valley literally would have faced death. The settlement after the decree, as incorporated into terms of the bill being heard last week, recognized even more clearly the principle of transitional use of water. The settlement softened the blow the Court handed Metropolitan by providing its aqueduct must continue to run at least almost half full despite construction of the Central Arizona project until new water can be imported into the Colorado River Basin.

Much of the sound and fury of the hearings revolved around the obvious fact that Arizona and other lower basin uses must for a period of years be transitional until the water is needed in such upper basin States as Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Wyoming, and much of the water will be rightfully theirs under terms of the 1922 Colorado River Compact. When the great importation can be accomplished everyone's supply can be made adequate.

DRAWS ON ALLEGORY

Congressman MORRIS K. UDALL of Arizona laughingly contributed an allegorical comment on the transition concept that was a classic. He said:

"Forgive us our diversions as we forgive those who divert against us."

There were hints that even the proposed diversion from the mighty Columbia River conceivably can involve the transition concept as the West develops on into the next century. Even more huge supplies of water waste into the sea from streams of British Columbia and on into the Yukon. International agreement necessarily will have to be involved but dry Canadian territory further east already needs help and financial aid may pave the way for such diversions.

Acceptance of the idea of transitional use of water necessarily also requires that the costly lawsuits which have plagued the West for the generations since gun law prevailed in the settlement of western water disputes must be avoided. The concept will not work without friendly cooperation between States and between water basins of plenty and scarcity. If there is one thing that the concept requires for success it is understanding and cooperation and trust instead of belligerent litigation.

REWARDS INCALCULABLE

But the possible rewards of the use of the transition concept are so great as to virtually make it impossible to exaggerate them. Existing civilization, frightfully threatened with water shortage disaster, can be rescued. And, as Joseph Jensen, board chairman of Metropolitan, pointed out not long ago, the great water importation program can make possible in the closing years of the 20th century what the coming of the railroads meant in expansion and development to the West in closing years of the 19th century. And if we are to get ready for the 300 million population the demographers tell us the United States will have the concept becomes an unavoidable necessity. With transitional water use financial muscle can be built to underwrite the next stage of water transfer.

Do Men Go Into Space To Do Space Science? Or Is Space Science a Way of Getting There?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, perhaps the most lucid commentary of recent days on our national space effort has been furnished by Mr. Robert Colborn in the September 1965 editorial appearing in International Science and Technology. Mr. Colborn clearly evaluates the controversy, manned versus unmanned exploration and exploitation of space, and arrives at the conclusion that there is no meaningful issue but rather one type of exploration complements the other. Mr. Colborn has made an important contribution and his editorial is commended to your reading:

DO MEN GO INTO SPACE TO DO SPACE SCIENCE? OR IS SPACE SCIENCE A WAY OF GETTING THERE?

(By Robert Colborn)

It does have the look of a debate.

Several months ago, in our May issue, R. L. F. Boyd, a British space scientist who is putting experiments onto more than a half-dozen different satellites, argued eloquently the merits of the unmanned vehicle for investigation of space and the planets.

With well-programed instruments and with good telemetry, men on the ground can find out anything they want to know about conditions in the solar system, Professor Boyd insisted, at far less cost and in most cases more effectively than an astronaut can.

Boyd makes an almost unanswerable case, to my mind, as long as he is talking about the immediate surroundings of the Earth and the Moon. So much terrestrial observation and experiment today is automated and remotely controlled anyway that substituting a microwave link for a wire rarely involves serious problems. When we thing about work at planetary distances, I find Boyd's position less convincing. Telemetry at these distances involves a long-response time and a very low rate of data transmission, so the experimenter seems limited to a show sequence of fairly simple observations. He might get around that, Boyd pointed out, by developing self-adaptive mechanisms which can respond sensibly to unpredictable conditions. Of course, he can also get around the problem by going there himself. And at this distance it becomes an open question which is the better way.

In this month's issue, Siegfried Gerathewohl takes a different tack, and he too has some convincing things to say. A man on a space mission—this is his key point—can make a major contribution to the scientific goals of the mission. A manned vehicle is demonstrably more reliable than if it were completely automated. More fundamentally, an automatic instrument observes only what its programed to observe, while a man

notices the unexpected and can do something about it. Besides all that, certain sorts of observational procedure which are very simple for a man are extremely difficult to do my machinery. To focus a high-power microscope, for instance; to scan a large field of view and close in on the interesting phenomenon.

It does have the sound of a debate, yes. And yet it is obvious that there is no head-on clash of opinion. It is perfectly possible to accept nearly all Boyd's propositions and also to believe nearly everything Gerathewohl says without enduring any real contradiction. After reading both articles I am clear that we can learn an enormous amount about conditions in space by using unmanned vehicles. I am also clear that, if there is a man on the vehicle, he may cause a little trouble stumbling around the place and breathing hard, but on net his presence will make the whole observational enterprise much easier.

Nevertheless, I am being a little overclever in thus minimizing the issue. Contradiction or no, there are real differences in tone and attitude behind these two articles. Real enough to have helped shape the very different space programs of the United States and the United Kingdom. Real enough to be deeply disturbing to many scientists I know.

Where this whole discussion seems to go astray is in distinguishing ends and means. Space science, we have to face it, is very pure, very useless science. Does Mars have a magnetic field? Has the solar wind chewed the Moon's surface into dust? What are Saturn's rings made of? These are fascinating questions to a handful of people. Answering them is a noble human enterprise of the same sort as investigating the site of Troy or the migratory habits of birds or painting Guernica—and just about as logically a candidate for large public funds.

Except for one thing:

Space science becomes an applied science, the sort of science the taxpayer expects to support, only because it contributes to space exploration. Exploration, seeing a place to go and going there, finding out what's on the other side of the hill, seems to be a fundamental human drive—drawing on many of the impulses that produce science and also on some much more universal passions. The sort of thing most people are prepared to invest in.

I see no meaningful issue between (unmanned) space science and (manned) space exploration. The real question is what sort of space science contributes best to the success of space exploration. More concretely, the question is not whether to investigate the moon with an unmanned Surveyor shot or a manned Apollo; it's whether an extra Surveyor mission now would significantly reduce the cost or danger of the eventual Apollo mission and, if not, whether it may be wasteful to send a Surveyor now when the same information can be had more easily later, once there is a man on the moon to help.

O'Brien in the Cabinet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, Members of the Congress greeted the President's nomination of Larry O'Brien as Postmaster General warmly, as did the American press. The Hollywood, Fla., Sun-Tattler recently paid tribute to the new member of the Cabinet, and I place the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

O'BRIEN IN THE CABINET

Larry O'Brien has demonstrated in a variety of assignments his capacity to fill a job of Cabinet rank.

He is a skilled political organizer, as he showed in the campaign which carried John F. Kennedy to the presidency as well as in President Johnson's 1964 landslide.

He also is an astute legislative manager. As the President's right-hand man on Capitol Hill, he has been largely responsible for the massive flow of legislation through Congress this year.

His appointment as Postmaster General inevitably gives a flavor of politics to the Post Office Department. But this is nothing new. Indeed the office more often than not goes to a leading politician—as witness James Farley under Franklin Roosevelt and Arthur Summerfield under Dwight Eisenhower.

Assignment of his predecessor, John A. Gronouski, as Ambassador to Poland seems equally fortunate. As the grandson of a Polish immigrant, Gronouski is a good choice to carry out the President's desire to "build bridges" between the United States and the Iron Curtain countries of Eastern Europe.

The Urban Transport Problem and Air Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, recently I introduced legislation—H.R. 9200—to establish a 2-year, $20 million federally supported research program to achieve a technological breakthrough in the development of new urban transportation systems. Today, the most popular form of urban transport is the automobile, but the problems it has brought to our cities are becoming increasingly troublesome. Until we develop a mode of urban transport that is as desirable as the automobile but without its shortcomings, our cities will continue to grapple unsuccessfully with many of the problems confronting them today. H.R. 9200 would provide the stimulus for developing these new systems.

Twenty-one other Members have introduced bills identical to H.R. 9200: the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHLEY], H.R. 9201; the gentleman from Texas [Mr. CABELL], H.R. 9202; the gentleman from New York [Mr. FARBSTEIN], H.R. 9763; the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. FRASER], H.R. 9995; the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GILLIGAN], H.R. 9826; the gentlewoman from Michigan [Mrs. GRIFFITHS], H.R. 9996; the gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN], H.R. 9997; the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. JOELSON], H.R. 9998; the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. LONG], H.R. 9999; the gentleman from New York [Mr. MCCARTHY], H.R. 10000; the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. MINISH], H.R. 10001; the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORHEAD], H.R. 10002; the gentleman from New York [Mr. MULTER], H.R. 9203; the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RONAN], H.R. 10003; the gentleman from California [Mr. ROOSEVELT], H.R. 10004; the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROSENTHAL], H.R. 9204; the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STALBAUM], H.R. 10279; the gentlewoman from Missouri [Mrs. SULLIVAN], H.R. 9205; the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VANIK], H.R. 9206; the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. WELTNER], H.R. 9207; and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. YATES], H.R. 9208.

One of the major problems created by the automobile is the pollution of the air. An urban transport system which proved superior to the automobile and more desirable but which was not powered by the internal combustion engine would mean a considerable lessening of the pollution of city air.

For example, one substance from automobile and diesel exhaust that becomes a part of the air is a hydrocarbon known as benzpyrene, which tends to induce cancer. Motor vehicles are also a principal source of carbon monoxide and oxides of nitrogen, both of which have varying degrees of ill effect on health. The consequences in large metropolitan areas can be serious. Breathing New York City air, for instance, is like smoking two packs of cigarettes a day.

Prof. Morris Neiburger of the University of California at Los Angeles, an expert on air pollution, predicts that if the air pollution problem is not solved it could, in the long run, doom humanity. He first presented his thesis in detail in a speech before the Meeting of American Meteorological Society in Salt Lake City, Utah, on October 14, 1964, and more recently in a letter to me.

His letter, excerpts of which follow, says that in the speech he points out that:

> Certain deficiencies in our knowledge of what happens to pollutants entering the atmosphere, deficiencies which require research into (a) how pollutants are dispersed and diluted as they pass over complex urban terrain, and (b) how and at what rate pollutants are changed (by physical and chemical reactions) and removed from the air. As I state there, until we know more about these processes we cannot with impunity continually increase the amount of pollution we inject into the air. At some stage, perhaps sooner than we can imagine, the amount which is injected will become so great that some of it will remain after a complete circuit around the earth, and the total amount in the air will increase each time it passes the sources until the concentration of toxic substances become lethal.
>
> Specifically, as you will see in my speech, I am concerned that unless action is taken the rate at which pollution enters the atmosphere on a world-wide basis will in the future exceed that at which it is removed, so that from that time on the concentration even at places away from sources will continually increase until the atmosphere can no longer sustain life. We have seen this happen in rivers and lakes, where initially it was assumed that the flow of water would continuously refresh the conditions for aquatic life, but with increasing use for sewage and other effluents the contamination has risen to levels which cannot be tolerated by any fish, and only certain types of bacteria can survive in it. We have no reason to conclude that this cannot happen to the atmosphere, but should take precautions at once to see that it doesn't.

My views with respect to motor vehicles as sources of pollution are not based on the same expertise with which I can speak on meteorological questions. However, the following facts seem to me to suggest that the continued use of internal combustion engines to power them is to invite disaster:

1. By their nature these engines, to obtain optimum power, operate at an air-fuel ratio inadequate to complete the combustion of the fuel. In addition they operate at temperatures and pressures which produce considerable quantities of oxides of nitrogen.

2. In the 15 years since the automobile was first identified as a major source of the smog in Los Angeles devices to reduce exhaust contaminants to the standards set by California law have not yet been made available either on new or for used cars. Devices will be required on all vehicles, according to legislation passed by the State, when two effective and economically feasible devices have been tested and approved. While systems have been approved which will be on new cars sold in California next year, devices for used cars are not yet available. I am not confident that the devices on new cars will meet even the relatively lax standards which have been set, and as they grow older their effectiveness will surely decrease.

3. The standards of performance required of these exhaust devices is such that even if met the use of the devices will be offset in a few years by the increase in number of cars. This is true in every locality, but especially on a worldwide basis as civilized modes of transport are adopted in the developing nations.

4. There is no requirement in the present California law for reduction of the emission of oxides of nitrogen; yet these substances may in themselves be as toxic and as important in other smog effects as the products of photochemical reactions in which they react with the hydrocarbons which the control measures are designed to reduce.

As the use of automobiles and trucks have become more widespread and the numbers of vehicles over the world have increased, smog manifestations have become evident everywhere. These occurrences so far have been limited to condtions of light wind and temperature inversions, but these conditions are sufficiently frequent to give rise to the awareness that something must be done. General adoption of control measures such as those in effect in California will probably not prove adequate to prevent local incidents of increasing severity, for the reasons I have given. It is my opinion that over and above the dangers of these local and temporary situations which may lead to incidents like those at Donora and London, there is the danger of general contamination of the atmosphere to intolerable levels.

The development of an effective system of urban mass transportation would indeed be an important contribution to the reduction of pollution over cities and over the world.

Remarks of Governor Smylie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, Idaho Governor, Robert E. Smylie, in addressing the human problems congress, the 30th annual conference of the National Association of Counties, in San Diego, Calif., on July 11, 1965, put into excellent perspective the roles of the Federal, State, and county governments in the American plan.

Governor Smylie pointed up many of the problems facing the lesser divisions of government, and pointed out a possible solution for them.

I believe Governor Smylie's address will be of extreme interest to all who are interested in maintaining the traditional role of our State governments in relation to the Federal Government.

The address follows.

FEDERALISM NATION'S STRENGTH, GOVERNOR SMYLIE CONTENDS IN TALK AT OPENING OF CONFERENCE

(Text of address by Hon. Robert E. Smylie, Governor of Idaho, at the opening general session.)

One of the great strengths of our Nation has been the general acceptance of what we call the federalism principle, or diversity within union.

State and local governments arrive at decisions which reflect different views regarding the variety and scope of governmental responsibilities, even while we recognize the primacy of the Government in Washington over matters of foreign policy and national defense.

But, our attachment to the need for diversity in a land as large as ours should not blind us to the fact that in a general way all of us, from each of the 50 States, share common problems that may lend themselves to similar, if not identical, treatment through greater State and local cooperation.

Prof. Henry C. Hart, of Wisconsin, in a recent discussion of Federal-State-local relations, has suggested that the State governments' major continuing function may well be that of fostering vigorous political communities at the local and metropolitan levels.

This task can be accomplished (1) by encouraging cooperation in all local areas ranging in size from the neighborhood to the metropolitan area, to the pollution control district; and (2) by providing a sounding board for public demands for creating or improving local governmental services, and (3) by advising the Governor and legislature how State policies will affect local governmental units. For example, we cannot ignore the fact that a State agency's decision to locate an expressway interchange at a certain point may result in the death of one city and the birth of another.

The keystone to such a program would be a professional staff in each State able to devote full time to fostering State and local cooperation.

The major clamor for these staffs might well come from you gentlemen who would be major benefactors of their work.

DIFFICULT DECISIONS

Turning to specific problem areas, we are all faced with difficult decisions in the fields of education, public works, public safety, water supply, sewage disposal, highway construction and maintenance, park and recreation programs, health and welfare, and fire control.

Counties already find themselves in the business of community development, housing, airport maintenance, and college management.

If you are a county official in these days you have to maintain a working knowledge of a score or more technical and professional fields.

CARRYING LOAD

It is simple fact that more money is spent by State and local governments for public services than is spent by the Federal Government for nondefense programs.

In spite of this massive commitment by State and local agencies, we have to admit that many of our most vital programs are impoverished.

Consider the way the bills have been piling up.

Eighteen years is not a long time, yet State and local expenditures in 1964 were six times greater than they were in 1946.

Outlays for education alone have increased from $3 billion at the end of World War II to $22 billion last year.

In 1964 State and local governments spent a total of $65 billion—twice as much as the Federal Government—on domestic programs.

Over the past 10 years, State and local expenditures have risen at 8 percent a year—twice as fast as gross national product.

We, in the States, can take some modest pride in the way we have moved to meet the public's increased demand for services.

But, we cannot afford to indulge in self-satisfaction since the dizzying pace of governmental expenditures is just beginning. This spring State Governors requested budget increases totaling $5.44 billion over the previous biennium. The Council of State Governments has recently estimated that the States must raise $2 billion by 1970 in addition to what is now in sight—solely for higher education.

Total educational outlays are expected to more than double in the next 7 years; health and sanitation costs will increase 2½ times; housing and community development expenses will be at least 10 times the present level.

Economists estimate that State and local governments will increase the $65 billion spent last year to $82 billion by 1967 and $100 billion by 1970.

FINANCIAL CRISIS

Exploding populations, rapid urbanization, higher prices, and the public demand that Government accept wider responsibilities, and the whims of State and local officials, are the causes of these increased expenditures.

Where will the money come from and what can we do to see that available funds are used most efficiently?

Unfortunately, State and local financial resources are not abundant enough to meet new demands, nor do they show promise for sufficient expansion.

Indeed, almost every imaginable tax resource has already been subjected to increasing, and often undesirable pressures.

State taxes alone have gone from $4.9 billion in 1946 to $24.2 billion in 1964, an average increase of over a billion dollars a year.

In 1964, State tax increases siphoned off approximately one-third of the $6.5 billion Federal tax cut, but, these additional funds were still inadequate to meet our needs, and bonded indebtedness by State and local governments has reached historic highs in the last 6 months.

The sad truth of State and local finance is that costs are rising faster than revenues.

MIXED BLESSING

Regardless of our ideological preferences, we must acknowledge that some of this dollar gap will be and must be filled by Federal funds.

No area of government finance that is so vital to our national well-being can be permitted to grow in the random and haphazard fashion it follows today.

We must press for reform in these programs to make them of greater practical value to the people of our communities.

REFORMS NEEDED

We must recognize that our States are not all the same size, not equally urban, and consequently not presented with identical problems.

What happens, then, is that all the States help to pay for programs that are dictated by the needs of some States. In many instances the programs themselves suffer because they are not keyed to the diverse needs

and differing aspirations of the populations in the various States.

Grants-in-aid for public health services are a prime example.

State funds expended for any of the categories can be used to match Federal funds only within that category.

But a State may find that it needs only limited expenditures for, say, tuberculosis control, while it has major needs for cancer control or venereal disease control.

Not only does this deny a State Federal matching funds in areas where they are most needed, it may also result in devoting undue attention to some areas simply because the grant funds are available.

We, at the State and local level, need to press for greater flexibility in the disposition of funds that come to us under these grants.

SUGGESTION OFFERED

I would like to offer as a prototype of the kind of grant-in-aid program that we can live with the provisions of the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act passed by the 88th Congress.

The Land and Water Act provisions not only encourage cooperation and coordination at all government levels, but it allows a leeway of 10 percent in the allocation of funds from one program to another within the State.

This degree of flexibility would seem to be the minimum amount necessary to accommodate the population shifts we have all grown accustomed to.

It would seem to embody the best aspects of the federalism principle.

JUGGLING ACT

Most of us who have served in public office in this day when revenues always seem to fall short of expenditures have learned to play the game of "robbing Peter to pay Paul."

We need a new revenue source, and I believe that we should give serious consideration to a proposal calling for the return of uncommitted portions of the Federal income tax to the States.

Whatever specific form this revenue-sharing program would take, it should include the following basic principles: (1) most of the money should be distributed according to population, the balance according to State needs; (2) a part of the fund should be earmarked for local governments; (3) and the plan should provide for mechanisms within the State for coordinating State and local expenditures of these funds.

Although there seems to me to be great need for activity on our part in behalf of the revenue-sharing plan, I do not propose that we rest on our oars until we get it.

There are many things we can do within our own bailiwicks to improve our lot.

I suggest that we put increased reliance on a number of devices that have proved helpful in the past. For example, intergovernmental loan of road equipment, informal meetings across jurisdictional lines, contracts for services with adjacent counties and municipalities, joint airport and junior college authorities, and any other procedure that will eliminate duplication of increasingly expensive capital goods and technical personnel.

As the Nation's population continues to explode the need for strong and effective local government will increase. The mere pressure of human needs will require that every avenue of effective service be explored, expanded, and strengthened.

It is for us who happen to be currently in charge to develop the machinery that will clothe, feed, transport, house, and comfort a nation twice the size of the America we know today.

This will require constructive cooperation at every level of government; cooperation that reaches in every direction for effective solutions to the human problems of people.

We will need to work together in the best traditions of our American system. We must not leave the individual or the community to grapple helplessly with problems beyond their power, nor can we abdicate local responsibility by inviting the Federal Government to solve our problems from a distance. By the same token we must not reject the proper role of the Federal Government in helping solve problems where Federal assistance is indicated, is desirable, and is consistent with the concept of strong and responsible State and local governments in this uniquely excellent Federal system.

Dickinson a Cabinet Asset

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 26, 1965

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to submit for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, an editorial of the Pensacola Journal of Tuesday, August 31, on the appointment of Fred O. (Bud) Dickinson, as Comptroller of the State of Florida. I attest to the validity of the comments made about Mr. Dickinson. I, too, think his was a wise appointment.

The editorial follows:

DICKINSON: CABINET ASSET

Gov. Haydon Burns watched Fred O. (Bud) Dickinson serve in both houses of the Florida Legislature and observed closely his two spirited but unsuccessful campaigns for the top executive's chair. And he came to the conclusion that the West Palm Beach attorney qualifies as a public servant who knows the economic needs of the State and desires of the people of Florida.

We hope he fills the bill as State comptroller. He takes the oath of office Wednesday afternoon, filling the cabinet post formerly held by Ray Green, who has resigned due to conditions of health.

Certainly Bud Dickinson holds the credentials.

And the same is true for Pinellas County School Supt. Floyd Christian, a highly qualified educator who is becoming State school superintendent, a post occupied for 17 years by Thomas D. Bailey.

Governor Burns, who reported widespread support among Floridians for the Dickinson appointment, said he diligently reviewed all cabinet prospects and settled on Dickinson after assessing his service in the Florida House of Representatives and Senate, his abilities as a gubernatorial candidate and his dedication to the proposition of public service.

"You begin to be knowledgeable of a man's real worth when you watch him during months of campaigning," the Governor said. "I have never been associated with a man who held himself in higher restraint during the heat of campaigning, or who conducted himself in a more friendly and cordial manner toward the supporters of his opponents."

Dickinson, twice unsuccessful gubernatorial candidate who threw his support to Burns after finishing fourth in the first Democratic primary of 1964, has pledged to follow the "same solid, conservative fiscal policy to which Green has adhered." The former legislator, World War II marine, and organizer and chairman of the Florida Council of 100 said he will continue the policy established by Green on full value assessment of real and personal property.

"The supreme court has spoken and the law is very plain," he said. "The policy has the support of the Governor's office; it is as it should be."

Dickinson, born in Palm Beach County in 1922, attended the University of Florida and received his law degree from Stetson University after Marine Corps service in World War II. He was an outstanding first-termer in the Florida House in 1954, went to the senate in 1956, and was reelected in 1958, resigning the next year to finish fifth in a 10-man field for the Governor's office.

Bud Dickinson has been active in his community's affairs, especially education, and has proven himself capable of a prominent role in State government.

He should fill the bill. We think it was a wise appointment.

The U.N. Embargo Against Red China and North Korea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the second part of an article that John Norman, Fairfield University professor of history and government, has excerpted from his forthcoming book on East-West trade.

The article follows:

THE U.N. EMBARGO AGAINST RED CHINA AND NORTH KOREA

In 1951 the control of exports from Hong Kong to Communist-dominated areas went through three stages. The first began on August 8, 1950, when Exportation Order 1950 forbade the export of over 300 specified items and some general category items, except under license issued by the Director of Commerce and Industry of the Hong Kong Government. The second set of export regulations, the Emergency Regulations for 1951, were released on April 20, 1951. The most recent was the Exportation Order 1951. These orders were released not only to protect Hong Kong's domestic requirements but also as a result of worldwide public pressure to hinder the flow of materials useful to the Chinese Communist war effort. The principal factor leading to the establishment of these controls was the effect on Hong Kong's commerce and industry of the American embargo of shipments to Communist China and the stringent restrictions with respect to Hong Kong and Macao, adopted in December 1950. In the period between December 1950 and June 1951 the Hong Kong Government tried to assure exports from the United States to the island's domestic industries by issuing essential suppliers certificates, which guaranteed that the items covered would be employed in the colony's industries and would not be reexported to Communist-dominated areas.

This procedure had certain defects which made the certificates almost unacceptable to the United States in its embargo of Communist China. The fundamental inconsistency of the essential supplies certificate was that, although it was a pledge as to end-use, it was only issued for a limited group of items and applied to a specific shipment of special goods for a specified end-user in Hong Kong. No consideration was given to the same or equivalent items imported into Hong Kong from other areas

not requiring a certificate as a condition for the issuance of an export license to the colony. The certificate's only assurance was that the items covered were to be used in Hong Kong, but it did not prevent the export of other similar articles to China. Until June 1951, Hong Kong controls to China were not, on the whole, sufficiently broad and effective to justify unlimited U.S. licensing of exports to the colony.

The emergency regulations of April 20, 1951, contained a list of prohibited exports which included almost all items urgently required by the colony's industries from the United States. On June 21 new export regulations against Communist areas were simultaneously announced in the United Kingdom and Hong Kong. During the 4-day period between the announcements and the effective date of the regulations on June 25, huge shipments of goods not then forbidden took place from Hong Kong to Macao and Canton in order to beat the deadline. In 1952 Hong Kong lost 70 percent of its export trade with China, a volume equal to about $200 million. By the end of 1953 Hong Kong's controls became so strict that smuggling through the colony was considered negligible. Informed quarters in the colony were generally agreed that the non-Communist embargo on strategic materials had severely hurt Red China.

These developments did not allay criticisms in Congress from members of both parties, especially in view of the fact that other countries were not going as far as the United States, which had applied a complete embargo on both strategic and nonstrategic shipments to China. Democratic Senator WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon, complained that "we have a right to call upon our allies to stop shipping into Red China goods which can be used directly or indirectly to kill American boys in Korea." He felt it was hard to name any items that were not of great assistance to China, whether they were goods that helped the domestic economy or the war machine. Republican Senator Alexander Wiley, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, objected that the U.N. embargo resolution was not being fulfilled in letter and spirit by America's allies. "How can the Senate or the House of Representatives go to the American people and ask their support of the United Nations so long as there is continued greedy trade with the very men who are killing the sons of our countrymen and the sons of the British and French and South Korean mothers, and of all the nations which are participating in the struggle?"

Mutual Security Director Harold Stassen, who was now Battle Act Administrator, admitted that while much had been done by the free nations, much more needed to be done. "Much more will be done under President Eisenhower's new administration," he pledged. He announced a seven-point program to tighten East-West trade controls under the Battle Act as follows:

1. Special moves against what I call the "triple C men." These are the "capitalist-Communist-collaborators," who operate beyond the law, and, in a greedy drive for profits, carry on an underground trade sending strategic materials into the Communist area.

2. Peaceable but effective measures to stop the sly movement of ships carrying strategic materials on a transshipment basis from the West to the Communist area. Special attention will be given to ships originally built and owned by the United States and later sold to foreign nationals or registered under foreign flags.

3. Cooperation with the appropriate investigating committees of the Congress to develop the facts and devise any remedies necessary.

4. Study and consultation with the Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs Committees of any further legislative measures needed to carry out more effectively the intent of the Battle Act.

5. Appropriate participation in the negotiations conducted by the Department of State with other free nations for the more effective control of strategic materials and of shipping.

6. Coordination with the Department of State, Treasury, Defense, Commerce and other departments and agencies in a combined program of pertinent administrative action.

7. Appointment of Gen. William J. Donovan as special consultant in East-West trade control.

It is well to note at this point that, among the terms of the Battle Act, one provided that it "shall be administered in such a way as to bring about the fullest support for any resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations, supported by the United States, to prevent the shipment of certain commodities to areas under the control of governments engaged in hostilities in defiance of the United Nations."

One of the most reasonable and sympathetic reactions to Stassen's program in Europe came from the Economist of London. It said that America's allies could scarcely object to a concerted effort against illegal trade. Such trade had increased exactly because Western controls had proven effective. Red agents had no other way to obtain the items the Communists needed so badly—machine tools, copper, ball bearings, etc. Some estimates had fixed the amount of illegal trade at twice the amount of legal East-West trade in such border nations as West Germany and Austria. "So far Mr. Stassen appears to aim no further than halting the shipment of strategic goods to China in non-Western ships, presumably by denying them bunker facilities. But the logic of the American position may well lead to requests for a ban on the charter of all Western vessels to the Communist bloc, a step that the European maritime powers would most certainly resist as an infringement of the traditional freedom for merchant navys.

The Economist took note of the fact that the notion of a naval blockade had been abandoned not only because it might spread the Korean war, but also because it was not believed that it would decisively upset the Chinese economy. Asking the free nations to stop all trade with China would scarcely increase the risk of expanding the war, but the balance of advantage would not remain with them. "Hong Kong would become a starving pauper and a deadweight on the back of Britain and its allies. Japan, Pakistan and other Asian countries would either require substantial economic aid to make up for their losses, or would refuse to apply the ban, thereby destroying the precarious unity on which the present U.N. embargo is founded. Nonmembers of UNO and countries independent of American aid, such as Ceylon and Finland, would be no more inhibited in their dealing with Peiping than they are now. The Chinese, for their part, would not find their firepower on the Korean front diminished by lack of Japanese edible seaweed or British fertilizers."

Stassen candidly conceded that the United States was not pressing other governments to cut off their nonstrategic trade with China, only their strategic trade. He said that business with China could be advantageous to the free world, and that even the United States had imported strategic materials from China in 1952. As for the "sly movement of ships" mentioned in the second part of his program, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden stated at the close of talks with Secretary of State John Foster Dulles (on March 7, 1953) that the United Kingdom had embarked on a new system of licensing British-flag ships so that they could not transport strategic goods from non-British areas to Red China. Eden added that Britain would take additional measures to insure that no ships of any nationality carrying strategic items to China could be bunkered in a British port. Britain and the United States agreed to coordinate their efforts to secure the cooperation of other countries in these measures. The new British licensing became effective on March 31. Concerning these and other controls, a foreign office spokesman assured the House of Commons on June 17 that "So long as the United Nations resolution of May 18, 1951, is in force, we shall continue these policies." But as we have seen and will see again, these restrictions were no longer to operate through the U.N. itself. These licensing and bunkering controls soon spread to other nations. At the end of Franco-American talks on March 28, the two governments announced that France would institute similar restrictions. Within a few months other countries adopted or said they would soon adopt such policies. The countries included Canada, Japan, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Norway, and Denmark. On March 17 Greece had prohibited all Greek-flag vessels from calling at Red Chinese ports.

Meanwhile, the United States had taken measures to improve its own controls. The Mutual Security Agency changed its charter requirements on February 20 to prevent foreign-flag ships from stopping at Communist ports within 60 days after taking MSA shipments to Formosa. Other U.S. agencies followed suit, so that foreign ships chartered by the United States for transporting any civilian bulk cargoes to Formosa and other areas were warned that, if they stopped at any Red Far Eastern ports within 60 days after unloading the cargoes, they would forfeit part of their charter costs. On June 7 the Commerce Department tightened its restrictions over supplying of fuel or provisions to foreign ships or airplanes destined to visit Red China. The United States had already taken all its ships away from the China trade in December 1950 and similar steps had been taken subsequently by Panama, Honduras, Costa Rica, and Liberia.

The Korean armistice was signed on July 27, 1953. About 2 weeks before its signing the British, French and American foreign ministers closed their talks in Washington with a communique containing this statement: "They considered that, in existing circumstances and pending further consultations, the common policies of the three powers toward Communist China should be maintained." Stassen's Battle Act report to Congress explained that as far as trade was concerned, this meant that a Korean truce would not automatically remove their embargo on strategic materials to Red China. "The United Nations resolution of May 18, 1951, did not go out of existence when the truce was signed." This could only mean that if the Additional Measures Committee of the U.N. General Assembly passed into oblivion (and it did for the statesmen—though not for the historians), its embargo policies would continue, with the U.S. urging their observance on increasingly reluctant countries, including America's allies.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower discussed trade and blockade matters at a meeting of his White House staff on March 2, 1953. Concerning Senator William F. Knowland's approval (February 7) of a naval blockade of China, the President rejected it as long as there was a chance of an armistice in Korea. He viewed it not only as a belligerent act, but a futile one. The attempt to cut off all free world trade with Red China by means of a blackade was naive, he said, for this would hurt the free world and force China to depend more urgently on Russia for the goods it needed. This would have the

unfortunate effect of fortifying Sino-Soviet ties while weakening the economies of the free nations which had trade relations with China. Eisenhower saw mutual advantages in East-West trade. Whenever trade in nonstrategic items offered a net advantage to the West, it should be encouraged as a means of extending Western influence across Eastern borders. Morever, he was not certain that American interests were best served by continued nonrecognition of Red China, since he had grave doubts whether China and Russia were natural allies.

Many Congressmen and ordinary citizens saw little or no difference between strategic and nonstrategic materials where the Sino-Soviet bloc was concerned. "Some Americans have fallen into this error," Stassen's Battle Act report stated. "They think the United States and its allies should be following World War II policies of all-out economic warfare—that is, embargo everything and enforce the embargo with military blockades." But Western Europe needed foreign trade more urgently than did the United States. Thus, while it was evident that the Sino-Soviet camp did not hesitate to resort to economic warfare to win the cold war, the West deemed it more profitable to rely less on economic offense and more on economic defense.

The strategic materials fallacy has been explained by one authority as springing from the pretotal-war period of history, when one could differentiate between military needs and civilian needs. In World War I Britain explained its curbing of Germany's food imports thus: since German food rationing for civilians was adapted to military necessity, it was impossible to distinguish military from civilian needs. World War I, however, was a shooting war. Nevertheless, this authority continued, the United States, in the face of an imminent threat from the Sino-Soviet bloc, should have erected a preponderant power position over it and cause its "economic disintegration" by "(1) the imposition of a complete direct export embargo against the Soviet bloc, (2) the setting up of a uniform reexport embargo net in all other countries, and (3) the diversion of non-American exports away from the Soviet bloc." There was to have been no exception made for supposedly nonstrategic materials.

This would have done away with the practice adopted under the United Nations embargo against Red China of allowing each country to decide for itself what commodities to ban and what other measures to take. The United States should have continued to press for improving international trade, including reduction of its own tariff barriers. This policy, however, should have been restricted to countries that had applied full export curbs against the Communist camp. The activities of Red commercial agents in non-Communist nations ought to have been checked. To the objection that these measures might have provoked war, the answer was that if one approved of military readiness to deter aggression, one could not reasonably object to auxiliary measures to bolster national power.

One alternative to all-out economic warfare, designed to insure that East-West trade relations would not be to the detriment of the West, was offered by another authority thus: Equitable trade with the East would be possible only provided all western individual traders and all free nations of the world desirous of exchanging goods with the Reds were to combine. They would have to present a common front, under a centralized command, with a bureau of consolidated statistics, vis-a-vis the Soviet and satellite state purchasing commissions and sales monopolies which operate strictly on the basis of Moscow-drafted requirement lists and merchandising directives." Needless to say, the establishment of such a coordinated command would have rendered the comparatively amorphous United Nations embargo operations much more effective than they were. This is not to deny that, despite numerous defects, United Nations sanctions were keenly felt by Peiping and indirectly by Moscow.

Miss America 1966

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday evening in Atlantic City the judges of the Miss America Beauty Pageant chose Miss Doborah Bryant of Overland Park, Kans., as represetative of the finest of American womanhood and selected her to serve as Miss America of 1966.

I would like to express, here on the floor of the House in our Nation's Capitol, the pride of all the people in Kansas. We are glad to have such a charming and talented young lady representing Kansas and the Nation. We wish Miss Bryant the best of everything both during and after her reign as Miss America of 1966.

At this point in the RECORD I would like to insert the Kansas City Star story of Sunday, September 12, describing Miss Bryant's selection:

After years of watching other cities' beauties accept the tiara of Miss America, Kansas City television watchers and amateur beauty judges got a chance to celebrate.

The long anticipated celebration was provided by a 19-year-old brunette from Overland Park named Deborah Bryant.

FIRST FOR STATE

The daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Hurley D. Bryant, 4911 West 103d Street, she is the first Miss Kansas in the history of the pageant to become Miss America.

When Bert Parks, the master of ceremonies at Atlantic City, N.J., announced that Miss Bryant had been selected from the five finalists, she embraced the runner-up, Miss Mississippi, and put her hand to her cheek in disbelief.

As she accepted her crown and badge from Parks, Miss Bryant stood in happy disbelief with her mouth open. Parks asked if she were coherent at all.

"No," was her answer.

Although she did not break into tears, Miss Bryant told Parks, "I remind myself of Vonda Kay (Vonda Kay Van Dyke, last year's Miss America). She sniffled last year."

Her mother joined her on the stage moments after the announcement had been made. When it was announced that her father was in Vietnam as a civilian engineer with the Air Force, the audience applauded.

FRIENDS, NOT SUBJECTS

When Parks asked her if she had anything to say to her subjects, Miss Bryant answered: "Oh, they're not my subjects. They're my friends."

She is the second local girl to receive a national beauty crown in the last 2 years. Miss Bobbi Johnson, who was raised in Raytown, was selected Miss U.S.A. last year.

Although Debbie is new to the television sets of many Kansas Citians, she is not new to their publications.

She began modeling while a student at Shawnee-Mission East High School to finance a college education. She was graduated last spring from Christian college in Columbia, Mo., and plans to attend the University of Kansas.

TO STUDY PEDIATRICS

She hopes to study pediatrics at the Kansas University school of medicine eventually. The $10,000 scholarship she will receive as Miss America should help finance her education.

As a model, she has appeared in several national magazine advertisements and numerous area publications. She was trained by the Patricia Stevens agency.

Her first beauty contest win was the Miss Teen Kansas City contest in 1961. She was a finalist in the Miss Teen-Age America contest.

The next year she won the Miss Teen, U.S.A. contest. She has also been Miss Easter Parade. Miss Crown and Miss KMBC in Kansas City.

She was a runner-up in the Miss Teen-age America contest in 1963; a finalist in the Miss U.S.A. contest the same year, and the winner of the best dressed girl at Christian college in 1964, as selected by Glamour magazine.

She has held a $5,000 trustee scholarship to Christian college. She is a member of Delta Eta Chi, science honorary sorority, and Sigma Phi Gamma, language honorary society.

She is a member of the Mademoiselle magazine college board.

In her time away from modeling, studying and accepting honors, Debbie writes fiction, swims and water skis.

Equal Opportunity for Americans of Mexican Descent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, on June 1, of this year, approximately 150 Americans of Mexican descent came to Washington, at their own expense, to be briefed by members of the Cabinet, as well as by various department and bureau heads.

Every administration speaker, upon questioning, admitted that the vast resources of the Spanish-speaking people were not being fully utilized by our Government. They promised to do better in the near future.

The Mexican-American group argued that legislation such as the Civil Rights Act and the war on poverty was designed to combat inequality wherever it existed. In fact all laws, they maintained, are passed by Congress to be applied equally to all Americans.

This same group which left the Capital full of hope and confidence now points to the fact that no improvement has been made and the Spanish-speaking community continues to be ignored by almost all departments of the Federal Government.

While we compliment the progress that is being made in making available employment for Negro Americans, we cannot help but point to the obvious lack of Latin American personnel in those same offices, bureaus, and departments.

We are pleased with the creation of an Equal Employment Opportunities Commission with two Negro members, but we view with great disappointment the inequality of establishing the Commission's structure without any representation from the Spanish-speaking community of the United States. This despite the fact that Spanish-speaking Americans face the same economic problems, and have suffered the ravages of discrimination in housing, education, and employment for generations.

Even in the allocation of antipoverty projects sponsored by the new Economic Opportunity program, there is substantial evidence of discrimination against the Spanish-speaking community.

For instance, in Los Angeles County where the Mexican-American is the largest minority group, approximately three-fourths of the antipoverty funds are being spent in the Negro community, and the Mexican-American community and other minorities are getting only token attention.

According to the latest available statistics, the Office of Economic Opportunity employed 227 Negroes while only 8 Mexican-Americans had been employed up to that time. It is my understanding that the same proportion exists today.

It is to the credit of top officials of the Federal Government that they are making a sincere and highly commendable effort to go out in a positive way and actively recruit qualified Negro-Americans. The Mexican-American and other minority groups also want to be considered in the imaginative new programs of the Great Society in an impartial manner that will help relieve the burdens of all disadvantaged Americans regardless of ethnic background.

Mr. Speaker, as one of the legislative sponsors of President Johnson's war on poverty, as a strong supporter of full civil rights and equal employment opportunities for all, I have a deep concern that poverty should be fought without favoritism, that civil rights not be denied to a single person and that equal employment opportunities be within the reach of all Americans.

But, I am equally concerned, if not much more, with the growing feeling of rejection on the part of the Spanish-speaking community, especially in the Los Angeles area. They feel left out, ignored and forgotten.

As they witness the establishment of crash programs for redevelopment, housing, job training, special education and employment, all oriented toward reform in the Negro riot areas, an explosive situation is developing in the Mexican-American community. Some are asking: "Must we riot before we can get equal treatment?"

The answer is a resounding "No." We must not riot. What we must do, however, is intensify, with great dignity and in a forceful way, our efforts to make it known to the President of the United States and the Members of Congress that all we ask in that the Anti-Poverty Act, the Civil Rights Act, and all other laws passed by Congress be applied equally to all Americans regardless of race, color, or creed.

Mr. Speaker, it is my hope that all officials of our Federal Government review their employment policies specifically to be sure that recruitment policies are equally applied.

The direction that programs of the Great Society are taking must be carefully examined to be sure that the riot priority philosophy does not prevail as a substitute for need.

And we must also make sure that no group of Americans is made to feel unwanted by the denial of equal treatment, but instead is made to understand by our actions and not merely words that they are an important part of America, of its future, and of President Johnson's Great Society in which all Americans have such a vital stake.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

We Mass-Produce Almost Everything in This Country—Except Character

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, a number of people have called to my attention a Warner & Swasey advertisement which has appeared in U.S. News & World Report and News Week magazines expressing, in my opinion some thoughts and ideals worthy of careful consideration by Americans today.

I ask unanimous consent that this advertisement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the advertisement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WE MASS-PRODUCE ALMOST EVERYTHING IN THIS COUNTRY—EXCEPT CHARACTER

It used to be that when you wanted something, you worked to earn it. Now you stage a riot to get it given to you at someone else's expense.

If your father or grandfather lost his job, he took whatever work he could get, and he went (probably walked miles) to where there was work—any honest work—being done. Now hordes of relief clients refuse a job unless it is to their liking, and they demand the job be brought to them in their community.

This Nation was built by immigrants (beginning in the 1600's and earlier) who struggled here for opportunity, and would have scorned the false idea of something for nothing. Now it seems to be an almost universal (and all-too-often the only) ambition.

It used to take a lifetime of gruelling work and scrimping for a family or a country to earn a little surplus, a taste of security. Now mobs of stupid students and whole emerging nations demand they be given it, out of your earnings and with no effort on their part.

Minority groups all over the earth seem to think the world owes them everything they want. So vicious destructiveness makes necessary higher taxes to pay for more police to protect decent citizens; higher taxes for playgrounds and parks which hoodlums promptly make unsafe; higher taxes for schooling for gangs who don't seem to want or are unable to be educated. The minority groups whose rights no one seems to consider are the taxpayers and decent citizens—who may have been pampering evil too long.

Where Does the Guilt for Watts Lie?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, it never ceases to amaze me how many of our country's impractical or uninformed liberals always try to transfer guilt from specific criminals to society. "We are all to blame" they shout as they picket, parade and protest. This is not true, and its repetition is a disservice to our youth.

Mr. James J. Kilpatrick has written a lucid article on the problem entitled "Where Does the Guilt for Watts Lie?" Under unanimous consent, I include it in the Appendix of the RECORD.

[From the Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times, Aug. 19, 1965]

A CONSERVATIVE VIEW: WHERE DOES THE GUILT FOR WATTS LIE?

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

All week long, the leading bleeding hearts of the Great Society have been wetting down the ashes of Los Angeles with tears for the poor oppressed. We have been fairly awash in tales of Watts, the palm-lined ghetto, with its unemployment, its crime, its incomes below $4,000.

"The guilt lies on us all," said one lugubrious professor, gazing sadly into the camera. And he began to talk of frustrations that just had to find catharsis.

Twaddle. The guilt for this criminal anarchy in Los Angeles is direct, immediate, and personal, as guilt must always be if the first essentials of our law still count for anything.

And if guilt is to be extended in some sort of metaphysical conjecture, then let the guilt lie squarely upon such philosophers as Martin Luther King and Lyndon Johnson.

What did the Negro apologists of our time expect? How could they have been surprised by these events? Have they never heard of the harvest that is reaped by men who sow the wind?

For the past 5 years or more, Dr. King has been going up and down the country, preaching his own brand of ever-loving anarchy. His is the gospel that tells his simple-minded people to violate the laws they feel in their hearts to be wrong. What is the guilt that lies today on Martin Luther King?

Dr. King is not alone.

Over this same period, we have seen the White House itself and our Central Government as a whole contribute to a cynical disrespect for old institutions. The Constitution, once regarded as the supreme law of the land, has been progressively reduced to the merest scrap of paper.

This Republic was founded in part, at least, upon respect for the ancient rights of private property; this was the oldest "human right" of them all, but Congress and the courts have let it erode away. Is it any wonder that the Los Angeles insurrectionists put private property to the torch?

Over the past 10 years, the American Negro has been singled out for a fulsome solicitude that has done him a terrible disservice. Through every conceivable device of law and politics, the Negro has been artifically puffed up, protected, pampered, wrapped in swaddling clothes, and excessively admired. He has been the particular object of public housing, poverty programs, job preferment, and aid for his illegitimate offspring.

In the sanctified name of "civil rights," he has been excused for criminal conduct that in any other set of facts would have drawn 30 days on the roads. The Supreme Court of the United States, casting precedent to the winds, pardons hundreds of trespassers, disturbers of the peace, and violators of the rights of other men—pardons them with a wave of judicial wands. What guilt lies on the Supreme Court of the United States?

It is high time in this country to cut through the fatty sentimentality, the phony guilt, the couch-ridden recriminations. If rhetorical questions are to be asked, should we not inquire if the status of the Negro, a century after emancipation, is entirely the fault of white society? Entirely? Or is a large part of this squarely the fault of the Negro people themselves?

It is said that the Negro has been kept down by the devices of segregation, and doubtless there is truth in this. But the whole of the proposition never is examined. Were all Negroes kept down? Or were many Negroes too lazy to get up?

Say what you will about the South (it is not the South where whole cities go up in the flames of insurrection), the American Negro has had two generations of reasonable opportunity in the unsegregated North and West.

How has he developed the opportunities put before him? In squalor, in apathy, in crime, in cadging off the welfare, in dropping out of integrated schools, in breeding swarms of children out of wedlock. This is the sorry record. And now, in Los Angeles, we witness barbarian hordes.

What is the remedy? It is to treat the Negro like a white man. God knows his race has done little enough to deserve a fate so difficult and demanding. This is to expect of the Negro, first of all, work; and then self-restraint; obedience to law; respect for authority; creative imagination; right conduct. It is to expect of him some capacity for leadership, some positive contribution to the communities he lives in, some sense of common decency in the maintenance of neighborhoods. This is the white man's world—a world that earns its way, accepts responsibility, knows failure, knows success, and

does not search for somewhere else to lay a personal blame.

Plenty of Negroes have shown they understand these elementary obligations. Especially in the South, a Negro middle class is rising, buying property, entering public life, setting a fine example of civic responsibility. Elsewhere in the country, examples multiply of individual excellence.

If only the do-gooders will stop expecting too much of the Negro too soon. If only they will learn that pampering and special privilege and legislative crutches cannot do the job. If only they will understand that the character of a backward people cannot be tempered in Molotov cocktails.

Respect for law, respect for property, respect for the rights of others—these have to come first. And these must be enforced by the courts and by the suddenly stiffened demands of a fed-up society. The guilt for these outrages lies upon individual arsonists, hoodlums, vandals, thieves. Try them. And then turn to the political and intellectual leaders who need forgiveness more: They know not what they do.

State Losing Power to Federal Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN N. ERLENBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, the price at stake in combining the creation of a Cabinet Department of Housing and Urban Development with the denial of home rule to the States was clearly spelled out in an editorial appearing in the Joliet Herald-News on August 31.

I ask that my colleagues read and consider this editorial, for it is not too late to join Senator DIRKSEN in his battle to return to the States their right to determine the basis on which their assemblies may be apportioned:

STATES LOSING POWER TO FEDERAL GOVERNMENT—QUESTIONS OF SOVEREIGNTY

The defeat in the Senate of the reapportionment measure and the proposal to create a new Cabinet post on urban affairs emphasizes the historic constitutional change that is taking place in the United States.

Political power has fled the States and now is being centralized in Washington to create a federal system of government.

You can search for the answers as to why it has happened, and there are those who insist that it had to come about because of the advance of technology, transportation, and communication, but certainly it was speeded by the approach of one-party government.

Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, has not surrendered in his attempt to reverse the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision, and he lost in the Senate only by a narrow margin. He is suggesting compromises which still will allow the States some voice in deciding how they want to apportion one branch of their legislature.

"Take it to the people," is all that Senator DIRKSEN asks. In this day that begins to sound like a voice out of the 18th century. That's what the radical-liberals have been telling Republicans, that the trouble with them is that they want to return the country to the republican form of government.

Support for Senator DIRKSEN's efforts came from Governors. The mayors mostly were against him. It is in the cities, with their large voting blocs, that national political power is to be built or maintained and, in turn, the Democrat administration has offered a Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development to make cities partners in the Federal distribution of money and authority.

State lines vanish as a Federal system grows with all power centered on Washington.

This trend, of course, was the fundamental issue behind the last presidential campaign—and it was kept very far behind. Walter Lippmann, the liberal columnist, insisted that while Barry Goldwater had raised fundamental questions that must be answered, an election campaign was not the time to do it. And despite all that responsible Republicans could do, the issues weren't debated.

Thus the American people were in effect disfranchised.

It was made to appear as if they had only one choice, that only a party in power is their friend and protector.

The administration is now paying the bill for political power to the voting blocs and to the cities with money it takes from all the taxpayers. One more major defeat for the Republican Party might mean that a party in power cannot be turned out except in some violent political upheaval.

For that the people will pay the high price of freedom.

Survivorship Benefits for Servicemen—VII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in further reference to benefits to servicemen who die from service-connected causes, I want to cite as an example today a captain with 7 years of service and who leaves dependent parents, each parent being age 50.

SURVIVORSHIP BENEFITS FOR SERVICEMEN DYING FROM SERVICE-CONNECTED CAUSES

ASSUMPTIONS

1. Captain U.S. Army;
2. Age 25 at death;
3. Death was service connected;
4. Seven years' service at death;
5. Three years in grade at death;
6. Base pay at death was $558.60 a month (assumed average monthly wage $400);
7. Left dependent parents, each age 50 (no income other than shown);
8. Left no widow or child;
9. Parents live out their expectations of life (mother, 27.7 years; father, 23 years).

Benefits

Payee	Paying agency	Type of payment	Payment period (months)	Payment rate	Benefits		
					VA	HEW	Total
Father	VA	Disability insurance compensation.	[1] 144	$55.00	$7,920		
			132	[2] 0			
	VA	Social security (38 U.S.C. 412(a))	[3] 132	102.00		$13,464	
Total					7,920	13,464	21,384
Mother	VA	Disability insurance compensation.	[1] 144	55.00	7,920		
			132	[2] 0			
			[4] 56	33.00	1,848		
	VA	Social security (38 U.S.C. 412(a))	[3] 132	102.00		13,464	
			[4] 56	112.20		6,283	
Total					9,768	19,747	29,515
Grand total					17,688	33,210	50,899

[1] As 1 of 2 parents to age 62.
[2] Disability insurance compensation terminated because combined social security of both parents, which is income, exceeds $2,400 a year permitted maximum.
[3] Social security as 1 of 2 parents from age 62.
[4] Rate of payment as sole surviving parent.

Humphrey: Energetic Backstop

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, in HUBERT HUMPHREY, we have a Vice President who works harder and longer at more jobs than has any Vice President in modern times.

As we all know, the duties of this office are to a great extent determined by the degree of trust placed in the Vice President by the President himself. It is obvious that President Johnson has the utmost confidence in HUBERT HUMPHREY.

Vice President HUMPHREY's duties include among others: presiding as President of the Senate and chairman of the Space Committee, conferring with the President, keeping abreast of all the highly classified documents, working with members of the cabinet, and sitting in with the National Security Council. While performing these duties, he still finds time for numerous other activities. Just one example would be the assistance this tireless man gives Congressmen in holding community development conferences such as the one I myself held in early August.

Recently I read an absorbing article in the Christian Science Monitor about this very unique man. I would like to share it with my colleagues. The article follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 7, 1965]

HUMPHREY: ENERGETIC BACKSTOP

(By Godfrey Sperling, Jr.)

WASHINGTON.—To be close to the Vice President for just an hour or two is enough to discover that this amazingly energetic man has in no way lost the spring in his step.

A position that constrained and frustrated many a predecessor has found more than a match in Mr. HUMPHREY.

"Completely satisfying, completely satisfying," he was describing his new life to this reporter, while, almost at the same time, he was showing us how a Vice President, too, can be an effective force in helping the administration push legislation along.

The phone was buzzing. Mr. HUMPHREY was talking to Congressmen, using all of his well-known persuasive powers to get enough petition signatures to wrest the Washington home-rule bill out of committee.

SIGNATURE ACQUIRED

"My role is a backstop one," he told us, "when it comes to getting votes for legislation. The leaders in both houses and Larry O'Brien carry the ball on this. But once in a while they call on me."

Out in the reception room, before we were ushered into the Humphrey office, the tide of legislative battle had been apparent.

Said one secretary, after Mr. HUMPHREY had hung up from a call: "The Vice President is really tickled. He got that Congressman to agree to sign."

Said another: "Yes, and this is one who had already said 'No' to the Speaker, the Majority Leader and, just a few minutes ago, to the President himself."

Said another: "I bet the Vice President will be kidding the President about this one."

Now in with Mr. HUMPHREY, we asked: What of the pending legislation? Would the Vice President make an assessment of those administration bills that were encountering difficulty? Quickly, Mr. HUMPHREY gave these answers, indicating first that he is keeping in the closest touch with Members of both houses. He knows where all the votes are—or where they are buried:

"Agriculture—We will come out of this with a fairly good program. There will be a good feed-grain program, reducing the feed-grain surplus. There will be a good wheat program. The main argument is about cotton. We want one-price cotton. This one is most difficult. But we will come out all right."

THE VOTES ARE HERE

"Immigration—We have got this one. The long struggle to get rid of the national-origins limitations now is over. When the legislation has passed you will find that the President has gotten the basic elements of his bill."

"Repeal of 14(b) of Taft-Hartley—it is a difficult one, but the votes are here."

"Home rule for Washington, D.C.—You can see that we are going to get this discharge petition through. And, out of the district committee, we have the votes to win this one."

His evaluation of the legislative session? "In all my experience," Mr. HUMPHREY said, "this has been the most productive." Further, he said it was a session that had been marked with the "least amount of bitterness" of any he had known.

DEALINGS WITH CONGRESS

He said that the Democratic leadership of MIKE MANSFIELD, JOHN MCCORMACK, and CARL ALBERT had been important in this legislative achievement. But he also credited "EV DIRKSEN and TOMMY KUCHEL" as GOP Senators who played important roles. "They naturally took different positions and led partisan battles," he said. "But, at no time were they ever obstructionists.

"But it really was the climate established by the President," he said. "The favorable climate for this legislation: this was all-important.

"We couldn't have gotten it all through had not the President made it possible, through his dealings with various elements in our society, through his dealings with Members of Congress."

Here Mr. HUMPHREY said that he would like to challenge those who describe the President as one who leans on those he would like to do his bidding, who twists arms to get people to agree to his wishes.

"I've known him a long time," said Mr. HUMPHREY, "and I've never seen this.

"Actually the President pats people on the back when they do a good job. He doesn't use the 'You-must-do-this' approach.

A MAN OF DETAIL

"He knows that you can't tell a Senator he must do something or other.

"The President," he said, "is a man of meticulous detail when it comes to legislation. He knows every bill and what is going on.

"The President spends hundreds of hours in building a friendly environment for legislation.

"Take medicare. The President spent hundreds of hours with leaders in Congress. He eased their apprehensions. Now, after the bill was passed, he is working to ease the apprehensions of the American Medical Association."

CLIMATE STRESSED

Further, he said, the President has a keen sense of anticipating where opposition might develop—and he moves in quickly, but in a quiet, friendly way, to prevent this from happening.

He said that the President had done this with the business community on certain legislation.

"It doesn't take much for us to lose our majority in the Senate," Mr. HUMPHREY said. Here he praised Senator MANSFIELD's skill in keeping this a working majority. But he again talked of the importance of the friendly climate maintained by the President within Congress, on both sides of the aisle.

Of his own busy days, the Vice President said: "I don't think my staff in the White House has any idea what goes on over here in the Capitol—how many people I see, how much I have to do.

"Every day I see from 10 to 50 Members of Congress. Just yesterday I kept count and I saw 38 Members of Congress."

He said this was all on top of conferring with the President, keeping abreast of all the highly classified documents, working with members of the Cabinet, presiding in the Senate, being chairman of the Space Committee, and sitting in with the National Security Council. And seeing visitors.

I REALLY MEAN IT

"I like being Vice President," he said. "People will say, 'You talk this way'—but I really mean it. I enjoy my work. There is an extra pleasure in conferring with Members of Congress and being with the President."

What of the next legislative session?

"I feel that next year we must refine and improve the legislation we have just passed—wherever this is needed. Also we need to tool up the Government—the executive branch—to carry out the assignments of these new programs.

"We need good people, many more good people, to carry out these assignments.

"We must have better management.

"These programs will cost a lot more money—yet they cannot go beyond a certain point. The President is hot as a pistol on this, on holding down the spending."

We Need a No. 2 President To Analyze the Programs of the No. 1 President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, it is time that Congress took a sabbatical leave to catch its breath and reflect on some of its decisions of the last 8 months. I realize that President Johnson wants to take advantage of his unusually large 2-to-1 majorities in both branches of Congress and cram through as many items of his Great Society program as possible.

Eric Sevareid, the columnist, even speculates on the need of two Presidents—one to weigh the accomplishments of the other. Mr. Sevareid's interesting observations appeared under the heading "Time for a Pause To Reflect" and follows:

TIME FOR A PAUSE TO REFLECT

(By Eric Sevareid)

The American political capital is in dire need of the pause that reflects, even if it does not refresh. That is the immediate impression of this itinerant writer, now returned to the banks of the Potomac.

There is a breathlessness about people here, in and around Government, and I do not mean a sense of excitement; I mean that they are out of breath. This is not the dog days syndrome we used to know in Washington, not the tag-end-of-summer letdown and lethargy. This time, people are intellectually exhausted, but don't know it. They are not allowed to feel it, because events and the President won't let them. Even God rested on the seventh day, and since it would be presumptuous to think that He got tired, one has to assume. He paused to reflect on what He had done.

For the first time this reporter begins to see the need for a No. 2 President. The No. 1 President can think up the new legislation, get it passed and announce his victories as each act of Congress crosses the final tape.

The No. 2 President would be assigned to think about the whole as well as about the parts. He would consider medicare, the elementary and higher education bills, the war on poverty, the role of the new Cabinet Department of Housing and Urban Affairs, District of Columbia home rule, immigration, the various special appropriations for defense, the space race, the expanding Vietnam war. He would analyze all this and then tell us which programs may work, which may not, where the staffs are coming from and their quality, what the costs are likely to be and how they are to be met, and in general what the United States will look and feel like 5 and 10 years from now after this prodigious mass of laws and regulations and money has been fed into the main arteries of the American society.

We know a number of Congressmen who would be very grateful to learn what they have really done this year and at least one columnist who would kiss the boots of No. 2 in weeping relief.

One reason this returned traveler thinks that even bright people here are intellectually stunned and glassy eyed is the simple fact that they don't talk around the dinner table about these Herculean acts of legislation.

Not in any detail, not eagerly and earnestly. They just marvel at the size of the total heap.

Adlai Stevenson once recalled how it was in the New Deal days, to which this last year is often compared. He said people sat around Georgetown gardens with "our visions and our dreams * * * in those days we were interested in ideas. Now it's all so much personality talk, gossip, and rumor—who's up and who's down."

It seems to me it's still that way; people are astonished at the accomplishments, but few are exhilarated; they would rather talk about who's up and who's down.

And about who's been naughty and who's been nice, among the survivors of the Kennedy White House. I'm afraid that John F. Kennedy is paying a high posthumous price for surrounding himself with aids with the intellectual's double vision, men who by nature not only see what is happening but who simultaneously see it in future print, the actions, the remarks, the expressions, the nuances. There was always an overtone of self-consciousness in the court over which that wonderful young President presided, a curious atmosphere combining the theater, cafe society, and Harvard Yard. They were able public servants but thew were also instinctive dramatists.

It was a relief to be away from Washington during the height of the dreadful quarreling about the new Kennedy books and their authors. No one has come out of it well, not even President Kennedy himself; a race to cash in on a legend can only injure the legend as well as the racers.

Is it illusion to think that there was once a dignity, a sense of self-restraint about men's relationships at the inner headquarters of the American state? Possibly so—certainly these messy things have happened before in our history. But one thinks of Dean Acheson's delicately restrained memoirs, now being published, and his sense of half-guilt at even making notes of his private conversations with Justice Holmes. One thinks of General Marshall who refused to publish any recollections that might affect any living man.

These men left high office declining to take with them any files save, I assume, those of an unofficial and personal nature. All the rest, they felt, were the property of the Government and the taxpayers they served.

Theodore Sorenson, so the press reports, left the White House with copies of Gen. Maxwell Taylor's confidential reports to Kennedy, with copies of Khrushchev-Kennedy correspondence that was never published, and used these files for his book. Perhaps this is legal, but is it proper? Somehow, the whole issue must be clarified and a standard set—something else this capital might reflect upon if it is ever given a pause for reflection.

Survivorship Benefits for Servicemen—VIII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, for several days now I have offered for the information of my colleagues, examples of benefits to servicemen dying from service-connected causes in Vietnam and elsewhere. I want to offer the example today of a captain who has served 7 years at the time of his death and who leaves a widow, age 27, and two children, ages 1 and 3:

SURVIVORSHIP BENEFITS FOR SERVICEMEN DYING FROM SERVICE-CONNECTED CAUSES

ASSUMPTIONS

1. Captain, U.S. Army;
2. Age 25 at death;
3. Death was service connected;
4. Seven years' service at death;
5. Three years in grade at death;
6. Average earnings $558.60 a month (base pay);
7. Left a widow, age 25, and two children, ages 1 and 3;
8. Widow lives out her expectation of life (50.8 years);
9. Children receive maximum number of payments;
10. Widow does not remarry.

Benefits

Payee	Paying agency	Type of payment	Payment period (months)	Payment rate	Total payments
Widow	HEW	Social security	[1] 204	$102.00	$20,808
2d child	HEW	do	[2] 252	102.00	25,704
1st child	HEW	do	[3] 228	102.00	23,256
Widow	VA	Social security (38 U.S.C. 412(a))	[4] 165	112.20	18,513
Do	VA	Disability insurance compensation	609	188.00	114,492
2d child	VA	WOEA	36	110.00	3,960
1st child	VA	WOEA	36	110.00	3,960
Total					210,693

[1] Until youngest child reaches age 18.
[2] 204 months to age 18 plus 48 months in full-time training.
[3] 180 months to age 18 plus 48 months in full-time training.
[4] Beginning at age 62.

Operation Head Start and Teaching Jobs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EARLE CABELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, two subjects of great interest to the Nation as well as to my community have been dealt with recently by the editor of the Dallas Times Herald.

It is a pleasure for me to submit these fine editorials for the RECORD in order that all may have the benefit of their wisdom:

[From the Dallas Times Herald, Aug. 31, 1965]

A CHILD'S START

Operation Head Start has generally been the best accepted and most effective of the war on poverty programs and its quick success has apparently given it well deserved new life.

Congress has yet to vote the funds to make Operation Head Start a year-round project, but the lawmakers are expected to do so before they adjourn. Head Start officials are already working with plans involving continued operation.

Preschoolers are innocent victims of poverty. The Head Start program, which included around 600,000 children this summer, is designed to put the children of poverty on a more equal footing with other children as they start school—and, in a sense, life. Experts agree this is the best way, perhaps the only way, to break the cycle of generation after generation living in hopeless poverty. We can make a more real contribution in the fight on poverty by making sure the children have a chance, a real chance, to escape than by any other means.

[From the Dallas Times Herald, Sept. 5, 1965]

TEACHING JOBS

Desegregation of schools has not brought about widespread unemployment of Negro schoolteachers as was feared—that is, not yet.

Almost all of the Negro teachers displaced by integration within Texas school districts have found employment, although many have had to relocate to find new school jobs, some even having to leave the State. Many staying in Texas have found jobs in school districts, such as Houston and Dallas, which still operate extensive dual school systems. This is all to come to an end, of course, by 1967, and that is when many Negro teachers will face the greatest possibility of unemployment.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 requires that faculties as well as student bodies be integrated. This will mean many Negro teachers will have the chance to be retained in their present school districts. Teaching jobs should be based on qualification, as is now required by law, not race. The unemployment problem should be among the less-qualified teachers—not among a minority group.

The Real Alabama—Part LVII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the foundation stone for the future of any State, or any nation, is the education of its young people. In Alabama we are making a major effort, not simply for adequate education standards, but for true excellence in all fields of education.

I include in my remarks an article highlighting this State effort. It appears in a supplement of the Birmingham News dated August 22, 1965.

IN THE PURSUIT OF EXCELLENCE

Dynamic Frank Anthony Rose, one of the strongest educators in America, frequently observes about the Nation's space program: "I'm not as concerned about us getting a man on the moon as I am about the kind of man we put there."

And Alabama—producer of moon rocket boosters—agrees totally with what the president of the University of Alabama is talking about.

It's education.

Youngsters, if you please, like yours or those next door: The hesitant first-grader, for whom the world seems mammoth; a brash teenager, trying to whittle it down to his size; the mature college senior, who at last begins to see, yes the smallness, but complexity of this world.

In Alabama they are introduced to and guided through an educational career which emphasizes the kind of person which emerges not the fact that he is just another student.

It begins in the first grade, for six Alabama elementary schools hold accreditation of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, and more are joining the trend. The training continues through the upper grades, where 481 of 543 public high schools have met the rigid accreditation standards of either the State or southern association.

Finally, it is the responsibility of Alabama's three universities, twenty-one 4-year colleges and twelve junior colleges to mold the final product and ready him for the future. And because too many young people were being turned away from the full places of higher learning, 27 more junior colleges and trade schools will be operating within the year throughout the State.

From America's sixth busiest port of Mobile to the rocket test stands of the Tennessee Valley, Alabamians recognize what Dr. Rose calls a new age of scientific revolution, and which he unhesitatingly predicts will spawn "the darndest economic development in this State you've ever seen in your life."

And Alabamians are paying the price to educate their children for it. Some complain the cost is too high. But the vast majority of citizens see it as an investment which surpasses or equals any other Southern State.

The legislature has approved a $459 million education appropriation bill for 1965–66 and 1966–67—the greatest in Alabama history. Thus, during the four-year term of Governor George Wallace, ending in 1966, taxpayers will have spent $885.8 million for their schools, an increase of nearly 50 percent over the previous 4 years.

Teachers are assured of quality salaries and morale is high. Teacher-graduates are more anxious than ever to remain in Alabama. In Birmingham a new teacher with a bachelor's degree will have a starting salary of $4,527 next term—highest of any 12-grade system in the State. If she holds a master's degree she will earn $5,095. And the Alabama Education Association estimates the average teacher will be paid more than $5,000 next year.

When school starts next month, free textbooks will be given to every child, first through 12th grade. This is another new State program, costing $10½ million.

Grades 7 to 12 have a new course of study, designed to develop "the best learning possible."

Sleek, expanded school plants will rise in all 67 counties, built with a new $116 million State bond issue. And with Federal matching money universities and colleges will be able to construct facilities far beyond their original State allotments. For example, the huge University of Alabama Medical Center at Birmingham received $9.8 million. But it expects to total $28 million in new buildings.

Eleven junior colleges and 13 trade schools are either under construction or on the drawing boards. They will all be operating by September 1966 bringing at least 2 years of college—all many youngsters need—within reach of every Alabama boy and girl. Tuition will average $15 a month and State-run buses will carry the students from and back home.

A new State university—the University of South Alabama—is open and already expanding at Mobile in its second year.

Auburn University is awaiting a new president, Dr. Harry M. Philpott, September 1, with expectations of significant growth academically and physically.

Dr. Philpott, formerly vice president of the University of Florida, described his impression of Alabama in these words: "A constructive sense of progress can be felt by even the casual visitor."

The University of Alabama has announced a $75 million, 10-year program to develop complete campuses at Birmingham and Huntsville, as well as modernize and enlarge its main campus at Tuscaloosa. By 1975 the university expects to have 15,000 on its main campus, 6,000 full-time students in Birmingham, and 5,000 in Huntsville. Other extension centers—at Montgomery, Gadsden, Selma, and Dothan—will continue offering courses for credit and noncredit.

The university's unique Research Institute at Huntsville, located only minutes away from the Army Missile Command and Marshall Space Flight Center, is achieving research brilliance in the aerospace and missile-related physical engineering sciences. It, too, was built with a $3 million State bond issue voted by taxpayers in 1961. The institute was occupied in June 1964.

The Alabama Education Association School Journal editorialized in its May issue, last of the school term, that the State's achievements "will make education history" and reflect "confidence and support of public education in Alabama."

"These contributions to the cause of better schools are the outgrowth of continuing public support and intensive effort on the part of many individuals," the Journal stated.

It also pointed out, in keeping with Dr. Rose's philosophy, that education has "two major responsibilities: To make sure improvements are made, both qualitative and quantitative in all levels of education and to start a program to create an awareness of the unfilled needs of education."

Within the framework of Alabama's 56 institutions of higher education, 7 are united in a strong organization exemplifying the concern business and industry must have for education.

The organization is called the Alabama Association of Independent Colleges. Its members are Athens College, Birmingham-Southern, Howard, Huntingdon, Judson, St. Bernard, and Spring Hill—all private, small, church-related institutions. Howard has the greatest enrollment—about 2,000.

AAIC has a board of governors of 22 businesses and industrial leaders who solicit financial support for higher education from industry and business. In 1961–63 the association had the greatest growth rate, financially, of any association of comparable size in the Nation. President of the board is Sidney W. Smyer, Sr., Birmingham real estate executive. E. Ward Faulk, president of the First National Bank of Mobile is vice president and William E. Hood, president of Industrial Paint Manufacturing Co. of Birmingham, secretary.

The president of the association, Dr. Virgil McCain of Athens, has reorganized his institution in the northern section of the State, employing educational ideas revolutionary in the South.

Athens, in effect, is surveying higher education through the shrewd eyes of today's businessman: Trim the fat, fully use every facility and all manpower, get a nickel's worth for every nickel spent.

The curriculum is being streamlined, classrooms utilized every day and four nights of every week and sometimes on Saturdays. The trimester system, and team teaching has been adopted. The extensive changes are being patterned after Parsons College in Fairfield, Iowa, which has come back from near bankruptcy several years ago to amazing growth, by employing corporate methods.

Enormous physical and academic changes are freshening the face of hundreds of other campuses throughout Alabama—from public and parochial schools up to higher education. As examples:

Birmingham in May completed a $1 million board of education building. The Mountain Brook school system, in south Jefferson County, has built a $700,000 elementary school, which includes a unique learning center in its two circular buildings and one rectangular building—the Jefferson County school system, through this school year, has spent nearly $7.3 million for 394 classrooms—Huntsville is averaging 3 new classrooms a week to keep pace with its growth and has not had double sessions.

Howard College, in its program for the sixties for development, has built four dormitories.

The University and Auburn carry on industrial research for industry not only in space sciences but in the health sciences and in business and economic problems.

The university, in cooperation with NASA, hopes to establish an institute at Tuscaloosa for the purpose of transferring aerospace technology to industry. It would be the only one in the South.

"The potential benefits to the State's economy, the university's research and instructional program, and private research institutions of the State are tremendous," Dr. Rose said.

First interconnected, exclusively educational television network in the world is located in Alabama.

From a modest, two-station start 10 years ago last April, Alabama's ETV moved from exclusively evening programing to the classrooms in 1957.

Last Spring, 375,000 student viewers in 800 Alabama public schools watched in-school tele-courses. Well ahead of ETV in many other areas of the Nation, Alabama programs come 80 percent live from studios at Auburn University, University of Alabama and a Birmingham studio maintained by Jefferson County's six public school systems.

When present expansion now in process—including a new ETV outlet at Huntsville this fall—is completed, AETV will cover 99 percent of the State's population.

Dr. Rose, for instance, personally recruits industry on trips several times a year. "Any potential industry wants to know the attitude of higher education," he said, "We'll do anything in the world to help them: Research, overall development and education of employees."

The university hosts a variety of conferences annually in such fields as banking, management, computer science, transportation, business methods and whatever else is needed. It brings in topflight nationally known speakers.

"We feel the university has these fields to serve," said Dr. Rose: "First, instructional; second, research; third, services. We spend millions to give employees every opportunity for industrial advancement."

Dr. Philpott would direct attention to the work of Auburn's Agricultural Experiment Station and the Engineering and Industrial Experiment Station.

"The former offers assistance to all forms of agri-business—production, processing and marketing. The latter group of experts is available to existing and new industry, assisting in the solution of problems and the development of new products.

Establishment of a school of commerce at Auburn "will enhance the quality and magnitude of Auburn's service to the business community of the State," he said. The University of Alabama school of commerce and business administration has been described by a Harvard College dean as "one of the best three or four in the United States."

The presidents of both universities aptly summed up the inseparable links between education and industrial growth, which will grow even stronger as Alabama's people, water, timber, and other natural resources are fully tapped.

Dr. Rose concluded his annual board of trustees meeting in May with the statement: "It has been a good year and more than ever before I view our horizons as unlimited."

To support their vast educational improvements Alabamians levied an additional 1-cent sales tax upon themselves beginning January 1, 1964, and a beer tax of 2 cents a bottle to finance their junior colleges and trade schools.

Revenues from many sources pay for public education in the State—mainly the sales tax of 4 cents per $1, income tax, tobacco tax, use tax, 3-mill statewide ad valorem tax and beer tax. Receipts for education in 1963–64 totaled $210 million.

Every system taxes itself locally for schools, some more than others. An extra penny sales tax has been passed in several cities; others have voted an extra 5 mills of property taxes. In nearly every instance, where there's a job to be done, Alabama voters have done it.

Washington and Home Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, I am inserting in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Florence (S.C.) Morning News, daily paper, on the subject of home rule.

You will note this editorial correctly states the provisions of the Constitution and the reason the Capital of the United States was created. There is no other city in the United States that was created for a special purpose and I hope the Members of Congress will take this under consideration when they vote on home rule legislation.

The article follows:

[From the Florence (S.C.) Morning News, Sept. 2, 1965]

WASHINGTON AND HOME RULE

Home rule for Washington, D.C., a perennial subject, is now sharply to the front again with heavy pressure from proponents of home rule.

Of special interest to Pee Dee residents is that Sixth District Congressman JOHN L. McMILLAN, as chairman of the House District of Columbia Committee, is, in effect, mayor of Washington.

The District of Columbia was carved out of 10 square miles of swampland as a location for the Nation's Federal agencies, including the White House and the Capitol.

It was the first city ever to be conceived, born, and raised as the capital city of a major nation with no other reason for its existence.

At the time of its birth, it was divorced from local political pressures by being located on land ceded from the adjoining States.

The Constitution of the United States reserves to Congress the right to legislate for the "City of the Nation." Regardless of the type of government by local people, its governing officials, whether they be commissioners or a Governor or a mayor, can regulate only under the overriding legislative control of Congress.

The city has now grown to about a million population who have no suffrage in the election of District officials. A majority of this population is Negro.

On five different occasions since 1802, a measure of home rule has been applied. The latest change came in 1878 with the existing three commissioner form of government.

Home rule bills now before Congress would establish a separate local administration to govern District affairs acting separately from Congress.

Heavy pressures are being exerted by civil rights organizations for Congress to authorize a locally elected administration.

The pressures include a threat by Dr. Martin Luther King to lead a massive march on Washington unless Congress bows to the home rule demand.

Washington's Metropolitan Board of Trade, long experienced in District budget and legislative matters, opposes home rule on the grounds of fiscal realities.

These include ownership by the Federal Government of 43.1 percent of the District's taxable property, representing total taxable exemptions of 54.2 percent. The Federal Government, the District's major business, pays no income tax, sales tax, personal property, or real estate tax.

Under the proposed bills, Congress would not adopt District budgets and, presumably, the District would become more dependent on local taxes.

Should home rule be granted, the very complicated problems confronting elected city officials would set the stage for fiscal chaos, unless a reasonable but unlikely formula were approved for an automatic Federal payment.

It's a problem with roots deep in history and experience. If Congress abandons reasons and yields to the pressure of civil rights groups in a sixth experiment with home rule in Washington, it will invite the usual consequences of pressure group legislation.

Home rule, under present conditions, may be a desirable development for Washingtonians. Certainly, the city's unenviable crime record suggests that some changes should be made.

But if home rule is adopted, it should come only after the best minds have determined that the city's best interest will be served by it, and not out of fear that Dr. King will mount a march.

The Phony Cry of Police Brutality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, there has been so much written of recent date about police brutality that I am sure a recent decision by Judge Norman Elkington of the Superior Court of San Francisco will be of interest in this field.

The opinion of the judge was published in the following article which appeared in the Chico Enterprise-Record of Chico, Calif., on Friday, September 3:

THE PHONY CRY OF "POLICE BRUTALITY"

One of the most odious byproducts of the acceleration of civil rights activities and mass demonstrations of civil disobedience has been the ever-present charge of "police brutality" by activists and demonstrators.

Groups of students, ministers and other civil rights malcontents time and again trespass on private property to conduct sit-ins. After refusing police requests to depart, the demonstrators are carried from the premises. In unison, they shout "Police brutality."

Police officers seek to make a routine arrest in a metropolitan neighborhood. If the culprit happens to be colored, a crowd gathers and impedes the arresting officers, shouting "Police brutality."

The fad has spread until, in many metropolitan areas, the charge of "police brutality" almost automatically accompanies the arrest of any colored person, no matter what the charge.

The fad has been encouraged by the overly sympathetic actions of Federal agencies, acting on the lead of a White House administration which is baldly and unashamedly dedicated to the use of any and every gimmick to woo the colored vote.

But in San Francisco this week, a superior court judge summoned the courage to call the Federal Government to task for its part in a particularly smelly case of "police brutality." It is about time.

The eloquent statement set forth by Judge Norman Elkington merits the attention of all Americans. We print it verbatim below:

The defendant, Leonard Thompson, who has just been sentenced, was convicted in 1942 of assault with intent to commit murder. He had stabbed a policeman. He was sentenced to prison. In San Francisco a few years later, he was convicted of armed robbery of the municipal railway office. With guns and knives he and others took $4,000 from a terrified cashier.

In Los Angeles in 1952 he was charged with assault with intent to commit murder, robbery, and burglary. The assault concerned another attack on a peace officer. Thompson was again sent to prison. In prison he was involved in a riot and was shot while attacking a guard.

These are but a few of his arrests. In my more than 20 years of contact with criminal law enforcement, I have not seen a more vicious criminal.

He was paroled in March of this year after serving more than 14 years for the Los Angeles offense.

Two months later Thompson, with another, while armed with a loaded automatic and a knife, invaded a private residence in San Francisco. He terrorized the family, and for purposes of robbery, kidnaped a female member. Under threats of death he robbed the other occupants. The robbers fled with their loot.

The police were called. Among others, Officer Arthur Gerrans and Officer Herman Clark, partners in a police car, were directed to the scene. Being advised as to the probable whereabouts of the robbers, they left the car and individually commenced their searches. They knew that the robbers were heavily armed. They jumped fences and hedges and with flashlights searched the bushes of the neighborhood.

Officer Gerrans found Thompson, who immediately sprang upon the officer with a knife, razor sharp, and with a blade about four inches long. Officer Gerrans could have shot Thompson but instead chose to disarm him. Officer Clark, hearing the struggle, jumped a fence and came to his partner's assistance. Together, over tremendous resistance, they disarmed and handcuffed Thompson.

As the facts of this case developed at the trial, I felt a profound sense of respect and admiration for these conscientious and courageous officers. I felt that San Francisco, and the cause of good law enforcement everywhere, should be grateful for the services of policemen such as these.

A few days later I was shocked to learn that Officers Clark and Gerrans, in the name of

some civil rights act, were under investigation for alleged brutality in the arrest of Thompson.

On the unsupported complaint of Thompson, the U.S. Department of Justice had ordered an investigation. Agents of that Department grilled the officers about this and other cases. They demanded to see their personnel files and questioned their superior officers. Report was made to Washington, apparently that the complaint was without merit. The agents returned stating that they had been ordered to make a more thorough inquiry into Thompson's charges. The investigation continued and probably still does. The officers in question have been intimidated, humiliated, and degraded by the U.S. Department of Justice.

Following his arrest Thompson had made the common complaint of police brutality. He said he was hit on the nose and ear. He pointed to a quarter-inch-long laceration of his scalp. Principally he complained of distressing injuries to his upper chest and left arm and hand.

These complaints were apparently taken at face value and triggered the investigation. A quick look at the records and X-rays of the city hospital to which he was taken would have disclosed the cause of his principal complaints. The sore head and arm and chest related not to his arrest, but instead to old metallic fragments remaining from bullet wounds suffered by him earlier in his criminal career.

I am sure that Thompson was not handled gently by the officers. To have done so under the circumstances would have been both suicidal and ridiculous.

How should a policeman disarm a desperate criminal coming at him with a knife? Are there some sporting rules that he must follow, such as allowing the assailant to draw first blood? Should he give no thought to his own safety and to the future welfare of his wife and children? Must he in some vague way, at the clear risk of death or great bodily injury to himself, contrive to obtain the knife without hurting his assailant? The law says he may, and commonsense says he should, use all force necessary to resist the attack and to make the arrest. But someone in the Department of Justice apparently thinks otherwise.

These men might very well have taken the safe route. They could have remained in their car, driven around the area, and later reported no success in finding the culprits. That way no harm could have come to them, their records would not be tainted by an FBI investigation, and Thompson would be free to continue his criminal career. This is the sort of police conduct that can only be encouraged by orders from Washington such as were given in this case.

I think the Department of Justice might do better than humbling brave and faithful police officers every time. With the many other burdens imposed on policemen in doing their duty, this additional blow to police morale is doing little for law enforcement, or to combat the growing crime wave in this country.

"Flying Edsel"—Cost and Effectiveness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, one of the most controversial and costly weapons in our arsenal of military might continues to be a serious problem to the Defense Department. I am referring to the TFX fighter plane now being developed by General Dynamics Corp. for the Navy and Air Force.

When the TFX contract was first let by Robert McNamara to the Texas based firm it was over the objections of our highest military brass. There were substantial rumors of politics involved.

The TFX program has already cost $900 million and another $700 million is planned for this fiscal year. The development and purchase of these aircraft, redesignated F-111, may cost over $10 billion unless a sizable reduction is made in the quantity purchased. If so, this bill exceed McNamara's estimate by a good $2 billion. A mistake of this magnitude cannot be attributed to a computer.

The TFX has been beset with problems and there is a great probability that the finished product will not be totally acceptable to either the Navy or Air Force. Dollars are important to us, to be sure, but our national security is more important.

Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara is irrevocably committed to the TFX, or as it is becoming known, the "Flying Edsel."

J. Richard Elliott, Jr. has written a most informative article titled "Flying Edsel?" in the July 12 issue of Barron's. Under unanimous consent, I include it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

FLYING EDSEL?—THE TFX MAY WIND UP SATISFYING NEITHER BUYERS NOR SELLERS

(NOTE.—The controversial Air Force-Navy fighter plane, officially designated the F-111 is scheduled to take wing this year. This is the first in a series of articles by staff writer J. Richard Elliott, Jr., on the program.)

Fiscal 1966, which began inauspiciously on July 1, shapes up as a crucial year for the powers-that-be at the Pentagon. Congress soon will approve a defense budget of more than $45 billion. While $2.5 billion under last year's actual appropriations (including a $700 million supplemental emergency fund for Vietnam), the authorization scarcely can be described, even in Pentagonese, as a limited or conventional one—and is almost certain to be increased as the United States moves ever closer to full scale conflict in southeast Asia. As it is, the Defense Department's new shopping list is an extraordinary mix of slashing economy and escalating procurement. On the latter score, one of the most controversial development programs in military history, the TFX (for tactical fighter, experimental), is scheduled to emerge this year from research and development to full-fledged production status. Designated the Air Force-Navy F-111 fighter-bomber, the plane is this country's single biggest new cold war weapon.

Since it was launched in 1963, the TFX program has cost roughly $900 million. Another $700 million has been earmarked for it in fiscal 1966. If the Pentagon buys as many F-111s as it now plans, the price tag through the early 1970's will run to at least $8 billion. Such a figure would make the TFX by far the most costly single piece of military goods in history. Some observers in and outside Washington expect the cost to rise above $10 billion before the program ends, and a few peg the ultimate bite even higher.

In a day when every defense dollar counts—or so insists Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, the man who does the counting—such astronomical funding surely ranks the F-111 as something special. And so it is. The first military plane conceived, designed, and developed on a biservice basis, the F-111, off its advance notices, rates as the most versatile aircraft in the Nation's growing arsenal of conventional weaponry. For the Air Force, it will serve as the primary tactical airstrike vehicle. For the Navy, a slightly modified, carrier-based model will seek to maintain air superiority at sea. What's more, the Pentagon is working to find further applications for what may be a truly all-purpose plane.

Nevertheless, there are signs that the $8 billion TFX program may prove something less than the biggest bargain in the budget. For one thing, despite all the bullish predictions of Mr. McNamara's band, the actual number of F-111's which the military intends to build has been shrinking. What undeniably is going up is the program's cost: each plane may run nearly 50 percent more than Mr. McNamara's famed cost-effectiveness experts had forecast. Worse still, the TFX has run into a number of technical snags which are likely to delay the program and diminish the effectiveness of the aircraft.

Under the best of circumstances, the Air Force and the Navy both would get less of a plane than either wanted. From the onset, compromises and tradeoffs were necessary to squeeze contradictory specifications into a single design. As things stand now, the Air Force, which had to give less ground and more urgently needs the new planes, seems firmly committed to the F-111. However, the Navy, unhappy with the TFX from the start, has become increasingly disenchanted. To keep the simmering controversy within the Pentagon from boiling over, more tinkering with the supposedly set program is certain—and just as certain not to please everybody. Like the ill-fated Edsel, in which Mr. McNamara also had a hand, the TFX may wind up satisfying neither buyers nor sellers. It also may lead to this long-overdue revision of Clemenceau's famous dictum: War is too important to be left to civilians.

As it shapes up on the drawing boards, of course, the F-111 is quite a chunk of airplane. Compared to any U.S. tactical fighter—or that of any other country—it's a superior machine, distinctly advancing the state of the art of military aerodynamics. Big as the B-29 of World War II, the two-man jet is designed to fly faster than twice the speed of sound, outmaneuver and outclimb any present or potential enemy attacker, bristle with an unmatched assortment of bombs and missiles. Nor is that all. The first production plane ever to be fitted out with swept wings of variable geometry (they pivot back and forth in flight at the pilot's command), the F-111 is unique in combining two aerodynamic capabilities which usually are mutually exclusive: supersonic swiftness and high lift. The plane, in other words, can operate just as effectively at very low altitudes and speeds as it can zooming in the farthest reaches of the wild blue yonder.

Hence, the TFX should find it a breeze to take off and land on aircraft carriers and austere jungle clearings. Its planned missions range from "loitering" for hours as a naval task force watchdog to tactical strike sorties—dashing under the radar defenses of an inland target, dropping its payload, fighting off interceptors and returning to its base for another bomb load. Moreover, it's so-called ferry range of up to 3,000 miles without refueling means that whole squadrons could wing their way to any spot on the globe with unprecedented swiftness. Whether as an Air Force plane (officially the F-111A) or its naval twin (the F-111B), in short, the TFX could be worth its weight in gold.

Moreover, this awesome aerial weapon, its advocates proudly claim, is a real bargain. Secretary McNamara, for one, has been de-

fending the TFX—conceptually, contractually, and costwise—before congressional committees virtually from the day in 1962 when he awarded its development to General Dynamics Corp. Whatever it finally costs, says the Secretary, by developing and building essentially one plane for both services (the components in the two versions are said to be 85 percent identical), rather than two separate aircraft, the Pentagon stands to save $1 billion.

The final cost, to be sure, must be reckoned not only in dollars and cents but also in terms of the Nation's security. It has been 5 years since the Air Force and Navy set down their respective requirements for new tactical aircraft. Both services plan to replace existing air fleets by the end of this decade. Accordingly, the F-111 must do more than prove it can get off the ground and flap its ungainly wings. It must convince the admirals as well as the generals that it can outperform anything the other side may come up with in the next 15 years or so. What's more, it must do so soon. Fiscal 1966, it appears, is the year of decision.

To all outward appearances, the program enters this critical period flying high, wide, and handsome. Development schedules have been met, or exceeded by General Dynamics, the prime contractor, and by Grumman Aircraft, its principal subcontractor, with responsibility for key airframe sections and final assembly of the Navy version. General Dynamics, in fact, has earned a tidy $800,000-plus in incentive bonuses on its early work. Its sprawling Fort Worth (formerly Convair) plant and Grumman's age-scarred facility on Long Island already are beginning to hum with wartime urgency.

In recent months, the airplane has visibly taken shape. At Fort Worth, five F-111A's have been turned out, as the project's prototype production now approaches a rate of one a month. In May, Grumman rolled out the Navy's F-111B No. 1 right on time. All told, F-111's have logged over 75 test flights. Under the original contract for R.D.T. & E. (research, development, test, and evaluation), awarded 2½ years ago, the contractors are to supply another 13 Air Force and 4 Navy models experimentally, while ironing out production kinks.

Last April, without awaiting further results, the Pentagon put its money where its faith is by granting General Dynamics a production contract. The award covers an unusually long 4-year run. It calls for delivery of 431 F-111's through 1969, all but 24 in the Air Force version. Detailed negotiations still are in progress, but the Defense Department has disclosed that the order will exceed $1.5 billion. At the same time, it revealed to Congress that it plans an eventual procurement of some 1,600 F-111's.

What's more the TFX may attract demand from other sources. For one thing, the Pentagon has been busily hustling orders from our allies. Thus, Australia has signed up for 24 F-111's for its air force, while Britain, which decided not to build a tactical fighter of its own, took an option on 120 of the planes. Even the West Germans have been approached by Mr. McNamara's salesmen.

The U.S. Air Force, meanwhile, which so far is committed to the F-111's only for its Tactical Air Command (TAC), is eyeing an adaptation for possible use in its strategic (SAC) squadrons as well. Both the Navy and the Air Force are considering a longer range reconnaissance model. Finally, the Federal Aviation Authority, under its newly designated head, Gen. William F. McKee (who was a key Air Force officer during the TFX source selection process), may decide to use the F-111 in extensive studies of the variable wing, for possible application on the stretched-out supersonic transport (SST) program.

THE NUMBERS GAME

The F-111 all this might suggest, is as hot a plane in the market as it is on paper. Like chickens, however, military aircraft in development never can be counted before they hatch. The ill-fated B-70 superbomber and, for that matter, the short-lived B-58 Hustler (which was to have kept GD's Fort Worth plant busy for years, until it was abruptly phased out in 1962) are two recent reminders that military and political minds can change. Indeed, the mind-changing process has been going on, with very little notice, in the TFX program, too.

Specifically, since 1961 the Pentagon has made several adjustments in its long-range planning for the F-111. During the bitter design competition of 1961-62, in which Boeing finally was eliminated, bidders were told to base their proposals on a total program of 1,460 Air Force and 231 Navy planes, or nearly, 1,700 in all. Then, in mid-1963, when development had barely begun, the Navy unexpectedly upped its overall buy to 592 aircraft, putting the total for both versions well over 2,000. By early 1965, industry insiders apparently with some assurance from the administration, were assuming a run of at least 3,000 F-111's.

But the program presented in closed hearings on Capitol Hill, a few months ago, revealed a distinctly different set of numbers. As noted, the planned total now is down to 1,600—of which 1,100 are to be F-111A's and 500 F-111B's. Actually, the Pentagon is contractually committed for the next few years, at least, to just 431.

This deterioration may not count for much over the long pull, of course. Indeed, the numbers themselves have been well hidden behind a smoke screen of Pentagon propaganda (over and beyond the call of military security). Behind the smoke, however, at least two factors are discernible that appear to be cooling off some of the early enthusiasm. One is the mounting cost of the program; the other, mounting evidence that the plane itself may fail to measure up to expectations.

SOME PAINFUL TRUTHS

On the first score, recent top-secret congressional testimony revealed some hard truths that must have been particularly painful for the computerized whiz kids of the Pentagon. A major element in General Dynamics' winning proposal 3 years ago, Mr. McNamara later emphasized, was its "cost realism." Though submitting a higher bid than Boeing, General Dynamics was adjudged more realistic because it took into account probable future developmental problems. In the end, the company proposed to develop and build 1,700 TFX planes for a total price of $5.8 billion—roughly $3.4 million apiece.

Experience, however, has caused the customer to go back to his computers. The cost per plane over the life of the program now is figured at about $4.5 million—a 30-percent markup in 30 months. (According to one admiral, the first four production F-111B's—that part of the Navy's share funded in the fiscal 1966 budget—will average $35 million apiece.) A realistic projection, though, still seems hard to come by. For since the total program, by the latest Pentagon estimate, will cost $7.78 billion, the 1,600 airplanes involved actually will average out at nearly $4.9 million each. Furthermore, no one believes the end to escalation is in sight.

WHO'S WHO IN THE F-111 PROGRAM

Prime contractor: General Dynamics, F-111A assembly.

Associate contractors: Hughes Aircraft, Phoenix missile; United Aircraft (Pratt & Whitney), engines.

Principal subcontractor: Grumman Aircraft, Aft fuselage, F-111B assembly.

Major subsystems: McDonnell Aircraft, crew escape capsule; General Electric, flight control, optical sight, missile launch computer, and attack radar.

Other leading subcontractors; Avco countermeasure receiver; Bendix, Servo actuator, air data computer, flight instruments, ground checkout system; Collins Radio, high frequency radio; Garrett, air-conditioning system; General Precision, dynamic operator response apparatus; Hoover, avionics; Litton Industries, navigation-attack system; Honeywell, low altitude radar altimeter; Texas Instruments, terrain following radar; Textron, radar homing, warning; United Aircraft (Hamilton Standard), air inlet; and Westinghouse Electric, AC power.

BACK TO THE DRAWING BOARDS?

The spiraling costs, as it happens, trace to both unexpected technical difficulties and changes required in the winning design to meet minimum operational specifications. These problems are far from overcome at the moment; some are proving particularly stubborn. In fact, there is a noticeable undercurrent of concern in Washington—evident at recent hearings, if not in the corridors of the Pentagon—that, the F-111 may fall short of Air Force hopes and almost certainly will prove less of an airplane than the Navy had bargained for.

Ironically, such fears were foreshadowed in the stormy TFX probe conducted in 1963 by Senator JOHN MCCLELLAN's permanent investigations subcommittee. While raising a number of questions about the procedures by which the contractor was selected, the hearings yielded some revelations that won scant attention in the general press. The most significant of these was that Boeing's losing design outscored the winning one in most performance characteristics and, accordingly, was the overwhelming choice of the top service brass, including the technical men assigned to evaluate the competing proposals. Now, 2 years down the road, the General Dynamics airplane is shaping up as vulnerable for weaknesses pinpointed by the Pentagon's own experts.

For one thing, it is seriously overweight. This could both shorten the Air Force's ferrying range and hobble the Navy's ability to get on and off its carriers. TAC wanted an aircraft that could span the Pacific with a single refueling (as Boeing's design promised to do). The F-111A may, however, need as many as three refuelings.

The Navy had placed a maximum limit on "gross take-off weight" (which includes fuel, equipment, bombs, and crew) of 50,000 pounds. It was forced to up the ceiling to 55,000 pounds, in a trade-off, to give the Air Force better supersonic dash qualities. When the General Dynamics proposal was declared the winner, its design already blueprinted a plane which the computers said would weigh 63,500 pounds (1 ton more than Boeing's).

Actually, despite heroic efforts by both major contractors to cut every unnecessary ounce, the first F-111B rolled off the assembly line at a whopping 70,000 pounds. One result is that the Navy is spending $170 million this year to strengthen 2 of its 15 attack carriers, in order to accommodate the unexpectedly heavy plane; at that, only 9 of the presently commissioned flattops will handle it.

SPUTTERING ENGINE

Nor is overweight the program's only headache. The F-111's twin engines, built by Pratt & Whitney (division of United Aircraft), have been kicking up. P. & W. was selected in the competition 3 years ago because its motor was in an advanced stage of development; a rival proposal by General Electric (incorporated in Boeing's first bid) was ruled out because it would not be ready

for 2 years. But, in ground tests to date, the P. & W. engine has failed to achieve either the power or the endurance demanded by the military.

Moreover, marrying the engine to the plane has caused unforeseen aerodynamic problems. Owing to insufficient wind-tunnel testing, the estimates of air flow at the jet intakes used by General Dynamics engineers proved far off the mark. To date, redesign of the inlet area has failed to correct the difficulty. Unless it is corrected soon, the first slippage in the overall TFX program schedule will result. So admits no less an authority than the F-111's project director at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Maj. Gen. John L. Zoeckler.

Finally, the Navy's version of the F-111 has hit still another snag—this one peculiar to its weapons-system makeup. The trouble lies in a new missile called the Phoenix. This deadly bird, for the admirals, is a vital part of the program. The F-111B could be outfitted with conventional missiles (such as the Sidewinder and Sparrow); however, only armed with the longer ranged, more sensitive, air-to-air Phoenix would the fleet enjoy the range and punch it deems absolutely necessary to do its job in the 1970's.

Under development by Hughes Aircraft (like Pratt & Whitney, as associate price contractor dealing directly with the Government), the Phoenix already is a year behind schedule. The big drags: an inadequate guidance system (built by the usually reliable computer manufacturer, Litton Industries); and an inability, on the part of the General Dynamics-Grumman team, to find a way to mount the missile efficiently on the aircraft.

TO BUY OR NOT TO BUY

To be sure, the Navy, according to Pentagon sources, can wait until after 1970 before it must begin phasing out its F-4 jets. By contrast, TAC ought to start replacing F-105 squadrons in the next few years. Be that as it may, the delays and redesigns inevitably will add vastly to the cost of the TFX. Hence, Secretary McNamara's cost-effectiveness inevitably will diminish further on a weapons system already difficult to justify in terms of dollars and cents.

Significant, then, are statements from top military brass (transcribed at the appropriations hearings) purporting to explain why both services lately have altered their plans for making the F-111 operational. The Air Force, Congressmen were told, will stretch out its modernization because it finds that it can get more mileage than expected out of present equipment. The Navy, for its part, decided against replacing today's carrier planes with F-111B's on a one-for-one basis. Its reasoning: rather than doubling the fleet's fighter power, it could maintain its present strength by merely subbing one F-111 for every two F-4's—clearly, the TFX is twice as good as its predecessor—or perhaps twice as expensive.

The hard fact is that the Navy—while officially still in line for 500 of the planes (to the Air Force's 1,100), according to the Pentagon's master plan—has agreed to take only 24 of that first 431 actually on order for delivery through 1969. Plainly, the Navy still has not made up its mind whether to go all the way with the TFX. In a heavily censored transcript of the recent hearings, the admirals revealed their doubts. "We need what (the F-111) can provide us," admitted Rear Adm. W. I. Martin, Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Air). "But we would like to fly this airplane sufficiently to make sure that it would be a completely useful aircraft before we make a commitment for procurement."

The official administration view, to be sure, remains completely free of doubts. This undeviating cheerfulness, in part, may stem from a curious memorandum distributed by Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs Arthur Sylvester last year. The gist of the message was an order that henceforth, in all publicity or public statements, the F-111 "will be described in such a manner as to make it clear that (it) will meet the requirements of the Air Force's tactical air mission, the Navy's carrier-based mission, and the fighter mission of the Marine Corps."

IRREVOCABLY COMMITTED

The Pentagon's civilian secretariat, in short, is irrevocably committed to the success of the TFX as it has been to few other projects in recent history. "The F-111A," said Secretary McNamara recently, "is proceeding very well indeed." As to the F-111B, while it is "plagued by two difficulties (weight and the Phoenix) * * * I have no doubt that with the weight reduction program and other possible modifications we will be able to develop a very satisfactory aircraft for the Navy."

Conceivably, Mr. McNamara's confidence ultimately will be justified. At the moment, though, the snags in the TFX program, as Barron's will detail further, make this an open question. After all, confidence and determination—even when combined with a decade of planning and the efficiency of Detroit—were not enough to save the Edsel.

National Lotteries in Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to bring to the attention of the Members of this House some figures showing the financial and social common sense inherent in Latin America's unanimous use of the lottery device.

In 1964, lottery gross receipts in Latin America came to approximately $412 million. The income to the several governments involved, most of which was allocated to hospitals, schools, welfare or charity, came to a total of about $81 million.

Perhaps the most flourishing Latin American lotteries are those of Central America. The lotteries of these six small nations took in well over $100 million last year. The lotteries of Nicaragua, Panama, Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica and Guatemala had gross receipts totaling $108,680,000. Their profits came to $18,771,000. The money went for hospitals, social welfare costs and the like. The British Crown Colony of British Honduras also has a lottery—bringing in gross receipts of $3.5 million last year, it produced a profit of $90,000.

The West Indies also use the lottery. The Dominican Republic's lottery has been thrown off its stride by current events, but the prior year's figures put gross receipts at $12 million, and profits at $2.5 million. Haiti's lottery took in $2.4 million in 1964, with income reaching a bit over a million dollars. Jamaica has private lotteries aiding Jamaican hospitals. Their gross receipts last year came to $700,000 and a total of $103,000 went to the hospitals. The West Indian Federation also has a hospital sweepstakes.

On the mainland of South America, the "ABC" powers, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, have lotteries which took in $81.8 million last year, earning income of $21.4 million. This money went for public works, social welfare, education, hospitals and charity.

Columbia, Peru, Ecuador, and Venezuela to the north also have profitable lotteries. Gross receipts in 1964 totaled $62.9 million and income reached $7.7 million. The money was in most instances used for hospitals.

The lotteries of Bolivia, Uruguay, and Paraguay had 1964 gross receipts of $16.5 million, with profits of $5.5 million. Uruguay's profits went to revenue, the others to welfare, child care and related objectives.

Mexico has a booming lottery, for which up-to-date figures are not available. At last date, the Mexican lottery was grossing $60 million a year, producing profits of $11 million for health and welfare expenditures.

The American island Commonwealth of Puerto Rico has a popular and profitable lottery. With gross receipts of $60 million in 1964, it employed many persons and earned an income of $12 million. This is certainly one lesson Puerto Rico can teach the North American mainland.

The unanimity of Latin America support for the lottery concept is striking. In Latin America, as in Europe, the lottery has proved itself beyond a doubt. I hope that it will soon have the same chance here in the United States.

Left Flank Attack ADA Versus FBI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the September 1, 1965, St. Louis Globe-Democrat, entitled "A Low, Left Blow at the FBI" amply exposes the continuing campaign by the ADA to discredit that great American, J. Edgar Hoover, and his highly efficient FBI.

This editorial, which is reprinted herein, was inspired by the Edward W. O'Brien column, published in the same paper, on the same date, reporting at some length on the remarks of one Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., described as a Washington lawyer and vice chairman of Americans for Democratic Action. The occasion arose out of a speech made by Rauh in Madison, Wis., late in August. The column follows:

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Sept. 1, 1965]

ADA OFFICIAL WANTS FBI REPLACED IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES

(By Edward W. O'Brien)

WASHINGTON.—The country is faced anew with a decision on whether it should have a national police force, created especially to enforce the growing number of Federal civil rights laws.

Oddly, the pressure is coming now from the left. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Washington

lawyer and vice chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, made a speech a few days ago in Madison, Wis., calling for a special civil rights investigative agency to replace the FBI in dealing with racial crimes and to help "make America safe for Negroes and civil rights leaders."

The FBI, Mr. Rauh charged, won't do the job because it is hostile to the civil rights movement, is preoccupied with fighting the Communist Party, and is entangled with local law enforcement officials.

Mr. Rauh's charges would be serious at any time. They are doubly so at a sensitive moment like the present, when claims of unequal enforcement of the law are put forward to justify rioting.

There's no secret about FBI activities in the civil rights field. Director J. Edgar Hoover has described them in explicit detail recently to congressional committees, and additional information is available for the asking at FBI headquarters.

Probably the key fact is this: Last year the FBI handled 4,289 civil rights cases. In 1960 the total was only 1,398.

The cases ranged from the murder of three civil rights workers near Philadelphia, Miss., in which 21 persons were later arrested by FBI agents, to investigation of alleged racial discrimination and intimidation in voting in 170 southern counties, which resulted in filing of 70 suits for injunctions.

"Without exception, these are matters which require immediate handling and in many instances involve the extraordinary assignment of manpower and other resources," the FBI explains.

Every civil rights complaint is given thorough, prompt, and impartial attention.

"Special agents handling these cases are highly trained investigators who have completed advanced training courses which qualify them to conduct civil rights investigations.

"At Bureau headquarters, a select staff of men with great experience and knowledge of this type of investigation supervises the cases."

It is easy to recite a statistic like that of the 70 voting suits filed in Federal court. Often the underlying work is almost beyond belief.

In voting investigations, FBI agents have made nearly 1 million photographic copies of local voting records and have conducted 5,000 interviews.

However, there is another, little-noticed activity that is perhaps the FBI's most valuable accomplishment in civil rights. It is the agency's program of intelligence and liaison.

"We continuously gather information on a day-to-day basis which indicates that some violent action is either being definitely planned or that a situation will occur which has a high potential for violence," the Bureau states.

"The information is immediately disseminated to appropriate authorities and undoubtedly prevents violence which would otherwise occur."

Much of the information comes through widespread penetration of the Ku Klux Klan and other hate groups by FBI informants—the same FBI tactic that has been used for years against Communists.

There are several things the FBI does not do in civil rights, in accord with what was once the traditional liberal position of checks and balances in government.

"We do not give opinions (regarding prosecution) or make recommendations or evaluations. The facts speak for themselves," Mr. Hoover declared recently.

"The FBI is not a national police force.

"As a fact-finding organization investigating violations of Federal laws, its jurisdiction is strictly limited. It cannot, for example, assume without authority the role of protective bodyguard to any citizen or group of citizens.

"There are those who would have us ignore legally established jurisdictional lines just to appease pressure groups or others who feel we should be obligated to step in and handle matters which are not in our legal jurisdiction.

"Ironically, this would strike a blow at the rights, freedom, and liberty of all Americans—the very matter which these detractors claim they wish to protect."

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Sept. 1, 1965]

A LOW, LEFT BLOW AT THE FBI

Edward W. O'Brien, chief of the Globe-Democrat's Washington Bureau, recounts some interesting remarks made on the civil rights problems by a vice chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, the left-flankerbacks of the Great Society team

Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., speaking for ADA, suggests:

1. That a special civil rights investigative agency be set up to replace the Federal Bureau of Investigation in this area.

2. That the FBI is preoccupied with fighting the Communist Party.

3. That the FBI is hostile to the civil rights movement.

All of these charges are patently ridiculous as Mr. O'Brien's article points out.

We suggest that there is a growing gray area in the civil rights movement where many militant activists and the Communist infiltration groups overlap.

It is in this area that the FBI is the most effective weapon the United States has for preventing civil disorder and heading off another Los Angeles riot—which bordered insurrection.

Look at the record of the FBI as Director J. Edgar Hoover has recited it to committees of Congress.

The FBI's penetration of the Ku Klux Klan did much to bring sanity to elements in the South which were bent on disrupting any peaceful solution to the Government's civil rights program.

On the basis of past performance, it would be reasonable to assume that Director Hoover's organization is not unaware of the increasing number of Communist groups stirring up civil rights disturbances where none should exist.

The Americans for Democratic Action again is running true to form in its long campaign to discredit J. Edgar Hoover, and to sweep under the rug any implication that there just could possibly be such a thing as a little bit of Communist agitation among some of the groups striving for a better tomorrow for the Negro.

Isn't it about time that Lyndon B. Johnson's Vice President, H. H. HUMPHREY, a former ADA loudmouth, questions some of the reckless statements of the members and officers of an organization which he helped to pioneer—and which he has never criticized—even though its policies have been opposed to the best interests and the expressed interests of the United States?

Max Steiner Welcomes Archbishop of Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, on September 10, 1965, Mr. Max S. Steiner, president of the Peterson Tool Co., of Chicago, in his own inimitable manner, said hello to our new Archbishop of Chicago, John P. Cody.

Max Steiner is a good friend of mine, a philanthropist, and a distinguished civic leader serving on State and county boards. He is also chairman of the Committee of 100 to promote good race relationships in the city of Chicago.

Mr. Steiner's plant is located in my own Seventh Congressional District of Illinois, which I have the honor to represent, and it is my pleasure to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a letter he wrote to the editor of the New World welcoming Archbishop Cody to the city of Chicago.

His letter follows:

ECUMENICAL HELLO

EDITOR: In these days of trauma and turmoil, it is gratifying that the arrival in our city of the Archbishop John Cody could create such widespread interest. His enthronement as the sixth Catholic archbishop of Chicago temporarily forced other matters out of the dominant position in the newspapers and momentarily, at least, placed spiritual matters at the fore.

This fact reaffirms man's dependence upon faith and should serve to remind us all that the status of man is transitory, at best, that humankind is no more enduring than its belief in the power and permanence of love.

The fact that Archbishop Cody was welcomed and received so warmly by persons of all religious faith, all races, all nationalities deserves more than passing comment.

It is a commentary upon our times that this great man, spiritual leader of the largest Catholic archdiocese in the Nation, should walk into the opened arms of representatives of all the people of this great city.

It was my high honor to be chosen to serve as a member of the official welcoming committee for Archbishop Cody. I was struck by the great range of religious and ethnic backgrounds which characterized this group.

It was altogether fitting that Mayor Richard J. Daley, himself a Catholic, should recognize that all Chicago desired to salute the new archbishop. It was altogether appropriate that the city's welcoming group should reflect the true spirit of Chicago.

I am proud to know that it is this kind of togetherness which really mirrors the heart of Chicago. I was humbled to pay homage to a great spiritual leader whose religious creed differs from mine but whose hopes for mankind match mine in scope.

Because Archbishop Cody has become a symbol of the brotherhood of man through his uncompromising devotion to the rights of all men, we can think of no finer gesture of welcome than that of a united people.

The interrelationship of people living, working, playing, and praying in any great metropolis never fail to produce conflict, antagonisms, and hostilities. The task that lies ahead for Archbishop Cody will be a demanding one. But he brings to Chicago a wealth of broad experience and a brilliant capacity to lead.

He will require the cooperation of all Chicagoans and I am confident that it shall be his. He comes at a critical time and all Chicago is certain to benefit from his wise counsel and guidance.

He has expressed his views on the volatile matter of civil rights. In his own words: "I am confident that the citizens of this Nation, founded as it is on the soundest principles of human dignity and human rights, will solve this problem which has beleaguered our country for more than a century. The church's role will be most important and it is definitely felt by many experts in the field of community relations that the Catholic Church will continue to be one of the most potent influences in

bringing about racial understanding and brotherly love among the races."

Archbishop Cody has not only demonstrated his belief in cooperation among all churches but he has expressed this belief in these words: "Through the spiritual bond of our faith, we are united. We must promote this unity even to include those outside of our church."

I am firmly committed to the belief that the human problems which plague us will be solved through peaceful, orderly, and reasonable means. Interchurch cooperation is essential. It is in this spirit that I warmly welcome Archbishop Cody to our city and pledge him my cooperation for the benefit of all residents of the city of Chicago.

MAX S. STEINER.

CHICAGO.

Liberal Establishment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by William F. Buckley, Jr., entitled "The Liberal Establishment," from the Joplin Globe of September 10, 1965:

"LIBERAL ESTABLISHMENT"

(By William F. Buckley Jr.)

A half dozen years ago the term was utterly unknown. I remember using it once in a lecture at the National War College, and noting the blank bewilderment on the faces of all those bright young colonels and commanders, and GS-15's. "The liberal establishment"—what on earth is that?

Then Richard Rovere wrote an article on the subject, half in fun, half serious, and the question began to intrude into public consciousness: Is there such a thing as a "liberal establishment?"

What does the term mean? It means a loose and spontaneous association of people who occupy most of the comand posts in our society, who tend to react the same way to certain kinds of stimuli and—because they are the style-setters of the age—pretty well succeed in planting their axioms on the public thought process. For instance? For instance, Tshombe is not quite okay, and Nkrumah is not quite okay.

Mr. Stanton Evans, the illustrious young editor of the Indianapolis News, has now written a book called, very simply, "The Liberal Establishment." It tries to give the answer to why we end up feeling sort of suspicious about a Tshombe—and sort of tolerant toward a Nkrumah. He piles example on example of the kind of thing the liberal establishment is a sucker for.

NOT PREDICTABLE

Needless to say he has not, in performing this valuable work of contemporary sociology, endeared himself to members of the liberal establishment who, for reasons altogether understandable, do not like to think of themselves as in any way predictable, particularly when their predictability is shown, as by Mr. Evans, to result from a continuing moral lesion.

By definition, it is a risky thing to expose any establishment—because an establishment does not merit the name except that it has the power to govern opinion, and to discipline the mutinous. Under the circumstances, references to Mr. Evans' book by the British critic Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge, who reviews it in the current issue of Esquire magazine, are quite remarkable.

Now Mr. Muggeridge is a very complicated man—not exactly a liberal but on the other hand not by any stretch of the imagination a conservative. He is an aristocratic iconoclast, who on one occasion even took on the Queen of England ("frumpy, frowzy, and banal"). But notwithstanding his helplessness if there is an unbroken icon in the house, he has one of the sharpest eyes in the business, and is unsurpassed as a social critic.

LIBERALS RULE

Mr. Muggeridge does not doubt at all that the West is ruled by a liberal establishment which "ruthlessly, and where necessary corruptly and unscrupulously, seeks to perpetuate itself." He gives a couple of examples, to be sure mostly old hat. "Who, for instance," he asks, "could have been less liberal than the late Stalin? Yet he enjoyed in his day the adulation or at any rate the tolerance of most of the liberal intelligentsia of the West, from Andre Gide to Bernard Shaw."

"In my time as a newspaper correspondent in Moscow," he continues, "the most assiduous and untruthful champion of the Soviet Government had was the late Walter Duranty of the New York Times. The same newspaper's man in Cuba, was, it seems, initially strong for Castro." What lessons does he draw from the liberals' strange attraction to their enemies? "We liberals are so made that anyone who wants to murder us is a hero and anyone foolish enough to be on our side is a villain. We despise a Tshombe who, by and large, would seem to be well disposed toward us, and venerate an Nkrumah, who hates our guts and never hesitates to say so."

DESTRUCTIVE FORCE

And he concludes his analysis with a soaring piece of overstatement which I shall nevertheless pass along: "Liberalism will be seen historically as the great destructive force of our time; much more so than communism, fascism, nazism, or any of the other lunatic creeds which make such immediate havoc. Compared with the long-term consequences of a Gilbert Murray, a Bertrand Russell, a Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Hitler was an ineffectual dreamer, Stalin a Father Chistmas, and Mussolini an Arcadian shepherd. It is liberalism which makes the Gaderene swine so frisky; as mankind goes to their last incinerated extinction, the voice of the liberal will be heard proclaiming the realization at last of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Well, boys will be boys, and, concededly, the typewriter presents awful temptations to those who know how to program a great big shock for the reader. (I am glad I am not the editor of Esquire, with the responsibility for "Dear Mr. Jones: I assure you that Mr. Muggeridge did not mean to compare Eleanor Roosevelt to Adolf Hitler.")

But after you have wrung out the naughty-boy lather, you have from a very famous and acute critic, a formal recognition of the important phenomenon isolated by Mr. Evans in his important book: There is such a thing as a liberal establishment. And anyone who seeks to understand what is going on nowadays ought to have a look at this enlightening volume (Devin-Adair, $5.95).

Henry Kaufman, 9 Years Old, Saves Life of Fellow Scout

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, last summer, 9-year-old Henry Kaufman was enjoying a day of fun at Tanner Beach, Copiague, Long Island, N.Y., when he heard a call for help. A fellow Cub Scout, Raymond Decker had been swimming in water over his head and having developed a cramp in his leg, he started to sink. Henry swam over to the strickened boy and managed to pull him 10 or 15 yards to shallow water, where adults assisted him and began administering first aid.

Henry was honored at a recent ceremony attended by all Scout units of Copiague, Copiague school officials, Scout council officials and members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars post. Mr. Walter G. Heimbuch, his cubmaster, presented him with a Silver Honor Medal for upholding the high principles of scouting.

In addition, he was given a hand painted neckerchief by a very grateful Raymond Decker, the boy whose life he saved. Chief Robert Ritzert of the Copiague Fire Department presented both boys with a scouters first aid kit—to Henry, for his lifesaving deal, and to Raymond, for remaining calm during his ordeal.

I was honored to be present when the National Council of Scouting presented Henry with the Certificate of Merit, the third highest award given to a Scout for such outstanding deeds, and I am pleased to commend him for his courage and splendid example.

Most Efficient Water Supply for the Northeast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the current drought in the Northeast provides a timely warning that water supply problems demand the immediate attention of the Congress. With the unquestioned increase in our population and the accelerating trend of urban growth, we must plan now for the future water supply needs of our Nation.

Such a plan is called for to aid the drought-stricken Northeast in title I of the omnibus rivers and harbors bill—S. 2300—as reported by the House Public Works Committee. This plan will provide for a system of major reservoirs, aqueducts between major river basins, and purification plants. The title relates to the northeast, where the largest concentrations of urban population in our Nation are located.

Some very pertinent remarks regarding the supply of water for cities were made in the September issue of the Scientific American in an article on water supply and pollution problems by the internationally renowned authority on water engineering, Dr. Abel Wolman, professor emeritus at the Johns Hopkins University. Dr. Wolman is a consultant to many national and international groups concerned with water problems. He was recommended by the President

to the city of New York as one of the four members of a task force to develop answers to that city's current water problems.

After extensive studies, Dr. Wolman concludes that the Nation has plenty of water but must develop better systems of supply. He cites the economies of developing reservoirs and distribution systems over other methods of providing adequate water for metropolitan areas.

In one section of the article he outlines the New York City problem and alternatives as follows:

If water is going to remain so plentiful into the 21st century, why should New York and other cities find themselves running short in 1965? The immediate answer, of course, is that there has been a 5-year drought in the northeastern United States. With the completion in 1955 of two new reservoirs in the upper reaches of the Delaware River, and with the extension of the Delaware aqueduct to a total distance of more than 120 miles, New York City believed it could satisfy its water needs until the year 2000. This confident forecast reckoned without the unprecedented drought.

There is no point in criticizing New York's decision to depend so heavily on the Delaware watershed for its future needs. The question is what New York should do now. As long ago as 1950, in an earlier water shortage, New York was advised to build a pumping station on the Hudson River 65 miles north of the city to provide an emergency supply of 100 million gallons per day, or more as needed. (New York City's normal water demand is about 1.2 b.g.d. The average flow of the Hudson is around 11 b.g.d.) The State of New York gave the city permission to build the pumping station but stipulated that the station be dismantled when the emergency was over. By the time the station was built (at a point somewhat farther south than the one recommended) the drought had ended; the station was torn down without ever having been used. This July the city asked the State for permission to rebuild the station, a job that will take several months, but as of mid-August permission had not been granted.

Meanwhile there has been much talk of building atomic-energy desalination plants as the long-term solution to New York's water needs. The economic justification for such proposals has never been explained. New York now obtains its water, delivered by gravity flow to the city, for only about 15 cents per 1,000 gallons (and many consumers are charged only 12 cents). The lowest predicted cost for desalination, assuming a plant with a capacity of 250 million or more gallons per day, is a highly optimistic 30 to 50 cents per 1,000 gallons. Since a desalination plant would be at sea level, its entire output would have to be pumped; storage and conveyance together would add about 20 cents per 1,000 gallons to the basic production cost. Recent studies in our department at Johns Hopkins University have shown that if desalinated water could be produced and delivered for as little as 50 cents per 1,000 gallons, it would still be cheaper to obtain fresh water from a supply 600 miles away. (The calculations assume a water demand of 100 million gallons per day.) In other words, it would be much cheaper for New York City to pipe water 270 miles from the St. Lawrence River, assuming that Canada gave its consent, than to build a desalination plant at the edge of town. New York City does not have to go even as far as the St. Lawrence. It has large untapped reserves in the Hudson River and in the upper watershed of the Susquehanna, no more than 150 miles away, that could meet the city's needs well beyond the year 2000.

Few cities in the United States have the range of alternatives open to New York. The great majority of inland cities draw their water supplies from the nearest lake or river. Of the more than 150 million Americans now served by public water supplies, nearly 100 million, or 60 percent, are reusing water from sources that have already been used at least once for domestic sewage and industrial waste disposal. This used water has of course been purified, either naturally or artifically, before it reaches the consumer. Only about 25 percent of the 25 b.g.d. now used by municipalities is obtained from aquifers, or underground sources. Such acquifers supply about 65 b.g.d. of the Nation's estimated 1965 requirement of 370 b.g.d. Most of the 65 b.g.d. is merely a subterranean portion of the 1,200 b.g.d. of the precipitation flowing steadily to the sea. It is estimated, however, that from 5 to 10 b.g.d. is water mined from acquifers that have been filled over the centuries. Most of this mining is done in west Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California.

Title I of the omnibus rivers and harbors bill calls for plans to make use of the most efficient and economical sources of water in these metropolitan areas. As the cities spread out over State lines, indeed as the area from Washington to Boston develops into an almost continuous city, we can no longer think of water supply as a strictly local matter. Without coordination and advance planning which considers the total water needs of the area for both municipal and industrial growth, problems such as we see now develop and controversy arises over which city is entitled to what water.

The plan to meet the long-range water supply needs of the Northeast will complement the comprehensive and multiple-purpose river basin plans called for by other legislation. The plan will combine Federal and non-Federal works taking into account those features of the program which can best be constructed or operated or maintained by the non-Federal interests. Full consultation with State and local officials is an important part of the planning process.

This proposal is an important forward step in achieving necessary plans for most effective use of water supplies in this urban area. The experience gained in the Northeast will be of tremendous value in meeting similar problems in other areas before they reach crisis proportions.

Endangered Species Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, South Dakota's senior Senator KARL E. MUNDT has long been recognized as one of the Nation's leading conservationists. Before he came to Washington he served as State president of the Izaak Walton League. He also served on the South Dakota Game and Fish Commission. In 1937 he served as a member of the national executive board of the Izaak Walton League and has served as national vice president of that group.

In addition to his deep interest in wildlife conservation he has always been a strong supporter of soil and water conservation programs.

Senator MUNDT's latest conservation project has been directed toward preservation of rare and endangered species of American wildlife. This year his amendment earmarking $350,000 for the program was adopted by the Congress as a part of the Interior Department appropriations bill. Work is moving ahead and since that time the program has been endorsed by President Johnson and many of the leading newspapers of the country.

One of these newspapers, the Philadelphia Bulletin, carried a most informative editorial last Sunday. I place this editorial, "Saving Wildlife From Extinction," at this point in my remarks:

SAVING WILDLIFE FROM EXTINCTION

President Johnson last week approved an initial appropriation of $350,000, sponsored by Senator MUNDT, of South Dakota, to establish a wildlife research project on 300 acres of land near Laurel, Md., to try to save from extinction rare and endangered American wildlife species.

The project will include a propagation phase in which rare birds and mammals will be reproduced in an incubation-brooder building and later reintroduced to their native habitats; a laboratory phase in which specialists will engage in supporting studies of endangered species; and a field study phase in which biologists will study rare species in the wild to ascertain their requirements, assist in obtaining breeding stock for propagation, and try to find the best sites for release of captive-reared stock.

The Committee on Rare and Endangered Wildlife Species currently lists 15 species of mammals and 36 species of birds found on the North American Continent which are extremely rare and in danger of extinction. The whooping crane, whose total population numbers only slightly more than 30, has, perhaps, received the most publicity of late, but some other species are even closer to extinction. Once they disappear, they are gone forever.

This project and other related projects such as those being carried forward by the Philadelphia Zoo and under the auspices of the World Wildlife Fund engender the hopeful prospect that the trend which has seen numerous species disappear from the face of the earth because of the incursions and carelessness of man will finally be halted once and for all.

The disappearance of any additional species would be an irreparable loss.

Senator MUNDT deserves commendation for his efforts.

Texas Partners of the Alliance Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EARLE CABELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished Dallasite, Mr. Edward Marcus, serves as the chairman of the Texas Partners of the Alliance Committee. He has traveled throughout Texas making speeches and meeting with private groups to get them involved in the private sector partnership with Peru. He has also traveled in Peru and has estab-

lished excellent relationships with leaders of both the United States and the Peruvian private sector.

I felt that everyone should have the benefit of a recent address made my Mr. Marcus before the annual statewide meeting of the Texas Electric Co-ops in Dallas on August 12, 1965:

MR. EDWARD MARCUS ADDRESSING THE ANNUAL STATEWIDE MEETING OF THE TEXAS ELECTRIC CO-OPS IN DALLAS ON AUGUST 12, 1965

Thank you, Mr. President, it is a great pleasure to be with you today. This is a pleasure reserved by our mayor or other city officials which they relinquish grudgingly. Since I am not accustomed to performing in this role I called upon the mayor for some suggestions. After expressing his regret in being unable to greet you in person he asked me to convey to you his warmest personal greetings and welcome on behalf of the governing body of our city and his best wishes for a most successful and pleasant meeting. Speaking personally, and on this occasion, as spokesman for all of the citizens of Dallas, we do offer you our best welcome and sincere thanks for the honor of having Dallas selected as your meeting site for this year. We know and appreciate that most of you have been here many times before to attend the meetings of your national association. I can add, that as a drygoods merchant in downtown Dallas your presence creates a very favorable business impact on all of us and we hope you will give us the opportunity to serve you.

Being a member of an electric cooperative myself, I feel that I have a real interest in your proceedings here. My ranch near Dallas is served by an electric cooperative. I cannot help but speak, with what I hope is pardonable pride and partisanship, of what excellent service my cooperative gives and can only say that if the rest of you measure up to this quality then you've got to be pretty good.

During this past year I had the fortunate opportunity to attend two of your group meetings. Group 7 in San Antonio and Group 4 in Abilene. There I had occasion to come to know personally some of your very capable managers. To those managers that I met, and that are here today, may I say thank you again for the gracious hospitality you afforded me on those visits. On each of these visits I was accompanied by Jim Egan, of your statewide association. As some of you know I am chairman of the Texas Partners of the Alliance and Jim Egan is the vice chairman. I first met Jim in June of 1964 in San Antonio when the Texas Partners was organized.

The Partners of the Alliance is a program originated by the State Department in Washington to pair off Latin American countries, or portions thereof, with States in this Nation. This is for the purpose of broadening the base of the Alliance for Progress to achieve maximum participation of the private sector. The Alliance, although conceived and put into effect by the governments of this hemisphere, is intended for the cooperation, shared benefit, and the growth of the people of this hemisphere.

This partnership, a vehicle for the dreams and aspirations of all the people of North and South America, allows us to become better acquainted with our mutual problems or potentials.

It is easier, on any level, to identify with an individual than with a group—and the factors that unite us are greater than those which divide us. Understanding and communication—the means and the end.

Texas and Peru are partners. The concept is reciprocity—to give a hand, not a handout, to a developing nation, and to help those people who have demonstrated a willingness to help themselves. The interdependence is valid—the challenge and the incentive are ours to share. The initiative is ours. The participation of electric cooperative in "impact-type" projects—simple handtools to build a road—a roof for a school—libraries for schools already built by the Peruvians—chicken and wire for 4-H Club projects—is needed and would be welcomed. Here let me thank the Pedernales Electric Cooperative for donating a small generator to a school in the Andes Mountains.

The civilization of many areas of Peru is not of this century. To develop rural electrification in Latin America, where our "old fashioned" Delco-type light systems are still unknown, would be a majestic achievement.

If the electric cooperatives of Texas could—as some other States have done—make available surplus equipment, and in addition, could donate small portable generating plants for use in remote mountain villages—this would materially help these people to help themselves, and to implement their advancement into the 20th century.

Two teams from Texas have gone to Peru. Jim Egan headed one—I the other. These groups have surveyed possible areas where we might effectively render assistance.

The first inter-American conference of the partners of the alliance was held in June of this year, with representatives from all the States of the United States, and all the countries of Latin America that participate in the program. Tremendous interest in rural electric cooperatives was manifested by the Latin American delegates—the chairman of the Agricultural Cooperative Committee of that conference is the manager of the first electric cooperative in Ecuador.

We, in rural electrification—members, managers, and directors—who have benefited so much from our Government's assistance cannot, in conscience refuse our Government's request for constructive interest in international affairs.

This is your 25th anniversary meeting. Rural electrification in this land has come of age. Just as each of us has grown from childhood receiving to the maturity of giving—it is now our concern to pass on to others the advantages with which we have been blessed. It is now our privilege to assume a role of responsibility.

That we in the Western Hemisphere, can share in such an undertaking is in the history of diplomacy, unique.

The fundamental goals of all men are the same—after the basic necessities—opportunity, productivity, progress, amenities, enlightenment, inspiration, creativity—and finally, contributing to the betterment of humanity.

In aiding our neighbors, within the framework of their own institutions and culture, to fulfill themselves and their highest destiny—with selfless motivation, we are approaching the noblest goal of mankind—to "ease the burdens of the world."

Public Weary of Excusing Teenage Hoodlums

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, I am sure J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, reflects the feeling of most of our citizens when he says the public is getting fed up hearing the actions of teenage hoodlums blamed on present-day society.

Director Hoover as made an excellent analysis of this in the current issue of the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin. His challenging comments are worthy of our consideration and of the consideration of every parent, public official, and person associated with law enforcement. It follows:

Young thugs and teenage criminals may be pressing their luck by increasing their violent escapades while blaming society for their faults.

It appears that the public is beginning to gag on the steady sociological diet of excusing the conduct of teenage hoodlums because "society has failed them." Resort communities racked by senseless riots and citizens who cannot venture from their homes without being assaulted and beaten are geting fed up with pampered and insolent youth gangs.

Some courts in the troubled areas are taking a more realistic approach in handling those involved in these outbreaks. New laws providing stiffer penalties are being enacted in a few places. We can only hope that authorities everywhere will follow this trend. Certainly, the mere desire of young miscreants to have a "blast" or to "let off steam" is no excuse to ravage a community and to maim and terrorize its residents.

That holiday riots and similar antics by carousing youths have evoked widespread concern is not surprising. It is surprising, however, that strong public reaction did not come sooner. For several years, the increasing volume of criminal acts by young people—spurred on by the lenient treatment received—has presented a clear barometric reading of what we are now witnessing. For instance, from 1960 through 1964, the percentage of young age-group arrests for homicide, forcible rape, aggravated assault, robbery, burglary, larceny, and auto theft more than doubled the population increase percentage of the same group. Arrests of persons under 18 for simple assault rose 79 percent, drunkenness and related violations 52 percent, disorderly conduct 18 percent, and concealed weapons 17 percent during the same 5 years. In the light of this shameful picture, we cannot say that we were not forewarned.

The immediate objective, of course, is to put a stop to these rumbles and mass vandalism. Meanwhile, the question puzzling most people is what caused the principles and morals of some of our youth to degenerate to near animal level. Recognizing the problem comes much easier than its solution. However, of all the factors involved, I am convinced one of the most damaging is the false teaching which tends to blame society for all the frustrations, woes, and inconveniences, real or imaginary, visited upon our young people. Teenagers, and their parents, have been subjected to a foolhardy theory which condones rebellious conduct against authority, law and order, or any regulatory measures which restrict their whims, wishes, desires, and activities. This astonishing belief has spread into the schoolroom, the living room, the courtroom, and now into the streets of our Nation in the form of wild, drunken brawls.

No doubt, society has failed our youth, but not in the way many seem to think. Rather, the dereliction has been in the failure to teach them the meaning of discipline, restraint, self-respect, and respect for law and order and the rights of others. Consequently, the lesson now is both painful and costly.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER,
Director.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1965.

A Golden Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. KUNKEL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. KUNKEL. Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding engineering firms in the country this year is observing its golden anniversary in Harrisburg, Pa., where it was established half a century ago.

Those of us who have watched the growth of Gannett, Fleming, Corddry & Carpenter, and who know of the fine work being performed by this company up to the present day, take great pride in pointing it out as one of the venerable old institutions of Pennsylvania's capital city. I am especially happy to count its people among my constituents.

The history and far-flung operations of this firm are described in the August 1965, edition of Consulting Engineer. The wonderful story of enterprise and dedication to high standards that shines through in that article is made all the more engaging by the commentary and fine personal touches contributed by Samuel W. Fleming, Jr., chairman of the board of Gannett, Fleming, Corddry & Carpenter.

Sam Fleming is an old and dear friend of mine. He has always made me almost wish that I had grown up an engineer. We have shared many a pleasant hour together from the time we were youngsters, and for his gracious way of taking me in as part of his family I am eternally grateful to him. I have enjoyed long and rewarding friendships as well with Farley Gannett and Ted Seelye, the original partners in this engineering venture. The congeniality of my relations with the firm over the years is due also to a number of other good friends of mine who work with these men.

So I was gratified that the article in Consulting Engineers was as much a tribute to Samuel Fleming and his stalwart partners as it was to one of the Nation's leading engineering organizations. I wish to place the article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

[From Consulting Engineer, August 1965]

Samuel W. Fleming, Jr., chairman of the board of Gannett, Fleming, Corddry & Carpenter, of Harrisburg, Pa., is one of the pioneer partners in the firm that this month marks its 50th year. The beginnings of the firm, as Fleming described them recently at Gannett, Fleming, Corddry & Carpenter's golden anniversary dinner, are a far cry from its present status. "This business started in 1915—very modestly, our first quarters consisting of a small room and a smaller one adjoining; our initial office furniture, as I recall, two desks, one table, four chairs, a filing cabinet and a secondhand typewriter; our entire personnel, two, then three engineers, and a part-time stenographer. In those far-off days, some of the older men may recall that these lovely and useful ladies around an office were generally referred to as stenographers. Most of them now carry the more dignified title of secretary. Now there are hundreds of engineers in our organization, and I will not attempt to enumerate the full-time secretaries."

In the intervening years, the firm has been involved in more than 4,000 projects utilizing the diversified abilities present in its six divisions. And for all of those years and through all of those projects, Fleming has been one of the key men responsible for guiding the firm's destiny. Two other partners from the early days, W. Howard Corddry and J. Donald Carpenter, also still participate in the firm's activities.

EARLY LIFE

A native of Harrisburg, Fleming attended Harrisburg Academy and Lawrenceville Preparatory School. He then went on to Princeton and Lehigh, receiving a BA from the first in 1906, and an ME from the second in 1909. His first job took him to New York State as an engineer for the Central Hudson Gas & Electric Co. Five years later in January 1916 he joined Farley Gannett and T. E. Seelye as a partner in the firm which had been fledged just 5 months earlier as a result of Theodore Roosevelt's failure to capture the Republican nomination for President on the Bull Moose ticket. Fleming feels Gannett's own description of his reasons for establishing an independent consulting practice is as good as can be given:

"For some years I was chief engineer of the Water Supply Commission of Pennsylvania. When Teddy Roosevelt came out for the Bull Moose ticket, my whole staff of about 50 joined me in enthusiastically backing him. The powers that be in Pennsylvania were for Taft and we were backing Teddy, so when Pennsylvania went for Taft, I decided I'd better resign before I was fired. When I told Ted Seelye, who was my principal assistant, that I was resigning and going to open an office as a consulting engineer, he asked if he could be my chief engineer if he resigned, too. I told him 'no,' but he could be a partner if he could raise $600. That's how we came about."

FIFTY YEARS OF PROGRESS

Except for a period during World War I, Fleming has been right in the thick of Gannett, Fleming, Corddry & Carpenter activity for the past 50 years, and expects to continue for a while longer still, although he says that the three senior partners are beginning to ease up a bit. Too many firms, he feels, have suffered because the older members just hung on too long. As chairman of the board, Fleming is active in administration of the firm and in policy guidance on project investigation and design. Gannett, Fleming, Corddry & Carpenter exists both as a partnership and as a corporate organization with its home office in Harrisburg and three permanent branch offices in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Daytona Beach. The present staff totals about 500 of which some 350 are engineers.

Although the first work done by the partners was largely in the field of water supply, Gannett, Fleming, Corddry & Carpenter has now expanded its operations to cover the entire range of engineering services. That this subsequent growth was anticipated, or at least hoped for, can be seen from the firm's emblem adopted during its first year of operation. The emblem that appears on Gannett, Fleming, Corddry & Carpenter's letterhead is composed of figures taken from Egyptian symbolism: a small diamond at the top representing the ether; a crescent symbolizing air; and a square, a circle, and a triangle standing for earth, water, and fire respectively—all the elements with which engineers deal—and in its 50 years of growth Gannett, Fleming, Corddry & Carpenter has encompassed all of them in the services it offers.

Today the firm has six major divisions: a highway, bridge, and traffic division handling interstate, urban, and rural highways, municipal streets, and all types of bridges; a hydraulic division responsible for dams, waterworks, flood control, hydroelectric projects, foundations, land drainage, management of water properties; a valuation division for appraisals, reports, rate studies, acquisition studies, development of continuing property records, depreciation studies, insurance surveys; a sanitary division responsible for sewerage and storm drainage systems, pumping stations, force mains, industrial waste treatment, refuse, garbage and sewage sludge disposal, and incinerator facilities; a general engineering division which handles work on industrial plants and development, public facilities, production planning, utilities, airports, and construction supervision; and a construction and equipment division which operates primarily in central Pennsylvania as a separate entity specializing in gas, sewer, and water pipeline installations and the excavation or repair of water impoundments.

Within these major divisions there also are a number of specialized sections. Among these are a fully staffed and equipped soils section, a consulting section on water utilities which furnishes continuing engineering consultation to some 40 authorities and municipalities as well as to privately owned water utilities, a consulting section on sewage disposal and industrial waste plant operations to more than 50 authorities and municipalities as well as to privately owned properties, and an electronic data processing section which provides a complete range of services in systems analysis, programing, computing, and data processing.

One of the guiding principles of the corporation is that no job is too small and none too big. Projects have ranged from design of a golf course in Pennsylvania to a current undertaking—design of a reconstructed H Street underpass in Washington, D.C., in which actual design is almost incidental to the problems of maintaining traffic to and from Union Station during construction, a matter of some 135 trains a day on 34 tracks. An electronically controlled automatic mail system must be continued in operation and 11,000-volt electric lines moved without cutting current to the railroad facilities.

In terms of quantity, Fleming estimates that the firm has had a hand in some 4,000 projects in its half century of existence. It has designed more dams than any other organization except the Department of the Interior and the Corps of Engineers. It has blueprinted more than 550 miles of modern limited access expressways, including some 280 miles of the national system of interstate and defense highways. It has been involved in turnpikes in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Florida, Illinois, Connecticut, Virginia, and West Virginia (as well as in the design of standard and interstate highways in many of the Eastern States). It prepared the first specification for photogrammetric mapping used on any toll road, for the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission. It probably knows more about the land and water of the Quaker State than any other organization, private or governmental. It has served the U.S. Government in World Wars I and II, the Korean conflict, and various national disasters.

One area of work in which the firm takes pride are the projects undertaken for the Government in periods of national emergency. When the United States entered World War I, Gannett, Fleming, Corddry & Carpenter laid out buildings and utilities for Middletown Air Depot and the New Cumberland Storage Depot. It also designed and supervised the construction of a 600-house development on the Civil War battlefield of Seven Pines in Virginia to house employees of the Du Pont powder plant near Richmond. Twenty years later, when it appeared more and more likely the United States would be drawn into the conflict, the firm found itself 100 percent in defense work again. The U.S. Army called upon it to design and supervise construction of the Indiantown

Gap and Camp Reynolds cantonments, each housing 30,000 troops and including 1,000-bed hospitals.

The firm also provided the engineering know-how for two ordnance plants and other defense facilities, including three airfields. Of the latter, the most challenging task was the crash program under which Andrews Air Force Base was designed and constructed. In the spring of 1942 the Corps of Engineers asked the Gannett firm to survey a swampy, pine-forested airport site in Maryland about 10 miles southeast of Washington, D.C. Some months after the survey was completed, the War Department decided to construct a Fighter Command Station on the site to protect Washington, Baltimore, and Norfolk from possible bombing attacks. Gannett, Fleming, Corddry & Carpenter was given the design and supervision job and, despite the rain and mud that hampered the contractor and hiked the cost, fighter planes were on the runways 3 months after the initial work began.

Current projects in addition to those already mentioned are equally diversified, ranging from a review of plans for a $1 billion, 110-mile canal linking the Ohio River with Lake Erie; establishment of a fair price for the road and equipment of the Pittsburgh Railroad Co taken over by the Port Authority of Allegheny County; development with other consultants for the Delaware River Port Authority of plans for a southern New Jersey rapid transit system with an estimated cost of more than $65 million; design of carbon filter facilities for the West Virginia Water Co. plant at Nitro, W. Va.; planning work in connection with the Sterling Park housing development, a new self-contained community to house 25,000 people in Virginia, near Dulles Airport. One smaller job that presents a challenge is the design of a test track in Wisconsin for American Motors. This must simulate a 15-year-old road so that the client can subject its Ramblers to the torture test. A similar track was planned for Ford previously. In contrast, Gannett, Fleming, Corddry & Carpenter also has been engaged to design a horserace track at Washington, Pa.

The firm also is actively engaged in foreign work as it has been for many years. Fleming, some 35 years ago, initiated overseas work when he met in England a Canadian banker who proposed the formation of a utility holding company. This led Fleming to some 5 years in planning utilities in Chile, Argentina, and Brazil. The firm also has been engaged in engineering design in Cuba and Haiti, and for the past 15 years has been involved in the design and supervision of two major projects in Colombia. One is for the city of Medillin which, over the past 12 years, has included the design and supervision of construction of four major dams for water supply and hydroelectric power. The other job is for the National Government and consists of some 350 kilometers of new highway through the mountains of western Colombia. On one section between Supia and La Pintada the airline distance is 35 kilometers while the old road distance is more than 65 kilometers. As soon as the contractor completed all the heavy excavation, the project was opened to commercial traffic from 4 p.m. until 8 a.m. The value of the unfinished road was attested to by the train of trucks which began to line up at noon each day, awaiting the opening of the road 4 hours later. The wait saved each of them not only time and frustration, but also one whole tank of gas.

Another overseas project is being carried on at Quito, Ecuador, where a portion of the populace for centuries has drawn water from wells and small streams, the firm is designing a modern, $10 million addition to the water supply system with an initial output of 26 million gallons per day—an output that can be doubled. The source is snow-capped Cotopaxi and the project includes a number of major siphons—one 22,000 feet long with a low point 1,700 feet below the rim of the valley it crosses. For this job Gannett, Fleming, Corddry & Carpenter opened an office in Quito, staffed with local engineers and draftsmen to design the raw water flumes.

Fleming comments that although they have spent so many years in overseas work, he is convinced, that it is important to work as much as possible with nationals of the country involved, supplying only supervisory people from the United States.

CURRICULA VITAE

Fleming achieved the rank of major during World War I when he spent 3 years in the 35th Infantry until he was wounded by a German shell. He received the Distinguished Service Cross, the Order of the Purple Heart, and the French Legion of Honor and Croix de Guerre. He continued his military service as a lieutenant in the Pennsylvania National Guard until 1928, and also served as a member of the Pennsylvania Bttlefield Commission in France and Belgium from 1921 to 1928.

Fleming's activities include serving as a director of the National Bank & Trust Co. of central Pennsylvania, president and director of the Oswego Waterworks, and director of the General Waterworks Corp., and the Cayuga Rock Salt Co. He is a member of the National Society of Professional Engineers, and the Engineers Society of Pennsylvania, and the Pennsylvania Association of Consulting Engineers (CEC), although he says that in recent years he has not been too active in such organizations. He has given extensively in community service as past president of the Harrisburg Chamber of Commerce, the Harrisburg Area Boy Scout Council, the Harrisburg Academy Board of Trustees, the United Fund Campaign, and the Country Club of Harrisburg, and is presently a trustee of Temple University, the American Society French Legion of Honor, and the Market Square Presbyterian Church.

THE NEXT HALF CENTURY

Fleming looks to the future of his firm with the optimism born of continued success. He is looking forward to the new building being planned for the Harrisburg office—an anniversary gift from Gannett, Fleming, Corddry & Carpenter to itself. He sees nowhere to go but up for his firm and the consulting engineering profession in general. "Our success over the past half century has been due to an unusual combination of talent, nerve, perseverance, the needs of an expanding population—and just plain breaks," he says. "All of these ingredients, with the possible exception of breaks, are with us in even greater measure as we go into our second half century. The need for engineering services, both public and private, to meet the basic demands of a growing and increasingly prosperous population in this country and abroad, is bound to pyramid in the years ahead. And I expect that Gannett, Fleming, Corddry & Carpenter will have a part in it."

Twisting the Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, I take great pleasure in extending in the RECORD a copy of an editorial on home rule which appeared in the State which is considered the leading South Carolina daily newspaper.

I hope every Member of the House will take a few minutes time and read this editorial as I believe this editorial expresses the general thinking of the majority of the people of the United States.

The editorial follows:

[From the (Columbia, S.C.) State, Sept. 11, 1965]

TWISTING THE LAW

The administration's bill to establish home rule for the District of Columbia, as Columnist James L. Kilpatrick points out in his column on this page today, qualifies as a masterpiece of mislegislating.

Further, Kilpatrick notes, the American public remains almost wholly ignorant of the gimmicks and wrongs in the proposal about to spew forth from the slot machine Congress.

As a beginner, the bill so clearly and openly violates a simply stated provision in the Constitution that it's surprising so little has been said about the matter. Perhaps the public has truly been the victim of organized propaganda.

Article I, section 8, gives Congress the power to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding 10 miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States. The article confers like authority over forts, magazines and arsenals, dockyards and other needful things.

The meaning is unmistakable, and the fact that the bill allows Congress to repeal or modify laws enacted by a Washington city council does not meet the constitutional requirement that the Congress have exclusive legislative power in the District. The paragraph in the Constitution expressly excludes any legislative power in the District of Columbia other than the Congress.

Equally repugnant to the Constitution is the provision which will allow the Washington City Council to tax, under the guise of payments in lieu of taxes, the Federal property in Washington. As Kilpatrick points out, the payment of our tax dollars to the Washington City government would be based on "a reasonable and fair assessment of real and personal property of the United States."

The Washington mayor would request whatever sum he wants from the Federal Government (i.e., all other Federal taxpayers), the administrator of General Services would review the request, and payment would be made by the Treasury. Congress the exclusive, legislative authority, would be left out completely.

The administration's proposed bill simply would grant the elected officials of the city of Washington, most of whom are Federal employees in the first place, the power to tax the whole Nation to pay the costs of operating their hometown. In reality the District of Columbia city budget becomes a Federal tax bill and appropriation measure, and again the Constitution says that all such measures must originate in the House of Representatives.

Obviously a great proportion of Washington real estate, and billions and billions of personal property is owned by the Federal Government. Since the bill would allow almost unlimited levies against such property in lieu of taxes, the budget for the District will probably be equally unlimited. The Washington City Council would, under such conditions, figure it could afford most anything—or everything.

In all, this is a prime example of what happens when emotions and propaganda gain ascendancy over reason and fact. Un-

fortunately, everyone except the favored District of Columbia residents are likely to pay dearly for it.

The Dedication of the Slovak Chapel in Washington, D.C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, the 1965 Labor Day weekend will go down in the history of the people of the captive nations and their ethnic groups in this country because of the inspirational celebration of the diamond jubilee of the First Catholic Slovak Union of the United States and Canada held in Washington on those days. Ten thousand American Slovaks attended and witnessed the dedication of the Chapel of the Sorrowful Mother, patroness of Slovakia, in the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, under the blessing of the apostolic delegate, Archbishop Egidio Vagnozzi.

I was happy and proud because the members of the Jednota from my district had the largest individual branch in the entire organization of 105,000 members, a distinction they have held for two decades, though larger Slovak colonies exist outside of my native city of Perth Amboy. I feel that this affords them at least an honorable mention as one of the leading fraternalists in America. Over 1,500 Slovaks came from New Jersey under the spiritual leadership of Rev. Michal Churak, supreme chaplain of the Slovak Catholic Federation of America.

The great success of the diamond jubilee celebration will inspire other ethnic and fraternal groups to show greater progress and enthusiasm in their endeavors. In order to evaluate the nature of the celebration and the impact it had on the general public, I am placing in the RECORD the report of the Falcon, sent me by its editor from Passaic, N.J., Mr. John C. Sciranka, who makes it his business to publicize these most significant events:

TEN THOUSAND SLOVAKS WITNESS DEDICATION OF SLOVAK CHAPEL IN WASHINGTON, D.C.—LARGEST NUMBER OF ANY ETHNIC GROUP WINS PRAISE FROM CHURCH AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IN THE NATION'S CAPITOL—PROGRAM BEAMED TO SLOVAKIA THROUGH THE VOICE OF AMERICA

On Saturday and Sunday, September 4 and 5, 10,000 American Slovaks witnessed the dedication of the new $125,000 Our Mother of Sorrows Chapel at the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, Washington, D.C. Bishop Andrew G. Grutka, D.D., consecrated the altar on Saturday, Rt. Rev. Abbot Theodore G. Kojis, OSB., celebrated the Mass and preached the sermon.

On Saturday evening a grand ball was held at the Hotel Sheraton Park with two orchestras.

On Sunday, 10,000 Slovaks from United States of America and Canada crowded the National Shrine. The Washington Post reported on Monday, September 6, under a large three column picture of the basilica "because of the crowd, many of Slovak Americans listened to the Mass outside."

The blessing of the chapel was the most important moment of a jubilee celebration, marking the 75th anniversary of the Jednota, the First Catholic Slovak Union of the United States, according to James M. Coram, staff writer for the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., in his story under the caption "Slovak Catholic Chapel in Shrine Is Dedicated."

The Jednota, a fraternal benefit organization with branches in every Slovak Catholic parish in North America, presented the chapel to the National Shrine as a monument to "the faith of the Slovak people and their traditional and living devotion to our Blessed Mother."

Twin sermons at Sunday's mass, one in Slovak, one in English, pictured the oppression and suffering of the Slovak people in the past and in the present under communism—drawing parallels to the seven dolors or sorrows endured by the Virgin Mary.

Six of the seven dolors are depicted individually in bronze bas-relief in the green marble chapel. The seventh, a life-sized pieta sculptured by Ernest Morenon in Trani marble, is the main feature in the chapel. Rising behind the statue is a wooden cross and bronze crown of thorns.

To the right of the pieta is a Botticino marble alter recessed in green marble walls. Above the altar are two gold inscriptions, the first in Slovak, the second in English: "Our Mother of Sorrows, Virgin Mary, Patroness of the Slovak People, Pray for Us," and "Grant O Mother source of love that I may feel your depth of grief. Make me mourn with you."

Archbishop Egidio Vagnozzi, apostolic delegate to the United States, dedicated the chapel during a noon mass presided over by Washington Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle.

Bishop Paul Hnilica, of Rome, delivered a sermon in Slovak. Bishop Joseph A. Durick, of Nashville, Tenn., spoke in English.

The votive mass was celebrated at the main altar by Bishop Andrew G. Grutka, of Gary, Ind. A carillon concert by Robert Grogan, shrine carillonneur, followed the dedication at 1:45 p.m.

And the Washington Post reported on Monday, September 6, that following the religious ceremonies, more than 100 chartered buses took the visitors to the luncheon banquets at the Sheraton Park and Shoreham Hotels.

Senator Frank J. Lausche, Democrat, of Ohio, spoke to more than 3,500 gathered at the Sheraton Park. His remarks were piped to another 2,500 at the Shoreham.

The new chapel was designed by Eugene F. Kennedy, Jr., of Boston. The pieta is carved from Trani marble and is set off by bronze bas reliefs depicting the Six Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin.

Bishop Grutka consecrated the altar of the chapel on Saturday. Rt. Rev. Abbot Theodore G. Kojiš, OSB., pontificated and preached in Slovak.

Joseph C. Krajsa, editor of "Jednota" was toastmaster. John A. Sabol, supreme president and John Sabol, supreme secretary and supreme officer for the past 42 years spoke for the organization.

Archbishop Vagnozzi opened the banquet with the prayer. Bishop Andrew G. Grutka was the principal speaker in Slovak. Roman Nižnik, of McKees Rocks, Pa., well-known Slovak opera singer from the Pittsburgh Opera, sang with Miss Aurelia Hvizdos, also a new American Slovak opera star. There was a Slovak chorus with Nižnik from McKees Rocks, Pa.

Archbishop Vagnozzi received a standing ovation as the papal representative. Father John E. Senglar, S.T.L., supreme chaplain read a message of felicitations to Pope Paul VI, which was adopted with standing ovation. Over 350 American Slovak prelates and priests and over 500 Slovak nuns attended this huge celebration. The banquet was closed with an English and Slovak prayer by Msgr. Francis J. Dubosh, P.A., and singing of "Hej, Slováci," "God Bless America" and "Teba Boha chválime."

Dr. John Karch and Dr. Francis Lisy, represented the Voice of America. Dr. Michael Múdry represented the Radio Free Europe. The Voice of America beamed the proceeding to Slovakia on Saturday, Sunday, this Wednesday and two programs on Sunday, September 12.

Prof. Anthony Suchon, organist of Passaic Slovak Parish of St. Mary's played at the huge organ and Organist J. Duris of Cleveland, Ohio, directed the vast singing of 10,000 Slovaks in the National Shrine. Large number of students came with Sisters of SS. Cyril and Methodius, Danville, Pa., and sang the Slovak mass.

The Press Seems To Be Changing Its Point of View

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, it seems as though the press and the columnists are gradually coming around to the point of view that all acts of this administration are not necessarily in the public interest, as evidenced by the following column by Charles McCabe published in the San Francisco Chronicle of September 10:

L.B.J. MOVIE, AND THE SUCKERS

(By Charles McCade)

Us here John Quentin taxpayers have played many roles in our time, but there is one that came up from under a rock in Washington, D.C., the other day that has had aghast even such a hardened observed of the arrogance of office as I.

We taxpayers have built the pyramids and underwritten Versailles. We have supported mistresses and bastard children, with and without charm, of the great. We have sent the sons of countless Tammany Hall contractors through Yale, and later elevated them to the bench, where they could steal on a really big scale.

We have erected dams that were about as necessary as a Balenciaga frock. We have built public roads that led from nowhere to hell. We have supported with foreign aid funds the bums of Crete and the lower Nile, only to have them spit at us in gratitude. We even support the Internal Revenue Service for the purpose of prosecuting us when, for one good reason or another, we funk paying our annual dues to the politicians.

At the apogee of our folly we raised Caligula's horse, Incitatus, to the level of consul, and provided the animal with wine from a golden goblet, served in its manger of ivory.

But we have never had any role nearly so rich and strange, I submit, as our newly announced function as movie producer of a film glorifying the life and achievements of the Texas politico who is currently our lord and master.

In a Senate debate the other day, it came out that something called "The Texas Story" is being filmed by the U.S. Information Agency. The USIA, it was disclosed, has already spent $80,000 of tax money on this thing "designed to show the President's contributions to the country."

The final figure for this chunk of baloney has not been announced, or if it has it has somehow escaped my eye.

What can one say to all this? That Mr. Johnson should be ashamed of himself for presiding over this badly advised exercise in apotheosis? But saying Mr. Johnson should be ashamed of himself is too frequently like saying ice cream should not be cold. He acts as if the rules of politics, such as they are, were made to be broken. By him.

The rules of political propaganda are about as loose as any in the game. They do stop short, though, of partisan self-glorification at the expense of all parties, and the members thereof.

The Earl of Chesterfield said that politicians were persons who neither loved nor hated, but were moved solely by interest. This can be both a good and a bad thing, this opacity to feeling. In his dealings with those of his own breed, the common or vulgar statesman, our leader's blindness to certain delicacies is one of his greatest weapons.

The same goes for his dealings with the Washington press, most of whom are just about a cut above the politicians they cover. With the politicians, and the subpoliticians, Mr. Johnson is a superb operator. His propaganda achievements in behalf of himself have not been the least staggering of the many staggering achievements of his administration.

He has taken such relentless credit for his worthy actions that, as an instance, a lot of people think he is Abraham Lincoln for his work in the civil rights field.

He is the first man yet, as far as I know, who had dipped into public funds to lie about himself and his own achievements. He is getting his lackeys at USIA to say things about him which even his prodigious ego would not permit; and which no independent artist would dream of saying, if asked to do such a movie.

There is a limit to the nonsense that can be tolerated about these raids on the public Treasury. I suggest it has been reached in this latest boondoggle to let us know, for the ninetieth time, that beagles, and all other quadrupeds and bipeds, just adore the hero of "The Texas Story." Somehow, I keep thinking of Caligula and that horse.

Costs Soar in Lagging TFX Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, I have taken the floor on numerous occasions to call the House's attention to the controversial TFX fighter-bomber, one which I called the "Flying Edsel" after Secretary McNamara's apparently political and certainly biased reversal of the choice of our military experts.

The development of this aircraft, now designated the F-111, will cost more than any other single military hardware item in the history of our country. Moreover, we recall the unusual way in which the contract was let to General Dynamics Corp., a firm headquartered in President Johnson's home State. We remember also that a number of high placed officials in this administration had access to the back doors of General Dynamics. Our top ranking military experts had strongly and repeatedly recommended the Boeing Co.'s design. Yet, Secretary of Defense McNamara overruled them. Their objections to the Dynamics' design, that of excess weight and cost, are now being borne out.

There have been columns in the press from time to time pointing out the serious problems being encountered in developing this aircraft. One of the latest articles on the subject was written by Mr. Richard Wilson in the September 3 edition of the Washington Evening Star. I ask unanimous consent that the article "Cost Soars in Lagging TFX Project" be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

COSTS SOAR IN LAGGING TFX PROJECT

(By Richard Wilson)

Here's the latest word on that $5 billion miracle airplane program, the TFX. It is costing about $5 million per plane instead of the estimated $2.2 million. It is too heavy for the Navy to use. It could have been ready now but it isn't because the Kennedy administration lagged a year while evaluating and reevaluating the aircraft so that General Dynamics Corp. could get the contract.

So what is happening? Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara is scrambling around finding 10-year-old models of aircraft for the war in Vietnam—planes for yesterday's war. The plane for today's war will be ready for tomorrow's.

The TFX, now approaching operation as the F-111, is a high-powered, all purpose fighter-bomber for use by both the Air Force and the Navy in different versions. The idea was to save a lot of money by having a dual purpose model that could be fixed up to takeoff from flight decks as well as airfields.

Procurement of this airplane captured public attention because it was the largest single military supply item in history. The controversy over which version, that of the Boeing Co. or that of Texas-based General Dynamics Corp., should be adopted ended the careers of several high-ranking military and civilian officials. Texas won. The chiefs of all the military services lost. They did not recommend the General Dynamics plane.

It's chief supporter was McNamara, who overcame the military men with an avalanche of personal judgments from a computerized mind and proved who was boss in the Defense Department.

Now the Navy is trying to tell everyone in a rather hushed voice that the plane is too heavy, that it can't be flown properly from carriers. The Air Force won't get the plane for military operations for a couple of years. As for the Navy, if it ever flies it, that won't be until 1969 or even later. Maybe the war in Vietnam will still be going on, and the old-time B-47's, the F-105's and the Lockheed Starfighters, which McNamara is now having to buy, will have been expended.

This kind of plane would have been just fine for Vietnam. Its wings could be shifted, into different positions, from straight out to swept back, so that it could take off from flight decks or short runways. It could fly "slow" or at supersonic speeds; it could "loiter" or go like a shot; it could fly high or come zipping in at treetop level. That is to say, it could do all these things for both the Air Force and the Navy if it could have been designed right.

Nobody knows for sure that the Boeing plane would have worked out any better, but the top military men all thought so, and the General Dynamics plane is not hung around their necks, at least, but McNamara's. So far as realizing any billion dollars savings as was at first advertised, that doesn't appear very likely if the Navy has to have a lighter version. In view of the nearly doubling of cost per plane, it does not seem likely in any case.

They are calling the TFX the flying Edsel in commemoration of McNamara's ill-fated project when he was president of the Ford Motor Co. It is to be hoped that this is too harsh a judgment and that before it is all over McNamara will have found a way to make his plane useful to both services at a lowered cost. But the experts around the McClellan investigating committee, who conducted an inconclusive congressional hearing on the TFX, have their doubts. They are worth listening to now in view of the case they made against McNamara's judgment. Nobody will really be able to prove his case because the Boeing plane was not built, and nobody will know just how good the General Dynamics plane is until it gets into combat.

But one thing is certain. The easy confidence and overbearing logic with which McNamara approached this matter has not yet been borne out in practice. The F-111 is a serious military problem.

McNamara will not be able to maintain his reputation as the first ranking genius of the administration until his judgment in a field where he is best qualified is borne out.

The Latest on Jet Noise—Part IX

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report that my efforts in the field of aircraft noise abatement have received the attention of the President. As my colleagues know, I had written to President Johnson on August 19, 1965, urging the appointment of a Presidential Commission to deal with the problem of aircraft noise in depth. On the same day I had received a telegraphic response from the White House. The text of the letter and telegram were included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 30, 1965—page A4888.

As a result of my recommendation, the White House has announced a special conference on jet noise to be held late in October. I received the news of this conference in a letter from Dr. Colin M. MacLeod, Deputy Director, Office of Science and Technology.

The text of the letter follows:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
OFFICE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY,
Washington, September 1, 1965.

DEAR MR. TENZER: Your letters of August 19, 1965, to the President, and of August 23 to Mr. Jacobsen have been referred to this office for reply. I regret the several days delay in so doing.

As you know, I have been much concerned with the problem of jet aircraft noise since our discussion at lunch several weeks ago. I have thought about the matter a great deal, discussed it with Dr. Hornig as well as with engineers and scientists who have examined it in detail. As of the moment, we are not at all clear as to how many of our difficulties are susceptible to relief through engineering, operational, or other possible means.

In view of the evident, and probably increasing, importance of the problem—as you have repeatedly emphasized—Dr. Hornig and I have decided to convene a special panel for

a 1-day meeting to take measure of the current state of the relevant technologies, and to define the avenues available for research, or for other kinds of actions, having reasonable promise of success. Our present plan is to hold the meeting at this office toward the end of October 1965.

Your continued interest and concern are welcome and appreciated. We will keep you informed as our plans for the meeting mature.

Sincerely yours,

COLIN M. MACLEOD,
Acting Director.

Since coming to Washington in January I have made every effort to obtain recognition from the highest level of Government of the jet noise problem. I have long advocated that this is a national problem which requires the resources of the Federal Government to bring about an abatement of aircraft noise and thus relieve its adverse effects on the lives of those living near jet airports. I am now pleased to report that such recognition has now come from the White House.

With the availability of smaller jet aircraft, hundreds of this Nation's airfields will soon begin to service jet planes. The noise problem will increase steadily unless Congress and the executive branch act now to alleviate this situation.

Mr. Speaker, as an indication of the growing seriousness of the problem, I call to the attention of my colleagues that civic associations and property owners associations are now taking an active part in organizing citizens groups to fight the menace of jet noise. Recently at a jet noise protest meeting in Nassau County, attended by over 1,500 persons, a resolution was discussed to organize a car stall-in at Kennedy Airport. I suggested that such action would be bordering on irresponsibility. We all know what happens when people try to "take the law into their own hands"—where will it end—someone is bound to get hurt.

Once again I suggest to my colleagues that we face a major national problem of growing proportions. I was asked the other day if I was raising my voice to seek personal relief from the jet noise annoyance over my own hourse in Lawrence, Long Island. My answer was an unqualified and resounding "Yes." Of course I share the problems with my neighbors and I am able to recognize and understand that we do not stand alone amongst the sufferers. I have heard from people from other States, counties, cities, towns and villages. I have spoken to my colleagues who have told me about the problems in their respective districts. Soon there will be additional millions of persons affected by the problem of jet noise in many more States of the Union than are now affected.

This past Sunday an incident occurred in New York which I unhappily report.

On Sunday afternoon, September 12, 1965, 300 residents of Brooklyn demonstrated against low-flying jet planes at Kennedy International Airport in New York. The account of this demonstration, as reported in the Long Island Press, Monday, September 13, 1965, follows:

JET NOISE PICKETS BRING OWN NOISE

Three hundred South Brooklyn residents, protesting noise from low-flying jets, yesterday made more noise than the jets as they demonstrated at Kennedy Airport.

The residents of Mill Neck, Bergen, and Canarsie created a deafening din inside the International Arrivals Building.

They arrived at the airport at 1 p.m. in a 100-car motorcade. Immediately they began picketing with placards at the base of the control tower, just outside the International Arrivals Building.

After an hour and a half of pushing, shoving, screaming, and whistling, Walter Buehler, eastern regional noise abatement officer for the FAA, met with leaders of the demonstration and promised to set up a meeting sometime this week.

The demonstrators claim that flight patterns have been gradually shifted east from the normal Canarsie approach. They maintain the jets are now flying over densely populated areas, drowning out conversations, disrupting sleep, and causing havoc with television reception.

In a press release, Oscar Bakke, FAA regional director said the new approach gives pilots a better chance to use a system of lead-in lights.

The jet noise problem now plaguing the Brooklynites is nothing new to southeast Queens and southwest Nassau residents. They've been squarely in the landing paths of jets at Kennedy for years.

It's possible, though ironic, that the Brooklyn residents are victims of an effort by the FAA to provide relief for their Queens and Nassau neighbors.

The FAA has attempted to change patterns from time to time to give the most severely affected homeowners a little breather.

Let me make it very clear that I do not approve or condone such demonstrations at our airports as a means of bringing national attention to the aircraft noise problem. I have made every effort to sound the alarm to my colleagues in this Chamber and to call for congressional action as well as recognition from the White House that the abatement of aircraft noise requires action now. Irresponsible action is not the answer. The recogntion of aircraft noise as a national problem by responsible leaders of Government may bring the answer.

I urge my colleagues to support my proposal for a Presidential Commission to deal with the problem of aircraft noise and to speak out on this issue before the White House Jet Noise Conference next month.

Provision of Group Life Insurance for Members of Armed Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Veterans' Affairs reported H.R. 10873 today, with amendments. This is a bill which will provide a program of group life insurance for members of the uniformed services who are on active duty.

This insurance program is to be administered by the Veterans' Administration and underwritten by a group of private insurance companies. The program is patterned after the group insurance program now operating for the benefit of Federal employees.

The program will make $10,000 life insurance available to any member of the U.S. Armed Forces, at a rate of $2 a month, or he may elect to take $5,000, at the rate of $1 per month. Coverage will be automatic when the bill becomes law.

This insurance will be in addition to any other insurance which the serviceman may have, and will be in addition to benefits for survivors under the dependency and indemnity compensation program.

H.R. 10873 was introduced by the gentleman from Tennessee, Congressman ROBERT EVERETT, who is the chairman of our Insurance Subcommittee. The Insurance Subcommittee is composed of the following members: Congressman KORNEGAY, of North Carolina; Congressman SECREST, of Ohio; Congressman GEORGE E. BROWN, JR., of California; Congressman RONCALIO, of Wyoming; Congressman CHARLES M. TEAGUE, of California; Congressman ELLSWORTH, of Kansas; and Congressman AYRES, of Ohio. These Members have been working diligently for a period of about six weeks to produce this legislation, and we are making every effort to secure its enactment so that this coverage can become available at the earliest possible time, particularly in view of the situation in Vietnam.

Our Insurance Subcommittee has had the full cooperation of the life insurance industry. A committee of the Nation's foremost life insurance experts was appointed to work with the subcommittee and, in addition, the subcommittee has had the advice and help of the Veterans' Administration's insurance experts. The Department of Defense has also cooperated in the development of this program.

This legislation is favored by the administration, and has support in the Senate, as evidenced by the fact that the Senate has passed Senator TALMADGE's bill, S. 2127. In view of Senator TALMADGE's great interest in this subject, we feel certain that we will have the utmost cooperation of the Senate in securing enactment of this legislation, so that its coverage can immediately become available to our servicemen throughout the world.

Congressman EVERETT, chairman of the Insurance Subcommittee, and all of the members of the subcommittee, are to be congratulated on the fine piece of work they have done, and Senator TALMADGE certainly deserves credit for his expedient actions in the Senate.

The bill's main provisions are as follows:

SERVICEMEN'S GROUP LIFE INSURANCE PROGRAM

1. Provides a group life insurance program for all members of the uniformed service who are on active duty on the effective date designated by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs for the program, which is expected to be within a matter of days after Presidential approval.

2. Coverage is automatic, with the serviceman required to take affirmative action to take himself out of the program. The coverage provided is $10,000 or $5,000, no other amounts. If the serviceman elects out of the program and later applies for readmission, he must show good health.

3. Premium rates for servicemen are expected to be $2 a month for $10,000 of group insurance and $1 per month for $5,000 of group insurance, including claim and administrative costs. This cost may be adjusted, hopefully downward, as experience dictates.

4. Servicemen's premiums would be deducted from their pay by the Department of Defense and remitted to the Veterans' Administration.

5. The deductions from the pay would cover the administrative expenses of the Veterans' Administration.

6. The extra hazard cost of insuring servicemen would be paid by the United States after determination on an actuarial basis, with the total payment for extra hazard cost estimated at $4 million a year during periods when casualties are at present levels. Peacetime costs would not entail any extra hazard contribution, or at most a very small one.

7. The insured may elect settlement in a lump-sum payment or in 36-month period in equal monthly installments. If the insured fails to make such election, the beneficiary may do so. The insured may designate any person as a beneficiary. If an affirmative designation is not made, the insurance would be paid in the following order: Widow or widower; child or children; parents: If none of the above, to the executor or administrator of the estate; if none of the above, to the next of kin of such member or former member under the laws of domicile of such member at the time of his death.

8. Upon discharge from the service, the individual is protected in the full amount of his policy for 120 days, the cost for this being borne by premiums paid during the period of his active service.

9. While covered by insurance under this program an individual would have the right to obtain from a private insurance company an insurance policy without medical examination in an amount equal to the group insurance policy under which he was protected during the period of service.

10. If the man has a service-connected disability, he would be eligible for a commercial policy without medical examination under this program and, in addition, would be eligible for a $10,000 service disabled veteran's insurance policy administered by the Veterans' Administration.

11. The number of participating companies would be determined by the Administrator. The expectation is that the number of companies insuring and reinsuring under this program will closely approximate the number under the existing Federal employees group life insurance program. The primary insurer or insurers would be required to be eligible to do insurance business in all 50 States and the District of Columbia while reinsurers would not be so limited.

12. Group life insurance coverage under this program would be in addition to any U.S. Government life insurance or national service life insurance which the serviceman might hold.

DEATH GRATUITY PROGRAM

1. Would cover death incurred in the active military, naval, or air service during the period from January 1, 1957, to the effective date of the servicemen's group life insurance program. The death must have resulted from (a) action of hostile forces, (b) an accident involving a military or naval aircraft, (c) an explosion of an instrumentality of war, or (d) the performance of service for which certain incentive or special pay for hazardous duty is authorized.

2. Death gratuity payments would be made to the widow of the veteran; if no widow is living, then to his child or children; and if no widow or child is living, then to his living parent or parents. No other persons would be eligible.

3. Recipients of death gratuity payments would have to waive all future death compensation or dependency and indemnity compensation on account of the death of the veteran with respect to whom the death gratuity is paid.

4. The amount of death gratuity payment would be $5,000, reduced by the amount of U.S. Government life insurance or national service life insurance paid or payable on account of the death of the veteran and any death compensation or dependency and indemnity compensation received on account of the death of such veteran by the recipient of the death gratuity.

Antipoverty War Helps the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, the September 2 Los Angeles Times carries a story on one aspect of the war on poverty which suggests a basic truth about President Johnson's approach to the solution of major national problems.

Once he has isolated a problem, he attacks it and seeks to destroy it with the full resources of the Government. His approach is always imaginative, always creative.

The editorial comments specifically on the earmarking of $41 million of poverty war funds for a 4-point program which will employ 18,200 senior citizens. I insert this able analysis in the RECORD. It is convincing evidence that mankind's problems can be solved if we put our minds and our efforts to the task:

ANTIPOVERTY WAR HELPS THE AGED

Some 5.5 million Americans past 65—about one-third of all persons in that age group—are listed as impoverished by official governmental standards.

Their average annual income is less than $1,150.

To assist them in finding useful employment, President Johnson has earmarked $41 million in povery war funds for a 4-point program that will give work to 18,200 senior citizens.

Essentially, this groundbreaking effort seeks to turn their experience to good purpose in the neglected areas of underprivileged and retarded children, and disabled adults.

Many of these elders will become foster grandparents for thousands of youngsters in institutions. Ten thousand more will be trained to look after bedridden oldsters. Still others will care for children from broken homes, and for the mentally retarded.

Further projects, says Mr. Johnson, will be devised by the Office of Economic Opportunity to harness the skills and availability of citizens over 65.

He is correct in terming them a rich, untapped human resource.

The concept of this program is not a new one for California. Here we have long had a child care center system that enables working mothers to earn a living, and an extensive foster home program.

If jurisdictional problems which already plague the OEO effort can be avoided, and if worthwhile employment can be found for the needy aged without drawing them into open competition on the labor market, it will indeed spell victory in an important salient of the poverty war.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to include my weekly newsletter to my constituents for June 3, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman JIM MARTIN, Seventh District, Alabama)

THE EXCISE TAX CUT

It is evident Congress will reduce many excise taxes—and repeal entirely—many others. The Republicans tried to do this last year, but the President and the liberals in Congress opposed any reduction. Last year the big push was for a political tax cut to insure the reelection of Lyndon Johnson and the liberals in Congress. Of course, many people realized last month that they were actually taken in by the talk of a big tax cut when they had to dig down to pay taxes which were not withheld. While I am for the cut in excise taxes because I believe it is unfair and discriminatory, any savings to the taxpayers will be more than offset beginning January 1, 1966, when the Johnson administration will begin collecting an additional $4.7 billion from workers and employers in increased social security taxes.

What is really needed is a general restudy of our entire tax structure to eliminate inequities, reduce unfair taxes and clear up the confusion so that every citizen will be treated equally when he pays his tax and will know exactly how much he is paying. The big spenders have been getting away with double-talk on taxes long enough. The hard cold fact is that practically every wage earner in America works at least the first 3 months of every year just to pay his taxes.

In spite of what you are being told the Government is doing for you, it is doing nothing for which you do not pay. The Federal Government has no money of its own. It can spend only what it takes away from the people in taxes. This is something to think about when you are approached to support bigger welfare programs, more spending, and asked to approve sending billions of your dollars to countries around the world without discrimination between friend and foe.

CONSTITUTION THROWN OUT

In approving the President's voting rights bill the Senate voted to throw out the Constitution. The basic constitutional rights of the States to determine election laws and voter qualifications has been eliminated, not by constitutional amendment as provided in the law of the land, but by a mere majority vote of 100 men. We may be able to stop the measure in the House, but only if there are enough Members who take seriously their oath of allegiance to the Constitution and will vote to preserve it.

If the House approves the Senate action, Congress, spurred on by Lyndon Johnson and the radical liberals will virtually kick out of

the Union the six Southern States which the bill is designed to punish. In their haste to join the hysterical assault upon the South, many legislators overlook the final consequences of wrecking the Constitution—they will have eliminated any safeguards for their own States. They cannot take the rights guaranteed under the Constitution from six Southern States without eventually losing these same rights for all 50 States. Under the Johnson administration, because the people are being misled by many of their leaders and a slanted and controlled news media, the Nation is becoming one of men, not of laws, and no such government has been able to permanently endure.

There will still be a determined effort in the House to pass the Republican substitute bill in order to stop the unconstitutional, vicious, anti-southern bill written by the White House.

NATO TASK FORCE

For the past several weeks those of us who are privileged to be members of the Republican task force on NATO have been holding very important and significant meetings with experts in the field of foreign relations and representatives of the Department of State. There is a desperate need to save the NATO alliance which is being undermined by the activities of President de Gaulle in France and a general distrust of the vacillating, on-again-off-again policy of the present administration.

All those closest to this problem agree that it is vitally necessary for a delegation of the NATO task force to conduct a study trip to France for the purpose of conferring with De Gaulle and other high ranking French Government officials to attempt to find a way to restore the strength of the NATO alliance. Should we fail to preserve the organization of free governments, the Communists will be able to claim a tremendous victory and the future of a free Europe will be in serious jeopardy.

As an active member of the NATO task force, I will be named as one of the delegates on the mission. This will give me an opportunity to learn at firsthand the extent of the trouble facing the NATO alliance and what changes in our foreign policy are necessary to strengthen the organization.

WASHINGTON REPORTS

My weekly report from Washington is now being sent to 23 radio stations covering the Seventh District. I want to express my appreciation to the newspapers and radio stations which are helping to keep the people of the district informed about their Government.

Reactionary Reasoning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, a number of the Members of the House have introduced legislation to apply the money accruing to the Federal Government from profits realized from the reduced silver content of our coins to a special Water Resources Trust Fund.

Unfortunately the Johnson administration plans other uses for this windfall profit.

The Wall Street Journal of September 15 had an interesting editorial on the problems we face in constructive financing for needy projects. Under unanimous consent I include "Reactionary Reasoning" in the Appendix of the RECORD.

REACTIONARY REASONING

When it became apparent that the subtraction of silver from U.S. coins would bring the Treasury a sizable profit on its coinage, a number of House Republicans suggested that the funds should be earmarked for specific purposes, such as drought relief. However, a special Presidential committee has thrown cold water on the GOP proposals.

The coinage profits the committee notes, will depend entirely on the Nation's demand for new coins. Therefore, there would be no assurance that the profits would equal the costs of any Federal program to be financed; they could either fall short of the program's needs or exceed them.

Though that's true enough, we wonder whether the committee will want to press its reasoning too strenuously. In Washington these days you can get yourself written off as an old reactionary by arguing that Governmental income should equal outgo.

Kam Students Wow Them in Japan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the spirit behind America's people-to-people program has been winning friends for us all over the world. Hawaii's most recent contribution in this area was made by a group of students from the island State.

Led by Mr. and Mrs. Walter Mookini, the Kamehameha Schools Tour Group, composed of selected students from both the boys' and girls' schools, put on a Hawaiian festival of songs and dances during a successful 2-month tour of Japan. Besides receiving a tremendous response to their program—up to 18,000 spectators everywhere they went—the Hawaiians enjoyed learning new things about Japan. Their latent spirit of aloha as demonstrated by their friendliness and charm captivated their Japanese hosts. After returning to Hawaii Mrs. Mookini commented:

It was amazing how many friends they (the students) made—I know some of them will be exchanging letters.

This I believe is an indication of the tour's great success in promoting goodwill between the two countries.

Robyn Rickard's interesting article on the Kamehameha School group's tour which appeared in the Honolulu Advertiser's September 1, 1965, issue, is submitted for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as an example of how Hawaii's spirit of aloha is making friends for our country:

KAM STUDENTS WOW THEM IN JAPAN

(NOTE.—The Kamehameha Schools Japan Tour Group will perform at the Waikiki Shell tonight at 8 p.m. Tickets are $1 and $2, available at the Shell box office from 8 a.m. until 6 p.m.)

(By Robyn Rickard)

Beaming over the success of the firsts for her 17 charges, Mrs. Walter Mookini arrived home Monday from a 2-month engagement in Japan.

She and her husband took a troupe of Kamehameha School students to Ashiya where they put on a Hawaiian festival of songs and dances.

This year is the first time Kam girls have been allowed to do a standing hula; it is the first time a Kam group has entertained outside the country, and is the first time the youngsters have been to Japan, Mrs. Mookini said in an interview.

"Everyone was eager to do his best, and they did. The response of the Japanese was tremendous.

"Our first afternoon performances averaged about 400 to 500 people, and the evening shows about 3,000. Later it went up to 8,000 in the evenings, and the last night, we had 15,000 people," she exclaimed.

"The show did much to promote Hawaii," she said proudly, "and we learned a lot too."

Mrs. Mookini said the performances were given in an area much like the Waikiki Shell, except that it was more of a park, with pine trees and lots of planting.

They stayed at a Japanese-style inn, the Arima Villa, located in the mountains above the entertainment center.

She said the youngsters particularly enjoyed:

Sleeping on the floor, eating Japanese style, and bathing in the baths as large as swimming pools.

Folk-singing sessions on the 20-minute ride from the villa to the park area.

Kobe steaks at the local steak house.

Karate and judo lessons given by friendly Japanese guardsmen stationed nearby.

Sightseeing tours, accompanied by special translators so they could get all the details in English.

Mrs. Mookini said she was most impressed with an audience she had with Prince and Princess Hitachi.

In addition to Mrs. Mookini and her husband, the troupie included chaperones Marion Todd, Bruce Dunnell and Robert Casimero.

The attractive matron said she had no problems in chaperoning, or with everyday problems such as laundry, packing, costumes.

"They all did things together—there was no pairing off," and the show's sponsors took care of laundry service for costumes. We had fresh maile flown in every 2 weeks, and we also used artificial flowers.

"The girls loved the comfortable yukatas (cotton kimonos) and preferred them to muumuus. They gave away some of their muumuus and jewelry in kind of a friendship exchange before we left.

"It was amazing how many friends they made, and how enthusiastic the Japanese people were over our entertainers. We had photograph and autograph sessions every day, and we had to post guards at the dressing rooms so the kids could get some rest in between times.

"There were many tears when we left, and I know some of them will be exchanging letters."

The Mookinis who had a daughter, Waldynne, and a son, Kaohu, in the troupe, are already thinking about another trip next year.

The Magnificent Poles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson has appointed one of the most distinguished members of his Cabinet—

Postmaster General John A. Gronouski—as Ambassador to Poland.

The following column by the publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, Ralph McGill, reminds us of Poland's place in history. The column appeared in the September 12, 1965, edition of the New York Herald Tribune:

THE MAGNIFICENT POLES

(By Ralph McGill)

The appointment of John A. Gronouski as Ambassador to Poland reminds us of a magnificent people.

"Poland," wrote the great German war strategist, Gen. Karl von Clausewitz, "is a public road on which foreign armies constantly jostle one another."

No mountains rise above her plains. They were perfect for cavalry, as they now are wonderfully suited for tanks.

In the brief span from 1772 to 1793, for example, Russia, Austria, and Prussia thrice dismembered her.

In 1816 the Congress of Vienna again partitioned her.

In 1846 Austria annexed a part of her territory.

During these years the oppression was cruel. An attempt was made to destroy the culture of the people and to reduce them all to the state of peasants.

But her genius persisted.

Chopin's music was an accusation. Throngs listened to it in the great opera houses of Europe. It was, for all the melody, filled with crashing indictments of those who had sought to humiliate and debase his country. There was mourning in his nocturnes. There was thunder of defiance in his marches.

When the World War I came on there was another musician, the statuesque Ignace Paderewski, he of the smoldering eyes and the marvelous hands, to play Chopin's music around the world and to make of the keyboard a voice accusing those who had persecuted his land and his people.

From 1914 through 1918 the Poles endured misery as severe as that ever imposed on any people anywhere. Woodrow Wilson spoke of an independent, free Poland. After the Russian revolution in 1917 Lenin announced that Russia, whose Czar had been King of Poland, had no right to subjugate the country. But with Russia eliminated, the Germans cynically revoked their own pledges and imposed an iron rule.

But in 1918 when Germany herself collapsed, Poland was reborn after literally centuries of oppression.

In January 1919 the factions reached agreement and Joseph Pilsudski became president with her great pianist-statesman, Paderewski, as prime minister.

As is true today, the country had no assets. It had been ruthlessly drained of food and the means of production, and its railroads were ruined. The clamor of discontent was intense. The individualism of the Poles is legendary. It is difficult for them to agree. The government persisted. The peace treaty of 1919 gave Poland access to the Baltic and the free port of Danzig.

In 1920 the Poles, blazing with nationalism, went to war against the Soviet Union. The Communist troops drove to the gates of Warsaw. There they were thrown back and, worried by affairs at home, withdrew, leaving the Poles with victory.

Plagued with multiple political parties, affairs slowly disintegrated. In 1926 a desperate Pilsudski used the army to establish a dictatorship. The world depression came. Had the League of Nations been joined by the United States, the depression and the collapse of the new European countries with the subsequent rise of dictatorships might well have been avoided.

By 1939, German demands on Poland included abandonment of the Polish Corridor. Russia offered aid. The Poles, knowing that if Russian troops came they would remain, refused.

On August 23, Russia and Germany shocked the world by signing a treaty.

On September 1, Hitler attacked Poland.

The Germans and Russians divided up Poland.

The sorrows of past centuries were as nothing compared with those of the Nazi occupation. It included large-scale murder by Germans and Russians. The Soviets cynically betrayed the Polish underground when it rose against the Germans, and then moved in and mopped up, putting the Communists in power.

But today we have the magnificent spirit of the Poles again in evidence, inspiring others of the Communist bloc to demand some individual freedom.

It's good to have a Polish-American going there as Ambassador.

Railroad Union's Book Will Help High School Students

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen has just rendered an excellent service to the high school students of the Nation for which it deserves wide recognition and a vote of thanks. President Charles Luna of the Brotherhood and its legislative representative Al H. Chesser have every reason to feel proud.

As all of us know, the students of our high school debate each year different topics of wide national interest. This year's topic includes also the question of compulsory arbitration. In order to help the students in their research on the subject, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen published in book form a debate manual entitled "The Pros and Cons of Compulsory Arbitration," which is to be distributed to the debaters without charge.

In providing the high school students with objective information, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen is making a unique and worthwhile contribution to education and to a better understanding and appreciation of labor issues. The book also contains an outline of the history of the American labor movement, the development of collective bargaining, and the use of compulsory arbitration in this country and abroad.

Mr. Speaker, in connection with the very timely and valuable publication of this book, I am pleased to insert into the RECORD an article published in the issue of September 13, 1965, of the Trainmen News, weekly newspaper of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

It reads as follows:

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION BOOK PUBLISHED BY BRT

WASHINGTON.—Thanks to the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, the Nation's high school debaters will have all the facts about compulsory arbitration at their fingertips.

The information is contained in a book, "The Pros and Cons of Compulsory Arbitration," published by the BRT and being distributed without cost to the debaters.

Compulsory arbitration is among the topics which the high school students will debate this year.

BRT President Charles Luna, in announcing the September 9 publication date of the debate manual while in the Nation's Capital, said the event "is unique in that we are presenting both sides of the issue in an effort to provide a guide to high school students in their research on the subject."

Also included in the book are the BRT's position on compulsory arbitration, and a chronology and discussion of the recent work-rules dispute. The latter controversy made labor history when it was resolved by Public Law 88-108, the first peacetime compulsory arbitration law in the United States, and by settlement of issues other than the manning issue by President Lyndon B. Johnson.

First copies of "The Pros and Cons of Compulsory Arbitration" were sent by President Luna to President Johnson at the White House.

Copies of the book also were presented to Speaker of the House JOHN W. MCCORMACK, Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz, and Assistant Labor Secretary James Reynolds.

Largest of the operating rail labor organizations, the BRT strongly opposes compulsory arbitration.

President Luna explained why the BRT is publishing the book, which outlines American labor movement history, growth of collective bargaining, use of compulsory arbitration here and abroad, and explores arguments used by proponents and opponents of various methods of solving labor-management disputes.

He said the project took form when compulsory arbitration was selected as one of the high school debate topics this year.

"Since our experience with compulsory arbitration in the railroad work-rules dispute," Luna declared, "the subject has been of deep concern to us. We have felt that it should be the subject of searching debate by the American people.

"When we learned compulsory arbitration was to be a national high school debate topic, we could have put together a booklet that outlined our position and let it go at that. It would have had some value to debaters but it would not have told the whole story in historical context—and this, of course, is the way young Americans should view any problem."

The brotherhood leader pointed out that the BRT was in a unique position to carry out the project as a service to debaters of the Nation.

He said the BRT could draw on its own experience with compulsory arbitration in the work-rules dispute, all the research that had gone into preparation of arguments, a solid background of historical information, in addition to results of a letter survey of nationally recognized leaders whose opinions of compulsory arbitration were sought.

The letters form an appendix to the book and opinions range from those solidly for compulsory arbitration to those rejecting it completely.

Asserted President Luna:

"All of this and more went into the book. I believe the end product is an excellent basic text on how labor-management relations in the United States are conducted.

"It carefully points out the shortcomings and strengths of all systems of solving labor-management disputes in a factual straightforward manner. It should be an invaluable aid to the debaters, no matter which side of the question they argue."

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Mr. Luna said he believes open, factual discussion of compulsory arbitration can only enhance the BRT's position.

"I am delighted," he added, "to see this subject debated.

"I am sure that once compulsory arbitration is examined from every angle the American people will reject it in favor of collective bargaining—the democratic way of reaching agreement in labor disputes."

Huge Hirshhorn Art Collection at Greenwich Benefit Inspected by 1,000

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an interesting article from today's New York Times—telling about one of those rare occasions when the famed art collection of Joseph H. Hirshhorn in his English Tudor mansion in Greenwich, Conn., was opened to the public.

The article follows:

HUGE HIRSHHORN ART COLLECTION AT GREENWICH BENEFIT INSPECTED BY 1,000

(By Milton Esterow)

GREENWICH, CONN., September 14.—One thousand fashionably dressed women and a few men who arrived in chauffeur-driven limousines paid $10 each today to spend the afternoon inspecting the art collection in a 24-room English Tudor mansion and in the gardens of the 24-acre estate of Joseph H. Hirshhorn, the son of poor immigrants who was, he says, "brought up in the gutters of Brooklyn."

During the day, Mr. Hirshhorn said that he had decided to give away his collection, one of the largest and most important private assemblage in the world, while he is still alive.

"I plan to donate it soon but I haven't yet decided where it will go," he said. "This collection doesn't belong to one man. It belongs to the people."

Not long ago Mr. Hirshhorn and his wife had lunch at the White House with President and Mrs. Johnson, who asked that Mr. Hirshhorn consider housing the collection in a separate building in Washington. Governor Rockefeller has visited him here suggesting that the collection be housed in New York State.

ART FROM A TO Z

However, the collection is still at the collector's home here and this was to the advantage of the Westchester Chapter of the National Cystic Fibrosis Research Foundation, which sponsored a benefit showing of the art works.

From 1 to 5 p.m., Round Hill Road here was like Broadway on a matinee day. The visitors saw everything from A (Armitage, Arp, and Archipenko) to Z (Zadkine, Zogbaum, and Zorach). The collection is rarely opened to the public. Mr. Hirshhorn consented to the benefit when asked by a friend who works for the foundation.

The art is everywhere. Mantelpieces and tables are filled with sculpture. Guests rooms, sitting rooms, and hallways have paintings by Marin, Bacon, Shahn, Hopper, Sloan, Wyeth, and de Kooning. In the gardens are Daumiers, Giacomettis, and Marinis. And on the walls of the 11 bathrooms are watercolors by Max Ernst and oils by Jack Butler Yeats, a brother of the poet William Butler Yeats. There are also oriental rugs and early American and English antiques.

"This runs the gamut of all emotions," said Mrs. Harry Juster of Mamaroneck, N.Y. "It leaves you spent."

"Isn't it incredible?" said Roberta Peters, the opera star. Other adjectives overheard in the gardens included phenomenal, stunning, and fabulous. A few visitors had some reservations. "I couldn't live with it," said one woman. "It's vast. There's too much art in this house."

Besides the mansion Mr. Hirshhorn's collection—it totals 5,000 paintings and 1,500 pieces of sculpture—also hangs in his apartment and office in Manhattan, in a Toronto office, in his villa on the Riviera and in warehouses. Its value has never been made public but it is said to be worth many millions of dollars.

The sculpture is international and covers many epochs, including pieces of Etruscan and Hittite origin, but the bulk dates from the middle of the last century. These range from a 2-inch-long bronze figurine bought for $1 in the Nice flea market to a 7-foot-high, 9-foot-long "The Burgers of Calais," by Rodin, for which Mr. Hirshhorn paid $250,000. While the paintings are primarily 20th century American of all schools, there are also works from the 19th century.

Some visitors were as interested in Mr. Hirshhorn as in his collection. He is a small (5 feet 4), ebullient, gray-haired man, 66 years of age. "They ask all sorts of personal questions," he said. "How much money I have" (reputed to be worth $130 million, he insists that the figure really is a great deal less); "How I made my money" (in Canadian uranium. He sold his uranium interests several years ago but still has substantial investments in other mining ventures. Among other things, he is chairman of the board of the Callahan Mining Co. of 277 Park Avenue in New York).

A BALZAC BY RODIN

Early in the afternoon, Mr. Hirshhorn, wearing a gray suit, white shirt, red tie and slippers, guided some visitors through the mansion. "Here—this is a Japanese Buddha dated 1200 A.D. I bought this on a trip to California." Smiling, he continued, "That will cost you $2 for the lecture, girls."

Seconds later, he said: "This is the dining room. When I can afford it I eat in here. Here's a Picasso. This is by Eakins and this is one by Gauguin. He walked into a hallway and said, "Here's one by Kline. That's Matisse. Over there is Epstein and Maillol and Lipchitz. Everybody lookee, no touchee. This is Walt Kuhn. That's a fellow by the name of Paul Jenkins. There's a Brancusi sculpture. There's a Rodin of Balzac."

Excusing himself, he sat down for lunch of cantaloupe, cottage cheese and coffee with his wife, Olga, in his bedroom and talked about his life and art.

"I'm one of 13 children," he said, "I was born in Latvia. We came here when I was still a youngster. My father died when I was a year old. At Christmas we'd get wonderful calendars from the Prudential Life Insurance Company. I cut a Landseer and a Bougereau reproduction out of the calendar and hung it on the wall. When I grew up I bought two Landseers and a Bougereau. I started to buy etchings when I was 17."

One of his servants walked in and brought more coffee. "Ah, Louis," Mr. Hirshhorn said, "it's all crazy."

"Why do I collect? I love it. It gives me an inner joy. It's great. I get up in the morning and see these things and it's beautiful. If I like a painting I buy it. It has to do with the heart, the brain and that's it. I've got to feel it."

He paused and went on. "I rarely buy one piece from one individual. I may like two or three and if I can't make a decision I buy them all. In 1939 I bought 40 Milton Averys and left him $12,000 in $100 bills. I saw his paintings and got so excited. I got over 300 paintings by a man named Louis Hilshemius. Why? I love him, that's all."

In the last year Mr. Hirshhorn has purchased works by such artists and sculptors as Abe Ajay, Serge Storrel, Constantine Nivola, Raphael Soyer, and Thomas Eakins. In the last year the total has been 190 paintings and 113 sculptures. "I buy art almost every day," he said.

At dusk, the last visitors had left Round Hill. One woman, reflecting the consensus, said the collection was "absolutely exquisite." Mrs. Hirshhorn, however, reported with a grin that one woman after looking at some Rodins, Moores and Giacomettis and Mangus had this to say: "Why did Mr. Hirshhorn clutter up his rose garden with all these statues?"

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include my Washington Report to the people of the Seventh District of Alabama for June 10, 1965.

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman JIM MARTIN, Seventh District, Alabama)

THE NATO TASK FORCE

The threat to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization beacuse of the widening split between the United States and France is one of the most serious problems faced by the free world. Because of my deep concern for the deteriorating relationships between our Government and those of once friendly allies, I am grateful to my Republican colleagues in the House of Representatives for the confidence they expressed in me by naming me to the Republican NATO Task Force and further, by including me as one of the four members of a study mission which leaves June 11 for France to see what the Republican party can do, as the minority party in Congress, in helping to bolster our foreign policy. This study commission is going to Paris with the full approval, and in fact, at the urging of the Department of State. Our mission is strictly nonpartisan and is being made in the interest of our country so that we may give a firsthand report on our findings to our Republican colleagues and the American people. The trip will demonstrate, as clearly as anything we can do, the unity of the American people.

In preparation for the mission, meetings have been held this week between the four-member commission and Richard Nixon on Monday, with former President Eisenhower on Tuesday and with other key figures Wednesday and Thursday.

Briefly the purpose of our mission is to:

Alert the American people to the deepening crisis in NATO and help bring about a better understanding of the seriousness of the situation; to learn at first hand the reason for the disagreement between the United States and France and how bad it really is; to aid our Government in shaping a policy which will best meet and solve the problems which exist among member nations of NATO.

Published reports that Senator DIRKSEN opposed the mission have been denied by the Senator. The head of the NATO Task Force, Congressman PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois, met with Senator DIRKSEN and reported the Senator was in full agreement with the objectives of the mission. Because of the nature of this important trip, I am paying all of my own traveling expenses.

SIDELIGHTS OF HOW UNION DUES ARE SPENT

As Congress prepares to act on the President's demand to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act and take away from the States the right to protect the rights of citizens to a free choice to join a union, it may be well to study some of the statements made by union leaders in recent congressional hearings. Here are some excerpts from the hearings of the Special Subcommittee on Labor of the House Committee on Education and Labor on the bill to repeal section 14(b). Congressman ROBERT GRIFFIN, of Michigan, had the following exchanges with Sidney Zagri, legislative counsel of the Teamsters' Union, and A. C. Skinner, president of the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers.

Congressman GRIFFIN asked Mr. Zagri if he believed the dues of union members should be spent for political purposes and to elect candidates to office:

"Mr. ZAGRI. I can't speak for the expenditures in any State because those expenditures would be more within the confines of special knowledge of the Director of Politics in that State.

"However, assuming for the sake of argument that this was done, that there was a contribution of union funds in a State election or in a local election, I will not concede that this is not a proper activity because I believe that the welfare of a union, whether it is at the State, local, or national level, is directly affected by decisions made by city councils, State legislatures, or this Congress.

"Mr. GRIFFIN. You acknowledge that in general the Teamsters Union funds are used to support candidates in elections at the State and local level, and you think that is a proper use?

"Mr. ZAGRI. I say we would be derelict in our duty to our membership if we didn't."

From this testimony of a national union leader it is clear that in a union shop where a man must join the union or lose his job, his dues may be used to elect a candidate for public office even though that candidate is opposed by the individual union member. I say that is against every principle of freedom in these united States and yet, repeal of section 14(b) will force union membership on all workers in Alabama.

A statement from the testimony of Mr. Skinner in this same hearing is even more startling.

"Mr. GRIFFIN. Is your union affiliated with the AFL-CIO?

"Mr. SKINNER. No, sir.

"Mr. GRIFFIN. Were you expelled by the AFL-CIO?

"Mr. SKINNER. Yes, sir.

"Mr. GRIFFIN. For what reason, allegedly or otherwise?

"Mr. SKINNER. Well, allegedly the reason was for sympathies, or Communist domination.

"Mr. GRIFFIN. Is it a fact that in 1962 the U.S. Subversive Activities Control Board found that your union was Communist infiltrated or dominated?

"Mr. SKINNER. The Board, itself, found that; yes."

Even though a union is Communist controlled, Alabama workers could be forced to join if the right to work laws of our State are made illegal by repeal of section 14(b). I am sure, and my mail supports my belief, that many union members in Alabama are deeply concerned with the freedom of choice to join or not to join a union and therefore, they are against repeal of this protection in the labor laws. In a recent questionnaire which I sent to over 60,000 people in the Seventh District and upon which more than 11 percent returned the questionnaire, 64 percent of those answering opposed repeal of section 14(b). Only 16.4 percent favored repeal, and the rest had no opinion.

Now To Fight the Povery War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson made it clear that the Watts riots were inexcusable. He also pleaded earnestly with Government leaders at every level to move quickly to attack the causes of these disorders. He urged that we not spare any effort to eradicate the social injustice, the poverty, the illiteracy which breeds discontent and hopelessness.

The August 25 editorial in the Los Angeles Times expressed these sentiments well, and I include it in the RECORD at this time:

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, Aug. 25, 1965]

NOW TO FIGHT THE POVERTY WAR

Shock waves from the Watts riots finally seemed to have jarred opposing factions into agreement on Los Angeles' antipoverty program.

In every other major American city the war on poverty's causes and effects has long since begun. But here the struggle for control has stalemated the program and denied help to the poor.

Resolution of the impasse came only after the mediation of Under Secretary of Commerce LeRoy Collins, who declared that we didn't approach this from the viewpoint of who was going to win.

Instead, for the first time, somebody began to think of who would lose from a continuation of the tragic delay.

Thus far, the political bickering has deprived Los Angeles County poverty areas of projects totaling more than $20 million. And although many of the projects may yet be implemented, we have lost time and opportunities that can never be regained.

A highly promising project aimed at keeping 20,000 teenagers off the street during the summer was stalled for 6 critical weeks until Federal authorities decided to grant funds directly to the school district. By then, the program had lost much of its effectiveness and appeal to disappointed youth.

In Harlem, a similar effort has had a major effect in reducing riot potential by giving young people a sense of purpose and an awareness that someone cares about their future. Although it is debatable whether the South Los Angeles disorders could have been prevented even if such programs had been started earlier, we will never know how high a price was paid for the antipoverty deadlock.

The latest compromise on the composition of the poverty program screening board provides for a new means of selecting representation of the various local governments involved. Those whom the program seeks to help should participate in the planning and implementation of the poverty projects. But a program that eventually will be 50-percent financed from local tax funds cannot be taken away from the elected representatives of the taxpayers.

Favorable response to the compromise from some of the minority leaders, such as the Reverend H. H. Brookins, is highly encouraging. All who claim to speak for the poor should now join in supporting the compromise.

Los Angeles cannot afford another moment of delay in attacking poverty and its terrible consequences.

Failure Leads (You Guessed) to Happy End

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STANLEY R. TUPPER

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, a constituent of mine, Peace Corps Volunteer Julianna Free of Yarmouth, Maine, has been teaching English in Rufisque, Senegal, since September 1963 after receiving a degree from the University of Maine that year.

Miss Free recently wrote an article which appeared in the "Peace Corps Volunteer"—August 1965 issue—concerning her activities in Senegal which I think other Members will find very interesting:

FAILURE LEADS (YOU GUESSED) TO HAPPY END

(By Julianna Free)

RUFISQUE, SENEGAL.—This article is dedicated to all the unheralded statistics in the Peace Corps report—to those volunteers who have fought a good fight against overwhelming odds—and lost.

Having dabbled in dramatics since I portrayed "Mother Pumpkin" in kindergarten, I was doing the obvious when I decided to present a children's play as my summer project last year. "Gnagna au Pays de Kwa" is a Shakespeare-like blend of the themes of "The Wizard of Oz" and "Peter Pan." I had not originally intended to author as well as direct my creation, but a day spent rummaging through Dakar's bookstores and finding only "The Three Musketeers" soon convinced me that if I wanted an African children's play in French, I would have to write it myself. So I combined my two favorite childhood plays, a friend translated the script into French, and my students put the last scene into Wolof (the predominant language of Senegal).

Senegalese children are strikingly uninhibited so I was quite confident that the project would appeal to them. But I am stationed in a French-speaking African country where any extracurricular activity other than competitive sports is nonexistent. Only a few of my actors had ever seen a play; none had ever been in one. They couldn't get excited over a performance 6 weeks away, and I tried not to cry about getting them into professional shape in that short a time.

The project folded before the third week of rehearsal. We had a different cast every day. I expected the typically American overflow of girls; I couldn't find any for even the leading role. The supporting male characters were consistent about coming, but the bit parts—well, how do you convince a

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pirate to come and die daily? So Gary Schenck (East Longmeadow, Mass.), another Peace Corps volunteer who had been helping me as musical director, transferred into auto mechanics, and I slunk around doing odd jobs until I could leave the country—on vacation, of course.

My school administrators weren't content to accept defeat, and after my return every office visit ended with the query, "When are you going to reattempt your play?" My first replies were flippant, but gradually the idea took root, I found another musical director, and last February a very skeptical Peace Corps volunteer embarked on what was sure to be "Failure 1965."

To my amazement, I found that using a girl from the local boarding school assured me of an always-available leading lady, and that the other students, who now had school as a time-habit, were more cooperative. Also, now as their teacher, I could nag and even punish them for skipping rehearsal. I found their retention remarkable: they were off their books in one to seven rehearsals. I kept the pirates and the lost boys singing and dancing when they weren't fighting to pass the time. Even then I still had a completely new cast of lost boys by performance time.

But "Failure 1964" was unmistakably success 1965. This first school play had four standing-room-only performances in two days and a "command" performance on the third. This triumph was in spite of the janitor who kept us locked out of the auditorium until 15 minutes before curtain time on opening night, and the Governor's delegate who moved a quarter of the chairs from the "public" auditorium to his house for a party on the second day.

I was as surprised by my play's success as I had been nonplussed by its initial failure. It is one more proof that in the Peace Corps dictionary, success is spelled t-i-m-i-n-g.

(Julianna Free has sent copies of her play, "Gnagna au Pays de Wwa," to other Peace Corps projects in French-speaking Africa. Volunteers may obtain them through Representatives.—Ed.)

Peace Corps Volunteer Julianna Free (Yarmouth, Maine) has been teaching English in Rufisque, Senegal, since September 1963. She received a B.S. in English from the University of Maine in 1963.

Larry O'Brien's Appointment to the Cabinet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, I know I express the sentiments of the entire membership of the Congress when I say that Larry O'Brien's appointment as Postmaster General is both welcome and well deserved.

President Johnson has continued his practice of appointing the best man he can find to each job by choosing this able man to fill an important Cabinet post.

As the August 30 New York World-Telegram puts it:

Larry O'Brien has demonstrated in a variety of assignments his capacity to fill a job of Cabinet rank.

These are my thoughts exactly, and I insert this editorial in the RECORD:

O'BRIEN IN THE CABINET

Larry O'Brien has demonstrated in a variety of assignments his capacity to fill a job of Cabinet rank.

He is a skilled political organizer, as he was in the campaign which carried John F. Kennedy to the Presidency as well as in President Johnson's 1964 landslide.

He also is an astute legislative manager. As the President's right-hand man on Capitol Hill, he has been largely responsible for the massive flow of legislation through Congress this year.

His appointment as Postmaster General inevitably gives a flavor of politics to the Post Office Department. But this is nothing new. Indeed, the office more often than not goes to a leading politician—as witness James Farley under Franklin D. Roosevelt and Arthur Summerfield under Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Assignment of his predecessor, John A. Gronouski, as Ambassador to Poland seems fortunate.

As the grandson of a Polish immigrant, Gronouski is a good choice to carry out the President's desire to build bridges between the United States and the Iron Curtain countries of Eastern Europe.

Jaycees Speak Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to be a member of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. It is a vital and dynamic organization pledged in thought and action to community improvement and achievement.

The board of directors of the Chattanooga Jaycees, my hometown chapter, recently approved two resolutions of principle.

One was to support the following resolution:

The Jaycees of America always have stepped forward in the defense of freedom because we believe oppression and wars against freemen anywhere constitutes a threat to the life and the liberty of freemen everywhere. Our Nation is now engaged in the defense of freedom in Vietnam where the God given rights of freemen are threatened by Communist subversion and aggression. The U.S. Jaycees, representing 259,000 young men in more than 5,700 communities all over this country, are young men who believe:

1. That to protect our own rights we must always fight for the rights of others, especially when they ask for our help because no man can be completely free as long as another man is enslaved.

2. That to achieve total victory over Communist aggression it is sometimes necessary to use force as well as diplomatic resources.

3. That responsible action in Vietnam using military force, diplomacy, and all other public and private resource to protect these principles is for the ultimate benefit of all freedom loving people. We are proud to inform the President, the Congress, and other responsible governmental officials that the attitude of young men is a positive one for freedom of all peoples everywhere.

The second was an expression of sentiment favoring retention of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Through responsible action such as that demonstrated by these opinions, the Jaycees continue to perform a vital service to their fellow men.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to include my newsletter to the people of my District for June 17, 1965.

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman JIM MARTIN, Seventh District, Alabama)

SUPREME COURT GIVES COMMUNISTS ANOTHER VICTORY

By a 5-to-4 decision the Supreme Court of the United States has just handed the Communists one of their biggest victories to date. The Supreme Court ruled that a law passed by Congress was not valid and that from now on Communists may hold office in labor unions. It is unbelievable that five Justices of the Supreme Court could make such a decision. By doing so they have ruled that even though a person belongs to an organization dedicated to the overthrow of the Government of the United States, he may still hold office in a labor union. Many unions are involved in some of our most sensitive areas in work on our missile program and in our defense industries, but these five Supreme Court Justices see no harm in giving a Communist union officer control over the members of a union which may be involved in quite secret work.

The five Justices who see no harm in giving such power to known Communists are Earl Warren, Hugo Black, William O. Douglas, William J. Brennan, Jr., and Arthur J. Goldberg.

This decision becomes even more fraught with danger when coupled with the current attempt by the Johnson administration and the liberals in Congress to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. Repeal of this section of the labor law will throw out Alabama's right-to-work law, and Alabama workers will be forced to join unions in plants where there is a closed shop. This in itself denies the workers the freedom of choice to join or not to join a union, and that is bad enough. Now, if section 14(b) is repealed, our workers in Alabama may be forced to join a union whose head is a known Communist doing his best to destroy America and take away all the freedoms from American workers. No matter how honest, sincere and patriotic are the labor leaders in Alabama, they would be powerless to protect their members against the head of an international union with headquarters in New York or Chicago or Detroit if that official turned out to be a Communist.

This decision of the Supreme Court is a slap in the face at the American people who demanded a curb on Communist activity, on the Congress which passed a law to prevent Communists from holding office in labor unions and against the honest American labor unions which struggled so hard to get rid of Communists and Communist-dominated unions.

BEWARE, THERE IS A HAND IN YOUR POCKET

Many of us have experienced the sudden panic of finding out that we have lost all our money because a thief picked our pocket. You probably wouldn't notice it if he were able to sneak out a dollar at a time. That is, you wouldn't until all your money was gone, and then you would be just as helpless as if he had taken it all at once. Right now the pocket of every American citizen is being picked through inflation. The dollar you have is worth less every day, as it buys less because prices have gone up as a result of the crazy-quilt economics of the Johnson administration. Government-inspired inflation is lowering the value of the dollar, further jeopardizing our balance-of-payments situation and could result in disaster for the poor, the aged, pensioners, and all those the liberals claim they want to help.

This inflation is caused by continued deficit financing, an ever-increasing public debt, huge Government spending and tax cuts without a corresponding cut in spending. The President and his fuzzy thinking economic advisers are trying to make you believe that we can become richer by spending more money and that we can increase our wealth by increasing our debt. Now you and I know that is impossible. Any family that continues to spend more than it earns is soon in serious trouble. A nation is no different. We cannot continue to spend more than we take in or pile up huge deficits without sooner or later being called upon to pay. When that day comes, if we can't pay, the dollar will be worthless.

This is why I voted against increasing the debt limit to $328 billion. It wasn't because I am against paying the bills we have run up, but because I don't want to run up any more bills. We have to stop spending your money until we can learn to live within our income and begin to cut down this huge national debt. Since June 1963 under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson with their big welfare programs, we have added $14 billion to the national debt. It is costing you, the people, $22,000 every minute of every day just to pay the interest on the debt.

We have to call a halt, and I'm for putting on a realistic debt limit and then forcing L.B.J. and his fellow-spenders to live within that limit. I will vote against all unnecessary spending and new projects or expanded welfare programs until we bring some sense into our spending policies. This is your money the President is spending, not his, and it is up to Congress to see that he does not waste it, does not misuse it or spend it just to keep himself and his party in office.

NATO TASK FORCE

Four-man study mission presently in Paris attempting to patch disagreements within NATO Alliance. Complete and factual report after my return.

Fred E. Gale To Receive Citation for Heroism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege for me at this time to insert in the RECORD of the Congress the release of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission regarding the citation for heroism to be awarded to Fred E. Gale.

I am the Representative of the congressional district in which the incident occurred and I wish to add my personal and heartfelt congratulations. I feel that the following is fully explanatory and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

FRED E. GALE TO RECEIVE U.S. ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION CITATION FOR HEROISM DURING EXPLOSION AND FIRE AT CAMBRIDGE ACCELERATOR

Fred E. Gale, a cryogenics technician, has been named to receive the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission citation for acts of heroism following the hydrogen explosion and fire in the experimental hall of the Cambridge Electron Accelerator in Cambridge, Mass., in the early morning of July 5, 1965. Eight persons were injured, three seriously. One died 2 weeks later. Damages were estimated at $1 million. No radioactive material was involved.

The accelerator is owned by the AEC and is operated under contract by Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

At the risk of serious injury after having been hurled by the explosion through a doorway leading from the experimental hall into the west mezzanine corridor, Mr. Gale rushed back to the scene of the explosion and fire.

Within the space of a few minutes, he ran down to the cryogenics room and turned off the helium compressor; he beat the fire out of the burning clothing of a technical assistant and a student, both from Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who were dazed and seriously injured by the explosion, and took them to the cryogenics room; he found another MIT technician in a dazed condition and led him to safety and, as the Cambridge fire department and rescue squad arrived, he ran to the yard and directed them to the entrance. When additional firemen responded to the second alarm, Mr. Gale suggested that they turn water on the hydrogen cylinders near the ramp entrance but warned them against using a hose at other locations because of the danger of spraying electrical equipment.

When it was discovered later that another person was unaccounted for in the east end of the experimental floor adjacent to the liquid bubble chamber, a rescue party was sent to search for him. Mr. Gale assisted in the rescue operations and also helped to put other equipment in standby to prevent possibility of further explosions and fire.

Although Mr. Gale will be the 11th person to receive the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission citation, he will be the first to be honored for acts of heroism.

A member of the Atomic Energy Commission will present the citation, accompanied by a symbolic medallion, to Mr. Gale at a time and place to be determined later.

The citation of Mr. Gale reads as follows:

"CITATION

"In recognition of his heroic acts immediately following a major explosion on July 5, 1965, while serving as a cryogenics technician in the employ of Harvard University at the Cambridge electron accelerator: Entering burning areas of the experimental hall, Mr. Gale extinguished clothing fires on two fellow workers and assisted them to safety. Reentering the burning area Mr. Gale directed firefighting efforts to minimize danger from explosive gases and closed various valves to minimize the potential for further conflagration. Mr. Gale also assisted in the rescue of two additional fellow workers, one of whom had been incapacitated by injuries. These actions were taken by Mr. Gale inside a severely damaged building filled with smoke and dust and with burning debris falling from the roof. Highly combustible materials, such as hydrogen, propane, and liquified petroleum gas, were also present. Mr. Gale's prompt and courageous actions were taken with full knowledge of the hazards involved and without regard to the extreme personal risk to himself."

Frederick Ellsworth Gale was born in South Boston in 1915. He graduated from Boys' Vocational High School and the Lincoln Technical Institute, both in Boston.

From 1940–47 he worked as a technician for MIT, then spent 13 years with Arthur D. Little, Inc. A specialist in cryogenics, Mr. Gale joined the Cambridge Electron Accelerator staff in 1960. He has the title of senior technician.

Mr. Gale and his wife, Marjorie, have five children, three daughters and two sons ranging in age from 10 to 20 years. The family lives at 89 West Street, Weymouth, Mass.

The Atomic Energy Commission citation is presented to persons not in the employ of the Commission who have made meritorious contributions to, or have been outstanding in, the U.S. nuclear energy program. Private individuals and employees of AEC contractors, of other Federal agencies or departments, including the military forces, and of industrial, educational, and research institutions are eligible to receive the award. Formal nominations for the citations are made by an Atomic Energy Commissioner or the general manager and approved by the Commission.

Milwaukee, Great for Business, Great for Living—And Growing Greater

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, "Milwaukee, great for business, great for living—and growing greater" is the slogan of an effort to bring to the attention of the people of Wisconsin and of the Nation the fine characteristics of the city I have the honor to represent.

I should like to acquaint my colleagues with this civic drive. I include hereafter a news story from the Milwaukee Sentinel and editorials from the Sentinel and the Milwaukee Journal describing this program which is part of Milwaukee's efforts for continued and increased economic growth and development.

The article and editorials follow:

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Sentinel, July 8, 1965]

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT "SELL" SET

A campaign to sell Milwaukee as part of an economic development program began Wednesday.

At a luncheon in the Milwaukee Athletic Club, George Grabin, chairman and president of Grabin-Shaw Advertising, Inc., outlined the sales pitch the city will use. His agency was hired for the job. About 90 city officials and community leaders attended the meeting.

Mayor Maier told the group that one of the city's big unfilled needs was economic development and that was why the common council approved $25,000 for the sales campaign.

He said the city government had been taking steps to boost economic development. He said, "We hope to get quite a bit of col-

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lateral help from local industry * * *. Keep us in mind in your local and national advertising.

"Our economic development program is moving at a good, steady speed," the mayor said. "We've intensified our industrial recruitment effort * * *. If we project the assets we have, we are going to make headway."

Grabin said the campaign's first billboard had been erected near General Mitchell Field. He said the campaign would involve local and national advertising built around the slogan, "Milwaukee, great for business, great for living, and growing greater."

He said the campaign offered "a great opportunity for buisness and industry to step forward and sponsor these messages to sell Milwaukee to the Nation * * *. We can go on to achieve great results together with community cooperation."

Grabin said the campaign would include newspaper, television, radio, bumper stickers, billboards, brochures in hotel rooms, messages in payroll and statement envelopes, stationery messages, and postal meter messages.

The sales messages, Grabin said, could be carried on hotel marquees and on products leaving Milwaukee's factories "for points throughout the Nation." It could be used on city hall once a month.

"You must believe in your product before you can sell other people on using it or buying it," Grabin said. "It's so important to get that sales message home to our own people."

Consequently, he said, the campaign initially will be concentrated here to build community pride and awareness and also to convince local industry that this is a good place to stay and expand.

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal July 22, 1965]

MILWAUKEE—TIME FOR EVERYONE TO START "TALKING UP" OUR CITY

The civic effort at economic self-uplift, now well developed behind the scenes through assessment freeze and land bank and other policies, is moving out into the area of direct promotion. We are going to start talking it up.

We will be seeing and hearing a great deal of the two main themes, that Milwaukee is great for business, great for living—and growing greater, and that there is more in Milwaukee—more of everything, dependable skilled labor, good municipal services, water, educational and cultural resources, recreational facilities, downtown progress, industrial sites and so on.

These themes will be appearing on vehicle bumpers and shipping crates and postage meter imprints, in pay envelopes and store billings, on TV and radio, as inserts in advertisements, on letterheads and newsletters, on billboards at the main approaches to the metropolis, in hotel rooms and travel bureaus, on street sandboxes and building marquees. Most of this will be achieved through private cooperation.

From the fact that the city has retained an advertising firm to direct this campaign, it does not follow that everybody else may relax and consider it done. The whole idea is to involve the whole community, individual Milwaukeeans and Milwaukee firms, to be proud and glad to say so.

Nor is it meant to be merely superficial treatment. Instead, most of all it is to help ourselves become more conscious that Milwaukee really does have a fine image to offer. If this were not true the effort would be wasted. It is true, and the more we come to believe it the more true it will become, and the more convincing as we tell it abroad.

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Sentinel, Sept. 1, 1965]

A GOOD PRODUCT

Milwaukee's self-promotion campaign, built around a streamer proclaiming this to be a community that is "Great for business—great for living—and growing greater," is catching fire.

The message is appearing on an increasing number of automobile bumpers. (Stickers are available at the public service counter in the Journal Co. building.) But this is by no means the only way in which the message is being put across.

The slogan is popping up in local newspaper and television advertising. It is being picked up by a variety of speakers and worked into promotional talks. It is being delivered on mail by postage meter printing.

The first objective of this campaign is to make Milwaukeeans aware of their community's greatness. Then the objective is to make the rest of the world aware of it.

Already, the message is beginning to be spread far and wide, on the bumpers of traveling Milwaukee vehicles and stuck on the crates of manufactured products being shipped out of Milwaukee. Soon, it will be cropping out in national advertisements.

Other communities frequently have promoted single attractions or features or assets. But it is unusual for a community to sell itself as a complete busines-living package.

Milwaukee can sell itself as such a complete package, simply because it does have so much to offer that is truly "Great for business—great for living—and growing greater."

Education Today and in the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the text of an address I delivered on Saturday, September 11, 1965, at the dedication of Mercy High School, a girls school, in Middletown, Conn., in my congressional district. In it, I am expressing some general views on education today and in the future.

The address reads as follows:

ADDRESS BY CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE, DEDICATION OF MERCY HIGH SCHOOL, MIDDLETON, CONN., SEPTEMBER 11, 1965

Bishop Hines, Monsignor St. Onge, Reverend Clergy, Mayor Dooley, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great privilege for me and a high honor to participate in the dedication ceremonies this morning of this very fine edifice which is to serve as a house of learning for our youth.

I was very happy to accept your invitation and as a token of my esteem I wish to present to Mercy High School a U.S. flag, which was flown over the U.S. Capitol in Washington at my request for this memorable occasion. May this flag serve as an inspiration to all those who have given a helping hand in making possible the construction of this building, as well as to our youngsters who will be using this building as a fountain of knowledge.

Mercy High School, I am told, will open with an enrollment of 600 girls and will eventually accommodate more than 900 girls. Not only is the building most up to date, but so are also its educational facilities, its variety of courses, and the prospects it holds forth for its students. For all of this, I want to commend the diocesan officials for their foresight and devotion in making it a reality.

Benjamin Franklin once said, "An investment in knowledge pays the best interest." This has been a guide to generations of Americans. This is even more true in our own generation where not only are more people getting an education, but there is also a growing demand for more education. An elementary school education and a high school education are today regarded as insufficient, one cannot get very far merely with high school learning in today's world.

I believe you will agree with my view that education serves three major purposes in our American society today. Let me point them out briefly:

First, it not only improves the prospects for greater income, but what is more important is that education enhances the quality of a person's life and his understanding of life.

Second, education has become most essential to our survival as a nation. For this reason, Congress appropriates vast sums of money each year for defense, for space exploration, and for other needs that will give our Nation the power to survive. But we must also educate the men and women of this Nation and prepare them to carry out these programs.

Third, education is the indispensable key to the economic growth and development of our country, and the economic well-being of our people. Capital and labor alone are not enough, we must also have an educated and skilled labor force in order to grow and develop economically.

Therefore, it is just as important to invest in human beings as it is to invest in factories, in equipment, and in increasing our industrial production. Investment in education, in the acquisition of skills, in the development of better and more intelligent human beings is, to my way of thinking, most important. In one of his famous essays, written back in 1917, the distinguished English philosopher, Alfred North Whitehead, said:

"In the conditions of modern life, the rule is absolute—the race which does not value trained intelligence is doomed. Not all your heroisms, not all your social charm, not all your wit, and not all your victories on land and sea, can move back the finger of fate. Today we maintain ourselves; tomorrow, science will have moved forward yet one more step. And there will be no appeal from the judgment which will then be pronounced on the uneducated."

Today, nearly a half century later, we can appreciate that warning. In fact, 2 or 3 years ago an eminent American scientist, Dr. Lee Du Bridge, president of the California Institute of Technology, voiced a similar warning when he said:

"The individual who is the best candidate for the unemployment rolls, the best candidate for being a misfit in our society, is the one whose educational experience has been improperly guided or prematurely interrupted."

I think it is important to emphasize at this point that both the present Congress, as well as the previous Congress—in both of which I have been privileged to serve as the representative for eastern Connecticut—have done a great deal in passing major legislation to benefiet all levels of our educational system: Elementary, secondary, higher education, vocational education, and others. It is being done primarily for the purpose

of increasing our national investment in education, in order to enable our country and our people to cope more effectively with the difficult problems of the future.

As the new school year opens all over this blessed land, we have some 53 million young people enrolled in our schools, high schools, colleges, universities, and all other types of schools. This is about 28 percent or more than a fourth of our total population. But let me cite to you a few more figures which, I believe, are quite interesting. It costs about $36 billion a year to maintain our country's public and private schools. A quarter of a century ago, in 1940, it cost only $3.4 billion—so that today we spend 10 times as much for education.

The growing demand for education has been most spectacular in the field of higher education. In 1940 we had 1.4 million students in our colleges; last year, it was almost 5 million. In about 10 years from now we expect to have between 8 and 10 million students in our colleges. When you also consider the fact that nearly 2¼ million persons are employed as teachers, instructors, and professors in our schools and colleges, you can well realize the significance of education as one of our greatest industries. Frankly, I can think of no other industry that is more important.

In very recent days, all of us were breathlessly watching the amazing feat of two Americans hurtling through space for 8 continuous days. Not only were the eyes of the whole world upon them, but through them and their phenomenal achievement we tried to look far beyond the inky blackness outside the window of their space capsule—out into space and time when man will be able to achieve the conquest of the moon and of distant stars that lie countless of millions of miles away. I am not talking of science fiction. I am talking of something that has become a possibility in our own day.

I see a similar analogy in our dedication of this building today. In dedicating Mercy High School, we should also try to see far beyond the bricks and the mortar of this building toward the deeper meaning of what this school will represent in an age such as ours. We should think about the kind of education Mercy High School, opening in 1965, will provide to future generations of young Americans who will devote much of their time and energy in further development of science and technology, of space exploration and the application of atomic energy to the benefit of mankind. Of course, I do not mean to give the impression that the educational needs of our time will be based solely upon the demands of our space effort. I merely cite it as an example to point up the different and difficult age we are now entering. In addition to space exploration and space travel, there are other changing aspects of our world—perhaps no less dramatic—which are causing major alterations of the concept of education in our day and what such education must accomplish.

For example, increasing automation of nearly all jobs and all industries is rapidly imposing upon education the responsibility of training our young people for employment which requires skill. In earlier days, even up to a few years ago, there was plenty of room for the energetic, but unskilled, youth to find a job on the farm, in a factory, or in the business world. In many of those jobs, a high school diploma was not essential. Today, however, there is almost no room for an individual possessing this limited education. A high school diploma is the bare minimum for employment. What is needed today are young people who are equipped with the advanced knowledge and the skills that are prerequisite for being able to perform in the complex and sophisticated jobs that are developing in our era.

So it is that Mercy High School, as other high schools all over the land, will have to offer its thousands of students in the coming years a quality of education that is much higher, and a quantity of education that is much greater, than schools ever before have had to provide.

Moreover, because automation erases overnight the needs for many types of work, while at the same time creating the need for new types just as rapidly, our schools will have to educate our young people to the idea that they may have to train and retrain for different sorts of jobs in their lifetimes. High schools in America will no longer be able to say to their students, "pick a career, stick firmly to your choice, and start preparing for it." Instead, they will say: "Set your mind to the fact that the changing world you live in demands that you must be flexible enough to retrain yourself for the work that is currently available."

This idea of educating for change will not be limited to jobs, however. It may also extend to many other areas. The rapidity of social change, brought on by technological development, is also demanding that individuals be educated to a broadness of mind that will make it possible for them to adjust to changing patterns of living. Individuals will have to be open to exploring and accepting many new ideas and unaccustomed ways of doing things.

To really succeed in providing this new sort of education that I have been talking about, America's schools will have to alter some of their approaches to learning and some of their practices. They will have to adopt the very open, questioning attitude that they should be instilling in their young people.

Yes; our education in the coming years will have to be different in the ways I have indicated, and in many other ways which we have not yet thought of. But, for all the emphasis that I have placed on the need for education to adjust to the new demands of changing world conditions, I would certainly not want anyone to think that this is the only demand education should be concerned about. Indeed, this is very far from the case.

There is another whole area for which education bears great responsibility—one that is universal and unchanging, no matter what the age—and this is the obligation to prepare individuals for moral and responsible living with their fellow men.

In this task, I have no doubt that Mercy High School will excel. For, in keeping with the age-old tradition of Catholic learning, I know that Mercy High School will be firmly dedicated to educating its youth in the principles of industry, integrity, morality, understanding, and duty.

These timeless virtues should not merely be thought of as byproducts of education, or products of education which are secondary to academic learning. Rather, they should be thought of as being at the heart of the purpose of learning, particularly in our age. It would seem to me, that if our youth is not instructed toward these aims, there is very little hope that we can ever achieve a world of honest prosperity, true moral values, and lasting peace.

Education today, more than ever before, has the responsibility for preparing individuals with the inner strength and intellectual understanding to enable them to cope with life in an age pressured not only by constant and rapid change—but also where instant annihilation of whole populations is an ever-present possibility.

The moral and mental stamina of our people will, I believe, have much to do with whether the continual international incidents we live with daily are ever allowed to mushroom into this horrible specter of atomic annihilation.

Education has a primary responsibility to provide us, as individuals and as a society, with the values and awareness that can deepen into this necessary moral and mental strength.

Moreover, our schools must provide our young people with the tools to earn a living. But, they must also provide our youth with a standard for living which will give meaning not only to the job being done, but also to life itself.

Mercy High School will have to teach its young people to become citizens of the world who realize their responsibility not only to their own Nation but, as in the teachings of the church, to the peoples of all other nations as well. The teaching of international affairs is only one part of this. Another equally important part is the teaching that all men, no matter what their race, creed, or nationality, are motivated by the same human needs and are worthy, in the eyes of God, of the same human love.

As we dedicate Mercy High School today, I would urge that we all dwell on these thoughts, for, if we in America can reaffirm in our educational practice the aim of education which holds the development of the truly moral man as its highest achievement, then I believe we will be well on the path to creating the kind of citizens our country and the world need, if our Nation and humanity are to survive.

The great American poet, Carl Sandburg, in a poem entitled "A New America," did not visualize America in the future as a land of despair, but as a land created by God. Here is the way he expressed it:

"I see America, not in the setting sun of a black night of despair ahead of us.
I see America in the crimson light of a rising sun
Fresh from the burning, creative hand of God.
I see great days ahead, great days possible to men and women of will and vision."

In this task, may we all pray that Mercy High School will, with the help of God and the dedication of its teachers, be highly successful in its efforts to help provide for our Nation the people of will and vision of whom the poet sings.

United Air Lines Expands Its Service at Midway Airport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I should like today to include in the RECORD an article and editorial which appeared in the Chicago Tribune praising United Air Lines for increasing its operations at Midway Airport in Chicago.

For several years now this excellent airport's facility on Chicago's southside has experienced only limited scheduled airline operations. This is because the major airlines moved their operations to O'Hare Field several years ago.

I believe United Air Lines deserves the highest commendation for leading the way toward reactivating scheduled airline operations at Midway.

Several years ago Midway was one of the world's busiest airports. Today

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that title belongs to O'Hare Field. I am sure, however, that with the transfer of additional operations by United Air Lines at Midway, services at both O'Hare and Midway will be considerably improved. Delays in both departure and arrival are now frequent at O'Hare as a result of having to operate at peak capacity.

I am quite confident that other airlines will follow the example of United and shift part of their operations to Midway. Also, it is my hope that the FAA will soon approve operations of short-runway jets into Washington National Airport so that United may launch a shuttle service between Midway and the Nation's Capital. Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that such a shuttle service would provide frequent communications and would serve the public interest of air travelers who commute between the Capital area and the Midwest.

Mr. Speaker, the article and editorial follow:

UNITED ADDS TO MIDWAY FLIGHTS—PLANS SERVICE TO WEST COAST CITIES

(By Wayne Thomis)

United Air Lines announced yesterday that additional flights have been scheduled for Midway Airfield on Chicago's southwest side.

The new trips will begin on October 31, with the return to central standard time.

The new services raise the flight operations for United at the old "queen" of fields to 20 movements each day. The changes double the jet trips to four daily between Midway and New York's La Guardia Field, and raise from two to three the daily Viscount (turbine-propeller) flights between Midway and Washington National Airport.

NEW FLIGHTS TO WEST

New flights are offered in jets between Midway and the west coast through Denver, and between Midway and Toledo, Akron, and Youngstown, Ohio, in Douglas DC-6 piston-propeller aircraft.

The new Denver service will continue westbound to Salt Lake and San Francisco. The eastbound service will originate at Seattle, and be routed through Portland, Oreg., Boise, Idaho, Salt Lake, and Denver on the way to Midway.

Although United officials refused to augment their basic announcement—made simultaneously in the company's Mount Prospect office and in Mayor Daley's chambers at city hall—it was understood to be the opening wedge in still further Midway developments. United may, before the October time change, add further piston-engined flights.

NEW LIFE FOR FIELD

Company auditors have always held that it would be impossible to operate only token service from Midway on a profitable basis, and the company's 15-month experiment with two round trips daily between New York and Washington bore this out.

The new flights will increase rider interest in Midway Field, which was virtually abandoned by the airlines in July 1962. They presage the return there of services by half a dozen other carriers now concentrated at the northwest side O'Hare jet terminal.

Recent relays, because of the enormous traffic concentrations at O'Hare, have led other management teams to consider returning to Midway. So has the development of jets able to operate the year round from 5,000 to 6,000 foot runways.

No reference was made by United spokesmen yesterday to hopes for jet operations into Washington National Airport but the company expects Congress to force the Federal Aviation Agency to lift its arbitrary ban against them soon.

When this occurs United will transfer its Viscounts, now on the Washington run, to other areas and will offer this service in 727 jets, with, probably, another increase in numbers of daily trips.

NEW AIR SERVICE AT MIDWAY

United Air Lines has announced that beginning October 31 it will operate 10 new flights daily into and out of Midway Airport. Since Midway was reactivated about 14 months ago, United has resumed two flights daily from there, one to New York, the other to Washington. The new flights will serve nine new cities in the east and west and will double present service from Midway to New York and Washington.

Thus, United provides further indication that it recognizes Midway as an extremely useful adjunct to O'Hare International Airport. This makes Midway more attractive for air travelers who live on Chicago's south side, and provides United with a better opportunity to make its Midway operations profitable.

Moreover, air traffic at O'Hare is at the maximum and about to burst at the seams. At present United and Chicago Helicopter Airways are the only scheduled airlines operating out of Midway. Representatives of several other carriers, however, have been discussing with city officials the possibility of resuming some of their operations there.

We hope United's leadership in expanding its Midway operations will encourage other carriers to follow soon. That will have the salutary and desperately needed effect of relieving dangerously overcrowded conditions at O'Hare.

Inside Interior—The Consequence of Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the C. & P. Telephone Co. has initiated an excellent public education series to acquaint their employees and other interested Americans with "Your Federal Government in Action." In a series of articles in the C. & P. magazine, the Transmitter, members of the President's Cabinet are describing the functions and goals of their respective departments. The second of these articles, "Inside Interior—The Consequence of Conservation," by Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, appeared in the July-August Transmitter. I bring this article to the attention of the Congress:

INSIDE INTERIOR—THE CONSEQUENCE OF CONSERVATION

FOREWORD

(By Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of the Interior)

The Department of the Interior might well have been forgiven had it lived up to its original catchall designation. For an agency with such a diversity of assignments to have developed a consistent, national philosophy and a major role in our country's history is almost a miracle.

The miracle, however, came to pass. Instead of galloping off in a dozen different directions, these at-first-unrelated bureaus and offices have welded their farflung interests into a spearhead for the major conservation effort that our times demand.

But miracles don't just happen; they are wrought by men. The first really important man in this particular miracle was Harold Ickes, who in 1933, picked up the reins of Interior and built for himself the image of an "old curmudgeon." In the process, he built Interior into a strong, effective force for the wise use of our natural resources.

In the days of Theodore Roosevelt, the President led the fight for conservation. His was the first great wave of conservation, and the tone was strongly preservationist. This crusade was the start of public management and regulation of natural resources.

The second thrust for conservation came with Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal. During this period, conservation of resources became an instrument of economic recovery and later of defense buildup. Marked by the develoment of a new conservation concept challenging not just our muscles but over minds, the third wave came with the Kennedy-Johnson administration.

In early days, American conservationists looked to the horizons as they sought, through works of restoration and preservation, to make visible their love for the land and their respect for rights of the unborn. Today we are fresh out of horizons. We must look at what we have done and decide whether to deal with it or let the carnage rage on.

Unless we act now, boldly and creatively, we and future generations must breathe the polluted air, drink the polluted water, try to relax in our overcrowded parks, and watch various species of wildlife slip into extinction.

The problem of conservation is suddenly on our doorstep—not over some mountain range or across some broad, clean river valley. Tris is the challenge which Interior is trying to meet with almost every resource. The task is impossible for any one agency or even any one administration to achieve alone. It needs and deserves the concerted effort of an entire and united Nation.

INSIDE INTERIOR—THE CONSEQUENCE OF CONSERVATION

Though created by act of Congress, the Department of the Interior began on shaky foundations in 1849, as "the dustbin of government." Over the years it tended to be a catchall for agenices which didn't seem to fit into any of the neat pigeonholes of the Government.

At first, it included only the General Land Office and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The former had been a Treasury Department agency since 1812, and the latter was established in the War Department in 1824. Both agencies are now major bureaus of the Department of the Interior.

As the years went by Interior "just growed." In 1879 the U.S. Geological Survey was established and placed within Interior. The Geological Survey pioneered the field work when the Reclamation Act was passed in 1902. Then in 1907 a Bureau of Reclamation was established to perform this service and in 1910 a Bureau of Mines was created as a part of Interior.

The National Park Service became a reality in 1916; the Office of Territories and the Grazing Service, in 1934; the Bonneville Power Administration, in 1937. The Bureau of Biological Survey (formerly in Agriculture) and the Bureau of Fisheries (formerly in Commerce) were consolidated in 1949 to become Interior's Fish and Wildlife Service. In 1943, the Southwestern Power Administration was set up. In 1946, the General Land Office, one of the oldest of Interior's components, was melded with the Grazing Service to form the Bureau of Land Management.

In the years since then, Interior has added: Office of Oil and Gas, Southeastern Power

Administration, Office of Saline Water, Office of Minerals and Solid Fuels, Office of Minerals Exploration, Oil Import Administration, and the Office of Coal Research. The latest additions have been the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation and the Office of Water Resources Research. Interior also includes the Board of Geographic Names and runs the Alaska Railroad.

The Department of the Interior is responsible to help the Nation meet constructively both its immediate and long-range resource requirements. The task is not easy. No single solution will mend the havoc we have already wrought—the hurt we have inflicted upon our own land. The responsibility is faced against the backdrop of litter and laissez-faire—of unplanned sprawl and planned ugliness. But the last two Administrations have backed to the hilt the efforts of the Department to bring order and meaning into the Nation's overall conservation endeavors.

A niche for every wild creature

The Fish and Wildlife Service is concerned with providing for every wild creature its rightful niche in the total environment. The sledgehammer impact of civilization has imposed ever-changing conditions on wildlife that threaten survival of some species and interfere with the proper balance of nature. Interior programs, aimed at helping our wild contemporaries survive civilization, have softened the threat and are rebuilding the delicate balance of wildlife.

Part of the melding process of Interior bureaus can be seen in the cooperation the Fish and Wildlife Service is receiving today from the Interior's Bureau of Reclamation. In the not too distant past, some big electric power and irrigation projects meant ruin to existing fisheries, jeopardy to important fish runs, destruction of inland spawning areas and waterfowl wintering grounds, and serious damage to other wildlife. Today, the Reclamation and Fish and Wildlife Service Bureaus are partners in water projects—not only benefiting mankind by stopping destruction of wildlife, but also establishing and enhancing fish and wildlife habitats.

Almost every bureau and office in Interior has a special concern with the use and conservation of water. Thus, its offices are mapping water's location, measuring it, studying its properties, predicting its behavior, impounding it, diverting it, desalting it, delivering it, and using it to create electricity, fish and wildlife habitats, and recreation areas.

Most mileage from a raindrop

Research is underway in many of the bureaus to wring the most mileage out of every raindrop as it loses altitude between cloud, mountaintop, and ocean. Studies are underway to destroy water-thieving plants in arid areas; to cut down evaporation losses from our large reservoirs; to lift rain clouds over ranges and let them deposit their precious burden on dry areas. Other research strives for ways to eliminate acid mine drainage into fresh water and to stop seepage of surface water into mines; to harness the power in the tides; to connect whole regions by means of extra-high voltage transmission lines for more efficient use of hydroelectric power; and to turn brackish or salt water into a fresh, potable product.

To measure the world of interior would require stretching from the very center of the earth's crust to the moon. Interior scientists have been involved in everything from determining how heat flows from deep within the earth to such projects as advising NASA about suitable landing places on the moon.

The Bureau of Land Management's role and history are perhaps most consistent with the name of the Department of the Interior.

Public lands presently consist of 175 million acres in the 11 most western continental States and 289 million acres in Alaska. The Bureau of Land Management administers and protects this last reserve of public domain. The land is replete with minerals, fuels, timber, grazing land, wildlife, and an assortment of recreation opportunities. New legislation was enacted last fall to make it possible for BLM to use modern methods in getting the most public benefits from these tremendous reserves.

New national seashores

The National Park Service has seen recent, dramatic, and long overdue additions to its total facilities. Three beautiful new national seashores—Cape Cod, Point Reyes, and Padre Island—have been added to the system. Passage of the Land and Water Conservation Fund bill by the 88th Congress has opened the door for even more new park facilities. The Land and Water Conservation Fund sticker—costing $7 and entitling all occupants of an automobile to a year's admission to any national park or recreation area—is the means by which Federal, State, and local governments will be able to finance such new recreation areas. The total number of facilities involved is more than 2,000.

The Wilderness Act, also passed by the 88th Congress, provides for a system of specifically designated wilderness areas in national parks, forests, and wildlife refuges. In the poetic language of the bill, "wilderness" is described as "an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain."

Promises of human resources

In addition to all these responsibilities, Interior is very deeply involved in the problems and promises of human resources. The Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Office of Territories are dedicated to bringing the residents of our territorial islands, and the Eskimo and American Indian into the mainstream of American life.

The effort is double-pronged. It is aimed at providing for these people every opportunity for education, employment, and decent housing; however, it encourages the preservation of distinctive traditions within the original native culture. The American Indian and his counterpart in Alaska and the territories is emerging as a full participant in our modern world. But he's bringing with him his own cultural heritage and a set of values that strengthen our national fiber.

Increased leisure, increased income, increased mobility—all these combine to make the use of our outdoors one of our great American pastimes. Interior is deeply concerned with preserving and improving the quality of our total environment as its use increases. Conservation today means providing for outdoor recreation; it means channeling electricty over mountains and into regions that need it; it means joining hands with the scientists of the world to find cheap methods of desalting water; it means concern for the total environment and all its components—air-water-soil-minerals-wildlife-humanity itself.

Or, as Secretary Udall expressed the concern recently:

"Our resource problems in the 1960's are measured by the flyway of a bird, the length of a river, the half-life of an element, the path of a wind, the scope of the oceans, the shape of our cities. The years ahead will require both public and private conservation statesmanship of a high order."

Conservation is Interior's principal job. The challenge is a worthy one and we can afford to give it no less than our best effort.

Guardians of Your Property and Welfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pride that I avail myself of the opportunity at this time to insert into the RECORD the contents of a booklet entitled "Guardians of Your Property and Welfare."

Under the able leadership of their highly regarded chief of police, Thomas J. O'Brien, this publication is being distributed to every home in the city of Somerville, Mass., and is just another indication of the alertness and interest which that police department has for the citizens whom they serve.

It is my thought that perhaps my colleagues in the House will note this most worthy endeavor and will make appropriate suggestions in their own areas:

GUARDIANS OF YOUR PROPERTY AND WELFARE

The Somerville Police Department is a community service as well as a law-enforcement agency. It is the guardian of your property and welfare. When law breakers infringe upon your security, it is the department's main function to provide protection of life and property and to apprehend the criminal. Equally important, too, is the obligation and desire of the police department to continue its work in the prevention of crime.

Much can be done in law enforcement and crime prevention through good cooperation between the citizens and the police department. The first step is a complete understanding of the police department duties and the services it is prepared to give. It is desirable that every resident of our community know what he can do to help the police, and himself, in the event of an emergency or in a general program of crime prevention.

This publication contains important information concerning the activities of your police department and some of the measures which contribute to your safety. We are grateful to the Somerville National Bank for making possible the publication of this booklet. It will be a valuable possession in every Somerville home.

THOMAS J. O'BRIEN,
Chief of Police, Somerville, Mass.

THE CITIZEN'S PART IN CRIME PREVENTION

How you can cooperate

You can aid in the detection and suppression of crime and thus protect your property and welfare by being alert and telephoning the police whenever you observe suspicious persons or happenings or hear unusual noises, either at your home or in the neighborhood. Do not attempt a personal investigation, nor turn on additional lights in the house or make a lot of noise. That will only put the person in question on guard and prevent his capture if he is a criminal. This is especially true if you return home and find that the lighting arrangement has been changed during your absence.

Don't delay. Don't look for an officer in the vicinity. Go to a telephone and quietly say to the operator, "Somerville Police Department, Emergency," or call 625-1212. When connected with your police department, state clearly and quickly:

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1. The location where police are needed.
2. What has happened.
3. Your name, address, and telephone number from which you are calling.

Your call will remain anonymous to the public.

If possible, obtain description of the person or persons involved. If known, give names, sex, color, age, height, weight, clothing worn, etc.

If an automobile has been used, secure the registration number, make and type of car, color, and number of occupants.

Cover as many of the above facts as you can. Additional ones are always useful. Be observant; in getting a description always look for distinctive marks and peculiarities of physical appearances, manner, voice, and dress.

When your call is received by the police, squad cars are immediately directed to the scene by radio. No time is lost. A radio car will be at your doorstep shortly after you have hung up the telephone receiver. If the information has been received in time, there is a very good chance to apprehend the person or persons sought.

If you witness an accident or crime, don't take it for granted that the police have been called. Telephone your police headquarters if no officers are about. No harm has been done if the incident has already been reported. If it was unreported, your action in telephoning may prevent or clear a crime, or even save a life.

Suspicions are always valuable

If you have a hunch that something is wrong, call the police. Whenever persons loiter about your house or neighborhood and it appears to you that they should be investigated, do not hesitate to telephone the police at once. When something looks suspicious, do not wait until the damage has been done, but quickly communicate your suspicions to the police. Impress upon your family the necessity for cooperation by telephoning immediately. It's for your protection.

As the result of such cooperation, persons with criminal intent may be apprehended before they have had an opportunity to commit the crime. In some cases persons thus apprehended are found to have been responsible for other crimes.

Suggestions to householders

If you return home and find evidence that your home has been entered during your absence, please disturb nothing. Telephone the police at once from a neighbor's phone. Leave everything exactly as you find it because you might destroy valuable evidence, such as fingerprints, before the police arrive. A good rule to remember is "keep your eyes open and your hands in your pockets," until the arrival of the police.

When leaving for the evening

1. Leave a light burning in the house. A second light upstairs is very helpful.
2. Do not pull down window shades.
3. Do not leave notes indicating the time you will return.
4. Do not leave your key under the mat, over the door, or in the mailbox.
5. Be sure that all doors and windows are securely locked. Get in the habit of double-locking the doors.
6. Close the garage doors. Open doors reveal your absence.
7. Tell your neighbors how long you will be gone. Ask him to keep an eye on your house but not to divulge the information to anyone else.

When leaving for an extended period

1. Do not have the newspapers publish the fact that you are leaving.
2. Stop the milkman and newspaper carrier from making deliveries.
3. Tell the mailman to hold or forward your mail or deliver it to a neighbor.
4. Arrange with a neighbor to remove advertising matter and other articles which may be left on your porches. Such articles only advertise an unoccupied house and invite burglars.
5. Notify the police when you are leaving the premises and the approximate date of your return so that a special watch may be made during your absence. We will check your residence daily or more often.
6. Advise the police where you may be reached in an emergency.
7. Remove all money, valuable jewelry and other articles that can be taken easily by a burglar. Do not hide money or other valuables under rugs, behind pictures, in the crockery, or in any mattresses, as these are the first places a thief will look. Instead, remove them from the house and put them in a safe place.
8. Inspect all doors and windows before leaving to make certain they are securely locked.

PRECAUTIONARY ADVICE

Door locks and window fastenings

First of all, consider whether there are any outstanding door keys in the possession of former tenants. They could easily have duplicate keys and return at any time to commit a crime.

Carefully examine the defenses of your home. Close inspection may convince you that they are inadequate.

Doors should be equipped with modern efficient locks. Cylinder lock with the dead lock feature are recommended. Avoid locks of the old bit-key type. They are of such simple construction that they are easily opened. All doors should be carefuly examined to see whether it is possible to insert a knife blade or thin strip of celluloid behind the doorstop and thus push back the nose of the lock bolt. This can be remedied by using a safety strike to replace the strike now employed, or by driving a metal wedge or corrugated wood fasteners between the door stop and the strike plate. Always make it a practice to double-lock doors when going out.

It may be advisable to place chain or bar guards on the inside of all outside doors. These inexpensive little devices are excellent protection for a woman, yet they enable her to open the door and see who is there without danger of the person outside forcing his way in.

Catches are available for window sashes which allow the window to be opened just so far. They are inexpensive and may be applied easily.

Solicitors and peddlers

There are many fine companies whose representatives are of sound character and who serve the community with very good products. These people are proud to quickly and fully identify themselves and the companies they represent.

However, many daylight burglaries in residential districts are committed by unknown solicitors who enter homes which they find are unoccupied. They have an apparently legitimate excuse for being in the neighborhood, and for that reason it is extremely difficult for the police to catch them in the act. Large companies may use 25 or more persons in a neighborhood on 1 day, canvass it thoroughly and move on to another locality the second day. Sometimes among their solicitors are persons of criminal tendencies who do not hesitate to "prowl" a house.

Extreme caution should be used in paying money in advance to an improperly identified solicitor. He may not deliver the article you ordered.

Never permit an unidentified solicitor or other stranger to enter your house, but make him transact his business on the porch or doorway, preferably with the inside chain on the door. Don't let him stand in the open doorway while you go into another part of the house for your purse. Shut him out and then go for your money.

Buy no merchandise from strangers who give the impression that the goods offered are a great bargain. Many times they will be found to be faked or stolen property. In this case, it is advisable to call the police at once.

Beware of strangers with pretexts

Demand to see the credentials of any unknown man who represents himself as a public utility employee and wants to enter your home. If in doubt, call the police. Remember that today's crook does not look like a thug. Don't trust persons with whom you come in contact because they are prosperous looking, are smooth talkers, and have polished manners. Under no circumstances should you inform strangers of your neighbor's absence.

Watch your money

Your purse may be stolen if you lay it down on counters while examining merchandise. Hold your purse tightly while walking on the street or it may be taken by purse snatchers before you realize it. Most of them are young men or boys. One may remain at the wheel of a getaway car while the other gets out, asks you some questions, then grabs your purse. Call for help loudly.

Pickpockets are active in crowds of all kinds. Watch your valuables if anyone pushes or jostles you, or places a newspaper close to your face.

Do not cash a check if you have any doubt. If a person offers a personal check for business dealings, do not accept for amounts of more than the value of goods purchased. Identifications of questionable persons may be made by checking your telephone book or city directory. Know your endorser. Signature or endorsements should be made in your presence, even if the check has to be re-signed so reendorsed.

Questionable charitable organizations

Beware of unscrupulous promoters who solicit you by telephone, mail, or in person, requesting that you contribute toward a charity or benefit sponsored by some obscure organization. Do not respond with money to telephone solicitations. Ask the party who telephones you for a reputable local reference and satisfy yourself of the merit of the proposal before committing yourself. If solicitation is made in person, ask for an identification card. Otherwise, check with the police department.

Don't make these mistakes

Many overcoats and hats are stolen from restaurants. Watch yours.

Small articles should not be carelessly allowed to remain on the sidewalk, lawn, or porch, or other places easily accessible to the general public. Children are tempted to take such articles when the opportunity presents itself. Don't tempt anyone.

Never leave valuable clothing, furs, or rugs on the line to be aired when you are going out. They may not be there when you come back.

When you are having parties or entertaining guests, do not leave pocketbooks, coats, or other valuables lying in the bedroom or other downstairs rooms unless you are positive that the windows are securely locked and that no intruders can gain unobserved entrance into the room.

Don't invite burglars by leaving your watch or rings where they may be seen from a window after washing your hands or dishes.

Keep a list of your valuables

Make a record of the number, monograms, initials, and jewelers' scratch marks on your valuables. Have an accurate description so that if stolen, there will be a better chance to identify and recover them. Also, keep records of the numbers on automobiles, fire-

arms, watches, bicycles, and electric motors of all kinds on washers, fans, sweepers, etc. A record of your savings bonds should also be kept in a place other than with the bonds.

Your duty in the prosecution of offenders

In many fields, particularly that of lasciviousness and other sex offenses, witnesses or complainants are sometimes reluctant to appear when trial is necessary. Sex offenders have been classified as physical cowards or persons of unbalanced or deficient mentality. These characteristics make them particularly dangerous if their careers are not checked by arrest and conviction. Failure to press cases and testify when necessary may result in continuance of the career of one of these until serious harm or death may be inflicted upon some hapless child. If you have facts concerning one of these matters, it is your duty to testify. The department will respect your confidences, and it is the usual practice of the local press to withhold names of witnesses and others innocently involved.

You and your automobile

Lock your car when parking to prevent auto thefts. Stolen cars are used in most major crimes today. Lock your car doors to prevent the theft of packages while you are gone. When putting the car away, lock the car as well as the garage doors.

Motorists should frequently check on their spare tires, license plates, and other accessories and see to it that they are securely fastened.

Motor vehicle laws are made to prevent loss of life, limb or property. Highways are unsafe if the public fails to cooperate. Every officer has cooperation in law observance as his objective. He wants your cooperation to prevent violations. By giving continuous attention to this policy, you may contribute to the saving of human life. Failing to do so, you may share a tragic responsibility.

We're holding your son

"We're holding your son" or "Your daughter has been hurt" are just as dreaded calls for the police to make as for you to receive. But, unfortunately, such calls are on the increase and teenage drinking is primarily to blame. Youth, automobiles and drinking form an unholy trio closely alined with shame, pain, and death. What can be done about the curse of teenage drinking and driving? It's hard to say. Maybe it's closer family unity—warm hearts, fair minds and understanding to prevent such situations. Plus stern, exacting discipline when this "illness of youth" starts.

Your relationship to juvenile delinquency

Most murderers and other felons have a crime record from small offenses during childhood. Setting a good example is a great force in the lives of young people. Every citizen should give special heed to his conduct when in the company of young folks. A poor example of lack of restraint, indulgence in petty gambling, irresponsibility or intemperance, sets a poor standard for the observant youngsters. His imitation of his elders in that respect may start him toward the career which makes it necessary for the community to have a constant armed guard over the lives and property of its citizens. Be a good pal to youngsters.

Warn children against sex offenders

Tell your children not to be friendly towards strangers and to shun any advances made toward them. Boys and girls should be warned not to accept rides from strangers under any circumstances. Report license plate numbers of those who try "pickups." Any young person who has to walk through any lonesome, sparsely populated area at any time of the day or night, should take a companion along. If you learn of any accosters, notify the police at once and cooperate with them fully.

Protect your child

Highway accidents to pedestrains are not always the motorist's fault. But, any injury, no matter how caused, can bring untold grief to the family. Please insist that your children do not play on the street. Schools and police teach safety, but it is the parents who can best influence the child to practice the rules of safety at all times. Remember—there are no spare parts for the human body.

If stopped by police

Do not be offended if questioned as to your identity and business by a police officer. His assignments and rountine duty often require the identification of persons. Be glad that he is on the job. Remember, his job requires that he risk his life if necessary to protect you. Reputable persons have nothing to fear from the police.

Your police department is anxious to give you the maximum protection possible with the personnel and equipment available. We solicit your cooperation in assisting the police department to keep Somerville a respected and law-abiding community.

LAWRENCE F. BRETTA,
Mayor.

THOMAS J. O'BRIEN,
Chief of Police.

Character Cannot Be Legislated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the character of the American people, nourished under a government of law with respect for liberty, has been the solid foundation upon which we built a great nation. Our emergence as a world power, the leader of nations, was not accomplished through a Government order. Rather we became this great Nation because of the initiative, the sacrifices, and the vision of our forefathers. The challenge of freedom built character into our people and character brought forth greatness in the land.

Somewhere along the line in the past 30 years, this tremendous heritage has been lost. Too many have been willing to listen to the siren song of office seekers who appeal to the lowest common denominator among us in the quest for votes. We have traded initiative, the willingness to do and dare, the pioneering spirit which led us from Lexington to leadership in space, for the soft life, the Federal handout. The result is that strength has been traded for weakness and character is no longer a sought-for goal of every American.

In spite of the promises of the Great Society, character must be developed through adherence to moral laws, strength of purpose, and a determination to preserve and cherish our heritage of liberty which was purchased for us by the toil of our fathers and the blood of many who died on lonely battlefields so that we could remain free. Character cannot be legislated; it cannot be purchased; it cannot be developed by bribery or promises of something for nothing. Character must come from the innermost recesses of a man's soul. In the mad search for votes, L.B.J. and the Great Society proponents are robbing future generations of Americans of that precious ingredient, character.

The Warner & Swasey Co., in an advertisement which appeared in Newsweek of September 6, has given us a message on character that should be an inspiration to those who hope that America will once again embrace the American dream of liberty and justice which once was the hope of all mankind. I include the copy from the Warner & Swasey ad at this point:

WE MASS PRODUCE ALMOST EVERYTHING IN THIS COUNTY—EXCEPT CHARACTER

It used to be that when you wanted something, you worked to earn it. Now you stage a riot and get it given to you at someone else's expense.

If your father or grandfather lost his job, he took whatever work he could get, and he went (probably walked miles) to where there was work—any honest work—being done. Now hordes of relief "clients" refuse a job unless it is to their liking, and they demand the job be brought to them in their community.

This Nation was built by immigrants (beginning in the 1600's and earlier) who struggled here for opportunity, and would have scorned the false idea of "something for nothing." Now it seems to be an almost universal (and all too often the only) ambition.

It used to take a lifetime of gruelling work and scrimping for a family or a country to earn a little surplus, a taste of security. Now mobs of stupid students and whole emerging nations demand they be given it, out of your earnings and with no effort on their part.

Minority groups all over the earth seem to think the world owes them everything they want. So vicious destructiveness makes necessary higher taxes to pay for more police to protect decent citizens; higher taxes for playgrounds and parks which hoodlums promptly make unsafe; higher taxes for schooling for gangs who don't seem to want or are unable to be educated. The minority groups whose rights no one seems to consider are the taxpayers and decent citizens—who may have been pampering evil too long.

Park Concessions Measure Is Unnecessary and Bad

SPEECH
OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 2091) relating to the establishment of concession policies in the areas administered by National Park Service and for other purposes.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Chairman, H.R. 2091 is an unnecessary bill and a bad bill.

Those who have opposed the bill are described as people who fail to appreciate the special problems and difficulties of park concessioners. They are saying that the Committee on Government Operations, the Committee on Appropriations, and the Comptroller General of the Unit-

ed States, all of whom have seriously criticized concession operations of the Park Service in the past, have no appreciation of the concessioners' problems and difficulties. What they say is nonsense. The criticisms I speak about were issued only after the most detailed investigations including congressional hearings.

The supporters of this bill tell us the legislation is urgently needed and has been endorsed by the National Park Service, by the Secretary of the Interior, and by many organizations and individuals familiar with the problem in the National Park Service. They claim that the bill is necessary to make adequate, private financing available to Park Service concessioners for the building or acquisition of improvements.

The problem, they say, is that concessioners are having or will have difficulty in obtaining financing for their improvements.

There are over 140 major concessioners in our National Park system. Obviously they have had financing in the past. Probably the vast majority will be able to obtain necessary capital in the future, regardless of passage of this bill.

We all know how in recent years the public has increased its use of our National Park areas. In 1962 there were 82 million visits. In 1964, that figure exceeded 110 million. And the first 5 months of 1965 show almost a 7 percent increase over the same period last year. This upward trend gives every indication of continuing. I think it is fair to ask whether year after year more and more millions of visitors would be coming to our National Park areas if the concessioners there were not able to furnish them the services they need and want.

We hear of no great financing problem for concessioners operating in the National Forests or at reservoir projects of the Corps of Engineers. I know of no basic differences between the major concessioners there and the concessioners of the National Park Service. As a matter of fact, the policies and contracts under which the Forest Service and the Corps concessioners operate are on the whole less liberal to the concessioner than those of the National Park Service. Great and growing use of parks and recreation areas carries with it an outstanding opportunity for concessioners to sell goods and services at a fair profit. No other factor I can imagine would be more conducive to the attraction of capital for the financing of concessioner improvement. Last year, the Bureau of the Budget wrote to the Secretary of the Interior concerning a proposed bill to guarantee loans to concessioners.

The Bureau did not suppport the proposed guarantee legislation. In its letter to the Secretary, it offered some interesting comments. It said that the Bureau had not seen even a rough estimate of the extent to which concessions had been unable in the past to obtain adequate financing. Then it stated, and I quote:

> The high investment record of concessioners in recent years, coupled with the outlook for a rapid and continuing rise in the recreation-seeking population, combine to argue that capital is now and will likely in the future be available to existing and potential concessioners for development purposes to a greater extent than in the past.

I simply am not convinced that the basic problem about which the hue and cry is being raised is of such serious general importance that an act of Congress is necessary.

The record simply does not demonstrate that the changes the bill would make are necessary in order to influence sources of capital more favorably toward Park Service concessioners.

Girl Scout Roundup

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, the Girl Scout Roundup which visited Idaho for 2 colorful weeks a short time ago had something of the greatness of a panoramic service in a great cathedral that took a long time in the building. Compared to the years of preparation the service was short, but its effects will certainly endure through the years.

Surely the roundup taught us a lot about America, with its 9,000 senior Girl Scouts and 2,000 administrative personnel from all over our Nation. And surely the event taught us a lot about Idaho, too. It gave Idaho a real challenge and we simply had to measure up to it. Preparing for a Girl Scout roundup is like preparing for no other convention or meeting or similar event in the world. The coming and going of the biggest roundup marked the termination of months and even years of work for many Idahoans and hundreds of northwest people from neighboring States, too.

First there was a great concerted effort on the part of devoted State officials and many private citizens to see that Idaho was selected for the roundup. Idaho's Girl Scout leaders, many of whom had gained national prominence, were a big force in bringing Idaho to the attention of national scouting authorities. The choice was made and Idaho had to prepare the site at Farragut on Lake Pend Oreille by getting rid of a city-size foundation—that of the famous wartime naval base—and giving the land back to nature. It was a Paul Bunyan sized task. But Idaho National Guard units and Army Reserve units made the old concrete foundations disappear and greenery start growing again. Great trenches were bulldozed out of the earth, the rubble was bulldozed in and the ground covered with fertile soil again. Roads were opened up and the five great centers which had housed the Navy's trainees became ideal camping ground. Water lines, and sanitary facilities were built.

Idaho's Girl Scouts made trial runs with other councils of the Girl Scouts Ninth Region. They tested equipment, kept comprehensive weather reports, charted the camping areas, hiked trails, and timed them for patrols and troop-sized groups. They did a job worthy of the devotion demonstrated by our space technicians in readying an astronauts jaunt out of our world. Other groups of State, and Federal workers and private personnel checked all the area surrounding for standards in good water, sanitary conditions, level spaces for pitching tents, and setting up supervisors for the visiting campers following the roundup spread far and wide over the area near Farragut. There was also the necessity of setting up security measures with police, sheriffs, and hospitals. Several thousand people were placed near the roundup through these efforts. As an example of hospitality, the 40 of Idaho's famous Basque dancers who performed at the rendezvous entertainments were housed and fed by ladies of Coeur d'Alene. All in all it was an effort in which hundreds participated, and thousands were accommodated.

It proved something big for Idaho.

Not only can we thank the Girl Scouts for bringing Idaho a great event and great demonstration of Americanism in action, we can thank the Girl Scouts for teaching us something about ourselves. As Idahoans we found that though our population is not large, we can tackle the large problems worthy of the future of our big State. We found that we can work together for an ideal and made the work bring results.

The proof of the accomplishment is that now Idaho has been selected to host the Boy Scouts World Jamboree in 1967. Governor Smylie has pointed out that the Boy Scouts jamboree as an international event will be larger than the roundup, which was more national in scope. This time, Idaho will be playing host to the free world. It is a happy thing that the Girl Scouts have given us such a wonderful experience in playing host to our own United States. Thanks to their honoring us with a truly big, all-American event we learned to become good hosts on a statewide scale.

Home Rule for District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, as Members of Congress we have had the opportunity to observe at first hand here in Washington the widespread support of the citizens of the District of Columbia for the administration's proposed home-rule legislation. Time after time District residents, from both political parties, have demonstrated their desire for legislation that would give them the right to handle their own local governmental affairs. It is timely to note, however, that there is also considerable

support from other parts of the Nation for District of Columbia home rule. I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an excellent editorial in support of this legislation which appeared in the Nutley Sun, published in Nutley, N.J., on September 9. Under unanimous consent, I include this editorial in the RECORD following my remarks:

HOME RULE FOR DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Citizens of the Nation's Capital are denied the right to elect their government to operate the city. For years this right has been exercised by a congressional committee.

Lately there has been agitation by the citizens of Washington, D.C., for legislation permitting them to elect their own representatives.

President Johnson has called for adoption of such legislation. At the moment control of this legislation rests with the congressional District Committee.

Congressional committees, long dominated by southern Democrats, have constantly been influenced by southern legislators. The majority of Washington, D.C., citizens are Negro. It is common knowledge in the Nation's Capital that a great number of Congressmen fear that home rule for Washington, D.C., will place the Negro voters in a position to control the city government. It is this fear that is behind the effort to suppress home rule legislation for Washington, D.C.

The time has long since passed when citizens across theh country can indulge themselves in the luxury of provincial interests. We must recognize that what is bad for the citizens of one city also adversely affects us and, conversely, what is good for the citizens of one city may well be a benefit to the citizens of another city.

We are living in one big America. It belongs to all of us. This sprawling continent of ours is much like the human body. When a person's toe hurts, the nerve system relays the message to the mind. Likewise, when Los Angeles, Calif., ahs a race riot, it affects citizens in cities on the east coast.

Not only is there a oneness in this country but with modern-day transportation and communication inventions, the one world the late Wendell Willkie wrote about 20 years ago is now a reality.

So—we urge our citizens to write their Members of Congress and the President urging adoption of home rule legislation for the Nation's Capital.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to include my newsletter to the people of the Seventh District of Alabama for June 24, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman JIM MARTIN, Seventh District, Alabama)

TWO KINDS OF AMERICANS

Last Thursday the House honored two young Americans, James A. McDivitt and Edward H. White, the Gemini-4 astronauts. Major McDivitt, who will soon become a lieutenant colonel, had a few words to say, but the few words could well be read carefully by all Americans. Standing in the well of the House, this courageous and upstanding young man declared:

"Mr. Speaker and Members of Congress, I am absolutely overwhelmed at being here today.

"I can remember a long time ago when I was a young boy I dreamed about coming to Washington and possibly, with luck, being able to sit up there. (Pointing to the visitors' gallery) I do not believe I ever gave it a thought of being able to stand down here.

"I think in those days I felt much more significant than I do today.

"Our flight, and in the last few days back here on earth again, has taught me that one or two people are so very insignificant when I think the destiny of our country has been molded within these very walls. It is being molded here today and will be tomorrow and forever.

"I really do not have anything to say except just one thing: I am very happy and very proud to be an American."

On the same day that Major McDivitt proclaimed to the House and to the Nation, "I am very happy and very proud to be an American," another group of young Americans were in the Capitol. Some of them were college students, and in contrast to the clean-cut, neat appearance, and straightforward look of McDivitt and White, many of them were unwashed, unshaven, ill-clothed, and surly. They were calling on Members of Congress to demand that the legally elected Congressmen from Mississippi be unseated and replaced by the Negro candidates of the so-called Freedom Party, which had no legal standing at the time of the election in November.

ECHO COMMUNIST LIES

But these students were not only demanding that Members of Congress betray their oath of office by taking an unconstittuional action, they were castigating our country for the war in Vietnam, the efforts to help the people of the Dominican Republic to thwart the Communists. These students who have enjoyed the blessings of liberty, who are being educated in some of the best schools in the world, had the gall, in at least one congressional office, to accuse American soldiers of being murderers. They castigated the United States, their homeland, for fighting against Communist aggression in Korea and said the military services of this country were devoted to turning out professional killers. They blamed America for the troubles in Asia and South America and excused completely the Communists whose aggression and subversion is the sole cause of military action in the world today, the sole cause of our boys dying in defense of freedom, the sole cause of the terror and murder which has been brought to many countries in Africa, Asia, and South America.

There were two kinds of Americans in the Capitol last week. Two young men who have made a contribution to mankind, who are dedicated to service to their country and to their fellowmen. These two men are happy and proud to be Americans. The others have contributed nothing to their country, to the world, and in many cases, even to themselves. They have been willing to take from their parents, their schools, whoever offered them a handout. They are ashamed to be Americans and are doing their best to pull down the country and the great traditions and ideals which have offered greater hope to more human beings than any other dream in the whole history of mankind. Whom do you choose for your heroes?

WHAT PRICE GREAT SOCIETY PROSPERITY?

In spite of all the talk about the war on poverty, the war may already have been lost in the Nation's grocery stores. A nationwide survey of food costs shows that prices have increased 15 percent since last spring. Potatoes are double the usual price. Lettuce is up 15 to 39 cents a head in many areas, and meats have increased about 10 percent. Behind these higher costs are bankrupt Democrat farm programs which have helped neither the farmer, grocer, nor consumer. In States like California, Florida, and Ohio, fruits and vegetables are rotting because of a shortage of farmworkers created by short-sighted Johnson administration labor policies. In addition, the big spending programs of Lyndon Johnson are the main cause of inflated prices, so your dollar just won't buy as much as it once did.

While figures are confusing, and not many people like to read them, here are a few to think about. The administration brags about cutting taxes, but early in 1969 the combined employer and employee payroll tax for social security will take $492.80 out of the first $5,600 of income. This is more social security tax than the average worker now pays in income tax, and his income tax will still be collected at the same or higher rate. More will be taken out of your paycheck for social security beginning next January than you received in the much publicized 1964 tax cut.

The new Johnson increase in the debt limit is $44 billion over the permanent debt ceiling of $285 billion. It's costing the American taxpayers $11 billion every year just to pay the interest on this debt, and it's still going up.

The Great Society programs are not free. You will be paying for them for the rest of your lives, and what is even worse, your children and their children will be paying for them throughout all their lifetimes.

Isn't it time the American people helped those of us in Congress who believe in sound money and responsible spending to put a stop to bigger and bigger Federal programs? Put a stop to putting more and more people on welfare in an endless quest for votes? It's time we face up to fiscal responsibility before it's too late.

Congressman Frank Annunzio Commended for Helping Expose GI "Juice Racket"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Chicago's American in its September 12 edition carried an exceptional editorial praising our colleague FRANK ANNUNZIO for the notable service he has been performing to protect members of our Armed Forces from loan-shark operations.

I should like to call my colleagues' attention today to the editorial I am placing in the RECORD and an article by Mr. Robert Gruenberg, head of the Chicago's American Washington Bureau, in which the work of Congressman ANNUNZIO is spelled out more completely.

It is particularly significant that Congressman ANNUNZIO should have made this very important contribution even though he is a freshman Congressman. Those of us who have known Mr. ANNUNZIO for many years are not surprised, however. FRANK ANNUNZIO brings to the Congress three decades of intensive work in the field of social justice.

During the administration of the late Adlai Stevenson as Governor of Illinois, FRANK ANNUNZIO distinguished himself as an outstanding director of labor.

He is a school teacher by profession and during the past three decades he has utilized his excellent qualifications in a never ending struggle to serve his fellowman.

Mr. Speaker, all of us as Members of this Congress can be proud of the tribute paid our colleague by this very influential Chicago newspaper.

The editorial and article follow:

THE GI JUICE RACKET

Representative FRANK ANNUNZIO, freshman Democrat from Chicago, has been doing a notable service for men in the Armed Forces. Since Congress convened, ANNUNZIO has been attacking a shameful loan-shark operation that victimizes servicemen, and has finally prodded the Defense Department into taking some action. Last Wednesday Cyrus Vance, Deputy Secretary of Defense, ordered that military installations furnish facilities for at least one credit union "where feasible."

That's a start, but it's a long way from a solution. Hearings before a subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee have disclosed a GI "juice" operation of vast extent that seems to have official sanction. Loan shark companies—some of them directed by retired generals and admirals—have been squeezing exorbitant interest rates out of servicemen, and enforcing collections by bringing pressure on commanding officers and invoking the threat of courtmartial.

The subcommittee hearings, set in motion by ANNUNZIO, revealed that some loan sharks have been charging servicemen short-term interest rates up to 50 percent a year. Among the worst offenders, according to ANNUNZIO, is Federal Services Corp., a worldwide money-lending concern now under investigation by various Federal agencies and the West German Government.

Of the 12 members of FSC's board of directors, ANNUNZIO said, 8 are retired generals or admirals. Presumably they are considered experts on ways of putting pressure on enlisted men—and just possibly on wielding influence in the Defense Department, whose reluctance to act is otherwise hard to explain.

This setup seems ideal for a slightly disguised juice racket. The clients, for the most part, are young men with little experience in money matters; their income is guaranteed, and they can't skip out on their debts. We hope ANNUNZIO's subcommittee keeps on top of this operation and forces a thoroughgoing cleanup.

UNITED STATES ACTS TO FIGHT "GI JUICE" OPERATION AT MILITARY BASES

(By Robert Gruenberg)

WASHINGTON.—That serviceman, ready to give "all" for his country, many times must ante up "all" or nearly all, of his paycheck to sharp money lenders—in "GI juice."

What's worse, some of the "brains" backing the operation, are retired admirals and generals.

When soldiers falter in paying off on the officially sanctioned military "juice" scheme, pressure is brought on their commanding officers. A court martial charging failure to pay "just debts," may result.

That's the issue on which freshman Representative FRANK ANNUNZIO, Chicago Democrat, has been battling the Defense Department all year and will take up again Monday.

ORDERS CREDIT UNION

Yesterday, he finally got the military to take the first counteraction—however limited. Cyrus Vance, Deputy Secretary of Defense, ordered that military installations provide accommodations, "where feasible," for at least one credit union.

The purpose, said Vance, is to encourage "reasonable rates of interest," and to combat "usury" or the patronage of usurious lenders.

Vance's directive applies only to bases in the 50 States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Panama Canal Zone.

The move by the Deputy Secretary comes in the wake of hearings—sparked by ANNUNZIO—before the Domestic Finance Subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee.

Chairman of both the committee and the subcommittee, is WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, foe of interlocking bank directorates, high-interest rates, and a good part of the money-lending fraternity. He has given ANNUNZIO encouragement to take a leading part in the investigation.

Hearings earlier this year disclosed that loan sharks had charged servicemen short-term interest rates adding up to as much as 50 percent a year at some bases.

Next Monday, a second series of hearings will begin. A principal witness, said ANNUNZIO, will be A. J. Ray, whom the Congressman identified as a Columbus, Ga., auto dealer.

BIG LENDING FIRM

ANNUNZIO said Ray is expected to tell of his $50,000-a-month dealings with the Federal Services Corp. which the Chicago Representative described as "a worldwide lending organization primarily engaged in the business of making auto and personal loans to servicemen."

During the hearings last June, ANNUNZIO said, it was pointed out that FSC is under investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Federal Trade Commission, the Department of Labor, the Internal Revenue Service, and West German tax authorities.

ANNUNZIO, in a speech on the House floor on July 19, charged the firm with tactics that "abuse servicemen." Among these tactics, he said, were nonexistent insurance, refusal to refund overpayments, mishandling of repossessions, and excess interest charges.

BOARD HAS "TOP BRASS"

Eight of the firm's 12-man board of directors, he told his colleagues in Congress, "are retired admirals or generals."

He also cited testimony from Lt. Col. Clyde L. Griffith, judge advocate at Fort Myer, Va., who called FSC's lending and auto financing practices "unethical and vicious," while Lt. Col. Daniel Ghent of Fort Gordon, Ga., also a judge advocate, said the company's practices were "extortion, pure and simple."

A third witness, Paul Zurkowski, a former judge advocate at Fort Irwin, Calif., and now an assistant to Representative ROBERT KASTENMEIER, Democrat of Wisconsin, called the company a "camp followers operation."

ANNUNZIO, in a letter dated July 29, reminded Norman Paul, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, that 3 weeks earlier, on June 19,, he had asked that the company be placed "off limits" to military personnel.

RECEIVES A REPLY

On July 21, Paul replied that steps were being taken "to protect servicemen against the types of abuses to which the subcommittee has so usefully directed public attention."

But, as for ANNUNZIO's request, said Paul, "It is not contemplated at this time that the Defense Department will place the Federal Services Corp. off limits."

One of the reasons for the Defense Department's lack of action, ANNUNZIO said he was informed, "is that Federal Services operations are no worse than other finance companies that prey on servicemen.

WON'T TAKE ISSUE

"I will not take issue with that statement except to wonder aloud, if this is so, why the Department of Defense has not done something a long time ago about these other companies," ANNUNZIO said. He added:

"I suggest it is time the top brass take notice of what the field officers have to say about Federal Services.

"Vance's order calling for credit unions, is only a step in the right direction.

"The Defense Department should have gone further, and ordered the same protection for GI's overseas."

In the 9 months ending June 30, it was reported, Federal Services business volume reached $61.4 million. The year before, FSC netted $49.7 million in the 9-month period.

According to company officials, however, its profits in the same period declined from $699,000 to $525,000 because of higher income taxes and business costs.

Our American Heritage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 30, 1965

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include in the RECORD an editorial written for the East Side News several years ago by the late Harry H. Schlacht.

All through his life Harry Schlacht spoke and wrote on the glories and blessings of our American system when this Nation was being attacked by Communists within and without. He was among those who exposed the perils of communism which threatened the American way of life. For these exposes he was honored by the U.S. Army, the U.S. Navy and scores of patriotic organizations.

"Our American Heritage" is as timely today as it was when it was originally written and I commend it to my colleagues:

OUR AMERICAN HERITAGE

(By the late Harry H. Schlacht)

(NOTE.—The late noted newspaperman, Harry H. Schlacht, was an editorial writer with a vivid pen. His "Our American Heritage" is a must reading for all East Side News readers, others, and to all peoples everywhere who cherish freedom.—ABE E. EISENSTEIN.)

Wherein lies the greatness of America? Because it is the home of liberty. Because it is the last refuge of freemen under God. Because it is the place where we are privileged to utter the three precious words: "I am free."

The sturdy quality of our early American leadership was born of prayers and fellowship with God. We can tread the earth upright and measure with the power of our brain and the sinew of our strength with our fellow man. We have a government which we help to make and an opportunity which we help to create. We are neither serf nor slave. We are free Americans.

Our future lies with those who will tear asunder the shackles of slavery and reassert their faith in man's dignity. Proud of the power of our country, we can be prouder still of our unflinching defense of the rights of man.

Our liberty took fire in the resurgent blessings of the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. Our light of liberty has been kept burning through the blood baths of the years. The anvil upon which our liberty was fashioned was a hard anvil. Its ring, when struck, was a ring of justice. Mighty hands and sinews of a superior strength struck against its hard surface before our

liberty took shape and man became free. The altar of man's liberty is the mountain of his hope. The altar stone of man's liberty has been sanctioned by America's deathless dead.

It was here in America that man rose to the full height of his freedom. So long as truth prevails over falsehood, the foundation of our Nation will be secure. The strength of America rests on the proposition that its people shall know that truth shall make them free.

Today there are traitors in our midst, who would sell their American birthright for a mess of communistic sabotage. These vile creatures are supporting a poisonous communistic philosophy which seeks the complete destruction of our moral, spiritual, economic, and governmental ideologiees. Communism is born of deceit, avarice, and lust. It is seeking complete domination over the lives, the thoughts, the hearts, and prayers of the citizens of every nation on earth. It would take the glory of his God from the Jew. It would take the Cross from the Christian. Once religion is destroyed, communism is ready for its coup de grace. The common man will find himself expendable in a labor camp or on a battlefield, or wherever the ruthless communistic leaders may wish to bring about his liquidation.

We must guard our precious American heritage. We must defend our precious American democracy. We must retain our precious system of free enterprise and man's right to work and live beneath the sun as a free individual. Liberty will supplant slavery. Justice will supplant injustice. Democracy will uproot tyranny. Let us keep the ideals of our blessed forefathers alive and our democracy will always flourish.

Civil Disobedience Is Contagious

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I think it is particularly appropriate to bring to the attention of our colleagues at this time the following letter to the editor of the New York Herald Tribune which appeared in the Tribune of September 12, 1965.

As Rabbi Cohen points out "nonobservance of the law has no moral basis when the channels of a democratic legal system are equally available to all."

The letter follows:

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IS CONTAGIOUS

To the Herald Tribune:

I take issue with the assumption of a recent letter to the editor that Dr. Martin Luther King's principle of nonviolent disobedience to discriminatory laws is morally justifiable and neither challenges nor provokes a disregard for legal statutes pertaining to social destruction.

The fallacy with such reasoning is that once societal self-interest groups are presented with the moral right to select those laws which should or should not be observed, then the sanctity and rule of law becomes impotent. Indeed, once the breach is made and citizens without concern for due process of law become deciding factors in the observance of civil and moral codes, then even laws pertaining to social violence may be justifiably questioned if they appear to inhibit or jeopardize the interests of certain groups. Once disobedience is permitted, how does one draw the fine line between violent and nonviolent acts?

It matters not whether the inhabitants of Watts knew Dr. King. What is important is that all America knew that disobedience to law based upon a justifiable claim was a method to achieve results. The hoodlums in Watts merely transferred this principle to acts of social destruction.

Nonobservance of law has no moral basis when the channels of a democratic legal system are equally available to all. Indeed, recent court decisions and acts of Congress have openly shown the concern of our government to legally eliminate the barriers of unjust discriminatory acts. It is to the purification, enforcement and extension of these laws that our actions should be directed and not to the formulation of a theory that jeopardizes the rule of law itself.

Rabbi JACOB SIMCHA COHEN,
Spiritual Leader, Congregation B'nai David.
WEST ORANGE, N.J.

Northfield Township, Mich., Atomic Accelerator Site

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WESTON E. VIVIAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important scientific research installations in the world will be constructed by the Atomic Energy Commission, starting in 1967. One of the sites proposed for this facility is located in Northfield Township, Washtenaw County, in the Second Congressional District of Michigan, which I am privileged to represent.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives an article which was published in the South Lyon Herald last month, concerning this facility, and the Northfield site. It was written by Mr. Dennis L. Pajot.

The article follows:

AREA SITE STILL IN ATOM RACE

A Northfield township site has been proposed for location of a $350 million atomic accelerator facility of the Federal Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), but whether it will be chosen or not is a question not likely to be answered for some time.

U.S. Congressman WESTON VIVIAN, whose Second Congressional District includes the Northfield township area, said Friday that he feels it will be a year or more before the final site selection will be made. Michigan, and especially the Northfield site, is very much in the running.

VIVIAN, who is the Representative in Washington, D.C. for the counties of Livingston, Washtenaw, Monroe, and Lenawee and Northville township and the city and township of Plymouth was interviewed Friday at his Lamppost Plaza office in Ann Arbor.

According to VIVIAN, the National Academy of Sciences will complete a detailed review and recommend several sites. This will be followed by an AEC recommendation to the Joint Atomic Energy Committee of Congress at its early 1966 session (about January or February). It will then have to go to the floor of Congress for authorization to go ahead.

TECHNICAL PRIZE

Describing the atomic accelerator (atom smasher) facility as "the technical prize of the decade," comparable to the Houston center and larger than the Boston Electronics Center, he said, "this area, which is very deficient (comparably) could very well benefit by having the very advanced installation." It will employ thousands and will require 1,000 support personnel for every 1,000 technical personnel, he pointed out.

The Northfield township site is one of two proposed by the Michigan Department of Economic Expansion. The other is at Fort Custer near Battle Creek.

Of the two VIVIAN feels the one here, in his district, has the edge and should rank high in the competition. He points to the abundant advantages of the Detroit metropolitan area, the Ann Arbor university community, the availability of both major and minor college and university facilities, ample utilities and transportation services as being strong points. The specific site location was based on geological factors, he explained. The proposed one-story building will require a level area for its three-mile circumference and one mile diameter. The site must be stable, have a high bearing load and its water table must be well down, said VIVIAN.

"While this site does not have any uniquely beautiful points it does have two which are distinct advantages," he said. "Very few have as good an overall combination of features and, those that do (compare favorably) already have some major Federal scientific installations. This site is better than most as a balanced proposition."

WILL AFFECT LARGE AREA

Whitmore Lake lies only about 1 mile from the western edge of the proposed site. South Lyon lies 5 miles north, Plymouth and Northville lie about 12 miles east. And numerous communities lie within similar range of the area.

"Undoubtedly, with a plant of this size locating here it wouldn't be long before other facilities would be located in the vicinity." he pointed out. "The property values surrounding the facility would surely increase as would the need for personal services in the outlying towns."

VIVIAN said he believed "the residents will have no detrimental influences from the plant." He pointed out that smog, noise, and similar industrial cankers would not exist. "The plant causes almost no difficulties. It is virtually impossible to blow up."

A vast increase in traffic and the problem of a sudden boom in area development will exist, he indicated, wherever the site might be.

He said that the AEC estimated a thousand visitors to the facility per day.

TO STUDY ATOM

What is an atom smasher like? What will the plant be like? VIVIAN gave a brief description.

Briefly, the atom accelerator, or smasher, is like a giant vacuum tube in which particles are accelerated at a constantly increasing speed until they literally disintegrate. "Only in this way can we find how the binding forces of the atom are characterized. Not only is this useful for military purposes but also for the control of atomic power for peacetime uses. From the study comes a great deal of the understanding of physics," said VIVIAN.

The proposed plant will represent a $350 million investment, and a yearly budget of nearly $40 million. Rectangular in cross-section, the building will be a huge circle approximately 1 mile in diameter, buried underground 25 feet.

Now Mr. Speaker, I would also like to call to the attention of my colleagues another fine article, recently published in the New York Times, which explains the function of the 200-billion-electron-volt

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accelerator, and what it is hoped the huge research tool will accomplish.

This article was written by Mr. John A. Osmundsen, of that newspaper. It follows:

SCIENCE: A NEW MACHINE TO PROBE ATOM'S SECRETS

(By John A. Osmundsen)

A select panel of experts in the field of high energy physics will make a preliminary selection this week of suitable sites for the location of what will be the biggest, costliest, most prestigious scientific research instrument ever constructed—the 200 billion electron volt (Bev.) proton accelerator.

A selection of about 20 such possible locations will be made from 117 formal site proposals by 48 States. By the end of the year, it is expected that the Atomic Energy Commission will have decided upon one of them.

Then, an estimated 6½ years after Congress appropriates the necessary funds to start construction, the 200-Bev. accelerator will usher man into a new realm in his study of the nature of matter.

It will take an estimated $348 million to build the accelerator, taking into account the cost of necessary research equipment and anticipated rises in construction costs along the way. And eventually $58.7 million a year will be required to run it. Operation and maintenance of the huge facility will occupy the efforts of about 2,000 resident scientists, engineers, and support personnel. In addition, some 300 visiting scientists, graduate students, and technicians will work at the machine.

The immensity of the proposed accelerator is hard to imagine even for some of the scientists who have worked on the biggest machine of this sort in operation today, the 33 Bev. alternating gradient synchrotron (AGS) at the Brookhaven National Laboratory in Upton, N.Y.

For example, the 528 magnets that will keep high-speed nuclei of hydrogen atoms on course throughout their 60,000-circuits-a-second travels in the proposed accelerator will weigh about 20,000 tons. Arranged in a circle measuring nearly a mile across, this big ring will be buried under 25 feet of shielding earth.

Even the accelerator's injection system is gigantic. This merely "warms up" the nuclear projectiles so that they can be shot into the big ring at appropriate speeds for acceleration ultimately to energies of 200 Bev. The 8-Bev. injector synchroton that is used for this purpose, in fact, is more powerful than all but four so-called atom smashers in the world today.

Actually, atom smasher is no longer a proper name for particle accelerators now that they have grown so big. The reason is that they do not simply smash atoms. To overcome the forces that hold the atomic nucleus together requires only millionths of electron volts of energy. Accelerators operating at energies higher than that—say, at billions of electron volts—actually create and annihilate particles. A rule of thumb is that the higher the energy, the more particles are created.

It is the creation of new subatomic particles by the big accelerators, in fact, which makes necessary the construction of still bigger machines to provide the data necessary for making some sense out of it all. Indeed, the most important unresolved question in physics today concerns the meaning of the 100 or so subatomic particles that have been created with the big accelerators up to now.

Using these large machines to create more subatomic particles, that require bigger accelerators to study them by creating more new particles that will need still larger accelerators to study them, and so on, may sound like a good way for high-energy physicists to keep off the streets.

INCREASING NEED

At the same time, however, there does not seem to be any way out of the increasing need for more and bigger particle accelerators if the fundamental nature of matter is ever to be understood.

Some persons feel that the ever-increasing financial requirements of high-energy physics are excessive and are putting undue pressure on other areas, such as the space program, atomic power generation, and research in biology and the earth sciences.

High-energy physicists, on the other hand, argue that, while their machines and research activities are costly, they are not disproportionately expensive. Moreover, they argue, it is unlikely that high-energy physics takes away from microbiology, for example, and that, anyway, the support for a particular field should be considered in terms of that field's own national needs.

Although most physicists feel strongly that expanded support for high-energy physics research is vital, some agree only with reservation.

Princeton University's Prof. Eugene Wigner, a Nobel laureate, has said that "I entertain no doubt that high-energy phenomena are worth exploring * * *. If there is a question in my mind, it concerns the rate of exploration, that is, whether or not the proposed rate is so fast that it entails a less effective use of the expenditures and scientific manpower than could be attained in other areas."

Some biologists have expressed their opposition very strongly to the large slice of the research money pie that high-energy physics is taking. Dr. Leonard Ornstein, of the Cell Research Laboratory of Mount Sinai Hospital in New York, wrote in a letter to the magazine, Science, that he thought it "fantastic that these physicists should ask the scientific community to underwrite a billion-dollar project" such as the 1,000-Bev. accelerator, which has undergone a design study at Brookhaven as a followup to the 200-Bev. machine, with what he called "such flimsy arguments." He was referring to a statement by Dr. Gerald Feinberg of Columbia University, a theoretical physicist, who said that "such a machine will without question be a source of inspiration for new science and a monument for our days."

Dr. Feinberg replied that, "in the long run, pure science of any kind must be justified in these terms, rather than for the benefits it brings to society in the form a technology. To do otherwise is to distort the very aims of scientific research. * * * if society will support only those working toward [technologically useful ends] it will have set up restrictions around science that will eventually destroy it."

If one were to sum up the arguments of high-energy pyhsicists for more support to study the nature of matter, five reasons would have to be listed:

1. Like Everest, the particles are there (and presumably should be studied by reason of their very existence).
2. Ways to study them exist.
3. Society can afford the cost.
4. As in exploring the moon and planets, exploring the nature of matter is a proper expression of the spirit of man.
5. Something useful might just come from it all.

An Idaho Housewife Hits Price Hikes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, my fellow Idahoan, Mrs. Mary Brooks, assistant chairman of the Republican national committee, recently very succinctly drew attention to the increase in the cost of living at a time when we are being told that "we've never had it so good."

Her statement was commented upon editorially on August 27, 1965, by the Herald-Bulletin, published in Burley, Idaho.

I commend the editorial, which follows, to all who are concerned about the direction we are taking in this country:

AN IDAHO HOUSEWIFE HITS PRICE HIKES

Idaho's Mary Brooks, whose friends and supporters in this area are numerous, has thrown her weight into the war to keep food prices down and prevent further inflation.

National economic reports showing the increase in living costs, drew the fire of Mrs. Brooks who spoke in her position as assistant chairman of the Republican national committee.

Her statement came, when, despite the fact that the Johnson administration is making every effort to play down the rise in food prices, there were new indications last week that prices are going even higher.

A Washington, D.C., newspaper carried a story headlined: "All Signs Point to Still More Inflation." It was based on the fact that wholesale prices in July increased to a record-high level, presaging higher retail prices in the coming months. The wholesale price index of 102.9 means it cost $10.29 in July to buy the same commodities that sold for $10 during 1957–59.

Nearly all of the increase in wholesale prices—nearly 2.5 percent—has been recorded in the last year.

Since 1961, when the Democrats took office, the cost of food to the American consumer has gone up 8.8 percent at home and 17.2 percent away from home.

Translated into day-to-day expenses means that it takes $1.08 to buy a dollar's worth of groceries which cost $1 in 1960 and $1.17 to buy a restaurant meal which cost $1, 5 years ago.

Mrs. Brooks centered her attack on the rising food prices, on President Johnson's massive spending programs, coupled with increased demands for war material. She says it will fan the flames of inflation even more.

"We don't have to be economists to realize that these advances will continue, probably at an accelerated rate, under the Johnson administration's inflationary policies," she said.

Noting that the cost of living during the first half of 1965 was four times the increase for the same period a year ago, Mrs. Brooks suggested President Johnson cut back huge spending on domestic programs while more money is needed to finance the war in Vietnam. She said the adminstration is telling us "we can have guns, butter and cake, too." Frankly, she added, I don't believe we can.

And neither do we nor anybody else—not even the Johnson administration. Those men in the high places certainly know that a day of reckoning is coming. Their only hope is to stave it off, somehow, until they are no longer responsible for Government spending.

In the meantime, what can be done about it? Just one thing. But it's one very, very important thing.

If enough people would concern themselves with the mess, that day of reckoning could possibly come about 4 years from now. At least, it could get us started on our way back to sanity in the disposal of our tax dollars.

The U.N. Embargo Against Red China and North Korea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to direct the attention of my colleagues in the third part of an article that John Norman, Fairfield University professor of history and government, has excerpted from his forthcoming book on East-West trade.

The article follows:

THE U.N. EMBARGO AGAINST RED CHINA AND NORTH KOREA

(By John Norman)

A brief consideration of League of Nations sanctions against Italy in the Ethiopian crisis as contrasted with the foregoing discussion of United Nations sanctions against China in the Korean crisis may be instructive. After analyzing the factors in the failure of League sanctions, a noted expert on international relations, Prof. H. Arthur Steiner, developed a series of rules that might have insured the success of League action. It is interesting to speculate on whether their application to the United Nations embargo might not have made it more successful than it was. Stenier's points virtually amounted to a theory of economic warfare. They are summarized as follows (with tenses changed):

1. Sanctions should have been planned and applied as though they were actually military weapons, and should have been directed and coordinated by an economic general staff.

2. League members should have been totally prepared to support economic sanctions with force if necessary.

3. Sanctions should have been all inclusive, resulting in the disruption of all commercial, financial, and personal relations with the country against which they were aimed. Resolute action should have been taken to forestall nonmembers from undermining the program.

4. Sanctions should have been pursued to a logical conclusion. The victim of aggression should have been positively supported by the League. Sanctions should not have ceased with the end of the original military action, since they were inherently slow in exercising their influence.

5. An international staff should have supervised the administrative actions of the sanctionist states to plug the leaks that inevitably sprang from a nationally organized globe.

6. The victim of aggression should have been militarily prepared to resist the attacker till the embargo machinery could be put in motion. "Alone, sanctions remain but a futile gesture."

Steiner argued that the mood of Europe in 1935–36 was one of "peace at any price." League sanctions failed to include such strategic items as oil, iron, steel, coal, and coke (but included bauxite which Italy had in abundance). Both the United States and the United Kingdom sold oil to Italy for cash. So sanctions had not been universally applied. In most European nations economic and political pressures were brought to bear to hamper sanctions. Italy was thus enabled to rush to Addis Ababa before its diminishing supplies ran out. All the same, if effective curbs had been applied early enough, they might well have succeeded in saving Ethiopia. As it was, from a punitive standpoint, sanctions had injured the Italian economy. But they had also hurt the economies of the sanctionist states.

The hypocrisy of League sanctions was stoutly denounced by Winston Churchill (June 26, 1936):

"From first to last the sanctions policy stood upon a nonrational basis. First, the Prime Minister had declared that sanctions meant war; second, he was resolved that there must be no war, and third, he decided upon sanctions. It was evidently impossible to comply with these three conditions. We can see now that they were bound to result in fiasco.

"If economic sanctions had been imposed with ruthless vigor from the outset, they would have crippled the invading armies. But before this happened Signor Mussolini would have attacked the British Fleet, or let it be known that he would, and therefore, as war was not to be contemplated, it was not possible to press them in an effective manner.

"The morals which result are these. First do not deal in shams. Second, it if is known that you do not mean to fight, and will do nothing which forces the other side to attack you, it is better not to take a leading part in fierce quarrels. Leadership cannot exist upon the principle of limited liability. Let us hope that these lessons will be digested, not only by the British people but by all the other nations.

"There is no reason to despair of collective action against the aggressor. If a sufficient number of powerfully armed nations were ready to enforce economic sanctions, the aggressor would in many cases have to submit or attack the combination.

"The league has made its first feeble essay in action. Let us hope that next time it will either go in with overwhelming force, or stand clear."

As long as the Korean war went on, the U.S.–U.N.–COCOM embargo was kept up with reasonable success, despite some serious loopholes. When the Korean truce was signed, however, pressure immediately mounted and spread in many Western countries in favor of review and revision of trade limitations. Not many demanded the end of all restrictions. They wanted, rather, to loosen them so that they would be no more strict than similar controls over the Soviet bloc itself. In other words, the major objection was to the "China differential," which had expanded since the United Nations embargo resolution of 1951. The question became quite serio as the restricted list of exports in Europe was revised downward in August 1954, with no similar modification in commodities embargoed to China.

A well-known trade expert and exporter, S. J. Rundt, earnestly stated the case against the China differential. He called this policy "utterly naive" and "purely emotional." While Red China and North Korea had mistreated Americans, so had the rest of the Soviet bloc. Moreover, all the ships in the world could not transport as much cargo to China as could the much improved trans-Siberian railroad.

Nevertheless, most non-Communist countries involved in security export controls announced on January 16, 1955 that they would not allow embargoed items originating in one of the cooperating countries to move through their territories in transit to the Soviet bloc, China, Tibet, or North Korea, unless such items were covered by transit authorization certificates (TAC) provided by the exporting countries and presented to the officials of the transit country. The countries involved were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France (including Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia), Greece, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, West Germany, United Kingdom (including Gibraltar, Cyprus, and Hong Kong), and the United States.

It had been possible for some of the nationals of these countries to undertake financial transactions in third countries resulting in the movement of strategic goods to the Soviet bloc. The Treasury Department announced in June 1953 the institution of transaction controls prohibiting persons in the United States from buying or selling, or arranging the buying or selling of strategic goods outside of the United States for final shipment to the Soviet bloc. Canada adopted a similar policy as of June 1, 1954. Britain announced that effective January 1, 1955, transaction restrictions would be applied against the sale or disposal of certain strategic items located outside the United Kingdom to any official of, or person in, China or other Communist countries, or to any other person who had reason to believe that they would be imported into the Sino-Soviet bloc.

Meanwhile, agitation for relaxation of controls had persisted through 1953 and into 1954. Why? The major factors were officially offered as follows:

1. The marked progress made in the restoration of productivity in Western Europe, which transformed the sellers' market into a buyers' market and stimulated the drive to seek additional outlets for exports, including more trade with the Soviet bloc.

2. The brief and mild recession in the United States which, despite its brevity and moderation, produced fears in Western European countries that U.S. purchases of their goods might drop sharply.

3. The "Soviet trade offensive," with a heavy admixture of promises and propaganda, that followed the accession of Georgi M. Malenkov as premier.

4. The armistice agreement of the Korean war in July 1953, and of the Indochinese war a year later.

5. The decline of U.S. aid to friendly countries, especially economic aid.

6. New information and technical advances which appeared to alter the strategic value of items then under control.

7. The easing of some of the critical tension in East-West relations and the consequent need to adjust the trade control program to a protracted period of tension short of general war or real peace, and to place it on a more practicable and enduring basis by relaxing some and reinforcing other controls.

8. The necessity to maintain free-world unity in the face of rising demands for freer and expanded trade.

Harold Stassen explained that most of the main trading nations of Western Europe and Asia could not accept the American suggestion for a total embargo against Peiping because they were heavily dependent on trade. They went along with strategic embargoes but balked at nonstrategic ones. Stassen went on to relay their most cogent and insistent argument thus: "* * * This sort of trade was to the advantage of the free world, not of the Chinese military machine. It was contended, too, in some quarters, that it was wise to preserve a strong economic link between China and the West, in order to reduce China's dependence

on Moscow and perhaps someday turn Mao into a Tito. The trading policies of some of these countries were also influenced by the fact that they, unlike the United States, had extended diplomatic recognition to the Chinese Communist Government."

The significance of the foregoing statement is that just the opposite happened, for it was the avowedly imperfect embargo rather than the preservation of the "strong economic link between China and the West" which eventually helped drive a wedge between Peiping and Moscow. Without the aid of the Russian bear, stingy and skimpy though it was, China would have been a paper dragon during the Korean war. It was the drain of the U.S.-U.N. embargo on the Sino-Soviet economic reserves that contributed so heavily to the strained relations between Peiping and Moscow and helped "turn Mao into a Tito." In other words, forcing China into greater economic dependence on Russia helped promote the Sino-Soviet rift.

Lung Yün, vice chairman of Peiping's National Defense Council, complained in 1957 that "it was unreasonable for China to bear all the expenses of the Korean war * * *. During the First and Second World Wars, the United States lent funds to its allies * * *. Afterward some of the countries repudiated their debts while in some cases the United States waived its claim for repayment. The Soviet loan * * * is repayable in full in 10 years. The time is too short and moreover interest has to be paid. I propose that repayment be extended to 20 or 30 years so as to ease the tense economic situation in our country * * *. When the Soviet Union liberated our northeast (Manchuria), it dismantled some machinery equipment in our factories. Was there compensation for it? Will there be repayment?"

In a real sense, the Soviet Union itself was embargoing its Chinese partner. Ironically, economic determinism was more apparent than ideological solidarity at this juncture.

True, the U.S.S.R. had been the chief supplier of arms and equipment to Red China during the Korean war, and as a consequence was compelled to modify its fifth 5-year plan, announced in 1952. However, except for offering low interest rates, Moscow's economic behavior toward Peiping was as coldly businesslike as that of any Western capitalist. Although a large amount of machinery and equipment had been sent from Russia to China since 1949, it was nowhere near what Peiping required and anticipated, and, moreover, it still had to be paid for. One authority ventured the plausible suspicion that behind Russia's meager support of China was Moscow's desire to stunt the dragon's growth.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

Bottom of Barrel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD the following editorial from the San Diego, Calif., Union which was reprinted in one of South Dakota's good daily papers, entitled "Bottom of Barrel."

This editorial is too good to lose. I have asked that it be placed in the permanent RECORD of the House:

BOTTOM OF BARREL

The pork barrel has never been bigger. It was rolled out even as the votes were counted in the last presidential election and by the way things are going the administration seems to believe it can have no bottom.

The weeks pass and time and again the President is shown signing a new bill into law which a compliant Congress has dutifully passed and which calls for vastly increased Federal grants in fields which once were considered the responsibilities of individuals, States, and cities.

When he signed into law the latest housing bill, calling for an expenditure of $7.5 billion and providing for the first Federal rent subsidies, President Johnson said that "this is not the last housing bill that we shall need and it is not going to be the last that we shall pass."

The Great Society is to be all encompassing.

No one can estimate at this time how much in taxpayers' money will be eaten up before the so-called war on poverty can claim hopefully predicted results. The income margin by which poverty is politically determined can be moved up and down to suit any election emergency.

What is being developed, of course, is a larger and larger body of persons dependent on the Federal Government, or more accurately, on the administration in power, and which most certainly will become a permanent lobby of the alleged needy.

Everybody has needs, regardless of income. One can think up more needs any time somebody is looking around to fill them.

The administration has eagerly accepted the magic formula promulgated by the radical-liberals and leftist economists that reductions in taxes and increases in Government spending tend to automatically expand the national wealth and this in turn churns up the extra money needed to pay for it all.

The administration believes the formula has worked in the last few years. The national debt has been increased and taxes cut, while spending has gone up and up. Like perpetual motion, it is expected to go on forever.

All barrels have bottoms—and this Nation's resources are not unlimited. The seizure of more and more of the people's earnings to enlarge the army of those who are to be publicly helped or supported is not a guarantee of perpetual prosperity.

At some point there won't be enough left to keep the wheels of free enterprise turning—and we may be a lot closer to that point than most of us are willing to believe.

On top of all the social legislation that has been passed the administration has requests before Congress on which action has not been completed and that calls for $7 billion more in spending.

When the barrel gets empty, what then? There will be those who argue there can be no turning back and we must take the final plunge toward the complete Socialist state.

Don't Listen to Hearing Aid Gyps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, quackery and fraud in connection with hearing aids is an old story but still the abuses continue. Oregon has legislation to protect the consumer by requiring the licensing of all persons selling hearing aids. These salesmen must pass an exacting test for competency. The consumer thus may be assured of a workable hearing aid, but we still have no control over the ridiculously high prices of these devices.

Hearings on this aspect of the problem were conducted by the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly.

The Subcommittee on Frauds and Quackery of the Senate Special Committee on Aging, on which I serve, has studied the problem on the sale of hearing aids. Further attention is needed.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article, "Don't Listen to Hearing Aid Gyps," by Robert E. Mackin which appeared in the Parade Sunday magazine for September 12, 1965.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DON'T LISTEN TO HEARING AID GYPS

(By Robert E. Mackin)

"This brand-new device—one of the greatest advances in space age science—will enable you to hear again."

Spoken in a professional atmosphere designed to inspire confidence, false claims like this have heartened tens of thousands of American with impaired hearing and have set the stage for high-pressure salesmen whose only aim is to sell hearing aids at grossly inflated prices.

No more complicated than the lowest-priced portable transistor radio on the market today, hearing aids have been shrouded with a veil of scientific and medical quackery by a small but nonetheless troublesome contingent of dealers and salesmen.

On Long Island early this year, men and women with impaired hearing paid as much as $425 to a dealer who told them they were purchasing hearing aids which represented the "greatest leap forward in the century." The dealer, who sold $37,000 worth of ordinary hearing aids in 9 months assured some customers that the instrument would enable them to stop being deaf.

In Oregon, a dealer claimed his hearing aids made the human ear "no longer necessary."

In Buffalo, N.Y., hearing aid buyers brought devices which they were told had a permanent power source utilizing body heat and would operate indefinitely. Actually, its power source, an ordinary battery, required periodic recharging.

While there have been significant "cosmetic" advances permitting partial concealment of hearing aids there has been no recent major improvement in their sound-producing capacity.

NOTHING NEW

"No new and revolutionary development relating to the principles of amplification and transmission of sound as applied to hearing aids has taken place in more than a decade," states Dr. William C. Hardy, director of the Speech and Hearing Center of Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore.

According to New York State Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz "There is a critical need to protect the public in this vital area." Lefkowitz, whose office has just completed a 4-year investigation of hearing aid sales practices, adds: "The Bureau of Consumer Frauds and Protection has uncovered cases where hearing aid dealers and salesmen have used scare tactics and sold devices to individuals whose hearing was normal."

Unscrupulous dealers are able to profit because few hearing aid buyers know anything about the product they need. They do not have common sources of information to draw on as do the buyers of homes, automobiles, television sets and washing machines. And their ignorance is compounded by dealers who cloak their commercial operations behind a facade of medical professionalism.

The telephone directories in most major cities contain such listings as "Hearing Aid Clinic," "Hearing Air Center" and "Hearing Service." This clinical approach is carried further by some dealers. One Westchester County, N.Y., dealer, for example, interviewed customers in an office which closely resembled a medical clinic. Signs designated the "patients waiting room" and the "examination and consultation area." An attractive female attendant attired in a nurse's dress greeted customers.

The person in need of a hearing aid can be easily disarmed in this type of setting. As one of this dealer's customers complained later: "I knew my hearing was off and I wanted the best instrument I could get. After doing what seemed like a thorough job of testing, the dealer suggested I be fitted for a new model which he said represented a revolutionary concept in hearing aids. I paid $750. It worked fine in his consultation room. But, 2 weeks later when I was on a vacation trip, I could barely hear my car radio turned up to full volume. I stopped to ask another hearing aid dealer to check it and learned that my 'electronic marvel' was actually a 3-year-old model that cost me $375 more than it should have."

Sometimes outright quackery is practiced. Not long ago, a Brooklyn salesman told a

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woman suffering from headaches, difficulty in breathing and heart palpitations to get rid of your medicine and prescribed a hearing aid.

Lack of technical and medical knowledge is another failure. One training manual furnished to new salesmen advises them to "study the technical aspects of the trade," but continues: "By study, we do not mean book study. Please do not stop selling to study for a few days in order to acquire technical knowledge."

Another passage in the same manual instructs salesmen to ask prospective buyers if they have noticed a hearing loss. If the answer is "No," the salesman is instructed to lower his voice and continue talking.

Although leading hearing aid manufacturers and ethical distributors and salesmen condemn these tactics, the fact is that virtually anybody, regardless of moral character or technical skill and qualifications, can enter the business.

While nearly all States require that optometrists, podiatrists, barbers and beauticians, not to mention doctors, dentists, architects and engineers, pass rigid qualifying examinations and be licensed, only Oregon has a law requiring licensing of hearing aid dealers and salesmen.

PRICES OUT OF LINE

The chief concern of hearing aid buyers is the price of these relatively simple devices. In 1962 prices of hearing aids were the subject of an intensive inquiry by the U.S. Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly. The committee found hearing aid prices to be excessively high and far out of line with manufacturing costs.

In an effort to lift professional standards, the Society of Hearing Aid Audiologists now requires that dealers and salesmen who apply for membership (1) complete a basic course and pass a final examination in methods of proper hearing aid service as well as in hearing and hearing disorders, (2) be endorsed by a physician and (3) subscribe to the Code of Ethics of the Hearing Aid Industry through which dealers pledge to refrain from misrepresentation.

Another code, drafted this year by the New York Hearing Aid Dealers Guild, condemns the use of trade names implying that a dealer is an institution or clinic. It also condemns scare tactics and unwarranted claims for a product.

Many believe that questionable sales practices are inevitable until a completely medical approach is adopted. To accomplish this it has been suggested that hearing aids be sold only on the basis of a prescription. (Only an estimated 11 percent of the people who wear hearing aids today have ever been examined for hearing loss by a physician.)

Such a plan would provide that only otologists—medical doctors who specialize in treatment of diseases of the ear—or noncommercial audiologists—individuals professionally trained in acoustics related to human hearing and rehabilitation of the hard of hearing—could prescribe hearing aids. The patient, assured of a competent diagnosis, would then take his prescription to a dealer. The dealer would be accountable not only to the customer but to the physician or audiologist as well.

ANOTHER SUGGESTION

State licensing has also been suggested as a means to eliminate quacks and incompetents. Oregon's licensing law provides that all persons selling hearing aids be examined for their basic knowledge of the physics of sound, the physiology of the human ear, and competence in the techniques of testing individuals for hearing aids. When the law became effective, 25 percent of the hearing aid dealers in the State failed to qualify.

If you are one of the 16 million Americans with a hearing problem, these commonsense suggestions can be helpful:

Before purchasing a hearing aid, visit an otologist for a hearing examination or a nonprofit hearing clinic where an audiologist, usually supervised by an otologist, will administer a series of tests to determine the extent of hearing loss. These clinics permit you to try on various hearing aids to determine which one is best suited for you. Although the clinic doesn't sell the aid, it will advise you what type to buy. If you are a veteran, you may be able to obtain an aid without charge. Trained audiologists working under doctors at veterans' hospitals will test you to determine your hearing loss.

If possible, obtain your new hearing aid for a trial period. Some dealers offer a 10- to 30-day trial so you can see how the aid works under all conditions—at home and at the office, driving the car, in the theater, on the telephone, listening to the radio or TV. Or try renting an aid. Many reputable dealers will permit you to apply rent payments toward the eventual purchase.

Make sure the dealer will service your aid. Ask the cost of the service and parts, find out if they can be replaced easily and at what cost.

Go to a reputable dealer. Check his record with the Better Business Bureau or the Federal Trade Commission. If you believe that a dealer has misrepresented himself or his product, report the facts to one of these agencies.

National Association of Social Workers, Metropolitan Washington Chapter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, trained social workers are better able than most to see the effects of nonrepresentative government, particularly in the areas of health and welfare services. It seems to me a telling argument for home rule for the District of Columbia that such a group of observers, whose professional education teaches them to take an impartial and unprejudiced view, strongly supports local self-government for Washington, D.C. I ask leave to insert in the RECORD their statement, which includes the national body's 1962 and 1964 resolutions on home rule.

The statement follows:

TESTIMONY OF NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS, METROPOLITAN WASHINGTON CHAPTER, CONCERNING HOME RULE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, FOR PRESENTATION AT HEARING BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 5 OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, AUGUST 18, 1965

I am Mrs. Margaret H. Pierce representing the Metropolitan Washington Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers, 1,400 members, about two-thirds of whom live and work in the District. We heartily support and urge that the House of Representatives pass a bill like that already passed by the Senate, S. 1118, concerning an elected mayor, city council, and other provisions for the District of Columbia. This bill will provide a government which can be held responsible for the effective administration of local health and welfare services.

We would like also to call to your attention the resolution adopted by our National Association of Social Workers at its biennial delegate assembly of December 1962 and November 1964, representing its 45,000 members throughout the United States, noting that the denial of home rule for the District has created a situation in which civic responsibilities in local government cannot be carried out, particularly in the areas of health and welfare.

The resolution in full reads as follows:

"HOME RULE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS, BIENNIAL DELEGATE ASSEMBLY, DECEMBER 1962 AND NOVEMBER 1964

("Home Rule for District of Columbia introduced by Metropolitan Washington Chapter, National Association of Social Workers.)

"Whereas since 1872, the citizens of the District of Columbia have been unable to order their own local government affairs; and

"Whereas such inability has deprived them of the opportunity to act responsibly in our democracy; and

"Whereas the denial of home rule has created a situation in which civic responsibilities in local government cannot be carried out, particularly in the areas of health, education, and housing; administrative complexities frustrate effective action; and

"Whereas the present form of District government precludes representation selected by the citizens of the District of Columbia; and

"Whereas the basic convictions of the National Association of Social Workers include belief in the worth of the individual and the right to self-determination, and that these values be sustained in a democratic society in which people share equally in rights and responsibilities; and

"Whereas the citizens of the District of Columbia are also entitled to share equally in these rights and responsibilities, with rights of self-determination and self-government, consistent with the special status of the city of Washington as the Nation's Capital: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the Delegate Assembly of the National Association of Social Workers declare its support of efforts to provide that the District of Columbia with self-government by legislative action; that the national office urge chapters to communicate with Members of Congress to support Home Rule for the District of Columbia; and that the Washington legislative representatives of the National Association of Social Workers be instructed to promote the enactment of appropriate legislation and to cooperate with the Metropolitan Washington Chapter in its efforts on behalf of home rule.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to include my report to my constituents for July 16, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman JIM MARTIN, Seventh District, Alabama)

RENT SUBSIDIES GET SENATE OKAY

It won't be long now until the Federal Government begins to take some of your hard-earned money to help pay the rent

to help those who cannot afford it, or will not put forth the effort to earn it, to move into better neighborhoods. The Federal Government will use part of your tax dollar to help Robert Weaver push his program of economic integration. The Senate approved the Sparkman bill (S. 2213) by substituting its language for the language of the bill the House passed a week ago. Minor differences between the two bills will now be cleaned up in conference and the bill will soon be on its way to the White House for the President's signature. The main objective of the President and the ultraliberals, a Federal rent subsidy program, remains in the bill.

The Senate approved rent subsidies by defeating an amendment by Sentor JOHN TOWER, of Texas, to take the rent subsidy proposal out of the Sparkman bill. On this crucial vote the amendment was defeated 47 to 40. Only 5 Republican Senators voted for rent subsidies with 24 Republicans voting against. Forty-two Democrats went along with the President's demand to pass the subsidy provision and only 16 opposed it.

CHANGE OUR MONEY

The House passed the Coinage Act of 1965, to reduce the silver in half dollars and eliminate it in dimes and quarters, by a vote of 255 to 151. I voted against it because I do not believe this is the proper way to handle the matter. It is admitted there is a shortage of silver, but debasing our coins will not bring about the cure we need. The real trouble is deficit financing. The Federal Government insists on continuing to spend more than it takes in. The silver shortage is not the disease, it is only a symptom of the real disease, reckless and irresponsible spending. I opposed changing the silver content of our coins as a first step in devaluing our money as the only means to force the Federal Government to live within its means.

SUBWAY SYSTEM FOR WASHINGTON

While there were many valid arguments for voting against the bill for a subway in Washington, which passed the House on Thursday, the most pertinent argument is that it sets a pattern for the Federal Government to finance transportation systems for big cities throughout the country. The last Congress passed the Urban Mass Transportation Act providing for a total Federal outlay for the entire country of $375 million and limited the share of any one State to 12½ percent of the total, or approximately $47 million. Now the House has approved a grant of $150 million for Washington alone and asks that we guarantee the entire bond issue of $333 million, which will be an addition to the Federal debt. Plus this the Government will pay any operating loss of the system. This proves again that such bills as the Urban Mass Transportation Act are only a foot-in-the-door for the Federal planners who are determined to socialize all basic industries. I shall continue to vote against the expansion of such programs as I did in voting against the Washington subway bill.

L.B.J. INSULTS SOUTH AGAIN

Most shocking action of the week was the new affront to the South by Lyndon Johnson in naming Thurgood Marshall, former attorney for the NAACP, as Solicitor General of the United States. This means the third highest ranking officer in the Department of Justice will be a man whose whole history is a record of prejudice against the South, its institution and its people. The former NAACP attorney will now be the chief enforcement officer in prosecuting southerners and Southern States under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

SOUTHERN POULTRY INDUSTRY THREATENED

It was my privilege this week to join forces with my friend and colleague, Congressman PRENTISS WALKER, of Mississippi, in preventing immediate approval of a $2.6 million Federal loan to a Maine poultry company to start a new processing plant in Pennsylvania which would threaten serious injury to the entire poultry industry. We were able to get a postponement of approval of the loan until the House Agriculture Committee is able to investigate the situation. This will give poultrymen and their representatives an opportunity to present some facts showing that creation of such a new poultry complex is not in the best interest of the industry.

We also took a strong stand in opposition to including a Democrat sponsored egg price control bill in the omnibus farm bill without full hearings. The bill (H.R. 7481) would regulate egg production and impose Federal regulations. No such far-reaching measure could be allowed to be passed on to the House for decision until hearings have been held and all sides of the issue fairly presented.

Local Growers Tear Hair While Crops Spoil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, my district is only one of hundreds which are hurt seriously by the farm labor practices of the U.S. Department of Labor.

Every district in the United States will suffer crop losses, unemployment, increased food prices or poorer quality of vegetables because of the failure of the Department of Labor to assure growers of an adequate, competent farm labor force.

Another firsthand report from the Dixon, Calif., Tribune of September 9, 1965, gives another picture of the tragic chaos in the agricultural areas of our country.

The article follows:

[From the Dixon (Calif.) Tribune, Sept. 9, 1965]

LOCAL TOMATO REPORT—LOCAL GROWERS TEAR THEIR HAIR AS FRUIT WASTES ON THE VINE

Around these parts they're singing an old song with just a slight variation on the words.

"Yes, we have no tomatoes," well some, but, according to direct reports from local grower associations, we'll bring in from 25 to 40 percent less than would have been picked had the Government not seen fit to help.

Around the office of Charlie Rhodes of the Dixon Growers' Association faces are long and the fruit still is on the vine. Rhodes' office states that a very conservative 25-percent loss will result from the first pick and, unless a substantial increase in braceros is immediately forthcoming the second pick could be utter disaster.

Relief had been promised in the form of 596 braceros. As of late Tuesday only 211 were on hand. From Oklahoma 35 domestic workers came in last week. Today 25 remain.

NEARLY 300 SCHOOL CHILDREN DEPART

Further complications arose this week with the start of school. Between 250 and 300 youngsters had been working in the fields in an effort to relieve the problem. They are back in the classroom. The efforts of these young people are appreciated but the plain fact is the results of their efforts left something to be desired. Vine damage has been extensive and inexperience takes the blame.

Dixon Growers' Association is responsible for some 3,000 acres of local tomato fields. Four growers in this association have fields still untouched by pickers.

VALLEY ASSOCIATION PICTURE EVEN WORSE

Over at the Valley Farm Labor Association the picture is even blacker. Manager Herman Campos is fit to be tied as he ponders problems seemingly without answers. He was promised 1,390 braceros. He got 403. His association has charge of 7,000 acres in this vicinity. Five hundred of these acres are machine-picked. He estimates that, to have the pick done properly, some 2,500 braceros should have been on the scene.

A SALVAGE, NOT A PICK

Campos says bitterly, "This is a salvage job we're running, not a tomato pick." The figures seem to bear him out. Some 2,000 acres of tomatoes may never reach the pack unless a lot more help arrives before this week's end. There were some 1,000 school-age children in the fields under the the supervision of Valley Farm Labor Association. Campos does not find fault with their enthusiasm and sincerity of purpose for the large part, but as was the case with the Dixon Growers, lack of experience was devastating and the second pick will feel the brunt.

STATEWIDE RECRUITING A BUST

Statewide efforts to recruit hands for the job has been ineffectual. Funds coughed up by various associations yielded a poor harvest. Recruiting teams set out to bring back 6,000 workers. They brought back some 811, according to word received by Campos. Machines are in some fields; 500 of the 7,000 acres supervised by the Valley group are being harvested mechanically. There are problems here, too. Machines clog up with weeds.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

And so, Mr. Wirtz, where do we go from here? Perhaps the good Secretary should ask the men south of the border. For many years they had a rather simple solution.

Baker Probe Continues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, it will indeed be interesting to note the action taken by the Federal grand jury which is now investigating the activities of Robert G. (Bobby) Baker, former $19,000 a year secretary to President Johnson when the latter was Senate majority leader.

According to the Des Moines Register of September 12, 1965, the grand jury is conducting a tough probe of the activities of Baker and certain of his associates. It will be interesting to note whether Fred Black, Jr., former Washington lobbyist deluxe, and an associate of Baker, is called to testify.

The newspaper article follows:

TOUGH PROBE OF BAKER BY GRAND JURY—HIS FRIENDS SHAKEN BY QUESTIONING

(By Clark Mollenhoff)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Friends and associates of Robert G. (Bobby) Baker are shaken by mounting evidence that Baker's political-financial empire is crumbing.

Two major developments make it appear the Johnson administration cannot be counted on to help him:

First, dozens of Baker's friends and associates have been questioned by a Federal grand jury here, and have reported surprise at the tough questioning that is taking place.

Second, the North American Aviation Corp. has announced that it will cancel its $2,500,000-a-year contract with Baker's Serv-U vending company, the backbone of Baker's financial success.

The continuation of this contract had been interpreted by Senator JOHN J. WILLIAMS, Republican, of Delaware, as an indication that the Johnson administration approved the arrangement under which this huge defense contractor continued to do business with Baker.

Baker served as secretary to the Senate Democratic majority when Lyndon Johnson was majority leader, and was considered an intimate of Johnson's. Baker resigned his $19,600-a-year post in October 1963, when his outside business dealings came under investigation.

As long as Baker continued to live lavishly on multimillion-dollar deals with firms that deal with the Defense Department, there seemed to be some substance to his claims that he would emerge on top.

The condemnation of his "gross improprieties" by the Senate Rules Committee and his fifth amendment pleas were shrugged off as meaningless.

However, the tempo of the grand jury probe is reported to have picked up in the last 2 months under the direction of Justice Department Lawyers William O. Bittman, Don P. Moore, and Charles N. Shaffer, Jr.

MOVE AGGRESSIVELY

These young lawyers, all veterans of the trials of Teamster President James R. Hoffa, are reported moving as aggressively as they did against Hoffa.

More than 100 witnesses have testified and dozens of others are under subpena with questioning scheduled in the next few weeks.

Fred B. Black, Jr., a former business partner of Baker and Washington lobbyist, has not been subpenaed yet, but expects a subpena at any moment.

Black, already convicted on a Federal charge of income tax evasion, faces the dilemma that many others face in these crucial weeks of grand jury action.

EITHER WAY

If he receives a subpena, it can mean a trying ordeal with tough questioning on his complicated financial dealings with Baker, or a fifth amendment plea.

If he does not receive a subpena, this can also be a bad sign for Black for it could be an indication that he also is the subject of the Baker investigation and runs the risk of being indicted.

"My dealings with Bobby Baker have ruined me," Black told the Register. "I testified before the Rules Committee and did not take the fifth amendment because I thought I could save my job [as Washington representative for North American Aviation]. It did not work."

Black says he was subjected to "dirty" treatment by Baker, who bought up Black's Serv-U stock because Black was slow in meeting payments on money borrowed to purchase the stock.

The "dirty" treatment by North American was in firing him from his $40,000-a-year job as Washington representative after he had been convicted of tax evasion.

APOLLO CONTRACT

Black contends that he delivered the Apollo contract of about $1.4 billion to North American and performed other valuable services. He said North American officials "knew what I was doing" as a Washington representative, but fired him arbitrarily without waiting for him to appeal his tax evasion conviction.

The appeal went to the U.S. appeals court in Washington about 6 months ago and Black says he is still hopeful for a reversal of his conviction.

In the meantime, he has filed a $9 million damage suit against North American charging he was wrongfully discharged. He said he won't settle the suit even if offered $250,000 to $500,000.

Black said he wants enough to take care of all his back Federal taxes, plus penalties and interest, plus payment of his $40,000-a-year salary until such time as his tax evasion conviction is upheld by the Supreme Court, plus about $500,000.

Black said the Internal Revenue Service claims he owes more than $450,000 in back income taxes. He said this includes the more than $91,000 for the 1957–59 period involved in the tax evasion conviction, and more than $360,000 for the years from 1960 to the present. With penalties and interest the sum could total $900,000 to a million.

PROPER RETURNS

Black said he filed proper tax returns for the years 1960 through 1964, but did not pay his taxes for those years because he did not have the money. He said he made some small payments in each of the years.

He insists he did not have the money to pay his Federal taxes despite the fact he was reporting more than $200,000 a year income in each year, was living in a $150,000 home in the exclusive Spring Valley section in Washington, and was one of the most lavish entertainers in Washington.

Black says he is challenging the amount of the tax claims in the U.S. Tax Court, and is optimistic that he can demonstrate that all of his expenses were proper business expenses.

He said he believes the court will have to accept "the realities" of the activities of Washington representatives in highly competitive contract situations.

Black says he has lost all of his big clients, but he still operates from a lavishly furnished three-room suite in the Sheraton-Carlton Hotel in Washington and still lives in the large Spring Valley home.

Taxes on the Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the August 28, 1965, issue of America, an outstanding Catholic publication:

TAXES ON THE HANDICAPPED

Call them Mary Dee and John Doe. It doesn't matter. What matters is that there are about 300,000 Mary Dees and John Does in the country, and Uncle Sam isn't giving them a fair tax shake.

Mary Dee and John Doe are orthopedically handicapped persons. They suffer from a 50-percent-or-more loss, or loss of use, of one of more extremities. Although they have been rehabilitated and are gainfully employed, their earning capacity is limited. Their expenses, on the other hand, are heavier than those of other people. If they drive a car, they must have hand controls. If they live in an apartment, they must have elevator service. If they buy a pair of shoes, they must have them custom made at a cost of anywhere from $85 to $175 a pair. Yet Mary Dee and John Doe, who could sit home and live on relief, are obliged to pay the same taxes as the rest of men.

To do simple justice to these people, and to encourage them to be self-supporting, Representative EUGENE J. KEOGH, of New York, has introduced a bill (H.R. 424) that would help them in two ways: (1) it would give them a second $600 personal tax exemption; (2) it would allow them to deduct from their taxable income the cost of transportation to their jobs. Those concessions would cut Uncle Sam's tax revenues a relatively piddling $40 million a year.

A bill of this kind does not need a great deal of study. No matter how busy it is, and how understandably eager to get away from Washington, Congress ought to pause long enough to give Mary Dee and John Doe the tax break they deserve.

The Federation of Malaysia: a Tribute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, today marks the second anniversary of the formation of the Federation of Malaysia, after 2 years of negotiations with Great Britain. On this occasion, we wish to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Tuanku Syed Putra ibni Almarhum Syed Hassan Jamalullail; and to the Malaysian Ambassador to the United States, His Excellency Dato Ong Yoke Lin.

The significance of this act of independence cannot be overestimated, for this was another of those cases where the British Government recognized the inalienable right of men to be free and independent and permitted a further dissolution of empire within a structure of law and order.

What the British have been doing in the years since 1945 is indeed a tribute to their wisdom and dedication to orderly government. As the British Empire dissolved, the British did not leave a void of governmental irresponsibility but had in the decades of their rule prepared a political intelligentsia to take over the reins of authority when once they departed.

But there can be no denying that this dissolution of empire, though by and large orderly and within a framework of law, has created enormous problems for American foreign policy, especially in the Far East. Prior to 1945, the United States could always depend upon the existence of a certain status quo in the Far East, especially in those areas where the British, French, and Dutch rule prevailed. Our only serious problems in the Far East were created by the Japanese who sought to destroy that status quo.

With the evolution of those former imperial countries into an independent status, the power and influence of Europe has dissolved in the Far East, and thus we have had to face the reality of an enormous power vacuum enveloping the subcontinent and areas in the Western Pacific. The great problem facing us today is the necessity of creating stable and

reliable states in that area, states that find their best interest served in a closer association with the United States against the spreading danger of Communist China.

The Federation of Malaysia lies in one of those strategic crossroads of the world, and it is one of the great necessities of American foreign policy to secure the friendship and assist in maintaining the integrity of this grouping of states. Only recently the Federation was dealt a harsh blow with the withdrawal of Singapore. Still, it is hoped that even in this present internal crisis a certain harmony of interests can be created that will mean the continuing strength and independence of Malaysia.

On this anniversary commemorating the creation of the Federation of Malaysia, we Americans join with all friends of the people of Malaysia in paying tribute to them. We all share in a common interest, and thus our hopes and aspirations are identical: that Malaysia may continue to prosper in freedom and independence.

The Retirement of Hon. Eugene M. Zuckert

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Eugene M. Zuckert will retire from the office of Secretary of the Air Force this month after 4½ years of dedicated service.

Mr. Zuckert has had a distinguished career of service in our Federal Government and his many friends on Capitol Hill who are acquainted with his service extend to him our appreciation for his efforts and wish him well in his return to private life.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the Appendix an article which appeared in the Baltimore Sun September 13 commenting on Mr. Zuckert's retirement:

AIR FORCE CAME THROUGH, ZUCKERT SAYS

(By Albert Sehlstedt, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, September 12.—The Air Force has gone through a traumatic period in its life and emerged a healthier organization, in the opinion of the man who has been the civilian head of the service longer than anyone else.

Eugene M. Zuckert, who will retire this month as Secretary of the Air Force after 4½ years in the post, looked back this week on his time in the Pentagon and concluded that the Air Force has survived quite satisfactorily the readjustment of the last 5 years.

Zuckert explained in an interview that the Air Force had been "top dog" among the services in the 1950's when massive retaliation with the big bomb played such a large role in the Nation's defense thinking.

KENNEDY AND M'NAMARA

Then came John F. Kennedy and Robert S. McNamara, Zuckert recalled, and with them came an increasing emphasis upon more conventional forms of warfare as practiced by the Army and the Navy.

"This was a traumatic period for the Air Force," Zuckert said, referring to those early days of the Kennedy administration and his own arrival at the Pentagon as Air Force Secretary. He had been Assistant Secretary of the Air Force from 1947 to 1952.

"When I came back here," he said of his return to the Defense Department in 1961, "my presumptions were on the side of the Air Force. I didn't think in terms of conventional war."

NEW ACCENT ON TACTICAL WAR

But the change was already underway. The big strategic bombers were still in the air and the first of hundreds of intercontinental ballistic missiles were being deployed around the United States.

Yet with these developments there was a growing emphasis on tactical warfare—the closer-to-earth business of fighting with conventional bombs and guns in limited areas of conflict.

"The Air Force now has gotten into the conventional-tactical business with enthusiasm," he said. "We have doubled our airlift in 4 years, and we will double it again in 4 more years with only two-thirds of the planes we have today."

BIGGER CARGO PLANES

He referred to the cargo planes, with increased load-carrying capacities and greater speeds, that fly the men and equipment to battlegrounds and regions of potential danger.

Zuckert noted, too, a 40-percent increase in the Air Force's tactical forces; the fighters and fighter-bombers of relatively short range that are being used so extensively in Vietnam.

"On the strategic side: when I came here they had six missiles," he said. "Today, there are over 800. So wherever you look the Air Force is stronger."

SOME PREDATED HIS ARRIVAL

He made it clear that some of these projects, such as the plans for the buildup of an intercontinental missile force, predated the arrival of Zuckert and the other McNamara men. But that fact did not dilute his satisfaction with the present state of Air Force affairs.

"The thing that gives me the most heart," he continued, "is that we are much more willing to question our own concepts."

He cited the longstanding contention between the Army and Air Force about ground support for troops in battle—which service could best airlift the equipment and weapons to a combat area in the most effective way.

HEAT INSTEAD OF LIGHT

The argument about ground support generated "so much heat instead of light," he thought.

"We have the natural feeling that our expertise is better than anybody else's, but we are now more willing to question our own concepts," he said.

This statement led to the Zuckert observation that the Air Force "is much more secure than in 1961," as well as more responsive to changes in national policy.

Despite the concentration on tactics, the Air Force is still in the business of global war.

And the service has maintained its ability to manage the big operating organization that is required for that kind of preparedness, he said. The organization is, of course, the Strategic Air Command.

"SAC's operations capability is one of the greatest things I have ever seen," he added with enthusiasm. This capability has spread to other Air Force commands, he said.

All has not been roses in the Zuckert tenure, however.

He mentioned their "two greatest frustrations." They have been the Air Force's failure to get approval for an advanced manned strategic aircraft and an improved manned interceptor.

WANTS FOLLOW-ON TO B-52

The strategic aircraft would be, if the Air Force can ever convince McNamara of the need, a follow-on to the SAC's current B-52 bomber, designed more than a decade ago to carry bombs at subsonic speeds to distant targets.

With advances in other countries' air defense, the Air Force is looking for a long-range plane of very great speed which, perhaps, could fire strategic missiles at targets from relatively far off and perform other tasks that only men in a flying machine can accomplish.

The improved manned interceptor would be a high-speed plane carrying the most up-to-date combination of radar, missiles, and electronic equipment to blunt the attack of enemy bombers enroute to the United States.

LESS SURE OF INTERCEPTOR

"I think we are going to have a manned strategic plane as far ahead as you can see," Zuckert said, but he seemed less certain about the improved manned interceptor.

His opinion on the subject seemed to narrow down to this: There are so many uncertainties ahead in the area of strategic operations against a possible enemy that the Air Force must be equipped with a diversified inventory of missiles and manned aircraft to respond to a number of contingencies.

STRESS ON ATTACK PLANE

But the same reasoning does not apply to the improved manned interceptor, simply because the future is more uncertain.

That is to say, it would seem less likely that the United States would need a new defensive plane to counter a bomber attack than it would need a new attack plane to complement its strategic missile force.

There is, however, another facet of air defense that interests Zuckert and which, therefore, may have an expanding role in the future plans of the service.

He mentioned the problem of mobility in regard to air defense and brought up the war in Vietnam where all the complicated parts of an integrated air defense system, such as ground radar, computers, and other devices, cannot now be assembled quickly.

NEED SEEN IN VIETNAM

Yet it would obviously have been desirable to have just such a mobile, quickly assembled air defense system earlier this year when two of the Air Force's high-performance F-105's were shot down by Communist MIG's in the Vietnam war.

Perhaps there will emerge from the present Continental Air Defense Establishment a mobile, worldwide system that could be employed quickly in any trouble spot, Zuckert indicated.

Turning from hardware to people, the Secretary spoke highly of the Air Staff, a sort of board of directors of the Air Force composed of some of the service's key generals.

TRIBUTE TO AIR STAFF

"I don't think we have ever had a better air staff," Zuckert declared.

He also praised Gen. John P. McConnell, Chief of Staff of the Air Force. "He is a real manager," Zuckert said.

Management is an important word to Zuckert, as it is with other defense officials. Management is the long suit of Robert McNamara.

Zuckert said the people got what they asked for in a strong Defense Secretary, and the result is better management down the line.

"We learned a lot from the people on the third floor," he said. The Air Force executive offices are on the fourth floor of the

Pentagon, directly above the offices of McNamara and his principal aides.

EACH JOB TO INDIVIDUAL

One aspect of McNamara management admired by Zuckert is the seemingly simple business of making an individual, rather than a committee or a board, responsible for seeing a project or program through to a successful conclusion.

When one man—"a guy," as Zuckert put it—is assigned a piece of work, there is no doubt in his mind, nor in the minds of people above and below him, about where the responsibility lies for the success or failure of that endeavor.

Because of McNamara, said Zuckert, "we are much better managers than we were before."

SOME M'NAMARA GAINS

Zuckert also praised the Defense Secretary for such projects as his cost-reduction program; the elimination of duplication by establishing organizations like the defense supply agency which buys for all the services, and the formation of the U.S. strike command, a joint Army-Air Force command with the job of moving quickly to trouble spots in an emergency.

What has it been like working with McNamara during these years?

"It's a little bit like running the half mile," Zuckert said. "Even if you win, it's damned exhausting. And there's the range of the man," he added admiringly.

The actual day-to-day (12 hours a day) job of working with the Defense Secretary is all work, however, Zuckert implied.

"There are no fun and games in the operating room," Zuckert quipped. "In surgery, he's a surgeon."

Speaking of his term as Air Force Secretary, Zuckert said: "This has been the most educational experience of my life."

Zuckert, 53, was not prepared to say this week what the next experience in his life will be.

He has had a varied career in and out of Government.

Born in New York City on November 9, 1911, he received a bachelor-of-arts degree from Yale in 1933 and a law degree 4 years later.

He has practiced law, specializing as a consultant in the field of atomic energy, and was also an attorney for the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Zuckert has done some teaching and was assistant dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, where he organized and administered the first advanced management course.

During World War II he served in the Navy and was assigned to the office of the chief of naval operations.

Another Government assignment was 2½ years as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission.

He was sworn in as Secretary of the Air Force January 24, 1961, and he will retire September 30 of this year.

His successor is Dr. Harold Brown, 37, a physicist, who has been director of defense research and engineering in the Defense Department since 1961.

Billboards Along Highways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have received a letter from Elmer Simon, of Owanka, S. Dak., in which he expresses my feeling with regard to the confiscatory program of presenting the use of billboards along highways.

His letter refers to the right of the property owner. A right which the Federal Government is trying to confiscate through this legislation. It is something that Members of Congress should consider before voting to pass one law which applies to teeming cities and wide open spaces in the same paragraph.

The letter is as follows:

"In regards to the bills being presented in Washington, D.C., that would eliminate outdoor advertising along the highways in all States:

I urge you to get in there and see that such a crazy bill as that never gets passed.

In the first place I believe it would be unconstitutional as it would be eliminating our income that we get from sign rentals. Or is the Government going to pay us the money?

In the second place if a few beauty lovers can tell us not to have signs on our property, they may soon try to tell us what color to paint our homes, or to move our cattle from along the highways as they do not like the looks of them.

So get in there and fight to see that no such bill is passed, as I am sure going to fight to keep any big shots from coming in and removing signs from my property.

Thanking you in advance for any help you can give us.

Federal Government and New Mexico: Partners in Crime and Vice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to tell the Members of this House about gambling in the State of New Mexico. As a result of the ignorant partnership of the State of New Mexico and the Federal Government, gambling is illegal in New Mexico, and is thus a lucrative mob revenue source.

Last year, the parimutuel turnover in New Mexico came to $38 million. Illegal gambling was more extensive. Testimony before the McClellan committee puts national off-track betting at $50 billion annually. Other testimony pegs off-track betting at 40 percent of total national illegal gambling, which would then total $120 billion a year. On a population basis, New Mexico would account for $600 million of this. While this figure is probably an overallocation as far as New Mexico is concerned, I am sure that illegal gambling in New Mexico is lining the coffers of the underworld with millions of dollars a year, making New Mexico a gambler's fiesta land.

What New Mexico needs is what the Nation needs—Government-run gambling. A national lottery and a series of State lotteries would divert illegal gambling moneys in New Mexico and the rest of the States, and make them work for the public good rather than mob enterprises.

That Vietnam Dialog

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, my attention was drawn to an article reprinted from the editorial page of the Washington Star on June 23, 1965, and appearing in the Washington Post of June 29, as a public service, in paid space, by the International Latex Corp.

This editorial was an honest and rational answer to a handful of college professors in this country who became the academic critics of our foreign policy in Vietnam.

Its title was "That Vietnam Dialog."

What I found to be of great interest also, was the introduction to that editorial which was written by Mr. A. N. Spanel, the founder and chairman of International Latex Corp., who has been editorializing in paid space throughout the free world for more than 25 years on behalf of Western unity and especially in furtherance of sound relations between the United States and France which has been America's oldest ally.

Mr. Spanel has repeatedly made it clear that in our Communist-threatened planet only free-world unity is the hope for averting its destruction and that in this ceaseless quest for unity, the United States and France must play leading roles if freedom on earth is to survive and flourish.

In Mr. Spanel's introduction he not only enlarges on America's position in Vietnam which the Washington Star delineates, but in addition thereto he sets the historic record straight on the important role that France was trying to play in Indochina against Communist subversion in the early fifties.

I doubt that there exists in the history of this Nation a private company or a private citizen who has spent so much effort and money on behalf of free-world unity and sound Franco-American relations as have the International Latex Corp. and its founder, Mr. Spanel; and I am confident that none of this has been lost on the American or French people.

Here is the paid article as it appeared in the Washington Post of June 29:

[From the Washington Post and the New York Times, June 29, 1965]

(The following editorial from the influential Washington Star merits, in our opinion, the widest possible readership. Yet we find ourselves in disagreement with the statement which reads: "the French were waging a purely colonial war" in Algeria and Vietnam.

(It would have been much closer to historic fact to have stated that the French were fighting and dying in Algeria and in Indochina also against communism, as they claimed, and not "purely" for colonial reasons.

(That the Western World in general, and the United States in particular, cynically chose to accept the tail but not the head of the same French coin, is perhaps one of the reasons Americans are now fighting and dying in Vietnam.

(It is no mystery what the "teach-in" and "sit-in" stalwarts were doing in those days, both here and in Europe. They were pontificating, often bitterly, as now, against the elected governments of France and its military.

(In sum, what the free world finally lost, the ravenous Communist colonial empires gained. It is a certainty the Communists will continue clawing for more, unless and until the West stops them, an agonizing task President Johnson has undertaken in freedom's cause with courage, understanding, and purpose.)

A. N. SPANEL,
Founder Chairman, International Latex Corp.

THAT VIETNAM DIALOG

The "Vietnam dialog" presented by CBS June 21 obviously did not convert any of the "professors" to the administration's point of view. Nevertheless, the show served a useful purpose.

It demonstrated, for one thing, that McGeorge Bundy is indeed a formidable opponent on the debating platform. He was more than a match for the representatives of the "academic community," singly or collectively. And the President's aid was especially effective in carving up Prof. Hans Morgenthau, who is generally thought of as the guiding spirit of the academic critics of our policy in Vietnam.

More importantly, it demonstrated that you can't beat something with nothing. In this instance, Bundy's something was a clearly articulated definition of the administration's policy and program. The policy has not yet achieved the desired result. But we may know more about its usefulness 6 months from now, and in any event it constitutes a tangible, affirmative course of action which can be stated in terms that are understandable.

The great weakness of the position of the other side was that it offered nothing which could rationally be described as an alternative.

Mr. Morgenthau said he is "opposed to our present policy in Vietnam on moral, military, political, and general intellectual grounds"—an interesting rhetorical exercise, but it means little or nothing. He also mentioned five "alternatives" to our present policy, and said he favored the fifth. What is it? "I think our aim must be to get out of Vietnam," he said, "but to get out of it with honor." This is an alternative? President Johnson has said essentially the same thing on half a dozen occasions.

One thing more. Mr. Morgenthau seemed to take as his model the French withdrawal from Algeria and Vietnam. He failed to mention that in each case the French were waging a purely colonial war, which is quite a different thing from honoring treaty commitments for the sole purpose of helping South Vietnam maintain its independence in the face of plain aggression by the Communists.

(Presented as a public service by International Latex Corp., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York City.)

Columnist Arthur Hoppe's Satire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the columnist, Arthur Hoppe, has produced two additional columns of his entertaining satire which were published in the San Francisco Chronicle on September 10 and September 14.

His remarks follows:

YES, VIRGINIA, THERE IS NO CIA

(By Arthur Hoppe)

My friend, Mr. Glenn Dorenbush, is gravely concerned by the last official message to come from our beleaguered Central Intelligence Agency.

As you may have read, the CIA announced it was abolishing the position of Assistant to the Direcor for Public Affairs. "The CIA," an unidentified official explained to the press, "has no public affairs."

Naturally, nothing has been heard of the agency since that moment. And it is widely suspected in Washington that this was the final step in a masterful non-public-relations campaign by the CIA to erase its image.

Most insiders believe the unprecedented decision of the CIA to erase its image was taken immediately after the Bay of Pigs fiasco. As they reconstruct it, the unidentified director of the agency called in one Mr. Homer T. Pettibone, a little-known career public affairs officer.

"Pettibone," said the Director, slapping him on the back, "there are thousands of Government press agents in Washington, each doing his utmost to make the name of his agency a household word. And we have chosen you for the historic task ahead because your record shows you are by far and away the most inept."

Encouraged, Mr. Pettibone set to work. His first move was to alienate as many reporters as possible. This he did by cadging drinks, scheduling all press conferences for 7:30 a.m., and calling up determinedly friendly newsmen to read them the complete text of a speech given by a junior agency official to the local Lions Club. In no time, reporters were shunning the agency like a temperance meeting.

Success crowned success. Mr. Pettibone developed an ingenious method of making carbon copies of press releases with the carbons in backwards. But his high point came when he distributed 8 by 11 glossy photographs of "Miss CIA" to every editor in the country and none was published. Primarily because Miss CIA was a carefully selected "Perfect 36" (12-12-12).

Only once was the smooth-running machine in any danger of breaking down. That was when a lady columnist called Mr. Pettibone to say she planned to write a six-part series on what a good job the CIA was doing and would he come to her salon to hear her tell him why? But Mr. Pettibone averted disaster by constantly interrupting her and even suggested at one point that she had been mistaken in a 1936 column. Naturally, nothing appeared.

The end came when a survey showed the CIA hadn't been mentioned once in the press in 6 weeks. The jubilant Director called in Mr. Pettibone, gave him a cigar, fired him and caused, as we have seen, the final announcement to be issued that the agency now had "no public affairs." And who can grudge the CIA a little boasting in its hour of triumph?

Of course, I could see why my friend, Mr. Dorenbush, was concerned. What if our thousands of other Government agencies see the advantage of erasing their images? Why, we would no longer be told daily what a great job our Government was doing for us. Like in Vietnam, or with farm surpluses, or new kinds of tax forms. So I could understand how worried he was that this new technique will spread.

"No," said Mr. Dorenbush, shaking his head. "I'm worried it won't."

MR. JOHNSON'S BOLD NEW IMAGE

(By Arthur Hoppe)

We can all take heart. President Johnson has shown signs of turning over a new leaf in his relations with Congress. With luck, the vital balance between our executive and legislative branches can yet be restored.

The turning point, of course, was Mr. Johnson's recent veto of a bill requiring him to give Congress 4 months notice before closing a military base. Oh, there was some talk in the House of overriding the veto. But as my friend, Congressman PHIL BURTON, the sage California Democrat, said:

"Personally, I'm glad Mr. Johnson at last got up the gumption to veto a bill. It should prove to all these harping critics that he's not either a rubberstamp President."

Fears that Mr. Johnson was nothing but a weak, rubberstamp President have naturally been mounting throughout the country during the past year. It mattered little what controversial legislation the busy and active Congressmen passed—medicare, civil rights, poverty—the President would docilely sign the bill, without hesitation, without protest and without, perhaps, even reading it.

It was little wonder the experts all came to the same gloomy conclusion—Congress had the President in its pocket.

Many reasons have been put forward to account for this sorry state of affairs. For one thing, Mr. Johnson virtually grew up on Capitol Hill and there's no question that his old cronies there know every nook and corner of his mind. As well as where his bones were buried.

Hardly a day goes by that the White House phone doesn't ring and a surprised President picks it up to hear the familiar voice of some important Congressman saying, "Come, let us reason together." There follows a stream of wheedling, flattery, threats and cajolery—first the carrot and then the stick—until an overwhelmed President yields supinely to this clever manipulation.

Another reason, of course, is Mr. Johnson's personality. Modesty, generosity and straightforwardness may be admirable assets in life, but not in wheeling and dealing with Congressmen. Moreover, it's no secret the President prefers the putting green to the political arena.

A shy, introspective man, Mr. Johnson is more akin to Marcel Proust than Machiavelli. And while we must respect the innate decency that makes him reluctant to soil his hands in the machinations of politics, democracy suffers under a President who, though a great moral leader, is no politician.

For all political scientists agree that democracy demands a delicate balance between the executive and the legislative. And when a rubberstamp President becomes the tool of a power-mad Congress, meekly approving every bill they thrust before him—as has clearly been the case this past year—that balance is sadly out of whack.

So let us hope that Mr. Johnson's veto of this admittedly minor bill is a straw in the wind. Maybe he's finally getting his dander up. Perhaps he's now gotten a taste of presidential perogatives. Let us pray the office will turn the man into the kind of fighting-mad, ask-no-quarter, give-'em-hell type of President we need to restore the vital balance of power. Like Mr. Eisenhower.

Foundation Stone of Our Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, this Friday September 17, marks the 178th anniversary of the adoption of the Constitu-

tion of the United States of America by the Constitutional Convention.

This ingenious document has permitted our country to grow and prosper by setting down a system of self-government and binding laws not subject to the quick whimsy of tyrannical demagogs. It is a document that limits and clearly delineates specific powers that the National or State Government may impose upon citizens, and reserves to the people themselves essential rights and liberties not subject to any political power.

Our Constitution has endured remarkably well through all these years and through the fantastic changes wrought in America since its creation. At times, however, it has seemed to some of us that its reservations and limitations on government have been overlooked—as, for example, over the question of the apportionment of State legislatures.

So I am pleased to join in recognizing Constitution Week which begins September 17. I hope that many Americans will take the time to read through this inspiring document again, in order that we may more clearly comprehend the great heritage of individual freedoms bequeathed to us by it, and in order that we may preserve these freedoms for all generations to come.

The Real Alabama—Part LVIII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, a recent Government report shows that over a period of the past 25 years Alabama has led the Nation in rate of growth in nonagricultural employment.

I include in my remarks a newspaper editorial from the Mobile Press of September 8, 1965, commenting on this fact:

WHEREIN ALABAMA LEADS THE NATION

The healthy condition of Alabama's economy is spectacularly illustrated in a U.S. Labor Department report that the State led the entire Nation in rate of growth in nonagricultural employment.

The report says that between 1939 and 1964, nonagricultural employment in the State went up by 107 percent compared to a national rise of 89.9 percent.

At present, this State has about 868,000 nonfarm workers, ranking 8th in the South and 23d in the Nation.

In the 14-year period covered by the report, average earnings of Alabama factory workers have grown steadily—from $43.34 per week in 1949 to $88.97 in 1964.

This bit of information should lift the spirits of Alabamians as the summer gives way to fall. The picture is especially good, since the stage now seems set for even more economic growth for Alabama.

Further comments on Alabama's labor and employment situation both now and including prospects for the future were presented in an article in the Birmingham News August 22, 1965. I include that article also and recommend it in the general interest.

GREATEST RESOURCE OF ALL

Primary in the scheme of things as a Nation, State, or community fits together the mosaic to show a distinct pattern of economic stability is the vital segment—people.

They must be intelligent and industrious. In this, Alabama can boast of its greatest wealth.

A continuing trend from an agricultural to an industrial economy is not expected to run its major course in the State for another decade and a half. But however long this shift from rural to urban living continues, industry can reach out and draw from Alabama's great reservoir of skilled and trainable labor is every section of the State.

Of the State's approximately 3½ million citizens, about 99 percent are native born. Whether they come from rural or urban areas, industry has found them to be well above average in intelligence, high in adaptability and willingness to learn new skills, productive and loyal.

Prevailing wage scales in Alabama, as a whole, are somewhat lower than in some other areas, but the greatest savings to industry comes from the high productivity of native workers.

Of particular concern to industry wherever it may be is the climate of labor-management relations. In this, Alabama labor has proved itself to be a reasonable partner, willing to sit at the bargaining table where labor unions enter the picture. In nonunion areas, amicable relations stand high.

There has been a very low incidence of wheels-slowing labor disputes. Wildcat stoppages almost have become museum pieces on the industrial scene. The overwhelming trend has been toward reasonableness at the wage and fringe benefits level.

When labor disputes occasionally occur the State department of labor willingly offers its services as conciliator, but at all times exercises the light touch, much preferring voluntary settlement between employer and employee.

Major result in the labor-management area during Alabama's great industrial growth has been a distinct trend away from, rather than toward, production and payroll-depleting disputes. The fact that many of the State's major industries operate outside the field of organized labor attests to the standards of fair-dealing industry.

Alabama's general contractors emphasize that they have not had a strike by labor since 1957.

Few States in the Nation can match this record, says Leon Goddard, president, Alabama chapter, Associated General Contractors of America.

"AGC is proud that it has had long and amicable relations with the organized building crafts in Alabama," he affirms.

Investment by industry on a per employee basis often ranges into the thousands of dollars, dictates efficient screening of prospective personnel. In this still another State service—the department of industrial relations, among its several other functions, does a highly able job.

The department's statewide employment service, a closely knit system of 35 local offices, isn't just a job finder, but makes a special effort to fit the man or woman to the job. This saves employee-seeking industry much money, helps reduce job training considerably.

How does modern industry feel about Alabama labor. Here are reports from two of the State's newer industries, located in widely separated sections of the State and demanding entirely different skills.

One is the Huyck Felt Co. division of F. C. Huyck Corp., papermakers' felt manufacturers who operates at Aliceville. Plant Manager C. W. LaDow points out that there is no other such facility in Alabama, only a few in the entire South. The papermakers' felt industry requires certain precise skills.

"We have had excellent experience with the way people of Alabama have picked up completely strange skills," says LaDow. "We have found these workers to have good productivity after learning."

In the Tennessee Valley area at Decatur, nationally known Prestolite Co. maintains a facility for manufacture of spark plugs, voltage regulators, and other equipment for the automotive industry. A full-scale training program was started, with labor recruited from the Decatur area.

"We found the people ready, willing, and eager to do the job expected," reports J. F. Gate, plant manager. "We had to start our training with the basic fundamentals and we're still on the learning curve today.

"The rate of productivity of these Alabama workers has met our desired goals. We're on the upswing in our efficiency program and we expect an even higher rate of productivity before our training program is completed."

Under the State's recently accelerated trade school program, a still greater supply of skilled people will join the Alabama labor market. A growing labor force will become even more employable and new industry will be a principal beneficiary.

Mail Service Getting Worse Instead of Better

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD three excellent editorials appearing recently in South Dakota newspapers, pointing out the deplorable mail situation, which is getting worse, instead of better. I wish to call this problem to the attention of my colleagues because it is the same thing all over the country.

My files are replete with similar complaints and to date I have bombarded the Post Office Department with letters from irate citizens, pointing out that the time for experimenting with this so-called progressive postal service has expired and that the postal department must perfect their new system immediately, or return to the old plan. However, to date no action has been taken. The Department has not come up with any plan for improved service. The old slogan that the mail must go through, come hail, wind or high water has gone by the wayside, along with so many of these so-called progressive programs of the Great Society. Of late, I find I am fearing more for the future of not only rural America, but for the Nation as a whole. All I can do is still hope for the best.

The editorials from the Rapid City, S. Dak., Daily Journal, the Highmore, S. Dak., Herald, and the Mitchell, S. Dak., Republic, respectively, are as follows:

WHERE DOES MAIL REST?

Millions of Americans affix the proper amount of postage on envelopes every day with the assumption that the mail will be delivered come hail, wind, dark of night, or absence of a ZIP code number.

Despite all the modernization and modifications for the postal service intended to expedite delivery, the opposite seems to show for a goodly number of Americans who can't understand why.

The employees will gladly search for mail on request but letters and important messages of all sorts seem to sit in sorting stations or large trucks which quit running on Washington time.

The much-publicized advances designed to get more mail to more people at less cost seem to have bogged down—not only in South Dakota but throughout the Nation.

Local postmasters agree anonymously that the new plans haven't worked. It is possible in this Nation to write to the Postmaster General if you buy a nickel stamp. Perhaps that is the first method of improving rather than impeding mail service. Letters could be addressed to President Johnson on the problem just to switch attention from Vietnam and poverty to those who wish better service for increased prices. Attention is called to the views expressed by other South Dakota editors on this page.

[From the Highmore (S. Dak.) Herald]

POSTAL SERVICE LOST

For a measly $381.04 annual savings, the U.S. Post Office has deemed it necessary to curtail the postal service of people in Highmore and Hyde County. We don't think the patrons of the post office should stand for it for one solitary minute.

An official directive from the U.S. Post Office Department will now cut out all Sunday service in Highmore. As a matter of fact, as of July 17, the majority of mail deposited in the local post office after 5:30 p.m. on Saturday will lay here for 47 hours, or until Monday afternoon at 4:30 p.m. until it is processed and mailed. This is just one more ridiculous procedure of the present administration's policies on what they term "improving the mail service in the United States."

The local post office and its employees have always provided adequate service to local patrons. One employee has worked 4 hours on Sunday to distribute mail for local availability. Under the new orders, this accommodation will be terminated.

According to the official directive, the new program will realize a savings of $381.04 annually. How completely ridiculous can you get?

Mail will be moved on Sunday as far west as Miller. Highmore will be left out, even despite the fact that the volume of business between the Highmore and Miller post offices is quite comparable.

Recently, Senator KARL MUNDT criticized the new postal service program as favoring the big city areas and leaving out consideration for smaller communities. How right he was. If at any time taxpayers should write, wire, and telephone their Congressmen and Senators for action on these deplorable conditions, it should be now. And if the people of Highmore and Hyde County will realize the inequitable treatment they are now receiving, they will make their contacts to Washington starting right now.

Maybe the rural areas of this country have been kicked around just about long enough. The way they throw money around in Washington, if the Postmaster General feels this annual $381.04 will break his Department, possibly we could find ways of raising this amount each year to subsidize the proper mail service this community is entitled to receive in the future, as it has in the past.

[From the Mitchell (S. Dak.) Republic]

TIME TO REVIEW

The lady in Mitchell whose post card from New York was 8 years and 13 days in the mails would, we suspect, have legitimate grounds for a complaint, if she wished to lodge one.

But the card did arrive in good condition and the lady was unaware of the fact that it was in transit, so there was probably little reason to complain.

Many people, however, do expect mail at a certain time, often very important mail. And when it arrives late or in a damaged condition, it causes real problems.

The problems with mail service in South Dakota seldom originate in New York. Generally the more annoying problems with mail are between distribution centers in the State and smaller communities.

The Post Office Department, it appears, in its drive to match expenditures with revenues, has concluded that some services in smaller communities must be curtailed. The result is that mail transit to these communities has been slowed down. In fact, mail service between major cities of the State is not what it used to be, either.

Ironically, the harder the Post Office Department tries to improve service, the more erratic the service becomes. Each change seems to be more confusing and less desirable.

The strange case of the Mitchell post card is a 1-in-10-million goof. But the day-to-day problems created by the present mail service are no joke. This service has been in effect long enough to prove itself, to find out if it would really work, but the problems are still with us. It is now time for the Post Office Department to take a good look at its mail service in South Dakota.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to include my report to the people of the Seventh District of Alabama for July 26, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman JIM MARTIN, Seventh District, Alabama)

DOUBLE THE MONEY, DOUBLE THE MESS

The House last week followed the rules of the Great Society game to the letter. If a program does not succeed, increase the appropriation, give more authority to the same people who initiated the failure, and take away more of the rights of those who alone may be able to make the program work. The vote was on H.R. 8283, to expand the war on poverty. The bill calls for an expenditure for the coming fiscal year of $1.8 billion. For fiscal 1965, the first year of operation of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the law authorized $947.5 million.

For the past year the newspapers have been filled with criticism of the program and the debate on the bill reemphasized the weaknesses and the failure to meet its announced objective of helping the poor. Most of the money in the first year of operation was spent on setting up offices and paying out ridiculously high salaries for top positions. In the Office of Economic Opportunity there are 65 supergrade employees who are paid up to $24,500 a year, or 1 supergrade employee for every 18 employees in the alleged poverty setup.

In the few cities where poverty offices have been established, little if any of the money has been spent on helping the poor. Rather, local poverty offices read like a list of Democrat Party officials and workers and most of the money has been used up in salaries.

STATES RIGHTS ABANDONED

One of the most serious changes in the poverty bill is elimination of the right of the Governor of a State to veto a project. As the bill passed the House, the Director of the poverty program will be the sole authority on which projects will be undertaken. He now has the authority to veto a Governor's veto of a project even though the Governor may not feel the project is in the best interest of his State. This highly controversial change, and one which will go a long way toward erasing the States as sovereign components of a union of States, passed the House by only five votes. Many southern Members who speak out loudly for States rights at home, ducked the issue by not being on the floor of the House when the teller vote was taken on the Republican States rights bill. Some southern Democrats voted against the States rights.

AMENDMENTS BATTED DOWN

To show how ruthlessly the Johnson majority in the House overrides opposition in any form, I cite two amendments which were bated down. One, offered by Congressman JOHN BUCHANAN, of Birmingham, tried to protect the principle of the separation of church and state by forbidding the use of poverty funds to churches. Congressman BUCHANAN, a minister in the Baptist Church, is deeply concerned about this matter, but opposition to his amendment was led by Democrat ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, another Baptist minister, and the majority of the House followed POWELL rather than BUCHANAN. The second amendment which the liberal majority defeated simply provided that anyone seeking aid from the American taxpayers through the poverty program should take an oath that he is not a Communist seeking to overthrow this Government.

Like all the other Great Society bills, which are slowly taking away from the people the right to govern themselves, the poverty bill passed the House with the usual lopsided majority of liberals shouting down every attempt to improve the bill or to remove some of its most objectionable provisions. I voted to preserve the Governor's veto power and then I voted against the bill.

MILITARY PAY RAISE

I WAS proud to support and vote for a pay raise for members of our Armed Forces. It has long been my conviction that we must improve the skills of our military branches by playing those we ask to serve enough to attract career people. In the space age, It is necessary to have highly skilled, highly trained, and competent military personnel. We need to create a professional military force and this means we must encourage those interested in a military career to stay. The pay scale for those in the Armed Forces has been disgraceful. The President's proposal did little for the military and was merely a token gesture. The Armed Services Committee of the House presented a pay scale which would bring military pay up to a level where it compares favorably with civilian salaries. The House approved the committee recommendation and I am hopeful the Senate will go along and, at long last, our military personnel will begin to be treated as they should.

VIETNAM IS SERIOUS BUSINESS

In a meeting with Secretary of State Dean Rusk and other Government officials, I was told last week our situation in Vietnam is rapidly deteriorating. The time has come to quit playing politics with the lives of young Americans. The important issue in Vietnam is to stop Communist aggression and to win the war. The time has come for the politicians to turn the running of the war over to the military so that we may begin to fight to win instead of trying to figure out a way to lose gracefully.

Thomas M. Dugan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Thomas M. Dugan, a close friend of many members of this and the past administration, died in the prime of his youth shortly after winning his first public office.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article by Joseph O. Denson, Chief Deputy U.S. Marshal, Eastern District of New York, which appeared in the magazine Valor, the official police review:

IN MEMORIAM—A MAN TO BE REMEMBERED

(By Joseph O. Denson, Chief Deputy U.S. Marshal, Eastern District of New York)

There is an old saying that you can accurately judge a man by his friends. In the case of Thomas M. Dugan, those of us who knew him considered it both an honor and a privilege to feel that we were among those who were considered his friends. And we are not as yet over the shock of his sudden death only 10 days after his election as sheriff of Nassau County, N.Y. Tell me, where do you find in this day and age a man who runs for an office after making a promise to abolish it? And it was a post that paid well, $19,775 a year. That one deed alone can give you an insight into his integrity.

Dugan graduated from American University in Washington in 1950 after attending St. Bonaventure College for 1 year. He became a Federal narcotics agent in 1951, serving 8 years in that capacity. His work was so outstanding that he received four Treasury Department awards for outstanding achievement. All of us were impressed by his dedication to his work. We set up as the ideal man the one who gives of himself without stint to working for the public good. And when such a man appears on the horizon he subconciously sets an example for those who work with him.

Some said he had the talent to be a public servant and that was the secret of his success. His superiors knew that it was almost inevitable that he rise to higher positions. From 1959 to 1960, Thomas M. Dugan worked as assistant chief investigator for the "Little Hoover Commission" the State commission that investigated the governmental operations of New York City. He then served a year as deputy chief investigator for the New York Waterfront Commission. And in 1961, Dugan was named U.S. Marshal for the Eastern District of New York by President Kennedy. He was then 34 years of age and the youngest of the 91 marshals named by our late President.

It was becoming more and more apparent that his talents and capacity for hard sustained work were making him the kind of man who could tackle almost any task and bring it through to successful completion. So it came as no great surprise to those of us who knew him when he resigned from this latest post to become inspector general of the Peace Corps. And then came the great opportunity for him to run as sheriff on the most unusual platform to abolish his own job!

He was a member of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. An award from the National Police Officers Association, which he won in 1961, has been placed in the Police Hall of Fame. His was the bright star that was going places. And then so suddenly and tragically the light was snuffed out. How does one honor the memory of such a man? Perhaps only in the way that we feel he would have liked it: Those of us who are in public service to rededicate ourselves so that we may do our best to uphold the trust given us and always work for the public good.

Fruitful 25 Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, a very distinguished citizen of New Jersey and a very dear friend of mine will be the guest of honor at a testimonial dinner on Saturday night, September 18, in Long Branch, N.J., where the host of friends of the Honorable Paul Kiernan, Sr., will have an opportunity to express their real appreciation and affection for him. Mr. Kiernan's many friends have good reasons for their feelings of gratitude and affection which were expressed in the excellent editorial appearing in the September 9, 1965, edition of the Freehold Transcript, a leading weekly newspaper of the third district of New Jersey. I am pleased to have permission to quote the editorial, as follows:

FRUITFUL 25 YEARS

Paul Kiernan, Sr., president of the Monmouth County Tax Board, Democratic State Committeeman, and former mayor of Long Branch, will be honored next week at a testimonial dinner for his 25 years of public service. We wish to be on the list of well-wishers who appreciate what the colorful politician and popular orator has done for the county and for the enlivening of our two-party system in Monmouth.

While an undisputed leader of his party which for almost 3 decades here lingered in obscurity and was kept alive for a period of time solely by Mr. Kiernan's inimitable rhetoric, the State committeeman through his tact and personal charm was able to maintain friendly relationship with Republican officials. They consider him a friend and distinguished opponent and despite the upcoming election in which Mr. Kiernan is a candidate for sheriff will be part of the celebration.

As mayor of Long Branch and especially as president of the tax board, Mr. Kiernan has demonstrated his understanding of everyday problems and his compassion for the small man. The lean white-haired public servant, who looks like a senator in a Hollywood movie, never refused help to anyone and never has placed his party over and above his country.

Paul Kiernan is perhaps from the old school of politicians who knew how to arouse the crowd without injecting too much philosophy in their speeches, and yet, he remained abreast of modern times as far as human needs are concerned.

Last year when the Democrats here almost swept the county he experienced his greatest triumph despite the fact that the only defeated Democrat was his own son, Paul, Jr.

We wish Mr. Kiernan well in any job he plans to undertake.

Hon. Richardson Dilworth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, Philadelphia, Pa., is extremely fortunate in the appointment, by Mayor James Tate, of former Mayor Richardson Dilworth, as temporary chairman of the new school board. The choice is an excellent one, therefore I applaud the mayor for his selection and Mr. Dilworth for his acceptance.

Mr. Speaker, it has been said that Richardson Dilworth is controversial. The fact is that this means he has the courage to state his views frankly even though they are at odds with those of many other people in the community.

It is also said that he is impulsive, which means that his actions have served as catalysts, thereby forcing the satisfactory resolution of many pressing local problems.

It should be no different in the role and function Richardson Dilworth is now undertaking. His is the kind of activist, creative leadership which reflects the only valid meaning of the label "leader." It is the type which we in Philadelphia, as elsewhere, need as much in education as in anything else and perhaps more.

On the basis of his past record and his present capabilities, I am convinced that Richardson Dilworth will continue the dynamic, progressive course which he has pursued all his life. With respect to the educational affairs of the city of Philadelphia, this will mean improvement of the opportunities and the quality of education through better policy decisions and administration.

Mr. Speaker, Philadelphia remembers and appreciates Richardson Dilworth first because he, along with Senator JOSEPH CLARK and others, was instrumental in rescuing our city from the strangling domination of the Republican Party. Because of Dilworth, CLARK and others, Philadelphia is no longer a provincial, stagnant, corruptly governed city. Instead, thanks to them, it is contemporarily urban, dynamic, progressive, and responsibly governed.

That Dilworth attracts a hosts of critics is itself a tribute to the man and his accomplishments. Those who are obscure never attract attention. Those who are apathetic gain no notice. Those who only conform to what is popular for the sake of avoiding conflict never exert influence. Those who are slaves to tradition and precedent never serve their fellow man. Dilworth's critics simply reflect the fact that only those who are "doers" stimulate discus-those who are "doers" stimulate discus-sion, and only out of discussion can appropriate solutions to public problems be achieved.

Thus, it is no accident that Philadelphia, having the benefit of the services

of Richardson Dilworth now as in the past, is one of the most frequently visited, intensely observed, and continuously imitated cities in the world. Therefore, in recognition of this able public servant and his newly assumed responsibilities, I place in the RECORD John M. Cummings' column in the Philadelphia Inquirer for September 13, 1965:

A CASE OF JOB FINDING MAN

(By John M. Cummings)

Richardson Dilworth is back in public life. The twice-elected mayor of Philadelphia is the temporary chairman of the school board recently appointed by Mayor Tate.

Dilworth's return to public service in an important capacity should be warmly welcomed by all citizens interested in improving the educational facilities of the city. Elected by his fellow members of the board last week, he is presently only in a temporary capacity, since the newly chosen board does not commence its duties until December.

Meanwhile, Gen. J. Harry LaBrum, president of the outgoing board, has invited Dilworth and his associates to attend all remaining meetings, especially those concerned with the budget.

The city's public schools have had rough going in the last few years. Working on short monetary rations, persistently annoyed by racial squabbles, teacher demands and acute need for new buildings, the old board will be happy to pack up its troubles and depart.

Two members of the present board will continue to struggle with whatever problems the new lineup may be called on to face. Mrs. Albert M. Greenfield and William Goldman are willing to continue their onerous labors in behalf of public education.

The Reverend Henry Nichols, one of the two Negroes on the new board, and elected vice chairman on motion of Mr. Dilworth, injected a wry note by stating more Negroes should have been appointed to the board. He insisted the city has plenty of Negroes capable of serving with distinction, which is probably true.

This, however, was a repetition of the argument that the members should be selected on the basis of race, ethnic origin or religious affiliation. In the kind of democracy we have in America, this is a specious argument. As Mayor Tate pointed out, he had only nine appointments at his disposal. He probably did the best he could in the circumstances.

On his return to public life, Dilworth said, "My wife and my partners threaten to commit me to the institute." The partners, of course, are the men associated with him in the practice of law. He stopped short of defining "the institute" he had in mind, leaving this to the imagination of the reporters who interviewed him.

Still, Mrs. Dilworth and the law partners surely must know the restless former mayor is not a man fitted to an easy chair. He is alert and frequently outspoken on public affairs. Moreover, he was never suspected of hiding his light under a bushel.

Twice Mr. Dilworth has been the Democratic candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania. In neither campaign were the upstate voters ready for a man of his volubility. He had no trouble carrying Philadelphia, where he was well known, and his native city of Pittsburgh responded. But most of the counties stood by his opponents, the last one being the present Governor, Bill Scranton.

But Dilworth in his new role should prove a capable head of the controlling body of the public school system. Hardly anyone in Philadelphia will dispute this estimate. True enough, he is at times impulsive, given to hasty speech and harsh attack on the opposition. That was his way of life in politics. Perhaps in the field of education it will be different.

He said the other day, in describing the course the new board should take, that, among other things, it should be bold.

That's Dilworth all over—boldness. In one of his campaigns for mayor, he was bold enough to warn the voters that in his administration they could look for an increase in taxes. His boldness paid off.

Cartoonist Jefferson D. Yohn Wins Awards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KEN W. DYAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. DYAL. Mr. Speaker, in the modern mass media world, the cartoonist is filling an editorial and teaching concept equal with that of our columnists and editorial pundits. I note with pleasure Jefferson D. Yohn, an editorial page editor and editorial cartoonist, of San Bernardino, Calif. has won second and third awards in a cartoon competition with the most famous cartoonists of the United States. However, it is not the winning of the award that is so important but rather the subjects of his cartoons which are so vital to the problems of the modern world and his effect upon them.

His second award prize was for a picture of a lighthouse labeled "Brotherhood of Man" with its rays of world peace and the lighthouse standing upon a firm rock foundation labeled "Government of law." The cartoon was titled "The Fame Will Be Eternal on This Foundation." I do not need to point out the importance of the cartoon and the hoped for effect it may have on our troubled world.

The other winning cartoon showed "Nuclear War" pictured by an atomic bomb chained to a heavyweight labeled "Government of law" and being held thus firmly through the dark clouds of war crises.

The keenness of the competition Mr. Yohn faced is indicated by last year's winners—two-time Pultizer Prize winners Bill Mauldin of the Chicago Sun-Times and Herblock of the Washington Post. The winners were selected from a nationwide field of entries.

Mr. Yohn has won numerous other awards in his long newspaper career with the Sun-Telegram of San Bernardino, Calif., including six Freedoms Foundation awards, the Christopher Gold Medal for editorial writing and the National Conference of Christians and Jews Mass Media Award.

A book of his editorials and cartoons was published in Japan as the Collegiate Translation Textbook and he has been designated Cartoonist of the Month by Sigma Delta Chi's Quill and Scroll magazine.

The wide dissemination of his cartoons with their current themes should be of specific benefit in influencing the thinking of the reader.

We Will Endure Only as a Nation of Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, a civilized society can exist only if it is founded on law. The law is not always perfect and, therefore sometimes it must be changed or amended, but such change and amendment must be through orderly processes. To grant that laws may be determined to be just or unjust by individuals and that a person must obey only those laws each one considers just is to have no law at all. Without law, we do not have an organized government, but rather anarchy. Without law there can be no justice because without law we revert to the simple principle of survival of those who are the strongest and who may exercise their power over those who are weaker.

No minority group in this Nation could have possibly made the progress it has if we had not maintained for 189 years a government of law based upon a written Constitution providing basic guarantees of liberty. Of course, our system has not been perfect as no human institution is perfect. It has, however, been looked upon and judged by many of the great minds of the ages as the most perfect system of government devised by man. Where it has been found wanting, it has been changed. Where injustices occurred, they have been removed by legal means, not by revolution or by mob action. The rights of all the people can only be secured through law and those who have tried to change this concept are doing a disservice to those whom they profess they want to help and to the country as a whole.

A very fine discussion of "The Law" is contained in the following editorial from the Wingfoot Clan, a plant newspaper published by the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., plant at Gadsden, Ala. The editor is R. H. Doss:

THE LAW

"No people were ever better than their laws, though many have been worse."—PRIESTLY.

The law is defined as the body of rules recognized by a State or community as binding on its members. This definition recognizes the fact that all members of society are bound by the same rules and no individual is exempt.

No individual is, or should be, a self-appointed arbiter of the law with power to choose which laws he will obey and which laws he will ignore. Moreover, the law which condemns those who flaunt the rules and regulations of an organized society, justifies the actions of those who seek a peaceable and legal redress of grievances.

With laws must go respect for the law—take away respect—and anarchy and chaos will surely develop. Respect for the law can be expressed quietly in right conduct—vigorously confirmed in a vote either for or against a measure—and passed on to posterity by the proper example.

Robert Traver once said, "The very slowness of the law, its massive impersonality, its

insistence upon proceeding according to settled and ancient rules * * *. All this, tends to cool and bank the fires of passion and violence and replace them with order and reason."

The statement of Mr. Traver lends credence to the fact that laws promulgated in haste, amid the fires of passion and violence, can hardly be interpreted as being conducive to order and reason.

Once a law is declared constitutional it is the duty of every citizen to obey that law. Laws which are repugnant to us—which violate our concept of right and wrong—which seem to favor some and ignore others—these too, must be obeyed until rescinded or amended by proper action in the courts or our lawmaking body.

We are a nation governed by laws but these laws are made by men and men are not infallible in their judgment—therefore a wise and prudent course, within the framework of the law, would dictate that we consider carefully the qualifications and ethics of those whom we elect to office.

The power of the vote—the single, solitary vote—my vote and yours, can be far reaching in its consequence to provide laws which are impersonal, fair, and calculated to provide order and reason.

It goes without saying that the law must be enforced. Enforced with impartiality and no excuses for those who violate it.

As Priestly said, we will not be better than our laws. The majesty and dignity of the law, its weight on the scales of justice, its observance by all our citizens, its conception of rights and wrongs, all these, will determine in large measure, how long our Nation shall endure.

Economic Opportunity Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, at the risk of appearing repetitious in my defense of the Economic Opportunity Act, particularly its programs relating to Iowa, I would like to introduce still another article into the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues.

A critical editorial in the Avoca Journal-Herald was answered by one of my constituents with the following letter:

[From the Avoca (Iowa) Journal Herald]

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

To the EDITOR:

While there are often differences of opinion concerning a project such as the community action program, I can't help but feel that your stand on Pottawattamie County's participation is an unfair one. Those who attended the open meeting in Council Bluffs on August 30 or who have read the provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 will realize that the aims of this program are not to provide handouts to people too lazy to help themselves. The war on poverty is a misnomer as it leads uninformed people to believe it is designed solely for the relief of deep-seated poverty.

This bipartisan program if given the cooperation and support of the community, will allow those willing to work but lacking an education or training an opportunity, not, as you stated, to be "fairly well taken care of by the welfare agencies that we already have," but to become active, taxpaying, goods-buying members of the economy. At the same time, it can be designed to provide incentives for future generations of the "lazy" ones who in the past have been exposed to nothing but the welfare existence.

The July 1965 report of active cases in Pottawattamie County from the social welfare office shows a total of 2,014 people assisted. This figure does not take into consideration the future increase of unemployed as farm jobs continue to decrease and the influx of untrained labor into our towns and city.

The costs of higher education now are prohibitive to the student without assistance, especially in our area, where commuting to a campus or vocational school is impractical. It costs $100,000 to keep a youngster in poverty throughout his life. Making this youngster a productive citizen will not only help him, but the taxpayer as well.

The scope of this community action program is almost unlimited; it is completely at the discretion and in the hands of the people of Pottawattamie County; it need not be paid for from tax money. A survey will be made of the most urgent needs of the county before a program is outlined and the program can be designed so as not to overlap any existing facilities, but rather to extend and improve them where needed. It is, as its name implies, an "Economic Opportunity," not only for those in dire poverty, but for the economy and future efficiency of our county. Is there really any sound basis for opposition?

Your loyal reader,

PHYLLIS A. SIMONSEN.

Ambassador Gronouski

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, one of Wisconsin's most favorite sons will soon be this country's chief representative to Poland.

In appraising this development, the Sheboygan Press of my district commented that Ambassador Gronouski will give a new and good image of America not only to Poland but to Eastern Europe.

The full editorial, which appeared in the Sheboygan Press on September 13, follows:

AMBASSADOR GRONOUSKI

President Johnson nominated Wisconsin's own John Gronouski to be Ambassador to Poland on August 29. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations unanimously approved the nomination on September 8 and the Senate confirmed him Friday. He is now officially Ambassador Gronouski.

This is an important action and there has been much discussion of it. We think it is a good one. Although Dr. Gronouski is not a trained diplomat, neither have been many of our ambassadors to many other nations. It is true that too often career people have carried on the work while the ambassadorship has gone to some large party contributor. This is not exactly the case with Dr. Gronouski. We have no doubt that career people in Warsaw will continue pretty much as they have done and the Ambassador will do those things for which he is well equipped.

He is to be the President's representative in Poland and in eastern Europe. We just don't think the President would demote anyone to a spot as strategic as Poland. Rather Mr. Gronouski will be living proof of the opportunities of free, democratic America. He will be a fine example of how a grandson of immigrants can rise to a high position. He will have a name and a background that is very desirable.

Above all, Dr. Gronouski (Ph. D. University of Wisconsin) likes people. As he says, he does not intend to be an armchair diplomat. He has never done his best work chained to a chair. He does better with his briar pipe, his broad learning and his ready smile out among the citizens.

We think Poland and eastern Europe will get a new and a good image of America. We wish the Ambassador well.

Need for Improved Mail Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the following letter from Edmunds County, S. Dak., State's attorney Raymond Hieb, to the Post Office Department, in which he points out the continued need for improved mail service, and the fact that postal service is deteriorating still further than it already has throughout the country.

The letter is as follows:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
Minneapolis Regional Office,
Minneapolis, Minn.
Attention W. J. Hogan, director, local services division.

DEAR MR. HOGAN: Thank you for your letter of August 3, 1965, signed by L. John Larson, which replied to my letter of July 6 concerning service rendered to Helen Meier of Roscoe, S. Dak. You stated in your letter, "For some unknown reason Mrs. Meier removed her mailbox from a location approximately 200 feet from her residence." If you will refer to my letter of July 6 your memory will be refreshed in that the reason she moved her mailbox was because it was sitting with other mailboxes and by reason thereof her mail was at times placed in the other boxes, because on several occasions her old age assistance check was late because it had apparently been gathered up by the other box holder in whose box it had been placed and also not infrequently she found her letters to evidently have been also placed in other boxes because they bore the notation opened by mistake after apparently having been opened and then placed in her box after the opener discovered the letter was intended for her. For the foregoing reasons and to avoid the confusion of her mail being inadvertently put in someone else's box she decided to move her mailbox down the street in front of her own residence. I have personally investigated the site and I see no reason why the box cannot be served there except possibly for a few days during the spring thaw when there might be some difficulty or inconvenience to the rural route man who has no difficulty completing his run in about 3 or 4 hours or less. The location which Mrs. Meier formerly had is as devo'd of gravel as the location where she wants her box, in order to avoid her mail and old age assistance checks being placed in another box or boxes immediately adjacent to hers.

It is a history of the postal service to do anything reasonable to accommodate its pa-

trons. All of a sudden it appears that the entire post office department staff assumed the attitude of being untouchable. Sorting of mail as compared to the manner which employees worked in years past takes on the aspects of emulating a moving picture in slow motion. A first-class letter between New York City and Ipswich takes 6 days or more from time of mailing to reach its destination in Ipswich. Letters between Sioux City, Iowa, and Ipswich have taken as much as 3 days. The closing hour for airmail to the east at the Aberdeen post office is 8:20 a.m. but the postal windows don't open until 8:30 a.m. so that if aspecial delivery stamp or a certified mail matter is involved one who drives 30 miles in order to gain a day or two in mail service is denied the speedier mail service. I repeat, I would not take up the banner of Mrs. Meier if the rural carriers were hard pressed or worked long hours, but in my opinion it wouldn't be asking too much to have him stop on the hard-surfaced road and walk over 10 feet to put the mail in the box on the very few days when there might be some mud to contend with. However, perhaps new standards have been set to accommodate postal employees rather than postal patrons.

Heart Disease, Cancer, Stroke, and Other Major Diseases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, on September 8, the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee approved a bill, H.R. 3140, authorizing grants for regional cooperative arrangements for research and training to combat heart disease, cancer, stroke, and other major diseases. I understand that this bill is being considered today by the House Rules Committee, indicating that it may soon be before the House for action. In connection with the proposal, a copy of a letter addressed to the Honorable OREN HARRIS, as chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee by D. Bonta Hiscoe, M.D., a surgeon of Lansing, Mich., has been called to my attention. Dr. Hiscoe, who certainly is well qualified to speak in this field, has set forth in a most concise manner his reasons for opposing the legislation, while recognizing its good intentions. With permission of my colleagues, I include Dr. Hiscoe's comments in the RECORD in order that they may be studied before we are required to act on H.R. 3140:

LANSING, MICH,
August 30, 1965.

Hon. OREN HARRIS,
Chairman, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I would like to submit a few thoughts on the proposed Federal program suggested by the DeBakey Commission to conquer heart disease, cancer and stroke. Your committee is considering this bill at the present time. I assume that, as a responsible Member of Congress, you wish to consider all sides of an important decision such as this, realizing full well that it will have great impact on the practice of medicine in this country for many years to come. Many large groups have been heard from, and I am sure their recommendations will carry much more weight than this letter. I would like to take this opportunity, however, to present the ideas of a private practitioner of medicine who is much interested in watching, and insofar as possible, participating in the evolution of things to come.

First, we are about to make some changes. These changes will be interpreted as progress if they are, number one, orderly, and number two, leave us in a position to be flexible and make subsequent changes or progress as it is indicated. I feel passage of this legislation in its present form would be a step in the worong direction.

1. It doesn't take into account the reactions and attitudes of the practicing physicians, who in the long run must make it work.

2. It doesn't allow or plan for institutional specialization, which will ultimately become as necessary as specialization at the level of the individual is already.

3. It tries to cross the practicing physician with the research institution; in fact, this is like trying to cross apples with bananas.

4. It may well aggravate a divisive force already present in the medical profession.

For some time now the Government has been subsidizing one aspect of the private medical community in this country. Great amounts of money have been put into research, and indirectly, thereby, into the teaching of medicine as well. The men in this area are usually oriented to institutional-type activities and are quite articulate. Their orientation is, as it should be, toward the solving of scientific problems, their ultimate goal and end. In this same general category, their secondary end is the spreading of the scientific gospel to new students. The actual care of the individual patient is an incidental factor in attaining either goal, brilliant as their work may be.

With the passage of the medicare bill recently, the Government has shifted its focus from medical research to the distribution of medical care, from the academic to the social aspects of medicine. In considering this bill to conquer heart disease, cancer, and stroke, the Government is contemplating even more extensive involvement in this side of medicine. The goal of this type of legislation is the provision of the best and most up-to-date medical care available to all the people. This obviously becomes the primary goal of both the people who run and who participate in this part of the medical program. It really requires a completely different orientation. The two areas of interest, research, and the distribution of medical care are obviously mutually dependent, but their motivation is quite different.

In spite of the intense opposition of a good many of my colleagues I am the first to agree that the practice of medicine is to be structured in due course; the only question is how. Here I think we can move too fast, possibly moving ourselves into an inflexible position requiring some undoing, which is almost impossible when laws have once been passed. Since we have already made many changes, and since voluntary regional hospital planning is just coming into its own, it might be worthwhile to allow a short period in which to digest what has already been accomplished. I would like to point out what I consider several hazards in the proposed new action.

Any larger, new structure that involves both power and money is obviously an attraction to any human being. The only people presently in a position to move into this huge new area are the medical schools. They have open channels of communication to Government agencies and personnel; they are always willing to accept more money and are well institutionalized.

This means that the medical schools would like to establish themselves not only as the ultimate in research and teaching, but also as primary agencies in the mass dispensing of medical care.

I wonder if this isn't a bit of megalomania, an effort to be all things to all people. If you remember, in the earlier days of medicine, we had the strong general practitioner who covered all the fields that were known at that time. As our body of knowledge increased it became obvious that no individual was able to keep up with all the various fields, and the broad-based general practitioner gave way to the various specialists. Certainly the medical schools will vouch for the fact that this has lead to better medicine. I submit that nations and institutions are subject to the same frailties that beset individuals. Could it be that the medical school will soon be in the position of the overextended general practitioner biting off more than he could chew? At the present time the rivalry and competition between the men in actual practice of medicine and those practicing in the medical schools has been labeled the "town and gown problem." I honestly believe that this new program would aggravate this problem, creating ultimately a rather wide gulf between these two parts of the medical community, somewhat as the general practitioner has been estranged from the rest of the medical community in Britain. I think there is a better way to accomplish somewhat the same purposes, in a manner much more acceptable to the great majority of men whose major interest in life is the actual care of patients.

Look at it from my point of view as a specialist in private practice today.

A. What happens when I refer a patient to a nearby university medical center?

1. The pace slows down. In the clinic the patient is examined by medical students and residents; in the hospital teaching conferences are many, and rounds are extensive. This is as it should be in a teaching institution.

2. Patients with an entity under study at that time are subject to extra examinations and extra procedures at extra cost. This is as it should be in a research institution.

3. After the patient is discharged the letters are usually extremely slow in reaching the referring doctor. This leaves a hiatus. The family wants to know what happened and what the answers are; they expect you to treat the patient promptly and continuously. The urgency of the daily push as far as the family and patient are concerned is not there.

4. Often, the man who has examined the patient and writes you the letter is a resident in training. He needs the experience, and this is as it should be. However, not too many years ago I too was a resident. Most of us feel that we are wiser now than when we were in training. When we ask for consultation we are usually interested in the opinion of someone with the wisdom of experience to moderate, in reasonable fashion, enthusiasm for the current fads in therapy, some of which do fall into disrepute in time.

In the present proposal it is these young men only a year or two out of their residencies who will be placed in community hospitals to consult and supervise the practice of men extremely well trained, and even more experienced.

5. In essence then, one gets the feeling that we are not in the same business. I want to help the patient and get him back to work with the latest medical care as expeditiously as possible. The medical school is interested in teaching, studying interesting cases. We are doing different jobs.

B. If I refer a patient to a large clinic, for example, the Mayo Clinic, the Leahy Clinic, Henry Ford Hospital, the feeling is different. Certainly they are institutions subject to the usual oversights and snafus,

but one gets the feeling we are in the same business.

1. These organizations are made up of well-qualified men who are encouraged to keep up with the current literature and research in their respective fields. They are in a better position than anyone else to pick up the very latest in practical approaches to problems and evaluate them on a large scale. They are the first to be able to say that we have done a hundred of this, that and the other, and the statistics show such and such a percentage of good or bad results.

2. They accomplish this while keeping their primary goal of prompt service to the patient and physician foremost in their minds.

3. These institutions also teach and do some research, but their primary objective is the practice of medicine.

4. When the patient is discharged, their correspondence is prompt; they show great understanding for the local man's problem, and the anxieties of the family, now, not in due course.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

As you can see, my concern is that this legislation may start us on the wrong road.

Medicine will be structured in the not too distant future. I do not think that medical schools should be the heart and soul of the whole program. There is more to do than one organization can cope with. We will have to have specialized institutions to handle the three major phases of medicine, the practice of medicine, teaching, and research. These obviously should be carefully integrated, and overlapped, to accomplish the overall goal of the best medicine for all. In a great industry the research department does not run production or sales. Some interpret the recent problems on the Berkeley campus to show that even teaching and research may interfere with each other. Till now research has been used as an excuse to get money into medicine by both Government and the profession. This subterfuge is no longer necessary. Let's use hearts for pumping, lungs for breathing, and kidneys for producing urine.

The primary institutions in the provision of expert medical care should be those institutions already primarily concerned with the practice of medicine, not the medical schools. As I pointed out, from my personal experience, I can relate more comfortably to an organization that has some empathy for my position. With this orientation, the men who must ultimately make this thing work will be less apt to buck the tide.

An arrangement such as I have just proposed would bypass one of the more sticky internecine problems of medicine today, the "town and gown" problem. It would give both groups something to contend with, and its appropriate place in the backfield.

I realize that this is long, and beg your indulgence. I hope it is not too late for you seriously to consider these points in arriving at your final decision. I thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

D. BONTA HISCOE, M.D.

Salute to the Jeffersonville Little Leaguers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like at this time to salute the Jeffersonville Little League baseball team of Indiana for representing their city and State so well in their quest for the championship in the 19th annual Little League world's series, Howard J. Lamade Memorial Field, Williamsport, Pa.

The George Rogers Clark All Stars, of Jeffersonville grand slammed their way to win the Indiana crown, then defeated an Illinois team to grab the Little League North Championship in Herrin, Ill. After winning 10 straight games in the Little League world's series tournaments, they won the chance to play Tokyo's Arakawa All Stars in the semifinals, August 26. They defeated Tokyo 18 to 0, and were defeated in the final play title contest, August 28.

Sponsored by the Lawrence Capehart Post No. 35 of the American Legion their parents, and their coaches, the George Rogers Clark All Stars of Jeffersonville, had wonderful support.

These champs are to be heartily congratulated for a fine display of ability, team coordination, and sportsmanship. They all played superbly and deserve the best.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to include my Washington Report for July 9, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(From Congressman JIM MARTIN)

DAY OF INFAMY

It is 10:15 Friday night, July 9. I have just returned to my office from the floor of the House of Representatives where I witnessed a death-dealing blow to the liberties of the people of the South. This day may go down in history as a day of infamy when freedom died in America. Lyndon Johnson, Nicholas Katzenbach, Martin Luther King, and the liberals have taken revenge on the South for daring to vote against the Johnson-Humphrey Democrat ticket last November. By a vote of 332 to 85, the President's voting rights bill passed the House.

Earlier, on a teller vote which is not recorded, many Southerners joined in voting against our own people when the Republican substitute which would have protected the South, was defeated 215 to 166. As I looked up into the House gallery into the smiling face of Nicholas Katzenbach, I could not help but think that the Representatives of the people of the United States were passing more power into the hands of this one man than has ever been given to any Attorney General in the history of our country. The bill, as passed, takes away the rights of 6 Southern States to enact their own election laws or to determine the qualifications of their citizens for voting. This is a complete denial of the rights of the States under the Constitution. Under this vicious piece of legislation these six Southern States may not refuse the vote to illiterates or to those convicted of felonies, but all other States of the Union can.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 is the Johnson administration's and the Democrat's adventure in subterfuge. Not in the history of our country has there been a more brazen and revolutionary grab for power, a more unrestrained usurpation of our constitutional rights as free individuals and sovereign States. As these lines are being written the bells are ringing signaling the adjournment of the House for the day and deep in my heart I fear they are tolling for what has been done to the American people this day.

The act bears the stamp of Lyndon Johnson and the little men in high places around him. It is a bill pointed like a dagger at the heart and soul of the South. It will do more than offend us—it can ultimately destroy free elections in every State. The bill contains the seeds of anarchy because it puts in jeopardy orderly election procedures and makes possible the casting of fraudulent votes and in having them counted.

DICTATORSHIP GROWS

This bill is the latest in a series of measures which have placed the South, and eventually will place the entire country under the dictatorial rule of Francis Keppel, Robert Weaver, and Nicholas Katzenbach with Lyndon Johnson standing in the wings to pull the strings to make the South jump to his tune.

The Federal aid to education bill gave Francis Keppel the power to determine how the States will operate their schools and where our children will attend school and by whom they will be taught. The rent subsidy proposal, already passed by the House and now being pushed in the Senate by the junior Senator from Alabama, will give Robert Weaver the power to determine who will live in which neighborhoods and will enable him to enforce economic integration in every section of the country. The so-called voting rights bill gives Nicholas Katzenbach life-and-death power and control over local, State, and National elections. He can now force Alabama and other Southern States to register anyone who applies even if the individual cannot read or write or if he is a convicted criminal.

In an atmosphere of panic generated by the plotters of evil, the Johnson administration rushed pell-mell against the sage and deliberate counsel of seasoned congressional leaders to pass the odious voting rights bill before a compliant and patriotic South could solve its voting problems in accordance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Attorney General and the radical liberals who are pushing this Nation into a dictatorship do not want the South to solve its problems. They want the vast powers of this bill and the others recently passed to provide them with the power to completely control the lives of the people and to erase every trace of the rights of the States as guaranteed by the Constitution.

Southern States ousted

The voting rights bill practically eliminates Alabama and the other five Southern States from the national family. These States will not be able to enact or enforce election laws except at the direction of the Attorney General. We will have no recourse to the courts for a period of 10 years, but by a monstrous perversion of law we are already guilty by definition. Even to have a hearing we will have to travel to Washington to be judged by entrenched bureaucrats.

Proof of the fact that this bill is a vendetta against specific southern States is shown by the exclusion of the President's own State of Texas in spite of the charge by one of the Negro's leading educational organizations that "Texas does have a literacy test in connection with poll tax payments and that it is used to deny the ballot to Negroes as well as Mexicans."

This bill seeks to enfranchise all illiterate Negroes and whites in six Southern States, but does not touch such States as New Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and others which today are still violating the 1964 Civil Rights Act by having applicants read out loud.

I made it clear in my remarks to the House during debate on the bill that I am for the right of every qualified citizen to vote. This bill does not guarantee that right in every State of the Union. The tragedy is that many Members of Congress who voted to uphold the attack upon the South will live to regret the day they made possible the setting up of a dictatorship which may eventually take away the freedoms and the rights of the people of all the States.

The time is growing short, but it is not yet too late to save the Republic and the constitutional form of government which guarantees the freedom of the people. With the passing of each bill giving more power to President Johnson, the task becomes more difficult, but an aroused America may yet save our democratic way of life. It will take every ounce of our national strength and fiber to convince Members of the House and Senate that the people are not prepared to surrender their liberties. It can be done in the same spirit that generations of Amerlacns in the past have met and successfully challenged every threat to our liberty.

For my part I will continue to tell the truth to the people of Alabama as I see it, having faith in them to help lead this Nation back to its original concepts of a government of, by and for the people.

After Apollo, Then What?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, a most informative poll has been conducted by Industrial Research magazine and the results of this poll were published in the September issue of that magazine. The poll deals with the question of what should follow our initial lunar landing in this decade. The results of this poll which follow provide valuable insight into the thinking of a broad section of the technical community:

[From Industrial Research magazine, Sept. 1965]

AFTER APOLLO, THEN WHAT?

Respondents to an Industrial Research opinion poll think that after U.S. astronauts have made a few successful manned trips to the moon, our next space effort should be to devote primary space energies to exploring the moon and developing a lunar scientific colony and spaceport.

The opinion poll was published in the July issue of Industrial Research. By the time this September issue went to press, a total of 1,364 questionnaires had been returned.

Besides asking the question "After Apollo, then what?" the poll was designed to assess the impact of Neil P. Ruzic's "The Case for Going to the Moon," recently serialized in Industrial Research.

Survey participants were asked whether they had read all, most, some, or none of the moon articles. Where this question has been cross-correlated with other questions, separate tabulations have been made for those who read all the moon articles and for those who read none of them.

The results of the poll are as follows:

Question 1. "Because of the success of Gemini 4, are you in favor of moving up our man-on-the-moon schedule to 1968?"

[In percent]

	A [1]	B [1]	C [1]
Yes	57.3	68	57
No	41.0	32	40
Unanswered	1.7	------	3

[1] Code: A=total respondents; B=those who read all the moon articles; C=those who read none of them.

Question 2. "After U.S. astronauts have made a few successful manned trips to the moon, what should be our next space effort?"

Six goals were listed and the respondents numbered then in order of preference. Using a point system from 1 to 6, the results are as follows:

1. Devote primary space energies to exploring the moon and developing a lunar scientific colony and spaceport	5,626
2. Land men on Mars or Venus or both	3,630
3. Stress orbiting physical and astronomical laboratories	3,609
4. Explore the asteroids and perhaps utilize their materials	2,789
5. Work on all of these and other space objectives simultaneously	2,345
6. Deemphasize space efforts in favor of other large nonspace efforts	2,290

Question 3. "Please state briefly the reason for your first choice in the question above."

Because of space limitations, the hundreds of comments cannot be listed here. It is important to note though that a great variety of reasons were given for the more popular goals.

One vigorous opponent to the space program coined "moondoggle" as a definition of wasting taxpayers' money.

Question 4. "Although political, economic, scientific, and adventure motives are all involved, which motive do you think should dominate the final decision?"

	Percent
Scientific	55
Economic	20
Political	12
Pure adventure	2
Other	11

Practically all the comments under other called for a combination of motives, primarily scientific and economic. Humanitarian and cultural motives also were mentioned.

Question 5. "Do you believe lunar development, exploration, and colonization is—"

[In percent]

	A [1]	B [1]	C [1]
Potentially profitable:			
Yes	56.0	72	55
No	36.0	19	34
Unanswered	8.0	9	11
Scientifically beneficial:			
Yes	92.0	96	91
No	3.5	3	4
Unanswered	4.5	1	5
Politically desirable:			
Yes	74.0	72	80
No	13.0	13	8
Unanswered	13.0	15	12
A waste of time and money:			
Yes	15.0	8	10
No	72.0	73	71
Unanswered	13.0	19	19

[1] Code: A=total respondents; B=those who read all the moon articles; C=those who read none of the articles.

Question 6. "In what area of R. & D. are you working? (e.g. microcircuits, metallurgy, plastics, etc.)"

The purpose of this question was first to see if a single segment of the research community dominated the response, and secondly to analyze the response by discipline, measuring the chemist's interest in space against the metallurgist's, etc.

So far there seems to be no discernible trend, although further analysis will take place when all the returns are in.

Question 7. "Do you think space experiments could further your R. & D. efforts?"

[In percent]

	A [1]	B [1]	C [1]
Yes, significantly	34.0	43	20
Slightly	28.0	30	35
Very little, if at all	24.7	18	30
No, not at all	11.3	9	14

[1] Code: A=total respondents; B=those who read all the moon articles; C=those who read none of the articles.

Question 8. "Did you read the Industrial Research seven-part series on 'The Case for Going to the Moon?'"

	Percent
All	30
Most	29
Some	27
None	12

Question 9. "Your comments are welcome on other aspects of this topic not covered by the questionnaire."

The response contained hundreds of comments and letters. Here are a few:

"Using the 'space race' as a substitute for war should be publicized to the world."

"We should devote great effort toward a joint American-Soviet exploration of space. It's too big for both of us."

"General humanitarian and cultural goals should be given equal cost comparison benefit analysis."

"Funds saved by dropping the moon program would not be available for earth projects."

"I'd like to have more knowledge of man's metabolic process while on a space trip and after landing."

"Most of the support for this program comes from those who have a financial interest in it."

"Most articles deal with the spectacular. Basic power requirements are not discussed, and I would welcome some enlightenment in this area."

Question 10. "Which article in this issue did you find of most interest?"

	Percent
Research and the National Economy	42.7
NMR–EPR Spectroscopy	25.0
Nuclear Reactors	18.6
Research in Components	8.7

Denver Post Applauds President's Role in Steel Settlement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, the recent, critical steel wage negotiations were a dramatic confrontation between labor and management which assumed added drama when the President of the United States entered the crisis. When President Johnson, determined that the Nation must not suffer a crippling steel strike, called the negotiators to the White House to deliberate in the glare of publicity, he brought a third party to the negotiation table: The American citizen.

That action on the part of our President, and the pattern of his actions con-

cerning labor matters in the past, indicate one highly important thing: Our President is determined that the public interest must be considered seriously when labor and management go to the table.

Thanks to President Johnson's deep concern, decisive action, and excellent leadership, the public interest was considered and honored in the steel negotiations. And the result of those negotiations was a victory, as the President said, for labor, business, and the American people.

This point was made on September 6 in an excellent editorial in the Denver Post, "L.B.J. Makes Pay Guidelines Stick."

I should like to enter this fine analysis in today's RECORD, and I commend to my colleagues this informative comment on the importance of the wage price guideline concept promoted by the present administration:

[From the Denver (Colo.) Post, Sept. 6, 1965]

L.B.J. MAKES PAY GUIDELINES STICK

What's most important the President told steel contract negotiators last week, is not what's best for the union, or for the companies, but what's best for the Nation.

And by hauling the negotiators from Pittsburgh to Washington, installing them in a building right next to the White House and keeping the pressure on until they reached an agreement based on Federal wage policy guidelines, President Johnson made his dictum stick.

This is something new and significant in peacetime American labor relations: this insistence that the public interest is paramount.

For 20 years now, since the Wagner Labor Act, it has been established in law and conceded by both management and labor that the public has an interest in harmonious labor relations. And in wartime, Presidents have had, and used, the power to make that interest paramount. But this is not—officially—wartime. Yet when the steel negotiators deadlocked, the President poured on the pressure, plus his own suggestions for a settlement, until they came up with a deal that fit official guidelines for wage increases.

This, we suppose, might be called "compulsory negotiation." Like most Americans, we are happy to see a settlement of this key industry's dispute. But we'll bet both labor and management people all over the Nation are using this Labor Day to consider thoughtfully where they are heading.

Certainly at least one Steelworkers' local official was quite unhappy about the President's tactics. "I think," he said, "this could be the end of collective bargaining."

That rather overstates the trend. But it is possible that we are nearing the end of an era in which collective bargainers could hammer out a wage agreemente with little or no attention paid to its effects on the national economy.

However much union negotiators buck at those Federal wage guidelines based on productivity, we suspect President Johnson and his successors are going to increasingly insist that they be adhered to. And this is simply a backhand way of insisting that, in wage negotiations, the national interest be paramount.

If these guidelines are enforced, collective bargaining is going to be less "free" than it has been. And there are potential dangers in this. Carried to extremes, this could result in the state dictation of wages and prices which characterizes Fascist and Communist economies. But we are nowhere near that stage.

In themselves, scientific wage increase guidelines based on the rate of increase in industrial productivity are sensible and good. They tend to insure that any wage raise based on them is real—that is, that it is not offset, 6 months or a year later, by an increase in prices.

This concept, that the only real wage raises are those in line with increases in productivity, is only slowly being grasped by either leadership or the rank and file of unions. But it is sinking in.

And we can hope that the President's bravura performance in the steel negotiations will dramatize their value.

For free and conscientious acceptance of those guidelines by both labor and management would, we believe, be a big step toward more peaceful labor relations and toward both stability and progress for the national economy.

Famine Is Here

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, I submit the following editorial from the New Republic magazine to inform and alert my colleagues in regard to the problem of food relationship to our enlarging populations. The New Republic is to be commended for its stand on this issue.

Witnesses before Senator GRUENING's committee in the Senate have over and over again spoken of the seriousness and imminence of problems in relation to food and population growth. I hope this editorial in the New Republic will bring the subject to the attention of more persons of influence and responsibility.

The editorial follows:

FAMINE IS HERE

People keep saying that something must be done before population outstrips food supply. Reiteration makes it tedious. But we have a new version. We say that the thing has already happened. World population has passed food supply. The famine has started.

Famine isn't like a satellite countdown; you don't say "Three-two-one, it's here!" What happens is like the New York water shortage: It develops slowly; experts wring hands; public pays no attention; then, suddenly, it's headlined. That's what's happening in world food. "Malnutrition" becomes "famine" any time the headline writer wants. Our estimate is that the thing is here and will get a lot worse before it gets better. Even the most dramatic counter-measures aren't likely to reverse things for several generations. That's why we think world hunger will be the single most important fact in the final third of the 20th century.

Don't take our word for it. There have been dozens—scores—of surveys. In fact, the subject has been surveyed to death. Here, for example, is the report of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States as of last June: Two billion persons now live in areas of nutritional deficiency. (That's two-thirds of the world's population.) They are the ones with the highest birthrates. Half of these people, the reports says (i.e., 1 billion), "suffer daily or recurrent crippling hunger." The report ends with the usual conventional warnings; unless something is done quickly "the predicted widespread, acute famine in some parts of the world in the next few years will become more grim."

It is a typical report; you probably never heard of it. And here is Gunnar Myrdal, eminent Swedish economist. He foresees a world calamity. Time? In 5 or 10 years. To interviewers he says, "It makes me afraid." He still thinks we have a little time. Well, maybe.

The World Food and Agriculture Organization estimates that maybe 10,000 people a day die of hunger now. But of course most victims don't die directly of starvation but of some side-effect: the children in parts of India, Africa, Latin America are frail, stunted, hollow-eyed, with distended stomachs: a touch of sickness and they're gone. Always a couple more, though, to take their place. It's a fecund earth.

War is of course one way to check population; the United States has helped Malthus in the India-Pakistan situation, by selling guns to both sides.

Here's a fact: Only 3½ percent of the world's surface is arable. Another fact: World population in 35 years will double. Famine? Of course. Experts are substantially less optimistic now than they were a few years ago about heading off world famine. Lester Brown, staff economist of the Department of Agriculture, told a symposium recently. Chester Bowles testified to a Senate subcommittee in June that the approaching world famine threatens the most colossal catastrophe in history. He, too, put it in the future as though something would be done about it. Perhaps. But read a little further: Here is Thomas M. Ware, chairman of the Freedom From Hungar Foundation, himself a practical industrialist.

"Very few grasp the magnitude of the danger that confronts us," he said. He offered an illustration. The new Aswan Dam will add 2 million arable acres on either side of the Nile. But while the dam is being built enough new people will be added to Egypt's population to eat up all the food the dam produces. Result: same hunger, more people.

It is doubtful if Americans understand the population problem. If so, how could the House pass its version of the new nondiscriminatory immigration bill? (It does not end discrimination, it just juggles it about.) Latin America, for example, with the highest birth rate in the world, has no quota restrictions at all on immigration to the United States. The Senate may change this. But the House majority still quaintly believes that immigration can solve overpopulation.

As Mr. Ware puts it, "The catastrophe is not something that may happen; on the contrary it is a mathematical certainty that it will happen" unless action is immediately forthcoming.

What action? Ten years ago the compassionate United States started a food export program: It was wonderful to feed the starving, but population kept growing. Next the United States tried a new approach; the soil of hungry lands is good so America sent fertilizer abroad as well as food. Fine. And population kept on growing. Then in the last couple of years came the third effort—give them cash and credit to build their own fertilizer plants. Fine. Population kept growing.

FEWER BIRTHS ESSENTIAL

Now comes the fourth phase. Food, fertilizer, hybrids, insecticides, factories, know-how: These are all good. But they won't work unless the recipient nations limit births at the same time. The point will be stressed, we understand, in a report from an interagency task force named by Mr. Johnson. It finds, incidentally, that half the preschool children in "developing" countries are seriously undernourished, amounting to mental and physical retardation for 10 percent to 25 percent.

President Johnson had the courage to mention family planning in both his State of the Union speech, and the one before the U.N. at San Francisco. It is all the more discouraging that Archbishop O'Boyle, of Baltimore, delivered his recent antibirth control tirade. He implied that there is somehow a kind of conspiracy against the poor. Well, the hierarchy in Latin America knows better; it knows that the most generally accepted means of birth control in the world today is abortion. The poor use it; the rich know about birth control.

Barbara Ward describes the widening gap "between a white, complacent, highly bourgeois, very wealthy, very small North Atlantic elite, and everybody else." Yet man can now for the first time feed himself adequately, and he can control the birthrate, too, with the new intrauterine device. Alas, we guess that the gap will widen and hunger grow, for a time anyway. You can't reverse gears suddenly in a situation that involves most of the earth.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include my newsletter to the people of the Seventh District of Alabama for July 2, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(From Congressman JIM MARTIN)

SOUTHERNERS HELP PASS SOCIALISTIC HOUSING BILL

By a slim majority of only 6 votes (208 to 202) the House approved H.R. 7984, the Housing and Urban Development Act. In an amazing reversal of southern conservatism, 24 Members on the Democrat side voted with the administration for what will probably prove to be one of the most vicious pieces of legislation ever presented to the Congress. Under this bill, the Federal Government will use money collected from all the taxpayers to subsidize rents for those unable to afford the kind of housing they would like to have.

The viciousness of this concept is explained in the minority report on the bill. It kills the incentive of the American family to improve its living accommodations by its own efforts, it kills the incentive for home ownership, it makes renters wards of the Governments, it is a system of economic integration of housing through Government subsidy, it is the way of the socialistic state. The bill will add an additional $6 billion debt over the next 40 years on the backs of the already overburdened taxpayers.

In my remarks to the House of Representatives on the bill, I pointed out:

"The real purpose behind this scheme has never been fully exposed, and that is a plan to force integration into every neighborhood in America which a Federal Administrator decides he wants integrated. When you couple this bill with the proposal to set up a Department of Urban Affairs and the probable head of that Department will be the present Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency (Robert Weaver) who has made no secret of his belief in complete Federal planning in the field of housing, I dread to contemplate the consequences to the private construction industry in this Nation. I am fearful of what this provision will do to hundreds of thousands of hard-working industrious Americans who have struggled to invest in a home for their families in neighborhoods of their own choosing. This measure will open up fine residential areas to what amounts to public housing when the Government uses is economic power, through rent subsidies, to force integration and to attempt to raise the social level of many who have no other ambition than to be taken care of by the rest of us. This is wrong. It is immoral. It is a betrayal of the whole concept of private enterprise and individual initiative. It is morally wrong to saddle an additional $6 billion debt on our people for the next 40 years. It is bad enough for us to be so irresponsible with our own money, but entirely indefensible to pass it on to our children."

Senate version introduced by Alabama Senator

I am appalled that any Representative or Senator from the South could possibly support the Housing bill and especially the rent subsidy provision. Yet, 24 southern Representatives did. Also S. 2213, the Senate version of the bill containing the same rent subsidy provision was introduced by the junior Senator from Alabama.

This has been a major problem for the South for the past 25 years. Too many who speak conservatively at home vote liberal when they come to Washington. It is the voting on bills which counts. With the help of supposedly southern conservatives Congress has passed measure after measure taking away more and more of the freedom of the people, the rights of the States and has expanded Federal controls. Many times the issue has been confused, and the vote has been hidden; but in this bill the difference between the two major parties is clearly drawn, and every southern citizen should remember this vote well. Only 4 Republicans in the House voted to approve using your money collected as taxes to pay the rent for welfare families to integrate your neighborhood—204 Democrats bowed to White House pressure and voted for the bill. There is little that can be done now to stop this rent subsidy bill unless the people let their Senators know how they feel. I hope the people of Alabama will declare themselves and urge our two Senators to reverse their positions and oppose S. 2213, the Sparkman bill on housing and rent subsidies. There is time for you to write the Senator if you do not approve of this economic integration bill.

VOTING RIGHTS BILL COMING UP

The Rules Committee has cleared the way for the voting rights bill to come before the House next Tuesday, July 6. The President and his liberal majority have the votes to put it across, but those of us who still believe in constitutional limited government and the rights of the States will make a determined effort to substitute the Republican bill for the anti-South administration bill. As reported from the committee the bill is designed to punish six Southern States and will take away from Alabama and other States in our section of the country the right to determine voter qualifications or to enact election laws as guaranteed in the Constitution. This is another bill, in the long list of legislation, the purpose of which is to change the concept of this Republic from one of a government by the people to a strong Federal system or a government by bureaucratic control from Washington. The next week will be a crucial one for the future of liberty in America.

SEVEN BILLION FOR FOREIGN AID

The Johnson administration has made requests for new foreign aid funds so far this year in the amount of $7,512,467,000. If Congress approves all 15 foreign aid requests, this amount coupled with money already authorized, but not yet spent, there will be a staggering total available for foreign aid of $18,118,205,000. Only the $3 billion request for Mutual Security funds ever gets any publicity. The fact is that there are at least 15 additional programs in which the money of American taxpayers is sent to foreign countries. These programs include the Export-Import Bank; International Development Association; Peace Corps; Military Assistance Advisory Group; International Development Bank for Latin America and many others.

The U.N. Embargo Against Red China and North Korea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the final part of an article that John Norman, Fairfield University professor of history and government, has excerpted from his forthcoming book on East-West trade.

The article follows:

THE U.N. EMBARGO AGAINST RED CHINA AND NORTH KOREA

Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway's headquarters in Korea had released a paper in 1951 entitled "The Significance of Korea." According to this document, the U.S.S.R. expected that the Korean conflict would "slash the strength of China," and that "this would be good because a strong China on Russia's southern frontier is the Kremlin's nightmare." It was believed that this had made "the Chinese Reds less sure that the Kremlin is a friend." It was also stated that the war had weakened the Peiping regime, but that if it managed to hold on, it might go Titoist.

Others expressed similar suspicions. Senator Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin, stated in March 1955:

"What about Russia's relations with China? Does this constitute a true partnership, or is Russia making China pay through the nose for whatever the Red regime gets—meanwhile pushing off on the Peiping government obsolete and surplus war equipment which Russia herself no longer wants?

"To a limited extent it pays Russia to help Red China. As China develops economically, it can become a market for Russian products—when Russia has enough of anything to export. As China becomes stronger militarily, the Red regime and the Red Army can be used to threaten China's neighbors.

* * * * *

"But certainly Russia can never afford to allow Red China to become a first-class military power. For whatever else they are, the rulers in the Kremlin are realists. They know their history.

* * * * *

"What supposed friend led China into a hopeless war in Korea, draining Chinese resources and costing the lives of a million Chinese? Russia.

"What country stripped Manchuria of Japanese industrial equipment after World War II, leaving Communist China with the problem of rebuilding that formerly busy area, as developed during the Japanese occupation? Russia."

It is also well to present the viewpoint of Nationalist China, if only in an effort to

present as full a record as possible. It is naturally no surprise that Taipei favored the U.N. embargo against Peiping. In an address delivered at Yale University on October 13, 1955, George K. C. Yeh, Foreign Minister of the Republic of China, reminded his listeners that, though the Korean conflict had come to a halt, great numbers of Red troops were still in North Korea; that meanwhile Chinese Communists had helped the Vietminh rebels seize the northern half of Vietnam; and that consequently the Western Powers had no choice but to persist in strict enforcement of the embargo. A report of Yeh's speech stated that "Russia can supply Peiping only with a limited amount of heavy machinery, and Soviet machinery is not quite up to the Western standard. What the Chinese Communists can obtain from the Soviet satellites is also negligible. The embargo, therefore, is the best means whereby the Western Powers can prevent the complete industrialization of the Chinese mainland." The report went on to say that "Since there is no possibility of the Chinese Communists' renunciation of their aggressive policy, it goes without saying that the anti-Peiping embargo should be continued indefinitely. As a matter of fact, what the American Government has to guard against is not so much the pressure from the Peiping regime as the pressure from its Western allies, especially those nations which are so avaricious that they are ever anxious to trade with Communist China although many of their soldiers have been killed on the Korean battlefield." Pressure from the Western allies continued unabated.

In the interest of a fair representation of a variety of views, let us consider a counterargument often repeated by highly responsible and respected authorities long after hostilities in Korea receded into history. In 1959 one such expert contended that "our inclination to frown on our allies doing business with the Communists and to exercise extraterritorial jurisdiction of American subsidiaries and branches abroad has already caused some allied dissension, as in the case of Ford and Red China which helped touch off President Eisenhower's visit to Canada last summer." He added that perhaps the best argument for increased U.S. trade with the Reds was its divisive impact on the Soviet bloc and its indirect encouragement of Titoism. Trade controls had led to greater economic cohesion and autarchy among the Communists. Red China had no option but to trade with the U.S.S.R., rather than with its former commercial partner, Japan. "In an important way, then, Western economic exclusion policy has inadvertently helped to deter Titoism and helped to bring about a giant, close-knit billion people Communist trading zone—with a higher and more productive division of labor than would otherwise would be possible."

One is led to wonder what indeed might have resulted, if the United States had succeeded in inducing its allies to adhere to a rigid strategic embargo, in view of what the loose and leaky embargo had actually helped bring about.

In May 1953, ROBERT F. KENNEDY, then Assistant Counsel of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, testified that in 1952 there were 193 Western-flag vessels that traded with Red China in a minimum of 445 voyages, but more likely 600. The rest of KENNEDY's information, derived from official sources, was instructive. Owners of 82 ships going to China also carried U.S.-Government-financed goods on these ships or others owned by them. Within the first three and a half months of 1953, 162 Western-flag vessels, 100 of them British, traded with Red China. KENNEDY cited data from the Department of Defense that there were many items going to China which the United States regarded as strategic, but which the allies did not and so continued to export. A letter from Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson was placed on record saying, "The shipment of goods, or the provision of any services to the Communist Chinese or to the northern Koreans contributes directly or indirectly to their economic and military potential. The Department of Defense believes that contributions to the economic potential alone, often directly, and almost always indirectly, contribute to any country's military potential."

The angry frustration of many Republicans and Democrats in Congress over what was considered the weaknesses and inconsistencies of the U.S. Government's embargo policy was amply reflected in the Senate subcommittee's hearings, especially during the exchanges between Senator STUART SYMINGTON, of Missouri, and John M. Leddy, Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. Here is an excerpt:

"Senator SYMINGTON. Would you try to answer the question? Somebody said it is the policy of the Department of Defense not to disclose what it considers strategic that is being shipped into China, but what our allies do not consider strategic. I would like to ask: Is that also the policy of the Department of State?

"Mr. LEDDY. Yes, sir. It is the policy of the Government, so far as I know.

"Senator SYMINGTON. You agree with that policy? Do you think it makes any sense?

"Mr. LEDDY. Senator, I think it is the only policy that we can apply at this time.

"Senator SYMINGTON. Now, let me get this straight. In other words, you agree that even though this Government feels that strategic materials should not be shipped into China, and our allies feel that they should be shipped into China, our Government should not disclose what it thinks are the strategic materials that are being shipped into China by our allies. Is that right?

"Mr. LEDDY. Senator, I do not think it is a matter of getting angry. I think it is a matter of differing economic and political situations in the rest of the world.

"Senator SYMINGTON. Well, if you shed light on it, so that you could have the people of the free world decide whether or not they agreed or disagreed that it was strategic material, would not the chance be, if we were right in the position of our Government, that less would flow into China? Yet you say that if you did it, more would flow into Red China. I cannot understand that.

"Mr. LEDDY. Senator, I think that the point is that we have agreed, we are bound to agree, with the other governments on the classified nature of the information. If we breach that classification, if we begin taking unilateral steps of that sort, I think we do jeopardize the international control system.

"Senator SYMINGTON. Then what you are really saying is that if we disclose the strategic materials that our allies are shipping into China, the result of that will be that we will cross our allies, and they will ship a lot more of that into China?

"Mr. LEDDY. Senator, I think that might be a result. It is a risk I would not wish to take."

This Senate subcommitee, of which Senator Joseph R. McCarthy was chairman, later reported in July 1953 that a number of cargo vessels, which were of great significance to the Communists in the Korean conflict, had been transferred by surreptitious means to the Reds in China and Poland by British-Hong Kong companies. The subcommittee's report emphasized that the Communists owned only 2 million tons of the 80 million tons of ocean shipping in the world. The Soviet bloc needed the help of shipping companies of the free world to carry goods to China in its war against the United Nations. They obtained that help in that 450 Western-flag ships had made about 2,000 voyages since the start of the Korean conflict. The number of vessels flying allied flags, especially British, entering Red Chinese ports had been steadily mounting since the end of 1951. Since the outbreak of the Korean conflict, non-Communist trade with Peiping had surpassed $2 billion.

The subcommittee's report concluded that the U.S. negotiations with the allies on the problem of their trading with Red China had failed, and offered the following comments:

"(1) Since the beginning of the Korean war our Government has had no clear-cut policy on China Trade by our allies; (2) they had inadequate factual information as to the kind, extent, and effect of the trade; and (3) they lacked the forcefulness and vigor necessary to convince our allies that they should ban this trade as we have done.

"There is no doubt that much of the indecision and ineffectiveness which has marked our efforts to eliminate this Communist trade on the part of our allies stems from the fact that the responsibility and authority for this entire program has been scattered among several Government agencies, including State, Defense, MSA, Treasury, Commerce, and others. The job of handling the problem of Communist trade cannot be done by a number of interagency committees and subcommittees. The task should be given to one agency of Government which could be held responsible to see that the job is accomplished without further delay.

"It is difficult to understand why the financial losses resulting from an embargo of Red China should be borne by this country and some of our smaller allies, but are considered too burdensome for some of our larger European allies. It is particularly difficult to understand the position of our Government in requesting such allies as Greece and Panama to stop this trade while we have not made similar requests of Great Britain, Norway, and others who are still carrying on flourishing trade with Red China.

"Ninety-five percent of the blood and the money expended in Korea by the United Nations has been American. Under these circumstances the subcommittee is of the opinion that all of our allies should be willing to discontinue their trade with our mutual enemy, the Chinese Communists."

It is important to emphasize that liberals as well as conservatives in Congress, both being well represented in the Committee of 1 Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations (organized in 1953), were apprehensive about American and Western embargo policies. One noteworthy example will suffice. Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, of Illinois, liberal Democrat and professional economist, declared that the United States had agreed to allied easing of trade restrictions on Red China, but warned that the moment American controls were relaxed substantially, Peiping's prestige would rise in Asia. Its economy, which by its own admission was in grave difficulty, would be strengthened. He noted that Peiping's Deputy Minister of Economic Planning called for major retrenchments, conceding critical shortages in pig iron, steel, lumber, coal, cotton, meats, and edible oils. "Expansion of trade would act as a rescue operation. The power of Communist China would be considerably enhanced."

Senator DOUGLAS compared the concessions being made to the Communists in the name of coexistence with those made to the Nazi-Nipponese-Fascist alinement in the name of appeasement. Said he:

"The scrap metal which the United States shipped to Japan was turned into bombs which devastated half of Asia. Oil sold to Italy in 1936, on the theory that 'to restrict trade means to restrict freedom,' powered the planes which strafed Ethiopia and encouraged Mussolini's quest of empire. High-level diplomatic relations and negotiations with Germany ended in the disaster at Munich. The Luftwaffe and the Wehrmacht were built as a result of trade which, at the start, was limited to nonstrategic goods. The end result of this policy was the death of millions of men, women, and children and the destruction of entire cities and peoples.

"One might think that this bitter historical lesson would be deeply ingrained in the intellects of all free men who survived. Unfortunately, many prominent individuals and organizations still call for expanded trade and cultural relations and, ultimately, diplomatic relations with Mao Tse-tung's China. Their arguments are based on wishful thinking rather than fact."

Many respectable quarters almost automatically mistrusted Senator McCarthy's subcommittee, if only because he was its chairman. For instance, the Christian Science Monitor believed it "wise to suspend judgment" on the subcommittee's charges. It admitted that "Americans certainly do not want to send their men against an enemy strengthened by injudicious trade any more than they recall with any pleasure the shipment of scrap iron to Japan in the late 1930's. It may well be that Britons and various Europeans need to think much harder than they do about the effects of some of the profits being collected by their fellow countrymen." Nevertheless, the Monitor went on, before reaching extravagant conclusions, it was well to remember the data presented by the Senate committee the last time it stirred up big headlines on the China trade. It then reported that British vessels had even carried military men for Red China. "When the answers were in, they added up to the facts that such troop movements had been made on two vessels of former British ownership but under the flag and registry of Panama. One had been taken over entirely by the Communists; in the the other case the master had been compelled to proceed at gunpoint."

One is impelled to speculate how often an apparently, or even obviously, proper policy is thrown into some discredit simply because a discredited proponent stridently advocates it.

Economic pressure by the United Nations continued to be invoked in the United States long after the Korean armistice had been signed, in order to compel the release of 13 American prisoners of war still held by Red China in violation of the truce. Since they were also U.N. prisoners, many Americans felt it only fair that the U.N. should take some action. This attitude was perhaps best summed up late in 1954 by the New York Times when it stated flatly, "There is no reason why the United Nations should not consider economic pressure." The Times observed sadly that some U.N. members were moving toward a more flexible policy on trade with Red China, putting an elastic interpretation on strategic items, to say the least. They had repeatedly condemned the U.S. policy of total embargo against Peiping. "This, surely, is a time when the United States may, with complete propriety, call the attention of fellow members of the United Nations to the fact that United Nations representatives in the military field have been outrageously imprisoned by the aggressor enemy of the United Nations. It would also be appropriate to call attention to the fact that giving economic aid and comfort to this enemy lessens the prestige and authority of the United Nations."

A Connecticut Editor's Keen Observations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to insert into the RECORD the text of an editorial which appeared in the Middletown Press, published in Middletown, Conn., in my congressional district. The editorial, entitled "A Lack of Dispute," was published in the issue of September 13, 1965.

I believe that many of our colleagues of both political parties will find the comments and views expressed in this editorial most interesting. The editor's keen observations on the current political situation should be food for thought to many of us who take our political system and our political parties seriously. In that spirit, I commend this editorial to the attention of all Members of Congress:

[From the Middletown Press, Sept. 13, 1965]

A LACK OF DISPUTE

Just as the ending of Reconstruction in 1877 deprived the Republican and Democratic Parties of the issues that had sustained their rivalries for half a century, so the emerging consensus on the direction of domestic policy may bring about the same result, but with a different political outcome.

What has happened during this session of Congress is simply the completion of the work of the New Deal. Throughout the administration of President Harry Truman's Square Deal, through the days of President Kennedy's New Frontier, and indeed during the first 3 years of President Johnson's Great Society, the aim has in large part been to carry out the objectives of the Committee on Economic Security named by President Roosevelt in 1934.

It was appointed in response to the popularity of the Townsend plan which threatened to sweep the country. Dr. Francis E. Townsend proposed a pension of $200 a month for all who would retire at 60 "on the condition that they would spend all the money as they get it." The plan was to be financed by a gross business transaction tax of 2 percent. As "Townsend Clubs" sprang up all over the country, F.D.R. acted.

Named to the committee were Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor; Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. Homer Cummings, Attorney General; Mr. Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture; and Mr. Harry L. Hopkins, Federal Emergency Relief Administrator. After a considerable study the group proposed social security, and in addition unemployment compensation, aid to dependent children, and an expanded program of relief. Although the committee said that "practical consideration" might compel a "piecemeal approach," and although the social security finally enacted was quite different from the recommendations, it was this committee that planted the idea of solving national needs by social insurance, rather than public assistance. This program has been now carried forward to medicare.

But it was the statement of the committee which foreshadowed what is nearly accomplished in this country and which the Cabinet group discussed thusly:

"A program of economic security, as we vision it, must have as its primary aim the assurance of an adequate income to each human being in childhood, youth, middle age, or old age—in sickness or in health. It must provide safeguards against all of the hazards leading to destitution and dependency."

More than any President, Lyndon B. Johnson has articulated this aim, and acted upon it, whereas President Kennedy could only prepare the launching pad. The job is almost done. And the job seeks not to destroy initiative, but to prevent and protect people from catastrophes that by and large they have no control over, or very small control over. The Negro child born in poverty with no father has too little of a chance in this great country; the older folks with young children just making their way have not had enough protection against crippling illnesses; the divorced mother plagued by mental illness still does not get all the care that should be devoted to rescue a human being. But—with the agreement of most Americans—the job is almost completed. There is no real argument about the aim of our society, particularly among the younger generations.

As it has happened, the Democratic Party has captured for its own this national consensus. Now when this happens there is always the danger of a national inertia also setting in. This was the case in the post-Reconstruction period. From 1876 to 1892, neither party won decisively. Only Garfield scored a popular plurality, despite a preponderance of Republican Presidents.

Now the problem is quite different, although it would seem likely that we will see a stabilization of political belief which will center in the Democratic Party. As a result, the Republicans may not be able to stage a return not only because of adverse registration figures, but because so many issues have been lost to Republicanism. The Great Society, because it is the inheritor of so many years of Democratic action, is an act that can neither be topped nor undersold, and hence it is not subject to great rivalries. And whenever a party on the "outs" is limited to attacking execution and not concept, the comeback trail is a rocky one.

Big Government Robs Man of a Sacred Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, one of the oldest precepts in English law, which has always been a basic American premise is that "A man's home is his castle." It was upon this precept that individual freedom was based based and the spirit of this freedom has been carefully observed since the signing of the Magna Charta. Now, in free America, under the impetus of the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the New Frontier, and the Great Society this principle, upon which our whole structure of freedom is based, is now almost dead.

The administrations of Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson, adhering to a philosophy of a government from the top down to replace our traditional American system of government from the bottom up in which the people wield the supreme power, have trampled on the sanctity of the home, have ignored the constitutional guarantees against illegal search and seizure, and by the use of eminent domain to pursue social objectives have all but eliminated the right of privacy, the freedom to own and control your own property. Without these basic rights, surely there is no freedom.

Is it not about time Congress demands a return to the guarantees of the Constitution so that we may truly represent the people rather than a Federal bureaucracy which seeks to change our whole concept of government?

The following editorial from the Alabama Star of Tuscaloosa, Ala., warns what is happening by the Federal misuse of the power of eminent domain:

EMINENT DOMAIN

"A man's home is his castle" is a proud and ancient American claim of right, one of the foundations of our liberties.

More and more, this right and foundation is being eroded away by threats, restrictions, regulations, and seizures from all sides.

Where once the practice of "eminent domain" seizing land from its owner against the owner's will, at a price set by government was confined almost entirely to obtaining the right-of-way for highways, streets, and public buildings, it has now become the chosen weapon for bulldozing whole sections of our cities into the earth and replacing them, often with parking lots.

Where once the practice of zoning regulating the use of property by law was confined to keeping unsightly and malodorous businesses out of pleasant residential neighborhoods, now it is used to force every house on a block into the same mold, with the same appearance on the outside and the same floor space on the inside.

Where once a warrant was required to make any search, under our Constitution, when the property owner objected, now under recent court decision persons given the title of health inspectors may force their way day or night at any hour into a privately owned house.

Where once any buyer could pick his seller and any seller pick his buyer, now the right of free trade is hemmed in by an accumulating mass of State and Federal regulations.

If a man is not secure even in his own home, liberty cannot long endure.

Trading Stamps by Any Other Name Is Still a Discount

SPEECH

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I have been discussing the question of trading stamps and their effect on the economy for a number of months and I have discovered that there is a great deal of information that is not very widely known or available about this subject. I wonder just how many of my colleagues are aware of the fact that our Government has entered a new role which is not unlike the role of the American housewife? The U.S. Government is faced with all the problems attendant with collecting trading stamps. For like Mrs. American Consumer, the U.S. Government finds that through the normal practices of doing business, the Government agencies have been collecting trading stamps. The practice of accepting trading stamps, of course, presents many new problems, for I have searched all of the Government publications on job classifications and nowhere do I find the office of stamp lickers who must be in charge of pasting these stamps in books. And what about the department of premium selection? Perhaps the Government could make use of all these stamps collected by preparing and issuing a U.S. Government service redemption catalogue. On one page we could offer stamps to Congressmen and Senators who attend quorums or go to committee meetings.

Another page might offer trading stamps to taxpayers who perhaps mail in returns early or, perhaps, instead of cash refunds a taxpayer might receive stamps instead of cash. We might open a whole new area in the field of youth by offering stamps for good behavior, or maybe instead of a pay raise for our Government employees we could give them stamps.

Gentlemen, is it not about time we looked into this runaway, undisciplined, unregulated industry? Perhaps we might get back to the old fashioned cash savings so both the housewife and the U.S. Government can get the lowest possible price for what they purchase.

People Are Winners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, after many months of accomplishments by the 89th Congress, it is generally agreed that an outstanding record of domestic legislation has been enacted which will benefit the citizens of this Nation for many years to come.

Our friends in the press are fond of referring to each piece of major legislation passed as a "victory" for President Johnson, a "victory" for the Democratic Party, or a "victory" for some other person or persons.

Doubtless each piece of creative legislation which we put on the books is a victory for those who sponsor and support it—but I think it important that we identify the real winner in each of these legislative battles: The American citizen.

The Sacramento Bee on September 6 made this point in an excellent editorial:

The Johnson record is fantastic—

Said that newspaper.

However, the real winners—and here is where it becomes important to all—are the people.

I was deeply impressed with this brief but perceptive editorial, and I ask unanimous consent to enter it in today's RECORD.

The editorial follows:

PEOPLE ARE WINNERS

The Congress of the United States is champing at the bit, literally speaking, in its anxiety to adjourn and rest. Heaven and President Lyndon B. Johnson know it has earned it—after it completes a few final pieces of legislation, of course.

Briefly reviewing the work of the Congress since he took office, the record is astounding.

The President asked for medical and hospital care for the aged, tied to social security, and he got it. He asked for the creation of an urban post in the Cabinet, and he got it.

He sought a war on poverty act and expanded aid to Appalachia, and Congress gave them to him. He asked for, and got, an omnibus housing bill with revolutionary rent assistance provisions; an end to the excise tax; an aid to education bill which extends Federal benefits for private as well as public schools; voting rights reforms in the South, and reforms in the Presidential succession law.

Still the President is not satisfied. He wants more. He wants the immigration quota laws rewritten and the House has complied. He wants action on both air and water pollution control, and both Houses are acting on the demand. He wants a new, more equitable farm supports program with expanded omnibus features, and Congress appears sympathetic.

The Johnson record is fantastic. However, the real winners—and here is here it becomes important to all—are the people.

A Declaration of Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, during the last few years and especially the past few months the international event that has most occupied the attention of the American people has been the war in Vietnam.

All Members of Congress, I am sure, have received letters about this situation from constituents expressing approval or disapproval of the President's action in handling this matter. Numerous public opinion polls have shown that the President does have the support of the majority of Americans in carrying out our commitment to South Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, I have no doubt but that the overwhelming majority of the Members of Congress support firm and positive action in dealing with this Communist aggression. However, to assure the American people that the Congress approves such action I believe it would be well for the President to ask for a declaration of support. If such a declaration were brought to the floor of the House and Senate I am sure it would receive wide bipartisan support.

In this connection, I include for printing in the RECORD the text of an editorial aired by KIRO-TV and radio, Seattle, Wash., during the week of August 16, 1965. This editorial makes a good case for the consideration of such a declaration of support. It is as follows:

The war in Vietnam has entered a new and unpredictable phase. It has long ceased to be just a limited military advice mission. More American boys are giving their lives, and the death toll is sure to go higher. We no longer are talking about a limited commitment, but rather, a military force upward of 150,000 men.

Isn't it about time that our duly elected representatives in Congress had an opportunity to review the whole Vietnam situation, and to have a voice in the decisions that will determine our future?

Let's look at what has happened. A year or two ago Defense Secretary McNamara was saying that we would end the Vietcong threat by 1965. So we kept pouring in more and more men. But he confessed after his last inspection trip that the military situation has worsened.

President Johnson refuses to predict how long he thinks the war will last. But Democratic Majority Leader Senator MIKE MANSFIELD has said that he fears it could go on another 10 years.

These are disturbing views. President Johnson has discovered, as Presidents Kennedy and Eisenhower did before him, that there are no easy answers to the situation in Vietnam. But never since we first got involved there in 1956 has the outlook been so grave.

By and large, the American people have supported the Government's efforts to prevent a Communist takeover of South Vietnam. But now it's a different kind of war. The administration has doubled the draft call, and there is talk of mobilizing the Reserves and the National Guard.

Something in all this is missing. That something is the constitutional responsibility of Congress to decide whether to take the Nation into war. That was missing in the so-called police action in Korea too. But at least in Korea, we were under the United Nations banner.

This time, there is serious doubt in much of the world that the American people are behind the administration's policy. This doubt has been enhanced by the noisy protests made by a small but highly vocal segment of Americans.

If what we are doing in Vietnam is right, and if we are fully aware of the consequences involved, then let us declare ourselves as a nation, through our elected representatives, and give full backing to the President. But the President has to put the case before Congress for its decision if this kind of national support is to be given.

Senate Acts Properly on Shipping Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the sale of wheat to Communist countries has long been a controversial issue in the Congress and throughout the Nation. This past week the other body again considered the subject of shipping restrictions in relation to such sales. In order that my colleagues may be more fully apprised of editorial reaction evoked by this continuing debate. Under unanimous consent I place the editorial from the State Journal, Lansing, Mich., of Sunday, September 12, 1965, in the RECORD:

SENATE ACTS PROPERLY ON SHIPPING RULE

Americans who oppose the sale of wheat to Russia or any other Communist-ruled country can take some satisfaction in the outcome of a debate in the U.S. Senate Friday.

The Senators, by voice vote, approved an amendment submitted by Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, Democrat, of Montana, the majority leader, to strike from the omnibus farm bill language urging the administration to ease restrictions on wheat sales to the Soviets.

The section would have stated that President Johnson should drop a Federal requirement that half of any commercial wheat sales to Russia and its Red satellites move in American ships.

Moscow has taken the position that the Communists would not buy American wheat unless the restrictions on shipping was canceled.

Some wheat State Senators had prevailed upon the Senate Agriculture Committee to kill the 50–50 shipping provision, a move that reportedly would have reduced the cost of U.S. wheat sold to Russian buyers by 12 to 13 cents a bushel.

Perhaps one factor in the Senate vote was an announcement by MANSFIELD that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee would hold hearings Monday on the shipping requirement as it applies to wheat.

Senators who have insisted this involves a matter of foreign policy are on firm ground. Foreign policy is certainly involved in the sale of any commodity to the Communists and anything affecting such sales should certainly be considered carefully in that light.

This should apply to any efforts to let down barriers to other trade with the Communists on the grounds that U.S. industry and the American economy would benefit. Such a benefit would be short lived if the Reds ever gained the power to achieve their objective of world domination.

Senator THOMAS J. DODD, Democrat, of Connecticut, has contended there was no difference between the sale of wheat now and the sale of scrap iron to Japan prior to World War II.

There is, however, one important difference. American soldiers are now dying in a war with Soviet-backed Communists in Vietnam.

It would be better to ban all sales of any commodities that contribute to the strength of the Soviet Union and its satellites but neither the administration nor Congress should make matters worse by allowing the Russians to dictate the terms under which wheat or any other commodity would be transported.

Radical Change in Cotton Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Edwin L. Dale, Jr., economic specialist for the Washington bureau of the New York Times, wrote an excellent and enlightening article entitled "Radical Change for Cotton Support" in the New York Sunday Times of September 12, 1965. Mr. Dale, a Yale graduate in 1944 who was managing editor of the Yale Daily News in his freshman year, served in the Navy during World War II and he has been on the staff of the New York Times since 1955. He is the author of "Conservatives in Power," published in 1960. I ask permission to have his article from the Times printed with my remarks in the RECORD:

[From the New York Times, Sept. 12, 1965]

RADICAL CHANGE FOR COTTON SUPPORTS

(By Edwin L. Dale, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, September 11.—The Senate took a historic action this week on the farm program and the main effect, surprisingly enough, will not be on farmers at all.

The action concerned cotton, and the list of those who had a stake in the outcome is impressive: The textile industry, cotton exchanges, cotton merchants, cotton exporters, consumers of cotton products, taxpayers, and foreign countries that grow cotton.

Unless all the debate in the Senate was misleading—and it almost certainly was not—all of these people will greatly benefit from the change in the cotton subsidy system voted by the Senate, except possibly the foreign countries, all of which are less developed.

As for the cotton farmers, their incomes will be about the same as before, although they will get their money in a different way.

The historic change, already approved by the House, applied to cotton a generally successful new system of farm income support already working for wheat and for corn and other feed grains. In brief, the Government price support, which for 30 years has held up the price of these crops, is sharply reduced and the loss to the farmer is made up by a straight cash payment from the Government.

The system is very much like that proposed 16 years ago by Charles Brannan, Secretary of Agriculture in the Truman administration. At the time, the Brannan plan was rejected in Congress with scarcely even a hearing, let alone a vote.

Now, there are still some reluctant farmers. The idea of a straight cash subsidy is repellent to many Americans, while a price kept artificially high by the Government is not. In addition, there are fears that Congress some day may refuse to vote the money for the cash subsidies.

LOGIC PREVAILS

But in the end, the logic of the new plan has prevailed—in 1962 for corn, in 1963 for wheat and now in 1965 for cotton, which is by far the most troublesome and costly crop in the farm program, with the Government holding more than 11 million bales acquired in an effort to hold up the price.

The aim of the new system is obvious: To increase consumption substantially by lowering the market price, and above all to increase exports where world pricing is extremely close and competitive. Mainly as a result of the high support price for cotton, the U.S. share of the world market has dropped from 40 percent 15 years ago to less than 25 percent now.

The Government has paid an export subsidy that brought the export price down to 23 cents a pound from the domestic price of about 30 cents. But this was a fixed amount. Foreign sellers knew exactly what the U.S. price was, and sold their cotton at a half cent or a cent less. The U.S. became, in effect, a residual supplier after everyone else had sold all he had.

Now, with the domestic support price brought down to 21 cents next year and even less in the following years, U.S. cotton merchants, who have a long experience in the export business, will be able to compete again. Some firms have gone completely out of business because of the effect of the former Government program, but they can be expected to reappear.

In addition, textile mills will get their cotton at 21 cents or a little more, and cotton will become much more competitive with synthetic fibers. Thus consumption, overall, is expected to rise substantially.

DECREASE EXPECTED

Production will be limited, and possibly reduced, because only farmers who agree to reduce their acreage will get the subsidy. They will get an additional payment for the acres taken out of production. The efficient California and other western growers may choose to forego the subsidy and increase their output, but overall production is expected to be less, with the Government's stocks gradually reduced.

And the taxpayer? Things could hardly be worse now, and they are supposed to get better. The official estimate is that the new program will cost nearly $800 million less over the next 4 years than the present system, which is now costing more than $1 billion a year.

No one should be deceived. The new system remains very costly. Agriculture budgets will remain high. But compared to the alternative, it looks like a bargain.

Congressman Horton's Tribute to WTOP's Editorial Support for District of Columbia Home Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, among the most effective opinion forces operating in our Nation today are broadcast editorials. The national television and radio community can be commended for the forthright and responsible manner with which its member stations have used this means to inform and inspire.

Recently I have been very pleased to note the solid support which WTOP television and radio have given to our legislative drive to achieve home rule for the District of Columbia. I am confident many of my colleagues have seen or heard the presentations of these editorial statements by the station's spokesman, Jack Jurey.

WTOP has furnished me with a summary of its editorials on home rule for the Capital community which I include with my remarks for the additional attention this report deserves:

FIGHT FOR HOME RULE HOUSE ACTION CAPPED BY DISCHARGE PETITION

Fully half of all WTOP editorial time within the immediate past 2 weeks (August 22–September 5) was taken up with the question of home rule for the District of Columbia. The pace was increased by WTOP editorial spokesman Jack Jurey as the administration and House Democrats attempted to secure a discharge petition to release the home rule issue from the hands of the House Committee on the District of Columbia. In all, since the 89th Congress convened, there were 25 editorials on the subject—the equivalent of 1 full month of editorial time in an 8-month period.

On Monday, August 23, Jurey spoke of "the beginning of the critical week for District of Columbia home rule" as the discharge petition was prepared for the House. "If 218 Congressmen sign it, home rule seems virtually assured," he said. "If they do not, self-government for the city of Washington probably will go down the drain again."

He then summarized the previously stated position of the Post-Newsweek stations in Washington:

"We support home rule because we believe this community deserves the chance to conduct its local affairs.

"We do not discount the problems that home rule would bring. We agree that the present system of a more-or-less benevolent congressional despotism may be more comfortable for many people. Home rule will not solve all problems, any more than the process of democracy anywhere solves all problems.

"But this Nation is founded on the principle that the people have a right to govern themselves, not have government imposed on them. That principle applies as much to Washington as to any city, county, or State in the American union.

"Furthermore the chance to elect local officials and have democratic control of local policies should make our local governmental institutions more responsive to the public will.

"Although the Federal Government has essential interests here (interests which would be amply safeguarded under home rule) the citizens of this community, like all Americans, have an absolute right to control their own political destinies and make their wishes felt directly.

"The constitutional basis for home rule seems to us to be as solid as a rock. The Senate already has passed a home rule bill. Very many Members of the House seem inclined to go along. The home rule discharge petition is the only available route to passage of a bill. Discharge petitions are not popular in the House for good and sufficient reasons. In this case, however, there seems no other choice. We urge Congressmen of both parties to sign the petition."

The following day's editorial time was given over to John R. Immer, president of the Citizens Associations of the District of Columbia, whose organization disagreed with the WTOP editorial position on home rule.

Immer's group expressed itself in opposition to the discharge petition and in favor of permitting the House District Committee to handle matters. "Hearings have been started on home rule legislation by the House District Committee. There is no legitimate reason for taking this bill away from the proper committee," he said.

The next day, Jurey gave the WTOP editorial board's reaction to this viewpoint by first reviewing the history of home rule in the current legislative meeting:

"The 89th Congress held its first session on January 4 of this year.

"Congressman ABRAHAM MULTER introduced the administration home rule bill on February 9. It was referred to the House District Committee the same day. Nothing happened on the matter for a period of nearly 6 months.

"Then, early in the week of August 8, a bipartisan of four Congressmen announced their intention to file a discharge petition to snatch the Multer bill from the District Committee's clutches. On August 12, notice went out from the District Committee headquarters to the effect that Subcommittee 5 would hold home rule hearings. Those hearings are now in progress.

"It's the contention of District Committee Chairman JOHN MCMILLAN—supported by Congressman BROYHILL and some others—that the discharge of the Multer bill should not take place while the subcommittee has home rule under consideration.

"But the chronology of events deflates this argument. So does the District Committee's long-standing antagonism to home rule. The hearings now underway are a diversion, a delaying action, an excuse, a weak reason to defeat the discharge petition."

On August 26, the WTOP editorial left the home rule issue to pay tribute to the House District Committee for its major role in "the final congressional approval of the bill to construct a rapid transit system in Washington.

"Let the record show furthermore that much of the praise ought to go to the House District Committee, a group which has been a target of much recent criticism in connection with other matters," Jurey said.

After spreading the credit among the President, his special assistant for District of Columbia affairs, Charles Horsky and Senator ALAN BIBLE's Senate District Committee, the editorial said:

"The rapid transit bill—provided Congress comes forth with the necessary appropriations—will give this national capital a modern mass transportation system, one capable of growth by increased service to suburban areas. In this respect, at least, the District is in the forefront of municipal service. We're happy to say so and to give credit to some of those chiefly responsible for the subway bill."

When Jurey returned to home rule the next day, he reported: "The home rule discharge petition is in trouble—maybe very serious trouble. As of this weekend, the attempt to yank home rule legislation away from the House District Committee is considerably behind schedule."

After ticking off the House Democratic leadership for not signing the petition, the WTOP editorial said:

"Congressmen ought to consider what delay could do to home rule. If a bill is passed and signed this year, the local government charter can be ratified by District of Columbia citizens early in 1966, primary elections can be held in May and general elections next November. Postponing home rule until next year or later could create vast confusion in this city's electoral process. So the time to get the home rule bill passed is now."

There followed several days of silence on the issue from the WTOP editorial board as the number of names on the petition slowly increased; the biggest breakthrough was when 6 Texas Congressmen signed, previously none of the 22 House Members from that State had given their support.

On Thursday, September 2, Jurey was able to say:

"As this editorial was being written, the reported total was 216, only a few shy of the necessary 218. Congressman ABRAHAM MULTER, of New York, one of the petition sponsors, declared flatly that victory was certain either this week or very early next week. If so, the city of Washington, after a lapse of nearly a century, will be given the opportunity to govern itself.

Here is the text of the WTOP editorial for September 3:

"This station has said a great deal about District home rule in the last several weeks. Too much, some of our viewers and listeners complain. But the home rule bill is the most decisive piece of local legislation to be put before Congress in this century. We have urged its passage with all the powers at our command. Now that passage seems virtually assured, we agree with President Johnson that victory is near 'in the final battle of the American Revolution.' At long last, nearly a million citizens are about to have their rights of citizenship restored.

"The success of the home rule discharge petition, the key to the congressional battle, hinged on the efforts of many people. First among those is Lyndon B. Johnson, without whose efforts the petition would have been an abject failure. Until 1965 the home rule cause did not have decisive White House leadership. This year it got that leadership, and the results speak for themselves.

"In the House, four men deserve the most special kind of thanks. They are Congressmen MULTER, SICKLES, MATHIAS, and HORTON. This bipartisan quartet sponsored the discharge petition and—with a great deal of help—pushed it to success. They are genuine friends of the District.

"Now the mayor-city council bill—which has already been passed by the Senate—might receive final congressional approval on September 27. Along the way, the Sisk-Broyhill bill must be dealt with somehow. This legislation, reported out by a frantic House District Committee Thursday evening, is, of course, an absurd delaying action. It ought to receive very short shrift.

"Once home rule is signed into law, District of Columbia residents must prepare for a referendum early next year to approve the home rule charter. Then, early in May, there will be primary elections, followed by general elections next November. In little more than a year, Washington, D.C. must organize itself for self-government. This will be a unique test of the ability of this city to

conduct its own affairs. It is a test which must be met and overcome."

This editorial marked the passing of the great barrier to securing home rule; there are more steps to be taken, but as far back as July 29, 1959, the WTOP editorial board had stated that "the record of House inaction on previous home rule bills is a sad one indeed."

In the past 6 years, the Post-Newsweek stations in Washington had consistently supported the principal "that decent adult American citizens should have some part in the running of their own community other than simply paying taxes," as it was stated in that first editorial on the subject.

From the Thoughtful Tax Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, recently, I had an occasion to see the September issue of Taxes, the so-called Tax magazine. In this particular issue was a very enlightening article entitled "From the Thoughtful Tax Man."

This article discusses a problem which can be very acute in our society; namely, the efforts of a taxpayer in financial difficulty to meet the tax obligation he has to his Government. Written by Mr. Edward T. Muir, this article indicates that the Government is not arbitrary in such situations and attempts to do its best to assist the taxpayer in coping with his problem.

The author of this article has a distinguished record with the Internal Revenue Service and was former Coordinator of the Offer in Compromise Section of the IRS:

FROM THE THOUGHTFUL TAX MAN

(NOTE.—Our thoughtful tax man this month, Edward T. Muir, former Coordinator of the Offer in Compromise Section, Internal Revenue Service, points out that there is a provision in the law whereby taxpayers can, in certain situations, obtain relief from a tax obligation.)

Many taxpayers, who sincerely desire to pay in full their tax obligations to the Government, often find themselves in straitened financial situations where it is impossible for them to do so, even if given an extended period of time for liquidation.

Situations of this nature can be remedied and, generally, need not occur since the law does provide relief to this type of taxpayer.

Unfortunately, taxpayers in most instances are not aware that such relief, in the form of an offer in compromise, is available. The authority to compromise is found in section 7122 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. The general intent of this section of the code is to permit the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, subject to regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, to compromise any civil or criminal case arising under the internal revenue laws instead of commencing suit thereon.

Offers in compromise arise, usually, in those cases where payment of assessed liabilities are demanded of the taxpayer, and because of financial difficulty, he is unable to comply. Also, they may arise where there is a dispute regarding the assertion of a penalty for delinquency in the filing of a return, or if a specific civil or criminal penalty has been incurred.

However, when compromising a civil liability, mutual concessions are essential to a valid compromise agreement. Where there is no doubt as to the ability of the Government to collect, there is no room for "mutual concession" and, therefore, no basis for a compromise. Also, a criminal penalty will not be compromised unless it involves only the regulatory provisions of the Internal Revenue Code and related statutes, and there is reasonable doubt as to whether the violation was deliberate and with intent to defraud. The adequacy of the concession or consideration sufficient to justify the acceptance of an offer in compromise is determined by the exercise of sound discretion, following a thorough analysis and evaluation of all facts and circumstances applicable to each case.

It is important to note, nevertheless, that the authority given to the Commissioner does not permit him to accept an offer where the liability has been established by a valid judgment or is certain and there is no doubt as to the ability of the Government to collect. In other words, the authority to compromise, as previously stated, is restricted to those cases where there is room for mutual concession, and that no compromise can be considered on the basis of equity, individual hardship, public policy peculiar to a particular case, or difficulties as to payments. These restrictions are intended to cover cases involving interest and ad valorem penalties as well as taxes.

HISTORY

The United States has gone further with the compromise of tax liability than any of the other major natons in the world. In fact, from the early history of the U.S. Government, it was found necessary to clothe the executive departments with the power to compromise. It is independent of the pardoning power of the President and, under the internal revenue laws, was given to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, subject to regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, as early as 1864. This power was further clarified by the acts of July 13, 1866, and June 20, 1868. In 1878, Congress enacted section 3229 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, which modified a previous, similar enactment of 1868. Upon adoption of the Internal Revenue Code, section 3229 of the Revised Statutes became section 3761 of the code and with the adoption of the revised code of 1954, section 3761 became section 7122, which states in part as follows:

"The Secretary or his delegate may compromise any civil or criminal case arising under the internal revenue laws prior to reference to the Department of Justice for prosecution or defense; * * *"

While other nations are deeply interested in the methods and procedures followed by this country in its offer in compromise program, they, so far, are generally loath to place such wide discretion in their tax collection agencies.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing, it can be seen that, if a taxpayer is truly in financial difficulties, there is a way open to assist him in the proper discharge of his tax obligation to his Government. Information available clearly shows that the law governing compromise settlements is being used effectively in quite a few cases, as evidenced by the fact that during the year 1964, 15,296 taxpayers submitted offers in compromise. Offers totaling $22,908,407 were submitted to compromise liabilities of $123,085,518. Of this number, 10,158 were accepted, involving offers of $9,811,852 to comprise liabilities of $44,575,735.

Any taxpayer desiring to avail himself of such relief should follow the instructions set forth in Revenue Procedure 64-44, Internal Revenue Bulletin 1964-42, 58.

A Word of Praise for the Neighborhood Youth Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, it has become customary of late in certain quarters to critize the work of the Office of Economic Opportunity, better known as the war on poverty organization. All too often these critics will rush into print with statements and condemnations of one phase or another of the agency's activities, thereby forgetting that these activities have for the most part been started during the past year and are still very much in an experimental stage.

During the summer months now drawing to a close some of the communities in eastern Connecticut, which I have the honor to represent, have had the first opportunity to become acquainted with the work of such OEO programs as Neighborhood Youth Corps, Job Corps, Community Action, Head Start and others. When the accomplishments were observed, the results were found commendable and the communities were pleased. Many a kind word is heard today in these communities regarding the achievements of this OEO program or that, and one often hears of whole areas in certain towns having been transformed during the summer.

Of notable interest is an editorial in the weekly newspaper Windham County Observer and Putnam Patriot, published in Putnam, Conn., which speaks of the fine work done there during the summer by the Neighborhood Youth Corps. The work is lauded as "a valuable community project" and as "service beyond the call of duty." Programs such as these present wonderful opportunities for our youth to become useful and responsible citizens, and should therefore be continued and expanded for the benefit of our youth and of the Nation as a whole.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert this editorial in the RECORD:

[From the Windham County Observer-Putnam Patriot, Sept. 9, 1965]

BEYOND THE CALL OF DUTY

There seems to be an element in human nature which impels us more often than not to look at things from a negative or slightly jaundiced point of view. Perhaps we might do well to resist this tendency as we look at the work of the Neighborhood Youth Corps in our city and its environs.

There are among us, it is true, those who had rather record each idle moment or each thoughtless prank of the youngsters who participate in the activities of the corps than estimate their positive accomplishments, but let us conclude that these critics have either never been young or have forgotten their youth. Or it may be that they agree with Shaw, who in a moment of brilliant inaccuracy once declared youth too precious a thing to be wasted on the young.

In recent issues of this newspaper we have documented the work done on several assignments in the city's park, housing, and recreation areas.

One crew spent 5 weeks at Hampshire Heights, where they worked on park and playground facilities. Four men were assigned to do outside work at the pumping station of the water department, and two men assisted at the sewage disposal plant. Another crew was given the task of preparing the Prentiss Pond area for winter skating. Some were delegated to build a new picnic area at the south end of Kennedy Drive, in the former Manhasset section.

A major project by members of the corps was in the center of the community where they completed Quinebaugh Park and maintained the Veterans' Memorial Park and the city's municipal area adjoining Church Street. They also built more than 30 park benches.

Another major project was the clearance of a fire barrier surrounding the city disposal area and cutting a road to a water hole near the city dump to enable firemen to reach the water supply in case of fire. The area has for many years been plagued by grass and brush fires.

Although there was excellent work done on the approaches to Putnam, and elsewhere, it is with particular pleasure that we devote our present comments to the transformation effected in the city itself and particularly in the area along Kennedy Drive.

It is certainly not our intention to diminish the credit deserved by the city and its planners in their imaginative and massive attack against the notorious ugliness of the Quinebaug riverside, for without such imaginative planning the cure might well have been worse than the disease. However, in the way of the world, planners and coordinators seldom go without credit, while youth of any community are more frequently deplored than applauded.

How splendid a thing it is, then, to involve our young men in the kind of constructive project in which they all too often have no part. We have seen them raking and grading, seeding grass and planting trees, removing rocks and painting fences. These can be simply chores, but we like to think that the young man who occasionally leans on his rake is less the idler whom the cynic sees than a citizen drawing breath as he proudly surveys the beauty which he has helped to create.

As we look with satisfaction on the creation of our new riverside, we may do well to remind ourselves that the young have a desire to serve, and that a vandal is frequently a young man in whom this desire has been frustrated.

It may be a mistake to conceive of the Neighborhood Corps as simply an emergency force; perhaps a truly great society can ill afford to neglect the opportunities which such a corps can offer its youth.

At all events, it is with pleasure that we salute the directors and personnel of the Neighborhood Youth Corps for their part in a valuable community project and for service beyond the call of duty.

The Success of Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, an editorial recently appeared in Time which gives a serious and convincing appraisal of the foreign aid program. While noting both the failures and successes of our aid program, the editorial concludes that the AID program is essential and well administered. It points out that under David Bell's able administration, the role of the foreign aid program as an arm of foreign policy has been more clearly defined, the program more effectively administered, the cost lowered, the expectations of achievement more realistically set and the result has been encouraging.

The article follows:

FOREIGN AID'S WRY SUCCESS

The rinderpest is done for in Nigeria; U.S.-supplied vaccine, shot into 10 million cows, saw to that. In Peru, courtesy of U.S. taxpayers, 500,000 school kids get a glass of milk each morning. Fishermen in Kenya are content: the United States gave them new boats so they could catch fish twice as fast, and now they only work half as long. But oops. That $2.6 billion sent to Yugoslavia seems to have sunk without a trace. In Jordan a dike that cost the United States close to $1 million meanders across the flinty desert for dozens of miles, waiting to trap rain that never falls. And in Indonesia, as one cynic put it, the net effect of much teaching aid is to assure that "the anti-American signs in Djakarta are written in good English."

So that such things can continue, Congress last week once again passed a foreign aid bill. The measure provides $3.36 billion for fiscal 1966, $100 million less than Lyndon Johnson's "preshrunk" request, but $13 million more than Congress gave last year. Few cries of "giveaway" or "rathole" were heard in the Capitol; instead the bill passed in an atmosphere of doubt, hope, disillusionment, and dutiful expectation. Foreign aid still seems a stranger in the house.

WHERE $110 BILLION WENT

The history of the U.S. foreign aid is one of changing goals, phased in and then phased out as they succeeded gloriously or were abandoned in panic. Back in 1942, when Congress voted funds for the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, a technical-assistance operation for Latin America, it was only trying to combat pro-Nazi sentiment in Central and South America. Next, the United States chipped in to establish UNRRA, a desperate charity aimed at stopping hunger in a war-destroyed world. It filled a lot of bellies and the pockets of countless profiteers. In 1947, President Truman, still answering fire alarms, rushed arms and aid to Greece and Turkey. A year later, not thinking primary in terms of economic programs for development but only of strategies to build strong European allies against communism, he set in motion the Marshall plan, which eventually cost $13 billion and is everywhere accounted a triumph. Out of all this experience flowed point 4's technical-assistance goals, and suddenly the United States was in the foreign aid business for sure, without ever asking itself whether it should be, or to what extent, or for how long.

Using foreign aid to defend the free world against communism attained the status of a philosophy in 1951, when the Mutual Security Act was passed by Congress and an attempt was made to gather all the proliferating economic and military assistance plans into one coordinated program. So many administrators came and went that nothing really got coordinated; 2,000 steel plows lay rusting in Ethiopia, dams were built in a remote corner of Afghanistan, Asian potentates had fleets of cars bought with aid funds. This phase began to end in 1957 when President Eisenhower shifted the major emphasis of foreign aid from outright grants to development loans and investments. President Kennedy in 1961 created the Agency for International Development (AID) as a kind of holding company for all foreign operations, and later put his budget director, David E. Bell, in charge. Now Bell has served longer than any earlier aid boss and won a reputation for taut and canny administration.

The whole venture has cost $110 billion in aid to 100 countries. Right now, 72 countries are slated for U.S. aid, but 95 percent of it will go to only 31 of them and 74 percent of all development loans will go to only seven—Brazil, Chile, Nigeria, Tunisia, India, Pakistan, and Turkey. Yet even after two decades as a developer, teacher, influence buyer, and underwriter, the United States still gets surprised in the way aid programs work out. Some triumphs and failures from the ledger:

Indonesia: The marvel is that any progress at all could have been so skillfully avoided. The $831 million in economic aid and $77.8 million in military assistance that were poured into this naturally rich country collided with the simple fact that Sukarno has no interest in economic development; he seeks empire. The U.S. program crashed when he shouted, "To hell with your aid." One salvageable irony is that the U.S. effort inspired the U.S.S.R. to give Indonesia more than $1 billion, and now Sukarno is bitter against Russians, too.

Tunisia: With one of the highest per capita aid rates ($15 a year, roughly equal to the average share of U.S. citizens in the aid tab), this dry and dusty country is rapidly being turned into a gigantic orchard. President Bourguiba has pushed the plan to sink most of $397 million in economic aid since 1958 into fruit and vegetable production.

Peru: Some $468.9 million in economic aid and $113.1 million in military assistance have bought technical and professional educations, better roads, better public administration, improved tax systems. Few Peruvians are grateful—the conditions on the loans, it seems, are irksome. President Belaúnde's thought for today is: "Suppose that more or less the same demands had been made by the Spanish crown when Columbus applied for aid; we might have remained undiscovered until now."

India: One of the largest recipients of U.S. help ($5.2 billion in economic funds, plus a secret amount in military aid), India is so big that U.S. aid is none too obvious. But the community farm projects, new schools, roads, and modern agricultural methods all owe some small debt to the United States.

NEW GIVER-GETTER PATTERN

Nearly 20 years of aid have powerfully molded the U.S. program of today. Assistance has been cut back for various reasons: heartening success, as in Formosa, or depressing failure, as in Haiti. The fact that nations do get cut off suggests that AID may not go on forever. That debilitating form of aid, direct injections into national budgets, has been mostly dropped, except for South Vietnam, Korea, Laos, Jordan, and the Congo. Military aid, once the source of sour jokes about dictators who "imported 5,000 Communists" to scare the United States into supplying arms, now goes mostly to 11 nations ringing the Russian-Chinese land mass. No aid at all goes to Communist nations any more.

The new, honed down kind of aid also (1) stresses hard loans repayable in dollars, (2) gets by with fewer (15,642) employees by relying more on contracting assignments to universities, and (3) welcomes help from other nations drawn into aid by the U.S. example. But the deepest significance of the new style is that despite the lowered cost of aid—it has dropped from 2 percent of GNP at the height of the Marshall plan to one-half of 1 percent now—the funds going out for economic and social ends are running at the highest rate ever.

Simple Uncle Sapism? No; other new attitudes, drawn from two decades of experience, have clarified the giver-getter relationship. Only the naive among the givers ex-

pect lavish thanks; only the naive among the getters darkly suspect concealed U.S. motives. The United States now knows that arm twisting by withdrawing aid rarely works—and it usually knows better than to let foreign governments attempt aid-or-else blackmail. Moreover, the United States has backed away from any grandiose dreams of remaking the world; receiving nations nonetheless candidly want a large helping of U.S. machines, techniques, and comforts.

"It's not immoral to be moral," says one U.S. official in wry and epigrammatic justification of aid, and Congress, after the arguments are over, always seems to agree. This year's votes, which in both Houses ran two-thirds in favor of aid, say in effect that Americans thinks the world a little healthier with U.S. help, and think the United States a little healthier too.

Bennett Assignment Is Advantageous

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to submit for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a very fine editorial about the work of the Honorable CHARLES E. BENNETT, distinguished Congressman from Florida's Second District. The editorial appeared in the Florida Times Union on Thursday, September 9:

BENNETT ASSIGNMENT IS ADVANTAGEOUS

Jacksonville and Duval County have been greatly favored by the appointment of Representative CHARLES E. BENNETT to the Military Construction and Housing Subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee.

As a ranking member of the full committee headed by Representative L. MENDEL RIVERS, Democrat, of South Carolina, BENNETT already holds the chairmanship of a subcommittee on real estate, and will continue in that assignment. In his new post, he will work with other members in reviewing construction and housing at military installations.

The new assignment is a particularly desirable one for the Second Florida District Representative in view of the construction projects in progress or planned for the immediate future at local naval installations and the bright promise of continuing expansion that will be spurred by completion of the new St. Johns River bridge south of the city providing a closer link between Mayport and the installations west of the river.

Membership on the new subcommittee will place Representative BENNETT in an extremely favorable position to advise with responsible Navy civilian and military planners in the origination of policies, and to promote the interests of the local bases and stations and of the civilian community in carrying them out.

It is in just such subcommittees of Congress that a tremendous amount of spadework is done, unseen and unsung, out of which grows perfected policies and finished legislation as the window-dressing of the lawmaking process.

There can be no better insurance that the advantages offered by the local area to the naval service for the proper fulfillment of its mission will never be overlooked than to have an enthusiastic and informed local advocate present in the councils where these original decisions are made.

His intimate knowledge of the local scene, his grasp of the total defense picture gained through long service on the full committee, and the confidence he enjoys among his congressional colleagues and defense officials with whom he has worked closely, all serve to enhance the importance of his new assignment.

Representative BENNETT's membership on the subcommittee, of special interest locally, is just as desirable, and should prove just as advantageous, as his membership on the parent committee.

Hot Pursuit of Turnpike Flyers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I read with great interest an article in the September 17, 1965, issue of Life magazine by Loudon Wainwright headlined "Hot Pursuit of Turnpike Flyers." I know my colleagues will be interested in this graphic account of a day with "an enlightened and safety-minded force," therefore, I would like to bring it to their attention in the RECORD.

The article follows:

HOT PURSUIT OF TURNPIKE FLYERS

(By Loudon Wainwright)

Over the years the gloomy forecasts of the National Safety Council have made an anxious holiday driver of me. If I have to take my car out at all on such occasions, I slip into the traffic with distinct reluctance, drive with a feeling that danger lurks everywhere and dismount in my garage with relief.

This Labor Day I decided to venture out on the road not as a driver but as an observer traveling in a State police car. At the time I couldn't imagine a safer place to be. I chose the Connecticut State Police because it has always struck me as an enlightened and safety-minded force. The highway signs ("The Law Observant Driver Never Meets Our Unmarked Police Car") make good, sensible reading, and the troopers have earned a reputation for strict enforcement of the traffic laws.

The trooper I drove with most of that day and night was Sgt. Don Waite, a gentle-looking man with glasses who is an expert in radar speed enforcement. A veteran cop with 13 years' experience, Waite, I found, drives beautifully at both normal and tremendous speeds. If he had any problem at all, it was that his unmarked sedan wouldn't accelerate fast enough for his specialty, which is pinching speeders. Waite complained cheerfully about this to me early in our acquaintance. His car, he explained, had an ordinary engine and ordinary shock absorbers instead of the more powerful engine and heavy shocks he needed to make a fast, safe arrest. In my ignorance at the time, this seemed like a minor professional quibble.

Waite first took me to a radar position on the Connecticut Turnpike near the town of Westport. The radar car was parked in plain view in the grass center strip in the middle of the 6-lane highway, and the detection device, which looks roughly like a small searchlight on a tripod, was directed into the oncoming traffic. Several hundred yards up the road from the radar car were three unmarked chase cars. The radar trooper would simply radio ahead when a speeder flashed by and a chase car would jump out into pursuit. One of the chasers, Trooper John Hughes, invited me alone on a trip, and I then discovered how a proper police car accelerates. Radioed about a speeder approaching us at 75, Hughes, good looking enough to play a trooper on television, got us going that fast in a few seconds, before he even shifted into high. Little more than a minute passed from the time the car appeared on radar until its driver was removing his license from his wallet.

I spent much of the day just cruising up and down a 25-mile stretch of highway in Sergeant Waite's anonymous-looking car. Though traffic was heavy, law-observant drivers were the overwhelming rule. With bicycles and water skis tied to the tops of jammed station wagons, sleeping children stacked in the back seat, dogs sniffing the breeze out of open windows, they formed a huge domestic caravan peaceably heading for home. The police radio was very quiet without even reports of minor accidents, and Sergeant Waite had just remarked that it was the calmest holiday he could remember when the 1957 sedan suddenly went by us very fast in the outside lane.

Waite pressed hard on the gas. "He looks like a flyer to me," said Waite, and then he swore as his own car accelerated sluggishly. We had just got in behind the other car at a speed of about 75 when the driver decided abruptly to pull over into a fueling area. We had not followed him long enough to get a good clock on his speed, and so we went on down the road and parked near a toll gate. There we spent some time listening to the radio and watching drivers repeatedly miss the wire basekts where they were supposed to drop their quarter tolls. Then, quite unexpectedly, the flyer was back. He went through the toll gate and stopped right in front of the place we were parked with our headlights out. Four people got out of the car, two teenaged boys and their girls, and one boy took over the driving from the other. From the instant the car began to move, it was apparent that the new driver intended to go terribly fast.

The next 3 or 4 minutes were as crowded as any I remember. Waite, coldly furious at the way his own car was reacting to the chase, ripped out into the highway, reached out with one hand and grabbed his trooper's hat from the seat beside him and jammed it on his head. We were going 80 and the flyer was pulling away from us. Waite took the radio mike and called ahead in hope that the radar cars were still in position. He got no response, and I tightened my seat belt until my belly disappeared. We were passing other cars now and roaring through 90. We hit a tiny rough spot in the pavement and the car suddenly felt soft as a marshmallow as it swayed along the road. I looked at Waite and he hollered: "He has to be doing 95." Then we were finally gaining on the speeder and the dial showed that we were going 105. Waite slowed a bit, turned on his red light and the siren, and the flyer, who realized only then that he'd been followed, began to brake his car. As we dropped past 60, I kept missing a cigarette with the flame from my lighter. When both cars had stopped rolling, I opened the door and stepped out. My legs, weak from the strain of pushing so hard against the floor, were trembling, and the air was filled with the smell of burning rubber. I heard Waite quite pleasantly ask the young driver, "Do you know you were going 95?" With laudable politeness the boy replied, "Something is wrong with my speedometer, sir."

After Waite had put the driver in jail for the night while his friends raised money for a court appearance the next morning (he was fined $100 for speeding), we found out a bit about what had been happening in the rest of the State over the holiday weekend. The State police had covered 106 accidents in-

volving 8 fatalities (there were 564 deaths nationwide). The closest accident to us had involved Trooper Hughes, whose chase car I'd ridden only a few hours earlier. I pieced together the details from other troopers at the station, and with each new fact I realized how lucky I'd been to be flying down the turnpike with Waite.

Hughes had tried to stop a car which came too fast up a ramp to the highway. The driver attempted to avoid the arrest, sped off the turnpike at the next ramp and turned into narrow country roads. Hughes, light and siren going, followed, and the two cars raced along at speeds up to 110 miles an hour. Showers of sparks flew from the lead car as its undercarriage bounced off the dips in the road. Eight miles from the start of the chase, the runaway driver lost control and hit a light pole. His car broke completely in half. In seconds, still at top speed, Hughes came on the accident and had to decide whether to hit the wreck, run over a girl who was lying at one end of it or smash into a wall. He chose the wall. Then, with several ribs broken, he climbed out the window of his demolished car and began giving first aid to the five teenagers from the other. All wound up in the hospital and all, through some miracle of speed and space, will live.

Hearing about it, I felt the beneficiary of a miracle, too. If I'd been sitting next to Hughes, I might have survived with him, but I wonder if I would have arrived at the same instant decision about the direction he must take. I thanked Sergeant Waite and drove my own car home through the early morning dark, eyes straight ahead, seat belt fastened and going not 1 mile an hour above the limit.

Disregard for Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include a speech delivered by my able colleague, BOB POAGE. It follows:

DISREGARD FOR LAW

(Excerpts from speech of Hon. W. R. POAGE, at Pythian homecoming at Weatherford, Sept. 5, 1965)

I cannot speak eloquently on any subject and I am going to try to discuss one of the most disagreeable and disgusting phases of modern American life—disregard for law and constituted authority. Who, a few years ago, would have expected to find the campuses of some of our largest, richest, and most respected universities to develop into hot beds of complete anarchy? We have only to look to the great University of California at Berkeley to see how disrespect for constituted authority has minimized the usefulness of an outstanding educational institution. Doubtless it is true that only a relatively small part of the 25,000-student body took the law in their own hands but they have irrevocably damaged the efforts of the thousands of good, honorable, and conscientious students who can never again take the pride they did in their degree from that institution. Nor has the University of California been the only institution which has had to apologize for the acts of a bunch of unshaven hoodlums.

Who would have expected to have seen clergymen—Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish—join in protest demonstrations North or South, where the demonstrations were conducted in violation of law? No matter what the merits of the protest—no matter how aggravated the abuses against which the protest was directed—no matter how rigid the law—two wrongs never made a right, and a minority seeking the recognition of legal rights never obtained those rights by ignoring the very laws whose protection they invoked or by ignoring or trampling on the rights of others. Nor can democracy long exist if citizens are to decide for themselves what laws they will obey and what laws they will ignore. The inscription, "democracy under law" which adorns the Supreme Court Building has no meaning unless it refers to all laws.

Why then, if university students, who have been surfeited with luxurious facilities at the expense of the taxpayers, are to decide for themselves who is to teach and how they are to teach or to decide that it offends their sense of personal dignity—whatever that is—to take an oath to support the country which has suckered them, and if the priests and pastors of churches across the land are to announce and practice the first tenet of anarchy—that if an individual feels a certain law is wrong, that he need not obey the law—should we be surprised when the less educated and less privileged use defiance of law and lawful authority as an excuse for private gain?

Is it any wonder that we find mobs burning houses in Chicago or looting stores in Los Angeles? If a graduate student at the university in Berkeley is to have the right to decide that since he doesn't agree with the judgment of the trustees that he can flaunt all regulations, why should not a flophouse bum in Los Angeles decide that since he doesn't like the trespass laws that he can break into a place of business and walk out with anything he wants? And if a minister or priest from Boston or Buffalo can decide that the highway laws of Alabama are wrong and should be ignored, why should not a wino in California decide that the laws against arson and theft are to be ignored?

My friends, everyone except the uneducated and the overeducated, know these fundamentals of human behavior. All ordinary people who think in terms of human experience and human limitations recognize that in any inhabited part of the world, where many people come in contact with many other people each day, that it is only possible to obtain freedom under law—and through the impartial enforcement of the law.

To allow each individual to decide for himself what laws he considers just and to assume that the individual has a right to ignore all laws which he considers unjust is to have no law—and in the long run is to establish the rule of the strongest—the rule of the jungle.

The American Founding Fathers knew quite well that even a government selected by a majority of the people could destroy the rights of the individual just as truly as the government of King George. They, therefore, sought to limit the fields of governmental activity, but surely they intended to offer no comfort to those who took the law in their own hands and that, my friends, is the burden of my indictment of our modern scofflaws. No man is above the law and no man has the right to ignore even a wicked or unjust law. His recourse is to seek a change in the law.

But there are, unfortunately, those who are deterred from crime only by the certainty, and possibly to a lesser extent by the severity, of punishment. I would not strike down any of the devices of the law which have been built up over the years to assure that no innocent man be punished. I still accept the idea that it is better that 10 guilty men escape than that one innocent man be punished, but I do object to those requirements and decisions which add nothing to the protection of the innocent but simply make it difficult or impossible to convict the guilty.

A few years ago our Texas Court of Criminal Appeals held that an indictment was faulty because in charging that the accused had drowned the victim, it did not specify that the victim was drowned in water. The purpose of the indictment is to inform the accused of the charge against him that he may present any proper defense if he has one. It should not be to make the conviction of one who has no defense the more difficult.

In more recent months the Supreme Court of the United States has handed down a whole string of decisions which seem to be more interested in preventing conviction than in securing the facts. I submit that until all our efforts are directed at a determination of the facts that we can have neither justice for the accused nor security for the masses of our people. In all too many cases we have so abused the suspended sentence law and our pardon and parole laws that I am afraid that in our proper zeal to protect all of the rights of the accused, we may have overlooked the basis and purpose of all criminal law—and that is to protect the public from lawless acts.

Now may I get to something which is probably more fundamental and something which I hope our younger folks, who have been so well behaved, may understand a little better. Most lawlessness develops from childhood disobedience. The obedient child is very likely to make a good and successful citizen. The disobedient child is a mighty good candidate for the penitentiary. In all too many homes there is no effort to teach the child that he must accept authority as long as he is a member of human society.

May I now mention just one aspect of lawlessness which is as I see it the most utterly inexcusable of all criminal practices and yet it is an unfortunately widespread occurrence. I think that the practice of vandalism—that is, the useless destruction of property—probably leads to more serious crime than any other single habit. And there simply is no need, use, or justification for the breaking of street lights, the scattering of bottles on the highway, the cutting of trees or flowers on other peoples' lawns. There is no act which does the actor so little good and which simply makes the world the poorer as a purposeless act of wanton destruction.

The boy or girl, or for that matter the man or woman, who destroys simply to be destructive reminds me of the story a former Speaker of the House once told of a colleague. He said: "That is a most remarkable man. Every time he opens his mouth he subtracts something from the sum total of human knowledge." So with wanton destruction. The vandal makes the whole world poorer without enriching himself. Just as long as we allow boys to break windows just to hear the noise of falling glass and excuse it with the statement that "boys will be boys," we can expect those same boys, no matter what their educational opportunities, to grow up to be lawbreakers.

If a boy or girl gets the idea that it is all right to destroy property, a little later that boy or girl is mighty likely to get the idea that it is all right to take another's property for his own use. And sometimes I wonder if there is not really more justification for a thief than there is for a vandal who destroys another's property.

I believe that we all have a responsibility to protect and preserve God's beauty, that it may be used and enjoyed by countless generations. Therefore, I believe that the true conservationist is going to make a good citizen. But that leads into another and possibly even broader field, and I have already trespassed on your time.

I would, therefore, like to leave you with this thought. No one ever makes his rights

secure by ignoring the rights of his neighbor, and no one ever increases his wealth by destroying the property of his neighbor or of the public, and, finally, no group can, merely by calling it a peaceful demonstration change a riot into a picnic party, nor can they justify looting and shooting by calling it free speech.

If you and I are to be free and to be secure in our freedom, we must obey the law and we must require all others to obey.

National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9460) to provide for the establishment of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities to promote progress and scholarship in the humanities and the arts in the United States, and for other purposes.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I was under the impression that section 3 of this bill would be read in its entirety, but we only read subsection (b) and then skipped to section 4. May I inquire of the chairman of the subcommittee with respect to the definitions that are listed on page 4 of the bill, particularly subsection (e) where it says: "The term 'group' includes any State or other public agency, and any nonprofit society, institution, organization, association, museum, or establishment in the United States, whether or not incorporated," whether or not such a definition would include a regional cultural cooperation program which may be desired to be carried on among the several States?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOORE. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. My answer to the gentleman's question is that in my considered judgment it would include such regional activity. There is nothing in the proposal or in the language which would restrict one State from joining efforts with a neighboring State or indeed a group of neighboring States for such a purpose any more than it would prohibit cooperation between municipalities.

Mr. MOORE. May I ask further of the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee, in the observation that he has made with respect to the fact that regional cooperation is not discouraged but is, rather, encouraged in this bill, he does not envision it as being necessary that the States who would seek to cooperate regionally would necessarily have to be contiguous States, does he?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Oh, indeed no.

Mr. MOORE. I thank the gentleman for responding to the questions, and I yield back the balance of my time.

National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9460) to provide for the establishment of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities to promote progress and scholarship in the humanities and the arts in the United States, and for other purposes.

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Chairman, according to the findings of the Rockefeller panel on the performing arts, issued earlier this year, the arts are in trouble despite a so-called cultural boom. Most of today's cultural expansion represents amateur activity, the report found, while enthusiastic young men and women have been discouraged from making the arts a career. New talent soon admits the futility of trying to raise a family on a wage that more closely meets the specifications for the term "poverty" than it does for minimal living standards.

One hundred dancers took part in a recent, week-long festival staged by the American Dance Theater at the Lincoln Center—they earned less for the week than did the center's 25 stagehands. Our most renowned dancer, Martha Graham, has been unable to afford an American tour for the past 15 years. The commercial theater is also shrinking and has been pulling down the actor with it. At any given moment only 1 in 10 of the members of the Actors Equity Association is employed. Comparatively few Americans see live professional performances, which are largely seasonal. There is a need for marked improvement in the quality of training for artists; poor pay for most performing artists and short seasons make for unemployment.

What is to be done? Who will support the arts?

The arts have always operated in a deficit in America. This year, according to the Rockefeller panel, nonprofit arts organizations will spend about $100 million more than they will earn from ticket sales. Individuals provide 80 percent of all charitable contributions—of that, only 3 cents in every 100 goes to the arts. Business executives, who tend to look on corporate philanthropy as an offshoot of public relations, have kept their distance from the creative chaos that surrounds art. In most cases they have limited their support to established organizations whose activities are beyond controversy.

What about the role of local government? Great strides have been made in my home county of Los Angeles which contributes $400,000 a year to music organizations. Also, the Performing Arts Council of the new Music Center in Los Angeles has set itself a series of ambitious goals which promise unprecedented cultural enrichment for the community. However, on the whole, woefully inadequate facilities still prevail. Of the more than 100 so-called cultural centers being built or planned, only about 30 are true art centers that can handle more than one performing art—the others are basically sports arenas or convention halls.

The proposed bill before us will not, of course, underwrite or even come close to underwriting every artistic endeavor. That is not its purpose. It will, however, provide some "seed money" to stimulate additional support. That is its primary aim—to provide support for and interest in all of the arts and humanities, and to stimulate the States to show greater concern. Studies have indicated that a dollar of Federal money will generate $8 of spending on the arts. Anyone who has raised money knows that money goes where money is. The $10 million of first-year resources budgeted for the Foundation, while tiny alongside the National Science Foundation's current annual budget of over $500 million, will stretch further dollar for dollar.

As President Johnson said in his statement supporting the proposed Foundation last March:

> We fully recognize that no government can call artistic excellence into existence. But government can seek to create conditions under which the arts can flourish.

The Washington Post has called it "a sound though modest blueprint" for a long overdue commitment by the Federal Government to the cultural life in this country—an assist in developing a climate for excellence in artistic as well as technological fields.

Last year's report of the Commission on the Humanities pointed to this additional aspect of the problem: The Government's practice of making large sums of money available for scientific research has brought great benefits, but it has also brought about an imbalance by the very fact of abundance in one field of study and dearth in another. The proposed Foundation, by giving recognition to the value of the humanities and arts, will serve to correct this imbalance.

The only real stumbling block to this legislation has been the force of tradition and the notion that Government control inevitably follows Government support. This notion limited and frustrated us for years in the field of education. Today our cultural activities generally suffer because of this unjustified fear. The United States is the only major nation in the Western World whose Government offers little or no direct financial assistance to the arts.

Roger Stevens, the President's special adviser on the arts, recently lamented:

> It is remarkable that this country, from its very founding, has always been concerned that every individual is entitled to a public education, and yet should be so loath to aid the arts which are such an essential part of creating a fully educated individual.

The contention that Government support for the arts would lead to their sterility or debasement is, as Vice President HUMPHREY would say, "a counsel of fear." It is born of a strange lack of faith in the American people and their institutions—both governmental and artistic. The arts serve to enrich the lives

of the people—is this not Government's purpose too?

In essence, we must not only increase the access of the people to the works of our artists, but must establish the arts in the public mind "as part of the pursuit of American greatness."

The Rockefeller panel was based upon this premise—the panel is motivated by the conviction that the arts are not for a privileged few but for the many; that their place is not at the periphery of society but at the center; that they are not just a form of recreation but are of central importance to our well-being and happiness.

Our fulfillment as a nation depends upon the development of our minds, and relations to others depend upon our understanding of one another and of our society. Simply expressed, it is in the national interest that the humanities and arts develop extremely well in this country.

As the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORHEAD] has stated, there is a fundamental change developing in the attitude toward intellectual and cultural life in the United States, and the time is right for the Federal Government to take steps to encourage this changing attitude.

University of Maryland Community Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, before we passed the Higher Education Act of 1965 last week a speech was made at the summer conference of the Maryland County Commissioners Association on August 28 which demonstrated an important justification for our action here.

The speaker was Dr. Franklin L. Burdette, a University of Maryland professor and director of the bureau of governmental research. What he stated goes right to the heart of title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965 dealing with community service programs in colleges and universities. This title of the act allows institutions of higher education to respond to the demands of the growing communities they serve and the act authorized $884,110 for the State of Maryland.

I am pleased to state that the University of Maryland located in my congressional district has a head start on this new legislation. For years the university's bureau of governmental research has provided an advisory service for Maryland communities, working with more than 85 percent of them in the past 6 years.

I commend the university for its leadership in this area of community service which has set an example for the Nation. For the RECORD I place at this point the speech of Dr. Burdette at the summer conference of the Maryland County Commissioners Association:

COUNTY GOVERNMENTS AND THE ADISORY SERVICES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

(Remarks of Franklin L. Burdette, professor and director, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Maryland, Summer Conference, Maryland County Commissioners Association, Ocean City Md., Aug. 28, 1965)

With its continuing programs of public service, the Maryland County Commissioners Association is—as it has been for years—an organization representing some of the most important voices in our State speaking for good government. We are in a period of great growth and change in Maryland, and county governments are in the forefront in responsibility and action for meeting new needs and at the same time preserving the best of our experience and tradition.

Woodrow Wilson in the Presidential campaign of 1912 expressed a fear of government by experts. Undoubtedly he meant that the favored government by the consent of all the people, not merely some of the people, acting to carry out their basic political decisions through elected representatives. The role of the expert, when such a person can really be found, is that of analysis and advice, close to and actually a part of the making of policy but not dominating it or having ultimate control of it. In our country fundamental political decisions are rightly reserved to the people and their representatives.

All of us are interested in strengthening the capacity of government—county government—for effective service. We know that, with population increase and economic growth, the problems and goals of government are becoming more complex. In this day of swift communication, of regional and national marketing, new and broadening relationships between governments are developing.

We in Maryland have had a long understanding of the importance of local government, of local responsibility for progress and wise governmental management. We know, too, that popular government can continue only with that local responsibility, with an alert and informed citizenry active in our affairs and with local officials equipped to meet the needs of the times. However large the National Government must become to serve us in nationwide and international action, local government must be preserved and strengthened for its responsibilities in the countless needs of a free and busy people. This is not rivalry, but mutual necessity. No responsible leader in the National Government is opposed to strong local government. All of our public leaders speak for the assumption of new tasks and roles by strong local governments. I think that we in Maryland are ready for the task because we recognize its importance, because we want to do our part in maintaining in changing times the basic initiative of local citizenry and local institutions in local affairs.

This year, after the express interest by resolution of the Maryland County Commissioners Association, the University of Maryland has made avaliable to county governments the facilities of its technical advisory service in the bureau of governmental research of the college of business and public administration. In doing so, the university has voiced again its judgment that education, research, and service go hand in hand in the total educational role that the university plays in our State.

In performing these services, only at the request of and working with the agencies of county government, the technical advisory service will have within it an organizational unit giving primary attention to problems or special needs of counties. We want to thank county officials for their expressions of interest and confidence, and we want to work with you as you find our service helpful. We know, too, that the university can benefit in a real way in the broadening and deepening of its educational programs as a result of closer faculty contact with county governments. We have had the privilege of working during the past 6 years with over 85 percent of the municipalities of Maryland, and we have learned the practical value to us in our educational programs of that work. We hope that we have been of service to municipalities, as we hope that we may be of service to counties. The university is pledged not to diminish its services to municipalities as a consquence of its new responsibilities to counties. We will want to work with county officials, as we have in municipalities, in that friendly spirit of cooperation which is always close to the heart of Maryland. We will learn from you, and we hope that we may bring to you concrete information and special studies, as you request them—and which draw on information around the State and in professional circles—that will be helpful to you.

In performing their services, members of the staff, who have faculty status as full-time research associates, will undertake to analyze problems that are brought to them and to offer alternative courses of action with probable consequences in organization, cost, or policy outcome. Theirs is not the role of recommending political decisions or courses of action. We believe deeply that local government is kept close to the local citizenry and best managed by leaving political or other policy decisions to established local processes.

At the outset Mr. Grover E. Nash, whom many of you have met at this conference, will have primary responsibility, with secretarial and other assistance, for our contact with county governments. We will be able to draw on the resources of the university without charge for relatively specific projects within the capacities of staff time. For major projects involving extensive and special staff time, if such projects develop, we shall have to negotiate about available resources. In other words, we at the university hope that we may work out together the means and results of our cooperation. We hope that there are many areas in which a university advisory staff can be of service. They are not in the nature of the work already done by officials but rather in the study of systems, techniques, and methods. Examples are the study of budget processes, revenue studies, cost studies, centralized purchasing, personnel systems, and public relations. Analysis of experience of other counties, even in other States, with provisions of their ordinances may be helpful. Of course all such information should be channeled only to county officials for their consideration or use. Citizens and citizen groups will always be welcome in our offices, but we must reserve project preparation for the requests of county governments.

The remainder of the 20th century will almost certainly see further great change in Maryland. We at the university believe and hope that local government and local officials, responsible to an alert local citizenry, will have a major part in shaping and guiding that change. For the past several years we have had the real privilege of close cooperation with the executive secretary of the Maryland County Commissioners Association, and we know how valuable his work is to you and to the State. We hope to work together, as we have in the past, but on a broader scale as your needs for service may require.

How a Defense Against False Charges Was Organized: Sex and the Selma March

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I believe that all Members of Congress and other concerned citizens will read with great interest the following article from the July 15, 1965, issue of the Christian Advocate.

The Christian Advocate is an official organ of the Methodist Church and is published in Nashville, Tenn., by the Methodist Publishing House.

The article is entitled, "How a Defense Against False Charges Was Organized: Sex and the Selma March." Its author is Rodney Shaw, director of the Department of Economic Affairs of the General Board of Christian Social Concerns of the Methodist Church, in Washington, D.C., and one of the Selma marchers.

The article follows:

HOW A DEFENSE AGAINST FALSE CHARGES WAS ORGANIZED—SEX AND THE SELMA MARCH

(By Rodney Shaw)

Reporters and television cameras crowded to overflowing a conference room at the Methodist Building in Washington, D.C. Facing them across a battery of microphones sat an interfaith group gathered from around the country to defend the truth of the Selma-Montgomery civil rights march against Congressman WILLIAM DICKINSON, of Alabama, who had stated that "drunkenness and sex orgies were the order of the day" on that march.

These members of the clergy had taken part in the march because they felt that the freedom to vote is a part of God's precious gift of freedom to man and that they and their church should be identified with the struggle to win this freedom for the Negro. They did not intend to let the impact of the march on the Nation's conscience be weakened by charges they knew to be false.

The press conference climaxed a hectic effort that began the preceding Saturday afternoon at a discussion between myself and representatives of nine Republican groups who felt a moral obligation to set the record straight concerning the "orgy" charges they believed to be baseless and that were coming from a fellow Republican. Since Mr. DICKINSON had announced he was going to restate his charges and produce proof in Congress on the coming Tuesday, time for action was at hand.

Responding to phone calls that fanned out across the country through Saturday night and Sunday, clergy of various faiths arrived Monday morning at the Methodist Christian Social Concerns Board offices, which served as the headquarters for this venture.

After prayer, meditation, and discussion of the charges by Congressman DICKINSON, the group went to see Mr. DICKINSON himself. It was the group's thought that Mr. DICKINSON, a lawyer in private life, would want to question them and see further evidence from them concerning the truth of his charges about the march.

However, Mr. DICKINSON seemed to be interested only in proving his case and not in exploring its foundations. He asked no questions at all of the group. Responding to a question, the Congressman said he did not believe there was any Communist influence in the march but that he would present affidavits on the floor of Congress which would indicate that such influence was present.

Since the Congressman had mentioned in his original speech on the march that there was photographic proof of his charges, the clergy asked to see the photos. A large number of pictures was spread on the desk. They showed no illicit activity. Most of the pictures were of groups of youth walking, talking, singing, and sitting in the street.

One picture showed a contraceptive device in a pile of debris at the foot of an ash tray stand, which he said was in the Montgomery airport. This was his sole photographic support for the charge that "orgies were the order of the day" on the 5 days from Selma to Montgomery.

That evening secretaries and multilithers stayed overtime, with some of us working clear through the night as we developed a document to provide Members of Congress and the press with facts about the Selma march. Included in this document was a statement on morality, a "Fact and Fiction" sheet, and scores of telegrams expressing the indignant protest of clergy who had been closely involved with the Selma march and who flatly denied the Congressman's charges. Many of these had come as a result of a telephone alert sent out by the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice and the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity as soon as we had informed them of our plans to meet the Congressman's charges head on.

Tuesday morning, the first copy of the document was given to House Republican leader, GERALD FORD. We spent 45 minutes discussing with him the responsibility of Republican leadership to deal with the irresponsible charges that were to be made that afternoon in Congress by a Member of his party.

Moving rapidly, the "Clergy for Alabama Truth" spread out to the House office building to discuss the Selma march with Members of Congress and to give them resource material for replying to Mr. DICKINSON that afternoon.

At 4 p.m., we gathered in the House gallery to witness the drama on the floor. Since most of us are Republicans, we were disappointed to see that Republican Leader FORD had not organized any opposition and was not going to say anything himself. We appreciated his predicament in that the five southern Republican votes equaled the narrow margin by which he won his position as House minority party leader. However, we had hoped that he would in some way express on the floor the basic disagreement we knew he had with the charges of Mr. DICKINSON.

Democratic Leader JOHN W. MCCORMACK had obviously acted rapidly upon the information we had provided him, for his party members were clearly ready for action. As soon as the Alabama Republican sat down, one after another of the Democrats rose to make rebuttals based in part on our document, and finally inserted all our material into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

It was pointed out by them that the affidavits Mr. DICKINSON had presented were not documented and that Mr. DICKINSON had himself admitted that he had not checked their veracity. The Democrats emphasized that outstanding men and women from their districts had been in Selma and Montgomery, and that the issue at stake was the basic one of whether, because of their race, people could be denied the fundamental right of the freedom to vote.

Upon adjournment of the House, the clergy returned to the Methodist Building to prepare for the next day's press conference which had been arranged by Fred Sontag, a public relations consultant and Episcopal layman who had furnished invaluable help in planning and carrying out "Operation Truth."

Press clippings that poured in as a result of a press conference indicate that the exhausting four days were well spent. The most satisfying report was from the Alabama Congressman's own hometown newspaper, the Alabama Journal (April 28), which prefaced its report of the exchange on the House floor with a highly unusual "editor's note" which pointed out that the Congressman had yet to prove his charges.

The frosting on the cake was provided several days later by statements from two southerners. Capt. Wilson Baker (United Press, April 30) told a reporter that he knew of no sex pictures, and that he had not witnessed any immorality such as the Alabama Congressman had alleged.

Robert Craig, managing editor of the Spartanburg, S.C., Journal (United Press, April 27), said he had gone to Selma and Montgomery with a camera looking for illicit activity and could find none, and that he thought the sex orgy charges were simply a coverup for the fact that, in Selma, the Negro cannot vote.

Smut: $2 Billion-a-Year Racket

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I am hopeful that the legislation which I sponsored, H.R. 980, a bill to stop the free flow of obscene mail in the United States, will be enacted into law during this Congress This legislation, which is aimed at helping stamp out the $2 billion smut racket in this country, was passed overwhelmingly by the House of Representatives and now awaits action in the other body. I hope our colleagues in the other body will give this much needed legislation early consideration.

Mr. Jeffrey St. John, executive editor of Report magazine, writing in Our Sunday Visitor, the National Catholic Ecumenical Weekly, described the tremendous problem created by the widespread distribution of pornography, as follows:

A $2 billion-a-year racket is eroding the foundation of Western civilization.

Its name is pornography, and its only goal is "the fast buck," with no thought given to its byproducts—ruined lives and the debasement of our young people's morals.

One of the most tragic results of this lewd literature is the collapse among our youth of an awareness of spiritual values, the disappearance of a code of moral conduct and a sense of individual responsibility—three pillars upon which our civilization rests.

Effects of the widespread plague of pornography can be seen in reports such as that recently released by the United Nations World Health Organization which bluntly stated that in the United States and other Western nations, venereal disease has increased to epidemic proportions, particularly in the 15 to 24 age group.

Other reports, like that of the New York Academy of Medicine, have stated that this increase is directly traceable to the effects of the indecent literature these young people read.

Some authorities contend that pornography can be justified on the grounds that it "provides an outlet for unwholesome sex

tendencies," but New York psychiatrist Dr. Max Levin replies:

"The smut merchants have no medal coming to them: they are not to be regarded as benefactors, contributors to mental health. On the contrary, they are crippling our youngsters by encouraging the expression of their sex impulses in an unhealthy direction."

HUGE PROFITS

Unhealthy attitudes toward sex are not the only results of this fountain of filth, according to Dr. Levin, who says, "The pornographers sink to their dirtiest when they tie sex in with violence.

"People are fascinated by violence, and also by sex," says Dr. Levin. "The pornographers find it profitable to tie the two together, and so our youngsters are seduced by the glorified image of the sex maniac."

The profits to be had from the smut business are enormous. Production costs for a paperback book may run as low as a few thousand dollars for 20,000 copies, and they are often sold at $1 each. Paperback pornography on the newsstands and by direct mail is estimated to reach 500 million copies annually. And according to one New York distributor, "the actual readership may reach three times that number because of kids passing books on to their friends."

The filth merchants cultivate many fields in harvesting their profits. Anyone can easily obtain obscene pictures and postcards by mail; erotic love letters by mail or over the counter; stag movies; obscene books; erotic picture slides; records and tapes and pulp magazines.

Many of these items are offered in men's magazine ads. More shocking though is the fact that thousands of youngsters even of grade school age, receive this smut through the mail when they innocently place orders for stamps or other hobby items. Once their name is on a mailing list, brokers often lease the list to filth merchants who use it indiscriminately. Despite hundreds of angry letters from parents, postal authorities have been unable to close this major source of smut by mail.

Magazines, another major source of pornography, are available on newsstands across the Nation. Many are fly-by-night operations, containing the same nude and semi-nude women format and produced in second-story walkups. When the law finally catches up with these publishers, they simply fold the magazine and start up again later under a new name.

On a larger scale, nudist films produced for public movie houses reap even greater profits. Production costs run as low as $35,000 per film and can return hundreds of thousands of dollars to investors.

One of the most perplexing aspects of the pornography problem is the inability or unwillingness of the authorities to do anything about it. That there is a need for somehing to be done is illustrated in congressional testimony given by Dr. E. Preston Sharp, executive director of the Philadelphia, Pa. Youth Center. He stated that he believed that obscene pictures made it easier for children to participate in sex activities. Then Dr. Sharp went on to say that many of these children reacted to reprimands for possessing this literature by replying, "If the public permits these things to be sold over the counter, then there is nothing wrong with it."

LIBERTY OR LICENSE?

With billions of dollars at stake, smut merchants naturally fight any legal strictures on their business, hiding behind the First Amendment, which guarantees freedom of the press. Unfortuately, many well-meaning jurists, organizations, and individuals who tend to confuse liberty and license join these publishers in their cynical misuse of the Constitution.

Diametrically opposed to these people is another group who in all sincerity seek to outlaw anything even remotely suggestive.

Both groups fail to see the nature of the pornography problem, which is really the danger to our children from "hard core" filth, both vicious and clearly without merit. Until our legislators find a way to come to grips with this, we will not be able to eliminate this threat to the morals of our youngsters.

Fighting the smut merchants on moral grounds is not enough. A logical, systematic campaign, presenting evidence of the harm done by this vicious racket must be mounted. And its goal must be the enacting of effective legal controls.

Public officials must be shown by extensive material evidence, that pornography is, in fact, an enemy of our society.

Witnesses to this fact are not hard to find.

George P. Elliot, writing in a recent issue of a national magazine noted that "If you want to destroy society—not just write about a character who does—but if you want to make your book an instrument for destroying, a weapon—then you need pornography. For since society, at least Western society, is founded on the family as an essential social unit, nihilist and totalitarians must always attack the family as their enemy."

New York Rabbi Julius Neuman, a member of Operation Yorkville, a highly successful antifilth campaign, notes that "the basic unity of our society is the family. Yet how are we going to establish family patterns in the thinking of young adults when pornographic magazines show these young adults their opposite numbers as simply animals, vehicles which may be used to satisfy a sexual hunger and then discarded when the hunger subsides?"

Other witnesses include men such as Dr. Donald G. Cortum, national cochairman of Citizens for Decent Literature who points to the pornographers' setting up of "false standards, romanticizing evil—they foster a contempt for the dignity of man or woman and create a lack of responsibility in the mind of the reader."

PRIME CAUSE OF DELINQUENCY

Dr. George Henry of the Cornell College of Medicine, himself a specialist in psychosexual maladjustments, noted in congressional testimony that adolescents are highly vulnerable to deviation in sexual matters and that the "adolescent is most apt to find pornography a sexual outlet because he has the least legitimate opportunity for sexual excitability."

This is only a sampling of testimony by experts on the effect of pornography on our young people. They are backed up by many independent organizations as well as governmental committees like the New York State joint legislative committee and the U.S. Congressional Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover states that he has no doubt that pornography is a prime factor in contributing to juvenile delinquency and crime.

Yet despite all this testimony, many U.S. officials still insist there is no proof that pornography is harmful.

This was illustrated by the position of the U.S. delegate at a recent United Nations conference on crime. The final report of the 85-nation conference stated that "it seems that the rest of the world is quite certain that the portrayal of crime, brutality, and sadism has a bad effect on youth and is directly conducive to crime. The mention of lack of scientific proof by the U.S. delegation was met, by and large, with incredulity—perhaps one should say with utter amazement and a certain amount of hostility."

Effective laws to control the problem are a necessity, but they cannot, nor should they become a substitute for parental responsibility in giving their children full and frank sex education.

ADEQUATE SEX INSTRUCTION

Philadelphia psychiatrist Dr. Carl Hoffman says that few young people receive "any proper and adequate instruction regarding sex. Unfortunately much is learned from questionable sources outside the home. In a survey involving 300 parents over a period of the last 6 years, less than 5 percent had answered questions of their children regarding matters of sex. Nor did the parents give any instruction in this dynamic phase of one's life. Most of them had no idea what was in the child's mind, let alone help influence it. We conclude then, that many children acquire their sexual ideas elsewhere."

And that "elsewhere" is at the corner newsstand or candy store.

Long before laws can hope to cope with the problem, parents must take preventive action by answering fully and frankly their children's questions about sex. Parents must give their children not only sex information but what is even more important a correct attitude toward sex.

Pornography is a serious and complex problem. It attacks the family and seduces the young. But it can also present an opportunity and a promise.

What promise? The positive promise that while pornography is but an expression of a growing immaturity of many young people, those concerned with society's survival and salvation can present more attractive alternatives that demonstrate clearly to the younger generation that God offers His children a choice.

If we allow our youth to follow, in the case of pornography, the path of evil, self-indulgence, and the renunciation of the responsibility, we must be prepared to pay the price.

And the price for our youth is disease, degradation, and even death. Not physical death, but the living death which condemns us to live without the spiritual illumination man must have if his existence is to have meaning.

It is the task of parents, our institutions, and our leaders to help our young people follow the right path.

Nebraskans Aid University in Land-Grant Concept

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR CALLAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, in 1955 the University of Nebraska under contract with our foreign aid program began the development and planning of Ataturk University in eastern Turkey. Today, 10 years later, where once there was a flat, dusty valley, a going institution patterned after our land-grant colleges has risen. This major accomplishment exemplifies one of the most significant aspects of AID's program: the establishment of viable institutions, and the education and training of people, without which economic development and social progress is impossible. Thus Ataturk University will play not only a leading role in the improvement of agricultural techniques and activities, but also will further the modern way of learning. Its influence will extend throughout the country and throughout the Near East.

The article follows:

NEBRASKANS AID UNIVERSITY IN LAND-GRANT CONCEPT

(By Jerry Rosenthal)

Just outside the ancient fortress city of Erzurum in mountainous eastern Turkey, a collection of untramodern buildings rises incongruously from a flat, dusty valley.

These are the shiny new classrooms, laboratories and dormitories of Ataturk University. Here, a team of faculty members from the University of Nebraska, under contract with AID, has helped to instill the democratic concept of a land-grant seat of learning.

Harold L. Allen, a youthful, vigorous ex-farm boy from David City, Nebr., has seen the university materialize from an idea on paper to a going institution housing nearly 1,000 students. Now, after 8½ years of helping Turks to help themselves, he is coming home.

As leader of the Nebraska team, 37-year-old Allen says, "We have had all the frustrations, but now it's exciting and rewarding to see the development that has come about."

The "development" is a 10,000-acre campus that once consisted of 400 farms. It spreads over a good portion of the Karasu River Valley and includes, besides the glamorous buildings, an earthy, working experimental farm, a still usable 1,500-year-old Roman bridge, 30,000 newly planted trees and an exhilarating view of snow-tipped peaks in all directions.

AID and the University of Nebraska have been involved in the planning and development of Ataturk University since 1955. In that time AID has provided nearly $2 million, nearly all in the form of financing the Nebraska team.

Named after the 20th-century hero of Turkey, Kemal Pasha Ataturk, the university was created to provide a western-type institution of modern learning in an area that bore a civilization 4,000 years ago and still clings to centuries-old traditions.

For instance, Allen says, "although we try to show the farmers how they can profit from proper feeding of their cows to give more milk, they still believe that oxen should get the best food because they do the work. Their dairy cattle get what's left and are kept in the houses more to provide warmth than to furnish milk."

On the other hand, Allen points to the favorable reaction of farmers to research and fertilizer demonstrations. By next spring, Ataturk extension specialists will have established 700 fertilizer demonstration plots in eastern Turkey for wheat, corn, potatoes, alfalfa, and barley.

Open houses at Ataturk's experimental farm are attracting increasing numbers of farmers in the Erzurum area. They see a type of Brown Swiss cattle and Merino sheep that are bigger, healthier, and more productive than the foraging livestock they have tended all their lives. They also see modern milking methods, scientifically fed poultry, and technological improvements. What's more, they see that all of these things are practical for Turkish farmers.

They also can inspect test plots where a variety of grasses, legumes, and grains are grown to show how soil can be saved and made to yield more in the rugged climate of east Turkey. Wheat grass, for example, is one experiment that has proved particularly successful. The farm also has shown how karunga, an indigenous legume, can work into wheat rotation.

In addition to the experimental farm and extension activities under the direction of Ted H. Doane, the Nebraska team of seven has been primarily concerned with staffing and setting up courses of study. Prof. Leo Fenske, 59, an agricultural economist from Minnesota by way of North Dakota State University, is typical of the caliber of the team members and the methods they use. He has been at Ataturk since 1960 and expects to stay for another 2 years. He has been second in command to Allen.

He sees his job as a three-sided function: to teach and supervise teaching; to conduct research in the field of agricultural economics; and to develop a staff so that eventually the facility will be entirely Turkish.

Professor Fenske has devised several means of teaching. His Turkish assistant may take complete charge with Fenske checking the course outline and making suggestions. Or, Professor Fenske may present a lecture in English with his assistant translating. A third method he uses is to have the assistant translate his notes and present the lecture in Turkish.

"I will sit in class and listen," he says of this method. "I understand enough Turkish to know if the subject is being presented correctly."

A major problem that has faced Ataturk, according to Professor Fenske, is the slow development of a trained faculty. The faculty heirarchy of a Turkish university department, from the highest position down, consists of a professor, an associate professor called a docent, a doctor-assistant, an assistant and a probationary assistant.

Ataturk, a university unique to Turkey and starting from scratch, has still some years to go before its staff of Turkish faculty members can be filled out. In Professor Fenske's department, for example, the docent is studying in Germany. The doctor-assistant in rural sociology has been studying for the past 2 years as a participant under AID financing at Nebraska. Two assistants will return in the fall from studies at Montana State, also under AID financing. An assistant now working with him at Ataturk has received his doctorate and will study in the United States as an AID participant trainee. Still another assistant is preparing for his doctorate and future training in the United States, while the remaining member of the staff is presently at the University of Minnesota.

"It will really take 10 years for a staff to be set up," Professor Fenske says. "It's hard to get qualified people for assistants. This has meant that I've had to be in the classroom more than I should be."

Money, too, has something to do with it. University salaries range upward from 500 lira (about $55) per month for an assistant. A college-trained specalist in Turkey can usually command more money in a commercial enterprise. A doctorate is worth 800 to 900 lira per month (about $90–$100).

Professor Fenske says that Ataturk also has faced a fundamental problem in student attitudes.

"The Turkish student tries to memorize his notes," he says. "The American tries to interpret. 'Thought' questions tend to disturb the Turkish students. Thus, I find I must try to make them think, rather than feed back what I tell them."

Most of the students attend Ataturk on government scholarships, but all must take, entrance exams. This past year, there were 3,000 applications for the freshman class but only 700 could be accommodated. Enrollment, however, is expected to be 2,000 by 1967.

"We have had our setbacks but on the whole I really believe we have made progress in developing an agricultural economics department. Many of the men coming up show promise." Professor Fenske says.

John L. Weihing, 44, a native of Colorado on the Nebraska team, is professor of plant science. He sees his objectives as providing the basis for Turkish farmers to increase their efficiency and productivity. At present, his biggest task is to provide help for tobacco growers. Tobacco is Turkey's largest export, but blue mold, caused by fungus, has cut yields in some areas by as much as 75 percent.

Weihing, his staff and students are working in the Ataturk plant science laboratory to try to introduce resistance to blue mold into the indigenous tobacco strains.

Weihing also is looking into possibilities of sorghum in the Turkish agriculture picture.

"Turkey has not used corn and sorghum for grains," he says. "Livestock in Turkey still is on a foraging basis and doesn't get fed correctly."

"This isn't really time enough to see results," he says. "You question yourself daily whether you have contributed something and you know that what you have done you don't see. The results may not be apparent for years."

But for "Hal" Allen, the progress has been visible if not always measurable.

"The effects of the program are hard to measure," he says, "but they'll be tangible as the years go by. The influence of the young Turks who are coming to Ataturk is almost without limit.

"I think Ataturk will become an institution of applied research and will play a leading role in the coordination of government activity and service. Its influence won't be limited to agriculture. It will become a source of leadership in eastern Turkey and its influence will be felt throughout the country."

Allen, who puts the same enthusiasm into his work at Ataturk as he did in extension service and 4-H activity in Nebraska, says Ataturk will not become a carbon copy of an American university.

"Ataturk is on its way to an educational system that's best for Turkey. It's not going to be another Nebraska or anything else."

Allen's 8-year tour of duty in Turkey has been shared by his wife, Barbara, whom everyone calls "Bobby." She speaks Turkish fluently and has been active in Turkish-American activities in Ankara and Erzurum, serving a term as president of the Turkish-American Women's Cultural Society.

The Allens have lived for the past 3 years in an apartment in one of the new buildings on the Ataturk campus. They could stay on but feel that they should reestablish roots in the United States. Hal will return to Nebraska to study adult education administration. Also, their adopted children. Carolyn, 5, and Camden, 4, must become naturalized.

Bobby, seems to know everyone in the little shops and markets of Erzurum and the bigger shops and markets of Ankara, says she will be leaving Turkey with mixed feelings.

"I am very attached to the people and the country," she says. "Eight years of our lives have been spent here. Part of me will always be here."

Hal agrees.

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Speaker: John W. McCormack

Abbitt, Watkins M., *Va*
Abernethy, Thomas G., *Miss.* — 6278 29th St.
Adair, E. Ross, *Ind* — 4000 Mass. Ave.
Adams, Brock, *Wash*
Addabbo, Joseph P., *N.Y*
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Duncan, Robert B., *Oreg* — 914 Lakeview Dr., Falls Church, Va.
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Gonzalez, Henry B., *Tex* — 200 C St. SE.
Goodell, Charles E., *N.Y* — 3842 Macomb St.
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Grider, George W., *Tenn* — 119 7th St. SE.
Griffin, Robert P., *Mich*
Griffiths, Martha W. (Mrs.), *Mich.*
Gross, H. R., *Iowa*
Grover, James R., Jr., *N.Y*
Gubser, Charles S., *Calif*
Gurney, Edward J., *Fla*
Hagan, G. Elliott, *Ga*
Hagen, Harlan, *Calif*
Haley, James A., *Fla*
Hall, Durward G., *Mo*
Halleck, Charles A., *Ind* — 4926 Upton St.
Halpern, Seymour, *N.Y*
Hamilton, Lee H., *Ind*
Hanley, James M., *N.Y*
Hanna, Richard T., *Calif*
Hansen, George, *Idaho*
Hansen, John R., *Iowa* — 800 4th St. SW., Apt. S-701
Hansen, Julia Butler (Mrs.), *Wash.*
Hardy, Porter, Jr., *Va*
Harris, Oren, *Ark* — 1627 Myrtle St.
Harsha, William H., *Ohio*
Harvey, James, *Mich*
Harvey, Ralph, *Ind*
Hathaway, William D., *Maine.*
Hawkins, Augustus F., *Calif.*
Hays, Wayne L., *Ohio* — 3424 Barger Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Hébert, F. Edward, *La* — 26 Cockrell St., Alexandria, Va.
Hechler, Ken, *W. Va*
Helstoski, Henry, *N.J*
Henderson, David N., *N.C*
Herlong, A. S., Jr., *Fla*
Hicks, Floyd V., *Wash*
Holifield, Chet, *Calif*
Holland, Elmer J., *Pa*
Horton, Frank J., *N.Y*
Hosmer, Craig, *Calif*
Howard, James J., *N.J*
Hull, W. R., Jr., *Mo*
Hungate, William L., *Mo*
Huot, J. Oliva, *N.H*
Hutchinson, Edward, *Mich*
Ichord, Richard (Dick), *Mo.*
Irwin, Donald J., *Conn*
Jacobs, Andrew, Jr., *Ind*
Jarman, John, *Okla*
Jennings, W. Pat, *Va*
Joelson, Charles S., *N.J*
Johnson, Albert W., *Pa*
Johnson, Harold T., *Calif*
Johnson, Jed, Jr., *Okla*
Jonas, Charles Raper, *N.C*
Jones, Paul C., *Mo* — 1111 Army-Navy Dr., Arlington, Va.
Jones, Robert E., *Ala*
Karsten, Frank M., *Mo*
Karth, Joseph E., *Minn*
Kastenmeier, Robert W., *Wis.*
Kee, James, *W. Va* — 5441 16th Ave., Hyattsville, Md.
Keith, Hastings, *Mass* — 5906 Harwick Rd.
Kelly, Edna F. (Mrs.), *N.Y*
Keogh, Eugene J., *N.Y* — The Mayflower
King, Carleton J., *N.Y*
King, Cecil R., *Calif*
King, David S., *Utah*
Kirwan, Michael J., *Ohio*
Kluczynski, John C., *Ill*
Kornegay, Horace R., *N.C*
Krebs, Paul J., *N.J*
Kunkel, John C., *Pa*
Laird, Melvin R., *Wis*
Landrum, Phil M., *Ga*
Langen, Odin, *Minn*
Latta, Delbert L., *Ohio*
Leggett, Robert L., *Calif*
Lennon, Alton, *N.C*
Lindsay, John V., *N.Y*

Appendix

Watch on the Potomac

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the following editorial from the Richmond, Va., News Leader, entitled "Watch on the Potomac."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WATCH ON THE POTOMAC

Up at Mount Vernon, they keep a close watch on the barometer of George Washington's reputation. You never know when the notorious fib about George's cutting down the cherry tree is going to spring up again; or someone will maintain that the story about his throwing a dollar across the Rappahannock is the prototype of Federal waste. Well now, imagine the consternation among the staff at George's estate when the word began to circulate that the Father of Our Country was a grasping politician who used the Presidency to feather his own nest.

Mount Vernon's research and reference librarian, Frank E. Morse, first saw the story when it appeared under the prestigious auspices of the National Geographic Society. According to a press release issued by the society, Washington drastically revised Thornton's original plan for the U.S. Capitol so that he could sell the Government the stone from his quarry on an island in Aquia Creek. And on top of that, the stone was second-rate stuff that is today chipping and cracking. It was a strange accusation about a man whose finances were sharply affected by the Revolution, and who never even put in an expense chit for all the time he served as Commander in Chief.

When the story turned up on the Huntley-Brinkley report, Mr. Morse thought he'd better do some investigating. "After all," he told the News Leader, "Washington is in his tomb down the hill, and he can't stand up and fight his own battles any more." The National Geographic explained that its source was that eminent historian, Drew Pearson. The Huntley-Brinkley producers explained that their source was also Drew Pearson. And Drew Pearson solemnly swore that he had the story from the Architect of the Capitol, J. George Stewart.

Now it was all very peculiar why Pearson should run a smear on George Washington when there was no immediate prospect of Washington's running in an election. But then the political angle cleared up. J. George Stewart is gunning a campaign to enlarge the east front of the Capitol, at a cost of untold millions of dollars. He wants to replace the original Aquia stone with white marble to match the architectural disaster of the west front, which he mangled a few years back. Pearson, for some reason, has been larding up the campaign with horrendous stories about the deterioration of the Aquia stone. The slam at Washington apparently was false moral justification for a project that is architecturally unjustified.

And the truth? The truth has been uncovered laboriously by Mr. Morse, guardian of the shrine. Washington never owned the quarry in Aquia Creek. In fact, when he needed stone for some projects at Mount Vernon, he had to buy stone from Aquia himself. Washington deferred in architectural matters of the Capitol to Jefferson, according to letters Mr. Morse has turned up, and Thornton's original grandiose plan was pared down to meet a construction deadline of the year 1800 for the first unit.

And as for the stone, there simply weren't any native marble quarries in the United States at that time. To avoid the delays of waiting for costly, imported stone, the Federal Government purchased the nearby Aquia quarry outright as the most practical solution. The owner was one Henry Brent, not George Washington. And the footnote to the story is that the abandoned quarry remained in the possession of the Federal Government until last year, when it was sold as surplus property. So speak those who keep watch on the Potomac.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include my Washington Report to the people of my district for August 16, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman JIM MARTIN, Seventh District, Alabama)

TERMITES IN GREAT SOCIETY FOUNDATION

While the great "I" in the White House continues to flood the airways and newspaper columns with statements of how much he is doing for you and trying to convince you how well off you are, the foundations of the Great Society are being steadily weakened by the termites of inflation, lower farm income, and continued cheapening of the dollars in your pocket. The record is clear that the Johnson farm program is not meeting the needs of farmers, consumers, or taxpayers.

Ten years ago the farmer received 42 cents from each consumer food dollar. Today he receives only 37 cents, less than in the depression days of 1935. Farm debt stands at an all-time record of over $36 billion. The parity ratio (what a farmer pays for goods as compared to what he gets for his produce) has dropped to 75 in 1964, the lowest level in 30 years. Retail food prices have increased 29 percent in the last 16 years, while the net income of agriculture has gone down 29 percent.

The most damaging figures show how Federal bureaucracy is growing: in 1933 there was one employee in the Department of Agriculture for every 203 farms. In 1961 there was one for every 37 farms, and today you are paying one Federal employee in the Agriculture Department for every 32 farms in the United States.

FARMERS GET LITTLE, HOUSEWIVES PAY MORE

In the L.B.J. supermarket you may clearly see what is happening to the purchasing power of your dollar under the Johnson big spending programs and political boondoggles. In June the cost of living showed the largest increase in 23 months, with food prices jumping 2 percent. Some typical increases in groceries under the L.B.J. program: lettuce from 29 cents for two heads a year ago, to 46 cents today; potatoes from 89 cents for a 10-pound bag to $1.19; tomatoes from 29 cents a pound a year ago to 33 cents today; whole chicken fryers from 35 cents to 45 cents a pound; bacon from 69 cents a pound to $1.05; pork chops from 69 cents a pound to $1.29, and eggs from 46 cents a dozen to 61 cents. This is the way L.B.J. and his Great Society pick your pocket to pay for the big new poverty program, with all its fancy salaries; the rent subsidy program, new welfare programs, aid to education programs which pour more of your money into the richest States, and all the other projects the President is ramming through Congress to perpetuate himself and his party in office. Remember, all these grand schemes don't cost L.B.J. a penny of his personal $14 million. You pay the bill through taxes and higher prices. Isn't it time for the American people to demand that the President be a little bit more responsible in the way he spends your money?

The President's farm bill, which will soon come before the House, is not the answer. Certainly we must enact some new farm legislation to prevent chaos when some of the present laws expire, but the Johnson bill needs drastic amendment and I am working tooth and nail to help improve it. As an example, the cotton section, while maintaining one-price cotton, changes the release and reapportionment of cotton acreage in such a way that many small cotton farmers in Alabama will be forced out of cotton production. I hope we may be able to take out the worst parts of the administration's bill and I will do my best to try to get a bill which will be good for the farmer as well as the consumer.

IMMIGRATION BILL

The bill to change the immigration system has been reported by the Judiciary Committee and will be voted on in the House later this month. While some of the worst features proposed by the President have been eliminated through the efforts of Republican members of the committee, I will not support any legislation to increase the flow of immigrants to this country or to flood the United States with cheap labor in competition to our workers.

CONGRESSMEN DON'T NEED PAY INCREASE

The House Post Office and Civil Service Committee has approved a bill to increase the pay of Federal workers, including Congressmen. There is justification for increasing the pay of some Federal workers whose salaries are not comparable to those paid for similar work in private industry, but I see no valid reason for including an additional increase for Members of Congress. I will oppose the increase for Congressmen when the bill comes before the House. When Congress takes action to cut unnecessary Federal spending,

balance the budget and begin to pay off the debt so that your taxes will be lower and your dollar worth a dollar, then it will be time to consider higher pay because by this action Members of Congress will have earned it.

BRIEFING ON VIETNAM

Last week I attended a 2½-hour meeting at the White House where the President, the Secretary of State and others brought Congress up to date on the progress of the war in Vietnam. While I have supported and will continue to support the President in any effort to stop Communist aggression and save the freedom of the people of South Vietnam, I am deeply concerned that we may be heading for another stalemate or a negotiated peace that will give the Communists by agreement what they can't win through war. We should win the war in Vietnam and make it clear to Communist China and the Communist Soviet Union who are the instigators of the war, that they cannot get away with aggression or with invasion of free nations we are committed to help.

Tribute to Albert Schweitzer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, every generation is fortunately entitled to a few great men and more fortunately even to a few Christ-like individuals.

A beautiful editorial in the Boulder (Colo.) Daily Camera has caught the spirit of one of these individuals, Dr. Albert Schweitzer, who has just recently left this earth.

The editorial follows:

DR. SCHWEITZER DEMONSTRATED AN ETERNAL TRUTH

Even as a dedicated medical doctor, Albert Schweitzer could have been a giant in his profession in some major capital in the world.

Instead, he chose one of the most remote places on the globe to do his work—a jungle outpost in far-away Gabon, in Africa.

The thin veneer of civilization had little attraction for Dr. Schweitzer. The needs of suffering people were more real and more fundamental. Illness and misery and ignorance have flourished throughout most of the world in spite of thousands of years of civilization.

To attack these things effectively requires the devotion of individuals to other individuals—direct effort—person-to-person contact.

Dr. Schweitzer was qualified in several fields. He held doctor's degrees in medicine, theology, and philosophy. He was an accomplished organist and a builder of organs. He was an able biographer and wrote significant works on religion and philosophy.

But he had a ruling passion for human service. The best way he could serve, he concluded, was to be a medical missionary in deepest Africa. At Lambarene he built a hospital, doing much of the work with his own hands. His first operating room was a chickenhouse, his first clinic an open courtyard.

The follies of what we call civilization caught him in its redtape and stopped his work during the First World War. He had been born in Alsace, an area kicked back and forth between the French and the Germans. Because it was part of Germany when he was born, the French interned him as a German during the war.

Eventually he returned to Lambarene, where his hospital had tumbled into ruin. He rebuilt it and established a leper colony. From 50 beds the hospital grew to 300. But because of primitive conditions, his institution drew frowns from much of the world's medical profession. It wasn't up to modern standards, they complained.

But results, not modern trappings, spelled out the success of the jungle doctor and the monumental good he did. If he had waited for accreditation by modern standards, no one can say how many thousands of people would have died for lack of medical attention.

Indeed, he made a strong case for the primitive concept of medical treatment in a primitive environment. On his 90th birthday, last January, he said, "Africans themselves showed me the way. But Africans—two simple laborers—convinced me that here the conditions are different and necessities are different. I have built a hospital for Africans."

He lived simply. He owned only one suit of clothes. "I can only wear one suit at a time," he said. He did part of the menial work around the hospital.

His basic personal convictions centered around life—reverence for all life and devotion to human life. He held that what a person gets out of life depends solely on what he gives of himself to life.

Dr. Schweitzer died this week. His memory is unique in that the civilized world knew little of him except through his works. As a personality, he was as far away as the heart of Africa—so far as the average civilized resident of the globe was concerned.

A great void will be felt in Lambarene by his departure, but he provided for the continuation of his work there. For the rest of the world, his works and his influence will continue for a long time pretty much as they have in the past.

His demonstrated practical philosophy of human service will go on influencing people of good will for generations. For it is an eternal truth, eternally productive of all that, in the final analysis, is durable and worthwhile.

Schlesinger Cut Down to Size

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal of controversy surrounding Arthur Schlesinger's publication of his days in the White House. More than a few individuals prominent in public life have raised an eyebrow at the so-called inside story flowing from Mr. Schlesinger's pen.

Ralph de Toledano in his "In Washington" column recently made some interesting observations about the Schlesinger story. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

SCHLESINGER CUT DOWN TO SIZE

(By Ralph de Toledano)

Excuse me if I seem a little smug about Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr., former White House aid, would-be historian, and hatchetman par excellence. Some dozen years ago, I devoted a good bit of time doing research into Professor Schlesinger. The product of this work was an article which showed that Harvard's pride had little to recommend him in the eyes of any reasonably impartial observer. I need not add that I was roundly berated by the liberal establishment for being unduly cruel to what it then considered its own spokesman.

Now that same establishment is beating Mr. Schlesinger over the head for having, to use an inelegant phrase, bum-rapped Secretary of State Dean Rusk. In typical manner, Mr. Schlesinger ascribed words and thoughts to the late President Kennedy which put Mr. Rusk in a very dubious light. Though I hold no brief for our present Secretary of State, I still feel that what Mr. Schlesinger did was not quite cricket. I also wonder whether or not the Schlesinger recall of his conversations with President Kennedy was accurate.

I still remember Mr. Schlesinger's remark about the writing of history, made years ago. He was saying that he preferred writing about the past. "All the witnesses are dead," he noted. "There's no one to pop up and say, 'You were wrong—I was there.'" In the instant case, no one like, let us say, John F. Kennedy.

But I would be dubious of Mr. Schlesinger's pronouncements on other grounds. At the time of the so-called Truman scandals, Mr. Schlesinger took it on himself to attack the integrity and honesty of Herbert Hoover. Mr. Hoover had been the target of much bitter and unfair criticism—but no one had ever attempted to smear him with the charge of dishonesty or bad faith. In his attack, however, Mr. Schlesinger stated flatly that Mr. Hoover had condoned Government corruption—the Teapot Dome scandal specifically—during the early 1920's.

"Far from objecting to official corruption then," the artful Arthur wrote, "Mr. Hoover sat in entire complacency as Secretary of Commerce, while his colleague, the Secretary of the Interior, sought to loot the Government. * * * Not only did Mr. Hoover fail to make any public objection to Secretary of the Interior Fall, or to Attorney General Harry Daugherty * * * but * * * 8 days after Fall's hasty resignation * * * Hoover wrote him" a warm letter of commendation. These, Mr. Schlesinger said blandly, were the indisputable facts.

These indisputable facts were, however, of Arthur Schlesinger's feverish invention. Secretary Fall's resignation was not hasty but publicly announced 2 months before its effective date. At that time, there was not the slightest hint of scandal attached to his name. In point of fact, the New York Times editorially regretted Secretary Fall's departure from the Federal service—as did most of official Washington. Not until months after Mr. Fall had left the Government were the first charges made which led to a full investigation and the disclosure of the facts surrounding the Teapot Dome fraud. And it was Mr. Hoover—by that time President—who pushed prosecution—an act of courage which no Democratic President since then has been able to match.

Mr. Schlesinger, however, was hardly troubled by being caught with his facts down. I have yet to hear that he apologized to Mr. Hoover or in any way acknowledged his error in this gratuitous piece of attempted character assassination. Nor did he ever retract a false charge of perjury against a witness who appeared before a congressional committee—though others, like Joseph Alsop, withdrew the same accusation when confronted with the official transcript of testimony.

There is no way to determine the accuracy of Mr. Schlesinger's alleged quotations in the case of Secretary of State Rusk. But the record stands in the two cases I cited. There are others, but no matter. What does matter is the influence Mr. Schlesinger still wields in the liberal establishment. Until he went at Mr. Rusk, the junior Schlesinger was considered a perfect gentle scholar—and even

today no one but rude louts like myself take him to task. Had a conservative Senator acted in like manner Mr. Schlesinger and his claque would have shouted "McCarthyism" until they were hoarse. Which only proves that it ain't what you do, but where you hang your political hat that counts.

Wheat Fight Helps Focus Farm Aims

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD I include the following article from the Denver Post, August 24, 1965:

WHEAT FIGHT HELPS FOCUS FARM AIMS

The success of the lobbying campaign carried on by bakers, millers, and their unions in fighting off the "bread tax" proposed by the Johnson administration may rebound against these middlemen of the wheat industry.

The problem, according to a Texas Congressman, is that now that the bakers and other middlemen have shown such determination to protect the housewife from bread price increases their own future price policies may be examined more carefully.

For the last 17 years, bread prices have gone up each year. From 13 cents a loaf in 1948 the price has risen to more than 21 cents. Each segment of the industry has doubled its slice of the price, except for the farmer.

The farmer's share of the loaf has remained at about 2.5 cents.

The farmer, even the most efficient farmer, has not been able to keep his profits proportionate to the cost of production. That is why the Johnson administration sought to improve the wheat farmer's market position directly, rather than by the outmoded subsidy system.

This direct move failed because the lobbying campaign frightened many big city congressmen into believing that they would be accused of levying a "bread tax" and that housewives would vote aginst them.

This is possible. But in fighting the "bread tax" the bakers and their allies have opened up new price vistas. At least, such is the view of Representative GRAHAM PURCELL, Democrat, of Texas.

"I am sure," says Congressman PURCELL, "that the unions which participated in the drive * * * will want to do their part in holding down the bakers' costs of production and thereby maintain the current price of bread. Likewise the giant bakeries and millers who make up this bread trust which fought the efforts to place the cost of this program on the marketplace where it belongs will not make any plans to increase the price of bread or other wheat products."

Although PURCELL's statement has the ring of a hard loser to it, it is nevertheless significant. It shows that Congressmen are thinking of farm policy in terms of the consumer and the marketplace as well as the farmer.

Semicharitable subsidies to farmers are on the way out. The farmer's place in the total economy, even as his voting power in Congress dwindles, is getting more attention.

Part of the difficulty in managing the farmer's economy—to strike a bargain between production controls and a fair price—has been the farmer's obstinacy in voting against such management.

Ironically, the wheat processing industry, by attacking a plan to give the farmer a better deal in the marketplace, may ultimately call attention to the wisdom of this Federal management which both farmers and industry have feared in the past.

Certainly, the statistics are present to prove that the farmers are the element of the consumer-processor-producer triangle which is not getting satisfaction in the marketplace.

Texas' Participation in Operation Head Start

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter received today from Gov. John Connally of Texas concerning Texas' participation in Operation Head Start:

SEPTEMBER 13, 1965.

Hon. OLIN E. TEAGUE,
Member of Congress,
House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR TIGER: As you know, I have been very interested in educational problems at every level since I have been Governor of Texas. I have also been especially interested in the educational programs offered under the Economic Opportunity Act. It gives me particular pleasure, therefore, to enclose for your information a tabulation on Project Head Start, taken from a report issued by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

I personally asked Dr. J. W. Edgar, our fine commissioner of education, to have his staff telephone local school districts encouraging their participation in this program. As a result, the tabulation shows that Texas had more grants, a greater number of enrollees, a lower cost per child, and at the same time the highest percentage of non-Federal contribution of any of the top 10 States which participated in the program. This program was coordinated and channeled through our Texas Education Agency and shows what can be done with local-State-Federal cooperation.

If you have need of further details on any of these figures, I would be happy to supply them to you.

Sincerely,

JOHN CONNALLY.

Approved projects,[1] Project Head Start, summer 1965

[Comparison of top 10 States by number of students]

State	Number grants	Number children	Number teachers	Total cost	Federal portion	Non-Federal portion	Percent local contribution	Cost per child	Teacher-pupil ratio
Texas	170	44,952	3,210	$6,341,486	$5,377,598	$963,888	15.2	$141	14-1
New York	109	38,108	2,290	7,667,173	6,559,982	1,107,191	14.4	201	16-1
Illinois	67	33,924	2,090	4,990,122	4,431,629	558,493	11.2	147	16-1
Tennessee	67	28,183	2,663	4,633,167	4,120,910	512,257	11.1	164	11-1
North Carolina	80	26,305	2,130	4,493,915	3,914,842	579,073	12.9	170	12-1
Kentucky	117	24,869	1,697	4,401,489	3,884,714	516,775	11.7	176	15-1
Mississippi	46	21,347	1,569	4,579,926	4,152,242	427,684	9.3	214	14-1
California	93	21,066	1,524	3,355,395	2,943,222	412,173	12.3	157	14-1
Ohio	93	20,887	1,503	3,296,391	2,902,579	393,812	11.9	157	14-1
Louisiana	45	19,437	1,320	3,768,913	3,310,986	457,927	12.2	193	15-1

Largest number of grants ..... Texas
Greatest number of enrollees ..... Texas
Lowest cost per child ..... Texas
Highest percentage of non-Federal contribution ..... Texas

[1] Figures based on report dated Aug. 16, 1965, published by Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C.

Ranks of Unemployed and the Minimum Wage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the practical attention which objective people give the latest proposal to increase the minimum wage is reflected in an editorial in the Thursday, September 9, Chicago Heights Star. Since this part of the President's blueprint for utopia via government control will soon reach the floor, I place the article in the RECORD, hoping it will be thoughtfully analyzed and its conclusions appreciated:

RANKS OF UNEMPLOYED AND THE MINIMUM WAGE

In his Labor Day message, President Johnson mentioned the need to bring the unskilled and the uneducated into the ranks of the employed. This is nothing new; the plight of the virtually unemployable has been lamented for some time—and rightly so. We think it is a matter of concern among all of our conscientious public servants in Washington.

Yet in their zeal to legislate a more abundant life for some, there are Senators and Congressmen who would further handicap the unskilled and others in the search for employment.

They would do so by increasing the minimum wage to $1.75 per hour and increasing its scope. The man or woman who now has only a meager chance of getting work at $1.25 per hour would surely be priced out of the labor market at the higher figure. And there is good reason to suspect that he would be joined by others who are now barely employable at the lower figure.

This is not to say that $1.25 per hour is a magnificent sum, or that it can begin to support a family in style. But it is a fact that there are jobs that are worth no more and will continue to be worth no more unless we have a serious round of inflation, in which case the additional 50 cents would be offset by higher prices anyway. It is also a fact that $1.25 per hour is better than the zero with which it would be replaced in many instances while eliminating the opportunity to acquire skills through employment.

Our main concern is with those who find it next to impossible to find employment. But there are others who would be affected. High school and college students would find it more difficult to obtain part-time "apprenticeship" work, which in many cases is provided primarily as a training ground for future employables rather than as a means of getting essential tasks performed.

Beyond this, it is impossible to estimate how inflationary the higher figure would be. If the person making $1.25 is raised 50 cents, will not the person now earning $1.75 want a similar increase, and so on up the line? And what happens to the wage earner who simply cannot get more, but must cope with the resulting inflation?

We have no quarrel with wages commensurate with services performed. With the many ramifications involved, however, we question the ability to improve the lot of all simply by waving the magic legislative wand.

Eighteenth Anniversary of the Murder of Nikola Petkov

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow the Bulgarian National Committee will commemorate the 18th anniversary of the judicial murder of Nikola Petkov for his defiance of the Communist effort to tyrannize Bulgaria. Petkov was hanged September 23, 1947, by the Soviet conspiracy. His death cleared the way for Soviet rule of that great people, a rule which has persisted to this day.

It was Petkov who headed the opposition to Soviet rule in the election campaign of October 1946. Despite falsification of the returns by the Communists, Petkov's candidates won, and triumphantly entered the Grand National Assembly. There he exposed the Soviet plans to make Bulgaria a Soviet province. Subsequently he was charged with conspiracy against the state and the Soviet Union, and sentenced to hang.

Mr. Speaker, let us not forget that there are still heroes in Petkov's country. Men and women still working and hoping that one day they will be free again. There are, too, many Bulgarian exiles with the same hopes for their country. One cannot think of these people without a sense of frustration. One almost feels a sense of shame at the easy acceptance of freedom by some in our own country. One also senses the wisdom of the poet John Donne's words, "No man is an island, entire of himself." We are in truth, our brother's keepers. When the bells tolled for Petkov's death, they tolled for all of us.

We can take comfort and, indeed, pride, that on this very day Americans are fighting for freedom of their brothers. That our history is a history of a people always willing to fight that fight. There are, in fact, fighters for freedom in every nation. We must keep our faith that one day they will win.

Farm Ownership Loans Bulwark the Family Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR CALLAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, in Nebraska, the often predicted decline and fall of rural America is something we have never believed in nor resigned ourselves to accept.

We are proud that our population remains almost equally divided between the rural and urban communities, that food is our biggest industry, and that the family farm is a fundamental tradition.

We know that without strong, prosperous and expanding farm family agriculture, both the economy and the social fabric of America inevitably must degenerate. Problems can only be compounded in a chain reaction of distress from farm to city if the farmer loses and leaves his land, the businessman in turn fails and leaves his town, the rural town declines and dies, and an exodus of dispossessed rural people move into cities which are unprepared to offer them genuine promise of opportunity.

Nebraskans are strong in their determination to overcome the danger, not surrender to such a trend, and in our State this spirit has been translated into action in many ways.

And we are gratified to see our cause becoming one of the major goals of the Nation. A great gain of this year is progress made in establishing the policy that rural problems must be solved in rural areas, not transplanted to urban areas. Congress is facing decisively in that direction by moving to uphold free family enterprise in agriculture, to revitalize rural communities that have suffered from the stress of changing times, to give rural people the same degree of consideration as urban millions who predominate in some of our most populous States.

One of the most effective actions will be to increase the insured loan programs of the Farmers Home Administration so that private capital may underwrite an even greater volume of family farm ownership and rural community progress.

In the Congress this year we have heard many divergent points of view on what to do about the problems of agriculture. But those who come here to speak for various interests in farming are united in praise of the Farmers Home Administration for the showing made in its program of family farm ownership loans.

This service has been carried on for 30 years under administrations headed by both parties. It began in the depths of depression, but it has gained in scope and importance in the present times of great national prosperity when, perhaps more than ever, the pressures are tremendous on the independent family striving to remain on the farm.

Young couples brave enough and ambitious enough to want to establish their own farms, and experienced farm families who must expand or improve their operations in order to survive, may find that Farmers Home extends the only helping hand within their reach. This agency serves the small farmer whose financial problems are such that he cannot deal with any other source of credit on reasonable terms to establish or preserve his hold on the land.

The Farmers Home Administration has guided this program of farm ownership loans to one of the finest records known in the field of credit.

More than $1.6 billion has been loaned. The farms of 150,000 families have been saved. Almost $1 billion has been repaid in principal and interest. The interest collected through the years is 60 times as great as the amount written off.

This is a phenomenal showing of repayment and solvency for a lending program; striking testimony to the diligence of the farmer in working his way out of trouble whenever he is given the chance.

A large percentage of the 150,000 families sustained in farming by these loans have paid their way clear and graduated to the status of good customers for regular loan services of banks and other private lending institutions.

At the same time, there has been a great and growing participation by private lenders in the rural Farmers Home Administration program. Its emphasis has shifted heavily in recent years from the use of direct loans to the use of insured loans. That is to say, instead of using public funds appropriated by Congress, the farmer gets his loan from a private lending institution and the Farmers Home Administration insures repayment.

This trend has progressed to the point that some 50 percent of the total loaned represents insured loans; but in Nebraska we are well ahead of that national average. Sixty percent of the $47 million advanced in Farmers Home Administration farm ownership loans in our State has been loaned by Nebraska's own banks and other private lenders.

The irreplacable value of this family farm ownership program is underscored in an accounting for the past fiscal year recently given the President by the Secretary of Agriculture. Under unanimous consent I submit for the RECORD that memorandum made public by the White House on September 7, 1965:

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT FROM SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE ORVILLE L. FREEMAN

Following is the résumé you requested concerning the Farmers Home Administra-

tion's farm ownership loan program for fiscal 1965:

1. More than 82,000 farm families who might otherwise have been forced to leave their farms and seek employment in the cities, made use of the farm ownership loan program during fiscal 1965, to strengthen their economic position.

2. Approximately $182.6 million was loaned to 12,186 farm families to buy, enlarge or develop farms or to refinance debts. An additional 69,846 families continued to use Farmers Home Administration farm ownership credit obtained in previous years.

3. Of this total, $90.9 million was used by farmers for the purchase and improvement of needed land to make their operations more profitable. An additional $30 million was used for farm building construction and repairs, and more than $65.5 million was available to farmers who needed long-term credit for financing debts and developing their farms.

4. Average annual gross income of the FHA farm ownership borrower is $16,000. This adds up to more than $1.3 billion in main-street purchasing power. An estimated $260 million of this is spent for family living items; approximately $800 million is spent for farm production materials; and $260 million for farm equipment and other capital improvements.

5. Primary source of credit for this program is from smalltown banks and others private sources and insured by the Farmers Home Administration.

Mr. Speaker, except for the opportunity extended through this lending service, the many thousands of families now working toward security on their farms, contributing to the prosperity of their communities, might well have lost the fight—swelled the numbers of troubled people forced to leave the countryside and take their problems of living to the city.

We look forward in the year ahead to even greater emphasis on full opportunity for rural people to conquer their problems and preserve a strong and viable rural society.

A Memorial to Knute Rockne on the Kansas Turnpike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, the Kansas Turnpike Authority and the Knute Rockne Clubs of America on Sunday, September 12, 1965, joined in dedicating a new memorial to the famed Notre Dame football coach and inspirational leader of American youth who died in an airplane crash in 1931 near Bazar, Kans.

The beautiful new memorial to Coach Rockne is of native Silverdale stone with a bronze plaque inset. It has been erected at the Matfield Green Service area on the Kansas Turnpike. This area is the nearest point on the turnpike to the actual plane crash site and the memorial will be seen and visited by hundreds of thousands of motorists who pause at or pass by the service area annually.

Members of the Knute Rockne family were present for the dedication ceremonies. Knute Rockne, Jr., of Stevensville, Mich., and John Rockne, South Bend, Ind., sons of the famed American, and his daughter, Mrs. Anthony Kochendorfer of Dickinson, N. Dak., unveiled the memorial and placed a wreath at its base at the dedication. The dedication address was given by Rev. Father Joyce, vice president of Notre Dame University.

Others who participated in the program included Dr. D. M. Nigro, Kansas City, president of the Knute Rockne Club of America; Rolla Clymer, El Dorado, publisher of the El Dorado Times; Robert Duncan, Atchison, chairman of the turnpike authority; L. W. Newcomer, El Dorado, Kansas Turnpike Authority, chief engineer-manager; and Msgr. George King of Kansas City.

We are proud to have this memorial to the late Knute Rockne in Kansas. His leadership of and significant contributions to our youth, the game of football, and physical fitness in general will long be remembered.

The Real Alabama—Part LIX

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the tax structure of any State is a vital part of basic information sought by any industry or business contemplating a change of location.

In the general interest I want to include as part of this series the following article on Alabama's tax structure, taken from the Birmingham News of August 22, 1965.

EQUITY AND OPPORTUNITY

Taxes are an inevitable fact of life but they need not be ubiquitous. And this is so in Alabama.

Taxes which concern industry most, prove Alabama to be in a highly favorable position compared with other Southern States and other sections of the Nation.

This is why, when industry's leaders commence taking a long, impersonal look at the plus and minus signs while seeking a place to locate businesses, they find Alabama's tax structure to their liking.

Comparison of taxes paid in Alabama which bear most heavily on manufacturers with payments of those taxes in other States clearly shows that Alabama has a long-standing policy favoring growth and development of industry.

Major sources of revenue in Alabama are the consumer and personal types of taxes with their principal impact on consumer goods and services and on individuals. Revenue figures for the fiscal year 1963–64 show that taxes based on capital employed and income produced by corporate and industrial activity, exclusive of ad valorem taxes, amounted to only 9½ percent of the amount produced by the most productive of the sales and license taxes and the personal income tax.

Another indication of the favorable tax climate in Alabama is that historically the people and legislatures of the State have not been inclined to tax industry heavily.

Still another indication of the interest the people and State government have in making Alabama attractive to industry is the substantial exemption from ad valorem taxes granted to new manufacturing plants and expansions of existing plants making a minimum investment of more than $50,000.

This exemption normally is for 10 years on buildings and equipment (not land) and applies to all ad valorem taxes except special school taxes. Last year and the year before 78 manufacturers were granted this exemption on property valued at $43,500,000.

The ad valorem tax, where required to be paid, is low. Typically, valuation is low and rates are reasonable. This combination of factors results in one of the lowest ad valorem tax revenue programs in the Nation.

Further proof of policy favorable to industry is granting of exemptions and favorable rates from sales and use taxes. Most basic materials and supplies required in the operation of manufacturing plants are exempt. Machines and machinery used in manufacturing are taxed at a special rate of 1½ percent rather than at the general rate of 4 percent.

Not only from the standpoint of lower operating cost but also because of traditional stability of State taxing policy, Alabama offers industry many advantages.

Today's industry expects to pull its weight taxwise. But, in Alabama, the impost is ment.

Alabama communities offer flexible municipal financing to new and expanding industry and this includes both plants and equipment.

Several years ago, Alabama's Legislature met the challenge of other States and passed enabling statutes to attract new industry through the Wallace (sponsored by the Governor as a legislator) and Cater Acts.

Since that time, more than 200 industrial plants have been built and equipped in the State with proceeds from tax-exempt revenue bonds issued under terms of this legislation.

Capital investment under these conditions for industrial uses is now estimated at more than $200 million.

The two acts permit an industry to negotiate a long-term lease on a new plant and equipment without any cash outlay. For enterprises strapped for cash, this has been a solution.

Under the acts' terms, industry may continue to use plant facilities at a nominal annual rent after property costs have been paid. Industry does not have to pay any real property taxes as long as the municipality retains title to the facilities.

Industry may also build and expand through Small Business Administration loans to local development companies. The latter may borrow up to 80 percent of the cost of an industrial development project from SBA and furnish participating funds by issue of revenue bonds.

SBA has ruled that a municipal industrial development company organized and incorporated under terms of the Cater Act is eligible for this type of financing.

When ground was broken in 1961 for the $25 million fertilizer plants for Armour Chemical Works at Cherokee, Ala., it marked the high point of a steady program of industries established in Alabama through sale bonds under the Wallace Act, named for the State's present Governor. Reportedly, this was the largest industrial development bond issue of its kind in the Nation.

Dedication—Memorial Mall, Sharon, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure on Sunday, September 12, 1965, to have been the guest speaker at the dedication of the memorial mall of the Sharon Memorial Park, Sharon, Mass., which was sponsored by the Department of Massachusetts Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A.

I would like to include here my remarks, as well as the remarks of the Honorable Elliot Richardson, Lieutenant Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and a copy of the program.

The material follows:

ADDRESS OF CONGRESSMAN JAMES A. BURKE TO THE JEWISH VETERANS, SHARON, MASS.

As we dedicate Sharon's Veterans' Mall, we may appropriately recall the history and achievements of one of America's most dedicated and patriotic veterans' organizations, the Jewish War Veterans.

The great aims of this organization of which you are so justly proud were set forth in the moving language of the preamble to the original constitution of 1896 of the Jewish War Veterans:

"To maintain true allegiance to the United States of America; to foster and perpetuate true Americanism; to combat whatever tends to impair the efficiency and permanency of our free institutions; to uphold the fair name of the Jew, and fight his battles wherever unjustly assailed; to encourage the doctrine of universal liberty; equal rights and full justice to all men; to combat the powers of bigotry and darkness wherever originating, and whatever their target; to preserve the spirit of comradeship by mutual helpfulness to comrades and their families; to instill love of country and flag, and to promote sound minds and bodies on our members and our youth; to preserve the memories and records of patriotic service performed by men of our faith; to honor their memory, and shield from neglect the graves of our heroic dead."

With these noble purposes enunciated, the Jewish War Veterans were prepared for their heroic service in the Spanish American War, the two World Wars, the Korean conflict, and the cold war, now regrettably a very hot one in Vietnam.

The members of the Jewish War Veterans met together in convention in Philadelphia in 1936 to amend their constitution. In the newly drafted constitution were set forth in detail the duties and obligations of the national executive council, the national executive committee, the departments, district councils, and ladies' auxiliaries. The duties of officers were prescribed, uniforms and insignia designated, and a seal adopted.

In the revised constitution, article II embodied the spirit and general sentiments of the preamble of the original constitution, but enumerated the objectives of the Jewish War Veterans more specifically. It stated that the purposes of the organization were:

"To maintain true allegiance to the United States of America; to encourage honor and purity in public affairs; to combat whatever tends to impair the efficiency and permanency of our free institutions; to encourage the doctrine of universal liberty, equal rights, and full justice to all men.

"To combat the powers of bigotry and darkness wherever originating and whatever their target; to uphold the fair name of the Jew and fight his battles wherever assailed.

"To inculcate and keep alive the spirit of comradeship among the men of our faith who fought in the various wars of the United States of America.

"To assist such comrades and their families as may stand in need of help, encouragement, or protection.

"To encourage and promote athletics among our members and in the youth of our faith.

"To instill love of country and flag in our youth and to foster such activities as will tend to perpetuate the objects and ideals of our organization.

"To gather and preserve the records of patriotic service performed by the men of our faith; to honor their memory and shield from neglect the graves of our heroic dead."

Throughout its long and distinguished history as the oldest active war veterans' organization in the country, the JWV has been one of the bulwarks of the Jewish community's fight against anti-Semitism.

Its dynamic program emphasizes mutual understanding. It tries to reach out to every respected group in the country, to Congress, to the churches, to the schools, and to all the other veterans' organizations, in order to find its allies in the battle against anti-Semitism.

The JWV has worked hard to maintain its close working relations with both veterans' and nonveterans' organizations in its unending campaign to advance group cooperation in all areas of American life. Among the supporters of the JWV are those organizations which advocate legislation aimed at closing existing gaps in the exercise of civil rights. Friends of the JWV advocate the cooperation of all ethnic, racial, and religious groups in every community, and others support projects designed to broaden public understanding of veterans' needs and objectives.

The JWV program includes the sponsorship of brotherhood rallies, scholarship and contest awards in the schools, and the undertaking of civic betterment projects in local communities.

Through its child welfare program, the JWV supports the Boy Scouts, provides summer camp scholarships for underprivileged children, sponsors athletic league tournaments, and equips participating teams.

As an accredited agency representing claimants before the Veterans' Administration and the Defense Department, the JWV maintains a veterans' service program staffed by professional counselors and guidance experts who assist veterans and their dependents in dealing with various public agencies. This free service is made available without regard to race, color, or creed of veteran applicants. It helps thousands of veterans and their dependents each year.

The JWV maintains a legislative office in the Nation's Capital. For the Jewish community the JWV's legislative office has special significance, because the leaders of our Government recognize that the JWV represents the views of a large and important part of the organized Jewish community. Through its legislative action program, the JWV has campaigned for a veritable multitude of bills in the areas of civil rights, national defense, mutual security, foreign affairs, veterans' benefits, and other programs of interest to the American Jewish community.

In all the American military cemeteries in this country and throughout the world, there are to be seen among the rows upon rows of crosses, many, many Stars of David, mute but overwhelming testimony to the sacrifice made by the men of Jewish faith who fought so well, so long, and so hard to preserve American freedom. In the dedication of the Sharon Veterans' Mall in which we participate today, Jewish War Veterans once again exhibit their unceasing and untiring efforts to honor the heroic dead who have defended and saved our country and its institutions by their service and sacrifice.

I salute Sharon's Veterans' Mall and the Sharon Jewish War Veterans.

ADDRESS OF LT. GOV. ELLIOT RICHARDSON

This is a serene and beautiful place. It is a true privilege to participate in dedicating a memorial here to those of Jewish faith who have given their lives in the wars of the United States.

I congratulate the Department of Massachusetts Jewish War Veterans, and the Sharon Memorial Park on the conception and design as well as the harmony of execution of this Memorial Mall.

Throughout the long recorded history of the human race, the Jewish people have constantly and devotedly carried on the struggle for the dignity and freedom of the human spirit. Believing always that every individual owes a duty to God because each individual matters to God, Jews fought for the dignity and freedom of the individual against Egypt, against Babylon, against the darkness and oppression of the Middle Ages and against the forces of totalitarianism—Nazi, Fascist, and Communist in modern times.

It is especially fitting, therefore, that the Jews who gave their lives for freedom in the uniform of the United States should be commemorated here by the two boulders which mark this ground.

The red-brown boulder at the one end of the mall, which was brought here from Mount Carmel in the Holy Land, one felt the footprints of the Prophets who first taught the truths which have ever since inspired not only the Jews, but all other inheritors of the free spirit. The slate-gray stone at the other end of the mall is of native New England origin. Both these ageless fragments of our planet are linked by an oval of living green symbolizing the vital ever-renewed tradition which joins them.

The price of liberty, as we have so often been reminded, is eternal vigilance. Each generation must not only win liberty for itself—it must protect it against subversion and defend it against attack. And so today in South Vietnam, where American lives are once more being sacrificed—and in outposts all over the world, Americans are standing guard for freedom.

Wherever freedom is at bay or on the march, there will be Americans of Jewish faith. We shall forever be in their debt. We proudly and gladly acknowledge that debt.

DEDICATION, MEMORIAL MALL, SPONSORED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE U.S.A., WITH THE COOPERATION OF THE SHARON MEMORIAL PARK

PROGRAM

Welcome: Albert Schlossberg, chairman.

Raising of colors: Prince Strauss Post No. 161, J.W.V. color guard; U.S. flag, Mr. and Mrs. Isadore Bromfield; Jewish War Veterans flag, Mr. Louis Silvey, Abraham Zimmerman, PDC; national anthem, Cantor Alex Zimmer, temple Ohabei Shalom, Brookline, Mass.

Remarks: Alfred Tober, commander, Department of Massachusetts, JWV.

Dedication: Rabbi Jacob Hochman, temple Shalom, Milton, chaplain, Department of Massachusetts, JWV.

Introduction of distinguished guests:

Address: Hon. William Carmen, chairman, National Executive Committee, JWV.

Address: Hon. JAMES A. BURKE, U.S. Congress.

Address: Hon. Elliot Richardson, Lieutenant Governor, Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Conclusion of dedication: Unveiling of bronze plaque, Mr. Eric S. Marmorek, for Sharon Memorial Park; Samuel Samuels, PDC for the Jewish War Veterans; Kaddish, Rabbi Jacob Hochman; El Mole Rachamin, Cantor Alex Zimmer; firing squad, Prince Strauss Post No. 161 JWV.

President Steps Up War on Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, the President's new Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice has been given one of the major jobs of any group in our country.

Recently, an editorial in the Denver Post succinctly and straightforward characterized the man-sized order delivered to this Commission by the President as follows:

CRIME CRUSADE IS TYPICALLY L.B.J.

Lyndon Johnson makes great demands on those who serve him, but few have been given a greater challenge than his new Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. The President simply asked this 18-member Commission to give him "a blueprint for effective action to banish crime."

The President's crime crusade is typically Johnsonian, rivaling in scope and difficulty his campaigns against poverty, discrimination, disease and ignorance. It is, in fact, interrelated with all of these.

Lyndon Johnson is not one to sit back philosophically and shake his head at bad news. He wants something done.

Crime is always bad news. It continues to increase each year, and just when it seems to be leveling off in the cities, as it has this year, it flares out of control in the suburbs and among American youth.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation recently reported that more than one-third of all serious crimes solved by police were committed by persons under 18. In the first 6 months of 1965, while the crime rate went up only minutely in cities, it rose 9 percent in the suburbs. Suburban robberies alone increased 17 percent over 1964.

Last week, when the Commission met in Washington, the President asked for answers to several questions:

Why is it that juvenile delinquency knows no economic or educational boundaries?

Why is drug addiction spreading among youth?

Why do one-third of all parolees revert to crime?

Why does organized crime continue to expand?

Why does one man commit a crime while his neighbor, in the same surroundings and circumstances, does not?

In his charge to the Commission, the President did not dwell on organized crime. The more critical problem seems to be the waves of unorganized, random, individual crime—the assaults, often without purpose; the senseless and dangerous armed robberies; the inexplicable sex offenses; the burglaries and larcenies, the contagion of narcotics addiction.

The President appointed a strong chairman—Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach. The Commission was given 18 months to make studies and conduct hearings.. The President asked specifically for recommendations on how better to recruit and train law enforcement officers, how to improve anticrime techniques, how to do a better job of rehabilitating offenders, how to promote greater respect for the law and the officers who enforce it.

The task is awesomely difficult. Few tasks are as important.

Lowell Father Joins Daughter as Student at Lowell Tech

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, at a time when we hear so much talk about dropouts, it is rewarding to hear of men and women setting an example for young people by returning to school at sacrifice in order to obtain a higher education.

Mr. Jim Mavrogianis, a 46-year-old widower who resides at 337 Nesmith Street, Lowell, Mass., returned to school this week as a freshman at Lowell Technological Institute. His daughter Carolyn is a junior at the institute and his other daughter Joan attends Lowell High School.

Mr. Mavrogianis' decision is a tribute to the importance of higher education in our society and to his own confidence and aspirations. I wish him every success in his college career.

Under unanimous consent I insert an article about Mr. Mavrogianis by Betsy Barrett in the Lowell Sun in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

IT'S NEVER TOO LATE: LOWELL FATHER JOINS DAUHTER AS STUDENT AT LOWELL TECH

(By Betsy Barrett)

LOWELL.—Jim Mavrogianis has cut himself a big chunk of cake, but his two determined daughters are about to see that he gets a chance to have that cake and eat it, too.

Hereafter, these mornings, duty dictates mass exodus from the hearth at 334 Nesmith Street and start of a singular circumstance for a sturdy little trio single mindedly bent on education for the next several years.

Carolyn Mavrogianis, 20, heading for the start of her junior year at Lowell Technological Institute, will be joined on campus this semester by her father, who has put other considerations aside to concentrate on studies as a freshman with the class of 1969. Younger daughter Joan, 16, is a member of the junior class at Lowell High School with long-range plans for a career in law.

The little family has become increasingly used to operating as a unit since the death of Mrs. Mavrogianis last April. They function comfortably in that capacity to a great extent and did so in planning a prophetic motor trip north this past summer. Destination was Canada, with stops at Montreal, then Niagara and on to the World's Fair at Flushing before starting southward for a visit with the girl's uncle in North Carolina.

The plan originally included a seaside finale at the Florida beaches. But Dad and the girls decided that after 2 weeks of seashore they would maximize their precious little time left with diversionary activity for their vacation windup. They elected instead to journey west to California with a frivolous side trip to Las Vegas.

It was while passing through the Nevada city en route home, Jim remembered that Peter Veves, brother of Butler Junior High School Principal Constantine Veves, had migrated there from Lowell over 15 years ago. He checked the telephone directory, confirmed his recollection, and enjoyed subsequent spontaneous visits to renew old acquaintance. Talk turned to occupation almost immediately and the former Lowellian revelled in natural pride at announcing recent acquisition of a degree and passage of State board examinations in optometry. He delighted in revealing that he was at the moment gathering equipment in preparation for the opening of his own practice.

The fact that Peter had labored for 8 years educationally to achieve this goal and accomplished the deliberate feat withal having to make up credits for a high school diploma did little to dull apparent interest and considerable envy in the captain of the Mavrogianis ship. Subsequently, at intervals, he voiced amazement and respect to his daughters for his friend's accomplishment and began to nurture his own long-dormant hopes regarding higher education.

Jim had graduated from Tewksbury High School in 1937 and immediately gone to work to aid the financial pall that hung over his and many another home across the land of those depression years. Later he married, his two children came along, and the idea of college almost totally faded from view. In the years since, he has worked as cafe proprietor, been a doughnut man, and most recently worked at house painting as an occupation. He has been a member of union painter Local No. 89, serving as its recording secretary, member of its executive board, clerk of the trial board, trustee, and secretary-treasurer in the health and welfare fund, and delegate to Lowell Building Trades Council.

Still his overriding preoccupation has always been an almost avocational interest in things mathematical. For a two-and-a-half-year period, several years back, he attempted juggling an exhausting work schedule with attendance at the LTI evening studies program. At that time the physical grind and taxing stress were too weighty a combination and regretfully he had to abandon the schedule.

Now the three have decided among themselves that the best and only way to do the job is with total commitment and that's the way it is to be, with the new freshman devoting weekends exclusively to that which is labor's and weekdays solely to things that are Tech's.

Math is not offered at the institute currently as a major field of study for freshmen, so he intends to major in physics, hopefully switching to the favored mathematics as a specialized pursuit during the second academic year.

As far as adjustment to this new way of life is anticipated, the three Mavrogianis scholars expect slight modification, due mainly to the fact that Jim is often engaged in sharpening his mathematical wits helping his younger daughter. Joan, while acquitting herself admirably in that subject, these days look increasingly away from Euclid and oftener toward Portia. Futuristically, she sealed her ambitions a year ago by winning a pair of oratorical contests and plans to attend Boston University when the time comes. Carolyn, a dean's list scholar in her 2-year college career, expects eventually to attend graduate school and work ultimately with computers as a mathematican or physicist. A third member of the family, cousin Arthur Starr, 18, of Lunenburg has started at the institute as a freshman as well, and came to live with the family suggesting to sister Joan that the house will be "just like a dorm" before long.

Carolyn, active at LTI as president of Phi Simma Rho sorority and treasurer of the

Phanar religious club there, will be busy immediately as a member of the Tech Orientation committee directing freshmen like her father in the first labyrinthian confusions.

She speaks for the family in describing the general atmosphere of study at their home. It is agreed that in the months ahead they are apt to be fairly well housebound, though it is not expected that their duties as choir members of the Transfiguration Greek Orthodox church each Sunday, will be affected.

Dad will be doing most of the cooking though no voice was raised in dissent.

Mostly they all expect that as the academic press wears on and the group grids for the certain long haul, there will be an occasional call for help among the circle, one certain to be answered. Each is equally centain facing this private pursuit, that is how it will be.

They are used to doing things as a family. The one exception. There was no expectation of attending school as a family.

WLCS Radio Station Stayed on the Air—Baton Rouge, State Capital of Louisiana, Was Exceedingly Fortunate in Having Radio Station WLCS Which Was the Only Station That Weathered the 150 Miles Per Hour Hurricane Betsy by Staying on the Air While All Telephones and Electric Power Went Out Near Midnight—WLCS Did a Great Job in Keeping All Citizens Informed When All Other Communications Went Out When Electric Power Went Off

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. MORRISON

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult for me to describe the great job that radio station WLCS did for the second largest city in Louisiana, our State capital, Baton Rouge, when all other radio stations, TV stations, and other means of communications completely ceased operation leaving WLCS as the only means of communication to give great comfort and aid to our people by informing them of the movement of the hurricane as well as on so many other important matters.

Little did I know what I did in October 1944, when the very existence of WLCS was hanging in the balance and I personally went over to see the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission to resurrect this application and urge that same be expedited so that WLCS could be a reality, that it would play as important a part over the years for the people of Baton Rouge as it has done and particularly as it did the night of the most horrible hurricane in all of our Nation's history, as it was the only station that survived and continued to give the people of this great community news and communications on the terrible hurricane that they so desperately wanted and needed.

Mr. Speaker, the following account is just how and when it all came about as written by one of the station's employees:

From the time Betsy the hurricane creeped past the Florida Keys and wandered into the Gulf of Mexico, WLCS was setting up emergency power generators in preparation for possible effects of the storm in Baton Rouge—effects we hoped would never come. One generator was installed at the downtown studios, another at the transmitter facilities in Baker, La.

Contacts were set up all over south Louisiana. One correspondent was positioned in the New Orleans weather bureau, another at the Baton Rouge weather bureau to supply direct information to the broadcast desk. Staff members were dispatched to low-lying Louisiana areas to feed firsthand information on evacuation, flooding, and storm damage.

Private line communications were established with the Baton Rouge Red Cross coordinating unit to supply urgently needed shelter and food supply information should the time come when it would be needed. A WLCS newsman was stationed at the State civil defense emergency center in Baton Rouge from which all rescue, evacuation, and other emergency orders would be directed.

As preparations for the big storm became the big news, these reports came in fast from our contacts. Then Betsy came. She struck with her howling 150-mile-per-hour winds first at the Louisiana coastal towns. Exclusive reports on damage and flooding came to the WLCS studios from the areas first subjected to the angry Betsy. Civil defense headquarters radioed orders. Our correspondent watched as the center rolled into operation and relayed fast and accurate details of what was being done on the State level. In addition, the reporter obtained rare interviews with disaster officials as well as words of encouragement from Gov. John McKeithen and the promise of help from Federal officials including representatives from the Executive Office of the President.

As the fury of the storm came to grief against the capital city after shocking New Orleans, powerlines citywide began to fall. Short wave towers bent and then crumpled in the wind. A city whose lights reflected for miles on the waters of the Mississippi was plunged into darkness.

The U.S. Weather Bureau in Baton Rouge messaged before one of their bulletins to WLCS, "you're all we have left, don't leave us now." Soon afterwards communications faltered at the bureau. But realizing the bureau bulletins were of great importance, WLCS set up a method immediately of obtaining citizens band broadcasts from a C-B unit parked outside the bureau. The accurate emergency weather information from the bureau continued to reach thousands of Baton Rougeons as they listened to WLCS—which by then was the only remaining station on the air. When the other six radio stations and two television stations were forced from the air waves by the storm, the auxiliary generators at WLCS studios and transmitter chugged on. WLCS newsmen weathered Betsy's drenching rain, tree-breaking winds, flying glass, limbs and sheets of tin and metal to fill the generators gasoline tank when the level dropped. Electrical wires popped overhead as Betsy yanked at them. But knowing the responsibility to Baton Rouge by keeping them informed during the storm, and realizing that we were their only hope of keeping tabs on the situation, we knew we must not let those generators stop running.

Not only did WLSC maintain contact with the Baton Rouge weather bureau after most communications within the city were lost, but also with the Miami, Fla., weather bureau. The New Orleans weather bureau communications lines had been punched out by the hurricane long before.

In addition to weather information, WLCS received from hard to reach sources at times accurate and on-the-scene damage reports from civil defense officials, law officers, Red Cross workers and citizens in an undetermined number of towns already hit by Betsy before it reached the capital. Persons having fled to safety in Baton Rouge and leaving behind their homes and in some cases even part of their families later told us how much they appreciated WLCS letting them know what was happening back home.

Hour after hour, personnel at WLCS, newsmen, management, and even sales executives worked feverishly to gather and broadcast fast breaking news on the hurricane. Only two men could be spared for rest periods at any one time. The lucky ones managed a few hours' sleep while the others worked on. The seemingly endless night wore on. Some of us did not even know when daylight came, as we worked inside by the light of a couple of small light bulbs attached to the generator power cable.

During the course of the WLCS broadcast, over 400 public service announcements were made. Announcements such as pleas from the Red Cross, safety officials, and police as they tried to prevent looting. Hospitals issued requests for blood donors in order that they might build up their blood banks. Countless announcements concerning food, water, power, telephones out of order, and damage to streets and houses were delivered on WLCS—the capital city's only 24-hour station.

Locations of shelters and members of separated families—Tips such as these were passed on repeatedly. Information was broadcast to children as well as adults concerning schools and the reshuffling of school and church activities. Without trying to alarm Baton Rouge but yet at the same time advise the city of potentially dangerous situations, WLCS told of river barges drifting wild in the Mississippi River—barges that contained flammable gasoline and chlorine gas. Tugboats were also ripped from their mooring and quickly slipped beneath the rivers' 8-foot waves as if to try to hide from Betsy.

Barges with liquid cargoes burst into flames and burned to the waterline. Others just seem to give up and slide to the bottom of the river.

The top of one automobile was seen bobbing up and down in the muddy waters while a WLCS newsman surveyed harbor conditions only a few steps from the WLCS studios. As he watched and braced himself against the furious wind (to face the wind was like standing point blank in front of a shotgun that never quit firing tiny sand darts) barges and huge trees, even sections of piers, spun and then crashed into the sides of large oceangoing vessels anchored at midstream, trapped by Betsy's 22-mile-an-hour pace.

He turned and faced the city, where thousands had no communication except as one grateful listener wrote "one candle, one transistor radio, one voice from WLCS * * * our single source of comfort."

Still thousands more had not even this small comfort. Those with telephones which somehow were still working, called over and over throughout the night and morning. Over 7,000 telephone calls logged at WLCS, each presented a different situation and a different question. Questions like, "Should I leave for a shelter? -Where is the nearest shelter? Is our water contaminated? How can I report an electrical fire?" What to do? Where to turn? At WLCS no one was turned away. Management answered every plea or transferred every request to the proper au-

thorities. Every single bit of information concerning aid, comfort, relief or assistance was relayed by WLCS broadcasts and by the meager remaining telephone communications.

Radio stations throughout Louisiana worked just as feverishly. Few, however, were fortunate enough to remain on the air throughout the emergency.

The ingenuity and resourcefulness of this one 24-hour voice in Baton Rouge—WLCS—did much to alleviate suffering and distress in a time of need.

Mr. Speaker, that is the WLCS story. Without this station, WLCS, Baton Rouge would have been a great city so helpless and completely without any communication that the people would have suffered far greater than they did with the aid and comfort of one of the greatest radio station accomplishments in our time.

The following are a few of the many letters that express the feeling of our people in the Sixth Congressional District:

BATON ROUGE, LA.,
September 10, 1965.

DEAR ALL WLCS PERSONNEL: Everyone at our house (and I'm sure everywhere else) would like to thank you for the great job that you did during Hurricane Betsy. Without our transistor radio we would have been stranded, for we didn't have any electricity or telephone connection. We did have a flashlight and a candle, but that would have been of little comfort if it was not for the radio and your continuing service.

Also I would like to especially thank Gene Nelson for broadcasting the Istrouma High and Lake Charles game. Some might have thought that this would disturb the hurricane warnings, but you showed that both could be done. Since I'm a student of Istrouma High School and didn't get to go to the game (because the buses were canceled) and also since we won, I was glad that Gene Nelson got to broadcast the game. When he does it we really seem to be there and it's almost as good.

I think you are the best radio station in Baton Rouge and from what I've heard (from my brother) in New Orleans also. A great big congratulations for everyone who helped in any way.

A fan always,

BARBARA BATES.

P.S.—Best of luck always.

SEPTEMBER 11, 1965.

DEAR WLCS: Let me be one of many to congratulate and thank you for the wonderful service you performed during the long night last night.

I must admit that I am not a regular listener of your brand of music, but the sound was most welcome last night, as was the regular reporting on "Betsy."

The public is not unaware of the sacrifices made by your staff to contribute to the health and welfare of the residents of Baton Rouge.

Thank you, everyone.

Sincerely,

GERALDINE C. BEAIRD.

BATON ROUGE, LA.,
September 11, 1965.

DEAR SIRS: Thanks so much for giving us every minute of the lastest news on Betsy.

May God bless you all who helped. Thanks again.

Always,

JACK A. SCARDINAFLY.

PORT ALLEN, LA.,
September 10, 1965.

DEAR SIR: We would like to express our appreciation to you and your staff for the coverage of Hurricane Betsy all through the night. It gives one a wonderful feeling of company and security through those long hours of waiting.

You are to be commended for being so unselfish and also being away from your own loved ones all through these trying times.

What a nice world this would be if everyone were as thoughtful of others as you and your staff have been.

May God bless each and every one of you.

Yours truly,

Mr. and Mrs. RICHARD ALEXANDER and FAMILY.

DEAR MEMBERS OF THE STAFF OF WLCS: I would like to express mine and my family's deep appreciation for your wonderful coverage of Hurricane Betsy. We hardly had the transistor radio turned off a minute. I don't know how we and other families could have gotten along without you. I listen to WLCS all the time anyway rain or shine. All of our electricity and water are off, so we were quite dependant on ya'll. Thanks again.

Sincerely,

R. MASIE.

Thank you for making our hours bearable.

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Mumphrey, Mr. and Mrs. Jack Mumphrey and family (Gerry, Jackie, Ginny, Mark, Pat, and Paul), Mr. and Mrs. Tony Mumphrey and family (Toni, Francis, Marty, Stevie, Peter, and Ursula, and one tired l'il transistor).

BATON ROUGE, LA.,
September 10, 1965.

WLCS Radio Station,
Baton Rouge, La.:

We are most grateful to your station for the wonderful reception we had during the entire storm.

Many thanks to your staff.

Yours truly,

MRS. IRA COUVILLION.

To all the RADIO ANNOUNCERS OF WLCS:

Thank you very much for your untiring work in your coverage of the hurricane.

Thank God we have wonderful men like you. Only through your untiring efforts were we able to know what was going on throughout the night.

Thanks again.

The LUKE FREMIA FAMILY.

BATON ROUGE, LA.,
September 13, 1965.

RADIO STATION WLCS,
Baton Rouge, La.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Just a little note to express our appreciation to WLCS for keeping us so well informed all during the hurricane. Our electricity went out rather early in the evening so we were really dependent on our radio and WLCS certainly did not let us down. Not only did we get up-to-date information, but also the swinging music relieved the tension and pressure of the storm.

Our electricity still has not been restored so we are still with you. Keep up the good work. Thanks again for keeping us company while Betsy was visiting us.

MRS. LOUIS O. CHEMIN.

CLINTON, LA.,
September 14, 1965.

WLCS RADIO STATION,
Baton Rouge, La.

DEAR SIRS: Let me thank you and your station for staying on the air during hurricane Betsy. We could pick you up fairly well when all other communications from Baton Rouge were lost.

Thanks again for the job well done.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS O. BEAUCHAMP.

Mr. Speaker, The story of what radio station WLCS did is now history but the appreciation, the gratitude of the people it helped will live on for the years to come. It was an amazing, a great, and a heroic job.

The Rutherfords of Peoria, Ill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, as Charles Cleveland pointed out in his article of September 4, 1956, in the Chicago Daily News, one of the basic factors behind Peoria's tremendous development and progressive spirit in recent years is the planning and use of private capital to cut away redtape and bureaucratic thinking. One Peoria family active in this movement are the Rutherfords. The aforementioned story goes into detail to mention the activities of this fine family. I am also pleased to state that Robert Rutherford's son, John, served as an intern in my office last summer.

Under unanimous consent, I include the Cleveland article at this point:

FOREST PARK FOUNDATION: HOW THE RUTHERFORDS FIGHT CIVIC LETHARGY

(By Charles Cleveland)

PEORIA.—The pilot banked the Piper Apache northwest to follow a strip of green.

"That is the world's longest and narrowest park," he said.

The park was a 28-mile, 100-foot-wide right-of-way the Rock Island Railroad had deeded over to the Forest Park Foundation for a hiking and riding trail.

The pilot, William L. Rutherford, is the foundation's administrative vice president, a successful corporation attorney, a former member of the Illinois Public Aid Commission, and doer extraordinary.

"It is amazing how much is 95 percent ready to happen," he says. And he regards his foundation as the 5 percent needed to get the ball rolling.

The foundation donated land—and the Kiwanis Club built an old-people's home. It donated $5,000—and a corporation executive built a planetarium for the city.

This is just one aspect of Rutherford's war against civic lethargy. Part of it started 27 years ago when the Rutherford family owned an impressive timberland and wanted to give it to the Peoria park district for a park.

The district refused. It preferred a cash gift.

Soon the Forest Park Foundation was established by Rutherford's father Leslie, a physician; his father-in-law, W. H. Sommer, a pioneer industrialist, and Howard Kinsey, a Peoria businessman.

The foundation's original purpose was to study and seek solutions for the problems of old age. Income from the original investments and some donations has kept much of the capital intact despite multimillion-dollar projects.

Fifty leading citizens in the central Illinois area are members of the foundation. A. W. Altorfer, Sr., is president of the board; William Rutherford's brother, Dr. Robert Rutherford is secretary; Dr. J. C. Lockhart is assistant secretary and treasurer; and Arthur

J. Holst, National Football League official is administrator.

The foundation has made more than 150 grants that exceed $2,800,000. Among early projects were the Forest Park Home, a 114-bed hospital, and institutes of physical medicine and rehabilitation at St. Francis and Methodist Hospitals.

These are nationally known centers for helping crippled children to walk and disabled persons to regain use of limbs.

The geriatrics rehabilitation program of the Public Aid Commission was initiated with foundation support.

This is another aspect of Rutherford's philosophy: Government is rarely able to pioneer ideas, but private capital can show the way.

Working on problems of the aged and disabled led the foundation into landscaping, city-beautiful, and cleanup programs under the concept that hospital surroundings are vital to patient care.

And just another step put the foundation into open lands activity. This is a program for setting aside parklands and wildlife areas before they all disappear under subdivider bulldozers.

Five years ago, Rutherford got local officials in Peoria, Tazewell, and Woodford Counties to draw up a tricounty recreational plan.

Under Illinois law a park district can own land anywhere in the State. Working through the individual park districts and the county boards of supervisors, a goal was set of 30,000 acres of parkland by 1980.

By Christmas the foundation hopes to be halfway to its goal.

The foundation again provided the drive to get things rolling. Rutherford began by buying the Koerner farm and other desirable plots in the tricounty area.

Some lands were turned over directly to local governments. Others were sold at greatly reduced prices. The Federal Government, which regards the program as one of the country's best, provides 30 percent of the funds for the program.

Individuals also have given the foundation desirable land or have sold it at a fraction of its value. One small businessman, for example, knowingly took $11,000 less than the value of his land.

The Rutherford plan involves a "green belt" around the city with facilities for hiking, camping, winter sports, and other recreation.

Within the city, the plan involves golf courses and other recreational facilities including a nature wildlife park.

Suitable ski slopes are being sought now.

There are impressive side benefits to the program. For example, one part of the park program outside the city will preserve a natural watershed, which in time probably will be the area's principal source of water.

As part of Rutherford's program of gentle persuasion, he has found that showing key people the results of successful programs is the most effective argument.

A developer was flown to California to see how one of his projects could be beautified. Last year, a group of influential Peoria citizens was flown to Europe to see what can be done with parks and waterfront areas.

On Tuesday, 32 city and State leaders will embark on a 15-day tour of parks in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, and Austria.

Included in the party are Ray Simon, Chicago's corporation counsel; Jack Touhy, speaker of the Illinois House; Paul Powell, secretary of State; George Dunne, finance chairman of the Cook County board, a number of State legislators, and several members of the Peoria park board.

Rutherford believes the individuals in this group will return as enthusiastic spokesmen for the idea of preserving and beautifying the American countryside.

Rutherford is a dreamer. He dreams of the future when his grandchildren will have unspoiled forestland and green recreation lands, thanks to the efforts of the foundation and similar groups.

But he's a practical dreamer. As he banked the Apache left and pointed down, he said: "——— owns that land. He doesn't know it yet but he's going to donate it to us."

Further ahead was an abandoned quarry. He would like to buy it for a bathing and boating facility.

He will meet soon with mayors of towns along the 28-mile hiking facility to plan for its development as a "good neighbor."

"It'll be good for the businessmen, too," Rutherford says.

All the time, he is planning ahead and showing local governments how private capital can cut away redtape and bureaucratic thinking.

"I tried it the other way for 20 years and got nowhere," Rutherford said. "This trip to Europe will give this group 2 weeks to do nothing but think ahead 20 years.

"Then, when we get back * * *."

He was off again, dreaming a new dream.

Dr. Schweitzer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Newton Kansan which appropriately expresses the admiration of most Americans for the humanitarian contributions made so unselfishly by the late Dr. Albert Schweitzer.

The editorial follows:

DR. SCHWEITZER

All of the world mourns the death last weekend of Dr. Albert Schweitzer, one of the truly great men of the 20th century.

Dr. Schweitzer did not achieve greatness as most men did. Instead of choosing a career in music or in art or in theology and a life of comparative ease in the great cities of the world, he chose to serve his fellow men in a missionary hospital in central Africa.

He could have achieved fame and fortune either as a musician or as an artist, for he had much more than the average talent in both fields. Or he might have been one of the great theologians of the day, for his philosophical works are widely read.

But for him, service to mankind meant living in the steaming, pestilence-ridden jungles of Africa treating the illnesses and injuries of a primitive people and enduring many of their hardships with them.

By doing so he made more friends for the white man in Africa than did the others who came to exploit the land and the natives.

He did not earn as much money as the exploiters, nor was he ever able to live in ease as many of them were able to do so in their later lives.

You can be certain, however, that his influence on the Dark Continent was as great as that of the exploiters.

And his influence was a bright spot in a time and on a continent when the activities of other white men were distinguished not by service but by selfishness.

Wolff Stamp Inquiry Deepens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article written by Mr. Ed Wimmer in the Cincinnati Enquirer of Monday, September 13, 1965:

WOLFF STAMP INQUIRY DEEPENS—VEIL OVER BONANZA BILLIONS IS LIFTING

(By Ed Wimmer)

When Congressman LESTER L. WOLFF (Democrat of New York), mailed a friendly invitation to U.S. trading stamp companies to "come to Washington and let us hear what you have to say," he not only was told to mind his own business, but most of the letters were returned to him unopened. An official of the giant in the industry wrote, in effect:

"We have neither the money nor the time to invest in any exploration of the trading stamp business, which is a matter between us and our retailers and no concern of the Congress."

Congressman WOLFF, however, is no man to ignore when the prestige of a Congressman or a congressional invitation is flaunted. He also believes it the duty of Congress to free the American marketplace of any evil practice that harms the consumer, or tends to dry up opportunities for individuals to succeed on their own initiative in a free and open society.

After warning the trading stamp companies he intended to go to the bottom of the whole issue, he wired a second invitation to officials to attend a probing session, which this writer and other witnesses (including chainstore executives) not only appeared and applauded, but urged a full-scale investigation.

As Sylvia Porter put it, Mr. WOLFF wants to know what happens to the $50 million annually, or more, salted away to redeem stamps that will never be redeemed. What consumers are paying for premiums bought with stamps? How much do stamps add to the cost of living? What are they doing to farm income, and whether or not the House Banking and Currency Committee should hold a full-dress probe.

During my own testimony, Members of the House tried to justify stamps as a legitimate promotional device, an exercise of free enterprise, and a matter for homemakers to settle. One House Member tried to swamp me (unsuccessfully) with the prostamp claims that proof of coercion of gasoline dealers by stamp company representatives and oil company salesmen, is insignificant or does not exist, which was answered by affidavits and promises of additional testimony of service station dealers who would attest to coercion bordering on gangsterism.

Of utmost significance is the intent of Congressman WOLFF to determine how much advertising in billions of trading stamp catalogs has been paid for by the suppliers. How many free stamps the biggest givers have received for special promotions. What the big givers are paying for stamps. What methods have been used to halt passage of legislation curbing stamp company abuses. How many small businesses have gone broke under the avalanche of stamp promotions and coercive alliance, and what has happened to the "billion dollars put away in 15 years for stamp redemption of never-to-be-redeemed * * *."

Giant Safeway has called stamps a racket, scheme, and fraud in full-page ads. The Dominion Stores in Canada used a 16-column heading to invite—"Yankee Stamp Racketeers Go Home." A president of the Kroger Co. called them a disease. Grand Union's president labeled them "squirrel food." Two big oil companies blasted their competitors for going into stamps as destroyers of product identity and the stability of dealerships.

A. & P.'s former president declared stamps a drain on civilization. Every chamber of commerce in the State of Washington wrote letters to their legislators to keep the Washington stamp license law on the statute books. The president of Colonial Stores (Albers in Cincinnati) said there is no chance to absorb stamp costs.

Dr. Robert N. Strotz, Northwestern University, supported this admission when he termed the testimony of Dr. Eugene Beam, S. & H. official, as inadequate; his statistical analysis superficial; and the interpretation given his reports completely unwarranted.

Such a view as that of Dr. Strotz would be fully vindicated by any penetrating study of the trading stamp business, and out of it should come at least prohibition of the word free, and an end to discriminatory practices and hoarding of tax-free dollars. Furthermore, the charges against both stamp and certain oil companies who have worked together in forcing dealers to take on or reinstate stamp plans, ought to be ended, and with the price wars what they are, few independents in any field will be able to afford stamp plans for long.

Peter Volid, president of King Korn Stamp Co., turned loose a regiment of stamps salesmen to sign up independent food dealers in the areas where he lost chain accounts, bragging that the market would be saturated with King Korn—which, he said, would probably force the chains to return to the fold. He even went so far as to promise their reinstatement, despite the drive to sign up independents who are usually given exclusive territory.

All in all, the case against stamps is pretty well summed up in a 1915 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court, which reads:

"The system (trading stamps) has features differing from ordinary transactions of trade which have their impulse, as we have said, in immediate and definite desires, having definite and measurable results. There may be in ordinary transactions at times, reckless buying, but it is not provoked or systematized by the seller. It is the incidents which give character to the business, affecting it with evil, provoking therefore against it, the power of the State. The complainants (stamp companies) have given reasoning to the mere mechanism of the schemes alone, and not enough force to their insidious potentialities."

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to include my newsletter to the people of the seventh District of Alabama for August 23, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT FROM CONGRESSMAN JIM MARTIN, SEVENTH DISTRICT, ALA.

FARM BILL HURTS ALABAMA FARMERS

The liberal Democrats in control of Congress, jumping at the crack of the whip by Lyndon Johnson and his Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman, struck another blow at the farmers of Alabama and the southeast by passing the confusion known as the omnibus farm bill. The vote was 221 to 172. I voted against the bill on final passage because it will hurt the farmers and the economy of Alabama.

During the 4 days of debate on the bill we were able to make some very slight imporvements in it. I fought for and voted for amendments to the cotton provision of the bill to permit released cotton acreages to be reapportioned across the county lines. We were also able to save the one-price cotton system which is essential to saving the jobs of Alabama workers in the cotton mills.

OVERALL BILL DISCRIMINATORY

In spite of these improvements the overall farm bill penalizes Alabama and sets the stage for moving cotton farming to the west. This is the real purpose behind the farm bill. In a news story in the Birmingham Post-Herald of August 16 it was pointed out the small farms in Alabama are disappearing. This bill will hasten the day when the small cotton farmer in our area is through.

The Montgomery Advertiser, in an August 16 editorial, pointed out that this bill is going to cost Alabama cotton growers $75 million. The editorial was based on figures released by Alabama Agriculture Commissioner Todd who calculates the Democrat farm bill will cut Alabama's cotton allotment from 969,000 to 435,000 acres. A Democrat Congress and a Democrat President will be the authors and finishers of Alabama cotton agriculture. This is something to remember when you are asked to support the antipoverty, big welfare programs of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. Alabama cotton farmers well may ask, "great for whom?"

SUPPORT YOUR POLICE DEPARTMENT

In a memorandum circulated in Cuba before the Communist revolution the first point in the formula for revolution was to "discredit the police in every way by causing incidents which will lead to arrest and then by charging police brutality." The program now being carried on in the United States by Martin Luther King and others is following this formula to the letter whether King and those who constantly criticize the police know it or not. The shameful riots in Los Anegles in which screaming mobs burned and robbed and murdered had not even ended before Martin King was charging police brutality and demanding the firing of one of the Nation's finest police chiefs.

In a statement to Congress last week I called for a return to law and order and support of the police and other law enforcement officers whom we ask to risk their lives to protect us. Lyndon Johnson should make an unequivocal statement that law and order will be maintained and then stand by his statement instead of making excuses for the criminals. The time is long past due when the President should make such a statement. He should make it clear that the police departments of this Nation will not be sacrificed to appease criminals. If, for political expediency, the President will not stand firmly behind our law enforcement officials, it's time the good people of this country did and that we let the rapists, robbers, murderers, and those who urge them on that we support the police in their defense of law and order and the lives and property of decent citizens.

Typical of some statements by public officials excusing the crime wave in Los Angeles is one by Congressman CLAYTON POWELL, of New York, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The statement goes through the same charges that the criminals were not to blame, but they act that way because they are poor and underprivileged. The startling thing is the last paragraph in the Congressman's statement: "Negroes in the North know the truth of these statements and are embittered by the absence of official action directed toward a solution of these problems. Until a comprehensive and massive attack on northern sub rosa racial hatred is undertaken, until all of us force ourselves to come to grips with the fact that the poverty of the northern Negro is totally different from the poverty of the southern Negro and in some respects even worse, Los Angeles is only the beginning of a long series of rioting and lawlessness not only this summer but in the many summers to come."

There is a gigantic task ahead for America and one to which I subscribe. It has been pointed out that the poverty in the Watts district of Los Angeles is due to the fact that most of the better jobs that are available require a level of education the Negro poor do not have and which will take at least another generation to acquire. We do do need a massive national education program to give all citizens equal opportunity to get good jobs. But we won't achieve that goal through demonstrations, riots, and the continued threat of future violence, or by fostering hatred between blacks and whites.

GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS ANNOUNCED BY KING

In the 8 months I have served in Congress I have come to accept the fact that announcements of Federal projects and grants in my district are always given to the Democrat Senators first, but I think it's going a little too far when programs in my own congressional district are announced by Martin Luther King. In a story from the Los Angeles Times of August 12, reporting on the convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Birmingham, Ala., it was stated: "Dr. King also reported that the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity this week approved a $60,000 grant for an SCLC program which provides special summer tutoring for Negro high school students and graduates to help them pass college entrance exams. SCLC also was instrumental in obtaining a poverty program for Gadsden, Ala. 'Six other poverty programs are at various states of development and others are anticipated,' Dr. King said." (quote from American Enterprise Institute).

I guess we should ask Sargent Shriver, Attorney General Katzenbach and the President, "when was King elected to public office and by whom?"

FOR ALABAMA SENATOR'S INFORMATION

The junior Senator from Alabama and several of his editorial supporters in the State continue to try to prove me wrong in stating that individual neighborhoods may be integrated under Federal housing laws. For the enlightenment of the Senator and those who take him at his word, I point to an item in the Washington Daily News of August 19, 1965:

"PRIVATE HOMES FOR PUBLIC HOUSING

"The National Capitol Housing Authority will ask the Commissioners for approval and the Federal Housing Administration for money to rent or buy 500 homes on the private market in the next 2 years for public housing units."

Sincerely,

JIM MARTIN,
Member of Congress.

Mood of Hungary Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, columnist Aaron Einfrank, whose articles appear in a cross section of papers across the country, recently reported his observations in Hungary which I insert in the RECORD at this point. In view of the fact that the Johnson administration is dramatizing its decision to reward Communist aggression in Vietnam and Cuba by helping Red dictatorships via trade agreements, Mr. Einfrank's comments on Hungary are especially appropriate.

MOOD OF HUNGARY TODAY

(By Aaron Einfrank)

Better take with a grain of salt this talk about "relaxation" and "liberalization" supposedly going on in Iron Curtain countries. This is my advice after having recently visited Eastern Europe.

Hungary is a good case in point. Nine years after the 1956 anti-Communist rebellion, Hungary is still a country occupied by Soviet troops and governed by a Communist Party which does not have the support of the majority.

There is no doubt in my mind that if the 85,000 Soviet troops in the Hungarian countryside were to be withdrawn, there would be a sequel to 1956. This is all the more extraordinary because the Communist government is not the same vicious, totalitarian regime which existed before the revolution.

What has evolved here in the last 9 years is a sullen truce between an unpopular regime, supported by Soviet military might, and the majority of Hungarians who have little inclination for being part of the Red bloc.

The government doesn't press the people too much, and in return the people don't make too much trouble. Both the government and the average Hungarian man in the street knows that any wrong move on the part of the government or the people could bring the Soviet tanks rampaging back to Budapest.

The result of this static situation, I found, is that Hungary is a country going to seed economically. No one cares and no one tries. The biggest hope of most Hungarians is to take a vacation out of the country (they are now allowed to have tourist visas).

The main reason why Hungarian tourists return to Hungary is that they love their country, and in fact have nowhere else to go—unless they want to endure the uncertain life of the political refugee.

It's true that the secret police are no longer murdering people. In fact, the main goal of the Hungarian Communist Party is not to rock the boat. The primary impression one gets in Hungary is that of the party hacks holding on to power in the midst of the worst sort of inefficiency and stupid administration.

Adding to the government's economic difficulties are the trade unions. After the 1956 upheaval, in which many workers took up arms against the Reds, the government did everything to butter up the unions, even to the point of permitting extraordinary examples of featherbedding and inefficiency. The current attempt by the government to improve the economic picture in Hungary is foundering on this prounion policy which does not exist in Communist states such as Yugoslavia and Rumania.

The biggest threat to Communist rule here is that the average Hungarian can look across the border to neutral Austria and elsewere in the West and compare the prosperity in the free world with backwardness in this Communist paradise. This is bound to rankle the majority who feel themselves part of Western culture but deprived of the Western way of life by cruel chance.

What are the chances of another revolution in the near future? Not much, I'd say. The Hungarians who fought in 1956 know they were betrayed by the West and particularly by the United States which refused to back up all the big talk about liberating Eastern Europe. The Hungarians don't seem to be willing to start another bloodbath—at least as long as the party hacks keep their place.

Hungary had a revolution in 1848 and another one in 1956. Both failed but both lighted a beacon of freedom for the rest of the world. In spite of the grim, spiritless atmosphere here, it would be wise to accept the judgment of a Scandinavian Ambassador who told me:

"The Hungarians have lost much, but they haven't lost their honor."

Du Pont Estate Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, last Monday, when the House was considering the question of a rule on H.R. 7371, a bill to remove an exemption from the Bank Holding Company Act, there was conversation in the debate to the effect that 8 million tax-exempt dollars were going to the Du Ponts in Florida. Needless to say, the allegation that this much money was going to anyone, tax exempt, should properly arouse the interest of this body. It aroused mine.

Upon careful examination of the records presented in the hearings to the committee, I found only one person receiving more than $30,000 a year from the estate: Mrs. Jessie Ball du Pont, widow of Alfred I. du Pont. Under the terms of her late husband's will she receives a primary annuity of $200,000 a year, and from a residual annuity of currently approximately $8 million a year, she receives 88 percent. From the total residual annuity 12 percent is irrevocably assigned to the Nemours Foundation, a charitable nonprofit foundation donating funds primarily to assistance and research in the prevention of crippling in children, these funds now in the amount of approximately one million dollars annually. Except for this 12 percent paid to charity the remainder of the income from the estate is taxed at regular personal income tax rates.

Copies of canceled checks payable to the District Director of Internal Revenue which I have in my possession show that Mrs. du Pont pays almost $5 million a year in Federal personal income taxes, contrary to what has been said about the taxability of the amounts she receives. None of the money she or any other person receives from the estate gets any special tax treatment. She is, incidentally, one of the most philanthropic of all Americans and gives generously to a wide field of charities, after she pays her taxes.

I have also learned the Du Pont estate is one of the Nation's great tax revenue sources. In the past 15 years alone the estate has paid out more than $120 million in Federal income taxes, and more than $37 million in taxes to State, county, and city governments located in some 19 States.

When you stop and think about the gigantic sum of money this Du Pont estate has paid to our State and National Governments I cannot see how anyone can say there is not anything percolating down to the general population. Furthermore, the ultimate beneficiaries, after death of individuals who pay income taxes, will be charitable, primarily in the field of combating crippling among children.

Finally, I would like to observe that the pending legislation, H.R. 7371, would, as far as I can see, have no bearing or effect upon these tax matters because it has no relation to taxes in any way whatsoever.

United States Pays the Piper, United Nations Calls the Tune

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial by Mr. Cliff Smith, publisher of the Herald American newspapers of southern California.

Mr. Smith continues to bring to the attention of the public the futility of depending upon the United Nations to resolve the problems of the free world.

The fact is that since the close of World War II in 1946, the United States has lost its outstanding position held at that time. This includes military, economic, and diplomatic strength.

The editorial follows:

UNITED STATES PAYS THE PIPER, UNITED NATIONS CALLS THE TUNE

Slowly but surely the Communist boys are taking over completely in the United Nations.

Slowly but surely the United States is paying the bulk of the bills.

The latest gimmick now is that our new Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. Goldberg, will try and fix it up with the United Nations so that our dear friends, the Russians, will be able to vote without paying their dues. It would be real interesting to find out just why it is so necessary to the welfare of the United States that the Russians be forgiven the dues which they owe.

The United States has always paid the largest share and as time goes on it pays an increasingly large share of the expenses of the United Nations. It certainly seems to

this writer to be like a person paying the hangman to hang him.

According to the information given out by many reliable sources, we seem to be making fairly good progress in South Vietnam, and our campaign of taking North Vietnam apart is progressing very well. The news releases, however, from Washington are not as reassuring. This writer wonders whether or not President Johnson is losing the intestinal fortitude which he had and is succumbing to the combined pressure of the United Nations and the pacifists.

The United Nations ruined our chances of winning in Korea. The United Nations did not get the credit for being defeated in Korea. We, the United States, got the credit. We furnished most of the men, we furnished all of the money, and we let the United Nations put the blight on the whole project.

The Bay of Pigs was well planned under President Eisenhower, and everything was understood. The troops were to get adequate air cover and air projection, without which no army could be successful nowadays. When the actual invasion started, at the last minute air cover was canceled, foredooming this little army to extinction or surrender.

Population

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, the following article from the September 18, 1965, New Republic magazine serves to illustrate one of the ways the question of family planning is being defined and treated.

In view of the recent report of Mr. D. P. Moynihan—on which the President based part of his recent address at Howard University—I find this kind of thinking by OEO without genuine relation to the human problem of unwanted, uncared-for children.

I welcome the comments of my colleagues and others concerned with this problem.

The article follows:

SAFE BUREAUCRATIC DECISION

One way to help poverty-stricken families make a better go of it would be for the poverty program to tell the women about birth control and provide them with devices if wanted. And the antipoverty war has spent about $300,000 for birth-control programs in half a dozen places. But there is a hitch to these efforts. The poverty program, on its own, set rules forbidding the use of its funds for dissemination of birth-control devices or drugs to unmarried women or married women not living with their husbands. Mr. Pat Moynihan, the former Assistant Secretary of Labor, pointed out in his study on the Negro family that about one-quarter of such families are headed by women who don't live with their husbands. These women, living in crowded two-room slum flats, surrounded by children they can't care for properly, are the source of the surging Negro birth rate. Surely the Office of Economic Opportunity should make available the same family planning opportunities to poor single women, whether white or Negro, as well as married women.

In explaining the origin of this policy, an official at the poverty program said the agency had to decide whether the real needs of these women outweighed the possibility that by giving them birth-control materials the OEO might actually be encouraging illicit sex. It decided the latter was the case.

Statement of Senator Robert F. Kennedy Before the Joint Legislative Committee on Mental Retardation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the statement of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, of New York, before the Joint Legislative Committee on Mental Retardation in New York City on September 9, 1965:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY BEFORE THE JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE ON MENTAL RETARDATION, SEPTEMBER 9, 1965

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it gives me great pleasure to come before the Joint Legislative Committee on Mental Retardation. This committee has done as much or more for mentally retarded New Yorkers as any other agency of government. And I would like to pay special respects to Senator Kraf, under whose able chairmanship the committee steered so much legislation to passage in the legislature this year; and to Senator Conklin, who has led the way for many years—and still does.

So I am pleased to come here; but I am not happy at much of what I have come to say. I have within the past week visited two of the largest State institutions for the care of the mentally retarded. I was shocked and saddened by what I saw there.

There are young children slipping into blankness and lifelong dependence.

There are crippled children without adequate medical attention or rehabilitative therapy.

There are retarded children living in the midst of severely disturbed adults.

There are children and young adults without education and training programs adequate to prepare them for life in the community.

And there are many—far too many—living in filth and dirt, their clothing in rags, in rooms less comfortable and cheerful than the cages in which we put animals in a zoo—without adequate supervision or a bit of affection—condemned to a life without hope.

In the State of New York, in the year 1965, such conditions are intolerable. I will this morning go further into the conditions at these institutions, and the reasons for their existence. But at the outset, I want to make clear that all of us bear full responsibility for these people and the lives they lead. Like children, and like the sick and the crippled, the retarded need our help.

And they have a right to our help.

For they have the same rights as others—to the fullest possible development of their capacity to learn and work and live—and to their simple dignity as human beings.

We hear a great deal, these days, about civil rights, and civil liberties, and equality of opportunity, and justice. But there are no civil rights for young retarded adults—when they are denied the protection of the State education law which commands that all other children must receive an education.

There are no civil liberties for those put in the cells of Willowbrook, living amidst brutality, and human excrement, and intestinal disease.

There is no equality of opportunity for the retarded when they are not trained for jobs which they can do.

Without civil rights, or liberties, or opportunity, there is no justice.

Nobody who has ever raised a child would want him to live for a moment as thousands of the mentally retarded now live in New York.

I ask you all to think of the inmates of these institutions as the children they are, whatever the age of their bodies—children who have done no wrong, children who through no action or fault of their own have been placed in circumstances for which all of us in the State of New York are responsible.

First look at the way they sleep. Wards built for 40 patients have 80 or more; some I saw, with a certified capacity of 80 when they were built in the 19th century, now hold nearly twice that number. Beds literally cover the entire floor, with 3 inches between them; one aisle goes up the center—but there are two rows of beds on each side of it. Patients in Willowbrook must walk on other patients' beds to get to their own.

There is, of course, no room in such a ward for personal possessions—for any shred of individuality—for a toy, or some clothing, or a book. Think of how our own children of 5 of 6 or 9 treasure their possessions—and think of them without any such possessions, or of any they do possess locked always in a closet.

And what do they do during the day? Many just rock back and forth. They grunt and gibber and soil themselves. They take off their clothes. They struggle and quarrel, though great doses of tranquilizers usually keep them quiet and passive. But, for the most part, they sit too often in dimness and gloom, and idlenes and stench, staring at the wall or an attendant, or an occasional strange visitor.

They sit in dayrooms and the dayrooms I saw at Willowbrook are without a book or a toy or a game, without anything to stimulate or distract the minds of these children, save, in some places, a blaring television set. There are playrooms, 1 for every 4 wards, which can be used by one ward at a time; and they are locked up after 3 in the afternoon.

Even for the children—at Willowbrook or Rome—I saw no toys, morning or evening; just children, rolling or sitting or capering on the floor.

The absence of toys—the lack of organized play—is not a light matter. Children learn by play. It is play with toys that teaches them control of objects, so that they can grow up to work with them. It is organized play with other children that teaches them to accommodate and protect themselves in a world with other people, so that they may one day return to the community. Without proper play from the moment they open their eyes, children cannot develop to their full capacity. Without it, these children are doomed to a life of dependence—the hopeless and hapless adult inmates of the future.

The complete lack of physical play is most acute, perhaps, for those children who are severely physically handicapped. Many of these children remain all day in their beds, or in little carts—without exercise, without appetite, without strength, wasting away to permanent physical disability and near-death. At Willowbrook, in a wing housing 200 children, of whom at least a third seemed to be physically handicapped, there is only a tiny room perhaps 12 feet long and 6 feet across—devoted to physical therapy. Its only equipment is a small wooden walkway and three boxes in which children may stand; and because of a lack of trained personnel, only seven children may be treated in

a day. On the staff at Willowbrook, with 1,000 children under the age of 7, there is not a single certified pediatrician.

The absence of a pediatrician is but one instance of the shocking understaffing at these institutions. The director of Willowbrook needs 52 recreation workers; he has 7. Many low-functioning patients there see the world outside their dayrooms only when a summer intern takes them out. But the summer interns will return to school in a week; where will the director then find the staff to take these patients outside?

The State institutions are supposed to offer safety and protection to the retarded, but sometimes they are not much safer than the outside. There are too few attendants, they are too busy to watch carefully enough, they are too often absent. In the last year at Willowbrook, five patients have died unnatural deaths.

Two of these deaths dramatically illustrate the dangers of overcrowding and inadequate staffing. One patient was burned in a shower by another retarded patient; he was in a wheelchair as the result of earlier shower burns. Another boy, a low-functioning retardate, was killed by an older, more capable boy—who was put in with the slower boys as punishment.

This practice—universally condemned by all authorities—persists. There is a 12-year-old boy, robust and not deeply retarded, in the low-functioning adult wards in Willowbrook. We were told that he is there because he was unruly, and hit attendants. But he has been in the adult ward for 5 years—since he was 7 years old. So he probably functions less well than he would if he had been with his proper group; and if he is in fact unruly, he will shortly be dangerous to the lower-functioning disturbed adults with whom he now is kept. Here is another life soon to be wasted irretrievably—for punches thrown 5 years before. Why is he in this ward? Because there is no adequate provision for housing or attending him and the other unruly patients.

All these shortcomings—from toys to outdoor recreation to staff to crowded beds—make it far harder than it should be to train young adult patients for a role in the community. These shortcomings are reinforced by a lack of adequate job training and education. And the result is that far too few ever leave these places, to go either to halfway houses or to their families.

For example, in one ward of ambulatory adults at Willowbrook—these are retarded patients with IQs over 50, able to dress and feed and wash themselves—only 20 out of 312 males work as much as 1 day a week outside the institution; only 9 out of 312 work full-time. But this is the same group that, in other programs in other places, has been proved able to work—in the Justice Department and the Treasury Department; in 28 other Federal agencies; in thousands of private businesses, and in our office at the Kennedy Foundation. For only 9 of these 312 to work outside the institution is inadequate.

At Rome, custodial conditions are far better than at Willowbrook. The beds are not quite as crowded; the dayrooms are brighter, and most of the adults have things with which to occupy themselves; in many rooms there are colorful chairs in place of the omnipresent heavy benches of Willowbrook. But of Rome's over 4,000 patients, nearly one-third—about 1,300—have IQs over 50. Yet of all these patients, only 35 to 40 are discharged each year.

Why is this? One reason may be that there is no schoolwork for those over the age of 21. Vocational training is all very well for these adults; it is needed. But vocational training, without the ability to read and write and count does not equip a retarded young adult for life in the community. The State education law guarantees to all New York children between the ages of 5 and 21 the fullest education which they are capable of absorbing. That guarantee is denied to the retarded—who need it most of all. Whether it is practicable to write such a guarantee into the statute books for the retarded of this age, I do not know; I do know that we shortchange the retarded, and deprive ourselves, when we deny them their full development.

These are some of the consequences of some of the shortcomings which we have allowed to exist in our institutions for the retarded. They are not necessary; thus, they are all the more cruel. I would like now to mention some of the things that could be done to improve these institutions and the lives of the children of all ages who live in them. And it is all too clear that to describe what can be done is to expose still more of the things that we have failed to do—more of the ways in which we have failed those who have been put in our care.

At the outset and above all else, it is necessary that we stop thinking of these institutions as an end in themselves or for the people who go there. To be sure, many of the patients are of the most severely retarded class. But even at Willowbrook, over 1,000 have an IQ over 50. And even many of those with IQ's under 50, in the 30 to 40 range, can be educated and trained to a significant degree. Taking just the over-50 patients at these two institutions, there is a pool of 2,500 people of whom many hundreds could be returned to the community on a fully or partially self-supporting basis. But they will return only if we are determined that they will do so—only if we set that as our goal and devise and put into operation the programs that are necessary to reach it.

I have not observed the programs at either of these schools. In visits of a morning and an afternoon at Willowbrook, and in a morning at Rome, by myself and my staff, we observed no ongoing programs with any purpose or direction. The classrooms at Rome were empty, as were the shops. The playrooms at Willowbrook were also empty. There is a merry-go-round there—and on a balmy summer afternoon and evening, it sat idle and locked. There are swings and slides; many are rusting, but some are not—none were being used. Clearly, there is not sufficient staff to run programs for the hundreds of idle people we saw. But I think that if we were committed to a specific and definite goal, we would see more program and less simple custody on our visits.

The programs of which I speak are of many kinds—job training, education, general self-reliance and better care. The director of Willowbrook has recognized this; he has requested a total of 69 school teachers; he presently has 33. He has requested 97 occupational therapists; he has 11. He has requested 52 recreational workers; he has 7. Clearly, such additional staff could do much to turn simple custody into active program. But apparently the budget division, while willing to provide additional custodial personnel, have not been willing to provide the necessary program help.

At the same time, the institutions themselves, and the division of mental retardation, have not begun to use the full range of resources which are available for the augmenting and upgrading of their staff. I suggest that the following steps—for all of which Federal support is now, or soon will be, available—be undertaken immediately.

First, there should be an effort to augment staff by use of students. It is not necessary, for example, to hire dozens of new professional recreational workers. Under the supervision of a few well-trained, dedicated professionals, students and other part-time or volunteer workers can meet the full range of needed help. Indeed, recreation work at both institutions during the summer is performed by students. But there is no attempt to use them during the remainder of the year. The same is true for education, particularly of the very young.

The lack of such programs is due to no lack of money; there is a wide variety of Federal assistance available for them. For example, the hospital improvement program will give up to $100,000 a year for programs designed to foster an improved quality of care in State institutions for the retarded. At the Mansfield State School in Storrs, Conn., a grant of $50,000 a year pays for 72 students who conduct an imaginative and effective recreation program. Twenty-six other States have had programs under the hospital improvement program for a year. Willowbrook has an application in; a grant has been approved by the Federal Government for Rome, but the State has yet to release the funds to the institution.

Another major Federal program which could pay for the services of students throughout the school year is the work-study program administered by the Office of Education. Under it, hundreds of millions of dollars over the next several years will be paid by the Federal Government to students for work in public benefit activities; tens of thousands of students in New York State alone will work for part of their college expenses. Work-study has been in operation for a year; there are no present plans by Willowbrook or Rome to receive student help under it from the nearby colleges of Wagner and Utica.

Second, there should be a major effort to use the services of persons from the community other than students—especially in programs for retarded children. In many communities, there have been programs by which foster parents or grandparents—people with spare time and energy—come into the institutions from time to time to work with individual children, and send them cards and small gifts. These highly successful programs could be funded in substantial part through the hospital improvement program. Moreover, a new $41 million program of aid to the elderly has as a major ingredient the very foster-grandparent program just described. Four thousand persons over 65 will be hired to care for children in State institutions; but if any of these 4,000 are to work in New York, we will have to change our attitude toward Federal aid.

Third, we need to better utilize the efforts of unpaid volunteers—especially through proper training and orientation, and in the organization of structured programs in which they can participate. Funds for such training and program planning are available from the hospital improvement program.

Fourth, education in the institutions should be extended to the preschool ages. The Head Start program of the Office of Economic Opportunity is open to retarded children, as it is to other disadvantaged children. It should be brought into the State schools.

Fifth, inservice training of attendants and other personnel should be intensified; most receive no organized refresher training after their initial 4-week orientation course. A social inservice training program makes funds and assistance available for this purpose. And title I of the higher education bill now being passed by the Congress will provide additional refresher training for such personnel.

Sixth, new educational programs should be planned to use funds soon to be available under an amendment I introduced, in the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Under this amendment, the Federal Government will assist special programs for the education of retarded children in State schools.

Seventh, we should make use of the on-the-job training program of the Department of Labor, by which employers are paid to hire and train persons previously not qualified to

work for them. The Mansfield School, to use it again as an example, is presently training 350 workers in the community under a grant of some $350,000.

Perhaps more important than the money which is available through these programs is the new thinking, the new spirit, the wind of change which they can bring. And that spirit should extend to action by the State without Federal assistance.

First, all State schools for the retarded should be affiliated with elements of the State university system or other colleges—just as all new hospitals must be affiliated with medical schools. Affiliation with colleges would help make available the services of students who might receive course credit for work with the retarded. It would also make available the services of university personnel—both to patients and to the staff. And the association would certainly tend to attract higher grade professional personnel, who might receive joint appointments by both the institutions.

Second, sufficient money will have to be spent—to relieve overcrowding, to purchase adequate physical therapy and recreational equipment, to hire more stable staff in high-cost areas such a New York City.

In this connection, I would urge that all members of the legislature—and all members of the executive branch of the State government with jurisdiction over these matters—visit these institutions and become as thoroughly acquainted with them as are the members of this committee. Words are no substitute for a day spent in Willowbrook.

Third, I would urge that the report of the special investigating committee appointed by Senator Conklin, presented to the Governor last year, be made public. Our shortcomings are due to no one man and no single administration. And the responsibility for remedy likewise belongs to all of us.

But above all, I think we need a new commitment—a commitment to what Dr. Nicholas Hobbs called a new bill of rights for children, guaranteeing even to the retarded the fullest expression of their individual capacities for growth. This legislature, it should be noted, made great strides in this direction—especially by assuring the retarded the right to complete medical and surgical treatment.

Nothing that I have said today is new. The recognized standards for these institutions are here in a pamphlet of the American Association on Mental Deficiency. You can open it to almost any page and measure another way in which we fail to meet these standards.

But because we know so much, because we know how much can be done for the retard, there can now be no excuse for inaction. What we can do, we must do, to work with these people not to what we think is the limit of their ability, but to the very limit of our ability to help them fulfill their potential. There are those in this room, most notably in this committee, who are meeting their responsibilities. Another I would name is Mr. John Mallon, of the Daily News, whose articles on this subject awakened many people to our needs.

But more must be done; the time is now; the burden is ours. In the year 1965, that conditions such as those I saw should exist in this great State is a reproach to us all. When the Federal Government stands ready to help, when thousands of students and other volunteers and nonprofessions are eager to help, when new knowledge has given us the opportunity to give hope to the retarded, these opportunities must be seized. We cannot tolerate a new snakepit in New York, a place where life is like that of which Sophocles asked,

"What joy is there in day that follows day,
Some swift, some slow, with death the only goal.

We can do better. We must do better."

Crisis in the Courts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, an article has just come across my desk, written by Joseph Mathewson and published in the Wall Street Journal of August 13 on the "Crisis in the Courts."

Surely it is ever so true that a representative form of government cannot exist unless our judicial system is beyond reproach.

The article follows:

CRISIS IN THE COURTS—DECLINE IN RESPECT FOR JUDICIAL PROCESS WORRIES LAWYERS

(By Joseph Mathewson)

MIAMI BEACH.—Americans are losing confidence in their courts—and for good reason.

That, at least, is what judges and lawyers have been saying here this week at the annual convention of the American Bar Association. At the same time they have been promoting efforts to improve judicial processes in the United States and to earn greater public respect for themselves.

Though this is not a new concern, it has been heightened by recent events in a number of States. In the most sensational among these developments, the Oklahoma Senate in May convicted a State supreme court justice of taking $10,000 in bribes to influence two cases and a former Oklahoma justice admitted that he, too, had taken payoffs.

In a much less serious but still highly disturbing incident, a Utah Supreme Court justice was caught by police this spring in a motel room with a young woman. He was charged with violation of a statute prohibiting such goings-on in public places, but the case was dismissed on a technicality, infuriating local newspapers which already were critical of local courts.

Nor was respect for the courts enhanced last fall when a fist fight broke out in the Louisiana Supreme Court between the chief justice and an associate justice.

Wide publicity given these and other incidents has done considerable harm to their profession, judges, and lawyers here feel. As Thomas M. Kavanagh, chief justice of Michigan puts it: "Any time a judge performs an unethical or illegal act, it reflects on the entire judiciary." Agrees William L. Marbury, president of the Maryland State Bar Association: "The public may not remember the individual case, but these things leave a residue of feeling that judges are dishonest."

The Oklahoma scandal seems to have had a profound impact. "It just scares us all to death," says a supreme court justice of another State here. "I think it is one of the worst things that ever happened to the courts." Nevertheless, it is also true that a loss of respect for the courts was evident before the Oklahoma case came to light.

DOUBTS IN MISSOURI

In a Missouri survey taken in 1963 but still often mentioned here, more than 30 percent of the laymen questioned said they doubted that they would have better than a 50-50 chance of obtaining justice if they were accused of a crime. And lawyers and laymen attending this spring's American Assembly at Harriman, N.Y.—the assembly is a nonpartisan educational institution affiliated with Columbia University—were highly critical of the courts.

They charged that "lower courts in many great cities manage to keep up with the flood of criminal cases that reach them only by the employment of assembly line procedures that often make a mockery of the common law tradition of dignity, decorum, and individualization in the adjudication of penal charges." They also asserted that the "law's delays in civil suits are intolerable."

The mounting concern over the reputation of the courts has been reflected by speaker after speaker at the ABA convention here. Robert A. Schroeder, president-elect of the Missouri Bar, declared that "politics, corruption, and incompetence are sadly degrading some of our country's courts and the image of justice." Former Gov. Howard Pyle, of Arizona, now president of the National Safety Council, noted that many citizens form their impressions of courts through their own actual experience, in traffic court, and, he added, "I must say that all too often those experiences are unworthy of a court of law."

U.S. Supreme Court Justice Byron R. White, putting the prestige of his office behind efforts to improve traffic courts, commented: "It is wholly clear that we cannot tolerate the fix, that we cannot run traffic courts for revenue rather than for the purpose of influencing behavior (and) that serious violators must face the judge."

With an eye toward improving the caliber of judges, the ABA's policymaking body, the House of Delegates, yesterday voted to launch a study of the best procedures for removing or disciplining judges who are corrupt, senile, or unfit for any other reason. It's felt that impeachment, at present the only way to remove Federal and most State judges, is too slow and cumbersome, and too devastating for punishment of minor offenses. Also, it doesn't cover such problems as mental and physical disability.

Some States already are acting to set up discipline-and-removal processes. In California, where a special commission was created in 1960 to investigate complaints against judges, more than 2 dozen members of the judiciary have resigned or retired as a result of the commission's work.

This year the Legislatures of Texas, Florida, Maryland, and Nebraska approved constitutional amendments setting up commissions similar to the one in California. In addition, the Oklahoma Legislature approved a constitutional amendment creating a court on the judiciary to deal with misconduct by judges, and the Wisconsin Legislature approved a proposed amendment abolishing justices of the peace. All these amendments go before voters of the States involved either this year or next.

Establishing new machinery for the judicial process—removing judges from partisan politics, abolishing justices of the peace, and other court improvements—was advocated enthusiastically in an unusual all-day meeting of judges and lawyers here last weekend. "We can have better courts, better judges, and better justice," declared Justice Robert C. Finley of Washington State's supreme court.

ROMNEY'S REPORT

Gov. George Romney, of Michigan, reported that his State had taken a number of steps to upgrade its judicial system and said he believed the moves had heightened public respect for the courts.

Among other things, Michigan eliminated a hodgepodge of independent, specialized courts by setting up a unified judicial system under a single central administration. The State also is abolishing justices of the peace, a move that will not be completed until about 1968, and has instigated the right of appeal to the courts from most State administrative decisions. To help cut down the backlog of cases, it set up a system under which retired judges may be assigned to temporary judicial vacancies and now permits judges, once elected, to run for reelection "by filing an affidavit of candidacy, thus freeing them from the need to circulate peti-

tions or depend on party conventions and partisan favor for renomination," as Governor Romney put it.

Incumbent judges in Michigan also are prohibited now from running for nonjudicial posts for a year after they leave the bench.

Changes along this line have been made in about 20 States since 1960, usually with the backing of the ABA and the American Judicature Society, an organization of judges and lawyers. In over 2 dozen States there are active lawyer-laymen groups promoting such changes.

Along with the concern expressed here for the judicial machinery and the reputations of the courts, there has been widespread talk of a need for lawyers to improve their public image, too. In the 1963 Missouri survey, only 63 percent of the persons who previously had used a lawyer rated the "general reputation" of lawyers as "good" or "very good," and fewer than 40 percent of the laymen and lawyers interviewed felt there was adequate enforcement of the lawyers' code of ethics.

FLORIDA TAKES A SURVEY

Most lawyers here believe the Missouri survey reflects nationwide attitudes. Declares Chesterfield Smith, past president of the Florida bar: "I assume it is a general thing and Missouri wasn't isolated. We're taking our own survey now."

Lewis F. Powell, Jr., president of the ABA, asserted here this week that "the public's opinion of lawyers is not reassuring," and he attributed much of this feeling to the "failure to conform to ethical standards and to maintain adequate professional discipline." He proposed, for one thing, that lawyers be constrained from giving the press too much information about pending criminal cases in their efforts to influence public opinion.

Many lawyers here believe the best way to improve their standing with the public is to spearhead the drive for court reforms. Also, the ABA, together with a number of State and local bar associations, has launched an intensive public relations drive designed to educate the public about legal matters and lawyers' services through such devices as television and radio programs, newspaper columns, lectures, adult education courses and other means.

The task of upgrading the American judicial processes would appear to be a formidable one, but the lawyers and judges here seem determined to do so. All hands agree on the urgency of trying.

Responsibility to America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVE MARTIN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, Janet Sue Lindgren, of Bridgeport, Nebr., is the winner for the State of Nebraska along with a young man from Ansley, in a teenage forum sponsored by the International Association of Rexall Clubs of Los Angeles.

This was not a contest, for there were no entry fees, no purchases necessary, and no box tops. Essays were written consisting of 250 words or less using the theme "Responsibility To America."

Janet was a visitor in Washington during this past week, and I would like to have my friends and colleagues read this fine essay from a fine young lady.

The essay follows:

RESPONSIBILITY TO AMERICA

(By Janet Sue Lindgren, Bridgeport, Nebr.)

America is more than these 50 States, spanning a continent, and constituting a nation. It is an embodiment of the hopes and dreams of a free people; a people aspiring to an even greater dream—that of a more perfect, just, and democratic nation.

This dream of an America, greater tomorrow than today, can only be built on the foundation of intangible but requisite values which are our heritage: a belief in the dignity, equality, and inherent freedom of man, a sense of justice, and a spirit of brotherhood and concern for all.

This foundation, so necessary to the American dreams is not, however, one of which we can say, "It is there; that is enough." As Richard Roberts reminds us, "The very basis of our culture is a set of highly abstract ethical principles, which require continuous reiteration and reemphasis in order to be maintained."

My responsibility to America, is to nourish the dream of a more perfect nation, while simultaneously redefining the values and ethics for which we as Americans must stand if we are to realize our dream. My life must mirror my belief in these values, and my goal must be both to share these beliefs and to defend them from attack. If I as an individual meet my responsibility to America, the beliefs of individuals, such as myself, can be welded into one, to become the conscience and morality of a nation, strong enough from within to realize the vision it has seen.

Gov. Dan K. Moore, of North Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the splendid works of Gov. Dan K. Moore, of North Carolina, since his inauguration have been observed by our people with great pride. His leadership of the Tar Heel State has been in keeping with the high standard of public service that we have characteristically had from the chief executives of our State.

An editorial appearing in the Charlotte News on Monday, September 13, 1965, entitled "In the Mainstream" points out some the problems faced by our distinguished Governor. It applauds his handling of those problems. The editorial is, in essence, a statement again of the North Carolina way in meeting problems and a commendation of the leadership of Governor Moore.

Since I am convinced that our colleagues will be interested in a further acquaintanceship with the North Carolina way of meeting problems under the leadership of men of ability and character elected by our people to lead the State as chief executives, and with unanimous consent I place the editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD:

[From the Charlotte News, Sept. 13, 1965]

IN THE MAINSTREAM

It is worth remembering that but a few short months ago political opponents were insinuating that Dan Moore was soft on the Ku Klux Klan. It is worth remembering now when he is booed by Klansmen and extremists in the east for declaring that the law in North Carolina will be obeyed. It is worth remembering that he said this all along.

Dan Moore is not an inspiring personality. He has very little flair for image making and only a modest sense of political timing. But as those who have tried unduly to influence him have discovered, he cannot be pushed. And as the passage of time has revealed, his word is as solid as a plank of his native mountain oak. He means what he says.

The racial tensions in North Carolina these past weeks have brought out the best in the Governor. His handling of a difficult situation in Plymouth has been exemplary. He has insisted that lawbreakers will be punished no matter how highly developed their sense of righteousness. He has counseled white and Negro leaders in that community to settle differences in the North Carolina way, at the conference table. All this has been done in that low-key, almost offhand way in which the Governor operates, but it has been effective. There is no violence in Plymouth and the Governor has been able to report, with what amounts to glowing enthusiasm for so laconic an individual, that the human relations council in Plymouth may set a pattern for solution of racial problems elsewhere in the State.

Thursday, in Kinston, for a Democratic rally, Governor Moore repeated these things. He told those in attendance that the State is facing a perilous racial crisis, as indeed it is. He talked of the absolute necessity of maintaining order. He expressed again his belief that North Carolina can settle its racial differences rationally and in an atmosphere of mutual trust.

Inside, some 3,000 persons cheered the Governor and Lieutenant Governor Scott. Outside, some 200 placard-carrying demonstrators—most of them Klansmen—booed.

Former Governor Hodges, who was present recently at the Speaker Ban commission hearings, remembers well the sounds of extremists booing his own stand on racial matters. So does former Governor Sanford. Dan Moore's actions in these last weeks have placed him firmly in this mainstream tradition of contemporary North Carolina Governors who have looked realistically and sensitively toward a solution of that problem the South used to think of as peculiarly its own.

Needy Help Given to Louisiana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE D. WAGGONNER, JR.

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, a great deal has appeared in the press since the tragedy of Hurricane Betsy detailing the Federal assistance given my State of Louisiana. For this help in this period of devastation and loss of life, we are grateful.

I would like to add here in the RECORD another tribute, this one to the American Telephone & Telegraph Co.

Damage to telephone property in Louisiana alone is expected to be more than $8,953,000.

Already, men, tools, equipment and vehicles from four other Bell System companies have been sent to augment Southern Bell of Louisiana. Over 800 trained technicians are in our State now

having been sent there by motor convoy and airlift. More than 12 tons of cable, wire and equipment have already been delivered and more is on the way. This includes 600 million conductor-feet of cable, 8 million feet of drop wire, 2 million feet of inside station wire and 2 million feet of rural wire.

When the storm passed over Louisiana, 351,000 telephones were out of service. By Saturday of this week, complete restoration is expected with the exception of 32,000 homes which are either under water or have been destroyed to the extent they are uninhabitable.

This magnificent achievement is worthy of public acclaim and I would like to commend American Telephone & Telegraph for all they have done and continue to do to reduce the total tragedy which has befallen my State.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include my newsletter to my constituents for August 9, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT FROM CONGRESSMAN JIM MARTIN, SEVENTH DISTRICT, ALABAMA

WHO'S RUNNING THE COUNTRY?

Early last week I predicted that an infamous letter written by Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach to a Member of Congress on the voting rights bill would be made public. On August 4, Congressman WILLIAM CRAMER, of Florida, did make the letter public by putting it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I am making this letter a part of this newsletter because I believe it is vital that the people of Alabama and the rest of this Nation know how much influence Martin Luther King has in directing the policies of the Democratic Party and in the legislation the President is sending to Congress with a demand that it be passed:

"[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, House, Aug. 4, 1965]

"Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, this might be entitled the third event in the saga of the Attorney General's secret letter.

"As I stated in yesterday's RECORD during the debate on the voting rights bill conference and later in reading a telegram into the RECORD addressed to the Attorney General, Nicholas Katzenbach, that it is my firm belief that a letter addressed to the conference by the Attorney General which influenced the conferences's decision at the 11th hour on the question of poll taxes should be made public. I requested the Attorney General, who wrote the letter, to make it public, and gave him a reasonable period of time to do so, of course after first asking that the chairman of the Judiciary Committee himself make it public.

"The chairman, in debate, informed me he would not do so, upon my request that he do so, and he suggested that the writer of the letter would have to do so.

"No reply to my wire requesting the Attorney General, as the writer of the letter, to do so, has been received.

"Certain excerpts from the letter have been leaked to the press, however, from other sources. According to today's Washington Post, after my demand a letter was circulated among the press. The Post article stated, 'Later'—meaning, of course, after I demanded that it be made public and the chairman refused to do so—'Later copies of this letter were circulated among newsmen.' Apparently, however, certain selected passages were circulated. Under these circumstances, I feel it my obligation to make the letter a matter of record. I place a copy of it in the RECORD and read it at this time.

"(The letter referred to is as follows:)

"JULY 29, 1965.

"Late last night I discussed with Dr. Martin Luther King the proposed voting rights bill as it now stands in conference, and particularly the new poll tax provision. Dr. King strongly expressed to me his desire that the bill promptly be enacted into law and said that he felt this was an overriding consideration. He expressed his understanding and appreciation of the difficulties in achieving a satisfactory compromise in conference.

"With respect to the poll tax provision he expressed his view to me thusly:

" 'While I would have preferred that the bill eliminate the poll tax at this time—once and for all—it does contain an express declaration by Congress that the poll tax abridges and denies the right to vote. In addition, Congress directs the Attorney General to institute forthwith suits which will eliminate and prevent the use of the poll tax in the four States where it is still employed. I am confident that the poll tax provision of the bill—with vigorous action by the Attorney General—will operate finally to bury this iniquitous device.'

"Dr. King further assured me that he would make this statement publicly at an appropriate time.

"While you are free to show this letter privately to whomsoever you wish I would appreciate it if you did not use it publicly without informing me so that I, in turn, may discuss it with Dr. King.

"Sincerely,

"_____ _____,

"*Attorney General.*

"Mr. CRAMER. The letter carries the initials N. deB. K., meaning Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, and MCM—I assume that is his secretary—dated July 29, 1965, addressed to one of my colleagues whose name I will not indicate unless he wishes to do so. I will state, however, that he was a conferee. This is what the Attorney General's letter said:

" 'Late last night I discussed with Martin Luther King the proposed voting rights bill as it now stands in conference, and particularly the new poll tax provision. Dr. King strongly expressed to me his desire that the bill promptly be enacted into law and said he felt this was an overriding consideration. He expressed his understanding and appreciation of the difficulties of achieving a satisfactory compromise in conference.

" 'With respect to the poll tax provision he expressed his view to me thusly—'

"And it is the Attorney General quoting Dr. King—

" 'While I would have preferred that the bill eliminate the poll tax at this time—once and for all—it does contain an express declaration by Congress that the poll tax abridges and denies the right to vote. In addition, Congress directs the Attorney General "to institute forthwith" suits which will eliminate and prevent the use of the poll tax in the four States where it is still employed. I am confident that the poll tax provision of the bill—with vigorous action by the Attorney General will operate finally to bury this iniquitous device.'

"Quoting Martin Luther King. These are the two interesting paragraphs, quoting the Attorney General in his letter. This letter after having been read in conference unquestionably influenced a number of the conferees in that on Tuesday they took the position they should stand by the House version of the poll tax ban and on Thursday, after this letter was read, having changed that position. Quoting the Attorney General's letter:

" 'Dr. King further assured me that he would make this statement publicly at an appropriate time.'

"I call your attention to the fact that the appropriate time has not yet arrived even though we voted on this question yesterday.

"Quoting further, and listen to this—this is your Attorney General—listen to what he is saying here:

" 'While you—'

"Meaning the recipient of the letter, the Congressman—

" 'are free to show this letter privately to whomsoever you wish I would appreciate it if you did not use it publicly without informing me so that I in turn, may discuss it with Dr. King.

" 'Sincerely,

" '_____ _____,

" '*Attorney General.*'

"Mr. CRAMER. I feel it essential to bring this matter to light because I believe the Congress and the people are entitled to know how and by whom the conference was influenced and under what circumstances. A reading of the letter leaves a lot of questions unanswered. I am hereby requesting that they be answered. Here are some questions which were raised in my mind.

"First. Was the statement of Dr. King, given on the poll tax ban, solicited? It appears quite obvious it was in that it was presented to the conference at a very strategic time, and the Attorney General states in his own letter he talked to Dr. King 'last night,' meaning July 28.

"Second. What right has the Attorney General, after acquiring such a statement and after it has been read to the conference to request, 'I would appreciate it if you did not use it publicly,' in that actions of the conferees are a matter of grave national interest and of public concern?

"Third. Why did not Dr. King make his statement—giving up on the poll tax ban—public before a vote on the conference report was taken?

"Fourth. Why should a conference be influenced by opinions of one individual expressed at a time after both the House and Senate had worked their will? Why would the Attorney General want it kept secret for an indefinite period of time after he discussed the poll tax question with Dr. King, as he says in his letter?

"Why should the release of the letter be subject to Dr. King's approval?

"Fifth. Why should a statement read to the conference quoting a nongovernmental party be required by the Attorney General to be kept secret until the nongovernmental party himself, meaning Dr. King, wishes to make it public?

"Sixth. How could the Attorney General in good faith ask that Members of Congress be a party to such secrecy and such a procedure by demanding that such information be kept confidential as expressed in the last paragraph of the letter?

"I for one resent very deeply the Attorney General's injection of a third party's views into the conference intentionally, in a supersecret fashion, which unquestionably influenced the conferees, at least in my opinion, on this question.

"I do not believe it is the proper function of the Attorney General as a Cabinet officer and one of the highest ranking public officials, to take it upon himself to discuss matters which are in conference with outside individuals in an attempt to in-

fluence the conference by quoting that individual in secret. This letter was largely instrumental, in my opinion, in causing the conference on the House side to change its position which on Tuesday was to vote to sustain the House position and on Thursday to reverse it, after the letter had been read.

"Certainly the public is entitled to know, as is the Congress, how such a reversal came about, and I, for one, refuse to be muzzled at the direction of the Attorney General on any letter or any other matter that I believe to be propertly within the public domain."

King consents to see President

On Wednesday, Martin Luther King arrived in Washington for a series of meetings. He said he had not decided whether or not he would see the President, but by Thursday morning he made up his mind that he would go to the White House and an appointment was set up. He stated he wanted to talk to the President about home rule for the District of Columbia. It is also significant that the President conferred with Martin Luther King before signing the voting rights bill into law.

How closely King is working with the President may be better understood through news reports. In a front-page story on Wednesday evening the Washington Evening Star said: "President Johnson asked House Speaker JOHN W. MCCORMACK, today to press hard for congressional approval of a District home rule bill.

"In a letter to MCCORMACK, Johnson said the House must be given the chance to take action on home rule legislation for Washington.

"At virtually the same time the letter was sent, the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was telling a news conference here that there was a possibility of 'massive demonstrations' in Washington if the home rule bill is not passed. He is here for a 2-day visit."

Home rule means that control of Washington will be taken away from Congress, which represents all the people, and turn it over to the local citizens. The overwhelming majority of the population in Washington is Negro. This means that the Capital of the United States will be the only Capital City in the world ruled by a minority group.

The Evening Star story goes on to say: "On arrival in Washington, King went directly to his news conference at the Adas Israel Synagogue, where he ranged over a variety of points, from local civil rights matters to Vietnam."

Besides his demand for home rule for the District of Columbia, King asked support by clergymen for the unseating of the duly elected Congressmen from Mississippi, more disobedience of laws in Alabama which he does not like or with which he disagrees, and negotiations in Vietnam. It will be interesting to see what course the President follows after his meeting with Martin Luther King. Isn't it time for the American people to ask by what right is Martin Luther King dictating policies to be followed by this country?

United States trains invaders for South

Attorney General Katzenbach began an intensive training of 45 Civil Service Commission employees who will be sent to invade the South as Federal voting examiners. Processing these so-called examiners has been going on for over a month and their intensive training began even before the voting rights bill was approved by Congress.

Such arrogance shows once again the contempt the administration and certain Cabinet officers have for the legislative powers of Congress. Once the President sends down a bill the machinery is set up to operate the law even before Congress has a chance to act.

According to newspaper accounts "anyone was eligible to volunteer, from the janitor on up" as Federal voting examiners. These intensely trained examiners will now be sent into Alabama and other Southern States to register everyone over 21 years of age, even if the person cannot read or write, and in defiance of all State laws on voting and registration. This is a sad day for the South and America. This second invasion of the South can do nothing but cause disunity and open up old wounds that were beginning to heal before the onslaughts of Martin Luther King and the national Democratic politicians seeking votes to keep themselves in office.

Sincerely,

JIM MARTIN,
Member of Congress.

(P.S.—If you have a friend who would like to receive my newsletter, have him or her send us name and address.)

England Gets New Automated Newspaper

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, this week the first new evening paper in Britain since World War II was introduced in Reading, England, using sophisticated photographic typesetting equipment produced in Wilmington, Mass.

This remarkable event in the publishing world was made possible by Photon, Inc., of Wilmington. The New York Times described the new operation in an article which appeared on Wednesday, September 15, 1965. I include the article in the RECORD and extend my congratulations to the officials and personnel at Photon for this significant achievement:

AUTOMATED PAPER OPENS IN BRITAIN—THOMSON TERMS COMPUTERS A BOON TO PUBLISHING

READING, ENGLAND, September 14.—Lord Thomson of Fleet starts the presses today for the Evening Post of Reading, the first newspaper combining computer control, photographic typesetting, and offset color printing.

The Post is also the first new evening paper established in Britain since World War II.

Hinting at plans for a gradual extension of computer operations to the rest of his newspaper empire, Lord Thomson said this afternoon, "I can envisage one big computer that would be capable of setting type for the whole of England."

The publisher added that British trade unions had raised no objections to this major step toward automation in the production of newspapers, which substitutes 12 typists punching tape for 24 linotype operators. In the United States, automated typesetting has been a bitter labor-management issue.

"Everyone can see that overall, we are bringing more employment to Reading," Lord Thomson said.

"LIKE A LAB JOB"

Lord Thomson showed guests through bright and quiet offices where, in place of the clatter and clanging of typecasting machines, men in white uniforms silently punched keyboards like those of typewriters. "Like a lab job," the publisher said proudly.

As the typists struck the keys, the words of news stories were transformed into tiny punched holes in a strip of paper tape less than an inch wide. Unlike operators of conventional printing machinery, the tape-punchers did not have to concentrate on filling out lines of copy or beginning new ones; they tapped out an unbroken stream of letters and words.

Reels of tape produced by all 12 operators were spun into the computer faster than the eye could see. Equally quickly the computer produced a new punched tape. On this one, letters and words had automatically been grouped on "justified," or evenly spaced lines, ready to form a newspaper column with uniform righthand margins.

BUILT-IN DICTIONARY

By consulting a dictionary stored in its memory unit, the computer has properly hyphenated words where necessary to fill out the lines. And it had added to the holes in the tape a number of code symbols to activate a photographic typesetting machine.

Finally, the reels of new tape whizzed into a Photon machine, an American-made photographic-typesetting device. At the heart of the machine is a series of alphabet characters printed on glass, each letter resembling a tiny lantern slide. Signaled by the holes in the coded tape, light beams flashed through the glass characters, recording them in turn on photographic film. What emerged was a column of readable newspaper type on a slip of paper.

In conventional newspaper production, the lines of words would have been molded into blocks of metal, more expensive to produce and harder to arrange into pages.

OFFSET PRESS FASTER

When the columns of photographed type, arranged in pages, had been assembled and reproduced on photosensitive plates, rolls of paper poured through the presses, and the papers were on their way. Offset printing is quicker and cheaper than conventional letterpress because images are transferred to paper from a chemically treated flat surface rather than a raised, inked surface.

Thomson executives, applauding "the world's most modern newspaper," voiced fear of trade union objections as the process was extended. They said they hoped to meet complaints by assuming full responsibility to find new work for any man displaced by a computer.

The birth of the Evening Post was not without mechanical pangs. A few moments after Lord Thomson had thrown the switch, the presses cruched to a stop. Machinists explained that acid had somehow reached the rollers. Soon afterward the Photon apparatus broke. Finally, electric power was cut off by the failure of a switch.

As a result, the Post was delayed about 2 hours, and the first run was only 30,000 copies instead of 50,000, as planned.

The new newspaper replaces a successful weekly, the Reading Standard, which had 40,000 readers in Reading, 36 miles west of London. Lord Thomson bought it 2 years ago.

Plans for another evening daily paper at Burnley, Lancashire, were announced today.

After 2 years of research and preparation and an investment of about $2.8 million. The Post can style itself "the world's most modern" mainly because it combines processes that have been used separately in other publications.

At the heart of the system is the British-built 503B, an all-purpose digital computer into which 12 tape punchers feed their tape. A locally developed keyboard automatically delays the recording of typed characters so that errors may be quickly corrected.

Pacifism: Peace or Appeasement?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Robert Donihi writing in the June issue of Report had some salient remarks about the pacifist movement in America. Under unanimous consent I place "Pacifism—Peace or Appeasement?" in the Appendix of the RECORDS

PACIFISM—PEACE OR APPEASEMENT?

(By Robert Donihi)

"The wicked are wicked, no doubt," said Thackeray, "and they go astray and they fall, and they come by their deserts; but who can tell the mischief which the very virtuous do?"

Political pacifism, like Carl Sandburg's poetical "Fog," has crept on little cat feet across the country, gathering in its mist an amorphous meld of teachers, students, clergy, newsmen, politicians, agitated mothers, fuzzy-headed hopefuls and a residue of repeaters from picket lines, coast-to-coast. It all adds up to a new and omnipresent phenomenon.

Yet pacifism is hardly novel. It has been a temptation from earliest times. (Who wants to struggle? Free peace is cheaper.) Today's paradox lies in the Communist skill at using pacifism to support Soviet aggression.

Since World War II, pacifism has manifested itself with vehemently engineered protests against nuclear testing and against U.S. opposition to communism in Korea, Cuba, and most recently Vietnam.

According to "Report on the Left," March 1965, U.S. Communist Party leaders called for immediate demonstrations when news broke of the American air strikes against North Vietnam. On cue, members of the far, far left W. E. B. DuBois Clubs demonstrated outside the Federal Building in Los Angeles. (Since the DuBois Clubs were founded in 1964, the FBI has identified them as a "new national Marxist Youth organization.") Later, a massive rally was called at the University of California at Berkeley. A total of 1,300 students and teachers came to hear Communist Party National Committeeman, Herbert Aptheker expound the Soviet line for "pacifists."

Over the George Washington birthday weekend, some 40 delegates and observers from DuBois Clubs throughout the Midwest met at the University of Wisconsin to map "peace" strategy. In Chicago, DuBois clubsters were demonstrating in front of their favorite target—the Federal Building—carrying posters and distributing party line leaflets on the Vietnam crisis.

Members of the pro-Peiping splinter groups marched with their alleged factional enemies from the Communist Party, in many cities. "Leftwing" Marxist groups involved in the Vietnam demonstrations include the May 2d Movement and the Progressive Labor Movement.

In New York, a group of prominent U.S. citizens expressed their "conscientious refusal to cooperate with the U.S. Government in the prosecution of the war in Vietnam." Among the signers: scientist Linus Pauling; John Lewis, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; veteran "pacifist" Rev. A. J. Muste; and labor leader A. Philip Randolph.

Thousands of students from throughout the United States joined the April 17 (Easter weekend) march on Washington sponsored by the Students for a Democratic Society to demand a U.S. pullout from southeast Asia.

"Communist Party members from throughout the Nation participated in that demonstration," declared Congressman ALLEN SMITH, Republican, of California, a former FBI agent. Mr. SMITH named many known Communists including Arnold Johnson, Michael Zagarell and George Myers who are respectively the party's public relations director, national youth director and southern regional director.

"In addition to Communist Party and W.E.B. DuBois Clubs," said SMITH, "were members of such Communist splinter groups as: Socialist Worker's Party; Young Socialist Alliance; Worker's World Party; Youth Against War and Fascism; Progressive Labor Movement; May 2 Movement." The Congressman added that "the greatest number of individuals with subversive backgrounds who participated in the march came from New York City."

Senator STROM THURMOND believes that the nonviolent demonstrations are "* * * nothing more or less than a war against society and the existing political order—in short, an insurrection." These pacifist demonstrations, he said, "constitute the professional application of the art of civil disobedience."

There is no doubt that pacifist organizations have linked themselves with civil rights demonstrations, although it is conjectural that there is any single behind-the-scenes coordinating effort. This writer, however, stumbled into some interesting indications of close personal, if not official, ties between leaders in the two movements.

One such incident occurred when Sanford Leigh, spokesman for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, was asked to identify several "pacifist" organizations which were listed without other identity in a Washington news story. Ticking the names off with obvious relish and knowledge, he furnished the names, addresses and telephone numbers of each. "Student Peace Union? That's SPU, 5 Beekman Street, New York City 38; phone BEekman 3-0464. War Resister's League? That's WRL. Ask for Dave McReynolds at 5 Beekman Street in New York City. His phone is CO 7-4592. Fellowship of Reconciliation? That's FOR. You contact Rev. A. J. Muste at New York City, CO 7-3261; his address is 5 Beekman Street. Students for a Democratic Society? That's the SDS. Call Jeff Segal at New York City, GRamercy 3-2181."

Asked whether there were any similarities of policy between these organizations and SNCC for which Leigh speaks, he said, "We try to coordinate some of our activities, though a 'Ban-the-bomb in Britain' is not too relevant to the people in Alabama. Our main interest, of course, is civil-domestic matters. Those other organizations are concerned with foreign policy. But in general we oppose action in Vietnam because it takes money away from the people here. We think the military budget is too high, when not enough is being done for the people here."

When I remarked concerning his quick knowledge of the pacifist organizations named above, Mr. Leigh insisted: "If you'd called anybody else here (at SNCC) they wouldn't have known about this. It just happened I had my telephone book open dictating some letters. That's how I was able to give you that information."

A U.S. pull-out from Vietnam is the No. 1 pacifist concern. Yet discussion of the Vietnam action at this point boils down to the fact that the Vietcong are indisputably Communists, that their takeover would be an overwhelming step ahead for communism in southeast Asia; that the 1963 U.S. action against the Diem regime is becoming less defensible—if it was ever anything but wrong—and that the organized Buddhist protests against that regime were Communist engineered.

In recent interviews with Buddhists and Roman Catholic clergy visiting here from Vietnam, Report was told that, contrary to what the pacifists maintain, the bombings and the stationings of the marines at Da Nang have greatly boosted the morale of both the people and the army and that, finally, they have hopes of success. Fr. Cao Van Luan attributed earlier anti-U.S. sentiments to our lack of a determined plan and commitment to win the war. "We resented their indetermination," he said.

The native priest added that resentment was especially high among Catholics in South Vietnam who could not comprehend how any nominally Christian country could so disastrously foot-drag against communism. Now, he said, "Catholics and good Buddhists" are joined in determination to prevent a Communist takeover by North Vietnam. It is his belief that the Vietcong are being forced to ask for a cease-fire.

Buddhist monk Rev. Thien An visiting in New York with Fr. Luan, further undermined the arguments of the pacifists. He claimed that if South Vietnam ever becomes Communist, "peace will be impossible." And this from a Buddhist whose father died a flaming death in protest against the Diem regime.

Are all pacifists Communist? Certainly not. Then, who are the pacifists? They very virtuous? The wicked? Or, an artful Communist blend of both?

To quote Senator DODD, Democrat, of Connecticut: "For the genuine pacifist, I have respect, even though I believe that their philosophy is dangerously starry-eyed. But I must say in all frankness that they frequently do not show very much discretion about those that accompany them in these demonstrations."

What is pacifism? The present popular concept presents it as a kind of Quakerish forbearance, ready to endure all, rather than invoke bloodshed. In medical usage, it may be noted, pacifism pertains to "certain morbid conditions characterized by deficient vitality and reaction."

John Courtney Murray, S.J., makes his own these words of Pope Pius XII: "There are greater evils than the physical death and destruction wrought in war. And there are human goods of so high an order that immense sacrifices may have to be borne in their defense." The noted Jesuit maintains that the late Pope "transcended the vulgar pacifism of sentimentalist and materialist inspiration that is so common today."

Yet even the U.S. Senate, which in years past came to merit the label of "the Nation's last bulwark against tyranny," is not immune to confusion. Senator JOHN G. TOWER, Republican, of Texas, recently reminded a Baylor University audience that Senators of the President's party have taken to the floor to argue for appeasement and retreat. He amplified that statement in a newsletter: "The argument for a newer and still softer line against communism is being advanced by many influential persons."

Speaking against "nonneutral neutralism," Senator WINSTON PROUTY, Republican, of Vermont, claims, "We not only failed to see the light; we seem not even to know that we are in the dark."

The Senate is split, as are both parties within it, on when and how to use power in foreign affairs. Everyone claims to be for goodness. But as Eric Sevareid puts it, "Goodness without power is impotent, and power itself is impotent without the will to use it."

Senator WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, chairman of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is pessimistic, if not pacifistic, about us—all of us. Several months ago at Johns Hopkins University the Senator rather cynically stated: "The world has endured about all it can of the crusades of high-minded men bent on the regeneration of the human race * * *. The result

has been a great deal of bloodshed and violence committed not in malice but in the purest of motives."

Senator DODD, a member of the same committee, says: "On a variety of crucial issues, we have allowed sentimentality to replace realism in the formulation of our national policies. I refer to the lopsided state of mind which is so entranced with such general goals as peace, disarmament, brotherhood, and reform (with a capital 'R') that it ignores the real obstacles in the path of each of those goals. Sentimentality can be deadly in the conduct of national policy."

Is this what is producing large numbers of our young who have so lost their place in society that they can only go out and demonstrate for a pseudoideal?

The sincere pacifist proceeds from the assumption that all war is immoral. This position, says Rev. Albert T. Mollegen, is erroneous. The Episcopalian priest, presently of the Virginia Theological Seminary, has said: "It is unequivocably clear that responsibility for the maintenance of any particular cultural, social, or political way of life, of any particular set of historical institutions, means responsibility for maintaining the power which secures that way of life and set of institutions."

"To renounce the coercive power of police," continued the Reverend Mollegen, "would leave the society open to domination by anyone who resorts to coercion. * * * Military power has no protective power if its use is renounced. To renounce war, therefore, is to abandon responsibility for any particular achievements of justice and freedom."

Among the clergy, however, as well as among the educators, there are those of every faith who are moved less by theology than by the simple horror of war. Thus many have plunged directly into challenging American involvement in Vietnam.

Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish leaders met in New York last January to prepare for a large-scale conference on "religion and peace" to be held in Washington in the spring of 1966. The gathering was sponsored by the Methodist Church's division of peace and world order.

But the spadework and motivation is attributed to Dr. Dana McLean Greeley, president of the Unitarian Universalist Association, who simultaneously pushed for "a call to vigil" meeting May 11 and 12, 1965, which consisted of a march on Capitol Hill and the Pentagon to register concern about Vietnam.

The latter 2-day meeting was sponsored by the interreligious committee on Vietnam, with registrations and meetings scheduled exclusively at the Mount Vernon Methodist Church in Washington. Organizing personnel, however, were supplied by the Friends' Committee on National Legislation, which conducted a similar vigil in 1960. About 1,000 persons participated, carrying placards with such slogans as "Bombs cannot pave the way to peace," "No nation can play God for mankind," and "Negotiate, don't escalate."

At the conclusion of the New York convocation, Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath announced the 1966 Washington meet as "* * * envisioned on a similar scale to the religion and race gathering held in Chicago in 1963."

Will the pacifist demonstrations cease? As long as responsible adults advance or encourage pacifist-type leadership one can hardly expect students to abandon their pacifist demonstrations.

And there's a deeper problem. Dr. Edna Fluegel, political science professor at a prominent girls' college in Washington, said there was a time when "I had to bring Communist propaganda onto the campus to illustrate my subject. Now the students are loaded with the stuff—the campus is flooded with party materials—presumably from Communists."

This same professor relates how she went to the march on Washington demonstrations and was given "straight party line Communist materials at student distribution centers." Dr. Fluegel says one of the documents was a duplicate of a telegram purportedly addressed to Ho Chi Minh, President of North Vietnam and saying: "* * * in fullest solidarity with the defense of your country against the attack of U.S. imperialism. Heroic struggle of Vietnamese working people furthers the American revolution."

But the United States is not the only country suffering from the pacifism virus. In Italy last month, the moderate Cardinal Florit, archbishop of Florence, warned that wide acceptance of the concept of a sentimental conscientious objection to military service could lead to anarchy.

Does pacifism mean the demonstrators would refuse to be inducted into the armed services? Of the United States? Of a Soviet-dominated United States?

National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. RODNEY M. LOVE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9460) to provide for the establishment of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities to promote progress and scholarship in the humanities and the arts in the United States, and for other purposes.

Mr. LOVE. Mr. Chairman, the bill now before this committee, H.R. 9460, has particular interest to me as it represents the first piece of legislation I had the honor to introduce upon my arrival in Washington as the newly elected Representative from the Third District of Ohio.

I am deeply grateful that the Committee on Education and Labor has reported this bill to the House during this session and I feel the committee members should be highly commended for the thoroughness and dispatch which they have shown. I also believe that the gentleman from Pennsylvania, the Honorable WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD, should be given credit for his leadership.

With the establishment of a National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities a great step forward will be made, for too long has America been labeled by others as a culturally unconscious land. Our science, our charity, our dedication to principle has no peer, but greatness is measured by a people's arts and its understanding of the humanities. America must be a whole land, its culture complete from the intricate machine to the simplest flower.

This bill will support for the first time our citizens who work for artistic excellence and who foster an environment which stimulates creative expression. I call for broad support of this measure and I hope the Congress will respond accordingly as this body, itself, represents a humanitarian purpose, not only for this country but for the entire world.

Fourth District Progress Conference Great Success in Middle Tennessee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, on September 15 last, the Fourth District Partners-for-Progress Conference was held in Murfreesboro, Tenn.

This conference was a great success. An overflow attendance came to hear Federal officials explain the application of various aid and assistance programs to the problems of the great Fourth District, which I am honored to represent.

All who participated are to be commended—the leadership and citizenry of the Fourth District, the Federal officials from Washington, Atlanta, and Nashville, and others who worked so hard to set up and conduct the conference. Its success was a tribute to Americans working together.

Under unanimous consent I include the program of the conference, the news coverage, and my newsletter relating to the conference, in the Appendix of the RECORD, believing that they will be of widespread interest to communities throughout the Nation.

The program, indicative press coverage, and newsletter follow:

FOURTH DISTRICT PARTNERS-FOR-PROGRESS CONFERENCE

Introduction of Congressman JOE L. EVINS, Member of Congress by Sam E. Jennings, director, regional office, Small Business Administration, Nashville, Tenn.

Opening remarks and welcome by Fourth District Congressman JOE L. EVINS.

Remarks of welcome: W. H. Westbrooks, mayor of Murfreesboro and county judge James H. Threet, Rutherford County.

Introduction of guest speakers: Wilkes Coffey, Jr., attorney-at-law, field representatives for Congressman JOE L. EVINS.

Speakers: Mr. Robert E. Brown, assistant area coordinator urban renewal administration, Housing and Home Finance Agency; Mr. Gil Hancock, deputy director, office of development companies, Small Business Administration; Mr. J. Paul Harris, regional director, community facilities, Housing and Home Finance Agency.

PANEL DISCUSSION

Presiding: Mr. Joe Shaver, chief, financial assistance director regional office, Small Business Administration.

Panel members: Mr. Robert E. Brown, Mr. Gil Hancock, Mr. Paul Harris, Mr. Roy Oaks, Chief, procurement and management assistant regional office, Small Business Administration.

AID AVAILABLE, MEETING TOLD

(By Jimmy Sarnahan, staff correspondent, the Nashville Tennesseean)

MURFREESBORO.—Federal agencies are prepared to spend millions of dollars to aid middle Tennessee communities develop their own economic development projects, Fourth Congressional District civic, political, and business leaders were told at a conference here yesterday.

Representative JOE L. EVINS, Democrat, of Tennessee, speaking over a telephone circuit from Washington, said Federal legislative programs making the funds available are

designed to "release the energies of our great free enterprise system."

EVINS, who sponsored the conference attended by an overflow crowd of 200 persons at the Murfreesboro city hall, said the Federal programs are "designed to stimulate local initiative and cooperation of our local people to put people to work."

"We want to create more economic opportunity and broaden our economy, and we want to assist businesses in diversifying and expanding," EVINS added.

Wilkes Coffey, Jr., Murfreesboro attorney and field representative for EVINS, and Sam E. Jennings, Murfreesboro, director of the Nashville regional office for the Small Business Administration, cchosted the conference which included a panel of Federal officials from Washington, Atlanta, and Nashville.

Gil Hancock, Washington, Deputy Director of the Office of Development Companies for the Small Business Administration, paid special tribute to EVINS for his leadership as chairman of the House Small Business Committee.

Since Congressman EVINS assumed the chairmanship of the House Small Business Committee, the Small Business Administration has moved forward with more direction than in all its history. Legislation passed through his support has enabled us to make thousands of loans to aid small businesses and provide jobs through economic growth," Hancock said.

Among SBA projects Hancock stressed were 502 loans made to community owner development companies under section 502 of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958.

It is known that several downtown Murfreesboro businessmen and property owners have been investigating the possibility of 502 loans to raze and reconstruct major portions of the public square business area.

The following is an account of how 502 loans work, according to Hancock:

Loans are available for the construction or conversion of existing facilities as well as for the purchase of land, buildings, and machinery and equipment.

Under the program, loans up to $350,000 each for relending to small businesses in a community are available to a local development company which meets the charter requirements of the State and SBA regulations.

Development companies must have a broad base of ownership with not less than 75 percent of its stock held by persons residing or doing business in the locality, and with no one person or group of persons to own more than 25 percent of the stock.

SBA can place a loan to the development company or directly to the individual business, using the development company as a sponsor.

With the development company providing a 20-percent equity in a project, the SBA can then loan 80 percent of the project cost or $350,000, whichever is the least. Loans can be made for a term up to 25 years and bear a maximum interest of 5½ percent.

If a local bank participates in the loan and is willing to charge a lower rate of interest, SBA will reduce its rate accordingly but not below 5 percent unless the loan is made in an area determined by the Labor or Commerce Departments as having chronic unemployment or undergoing redevelopment. In the latter case, the interest rate is fixed at 4 percent, Hancock said.

"All of the SBA's lending programs are based on cooperation, not competition, with banks, and we are happy to report that over 90 percent of our loans are made in participation with banks," Hancock said.

Robert E. Brown, Atlanta, assistant area coordinator for the Urban Renewal Administration of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, discussed new provisions of recently passed Federal housing legislation.

New provisions he cited, were:

Grants are now available up to $1,500 to owner-occupants of an urban renewal area to make home improvements.

Loans up to $10,000 at 3 percent interest are available for home remodeling under a plan for voluntary rehabilitation of a neighborhood.

Federal funds are now available in an experimental rent supplement program to aid the elderly, disabled or persons displaced by a Government project. The aid is subject to local rent levels and the housing must meet Federal Housing Authority standards.

State, county, and city governments may now receive up to 50 percent Federal aid for purchasing "open space" or unimproved land for community projects. The State of Tennessee is seeking such assistance to buy additional land for five State parks.

Others on the panel were J. Paul Harris, Atlanta, regional director of the Community Facilities Administration of the Housing and Home Finance Agency; Roy Oaks, chief of procurement and management assistance for the Nashville regional office, Small Business Administration; Joe Shaver, Nashville, chief financial assistance director for the Nashville regional office, SBA, and William Keel, special assistant to Representative EVINS.

Mayor W. H. Westbrooks of Murfreesboro, and Rutherford County Judge James Threet made welcoming addresses to the conference participants.

Attending the conference were mayors, county judges, bank officials, chamber of commerce officials, businessmen and representatives of civic clubs in the 23-county Fourth District.

A similar conference, but one limited to small business matters, will be conducted today in Nashville at Peabody College under the sponsorship of Representative RICHARD FULTON, Democrat, of Tennessee.

[From the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner]

DEVELOPMENT SESSION HELD AT MURFREESBORO

MURFREESBORO.—An interested community may acquire 80 percent of the funds necessary for development or redevelopment of its small businesses through loans from a Federal agency, officials and businessmen from 20 middle Tennessee counties were told Wednesday afternoon at a community development program here.

Several specific Federal aids to communities were outlined at the meeting—sponsored by Representative JOE L. EVINS, Democrat, of Tennessee.

Over 100 persons heard the Congressman speak over a telephone circuit from Washington. He said that the Federal development programs are designed to stimulate local initiative and cooperation of local people in putting people to work. Increased economy and diversified and expanding businesses are the goals of the program, he said.

Gil Hancock of Washington, Deputy Director of the Office of Development Companies for the Small Business Administration explained section 502 of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958.

"The SBA community development program is a grassroots proposition that can be of significant aid to help your community," Hancock told the group.

There has been considerable interest in obtaining funds to renovate the courthouse square section of Murfreesboro.

According to Hancock, the 502 loans are set up in the following manner:

Funds up to $350,000 may be obtained by a local development company, which meets State and SBA regulations, for relending to local small businesses.

Loans may be made by SBA to the development company or they may be made directly to the individual business with the development company as sponsor.

The funds are designated for construction or conversion of facilities and for buying land, buildings, machinery and equipment.

Not less than 75 percent of a development company's stock must be held by either residents or persons doing business in the area and no one person or group of persons can own more than 25 percent of the stock. The development company must provide 20 percent of the funds for a project and SBA can then loan either 80 percent of the cost or $350,000, whichever is lower. SBA makes the loans for a term of up to 25 years and the loans can have a maximum interest rate of 5½ percent.

Interest rates may be lowered to 5 percent by SBA if a local bank takes part in the loan and is willing to reduce the interest rate. If the vicinity receiving the loan has been determined by the Labor or Commerce Departments as having chronic unemployment or undergoing redevelopment the interest rate is a fixed 4 percent.

Discussing provisions of recently passed Federal housing legislation was Robert E. Brown of Atlanta, assistant area coordinator for the Urban Renewal Administration of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Under this program State, county and city governments can obtain up to 50 percent Federal aid for buying land for community projects. Tennessee is presently seeking this assistance for purchasing land for 5 State parks.

Home improvement loans up to $1,500 are available to owners and occupants of urban renewal areas; loans for home remodeling up to $10,000 at 3 percent interest are available for voluntary rehabilitation of a neighborhood; and a rent supplement program to aid the elderly, disabled, or persons displaced by a government project is available if the housing meets Federal Housing Authority regulations.

J. Paul Harris of the Community Facilities Administration outlined a plan which provides up to 50 percent in grants for basic sewer and water facilities. He said these grants will become available through the 1965 Housing Act.

CAPITAL COMMENTS

(By JOE L. EVINS, Member of Congress)

FOURTH DISTRICT PARTNERS-FOR-PROGRESS CONFERENCE PROVES BIG SUCCESS

The tremendous response and attendance at the recent Fourth District Partner-for-Progress Conference in Murfreesboro was most gratifying and considered by all most informative and a big success. The fact that the city council chambers were filled to overflowing with local governmental officials, mayors, county judges, representatives of chambers of commerce, representatives of civic clubs and industrial leaders—including many small businessmen—augurs well for the future growth of our cities and communities.

Those who attended came because they wanted to know how they could work more effectively for the improvement of their communities—how they could utilize the programs of the Small Business Administration, the Community Facilities Administration, the Urban Renewal Administration, and other agencies of the Federal Government in Federal-local programs of cooperation.

Every speaker emphasized that the initiative and impetus for progress must come from the people and the leaders of the local communities themselves. The Deputy Director of the Small Business Administration's Community Development program, Mr. Gilbert Hancock, said, "The Federal Government doesn't create projects, it lends assistance and provides funds, you have to initiate everything."

The speakers at the conference discussed a broad range of programs, with specific attention given to new legislation recently enacted by the Congress. The Regional Director of the Community Facilities Administration, Atlanta, Mr. Paul Harris, said, for

example, "Of particular importance to growing cities, both large and small are new programs providing grants for basic sewerage and water facilities." He explained this new and expanded program, pointing out that legislation provided for a more flexibile program to help cities acquire and develop open space land, including grants to cover the cost of such facilities as parks, youth centers, and recreation centers.

New facets of the grants and loan program of the Urban Renewal Administration were explained by Robert E. Brown of Atlanta, area urban renewal coordinator.

The community development plan of the Small Business Administration, under which local profit or nonprofit developing companies may submit applications for loans on specific small business ventures, provides loans either to improve an existing business or to begin a new enterprise. It was emphasized that this program may be used to help revitalize downtown business sections—in conjunction with urban renewal projects.

The quality of our towns and cities of tomorrow in the Fourth District of Tennessee depends upon the leadership and the efforts exerted in our communities today. The quality of leadership displayed by local representatives at the conference is a promising indication of an even more progressive Fourth District of Tennessee.

In general, reaction at the conference was that it was most informative and helpful. Much credit must go to the planners of the conference—including Mr. Sam E. Jennings, regional director of the Small Business Administration; Wilkes Coffey, attorney at law; Mayor W. H. Westbrooks, of Murfreesboro; County Judge James Threet, Rutherford County; the Murfreesboro Chamber of Commerce, and many others. I am also grateful to the program participants who came from Washington, Atlanta, and Nashville to be of service to the people of the Fourth District of Tennessee.

Education Given Boost

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial from the September 8, 1965, Greenwich Time, praising the recently-passed Higher Education Act.

As the editorial points out, there is a growing awareness in this Nation that yesterday's education is not good enough for today's rapidly changing conditions and that we can no longer afford the human waste resulting from many students being priced out of the increasingly expensive college education market. In the long run, as the editorial notes, the country will profit handsomely by the act.

The editorial follows:

GIVEN BOOST

Both Houses of Congress have now approved, almost unanimously, legislation to implement a broad-scale program of aid for those who need help to attend college. The heavy majorities confirm the national commitment to the principle that, insofar as is possible, every young person in America shall have a realistic opportunity to acquire as much education as he wants and can absorb.

Even this legislation will not wholly assure that. But it is a significant further step away from the traditional state of affairs under which higher education was in effect denied to a great number of high school graduates who simply could not afford it.

We began to move away from that some years ago with enactment of law providing low-interest college loans for those in need of such help. Now Congress, besides continuing the loan program and girding it up with Federal guarantee insurance, also has made provision for scholarship grants. In the first year these will average $500, and in some cases they may go as high as $1,000. This substantial help will, in thousands of cases, make college possible for those who otherwise would have gone through life with only a high school education.

This is far more important, both to individuals and to society, than it used to be. There is growing recognition of the plain fact that modern conditions of life demand more education than in the past, and will do so increasingly. Through enactment of a program of aid to college students, Congress has given education a notable boost. In the long run, the country will profit handsomely by this action.

The Pope and President at the U.N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER H. MOELLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. MOELLER. Mr. Speaker, it is with a heavy heart that I submit the following two editorials on a significant subject. While those who seek peace in the world are worthy of the strongest support of all who desire this high prize, yet the prize cannot be sought at any price.

Our country has been careful to distinguish the respective roles of temporal and spiritual powers in a free society. While this distinction does not place these powers in opposition to each other, it accentuates their distinctiveness and encourages each power to respect the means and methods used by each to attain its distinctive goals.

In the pursuit for international peace we may forget that the relationships between state and church in other nations of the world are not carbon copies of the American design. For us, as a nation, to enter into any overt or subtle dialog with any spiritual power, no matter how pure and noble our goals may be, may actually create more international disquietude, become an abrasive element in American life, and contribute to unnecessary divisions in our pluralistic society which has just begun to experience some of the solidifying values of true ecumenicity.

The editorials from America and the Christian Century, both of which are respected church journals, illustrates what I believe to be good cause for pause as we examine once more the nature of the path to peace in the world.

The editorials follow:

[From America, Aug. 21, 1965]

POPE AND PRESIDENT AT THE U.N.

If the Pope comes to the U.N. General Assembly in the autumn—a 50-50 likelihood at this moment—will President Johnson meet him? What was, up to a few weeks ago, purely a problem of protocol has become, with the heightening international tension, a serious problem of policy. If Secretary General U Thant's invitation to Paul VI bears fruit, Washington will have a choice of three possibilities. The President can (1) ignore the presence of the Pope; (2) invite him to Washington and the White House; (3) go to New York for a ceremonial meeting.

It is unthinkable that the President should ostenstatiously go off to the L.B.J. ranch in Texas on the day the Pope arrives in the United States. On the other hand, a papal visit to the Nation's Capital might take on an undesirable political tinge. As far as can be judged from past observations, the President's personal inclination would be to go to New York. In any case, a golden opportunity will be missed, and the cause of peace be the loser, if the embattled leader of the American people does not meet with the distinguished U.N. guest. A confrontation of Pope and President at the seat of the world peace organization would identify our country in a striking way with all the honest efforts made by good men to dispel the prospect of war. By the same token, studied indifference or palpable downgrading of the event would leave a bad impression on governments all over the world, a great many of which have grave doubts as to the correctness and rectitude of current U.S. action in Vietnam and elsewhere.

Before U Thant's invitation, United States-Vatican relations were already under study in Washington. Last April, Senator CLAIBORNE PELL, Democrat of Rhode Island, suggested that the administration examine the question of our relationship with the Vatican. He did not call for immediate diplomatic recognition, but he said that some sort of rapport or diplomatic relationship might well be established. He thought that perhaps the revival of the office of the "personal representative" of the President might be feasible as a form of relation. As will be remembered, Myron C. Taylor was the envoy of two Presidents under this title between 1940 and 1950.

The Rhode Island Senator's proposal was triggered by an obviously inspired dispatch of James Reston, columnist and associate editor of the New York Times. Writing from Rome on April 9, Reston noted the vast changes that had occurred in the Catholic church in the past few years, and their significance for world affairs. "There is scarcely an issue of world politics today," he wrote, "that does not now concern the church and provoke its influential comment." For the United States not to have the closest possible relations with the Vatican at this time of transition, said Reston, seems to many observers unfortunate. In the light of this it is odd, he wrote, that the United States "is the only one of the major non-Communist nations that still does not have formal diplomatic representation at the Vatican." The Times political reporter concluded his dispatch with this echo from American diplomatic circles in Rome: "It is known that the question has been recently raised with President Johnson privately, and a decision is hoped for here during the next few months."

The last formal effort to have an American representative at the Vatican was made nearly 15 years ago, when, in October 1951, President Truman sent up the name of Gen. Mark W. Clark to be Ambassador to the State of Vatican City. A storm of protest broke out and the President withdrew Clark's name, though he said he would submit another nomination later. It may be recalled that in December 1941, after Pearl Harbor and Italy's declaration of war, Mr. Harold H. Tittmann, Jr., a career Foreign Service officer assigned to the Taylor mission, was given the diplomatic status of chargé d'affaires and was thus able to serve the Allied cause in Vatican City until the advent of the Allied troops in Rome in June 1944. In

1950, however, with the close of the Taylor office, not a trace was left of these beginnings, which had proved so useful for the United States.

Today, in mid-1965, the precise form of United States-Vatican relations is not so important as the substance of these relations. In the past 15 years, the world situation and the situation of the Catholic Church within it have both drastically changed. The ecumenical spirit, sanctioned and encouraged by the high authority of the Vatican Council, has greatly diminished religious tension and dissipated bigotry. Important questions of religious liberty and church-state separation are on the point of being settled in the council in a spirit that can only further this trend. The intervening years, which witnessed this clearing of the atmosphere, have also unfortunately seen a serious threat of war.

Our country has now entered very dangerous waters. Certainly no effort should be spared to guarantee the realization of our dream of peace. But the continuing aloofness of the United States from the Pope of Rome does not go unnoticed in the world community. Even our friends, filled as they are with misgivings about us, cannot fail to wonder why we ignore one of the significant forces for peace.

A certain nervousness is evident in officialdom over the prospect of communication with the head of the Catholic Church, regardless of the unique diplomatic status that international law accords the Holy See. But the time has come to reevaluate past policies in this area. A President who has the courage to send several hundred thousand draftees into unpredictable and long-term fighting in Vietnam, in what Moscow radio bitingly but rightly described as a colossal risk, can and should be equally courageous in taking parallel bold steps to reinforce our diplomatic offensive in this most significant manner.

[From the Christian Century, Sept. 1, 1965]

LETTER TO THE POPE

His Holiness, POPE PAUL VI,
Vatican City.

YOUR HOLINESS: When we learned that U.N. Secretary General U Thant had invited you to address the General Assembly, we invited you in our July 14 issue to visit the United States, come to Chicago and share a coffee break with our staff. This was a sincere invitation which we hope we will not now have to retract. But today we read in the August 21 issue of the Jesuit magazine America an editorial stating that your coming poses for the President of the United States a serious problem of policy. The editorial tells President Johnson how to handle this problem and tells you what a grand opportunity your visit would create for the establishment of ambassadorial relations between the United States and Vatican City. Have you read the America editorial? Do you still plan to come?

We feel that we should apologize to you and to President Johnson. If we had known that our invitation would cause you and the President so much trouble we would never have issued it. It seems to us that America's editors—usually urbane and sophisticated—bungled when they prejudged President Johnson's possible course of action in the event you come over: "It is unthinkable," they say, "that the President should ostentatiously go off to the L.B.J. ranch in Texas on the day the Pope arrives in the United States." They also made a serious tactical error by twisting the President's arm and boxing him in: "By the same token, studied indifference or palpable downgrading of the event would leave a bad impression on governments all over the world, a great many of which have grave doubts as to the correctness and rectitude of current U.S. action in Vietnam and elsewhere." Our President won't like that. In such encounters he plays the active role. And the editorial descends to naive quibbling when it states that both protocol and policy require the President's going to New York to see you rather than your going to Washington to see the President. Doesn't this statement paralyze both of you? (Could he send Luci?) What do you think?

The bulk of the America editorial, as you no doubt noticed, urged you to use your visit to the United States as a springboard for renewed efforts to get U.S. recognition of the Roman Catholic Church as a state. Don't do it. Don't let the first papal visit to the United States revive the rancor and bitterness created by President Truman's abortive effort to make Gen. Mark W. Clark "Ambassador to the State of Vatican City." We thought your coming to the United States was to be a friendly visit; America turns it into a political enterprise and makes it sound like invasion. Please let us know whether you will come as a beloved, respected, and welcome head of the church or as the sovereign head of a state. We will want to chat with the first over a cup of coffee, but we have no interest in the second.

We learned with deep regret of your recent illness. We hope that you have now fully recovered and are ready for the great and promising events of Vatican Council II's final session.

Most respectfully,
THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include my newsletter to the people of the Seventh District of Alabama for August 2, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman JIM MARTIN, Seventh District, Alabama)

LIBERALS TRAMPLE ON STATE AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

The liberals ganged up last week to trample ruthlessly on the freedom of individual citizens and the precious rights of the States guaranteed by the Constitution. By a vote of 221 to 203 the House passed a bill to repeal Alabama's right-to-work law as well as those of 18 other States and to deny the people of any State the right to enact such a law. I voted against repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act because I think the people of Alabama should have the right to vote on this question; I believe no American worker should be forced to join a union, nor should he be denied the right to join a union if he chooses; I would not force a man, in order to hold his job, to join a union which may be controlled by a Communist or racketeers. Under the recent Supreme Court ruling, which says a Communist may hold office in a union, this is possible. It has happened in some States and the unions have been expelled by the AFL-CIO.

The main argument of those who voted to take away your rights was that they had to pass this bill to keep industry from moving South. They said that industry is running away from New England and other Northern States because of right-to-work laws in the South. Of course, this is not true. Industry is moving to the South mainly because we have a large reservoir of good workers and good unions. We have an ideal climate and our people have expressed faith and confidence in the operation of the private enterprise system. For my part, I will continue to do all I can to encourage new industry to come to Alabama and I think most Alabamians will agree with me.

CHEAP WAGE RATE CHARGE FALSE

The charge that wage rates are cheaper in the South is simply not true. In 1964 20 States had right-to-work laws. (Indiana has since repealed its law.) The annual report for 1964 on Employment and Earnings of the U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Statistics shows: 7 of the 20 right-to-work States have higher wage rates than Connecticut; 8 have higher wage rates than Massachusetts; 12 have higher wage rates than Rhode Island and Vermont; 15 have higher wage rates than New Hampshire and Maine. Alabama, Florida, Virginia, and Tennessee all have higher wage rates than New Hampshire and Maine. Alabama wage rates are also higher than Vermont and Rhode Island.

So the real reason for doing away with right-to-work laws must be the continued goal of the Johnson administration and the liberals under pressure from northern political labor bosses for more power, more Federal control, more one-man, one-party government. Never again may the Democrat Party lay claim to championing States rights when 200 Democrats voted to take away States rights while 117 Republicans voted for freedom.

WHAT YOU WILL PAY FOR MEDICARE

Congress gave final approval to the medicare bill last week and the law will soon be in effect although it will be next July before anyone will begin drawing benefits. In spite of the claim that this is free medicare presented to you by a gracious and loving President, the sad fact is, you are going to pay the bill. Beginning next year the amount you pay in social security taxes will go up. There are no exemptions, you pay social security tax on the first dollar earned. As an example, the person with $6,600 in wages will pay $277 social security taxes or $103 more than he is paying now. Two and a half years from now he will pay $323, or an increase of 86 percent over his present tax. Those who are self-employed and making $6,600 will pay $405 next year and $468 2 years later, an increase in social security taxes of $209 in less than 2 years. How does this stack up with the piddling tax cut for which Lyndon Johnson took so much credit last year?

RENT SUBSIDIES BILL MOVES AHEAD

The housing bill providing for the Government to pay rent subsidies for those who cannot afford to move into better neighborhoods moved ahead as Congress approved the conference report. Several editors had some fun writing editorials challenging my statements on this socialistic bill. It is evident they did not read the bill, nor do they know what it provides. The housing bill does make it possible to integrate any neighborhood in the country at the discretion of the Housing Administrator who decides on who shall get the subsidy and under what conditions and he determines where the projects will be located. Under this bill it is possible for a nonprofit organization, including a church, the NAACP, or a civic service club to build housing with Government loans and use the rent money to pay back the loans.

ALABAMA POULTRY PRODUCERS THREATENED

In cooperation with Members of Congress from other poultry producing areas, I appeared before a subcommittee of the Agriculture Committee this week to present evidence as to why the Area Redevelopment Ad-

ministration should not grant a loan of $2.6 million to a Maine company to build a new processing plant in Pennsylvania which threatens the entire poultry industry. We are continuing this fight and preliminary investigation shows some very questionable actions on the part of ARA officials in attempting to rush this loan through at this time.

I am also making every effort to prevent the enactment of an egg marketing bill to bring about Federal controls on egg prices until adequate hearings have been held and representatives of the poultry and egg industry have had a full chance to present their views.

The poultry and egg industry in Alabama and other Southern States is too vital to our economy to allow any move on the part of the Government to injure the industry or to cause losses to our producers. There is complete cooperation among those of us from poultry producing areas to protect the industry from any contemplated raids.

New Threat to NATO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, as the fighting in the subcontinent of Asia continues to vex all the efforts now being made to bring it to a cease fire; as the Vietnam situation day by day keeps the eyes and the attention of the world on its unresolved difficulties, and as other trouble spots in the world claim a share of the spotlight, we need to be constantly apprised of the major power difficulties that are being reassessed and even realined as this world of ours struggles for a sense of reason.

A recent editorial in the Denver Post entitled "L.B.J., De Gaulle Clash on NATO," deserves serious consideration by the Members, as it states a great deal—probably the future of the Western Alliance and possibly the future of Western Europe, riding upon the latest threat France's De Gaulle seems to be pushing into the foreground.

I commend this well-reasoned article to my colleagues:

L.B.J., DE GAULLE CLASH ON NATO

A great deal—probably the future of the Western Alliance and possibly the future of Western Europe—is riding on the contest of wills shaping up between the two strongest willed men in the Western world, Charles de Gaulle and Lyndon Johnson.

President de Gaulle, on Thursday, at his semiannual "press conference," tore into both NATO and the European Economic Community (Common Market) in the strongest language he has ever used about either.

NATO as now organized, he said, has got to go, and should be replaced by alliances between its member states, including one between the United States and France. In any case, France will be out of NATO—and, inferentially, NATO bases out of France—by 1969.

And the European Economic Community, which he referred to scornfully as an "embryo of technocracy," also must be reshaped. He hinted that France will not accept the scheduled loss of its veto in Common Market affairs on January 1, 1966—after which time EEC members are supposed to decide policy by majority rule.

The extent of De Gaulle's disagreement with President Johnson is only partly revealed by Johnson's statement—issued the same day without waiting to hear De Gaulle's views—that a "strong NATO remains essential" to world peace and security.

The scope of the clash is better illustrated by Washington reports that the United States already has bluntly informed France that De Gaulle cannot have his cake and eat it too; that if France quits NATO there will be no American alliance to replace it. The American nuclear missile umbrella which now shields France will be withdrawn.

So far there has not been any public U.S. reaction to De Gaulle's strictures on the Common Market, since the United States is not a member. But NATO and the Common Market are related in concept, if not in fact. For NATO should become the military arm of the economically integrated Europe envisioned by the architects of EEC.

The alternative, as many have realized, is the growth of new nationalistic rivalries in Europe—particularly in Germany. It is unfortunate that De Gaulle has yet to grasp that simple but fearful fact.

He sees NATO only in terms of "the subordination termed integration * * * which puts our destiny in the hands of foreigners"—a reference to the fact that the NATO commandant has always been an American.

Johnson conceded that each of the 15 nations in NATO sees the organization "from its own perspective." But his perspective, that "this alliance of the West is bigger than any of its members," is far different from De Gaulle's.

Although De Gaulle is not as inflexible as he is sometimes portrayed, it seems clear that President Johnson will need all his persuasive and negotiatory talents to break the impasse.

Now that his domestic agenda in Congress is nearly cleaned up, we hope he can give foreign problems like this a higher priority.

The "Why" of Demonstrations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in the weekly Sun Prairie, Wis., Star-Countryman analyzed the "why" of student demonstrations very effectively. The newspaper's news editor, Miss Bonnie Mohrbacher, puts her finger on the heart of the matter when she says that "deep involvement is the demonstrator's badge." Her insight and clarity of writing are her badge and do her and her newspaper great credit. Her editorial serves as an excellent example not only for other weekly newspapers, but for the editorial writers of the dailies as well.

I commend her editorial from the Sun Prairie, Wis., Star-Countryman of Thursday, August 12, 1965, to your consideration:

THE "WHY" OF DEMONSTRATIONS

In dormitories across the Nation, college students stay up until 5 a.m debating the existence of God, every holiday sees a new tide of student riots, and everywhere from Berkeley to the Berkshires, articulate, intelligent, young people are exhibiting an increasing restlessness which challenges their academic elders, almost panics their solid citizen parents, and generally alarms the populace.

Campus unrest ranges from near criminal proportion to relatively harmless, if disquieting, demonstrations. Public uneasiness perhaps arises from failure to differentiate between wild weekends and riots as opposed to the far-removed demonstrations protesting a legitimate cause.

People everywhere are wondering why. Let's explore the "why" of purposeful demonstrations. Why are students restive? Why are they openly defiant? What motivates them?

Parents, quite naturally seeking a cause beyond themselves or their own, blame subversive elements, overly liberal professors, unrestricted reading and exposure to the masses (those who think differently, and are therefore suspect).

More sensibly, academic deans look to themselves. They ask if their rules and regulations are out of date. If it's unreasonable to ask today's students to conform. What is needed to strengthen student governments so they may again command the confidence of the campus community?

Thinking adults, admittedly rocked by demonstrations and resulting disturbances, recognize that too often the fruits of a college education are apathy, indifference, and a self-justifying lack of concern.

They also feel, however, that something is drastically wrong if the alternative is self-righteous, disruptive action. They suspect personal hostility or sullen discontent is its motivation.

A remarkably clear and well-reasoned editorial which appeared recently in the San Francisco Insurgent, stated the case for these young protesters like this:

"Why do we demonstrate? Because we live in a corrupt society, one which seems to have grown insensitive to human suffering * * * whether in southeast Asia or Southeast United States * * * and we can't sit back and allow things to continue that way. It's just that simple. We aim to change the world for the better, and demonstrations are one way of doing just that."

Demonstrations are not necessarily a sign of virtue or of significant achievement. Undeniably, however, they display awareness * * * awareness of shortcomings in ourselves and others, awareness of abuses and chicanery, awareness of human need. And with awareness * * * knowledge, understanding and concern.

Recently they have displayed a new, therefore disturbing, seriousness of tone. They are certainly no longer spring larks or homecoming antics.

These vigorous young Americans are questioning what they see as American attitudes in the light of American ideals. Ideals concerning important matters such as civil rights, poverty, unfair employment practices and the Government's foreign policy.

Ignazio Silone said, "A society is renewed when its humblest element acquires a value." This could be the creed of the new, youthful American radicals.

These fledglings struggle to convey a livelier understanding, with realism more intense than most adults could muster, of the premise that to be personally satisfying and lifegiving, ethics of real importance to you, have to be your ethics * * * that they cannot be ethics devised and held by someone else for you, or ethics acquired through words, without personal involvement.

Deep involvement is the demonstrator's badge.

We cannot deny there are those with questionable motivations * * * that some, in their youth, join causes they don't even clearly understand * * * that they sometimes fail to study a problem in its entirety.

Overall, however, we agree with a statement made by Dean John T. Bonner, of Ohio State University, suggesting also that most educators would concur. He said, "This is the finest college-age generation we have yet had. Today's young people are under tremendous pressures, and the competitive situation is much more acute than it has been in history. They are earnestly seeking values in a mobile and troubled world."

While their techniques are at times unfortunate, or even deplorable, and while they may sometimes seem presumptuous, we believe the majority are displaying a willingness to be associated with their fellow man * * * including the most humble and least educated among them * * * in a way their parents clearly have not.

Surely this is gain long overdue.

Evaluation of the National Space Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, Paul Martin, chief of the Gannett News Bureau in Washington, has recently completed and sent to the newspapers which he serves throughout the northeastern area, an interesting and comprehensive evaluation of the national space program.

His report is based on the conclusions by Space Administrator James E. Webb and his Deputy, Dr. Hugh L. Dryden as the program has reached an approximate midway point in its drive for a safe landing on the moon before 1970.

Mr. Martin is an able and impartial reporter and his account offers a good many useful reminders of information which our space program has developed. I want to commend his summation of this effort which makes our generation participants in an exciting century of discovery and exploration.

I, therefore, offer his remarks for the RECORD and I recommend their review by the Members:

EVALUATION OF THE NATIONAL SPACE PROGRAM

(By Paul Martin)

WASHINGTON, August 30.—Since the success of the latest Gemini flight, Government officials are more confident of meeting their goal for sending three American astronauts to the moon before 1970.

James E. Webb, dynamic director of the National Aeronautics and Space Agency, told the House Appropriations Committee:

"Our work to date gives us somewhat more confidence than we had a year ago that we can still achieve our objective."

That is the "national goal" of the multibillion-dollar civilian space program that started in 1958, and the terminus of the undertaking insofar as the program is presently planned.

Here is a comprehensive report on space activities by Webb and his deputy, Dr. Hugh L. Dryden, top NASA scientist, as the program reaches an approximate midway point.

SPACE TEAM

Since the National Space Act was passed in 1958, NASA has been building a team of Americans that includes some 400,000 men and women, 20,000 industrial companies, and over 150 universities.

To put a manned spacecraft in orbit, we need the services of physicists, chemists, mathematicians, biologists, astronomers, aeronautical, astronautical, electrical, chemical, and structural engineers, just to name a few.

We require a management program to unite and coordinate all these vast needs and various skills. We need an educational program to assure us that in the future, we will have new people with the proper knowledge and skills to carry our program forward.

INDUSTRY

The space program is associated with some 20,000 industries under prime and subcontracts. About 250,000 procurement actions are handled annually. More than 90 percent of all NASA dollars are spent under contracts with industry, universities, and private research organizations. During fiscal 1964 these procurements amounted to $4.6 billion.

At the end of the year, 2,661 invention disclosures from NASA contractors had been received. Over 1,900 inventions and innovations which show substantial promise of commercial utility are being evaluated. These are made available for wide industrial use through technology handbooks.

The space industry's "spin off" of developments that can be adapted to consumer use is of growing importance. Many heart patients live today because of tiny electrical devices called cardiac pacers that stimulate heart action. Other examples of "spin off" range from high temperature ceramic cooking utensils to better and faster computers and concentrated dried foods.

EDUCATION

The NASA predoctoral training program was started in 1962 with grants to 100 students in 10 universities. It has grown each year. Our hope is to assist in developing 1,000 doctorates annually. This fall there will be 3,132 students studying for their Ph. D.'s under NASA programs in 142 universities located in 50 States.

SCIENCE

Our world is undergoing an explosion in science and engineering; 90 percent of all scientists who ever lived are living today. The majority of drugs being prescribed by physicians were not even used 10 years ago.

In earlier years NASA was concerned about the number of scientists and engineers available for space work. There are now more than 1.5 million of them in America, reached in increases totaling 232,000 in the last 3 years.

During this time, NASA and its contractors required 63,000 additional scientists and engineers. NASA absorbed about 25 percent of the increase in the technical talent pool, bringing our utilization of scientists and engineers to 5.4 percent of current national requirements. This is a very substantial accomplishment in a 3-year period without serious disruption to other parts of our economy.

During the current year, approximately 45,000 scientists and engineers will be employed on manned space flight projects, both within NASA and with contractors. This represents about 2.8 percent of the total national employment of scientists and engineers.

RESEARCH

Approximately 10 percent of NASA's annual budget, one-third of its 30,000 Government employees, and 5 of its field centers are devoted to research and development.

This area of work covers a wide variety of programs ranging from research in materials, chemistry, and mathematics, to propulsion, structures, flight dynamics, and power sources.

COSTS

Congress has appropriated nearly $24 billion for the civilian space program (exclusive of military spending on rockets and missiles) since NASA started operating October 1, 1958.

The current spending level is running around $5 billion a year. It was estimated that the moonshot alone (Project Apollo) would cost $20 billion. Half of that has been spent or obligated to date.

Other nonspace activities of NASA include operating problems of aircraft such as noise, sonic boom, flight safety, flying and handling qualities.

FACILITIES

We are building a network of large-scale engineering facilities, space yards, proving grounds, and space ports to assemble, test, and launch the space vehicles. Significant expenditures of skilled manpower, natural resources, and money must be made as space exploration is continued beyond the moon.

When the great Defense Department missile site construction program subsided (it ran to $2.8 billion a year at one time), the Army's Corps of Engineers brought its tremendous engineering capability to the construction of NASA facilities.

In Mercury and Gemini, NASA has depended upon boosters built for the Air Force (Atlas and Titan), NASA's future programs, particularly Apollo, demand boosters with a thrust beyond present Air Force needs, and the space agency is developing these superrockets.

THE SOUTH

In the location of space facilities, the Southeastern region of the United States offered natural advantages which could not be rivaled elsewhere on the continent.

Thus in Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas—what some call the southern crescent—NASA has invested $4.5 billion in the last 6 years, a considerable part of it in permanent installations.

Satellites launched eastward receive an additional velocity of nearly 1,000 miles per hour because of the eastward turning earth. A broad expanse of ocean beyond the Florida shores offers maximum safety for research and development launches.

SPEED

The pace of space exploration is steadily increasing. While it took almost 50 years to move from the Wright brothers primitive airplane to those that could fly faster than sound, little more than a decade was required to increase aircraft speeds from 70 to more than 4,000 miles per hour. Meanwhile, manmade objects were hurled beyond the atmosphere into orbit around the earth at 17,500 miles per hour, and far out into the solar system at 25,000 miles per hour.

SPACE PROBES

The first American satellite went into orbit on January 31, 1958. In 1959 we tried 14 space flights. Eight were successful. Last year we attempted 30 space flights. Twenty-six were successful. In 5 years our measure of success moved up from 57 to 93 percent.

NASA and the Defense Department have launched more than 300 satellites and space probes. We have taken more than 17,000 closeup photos of the moon. We have returned information on the structure and chemistry of Venus. We have received photos and other information from Mariner IV flying within 5,400 miles of Mars.

Mariner II traveled 182 million miles for 3½ months before arriving in the vicinity of Venus. Mariner IV operated for 7¼ months and covered a distance of 350 million miles to Mars. The Mariner IV spacecraft weighed 575 pounds, 125 pounds more than the Venus craft. It carried more instruments and equipment of greater sophistication.

With the approximate 191-hour flight of Gemini 5, we have added significantly to our man-hours of experience in space, bringing our total manned space flight time to 641 hours, 25 minutes, and 51 seconds. Some 2,000 hours, all in Earth orbit, must be accumulated before we are ready to vault to the Moon.

Project Apollo is progressing steadily. Eight Saturn I rockets have been fired from Cape Kennedy. Each has been successful, a story without precedence in the development of large boosters. The five engines in the first stage of the Saturn V rocket were tested successfully this spring ahead of schedule.

WEATHER

Nine Tiros satellites and the Nimbus satellite have been broacasting weather information back to Earth since April 1, 1960. For the first time, the Weather Bureau has been able to obtain worldwide cloud cover pictures obtained by TV cameras and infrared sensors and apply them to daily weather forecasting.

During the 5 years since the first Tiros was launched, more than 2,100 storm bulletins have been issued to some 50 countries as a result of satellite observations. Around 165 hurricanes, typhoons, and tropical storms were observed; half of them were discovered in the first instance by satellites.

The National Research Council estimates that approximately $2.5 billion could be saved annually by farmers, fuel producers, public utilities, builders, and water managers if they were equipped with better weather forecasting tools.

NASA will move ahead in meteorological satellite technology in the Nimbus series, concentrating on improved infrared and TV sensors, spectrometers, and interferometers. Various components and techniques that may be used in future automated space data-collecting systems are slated for testing.

NAVIGATION

Satellites can provide position fixes for aircraft and ships equipped with proper instruments to within 1 nautical mile, automatically. The statellite has the advantage of providing this information during conditions when visual sighting of the Sun or stars is obscured by clouds, and when the craft are outside the receiving range of land-based electronic equipment. Such a system could pinpoint distressed aircraft and aid search and rescue agencies.

COMMUNICATIONS

Telstar, Relay, and Syncom are America's "active" communications satellites. They pick up from earth stations signals of radio or television types, record them on magnetic tapes, then retransmit to distant points on the globe. In the Syncoms we have the first so-called "stationary" satellites which, since they orbit at 22,300 miles above the Earth, hover above the same spot.

Early Bird is the first fully commercial communications satellite. It was placed into synchronous orbit over the Atlantic by NASA for the Communications Satellite Corp. Some 137,000 public shareholders are listed on the books of the corporation. Forty-five nations have signified interest in a global commercial communications satellite system to be established during 1967.

Our aerospace industry has participated in international research, development, and procurement to the extent of more than $1 billion annually for the last 4 consecutive years.

SECURITY

The space program is closely linked with our national security. I speak of security in the broad sense—both economic and military. In the economic sector, we face ever-increasing competition. The cutting edge of that competition abroad is, as in this country, advanced research and technology. To fall behind in this competition would be to lose power in world markets to dispose of what we have on favorable terms and to obtain what we need for our growing economy.

The Roman mastery of land and sea communications, the English mastery of the seas, the American mastery of the air and nuclear enegry, were each accompanied by greatly enhanced prestige and followed by vast increases in power and position, new knowledge, the wide use of new resources, great advances in military capability, and a quickening pride and vigor. Portentious realinements among nations are inevitable.

These are advantages the Russians now seek from their enormous investments in space. These advantages we cannot permit them to acquire exclusively for use against the non-Communist world.

FUTURE

We are approaching a period when decisions on the next generation of major activities in the space must be made. All of the major NASA programs currently underway will be concluded by the end of this decade, or soon thereafter.

In view of the long lead times involved in any significant new space project, it is essential that we start serious planning in the near future for the major programs of the next decade.

NASA has taken a very important preliminary step in the summary report of the future programs task group which was prepared in response to a request from the President (published in April by Senate and House Space Committees).

Advanced propulsion systems and more powerful, longer lasting, on-board power sources are essential if payloads and the lengths of missions are to increase. Prodigious amounts of total energy per pound of propellant will be required to perform manned missions to the planets. It seems clear that deep penetration of space with large payloads for long periods of time will demand full employment of nuclear energy.

Electronic reliability, a limiting factor in many systems concepts today, must be improved if future advanced missions are to work. Life support systems that assure a man's ability to live in space for long periods, perhaps years, and to rove freely in space, must be developed.

SOLAR SYSTEM

This spacecraft called Earth, carrying some 4 billion human beings, is one of a family of nine planets orbiting the sun. Together with the sun, they make up our solar system which is itself rushing, as a unit, through space.

The solar system is orbiting the center of our 100-billion-sun milky way galaxy at the rate of 600,000 miles per hour. Our galaxy, one of a billion whirlpools of sun-stars in the universe, also is speeding through space—at some millions of miles per hour.

Orbiting observatories are being used to investigate the nature of the solar system and the space beyond. They are returning data on cosmic rays, ultra-violet radiation, solar flares, and magnetic fields.

MOON SHOOT

The Apollo mission (man on the moon) must have a 99.9-percent probability of safety for the astronauts, and a 90-percent chance of success.

Statistics indicate only 1 chance in 10,000 that Apollo would encounter a meteor big enough to pierce the hull of the spacecraft.

Temperatures on the moon fluctuate savagely. Lunar daylight brings a maximum as high as 241 degrees Fahrenheit, 29 degrees above the boiling point of water. In the lunar night, the temperature plummets to as low as minus 271 degrees, or 92 degrees below the freezing point of ethyl alcohol.

Over a 7-year period and a multimillion dollar effort, we will custom-design and fabricate only 15 Saturn V launch vehicles. Here is an area where painstaking skill by individual technicians is an absolute necessity.

Lunar orbiter is being designed as an unmanned spacecraft to go into orbit around the moon, taking photos to help select landing sites, study the moon's characteristics and gravitational pull.

PLANETS

Project Apollo, complex as it is, will seem a modest step compared with the magnitude of getting to other planets.

A round trip to Venus would require nearly a year, and to Mars 1½ years. It is very likely that men will reach Mars and Venus within the next 25 years. Before the year 2000, unmanned space probes will have scouted all the planets of the solar system.

The Pioneer series of spacecraft will investigate such things as magnetic fields, the temperature and velocity of solar wind, as far away as 50 million miles. Present plans call for Pioneers to be flown during the period of maximum solar activity in 1968–72. Advanced Pioneer spacecraft are being considered for later periods of interplanetary investigation.

The search for extraterrestrial life is a challenging goal. NASA is initiating development of a Voyager spacecraft capable of planetary exploration. Many technological advances will be needed, including larger ground and spacecraft antennas and 50-watt transmitters, improvements in guidance, control, and tracking technology, engines, propellant storage, and mechanical operations.

Dr. A. W. Graham, His Was a Life of Greatness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, Chisholm's beloved school physician, Dr. A. W. Graham, was dear to the hearts of young and old alike, a venerable and cherished servant of the community. And the entire community grieved at his passing. For "Doc" Graham personified humility and practiced a truly edifying love of his fellow man.

From my earliest childhood I had a particular fondness and admiration for his love of children. He was never too hurried to pass on a word of encouragement or a treasured bit of advice to young folk, who, instinctively sensing his love of them, never failed to seek him out.

"Doc" Graham always had a moment to spare, to stop and chat, to comfort or commend, to raise the spirits of one and all. I take but a moment here to commend to the attention of my colleagues this exemplary life, so eloquently eulogized by Miss Veda Ponikvar, editor of my hometown newspaper, who tells us, in such beautiful language, of "Doc" Graham's imperishable legacy, and of a community's gratefulness:

[From the Chisholm (Minn.) Tribune-Press, Aug. 31, 1965]

HIS WAS A LIFE OF GREATNESS

The greatness of any community can be measured by the contributions of its citizenry along the journey of life.

For Chisholm an era of rich and purposeful living slipped into another shadow of twilight with the passing of the beloved and deeply respected Dr. Archibald Graham. Early in life, Doc chose to be a very unusual man. With the Blue Ridge Mountains at his feet; the peach orchards in his back yard, and the warmth and gentility of the South a distinct part of his upbringing, he could have chosen the easy, lazy, uneventful path of existence.

His father was a successful and accomplished attorney. His mother, the epitome of southern grace and charm. Their influence led Doc to seek his bachelor's degree and then his doctor of medicine in an era when education was the exception rather than the accepted mode of life.

A deep thinker and scholar, Dr. Graham was interested in research and spent days, weeks and months studying, diagnosing, testing. And just as he whetted and challenged his mind to probe for the knowledge that would help to save lives in later generations, so he disciplined and trained his body to remain sound and energetic. He was a great athlete, disciplining himself to a rigid schedule of exercise and body training. To play with the New York Giants while still going to college was no small feat, but Doc had that kind of perseverance and that kind of stamina.

Following his internship in the great hospitals and medical centers of the East, this healer of men could have commanded the highest paid positions in the largest and most advanced hospitals of the great metropolitan centers. Instead, he chose to come to a new, growing community of lumberjacks, miners and toiling farmers. His Rood Hospital was a landmark for a number of years in the heart of Chisholm, and with his practice, his circle of friends and associates expanded in every direction. He was a kindly, understanding, humanitarian physician. Never did he ask for money or fees; but always he gave of himself. Every summer, for many years, he would take his vacation and return to the great medical centers of the East to probe and study further. What he learned he brought back and applied the new knowledge in his practice.

Doc's capabilities did not go unnoticed, and before too many years passed, the late superintendent J. P. Vaughan pursuaded this still young, highly skilled doctor to join the school medical staff. Then began a career of testing young children for heart and blood pressure abnormalities that has met no equal. Medical records and journals have recorded for all time the magnificent work of Chisholm's Doc Graham. His followup programs in the field over the many years became recognized by the medics of the Nation. This was indeed a unique and most revealing program.

And as the community grew, Doc became an integral part of the population. There were good years and lean ones. There were times when children could not afford eye glasses or milk, or clothing because of the economic upheavals, strikes, and depressions. Yet no child was ever denied these essentials, because in the background, there was a benevolent, understanding Doctor Graham. Without a word, without any fanfare or publicity, the glasses or the milk, or the ticket to the ball game found their way into the child's pocket.

As the years slipped by, and there were over 40 of them of faithful and uninterrupted service, Doc became a legend. He was the champion of the oppressed; the grand marshal of every football, basketball, and baseball game. He encouraged youth to train and play; he always carried that extra candy bar for the energy some lanky, hungry lad needed; and he was the first one at the side of the boy who got hurt in any sport. Doc was just that kind of a man. And when it came to the support of civic projects, Doc was the first to buy tickets and lend his support. He believed in the community, and the parents and children believed in him.

There were many simple, humble things that made Doc happy, but his eyes beamed brightest like a galaxy of stars, whenever he read or heard of a student from Chisholm who had done well * * * who had gone forth to achieve * * * who reached the apex of perfection in his chosen endeavor. He remembered everyone by name and in his travels, took signal pride in telling about a town called Chisholm and its cradle of people of many tongues and creeds.

For the old and young of this little mining town who knew Dr. Graham, his era was a historic, unique sort of legend. There will never be another quite like it.

National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9460) to provide for the establishment of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities to promote progress and scholarship in the humanities and the arts in the United States, and for other purposes.

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Chairman, the bill now before the House, the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965, has been proposed in an effort to promote progress and scholarship in the arts and humanities.

As a graduate of a liberal arts college, I fully realize the importance of strengthening academic study and public interest in these areas.

I am also aware of the argument that there has been an overemphasis on science in our colleges and universities, and that this legislation is needed to redress the balance.

However, I have some grave misgivings about certain aspects of this bill, and I therefore intend to vote to recommit it to committee with the hope that more satisfactory legislation will be drafted.

At the outset, I want to completely disassociate myself from some of the asinine and ridiculous remarks that have been made in opposition to this bill. This legislation deals with a serious subject, and its merit or lack of merit should be discussed without resorting to low comedy.

My principal concern regarding this bill is that it provides for an excessively complex administrative structure.

Under this legislation, there would be created a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities, a Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities, a National Endowment for the Humanities, a National Council on the Humanities, and a National Endowment for the Arts.

The bill also weaves into this organizational structure the National Council on the Arts, established by the National Arts and Cultural Development Act of 1964.

In addition, the overall program envisioned by this legislation would utilize the services of the Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Promotion of the arts and humanities is certainly a worthwhile endeavor, but I cannot understand why it requires such an elaborate and untangled administrative process.

Perhaps there is the hope that the creation of so many governmental organizations will provide an official prestige that, in and of itself, will enhance the standing of the arts and humanities.

If such a hope exists, I think it is bound to prove disappointing. In the final analysis, the arts and humanities will gain added importance only through the creative intelligence and dedication of individuals.

The Federal Government, of course, can aid scholars, students, and artists. But no Government agency, no matter how great its prestige, can substitute for the individual efforts necessary if the arts and humanities are to have more meaning in American society.

Moreover, administrative complexity carries with it the danger that there will be an excessive expenditure of funds within the Government itself.

In this connection, it should be noted that the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities, charged under this legislation with developing the overall national program, would have to coordinate the operations of three councils and two other endowment organizations.

Under this bill, these six groups would be authorized to receive appropriations totaling $20 million annually. The committee report estimates that administrative costs, at least initially, would be about 15 percent, or some $3 million.

It seems to me that legislation could be devised so that more of this $3 million finds it way into the hands of those directly engaged in the arts and humanities.

These funds, for example, could be used for grants or loans to colleges and universities, or for loans to college students. That is the basic approach of the Higher Education Act, which I supported.

In any case, I believe as much effort as possible should be made to see that the funds spent in support of the arts and humanities go to those on the local level who are seeking, individually, to contribute to American culture.

If this legislation is revised along this line, I will gladly support it. But I feel that the bill, as it stands now, is overburdened with administrative machinery and needs further study.

Veterans Support Home Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, the American Veterans Committee endorses

home rule for the District of Columbia as as do many other fine organizations throughout the land. The AVC's statement on the subject contains information which should be useful to Members of the House in thoughtfully considering legislation soon to come before us.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF FRANK E. G. WEIL, CHAIRMAN, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CHAPTER NO. 1, AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 5 OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ON HOME RULE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, my name is Frank E. G. Weil. I am a member of the bar of the District of Columbia and chairman of the District of Columbia Chapter No. 1 and former board member of the American Veterans Committee. I am representing both the chapter and national AVC in my testimony.

The American Veterans Committee is an organization of veterans open to those who have served in World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict, but consisting mainly of those who participated in World War II. Our motto is "Citizens First, Veterans Second," and we believe that those who served their country in uniform, and did not suffer any disabilities did no more than that which should be expected of any citizen, and should not receive unmerited rewards for so doing. We believe that those who have served in the Armed Forces should be assisted, at Government expense, in regaining that position in civilian life which, but for their period of service, they would have reached, but we also feel that they should not receive pensions and other preferred treatment based on the now irrelevant fact that they once wore a uniform.

We feel that the percentage of nondisabled veterans and their families among the population is now so great that the best thing you can do for the veteran is to improve the country.

The American Veterans Committee has long been on record in favor of home rule; I will quote the appropriate section of our national affairs platform, as last adopted by our national convention held in Atlantic City, N.J., on June 25–27, 1965:

"District of Columbia: We urge that the District of Columbia receive, by legislation or by constitutional amendment where the matter cannot be handled by legislation:

"(a) The right to local self-government and

"(b) The right to elect Senators and Representatives in Congress;

"(c) An equitable annual Federal contribution in lieu of taxes."

In addition, the national convention of the American Veterans Committee passed the following resolution:

"The first session of the 89th Congress is expected to be crucial to the question of home rule for the 900,000 people who reside in the Nation's Capital.

"Over 90 years ago, Congress, in the wake of post-civil-war scandals, abolished the self-government which the citizens of the Nation's Capital had enjoyed up to that time. The present governmental structure was then intended to be temporary. The temporary situation has now lasted more than 90 years.

"Washington, D.C., has a greater population than 11 of our States and a greater reservoir of talent for self-government than many more States.

"The U.S. Senate has, five times in the past several years, passed a home rule bill. The Committee on the District of Columbia has thus far refused to report out such a bill. Since, in the past, the refusal of the House District Committee to report out a bill was a foregone conclusion, there has not been a detailed consideration of the specific form of home rule legislation in the Senate.

"The recent action of the Senate District Committee in subjecting the administration's home rule bill to detailed consideration and to amendment shows that a new spirit is abroad in Washington and that the Senate considers the passage of a home rule bill possible.

"The American Veterans Committee assembled at its national convention in Atlantic City, June 25–27, 1965, strongly favors home rule for the District of Columbia as a first step toward complete self-government, to be followed by the necessary constitutional amendment to assure the District of Columbia full representation in Congress.

"The American Veterans Committee calls upon each of its members and chapters to increase the pressure already building up in the House of Representatives to insure the reporting out of a home rule bill, either by way of the District Committee or by obtaining at least 218 signatures on a discharge petition.

"The American Veterans Committee calls upon the President of the United States to reinforce the message favoring home rule he has already sent to Congress by his well-known competence in persuading individual Members of Congress to support his point of view."

I should point out that the resolution speaks as of the date of its adoption on June 27, 1965. Since that time, the other body has, for the sixth time, adopted a home rule bill. Since that time, the President of the United States has addressed a letter to the Speaker of this body, urging once again that home rule be passed. Since that time the first steps in submitting a discharge petition have been taken.

Since becoming interested in the problems of home rule, I have done some research on a comparative basis. The United States is not the only Federal country in the world, nor is it the only Federal country which has a special area set aside for the seat of its National Government. To my knowledge, the disenfranchisement suffered by the residents of the District of Columbia (while they are citizens of the United States, I would hardly dare to call them citizens of the District of Columbia, for to be a citizen is to have certain rights which are denied the residents of the District) is not shared by the citizens of the Federal District of Mexico, of the Australian Capital Territory, nor by those of Ottawa, Canada, Berne, Switzerland, Bonn, West Germany, Buenos Aires, Argentina, or the capital of any other Federal country.

The District of Columbia has been likened by some to a colony. A modicum of research shows that it does not even reach that semi-dependent status. A colony is generally subjected to its mother country in the areas of foreign relations, national defense, currency, and other national matters, but is usually free to elect its local officials who deal with purely local matters. The Portuguese African colony of Angola is about the only parallel which comes readily to mind. Nowhere else must the national parliament, with all of its tremendous powers, deal with such earth-shattering matters as the allowable quantities in which ice cream can be sold, whether to permit kite flying, or whether the board which examines applicants in one of the paramedical professions may accept the results of standardized national tests given in that profession in lieu of the results on its own tests.

The District of Columbia chapter and National AVC urges the subcommittee and in turn the full committee to report out a home rule bill—any home rule bill. We prefer and support the administration bill in the form in which it passed the Senate, but we will accept and support any bill which will give the people of the District of Columbia the rights for which our ancestors fought a revolution, and for which the veterans who comprise our organization fought. Thank you for the opportunity to testify. I will be glad to answer any questions.

House Concurrent Resolution 468

SPEECH

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Conference on World Peace Through Law is making a significant contribution toward the establishment of universal justice. Over 1,000 of the world's foremost jurists are now gathered at the Washington Hilton Hotel for the purpose of exploring ways in which nations can apply legal standards to international conflicts.

The encouragement of Congress is expressed in House Concurrent Resolution 468. Chief Justice Earl Warren gave an inspiring speech to the conference in its opening session and has taken an active interest in the proceedings. Yesterday, the President of the United States expressed his unequivocal support for the pursuit of justice through law in an address to the conference. The conference is working to achieve America's most treasured goal and it deserves this support from every branch of the Government.

President Johnson's words inspired the lawyers and jurists to continue their fine work. Congress should study his words carefully and apply itself to the task of making world peace through law a reality.

The address follows:

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AT THE WASHINGTON WORLD CONFERENCES ON WORLD PEACE THROUGH LAW

I need not here reaffirm my Nation's continuing dedication to the rule of law. We will work to extend it to the relations between countries. For we believe that is the surest road to a fruitful and secure peace.

Therefore, we who seek a world of law must labor to understand the foundation on which law can rest. We must set to work to build it. For if the rule of law is an ideal, the establishment of that rule is the practical work of practical men. We must not let the difficulties of this task lead us into the twin dangers of cynicism or unreasoning faith.

For the fact is that if law cannot yet solve the problems of a tormented earth, it is steadily growing in importance and in necessity.

The first condition of law is justice. That law which oppresses the weak, or denies the fair claims of the poor, will prove a flimsy barrier against the rising storm of man's demand for justice.

Law must not be the prisoner of plunder or privilege.

It is not the soothing keeper of the status quo. It is an instrument in the battle for the hopes of man. And if it is not fashioned as such an instrument—then no matter how beautifully and logically framed—it will yield to violence and terror.

If we, the fortunate of the earth, would ask other people to submit to law, then we

ourselves must assume some responsibility for peoples' liberty and peoples' well-being.

International law has been primarily concerned with relations between states. In pursuit of justice, it must now concern itself more than in the past with the welfare of people.

I look forward to the day when the relief of hunger and misery and ignorance—in all parts of the world—will be fixed in legal obligation—as it nows is in my own country.

When our world law embodies the right of the despairing to hope, and the responsibility of the fortunate to help, then it will be strengthened a thousandfold in the cause of peace.

If world conditions were largely satisfactory it would not be difficult to evolve a rule of law. But we do not live in a satisfactory world. It is stained with evil and injustice, by ruthless ambition and passionate conflict. Only by fighting these forces we help build a base on which the temple of law may rest.

The second condition of law is institutions. Through them law receives meaning and force. And institutions themselves, through their own actions, help to make new law. The U.N. General Assembly has done this in peacekeeping.

The past 20 years have seen an abundant flowering of new international structures. From the Common Market and NATO, to the IBRD and the Asian Development Bank, order and legal process have been imposed upon spreading segments of the affairs of countries.

Some of these institutions have played a large role in the prosperity of the West and in keeping the peace.

Others contribute to the progress of the developing continents.

The United States has helped build many of these organizations. Their strength represents a victory for the cause you represent—a legal order contributing to the prosperity of each and the peace of all. My country intends to protect and strengthen those institutions, sharing the task with all who share our common purpose.

Central to the hope of world peace through law is the United Nations. Since its beginning, dozens of disputes, many laced with violence, have come before the world assembly. Some have remained unresolved. Many have found a settlement sufficient to allow mankind to move forward in peace. And in some places the United Nations was able to prevent conflict and bloodshed.

I hope we can strengthen the United Nations—not simply as a forum for debate—but as an arena for the solution of disputes.

That is why I have asked a great justice of our Supreme Court, Arthur Goldberg, to become our Ambassador to the world body. The life of Ambassador Goldberg has been devoted to resolving disputes between those who at first believed that they could not yield one iota from their positions, and who came at last to sign a common agreement.

And my country will fully support the efforts of the Secretary General to bring peace between the great nations of India and Pakistan.

And perhaps in the United Nations—and with the patient effort of individual countries—we can also halt the terrible arms race which threatens to engulf the earth. Perhaps we can succeed through an effective treaty preventing the spread of nuclear weapons—through extending the test ban treaty—by obtaining an agreement halting production of fissionable material for use in nuclear weapons and allocating substantial portions of this material to peaceful uses—by agreeing to reverse the arms race in strategic nuclear weapons delivery vehicles—and by working toward general and complete disarmament under effective international controls which must be the world's goal.

The third condition of law is acceptance. World law—if it is to bring world order—must reflect the judgment and felt desires of men and nations. When law ignores this—as we have seen in our own history—it itself is ignored.

I think we may be evolving a world consensus on which law can stand. The mass of mankind is slowly realizing the dangers of conflict and the futility of war. They are accepting their responsibility to relieve their own poverty, and the misery of their fellow inhabitants of earth. They are finding—in knowledge and fear and pain—that their common interest lies in common acceptance of their own obligations and the rights of others.

We can see this in a hundred small ways. During the past year the United States was present at 629 international conferences. Since I have been President we have participated in more such conferences than during the first 150 years of our history.

Of course, the great issues and the great dangers are not resolved. In the past 12 months there is not a continent that has been spared violence. In the past 2,000 years there has hardly been a decade without war.

If this was all, the future would look dark indeed. But there is another and a brighter thread which runs through the history of the race: It is man's drive to create and to live in harmony with his fellows. This is what we call civilization.

Law is the great civilizing machinery. It liberates the desires to build and subdues the desire to destroy. And if war can tear us apart, law can unite us—out of fear or love or reason or all three.

World peace through world law will not come quickly. We must work, in a variety of ways, to create the vital conditions which may bring us to that day—to build the justice which forms it and the institutions which give it life—and to find the understanding acceptance which will make it work. This means we must be willing to accept small advances and limited goals. But the final objective is the largest and most elusive man has known—peace. Peace which is not simply the absence of conflict or even of fear—but the framework for the fulfillment of human possibility.

How can we dare hope for that which has always escaped mankind? Perhaps it is because our invention draws us together to the point where any war is civil war. Perhaps the vastness of our destructive power makes us shrink from conflict. And perhaps—under the horror and murder of this carnage-filled century—civilization has been slowly flowering—leading us toward victory in the endless battle between man's love for his fellow and his desire to destroy him.

Law is the greatest human invention. All the rest give him mastery over his world. Law gives him mastery over himself.

There are those who say the rule of law is a fruitless and utopian dream. It is true that, if it comes, it will come slowly. It will come through the practical and wise resolution of numberless problems. But to deny the possibility is to deny peace itself and that flowering of the spirit which we must believe God meant for man.

I do not deny it.

I believe in it.

And so do you.

If others join us, then the time may yet come when you and your colleagues will be honored as pathfinders toward the final armistice in man's war against himself.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to include my newsletter to my constituents for August 30, 1965:

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—House, AUG. 25, 1965]

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman JIM MARTIN, Seventh District, Alabama)

A NEEDED CRUSADE

(Mr. MARTIN of Alabama asked and was given permission to address the House.)

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the very foundation of this Republic is being undermined by a determined nationwide campaign to discredit our law enforcement agencies. Every rapist, murderer, robber, and petty thief is excused for his crime because we have swallowed the Communist line intended to make our police ineffective.

It is time we stage a new crusade in America, a crusade in which every responsible public official and every law-abiding, decent citizen should join, a crusade to protect our law officers as they strive to protect us.

As Martin Luther King and Bayard Rustin and other agitators go about the country calling for the ouster of good police officers and doing everything within their power to wreck the effectiveness of our law enforcement agencies, I would like to call to your attention some figures I just received from the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Last year 88 law enforcement officers were killed in the line of duty. Fifty-seven of these were murdered by criminals. From 1960 to 1964, 225 law enforcement officers have been killed in the line of duty. I think the President should tell the American people those facts on one of his television programs in which he makes excuses for those who are part of the planned program of lawlessness and civil disobedience. I think we, as the elected representatives of the people, should demand a return to law and order and give our unqualified support to the law enforcement officers we ask to risk their lives to protect us and our society against those who would set themselves against society and those whose intent it is to destroy America.

LOOK WHO'S TRYING TO UNSEAT MISSISSIPPI CONGRESSMEN

Who is behind the move to unseat the five legally elected Congressmen from Mississippi? We've been told about the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party which held its own election outside the laws of the State and demanded that its candidates be seated in the Congress of the United States. We have on record the 149 liberal Congressmen who voted to throw out the five Representatives elected by the people of Mississippi. But here is a brief description, taken from public documents, of five attorneys who filed the brief for the Freedom Democratic Party with the Clerk of the House to unseat the lawful Congressmen from Mississippi.

Arthur Kinoy, New York City

Member of National Lawyers Guild, vice president in 1964; member of executive committee of the American Student Union which has been cited as Communist by five investigating committees; attorney for Communist-controlled United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers Union; attorney for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, executed spies; attorney for Steve Nelson, the international Communist leader; member of law firm which received payments from various Communist groups including the Committee for Justice for Morton Sobell, and the Labor Youth League.

William M. Kunstler, New York City

Featured speaker at rally sponsored by the Communist front group Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties; has appeared on platform with identified Communists Carl Braden, Frank Wilkinson, and Henry Winston; counsel for Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Benjamin E. Smith, New Orleans

Member of National Lawyers Guild; associate of Communist organizer Hunter Pitts Odell; in 1964, registered agent for Castro's Republic of Cuba.

Moron Stavis, Newark, N.J.

Born Moses Isaac Stavisky; member of Communist Party in New York and New Jersey during 1945 and 1946; member of Union County, N.J., Communist Party unit in 1950; active in numerous Communist groups and causes.

William L. Higgs, Washington, D.C.

Disbarred lawyer following conviction on a morals charge. Not a member of the District of Columbia Bar Association; legal advisor to Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

I have made this information available to all of my Republican colleagues in the House of Representatives for their consideration before they must vote on unseating the Mississippi delegation.

IMPROVED IMMIGRATION BILL APPROVED

By a vote of 318 to 95 the House passed and sent to the Senate, H.R. 2580, a bill to change out immigration laws. Although the bill was greatly improved over the one sent down by the President, I could not support it because it still places no ceiling on immigration from countries of the Western Hemisphere.

The President's bill, as originally proposed, would have increased annual immigration by several hundred thousand, an increase which the American economy could not possibly handle, an increase which would have added an unsupportable burden to the unemployment and public welfare rolls of this country, and would have further complicated our urban housing, sanitation, education and medical problems. The President's bill would have legalized the status of ship jumpers and would have lifted restrictions against admission to the United States of the insane and those afflicted with psychopathic personalities. It would have surrendered congressional control over immigration and would have given the President almost dictatorial powers in deciding who should or should not enter this country.

Although I do not approve of this bill in its entirely and therefore could not in good conscience vote for it, I will say that Republicans, under the leadership of Arch Moore, of West Virginia, made a valiant effort to "clean it up," and did a dedicated job with what they had to begin with. What started out as a monstrous injustice to American workmen and to all of America in general, became much less offensive in its final form.

PRESIDENT CONTINUES COERCION OF CONGRESS

President Johnson now says publicly that unless Congress passes the Washington home rule bill that our Capital will be rent with riots such as those in Los Angeles. Do we cringe before the agitators, the left-wing beatniks because they threaten riots? Do we sweep aside the orderly processes of Congress? I say "No." But the President wants Congressmen to sign "discharge petitions" that would allow this home rule bill to be taken out of committee and voted on immediately in order, as the President says, to avoid riots in the streets. Should this bill be passed, the District of Columbia would not a city controlled by the people of every State in the Union, but it would be the only city in the world controlled by a power-mad minority group.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

Congressman Horton Salutes "Uncle Eddie"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, for the past decade and a half the mornings of many thousands of my constituents have been brightened by the radio voice of Ed Meath on WHEC.

To young and old alike, Ed Meath is known as "Uncle Eddie," for he is everybody's "uncle."

I have known Ed throughout his broadcast career in Rochester, N.Y., and can speak with firsthand knowledge of what his presence has meant to our community. For beyond the daily cheer his morning music and information program provides, he is personally active in a wide range of civic and charitable concerns. Worthy causes and Ed Meath are synonymous. He gives them his time and talents and does so freely and fully.

In recognition of "Uncle Eddie's" selfless service to the Rochester area, the Times-Union recently named him its "Personality of the Times." Feature writer Jean Giambrone afforded the newspaper's readers an editorial sketch of Ed that I take pleasure in sharing with my colleagues:

FOR 15 YEARS, A HELPING HAND

(By Jean Giambrone)

Categorically speaking, Ed Meath is a radio disc jockey.

But to thousands of people in the Rochester area, he is a community figure with boundless energy who has in his own way been a benefactor to just about every kind of organization going—from church to civic to charitable and just plain fun groups.

"Uncle Eddie" has been doing both—disc jockeying and benefactoring—for 15 years. That's why, tonight, friends from just about every group with which he's worked will honor him at a party in the Sheraton. Among the invited guests will be Ed's bosses at station WHEC.

One of Meath's favorite expressions is "I'm blessed."

He says he's blessed because he loves his work which makes it easy to be cheery from 6 to 9:30 a.m. 6 days a week on the air.

On days when his sinuses are painful, "I still can be cheerful because I remember the pay is good," he laughs.

For Meath, talking up something on the air that he wants to give a helping hand is easy. What makes him special is the time he spends off the air, making hundreds of personal appearances for what he believes is worthwhile.

"I figure any success I've had at my job—and they tell me 15 years is pretty good durability in my business—is because I operate on the idea that half of my work is done off the air in personal contact.

"I don't have any trouble dropping names—but I like it better when I really can say I've shaken hands with the people I talk about. That's why I'm always out—trying to meet people."

Uncle Eddie is also versatile and handsome.

He's in demand as a photographer's model, is apt to turn up in a Hickey-Freeman, Kodak, or Xerox ad in national magazines.

He is sensitive and conscientious. He makes and accepts 50 phone calls a day, reads and answers his mail himself, takes constructive criticism from anyone seriously, and won't include anything in his show he wouldn't want his own family to hear. Family includes pretty wife, Eileen; daughter, Bonnie, 16; son, Kevin, 12. They live on Antlers Drive in Brighton.

Ed, an outstanding athlete at Canandaigua Academy, served 3 years with the marines in World War II, had a 3-year fight with malaria, contracted in Guadalcanal.

After discharge, he tried Hollywood—unsucessfully. Then he knocked on doors in New York, did only a few freelance jobs in sports and radio soap operas.

Then he came home. "That goes against every storybook I ever read," he chuckles. "I went from the big town bright lights back to Rochester—the proverbial small pond by comparison.

"You know I'm really lucky to have found my place in this small pond."

The Canyonlands National Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK E. MOSS

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, an indication of the impact of the establishment of Canyonlands National Park in southeastern Utah is contained in the story carried in the Time Independent of Moab, Utah, on September 16, commemorating the first birthday of the Nation's newest national park. Already the masthead of the Times Independent carries the subhead "Heart of the Canyonlands" and the people of the area are experiencing increased activity as park development goes forward and more tourists come into the area to see it.

Since I am the author of the bill which created Canyonlands, I follow its development with great interest and pride. I ask unanimous consent to place in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the article from the Times Independent which hails the first birthday of Canyonlands and discusses some of the developments which have taken place in the last year on it.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUNDAY MARKS FIRST BIRTHDAY OF NEW CANYONLANDS NATIONAL PARK

Sunday, September 12, marked the first birthdate for Canyonlands National Park. Just 1 year ago, after a 3-year controversy over the multiple-use factor in the bill, differences were laid aside and the word flashed to Moab and the park bill had been signed by President Johnson. Canyonlands National Park was at last a reality.

Visible progress in the 365-day-old park is negligible, compared with ambitious future plans. Nevertheless, much has been accomplished in the past year, and the groundwork laid for an impressive future for the Nation's newest, and one of its largest and most beautiful, designated parks.

WORK ON DRAWING BOARD

With most of the park facilities still on the drawing boards, Park officials in the Canyonlands Moab headquarters have not encouraged publicity advertising the scenic wonderlands. In fact, they hoped traffic would not be too heavy until adequate roads, campgrounds, lodges, and guides were ready for service.

Newspaper and magazine editors, however, adept at scenting the spectacular, were quick to sense the news value of Canyonlands National Park. For the past year their representatives have beat a path to the park entrances—hiking, jeeping, taking pictures by the thousands and writing awed impressions of what they saw.

Vacationers, impatient to see for themselves the vast eroded canyon country about which they had read, arrived in surprising numbers, taxing to the utmost, the minimal facilities in the embryo park. The astounding number of 17,160 visitors saw Canyonlands National Park during its first year of operation.

PROSPECT EXCITING

As the first tourist season since the opening of the park draws to a close, the prospect of future tourist business has incited a general ripple of excitement in Moab. It is, local business heads find, much more lucrative than imagined. Not only does tourist trade extend to lodging, eating, and car service establishments, many travelers take advantage of their vacations to do back-to-school shopping. And they purchase souvenir items and household articles, groceries, and other supplies necessary in the new camper-type travel.

Tourism has proven to be an added boon to employment in the area. In a recent survey, a surprising number of jobs in Moab were found to be connected with serving the traveling public.

STAFF KEPT BUSY

Bates Wilson, appointed superintendent of Canyonlands shortly after its adoption into the national system, has had a busy year, too. Probably the most vital of his activities has been overseeing the formulation of a master plan for the park. The plan is now completed and awaiting approval in Washington.

A staff of 13 permanent park officers have been named to the roster during the past year. A well-drilling program has been conducted to supply culinary water to the two major headquarters areas; temporary housing units have been established at the Neck, and at Squaw Park. Temporary quarters include trailer units, utility building, wash house, and water, sewer and power facilities.

LAND EXCHANGE

Other major milestones in the park's first year include a completed exchange of land with the State of Utah. All of the quarter-million acres of Canyonlands are now on Federal land. Park boundaries are now being established through cooperation with the Bureau of Land Management and the BLM is also in the process of making mineral claim investigations throughout the park.

Temporary markers and signs have also been placed at points of interest in the park, and some campsite development accomplished.

Park Service officials are in general agreement that roads will be the next major item in development of the park. Jeep roads will be upgraded, mostly from a safety standpoint. Overall plans, of course, include a network of roads, jeep trails, and campsites, all constructed with a view to preserving the primitive appearance of the terrain. A lodge is in the ultimate plans, but Mr. Wilson says it is hoped private interests will develop the facility.

WHEN FUNDS PERMIT

It is next to impossible for the park service headquarters to itemize year by year development plans for the park. All, they say, is contingent upon congressional appropriations, and priority items are chalked off as funds permit.

One thing that can't be chalked off, however, is the influx of visitors which the first year of Canyonlands National Park has proven is on its way. Park Service officials have no tongue in cheek when they estimate future traffic by Grand Canyon National Park figures—a possible 2 million visitors a year in Canyonlands, they think is no pipe dream.

General Wheeler Warns on Overcontrolling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Post:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 16, 1965]

GENERAL WHEELER WARNS ON OVERCONTROLLING

(By John G. Norris)

A recent, little-noticed speech by Gen. Earle G. Wheeler warning of "overcontrol and overmanagement" by Pentagon managers has aroused much discussion in military circles.

The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff long has been a steadfast member of Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara's team and some of his comments raised eyebrows at the Pentagon.

At one point, Wheeler spoke of the necessity of field commanders being able to "exercise command freely on the spot" without having "their hands tied by * * * theorists at higher headquarters."

Somewhat similar comments have been made by critics of the administration in demanding a freer hand for military commanders in Vietnam and in charges by the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee that McNamara's management controls and economy program have caused serious shortages in Army weapons.

SPEECH WAS CLEARED

Wheeler, however, cannot be accused of talking out of turn. His speech, before industrialists and managers of the Armed Forces Management Association here, was cleared beforehand by the Defense Department Public Affairs Office.

And Wheeler's remarks sound a bit different when read in context with his entire speech, which in essence was a plea for military and civilian authorities—commanders and managers—to cooperate fully, each sticking in their own area of responsibility.

He praised advances that have been made in military management in recent decades, recalling the feasts and famines of past years and the false economies ordered by past civilian policymakers.

"We called them the 'Abominable No-Men,'" Wheeler added.

"Our system (today) is excellent, but we face the continual danger of ineffective implementation if we are not continually on the alert. For example, in my JCS experience I have seen managers at various levels fall victim to several pitfalls.

OVERCONTROL DANGER

"First is the danger of overcontrol and overmanagement. Management procedures within the Armed Forces (must) not be inflated.

"Our Armed Forces' * * * operations have been successful in the past because commanders exercise command freely on the spot and not with their hands tied by management directives woven by theorists at higher headquarters.

"The second pitfall is * * * both our managers and our commanders should always remember the basic difference in their function. * * * The commander is responsible for military success or lack of it and the manager is responsible to provide maximum efficient support to the commander, not to try to manage him.

"Finally and most important, the manager must remember just what kind of support he is expected to give the commander—quality equipment and personnel, delivered on time to permit accomplishment of the mission concerned."

REACTION IS VARIED

Opinion at the Pentagon differs as to the meaning of Wheeler's speech. Some feel he was guardedly speaking up for the military in the longstanding controversy over civilian versus military control. Others speculated that he wanted such comments, albeit ambiguous, to be on the record if the Vietnamese war greatly expands and serious weapons shortages are exposed, as happened after Korea.

Still others suggest that he was demonstrating, with administration consent, that military officials are not "muzzled" or "mice" as Senators charged during the recent Senate Preparedness Subcommittee hearings on alleged Army weapons shortages. The Senators were quite rough with Army generals for failing, in their opinion, to answer questions frankly.

Pentagon spokesmen insist that Wheeler intended no criticism of his superiors, but was simply warning of possible future management pitfalls in an academic talk to management experts.

What'll Elbie Jay Do for an Encore?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Arthur Hoppe has produced two more of his masterpieces of satire which I am pleased to insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The articles follow:

WHAT'LL ELBIE JAY DO FOR AN ENCORE?

(By Arthur Hoppe)

Howdy there, folks. How y'all? Time for another tee-vee visit with the rootin'-tootin' Jay Family—starring ol' Elbie Jay, the fanciest Texas wrangler who ever wrangled anybody's fancy.

As we join up with ol' Elbie today, he's a-settin' and a-listenin' to his trusty foreman, McGeorge (Bandy Legs) McBandy. And they're both lookin' pleased as a hound dog with a possum by the tail.

MCGEORGE. Congress is talking about adjourning, Chief.

ELBIE (expansively). Well, let's let 'em go, McGeorge. They done a right fine job.

MCGEORGE (enthusiastically). They certainly have, Chief, medicare, education, poverty, tax cuts, civil rights, military pay raises, foreign aid, Washington home rule * * *. In a brilliant exercise of legislative responsibility, they have amassed a historic record of accomplishment. In fact, they did everything you told them to.

ELBIE (nodding happily). A shining example to one and all. We've taken care of the old folks, the young folks, the poor folks, the rich folks, the colored folks, the fightin' folks, the foreign folks and the home folks. I love folks.

MCGEORGE. And you've proved it, Chief. You've done more in your first year than any man in history, if I may say so.

ELBIE (beaming). You may, McGeorge. Which reminds me, now that we've taken care of all these folks, what are we going to have them fine, brilliant, responsible Congressmen do when they come back here next January.

MCGEORGE (nervously). Do?

ELBIE (frowning). Do. You know right well we've now cleaned out the hopper of all the bills left over from past administrations. And I specifically recollect tellin' you to ask the finest minds we got to think up some new broad, sweepin' programs. So's Congress will have somethin' to do next year. Now then, what poor folks are we goin' to he'p?

MCGEORGE (paling). Well, Chief, we've completed a study of all the depressed minorities you've overlooked so far. And we've at last come up with a broad, sweeping program to help lower the cholesterol level among blubber-consuming Alaskan Eskimos. Kind of a war on blubber.

ELBIE (indignantly). A blubber war. You know Alaska's got only three electoral votes.

MCGEORGE (trembling). I know, Chief. But the problem is that there's not a single solitary depressed minority left unhelped. At least not one that's worth helping.

ELBIE (clutching his temples and groaning). Alas, no new folk to conquer. There must be a depressed minority somewhere.

MCGEORGE (consolingly). Well, sir, at least the whole country is happy with your tremendous accomplishments. Except of course, for a small minority.

ELBIE (triumphantly). By George, McGeorge, you've got it. Draw up a broad, sweeping program—Federal aid, retraining, employment opportunities. We're goin' to he'p the most depressed minority in the land today.

MCGEORGE (eagerly). Who's that, Chief?

ELBIE (beaming). Why, the Republicans.

Tune in to our next episode, folks. And meantime, as you mosey on down the long trail of life, remember what Elbie's old granddaddy used to say:

"Never kick a feller when he's down. It's bad for your image."

THE DAY THE WORLD WAS SAVED

(By Arthur Hoppe)

Once upon a time there was a student organization dedicated to such academic pur-

suits as philosophy, socio-economic debating and mass sit-ins. Its name was The Never Trust Anybody Over 30 Clubs. Its battle cry was "Never." And each member always carried a placard saying, "Shame," in the event a demonstration should start on any subject whatsoever.

Due to the dedication, zeal and around-the-clock activism of its members, the club was instrumental in molding public opinion. This public opinion was constantly expressed in letters to the editors of the local press: "Why don't those dirty beatniks wash their hair?" And such.

One day the club discovered with absolute certainty that, unless something were done, the world would come to an end a week from next Tuesday.

A mass lie-in was held on the White House lawn. The demonstrators, with unprecedented fervor, cried, "Never," "Shame" and sang, in four-part harmony, "We shall not be moved." They were, of course. By the cops.

Naturally, nobody listened to what they had to say. Passers-by scuttled around the scene with disdainful looks. Some shook their heads at the sight of so many bearded young men and black-stockinged young ladies. A few paused to shout, "Why don't you dirty beatniks wash your hair?" And such.

Photographers took several pictures of the young ladies being dragged off with their skirts above their knees. And a tired reporter wrote a brief caption about another mass arrest of solvenly-dressed demonstrators who were apparently in favor of legalizing marihuana.

While accustomed to such reaction, this time the club called an emergency meeting. "Friends," said Club President Jack Armstrong, scratching his beard, "we know definitely that, unless something is done, the world will come to an end a week from next Tuesday. Yet no one will listen to us. There is but one thing to do. It is a great sacrifice, but I think saving the world is worth it."

There were cries of "Never" and "Shame" out of force of habit. But the motion was carried and the members all went home—the young men to shave and the young ladies to put their hair up in curlers.

The next day the demonstrators appeared again in front of the White House. But this time the young men wore button-down collars, Ivy-league suits and conservatively striped ties. And the young ladies wore nylon stockings, pointy-toed pumps, and basic black with pearls.

Instead of carrying placards, they politely handed our expensively-printed leaflets while softly humming "The Star-Spangled Banner." The leaflets said: "As concerned citizens, we wish to view with alarm the impending danger of the world coming to an end a week from next Tuesday and we respectfully suggest something be done."

Passersby smiled at these well-dressed young people, accepted their leaflets and often paused to chat. The newspapers picked up the story, the President was informed, something was done and the world was saved. Just in the nick of time, too.

Moral: In this great land the cornerstone of our inalienable individual liberties is that every man is entitled to be heard. As long as he dresses decently.

Au Revoir to the Big Red One

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, the Junction City, Kans., Daily Union recently carried an excellent editorial on the 1st Infantry Division which has been stationed at Fort Riley, Kans., for the past 13 years.

With the departure of the division for an overseas assignment, it is appropriate that the history and significance of this famous unit be assessed and a proper sendoff expressed which speaks the minds of the people of the Junction City community.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the editorial, "Au Revoir to the Big Red One" in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

AU REVOIR TO THE BIG RED ONE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following editorial was written with the feeling that major elements of the 1st Infantry Division soon will be departing for overseas service, although this has not been officially confirmed. It expresses thoughts which we feel should be expressed; says words which we feel should be said, and possibly will reach those who will read them more quickly than ever again. We would be most happy if the article is premature and the words by some good fortune be forever unnecessary.)

Just 10 years ago this summer Junction City was welcoming the 1st Infantry Division. The famed military unit was coming to Fort Riley from 13 years of conflict and occupation duty in Germany, bringing with it glorious records made on the field of battle in two world wars.

Today, as has been rumored most of the summer, friends and relatives are expecting most of the famed division to go to the other side of the world to fight for eternal truths which we in this Nation hold dear.

Such movements have been going on here for more than a century.

Before 1860, a young captain, Robert E. Lee, and Lt. J. E. B. Stuart led patrols out of Fort Riley to protect the immigrants and impress the Indians. Later the cavalry and the artillery fought in the numberless frontier engagements, the Battle of the Little Big Horn and the Battle of Wounded Knee—battles to keep the peace within our boundaries. A few years later a young Kansan named Fred Funston won fame in the Philippines and in 1914 a cavalryman named Pershing led American troops into old Mexico. Among his junior officers was a young officer named Patton.

In 1917, thousands trained at Camp Funston and many fought in Germany in the war to end wars. Relative calm continued for 20 years and lessons which should have been learned were forgotten until a madman named Hitler ignited the greatest war in the history of mankind.

As in 1917 the 1st Infantry Division led the U.S. forces into France, in World War II the Big Red One troops were the first to fight in Africa, and were in the vanguard as Allied forces slugged their way to victory in Europe.

Between the two great wars the 1st Infantry Division had had no permanent home, regiments were scattered along the Atlantic seaboard south from upstate New York.

All that changed when the division returned here after occupation duty following World War II.

The proud division had a family home.

A huge construction program was planned to provide adequate homes and an understanding Congress provided for the expansion of the reservation so all kinds of training could be given.

All that was needed has not been accomplished, but it is on its way.

What is ahead for the 1st Division in the next few months or years neither we nor anyone else knows for certain.

But we do know that the men of the 1st Infantry Division today are as courageous, as brave, as dedicated, and as skilled as those who fought in two great European conflicts. They have the motto "No Mission Too Difficult, No Sacrifice Too Great, Duty First," engraved on their hearts.

We do not know how long the troops will be away. What we do know is that they have a home here on the rolling hills of central Kansas, a home to which they eventually will return.

We also are proud so many of their families have decided to make this community their temporary home until their loved ones return. How often we have heard the words, "I don't want to go but that's my job," or "My husband's a soldier."

Goodbys are difficult.
That's why we are thinking:
Until we meet again.

Continuance of Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STANLEY L. GREIGG

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. GREIGG. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Sioux Center, Iowa, News on September 9, 1965. The editorial concerns the President's emphasis on the need for young persons to be encouraged to continue their education to their highest potential. I am pleased at the depth of interest in this most important factor of our future.

As a Member of Congress and as a former college dean of men, I commend this excellent editorial to my colleagues in the Congress:

URGE CONTINUANCE OF EDUCATION

There was a time, in this country, when a young person could leave school with a limited educational background and still have a reasonable expectation of building a rewarding work career.

Such, unfortunately, is no longer the case. The number of unskilled jobs in America declines with every passing year, and the kinds of jobs being newly created almost all require the minimal preparation of a high school education.

Yet, President Johnson estimates that some 750,000 boys and girls will leave school without a high school diploma during the current school year alone. Most of them, unhappily, will be unaware of the fact that their future job prospects are indeed drab.

As the President has suggested, the time to begin an attack on this problem is now, with the new school term just opening. For many of the estimated three-quarters of a million dropouts will not even be on hand for the first sound of the school bell.

The President has asked Vice President HUMPHREY to mobilize a nationwide effort to inform as many as possible of these youngsters of the vital stake they have in returning to the classroom. The President thinks that such an effort might cut measurably into this year's dropout total.

Under Vice President HUMPHREY's personal leadership, therefore, employers, unions, civic, trade and religous organizations and State and local governments are being asked to exert whatever influences they can in a national campaign to encourage young Americans to return to school.

This applies to students on high school and college level, and also to those who might derive opportunity benefits from attending trade or vocational schools.

We think such a campaign is deserving of the widest possible support on the part of

every organization and every individual with opportunities to touch upon the lives of our young people.

And the time is now.

Inflation or Deflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, continued deficit spending by our Federal Government is a matter of great concern to many Americans. The highly respected Thomasville, Ga., Times-Enterprise published an excellent editorial on September 16 that corresponds with my viewpoint on the Nation's disregard for fiscal sanity. It is not a pessimistic prediction of doom but merely an appeal for common sense and reason.

I commend the following editorial to my colleagues:

INFLATION OR DEFLATION?

Whether the country is headed for more inflation or ultimately for some deflation, is a subject not everyone agrees upon, and time alone will provide the answer. But many people are seriously concerned.

With continued governmental deficit spending, with the heavy cost of the Vietnam war, the extravagant domestic policies of the Nation and an utter disregard of the need for fiscal sanity, it appears that eventually we must come face to face with one of the fundamental facts of life; namely, that when one spends more than he takes in, eventually, he faces trouble.

This has been the longest postwar boom in the history of our Nation, and for continued good economic conditions we can all be hopeful and thankful, but no one should be so naive as to believe that as money cheapens and tangible goods go up in price, that an imbalance is not going to be created, which will call for adjustments.

Few people now under 40 years of age, have had any firsthand experience with conditions variously described as depressions, recessions and as some have said boom and bust. This, because the last big depression or recession this country had was back in the early 1930's, out of which was born the alphabetical era in which New Deal philosophies of welfarism flowered and have since multiplied on a mammoth scale.

Those who have never known the problems presented by hard times, or times in which money was as scarce as the proverbial hen's teeth, or when jobs could not be had at any price, find it difficult to understand that things have not always been as they are now.

During the past 35 years Government, as such, has evidenced more interest in the welfare and well-being of the individual than ever before in the history of our country. In fact, it has gone to the extreme in some cases, and the pendulum has swung away from an attitude of let the people root hog or die to one of taking care of the individual citizen from the cradle to the grave.

Much of our continued prosperity has come into being since we became an international Santa Claus as well as an international policeman, using our great resources to develop other countries, and make it possible for them to buy the products of our highly industrialized nation. This has made possible the employment of millions of people at high wages and has created a period of unprecedented prosperity.

But we should never forget that whereas we have sold millions of dollars worth of the products of our factories to other people, we have in many instances given or loaned them the money with which to buy, and not all have paid back the loans or said thank you for the gifts. Instead they have taken our money and our goods and now that they are back on their economic feet, as in the case of France, they have kicked Uncle Sam in the seat of the pants and in other areas have cried, "Yankee, go home."

This development could foreshadow changed economic conditions, for today we are faced with stiff competition from many of the nations whose economy we helped to restore. And just as these nations are perfectly willing to stand by and let the United States fight alone freedom's battle in Vietnam, so they are also willing to cut our economic throats and strangle us in the trade marts of the world.

Neither should we forget many of the artificial stimulants that have been pumped into our economy, all on the theory that there are no clouds in the skies and no indications that there could be a letup or slowdown in our march down prosperity's highway.

We do not want to be classified as a pessimist, but we can't escape the thought that history has a way of repeating itself, and that it has been doing just that for many centuries, and that in a world of action and reaction, we should not overlook the fact that there are as of this date certain signs on the horizon which though not immediately threatening, are nonetheless unmistakably present and should not be ignored.

The International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID S. KING

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. KING of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I wish to pay a brief tribute to the hard and persevering work, year after year, of the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers on behalf of Federal safety legislation for metallic and nonmetallic mines. The contribution of this union to the passage by the House on September 2 of H.R. 8989, the Federal Metallic and Nonmetallic Mine Safety Act, was very substantial. Its contribution to the outstanding report of Secretary of the Interior Steward Udall on health and safety in metal and nonmetal mines is deserving of recognition. Its membership in the mines of my State and throughout the West cooperated in an outstanding way in the conduct of the study on which this report is based. Mine-mill local union safety committees met repeatedly with Federal mine inspectors to discuss safety hazards, and submitted to the Department of the Interior literally hundreds of detailed reports on mine accidents, many of which were not otherwise reported. This union has presented most valuable testimony, springing from firsthand knowledge of safety conditions in this country's metallic and nonmetallic mines, at hearings on mine safety held by subcommittees of the House Committee on Education and Labor in 1956, 1957, 1961, and 1965. It has contributed to the drafting of mine safety legislation which has been introduced in both Houses in the 88th and 89th Congresses, and which I was happy to introduce in the present session as H.R. 2993 on January 18, 1965. The Interior Department bill, H.R. 8989, as amended, draws heavily on the thinking that is expressed in H.R. 2993 and in the hard-hitting and specific testimony of its witnesses at subcommittee hearings last May. I commend the record of this great and historic union of hard-rock miners, whose origins in the West, including my State, date back to the 19th century, more than 70 years.

Home Rule for the District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, I commend to your attention a series of articles which have been appearing in the Washington Post for the past week, concerning various aspects of the administration's home rule bill. These articles, written by Miss Elsie Carper, are consistently accurate and informative, and I am sure they will be of interest to all our colleagues.

The articles follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Sept. 15, 1965]

A GOVERNMENT FOR WASHINGTON—CITY WOULD HAVE OWN SPOKESMAN AT CAPITOL—PART I

(By Elsie Carper)

Washington will have its own spokesman in the House of Representatives if Congress grants home rule.

The Senate bill, to be considered by the House on September 27, would restore the nonvoting delegate lost to the District of Columbia in 1874. That was the year Congress decided the District of Columbia couldn't run its own affairs any more and took over the government.

The Delegate would serve in the House and have all the privileges of a Congressman but no right to vote. The bill passed by the Senate limits him to serving only on the House District Committee.

OFFICE ON HILL

Both in that committee and in the full House, he would have the power to initiate legislation, offer motions and amendments, and take part in all debate.

Congress would furnish the District of Columbia Delegate an office on the Hill (although he probably wouldn't end up in the posh Rayburn Building), the $30,000-a-year salary of a Congressman, and a staff. His staff size presumably would be based on the size of the constituency. His term of office would be 2 years.

In this man or woman would rest the link between the new District government and the Congress. In a sense the Delegate would be an ambassador and he or she could be expected to be very busy, indeed.

The Delegate's fellow Congressmen undoubtedly will want to keep a close watch on the fledgling government. Some citizens with special interests take their gripes against the District government to a sympathetic Congressman and, since Congress undoubtedly would retain ultimate power over

the city, this practice is likely to continue. The delegate would be the man in the middle—the man who is both Congressman and city council spokesman.

The new city council would have legislative authority only over local issues. Matters involving the Federal interest would still go to Congress, as specified by the Constitution, and Congress would retain the right to negate any act of the council.

This means that if the city council approved a law that offends a particular interest group in the city, that group could run to the Hill and try to get Congress to void the law. It would be up to the delegate to defend the city's action.

CITY'S ADVOCATE

The delegate would be the city's advocate before congressional committees other than the House District Committee.

Bills affecting Washington pop up all over the congressional calendar.

For instance, impact aid—extra Federal funds for areas impacted by children of Federal workers—for years passed over Washington, in part because the Capital never had a spokesman to press its cause.

Again, Congress will make the final decision on whether the city can have the surplus Federal land at the National Training School or the land at the Anacostia-Bolling airfield for the public housing it needs. In such matters, Washington could not only use a Hill negotiator, it needs one desperately.

The delegate would carry more political muscle than the appointed District officials who now testify before congressional committees. Members of Congress, who face the electorate themselves, respect views of an elected official.

The delegate also would fill an important information vacuum on the Hill.

CAN FURNISH INFORMATION

Although many Members of Congress live in Washington most of the year, they do not have the time to delve into the city's problems. This often is evident when District of Columbia legislation is debated on Capitol Hill. Many Congressmen do not have the facts at hand.

And the delegate fills another vacuum—a voice for the individual resident of the city. Almost every Congressman finds himself besieged by residents of the city who have no Congressmen of their own.

Representative CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, Democrat, of Maryland, a key sponsor of the home rule bill, tries to represent the city as well as his own neighboring 6th District of Maryland.

He believes Washington residents badly need their own man on the Hill to act as a mediator for them in disputes with the Federal bureaucracy over questions even so minor as social security payments. Constituent services form a big part of every Congressman's job.

DELAYED HOPES

Traditionally, delegates have represented territories during the transition period before statehood. Hawaii and Alaska had delegates before they became States.

The District has no statehood desires but eventually hopes to win full representation in Congress, which would take a constitutional amendment.

After all, the District of Columbia, with more than 800,000 residents, is more populous than 11 States. If it were a State, by population it would have two Representatives and two Senators of its own.

The home rule charter bill recognizes this ambition. It states that the people of the District will be represented by a delegate "until a constitutional amendment and subsequent congressional action" provide full national representation.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Sept. 16, 1965]

A GOVERNMENT FOR WASHINGTON—HOME RULE HAS BUILT-IN FEDERAL PROTECTION—PART II

(By Elsie Carper)

The President has an absolute veto over acts of the City Council if he feels they are not in the best interest of the Federal Government.

This is just one of the protections built into Washington's home rule charter bill to prevent the local city government from encroaching on the Federal preserve.

For example, Congress retains the right to legislate on all matters affecting the District, including those of a purely local nature.

THE CONSTANT EYE

Congress can amend or repeal laws passed by the council, it can initiate legislation, and it can modify or revoke the home rule charter if the Council and the Mayor get out of line.

With both the President and the Congress watching, it is unlikely the city will build low-cost housing on the Mall, tax the Capitol, or commit any of a number of indiscretions that opponents of home rule predict if the charter bill is enacted.

The Federal Government will continue to control the appearance and growth of the city. Under the bill, all responsibility for planning remains with the National Capital Planning Commission, a Federal agency. The Mayor will sit on the Commission but his will be only one voice among many.

Through the Planning Commission, the Federal Government keeps its hand on zoning. While the Board of Zoning Adjustments and Zoning Advisory Council are abolished and their functions turned over to the City Council, the charter requires the Council to clear zoning acts with the Planning Commission to assure that they are in conformity with the comprehensive plan for Washington.

RLA ABOLISHED

The Redevelopment Land Agency is abolished as a separate Government corporation and becomes part of the new city government. But the Planning Commission retains authority to designate redevelopment project boundaries and to adopt redevelopment plans. It would be impossible for RLA on its own to undertake redevelopment of any part of the city including, as some Members of Congress fear, Capitol Hill.

Another check on a runaway government is a provision in the charter for congressional supervision of Washington's fiscal affairs by the General Accounting Office, an agency of the Congress. The GAO is to conduct an independent audit and submit reports to Congress as well as to the mayor and council.

DEBT CEILING SET

Strict limitations are placed on borrowing to prevent the city from plunging into debt and requiring the Federal Government to bail it out.

The borrowing provision would give the city the same authority that other major cities have to finance major construction.

Technically speaking, the city's debt ceiling would be limited to 12 percent of all the property's assessed value averaged over a 10-year period. Further, half that amount must be used for such revenue producing projects as water and sanitary sewage works since Washingtonians pay for water and sewer service. Although the ceiling is 12 percent, the council must get the voters' approval (through referendum) if it seeks to borrow more than 2 percent.

The bill also specifies no local infringement of Federal rights to the Washington Aqueduct (which is the source of water for the whole city, including the Capitol and White House), the Commission on Mental Health, the National Zoo, and the National Guard. The bill says the new city government will have no more authority on these functions than the Commissioners now exercise.

Another section prohibits the council from modifying any of the duties performed for the city by the U.S. marshal or the U.S. attorney and specifically exempts the U.S. district court from the jurisdiction of the council.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Sept. 17, 1965]

GOVERNMENT FOR WASHINGTON—HOW DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA WOULD USE ITS TWO SOURCES OF REVENUE—PART III

(By Elsie Carper)

"The party holding the purse strings is the party holding the power."

The home rule bill passed by the Senate and that the House will consider September 27, recognizes this political maxim. It would give the proposed city government control over its own finances.

Washington has two sources of revenue: what it raises in taxes and the Federal Government's annual contribution.

The home rule bill grants locally elected officials the right to levy and collect taxes, and it authorizes and appropriates such a Federal payment on a continuing basis to help run the city.

The mayor will recommend how much money should be spent for schools and highways, for police and fire protection, for health and welfare services and for recreation. Then the 19 elected city councilmen will act on the city's budget.

This means a great many congressional man-hours are devoted to a detailed line-by-line analysis of city spending. It is a chore that most Members of Congress do not relish and would like to relinquish.

Congress now holds the reins of both spending and the source of revenue for Washington. It scrutinizes budget requests to the last dollar, and sets most of the city's tax rates.

Since Congress controls the Federal payment, the route of the expenditure on the Hill is a tortuous one every year, with the city never certain of what it will get.

The automatic Federal payment provision has been called "the heart of the entire home rule proposal" by proponents of self-government for Washington and "a raid on the Federal Treasury" and "backdoor spending" by opponents.

This part of the bill has generated the most opposition and is least understood.

It is the crucial issue on which the fate of the bill may hang.

Home rule proponents want the automatic payment for a simple reason:

If the two congressional Appropriations Committees determine the budget each year, they will continue to review the whole budget in detail. Elected officials will have no more control over spending than the appointed Commissioners now have. Power will rest with the congressional committees rather than with the mayor and council.

There is nothing new about a Federal payment. For the past 85 years the Federal Government has been picking up each year a portion of the check for operating the city. Before that it made financial contributions, although not on an annual basis.

Washington lacks the financial resources to go it alone. Government is its major business and Congress has stripped more than half the real estate from the total property the city can tax. The city also must operate

under stringent zoning restrictions that prohibit high rise office buildings and heavy industries—the kinds of real estate that pay thumping taxes.

The city must provide special services because it is where it is. The police force and the fire department protect the Capitol, the White House, and the rest of the Federal installation, as well as foreign embassies.

The Federal payment has wavered over the years, depending upon the whim of Congress. At one time is was 50 percent of general fund expenditures. It has dropped below 9 percent and now is about 13 percent. This year it is $43 million out of a total District of Columbia budget of $360 million.

The Federal obligation is well established. What all the talk is about is how much and how it is to be paid.

The bill gears the payment to a formula so that city officials will be able to plan their budgets by anticipating from year to year the amount the Federal Government will contribute.

Under the bill, payment would be computed on the basis of Federal and tax-exempt property in the city and the number of Federal employees. In general, the amount would be equal to what the Federal Government would pay in taxes if it were a private industry. The payment also would reflect charges for water and sanitary sewer services furnished the Federal Government.

Under the bill, the contribution will be automatic and paid directly from the U.S. Treasury to the city government each year without congressional review. Congress, however, can change the formula at any time or repeal it entirely and, in effect, repeal home rule.

Each year the mayor and council will submit the request to the Secretary of the Treasury through the Administrator of General Services.

The Administrator reviews the request and determines whether it is based on a fair and reasonable assessment of a Federal property. If he says it is, he sends it to the Treasury.

Opponents of home rule on the House District Committee claim the formula will let a city tax Federal properties, such as the Capitol.

They call it an unconstitutional attempt to both authorize and appropriate U.S. money without approval of Congress.

The Justice Department believes differently.

In a memorandum, Justice has stated that Washington has no authority to tax the Federal Government. Basing the Federal payment on a tax loss in no way makes it a tax, said the memo. The formula, Justice adds, "merely represents a congressional judgment that this is a practical, efficient, and just method of computing the Federal payment."

Congress has used estimates of taxes lost to the District before in determining the size of the payment. And Congress has eased the financial burdens of other areas where there are large Federal installations.

Funds in lieu of taxes are paid out of revenues of the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Columbia Basin project. The Atomic Energy Commission has made annual payments to communities at Oak Ridge, Tenn., and Richland, Wash.

Direct payments are made from the Treasury without specific annual appropriations to the Virgin Islands, Guam, and Puerto Rico.

"As long as the annual Federal payment to the District of Columbia is authorized by an act of Congress, is computed on the basis which Congress itself establishes, is certified in accordance with law, and remains subject to legislative control, it would appear to comply with the requirement that all payments of public funds be made 'in consequence of appropriations made by law,'" the Justice Department said.

While the home rule bill was being debated in the Senate, District Committee Chairman ALAN BIBLE, Democrat, of Nevada, called the Federal payment provision "more essential to an effective elective system of government than any other."

Without it, he said, Congress through its appropriations committees will hold "the whip hand" over the elected legislative council and self-government will become "a hollow thing."

The Senate kept the provision in by a vote of 48 to 38.

Congressman Horton's Tribute to the Steuben Society on the Anniversary of the Birth of General Frederick Von Steuben

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, last year I had the great honor of addressing the 21st national convention of the Steuben Society of America. At that time, as I have on many other occasions, I expressed my deep admiration for the work of the Steuben Society, a patriotic, nonpartisan American organization which has stimulated service to the nation by Americans of German descent. The interests and activities of the Steuben Society are in the best tradition of American free association, and its members have served with valor and distinction in our military services, just as did one of our great heroes of the American Revolution, Gen. Frederick William Augustus Von Steuben.

On Von Steuben Day, September 17, it is appropriate that we review the contribution made by this great man to the American Revolutionary cause. General Washington was so favorably impressed by Von Steuben's pracical knowledge and experience that he asked him to serve as acting inspector general and to undertake the training of the American Army.

This was a mater of some difficulty since Von Steuben at this time did not speak English, and was obliged to act through interpreters. There was no time for the preparation and publication of a complete new drill manual of the kind that Von Steuben had in mind. He therefore prepared his drill instructions in brief installments.

These were translated into English and issued to the regiments as the drills progressed. The general had the great, good sense to rely additionally on the power of example. He formed a model company which made such rapid progress under his own skilled instructions that the imagination of the entire Army was fired by the example of the model company's proficiency. Drill soon became the fashion, and within a few weeks the new drill, imparted day by day to the model company, spread throughout the American forces.

This was perhaps the most remarkable achievement in rapid military training in our history. The value of Von Steuben's instruction was soon shown on the battlefield of Monmouth. There and thereafter throughout the Revolutionary War, the Continental Army proved itself the equal in discipline and skill of the best British regulars.

When Von Steuben was preparing the installments of his famous drill manual, he needed someone to illustrate it in order that there might not be the slightest doubt as to the meaning of his directions. He chose a young Frenchman who had been occupying himself at Valley Forge by drawing crayon portraits of officers and their wives. This was Pierre Charles L'Enfant, and Von Steuben soon put him to more useful work. One day L'Enfant would design forts and emplacements; later he would be New York City's principal Federal architect; finally he would create, as his permanent monument, the city in the wilderness, Washington, D.C. But it was Von Steuben who first recognized L'Enfant's great abilities and put them to use in the service of the American cause.

Through his influence in converting the American Army into an effective and highly disciplined military force, Von Steuben was an indispensable figure in the achievement of American independence. He performed an essential service that none of his contemporaries in America was qualified to perform. We honor him today for what he did for our country at the time of its birth, and we honor also those German Americans who, like him, have made so great a contribution to our national development.

Marshall Field, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, September 18, 1965, the people of the metropolitan area of Chicago and the Nation were saddened by the untimely death of Marshall Field, Jr.

Mr. Field was the fourth member of his line to bear the name of this family distinguished in merchandising, publishing, real estate, and philanthropy.

Marshall Field, Jr., succeeded his father, Marshall Field III, as president and publisher of the Chicago Sun-Times and Chicago Daily News publications. He was also chairman of the board of Field Enterprises, Inc., and honorary chairman of the Field Enterprises Educational Corp. He was a director of Marshall Field & Co.; World Book; Child Craft; Frst National Bank of Chicago; and vice president of the Field Foundation, Inc. He also was a member of the board of directors of the University of Chicago; Chicago National History Museum; Presbyterian-St. Luke's Hospital; and the Art Institute, Chicago.

Marshall Field, Jr., served from ensign to lieutenant commander in the U.S. Naval Reserve 1941–45. He was awarded the Silver Star and the Purple Heart. He was a member of the American Legion, and the Chicago and Illinois Bar Associations.

Every man leaves a heritage, and the heritage of Mr. Field, Jr., is a memorial of fairness, justice, and courage.

Mrs. Murphy joins me in extending our heartfelt sympathy to his family in this hour of bereavement, and may he receive God's richest blessings.

Arthur Capper's Fight on Slums Seen in Washington, D.C., Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, the name of former Senator Arthur Capper, of Kansas, who served in the U.S. Senate from 1919 until 1949, is not only revered in his home State, but in Washington, D.C., as well. Many District of Columbia residents are grateful to him for his fight against slums. This gratitude is expressed in the housing project in Southeast Washington which bears his name "Arthur Capper Dwellings."

Jessie Stearns, Washington correspondent of the Topeka, Kans., Capital-Journal, recently called to mind Senator Capper's dedication as chairman of the Senate District Committee which led to many of the housing improvements in Washington, D.C. Her article appeared in the Midway supplement of the Capital-Journal for Sunday, September 5. Under leave to extend my remarks, I ask that this informative article by Jessie Stearns appear in the appendix of the RECORD. The article follows:

(By Jessie Stearns)

WASHINGTON.—Three years after Senator Arthur Capper's death in 1951, a living memorial—the "Arthur Capper Dwellings"—was started, bringing a semblance to his 30-year fight for slum clearance in the Nation's Capital.

William Perry, who trained at Fort Riley for service with the 1st Cavalry in France and Germany during World War I, is housing manager.

"The project is very successful," he said. "One of the unique things about the area is there are clinics for the elderly, prenatal and babies, staffed with a doctor and nurses during the day."

Capper, born in Garnett in 1865, served as Kansas Governor 4 years and in the U.S. Senate from 1919 to 1949. He declined to run for reelection in 1948.

From 1925 to 1933, he was chairman of the U.S. Senate District of Columbia Committee. The Roosevelt landslide in 1933 displaced him as chairman but he continued to legislate for people who could not assure him of a single vote.

James Ring, committee clerk under the Kansas Senator chairmanship (1929–33), conceived the idea of naming the first major low-rent project for Capper.

"Senator Capper was noted for his interest in the cause of national representation (District of Columbia residents first voted in a presidential election in 1964), in city planning, expansion of parks, recreation and playgrounds, housing and elimination of slums, improved facilities for family and child welfare, race relations, fair employment practices, organization of credit unions, and improvement of public transportation facilities," Ring said.

"All of these interests he applied to his District of Columbia Committee work, which was separate and apart from his other senatorial duties—notably agriculture and foreign relations."

The Capper housing project costing approximately $7 million opened in 1957 in Southeast Washington. Of 612 housing units, 516 are in one 8-story and four 5-story apartment structures containing 419 2-bedroom apartments. Each has dining space, kitchen, and bath.

The first high-rise public housing building includes elevators. It was designed principally for elderly couples and families whose members have physical handicaps. Bathtubs have special grabbars and windows are designed to avoid physical strain in opening and closing.

They are open to low-income families without regard to race, and rents are graded in accordance with the income of tenants.

Of Capper, Manager Perry said: "He was a friend of public housing and the poor. I've seen a picture of him standing in the slums with the U.S. Capitol in the background."

There is a U.S. Employment Service branch. There are social workers helping tenants. The District of Columbia Recreation Department maintains supervised programs 7 days a week.

Only 250 of the 2,412 occupying the project are elderly; 1,526 are minors, 1,287 under 12 years old.

Thirty-one percent of the tenants earn less than $2,000 per year.

"The monuments to Senator Capper in Washington are not in marble and bronze," said an editorial in the Daily Capital in 1956. "They are in the hearts and minds of a million people who will remember him with gratitude and affection whenever a new highway or park is laid out, an unsanitary alley cleaned out, and the voting citizens of Washington turn out."

We Mass Produce Almost Everything in This Country—Except Character

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues a public service message from a recent edition of Newsweek. Entitled "We Mass Produce Almost Everything in This Country—Except Character," it was sponsored by one of America's leading industrial firms. I agree with Mr. Frank F. Faulk, Sr., of Albany, Ga., who commented, "It is one of the finest things I have ever seen in print."

The article follows:

WE MASS PRODUCE ALMOST EVERYTHING IN THIS COUNTRY—EXCEPT CHARACTER

It used to be that when you wanted something, you worked to earn it. Now you stage a riot to get it given to you at someone else's expense.

If your father or grandfather lost his job, he took whatever work he could get, and he went (probably walked miles) to where there was work—any honest work—being done. Now hordes of relief "clients" refuse a job unless it is to their liking, and they demand the job be brought to them in their community.

This Nation was built by immigrants (beginning in the 1600's and earlier) who struggled here for opportunity, and would have scorned the false idea of "something for nothing." Now it seems to be an almost universal (and all-too-often the only) ambition.

It used to take a lifetime of grueling work and scrimping for a family or a country to earn a little surplus, a taste of security. Now mobs of stupid "students" and whole "emerging nations" demand they be given it, out of your earnings and with no effort on their part.

"Minority groups" all over the earth seem to think the world owes them everything they want. So vicious destructiveness makes necessary higher taxes to pay for more police to protect decent citizens; higher taxes for playgrounds and parks which hoodlums promptly make unsafe; higher taxes for schooling for gangs who don't seem to want or are unable to be educated. The minority groups whose rights no one seems to consider are the taxpayers and decent citizens—who may have been pampering evil too long

Now Congress Goes Too Far

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Los Angeles Times:

CRITICS CONFOUNDED—NOW CONGRESS GOES TOO FAR

(By Eric Sevareid)

WASHINGTON.—This 89th or L.B.J. Congress is reaching the end of its session, having amassed what may possibly be an all-time record for constructive action, but a funny thing happened to this Congress on its way to immortality.

Practically nobody is pinning medals on it—except, of course, the President—professional students of Congress are not excited, the press is saying, "Yes, but," and the once-exalted title of Senator or Representative has lost much of its prestige.

The Congress worked prodigiously, but the political scientists from the universities, meeting in Washington last week, rather yawned about it all, saying first, that the legislative initiative has now passed irretrievably to the executive branch, and second, that all this Congress really did was to release a great logjam of bills that had been in the works for many years and that should have been passed years ago.

NATIONAL CULPRIT

It was only about a year ago that the press was naming Congress as the national culprit, accusing it of foot dragging and obstructionism and suggesting all manner of institutional changes to speed up the work. Now the work has been so seeped up that much of the press—this writer included—feels deprived of searching debate and has a slightly anxious sensation that Congress may live to repent in leisure some of the things it did in haste.

(The President has already received his own expression of thanks, but from the press.

All editorial writers, columnists, and broadcasters would like the President to pay attention to their public advisories. But when this President reacted with hundreds of phone calls, notes, invitations, praises, and scoldings, the professional advice-givers got nervous about a President who consumed so much Presidential time and energy to that purpose. "Take us seriously," they were saying in effect, "but, please, not that seriously."

No Congress can do so much, so rapidly, unless there are deep-seated, national reasons behind it and no Congress can do so much without altering its own corporate nature, for years to come if not forever.

The changes in America's national life that put the pressure on Congress will be analyzed for a long time. A few are obvious: the decline of rural influence and the shift of people, problems, and power to the great cities; the Negro revolution which deeply alarmed the lawmakers along with everyone else and which sparked the new awareness of poverty of spirit and poverty of body in so many areas of our life; the increasing rate of confrontation with China and Asia in general; the pressures and persuasions of a master maneuver in the White House; the urgency and impetus given to every social problem by the daily dramatics of television.

These persistent social storms have blown away many of the traditions, power levers, and personal relationships in the Congress itself. Committee chairmanships are no longer unquestioned thrones of power, the coalition of southerners and northern conservatives no longer means much, and the filibuster has lost its old menacing influence.

CURIOUS THING

Now the curious thing is that while this Congress has accomplished wonders, no individual Member of the Senate or House stands out as very wonderful, at all. No Webster, no Clay, no LaFollette, or Borah or Taft, EVERETT DIRKSEN's one-man act aside, no individual up there has stirred up or amused us or even enraged us. With the possible exception of a Fulbright analysis, no speech has been given that the kids will find in their history books 10 years from now.

The Congress has been homogenized by the Johnsonian consensus. However often he praises Congress, however often he invites them in or pulls one of its Members up to the camera at his side, he has not elevated the position of Congressman; whether he knows it or not, he has diminished it.

That is the effect of a master ego. All other egos become spear carriers on the stage. To the master personality, all other human personalities exist as tools for or extensions of his own personality.

For the spectator, at any rate, it was more fun when there was no consensus, when there were battles and battle cries, charges and retreats. Indians could become chiefs or at least feel like chiefs. Now there is only one chief in this happy hunting ground of consensus; everyone else is an Indian.

Centennial of Alaska Purchase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH J. RIVERS

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 24, 1965

Mr. RIVERS of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, my bill (H.R. 9963) to provide for Federal participation in the 1967 Centennial of the Alaska Purchase will be considered by a Special Subcommittee of the House Public Works Committee later this week.

During a hearing on the bill held last week, I presented a statement briefly describing the 1867 purchase of Russian-America and the significance of the acquisition, and giving an overview of planning going on in Alaska to mark the centennial. In order that my colleagues might become acquainted with this statement, I insert it here:

STATEMENT OF RALPH J. RIVERS, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM ALASKA, BEFORE AN AD HOC SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS IN SUPPORT OF H.R. 9963, SEPTEMBER 14, 1965

Mr. Chairman, and fellow members of the subcommittee, I appreciate very much this opportunity of presenting a brief introduction to the consideration of my bill, H.R. 9963, to promote the economic develpment of the State of Alaska by providing for U.S. participation in the statewide exposition to be held in Alaska during 1967.

THE EVENT TO BE COMMEMORATED

On March 30, 1867, William H. Seward, Secretary of State to President Andrew Johnson, concluded negotiations with Baron de Stoeckl for the purchase of Russian-America from Russia. On October 18 of that year, at New Archangel, R. A. (now called Sitka, Alaska), the white, red, and blue banner with the two headed eagle—the flag of the Russian-American Company—was lowered on the flagpole, and in its place was raised the flag of the United States of America.

For $7,200,000—about 2 cents an acre—the United States had acquired more than a half million square miles of land comprising the largest peninsula on the North American Continent.

Russians had been colonists and governors of the vast land for nearly a century when the sale took place. Today, we approach the century mark of American possession and control, and must hasten to get ready to suitably observe Alaska's purchase centennial exposition.

THE ENDURING SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 1867 EVENT

In reporting the Alaska Purchase the day after the treaty was signed, the New York Times observed that the acquisition excluded a large part of British North America from access to the ocean, and described the English representatives in Washington as highly excited and "chagrined."

Though the Times emphasized in its commentary the effect of the purchase upon the English, the newspaper also pointed out that the land acquired would be valuable for its furs and fisheries, and "of the highest importance as a naval depot and for strategic purposes."

There was to be much wealth that would be America's because of the purchase—in fisheries, furs, minerals, and timber—but the great significance of the purchase not wholly recognized until the mid-20th century was Alaska's strategic location.

United States ownership of Alaska in World War II enabled the fortification of northern approaches to America to withstand Japanese attack. When that war ended, and the cold war succeeded it, those fortifications were continued, expanded, and strengthened, so that Alaska continues to be a great buffer area between Asia and North America.

That decision of 1867 ended Russian control on this continent. And—in the mid-20th century, the fact that Russians possess no part of North America is the enduring significance of the Alaska Purchase.

THE INTENDED SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 1967 EVENT

Alaskans intend that the statewide exposition marking the centennial of the Purchase shall be as meaningful as the event commemorated.

When Gov. William A. Egan proposed in 1963 that planning be begun for 1967, he said, "I envision the Alaska Centennial as the most outstanding effort ever undertaken in Alaska."

Since 1963 planning has proceeded energetically on a broad scale in Alaska in keeping with the Governor's forecast. The goal is one of designing the event to be of substance, not floss; the goal is to commemorate the purchase so that it will be of maximum enduring impact.

PLANNING IN THE STATE OF ALASKA

Planning for the centennial of the Alaska Purchase is being carried on by the Alaska Centennial Commission (an agency of the State), by centennial committees in 22 communities, and by dozens of voluntary organizations. State, local, and private spending to date exceeds $1.5 million; projected spending is set at $8 million, exclusive of Federal participation.

Permanent projects include restoration of historic Russian buildings, reconstruction of early Eskimo and Indian structures, preservation of gold-rush relics, construction of convention centers and museums, and erection of historical markers throughout the State. Other projects for 1967 include presentation of historical dramas and musical events, and portrayal of the role of the Federal Government in the building of Alaska.

ACTION BY THE 88TH CONGRESS

The 88th Congress enacted legislation declaring the Alaska Purchase Centennial Exposition to be "not only as an observance by the people of the 49th State, but as an event of national significance," and ordering a study by the Department of Commerce to determine the manner and extent of U.S. participation in the observance.

FINDINGS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

The most important findings of the Department of Commerce are as folows:

1. The Alaska Centennial will celebrate the historically significant U.S. purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867;

2. The Federal Government should participate in the observance;

(a) Primary emphasis should be on programs contributing to the long-range development of Alaska;

(b) The State of Alaska should have the basic responsibility for planning and execution of the program;

(c) Federal contribution should be generally commensurate with local efforts;

3. There is ample precedent for Federal participation in celebrations observing centennials of land acquisitions, explorations, and purchases;

4. A plan for Federal participation which accomplishes needed economic development appears to be a proper expenditure of public funds;

5. An effective program to increase tourism as a part of the 1967 observance would in itself be a specific economic development project that would justify Federal participation;

6. All six Department of Commerce criteria for evaluating desirability of Federal participation in domestic exhibitions are met by the Alaska Purchase Centennial Exposition.

THE PRESENT BILL: H.R. 9963

The findings of the Department of Commerce are the basis of my bill, H.R. 9963.

Under this bill, there would be authorized not to exceed $7.2 million in matching funds for use in Centennial-related permanent projects that would contribute to the economic development of Alaska. Such projects could be historical reconstructions or other facilities that would enhance Alaska as a tourist destination, or be adaptable to other economic development purposes.

In addition, there would be authorized $600,000 for provision and display of Federal exhibits in Alaska during 1967.

Final authority for expenditure of Federal funds would rest with the Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska, an agency of the U.S. Department of Commerce. Recommendations for projects and their administration would be the responsibility of the State of Alaska.

CONCLUSION

In view of the close adherence of H.R. 9963 to recommendations of the Department of Commerce, and in view of the appropriateness of Federal participation and its long-range benefits to both Alaska and the Nation, I urge this committee to favorably report this legislation. Thank you.

Bell for a Riverman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, one of the distinguished figures in the transportation industry in the United States was Capt. A. C. Ingersoll, Jr., who was president of the Federal Barge Lines, and the first and only chairman of the Common Carrier Conference of Domestic Water Carriers. Many Members of Congress came to know Captain Ingersoll very well as one of the most expert of witnesses in all problems of the economics of transportation, not just water transportation. It is with great sorrow I note his recent passing. A very fine tribute is paid to him in a St. Louis Post-Dispatch editorial on Wednesday, September 1, 1965, which I would like to have reprinted in the RECORD at this point:

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, Sept. 1, 1965]

A BELL FOR A RIVERMAN

Capt. A. C. Ingersoll, Jr., was a brilliant mind whose grasp of the formidable intricacies of transportation economics made him a national figure and one of the barge industry's most knowledgeable, eloquent and persuasive spokesmen. His gifts as a theoretician rested on experience in labor and management, public and private, so broad it was perhaps unique.

He graduated from King's Point Academy, whose diplomas confer the rank of mate third class of ocean vessels. His first job was as mate on the Grace Line, between New York and Valparaiso. He left Grace to join his father in a barge line which the elder Ingersoll owned and operated in transporting coal from the Kanawha Valley to Louisville and Cincinnati, and to assist in an ocean-going extension of the operations to Havana. He was a licensed first class pilot on the Monongahela, Ohio, Kanawha, Tennessee, Illinois, and Mississippi Rivers, and held a master's license on all rivers flowing into the Gulf of Mexico.

Immediately after World War II he was a member of the U.S. strategic bombing survey which conducted a 15-month study of the effects of Allied air attacks on German and Japanese shipping.

In 1946 Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace appointed him president of Inland Waterways Corporation, a Government corporation operating the Federal Barge Lines as a demonstration of the feasibility of freight transportation of the inland waterways. In 1951 this connection was severed in a dispute with Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer, who said he fired Mr. Ingersoll for attempting to buy Federal Barge Lines despite national policy that it would not be sold to employees. Ingersoll said he quit.

In 1953 Federal Barge Lines was transferred to private ownership through sale to a wholly owned subsidiary of St. Louis Shipbuilding & Steel Co. Herman T. Pott, president of the shipbuilding company, became chairman of the board of the barge line, which retained its old name. The following year Mr. Pott brought Captain Ingersoll in as president of Federal Barge Lines.

Converse Ingersoll's crowning achievement was the establishment in 1961 of the Common Carrier Conference of Domestic Water Carriers, a personal triumph for him in bringing together the inland and the coastal carriers for the first time. He has been its only chairman.

FAA Thinks Lightly of Airport Snow Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I received a report from the Federal Aviation Agency to the effect that the weather in Buffalo, N.Y., did not warrant aid for the construction of buildings to house snow-fighting equipment.

I wish to include in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the September 8, 1965, issue of the Buffalo Courier-Express, Buffalo, N.Y., which explains the situation quite adequately:

FAA THINKS LIGHTLY OF AIRPORT SNOW PROBLEM

We don't want to jump to conclusions but it appears that the Federal Aviation Agency is attempting to do a snow job on the Niagara Frontier Port Authority and the people of the Buffalo area. The FAA says that Buffalo does not have severe enough winter weather to warrant Federal aid for the construction of a building to house snow-fighting equipment at the Greater Buffalo International Airport.

We don't particularly like to discuss the revolting subject of snow this early in September and especially after most of the current, far from ideal, summer is spent. Representative THADDEUS J. DULSKI, who is dissatisfied with the FAA report, declared that he is not convinced that the number of zero days or less "is a fair basis for determining assistance."

Snow in this area isn't determined by the number of zero days. It is determined by Lake Erie. When we don't have severe cold the lake doesn't freeze and the prevailing southwest winds pick up moisture as they pass over the open water and then they dump—you know what—snow in the Buffalo area.

And just in case the FAA doesn't believe it is necessary to have snow-fighting equipment in constant readiness at the Greater Buffalo International Airport, we quote the following figures on snowfall: 1964—65 inches; 1963—82.2 inches; 1962—123 inches; 1961—89.4 inches, and 1960—138 inches. Added up, that accounts for a total of 497.6 inches of snow in the Greater Buffalo area in the past 5 winters. Converted to feet that's 41.4, which is approximately the height of a two-and-a-half-story home.

Against these Buffalo figures Denver has an average snowfall of 59 inches, Chicago 36 inches, Madison, Wis., 39 inches, and Boston 40 inches. If Buffalo doesn't qualify for a building to house snow-fighting equipment, would the FAA please tell us what cities would?

U.S. Hero Worship Has Strange Directions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, a recent issue of a fine daily newspaper in my district had a very thought-provoking editorial on hero worship in the United States. While hero worship can be good, it can also be detrimental as pointed out in this article which I would like to place in the Apdendix of the RECORD for all readers to see:

[From the Maryville-Alcoa Times, Sept. 10, 1965]

U.S. HERO WORSHIP HAS STRANGE DIRECTIONS

The other day we say a picture of the motel of the man who headed the Government scandal of last year, Bobby Baker. The plush resort has attained great success over the past year as a result of the notoriety of the capitol incident in which Baker figured so prominently.

This leads us to ponder the pecularities of the American and to wonder sometimes about the method taken by the compassion of our people. The underdog has become the hero and gains great support from the mass of the compassionate, regardless of the merits of the actual case.

For example, the widow of a President's assassin became rich beyond her fondest dreams and American hearts went out to other innocents caught up in the same crime to fill their economic cups to overflowing.

A national hero was made of a convicted rapist, and indeed he became an international cause celebre, because he trained himself to become a genius at writing. Caryl Chessman and his sordid history makes one wonder at the sense of values where such misplaced loyalty is concerned.

Baker's name is probably known better by the average American than that of many leaders of the American industrial scene and certainly more than that of the president of the American Red Cross or the chairman of the Ford Foundation. He used his Senate influence to amass a net worth said to be about $2 million although his Government job paid only $19,600.

The motel under discussion has become a popular resort with people climbing all over each other for the privilege of saying to friends that "I stayed at Bobby Baker's motel." He has broadened his motel interests since this success and undoubtedly will capitalize on his reputation for success there also.

Baker was able to get out of his troubles with a settlement of some $300,000 which could hardly be called a large sum in comparison to his holdings.

While Baker has been basking in the adulation of the compassionate or the sensation-seeker, the man who blew the whistle on his Capitol cavorting, Senator JOHN J. WILLIAMS, of Delaware, has been subjected to smears and efforts to intimidate him. Not enough of this evidently has been done to put WIL-

LIAMS in the underdog position to the public.

The Bakers, the Burtons, and the Beetles, all of whom seem to thrive on notoriety, are sad commentaries on the American attitude toward impositions, improprieties, and impulsiveness.

The Real Alabama—Part LX

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the port of Mobile is playing a truly major part in the economic growth of Alabama and of the South. The continuing development of the port facilities is a fact of which our city is proud.

The story is briefly told in an article appearing in the Birmingham News of August 22, 1965. I include the text of the article.

THE ALARM WENT OFF 37 YEARS AGO

For nearly a quarter century, Brookley Air Force Base has been Mobile's largest single employer. Then, on a bleak day last November, came a shocker: Brookley, in 4 years, would be no more—it would be closed.

It didn't take long for Mobile to wake up to the fact that, as the Brookley dollars swelled the economy, the city had been taking for granted the very thing that formed the true base of economy.

This is the port.

Here, in an excellent major seaport protected from the open sea, is the permanence that was lacking in a defense installation, no matter how large.

Here, in the port, lies the key that can open the door to more permanent industry and other development to fill the economic vacuum of the Brookley shutdown.

Not that the port hasn't been growing right along with the prosperous times. It has—almost phenomenally. But there has come a new awareness, replacing the feelings of dependence upon the Air Force dollar, that the port can be used even more as the vehicle to expand the area economy.

"The port of Mobile," says an excellent promotional handbook published by the Alabama State Docks, "is a wide-awake giant, flexing its trade muscles after 4 centuries of fitful slumber. The alarm clock went off just 37 years ago."

That was when the State of Alabama decided to issue $10 million in bonds to build the State docks. Today, the initial investment has multiplied manyfold. More importantly, the port development has made Mobile a principal center of world commerce.

Replacement value of the existing port facilities is estimated at $100 million—10 times the original expenditure. There are 29 general cargo ship berths with shipside transit sheds of steel and concrete. Cavernous warehouses are nearby.

There are facilities for handling just about every commodity in the transportation book—any kind of bulk or liquid, grain, paper and pulpwood, cotton, frozen and other foodstuffs; the list could go on endlessly.

The port operates its own railway system, making connections with the major rail lines serving the area.

Suffice it to say that the port's growth is reflected in last year's operating report of the State docks: The greatest gross volume and net profit in history. Profits are continually plowed back into more facilities as trade and promises of more trade develop.

Current plans, for instance, call for construction of two new berths designed especially for "trailerships"—vessels that handle cargo carried in truck trailers—and for an international trade center to further promote the port.

The State docks, of course, is not the whole port. There are some privately owned facilities—for example, United States Steel's large ore terminal handling a constant flow of iron ore from Venezuelan fields for the furnaces of Birmingham.

In some past years, the State docks has been plagued by politics, and the political interference has inevitably shown up in its operating reports. In the current administration, politics has been at a minimum, for it was Gov. George Wallace's order to his docks director, Houston Feaster, to run the docks without regard to political considerations.

Alabama's rapidly growing inland docks system, providing barge and distribution terminals on the State's navigable rivers, is a prime magnet for new industry. Both the Governor and Director Feaster emphasize that the key role of an inland dock is to be a nucleus for an industrial park to serve industry.

Feaster cites $12 million Allied Paper Corp.'s plant on the Tombigbee at Jackson to underline this point.

"At Jackson," says Feaster, "the people were trying to get a new paper mill to locate there. They needed help to clinch it. We put up an inland terminal. This enables Allied to barge in pulpwood, wood chips, and chemicals, and in turn enables the company to ship out paper to distribution points via the Tombigbee, the Intercoastal Canal, and Mississippi-Missouri River systems.

"Traffic over the Jackson facility will generate revenue to amortize our investment and the docks there serve other users. Meantime, the State enjoys the economic stimulus of a vigorous new plant."

Alabama's inland docks system now maintains 10 facilities, with specific planning for others on the Alabama-Coosa system.

Our American-Flag Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, the adequacy of our American-flag merchant marine is a subject of continuing concern to many Americans.

I know my colleagues will be pleased to learn that the American Legion considered the future of our Nation's maritime fleet when it assembled in national convention in Portland, Oreg., a few days ago.

The American Legion adopted two major resolutions designed to encourage a strong American-flag merchant marine. They are both thoughtful and reasoned recommendations for our Government's future maritime policy and I commend them to my colleagues.

The resolutions follow:

RESOLUTION NO. 585—AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE

Whereas the majority of our war-built merchant vessels are now low-speed, inefficient, and overage, which impairs the required capacity to promptly meet the military sea lifts for mass troop and material transportation to wherever they may be needed; this is illustrated by the Vietnam war where the Government has relied upon our fast new liner vessels for essential sealift support; and

Whereas the United States possesses the strongest and most modern Navy in the world and in contrast a merchant marine which is composed, except for the subsidized liner fleet, mostly of obsolete ships; and

Whereas use of U.S.-flag shipping contributes greatly to the solution of our serious balance-of-payments deficit; and

Whereas there is urgent need for an accelerated merchant ship replacement program to correct our sea power deficiency which is evidenced by the fact that between 1954 and 1960 the U.S. Merchant Marine decreased 310,000 tons yearly on the average, while the Soviet Union's fleet increased 450,000 tons annually, and in 1961, 1962, 1963, we lost 500,000 tons while the Russians added 1 million tons of new, modern merchant shipping of latest design and the present yearly construction program for U.S. ships, is 15 compared to 100 such vessels by the U.S.S.R.: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the American Legion in National Convention assembled in Portland, Oreg., August 24–26, 1965, That the Congress of the United States, the President and applicable executive agencies, be urged to:

1. Implement as fully as possible the sound national maritime policy including parity payments to ship operators in the liner services, established in the Merchant Marine Act of the United States, the President, and appliadequate for our national defense and commerce.

2. Utilize all Government and public resources to achieve labor peace which is essential to the very survival of an American-flag fleet.

3. Assure the appropriation of adequate funds to enable the industry and Government to proceed with an accelerated vessel replacement program to effectively combat the challenge of the Soviet Union for the supremacy and domination of seaborne commerce.

4. Effectively administer the 50/50 law, requiring that a minimum of 50 percent of cargoes financed directly or indirectly by the U.S. Government be transported in American-flag ships to the extent they are available.

5. Encourage Government agency personnel, exporters, importers and tourists during all seasons to use the dependable, scheduled services of U.S.-flag vessels, not only in the interest of a dynamic and expanding U.S. foreign commerce, but also to help increase the already sizable contribution the American merchant marine is making toward improving our balance-of-payments situation.

6. Insure immediate availability for national defense strong inland waterways, intercoastal and coastwise vessel services; and expand and improve the port and alternate route facilities for use in case of attack.

7. Assure the appropriation of adequate funds to enable the Government to proceed with research and development in the maritime field, particularly in connection with new types of vessel propulsion, design and cargo handling techniques.

7. Increase the efforts of the Government to work with other nations toward eliminating discriminatory practice harmful to U.S.-flag shipping.

9. Require the Department of Defense to transport a reasonable portion of its mili-

tary personnel and dependents as passengers on board U.S.-flag commercial passenger carrying vessels during peacetime.

10. Provide an adequate shipbuilding and ship repair mobilization potential among the Atlantic Gulf, Great Lakes and Pacific facilities in the interest of national security through the appropriation of sufficient funds to enable the Government to proceed with the merchant ship replacement program and to correct, on a realistic and accelerated basis, obsolescence in the merchant and naval fleets through construction in U.S. yards of all vessels commercial and military to fly the American flag.

10. Continue to encourage and support the U.S. Merchant Maritime Academy and the maritime colleges in Maine, Massachusetts, California, New York, Texas and Maryland.

12. Assure the continued operation, maintenance and control of the present Panama Canal by the U.S. Government as a unit of our intracoastal waterways system, and to proceed with the present studies and implementation of a new sea-level waterway, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans; and be it further

Resolved, To continue a program of direct action for a strong American merchant marine; to implement the broad and extensive information and education campaign by the American Legion on behalf of a strong American merchant marine for our national security; and provide that the chairman of the Merchant Marine Committee and the director of the National Security Commission of the American Legion be directed to continue to seek and obtain from all possible sources such information and assistance as will insure the effectiveness of the mandates of this convention concerning the American merchant marine; and be it further

Resolved, That the American Legion continue to prepare and to carry out an extensive information and education program about the American merchant marine as our "fourth arm" of national security.

RESOLUTION 591—PURCHASE OF U.S. VESSELS CONSTRUCTED IN FOREIGN SHIPYARDS OPPOSED

Whereas our Nation's domestic shipbuilding capability is a vital part of our overall national security posture; and

Whereas our Nation's shipbuilding productive capacity has been strained often in the past by a surge of wartime demand after a long period of peacetime neglect; and

Whereas our Nation's domestic private shipyards must always be maintained at a level that will enable them to meet our national security requirements; and

Whereas the Soviet Union and other maritime nations are challenging our Nation on the high seas; and

Whereas our Nation's domestic shipbuilding industry will be unable to compete with foreign challengers on the high seas unless the industry's competitive position is protected and promoted; and

Whereas our Nation's domestic shipbuilding industry's competitive position is now threatened by a number of proposals advanced in our Nation's Capital to purchase navy and maritime vessels from places outside of the United States, even to the extent of purchasing commercial fishing vessels from the Communist satellite—Poland: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the American Legion in national convention assembled in Portland, Oreg., August 24–26, 1965, That our Nation's national security will be seriously diluted by the purchase of U.S. vessels constructed in foreign shipyards and the American Legion is therefore opposed to the purchase by the U.S. Government of vessels constructed outside of the United States.

True Meaning of Equality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to insert my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include a letter written by a constituent of mine, Mrs. Eleanor Beemer, to a young graduate. The letter is an excellent outline of the debate and discussions during the preparation of the Declaration of Independence surrounding the phrase, "All men are created equal." A reading of this letter will give a clearer understanding with reference to that phrase.

The letter follows:

AUGUST 4, 1965.

DEAR JOHNNY: I am finally writing you the letter I have had in mind ever since I attended your eighth grade graduation and very proudly listened to your graduation speech.

When you quoted the world famous words from the Declaration of Independence "* * * all men are created equal * * *" I was struck by how obviously untrue this was of just the members of your class there on the platform.

"Johnny knows that is not true, of course," I said to myself, "and I bet he would like to know why our Declaration of Independence states such an untruth."

Many modern Americans are concerned to find themselves in disagreement with these famous words from the great Americans who created the United States of America, when we so highly venerate every other word and concept in the Declaration. In recent years students of history have come up with the explanation and here it is for you very briefly:

George Mason, a Virginia plantation owner, had had a deep and wide education in English and Roman history before he became a man, a father of nine children, and a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787, and earlier a delegate to the constitutional conventions of his State of Virginia.

Mr. Mason wrote the original draft of the Virginia Declaration of Rights which appeared in the Virginia Gazette on June 1, 1776 and was published in Philadelphia a few days later, June 6, 1776. George Mason was rather pleased with this work of his and sent a handwritten copy to his fellow Virginian, Richard Henry Lee, who was in Philadelphia at the time. The first paragraph was:

"That all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain inherent natural rights, of which they cannot, by any compact, deprive, or divest their posterity; among which are the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety."

All through the June of 1776 Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson were in Philadelphia struggling to compose the Declaration of Independence. It was easy enough to catalog the sins of George III but their combined wisdom was not equal to the task of framing a powerful beginning that would justify revolution and appeal to the sense of justice of all peoples of those times.

Then one day Adams, Jefferson, and Franklin saw George Mason's manuscript in the hands of Richard Henry Lee and read it in the newspapers. It was just what they needed. Where did Mason get it? They did not know George Mason as well as Mason's Virginia friend and neighbor, George Washington, or they would have known it came from Mason's heart, based on his deep knowledge of history and his personal convictions.

So the authors substituted equality of birth for George Mason's equality of freedom and independence. They substituted pursuit of happiness for ownership of property and attainment of happiness.

Why did the framers of our Declaration do this?

They changed Mason's words because they wanted our Declaration to appeal to the simple-minded peasants and the philosophers of France. France was in a revolution of its own for equality. Young struggling America needed friends in her revolt from England.

Franklin and Adams knew equality of birth was not a true doctrine for when they created their own State constitutions for Pennsylvania and Massachusetts they used Mason's Virginia Declaration unchanged. Every American State constitution is based on Mason's concepts. Every world constitution except those of Russia, Mongolia, Ukraine, and Guatemala follow George Mason's pattern. "Inequality will exist as long as liberty exists," said Alexander Hamilton in 1787.

Doesn't it seem strange, Johnny, that we don't hear more of George Mason in American history? Some one once said history's greatest truths are printed in the smallest type. Historians are beginning to give him his proper place now and perhaps it is because of the widespread concern over human and civil rights, which Mason knew 200 years ago would be a stumbling block.

If George Mason had been a signer of the U.S. Constitution his name would be known. Why wasn't he? He was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia that summer of 1787. He debated and worked those hot months on the wording and contents of it. He and his son John attended every session and got in some fishing and sightseeing, too (the first U.S. hospital founded in Philadelphia in 1751 by Benjamin Franklin, etc.).

George Mason could not sign the Constitution and give it his support at home in the Virginia Assembly for two reasons. It did not stop the importation of slaves and it contained no bill of rights. Mason's feeling about slavery and his own slaves is too long a story to tell here. But he knew our new country would sooner or later crash on the rocks of this very problem. He feared it would split the Nation asunder and pit brother against brother as it did in the bloodiest of all wars less than a century later.

So with bitter disappointment George Mason watched the signatures affixed while he and Edmund Randolph and Eldridge Gerry withheld their names. It must have nearly broken his heart because he so wanted this union of independent States and because he realized perhaps more than any other signer what a triumph of self-governing men it was.

Virginia ratified the Constitution the next June and offered amendments prepared by George Mason and a committee which were very likely the Virginia Bill of Rights. These did not become part of the Constitution until acted upon by the First Congress in 1791 but George Mason lived to see the American Constitution fortified by the very Bill of Rights he had conceived.

Isn't it inspiring to know that our wise forefathers knew that all men are not created equal, even though they worded the declaration differently for political reasons? Isn't it reassuring to know that those first Americans, who pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor, believed that all men are created free and independent. Their doctrine has held up the two centuries of

our American existence and will hold up as long as there are free men who believe it and who work to spread it to cover all human beings created by God.

If you are still reading this long letter, John, let me say two more things. You notice I have used quotes. They are from a book I'd like to loan you. I didn't know if you have time to read novels. Maybe Mother or Kathy will read the book and tell you about it. It is a fictionalized story of the life of George Mason, "Glimpse of Glory" by Marian Buckley Cox.

Best wishes for your future,

From ELEANOR.

A Force for Good

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to discover a recent editorial in the Fremont News Register acclaiming the Job Corps program, both in its ideal and in actual practice. The city of Fremont, Calif., has observed firsthand the development of this ambitious program at nearby Camp Parks, and the community's initial doubts about the Job Corps have been replaced by sincere admiration. I believe that the ultimate success of this phase of the war on poverty depends to an important extent upon the response of the American communities where the various Job Corps centers are located. Therefore, I commend to my colleagues the following editorial:

[From the Fremont (Calif.) News Register, Aug. 31, 1965]

A FORCE FOR GOOD

One of the more pleasant surprises of the past year has been the emergence of the Job Corps as a strong force for good in the social and economic picture of this country.

We frankly admit that when the Job Corps was formed as part of the President's war against poverty we looked on the idea with grave misgivings. The possibilities of an organization such as the Job Corps becoming a political football were strong.

Those misgivings have long since disappeared. It is a pleasure to watch the enthusiastic response to the Job Corps by the young men at Camp Parks and at similar centers throughout the country.

Each of the young men enrolled in the Job Corps has, sometimes through no fault of his own, thrown away or lost his first chance to learn how to make his way through life. Most of these young men dropped out of school before finishing their secondary education, many long before that.

The Job Corps gives these young men a second chance, a chance to grasp again the lost opportunities of the past.

Through the Job Corps they are learning a trade which will help them earn their way through life. Gaping holes in their education are being filled. They are able, while working and learning at Camp Parks and the other centers, to accumulate a financial nest egg which will take them through the first difficult months when they leave the Job Corps training centers.

It seems evident the Job Corps is training these young men, many of whom would have become economic derelicts, to make worthwhile contributions to our society.

We hope the communities surrounding such centers as Camp Parks will follow the lead taken by a few civic leaders and help these young men on their way to a new and better life.

The doubts we harbored a few months ago have been replaced by sincere admiration. The Job Corps program appears to be doing a fine job.

It is the duty of all of us to help it on the way to success.

Congressmen Blast King on Red China Stand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PRENTISS WALKER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. WALKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, over a period of the last 2 months, one of the Nation's leaders in the civil rights movement has taken upon himself the responsibility of advising the President and the State Department in matters of foreign policy. I am speaking of Nobel Peace Prize winner, the Dr. Martin Luther King.

The following article by Mr. David Lawrence which appeared in the Meridian, Miss, Star on Thursday, September 16, 1965, merits the readership of every Member of Congress.

It raises the question of Dr. King's wisdom in his most recent contact with Ambassador Goldberg and also questions the wisdom of Mr. Goldberg's recognition of Dr. King and Dr. King's friend, Mr. Bayard Rustin.

The article follows:

[From the Meridian (Miss.) Star, Sept. 16, 1965]

CONGRESSMEN BLAST KING ON RED CHINA STAND

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., one of the Negro leaders of the civil rights movement, has enveloped himself in a mystery that is puzzling many people inside and outside of Congress. Just why should he announce, after a conference with U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, a four-point program which urges the U.S. Government to consider halting its bombing raids on North Vietnam and also to reverse its policy and favor the seating of Red China in the United Nations?

This is a view considered by many persons here to be favorable to the Communist side, and certain Senators, in statements inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, ask why Dr. King was accompanied to his meeting with Ambassador Goldberg by Bayard Rustin, his special consultant, who is accused of having been a member of the Young Communist League.

Senator THOMAS J. DODD, Democrat, of Connecticut, said:

"When Dr. Martin Luther King takes advantage of his pulpit as the prime leader of the civil rights movement in this country, to call for the admission of Red China to the United Nations; to demand that the United States commit itself to negotiate with the Vietcong; and to advocate that the United States reorient its foreign policy along the lines of accommodation with communism, then I can only regret that the leader of the civil rights movement, by his intemperate alinement with the forces of appeasement in foreign policy, has alienated much of the support which he previously enjoyed in Congress * * *.

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE

"The enemies of the civil rights movement have repeatedly made the charge that Dr. King is under Communist influence. I have myself defended Dr. King against this charge. But by the stand he has now taken on the whole series of vital foreign policy issues, I gravely fear that Dr. King has provided his own enemies and the enemies of the movements he heads with ammunition that they will know only too well how to use."

Senator STROM THURMOND, Republican, of South Carolina, not only criticized Dr. King severely, but called it "a disgrace to the country that Ambassador Goldberg would officially receive such persons as Martin Luther King and Bayard Rustin, and thereby lend credence to an appearance of official respectability of these two troublemakers," he added.

PUBLIC RECORD

"Bayard Rustin's qualifications are better documented in the public record, in that he was reported in the press to have been a member of the Young Communist League.

"It is indeed a sad commentary that even the existence of such persons is acknowledged to the extent of an audience with a high official of the Government."

Dr. King has since announced that he will write letters within the next 10 days to the President of North Vietnam, the Government of South Vietnam, and the leaders of the Governments of Communist China and the Soviet Union. If Dr. King carries on a correspondence with foreign governments, it could run counter to the provisions of the Logan Act, a Federal statute which says:

VIOLATION OF LAW

"Any citizen of the United States, wherever he may be, who, without authority of the United States, directly or indirectly commences or carries on any correspondence or intercourse with any foreign government or any officer or agent thereof, with intent to influence the measures or conduct of any foreign government or of any officer or agent thereof, in relation to any disputes or controversies with the United States, or to defeat the measures of the United States, shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than 3 years, or both."

The mere fact that Dr. King was received by the U.N. Ambassador, who is the personal representative of the President of the United States, may give rise to a wrong impression. It could justify a belief that while what Dr. King is doing now in his correspondence with foreign governments may not have the authorization of the President as to its substance, it has a kind of tacit approval, inasmuch as no action has been or probably will be taken to stop his efforts to engage in a peace movement by direct correspondence with hostile governments.

Interesting Questions and Comments on Farm Labor Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. HARVEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I believe it is time we hear from "Mr. Citizen" as to the results of the new farm labor policy which has swept the country. The following letter, which

was printed in the September 9, 1965, edition of a weekly newspaper, the Marlette Leader Press, Marlette, Mich., points out the many difficulties encountered by our farmers this year. Mr. Orville Woodard—from personal, on-the-scene experience—makes it quite clear that it is an experience farmers simply cannot afford to put up with next year.

Mr. Woodard's letter follows:

LETTER TELLS ABOUT CRITICAL LABOR SHORTAGE

EDITORS COLUMN
Marlette Leader,
Marlette, Mich.:

Where are all the agricultural workers that Secretary of Labor, Willard Wirtz, said that were available in Michigan and other States among the teenagers and the unemployed? It is manditory that all companies do their utmost to recruit domestic labor and as for myself it has been an utter failure. I have spent over $2,000 traveling to Texas, Florida, and other points where the Government stated that there was labor available. Today I have 36 workers trying to pick 150 acres of pickles. I could easily use over 100 more pickers. Congress killed Public Law 78 which would admit workers from Mexico and in doing this certainly killed the pickle business in Michigan. Million of dollars have been lost in our State and others because of a few administrators sitting behind desks in their white shirts and flannel suits telling business and farmers that "ample labor was available within the States to harvest our crops." It is very doubtful that any of them have ever gone into the fields during harvest to actually see the situation. Perhaps they would learn a little bit if they could see the labor we have put up with this year. Teenagers sitting on the vines throwing pickles at each other, groups from the south refusing to work because it's just too cold, groups from the city quitting because they just can't do the work. We have had some very good workers but not many. Last year and the year before, my company pumped a quarter of a million dollars per year into this community. This year it will be less than 25 percent of that. So, Washington is forcing mechanization onto the farmer, which will put thousands out of work. I think it is time for the ordinary citizen to grab a pen and start telling his elected people in Washington and Lansing what he as a voter and taxpayer wants and needs. Otherwise we are going to be absolutely at the mercy of desk and plane riding "diplomats."

ORVILLE WOODARD,
Marlette Food Products.

New Jersey Boys State Observes Its 20th Year of Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, of all the fine activities sponsored by the American Legion, none has more far reaching merit than Boys State an organization established to teach our youth about government and to encourage their active participation in it during their mature years.

The New Jersey Boys State is a thriving and vigorous organization. Under the dynamic leadership of its director, Harold A. Eaton, Boys State has benefited more than 13,000 young men who have directly entered its rolls and countless others who have come into contact with the participants. Mr. Eaton's talents are well known as he has served Boys State in New Jersey since its inception 20 years ago and this year he directed the national equivalent called Boys Nation which was held in Washington in July.

This year Boys State of New Jersey is 20 years old and I bring to the attention of the Congress an article published in the Statesman, a New Jersey Boys State quarterly, edited by the very able Francis Tomczuk, which reviews the achievements of this wonderful organization:

TWENTY YEARS AT THE HELM

The 1965 session of American Legion Jersey Boys State will mark a special place in the history of the State of New Jersey, say officials of Rutgers, the State university. The university's New Brunswick campus has been the site of 19 successive annual session of Boys State and the 20th anniversary of Jersey Boys State will be observed at Rutgers during the 1965 session with statesmen, staff members, and university officials participating in the ceremonies that will mark the 20 years of accomplishment.

Staff members were heard to say that even though great strides have been made during the past 20 years, the next 20 years will see a greater Jersey Boys State. Director Harold A. Eaton pointed out that it is just such enthusiasm and determination on the part of statesmen and staff members that has brought the American Legion Jersey Boys State to the point where it has set the pace for the Boys States of America and for the American Legion.

"Several thousand men and boys have participated in Jersey Boys State over the past 20 years," said Chief Eaton, "and we look to them to continue the type of leadership and teamwork that has been given to them at Boys State. Their responsibilities have been pointed out to them and we know that each of them has had many opportunities to apply himself. The results reveal themselvse continually, in many ways, all over the Nation. We know that the United States of America is a better nation because so many young men have made themselves better citizens through their participation in American Legion Jersey Boys State."

Director Eaton has lead Jersey Boys State during its entire existence. He has been ably assisted by several capable staff members who have matched his pride in the program that has been hailed by the American Legion as one of the greatest of its many endeavors.

It has been estimated that more than 13,000 young men have become Jersey Boys Statesmen and that their influence on their more than 1,300,000 classmates, in their high schools, has contributed greatly to the stability of this small but mighty State of New Jersey. They are all better citizens because of Jersey Boys State and many of them have become statesmen in our great Nation.

The staff of Jersey Boys State has been spiced, for many years, with an extensive variety of individuals whose talents have been utilized to their fullest advantage to strive for better Boys States each year. Military men, people from all levels of the educational field, professional men, men from the arts and sciences, Legionnaires, businessmen, law-enforcement men, truck-drivers, mechanics, grocers and a host of others—yes, even politicians—have all been necessary for their contributions to the American Legion Jersey Boys State; and not one of them has received monetary payment for his efforts. Their payment is such that it cannot be measured in dollars and cents.

"Several thousand men and boys in New Jersey are united in a common bond brought about by their relationship with Jersey Boys State," said Assistant Director Robert Biunno, "and we know that New Jersey is a better State because these men and boys have experienced the comradery that comes with team effort."

Assistant Director William McCurdy added, "The Statesmen have bridged the gap between Jersey Boys State and their own schools and have thus taken the influence of Boys State far beyond the confines of the Rutgers campus."

Several other staff members of long standing agreed with the assistant directors and added that they too have become better citizens because of their exposure to the ideals of American Legion Jersey Boys State.

It's a Happy Goodby

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, the small southern community in which I live, Greensboro, Ala., was invaded last spring by a strange assortment of out-of-State college students. Recently, to the relief of the community, this group departed.

An editorial in the September 16 issue of the Greensboro Watchman expresses well the sentiment of those who were subjected to months of unnecessary harassment and agitation.

The editorial follows:

[From the Greensboro Watchman]

IT'S A HAPPY GOODBY

It is a remarkable thing, this peace which has settled over the Greensboro community since those little college whelps left us. You would hardly recognize it today if you had seen the embattled town which we had no more than 30 days ago—when, for no visible reason, this quiet old community was selected by the advocates of racial discord for a real scorching.

It is true that we have been seared somewhat, especially by the heat of Federal registrations turned on us by Lyndon Johnson, while sparing his own Texans from a similar treatment, but we are a long way from having lost. The exodus of the college do-gooders, intent upon reforming us and molding us to their own miserable images, is the most delightful thing which has happened to us in recent days. These people have been here since spring, working day and night in trying to stir up a revolution, if not a civil war, in our midst. Fortunately this community refused to do violence to those agitators, and this in itself is a real tribute to our social maturity. Other visitors to our community in recent weeks have been amazed by the restraint which we have shown, in spite of their continual invitations to trouble. Few other towns in America would have exercised as much self-control as we have done, and when we say this, we pay tribute not only to our whites but to many of our Negro friends as well. We have shown these outsiders that they do know how to live side by side with each other, in safety and a certain degree of happiness—something which our brethren of the North and West have not been able to accomplish.

We are getting back to normal today because those young whites who invaded us have gone. College classes beckoned some; we suspect that the dreadful Perry Smaw

affair convinced others that it was time to leave—but they are gone, thank the heavens! True, they did accomplish a few of the things they wanted, but in a larger sense—in the sense of provoking so much violence that Luther King could move in and take charge of the collections—they failed. We wish them well where they are, and we hope that they will find fruitful fields for work while there. For instance, those from California might take time out to examine the state of affairs in the ghettoes of Los Angeles. Those from New England, especially the young divinity student at Yale, might take out a few hours to visit Boston, and promote integration there, without traveling a thousand miles to Alabama to find the same problem. Those from Philadelphia and New York might look into the miserable housing conditions at their very backdoors, without having to come all the way to Greensboro. And those from Wisconsin, especially the smaller communities, might show the pictures which they took while here, and let their fellow whites see what a real Negro looks like, so that all of them will be better equipped in solving our southern problems.

You were treated all too well in this community, young people. We know, as you do, that you were not welcomed here, but once here, you were treated with far more courtesy than we would have found in your communities under similar conditions. We frankly don't care whether you ever come back, but before you do, clean up your own mess in your own backyards.

Wendell A. Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the August 31, 1965, issue of the Iowa City Press Citizen expresses the sentiments of all those who knew and admired Wendell A. Johnson; the world will truly miss him. Dr. Johnson was an inspirational human being and an outstanding contributor to his field of speech pathology. He will be long remembered as his influence continues to be felt throughout the world:

THE WORLD WILL MISS WENDELL A. JOHNSON

Wendell A. Johnson was a soft-spoken man who devoted a professional lifetime to filling in gaps in human knowledge and to making the understanding he gained available to the world. He was not the first student in speech pathology, but his pioneering work and his contributions identified him as perhaps no other with stuttering and its treatment. His work was directly with stutterers, in research himself, in encouraging and supervising studies undertaken by others.

Because of the understandings in speech pathology to which he contributed, untold numbers of children have been able to overcome the handicap of stuttering. Other youngsters have been spared this block to effective communication. Thousands have been enabled to play full roles as adults free of the inhibiting effects of the affliction. He overcame his personal problem of stuttering to become a symbol of victory and an inspiration to others.

The bare statistics of his accomplishments are astonishing, not only in speech pathology but in the whole realm of semantics and communications. His published work—10 books, more than 150 articles—testify to his energy and to the advances in knowledge for which he was responsible. The honors he received from scholarly societies show the esteem in which his colleagues held him. The many agencies for which he was a consultant in the areas of his competence demonstrate the value placed upon his advice.

Wendell Johnson was one of those men whose contributions to the world can be understood better by specialists in the areas in which he worked than by the neighbors among which he dwelt for nearly four decades. All, however, can understand that his work is making a better world and that his death is a genuine loss to man.

Why the Rioting?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY A. TAYLOR

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a challenging editorial by Weimer Jones, editor of the Franklin Press, Franklin, N.C. Minority groups in the 11th Congressional District of North Carolina, which incidentally includes many Indians as well as Negroes, have taken their differences to the conference rooms, not to the streets. Racial problems have been faced squarely and sensibly by all concerned and progress has resulted as leaders of all races have founded a bond of common understanding based on mutual respect.

The article follows:

WHY THE RIOTING?

The Negro rioting in Los Angeles seems senseless. So does that in Chicago. So did that in other big cities last summer. Yet, back of every event there is a cause.

The mounting violence among Negroes, it seems clear, grows out of a state of mind; and since the violence is unreasoning, the state of mind that produces it must be an adolescent, if not a sick one.

For years now, we have been given the same explanation. The Negro, we have been told, lives in ghettos; his housing is poor and inadequate. His schools have been inferior, and so he is ignorant. He is poor.

But all of this was true, in an earlier American period, of the Irish, of the Jews, of the Italians, and of other groups. Yet they worked their way out of the ghettos and the ignorance and the poverty—they did so without benefit either of a civil rights act or a war on poverty. Moreover, the rioting suggests that the more that is done to improve the Negro's condition, the worse his state of mind becomes.

Perhaps the explanation may lie in what the Negro has seen and what he has been told.

Just as small children can sense what goes on in their parents' mind, even the most ignorant can sense the meaning of events. And the Negro has seen two things:

First, he has seen, in a period of a few years, the most sweeping legislative program ever enacted in behalf of a single group.

Second, he has seen that whenever he creates trouble, he gets something else. The 1964 Civil Rights Act, the poverty program (which, proportionately will benefit him most), and now the voting rights bill have followed mass demonstrations and/or violence or the threat of violence.

Now consider what he has been told. For years, in season and out, he has been told, directly or indirectly:

That he is the helpless victim of his environment.

That he has no responsibility for his condition—that his high rates of illiteracy and unemployment, of venereal disease and illegitimacy, of crime—are solely the fault of society.

That he is still living in bondage.

That all of his troubles are traceable to the white man.

Suppose you were a Negro, ignorant, jobless.

You'd wallow in self-pity and bitterness. Then, at last, you'd strike out blindly. When a spoiled child doesn't get exactly what he wants, exactly when he wants it, he throws himself on the floor and kicks and screams. The counterpart of that, for older persons, is to riot and loot and kill.

Is it unreasonable to suggest that the present trend will lead to race war or revolution, or both?

But what can we do? It has taken years for us to get where we are. It may take years to get back to sanity. And we may have to find the answer as we go.

But surely an obvious first step is for all of us, white and Negro, to face a hard truth. The best things in life—personal worth, achievement, self-respect, and the respect of our fellows—cannot be conferred. They must be won.

Caught up in emotion, most Americans have ignored this simple truth in recent years. In doing so, they have engaged in self-deception. What is even worse, the Negro has been deceived—cruelly deceived.

AID Plays Vital Role in Brazil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, a former colleague of mine on the city council of Monterey Park, Calif., a long-time friend, local attorney, and professor of finance at California State College at Los Angeles—Mr. Gordon Severance—has just completed a several months' stay in Brazil as a member of a person-to-person team sent to assist in economic development planning.

Under unanimous consent I insert at this point in the RECORD a report made by Mr. Severance on his experiences that was printed in the Monterey Park Progress, Thursday, September 9, 1965. I believe that my colleagues will find this report to be as enlightening as I found it to be:

U.S. AIDS PLAY VITAL ROLE IN BRAZILIAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Following is a letter from Gordon Severance, former mayor of Monterey Park and professor of finance at Los Angeles State College. He is member of person-to-person team sent by Government to help economic development of North Brazil. This is final letter dated Aug. 1, 1965, Joaol Pessoa, State of Paraiba, Brazil.)

DEAR ELI: This is the last of my reports to the progress on conditions in Brazil. I posted the progress at the University of Paraiba last week and the response generated among the Brazilian graduate economists and engineers was enthusiastic and gratifying.

When these young men saw their names and pictures printed in a newspaper 5,000 miles away in Monterey Park, they realized perhaps for the first time, that Americans are deeply interested in them as persons. I wish to commend and thank the progress for generating this good will between peoples and for reciprocating toward the Brazilian people of Joao Pessoa the same hospitality which has been extended by the local Brazilian newspapers toward the Americans.

WHY AID BRAZIL?

Underlying my previous reports and, indeed our economic mission to Brazil, is a penetrating question: Why should the American taxpayer send funds to stimulate economic growth in this distant land? My longtime friend and Congressman, GEORGE BROWN, has consistently supported this idea. The late President Kennedy developed the broad outline of this aid program in his preelection book, "Strategy for Peace." President Johnson's administration has continued and extended the plan. Why?

I found at least some of the answers in a glass of Brazilian "cachaca" (sugarcane rum.) It happened this way. One of northeast Brazil's outstanding lawyer-economists is Celso Leite. Celso is a busy man. Mornings he sits as judge of one of Paraiba's administrative courts. Afternoons he is director of the University's Institute of Social and Economic Research, and in his spare time he writes articles about Brazil's economy, advises the Bank of Northeast Brazil, and serves as consultant to many governmental agencies. Naturally, an action man such as Celso is hard to see.

One Sunday afternoon, Celso's charming wife had just served an exciting Brazilian dinner and Celso retreated to a hammock on the porch, relaxing with a glass of "cachaca" in hand. I decided to exploit the opportunity to interview him. Here are my questions and Celso's answers:

LOW INCOME

Question. Why is northeast Brazil frequently described as a depressed area?

Answer. "Simply because the per-capita income in terms of U.S. dollars is about $100 per year—30 cents per day per person. By way of comparison, Americans in your depressed Appalachia average more than 10 times that income."

Question. Why are incomes in northeast Brazil so low?

Answer. "There are several reasons. First, the interior region 50 miles inland from the coastal rainbelt is dry, barren, and drought afflicted. Something like your Feather River project is the only long-run solution to that problem. Second, local investment capital has tended in migrate to Recife, Sao Paulo, and Rio. We need to develop new industries in Paraiba and then we will have more jobs which will raise the income level."

Question. Is that where the U.S. aid program comes in?

Answer. "Certamente. American taxpayers pay one-half of the cost of feasibility studies aimed at starting new industries. Northeast Brazilian investors acting on this information, instead of south in Rio, where things are prosperous. The new factories may also get favorable loans from the Brazilian banks which have access to U.S. Inter-American bank credit."

NEED HELP

Question. What do you personally think of the U.S. aid?

Answer. "We need help, and U.S. aid through the Alliance for Progress is the best kind of international help I've seen yet, because it is not simply a handout. We match U.S. funds for economic development so that it is a cooperative effort. More important, the Alliance for Progress is not based upon the principle of extracting diplomatic concessions in exchange for economic assistance. We have insisted upon this policy beginning with the administration of President Vargas int he early forties."

Question. What, in your opinion, would Brazil do if U.S. aid was discontinued?

Answer. "Brazil cannot wait a half-century to develop its northeast sector economically and industrially. We must have technical assistance and long-term credit. As a constitutional republic we naturally look to the United States for this help. But if U.S. aid is discontinued, there is no doubt in my mind we would look to other large nations of the world for assistance and this would include Soviet Russia. I believe the great majority of Brazilians do not want Soviet help because it would probably involve commitments inconsistent with our liberties."

I had finished my interview and Celso finished his "cachaca." I think you will find both stimulating.

Cordially,

GORDON SEVERANCE.

If We Don't Make a Stand Somewhere

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, on September 1, 1965, 1st Lt. Carl Mangold, U.S. Army, was killed in action in Vietnam when the helicopter he was flying was hit by Communist fire and exploded in the air. Carl Mangold, a young Texan from Medina Valley, left a widow, Frann, two infant daughters, Shelley, age 3, and Jill, 1½, and a baby, Christopher, who is only 5 months old.

Before this 25-year-old Texan gave his life heroically in the service of our country he had expressed his thoughts and feelings about the importance of what he was doing in Vietnam in a letter to his wife.

Excerpts from these letters appeared September 15, in the Medina Valley & County News Bulletin, a newspaper published in Castroville, Tex. His words, which are accompanied by an account of his funeral, express in plain yet eloquent fashion his devotion to duty and his understanding of our country's purpose.

The article reads as follows:

"IF WE DON'T MAKE A STAND SOMEWHERE—"

"Take a good look at this picture and place yourself in this woman's shoes. This should, alone, explain exactly what I am doing here. This is something that has never happened in America, except for the Civil War; but remember it can if we don't make a stand somewhere. This could very well be Castroville, Tex., instead of Le My, Vietnam."

So wrote First Lt. Carl Mangold shortly before he was shot down and killed while piloting an Army copter in Vietnam. The picture to which he refers in the letter to his wife, Frann, is of a Vietnamese mother and her infant son hiding in bushes to escape fighting as U.S. Marines clear the area of Vietcong. The letter continues:

"This is not an unusual picture. I see things like this daily. I have med-evacuated children no older than Shelley and Jill (the Mangolds' children) who were burned over 60 percent of their body after the Vietcong had attacked their village."

He ends the letter: "I am proud to be able to help these people as best I can and I am extremely thankful that I am an American." In another letter to Frann:

"I have learned to watch people die who are innocent. I have seen the bodies of dead soldiers, badly disfigured. I have watched some good friends die, being totally unable to help, but, at the same time, I have proven to my fellow soldiers and myself that I am no coward.

"I am willing to do whatever is necessary to save lives. I have been under heavy fire, the ship (copter) hit numerous times, but have always had the courage to carry on. I think that the 1st Article in the Code of Conduct states exactly how I feel about being a soldier: 'I am an American fighting man, I serve in the forces which guard my country and my way of life. I am prepared to give my life in its defense'."

In one of his last letters:

"If I must die in my tour over here, believe me, I will always be proud to say that, 'I am an American fighting man,' and I would want you to feel the same way. After all, love of God, country, and family are all tightly woven, and if a man fails in any, he is only partially a man. This may sound to some people like a lot of bull, but to me it all means so very much."

Failure in Southeast Asia?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, it is always interesting to get first-hand information from the young people returning from their 2-year assignments in the Peace Corps.

Recently, Greg Stikes, from Burlingame, Calif., in our congressional district—returned home after an assignment in Indonesia and Thailand. He gave an interview which was published in the Burlingame Advance Star on September 15, and which follows:

FAILURE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA?—"THE PEACE CORPS DOESN'T SEEM TO BE THE ANSWER"

(By Bruce Lee)

A young Burlingame Peace Corps man told an unpleasant story of U.S. failure and frustration in the Far East upon his return Monday from 2 years of duty in Indonesia and Thailand.

Gregory W. Stikes, 25, of 772 Walnut Avenue, former Burlingame High School star athlete, left little doubt that the Peace Corps has proven ineffectual in winning political friendship in the Far East.

"I've talked to Corps men stationed from Afghanistan to Thailand," Greg said, "and the general opinion is the same—we're not doing enough to warrant our being there. It's the same story of frustration everywhere the Corps men have had to lower their goals, and after they've gone their work is soon forgotten.

"I feel very strongly about stopping the advance of communism. But, certainly in Indonesia and most of the rest of the Far East, the Peace Corps doesn't seem to be the answer.

"The United States spent $800 million in Indonesia. But the Corps was kicked out by President Sukarno. And Indonesia is going

Communist. The obvious conclusion is that the taxpayers didn't get their money's worth and that the Peace Corps is clearly not a workable method there to stop communism."

Stikes, an all-peninsula football quarterback at Burlingame High School and a halfback at University of Pacific, joined the Corps on October 1, 1964, following graduation from college.

After 3 months of training in Hilo, Hawaii, Greg was sent to Djakarta and then to the island of Amboina in Indonesia.

"My assignment was to develop an athletic program," Stikes said. "President Sukarno asked us to upgrade the level of sports because the Indonesian islands are so spread and diversified it was felt that pride in athletic achievement would help consolidate and unify the nation.

"Specifically, I was asked to develop a basketball team that could beat a Chinese team. At least, the Corps succeeded there. We did build a basketball team that could beat the Chinese.

"Otherwise, the athletic program was pretty much a failure. We had no cooperation from the Indonesian Government, and we didn't do anything in sports the people there couldn't have done for themselves.

"Frankly, the Indonesians simply weren't very interested. They failed to understand why we even were there. One fellow asked us, 'Why did the United States send people all this way just to coach a sports team?'

"The same apathy toward the Corps applied in other areas. I taught—or tried to teach—in the University of Amboina, too. I had a class in English conversation and one in history—I majored in history at University of Pacific.

"The English conversation class was supposed to meet 20 times. Students showed up for only 5 of the 20 meetings. How many students? Nine. They simply didn't care.

"Seldom was there enough work—meaningful work—for Peace Corps men to do. So we sat around and brooded and developed ulcers and got sick. Bart Eaton (of Red Bluff), who was with me at Amboina to develop the athletic program, couldn't adapt to the rice and fish diet. Bart developed malnutrition. He also had malaria, dysentery, cholera and hepatitis. I was malnourished myself.

"There were just the two of us in Amboina and 45 Corps men in all of Indonesia. All of us were regarded as spies. We became the objects of constant Communist aggression and harrassment. Eventually, as everyone knows, President Sukarno ordered us out of the nation.

"I honestly think we should have gone before we did. The Peace Corps was being kicked in the teeth. The friends we made—who were pro-West before we arrived anyway—feared reprisals if seen in our company. The taxpayers were spending $9,500 to keep each of us in Indonesia. Why stay to keep on getting kicked in the teeth?"

It took 5 weeks for Stikes to be transported the 1,500 miles from Amboina to Djakarta. Then he was sent to Yala in southern Thailand where he remained for 2 months.

"There was some greater progress in Thailand, but it still was pretty much the same story—not enough work, not enough results." Stikes terminated his Peace Corps membership while in Thailand.

"Would I do it all over again, knowing what I do now? You bet. It was a wonderful personal experience. I met some fine people and had my eyes opened about the world and the way our Government operates.

"But would I do it solely for the sake of getting a job done? No. Because we didn't. Except the Indonesians do play better basketball now than they ever did."

Marshall Field: Publisher, Civic Leader, and Humanitarian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I am saddened at the sudden death of Marshall Field, the distinguished editor and publisher of the Chicago Sun-Times and the Chicago Daily News, who was taken from us on September 18 at the age of 49.

Marshall Field was a man of intellect and integrity, and an outstanding civic leader with a keen insight into the needs of Chicagoans and the city of Chicago. Many of the changes he advocated to improve the city, such as judicial reform, neighborhood renewal, the construction of a civic center, the building of a Chicago campus for the University of Illinois, and countless other projects, have been accomplished today mainly through his dedicated efforts.

I knew his father and had the privilege of serving with him on several fundraising committees for our beloved city of Chicago. I served with him, representing the old CIO, on a fundraising committee in the early days of the establishment of Roosevelt University.

Gov. Otto Kerner; Mayor Richard Daley; Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN; Senator PAUL DOUGLAS; Dr. George W. Beadle, president of the University of Chicago; Fairfax M. Cone, chairman of the board of trustees for the University of Chicago; Dr. Lowell T. Coggeshall, vice president of the University of Chicago; and scores of other political and civic leaders have joined in paying tribute to the great humanitarian, Marshall Field, for his work in the community and in the public interest.

Marshall Field shall be missed by thousands upon thousands of Chicagoans, but the work he began in their interest shall continue under plans he had formulated for stronger support for the universities, hospitals, and museums in the Chicago area.

I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial about Marshall Field which appeared in the Chicago Sun-Times today. The editorial follows:

MARSHALL FIELD, 1916–65

Marshall Field was deeply dedicated to Chicago. He had ambitious plans for this city which his great-grandfather had helped rebuild after the great fire of 1871. His most important goal was the development of two strong and independent newspapers as a base from which to work for a better community and a better life for all Chicagoans.

His sudden death at the age of 49 comes as a sad and shocking loss not only to his newspaper associates but to other citizens who knew him well through his work on many civic and business enterprises. All were inspired by his vision of a better city and a better American society.

The loss the staffs of the newspapers feel is very much a personal one. For Marshall Field was more than a publisher; he was a friend. Often he was to be found in the newsroom in shirtsleeves and suspenders, talking on a first-name basis with members of the staff.

Although an heir to a great fortune and trained in law, Mr. Field chose to be a newspaperman and so described himself. He was proud of the designation. He brought a keen mind and a natural bent toward leadership in the newspaper field. He worked hard to learn the business, showing the same zest and energy he had shown earlier as president of his law school graduating class and as a combat naval officer in World War II.

Son of the founder of the Chicago Sun, which was merged with the Chicago Times in 1948, Mr. Field succeeded his father as editor and publisher of this newspaper October 1, 1950. He carried on in the philosophy of the newspaper's founder expressed in the elder Field's book, "Freedom Is More Than a Word":

"The spirit of man will not become satisfied so long as there exists any fellow being in want, any disease uncured, any injustice unquestioned, or any pool of darkness unlit by the lamp of knowledge."

Mr. Field's daily decisions as editor and publisher showed a keen insight into the moral responsibilities and the business realities of 20th century journalism.

Mr. Field believed strongly in the need for a strong two-party political system. He encouraged progressive, as distinguished from radical, elements in both parties. He believed the business of politics needed new blood and new ideas.

He was one of the first American newspaper publishers to call for the nomination of Dwight D. Eisenhower for the Presidency in 1952. Neither the Sun nor the Times previously had supported a Republican for President. The decision was in tune with our times as the election returns showed. So was his decision last year to support President Johnson over Senator Barry Goldwater.

On occasion Mr. Field wrote his own editorials. In 1958 he presented a platform for Chicago that was welcomed and praised by business, civic, and political leaders. It detailed improvements needed here in transportation, education, race relations, police protection, neighborhood renewal and many other areas.

Some of the changes he advocated then have come about. Judicial reform has been carried out. The plan for a Fort Dearborn governmental and commercial structure was altered and Chicago now has the civic center. The University of Illinois Chicago campus is being built. Neighborhood renewal is well underway. Chicago has yet to meet the problem of downtown traffic and to replace the Loop L structure with a subway as Mr. Field advocated 8 years ago.

The final words of his platform apply as well today as then:

"With faith in a kindly providence and confidence in ourselves, we should be able not only to build a fabulous Metropolitan Chicago but contribute much to the building of a better world.

"This is our real destiny and we are honorbound to fulfill it."

The vigor Mr. Field directed toward the publishing of the Sun-Times and the Daily News was also shown in his contributions to other Field Enterprise companies, World Book Encyclopedia, Childcraft, and the newly formed Field Communications Corp.

These are all enterprises concerned with the communications field. Mr. Field's greatest legacy to Chicago is the organization that will carry on this work so vital to a free

society. The officers of the corporation and its divisions and subsidiaries will continue to conduct the company's affairs in the tradition established by Mr. Field. We will carry on the publication of the two newspapers according to the standards of intellectual integrity he set.

Free and honest newspapers and other communications media are the people's best guarantee for good government and an orderly society. Our memorial to Mr. Field will be a rededication to the city that he loved and the society that he hoped to improve.

The Trading Stamp Gimmick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I have watched with interest and approval the inquiry my colleague the gentleman from New York [Mr. WOLFF], has been conducting into the impact of trading stamps upon what the American consumer pays for the necessities of life. I am glad to see that his worthy efforts are being noted in the Nation's periodicals as well as in the daily press.

I include at this time in the RECORD the following editorial from the September 13, 1965, issue of the Nation:

THE BIGGEST GIMMICK

America, the land of opportunity, is also the Elysium of the sales gimmick. In dollar volume, no other gimmick can approach the trading stamp industry or, as it prefers to be called, the premium incentive business. Its prosperity is a living proof that P. T. Barnum knew what he was talking about. But now a cloud appears on the stamp horizon. Representative LESTER L. WOLFF, an enterprising freshman Congressman from New York, has been asking questions about the inner workings of the stamp business and getting answers from food chains and other retailers, but when he invited representatives of the stamp companies, none showed up. They sent observers to the informal meetings, they sent lobbyists to try to dissuade Mr. WOLFF from pursuing his inquiry, but they are not going to talk unless a formal congressional investigation is launched and subpenas are issued.

Representative WOLFF became interested in trading stamps because he suspected that this essentially parasitic industry might be a factor in the steadily rising cost of living. Over $38 billion in annual retail sales is tied in with stamps, including 43 percent of all food sold in the United States. Food markets operate on a low margin of profit—between 0.5 and 2 percent of sales—while stamps cost the stores 2 to 3 percent. The ratio may be even higher when markets try to beat the competition with double or triple stamp days. The companies used to claim that the stamps were paid for out of increased volume, and this was true when the first store in the neighborhood to adopt stamps took customers away from other stores; but now that the saturation point has been reached it must be clear that neither the consumer nor the merchant is getting something for nothing.

In effect the housewife (the clientele of the premium store is almost entirely female) is supporting a parallel, high-priced retailing system. The stamp houses are already the largest wholesale buyers of small appliances like toasters and heating pads, which they distribute at the manufacturers' inflated list prices, on which the stamp collector more often than not pays a sales tax. The intelligent housewife is forced into defensive stamp collection, since she knows she is paying for the stamps, willy-nilly. Undoubtedly many women revel in perusing the premium catalogs and choosing the gifts for themselves and their loved ones, but why should the sensible housewife be forced to pay extra for the food her family needs in exchange for overpriced merchandise they don't need?

Another point raised by Representative WOLFF is that the Internal Revenue Service may have been too indulgent with the stamp interest. Company practice is to file corporate income tax returns on the basis that not less than 95 percent of the issued stamps will be redeemed. But the actual redemption ratio is generally estimated at 90 percent, and some industry estimates range as low as 80 percent. Whatever the true figures, the difference is gravy for the companies. Redemption is usually prompt—6 to 12 months—yet the companies hold back $50 million a year against stamps that may never be presented for redemption. Since 1950, they have accumulated $950 million in reserves against 384 billion stamps, most of which will still be unredeemed at the last judgment.

Some food chains in the Northeast are beginning to rebel against the stamp imposition, but at the same time, with the price of medicines already high, drugstores are going under the yoke. The Nation has always been opposed to promotions of this type. (See editorial, "The Trading Stamp Mystique," October 5, 1964, and "Trading Stamps—The Welcome Hoax," by Desmond Smith, Oct. 26, 1963). It is high time for a full-dress investigation which will bring all the facts to light.

The Post Office Department ZIP Code Program: Need To Look for the Far-Reaching Effects of This Change

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. OLSEN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to submit for insertion in the RECORD a letter which I have received from the United Federation of Postal Clerks. It is written by Patrick J. Nilan, the legislative director, and it concerns a topic which should interest every Member in the Congress.

The letter follows:

UNITED FEDERATION OF POSTAL CLERKS, AFL-CIO,
Washington, D.C., September 8, 1965.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: We are taking this means of acquainting you with a situation which we are certain is of mutual concern and interest. Every one of the 50 States making up this great country of ours has already or ultimately will feel the effects of the controversial Post Office Department ZIP code and sectional center concept of mail handling.

We are enclosing with this letter a list of post offices where gateway mail terminal facilities are being directly and adversely affected by the Postmaster General's efforts to implement the sectional center ZIP code program. This list will specifically define for you the geographical areas involved.

We earnestly solicit your help in support of pending legislation to guarantee orderly procedure in the revolutionary changes which the Post Office Department is determined to arbitrarily put in effect at the earliest possible moment. These changes are to be made regardless of expense or hardship on private mailing firms, the mailing public in general, and our postal workers and their families.

It is our considered opinion that the Post Office Department, in its frantic haste to establish these controversial programs, is clearly usurping the constitutional authority of Congress to fix postal policy—an authority reaffirmed by the Congress as recently as 1958, in section 103(a) of Public Law 85-426, which states: "The Congress hereby emphasizes, reaffirms, and restates its function under the Constitution of the United States of forming postal policy."

The whole problem is complex and difficult to explain. However, the basic facts are simple enough.

First, in the House of Representatives we desperately need immediate support for H.R. 9551 sponsored by Representative ARNOLD OLSEN, which has been approved by the House Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittee on Postal Facilities and Modernization, but still requires approval of the full committee—and of course, a favorable vote by the U.S. House of Representatives, and the U.S. Senate. This legislation proposes to establish job protection by law for all postal employees affected by the gateway mail facility closings and, equally important, would delay until January 1, 1970 the effective date for mandatory presorting of second- and third-class mail by private mailers. The arbitrary administrative order by the Postmaster General has established a deadline for such mandatory presorting zipcoding of such mail, effective January 1, 1967, and the period of transition and conversion is already underway.

We urge you and your staff to review the hearings before the Subcommittee on Postal Facilities and Modernization of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service of the House of Representatives on H.R. 5180 and similar bills to amend title 39, United States Code to encourage the use by volume mailers of zip code through postage rates concessions.

This hearing report was printed for the use of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and is entitled "ZIP code system in the U.S. postal service." The final bill reported out by the subcommittee is H.R. 9551, and we are confident a review of these extensive hearings by this committee will clearly demonstrate the need for enactment of this particular legislation as quickly as possible.

Second, in the U.S. Senate we desperately need support and action on Senate Joint Resolution 77, sponsored by Senator GALE MCGEE. This resolution proposes to establish a National Commission to study Railway Post Office Service and its relationship to the National Transportation System. An ad hoc special Senate committee, under the chairmanship of Senator GALE MCGEE, conducted a 1-day hearing on June 18, 1965, and a hearing report entitled "Curtailment of Certain Railway Post Offices" has been prepared and is available for your review.

We earnestly request you to carefully consider this hearing report, also, which we believe also clearly demonstrates the need for positive action by the 89th Congress in this critical and controversial area of the ZIP code, sectional center concept of mail handling and its potential adverse effect on the national economy, the railroad industry, and postal and railroad employees. In the past 2 years alone, more than 120 railway and highway mobile post offices across the Nation have been terminated by the Post Office Department. It is our understanding that approximately 41 other railway mail

post offices are also scheduled for curtailment.

We desperately need, on the part of the 89th Congress, a sense of positive urgency and favorable action on these legislative proposals and whatever other legislative actions, including related investigations of the postal service which may be required to protect, not only our interests as Federal employees, but also the rights of postal patrons and the public to expect a continuing and maximum efficiency in the distribution, transportation, and delivery of the U.S. mail.

The unilateral policy decisions by the Post Office Department in its absolute determination to vastly change the whole pattern of mail handling in the entire United States moves precipitously ahead without regard to mounting evidence from many quarters (other than our own) that the rate and pace of the most far-reaching changeover since Benjamin Franklin's day is filled with hazards for the efficiency of the mail service, thousands of postal employees, and related adverse effects upon the general economy of many communities, as well as the railroad industry and a considerable number of its employees.

At this point let me say that our union is not opposed in principle to progress, or even to the potential use of ZIP code in conjunction with technological advances, if such progress is accomplished in an orderly procedure and is firmly established as an efficient and economical program in the best interests of the mailing public. However, in our opinion, ZIP code has been aggressively oversold to the public at this stage, and most of the technological advances suggested to make it completely operative are still in the laboratory of "things to come" of the Post Office Department and far removed from operational status.

We sincerely feel that the 89th Congress should immediately review all testimony presented to date before the committees in the U.S. House of Representatives and U.S. Senate, and then make an objective decision as to whether the Congress should immediately act consistent with H.R. 9551 and Senate Joint Resolution 77 to delay the 1967 deadline imposed by the Postmaster General for implementation of the ZIP code program. We feel the entire question should be thoroughly investigated by the Congress before it is too late, because when the gateway mail terminals, railway post offices, and railroad train service has been eliminated there will be no way possible to restore these important mail and transportation facilities as previously existed.

We appreciate your consideration of this letter and the enclosures concerned with the problems of our postal workers and their families which have so many far-reaching and potentially dangerous effects. If we can be helpful in any way to further respond to your questions or interest in these matters we shall be most happy to do so.

Cordially yours,

PATRICK J. NILAN,
Legislative Director.

SEVENTY "GATEWAYS" TERMINALS TO BE SHUT DOWN

The following cities will have large mail processing postal installations called gateway terminals shut down as a direct result of ZIP code. These closings, in addition to implementation of the related sectional center concept of mail handling will result in hundreds and perhaps even thousands of postal employees and their families being relocated to other postal installations up to 400 or 500 miles from their present home cities. Many of these employees will resign or retire rather than accept mandatory reassignment orders by the Post Office Department. Cities being affected are:

Albany, N.Y., Albuquerque, N. Mex., Amarillo, Tex., Atlanta, Ga., Baltimore, Md., Billings, Mont., Birmingham, Ala., Butte, Mont., Boston, Mass., Buffalo, N.Y., Charleston, W. Va., Cheyenne, Wyo., Chicago, Ill., Cleveland, Ohio, Columbia, S.C., Columbus, Ohio.

Council, Bluffs, Iowa., Dallas, Tex., Denver, Colo., Des Moines, Iowa, Detroit, Mich., El Paso, Tex., Fargo, N. Dak., Fort Worth, Tex., Greensboro, N.C., Harrisburg, Pa., Honolulu, Hawaii, Houston, Tex., Indianapolis, Ind., Jacksonville, Fla., Jackson, Miss., Kansas City, Mo., Knoxville, Tenn., Little Rock, Ark., Cincinnati, Ohio.

Long Island City, N.Y., Los Angeles, Calif., Louisville, Ky., Memphis, Tenn., Milwaukee, Wis., Minneapolis, Minn., Nashville, Tenn., Newark, N.J., New Haven, Conn., New Orleans, La., New York, N.Y., Oakland, Calif., Ogden, Utah, Oklahoma City, Okla., Omaha, Nebr., Philadelphia, Pa.

Phoenix, Ariz., Pittsburgh, Pa., Portland, Maine, Portland, Oreg., Providence, R.I., Richmond, Va., St. Louis, Mo., St. Paul, Minn., Salt Lake City, Utah, San Francisco, Calif.,

Seattle, Wash., Shreveport, La., Sioux Falls, S. Dak., Spokane, Wash., Springfield, Mass., Texarkana, Tex., Washington, D.C., Wichita, Kans., Wilmington, Del.

"Getting Together," an Editorial in the South Bend, Ind., Tribune, Concerning the Location of the New Atomic Energy Commission Accelerator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD an excellent editorial from the August 25, 1965, South Bend, Ind., Tribune, concerning the interest of the States of the Midwest in seeing the new Atomic Energy Commission accelerator located in one of the States in this part of the country.

The text of the editorial follows:

GETTING TOGETHER

In an unprecedented display of regional cooperation, a dozen Midwestern States have agreed informally to work together to see that the huge, new, federally financed nuclear particle accelerator is located somewhere in the Nation's midsection.

The 12 States, including Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois, will support whatever Midwest site seems to have the best chance of being chosen for the site of the multimillion-dollar project. It is the first time a unified regional approach will have been made to a specific project.

The cooperative effort will involve the Governors, U.S. Senators, and Representatives, and officials of all major universities within the dozen States. Ohio, Wisconsin, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and North Dakota are in on the pact.

Because there is still truth in the adage that in unity lies strength, the 12-State agreement bolsters the Midwest's chances of luring the nuclear accelerator to our region. In the past, Midwestern States have tended to be so busy fighting one another that they seldom presented a united political front on such projects.

Of the 125 sites proposed by 46 States (including each of the Midwestern 12), the Atomic Energy Commission will soon pare the list down to 25 or 30 choice locations. From these, the Midwestern States will have to pick one site in the region that seems to have the best promise, and to back it collectively.

Hoosiers may hope, to be sure, that the Indianapolis site is the regional selection. But if it is not, let us remember that it will be more beneficial to Indiana to have the nuclear accelerator located in Illinois or Ohio or even Nebraska than to have it go to Massachusetts, or California, or Texas, which are completely outside the regional orbit.

For the location of this project in the Nation's heartland will break a long Midwestern drought of Federal research projects, and will spawn subsidiary research activity, public and private, throughout the region. And that's an objective well worth getting together to achieve.

Who Is Writing These Classroom Tests?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I cannot think of anything more important to the future growth of this Nation than that our young people have the opportunities for obtaining a well-grounded education. Indeed, education is a vital key in unlocking the enormous potential of this great land.

It is, then, most disturbing when we hear reports that our youngsters are not receiving a sound education. Fortunately, these reports are in the minority and the problems are usually isolated in specific schools or school districts.

Now, however, it has come to my attention that education of our youth is being subverted in a nationwide pattern through a clever, insidious method: The "loading" of test materials being used by pupils in the classroom.

The Republican Congressional Committee Newsletter of September 13, 1965, has exposed this warping of facts under the guise of instructing youngsters about government and politics in America.

I am most pleased that our colleague, the Honorable ALBERT H. QUIE, of Minnesota, after viewing the newsletter's development of this issue, has written to the Commissioner of Education to determine whether Federal funds are being used to purchase politically-slanted test materials used in public schools. Mr. QUIE is ranking Republican member of the House Education and Labor Special Subcommittee on Education. It certainly will be most interesting to learn from the Commissioner whether these test materials are being purchased and distributed with the aid of Federal funds from the National Defense Education Act, or any other Federal Act, for that matter.

Mr. Speaker, I feel all Members of the Congress should be on the alert against the dangers posed by cleverly slanting a classroom test to favor or disfavor some segment of our political life. With that in mind, I ask unanimous consent to include the text of the Newsletter story in the Appendix of the RECORD:

FORTY-EIGHT MILLION KIDS' PARENTS MIGHT WANT TO KNOW—QUESTION: JUST WHO'S WRITING THOSE CLASSROOM TESTS?

Ever wonder where your kids are picking up some of those goofy ideas about Government and politics?

As 48 million elementary and high school students return to the Nation's classrooms this month, many parents might want to find an answer to that question. And one place they might look is the tests and publications distributed to youngsters for schoolroom use across the country.

Built into these tests is the potential to shape a youngster's thinking. For example, what seeds of information are planted in the mind of a ninth grader who is confronted with the following question on an intelligence test?

Question. A club that accepts only very rich members is said to be (a) snobbish, (b) exclusive (c) conservative (d) Republican (e) un-American.

Although the "exclusive" answer is considered correct, the effort to link the words "conservative" and "Republican" with the word "un-American" or the phrase "a club that accepts only very rich members" raises some serious questions about tests.

What makes this all significant is that it is not merely an isolated test question posed to a group of 20 or 30 youngsters in, say, a Midwest schoolroom. Rather, the question is included in an intelligence test—the Otis series—which its publisher says is probably the intelligence test series most widely used in American schools."

The Otis Quick Scoring Mental Ability Test is published and distributed to more than 500,000 high school students a year by Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., of New York City.

The publisher sees nothing at all wrong with the question cited.

In fact, Roger T. Lennon, the company's test department director, says: "The notion that any political overtones are to be read into any of the choices given is, of course, too fatuous even to comment on."

Mutual Network Commentator Fulton Lewis III, who found the choices offered in the question "incredible," mentioned the Otis test question in a recent national radio broadcast. Whereupon, one of Lewis' listeners wrote to inquire if Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., would be receptive to adding the following question and possible answers to its test:

Question. Anybody who would ask a high school student such a question is (a) biased, (b) brainwashing, (c) a liberal, (d) a Democrat, (e) uninformed.

The issue, however, is anything but humorous. Take the Senior Weekly Reader, a current events newspaper sent to sixth-grade students across the country. Last semester, for example, an issue of the Weekly Reader (published by Wesleyan University) had a front page story entitled "President Johnson Charts Course for Great Society." On the third page was an interview with the President's daughter, Luci.

And then, to test the student's memory, there followed a back page quiz—called "Get the Facts"—which posed such questions as these:

The President's Great Society is a place where America is growing richer, stronger, happier, and wiser, true or false?

The teacher's answer book accompanying the quiz points up what the child should have "learned" from the glowing page 1 story; namely, that the answer is true.

Another question: The Great Society is a place where people pay for their schooling, true or false?

The teacher's answer book—which, like the news story, fails to mention that the students' parents are paying for their schooling through taxes—says the correct answer is "false."

In the same vein, the student faces such true-or-false choices as these:

To reach the Great Society, whole cities will have to be rebuilt. (The tester says the answer to this one is "true.")

In the Great Society, junk heaps will be moved onto land along highways. (President Johnson wouldn't do a thing like that. The answer, we're told, is "false.")

The Republican Party takes it on the chin in another publication called "Cooperative Sequential Tests of Educational Progress—Social Studies," put out by Cooperative Test Division, Educational Test Service of Princeton, N.J., and Los Angeles, Calif. This examination, given to junior high school students, includes several political cartoons with accompanying questions.

One cartoon (see cut) depicts an elephant, obviously nervous and scared, walking in a graveyard at night among tombstones labeled, "Aid to farmers," "real tax relief," "balanced budget," "labor peace," and "world peace." In the background is a smiling ghost of a donkey labeled "Next election."

The student, after studying the cartoon, is then confronted with these questions and possible answers:

Question.—What does the laughing ghost represent? (1) The people who want their problem solved, (2) the Democratic Party which hopes to win the coming election, (3) the Republican Party which hopes to win the coming election, (4) a major problem which has not yet been solved.

Question.—Why is the elephant frightened? (1) He does not like cemeteries, (2) he is worried about the coming election, (3) he knows the people dislike him, (4) he is afraid the President won't like what he is doing.

Question.—What do the tombstones represent? (1) Problems which have been solved and are dead and buried, (2) problems the elephant wishes the donkey would solve, (3) problems the elephant has been unable to solve, (4) problems which neither the elephant nor the donkey want to consider.

It doesn't take much, of course, to come up with this neat picture: The Republican Party is shaking in its boots while the Democrats are gleefully looking forward to the next election. And why is the GOP fearful of the next election? Because, suggests the answers, it has been unable to cope with the Nation's problems.

After consistent exposure to obvious propaganda of this type, not only would your child score 100 percent for those answers—but he also would have obtained, in an altogether fascinating way, a thoroughly negative view of the Republican Party.

Some American parents, wanting their children to be given some measure of objective instruction in the classroom, might be concerned or even irate over some of the test questions and printed material distributed as classwork to elementary and high school students.

On the other hand, many professional testers might side with Otis Co.'s Roger T. Lennon who says: "The selection of the incorrect responses in a multiple-choice type of question is a measure of the author's ingenuity as he seeks to present the examinee with choices which will have some plausibility in the context but be clearly incorrect."

But that, as we can see, is open to question.

Farm Problem of General Concern

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, last month the population of the United States reached 195 million. In less than 2 years, there will be 200 million people in our great country. Our population growth has given rise to an increasing concern over the adequacy of future food supplies. An editorial in the September 6, 1965, issue of the Daily Oklahoman discusses this problem and gives us an insight into the dimensions and perspectives in which the present problems of agricultural surpluses should be considered. In the words of this very worthwhile editorial, 'Today's surplus is the next decade's shortage." The editorial is of such significance that I insert it at this point in the RECORD:

NEW LABEL NEEDED

Currently the United States is blessed with a surplus in agricultural commodities. There is a support system for the basics. During a period of rising population it had some evils in relation to a free market. To refer to it only as farm price supports, or farm relief, intimates that farmers are in a special welfare category.

It is time to change that sort of thinking. We do need a temporary adjustment between supply and demand. But major cuts in the farm price-support program would have a serious and broadly embracing effect upon the total national economy.

Anyone who considers cost of the program only in terms of tax dollars, in fairness also should remember that American productive skill and tremendous investment, has provided him with the world's best quality food at the world's lowest percentage of cost in relation to disposable income. In but 15 years that has decreased from 25 to 18½ percent.

Farmers do not produce the machinery, equipment, petroleum products, vehicles, and chemicals required for today's operations. With the exception of automotive units farmers are the Nation's best customers in all those categories. They are near the top in purchasers of automobiles and trucks. A vast army of workmen in other segments of the economy earn a good living standard producing the items that farmers must buy.

Lending institutions reap a harvest of interest annually from loans made to farmers for purchases. Every farmer is a customer of household appliances, furniture, clothing, and family needs. These, too, must be purchased in the interlinked economy from production to retail sales. Without a fair return above production costs, farm buying would fall off so drastically that industrial workers would be idle.

Only last month the U.S. population reached the 195 million mark. It will be but 21 months until it reaches 200 billion. Each day 7,200 more people join other Americans depending upon the Nation's farms and ranches for food. The rate of increase climbs upward each year, even as the birth rate per 1,000 goes down. With a moderate rate of 21.1 persons the increase is more than 2.6 million yearly, more than the total Oklahoma population, which now ranks 27th in the Nation.

This is equivalent to adding a new State each year but there are no new States to be added, if the terrain to support them must be provided, for each year the acreage of arable land declines. Urban sprawl, highways, airports, industries, and other nonfarm uses take away an increasing amount of land. It is only through conservation, management, application of chemical fertilizers, insecticides and pesticides, that farmers are able to offset loss of land through withdrawals and former bad tillage practices.

If other American industry matched farmers' increase in productivity this would indeed be the world's undisputed leading Nation, a title which we now claim rather loosely, except for food production. Not only do we have more people, they have a longer life

expectancy, aided by that plentiful supply of wholesome, nutritious food, at the lowest cost in history in terms of man-hours work needed to provide it, or in percentage of disposable income. Time is eroding away our natural storehouse. Today's surplus is the next decade's shortage. This is a matter of general concern—it is not just a farm problem.

The Du Pont Estate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, Alfred I. du Pont died on April 29, 1935. At that time, 30 years ago, his widow, Mrs. Jessie Ball du Pont, was 51 years of age. Edward Ball, Mrs. du Pont's brother, was 47. In Mr. du Pont's will he established a testamentary trust and directed the trustees to set up a corporation for charitable purposes to be designated and known as the Nemours Foundation.

Under the will, upon the death of Mrs. du Pont, the entire income from the estate would go to the Nemours Foundation, after certain specific individual bequests were honored. Mr. du Pont gave his widow an option, however. He said that if she chose to create the Nemours Foundation during her lifetime that with her authority the trustees of his estate could immediately pay over to the Foundation the sum of $1 million to embark it on its charitable function. Mrs. du Pont did that, and the Foundation has been engaged in charitable works for the past 28 years.

In addition to the $1 million first payment to the foundation, Mrs. du Pont has made an irrevocable assignment of 12 percent of her income from the estate to the Nemours Foundation. This 12 percent is tax free, under the law, as the foundation donating funds primarily to assistance and research in the prevention of crippling in children. The remaining 88 percent of Mrs. du Pont's income is taxable, and she annually pays some $5 million in taxes on this income. She has made tremendous contributions to charities, particularly private colleges and universities.

The trustees of Mr. du Pont's estate were given powers to engaged in such business enterprises as they elected. Significantly, Mr. du Pont envisioned the management of the estate as a going concern, and as the annuities established by Mr. du Pont are fulfilled, 100 percent of the earnings of the estate will go to the Nemours Foundation.

The major operations in the estate are the 31 banks of the Florida National group of banks with deposits of over $600 million, the St. Joe Paper Co., which employs over 1,300 persons with an annual payroll of $7.5 million in Florida alone, and the Florida East Coast Railway.

The motivation behind these substantial enterprises and the Du Pont estate are Mrs. du Pont and her brother, Edward Ball.

Mr. du Pont early in his life outlined his excellent goal in life:

> My philosophy of life is exceedingly simple: be fair to everyone, do as much good as you can; be honest with yourself, which means, honest with everybody; * * * if one would keep one's head above the water, one must struggle, and use such weapons as our Creator has provided.

Mrs. du Pont and Edward Ball have lived that faith envisioned by Mr. du Pont. The intelligent kindness and good works of Mrs. du Pont have been felt by millions of persons, while Mr. Ball has attained the highest aspirations of Mr. du Pont in his efforts to build a greater Florida and a greater America.

A Strategy on China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, the Los Angeles Times, one of America's most distinguished conservative newspapers, carried on its editorial pages yesterday, Sunday, September 19, 1965, a most thoughtful and stimulating article on our relations with Communist China. Written by the Times' staff correspondent in Hong Kong, Mr. Robert S. Elegant, the article is worth the attention of every Member of Congress and, indeed, of every citizen concerned with the future peace and welfare of this country.

Mr. Elegant's thesis is that present circumstances "provide an immediate basis for a reasoned approach to our major problem, which is not Vietnam, but Communist China."

He suggests that:

> We must seek to impress two facts upon the coming generation of Chinese leaders. First, that they cannot conquer the world * * * And second, that it is possible for China to live and prosper as a normal and respected member of the community of nations.

To accomplish these two things he believes that:

> We should, therefore, be prepared to complement our military firmness with measures demonstrating that eternal hostility between China and America is neither inevitable nor desirable.

While most Americans would not take issue with the foregoing remarks, Mr. Elegant goes further in his concluding recommendations, to express his view that:

> It will, before too much time has passed, be necessary for us to offer Peiping normal trade relations, admission to the United Nations, and diplomatic recognition.

The Times deserves the very highest commendation for bringing these views, which its editors may not necessarily share, to the attention of its readers. Regardless of our individual political inclinations, there is little question but that it is the present U.S. policy toward China which is at the root of our involvement in Vietnam and which is a major factor in the Pakistan-Indian war. With the peace of the world held in precarious balance as these two conflicts rage in Asia, we must all be willing to look again at the policies—and actions—which have brought us to this stage in history.

The full text of the article follows:

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, Sept. 19, 1965]

A STRATEGY ON CHINA—FIRMNESS AND GESTURE

(By Robert S. Elegant)

HONG KONG.—The Chinese Communists' view of the outside world—at once sentimentally archaic and brutally modern—is well summed up by two of their favorite mottoes.

The first is an old Chinese folk saying: "A single spark can start a conflagration that consumes an entire prairie."

It is interpreted to mean that a righteous revolt, however small its beginnings, can sweep over an entire nation—or the entire world.

The second was first uttered by Chairman Mao Tse-tung: "Power grows from the barrel of the gun."

It needs no interpretation.

Those sayings indicate the sources of both the stubborn strength and the inherent flaws in Peiping's grand startegy for conquering the capitalist world by first taking control of the peripheral, underdeveloped nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

That strategy, first put forward in 1960 and the chaos that resulted from China's spectacular failure to industrialize by a great leap forward, was recently reaffirmed by Defense Minister Field Marshal Lin Piao. It maintains that the underdeveloped world is ripe for violent revolutions which will bring the Communists to power, and that, having attained power in those countries, the Communists can bring down the redoubts of capitalism—North America, Western Europe, Japan—by denying them both raw materials and markets for their manufactured goods.

VIEW OF WORLD

It is unquestionably true that an American view of the world, based upon a simple division into good guys and bad guys, Communists and anti-Communists, is oversimplified and outmoded, too.

But the Chinese view of the world, exemplified in those two mottoes and, literally, volumes of corollary writings, is, if anything, even more simplistic and archaic.

If the world is infinitely more complex than Chinese and American doctrine holds, both that complexity and the simplistic Chinese approach offer opportunity as well as challenge to the West. Vietnam, which the Chinese call the focal point of the people's war that will destroy America, is, I believe, a good place to start when seeking guides to action based upon a more sophisticated, and less dogmatic, view of the world.

In his latest affirmation of the grand Chinese strategy Lin Piao warned the Vietcong that the struggle against American imperialistic aggression in Vietnam might take many years to come to inevitable victory. Lin also warned the Vietcong that they would have to make their victory with only limited assistance from outside, indicating that American interdiction had made supply difficult, and that China had no intention of intervening directly.

Our limited success against the Vietcong and Lin's virtual guarantee of Chinese nonintervention seem to provide an immediate basis for a reasoned approach to our major problem, which is not Vietnam, but Communist China.

CERTAIN REALITIES

In the 16 years that have passed since the establishment of the Communist regime, certain realities have been demonstrated. Instead of growing weaker under the pressure of American nonrecognition and economic embargo, the Peiping regime has consolidated itself and enlarged its power to affect events upon the international stage.

At this time, it appears quite clear that the Communist regime will neither collapse of its own over-centralized top heaviness nor be destroyed by external armed force, or internal revolution. That time has passed.

Further, it seems to me vain to contemplate a major—and probably futile—attempt to destroy the regime with American power. Even if we could be sure of suceeding, peace is too precarious to be staked upon such an adventure.

We are, therefore, presented with the continuing problem of a powerful nation ruled by men who seek our destruction by every means at their command.

Since we do not seek a nuclear confrontation, and we are not prepared to acquiesce in our own destruction, our remaining—and best—alternative is to alter the obsessed thinking of the Chinese hierarchy.

That objective is made more likely of attainment by the fact that many of the senior Chinese leaders, whose entire psychology is shaped by personal and patriotic bitterness, will soon be leaving the seats of power.

The United States, it appears to me, must therefore fight a holding action. At the same time, we must seek to impress two facts upon the coming generation of Chinese leaders:

First, that they cannot conquer the world because they cannot overwhelm the vast power we can aline against them.

And second, that it is possible for China to live and prosper as a normal and respected member of the community of nations.

We are already moving, albeit with agonizing slowness, toward our first objective by showing the Chinese that they can gain no quick victory in Vietnam. We must now be prepared to endure the long trials of protracted guerrilla warfare in Vietnam to further demonstrate to the Chinese that American resolution will not wither with time's slow attrition.

Chinese threats and Chinese promises of victory will begin to ring hollow in their own ears—as well as the ears of their potential adherents—if we stop the Chinese from gaining a victory in Vietnam.

But it is necessary to relieve the Chinese leaders' paranoid fear of the outside world, as well as to puncture their megalomaniacal conviction of invincibility.

THE OTHER TASK

We can best accomplish that other task by showing the Chinese that they are not faced by an implacably hostile world.

Just as the passing of Stalin made a limited understanding between Russia and the West possible, the passing of Mao Tsetung could make possible limited accommodation between China and the West.

I believe that we should, therefore, be prepared to complement our military firmness with measures demonstrating that eternal hostility between China and America is neither inevitable nor desirable.

The timing would, of course, depend upon circumstances, but it seems to me that it will, before too much time has passed, be necessary for us to offer Peiping normal trade relations, admission to the United Nations, and diplomatic recognition.

Without American readiness to offer limited accommodation which affects neither our vital interests nor our basic principles, China will remain a maddened bull, almost impossible to destroy and absolutely impossible to live with.

Labor Day Marks 1965 as Year of Advances

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, the Sacramento Bee makes what I consider an eloquent tribute to President Johnson and to this Congress:

Not since the days of the depression of the 1930's and the New Deal of President Franklin D. Roosevelt have so many advances been scored in the interest of bettering the general standard of living of the Nation's citizens.

The editorial goes on to point out that much remains to be done. Much will be done if labor, business, the professions and government continue to work together for the good of all. This commentary deserves further distribution and I ask consent to insert it in the RECORD at this time.

The editorial follows:

LABOR DAY MARKS 1965 AS YEAR OF ADVANCES

Labor Day each year since it was declared a national holiday 71 years ago has been a time for comment on the rights, accomplishments, goals, duties, and benefits of the workingman in the United States. It has been observed that labor is better off in this country than it is in any other part of the world and that the enjoyment of this status has been brought about in great measure by the dedication of organized labor's leaders acting responsibly in bargaining with management.

This year's observance of the workingman's special day is a particularly good time to reflect upon the well-being of labor in America because 1965 has seen the United States taking some of the most significant social welfare steps in history.

Not since the days of the depression of the 1930's and the New Deal of President Franklin D. Roosevelt have so many advances been scored in the interest of bettering the general standard of living of the Nation's citizens.

Medical care for the aged under social security was achieved after decades of work. It is proper to remember that what the new program will provide will be financed almost entirely from increased payroll taxes shared by employers and employees.

The Nation's war on poverty began in earnest and there is a new $1.3 billion Federal education law in operation which will mean much to the future of this Nation.

The voting rights bill which was forged this year cannot be overlooked when surveying the record of 1965 because it is a major advancement toward the ideal of full participation by minority groups in the mainstream of national life.

Here in California, labor made many gains during the 1965 session of the State legislature. The lawmakers provided a $10 increase in maximum weekly benefits for workers covered by the State's unemployment insurance program.

Yet, as in anything else, the drive toward equality of opportunity to share in the dream of a good society cannot be continued by resting too long upon past advances. There still are great numbers of workers unemployed and the pockets of poverty where families exist on low living standard incomes have not been obliterated.

It is the duty of organized labor to work in concert with business, the professions, and Government toward the day when no man willing to work for a good living is denied the chance to do so.

The Selway-Bitterroot Wilderness Area: Need To Preserve a "Biological Island" From Economic Destruction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. OLSEN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to submit for insertion in the RECORD a letter which I have received from the Save the Upper Selway Committee, in Hamilton, Mont. It is written by Dr. Robert T. Orr, associate director of the California Academy of Sciences. Dr. Orr is recognized as one of the outstanding naturalists and zoologists in the Western North America. He has personal knowledge of the area we are trying to protect, and I have a high regard for his opinion.

The letter follows:

CALIFORNIA ACADEMY OF SCIENCES,
San Francisco, Calif., September 1, 1965.

Dr. WILLIAM L. JELLISON,
Hamilton, Mont.

DEAR DR. JELLISON: I regret that I was in Mexico when your letter arrived. Thank you very much for the many enclosures that you sent regarding the problem in the Selway.

I am very much in sympathy with the effort that you and many others are making to preserve area E as part of the Selway-Bitterroot Wilderness Area and I am certainly most willing to help in any way that I can. My feelings on the biological values of the Selway watershed have not changed in the past 24 years since I first visited the region. It is essentially a biological island because of its unglaciated condition and as a result possesses a relict fauna as regards invertebrate organisms.

My evaluation of the area which you quoted in my 1943 publication on "Mammals of the Clearwater Mountains, Idaho," was reiterated and somewhat enlarged upon in another publication which I wrote in 1951, entitled "Observations on the Birds of Northeastern Idaho." I would like to quote two paragraphs from this later paper:

"The Clearwater and Bitterroot mountain systems essentially constitute one continuous range, although their geological histories differ somewhat. According to Lindgren (1904) the Clearwaters were originally a plateau formed by two uplifts in Mesozoic times. Each of these uplifts were succeeded by a period of active erosion. At a much later date the movement of a fault about 60 miles long in the eastern part of this region resulted both in the formation of the Bitterroot Mountains, along whose summits the Idaho-Montana boundary line now extends, and the low Bitterroot Valley to the eastward in western Montana. Little evidence of Pleistocene glaciation is to be found in the Clearwaters, whose peaks presently range from 6,000 to 8,000 feet in height. The Bitterroots, however, which are several thousand feet higher were obviously subjected to intense glacial action.

"The Clearwater Mountains, therefore, as was pointed out by Van Dyke (1919) with regard to their insect fauna, represent a region that is old in a biological sense. The area is characterized, climatically, both by relatively high precipitation and by high humidity (Orr, 1943). This is reflected in the vegetation which is of a rain-forest type, containing many species that are dominated along the humid Pacific Northwest coastal belt. The floral composition differs so markedly from that to the east and south in the Rocky Mountains, as well as from that of the relatively arid Columbian Plateau to the west, that Pitelka (1941) referred to it as the Coastal-Montane Forest Ecotone, and Munro and Cowan (1947) named the northward extension of this same rain forest, in southeastern British Columbia, the Columbian Forest Biotic Area. Its existence, therefore, seems likely to have been a significant factor responsible for the eastward extension of the ranges of at least a few species of birds, such as the Vaux swift, chestnut-backed chickadee, and Townsend warbler. To be sure, none of these species is confined to the coastal and inland rain forests in the Pacific Northwest, but it is here that their populations are principally centered."

The preservation of such a region is in my opinion a sacred duty of the Forest Service as well as the people of the United States. In California we have seen too much of the permanent destruction of watersheds by unnecessary logging and road construction. To have this happen to the beautiful Selway drainage, which is so important to steelhead and salmon, would indeed be a great tragedy.

I am enclosing copies of my two publications on this region and would be glad to provide you and/or members of your committee with additional copies if it would be desirable.

Very sincerely yours,

ROBERT T. ORR,
Associate Director.

Lowell Businessman Fights Free Trade Pact

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, for the past several months, a Lowell, Mass., businessman, Allan L. Levine, has been waging a campaign against enactment of legislation implementing the recent Canadian-American free trade agreement on automobiles.

Levine, who is executive vice president of Towers Motor Parts, Corp., is concerned that the parts imported duty free for new cars may end up as replacement parts and threaten the replacement parts industry in this country.

A recent article in the Lowell Sun described Mr. Levine's activities to help amend or defeat this legislation. Under unanimous consent I include it in the RECORD:

LOWELL BUSINESSMAN FIGHTS FREE TRADE PACT

WASHINGTON.—A Lowell businessman continued his fight in Washington yesterday against the recent Canadian-American free trade agreement on automobiles.

Allan L. Levine, of 805 Andover Street, executive vice president of Towers Motor Parts Corp., told the Senate Finance Committee that the agreement "poses a definite threat to the continued existence of the independent replacement parts industry."

Levine and Harold T. Halfpenny, a Chicago lawyer, contended that the agreement would let the big automobile corporations set up plants in Canada and import duty free replacement parts that are now produced mainly in the United States.

The agreement does not apply to automotive parts to be used as replacements in cars already in use, but Levine said "there is no guarantee that parts imported duty free for original equipment would not end up in replacement market."

Levine is president of the Automotive Service Industry Association, a national trade organization representing 5,000 independent manufacturers and distributors of spare parts. His testimony yesterday was the second time this year he has urged Congress to reject the agreement. Last April he told the House Ways and Means Committee that the agreement would lead to a "a Government-sponsored competitive advantage for the Big Three—General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler."

Home Rule Supported

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, in recent years, the church has moved to apply its moral and ethical standards to the world in which it lives and to the social events of that world. Christians and Jews alike in the District of Columbia have gone on record in support of restoration of local self-government for the city of Washington. The Washington diocese of the Episcopal Church is no exception and, with leave granted, I insert their recent statement and resolution on behalf of home rule into the RECORD:

HOME RULE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

DIOCESE OF WASHINGTON,
MOUNT SAINT ALBAN,
Washington, D.C., September 3, 1965.

Attached is copy of a resolution in support of home rule for the District of Columbia, which was passed overwhelmingly at the convention of this diocese on May 3, 1965.

Vitally important to the success of local self-government is that the home rule bill, as finally passed by the Congress, include provision for an annual Federal contribution to be paid automatically by the U.S. Treasury to the city government, as compensation for loss of tax revenue due to the extensive Federal property holdings in the District. In this respect, as well as in the case of other provisions, this diocese supports the home rule bill which passed the U.S. Senate on July 22, 1965.

It is requested that this statement, and attachment, be made a part of the record of the hearings of the District Committee, U.S. House of Representatives.

REV. QUINLAND R. GORDON,
Chairman, Department of Social Relations.

MRS. MORAG MACLEOD SIMCHAK,
Chairman, Committee on Legislation, Department of Social Relations.

A RESOLUTION CONCERNING HOME RULE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Whereas the Congress of the United States is in the process of considering home rule for the District of Columbia; and

Whereas the Diocese of Washington of the Protestant Episcopal Church is primarily in the city of Washington; and

Whereas the diocese, its parishes, separate congregations, and missions having full knowledge of the necessity of complete participation by the voting community in the democratic processes; and being desirous of assuming its responsibility in the development and fruition of that participation; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States has seen fit to pass and the States have ratified the 24th amendment, giving all citizens the right to vote for President and Vice President; and

Whereas this amendment provided a more direct approach to participation by more of the people in their government: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Washington meeting this 3d day of May 1965, supports home rule for the District of Columbia; be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the convention of the Diocese of Washington be instructed to send a copy of this resolution to the President of the U.S. Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to the leaders of both parties, and to such other Senators and Members of the House of Representatives as he may deem appropriate.

Congress Notes the Service of Former Assistant Treasury Secretary James A. Reed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues, Congressman GARMATZ, of Maryland, and Congressman TUPPER, of Maine, in noting the fine record of service by former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury James A. Reed, who has just returned to the private practice of law.

Assistant Secretary Reed served in his capacity as overseer of the Bureau of Narcotics, the Bureau of Customs, and the U.S. Coast Guard for 4 years. His talents were recognized by the late President Kennedy, under whom Assistant Secretary Reed was appointed. His ability is known to many Members of the Congress as a result of his keen awareness of the role these agencies play in the Government. In particular, Assistant Secretary Reed's performance is well known to the Members of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, which has many jurisdictional interests in these agencies.

In accordance with the remarks made by Congressman GARMATZ and Congressman TUPPER and others, I wish former Assistant Secretary Reed every success in his return to private life.

More Mature Clergymen Do Not Condone Breaking Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by David Lawrence entitled "More Mature Clergymen Do Not Condone Breaking Law":

MORE MATURE CLERGYMEN DO NOT CONDONE BREAKING LAW

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The sermon referred to in the following article originally was published in the San Diego Union, issue of August 20, and has been widely reprinted throughout the United States.)

It isn't often that a clergyman has also had a successful career as a Government lawyer and in private business. Ministers have rarely had the opportunity to study the law of the land as was the experience of the Reverend Dr. Robert B. Watts of St. James-by-the-Sea Episcopal Church in La Jolla.

A sermon delivered by Dr. Watts since the Los Angeles riots deplores the doctrine that it is all right to disobey an "unjust" law. The latter idea, enunciated by the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., a Negro leader, has aroused considerable objection not only among clergymen but among laymen as well throughout the country.

Dr. Watts graduated from Yale Law School, where he was editor of the Yale Law Journal. He practiced law in Chicago and New York, and was chief assistant U.S. attorney in New York City for several years and served also as special assistant to the Attorney General of the United States.

He was with the National Labor Relations Board for 9 years—from 1934 to 1943. For three of these he was general counsel of the Board and argued many of its cases in the Supreme Court of the United States. He served also in business as vice president and general counsel of Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corp. and later with General Dynamics Corp. He was ordained in 1958 in the Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles. Dr. Watts, in his recent sermon, said:

"There has been advanced by various philosophical followers of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., one of the most extraordinary suggestions ever made in Anglo-Saxon or American legal annals. As a mixture of sophistry and softheadedness, brewed by nonlegal or corroded legal minds, I assert that this suggestion has spawned the present wave of destruction now sweeping the country.

"In brief, this proposed doctrine is that if any individual citizen or group of citizens, after meditation, come to the conclusion that any law is unjust; and further conclude that if apprehended he or they are willing to accept the penalty imposed for violation of the law—then it becomes morally justifiable to break the law openly and notoriously.

"Of course the worst thing about this doctrine is that there are no dividing lines in it. If it is valid for a small violation, it applies equally to a more serious one. Once you start this approach there is no stopping. It is like a roller coaster which nears the top of the track. Once you push it over a little bit, it plunges down all the way.

"The amazing thing is that many clergy of this church, including both priests and bishops, have openly and officially accepted this doctrine. Episcopal clergymen have received written expressions of this doctrine for their guidance. And large numbers of clergy of this and other communions have been sent, or have gone on their own volition, to southern areas for the sole purpose of expressing racial concerns by open law defiance pursuant to this new assertion of moral right.

"Finally, as sorely distressed Christians we see instance after instance of reluctance on the part of elected officials to meet lawlessness quickly and firmly lest there be an adverse effect upon their personal political careers at the ballot box. Thank God, not all our officials are of this character, but too many are."

Dr. Watts declared it ought to be perfectly clear that no persons, "however exalted he may be or regard himself, has the right to say that what was wrong before becomes morally right if the acting party is willing to be punished if caught."

He pointed out that clergymen have a duty not only to support the Constitution and laws of the land, but to reject the doctrine "of a morally justified civil disobedience."

There is widespread sentiment that clergymen, as individual citizens, may express themselves freely on problems of human behavior, but that ministers ought not to take part in sit-ins or lie-ins or in any mass protests which can incite violence.

It is apparent that many of the younger clergymen are taking the position that, since the objective is worthy, any method used to achieve it is permissible, whereas the clergymen of more mature years, irrespective of their sectarian affiliations, are arguing that clergymen have the same obligation as do other citizens to obey the law.

Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center in Dade County, Fla.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this legislation, H.R. 30, to provide for U.S. participation in the Inter-Amercian Cultural and Trade Center in Dade County, Fla.

Interama was established as a State of Florida agency in 1951 and the purpose of the agency is to do whatever may be necessary for the establishment, construction, maintenance, operation, and financing of an Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center in or near Miami, Fla., as a permanent enterprise.

The character and purpose of Interama were outlined in 1951 by Dr. W. H. Walker, the first chairman of the organization, and a distinguished Floridian, who said:

The worldwide Communist drive must be met by a stronger one for truth, freedom, and democracy. If communism continues to spread the next 5 years as it has the past 5, a majority of the world's population will be under Kremlin control, greatly enhancing the possibility of eventual Russian military victory. The nations of this hemisphere constitute a strong and unconquerable group if they will stand solidly together and restrain communism within their own borders. Unless the United States can solidly cement its relations with the Latin American people, it is in a poor position to do so in other faraway countries.

Interama is to be a permanent reminder of our Nation's interest in our hemisphere—a living reminder of our belief in representative government and freedom for all people. This lasting memorial to the Americas will stand as a strong example to other nations in our desire for a permanent peace and security for our area and of the world.

I am hopeful the House will act favorably on this important project, which has had the backing of the last five Presidents of the United States, the Florida congressional delegation, the Governor and cabinet of Florida, the State legislature, and the citizens of our State.

In these days of continuing crisis in Latin America we need this concrete display of the cultures of North and South America to stand not only as an example of our mutual desire for freedom, but also as a bulwark in our national defense effort.

Participation by our Government will insure the success of Interama and assist the purpose of the undertaking as outlined by Dr. Walker; meeting the Communist threat with truth, freedom, and democracy through this hemispheric illustration of solidarity.

Partisan Elections in Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important parts of the home rule bill that this body will consider on September 27 is the section amending the Hatch Act to permit participation in local elections by Federal employees residing in the District.

The following editorial supporting this position was broadcast on September 15 and 16, 1965, by WTOP here in Washington:

If the District of Columbia is to have partisan political elections, as called for in the administration's home rule bill, we can't see any alternative except to amend the Hatch Act.

Under the present plan, Federal employees living in the District of Columbia would be entitled to participate in political management and campaigns in the election of a District mayor, the District delegate to Congress, and the members of the city council. This is true even though those offices would be filled by partisan candidates; that is, candidates running under the Democratic and Republican labels.

If we are to have partisan elections, the Hatch Act amendment is indispensable to the process of democracy in this city. Without it, self-government would be substantially handicapped. The Senate District Committee has made the point that the total of potential electors in the District who are Federal employees may run as high as 35 percent. The committee report asserts, "To foreclose participation of such a large proportion of the population from political activity would be to deny the District one of its major civic resources and deny participation by a substantial percentage of the District's populace in its government."

There have been strong fears expressed by some Congressmen, notably Representative ANCHER NELSEN, of Minnesota, that a Hatch Act amendment would expose the District to the political spoils system and invite political pressure and coercion. We presume that possibility exists. It should be guarded against. But it would be a considerably greater danger, we think, not to allow Federal employees to engage in District of Columbia political activity, on the grounds that full citizen participation is essential to the successful operation of District home rule.

This was a WTOP editorial, Jack Urey speaking for WTOP.

Let Habeas Corpus Be Worldwide

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the September 3 edition of Life magazine contained a plea for making the guarantee of the basic right of habeas corpus worldwide. This is an issue that has received a great deal of discussion in the legal profession, and by such noted jurists as Justice Brennan of the Supreme Court.

This concern reflects a growing interest in international legal circles with the role of the individual in the guarantees of international law. This interest has been expressed in the European Court of Human Rights, and in the call at last week's World Peace Through Law Conference here in Washington for a similar human rights mechanism in Latin America.

Under unanimous consent I insert this fine editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. As Life points out:

A world habeas corpus treaty would be a small part of an ideal world legal system, but it would be a concrete start.

The article follows:

LET HABEAS CORPUS BE WORLDWIDE

Although a world governed by law is almost everybody's hope, there is a sad gap between this universal ideal and the readiness of sovereign nations to accept particular legal restraints. The World Court is chronically short of business. Even the United States, whose foreign policy is dedicated to world law, sets a bad example by reserving (via the Connally amendment) the right to refuse the Court's jurisdiction whenever we want. This gap between the theory and practice of world law is usually filled by vaporous rhetoric or technical jargon.

There is hope that the World Peace Through Law conference in Washington, to which 2,500 lawyers and jurists are wending from all around the world this month, may fill it with something more substantial. Part of the conference's agenda will deal with the kind of international law the man in the street can understand. On its human rights panel will sit a Chicago lawyer named Luis Kutner, who used to be known as "the springman" because he built his practice on the aggressive use of habeas corpus pleas to get criminals out of jail.

For years, Kutner has been arguing in learned monographs that habeas corpus (the safeguard against arbitrary detention) is the most basic of all human rights. In many countries, not all of them totalitarian, thousands of individuals sit in jail right now on vague charges or none, without sentences and for indeterminate periods, for lack of this fundamental writ. The right to know what you are accused of and to a speedy trial is part of that right to life and liberty nailed down in English common law and our own Bill of Rights.

Kutner has written an international habeas corpus treaty-statute which would set up special international courts to hear habeas corpus pleas from anybody in any signatory nation. The assumption of such a treaty is that every individual is an "international personality" (as Roscoe Pound called it), with rights against his own government—an old notion that has been regaining acceptance through such bodies as the European Court of Human Rights. It is a notion that ought to be especially congenial to the political heirs of the Declaration of Independence, which claimed its famous rights on behalf of all mankind.

A world habeas corpus treaty would be a small part of an ideal world legal system, but it would be a concrete start.

The District of Columbia Congress of Parents and Teachers Urges Approval of Home Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, throughout the Nation, parents and teachers of children in our public schools are concerned with the kind of society in which children will mature and with the quality of the education that prepares them for that society.

The District of Columbia Congress of Parents and Teachers is no exception. This organization speaks for a broad cross-section of the community. Its membership takes in the rich, the poor, the black, the white—all bound together by a common concern for the rearing and training of tomorrow's citizens.

Moved by that concern, the District of Columbia Congress of Parents and Teachers, wrote to the House District Committee urging approval of home rule legislation. Soon the question of passage of home rule legislation will be before the House. I should like to call the PTA's appeal to the attention of my colleagues:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CONGRESS
OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS,
August 18, 1965.

COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: The District of Columbia Congress of Parents and Teachers, representing 50,000 members, has for many years, at each annual convention in May, affirmed its support for home rule for the District of Columbia. Self-government is so basic to the American philosophy that is is shocking to us that the residents of the District are denied this privilege and responsibility.

Yes, we are aware of the responsibilities of self-government, and the added responsibility of protecting the Federal interest as this is the Nation's Capital. Yet, if we believe in democracy, then we must believe that the people of the District of Columbia are no different from citizens all over this great country and are fully capable of meeting these responsibilities. Furthermore, to guarantee that the Federal interest is protected, ample safeguards may be provided for in home rule legislation.

As an organization representing the District's schoolchildren, our deep concern that District residents are denied full citizenship is readily understandable. Certainly school classes in citizenship, civics, and American Government (a required course here in the District) would be more meaningful if our students knew, as they studied the theory of American democracy, that they, too, were being prepared to assume responsible citizenship—full citizenship—in their city.

Therefore, the District of Columbia Congress of Parents and Teachers strongly supports self-government for the District of Columbia—our hometown. Specifically, we support S. 1118 and urge that it receive your favorable report, including the definite provisions for the Federal payment to the annual District of Columbia budget.

Respectfully,

GRACE C. BAISINGER,
Mrs. William Baisinger,
President.

Dismissing the Five Mississippi Election Contests and Declaring the Returned Members Are Duly Entitled to Their Seats in the House of Representatives

SPEECH

OF

HON. RODNEY M. LOVE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. LOVE. Mr. Speaker, a very careful consideration of the entire problem before us today, including the report and recommendations of the House Committee on Administration causes me to observe that, on a strict legal basis, the committee appears to be correct. Yet, for reasons hereinafter stated, I shall vote for recommittal.

It is much like the filing of a general demurrer in a lawsuit. The demurrer to a petition says in effect that everything in the petition is admitted as true, but the petitioner still has no cause of action. This is the position in which the contestants find themselves in the Mississippi case before the House. There was no opposing candidate running in four of the five congressional elections held under the same laws that elected presidential electors and a Senator. And, the challengers had no claim to election as they came into being through an unauthorized election which lasted 4 days and was even more one-sided than the election which sent our five Mississippi Representatives to the House.

It is the responsibility of the House to sit as judges much like we would be required to do if impeachment proceedings were brought against a President. There is no appeal.

The crux of the matter is simply this: If the qualifications of a Member of the House can be brought into issue by reason of an election which disfranchises

some part of the electorate contrary to the Constitution of the United States, then our body has not acted fully and completely by making a report and a recommendation for dismissal based solely on technical grounds after a 3-hour executive session by the Committee on House Administration which had considered the notices of contest.

The people of Mississippi, even those who are alleged to have acted improperly—yes, the people of the entire country deserve to have their day in court—the court of representative government, in this case, the House of Representatives of the United States. Only a full and complete public hearing before the appropriate committee of the Congress would satisfy those who deplore disenfranchisement and cry for justice.

So, as a judge, I would say, "Demurrer overruled." Let us try the case on its merits and bring out all the facts even though the probable end result will be dismissal. If the evil of disfranchisement is ever to be irradicated from the American scene, the need is to dramatize the facts so that all persons will know that some American citizens were denied their constitutional rights.

For these reasons, I support recommittal and, if this fails, I shall vote against the resolution, as amended, particularly since the amendment strikes from the resolution that the five Congressmen were "entitled to their seats." This just makes the resolution more technical and would make final action, if the resolution were adopted, nothing more than a refusal to meet the issue at this time.

If, perchance, these remarks fall into the hands of some of my constitutents who find me a bit legalistic—somewhat judicial—may I remind them that today was the first time my duties required me to sit as judge and jury.

The Retirement of Hon. Eugene M. Zuckert

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Eugene M. Zuckert is retiring this month as Secretary of the Air Force, and I want to take this opportunity to comment, both as a Member of Congress and as a chairman of a subcommittee which has worked closely with Mr. Zuckert, on his activities the past 4½ years.

During the past 10 years investigating availability of government information, the subcommittee which I head has looked into dozens of information problems involving the Air Force. In recent years the Air Force has adopted many improvements in its information practices, and I believe Secretary Zuckert deserves a large measure of the credit for these improvements.

Air Force officials under Mr. Zuckert's direction have been readily accessible to the subcommittee and its staff. They have given the most careful consideration to the recommendations which the House Government Operations Committee has adopted as a result of the subcommittee's investigations. And they have made extensive efforts to put these recommendations into effect. Mr. Zuckert is to be commended for the cooperative atmosphere created under his administration.

There are two major Air Force installations in my congressional district and, as a Member of Congress, I have experienced all of the problems which can be expected from extensive Federal activities in a local community. I have found the Air Force officials under Secretary Zuckert most receptive to suggestions from the community and most interested in putting into practice the principles of good management for which Mr. Zuckert stands.

A Socially Isolated Community

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, several months ago a small Michigan community gained the attention of the national press due to the Economic Opportunity Act. A dispute arose about whether or not the community—Ypsilanti, Mich.—was in a sufficient state of poverty to qualify for assistance under the poverty program. Those who favored a community action program for Ypsilanti described the community as being "'socially isolated." Opponents of the program protested that a community that was a 10-minute automobile ride from the University of Michigan and less than a half hour from Detroit is hardly socially isolated.

An article in the New York Times on September 16 should satisfy the proponents of the poverty program that Ypsilanti will no longer be "socially isolated." The article described plans being made to build a $2.5 million Ypsilanti Greek Theater. Scheduled to open in July 1966, the amphitheater will seat 1,900 people. How could a socially isolated community like Ypsilanti expect to utilize such a cultural center? The answer was provided by Mrs. Clara Owens the president of the theater group's board of directors:

She said the Michigan city was "a good place" for such venture because it was "in the center of a tremendous population—about 5 million." "We are 10 minutes from Ann Arbor, 30 minutes from Detroit, 45 minutes from Toledo and about 1 hour from Lansing," she continued. "Moreover, we have more than three-quarters of a million high school and college students within a radius of 60 miles."

Mr. Speaker, I insert the entire article describing the Ypsilanti Greek Theater in the RECORD at this point:

YPSILANTI PLANS A GREEK THEATER—$2.5 MILLION PROJECT IS SET—ALEXIS SOLOMOS TO DIRECT

(By Louis Calta)

If Alexis Solomos has his way—and he is confident that he will—ancient Greek drama will come alive from American audiences next summer in Ypsilanti, Mich.

The 47-year-old former director of the Greek National Theater, pausing briefly here yesterday after his arrival on the *Queen Elizabeth*, said he hoped to "present Greek tragedy not as something out of a museum but as something live." "I hope it will get into the blood of the American theatergoing public," he added.

Mr. Solomos, who was accompanied by his wife, Katherine, and two daughters, has been engaged as artistic director of the Ypsilanti Greek Theater, which plans to present Greek drama and comedies in English in a $2.5 million, 1,900-seat amphitheater.

The theater will be built on a city-owned site adjacent to the Huron River. It will be enclosed, heated, and air conditioned. Harry Weese, architect for the Washington Arena Stage and the Orlando (Fla.) Theater, has designed it along "classic Greek lines." Work on the venture is expected to start in October. The opening is scheduled for next July.

PATTERSON AND ELDER TO HELP

Tom Patterson, founder of the Stratford (Ontario) Shakespeare Festival, will be executive director of the new theater but will continue as planning consultant for Canada's first permanent Shakespearean theater. Eldon Elder, Broadway scenic designer, will act as theater consultant to Mr. Weese.

Mr. Solomos, who has staged several off-Broadway productions, said that he was "very excited" about returning to the United States. He held high hopes for the Michigan theater season, which is to become an annual event.

He explained that students from Eastern Michigan University would participate as apprentice performers and technicians, but that the bulk of the acting company would be professional. Students will take part in the productions as part of their drama courses.

"We hope to make it not just another summer festival but an international center of Greek drama," he said. "Ancient Greek drama can be compared to a Hitchcock movie if properly done. For example, look at the popularity of 'Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?' It brings out the various inner truths in a savage manner just as the ancients did."

Mr. Solomos said that until 15 years ago ancient drama was unknown to the general public even in Greece.

"But when we started working on them we realized how much uneducated people got a kick out of them. The wisdom, poetry, and human experience in Greek theater is something the American public can understand."

The director had come to the United States because he was "bored with doing the same thing every year in Greece." He said he planned to remain in Michigan for 1 or 2 years.

The Ypsilanti Greek Theater is the brain child of Mrs. Clara Owens, a 58-year-old high school teacher of English, who is president of the theater group's board of directors.

Mrs. Owens said yesterday that the idea for a classic theater in Ypsilanti occurred to her 2 years ago. "I decided it was high time we had a restoration of Greek culture and drama in the United States."

She said the Michigan city was "a good place" for such a venture because it was "in the center of a tremendous population—about 5 million." "We are 10 minutes from Ann Arbor, 30 minutes from Detroit, 45 minutes from Toledo, and about 1 hours from Lansing," she continued. "Moreover, we

have more than three-quarters of a million high school and college students within a radius of 60 miles."

About $200,000 has already been donated to the project Mrs. Owens said, and she expressed confidence that the total amount needed will be raised. Spyros Skouras has agreed to serve on the group's board of directors, as has Joe Nederlander, theater owner. Judith Anderson and Melina Mercouri have offered to appear at the theater.

I Never Will Order Retreat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD a translation of the letter written by Gen. Elias Wessin y Wessin of the Dominican Republic on September 10, 1965, after his expulsion from his country, to Dr. Hector Garcia Godoy, provisional president of the Dominican Republic. This letter was translated by Jules Dubois, the Chicago Tribune's Latin American correspondent, and was carried in a recent issue of the Tribune.

The American people are deeply concerned about events in the Dominican Republic. I have contacted the Department of State for their report on the ouster of General Wessin y Wessin in an attempt to help clarify and untangle the numerous conflicting reports on this matter.

The general's letter follows:

A few hours after having arrived in this city of Miami, I am writing this letter to you in order to make clear in precise and definitive form my position regarding the recent events in which I have been involved.

The Dominican people are conscious that, thanks to my loyalty during the grave events that began April 24, our country in these moments is not totally dominated by communism.

An elemental sense of honor as an army officer prevents me from accepting the post of consul general in Miami from a government that has used foreign troops to send me by force into exile. I communicated this to Generals Alvim and Palmer when they told me I was consul in Miami.

The afternoon when Generals Alvim and Palmer told me that I had to go and a lieutenant of the American Army prevented me from going to my house to collect my clothes and my passport, I had a firm conviction not to serve your government, neither in the consulate of Miami nor in any other post.

Never would I have imagined that an army officer of my rank would have been taken to the airport in full uniform and tossed out of the country with a bayonet at his back.

(NOTE.—By this General Wessin does not mean that he was literally prodded by a bayonet, but that troops with guns and fixed bayonets formed the security guard that accompanied him.)

The North American officials who ordered my exit from Dominican territory in such a humiliating manner have given the coup de grace to the fight for democracy in America. Imagine the impact that this action by the the OAS and the Government of the United States will have on the Latin American military men.

Do you believe that the Latin American military men will be disposed to fight communism when they know that the payment for fulfillment of their duty will be expulsion from their country and the loss of their military career?

When the North American troops arrived in the Dominican Republic—after the men under my command had received the brunt of the attack from a Communist mob drunk with vengeance and death—I never imagined that the same troops, making common cause with the enemies of democracy, would kick me out of my country in a manner so harsh for those who say that they are the leaders in the fight for survival of the western world.

I have arrived in Miami without passport, without money, and with a suit that the officers of Fort Amador gave me in Panama, but I preserve my dignity and my name. The men who fight for an idea cannot be destroyed, and, although they may be (destroyed) physically, that idea would remain unchanged.

I have always been an honest officer and that the North American intelligence services know, for they have scoured all the banks of the world seeking some evidence with which to stain my reputation.

In these moments I have had to dismantle my home, to sell my furniture and my house, and to separate myself from my family. I only possess (in order to maintain that home, which I will have to organize anew in exile) the pension to which I have a right after 21 years of service in the armed forces of my country.

My departure from the country augurs grave events for the cause of democracy. What Dominican military man who has self-respect will be disposed to assume responsibilities when communism launches its final attack against our fatherland?

Presently the world fights for its survival against the Communist lash and it is necessary for men of profound convictions to assume the defense of democracy. Those men cannot be destroyed in order to satisfy political ambitions or in order to appease communism without leading us to total destruction.

The departure from my country will be a shameful page for the political history of the Dominican Republic and for the rulers who, like you, are responsible for it. No Dominican can remain insensible before such a monstrous act, and the day will come when the truth will open a path against betrayal and deceit.

I reiterate to you that I cannot accept the appointment of consul general in Miami because it would be to put myself at the service of a government that has betrayed Dominican democracy and would constitute disloyalty to the brave soldiers and officers who accompanied me in those tragic days in which blood spilled over the soil of our fatherland.

To those soldiers and officers of the armed forces; I cannot betray you, because it would be an act of cowardice. To the Dominican people: I cannot abandon you, because it would be to abjure the ideals of Duarte, Sanchez, and Mella. To American democracy: I cannot turn my back on you, because it would be to open the doors to communism in order to administer the death blow to our system of life.

We are going to say the same thing as Gen. Juan Sanchez Ramirez in the battle of Palo Hincado, when he defeated the troops of Emperor Napoleon:

"Death to the soldier who turns his face around. Death to the drummer who beats retreat. Death to the officer who so orders, even if it were myself."

And I, Mr. President, never will order retreat. My brave soldiers and officers, my dear Dominican people, my sacred fatherland will always find me on the line of duty against the traitors who try to deliver us to an ideology that represents an enslaving and brutal system.

I hope that the North American Government does not commit new errors and understands that the best system to contain the advance of communism is not by sacrificing democratic officers. I am confident that the United States can break up that net of infiltrators who conspire against liberty from their own territory and on many occasions from the very offices that handle international affairs.

In publicly criticizing the action against me, it is not my purpose to furnish ammunition to communism in order to attack the United States. I want it made clear that I repudiate the action of those bad North Americans who are causing the prestige of that great nation to be lost, and I am confident that soon there will be a healthy rectification with regard to the mistaken policy that has been followed in my country.

Remember, Mr. President, that committing injustices against the military and the democratic people of our fatherland will make it difficult for you to face the Communist conspiracy. If you should do that, you would have to maintain the presence of foreign troops in our country permanently, and that would be the equivalent definitely to deliver our sovereignty.

ELIAS WESSIN Y WESSIN.

Washington's Bad Faith

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last week a series of events unfolded in the Dominican Republic that will ultimately be understood by all objective observers as a low mark in U.S. diplomatic activity and a substantial defeat for peace and freedom to which the American public is dedicated.

As the complete foreign policy collapse of the Johnson administration becomes more evident, the objective newspapers of our country are performing a great public service in honestly reporting to the citizens on matters of truth in present foreign affairs. A notable editorial of this nature appeared in this morning's Chicago Tribune, which I place in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, Sept. 20, 1965]

WASHINGTON'S BAD FAITH

The enforced exile of Brig. Gen. Elias Wessin y Wessin has handed the Communists a quadruple victory in the Dominican Republic. The gunboat diplomacy employed by the United States in the Caribbean in the twenties and early thirties has now been replaced by the airborne diplomacy of the sixties. And its use to whisk Wessin out of the country on the night of September 9 will long be remembered by anti-Communist Dominicans, for there is no record that any Communist has been forcibly ejected or will be booted out by the OAS or the United States from that troubled Caribbean land.

The Communists not only pressured provisional President Hector Garcia-Godoy to retire Wessin from the army but they compelled him—because of the reluctance of the

Dominican armed forces chief to undertake the task—to use the U.S. Army, which comprises seven-eighths of the strength of the inter-American peace force, to do the dirty work.

The anti-Communist military leader exposed himself to a charge of insubordination when he moved his tanks and troops, without authorization from the Dominican army chief of staff, back to his fortress at the San Isidro base. This gave Garcia-Godoy, the OAS, and the United States the pretext they sought to split the support of the Dominican chiefs of staff away from Wessin. The major objective, though, was to get his scalp to appease the Communists so they would quickly surrender their arms.

A third triumph for the Communists was that Gen. Hugo Panasco Alvim of Brazil, the commander in chief of the inter-American peace force, whose participation with his brothers-in-arms last year prevented a Communist takeover in that giant country, had to execute the order delivered to him in writing by Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker to boot an anti-Communist military leader out of the Dominican Republic.

And, finally, they were able to induce the OAS and the United States to become an accomplish in the violation of the institutional act which they had devised, prohibiting the deportation, and allowing the freedom to return home, of any Dominican citizen.

The first sentence of article 26 of the institutional act reads: "No Dominican will be expelled from the country." There are no exceptions in the rest of the article or in the entire text.

Paragraph 2 of the act of Dominican reconciliation, which was signed by the ad hoc committee of the OAS as well, reads:

"The parties accept the institutional act resulting from this agreement as the constitutional instrument under which the provisional government will exercise its functions. No previous constitution will have effect during the existence of the institutional act, the text of which is annexed to this agreement."

One has yet to hear any howls of complaint by the Communists, leftists, and bleeding heart liberals about the violation of that institutional act in the Wessin case. Had it been a Red who had been deported, then the well-organized and well-oiled Communists, leftists, and bleeding heart liberal propaganda machinery would still be grinding out worldwide protests and publishing paid advertisements signed by intellectuals.

Those groups claim that they campaign for the restoration of constitutional government, but they conveniently close their eyes and zipper their lips whenever an anti-Communist is the victim of a constitutional violation.

New York State Attorney General Indicates Concern Over Trading Stamp Abuses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I am gratified by the assistance provided by the attorney general of the State of New York, the Honorable Louis J. Lefkowitz, in pursuing the informal discussions I recently held in New York City.

Attorney General Lefkowitz has long championed the protection of the consumer and is to be commended for his diligence in initiating a consumer fraud division in the New York State Attorney General's office. At his instruction Mr. Barnett Levy, chief of the bureau of consumer frauds and protection, participated in a discussion with the esteemed chairman of the Judiciary Committee [Mr. CELLER], my colleague [Mr. RESNICK] and myself in New York City on September 10, 1965, and read a statement prepared by Mr. Lefkowitz. The statement points out irregularities in the practices of some unscrupulous trading stamp operators and the need for some regulatory action to control such practices. With leave granted I include Mr. Lefkowitz' statement in the RECORD:

The consumer has a high stake in the trading stamp business. Statistics recently made available by the Trading Stamp Institute indicate that trading stamps are being saved by 40 million American families at the rate of $950 million worth of stamps per year, based on 1964 surveys.

In New York the trading stamp has become an accepted part of our way of life. It is a rare purchase in which the consumer does not find himself investing in trading stamps.

Our primary concern must be to safeguard this interest and investment by the consumer in trading stamps and their redemption.

The enormous scope of the trading stamp company business, and the absence of specific statutory protective and preventive measures, has attracted an unscrupulous fringe element whose only purpose is to make an easy dollar at the expense of the public. In other instances, and even in the absence of patent larcenous intent, the economic failure of individuals and firms operating as trading stamp companies has entailed substantial monetary loss to the consumer.

I make these statements based upon experiences of the bureau of consumer frauds and protection which I have established in the State department of law.

One judicial proceeding which my office instituted involves a grocery chain with outlets throughout the Metropolitan New York City area. It operated a trading stamp company as its 100-percent owned subsidiary, and defaulted on redemption of at least 250,000 books of trading stamps worth approximately a half-million dollars. At the time of default, the merchandise in possession of the redemption centers amounted to about $35,000. Of course the public never knew the trading stamp company was a wholly-owned subsidiary of the grocery chain.

In another action, my office moved against 2 food chains when complaint was made to us that about 500 gift orders remained unredeemed. The trading stamp company was an out-of-State corporation, and the issuing food chains had agreed to bear the sole burden of redeeming stamps held by their customers. Poor financial condition made this redemption impossible, and the stamp holders found themselves without recourse.

As the result of complaints from consumers who found themselves unable to redeem trading stamps, my office took action in several other cases involving trading stamp companies operated by individuals and corporations, both locally and out of State.

At both the 1964 and 1965 sessions of the legislature, I recommended legislation providing for the regulation and control of trading stamp companies. Unfortunately, neither bill was passed, but I believe that legislation is necessary to protect the consumer in this field and I plan to recommend a bill to the 1966 session. A bill not recommended by my office was passed, but it was vetoed by the Governor mainly on the ground that it appeared more designed to benefit trading stamp companies than the public.

The legislation that I will recommend would require trading stamp companies to file a registration statement accompanied by a bond, the amount of which would be determined by the company's gross income.

Provision would be made that if the trading stamp company defaults in the redemption of its coupons, the secretary of state, under certain circumstances, could request the attorney general to seek the appointment of a receiver who, in turn, would pay the bona fide holders of these stamps out of the funds of the trading stamp company's bond. Failure of stamp companies to register would be deemed a fraudulent practice and would empower the secretary of state to request the attorney general to apply to the court for an injunction against the companies, restraining them from doing business within the State.

The Jewish Holidays

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, next Sunday night, September 26, marks the beginning of the Jewish High Holidays of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. Today I would like to pay special tribute to these High Holy Days by joining with my colleagues here in the House to extend to all people of the Jewish faith my sincere wishes for a happy and prosperous new year.

The high holidays usher in the year 5726 on the Jewish calendar. Rosh Hashanah, the new year, begins a 10-day period of repentance which culminates in Yom Kippur, the day of atonement. These are solemn and holy days—a time for fasting, prayer, and personal meditation between man and God. On these high holy days, Jews all over the world pause to reexamine their lives, to thank God for the gifts which He has bestowed upon them, to ask His forgiveness for the sins which they have committed during the preceding year, and to pray for His understanding and guidance so that they may profit from their errors.

It goes without saying that no one can plan for his future until he examines and understands his past. No one can take on further responsibility before he begins to fulfill his present obligations. The spirit of the Jewish holidays units men of all faiths by calling upon them to look inward and upward—within themselves and up to God—in order to open the way for a richer and fuller existence. In these times of world conflict and unrest, it is my sincere hope that the spirit of these holidays will extend to men everywhere and that the sound of the shofar will call upon all mankind to reexamine their lives and to pray to God for His understanding and guidance.

Judaism is the religion which first envisaged social justice and preached the sanctity and dignity of human life. Too often these age-old teachers are forgot-

ten, but during the High Holy Days let us reaffirm the hope that they will no longer be ignored and that all men will joint together in the coming year and accept their responsibility to God and themselves. In welcoming the Jewish holidays, I take pride in repeating the ancient blessing which symbolizes this hope:

May you be inscribed, once again, in the book of life for a good new year.

Pittsburgh's Headstart Against Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, on several occasions I have pointed to the Pittsburgh antipoverty program as a pattern for other cities experiencing difficulties with their programs. An excellent report on the Pittsburgh experience was published in the Pittsburgh Courier, September 18, 1965. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include it at this point in the RECORD:

PITTSBURGH'S HEADSTART AGAINST POVERTY—MANY SERVICES AVAILABLE TO EIGHT PRIORITY GROUPS

(By Toki Schalk Johnson)

PITTSBURGH, PA.—How did Pittsburgh's antipoverty program get such a headstart on the rest of the Nation's projects? Why did Mayor Joseph Barr's Committee on Human Resources win the plaudits of Sargent Shriver, Congressman WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD, and other distinguished citizens just 4 months after it became a reality?

First, it was well planned before it reached the opening stage. A committee comprising the mayor, president of city council, an attorney, a bank vice president, a union vice president, a Catholic priest, a Baptist minister, a Presbyterian minister, a judge, a citizen's group official, an urban redevelopment director, two corporation officials, and State Secretary of Labor and Industry William P. Young, worked 9 months arranging and rearranging the initial program which eventually became the Mayor's Committee on Human Resources, Inc.

Second was the important factor of their choice for an executive director. Thirty-two-year-old David G. Hill, himself a Pittsburgher born in the Hill, was the man they chose to head the most constructive, dynamic, far-reaching project this city, and the Nation, had ever known.

Of the eight centers now operating in the city, we chose the two offices in the Hill District for a closer look at the projects underway.

Last week we told you of the activities at the employment center at 1919 Centre Avenue, headquarters for the Hill District Youth Corps. Since then, attention has been focused on a job camp in Arizona, where the boys are marooned in a bleak, arid desert, 10 miles from the nearest town (two pool halls, taverns, soft drink emporiums) with no planned recreation, not enough staff, and the boys are desperately unhappy, according to the TV feature.

Pittsburgh and Pennsylvania boys have been sent to Kilmer, N.J., and Blue Jay, Pa. And, according to Hill's executive assistant, Mrs. Patricia Rieker, the boys are doing very well indeed.

Pittsburgh's pilot program according to the enthused Sargent Shriver, will get $9½ million to keep its multitude of programs going, and to add more necessary features to those being planned.

Director Hill and his three-man committee, Kiernan F. Stenson, director of operations and David E. Epperson, assistant director of operations, have developed a program that involves some 2,000 people in policy-making committees within the eight priority neighborhoods now operating. Through these 2,000, thousands more are in touch with the basic structure of the program.

Thus, the in-depth project does what few others have ever done; it has included in its program planning, the people who are directly involved, and who know exactly what their neighborhood needs, and wants.

The public has heard mainly of the top positions in the mayor's committee. It has failed to learn about the professional consultants from the DPW and the State employment bureau, and the subprofessionals are unheard of completely. The subprofessionals work in the area of teacher aids for Headstart; for intensive family workers, health aids, neighborhood coordinator aids. Budgeting, nutrition, both a part of the homemaking service, also has subprofessionals in training to help the ill, the elderly, the neighbor who comes home from the hospital and needs temporary help.

Of the two Hill District centers, the one at 2018 has the diversified services. Mrs. Mattie Addis, coordinator for the district, has been actively employed in neighborhood development for 20 years. A graduate of Kentucky State with a master's degree from Western Reserve, Mrs. Addis is qualified for her position, and knows the many needs of the Hill through her work as a neighborhood worker during the past 9 years. Her compassionate understanding goes a long way toward making the Hall District staff and its subprofessionals a confident working whole.

Gathered at 2018 Centre, where Mrs. Addis has her office, are the Newcomer Services, family counseling, the DPW homemaker services, health, housing, social security and adult education, a board of education program.

Assistant to Mrs. Addis is Charles Mikell. William Maxwell is the DPW consultant there.

Mrs. Barbara Shore told of the various services which includes the new and important Newcomer Service, geared to the stranger within our gates. The Hill District and North Side have been said to have the largest migratory population in the city.

Very often these families, either passing through, or investigating the possibilities of staying here, find themselves in an emergency situation. There may be a need for medical services; a housing problem; even temporary financial help may be had by the newcomer.

Mrs. Shore also told about Arthur Burt who is a part time service worker at night and on Sundays at 2018, which means that the stranded family who finds itself without food or shelter in Pittsburgh overnight, may find their plight eased. Then there is a case worker available to the newcomer who has been in the city for less than a year.

It is a frightening thing to be stranded in a strange city not knowing a soul to turn to, no money for food, nor a place to sleep. Sleeping on a bench, or in a bus station, or railroad waiting room is an unhappy experience.

With the establishing of 2018 Centre, a much needed service has been blocked in. Part of it is an aftermath of the Travelers Aid, but most of it is new.

Mrs. Shore also called attention to the office at Pasavant which deals with Pittsburgh family counseling. This may become the center of the counseling plan.

But at 2018, there is health counseling with emphasis on cancer; guidance to resources available to Hill citizens, which, after all, is the most important service. It could come under the head of communications, now the most important word in today's world.

At 2018, Mrs. Adelaide Montgomery is secretary.

Young Rose Marie Winston is a volunteer at the center. A tiny girl and ardent worker, Rose Marie never misses a day at work in the pleasant, sunny office.

How well are the employment centers operating? As of late July, some 4,100 applications had been received, and 700 of them referred to jobs. Three hundred were actually placed in jobs.

The enthusiasm for the program was so intense, that the first days before the centers were opened, Job Corps applications were taken on the sidewalks, outside the yet unopened office.

In the homemaking services, welfare recipients are trained to aid the aged, the sick, to help neighbors discover the pleasure of redecorating their homes, and when necessary, learn how to really keep house. It is incredible for the average woman to think that there is anyone in the world who doesn't know how to keep house.

They don't know about the underprivileged whose family earnings are less than $1,000 a year. They never heard of the unemployed, jobless either because of poor health, lack of a trade or because of discrimination.

Presently there are 17 former public assistance recipients working in the homemaking program. Almost 30 are now in training for the project.

In July there were 232 subprofessionals engaged in Project Head Start, the phase of the antipoverty program best known to the public. There is an eye-arresting appeal to pictures of children, and somehow more of their pictures have reached the public than those involving adults.

In the Headstart project there are 94 professionals. During the past few months some 1,160 children in 58 centers received health, dental, hearing, and eye tests. To find these children, more than 2,000 homes in Pittsburgh were visited.

Now with the Headstart program being planned to run through the year, in conjunction with day-care centers, this project will not only fill a much-needed vacuum, but will give the children involved, a thorough preparation for primary school. It will literall be a head start toward a better education, a better chance to succeed in a world in which youth and education are synonymous.

Volunteer services have been proffered through WICS, the women's group which processes the applications for jobs made by girls.

VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) has three workers in Pittsburgh out of the 84 presently working in the country.

The work-study program now in effect seeks colleges which will agree to pay part of the cost of part-time employment for undergraduate or graduate students from low-income families, so that they may continue school. Chatham College has 38 students in this program; Mt. Mercy has 26, with both schools expanding the program now with the new school year.

This, in part, is what the mayor's Committee on Human Resources is doing. David Hill says there are more programs on the planning board. Yet even now with more to come, Hill's committee can reach out and touch thousands of Pittsburgh citizens, and know what they want, what they need, and why. The direct route to the minds and hearts of the people of this city has been found. For those who need jobs and have gotten them through the employment centers, David Hill and his staff, are literally sent from God.

To the parents of the children enrolled in Headstart, the schools are dreams come true.

To the sick and poor who have had no hope for anything better, or for anyone to pay any attention to their ills, the mayor's committee is a blessing. To have someone come and help them, to do small things for them, is a lift to the spirits.

There may be some people in Pittsburgh who don't know about the services available to them in their own city. These are the people who don't read the newspapers; they may not be able to buy a paper. But those few are being told; the news is getting around, and the magic words are David Hill and the mayor's Committee on Human Resources, plus 1919 and 2018 Centre Avenue. The folks there will listen and if they can, do something.

It is a ray of hope in a dismal land.

Labor Day Sermon of the Reverend Lester H. Bill, First Methodist Church, South Bend, Ind., September 5, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, September 5, 1965, I had the privilege of hearing an excellent sermon preached at the First Methodist Church, South Bend, Ind., by the Reverend Lester H. Bill, associate minister.

The Reverend Mr. Bill's sermon was preached on Labor Sunday and is a discussion of the relationship between the Christian faith and important social issues facing our country.

I commend this sermon to the attention of my colleagues:

(Sermon preached at First Methodist Church, South Bend, Ind. by Lester H. Bill, associate minister, Sunday morning worship, Sept. 5, 1965)

"AT EASE IN ZION"—AMOS 6:1

The Prophet Amos lived 27 centuries ago, yet he speaks with specific meaning to the current conditions in our day. He was a layman, raised up by God to bring warning and judgment upon the organized religion of his time. He urged the need for repentance and renewal. The problems of man's inhumanity to man, barbaric, uncivilized behavior of nations was his concern, but more chiefly the problems of idleness and ease, injustice and exploitation, spiritual deadness, debauchery, unemployment, roused his indignation. Amos devoted nine-tenths of his message to the sins of civilization.

Zion was the favorite name of the Israelite nation. They prided themselves on their superior over other nations and in their excellent religious ceremonies. The name Zion has come to be synonymous with the City of God. The actual fact was that Zion needed to keep its conscience awake and be concerned about the plight of its people. After addressing the glaring sins and gross defects of the world's problems of his day, Amos then focused his attention on beloved Zion. "Woe to those who are at ease in Zion and to those who feel secure on the mountains of Samaria." The people who occupied these exalted positions were under a heavy responsibility. Soon judgment and exile were to descend upon them for their callousness.

"Let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream." These were the words of the fiery prophet spoken to the people who professed to have a good hold upon God. Such a statement hit the religious power structure of his day like a bolt of lightning. They rejected his counsel and ejected him from their hearing. His ministry was cut short by their refusal to listen. Nonetheless the swift hand of judgment carried the nation away into exile because they paid no heed to the prophet's warning.

"Woe to those who are at ease in Zion", still rings down the centuries to us today. How complacent dare we get? How much apathy can we allow? How far can we permit our conscience to decline?

ZION AND AMERICA

An example of a situation which caught us unaware was the Watts riot in Los Angeles, a few weeks ago. The Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles had said that there was no racial problem in their city. Yet it had half a million Negro people, most of whom were living in ghettos. The Reverend K. Morgan Edwards of California has described the situation in these words: "At the last election the State voted proposition 14 which presumably gave everybody the freedom to choose his own neighbors. In the minds of the white power structure that settled the matter. As they were taking the corpse off to the Negro Forest Lawn, the sleeping giant awakened and disturbed the proceedings."

The Watts riot had no direct relation to the civil rights movement, and neither was it a sinister plot to overthrow our Government. It was a situation of rebellion against utter hopelessness. The population was 99 percent Negro and had an unemployment rate of 34 percent. The population was overcrowded. More than 23 persons were living on an acre of land in Watts while in the city generally only 7 people lived on an acre. Watts is a ghetto and has the curse of most ghettos on it—injustice, raw poverty, chronic unemployment, despair, frustration, torment of body and soul, and utter boredom. A few years ago we heard a lot about "the dead end kids." Now it is dead end people. Such is the plight of the ghetto—the inhabitants are stuck without a future.

It is time that we as Christians become aware of the sore conditions under which our fellow countrymen live. Other areas in our Nation are hotbeds for riots just as volatile as Watts. Chicago has more Negroes than the whole nation of Liberia, and they are discriminated against in education, housing, and employment. Dare we be at ease in Zion?

It is out of character for the church to be at ease. The policy of far too many churches has been merely to exist. As Francis Stevens, a Methodist attorney in Jackson, Miss., recently said in Concern magazine: "Their slogan has been come weal or come woe our status is quo."

One of my fellow ministers was commenting on his own situation. He is now reaching the middle years of his ministry. He has a good appointment, adequate salary, and a fine parsonage. His church is satisfied to maintain itself just as it is and do nothing to renew or advance. He is really enjoying the "fleshpots of Methodism," and it is a serious temptation to be at ease. This is a sad state of affairs in the church.

THE PLACE OF LABOR

This is Labor Sunday and we are reminded about the laboring people of our land. We remember in this regard that our Saviour, Jesus Christ, was a worker. He had parted company with leisure and was wholly committed to His mission. We are also reminded of the early church and its stress on discipline and industry. The Apostle Paul says to the Thessalonians (II Thess. 3: 6–13) that his life among them was never undisciplined. He had toiled and labored night and day "to avoid being the slightest expense to any of you." He warned the Christians to keep away from those living in idleness. The best rule is: "If you do not work neither do you eat." There were busybodies among them, too. They were those who did everyone's work except their own. Drones in the congregational beehive were not desirable. A few lazybones in the fellowship could undo much teaching. They were to get out in the morning and put their hands to the task and come home in the evening with the sweat of honest toil. "We are not here to dream and to drift. We have hard work to do and loads to lift."

The labor movement in our country has had a long struggle against exploitation and injustice. People who were willing to work have been used by employers and unscrupulous men of power who worked them long hours at poor pay under horrible conditions.

It has been said, "There is a gray flannel cover on the American history book. The public schools which were founded to reform the world have been bridled with sterile textbooks which have standardized history. For example, in Akron, Ohio, the chamber of commerce gave $12,000 for the writing of the local history textbook and designed it to tell the chamber's side of the American economy. The book gave 54 pages to Akron rubber companies and only several lines to unions, saying they held meetings, despite the fact that two major international unions—the rubber workers and the chemical workers—were headquartered in the city.

There is much we need to learn about the struggles of labor in our country. From the rebellion led by Nathaniel Bacon at the Jamestown Colony, and the election of John Hancock as Governor in Massachusetts by the small farmers and Boston workers, to the founding of our school system by Horace Mann, to Eugene V. Debs, the Hoosier labor leader, our history is full of stirring and meaningful activity. The sufferings and injustices borne by the working people have played a vital part in the making of just laws and shaping public opinion toward a more righteous Nation.

We cannot afford to be illiterate concerning the labor movement in our Nation's history for it is the key to understanding a whole new set of problems that are rising up to face the workers of today and tomorrow.

How are we to be informed and concerned as a church? The answer surely must lie in the direction of sterner disciplines for Christians. We need to study, to pray, to worship and to witness. We need "eyeball to eyeball" exposure to people and conditions around us and must not allow ourselves to be withdrawn into a closed society of our own making.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE NEW CITIZENSHIP

My wife Jane, our son, Douglas, and I spent 18 days of our vacation this last month working with the Quakers building a community center in the rural section of Mississippi. After visiting the South last spring and participating in the march to Montgomery, I felt God was moving people in new and creative ways. Furthermore I felt impelled to continue to do something and to learn more about the great revolution that is taking place in our country.

It was under this conviction that we joined with the Quakers in a project of reconciliation and reconstruction in Mississippi where there is so much need for development among the people.

We discovered a new area of American life coming into a new phase of citizenship and responsibility. In Mississippi it is something like it was here in the Middle West 100 years ago. People are finding themselves to be citizens in a great nation where there are opportunities for education, and for

vocation, and the chance to be real persons. We saw the values of the nonverbal witnesses of working together in identification and involvement with a people who seek a fuller. life.

We worshiped in a church building replacing one which had been burned down last winter because of the civil rights activity centered there. The Mississippi Committee of Concern rebuilt the house of worship several months later. This committee is made up of people from the State of Mississippi and other States and from various denominations, who in good will and generosity have rebuilt more than a score of church buildings. Mr. Otho Williams, a prominent farmer and deacon in St. John's Baptist Church where we were gathered said, "The devil and the white man burned down our church, but God has seen fit to bring some of the best white people in the world here and rebuild our church, and we have been blessed more than we could ever have imagined."

NEED FOR AN ACTIVE CHURCH

Until I saw firsthand the situation in Mississippi and became acquainted by living among the people there I could never have believed what the conditions are. So, it seems to me, the church can only understand as it goes out of its way to communicate with and understand other people, people of minority groups, people in other communities, people who have been bypassed by the 20th century, and discover who they are and how they feel. In this way can we find new life by giving ourselves away, and discover the real work of redemption.

The church has tremenodus resources to send out work camps, observer groups, and teaching missions. First Methodist Church has already distinguished herself by the mission to Bolivia and the youth tours. We have people who have leadership ability and understanding who can carry through on such missions. There is opportunity through our Commission on Christian Social Concern, Commission on Missions and Commissin on Recreatin and Fellowship to extend ourselves in authentic encounters with the world outside our congregation. May the year ahead engage us in some new experiments in these concerns.

Christ calls us today to share in His sufferings. He upbraided the cities of Chorazin and Bethsaida and pronounced woe upon them because they did not do any good works in response to His preaching among them. He denounced the Pharisees and Sadducees as blind guides and hypocrites because they "tithed mint and dill and cummin, and neglected the weightier matters of the law, justice, and mercy and faith."

He calls us today to bear other people's burdens and make the Christian community foremost in the work of liberty and justice for all.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

Lords of the Eagle Eye and Lion Heart

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIBORNE PELL

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert into the Appendix of the RECORD an epic poem entitled "Lords of the Eagle Eye and Lion Heart," which was written by the Reverend Jessie Koewing Brown.

Reverend Brown somehow finds time in her extremely busy life of Christian charity to write poetry about our American heroes. She is a wonderful woman and a true Christian soldier who is continuing the good works of the Reverend B. Carlton Brown, the founder of the Good Neighbor Mission of Rhode Island.

It is my hope that both her poetry and her devotion to mankind will serve as inspiration to all of us.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LORDS OF THE EAGLE EYE AND LION HEART

(Lt. Col. L. Gordon Cooper, Jr. and Lt. Comdr. Charles Conrad, Jr., America Salutes You)

(By Jessie Koewing Brown)

The day had come, and now the hour was near
When once again a rocket would be hurled
In outer-space, we waited the "count-down" to hear
For Gemini 5 to start its orbits of the earth.

With awe and terror 'midst the roar and smoke,
We watched the "Space-Craft" leave the pad, and soar
Like a huge arrow freed from out its yoke,
And excited voices cried "Excelsior."

With bated breath we waited, as we heard
That something might have gone amiss, and then,
Came back the joyful and encouraging word
That all was well—and we gained hope again.

"Just one day at a time" the word was given,
A rule in life we all must needs discover,
For who can tell, but He who rules in Heaven
What trials the next day will perchance uncover?

So day passed into day and on the Gemini sped
Orbiting the earth which seemed to shrink in size
As round and round at dizzy heights o'erhead
"Gordie" and "Pete" whirled ever toward the prize.

For eight full days, then from the blue they came,
Our two "bird-men," and into the great "splash-down,"
Complete their mission, and world-wide their fame,
Their courage, skill, endurance all renown.

"No national sovereignty rules in outer space"
The brave who venture there to make the goal,
Are only envoys of the human race
To that Great Sovereign of the human Soul.

And God has many worlds for us to conquer,
But only as each nation justly delves
To rid the world of greed and rancor,
And love their neighbors as themselves.

As Gordon Cooper and Charles Conrad played their parts,
The nation thanks them for a service nobly done;
Lords of the eagle eye and lion heart
We wish them health and happiness in days to come.

Editorial on Home Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, District of Columbia residents and the many civic groups who have been promoting the cause of self-government for the District have given strong testimony that they consider the automatic Federal payment formula sections of the home rule bill to be critically important to meaningful home rule. One of the District's most articulate spokesmen for home rule has been Jack Jurey, of Washington television station WTOP, expressing the views of the station he represents in his consistently forthright and succinct editorials.

I commend his comments on the Federal payment to the attention or our colleagues:

A WTOP EDITORIAL

(Jack Jurey speaking for WTOP, Sept. 10 and 11, 1965, over WTOP radio and television)

If self-government is to succeed in the District of Columbia, the Federal Government must make a fair, fixed financial contribution to the city. The Federal payment has to be regular. It has to be based on a realistic estimate of Federal real estate values and other factors. And it has to be relatively immune from the whims and caprices of some Members of Congress.

The administration's home rule bill meets all these tests. It provides an adequate Federal payment. That payment would be automatic each year. There would be no requirement for an annual appropriation. It is as if Congressmen were to say to the District, "We owe you a certain amount of money because the Federal Government is located here. We have devised a formula to determine the amount of our debt each year. We have authorized the Treasury to pay that debt automatically. You can count on this money to help conduct city affairs."

A sound and sensible idea, isn't it? Even so, the automatic payment formula probably will be the greatest cause of debate when home rule is considered by the House on September 27. The chief complaint seems to be that the payment formula is a kind of backdoor financing, by which Congress would lose control of the purse strings.

Our comment is this: An automatic Federal payment is vital to genuine home rule. It is the only means of preventing what would be a virtually certain attempt by some persons on the Hill to impose their own ideas—and prejudices—on the District of Columbia government. And while it is true that the payment formula contained in the administration's home rule bill is unique in some respects, Congress many times before has authorized what amounts to an automatic drawing account from the Treasury. There's nothing dangerous or radical about the automatic payment principle. It's simply a sensible way of doing business.

Miss Elizabeth Kimmel, of Houston, Leads Women in Political Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, in an age in which women are taking ever more active roles in business, the professions, and public service, I would like to call particular attention to a Houston lady who is doing a tremendous job in mobilizing women to take an active part in politics.

Her name is Elizabeth Kimmel and she is the new director of the women's activities division of the county Committee on Political Education of the Harris County AFL–CIO.

Long active in civic affairs, Miss Kimmel brings to her new job a wealth of experience in public service. Women need strong leadership in their efforts to play a more meaningful role in the political process, and Miss Kimmel is the type of dedicated person who can provide it.

I ask unanimous consent that an article from the September 12, 1965, Houston Chronicle be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Houston (Tex.) Chronicle, Sept. 12, 1965]

DIRECTOR FOR COUNTY: VETERAN IN UNIONS MOBILIZING WOMEN

(By Bob Tutt)

The daughter of a Kentucky coal miner is mobilizing women in the political causes of the Harris County AFL–CIO.

Miss Elizabeth Kimmel, new director of the women's activities division of the county Committee on Political Education is a veteran of more than 20 years of successful work as union organizer and representative and political worker.

OLDEST OF NINE

Born on a farm near the backwoods town of Ennis, Ky., she was the eldest of nine children. "We raised a little food and lots of children," she says.

Her father was a coal miner who revered John L. Lewis, leader of the United Mine Workers, as "almost a god" and unionism as "almost a religion."

The mineworkers union was broken in western Kentucky after a long strike in 1924. Her father was so embittered he went to Indiana to work in a union mine and sent support home. Later he returned and helped reorganize the union.

"You can see how I come by my feelings about unions," she said.

After she was graduated from a three-room high school, Miss Kimmel enrolled in a State teachers college in the deep depression year of 1933, but dropped out after her first year because of financial problems.

WORKED IN FACTORY

She went to work at a dress factory at Henderson, Ky., in 1938, and joined the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which represented the factory workers. Later she was elected vice president of her local.

In 1942, she became an international representative of the ILGWU and worked in the Middle West before coming to Houston in 1947, where she has lived since then.

"I was just supposed to stay in Houston 10 days, but one thing led to another and I am still here," she said.

Miss Kimmel resigned from the ILGWU in 1963 when it reduced its Texas staff. The union offered her a job in rural Arkansas.

"By this time I had become a big city girl and didn't want to go back to the sticks," she says.

City Employees Local 1550 hired her to organize workers at the Ben Taub and Jeff Davis hospitals. About 550 of the total 1,000 workers have signed up with the union.

IN CIVIC WORK

Also active in civic affairs, she serves on YWCA committees and the board of directors of the Eliza Johnson Home for Aged Negroes. She is the chairman of the health committee of the Houston Council on Human Relations and a member of the Texas Bill of Rights Foundation.

A liberal Democrat, she has been in political work here since 1948.

Miss Kimmel, who lives at 3911 Caroline, defeated a conservative for the post of precinct judge for Precinct 20 last year. Previously she was precinct judge in Precinct 21, which she helped transform from a conservative to a liberal box.

She has been cochairman of the county COPE's women's activities division since its organization about 2 years ago.

She succeeds Mrs. Rosa Walker as director. Mrs. Walker has accepted a similar post with the Texas AFL-CIO in Austin.

In the $675-a-month job, Miss Kimmel will seek women volunteers to keep mailing lists current, help to get out mailings, do telephoning and door-to-door precinct work and other political chores.

Women are especially suited for such tasks because so much patience is needed to do them, she said.

"Women do 90 percent of the necessary political work, and if they didn't do it, politics would go begging," she said.

Challenge Against Mississippi Delegation Dismissed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my weekly report to the people of the Seventh District of Alabama for September 20, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman JIM MARTIN, Seventh District, Alabama)

CHALLENGE AGAINST MISSISSIPPI DELEGATION DISMISSED

At long last the challenge to unseat the legally elected Members of Congress from Mississippi was dismissed by the House of Representatives. The vote to put an end to this matter, which has been used to defame the great State of Mississippi and other States of the South for the past 8½ months, carried by 228 to 143. The vote was on a resolution by the Committee on House Administration that the contests against the five Mississippi Congressmen be dismissed.

The committee action to dismiss the challenge was based on the very basic fact that the members of the Democratic Freedom Party of Mississippi were never on any ballot in a legal election, and they made no attempt to seek legal means to prove their charge that Negroes in large numbers had been prevented from voting in Mississippi. The vote to dismiss the challenge was a victory for proper procedures and government by law.

Since this session of Congress began in January, the Members have been under constant pressure to unseat these Congressmen. Even while the final debate was in progress, a so-called silent demonstration was going on outside the Capitol in violation of the laws and the rules against demonstrations on the Capitol Grounds. Even some of the members of the Democratic Freedom Party were admitted to the floor of the House of Representatives, an unheard of concession to a pressure group. However, the majority of the Members of Congress, remembering their oath of allegiance to the Constitution and unafraid of the pressure tactics, had the courage to vote to support legal elections, proper procedures, and the integrity of the House of Representatives.

REPUBLICANS SOLIDLY SUPPORT STATES RIGHTS

Without a dissenting vote Republican Members of Congress forced rejection of the conference report on the Economic Opportunities Act. The report was returned to conference with instructions to keep in the bill the veto power of the Governors over Federal projects within the individual States. 37 Governors, Republican and Democrat, opposed any weakening of their veto power as it now stands in the law; 209 Democrats voted against the Governors and for increasing Federal power over the States.

DEADLINE FOR APPLICATIONS FOR MILITARY ACADEMIES

Any young men in the Seventh District interested in competing for nomination to one of the military academies must notify me not later than October 1. Nominations are open to high school graduates who will be at least 17 and not have reached the age of 22 by July 1, 1966. All candidates will be given a civil service examination on November 6, 1965, and my nominations will be given to those making the highest grades on that exam. The exam will be given in several locations in the district on that date. If you are interested—or know anyone who is—please just drop me a note for application blanks, catalogs, etc.: Congressman JIM MARTIN, 1533 Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

SPENDORAMA

What is the Great Society costing you? You, your children, their children and the children of generations to come will be paying the bill for one of the biggest spending Congresses in history. Under the liberal Democrat leadership this session of Congress will have spent more money than any other Congress in history, except the 1942 session, which appropriated $150 billion to finance World War II. Under the bills passed you will be paying more for bigger welfare programs, expanded political slush funds to keep the President's cronies in office, and to increase Federal controls over the States and over you as an individual.

Here are just a few of the more expensive bills Congress has passed, or is in the process of passing:

The antipoverty bill, a 3-year program, $1.7 billion approved for this year.

Help to elementary schools, no time limit, first year cost $1.1 billion, $4.7 billion over 5 years under a Senate plan. A disproportionate amount of this huge sum will go to big cities in Northern States. Children in Southern States will receive less.

Public works and area redevelopment, $3.2 billion over 5 years.

Farm bill, $18 billion over the next 5 years. In addition, this bill drastically cuts the cotton acreage allotment in Southern States.

Housing bill, with rent subsidies, $8 billion over the next 4 years.

Total Federal spending this year will run about $120 billion. Remember what a grandstand play the President made about keeping Federal spending under $100 billion? We can put just as much faith in the other Great Society promises. Under such reckless spending policies, it is costing us more than money, it will eventually cost us our freedom.

Packers and Stockyards Revision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. DOW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, because my district includes many people engaged in the production of eggs and because this industry is undergoing very dramatic and far-reaching changes, I have recently introduced two bills—H.R. 8070 and H.R. 10880—aimed at protecting the interests of the small, independent egg producer. Both of those bills would amend the Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921. During the course of my research in preparing these bills, I was most impressed by the work of the Packers and Stockyards Division of the Department of Agriculture.

Under unanimous consent, I include here an article which I feel very excellently sets forth the present and future role of the Packers and Stockyards Division. It was prepared by Angus McDonald, director of research for the National Farmers Union and by Dal Ferry, executive director of the U.S. Poultry & Egg Producers Association:

THE FUNCTION OF AND NEED FOR THE PACKERS AND STOCKYARDS DIVISION OF THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

The Packers and Stockyards Division of the U.S. Department of Agriculture has played a major role in keeping the livestock and meat industries as free and independent as they are today. This Agency, charged with the task of assuring active and fair competition and free enterprise, is one of the most financially starved departments in the Government.

Attention is called to some significant facts about the Packers and Stockyards Division:

1. From farm to retailer they regulate $31.500 million of production or a total of 5 percent of the gross national product.

2. It is estimated that because of the psychology involved and regulation of market agency activities the producers and consumers are saved 1 percent of the $11.500 million worth of livestock marketed and regulated, or approximately $115 million annually.

3. The regulated processed meat is valued at $18.500 million and because of the surveilance of this segment of the industry many unfair trade practices are checked with resulting increased competition and the producers and public are probably saved another $200 million annually.

4. The broiler industry represents another billion dollars in production and producers in this industry are in dire need of help to get satisfactory returns for their investment and labor.

5. The Packers and Stockyards Division has no jurisdiction over the egg industry. This industry up until the last few years has been relatively free of problems, but now many nonfarm interests are moving in, and there are monopolistic practices and trends in the industry today.

The Packers and Stockyards Division has only 190 personnel and a budget of about $2,300,000 to regulate the entire livestock, poultry and meat industry in the continental United States.

Outlined below is the Packers and Stockyards Division program and some illustrations of actions and results achieved by the Department.

Stockyard rate supervision: Is an important function of the Division. Rate structures of stockyard owners and market agencies are supervised and posted. This service can save producers a million dollars or more annually by preventing unjustified rate increases.

To assure fair competition and competitive practices in markets, 2,250 stockyards, thousands of buying stations, and in other buying operations. In the State of Iowa alone, there are over 4,000 buying stations. With the present personnel it is possible to check only about 100 operations per year.

To insure honest weight: Regulations call for all scales to be tested twice a year; the scale to be operating right and to be operated correctly. The present staff could check weigh or reweigh only once every 33 years on the average as there are more than 6,200 scales involved.

Financial protection and bonding are important parts of the program:

1. In 1964 a total of about 12,000 firms and market agencies were required to be bonded to the extent of $160 million. Required annual reports from firms regulated by the agency indicated that 195 firms were operating with insufficient capital. They were required to increase this by an amount in excess of $3 million. Fifty-six firms issued rubber checks amounting to $1,009,833 and 47 firms that failed deprived producers of money in the amount of $1,070,000. Forty-three firms were found operating with liabilities in excess of their assets to the extent of $2,396,590. The firms involved were required to either improve their financial condition, make restitution on checks outstanding, and furnish bonds acceptable to the Department or cease operating.

A total of 92 formal actions were brought by the Department involving 56 allegations involving checks written without sufficient funds. Action was brought in 47 allegations for failure to pay and 43 actions in cases where firms were dealing with current liabilities in excess of current assets. One hot check amounted to $35,000.

2. A prompt pay regulation requires the buyer must pay by the end of the following business day unless seller and buyer agree to other terms.

3. In the case of custodial funds regulations require that there must not be comingling of funds. However, some firms were found to be using customer funds for personal use. Some firms were using customer money for speculation. Others were writing thousands of dollars of checks in excess of their deposits in banks.

At the present time, the Department has only sufficient staff to review about 10 percent of the firms involved.

Reparation payments to insured parties: In 1964 over 1,000 farmers filed allegations and the Department helped recover $1,500,000 for the complainants. In addition there was over $1 million regained for trade people.

While Packers and Stockyards Division has authority to intervene on behalf of the producers they have no authority to enforce reparation payments to the grower. However, the findings of the Secretary developed in a Packers and Stockyards Division hearing can be used as prima facie evidence in a civil suit.

THE BROILER INDUSTRY

The Packers and Stockyards Division is making a complete study of the broiler industry from farm to retailer. The broiler industry, almost 100-percent integrated, is one in which the farmer-grower has no bargaining power. In a recent hearing before the National Food Commission in Atlanta, Ga., witnesses testified that growers were actually netting only from 7 to 37 cents per hour labor income.

Bruce Eaker, of Roxboro, N.C., a broiler grower, tobacco farmer, and livestock man told the Commission, "In 1960 I won the Ford Foundation award for efficiency in broiler production. When I balanced my books for the year I showed a net profit of $101. My integrator and cooperative says I am one of the most efficient growers. Yet during the past 3 years I have produced 700,000 boilers or 2,250,000 pounds of meat. This required 10,800 hours' labor and I can show only 37 cents an hour for my time. All meat producing industries should be concerned about this system."

Growers complain that they have lost all voice in arriving at contract terms and returns. The North Carolina Supreme Court in a recent decision said, "Growers were the servant of the integrator."

Allegations filed with Packers and Stockyards Division by broiler growers in Arkansas in 1962 have resulted in a complaint being filed against three major companies, one of them a nationally known company of great repute. This charge is blacklisting growers. A hearing in this case is scheduled for June 23, 1965. This case may help establish market power for growers. This action grew out of the fact that growers were trying to organize and were petitioning their legislators and the Department of Agriculture for assistance.

THE EGG INDUSTRY

The egg industry is rapidly becoming integrated. Eggs should be included under the Packers and Stockyards Act. The Federal Trade Commission has jurisdiction over eggs at the present time. However, while it has the tools to appraise mergers, antitrust violations and deal with them it does not have the trained farm-oriented personnel to deal with unfair and anticompetitive practices in the egg industry at the farm level.

Problems in both the egg and broiler industries are different from those encountered in livestock, but the principles upon which the Packers and Stockyards Division was founded apply in both cases. Then, too, there is a definite trend to integration in other livestock industries. In any event some way needs to be found to give producers bargaining power and Packers and Stockyards Division is the one agency now equipped to help.

CONCLUSION

The Packers and Stockyard Division is the one department in USDA which needs more funds, not less. While the Division was virtually dormant prior to 1958 this is not true now.

Today the caseload is five times greater than in 1957. However, the caseload is not indicative of the size of the workload. One case today involves more time, personnel, and money than all the caseload in 1957.

The Packers and Stockyards Act should be strengthened. H.R. 7527 introduced by Congressman W. R. Hull, of Missouri, would effectively do this and the amendment proposed by Congressman JOHN G. DOW, of New York, H.R. 8070 would make the full force of the act effective in the egg industry.

We give a lot of lipservice to free enterprise. Here is the one agency in the USDA entrusted with the preservation of free enterprise. Yet we find that the $200,000 increase asked for in this year's budget was knocked out in the House Appropriations Committee. The National Grange has asked that the staff of the Packers and Stockyards Division be doubled as soon as possible.

The National Farmers Union asked for a $1 million increase for the Division in the pending budget.

The U.S. Poultry and Egg Producers Association has requested an increased budget and strengthening of the act.

In ancient times it was illegal for the butcher to go out to intercept the drover as he was bringing his livestock to market. This was done to give all butchers a chance to buy the stock and to prevent one butcher from unfairly taking advantage of the seller. The problem today is more complicated.

The monopolistic tendencies and unfair practices that appear as a result of integration in the livestock, poultry and egg industry must be dealt with in some way to give producers and growers bargaining power. The Packers and Stockyards Division should be instructed by the Congress to actively seek ways to develop bargaining power for producers.

It is just as much the public interest to see that producers have protection in the marketplace so that they can market and agree to market profitably and in good faith as it is to insure depositors' funds by the Federal Insurance Deposit Corporation.

Values and Principles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, when the new fall school term began earlier this month the superintendent of our Peoria

public schools, Dr. Mark Bills, delivered some very appropriate remarks to the principals and teachers who will be serving under him this coming year. The title of his address was "Values and Principles" and I ask unanimous consent that the full text of Dr. Bill's very timely remarks be read into the RECORD at this point:

VALUES AND PRINCIPLES

(Opening of school address by Dr. Mark W. Bills, superintendent, Peoria public schools, delivered at Manual High School, September 1, 1965)

Greetings and welcome, as we begin another school year. How a building comes alive, how quickly it becomes a school again, as the staff and students return.

To those who are new to the profession, I hope that you have, at this moment, some sentiments of pride over your choice. As a veteran in this profession, I say with all the fervor that I can gather, "I am proud of our profession; I am proud and privileged to work with you and to know so many of you personally; I am proud of Peoria, my home city and community."

How do you respond, when you are away from your work, perhaps on vacation or traveling, when someone asks you: "What do you do?" or "What is your work?" I hope that your answer is always given promptly, firmly, proudly, "I am a teacher," or "I am in education."

So, as I extend greetings, and welcome you to the 1965–66 school year, I invite you to foster pride in the profession, now, and as long as you may be privileged to serve in it. Consider it an obligation, and your highest privilege to so live, serve, and speak, as to bring further credit to the profession, and added respect for your associates and colleagues.

For a title or a theme around which my thoughts might be centered, I have chosen these words: "Values and Principles." However, before presenting some remarks relevant to that title, I should like to offer some brief observations about the opening of the year in our own organization.

A very especial welcome to everyone from the splendid schools and neighborhoods newly joined to district 150. May we, the present generation of school people, bring together the strengths and assets of the total community, so that the best possible services will be provided without any interruption, and a rich heritage of good will and efficiency be transmitted to those who will come after us.

Before students come into the classrooms, I want to speak in behalf of three pieces of equipment or resources that I believe we should try to bring into the climate of instruction, particularly this fall.

Bring genuine kindness into every relationship with students, and to your associations with each other. There is so much turbulence, ferment, ill will in the world outside of the school room. Try, as never before, to make the school a place of kindliness, friendliness.

Secondly, try to bring some of the beauty of life into the classroom. There is much that is ugly and sordid, but there also is much more that is beautiful. Bring some of the beauty of the world at hand. Bring some of the beauty of places you have seen and visited. Make a conscious, talented, effort to being some beauty into the classrooms over which you preside—every day.

Then, as the last of the three pieces of equipment or resources, bring into the classroom enthusiasm for what you teach. This is the most important and persuasive influence to motivate students to apply themselves. How many time we have seen traditionally less-popular or especially difficult subjects become popular—only because there was a teacher who loved and believed in what was being taught. It is not easy, nor is it very effective to try to motivate the majority of students by merely admonishing them, "You will need this some day," or, "This is basic." If the teacher has love and enthusiasm for what is being taught, a motivating force of the greatest worth is present.

So, may I hope that you will find some sense, some justification, for this appeal in behalf of these three pieces of equipment or resouces—friendliness, beauty, love for and enthusiasm about what is being taught. Furthermore, these are pieces of equipment, these are resources that cost nothing and that only you can provide. They are the only pieces of equipment whose value increases with use.

Now to the theme or title: "Values and Principles." An equally appropriate title would be: "The Case for Thoughtfulness."

How would you and I react if we were to rather suddenly have responsibility for a substantial fortune—some great financial legacy? Would we rush into hasty, ill-advised, thoughtless commitments? Many people have done so. Personal and family histories are replete with examples of need, even poverty, where once great fortunes were present, mostly because of hasty, thoughtless acts.

How do we react in moments when great changes are imminent or are already underway?

These are examples of situations that call for thoughtfulness—deliberation—well-considered action. Admittedly, even thoughtfulness does not insure infallibility. Nevertheless, thoughtfulness, as a practice, and as a discipline, does provide a strong guarantee that the best plans will result, and, at the same time, provides good insurance against extreme, costly errors.

These are times in education that call for thoughtfulness. Great sums of money are being tossed about. Appeals of all sorts, strong pressures, create an atmosphere frought with a sort of frenzied compulsion. In this climate, almost everything that anyone proposes is considered to be good or desirable. Little time is reserved for thoughtfulness. There is little respect or tolerance for even a suggestion that there just might be some justification for a thoughtful, constructive approach—time and need for a second look.

It is a time for thoughtfulness. In my judgment, there is an especially strong compulsion for thoughtfulness. Innumerable and historically confirmed precedents and citations support the case for thoughtfulness, particularly in times such as these.

With modern mass communication and news media, the people of a Nation can be and are subjected to immediate, total saturation exposure through carefully prepared releases. Not only are the releases carefully prepared, but the most sophisticated campaigns are carried out in advance. The terrifying aspect of this modern development is the fact that it is now possible to stampede citizens who are presumed to have the prerequisite abilities and essential education for developing judgments. In this saturation approach to control over the thinking portions of a society, a new and fearsome element has been added to the theory and practice of democracy.

So, the first two points—the first two thoughts which I offer for your critical appraisal—are:

1. This is a time for thoughtfulness. The case for thoughtfulness is especially strong.

2. Since, by our professional label, we are presumed to be both educated and capable of thoughtfulness, I believe that we have a desperately grave obligation to not be stampeded in our thinking.

When it becomes possible to regularly stampede that part of a population presumed to be capable of thinking, the security and perpetuation of democracy become more precarious.

This is a time when education is a magic word. A vocal, albeit not-too-highly-regarded veteran of our profession said not long ago: "There appears to be near universal agreement that education is the only sure road to a great society."

In my judgment, education without some references, some solid relationship to values, and principles is not a sure road to a great society. "Growth through education needs roots if it is to withstand the winds of change." This is an excerpt from an article written by Crane Haussamen, former U.S. Minister and permanent representative to the United Nation's Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, which has its headquarters in Paris. The article appeared in Saturday Review of Literature for August 21, 1965. Education without some values and principles is a road to license, to sophistication without morality, to the demise of personal and social conscience. A year ago, a speaker spent 2 days in a midwestern church-related, highly respected university, devoting his time to the subject: "The New Morality."

In his talks, the most intimate of human acts was treated as a trivial and casual incident. This was education—education without values, the epitomé of informed, sophisticated pragmatism. Values may change or be modified, but education without some values is not a sure road to a great society. Educated individuals who will not work do not contribute to any society. Educated individuals who assume false superiority over their fellows—just because they went to school or have a diploma—are not very helpful in ushering in any great society. So, I plead with you—my colleagues in education—let us not be thoughtless enough to be stampeded into adding our voices to the false and illusory chant: "Education—just education—is the answer." There must be some values, and the example I cited is only representative. Respect for yourself; regard for others; patriotism, love for country and homeland, respect for law, are examples of values that must be related to education.

This is an era when thoughtful, talented people need to devote their most able powers to developing judgments about what their schools are to become. Make no mistake, there is a relatively small group of spokesmen—small but powerful—who have plans to radically change philosophies, facilities, programs that are school-related. The role of the home; parental responsibility, the influence of religion and churches, schools, all would be drastically modified. Note: I am not passing judgment, in this address, on any of these proposals, although I do have my convictions and some conclusions.

I am, however, saying, people of this country, people in local communities like Peoria and others across the Nation, be aware of the changes that are being proposed and assume active responsibility to be thoughtful and vocal about them.

Are schools to become welfare centers? Is educational opportunity to be relative to some economic or family income index?

Are schools to be the centers for services extending even into the years of infancy?

Is a new determinism to come into American education where specialists will assign children, the assignments arrived at by clinically derived data as to abilities, aptitudes, and opportunity-ceilings?

Must schools accept obligations that have been considered natural as well as legal responsibilities of anyone contemplating the establishment of a home, the rearing of a family? Is education to be pragmatically job-oriented rather than balanced?

Is American education going to formalize into a caste system around levels of training, artificial social values, and extreme vocational determinism?

As I stated earlier, I am not passing personal judgment in this address, although I do have my convictions. I am, as one schoolman, in a typically solid American community, saying, with all the fervor I can command: Citizens, be thoughtful about what your schools are becoming. Be thoughtful about proposals that are coming out—if your schools are to be radically changed, don't wake up one day and be vocal about your regrets. Be thoughtful now, so that you will have had something to say about what they have become.

School boards across the Nation should work together, study together, as never before. Parent groups should work and study—being certain that carefully planted spokesmen do not sway an organization or speak for them and commit the organization officially, against the wishes of the majority. This is a time for thoughtfulness, by all thinking-capable citizens. Whatever changes are made should be made with full awareness on the part of all thinking people. Now as always: Caveat expertum.

Many arguments and persuasions are offered to promote and support these proposals for change. You know most of them. The following list is representative.

1. The money is there, so let's get ours.
2. It is cheaper to pay for it this way, with no concern for both immediate and long range effects.
3. Unconfirmed, presumptive educational advantages and outcomes are invoked.
4. Causes or preventive measures are given cursory attention in the haste to get something started to spend money, to create payrolls.
5. Others claim that there is need to remake the entire program of education.

These arguments and persuasions, seem to me, to add to the grave responsibility to be thoughtful, and the need to take time to be capable of thoughtfulness.

As changes come, the necessary and right adaptations, not just change for the sake of doing something, I should like to cite some qualifying conditions that should be respected.

To the clamor, education as now offered is totally inadequate, a complete change is required, ask yourself this question: "What kind of a product is needed?"

I believe that you will find that the product of education, if the product is to cope with the demands of life, will continue to need a disciplined mind, will need to have extensive as well as specialized knowledge, will need certain skills, and should have capacities for adaptation, growth, improvement. These are qualities needed by every individual—on the job, in business, in the professions, the only difference being the variety of levels.

Will Durant is credited with this germane aphorism: "I have made the great discovery that liberty is a product of order." It is important to note that this statement stems from his current study and writing: "The Story of Civilization." This is not a sentimental, arm-chair opinion. It is the conclusion of a scholar, reached after study of many civilizations. The product of education, to be free, must be a disciplined individual. Surely this is not new.

To the indictment education is meaningless, does not meet the needs, etc., I respond with this query. Since schools reflect the values of a society, what the society temporarily considers important, is it logical to tear down the schools, or is it better to take a hard, realistic look at the values system, before making radical changes? Perhaps the values system should be the first point of attack.

If schools are to assume more welfare duties, if schools are to become substitutes for homes, if schools are to replace parents, then, I plead, with all the vehemence at my command, reserve time for teachers to teach. If society is going to ask schools to do all these things, let's not bootleg them in on the same staff. Let's not try to house them in school buildings as we now have them. If teachers are to have time to teach, let them teach.

If school buildings are to be welfare centers, then build nursery rooms; build lunch and food areas; build clinics, build areas for these things. Then staff them with people to perform the service.

I do not agree at all that schools are asking too much, that the work is too hard. The real trouble lies in other circumstances or factors. School days have become cluttered up, until teachers do not have time to teach, and students are distracted beyond even reasonable minimum requirements for concentration. Life, outside of school schedules, has become involved and frenzied, and students as well as many parents are unwilling to sacrifice, even a few of these outside things, in order to succeed in school.

In the beginning, I made a plea for thoughtfulness. I have spoken of my belief in the importance of values, the worth of principles in the process of thinking in the process of thoughtfulness. I should like to repeat my concern over the growing willingness of thinking people to be stampeded.

An editorial in our Peoria Journal Star contained this paragraph which is especially relevant to the threats to society that exist when it is possible to stampede thinking people:

"Somehow or other we must learn in this age of massive 'communication' the difference between that which is massive promotion * * * or more specifically just when the kind of massive promotion now so common on so many fronts crosses the line into becoming a con game."

Education without values is not even an assurance of improvement, much less the road to a great society. In an editorial: "A World Conscience," David Lawrence wrote:

"International agreements can be written in explicit terms, but unless and until pledged words are made meaningful and unless and until there is mutual trust, there is little chance that we can abolish the state of continuing anarchy which plagues us today.

"What then is the answer? We can learn from the religious teachings which have come down to us through the centuries. We know what is right. We know what is honest. But we have not developed a world conscience which would tell us that nations, like individuals, must exercise self-restraint, if serious friction is to be avoided and reason is to prevail.

"Until we are able to awaken the conscience of mankind around the globe, we shall not stop wars and we shall not halt the insidious infiltration of other countries by aggressors, whose only objective is material gain and absolute power."

It takes more than—just education.

May I close with this story—a sort of allegory. I am indebted to Sam Hobson, Peoria businessman—fellow Rotarian, friend, for this story which came to his attention via Dr. L. A. Adolfson of the University of Wisconsin.

"One night in ancient times, three horsemen were riding across a desert. As they crossed the dry bed of a river, out of the darkness a voice called, 'Halt.'

"They obeyed. The voice then told them to dismount, pick up a handful of pebbles, put the pebbles in their pockets and remount.

"The voice then said, 'You have done as I commanded. Tomorrow at sun-up you will be both glad and sorry.' Mystified, the horsemen rode on.

"When the sun rose, they reached into their pockets and found that a miracle had happened. The pebbles had been transformed into diamonds, rubies, and other precious stones. They remembered the warning. They were both glad and sorry; glad they had taken some, and sorry they had not taken more.

"And this is a story of education."

Best wishes for 1965–66.

Salute to the Federal Republic of Germany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, the 21st of September, today, marks the 16th anniversary of the Federal Republic of Germany. On this occasion we wish to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Ludwig Erhard, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, and to His Excellency Heinrich Knappstein, the German Ambassador to the United States.

This date markes 16 years of spectacular growth and political stability for this amazing country.

As Americans we can be doubly proud as we note the record of economic and political accomplishments achieved by the Federal Republic since World War II. The democratic character and political stability of our stanch ally in Bonn vindicate the faith postwar American planners placed in the future of West Germany. Beyond rewarding the policies of those Americans who rejected the brutal Soviet formula of exploitation and subjugation in favor of a revived and rejuvenated Germany, the manner in which the German miracle has been achieved represents a shining example of the successful application of the American system of federal democracy and free enterprise.

As we look back to the political environment of the new Federal Republic of 1949 it is difficult, in the light of the stability of German federalism today, for us to remember the uncertainties and fears that surrounded the application of the new Bonn constitution. At that time many felt that the division of powers, so successful in our own Constitution, would either collapse or lead to the paralysis of government in a nation with traditions of either state autonomy or highly centralized government. Some feared the possibility of political anarchy resulting from unrestrained elements of separatism in the states; others feared a return to the authoritarianism which blighted the German political landscape in the recent past.

Fortunately, both medieval separatism and modern authoritarianism have given way to German liberalism, a strain in German political thought which began to take root in the middle of the 19th century. The mixture of traditional German liberalism with American federalism has resulted in the smoothly

functioning democratic system so clearly evidenced by Sunday's elections.

The German economic program, which is so often referred to as the economic miracle of Europe, is closely related to the free enterprise system of the United States. Without foregoing the social responsibilities which have been rooted in German politicoeconomic practice since Bismarck, Germany has applied a minimum of governmental control in its spectacular rise from the rubble and ashes of World War II into one of the great economic powers of the world today. The economic miracle is a testimony to the initiative of the German people and the program of free enterprise coupled with social responsibility—another design which we share with our German neighbors.

These are grand achievements and no little source of encouragement in a world beset with political instability and economic crises.

The foreign policies—both economic and political—of the Federal Republic have been even more encouraging. A foremost leader in the economic and political integration of Europe, Germany continues to stand as a steadfast ally of the United States and stanch champion of the Western alliance.

Such are the remarkable accomplishments of the last 16 years. It is with great pleasure that I take this moment to salute the achievements of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Intentions and Consequences

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, following is the guest editorial which appeared in the August 19, 1965 issue of the American Banker, in which Mr. H. Frederick Hagemann, Jr., president of the State Street Bank & Trust Co., of Boston, analyzes the speech of Mr. William McChesney Martin, Jr., before Columbia University alumi last June:

INTENTIONS AND CONSEQUENCES

(A guest editorial by H. Frederick Hagemann Jr., president, State Street Bank & Trust Co., Boston)

Having known William McChesney Martin Jr., for more than 40 years, and having become aware that he usually has something to say when he makes a major speech, I obtained a copy of his June 1, 1965 speech and read and re-read it.

Particularly in times like the present, when we have so many articulate and extremely confident young economists, it is fortunate that Chairman Martin has spoken out courageously on how he currently feels about the economy. His ideas cannot be shoved aside lightly when you consider that he speaks with the accumulated experience, since graduating from Yale University in 1928, of having been a partner in a brokerage firm, the president of the New York Stock Exchange, an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, the Chairman of the Export-Import Bank, and now Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

The title of his talk given on June 1 was "Does Monetary History Repeat Itself?", and the theme of his talk was let's continually look at history in order not to make the same financial and monetary mistakes again. It is generally conceded that the excessive amounts of Federal Reserve bank credit and resulting easy money created the boom of the twenties that culminated in 1929.

As I have read and re-read Chairman Martin's speech, I feel he was trying to hammer home this theme, that excessive credit expansion can be a source of future trouble. Ever since he made this speech, the administration's economists and many college professors have been rebutting him, but the point remains that there is a marked difference of opinion regarding how much stimulation, how much credit expansion, how much easy money and how much gold drain an economy, even as big and strong as ours, can stand without getting into real trouble. This running debate between the conservative elements in the financial area and the liberal group reveals a sharp split in high circles.

We have a continuing balance-of-payments problem, and it would appear that Chairman Martin is seriously concerned with the fact that when other nations have a balance-of-payments problem, they are told to raise interest rates, to cut expenses, to increase taxes, to balance the budget, to stop financing government deficits through the central bank and, if necessary, to engage in a period of austerity. Yet, on the other hand, when we here in the United States have a balance-of-payments problem, we are hesitant and unenthusiastic about adopting these same measures.

It is this process over the years, of the Federal Government continuing to run budget deficits and the Federal Reserve banks continuing to put out increasing amounts of Federal Reserve bank credit at an accelerated pace, that concerns conservatives at home and undoubtedly concerns conservative financial interests around the world.

Conservatives are also concerned with the tendency on the part of the administration to turn continually to controls and more controls, no matter how voluntary they may be, instead of using the marketplace for solutions to problems. Price controls, wage controls and exchange controls have never been a solution, and have never worked over an extended period of time. Furthermore, controls are not in the line of American tradition. Mr. Martin indicated in his speech that the time might come when we would have to restrain the boom and slow down our growth to a more sustainable level in order to protect the dollar and solve our balance-of-payments problem.

The Federal Reserve System was organized in 1913 and 12 regional banks were set up at that time. Before the banks in New England would buy stock in the bank (become members), they had the assurance that they would have an annual stockholders meeting at which time they would be able to express their opinions and give consideration to what had been going on in their Federal Reserve bank. These meetings have been held annually since the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston opened for business in 1914.

At the last annual meeting the following resolution was unanimously passed by the stockholders assembled in formal meeting:

"Whereas the primary purpose of the Federal Reserve System is to use its authority to regulate credit and the money supply in order to keep a stable price level, help maintain a reasonably full use of resources and promote sustainable economic growth, and

"Whereas it was the intent of Congress that the Federal Reserve System should be independent with the general structure of the Government in order that it might exercise its best collective judgment and carry out monetary and credit policies in order to assure the integrity of our currency and sound economic progress, and

"Whereas bills recently introduced to the Congress eliminating the 12-man Open Market Committee, retiring Federal Reserve stock owned by commercial banks, making the term of the Chairman of the Board of Governors coterminous with that of the President, subjecting the Federal Reserve annual budget to the scrutiny of the General Accounting Office, and requiring the Federal Reserve to observe guidelines concerning monetary policy outlined by the President each year in his economic report to Congress, would, for all practical purpoes, make the Federal Reserve System a branch of the executive department of the Government by destroying its ability to arrive at independent decisions and take independent action: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the stockholders of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston feel strongly that the Federal Reserve System as presently constituted should be preserved and strengthened, to assure, as was originally intended by Congress, its independence and freedom from political pressures and other considerations; and that the Federal Reserve System should continue to exercise its independence in regulating credit and the money supply in order to assure the integrity of the dollar and sound economic growth."

At the hearings before the House Banking and Currency Committee in April of 1964, both William F. Kelly, president at that time of the American Bankers Association, and Dr. Charles E. Walker, executive vice president of the association, testified that it had consistently been the intention of Congress to keep the Federal Reserve Board independent within the Government and not subservient to the wishes of the executive branch.

Chairman Martin has the respect of central bankers all over the world, and his views are largely shared by most of them. In my opinion, if there were more people in the United States in high places who concurred with Chairman Martin, there would be more confidence in our financial management.

Clearly, the country is confronted with a choice between two markedly different viewpoints. The administration seems determined to maintain its policy of aggressive credit expansion and relatively easy money even under current economic conditions. Others feel that the policy should be changed to one of more restraint. The laws on the books are clear and the intention of Congress as revealed in the existing statutes is also clear—that it is the responsibility of the Federal Reserve Board to act when it feels that the economy is in danger of overheating and the integrity of our money is being threatened. The published minutes of the Federal Reserve Board's Open Market Committee revealed that a minority of the Board of Governors, including the Chairman, was far more restraint.

Over the years there have been continued differences of opinion between central banks and their governments, and the history of politically dominated central banks makes very sad reading. It was the intention of the framers of the Federal Reserve Act, and it has been the intention of Congress over the years, to protect the Federal Reserve banks and the Federal Reserve Board from political pressures and from bureaucratic whims.

Some people feel that the traditional role of the Federal Reserve banks was impaired by the great depression, but history reveals that it was the political pressures put on the Federal Reserve banks in the twenties to delay taking restraining action which permitted the boom to get out of hand. Furthermore, it was the political cooperation with England, beginning in 1925, to help stabilize the pound, which caused the Fed-

eral Reserve Board to lower the rediscount rate in 1927 when actually, in restrospect, it should have been raised. It was overoptimism and overexpansion of credit in the twenties that made the 1929 crash inevitable, and not the spirit of conservatism and restraint.

There are also those who feel that the traditional role of the Federal Reserve Board has been impaired by the change in economic thinking which stems from the theories of John Maynard Keynes; there are others, however, who feel that the theories of Lord Keynes are fallacious, and are nothing but a restatement of the fallacious theories of John Law. There are also those who feel that the ideas of Lord Keynes in regard to continued credit expansion are basically wrong. There are also those who feel that his ideas in regard to gold ignored economic history and the economic facts of life, for even though Lord Keynes and his followers felt that gold is only a syambol, there are those throughout the world, including many central banks, who prefer the gold symbol to the payer money symbol offered by the Keynesians.

One of the basic fallacies in Lord Keynes' theory was that he intended to divide all economic goods into goods for production and goods for consumption, and overlook the fact that there is a third class of goods which people like and respect and value because of their beauty, because of their usefulness, because of their incorruptibility, because of their indestructibility, and because of their long record of retaining value—gold, silver, precious stones and art treasures fall into this category.

There are some people who feel that the role of the Federal Reserve Board was completely changed by the enactment of the Employment Act of 1946. These people feel that this act gave the administration a mandate to use its power to keep unemployment low, prices reasonably steady, and to promote an adequate rate of economic growth. However, there are others who feel that this law was certainly intended to operate within the existing framework of financial legislation, including all Federal Reserve Bank legislation. The intent of Congress was certainly not to have the Federal Reserve Board delegate its responsibilities to the executive branch of the Government to have the party in power in a position to expand credit to provide full employment regardless of other conditions. Certainly Congress did not have in mind a continuous credit expansion to solve unemployment when higher wages and higher minimum wage laws make the solution more difficult.

Surely Congress did not want credit continually expanded in the face of rising prices and a continuing decline in the purchasing power of the dollar.

Some people feel that as a result of the employment act we have been left with two separate sets of officials with the same fiscal and monetary responsibility. I do not concur with this belief. While it is true that the Federal Reserve Board has power over the supply of credit and the structure of interest rates, and it is also true that the administration has the power to spend and tax and to finance debt, these powers should be exercised harmoniously. There is, and should be, a constant interchange of information between the administration and its officials and the Federal Reserve Board.

Over the years, there has been a conflict between Government administrations and central bankers on the subject of interest rates and the money supply. Secretaries of the Treasury prefer low interest rates to facilitate their financing of the mammoth Federal debt and, also, easy money is politically popular. On the other hand, the Federal Reserve Board is charged with the responsibility of maintaining a money supply level that encourages reasonable price stability and steady, sustainable economic growth. It is hard to see how the relationship between the administration and the Federal Reserve Board could be written into law to insure absolute harmony. But, over the years, Congress in its wisdom and considered judgment has not seen fit to make the Federal Reserve Board subservient to the Treasury or any other part of the executive branch of the Government.

In a basic conflict between the administration and the Federal Reserve Board in high financial policy, the Federal Reserve Board can advise the administration, can warn the administration of the dangers which it sees ahead, but finally, regardless of opposition, it must act as it sees fit in its performance of its duties as it understands them and as those duties are outlined by the Congress under existing legislation.

Thus, under the law, the Federal Reserve Board is free to restrain credit expansion and to allow interest rates to rise, even if this policy were contrary to that of the administration in power. To be sure, this kind of arrangement is not definite, but it is according to the intent of Congress, and it is in accordance with the best tradition over the years.

The original Federal Reserve Act gave this independence to the Federal Reserve because history revealed that in practically all cases political intervention in the field of money and central banking over hundreds of years has had unfortunate results. The conflict between politicians and central bankers the world over has been throughout the years centered on the fact that politicians have a tendency to want to make booms bigger and better and continuous, whereas central bankers have a tendency to put more emphasis on the integrity of the currency, feeling that only through the observance of fiscal and monetary discipline can genuine prosperity and sustainable growth be attained.

I am sure that the United States of America will be in far better shape, and the liberty of the people better preserved, if we have a Federal Reserve Board that is independent within the framework of the Government and which is not subject to the pressures of politicians and the whims of bureaucrats.

Will All Squares Please Stand Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, the Austinite, the Montclare-Leyden Herald, the Herald, Forest Leaves, and Oak Leaves, all community newspapers in the State of Illinois, carried on September 16 an article entitled "Will All Squares Please Stand Up" by Paul Harvey, ABC's news analyst.

Paul Harvey is the winner of many awards and honors including the 1965 American Legion Award, the 1962 Commentator of the Year Award, and the 1962 Man of the Year Award. He is a deeply patriotic man who loves his country, has high hopes for its future, and often expresses his opinions in his news broadcasts.

His article, dealing with squares, is both forthright and refreshing. It should be read by millions of Americans, especially the members of the new generation, who somehow feel that the "square" does not belong in our society. Religious leaders and educators should speak in the King's English and make it plain to these people that it is the courageous "square" who has protected the dignity of man and preserved the freedom that all freemen enjoy all over the world.

It is my privilege to insert Paul Harvey's article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article follows:

WILL ALL SQUARES PLEASE STAND UP

(By Paul Harvey)

"Square," another of the good old words, has gone the way of "love" and "modesty" and "patriotism."

Something to be snickered over or outright laughed at.

Why, it used to be that there was no higher compliment you could pay a man than to call him a "squareshooter."

The adman's promise of a "square deal" once was as binding as an oath on the Bible.

One of those admen, Charles Brower, says he's fed up with this beat generation distorting and corrupting our time-honored vocabulary.

Some of what I'm going to say next he said first, but I second the notion.

Today's square is a guy who volunteers when he doesn't have to.

He's a guy who gets his kicks from trying to do a job better than anyone else.

He's a boob who gets so lost in his work he has to be reminded to go home.

A square is a guy who doesn't want to stop at the bar and get all juiced up because he prefers to go to his own home, his own dinner table, and his own bed.

He hasn't learned to cut corners or goof off.

This creep we call a square gets all choked up when he hears children singing "My Country, 'tis of thee * * *"

He even believes in God—and says so—in public.

Some of the old squares were Nathan Hale, Patrick Henry, George Washington, Ben Franklin.

Some of the new squares are Glenn, Grissom, Shepard, Carpenter, Cooper, Schirra.

John Glenn says he gets a funny feeling down inside when he sees the flag go by. Says he's proud that he belonged to the Boy Scouts and the YMCA.

How square can you get?

A square is a guy who lives within his means whether the Jones do or not, and think his Uncle Sam should too.

He doesn't want to fly now and pay later.

A square is likely to save some of his own money for a rainy day, rather than count on using yours.

A square gets his books out of the library instead of the drugstore.

He tells his son it's more important to play fair than to win. Imagine.

A square is a guy who reads Scripture when nobody's watching, prays when nobody's listening.

A guy who things Christmas tree should be green and Christmas gifts should be handpicked.

And he wants to see America first—in everything.

He believes in honoring father and mother and "do unto others" and that kind of stuff.

He thinks he knows more than his teenager knows about car freedom and curfew.

Will all gooney birds answering this description please stand up? You misfits in this brave new age, you dismally disorganized, improperly apologetic ghosts of the past, stand up.

Stand up and be counted.

You squares—who turn the wheels and dig the fields and move mountains and put rivets in our dreams.

You squares—who dignify the human race.

You squares who hold the thankless world in place.

The 1966 Meeting of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, next March there will be held in Zurich, Switzerland, the 1966 meeting of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers Gas Turbine Division. This will be the first time that a division of an American professional engineering society has held its regular annual meeting abroad in cooperation with an overseas professional engineering organization, the Swiss Society of Engineers and Architects.

Under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include herewith a statement issued by the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, as follows:

The 1966 meeting of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers Gas Turbine Division in Zurich, Switzerland—a giant step forward in the interchange of world technology—will feature speakers of international reputation in the turbine field, according to Z. Stanley Stys, chairman of the meeting, and Robert A. Harmon, division chairman.

This unique meeting, which will bring together 500 American and 500 European engineers at Zurich, March 13–17, representing both private industry and Government, will also be highlighted by the largest international exhibition of gas turbine equipment shown to date, with 70 exhibitors from 8 countries, as well as a program of 75 technical papers and 4 technical symposia.

The meeting, to be held in Zurich's Congress Hall, marks the first time a division of an American professional engineering society has held its regular annual meeting abroad in cooperation with an overseas professional engineering organization, the Swiss Society of Engineers and Architects.

Featured speakers will be Herbert H. Hamilton, president of Chemical & Industrial/Girdler Corp., Cincinnati, Ohio, and Dr. Rudolph Sontheim, delegate (equivalent to executive vice president) of Brown Boveri & Co., Ltd., Baden, Switzerland.

Mr. Hamilton's company was the first in the United States to use the gas turbine for heat recovery and has pioneered in several new industrial uses of the turbine. His business activities are situated in many underdeveloped countries of the world. Dr. Sontheim, who has worked for the General Electric Co., in the United States, was previously with the Swiss national nuclear organization, Reaktor, A.G.

The ASME meeting will be conducted in the American style, specifically at the request of the cooperating Swiss group. All sessions will be in English and the meeting's format will conform to that established by the previous 10 annual ASME Gas Turbine Conferences in the United States.

"This meeting will encompass a worldwide spectrum of products, components, materials, and technical information vital to the gas turbine industry. Although the ASME is an an American professional society, it includes members, particularly in the Gas Turbine Division, from all over the world. We feel this meeting will provide an important opportunity for the generation of new ideas, the interchange of technology, and the exchange of views between engineers associated with the design, development, and application of gas turbines," Mr. Harmon said. "It is a giant step forward in sharing technology."

Mr. Stys said that from the roster of more than 70 technical papers already submitted, it appears that industrial and marine applications of the gas turbine will share top billing with papers on development trends and latest advances in the "state of the art." Among the latter group are several papers on the application of gas turbine cycles to aerospace systems.

The rapid rate of technological advancement in many parts of the world makes it imperative for engineering and manufacturing organizations to maintain the educational level of their staffs and their awareness of global activities on a continuing basis," Mr. Stys added. "The success of this meeting appears assured, owing to the quality of papers to be delivered and the professional caliber of those who will attend."

Inspection tours arranged by the ASME for conference participants before and after the Zurich meeting include visits to gas turbine plants in England, Switzerland, West Germany, France, Italy, Austria, and Spain. Manufacturers showing products at the exhibition held in conjunction with the Conference are based in Switzerland, West Germany, Great Britain, France, Sweden, Italy, Canada, and the United States.

Good News: No Strike in Steel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, all of us breathe easier now that the threat of the steel strike is safely past. The adverse ramifications to our economy were almost too great to be comprehended. The Houston Chronicle in an exceptional editorial remarked that:

The President is to be commended for his vigorous leadership and the union and management for reaching the compromise settlement.

The Chronicle's review is one of many similar opinions expressed by other newspapers of this Nation and I make it available in the RECORD:

[From the Houston (Tex.) Chronicle, Sept. 5, 1965]

GOOD NEWS: NO STRIKE IN STEEL

It is extremely good news that the threat of a steel strike has been ended with "essential agreement" between the industry and the United Steelworkers Union.

"The American Nation has won," said President Johnson of the agreement which was based upon suggestions he made after the negotiations had become deadlocked again. The Nation always wins when a strike that could cripple the economy, such as a strike of 350,000 steelworkers, is averted on terms that are economically sound.

The settlement upon which finishing touches are being placed conforms to that definition, we are assured. That is, the wage and fringe benefit increases are "within the wage-price guidelines" set by the President's Council of Economic Advisers to prevent inflation.

The President is to be commended for his vigorous leadership and the union and management for reaching the compromise settlement. The Nation can breathe more easily over the Labor Day weekend in the knowledge that a serious blow to the economy has been averted.

Let's Settle the Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, the problem of pornography is a serious one in our society. I think that every reasonable American shares my belief. But while the problem is easy to identify the solution to this problem is extremely complex.

I did not sponsor H.R. 7465 in order to set up a national censorship board. In my opinion the free expression of ideas, however bizarre these ideas may be, is a basic right which has been protected by the blood and treasure of generations of Americans. Yet, I reiterate that we do have a serious problem and it is one which merits serious study by competent and fair minded experts in many fields.

This week I read an excellent analysis of the problem of pornography. John R. Sullivan, the news editor of the Advocate, the official organ of the Archdiocese of Newark, N.J., has stated the problem very clearly and has presented an opinion which is shared by many millions of Americans.

There are some who are so horrified by the easy availability of unbridled filth that they would censor any work which mentions sex and would lower the reading level of American adults to the level of the 12 year old. There are others who are so appalled at the concept of censorship that they feel that they must allow any type of filth to flow freely through our society.

Somewhere in between these two poles of opinion there is a middle ground. This middle ground is what we are seeking. Thus, Mr. Sullivan's very well written article is worthy of the attention of all Members of this House. I might point out that I differ with Mr. Sullivan's view that my bill will die a slow death in the Education and Labor Committee.

Mr. Sullivan's article follows:

LET'S SETTLE THE ISSUE

(By John R. Sullivan)

Books are curious things. At the very time that educators and educated people decry their shrinking attraction to people, books are capable of getting more people madder than almost any other creation of man.

I'm talking now about current efforts to stem an increasingly high tide of pornography in the Nation—much of which originates right here in the Newark area.

And it is right here in the Newark archdiocese—and the rest of New Jersey—that much is being done to combat this trash which, as George Davis of Jersey City rightly said the other day, is costing the Nation "the degradation of both the young and the older."

But Davis himself—a man long committed to eliminating pornography—admitted that

much of the battle being raised is a negative battle.

He is quite right. It is also an inefficient battle. Too much time is being wasted bickering with the American Civil Liberties Union and the Right-to-Read groups and too little is being spent developing original approaches and making more effective the few existing methods.

Davis' remarks were made in Washington, where he testified in favor of a bill introduced by Representative DOMINICK DANIELS, of New Jersey.

DANIELS' bill, similar to several others which have died in committee, would establish a committee to study the impact and threat of pornography and suggest ways of coping with it. It is a laudable bill. It is one of the few sensible measures ever introduced. It is also likely to die just where its predecessors have died. Why?

One reason is the testimony presented for the bill, which is symptomatic of most approaches to legislation and the entire problem. The bill's backers chose to hold up examples of pornography to cite examples of how the pornographers market their wares, and say, "Isn't this awful—something should be done about it."

Of course it's awful. Why even the ACLU, which contends that nothing should be done about it, freely admits that. But to say "something should be done about it and DANIELS' bill is the nearest thing, so let's pass it" is foolish.

Why, then, should DANIELS' bill (H.R. 7465) be passed? There are many, but let's take two. It should be passed because it proposes to settle one objection the ACLU has to anti-pornography legislation—that there's "no scientific proof that pornography hurts anyone." Therefore, says the ACLU, there's no need for a law.

ACLU and Right-to-Read cite competent testimony to back up their contention. Citizens for Decent Literature and other groups also cite competent testimony that ACLU is wrong. Clearly, some unbiased agency should and could settle the issue.

DANIELS' bill should be passed because the committee might be able to come up with a constitutionally sound curb which would satisfy both the ACLU—which also fears that "censorship" might spill over into the areas of political and social thought—and the groups for which Davis testified.

The committee, after all, is there not to hear that something should be done—it's trying to do that—but to hear why DANIELS' bill—this particular something—should be passed.

A Right States Must Retain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked permission to insert in the RECORD an editorial of the Sioux Falls (S. Dak.) Argus Leader on the matter of States rights as eroded by the repeal of 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act:

A RIGHT STATES SHOULD RETAIN

The U.S. Senate is now engaged in a major debate about section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

This section is the one that permits States to make their own decisions about whether workers should be required to join a union as a condition of employment or not.

The proposal before the Senate is the repeal of provision allowing the States to make this determination. Already the House has approved to repeal. Current indications are that the Senate is closely divided.

South Dakota has enacted a law that gives the worker the right to work without being compelled to join the union. If Congress eliminates the Taft-Hartley provision, then presumably the South Dakota law would be held to be invalid.

Thus there are involved in the Washington debate two primary factors. One is whether or not workers should be required to join a union in order to work. The other is whether this is a determination to be made by a State or by the Federal Government.

Of late the Federal Government has been moving forward with vigor in reducing the sovereignity of the States. And one may well wonder about the value of this. Certainly our Government as a whole has gained much through the years due to the maintenance of certain States rights. And surely there is good reason to believe that the authority in respect to labor rights should be retained by the States.

Soviet Jewry and Human Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KEN W. DYAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. DYAL. Mr. Speaker, in Lafayette Park on Sunday, September 19, 1965, some 10,000 Jewish lay and rabbinic leaders throughout the country met to launch the weeklong National Eternal Light Vigil for Soviet Jewry who are being oppressed by that nation.

An interfaith group of leaders participated in the program with the idea of bringing the moral judgment of millions of people throughout the world to bear on oppression in the Soviet Union just prior to the High Holy Days of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.

Our colleague and newly named U.S. Representative on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, the Honorable JAMES ROOSEVELT, gave an address. With unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD at this point his important comments on this occasion:

SOVIET JEWRY AND HUMAN RIGHTS—AN AGENDA OF CONSCIENCE

It is a privilege to be here with you now, to share this moment of solemn vigil to secure the basic human rights of the Soviet Jewish community.

As you know, one of my main concerns, as U.S. Representative to the United Nations Economic and Social Council, will be the protection and enhancement of human rights. So I am here to tell you that it is my conviction, and that of our Government, that the problem of Soviet Jewry properly belongs on the agenda of the U.N.—whether it is at the Human Rights Commission, at the Subcommission for the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, or at the kind of special world investigative commission on human rights proposed some months ago by Ambassador Goldberg.

But while I strongly believe that this problem must concern the U.N., it does not belong exclusively there. It must be on the agenda of the world's conscience.

In my new post, I have been taking time to read the story of the United Nations and the writing of its charter in San Francisco. I recall that when the charter was framed, there was great controversy about a paragraph which prohibited the international body from intruding into the domestic affairs of the member nations. This safeguard had to be included; otherwise, sovereign nations would not have participated.

The inclusion of this paragraph does not mean that the United Nations Charter was drafted for the purpose of stilling the voices of protest against evil. Written as it was so soon after the destruction of the Jewish communities of Europe and the failure of the democratic nations to come to the rescue of those communities, the charter never intended that we should not take every possible measure to safeguard the survival of peoples wherever they might be exposed to danger.

I have no doubt that the distinguished delegates of the Soviet Union, whom I shall soon be meeting at the United Nations, will scoff at the words we say here today. For they will tell us there is evil in our own land. And they will point to bigotry. They may even feel free to speak of my own city of Los Angeles, which I represent in Congress. To this counteraccusation, we enter no denial. We know that we have much to do in America to bring our daily lives into conformity with the principles which we cherish and which are inscribed in the United Nations Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights. Our answer to our Soviet friends must be that we have to help each other to find the answers.

I think we must say very frankly that if there are wrongs in our own country—and there are—those who are aggrieved and injured are free to speak their protest, to unite with their fellows in the demand for rectification, in the appeal for justice.

But in the U.S.S.R., a large segment of popular sentiment (it cannot properly be called public opinion) is itself anti-Semitic, and that segment which opposes anti-Semitism can at best speak in muffled tones.

As for Soviet public institutions, the hard fact is that it is government policy itself which is the guilty party.

Thank God, Soviet policy leaves Jewish bodies intact. But Jewish souls are in the balance, and this is at the heart of our protest. For Soviet policy seeks to dry up the wellsprings of vitality and creativity that have immemorially marked the Jewish spirit. It intends to atomize the Jewish community, to estrange it from its past, to crush its identity—in short, to destroy every possibility of Jewish group survival.

As you may know, the Jews of the U.S.S.R. are officially considered not only a religious group but primarily a nationality which is a cultural and ethnic concept.

In Eastern Europe, scores of nationalities—be they majorities governing territories or minorities residing in the territory of others—have for centuries clung with natural pride to their national consciousness, their way of life, their memories, their language and literature.

The Soviet Union is ideologically committed and constitutionally structured to recognize the full right of every one of its 108 nationalities to perpetuate their identities and to maintain cultural, communal, and educational institutions toward that end. For though 50 percent of the Soviet population consists of Russian nationality, the remaining half is composed of 107 others whose group needs and aspirations cannot be denied, even by an authoritarian regime.

The importance of the concept of nationality in Soviet society cannot be overemphasized. One's nationality is one of the two or three decisive components of citizenship in the U.S.S.R. It largely determines the language one speaks, the literature and press one reads, the national history one associates with, the customs one grows up with, the national heroes one cherishes and emulates.

One's nationality is thus of profound psychological, as well as cultural and political, significance.

It might almost be said that nationality defines the man, as well as the citizen—for it molds his mind and heart and soul, and gives him a heritage of which he can be justly proud.

The real meaning of the Soviet Jewish tragedy inheres precisely in this: That Soviet Jews are the only nationality deprived of all the rights and institutions by which they might live their lives as a self-respecting and respected group.

Try to imagine what it means to be a Jew in the U.S.S.R. You are uniquely discriminated against—and you know it, and your non-Jewish neighbors know it. It means that in your singular humilitation, you are deprived of pride and self-respect.

It is now quarter of a century since any Jewish school has existed in the U.S.S.R., where a Jewish child might learn something of Jewish language, literature, and history. It is now a quarter of a century, in which a whole generation of Soviet Jewish youth is confronted with a past that is a blank, and a future that is empty.

To force this great community to become a dead end of history is to show inequitous contempt for human rights, to perpetrate a moral crime, a historic tragedy.

It is all too easy to shunt aside those who are voiceless and helpless. We must rise to their defense. We must give the world no surcease—until the world, and especially the U.S.S.R., pays attention.

Lest you fear that all these public protests are in vain, let me assure you that we have fresh, significant evidence that your efforts are most effective indeed. For just 2 weeks ago today, Pravda, the major newspaper of the Soviet Union, published a front-page editorial which did three things:

1. It implicitly but unmistakably conceded the existence of anti-Semitism in the U.S.S.R.

2. It proceeded to condemn anti-Semitism roundly.

3. It explained, in effect, that it did so because the existence of this problem is hurting the image of the Soviet Union abroad.

This striking evidence of Soviet sensitivity should encourage us to continue and intensify our protests.

We must do all in our power to save a great community from cultural annihilation.

The Real Alabama—Part LXI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the wealth of Alabama's mineral resources is probably one of the most noteworthy untold stories of the State.

Though Alabama's mineral wealth has been known to be significant in the past, perhaps the State's greatest development in this resource is yet to come.

A summary of this picture is presented in the following material taken from the Birmingham News of August 22, 1965:

Fortunes lie beneath the surface of Alabama's rich earth. There yet remains vast potential for the enterprising. Mineral resources in great abundance are the practically inexhaustible foundation for many Alabama industries.

Presently conducted explorations almost certainly assure an even broader base.

The volume of limestone, for example, is described by State Geologist P. E. LaMoreaux as "almost beyond calculation."

Limestone in crushed form is used as an aggregate for railroad and highway foundations, a source for fertilizers and other byproducts. This has been a vital asset in Alabama's burgeoning highway construction program and the State leads the Southeast as a producer of cement, turns out enough each year to pave 13,500 miles of four-lane highways.

Sand and gravel, workhorses of the construction industry, are taken in huge quantities mostly along the State's great rivers.

Similarly, there is a super-abundance of clay and shale, the important raw materials for brick, tile, ceramics, and refractories. Some of the clays have unusual physical properties when fired. Some will bloat and can be converted to lightweight aggregates. Still others make excellent fire brick and still another type lends itself to building brick.

In east central Alabama, explorations are being made into extensive copper deposits. Some of the Nation's leading mining companies have leased thousands of acres in several counties and are continuing exploratory work.

Mica is mined on a small scale, is used by the roofing and tire industry. There are large reserves of "scrap" mica deposits in the State.

The State holds fairly large deposits of tin and gold, but neither is being mined presently. There is doubt that gold will be mined in commercial quantities unless there is an increase in the price of the metal. Tin deposits have not been developed because of foreign competition and controlled market conditions.

Dolomite is rising in importance, is being mined in Shelby County and sent to Selma where Alabama Metallurgical Corp. extracts magnesium for manufacture into spaceage metals.

THE FERROUS METALS

It's more than a short lope between hammering out early 19th-century horseshoes and pouring a heat of steel after an hour's cooking.

That, bracketing more than a century and a half, is inception and present of the metals industry in Alabama.

Alabama iron was first used to shoe the horses of Gen. Andrew Jackson and the men when they came to the relief of Indian-threatened settlers in the early 1800's. A few years later, pig iron manufacture began in Alabama.

Alabama's first furnace to use coke was built at Oxmoor, on the outskirts of Birmingham, in 1876.

Today, the Birmingham district is the South's iron and steel center. Kindred plants operate at Gadsden, Anniston, and Tuscaloosa.

For years the red ore from Birmingham's Red Mountain formed the basis for the district's iron and steel industry. Now, most of the ore used in the area's iron and steelmaking furnaces comes from South America.

Successful pelleting of low-grade taconite iron ores in Minnesota in the past year, some experts believe, must inevitably come to Alabama. Many engineers think that Alabama's low iron centered ores are more susceptible to concentration than are the taconites of the Mesabi Range.

Manufacture of steel in Alabama dates back to 1888. Construction of open hearth furnaces followed the successful manufacture of steel from Alabama iron by the Carnegie Co. A blooming mill was started at Ensley in 1898 and the first cast of Alabama steel was poured on Thanksgiving Day, 1899.

In 1905, Republic Iron & Steel and Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co., consolidated and United States Steel acquired TCI 2 years later. Since that time, United States Steel has poured hundreds of millions into Alabama.

At its major installations in Gadsden, Republic Steel is operating two large open hearth furnaces and the South's two largest electric furnaces, has a third method underway.

By next fall, construction on a basic oxygen furnace is scheduled for completion, first of its type in the entire South. This will cut production of a heat of steel to less than an hour.

Steelmaking capacity of United States Steel, the South's No. 1 producer, Republic and specialty producers now rates in excess of 5½ million tons annually.

Alabama is also considered the pipemaking center of the Nation. Normally, pipe plants in Birmingham, Anniston, Gadsden and Tuscaloosa produce 50 percent of the Nation's pipe supply.

From the State's iron and steel industry has sprung a broad steel fabricating business, producing steel plates and shapes, cut and fit from drawings and patterns. Castings of iron, steel, and nonferrous metals are manufactured by dozens of foundries.

Metal manufacturers first settled in Alabama because all the basic ingredients for steelmaking existed within a narrow area. Today, the ever-broadening metals complex remains one of the State's major payroll producers.

New Banking Legislation Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, since the Justice Department brought antitrust suits against the merger plans of six banks recently, the need became apparent for new legislation to untangle the problems of the banking fraternity.

In order to try to fill this void, I have introduced H.R. 11015 which will seek to free from doubt all those banks who merged prior to the 1963 decision of the Supreme Court. In my opinion, this decision of the Court almost completely wiped out the Bank Merger Act of 1960.

Under the provisions of the bill I have introduced, we will restore the original intent of the Bank Merger Act, but at the same time strengthen its standards and procedures.

Perhaps the main problem here lies in the question of the uniqueness of a bank. In my opinion, it was never the intent of Congress for the Supreme Court to apply sections of antitrust legislation to banks. I maintain that banks are unique in this sense. The criteria for measuring the public interest involved in bank mergers should be tailored to the public interest involved in banking—and should be different from those applicable to business generally.

The Wall Street Journal recently carried an editorial which was in agreement with my stand. I would like to present this article for the benefit of my colleagues.

The editorial follows:

THE MEASURE OF DIFFERENCE

Why should banks be treated differently from other types of business concerns?

In essence, that's the question posed by opponents of a bill that would limit the Justice Department's ability to overturn banking mergers; they claim the Department should have the same power over such mergers that it does over others. Their question, however, seems to us to be easy to answer: Banks should be treated differently because they are different.

That fact ought to be obvious; it has been recognized by laws of the States and the Nation ever since banking became a business of some importance to the country's economic well-being. By now bankers are surrounded by a tangle of legal rules which not only provide close control of mergers by Federal and State banking agencies but also impose restraints that no legislator would think of applying to the average businessman.

Though governmental agencies are taking an ever-widening interest in private business activities, for example, no agency has yet suggested that it should take a look at the character and finances of a fellow who wants to set up, say, a shoe store.

If the shoe store fails, it's a sad day mainly for the owner and his clerks. A bank's failure, on the other hand, would damage not only its owners and employees but quite possibly its depositors, borrowers and anyone else who had any dealings with the institution. More than that, one bank failure can, and often has, weakened public confidence in other banks in its area.

The difference between banks and other types of institutions, in other words, is measured largely by the degree of public interest.

Consideration of the public's interest has done much to shape the legislative approach to banking competition. In the business world generally, the freest possible competition is clearly to be desired. In banking, however, a total absence of restraints on competition could allow an eager institution to overexpand, to make shaky loans and otherwise compete itself right out of business. Such a bank could damage the public interest in an attempt to serve it.

The need, in the banking industry, for a somewhat different approach to competition was in the minds of Congress when it passed the Bank Merger Act of 1960. The committee reports indicate that the legislators intended to leave decisions on banking mergers to the Federal banking agencies: The Federal Reserve Board, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and the Comptroller of the Currency.

In making such decisions, the agencies are required to consider the possible adverse effects on competition. But they are also compelled to ponder the financial condition of the banks, their earnings prospects, the character of their management and, certainly not least, the convenience and needs of the community to be served.

Any merger, of course, reduces the number of banks by one. Yet at the same time it may save a weak bank from insolvency or, by creating a larger and more versatile institution, provide banking services badly needed by a fast-growing community. As committee reports noted in 1960, a merger sometimes can be in the public interest even if it "would result in a substantial lessening of competition."

Soon after the Bank Merger Act went on the books, however, the Justice Department began attacking a number of bank mergers in the courts solely on the basis of competition, and on a pretty restricted view of competition at that. Since the courts have backed the Department, banks now may have a merger approved by a Federal bank agency and, possibly years later, have it thrown out by the courts. It is this situation that the pending legislation would straighten out.

In the first place, the bill would wipe out the past 5 years of confusion: It would validate all mergers approved up to now by the banking agencies, whether they've been challenged by the Justice Department or not. After all, banks entered such transactions in the belief that Congress meant what it said in 1960.

After approval of any future bank merger, the Department would have 30 days to challenge it in the courts; during that period and any resulting litigation, the merger could not be consummated. Though there's more than a little question whether the Department should have that much power, it would at least end completely the threat of any future effort to unscramble a merged bank.

As opponents of the proposed bill have argued, such unscrambling can be handled. But it can't be handled without a great deal of confusion and inconvenience for the bank's customers—in other words, without damaging the public.

The pending legislation, in sum, would be a modest first step toward more clarity in bank regulation. If Congress bothers to measure the Nation's interest in a sound banking system, it's hard to see how it could do anything very different from that.

Dr. Bernard Bienvenu Welcomes USL Freshman at Recent Assembly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, last week, colleges and universities all across America were opening their doors to hundreds of thousands of young men and women upon whose advanced education and learning this Nation's future depends so heavily.

In many if not all of these institutions of higher learning, freshmen students went through orientation programs designed to give them direction and purpose in their college life. It was a time during which wise and experienced educators and administrators had an opportunity to impress upon these young minds some of the profound meanings which they should seek out in their studies of the history, are, science, and philosophy of mankind.

One such educator charged with the responsibility of setting forth to these students the lofty and noble goals which they should seek was a gentleman from my hometown of St. Martinville, La., Dr. Leonard Bienvenu. The wisdom of Dr. Bienvenu's remarks to the freshmen class of the University of Southwestern Louisiana in my congressional district merits the attention of the House, and excerpts from his address follow:

DR. BERNARD BIENVENU WELCOMES USL FRESHMEN AT RECENT ASSEMBLY

"College is not soley a place for learning specific subject matter," Dr. Bienvenu told the freshman. "True, this is one of its major purposes. But it is also an opportunity to grow up emotionally and mentally * * * to learn and attempt to master the art of self discipline.

"I challenge you to become truly absorbed in this great adventure which is yours for the asking * * * one in which the richness of rewards is determined to a great degree by the effort that you decide to put forth.

"Learn at the beginning to set goals for yourselves. Set them at the point which will tax to the N'th degree all of the abilities that you possess.

"Learn the necessity of setting aside specific hours for study in order to reach the objective that you have established. Learn to have a good time * * * to participate in the great fun of college life. Learn to look around you to see the beauty of this world. Open your eyes to discover the goodness and greatness of man.

"Learn to open your hearts and to love all of mankind. Learn to respect. Yes * * * to revere the great dignity that is man.

Learn, as the great French philosopher Montaigne once said, 'That all knowledge is hurtful to him who has not the science of goodness."

"Learn that if the time you spend at Southwestern is to really be a significant adventure, you must give to the university, to its faculty, its administration, its students, and its purposes the very best of your talents.

"Those of you who have the gift of humor, let this gift blossom forth. Those of you who have the ability to lead, learn to lead with a sincerity of purpose and for the greater good of the university and humanity.

"To those who participate in sports, bring honor to yourself and to the university by playing always to win and by playing fair and square.

"To you present in this audience who have the mentality necessary for above average scholastic achievement, remember it is your responsibility to yourselves, to this university and to society to excel.

"To most of us who are simply followers, let us follow with wisdom and prudence. Let us remember that a leader can go nowhere without support of the followers and that it is we who determine who and by whom we will be led and in what direction we will go.

"Last, but not least, learn to have faith * * * faith in yourselves * * * faith in your fellow student * * * faith in this university * * * faith in, your country and faith in God."

Betsy, New Orleans, and L.B.J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE D. WAGGONNER, JR.

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's on-the-scene survey of the terrible damage wreaked upon the State of Louisiana while Hurricane Betsy still lingered in the State, was the subject of an editorial of appreciation which appeared in the Shreveport Times of September 14.

Although I have personally expressed my thanks to the President and on another occasion spoken of it here on the floor, I would like the RECORD to include also this excellent editorial to show the appreciation we of Louisiana have for this unselfish show of leadership by the President.

The editorial follows:

BETSY, NEW ORLEANS, AND L.B.J.

There is little that is orthodox about hurricanes when it comes to the directions they may travel and Betsy was, perhaps, the least orthodox in many, many years. It headed originally for the Carolina coast and apparently without expectation of epoch-making damage when it hit. Then it suddenly stood still for awhile in the Atlantic Ocean as if

unable to decide what to do. The decision, eventually, was to head for the gulf coast in the New Orleans area where Betsy became the most devastating tragedy to hit that city in its entire history.

More than 50 are known dead in New Orleans alone. More than 300 square blocks of that city have been devastated by wind and water. There is no way to estimate damage accurately but it seems certain to run beyond the billion dollar mark. The death toll in the general south Louisiana and Orleans area may run double or triple or quadruple the number of bodies already found in New Orleans itself.

No one can find words to express the horror, the tragedy for people hit so suddenly, so unexpectedly, by such a monster. Nor is it possible to find words to express the sympathy which those elsewhere hold for the stricken. Here in our local area our grief and our sadness for the people of the largest city in the State is great, indeed.

It goes without saying that Governor McKeithen, Mayor Schiro, of New Orleans, and innumerable individuals and agencies reserve the greatest credit for their efforts to lessen the effects of the tragedy and to protect as many as possible from its devastation. Of course, mistakes were made. Communications failed in the city itself when Betsy's full fury first hit and it became impossible to conduct an effective and orderly defense against the devastating attack. But everyone worked heroically, nobly, and as effectively as could be possible.

Especial thanks goes to President Lyndon B. Johnson for his quick trip to New Orleans late Friday when the hurricane still was dealing out death and disaster throughout the Crescent City area. The President left Washington so hurriedly, when the magnitude of the disaster came to his knowledge, that newspapermen accompanying him were not able even to grab raincoats.

Mr. Johnson personally, by his presence in New Orleans, could not lessen the toll of death or the volume of destruction. But he symbolized the leadership that is needed at such time. During disaster people always turn to their leaders—they turn, searching for leaders. In this instance, even as they turned, they found the President of the United States at their side, walking through the streets, talking to people, trying to find water for some, shelter for others, food for still others. His presence, the prestige of his office and his person, raised morale and hope for many.

The true material value of Mr. Johnson's visit to the stricken area lay in the fact that he was able, from his firsthand and eyewitness knowledge of the situation, to issue orders right and left that cut redtape in Washington and released every type of aid that the Federal Government could supply. He not only had dropped all Government and personal business in the White House to go to New Orleans, but he ordered all agencies which deal in any way with disaster relief to drop everything on hand and turn their full strength to the Louisiana city and its surrounding area.

These are things which the people of Louisiana will not forget.

Hon. Eugene Zuckert

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, for over a quarter of a century it has been a pleasure for me to have known Eugene Zuckert, the Secretary of the Air Force.

Many fine articles have been in the RECORD relative to his excellent service to this great Nation of ours throughout his career. I wish to concur in everything that has been said relative to him.

He has always been most kind and considerate of all official requests that I have had from time to time from our constituents in Tennessee.

As he retires as Secretary of the Air Force on the 30th of September, he can look back upon his career in the Air Force with the satisfaction of knowing that he has done an excellent job.

All of us in the Eighth Congressional District of Tennessee wish for him the best of everything in the years to come.

The Fate of the Supersonic Transport and America's Leadership in Aviation Lies With the Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, in December 1959, a study group was formed within the Federal Aviation Agency to examine the technical, economic, and operational aspects of commercial supersonic transport development.

Since that time, the Congress has voted funds for research and development of this aircraft of the future and President Johnson has given this project his unqualified endorsement.

If the United States is to compete effectively in large-volume, fast-speed air transport in the seventies, it must lay the groundwork today.

It must carry through on its research and development. It must make its decision as to the experimental plane to be built. And, it must proceed with production at the earliest possible moment.

The Independent Offices Subcommittee on Appropriations, of which I am a member, is considering the matter of additional funds to continue development of this aircraft which will reach speeds of 2,000 miles per hour.

In this connection, Mr. Rudy Abramson, Washington correspondent of the Nashville Tennessean, wrote an article for the Tennessean September 5, 1965, exploring the ramifications and significance of the supersonic transport development.

Under unanimous consent I include this article in the Appendix of the RECORD, believing it to be of widespread interest throughout the United States.

The article follows:

FATE OF SUPERSONIC PLANE WITHIN WINGS OF CONGRESS

(By Rudy Abramson)

WASHINGTON.—Faster than a speeding bullet, able to leap big oceans in less than 3 hours.

This sounds like a job for Superman.

However, in this case, a 250-ton supersonic passenger plane may get the call in years to come.

Its future now lies in the hands of Congress.

A House subcommittee is expected to recommend a $140 million appropriation this week to continue the development of the large airliner, which would whisk passengers from continent to continent at 2,000 miles an hour.

The supplemental appropriation requested by President Johnson will advance the United States' proposed supersonic transport to a point where a decision can be made to build a flying prototype.

Representative JOE L. EVINS is acting chairman of the independent offices subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, which is considering the appropriation.

Though EVANS does his own long-distance traveling by train, he is strongly in favor of the plane.

He has asked the subcommittee for a long-range commitment to the program. "We can't go uphill and downhill from year to year," he said. "If the United States is going to maintain its world leadership in aviation, we have to give sustained and substantial support to these development programs."

If such Government support is forthcoming, in 10 years Americans will be able to zip from Washington to Paris in less than 3 hours, to Rome in a little more than 3 hours.

Designers are working to develop a plane whose safety and passenger comfort features will equal or surpass those of present day jetliners.

TESTS AT AEDC

Much of the testing during the next few years on the SST is expected to be done at Tullahoma's Arnold Engineering Development Center. This will probably include aerodynamic tests on scale models as well as tests of engines under simulated operating conditions.

With the Government paying 75 percent of the bill, Lockheed Aircraft and the Boeing Co. are now working on airframe designs while General Electric and Pratt-Whitney are developing engines.

The current phase of development goes through 1966. At that time an advisory committee headed by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara will decide whether to go into the next stage of development, and how it will be pursued.

CHEAPER IN LONG RUN

Probably, one airframe and one engine will be selected and a prototype plane built for testing. Some engineers feel, however, that it would be cheaper in the long run, and assure a better airplane, if two prototypes are built and tested.

Boeing is working on a movable wing concept similar to that of the Air Force's F-111, the TFX.

The wings would be extended for supersonic flight on approach and departure from airports, then swept back along the fuselage as the gigantic plane hurtles through the sound barrier and on its way at an altitude of 60,000 to 75,000 feet.

WING DESIGN

Lockheed's model has a Delta wing design.

Because of military implications much of the work will be classified. This is particularly true of the engine development.

During the development, designers are closely watching flight tests of the Air Force's XB-70. Two prototypes of the experimental bomber, the world's biggest and fastest plane, are now flying. For years, the Air Force has tried to get approval to put such a plane into production to replace the aging B-52, but it has been unable to get approval from McNamara.

Now it appears that some other plane will eventually replace the B-52, and that the major contribution of the XB-70 will be as a "flying test bed" for the supersonic transport.

FAA HUB

In all, 3 dozen companies and half a dozen Government agencies have been involved in the SST development to date. The hub of the program is the Federal Aviation Agency.

The thin line between military and civilian interests in the program is the main source of objection to the SST development.

Senator VANCE HARTKE, Democrat, of Indiana, reportedly plans to question the $140 million SST appropriation in the Senate because he feels the FAA is becoming militarized. He was against the appointment of Air Force Maj. Gen. William F. McKee as FAA administrator, and now he is upset because Brig. Gen. Jewell C. Maxwell is to replace Gordon Bain as deputy administrator for supersonic transport development.

PRESTIGE IN BALANCE

But any delay in the SST program will probably be monetary, because U.S. prestige rides with development of the plane.

Unless the United States goes ahead with the SST, domestic airlines will probably be forced to buy the supersonic Concorde being developed by Britain and France.

The 1,450-mile-per-hour Concorde is due to be ready for service in 1971 while the present schedule would have a U.S. SST flying by 1974.

THREE-YEAR LAG

Because the U.S. plane will be faster and carry 220 to 250 passengers as opposed to 118 to 132 for the Concorde, informed sources believe the 3-year lag will not be too damaging.

However, if the U.S. development program falls much further behind the Concorde schedule, airlines would be more or less forced to buy the Concorde to compete. The United States would stand to lose many millions on the export market as well as at home.

Up to now U.S. and foreign airlines have deposited $9.6 million in advance payments for supersonic transports.

U.S. RESERVATIONS

At the rate of $100,000 per plane, domestic airlines have reserved 44 delivery positions and foreign lines have reserved 52. The U.S. reservations so far are:

American Airlines, 6; Braniff Airways, 2; Delta Airlines, 3; Northwest Airlines, 4; Pan American, 15; Panagra, 2; and Trans World Airlines, 10.

The FAA estimates that in the 1980's there will be a market for more than 400 U.S. supersonic transports. These planes, the FAA says, should be carrying some 45 percent of all the free world's revenue passenger miles.

MORE THAN DOUBLE

This market could more than double in the 1990's.

With a demand for 400 planes, the industry would have a market in excess of $10 billion.

Manufacturers estimate 60 percent of this would be spread among 10,000 subcontractors and allied firms in 46 States, providing jobs for 50,000 persons for 20 years.

The aircraft industry estimates the cost of developing this plane for production will be $1 billion.

STAGGERING COST

Despite this enormous development expense and a staggering cost for each production aircraft, one of the goals of the program is to fly passengers at supersonic speed for the same price they now pay to creep along at 600 miles per hour.

This was one of the major reasons the United States is shooting for a plane with a capacity of 220 or more passengers.

To be sure, there is opposition.

FOOLHARDY VENTURE?

Dr. Bo Lundberg, chief of Sweden's Aeronautical Research Institute, an airplane designer, and one of the most respected figures in aviation, considers the SST an unnecessary, if not foolhardy, venture.

He insists the sonic boom associated with supersonic flight will create havoc beneath the routes of the supersonics. What's more, he says, door-to-door travel time will not be reduced substantially because ground transportation has not kept up with air transportation, and jetports will have to be located at greater and greater distances from cities.

Passengers who ride the SST will sacrifice comfort, Lundberg says, because much of their flight time will be spent belted into seats while the plane climbs to or descends from its cruising altitude. And more time will be spent sitting in the aircraft on the ground as it prepares for take-off.

SST OUTDATED?

Some visionaries say the SST will be outdated before it ever realizes the potential forecast by its proponents.

This school of thought suggests that 20 years from now, rocket-boosted passenger vehicles will hurl travelers across the seas at near orbital velocities, making cities on opposite sides of the earth less than an hour apart.

But each new generation of commercial air transports has descended from military parentage. And today the military has no active program, which would logically produce this speedy type of civilian travel.

The Dominican Crisis and Its Impact on Hemispheric Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. DOW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, yesterday 52 Members opposed House Resolution 560 stating the sense of the House of Representatives as to U.S. relations in Latin America.

I was among those who opposed the resolution. Since yesterday I have read the following statement published in a newsletter called "Latin American," July 1965, by a department of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America. Had Members read this statement before the vote, I believe that more of them would have voted in opposition to the resolution.

The newsletter follows:

THE DOMINICAN CRISIS AND ITS IMPACT ON HEMISPHERIC RELATIONS

(NOTE.—The Latin America Department, Division of Overseas Ministries, NCCUSA, received on May 26, 1965, the following document signed by four Latin American church leaders.)

We, the undersigned, represent institutions and movements of the evangelical community of Latin America. We play a vital part in these movements—representing churches of the most diverse tradition—whose common goal has been to incarnate and spread the gospel of Jesus Christ in the countries of Latin America throughout the various stages of its history. These are churches which originated in Europe or the United States and have become today a part of our reality, constituting the heart of the nature, the sentiments, the problems and aspirations of the Latin American people. In this double character—as part of the Evangelical Church which recognizes its continuity in time and space with the Universal Church, and as institutions solidly identified with the destiny of Latin America—we believe it is our urgent duty to make the following declaration about the grave events taking place in the Dominican Republic which affects every sphere of opinion in Latin America today.

I

Nothing could posibly explain Christian indifference and silence—a silence of complicity—confronted as we are with events which are daily causing destruction, death, and terror in a sister nation. And yet it would be an act of irresponsibility on our part if we were to aline ourselves with this elemental human problem without analyzing the political, economic, and military elements constituting the root of the situation. This is the aim which has brought us to an analysis of the facts and to a manifestation of our concern.

II

Information coming from various groups leads to little doubt as to the factors provoking the present crisis in the Dominican Republic. The closest point of departure would be the overthrow of President Juan Bosch, who headed the first constitutional government to be established after the long and dismal reign of the dictator, Trujillo. From that day in September 1963, until the unleashing of present events, the country returned to a military regime imposed by a junta which justified its rise against Bosch with a program based on an organized struggle against communism. The junta obtained U.S. Government recognition very soon after President Johnson took office. On April 24, 1965, a new military movement which seemed to have popular support succeeded in overthrowing the junta and was close to resuming power in the name of the constitutional mandate which is in force until 1967. When the struggle appeared almost resolved, the North American Marine Infantry stepped in, initially alleging protection of U.S. citizens and other foreigners in Santo Domingo. Because of the irrefutable evidence of their acts they had to admit later that the purpose of the intervention was to control the revolution due to a supposed participation of Communist elements. During those days, dispatches of every international news service stated that the North American soldiers were taking over for the weakened forces of the offical Dominican army and were presenting the final obstacle to the victory of the rebel faction. The Dominican Congress gave its support to the revolution, naming Col. Francisco Camaano constitutional President of the country until the expiration of the lawful term. The North American intervention imposed a momentary truce, with the rebel forces confined to the central zone in Santo Domingo. The opposing faction took advantage of the calm to establish a civilian and military junta to reclaim legal power. The Organization of American States (OAS), which was later to approve North American intervention, decided to mediate and to form a multilateral army with the decisive vote of the Dominican representative who was receiving his instructions from the civilian and military junta. In view of the failure of OAS actions, the U.N. Security Council resolved to intervene directly. Repeated violations of the truce were committed by the civilian and military junta with the obvious support of the North American occupation forces. The rebel government announced its decision to fight to the end and to set the entire city of Santo Domingo on fire should North American intervention continue. A 24-hour truce was agreed upon, and news releases reported more than 1,500 casualties; the city without water or electricity; scarcity of food; the wounded lying on the ground or in hospital beds by twos; surgery being performed without sterilization of in-

struments; and a procession of 20 women dressed in mourning who offered to place themselves in the front lines to force an end to the shooting.

III

This objective description of the events in the Dominican Republic forces one to reflect with great depth on the significance of U.S. intervention in the struggles of internal politics of Latin America. The present situation corroborates, with slight variation, the actual history of hemispheric relations. The United States has intervened, sometimes in the name of the Monroe Doctrine (the continental defense against aggression); at other times for the protection of vested interests (goods or the personal integrity of North American citizens, so called dollar diplomacy); and finally, at other times under the banner of anticommunism, pan-Americanism, or the preservation of democracy. These military interventions by the United States in Latin America, in the Caribbean and Central American countries, have been taking place since 1824 when the double focus was Cuba and Puerto Rico, up to this current demonstration of power, 140 years later, in the Dominican Republic. Mexico, Honduras, Nicaragua, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Colombia, Chile, Panama, and the Dominican Republic have been, on repeated occasions, subject to intervention in 1853, 1854, 1857, 1858, 1860, 1871, 1881, 1885, 1901, 1903, 1904, 1912, 1919, 1926, 1934, 1954, 1961, 1962, and now, in 1965. These interventions are carefully recorded in the histories written in every part of America. These result from a doctrinaire conviction expressed in the theories of North American military intervention of such men as Monroe, Theodore Roosevelt, John Foster Dulles, and President Johnson. In all cases they reflect U.S. abrogation of the right of Latin American countries to modify the course of events and internal politics in accord with their own interests. On the occasion of the Pan American Conference in 1829 which was called by Simon Bolivar in Panama, this U.S. attitude brought forth a bitter sentence from the father of Spanish American independence: "The United States appears to have been chosen by Providence to devastate Latin America with misery in the name of liberty." This sentence remains in the minds of the Latin American people and events throughout history do not permit it to be forgotten.

IV

What have been the causes and effects of U.S. intervention for Latin America? At different times the government and politicians of the country in the north have expressed openly their intention to protect goods and vested interests—the system of life and economic affairs of North American citizens—in any situation which might endanger them. Frequently, this resolution has been exercised by the United States unilaterally, and also, we must note, frequently with the compliance of the Latin American governments involved. It has often been legitimatized through treaties and at other times by force of action. The recent invasion of the Dominican Republic constitutes a violation by the United States of the nonintervention and self-determination accord established by the very Organization of American States which punished the Dominican Republic in 1960 under the dictatorship of Trujillo and from which Cuba was expelled in 1961. The North American Government is explicitly aware of the illegality of its action. And, even if a large majority of the governments of Latin America have acquiesced in support of the procedures of the United States, the consequences to the relations between the people of Latin America and North America have nevertheless been devastating. More and more the possibility of understanding, communication, and fruitful dialog appears to recede. More and more the ill will and resentment of the masses in Latin America against the people of North America is exacerbating. More and more the probability of a peaceful and sensible solution of the grave problems affecting the social development of Latin America seems to fade away. Instead the increase of hostility, ill will, and disillusionment of the Latin American people has reduced the hope of arriving at a real and necessary understanding between both peoples in the immediate future.

V

Due to this situation, Latin America cannot but trust in its own forces to bring to realization its hopes for modernization and progress. But within each nation there are other obstacles, and in every case, the moral and material support of the United States is given to the forces opposing progress and committed to the maintenance of the historically indefensible "status quo." The remaining alternatives confronting the vast popular sectors urgently demanding profound structural reforms in the economic and social systems are of a socialistic and nationalistic tendency, which contradicts the North American way of life. The latest events in the Dominican Republic and in other nations in Latin America corroborate the inevitability of such an option. What then, is the hope for the future? How is there to be involvement toward the reestablishment—or should we say, a genuine establishment—of fraternal relations between the peoples of the South and North, and in short, among all peoples?

VI

It is the belief of the signers of this document that the specific contribution which we, as Christians, must make in this decisive moment is the difficult one of a ministry of reconciliation. From the humane and political points of view nothing seems as inappropriate at this time as an emphasis on reconciliation. But it is exactly at these tensest moments in history when God demands this particular mission from Christians. Who else is able to speak of reconciliation at this hour but He who reconciled the world to Himself through the sacrifice of the cross? From what other source can the basis for real and permanent understanding between men be found but in the "good news" which announces God's will to make himself man in Jesus Christ to better express his love and concern for man? But true reconciliation can only be realized upon the foundations of repentance, humility, responsibility and forgiveness. The concrete task which is demanded of Christians in every part of America in this hour is to speak the hard word of truth. We must point out our own guilt and the guilt of our governments in the events in the Dominican Republic. We must assume as much as possible our social, political and in short, historical responsibility, in order to contribute in a positive way to the overcoming of the conditions which oppose the humanization of man in Latin and North America. This is the concrete significance which the ministry of reconciliation assumes in this hour. We do not doubt that the task is heavy and difficult. Only through this thorny path did God offer in Jesus Christ the most difficult, sacrificial and also the most glorious reconciliation.

For the Latin American Board of Church and Society:

Rev. LUIS E. ODELL,
General Secretary.

For the Latin American Union of Evangelical Youth:

Rev. OSCAR BOLIOLI,
Executive Secretary.

For the Student Christian Movement:

Dr. LEONARDO FRANCO,
Secretary for Latin America.

For the Commission on Latin American Evangelical Unity:

Rev. EMILIO CASTRO,
Coordinator.

All Is Not So Good in the Great Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the American people have been so dazzled by the barrage of White House press releases and the almost continuous soap opera appearances of the President on TV extolling his personal greatness and the blessings he has bestowed upon what he hopes is a grateful people, that the actual cost of his many schemes has been practically ignored.

But surely there must come a day of reckoning for the wild spending this subservient Congress has engaged in at the demands of the President. Like the drunk who inevitably suffers the morning-after headache after a wild night of orgy, the day must come when we must face up to the mess of the Great Society instead of realizing the utopian dreams cooked up by White House speech writers.

The tragedy will be, not only in the cost in money, which may well bankrupt us as a Nation, but in the human misery which will be caused by the failures of the programs which have been oversold and over-promised in the mad scramble for votes.

Every American may well join Stewart Alsop in his recent column in the Saturday Evening Post, and the Wall Street Journal of September 21 in its editorial in asking the question—"Where Are We Going"?

I include the editorial from the Wall Street Journal as a part of these remarks in the hope that Congress and the American people may stop to think about where we may be going by way of the Great Society before it is too late and there will be no place to go, but down.

The editorial follows:

WHERE WE ARE GOING

Where do we go from here?—or rather, where does the administration go? Stewart Alsop raises the question in the Saturday Evening Post, and it is eminently worth asking.

The point, of course, is that the present session of Congress will have seen the enactment of so much "Great Society" legislation that it is a little difficult to envisage bold new programs for 1966. Medicare and a flock of other measures once considered hotly debatable may prove hard to top.

For our part, we have confidence in officialdom's inventiveness when it comes to spending schemes or, as someone has put it, in creating nonexistent problems to solve. In fact, some of the President's advisers are already at work trying to devise a dazzling legislative display for next year.

Persuading the country of the urgency of spectacular new Federal undertakings may be a different matter, especially after this year's orgy. As it is, there are scattered signs of public restiveness and doubts, a feeling that the President and Congress are attempting to do too much too fast.

One ground for doubt pertains to the efficacy of the programs. The costly antipoverty effort is both a political gravy-train and a bureaucratic horror, but it is far from clear that it is doing much for the poor. Many reasons exist for suspecting that medi-

care will actually aggravate conditions, such as shortages of personnel and accommodations, in the medical field.

As for new departures, a lot of thought is apparently being given to urban renewal, with the idea of developing something that would seem like a fresh approach or a more ambitious expansion. Here indeed is a demonstrated failure. We refer not only to the human misery involved in autocratic dispossession but also to the fact that a metropolis like New York City continues to deteriorate after all the years of urban renewal and all the spending.

Mr. Alsop perceptively states a major part of the trouble: The cities "are rotting at the core essentially because the middle-class whites are moving out and the poor Negroes from the South are moving in, thus eroding the tax base. Only a very rough and tough dictatorship could really reverse this process."

That pessimistic observation applies, we fear, to a number of the ills our society is still heir to. It is possible and proper to provide charity, whether from the public or the private purse. The Government could if it wanted (maybe it will) simply hand out a specified annual income to all those deemed poor or disadvantaged. But no such device by itself can cure the ailments of inadequate motivation, ability or adjustment which are always present in every human community.

The most egalitarian-minded society in the world, in other words, cannot manufacture complete economic and social equality. Nor, on philosophical grounds, should a free society and a free-enterprise society have that kind of goal. What it can do, and what the United States has done so outstandingly, is offer economic and social opportunity.

If money alone is not the answer, then it is conceivable that people will grow somewhat concerned at the cost of programs that are largely ineffective. Nothing could be more certain than that the ones already enacted will grow hugely in cost over the years, and the same is true of whatever new brainstorms are proposed next year. The Nation is entitled to know whether, in terms of social and economic advance, it is getting anything remotely like its money's worth.

In the circumstances, the most useful thing the administrators and lawmakers could do would be to pause and reflect on what they have done, to review the whole range of Federal activities to determine what should be dispensed with and what should be revised. We naturally do not expect any such result; common sense and common prudence have too little to say in the councils of Government these days, and 1966 is after all an election year.

The improbability of calm assessment does not, however, remove from the officials the responsibility for their actions. At the rate we are going, where we are going is a destination most Americans might well find frightening.

Tribute to the Late J. Frank Dobie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, last week marked the first anniversary of the passing of the late J. Frank Dobie.

Like all Texans, I will always cherish the rich cultural and intellectual heritage bequeathed to us by this great man—writer, rancher, scholar, soldier, educator, folklorist, philosopher.

J. Frank Dobie was all of these, yet he was greater than the sum total of all of them. Trying to capture with mere words the measure of a man's intellectuality, compassion, honesty and courage is not an easy task.

Yet I believe it has been done admirably in an ode written by my long-time friend, Fort Worth composer and author Serge Saxe, a man who knew Dobie well.

Serge Saxe's touching poetic tribute was published first in the Fort Worth Star-Telegram only a few days after Dobie's death on September 18, 1964. It also is included in Mr. Saxe's new book, "Universal Pursuit—The Creative World of Serge Saxe." Because the poem conveys so magnificently the warmth and humanity of this great Texan, I herewith include it in the RECORD:

ODE TO THE MEMORY OF J. FRANK DOBIE

(By Serge Saxe)

Compassion, valor and a glowing heart,
Never to shrink from conscience-pledged decision
Was rooted plummet-deep, not to depart
An inch from his domain of mind and vision.
Wisdom and knowledge, sparkling wit and hope,
And close to nature's mystery and meaning.
Yet from the Nueces River did his scope
Develop into universal regions
Of golden wings of love and cheer for legions.

Vast were the spheres of his exploring mind
But vaster still the range of his humanity—
His tales and yarns were legends of a kind
That brought to life the past from its captivity,
That conjured blessings of a sun long set—
Of Western skies and years not vanished yet.
Mustangs and Longhorns, San Jacinto corn—
The living and the free, downtrodden and forlorn,
They all are players, jubilant and torn.

Oh meteoric light that is no more,
A seer's radiant eye is closed whose beam
Reflected sunlight on the ocean's shore.
His manly grace and laughter but a dream—
A Texan in England, who was Cambridge's pride,
He loved his native State, proclaimed its lore.
His was a "pardlike spirit beautiful and swift"—
As Shelley, whom he loved, was able to uplift
His soul in darkened days and make it soar.

What then, we ask ourselves in desolation,
Is such life's meaning?—Pondering its flame
It burns, undying—although dead. It came
From dawn in Live Oak County to illume the Nation
In wholesome warmth and deep awareness of her land,
Of man and beast and every dweller's pride—
And freedom's spirit high, unfettered, like a ride
Of all the creatures, tameless and unbowed—
It spurns the prison of the mind and loud
Resounds the fanfare of the future, promising and proud.

New Hampshire: Pioneer in Social and Financial Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to tell the Members of this House about some gambling dollars which, unlike so many others, are not going to support organized crime. I refer to the moneys wagered in New Hampshire's parimutuels and State lottery.

Last year, the parimutuel turnover in New Hampshire came to $105 million, contributing $7 million to New Hampshire in revenue. The New Hampshire lottery brought in a total of $5.7 million in 1964. These gross receipts produced a profit of $2.8 million last year. New Hampshire's common sense is making New Hampshire's gambling proclivities produce public rather than mob revenues.

New Hampshire's profits accruing from sane and realistic gambling policies are being spent on New Hampshire schools. Like the many nations throughout the world who use lottery profits for schools, hospitals, orphanages and the like, New Hampshire has realized that the best way to deal with the ineradicable human gambling urge is to regulate it and channel its revenues into public coffers. The State of New Hampshire, instead of being a partner with the Federal Government in keeping gambling illegal and thus a checkbook of crime, has chosen to be a pioneer in progress—a pioneer in the forward-looking social and financial policy of making gambling revenues work for the people.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the example of the lottery of the State of New Hampshire to my fellow Members of this House. It is living, working proof that the lottery device can make gambling profits work for good rather than evil ends. I commend the example of New Hampshire to our many States, where illegal gambling of great magnitude is often bankrolling the many facets of organized crime, and I commend New Hampshire's example to the Federal Government as well, because a national lottery would be both a painless, large-scale revenue earner and a sword with which to cut away the financial resources of the crime syndicates. The United States ought to profit from the example of New Hampshire by establishing a national lottery as soon as possible.

Migrant Labor: World Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I draw the attention of my colleagues to an excellent article which appeared in today's issue of the Christian Science Monitor on the editorial page, entitled "Migrant Labor: World Issue." The Monitor states the problem as follows:

MIGRANT LABOR: WORLD ISSUE

It is increasingly difficult to say just how much control, if any, there should be on the migration of labor from one country to another where there are jobs and better pay. The United States is aware of the dilemma—

forcefully because of the heartache of the bracero problem, and currently because of the new restrictions on the movement of Canadian applepickers into New England. But it is an issue that is raising its head everywhere.

There is at the moment some strain in Italian-Swiss relations because the Swiss are putting a brake on immigration from Italy. Of Switzerland's total labor force of 2½ million, about half a million are Italian. In the recent avalanche at Mattmark, the majority of those killed were Italian workers. If ever there is an accident in Belgium's coal mines, the outside world is sadly reminded that many doing the toughest jobs in that land are immigrants from southern Europe.

West Germany has a huge southern European labor force—in addition to the refugee population it has almost miraculously absorbed from the eastern territories forfeit after the war. France has its north Africans. Britain has its near-million of colored immigrants from Commonwealth lands in the Caribbean and Asia. And believe it or not, Japan—often disrespectfully labeled by the West as the land of cheap labor—is stirred by controversy over whether cheaper labor still should be imported from South Korea.

Of course workers would not leave their homelands for alien surroundings by the thousands if they did not find things better abroad than at home. If host countries are prepared to receive them, why should they be discouraged from going?

Indeed, the latest addition to the labor-exporting countries of Europe—Turkey—sees the movement of Turkish workers to northern Europe, and the consequent earnings of foreign currencies, as one of the main channels by which to improve its balance-of-payments position. Such has been the flow of Turkish workers northwestward that Turkish Airlines has instituted a special service to Frankfurt and Brussels.

But the kind of vacancies into which the Turks are moving—and moving willingly—must give one pause. It is a harsh fact that most immigrant workers arriving in large numbers take up jobs that native workers are only too willing to abandon to others as either too dirty or too menial.

In northern Europe, those Spaniards, Italians, and Greeks who arrived first and have had above-average success are now moving upward on the social and economic ladder. The whole queue then moves ahead—and the empty places at the end are being filled by Turks impatient to get them.

This whole movement can be justified by pointing to the law of supply and demand—and to the economic advantages which it doubtless brings to thousands trapped before in grinding poverty. Their initiative in seeking escape from it is to be applauded. But just as their eagerness for work and opportunity must not be cruelly exploited, so must the host countries give increasing thought to the social and moral problems involved. Migrant laborers should never be allowed to be just the slave class of the 20th century.

The Plague of Pornography

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I have often pointed out to my colleagues the need for legislation which would curtail the ever-expanding business in pornography. As the author of H.R. 980, a bill to provide for the return of obscene mail matter, I have attempted to fulfill that need. H.R. 980 passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 360 to 21 on April 5, 1965. Since that time, however, it has been awaiting action by the other body. There is increasing recognition on the part of the public that new laws in this area are required. A recent poll taken by Christian Herald magazine revealed that 95 percent of those answering felt there should be additional legislation to control pornography. By unanimous consent I include the article containing that poll report in the August 1965 issue:

THE POLL REPORT—THE PLAGUE OF PORNOGRAPHY

Christian Herald's pornography and censorship poll indicates a rising tide of indignation in America, a determination that something has to be done. Exactly what this something is, no one is sure.

The 7,000 readers balloting are overwhelmingly more concerned about the evils of pornography than they are about the problems of censorship. Ninety-five percent of them felt there should be additional legislation to restrict pornography; 3 percent felt there should not be additional legislation; 2 percent wanted no legislation at all on the subject.

As to the Government level which should do the legislating, 16 percent favored national legislation; 13 percent local; 11 percent State; 77 percent felt legislation was required at all levels. Only 3 percent wished no legislation at any level.[1]

In response to the question as to who should determine whether a book, magazine, piece of art, play, or motion picture is pornographic, 62 percent favored the decision being made by a board of censors; 42 percent by the clergy; 28 percent by the individual himself; 26 percent by the courts.[1]

Letters and comments from readers helped to throw light upon their attitudes.

From Ohio: "Legislation should be national, because indecent literature is mailed all across the United States from several sources and books are also distributed nationally. I don't see how it could be controlled locally, although individual vendors could control their stocks. The board of censors should be a representative group from different walks of life—parents, teachers, writers, artists, businessmen, young people, etc."

From another reader: "We hasten to pass laws to prevent one doing physical harm, even to prevent the purchase of such minor items as glue, BB shot, caps and sparklers. A schoolteacher can't read the Bible or lead her class in prayers—yet she can tell them to read books that are objectionable. The acts of people are usually the result of what they read and see. If laws will help keep the minds of our youth on a higher level, let's have them."

From a woman: "If we put filth in a neighbor's front yard we can be held responsible."

From Ohio: "Our country seems to be obsessed with the idea that freedom and liberty include the right to destroy oneself and others. I do not see anything wrong with wise censorship. The Bible has many thou shalt nots."

From Washington: "Some of our judges have bent so far backward in extending the freedoms granted by the first amendment that it isn't freedom any more. It is tyranny of the few over the many. Why not use the Bible as a directive in deciding what is obscene and what is not? Let us stop this nonsense about not knowing decency from indecency, good from bad, clean from dirty."

From Massachusetts: "I believe most movies with the exception of Walt Disney productions are at least suggestive. I would like to see Disney receive national recognition". Numbers of other readers paid particular tribute to Disney films.

From Montana: "If a strong law were made to ban the sale of names and addresses from company to company, it would keep a great deal of vile literature from coming through the mails to our young folk. I do not permit my children to send for anything that may bring this on."

From Ohio: "In answer to writers who emphasize filth in their work for the sake of supposed 'realism,' my college teacher of creative writing used to say: 'Of course, evil is a part of life; we can write about it. The sewage system of a city is also part of that city, but how many tourists are invited to go underground to view its works?' "

From Connecticut: "Many might say the story of King David in the Bible should be banned. In my humble opinion it is a model for writers. While it tells what David did, there is no detailed account of what happened. The story is told to show that David, a sinner, when faced with his sin truly repented, accepted his punishment and remained faithful to God. This is character development of a high order. Any writer who dwells on scenes of brutality, sex or vulgarity simply to sell a book will never find it on the shelf with the classics."

From Washington: "Some of these questions were hard to decide, especially the third one. Really, the ministers should have a part, but some I know around here seem to support dirty plays and literature. Our high school a couple of years ago put on the play, 'Death of a Salesman,' and the parents complained to the school and asked them to ban the play because they didn't want their children in it. The school board called an open meeting and one of the ministers got up and said it was a wonderful play and he was for it."

From Pennsylvania: "Most certainly the quality of a book or film should not be determined by the clergy, when one minister distributed and read from his pulpit the book 'Candy.' "

From Iowa: "Legislation would deal with the problem effectively—but maybe not the way I would like it. Yet I want to protect my children and grandchildren."

Some readers, on the other hand, raised questions regarding the advisability or practicability of legal restrictions.

From Mason City, Iowa: "I am 16 years old, a high school sophomore and an almost straight-A student. I agree with the majority of people that pornography is rapidly becoming a major problem in America. I do not, however, believe that legislation is the answer. If the Government controlled this type of literature some kind of board or agency would undoubtedly be established to determine what is pornographic and what is not. This board would have the inherent power to infringe upon the first amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which prohibits Congress from abridging the freedoms of speech and press. In addition, this small board would attempt to control the views of almost 200 million Americans, and this cannot be done. What one person considers obscene and pornographic is by no means the same as what another person considers so. The war to defeat pornography must rest on the shoulders of the people. If a large enough storm of public disapproval were raised, publication of this type of literature would cease. Another effective deterrent to the sale is not buying it and boycotting stores which sell it. If the public will not take the trouble to stand up and fight things

[1] Results add to more than 100 percent because some readers checked more than one option.

it considers wrong, it deserves whatever happens, including the rapid decline of morals which the public itself is causing."

From a college student in Michigan: "Except for those under 18, the decision must be left to the individual. I have the capacity to distinguish between art and garbage and I want the right to do so."

Another reader in Michigan: "What is harmful for one person to see may be just distasteful to someone else. Every person should be able to choose his reading material off the newsstand and drugstore shelf. The biggest job falls back on the parents. We have got to instill a set of morals that will withstand some of these forces and we must cultivate a taste for good reading by having and reading good books ourselves."

Other readers also suggested ways of dealing with the problem, within the home and community.

A pastor in Texas: "This very morning I visited the local newspaper with other ministers in the first step of a local attack on pornography, especially where movies are concerned. Our visit was not especially fruitful, but they did agree to study the possibility of a weekly classification column."

From New York: "If a book is offensive, I do not have to read it. If a television show is in poor taste, that is why I have a switch on my set."

From Massachusetts: "Children whose natural curiosity of their own biology has been satisfied by frank discussion in their homes, find smut boring."

A Kansas reader: "As a retail merchant, I destroyed a great many paperbacks that came for the book and magazine racks," and from Iowa: "I worked in a drugstore that sold magazines. It was my job to check these in. There were plenty of those that we wouldn't put out for the public."

From Ohio: "In our community the local mothers clubs have united and with the cooperation of the dealers are removing pornographic magazines from the shelves."

In the Christian Herald poll, readers were also asked: "Did you ever read a book or see a motion picture you thought should be banned What was the title?" The wide range of book, motion picture, and television series titles named points up the dilemma which has faced courts and law enforcement agencies as well as church bodies: What are the guidelines for deciding what is objectionable? And what, particularly, are the guidelines for dealing with material which falls in the wide gray area between black and white? "Hardcore pornography" is fairly easy to identify; it exists for no reason but to cater to what the courts call "prurient interests." The dictionary defines "prurient" as "lascivious in thought or desire; exciting to lasciviousness." Even so, that excitability threshold is lower in some individuals than in others. Also, the age of the individual would be regarded by most persons as a factor.

Among books or motion pictures which poll participants felt should be banned, certain titles turned up with considerable frequency. The surprising thing is that some were named at all.

The authors thus named included Shakespeare, Walter Scott and Edgar Allan Poe. Motion pictures included "Ben Hur"; "A Bell for Adano"; "Becket"; "Gone With the Wind"; television shows, "The Man From U.N.C.L.E."; "Alfred Hitchcock Presents"; "Ben Casey"; "Mr. Novak"; "The Doctors"; Red Skelton and Ed Sullivan. Books included "Magnificent Obsession," "Mountain Doctor," "To Kill a Mockingbird," and the magazines Saturday Evening Post, McCall's, Red book, and Reader's Digest. Obviously anything may be objectionable to someone.

From Minnesota, in response to that question, "Did you ever read a book or see a motion picture you thought should be banned?" came a comment, "Who hasn't, in this age? We rarely get to see a movie that is good and clean and so we watch TV, and sometimes feel like setting it out in the alley."

There is a sorry realization that there is too much truth in the announced move of a Paris smut publisher to New York because "there isn't any censorship in America. The courts have cleared things up. You can publish anything in the United States. France is square. America has outgrown its prudish past."

But have we outgrown our sense of common decency? Not quite. At the same time New York State's movie censorship law was ruled null and void by the State court of appeals, Governor Rockefeller was signing a carefully worded antipornography bill which, he hoped, would "meet every constitutional test imposed by the courts." The bill makes it a crime knowingly to purvey pornography to children under the age of 17. Previous bills were struck down by the courts because the definition of pornography was ambiguous. This one tries to be perfectly clear: "any picture, photograph, drawing, sculpture, motion picture film * * * or similarly visual representation or image of a person or a portion of the human body which depicts nudity, sexual conduct, or sado-masochistic abuse * * * or contains * * * explicit and detailed verbal descriptions or narrative accounts * * * which, taken as a whole, is harmful to minors." That's a start, at least.

We'll get laws as good as we want them to be—and demand that they be. Control, even censorship, is nothing new to this country. A reader from Illinois put it this way: "While censorship and evaluation is essentially an individual matter and one's taste and private selections are not, properly, ever to be dictated and prescribed, we have reached a point where public protection is needed and which may be equated to the pure food and drug laws."

Certainly even under our form of government—and especially under it, for it allows us to be concerned about each other—if a plague struck we would do something about it. Restrictions would be accepted without quibbling.

Ninety-five percent of those responding to this Christian Herald poll say that a plague has struck. They say that pornography is a present-day plague, to be battled and vanquished at any cost.

That, we submit, should give every publisher, every motion picture producer, every writer, every lawmaker, some long, very long, thoughts.

Home Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues two more articles in the Washington Post series on home rule in the District of Columbia, written by Elsie Carper.

This series, entitled "A Government for Washington" has, in my opinion, contributed significantly to the public's understanding of the issues involved.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 18, 1965]

A GOVERNMENT FOR WASHINGTON—IV—MAYOR, COUNCIL WOULD DIRECT CITY

(By Elsie Carper)

Who's in charge?

The District resident trying to obtain a school or playground for his area has nowhere to turn under the present District government.

Responsibility is diffuse.

The District citizen can appeal to the Board of Education or to the Recreation Board. He can write a letter to the Commissioners. He may seek a hearing on Capitol Hill.

But there is no one to whom he can say: "Look, I helped put you into office."

The Senate-approved home rule bill, now scheduled to come up in the House on September 27, centers responsibility for local government in an elected mayor and 19-member city council.

MOVES CITY HALL

It moves city hall from Capitol Hill to the District Building. The man to see about a school or a playground is the mayor or your councilman.

The city would be divided into 14 wards with one councilman elected from each ward. Five other councilmen would be elected citywide with at least 2 of the 5 from the political party out of power.

The bill establishes a strong mayor and council form of government similar to those in most of the Nation's big cities.

Every city in the United States with a population of more than 800,000 has such an elected mayor plan.

The mayor is given an administrative aid, called a city administrator. Provision for this aid is strongly favored by the National League of Cities.

LEADERSHIP COMBINATION

The trend in big cities is to provide the mayor with an executive assistant trained in city management. The combination provides political leadership with executive know how.

The aid frees the mayor for policymaking and political functions and for ceremonial duties.

The 19-member council gives the city both ward and citywide representation, balancing neighborhood interests with those of the city at large.

Drafters of the bill feel the wards are too big to be parochial yet small enough to guarantee that isolated areas of the city will not be forgotten.

Residents of the far Northeast and Southeast, cut off from the rest of the city by the Anacostia River, have complained that they are the stepchildren of the present government. They will have their own councilmen.

Patrick Healy, executive director of the National League of Cities, calls the bill "a good charter for the city of Washington."

MAYOR'S TWO FUNCTIONS

It places responsibility on those who are accountable to the citizens at election time.

The mayor is given two crucial functions:

(1) He prepares the budget and the public works program for consideration by the council, and (2) he has the authority to control the city's top management.

"Experience has shown in other cities that the best government results when responsibility for all administration is centralized in a chief executive," Healy points out.

"The executive who manages a growing, changing urban government must have authority over personnel on whom he depends to get his work done."

A merit system for local government employees will continue in force.

The ward system also assures both white and Negro representation on the council in a predominantly Negro city.

The District will have a government similar to that of Philadelphia, where councilmen are elected both by wards and citywide with minority party representation guaranteed.

In Washington, registered Democrats outnumber Republicans by about 4 to 1. With-

out the guarantee, Democrats now would sweep all of the citywide seats.

No party would be allowed to nominate more than three candidates for the at-large seats. Since five are elected, two are bound to be Republican or independent.

Council meetings would be held once a week except in the summer when they would be held every 2 weeks. Any citizen would have the right to petition the council and be heard.

Under the bill, the council would act on spending for the schools, and the public works program. It would legislate in all local matters but it cannot enact bills affecting the Federal interest or tax Federal property.

The mayor could veto acts of the council but the council could override the veto by a two-thirds vote.

The President, though, would have an absolute veto and Congress could at any time repeal or modify any act of the council.

Still the council's job would be broader than most city councils. It would exercise the duties of a State legislature in such areas as enacting criminal and commercial codes, and insurance, banking, corporation, and probate laws.

The mayor would have duties that usually fall to a Governor.

The mayor himself would be paid $27,500 a year (the Commissioners' President gets $27,000 now) with a $2,500 a year expense account. The councilmen would receive $9,000 yearly with the chairman they elect getting $10,000 a year.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Sept. 20, 1965]

A GOVERNMENT FOR WASHINGTON—HOME RULE WOULDN'T NULLIFY HATCH SAFEGUARD

(By Elsie Carper)

Twenty-six years ago Congress enacted a law to build a wall around the Federal worker to protect him from political pressures.

That law said he could not take part in political campaigns.

But the law, the Hatch Act, also recognized that local government is weakened if many of the prospective voters can't participate.

As later amended, the act gave the Civil Service Commission authority to "de-Hatch" Federal employees for municipal and county elections. Specified were the suburbs outside Washington and any place where a majority of voters worked for the Federal Government.

At the time, self-government for the Nation's Capital was not an issue and nothing was said about it.

The Senate-passed home rule bill, now scheduled to come up in the House on September 27, would lift the ban against participation by Federal employees in city elections. In Washington about one-third of the eligible voters work for the Government. Home rule advocates regard the de-Hatching provision as a vital part of the bill.

BIBLE'S ARGUMENT

Senate District Committee Chairman ALAN BIBLE, Democrat, of Nevada, argued during Senate debate on the bill:

"Congress cannot grant home rule to 800,000 people in the city of Washington and by the same stroke of the pen sterilize 260,000 of the city's most capable individuals who would be of great assistance in their participation in local governmental activities."

The bill would let Federal workers manage election campaigns here and run for city office. Government employees still would be prohibited from taking an active part in presidential campaigns.

If the bill is enacted, Washington would elect a mayor, a 19-member city council, and a delegate to Congress in partisan political contests and, at the same time, a 14-member school board would be elected without regard to party affiliation.

Federal employees would be able to speak at political meetings, distribute campaign literature, participate in parades and rallies, and circulate nominating petitions.

Persons named to Government jobs by the President would be excluded from holding city office. But anyone from a GS-1 to a GS-18 could be a candidate if his boss approves.

It would be up to the department or agency heads to decide if an employee could hold down both his regular job and a part-time position as a city councilman or school board member. The mayor and delegate jobs would be full time.

PROTECTIONS REMAIN

Some Congressmen, like Representative ANCHER NELSEN, Republican, of Minnesota, have felt the de-Hatching provision of the bill its most troublesome part.

But a key point to the de-Hatching is that the wall still stands.

All the protections against patronage and arm twisting for political contributions remain in force.

An employee now can't collect funds from his fellow workers or subordinates, nor would he be allowed to under home rule. He could not promise anyone a better job or discriminate against an underling for political reasons. He could not use his government position for any political purposes, like threatening to hold back relief checks until a welfare recipient promised his vote.

Penalties for violations would still range from dismissal and fines to jail sentences.

Civil Service has used its discretionary authority to "de-Hatch" workers for local campaigns in 40 political jurisdictions in Maryland and in Virginia.

Elsewhere in the country, Federal workers have been allowed to go into politics in cities in the State of Washington, Arizona, California, Georgia, and Tennessee.

Civil Service, though, has said Federal workers can actively campaign or run only as independents.

The result has been the formation of third parties such as those in the Washington area, "Arlingtonians for a Better County" and Nonpartisans for a Better Montgomery County." Federal workers make up the nucleus of both these splinter parties.

RULING CHALLENGED

The Civil Service ruling requiring Federal employees to run as independents is now being challenged in the courts by Montgomery County Democrats as discriminatory.

The home rule bill would allow Federal workers to campaign and run as Democrats or Republicans.

In the Hatch Act, itself, Congress granted the same exemption to employees of the Alaska Railroad living in municipalities along the line.

The Senate approved partisan elections for the Capital by a vote of 57 to 37. Senator BIBLE said experience in other cities has shown that partisan elections bring out more voters than nonpartisan ones.

Commenting before BIBLE's committee, John Gunther, executive director of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, said:

"The pretense of nonpartisanship often weakens the executive in relation to the political machinery of his State and the Nation.

"It would seem particularly appropriate that in a strong mayor-council system that partisan elections would be desirable. In such a system the mayor needs to be a political leader and particularly here in the District of Columbia in many matters the mayor would be dealing directly with State Governors and nonpartisanship is not a characteristic of Governors."

Machine Technology and People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. OLSEN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, 2 years ago a report of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service concluded that—

The principal problem of staffing EDP (electronic data processing) systems is in the area of programers.

Moreover, we stated:

The sources of supply are insufficient to the needs, and new and improved sources should be developed.

Our report was House Report No. 858, dated October 16, 1963, and titled, "Use of Electronic Data Processing Equipment in the Federal Government."

The Wall Street Journal of September 21, 1965, in an article by Burt Alimansky, estimates a shortage of 25,000 people in this critical skill. This indicates to me, Mr. Speaker, that this problem is far from solved and suggests the need for additional hearings into electronic data processing by our Subcommittee on Census and Statistics.

The article follows:

LACK OF PROGRAMERS HITS COMPUTER USERS—TRAINING IS STEPPED UP—SHORTAGE, ESTIMATED AT 25,000, PROMPTS MAKERS AND SCHOOLS TO INCREASE THEIR COURSES

(By Burt Alimansky)

"Wanted: Computer programers. Male or female. Will train. No experience necessary. College education not required."

An easy job to fill? It would seem so, but it isn't. In fact, the shortage of computer programers is becoming so acute in this era of mounting computer sales that it is preventing many users from employing their computers to maximum advantage, according to Carl H. Reynolds, director of programing systems development for International Business Machines Corp.

To meet the rising demand for programers, industry is broadening its training efforts and an increasing number of high schools and colleges are adding programing courses to the curricula. Even so, the supply is lagging far behind the demand. "Companies want programers so badly," says one educator, "they'll take anyone with a little bit of knowledge." The current corps of 100,000 programers is about 25,000 fewer than needed to efficiently handle the Nation's 23,000 computers, companies say.

Programing is vital to the use of a computer. A programer first analyzes what the user wants the computer to do, determines what steps the computer must take to achieve these goals and then translates these into a language—the program—that is understood by the computer and that is used to perform the chores.

A 400-MAN-YEAR PROJECT

It is no quick and easy job. Indeed, it sometimes takes longer to program a computer than to build one. One of the largest commercial computer systems, for example, a reservations-processing unit built by IBM for American Airlines, took 400 man-years to program.

The shortage of programers could be a threat to future sales of computers, which currently are growing 15 to 20 percent yearly.

To ease this threat, many of the computer-makers are setting up programer-training techniques for themselves and their customers.

National Cash Register Co. says its method enables inexperienced people to learn to program its new series of small business computers. NCR provides vocational ampitude tests that help customers choose which employees should take the training, consisting of 60 hours of instruction on tapes that can be used in the office or at home.

IBM says it plans to distribute 90,000 instructional kits to customers this year and expects to increase by 15 percent from 1964 its teaching of programing to its employees and those of its customers. IBM has about 3,500 programers at present, and the number is rising sharply each year. "Yet, for me, getting programers is a nightmare. I'd need about half again as many as I have now to begin doing all the things our people dream up," says Mr. Reynolds.

CAUSE OF DROPOUTS?

Control Data Corp., is opening a computer training school in Minneapolis that will teach programing and computer technology. The school, which has tuition of $1,600 a year, is open to high school graduates.

Many academic institutions also are developing courses for programing. Miami-Dade Junior College in Florida says it is doubling its programer-training plans because it has been unable to fill the standing requests from companies for programers.

In Brooklyn, 12 students at George Westinghouse Vocational and Technical High School studied computer programing earlier this year but all "were snatched away by industry before we could give them certificates," says Principal Nathan Clark.

What's in it for a youth if he decides to become a programer? For one thing, a salary that generally starts at $5,500 a year or so and could eventually top $20,000 if the person rises to a top position with managerial duties.

Most anybody can become a programer, computer people say, but it helps if the aspirant has a background in physical science. These people are more comfortable with problem-solving," says an official of one computer-making company.

The best programers generally like working on puzzles, playing chess, bridge and other games that take much concentration, the companies say. IBM once sought programers by advertising for chess players. "If he's annoyed by attention to detail or any sort of repetition," says an interviewer for Computer Usage Co., a company that writes programs for computer users, "I don't think he's equipped for programing."

Don't Pull Back, Don't Pull Back

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the editorial voice of the Cleveland Plain Dealer has long commanded wide attention and respect. Under the guidance of its young and vigorous editor-publisher, Thomas Vail, it is acquiring the stature of a truly national newspaper.

I was most gratified to read in this morning's Plain Dealer as compelling a statement as I have seen anywhere in support of an American victory in Vietnam.

May I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues and particularly to those who may have any lingering doubts as to the wisdom of our position.

The article follows:

"DON'T PULL BACK; DON'T PULL BACK"

An answer eloquent in its simplicity and memorable in its impact has been given doubters of American policy in southeast Asia by a mortally wounded Army major rallying his men to battle against the Vietcong for control of a strategic hill.

Wounded by enemy fire and then hit again as he was examining his wound, the major, in his last command to his troops, called out:

"Don't pull back; don't pull back."

The men did not falter. The hill was taken. A large force of Vietcong guerrillas was routed, clearing the way for the protected landing of hundreds of additional U.S. troops.

Because a man in the agony of dying knew what had to be done at the decisive moment to prevent a later disaster, a mission was accomplished that will be of undoubted value in future military operations.

For many stateside Americans, U.S. involvement in Vietnam still lacks logic and satisfactory explanation. To a sizable section of the population withdrawal from the Asian turmoil remains the only sensible policy. It would save money, lives, and anxiety, it is argued.

For the major, too, withdrawal from the hill at An Ninh might have seemed the prudent thing to do if he had had no concern for tomorrow or for the lives and futures of other Americans.

Vietnam is a hill of anguish for America today. But success or failure there will largely determine the kind of world in which future generations of Americans will live.

To make a stand now means there will be less chance of having to make a stand later on these shores against an enemy strengthened by his unopposed swallowing up of all that stood in his way before he reached U.S. soil.

A valiant Army officer, by his words and deed, has symbolized the American struggle in southeast Asia and in one unforgettable sentence has summed up the only guiding principle the United States can follow:

Don't pull back; don't pull back.

Providing for the Disposition of Judgment Funds of the Klamath and Modoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians and for Other Purposes

SPEECH

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding. I rise in support of the bill with a keen appreciation of the problem which confronts the gentleman from Missouri, for whom I have great respect, and the gentleman from Kansas, for whom I also have great respect. I do not know of a case in this century in which the funds of Indians have been distributed in which instances have not arisen in which some folks have come along, after the roll was closed, and claimed the right to be included in the roll. Invariably a very difficult problem for the Congressman representing those folks is presented.

Mr. Speaker, in this instance, I do not know of a situation in my memory of service on the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs in which Members of Congress have more diligently fought to provide their constituents a second opportunity, to participate in a judgment. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. RANDALL] and the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. MIZE] have eloquently presented this matter to the committee. They have argued the question most diligently and, I believe, with great ability and with great sincerity.

When I first heard the presentation in the subcommittee, I was inclined to be most sympathetic to them. There is no question about the fact that some of the notices that were put out by the Department of the Interior were not as comprehensive as they might have been to carry the news to all of the member tribes of the Klamath Tribe of Indians. But, on reviewing the situation, I believe the committee discovered that word had reached across the Nation with respect to this enrollment.

One of the unusual features of this particular report is that it includes the complete tribal roll of the Klamaths. I think if Members will look at that roll, which is very seldom reproduced in the hearings, they will observe that the hearings of the committee reprint the entire Klamath roll beginning at page No. 54 and continuing over through page 94. I believe that when Members look through those pages they will see that many people in Missouri got word about this enrollment. Members will find Missouri Indians listed on pages 67, 69, 71, 76, 91, and 92; Members will find Indians in Kansas listed on pages 68 and 87.

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EDMONDSON. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. MIZE. I understand, those Indians were listed as Klamath Indians. Ours are listed as Modocs. Ours did not realize they were Klamath Indians. That is what seems to be confusing.

Mr. EDMONDSON. If the gentleman has information that none of the people listed on those rolls are Modocs, that information was not communicated to the committee. Actually, I think the rolls probably would include a number of the Yahooskins and a number of Modocs who enrolled on the Klamath roll. Of course, they are not identified in any way except as Klamaths on this roll.

Granting that it does constitute some hardship for the Modocs who failed to get word of the enrollment and, for that reason, are not participating in the distribution, I think the fact is that there are remedies available in the courts to those Indians that can be pursued by them. There is the remedy of special legislation which can be introduced in the way of private bills, if there is a valid claim against the Government for failing to give proper notice. I think we

always face a very difficult situation when Congress tries to add names to a tribal roll which has been completed and closed by the tribe as well as by the Government.

That is the situation which confronts us at this time.

I believe any delay on this bill will result in an injustice to many more Indians. I hope the bill will be passed and the committee upheld in its position with respect to the measures raised so ably and so eloquently by our colleagues from Missouri and Kansas.

Hawaii Increasing Export of Skills and Financing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, Hawaii is increasingly being called upon by our friendly foreign neighbors as well as the Western United States to supply certain economic needs. Australia, Hong Kong, Japan, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Uruguay, and Honduras now look to Hawaii for financing of some of their projects and to provide the experience and skill of Hawaii's people in these projects.

The Bank of Hawaii's September Review of Business reveals that the activities of Hawaiian companies in these countries are in excess of a half billion dollars. Projects include tropical agriculture, manufacturing sugar machinery, marketing molasses, shipping bananas, and canning fish and fruit.

It is anticipated that Hawaiian firms and personnel will soon be called upon by our Federal Government to support the Mohole project, the undersea testing range off Kauai, and a number of smaller projects.

I am submitting for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article from the Honolulu Star Bulletin of September 9, 1965, which summarizes Hawaii's contribution in the field of international economic development:

HAWAII INCREASING EXPORT OF SKILLS AND FINANCING

Hawaii is steadily strengthening its position in the export of management skills, financing, research and development, and tropical agriculture know-how.

These now represent multimillion-dollar activities, according to the Bank of Hawaii's September Review of Business.

Hawaii companies are planning, financing and developing a wide variety of manufacturing enterprises, reports, business buildings and apartment houses with potential values in excess of half a billion dollars, the Review notes.

The activities are taking place in Australia, Honk Kong, Japan, the Philippines, and Western United States.

Hawaii companies also now finance and manage enterprises in tropical agriculture valued at more than $80 million in the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Uruguay, Honduras, and the mainland.

The bank's publication says, too, that isle companies own related overseas companies manufacturing sugar machinery, marketing molasses, shipping bananas, and canning fish and fruit.

Hawaiian firms and personnel under contract to the U.S. Government, foreign governments, and foreign companies are providing professional and managerial assistance in more than 20 additional countries.

Hawaiian agricultural techniques and sugar processing equipment are being exported throughout the world.

It's also noted that basic research also is expanding rapidly and there now are installations in the State valued at more than $20 million.

Prospective developments include the Mohole project, the undersea testing range off Kauai, several astronomy observatories, and a number of smaller projects at a total cost of $100 million.

Negroes Are Bitter When Defeated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PRENTISS WALKER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. WALKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, September 17, immediately after this body voted to dismiss the challenge of Mississippi's five congressional seats, representatives of the so-called contestants and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party staged a demonstration on the East Front of the Capitol.

The following article by Mr. Stanley Dearman, printed in the Meridian (Miss.) Star, on Sunday, September 19, is a firsthand report of the shouts, threats, and intimidations as witnessed by this reporter. Although I have read and heard much of the aforementioned demonstration, this is by far the most revealing account of the actual proceedings that I have seen. I urge the attention of my colleagues to this factual and authentic report:

NEGROES ARE BITTER WHEN DEFEATED

(By Stanley Dearman)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Disappointment turned turned into bitterness and threats when the predominantly Negro Mississippi Freedom Democrat Party lost its fight to unseat the State's five congressional Representatives.

Minutes after the House of Representatives voted 228 to 143 against the FDP challenge, about 200 Negroes gathered on the east front of the Capitol and staged a demonstration.

There were shouts of "down with the white man," and "burn the flag," and "we're going to destroy the peace and tranquility of this country."

One Negro man, perched on a railing, yelled, "If we don't get some attention, we is going to destroy the world."

NOT A MINORITY

John Lewis, head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, told the crowd, "We may be in the minority in this country, but we are not in a minority in the world."

Standing on the fringe of the crowd listening were several African diplomats in native garb.

One of the Negro women who claimed she should be sitting in Congress, Fanny Lou Hamer, climbed up on the railing and wiped her eyes for a full minute before television cameras. Then she said: "If they don't kill me in Mississippi when I go back, I'll be running again for everything that is to run for."

Glancing over the crowds at the hundreds of capital policemen called out with paddy wagons to maintain security, the Hamer woman twisted her mouth and shouted, "You can stand there like that if you wants to; you got more to hide than we have. You got more on your conscience than we have. I'll say this to police everywhere, you can look for us, 'cause we're on our way."

A Negro man told the crowd: "Remember this, Mr. White Man, we'll be waiting to get you. You can bomb our homes, and kill and murder us, but you can't kill us all. We'll be waiting to get you."

Milling around through the crowd shaking hands, Representative WILLIAM FITTS RYAN, from New York, told the Hamer woman, "This is not really a defeat. After all, we got 147 votes. That gives us a basis to work from."

RYAN was a prime leader of House forces to unseat the Mississippi delegation.

During the debate on the House floor, RYAN read a telegram from Martin Luther King. As he mentioned King's name, a chorus of boos rippled through the historic Chamber. Speaker JOHN MCCORMACK banged his gavel to restore order.

House forces supporting the unseating of the Mississippi delegation obviously knew their fight was doomed. Before the final vote, they made a motion to send the case back to committee for further study.

Supporting the motion was Representative JOHN LINDSAY, Republican candidate for mayor of New York. LINDSAY said if the House voted against unseating the five Congressmen it would "be an accomplice to a systematic plot which keeps a large segment of Mississippi from voting."

Representative ROBERT ASHMORE, of South Carolina, called attention to a mock election held by the Freedom Democratic Party last year. "If you counted all the votes in this mock election, the so-called candidates would still fall short of being elected."

An Ohio Congressman, WAYNE HAYS, told the House that Victoria Gray had been a candidate for the Senate in the primary. She later claimed that she should be sitting in the House.

"According to the law in my State, she would have been barred from being a candidate in the general election," said HAYS in opposition to the challenge.

Support for Mississippi clearly came from every part of the Nation.

Congressman PRENTISS WALKER made the following statement:

"I am deeply grateful to my colleagues in Congress who saw fit to support the motion to dismiss the contest of election of Mississippi's five congressional delegates."

WALKER charged that the FDP was represented by members of the National Lawyers Guild, a group sited by the House Un-American Activities Committee as being a Communist front organization.

"Let me pose this question," WALKER said, "had this challenge been resolved in favor of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, where would they have struck next?"

Population

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, it gave me great pleasure to find the following edi-

torial in the New Republic of September 25, 1965. It is the second discussion of population problems in this journal within two weeks. I hope emphasis on this subject augurs well for the establishment of many programs in the near future.

Not only must we enlarge the spheres of application of present practical knowledge but plans should be laid for more demographic studies and fertility research in order to have a foundation of fact from which to create long-range programs.

The editorial follows:

B—TH C—NT—L

"While the rich of America do whatever it is they do, the poor are begetting children," says former Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel Moynihan. That would be unregrettable, if the poor's children were wanted and cared for. In many, many cases, however, they are neither. And so, as a part of the wider national assault on poverty, the Federal Government is beginning to grope its way toward some coherent policy on family planning. It is advancing slowly but deliberately. Government advisers agree that they must focus on where the need is greatest. This means making advice and prescriptions, which the well-to-do have, available to the poor in general and to the Negro poor in particular. Negro birthrates in the cities are running some 40 percent higher than those of whites; Negroes have small incomes but larger families and more illegitimate children, and the depressing results are visible in any black ghetto in the country. But Negroes are properly sensitive to any inference that they have any less right to multiply than others. Roy Wilkins of the NAACP recently joined the Population Crisis Committee, headed by former Senator Kenneth Keating, of New York. But Elijah Muhammad has not and says bitterly: "It is through the poison plan that the poison scientists of this race (white) devise doom for you and me, using the poison birth control law to get the so-called American Negro out of the nations of the earth."

Birth control is a minefield of controversy. Nevertheless, after 9 months of exploration, the President seems convinced that the Federal Government can now step forward. A White House task force has issued a private call to key agencies to come up with "imaginative and far-reaching" plans for 1966. The sprawling Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is being shaken out of its doldrums by Secretary John Gardner and his energic Under Secretary, Wilbur Cohen, Dr. Philip R. Lee, a population control specialist, has moved in as Secretary Gardner's No. 2 staff adviser on health affairs. The Children's Bureau is staking out its claim as the agency to lead the march. And despite its aversion to any new initiatives, the U.S. Public Health Service has finally set up a Population Control Committee. The latter two organizations are eager to take the lead away from the Office of Economic Opportunity, which is the only agency currently earmarking Federal funds for birth control clinics.

Not only Negro sensitivities must be taken into account. For weeks during hearings on Senator ERNEST GRUENING's bill to set up offices on population problems in HEW and the State Department, the Roman Catholic hierarchy kept its counsel. But after some testimony implied Catholic acceptance of Government action on birth control, a number of bishops decided the record had to be corrected. Washington's Archbishop Patrick O'Boyle, chairman of the National Catholic Welfare Conference Board, charged that on both moral and constitutional grounds Government-supported programs are "a clear invasion of the sacred right of privacy." Opposition of that political weight helps account for the administration's coolness toward Senator GRUENING's bill—or any other at the moment. A bill means hearings, debate, the arousing of latent opposition. Anyway, administration officials say, HEW already has authority to provide substantial support for family planning programs, as well as research and training. As things stand, liberals, conservatives and southerners, for different reasons, see birth control as a useful weapon against poverty. But few of them want to stand up and swear to it. This reticence was illustrated by what happened to an amendment to the antipoverty bill, sponsored by Senator CLARK, of Pennsylvania, which specified that money could be spent for family planning. The Catholic Church said nothing publicly, but a representative of the NCWC later conveyed its misgivings to Senate-House conferees. Thereupon, Representative HUGH L. CAREY, Democrat, of New York, Catholic and father of 13, warned his colleagues that he would demand a roll call vote of the House if they accepted the Clark provision. The conferees guessed the amendment was not essential after all—as it was not.

Thus far, the Catholic Church has tended to concentrate its fire on high abortion rates and sterilization laws. But sooner or later the hierarchy's position on birth control must be intelligently confronted. To most non-Catholics, and possibly to some Catholics as well, the logic of the bishop's position is not self-evident. Birth control is one of the most private enterprises imaginable. No one is going to use contraceptives who does not want to. No coercion is intended. Indeed, it is the lack of free choice to conceive or not that often accounts for unwanted, unmanageable results.

Still, aware of deep feelings and beliefs that attach to birth control, the administration is following the Johnson formula of underplaying the novelty of its initiatives, so as to improve their life expectancy. In this spirit, HEW recently sent the President a memorandum summarizing all the things it was doing or going to do in the birth control field. The original expectation was that the gist of the report would be made public under Presidential auspices, with the usual headlines. But the White House demurred, and the facts were surfaced more unobtrusively in a speech by the chief of the Children's Bureau, Mrs. Katherine B. Oettinger, in which she said that birth control services, paid for with Federal matching funds, should henceforth be available as a matter of right to all—and these services would include those of hospitals and physicians, clinical services, prescriptions for drugs and devices.

The Federal Government is such a newcomer to the field that it is embarrassingly short of experience. Experts such as Dr. Allen F. Guttmacher, president of Planned Parenthood-World Population, can make a good case for publicly supported birth control clinics. But we still do not know how many women who most want and who would most benefit from information about family planning go now or would go to clinics. In the worst of the slum areas, it may be that the clinics must go to the families, rather than vice versa. Dr. Benedict J. Duffy believes that the problems of developing motivation among poor uneducated women and of luring doctors into the slums to provide pills or intrauterine coils still have not been solved satisfactorily. Nor will they be without further experiment. That is why the Government plans to try a variety of promising approaches to population control.

One ought to consider, finally, the point raised the other day by Richard M. Scammon, former Census Bureau Director, who says that America can support a population of 1 billion and still have far fewer people per square mile than either Britain or West Germany. He may be right, but what does it prove? The central domestic question is not how many people the country can support, but the quality of life for those it has and will have, and especially the quality of life for those sealed up in cities.

MOTHER'S DAY (MISSISSIPPI)

The following letter, dated July 19, 1965, was sent by the county prosecuting attorney of Clarksville, Miss., Thomas H. Pearson, to Vergia Mae Smith of the same town:

"VERGIA MAE: Please make arrangements for the care of your children so that you can report for trial on the charge of having an illegitimate child on Monday, August 2, 1965. I will recommend to the court that you be sentenced to serve 30 days in the county jail, but the court has the power to sentence you up to 90 days in jail or a $250 fine.

"I will expect to see you in my office on that morning."

A suit was filed in Federal district court to enjoin the prosecution. Two days later, Mr. Pearson said he would not prosecute until he had an opinion from the State attorney general on the constitutionality of the Mississippi statute making birth of a second illegitimate child a crime. The attorney general's opinion is expected soon.

Another Reminder of the Need for an Adequate U.S. Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, perhaps our country is fortunate in its present experience in having difficulty in securing foreign ships to carry needed supplies to our men serving in Vietnam. If we learn from this experience, as we do not seem to have done from the past three wars, that we cannot depend on foreign ships in critical times, but must depend on our own Navy and merchant ships, and therefore must make provision for an adequate merchant marine, our reverses at this time will have served a good purpose.

Some of these persons who would downgrade the need for a U.S. merchant marine may be too young to remember the situations in which we found ourselves on previous occasions when we were in dire need of ships. If that is the case, I sincerely hope they are taking note of our present experiences, another of which was mentioned in the Baltimore Sun yesterday. For the information of the Members, I insert the article here:

FOREIGN SHIPS TURN DOWN UNITED STATES—ARE REFUSING TO CARRY CARGOES INTO WAR ZONES

A recent dispatch from Tokyo points up the increasing difficulty the United States is having in regard to resorting to foreign flag ships in any of its warfront operations.

An Associated Press dispatch said that three of four contracted Japanese firms told an American shipping company they were canceling a contract to transport food and supplies between Saigon and other key points in South Vietnam.

The AP quoted the Kyodo News Service which added that States Marine Lines, Inc.,

had a contract with four companies to supply Japanese freighters to transpc.. food and supplies on that route.

JAPANESE SEAMEN REFUSE

The fourth company—Daiichi Sempaku, of Kobe—was said to be expected to join the three other Japanese companies.

Kyodo said the step was taken after notification by the Japan Seamen's Union of its refusal to man the eight freighters.

The Japanese ships have been servicing the coastal areas of South Vietnam and the Mekong River Delta area which have been isolated by the Vietcong, Kyodo said.

Within the past month, one Mexican-flag ship and two Greek-manned ships have refused to carry military cargo from west coast ports of the United States to Vietnam.

BIG CARRIER OF U.S. GOODS

The ships had been chartered by the same American company which has signed the contract with the Japanese firms. States Marine Lines, a nonsubsidized concern has been recognized over the years as being one of the largest carriers of American military goods.

It owns and charters American ships, and charters foreign vessels.

Upper Michigan—Part IV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAYMOND F. CLEVENGER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. CLEVENGER. Mr. Speaker, in the last decade or so, the young people and their parents in my upper Michigan district have come to realize higher education and advanced technical skills hold the key to a richer future. Upper Michigan was the victim of an early 20th-century boom based solely on extractive resources. When the easiest to get at minerals and timber were gone the economy collapsed. For decades the determined, hardworking families of upper Michigan held on to their homes, hoping for the day when a better life would return to the northland.

Now that hope is being fulfilled. A new life is coming to upper Michigan. Federal programs are helping to make this possible. The higher education bill, which this Congress will call one of its greatest achievements, will make it possible for upper Michigan, and other depressed sections of the country, to perpetuate this new era.

I foresee hundreds of young people in upper Michigan getting a college education that they could not have obtained without this aid from Congress. They, in turn, will repay our investment in them by building an even greater society in upper Michigan.

The following editorials from the Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., Evening News and Escanaba, Mich., Daily Press do a commendable job of explaining the value of this legislation:

[From the Sault Ste. Marie Evening News]

BOOST FOR EDUCATION

Both Houses of Congress have now approved, almost unanimously, legislation to implement a broad-scale program of aid for those who need help to attend college. The heavy majorities confirm the national commitment to the principle that, insofar as is possible, every young person in America shall have a realistic opportunity to acquire as much education as he wants and can absorb.

Even this legislation will not wholly assure that. But it is a significant further step away from the traditional state of affairs under which higher education was in effect denied to a great number of high school graduates who simply could not afford it.

We began to move away from that some years ago with enactment of law providing low-interest college loans for those in need of such help. Now Congress, besides continuing the loan program and girding it up with Federal guarantee insurance, also has made provision for scholarship grants. In the first year these will average $500, and in some cases they may go as high as $1,000. This substantial help will, in thousands of cases, make college possible for those who otherwise would have gone through life with only a high school education.

This is far more important, both to individuals and to society, than it used to be. There is growing recognition of the plain fact that modern conditions of life demand more education than in the past, and will do so increasingly. Through enactment of a program to aid college students, Congress has given education a notable boost. In the long run, the country will profit handsomely by this action.

[From the Escanaba Daily Press]

BACK TO SCHOOL

If there are any youth in America who have not been urged to stay in school and complete their studies it is a strange thing. It must by now be a conviction that schooling is necessary to most of any kind of success in our society, but the dropout rate still is high and the number of young people who have too little basic education and no skill is dismayingly large.

As America's technology becomes more complex and its employment more competitive these people with nothing to sell but a strong back become a national problem. This is the core of the Negro problem. These people have been denied equal educational opportunities for so long that a class of millions of socially and economically retarded people has been created.

There are all sorts of statistics to support the suggestion that the young should be given adequate schooling to develop their abilities. The Department of Labor says that persons with only 8 years of schooling will have an average lifetime earning of $143,000, while those with a high school education will earn $247,000 and college graduates will earn $417,000.

And these results are not just a matter of money. Our happiness is influenced by our means, but never wholly dependent upon it nor assured by it. It is becoming less and less possible for an American youngster to realize his highest individual potential and become a happy and productive citizen without the basic foundation laid by a high school education.

The fact that some person has done seemingly very well—moneywise—with very little schooling should cause no feeling of false security. The labor market for the uneducated, the undereducated and the unskilled is shrinking inexorably. When these people come to the necessity of changing jobs they're apt to run head-on into trouble that can be solved much more easily by the person who has been better schooled and thus made more adaptable to change.

A growing number of employers won't hire a youth who hasn't completed high school. They reason that most dropouts lack the essential qualities of a good employee and also the learning that will help them do their job well.

The Nation is starting the new school year with a record number of young people enrolled for the 21st consecutive year. The total enrollment is 54.2 million. Never before has the schooling that they are seeking been so necessary to their happiness.

Parmadale Observes Its 40th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, Parmadale Children's Village of St. Vincent de Paul, the Nation's first cottage plan institution for children, observed its 40th anniversary last Sunday.

This pioneer institution for the care of dependent and neglected children ranging in age from 18 months to 16 years, is staffed by the Sisters of Charity of St. Augustine, under the supervision of Catholic Charities Bureau of the diocese of Cleveland. Many of the modern techniques for the care of dependent and neglected children were developed by the sisters of Parmadale. Their efforts have been rewarded by the many children of Parmadale who have gone forward in life to become fine citizens of Cleveland.

By leave granted, I include an article which appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer on September 20, 1965:

PARMADALE OBSERVES ITS 40TH ANNIVERSARY

Parmadale the Nation's first cottage-plan institution for children, marked its 40th anniversary yesterday with day-long ceremonies.

Msgr. Michael B. Ivanko, diocesan director of Catholic Charities, offered an anniversary mass for the 240 children of Parmadale and the 50 Sisters of Charity of St. Augustine who staff the institution.

Another 150 nuns, all former staff members at Parmadale, were on hand for festivities. A dinner for the nuns was held before a children's pageant that depicted the history of Parmadale.

Parmadale, located at 6753 State Road, Parma, cares for youngsters from 18 months to 16 years and is under the supervision of the Catholic Charities Bureau.

Parmadale is what its full legal title says it is: Parmadale Children's Village of St. Vincent de Paul. It is virtually a village.

Thirteen of the fifteen cottages on the grounds are used as homes by the youngsters, Sister Mary Therese, C.S.A., superior at Parmadale, said:

Besides the cottages, there is a grade school, chapel, dining hall, a hospital cottage and recreational facilities that include a swimming pool constructed in the 1930's by Parmadale boys.

When Parmadale opened Sept. 22, 1925, with 12 cottages, only boys were admitted. Nine of the original buildings were used as homes.

In 1947, when St. Joseph Orphanage, 6431 Woodland Avenue SE., was closed to make way for a home for elderly persons, a number of girls were transferred to Parmadale. They occupy several of the present 15 cottages.

St. Edward Home for Infants, located opposite Parmadale on State Road, was closed in 1951 and its preschool children were transferred to Parmadale.

Parmadale cares for dependent, neglected, and moderately disturbed children. Sister Therese, the eighth superior of the institu-

tion, explained. "In our modern-day society," she said, "there is no such thing as an orphan."

Most of the children go to foster homes, or return to their own homes, after their stay at Parmadale.

On hand for yesterday's celebration were five former superiors of Parmadale. They included Mother Mary Roberta, superior general of the order and Parmadale's second superior; Sister Mary Ellen Therese; Sister Beatrice Marie, Sister Mary Beatrice; and Sister Mary Colombiere.

The other former superiors, Mother Mary Carmelita and Sister Mary Aloysius, are deceased.

Mayor McKeldin of Baltimore Protests Russian Anti-Semitism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, as Americans all of us are deeply imbued with compassion for our fellow human beings. Our proud history is replete with instances where we have raised our voices in protest against wrongs committed in other parts of the world as well as in our own country.

We Americans are also a religious people. This fact has been one of our principal sources of strength. We are dedicated to religious liberty and freedom and, therefore, we deplore persecution of any religious group.

Baltimore, the seventh largest city in the Nation, has as its mayor one of the most articulate and gifted orators in the Nation. I refer, of course, to Mayor Theodore Roosevelt McKeldin, a very fine gentleman who personifies the best qualities of a true Christian.

The serious plight of the Jews in atheistic Russia is of concern to Mayor McKeldin, and on September 12, 1965, he delivered an eloquent address at a mass meeting held at the Pimlico Junior High School in Baltimore. This mass meeting preceded the eternal light vigil for Soviet Jewry in Washington, D.C., on Sunday, September 19, 1965.

Ten thousand people from 106 communities thronged to Lafayette Park in Washington last Sunday in a dramatic protest of anti-Semitism in Communist Russia. Congressman JAMES ROOSEVELT, who was recently named to the United Nations Economic and Social Council with the rank of Ambassador and I were among those present. He stated that Soviet Jews "are uniquely discriminated against." A great many persons of importance in Government and from all walks of life, including Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, and Jewish clergymen voiced their concern for the survival of the Jewish people in the land of the Soviets.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the address of Mayor McKeldin in the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD because of the importance and urgency to save the existence of those Jews who have the misfortune of being behind the Iron Curtain.

Mayor McKeldin's speech is as follows:

The Soviets say that there is no anti-Semitism in the U.S.S.R. They say that anti-Semitism occurs only in capitalist imperialist states where the Jews are made scapegoats for the miseries of the exploited masses of the proletariat.

They say that in the Soviet Union there may be anti-Jewish Zionism, anti-Jewish nationalism, anti-Jewish imperialism, anti-Jewish medievalism, anti-Jewish profiteering—but never, oh never, anti-Semitism in the Peoples' Paradise where every race, culture, and nationality is respected.

This is what is known in the United States as doubletalk.

For our part, we say that when you make Jews the only nationality group that is not allowed the basic rights accorded to other minorities—that is anti-Semitism.

We say that when you systematically hinder the Jews in the functioning of synagogues, prayer meetings, and religious rites; and deny to Jews the right to produce and distribute their matzoth, kosher food, prayer books, shawls, and religious articles—that is anti-Semitism.

We say that when you practically put out of existence every Yeshivah and institution of Jewish learning—that is anti-Semitism.

We say that when you repress, or allow to die, the rich and wonderful Russian Yiddish culture that gave the world such literary geniuses as Sholem Aleichem, Sholem Asch, Isaac Singer, Isaac Peretz, Chayim Greenberg, Jacob Gordon, Mendele Seforim, David Edelstadt, Morris Rosenfeld, and Abraham Rasin—that is anti-Semitism.

We say that when, in a state where nothing happens by accident, where everything is planned you permit the publication of vicious anti-Jewish cartoons and literature reminiscent of Goebbels and Streicher—that is anti-Semitism.

We say that when you create the impression that all black marketeers are Jews, and put to death Jewish leaders for so-called economic crimes, and when you prevent the few survivors of the Nazi holocaust, the pitiful remnants of Auschwitz and Dachau from being reunited with their families in Israel—that is not only anti-Semitism: it is anti-humanism. And it amounts to cultural genocide.

We are encouraged that, as a result of other meetings such as this and the outcries of decent people throughout the world—including such friends of the Soviet Union as Bertrand Russell—the Soviet Government shows signs of becoming aware of growing criticism of their discrimination against Jews.

We fervently hope and pray that the deep indignation and protest expressed here tonight will contribute to further improvement, to relief of Jewish suffering in the U.S.S.R., and to release of Jews who yearn to join their brothers abroad.

So let us raise our voices and cry out against this injustice so that our cries will reach into the darkest recesses of the Kremlin. Let them know that Soviet anti-Semitism is a crime not only against the Jews, but against all lovers of freedom.

Connecticut Honors Nathan Hale

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow September 22, Connecticut pays homage to one of her most illustrious sons—Nathan Hale. I bring to the attention of the House the proclamation of the Honorable John Dempsey, Governor of Connecticut:

STATE OF CONNECTICUT PROCLAMATION

By His Excellency John Dempsey, Governor, a proclamation:

Among the many landmarks in which Connecticut takes especial pride are those associated with a heroic native son, Nathan Hale.

The Hale family homestead, a durable colonial farmhouse erected by Nathan Hale's father, still stands in the quiet village of South Coventry. Not far away, preserved and maintained by patriotic organizations, are two ancient schoolhouses, one in East Haddam overlooking the Connecticut River and the other in the city of New London, where Nathan Hale served as a teacher before he entered the service of his country.

In New Haven, on the Yale campus, is the famous Bela Lyon Pratt bronze statue of Nathan Hale. It stands in front of Connecticut Hall, the oldest college building, where the youthful hero of the American Revolution lived as an undergraduate.

An invaluable heritage, these landmarks serve to enhance our knowledge of the dedicated officer in Washington's army who volunteered, at the age of 21, to undertake a dangerous mission in enemy territory to obtain vitally needed information. Captured as he was returning to his own lines, he was sentenced to die on a British gallows in New York on September 2, 1776. As the world knows, he faced death calmly, voicing in memorable words the regret that "I have but one life to lose for my country."

The General Assembly of Connecticut has directed that there be annual recognition of the selfless patriotism of Nathan Hale on the anniversary of his death.

I therefore designate Wednesday, September 22, 1965, to be "Nathan Hale Day."

I urge that special exercises be conducted in schools throughout Connecticut in observance of this day so that the youth of our State may be fully aware of the part played by Nathan Hale in the long struggle to establish a free and independent nation.

Given under my band and seal of the State at the Capitol, in Hartford, this 3d day of September, in the year of our Lord 1965 and of the independence of the United States the 190th.

By His Excellency's command:

JOHN DEMPSEY,
ELLA T. GRASSO,
Secretary of State.

Resolution of the 14th International Convention of Greek Orthodox Youth of America, August 29, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, last month I had the honor of addressing the 14th International Convention of the Greek Orthodox Youth of America.

During this convention, a resolution was adopted by the National Council of GOYA which was sent to President Johnson concerning the President's policies in Vietnam and on the Civil Rights Act of 1965.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this resolution be included at this point in the RECORD:

Whereas the Greek Orthodox Youth of America numbers among its membership

thousands of young men and women within these United States of America; and,

Whereas these young men and women, although representative of the different accepted political expressions, are dedicated to the ideals of liberty, justice, and human dignity upon which this great Nation is founded and of which this Nation is the outstanding champion; and,

Whereas the courageous, resolute, and steadfast action taken relative to the Vietnam situation and the historic and humanitarian enactment of the Civil Rights Act constitute concrete manifestations of the continuing pursuit of the ideals of liberty, justice, and human dignity by these United States of America: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the National Council of the Greek Orthodox Youth of America extends to President Lyndon Baines Johnson as chief executive of this great Nation the respect and admiration of the young men and women of GOYA and pledges to him continued support of any action which further expands those noble ideals which all freemen cherish and to which all enslaved peoples aspire.

More Than Half a Loaf

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, the Rocky Mountain News in Denver, Colo., has been a consistent supporter of the efforts at all levels, State, Federal, and local, to keep beautiful our priceless outdoor heritage.

The attempt in the Colorado Legislature to pass a meaningful highway billboard control bill fell short of its mark and as a consequence I introduced in the Congress a bill which I believe would do much toward bringing about sanity in this field.

The intense work of Mrs. Johnson and the time she is spending in this worthwhile cause should, I hope, help to crystallize the efforts of many to bring effective legislation to a successful conclusion in this Congress.

I am placing in the RECORD an editorial from the Rocky Mountain News of September 18, which objectively frames the present House bill, which I hope will pass in the near future:

MORE THAN HALF A LOAF

The highway beautification bill which the administration has pried out of the Senate is not nearly as strong as it should be. But it is probably as good a bill as can be pushed through this Congress—and should be approved promptly by the House.

The measure won't take all the unsightly billboards off the highways. However, it contains essential features of the original administration proposals which, in sum, make it considerably more than "half a loaf."

Basic control over the size and location of billboards along federally financed highways is placed in the hands of the Secretary of Commerce rather than being left to State legislatures.

Many legislatures, including Colorado's, demonstrated a marked unwillingness to face up realistically to the billboard control issue.

Federal legislation, in addition to filling in the State gap, should also insure uniform standards along the Interstate and primary road systems.

As passed by the Senate, the billboard regulations are to be worked out by agreement of the Secretary and the States. If no agreement is reached, the Secretary is empowered to impose a penalty on the State by withholding 10 percent of its Federal-aid highway funds.

The assumption is that most States will go along with Federal standards rather than lose a sizable chunk of Federal cash. And that the Commerce Secretary will give full consideration to local problems in the interest of achieving voluntary compliance.

Also provided is a plan for screening off junkyards, with the U.S. Treasury paying much of the cost.

In other respects, the bill in its present form remains woefully weak. An administration proposal to spend $100 million a year on scenic and recreational roads has been scrapped. So has the idea of paying for the beautification from highway trust funds instead of the general revenues. And the penalty for State noncompliance has been whacked down from the 100 percent of Federal funds sought by the administration to 10 percent.

Even so, it represents a beginning. In future years, Congress can always go back to work.

Sing Out, 65

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, on September 16 the devastated colored district of Watts, Calif., which has turned deaf ears to the experts, black or white, following recent race riots that killed 37 and left a pall of hate and foreboding hanging over Los Angeles, a city of 7 million, heard the new voice of American youth—Negro, white, and Indian with a united purpose—and cheered what it heard.

In a dramatic move to do something fundamental to heal divisions and break an endless cycle of recrimination, the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors brought the 200-strong student task force of moral rearmament, with their patriotic musical "Sing Out, 65," for appearance at the two leading schools of the area, Markham Junior High and Jordan High where 4,000 Negro teenagers, many of whom had participated in the riots, gave the show an ovation.

City buses carrying the multiracial cast representing 60 college campuses across the Nation moved into Watts past blocks of rubble-strewn, fire-gutted ruins reminiscent of Berlin after the war, and along streets where just a short time previously 15,000 National Guardsmen had battled mobs running wild.

At Jordan High a solid mass of clapping, waving colored youth packed the football bleachers, and led by their school cheerleaders joined enthusiastically in the hit songs "Freedom Isn't Free," "Up, Up With People," and "Which Way America?"

A moment of shattering poignancy for the crowd came with the singing by the Colwell brothers, coauthors of the show, of "What Color Is God's Skin?" ending with the lines:

These words to America a man once hurled:
"God's last chance to make a world."
The different races are meant to be
Our strength and glory from sea to sea.

Exclaimed one of a group of Negro teachers listening enthralled to the music:

Those faces, that spirit. Man, I've never seen anything like it. That comes from something inside. That's what the country needs.

Said another simply:

This gives you hope for tomorrow.

The principal of the school was effusive in his thanks. He said:

You don't realize what you've done here. This was the opening day of the term, and the first time they had all been together since the riots. We had no idea what would happen.

A reporter present commented:

Give this MRA crowd 3 weeks here and you wouldn't recognize the place.

When it was all over the student audience refused to go, cheering and waving and calling for repeated encores.

Mr. Speaker, following is a news report covering this affair from the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner of September 16, 1965:

[From the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, Sept. 16, 1965]

MRA'S "SING OUT" GROUP HAILED BY WATTS STUDENTS

Moral Rearmament's 275 "singing" youths from 60 U.S. campuses met with hundreds of students at Markham Junior High School today in Watts.

The youth force, which includes the cast of "Sing Out 1965," the patriotic musical which will be given in the Hollywood Bowl Sunday at 8 p.m., are in Los Angeles by invitation of the county board of supervisors and the 76 mayors of Los Angeles County.

After a standing ovation for their singing, the group proceeded to Jordan High School to repeat their program.

FORCE OF YOUTH

Speaking at a reception for the group yesterday at the county's hall of administration, Supervisor Warren Dorn, who previewed the group at the national MRA center, Mackinac, Mich., and whose daughter Jennie is singing with the group, said:

"We in California are not going the way of violence, destruction, and hate, of rioting in the streets and protests on campuses. We, and I believe this whole Nation, are going the way of this amazing force of youth."

Dorn described the show as "the finest musical in our country's history—a fabulous show of patriotism and Americanism."

The group has toured the country with overwhelming success.

HEADED FOR ASIA

The dedicated high school and college youngsters will soon be taking their message to Asia.

Typical of praise contained in reviews received by the group is the following:

"They tear up no draft cards, and scrawl no vulgarities. They preach no sedition and inflame no minds with borrowed histrionics, appealing to hate and lust and hysteria.

"Their allegiance is to one flag, and the Nation for which it stands. Their dedication is to order under law—not mob rule."

Twenty-nine Californians are in the MRA party including the Colwell brothers, a television trio from San Marino who produced "Sing Out 1965."

They returned to California after a 10-year absence, during which they have performed

for 29 heads of state on every continent while working with MRA.

The patriotic smash hit was produced this summer with talent collected from the 7,000 youths who attended the MRA Mackinac demonstration.

The movement for Moral Rearmament was born here in 1939 at the Hollywood Bowl under the belief that the world needed to return to principles of morality, character, and integrity.

Since then it has spread all over the world. Last month more than 4,000 people thronged a hall in the Nation's Capital to view the variety show which was sponsored there by 96 Congressmen and 54 foreign ambassadors.

Also present at this morning's assemblies were former Rams all-star, Dan Tyler, Supervisor Kenneth Hahn, and J. Blanton Belk, U.S. director of Moral Rearmament. Tyler greeted the students.

Mr. Speaker, on the following day, September 17, the Herald-Examiner commented editorially on "Sing Out, 1965" and urged attendance at a performance that was given in the Hollywood Bowl on the 19th.

The editorial follows:

En route to Japan for a series of performances, Moral Rearmament's organization will present its play "Sing Out, 1965" in the Hollywood Bowl next Sunday night. We heartily recommend a large attendance from the local area for this inspiring production.

Moral Rearmament strongly believes that the one thing the free world has lacked in the struggle with communism is an ideology to capture the minds of the people of the underprivileged nations.

Los Angeles County Supervisor Warren M. Dorn, who saw the performance at Mackinac Island, Mich., said of it:

"The message of 'Sing Out, 1965' should be announced American foreign policy. Because of the acute need for more understanding, greater tolerance, and better communications between race groups in our area, it is our firm opinion that this should be seen here by as many as the bowl will hold."

The advice was heeded, Mr. Speaker, because a crowd of 15,000 was on its feet for 10 minutes shouting for more, and refusing to let the cast close the show.

Said one senior businessman:

I have been to the bowl for 30 years and this is the finest show I have ever seen.

The president of the student body of the University of Southern California ran up to the cast at the conclusion and said:

We are going to have this on our campus. Give me a date.

Mr. Speaker, prior to the Watts appearance of "Sing Out, 1965," the Nashville Banner commented on the MRA group's current tour of the Far East, coming to the conclusion that: "If charity begins at home, so do patriotism and moral responsibility."

I sincerely hope and pray, Mr. Speaker, that when this fine group has finished its foreign tour, it will be able to appear on each and every college campus in the United States. We have a lot of work to do here at home, Mr. Speaker, in getting our own house in order. MRA has demonstrated that it can be of tremendous help in this task.

The Nashville Banner editorial follows:

FOR MORAL REARMAMENT—"SING OUT 65" HAS A JOB TO DO AT HOME FIRST

The most heartening spectacle to come upon the American scene after several years of planned confusion and contempt for authority is the moral rearmament program for the youth of the country.

Those who have joined the movement represent cleanliness of mind and body versus promiscuity and the need of a bath and a haircut. The MRA'ers are not ashamed to express their belief in God or their love of country. And they seem to get a hearty enjoyment out of disciplined living without rolling in the gutter and thumbing their noses at religion and decency.

This new and youthful force has been through a strenuous training course at Mackinac Island. They believe the time has come to jerk the microphone from the minority, but image-stealing college pacifists, and speak up for the "true" America.

This is a fresh voice crying in the wilderness of demonstrations and violent "nonviolence."

"We're interested in building a new society with backbone, patriotism and character," they say. "Follow us," they chorus, "and we will turn the world right side up again."

That's fine, but it's a pretty big order, even for unconquerable and idealistic youth.

Those who have followed with admiration the moral rearmament program cheer too when word comes of the applause given the whistlestop show "Sing Out 65" as it moves toward the west coast.

But after the performance in Los Angeles, the MRA'ers take to chartered planes for the Orient. Instead they should turn back and crisscross the United States until every city of any size is visited.

With the beatnik riffraff promising nationwide campus chaos in the name of pacifism, as the country goes deeper into war, what a contrast "Sing Out 65" would make.

St. Louis and Nashville, even more than Tokyo or Seoul, need to hear the voices of clean young people raised in song for America and expressing a willingness to die, if need be, for America.

Foreigners for moral rearmament say the rest of the world is looking to the United States and where this country leads, the world will follow.

Then let's get the United States straight first. It won't be if the national campus stage is left clear for a minority of longhaired, amoral litterbugs to sneer at the flag and steal the show.

If charity begins at home, so do patriotism and moral responsibility.

Scholar Fulbright's Strange Logic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, there are so many spokesmen for the administration these days whose remarks are interpreted as being official that they must undergo objective analysis. Columnist David Lawrence, in his article yesterday entitled "Scholar Fulbright's Strange Logic" in very proper and timely fashion analyzed the recent questionable comments of the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The article follows:

SCHOLAR FULBRIGHT'S STRANGE LOGIC

(By David Lawrence)

Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, studied as a Rhodes scholar in England and must have familiarized himself with the British parliamentary system.

If FULBRIGHT had been a Member of the House of Commons and had made the same kind of speech as he delivered in the Senate the other day—saying, in effect, that the leader of the majority party had bungled in handling a grave international problem—it would have been regarded either as a call for a "vote of confidence or no confidence" by the people, or the removal of the critic himself from the councils of his party.

But political parties in the United States have no such system of discipline. FULBRIGHT will continue to hold his post as a spokesman of the Democratic Party in the Senate on foreign relations.

FULBRIGHT insists that he wasn't exactly blaming President Johnson for what he regards as a blundering policy in intervening with military force in the Dominican Republic. The Senator attributes this instead to "faulty advice" given Johnson by his advisers at the time of the crisis. The Senator doesn't say to what extent Secretary of State Dean Rusk was at fault and whether he should be removed, but the impression conveyed is that the President of the United States is either a gullible person or not as perceptive as FULBRIGHT himself would have been if he had happened to be President or Secretary of State.

FULBRIGHT is considered one of the modern intellectuals, but his speech is a little difficult for a nonintellectual to understand. He says for instance:

"The question of the degree of Communist influence (in the Dominican Republic) is, therefore, crucial, but it cannot be answered with certainty. The weight of the evidence is that Communists did not participate in planning the revolution—indeed there is some indication that it took them by surprise—but that they very rapidly began to try to take advanage of it and to seize control of it. The evidence does not establish that the Communists at any time actually had control of the revolution. There is little doubt that they had influence within the revolutionary movement but the degree of that influence remains a matter of speculation.

"The point I am making is not—most emphatically not—that there was no Communist participation in the Dominican crisis, but simply that the administration acted on the premise that the revolution was controlled by Communists—a premise which it failed to establish at the time and has not established since.

"Intervention on the basis of Communist participation as distinguished from control of the Dominican revolution was a mistake of panic and timidity which also reflects a grievous misreading of the temper of contemporary Latin American politics."

FULBRIGHT evidently doesn't believe in fire hoses or fire apparatus being used when there's a smouldering fire but only when it has burst into flame and a property has already been virtually destroyed. He seems to have forgotten that the American policy in 1949, which assumed that a coalition in China with the Communists would be a recognition of a "social revolution," wound up with the loss of the mainland to the Communist Chinese. Similar vacillation and hesitancy on the part of the United States lost Cuba to Fidel Castro and the Communists.

FULBRIGHT concedes that a Communist-dominated government might have emerged in the Dominican Republic. He rationalizes, however, that "this might conceivably have happened, but the evidence by no means supports the conclusion that it would have happened." He declares that "we based our policy on a possibility rather than on anything aproaching a likelihood.

So the Arkansas Senator feels that the judgment of President Johnson, Secretary

of State Rusk and the American ambassador who was dodging bullets on the spot in Santo Domingo was, as to speak, "faulty."

FULBRIGHT thinks that the United States shouldn't have landed troops to save American lives or to save Latin America from more of such revolutions but simply should have waited on the sidelines until the Communist mission was actually accomplished. Would it have been another fiasco like the Bay of Pigs? Only FULBRIGHT knows.

Latins Want Change—Not Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, I believe it unfortunate that House Resolution 560 was presented on the floor yesterday. The House resolution according to its terms states that:

> Any subversive threat (of communism) violates the Monroe Doctrine and any contracting party (country) to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance may resort to armed force to forestall and combat control and colonization (by communism).

A few words have been omitted from the quoted purpose, but the sense is apparently clear.

Certainly the United States should have learned some things from recent diplomatic history. We have won many friends in Latin America in modern times, probably really beginning with the F.D.R. "good neighbor" policy and the enactment of the Reciprocal Trade Treaties. This friendship has flourished from time to time and reached its culmination in the Organization of American States and the Alliance for Progress programs. Many in the Latin world are true friends of America. Of others, their friendship has been dulled by lack of substantial Latin American progress in spite of the largest hemispheric aid program in history.

Many in Latin America want change. They resort to communism in Chile where 24 percent are registered in that party, not because of Russian submarines off the coast or parachuting Red Chinese infiltrators, but because 600,000 people can't live like animals in Santiago seeing much of the aid money go into military weapons and being filtered off at the top by the 100 ruling families.

The Alliance for Progress in Latin America should be aimed at short circuiting the military juntas and selfish power blocks wherever possible in an all out effort to effectuate "change" at the grassroots by helping plain people to better their standard of living. During the last year we have helped Socialist President Frei of Chile take steps to effect "change"—he has the vision and the power to stop communism in its tracks.

Our fine relations with the Chilean people were slightly confounded with our entry into the Dominican Republic—not because Chile is for communism but because she resented the interference in the affairs of a sovereign state where a clear case of outside intervention was not made out in violation of the Monroe Doctrine.

This is much like in a criminal case when the court throws out an indictment based on unlawful search and seizure. The court takes the action not because it favors the criminal, but because the Bill of Rights is paramount. Irrespective, I think the Dominican Republic action can be rationalized in defense of the administration, especially with the action by the OAS.

When the Congress then passes House Resolution 560 which would appear to lock in concrete Dominican Republic-type policy for the future—a policy of force for the United States or any of the Americas based on a fragmentary threat—it is readily foreseeable that America will be further embarrassed in her relationship with her "good neighbors."

If we then confound this by establishing quotas on hemispheric immigration to protect ourselves from hemispheric Communists, we will, in fact, lay the cornerstone for chaos in the Americas for the balance of the 20th century.

To tell any Latin dictator that he can forcibly meddle, with our approval, in the affairs of his neighbor that may or may not have a substantial Communist Party on the theory that he is forcibly suppressing a Communist threat, can only have the effect of, in fact, stimulating the forces of communism and diminishing American stature on these continents.

A Birch-type philosophy does not work in the United States. Why should it work outside?

Equality in Bank Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I want to call the attention of my colleagues to an excellent editorial which appeared in the Buffalo Evening News of September 9. I think it states very persuasively the case for applying the same Federal rules governing bank mergers to the creation of bank holding companies.

The editorial follows:

EQUALITY IN BANK LAWS

As a matter of sound public policy, it seems reasonable that Federal rules governing bank mergers should apply equally to amalgamations which follow the holding company route as a way of strengthening credit and financing resources available to the public.

Yet unless the House does some fixing in a Senate-approved bill, discriminatory treatment of past and future holding company acquisitions is in prospect. The threat banking authorities fear in such a double standard—in the way it could play hob with stability, confidence, and equal competition in the banking business—is a matter of legitimate public concern.

The background on this issue is complicated, but in brief the Senate bill attempts to clear up the present confusion surrounding the power of the Attorney General to break up bank mergers after these already have a clean bill of health from the Federal regulatory agencies, including the Federal Reserve Board.

The Justice Department now can bring antitrust actions long after merger applications have agency certification that they serve the public convenience and necessity as well as satisfying competitive factors. To end the suspense and uncertainty hanging over such mergers, the Senate bill would keep the Attorney General in the act, with a 30-day period during which mergers could be forestalled by bringing antitrust proceedings. Banks that have merged without such court contests would thereafter be exempt from antitrust prosecution—and spared the agony of being forced to "unscramble" their assets and operations.

The case for making such rules uniform throughout the banking industry was argued persuasively in the House committee testimony of Baldwin Maull, of Buffalo, president of the Marine Midland Corp. Speaking as president of the Association of Registered Bank Holding Companies—representing 25 such consolidations across the country—Mr. Maull urged adoption of an amendment affording similar protection to them and their customers against the threat of subsequent upheavals long after bank acquisitions are accomplished facts.

In the States where both bank holding companies and branch banking are permitted, Mr. Maull noted, most holding companies have merged acquired banks into other affiliates. Thus unscrambling a bank holding company could involve breaking up not only the acquisition itself but also the mergers—even though the latter were immune from the antitrust laws.

Perpetuation of a legal threat against established holding companies, moreover, would put them at a competitive disadvantage with the merger approach to the pooling of credit resources and managerial services for the public industry, and major financial undertakings. "The banking public again will be the real party to suffer," contended Mr. Maull, if the benefits and services available to a single bank—and usually beyond its capacity to duplicate—are severely disrupted or curtailed.

Resolution of Congratulations and Commendation to Mr. and Mrs. John A. Jenkins and Family

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, one of my distinguished constituents, John A. "Buck" Jenkins of Birmingham, and a native of Geneva, Ala., has recently completed his term as commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. I want to take this opportunity to extend hearty congratulations to him.

His outstanding record of achievement while in office is the result of his personal dedication and contribution in time, energy, and untiring effort as commander in chief of the VFW.

Mr. Jenkins attended school at Marion Institute, at Washington-Lee University, Birmingham Southern College, and Birmingham School of Law, and passed

the Alabama bar in 1932. He is now city attorney of the city of Vestavia Hills, Ala., and previously engaged in the practice of general law in the city of Birmingham as a member of the firm of Jenkins & Co. He also has served as an instructor at the Birmingham School of Law.

While he has engaged in other civic activities, "Buck" Jenkins' career as an officer and a leader in the Veterans of Foreign Wars started with his home post, Kelly-Ingram Post, which for the last 10 years has been one of the largest in the Nation—among the top 10.

He worked his way through the VFW chairs there, and went on to serve through the chairs of the department of Alabama. He represented Alabama, Florida, and Georgia from the Council of Administration, and has served on both the National Legislative and National Security Committees, and was chairman of the latter.

On the national level, Mr. Jenkins has served as judge advocate general before becoming junior vice commander in chief, then senior, and finally commander in chief of the VFW.

During World War II, he enlisted as a private, later went through OCS in the field artillery, and after serving overseas was discharged as a captain.

He is married and has a lovely wife and three children. His son is a student in the law school at Alabama University. One daughter graduated from Alabama University and the other is now in high school in Birmingham.

"Buck" Jenkins is a distinguished citizen of my home district, and we are all very proud of him and of his record as commander in chief of the VFW.

The following resolution of congratulations and commendation to Mr. and Mrs. John A. Jenkins and family adopted by Mayor Robert M. Guillot and the city council of the city of Vestavia Hills, Ala., is a deserved tribute to this fine and outstanding citizen of Alabama:

RESOLUTION OF CONGRATULATIONS AND COMMENDATION TO MR. AND MRS. JOHN A. JENKINS AND FAMILY

Whereas the Honorable John A. (Buck) Jenkins, city attorney of the city of Vestavia Hills, Ala., has recently completed his term of office as commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States whose ranks number more than 1,300,000 overseas combat veterans; and

Whereas during his leadership of this illustrious organization, Buck Jenkins worked laboriously and untiringly for its interests, continued growth and welfare; and

Whereas his additional capacity as veteran-diplomat took him to far corners of the world and brought him in personal contact with top military and political leaders of many nations, and he was thus afforded the opportunity of making on-the-spot observations and obtaining vital information of our country's foreign relations and interests; and

Whereas such missions meant long periods of absence from his home and family, and took him into zones of combat where he was exposed to the dangers of warfare; and

Whereas all of these exacting demands of his office as commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars were meritoriously fulfilled by Buck Jenkins with demonstrated initiative, integrity, indefatigable energy and courage, and a sense of dignity, duty, and honor of the highest calling; and

Whereas a large measure of credit for Buck Jenkins' successful achievements must be attributed to the moral support of his beloved family, Louise, Bonnie, Jenny and Jamie: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Mayor and City Council of the City of Vestavia Hills, Ala.; That they do, in behalf of all citizens of the city, express congratulations and commendation to Buck Jenkins for the great credit he has thus brought to himself, his fine family, and home, his country, State, and city; and be it further

Resolved, That Buck Jenkins' good family, Louise, Bonnie, Jenny, and Jamie, also be heartily congratulated and commended for the indispensable encouragement and inspiration they have been to their distinguished husband and father; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be spread in full on the minutes of this meeting, and a duly signed copy be mailed to Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins; the Governor of the State of Alabama; Jefferson County's Representative in U.S. Congress; National and Alabama Departmental Headquarters of the Veterans of Foreign Wars; Alabama League of Municipalities; the Birmingham News and Post-Herald; and the Shades Valley Sun.

Approved and Adopted this 7th day of September 1965.

ROBERT M. GUILLOT,
Mayor.

Attest:

HENRY G. GALLIMORE,
City Clerk.

Explanation of Proposed Amendment to H.R. 7371

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, in 1933 Congress passed a law to prohibit a bank from owning a nonbanking business. This was to prevent a bank from yielding to the temptation of bailing out its nonbanking business to the detriment of depositors.

In 1956 Congress extended this principle of prohibition to prohibit a company which owns or holds a certain percentage—25 percent—of the voting shares in two banks, from at the same time owning a nonbanking business. But there were exceptions made to the coverage of the law in the bank holding act of 1956; and the Federal Reserve Board has logically and persistently urged the repeal of these exemptions.

H.R. 7371 would remove an exemption of the 1956 act for a type of testamentary trust which, as far as is known, has only one example in fact, the Alfred I. du Pont estate. Although the application of the principle of prohibition of mixing banking and nonbanking business would seem clearly to apply to this trust, it would seem to apply with equal clarity and cogency to all the other exceptions of the 1956 law urged to be repealed by the Federal Reserve Board. Therefore, the amendment I suggest and offer will eliminate all of these exemptions urged for repeal by the Federal Reserve Board. A detailed description of what the parts of the amendment would do, follows after the following quoted proposed amendment:

AMENDMENT TO H.R. 7371 OFFERED BY MR. BENNETT

Page 2, add the following at the end of the bill:

"SEC. 2. (a) The first sentence of section 2(a) of such Act is amended by changing 'each of two or more banks' to read 'any bank' each place it appears therein.

"(b) The first sentence of section 3(a) of such Act is amended by changing 'company becoming a bank holding company' to read: 'bank becoming a bank holding company or of any other company becoming a bank holding company with respect to more than one subsidiary bank'.

"SEC. 3. The second sentence of section 2(a) of such Act is amended (1) by striking 'no company shall be a bank holding company which is registered under the Investment Company Act of 1940, and while so registered prior to May 15, 1955 (or which is affiliated with any such company in such manner as to constitute an affiliated company within the meaning of such Act), unless such company (or such affiliated company), as the case may be, directly owns 25 per centum or more of the voting shares of each of two or more banks, (C)', (2) by changing '(D)' to read 'and (C)', and (3) by striking ', and (E) no company shall be a bank holding company if at least 80 per centum of its total assets are composed of holdings in the field of agriculture'.

"SEC. 4. (a) Section 4(c) of such Act is amended—

"(A) by striking ', or to shares lawfully acquired and owned prior to the date of enactment of this Act by a bank which is a bank holding company, or by any of its wholly owned subsidiaries' from paragraph (4).

"(B) by adding 'or' at the end of paragraph (6).

"(C) by striking:

" '(7) to any bank holding company which is a labor, agricultural, or horticultural organization and which is exempt from taxation under section 501 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954; or'.

"(D) by redesignating paragraph (8) as paragraph (7).

"(b) Section 4 of such Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

" '(d) With respect to shares which were not subject to the prohibitions of this section as originally enacted by reason of any exemption with respect thereto but which were made subject to such prohibitions by the subsequent repeal of such exemption, no bank holding company shall retain direct or indirect ownership or control of such shares after two years from the date of the repeal of such exemption, except that the Board is authorized upon application by such bank holding company to extend such period of two years from time to time as to such holding company for not more than one year at a time, if in its judgment, such an extension would not be detrimental to the public interest, but no such extensions shall extend beyond a date five years after the date of repeal of such exemption.' "

This amendment would do the following things:

1. By section 2(a) of the amendment the bank holding act prohibition (section 1841 (a) of title 12 of U.S. Code) is made to apply where only one bank is owned together with a nonbanking business. The logic of the principle of portecting the depositors from nonbanking involvements is just as applicable where there is only one bank as where there are two, the present number of banks required. In fact, if a company controls only one large bank, that company's inter-

ests in extensive nonbanking businesses could lead to abuses even more serious than if the company controlled many small banks. An example of this would be a big rubber company such as Goodyear owning a bank or a big department store such as Macy's owning a bank.

2. Having by the preceding portion of my amendment directed that even the holding of one bank should not be accompanied by nonbanking business, an incidental and undesired change is effected by the language of my amendment and this is cured by section 2(b) of my amendment. Without section 2(b) of my amendment a holding company which is to control only one bank and no nonbanking business would have to go to the Federal Reserve Board for approval of acquirig just one bank even though no nonbanking business was involved at all. Therefore, all that section 2(b) of my amendment does is to prevent this unnecessary request to the Federal Reserve Board in a matter having nothing to do with nonbanking business.

3. Under existing law (section 1841(a) of title 12 of U.S. Code) it is provided that no company shall be a bank holding company which is registered under the investment company act of 1940 and was so registered prior to May 15, 1955, or which is affiliated with any such company in such manner as to constitute an affiliated company within the meaning of such act, unless such company or such affiliated company directly owns 25 percent of the voting shares of each of two or more banks. There is no reason why an investment company should not be restricted from owning or acquiring bank holding companies in the same way other bank holding companies are. The exemption eliminated by this first part of section 3 of my amendment is the same exemption eliminated by H.R. 7372, another bill pending before Congress and relating primarily to the Financial General Corp.

4. The last part of section 3 of my amendment relates to a company in the field of agriculture and removes an exemption in the existing law (section 1841(a) of title 12 of U.S. Code) for a company which had at least 80 percent of its total assets in the field of agriculture. I understand that this was designed for one company, Consolidated Naval Stores, which has now gone out of business. The exemption should not continue as an invitation to others to exploit in the future.

5. Existing law (sec. 1843(c)(4), title 12 of U.S. Code) exempts from divestitures requirements of section 4 of the act, shares acquired or held prior to the enactment of the 1956 act by a bank which is a bank holding company or by any of its wholly owned subsidiaries. The first part of section 4(a) of my amendment removes this exemption from divestitures requirements. I understand that the Trust Co. of Georgia is at the present time under the exemption which would be removed by my amendment. It is my understanding that this company owns over $38 million in the Coca-Cola International Co. There is no logical reason for this exemption. The principle of not having bank ownership tied to nonbanking business so as not to endanger the interests of depositors is in this case just as much present as in the case of the Du Pont estate.

6. By the last part of section 4(a) of my amendment the exemptions of section 4(c)(7) of the act (sec. 1843(c)(7) of title 12 of U.S. Code) are eliminated. These exemptions were for "any bank holding company which is a labor, agricultural, or horticultural organization and which is exempt from tax under section 501 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954." The exemptions that would be eliminated by my amendment on this should not be allowed to continue because the opportunities to subordinate the interests of the depositors in their banks to the needs of organizational work are just as contrary to principle as the opportunities of a charitable trust organization such as the Du Pont estate. I understand that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, although registered as a bank holding company as well as a labor union, have not been required to divest themselves because of the exemptions written into the existing law above described. I understand that this labor union owns controlling interests in the Amalgamated Trust & Savings Bank, Chicago, and in the Amalgamated Bank of New York. These loopholes should be eliminated. Under the new definition of the bank holding company as provided in section 2(a) of my amendment, I understand that the United Mine Workers would also be involved in the removal of this exemption because it is my understanding that this labor union owns a controlling interest in the National Bank of Washington, D.C.

7. Finally the last part of my amendment consists of the time adjustment which the Federal Reserve Board finds to be equitable in imposing the new provisions.

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An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

First American Hostess in Malta

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Eugenia Sheppard, women's feature editor of the New York Herald Tribune and which appeared in the newspaper on September 14, 1965. Mrs. Feldman is the wife of Ambassador George Feldman, the first American Ambassador to Malta:

INSIDE FASHION: THE SPEEDIEST METABOLISM

(By Eugenia Sheppard)

"I love good-looking clothes, but I always wanted a challenging life," says Marion Feldman, whose dream is about to come true. Wednesday morning the Feldmans fly to Europe, where George Feldman will be the first American Ambassador to Malta. Marion has photographs of the new Embassy residence. It's in the old walled city of Medina. Called Villa Bijou, it looks quite Moorish standing in a grove of orange and olive trees. They'll have a staff of seven.

Yesterday, Marion was saying goodby to the upper Fifth Avenue apartment, which she plans to leave just as it is, superintended by the children's ex-nanny and the butler-chauffeur, Lawrence. The only personal possessions going with them, besides clothing and their Jaguar, are her own silver and china for the family to use, some ornaments (you know some of the embassies look like barns), and the blue Madonna by Tiepolo that hangs over the fireplace. The Tiepolo, in an oval gold frame, will travel on the plane with them.

"We don't want to deplete the apartment," said Marion Feldman yesterday, sitting down for a breather in the Gothic library with the stained glass shutters that they bought in England long before art nouveau became so chic.

Actually, she could have stepped out and closed the door of the apartment that very minute. Every piece of furniture in the place was already wearing a beautifully tailored (good tailoring is her fetish) slipcover of transparent vinyl. "I'm so highly organized," Marion Feldman admitted, "that sometimes I can't go to sleep at night * * *. It's always been something of a curse to me, but maybe it will be an advantage in my new job."

Since George Feldman's appointment to Malta, their life has been fairly breathless. No, it did not come as a complete surprise. "The President invited us to dinner, and when he suggested Malta we were enchanted."

To learn more about Malta than Maltese cats and Maltese gray pearls, Marion Feldman spent 3 weeks in Washington this summer going to the course offered by the Foreign Service Institute. There were 39 other women in the class. Now she is an expert on everything from the population ("the most heavily populated archipelago in the world") to the customs. "I can never wear slacks. I cannot wear bare shoulders except in the evening. They dress a lot in the evenings there. One of the nice things is that, since Malta has just celebrated its first year of independence, most of the other embassy families will be new, too."

While Marion was in school, a dressmaker at the apartment was repairing her whole wardrobe for the diplomatic life. "I have gone through my closet and taken Norells as old as 15 years. I am a great devotee of his, but I am leaving some of the heavy beaded things at home and filling in with chiffons by Stavropoulos. I find his things very satisfactory. I would like to travel in his mohair daytime suit but I will probably end by wearing a $29.75 jersey dress."

With her top-designer clothes and model-size figure Marion Feldman has always been a standout figure at Broadway openings and charity parties. "No, I did not diet. I have got the fastest basal metabolism rate in existence," she said yesterday. "When I get home from a party I go to the kitchen and eat some Postum and a brioche. I cannot get enough to eat."

These last few days in New York have been a round of farewell parties. The Colony may never be the same, Marion Feldman thinks, after Clement Hakim's the other night. The main dining room was transformed into the Hanging Gardens of Babylon. There were fountains and dancing girls and guests sat on satin floor cushions in front of low gold tables. At Janine and Alfred Levitt's party a few nights before, a table for 40 in the champagne room was groaning with white orchids.

The Feldman's first stop will be Paris. Then they'll drop their 16-year-old daughter Margot, a former Spence student, at a convent school. Their son is transferring from Choate to St. Stephen's in Rome.

Marion has so many plans. A beautification program for Malta with everybody planting trees, American musical comedies to play there. Art shows. Malta to become, like Sardinia, a must stop for the rich gypsies on their yachts. Actually, Malta has a Hilton going up with an opening scheduled for spring. A beautiful marina has just been finished. Alfred Levitt has already chartered a three-masted schooner and invited guests for a cruise there next summer.

Any spot with lively Marion Feldman as first American hostess is sure to be heard from.

The Attraction of Trading Stamps Weakens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, we are all aware of the confusion of the modern consumer when beset by a barrage of promotional gimmicks. A reaction against one device now appears imminent. An article from the September 4, 1965, issue of Business Week suggests that both the housewife and the food industry are taking a look at the cost of trading stamps. I ask unanimous consent to include the article in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ARE TRADING STAMPS LOSING THEIR PUNCH?

(Some of the giants are switching to a lower price policy because stamps have lost their competitive edge. But few believe that stamps have lost their charm for shoppers.)

The trading stamp industry is facing another of those sharp changes in emphasis that have characterized its 70-year history.

Some major food chains are discontinuing the use of stamps, in the belief that their customers once again are more interested in low price—along with quality and service—than in those little bits of paper that can be exchanged for premiums.

The movement apparently will spread. Says a special study of the Super Market Institute: "Present indications strongly point to a reduction in the use of stamps by supermarket operators."

REGIONAL REVOLT

The rebellion of the supermarket chains so far is mainly in the East and particularly in the New York metropolitan area.

In quick succession, Acme Stores, Inc., and Food Fair Stores, Inc. (which has its own stamp company) dropped stamps in northern New Jersey. Then, Daitch-Shopwell and Waldbaum, Inc., two important New York area chains, discontinued giving stamps. The movement spread to New England, where Stop & Shop, Inc., ended its stamp plan. And there have been scattered instances in food chains all across the country and in Hawaii, too.

As the big chains turn from stamps, regional chains and independent supermarkets pick them up, for one thing is clear: Few really believe trading stamps have lost their appeal to savers. Says a retired executive of a chain that once tried to drop stamps: "The customers left so fast they had to jump right back [to stamps]. Those damn women, they could forget their change and their groceries, but they never would forget those stamps."

EDGE IS DULLED

What is happening at the large chains is simply that, with all of them giving stamps, the promotion has lost its competitive edge. That's no great surprise, it was predicted when Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co. began giving stamps in the New York area 3 years ago. And there have been two other forces at work: a consistent rise in food prices, and in the number of supermarkets.

Says Curtis Carlson, president and chairman of Gold Bond Stamp Co.: "We feel this is just the natural course of events. Ever since we started, we've told all the chains that it is simply not economical for everyone to carry stamps. Every one asked, 'What happens if everyone gives stamps? Our answer has been, 'It simply doesn't pay.' "

OVER-PROMOTED

And that's what has happened. Years ago, trading stamps were used by the independent merchants to combat the appeal of the lower prices in chain food stores. Then, in the early 1950's, the chains added stamps. At one

time, according to Carlson, there were 400 stamp companies; today, there are about 250. Sperry & Hutchinson is far and away the leader, with Plaid probably second, followed by Gold Bond, Top Value, and King Korn—not necessarily in that order.

With everyone having a stamp plan, the only additional edge a chain could offer was to stage "double stamp" days or "triple stamp" days until the promotions became self-defeating. Stamps are expensive to administer because they create security problems, and any self-respecting merchant feels it is his store and merchandise that draw the customers. So if he can drop stamps he generally is glad to do so.

WAY OUT

Now, the sudden resurgence of price as a promotional weapon gives the major chains the reason they've been seeking to get out of the giveaway business. Every chain that has discontinued trading stamps has begun advertising lower prices. Food Fair has embarked on a "QD"—quality discount—program where it has dropped stamps. In New England, First National Stores, Inc., has dropped stamps from 17 stores, and set out to build a discount image. A spokesman says: "We are getting back to what the chain store's original concept of food was—to sell a lot of food at a very small markup. People are not interested in stamps, they want dough."

He finds only partial agreement at Food Fair. Myer B. Marcus, executive vice president, points out that his company has deleted stamps only in certain spots. "We have never believed that price was the only factor. There are a great many people who are not price shoppers. You have to run a good store," he says.

Norman A. Stapleton, president of National Tea Co., differs only slightly: "Trading stamps are not a gimmick. They are a definite savings to the customer. They are not a cure-all, either. But if a business is properly run, they are a great asset. We are continually making surveys and we do not find our customers losing interest in stamps." But in some places, National Tea Co. had stamps and dropped them.

BIG GAMBLE

Another thing supermarket operators agree on is that it is not easy to be the first to drop stamps. One that has lived through it is Lucky Stores, Inc., a 173-store chain based in San Leandro, Calif., which has annual sales of $310 million. Last year, it discontinued Blue Chip stamps in its 40-odd stores in southern California where practically every retail outlet gives Blue Chips. By lower prices, these stores increased sales. But this is a very special case.

"Getting rid of stamps is a big step," says Vice President James Stell. "It's a gamble. In Arizona and California, we are such a minor factor that we felt we could better our position by doing something different. We felt that the money that was going into stamps could be more profitably spent on lower prices and on promotion."

BEST PROSPECTS

The immediate future of trading stamps appears to lie in what a Sperry & Hutchinson Co. executive calls "selective use." Among food retailers, independent supermarket operators or small chains appear to be the best prospects. For instance, Gold Bond was dropped from 40 Safeway stores in Arizona early this year and promptly signed up a regional chain.

The day of every giant food chain having a stamp plan is past, at least for now. According to the Super Market Institute study, the use of stamps among its members increased from 13 percent in 1954 to 78 percent in 1961. By last year, the proportion of SMI members using stamps had dropped to 70 percent.

MOOT POINT

Just because some supermarkets have rediscovered the lure of low prices doesn't mean the shopper automatically is saving money at a store that has discontinued stamps. Says a Midwest store executive: "Some stores claim they sell cheaper by not giving stamps, but that is impossible to prove." A stamp company official agrees: "Even if a shopper carried a computer in her purse, she couldn't tell. Stores use loss leaders, and jack up prices on other items. And how can she evaluate the prices of private brands?"

Intercepted in a Cleveland market a shopper who saves stamps gives the best reason why stamps are here to stay: "If I saved a penny here and there on the food, the savings would just disappear. The stamps you collect until you have enough to get something nice. And since it's an extra, you don't have to be practical."

The New Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, last spring my colleague, Hon. OTIS PIKE and I sponsored two famous institutions in the House dining room; namely, strawberries and Long Island duckling. Today, I would like to say a few words about another famous Long Island institution—Republic Aviation Corp. and its current famous product, the F–105 Thunderchief fighter-bomber.

I am very proud of Republic and the F–105, which is doing such an outstanding job in Vietnam. In some 2,000 sorties, the F–105 has had less than 3 percent air and ground aborts, and it is operating on a close to 90 percent in-commission rate. The Thunderchief is not only on the job, it is doing the job.

Some months ago, my attention was drawn to Republic by stories of the impact that the withdrawal of the F–105 from production was having upon the local economy. With the phase-out of production of that aircraft, it became necessary to reduce employment drastically. It also was necessary to consolidate facilities to control the cost of doing business and to remain competitive. However, when I looked into the matter, I was gratified to find that Republic was facing up realistically to the problems caused by the loss of F–105 production. The company was already hard at work to retain its reputation as a quality designer and manufacturer of military aircraft, meanwhile seeking new business in many other areas.

I was amazed and delighted to learn of some of these new projects. For example, in its research laboratories, Republic has developed a tiny pump—no larger than a half-dollar—that can be implanted into the head of a child suffering from hydrocephalus, a dreaded disease of childhood known as "water on the brain." The pump substitutes for the impaired body function and relieves the fluid pressure. As a result, there is now hope for the thousands of new cases of hydrocephalus occurring in this country each year. I understand that the principle involved can also be extended to other conditions, such as the automatic metering of insulin in diabetic patients. Products like this are being developed at Republic as byproducts of the work it is doing for the manned space effort.

Just as striking is the fact that Republic's new attitude plus the excellence of its retained technical capability are beginning to show signs of producing multifold benefits for the Nation. Again, for example, last July it was announced that Republic had won the phase II hardware development program for the advanced orbiting solar observatory; also, more recently, Republic qualified along with three other weapon system manufacturers to receive a study contract that will lay the groundwork for the development of an advanced vertical takeoff aircraft. And Republic is a senior member of the team that helped General Electric to win its role in the manned orbiting laboratory program. Beyond these, the next weapon system is somewhere on Republic's many drawing boards, and these development efforts are being heavily directed toward advanced V/Stol fighter-bombers, tactical aircraft and hypersonic vehicles.

Though these recent successes are a long way from replacing what was lost by the phaseout of the F–105, they are a giant step in the right direction. Republic has reacted positively to a reverse of fortune in the best tradition of American enterprise by realistically assessing itself and its situation. Not unlike strawberries and duckling, this is another Long Island institution I confidently expect is going to be around a long time.

Canton Kiwanis Club's Constitution Day Celebration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I am pleased to learn that the Canton Kiwanis Club of Canton, Ohio, on Tuesday, September 14, 1965, devoted its entire program in recognition of Constitution Day. I ask unanimous consent that the following outline of the Kiwanis Club's Constitution Day program be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the program was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CANTON KIWANIS CLUB'S CONSTITUTION DAY CELEBRATION

On Tuesday, September 14, 1965, the Canton Kiwanis Club honored the U.S. Constitution by devoting their regular weekly luncheon meeting to this great document.

This meeting was sponsored by the Public and Business Affairs Committee of the Can-

ton Kiwanis, and was attended by approximately 90 members and guests.

The program consisted of the Honorable Ralph S. Regula, Representative to the Ohio Legislature talking on the men who drafted this great document, and the hardships they endured during their long sessions.

Each person in attendance received a copy of the booklet entitled "The U.S. Constitution, Text with Analytical Index, Unratified Amendments." The text of this booklet was presented by Mr. CELLER, Representative of the 10th District of New York, on May 14, 1963.

Tributes to the Late President Kennedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, I am honored today to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD two tributes to the late President John F. Kennedy by Mrs. Phil Regan of Palm Springs, Calif.

One is entitled, "The Courage of John F. Kennedy Is Immortal." The second is entitled, "In Memory of Our Beloved Late President John F. Kennedy—A Letter to a Very Little Boy From His Daddy."

Mrs. Regan is well known to many of my colleagues as an inspired writer who gracefully combines the lyricism of the poet with the faith of a woman devoted to God. Her understanding of and beautiful exposition of basic moral principles has endeared her to many admirers throughout the world. I am deeply privileged to count her as a friend.

The tributes follow:

THE COURAGE OF JOHN F. KENNEDY IS IMMORTAL

(John Kennedy knew that a man's own country had some special claim upon him. The sorry event which caused his death certainly portrayed the end of an age.)

(By Jo B. Regan (Mrs. Phil Regan))

(Adapted from William Shakespeare's "Mark Anthony Speaks")

Friends, Americans, Countrymen—lend me your ears.
I come to praise John Kennedy—not to slander him.
The good that men do lives after them.
Mistakes are oft interred with their bones;
So let it be with John Kennedy. The opposition
Hath told you John Kennedy was ambitious;
If it were so, it was a grievous fault,
And grievously hath John Kennedy answer'd it.
Here under record of opponents and the rest
For the opponents are honourable men,
So are you all honourable men,
Come I to praise John Kennedy's deeds.
He was our friend, faithful and just to all.
But opponents say he was ambitious;
And the opponents are honourable men.
John Kennedy believed in the Freedom of Man.
He gave his youthful life that this will be.
Did this in John Kennedy seem ambitious?
When the suppressed have suffered, John Kennedy wept;
Ambition should be made of sterner stuff;
Yet opponents say he was ambitious;
And the opponents are honourable men.
Yet all did see that on that bleak November morn,
He rode courageously through town—
Which he could have refused. Was this ambition?
Yet his opponents say he was ambitious
And these Opponents are honourable men.
I speak—not to disprove—what opponents spoke
But here I am to speak what I do know.
All races loved him—and not without cause;
What cause withholds you then to mourn for him?
Would that the spirit of our heroic dead
Speak from their graves to the hearts of both parties (for you to hear)
"John Kennedy was not an ambitious man
Can any of you deny his moral courage to the end?"

A LETTER TO A VERY LITTLE BOY FROM HIS DADDY

(By Mrs. Phil Regan)

(In memory of our beloved late President John F. Kennedy).

Son: The whole world smiled the day you were born—or so it seemed to mommy and me. Even the hospital corridors buzzed with chatter and joy at news of your birth and your picture was posted in every conceivable place. Your little face is indelibly imprinted in my heart forever.

You were born into a great inheritance of Fitzgeralds, Kennedys, and Bouviers. Your mommy proved her heritage before a shocked world on Friday, November 22, 1963 when my life ended abruptly. Only God and I could feel the agonizing beat of mommy's heart as I tumbled helplessly into her lap. I have learned since coming here that in times of crisis angel watchers have enlightened, healed or aided people in ways too secretly personal to relate. (Angel is the Greek word for "messenger—one sent" and is used to indicate the "ministering spirits" sent out as messengers of God). That fatal day in Dallas I saw the hospital room peopled with angels who guard human beings as they enveloped mommy in an orange color of courage and encouragement. And in the background I heard the musical angels chanting the "Children's Prayer." I made the transition here with mommy's warm tears still upon my cheek. My heart grieved at some of the things I knew she would be called upon to endure.

I am sure you didn't understand all your courageous mommy told you about that horrible deed, but you knew something was wrong—awfully wrong because mommy was so sad. During those four tragic days she taught a lesson to all mankind as she carried on majestically serene in the true tradition of a thoroughbred. The lesson mommy taught John, is: Thoroughbreds don't whine.

On November 25, your third birthday, the Nation was in deepest mourning. Your shoulders are too small now to bear the weight of responsibility and you are too young to comprehend the meaning of words. Some day you will be tall and strong and God will give you understanding. The day in which you are living is most complex, John—John, but I shall be near you in any doubtful or difficult moment. So try to remember that I am not too far away.

Little boy, I hadn't planned to be on this side so soon. I made the journey here in a breath—in the twinkling of an eye. My one regret is having to leave you and Caroline and Mommy. The other is being unable to complete my service to those who trusted me.

Last night I beheld Lee Oswald on his way to the Cosmic Board (the Supreme Court here). He reached up one hand, then the other, and whispered, "God, go with me." He was so afraid of being judged.

Not knowing from whence the bullet came that day I pleaded, "God, please go with him." Son, who am I to judge?—God has also relieved you of the problem of judging anyone.

It is wonderful, Son, that in the hour of crisis the Spirit always soars to God. And the spirit of America shall soar to God and God will direct our leaders as He will direct you when you ask him for His guidance. Man will soon see the folly of trying to build without taking God into their plans. When men ignore Him and trust their own devices, they lose the points of their spiritual compass and know not which road to go.

I have found out since coming here that all service ranks the same with God. There is no last or first. Your true service is that which only you can render. You can render true service to your country, John—John, if you ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country—then do it.

May the mantle of God's love enfold and protect you and Caroline and Mommy and know that my heart is with you always.

Love,

DADDY.

Tribute to St. Labre Mission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, from time to time I receive inquiries about the Northern Cheyenne Indians located on the Tongue River Reservation in south central Montana. Many of these are inspired by communications from the St. Labre Mission soliciting contributions for the operation of the St. Labre Mission school. The St. Labre Mission does excellent work and the school provides the religious education for those children whose parents do not desire to send them to public schools. Excellent public schools are available, however, and as in other impacted areas the public school districts receive direct financial payments from the Federal Government for the Indian children in attendance who reside on tax-exempt land.

Inasmuch as I have received several inquiries about the Northern Cheyennes in recent weeks, I would like to call my colleagues attention to an excellent article that appeared last year in the Billings Gazette. The author of the article is Beverley B Morales, managing editor of the Republican Banner, Fort Lauderdale, Fla. She is a former resident of Miles City, Mont., and a graduate of the University of Montana School of Journalism. She is the winner of four Florida State awards for reporting and editing and received the 1960 Penney-University of Missouri award for editing. Her article follows:

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROGRESS IN THE FIRE-GLOW—FROM RACE OF SORROWS TO MORNING STAR

(By Beverley B. Morales)

BIRNEY.—Fire-glow silhouetting tepee walls, venison jerky drying in the sun, drums throbbing to an ancient war chant.

These scenes of yesterday are still part of the present on the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation.

Undeterred by its rank as Montana's "least assimilated" tribe, 2,500 Northern Cheyennes

are framing a sound modern economy while cherishing traditions of old.

Snug log cabins at Birney are whiskered with television antennas. Water lines connect homes in this village of contrasts. The water storage tank gleams on a hill above the mudflats, where roads rut deeply during periods of rain and snowmelt.

An old man who doesn't speak English leaves his TV set to take a sweat bath on the banks of Tongue River, as he has been doing since the last skirmish his people had with the U.S. cavalry.

He rolls hot rocks into a water-filled hole inside the sapling cupola; metal reflectors throw heat onto the quilt-covered bath in the grease woodclearing.

Today, new money and new hope have come to the Northern Cheyennes in such enterprises as a plastics assembly factory, a new tribal steer program, accelerated public works, a tribal craft program and programs proposed for the $4 million judgment fund. New emphasis has been placed on education, sanitation, housing; an Alcoholics Anonymous chapter has begun; the tuberculosis rate has been halved and income boosted.

Individual Cheyennes have earned enviable credit ratings, according to John Artichoker, Bureau of Indian Affairs superintendent at Lame Deer. Most business financing is handled by outside credit sources instead of through the BIA.

But just a few years ago, the Northern Cheyennes were heavy with liabilities and deficient in education, jobs, moral and spiritual motivation. Their health quotient was poor; they had a drinking problem and a high TB rate.

A tribal steer enterprise had flopped under mismanagement. An irrigation project was a three-time loser, a debacle of too many owners and too little know-how.

Job opportunities were few. A sawmill provided some employment until it burned. A small plastics plant failed.

Handicapped by isolation and lack of transportation, the tribe seemingly had little to offer industry. The nearest railroad, at Colstrip, is 25 miles off the reservation.

On the profit side of the ledger were a wealth of undeveloped human and natural resources, a lower juvenile delinquency rate than other Montana communities, and a young population—60 percent today are under 21.

Bad luck had haunted the Northern Cheyennes since their warriors banded with the Sioux to kill Custer in 1876. About 1,000 members were captured after the battle and taken to the Southern Cheyennes in Oklahoma—even though the Cheyenne Nation had split 50 years earlier into two separate tribes located 1,000 miles apart. The Northern tribesmen escaped in midwinter—and walked back to their Montana homeland. Their reservation finally was created in 1884.

"Then, for some reason, things kind of turned on them," Tribal President John Wooden Legs says.

What turned on them can only be understood by a review of Northern Cheyenne history and subsequent fluctuating policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Federal attitude, through the intervening years, swung from one extreme to the other, from annihilation to assimilation.

Falsified records, prairie fires set by careless soldiers, wanton slaughter of captured horses, massacres of Sand Creek, Ash Hollow, Washita—all are matters of Army record. None contributed to a meeting of minds between the Cheyennes and the whites.

Regarded as the enemy long after other tribes were civilized, this tribe was in no position to deal with the Government.

Now, however, the pendulum has swung the other way in a revision of Bureau of Indian Affairs policy which began about 1956.

Improved education has resulted in Indians working into administrative posts in the bureau itself. This development has improved relations between the tribes and the Federal Government—as well as tending to put Bureau of Indian Affairs programs on a more realistic basis than has been the case in the past.

The Cheyennes cling tenaciously to values which have served them for centuries. Almost 89 percent are three-fourths or more Indian. Many still speak their native language.

CAPACITY TO CATCH UP

But within their people, long dormant, lay the capacity to catch up with the mainstream of American life. Of this, Northern Cheyenne officials were certain, when they set out to rouse this sleeping spirit.

The Council has taken other positive steps in the area of education, including budgeting money for student assistance. Just a few years ago, Northern Cheyenne college graduates could be counted on one hand. Today, more than 20 are currently studying for bachelor or master degrees.

Despite the fact that 37 percent still derive their total income from welfare, the Northern Cheyennes do not want charity. They seek, instead, economic development.

"We want to do it ourselves," Tribal President, Wooden Legs, insists. "We have done it before. And we still can."

RESOURCES

Unemployment dropped briefly to 8 percent in November 1963. It had been at 37 percent 6 months before.

To get employment, the tribe is eyeing development of coal, oil, gas, and timber deposits yet untapped, as well as expansion of irrigated land on their 445,000 acres.

Known coal deposits, varying from 3 to 50 feet thick, underlie much of the reservation. More than 119 billion board feet of live saw timber in the county has never been exploited. The tribe hopes to step up lumbering operations in its ponderosa pine forests.

Though the scenic reservation consists mainly of foothills and badlands, an additional 2,750 acres on Tongue River bottom are potentially irrigable.

Their rangeland is stocked to 14,000-animal capacity today. This has been achieved by means of a shift in livestock operations, discouraging units smaller than 200 head, and expansion of the new steer enterprise to 5,000 head.

In view of their progress, Cheyenne leaders resent the "Race of Sorrows" label given wide national publicity by the Catholic St. Labre Mission at Ashland.

Though it might be argued that this description is justified by the tribe's tragic past, they would rather see their future emerge from the strength that also made the past glorious in the annals of American Indians.

"I do not want my people called the race of sorrows any longer," says Wooden Legs. "We are the Morning Star People. We have a bright future."

Community Believes in Self-Help

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday the community of Ellettsville in Monroe County, Ind., dedicated a new firehouse.

It was understandably a festive occasion, for they not only have an excellent new building for their fire trucks, but space was provided for an excellent community hall as well.

What is truly commendable about this new structure however is the way it came into being. Every cent for the construction of the building was donated by local people—none came from taxes of any variety.

In addition the townsmen contributed their labor for the construction, so that the money collected went primarily for the building materials.

For many years the town of Ellettsville has been known as a wonderful community, exemplifying the best in Hoosier smalltown life. This latest achievement fits very well with the record of Ellettsville.

It is also refreshing, in this age when most cities and towns anxiously pursue every possible grant and each type of assistance, that this community provides for itself without even considering seeking State or Federal aid.

The Real Alabama—Part LXII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the industrial boom in Alabama is expected to continue at even a greater pace in future years. It is important to note that the power and fuel needs of the State are being fully met as the boom progresses.

And even more noteworthy, the State's power facilities are being geared for the greater growth ahead. The story is told in the following article:

WHAT MAKES THE WHEELS HUM

Cheapest rates in the Nation. That's just a thumbnailed look at Alabama-generated electric power, spelling "industry appeal" in boxcar type.

But that doesn't commence to tell the story.

It would be just as ridiculous simply to say that Alabama natural gas flows through thousands of miles of pipeline, and let it go at that.

Or to skim over the heady fact that billions of tons of coal still lie untapped in Alabama earth. Or ignore the vast riches ahead as Alabama oil barely begins to gush toward ultimate potential.

Much of the State's electric power is generated in hydroelectric plants lining five major Alabama rivers. New dams and powerhouses are raising power potential each year, well ahead of present demand and geared for a continuing industrial boom.

And besides that—

Steam plants along the rivers, using Alabama coal, produce more millions of kilowattage.

Three of the world's greatest steamplants are located in the State—Southern Electric Generating Co.'s Wilsonville plant, about midstate, with 1 million-kilowatt capacity; Widow's Creek plant of TVA in the northeast corner, largest steamplant in the Nation,

with 1,750,000 capability and TVA's Colbert facility in the northwest, with a 1,300,000-kilowatt potential.

Alabama Power Co., with its 16 steam-electric and 10 hydroelectric plants has a generating ability of 2,834,575 kilowatts. Several new plants under construction will raise that figure substantially within a few years. In partnership with Mississippi Power Co., APC is now building a huge steamplant on the Warrior-Tombigbee Waterway, with an ultimate 2-million-kilowatt output.

Hardly a product made in Alabama today is untouched by the growing natural gas industry at some point of manufacture. There are a half million gas customers in the State today. Consumption has grown steadily to the 2,000 million therms a year level. Of this, industry consumes 1,400 million.

All this energy is piped through 8,500 miles of mains, maintained by three principal investor-owned enterprises serving the State. Transmission and distribution lines extend 12,700 miles.

First in the Nation to do so, Alabama Gas Corp., the State's largest distributor, is constructing a new, $4 million facility to store liquefied natural gas.

Nature was generous to Alabama in many ways, deposited billions of tons of coal in her hills and valleys. Coal fields extend over 8,000 square miles and estimates of recoverable coal yet untouched range as high as 30 billion tons.

For many years, Alabama economy was tied closely to the welfare of the coal industry. High point in production was 1926, with 21,508,812 tons mined.

Last accurately recorded period ended in 1964, mined tonnage was 13,963,499, a far cry from highwater days, but 13 percent ahead of the previous year and the best record since 1950.

Four mines produced 39 percent of all coal mined in the State last year. Alabama's No. 1 coal expert, Milton Fies, points out that these were all captive mines serving electric utilities and steel and iron producers.

Even by conservative estimate, Fies sees that even with a 40 million tons a year digging by the year 2000, Alabama's reserves will last 175 years. He quotes a FPC survey which says "Coal will continue to be the workhorse for power requirements in the Nation" even after 1980 atomic power installed capacity increases.

To this tack on the facts that research continues on underground gasification of coal and experiments to manufacture gasoline from Alabama bituminous wealth.

Mechanization and other efficiency moves have resulted in a lower minehead price for coal than was posted 15 years ago.

Relative newcomer oil, although first prospected 99 years ago, is the current target of stepped-up exploration and research. Several major companies are employing new, exotic processes.

Produced in commercial quantities for the first time in 1944, oil was moving toward the 50 millionth barrel through 1964. Giant Citronelle Field in North Mobile County has accounted for 71 percent of that total.

State geologist P. E. LaMoreaux believes that the bulk of Alabama's oil and gas remains hidden and that the State will have major additional discoveries within the next several years. He is convinced that many more pools will be discovered in south and northwest Alabama.

Last year closed with a flurry, with several important oil and gas shows to the south and northwest. Most significant of the oil wildcats was in Baldwin County, southernmost area of the State. A natural gas well development in Marion County tested for more than 2 million cubic feet daily.

Frank Stoutamire: Dedicated Public Servant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, there are often events in our lives which we cherish, which we enjoy, and which we deem an honor. Thus it was with me a short time ago when I was privileged to be among the number that came to honor Mr. and Mrs. Frank Stoutamire of Tallahassee, Fla., on their golden wedding anniversary.

It was an outpouring of friendship and respect such as I have never seen. Guests by the hundreds came to the lounge of the Tallahassee Federal Savings & Loan Association to pay their respects to a man who has become a legend for service and devotion to law enforcement in our area.

For 30 years, Frank Stoutamire served as sheriff of Leon County, and the record which he established set a mark for others to emulate. It was 12 years ago when he retired. A year after his retirement, he was asked by the city of Tallahassee to serve as their chief of police. This remarkable man answered the call to service, and the police department of that city has been a model department under his leadership.

Frank Stoutamire has the respect of all those who know him and he has a legion of friends. I count it an honor to say that he is my friend.

I traveled some little distance just to be there for the golden wedding anniversary of Mr. and Mrs. Stoutamire. His wife is a lovely woman who reared two fine children, and has been his helpmate in this past half century.

It is hard for those who know Frank Stoutamire to believe that he is 74 years young.

His family has been kind to me, and their friendship is something which I can never repay. His son-in-law and daughter, Dr. and Mrs. C. Paul Vickers are friends that I cherish, as I do the Stoutamires.

So it was no wonder that I wanted to be there, with the people of Tallahassee, indeed the leaders of the State of Florida, to say to the Stoutamires, we are your friends.

I visit with the Stoutamires when I have the chance, and their pride and joy is their great-grandson, Paul Vickers Watts, who with his tiny Stetson, is a ringer for his great-grandfather.

I thought as I visited with those in attendance—Cabinet members, a former Governor, Supreme Court Justices, and the cross section of the people of Tallahassee, here is a couple that have had a rich life, and to count their friends would be like trying to count the stars.

The day after the anniversary party, Malcolm B. Johnson of the Tallahassee Democrat wrote a column, entitled "A Pleasant Cross Section," which summed up far better than I could, just how large a tribute this was to a truly wonderful couple.

I can think of no time in the years I have had the privilege of serving in public office, that I took greater pride, than in simply being able to be present and say with all the others, I am a friend of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Stoutamire.

The article follows:

A PLEASANT CROSS SECTION

That golden wedding anniversary party for Mr. and Mrs. Frank Stoutamire yesterday brought out a more pleasant cross section of Tallahassee society than any affair of the kind we've attended in a long time.

It was a mixture of old Tallahassee and new Tallahassee, political Tallahassee and business Tallahassee, rural and urban Tallahassee that brought old friends face to face for too-rare visits. (For instance, it was the first chat we've had with Walter and Lois Roberts since we ran into them in Gatlinburg, Tenn., 2 years ago—but we've all been living here in the meantime.)

You could almost date the crowd by whether they called Stoutamire "Chief" or "Sheriff."

Whichever it was, though, it was generally recognized that this serene man has been "The Law" around here for most of the lives of the people who dropped by to congratulate him and his wife.

There was a multitude of memories, and intricate chains of family and political links circulating around the big room.

There was Mrs. Raymond Sensabaugh, whose father—Sheriff Jim Houstoun—gave Frank Stoutamire his first job as deputy sheriff 'way back there.

There were old county politicians who were around when Gov. Cary Hardee appointed Stoutamire sheriff on May 15, 1923, to replace a man who was caught up in the internationally notorious Martin Tabert whipping death case that ended the convict-lease system in Florida.

There were old courthouse employees, former and present State cabinet officers, Supreme Court Justices, former Congressmen and the incumbent DON FUQUA—all recalling the influence Stoutamire exerted in behalf of their campaigns; because Frank Stoutamire was a big man in Leon County politics, and he still can speak with vote-getting authority when he decides to do it.

You see, Stoutamire served out 30 years as the unbeatable sheriff of Leon County and retired 12 years ago. A year later City Manager Arvah Hopkins surprised the town by pulling him out of his retirement and persuading him to take over as Tallahassee chief of police after a long series of shifts in command that had morale of the force royally messed up.

We haven't had much trouble around the police station since then, and Stoutamire at 74—standing there yesterday with Mrs. Stoutamire looking more like a couple observing 50th birthdays than a golden wedding—seemed to be good for a few more years of keeping order in the community.

Sheriff-Chief Stoutamire has been embroiled in some violent fracases in his day—both with criminals, and with citizen and political critics—but few people have seen him ruffled. He's strictly an "easy does it" law enforcement officer; firm, but quiet.

Except for the western-style hat, you'd never take him for a lawman. He doesn't wear a pistol, never has, and few people ever have seen him with one in his hand. If he has a badge, he keeps it hidden.

But he doesn't stand for much foolishness, on the force nor on the streets. As a

matter of fact, that's sort of a trademark of his law enforcement.

We've heard him dress down a bunch of Ku Klux Klanners, a crew of civil rights leaders, some of his policemen, and carnival workers who got out of hand with pitch games and risque shows at the North Florida Fair while he was president.

In every case, he told them "we don't stand for that kind of foolishness around here."

And there was no foolishness at that reception yesterday—just a bunch of good citizens and old friends paying their respects to the Stoutamires and each other. Nice party.

Barringer-Walker Post 139

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to pay tribute to a group of fine young men from my district who recently reached the finals of the national American Legion baseball championships.

Among the many worthwhile projects conducted by members of the American Legion, their baseball program stands high on the list. It provides healthy, wholesome activity for young men at a very critical period in their lives. As a byproduct, many have graduated from American Legion baseball to fame in the major leagues.

Recently, the Barringer-Walker Post 139 team from Lyndhurst, N.J., made a determined bid for national honors and came very close to reaching that goal. Lyndhurst, incidentally, is a sports-minded community and always has produced outstanding teams and athletes. As an example, on three previous occasions Lyndhurst teams went as far as the State finals in the American Legion tournament.

This year, the team won even higher laurels. After winning the Bergen County district and State championships, they swept past three other State champions to become eastern champions.

They finally faltered upon reaching the national finals at Aberdeen, S. Dak., but it is to their credit that team members did not bemoan the loss of their best pitcher and an outstanding infielder when they returned home. They arrived home not victorious, but nevertheless welcomed by a large crowd of friends and neighbors delighted with their accomplishments.

I take this opportunity to congratulate these fine boys, their coach, Lyndhurst Patrolman Bob Muhleisen, and John Hartigan, well-known Legionnaire and team manager, for a job that has made New Jersey quite proud. We cannot emphasize too much the value of the fine adult leadership given these young men and feel that their accomplishments should be noted before this distinguished Congress.

Sanity Returns to New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I call to the attention of my colleagues the column of William S. White from the Washington Post of September 20, 1965:

UNBURIED BOSSES: SANITY RETURNS TO NEW YORK

(By William S. White)

For the umpteenth time, it turns out that they have buried "The Boss" most prematurely in the city of New York.

The Democratic primary victory of Abraham Beame for the nomination for Mayor raises all manner of questions, notably whether he can defeat in November the very un-Republican Republican candidate, JOHN V. LINDSAY.

But one point, at any rate, has already been settled. Political organizations—or "machines"—in huge, bloc-ridden cities are not only long lived. They are also simply necessary to the conduct of any sensible politics at all. And, like dear old Truth itself, once crushed to earth they will yet rise again.

For the stoical Beame himself was the choice of the dreadful bosses—old Charley Buckley in the Bronx, hard-nosed Stanley Steingut in Brooklyn, and so on. And Beame did win.

"The bosses" had for years been in bad case and worse odor. Howling groups of reformist Democrats had made antibossism a creed and a career, one set all the while grappling with another set to prove that it was the more truly pure, the more nobly unbossed.

Endlessly, one could hear the crackle of the fire as one witch after another, one poor devil after another who had flunked a litmus test requiring an independence beyond words, was hurled screaming into the bubbling pot.

Indeed, the retiring Democratic mayor of New York, Robert Wagner, himself long fanned these raging flames, of necessity, and after he himself had fallen out with "the bosses" and so required another constituency. Such a constituency he then found, among the hosts of reformers.

It became not simply a social error but a crime to say a word for political organization. The very word "organization" was a kind of curse. Evil was the name for any political movement of any sort of coherence, any stain of cohesion, any blot, that is to say, of order and responsibility.

Closely allied with this shrieking political puritanism was an almost hysterical companion search for the holy grail of absolute liberalism, as defined by whichever pack of reformists was currently the best of the good guys. One had to be so liberal as hardly to be believed. Especially was this so within the Liberal Party, which was schismatically formed in the first place upon its ghastly discovery that hardly any liberal Democrat at all could be liberal enough to suit its dogmas. LINDSAY has now been accepted into its tremulous embrace.

The long and short is that Democratic politics fell into the damp grip of an evangelistic emotionalism hardly distinguishable in principle from a revival meeting in the canebreaks of the South or upon the high prairies of the Middle West.

But now a semblance of sanity has perforce returned to the city. Beame's victory establishes that to operate within a political organization—or, again, a "machine"—is not an indictable offense, after all. It illustrates as well that the alternative to political organization is political chaos, precisely the chaos that so long afflicted New York.

To be sure, none can say that Beame will not have to pay for his conformism to organization politics when the ballots are counted. For LINDSAY had already been the hero of many Democrats who had indeed passed both litmus tests—proved to be "independent" beyond words and so "liberal" as to make, say, Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY seem a member of the southern caucus.

In LINDSAY, therefore, the finger-pointers, the evangelists, the men so righteous as to be beyond the comprehension of other men prone to error, will have their alternative to Beame.

Home Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I take great pleasure in inserting in the RECORD an article appearing in the Chicago Tribune on September 21, and also an article appearing in the New York Times on September 14, on the subject of home rule. I hope Members from those States will read these statements, as they, in my opinion, give a clear-cut explanation of the home rule proposals for the District of Columbia.

The articles follow:

[From the New York Times, Sept. 14, 1965]

IN THE NATION: THE CASE AGAINST "HOME RULE"

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, September 13.—In the current drive for the actual equality of all citizens in the legal and economic structure of the United States, home rule for this Capital City is a proposition whose claim seems undeniable on any worthy ground. Those who oppose it are accordingly subject to the suspicion that their sole reason is the ethnic division of the District of Columbia, the only metropolitan community in which Negroes constitute a considerable majority.

It is undoubtedly true that some of the opposition arises wholly from the prospect of Negro domination of the local government, most importantly of the police and the tax assessment authority, if Congress votes the substance of the legislation President Johnson has made one of his major objectives at this session. The legislation would also commit Congress to pay a fixed annual sum to the District that, once computed, would not require approval by subsequent Congresses.

NEGATIVE POWER

In passing the bill, Congress would retain the reserve power of veto over any act of the local government; so would the President, although his vetoes could, in effect be overridden by two-thirds of each branch of Congress. But, once home rule was established, this supervision would become a negative, as contrasted with the present positive, power. Because of the political philosophy that prevails in Congress, and also because of its

complicated processes, negative power would be much more difficult to assert.

But there are reasons to oppose the home rule bill that are not fairly open to the suspicion of racist origin. They are impressive on both practical and constitutional grounds, deriving as they do from the causes which led the writers of the Constitution to include the clauses 17 and 18 in section 8, article I. That created the District as an enclave in which Federal legislative power was exclusive.

The decision in the Constitutional Convention was reached on September 5, 1787. In his authoritative "The Making of the Constitution" (Little, Brown & Co., Boston) the late Charles Warren explained the event as follows:

"The power of Congress to legislate for the District * * * inserted on this day * * * had originated in a suggestion submitted by Madison on August 18, that Congress be given additional powers, among them: 'To exercise exclusive legislative authority at the seat of the General Government, and over a district around the same.' "

In his standard interpretative guide to the Constitution, the late Prof. Edward S. Corwin fully documents the legal history wherein it was confirmed that "Congress possesses over the District * * * the blended powers of a local and National Legislature * * *" with, as Chief Justice Marshall emphasized, the power of "exclusive legislation." But the reason for writing this into the Constitution as a specific, and a persuasive argument against any such delegation of the power as provided in the pending home rule bill, are to be found in the following memorandum by an outstanding member of the District bar:

"The Continental Congress was all but driven out of Philadelphia by gangs of veterans of the Revolution demanding back pay and other redress of their grievances. With these things fresh in their minds, the framers of the Constitution gave Congress the power of 'exclusive legislation' over the Federal district it created. * * *

"As I understand the present home rule proposals, they contemplate no change in the Constitution but give a local government under a mayor and city council full governing authority subject only to a veto power in the Congress. This, it seems to me, can result surely in conflict and confusion. One needs only imagine a city hall of one party and a Congress of another, with taxes, city improvements, and police problems in controversy, to get the full impact of what is proposed.

THE LOGIC

"The predominance of District property used and occupied by the Federal Government in this small area again emphasizes the logic of Federal control here. We now have, under the present system, not a perfect local government, but it is cleaner from graft and corruption than any city of its size in the United States. The political gangs that surround most city halls (if they do not actually occupy them) are absent from our present District government. To install them now in our Nation's Capital would, it appears to me, constitute a grave mistake of major and lasting consequences."

The present outlook for the home rule bill is that this prophecy will be put to the test.

[From the Chicago Tribune, Sept. 21, 1965]

HOME RULE IN WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON, September 9.—The home rule bill for the District of Columbia, passed by the Senate and about to be railroaded through the House by the Great Society politicians, is a measure that will turn over the government of the Nation's Capital to the leftwing Americans for Democratic Action, besides being a disguised raid on the Federal Treasury.

The interested proponents of this bill prate of democracy, but the proposed measure would actually give the submerged minority of opponents a possible 2 seats out of 17, on the city council. The result would be a one-party government with all the attributes of an administration controlled by a political machine such as is to be found in many of the large cities of the country. The opportunity for graft and corruption of all kinds will be practically unlimited.

Indeed, the principal purpose of the bill is to get Washington out from under control of Congress and the limitations that body has placed on irresponsible, extravagant spending. It requires no crystal ball to predict that if this law passes, the Nation's Capital in a few years will be up to its ears in debt, perhaps like New York City, where they float bonds to pay current running expenses.

To make sure of setting up a situation enabling the bosses to freely raid the Federal Treasury, the home rule bill provides that the District of Columbia shall be paid annually and automatically for all taxes lost on all U.S. Government property, real and personal, heretofore omitted from the tax rolls. To accomplish this, such U.S. property is to be assessed and the amount of taxes that would have been levied computed. A bill for the aggregate amount would then be presented to the Public Treasury for payment, without further or any action by Congress. This, of course, is backdoor spending in plain violation of the express language of the Constitution prohibiting expenditures except by appropriation.

However, Joseph Rauh, chairman of the local Democratic central committee and chief political power, says he has the votes to put this deal across, and it looks very much as though he were right.

Invasions of Privacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a radio editorial from station WGR, in Buffalo, N.Y.:

WELL DONE SENATOR

It can happen here. The erosion of personal freedoms and personal privacy until we are under the constant eye of "Big Brother" is a distinct possibility if the American people are apathetic enough to let it happen.

A hitherto almost unsuspected evil in our society, the dangerous invasions of privacy practiced by some Government agencies under the guise of law enforcement, has been put under the glaring spotlight of investigation by a committee headed by Missouri Senator EDWARD V. LONG. He and his committee made the appalling discovery that wiretapping, opening of mail, and tape recordings of conversations have been employed against not only known law breakers, but against ordinary citizens as well.

Unlike similar committees in the past, Mr. LONG and his group were not after mere publicity, but results. So far, their investigation of the Post Office Department has brought an end to the "peephole" practice of spying on workers during their rest periods. His current probe of techniques used by the Internal Revenue Service has already resulted in a Presidential order prohibiting many such practices.

It's a good start, and we hope that Mr. LONG and his subcommittee will keep the pressure up, and hammer out legislation that will make the deplorable snooping into the lives of ordinary citizens absolutely illegal.

Communism and You

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the Wackenhut Corp., located in Coral Gables, Fla., is a national investigative and security organization with operations extending from Puerto Rico, throughout the United States, to Hawaii. It is acutely aware of the threat of communism and has presented a new pamphlet on communism and its attack on youth, dated September 1965, which follows:

COMMUNISM AND YOU

"There are new opportunities now to draw the younger generation into the struggle for peace and democracy, and for the great ideals of communism."—MOSCOW DECLARATION, 1960

COMMUNIST ATTACK ON YOUTH—VI

With amazing and puzzling success, the Communist Party, U.S.A., is placing its top officials as speakers on major college campuses across the Nation. The Lecture and Information Bureau of the Communist Party, U.S.A., requests that representatives of the Communist Party be invited to speak to student bodies, and the invitations come forth.

"The intensified drive of the (Communist) party to attract youth continues unabated," J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, warned in 1963. "Always anxious to spread its venom on college campuses across the Nation, it has launched an all-out campaign designed to lure youth into the web of communism. * * * The party welcomes the opportunity to speak before student groups because it gives the party an aura of respectability; an opportunity to plant seeds of dissent in the minds of individuals; an opportunity to recruit some youthful followers."

Despite the warnings and objections of Mr. Hoover and others, leading Communists have been appearing before student groups at the rate of one or more every week during the school year. From October 1961 to May 1962, Communists made 48 speeches before college audiences, reaching more than 75,000 students and townspeople, according to their own estimates. In the calendar year of 1963 they spoke to 45 student groups. In 1964 they made 44 appearances, "skillfully imparting the Communist line with espousals paralleling Soviet views,'" Mr. Hoover reported.

On June 21, 1963, the University of California Board of Regents by a vote of 15 to 2 lifted the 11-year ban on Communist speakers, and President Clark Kerr said this would prevent the Communists from becoming civil rights martyrs. A newspaper editorial, challenging the decision, pointed out that "A similar line of reasoning would permit all murderers in death row at San Quentin the right to speak on any of the university campuses in order to keep them from becoming martyrs."

On January 24, 1964, the University of Washington Board of Regents passed a resolution permitting Communists to speak on

the campus. A university official explained that "In this way, and at the same time, the educational purposes of the university for free but objective and critical inquiry are best served."

In contrast, when the Faculty Advisory Committee of Ohio State University proposed that the president be deprived of the power to ban subversive speakers, the university trustees on July 8, 1965, voted 5 to 3 against changing the rule. Trustee John W. Bricker, former Governor of Ohio, said, "Communists, Nazis, Fascists, and other subversives and their supporters have no right to speak at a tax-supported State university."

Nevertheless, the last 3 years have been most satisfying for Communist speakers. "Their audiences ranged from an intimate 13 to a huge 4,000," Mr. Hoover said. "The latter number heard Dorothy Healey, a member of the party's national committee, when she spoke in the stadium of the California State College at Los Angeles, Calif., on May 20, 1964. Audiences from 500 to 800 were common."

While all this was going on, there occurred an ironically amusing development that brought yelps of protest when the Communist Party, U.S.A. discovered that it had competition in its drive for American youth from a splinter group founded by some of its own former members.

The Progressive Labor Movement, an extremely militant and leftist organization was organized in January 1962 by Communist Milton Rosen and Mortimer Scheer, Mr. Hoover reported. Both Rosen and Scheer and many other members of the Communist Party were expelled for disruptive activities, which meant that they followed the racist and more revolutionary policies of the Chinese Communists, rather than the Moscow line.

One of Progressive Labor Movement's earliest and most spectacular youth activities was its challenge of the U.S. State Department's ban on travel to Cuba. It created the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, organized 59 "students" from 11 States and sent them to Havana, via Europe, on June 25, 1963. The group ranged in age from 18 to 36 and included students and nonstudents and a University of Puerto Rico professor, Jose Maria Lima-Rivera, according to the testimony by Mr. Hoover before the 1964 U.S. House Subcommittee on Appropriations.

The "students" contributed $110 each; Fidel Castro donated $30,000 in air fares alone. He and other Communist leaders evidently felt full value was received for propaganda purposes. A number of students defended Castro, attacked U.S. policies on Vietnam and in the field of civil rights, and praised the Chinese "for their support of the black people's struggle." As an aftermath, an inquiry into the trip by the House Committee on Un-American Activities resulted in outbursts, street rallies, and sit-in demonstrations that produced headlines and photographs. A year later in June 1964 Castro repeated the trip for 84 "students," picking up the entire bill and giving each visitor $10 per week spending money. Again, the propaganda was beamed around the world.

On April 15, 1965, Milton Rosen announced the formation of a new Communist Party with the change of the name of Progressive Labor Movement to Progressive Labor Party, thus arousing the fury of the Communist Party U.S.A. which protested that it was the only Communist organization in the United States. The Progressive Labor Party's appeal to youth, claiming that 80 percent of those attending its founding convention were young workers and students, also angered the competitive Communist Party U.S.A.

Rosen is national chairman and Scheer and William Epton are vice chairmen of the Progressive Labor Party, which will parallel the Chinese Communist line, according to its press release. It claims five clubhouses and three offices in New York City with other offices in Berkeley, San Francisco, Chicago, Louisville, Williamsport, Pa., and Buffalo. The significance of the Progressive Labor Movement—now the Progressive Labor Party—was the important role it would play in upcoming violent demonstrations.

Lansing Job Training Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to be able to call to the attention of Members of Congress the great work being done by the Michigan Catholic Conference through its Lansing Job Training Center.

The center is a pilot project of the conference under a contract with the U.S. Department of Labor. A recently issued report on the center's activities in the first year indicates that 77 percent of trainees, who just 1 year ago had been considered hard-core unemployed, have been placed. I think we can all agree that this is a record which is indeed commendable.

The Detroit News, on Monday, September 20, reported on the outstanding performance of the Lansing Job Training Center. Under unanimous consent I include the article, headlined "Training Center Deals Out Jobs, Hope for Graduates," at this point in the RECORD:

TRAINING CENTER DEALS OUT JOBS, HOPE FOR GRADUATES

LANSING, September 20.—The Lansing Job Training Center today reported placement of a phenomenal 77 percent of trainees considered hard cord jobless last year.

The center, a pilot project operated by the Michigan Catholic Conference (MCC) under contract with the U.S. Department of Labor, issued the report on its first year of operation today.

Of the 172 jobless who enrolled last year, jobs were found for 132 men and women, a much higher rate than the national average for similar projects.

"This is far beyond my expectations," said John L. Gaffney, center director. "We're really pleased."

FIRST IN STATE

The project was the first of its type in the State and was the first nationally financed program aimed primarily at the Spanish-speaking person.

Of the trainees, one-third could speak little or no English. Most were Spanish-speaking, including a judge who was a Cuban refugee, and Mexican migrants. Also in the program was a French-speaking Senegalese and a Colombian immigrant.

The age range of the trainees was 17 to 61 with the average age 34. Average educational level was the sixth grade and total annual incomes averaged $900.

Of the 172, a total of 70 was receiving some type of welfare aid and 115 were the heads of a family. Almost one-fourth had a criminal record, a third had never learned to read and many never attended school.

LEARN BASICS

Of those who first came to the center, 17 were early dropouts, and 23 have yet to be placed in jobs.

Using the approach of basic education, job training and aptitude development, the center trained the enrollees for jobs as nurses' aids, clerk-typists, cash register operators, custodians and maintenance workers, welders and auto mechanic helpers.

"The key to the whole program is individual counseling," said Gaffney.

Some of the typical success stories include:

A 17-year-old Texan with a wife and child, who was a migrant worker and earned $900 in 1963, now works in a service station for $75 a week. He admits to being less of a grouch because of the basic education program and has improved his reading and writing.

EARNS $2.62 AN HOUR

A 31-year-old Mexican, who had 4 years of education in his country and was on relief here, now earns $2.62 an hour at a Lansing factory.

Not all the trainees were successful.

"There were some people we couldn't help a bit," said Gaffney. "Some failed to change their attitudes. Some lost three or four jobs, but the final rate of placement is certainly encouraging."

Many of the trainees expressed fear at going for job interviews or meeting others. For some, it was the first time they could fill out a job application form.

One trainee, a 46-year-old bachelor who lived most of his life on a farm, finished both basic education and janitor-maintenance courses and said, "Just to be here is an education in itself. Now I can talk to strangers easier."

A 37-year-old woman now running her own janitor-maintenance business said, "I used to be scared to be in a group of people; now I'm not; I was scared to come here at first. I am glad now I came."

Gaffney, who said it will take 10 years to judge the effectiveness of the program, said family problems were dealt with before teaching trainees. He said group and individual counseling were both utilized.

Similar programs operated by other organizations are now underway in Detroit, Port Huron, Muskegon and Marquette.

The Michigan Catholic Conference now has new contracts extending to September 1966, for training 360 jobless in Lansing and in Mount Pleasant where the emphasis will be on work with Chippewa Indians.

Salute to the Republic of Mali

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, the people of Mali celebrate today their fifth independence day. On this memorable occasion, we wish to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Modibo Keita, the President of the Republic of Mali; and to His Excellency Moussa Leo Keita, the Mali Ambassador to the United States.

Mali is usually considered a very young nation by the traditional measuring rods of international politics; however, the history of its people extends far back to

the great Mali empire of West Africa which began in the 11th century and lasted through the middle of the 1800's. Those were the days when the great warrior emperor, Mansa Musa, led a mighty army to conquer the ancient city of Tombouctou and the vast territories situated around the middle Niger. The legends of the old empire still relate his fantastic pilgrimage to Mecca, when he distributed 50,000 ounces of gold along the way and brought back scores of Muslim scholars to enhance the culture and learning of his newly conquered cities.

Things have changed considerably since the exotic days of Mansa Musa; yet the traditions of the proud and independent warriors of the Mali empire have survived in the people of the Mali Republic today. Some can still remember the courageous 16-year war waged by Samory's Mandingo army against the French colonialists at the end of the last century; others have served with valor alongside of French forces in two World Wars.

Today the Republic of Mali faces the future with the determination and independence which have distinguished its proud people in the past. Already agriculturally self-sufficient, the country is undertaking an extensive industrial development program to begin development of a modern economy. A close economic relationship has been pursued with Ghana and Guinea in the Union of African States as well as close ties with the French and association with the European Economic Community.

In some ways the Government of Mali has demonstrated it has already provided for some of the most important advantages of a modern state. The Labor Code, passed in 1962, provides for such progressive measures as a 40-hour working week, arbitration, the right to strike, children's allowances, annual leave, and retirement with a pension at age 55. Other programs provide for special maternity allowances and even classes in prenatal and infant care.

No doubt the road ahead for Mali will not always be a smooth one. The country's rapid political and economic evolution and the consequent detribalization of its people have brought many of the inevitable problems of social change and modernization. Nonetheless, the past history of Mali, both ancient and modern, indicates that the people of Mali will continue to face the future with the independent courage and determination that distinguish their heritage. It is a pleasure for me to extend my congratulations to the Republic of Mali on its independence day.

Battle for Your Mind

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article written by Samuel Lubell:

BATTLE FOR YOUR MIND—QUESTION BORN OF TRAGEDY: CAN A SOCIETY BE GREAT AND LACK FOCUS ON INDIVIDUAL?

(By Samuel Lubell)

It was a strange way to get a glimpse into what makes a truly Great Society.

At 2 o'clock one morning my wife and I were startled out of our sleep by the ringing telephone—our 15-year-old son, Walter, had been found semiconscious on the bathroom floor at camp in upstate New York and had been driven to the Mary Fletcher Hospital in Burlington, Vt. Brain surgery might be needed.

Before leaving for the hospital, we asked our family doctor to find out which New York City brain surgeons were on hand in the city and might be flown to Burlington.

But the Mary Fletcher turned out to be an unusual kind of hospital, particularly skilled in neurosurgery. Walter had shown almost immediate improvement, which gave Dr. Martin Flanagan time to perform a series of tests to determine what had happened inside Walter's brain.

On the second day, through the angiogram technique, Dr. Flanagan discovered that a blood vessel in Walter's brain had been closed off, producing a mild stroke which partially paralyzed part of his left side. Fortunately, other veins and blood vessels took over, sending blood into the deprived part of the brain and restoring Walter's functioning to normal.

HUMAN FEELING

Gratified as we were by the skill of the doctor, we were equally impressed by another feature of the Mary Fletcher Hospital—the gentle, human feeling shown by the nursing and hospital staff, not simply to us, but to all the hospital's patients and visitors.

While living in New York City and Washington we had come to accept depersonalization as part of the price to be paid for modern medical technology and urban living. Mary Fletcher is free of many big city difficulties. Still, in serving a population area of 100,000, it is plagued with the same problems of too few hospital beds and a shortage of nurses that confront larger institutions. And yet, no one seemed too busy to be thoughtful.

We noticed that the nurses and attendants refer to each patient by name, rather than by room number or as "that cardiac" or "traffic accident" case.

Dick Courtiss, the counselor who drove Walter from the camp, found that a cot had been set up for him so that he could sleep within easy call. While Helen, my wife, was waiting to see the doctor, an elderly attendant, stopped and asked "How is Walter?"

After chatting a few moments, she asked Helen. "Can I get you a cup of tea?"

The gray-haired clerk at the information desk was never the brusque gatekeeper. She answered requests for information about the patients in full detail, and telephoned about motel accommodations for out-of-town visitors. This considerateness was evident everywhere in the hospital.

WORK IS ORGANIZED

What is Mary Fletcher's secret that enables it to combine so high a degree of medical efficiency with an old fashioned "you're part of the family" quality of nursing care?

One of the head nurses, Phyllis Raine, insisted, it's the kind of people Vermonters are." But another Vermonter, Sally Sample, who is the director of nursing, pointed out that only half of the nursing staff is from Vermont.

Miss Sample had no simple explanation for Mary Fletcher beyond the fact that "we really work at making the care of the patients our whole purpose."

The fact that Mary Fletcher is attached to the University of Vermont's medical school helps. The hospital work is organized as an educational experience, with doctors and nurses working together as a team.

"The young nurses lift the tone of the whole staff," Miss Sample explained. "They're idealistic and enthusiastic."

Size is another important factor. Still, in 3 years, Mary Fletcher has grown from 240 to 320 beds, with another 150-bed unit going into construction. Each year 30 percent of the nurses leave and must be replaced in competition with higher paying cities. The starting salary for a nurse in New York City is $100 a week, while Mary Fletcher pays only $75, though this is now being raised to $85.

NEED PERSONAL TOUCH

I asked several nurses whether they received formal indoctrination in how to be considerate. Their reply invariably was, "We're given no set of rules. You see everyone behaving that way and just do it naturally yourself."

Their replies left me wondering whether the real secret of Mary Fletcher might not be just this: that the sense of personal human care had always been there and had never been lost, even while the hospital doubled and tripled in size and added the latest advances in medical technology.

After Walter was out of danger, we sat talking with Dr. Lester Wallman, another of Mary Fletcher's neurosurgeons. He remarked, "Some big city doctors have told me that they must build a wall between themselves and their patients—there are so many of them."

But does this fact that "there are so many of them" mean that medical efficiency must be callous and depersonalized? Or is it that we have just given up trying to preserve the personal touch?

We have become so intent upon organizing our society in terms of masses of people, statistics and punch cards, and with so much emphasis on spending by the billions. But can you build a really Great Society if it is so impersonal and if it has lost the focus on the individual human being?

Untimely Death of Marshall Field

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the people of the Chicago metropolitan area and the Nation have suffered a great loss in the untimely death on Saturday, September 18, 1965, of one of the most distinguished men of journalism, Marshall Field.

I feel this loss very personally, for I have lived my life in Illinois within the sphere of great public responsibility which belongs to the Chicago Daily News and the Chicago Sun-Times, of which Marshall Field was editor and publisher. It was my privilege to know Marshall Field—a totally dedicated man of justice and courage and talent.

Marshall Field contributed mightily to the legend of his name. He was the fourth member of his line to bear the name of a family distinguished in publishing, merchandising, real estate, and philanthropy. He succeeded his father, Marshall Field III, as president and publisher of the Chicago Daily News and the Chicago Sun-Times. He was chairman of the board of Field Enterprises, Inc.,

honorary chairman of Field Enterprises Educational Corp., a director of Marshall Field & Co., and vice president of the Field Foundation, Inc. He was involved in fine works of philanthropy and served universities, museums, hospitals, and many charitable organizations in his community. His colleagues in the newspaper profession held him in the highest esteem.

I would like to share with my colleagues the following editorial comments about the life of Marshall Field. They describe the dreams and accomplishments of a man who met challenge after challenge and who recorded triumph after triumph—all in the interests of his fellow man. The editorial comments "Statement by the President of Field Enterprises, Inc."; "Marshall Field"—editorial from Chicago Daily News, Monday, September 20, 1965; and "Marshall Field"—editorial from Chicago's American, Monday, September 20, 1965, follow:

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF FIELD ENTERPRISES, INC.

Marshall Field had an unshakable faith in his fellow man. A man of justice and mercy himself, he believed in every fiber of his being that if men and women could be truthfully and fully informed, their capacities for good would be unlimited. It was utterly natural, therefore, that he should wish to publish two newspapers in this region where his name is a byword for integrity, and beyond that to publish encyclopedias and other works which are standards of educational excellence throughout this country and a large part of the world.

To do this he built, with immense courage and talent, a vast complex of publishing companies on foundations laid by his father. With equally characteristic determination and foresight, he staffed these companies with colleagues who he felt could—and would—carry on his work and ideals.

On behalf of his colleagues, therefore, may I say that we will carry on in the ways he so clearly set out. We will translate our bitter sense of loss from his death into renewed dedication to his unfinished work. We were stricken yesterday that he should be taken from us at the height of his powers. But we pledge ourselves to try with his family to make tomorrow what he wished it to be.

GEORGE B. YOUNG,
President, Field Enterprises, Inc.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Daily News, Sept. 20, 1965]

MARSHALL FIELD

With his magnificient endowments of intellect and character, and born as he was with the instruments of power at his command, Marshall Field could have been almost anything he wanted to be, done almost anything he wanted to do.

What he most wanted to be was a newspaperman. What he most wanted to achieve was what a newspaper is singularly fitted to do—to serve the community and its people.

These were not romantic notions, gained in the flush of youthful exuberance. They were convictions gained, as it happened, during long and combat-studded service as a naval officer in World War II.

As a matter of fact, the courage of the young gunnery officer on the carrier *Enterprise*, picking himself up wounded from the deck and resuming command of his battery, found its reflection in the mature editor and publisher, weighing the consequences of a newspaper campaign that was certain to bring down the fury of many whose heritage he shared and whose friendship he prized, and going ahead regardless.

This was, indeed, where Marshall Field found the deepest satisfaction of his life—in fighting for good causes when formidable forces were arrayed in opposition. As Marshall Field, he inevitably had many financial and business interests, and the calls on his time and energies were unremitting. But it is significant that his principal office was on the editorial floor of the building housing his two newspapers; it was here that he came in the morning, to hang up his coat and turn up his shirtsleeves, to work with his editors on the planning and execution of news policies.

As an editor, Marshall Field's interests ranged wide and ran deep. Like his father, whom he revered, he was concerned first and foremost with people; all else was subordinate to that. Convinced that there was no meaning for humanity without freedom, he based his international and national policies on what would serve freedom best. Long before the United States became committed in southeast Asia, he perceived that area as one where the world balance might be turned crucially either for or against the cause of freedom. And to those who claimed that what happened in that far corner was of little concern at home, he replied that freedom anywhere was an imperative concern of freemen everywhere.

Similarly on national issues, Mr. Field made freedom—the responsibility exercised freedom of the individual—the cornerstone of his policy, and while he was personally a Republican, he held that allegiance because he felt that philosophy of Lincoln best expressed his own convictions of the dignity of the individual, and not because he considered that the party could do no wrong. He unhesitatingly supported, without concern for party label, the candidate he believed the ablest and sincerest practitioner of this philosophy.

It was, of course, Chicago that stood nearest the heart of Marshall Field. This was his lifelong home, his pride, his love, his dream. Here, then, was where he concentrated his energies, and here were the headquarters of all his enterprises.

This was his city: he knew its great strengths and its glaring flaws; he saw in its great, raw power, its people of many ethnic strains and races, its strategic situation at the heart of the Nation, the foundations of a city of the future greater than most of its people dared dream of. Through his individual energies but mainly through his newspapers, first the Sun-Times and later through the team formed by the Sun-Times and the Daily News, he brought his influence to bear on every facet of the community where good could be done, or where lethargy or corruption or criminality could be exposed and eradicated.

"With faith in a kindly providence and confidence in ourselves," he wrote 7 years ago, "we should be able not only to build a fabulous Metropolitan Chicago but contribute much to the building of a better world. That is our real destiny, and we are honorbound to fulfill it."

It was characteristic of this man that he shield away from personal glory. While his name was inevitably a legend in his lifetime, his face was familiar to a relative few. While his abiding interest was people, and their welfare his lifelong concern, there was about him an innate shyness, an authentic humility that kept him out of the public gaze. Even among his close associates, he was never one to impose his views; he sought and respected the judgment of others, and their opinions received due weight in his decisions.

Once those decisions were made, however, he was once more the gunnery officer in full command of his battery. He did not falter; he did not retreat.

Marshall Field is dead at 49, and Chicago and the Nation have ample reason to mourn his passing. There are so many places where his energies were still needed, so many shining dreams that he leaves unfulfilled, so many friends whose lives he touched, and made more meaningful.

And yet here was a man who found his own destiny in those he helped, in those good causes that knew his powerful support. That circumstances provided extraordinary scope for these instincts was Marshall Field's great good fortune, and he used his opportunities well. At whatever hour such a man dies, his life can be called a success.

[From Chicago's American, Sept. 20, 1965]

MARSHALL FIELD

No city can have enough men like Marshall Field, and his death at 49 has left Chicago poorer. This was a man whose vast resources—in energy, ability, and vision, not merely in wealth—were dedicated to making this a better city, a better Nation. And he succeeded; the good he did is more than can be reckoned up.

An American legend has been made of the poor boy who makes good. But there should be a special honor for the rich man who makes good; the challenges he faces are in many ways harder. It would have been easy for Marshall Field to rest on an old and honored name, to let others do the hard job and enjoy himself. It was the good fortune of the people of Chicago that he wasn't made that way.

He took the hard way and met his own challenges. That was the pattern of Marshall Field's life. It showed clearly in his 4 years as a naval officer during World War II. Field was offered a Navy ensign's commission; he turned it down and earned his own commission by going through training at the Navy Midshipman's school at Northwestern University.

As a gunnery officer, he took part in every major naval engagement in the South Pacific. Wounded, he fought through a savage aerial attack during which his gunnery crew shot down 32 enemy planes. His conduct in that engagement won him the Silver Star.

His career as a newspaperman followed the same honorable pattern. Marshall Field started out on the Chicago Sun, the newspaper founded by his father, not in an executive's office but in the back of a delivery truck. By the time he had worked through every department of the Sun, he was, truly, a newspaperman—one who added new honors to that title.

The variety and range of his work seemed endless—in education, in publishing, in communications, in finance, in philanthropy. He came of a pioneer family; Marshall Field long has been a great name in Chicago. It was a mighty challenge to make it greater, but the man we have lost succeeded.

We mourn a grievous loss—to his family, his colleagues on the Sun-Times and Daily News, to ourselves, to all who knew him, and to all the uncountable millions who have benefited from his life and work.

Increasing Pesticide Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, this week we passed a bill which would increase the annual amounts available for research on the effects of insecticides and pesticides on fish and wildlife. I was pleased to support this bill, first because of the tremendous importance of a

thriving, healthy wildlife resource to the economy of my district in Massachusetts, and secondly in terms of the vital importance of this resource for the country as a whole.

We in western Massachusetts have long prided ourselves on the wildlife resources which have attracted sportsmen from all over the country for centuries. Our streams and river produce some of the best game fishing in the world. And our lush Berkshire Mountains beckon hunters every year in search of deer and wildfowl. The Berkshires have rightly been called a sportsman's paradise.

That is perhaps why we have taken more than a passing interest in events such as the late Rachel Carson's superb book "Silent Spring" and the righteous public alarm which has risen in its wake. To us in western Massachusetts, the threat to wildlife through pollution and indiscriminate use of pesticides is a threat not only to our recreation and pleasure, but to our economy as well.

That is why we are always asking the question, before new industries are accepted, before new projects on the land and water are approved, what will be the pollution effect?

The extent of our concern is perhaps best exemplified by a recent editorial from the Berkshire Eagle, the daily newspaper in my own hometown of Pittsfield, Mass. I believe the editorial makes some useful and provocative points and, because it may be informative to all of us in this body, and with unanimous consent I place the editorial in the RECORD at this point.

The editorial follows:

[From the Berkshire Eagle of Pittsfield, Mass.]

THE CRABS AND OYSTERS VALIDATE "SILENT SPRING"

The late Rachel Carson, who so effectively warned the world of the dangers of indiscriminate use of pesticides, has been the target of an unrelenting barrage of criticism since her "Silent Spring" first saw the light of print in 1962.

She has been characterized as inaccurate and hysterical, with the implication that as an emotional woman she got carried away by her thesis. The fact that the world has seen no silent springs as yet is put forth as proof that she exaggerated the dangers.

And yet there has never been a convincing refutation of her main theme: the need for greater care in the use of bug killers and weed killers. Certain of Miss Carson's observations have been revised in the light of new data that have been collected. But her thesis stands.

In fact, just about every objective study of pesticides that has been made since the Carson blockbuster, starting with the comprehensive survey issued by President Kennedy's Science Advisory Committee in 1963, has deepened and strengthened that position. The latest is this week's report by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service on the effect of pesticides on aquatic life.

The Government researchers found, first of all, that only the minutest traces of poisons may bring death to some forms of sea life. They found, too, that marine creatures have a tendency to collect these poisons in far more concentrated form than had been suspected heretofore.

Thus only 1 part of DDT to 1 billion parts of water will kill blue crabs, those succulent inhabitants of Chesapeake Bay, in 8 days. The Fish and Wildlife Service points out that 1 part per billion is like an ounce of chocolate syrup to 10 million gallons of milk—a pretty thin lacing.

Likewise, the oyster can pick up pesticides present in the water in concentrations as low as 10 parts per trillion, and store them until the dosage becomes lethal. Other shellfish seem to have the same weakness.

In short, the report provides a sobering reminder that the problem is still with us, ramifying itself in ways that are still only being detected. To say that Rachel Carson was hysterical is to say that the scientists who daily find new proof of pesticides' hazards must be wild-eyed maniacs.

Legislation To Establish an International Home Loan Bank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation to establish an International Home Loan Bank with the hope that hearings may be held on this important measure in the near future and that the proposed bank will be enacted into law in 1966.

The purpose of the legislation is to create a central organization to provide a limited pool of capital from the United States to provide "seed" capital loans for the creation of thrift and home financing institutions in the less developed nations of the world. The proposed bank would secure its funds from savings and loan associations in the United States authorized by this legislation to invest up to 1 percent of their assets in the stock of the international bank.

Recently, in the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, Congress authorized federally chartered savings and loan associations to invest up to 1 percent of their assets in housing loans guaranteed under the foreign assistance program. Unfortunately, the amount of loan guarantees available from the Agency for International Development for this purpose amounts to no more than $20 million. Moreover, the loan guarantee program has been regarded as only a stopgap approach to the objective of tapping savings institutions in the United States to help develop sister-type associations in the overseas areas of the world.

As of the present time, the AID agency working with savings and loan executives in this country has through persistence developed a modest but amazing savings and loan program in less developed nations. At the end of May 1965, there were 88 savings and loan associations operating in 7 nations of Latin America, Ethiopia, and eastern Nigeria. The Latin American nations included Chile, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Peru, and Venezuela.

These 88 institutions had accumulated the equivalent of $81,509,000 in local savings funds from 282,713 savings account holders, according to statistics compiled by the National League of Insured Savings Associations. These funds, together with loans from the AID agency, had enabled the new savings institutions to provide the equivalent of $147,508,000 in mortgage loans on 32,888 dwelling units in these countries. Incidentally, the average sales price on these homes was $5,600.

The record achieved by the new savings institutions is truly remarkable when one considers that private thrift institutions were nonexistent only a few short years ago in the underdeveloped areas of the world and there was no real hope that savings of the people could be attracted to these institutions to stimulate home construction operations. Bear in mind that the people of these nations historically have had little faith in savings institutions and were, in fact, totally unfamiliar with our concepts of private thrift and homeownership.

With the experience of the last several year, it has become increasingly evident that savings money can be institutionalized and put to work to help stimulate the development of many nations in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. The bill I am introducing today would hasten the achievement of this objective by harnessing the great savings and loan business of the United States on a limited basis to provide an increasing flow of "seed" capital loans to new savings institutions in these and other underdeveloped nations of the world. Mr. Speaker, it is my belief that we have barely scratched the surface in bringing the realities of private home ownership to these people.

My bill to establish an International Home Loan Bank represents to a large extent the thinking of Mr. David Bell, the Administrator of the Agency for International Development. In testimony before the House Committee on Banking and Currency on September 12, 1963, Mr. Bell, representing the viewpoint of the administration, stated the following:

First we fully endorse legislation to permit private U.S. savings and loan associations to invest, by pooling their resources, in similar home financing institutions abroad. We recommend only that these investments be limited to underdeveloped countries. Two considerations—the U.S. balance of payments and the potential impact on the domestic U.S. home financing market—cause us to oppose any measure permitting substantial investments in the developed countries of Europe and elsewhere.

Second, we also endorse legislation to encourage greater contacts between the U.S. home financing industry and its counterpart in underdeveloped countries. The experience and technical skills possessed by U.S. associations can make a vital contribution to the growth of adequate credit facilities for home financing in underdeveloped areas of the world.

Equally important to the long-term interests of the United States is the establishment of continuing personal contacts on a working level between private American businessmen and businessmen abroad.

Third, while endorsing the objectives of the bills before the committee, we question the advisability of carrying out those objectives by establishing an International Home Loan Bank in the manner and form proposed. Rather, we would suggest an alternative approach.

Instead of establishing a quasi-governmental institution, organized under governmental sponsorship, with permanent U.S.

Government representation on the board of directors, and extending to the bank certain tax exemptions and the protection of certain criminal statutes generally reserved for the protection of U.S. Government agencies, we suggest that the means best designed to achieve the objectives of the bill is to have private capital, under private management, take the normal risks of a private business venture.

We, therefore, recommend for consideration by the committee permissive legislation whereby two or more savings and loan associations or home loan banks could, at their own initiative, establish under Federal charter a wholly private institution to invest in home financing institutions in underdeveloped countries. Limitations on any one association's investment in a federally chartered international institution would, of course, be approprate and necessary.

Likewise, provision should be made for appropriate Federal Home Loan Bank Board regulation of each international institution—similar to the Board's regulation of federally chartered savings and loan associations in the United States. In essence, we believe that the vehicle chosen to carry out the objectives of the bill should reflect what seems to us the single, most important feature of the bill: The use of U.S. private capital under private management working with private business abroad to meet a very real need.

Mr. Bell's position has been embodied in the proposed International Home Loan Bank bill with the single exception that the bill provides for only one institution of this type. From the beginning, the sponsors of the International Bank in the savings and loan industry have advocated a single institution to serve as a channel for the investment of the available supply of funds and this approach is incorporated in my bill. I believe that if experience proves a need for additional institutions of this type, the legislation may be amended subsequently by the Congress.

I call attention to the fact that the proposal for an International Home Loan Bank has wide endorsement in the United States and overseas. President Johnson in his foreign aid message to the Congress on January 14, 1965, noted that the Alliance for Progress had generated the development of savings and loan associations and declared:

We are placing increasing emphasis on the role of private institutions and private enterprise in the development process, and we shall continue to do so. Foreign aid cannot succeed if we view it as a job for Government alone. For Government can only do a small part of the job. We must bring to bear on the problems of the developing world, the knowledge and skills and good judgment of people from all walks of American life. The Agency for International Development provides the means for utilizing the resources of private business, of our universities and colleges, of farm groups, labor unions, banks, cooperatives, savings and loan associations, and professional groups.

It is also significant, I think, that the AID Housing and Urban Development Advisory Committee has endorsed the concept of an International Home Loan Bank. The AID housing committee is made up of individuals representing the various segments of our housing economy, including educators, city planners, savings and loan management, and labor unions. Overseas, the proposed International Home Loan Bank has received strong endorsement from the International Union of Building Societies and Savings Associations and the Inter-American Savings and Loan Conference which consists of savings and loan managers from the United States and throughout Latin America.

Finally, the concept of the International Bank has been endorsed by the United States Savings and Loan League and the National League of Insured Savings Associations which together represent the Nation's savings and loan industry. In this respect, the proposed bank would, I believe, be supported by the savings and loan business in the United States and would make a valuable, long-term contribution to the future development of Latin America and other areas of the world.

Mr. Speaker, I call attention to an article in the Washington Evening Star of August 19, 1965, in which Charles Bartlett in an article on the Alliance for Progress points out that the establishment of savings and loan institutions in Peru has stimulated local initiative and action in improving housing conditions as contrasted with other approaches to this problem.

I include the text of the bill, together with a section-by-section analysis in the RECORD at this point.

A bill to provide for the establishment of an International Home Loan Bank, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "International Home Loan Bank Act".

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 2. As used in this Act—

(a) The term "Bank" means the International Home Loan Bank incorporated under this Act.

(b) The term "Board" means the Federal Home Loan Bank Board.

(c) The term "member", except where used with respect to a member of a Federal Home Loan Bank, means a member of the Bank.

(d) The term "stock" means capital stock of the Bank.

INTERNATIONAL HOME LOAN BANK

SEC. 3. The Board is hereby authorized and directed to provide, without regard to any other provision of law, for the incorporation and organization of a corporation to be known as the International Home Loan Bank under a charter to be issued by the Board. The Board shall have authority to make and publish, as provided in the Administrative Procedure Act, regulations implementing this Act. The Board shall also have authority to supervise the Bank and to require that the Bank conform to law and applicable regulations desinged to encourage the development of thrift and home financing in less-developed countries in order to carry out the purposes of this Act. The Board shall have authority to examine the books and records of the Bank at such times as the Board determines, and the Bank shall make available to the Board upon its request for examination at the place where they are usually kept for business purposes all pertinent books and records of the Bank.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

SEC. 4. (a) The Board of Directors of the Bank shall consist of sixteen persons who, at the time of taking office, are citizens of the United States, and who shall be nominated and initially elected by the subscribing members at the organization meeting of the Bank and thereafter shall be nominated and elected by the members. Persons serving on the Board of Directors shall receive no compensation as directors other than reimbursement for travel and per diem expenses for attendance at regular or special Board meetings. A term on the Board shall consist of two years. The nomination and the election of directors shall be in accordance with such provisions, including without limitation such provisions with respect to classification of members, as the Board may prescribe and each member shall be permitted to cast one vote for each $100,000, or fraction thereof (but not less than $25,000) of the par value of stock held by such holder: *Provided*, That no member shall be permitted to cast more than 10 votes. The exercise of such voting rights shall be as the Board may prescribe.

(b) The Board may provide as to (1) the exercise, through meetings or otherwise, of functions of the Board of Directors or of any committee or body of said Board or of the Bank, and (2) the nomination of directors where members fail to nominate and the appointment of directors in case of vacancies. The Chairman shall be elected by the Board of Directors. Any function of the Board under this Act may be exercised by such person or persons as the Board may provide, and, to such extent as the Board may provide, but subject to such prohibitions, restrictions, and limitations as the Board may prescribe by regulation, any function of the Bank or of the Board of Directors or of the Chairman thereof may be exercised by such person or persons as the Bank may provide. Any such function or any function under this Act may be exercised without regard to whether any place at which it is exercised in whole or in part is or is not within the United States or subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.

CAPITAL STOCK

SEC. 5. The Bank shall have such capital stock as the Board shall authorize, and such stock shall be issued, and may be retired, at such times, under such circumstances, and at such price or prices as the Board may prescribe. All stock shall be without preference or priority as to dividends or assets. Stock shall be evidenced in such manner, and shall be transferable only to such extent, to such transferees, and in such manner, as the Board may prescribe.

ELIGIBLE STOCKHOLDERS

SEC. 6. (a) Subject to such restrictions, requirements, and exceptions as the Board may prescribe, (1) stock of the Bank may be purchased or otherwise acquired and held by any member of a Federal Home Loan Bank, or any State-chartered savings and loan association or building and loan association authorized by the law of that State to be a member of a Federal Home Loan Bank, and any mutual savings bank duly chartered by any State, or any trustee or trustees of pension funds as defined under section 401 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, or any insurance company licensed by any State and supervised by a regulatory agent or agency of such State, and (2) while holding such stock any such holder shall automatically be a member of the Bank.

(b) Notwithstanding and without regard to any provision of any other law, but subject to such restrictions, requirements, and exceptions as the Board may prescribe, legal authority to be a member of the Bank and to purchase or otherwise acquire and to hold stock, obligations or other securities of the Bank is hereby conferred to the extent possible under Federal law on any Federal savings and loan association, or any State-chartered savings and loan association or building and loan association authorized by the law of that State to be members of a Federal Home Loan Bank, or any mutual savings bank duly chartered by any State, or any trustee or trustees of pension funds as defined under Section 401 of the Internal

Revenue Code of 1954, or any insurance company licensed by any State and supervised by a regulatory agent or agency of such State, and on any other Federal Home Loan Bank member, but nothing in this sentence shall (1) authorize any Federal savings and loan association or any State-chartered savings and loan association or building and loan association authorized by the law of that State to be a member of a Federal Home Loan Bank, or any mutual savings bank duly chartered by any State, or any such Federal Home Loan Bank member to invest any of its funds in the purchase of any such stock if, immediately after such purchase, the par value of the total amount of such stock owned by such association or member or savings bank would exceed 1 per centum of the assets of such association or such member, or savings bank; or (2) authorize any Federal savings and loan association or any such Federal Home Loan Bank member to invest any of its funds in the purchase of any such stock if, immediately prior to such purchase, its reserves and surplus are not at least equal to 5 per centum of its insured savings accounts.

OPERATIONS OF THE BANK

SEC. 7. (a) As used in this section, the term "foreign thrift and home-financing institution" means an institution as to which there is outstanding a determination by the Bank that such institution (1) has as primary purposes the receipt of savings and the financing of homes in less-developed countries, (2) is chartered for this purpose by an appropriate government agency of a less-developed country, and (3) does not have in the United States, or at or within any place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, any office or agency, or any agent, for the receipt of savings or the making of loans, and the term "foreign home loan bank" means an institution as to which there is outstanding a determination by the Bank that such institution (1) is organized or incorporated by or under the laws of a less-developed country and (2) has as a primary purpose the making of loans or advances to, or investments in, institutions organized or incorporated under the laws of such country and engaged, or authorized to engage, in such country in the receipt of savings and the financing of homes.

(b) The Bank shall have (1) authority to invest in loans at reasonable rates of interest or advances to, or in shares, accounts, deposits, or certificates of indebtedness of, foreign thrift and home-financing institutions and foreign home loan banks, or in interests in any of the same; (2) all the powers and authority customary or appropriate to conduct an international banking organization to serve such institutions and banks; (3) authority to promote and assist in the establishment and development in less-developed countries of institutions having as primary purposes the receipt of savings and the financing of homes and the establishment and development in less-developed countries of credit and financing facilities for such institutions; (4) authority to make or procure such studies and investigations and such reports as it may deem to be necessary or appropriate to assist in carrying out the purposes or provisions of this Act; and (5) authority to arrange for the training and education of persons from other countries in the principles of thrift and home financing. Funds of the Bank not invested pursuant to the foregoing provisions of this subsection may be invested in such investments as the Board may approve. The Bank shall also establish reasonable reserves for losses or currency devaluation.

(c) The Bank is hereby made eligible to apply for guarantees of investments made under this Act under the guaranty program authorized by part I, chapter 2, title III, of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1965, amending the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

BORROWINGS AND SECURITIES

SEC. 8. (a) The Bank is hereby authorized, upon such terms and conditions as the Board may prescribe, to borrow, to give security, to pay interest or other return, and to issue notes, debentures, bonds, or other obligations, or other securities. The Bank shall not make any public offering of its obligations for sale, or sell any of its obligations otherwise than by private placement, except with the approval of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, but the provisions of this sentence shall not be applicable to any offering or sale confined to Federal Home Loan Banks or Federal Home Loan Bank members or stockholders of the Bank itself, provided that no Federal Home Loan Bank shall be eligible to purchase or hold any stock of the Bank. Any obligation or security of the Bank shall be valid and binding notwithstanding that a person or persons purporting to have executed or attested the same may have died, become under disability, or ceased to hold office or employment before the issuance thereof.

(b) Obligations of the Bank shall be lawful investments, and may be accepted as security, for all fiduciary, trust, and public, private, or other funds the investment of which shall be under the authority or control of the United States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, or any territory or possession of the United States, any public, private, or other corproation incorporated by or under any law of any of the foregoing, any county or municipality of any of the foregoing, any political subdivision of any of the foregoing, any court or any corporate or other agency or instrumentality of any of the foregoing, or any officer or officers, employee or employees, or agent or agents of any of the foregoing. Nothing in the sentence next preceding shall authorize the investment of funds of any Federal Reserve bank in such obligations or securities, and nothing in said sentence shall authorize any national bank, in the exercise of any power vested in it pursuant to subsection (k) of section 11 of the Federal Reserve Act, as amended, to make any investment in contravention of any regulation of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System issued pursuant to said subsection (k).

(c) Except as otherwise provided in this Act, no provision or requirement of or under any law relating to securities, securities exchanges, investments, or proxies or powers, with respect to securities, shall be applicable to or with respect to any stock, obligation, or other security of the Bank.

(d) Every obligation issued by the Bank shall state on its face that it is neither issued nor guaranteed by the United States.

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

SEC. 9. (a)(1) The Federal Reserve Banks and the Federal Home Loan Banks are hereby authorized to act as depositaries and fiscal or other agents of the Bank, and the Bank is hereby authorized to use them as such and to pay them compensation therefor; (2) when designated for that purpose by the Secretary of the Treasury, the Bank shall be a depositary of public money, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and may also be employed as fiscal or other agent of the United States, and it shall perform all such reasonable duties as such depositary or agent as may be required of it.

(b) Any expenses of the Board or of the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation in connection with services rendered to the Bank, and any expenses of the Board in connection with the exercise of any function vested in or exercisable by the Board under this Act, shall be considered as nonadministrative expenses. Nothing in this Act or any other provision of law shall be construed to prevent or affect the appointment, employment, or provision for compensation or benefits, as an officer, director, employee, attorney or agent of the Bank, of any officer, director, employee, attorney, agent or member of the Board or of such Corporation or stockhlder of the Bank.

(c) All notes, bonds, debentures, or other obligations of the Bank, or other securities (including stock) of the Bank, and the interest, dividends, or other income therefrom, shall be exempt for twelve (12) years beginning with the date of incorporation from all taxation (except estate, income, inheritance, and gift taxes) now or hereafter imposed by the United States, by any territory, dependency, or possession thereof, or by any State, county, municipality, or local taxing authority. The foregoing exemption from taxation, except as to taxation imposed by the United States, shall include exemption from taxation measured by such obligations or securities or by such interest, dividends, or other income, and from inclusion of such obligations or securities, or such interest, dividends, or other income, in the measure of any such taxation.

(d) The Bank, including its franchise, activities, capital, reserves, surplus, and income, shall be exempt for twelve (12) years beginning with the date of incorporation from all taxation now or hereafter imposed by the United States, by any territory, dependency, or possession thereof, or by any State, county, municipality, or local taxing authority, except that any real property of the Bank shal be subject to State, territorial, county, municipal, or local taxation to the same extent according to its value as other real property is taxed. Nothing in this subsection shall affect the applicability of the Public Debt Act of 1941, as amended. The provisions of this subsection shall be applicable without regard to any other law, including, without limiting the generality of the foregoing, section 3301 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, except laws hereafter enacted by Congress expressly in limitation of this subsection.

PENAL PROVISIONS

SEC. 10. (a) Except as expressly authorized by statute of the United States or by regulations of the Board, no individual or organization (except the Bank) shall use the term "International Home Loan Bank", or any combination of words including the words "International" and "Home", as a name or part thereof under which any individual or organization does any business, but this sentence shall not make unlawful the use of any name under which business is being done on the date of the enactment of this Act. No individual or organization shall use or display (1) any sign, device, or insigne, prescribed or approved by the Bank for use or display by the Bank or by members of the Bank, (2) any copy, reproduction, or colorable imitation of any such sign, device, or insigne, or (3) any sign, device, or insigne reasonably calculated to convey the impression that it is a sign, device, or insigne used by the Bank or prescribed or approved by the Bank, contrary to regulations of the Bank prohibiting, or limiting or restricting, such use or display by such individual or organization. An organization violating this subsection shall upon conviction for each violation be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000. An officer or member of an organization knowingly participating or knowingly acquiescing in any violation of this subsection shall upon conviction be punished by a fine of not more than $5,000 or imprisonment for not more than one year, or both. An individual violating this subsection shall upon conviction for each violation be punished as set forth in the sentence next preceding this sentence.

(b) The provisions of sections 220, 658, 1011, and 1014 of Title 18 of the United States Code are hereby extended to apply to and with respect to the Bank, and for the purposes of said section 658 the term "any

property mortgaged or pledged" as used therein shall, without limitation on its generality, include any property subject to mortgage, pledge, or lien acquired by the Bank by assignment or otherwise. The terms "agency" and "agencies" shall be deemed to include the Bank wherever used with reference to an agency or agencies of the United States in sections 201, 202, 216, 283, 286, 287, 371, 506, 595, 602, 641, 654, 701, 872, 1001, 1002, 1016, 1017, 1361, 1505, and 2073 of said title 18. Any officer or employee of the Bank shall be deemed to be a person mentioned in section 602 of said Title 18, within the meaning of section 603 of said title, and shall be deemed to be one of the officers or employees mentioned in section 602 of said title, within the meaning of section 606 of said title.

(c) The term "bank examiner or assistant examiner" as used in section 655 of said title 18 shall include any examiner or assistant examiner who is an officer or employee of the Bank and any person who makes or participates in the making of any examination of or for the Bank, and the term "bank" as used in said section 655 shall, without regard to any provision of said section with respect to membership or insurance, include the Bank and any institution examined by or for the Bank; and the last sentence of said section 655 shall not be applicable to said section 655 as extended by this sentence. The term "bank" as used in subsection (f) of section 2113 of said title 18 shall include the Bank, and any building used in whole or in part by the Bank shall be deemed to be used in whole or in part as a bank, within the meaning of said section 2113.

(d) The terms "obligation" and "security," whenever used (with or without the words "of the United States"), whether in the singular or in the plural, in sections 471 to 476, both inclusive, and section 492 of said title 18 are hereby extended to mean and to include any obligation or security of or issued by the Bank. Any reference in sections 474, 494, 495, and 642 of said title 18 to the United States, except in a territorial sense, or the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby extended to include the Bank. Section 477 of said title 18 is hereby extended to apply with respect to section 476 of said title as extended by the first sentence of this subsection (d), and for this purpose the term "United States" as used in said section 476 shall include the Bank.

(3) References in this section to sections of title 18 of the United States Code shall be deemed to be references to said sections as now or hereafter in force.

CONSTRUCTION AND SEPARABILITY

SEC. 11. Except as otherwise provided in this Act or as otherwise provided by the Board or by laws hereafter enacted by the Congress expressly in limitation of provisions of this Act, the powers and functions of the Board, the Bank, or the Board of Directors of the Bank shall be exercisable and the provisions of this Act shall be applicable and effective without regard to any provision of any other law. Notwithstanding any other evidence of the intention of Congress, it is hereby declared to be the controlling intent of Congress that if any provision of this Act, or the application thereof to any person or circumstances, is held invalid, the remainder of this Act, or the application of such provision to persons or circumstances other than those as to which it is held invalid, shall not be affected thereby.

ANALYSIS OF AUGUST 18, 1965, DRAFT BILL ON INTERNATIONAL HOME LOAN BANK

Section 1, short title: International Home Loan Bank Act.

Section 2, definitions: Bank, Board, member, stock.

Section 3, International Home Loan Bank: The Federal Home Loan Bank Board is directed to provide for the incorporation and organization of a corporation to be known as the International Home Loan Bank. The Bank will operate under supervision of the Board to see that it conforms to law and regulations designed to encourage development of thrift and home financing in less-developed countries.

Section 4, Board of Directors:

Section 4(a). A 16-man Board of Directors, all initially elected by the subscribing members of the Bank, shall thereafter be elected by the members when the initial directors' terms expire. Voting rights of members are prescribed.

Section 4(b). The Board is granted authority to provide for the filling of vacancies and to determine the functions of and the exercise thereof by the Board of Directors. Provides authority for the Board, the Bank, and the Board of Directors to delegate certain functions.

Section 5, capital stock: The Bank shall have capital stock, all of which shall be without preference. The amount, how it shall be evidenced, transferability, price at time of issue and retirement shall be determined by the Board.

Section 6, eligible stockholders:

Section 6(a) makes the following eligible as stockholders: present Federal Home Loan Bank members or those eligible for membership, mutual savings banks, pension funds, and insurance companies. A holder of stock of the Bank is automatically a member thereof.

Section 6(b). A Federal savings and loan association and any member of a Federal home loan bank, other than an insurance company, may purchase stock if its reserve and surplus equal 5 percent of savings accounts.

Associations and other members or associations eligible to become members of a Federal home loan bank are limited in their purchase of stock to 1 percent of assets.

Section 7, operations of the Bank:

Section 7(a) defines "foreign thrift and home-financing institution" and "foreign home loan bank."

Section 7(b). The Bank is authorized to invest in or lend to foreign mutual thrift and home-financing institutions in less developed countries and foreign home loan banks in such coutries which have as their primary purpose loans and advances to mutual thrift and home-financing institutions within the country in which organized.

The Bank is also granted the powers necessary to promote and assist in the establishment and development in less developed countries of mutual thrift and home-financing institutions together with credit and financing facilities for such institutions.

Section 7(c). The Bank is made eligible to apply for AID guarantees.

Section 8, borrowings and securities:

Section 8(a). Under regulations prescribed by the Board, the Bank is authorized to borrow and otherwise finance its activities but any offering or sale of its obligations to other than Federal home loan banks or members thereof must be approved by the Board.

Section 8(b). Obligations of the Bank are made lawful investments but authority to so invest is denied to Federal Reserve banks, and national banks may invest only if the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System so authorizes.

Section 8(c). The Bank is exempted from Securities and Exchange Commission laws.

Section 8(d). Each Bank obligation must state it is not issued or guaranteed by the United States.

Section 9, miscellaneous provisions:

Section 9(a)(1). Federal Reserve banks and Federal home loan banks authorized to act as depositaries and fiscal agents of the Bank.

Section 9(b). Expenses of the Board and FSLIC in connection with the exercise of any function under this act are to be considered nonadministrative. Board and FSLIC officials and employees as well as Bank stockholders may be officers, directors, employees, attorneys or agents of the Bank.

Section 9(c). Except for estate, income, inheritance and gift taxes obligations of the Bank and the income therefrom are exempt from taxation for 12 years.

Section 9(d). The Bank and its assets are exempt from all taxation for 12 years.

Section 10, penal provisions:

Section 10(a). The use of the term "International Home Loan Bank" or the insigne of the Bank contrary to statute or regulations of the Board is subject to a fine of $10,000 if an organization and $5,000 fine or imprisonment for not more than 1 year or both if a person.

Sections 10(b)(c)(d)(e). Various provisions of title 18 of the United States Code are extended and applied to the Bank, bank examiner or assistant examiner, obligations and securities of the Bank.

Section 11, construction and separability: This section would assure that the provisions of other laws would not limit the operation of the new act and would provide a separability provision in customary form.

What Is an American?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, as we all know, an American is a lot of things. Some of the contradictions within all of us were put to the spoof in an article which appears in the September issue of the International Potter magazine.

In the hope that this article, "What Is an American?" will help us to take ourselves a little less seriously, under unanimous consent I place it in the RECORD:

WHAT IS AN AMERICAN?

An American is a man who—

Yells for the Government to balance the budget and then takes the last dime he has to make the down payment on a car.

Whips the enemy nations and then gives 'em the shirt off his back.

Yells for speed laws that will stop fast driving and then won't buy a car if it can't make 100 miles per hour.

Gripes about the high prices of things he has to buy but gripes more about the low prices of things he has to sell.

Knows the lineup of every baseball team in the American and National Leagues * * * and doesn't know half the words in "The Star Spangled Banner."

Will get mad at his wife for not running their home with the efficiency of a hotel and then get mad at the hotel for not operating like a home.

Will spend half a day looking for vitamin pills to make him live longer and then drive 90 miles an hour on slick pavement to make up for the time he lost.

Will fall out with his wife over her poor cooking and then go on a fishing trip, and swallow half-fried potatoes, burnt fish, and gritty creek water coffee made in a rusty gallon bucket and think it's good.

Will work hard on a farm so he can move into town where he can make money so he can move back to the farm.

In his office, talks about baseball, football, or fishing, but when he is out at the games or on the creek bank, talks about business.

Is the only fellow in the world who will pay 50 cents to park his car while he eats a 25-cent sandwich.

Likes to cuss his Government but gets fighting mad if a foreigner does it.

Is never ready for war but has never lost one.

Lives in the country that has more food to eat than any other country in the world and more diets to keep us from eating it.

Is one of the most ambitious people on earth, and runs from morning until night trying to keep his earning power up with his yearning power.

Is supposed to be living in the most civilized, Christian nation on earth but we still can't deliver payrolls without an armored car.

Has the services of more experts on marriage than any other country in the world—and more divorces.

But he's still "pretty nice folks." Calling a person "a real American" is the best compliment you can pay him. Most of the world is itching for what we have, but they'll never have it until they start scratching for it the way we do.

My Romance With Railroading

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include the following article from the June 1965 edition of the Santa Fe magazine.

When the railroad came to the then Territory of New Mexico in the late 1800's, a colorful and exciting new era was initiated. As the lines progressed, new towns came into being and with them dramatic achievements in economic, recreational, cultural, and educational development. History has recorded this growth in printed records of the times but the collateral stories of men and women who actually did the job have, to a large degree, been lost in the shuffle. It is for this reason that I am proud to have included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD reminiscences of Mr. Charles A. Purcell whose service with the Santa Fe Railroad dates back to the turn of this century. Should similar accounts by all those who participated be collected, the resulting volume would be a fitting tribute to the thousands of courageous people whose valiant efforts helped to build the West.

The article follows:

"MY ROMANCE WITH RAILROADING"

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Upon his retirement in 1954, Mr. Purcell was dean of train dispatchers on the Santa Fe. Mr. Purcell, now past 75 and living in Orlando, Fla., served more than 50 years with the company. Still near and dear to him are an affinity with God and the members of his family, and his close relationship with the Santa Fe.)

(By C. A. Purcell)

As I look back over the 41 years that I spent as a train dispatcher on the New Mexico Division of the Santa Fe at Las Vegas, I sometimes wonder if my guardian angel did not work overtime in guiding me so that I could retire without being the cause of a serious injury to a passenger or one of my fellow employees.

It was St. Patrick's Day in 1903 when I entered the service of the company as a telegraph apprentice at Las Vegas. "VG" office at that time was the main relay point for all messages and reports from the coast lines to the parent line.

I had many and varied experiences in the 10 years that I worked as an operator, but probably the most unusual one happened the night before I was sent to my first job. I had just delivered a message to the freight house where the yard telegraph office was located. On duty was an old Irish telegrapher who sported a handle-bar mustache and, because of an unfortunate accident, also sported an artificial leg. This leg had been giving him trouble and he had ordered a new one. It arrived while I was in his office and he immediately skinned down his trousers, unbuckled the old leg, and attached the new one. He then walked over to the door and tossed the old leg out on the house track and asked me to watch the wire while he took a short walk to the corner saloon to try out the new leg. He had been gone only a few minutes when a switchman came running in the door and said: "Sonny, we've just run over a man and cut him all to pieces, but all I can find is one leg." I stopped laughing long enough to hear the dispatcher calling frantically on the wire. I gingerly answered him, thereby copying my very first train order. It had been a full day.

The next morning I was sent to Rowe, N. Mex., to begin work as a night operator. My father (a conductor at the time) made arrangements with the bachelor agent to let me have a room upstairs in the depot. I arrived about 10 p.m. and went upstairs to go to bed. In a few minutes, the night operator came running up the stairs shouting that a drunk native on a horse was standing in front of the bay window cursing him and all Americans in general. I can see the agent yet as he got out of bed in his long underwear and walked over to a dresser from which he extracted a revolver. He threw open the window and, without looking out, fired two quick shots down below. Luckily he did not hit the native, but the horse bolted at the sound of the gun, threw the rider off up against the depot, and broke his leg. I was only 16 at the time and wished that I was back home with my mother. That same evening when No. 8 arrived about 2 a.m., it discharged a five-piece Mexican orchestra. It was bitterly cold that night so I built a fire for them in the waiting room. In appreciation of this, they decided to give me an impromptu concert. When the first blasts of the trumpet and other instruments sounded, kerosene lamps lit up all over the village and the agent came bounding down five steps at a time. One man told me later that he thought it was Gabriel's horn announcing the last day.

In all sincerity I must say that at least 95 percent of the men that I worked with put forth the best effort they could during their tour of duty and felt remorseful at the end of a day if they had made a wild pitch.

When the depression arrived, and so many men were laid off and consolidations made, I recall that I would have 10 train sheets at one time to juggle in the morning covering the railroad from La Junta to El Paso, and from Rincon to Silver City and the Santa Rita District; however, I always enjoyed my work and only retired when death struck twice in our family and I had reached the age limit.

When the steam engine passed away, it took with it all the romance of railroading. It is only now when I travel on other railroads that I realize how far superior our service is and was. The old office at Vegas has been turned over to the State for a welfare office, but the memory of heartaches, the tragedy, comedy, and happy days that I spent in the dispatcher's office can never be erased.

Financing Defense Is First

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, in recent months primarily as a result of the escalated activities in Vietnam, important questions have been raised concerning Government spending.

The Alhambra, Calif., Post Advocate on September 15, 1965, discussed this far-reaching question, calling for restraint and curbs on unnecessary spending.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the editorial for inclusion in the RECORD:

[From the Post Advocate, Sept. 15, 1965]

CURB UNNECESSARY SPENDING: FINANCING DEFENSE IS FIRST

The question before the Nation today is larger than the debate whether we can afford both guns and butter.

There is no question that we can afford the guns, symbolic of the armament and manpower of the United States needs to meet its defense commitments in a troubled world.

If we cannot afford guns all other discussion becomes academic.

In the sense that Americans should enjoy the present standard of living and meet essential commitments of the civilian functions of government there is no question either that we can afford "butter."

The real question before the United States is whether we can afford the guns, butter, and the billions of dollars worth of fat, commonly called the Great Society, at a time when the Nation is at war.

If we can not tighten our belts in a time of war, at least we should not loosen them.

Perhaps this has been recognized recently to a slight degree by the President, who called upon Government agencies to trim $6 to $9 billion from spending in the fiscal 1967 budget. At least the call for economy is a refreshing note from an administration that has advocated nothing but headlong spending.

However, there have been calls for economy before with little result. Lipservice and directives to agencies do not cut the budget, experience shows.

A look at the deeds supports the point. Congress is still in session and the final figures will not be in for some time. However, a partial look at some of the biggest proposals shows the trend.

We will be spending nearly $700 million more to combat poverty if requests are approved. Tentatively, housing and urban renewal will cost $700 million more next year; $8.3 billion will be spent for health and welfare, or $2.1 billion more than the current fiscal year. Federal aid to education will rise about 75 percent, to $2.7 billion. The list is long.

Furthermore, the Federal figures are only part of the picture. Many of the programs are on a matching basis which will require State and local funds. Additional strain will be put on the taxpayer as a result.

The United States has not had any difficulty in financing a war since 1812 and we tend to forget that in a protracted struggle the Nation depends on the capacity of the

Government to assume large deficits as well as on manpower and industrial resources.

Congress already has authorized $700 million more and is asked for an additional and necessary $1.7 billion to pursue the war in Vietnam. More will be needed.

Undoubtedly, some of the nondefense programs are needed. However, many are not and many others could be pursued at a slower pace. As the war in Vietnam heightens, it clearly is time for the United States to supply the guns and necessary butter, but forego the obvious fat.

The White House Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, during the Kennedy administration a subtle form of managed news became the order of the day. It has been replaced by a magnificent Johnsonian control of the press. This diabolical practice deserves the attention of all citizens, and I insert in the RECORD a fearless editorial from this morning's Chicago Tribune:

[From the Chicago Tribune, Sept. 22, 1965]

THE WHITE HOUSE TODAY

The other day, while President Johnson was visiting his Texas ranch, 42 "news" releases were rained on the press, all attributing great and good works to the all-encompassing L.B.J. It appeared that he was even concerned with the demographic aspects of the whooping crane, although, as Arthur Krock dryly remarked, he had not previously been known to manifest any great personal concern about the survival of this species.

Bill D. Moyers, the Presidential press secretary, was asked how come this sudden deluge of handouts. He deigned to explain that the White House information policy considers that it is legitimate to release any news on matters with which the President is "involved" or which "command his attention."

"I don't have to hide the fact from you people," Moyers told reporters, "that the President is as involved in intimate detail in the operation of this Government as any President has ever been, and perhaps a great deal more than many."

In the past many of the sort of news releases which now emanate from the White House were put out by the various departments, bureaus, and agencies concerned. But Moyers frankly admitted that the new process calls for the White House press secretariat to screen virtually every item of information originating anywhere in Government.

There is such detailed control, in fact, that all press agents in departments and agencies make "comprehensive reports" every Thursday night and also are under instructions to specify "what anybody * * * has done with the President, or is likely to do with the President, or that concerns him."

This catchall process assembles so much "news" that Moyers said he was compelled to reject four out of every five items, yet the output of releases beginning "The White House Today * * *" is still enormous, and the impression is fostered that Mr. Johnson is intimately concerned with almost everything done anywhere in the vast Federal bureaucracy.

Under the policy which gives the White House first refusal of any piece of news relating to Government, some standard of selectivity is bound to apply. What this is seems obvious. "Good" news comes out under the White House imprimatur. News that is less "positive" is turned back to the originating agency.

For example, Moyers was happy to release figures showing record personal income as coming from the President, but left to the Department of Commerce statistics on a drop in farm income. Also the White House refused to touch reports showing a slowdown in new housing starts and a drop in sales and orders of durable goods.

The fact that only the good news of the day is something with which Mr. Johnson is deemed to be "involved" has strongly suggested to the press that a deliberate publicity buildup of the President on a scale unprecedented has enabled the White House to preempt the Government publicity machinery. Moyers and his boss are well aware that information media are obliged to give special weight to all announcements issuing from the Executive Mansion, while news from lesser points of origin is usually handled in a routine way.

This is a policy of political "management" of the news, practiced openly and without apology, designed to portray Mr. Johnson as the creator of all things, vigilant, unsleeping, and on top of his job. The brazenness of this operation justifies the public in viewing the White House press secretariat in the same light as the late Dr. Joseph Goebbels' ministry of propaganda and national enlightenment.

Martin Luther King, Go Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PRENTISS WALKER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. WALKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, in the Monday, September 20, edition of the Washington, D.C., Evening Star there appeared an editorial which attacks Nobel Peace Prize winner Dr. Martin Luther King for his recent "hobnobbing around the U.N. with Ambassador Goldberg." It finally appears that others than southerners are awakening to the damage being done by King and his friends.

The editorial follows:

[From the Evening Star, Sept. 20, 1965]

MARTIN LUTHER KING, GO HOME

"Homespun collars and homespun hearts wear to rags in foreign parts," said Houseman, and it is also true of homespun charisma, homespun mana and plain old homespun reputation. Of no one is it truer than of Dr. Martin Luther King, the homemade foreign policy expert.

There is something positively ridiculous about Dr. King hobnobbing around the U.N. with Ambassador Goldberg and solemnly delivering himself of pronunciamentoes on international relations. He wants peace in Vietnam. Who doesn't? The Vietcong, perhaps, and perhaps the North Vietnamese, neither of whom are listening except as one listens for signs of weakness in the enemy.

And Dr. King avers that Red China ought to be admitted to the United Nations. This is an endlessly complicated question full of commitments to many nations and a generation of history, none of which seems to have registered on Dr. King. It is not a question that is about to be solved by the mindless repetition of fringe-group slogans.

Beyond specifics, there is the interesting assumption that Dr. King is somehow qualified to hold an informed opinion in these matters, let alone to express it in public with the apparent approbation of his Government. He gets his qualification from his work in the civil rights movement which has absolutely nothing whatsoever to do with the area he now surveys.

The further assumption about his new role is that, in his view, the civil rights question is now solved and needs him no longer. If this is indeed the case, surely there are other fields even more desperately in need of his ministrations. The Broadway stage, for one, has been in trouble for years and so has our local ball club. What about the newspaper strike in New York? Or the rising hemline on women's dresses?

If he thinks about it at all, Dr. King can find a hundred fields of human endeavor in which he can do less harm and in which he is at least as well qualified as in foreign policy.

Home Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Washington Post on its editorial page comments on the tradition of the Republican Party in support of local self-government, government close to the people and their needs.

This principle is of crucial importance to the current debate over home rule for the District of Columbia. The people of this city are entitled to select their own representatives.

Although I belive that there are some features of the bill which can be improved, I would like to commend Mr. MATHIAS, of Maryland, and Mr. HORTON, of New York, for their outstanding leadership in bringing home rule for the District of Columbia so close to reality. They have given new meaning to Republican tradition.

The editorial from the Washington Post follows:

A REPUBLICAN TRADITION

The central issue in the Washington home rule bill is, of course, whether 800,000 Americans are to be permitted to run their own local affairs. The bill represents a principle, and the principle is grassroots democracy itself. The bill is a civil rights bill, and like every civil rights bill it will need bipartisan support when it comes to a vote in the House next week.

The Republican policy committee is to meet this afternoon to arrive at a position. Congressman BROYHILL of Virginia hopes to persuade his party to follow him in his opposition to self-government in the Nation's ninth largest city. Congressmen MATHIAS, of Maryland, and HORTON, of New York, have observed, on the other hand, that the home rule bill will put the city's government close to the people governed. The policy committee ought not to have a great deal of trouble deciding which position more truly represents the Republican tradition.

Some Republicans are apparently concerned by the Constitution's declaration that

Congress retains "exclusive" jurisdiction over the District of Columbia. In the Thompson case 12 years ago, the Supreme Court held: "The power of Congress over the District and its power over the Territories are phrased in very similar language in the Constitution * * *. The power of Congress to delegate legislative power to a territory is well settled."

The Court concluded, without dissent, that Congress was equally capable of delegating self-government to the District. Historical studies have made it quite clear that the word "exclusive" means only that no State shares in the government of the District. Under any home rule bill, Congress must retain the ultimate legislative jurisdiction over the city and at any time could change the city's charter or overrule any of its acts.

Some Congressmen have argued for a Federal enclave at the heart of Washington. The home rule bill would not in any degree infringe the jurisdiction of the Capitol Police, the White House Police, or the Park Police. It would not affect Federal ownership of Federal property. It would not touch any of the laws controlling private development adjacent to Federal property. Federal control of the Mall and the monument areas would be no less complete under home rule than now.

Other Congressmen object to the bill's provision for automatic Federal payments without annual appropriations by Congress. But earlier Congresses have enacted automatic payments in other cases. In the past, small congressional cliques have been able to interfere directly and daily in Washington's local affairs through their control of the city's budget and its fiscal laws. They have used this power to hinder orderly desegregation, to disrupt the welfare program and to interfere with the local administration of the public schools. An automatic payment procedure is necessary to preserve the integrity of the city government, and to prevent the kind of outside interference in the community's own affairs that, in the past, Republicans have been the first to deplore.

In 1959, when he urged Congress to give Washington home rule, President Eisenhower said that any further delay would be "unconscionable." The House Republicans are now being asked to help return local government in Washington to the local residents and local taxpayers.

What We Can Do About Pornography

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, as the author of H.R. 980, a bill to provide for the return of obscene mail matter, I called the attention of my colleagues to an article in the August 1965, issue of Christian Herald magazine discussing the plague of pornography. It has recently come to my attention that an editorial in the September issue of that magazine makes concrete suggestions as to what should be done about this problem. Under unanimous consent, I include that editorial at this point:

WHAT WE CAN DO ABOUT PORNOGRAPHY

Christian Herald's most important editorial in September 1964 was titled "Is Obsenity Constitutional?" As of the Supreme Court of the United States, the conclusion is almost unavoidable that it is.

Christian Herald's poll, reported last month, on attitudes toward pornography and censorship indicated overwhelmingly that Americans are determined that something must be done to curb blatant obscenity.

The question is, What?

Christian Herald has no panacea to suggest, short of the total regeneration of man and society, and we do not anticipate this solution next week or soon. In the meantime, we propose a few guidelines:

1. Surely there is no debate possible regarding at least the hard-core filth circulating today, much of it furtively offered to curious children and to sick adults. If the present laws are not adequate to deal with the circulating and printing of such material, let's get them and get them fast.

2. On borderline material, the ideals and tastes of the local community should prevail. To apply the tastes and ideals of Greenwich Village to Holland, Mich., makes no sense. But action is now a first imperative, and here the churches and the service clubs have their challenging opportunity.

Recipients of filth mail (as differentiated from "nuisance mail") sould be able to instruct the sender and/or the post office that their names be not so used—and make it stick. And the post office should issue a leaflet of intructions.

4. If children under a certain age are restricted from buying alcoholic beverages and cigarettes, is it not reasonable that there should also be restrictions on their buying books and magazines or attending pictures that can corrupt their minds, warp and debase their characters?

This much would be a good beginning—at least that. Meanwhile, we all may exercise the strong pressure that we already possess: not buying, not attending, not patronizing.

Take the filthy lucre out of pornography and it will collapse.

"I Have Sought Lasting Values"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, this week the Wichita Art Museum in Wichita, Kans., is observing its 30th anniversary.

Only last week the House considered a bill providing for Federal subsidization of programs to promote progress in the humanities and the arts.

It is particularly noteworthy that the collections of the Wichita Art Museum and cultural development in this community have come through private philanthropy and citizen initiative. An endowment made possible by the will of Louise Caldwell—Mrs. Roland P.—Murdock has created one of the Nation's finest contemporary American art collections—the Roland P. Murdock collection.

The citizens of Wichita, acting through their city government, have provided suitable housing for the display, development, and care of the collection.

Much of the credit for the development and acquisition of the outstanding Murdock art collection goes to Elizabeth S. Navas, who worked closely with Mrs. Murdock and was named trustee of her estate. Mrs. Navas has devoted much of her life to the thoughtful development of a meaningful and valuable art collection which would perpetuate the cultural aims of Mrs. Murdock and enrich the prestige of American art.

The Wichita, Kans., Eagle on Sunday, September 19, 1965, issued a special supplement on the Wichita Art Museum. Mrs. Navas has written an enlightening and interesting account of her association with Mrs. Murdock and her responsibilities of the Murdock collection.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the article by Elizabeth S. Navas. She has rendered immeasurable service to the citizens of Wichita and has enhanced the community's appreciation of American art. There also is a message to those who would transfer responsibility for progress in the arts to a Federal commission. Enrichment and quality whether it is in the arts or the humanities are dependent upon private endowments, private subscriptions and private initiative.

The article follows:

(By Elizabeth S. Navas)

I knew Mrs. Murdock during the last 5 years of her life. As a young art student, I spent a part of each year in New York in art studies. My remembrance of Mrs. Murdock is vivid. I spoke of her in some detail on the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Roland P. Murdock collection, November 1954, at the invitation of the advisory council of the Wichita Art Museum. I shall repeat a part of what I said on that occasion.

I described her appearance as tall, of statuesque figure, white hair and blue eyes. Her presence was of great dignity. She had undergone two operations for cancer, and suffered from X-ray burns. Her husband had died. Her only living child caused her great sorrow, but as I said, her spirit soared above all physical pain an unhappiness, because she had a creative approach to life. She was always interested in creative activities and had designed her own home, far in advance of res' dences of the time.

When home ties no longer existed, she had gone to New York—about 1908—to study interior design at the Parsons School only then established. Subsequently she opened an office in the office building she and her father, J. E. Caldwell, had built—the first fireproof office building in Wichita. She had an unerring instinct for quality and an innate sense of style. All her standards in life were high. While many of her friends came to her with their problems of home furnishings, she received commissions for public buildings, such as the Wichita Club, Wichita Country Club, the new Carnegie library, and the new Crawford Theater.

However, Mrs. Murdock had long been interested in the fine arts. She believed that art exists in the context of life—that art is a means of perceiving life. She put her trust in art, religion and democracy.

She put aside suffering of the body and spirit while living to try to impart understanding and love of art to others. At death, she left all her financial means to carry out her vision. She also left a challenge to her city.

Years later, Elizabeth McCausland, an art critic born in Wichita, wrote:

"Sinclair Lewis put into words what many middle westerns have felt about their birthplaces. But even before 'Main Street,' the Middle West had begun to feel stirrings of the creative life."

"Today it is no banner headline news that all through the Mississippi Valley, and es-

pecially in the Southwest, notable art activities are under way.

"But it was news, and news of an unusual kind, when in 1915 a Kansas woman left her estate for the endowment of an art collection—particularly as she herself never owned a painting or traveled abroad to see the great collections of works of art of the past * * *."

There were those in Wichita who were impressed by the possibilities, should the contingent bequest of Louise Caldwell Murdock be accepted by the city of Wichita. Particularly so were Walter A. Vincent and L. W. Clapp. Mr. Vincent and others organized the Wichita Art Association to stimulate the public's interest in art. Mrs. Murdock's last dependent died in 1935. The country had not recovered from the depression that had started in 1929. The Federal Government had organized the Works Progress Administration to make construction of public works possible.

Mr. Vincent and Mr. Clapp were instrumental in securing a grant from the Federal Government to construct an art museum building. An architect was chosen and the first unit of his plan was constructed at 619 Stackman Drive.

In 1939, the trust estate of Louise Caldwell Murdock was established. The district court of Sedgwick County deemed that this structure would meet a requirement governing the bequest. In the same year, all my home duties ended and my entire time was devoted to my duties as a trustee of the estate of Louise C. Murdock, and planning an art collection, to be known as the Roland P. Murdock collection, founded by Louise Caldwell Murdock. A requirement of the bequest was that American artists be given the preference. With the exception of two, all artists in the collection are American citizens.

The first group of acquisitions, 16 in number, was presented in November 1940. The artists selected were in general of Mrs. Murdock's era. Twelve were living in 1940 and today only six are. The purchase cost of that first group was $15,520; it is appraised today at $85,600.

During the next year or two I purchased a number of watercolors, thinking that their cost was within the range of a great many people, who might be influenced thereby to own original works of art. Certainly, to purchase and live with a picture is educational in several ways. I do not know whether the low cost of those watercolors had any influence. The United States was engaged in World War II. It is of monetary interest that those watercolors have increased in value, one 25 times its cost and another, 27 times.

The income for the art fund increased substantially after the war. I decided that a plan could be attempted to build a history of the development of art in this country. This meant to begin with the work of the first American-born artist, Robert Feke (1705–50), and to represent John Singleton Copley, our finest Colonial artist. The art of a country depicts its history in visual terms through the sensitivity of its artists. Feke's portrait of Grizzell Apthorp Trecothick symbolizes the love of elegance that existed to a certain degree in Colonial times. Copley painted the portraits of Col. and Mrs. William Otis with very broad brush strokes, which emphasized their strong characters. Colonel Otis was a great patriot, living in West Barnstabel, Mass. The last clause in his will stated * * * "and my portrait and my wife's, I would have kept in my mansion house by those of my children and grandchildren, that improve the same." It was a fine house destroyed by fire in 1849. A certain lovely lady of West Barnstable told me that she hoped Colonel Otis would be glad that though the mansion had been destroyed more than a hundred years ago, the portraits are valued and preserved in Wichita.

The 19th century as marked in the Roland P. Murdock collection begins with four primitives. The paintings are much in the spirit of the abstract work of the 20th. American artists were becoming more experimental as seen in the mystical work of John Quidor and the fool-the-eye painting of William Harnett, Eakins, Homer and Ryder, called "the three greats," are represented in the collection. Eakins is America's greatest portrait artist.

Impressionism interested certain artists, the sophisticated Guy Pene duBois, Twachtman, Theodore Robinson influenced by Monet, Maurice Prendergast brought an important new viewpoint, Mary Cassatt was the greatest of American impressionists and is represented in the Roland P. Murdock collection by "Mother and Child," considered her best by many.

The 20th century saw great changes in American art, in different developments. The first came from "The Eight" who were interested in life about them. Thirteen works by these artists form a part of the collection.

In the late twenties, regionalism, "the American Scene" interested several Middle West artists. One was John Steuart Curry, to be seen in "Kansas Cornfield." The depression of the thirties affected the artists as can be observed in "Sandwiches" by Reginald Marsh. Later, World War II had a profound effect upon a number of artists in the collection. "Refugees" by Max Weber is a great example.

Other artists whose works have increased in national importance are: Dove, who "wished to make a painting to exist in itself" (and succeeded); Demuth, painter of still life, acrobats, buildings; Hartley who came into his own in his Maine subjects; John Marin and Mark Tobey, internationally.

Grosz, Pascin, Kuniyoshi, born into other cultures, brought breadth to American art, to be noted in the Roland P. Murdock collection. Grosz' apocalypse, "The Pit," is of terrific power. Kuniyoshi's "Revelation" represents destruction of human values, while Ben Shahn's expressionism is concerned with a "curious quality of hope" and that of Kenneth Callahan is mystical.

The paintings of Stuart Davis, George K. L. Morris, and Paul Burlin are very personal abstractions. Realism becomes reality—truth—in the paintings by Kuhn, Wyeth and Hopper, while Burchfield's is full of fantasy. John Kane, untaught but "a poet in paint" achieved a vertiable panorama in "Turtle Creek Valley" in restricted space.

Sculpture is represented by DeCreeft, Flannagan, Lachaise, Umlauf and Zorach, all nationally recognized. Younger sculptors are Andrews and Williamson.

Cartoons? Yes. Good drawings, imaginative, philosophical, documents of their time with esthetic values.

My thinking for the Roland P. Murdock collection has emphasized lasting values, never emphemeral fashions.

Stampede

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I was very pleased to see by the editorial in this morning's Washington Post that this highly esteemed publication was also opposed to the resolution which came before the House of Representatives on Monday, which gives congressional approval to the use of military force by any country seeking to prevent subversion by international communism in the Western Hemisphere.

As I stated on the floor of the House during the consideration of this resolution, I was disturbed to find that such a proposal, urging serious changes in our hemispheric policy, would be brought up under suspension of the rules, limiting debate and prohibiting amendments.

The resolution was a major departure from our previous commitments and policies. Because the resolution was not given the attention and consideration due a measure of such magnitude, I had endeavored to secure a statement from the Department of State as to its official position or opinion on the same. This I was unable to do. I was therefore constrained to vote against this legislation which authorizes unilateral intervention by any Western Hemisphere country in the internal affairs of any other country in that hemisphere—intervention which is and has been over the years completely alien to our American democratic principles and traditions.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert the Post editorial at this point:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Sept. 22, 1965]

STAMPEDE

Cry "communism" and the House of Representatives seemingly is ready to rush pell-mell over almost any cliff. That is the conclusion invited by the overwhelming vote, with relatively little debate, for the Selden resolution authorizing the unilateral use of military force by any country seeking to prevent Communist subversion in the Western Hemisphere. The resolution smacks far more of self-justification than of intelligent effort to promote a consensus on means of countering new subversion.

Respecting the use of American power the President needs no authorization to act in emergency, as the intervention in the Dominican Republic showed. If the purpose was to clothe his action in ex post facto approval, again the resolution was unnecessary. There is much dispute over whether the Dominican intervention was in fact necessary, but no one disputes that the President did what he felt he had to do on the basis of the information available to him.

If the House had been concerned about the inadequacy of existing international machinery for dealing promptly with such crises, it could have addressed itself specifically to this point. Instead, the resolution is likely to produce reluctance elsewhere to contemplate any changes in inter-American procedures. For what the House has said is that, all treaties to the contrary, each country can be its own judge of when a subversive threat justifies external military intervention. At the worst this could be an American-sponsored poaching license for any dictatorship to invade its neighbor.

Even more ignominious than the House vote was the supine performance of the State Department. First the Department, which cannot have been unaware of the psychological damage caused by this type of resolution, allowed the House to think that it had no basic objections. Now, after not lifting a finger to deter passage, it issues a meek statement indicating that it is unhappy with some portions. This is the role of a jellyfish.

Fortunately for this country's relationships in Latin America, the resolution has no force. Even so, the fears of American intervention are endemic in Latin America, and the House may well have supplied another boot with

which Latin politicians will proceed to kick the Yankee colossus. But to try to persuade Members that this is a poor way to fight communism, in the mood that prevailed on Monday, would have seemed like opposing the Fourth of July.

National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9460) to provide for the establishment of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities to promote progress and scholarship in the humanities and the arts in the United States, and for other purposes.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Chairman, I am in strong support of this bill which is known as the National Foundation on Arts and Humanities Act of 1965.

I have long been interested in raising the cultural levels of this Nation by making the advantages for cultural development and enjoyment available to all the people, instead of to limited segments of the public.

While our education system has grown in leaps and bounds and is at its all-time peak, there has not been a commensurate increase in cultural levels and opportunities. In fact, there has been, strangely enough, an apparent decline in our national artistic and cultural output and standards until the situation is at present truly alarming.

Take for example the status of our current popular music which has deteriorated to the point where there is widespread dissatisfaction and resentment among many of our people.

The new communicating arts, which we are using to make advancements in cultural fields, in some notable instances have been responsible for glaring retrogressions in music and in artistic and cultural standards.

The quality of music in itself has declined to the point where it has produced violent protests from many people and groups.

The moral tone of the so-called auditory and visual arts has noticeably declined, and in many instances indicates complete disregard for ordinary good manners, good taste, moral customs, and the sensibilities of large numbers of American people.

Materialistic values are expanded, gross distortions of moral values, customs and practices have been emphasized.

I realize full well that this bill alone cannot correct these deep-rooted evils, and that more fundamental penetration and therapy in the homes, in the schools, the byways, marts, and gathering places of American life are necessary before corrective action can be taken.

It is my view, however, that this bill will at least make some visible gesture and impression, which should have been made long ago, to outline and implement a broad national policy for the arts and humanities so vital to the spirit, stature, and happiness of any people.

I would rather see a bill of much less complexity. I should prefer a bill of great simplicity. I do not believe anything can be gained by getting so many people into the act of administering the ends of the cultural programs envisioned by this bill, nor do I favor the highly diffused, but potential, centralized control at the top that the bill may make possible.

However, for the first time, this bill will provide both matching funds and nonmatching grants for very worthy essential purposes of promoting the creative and performing arts and encouraging more active participation and development on the part of people of talent, particularly the young, and these I concede to be highly merited aims, and very desirable and helpful as long-delayed measures of support for artistic and cultural activities in this country.

I am hopeful that this bill may represent a start in the field of art, culture, and humanities where this country has a crying need for development, and indeed for drastic change of direction, orientation, and posture.

If this bill will do something to eliminate the boorish, the vulgar and depraved, the unmannerly and the unkempt from American life, and replace these revolting features with some of the solid values so closely associated with our Nation in the past, and bring these and other artistic and cultural values to fuller recognition in our American way of life, in our country, something constructive, something more desirable and necessary should be achieved to improve and elevate the whole tone of our society, and I hope this will be the case.

Greatness as a nation or individual does not lie in material success, nor in satiety and flesh pots. It lies in the high ethical responses of the people, in our ideas, devotion to principle, manners and concern for others and for human qualities and the high purpose to defend our matchless free way of life.

In a word, freedom and culture must go together in this country, if we are to be worthy of the rich heritage bequeathed to us by those great figures who molded our free institutions, wherein freedom and culture can flourish in this country. The vulgarians and despoilers are at the gates, and we might as well make up our minds to this fact now and join militantly to do something about it. They should not be allowed further to degrade American life.

Let me laud my able, distinguished friends and colleagues, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMPSON] and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORHEAD] and the committee, and all those whose who labored so diligently and effectively to bring this very worthy measure to the floor. It will, in my opinion, do much to rid American life of some of its most obnoxious, alarming characteristics and this is a task we cannot undertake too soon, if we would but recall the plain lessons of history and the rise and decline of the great civilizations of the past.

Home Rule for the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the issue of home rule for the District of Columbia has been before the Congress for many years.

Now, we are finally assured that the House will be able to work its will on this matter because the bill will be coming up for debate next Monday on the discharge calendar.

This important issue, always a complex one to be sure, has been further confused by the hasty reporting of a home rule bill by the House District Committee. This bill resulted from the shotgun marriage of two bills that were only recently introduced. The first section of the bill originally introduced by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BROYHILL] would retrocede to Maryland all of the District except the part that was the original city of Washington. The other part of the bill introduced by the gentleman from California [Mr. SISK] proposes a charter referendum if the State of Maryland fails to accept the offer of retrocession.

Neither of these provisions forthrightly really meets the question of the right of District citizens to manage their local affairs and the responsibility of the Congress to provide this representation.

In addition to this failure, the bill brings with it difficult problems which I feel have not been adequately considered.

Mr. Speaker, the citizens of the District have already expressed their desire for self-government. In fact they have done so repeatedly. In the home rule hearings this year the many groups holding this view were given no opportunity to be heard. Therefore, I have unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the statement of one such group, the Women's Alliance of All Souls Church:

STATEMENT BY WOMEN'S ALLIANCE OF ALL SOULS CHURCH (UNITARIAN)

The Women's Alliance, an organization of over 200 women of Greater Washington, affiliated with All Souls Church (Unitarian) urges the passage of a strong and just home rule bill, following the provisions of S. 1118, recently approved by the Senate.

We submit that the taxpaying citizens of Washington, D.C., are as able as those of any other city in our country to govern themselves, and should have the same right to do so. The proof that they wish self-government was clear when six out of seven voters expressed their desire for home rule in the May 1964 primary.

The present method of governing our District is not only unjust to the 800,000 citizens who are smarting under the label of taxation without representation, but it is

wasteful of the time and energy of the four congressional committees who spend so much of their time on District affairs. Their wisdom might better be put to solution of national problems, so badly needing attention now.

Our local needs and aspirations are certainly more vital to local residents (whose officials would be directly responsible to the electorate) than to legislators from afar whose living conditions often do not approximate those here in Washington.

We believe the recently passed Senate bill—S. 1118—is just and wise. It would enable our citizens who care deeply for our city to govern it, while allowing Congress the ultimate control over the National Capital. It is also constitutional.

We thank you for this opportunity of expressing our views on this important matter. The passage of this legislation will help us to become the kind of responsible community we seek to be.

Prevent Communist Takeover in Western Hemisphere

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to direct the attention of my colleagues to two news clippings on House Resolution 560, which endorses the unilateral use of force by the United States or any other Western Hemisphere nation to prevent a Communist takeover in the hemisphere.

The first clipping is a United Press International account of a State Department briefing on Tuesday, giving the Department's view of the resolution.

If the State Department was not concerned about this resolution, it should have been. If the vague and indecisive attitude portrayed in this dispatch is typical of the way the Department conducts foreign policy, then we are in worse shape than we realize.

The second clipping is an editorial on the subject from today's Washington Post. The editorial makes some very telling points, particularly when it points out that the Department cannot have been unaware of the psychological damage caused in Latin America by this type of resolution. As one who was born in Argentina, as a close observer of the Latin American scene, having made two trips there this year, I can vouch for the propaganda coup we have handed our opponents.

I find myself in wholehearted approval of the editorial when it says:

> Now after not lifting a finger to deter passage, it (the State Department) issues a meek statement indicating that it is unhappy with some portions. This is the role of a jellyfish.

The clippings follow:

WASHINGTON.—The State Department today endorsed with reservations a House resolution justifying unilateral intervention to prevent a Communist takeover anywhere in the Western Hemisphere.

The resolution was approved by the House yesterday 312 to 52. It has no force of law but expresses the "sense of the House" that the United States or any other hemisphere country could intervene against "subversive forces know as international communism."

State Department Press Officer McCloskey said today his department "generally agrees with the objectives expressed in the original resolution."

He added that the State Department thought the resolution should have been amended to justify unilateral intervention only as a temporary measure until the Organization of American States could act.

But McCloskey noted that the resolution came up in the House under a legislative procedure in which it could not be amended.

But McCloskey noted that it does contain references to "existing inter-American treaties" and also refers to a July 1964, OAS Foreign Minister's resolution which spoke of initial action against communism "until such time" as the OAS acts.

The State Department also noted that Representative ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, Democrat of Alabama, author of the resolution, told the House he had been asked by the administration to make clear that "merely threat of subversion standing alone" would not justify intervention.

The State Department's statement, plus SELDEN's remarks, amounted to declaring that as far as U.S. policy is concerned the resolution doesn't mean quite what it says.

STAMPEDE

Cry "communism," and the House of Representatives seemingly is ready to rush pell-mell over almost any cliff. That is the conclusion invited by the overwhelming vote, with relatively little debate, for the Selden resolution authorizing the unilateral use of military force by any country seeking to prevent Communist subversion in the Western Hemisphere. The resolution smacks far more of self-justification than of intelligent effort to promote a consensus on means of countering new subversion.

Respecting the use of American power the President needs no authorization to act in emergency, as the intervention in the Dominican Republic showed. If the purpose was to clothe his action in ex post facto approval, again the resolution was unnecessary. There is much dispute over whether the Dominican intervention was in fact necessary, but no one disputes that the President did what he felt he had to do on the basis of the information available to him.

If the House had been concerned about the inadequacy of existing international machinery for dealing promptly with such crises, it could have addressed itself specifically to this point. Instead, the resolution is likely to produce reluctance elsewhere to contemplate any changes in inter-American procedures. For what the House has said is that, all treaties to the contrary, each country can be its own judge of when a subversive threat justifies external military intervention. At the worst this could be an American-sponsored poaching license for any dictatorship to invade its neighbor.

Even more ignominious than the House vote was the supine performance of the State Department. First the Department, which cannot have been unaware of the psychological damage caused by this type of resolution, allowed the House to think that it had no basic objections. Now, after not lifting a finger to deter passage, it issues a meek statement indicating that it is unhappy with some portions. This is the role of a jellyfish.

Fortunately for this country's relationships in Latin America, the resolution has no force. Even so, the fears of American intervention are endemic in Latin America, and the House may well have supplied another boot with which Latin politicans will proceed to kick the Yankee colossus. But to try to persuade Members that this is a poor way to fight communism, in the mood that prevailed on Monday, would have seemed like opposing the Fourth of July.

Good Education Long-Time Goal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, it was with considerable pleasure I noticed the well-deserved public recognition given Mrs. Edna Scales, one of the most interested and effective friends of education in the Northwest. She is the first woman to ever serve as chairman of the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education. Mrs. Scales will continue to use her exceptional talents and energies as she serves in this new leadership position. She will have the challenging opportunity to help formulate plans that will affect higher education and mental health programs for decades to come. In serving in this area, she serves the Nation.

An article from the August 30, 1965, Oregon Journal follows:

GOOD EDUCATION LONGTIME GOAL

(By Helen L. Mershon)

What happens when a college student in the sparsely settled West decides to major in a subject not offered in his State?

Hopefully, someone steers him to the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, according to Mrs. Thomas (Edna M.) Scales, newly named chairman.

Popularly called WICHE, the commission is composed of representatives from 13 Western States who work together to improve the quality of education for college students.

Mrs. Scales, collector of customs in Portland, was appointed to the commission in 1957, and until 3 years ago was the only woman on the board.

Long interested in "good education," she says, "my WICHE interests have been in mental health, crime prevention, and delinquency."

While these may sound a little farfetched for an education committee, Mrs. Scales explains, "We are concerned with the shortage of personnel in mental health."

The committee's entry into mental health came when several State governments asked WICHE's staff at Boulder, Colo., to do a survey on the problem.

"There had been no communication between the universities and colleges and the people in the institutions. We found this strange," said Mrs. Scales. "If you're not teaching what people need in the field, then something has to be done."

The result is that WICHE is participating in a summer recruiting program where prospective mental health careerists spend 2 weeks on campus, then 6 weeks working in an institution. Each State institution pays the salary of the work-study student.

"Students are not just employees. Someone is assigned them by the institution or university to see that they get real training," she said.

One of the most familiar functions of WICHE is arranging contracts for one State's student to study in a particular field in an-

other State without paying out-of-State tuition.

For example, Oregon students interested in veterinary science must go elsewhere, usually to Washington State University at Pullman, or the University of California at Davis. Through WICHE, they are relieved of extra tuition.

"One of the problems facing us is medical education for the States of Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Nevada, Alaska, and Hawaii," Mrs. Scales said. "One of the greatest obstacles is that there are no large population center hospitals suitable for teaching hospitals needed for a medical school.

"The States who have medical schools are running out of places, particularly for the freshman year," she said. "Nursing is another area where we have shortages. First, we have to have more nurse eductors."

Meanwhile, the nursing profession is profiting from continuation education programs along with physicians, institutional administrators, juvenile delinquent workers, and special education teachers.

WICHE grew out of the 1949 Western Governors' Conference and by 1959 had been adopted by 13 Western States. Oregon, which joined in 1953, is also represented by Frank J. Van Dyke, Medford, and Dr. Roy E. Lieuallen, chancellor, Oregon State System of Higher Education.

Mrs. Scales' nonpaying executive position will find her presiding at four quarterly executive meetings plus one annual 3-day meeting. She explained that she has no particular program to push, but will continue trying to meet the education needs of fastest growing population in the United States.

"Many Western States have populations too small and tax resources too limited to provide certain expensive types of higher education," she said. "We must meet the needs of specialized skilled manpower, and where possible not duplicate expensive facilities."

Mrs. Scales, who helped her late husband run a department store in Sandy, became active in education through her three daughters (now married) who prompted her to join the PTA, where she served in Sandy and State level offices. She was a member of the library board in Sandy and helped establish the child guidance clinic in Clackamas County.

Her many years of volunteer work with the Democratic Party, including two terms as vice chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, pointed her toward her appointment to the customs post in 1961.

She supervises 35 customs employees in headquarters in the customs building in Portland plus 11 others who work in ports of entry at Longview, Astoria, Newport, and Coos Bay.

Hon. Eugene Zuckert—A Great Leader of the U.S. Air Force

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, permit me to pay tribute today to the distinguished Secretary of the Air Force, the Honorable Eugene Zuckert, who has resigned, effective September 30 next.

Secretary Zuckert brought years of knowledge and valuable governmental experience to the Office of Secretary of the Air Force when he assumed that position in 1961.

He has done an excellent job. He has rendered an outstanding public service.

As he leaves the Office of Secretary, he leaves an Air Force second to none in the world. He leaves a U.S. Air Force that is fulfilling its obligations in the fight for freedom in Vietnam and around the world.

The Air Force of the United States has been prepared with the latest in aircraft and the best equipment available. The fact that there are indications that the tide in Vietnam is turning in our favor is due in no small part to the Air Force and the inspired leadership of Eugene Zuckert and our gallant fighting forces.

Secretary Zuckert has capably presented the case for the Air Force to the Executive and to the Congress. He has distinguished himself with great credit to his country.

The people of the great district which I am honored to represent wish him all good luck, success, and happiness as he seeks retirement from his high post of public service.

Address of the Honorable Brooks Hays

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, it was my honor to represent the Governor of South Carolina, the Honorable Robert E. McNair, at the annual dinner of the 20th National Conference on Citizenship on September 16 at the Mayflower Hotel here in Washington.

Upon that occasion it was my pleasure to hear a magnificent address by the Honorable Brooks Hays, Arthur T. Vanderbilt director of public affairs, Rutgers University. I commend this outstanding and timely address to the attention of the Congress and to the people of the country:

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE BROOKS HAYS, ARTHUR T. VANDERBILT DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

Among the gems in the literature of Lincoln is his appeal "let reverence for law become the political religion of the Nation." This classic statement links law and religious sentiment and was uttered in the same spirit which inspired George Washington's appeal in his farewell address "There can be no morality without the inspiration of religion."

I do not intend by invoking the words of two of our greatest Presidents to turn to an earlier era for a pattern to recommend for this dynamic century but rather to suggest that conditions somewhat similar to those which challenge our generation have existed before and that we are endowed with a collective wisdom acquired in the crises of a stormy past. We cannot live long enough to acquire all of the experiences that are necessary to prove what is necessary for survival—some things we do inherit from the race.

Men of faith before us have triumphed over lawlessness and what they bequeathed will be both sword and shield in the struggles of these times for stability and order without which the spiritual values to which we aspire cannot flourish. These values can be defined in terms of the revered abstractions of our faith—justice and liberty, equal opportunity and devotion to the welfare of our fellow men.

Sometimes efforts are made to convince us that there are competitive ideas in the dialog as to public morals—that any concern for amelioration of conditions identified with discontent is in conflict with the idea of responsibility of an individual for his wrongdoing. Further, that governmental action is in disparagement of the soundly conceived religious and educational program of the churches and other institutional influences in our country. How much better it would be if we could view the total problems as a common responsibility and undertake through facilities available to us to coordinate public and private energies—to view both church and state as bearing responsibility in their respective areas for attaining a higher degree of obedience to law.

According to some scholars two great theologians of the 19th century were politicians named Lincoln and Jefferson. I would add that one of the greatest politicians of this century was a theologian named John XXIII. And of course in these instances I use the word "politicians" in the finest and highest sense of the word. The release of unifying forces in our distraught world by Pope John makes easier our task of assembling the moral resources necessary to combat crime.

Fortunately the Protestant world is responding imaginatively to this spirit. Lately unprecedented Federal power has been invoked to deal with some of the causes of rebelliousness and unhappiness in American cities and countryside. Antipoverty legislation, urban programs of gigantic dimensions, rural development, civil rights legislation, and many other types of social action have received mandates from the Executive and the Congress.

Still remain the crucial struggles of individual youth who seemingly in larger proportions than ever seem drawn toward rebelliousness and crime rather than decency and peace.

We must not be disconsolate. There is much to give hope. The amazing program of the National Government should inspire every friend of youth to find a place in the local activities designed to utilize, to the fullest, facilities to meet the problem.

My own faith in the moral solvency of American youth is strong. We must undertake to condition the environment in which confused and frustrated youth live so as to make more likely favorable verdicts in the inner struggles which they experience. Their potential good as well as their present defiance must be recognized if we their elders are to produce something more than excoriation and reprisals.

Let me place the problem in the framework of rural life, the area I am most familiar with. I am old enough to remember the covered wagons, horse-drawn, moving West. I have lived long enough to see a reversal—covered wagons moving East—covered not with tarpaulin but by hardtop and drawing trailers. In my boyhood the search was for land and wood and water, now for jobs and homes and opportunities. Since 1940, 25 million people have moved from farms and villages to the cities. Our society may boast of a technology which altered the farm life of America, lifting burdens from men's muscles to machines and relieving women of drudgery as it built a production record of food and fiber which became the world's marvel.

But should we do only boasting when attention is drawn to the inadequacy of a national policy which permits grievous farm

unemployment and a mounting discontent reflected in delinquency statistics. The drabness of some rural communities resulting from mechanization of the farms surrounding them defies description.

Surely it is apparent to all that the interrelated character of rural and urban problems calls for overall treatment and a comprehensive program for relief.

Is our answer a mere reassertion of medieval attitudes—individual industriousness will be rewarded, individual defiance will be punished? Is social engineering that seeks to set right the influences that surround a youth to be derided as a departure from conventional morality that puts the sinner in his place?

Sterner laws—stiffer penalties—surely something besides this simplistic reply to stricken youth is needed.

Prisons are necessary. Sentences commensurate with the crime—yes—no sensible person holds any other view but concepts of law must be rooted in a better understanding of man's nature and certainly we must seek to bring statutory law into alinement with the moral law.

Here is a challenge to legal and legislative craftsmen. Sir Henry Maine stated it well "Social opinion must be in advance of the law and the greater or less happiness of the people depends upon the narrowness of the gulf between them." Educators and churchmen are challenged to keep advancing. Legislators are challenged to design policy that fits that advance.

The problem which Sir Henry Maine posed is essentially one of relating the basic principles of law to the new conditions resulting from the explosive forces in society—for society is never static. Still, the moral law feeds and sustains "positive law" as Professor Northrup of Yale University describes statutory and decision law.

This moral law has been compressed into eloquent statements now centuries old. Cicero had this to say about it—"True law is right reason, consonant with nature, everlasting and unchanging. It does not differ in Rome and in Athens nor in the past and present. No legislature can amend or repeal that law and one does not have to look outside himself for the true expounder of it."

This remarkable statement parallels the Old and New Testament proclamations. The Cicerion rule was antedated by the decalog from Sinai. God was talking through Cicero as well as through Moses. Jesus climaxed it with the law of love. His law was the natural law, interpreted and reverenced by Jefferson and his contemporaries.

Some difficulty arises when law and morality do not conform. Under some systems of government this is compounded because insufficient means are provided for moral men to change the laws of the State. Not so in America. Our system yields to the aspirations for justice and righteousness and we therefore have "a continuing revolution." The right of revolution as advanced by our Founding Fathers is something to interest philosophers and historians—it creates no issue here as for the Germans who suffered under Hitler. Moral men accede to the right of protest against laws but make obedience to it a part of our political religion. Criticism and defiance must be distinguished. In a revolutionary century the protestors for nonviolent change have access to the processes of constitutional government.

The American dream can be fulfilled only as we rely upon these procedures in our quest for justice and righteousness and peace.

When I was asked recently in a college forum "What is the American dream?" I gave this answer:

It is the anticipation that sometime we will be able to say here is equality and freedom here is brotherhood and justice.

The dream is of compassion expressing itself in societies' concern for those who fall by the way in a competitive system.

It is imagination perfecting the mechanisms of government.

It is sensitivity to the claim of righteousness in human affairs.

It is the hope that triumphs here will strengthen values shared with people around the world.

It is human kindness so penetrating the Nation that every man, no matter how incapacitated, will feel that he is wanted.

It is the vision of opened doors of opportunity.

It is insistence upon government by as well as for and of the people.

It is the hope of human dignity made secure.

It is the longing for acknowledgement of the human families' oneness.

It is the vision of a citizenry drawn together in mutual confidence, facing common evils and exhaulting a common faith in God.

This is my conception of the American dream.

Chartiers Valley Flood Control Program

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2300) authorizing the ocsntruction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, it is an honor today to urge immediate authorization of the Chartiers Valley flood control program.

The House Public Works Committee is to be congratulated on approving this vitally necessary program when reporting to the House favorably S. 2300, the rivers and harbors and flood control bill.

On April 21, 1965, I appeared before the Senate Public Works Committee strongly urging that the committee act favorably on the authorization of the Chartiers Valley flood control program in Allegheny County, Pa. This is a necessary and urgent program, and should be considered on an emergency basis, not only because of the families, homes, and businesses endangered, but because this valley contains many U.S. defense industries. The various Federal agencies as well as the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania have all approved this project and recommended its completion.

The Chartiers Valley flood control project has now been favorably recommended by the U.S. Army Engineers for the western district of Pennsylvania, the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors in Washington, D.C., the Chief of Engineers of the Department of Army, and the Secretary of the Army. The U.S. Bureau of the Budet approved this project on April 10, 1964.

The Chartiers Valley area in Allegheny and Washington Counties contains 276.67 square miles, has 217,592 population in Allegheny County, and 98,984 population in Washington County. The total number of employees of Chartiers Valley industries is about 6,500 in the Carnegie-Bridgeville region, Allegheny County, and about 4,000 employees in the Canonsburg-Houston region, Washington County. It is apparent that the Chartiers Valley area is an important part of the economy of western Pennsylvania, and that these recurring annual floods in this valley have caused great damage and loss to many people in this large geographical area.

As Congressman for the 27th Congressional District of Pennsylvania, representing the Chartiers Valley area in Allegheny County, I have been working closely with my good friend and colleague, Congressman TOM MORGAN, of Washington County, as well as with our two U.S. Senators for the State of Pennsylvania, Senator JOSEPH CLARK and Senator HUGH SCOTT, to see that the Chartiers Valley flood control program is immediately undertaken to eliminate further unnecessary disasters and hardship in this economically depressed area. All citizens in the area, business and labor alike, are united in appealing for immediate action on this long overdue flood control program.

I strongly urge the immediate authorization of the Chartiers Valley flood control program on an emergency basis to prevent damage to vital national industries in the Chartiers Valley at this time of stress and strain in Vietnam.

We must also remember that the homes, the jobs, the workers, and their families in the Chartiers Valley are in danger every year as there have been almost annual damaging floods in the Chariers Valley over 50 years now. In 1956 the area was declared a national disaster emergency area when Chartiers Creek once more flooded its banks and the valley it traces. And as recently as 1963 the residents of Chartiers Valley were again subjected to a disastrous flood.

Immediate authorization is essential to safeguard the lines, the businesses, the homes, and families of the Chartiers Valley and to protect the vital defense industry located there.

Beauty Should Be Among First of Nation's Goals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, the Sacramento Bee has printed a splendid editorial complimenting our First Lady on her tireless efforts to prevent our country from becoming the ugly America.

Thanks in no small measure to her efforts, writes the editorialist:

The attention of the Nation has at long last been directed toward refurbishing,

toward the need for cosmetics, toward the uprooting of those blemished areas beyond salvage, toward appreciation of the magnificent values involved in the word: "Beauty."

Those values are precious to us all. Their significance has never been more cogently stated than in this editorial, which will be consequently of interest to all of my colleagues.

The editorial follows:

[From the Sacramento (Calif.) Bee, Sept. 13, 1965]

BEAUTY SHOULD BE AMONG FIRST OF NATION'S GOALS

Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, who is making her own mark independent of her automatic ranking as the Nation's first lady, said something in the high and picturesque Wyoming country which should be emblazoned on the scroll of national goals and heeded by the mayors and governing bodies of every hamlet and city across the face of America.

Speaking on the subject of beauty, and the need for beauty in the environment of the manmade cities, Mrs. Johnson said:

"It is not enough simply to stake out a few splendid areas like the Tetons and say 'here is a place for beauty.' Beauty cannot be set aside for vacations or special occasions. It cannot be the occasional privilege of those who come long distances to visit nature. It cannot be reserved for 'nice neighborhoods' only. I am quite sure that ugliness, the gray, dreary unchanging world of crowded, deprived neighborhoods, has contributed to riots, to mental ill health, to crime."

The first lady is right on all counts.

In the haste to build, to expand, to create, this generation and the generations past have brutally scarred the countryside and littered it with buy-sell signs which blight what is left. Festering slums have been permitted to grow unchecked in the major cities, and how preciously few escape them.

Some of the rot which has contaminated the American life has filtered into the American soul, blighting it, too. Mrs. Johnson is not overstating the case when she says the gray, dreary, and unchanging world of crowded, deprived neighborhoods has contributed to ill health, to crime, and to riots. Of course it has.

Now the attention of the Nation has at long last been directed toward refurbishing, toward the need for cosmetics, toward the uprooting of those blemished areas beyond salvage, toward appreciation of the magnificent values involved in the word: Beauty.

Recall the lines from Keats:

"A thing of beauty is a joy forever;
Its loveliness increases; it will never
Pass into nothingness; but still will keep
A bower quiet for us, and a sleep
Full of dreams, and health, and quiet breathing."

The goal of all America, witnessing the intruding ugliness on all sides, must be to plan and to build and to preserve with an eye and a thought upon beauty. Then that bower shall be America's, and America the richer for it.

Project Head Start: the Dental Appraisal Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, much appraising and reappraising has been going on in recent days concerning the war on poverty. This is as it should be. Weaknesses in the program should be exposed and successes touted in order that others may benefit.

The city of Detroit has pioneered many programs and has made many valuable contributions in this area. In an article printed in the September 1965 issue of the Detroit Dental Bulletin, published by the Detroit District Dental Society, one such outstanding program, worthy of emulation by all communities, is described and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress.

The article follows:

PROJECT HEAD START: THE DENTAL APPRAISAL PROGRAM

It was about 8:30 in the morning when the large, chartered, yellow bus pulled up on McDougall at East Jefferson to the entrance of the University of Detroit Dental School and discharged from its doors approximately 60 young children who were about to be introduced to the value of caring for their dental health. These children were part of the total action against poverty program; specifically, they were part of Project Head Start. They began their trip to the Dental School from one of a number of public schools scattered throughout the city of Detroit. Accompanied by a classroom teacher and several aides, these children had been selected to take part in the dental appraisal portion of Project Head Start.

The University of Detroit Dental School was uniquely set up to make this program an outstanding success from a number of points of view. Officially described, the services performed were: "(1) a clinical examination for dental caries or hygiene periodontal diseases, (2) problems of growth and development relating to malocclusion of teeth; cleansing of teeth; topical applications of dental caries—inhibitory materials; and (3) for dental health education, tooth brushing instruction and tooth brushes."

Much more than the clinical description just given was achieved, however, for these children were introduced to good oral care as preschoolers, a time when children are most impressionable, and in a manner which made their first exposure to dentistry exciting, interesting, and above all, painless.

When they were brought in from their buses (a bus would arrive at 8:30 a.m., another at 10 a.m., and the last at 11 a.m.), the children were escorted into classrooms under the direction of Mrs. Florence McCloskey, the hygienist for the tap program, and her associates. Lectures and demonstrations on tooth brushing and good oral health habits were then given to the children in a manner which made them understandable to their young minds. An extra attraction which delighted the children was the puppet shows which were designed and put on by Mr. Charles Derry of the University of Detroit Dental School. Then the children were brought to the main clinic of the school where dental students, under the supervision of the staff, proceeded to examine their teeth and oral structures, to clean the teeth, and to apply topical fluorides.

Project Head Start was able in this way to see almost 6,000 children between July 12 and August 19 for the public schools of Detroit and environs, and was able to see about 370 children for 14 parochial schools through the archdiocesan opportunity program. About 200 children a day were seen.

While other communities wrangled over and disputed about how the tap program might be implemented, Detroit moved right ahead and, at least in the dental appraisal program of Project Head Start, showed what people working together can accomplish for the community. Dr. Arthur Enzmann is Director of Project Head Start for the Detroit Board of Education. He, working with Dr. John Stone of the dental school who is coordinator for tap, and with the cooperation of the Detroit District Dental Society, and with the facilities of the University of Detroit Dental School, and the encouragement of the dean, Dr. Baralt, and through the facilities of dental aid, has shown what can be accomplished when the community dental resources are utilized by intelligent, dedicated people. Dr. Stone and his staff was primarily responsible for the success of this outstanding dental program.

This program has attracted nationwide attention because of its excellence, and may well serve as a pattern for future communities' health programs throughout the county. It proved that the principles of utilizing the total resources of the community by the professional people involved can achieve excellent results with a minimum of redtape. Our community should be congratulated for having people with the abilities which Dr. Enzmann, Dr. Stone, Dr. Baralt, and Mrs. McCloskey have demonstrated, for in this one project alone, we have shown that dentistry does care about people in its community. The children have been served; their introduction to dentistry was a good one. Dental education has begun, and at least one part of a true headstart toward a normal place in life may well be on its way.

Federal Revenue to States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Walter W. Heller first proposed that the Federal Government share its revenue with the States and local communities. Dr. Heller's idea is timely and warrants the earnest consideration of the Congress. I commend to the attention of the Congress the following editorial which appeared in the Washington Post of September 22:

JAVITS BREAKS THROUGH

Senator JACOB K. JAVITS deserves a burst of applause for introducing a bill that would provide for the sharing of surplus Federal revenues with the States. The prospect for tax legislation sponsored by a member of the minority party cannot be regarded as auspicious. But Mr. JAVITS is performing the necessary task of bringing a controversial proposal to the attention of Congress for the first time.

Mr. JAVITS' point of departure has already been amply discussed by proponents of revenue sharing. The Federal Government, under conditions of high employment, will collect more tax money than it can wisely spend. The State and local governments will be spending more money than they can raise through efficient measures of taxation. Both problems—the embarrassing affluence of the Federal Government and the pressing needs of State and local governments—can be neatly solved through a program of Federal revenue sharing.

In the Senator's thoughtful proposal, 1 percent of the current income tax base—about $2.5 billion—would be deposited in a trust fund. The proceeds of the fund would then be allocated to the States. Each year 80 percent would be distributed on the basis of population and 20 percent would be divided among the 12 or 15 States with lowest per capita income.

The Federal grants would be used only to support programs in the fields of health, education, and welfare. This constraint would leave the States and localities ample freedom of action, while precluding the support of programs such as highway construction that are already heavily funded by the Congress.

The revenue sharing plan was first proposed by Walter W. Heller, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. But the President, seemingly piqued by a premature leak, has maintained an air of chilly distain. It would be ironic indeed if this important proposal, the brainchild of a Democrat should become the property of the opposition.

The Look Ahead in Space

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, in 1963, the Douglas Aircraft, Space System Center, came to Huntington Beach, Calif., in the western part of the 34th Congressional District which it is my honor to represent. At this fine location Douglas has developed the facility which has built the Saturn S–IV and S–IVB. As a result of their success as a fiercely contending bidder they have become one important component of the team that will build and put in place the manned orbital laboratory designated the MOL program. It is a matter of pride to the people of my district that the work Douglas will do on this project will be accomplished at the now expanding Huntington Beach Space System Center.

Mr. Speaker, I hope this body will understand the pride we experienced as a member of the audience at yesterday's meeting of the National Space Club here in Washington, when the principal speaker was Charles R. Able, vice president in charge of the center for the Douglas company. Mr. Able, in his remarks, stressed the importance of our on-going program in space. It occurred to me, Mr. Speaker, that constant communication will be required to assure the understanding, interest, and support of the American people.

Our financial commitment to the space program is considerable and the burden will be substantial for quite a stretch of years into the future if our goals are to be achieved and our purposes realized. The glamour which at first attached to the program will fade and the critical questioning will rise in the near future asking, why the great expense? and what is the United States doing in space? The changing pressures and demands from other elements of our national life will bring a rising tide of competition from time to time. These assaults can only be met by fully informing the public of our advantages, rewards, and promises from reasonable extensions of present operations.

As a part of providing continuous information and keeping thoughtful consideration active in this House for our great space program, I, under unanimous consent, include here the remarks of Charles R. Able before the National Space Club:

THE LOOK AHEAD IN SPACE

(By C. R. Able, group vice president, Missile and Space Systems, Douglas Aircraft Co.)

I am proud to have this opportunity to meet with the National Press Club, and to set out for you some ideas on a subject of interest to all of us.

In preparing for this occasion I sought assistance from some of the bright, young, and extremely enthusiastic space scientists and engineers at our Space Systems Center in Huntington Beach, Calif.

Their enthusiasm helped produce the somewhat hefty text some of you have. Reading it over this morning I decided to do some trimming, in the interests of time, and so that you may have greater opportunity to throw questions at me.

I know I don't have to spend any time convincing this audience that our present space programs are just the beginning of a new era in man's history.

Nobody can look ahead today and see what will come to pass in 40 or 50 or 100 years of space exploration. The PERT networks just don't reach that far, and our best technology still hasn't produced a workable crystal ball.

We can't even be certain that a historian looking back over this period three or four generations from now will decide to call these years the space age. There are some other trends developing in the world which may well turn out to be the predominant ones.

So I think we'll have to leave it to the historians among our great-grandchildren to decide how to classify the next several decades.

But we can't avoid the fact that decisions our country faces right now will determine much of what happens over that long a period.

In 1961, at the urging of President Kennedy, this Nation decided to commit itself to a 10-year program to land a man on the moon. We have followed that commitment firmly, and you know as well as I that we will achieve that goal.

The point we need to bear in mind today is that new decisions which our present leadership must make, now and in the near future, will commit us to a firm course of action not just for a decade but for at least a full generation to come.

The speed at which technology moves today, and the tremendous resources required to keep it moving, will not allow us the luxury of deciding one thing now and then changing our minds later. We simply could not bear the cost, in time and technology and money, of going back to start over.

So that is our role in all of this?

For one thing, of course, as partners in space exploration, we have the task of designing and building the hardware that will let us achieve our goals.

At Douglas we are very proud that the people in our missile and space systems group are being called on to do a share of that job.

I'm sure the program of greatest interest to you at the moment is the newest one—the development of the Air Force's Manned Orbiting Laboratory, which was ordered by President Johnson less than a month ago.

As you know, we were selected to develop the MOL vehicle, and General Electric was chosen to provide the experiments, in a program aimed at defining man's usefulness in space from a military point of view.

We are talking about a two-man spacecraft, with a 30-day mission time and launched by the Air Force's Titan III. It will use a modified Gemini capsule to carry the crew during launch and reentry.

In the pressurized section, our space pilots will be able to live in a shirt-sleeve environment, with what we expect will be about 400 cubic feet of unencumbered space per man in the capsule.

That may not seem like much working area, but just ask Gordon Cooper or Pete Conrad how it sounds after 8 days in space suits inside the Gemini.

What we're working on is a second generation manned spacecraft, and we are extremely pleased at being a part of this program. A lot of our people worked very hard to win the MOL competition, and, at the same time, our company invested heavily in research and in facilities to be sure we were ready for it.

The Douglas Space Systems Center, on the west coast, represents an investment of some $35 million of our private capital and gives us the finest possible facilities for research, engineering and production in space programs.

We moved in there late in 1963, with our Saturn S–IV and S–IVB programs, and now it is also the headquarters for our MOL effort. We are well into the second phase of a three-step building program which is master-planned to 1970.

General Electric, one of our partners in the MOL program, has made similar large-scale investments in facilities for the space age, and so have the Martin Co., North American Aviation, Lockheed, Boeing, and many other companies.

There is another point which I feel is a major obligation for all of us in this room.

We who are part of the aerospace industry have the responsibility for developing our technology well ahead of tomorrow's requirements.

Even while we are still working on Saturn, Apollo, and the MOL and all the other space programs we have going right now, we must devote a good part of our resources to preparing for programs that are not yet conceived. The speed of today's technology will not permit us to do otherwise.

This leads directly to the questions of "Why are we involved in a program of space exploration?" "Must we be?" and "Can we afford it?" You, ladies and gentlemen, are no strangers to these questions, I'm sure.

We had the same questions recently in a letter from the presidnet of one of our country's leading industrial firms * * * one with no involvement in aerospace activities. He had been the guest of Mr. Douglas on a visit to our Space Systems Center last spring as part of a nationwide tour of aerospace facilities.

He admitted he had been thoroughly skeptical at the beginning of that tour, but, in the same letter in which he raised those familiar questions, he concluded: "We can't afford to ignore the space beyond the shores of our earthly atmosphere."

Now this was a conclusion by a man of demonstrated good judgment and great responsibility; as disinterested as any man can be in these dynamic times. I am convinced that if it were possible for all American people to make the same tour he did and to judge from the evidence he saw, they would reach exactly the same conclusion.

I say this because I believe very strongly that the idea of world leadership in space is rooted deep in this country. If I didn't believe this and if the other officers of the Douglas Co. didn't believe it, many of the large financial commitments we have made would not have been made, since it is self-evident that the space program will require enthusiastic public support far into the future.

Even with this belief, it is a difficult thing to define the reasons why we must have an on-going space program.

Precedents don't help much in this situation. The stories of Columbus, the opening of the West, man's inherent urge to explore and to climb mountains—all offer parallels,

but they cannot, in themselves, become reasons for exploring space.

We can't ignore the fact that the whole world is watching our progress in space and comparing it with Russia's, nor that there are important diplomatic values at stake.

But to regard this as a reason for devoting our energies to a space program misses the point.

By the same token, I recognize fully that the by-product of information immediately useful in our everyday life—the so-called fall out from space research—is of growing value to us.

But I think that to debate whether this is decisive as a reason for space exploration again misses the whole point.

The point is, we cannot evaluate the final impact of the new knowledge we are gaining in our space programs today * * * not any more than the few people in the 17th century who understood calculus or the laws of motion could evaluate the long-term impact of Isaac Newton's work.

Several times today I have mentioned the rapid pace of modern technology. There is an ever-increasing torrent of new information pouring into the main stream of human knowledge from every branch and tributary of learning.

Bear in mind that these torrents become part of a river of information that has been gathering for the last 2,000 years. The result is a rising tide of know-how that has produced so many of what we pridefully call modern miracles in this century.

We are, in effect, riding the crest of a flood of knowledge; a flood which in times past enabled mankind to survive on this earth and which now has become so powerful that in times to come it will enable us to survive away from this earth as well.

I firmly believe, ladies and gentlemen, that the principal reason for our involvement in space programs is to keep this cumulative stream of knoweldge flowing—and rightly so, for history proves that we can only benefit from it.

Admittedly, we are expending vast amounts of money in our beginning efforts at space exploration. But in this regard, there are several points to keep in mind:

One, most of those dollars go into engineering and scientific manhours, and these are the principal tributaries to our river of knowledge. Those dollars help to build an enduring capital asset.

Two, the attraction of participation in aeronautics and aerospace work over the past 50 years has tremendously accelerated the education of trained professionals of all kinds in a way that less glamorous pursuits might not have inspired.

These professionals have moved gradually into many other activities. They provide a vital core of technical discipline throughout industry, academics, government, and the military and will continue to enrich these activities as time goes on.

None of this changes the basic fact that space research and development are costly propositions for the Nation—nor is it intended to.

But, it is intended to point up the fact that a certain stability in our space program, with its implication of predictable future annual costs, is indispensable.

This is a kind of stability that depends on steadfast public support, regardless of political and economic cycles. It is not something that I, as an American, would want to see resolved on the basis of a passing enthusiasm.

This brings us to another point I would like to make today.

Our Nation is once more at a point where we must soon make some crucial decisions concerning our future aerospace exploration.

We have an obligation to apply our special understanding and capabilities to assist in the decisionmaking process.

Now if that seems too obvious to need saying, please examine it a little more closely.

I am not suggesting that because we are the specialists in the field we should try to claim the right of decisionmaking for ourselves. In our country, it just doesn't work that way.

I do suggest that it is well within our role to act as advisers to the Nation in reaching these decisions. But we must act always and only within the area of our special competence.

I believe that through our specialized technical societies and through our organizations such as the National Space Club we have the opportunity to perform a distinct and valuable service in this area, one which could not be as well performed in any other way.

The objectives should be, I think, simply to delineate the alternatives, however few or many they may be, in those areas where decisions of lasting national importance must be reached.

We are now something more than halfway along toward achieving our first national space goal of landing a man on the moon.

We are moving ahead with the Manned Orbiting Laboratory, with a commercial communications satellite program, operational weather satellites and a well-established range of satellite research activities.

The question of "What next?" is already very much talked about.

In any attempt to look ahead and define particular programs for the future, or even just to discuss general courses of development, there's a very large risk of being proved wrong a few years from now.

But this is another thing which I believe we must do in our business. Fortunately we have many people in private industry and many others in government and in academic circles who are willing to take that chance.

Even without benefit of an operational crystal ball, we can do some dead reckoning on the course of this floodtide of knowledge we are riding and come up with some ideas about its probable future direction.

Starting with the programs we already have going on, we can move logically into an Apollo applications program, which, as you know, is presently being considered.

This program has several objectives:

Continued scientific and technical experiments in earth orbit, in lunar orbit, and on the moon's surface;

Development of a lunar base and a logistics system to support it;

Development of the critical hardware and techniques for future orbiting laboratories for long stay-times in space; and

The evolution of existing hardware into a space logistics support system.

We can build the follow-on programs on the foundation we are laying now with Saturn-Apollo and the Apollo applications program and by using our experience with MOL to grow into a larger orbiting space station program. We know that by improving systems now in use or under development we could extend our orbital stay-time well beyond 30 days.

If we start our development work in these areas before the 1970's, we can have vehicles in service that will give us about 20,000 hours of useful experimental time in space over the period from, say 1972 to 1977.

By the time our space exploitation has reached this point, there is obviously a need for some sort of reusable logistics vehicle if we are to hold costs within reason.

Let's think about that a little further. This is an area where our technology now is limited.

The missions for space vehicles in the future, it seems, will be for logistics, reentry research and space rescue and intelligence.

I think these clearly dictate the development of a lifting-body reentry vehicle. It would give us far more flexibility than a ballistic-type vehicle, and it could save us a great deal of money in recovery operations in the long run.

There is no reason why we couldn't develop a single spacecraft to perform all three types of missions. It need not cost as much as it would to develop separate vehicles for each mission.

And studies have also shown that if we start development of such a lifting reentry test vehicle in 1970, it will be available in the last half of that decade for support of an expanded orbiting-laboratory program or lunar exploration program and it could substantially reduce the operating cost of those projects.

While these developments are moving forward over the next several years, we must continue to extend our efforts toward unmanned interplanetary exploration.

There can be no doubt that our unmanned space programs over the next several years will lead to major technical advances in long-duration mechanical operations in space and in such areas as data transmission systems, tracking systems, and guidance and control.

Through all of this, you can trace a continuous line of development based on present technology and hardware, with logical extensions to produce new hardware as the need arises.

I believe that this type of approach will provide us with a broad, flexible space program through the 1970's.

There is one final thought about all this that I would like to leave with you today—one that I believe everybody in this industry must keep in mind every minute. And it is this:

The most important single factor in deciding what space programs we will implement in the future, ladies and gentlemen, is going to be, simply, how well we perform in the programs now going and those just getting started.

The extent to which this Nation will be willing to commit itself to new ventures in space in the years ahead depends entirely on how well we carry out the present programs—especially, how well we stay on schedule and within the budget set for us.

The most important task we have in preparing for the future is to do a good job now.

Remarks of Hon. Richard L. Roudebush, of Indiana, Before the Federal Bar Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, the Federal Bar Association has just completed its annual convention in the city of Chicago. The association's meetings were well attended with excellent discussion concerning many legal problems that we face as a nation. I am proud of the fact that I was invited to address the distinguished panel of the Patent, Copyright, and Trademark Committee. I feel that my remarks there concerning our American patent system, and purchasing practices of our Government, should be of interest to the Members of this House. I therefore include them in the RECORD of this date:

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH, REPUBLICAN, OF INDIANA, BEFORE THE FEDERAL BAR ASSOCIATION, SEPTEMBER 17, 1965

Thank you so very much, Mr. Chairman. I think that you will agree that it is somewhat unusual for a nonprofessional man—whose knowledge of law was garnered during a few hours of business law courses in college—to address such a group as I see before me. My degree from the university is somewhat humble—as it is a mere BS degree in business administration.

Then why in heavens name would such a nonprofessional attempt to address your group in the complex field of patent rights? For that matter, why would a nonlawyer even be interested in this field? I am sure that you will agree that this requires some explaining.

My interest in patent rights preceded my service in Congress. I have always admired the inventive mind and the role it plays in the free enterprise system in our Nation. I recall suffering through the accounts of the Kefauver hearings. That appeared in the public press. I recalled the vast contributions of the pharmaceutical companies during the time that I served in World War II, and the fact that many of these companies made drug products for our Nation and processed blood and at their exact costs. I felt this this was a vast and patriotic demonstration.

I have always felt that America's preeminence as a nation—and much of its prestige throughout the world—came through the worldwide acceptance of its products.

I have felt that the patent system and the right of copyright are the very heart of our free enterprise system. It is not hard to envision—without certain guarantees for the exclusive use and licensing of various new processes—that there would be little incentive for the expression of inventive genius. Similarly, there would be little incentive for many companies to invest untold millions in research to develop new products.

When I came to Congress—now 5 years ago—I was amazed to find that there was well-defined effort among some to neutralize our patent guarantees. I found Government actually purchasing materials made by sources that used bonafide patents, without licensing from their proper owners, on the flimsy argument that they were cheaper or the owner of the patent was gouging the Government for their products. The lack of ethics of those who use the peculiarity of their own Nation's patent laws or lack of laws on certain type products, was compounded by our own Government purchasing these products.

I have combated this in every way that a Member of Congress can, by amendments, by the introduction of legislation, by repeated speeches on the floor of Congress, by appearances on television, via radio and the press. I have found many friends that support my stand, and conversely I have found many opponents. Regardless, I shall continue my efforts and, I might add, my admiration for those individuals or those vast companies which simply cannot be satisfied with things as they are, and know, in their individual or collective minds, that it is possible to make a better product, or it is possible to find a better way to do some task.

In order to promote the progress of science and useful arts, our forefathers made provision in the Constitution (art. 1, sec. 8, clause 8) for the granting to inventors of exclusive rights for a limited time to their inventions.

The good life that we all share in this country is certainly due, in significant part, to our remarkable technological progress stimulated by the patent system. The wisdom of the drafters of our Constitution, in providing for such an incentive system, is, therefore, apparent to us all.

How paradoxical it is that the patent system is being weakened by the purchasing policies of certain agencies of the Federal Government. These agencies have, on a number of occasions, deliberately infringed U.S. patents in order to obtain lower prices on certain purchases of goods.

This blatant conflict between the Constitution's patent provisions and such purchasing policies has led me, during the past three congressional sessions, to introduce bills which were intended to prevent deliberate infringement of U.S. patents by the Federal Government, except where required by national security. My current bill, H.R. 150, was introduced on the opening day of this session. I am honored by the fact that 17 of my fellow congressmen have introduced similar bills in this session.

In the Senate my bill has been introduced by Senator WILLIAMS of New Jersey as S. 1047. The subcommittee on Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks of the Senate Judiciary Committee, chaired by Senator JOHN MCCLELLAN, has recently concluded a series of hearings on the Williams bill. I was privileged to testify in support of that bill.

The Government agencies which have been buying patent infringing materials cite subsection (a) of 28 U.S.C., section 1498, as authority for such purchases. As I am sure you all know, this subsection provides that, whenever an invention covered by a U.S. patent is used for manufacture the same, the patent owner's remedy shall be action for damages against the United States in the court of claims. It is contended, in effect, by these Government agencies that this statute constitutes a blanket authorization for the Federal Government to infringe U.S. patents, and this position of the agencies finds some support in an opinion of the Comptroller General (38 Comp. Gen. 276). The words of this statute, however, do not contain any such specific authorization, and its legislative history does not reveal a congressional intent to authorize willful disregard of such patent rights.

My bill would make it clear that this statute is not intended to authorize the infringement of U.S. patents, except where required by the national security. By adding to the end of this subsection (a) the following language:

"Nothing in this subsection shall be construed to authorize the use or manufacture by or for the United States of any invention described in and covered by a patent of the United States, which has not previously been held invalid by an unappealed or unappealable judgment or decree of a court of competent jurisdiction. Without license of the owner, thereof, unless the Secretary of Defense, or his delegate, shall determine in the case of each invention that that national security of the United States requires such use of manufacture."

BACKGROUND OF 28 UNITED STATES CODE 1498

The original Federal Statute (Act of June 25, 1910, c. 423, 36 Stat. 851) was enacted in 1910 not for the purpose of authorizing the Federal Government to infringe U.S. patents, but to entitle the owner of a patent infringed by the Government to sue for compensation in the court of claims. Without such a statute, of course, such a suit would have been barred by the doctrine of sovereign immunity.

The House Report (H. Rept. No. 1288, 61st Cong., 2d sess.) accompanying the bill (H.R. 24649, 61st Cong.) which became the Act of 1910 explained the purpose of the legislation (at p. 2):

"The United States cannot be sued except where it has consented thereto by statute. And unless this or some similar bill shall be passed the owners of patents will continue to be the only persons who are outside the protection of the fifth amendment to the Constitution. Which provides: 'Nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.'"

By the act of July 1, 1918 (c. 114, 40 stat. 705) Congress amended the 1910 law to provide:

"That whenever an invention described in and covered by a patent of the United States shall hereafter be used or manufactured by or for the United States without license of the owner thereof or lawful right to use or manufacture the same. Such owner's remedy shall be by suit against the United States in the court of claims for the recovery of his reasonable and entire compensation for such use and manufacture."

In *Richmond Screw Anchor Co.* v. *United States* (275 U.S. 331, 343 (1928), the Supreme Court of the United States explained the purpose of this statute as follows:

"The intention and purpose of Congress in the Act of 1918 was to stimulate contractors to furnish what was needed for the war. Without fear of becoming liable themselves for infringements to inventors or the owners or assignees of patents."

That 1910 statute underwent other amendments not material to this discussion and now appear as 28 U.S.C.A., section 1489.

Thus, the statute which Congress enacted to give a remedy to patentholders for the Government's inadvertent infringement of their patents, and which Congress amended to "stimulate contractors to furnish what was needed for war" has, over the years, come to be treated as an eminent domain statute encouraging the Federal Government to infringe any patent it chooses.

REASONS ADVANCED FOR GOVERNMENT PATENT INFRINGEMENTS

Patent infringing purchases by agencies of the Federal Government have attracted the most attention in the case of drugs imported from abroad, generally from Italy. The principal reason that has been advanced for such purchases is that prices quoted by the U.S. patent owners and their licensees. There is, of courses, nothing surprising in that for the following reasons: Italian and domestic infringers have incurred no research expenditures for these drugs, and are exploiting a market developed at considerable expense by the U.S. patent owners. Furthermore, in the case of the Italian producers, they pay wages that are about one-quarter of the prevailing U.S. wage rates, and I understand that they have lower overall costs generally.

As most of you know, Italy alone among the major countries of the free world provides no patent protection for either drug products or processes. Surely, we cannot ignore the message clearly conveyed by that fact that Italy has produced not a single important drug discovery during, at least, the last 15 years, whereas the United States has become the world leader in the discovery of new drugs. Under the purchasing policies of certain Federal Government agencies, the U.S. patent owner finds himself in this remarkable situation—the U.S. Government issues him a patent which it says is the embodiment of the right to exclude others from making, using or selling that invention, but it adds parenthetically "except, of course, in the case of the U.S. Government."

Then, a foreign manufacturer copies the invention and since he incurred no research or market development expenses, and is not subject to U.S. social security or income taxes. Nor to other laws enacted to improve the situation of the American working man. He is in a position to offer the product of the invention to our Government at a price lower than that quoted by the U.S. patent owner. The U.S. Government purchases from the foreign supplier assert that lower prices are the justification.

If the U.S. patent owner can afford to bring action in the court of claims and wait 2 to 4 years for a decision. And then possibly await the outcome of an apepal. He may be awarded limited damages. Meanwhile, the infringement of his patent continues by the very Government which granted the patent to him.

Such a situation cannot help but discourage American research, the very opposite effect from that intended by the drafters of our Constitution. I feel very strongly that legislation such as the bill which I have introduced, should be enacted promptly to correct this deviation from the original constitutional purpose.

THE SENATE HEARINGS

The majority of the testimony before the McClellan subcommittee was favorable to the provisions of my bill—or here I should say the Senate version of my bill—H.R. 150 and S. 1047—being exactly similar.

The three Government agencies which commented on the bill, however, opposed it in varying degrees. All three asserted that the Federal Government should have across-the-board rights to infringe patents. The principal argument advanced seemed to be that, without such rights, the Government would have the burden of ascertaining whether any patents are involved in contemplated purchases and the extent of coverage of such patents.

It is difficult to see how the portion of that argument concerning the burden of discovering the existence of patents is any answer at all to the deliberate infringement of known patent rights. against which my bill is primarily directed. Furthermore, as to the burdens of interpreting the coverage of patents, why should the Federal Government be in a more favorable position than the private citizen who must make such determinations in connection with his everyday business affairs? It was surprising to find that the Departments of Commerce and Defense expressed diametrically opposed views as to what the effect of this corrective legislation would be. The Commerce Department said that this legislation would take away the patent owner's rights under 28 U.S.C.A., 1498 to sue for compensation where the Government has infringed a patent. On the other hand, the Department of Defense testified that this legislation would enable the owner of the infringed patent to obtain an advantage.

I submit that both Departments are in error as to the effect of this legislation. It would not remove from 28 United States Code section 1498 any rights granted to patent owners so that, should a Government agency after enactment of this legislation, through inadvertence or otherwise, infringe a patent—the patent owner could sue for compensation under this statute. He would not, however, be able to enjoin the Federal Government. Furthermore, if there is any doubt as to the intended effect of this legislation, and I do not think there is, all such doubt could be removed by use of appropriate language in the committee reports.

CONCLUSION

The American economy is strengthened by its patent system and that system is weakened by the existence of deliberate infringement of U.S. patents by certain Government agencies. As the result of such infringements, incentive for research is discouraged. Where the infringing purchases involve imports, the result is loss of jobs by American labor, loss of American tax revenues and an adverse impact on the country's overall balance-of-payments situations.

I commend to you the pending House and Senate bills which are intended to prevent such infringement, except where required by the national security.

The Statue of Liberty Stands a Bit Taller

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 25, 1965

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished columnist, Mr. Richard Wilson, in a recent column in the Washington Evening Star, caught the essence of the historic significance of the immigration legislation now pending before the 89th Congress.

I commend his comments to the House:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Sept. 20, 1965]

THE MELTING POT IS BOILING ANEW

(By Richard Wilson)

We rarely understand how new this country is, new not merely in the years of its life as an independent nation but in the composition of the present population. One-fifth of the Nation is only barely removed from the traditions and way of life of other countries.

Among us there are 10 million foreign born and another 25 million who are native born from immigrants. Twenty percent of the population thus has a direct and immediate tie with older nations of the earth, and for millions of other Americans, associations with another culture are not far removed.

How quickly an American emerges, however, may be illustrated by the fact that grandfathers of former Senator Barry Goldwater and former Treasury Secretary C. Douglas Dillon were born in Poland.

Others may not be so readily assimilated and this has a profound effect on our political life, especially in large cities where ethnic groups concentrate.

This is no longer the schoolbook land of the white Protestant pilgrim fathers but the turgid melting pot of the world's populations, with its varying religions, physical features, habits, and cultures.

Melting-pot America, some would have thought, was characteristic of earlier times, the late 1800's and early 1900's, when Europe's poor passed unrestricted through Ellis Island to become the hewers and diggers and hod carriers of the Nation's industrial expansion.

But the melting pot is still boiling and it will boil more. The doors are being opened wider for close relatives of U.S. citizens and persons with special skills. The barriers against the South European will come down, and our immigration policy will no longer give preference to the North European.

What is ahead is an even more diverse mix of populations, favoring the Italian, Spanish and Greek, beckoning to the Latin American, inviting the Oriental and African. When we add to this the rapid rise of the native Negro population we see at once that we will have much more of what President Kennedy called the pluralistic society.

This is to say nothing of the Puerto Ricans, the mixed populations of Hawaii, the native Indians, who are also a part of the American mix. It may not be far off the mark to say that half of the nation varies by race or national origin from the American stereotypes often seen in movies, magazines and television. We know that there is no typical American, not in color, racial origin, religion, economic status, employment or any other measure you like.

Congress is making a historic change which will increase the diversity of the American population by reversing an immigration policy originating after World War I. The national origins quota system of 1924 favored the north European immigrant and graded down all others in the world to about 18 percent of the total. This system was continued in the McCarran-Walter Act passed over President Truman's veto and the subject of violent controversy ever since.

As in so many other cases time had ripened under President Johnson and Congress is giving him what it would not give to Presidents Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy—a new immigration policy which will probably admit 70,000 more than the 271,030 admitted in fiscal 1964, and without the restrictions favoring north Europeans.

In some cases these restrictions were inoperative, leaving 40,000 unclaimed immigration visas for Britain and allowing only 308 visas for 98,385 applicants in Greece. The whole subject is immensely complicated and controversial but it would seem fair to say that the change recognizes a shift in immigration from western and northern Europe, to southern Europe, Asia, Africa, the Orient, and the Western Hemisphere.

Immigration from the swelling masses of Latin America threatens to overbalance the new population mixture, and this has worried Congress, as it has some administration officials, and eventually some restraints may be made operative.

But, on the whole, the adoption of the new immigration policy is like the adoption of civil rights legislation in that it recognizes the equality of all regardless of race, color, religion or national origin. The new program will go into effect over a 3-year period.

The light will burn a little brighter in the torch of the Statue of Liberty. But we should not fail to recognize the continually changing nature of our social structure and the strain on our traditions, culture and economic system. The problem of cultural and economic assimilation is not a minor one either in the case of those to whom we are now opening our doors, nor to those within our house who have not enjoyed equal status or have lived apart from the mainstream of American life.

Washington's Honesty Upheld

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult for me to understand why rumors about the moral character, and integrity of George Washington continue to crop up from time to time. I have asked the Library of Congress to investigate some of the gossip concerning the Father of our country. Invariably the truth leads to British propaganda published against Washington during the Revolutionary War. Also, some of these rumors indicate the possibility of a subversive campaign to destroy the Founding Fathers of our country and the Constitution they created.

Mr. Speaker, the following is the pertinent part of an article which appeared in the Washington Post of September 21, and I commend it to the attention of the Congress:

WASHINGTON'S HONESTY IS UPHELD AGAIN

(By Willard Clopton)

Frank Morse, who has spent years shooting down myths about George Washington, has bagged another.

Morse, the librarian at Mount Vernon, got onto the latest when someone sent him a newspaper clipping that seemed to describe a conflict of interest on the part of the first President.

At the time he held the Nation's highest office, the account said, Washington also was the owner of a Virginia quarry that sold sandstone to the U.S. Government for use in the original section of the U.S. Capitol Building.

Morse figured it had to be a phony and research bore him out.

NOT OWNED BY WASHINGTON

Yellowed documents at the National Archives and elsewhere showed that the quarry—at Aquia Creek near Fredericksburg— actually was owned by a man named Henry Brent. Washington had no financial interest in it.

Address by Cardinal Spellman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, on February 6, 1898, six theater owners founded the Fraternal Order of Eagles in a waterfront shipyard in Seattle. Since those humble beginnings, this great fraternal order has crusaded successfully for a life of dignity and self-respect for its members and for all Americans. The Eagles' crusade for a Workmen's Compensation Act, mothers' pensions, old-age pensions, social security, and health insurance for the aged helped build the support necessary for their enactment.

A distinguished former member of this House—who many of you will remember with affection—Louis Ludlow, of Indiana—said of this order:

> It reaches out and tries to help in solving the distressing and difficult problems of human relief.

But Eagles' crusades are a continuing program.

To achieve a better world, this great international civic, patriotic, humanitarian, and fraternal order works for community action to provide adequate education, recreation, and guidance for youth; State and Federal legislation to outlaw job discrimination because of age; adequate housing for the elderly; community programs of recreation and leisure time activities for senior citizens; and people-to-people programs to promote world fellowship and understanding. All these programs can be described as "people helping people" and "making democracy work" which are continuing goals of the Fraternal Order of Eagles.

Mr. Speaker, it has been my own good fortune and privilege to be a member of Pittsburgh, Pa., Aerie No. 76 of the Fraternal Order of Eagles for a number of years. I am proud to be a member of an organization so dedicated to our fellow men and so devoted to the Christian ideal.

His Eminence, Francis Cardinal Spellman, renowned world religious leader, in a recent address to the Fraternal Order of Eagles' 67th Annual Convention in Toronto, paid tribute to the Eagles' dedication to the Christian ideal and for its painstaking efforts to seek out the appropriate steps that can be taken toward brotherhood, peace, health, and the conquest of disease.

Cardinal Spellman addressed himself in Toronto to ecumenism and its relation to the kind of Christian goals for which the Fraternal Order of Eagles strives.

I think Cardinal Spellman's words are worthy of study by all of us in the Congress. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include them at this point in the RECORD.

ADDRESS OF HIS EMINENCE, FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN, AT THE CONVENTION DINNER OF THE FRATERNAL ORDER OF EAGLES, ROYAL YORK HOTEL, TORONTO, CANADA, AUGUST 12, 1965

Six years ago it was my privilege to address you, distinguished members of the Fraternal Order of Eagles, here in Toronto. Three years later, in 1962, it was my pleasure to be with you in Pittsburgh. Last year, you met in Denver and once again you invited me to address your annual convention. Now we are back in Toronto and I truly cannot adequately thank you for your graciousness in inviting me still another time to share with you my thoughts and hopes for the future.

During these years of my association with you, in addition to the many personal friendships formed through the warm reception you have always accorded me, I have come to know the history of your Order through the past 60 years. Your tireless and selfless dedication to the sick and the suffering; your constant concern for the total welfare of the young; your unending search for new ways to meet the needs of your neighbors, your brothers—all these have been an inspiration to me and have made me humbly grateful that our world is blessed with men of such greatness of spirit. I especially know, from firsthand observation, the good being accomplished through your generous support of cardiac research and, in the name of many grateful people, I thank you most sincerely.

The noble spirit of your Order exemplifies, it seems to me, much of what is greatest in the historic traditions of America. "Freedom under God's law in our world" has never been for you an empty motto but a true goal toward which you have worked realistically and perseveringly. It has been the special genius of the Order of Eagles not merely to speak glowingly of brotherhood, peace, health, and the conquest of diseases but also to seek out painstakingly the appropriate steps that can be taken toward these ideals and never to shrink from the sacrifices such steps entail.

This, in my mind, is the highest idealism. It was this idealism that brought the nations of America to greatness. It is only this idealism, consciously and consistently lived, that can keep our countries great, that can make all our peoples truly free, and that can with God's help restore at least gradually to our world the longed-for blessing of genuine peace.

It is because of what I have come to know of the spirit and ideals of your order that I decided to speak tonight about ecumenism, a new word with an ancient and blessed meaning. Now I do not at all propose to attempt either a theological dissertation or an historical chronology of the ecumenical movement. Rather I would prefer to speak to you of the spirit and goals of ecumenism in the hope of making clear why ecumenism should be the concern of all who believe in God and in His fatherly love for mankind.

First of all, I should like to state what ecumenism is not. Ecumenism is not an attempt to remove differences of religious creed and profession by simply ignoring or making light of these differences. Ecumenism, so misunderstood, is a great delusion and, at its worst, an insidious threat to all religions.

At the same time, there is no doubt that the religious thinking of our times is especially marked by the desire for greater unity among all who believe in God. All believers are coming more and more to the realization that, while they have undeniable and serious differences in their beliefs, yet they hold much in common and they want to stand together as much as they can, rather than stand apart. Surely it is most encouraging that this positive spirit is growing. Patience and wisdom and brotherly charity are increasingly taking the place of bitterness and conflict.

God-fearing men everywhere are ever more aware that, however, basic and undeniable their differences, what they hold in common—their brotherhood as God's children—is far more important.

One step in this process has been the gradual but perceptible loss of interest in establishing guilt or innocence in connection with events of history now long past. Undoubtedly, for all the Christian churches the fact of a divided Christendom has been a bitter reality. And perhaps it is humanly quite understandable that so much effort has been expended through the centuries in attempting to fix the blame for our tragic divisions. Yet this attempt has itself been a perennial factor constantly aggravating and hardening the very division that all parties are sincerely anxious to bridge.

Pope John XXIII stated it with his usual candor and charm in 1961 when addressing a group of Protestant ministers. "We do not wish to put anyone in history on trial," said the Holy Father. "We shall not seek to establish who was right and who was wrong. Responsibility is divided. We only wish to say: let us come together, let us make an end to our divisions." These words are typical of the present new age in relations among the churches. The sincerity of the appeal for unity, the warmth of respect and concern in each phrase, the admission of a Catholic share of responsibility for the present disunity, the clear implication that the only guilt worthy of concern is the guilt we all have for continuing our disastrous divisions—these qualities of Pope John's words have evoked warm response among all Christian people and have helped give new dimensions to the title "separated brothers," now so prominent in the vocabulary of all Christians.

In the past, our separation has obscured and, in practice, often weakened our brotherhood. This has produced a climate of hostility and competitiveness which has often been a source of wonderment and scandal. It has also—and I think this is a highly important fact to ponder—hindered and weakened the efforts of Christians to serve and help their fellow men; because in all too many instances, our energies were dissipated through preoccupation with our separateness. Yet brothers, however much and however long separated, remain brothers, children of the same father, sharing the same life and basically dedicated to the same goals.

Today, with heightened consciousness of brotherhood, Christians of various churches tend more than ever before to find in their separation a source of regret but not hostility. We speak of one another with warm fraternal concern; we wish to know and understand one another better—aware that, in the course of many years, a gulf of separation can remain between brothers even

when the causes of that separation have become obscured and half forgotten. We wish—with full respect for each individual conscience and without compromising anyone's deeply cherished convictions—to pray together to our Father in Heaven and beg the abiding presence and strength of His Spirit among us all to help heal our disunions. We wish to work together as brothers to help and comfort all our fellow men; to be increasingly and in very truth "light of the world" and "salt of the earth." It is this spirit, I believe, that is especially characteristic of religious people today in America and Canada. It is for this movement, with its vast potential for the betterment of our world under God's law, that I would tonight invite your reflections, your prayerful interests, your dedicated efforts.

In just 1 month, I return to Rome for the fourth and final session of the second Vatican council. Under the original impetus of Pope John and with the continuing inspiration of the present holy father, Pope Paul VI, this ecumenical council has dramatically enlivened the worldwide spirit of brotherhood. I do not, of course, mean that the second Vatican council marked the beginning of the ecumenical movement either in the Catholic Church or in the Christian churches generally. This is simply not true. But since I am not attempting a history of ecumenism, I speak of the second Vatican council as a most important, and worldwide example of the spirit and goals of ecumenism.

In the autumn of last year, the council voted and Pope Paul promulgated the decree on ecumenism. I should like to quote one section from this decree which, I believe, embodies the aspirations of all men of good will. "Before the whole world let all Christians confess their faith in God * * * united in their efforts, and with mutual respect, let them bear witness to our common hope * * *. In these days when cooperation in social matters is so widespread, all men without exception are called to work together. Cooperation among Christians vividly expresses that bond which already unites them. Such cooperation which has already begun in many countries, should be developed more and more, it should contribute to a just evaluation of the dignity of the human person, to the establishment of the blessings of peace. It should also be intensified in the use of every possible means to relieve the afflictions of our times, such as famine and natural disasters, illiteracy, and poverty, lack of housing, and the unequal distribution of wealth.

"All believers can, through this cooperation, be led to acquire a better knowledge and appreciation of one another, and pave the way to Christian unity."

These are, I believe, stirring and challenging words. Yet this is only one short section in the council's decree. And what is most significant, it seems to me, is that, while just 1 year ago these words may well have expressed the feelings of many or even most people of faith, today they represent the official position of the entire church, the solemn public rededication of the church to the ecumenical movement.

In the final session of the council this fall, it is expected—in fact, it is a practical certainty—that other important declarations will be promulgated to fulfill and implement the decree on ecumenism. The declaration on the Jews and other non-Christian peoples, the constitution on the church in the modern world—all these momentous subjects should and will contribute immensely to the spirit and practice of ecumenism.

Undoubtedly, for many years to come, theologians and scholars of all the churches and faiths will be joined in discussions to explain to one another more carefully their own positions, to achieve better understanding of their differing traditions, and to mark out as clearly as possible the important areas of agreement already possessed. Their road will inevitably be long; their way frequently far from clear. But a giant step forward has already been taken. Theologians and scholars, like all of us, have begun to think and speak as we all ought to think and speak—as friends, as neighbors, as brothers—with reverence for the truth wherever it is found, with scrupulous respect for one another's convictions, with profound awareness that others are at least as sincere and as good in their hearts as we are.

Such long-range, persevering scholarly work is absolutely essential for the success of the ecumenical movement. Yet I am sure that you and I know quite well that by itself it will never suffice. Neither the religious leaders of all the churches nor the theologians of all the faiths can by themselves cope with the overall tragedy of Christian disunity. It is, of necessity, the task of all of us, of all who see that the division of the churches is a detriment to the life-giving power of God's word, hurts our common brotherhood under God, lessens the effectiveness of all our efforts for our fellow men.

Leaders of all the churches are actively engaged in this movement. Theologians are more involved than ever in discussion and dialog. But ultimately it is the layman who most directly meets the world and most intimately affects its people for good or evil and, therefore, it is the layman of each and every faith who must demonstrate the ecumenical spirit if that spirit is to live and quicken and truly fill the whole world.

Ecumenism has no precise timetable; neither does it have any slightest guarantee of immunity from setbacks. We must take it for granted that the road will be long and will have its reverses and failures. There are undoubtedly innumerable questions of policy and procedure—some foreseeable, others not—which each church and even each believer will have to face in the days and years ahead. But, however long range and far reaching the program is, we can all begin and we must all begin the development of those attitudes of mind and heart which the second Vatican Council calls "the soul of the ecumenical movement." We must begin the most serious efforts to fulfill all the implications of that life of brotherly love which our faith in God demands. We must begin to beg the pardon of other believers for our offenses against them and to forgive fully from our hearts those who have trespassed against us. We must begin seriously to listen, candidly to learn and sympathetically to understand the different views of our friends and brothers.

I am convinced that ecumenism is a spirit and a movement thoroughly harmonious with the ideals of our nations; that our countrymen have much to contribute to it and can richly profit from it. I believe further that ecumenism is most congenial with the purposes and goals of your Order of Eagles and it is because I believe this, that I have spoken to you on this subject tonight. I know your history; I know your dedication to your fellow men; I know the glorious record of achievement that has followed upon that dedication; I know your hopes for "freedom under God's law in our world." And because of what I know, I feel confident that in the years to come each of you will cherish and foster the spirit of the ecumenical movement—for the glory of God, for strengthening the bonds of our brotherhood, and ultimately for the peace and happiness of all men everywhere.

Congressman Howard's Address at Institute for Advanced Learning, Lakewood, N.J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, the Honorable JAMES J. HOWARD, Third District, New Jersey, made a most significant address on the occasion of the dedication of a new dining hall at the world renowned Institute for Advanced Learning at Lakewood, N.J.

The late Rabbi Aaron Kotler, Z.L., who founded the Beth Medrash Govoha, was indeed a spiritual giant among Torah scholars who evoked homage and world recognition in his own time and in our generation. It is most fitting that this Institute for Advanced Learning has been named in his memory.

It was my privilege to serve as chairman of the building committee which raised the sum of $500,000 to complete the magnificent structure which houses the Institute for Advanced Learning.

From the beginning and throughout my association with the school, the institute was conceived as a school for scholars, a place of learning for those exceptional students whose thoughts and actions and very existence are consecrated solely to the study of the Holy Book. It was to be an institute for advanced study, a training ground for excellence. To be accepted as a student was to be a mark of achievement.

Today, the institute has a graduate department of 150 student-scholars—a postgraduate department of 71 fellowship scholars—a total of 221 dedicated scholars who come from 17 States and 9 foreign countries.

Graduates of the institute fill important posts in religious educational institutions throughout the Nation, 15 States and in 3 foreign countries: 90 serve as heads and teachers in Hebrew schools of higher learning; 21 serve as deans, principals and administrators in Hebrew schools of higher learning; 23 serve as day school teachers and in other Jewish community work; and 42 occupy pulpits as rabbis.

Mr. Speaker, our colleague's remarks make worthwhile reading and that is why I include the text of the address in the RECORD:

ADDRESS OF JAMES J. HOWARD, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, DEDICATION OF NEW DINING HALL, BETH MEDRASH GOVOHA, RABBI AARON KOTLER INSTITUTE, SEPTEMBER 12, 1965

"My son, eat thou honey, because it is good; and the honeycomb, which is sweet to thy taste: so shall the knowledge of wisdom be unto thy soul; when thou hast found it, then there shall be a reward, and thy expectation shall not be cut off."—Proverbs, chapter 24, verses 13 and 14.

This text has appealed to me for the present occasion because it has reference at the same time to the immediate object of our

dedication, this new dining hall, and to the larger, more general purpose of the institute and school which it is built to serve. Those who come to eat food in this noble dining hall, eating food selected and prepared in accordance with long-established religious dietary rules, will surely find goodness and sweetness in that food, as well as the nourishment they need for the strength to pursue their exacting scriptural studies. So, too, in the studies they undertake in the Beth Medrash Govoha, this school for scholars, they will experience the sweetness of the truest, deepest, and highest wisdom, the wisdom of the Torah. It is fitting and proper that the students here, who are preparing to lead and guide and teach the leaders and guides and teachers of Israel, should be housed and fed in a manner befitting the nobility of their calling, and the loftiness of their endeavor. The calm and noble beauty of this room is well planned for the least possible interruption to a scholar's meditations on the subtleties of scriptural language, or the depths of moral and spiritual meaning.

One of the finest attributes of the Jewish tradition is the primary importance given, in Jewish life, to learning, and particularly to that most precious learning, the study of Scripture. I am happy to have this opportunity to express my own admiration for that tradition, and my happiness in noting that Christian scholarship, both among Protestants and among Catholics, has in recent years shown a strong revival of interest in the direct study of the Bible, as well as in the historical, archaeological, and linguistic studies that tend to illuminate the scriptural text. There has been, too, a refreshing willingness among Biblical scholars of different faiths to share their knowledge, and discuss their problems. One interesting outcome of this phenomenon, of which you may have heard, is the new edition, approved for use by Catholics, of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, which was at first prepared entirely under Protestant auspices. Of more lasting significance, doubtless, is the custom, now more and more observed, of staffing the divinity schools and schools of religion, in the various universities, with scripture scholars belonging to various religious traditions. In this development, most profitable and advantageous to the students in our American universities, I foresee a great future value for the Beth Medrash Govoha, as scholars, well prepared here, may go forth to enkindle, in the students of secular universities, the fire of the knowledge and love of the Torah. This institute for advanced Torah studies, this training-ground for excellence, must spread its influence, not through Jewish institutions alone, but through all schools and universities that try to give to their students the knowledge and the love of the scriptures.

May your students, fed in this hall on the food of the body, and fed in the rest of this school on the food of the mind, live up to your highest hopes for them. May they serve as channels for the highest wisdom know to man, and teachers of the highest code of ethical conduct.

I am proud and pleased that Lakewood should be honored, as the home of so outstanding a religious and intellectual institution as the Rabbi Aaron Kotler Institute for Advanced Learning. The dignity and repose of this fine building, admirably adapted both for solitary study and meditation, and for group discussion and occasional sociability, will surely aid in the formation of a new generation of splendid Torah scholars, in whom the name of the founder, Rav Aaron Kotler, will be deservedly blessed over and over again. For as a father is blessed in the succeeding generations of his sons, and his sons' sons, so is a teacher blessed in the students who follow him, and in their turn become teachers, and the teachers of teachers. And in this connection, it is surely appropriate that I pay tribute to Rav Shnur Kotler, who stands here as the second generation in each of these aspects, being both a son succeeding to the place of his father in this house, and a teacher carrying on the tradition of his teacher. It is fortunate for Lakewood, and for the Beth Medrash Govoha, that such a teacher had such a pupil; that such a father had such a son; and that the institution founded by the father is showing such growth and promise under the leadership of the son.

From generation to generation, and through many years to come, may this school of holy wisdom and righteousness, and this dining hall within it, stand before the world as a spectacular fulfillment of the riddle of Samson, under the figure of the honeycomb in the carcass of a lion: "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness."

Dominican Republic Intervention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, at the conclusion of the Senate hearings on the recent intervention of the United States in the Dominican Republic, Senator FULBRIGHT in a statement critical of our policy in that area raised important questions in regard to our policy. In an article in the July 1965 edition of War/Peace Report, Dr. Juan Bosch, former President of the Dominican Republic sheds further light on the circumstances in the Dominican Republic prior to the intervention. I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to the following article:

[From War/Peace Report, July 1965]

COMMUNISM AND DEMOCRACY IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

(Speaking from his own experience, the former President of the Dominican Republic addresses himself to this question: Can democracy best be promoted, and communism halted, through the use of force or intelligence?)

(By Juan Bosch)

(NOTE.—Juan Bosch is the first man in the history of the Dominican Republic to have become its President through a free election. He won his overwhelming—and surprising—victory in December 1962. But in September 1963, he was overthrown by the military. In April of this year, pro-Bosch forces revolted against the government of Donald Reid, leading to the present crisis.)

SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO.—After the U.S. intervention in Santo Domingo, the Department of State first released a list of 53 Dominican Communists; then a list of 58; and finally, a list of 77.

When I was President of the Dominican Republic, I calculated that in Santo Domingo there were between 700 and 800 Communists, and I estimated the number of Communist sympathizers at between 3,000 and 3,500. These 700 or 800 Communists were divided into three groups, of which, in my judgment, the largest was the Popular Dominican Movement, with perhaps between 400 and 500 members in the entire country; next came the Popular Socialist Party with somewhat less, around 300 to 400; and then, in a number that in my opinion did not reach 50, the Communists had infiltrated the June 14th movement, some of them in executive posts and others at lower levels.

I ought to make clear that in 1963 in the Dominican Republic there was much political confusion, and a large number of people, especially middle class youth, did not know for certain what they were and what they wanted to be, whether Democrats or Communists. But that has happened in almost all countries where there have been prolonged dictatorships, once the dictatorships pass. After a certain time has elapsed and the political panorama becomes clarified, many people who began their public life as Communists pass into the Democratic camp. In 1963 the Dominican Republic needed time for the Democratic system to clear up the confusion, and in a sense the time was used that way, since 700 or 800 Communists, divided into three groups, with sympathizers numbering between 3,000 and 3,500, could in no case—not even with arms in their hands—take power or even represent a serious threat.

If there weren't enough Communists to take power, there was on the other hand a strong sentiment against persecution of the Communists. This feeling developed because during his long tyranny Trujillo always accused his adversaries of being Communists. Because of that, anticommunism and Trujillioism ended up being equivalent terms in the Dominican political vocabulary. Moreover, the instruments of oppression—the police and the armed forces—remained the same in 1963—with the same men who had served under Trujillo. If I had used them against the Communists I would have ended up as their prisoner, and they, for their part, would have completely destroyed the Dominican democratic forces. For those men, having learned from Trujillo, there was no distinction between Democrats and Communists; anyone who opposed any of their violence, or even their corruption, was a Communist and ought to be annihilated.

INSTANT PERSECUTION

My presumption was correct, as events have shown. From the dawn of September 25, the day of the coup d'etat against the government I headed, the police began to perscute and beat without mercy all the non-Communist democrats who in the opinion of the military chiefs would be able to resist the coup. It was known that in all the country not one Communist had infiltrated my party, the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), but still the leaders and members of that party were persecuted as Communists. The chief of police himself insulted the prisoners by calling them Communists.

Many leaders of the PRD were deported, and—a curious fact—numerous Communists who had been in Europe, Russia and Cuba were permitted to return. But the leaders of the PRD were not permitted to return, and if one did he was immediately deported again. During the 19 months of the government of Donald Reid, thousands of democrats from the PRD and hundreds from the Social Christian Party and the June 14th movement were jailed, deported, and beaten in a barbaric manner; the headquarters of these three parties were assaulted or destroyed by the police. All the vehicles, desks, typewriters and other valuable effects of the PRD were robbed by the police. In the months of May and June 1964, more than 1,000 members of the PRD who had been accused of being Communists were in jail at one time.

That anti-Communist fury launched against the democratic Dominicans was an important factor in the eruption of the April revolution because the people were fighting to regain their right to live under a legal order, not a police state. If it had been I who unleashed that fury, the revolution would have been against the democratic regime, not in favor of democracy.

It was not necessary to be a political genius to realize that if anti-Communist persecution began in the Dominican Republic the police and the military would also persecute the democrats. Neither need one be a political genius to understand that what the country needed was not stimulation of the mad forces of Trujilloism which still existed in the police and the military, but rather the strengthening of democracy by demonstrating to the Dominicans in practice that what was best for them and the country was to live under the legal order of a democratic regime.

Now then, in the Dominican picture there was a force that in my opinion was determining the pointer of the political balance, in terms of ideologies and doctrines, and that force was the June 14th movement.

I have said that according to my calculations there was in the June 14th Movement an infiltration of less than 50 Communists, some of them in executive positions and others at lower levels. But I must state that control of this party, at all levels, was held by an overwhelming majority of young people who were not Communists and some of whom were strongly anti-Communist. How can one explain that there should be Communists together with non-Communists and active anti-Communists? There is one reason: the June 14th Movement was based, in all its breadth and at all its levels, on intense nationalism, and that nationalism was manifested above all in terms of strong anti-Americanism. To convert that anti-norteamericanismo into dominicanismo there was only one way: maintain for a long time a democratic regime with a dynamic and creative sense.

APPETITE FOR POWER

I knew that if the country saw the establishment of a government that was not elected by the people—that was not constitutional and not respectful of civil liberties—the Communists would attribute this new government to U.S. maneuvers. I also knew that in view of the anti-Americanism of the youth of the middle class—especially in the June 14th Movement—Communist influence would increase. The equilibrium of the political balance was, then, in that party. Any sensible Dominican politician realized that. The trouble was that in 1963 the Dominican Republic did not have sensible politicians, or at least not enough of them. The appetites for power held in check for a third of a century overflowed, and the politicians turned to conspiring with Trujillo's military men. The immediate result was the coup of September 1963; the delayed result was the revolution of April 1965.

It is easy to understand why Dominican youth of the middle class was so nationalistic. This youth loved its country, wanted to see it morally and politically clean, hoped for its economic development, and thought—with reason—that it was Trujillo who blocked morality, liberty and development of the country. It is also easy to understand why this nationalism took the form of anti-Americanism. It was simply a feeling of frustration. This youth, which had not been able to get rid of Trujillo, thought that Trujillo was in power because of his support by the United States. For them, the United States and Trujillo were partners, both to be blamed for what was happening in the Dominican Republic, and for that reason their hate for Trujillo was naturally converted into feelings of anti-Americanism.

I am not discussing here whether they were right or wrong; I am simply stating the fact. I know that in the United States there are people who supported Trujillo and others who attacked him. But the young Dominicans knew only the former and not the latter, since Trujillo took care to give the greatest publicity possible to any demonstration of support, however small, that was offered directly or indirectly by a U.S. citizen, whether he was a senator or an ordinary tourist; and on the other hand, he took great pains to prevent even the smallest notice in the Dominican Republic of any attack by an American citizen. Thus, the Dominican youth knew only tha Trujillo had defenders in the United States, not that he had enemies.

For his part, Trujillo succeeded in creating with the Dominican people an image of unity between society and government that can only be compared with wh. has been produced in countries with Communist regimes. For more than 30 years in the Dominican Republic nothing happened—nothing could happen—without an express order from Trujillo. In the minds of Dominican youth this image was generalized, and they thought that in the United States also nothing could happen without an order from whoever governed in Washington. Thus, for them, when an American senator, newspaperman or businessman expressed his support of Trujillo, that person was talking by order of the President of the United States. To this very day, a large number of Dominicans of the middle class think that everything a U.S. citizen says, his Government is saying too.

The pointer of the political balance, as I said earlier, was in the June 14th Movement, which was saturated with anti-Americanisms. This group included the most fervent youths and even those best qualified technically—but not politically—as well as the more numerous nucleus of middle class youth; it also constituted the social sector where Communist sermons could have the most effect and from whence could come the resolute leaders that the Communist lacked. Trujillo had tortured, assassinated and made martyrs of hundreds of members of the June 14th Movement. To persecute these youths was to send them into the arms of communism, to give strength to the arguments of the few Communists that had infiltrated the movement. The Communists said that the democracy that I headed received its orders from Washington, the same as had Trujillo, to destroy the nationalistic youths. Little by little, as the days passed, the non-Communist and anti-Communist members of the June 14th Movement were gaining ground against the Communists, since they were able to prove to their companions that my democratic government neither persecuted them nor took orders from Washington. In 4 years, the democratic but nationalistic sector of the June 14th Movement—which was in the overwhelming majority—would have ended the Communist influence and made itself into a firm support of Dominican democracy.

A CHANGE OF TARGETS

The weakness of the Dominican Communists was also shown by the activity of the Social Christian Party, which presented itself as militantly anti-Communist. It persecuted the Communists everywhere, to the point that they could not show themselves in public. But when the Social Christians realized that the best source of young people in the country was the June 14 Movement, they stopped their street fighting against the Communists and began a campaign against imperialismo norteamericano. When they showed with this battle cry that they were not a pro-United States party, they began to attract young adherents who had been members of the June 14th Movement as well as many others who already had a clear idea of what they wanted to be: nationalists and democrats. Thus, the Social Christian leaders came to understand that the key to the Dominican political future lay in assuring the nationalistic youth of a worthy and constructive democracy.

What the Social Christians learned by 1963 would have been understood by other political groups if the Dominican democracy had been given time. But this was not be. Reactionaires in the Dominican Republic and the United States set themselves ferociously against the Dominican democracy under the slogan that my government was "soft" on the Communists.

This is the point at which to analyze weakness and force, if those two terms signify opposite concepts. There are two ways to face problems, particularly political ones. One is to use intelligence and the other is to use force. According to this theory, intelligence is weak, and the use of intelligence, a sign of weakness.

I think that a subject so complex as political feelings and ideas ought to be treated with intelligence. I think also that force is a concept that expresses different values, as can be seen in the United States or in the Dominican Republic. In the United States, the use of force means the application of the law—without crimes, without torture, without medieval barbarism; in the Dominican Republic, it means quite the contrary; one does not apply the law without instruments of torture, not excluding assassination. When a Dominican policeman says of a person that he is a Communist, he is saying that he, the policeman, has the full right to beat him, to shoot him, or to kill him. And since this policeman does not know how to distinguish between a democrat and a Communist, he is quite apt to beat, shoot, and kill a democrat.

It is not easy to change the mentality of the people who become policemen in the Dominican Republic, especially with little time to do it. When the New Englanders burned women as witches, those who did the burning believed absolutely that they were destroying witches. Today, nobody believes that they were witches. But it is still like early Salem in Santo Domingo. When a Dominican policeman is told that he should persecute a young man because he is a Communist, the policeman believes with all his soul that his duty is to kill the youth.

COMMUNIST TAKEOVER?

The problem that my democratic government faced was to choose between the use of intelligence and use of force, while the time passed during which the hotheaded youths and uneducated police learned to distinguish between democracy and communism. And if someone says that in this period the Communists would be able to gain strength and take power, I say and guarantee that they could not do it. Only a dictatorship can give to the Communists the arguments they need for progress in the Dominican Republic; under a democratic regime the democratic conscience would outstrip the Communists.

To return to the concepts of intelligence and force, I think that they apply to communism itself in its fight for the conquest of power. No Communist Party, in no country of the world, has been able to reach power solely because it was strong; it has needed, besides, a leader of exceptional capacity. The Dominican Communists have not had and do not have force, and they have not had and do not have a leader comparable to Lenin, Mao, Tito, or Fidel; and according to my prediction, they are not going to have either the force or the leader in the foreseeable future.

Dominican communism is in its infancy, and began, as did Venezuelan communism, with internal divisions that will require many years to overcome. Only the long dictatorship of Pérez Jiménez was able to create the right atmosphere for the different groups of Communists of the Venezuela of 1945 so that they could come together into a single party, and the lack of a leader of exceptional capacity has, in spite of the power of the party, voided the chance of Venezuelan communism coming to power.

How many Communists did France have? How many Italy? But neither French nor Italian communism ever had leaders capable

of carrying it to power. In the Dominican case, there is neither the numbers nor the leadership.

I cannot hope that men like Wessin y Wessin, Antonio Imbert, or Jules Dubois will know these things, will think about them, and will act accordingly. But logically I had the right to expect that in Washington there would be someone who would understand the Dominican political scene and the role that the Communists could play in my country. As is evident, I was mistaken. In Washington they know the Dominican problems only as they are told of them by Wessin y Wessin, Antonio Imbert, and Jules Dubois.

The lack of adequate knowledge is tantamount to the nullification of the power of intelligence, above all in politics, and this can only lead to sorry results. When intelligence is canceled, its place is occupied by fear. Today there has spread over the countries of America a fear of communism that is leading us all to kill democracy for fear that democracy is the mask of communism.

It seems to me we have reached the point where we consider democracy incapable of resolving the problems of our peoples. And if we have truly arrived at this point, we have nothing to offer humanity. We are denying our faith, we are destroying the columns of the temple that throughout our life has been our shelter.

Are we really doing this? No, I should not say this. It is the others. Because in spite of everything that has happened, I continue to believe that democracy is the dwelling place of human dignity.

American Airpower in South Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to remarks made this morning by Congressman PIKE, of New York, chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Tactical Air Support of the House Armed Services Committee. Mr. PIKE's well-reasoned statement at the opening of subcommittee hearings on the question of why American airpower has been unable to find and destroy the Vietcong in South Vietnam sets the tone for the hearings. As he said in his statement:

> They (the hearings) will not be accompanied by spectacular press releases, nor will any of the issues to which we direct our attention be prejudged. It is our purpose to study, and if we can, to help solve them.

Congressman PIKE's statement follows:

STATEMENT BY HON. OTIS G. PIKE, CHAIRMAN, SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON TACTICAL AIR SUPPORT OF HOUSE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE, AT OPENING OF HEARINGS, SEPTEMBER 22, 1965

In January 1961, in a report to a Communist Party conference, Chairman Nikita Khrushchev set forth the doctrine by which Communist conquest was to be governed in the future. He described four kinds of war: (1) World wars, (2) local wars, (3) liberation wars, and (4) popular uprisings.

Mr. Khrushchev announced to the world that international communism was opposed to both world wars and local wars as being too dangerous for profitable utilization in a world armed with nuclear weapons.

With regard to what he referred to as wars of national liberation, however, he stated that the Communist movement would recognize and support such wars. With specific reference to the war in Vietnam, he said: "It is a sacred war."

For 4½ years we have been forewarned. What Khrushchev referred to as wars of national liberation and described as "sacred" in Vietnam have been translated on the battlefield and in the cities and countryside into attacks by terrorists at night, the blowing up of restaurants and buses as well as bridges and barracks. In a jungle environment attacks on government outposts are carried on most frequently by platoon or company-sized units at night. These small units are armed with mortars, recoilless rifles, machineguns, and automatic weapons. They do not have tanks or armored personnel carriers, and they walk into battle. They would be hard to find in a jungle environment in the daytime. They are harder to find during the nighttime, which they claim for their own.

Arrayed against these small and elusive units is the military power of America. We have all the tanks that there are in South Vietnam. We have all the armored personnel carriers that there are in South Vietnam. We have almost all of the artillery, and we retain complete mastery of the skies. Over 20 different models of American aircraft, undisturbed by enemy aircraft, roam the skies of South Vietnam at will, subject only to the danger of ground fire from conventional small arms.

Many voices have been raised asking why our airpower is unable to find and destroy the Vietcong in South Vietnam. Chairman L. MENDEL RIVERS has asked this subcommittee to look into this question. Due to the present pressing congressional obligations of the members and staff of the subcommittee, we will have limited opportunities to travel for the purpose of field investigations until recess of this session of Congress. In addition, the time allotted to the subcommittee is not sufficient to allow us at this time to inquire into every detail related to tactical air support, and therefore we must limit our investigations to the following aspects:

1. The adequacy of our close air support during the course of the war in Vietnam and today;
2. The availability of close air support 24 hours a day under all weather conditions;
3. The quantities available, the cost and effectiveness of the various tactical aircraft being used in South Vietnam today;
4. The adequacy of liaison and communications between the air forces and the ground forces in Vietnam;
5. The adequacy of existing logistic and support facilities for tactical aircraft in Vietnam;
6. The development of new tactics and techniques for close air support;
7. Whether any progress has been made in developing and producing a new type aircraft for close air support in limited war situations;
8. The adequacy of our training environment to simulate conditions such as those found in Vietnam.

For the purpose of the subcommittee during these investigations we have adopted the Joint Chiefs of Staff definition of close air support: "Air action against hostile targets which are in close proximity to friendly forces and which require detailed integration of each air mission with the fire and movement of those forces."

I believe that these hearings have a significance beyond our current confrontation in Vietnam. As we look at the globe we can see over much of its land surface other peoples who must be considered amendable to Communist propaganda, to Communist subversion, to Communist terror. We see people who remain hungry, who remain ill clothed, ill housed, and uneducated. We can see at the outset that no amount of military power of any kind is the answer to their problems. We would be blind indeed, however, if we could not also see, as we see in Vietnam, that no government can attack and solve these problems when it is the steady victim of armed terror and armed insurrection aimed not at the solution of the people's problems, but at the domination of the people themselves. As we look at the globe we also find countless other areas where not only the economic and social problems are the same as those in Vietnam, but where the geography is the same. We find countless regions where small bands of armed guerrillas can operate effectively in jungles, as the Vietcong do in Vietnam, as Castro did in Cuba, and as is being done on the continents of Africa and South America today.

The question before us is, having been forewarned, have we adequately forearmed ourselves? Have we used too much of our resources in preparing for the kind of warfare which Khrushchev has described as intolerable, and not enough of our resources in preparing for the kind of warfare he described as inevitable?

These hearings will of necessity be held almost exclusively in executive session. They will not be accompanied by spectacular press releases, nor will any of the issues to which we direct our attention be prejudged. It is our purpose to study and, if we can, to help solve them. We are starting our hearings not with the testimony of planners in the Pentagon, who would tell us how our system should work; we are starting our testimony instead with witnesses who have been on the firing line in Vietnam and can tell us how it does work. Today we will hear witnesses who have been on the ground, and who have needed air support; tomorrow we will hear those who have been in the air and have tried to provide it. It is obvious that any weaknesses in our system of close air support have not proved fatal to those whom we will hear from. What others who called for air support and failed to receive it might have testified we can never know. In future sessions we will hear from the men who plan our tactics, procure and manufacture our planes, and train our pilots. We will visit the bases and places where these activities are conducted.

I say to each of the witnesses that before we can help you, you will have to be candid with us. I enjoin each of the witnesses to speak freely and in his own words, to give an account of his personal combat experiences in Vietnam during which close air support was requested. We are particularly interested in your personal evaluation of what happened, or what should have happened.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

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Appendix

Handicapped Postal Employee in West Virginia Recovers Through Positive Therapy—John W. Fisher Fulfills the Faith—Works in Fairmont Serving People—Thousands of Persons Restored in State to Gainful Jobs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the handicapped provide an invaluable service to our society and a most enlightening story was recently related to me. A. E. Newton, dedicated Regional Director of the Post Office Department, visited West Virginia and returned with the "Story of a Handshake."

Mr. Newton was greeting employees in the workroom floor of the post office in Fairmont and shook hands with John W. Fisher, a 43-year-old letter carrier. Seeing Mr. Fisher's disability, Mr. Newton asked Postmaster Harry C. Louden about Fisher and was told that the disability stemmed from rheumatoid arthritis. The inspiring story of Fisher's courage and perseverance in overcoming this obstacle was printed in the October issue of Performance, published by the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped.

Mr. Newton will be privileged to present Superior Achievement Certificates to both Mr. Fisher and Postmaster Louden for the combined understanding which exists between these two men.

The cooperation of my fellow West Virginians, as sensed by a postal official, causes me to state that the challenges that confront us today are the result of rapid changes in the last decade, and even in the last few months, which have resulted in momentous alterations in the pattern of American life. Significant of these has been the growing sensitivity of our society to the problems of the aged, the unemployed youth, and the handicapped citizens in our communities. We are moving closer to the conviction that the claims of the handicapped are not an appeal for mere aid but for justice and equality—for the right to live a full and constructive life within the limits of one's own potentialities. This, we owe to handicapped persons, not because of their difficulties but because of the essential humaneness which bind all of us together.

I am deeply involved in programs for handicapped workers, especially the blind persons, who fill so many jobs in our economic structure.

Statewide, the division of vocational rehabilitation aided a record 3,913 physically and mentally handicapped men and women into remunerative employment, an increase of 38 over fiscal 1964. On the State level there were 11,556 referrals for an increase of 256 and 6,104 persons accepted for an increase of 41.

John Galsworthy said:

> Restoration is at least as much a matter of spirit as of body * * * to heal the one without the other is impossible. If a man's mind, courage, and interest be enlisted in the cause of his own salvation, healing goes on apace, the sufferer is remade; if not, no mere surgical wonders, no careful nursing, will avail to make a man of him again.

John Fisher possesses that spirit so essential to the making of a man; men and women generally can be the better for his example.

Mr. President, I ask, therefore, unanimous consent that the article in Performance be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POSITIVE THERAPY

An official of the Washington regional office of the Post Office Department, F. Alvin Webb, is the source of an inspirational story that concerns two men who combined understanding, courage, and preseverance to meet and defeat an overwhelming challenge.

Early in 1960, John W. Fisher, 43-year-old carrier of the Fairmont, W. Va., Post Office, developed rheumatoid arthritis. The disease developed rapidly. The joints in his hands, legs, and feet continued to swell painfully until he was forced to apply for disability retirement just before Christmas that same year.

During the ensuing months, Fairmont's postmaster, Harry C. Louden, was a constant visitor at the Fisher home. Through periods of depression and pain, Fisher was made to feel that he was still an integral part of the postal service. The postmaster continually assured his former employee that he was needed, that his job was waiting.

This positive therapy on the part of the postmaster was one of the major factors that caused Fisher toward the end of 1963 to start thinking about a request for reinstatement. However, due to the approaching winter and the need for surgery on his hands, he delayed his request.

Early in the spring of 1964, Fisher with the postmaster's concurrence, was permitted to walk with the carrier; in fact, he was given a carrier's satchel so he would feel at home. At first these walks were agony; however, with the postmaster's reassurance, the distance lengthened to where he walked the entire route. In the satchel he carried out-of-date magazines, gradually increasing the weight until he was carrying the maximum. He continued to follow this route until he walked every city route in Fairmont with a full load.

In September 1964 John W. Fisher passed a physical examination completely satisfying civil service requirements for postal employment. The next month he was formally reinstated as carrier at the Fairmont Post Office—less than 4 years after he was declared totally disabled, with all the despondency and despair that accompanies such a pronouncement.

Trinity River Basin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN YOUNG

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, the Trinity River Basin project, by any standard, is a huge undertaking. It is enormous in size, cost, vision, ambition, benefit, and merit. When completed, it will have cost $1 billion and will be a fitting complement to the many other greatly meritorious and costly, multimillion-dollar projects which in our time have become a measure of our Nation's greatness. I refer to the Arkansas River, Puget Sound, the Missouri River, the Intracoastal Canal, the Mississippi River, the Cross Florida Canal, New York Harbor, and many others of which we can be and are justly proud.

I suppose, Mr. Speaker, if there is anything more tempting to a Member of Congress than voting for a public works project in his own district, it is the temptation to vote against a public works project in the other Member's district. Yet, yielding to either temptation would be irrational and destructive of the Nation's well-being if our judgments were not based strictly on the question of the merits of each individual public works project. It is with this in mind that I wish to examine the Trinity River Basin project.

This great river basin encompasses some 17,845 square miles of land and stretches some 360 miles from above Fort Worth, past Dallas, Corsicana, Palestine, and Liberty on down to the gulf coast near Houston. The basin is more than 100 miles wide above Fort Worth and furnishes livelihood and residence to 3 percent of the total population of our country. It has more people than are to be found in any one of 32 States of the United States.

The potential of the Trinity River Basin has long been recognized by the people of this great area as well as the people of the Nation. There are presently seven Corps of Engineers projects in various stages of planning and construction—four completed, two under construction, and one in planning stage; several local flood-protection projects are in existence, and quite a few others have been authorized. State, local, and private funds in the amount of $500 million have been spent or will be spent—$269 million spent, and $256 million pledged to be spent by reliable State, local, and private sources. Mr. Speaker, if there is anything that would distinguish this great project from the other great projects throughout our

country, it would be the investment of such large sums of State, local, and private funds.

The Trinity River Basin project is a great and worthwhile project. Like all meritorious public works projects, it is an investment in the future of our great Nation; and, more important, it is an expression of the confidence we have in ourselves and the future of our country.

The Development of Brazilian Potential—Clayton Willis Writes in the San Antonio Light of Brazilian Roadbuilding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the future of this Nation is largely dependent on the prosperous development of our neighbors, and it has been the policy of this Nation to share our knowledge and abilities with our neighboring countries of the Western Hemisphere to assist them in developing their potential resources.

The country of Brazil has recently undergone a transition in building roads over their massive territory which will open up their potential riches to development and utilization. The story of this recent event was recently written by Mr. Clayton Willis, of the Hearst newspapers, and the article appeared in the San Antonio Light of Sunday, August 8, 1965.

To illustrate this encouraging development of one of our fellow countries of the Western Hemisphere, I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BULLDOZER BATTLE—BRAZIL JUNGLE LOSING

(By Clayton Willis)

Inch by sweaty inch, the most significant story in recent South American history is developing in the jungles of Brazil.

There a 1,900-mile road is being built linking the east and west coasts of that continent.

The new road begins at the nation's inland capital, Brasiliá, which is already linked to Rio de Janeiro, 600 miles away on the Atlantic coast.

The new highway proceeds to Rio Branco, the capital of Acre Territory with a population of 50,000. Rio Branco is 175 miles east of Peru and 60 miles north of landlocked Bolivia.

From there it will join Peru links to the Pan American highway running along the Pacific coast.

The road is cutting through the state of Mato Grosso, rich in manganese, iron ore, gold, diamonds, and rubber. The only transportation in the area up to now has been airplane or riverboat. But now bulldozers are pushing aside jungle and penetrating farther into the great green heartland of Brazil.

One of the purposes of the road is to make the country more cohesive, to cut down difficulties in communication.

Brazil hopes economic activity will develop along the road such as the accompanying construction of the Rio de Janeiro-Brasiliá road. Feeder farmer-to-market roads can link up to the new highway, too.

At the present time, it is possible to go the full length of the route with an auto with four-wheel drive. The breakdown:

You can drive from Brasiliá to Goiania on a paved highway, the first stretch of the 650 miles from Brasiliá to Cuiaba; much of the rest is dirt.

In the next 940 miles from Cuiaba to Porto Velho, a $600,000 improvement program is underway. Much of this is all weather.

The 315-mile stretch from Porto Velho to Rio Branco is mostly under construction. The government has appropriated $8,700,000 to build it. Half of it is all weather, the rest passable only with four-wheel drive.

The remaining Brazilian link, to the border town of Cruzeiro do Sul, is in the planning stage. The same is true from there to the Peruvian border town, Pucallpa.

Peru's road-conscious President Belaunde Terry is planning to construct a road from Pucallpa to join the general highway system of Peruvian highways which links with the coastal Pan American Highway. The Peruvian Army is already at work on the road.

The ambitious project can open up some of the most potentially rich areas in the world. It is long overdue, but at last it is happening.

Now that this great land mass is being opened up, perhaps a road will be built from interior Colombia to Leticia, Colombia, on the Amazon River. This would give Colombia an outlet to the Atlantic Ocean, and open up vast areas of potentially mineral-rich jungle.

L.B.J.'s Accent on Peace Alarms Allies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I call the attention of the House to a recent column by Edgar Ansel Mowrer of the Bell-McClure syndicate. While noting the difficulties facing the President, Mr. Mowrer suggests that L.B.J.'s frantic rush toward peace could lead to the very war he hopes to avoid. I ask unanimous consent to have Mr. Mowrer's column reprinted here.

The article follows:

JOHNSON'S ACCENT ON PEACE AIDS FOE, ALARMS ALLIES

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

This is a baffling world for a politician like L.B.J. who became President in the noble hope of creating the Great Society of America.

He has recently revealed his distress. Even while he was having to order more young Americans to Vietnam, get ready to meet a possible Red Chinese aggression in the Far East, try to reconcile pro-Communists and anti-Communists in the Dominican Republic, seek to avert a second Cuba in any one of half a dozen other Latin American countries, end the Indian-Pakistani war, plan what to do should Sukarno step up armed aggression against Singapore or Malaysia, keep a stern eye on Nasser and Tito and make sure that the Chicoms don't pull a fast one in Africa—our President revealed his chagrin:

"Peace, peace—that simple little five-letter word—is the most important word in the English language to us at this time."

Well, maybe so. Even though Dr. Leonard A. Sagan, after a 3-year study, has just revealed that at Hiroshima, the genetic effects of radiation were not nearly so bad as had been affirmed by nuclear pacifists, lots of decent people say amen to L.B.J. President Kennedy would surely have done, as Sorensen's recent revelations testify.

But would—to name just a few past Presidents—Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson or Harry S. Truman agree with Lyndon Johnson?

Personally I doubt it. My feeling is that to such characters, freedom, justice, conviction any—yes—righteousness were words for any one of which they would, if necessary, have faced the risk of destruction.

MAKES PATRIOTS PATHETIC

For if peace were the most important word in the English language, then the "better-Red-than-dead" White House picketers and the cynical young Americans who rush into matrimony rather than fight for their country are merely normal. Patrick Henry was just a big-mouthed jackass and Nathan Hale and "Don't give up the ship" Lawrence needed a psychiatrist.

If justice comes after peace, then the American revolutionary heroes, Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, and Tom Paine were nothing but traitors to Britain; whether self-seeking or misled does not matter.

Without an unswerving belief in principle—without conviction ("as God gives us to see the right")—Abraham Lincoln would never, however sadly have ordered his Armed Forces to preserve the Union. He would not have permitted Grant and Sherman to devastate Virginia and Georgia in order to bring the Southern Rebels to terms.

Righteousness only supported those abolitionists whose dream of the equality of all Americans, regardless of color, is only now coming to fruition. Conviction inspired Woodrow Wilson to enter a war which he abhorred as much as any pacifist.

But why go on? Unless the finest human beings had put freedom, justice, conviction, and righteousness ahead of peace, human beings would have lived as rabbits, guinea pigs, or ground hogs, or perhaps as the domestic servants of the larger apes.

Yes, I hear the objections of the nuclear pacifists: "All that was before the advent of the nuclear bomb. Now the preservation of the entire race is at stake. Peace is essential if mankind is to survive."

Maybe so, although many of the best informed deny that a nuclear war would kill more than a fraction of the human race.

COURAGE INDISPENSABLE

But if it could? What kind of human race is worth preserving? Any kind? A race of boys who marry to escape personal risk? Or only a mankind that moves not toward less but toward ever greater courage? For while not perhaps the greatest, courage is the indispensable ally of all other virtues. Without it, the human race would not long even survive.

Moreover, one thing is certain, a people that puts peace ahead of freedom will soon succumb to an adversary whose rulers regularly raise the price of peace under threat of war.

Already our European allies doubt that the United States would wage nuclear war to save their freedom. Why should they not doubt? Ex-President Kennedy began his presidential career with the bold promise: "We shall never negotiate out of fear!" And then went on to negotiate with Khrushchev and permit Castro to remain in Cuba out of fear of war.

For this reason I feel that in telling the world that in his eyes peace comes first, President Johnson slipped. Why should not the Vietcong defy him in the belief that sooner or later he will back down?

Willy-nilly (and rather willy than nilly), L.B.J. is the President of the only effective defender of freedom in a cold war whose stake is the planet. Surely, he needs to emphasize, not our will to peace (real though it is), but our will to win. Euripides, a wise old bird, noted that "the god of war hates those who hesitate." Still does.

The Air Shuttle Service Between Washington and New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, last Friday, September 17, Eastern Airlines inaugurated Electra jet-powered aircraft on its now famous air shuttle between Washington and New York on a number of its flights, and by November will have Electras flying all first sections of the air shuttle between both Washington and New York, and New York and Boston.

This substantial public service to American travelers between Washington, New York, and Boston has been recognized and praised by the mayor of New York City, Robert F. Wagner, who issued a proclamation declaring last Friday, September 17, as "Air Shuttle Day."

The proclamation is of such significance to Federal agencies and certain congressional committees that I would like to draw it to the attention of my colleagues as a major statement on the value of high density air transportation in the great population area of America. I ask unanimous consent to include the proclamation in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the proclamation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the city of New York has for 300 years been a principal port of entry for the colonization and subsequent development of what is now the United States of America; and

Whereas Eastern Air Lines, through a predecessor company known as Eastern Air Transport, pioneered commercial air transportation of both mail and passengers to this city; and

Whereas a significant part of this service to the community has been represented by Eastern Air Lines "Air Shuttle" hourly-every-hour flights between LaGuardia Airport and the neighborhood cities of Washington, D.C., and Boston, Mass., now in its fifth year of operation; and

Whereas this "Air Shuttle" service is to be further improved on September 17 when jet-powered Electra aircraft will be introduced: Now, therefore, I, Robert F. Wagner, Mayor of the city of New York, do hereby proclaim Friday, September 17, 1965, as "Air Shuttle Day" in New York City, and recommend to our citizens the safe, dependable, and ever-expanding service Eastern Air Lines has provided for our community.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the city of New York to be affixed.

[SEAL] ROBERT F. WAGNER,
Mayor, the City of New York.

Home Rule Issues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the September 16, 1965, edition of the Charlotte Observer, Charlotte, N.C., had an editorial entitled "Nation's Capital Deserves Its Home Rule Opportunity."

In the editorial the editor of the Observer discussed my position with reference to the whole so-called home rule issue. I wrote the editor of the Observer on September 20, 1965, making my position clear with reference to the points raised in his editorial.

With the thought that my colleagues in the House might be interested in reading it, I request that the Observer editorial of September 16, 1965, be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD, together with my letter of September 20, 1965, to the editor of the Observer.

The editorial and letter follow:

NATION'S CAPITAL DESERVES ITS HOME RULE OPPORTUNITY

Grassroots opposition to a system of home rule in the District of Columbia is not surprising in view of the one-sided information or misinformation that is being disseminated.

Home-rule legislation now before Congress may need several changes. There will have to be a reconciliation of differences between Senate and House bills on the subject. But there is no real evidence that the legislation is unconstitutional. Neither does it set any startling precedent.

All "home rule" amounts to is that the residents of the District of Columbia will receive the local citizenship privileges that we in other communities take for granted.

Special arrangements will have to be made for payments from the Federal Government because it owns 43 percent of the city's land area. Fifty-four percent of Washington's total acreage is tax exempt. But the Federal payments anticipated in home rule do not amount to direct ad valorem taxation. Furthermore, the formula for Federal payments is tied in with local tax collections so that Washingtonians could never collect more money from Uncle Sam without contributing more personally.

HISTORICAL PRECEDENT

The suggestion that Congress is about to do something the Founding Fathers wanted to avoid is disproved by history. The District of Columbia had local self-government from 1802 until 1874 when an influx of newly freed slaves from the South resulted in economic stresses and created friction between the city and the Congress.

The real precedent being dealt with is that of Congress having denied the people of the District the right to elect their own officials for the past 90 years.

Beyond that, James Madison's explanation (The Federalist, No. 43, 1788) of the constitutional clause providing for a District of Columbia is this:

"A municipal legislature for local purposes, derived from their own suffrages, will of course be allowed them."

The fundamental reason for returning home rule to District residents, aside from the democratic principle involved, is that Congress has not in many years been faithful enough in its stewardship. Scores of local problems have languished, or suffered from too little attention, because Congressmen as a group and the House District Committee in particular realized that it cost them little, and even benefited them in some respects, to be miserly or tardy where appropriations for the District were concerned.

More than that, the House District Committee was for too long dominated by the kind of Southern Congressman who hesitated to turn his hand constructively to the problems of a city whose Negro population was growing every year.

CHANGE TOO LATE

The impetus of racial change in the last decade has brought some improvement. For example, Representative BASIL L. WHITENER of North Carolina, a member of the District Committee, has at last gained approval of a bobtailed subway system for the District. But the change of direction is too little and too late.

WHITENER himself warned in 1964, when the first subway bill was defeated, that home rule was sure to come if Congress didn't start taking a more realistic view of Washington's urban problems. This procrastination has been a mixed bag of apathy, political expediency, race prejudice and unwillingness to surrender personal power over the District's affairs.

The time is past for the other way, traditionally and politically the more American way, to be given a try in the Nation's capital. As Representative EDWARD P. BOLAND of Massachusetts said of WHITNER before the subway was finally approved, "The gentleman rises to the more noble position of doing what should be done for the Nation's Capital."

But even WHITNER, in a Sunday night television appearance in Charlotte, appeared to be trying to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for his more apathetic brethren. The Gastonia Congressman may be intellectually persuaded that Congress can do a better job of governing the District through three Commissioners than the people themselves can do. He may also be persuaded that the Constitution forbids home rule for Washington. But this does not justify ignoring the very sound arguments on the other side. Neither does it excuse the implication that there are not reasonable taxation controls where Federal property is concerned.

In other words, the televised explanation of home rule for Washington was woefully inadequate and incomplete. For want of a devil's advocate on that occasion, here are some additional facts:

Both the Democratic and Republican national platforms in 1964 endorsed home rule for Washington. This would end the spectacle of Congress trying to act as Washington's city council and the President as its mayor.

Washington has serious tax problems. Its fiscal shortcomings are due to an inadequate tax rate, and the loss is not entirely made up by Federal contributions to the city. This contribution is now running about $37.5 million a year, so it is specious to argue that the rest of the country would be "taxed without representation" for Washington's benefit.

Washington now has more than 800,000 residents, and Metropolitan Washington is growing faster than any other metropolitan area in the country. Now ninth in size among U.S. cities, Washington's ability to provide local services is limited because the Federal Government is its biggest industry and is not directly taxable. Furthermore, the city cannot expand and add to its tax base because its boundaries are fixed.

Schools and other local services are suffering under the present sloppily mismanaged system. (In 1963, somebody fixed 15,000 traffic tickets in Washington, or 7 percent of all that were written.) The board of trade has opposed home rule because the low tax

rate favors business interests in the Central City and because it gets along well with the House District Committee.

The Federal Government will make an annual payment to the District of Columbia in lieu of taxes. This will be based on a specific formula not subject to annual congressional approval, thus less subject to political manipulation. In the Senate version of the bill, the mayor of Washington would transmit the request to the Treasury every January. The Treasury would forward this to the Administrator for General Services. The GSA would determine if the request was based upon "a reasonable and fair assessment of real and personal property of the United States" and would certify it for payment if he found this to be true. Parks, monuments, museums and the like would not be included in the Federal payment formula. Obviously, where Federal buildings and land occupy 43 percent of the city's area, some kind of assessment guidelines would have to be used to carry out the formula.

ADVISORY RULING

President Johnson, in a letter September 4 to House Committee Chairman JOHN L. MCMILLAN, of South Carolina, said that the Justice Department has ruled that the payment formula does not permit the city to tax Federal property and "does not impose an unconstitutional delegation of the appropriation power of Congress."

Congress would retain power to initiate its own District legislation. It could also revoke or amend city council legislation. The President could veto city legislation if it "adversely affects a Federal interest."

The home rule bill passed by the Senate would provide for a city council of 19 members, of which 5 would be elected at large and 14 by wards. Each political party would be limited to three candidates for the at-large seats in order to assure minority representation. The Senate bill also provides for an elected school board; it would be appointive under the House bill. There is no provision for the school board to levy its own tax supplement.

Hatch Act objections to home rule are worthy of congressional consideration and debate. Since the act forbids Federal employee participation, other than voting, in partisan elections, the nearly one-fourth of all District residents who hold Federal jobs are affected. The home rule plan anticipates that such partisan participation will still be forbidden in Federal elections, but that local election participation will not be forbidden.

UNDULY ALARMED

In view of all this, the national electorate is alarmed unduly when it hears talk to the effect that the people of Washington are getting ready to take over our national shrines and monuments and the seat of our Federal Government.

As an alternate to the bill backed by the administration, the House District Committee has hurriedly brought out legislation that would offer to the State of Maryland all of the District except the old Federal City of Washington as it existed from 1791 to 1871. In case of Maryland's rejection of the offer, the voters of the rejected area would hold a referendum on drawing a home rule charter.

Aside from the fact that this offers Maryland the most rundown and, to local government, the most costly portions of the District, this bill is in the legislative tradition of the House District Committee—too little and too late.

The changing pattern of power in Congress and the changing needs of urban Washington are met now in an hour that is already late. It may be a long time before a home-ruled Washington becomes the "living expression of the highest ideals of democratic government" that President Johnson envisions, but the people of Washington deserve the opportunity to make it so.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., September 20, 1965.

EDITOR,
The Charlotte Observer,
Charlotte, N.C.

DEAR SIR: Your editorial, entitled "Nation's Capital Deserves Its Home Rule Opportunity" of September 16, 1965, has just been brought to my attention. I believe that your editorial requires an answer in view of some of the positions stated therein.

First, may I thank you for your kind references to my efforts to make the Nation's Capital a city of which all American people may be proud. Since it is the Capital of all the people of the Nation, it has a peculiar status. Each citizen and every Member of Congress should look upon it with a different view from that which he takes of any other city in the Nation.

I believe that the best rebuttal to the position taken in your editorial is found in the words of the late President William Howard Taft in a message to the Congress in 1912, which said, in part, the following:

"From time to time there is considerable agitation in Washington in favor of granting the citizens of the city the franchise and constituting an elective government. I am strongly opposed to this change. The history of Washington discloses a number of experiments of this kind, which have always been abandoned as unsatisfactory. The truth is this is a city governed by a popular body, to wit, the Congress of the United States, selected from the people of the United States, who own Washington. The people who come here to live do so with the knowledge of the origin of the city and the restrictions, and therefore voluntarily give up the privilege of living in a municipality governed by popular vote. Washington is so unique in its origin and in its use for housing and localizing the sovereignty of the Nation that the people who live here must regard its peculiar character and must be content to subject themselves to the control of a body selected by all the people of the Nation. I agree that there are certain inconveniences growing out of the government of a city by a national legislature like Congress, and it would perhaps be possible to lessen these by the delegation by Congress to the District Commissioners of greater legislative power for the enactment of local laws than they now possess, especially those of a police character."

Your quotation of James Madison's "Federalist Papers," in which he advocated a municipal legislature for local purposes, is consistent with the efforts of many home rule advocates to call upon Mr. Madison as a supporter of their position. You and they fail to consider that whatever Mr. Madison's views may have been those views did not prevail in the Constitutional Convention. It is well also to note that Madison's "Federalist Papers" were written after the Constitutional Convention which had adopted article I, section 8, clause 17 of the Constitution providing that Congress shall "exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district." Thus, it will be seen that the express language of the Constitution negates the validity of your position that a provision in the presently proposed home rule bill, which would provide that "the President could veto city legislation if it 'adversely affects a Federal interest,'" brings the proposal in harmony with the Constitution.

The Constitution does not give to the President legislative authority over the District of Columbia. That authority is vested exclusively in the Congress. Other provisions of the Constitution permit the President to veto legislation enacted by the Congress, but nowhere is it provided that the President can exercise the congressional authority so clearly set forth in article I of the Constitution.

Your conclusion that "Congress has not in many years been faithful enough in its stewardship" and that because "Congressmen as a group and the House District Committee in particular * * * have been miserly or tardy where appropriations for the District of Columbia were concerned" is not supported by the record. The following incontrovertible facts given in testimony before committees of the Congress by Government agencies show the error of your conclusions:

1. Local expenditures for personal services in cities of the United States between 500,000 and 1,000,000 population show that in 1965 the District of Columbia spent $166,500,000. St. Louis, Mo., a city most like the District of Columbia in size, spent only $66,050,000. No other city in the category of Washington in population spent nearly so much for this purpose.

2. Expenditures per school pupil in average daily membership in the public school systems of the United States in cities between 500,000 and 1,000,000 population for the school year 1962–63 were lower than the amount of $459 per pupil spent in the District of Columbia, with the exception of San Francisco, where $516 per pupil was spent.

3. Between 1954 and 1965 the number of municipal employees in the District of Columbia increased 47.5 percent. A total of 9,424 employees were added to the payroll in that period, bringing the grand total to 29,242 municipal workers with a gross payroll of $192 million. During that time salary increases for these people were authorized by the Congress in the amount of 38.8 percent for classified personnel, 49.3 percent for police and firemen, 53.1 percent for teachers and school officials, and 43.3 percent wage board personnel.

4. The District of Columbia has more employees per 1,000 population than any other municipal government in the Nation with 34.5 employees per 1,000 population. St. Louis, Mo., a comparable city, has only 12.5 employees per 1,000 population.

5. The Federal payment out of direct appropriations of $37.5 million in 1965 does not of itself show the full extent of Federal expenditures for local purposes in the District of Columbia, as your editorial implies. In addition to this direct Federal payment, the Federal Government made expenditures of $133,432,000 in fiscal year 1964, and it is estimated that in 1965 this amount will be $176,312,000 for services which are essentially local in nature and under various programs for which States and other municipalities may qualify.

6. The District of Columbia in fiscal year 1963, the last year for which such information is available, ranked first in the Nation in general expenditures among cities of population between 500,000 and 1 million population.

7. During the 10-year period between 1950 and 1960 Washington and the District of Columbia lost 38,222 in population and was not "growing faster than any other metropolitan area in the country," as your editorial stated.

8. Your statement that schools "are suffering under the present sloppily mismanaged system" is an attack upon the present system whereby the members of the board of education of the District of Columbia are appointed by the Federal District judges in the city. It is difficult to visualize that a political type school board member under the proposed home rule legislation would offer an improved system of selection of these individuals.

It is my feeling that the Congress should adhere to the clear language of article I of the Constitution and continue "to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever" over the District of Columbia because of the many evidences of the wisdom of our Founding Fathers in so prescribing. Every citizen of the United States has a proprietary interest in the Nation's Capital. That interest should not be diluted by so-called home rule.

Washington is unlike any other city in the Nation. It is our only Federal City. It is the only city to which 70 foreign nations send representatives, consisting of diplomats and 10,000 foreign workers in the diplomatic service. No other city has as many other international groups as does Washington. Representatives of foreign news media, foreign students and educators, world business leaders, and others make regular pilgrimages to Washington and form their opinion of the United States in great measure upon their observation of the city. Projecting the proper image of our Nation to these visitors should not be left in the hands of local political groups and individuals.

While I do not quarrel with your paper having an opinion differing from mine, I did feel that since you had taken such an interest in the matter that some of the views of those of us who oppose so-called home rule for the District of Columbia should be stated on your printed page.

I trust that notwithstanding the length of this communication that you will see fit to print its full text.

Sincerely yours,

BASIL L. WHITENER,
Member of Congress.

America the Beautiful

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, the Honorable Russell E. Train, who resigned recently as judge of the Tax Court of the United States, to become president of the Conservation Foundation, has entered upon his duties. Many of us have known him as a judge since the late fifties, or earlier in his posts with the House Ways and Means Committee or the Secretary of the Treasury.

In his new position as a national leader in the conservation movement, he recently made the keynote address at the annual meeting of the American Forestry Association held jointly with the National Council of State Garden Clubs at Jackson Lake Lodge, Grand Teton National Park, Wyo.

Conservation, he told his audience in that beautiful setting, "is not so much a specific program as it is an attitude toward one's environment, a way of looking at and living in the world around us and deeply caring about it."

Mr. President, notwithstanding the cost, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD his speech on that occasion, entitled "America the Beautiful." The Public Printer has estimated the speech to make 3½ pages in the RECORD at a cost of $364.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL

Governor Hansen, Mrs. Mauntel, Mr. Watzek, Mr. Rockefeller, ladies and gentlemen, it is a very special privilege for me to speak to you on this occasion. That your two great organizations should meet and work together in this fashion is a tribute to far-sighted leadership and a gratifying omen for the future of conservation.

The theme of this conference and the subject of these remarks—"America the Beautiful"—is surely a concept which inspires and challenges the imagination, one which is fully in keeping with the grandeur of our surroundings here in the Grand Tetons. The fact that it is our theme, that the very idea of beauty should suddenly have become an accepted goal of national policy—this is a matter of very special significance.

It may—and I emphasize the word "may"—mark the beginning of a new awareness of their environment on the part of the American people and of effective action for the improvement of that environment.

The President's message on natural beauty, the White House conference on natural beauty, followup State conferences, meetings such as this, and most especially the leadership, interest and deep personal commitment of Mrs. Johnson have created a truly extraordinary opportunity for constructive conservation accomplishment.

However, let us clearly understand the nature of this opportunity and our role in it.

ACTION NEEDED

Messages and conferences and themes are no substitutes for action. They are vital initiatives, but they are not action. Despite the theme of this meeting, America will be no more beautiful the day we leave than it was the day we came here. In the concept of "natural beauty" we have been handed a magnificent banner around which to rally and under which to march. Where we go with that banner—indeed, whether we go anywhere at all—that is up to us.

Since natural beauty is now a major national goal, I am going to direct my remarks primarily to a consideration of what that term does and can mean, realizing at the same time that beauty is necessarily subjective and will mean different things to different people—even different things at different times.

There has been criticism of the concept of "natural beauty" as implying a so-called cosmetic approach to conservation. Nothing can be further from the truth. No one could read the President's message to Congress and not be aware that here was expressed a deep concern for the quality of the total environment. Likewise, the discussions and the recommendations of the White House Conference on Natural Beauty considered the problem of the American environment in breadth and in depth.

In any event, there is no basis for scorning relatively small efforts toward beautification. The planting of flowers to brighten the heart of a city may not accomplish an environmental revolution, but it may well lead to a new awareness of their surroundings on the part of many members of the public. This can be an important beginning. After all, conservation in the broad sense is not so much a specific program as it is an attitude toward one's environment, a way of looking at and living in the world around us—and deeply caring about it. Flowers can lead to trees, and trees to public parks, and parks to comprehensive planning programs. The very scope of such activities, from the small and relatively superficial to the comprehensive and deeply significant, means that there is room for all in this effort. Every citizen can become involved, and every citizen can be benefited.

CONSERVATION FOR ALL

The conservation movement has seemed to many to be limited to relatively small groups representing rather specialized interests. Now, today, the goal of natural beauty is helping to change this. Men and women who never had the foggiest notion of what conservation was all about have found in natural beauty something they can understand, something they can come to grips with, and something which they care about, for themselves and for their children. Just as the hunters and fishermen of the Nation, among others, have lent grassroots strength to the conservation movement over the years, now the cause of natural beauty is broadening the conservation movement still further. Conservation is being placed where it belongs—in the hands of all the people.

It is imperative, therefore, that conservationists embrace the goal of natural beauty and welcome the new believers it has brought to our common cause.

It is equally imperative that we seek the full meaning and significance of this concept and then articulate it as a guide to action. And, ladies and gentlemen, it is time for action. When I read as I did recently that visitors to Niagara Falls can now stand on the American shore and watch the garbage going over the falls, I say to you the honeymoon is over. It is time to go to work.

A basic quality of beauty lies in unity of form and function, in a fundamental harmony of the whole. Taken in combination with the word "natural," I believe this quality provides the key to our search for the meaning of the phrase.

We tend to conceive of man and nature as separate entities. We talk of nature as if we could take it or leave it, as if a concern with nature were simply a matter of individual choice. Nothing could be further from the truth. Like it or not, man and nature are inseparable parts of a unified whole. Man is part of the natural world, fully dependent upon its other constituent parts and their interactions.

Yet, obvious as this seems, the idea of the unity of man and nature is foreign to our Western tradition, including even our religious training. Our entire culture teaches us that man is dominant, that nature is his servant, that the world was created for man's exploitation and enjoyment. The consequences of such a philosophy confront us on every hand—from the filth of our rivers to the callous annihilation of other forms of life on earth.

The superiority of man over nature and his independence from nature—this is no easy tradition to change. Yet change it we must, or we shall fail in our search for natural beauty, for fundamental quality in our environment.

MAN AND NATURE

Recognizing this essential, inescapable unity of man and nature, our goal must be to achieve a harmonious working relationship between the two, a creative, productive harmony between the works of man and the works of nature. Therein lies true natural beauty, and, in that phrase, so described, we possess a clear conceptual basis for positive, action programs to protect and improve our environment. You will note that I have included both the protective and the creative in that statement.

Physical man is sustained and nourished by the natural world and its processes. You and I know that the spirit of man likewise finds sustenance and inspiration in that world. This essential dependence of man on nature being true, it is folly and stupidity for man to destroy, to interfere with, or deface any part of the natural world without compelling reasons. An environment defiled by pollution, by the destruction of species, and by the proliferation of urban sprawl is a discordant environment, the very antithesis of natural beauty. Such acts and conditions are not just unpleasant. They strike at the very roots of man.

Now note that I have not said that nature should be inviolate. I do not suggest that we turn the earth into some sort of nature

preserve. Far from it. Technological man is here to stay, and he is here to stay not as an invader, not as something alien, but as an integral part of an evolving world. What I do suggest is, first, that we put a stop to the kind of planless, mindless destruction of nature that one sees at every hand; second, that, before we take action to modify the natural world, we should understand the long-range effects of what we are doing, as well as the alternative choices of action which are available to us; and, third, when we undertake development projects, whether in building a new road, laying out a new subdivision, creating a new city, or even undertaking some large-scale economic development program abroad, that we make a determined effort to protect natural features and processes and to incorporate them as integral parts of the development plan.

So described, the concept of natural beauty projects an image of national purpose whose magnitude takes one's breath away. It clearly fits the insistence of President Johnson in his message on natural beauty that "Our conservation must not be just the classic conservation of protection and development, but a creative conservation of restoration and innovation." Under the broad umbrella of such a concept of harmony between man and nature, we find the logical basis for programs that range from litter prevention and roadside quality to regional development planning and from wildlife and wildland preservation to the re-creation of urban environments.

NEW KINDS OF PARK

The goal of bringing man and nature into productive harmony gives us new criteria and new insights for the examination of long-established programs such as are represented by our national parks and national forests. In large part, our national parks today comprise spectacular natural areas. It is right that such areas should be preserved in this fashion. However, this concept of a national park arose in a day when the great majority of the American people still had roots in the land, still retained familiarity with the natural world. The commonplaces of nature were taken for granted, and it was, in large part, only the great spectacles of nature that excited the public interest. Today, ever-increasing percentages of our people are urbanized, with little or no exposure to the outdoors. Today, I suspect that a child from the streets of Harlem might find wonder and spectacle enough in the unfolding of a leaf. Perhaps we should create a new sort of national park within urban areas themselves; again, perhaps outstanding examples of rural landscapes should be given a type of nationally protected status which would at the same time permit continuation of their basic agricultural function.

Indeed, what is critically needed in many areas is not so much acquisition and special status as simply reasonable protection against further development and an assurance of continued present use. If I may be permitted the role of special pleader for a moment, I would like to cite one example of what I mean. I sail a boat on Chesapeake Bay. As is the case with many others in the cruising fraternity, I know few boating pleasures greater than dropping anchor at the end of the day in a quiet unspoiled creek surrounded by the trees and fields of a rural landscape. This is a pleasure, however, which is rapidly becoming nonexistent as available shorelines become crowded with houses, marinas, and pizza palaces. It would be a wonderful thing, if, through acquisition of easements and development rights, the increasing number of boating enthusiasts could be assured of uncluttered anchorages at strategic locations along our coastal and inland waterways.

Nor do I believe that we should look entirely to Government for such programs. Many individual landowners, either alone or in association with others, would welcome the opportunity to exercise private initiatives in this regard, given practical legal techniques and fair tax treatment. I am convinced that the whole area of private conservation initiatives should be given much more emphasis and much more study.

The present multiple-use management of our great national forests finds ready endorsement in the concept of harmony between man and nature, drawing therefrom new support for research, education, and outdoor recreation values. Moreover, our forests, our parks, and simliar areas must not be treated as isolated reserves, but as integral parts of the complex economic, social, and ecological relationships of much larger regions. Even in public education, an interpretive program in a national park, for example, should be concerned not only with providing facts about the park itself, but with providing visitors with a new awareness of and concern for their own home surroundings, whether Los Angeles or New York, or points in between.

OUTDOOR RECREATION

Outdoor recreation becomes a vital part of our effort to build a creative relationship between man and nature. Pleasurable and instructive experience in the out-of-doors on a regular basis should be part of our everyday life. At the same time, our quest for harmony between man and nature demands that we take a critical look at recreation patterns and particular recreation practices. An activity is not necessarily good and desirable just because carried on outdoors during leisure time. Some forms of outdoor recreation can be ruinously exploitive and destructive of the very natural values which we seek to preserve and enhance, and with which we should seek to enrich our lives. Thus, rather than arbitrarily basing outdoor recreation programs and facilities on projections of existing patterns of activity, we should also give consideration to redirecting certain recreation preferences and to creating new opportunities and instilling new interests. Here is a fruitful area for research.

Particularly, because of the growing public pressures on outdoor recreation facilities, we should place emphasis on developing new recreation resources close to home, even in our own backyards, through both public and private investment.

There is considerable discussion of scenic highways today, but I believe we must approach the proposal with great care. No matter how designed, a highway alters the natural landscape radically, and, according to the qualifications I have set out above, such alterations should be made only when really necessary and then only with a minimum of interference with natural values. I have no doubt that scenic roads are appropriate under a variety of circumstances. Certainly, a highway can be necessary in a national park but it is incumbent upon the highway planner to give a higher priority to maintaining the natural quality of the area than to increasing the number and speed of the vehicles accommodated at the expense of that quality. I am not opposed to scenic highways as such, but I have a strong feeling that the real function of highways is to move people and goods from one place to another with speed and economy rather than unnecessarily to expose the landscape. I suspect that I may be more practically concerned by the fact that programs centered on the construction of physical facilities inevitably come under increasing pressures that relate more closely to the distribution of economic benefits than to the realization of the values supposedly being sought.

However, let me say that the highways this Nation must have to meet the essential needs of our society may represent a dramatic opportunity for creative effort to make the natural environment available and familiar to the largest possible number of people in the areas of greatest need. Let us adapt the concept of multiple use to our public highways. In addition to carrying goods and people, let us make their rights-of-way a resource for outdoor recreation, for open space preservation, for wildlife habitat, and for education of the public in those values we are discussing here.

NEW USE FOR HIGHWAYS

Considering the billions of dollars being poured into the Interstate Highway System, it would seem the part of wisdom to turn our highways to as many advantages as possible. It is doubtful whether any other single activity of our civilization has as much impact upon the natural landscape, mostly adverse. Yet let us suppose that, instead of rights-of-way measured in hundreds of feet, they became measured, where practical, in thousands of feet, that a protected landscape extended for perhaps a mile on either side of an interstate highway. Let us suppose that, in addition to the service areas that are now commoplace along our limited access highways, similar areas were provided for the seeker after outdoor recreation and natural beauty. Let us suppose further that highways were paralleled with systems of footpaths, bicycle paths, and even bridle paths, with trails to natural features, with picnic grounds, and even campsites. Prime agricultural land could be protected as such. Communities along the edge of such areas would have direct access to them, and, indeed, their greatest value could well lie, not in their use by the interstate traveler, but as a natural resource for local peoples and communities. The possibilities of such a program stagger the imagination. Instead of highways representing technology at war with nature, they would become cores of ribbons of green that might comprise an interstate system of outdoor areas, linking community with community, urban area with urban area, people with people. Here, indeed, would be an imaginative effort to bring the works of man and of nature into harmony, calling for new concepts in highway design as well as in conservation, posing new challenges to the regional and metropolitan planner, resulting in a creative marriage of technology and ecology.

Now let me say that I am not so interested here in selling a specific program (particularly one which is transparently but the skeleton of an idea) as I am in conveying a sense, not only of the urgent necessity for conservationists and ecologists becoming involved in the planning and development process at every level, but also in providing a glimpse of the potential for accomplishment that is inherent in such involvement. We could look forward to the creation of towns and cities where valleys and streams, fields and forests, pleasant paths, and similar features are an integral part of the urban fabric. Perhaps our greatest challenge is to design and produce a practical interrelation of the values of the natural environment with the values of diversity, cultural stimulation, and creative human communication traditionally offered by the urban environment.

If man is to live and work and human society to evolve in harmony with the natural world, a thesis which I have set out as reflecting the true meaning of natural beauty and constituting the central goal of modern conservation, then we can no longer afford to push aside the viewpoint of the conservationist and the knowledge of the ecologist as somehow being irrelevant to development and that often illusory goal, progress.

Let it be absolutely clear that ecological principles are of vital, practical importance to development. We have created dust-bowls by our failure to apply those principles. We have subjected cities and towns to flood disaster, to loss of life and property, by

building on flood plains rather than reserving such areas for open space or agriculture. We have filled swamps and marshland for construction or as dumps for the refuse of our society, in complete disregard not only of their natural beauty, but also of their roles as natural reservoirs, water regulators, and wildlife havens. Indeed, we create whole communities in disregard of the most rudimentary principles of hydrology and then, when the water runs out or runs over, blame nature and call upon the Government for disaster aid.

RESOURCE PLANNING

There is a serious water crisis in the northeast today but the problem is not really due to a shortage of water but to a shortage of planning. We know a great deal today about natural resource management. It is high time that we apply that knowledge to the urban environment and to regional planning.

I give the highest priority to the identification and articulation of ecological principles as they relate and apply to practical development programs. There is no doubt that we still have much to learn in this regard. We need major and continuing research such as is being proposed by the international biological program to investigate the productivity of representative terrestial and aquatic communities. Such programs have major long-term significance to the capacity of man to sustain himself on earth, and they deserve substantial support by Governments and private institutions. However, we do not have to await further research before putting ecological principles to work. We have a tremendous store of knowledge now that simply needs expressing in forms that are usable by economists, engineers, landscape architects, and planners generally, and which are relevant to their concerns.

There must be mutual understanding and a continuing dialog between all of these disciplines. A useful exchange along these lines was sponsored by the Conservation Foundation last spring when it conducted a 4-day conference on the subject "The Future Environments of North America" which brought together some 40 leading ecologists, economists, geographers, regional planners, urban planners, and so forth from the United States, Canada, Latin America, and England.

This is not to assert that conservation values or ecological principles, however, we describe them, should become the overriding determinants of policy. What we should aim for is to make such values a respected part of the decisionmaking process, to have them weighed in the balance along with economic and other criteria. At the present time, they are largely overlooked so that alternatives supported by ecological standards are simply not made available to decisionmakers.

I do not for a moment mean to imply that ecology is necessarily at war with economics, that the one is always a clear alternative to the other. Clearly, this is not so. While I seriously doubt that we can ever put meaningful dollar values on such things as the survival of a species, a delightful landscape, the rise of a trout to the fly, the song of a bird, or the stillness of a forest, there are many cases where the application of ecological principles makes absolute economic good sense. I have already mentioned some of the costly results of failing to apply those principles. On the positive side, we all are familiar with the real dollar values implicit in sound forest management, range management, and wildlife management. There are many more. In large-scale real estate development, I am convinced that a plan that makes proper provision for open space, that protects hillsides from erosion, and streams from siltation and pollution will, over the long run, produce property values that are substantially higher and more stable than one which simply exploits the land for the highest immediate cash gain.

Just as in the life insurance industry good health is recognized as good business, so I believe that American industry generally will and must come to recognize that a good environment is also good business.

When the achievement of natural beauty, conservation, and ecological harmony does impose an additional economic cost, the public should not necessarily reject these values. I read a newspaper column recently which strongly implied that efforts to put overhead transmission lines underground should be rejected because the cost of power would be increased, and that industry should not be required to prevent or reduce stream pollution because the cost of manufactured goods would rise. Following this approach, child labor would never have been abolished nor a thousand other improvements in our way of life achieved.

When conservation values mean added costs, we should acknowledge this frankly, estimate the costs as accurately as possible, and provide the public and decisionmakers with the facts necessary to making intelligent choices from among the available alternatives. Conservationists should aspire to no greater role in a free society, but this is a role to which they are surely entitled.

COUNCIL PROPOSED

I propose that the President establish a Council of Ecological Advisers, or alternatively, an interdisciplinary group of environmental advisers having a strong ecological orientation. And let me make it clear that I am not just talking about an interdepartmental committee. With one such bold stroke, concern for the quality of the environment would be given an important new status in planning and policymaking at the highest level of government. It would give ecology a new posture in public affairs, and a new sense of responsibility for making its knowledge applicable and relevant to the practical needs of our day.

I have spoken of the necessity for changing some of our traditional attitudes toward man's relationship with nature. If we are really to achieve this objective—and we must—then something more is needed than the conviction of a few determined people, although this is important. Something more is needed than government policies, although these help.

Nothing less than a revolution in our educational system is required. Our present system is built around knowledge of facts and how to do things with those facts. In this system, the world around us continues as an external affair upon which we operate successfuly if we simply apply the facts we are taught. I believe that those facts and our dealings with them need to be conceived in different terms. They need to be presented so that the student sees himself as part of an interdependent, interrelating world, not simply as its manipulator.

We need to revise our teaching, not to alter the knowledge we teach, but to present the facts in the context of certain important relationships so that, as individuals, we come to understand our own place in the world around us. Stated a different way, we need to teach subjects, whether physical sciences, social sciences, humanities, or technologies, in the context, wherever possible, of man interacting with his environment.

We need to rewrite textbooks, revise entire curriculums. I am not talking about teaching conservation as a specific subject but about injecting a new concept of man's relation to his environment into the very marrow of our education system, throughout all subjects. The Conservation Foundation, in cooperation with the U.S. Forest Service, is working in this important field at the jointly operated Pinchot Institute for Conservation Studies at Milford, Pa.

EDUCATION TASK FORCE

I strongly urge that the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare appoint a task force to make studies and submit recommendations along these lines.

A week ago today I was sitting on a sand dune on the Massachusetts shore without a care in the world—well, hardly any cares other than this speech. I watched the gulls sweeping overhead and the wind stirring the grass on the tops of the dunes and the sandpipers feeding along the edge of the sea. And as the long Atlantic waves rolled in to crest and break in a froth of spray and then run up the beach beneath me, I thought about our subject, "America the Beautiful." Watching those waves from across the sea, aware of the ebb and flow of the tides that set the pattern of life around me, it seemed to me that any vision of "America the Beautiful" which excludes the world beyond our boundaries is not very realistic.

Whether we like it or not, we cannot divide up the environment with neat little fences. The pintail duck that flies over Wyoming may have nested on the Yukon and be headed for wintering grounds in Mexico. There are now proposals to send water from Canada to southern California. Smog and air pollution which we once thought of as the problems of particular cities have been revealed as continental in scope. Significant amounts of DDT are now regularly found in the tissue of penguins in the Antarctic. Radioactive fallout knows no political boundaries. Probably the richest storehouse of natural resources that mankind possesses lies in the oceans, common property of the world.

These are but a few examples of the plain fact that conservation and natural beauty as I have expressed these concepts cannot be the private property or the exclusive concern of any one nation or people. Whether we like it or not, we in the United States cannot ignore the environment of the rest of the world. We are part of it. We have recognized this fact in our assistance to natural resources development programs abroad. The comprehensive development program announced by President Johnson for the Mekong River Basin of South Vietnam is conservation on a truly spectacular scale. The virtually uncontrolled erosion of soils in Latin America and the progressive degradation of the human habitat in many parts of the world beyond our own borders will inevitably, if left unchecked, produce human misery and tensions which will threaten the security of this country, no matter how beautiful it is. As we sit here in these lovely and comfortable surroundings and talk about "America the Beautiful," we are indulging in dangerous self-delusion if we forget for a moment the tension, the frustration, the hopelessness, the fear, the hatred, and the violence such as recently erupted in Los Angeles. We cannot be blind to similar forces beyond our borders.

INTERNATIONAL CONSERVATION

Our responsibility for natural beauty and conservation starts at home, of this we can be absolutely certain. Our immediate job lies in our own backyard, on our own street, in our own neighborhood. Nevertheless, we cannot escape our interdependence with the world environment. Indeed, we have much to learn about landscape, open space and town planning from other countries. In many of these respects, our friends from abroad are far ahead of us. By the same token, we ourselves have a great opportunity for world leadership in producing a truly livable environment. Progress toward a beautiful America can become a beacon of hope to other peoples.

We should cooperate with the other nations of the world in efforts to solve the common problems of our human environ-

ment. There could be few more effective bridges to international understanding.

The United States has failed to join the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, and this is an omission which should be speedily corrected.

The United States should propose an International Conservation Year to provide new momentum for progress directed to the quality of the environment. Each participating country would be summoned thereby to a truly national effort to achieve maximum conservation results.

Any discussion here of the environment would be pointless unless recognition is given the central significance of mere human numbers. Programs to produce a beautiful America will be meaningless unless population growth can be controlled. In the absence of such control, conservation becomes a gradually losing battle. It becomes no longer a creative effort but simply a fight to slow down the rate of environmental deterioration.

POPULATION POLICY

Planning for environmental quality in America must be developed in close relation to a definite population policy. There is no such policy today.

At the outset of these remarks, I stressed the fact that the establishment of conservation and natural beauty as matters of national policy gives no assurance of their accomplishment, that the achievement of these goals depends upon action by us.

Federal conservation programs and Federal legislation without citizen follow-through are simply lost opportunities.

We have a Wilderness Act which sets up a modest nucleus wilderness preservation system. But additions to that system will now have to run a gauntlet of local hearings and positive congressional action. On these "close-to-home" issues, local economic interests can now be expected to have greatly increased influence.

We have a Land and Water Conservation Fund Act which authorizes grants-in-aid to help States plan, and acquire, and develop lands for outdoor recreation. However, as States begin to identify specific areas to be acquired, there will be growing opposition from those who have other ambitions for the areas involved.

There may soon be amendments to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act which will authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to establish standards of water quality on interstate streams. But before the Secretary can act each State will be given 2 years in which to develop its own water quality criteria. We can expect, therefore, if the bill passes, a contest in each State between those who want a policy of continual upgrading of water quality and those who have—or fancy they have—a stake in protecting the status quo.

In the field of community development, the new Housing Act of 1965 strengthens a number of programs designed to improve the quality of the urban environment, and conservationists have a direct stake in such legislation.

These new programs provide weapons to help equalize the contest in specific situations. But the weapons are no good unless they are used by informed, vigorous, and well-organized citizens and public officials at the level where the battle is being fought.

CITIZEN COUNCILS

I would like to see in every town and hamlet in this country a citizens' conservation council. As you know, several States have provided a legislative framework for Town Conservation Commissions. These have been particularly effective in New England where the tradition of the town meeting is still very much alive. However, there is no need to wait on such legislation, which may never come, before citizen conservationists organize at the local level. I am not talking about a new legal entity, because it is important to work through our existing organizations. However, I am also not talking about one local conservation or citizen action group simply assuming the role I have described. The leadership of such groups should be an important part of the town conservation councils but only alongside representatives of business, the press, the churches, the schools, etc. Only thus can be achieved a broad base of citizen support and citizen action. A good many years ago, Henry David Thoreau wrote:

"It would be worth the while if in each town there were a committee appointed to see that the beauty of the town received no detriment."

Let us go home and follow his advice.

National conservation organizations should increase their emphasis on leadership training for State and local officials and their own members. With the splendid example of the meeting of the National Council of State Garden Clubs so fresh before us, I hope that a wide variety of citizen organizations will hold intensive workshops on opportunities for citizen action on behalf of conservation and natural beauty. The Conservation Foundation stands ready to help in this regard. Along the same lines, the foundation is expanding its information services to help keep citizen leaders informed on major developments in conservation and natural beauty, and on constructive ways in which citizens can contribute to conservation objectives. We would welcome suggestions that will help us make such programs of maximum benefit.

You and I should be especially concerned that current conservation programs which emphasize urban environments as much as wildlands, wildlife, and traditional conservation objectives, do not founder for want of unity of support.

For decades the leadership in conservation in the United States has come from a prophetic and vigorous core. While this leadership has often been divided between the followers of Gifford Pinchot and multiple use and those whose principle interest was in preservation, its common concern has usually been on this country's great natural areas and the resources of those areas. Now we are asked to apply the vigor and the experience of the traditional conservation movement to a new set of priorities in which the urban environment gets at least equal rank. I believe that traditional conservation leaders have been remarkably responsive to this call; indeed many of the programs called for by the new conservation were first placed on the public agenda by those leaders and their organizations.

But some who are most concerned about making a metropolitan America livable—perhaps in their desire to emphasize this objective—have minimized the interest and potential contribution of the traditional conservationists. And a few of the conservationists have retaliated by dismissing the ardent champions of urban American as "Johnnies-come-lately."

This is a wasteful division of interest among natural allies whose resources and wisdom ought to be combined to work for the single objective of an environment of health and beauty, reaching from urban core to wildland.

Urban planners, landscape architects, and urban interests generally have much to learn from the natural resource disciplines. And conservationists have much to teach citizen leaders in urban development about techniques of citizen organizations and of effective political action.

The national leaders of both professional and lay organizations interested in urban America will do well to seek out the interest and support of conservation leadership, as political allies, as technical advisors, and as members of their boards and councils.

And similarly, organizations traditionally oriented toward wildlands and rural areas can serve their interests and the public good by bringing planners, architects, landscape architects, country and city officials, and urban-oriented citizen groups, among many others, into the inner circle of the conservation movement.

PRIVATE INITIATIVE

One final warning: now that Government is so heavily committed to conservation goals, there may be a tendency on the part of private individuals and organizations to relax and let the Government do the job. This would be fatal. Private action is absolutely imperative in order to put Government programs to work. Private initiative is needed in order to produce imaginative ideas for action. We need innovation, and innovation is seldom a strength of Government.

Basically, I have tried to infuse the concept of natural beauty with the deep and broad significance which I believe the development of a beautiful America requires and deserves. To this end, I have suggested that we look to a harmonious relationship between man and nature as the touchstone to creative conservation.

Man and his institutions and his society are evolving toward goals we cannot now see. However, we may be certain that the environment in which we live will play a key role in that evolution, perhaps the most important.

It must be an environment that is healthy, joyful, and challenging. It must be characterized by openness and diversity, because in variety of choices and in the freedom to make those choices lie the infinite possibilities of man's future.

Man will travel to the moon and the planets and probably even to the stars and beyond. But man's most immense journey lies among his fellows and within himself.

An America that is truly "America the Beautiful" can be a shining beacon to light the way along that journey.

Los Angeles Times Reveals How Committee for an Effective and Durable Peace in Asia Started

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, regularly there have been appearing advertisements in leading newspapers of this country signed by prominent Americans which urge various forms of action in connection with Vietnam. All too seldom do we ever learn who really put these committees together, whom they represent, and what they are really working for. The Los Angeles Times through its reporter, Louis Fleming, performed a useful public service in doing some original reporting in uncovering that the Committee for an Effective and Durable Peace in Asia was formed as a result of a request by President Johnson. Accordingly the Washington Post, September 9, page 4–A, brief news story about this and the text of the committee advertisement and list of sponsors may be judged more realistically accordingly. I hope that other members of the press will show initiative in uncovering who really starts

these committees, especially if they involve work that the Congress is engaged in.

The brief news story and committee advertisement follow:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 9, 1965]

NEW YORK.—Arthur Dean, an attorney and former diplomat, announced yesterday the formation of a blue-ribbon citizens' committee to support President Johnson's policy in the Vietnam war.

The formation of the committee was requested by the President as an answer to numerous peace-front groups that have been attacking American involvement in Vietnam, according to sources quoted by Louis Fleming of the Los Angeles Times.

The organization, which will be called the Committee for an Effective and Durable Peace in Asia, consists of 47 prominent people representing both political parties, business, industry, and the intellectual community. A statement of the committee's policy, placing heavy emphasis on the need for a negotiated settlement within the terms of the 1954 Geneva Agreement, will be published as an advertisement in the newspapers in 13 cities.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 9, 1965]

We cordially invite you to join the Committee for an Effective and Durable Peace in Asia. The committee's basic purpose is to support President Johnson's proposals to bring about a viable peace in Vietnam and, once peace is brought about, to enlist economic aid for the entire area and to assure to the people of South Vietnam their right to choose a government of their own, free from assassination, threats of violence or other forms of intimidation.

In order to meet the increased aggression against South Vietnam and to convince the Government of North Vietnam that such aggression cannot be successful, it has become necessary for the President of the United States to increase defense expenditures and to commit large American forces to supplement the forces of the South Vietnamese. At the same time the President has given ample evidence of his willingness to commit the United States to serious negotiations designed to bring about a cessation of bloodshed and Communist aggression.

The committee believes the President has acted rightly and in the national interest in taking these steps and that he is entitled to the support of the responsible citizens of this country. The committee intends to do what it can to assist the President to achieve his objectives of peace and the ending of aggression.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES OF COMMITTEE FOR AN EFFECTIVE AND DURABLE PEACE IN ASIA

The following principles with respect to the problems we are confronting in Vietnam have been formulated by the undersigned citizens with the hope that they may serve to help our Government to bring about a workable, peaceful, political settlement:

1. The objective of the United States in South Vietnam, in accordance with our own historic principles and the principles of the United Nations Charter, is that its people be free from external aggression and from the impositions of an outside will by force, subversion or infiltration, so that they may be able to shape their own destiny as they see fit.

In common with every free and independent people, we believe that the people of South Vietnam should have the right to choose their own government and way of life through exercise of the principles of self-determination.

2. The United States has no territorial ambitions, no desire for bases, no intention of seeking special privileges or creating spheres of influence anywhere in southeast Asia. We are presently engaged in a military effort to bring about peace in southeast Asia. This is made necessary by the presence in South Vietnam of thousands of trained and armed men, sent and directed by North Vietnam in an attempt to overcome the South by terror, subversion, and outright aggression.

3. We believe that the North Vietnamese effort to take over South Vietnam is a part of a wider threat of Communist domination and expansion in Asia. This Asian Communist aggression, if unresisted, will spread insecurity, chaos, terror, and uncertainty; it will prevent the growth of Asian peace and stability essential to our own long-term national interests.

4. We believe that the United States has given clear assurances of its intention to help the South Vietnamese people to defend themselves. We believe that failure to implement these assurances would have serious consequences in Asia and elsewhere. We must not equivocate on this support of the principle of collective self-defense. For to do so would do much to damage the faith and resiliency of many small and vulnerable nations who rely on us, directly or indirectly, in combating Communist aggression. Further, by such equivocation we would encourage similar efforts to extend Communism by so-called wars of national liberation in other areas of the world.

5. The committee fully supports the President's policy of doing no more and no less than what is necessary militarily in Vietnam to bring about a viable peace. We deplore the pain and destruction, the disruption of family life, the wasting of human resources, and the inevitable casualties. We do not wish to destroy North Vietnam. Nor do we threaten its existence.

Yet we feel now that we must take the firm and deliberate actions required to end aggression and to convince the aggressor that he cannot succeed by the use of force.

6. We urge that every effort be made to pursue the path of peace, through unconditional discussions, genuine reciprocal acts leading to the reduction or cessation of hostilities, or any other course holding real promise for a meaningful political outcome. We remain wary of superficial steps which might encourage the aggressor in his present course and further jeopardize an already tormented, beleaguered people. But we believe we must stay dedicated unflaggingly to the search for an effective peace by nonmilitary means.

7. We particularly urge the faithful use of the United Nations in seeking a genuine agreement and in assuring its effective implementation and continuance.

8. We support the continued adherence of the United States to the essential purposes of the 1954 Geneva Accords, in order to stop hostilities and provide peaceful settlement. If honored, these purposes could result in the reestablishment of security in the area and could guarantee the independence of South Vietnam. Once security in the area has been established and the right of all peoples of Vietnam to self-determination has been adequately assured by all parties, there could be a possibility of eventual peaceful reunification of Vietnam through effectively supervised, genuinely free elections.

9. We believe that when the aggressor has ceased his aggression in the area, and security and safety are returned to the people of South Vietnam, there will be no need for the presence of American military forces. Indeed, we support unequivocally the withdrawal of these forces from South Vietnam as soon as the South Vietnamese are in a position to determine their future without external interference, infiltration, intimidation or threat.

10. We want the United States to continue to contribute to the elevation of the way of life of the people of South Vietnam by vigorously supporting their efforts for political and social reform. We believe the United States should continue to provide economic and technical assistance to this end. Lasting peace will only come in southeast Asia if its people are truly free to better themselves and their condition and thus gain the buoyant hope that comes from this achievement. We support American readiness to aid the countries of southeast Asia in their joint economic development. We believe in leaving the door open for cooperative North Vietnamese participation.

As responsible citizens desiring peace, we plan to work in support of these basic principles in all appropriate ways on an independent basis.

If you are in general agreement with the foregoing principles, if you are willing to support the President in combating communism in southeast Asia and in protecting the basic principles of U.S. policy in the Far East in an effort to bring about an effective, workable and durable peace in Asia, we invite you to join us as a member of the committee by filling out and mailing the form below. You will be consulted on all basic purposes but it is expected that a small executive committee to act in case of emergency will be formed.

COMMITTEE FOR AN EFFECTIVE AND DURABLE PEACE IN ASIA

Arthur H. Dean, chairman

48 Wall Street, New York, N.Y., 10005

I support your statement of principles and wish to join your committee. You may so list me in your literature.

(Name)

(Address)

(City, town or village)

State_____ZIP Code_____

Arthur H. Dean, chairman, 48 Wall Street, New York, N.Y.
Dean Acheson, Washington, D.C.
Mrs. Walter H. Annenberg, Wynnewood, Pa.
Douglas Arant, Birmingham, Ala.
Nathaniel G. Benchley, Nantuckett, Mass.
Eugene R. Black, New York, N.Y.
Robert K. Carr, Oberlin, Ohio.
W. Frederic Colclough, New York, N.Y.
James S. Coles, Brunswick, Maine.
James B. Conant, Princeton, N.J.
John Cowles, Minneapolis, Minn.
Hardy C. Dillard, Charlottesville, Va.
C. Douglas Dillon, New York, N.Y.
Thomas S. Gates, New York, N.Y.
Roswell L. Gilpatric, New York, N.Y.
Robert F. Goheen, Princeton, N.J.
Gabriel Hauge, New York, N.Y.
Oveta Culp Hobby, Houston, Tex.
Reed O. Hunt, San Francisco, Calif.
Joseph E. Johnson, New York, N.Y.
Paul Kayser, Houston, Tex.
James R. Killian, Jr., Cambridge, Mass.
Franklin Lindsay, Lexington, Mass.
E. Wilson Lyon, Claremont, Calif.
John J. McCloy, New York, N.Y.
Robert W. McEwen, Clinton, N.Y.
Benjamin E. Mays, Atlanta, Ga.
Andre Meyer, New York, N.Y.
Milton C. Mumford, New York, N.Y.
Robert D. Murphy, New York, N.Y.
William B. Murphy, Camden, N.J.
John W. Nason, Northfield, Minn.
David Packard, Palo Alto, Calif.
Eugene Patterson, Atlanta, Ga.
John A. Perkins, Newark, Del.
Herman Phleger, San Francisco, Calif.
Frederic A. Potts, Philadelphia, Pa.
Lewis F. Powell, Richmond, Va.
Lucian W. Pye, Cambridge, Mass.
Harold Quinton, Los Angeles, Calif.
David Rockefeller, New York, N.Y.
Whitney North Seymour, New York, N.Y.
Frank L. Snell, Phoenix, Ariz.
Robert B. Troutman, Atlanta, Ga.
Jay Taylor, Amarillo, Tex.
Kenneth T. Young, New York, N.Y.
Harold Zellerbach, San Francisco, Calif.

The Real Alabama—Part LXIII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the people of Alabama, recognizing that good health is basic to every other kind of welfare and progress, have taken steps to assure the people of the State the best in medical facilities. This aspect of Alabama was the subject of an article appearing in the Birmingham News August 22, 1965.

The article follows:

HEALTH BELONGS TO EVERYBODY

The medical industry in Alabama is on the move. Quality medical care, research and education in the State have taken on new meanings as dreams of medical greatness have become realities, with home base for progress at the University of Alabama Medical Center in Birmingham.

Quality medical care, research and education in the State have taken on new meanings as dreams of medical greatness have become realities, with home base for progress at the University of Alabama Medical Center in Birmingham.

A few short years ago the entire medical complex was housed on one square block.

Today the count is 15 square blocks, just south of the downtown business district.

In the near future the medical giant will engulf 30–45 square blocks from a proposed area even now under study.

Its future is unlimited, according to Dr. J. F. Volker, vice president for health affairs, University of Alabama.

"If this pace is maintained, it is possible that within the next 15 years at least $50 million, and possibly as much as $109 million, of medical center construction will be undertaken," he says.

Currently university units have an annual operating budget in excess of $20 million, employ more than 3,000 persons, teach 1,000 students in health sciences, and provide the community with 650 hospital beds.

University units consist of the Medical College of Alabama and the University of Alabama School of Dentistry, both 4-year highly rated institutions, and university hospitals and clinics, which feature the State's largest general hospital.

Other medical center units add annual budgets of approximately $10 million, 1,500 employees, and match university's bed capacity.

These units include the Veterans' Administration Hospital, Children's Hospital, Crippled Children's Hospital and Clinic, Eye Foundation Hospital, Mortimer H. Jordan Armory, Vocational Rehabilitation Center, and Jefferson County Public Health Building.

Within easy access to the medical facilities are the University of Alabama Extension Center and University Engineering Building.

University hospitals and clinics, one of the three divisions of university facilities, last year ranked as one of the top 30 hospitals in the Nation in volume of services rendered.

The university's program in the health sciences includes not only the medical college and dental school, but also a graduate program which attracts students from all over the world and a complete program in paramedical fields at university hospital.

The hospital has nine fully accredited paramedical schools and auxiliary teaching programs, in nursing, anesthesia, blood bank technology, cytotechnology, dietetic internship, laboratory assistantship, medical technology, physical therapy and radiological technology.

With its sprawling facilities and promising future, the medical center naturally attracts young medical genius and experienced specialists to participate in an enormous medical research program.

The boom ahead for the medical center largely rests on activities of the Housing Authority of the Birmingham district in purchasing more land for medical center expansion.

The purchase will pave the way for location of more university affiliated and health-related facilities.

Among such facilities are the Methodist Hospital and St. Vincent Hospital; both private general hospitals, which have announced plans for a total of $10 million in medical center construction.

Scheduled to begin construction this summer are a Veterans' Administration research building to bridge 19th Street South, connecting the VA hospital and the University's Health Science Research Building, and a south addition to the Health Science Research Building itself.

Already under construction and scheduled for completion in early 1966 is a 7-story 100-bed psychiatric wing to University Hospital, valued at $4,204,000.

On the drawing boards is a $5 million seven-story south wing addition to University Hospital.

The medical center can fill numerous chapters in telling the medical story in Alabama, but it can by no means suffice as the entire volume.

Even in Birmingham, the picture takes on greater depth as one looks to the new multimillion-dollar Baptist Medical Center rising on Montclair Road.

Then attention focuses on expansion at West End Baptist Hospital and its $5 million addition; to new operating and emergency rooms, X-ray and supply units at South Highland Infirmary; vast new additions at Carraway Methodist and at East End Memorial Hospital; and planned construction at Lloyd Noland Hospital and local Salvation Army facilities.

As the eye turns to other parts of the State, more astounding medical history is in the making.

Look to Montgomery, for example, where in October 1963 a notable achievement in the field of construction and health research began operation in the form of the world's first Atomedic Hospital.

The circular structure, a prototype from which the official hospital of the New York World's Fair has been patterned, is built almost entirely of aluminum panels and is 100 feet in diameter.

The revolutionary concept is expected to provide needed facilities at half the usual cost, with advanced features not generally available.

Alabama has 146 general hospitals, 137 nursing homes, 5 chronic disease hospitals, 3 mental hospitals, 8 tuberculosis sanatoria, and 1 rehabilitation center—and each has its story to tell.

The State has a public health system which extends to all 67 counties, bringing services in maternal and child health, communicable diseases, tuberculosis, chronic illness, mental health, vital statistics and sanitation.

The public health service, too, has a story to tell.

And Alabamians themselves from every corner of the State have their own stories to tell. Heartwarming stories of lives saved, of steps forward in medical research, of young men and women being trained to serve in medicine and dentistry.

These are the stories of a State on the move in medical industry. Of a State where quality medical care, research and education have truly taken on new meanings.

Combat Veterans Eager To Go to Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, through the years this great Nation of ours has depended largely on its younger men to defend its democratic principles on the battlefield. They are being called upon again to meet aggression in the jungles and rice paddies of Vietnam, and they are answering the call by the thousands. This, of course, is gratifying.

But even more impressive is the report from Hawaii's recruiting boards that our older combat veterans, who once or twice before risked their lives, are volunteering to "get into the fight" against aggression in southeast Asia. These are men who served with such famed World War II units as the 442d Infantry Regiment, 100th Infantry Battalion, 57th Coast Artillery, Philippine Scouts, and 4th Marine Regiment. Although they have been turned down because of age limits on "retreads," the spirit of these men who volunteer to serve in the battle zone is encouraging and in marked contrast to the reluctance of a few younger men who have been asking for soft Army jobs away from the combat zone.

I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, an article from the September 16, 1965, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin which reflects this fighting spirit on the part of combat veterans:

[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Sept. 16, 1965]

BUT YOUNG DRAFTEES FEEL DIFFERENT—COMBAT VETERANS EAGER TO GO TO VIETNAM

Combat veterans of World War II and Korea apparently are anxious to get into the fight in Vietnam.

But they are too old to join the ranks.

An Army recruiter on Kauai reported this development and Honolulu recruiters have found similar reenlistment interest shown by vets.

On the other hand young men of draft age are considerably less eager.

Sfc. Richard B. Henderson, Army recruiter on Lihue, feels older hands know why the United States is fighting in Vietnam.

He's found young men, in many cases, haven't the foggiest idea.

Henderson said if he could recruit old vets he'd have no problem filling the ranks and meeting quotas.

Most old "retreads" seeking to enlist are unemployed, he said.

"Some are professional men and others have skilled trades. They saw jungle fighting in the Pacific, took the roughest Korea had to offer, or slugged it out on Bataan or at Anzio," Henderson said.

"The retreads all know why the United States is fighting in Vietnam. Some of them have sons in that battle zone.

"But some of the young men eligible for the draft have asked how to get a soft Army job or how to avoid the combat zone."

An Army recruiter in Honolulu said: "We get quite a few calls from former war veterans. Of course, some are crackpots, but quite a few, mostly average, make inquiries about getting back in."

A Marine recruiter in Honolulu said: "We have quite a few from the Korean war trying

to get back in. Some are eager; once a marine always a marine, I guess."

He said he hasn't heard from many World War II vets.

Air Force and Navy recruiters here report a few calls.

Henderson says the willingness of oldtimers to get into action has restored his faith in America considering that he runs into many youngsters who have no idea why the United States is fighting in Vietnam.

He said he has had to turn down pleas from veterans of the 442d Infantry, 100th Battalion, 57th Coast Artillery, Philippine Scouts and Fourth Marine Regiment.

Many of these men already have earned Silver or Bronze Stars he said.

Henderson regrets he cannot hand the oldtimers a pen and a fresh set of OD's. But there are age limits on "retreads."

Civilians who want to re-enlist cannot be over 35.

Veterans can claim credit for up to 5 years of service. If they are over 40 or have more than 5 years' service and are over 35, they cannot re-up.

The rule is that their years of service plus 35 do not add up to 40 before their next birthday, he said.

American Youth in Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, in recent years our American youth has made rapid civic progress by actively participating in National, State and local elections. Both political parties have cooperated with our young folks in aiding them to organize so as to more effectively participate in the great problems, both domestic and international, that face our Nation and the world. Presidents Johnson, Kennedy, and Eisenhower have, on many occasions, commended and urged young America to participate in governmental problems both State and National.

The youth of Indiana have been active for a number of years in Democratic councils throughout our State and have contributed greatly to our victories in recent elections.

The Young Democratic Clubs of America are meeting in national convention in New York City next month. All Democrats in our Hoosier State are very much interested in the recognition of our Indiana Democratic youth organizations at their national convention. At the coming convention all Young Democratic Clubs in Indiana are supporting Alda Vellutini of Crown Point, Ind., as a candidate for vice president of the Young Democratic Clubs of America. Indiana Young Democrats have not, heretofore, been recognized by selection to high office in their national organization.

Gov. Roger D. Branigin and U.S. Senators VANCE HARTKE and BIRCH BAYH are all familiar with the great work she has done in recent elections on behalf of the Democratic Party and good government and especially helping to organize the various ethnic groups not only in Indiana but in other localities in the Middle West.

Miss Vellutini has been especially effective with women's Democratic organizations in my congressional district and throughout our Hoosier State. She has had a number of years of practical experience as chief deputy in the assessor's office in Lake County which contains the Great Calumet industrial area of northern Indiana. She is an excellent public speaker, possesses an outstanding personality and her selection would be an appropriate recognition for the feminine personnel of America's Young Democrats.

I ask unanimous consent to submit with my remarks a resolution unanimously passed by the Indiana State Democrat Convention, July 24, 1965.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION

(Passed at Indiana State Young Democrat Convention, July 24, 1965)

Whereas the Young Democratic Club of Indiana is and has been an important and integral component of the Young Democratic Clubs of America; and

Whereas the participation and activities of the Indiana club has developed capable, qualified, and competent leaders and administrators; and

Whereas the membership of the Indiana club, represented in convention assembled do find that they are possessed of a candidate of high caliber, illustrious reputation, and excellent character; and

Whereas this candidate has served her community well and holds a high appointive office; and

Whereas this candidate has given generously of her time and effort to serve her Young Democratic and Democratic organizations; and

Whereas this candidate has held positions of great responsibility in her district organization; and

Whereas this candidate has served with distinction and honor as a Young Democrat National Committeewoman from the State of Indiana for two consecutive terms; and

Whereas this candidate epitomizes the youth, activity, and service of her district and State; and

Whereas this candidate is of national stature and will serve the interests of her party and her State in an exemplary manner, then: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention and the Young Democrats of the State of Indiana unequivocably endorse the candidacy of Miss Alda M. Vellutini for a national post of her choosing and provide such support as may be necessary to assure this State and this Nation of the Democratic representation, service, and loyalty of which Miss Vellutini has the capacity to provide.

Two Sides in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. B. F. SISK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, a letter was recently called to my attention that was written by a young marine—Cpl. Lanny E. Johnson. He is presently stationed in Vietnam, but his home—Merced, Calif., is in my district.

I was so impressed by his regard for his country's welfare that I am inserting the entire letter in the RECORD, to call to the attention of my colleagues that there are youths who are willing and able to defend the ideals of America.

We can all be assured by the strength of character and sense of perspective shown by Corporal Johnson that our great Nation will continue to be in good hands as the next generation takes over the responsibilities of government. It is my opinion, based on the many people I meet, that the overwhelming majority of the young people today are willing to defend our basic American principles. Those past demonstrations, of which we are all well aware, are only the views of an extreme minority.

I want to publicly commend Cpl. Lanny Johnson, who, I feel, is illustrative of the same spirit of love and devotion to our country that has motivated many of our outstanding Americans. I believe that because this letter is so patriotic and appealing that my fellow colleagues will be interested in Corporal Johnson's comments.

The letter follows:

PRESENTING THE TWO SIDES IN VIETNAM—"I'M TAKING FEW MINUTES"

I am taking this few minutes of time, which is precious, to write a few thoughts from Vietnam.

When we, the Marines, receive news, it usually comes from a buddy, etc., who receives it from another source, etc. I, as an American citizen, am deeply hurt by the actions which have been displayed by the young people of America.

You say we shouldn't be here. I want you, the students to write me and tell me why I shouldn't be here, because I believe I should, and I am staying until I am discharged.

You say you want to come over here to Vietnam to fight us, the Marines. That is a laugh and we know it. You have already shown your stupidity and ignorance.

Sure, you can put on a demonstration, but so can a few dumb animals. You could not organize yourselves into a fighting force, you have shown you have no leadership capabilities. You have an instigator or two who does all the talking, and you follow with your eyes closed. You are not helping the country you live in (my America) one bit.

You are promoting the Communist effort. You are the best example of Communist propaganda. The Communists applaud you and I do not blame them.

I joined the U.S. Marine Corps in 1962 like thousands before me, and there will be many more behind me. I did not join because of family problems, girl problems, law problems, or anything of this nature. I joined to serve my country, my God, and my Corps to the best of my ability. To serve my obligated time, to keep my country and our allies free.

This is a cold and hot war here in Vietnam. We are here to drive the Vietcong out, and that is what we are going to do. Demonstrate if you want, make fools of yourselves, and the great America in which you live. You are only hindering our effort here. The more you demonstrate against us, the longer we will be here.

It is not easy to undo a wrong, but if you would try you could help us here and hurt the Communist effort you are now supporting. If you must demonstrate, do so by asking for more troops in Vietnam. More equipment, more bombing of North Vietnam.

Demolish Hanoi and all who support the Vietcong. You cannot win the war by tearing up draft cards, this is just more Communist propaganda.

Do you know fear when you see it? Have you been surrounded by thousands of people who know nothing but fear? Have you ever seen a once pretty young face now maimed by the Vietcong? She now has no nose or upper lip.

Of course you haven't. You'll never see these things, because 99 percent of you have a yellow streak up your back. You would not fight for your country or the things which have kept it free.

Do you know the feeling of rounds being fired at you? Or walking up a trail and someone (Vietcong) tosses a grenade in your path. Or on another trail you step on a foot trap loaded with .45 caliber bullets. I have and I know the feeling one in combat feels. Yet, I will stay and fight for a just cause.

Do you appreciate the little things in life? A cool glass of water, a warm shower? Clean clothes, a warm meal, a bed to sleep in, a roof over your heads? No, you do not, because you have not been without these or other things.

I do hope you can do something for yourselves and your country before it is too late.

The French lost—we will not.

LANNY JOHNSON,
Corporal, USMC.

Ship Shortage Delays War Cargoes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from San Diego dated September 12, 1965:

SHIP SHORTAGE DELAYS CARGOES FOR WAR ZONE

A recent incident at Long Beach should puncture remaining optimism that in times of emergency the United States can depend upon the ships of our allies to supply our overseas troops.

For more than 2 weeks about 10,000 tons of needed construction equipment, material and general supplies waited on the Long Beach dock while U.S. officials frantically looked for a ship to carry them to South Vietnam.

Mexican officials, explaining their laws forbid ships flying their flag from entering a war zone, ordered the cargo unloaded when the original contracting ship was nearly ready to sail.

On the next attempt, the crew of a Greek freighter refused a $10,000 bonus to carry the U.S. Army supplies to South Vietnam. The Greeks have no compunctions about sailing into war zones. In the last 18 months nearly 30 Greek ships have been tallied in Communist North Vietnamese harbors, including 9 in the first half of this year.

After a delay of more than 2 weeks, U.S. officials finally found an American-flag carrier to ship the essential material to South Vietnam.

The incident illuminates the increasingly critical problem caused by the declining and once proud U.S. merchant marine. Unless the trend is reversed, our economic well-being as well as our security and defense will be affected increasingly.

Since World War II, the American merchant marine has slipped from first- to fifth-ranking status in the world. Britain, Japan, Liberia, and even Norway rank ahead of us.

This year Lloyd's Register of Shipping reported that the United States is constructing only 62 of the 1,700 ships on the slips today. This does not include the ships under construction in Red China and Russia, which are increasing emphasis on their maritime fleets.

From the economic standpoint, only about 9 percent of the estimated 315 million tons of import-export cargo that U.S. ports will handle this year will be carried in American bottoms. If the trend continues, the total will slip to 3 percent by 1985.

As Representative WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD, of California, has noted: "If we do not need a merchant marine fleet (and he firmly believes we do) we're wasting $350 million a year in subsidies. If we do need one, we should keep and increase what we have to the point where the United States once again is a leading maritime power."

Another enlightened position has been taken by Capt. Lloyd W. Shelton, president of the AFL–CIO union for masters, mates and pilots. Noting the Long Beach incident, Captain Shelton wrote the President that "the only reliable ships are American ships with American seamen," in times of emergency.

He advocates creation of a reserve fleet, partly manned, that can be pressed into duty for emergency shipment of military supplies. The idea might have merit, but it does not touch on the need for a healthy merchant marine at all times.

The present declining state of the U.S. merchant marine is a sad commentary for a nation that can afford, and rightly so, whatever it costs to keep superiority in the air and space.

Land and Water Conservation Fund

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall has announced apportionment of nearly $76 million to States and territories from the land and water conservation fund.

Pennsylvania comes in for slightly more than 4 percent of the total, and I am hoping that county governments in the State will study the advisability of applying for a share as a means of acquiring abandoned strip-mined lands and transforming them into recreational areas. Because the Appalachian Regional Development Act provides for reclaiming stripped lands in the public domain, I am convinced that we can utilize a portion of the receipts from the fund to create new parks for our own people and to make our part of the country even more attractive to tourists.

I do not know what your States and constituencies may be thinking with regard to your share of the fund's receipts. I remind you that the fund is designed to promote hiking, swimming, hunting, fishing, bicycling, competitive sports, and other diversions. Secretary Udall has pointed out that States must submit statewide plans to be eligible for acquisition and development grants, but money for planning purposes is immediately available.

Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, which recommended setting up the fund, I want to say to my colleagues that I am pleased with the results of first-year operations. As the years go on, it will show the way to providing the facilities for making Americans happier and healthier.

I know that there were some fears expressed here in the House about establishing the fund, but I am confident that my colleagues are pleased at the amounts of money that are being made available to your State and mine through the fund's revenues. One of the best editorial expressions of the need for the fund was published in the Pittsburgh Press in April 1964, and under unanimous consent, I insert that statement in the RECORD at this time:

WHY RECREATION FEES?

The land and water conservation fund bill is expected to come up for a vote in the U.S. House soon. The fund, which could amount to $200 million a year, is to be invested in woods and meadows, shores and waters, and the facilities which enable the public to enjoy them.

The Federal Government is to spend 40 percent of the fund; the States the larger part, 60 percent.

The bill provides that part of the fund is to come from fees paid by the users of such areas. Why? Because the outdoor recreation organizations which represent the fishermen, hunters, boaters, and nature lovers, who are the principal sponsors of the bill, wanted it that way.

They figured it isn't fair to charge too much of the cost of outdoor recreation to the general taxpayers, and moreover, if the users do not contribute, they cannot get the expanded areas and facilities that our exploding population requires.

Objections were raised to these user fees. The bill has been amended to answer these objections. It now provides that "No entrance or admission fees shall be charged except at such areas * * * where recreation facilities or services are provided at Federal expense," and only at areas which are specifically designated by the President and posted.

The original bill provided that a sticker would be required on almost all autos whose occupants were making recreation use of Federal areas. But now no user is compelled to buy the annual sticker, issued for not more than $7 a year, which will admit the car and occupants to any area covered by the bill, except those, such as the Lee mansion and Theodore Roosevelt's birthplace, which are excluded from the bill.

The user may, if he prefers, pay individual-visit or short-term admission fees at the areas which he uses.

Special interests have attacked the bill. The National Waterways Conference fears that it would set a precedent whereby fees might be imposed on navigation.

But Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON shows that this fear is groundless. He points out that the bill states "nothing * * * shall authorize * * * fees or charges for commercial or other activities not related to recreation."

Some lumbermen feared that the bill would enable the Forest Service to make unlimited additions to national forest lands. The bill has been amended to permit the Forest Service to acquire lands only "within wilderness, wild and canoe areas * * * and within other areas * * * which are primarily of value for outdoor recreation purposes."

User fees are nothing new. The annual admission fee to Yellowstone Park alone is $6. There is no prohibition of fees on the Bureau of Reclamation reservoirs. The Forest Service collects fees for use of certain facilities.

Congress in 1951 adopted a statement of principle that "any * * * service * * * provided * * * by any Federal agency * * * shall be self-sustaining to the full extent possible." It is a sound principle. The House Interior Committee has applied it to the land and water conservation fund bill with reason and moderation. This bill should be passed.

Support for Tax Sharing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, I recently introduced a bill, H.R. 10696, which would return a portion of the Federal Revenue to the States for educational purposes. I have written a number of Senators and Members of the House, Governors, and educators outlining my proposal; I have been overwhelmed by the favorable responses.

Senator JACOB JAVITS has now indicated that he too will sponsor legislation, along this principle of tax sharing, before the end of this session of Congress.

Senator JAVITS has urged that debate on this most important plan start now. I welcome the Senator from New York's support and urge other Members of the House and Senate to join in endorsing my Federal-State revenue sharing plan which is designed to provide better financial resources for quality secondary and elementary education.

Under unanimous consent I place an article from the Washington Post of September 22 by Frank Porter outlining Senator JAVITS' remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD:

UNITED STATES-STATE TAX-SHARING PLAN REVIVED BY JAVITS

(By Frank Porter)

A leading Republican Senator plucked a controversial Federal-State revenue-sharing plan off the administration's back burner yesterday and said he will offer it as legislation before the end of the current session.

"I think it is now generally agreed that some form of Federal assistance to State and local government is necessary, but there has been a lack of serious discussion," said Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, Republican, of New York.

"Debate should begin, and decisions should be made on a tax-sharing plan before State and local governments become completely inundated in the flood of demands for new services and facilities, particularly in the fields of health, education, and welfare," JAVITS told the New York State County Officers Association in New York City.

JAVITS thereby stole a march on the White House itself, which put the plan under wraps last fall after its leaked details aroused intense opposition, particularly in labor and liberal circles.

Since then, however, it has attracted widespread grassroots interest, particularly among State and local officials feeling a financial pinch.

Republicans have made political capital of it. During last fall's presidential campaign, even Barry Goldwater embraced the concept, fathered 5 years ago by Walter W. Heller shortly before he became President Kennedy's chief economic adviser. It was a prime topic of discussion at the Republican Governors' conference earlier this year.

But the administration is apparently unmoved by the Javits initiative. A White House source said last night that the revenue-sharing plan is a "dead duck" and that there is no present intention of reviving it.

The Javits bill would follow closely the Heller concept as developed last year by a presidential task force headed by Joseph A. Pechman, of the Brookings Institution. The White House has never released the Pechman report.

The carefully drawn measure also contains a number of safeguards and limitations which should go far to conciliate both conservative and liberal critics.

It would create a special trust fund of 1 percent of the individual income tax base—or about $2.5 billion annually under present conditions.

Eighty percent of these funds would be allocated the States in proportion to their population. To maintain State efforts to raise their own revenue, however, these amounts would be increased or diminished by the amount the ratio of State-local general revenues to personal income in the State exceeded or lagged the national ratio.

The other 20 percent would be distributed to the 12 or 15 States with the lowest per capita incomes.

The funds could be used only for health, education, and welfare "to benefit directly the greatest number of people in a State." Earlier critics had opposed a no-strings type distribution on grounds the funds might be misused—say for an ornate Governor's mansion, or for highways at the expense of education.

The bill also would require an audit of how the funds are used, the equitable sharing of funds by the States with local governments, and certification that projects financed by these revenues comply with all Federal laws, such as the Civil Rights Act.

German Elections

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, I request unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD William S. White's excellent column analyzing the results of the German elections held last Sunday and the victory of Chancellor Erhard and his party. This column appeared in the Washington Post on Wednesday, September 22.

I was particularly impressed by Mr. White's statement "that Erhard's Germany has become for us both a powerful and a sensibly restrained counterweight to" President de Gaulle and his efforts to isolate the United States from Europe.

I commend this article to my colleagues:

GERMAN ELECTIONS—WILSON, DE GAULLE LOST WITH BRANDT

(By William S. White)

The heavy reelection victory of Chancellor Ludwig Erhard's moderate Christian Democratic government over Willy Brandt's Social Democratic Party in West Germany is good news for the United States. It is somewhat shaking news, however politely hidden may be its reaction, to the Labor government of Harold Wilson in Britain.

For while Wilson naturally stayed punctiliously out of the Erhard-Brandt campaign, it breaches no international secret to say he would have been happy had Brandt, a Socialist much like himself, come to power in Germany.

Erhard, in American terms, is moderately liberal to conservative; Brandt, in those terms, is very liberal, indeed. He is, moreover, quite without experience in first-hand responsibility over the highest of foreign policy issues since his mandate has been only that of mayor of West Berlin.

The United States for its part is undoubtedly better off with Erhard still in control, though here, too, nobody in official position is going to be tactless enough to say so. For President Johnson has been able to work in close and easy understanding with Chancellor Erhard.

So much has this been the case, in truth, that Erhard's Germany has become for us both a powerful and a sensibly restrained counterweight to the increasingly arrogant efforts of President de Gaulle of France to isolate us from Europe—except, of course, for the defense umbrella he is pleased to allow us to continue to hold over Europe and him. Another loser in the German election, therefore, is De Gaulle. He will never master this Germany, because a Germany continuing under Erhard's wise economic policies will make France in economic strength look like a pup.

Erhard's regime, in short, has been both a faithful and a steady partner for us. This circumstance is as well known in Congress as in the administration. So it was no accident that President Johnson invited the Chancellor here for a third visit immediately after the election returns had been counted.

Prime Minister Wilson, on his side, is going to have some subtle problems in adjusting himself and his Government to the now patent reality that the Germans have no intention in the forseeable future of turning away from the moderate pro-capitalism of Erhard to the reformist-minded Brandt.

Wilson, not unnaturally, has never been quite comfortable with the Erhard type of German leadership. Before he became Prime Minister and thus became responsible for Britain, he never hid this in private conversations. The truth is that in those old days there was sound reason to believe that Wilson's resistance to such American projects as that for an allied nuclear fleet was not so much based on objection in principle as to the probability that the German partner in it would be an Erhard and not a Brandt sort of partner.

Now the Prime Minister must not only forget his old dreams of a happy ideological association with a like-minded Socialist in Bonn. He also must find ways to sustain a useful and mutually trusting association with a free enterprise regime in Bonn.

All this need not pose insuperable problems. The Wilson in power and responsibility has already in several ways become quite different from the old Wilson who as a minority leader found his congenial companions mostly among the highly liberal and often neutralist-minded egghead community of the Western World. Still, it will all take some doing; and this is where the Johnson administration will come in.

Whatever zigs and zags the President may take in international affairs in building up this or that ally—in this case the West German ally—he is at bottom instinctively pro-British to a degree, actually, that no predecessor has been in this century. The old "special relationship" with Britain is all the safer with Erhard's success in Germany. This nobody need doubt at all.

Capt. William J. Couperthwaite Awarded Citation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, Capt. William J. Couperthwaite, a native of Windber, Pa., who is now director of the police academy and training section of the District of Columbia's Metropolitan Police Department, was recently awarded the following citation by the Washington Chapter of the American Society for Training and Development:

To Capt. William J. Couperthwaite for his remarkable record of successful initiative and foresight in identifying new and important training needs and in obtaining support and resources to add to the training programs of the Metropolitan Police Department such important and valuable subjects as foreign languages, police-race relations, emergency child delivery, driver education for police officers, police administration, and others, and in advancing the professional status of police training through enlisting the assistance and support of universities, reestablishing a police academy library and numerous other impressive and striking accomplishments.

He was also nominated and selected for a distinguished service award of the Training Officers Conference. This award is given annually to individuals who have made outstanding contributions to management improvement through successful training activities.

We are proud of Captain Couperthwaite, and we should pause for a moment after reading these citations to consider the many facets of modern police work. In addition to risking his personal safety on and off duty, today's police officer must in emergencies serve as doctor, minister, marriage counselor, and youth leader.

With the sudden outbreak of physical and verbal attacks on our guardians of the law, we need to devise countermeasures to create greater respect for our police officers. While Law Day and Police Week are observed during periods of May, promoting this respect has unfortunately become a year-round job because Communist influences are attempting to use isolated instances of police misdeeds as a reflection on the character of every policeman in the country.

As in every profession, there are some clowns and bad apples wearing police uniforms, but the overwhelming number of our policemen are intelligent, courageous, and scrupulously fair individuals. As protectors of our families and our homes against the criminal element, these men have more than won the respect that is due them, and it is time that everyone—particularly our youth—get the message.

It is my hope that civic, religious, educational, and business groups undertake programs designed in this direction. I am confident that schoolteachers are aware of the new necessity for developing a better appreciation of the duties and responsibilities of policemen, but special emphasis needs to be given the subject in speeches, sermons, newspapers, radio, and television.

In this regard, Mr. Speaker, I trust that our colleagues will take advantage of every speaking engagement in their home constituencies once we get out of Washington this fall to give this cause the promotion it merits.

The Polygraph: How It Can Save Lives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, one of the major problems our troops face in Vietnam is that of determining whether a suspected Vietcong prisoner is really an enemy or is an innocent peasant. Reports from Vietnam indicate the problem of trying to make such determinations quickly and accurately.

One of my constituents, Mr. Stephen L. Gardella, who is the polygraph examiner at the San Diego Police Department, has come forth with an interesting and commendable recommendation that polygraphs be used to determine whether or not suspects are telling the truth. Mr. Gardella informs me that many reserve officers and men are trained polygraph examiners. I am hopeful that the service can consider the use of this tool which has proved to be invaluable in detecting criminal activities in our country. I am certain it can be used to save lives in wartime as well.

Under unanimous consent I include as a portion of my remarks the following article by Stephen L. Gardella:

THE POLYGRAPH—"HOW IT CAN SAVE LIVES"

It is a known fact that in almost every military operation in combat situations, as well as counter insurgency, the weakest link is intelligence. For the most part in these situations, intelligence is little more than guesswork and questions, such as location of mines, number of troops, deployment, armament, etc. must go unanswered. Great strides have been made toward the betterment of our military effort by improving arms, equipment, clothing, rations, and numerous other things, however, very little progress has been made in the intelligence field.

I believe that our intelligence can be improved immeasurably and possibly countless American lives saved by utilizing the polygraph to question prisoners of war and insurgents under combat conditions. I base this theory, in part, on the following personal experience:

"On October 21, 1951, while a member of G Co., 3d Bn., 1st Marine Division, stationed in Korea in a defensive position, several North Koreans came over to our lines and surrendered.

"The prisoners upon being intensively interrogated, through an interpreter, would reveal only their names, rank, and serial numbers. These prisoners remained with the company for a few hours before being sent to a stockade at the rear.

"On October 23, 1951, a patrol was organized to go out and blow up bunkers, search for any North Koreans in hiding and to obtain any intelligence regarding the enemy.

"While returning from the mission, the patrol was the object of concentrated enemy mortar, machinegun and rifle fire which resulted in men being killed and wounded. The patrol came through an enemy mine field and additional lives and limbs were lost."

The North Korean prisoners in this case had come through these same mine fields to surrender and were undoubtedly in possession of other valuable information. If these prisoners had been examined with the aid of a polygraph the enemy gun emplacement as well as the mine field would probably have been detected resulting in fewer dead and wounded.

It is well known in law enforcement that in a majority of the crimes committed there is not enough physical or circumstantial evidence to apprehend the perpetrator and support a conviction in court. Because of this fact the polygraph has been successfully used as an investigative aid and many cases have been canceled which otherwise would have gone unsolved. If the polygraph can resolve so many crimes in law enforcement, from theft to murder, why can't it be utilized in combat to save American lives?

In addition to the actual use of the polygraph in law enforcement, I cite the following experimental use of the polygraph by the military in simulated combat practice which proved very successful:

At Camp Pendleton in 1956, Lt. Col. R. Fuller, intelligence officer for Marine Corps Test Unit, was contacted relative to applying a method of examining prisoners that were captured during their major field exercise March 12–16, 1956. His commanding officer, Col. E. N. Rydalch, along with other staff officers agreed. Maj. Bruce Myers, Colonel Fuller, and Colonel Rydalch set up many hypothetical situations to confront the polygraph within the field.

The first prisoner from the aggressor force was brought in to be examined. He was Capt. E. A. Pollock. During the pretest interview, all he would state was his name, rank, and serial number. He, Pollock, was then informed that he was going to be examined by the polygraph. The results of the test revealed by his reactions the name of (1) his division, (2) regiment, (3) battalion, (4) time of attack by his units, (5) direction of attack, (6) that the attack would be preceded by flare signals.

The examiner gave this information to Colonel Rydalhc for him to verify. Colonel Rydalch stated that everything the examiner gave him to verify was true and correct. It should be mentioned that Captain Pollock answered almost all the questions with a "No" answer. Every question asked during the examination was a critical question and the testing lasted approximately 18 minutes.

The second prisoner, a Staff Sergeant Sanchez, spoke only Spanish and was instructed to answer only "No" to all questions. The questions were written out by the team, handed to the interpreter who then asked questions, and the results were noted by the interrogator. In spite of the language barrier and the fact that Sanchez was deliberately attempting to mislead the team, he answered the following questions within 45 minutes; his division, regiment, battalion, that he was a platoon sergeant of a rifle platoon operating with a tank force. In addition, by dividing the map into 1,500-yard areas where aggressor CP could be located, it was ascertained in which area the CP was located by his reactions. Colonel Rydalch confirmed the teams findings.

The third prisoner brought in was identified as Corporal Roller, who had volunteered to go without sleep for about 22 hours and without food for about 10 hours and was in a fairly exhausted condition. Roller was instructed not to answer any questions and

not to think of the test and even to repeat numbers to himself. In spite of these conditions, Roller subconsciously reacted to the questions concerning his division, regiment, battalion, and company. Colonel Rydalch confirmed the findings of the team.

On March 13, 1956, more complicated procedures were worked out. A prisoner was brought in and was interrogated by the Intelligence Section Chief of Marine Corps Test Unit No. 1, without any success other than giving his name, rank, and serial number. The prisoner identified himself as a Cpl. Stanley J. Michael. Questioning by the polygraph team elicited the information that he was actually Lt. Stanley J. Michael, an Annapolis graduate (1953), the executive officer of a rifle company, that he had five M-48 tanks supporting his company and by subdividing a map, revealed his combat position within 200 yards. These questions were answered in about 20 minutes by Lieutenant Michael's reactions in spite of his deliberate attempts to confuse the interrogators. Lieutenant Colonel Fuller and Major Myers confirmed the teams findings.

A second prisoner gave his name as Sergeant Owens and his serial number to the intelligence chief. Interrogation with the polygraph team revealed that the prisoner was actually a technical sergeant, gunnery sergeant of his unit, that he had given a fictitious serial number and also his division, regiment, battalion, company, that he could read a map and again by subdividing the map, located his company combat position within 200 yards. In addition, his unit had about 180 men in it, in fact, he drew rations for them, that it had 5 platoons and there were 5 tanks supporting it. Lieutenant Colonel Fuller confirmed the teams findings.

The next prisoner, one Staff Sergeant Alverson, immediately gave all the information he could relative to the order of battle. The logical assumption by the intelligence chief was that Alverson was lying. A check was made by the polygraph team and it was determined that Alverson was telling the truth. Lieutenant Colonel Fuller confirmed the teams findings.

Since these hypothetical problems were so successful, Col. E. W. Durant, G-2 officer, 1st Marine Division was contacted and set up further problems whereby the polygraph examiner was to examine naval pilots at the survival course in Warner Hot Springs, Calif.

The additional tests of the pilots started on March 16, 1956. These pilots were examined and from the tests conducted on one aviator, whose name they would not reveal, the following was revealed from his reactions; the type of aircraft he was flying, that he was a land-based plane aviator and not from a carrier, what the plane was armed with, and that his aircraft had nuclear capability. The results given to Colonel Durant and the naval officers present confirmed the facts to be true. During the test, the pilot remained completely silent. Upon completion of the test, the examiner was instructed not to examine any other pilots and to discontinue such testing because vital classified information was being revealed and the examiner should not be aware of it.

It should be made known that during all the experiments and testing, the school teachings were not used. There was no quiet in the tent, there was a lot of noise from rifle fire, helicopters coming and going, personnel traffic was in and out of the tent that was used. Some of the prisoners had gone without food and and sleep up to 48 hours to substantiate that these problems would not affect the examinations conducted. Why didn't this noise, the going without food and sleep affect the testing? Because they were used to it, as if they were actually in combat.

The main factor involved in such testing is that the emotional stress is so great to the individual when asked critical questions that may reveal vital intelligence information he literally reacts within his body. Therefore, he is on the defensive at all times.

Many man-hours are involved in conventional interrogation without the use of the polygraph and then should the prisoner remain silent no information is obtained. If the prisoner does respond, how do we know he is telling the truth?

As late as March 16, 1965, during the largest military exercise called Silver Lance at Camp Pendleton, Calif., the following questions were still unanswered both in combat and counterinsurgency when our military was confronted with prisoners or persons of the populace.

1. Is the individual actually who he says he is?
2. Is the individual actually what he says he is?
3. Is the individual actually from where he says he is?

A basic point was made during the Silver Lance exercise. What does an insurgent look like, act and talk like when he is not actually firing a weapon from ambush? Does the same lie from five different persons at different times make it a truth? More important, what expeditious means are available now to answer these questions? I know of none, however, if the polygraph was used on this level we would know.

To substantiate the findings of the intelligence problem that existed, Captain Nardo, who is a member of General Krulak's staff, verified the need for the polygraph. Lieutenant Varn and Lieutenant Scott of the 1st Counterintelligence Team, 1st Marine Division, also verified this need. A letter was submitted from the critique of Silver Lance recommending the use of the polygraph technique in South Vietnam.

Even the feasibility of testing wounded prisoners has proven satisfactory in some cases.

In June 1965 a polygraph examination was conducted at the San Diego Police Department on a subject who suffered from a gunshot wound in the shoulder. The test was administered the day after the wound was inflicted and the subject stated he felt no discomfort or pain during the examination. In spite of the fact that the subject was wounded the results of the polygraph test were conclusive.

The above test indicates even broader possibilities for using the polygraph under combat conditions.

The usefullness of the polygraph in law enforcement is a proven fact—the probability of its value in combat intelligence is great—knowing this, I insist we must use the polygraph wherever we can to save American lives and I know the wives, mothers and children of our fighting men will certainly agree if only one life is spared.

Respectfully submitted.

Governors Back Tax Sharing Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to report that eight midwest governors have now agreed that States should share a percentage of the Federal tax income.

I have written many Governors, Members of the House and Senate, and educators urging support for my bill, H.R. 10696, which would share Federal revenue with each State for use in public elementary and secondary education.

I am therefore delighted to see the eight Midwest Governors agree with me in principle on this important measure.

Under unanimous consent I place the UPI story, carried in the September 23 Washington Post, in the Appendix of the RECORD:

GOVERNORS BACK TAX SHARE PLAN

MACKINAC ISLAND, MICH., September 22.—Eight Midwest Governors agreed today that Washington gets too much of the tax dollar.

Members of the Midwestern Governors Conference agreed the States should retain or be given a rebate on a percentage of Federal tax money. But no specific recommendations were made on how this might be done.

Instead, the Governors urged a previously formed committee to speed its study on State and local revenue sources.

Selling America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I enclose an address entitled "Selling America" which has been given a number of times by Mr. Richard DeVos, a businessman in my congressional district.

Mr. DeVos and his partner Jay VanAndel have demonstrated anew the fact that this country is a land of opportunity. They have organized and developed a successful business and have emphasized and reemphasized the strengths of our heritage and the advantages of our way of life.

I know that his comments on "Selling America" will be of general interest:

SELLING AMERICA

The subject of my talk is: "Selling America."

I want to discuss this matter with you because I am vitally concerned that many people who are enjoying the fruits of free enterprise are not aware of the fact that these benefits come because of the effort of millions of Americans and not because of one group or another or because of laws passed in Wahington.

America is what it is today because it gives individuals an opportunity to work in a free society where each individual can advance, based on his personal effort. The strength of America lies in the people who are daily putting forth their effort to make America a better place in which to live.

One of the problems which bothers me, and many others is the fact that today in America there are over one million high school dropouts. In fact, in the city of Detroit, Mich., alone there are between 50,000 and 80,000 such youngsters walking the streets and not at work. The Gallup poll people recently interviewed these youngsters in an attempt to find out why they hadn't continued their education and why they were not trying to get a job. The answer they received is shocking. It went something like this:

"There's nothing left to do. It's all been done. My parents did it. The people before

them did it. All I want to do is just get a job and get by."

Well, I don't believe it, and I'm sure you don't believe it, but today there are a million youngsters who do believe it and untold others who aren't really convinced that this is still the land of opportunity. That is why it is necessary that all Americans begin to talk about the assets; the good things that are going on around about them so that others will be inspired to make a beginning.

Not too long ago we had several thousand of our young men fighting valiantly in Korea. And I would not say anything here which would detract from the thousands who fought and died there, giving their all so that America could continue to maintain its freedom and aid others in maintaining theirs. But for the first time in the history of the United States something most unusual happened there, and this is what was disturbing. About 7,000 of our young men who were taken captive by the Chinese Communists sat it out. They made no attempt to escape; they just decided to take the candy and cigarettes and the food and play it cool, and not get involved. They gave up their freedom without even a contest.

A psychiatrist by the name of Meyer interviewed over a thousand of these men upon their return. His conclusions were that the young men, the future leaders of America, weren't convinced it was worth standing up for anymore.

I couldn't help but recall famous escapes of history: Winston Churchill's escape from South Africa during the Boer War and General MacArthur's escape from Corregidor, and the hundreds of escapes by American servicemen during World War II. The question was put to those servicemen, "Why did you take the risk? Why did you gamble to get out of prison?" And the answer is so simple. They said, "Because we wanted to be free."

And now, only a few years later we find groups of Americans who weren't so sure freedom was worth the price.

Well, the Communists told those boys about how wonderful their system of social justice was, that it was far superior to America's, and our men sat there and listened. Some believed, and many more doubted, and others weren't so sure anymore about the American way.

Another thing that disturbs me is the way we are able to very carefully catalog and pigeonholed our young children coming out of school. Somehow or another we have lost sight of the fact that although education is extremely important and we all would encourage anyone to go as far as he possibly can to gain the technical skills, we must also remember that motivation is a phenomenal force.

Recently I was called in on a conference in our local high school and a problem was discussed. It seems that some 50 percent of the kids being graduated were not going on to college, and that this is also true on a national basis. The teachers were discussing this and kept referring to the fact that they must do something for their noncollege bound students. I was certainly in sympathy with their cause, but I became alarmed over the words noncollege bound because these kids hadn't even graduated from high school yet and we had already put a failure name on them. Noncollege bound, just as if they already flunked. Is it so terribly bad, not to go on to college today? Are those people who do not go on to college such utter failures, such worthless Americans? I say they are not and I think it's time we began to have mutual respect for each other and a mutual awareness of our needs for each other. Oh, I realize we need the engineers and the doctors and the lawyers and the nuclear physicists, but I sometimes wonder how well they would get on if somebody didn't come through and empty their wastebaskets for them.

I wonder how well they would get around if some noncollege bound student hadn't learned how to keep an automobile engine running and thus keep America rolling. I sometimes wonder how long you would stay in your particular city if somebody didn't come along and empty the garbage for you. Yes, I know, education is important, but I also know that all of these other people also make a valid and continuing contribution to America. And, in my book, there are some great Americans who never went to college and who are making and will make far greater contributions to the future of America than many who have gone to college for years and years. I see some of these students so fascinated with education that they have forgotten that the purpose of education is to put it to work.

One more point that refers to the problem is something called "attitude" on the part of Americans concerning our system.

A survey of 5,000 high school seniors throughout the United States produced some rather startling facts about the youngsters who expect to be the future leaders of our constitutional, personal enterprise system. The results showed that over 60 percent believe that the profit motive can be killed off without hurting the American system; 55 percent think the best way to improve our standard of living is not by workers producing more but by giving workers more wages.

Sixty percent think employees get too little and owners too much of the profits of a company. Seventy-five percent believe that when an industry puts in new machinery, the owners get most of the gains resulting from modernization. More than 60 percent think manufacturers can raise wages by 10 cents an hour without raising the prices of the products they make.

Startling? Yes. But here's something that is a bit more than startling, it's shocking, and was overheard by Dr. Oliver Carlson a few years ago. Several high school juniors were discussing their future. The conversation went like this: "I'll get mine in 2003." A younger boy, with envy, stated: "I've got to wait until 2005." An older girl announced, "I'm the lucky one, I get mine in the year 2000."

At that time, with at least another year, and maybe five, of education ahead of them and almost a lifetime in the workaday world, they were avidly looking forward to the time when they could start to draw their Federal old-age pensions. What had the parents of those children done with the almost 4,600 hours of golden opportunities annually entrusted to their care?

What is socialism? It is simply governmental ownership and management of the essential means for production and distribution of goods. We know that socialism is not progressive but reactionary. Socialism harks back to the days of the tyranny of kings, the autocracy of the few.

What would you think if a person came up to you and said, "I am in favor of doing away with competitive markets and private property, of setting up communes in every locality, of taking all the land away from the farmers, of taking over all the steel mills, all the electric powerplants, all the automotive industry, the banks, the railroads, the newspapers, the television and radio stations, all the mines." Surely this proposal would meet with immediate, vigorous, and united resistance by the vast majority of the American people.

However, suppose this same person came up to you and said, "It is in the public interest and to the benefit of every citizen if we make industry, the farms, and all means of production and distribution operate for the benefit of all the people and not just for the profit of a few stockholders." Immediately this line of deception receives wholehearted support. It is taking place today here in the United States.

Our young people need to be shown that the highest standard of living in the world has resulted from our personal enterprise system, under which every person has the right to work and to succeed in his chosen vocation in direct proportion to his ability and efforts. Our youth should be informed, too, that communism would deny to individuals every right and every principle we have just outlined; that communism is actively seeking to dominate the world, and thus must be actively opposed.

It's so easy to sit around and visit and complain about what's wrong with the country. Unfortunately that seems to be human nature, doesn't it? But unfortunately, people go away from that conversation thinking a little less well of the land that has given us so much.

I would like to touch on another situation here and it has to do with the teachers of America—I hear people telling what's wrong with the teachers, and what's wrong with the superintendents, and what's wrong with the principals, and what's wrong with the system. Books have been written on the subject, but I think part of what's wrong is that so many are shooting holes in these people. It's time that some of us began to tell others about the dedicated educators we have.

Another thing, some people say that this free enterprise system is too dog eat dog, too competitive and it just doesn't work anymore. It makes Americans too self-centered, too selfish. But, I can't believe that, because the American people last year gave away $7½ billion to the united community services and to the Red Cross and to the Salvation Army and many other organizations that they believe in—gave voluntarily. Don't ever let anybody tell you that Americans are selfish and not interested in helping somebody else. I hear a lot about foreign aid and I hear a lot about people who think foreign aid is evil, but I haven't found any Americans who are really against the principles of foreign aid. Most of the people I know are all for foreign aid as long as it's used to help somebody who needs help. The condemnations and the criticisms are of the misuse of foreign aid when the recipients are buying guns or fancy airplanes when they should be helping the common man get some food to improve the total economy of the country.

At this point I would talk about opportunities in business and use a personal story of a business which my partner and I formed some 6 years ago in the basements of our homes. We began at that time to sell a soap product. People said it would never succeed. "How do you expect to sell soap in such a competitive market? Who are you to go against the giants in that industry?" Well, we didn't listen too carefully because we believed that by a change in the distribution method, by giving better service, by bringing products to the customer instead of waiting for the customer to come to us, we could get some of that business. And so we began in the basement with two of us. Soon there were four of us. Shortly there were so many that we could no longer operate in the basement.

So we bought a small building and began to add on, and today the story of the Amway Corp. is one of the great stories being written in America today by people who continue to believe in the free enterprise system. Today the Amway Corp. owns a 250-acre site in Ada, Mich. It employs over 400 people with a payroll in excess of $1½ million per year. Its plant alone covers over 100,000 square feet of space and the sales are currently running at a rate in excess of $36 million per year. And still we hear people who say—it can't be done.

The real strength of the Amway organization, however, lies in the fact that we offer to Americans everywhere an opportunity to begin a business of their own. In fact, our whole program is geared to giving people an opportunity to begin a business with as little as $10, the chance to make free enterprise work for them. Today, thousands upon thousands of people join the Amway organization every month, and today there are over 75,000 independent distributors all across America.

What's really inspiring about this is that it restores your faith in the people of America and tells you they are not sitting home waiting for someone to put them on the dole or waiting for someone to come along and solve their poverty problem.

All across America today individuals are saying, "Give me a chance, let me begin, just show me how," and that's what we do in Amway.

Many of us have stopped telling about the wonderful things that free enterprise has given to all of us. I would like to quote a few statistics, a listing of the assets of America, and a comparison of where we stand against Communist Russia, which is attempting today to tell people all across the world, and especially in America, that its system is superior to ours. It may be better for the handful of leaders, but when we start looking up the people who live under those systems, we find them living in a situation which we would call extreme poverty. Let me give you a few figures for comparison:

In order to enjoy the glories of the present Soviet system, we would have to abandon three-fifths of our steel capacity, two-thirds of our petroleum capacity, 95 percent of our electric motor output, destroy two of every three hydroelectric plants, and get along on a tenth of our volume of natural gas.

We would have to rip up 14 of every 15 miles of our paved highways, and 2 of every 3 miles of our mainline railroad tracks.

We'd sink 8 of every 9 oceangoing ships, scrap 19 out of every 20 cars and trucks.

We would cut our living standards by three-fourths, destroy 40 million television sets, 9 out of every 10 telephones, 7 of every 10 houses; and then we would have to put about 60 million people back on the farms.

I don't know who's kidding whom—but when I hear Americans tell me that our system is out of date and it doesn't work anymore, I can only point to statistics like this and ask the person what's wrong with his head. I would inquire of such a person, what it is he thought gave us the highest standard of living the world has ever known. Certainly when you make a comparison like this the facts speak for themselves.

The United States has only 6 percent of the world's population, and we have about 7 percent of the land surface of the world. But, despite the fact that we are so small by comparison to the rest of the world, we as American citizens own 71 percent of all the automobiles, 56 percent of all the telephones, 50 percent of all the radios, 29 percent of all the railroads, and 83 percent of all the television sets in the world. And as a side issue, to indicate something of cleanliness, we also own 90 percent of all the bath tubs.

In addition, this country produces 59 percent of all the steel, 46 percent of all the electric power, 50 percent of all the oil, 56 percent of the corn, 42 percent of the cotton, 33 percent of the coal, 31 percent of the copper, 38 percent of the iron and 44 percent of all the manufactured goods in the world are made in the United States of America. Don't let anybody sell you short on what this country can do, and what it can mean to those who are willing to work. Even the poorest of Americans live better than most any other group in the entire world.

As my final point, I would like to mention what to me is the real strength of America, and it lies in the religious field. I am concerned because I feel too many people have lost sight of the fact that America is what it is today because God has blessed this land. And I am concerned because we find too many people today who are willing to act like God had nothing whatsoever to do with it. This country was built on a religious heritage and we'd better get back to it and we'd better start telling about the fact that this is the real strength of America. I will not apologize for my faith, nor will I stop talking about it because someone without faith may take exception. It is time all of us begin to sell America, to tell others of her assets so they will be inspired to greater effort and have their faith renewed.

Tribute to Marshall Field

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, I note with great sorrow the passing of Marshall Field from the ranks of the great publishers of the United States and particularly from the ranks of leadership in the city of Chicago. His death last Saturday at the age of 49 came as a blow to those of us who knew and appreciated the labors of this worthy inheritor of a distinguished name. I am grieved at his death and my deepest sympathies go to Mr. Field's family.

The great consolation of the Field family, and of the thousands of Chicagoans who mourn his passing, is that Marshall Field gave of himself in the tradition of the great family to which he belonged. By his words and deeds he distinguished an already distinguished name. Though his time among us was brief, his influence in the course of our civic affairs was large. He assumed guidance of the Chicago Sun-Times only 15 years ago. He later purchased the Chicago Daily News, and at the time of his death his corporation was actively engaged in entering the television business.

Seven years ago Marshall Field wrote:

With faith in a kindly providence and confidence in ourselves, we should be able not only to build a fabulous Metropolitan Chicago but contribute much to the building of a better world. This is our real destiny and we are honorbound to fulfill it.

In recent years Mr. Field saw the fulfillment of certain of the goals he had set for Chicago, such as judicial reform, a civic center, neighborhood renewal and a University of Illinois Chicago campus. His own newspapers have lent their considerable influence to the many worthy goals Mr. Field set forth in his platform for Chicago. Unfortunately he did not live to see the better life and the better world that he envisioned and labored for. But I do not think his credo will be forgotten.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert in the RECORD the eulogy that was printed in the Chicago Daily News of September 20. The editorial follows:

MARSHALL FIELD

With his magnificent endowments of intellect and character, and born as he was with the instruments of power at his command, Marshall Field could have been almost anything he wanted to be, done almost anything he wanted to do.

What he most wanted to be was a newspaperman. What he most wanted to achieve was what a newspaper is singularly fitted to do—to serve the community and its people.

These were not romantic notions, gained in the flush of youthful exuberance. They were convictions gained, as it happened, during long and combat-studded service as a naval officer in World War II.

As a matter of fact, the courage of the young gunnery officer on the carrier *Enterprise*, picking himself up wounded from the deck and resuming command on his battery, found its reflection in the mature editor and publisher, weighing the consequences of a newspaper campaign that was certain to bring down the fury of many whose heritage he shared and whose friendship he prized, and going ahead regardless.

This was, indeed, where Marshall Field found the deepest satisfaction of his life—in fighting for good causes when formidable forces were arrayed in opposition. As Marshall Field, he inevitably had many financial and business interests, and the calls on his time and energies were unremitting. But it is significant that his principal office was on the editorial floor of the building housing his two newspapers; it was here that he came in the morning, to hang up his coat and turn up his shirtsleeves, to work with his editors on the planning and execution of news policies.

As an editor, Marshall Field's interests ranged wide and ran deep. Like his father, whom he revered, he was concerned first and foremost with people; all else was subordinate to that. Convinced that there was no meaning for humanity without freedom, he based his international and national policies on what would serve freedom best. Long before the United States became committed in southeast Asia, he percieved that area as one where the world balance might be turned crucially either for or against the cause of freedom. And to those who claimed that what happened in that far corner was of little concern at home, he replied that freedom anywhere was an imperative concern of free men everywhere.

Similarly on national issues, Mr. Field made freedom—the responsibly exercised freedom of the individual—the cornerstone of his policy, and while he was personally a Republican, he held that allegiance because he felt the philosophy of Lincoln best expressed his own convictions of the dignity of the individual, and not because he considered that the party could do no wrong. He unhesitatingly supported, without concern for party label, the candidate he believed the ablest and sincerest practioner of this philosophy.

It was, of course, Chicago that stood nearest the heart of Marshall Field. This was his life-long home, his pride, his love, his dream. Here, then, was where he concentrated his energies, and here were the headquarters of all his enterprises.

This was his city: he knew its great strengths and its glaring flaws; he saw in its great, raw power, its people of many ethnic strains and races, its strategic situation at the heart of the Nation, the foundations of a city of the future greater than most of its people dared dream of. Through his individual energies but mainly through his newspapers, first the Sun-Times and later through the team formed by the Sun-Times and the Daily News, he brought his influence to bear on every facet of the community where good could be done, or where lethargy or corrup-

tion or criminality could be exposed and eradicated.

"With faith in a kindly providence and confidence in ourselves," he wrote 7 years ago, "we should be able not only to build a fabulous metropolitan Chicago but contribute much to the building of a better world. That is our real destiny, and we are honor bound to fulfill it."

It was characteristic of this man that he shied away from personal glory. While his name was inevitably a legend in his lifetime, his face was familiar to a relative few. While his abiding interest was people, and their welfare his lifelong concern, there was about him an innate shyness, an authentic humility that kept him out of the public gaze. Even among his close associates, he was never one to impose his views; he sought and respected the judgment of others, and their opinions received due weight in his decisions.

Once those decisions were made, however, he was once more the gunnery officer in full command of his battery. He did not falter; he did not retreat.

Marshall Field is dead at 49, and Chicago and the Nation have ample reason to mourn his passing. There are so many places where his energies were still needed, so many shining dreams that he leaves unfulfilled, so many friends whose lives he touched, and made more meaningful.

And yet here was a man who found his own destiny in those he helped, in those good causes that knew his powerful support. That circumstances provided extraordinary scope for these instincts was Marshall Field's great good fortune, and he used his opportunities well. At whatever hour such a man dies, his life can be called a success.

A Republican Opportunity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the building of a sound tax policy which assists individuals who live in the cities, counties, villages, and States of our country as compared to the massive Federal tax system is one of the great challenges confronting legislators on all levels of government, scholars and fiscal experts in private organizations. The more discussion there is of this the better because, hopefully, through a meaningful dialog we will build a better tax relationship between local and State governments and the big Federal Establishment. Because this affects every taxpayer in the Nation the signed editorials in the New York Herald Tribune on this subject by Raymond K. Price, Jr., their chief editorial writer, deserves our study.

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Sept. 21, 1965]

A REPUBLICAN OPPORTUNITY

(By Raymond K. Price Jr.)

One of the Republican Party's chief problems in these days of the Great Society is the simple one of identity. In terms of social goals the Johnsonian consensus leaves precious little room for any one else. Yet the GOP has to establish a distinct image; its problem is one of building a distinct image within the broad range of consensus which in fact does exist, across party lines, on the evolving nature of our society.

But if there is a consensus on ends, there is none on means, and here the Republican Party has a golden opportunity quite specifically in line with its present needs: to present itself as the party that can make State and local government work, because it believes in State and local government.

The Goldwater debacle last year cost the GOP heavily in those offices at State, county, town, and district level on which political organizations are based. The recovery of these is an essential element of the from-the-ground-up rebuilding of the party now being attempted.

For as long as most present-day voters can remember, Republicans have been the guardians of individual, local, and State prerogatives against Federal encroachment. Though on any given issue the lines might get smudged, the Democratic orientation has been toward greater centralization of power, the Republican toward decentralization.

This has been more than a campaign stance. It represents a philosophic commitment to the ideals of diversity and plurality, a concern for the manageability of the Federal colossus—and also a greater measure of faith than the Democratic party has shown in the capacity of States and localities to govern themselves.

There is, of course, another side to the coin of this faith. As Governor Rockefeller put it in his Godkin lectures at Harvard in 1962:

"The essential political truth is that—today more than ever—the preservation of States' rights depends upon the exercise of States' responsibilities. We stand, in fact, upon the threshold of a new test of leadership at the State level. For—so great and urgent are the demands of national defense and foreign policy upon all resources of the national Government—that, now as never in our history, State governments are challenged to face and meet the pressing domestic concerns of our society.

"This, then, can prove to be an historic moment in the long evolution of our Federal idea. For it summons us to remember and to apply a basic fact of American political history—the fact that our States are designed to be our great centers for political experiment. This—as Lord Bryce discerned long ago—is perhaps the key role of the State: to be the proving ground for ever new ventures in free government.

"The time is upon us now to * * * call upon our States to be active where they have been passive—progressive where they have been timid—creative where they have been merely cautious. In a word, it is time for the States to lead."

Or, as the Ripon Society put it recently:

"The United States is entering upon a period of political turbulence, in which a new and much younger population will confront issues which are different in kind and in scope from those of the past generation. They are the sort of problems which convince us that the exciting new area of political action, the great new opportunity for boldness and creativity and innovation, will be found more and more at the State and local level."

The plain fact is that the very size and complexity of the existing central government and its programs argue persuasively for a shift of the political pendulum toward initiatives at the State and local level. In any human organization, there comes a point at which the limits of comprehension set the limits of manageability. And the Republican Party is ideally situated to capitalize on this shift.

Nor would the GOP, by pitching its claim to State and local offices on its faith in State and local government, be compromising its own claim to national office. For the party could then argue, plausibly and legitimately, that to make the entire national structure of Government work requires making the Federal system work— that it requires a respect for the separate responsibilities of governments at all levels.

Currently, the question of faith in State and local government finds its sharpest focus in the debate on the so-called "Heller plan"—the proposal that a given percentage of Federal revenues be earmarked for redistribution among the States according to a fixed ratio (for example, by population), with no Federal controls over use of the money.

The relevance of the Heller plan to the GOP opportunity is simple and direct. To function, the States need money. Washington has preempted the best tax sources. States now are heavily dependent on Federal grants-in-aid for specific programs, which also involve Federal supervision and control. The question is whether these should be expanded—with a consequent further erosion of State authority—or whether tax sharing should be instituted, by which the States would get money without controls. Those who distrust local and State government insist on extending the controls.

The tax-sharing plan offers those who believe in State government a chance to prove their faith and put it into practice.

And that faith, in turn, offers the GOP a convincing argument to take to the voters when its asks their support for a return to power in the State houses, and for a chance at running the cities.

Moral Element in Changes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH HARVEY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks the following editorial appeared in the Richmond, Ind., Palladium-Item on September 20, 1965.

The article is as follows:

MORAL ELEMENT IN CHANGES

The urban renewal project is costly not only to the taxpayers who are forced to finance it but also to the poor who live in the affected areas.

Nathan Glazer, sociologist of the University of California, in a current issue of the Scientific American, says that urban renewal is a threat "destroying small businessmen, evicting older people, forcing families from their tenements."

The sociologist says it began as "an alliance of those seeking reform and those seeking profit." He asserts that a third of the businessmen driven out by the program "do not survive relocation."

The human aspect of urban renewal seemingly has not undergone the research which the purely commercial phases of the redevelopment of aging neighborhoods has received from the advocates of this Government subsidized program.

The removal of tenements, aged stores and their replacement by new highways and new business and residential structures, admittedly improves the physical appearance of a neighborhood.

But of what profit is all this to the community and the civic life if men have lost their businesses? And what has been gained if families that have been "placed in decent, clean and reasonably priced housing" are dissatisfied with the change and can't feel at home in the new neighborhood?

If the occupants of tenements and rundown properties lack the zest or desire to keep the interiors of these properties neat and clean, there isn't much hope that a removal will supply their character deficiency.

There is a good deal of truth in Dr. Glazer's conclusion that some urban renewal has confined itself too much in getting buildings down and "too little in helping people up."

Maybe that's why the entire public has not been sold solidly on this aspect of the Great Society.

The Steel Settlement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, professional editorial writers have commented on the Presidential enforcement of the new contract between labor and management in the steel industry. Further Presidential enforcement of a price increase in steel might logically follow.

To fully recognize public analysis of these developments, it is necessary for us to go beyond professional commentators to listen to the man in the street. I insert in the RECORD at this point a letter to the editor of the Chicago Tribune which appeared in the September 13 edition by Mr. Morris T. Carpenter of Flossmoor, Ill. His comment, I believe not only reflects accuracy but is an example of the practical public analysis of the situation:

THE STEEL SETTLEMENT

FLOSSMOOR, September 6.—On September 5 the threat of a strike in the steel industry ended. Steel workers can continue to work, and steel companies will have a fighting chance to make some money. Hurrah for the steel industry, and two hurrahs for our Great White Father who "invited" the disputants to settle their differences in Washington.

"Peace at any price" spells future trouble.

President Johnson has essentially guaranteed that future disputes in the steel industry between labor and management will have to be settled in Washington, under terms satisfactory to the administration. No labor leader in his right mind would agree to anything in Pittsburgh when he can get a free ride to Washington, and free meals when he gets there, with full knowledge he has nothing to lose. Company negotiators should have their heads examined if they made offers in Pittsburgh which they know will become floors to bargain from when they get to Washington. I. W. Abel, union president, apparently saw the danger of centralized, national control of the industry when he said he "sincerely hoped" White House intervention in contract talks would not "become a way of life." Tomorrow's President might not be so sympathetic.

A noninflationary increase in wages and benefits is supposed to mean that the increase can be given without requiring an increase in the price of steel. Assuming that economists, computers, and crystal balls can combine to determine such a number, granting an increase of this size precludes any possibility of a reduction in the price of steel. Thus, when the time comes to divide up the benefits of more efficient labor, improved technology, and more creative management, the public is the forgotten and unrepresented party to the negotiations.

The steel industry has to meet external competition from modern and improving steel operations abroad which utilize cheaper labor. The United States cannot forever maintain technical superiority. Protection of the steel industry through economic penalty on imports merely encourages technology to develop substitutes for steel. Many uses, traditionally considered private domains for steel, have found nonferrous metals and plastics proving they can do the job better or cheaper. The steel industry will follow the path of the railroads if bureaucrats and a benevolent administration continue to make it impossible for them to compete.

The solution is broader than the steel industry. Somehow the strangle on individual initiative imposed by a self-perpetuating, centralized beaucracy must be broken. The people in New York, Chicago, Podunk, and Squeehawkus will know what to do when somebody tries to tell them that "Father knows best."

MORRIS T. CARPENTER.

The Ugly Side of Beautification

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the so-called beautification bill has its ugly side when viewed from the standpoint of many business enterprises and the people they employ throughout the country.

An example of that came to my desk today in the letter below. It shows dramatically the impact this legislation will have on a legitimate business built up at great effort by a young man I have known for years, one who several times risked his life serving in World War II.

The sign provision of the bill as reported to the House strikes me as a gross interference with the property rights as well as a denial of information desired by motoring Americans and helpful to them.

The letter follows:

HERRIN ADVERTISING,
Jacksonville, Ill., September 22, 1965.

The Honorable PAUL FINDLEY,
Congressman,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PAUL: It is with a heart saddened by years of apparent lost work that I am writing to you of the approaching of the closing of our business caused by H.R. 8489 and H.R. 8490 and Senate bill S. 2084.

Our business consists of installing and leasing outdoor advertising to national and regional accounts. Most of the signs are directional signs, such as motel signs, of a reflectorized permanent type of baked enamel installed in all parts of the country on a 5-year contract. We have 60 employees with the home office in Jacksonville, Ill.

Set out below are what we believe to be pertinent facts of the problem created by this legislature:

1. Investment of $1,500,000 (the greater part in the last 3 years).

2. Installation throughout the country by:

(a) Leasing locations in all regions.

(b) Construction of signs on locations for specific customers (generally motel chains).

3. Five-year contracts (renewable).

4. By projected new construction each year, with planned investment credit on taxes, this program could be handled. Without it as planned, tax reserve will not be nearly enough. We will be lucky to avoid bankruptcy.

5. Anticipated renewal of contracts:

(a) With necessary financing and service it takes an average of 5 years to pay for these signs.

(b) Our profit must be made on the renewal of the contract.

(c) Even with 5 years before "take down" we cannot go out and service more new customers because there will be no renewal.

6. Now our financing banks are withdrawing because of the lack of collateral in the expectance of 80 percent renewals as experienced in the past.

7. After the forced "take down," we will not have left enough signs to profitably maintain those that might be left.

Even if we are compensated for the loss, it is almost certain that it will not possibly cover the cost of leasing locations over the Nation, erecting structures (many of which are in difficult terrain) and the loss of potential future income from almost certain renewals of directional signs.

We have believed in our economy. We have gambled big on the future. We have been mighty proud of the job we have done. But now, with tears, we have already started to lay off production employees and sales force.

Is this what I risked my life many times in World War II for, PAUL, to come home, work so hard to build a service business, and then have my own Government take it away from me, along with all the good people who work with me?

Respectfully yours,

WAYNE HERRIN.
HERRIN ADVERTISING.

Tuffy the Dolphin Rates a Medal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Daily Californian dated September 19, 1965:

TUFFY THE DOLPHIN RATES A MEDAL

Congratulations are in order for Tuffy, the dolphin who became the first underwater mailman Friday by carrying letters to Sea-Lab II submerged in the ocean depths off La Jolla.

For that feat, Tuffy earned himself a niche in naval history, and possibly dolphin history, too, and is almost certain to achieve some of the legendary fame accorded that other branch of the postal service of an earlier era—the Pony Express.

Dolphins may become the new heroes of the animal world because of their amazing intelligence and the use to which that intelligence can be put. In an era of human intellectual awakening, so-called "dumb" animals may have far less prestige among humans than those with high IQ's.

And dolphins and porpoises, the playful and cooperative cherubs of the sea, apparently are among the brainest so far discovered in the oceans. Scientific experiments

are being conducted to test the communicative skills of these ocean dwellers.

Tuffy had more serious work to do than "talking" or even carrying the mail. He also took tools to the acquanauts and rescued a SeaLab II resident who pretended to be lost while swimming in the murky depths. Since dolphins are noted shark fighters, they will be especially helpful in protecting the aquanauts as they work far below the surface. Man's best friend, at the bottom of the ocean anyway, may well be his dolphin.

It was a good day for Tuffy and he deserves some kind of special citation. Perhaps when President Johnson is in Los Angeles next month he can arrange to give Tuffy a medal—or an extra helping of mackerel—for meritorious service. We can thfnk of no animal at the moment—fish or fowl—more deserving of the President's commendation.

The Peoples' Right To Know

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, one often hears the administration criticized for "news management" and infringement on the people's right to know. Some, but by no means all, of such criticism has stemmed from genuine grievances in press circles against bureaucratic obstruction in their work.

Important elements outside Government have recently sought to establish new standards of press privilege. My longtime associate, Larry Sisk, managing editor of the San Diego, Calif., Evening Tribune, has undertaken a series of articles on the subject. One installment consisted of an interview Mr. Sisk conducted with our distinguished House colleague, Representative JOHN MOSS. As chairman of a Subcommittee on Information in the Committee on Government Operations, Mr. Moss has long defended the right of access to all legitimate news in the public domain.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert Mr. Sisk's article from the San Diego Evening Tribune for August 25, 1965:

PRESS RIGHTS VITAL, REPRESENTATIVE MOSS SAYS

(By Larry Sisk)

Survival of a representative democracy depends on a public that is well informed by its newspapers, said the country's most active official exponent of the people's right to know.

That official is California's Representative JOHN E. MOSS, a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives since 1952. He has headed the House Government Information Subcommittee 10 years, continually fighting secrecy in Government and opposing restrictions on press access to information.

"A representative democracy depends on a good solid foundation of informed people able to make wise decisions of Government because they are well informed," he declared in an interview with the Evening Tribune.

"The reporter is a very important part in the pipeline that brings information from the source to the public," he said.

Moss was interviewed in his Washington office, his opinions solicited in view of recent bar association criticism of newspaper reporting, especially in the field of law enforcement and criminal trials.

Several bar associations in the East and a number of representative attorneys, including Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, have proposed secrecy codes that would restrict access by the press to news about crimes and criminals.

A dimout of information is desirable, they have said, because accused persons have better chances at fair trials if evidence of their crimes is kept secret until revealed in court.

"We need a lot of public dialog on the requirements for information about a person suspected of crime for the protection of his rights," Moss said, "and I don't think any of us wants to tramp upon those rights.

"Excessive publicity exploiting the handling of a criminal case for the advantages of the prosecuting attorney is known to have occurred; we should be intolerant to that.

"But we should be intolerant toward a too-protective attitude also."

Moss was especially critical of the restrictive guidelines issued to all Justice Department personnel.

"The guidelines are loose," Moss said. "They are inherently overly restrictive, and they should not have been promulgated without far more discussion."

Asked if he thought the Katzenbach guide sets a precedent on which police and other Government agencies might issue secrecy instructions, Moss replied:

"Very definitely; the Federal Government is a major force in developing public policy. The policy followed by the United States Department of Justice undoubtedly can spill over and become the policy followed by the local police force.

"There are always those local officials who want to prove that they're more competent and more imaginative than their big brothers in Washington."

Moss is neither lawyer nor newspaperman. He is a Sacramento businessman and real estate broker. In addition to representing his Third California District as a Democrat, elected in the past on both the Republican and Democratic tickets, he has made it his duty to be well informed on all phases of Government, on the public's need also to be will informed, and to battle to keep open the channels of information for free access by the press.

"The public is going to be informed only if there is a resourceful reporter on the job," Moss declared.

"A right of the newspapers to publish as provided by the first amendment, would be meaningless without a right of access. A right to speak without the right to have information upon which to base a judgment for such speech or statements would be meaningless.

"I think the rights to information are inherent in the rights of speech and press.

"The men who framed the Constitution had a reverent attitude toward the rights of the people—absolute, only modified as the overall body politic demanded for its own survival."

About sensationalism, of which some newspapers have been accused—sensationalism is not necessarily equated with irresponsibility, he said.

"If a newspaper wants to headline a grisly murder, it isn't necessarily irresponsible," Moss said. "It may be a matter of a little bit of bad taste or undue emphasis, but the murder actually took place and it was a grisly affair. That was the information available."

The interviewer asked, how can newspapers improve their service on behalf of the public's right to know?

"There must be a greater public awareness of the final impact of Government policies," the Congressman declared. "The little, apparently insignificant, withholding or refusal of information today—the little bit of bureaucratic arrogance—frequently becomes the precedent upon which reliance rests for a far more outrageous act of withholding. We can't permit this to go by the board. None of this is unimportant.

"The press has to be alert.

"Access to information is a public right, the press having no greater right than the individual. But the press is, peculiarly, the custodian of this right—trustee of it. It is a trust that should be taken very seriously."

Data on Farmers Home Administration Loans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. R. POAGE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, believing it might add to an understanding of the activities of the FHA in connection with the loans authorized by the bill H.R. 10232, which the House has just approved, I present the following tables.

Insured loan obligations by fiscal year [1]

Fiscal year	Insured loan ceiling	Amount of obligations
1961	$150,000,000	$26,777,298
1962	150,000,000	149,928,255
1963	200,000,000	199,999,708
1964	200,000,000	199,970,710
1965	200,000,000	199,999,540

[1] Includes farm ownership and soil and water loans to individuals; also to associations for community water systems, other soil and water purposes, and for shifts in land use.

NEED FOR FUNDS

The Department has advised that applications for $84,024,395 in farmownership loans were held over from fiscal 1965 because of lack of funds, and that it estimates new applications in fiscal 1966 for farmownership loans which would be made but for lack of funds at $345,975,605, or a total demand for farmownership loans for 1966 of $430 million. It also estimates applications for association loans under section 306 in its present form during fiscal 1966 at $361,071,850, making a total demand by qualified applicants of over $791 million.

RECORD OF REPAYMENT

Association loans: As of January 1, 1965, the most recent date for which we have figures, there were 883 association loans outstanding in the amount of $77,825,180, and 97 percent of the maturities due on that date had been met. Of the $85,588,010 loaned to 933 associations—the reason for the difference being that some have paid in full—since the inception of this program in 1938, only $5,769 has been charged off as a loss. At the same time, associations have repaid more than $7 million in interest.

Farmownership loans: As of March 31, 1965, the most recent date for which we have figures, there were 79,992 farmownership

loans with an outstanding balance of $1,038,519,400. These borrowers have met 102 percent of the maturities due. Of the $1,651,286,521 loaned to 150,181 borrowers (the reason for the difference being that some have paid in full) since the inception of the program in 1938, a principal amount of only $4,937,365 has been charged off as a loss. During this same period $305,522,717 in interest has been repaid.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION.

Insured loans made by type of loan during 1965 fiscal year

	Amount
Farmownership loans	$137,591,300
Soil and water loans:	
To individuals	2,003,140
To associations:	
For water systems	37,103,760
For recreation	9,842,800
For grazing	12,978,280
For irrigation	445,510
For soil conservation	34,750
Total to associations	60,405,100
Total farm ownership and soil and water	199,999,540

Farmers Home Administration—Farmownership loans, fiscal year 1966 (estimated)

STATISTICAL WORKSHEET BY STATE OFFICES

	Number of farm ownership loans	Amount of funds
01 Alabama	900	$10,500,000
02 Arizona	50	1,000,000
03 Arkansas	1,780	15,800,000
04 California	250	5,120,000
33 Nevada	30	600,000
61 Hawaii	25	500,000
05 Colorado	490	10,620,000
09 Florida	520	9,660,000
10 Georgia	1,140	14,100,000
12 Idaho	680	11,620,000
13 Illinois	830	15,050,000
15 Indiana	630	13,000,000
16 Iowa	870	21,310,000
18 Kansas	810	11,000,000
20 Kentucky	960	11,430,000
22 Louisiana	830	10,620,000
23 Maine	520	6,940,000
06 Connecticut	10	120,000
25 Massachusetts	10	130,000
34 New Hampshire	80	1,200,000
45 Rhode Island	5	30,000
53 Vermont	190	3,050,000
24 Maryland	70	1,050,000
07 Delaware	25	500,000
26 Michigan	400	6,280,000
27 Minnesota	1,170	18,200,000
28 Mississippi	1,300	13,490,000

Farmers Home Administration—Farmownership loans, fiscal year 1966 (estimated)—Continued

	Number of farm ownership loans	Amount of funds
29 Missouri	1,540	$22,070,000
31 Montana	360	6,410,000
32 Nebraska	710	16,590,000
35 New Jersey	60	910,000
36 New Mexico	170	2,470,000
37 New York	650	9,500,000
38 North Carolina	1,170	17,480,000
40 North Dakota	940	17,490,000
41 Ohio	200	4,380,000
42 Oklahoma	630	10,720,000
43 Oregon	250	4,060,000
60 Alaska	25	700,000
44 Pennsylvania	230	4,510,000
46 South Carolina	380	5,440,000
47 South Dakota	800	16,200,000
48 Tennessee	1,180	17,960,000
49 Texas	890	20,090,000
52 Utah	160	2,950,000
54 Virginia	80	1,540,000
56 Washington	420	8,200,000
57 West Virginia	130	2,330,000
58 Wisconsin	990	17,460,000
59 Wyoming	290	4,000,000
63 Puerto Rico	350	3,620,000
64 Virgin Islands		
Total requirements	27,180	430,000,000

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION

Estimated number of loans and amount of funds required during 1966 fiscal year to process Association loans authorized under sec. 306 of the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act

State and territory	Loans approved or authorized for approval as of June 30, 1965		Loan funds needed for applications on hand as of June 30, 1965		Loan funds needed for applications expected during 1966 fiscal year		Total loans and funds needed for 1966 fiscal year	
	Number (1)	Amount (2)	Number (3)	Amount (4)	Number (5)	Amount (6)	Number (7)	Amount (8)
U.S. total	341	$58,055,850	951	$168,161,000	825	$134,855,000	2,117	$361,071,850
Alabama	5	1,932,000	32	11,966,000	20	6,000,000	57	19,898,000
Alaska	0	0	0	0	2	300,000	2	300,000
Arizona	0	0	6	750,000	7	875,000	13	1,625,000
Arkansas	8	464,850	37	2,220,000	25	2,100,000	70	4,784,850
California	0	0	10	1,400,000	10	1,400,000	20	2,800,000
Colorado	1	58,850	16	6,400,000	17	6,800,000	34	13,258,850
Connecticut	0	0	1	250,000	4	1,000,000	5	1,250,000
Delaware	0	0	1	150,000	3	500,000	4	650,000
Florida	9	1,288,560	24	3,600,000	18	2,700,000	51	7,588,560
Georgia	5	280,000	13	1,040,000	14	1,120,000	32	2,440,000
Hawaii	0	0	0	0	1	130,000	1	130,000
Idaho	3	271,150	15	1,350,000	7	630,000	25	2,251,150
Illinois	9	953,400	24	3,300,000	20	2,500,000	53	6,753,400
Indiana	16	4,665,925	24	9,600,000	18	4,500,000	58	18,765,925
Iowa	8	750,300	11	1,100,000	13	1,300,000	32	3,150,300
Kansas	36	3,938,755	22	2,640,000	19	2,280,000	77	8,858,755
Kentucky	11	3,576,000	37	12,210,000	26	6,500,000	74	22,286,000
Louisiana	7	748,500	9	990,000	13	1,430,000	29	3,168,500
Maine	1	417,000	3	750,000	5	1,450,000	9	2,617,000
Maryland	0	0	3	450,000	3	450,000	6	900,000
Massachusetts	0	0	0	0	3	625,000	3	625,000
Michigan	2	361,000	5	900,000	9	1,720,000	16	2,981,000
Minnesota	1	71,000	7	700,000	8	800,000	16	1,571,000
Mississippi	41	4,629,000	101	12,120,000	86	10,320,000	228	27,069,000
Missouri	34	11,279,000	36	10,800,000	34	7,000,000	104	29,079,000
Montana	3	41,000	12	2,400,000	7	1,400,000	22	3,841,000
Nebraska	5	627,000	7	875,000	9	1,125,000	21	2,627,000
Nevada	0	0	6	750,000	6	750,000	12	1,500,000
New Hampshire	0	0	2	400,000	3	600,000	5	1,000,000
New Jersey	0	0	4	600,000	7	1,050,000	11	1,650,000
New Mexico	2	683,260	10	1,400,000	12	1,680,000	24	3,763,260
New York	0	0	25	5,000,000	14	2,600,000	39	7,600,000
North Carolina	8	1,541,590	58	10,440,000	39	7,020,000	105	19,001,590
North Dakota	3	73,920	11	500,000	9	450,000	23	1,023,920
Ohio	2	261,000	11	1,430,000	9	1,170,000	22	2,861,000
Oklahoma	19	3,240,450	58	9,860,000	38	6,460,000	115	19,560,450
Oregon	5	364,780	12	1,000,000	13	1,100,000	30	2,464,780
Pennsylvania	1	154,650	20	3,000,000	15	2,250,000	36	5,404,650
Rhode Island	0	0	0	0	3	300,000	3	300,000
South Carolina	1	45,000	31	3,100,000	21	2,100,000	53	5,245,000
South Dakota	7	551,150	20	3,000,000	20	3,000,000	47	6,551,150
Tennessee	7	1,878,000	33	8,150,000	23	5,520,000	63	15,548,000
Texas	62	8,543,110	113	15,820,000	117	16,380,000	292	40,743,110
Utah	5	613,000	6	750,000	10	1,250,000	21	2,613,000
Vermont	0	0	5	2,000,000	6	2,400,000	11	4,400,000
Virginia	0	0	10	1,400,000	10	1,400,000	20	2,800,000
Washington	4	1,750,100	11	2,200,000	12	2,400,000	27	6,350,100
West Virginia	6	1,073,600	27	4,050,000	12	1,920,000	45	7,043,600
Wisconsin	4	928,950	12	2,400,000	10	2,000,000	26	5,328,950
Wyoming	0	0	9	2,700,000	11	3,300,000	20	6,000,000
Puerto Rico	0	0	1	250,000	3	750,000	4	1,000,000
Virgin Islands	0	0	0	0	1	50,000	1	50,000

Some Clear Thinking From Foggy Bottom: the State Department Speaks Out—More or Less—On Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, in the debate in the House of Representatives on Monday, September 20, 1965, on House Resolution 560, concerning the right of any nation in the Western Hemisphere to intervene in any other nation against Communist subversion in Latin America, I suggested that the Department of State had taken an ambiguous posture on the issue before the House. I said that State Department officials had refused to state clearly to Members of Congress whether the Department favored or opposed passage of House Resolution 560, a resolution affecting United States foreign policy and one on which the State Department could therefore be expected to have a position one way or the other.

I also warned that passage of this resolution would provoke widespread criticism of the United States in Latin America and would be of little value in promoting the cause of freedom and opposing the spread of communism in Latin America.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include at this point in the RECORD several items which I believe support my contention.

First, Mr. Speaker, I include an excerpt from the verbatim transcript of a press and radio news briefing conducted on Tuesday, September 21, 1965, by the Department of State Press Officer, Mr. Robert McCloskey, during which briefing Mr. McCloskey endeavored to clarify the position of the Department of State on House Resolution 560.

I here make reference to an Associated Press dispatch on Mr. McCloskey's briefing dated September 22, 1965, and headlined in the Washingotn Post of that date, "Force Resolution Held Veering From U.S. Policy". The dispatch began with the words:

> The State Department said yesterday that a House resolution passed yesterday saying American republics have the right to use force if necessary to prevent a Communist takeover in any hemisphere country strays somewhat from U.S. foreign policy.

Now Mr. Speaker, I know that diplomats and politicians are sometimes compelled to resort to ambiguous language but in Mr. McCloskey's responses to questions concerning the position of the Department of State on House Resolution 560 he somewhat overdoes this privilege.

I think that Members of Congress will find revealing if not illuminating the following excerpt from this briefing:

EXCERPT FROM TRANSCRIPT OF PRESS AND RADIO NEWS BRIEFING, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1965, DPC 190—MR. ROBERT MCCLOSKEY, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Question. Bob, on another subject, in relation to this resolution passed by the House yesterday regarding the right of any Western Hemisphere countries to use whatever armed force is necessary to prevent a Communist takeover anywhere in this area, what is the attitude of the State Department on this question, on the resolution?

Answer. The resolution, as you all know, originated in the House in January. A Department official testified on the resolution in a hearing August 31. The record of that hearing has been published and I have copies of it in my office.

The Department generally agrees with the objectives expressed in the original resolution but the Department thought the resolution should be modified to conform to U.S. policy and inter-American treaties and resolutions. Not all of the changes that the Department requested were made in the resolution. It does, however, make extensive reference to existing inter-American treaties and resolutions, including the resolution of the Ninth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the OAS held in July last year.

Question. This was in Washington, was it not?

Answer. Yes—which are binding on the members of the inter-American system including the United States.

As Congressman SELDEN said on the House floor yesterday, the Department questioned some of the resolution's language and asked him to make clear that the House does not intend to say that a mere threat of subversion, standing alone, justifies the unilateral use of armed force. That is, to make clear that the House does not intend to depart from existing inter-American treaties and resolutions on the subject.

He did indeed make these points clear in his speech yesterday.

Question. Bob, does the administration plan to continue Public Law 480 shipments to India under title I? As you may know, the original agreement expired on June 30 and an interim agreement was entered into for a million additional tons of wheat which is now about ready to run out. Are you planning further interim shipments, interim agreements?

Answer. I only know that, as you point out, deliveries are continuing. With respect to any new commitments, I would remind you that the Secretary has made it clear that none would be undertaken without consultation with appropriate Members of the Congress. I am in no position to at this time anticipate other contingencies.

Question. Could I ask you to clarify this statement on the House resolution?

Answer. It won't do you much good. I will have to refer you to the testimony.

Question. Well, I simply wanted to ask if this meant that you were in general agreement or at least not in general disagreement with the House resolution, simply to clarify it.

Question. We can't hear the question.

Answer. The question is as to whether we are in general agreement or general disagreement.

Question. Or at least not in general disagreement.

Answer. Or at least not in general disagreement, and I am afraid that I am not going to be able to shred that question apart and have to tell you that that statement will have to speak for itself.

Question. Bob, let me ask, the impact of this thing, the resolution that was passed, is clear, at least to many people's minds, that there is sort of an authorization to the U.S. Government to go and repeat Santo Domingo all over Latin America, putting it very bluntly.

Does the United States intend to explain away certain of these—some of these fears derived from the text of that resolution?

Answer. I think that the testimony by the appropriate official of the Department here will have to satisfy you for the present. I am in no position to say anything beyond what I have already said.

Question. Who was this official, Bob?

Answer. Robert Sayre.

Question. Bob, do you know anything of an action proposed or near by the World Bank in a meeting of the consortium group?

Answer. For background I would say I would expect that there will be an announcement made shortly by the Bank.

Question. That would be by the Bank?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Bob, regarding this resolution, you mentioned that Mr. SELDEN did make clear about this question of—that unilateral use of force shouldn't be used just for the threat of subversion alone, but I believe that the State Department asked that a resolution to this effect be included in the—in other words, a statement to this effect be included in the resolution and this was not done. Therefore, does this mean that the State Department is satisfied with the fact that Mr. SELDEN made the statement even though it was not put in formal—within the resolution itself?

Answer. This is another way of asking the same question that was raised a minute ago over here and I am going——

Question. We don't know how to interpret—when you say that Mr. SELDEN did make the statement, does that mean that you are therefore satisfied or that you still are not satisfied?

Answer. I will let the statement I have made stand.

LATIN AMERICAN REACTION TO HOUSE RESOLUTION 560

Mr. Speaker I also ask unanimous consent to include at this point in the RECORD two newspaper articles describing Latin American reaction so far to the passage of House Resolution 560. The first is from the Baltimore Sun of September 23, 1965, and is entitled, "U.S. Plan Gets Icy Reception Among Latins," and the second, from the Washington Evening Star of September 23, 1965, is entitled, "House Stand on Force is Denounced by Latins."

[From Baltimore, (Md.) Sun, Sept. 23, 1965]

U.S. PLAN GETS ICY RECEPTION AMONG LATINS—HOUSE RESOLUTION TO CURB RED THREATS CRITICIZED

(By Nathan Miller)

RIO DE JANEIRO, September 22.—First Latin American reaction to a U.S. House of Representatives resolution giving any hemispheric nation the right to intervene in another to prevent a Communist takeover has been overwhelmingly negative.

In both Brazil and Colombia, newspapers have strongly criticized the resolution which was passed Monday by a 312-to-52 margin, and the Colombian Congress today passed resolutions rejecting it as against the political and juridicial system of the hemisphere.

The U.S. congressional resolution is not binding on American policy but Latin Americans criticized it as a return to the "big stick" policy of the past.

ALL KINDS OF DOUBTS

Senator Julio Cesar Turbay, a former Colombian Foreign Minister, launched the debate on the action of the U.S. Congress and was immediately supported by all political factions on the right and left.

"The resolution of the U.S. House of Representatives causes all kinds of doubts and apprehension" he said. Fernando Gomez Martinez, the outgoing Foreign Minister, said it was "an inexplicable retrogression for the inter-American judicial system."

The Columbian Senate said it "considers that within the system of collective security all countries have sufficient assurance of

their protection against any internal or extracontinental aggression."

LANGUAGE CALLED VAGUE

In Brazil, the progovernment Jornal Do Brasil said that the House, by approving the resolution, had created difficulties for the twice postponed hemispheric foreign ministers meeting which may now be held here beginning November 17.

It called the language of the resolution "vague," said it does not define what constitutes the "threat of subversion," adding further confusion to the field of inter-American law.

"NOTHING LEFT"

The paper was also critical of the move on grounds that the House acted unilaterally and ignored existing treaties and agreements. The paper maintained the action was more important than it appeared because the executive branch depends on support from the legislative branch for support of its foreign policy.

On the left, the antigovernment Ultima Hora, said the resolution "consigns all attemps to establish an inter-American juridical system to the museum."

It claimed that the charter of the Organization of American States had been "annulled" by the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic "and it is now dead. There is nothing left.

"We are back in the time of the Monroe Doctrine. Matters of common interest to the hemisphere are not decided by the nations which compose it but only by the U.S. Government."

Strong comment also came from the leading Colombian paper, El Tiempo, which said "this is a serious step backward * * * we had supposed that the Unitel States after the failure of the intervention in Santo Domingo would abandon its erroneous and abusive policy."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Sept. 23, 1965]

HOUSE STAND ON FORCE IS DENOUNCED BY LATINS

LIMA, PERU.—Some Latin American countries have reacted angrily to a resolution passed by the U.S. House of Representatives approving the use of force in any American nation threatened by a Communist takeover.

The congresses of both Peru and Colombia passed unanimous resolutions of their own condemning it. Newspapers from left to right were hostile and there has been no favorable comment.

The U.S. resolution said "acts possessing characteristics of aggression and intervention carried out against one or more of the member states of the Organization of American States may be responded to either in individual or collective form, which could go as far as resort to armed force."

The resolution merely expresses the feeling of the House. It does not require Senate action and does not fix administration policy.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Peru's lower House of Parliament voted to "protest and reject" the resolution, saying it was "American imperialism in hemisphere affairs." It called the U.S. move "pretentious."

An Argentine Government official said he found the U.S. resolution baffling.

"It will give Communists and leftists fresh ammunition. It can result in renewed attacks against the United States and charges of intervention and imperialism at the United Nations General Assembly," he said.

Communist Cuba's government-controlled newspapers called the resolution "another example of North American interventionist imperialism."

The Colombian Congress voted a unanimous denunciation of the U.S. House resolution Tuesday. The Colombian Congress called it "openly regressive and contrary to the juridical and political system of Latin America.

The Colombian Congress demanded that legislators meet to decide what action to take.

Liberal Senator Julio Cesar Turbay, former Foreign Minister, said, "The U.S. House resolution provokes every kind of doubt and misgivings."

In Venezuela, the governing Democratic Action Party condemned the resolution.

Brazilian newspapers of all parties denounced the resolution. "Precipitate, indefinite, and unilateral," the Jornal do Brasil called it. Ultima Hora said it "reduced the charter of the Organization of American States to a dead letter."

UNITED STATES DOESN'T CARE

All shades of public opinion in Mexico denounced the House resolution.

"It's a clear indication that the United States doesn't care about the opinions or the rights of the rest of the countries of our hemisphere," said a spokesman for the Popular Socialist Party.

"The unilateral declaration of the United States that this or that country was threatened of falling under communism would be enough for that country to be invaded by the Yankee Army," said the spokesman, Francisco Ortiz Mendoza, a member of the Chamber of Deputies.

Both conservative Excelsior and Novedades newspapers disagreed with the resolution.

SOME U.S. EDITORIAL COMMENTS ON HOUSE RESOLUTION 560

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I ask to insert in the RECORD editorials from two outstanding American newspapers concerning the passage of House Resolution 560. The first is from the Washington Post of September 22, 1965, and the second is from the Baltimore Sun of September 23, 1965.

The editorials follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Sept. 22, 1965]

STAMPEDE

Cry "communism," and the House of Representatives seemingly is ready to rush pell-mell over almost any cliff. That is the conclusion invited by the overwhelming vote, with relatively little debate, for the Selden resolution authorizing the unilateral use of military force by any country seeking to prevent Communist subversion in the Western Hemisphere. The resolution smacks far more self-justification than of intelligent effort to promote a consensus on means of countering new subversion.

Respecting the use of American power the President needs no authorization to act in emergency, as the intervention in the Dominican Republic showed. If the purpose was to clothe his action in ex post facto approval, again the resolution was unnecessary. There is much dispute over whether the Dominican intervention was in fact necessary, but no one disputes that the President did what he felt he had to do on the basis of the information available to him.

If the House had been concerned about the inadequacy of existing international machinery for dealing promptly with such crises, it could have addressed itself specifically to this point. Instead, the resolution is likely to produce reluctance elsewhere to contemplate any changes in inter-American procedures. For what the House has said is that, all treaties to the contrary, each country can be its own judge of when a subversive threat justifies external military intervention. At the worst this could be an American-sponsored poaching license for any dictatorship to invade its neighbor.

Even more ignominious than the House vote was the supine performance of the State Department. First the Department, which cannot have been unaware of the psychological damage caused by this type of resolution, allowed the House to think that that it had no basic objections. Now, after not lifting a finger to deter passage, it issues a meek statement indicating that it is unhappy with some portions. This is the role of a jellyfish.

Fortunately for this country's relationships in Latin America, the resolution has no force. Even so, the fears of American intervention are endemic in Latin America, and the House may well have supplied another boot with which Latin politicians will proceed to kick the Yankee colossus. But to try to persuade members that this is a poor way to fight communism, in the mood that prevailed on Monday, would have seemed like opposing the Fourth of July.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Sept. 23, 1965]

TIME WASTING

For people who are supposed to want to leave Washington and go home, the Members of the House of Representatives can waste time in some peculiar ways. Example: It was a complete waste of time for the House to consider, and then approve (195 Democrats and 177 Republicans for; 49 Democrats and 3 Republicans against) a resolution calling for the use of force by any American nation to prevent a Communist takeover in any country of the hemisphere.

As one opponent put it, if the purpose of the resolution was to restate the collective-security positions of the Organization of American States, it was superfluous, and if its intentions went beyond that it could be used by our own enemies to make us sound bellicose.

Representative SELDEN, Alabama Democrat, who sponsored the resolution, acknowledged that the State Department had questioned some of its language, and tried to take care of State's objections by declaring that the resolution did not intend to say "that a mere threat of subversion, standing alone, justifies the unilateral use of armed force." He wanted it made clear, he said, that the House does not mean to depart from "existing Inter-American treaties and resolutions on the subject."

Then what was the point? Since resolutions of this sort have no binding effect on national policy, the only point we can perceive is a demonstration that the House of Representatives is against Communist subversion in the Americas. Had anybody ever supposed it wasn't?

Marshall Field: A Real American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, last week saw the passing of another great American. I refer to the untimely death of one of our great publishers and philanthropists, Marshall Field.

President Johnson, in a telegram of condolence to the widow of Mr. Field, was quoted as saying:

Marshall Field was in the front rank of those Americans whose life has been spent in keeping this Nation informed. His charity and his purpose will not be forgotten by those who felt the influence of his good works.

Mr. Field will be missed, not only by his family, but by the Nation he loved

and gave so much of his time, effort, and resources. No man could have given more.

Cruel Lesson in Red Treachery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the Alhambra, Calif., Post Advocate of September 17, 1965, recounts the Soviet aggression against Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia 25 years ago this year.

It is a stark reminder not only of the sad plight of the people in these countries, but also that Communist deceitfulness and contempt for freedom so evident during that takeover are ever present today.

The one bright note is the enduring faith of these Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian people that they will one day be free again.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the editorial for inclusion in the RECORD:

CRUEL LESSON IN RED TREACHERY

It was 25 years ago this year that the Soviet Army crossed the frontiers of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia to destroy the freedom and independence of millions of persons in these Baltic nations.

The lesson in Communist tactics and strategy of that takeover are still valid today, a quarter of a century later.

By its outright aggression in the Baltic States, the Soviet Union demonstrated clearly its contempt for treaties, agreements, and the will of free people.

Between the two world wars, the Soviet Union had signed a number of agreements with the Baltic States, assuring that territorial integrity and national independence would be assured.

Then in tactics typical of Communist conquest, the Soviets poised their military might on the Baltic border during World War II and forced an agreement that spelled the end of freedom.

The existing governments were canceled. So-called elections offering only a slate of Communist candidates put the Soviets in power. Executions, torture, terrorism and mass exiling to Siberia completed the pattern of takeover. It has been estimated that more than a million people were killed in the purge.

In spite of the crushing tyranny, however, national pride and desire for freedom still burn fiercely among the Baltic people. A recognition of that desire is reflected in a resolution introduced in the U.S. Congress asking the President to present the case to the United Nations so it can receive international attention.

We hope freedom returns soon to the people of the Baltic States. In the meantime, the people of the free world must remember the lessons of Communist treachery learned in the Baltic States and face realities in charting future relations with the Soviet Union, Red China or any other Red nation.

It is the lesson that the Communists have not ceased their drive for world domination and subjugation of free people. To think otherwise is a dangerous delusion.

As long as they remain in the servitude of the Communists, the Baltic nations will be a continuing symbol of that goal and the tactics used to achieve it.

Representative Henderson's Stand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague from North Carolina, the Honorable DAVID N. HENDERSON, is to be commended on his very sound position with respect to so-called home rule for the Nation's Capital.

It is his feeling that our present form of government for the District of Columbia is in keeping with the Constitution and the history and traditions of our great Nation.

The Wilmington News, Wilmington, N.C., carried a very fine editorial on September 12 with reference to Congressman HENDERSON's position on the home rule question. Under leave previously granted, I include the editorial and news release from Congressman HENDERSON's office dated September 8 to be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD:

REPRESENTATIVE HENDERSON'S STAND

Representative DAVID HENDERSON of Wallace offers some sound and sensible logic in his opposition to the so-called home rule bill for Washington, D.C., now being pushed strongly by the Johnson administration.

The Tar Heel lawmaker challenges the authority of Congress to provide for the election of a mayor and council for the Nation's Capital. Washington is a Federal city, belonging to no State or particular group of people, but is the seat of National Government, and therefore must be governed by Congress. He points out that to change this concept would require an amendment to the Constitution, and that certainly no act of Congress can presume to enact home rule for the Capital.

Another point made by Representative HENDERSON is that the home rule bill would be taxation without representation. In his analysis of the proposal, Representative HENDERSON explains that the Federal Government would be required to pay to the District such amount of tax for governmental buildings in the area as would be required for private real estate. This, he explains, would be taking Federal money paid by North Carolinians and be given to District residents for operation of the city under limited authority of a mayor and council.

These points deserve to be more closely studied and considered by Members of the House, because they make good sense, and because the Members will be under heavy pressure from the administration to act favorably on the measure.

The home rule bill already has received passage in the Senate, but it is not too late to successfully challenge the right of Congress in this matter. Representative HENDERSON's study and analysis of the bill deserves support from other Members of the House in the hope that the Nation's Capital will continue to be governed by Congress.

Representative HENDERSON's Third District constituents in North Carolina can be pleased by the thoroughness of his analysis of the bill, and his stand on the bill.

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By your Congressman, DAVID N. HENDERSON)

The U.S. Constitution, article I, section 8 provides, "The Congress shall have the power * * * to exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States * * *."

Thus was born the concept of a Federal City to be the Seat of our National Government; to belong to no State, to no particular group of citizens, but to the Nation generally and to be governed by the Congress rather than by local authority as is the case in all other cities.

For many years now, persons living within the District of Columbia, have clamored for what they call home rule. They first argued that they were being deprived of their right to vote. By amendment to the Constitution, they were specifically granted the right to vote for President and Vice President (article XXIII) and those desiring to do so exercised that right in 1964.

The argument has persisted, however, that the people in the city of Washington should be entitled to elect their own mayor and city council just as other American cities do and bills to provide for such a procedure have been introduced in every session of Congress for many years. The theory of these bills is that the Congress can, without amending the Constitution, delegate "limited authority" to such an elected mayor and city council to govern the city.

The home rule bill passed by the Senate and which the administration is strongly urging the House to pass, would, among other things, require the Federal Government to pay to the government of the District of Columbia in tax such sum as a private concern or citizen would pay on the property owned by the Government within the District. In effect, this would take Federal tax moneys paid by North Carolinians and pay them over to the government of the District of Columbia, although North Carolina citizens would have no voice in that government. That is taxation without representation.

I oppose the so-called home rule bill. If the constitutional concept of a Federal City is to be abandoned, the appropriate procedure to accomplish such action is a constitutional amendment; not an act of Congress.

Calypso Isle Races Live in Harmony

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, while headlines of gloom and doom daily assault our eyes, now and then we are greeted with refreshing proof that all is not wrong with the world. One such case is an article by Clayton Willis, Hearst Headline Service correspondent in the September 12, 1965, New York Journal American. Mr. Willis, a resident of Greenwich, Conn., recently made a Latin American swing, and I know his account of racial harmony on the islands of Trinidad and Tobago will be of interest to my colleagues.

The article follows:

CALYPSO ISLE RACES LIVE IN HARMONY

(By Clayton Willis)

PORT OF SPAIN, TRINIDAD, September 11.—While different races throughout much of the world are squabbling, it is refreshing that those on the twin Calypso Islands of Trinidad and Tobago live together in relative harmony.

Although the racial issue is important in local politics (the Government Party is predominantly African, the Opposition Party predominantly East Indian), it has never

reached the stage of bitterness and violence found in nearby British Guiana.

The breakdown for the 900,000 people of this lush Caribbean land, only 7 miles off the coast of Venezuela, is: 47 percent, African; 35 percent, East Indian; 14 percent, mixed; 3 percent, European, and 1 percent, Chinese.

PROSPERITY REIGNS

Living standards are high because of prosperous oil, sugar, rum, cocoa and asphalt industries. Racial tolerance is reportedly more pronounced here than anywhere else in the Caribbean.

Some of the bigger and supposedly more "sophisticated" nations of the world would do well to profit by the stunning example set in this happy land of the steel band.

Trinidad has strategic value to the United States. Chaguaramas, a promontory near this city, is an important U.S. naval air base and a link in the anti-submarine defense of the Caribbean.

LAND RESTORED

The base was given the States on a 99-year lease by Britain, partly in exchange for destroyers handed to Britain before the United States entered World War II.

Under an agreement renegotiated in 1961, the United States ceded back 1,100 acres of the 10,000-acre tract and made other concessions.

The Prime Minister here, 54-year-old Dr. Eric Williams, has pledged his nation would "remain unequivocally west of the Iron Curtain." Oxford-educated, Dr. Williams is a member of the 4-nation Commonwealth Peace Mission on Vietnam.

He will visit the Soviet Union later this year.

Nikola Petkov—A Bulgarian Patriot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, on September 23, 1947, there occurred an event in Sofia, Bulgaria, which was both a warning and a lesson to those who love freedom throughout the world. A man who had fought the tyranny of nazism, who believed in the democratic process, and who had refused to become a docile puppet of the dogmatic Communist rulers of Bulgaria was murdered for his political beliefs. Nikola Petkov was hung because he had the courage to lead the futile but defiant stand of people who would not willingly agree to see their country become a satellite in Stalin's growing empire.

His trial was a very revealing example of the Communist idea of justice and law. The law was what the ruling group dogmatically thought it should be. The greatest crime was opposing the creation of a one-party dictatorship. Nikola Petkov provided an example for later freedom fighters in refusing to admit that this was a crime. Despite what must have been terrible pressures to confess and constant harassment and obstacles to presenting his case, he fought valiantly in what was a cruel mockery of a trial.

When he died a martyr to the struggle for freedom and independence for his native land, the world saw in a most dramatic way a sign of the terror and repression which was soon to engulf all remnants of opposition to Communist control in eastern Europe. A warning was given to all those who would dare to fight the tyranny being imported from the Soviet Union. And a terrible but inspiring example was made to men and women that this evil must be fought.

We may still have hopes for an end to the Communist dictatorship when we recall the indomitable will to fight and the courage to sacrifice all for the cause of justice and freedom exhibited by many Bulgarian patriots, of whom Nikola Petkov is one of the most outstanding. I wish to extend to the Bulgarian people my best wishes and hopes for a free and democratic future of the kind for which their national hero, Nikola Petkov, died.

Rivers, Harbors, and Flood Control

SPEECH

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2300) authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, one of the most important features of S. 2300, the omnibus public works bill, is title I of the bill, which calls for the Federal Government to take the lead in making an intensive study of how to meet the future water supply needs of the Nation's northeastern seaboard and to prepare a regional plan for meeting these needs, including a system of major reservoirs, aqueducts between major river basins, and purification plants.

I am delighted that under this bill the principle is recognized that the Federal Government must accept substantial responsibility in meeting the water shortage problems of the northeastern area. At the same time, I am glad that the bill was amended to assure that the study will be carried on in cooperation with all agencies concerned: Federal, State, and local; and that all procedures will be consistent with the Water Resources Planning Act passed at this session—and which I was glad to support, both in the Interior Committee and on the floor of the House.

The New York City water shortage is part of a regional problem. To a certain extent, the needs of New York City are in competition with the needs of other nearby cities and suburban areas, and the various conflicting claims must be resolved by Federal and interstate action. At the same time, however, the interests of the entire region can be furthered by Federal study, planning, and action in this area.

The bill leaves open the possibility that the Federal Government will actually undertake to construct the reservoirs, aqueducts, and purification plants in question, with provision for appropriate financial participation by the States and localities. However, each such project would have to be approved by a future act of Congress.

While the bill before us can have no immediate effect on the current water shortage, it represents needed action in the direction of long-range and permanent solutions.

Facts Behind the Iron Curtain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have often discussed with the House the erroneous policy of this administration in pursuing accommodation of the Communist dictatorships of Eastern Europe. Recently columnist Henry J. Taylor, one of America's most renowned correspondents, toured Europe. I insert in the RECORD two of his articles which were nationally syndicated giving his penetrating observations on the facts of life behind the Iron Curtain. It is my hope that Mr. Taylor's comments might receive objective attention at the Department of State, although I doubt his words of wisdom will influence our present misguided foreign policy.

The articles follow:

HUNGARY STILL AMERICA'S DEDICATED ENEMY

(By Henry J. Taylor)

BUDAPEST.—Red chief Janos Kadar, infamous for his part in helping to crush the tragic 1956 revolt, makes a great effort with visiting American newsmen to trumpet his desire "to normalize U.S. relations." But he's never given the slightest indication of this to Charge d'Affaires Elim O'Shaughnessy.

Kadar's current propaganda is dedicated to making it appear (typically) that we're the obstacle to peace and understanding, we're the fly in the Hungarian ointment, we're the ones blocking progress toward a better international life. In short, once again, it's all our fault. Hokus, hokey, hokum.

Behind the scenes, O'Shaughnessy remains thwarted, frustrated, hog-tied at every turn. The United States and Hungary having withdrawn ambassadors, he is our ranking diplomat here. O'Shaughnessy has served in Poland, Yugoslavia, England, France, Italy and many other places across 27 years, and O'Shaughnessy can take it. But it becomes very irksome, as in all totalitarian countries, to read what the leaders say for the American press and to know what they actually do against us on the inside.

Foreign Minister Janos Peter still refuses to receive O'Shaughnessy. So does Kadar, who always snubs him, and O'Shaughnessy to this very day has never had a single word with Kadar or even met him although O'Shaughnessy has been here nearly 2 years.

Our Embassy here—a large, old six-story building which we own—is officially regarded by our traveling security inspectors as the most microphone infested in the satellite world. Our Ambassador's residence in Prague adjoins the Red Chinese Embassy grounds. We find it practically impossible to determine where Czech and Soviet wiretapping infiltration and surveillance leaves off and Red China's begins. Here, too, Peiping conducts

its own separate self-contained electronic and physical intrusion against us, relentless and vicious.

Hungarian men and women who work for us as attendants, chauffeurs, etc., are first channeled through the Hungarian secret police and then constantly harassed by them. On the Red Government's orders O'Shaughnessy's American staff is reduced to a skeleton. As late as August 11 his application to add only one American helper was refused. Official requests to import anything remain stymied for months and border clearance dates utterly uncertain if marked "For U.S. Embassy."

It is easier for tourists to enter because the government desperately needs hard currencies. The casual American visitor runs no risks, facilities have been improved and there is even a tourist currency rate. (It is better than the official rate but only about half the rate on the black market.) And all this adds to the misleading charade.

Similar doubletalk extends to American businessmen unless what they offer is greatly to the Red Government's advantage. For example, Cleveland tycoon Cyrus S. Eaton, the very rich crony of the U.S.S.R., and his son, with associates, have been referring in America to an intention to build a Budapest hotel. But when?

Eaton holds Moscow's Lenin Peace Prize. He and his family got the red-carpet treatment, as you might expect. But the last news here is that if the highly publicized hotel is built, the Red Government now proposes to take all profits from room 1 through 100, or such, and leave the Eaton crowd with whatever, if anything, may be left over.

Moreover, that is only a starter (apparently) in the provisions although is Cyrus Eaton, et al, have revealed anything to our public about such hitches when you embrace Red business, it has escaped my notice.

Even if Kadar and the other propagandists really intend to normalize relations and put trade with us on a sound basis, they would first have to break through the enormous network of graft and corruption and the spaghetti-like mountain of bureaucracy.

This article is to be dispatched from outside Hungary, uncensored, as will be each in the series I am writing here.

CAPTIVE EAST GERMANY A HOLLOW SHELL

(By Henry J. Taylor)

EAST BERLIN.—The East Germans have nothing, nothing, nothing—absolutely nothing—and you can take all the phony statistics and nonsense about incentives and stuff them in your hat.

I went aboard an East German train bound toward Poland. The engine coughed clouds of lignite coal dust and the load was 18 cars. Each was 2 tiered, with perhaps 80 people jammed on each level. My seat was somebody's purchase of East Germany's popular import: a tin Japanese suitcase painted in brown grain to simulate leather. And if there was a single smiling face in the entire train I did not see it.

We're told about a recovery here, and there'll be time in these articles to deal with that, which is something like dealing with how a man drowns in 12 feet of water instead of 20.

We're told employment and productivity are up. They are up because the Berlin wall is up. The people cannot leave. This is the only country in Europe, and probably in the entire world, whose population is less than it was in 1948.

More than 3 million fled westward before the Berlin wall was built and even the births of the past 17 years have not gained that number back.

There isn't anything under the surface; scratch below and you'll see. Sooner or later in life you have to believe your eyes, and I certainly wish a lot of confused people at home had been with me.

Ride the trains, mix with the construction gangs, stand in the barter markets, visit a professor's little apartment or a farmer's house, look in the back rooms of the repair shops or seek the facts as you will. The whole of this Soviet satellite is as bare as a buzzard's beak.

Even the building and maintenance of the wall represents a major economic strain. The Berlin (East and West) area is bigger than we may think; Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Munich combined would all fit into it. The dissecting wall within the city is almost 10 miles long and the extension of the barricade that circles Berlin as a whole stretches for about 95 miles. It's all constantly under repair.

The loudest noise now is the shortage of cement. The wall has absorbed the cement equivalent to apartment houses with 20,000 rooms. And the 23,000 families moved to make way for this wide slash remain, in effect, displaced persons. The manpower of 50,000 East German troops and police is absorbed in guarding this clamp.

Potato rationing has now been removed for the first time since 1938. It has taken 20 years since the war for Red agriculture to do away with potato stamps and they'll probably be back with the new crop.

President Walter Ulbricht and the other party bigwigs are making their annual pitch now at the Leipzig (Consumer Goods) Fair, and, incidentally, commandeering the main hotels.

The people are hit by the sight of styled refrigerators, automatic stoves, kitchenware and gaudy knick-knacks that they never see. These are either siphoned off to the Soviet Union or a few, at best, show up in major stores.

But the worst bottleneck is the problem of repairs. Suppose you have a pressing iron. It goes bad after a few months, but there are simply no spare parts in repair shops. Moreover, after the factory commissar has made his parts quota and these are gone, the iron or motorcar or whatnot can be lost to you forever.

The Neues Deutschland newspaper specializes in wanted and available spare-parts advertisements and the needs read like a junkyard in print.

The Wartburg is the light car East Germany trades in Czechoslovakia for the Skoda, sturdy although styleless. If you can buy a Wartburg you can run it 6 months and sell it secondhand for nearly twice the price. This is because it takes 2 or 3 years to get delivery on a car and the secondhand price is the premium available for immediate delivery.

The same is true in the barter markets that spread throughout this country. Your raincoat off your back will bring four times as much as a new raincoat. There just aren't any new ones.

Resolution of the Executive Committee, Republican Party of the State of Maryland, August 6, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, in the past few months many people in the Sixth Congressional District, in Maryland and throughout the Nation have expressed their support for S. 9, the cold war GI bill. Last month the executive committee of the Republican Party of the State of Maryland unanimously endorsed this bill, and I would like to bring the resolution passed by that committee to the attention of the House.

RESOLUTION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, REPUBLICAN PARTY OF THE STATE OF MARYLAND, AUGUST 6, 1965

Whereas we are aware that the young men and women serving the United States in the Armed Forces are sacrificing educational opportunity, monetary reward, and prime time of their lives; and

Whereas we believe that a nation that requests its young men and women to give of their time, abilities, and possibly their lives must be willing to compensate these people in every way possible; and

Whereas the GI bill of World War II and Korea produced more educators, doctors, lawyers, and civil servants than any other Federal legislation in the history of our country; and

Whereas the cost of said GI bill has been more than repaid by the additional taxes gained by the higher income of the people who were educated under this act: Therefore, be it.

Resolved, That the executive committee of the Republican Party of the State of Maryland urges the administration to expedite the passage of Senate bill 9, generally referred to as the cold war GI bill.

Ed Knebel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Ed Knebel was "Mr. Baseball" to everyone in Austin, Tex. His recent passing was a source of great sadness to every sports fan in central Texas. No one has ever done more for baseball—and young people—than the loved and respected and gentle Ed Knebel. We shall miss him greatly.

He was the founder and president of Seven-Up Bottling Co. and the father of professional baseball in Austin. Knebel began playing baseball when he was 12. Sixty years later he became the first person installed in Austin's baseball hall of fame, when Milwaukee Braves President John McHale presented him with a gold baseball glove.

During World War I, while serving in the artillery, he saved enough money to open a cleaning and pressing business in France. From his earnings in this business he purchased the Nu-Icy and NuGrape franchises in Austin in 1927. His present Seven-Up company was opened in 1935.

Knebel's continuous athletic activity earned him the title of Mr. Baseball. When the old city league folded, he continued to play his Seven-Up teams against teams out of Austin. He helped form the Big State League in 1947, and was instrumental in getting the $200,000 Disch Field. In 1962 he gave Disch Field to the city.

I think every man, in his life, wants to feel he might have made some singular

contribution to the welfare of humanity. Ed Knebel's primary contribution was his 100 percent devotion to baseball and to the young men of his community. He lived and worked constantly to encourage young boys to play sports and to live wholesome lives. Tens of thousands of young men have been helped through his dedication, and our city and Nation is a much better place because of Ed Knebel who led the good life of productive service to others.

Governor Lawrence Pays Tribute to John H. Dent and the 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to join his many friends in paying tribute to an outstanding Member of the Congress since 1958, a fellow colleague from Pennsylvania, the Honorable JOHN H. DENT, by introducing into the RECORD the remarks of the former Governor of Pennsylvania, the Honorable David L. Lawrence, on the occasion of the testimonial dinner for Mr. DENT at the Washington Hilton Hotel, September 21. Governor Lawrence's remarks are also eloquent praise for the achievements of the 89th Congress. They read as follows:

INTRODUCTION OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN H. DENT BY FORMER GOV. DAVID L. LAWRENCE, WASHINGTON HILTON HOTEL, SEPTEMBER 21, 1965

It is understandably common to each generation, I suspect, to attribute a special significance and importance to the era of one's own lifetime, which, if valid, would produce a history proliferated with golden ages.

Yet we know that the perspective of time and the objectivity of historians must make the final judgment as to the true magnitude of events and the lasting capabilities of men themselves.

While I have no powers, occult or otherwise, to foretell history, it seems ordained that this age in which we live—the period of exploration of outer space, of social and physical revolution, of unimaginable technological discoveries, of tremendous productive and destructive power—there is little doubt that this time will stand out as one of the most significant chapters in the story of mankind. The challenge we face is to make sure it is part of the development of that story, and not its climax.

Similarly, in the story of this country of ours, whose writing has been a relatively brief one, it seems beyond question that this particular period will serve as one of the high points of our national growth and progress, a time of unparalleled accomplishment, brought about at a pace that is record-breaking and in a diversity which is astonishing.

I trust it is not unduly partisan to observe that this period of great movement and achievement coincides with emergence of the Kennedy-Johnson years. Nor would it, I hope, be prejudiced to point out that no man in our history ever was better prepared or better equipped for national leadership than the man who is now providing that leadership in such certain and farsighted fashion.

But we all know that leadership, while essential, is not an end in itself. What really counts is the results from leadership, the direction of the causes it enlightens, the value of the measures it advances, the quality of the surroundings it helps to achieve, the lasting contribution it makes to the aspirations of man and the enrichment of his society.

And by this measure, surely the events of these past months provide indelible evidence that we live in a period of unequaled political accomplishment.

The record of the 1st session of the 89th Congress—a record open still for enlargement—will stand unchallenged as the most productive session in the history of Congress. It follows, then—and quite properly so—that those who serve this 89th Congress have earned for themselves a place in history as few others have ever done before them.

The legislative register—the cataloging of enactments—indicates, far better than any oratory, the truth of the statement:

Medicare, liberalized social security, excise tax reduction, manpower retraining, aid to education, the Appalachian Commission, drug control, regional development, voting rights, immigration, water pollution control, the national arts foundation, omnibus housing, the war on poverty, the Department of Housing and Urban Affairs, yes, even saline water conversion.

And that is but a sampling—with other accomplishments unlisted and others still which yet may—and undoubtedly will—be part of the chronicle when the session is concluded.

Never in our history has such a massive and meaningful legislative record ever been achieved, not so much in its volume, great as that is, but in its impact upon a brighter future, a more hopeful life, a greater opportunity for all Americans, of every group and in every region.

We are here this evening to honor an outstanding Member of the Congress which has written that record, one who, with his colleagues, serves as an architect of the Great Society.

In choosing the most appropriate superlative with which to present him to you, I can conceive none more fitting, none more praiseworthy, none more honorable than to introduce him simply as a Member of the 89th Congress, Representative JOHN H. DENT.

Uncle Gives, but Also Takes Away

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, an editorial which appeared in the September 20, 1965, Los Angeles Times should give us pause to wonder.

It raises some pertinent questions relating to the social security program financial structure as a result of increases noted in the social security benefits. It should also provide a clue as to the trends we can expect in fiscal matters as a result of some of the bills passed during this session of Congress.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the editorial for inclusion in the RECORD:

UNCLE GIVES, BUT ALSO TAKES AWAY

Retroactive social security increases voted by the Congress in July, and now being distributed to more than 20 million beneficiaries, will total $855 million.

This will provide a massive shot in the arm for the Nation's economy, because it represents what economists term high-velocity money. Which simply means that it is almost certain to be spent at once on goods and services, since few of the elderly, disabled or widowed can afford the luxury of saving.

But will the infusion of new money be offset by deflationary effects next year?

The Social Security Administration will start taking back from wage earners in January that which it is handing out now. The tax base will be increased from $4,800 to $6,600, and the present 3.6 percent tax rate will go to 4.2 percent. An employee paying the maximum of $174 in social security taxes this year will pay $277.20 in 1966, and his employer must pay a like amount.

To offset the higher take for social security, a cut in income taxes has been suggested. That would seem unlikely, however, in view of the growing costs of military operations.

Some economists believe that it may be necessary in a decade or so to dip into general revenues to finance social security instead of relying solely on earmarked taxes on wages.

Thus it would appear that the contributory principle of social insurance is now being sorely strained by excessive congressional generosity.

Nikola Petkov—A Bulgarian National Hero

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. WILLIAM STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, on September 23 the freedom-loving Bulgarian people everywhere will honor the memory of a man who fought to prevent the Communist dictatorship which today denies freedom and self-determination to the Bulgarian nation. On that day in 1947 Nikola Petkov was hanged by the Communist regime in what was both an end to legal free opposition to them and a classic case of their callous disregard for world opinion. When Nikola Petkov was murdered for his political beliefs a martyr was created against the tyranny which has been ruthlessly forced upon the Bulgarian people. His death was neither the first nor the last of men and women who sought to bring liberty and democracy to Bulgaria. But the nature of his trial and his gallant performance during it are an example of the hard and dangerous task which must be faced in fighting oppression.

Nikola Petkov was accused of no crimes except opposing the creation of a Communist satellite in his native land. He undoubtedly was put under great pressure to confess his sins as did so many others in Eastern Europe during those terrible days when Communist rule was being established. But he never yielded. He never confessed to the trumped-up charges by which he was being railroaded to his legal death. The manner of conducting his trial is worthy of our remembering. People testified to lies against him. His witnesses were intimidated. His lawyers were arrested as soon as he

chose them. He was only brought to trial because the Communist-dominated assembly voted to deprive him of his parliamentary immunity. Convicted by a kangaroo court he was hanged on September 23, 1947, in what was a horrible warning to all opposition to Communist tyranny in Eastern Europe.

The Bulgarian people, Mr. Speaker, will not forget the example set by Nikola Petkov. Nor should those of us who are more foruntate in living in free lands. Like so many other he had the courage to fight for a better way of life for his nation. He must have known that all the high cards were held by his ruthless opponents. The examples of countless other political murders of his countrymen were fresh. But, while knowing the fate in store for him, he led the last free opposition to the complete Red takeover. On this day of national memorial for the Bulgarian nation, it is fitting that we should remember that the hope for a free democratic Bulgaria was made brighter because a man was willing to die for his people's cause. I wish to extend my best wishes to the Bulgarian people on this day dedicated to one of their national heroes.

Grassroots Thinking on Home Rule for the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to include the following editorial from the Birmingham (Ala.) Post-Herald for September 21, "L.B.J. Should Count Both Ways." This is just a reminder that the people back home may not be nearly as enthusiastic to turn control of the Federal city over to local politicians and minority groups:

L.B.J. SHOULD COUNT BOTH WAYS

President Johnson is counting votes as he twists congressional arms to give home rule to the District of Columbia but unless he also counts the onces he is losing he could be in for a big surprise.

That goes also for the Senators who gave their approval and the Members of the House who bow to the administration's wishes when the issue comes to a vote possibly on Monday.

The American people through the years have taken great pride in their National Capital and a great majority of them we are sure do not favor turning over its administration and control to the Negroes who now outnumber the whites in Washington.

We do not believe taxpayers from one end of the country to the other will be willing to continue to dig down in their pockets for the $75 to $100 million a year the proposed new District government would demand in lieu of taxes.

President Johnson may get his way but if he does we believe there will be a lot of new faces in the next Congress.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

First Lady's Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, America's No. 1 ambassador of natural beauty, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, was in Milwaukee this week to continue her crusade for a more beautiful America.

She had a most appropriate audience—the annual conference of American Institute of Park Executives.

Mr. Speaker, the Milwaukee Journal editorially evaluated Mrs. Johnson's message to the park executives. Because we all are vitally concerned with making America more beautiful, I ask unanimous consent that this message be printed in the RECORD:

FIRST LADY'S MESSAGE

Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson's campaign for natural beauty is firm and characteristically feminine. Like the housewife who brightens a home with fresh flowers, she proposes among other things to brighten our drab downtowns and our highways with flowers and shrubbery. Hers is a crusade against ugliness—against litter, the monotonous, the drab, the polluted river.

"The blessings of progress," she told a Milwaukee audience on Tuesday, "are in many cases engulfing us." The audience was an appropriate one—members of the American Institute of Park Executives in their annual conference.

It will take more than pretty flowers to offset this floodtide of ugliness and Mrs. Johnson knows it. She offered the park leaders a challenge and a task—to turn their parks into outdoor laboratories, to reach out to young visitors with enthusiasm and new ideas, to "find the ways to make them seek and preserve beauty as a way of life."

The point is apt and timely. Park and recreation leaders have the duty, too seldom exercised, not merely to make outdoor beauty available to all comers but to explain it, relate it to ourselves; to make it so exciting that no visitor can ignore it. The natural world isn't dull: it is life itself.

"We abuse land because we regard it as a commodity belonging to us," conservationist Aldo Leopold wrote. "When we see land as a community to which we belong, we may begin to use it with love and respect. There is no other way for land to survive the impact of mechanized man."

Instilling respect for the natural world, particularly in our young people, is our prime goal in the struggle to retain and enhance natural beauty. The First Lady has indicated one practical means of teaching reverence for the land to which we belong.

Shopping Need: Computer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, Sylvia Porter's column in Wednesday's Evening Star effectively shows the need for truth-in-packaging legislation. I feel it will be of interest to my colleagues.

I ask unanimous consent that the following column be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH—SHOPPING NEED: COMPUTER

(By Sylvia Porter)

1. Which of the following tubes of toothpaste is the best buy: (a) a 3-ounce tube for 47 cents; (b) a 5-ounce tube for 59 cents; (c) a 6¾-ounce tube for 69 cents?

2. How much of a saving do you get if you buy an 8-ounce bottle of shampoo for 88 cents against a 4-ounce one at 55 cents?

3. Are 25 bobby pins for 32 cents cheaper than 35 for 43 cents?

4. Can you pick the biggest bargain among these five different boxes of cookies? (a) 6½ ounces, 25 cents; (b) 7½ ounces, 49 cents; (c) 9¾ ounces, 41 cents; (d) 13 ounces, 43 cents; (e) 1 pound, 59 cents.

5. How much cheaper is a 9-pound, 13-ounce package of soap suds selling for $2.29 than a 5-pound, 6-ounce one for 99 cents?

6. If the weight of a 29-cent bag of candy fell from 15 to 10 ounces, how much would the actual price increase be?

Unless you are a walking computer, I defy you to score even passably on this informal find-the-bargain quiz. Yet, these are typical examples of the mathematical mysteries of confronting tens of millions of shoppers daily in tens of thousands of stores.

You, the consumer, battle unprecedented odds today in stalking a bargain among the vast array of products in a vast variety of sizes, shapes, and prices in our Nation's markets.

A major Cleveland-based drugstore chain, Revco D.S. Inc., this past summer launched an experiment. Revco replaced traditional price tags on all products sold in the chain's 65 stores with 50,000 "Consumer Value Guides." The guides list each brand and size of each product on the store's shelves, its price and price per ounce.

For instance, the value guide for men's hair creams lists five sizes and brands priced from 60 to 83 cents—and then shows that the price per ounce of these products ranges from 13.6 to 22.6. For stomach aids, prices per ounce of various brands and sizes range from 2.4 to 8.8 cents.

The value guide makes it clear that for some brands a "large economy size" means real savings over the smaller size of the same product. It also makes it equally obvious that in other cases the "jumbo" version means virtually no savings.

The value guide does not attempt to measure quality. It also does not assume that today's consumer shops solely for price bargains; most consumers do not. What it does do is provide plain price information for those who wish to or must shop for the best possible dollars and cents values.

No matter how much Revco itself benefits from this service, it is an imaginative example of what consumer-oriented businesses can do and are doing to answer on their own Michigan Democratic Senator PHILIP HART's much-debated "truth in packaging" bill. This bill would ban meaningless or misleading come-ons.

This is virtually no chance that the truth in packaging bill will be voted into law this year. Thus, you the bargain hunter must continue to depend almost entirely on private industry's own efforts to guide you through its price maze—and against this background Revco's experiment warrants a hearty salute.

P.S.—Here are the answers to the quiz questions: (1) c; (2) 19.6 percent; (3) no; (4) d; (5) it's not—the $2.29 package costs a third more per ounce of soap than the 99-cent one; (6) about 50 percent.

Amending the Clean Air Act

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. SMITH of California. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I will say to the gentlewoman from Missouri, to the gentlewoman from New York, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania that I consider these negotiations going on at the present time, having to do with giving up U.S. sovereignty over the Panama Canal as among the most serious matters facing this Nation and the free world today. It has become common knowledge, at least through the press, that these negotiations are going on, that there is consideration being given to giving up a good portion of U.S. sovereignty over the Panama Canal. This discussion and these remarks should

alert all Americans, including all Members of this House, to the fact, in that we are responsible for the security of this hemisphere, the security of future shipping in this hemisphere in which the Panama Canal is an integral and major and important part, that this administration is wrongly considering seriously giving up U.S. sovereign control over the Panama Canal. I think the people of this Nation should be alerted to this fact. This matter should be thoroughly debated.

In my opinion the people of America would not approve, and would voice themselves overwhelmingly in opposition to any such proposal.

Further let me say that it is my opinion relating to the Panama Canal Commission established for the determination of a sea level canal route that there is a great risk that any such new canal constructed as proposed would negate U.S. sovereignty over that canal too. Certainly as evidenced by the President's negotiations underway relating to the present canal this is to be suspected. That new canal, too, could become subject to the sovereignty and jurisdiction of another nation. I believe spending American dollars on this is wrong. I am glad to see this matter out in the open now. I think it is time it did come out in the open. I am delighted that the matter is being debated on the floor of the House today and that these negotiations are publicly exposed today for all America to know.

Police Brutality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILWARD L. SIMPSON

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, a common cry today among our disorderly and trouble-seeking citizens is "police brutality." I have seen the television news accounts of the mobs and thrill-seekers as they start chanting "police brutality." Often no action has been taken by our law-enforcement officers before someone in the crowd will start the ugly chant. The facts indicate that few of the charges are valid.

J. Edgar Hoover, our outstanding Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has written an interesting account on this unjust charge against our police departments, and his comments appear in the September 27, 1965, issue of the U.S News & World Report. I commend to every man, woman, and child in our Nation the crystal-clear analysis of the situation which Mr. Hoover has made. Mr. Hoover, as head of the greatest factfinding agency in the world can be relied upon as an authority on this matter as on other subjects which he may discuss with Government and congressional officials, and the public.

Mr. Hoover concludes his article by saying:

The great specter of police brutality is being exploited by some selfish-minded, irresponsible men who apparently are concerned only with what they can gain today and who are totally oblivious to the great disservice they are doing to their country.

I think we should take this warning and do what we can in prosecuting the offenders, and in protecting our local police forces which are honorable and dedicated to an orderly and crime-free society.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"POLICE BRUTALITY"—HOW MUCH TRUTH—HOW MUCH FICTION?

(NOTE.—Get the facts, says J. Edgar Hoover, and you discover that charges of police brutality are mostly fake. In fact, he adds, misuses of police power "are rapidly becoming issues of the past." Reason: firm official action to deal with such misuse. The FBI head says the rash of charges against police is to some extent a Communist tactic designed to undercut law enforcement.)

(By J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation)

The cry of "police brutality" is being heard all across the land with increasing frequency.

It is a charge which strikes fear into the heart of every freedom-loving man.

Is it, however, a charge which is justified in the United States? Or is it a charge made with malicious intent by some individuals who have little concern for the truth so long as their interests are served?

Yes, there is police brutality in the United States, but certainly not to the extent which some would have you believe.

Like all conscientious law-enforcement officials, I abhor any misuse of police authority. It is inexcusable and cannot be tolerated. Thankfully, it is not tolerated, for in most instances the few misfits and unsuited individuals who get into law enforcement and improperly use their authority are ferreted out and eliminated as soon as possible.

How extensive is police brutality? We can only gage this on the basis of complaints received by the FBI from the victims or other sources. At this point, I want again to state clearly and without equivocation that I am opposed to police brutality in any shape or form. We know that there are instances of police brutality, particularly in the less progressive police organizations. I want to emphasize that any allegations of police brutality coming within this Bureau's jurisdiction will receive immediate and thorough investigative attention, and that the facts developed in these investigations will be furnished to the Department of Justice for prosecutive consideration. Statistics of these investigations in the last 3 fiscal years present the following picture:

In fiscal year 1963, there were 1,376 allegations of brutality received by the FBI. Investigations of these complaints resulted in indictments being returned in 12 of the cases involving 20 officers. Convictions were recorded in three cases involving four officers.

In fiscal year 1964, there were 1,592 complaints of police brutality. Sixteen of these cases resulted in indictments against 28 officers, and convictions were recorded in two cases involving four officers.

Fiscal year 1965 brought 1,787 allegations of police brutality with indictments being returned in 13 cases involving 23 officers. Convictions resulted in five cases involving six officers.

While many complaints of police brutality are made sincerely and in good faith, some charges are unfounded and irresponsible. Often it is obvious they are made purely for the purpose of intimidating local law-enforcement agencies and harassing the FBI.

FBI agents in our southern offices have been referred from one civil-rights worker to another in their efforts to run down allegations of police brutality. Individuals who allegedly possess the facts often are unavailable for interview when agents arrive to investigate.

Earlier this year, FBI agents interviewed one person who had sent a telegram to a Government official containing, among other things, allegations of police brutality. He stated he had objected to these allegations being included in the telegram, since they did not have merit. Another official of the organization concerned, however, had insisted the irresponsible charges be included, he said.

There have been irresponsible and brutal acts by certain law-enforcement officials and, because of them, it has been easy to spread the impression that many or all law-enforcement officers operate in the same manner.

However, some charges are unfounded. Occasionally, allegations of police brutality result in prosecution of the complainant when it can be conclusively shown that he has purposely filed a false complaint. FBI investigations into such complaints, therefore, can result in prosecution of the accused or the accuser.

Many complaints of police brutality, however, are never officially lodged with the FBI or any other law-enforcement organization. They are indiscriminately made to representatives of various news media, shouted from the soap box at a street corner rally, proclaimed from the podium and often from the pulpit, and circulated through printed pamphlets.

Rarely is proof offered to support these blatant accusations, which are designed mainly to incite the listener or the reader. Many riots or near riots which have occurred in this country in recent months have been preceded by such charges.

Charges of police brutality also have been heard with great frequency before, during and after the drunken orgies and youth riots which have occurred at some of our resort areas in recent years.

Allegations of police brutality have been "supported" by still and motion pictures which invariably show one or more policemen subduing or carrying away some participant in the disorder. Rarely do these pictures reveal the full story—the unprovoked attacks on the officers involved which necessitated their use of force.

It is a known tactic of international communism to take advantage of both real and contrived opportunities to undermine constituted law-enforcement authorities with charges of brutality. We know the Communist Party, U.S.A., as well as various splinter Communist organizations in this country have used this tactic. Communist adherents have fanned the flames of passion whenever unrest against law enforcement has been prevalent. Frequently, Communist agitators have been sent into areas of unrest to sow their seeds of treason through the spoken and printed word. The Communist press continually grinds forth distortions, often outright falsehoods, about police intimidation and brutality. The Communists miss no opportunity to blacken the name of a representative of law enforcement or the profession as a whole.

Not only do the Communists directly exploit unrest, but they frequently spread their germs of subversion through front groups and dupes. This tactic has become increasingly evident in recent demonstrations by young people where police have been charged with brutality in handling picket lines or demonstrations involving racial matters or protests against United States involvement in Vietnam.

Communist adherents are schooled in methods of intimidating law enforcement. Whenever they are confronted by a law-en-

forcement officer, the word brutality is foremost upon their lips. It is their aim to humiliate, exasperate and provoke the law-enforcement officer in an effort to prevent his judicious and calm enforcement of the laws he is to uphold.

I am not implying that all charges of police brutality emanate from the Communists or their dupes. If this were true the problem could more easily be solved. The fact is, however, such charges are coming from many well-meaning, if ill-informed and poorly advised, citizens.

On the other hand, I recognize that one of the greatest preventives of brutality is a responsible and alert citizenry which is quick to complain.

The conflict resulting from the fake charges of police brutality is a problem which must be solved, for it is eroding the already declining respect for law and order in our great Nation. When our laws no longer enjoy the respect of our citizens, then our present form of government will be lost. It is just as important that the enforcers of the law be given respect, for without it their task will be insurmountable.

There is no panacea, no pat solution to this problem, for it exists primarily in the hearts and minds of men. It is a problem in human nature, a problem in man's relation to man and his physical surroundings.

An efficient police force is the first line of protection for the law-abiding citizen. The conscientious law-abiding citizen should rise in righteous anger against those who falsely cry "police brutality" to cover their insidious scheming to gain something they covet but are not willing to acquire the judicious way.

There is a constant barrage of brutality allegations and obvious attempts by certain elements to control the police through citizen review boards to hear charges, many of them fabricated. It is a wonder that men are willing to don a policeman's uniform and put their lives on the line every time they step out onto the street.

It should be noted that the majority of advocates of this solution are members of, or are alined with, the minority groups which most frequently allege police brutality. They contend such boards would help convince minority groups that they can receive fair treatment, would act as a deterrent on the few police officers tempted to abuse their powers, would result in reasonable restraints being imposed on officers, and would be an impartial means of clearing the air of irresponsible charges.

On the opposite side are the vast majority of law-enforcement officers, including myself. There already is sufficiently adequate machinery to handle complaints against law-enforcement officers established within the framework of the agencies themselves and the constituted government under which they operate. An independent review board would abridge the administrative authority which should rest with the responsible officials of the agency; it would undermine the efficiency and sap the morale of the agency; and it would deter officers in the proper performance of their duties for fear of having charges placed against them which would be judged by individuals wholly unfamiliar with law-enforcement work. Naturally, every special interest group in a community would demand representation on any such board.

Some self-styled spokesmen for the civil rights movement have advocated the establishment of an independent Federal agency to handle all investigations relating to civil rights matters. They are openly critical of the FBI's objective handling of such investigations, and apparently will be satisfied only with some superfederal agency available at their beck and call. Objectivity and impartiality apparently are not their aim. Rather, they seek a rubberstamp agency which will approve their claims without regard for facts. Certainly, there is no place for such an organization in a democratic society.

What has been accomplished in the civil rights field under the FBI's policy of strict objectivity? In the last several years FBI investigations in 170 counties in 6 Southern States resulted in numerous suits being filed by the Department of Justice which enabled thousands of previously disenfranchised Negro citizens to register to vote.

The FBI investigation of the brutal murder of three civil rights workers in Philadelphia, Miss., in June 1964, resulted in 21 individuals being arrested in connected with this crime. Elsewhere in Mississippi, FBI investigations brought a halt to a series of bombings of Negro churches and homes. Nine men were arrested and subsequently pleaded guilty or nolo contendere. They were, however, released on probation after being given suspended sentences by a local court.

THE FBI HAS PENETRATED THE KLAN

Today, the FBI has effectively penetrated the Ku Klux Klan and thus is aware of many of its activities and plans. An FBI informant in the Klan enabled almost immediate arrest of the individuals charged in connection with the recent murder of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo on a lonely road between Selma and Montgomery, Ala. We shall continue pressing every investigation in the civil rights field, but objectivity will always be our standard.

Great strides have been made in elevating law enforcement to a professional status worthy of respect. But more can be done. Personnel standards of law-enforcement officers need to be raised in some areas. It is doubtful this can ever be accomplished so long as society neglects the law-enforcement officer in terms of salary. Here, positive action can be taken, but many who profess to be seeking solutions have totally ignored this need.

The police officer is human. He has a family which looks to him for the necessities of life. He feels pain when he is struck, indignation when he is cursed, anger when he is spat upon, and humiliation when he and his fellow officers are ridiculed. His work is not in an air-conditioned office—it is on the streets and in the dark alleys where danger lurks at every moment. He is the first person called when trouble arises and the first one condemned when something goes wrong.

Such are the requirements of law enforcement, and, if one member of the profession commits some wrong, his guilt is shared by all. Law enforcement needs trained men. Neither high school nor college education alone will make a good law-enforcement officer. He must be trained in the techniques of enforcement, schooled in the legal responsibilities of his job, and taught the rudiments of human relations as they relate to law enforcement. Above all, he must learn self-control, lest he be baited into some foolish deed.

HOW DEMONSTRATIONS ARE "EXPLOITED"

On the opposite side of this issue there is need for some elimination, also, for there are misfits and irresponsible individuals who are most active in fostering unrest. The civil-rights movement has made great strides, but not without cost. A few spokesmen for the movement have been among those who have made irresponsible and inflammatory statements. There is good evidence, in fact, that some so-called civil-rights demonstrations have been designed specifically with the hope of coercing law-enforcement authorities into taking action which could be exploited as a cause and used to gain publicity.

The true leaders of the civil-rights movement should promptly put a stop to such irrational and irresponsible activities, just as the responsibile officials of law enforcement must continually strive to eliminate the few irresponsible members in its ranks.

Who will be the winner if, in the drive to attain civil rights, the laws and their enforcers are destroyed? This, of course, is what our Communist enemies would like to see.

One of the greatest achievements of American law enforcement has been in preserving, nurturing, and strengthening the proper relationship of the individual to the state.

This Nation emerged on the basic principle that the individual must be protected from the tyranny of the state. Law enforcement has assumed a frontline role in fighting to preserve and strengthen the integrity of free government, the dignity of man, the supremacy of law over force, the basic freedoms we hold priceless. It is a continuing challenge to define and preserve the proper balance between the rights of the individual and those of society, and to prevent the forces of crime and communism from upsetting or undermining this balance.

If we destroy the integrity, the effectiveness of our local law-enforcement agencies, whence do we turn for protection from the evil forces which stand ever ready to devour us? We have no national police force foisting its will on an unwilling local entity. Our Nation depends on the sanctity of its local police agencies. We cannot afford their destruction, their weakening through unreal unfounded charges.

Our investigations indicate that a large number of police-brutality allegations have no basis in fact. Police brutality and police misuse of authority are rapidly becoming issues of the past. Responsible law-enforcement officials are dealing with these transgressions quickly and emphatically.

The great specter of police brutality is being exploited by some selfish-minded, irresponsible men who apparently are concerned only with what they can gain today and who are totally oblivious to the great disservice they are doing to their country.

Copper Smelters Need Safety Measure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, Middlesex County, comprising the 15th Congressional District of the State of New Jersey is the major primary copper refining center of the United States. Twenty-eight percent of the electrolytic copper refining capacity of this country is located in Middlesex County. More copper is refined in Middlesex County than in any other State of the Union or any other country in the world.

Mr. Speaker, I was happy to introduce earlier in this session H.R. 4711, a bill to authorize the Department of the Interior to administer a program of health and safety enforcement for metallic and nonmetallic mines and integrated smelter and refineries. I introduced this bill at the request of the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, which has about 4,500 members in Middlesex County.

Last May I was happy to submit a statement in support of the administration mine safety bill, H.R. 6961 at hearings before the Select Subcommittee on

Labor. This bill was subsequently passed by the House with amendments as H.R. 8989 on September 2. I wish to pay tribute to the outstanding testimony presented at the hearings by witnesses representing the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers and other unions concerned with this legislation.

I was personally disappointed that, despite the urgings of Mine-Mill and other unions, the bill was reported out without providing coverage for smelter and refineries including the refineries in Middlesex County. But I pledge my continued support for legislation that may be considered in the future looking toward such coverage.

The Real Alabama—Part LXIV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, as the Nation comes to be more aware of the need for recreational facilities, Alabama has more reason than ever to call attention to the many and varied recreational attractions in that State.

In this connection I include the text of an article which is of general interest to the public:

THIS IS YOUR PLACE TO HAVE FUN IN THE SUN

Be you fisherman, water sports devotee, hunter, sunworshiper, spelunker, or roughing-it buff, there's a recreational outlet to please you an hour or less away from any spot in Alabama.

And in between, if you prefer to do your muscle-loosening closer home, there are hundreds of public and private facilities available to golfer and tennist alike. Alabama's no sometimes area for the outdoors seeker. Most times, you can simply forget the calendar.

Relaxation on and near the water has been on the ascendency for years in the State—and well it should be. There are thousands of miles of shoreline on the lakes spread through all 67 counties.

Some are king-size for king-size sports such as world's record-setting speed boats like the one that cracked the magic 200-mile-per-hour barrier for propeller craft. Lakeside homes, marines, and pleasure boats spread mile after mile.

All's not fresh water. A leisurely half-day's drive will take folks in the northernmost section of the State to Alabama's more than 50 miles of gulf shoreline, its gleaming beaches and deep sea atmosphere. A late Friday to Monday morning weekend on the surf's routine, with plenty of places to drouse, dine, and dip.

When late fall frosts the pumpkin in the north State tier of lakes and rivers and the bass, crappie, and cat call it a season, the dedicated fisherman can move south. Some of the best speckled trout fishing of the year comes after nature puts a nip in the air along the coastal areas. They even put on a "speck" rodeo in the fall to prove how many you can catch.

By land and air, wild game is reaching one of its most bountiful periods. Quail and dove seasons extend long enough to give the most ardent hunter a full share of time in the field. Deer range in all sections of Alabama and have become so plentiful that conservation officials are considering an open period on does to help thin and strengthen the herds. For the more patient, squirrel and rabbit afford plenty of sport. Wild turkey and ducks offer early risers a test for quiet skill.

If you'd rather stretch your legs on the many nature trails that follow old Indian routes, cook your own grub at a campfire and sleep in a bedroll, all you have to do is choose the part of the State that suits your whim.

Sooner or later you'll come across the expanse of one of Alabama's many State-operated parks, ranging from cloud-communing mountaintops, deep gorges and clear streams and lakes on the north, all the way to Gulf State State Park's facilities a short stroll from the surf. For those who prefer more creature comforts, there are scores of cottages and hotel accommodations.

Partner in recreation, now a full-blown industry in itself, is tourism in Alabama. Business analysts are happy if an industry displays a 3- or 4-percent improvement during the course of a year. Alabama tourism last year more than doubled that ideal figure, moved up to capture 8 percent of all of Alabama's income from trade and service. The $330 million spent by travelers in the State was a 9-percent increase over the year before, top gainer since 1952.

There were 23 million visitors from other States in 1964, traveling almost 4 billion passenger miles along State highways, sampling our scenic wonders, our food, our lodgings and recreation.

This inpouring has a direct and vital effect on the 13,000 State firms employing 58,500 Alabamians, one-fourth of the State jobholders and business people engaged in retail trade and serivce. For an even more impressive record, sales of Alabama firms serving and transporting travelers rose to a hefty $706 million.

From the breathtaking beauty of the Tennessee Valley and north Alabama's mountains and streams in all seasons to spring-bursting color along southstate's floral trails, there's much to attract the visitor. There's a moment for quiet reflection at Ivy Green, birthplace of remarkable Helen Keller at Tuscumbia, and the uninhibited gaiety of pre-Lenten Mardi Gras at Mobile.

There's the steel-making glow lighting the Birmingham skyline and Vulcan, largest iron statue ever cast, standing on a mountain above the city; the peace of one of America's most beautiful churches, Episcopal St. Michael and All Angels at Anniston; Indian mounds and cliff dwellers artifacts; reminders of French rule in the early 1700's at Fort Gaines and Fort Morgan and the final throes of the Civil War, where Alabama finally ends on the gulf; and graceful ante bellum homes in the plantation country.

These are but a sampling of the many things that draw millions to Alabama each year. And a reminder to enterprising business that nature and history have made it possible for a State to have its cake and eat it, too.

H.R. 10873

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN C. KUNKEL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. KUNKEL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this legislation which will meet an obligation we have to the men and women now risking life and limb with our Armed Forces in Vietnam and elsewhere around the world. The plan for group life insurance that is set forth in this bill is an excellent and exceptionally practical one.

This program will be handled through private insurance carriers. The Federal Government will meet the added costs involved in providing coverage for servicemen facing the extra hazards of duty in Vietnam and any future danger spots.

As a matter of fairness to our men and women in uniform and to their families, this plan is a necessity. Many young servicemen are being sent into combat zones before they have even had occasion to think about life insurance. Others are finding it difficult to obtain such insurance on short notice. Many policies contain a war clause which voids coverage if a person is sent into an area where he may be exposed to enemy fire. This is natural in that, generally, the costs of life insurance financed totally on an individual, private basis otherwise would become prohibitive—and therefore unfair to other policyholders.

So it is clear that there is a need here, and that the responsibility falls upon the Government.

Under the plan, a $10,000 insurance policy automatically will be provided for every serviceman on active duty at an anticipated cost of $2 a month, deducted from his pay. Or he may choose $5,000 coverage instead, at a dollar a month. Or he can elect not to be covered by the plan.

Obviously, the premium rates chargeable to the serviceman himself are exceedingly reasonable. This is accounted for, first, by the fact this is a group plan with a large volume of participants and, second, by the fact the Government bears the portion of the cost related to the extra hazards faced in any area of hostilities. Considering the present state of world affairs, the cost to the Government is estimated at $4 million a year—a mere pittance in relation to to the objectives of this plan and in comparison with our overall defense expenditures.

The program will be administered in such a way as to encourage participation by a maximum number of companies, both large and small, and to assure equitable treatment of those companies which have continued writing policies for servicemen regardless of all risks.

This is a good plan for the serviceman, now and in the future. One of its provisions will allow him to continue carrying the insurance without the necessity of a physical examination after he leaves the service. Important for him in the meantime is the extra measure of protection afforded to wives and families or other beneficiaries beyond the programs adopted 10 years ago for compensating survivors.

Invisible Gold Stirs Subsidy Dispute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, Charles Bartlett, in his column in the September

23, 1965, issue of the Washington Star points up the fact which some of us have been saying for a long time, that a subsidy for the domestic gold industry is necessary.

Mr. Bartlett's column follows:

INVISIBLE GOLD STIRS SUBSIDY DISPUTE

(By Charles Bartlett)

CARLIN, NEV.—The scene of this country's greatest gold strike in 50 years is a huge man-made pit in the sagebrush wilderness of the Tuscarora Mountains.

The natives who eked out modest livings in the depression by panning the gulches in these mountains are still startled by the huge mill that has begun to grind gold that is invisible to the naked eye from the dry rock at the rate of about $168,000 a week.

Promoters had talked of invisible gold in northern Nevada since the turn of the century but only two small attempts had been made at recovering it before the Carlin Gold Mining Co. staked its claim last year. Now all the leverage of modern technology including huge trucks, crushers, and cyanide tanks, is being brought to bear upon a huge deposit that essays $11 in gold for each ton of ore.

Now that the mill is in place, the gold recovery is a race against costs like any industrial process. The cranes and trucks that mine the open pit, the automated machinery that digests the ore, and the gamma rays that assess the samplings are a far cry from the rough and tumble gold mining of an earlier era.

The romance of the Carlin mine lay in the million dollar gamble that was necessary before the company could learn from core drillings whether the deposit would support a modern mill. A Government geologist, Ralph J. Roberts, initiated the search for gold by publishing his findings on a fault that cuts through Nevada. Early samplings from a window in this fault revealed the presence of gold to company geologists but expensive core drillings were needed to justify the erection of a $10 million plant.

The U.S. Geological Survey maintains that more gold ore bodies remain to be discovered in north central Nevada and many companies are prospecting the area. The new mine, already the fourth largest in North America, offers arguments for and against the subsidization of gold production that is zealously proposed by Western Senators.

The Senators argue that a subsidy is justified because the American gold industry is a crippled victim of the Government's wartime order to close down the mines and of the monetary policy that has kept gold at the artificial price of $35 an ounce since 1934. They argue that these circumstances have depressed domestic gold production to less than one-third of its 1940 peak.

Gold mining is subsidized in various fashions by such major producers as South Africa, Canada, and the Soviet Union. The Carlin experience has dramatized the fact that this Nation's gold reserves are not played out. The inducement of subsidies would hasten the pace of exploration and presumably add new gold to the declining supply at Fort Knox.

However, the subsidization of uneconomic operations in farming, industry, or mining is a step viewed warily in a nation whose strength derives from its productive efficiency. Experience has taught that subsidies are begun easier than they are ended and that their impact often reaches beyond their intended purpose.

The Carlin mine does not suggest that any major employment booms will result from a stimulation of the gold industry. Automation will permit the mill to operate around the clock with approximately 40 men after the shakedown is over. Recruiting efforts at Carlin and at the larger and older Homestake mine have shown that no pool exists of men with experience in the gold industry. The subsidy cannot be justified therefore as a measure against unemployment.

The Nation needs gold but the needs exceed the supply that can be mined domestically even with the stimulus of a subsidy. Carlin is the biggest mine since Homestake but its annual gold yield will be only about $12 million a year, a trickle against the losses that have derived from the imbalance of payments.

The United States reached its peak of gold production in 1940 when the $35 price had caused dredges to blossom all over the West. Even then the production totaled only $170 million. The experts say now that 100-percent subsidy would merely double the present production of about $55 million.

The key weakness in every subsidy proposal is the reluctance of the Treasury to risk damage to the world's confidence in the dollar by taking any step that reflects internal dissatisfaction with the price of gold. "It is a Caesar's wife proposition," as one official argued. "You just cannot have a blemish of any kind in the firmness of the price."

This is an unhappy proposition for many mining companies, whose officials predict the gradual extinction of the industry. But the Carlin mine is enjoying the first flush of its success. As the superintendent said, "There is something about producing gold that gives you a lift."

Rivers, Harbors, and Flood Control

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2300) authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, this body is today being asked to authorize almost $2 billion worth of public works projects. Most of these projects are being strongly supported by local interests in the areas involved and by Members of Congress from the regions involved. However, my attention is drawn to one of the most expensive projects—the proposed power development on the St. John River in Maine—which does not have this overwhelming local support. Opponents of the St. John project include some Congressmen from the New England region, the New England Council, and the electric companies of New England.

Mr. Speaker, where there is smoke I am one who believes that a search for fire is necessary and in the case of this project that fire is there. On examination, the project turns out not to be flood control, not to be navigation, not to be area development but to be almost pure power. The Department of the Interior—which is not known for undervaluing the benefits from its proposals—claims less than 5 percent of the benefits from sources other than power. So we have here a power project, and any power project in New England is important to the people of Pennsylvania because coal—one of our State's major resources and sources of livelihood—represents the fuel supply for roughly 60 percent of the power used in New England. This hydroelectric project will supplant both coal and nuclear facilities for the part of New England's future powerload which it will fill.

Replacing coal with hydroelectric power—by commiting $300 million of tax money—is something which the Pennsylvania delegation should wish to examine with considerable care. If hydropower is really cheaper than other sources in New England that is one thing, but it is clear from the testimony of witnesses before the Public Works Committee that this is not the case. In the committee hearings various cost estimates were given for alternative power sources. One fact stands out in that discussion—there are cheaper ways to produce equivalent quantities of power. Coal should be allowed to compete for the privilege of serving New England's expanding power loads. Even the Federal Power Commission in its formal comments on this project seems to be excluding the coal industry from consideration. The FPC admitted that steamplants, nuclear plants and pumped storage "were found to be capable of producing power at lower cost than the proposed Passamaquoddy-Dickey-Lincoln School project." The FPC went on to say that "such comparisons with alternatives should not be governing" because Federal financing was not anticipated for the other power sources.

Mr. Chairman, while the FPC report was aimed at the combination of Passamaquoddy and St. John, the attitude reflected in that letter seems to permeate the executive branch. Who says that "comparisons with alternatives should not be governing"? Who says that we should be asked to spend $300 million for hydro, when coal fired steamplants are cheaper? Who says we should spend these funds when private utilities can and will do the job cheaper and pay taxes to boot? Who says that the people of the 21st District of Pennsylvania should pay the costs of hydro in New England when steam is cheaper? Mr. Chairman, I say, "no."

I would like to be able to provide great detail on the costs of this project and the relative costs of other projects on the basis of information provided by the Department of the Interior—but no such details exist. We have before us a project which was conceived and designed as a part of another project—a child yanked from its mother with no indication of whether it can stand on its own feet. The Corps of Engineers—whose technical abilities I admire greatly—has advised that it does not know whether there is market for this power.

It has been advised by Interior that there is. Fine, so long as Interior knows whereof it speaks. It does not. There is a market says Interior. But that agency, by its own testimony, has not talked to power companies, has not talked to cooperatives, and has not talked to municipalities to determine

whether or not anybody wants the power at prices that will repay the costs of the project even over the 100 years over which payments will be stretched at the artificially low interest rate of 3⅛ percent. The power from this project has to be sold somewhere. It can not all be sold in Maine—in fact, some 96 percent of the output will have to be sold outside of the area in which it is to be produced. So, we are told that if we authorize this project we are also, in effect, authorizing some $70 million worth of transmission lines, but nobody knows where these lines will go nor what they will carry nor to whom.

In short, Mr. Chairman, I concur with my colleague from Pennsylvania—a member of the Public Works Committee—who in his individual views said:

There are many unanswered questions on this particular project. I am not sure that we are ever going to get the answers to them. But I am sure that until we make a try at getting the information that we do not now have, we should not support any requests for authorization of this project.

Washington Evening Star Says House Resolution on Latin America "Will Arm the Communist Propagandists With Another Weapon To Use Against Us"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, during debate in the House of Representatives on Monday, September 20, 1965, on House Resolution 560, which deals with unilateral intervention in many Latin American countries by any other nation against the threat of communism, I warned that this resolution would be used by Communists and other leftist extremists in Latin America against the United States.

So far reaction in Latin America, from left to right, to the passage of the resolution has been overwhelmingly negative. I refer Members of the House to page A5400 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 23, 1965, in which I inserted newspaper articles describing this reaction.

Mr. Speaker, another voice has just been heard in our own country in response to the action of the House last Monday. The Washington Evening Star of September 24, 1965, in an editorial, "Sentiment of the House," declares that the adoption of House Resolution 560 by the House "surely will arm the Communist propagandists with another weapon to use against us."

The Evening Star states that the House resolution "goes far beyond anything" that President Johnson has said with respect to the establishment of another Communist government in the Western Hemisphere.

The Evening Star adds—and I agree—"that the United States will not and should not stand by and do nothing to prevent the establishment of another Castroite Cuba in this hemisphere."

The Star also says—and again I agree—that the United States "will always act, unilaterally if necessary, to protect its security and the lives of its citizens."

But the Evening Star also warns—and I agree once more—that there is an "important distinction between acting and talking," and the House resolution is "another example of talking much too much."

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I place the editorial to which I refer at this point in the RECORD:

SENTIMENT OF THE HOUSE

As an expression of the "sense" of the House, and that is all it is, Representative SELDEN's resolution will have little or no effect on the policy of the United States in Latin America. But it has produced unfortunate repercussions.

The resolution itself, which is clumsily worded, endorses the unilateral use of armed force by the United States or any Latin country to put down actual Communist subversion and domination or the "threat" of such domination in any OAS country. Mr. SELDEN took the floor at the request of the State Department to say that the House in approving the resolution was not sanctioning the unilateral use of force against the mere threat of subversion. But this is not what the resolution says, and its adoption by the House by a 312-to-52 vote surely will arm the Communist propagandists with another weapon to use against us.

President Johnson last May said that "the American Nations cannot, must not and will not permit the establishment of another Communist government in the Western Hemisphere." We thought, and said, at the time that this was a case of talking too much. But at least the President was speaking of action by "the American Nations," which implies collective action. The House resolution in its plain endorsement of unilateral action goes far beyond anything the President said. It is another example of talking much too much.

This is not to say that the United States should or will stand by and do nothing to prevent the establishment of another Castroite Cuba in this hemisphere. Nor will this Government twiddle its thumbs if and when revolution clearly threatens American lives. Of course this country will always act, unilaterally if necessary, to protect its security and the lives of its citizens.

The important distinction is between acting and talking. Specific action, when justified, will have at least the tacit approval of most if not all of our neighbors. But elaborate efforts to verbalize these delicate situations—to win advance acceptance of a general code for handling them—will not sit well with our friends south of the border.

Home Rule for Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach has prepared two informative letters on home rule for the District of Columbia. One letter is in regard to the constitutionality of congressional delegation of home rule to the District of Columbia, which should, I believe, answer any questions on this subject.

The second letter concerns itself with the many constitutional questions arising in connection with retrocession proposed in H.R. 10115.

With your permission, I insert these two letters in the RECORD.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1965.

Hon. CARLTON R. SICKLES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SICKLES: You have requested my views on whether the provision of the Constitution granting to Congress the power "to exercise exclusive legislation" over the District of Columbia precludes Congress from delegating legislative power to a local council elected by the inhabitants of the District. That question was debated at length less than 2 years ago in hearings before a subcommittee of the House District Committee, and there is little I can add to the statement made by my predecessor or to the meticulous and exhaustive legal study submitted by Congressman REUSS at those hearings. Nevertheless, I am pleased to have the opportunity to endorse their views and to express my own conviction that a grant of the power of self-government to the people of the District of Columbia would be fully consistent with the Constitution.

Article I, section 8, clause 17 of the Constitution vests in Congress the power:

"To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding 10 miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States * * *."

The question is whether, in conferring on Congress exclusive legislative power, the Founding Fathers meant merely to make Congress power exclusive of that of the ceding States or whether they also meant to make the power nondelegable and thus to require that Congress itself enact all the detailed legislation, of purely local concern, necessary for the government of the District. On such questions, as Mr. Justice Holmes said, "a page of history is worth a volume of logic," and in this instance history leaves no doubt about the answer.

Article I, section 8, clause 17, can be traced back to an unhappy incident in our history. In 1783, some unpaid soldiers mutinied in Philadelphia and threatened the Continental Congress then located in that city. The Pennsylvania State authorities, asked to take the measures necessary "for supporting the public authority," were either unable or unwilling to provide protection, and Congress was forced temporarily to move its sessions to Princeton (2 Story, Constitution, section 1219).

In order to avoid the repetition of such humiliating incidents, the Congress appointed a committee to consider what jurisdiction ought to be established at the seat of the Government. "Journals of the Continental Congress," vol. XXIV (1783), p. 420. The committee concluded that "the United States in Congress assembled ought to enjoy an exclusive jurisdiction over the district which may be ceded to and accepted for the permanent residence." Id., vol. XXV (1783), p. 603. James Madison, a member of the committee, similarly recommended: "that the district which may be ceded to and accepted by Congress for the permanent resident ought to be entirely exempted from the authority of the State ceding the same, and the organization and administration of the powers of government within the said district concerted between Congress and the inhabitants thereof." (Id., pp. 603–604.)

Arthur Lee, another member of the committee, urged specifically that the people inhabiting the district should enjoy the privilege of being governed by laws made by representatives of their own election. (Id., p. 604.)

The recommendations of the committee was reflected in article I, section 8, clause 17 of the proposed Constitution. Madison defended the proposed provision both in the debates in the Virginia convention and in the Federalist. In the Virginia convention, he recalled the Philadelphia incident and emphasized the need for a jurisdiction over the seat of the Government which was wholly exclusive of the power of the States:

"* * * If it were at the pleasure of a particular State to control the session or deliberations of Congress, would they be secure from insult, or the influence of such State?" (3 Elliot, "Debates" 432–433.)

And in the Federalist, he made clear that the exclusion of the States in no way implied a denial of self-government to the inhabitants of the District (No. 43): "* * * as the inhabitants will find sufficient inducement of interest to become willing parties to the cession; as they will have had their voice in the election of the Government which is to exercise authority over them; as a municipal legislature for local purpose, derived from their own suffrages, will of course be allowed them; * * *, every imaginable objection [to the cession] seems to be obviated."

After the Constitution was adopted and during the formative years of the Republic it was uniformly assumed that the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress over the District of Columbia was fully consistent with local self-government. That assumption is evident, for example, in the following statement in the opinion rendered by Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State to President Washington on March 11, 1791, concerning the location of the District of Columbia: "As there is not as yet a town legislature, and things may be done before there is one to prevent them * * *." Most conclusive of the uniform understanding, however, is the fact that for the first 85 years of our Republic Congress did in fact allow the inhabitants of the District to govern themselves.

The act of July 16, 1790, 1 Stat. 130, which accepted the secession of the District of Columbia from the State of Virginia, provided that the laws of the State should remain in effect in the District "until Congress shall otherwise by law provide." The effect was to continue in force the acts of incorporation of the cities of Georgetown and Alexandria, each of which provided for an elective city government with the power to enact local by-laws and ordinances. Virginia laws for 1779, ch. 25; Maryland act of December 25, 1789. In 1801, Congress expressly confirmed the rights granted or derived from the acts of incorporation (Act of February 27, 1801, sec. 16, 2 Stat. 108), and during the next 4 years, Congress on two occasions increased the legislative powers of the two cities (Acts of February 25, 1804, 2 Stat. 255, and March 3, 1805, 2 Stat. 332).

In 1802, Congress itself incorporated a third city in the District, the city of Washington, and vested substantial legislative authority in an elected city council (Act of May 3, 1802, 2 Stat. 197). During the next three-quarters of a century, Congress steadily broadened and extended the powers of the various legislative bodies in the District of Columbia. The culmination of the development was the act of February 21, 1871, 16 Stat. 419, which established a territorial Government for the whole of the District and vested extensive legislative powers in an elected legislature.

It was not until 1874 that representative government for the District of Columbai was abolished and replaced by the commissioner form of government that persists today. And even then no doubts were expressed as to the constitutionality of home rule, the change being prompted instead by dissatisfaction with the management of the financial affairs of the city by the appointed Governor.

The practical construction of the Constitution by Congress during the first 85 years of its existence has been confirmed also by numerous decisions of the courts upholding the validity of the acts of Congress which granted to the people of the District of Columbia the power to manage their own local affairs. The decisions are discussed at length in the memorandums to which I have already referred submitted by my predecessor and by Congressman REUSS, and it is enough for present purposes to refer to the earliest and the most recent decision of the Supreme Court.

The 1804 charter of the city of Washington had empowered the city to conduct lotteries "for effecting important improvements in the city." In holding, in 1821, that Congress had the power to confer that authority on the city, the Supreme Court said (*Cohens* v. *Virginia*, 6 Wheat. 264, 442):

"The subject on which Congress was employed when framing this act was a local subject; it was * * * the formation of a separate body for the management of the internal affairs of the city, for its internal government, for its police. Congress must have considered itself as delegating to this corporate body powers for these objects * * *."

Since the act was upheld, it is evident that Chief Justice Marshall, the author of the opinion, did not regard the grant to Congress of the power of "exclusive legislation" over the District as preventing it from forming "a separate body for the management of the internal affairs of the city" and delegating to that body, composed of elected representatives, the power to enact local legislation.

One hundred and thirty-two years later, the Court, in *District of Columbia* v. *Thompson Co.*, 346 U.S. 100, 109–110, even more expressly rejected the notion that the word "exclusive" in article I, section 8, clause 17, was used in the sense of "nondelegable." The Court held:

"* * * it is clear from the history of the provision that the word 'exclusive' was employed to eliminate any possibility that the legislative power of Congress over the District was to be concurrent with that of the ceding States—

And concluded—

"That the Congress had the authority under article I, section 8, clause 17 of the Constitution to delegate its lawmaking authority to the Legislative Assembly of the municipal corporation which was created by the Organic Act of 1871 * * *."

In view of the history of self-government and the authoritative decisions of the Supreme Court, additional arguments to support the constitutionality of home rule legislation seem hardly necessary. There is, however, one further point I should like to make, if only because it has generally been overlooked—namely, that, if Congress may not delegate legislative power to a local governmental body in the District, it would mean not only that the home rule proposals are unconstitutional but that the existing system of government, which has been in effect since 1874, is also unconstitutional.

The argument of the opponents of home rule, as I understand it, is not that it is somehow worse for Congress to delegate legislative power over the District to an elected legislature than it is to delegate it to some other body, but that Congress cannot delegate such power at all. The fact, however, is that the existing government of the District is premised on just such a delegation of "legislative" powers—to wit, the delegation to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia of the power to make regulations on matters of local concern. (See District of Columbia Code secs. 1–221 to 1–231 and the authorities cited in the notes to sec. 1–226.) The powers granted the Commissioners include the sweeping—and undeniably "legislative"—power "* * * to make and enforce all such reasonable and usual police regulations * * * as they may deem necessary for the protection of lives, limbs, health, comfort and quiet of all persons and the protection of all property within the District of Columbia." (District of Columbia Code, sec. 1–226.)

If Congress may not delegate to another body power to legislate for the District, it seems apparent that the District of Columbia Commissioners could not be given the powers they now exercise.

The delegation of legislative power in home rule legislation would differ from that made under present law in only two respects: (1) the body to whom the power is delegated would be elected by the people instead of being appointed by the President; and (2) the power would extend to a considerably broader range of matters. Neither of those differences can affect the constitutional argument. Surely delegation to a representative government is no more objectionable than is delegation to an appointed one. And the power given Congress by article I, section 8, clause 17, since it extends to "all Cases whatsoever," is necessarily as "exclusive" on one matter as it is on another. If the prescription that Congress' legislative power in the District was to be "exclusive" meant not only that the ceding States should be without power but also that the power could not be delegated to a local governmental body, it would mean that Congress could not delegate a power to legislate on any matter. If, on the other hand, Congress can delegate power to legislate on some matters—as it has to the Commissioners—it must be because "exclusive" means only "exclusive of the ceding States" and not 'nondelegable." And in that event Congress can make as broad a delegation as it chooses to make. In short, if the "exclusivity" of Congress' power under article I, section 8, clause 17, is not a barrier to the existing District of Columbia government, it is not a barrier to home rule.

I have shown that the framers of the Constitution expressly anticipated that self-government would be allowed in the District; that Congress in fact allowed it for 85 years; that the Supreme Court has expressly upheld Congress' power to allow it; and that the argument against that power would equally invalidate the present District government. Few constitutional questions are susceptible of so conclusive an answer. There is, I believe, no longer room for any doubt that Congress has the constitutional power to provide for an elected council for the District of Columbia, and to confer upon that body all the legislative power which could be exercised by a State or territorial legislature.

Sincerely,

NICHOLAS DEB. KATZENBACH,
Attorney General.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1965.

Hon. CARLETON R. SICKLES,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SICKLES: This is in response to your letter of September 9, 1965, requesting a memorandum on the constitutionality of title I of H.R. 10115 as reported to the House. That title provides that approximately 85 percent of the District of Columbia be retroceded to Maryland. You also requested our view on a question raised by Congressman MCMILLAN regarding the constitutionality of authorizing a Presidential veto of legislation adopted by a proposed District of Columbia legislative body.

As you mentioned in your letter, this Department prepared a memorandum in 1963 discussing the constitutionality of retrocession. At that time we noted that the particular question of retroceding portions of the District of Columbia had never been judi-

cially determined but that serious doubts had been raised in the past regarding the constitutionality of retrocession. We pointed out that the ratification of the 23d amendment, providing representation for the District of Columbia in the electoral college, presented additional constitutional problems with respect to retrocession since the amendment was passed by Congress and ratified by the States in order to provide electoral representation for a population larger than that of 11 States. We commented that the amendment might never have been passed and ratified if the population of the District were radically reduced by retrocession.

Although title I of H.R. 10115 differs from H.R. 5564, the bill discussed in the 1963 memorandum, the basic points raised in that memorandum are equally applicable to the present bill. In brief, title I would retrocede to Maryland, with that State's acceptance, all rights and jurisdiction to the area of the District of Columbia north of P Street NW. and Florida Avenue and east of 15th Street NE. and the Anacostia River. This is the area which historically comprised the District of Columbia as distinguished from the Federal City. The earlier bill, H.R. 5564, would have retroceded all but a very narrow strip of territory around the Mall.

In our 1963 memorandum we noted that the constitutionality of an 1846 retrocession of a small portion of land to Virginia was challenged but that the Supreme Court had refused to pass on it because of the passage of time and the de facto control which had been exercised by Virginia over that property for more than 25 years. We reviewed the constitutional challenges raised at that time and noted that similar challenges might again be raised if a new retrocession were to be enacted. This portion of the memorandum is equally applicable to title I of H.R. 10115.

We also discussed the constitutional status of the District and the intent of the framers of the Constitution. We concluded that a good argument could be made to support the view that the District, once created, could not thereafter be abolished. This discussion is also applicable to title I.

We reviewed the history of the District and pointed out that an area of fair size and considerable population was considered necessary for the seat of Government. We pointed out that H.R. 5564 would be contrary to this intent. While title I of H.R. 10115 would not reduce the size or population of the District as greatly as the earlier bill, it would reduce the territory of the District by approximately 85 percent and would retain in the District an area consisting primarily of Government buildings and business establishments. The population of the District would be substantially reduced as well. Accordingly, the discussion in that portion of the 1963 memorandum would also apply to title I of H.R. 10115.

In our discussion of the possible impact of the 23d amendment on the constitutionality of retrocession we emphasized that that amendment was designed to provide electoral representation for a city of substantial size and population—a city of equal or greater population than several States. We noted that H.R. 5564 would have reduced the population to approximately 75 families and expressed grave doubts that Congress or the States would ever have approved the amendment if such a small population were to control three electoral votes. While the population reduction resulting from title I of H.R. 10115 would not be as great as that proposed earlier, it would be substantial. Accordingly, the general discussion in part III of the memorandum is also pertinent to this bill.

Similarly the related discussion of the Supreme Court's reapportionment decisions in part IV of our memorandum would also apply to the present bill even though the reduction in population would not result in such disproportionate electoral representation as would the earlier bill.

Anything we might add to the 1963 memorandum would be merely cumulative. That memorandum represents the views of this Department and we consider it fully applicable to title I of H.R. 10115.

In our view, a provision authorizing the President to veto acts of any local legislative body which may be established in the District presents no serious constitutional problem. The only provision of the Constitution relating to the veto is article I, section 7. It provides that every bill passed by Congress shall be submitted to the President; that he may disapprove a bill and return it to the House in which it originated together with his objections; and that Congress may, by vote of two-thirds of each House, override a Presidential veto. Similarly, orders and resolutions of Congress, requiring the concurrence of both Houses, are submitted to the President for his approval or disapproval. Nothing in article I, section 7, expressly or impliedly prohibits the submission to the President, for approval or disapproval, of acts of a subordinate body created by Congress to legislate for the District.

It must be remembered that the District of Columbia Council proposed in S. 1118 would remain subject to the overall supervision of Congress which has and would retain the power "to exercise exclusive legislation" over the District. When Congress enacts laws for the District of Columbia the enactments are submitted to the President for approval. It is entirely appropriate that the acts of a subordinate legislative body to which Congress has delegated power to enact provisions for the government of the District should also submit its enactments to the President for his approval. Such a provision is consistent with the purpose and intent of article I, section 7, clause 17 of the Constitution.

It might also be noted that provisions authorizing a Presidential veto of acts of territorial legislatures established by Congress are not uncommon. Section 19 of the 1916 Jones Act, 39 Stat. 551, establishing a government for the Philippines, provided that acts of the legislature be submitted to the Governor General. If he vetoed an act, the legislature might, by two-thirds vote of each House, override the veto. If the Governor General again disapproved, he was required to submit the act to the President for approval or disapproval.

A similar provision was contained in section 34 of the 1917 Jones Act, 39 Stat. 960, which established a government for Puerto Rico. Similar provisions are also found in the organic acts for Guam, 64 Stat. 389, 48 U.S.C. 1423i, and the Virgin Islands, 68 Stat. 502, 48 U.S.C. 1575(d). To the best of our knowledge the constitutionality of these Presidential veto provisions has never been challenged.

It is true that the authority to make laws governing the territories is derived from article IV, section 3 of the Constitution while the authority to legislate for the District is derived from article I, section 8. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court has indicated that there are similarities between the congressional authority to provide local government for the District and the authority to govern the territories, cf. *District of Columbia* v. *John R. Thompson Co.*, 346 U.S. 100 (1953). The organic acts cited above, then, would seem to provide ample precedent for a Presidential veto provision in District of Columbia home rule legislation.

Finally, we might point out that the substitute bill reported by the House District Committee, H.R. 10115, likewise contains a provision for a Presidential veto of acts of any legislative body established under the Charter Board provisions (section 205(b)(2)). The committee report, House Report 957, indicates that the purpose of the bill is "to provide the maximum local self-government, consistent with the provisions of the Constitution * * *" (p. 6). It must be assumed, then, that the House District Committee also considered a Presidential veto provision to be consistent with the Constitution.

I hope the foregoing information is helpful to you and that it constitutes an adequate response to the questions you presented. If further details are required please let me know.

Sincerely,

_____,
Attorney General.

Chinese Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM L. DICKINSON

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I introduce in the RECORD a story featured in the Chicago Tribune today, September 24. It deals with the Secretary of State's carelessness with the truth in denying that, in a 1950 speech, he likened the Chinese Reds to the boys of 1776 and with his refusal to write a letter of apology to Representative BOB WILSON to whom he wrote a caustic letter about this.

This whole affair raises an issue of how much truth the American people are getting about any and all developments in the vital foreign affairs area.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, Sept. 24, 1965]

URGES APOLOGY FOR DENIAL: BACKS CLAIM RUSK LAUDED CHINESE REDS

(By Walter Trohan)

WASHINGTON, September 23.—Secretary of State Dean Rusk was called upon today to apologize for denying he had likened the Red Chinese to the American patriots of 1776 in a Philadelphia speech 15 years ago.

Representative WILLIAM L. DICKINSON, Republican, of Alabama, demanded the apology be made to Representative BOB WILSON, Republican of California, in a speech on the floor of the House. DICKINSON said that if Rusk chooses to deny the reports of his speech in two competing newspapers, he cannot deny the memoirs of former President Harry Truman, which credit him with taking the lead in preventing Gen. Douglas MacArthur from bombing the Yalu River bridges over which Communist Chinese were pouring to fight against American troops in Korea.

SIGNIFICANCE DEADLY

"There is a deadly significance in how history repeats itself," DICKINSON said. "Dean Rusk presided over the Korean war stalemate which he helped to create as Assistant Secretary of State when he stood against bombing the Yalu bridges.

"Today, that same Dean Rusk presides over the unending Vietnam war and we are not bombing Red installations on the outskirts of, and in, Hanoi where the Red supply effort centers. Why? Because Dean Rusk thinks the Red Chinese are like our boys of '76."

The issue of Rusk's likening Red Chinese to American Revolutionary War patriots was raised by Representative WILSON on the basis of a Chicago Tribune editorial of last August 9. WILSON alleged that Rusk was still being soft on Chinese Communists.

ASTONISHED BY CANARD

In a letter to WILSON, Rusk said he was astonished that the Republican Congressional Committee had picked up "a canard about a speech he was supposed to have made" in 1950.

He said there was "not a shred of truth to the allegation that I ever compared the Communist revolution in China with the American revolt from Britain in 1776," that he ever compared "George Washington with Red China's Mao Tse-tung," or that he ever said the Communist Chinese revolution "does not aim at dictatorship."

The State Department made a similar denial to Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, Republican, of New York, who had asked about the Rusk speech. The denials were based on the official text of the speech in State Department files.

It would seem that Rusk did not follow the text because the Philadelphia Bulletin report on the speech he made January 13, 1950, read:

"The revolution now raging in China springs from the same basic causes as the American Revolution, the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia was told today.

"FROM SAME PROMPTINGS

"The statement came from Dean Rusk, Deputy Under Secretary of the U.S. Department of State, at the start of the council's 2-day session at the University of Pennsylvania.

"The upheaval in China is a revolution which, if we analyze it, we will see is prompted by the same things that prompted the British, French, and American Revolutions."

The competing Philadelphia Inquirer carried a similar story on page one of its January 14, 1950, issue. This read:

"Deputy Under Secretary of State Dean Rusk yesterday declared that the Chinese Communist revolution is 'not Russian in essence' and 'does not aim at dictatorship' in a speech at the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia regional conference in the University of Pennsylvania museum."

There is no record of denial of the stories at the time, DICKINSON said today in the House.

DICKINSON noted that former President Truman, Rusk's boss during the Korean war, wrote in his memoirs:

"Assistant Secretary of State Dean Rusk pointed out (during consideration of MacArthur's request to bomb beyond the Yalu River) that we have a commitment with the British not to take action which might involve attacks on the Manchurian side of the river without consultation with them * * *. Mr. Rusk also mentioned the danger of involving the Soviets, especially in the light of the mutual assistance treaty between Moscow and Peiping."

"I am shocked the Secretary of State has not apologized," DICKINSON said.

Tulsa World Hails Elmer Thomas Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, among the many fine editorials remarking on the recent loss of former U.S. Senator Elmer Thomas, of Oklahoma, is the following one appearing in the Tulsa World of September 21, 1965. I believe it exemplifies both the character of the man and the heritage of his service to the Nation and to Oklahoma:

ELMER THOMAS DIES

Former U.S. Senator Elmer Thomas, a man whose national political career spanned a longer period of time than that of any other Oklahoman, is dead at 89.

Thomas' political career encompassed the entire period of Oklahoma's history. With the possible exception of the late Senator Robert S. Kerr, his impact and influence upon Sooner politics was unmatched.

With a fresh, new law degree from his native Indiana, Thomas traveled west and settled in Oklahoma Territory in 1900—7 years before statehood. Upon the ratification of statehood, Thomas became a member of the first State senate, later serving as its president pro tempore. He entered Congress and served two House terms before being elevated to the U.S. Senate in 1924, in which he served for 24 years until defeated in 1950 by then Congressman MIKE MONRONEY.

Concentrating on agriculture, petroleum, and monetary interests, Thomas became a power in the U.S. Senate. His was a strong, almost controlling voice, in much early New Deal agricultural legislation. At the same time, hewing to the beliefs of his political hero, William Jennings Bryan, he fought long to make silver legal tender, and ultimately won his battle.

But he never neglected the folks back home. Few Oklahomans are aware of his successful efforts to obtain permanent Federal installations in the State. It is not out of place to say that the fine hand of Elmer Thomas was active in the creation of the great Tinker Field complex at Oklahoma City, and the magnificent wartime plant constructed for the Douglas Aircraft Co. at Tulsa—plus others of lesser but important benefit to his State.

Elmer Thomas leaves a mark that no Oklahoma politician of the present day seems likely to equal, and his heritage of good works for his State will live long after him.

Johnson's Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, the label "rubber stamp" has an ominous tone to the electorate of this Nation. It has its proper meaning but more often it is used as a poor political tool of the underdog when he can find no reasonable explanation to his mind for the obvious events occurring under his nose. The truth is, and it is nowhere more evident than in this Congress, that the representatives of the people are making up their own minds on the legislation before them. The editor of the Newark-Star Ledger in my home State of New Jersey has found this to be true and I include here in the RECORD an editorial which appeared on September 16, 1965, for the benefit of my colleagues:

JOHNSON'S CONGRESS

Valuable grist in great quantity has been ground out of the legislative mill by an industrious Congress that took office last January.

The likes of its productivity have not been seen on Capitol Hill since the frenzied activity that followed Franklin D. Roosevelt's inaugural in the dark depression year of 1933. That Congress, under the prodding of F.D.R., gave us the New Deal and an overworked alphabet, from NRA to WPA. It also gave hope to a Nation that felt itself sinking into oblivion in the quicksand of financial crisis.

The present Congress has enacted more than its share of landmark legislation, from a social security-financed medicare program to a we-mean-business voting rights law. It has launched a war against poverty and expanded aid to education.

All of these measures are part and parcel of President Johnson's Great Society. They bear the "L.B.J." brand, and there is no disputing the fact that he was at his persuasive best in following the progress of the legislation through the labyrinth of Congress to final passage.

But it would be a mistake to attribute the success of these bills, controversial as some may have been, solely to the prodding of the Chief Executive.

Those now serving in the House and Senate are not puppets of the President. They are not mindless robots activated by a button pusher at the White House.

The Members of the present Congress are, for the most part, astute politicians who know which side of the bread the votes are buttered on. They are Republicans who survived the disaster of Senator Goldwater's bid for the Presidency, and some are Democrats who replaced GOP veterans who had been outspoken critics of such programs as medicare.

Our Congressmen do not dwell in ivory towers. They are practical, hardheaded realists who could not fail to be impressed by the lopsided results of the voting last November.

Without detracting from President Johnson's tremendous personal success, it is safe to say that what happened at the polls last year had a lot to do with the quantity and quality of legislation coming out of Congress this year.

Peculiar Logic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, on September 16 while I and most of my colleagues were engaged in a daylong business session in this Chamber, four of my colleagues from across the aisle were out in Milwaukee, Wis., telling the press of my State how they were going to raise $2 million to defeat me and selected other Members of this House.

According to the press, they said this was necessary to save the two-party system in this country.

Mr. Speaker, I too, am dedicated to the successful, timetested, two-party system. In this interest, I request that the following editorial, published in the September 22 issue of the Sheboygan, Wis., Press, offering free advice on saving the two-party system, be printed in the RECORD:

PECULIAR LOGIC

No one will quarrel very much with the position taken in Milwaukee by Congressman GERALD FORD of Michigan, the minority leader of the House of Representatives, that there should be a strong two-party system in the United States. He said such a system

should be revived and rebuilt. We doubt if it needs to be revived—there is a system now. That it needs to be rebuilt is without question. But rebuilding the strength of a political party means getting salable political issues. Here we thought Congressmen FORD and LAIRD used peculiar logic.

It appears that the Republican leadership will not attack the Great Society, otherwise known as the Johnson legislative program. Rather it will dwell on President Johnson's alleged arm twisting and his heavy spending. This is peculiar logic. Congressmen usually, regardless of the aptness of the arm twister, do not meekly acquiesce without reason. The reason? Strong leadership, overwhelming approval of the programs by the people, support by both organized business and organized labor, a leader who is a capable, knowledgeable politician—these are strong arguments to a Congressman.

Heavy spending? The intricacies of high finance and budgetmaking are not understood by the average voter nor do all the experts agree on what is right or wrong. Even the Republicans don't agree. Maybe there is too much Federal intervention, too great Federal support. But the average voter knows he is working, that the prosperity is continuing and that things are happening.

To swing the necessary votes over—to rebuild the Republican Party—Messrs. LAIRD and FORD will have to attack the Johnson domestic program—civil rights, support of education, medical care for the aging, a frontal attack on poverty and all the other programs. Let's fight the issues out. The typical American wants action and is willing to pay for it; he will not get politically excited over those just professionally opposed to action. Republicans, if they are to rebuild, must develop a program, must attack the Johnson program and not just fling rocks at President Johnson. Congressmen who claim their arms were twisted will not get much sympathy or many votes. It is peculiar logic to assume anything to the contrary.

One for All

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial that appeared in the Longshore News, official publication of the International Longshoremen's Association, AFL-CIO. The editorial points out the awareness of union leadership in the industry that action is necessary to protect our American-flag fleet:

ONE FOR ALL

The running game of contract leapfrog in the maritime industry should be brought to a screeching halt. We need a single termination date for all labor-management contracts in the industry.

Every day that we wait to bring this kind of order out of the chaos that now exists plays havoc with an already troubled industry. Each new contract negotiation, and the possibility of a tieup that goes with it, is the potential killing blow to America's position as a maritime nation.

Because of the strong ties that unite all maritime labor in the United States, a contract walkout by one union inevitably spreads to the others. And, even if this close relationship did not exist under the banner of the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Department, the interdependence of the various labor groups creates the same situation.

If one or more seagoing unions strike, the other organizations that work the struck lines or ships are also out. And quite ships means quite docks and longshoremen out of work.

A tieup by longshoremen puts the other maritime unions out of work.

With various organizations' contract dates staggered throughout the calendar, it seems that every time one union concludes its contract, another one's negotiations are under way. The industry, and the entire country, are in a constant state of confusion and jeopardy.

Only a uniform contract date for all maritime unions can stabilize the situation.

Right now the ILA is working on bringing the contract dates for all districts into line with each other, so that we can meet at one time with one voice. There is no reason why all maritime unions cannot work together to achieve the same ends for the entire industry.

There is so much to be said in favor of the single contract expiration date that it is surprising that we have not put it into effect. The condition of America's maritime industry alone is pressing enough to set this policy in motion.

Our own flag ships are currently carrying less than 10 percent of the cargo in and out of this country. A strike by any of our seagoing unions ties up American ships and diverts even more cargo to foreign carriers. In addition to taking money directly out of our pockets for the duration of the tieup, there are no guarantees that this cargo will be allocated back to American-flag ships.

Under a uniform contract period for all maritime unions, any strike would tie up all shipping—foreign and American flag—and not put the burden solely on our maritime fleet.

By the same token, complete maritime peace would be assured for the duration of the contract period.

Conflict and pressures among maritime unions and industry groups, or between the two, would similarly be eliminated.

Once again, it is time to remember that while our maritime industry is composed of many segments, no one segment is completely independent of the others. It is an ailing industry, and we have to cure it.

Let's do it by working together for a common contract termination date.

Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, when Senator PHILIP A. HART first introduced legislation in 1961 to establish the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore it was greeted with strong support but also with considerable opposition from others. Since that time, however, people in Michigan and elsewhere have become increasingly aware of the importance of preserving this scenic area and of the advantages Michigan and the Nation stand to gain as a result.

This change of heart was recently, pointed out in an editorial which appeared in the August 21 edition of the Muskegon Chronicle—a newspaper serving, to a great extent, the western shore of Michigan's lower peninsula. The jist of the editorial, which appeared under the headline "Sleeping Bear Stirs," is that many of the original opponents of Senator HART's bill are now numbered among its supporters.

Mr. Speaker, this editorial should be added to the already overwhelming evidence which demonstrates the united support of the people of Michigan for this proposal. Under unanimous consent I include the editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD:

IS STARTING TO MOVE

So rigid were the lines of opposition for a time that it was worth one's life even to raise the question of the proposed Sleeping Bear National Park, if you were anywhere in the northwestern part of Michigan's Lower Peninsula.

Bring up the subject at Traverse City or anywhere thereabouts and the reply was almost sure to be, "Don't drag me into that controversy."

The Chronicle took the position months ago that the original proposal was too extensive and should be revised in several respects, but that the idea of turning the Sleeping Bear Dunes area into a national park ultimately would be a tremendous advantage.

We knew then, as we know now, that it is possible to reach a reasonable compromise, and that it would be painfully shortsighted to scuttle the whole project just because it got off in a hailstorm of opposition.

Even in northwestern Michigan, people say that sentiment is changing. Those who hesitated to speak up in the bitterness of a year or so ago are expressing the hope that the national park plan, as revised, can become a reality.

The proposed acreage has been reduced to a point that is considered reasonable by Representative ROBERT P. GRIFFIN and many others. There are some changes that they'd like to have made in Senator HART's bill as it stands. But those who don't want a Sleeping Bear Dunes National Park under any conditions have been informed candidly that they must expect the park to be established in due course.

The new national park for Michigan has been unanimously endorsed both by the Michigan Conservation Commission and the Michigan Tourist Council.

The Hart bill has committee approval and is expected to get a favorable vote from the Senate as a whole in this session. House consideration won't come until 1966.

All of western Michigan should be expressing positive interest in a reasonable format by which Sleeping Bear Dunes National Park can become a reality as promptly as possible.

This is doubly important, particularly to the Lake Michigan shoreline area. The park will be another tourist magnet. Beyond that it is the key to the extension of U.S. 31 as a four-lane route north of the Muskegon-Oceana line where the expressway presently ends.

Modernizing U.S. 31 all the way to Traverse City is imperative if the shoreline region is to make the most of its tourist potential in future years.

Once Sleeping Bear Dunes National Park is approved, the northward extension of U.S. 31 expressway will be a far easier matter. This is the considered, publicly expressed view of the State highway department which ought to know what it is talking about.

No Tears for Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Guy Wright, in a column in the San Francisco Examiner, on September 13, presented a point of view regarding the use of tear gas in Vietnam which seemed to me so eminently sensible that I am presenting it for the information of my colleagues of the House.

NO TEARS FOR REDS

(By Guy Wright)

Last week in Vietnam an American Marine officer, at his wit's end, used tear gas to rout some Vietcong guerrillas from their underground hideout.

It worked well. They came out coughing and crying but otherwise unharmed. So did their women and children; on both sides, the war in Vietnam is a family-style war.

Now the Communist countries are protesting that the United States violated the rules of warfare. From them that reaction is predictable. What's disturbing is that the get-out-of-Vietnam contingent here at home is parroting the same wail of anguish.

I can't help but feel that these people are indulging in a phony humanitarianism.

If they are the superior intellects they claim to be, qualified to pass moral judgment on our fighting men in Vietnam, they must know that tear gas was the most humane way to subdue those guerrillas.

To put this affair in proper perspective, let me tell you a bit about tunnel warfare in Vietnam.

The Vietcong are demons at tunneling. They put the mole to shame. North of Saigon is a Vietcong stronghold called zone D, miles and miles of jungle and rubber plantation.

The area is laced with tunnels. Deep, interconnecting passageways lead to large subterranean rooms, which the Vietcong use for command posts and weapons caches.

Even saturation bombing has failed to destroy this labyrinth. I know because I was in Vietnam when our B-52's first hit zone D and interviewed the American officers who led reconnaissance patrols into the area immediately after the air strike.

They got the surprise of their lives. Instead of mopping up a few numbed survivors, they drew fire from the moment they landed. Thousands of tons of high explosives had damaged those tunnels hardly at all.

It was against similar underground redoubts that the marines decided to try tear gas. They could have used flamethrowers, perhaps, but there would have been a bloody fight, with women and children incinerated. Would the aghast-at-gas crowd prefer that?

I could give more credence to the outcries of these homefront humanitarians if they traveled a two-way street. But when confronted with Vietcong atrocities, they maintain a unanimous silence.

I saw the blood-spattered My Cahn restaurant after Vietcong terrorists bombed it. Much of the blood was from Vietnamese civilians, including a little girl flower peddler. But I heard no horrified outcry from the peace marchers about that.

One day I flew with the crew of a medevac helicopter, with big red crosses on the sides. These flying medics bring out the wounded, loyalist and Vietcong alike.

"They can have that job," said a machine-gunner in gruff admiration. "Those red crosses make too good a target."

Later I learned that his remark wasn't exaggeration. The 33 men in that medic outfit collected 10 Purple Hearts last year.

Yet I've never heard a murmur of protest from the peace marchers when the Vietcong shot down one of these flying ambulances.

I was present one day when the body of a marine was brought into the military mortuary at Saigon. He'd been killed by a terrorist mine. After they'd removed his body from its rubberized pouch, something else fell out. His arm.

But I don't expect the Berkeley train pickets to censure the Vietcong for his death. He was only an American.

These pallid patriots look at the world through a peculiar periscope. It allows them to see the enemy's point of view quite clearly. But that of their own country not at all.

Our New Policy Is One Which Can Stop Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, on Monday of this week I was happy to rise in support of House Resolution 560 sponsored by the distinguished gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SELDEN], expressing the continuing interest and concern of the House of Representatives regarding our hemisphere of problems, particularly as they relate to new forms of aggression practiced by international communism. I was pleased to see that this House recognized the threat of subversive aggression to our hemispheric security.

The Florida Times-Union on Wednesday of this week had a very excellent editorial regarding this important matter, and it is with pleasure that I include this editorial for the benefit of the other Members of the House:

OUR NEW POLICY IS ONE WHICH CAN STOP REDS

The wording of the House of Representatives' resolution on hemispheric defense against Communist expansion and the actions of our forces in southeast Asia, Greece, and Turkey, combine to outline the development of a new national posture in world affairs.

Whether the new posture is a result of consciously established policies or merely the result of loosely connected treaties, activities and theories that have received popular support is unimportant. What is important is that the new policy places this Nation firmly in an offensive-defensive posture.

Evidence of the new character of the policy may be found in Vietnam, Santo Domingo, and in Turkey and Greece where elements of the Tampa based U.S. Strike Command are engaged in maneuvers with forces of those nations and Italy in a North Atlantic Treaty Organization combat practice.

Some people in this country, including Senator WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, who is noted for favoring revolutions in foreign countries when the revolutionaries lean to the left, have charged that U.S. actions in Santo Domingo were unwarranted and aggressive intervention in the affairs of a sovereign state. These same people discount Red influences in that debacle even though they must know that even a few Communists can be dangerous.

The House resolution, which is not binding on the Government, takes cognizance of the Red threat, and calls for approval of the use of force by any nation to block Communist expansionism in the Western Hemisphere even if military operations are required inside another nation.

The effect of the House resolution is to make it clear that the United States will no longer accept the premise that Communist revolutionary activities in Latin American countries may be disguised as "civil wars" conducted by "agrarian reformers" which have no connection with similar Red activities elsewhere in the world.

An examination of Communist strategy shows that they are practicing a global version of the "Ink Blot" program being used by our forces in Vietnam. The Reds establish centers of aggression in some nations and then seek to spread their influence through subversion and revolution in much the same way that ink blots flow together on a blotter and eventually cover its surface.

The best defense is a strong offense and if the Reds are aware that the United States and other free nations are willing to attack, they may not be so eager to be aggressive themselves.

Home Rule for Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. OLIVA HUOT

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. HUOT. Mr. Speaker, the following is an editorial comment from one of New Hampshire's distinguished newspapers, the Portsmouth Herald. I have referred many times in the past to the great amount of interest for home rule for the District of Columbia throughout the Nation. The people of New Hampshire have always displayed keen interest in the welfare of our citizens in Washington. I believe this editorial is indicative of the very strong feeling the citizens from my district have for home rule for Washington:

[From the Portsmouth Herald, Sept. 22, 1965]

HOME RULE FOR WASHINGTON

We are reminded by the League of Women Voters that in all of the furor about voting rights for the South little attention has been paid to the rights of another large group of citizens whose franchise has been curtailed for nearly 100 years.

These disenfranchised citizens are the residents of the District of Columbia who have not had the privilege of local self-government since 1874. Congress itself legislates for the District of Columbia on all matters except the few delegated to the District Board of Commissioners, a three-man board appointed by the President. Leaving this lawmaking to the Congress is a strain on already overburdened Congressmen and it is a strain on the citizens who have no direct way to solve the problems of education, crime, health services, housing, juvenile delinquency and dependency.

We hear a lot about such problems in the District of Columbia. Perhaps it is time to let the people who live there have a chance to seek solutions to these problems in the time-honored American way—through their own efforts. The opportunity is at hand. Several bills have been introduced in the 89th Congress to provide local self-government in Washington, D.C.

Another Crackpot Scheme From a Great Society Thinker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an editorial from the Cullman, Ala., Times, "We Might Have Expected It."

The editorial clearly points out the path we are following in adopting the utopian schemes of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. In the end we will have destroyed the greatest society man has ever created, the private enterprise system which has brought America in the short space of 189 years from a struggling new country to the most powerful Nation on earth with greater opportunity for more people than ever before enjoyed in the history of mankind.

Our greatness has been built on freedom of the individual. A man, knowing that his opportunity for a better life was limited only by his own desires, initiative, and willingness to work, contributed his efforts to building a better community, a better State, a better nation. Now we are being led to believe by the fuzzy thinkers of the Great Society that we will continue to make progress by robbing the individual of his initiative, by promising everyone all the necessities and all the good things of life whether they work or not. This may be a good vote-getting gimmick for a short time, but it would not be too long before those who will not work and are content to live off the sweat and toil of those who do will outnumber the workers and it will be impossible for us to support the loafers. When that time comes the promises of the Great Society will be revealed as worthless, but then it will be too late.

The Cullman Times editorial follows:

WE MIGHT HAVE EXPECTED IT

Since Congress has legalized rent subsidies to permit the poor to live in homes they cannot afford, we might have expected the extension of this subsidy system to be a mark of the Great Society. The next proposal is here and it is more confounding even than the rent subsidy.

The idea is put forth by James R. Dumpson, who was welfare commissioner of New York City until September 1, when he became professor and associate director of the Hunter College School of Social Work. He outlined his plan before the Northeast Regional Conference of the American Public Welfare Association.

Noting that although the Federal antipoverty program recognizes $3,000 a year as the poverty demarcation line for a family, Dumpson said that total public assistance income per family does not average as much as $2,400 in any State.

By a reasoning all his own, Dumpson declared that this means the Government itself is keeping people in the poverty class. His remedy is a guaranteed minimum income for all Americans, including those receiving public assistance. Whenever taxpayers' regular income did not come up to the poverty demarcation line, the Government would make up the difference.

Dumpson acknowledged that his proposal might be labeled "socialistic." He did not say how anyone can compel people to work when they can get a minimum income of $3,000 a year without turning a hand.

With such a scheme, the Great Society can perpetuate itself, for there are more votes among the poor than among the taxpayers who would have to support them.

A Youth Looks at Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, much of what is being written about the young people of this country today is, unfortunately, uncomplimentary to their generation. Whether warranted or unwarranted, instances of juvenile delinquency rate the front pages and we see too little of the wholesome activities and thinking of our youngsters.

Furthermore, we forget—until we are forcibly reminded—that the great majority of this young generation loves its country with just as much intensity and conviction as any generation before it. Many of them are proving it in Vietnam at this moment.

Thus it was refreshing to read in the Chicago Daily News of September 21 a letter which states very articulately a 16-year-old's view of the conflict on the other side of the world.

This young man, Robert H. Villa, of Mokena, indicates great perception in his analysis of the Vietnam situation and of the efforts of President Johnson and the late President Kennedy.

The attitude of this young man is indicative of the feelings of thousands of others like him, and I think Members will be interested to read his letter, which is as follows:

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Daily News, Sept. 21, 1965]

A YOUTH LOOKS AT VIETNAM

I, as a student, am very much concerned over the Vietnam crisis since I will be 16 soon and plan to go to college. Like many boys my age, I will soon be eligible for the draft, and our Vietnam policy and happenings affect my career and my life.

I read your paper because I find that it gives the best and most comprehensive report on our policy and the actions of our troops as well as information about the rising draft call. The Vietnam crisis is like a proving ground for communism. If we stop sending troops and supplies, other uprisings in other parts of the world, especially Africa, might occur; and we could be in worse shape than ever, providing twice the men and equipment and giving much more aid.

President Johnson is doing the best he can just as did President Kennedy, who controlled and put a stop to the Berlin crisis and the Cuban scare. My dad was called back with the Reserves and served a year in the Berlin crisis and was glad to do his duty for his country. The Vietnam crisis affects me and every other true American citizen, so that I will go to help fight for democracy if I am needed.

ROBERT H. BILLA.

MOKENA.

Trade Winds Medical Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, on last Sunday I participated in the dedication of a new hospital building on the outskirts of Gary, Ind., constructed exclusively for the treatment and medical care of crippled children.

The members of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Council of Northwestern Indiana raised over $100,000 in funds to purchase material and supplies to expedite the building of this children's hospital center.

The Building Trades Union craftsmen donated their time and work in the construction of this modern health rehabilitation center under the leadership of President Harold Hagberg of the Northwestern Indiana Building and Construction Trades Council and Theodore Dombrowski, executive director, Lake County Society for Crippled Children.

All members cooperated in completing this "Trade Winds" medical center as a labor of love dedicated to helping those who cannot help themselves.

The following is an editorial by Dale E. Belles, Jr., editor of the Gary, Ind., Post-Tribune, commenting on the dedication ceremonies of Trade Winds Rehabilitation Center:

INSPIRING TRADE WINDS

For 2 days beginning tomorrow, the Trade Winds Rehabilitation Center will be in the public eye. It's been in the public service for months. It will go on being that.

The attractive and functional Trade Winds Building at 5901 West Seventh Avenue in Gary is a story in itself. It's a story of dedication. Skilled craftsmen erected it, as they do most buildings. The difference in this instance was that they donated their labor. Some 1,500 members of the Northwest Indiana Building and Construction Trades Council donated 36,000 hours of labor.

While this building will remain a monument to the organized craftsmen who put it up, they will be the first to tell you they aren't the whole story. Many building contractors and other business and industrial leaders donated hard cash to get materials to start it and keep it going. The staff of the Lake County Crippled Children's Society, directed by Theodore Dombrowski, keeps it running and keeps it abreast of the newest developments in training and helping children handicapped in various ways to become citizens useful to themselves and to society.

With the opportunity to visit the center during its dedication, the layman—that's you—will have an opportunity to learn what such terms as speech therapy, play therapy, work therapy mean in human values. You will have an opportunity to see, also, how the money you spend annually on Easter seals is put to work helping those who need it.

"Trade Winds" was an inspirational name, combining the "Trades Council" idea with the concept of beneficial breezes of the old sailing days. Its formal dedication should prove an inspiration, too, for those who take time to visit it and otherwise take part in the dedication weekend. It's an inspiring proof of what northwest Indiana resources can do when pooled for the public good. We need more of this type.

A Fine New Use for Thomasville VA Domiciliary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, it seems that even in the darkest hours a glimmer of hope often appears to dispel disappointment and gloom.

This is the situation in Thomasville, Ga., which has been for 17 years the home of a VA domiciliary. It was announced in January that the veterans facility would be closed. Of course the initial reaction was shock and disappointment. Every effort was made to reverse the administrative directive but to no avail.

To the credit of business, civic and political leaders in Thomasville, an all-out effort was made to find some appropriate replacement for the domiciliary. The search has resulted in an agreement with the State of Georgia to utilize the property as an adjunct to the State's mental hospital.

This is, in my opinion, a fine thing for both the State of Georgia and the city of Thomasville. For the city it means employment opportunities, and for the State it means relief of overcrowded conditions at mental institutions. It also means that a beautifully developed piece of property in a climate conducive to good health will continue to be useful to persons in need of medical treatment.

In order for the State to make such an optimum use of the property, it must be transferred from the Federal to the State government. I heartily endorse such action and urge officials at Health, Education, and Welfare to expedite the transfer. Since the domiciliary can no longer be used to serve our Nation's veterans, I can think of no better use than the proposed mental health facility.

The purpose of my remarks accompanied by an editorial from the September 20 edition of the Thomasville, Ga., Times-Enterprise is to share with my colleagues a success story written by the fine people of Thomasville. With cooperation from HEW, which I am sure will be forthcoming, the loss of a $3.9 million VA domiciliary will be partially offset by the establishment of a health center of lasting benefit.

It is my sincere desire that every city which suffered the arbitrary closing of a veteran facility may respond as well as Thomasville.

The editorial from the Thomasville Times-Enterprise follows:

THOMASVILLE WILL GIVE COOPERATION TO STATE

Utilization of the VA domiciliary property here by the State health department, as an adjunct to the State's facilities at Milledgeville, when arrangements are finally consummated, will be a development of exceptional interest.

To relieve congestion at Milledgeville and Gracewood at Augusta will be a real service to the 800-odd patients who are scheduled to come here. It will give to the State a property valued at $3.9 million, and will be an agency of continued usefulness to those who will be listed as patients in the years ahead.

While there are a number of details to be worked out before the State may finally take over, it appears this is just a matter of clearing up what has been termed "technicalities" in working out the ultimate transfer from the Federal to the State government.

When eventually placed in operation by the State health department, employment will be provided for a number of people in various classifications, including professional workers and administrative officials. To the end that it will furnish employment for quite a few people, it should be an economic asset.

To those who have worked so diligently to bring about what is expected to be the eventual transfer of the property from the U.S. Government to the State of Georgia, goes the thanks of the people of this community. It perhaps would be impossible to list all who have worked to this end, but certainly officials of our city government, the chamber of commerce, and E. C. McDaniel, VA domiciliary director and others goes much of the credit.

A Cairo native, Dr. B. W. Forester, of Macon, chairman of the State health board's mental health committee, and cousin of Frank L. Forester, Thomasville attorney, has rendered invaluable service in bringing this matter to the attention of Gov. Carl Sanders and members of the State health department, and it is expected the necessary financing for taking over the property and converting it to the proposed purposes, will be carried out at the next session of the Georgia General Assembly in January.

We can be thankful this beautiful and very useful property is not going to be allowed to go into the discard, but instead will be used for lasting benefit to the hundreds of people who need the special care and services that are provided by our health department.

It is a well-known fact that this property is ideally located and can be adapted to the State's needs. Thomasville, long known as a health resort, will continue to be in the spotlight where its wonderful climate can be helpful to so many people. For nearly 100 years the fame of Thomasville as a health resort has been widely publicized, and many have found here what they did not find elsewhere, a place where they could improve their health and live longer.

The need for facilities for the ever-increasing number of mental patients is apparent to all who have interested themselves in the care and well-being of those who have suffered this form of illness. Already overcrowded at Milledgeville, use of the Thomasville property will go a long way toward relieving this unfortunate condition, and just as the people have demonstrated their willingness to work with veterans who have been domiciled here, so will they cooperate with those in charge of the mental institution once it is established here.

Streamlining Our Civil Rights Function

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, as members will recall, President Johnson has called again and again for the streamlining of Government operations wherever possible.

The recommendations which he has now received from Vice President HUMPHREY for the reassignment of civil rights functions within departments and agencies, with clearly defined responsibilities, is in keeping with this request.

Furthermore, in this particular case, the streamlining will lead to a far more effective administration of the civil rights program of the Federal Government.

The recommendations made by the Vice President are of extreme importance, involving as they do a number of interagency committees. By transferring the responsibilities for a number of these, and, by recommending the elimination of others, the structure of our civil rights program would be greatly tightened.

I very definitely want to point out, as the Vice President has done, that this streamlining does not represent any lessening of our civil rights program. It does not mean that our civil rights problems have been resolved. It does not mean that we shall deviate from the very strong force which the President and this administration have adopted. On the contrary, it means that each arm of the entire Federal structure will be in a better position to meet and solve the very difficult and complicated problems that lie before us.

Progress in Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, the RECORD bears out the evidence that under no other administration has as much progress been made in the field of human rights as in the administration of President Johnson.

But I would like to predict that this RECORD will be carried even further when action is taken on the recommendations made to the President by the Vice President to strengthen and streamline the machinery for administering the civil rights program in every part of this Nation. I urge your keen review of these recommendations. They were made by Vice President HUMPHREY only after a long and deliberative review of the activities of each of the Federal agencies whose functions embrace our civil rights program. By recommending the elimination of some of the committees and agencies which up to this time have been instrumental in bringing about the great gains in civil rights, and by suggesting the transferral of duties of other integral activities, both the President and the Vice President have made it clear that all of our programs can continue in even stronger fashion and with greater effectiveness.

At the same time the proposals by the Vice President, which the President has adopted, will prevent duplication of effort, make civil rights responsibilities an integral part of operating responsibility

of each major Federal administrator and will result in substantial savings.

I think it is of extreme significance that these proposals should come from the two men who, better than anybody in this Government, know the importance for the need to consolidate and strengthen our efforts. Certainly, the recommendations are to the everlasting credit of the Vice President and to his talents for administration. It is obvious that the President will continue to look to Vice President HUMPHREY as his principal guide and counselor in the field of civil rights in order that the goals he has set may be reached—equal opportunity and greater freedom for every person in this land.

To Amend the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOE D. WAGGONNER, JR.

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 7371) to amend the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

(Mr. WAGGONNER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, I believe we have reached the point of debate on this matter where Members are entitled to some explanation, which we have not had during the course of general debate, as to exactly what has prompted this legislation.

I would like to ask the chairman or any member of the Committee on Banking and Currency or any Member of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union to explain for my benefit and the benefit of other Members of the House why we have this legislation pending before us today. What abuses have brought about this proposal? What is the need for the legislation? Is there an explanation? I ask these questions as one who has made no decision on this bill. As a general rule I agree that banks should be prohibited from engaging in any other type of enterprise than banking itself for obvious reasons.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, yes, there is a good explanation. This is just like Mr. Meany said, "Congress did not intend to pass this special privilege exception to this particular group." It permits them to operate industrial plants, paper mills, railroads, and everything else along with banks, and 31 banks in this case, and not be under the supervision and direction of the Federal Reserve Board which is charged with the duty of supervising holding company legislation.

This is to bring them back into the same position where they should have been all the time and the exemption should never have been granted in the State of Florida. I am not saying it because it is in Florida, but if it were in the State of the gentleman from Louisiana or my own State, I would say that they are not entitled to that special exception and that special exemption.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Does the gentleman who chairs the full committee share this same attitude toward those others who have been granted such exemptions?

Mr. PATMAN. Well, I think that the exemptions will be considered at the right time.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Well, will the gentleman just answer the question, whether or not he shares that same attitude with regard to the other exemptions?

Mr. PATMAN. For consideration, yes. I cannot tell what I would do in each case.

I certainly say that they were given consideration. These 25 exemptions were put in there after months of hearings. Each one of them stood on its own feet.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Would the gentleman explain to me and the other Members of the House why hearings were not held in the other instances where exemptions have been granted?

Mr. PATMAN. We were just considering one exemption.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Getting back to my original question: What prompted hearings on just one exemption, and not all of them?

Mr. PATMAN. Because it was pointed out by the Federal Reserve for years they should have been taken off.

Mr. WAGGONNER. I do not understand your use of the word "they." Did not the Federal Reserve Board point out that the others were no more entitled to their exemption and loopholes in their case should have been closed too?

Mr. PATMAN. We have another bill. We are getting to them as fast as we can. We cannot put them in at one time. You have to take them one at a time. That is what we are doing. That is what Mr. Balderson meant when he recommended taking them up.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Which is the next one?

Mr. PATMAN. H.R. 7372 is the next one. We hope later on we wil get to others. But we have to take them as we can. You cannot have hearings on 25 exemptions in probably a whole session of Congress. It takes too much time.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Why is it these recommendations, having been before the Committee on Banking and Currency since 1958, some action was not taken before now?

Mr. PATMAN. We had other things to do.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WAGGONNER. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. WELTNER. I would like to point out to the gentleman this is not one exemption as I see it in H.R. 7371. It also removes an exemption presently existing in the law on charitable organizations. That involves some 10 entities that we know of. They have been contacted, and expressed no desire to attend. There is only one testamentary matter which has created such economic power in this country; it constitutes a bank holding company under the amended provision.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Could the gentleman tell me whether these 10 other organizations, religious and charitable, are using their exemption presently?

Mr. WELTNER. They are included.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Are they now utilizing their exemptions?

Mr. WELTNER. With the passage of H.R. 7371 they will be in there.

Mr. WAGGONNER. It goes without saying I still do not have an answer to any of my questions.

To Amend the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 7371) to amend the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Chairman, I might say at the outset that technically what I wish to talk about might be considered slightly out of order, but it relates to this subject and is in response to statements made on this floor by the distinguished chairman of the great Committee on Banking and Currency on September 13, 1965, when the 21-day rule was invoked in order to bring this measure before the House of Representatives.

I have always been impressed by the ability of the gentleman from Texas to expound at length on the subject of high interest rates; depressions; the evils of the Federal Reserve System; the defects of our national banking system; and related subjects that come under the jurisdiction of that most important committee of the House.

I listened to him on September 13 make some remarks along this line which shocked me because they were not in accordance with my understanding of the facts, but I did not have an opportunity to respond to him then because he moved the previous question. I would like to take advantage of the opportunity today to comment on his statements on that occasion to the effect that the Federal Reserve Board and Government agencies kept interest rates down until the Eisenhower administration came along, that Government bonds were supported at par under administrations previous to the Eisenhower one, and that upon the advent of the Eisenhower administration interest rates began to go up, and up and up. And the fantastic statement was made that if that administration had continued in power we would have a debt of $600 billion instead of $318 billion that it is today.

Because I was shocked at those statements, as they were not in accordance with my understanding of the facts, I

took the trouble of making a little investigation on my own. I did not go to the Republican Congressional Committee or the Republican National Committee or any other partisan sources to get these facts. I turned to the Economic Report of the President of the United States filed with the Congress in January of 1965.

I find on page 248 in table B–49 of that Economic Report that during the Eisenhower 8 years the average interest or cost to the Government on 90-day Treasury bills was 2.34 percent. But during the 4 following years under administrations of the late President Kennedy and President Johnson the average interest on 90-day Treasury bills amounted to 2.96 percent, an increase of more than one-half of 1 percent over the average of the 8 Eisenhower years.

These are not long-term commitments that were made by the previous administration; these are 90-day Treasury bills. If you want to consider long-term bond yields you will find a similar situation. Over the 8 Eisenhower years you can see from the table, in the President's Economic Report, that the average interest paid by the U.S. Government on 3- to 5-year bond issues amounted only to 3.09 percent, while the average during the next 4 Kennedy-Johnson years increased to 3.73 percent.

And if you consider taxable bonds you will find that during the 8 Eisenhower years the interest averaged 3.30 percent whereas during the following 4 Kennedy-Johnson years the average interest paid by the Government on taxable bonds increased to 4 percent.

So, Mr. Chairman, the members of the committee can see from that table, if they will look at it, that instead of reducing interest upon the change of administrations, interest rates have gone up and have continued to go up and we are paying today, on September 15, 1965, the latest date on which I could get any figures, interest on long-term issues at the average rate of 4.30 percent.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONAS. I shall yield to the gentleman from Texas when I conclude my statement. I would prefer not to be interrupted right at this time. But I shall yield to the gentleman after I finish this statement.

Mr. Chairman, I also find the facts to be that it was under the administration of President Truman in 1951 when the Federal Government, through the Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve Board, entered into an accord which discontinued the price support of U.S. bonds at par. It was that accord, which was entered into under the administration of President Truman, that caused bonds not to be redeemable at par on a moment's notice. The purpose was to have U.S. bonds sell on the open market at the market price rather than be supported at par by the Government.

But my point is that the statement made by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency would indicate that the Federal Reserve Board, up until the Eisenhower administration, kept the interest cost down and the price of Government bonds at par. But the fact is that the Government discontinued the support of U.S. bonds at par in 1951 under the administration of former President Truman.

I also would call attention—and I believe the RECORD should show—that President Truman appointed Mr. Martin Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. Mr. Eisenhower did not discover him or bring him out of nowhere and put him in charge of the Federal Reserve Board. He was designated Chairman of that Board by President Truman, was continued in that position by President Eisenhower, and continued in it again by President Kennedy.

So, Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman from Texas has any critical comments to make about the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, and I certainly do not, I say to him that Mr. Martin was first brought to the Federal Reserve Board chairmanship by President Truman, and the late President Kennedy continued him in that high office.

I would also like to comment apropos of the statement of the gentleman from Texas that the Federal debt would probably be $600 billion now if the Eisenhower administration had remained in power, that the truth of the matter is that on January 22, 1961, when the Eisenhower administration went out of power, the interest-bearing public debt of the Government of the United States, was $290 billion, and just 4 years later it had gone up to $319 billion.

I would further comment that on January 22, 1961, we had gold assets in this country amounting to $17.504 billion. Those gold assets on July 1, 1965, are down to $13.9 billion, about $4 billion less in gold.

I would call attention to the fact that the interest on the national debt has gone up during these past 4½ years from about $9 billion to about $11.5 billion. So when discussion about who is responsible for increasing the national debt and for high-interest rates, the whole record should be considered instead of oratory and unsupported charges.

In conclusion, I would like to call the attention of the committee to the fact that on August 10, 1965, Mr. Eugene Foley, Administrator of the Small Business Administration, issued a circular stating that the Small Business Administration will soon announce a decision to sell direct and immediate participation loans to private purchasers, and I quote this sentence from his announcement:

> Buyers will be permitted to charge up to 7½-percent interest, but in accordance with original rates determined by SBA.

I would like to ask the gentleman from Texas, the guardian of low-interest rates in this country, is he going to stand for the Small Business Administration permitting private investors to charge small business concerns who obtain small business loans 7½-percent interest? No such interest as that was charged under the Eisenhower administration by the Small Business Administration.

I think the entire record on this subject of interest rates ought to be considered. I may say to the gentleman from Texas I have great respect for him but, unfortunately, I cannot agree with the statements he made in his speech on the floor on September 13, and I have cited the record to show how erroneous some of his statements were.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONAS. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. PATMAN. I hope the gentleman will not question the fact that from the time the Eisenhower administration came in there was a demand to increase interest rates quickly, and by reason of that it caused three depressions in 8 years by increasing interest rates.

Mr. JONAS. I may say to the gentleman that is his opinion. I am quoting figures. If the gentleman has figures to show interest rates have gone down under the Kennedy-Johnson administration, I would like to see them.

If the gentleman has figures to show average interest rates have gone down since Eisenhower left office, I will be glad to have them put in the RECORD; but the mere statement by the gentleman that interest policies under the Eisenhower administration caused depressions is subject to debate. The figures I have cited speak for themselves and need no debate to sustain them.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONAS. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. CURTIS. The gentleman from North Carolina is giving statistics. The gentleman from Texas is confused by the statistics, and resorts to argument and disregards those statistics. I say to the gentleman, put your figures in occasionally.

Mr. PATMAN. I will be glad to do that. And if Mr. Eisenhower had kept interest rates as they were when he came in, over a period of 15 years our national debt would have been $40 billion less. The interest rate would be $6 billion a year.

Mr. JONAS. Then why did not the interest rates go down when the Kennedy administration assumed office?

Mr. PATMAN. Because you cannot turn too quickly that way on interest rates. It requires time to do it.

Mr. JONAS. On 90-day Treasury notes?

Mr. PATMAN. That was because the Congress passed a law making average interest rates apply in certain agencies.

Mr. JONAS. Who was in charge of that Congress?

Mr. PATMAN. The Congress did that.

Mr. JONAS. I mean who was in control?

Mr. PATMAN. I do not know—but you probably voted for it.

Mr. JONAS. I am sure the gentleman knows that his party has controlled Congress since January 1955.

Mr. PATMAN. I did not say the gentleman did but the Congress passed the law, then the Federal Reserve established the interest rates that enabled the average rate to go up to nearly as much as long-term rates, which I think was terrible.

I would like now to answer the statement about Mr. Truman appointing Mr. Martin and also Mr. Kennedy appointing him.

Amending the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961

SPEECH

OF

HON. DELBERT L. LATTA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

(Mr. LATTA asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may require.

I concur with the statements made by my friend from California [Mr. SISK], on the rule and also the statement made by my friend from California [Mr. SMITH]. Insofar as I remember, nothing was said about waiving points of order when the matter was before the Rules Committee. Frankly, I do not know of any objection to the rule as presented other than this matter of waiving points of order.

I believe it is in order to say a few more words about this bill, H.R. 10232, which seeks to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 in two important areas. First, it would inaugurate, as the gentleman from California [Mr. SISK] has pointed out, a program of Federal assistance to rural communities not over 5,500 in population for the construction of water, sewage, and sanitary systems comparable to those programs already in being for our urban areas.

The amount of any grant cannot exceed 50 percent of the development cost of the project. It cannot be made to any area where the population is likely to decline below that for which the facility is being designed.

The bill would authorize the Secretary to make grants aggregating not more than $50 million annually.

In view of the fact that the report itself reveals that these facilities have an average cost of approximately $120,000, $50 million per year will not begin to meet the needs of the 30,000 rural communities now in need of new water and sanitation systems, as revealed in the report itself.

I might say, in commenting upon this matter that has been raised by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS], that I disagree with the inclusion in this bill of granting authority for collection, treatment, or disposal of waste in rural areas, and I would hope that when this matter is considered under the amendment procedures, that provision will be stricken out.

The second section of the bill would increase the real estate and related loan authority of the Farmers Home Administration of $200 million per year to $450 million per year. It would repeal provisions prohibiting agreements by the Secretary to purchase such insured loans in less than 3 years from the date of the note. It would permit the Secretary to fix the insurance charge retained by him from the power payments, and would increase the amount of loans made from the insurance fund which the Secretary can hold at any one time for future sale from $25 to $50 million.

In passing, let me say that I was disappointed to learn during the hearings on the bill before the Rules Committee that the Farmers Home Administration had made approximately 160 recreational loans under this act. I do not hesitate to say that I cannot see how our farmers of the Nation have benefited by such loans as the loans for the construction of golf courses. I would hope that the administration would pay a little closer attention to the intent of Congress in making these loans in the future.

Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. LATTA. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I do not like this rule waiving points of order. I hope the previous question will be voted down so that an amendment can be offered to the rule to take out the provision waiving points of order in the rule. I expect that there will be a vote on the rule.

Rural Water and Sanitation Facilities

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10232) to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to make or insure loans to public and quasi-public agencies and corporations not operated for profit with respect to water supply, water systems, and waste disposal systems serving rural areas and to make grants to aid in rural community development planning and in connection with the construction of such community facilities, to increase the annual aggregate of insured loans thereunder, and for other purposes.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, the reason I take this time is I realize the gentleman's amendment is friendly and my remarks are not intended to be unfriendly, I will say to the gentleman. I think I worked as hard as anyone else did, and so did other Members of the House in order to try to get an adequate water pollution control bill. I would hate to see it used now as a basis for crippling this program under this bill if we are going to enact it. As I read the amendment of the gentleman, it says, and I quote:

> In the case of sewers and waste disposal systems, no Federal funds shall be advanced hereunder unless the appropriate State water pollution control agency shall certify that the effluent therefrom shall conform with appropriate State and Federal water pollution control standards.

Federal standards will not be established for a number of years under the terms of the water pollution control bill, S. 4. Would the gentleman object to an amendment to his amendment to the effect that this condition shall come into play relating to standards "when and where established"? This will prevent the Dingell amendment from destroying the bill before us unnecessarily and in this hurried fashion.

Mr. DINGELL. I have no objection to it. I do not think it would be necessary particularly.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the Dingell amendment be amended by adding at the end thereof the words "when and where established" by striking the period and adding those words to the amendment now at the desk and I send such an amendment to the amendment to the clerk's desk.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

House Resolution 560

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to the passage of House Resolution 560, which would seem to validate or encourage unilateral military intervention by the United States or any other nation in the Western Hemisphere, in the affairs of a Latin American country in danger of Communist subversion.

Mr. Speaker, I oppose this resolution because the fate of this Nation, and of this planet rests in the development of collective machinery to achieve peace, which this resolution can only serve to undermine.

For the first time in the history of this world, man possesses a sufficient store of weapons to destroy life on earth. Any resolution or action which challenges the collective decisionmaking machinery of the free world, can only be damaging too our hopes of attaining lasting peace.

I recognize, as do all the Members of this body, that the greatest threat to peace in the world today, is the aggressive policies of world communism. But this resolution will not help to contain that threat nor minimize it.

On the contrary, this resolution will only be useful to the Communists.

They will exploit it to propogate the all too widely held view that we are still an immature, impulsive giant eager to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations. We will be hearing again of Teddy Roosevelt's strong-willed imperialism, of the U.S. Marine's in Nicaragua, of the other hostile and timeworn cliches which will be resurrected once again to embarrass us with our friends, hurt us with our enemies, and confuse our great purposes with the uncommitted.

A short time ago, the United States took unilateral action in the Dominican Republic. Men, of knowledge and good will on both sides, are still debating whether or not this intervention was necessary to prevent the spread of communism, even granting the assumption that it was proper.

The learned chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator FULBRIGHT, has raised a serious questions as to whether or not there was a sufficient threat of Communist takeover in the Dominican Republic to justify our intervention. The administration feels that the facts justified that intervention, and that collective machinery was brought into play as soon as possible.

Everyone of good will would agree that our unilateral intervention, necessary or unnecessary, was harmful to the United States.

Everyone recognizes that there may be threats to our national security, that would necessitate unilateral action, but unilateral action is at best only a poor substitute for collective machinery and a peaceful mutual resolution of problems.

We have just celebrated the 20th anniversary of the United Nations, man's greatest collective effort to achieve world peace. We are a long way from perfecting the United Nations, and achieving our goal of a peaceful world.

In Vietnam, the Kashmir, along the Indochina border, and the Syrian-Israeli border, gunfire may be sounding at this very moment. Any one of these conflicts carry within it, the seeds of world destruction.

I would hope that this body could give greater consideration to resolutions which would strengthen collective machinery for peace, and underline our belief that unilateral action is to be taken only as a last resort, consonant with urgent needs of our national security.

Rural Water and Sanitation Facilities

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10232) to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to make or insure loans to public and quasi-public agencies and corporations not operated for profit with respect to water supply, water systems, and waste disposal systems serving rural areas and to make grants to aid in rural community development planning and in connection with the construction of such community facilities, to increase the annual aggregate of insured loans thereunder, and for other purposes.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DINGELL. I say to the gentleman that I got into a lot of trouble yielding yesterday, but I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. CRAMER. I do not want to get the gentleman in trouble, but I do not want the amendment to cause trouble, either.

The Water Pollution Control Act was passed by both bodies only the day before yesterday. I wonder if the gentleman appreciates the fact that the standards to which his amendment is directed have not yet been established and are not contemplated to be established until 1968 at the earliest.

The functioning of the agency to set up the establishment of such standards in each State will not even take place until that date.

The standards the gentleman is talking about and the requirement he will impose could not be met by these communities today, and it is not expected it could be met for some 2 or 3 years.

I question whether the gentleman is not crippling the program by not providing for compliance with such standards when and at such locations as they are provided in the future.

Mr. DINGELL. Since I yielded to the gentleman, I should like to tell him he is entirely mistaken in his understanding of the amendment.

The amendment is offered as a friend of the bill, not as an enemy.

I point out to the gentleman that the question of certification is to be left in the hands of the State agencies. If the State agencies certify there are no Federal or State standards which deal with the question of water pollution, they may so do.

It would be my interpretation, as the author of the amendment, that the amendment simply would not enforce any certification as to standards.

Further, I point out to my good friend that many States do now have standards. There are many States which actually catalog their streams according to different types. The only thing this would require would be that for the States which do so catalog their streams or which do have standards—or after Federal standards go into effect, as a result of the bill referred to, passed yesterday—then the standards would apply. It would be expected that they would comply with whatever standards the States or the Federal Government would have in effect. If there were none, I point out to my friend, there would be no standards the State agency could say had to be complied with.

The amendment would not prevent the instrumentality, the State or local subdivision, from getting money under the bill.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. DINGELL. No. I have yielded and tried to explain to the gentleman. I would now like to yield to the gentleman from Montana.

Mr. BATTIN. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the gentleman, does your amendment cover a situation where a State does not have a control agency?

Mr. DINGELL. Every State, I would say to my good friend, has a water pollution control agency. There is not a State that is not drawing money under Public Law 660 through some appropriate agency. Some of them call it a department of health and some of them call it a State water resources commission or something of that kind, but every State has an appropriate agency.

Mr. BATTIN. That is my point. The agency of the State that has the authority that the gentleman contemplated.

Mr. DINGELL. The gentleman is correct. There are State agencies which are now drawing Federal funds. There is no State, to my knowledge, that does not have a State agency in charge of this program.

Our Distinguished Secretary of Agriculture, a Man of Outstanding and Unusual Ability, the Honorable Orville L. Freeman, Delivered an Address Celebrating the 40th Anniversay of Radio Station KWKH of Shreveport, La.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. MORRISON

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker, Hon. Orville Freeman who has distinguished himself as one of our greatest agriculture leaders in all of our history delivered a great speech in my home State, entitled, "The Coming Decade in Agriculture," at a most appropriate occasion celebrating the 40th anniversary of station KWKH of Shreveport, La., one of the oldest pioneers and one of the most powerful stations in the South.

His informative speech is as follows:

THE COMING DECADE IN AGRICULTURE

When KWKH began broadcasting, many of the men participating in this birthday anniversary celebration had not been born. And in this entire audience, I fail to find a woman who looks as though she could possibly have been around at the time.

Forty years, of course, is not a ripe old age for either an individual or an institution. But at a young and vigorous 40, KWKH can claim the status of pioneer. It followed the invention of radio by only a few years. There are probably more receivers in cars parked around this area today than there were in homes of this section of Louisiana when the visionary dreamers who launched KWKH decided there was a future in wireless communication.

Like so many American dreams, this one came true.

Perhaps no one appreciates a vital and continuing communications institution more than a public official. He knows that exercise of the people's right to know is the heart of the successful operation in every level of government. For that reason I find it a special privilege to join with the families of the KWKH area in saying "happy birthday."

The nature of this anniversary observance is in itself evidence of the continuing desire of KWKH to provide the people of this area with facts and opinions that will contribute to the decisionmaking process in the years ahead.

I am honored with a part in such a progrgam. And I consider it a special privilege to participate in the company of a man

whose leadership I admire and whose friendship I value—Senator ALLEN ELLENDER.

As chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, he has been a major architect in the construction of policies that bring farmers and Government together in the operation of purposeful food and agriculture programs that serve the general welfare. He deserves substantial credit for the miraculous progress of American agriculture these past 29 years. His wisdom, diligence, integrity and hard work sets a high standard for every public servant. Personally, I owe him much.

He has never denied me the benefits of his knowledge, experience and vision. He has been kind and tolerant when we have disagreed, generous in sharing credit for achievement and progress. I welcome the opportunity to express my appreciation, my respect, and my most sincere commendations here in his home State.

Today's discussions revolve around the next 10 years in agriculture.

I must admit that while I have often felt the need for one, the equipment in the office of the Secretary of Agriculture does not include a crystal ball.

It has some other equipment.

There's a good, solid stone wall that I've bumped my head against more than a few times—the last 4½ years.

It has a seat that stays hot through the coldest days.

It has a 12-button telephone that seems to handle complaints with greater speed and clarity than it carries congratulations.

But that is not all. The office of the Secretary of Agriculture has some truly delightful accessories.

It has remarkable windows. I can look through them and see— in mind's eye—the farms and the families that produce the abundance of food and fiber on which rests the strength and well-being of this Nation.

I see an efficient and productive system that has banished famine from this country—and from the world. Wherever disaster strikes—American food and fiber is there within hours to help feed people—just as only last week over 200,000 people here in Louisiana were fed in the recovery operations after Hurricane Betsy. It was the largest single disaster feeding operation the USDA has undertaken in this country.

In cities and towns all across the country I see families eating better food, and at less real cost, than families anywhere else in the world. One hour of work today will buy twice as much food on the average as it would 30 years ago.

I see millions of American people whose income is not adequate to provide enough food * * * but who nevertheless get an adequate diet. Each year through direct food distribution and school lunch programs, over $700 million worth of food is made available by Federal, State, and local government. And nearly $60 million is being spent currently through the Food Stamp program so that low-income families may have a more adequate diet.

In port cities on every coast and on the Great Lakes, I see ships loaded with food-for-peace cargoes for 100 million hungry people and for 40 million schoolchildren around the world—and with food and fiber sold for dollars abroad which amounts to more than $4.5 billion.

Through the countryside and in the towns of rural America I see growing efforts to conserve natural resources and beauty—to make use of our land and water to satisfy the new and changing needs of the people.

In the clarity of these sights, the hot seat, the cold telephone and the immovable stone wall fades away. I am proud that rural America and American agriculture are doing great things.

I have no crystal ball, but looking ahead for another decade I feel confident that even greater achievements are ahead.

I speak with optimism about the next 10 years in American agriculture and rural life—for good reason.

Seven months ago President Johnson recommended a bold, dynamic, and comprehensive farm program to the Congress. Today, that program has passed both Houses of the Congress.

Agricultural leaders in both legislative bodies assure me that they expect to resolve in conference—without major difficulty—the differences which exist between the House and Senate versions of the bill.

When President Johnson signs this legislation—the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965—a new chapter in the miraculous success story of American agriculture will begin.

Few people yet realize the enormous significance of this legislation, of what the President and the Congress have achieved in 7 short months.

For more than 30 years, and particularly since the explosion in agricultural productivity after World War II, the farm policy objective of this Nation has been to develop an instrument which would:

Enable farmers to exercise their initiative and skill to efficiently produce an abundance of food and fiber and to receive a fair, or parity, return; and

Enable consumer food prices to take each year a smaller proportion of consumer income; and

Avoid the needless accumulation of costly surpluses.

Every attempt until now to develop a program to meet these conditions has fallen short of the goal. Instead, particularly since 1952, farm income has been persistently low and farm surpluses have been persistently high.

But as we have worked to find the answer, we have been learning. The legislation now moving toward final passage embodies this experience—it is the product of trial and error—and reflects the debate which has been in progress in the Congress and in the Nation over the past 3 decades.

Experience with the feed grain and wheat programs since 1961 has taught us that direct payments to the farmer who voluntarily reduces his production can strengthen farm income, help eliminate surpluses, and maintain a working balance between production and use to enable the marketplace at home and abroad to function efficiently. The legislation now before the Congress will establish this kind of program over a 4-year period for most of the basic commodities—wheat, feed grains, and cotton.

We also have learned the wisdom of diverting land not needed at present to new uses or to conservation purposes for more than a year at a time. The cropland adjustment program in the House and Senate proposals will provide land adjustment contracts for as long as 10 years. These contracts will be less costly, and will enable the farmer to make his plans on a long-range basis. In addition, the program will make land more readily available for new uses, particularly for outdoor recreation and beautification. Even now, conservation, wildlife, and recreation groups are discussing with State and Federal officials on how best to administer the program to serve multiple uses.

The new legislation also recognizes that the marketplace is the best mechanism to determine the flow and pace of commercial agriculture. Most farm products will no longer move in domestic and world markets at artificially high prices. Instead they will be guided by the conditions of supply and demand. At the same time the farmer will be protected from depressed incomes by the payments he receives in return for his cooperation in diverting acres to uses other than the usual crop production.

The new legislation also recognizes the need for farmers to be able to plan their farming operations for more than a year or two ahead, and extends the commodity programs through 1969.

Thus, the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, as it stands now before the conference committee of the House and the Senate, can provide the flexibility necessary to keep pace with a dynamic and changing agriculture. It can enable this Nation to produce food and fiber in the quantities we need—when we need it for domestic and international purposes—with increasing efficiency—and at a modest cost in terms of the benefits to producers, consumers, and taxpayers alike.

With such a dynamic program, we can anticipate that over the next decade:

1. The American people will be better fed and better clothed at a lower real cost by 1975 than is the case today. American farm families and an efficient food industry will supply 225 million Americans—30 million more than today—with more beef and other meat and more convenience foods of a wider variety than now.

The food abundance necessary to meet whatever commitments your Government makes around the world will be forthcoming. Our super productive farm economy can do all of these things and still fulfill the demand for land for new uses.

2. Nutritional standards for the American people will be vastly improved. Our young people will be bigger and stronger and healthier, and Americans will be living longer. In 10 years, every person in this country will enjoy an adequate and nutritional diet. Where low incomes today short-change the food budgets of some families, the food stamp program now undergoing rapid expansion will give these families equal access to food abundance.

3. The day of the needless and expensive surpluses in farm commodities will have ended. With the flexibility provided by the new legislation, farmers will be able to match their production with their markets. The surpluses which once existed in wheat and feed grains are already nearly gone. The heavy surpluses we now have in cotton and tobacco will steadily disappear.

4. The American farmer will become increasingly a supplier of world markets. Farm exports have topped $6 billion for the last 2 years, and they will reach $7 billion in the next few years. By 1975, exports will exceed $8 billion as the American farmer is able to compete in world markets at world prices.

5. Food will be of critical importance a decade hence as the struggle for freedom around the world continues. Our Food for Peace program will be even more of a keystone in American foreign policy than it is today. The need for food already is beginning to exceed the productive abilities of the developing nations in country after country. American agriculture will be instrumental in meeting this crisis by making available increasing amounts of food aid. Technical assistance to help the developing countries accelerate their own food production will be even more important than it is today.

6. The farm family with adequate resources will be earning parity of income—a comparable return for the labor and resources used to produce abundance as could be earned in other sectors of the economy. There will be fewer larger than family sized farms, but significantly more adequate size family farms and fewer very small farms.

7. Before the next 10 years are finished, all of rural America will be well into an economic and social renaissance which will bring the people who live in the countryside the parity of opportunity they are now in large part denied.

Today, rural Americans lag 2 years behind urban Americans in educational achievements. Rural children receive one-third less medical attention than city youngsters. One out of four rural homes should be replaced or given major repairs. One out of five rural

homes is without running water, and nearly 15,000 rural towns have no central water system. A rural family, on the average, earns $1,000 less a year than a city family.

President Johnson has declared war on poverty, and has called the Nation to action to achieve a higher quality of life and a new dimension of living.

Together with the Congress, he has backed this challenge with a battery of new programs which provide new tools and new resources for the American people to use. They include economic development programs to assist individuals to gain new opportunity and to help local communities and regional areas expand the range of job and income opportunities. Education programs will be available to help local school districts modernize their educational plant and to help colleges and universities to meet the increased demands of the future. Vocational training programs will assist many to gain new skills to increase their earning ability. Loans and scholarships will be more widely available to young people seeking higher education. Medical needs of elderly citizens will no longer be a threat to their economic independence. Increased assistance will be available for housing and for community facilities to improve health and cultural opportunities.

Some of these programs will be available to rural areas directly through the USDA, but the needs of the rural community are so deep and pervasive that the full range of Federal programs will be required to overcome the disparity of opportunity which now exists in rural America.

The President has assigned the Department of Agriculture the task of insuring that these resources—which so often in the past have stopped at the city line—reach out to the people of rural America as well.

To carry out this assignment, we have put into operation in the USDA a rural community development service to coordinate and channel to the countryside the services and programs which can help to make rural America a better place to live and work.

With active and vigorous leaders in local communities now coming aggressively to the front, these resources can be the tools they employ to bring parity of opportunity to rural America over the next decade.

These predictions of what the next decade will bring to agriculture and rural life are more than a statement of hope. They are objectives well within the practical capabilities of the American people. I am confident they will be realized by 1975.

All of the economic, scientific, and technological information we feed into computers comes back in a message that tells us we have the resources and skills to attain these objectives.

But no computer can dream, and no computer can instill in man the desire to make his highest dream come true.

President Johnson put it best when he described his vision of America as a Great Society:

"The challenge of the next half century is whether we have the wisdom to use our wealth to enrich and elevate our national life, and advance the quality of our American civilization.

"The Great Society is not a safe harbor, a resting place, a final objective, a finished work. It is a challenge constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor."

Only men can dream, and only man can transform dreams into reality and desire into progress.

Because I sense the will and the desire and the dedication among the rural people to make dreams come true, I am confident that progress toward a society of greatness will be the hallmark of the next decade in agriculture and rural life.

House Resolution on Latin America—House Resolution 560

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Resolution 560, a resolution reaffirming this body's support for the principles of the Monroe Doctrine.

In light of the criticism from certain segments of the press, and in particular from the distinguished chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee [Mr. FULBRIGHT], concerning our participation in the revolt in the Dominican Republic, I believe this resolution is both timely and necessary.

International communism poses a grave threat to the sovereignty of numerous countries in Latin America. We witnessed it in Cuba and we are witnessing it in the Dominican Republic. Unless we make our position with respect to this threat crystal clear, neither our friends will be certain of our support nor our enemies aware of our determination.

The events in the Dominican Republic evidence the need for this resolution, directed as it is not only to our friends and enemies outside of the United States but to the administration as well in whose hands the foreign policy of our country is molded.

It is my belief that the administration's failure to accomplish its announced purpose in the Dominican Republic—namely, to prevent that country from falling into the waiting arms of the Communists—was frustrated, and this will become clearer in the months to come, because of the criticism leveled at the administration's show of force by so-called teach-in groups and others.

Succumbing to this pressure, the administration which first asked Dominican General Berreras to drive the pro-Communist rebels out of the Dominican Republic quickly changed its goal and what was first formed as a protective zone to save American and foreign lives in downtown Santo Domingo became a wall of protection for the rebels themselves.

This travesty was compounded with the removal of anti-Communist Dominican General Wessin y Wessin at gunpoint by American men and arms.

Reports which have not been refuted by the administration reveal that the Communists have surfaced in the Dominican Republic. The rebel-held zone of that city, protected as it was by American troops, was turned into a suburb of Havana with training in subverison and sabotage and political indoctrination going on under the noses of the OAS peacekeeping force and the United States.

It is therefore incredible that there are still those who insist that the Communists never posed a threat to that revolution. The Communist organizations in that country—the Castro-inspired 14th of June Movement, the Red Chinese MPD, and the Dominican Communist Party—control the rebel military establishment. As such, they will play a key role in the coalition government and what faces this country now is either a complete Communist takeover or a type of Latin American Laos. Our vacillation at a critical time has created a situation which I predict will come back to haunt us and all of the Americas in years to come.

Had this body acted sooner on a resolution such as we have before us today, pressure from the lunatic left in this country might not have persuaded the administration to back down. Possibly passage of this resolution today will convince the administration that future efforts to ward off communism in this hemisphere will have the support of the vast majority of the members of this body.

And, I fear, future efforts will be called for as long as Cuba's traffic in subversion is met with meager resistance by the United States as is presently the case.

Communist Cuba continues to be the cancer in this hemisphere. As I have so often told this body, subversion, not sugarcane, is its major export.

There are numerous short-of-war steps that can and should be taken to ward off this continuing threat, none of which this administration is willing to take. For example, many of us have long called for the establishment of a Cuban government in exile.

Those who oppose this proposal do so, it appears, not because the suggestion is without merit but because they fear that the establishment of such an exile government would not be possible due to the numerous groups of exile organizations spread throughout the hemisphere.

In the past years, I have spent numerous hours in Florida and in Washington discussing this proposition with Cuban exile leaders. I have been repeatedly assured from the leaders of the many diverse factions that the establishment of such an exile government would have the support of the vast majority of exile groups and further, the names of Cuban exiles scattered throughout the hemisphere are available so that a plebiscite by mail could be undertaken under proper supervision, possibly through the OAS.

The fact of the matter is that the reason there are so many exile organizations is because they have no centrally recognized organization with which to associate themselves and their cause. Our refusal to recognize such an exile government has fostered these diverse factions. In short, they have no home and we have not given them one.

A Cuban Government in exile, with the support of the United States, could win back the freedom of the people on that island of tyranny.

Another objection voiced to the establishment of an exile government is that it may not have the support of the people in Cuba. This argument is specious because once Cuba is returned to the family of free nations, the exile government would naturally give way to the freely established government elected by all of the people of Cuba.

I have also called for a meaningful trade ban and a halt to the constant flow of Communist arms and subversive trainees between Cuba and other Latin American nations. With recent alarming reports that Castro is spreading his tentacles to Africa as well, there is further reason for this country to start instituting these programs.

To date, our efforts to rid Cuba of Castro and communism have been futile. What economic sanctions we have taken against Castro have been ineffective. The wishful thinkers in the administration seem to believe that by making Cuba as expensive as possible for Russia to maintain, the Soviets will eventually write Cuba off as a bad investment and pull out. This is absolute nonsense. Any who have studied the Communist system thoroughly will be quick to admit that the preservation of Cuba as a Communist state is worth any price to the international Communist movement. It serves as a base for military advancement in this hemisphere. It serves as a base for further subversion in this hemsiphere. It serves as a base for Red propaganda in this hemisphere. Expensive as it may be to maintain, to the Communists it is a priceless possession which would not be discarded because of its cost be it in rubles or yen.

Mr. Speaker, I support this resolution because I feel it essential that the once-discarded Monroe Doctrine be revived and reaffirmed. Hopefully, it will signal the beginning of an effort by the administration to institute meaningful programs that will make the Americas free from the Communist threat.

A Tribute to Constitution Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, the national attention is turned this week to a document of grand purpose and noble design—the Constitution of the United States. For this is Constitution Week, established by presidential proclamation, to encourage citizens to learn more about our Constitution and to build and cite good citizenship.

Ours is a country dedicated to law and order and respect for individual rights, which our Constitution guarantees. It is this alone that sets us apart, as the luckiest people on the face of the earth.

It is appropriate, therefore, that 7 days of the year, at least, should be set aside in honor of that great and glorious instrument, the Federal Constitution.

The democratic experiment launched on these shores almost two centuries ago, has provided us with many blessings. At the basis of that experiment and those blessings stands our Constitution.

Democracy remains the greatest experience of all mankind, and the American Constitution is, in many respects, the father of democracy as it is known to the world today. Let us hail this week that great, remarkable declaration of human rights, the Federal Constitution. Long may it prevail.

Brave Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. J. RANDALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to call the attention of my colleagues to a letter recently received from a constituent who has a son serving in Vietnam.

In the light of some recent protests about our efforts there it is a real thrill to hear from a mother, who quotes her son serving in the Marine Corps who refused a choice to come out of the combat zone. Bear in mind this was written just after the battle of Chu Lai. He wrote to his mother that none of his buddies want or expect to be rotated. It is important to note that these words came from a son who relinquished the option to be deferred to continue his college education in order to go into the Marine Corps. It makes me proud that this young man when he was told he could come out of the combat zone because he was the only surviving son in his family, preferred to remain in the front lines. The words of this brave young man speak so eloquently when he said, "I am in the Corps and I stay here."

Mr. Speaker, I would like to take a moment to point out that Hanoi feeds on the unseemingly demonstrations of some of our young Americans who indulge in draft card burning and make demonstrations against trains and ships carrying American men and arms to Vietnam. The Hanoi press recently said most of the American people were against the few imperialist warmongers who were driving our youth to die for imperialist purposes. We know that contention is patently absurd and our Government is neither an aggressor nor a warmonger. Hanoi should not make the fatal mistake of believing its own propaganda.

It is a real privilege, Mr. Speaker, to place in the RECORD a copy of the letter I received from a mother's brave marine in Vietnam. It is as follows:

HARRISONVILLE, MO.,
September 3, 1965.

WILLIAM J. RANDALL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: When I read in the Kansas City Star this week about the marine private who was averse to being sent to Vietnam, and of his letter to the President thanking him for being responsible for the boy's opportunity to really serve his country, I thought perhaps you would be interested in the comment of a marine lance corporal from your district.

On August 28, I received a letter from my son, L/Cpl. Glenn H. Daniels, who has been in Vietnam since late in February. He was fortunate, and with God's care, to come through the battle at Chu Lai safely. He told me he could come out of the combat zone, if he wanted, as an only surviving son, since he had not signed a waiver, but "I am in the corps—the corps is here—and therefore so am I."

As much as I'd like to have him, and every mother's son, safe and out of combat, his comment makes me that much prouder of him, and of all his buddies who feel the same way. Particularly so, since his letter was received the day after the disgusting news of young men literally swamping marriage bureaus to beat the midnight deadlines so they could be exempt from the draft.

Before Glenn enlisted he told me that he felt very much his obligation to his country and that, even though several boys who had graduated from high school with him had married so they wouldn't have to go to service, he couldn't even conceive of marriage until he had completed his service obligation and his college education.

Sons like Glenn, and they are legion, I know, are never heard about, but their country can be justly proud that they are men and far out balance the boys. Without them and their great sense of responsibility to family, country, and self, our Nation would not be the great nation it is.

Thank you for bearing with me, but I felt I had to share my pride with a person of your stature. Some day I sincerely hope to have the honor and privilege of meeting you personally. You have been more than kind and helpful on different occasions to me and to my family.

Most sincerely,

MRS. FLORENCE E. B. DANIELS.

Why Not Go Fishing?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of the most questionable boondoggles ramrodded through this Congress through use of the President's arm-twisting techniques was the 1965 Housing Act and its indefensible rent-supplement gimmick.

The Calumet Index, an independent publication serving the far south side of Chicago very energetically commented on that phase of the Housing Act in its edition of September 22, which I insert in the RECORD for the benefit of the Members:

WHY NOT GO FISHING?

Having succeeded, through public housing, in putting a roof over the heads of a good many voters, the Federal Government now wants to do something for the renter who earns too much to live in public housing and not enough to afford decent private housing. It is supposed that there may be some 4 million families in this category, for whom the Great Society wants to assume responsibility.

Rent supplements (subsidy is a word they avoid) are expected to require $500 million for payments to landlords for the first 4 years in a 40-year program that some say could cost $13 billion.

If it were not such a sad commentary on the extent of socialism's penetration into the American pattern, and so expensive, it would read like a joke on human nature.

Families with incomes well past the national median can have you pay their rent for them. This is clearly another way to redistribute the wealth of the Nation, by

having taxpayers assume this kind of obligation.

This kind of thing is making spineless jellyfish out of erstwhile tough, independent, hardworking Americans. Such plans take away the incentives to learn, earn, and save. Why should a person strive to raise his own living standard through his own efforts (rewards for his industriousness or skills), if everything is already available on application to the Government. Might as well go fishing.

Poll Shows Peace Negotiations Favored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, as one Member of Congress who has urged a negotiated peace settlement in Vietnam for many months, I was extremely interested in the Gallup poll results printed in the Washington Post of September 23, 1965. This poll would seem to indicate that I might get 68 percent of the vote at the next election—which is somewhat better than I received last year. On the other hand, an opponent who urged sending more troops to Vietnam, if he holds true to Gallup poll results, should receive about 33 percent of the vote.

Since a good many of my colleagues are sensitive to the winds of public opinion, as tested by the art of the pollsters, it may be that these results will have some influence in the Halls of Congress. In addition, since the President is reputed to keep a careful eye on the polls as well, he can draw additional comfort from these findings for his efforts to reach "a compromise peace settlement" that may help to control the war hawks whose urgings have appeared to influence the decisions to expand the war to its present level.

It is an unfortunately too rare circumstance when international morality, good sense, and good politics all point to the same course of action. I commend the results of this latest Gallup poll to my colleagues:

THE GALLUP POLL: 68 PERCENT FAVOR VIET PEACE BID ISSUE

PRINCETON, N.J.—Anticipating that the war in Vietnam might play an important role in the congressional campaign next year, the Gallup Poll asked a cross-section of the Nation's adults what their reactions would be to a candidate's calling either for more troops there or for a compromise settlement.

The results show that the Republicans will have a lot of selling to do if they adopt escalation of the war as party policy. The questions and the results:

"If a candidate for Congress in your district advocated sending a great many more men to Vietnam, would you be more inclined or less inclined to vote for him?"

	Percent
More inclined	33
Less inclined	38
No opinion	29

"If a candidate for Congress in your district said that we should try harder to reach a compromise peace settlement in Vietnam, would you be more inclined or less inclined to vote for him?"

	Percent
More inclined	68
Less inclined	14
No opinion	18

It should be pointed out that these two questions are not mutually exclusive. Some people believe that the best way to achieve a peace settlement in Vietnam is to build up the ground forces there.

The views of Democrats and Republicans differ little on these two questions, as the following tables show:

MORE TROOPS

	Percent
Republicans	
More inclined	32
Less inclined	39
No opinion	29
Democrats	
More inclined	34
Less inclined	38
No opinion	28

COMPROMISE SETTLEMENT

Republicans	
More inclined	70
Less inclined	15
No opinion	15
Democrats	
More inclined	69
Less inclined	14
No opinion	17

The First Lady Calls Peoria, Ill., "An Example for Every Other City in America"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson came to Peoria, Ill., Wednesday on a beautification trip, dedicating Peoria County's new courthouse and plaza, and planted a Japanese cherry tree on the bell plaza level of the courthouse yard. Peoria is my hometown and the largest city in my congressional district so it is natural that I am pleased that the eyes of Texas have looked with favor upon an outstanding example of local initiative in Illinois.

Mrs. Johnson praised the "vision, toughness, hard work" of Peorians that I have had the pleasure to publicize considerably in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD during this session. Mrs. Johnson said:

And now that I'm here and can see it and have heard how it was accomplished I understand there was a long thread of vision.

Mr. Speaker, the city of Peoria was honored that Mrs. Johnson could take part in their proud moment. Under unanimous consent I include the text of Mrs. Johnson's remarks at this point:

[From the Peoria Journal Star, Sept. 22, 1965]

TEXT OF MRS. JOHNSON'S SPEECH

Following is the text of Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson's address as prepared for delivery today at the dedication of the Peoria County Courthouse.

"I am glad to be here in the magic city of Peoria—a magic city because it is filled with magicians. As one of your leading citizens told me: 'Those people have transformed downtown Peoria into one of the prettiest cities in America.' And that is magic indeed.

"I do not know what Peoria was like before this, but I can see for myself that the tribute is a just one. Your downtown is marked by an ease and grace of landscaping and architecture that masks the long hard work and planning that built it. And this new courthouse is the capstone of your effort.

"And so I come here not just to dedicate a building but to celebrate the men and women who not only have brought beauty to this city, but have provided an example and a model for an entire Nation. And that is as it should be. For since the Lincoln-Douglas debate Peoria has helped to lead and build this country.

"I am especially happy to be here with Mrs. Dirksen and Mrs. Douglas. Like Mr. Lincoln and the earlier Mr. Douglas, their husbands do not agree about everything. But they are both brilliant servants of your State and our country. And in the battle to restore and protect the beauty of America they fight side by side on the frontlines of the U.S. Senate.

"Here in Peoria you are meeting one of the profound challenges of our civilization. It is to preserve the oldest and most cherished of our values in the midst of the newest achievements of our genius and growth. It is to insure that the spiritual needs of the people are not lost and submerged by abundance and progress.

"After all a city is not just a collection of stores and homes and shops. It is a place for people to live. And, hopefully, it is a place where they can live the good life. That is why it is so important that families even in the heart of the city—have places to walk, playgrounds for their children, and surroundings which please the eye and lift the spirit.

"Today, we have a wonderful opportunity to build that kind of America. We are in the midst of a construction revolution. According to an outstanding urban authority we will, in the next 10 years, erect new buildings equal in value to all that are standing today. This gives us a chance at a fresh start. We can build homes and shops crowded together, without imagination or open space, soon to become new slums. Or we can do what you are doing in Peoria: planning and working so our downtown areas will be an object of pride to those who built them and a source of gratitude to generations yet unborn.

"It was the president of the American Institute of Architects who said: 'Most of our ugliness is a result of wealth, not of poverty. A poor people wouldn't be able to replace trees with parking lots, litter the streets with signs, and fill the air with wires. We need to make ugliness unprofitable.'

"Of course, ugliness is unprofitable. Not just in terms of dollars and cents, but in the toll it takes of human pleasure and the quality of our daily life.

"You are working to end this terrible drain. In doing so you are providing an example for every other city in America.

"This courthouse is a keystone in your program. It shows that government can work hand in hand with private business in the steady improvement of the life of our city. Government has not always built with grace and distinction. But I hope, and believe, this building demonstrates that we too have learned the painful lessons of past failures.

"This courthouse perfectly exemplifies the task of preserving old values in the midst of change. A building which is a brilliant reflection of the 1960's replaces an old and venerable edifice. Yet the words, and the essential purpose—equal justice under law—are unchanged.

"So I dedicate this building to our people—to their efforts to blend the best of the past with the radiant possibilities of the future. May this always be the house in which justice abides and hope is fulfilled."

Assateague Island National Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, the millions of people in this country who delight in the vista of wooded slopes and clean, breeze-swept beaches must have read with pleasure the President's remarks when he recently signed the Assateague Island Seashore National Park bill.

In that ceremony, in which he paid tribute to this Congress for its wisdom in acquiring Assateague, the President said, and I quote, "We are declaring a new doctrine of conservation."

Commenting editorially on the President's statement, the Baltimore Sun of September 22 remarked:

Rarely can a national policy be stated so well and so fully in so few words.

The Sun applauded the new doctrine of seeking out such places as Assateague "lest we become history's most affluent junkpile."

In the same day, the Washington Post commented most favorably on this legislation and noted those responsible for its origin and passage, including the late William E. Green of Snow Hill.

Commented the Post:

The credit for this admirable bill lies with many men and women. It lies with Senator BREWSTER, Congressmen SICKLES and MORTON, and Governor Tawes of Maryland. It lies with Secretary Udall and very notably with the President himself. It lies with many hundreds of citizens who worked vigorously for the park.

Because the comments of these two newspapers on the acquisition of Assateague and conservation in general are accurate reflections of what millions of our citizens would say if they had the chance. I submit them as follows for the RECORD:

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun]

SEEK OUT TO SAVE

The process of acquiring some land is still to be gone through, and certain development plans, including a strictly limited private development, will take time, but with a presidential signature yesterday Assateague Island is saved. Its saving is important not only to this State and this densely-peopled region—it was the only remaining undeveloped stretch of seashore between Massachusetts and North Carolina—but is significant also for the country, as an omen.

"We are declaring a new doctrine of conservation," Mr. Johnson said at the signing ceremonies." I intend to seek out what can be saved."

Rarely can a national policy be stated so well and so fully in so few words. That is what the policy must be: not to try to turn the whole United States into a vast recreation area, which would be impossible, and not even necessarily to preserve everything that could be called by stretching the imagination a "natural scenic wonder," but to seek out selectively the unique places which simply must be saved, lest we become history's most affluent junkpile.

Such a unique place is Assateague, and the struggle to save it has been so long, and has drawn so much attention, that its clean winds today can reasonably be said to blow over the country.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 22, 1965]

ASSATEAGUE PRESERVED

When President Johnson signed the Assateague Island National Seashore bill, he insured the preservation of the longest undeveloped beach north of Cape Hatteras. The threat of heavy construction will vanish, and the plans to load it with motels, bars, and cottages will dissolve. It will remain one place and very nearly the only place on the Middle Atlantic Coast where one may find a flat horizon of sea and sand, unbroken by roofs and telephone poles. At least this much of the natural landscape will be held, for an increasingly urban generation, in very nearly the wild and desolate beauty in which man first found it.

The credit for this admirable bill lies with many men and women. It lies with Senator BREWSTER, Congressmen SICKLES and MORTON, and Governor Tawes of Maryland. It lies with Secretary Udall and very notably with the President himself. It lies with many hundreds of citizens who worked vigorously for the park.

But the millions of Americans who will use the park owe perhaps the largest debt of gratitude to William E. Green of Snow Hill, the retired heating contractor who for 10 years carried on a lonely and thankless campaign to bring Assateague into public ownership. He fought courthouse and statehouse, developers and promoters, reckless of the cost to himself. He died 2 years ago this month, just as the park bill was picking up momentum.

Mr. Green's long defense of Assateague is evidence that great parks are not carved out of growing countries by mild good wishes, but are created by the passion and determination of strong-willed citizens who believe that mankind must have an escape from city pavements.

Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, Sunday night marks the start of the Jewish High Holy Days of Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur. And I wish to take this occasion to wish my colleagues of the Jewish faith and my constituents who are of that faith a happy and prosperous new year.

Rosh Hashana ushers in the year 5726 on the Jewish calendar. And it is a time that brings to mind how, through the centuries, people of the Jewish faith have followed the Lord's word, in the face of the most punishing and servile forms of tyranny. Despite their long suffering, they have never wavered in their stubborn attachment to ideas of strict morality, intellectual integrity, religious faith, and cultural identity.

America must never forget the prominent role Jews have played in our history. Jewish people played active roles in the founding of our Nation. Jewish people have fought with valor in every one of our wars. The Old Testament principles, handed down to us by the Jewish people, figured in the thinking of those who formed our colonies, those who worked for our independence, and those who drew up our Constitution.

It is therefore not to strangers or visitors that we speak, but to brothers among us when we extend our best wishes to all Americans of the Jewish faith.

Support for the House Oceanography Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, it was gratifying to note an editorial in this morning's Washington Post, which praises our legislative efforts in behalf of the ocean sciences.

The Post declares the House version of S. 944 superior to the bill passed by the Senate, and suggests that the conferees adopt the amendments passed by the House. As a member of the Oceanography Subcommittee, I, of course, support this view wholeheartedly.

Since ocean science and technology have enjoyed the dubitable distinction of being so low for so long on the White House list of national priorities, it was heartening to me to note the Post's appreciation of the importance of this legislation and its support of the efforts of the House in this regard.

It is true that S. 944 is only a beginning—a first step. A much greater effort will be needed to beef up our national oceanographic program.

Mr. Speaker, I sincerely hope that upon final passage of this legislation, the Commission called for in our bill will heartily recommend major improvements in our present sluggish Federal program in oceanography. Then, without fear of further administration reluctance, we will be able to successfully enact legislation which will implement an ambitious expansion of an essential national program in marine science and ocean engineering.

Mr. Speaker, at this very time a team of Soviet oceanographers is touring U.S. oceanographic facilities. I am afraid that upon completion of their visit, they will return somewhat triumphantly to the Soviet Union, able to report that the United States is lagging behind. We know that the U.S.S.R. has nearly twice as many ocean research ships and twice the manpower in the marine sciences that we have in this country.

We know, also, that their capability for oceanographic data collection is the world's best.

The time for the United States to move is now. We must enact legislation effective enough to give our efforts in this field the shot in the arm so sorely needed. The House version of S. 944 is the right start.

Bearing in mind the foregoing Mr. Speaker, I hope the conferees for S. 944

will carefully consider the arguments soundly set forth in the following editorial:

TO STUDY MARINE SCIENCE

Study of the undersea promises to become far more important in the national scale of priorities with the enthusiastic House passage of the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1965. The bill, an improved version of Senate legislation passed earlier in the session, now goes to a conference and should emerge for the President's signature before the end of the session.

Most of the differences are minor and can be worked out without difficulty. In one respect, however, the House approach is so clearly the better that no compromise language should be adopted. The House bill directs the President to appoint a Commission on Marine Science, Engineering and Resources with representation from universities, research laboratories, industry, and government. The Commission would spend up to 18 months devising an overall blueprint for a national oceanographic program. The Senate authorized such a Commission, but only at the President's discretion.

The Senate also would create within the Government a National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development. A Cabinet-level group, the Council would be headed by the Vice President with the duty of coordinating Government efforts in the field. As Representative ALTON A. LENNON, of North Carolina, pointed out to the House, this Council would be a needless duplication, for it almost certainly would consist of the same men who already serve on another of the President's advisory staffs, the Federal Council of Space and Technology. It would not make sense to charter such a group before a Federal structure for the undersea program had been decided.

The House has adopted the fundamental Senate approach to undersea research and development. Now the Senate ought to accept the House refinements.

The Long Island Commercial Review

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, recently the Long Island Commercial Review, an outstanding daily newspaper published in Nassau County, Long Island, celebrated its 12th birthday. The publisher of this newspaper, Paul Townsend, has reported that the newspaper started as a controlled circulation weekly tabloid in September 1953. The Review later changed to all-paid circulation, and daily—weekdays—offset publication with cold-type composition in July 1962.

Today it has 10,000 distribution with a 3½ persons-per-copy pass-along readership, 51 employees in its own 10,000-square-foot building, and averages 15.2 tabloid offset pages daily. Each week, it publishes at least two supplements including a monthly Long Island Heritage and guide to recreation, quarterly Long Island Almanac of economic and government data, quarterly Long Island Investment Directory of publicly owned local corporations, semiannual Long Island Financial Institutions Report, and bimonthly Long Island Executive Home Selector.

This newspaper has made great strides in keeping with the area it comes from. I am proud of this newspaper and wish to congratulate its editor and publisher, Paul B. Townsend, and the wonderful staff of writers who have made it such an outstanding success. I feel confident that it will reach new greatness in the years ahead.

Rural Water and Sanitation Facilities

SPEECH

OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10232) to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to make or insure loans to public and quasi-public agencies and corporations not operated for profit with respect to water supply, water systems, and waste disposal systems serving rural areas and to make grants to aid in rural community development planning and in connection with the construction of such community facilities, to increase the annual aggregate of insured loans thereunder, and for other purposes.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may use.

Mr. Chairman, I first want to congratulate and commend our colleague the gentleman from Texas, BOB POAGE, the chairman of the Subcommittee on Conservation and Credit, and our colleague, the gentleman from Indiana, RALPH HARVEY, the ranking minority member of that subcommittee, and all of the other members of the subcommittee, upon all of the splendid work they have done on this bill. The subcommittee worked long and hard on the bill now before you. They considered all of the pertinent facts and circumstances involved, and my recollection is that the report of the subcommittee was unanimously accepted and approved by the full committee.

Mr. Chairman, I also want to commend the officers and directors of the Farmers Home Administration upon the splendid manner in which that agency of the Government has administered all programs which that agency has by law been directed to administer. The Farmers Home Administration has been remarkably free from criticism. Those in charge of this program have discharged the duties assigned to them in magnificent fashion. Perhaps the officials of this agency of the Government have not done all things right and perhaps they have not pleased all people, but certainly all of us know that they have at all times been prompted by the purest of motives and dealt with all problems frankly, fairly, forthrightly, and with great impartiality and integrity.

I urge the passage of this bill.

The bill deals with problems of great importance. More than 30,000 communities in this country need and want the relief which will be provided in this bill when it is enacted into law. The chairman of the subcommittee, who, as you know, is the vice chairman of the full committee, has presented the bill to the Members of the House in a very brief and comprehensive manner. I hope that the bill will be passed, that it will become law, and I know that the program will be beneficial to the rural areas of America. Certainly we must provide some relief for the citizens of our country who are living in the rural areas of the Nation just as we have provided relief for those citizens living in urban areas.

Humanitarian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. J. RANDALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, Independence, Mo., recently mourned the loss of Dexter Perry, a close personal friend of President Truman and one of our city's outstanding citizens. In life he earned the description of humanitarian because with him friendship and service to his fellowman was a way of life. A lawyer by profession, he gave legal advice to those in need and always forgot to submit a bill for his services. He passed on leaving only a small estate.

His creed in life was to help persons to whom life had dealt misfortune. For 25 years he spent all of his time outside business hours performing his duties as service officer for the Tirey J. Ford Post of the American Legion, giving freely of his time to assist veterans, their widows and families.

Several years ago the Legion gave him an award for public service to his community. Presentation was by his longtime personal friend, former President Harry S. Truman. A year or two later he received the Service to Mankind Award from the Sertoma Club. Again the award was presented by our former President who at that time referred to Perry as a "grassroots humanitarian."

On another occasion, President Truman said:

> Dexter Perry does more good for people who need it than any man of my acquaintance. You always find Perry around when someone is in trouble.

Dexter Perry did not believe in showmanship. He preferred to stay out of the headlines but the community in which he lived will not soon forget his life of service.

Dexter was familiar with the Biblical story about the question by Cain to his brother, Abel, "Am I my brother's keeper?" His life was an affirmative answer to this Old Testament interrogatory.

Upon his passing, our newspaper, the Independence Examiner in its editorial column wrote an obituary of highest praise which reads as follows:

[From the Independence Examiner, Sept. 15, 1965]

DEXTER PERRY: HUMANITARIAN

Dexter Perry was a big genial fellow to whom friendship and service to his fellowmen was a way of life. He died this week without leaving much of a personal fortune, but the help he has given to others over many years would make an impressive total.

Perry didn't make a big splurge in his job as a deputy constable or in his profession as a lawyer. He attended to his duties quietly and spent much time outside of business hours working to help persons to whom life had dealt misfortunes.

A veteran of World War I, he was a former commander of the Tirey J. Ford Post of the American Legion, and served that organization with distinction for 45 years. For the last 25 years he had been post service officer and found many opportunities to assist veterans, their widows and families.

Dexter Perry would have been the last one to have claimed any personal credit for the many kindnesses and services he performed. He shied from personal publicity and recognition to the point where it was difficult for newsmen to find out about his activities. He did not want praise for him publicized when he was accorded two outstanding honors.

The Legion post gave him a life membership in 1962, with the award presented by former President Harry S. Truman, a longtime personal friend.

In 1964 he received the Service to Mankind award of the Independence Sertoma Club, this award also being presented by the former President, who referred to Perry as a "grass roots humanitarian."

Perhaps only his close associates in the American Legion knew all of the many works of goodness he performed, and even they may not have known the full story.

President Truman said: "Dexter Perry does more good for people who need it than any man of my acquaintance. You'll always find Perry around when someone is in trouble."

The more you talk to friends of Dexter Perry the more you find out about instances of how he dug down in his own pocket, at a personal sacrifice, to help someone else. The more you hear about his trips to distant points, as far away as the west coast, to cheer former comrades who were sick or unfortunate. The more you hear about how he contributed free services as a lawyer when someone was in trouble, or how he would get up in the middle of the night to find hospital treatment for a sick person.

Dexter Perry lived an unassuming, unpretentious life and didn't often make the headlines. But he left an indelible impression on this community that will not soon be forgotten. He was a humanitarian in the truest sense of the word.

Tax-Share Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, there is much merit in the suggestion of Dr. Heller to share the Federal tax take with the States and local communities. The following UPI story appeared in the Washington Post of September 23.

GOVERNORS BACK TAX-SHARE PLAN

MACKINAC ISLAND, MICH., September 22.—Eight Midwest Governors agreed today that Washington gets too much of the tax dollar.

Members of the midwestern Governors conference agreed the States should retain or be given a rebate on a percentage of Federal tax money. But no specific recommendations were made on how this might be done.

Instead, the Governors urged a previously formed committee to speed its study on State and local revenue sources.

Home Rule Bill: A Threat to the Merit System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, in an article by Joe Young which appears in today's Evening Star the General Counsel of the Civil Service Commission endorses what I have been saying for some time now concerning the provisions of the proposed home rule bills which would exempt Federal employees in the District of Columbia from protection of the Hatch Act.

Mr. Lawrence Meloy is reported in this article as believing that permitting Federal and District government employees to take an active part in local partisan political campaigns would pose a grave threat to the entire merit system.

I ask that this article be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

[From the Evening Star, Sept. 24, 1965]

MERIT SYSTEM THREAT SEEN IN PLAN FOR WASHINGTON PARTISAN POLITICS

(By Joseph Young)

The Civil Service Commission's General Counsel believes provisions in the District's home rule bill that permits Federal and District government employees to take an active part in Washington's municipal elections on a partisan basis poses a "grave threat" to the merit system.

Lawrence Meloy, who has been more closely associated with enforcement of the Hatch Act than any other Government official since its enactment in 1939, says the home rule legislation could open the door for eventual repeal of political activity restrictions for Federal workers in national elections as well.

Furthermore, Meloy contends that by permitting Federal employees to campaign actively in municipal elections here they will be subjected to intense political pressures to contribute to candidates and political parties.

"Their chances of promotion and even keeping their jobs would depend on their political activities in many cases," Meloy said. "And should a political change of administration occur, their chances of keeping their jobs would rest on how little they did for the previous party in power. Thus, Government workers here would be jeopardizing their careers, no matter what they did."

Meloy believes that Federal employees' political activities in municipal elections in Washington would be justified if the elections were held on a nonpartisan basis. But the legislation provides that elections be held on a partisan basis—with candidates running under the labels of the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Thus, the CSC General Counsel said, Federal workers can't help but get mixed up in partisan politics.

Meloy pointed out that Hatch Act rules now permit Federal workers to participate actively in nonpartisan municipal elections throughout the country and that this has worked out fine.

"We have never had any trouble as a result of Federal workers participating actively in nonpartisan elections in cities such as Los Angeles, Detroit, Cincinnati, Dallas, Milwaukee, and many others," Meloy said. "There's no reason why the District of Columbia's elections can't also be on a nonpartisan basis."

The widely held view is that President Johnson and the Democratic controlled Congress, well aware of the overwhelming Democratic vote in the District, want to capitalize on this by holding partisan elections, rather than dispensing with party labels on a nonpartisan basis.

Consequently, Meloy's views are not getting much of a response from CSC or at the White House.

Meloy also thinks that if Federal employees are permitted to campaign actively on a partisan basis in the District, they will have to be given such rights in Montgomery and Arlington Counties. In turn, this will spread to all partisan municipal and other State contests thoughout the country, he believes.

"After that, it will only be a matter of time before legislation would be enacted to allow Government workers to participate actively in national politics and elections," Meloy predicted. "I don't think the merit system as we know it could survive this."

Federal and District government employees living in the District of Columbia would not be the only workers eligible to participate and campaign actively in the District's mayorality and city council and perhaps delegate elections. Federal and District employees living in nearby Maryland and Virginia also could participate and campaign actively, thus subjecting themselves to possible pressure from their bosses to take an active role.

Rosh Hashanah

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, it is appropriate during these, their days of awe, that we extend our most sincere wishes to those of the Jewish faith. Rosh Hashanah, meaning "first of the year" in Hebrew, begins their High Holidays which end 10 days later on Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement.

Rosh Hashanah is the day on which, according to Jewish tradition, God judges the deeds of each individual. An ancient Jewish legend tells us that on Rosh Hashanah three books are placed before the heavenly judge. One of the books is thin; in it are written the names of all the people in the world who are entirely wicked, and these are immediately sentenced on Rosh Hashanah to a year of trouble and unhappiness. An even thinner book contains the names of all of those who are completely good; these are awarded a year of peace and happiness. By far the largest of the three books is the one in which are written the names of those who are neither entirely good nor completely bad. Their fate is decided by the sincerity of their

repentance and their conduct during the holy season begun by Rosh Hashanah and terminated by Yom Kippur.

May divine forgiveness be gained by all of those who observe this solemn period of prayer and repentance. May divine favor always be with those of the Jewish faith. May each and all of us strive to merit God's blessings.

Quiet Revolution in Miami

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, last July I called to the attention of the House a condensation of an excellent article by Mrs. Elaine Samet on Miami's progress in the field of race relations. In light of the developments in several American cities, Mrs. Samet's story of private leadership and community cooperation to achieve a quiet revolution in race relations is particularly significant.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Samet has been good enough to furnish me with a copy of this fine article in its entirety, and I, under unanimous consent, include it at this point in the RECORD:

QUIET REVOLUTION IN MIAMI

(By Elaine R. Samet)

Five million tourists who visited Miami, Fla., last year are probably unaware of the part they played in the Negro revolution that was—and is—taking place in Dade County (Greater Miami). Yet this vast influx of vacationers is decisively instrumental in keeping Miami's racial revolution from erupting into violence, and in assuring its continued success.

Visitors comment that they see no evidence of trouble in Miami, no demonstrations, no riots. And they are right, for this is the least obvious, least publicized racial protest movement in the South and perhaps in the Nation, though at the same time one of the most productive.

While Birmingham, Jackson, St. Augustine, and other Dixie communities, as well as trouble spots north and west have suffered frightening violence over the past few years, Miami, on the surface at least, has been tranquil during much of this period. Its name is seldom seen in the round-ups of civil rights news in the national press. Pictures of police with snarling dogs or cattle prods, pursuing civil rights demonstrators along Miami's hotel-lined Collins Avenue, do not glare on television screens.

There are many reasons for the relatively quiet reaction in Miami. Tourism is an important part of the answer. The area cannot, economically, afford violence. One of her most candid and influential civic leaders, John B. Turner, recent past president of the Dade County Chamber of Commerce, put it this way: "Tourists don't take vacations where there is bloodshed. Birmingham can have violence and open the steel mills the next days. Miami would find its hotels empty." St. Augustine failed to recognize this dollar value on tranquility; as a result, last summer her motels were operating at only 10 to 15 percent capacity, instead of a normal 95 percent, after racists unleashed violence against civil rights marchers and wade-ins.

Also, Miami is making tremendous efforts to attract new industry in an effort to diversify its economy. What business will move into an area of racial unrest? A timely warning lies in the experience of Little Rock, where in the year following its crisis over school integration, not one new plant located in that city, and its population decreased.

Another explanation for the peaceful nature of civil rights activities in Miami is found in the make-up of its population. About half of the recently arrived residents have come from northeastern and midwestern urban centers. Of the present population of more than 1 million, half did not live here 10 years ago. Until recently, at least, these northern areas had not been accustomed to the use of violence as a means of dealing with racial problems. New Miamians brought this nonaggressive outlook with them.

But the most valuable peacemaking resources in the Miami community over the past dozen years has been a small but dedicated group of residents, of both races and of all major religions. For more than a decade, sometimes in groups, sometimes in lonely struggle, these citizens have sought to maintain and to strengthen the slender lines of communication between the races, the first essential for averting disharmony and racial violence. In 1952, aroused by a series of nationally publicized bombings in the area, a number of concerned citizens formed the Dade County Council of Community Relations to deal with local race problems.

The council has not always succeeded, but it has made progress. Largely through its efforts the public schools have been desegregated without major trauma. More than 50 of 206 schools in the county are now integrated. Five thousand of the 38,000 Negro students enrolled in public schools are attending foremrly white schools. Total public school enrollment, white and nonwhite, is 190,000.

Most of the Negro high schools are to be phased out within three years. Teaching and administrative staffs are being integrated where possible. A quality education program is upgrading the quality of all schools; special emphasis is given to predominantly Negro schools to ease the academic transition to integrated schools.

Catholic parochial schools and colleges have been integrated for more than five years. The University of Miami, the largest private college in the area, voluntarily opened its doors to Negro students. The new public junior colleges has Negroes on its faculty as well as in its student body. All of this has come about with a minimum of public protest, and with a maximum of private effort.

Free access to public accommodations provides another interesting success story. In Miami Beach, in an effort to attract profitable national and regional conventions, which more and more frequently have Negrose in attendance, most public facilities, including hotels, dining rooms, pools, and night clubs, have now been desegregated for about 5 years. Rather reluctantly at times, many hotels and restaurants on the Miami side of Biscayne Bay have had to keep in step to meet the competition. As a result of lawsuits brought by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as early as 1955, public beaches, swimming pools, golf courses, and other tax-supported facilities have been integrated. More recently, brief and peaceful sit-ins directed by the Congress of Racial Equality have brought integration to most of the downtown area's lunchrooms and theaters.

Although Dade County boasts of one of the best race relations records in the South, it is still no Eden to the Negroes in the slum ghettos, among the worst in the Nation. The housing problems of Negroes, who constitute about 15 percent of the area population, are formidable. Where attempts have been made to eliminate the rundown shacks crowded one upon another on postage stamp lots, too often they have been replaced by privately constructed multidwelling concrete monsters charging higher rents, with greater population density and therefore less space, less privacy, and less outdoor play area. True, some private builders have erected improved housing, but in Miami, as in most of the rest of the Nation, the need greatly exceeds the supply.

Public housing, under an expanded program, helps some, but not enough. Urban renewal, a long-range solution to blight, is at this moment in Miami's history contributing to the housing problem for the many Negroes living in the central core of the city, the target for redevelopment. Because of a lack of open occupancy housing patterns, new ghettos will develop as central city slums are cleared and their Negro tenants are forced to move where they can, which means to new or existing Negro neighborhoods—or to the fringes of white areas. In past Miami history, this latter situation has provided the spark to set aflame the fires of violence. Several years ago, efforts by Negroes to expand their housing boundaries resulted in a rash of bombings in Miami residential areas. At the present time, action to integrate housing is high on CORE's priority list. Blockbusting tactics by unethical realtors are creating tension in some fringe neighborhoods. These elements for an explosive situation simmer not far beneath the seemingly quite surface.

Lack of Negro employment has been another major concern. Until recently, job opportunities were extremely meager, limited almost exclusively to manual labor and domestic service. Realistically planned vocational training to help Negroes qualify for better jobs has been lacking. Labor unions, vocational educators, private industry, and Government employers share the guilt.

But any overall view would show that Miami, compared to other southern communities, is moving toward civil rights objectives at a hopeful pace. Even so, the taste of the progress experienced in Miami whets the Negro's appetite for more. Among residents of both races are those who want equality for all minorities as of yesterday. Some whites say "Never," and some say "Tomorrow." Most Negro leaders are saying, more firmly than ever, "Now." To keep communication among these groups from fading out, a community relations board (CRB) was created in 1963 as an official arm of the county government. This board, with jurisdiction over the 26 municipalities when comprise Dade County, is the second of its kind to be organized in the South by ordinance, complete with operating funds and a professional staff. These advantages set it head and shoulders above other biracial committees formed in Dixie by the executive act of mayors, pressured by the stress of demonstrations and violence. The latter are usually last resorts rather than constructive programs aimed at lasting results. On the other hand, Dade's plan had been carefully worked out over a period of 3 years The enabling ordinance, written by capable local attorneys, who volunteered their services, resulted from the study of similar laws proven successful and constitutional in other communities.

This ordinance emphasizes the use of conciliation, persuasion, cooperation, and voluntary action as tools in the fields of school integration, public accommodation, public and private employment, and housing. At the present time the board can neither subpena witnesses nor compel attendance at meetings. So far, the strongest resource for effective persuasion has been the prestige of the board members and those citizens

serving on the subcommittees. However, a public accommodations ordinance now being revised to coincide with the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will grant greater power to the CRB and will establish penalties for noncompliance.

Why did the "pork choppers," those powerful Florida politicians backing racist and rightist views, permit renegade Dade County to move toward racial justice, in sharp contrast to the typical segregationist reaction in rural areas of the State? One reason is that Dade County had enjoyed home rule and a strong metropolitan county government for 7 years, so that some freedom from State control is possible.

In addition, the financial contributions from this county to the State Treasury far exceed the amounts returned to Dade County from Tallahassee. Therefore, although some State leaders may disagree with community relations activities in Miami, they, too, recognize that racial peace is vital to increased tourism and industrial development, the sources that keep the State Treasury replenished. This is not to say that harassment has been lacking, but seldom has it prevented progress.

Fortunately, in the years following the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation. Florida had a moderate Governor in LeRoy Collins, who now heads the U.S. Community Relations Service. As Governor, he was keenly aware of the pressures from urban centers, led by Dade County, to keep the schools open even in the face of inevitable desegregation. As a result, the pupil assignment law was enacted which permitted a community to desegregate its schools if it wished, but allowed others to refrain from doing so until pressured by the courts.

Exercising their local freedom, interested groups and individuals in Dade County worked hard to sell the county commissioners on the desirability of establishing the community relations board. It took courage for such elected officials to go on record in support of a measure to implement desegregation—a nasty word in Southern politics, even in Miami. Nor does unanimity of opinion on race relations activities now prevail in Dade County. Goldwater support (equated in the South with anticivil rights policies) has been strong in the area. The John Birch Society is active, as are anti-U.N. forces. They make their views known through pressure on municipal council meetings, in strongly worded letters to the newspapers, and in attempts to influence school board policies. A group of rightist citizens sat in on county council meetings while the ordinance for the establishment of the CRB was being discussed and protested every action taken to create the board. Such groups sometimes hamper progress in race relations but have been unable to stop it.

In the fall of 1962, members of a far-right organization, the Florida States Rights Party, Inc., were arrested in connection with a series of bombings and bomb threats against supporters of integration and were prosecuted. One convicted member receved two concurrent sentences of 6 years each for the illegal possession and transportation of explosives, and for the attempted bombing of a synagogue. The same man and the vice president of the States Rights Party were given jail sentences for their part in the bombing of the home of Don Shoemaker, editor of the Miami Herald, who had supoprted the CRB. The fact that convictions were secured, a rare achievement in southern bombing cases, is one reason why Miami has made generally peaceful progress in race relations in the past 2 years.

Although from time to time the voices of a local minister, a rabbi, the community relations council, or a religious organization were raised on behalf of freedom for the Negro, the catalyst for the organized activity which fostered the community relations board came from outside Miami. It grew out of the National Conference on Religion and Race, held in January 1963, in Chicago. There 669 delegates, representing the major faiths, convened to confront together our most serious domestic evil, racial injustice, and to make recommendations for action in individual communities.

Greatly impressed with the reports of the Chicago conference, Bishop Coleman F. Carroll, of the South Florida Catholic Diocese, decided to call for a Miami version of the national meeting. As chairman of the sessions, he gave the prestige of his office to the meeting. Out of this gathering in April 1963, came a strongly worded, widely publicized statement of conscience signed by many outstanding clergymen in Dade County. It called upon "all citizens and the elected officials of our community to recognize with us the importance and urgency of arriving at decisions which will promptly put into effect the remedies so necessary and imperative at this time" to assure the dignity of all men.

The communications media responded to this moral appeal by giving the fullest possible coverage to the statement. The newspapers and radio and television stations have continued to act as responsible sources of information on racial issues. Jack Kassewitz, chief editorial writer for the Miami News, a native of Fitzgerald, Ga., points out: "Our biggest part was in not overplaying minor incidents which could have added fuel. * * * Where papers shirked their responsibility, trouble has been great." His editor, William Baggs, highly respected by both whites and Negroes, serves as a member of the board. The powerful Miami Herald, through its editor, Don Shoemaker, has repeatedly praised the CRB. And Ralph Renick, popular news commentator for television station WTVJ, has made favorable editorial remarks on several occasions about the board and has spoken constructively on racial issues generally.

With the community's moral forces speaking out clearly with the economic power structure well aware of the potential financial disaster inherent in racial disorder; with the ugly evidence of racial violence in other places in the headlines; and with the backing of the local news media, the elected commisioners of Dade County were moved to vote for the ordinance creating the community relations board. Not only was it passed with only one dissenting vote, but the commission approved as board members highly respected, capable community leaders whose integrity is above reproach and who are committed to an educational and action program.

But Miami's is not a fairy story; this is not the end of a beautiful tale with a magic formula for instant justice. Perhaps the most significant struggles still lie ahead for the 18 board members. They meet regularly and perform quietly, but effectively, amid pressures from those who fear they will do too much and those who fear they will do too little.

In its short life, the Community Relations Board has accomplished a great deal. As Rev. Theodore Gibson, president of the Miami NAACP, states, "The board has kept the top on the powder keg." It has diverted several demonstrations from the streets to the conference table, where constructive agreements have been reached. Most significant is the strengthening of the lines of communication by offering an official channel through which to operate, thereby generating an atmosphere of progress, control, hope, and pride. With every news report of racial trouble exploding elsewhere, Miami citizens are reminded by the mass media of their Community Relations Board, of their foresight in taking constructive action as a preventive against conflict, of their civic responsibility in keeping racial peace through mediation and conciliation. The program is working.

The fact of CRB's existence as an arm of government, and the community standing of its members, gives courage to public and private agencies and business firms to act according to their conscience and commonsense. Within a week after the board's establishment, and after a series of conferences between board members and government officials, Miami City Manager Melvin Reese and then County Manager Irving MacNayr took major steps to right long-standing discrimination in public employment. Negro bus drivers were hired for the first time on the county-owned bus line. The police force, which formerly had employed Negroes only in Negro precincts, was desegregated, and a Negro traffic officer now stands on downtown Flagler Street, a symbol of changing times. The county hospital, whose segregated facilities and treatment had long been a sore point with the Negro community, began to desegregate at a rapid pace.

A major national food chain employed Negro cashiers for the first time in this part of the country, after key personnel had attended a series of conferences of business leaders called by the fair employment committee of the CRB. Negro sales people are beginning to appear in department stores. Paul Walker, president of Richards Department Store, recently reported that his store has hired two Negroes to be trained as buyers. He has said publicly that if he could find more qualified Negroes for executive positions, he would be pleased to hire them. So it goes; each sign of progress helps to build a more confident, more united and freer community.

For some, the rate of progress toward a more democratic community is still too slow; for others, far too rapid. It is the job of the CRB to set the pace that brings the best and most enduring results. How skillfully the CRB can accomplish this delicate feat of timing and balance, and continue to make progress in league with citizens of good will and courage, will help determine the popularity of Miami as one of the more popular playgrounds of the Nation. In Miami, as in some other communities, not only a good conscience but the delights of economic prosperity call for fair treatment of the Negro.

Chamber of Commerce Asks for Home Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the District of Columbia Chamber of Commerce is an organization of professional and business men who earn their living in this city. They are convinced that the city of Washington, D.C., will be a better place to earn a living if the people are permitted to elect their own officials, responsible and responsive to the citizens. They are convinced, also, that democracy demands self-government for the District of Columbia.

I have leave to insert their statement in support of home rule in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

This statement is presented, by the above organization, in support of the reporting out

and the passage of legislation which gives self-determination to the citizens of the District of Columbia.

As members of the business community, we stress the importance of individual initiative as the well-spring of the common good. We also stress the obvious relationship between individual initiative and individual responsibility and self-determination.

A necessary corollary of the principles of individual initiative, responsibility, and self-determination is the right of all citizens, including citizens of the District of Columbia, to participate in the governmental processes which affect their persons and property.

It is axiomatic that the right of self-determination includes the right to be less than perfect and even the right to function with less than the absolute efficiency of an authoritarian arrangement.

We therefore respectfully request that S. 1118, which has been passed by the Senate and which would promote the right of the District of Columbia citizens to self-government, be sent to the floor of the House of Representatives where the representatives of the people can have an opportunity to vote for its passage and enactment into law.

Medical Innovation in Livingston County, Mich.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WESTON E. VIVIAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, the 141-bed McPherson Community Health Center, located in Howell, Livingston County, in the Second Congressional District of Michigan, which I am privileged to represent in the U.S. Congress, recently made medical news. Its innovations in progressive patient care were described in the magazine Medical Economics. Progressive patient care is a practice that concentrates full medical and nursing services on the very ill, but progressively less attention on the patient as his or her health improves.

Many believe that medical innovation in this country occurs only in the large medical complexes located in metropolitan areas. But the medical staff at this moderate-sized hospital in Howell, Mich., have advanced the art of patient treatment and received recognition for their success in a major professional journal. I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following excerpts from the article:

Howell, Mich., lying off the beaten track between Detroit and Lansing, is an unlikely test site for the avant garde in hospital care. Yet the town's hospital, McPherson Community Health Center, has been involved for more than a year in an experimental patient care program that's won the approval of the majority of staff physicians. The program, called P.P.C. for "progressive patient care," breaks down the hospital's organization and facilities into separate units according the patients' needs for services—rather than into the traditional units geared to patients' diseases or to the medical specialists who treat them.

Though roughly 300 to 400 hospitals in the United States are organized with some of the elements of progressive patient care, McPherson is the most advanced example of progressive patient care. It's the only hospital using all six elements: Intensive care, for critically ill patients; intermediate care, for those in less critical condition; continuing care, for those who have a good chance of recovery through physical or occupational therapy; self care, for ambulant patients and those approaching discharge; outpatient care, for discharged patients who require occasional hospital treatment; and home care, for discharged patients requiring further nursing care at home.

What makes the experiment remarkable is that McPherson is only a 141-bed hospital. Progressive patient care programs of any consequence—those using three or four elements—are usually associated with hospitals of more than 300 beds. That's one reason why the University of Michigan is conducting a 3-year study of progressive patient care at McPherson—to determine whether the program is practical for small hospitals. Findings so far appear to indicate that it is.

McPherson's administrator, James H. Sullivan, started the program in November 1963, when the hospital's bed strength was upped from 75 to 141. "We wanted to utilize scarce personnel to the best advantage and to render specific patient care according to need," he says. "We further hoped that we could even hold the line on hospital costs."

Sullivan introduced the attendings to the progressive patient care program with this bed breakdown:

Intensive care	10
Intermediate care	59
Continuing care	26
Self-care	20
OB and pediatrics (not part of the progressive patient care program)	26
Total beds	141

The other two elements of progressive patient care—outpatient care and home care—don't, of course, require hospital beds.

The attendings then had to learn how to use the six elements of progressive patient care (as pictured on these pages). It wasn't easy. "It takes a lot of experience to use the full progressive patient care program effectively," says one attending. "None of us learned anything about it in school, and it certainly wasn't in our hospital training."

When McPherson attendings have a patient in critical condition, they've learned to speed him straight to the intensive care unit. "I think every man on the staff will agree that intensive care provides the best nursing care available for our very sick patients," says one attending, Dr. Harold C. Hill. Commenting on the total program, another attending, Dr. Thomas Barton, says "It helps us practice better medicine because we can gear the nursing care more specifically to the patient's condition."

That kind of care, most McPherson attendings agree, makes sound economic sense. As a patient moves from one stage to another and his nursing needs become fewer, his daily tab dips. Per diem rates are $40 in intensive care, $19 to $25 in intermediate care, $12 to $16 in continuing care and a flat $14 for private rooms in self care. According to Dr. Wendell E. Jacobs, "the progressive patient care program is a lot cheaper for the patient in the long run. If we had the conventional hospital setup and had to hire private nurses around the clock to take care of each critical patient, the cost would make the $40 a day charge for intensive care service look like peanuts."

Another attending praises the savings to patients who can be treated in home care. "I used home care for a terminal case," he says. "The patient, who had a carcinoma, was helped immeasurably by having a nurse available to come by instead of having to run up a sizable hospital bill before the end came. In home care the charge for a visit is $5—a lot cheaper than per diem in the hospital."

During their first year of living with the program, McPherson attendings did have some discouraging experiences. That was to be expected with the revolutionary change in hospitalization of patients, but most of the trouble spots have been eliminated.

* * * * *

Says Dr. Thomas Barton: "When we admit a patient who's not critical, we sometimes can't decide just which element is best for him."

Dr. Enos Walker thinks he has the answer. "When in doubt," he says, "I put the patient in intermediate care. Then, after 24 hours, I decide where I really want him. It takes a pretty smart doctor to decide on the spur of the moment where a patient should go in a hospital that uses the progressive patient care setup."

Whether or not to use the self-care service seems to pose the biggest problem. "Self-care," says Dr. Boyd Shertzer, "has such a homelike atmosphere that you wouldn't know you were in a hospital." And that, according to some attendings, is why it's often tricky to get patients into the unit. Says Dr. William L. Rice: "A lot of patients are accustomed to thinking of the hospital in terms of the really sick. The self-care unit is for the ambulant patient who doesn't appear to be sick. So patients frequently ask us, 'What am I doing here?' "

Even so, many attendings at McPherson find that self-care fills a definite need. Says Dr. Niles Clarke: "Psychiatry and mental hospitals still have a strong stigma in these parts. So I use the self-care unit for mild emotional cases who need a short rest. It's socially acceptable to them." Dr. Clarke also had a cardiac patient who refused to follow orders while being treated through the outpatient care unit. "He wouldn't take the medicine I'd ordered, so pretty soon he had all the congestive-failure symptoms. I put him into self-care because the nurse could see that he took what I'd ordered." Other attendings find the self-care unit useful for hospitalization of newly discovered diabetics, postsurgical patients or those who might have an urgent need to lose weight.

* * * * *

There's even less control in the home care element of progressive patient care, but it's fared well at McPherson. The 3 public health nurses who carry out the attendings' orders in patients' homes can support a caseload of 40 to 50 patients a month. And that means the patients aren't taking up expensive hospital beds.

To make home care more attractive, to doctors annd patients, Michigan Hospital Service (Blue Cross) pays a patient's bill even though he has not actually been in the hospital. Says Administrator Sullivan: "Blue Cross goes along with us if the attending physician states that the patient would have to be hospitalized if it weren't for home care. And Blue Cross also allows 3 days of home care for each day of hospital care the patient is entitled to."

Home care appeals to McPherson's attendings for a very practical reason: Visiting nurses can make daily calls and thus cut down the doctors' housecall burden. According to Dr. Louis E. May, "Home care takes the pressure off the doctor. The nurse can perform a lot of things he hasn't time to do."

How do patients react to transfers from one progressive patient care unit to another? Dr. May is one attending who has reservations on that score. "When I put a patient in intermediate care," he says, "I know I'll probably have to move him to one of the other units before he's discharged. It becomes a game of musical chairs. My patients haven't liked it. Moving is painful to them, and I think it sets them back psychologically to be treated like a number. Pro-

gressive patient care might be more acceptable to patients in metropolitan areas, where I suspect they're used to being treated like numbers. A lot of McPherson patients would rather fight than switch beds."

The consensus among McPherson attendings doesn't seem to back up that viewpoint. What's more, most of them find the bed-switching procedure efficient enough. When space is needed in, say, intensive care, the head nurse calls an attending whose patient appears ready for transfer to either continuing care or intermediate care. When the attending doesn't give his permission for the transfer and an intensive care bed is desperately needed, the nurse can then call the chairman of the progressive patient care committee, which is set up to handle such conflicts. The chairman evaluates the situation and then decides which, if any, patients are to be switched.

A few attendings complain that, as a patient moves along the progressive patient care line, the chance for error increases. Papers virtually discharging the patient from one unit to the next have to be filled out. Dr. May cites the example of a diabetic. "It's easy for such a patient to wind up getting the wrong pills or the wrong diet when he's moved to a new unit," he says.

Moving of another sort bothers Dr. Richard Omel. "If, for instance, you put an orthopedic patient in continuing care," he says, "the nurses are liable to insist that he move around. When the patient complains, what can I tell him? That I have no control over what the nurses do?"

One way for an attending to avoid that kind of conflict at McPherson is to call a conference. When he admits a patient or has one transferred to continuing care, for example, he can arrange a conference with the nursing supervisor of that section, the physiotherapist, the occupational therapist and the dietitian. Then they can discuss the best course of care for that patient.

Since progressive patient care has been the byword at McPherson, average length of stay has dropped a fraction. And even though the hospital's relatively low cost of self care tends to be balanced out by the high cost of intensive care, estimates indicate that costs have dropped slightly. It's too early to determine exactly how much.

As the attendings at McPherson have found, it will take more time to put all the progressive patient care elements into top gear. But they've learned enough about the good qualities of progressive patient care to stick with it. They feel they may have a system that almost guarantees that the right patient will be in the right bed at the right time—and at the right price.

Frederick L. Wenham

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, death has brought to an untimely close the life of one of Cleveland, Ohio's finest and most active residents, Frederick L. Wenham.

Fred Wenham was widely known for his membership in civic, cultural and transportation organizations. His great love was sandlot baseball and his firm, Wenham Transportation, Inc., sponsored amateur baseball teams for more than two decades.

All of us who knew Fred—and he counted his friends by the hundreds—are grieved by his passing at the tragically young age of 48. He had contributed so much to our community and we looked forward to time's full measure from this outstanding citizen.

Fred leaves his lovely wife, Lois, and four sons, Frederick L., III, Jeffrey E., Christopher W., and Timothy G., and to his family, to whom he was so devoted, the Minshall family extends its deepest condolences.

The Cleveland Plain Dealer paid tribute to him in its editorial columns yesterday and the article follows:

FRED WENHAM

The list of activities in which Fred Wenham participated reads like a nearly complete roster of Cleveland business, cultural, civic and sports organizations.

In addition to being founder and board chairman of Wenham Transportation, Inc., he headed four other firms offering a variety of goods and services.

While he gave generously of his time and support to many projects he was perhaps best known in amateur baseball circles. The Wenham firm had sponsored teams for the last 22 years.

The end of his useful and busy life at 48 touches many fields and many persons grateful for his enthusiastic interest in their activities.

New York Newspaper Cites Arguments Against Home Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, much has been said and written about the proposed home rule plan for the District of Columbia.

Much of the discussion has obscured certain basic issues. It was encouraging and heartening to note that the New York Times on September 14, 1965, in an article by Columnist Arthur Krock, developed important arguments in opposition to home rule.

I ask unanimous consent that this column by this noted columnist be reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD, believing this subject to be of great interest to my colleagues and the people of the United States.

The column follows:

IN THE NATION—THE CASE AGAINST HOME RULE

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, September 13.—In the current drive for the actual equality of all citizens in the legal and economic structure of the United States, home rule for this Capital City is a proposition whose claim seems undeniable on any worthy ground. Those who oppose it are accordingly subject to the suspicion that their sole reason is the ethnic division of the District of Columbia, the only metropolitan community in which Negroes constitute a considerable majority.

It is undoubtedly true that some of the opposition arises wholly from the prospect of Negro domination of the local government, most importantly of the police and the tax assessment authority. If Congress votes the substance of the legislation President Johnson has made one of his major objectives at this session. The legislation would also commit Congress to pay a fixed annual sum to the District that, once computed, would not require approval by subsequent Congresses.

NEGATIVE POWER

In passing the bill, Congress would retain the reserve power of veto over any act of the local government; so would the President, although his vetoes could, in effect be overridden by two-thirds of each branch of Congress. But once home rule was established, this supervision would become a negative, as contrasted with the present positive power. Because of the political philosophy that prevails in Congress, and also because of its complicated processes, negative power would be much more difficult to assert.

But there are reasons to oppose the home rule bill that are not fairly open to the suspicion of racist origin. They are impressive on both practical and constitutional grounds, deriving as they do from the causes which led the writers of the Constitution to include the clauses 17 and 18 in section 8, article I. That created the District as an enclave in which Federal legislative power was "exclusive."

The decision in the Constitutional Convention was reached on September 5, 1787. In his authoritative "The Making of the Constitution" (Little, Brown & Co., Boston) the late Charles Warren explained the event as follows:

"The power of Congress to legislate for the District * * * inserted on this day * * * had originated in a suggestion submitted by Madison on August 18, that Congress be given additional powers, among them: 'To exercise exclusive legislative authority at the seat of the General Government, and over a district around the same.'"

In his standard interpretative guide to the Constitution, the late Prof. Edward S. Corwin fully documents the legal history wherein it was confirmed that "Congress possesses over the District * * * the blended powers of a local and national legislature * * *," with, as Chief Justice Marshall emphasized, the power of "exclusive legislation." But the reason for writing this into the Constitution as a specific, and a persuasive argument against any such delegation of the power as provided in the pending home rule bill, are to be found in the following memorandum by an outstanding member of the District bar:

"The Continental Congress was all but driven out of Philadelphia by gangs of veterans of the Revolution demanding backpay and other redress of their grievances. With these things fresh in their minds, the framers of the Constitution gave Congress the power of 'exclusive legislation' over the Federal District it created.

"As I understand the present home rule proposals, they contemplate no change in the Constitution but give a local government under a mayor and a city council full governing authority subject only to a veto power in the Congress. This, it seems to me, can result surely in conflict and confusion. One needs only imagine a city hall of one party and a Congress of another, with taxes, city improvements, and police problems in controversy, to get the full impact of what is proposed.

THE LOGIC

"The predominance of District property used and occupied by the Federal Government in this small area again emphasizes the logic of Federal control here. We now have, under the present system, not a perfect local government, but it is cleaner from graft and corruption than any city of its size in the United States. The political gangs that surround most city halls (if they do not actually occupy them) are absent from our present District government. To install them now in our Nation's Capital would, it appears to

me, constitute a grave mistake of major and lasting consequences."

The present outlook for the home rule bill is that this prophecy will be put to the test.

Ike Speaks Out: Bay of Pigs Was All J.F.K.'s

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, recently our Nation has been flooded by biographical sketches of the late President John F. Kennedy. Included in these biographies are the authors' respective versions of the late President's intimate musings, deliberations, reasoning, and conclusions over the episode of the Bay of Pigs These biographies refer to former President Eisenhower's role during his administration in events leading up to the Bay of Pigs denouement.

With these words, the editor and publisher of Newsday, Harry F. Guggenheim, introduced a truly remarkable interview with President Eisenhower on the part he played long before the tragedy of the Bay of Pigs.

President Eisenhower, in the interest of historic accuracy, has given the public facts about these earlier events. At a recent meeting at Gettysburg with Mr. Guggenheim and Mr. Earl Mazo, President Eisenhower gave his account of the situation as it existed when he left the White House. I consider this a truly remarkable document and one which will set the record straight on this most important event on the history of our Nation.

The interview follows:

IKE SPEAKS OUT: BAY OF PIGS WAS ALL J.F.K.'S

(By Earl Mazo)

After our country's humiliation at the Bay of Pigs in 1961, Republican ex-President Eisenhower's only comment was to call for bipartisan unity behind Democratic President Kennedy. That was in keeping with Eisenhower's lifelong practice of supporting the Nation's Commander in Chief in times of crises.

Over the years General Eisenhower has demonstrated little taste for political partisanship and absolutely none for partisan excesses. In fact, he usually has ignored politically tinged distortions on his performance as President, military leader, and elder statesman.

Now, however, he feels it would be well to set the record straight on at least a couple of items in recent intimate histories of the Kennedy administration, by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and Theodore C. Sorenson, ranking members of Kennedy's staff. The general and several of his knowledgeable former Government associates view the Schlesinger and Sorenson attempts to link the Eisenhower administration with the Cuba invasion fiasco and discredit Eisenhower-appointed military and intelligence experts as a perversion of history and a disservice to the late President Kennedy, who never sought to duck responsiblity for his executive decisions.

The specifically disputed material by both writers is summed up in this paragraph from the Sorenson version: "On January 20, 1961, John Kennedy inherited the plan, the planners, and most troubling of all, the Cuban exile brigade. * * * Unlike an inherited policy statement or Executive order, this inheritance could not be simply disposed of by Presidential recision or withdrawal."

Eisenhower declares, "There was no tactical or operational plan even discussed" as of the day he turned the Presidency over to John Kennedy. During the transition period between the election in November 1960, and the inauguration in January 1961, Eisenhower reviewed for his successor all pending matters, including a secret program inaugurated less than a year before to equip and train anti-Castro Cuban refugees. The retiring President stressed that there had been no decisions as to how the Cuban forces would be used, if at all. Eisenhower had made no commitments that might bind the new President in dealing with the Castro problem. In fact, the armed refugee group was still so small and relatively unprepared that it could easily have been disbanded if the incoming administration considered its existence unnecessary.

As for the nonpolitical experts Kennedy chose to retain for his administration—notably Allen Dulles, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and the military Joint Chiefs of Staff—Eisenhower says: "These men over decades of devoted service have shown their capabilities, their sense of logic, their understanding of the problems involved in this kind of venture. There is no more expert group in their profession than these men * * * I had the greatest confidence in them."

Nothing the former President was told by Kennedy and others after the Bay-of-Pigs debacle diminished his faith and confidence in Dulles and the military chiefs. On the other hand, he believes the very disparagement of these seasoned professionals shows how unqualified the former Presidential assistants were to deal with the sort of problem involved in a critical international venture like the Bay of Pigs invasion.

Like most Americans, President Eisenhower welcomed the end of the Batista dictatorship in 1959 and hoped the new regime of Fidel Castro would live up to its promises of free elections and democracy in the exotic island republic just 8 jet minutes from Florida. Within a year, however, Castro created a dictatorship that was worse even than Batista's and President Eisenhower had concluded that strong measures might be required to thwart what appeared to be Castro's intention of establishing an outpost for Communist subversion in the Western Hemisphere.

Exactly what would have to be done—and when—remained to be thought out and decided. But the gravity of the situation neither awed nor frightened those facing it. Eisenhower and his administration's military and intelligence experts were not strangers to the nuances of contending with Communist intrusion in Latin America. Ex-Dictator Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, whose efforts to make Guatemala a haven for the Soviets led to his downfall in 1954, would bear witness to that.

In mid-March 1960, President Eisenhower decided that the United States would secretly aid anti-Castro Cubans. The CIA was directed to train and equip volunteers at bases in Guatemala, Panama, and southern Florida. The covert military instruction program was started partly in response to pleas by hundreds of refugees for something constructive to do. It was felt training would bolster the spirts of thousands who were fleeing the Castro dictatorship, and would give them hope that, in time, they would be able to do the job of ousting the Communist regime.

In essence, the long-range Eisenhower policy was to encourage and prepare Cubans to liberate their country. President Eisenhower kept in close touch with developments through the summer and autumn, and personally reviewed numerous ideas and suggestions that normally would have been sifted out before reaching the White House. (For example, he rejected a proposal that the Cubans be trained in Samoa to insure tighter security than was possible in Central America.)

In recalling that period, the general notes the Bay of Pigs was never mentioned or considered in discussions of possible alternatives and contingencies. Most attention focused on prospects for an operation of some sort in or near the Escambray Mountains where a government in exile might establish itself on Cuban soil.

Before there could be serious planning, however, the Cubans needed not only a well-supplied fighting force but also the leadership to organize a functioning government in exile. The leader or leaders had to be recognized and accepted by the Cuban people. That eliminated experienced individuals from the Batista regime and several leaders of peppery political factions who bristled at the thought of cooperating or sharing the glory of overthrowing Castro.

The Cubans were still without their own leadership when President Eisenhower retired and President Kennedy was inaugurated as America's Commander in Chief. In Washington, the changeover of Executive command, with Democrats replacing Republicans in nearly every key position throughout the Government, was the smoothest in modern times. The harmonious transition was directed by the President and President-elect.

The departing administration could not avoid bequeathing certain critical problems to its successor. But efforts were made to lighten burdens, where possible. There was, for instance, the last minute Eisenhower directive ordering thousands of dependents of overseas service personnel returned to the United States. A review of the international trade and monetary situation convinced Eisenhower that America's worsening balance-of-payments position would require drastic action sooner or later. Since the everyday spending of service families added up to an enormous annual dollar drain, the recall of dependents was among priority measures Treasury officials expected the Kennedy administration to consider. By issuing the recall directive himself, Eisenhower took the onus for that unpopular action, and spared the new President.

The balance-of-payments situation was one of three major unresolved problems Eisenhower reviewed at length for Kennedy at transition sessions. The Communist threat in Laos and Castro's Cuba were the others. "I told him exactly what we had been doing (in the Cuban refugee program)," recalls Eisenhower, "and pinpointed the centers at which approximately 500 men were then being trained."

Eisenhower felt that Kennedy shared his judgment that the new administration need not rush a decision regarding the Cubans. "At no time did I put before anybody anything that could be called a plan (to invade Cuba)," declares the former President. He emphasizes that there was "no mandate, no commitment by me or anyone in my administration," and he doubts that Kennedy felt "he was frozen to any position by me."

Among Eisenhower's last words to Kennedy before the ceremonial ride up Pennsylvania Avenue to the inauguration was: "You

people will have to decide what to do." The two men did not speak with each other again for 3 months. Then, after the Bay of Pigs disaster, Kennedy hurriedly invited the general to Camp David and sent a White House helicopter to Gettysburg for him.

Kennedy stated he sought the visit to "bring (Eisenhower) up to date on recent events and get the benefit of his thoughts and experience." The President met the former President at the landing pad. It was April 22. (The Bay of Pigs invasion had begun on April 17, and within a day or two Castro had wiped it out.) Eisenhower recalls that Kennedy seemed quite composed, but eager to talk out his young administration's humiliating experience.

It was a long and wide-ranging conversation. Like many military figures who had no inside information as to what happened, the general wondered whether the invasion really had been launched, as reported, without air cover and other elementary ingredients familiar even to junior officers, like plans for reinforcing and resupplying the beachhead.

At one point Eisenhower asked his host if the Joint Chiefs of Staff had approved the battle plan. Kennedy nodded and said, "with a few changes." Among other things, Kennedy explained, the original plan had been trimmed to avoid letting the world see "America's hand" in the operation. Eisenhower suggested that the country's prestige and power should never by committed unless its Chief Executive was determined to win. "There is no alternative," said the general. "Force is a naked, brutal thing in this world. If you are going to use it, you have got to be prepared to go all the way."

That afternoon Eisenhower stated at a news conference that all Americans should "support the man who has to carry the responsibility for our foreign affairs"—meaning, President Kennedy. Subsequently, the former Republican President publicly reaffirmed his backing of the Democratic President at every opportunity, including Republican political gatherings, until the crisis atmosphere abated.

While reflecting recently on the blunders that insured defeat at the Bay of Pigs—and thus entrenching, instead of overthrowing the Castro dictatorship—Eisenhower was reminded that Guatemala probably still would be a Communist stronghold if political advice had prevailed during a crucial stage of the anti-Arbenz venture in 1954, as happened during the anti-Castro venture in 1961.

The invasion of Guatemala, which was led and conducted by Guatemalan volunteers but covertly sponsored and supplied by the United States, floundered just as it was on the brink of success. The crisis stemmed from sudden lack of air support. Two of the liberating force's three aircraft had been destroyed, and without replacements the invasion would be doomed.

In Washington, President Eisenhower summoned military, intelligence and diplomatic experts. A State Department spokesman argued for a political, not a military decision. He contended that by sending replacement aircraft to Guatemala, America would risk having its role in the anti-Arbenz venture discovered, and that, in turn, would damage our prestige throughout Latin America.

Allen Dulles, the intelligence director whose agency was masterminding the invasion, argued that the airplanes were essential to success—and therefore should be sent. President Eisenhower agreed with Dulles. And a couple of days later the Communist regime in Guatemala was overthrown. Eisenhower's reasoning in that crisis was consistent with the advice he offered President Kennedy 9 years later. "If our hand had been discovered, then it was more important than ever that we win," he said.

U.S. Office of Education: A Growing Federal Bureaucratic Octopus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following two editorials from the Chicago Tribune which should be a source of deep concern to the legislators of this country, as well as to every citizen and school board member in the United States:

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, Sept. 22, 1965]

FEDERAL TENTACLES IN THE SCHOOLS

Representative ROBERT H. MICHEL, of Illinois, has come upon a secret memorandum which he says is proof that the Federal Government "is insidiously planning a complete takeover" of our public school systems.

The memo contains the minutes of a recent meeting of the Office of Education and deals with the agency's "future role and responsibilities" in relation to State and local agencies. It states that "no Office of Education hand is to be tied down by (1) having to deal only through a backward State education agency, or (2) not being able to deal directly with urban jurisdictions, however competent the State agency, when direct relationships seem most in the public interest."

The Illinois Republican has run into a curtain of silent in his efforts to find out why the Office of Education is so eager to bypass "backward" (meaning, no doubt, uncooperative) State agencies. If its motives are innocent and are consistent with the Government's repeated assurances that Federal aid will not mean Federal control of education, then why the secrecy?

Mr. MICHEL thinks that there is "something to hide," and with good reason. The Office of Education's hand has already begun to wander into affairs not properly its own. Two out of every five high school physics students, Mr. MICHEL says, are using textbooks prepared under Federal auspices. Federalization is even spreading to the humanities. One Office of Education official has talked of designing "the total English curriculum from kindergarten through college years."

Beyond this, the Office of Education has ordered hearings to determine whether Federal funds should be denied to school districts in six Southern States which are accused of fail to desegregate. The Supreme Court has ruled that the diberate segregation is a matter for Federal concern; but is the Office of Education, which is supposedly dedicated to improving education, the proper agency to carry out social reforms which are often likely to detract from the quality of education? The Office of Education has been nagging at Chicago's school officials—not for failing to desegregate, but apparently for failing to bring about forced integration, which is not a matter for Federal concern at all and is bound to interfere with the quality of education.

In short, the evidence is all too clear that the Federal Government intends to use Federal aid as a means of exerting control over State and local school affairs and that the Office of Education's interests will not even be confined to academic matters.

A wise Supreme Court ruled in 1936 that "the power to confer or withhold unlimited benefits is the power to coerce or destroy." A more subservient and less wise Supreme Court ruled 6 years later that it is wholly proper "for the Government to regulate that which it subsidizes." Once the subsidies start, control is sure to follow—despite all protestations to the contrary. We said so from the beginning, but the control has come even faster than we thought.

[From the Chicago Tribune, Sept. 24, 1965]

SCHOOL BRAINWASHING

"Just who's writing those classroom tests?" asks the Republican congressional committee newsletter, with reference to some items in nationally used intelligence tests and current events periodicals. The newsletter cites a series of objective test items in which the answers offered convey explicitly or implicitly partisan conclusions.

This can be done in both of two ways. Answers which only a blindly proadministration Democrat could accept as statements of fact are called correct. (Example: "The President's Great Society is a place where America is growing richer, stronger, happier, and wiser." True or false? Approved answer: True.)

Replies which testmakers concede to be false present a disparaging but presumably plausible image of Republicans, one which will influence many youngsters who will never come back to the item to consider which responses are wrong and why. (Example: "A club that accepts only very rich members is said to be (a) snobbish, (b) exclusive, (c) conservative, (d) Republican, (e) un-American." Approved answer: "Exclusive," but meanwhile "Republican" has been associated with such negative terms as "snobbish" and "un-American.")

Nationally published objective tests are extremely popular with school authorities for a number of reasons. They are inexpensive, require no local effort in preparation, and no thought in grading. Also, they save time. But they are easy to manipulate in such partisan ways as the Republican newsletter rightly decries. And they are inherently too oversimplified for the complexities and ambiguities of judgments in the social studies. An instrument that may work well in arithmetic does not necessarily work well in political science.

However, objective tests will be used, and they will be less than thoroughly objective. If they are to be loaded to a minimum extent, publishers should insist (as obviously they are not always doing) on having representatives of differing views examine politically significant items. If a reasonable man of strong views protests an item as unfair to his party or his principles, perhaps that item should not be put before children to be rated as right or wrong, true or false.

As educators generally want Federal handouts that Republicans for the most part oppose, any bias in school tests is likely to be against Republicans rather than for them. Republicans especially have reason to be vigilant against the intrusion into the schools of whitewash and smear. And educators who care about truth will do well to minimize their reliance on devices that invite oversimplification.

Constitution Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, on this, the last day of Constitution

Week, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a most interesting editorial, read on Radio Station KSRA, Salmon, Idaho, by Mr. Dave Ainsworth, the station's owner and manager.

Mr. Ainsworth's remarks certainly speak for themselves and no embelishment is needed.

The editorial follows:

Good afternoon, friends, this is Constitution Week. It celebrates the signing on September 17, 1787, of the document which within the following 2 years was ratified by sufficient of the Original States to become effective on March 4, 1789.

It has been variously described. It has been called a charter of freedom—the world's greatest single document declaring the freedom of man—and more recently it has been described as obsolete, inadequate, outdated, and no longer pertinent to the times in which we live.

If this latter belief—held by too many who occupy positions of power and influence in our National Government—were true, I should feel like Brutus called upon for the funeral oration over the body of the slain Julius Caesar. William Shakespeare quoted Brutus as saying, "Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears. I come here to bury Caesar, not to praise him."

I sometimes feel that any remarks made about the Constitution in the context of many of today's attitudes are almost in the nature of some sort of requiem for a document that is either dead or dying.

Before we go on to discuss some ideas in this connection, let's look at another important document —important in the history of this Nation and in the history of the world. The Declaration of Independence was adopted by the Continental Congress a little more than 11 years before the Constitution was approved.

In its preamble, the Declaration of Independence actually becomes the parent of the Constitution, because it is in the Preamble of the Declaration that the principles of freedom—the theorem that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," was first expounded in this country, perhaps in the world. Another important line from that Preamble is a definition of government as it relates to the citizenry—important, as we think of the Constitution and today's attitudes toward it. The Declaration makes this statement, "That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." An important word to remember as we continue this discussion. The word is "consent"—the active kind of agreement, and not "assent," the passive variety. Ask yourself the question, are we consenting to what is being done to us, or have we turned into a government by assent?

But to go on with the Declaration itself. Beyond the Preamble, which is certainly best known, the Declaration is a step by step description of the colonial complaints against the government of King George the Third.

Some of the complaints are interesting For instance, the Declaration complains that "he has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people unless these people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only."

Further, "He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries."

Further, "He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat their substance."

These are but a few of the complaints of the Declaration, but they were some of the things which were considered when the Constitution was written 10 years later.

To get on with the Constitution itself—you know its basic form, starting with the lucid Preamble which sets the stage for all that follows.

Its words are immortal: "We, the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States of America."

It then proceeds to establish the three branches of the Government—the legislative branch with its duties well defined, the executive with its powers clearly established, and the judicial with its powers well delineated.

As established by the Constitution, these were to be three independent branches, each serving as a check on the other. Ask yourself what has happened in the last 30-some years to the system of checks and balances which were supposed to exist in the three branches of the Government. For instance, in the delineation of the duties of the President, the Constitution says that he shall "from time to time give to the Congress information on the state of the Union and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." No place do I find any suggestion that he shall browbeat the Congress, both by the financial pressure now in his power and by the most flagrant of lobbying methods, to force through legislation which Members of the Congress know is wrong and not in accord with the wishes of their constituents.

This is merely a preface to discussion of a belief held by many that the Constitution as we know it—the Constitution as it was drawn by the Founding Fathers of this Nation—is being steadily eroded and destroyed by the very people who swear that they will defend the instrument by which they hold their offices and upon which this great Nation was founded.

What kind of a government is it? What kind of a government is established by the Constitution? Does it describe the United States as a democracy? No.

Over a period of a number of years, we have been brainwashed into the idea that this is a democracy—it is not.

There is a quote of a conversation between Benjamin Franklin and a lady friend, shortly after the Constitution was adopted. She is said to have asked, "and what kind of a government have you given us, Mr. Franklin?" His answer, "We have given you a federated Republic, and I hope you will be able to keep it."

This requires a couple of definitions and a quote from the Constitution.

First, the dictionary definition of a democracy: "A government by the people; a government in which the supreme power is retained by the people and exercised either directly (absolute or pure democracy) or indirectly (representative democracy) through a system of representation."

Then, the definition of a republic: "A state in which the sovereign power resides in a certain body of the people (the electorate) and is exercised by representatives elected by and responsible to them."

Then the quote from the Constitution itself—section 4 of article 4 of the Constitution says in part: "The United States shall guarantee to every State a republican form of government."

Note, nothing is said about a democracy, pure, absolute or indirect, but rather a group of republican form of government in which the electorate of the individual States shall be supreme, is guaranteed. Does this sound much like some of the recent Supreme Court decisions, or some of the recent actions of Congress?

The President, the Members of the Congress, the members of all the courts, Supreme or inferior, are sworn to defend the Constitution. It provides for the offices they hold, but they are the very ones who are doing their best to destroy the efficacy of this instrument which is the lifeblood of the Nation.

The attitude of the current crop of intellectuals toward the Constitution is an enigma. Under the Constitution—and when we check history we find that during the first 120 years of this Nation's history it was followed fairly close and was not too severely tampered with, either by amendment of judicial decisions, the United States, in a few short years as history is measured, became the world's greatest nation.

But now, many say that document is outmoded. The drive today among the intellectuals who hold sway in Washington is toward the pure democracy. It has never worked in the world, and it never will. The theory of one man, one vote as pronounced by the Supreme Court in its decision on reapportionment of State legislatures and in civil rights matters is a denial of reason and a denial of the very document which establishes the Court.

The only thing that made acceptance of the Constitution possible in its formative stages was the great compromise in which the smaller States, both in area and population, insisted that at least one House of the National Legislature be apportioned equally among the States regardless of size or population. This is a basic element of the Constitution. And yet, the Supreme Court has held that when this same principle is applied in the States, it is unconstitutional.

I was taught in school that things equal to the same thing are equal to each other. Hence, if it is unconstitutional in the State, it is unconstitutional at the National level. Carry it one step further—and is the Supreme Court, in holding the Constitution unconstitutional, declaring itself out of existence? A good question and one the Justices might like to answer.

There is no place in the Constitution as written in which I find a declaration that citizenship conveys the right to vote. The States are guaranteed a republican form of government which infers that the States shall have the right to say who shall be qualified voters—to establish the electorate to which the government of the State and incidentally the Nation is responsible.

A federated republic, in which a group of states joined together in a constitution for their general welfare and protection can live if it's citizens are willing to make the effort and the sacrifices to make it live.

Either a pure or representative democracy in which one man has one vote, regardless of his capabilities, his intelligence, his knowledge, his literacy, becomes mob rule. A nation cannot and will not live under democracy. It may continue to exist, but it will not long exist as a democracy. It changes from a democracy to a demogogery, because uneducated people, illiterate people, people too lazy to think for themselves, people all too willing to accept interpreted, rather than objective news, are led by those who promise the most.

How did it happen? That's easy to tell. The federated Republic established by the Constitution started on the skids in 1909, and the skids were thoroughly greased in 1913 when the 16th amendment establishing direct collection of the income tax was passed. Up to that time, the provision of the Constitution contained in paragraph 4, section 9, article I, said—and the Founding Fathers were smart—"no capitation or other direct tax shall be laid." It was only after this provision was stricken that the Federal Government could become the great pennies from heaven institution it now is.

Another great error along the way brought about today's staggering bureaucratic monster. This will probably be challenged violently, because before the civil service was established, the old so-called spoils system prevailed. The elected officials appointed all Government officials right down the line, and there were some pretty sorry messes. But, when the political cry arose, "Throw the rascals out," it was possible.

Today, it isn't. You may sit back complacently and think that this is an elective government—that it is the men you elect who actually run things. Think again. What about that hard core of civil service employees—more than 2 million of them—the experts, the background people, the policymakers. The face may change, but the heart and pulse of every Federal agency is in the hands of the continuing civil service. This was never contemplated by the drawers of the Constitution.

A third, but not least, blow to constitutional government, also is connected to the establishment of this monolithic bureaucracy. The Congress has gone far beyond the bounds of the Constitution, which delegates to it the job of making the laws, and has given to each of this multiplicity of bureaus the right to make its own rules and regulations which take the effect of law. So, again, we have seen the erosion of the theoretical system of a federated republic.

And today we are moving further and further in the direction of a representative one-man, one-vote democracy, unsanctioned by the very instrument we are supposed to revere—a government more and more controlled by the executive branch, in which the checks and balances of the Constitution are being thrown into the discard.

Who is to blame?

Read the Constitution yourself. Study it. You can read as well as the next person, and you don't have to be a constitutional lawyer to understand its meaning. The men who wrote it were common men like you and me—not men steeped in the dream of power but, rather, men devoted to the idea that they could found a government in which schemers for power could not prevail. The road to pure democracy is the road to the destruction of the freedoms we have known, and our forefathers have prized. But that seems to be the way the firm of Johnson, HUMPHREY, Warren, and company want it.

And there's only one defense. It's the Congress of the United States. The Congress—in Senate and House of Representatives—is the one body that has the power to halt this mad dash. Will they do it? Only if the electorate comes to the realization that it must elect representatives who will not be led further down the path of governmental expediency.

Listen to this and think about it. It was said in 1778 by General St. Clair, a commander in the Continental Army, and almost 10 years before the Constitution was written. Of course, he was referring to the then Continental Congress, but what he said rings true today. We quote:

"Should some future Congress depart for the great business of watching over the affairs of a whole continent, to hunt down an individual—should factions arise among them, and local interests take the place of the general interest—should their time be wasted in frivolous and endless disputes, whilst the public service stands still, and its honest servants are tired out with tedious and expensive waiting—should they create offices with great salaries, where those who hold them may rob the public without a possibility of detection, and cabal among themselves for the disposal of them—should they pass resolves ridiculous in themselves, and impossible to be carried into execution—then will Congress sink into contempt, nor will all the importance they may endeavor to assume, nor the fastidious pomp they may display, support them; and then will the misfortune of America begin."

And that's the way it seems to me today.

A Lasting Payments Remedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to include a very fine editorial on the need for a lasting remedy to our balance-of-payments problem. This editorial appeared in the Birmingham, Ala., Post-Herald on September 20, 1965:

A LASTING PAYMENTS REMEDY

A Republican study group has correctly remarked that the administration's present programs to bring some balance into our international payments account "have not gotten at the basic causes" of past deficits. The GOP also correctly termed voluntary controls over foreign investing and lending as "artificial, expedient and ultimately self-defeating."

To some degree, even partisan Democrats agree with this view. To their credit they insist, publicly at least that current efforts are indeed "voluntary" and "temporary." But to date there is no evidence the administration is coming to grips with more permanent and desirable solutions.

Reaching decisions in this area is no easy task, politically or economically. Tough and even unpopular measures will be necessary. But however difficult the task, the critical issue must be resolved if the dollar is to remain the cornerstone of free world monetary systems and if, as the administration desires, a decisive meeting can be held on monetary reform and implementation.

For their part, the Republicans suggest three approaches: Cutting foreign aid spending to trim dollar losses, increasing interest rates at home to attract more foreign capital, and reducing the number of troops stationed abroad—particularly in Western Europe.

All have merit, but the troop-reducing proposal could achieve the largest permanent saving. Actually not too much can be saved by cutting foreign aid expenditures because now more than 80 percent of aid money is spent in the United States. But there can and should be dollar savings in this field.

The interest rate proposal also would be of limited value since any substantial increases in the United States almost certainly would be followed by similar actions abroad. But a modest increase might well be tried, not only to lure a little more money from abroad but also to dampen inflationary fires at home.

The troop-reduction proposal involves security plans for the Western alliance. But here obviously is the place to work if we're to achieve real results on our payments problem. As Senator SYMINGTON, Democrat, of Missouri, asked this week: Is it still necessary to maintain five U.S. Army divisions in Europe? And as the Missouri Senator remarked, the United States would not be faced with its present payments problem if "now prosperous" European allies, once recipients of U.S. aid, had been more willing to pay for the mutual defense and help of the underdeveloped nations.

As is apparent, the payments problem is a tough one and to achieve improvement of any permanency will require tougher action than has been taken. Our Government should get moving, or it may find itself as a last resort forced to do something no politician wants to contemplate—curbing travel abroad by U.S. citizens.

Red Influence Up in the Dominican Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 7, 1965

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, on September 7, I took the floor of this body and warned that the Dominican Republic could become a Latin America Laos.

At that time, I pointed out that the Communist-led rebels are stronger than ever before, that the Communists controlled the rebel military organization in that country, and that they have been elevated to a position of dignity by becoming a partner in the provisional government in the Dominican Republic. I also said:

> They (the Dominican rebels) are certain to use this position from which to launch an intensive campaign to take over the Dominican Republic and to abort the election process supposedly guaranteed.

In an article in today's press by Scripps-Howard Staff Writer R. H. Boyce, it is reported that the Communist-led rebels are now trying to prevent presidential elections scheduled for next May and further, that the Communists influence in the rebel camp is on the increase.

This report, and others of a similiar nature, substantiates my belief that this whole matter of Communist subversion in this hemisphere be investigated by the Congress. In addition, I renew my demands that U.S. troops be retained in the Dominican Republic until we are certain that the country will not be taken over by the Communists and that short-of-war action against the real cancer in this hemisphere, Communist Cuba, be instituted. Such action would include the recognition of a non-Communist Cuban government in exile, a meaningful trade ban, and a halt to the flow of Commuist trainees and arms between Cuba and other Latin American nations as well as Africa.

Following is the above referred to article which apeared in the September 24 issue of the Washington Daily News:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Sept. 24, 1965]

RED INFLUENCE UP IN DOMINICAN REPUBLIC—SPREADING PROPAGANDA AND TERROR

(By R. H. Boyce)

Communist and leftist influence in the Dominican Republic has increased since fighting ended and a provisional government

was established, informed sources said here today.

More than 2,000 leftist agitators, men who were trained in the rebel enclave in downtown Santo Domingo while sporadic fighting was still going on, have now fanned out throughout the interior of the island. They spread propaganda and terror. They use the Communists' clenched fist salute.

One or two interior cities already have been affected, and there is danger of more of this. Officials try to keep the agitators under surveillance, but that's an almost impossible job.

CASTRO

The leftist 14th of June Revolutionary Movement, linked to Fidel Castro, reportedly plans to establish a guerrilla base near but not in some interior town. From this base, guerrilla bands could conduct terror and agitation raids throughout the surrounding countryside. The movement's hope is to prevent presidential elections scheduled for next May, or to insure that leftist candidates will win.

Some of the 58 Communists and leftist activists whose names the U.S. Government made public last April still are in the rebel enclave. Rebel radio broadcasts—much of it strongly anti-American in tone—continues daily. Rebel newspapers are still being published. These activities are expected to end once the rebel zone is completely dismantled. That will take another 10 days to 2 weeks, sources say.

"Communist influence in the rebel camp is much greater and more open now after 5 months," said one source.

Communists and pro-Communists have infiltrated labor unions, women's clubs, lawyers' and doctors' organizations, and teacher associations.

They continue to emphasize, especially to peasants in the interior, the "valorous" role of rebel soldiers who, "though outnumbered, continued to hold off the Dominican Regular Army, the vaunted United States 82d Airborne Division, and the inter-American peace force, too."

This kind of distortion and overdramatizing of the facts appeals to the Latin sense of masculinity and builds sympathy for the rebel cause.

Ousted President Juan Bosch is expected to return from exile in Puerto Rico tomorrow. It is believed he deliberately delayed his return so that an impressive welcome demonstration could be arranged.

This is partly to build enthusiasm for his expected presidential candidacy in next May's elections. But there is another factor: Sr. Bosch lost much public support when he failed to return to Santo Domingo during the bitter fighting. He hopes newly aroused feeling for him will overcome that loss.

Latin American Anger Brings Reaction on Hill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, here it is just 4 days since passage of House Resolution 560 and already the folly of the State Department's action—or is it inaction—has become clear.

On Monday, before House consideration of the resolution involving the right of one nation to intervene in any other nation where there is a Communist threat, I warned the State Department of the effect of this measure in Latin America.

I told Department officials that unless they made their feelings clear to Members of Congress the resolution would win overwhelming approval, and the result would be a damaging blow to our efforts to retain goodwill in Latin America.

But the State Department equivocated. Department officials indicated they were not happy with the resolution, but in the same breath remarked they would not oppose it.

The consequences of the State Department's decision is becoming more apparent every day. The latest proof of this is a story in today's Washington Post telling how our image has become tarnished in Latin America.

The article follows:

LATIN AMERICAN ANGER BRINGS REACTION ON HILL

(By John M. Goshko)

Administration efforts to affirm goodwill toward Latin America are being swamped in a flood of Latin anger over a House of Representatives resolution approving the use of force in any American nation threatened by a Communist takeover.

As of last night, the Congresses of two Latin countries—Peru and Colombia—had passed unanimous resolutions of their own denouncing the House action.

And the press and political sector in the rest of Latin America have started to produce anti-American criticism more intense than anything since the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic last April.

CLARIFICATION ASKED

So intense has been the outcry that Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, Republican, of New York, rose in the Senate yesterday to appeal for clarification of the confusion "about what our policy now really is toward Latin America."

On Monday, after almost no discussion, the resolution passed the House by an overwhelming vote. It says that any hemispheric country is justified in unilateral use of force to combat Communist subversion. Before passage the State Department expressed neither approval nor dissent.

The resolution merely expresses the feeling of the House and is not binding on administration policy. However, the Latins seem to regard it as an invitation to ignore the provisions in the Organization of American States Charter forbidding intervention in the internal affairs of any member state.

CONFERENCE MAY BE DELAYED

For this reason, several Latin governments already have suggested privately that the Inter-American Conference of Foreign Ministers, unofficially expected to begin in November, be put off until next March. Otherwise, these governments have warned, the Conference probably will bog down in anti-U.S. recrimination.

If the postponement takes place, it would mark an ironic ending to a month that the administration had earmarked as a time for reemphasizing hemispheric solidarity.

To this end, the administration staged a glittering White House reception and a major speech by President Johnson to mark the fourth anniversary of the Alliance for Progress. Mr. Johnson also sent Jack Hood Vaughn, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, on a whirlwind goodwill tour of Latin America.

Things began coming apart 2 weeks ago, however, when Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, delivered his attack on the Santo Domingo intervention. Then, in the midst of the controversy surrounding FULBRIGHT's speech, the House pushed through the resolution sponsored by Representative ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, JR., Democrat, of Alabama, chairman of its Inter-American Affairs Subcommittee.

Yesterday, as reports from almost every Latin capital told of rising anger, the subject continued to occupy the attention of U.S. Congressmen.

JAVITS criticized the House resolution as "particularly unfortunate" and said that if U.S. policy was as stated in the resolution, it would justify criticism that Washington is opposed to progressive forces in Latin America.

The New York Republican called for clarification of the U.S. stance through a Senate resolution that would reaffirm the faith of Congress in the Alliance for Progress as "the framework for nonviolent but accelerated social and economic development of Latin America."

In the House, however, SELDEN continued to press the view of the congressional faction concerned about communism in the hemisphere. In a lengthy speech, he defended the administration against FULBRIGHT's attack and reechoed charges that a background document published by FULBRIGHT's committee was compiled primarily from press sources hostile to U.S. actions in Santo Domingo.

While this battling went on, the administration continued to maintain its almost total silence about the resolution. The State Department's only comment has been to say it agrees with the aims but feels that the wording is open to unfortunate interpretations.

What some of these interpretations are was made clear by yesterday's reports from Latin America. The resolution passed by the Peruvian Parliament called the House action "American imperialism in hemisphere affairs," while that adopted in Colombia described it as "openly regressive and contrary to the juridical political system of Latin America."

Diffusion and Air Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that we have taken action on the amendments to the Clean Air Act today, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to the remarks made by Prof. M. Neiburger at a meeting of the American Meteorological Society on October 14, 1964.

Under unanimous consent I include in the RECORD at this point the pertinent portion of this speech, which was published in Bulletin of the American Meteorological Society, volume 46, No. 3, March 1965, pages 131–134.

Professor Neiburger, who is in the Department of Meteorology, University of California at Los Angeles, is very concerned with the buildup of contaminants in the atmosphere. He presents some very thought-provoking views and pro-

posals to which I commend your attention. The article follows:

DIFFUSION AND AIR POLLUTION

(By M. Neiburger)

DEFICIENCIES OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH

To get down to cases, then, let me say that most of the studies carried out heretofore with respect to diffusion have relatively little relevance to air pollution. The theoretical studies have been concerned (with some exceptions) with ideal situations which are sufficiently simple to be solved, at least approximately, and the experimental investigations have been carried out in situations which approximate the idealizations as nearly as possible in order to test the theory.

Perhaps I should interrupt myself long enough to explain to the ladies and other nonspecialists just what is meant by atmospheric diffusion. In the old days when people took cream in their coffee it was simple to illustrate from their daily experience. If poured into the coffee very slowly and not stirred the cream would remain where it was poured a long time, and only slowly mix with the dark brown brew. Stirring with a spoon creates an irregular motion we call mechanical turbulence which speeds up the horizontal and vertical spread of the cream and its rapid mingling with the coffee to form a uniform mixture. This spread and mixing is the process known as diffusion. If the cream were poured first and then the coffee the tendency of the light cream to rise to the top and the heavy coffee to sink would create convection which would further tend to mix the two, even in the absence of mechanical stirring. In this case we speak of the stratification as unstable, whereas when the heavier fluid is at the bottom we say it is stable. The degree of stability and the amount of mechanical turbulence are the factors which determine the rate of diffusion in the atmosphere.

Research studies of turbulent diffusion in the atmosphere have been concerned for the most part with the case where there is a steady wind blowing over smooth terrain under neutral conditions of stability, with the magnitude of turbulent fluctuations only a small fraction of the average wind. There are good reasons, of course, for attempting to develop a theory for this simplest case and testing it experimentally before proceeding to the more complex real situation. I do not mean to minimize the importance of such attempts, nor their difficulty. But in the actual situations which produce high concentrations of air pollution the average wind speed is only a little different from zero, with the turbulent variations as large as the mean wind, with buildings, hills, trees, and even moving elements such as vehicular traffic in place of the smooth ground assumed in the theory, and with inversions varying in intensity and thickness. Until the theory treats the case of light variable winds, irregular terrain, and strong but variable stability it will have little applicability to atmospheric pollution.

Secondly, most of the theoretical and experimental studies have dealt with single point sources, either instantaneous or continuous and constant, or line sources. But for the air pollution problems of current interest, those of cities, industrial complexes, and even megalopolises, it is necessary to deal with multiple sources or area sources with intensities varying in space and time. Some small starts have been made in investigating this type of source. One of its special characteristics is the fact that for area sources one is interested not only in the concentrations of pollutants at a distance, but more particularly at points within the source area.

A third complication is the fact that the pollutants undergo changes after they have been emitted. The effect of gravitational settling out of particulates has been taken into account in some studies, but I know of none which take into consideration the chemical and photochemical reactions in which the gaseous contaminants participate as they diffuse in the atmosphere. For the determination of the concentrations of toxic substances it is clear that the reactions which produce them must be considered.

To treat simultaneously all these complications: light and unsteady wind and temperature structure, irregular terrain, multiple and area sources of variable intensity, and chemical reactions as the pollutants diffuse, is indeed a forbidding prospect, and it is not surprising or blameworthy that the investigators until now have not faced it. But before we can say that we know how to predict the pollution intensities we will have to do so.

Finally, with respect to the problems of diffusion air pollution, we must have studies of the ways in which pollutants are removed from the atmosphere (apart from the absorption in our lungs and other tissues), and the rate at which they go on. While diffusion continuously dilutes the concentration of contaminants, there must be processes which finally remove them; otherwise the background level of pollution of "pure" air would gradually rise. We do not actually know to what extent the background of particulate and gaseous contaminants is increasing, except possibly with respect to carbon dioxide. It would be very desirable to establish benchmark average values in places remote from sources for use in the future to determine at what rate the background levels are changing, if any. And it would be very desirable that the mechanisms of atmospheric cleansing be studied.

What is the value of this increased knowledge of the real processes of diffusion, transformation, and removal of pollutants in the atmosphere? The knowledge itself will not reduce the concentration of pollutants, of course, nor do I think that it will point to ways of altering the diffusion or removal process once the pollutants are in the atmosphere. I have on occasion examined various proposals for weather modification to accomplish these purposes in Los Angeles, and besides undesirable side effects the procedures proposed would require tremendous expenditures of energy, comparable with all the power produced in the United States. What the understanding I am advocating will do is enable the estimation of the effects increases in sources will have, either due to the continuous increase in population and the accompanying increase in pollution emitted per person as civilization progresses, or because of construction of particular industrial installations or shifts of population. Likewise it will enable estimation of the effects of control measures introduced to reduce or eliminate sources. To know how dangerous the untrammeled growth of population and industrialization may be, or how desirable any particular control measure may be, we must be able to make these estimates. The greater the danger, or the more expensive the control measure, the more worthwhile it is to have the meteorological knowledge which enables us to estimate their effects.

TWO VISIONS OF THE FUTURE

I turn now to the speculation about the future. Looking into my smoggy crystal ball I see alternately two visions of the future—let us say the year 2064, one pessimistic and disheartening, the other optimistic, hopeful, and probably unrealistic.

The pessimistic view is that in the course of the next century, as the population grows, as the power demands per capita increase both in the already industrialized nations and in the developing countries where there is so much need for it, the amount of waste poured into the atmosphere by these activities will far exceed its capacity to diffuse and to remove it, and the atmosphere will grow progressively more polluted until, a century from now, it is too toxic to permit human life. All civilization will pass away, not from a sudden cataclysm, but from the gradual suffocation by its own effluents.

Such a prospect is not pleasant to face, and so we shall not face it and do something about it, but instead will let it creep up on us, and only when it has progressed to the point where it will be extremely difficult and expensive to take any steps to combat it will the public be aroused to demand that something be done. And even then people will be unwilling to have any of their own activities curtailed or to have their own taxes increased to pay for the effort to prevent the disaster. Mankind will sink into its smoggy doom through inertia and irresponsibility.

The prospect is unpleasant for me to face as well, and while I am prepared to say to you 100 years from now "I told you so," I turn hastily to the more pleasant prospect of my other vision.

This view of the future is based on the unlikely premise that humans will at some time in the near future take stock of their relationship to the natural resources on which the very existence of human life and civilization is based. When the human species was young there was no need for concern: the resources available seemed boundless, and the only problem was to find ways to exploit them. As human population increases exponentially and as the per capita utilization of resources goes up even more rapidly, it becomes evident that there are bounds to the supply, not only of raw materials for luxuries but of food for life's very sustenance. While the increasing demand for food places other requirements on meteorologists, in terms of climate control, it does not threaten the air resources the way the power demands do if they are to be satisfied by combustion of fossil fuels.

To illustrate the consequences of unrestricted use of fossil fuels, just imagine the smog which would accumulate in the atmosphere if every one of the 800 million Chinese drove a gasoline-powered automobile, as every Los Angeleno does. And, of course, as the living standards of the developing countries rise, we may well expect that all Chinese, Indians, Africans, etc., will demand to have the same freedom of mobility that we Americans have.

I do not believe that it will be possible to devise controls for internal combustion engines which will reduce the noxious effluents adequately. What is required is a radical new approach to the problem of motive power for transportation, and my optimistic hope is that humanity will recognize the need and take the drastic steps required before it is too late.

A conceivable alternative, for instance, might be an electric powered automobile. Thus one can visualize a battery pack of the size of the gasoline tank in present automobiles, such that a single charge would provide adequate power to propel a car at reasonable speeds, say up to 60 miles per hour, for a distance comparable to that which a tankful of gasoline presently carries a car. One would be able to drive into a service station every 200 miles (say) and have the battery pack replaced by a freshly charged one, paying for the cost of the charging of the battery plus a part of its depreciation. The battery pack would completely take the place of the gas tank; its replacement when discharged would correspond to filling the tank. From the operational viewpoint the electric car would then be equivalent to the gasoline or diesel automobile, and if the premise of adequate power and speed were satisfied the users would be too. And from the pollution standpoint the burning of fossil (or nuclear) fuel

would be carried out in centralized electric generating plants located away from populated sections and operated under optimum conditions of combustion efficiency and effluent control so that the pollution would be minimized both as to amount and effect.

That this concept is unduly opimistic is seen when one considers the problems which would arise from the change from gasoline to electric automobiles. A complete reorganization of industry would be required. Not alone the manufacturers of engines and parts and the refiners of gasoline, but also the distributors of the fuel. Gasoline refineries, tank trucks, storage facilities, gas pumps—all the aspects of the distribution of gasoline would be obsolete, and the manufacturers of these facilities would have to turn to other products. If the change could be carried out slowly and progressively there might be a chance of its taking hold without overall planning and direction—perhaps imposition. But it is a chicken-and-the-egg matter: no one would buy the envisaged electric car unless he were assured that wherever he went he could get the battery pack exchanged; no one would stock the battery packs and set up the recharging facilities unless he were sure there will be a reasonable demand for them; no manufacturer will make the packs, or for that matter the cars, until he is sure that people are ready to buy them; and most fundamental of all, no one will invest in the development of the battery pack or the car in the face of the very small likelihood that the whole automotive industry will be revolutionized thereby.

The only hope is for the people as a whole, through their government, to force the issue. Faced by the prospect, however distant, of annihilation of the population by smog, they could require the development of a smog-free automobile and the systematic reorganization of industry for its manufacture and servicing. The reorganization would have to be carried out in ways which would minimize unemployment or sudden dislocations for the labor force as well as protect the interests of the owners of existing plants and facilities. But the interests of the whole population as consumers of our air resource should take priority, and if this consideration would become policy all others would fall into place.

Speaking of the interests of individual manufacturers versus public interest, I am reminded of an example which shows that the industrialists do not necessarily know where their true interests lie. When the Los Angeles Air Pollution Control District was created one of its first actions was to adopt a rule which in effect required chemical plants, including oil refineries, to recover sulfur gases (H_2S, SO_2) previously emitted from their stacks. The industries objected at first, but when they complied they found that for most of them the sale of the sulfur thus recovered more than paid for the process of its removal from the emitted gases.

This example, to me, raises the question whether our whole economic operation, based as it is on what I would call the principle of irretrievable consumption, should not be restudied. As I indicated earlier, we are becoming aware of the limits of our natural resources. Yet we continue to scrap and bury metals and mine ores of lower and lower yield, to burn or bury paper and grind our remaining forests into pulp, to wash our waste water and sewage into the sea, and seek sources of fresh water and fertilizer. As the resources become scarcer and more expensive the relative costs of reclamation will doubtless at some time make the recovery and reuse of our waste products economically desirable. Perhaps already now, if other values were counted, such as the esthetic values of forests and the unesthetic offensiveness of scrap heaps of old cars, it might be worth undertaking the grinding of the tons of paper each of us discards into pulp for reuse, and the reclamation and reuse of the metal scrap which our civilization produces in such abundance. If we start now, perhaps we can, by 2064, look forward to a balanced use of our natural resources, with minimal dissipation of them.

At least, hopefully, by 2064, we can look forward to the cessation of the use of our air resources as the receptacle for the wastes of civilization. And not by the elimination of civilization itself. The aggressive pursuit of understanding of the relation of diffusion and air pollution will doubtless contribute to our ability to deal with the problem before it is too late. I am sure that the contributions at this conference will constitute important steps toward this understanding.

Public Law 480 Program and Discrimination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, title IV of Public Law 480, as amended in 1963, enables us to sell our farm products on long-term dollar credit to private citizens or organizations in eligible countries that are showing marked improvement. I was pleased to note that our recent agreement with Spain will result in a permanently larger market for our farm products. The Spanish farm product cooperatives, in addition to the $35 million credit purchase, which will be repaid in dollars in 10 annual installments, also has agreed to buy commercially during the next 3 years a minimum of about $18 million worth of U.S. feed grains, plus an additional $7.4 million worth from free world sources, including the United States. The co-ops also plan to buy substantial amounts of U.S. soybean meal and other feed ingredients, live cattle, and supplies and equipment. This is the type of contract we like to see and I am sure our friends from Spain did not feel we were discriminating against them because we asked them to pay in dollars.

Now let us examine another Public Law 480 program regarding the purchase of $4.5 million worth of petroleum under the barter program. The following letter shows that $4.5 million of Commodity Credit Corporation commodities were sold to fund a Tunisian debt and the money was used to buy oil from the government-owned British petroleum, rather than American companies, which, since 1957, have financed Tunisia's oil product and crude oil needs.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT,
Washington, D.C., September 15, 1965.

Hon. ROBERT H. MICHEL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Attention: Mr. James Cromwell, Administrative Assistant

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MICHEL: This is in reply to the telephone request of August 16, 1965, of Mr. Cromwell, your administrative assistant, for information regarding the Tunisia PA/PR H-024-01 for $4.5 million worth of petroleum under the barter program.

We are informed by our mission in Tunisia that before AID funds were made available to Tunisia, the Government of Tunisia found it necessary to establish a source for a long-term supply of crude oil. Tunisia requested prices and credit terms from 10 suppliers, 6 of which submitted offers. Five U.S. firms were solicited and three of them submitted offers.

British Petroleum offered the lowest price as well as the most favorable credit terms and its offer was accepted by the Tunisian Government. The pending barter arrangement will cover less than 20 percent of the total quantity involved.

Since the contract with British Petroleum did result from competition, our mission in Tunisia recommended and the Agency approved, the conversion of a portion of the contract to AID financing under barter. An appropriate discount from the price quoted on a credit basis will be required.

If we can be of further assistance to you, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM C. GIBBONS,
Director, Congressional Liaison.

Mr. Speaker, the background of the Tunisian situation is quite interesting. According to Mr. Raymond Ioanes, vice president of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the economic counselor of the Embassy of Tunisia called at the CCC office and asked whether CCC would be prepared to absorb about one half of what it considers to be the prevailing barter cost. The counselor was reminded that under the previous procurements, Tunisia has absorbed all the costs and obviously was proud to make public this information. The counselor advised the CCC that his Government was not prepared to do that again and wanted on the gravy train.

According to Mr. Ioanes:

> CCC would not wish to be put in the position of discriminating against the Government of Tunisia by refusing to absorb a barter cost, when in other instances CCC is prepared to absorb such cost.

Well, Mr. Speaker, we certainly do not want to be guilty of discrimination, but it is indeed unfortunate that U.S. oil companies will lose the business because of our generosity to Tunisia.

It would be most interesting I am sure if we could extract from the State Department an exact financial accounting of this entire transaction and all other data that will give us a clue as to why American companies were discriminated against.

The MOL Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, as one who pressed this administration very hard for an immediate approval of the MOL program, I read with great interest a recent story in the Space Daily on the efforts of those who are trying to undermine the program. Since the progam is designed to protect the security of our Nation, it is hard to believe that there

are some who, for a selfish reason, would hurt this Nation and undermine its defense efforts. I believe this matter should be brought to the attention of all the American people.

The story follows:

THERE ARE STILL WOULD-BE MOL ASSASSINS

(AN ANALYSIS)

The true greatness of MOL's victory may be many months or years in the making but the most outstanding facet of that greatness is the realization and the appreciation that it was approved at all. When one collects all the opposing powers into the ranks for analysis it is amazing that it has finally gained a status for development even though that status is no better than that held by the Dyna Soar many years ago.

Its strongest opponents still cannot believe that the first phase of the program's development has been put into the hands of Air Force. Those that have accepted that much of MOL's being are shifting their position to one of sniping and attrition which was so effective in the Dyna Soar program. Others more direct, and, we believe, more effective, are those that are now calling for tight limitations or restrictions on the program to make certain it does not tarnish the peaceful greatness of our country by infringing into and taking something away from NASA.

How these men can be so certain of what they are doing and saying when the whole subject is at least two paces beyond the comprehension of most of them is beyond our professional lifetime in the space family to understand. It is not enough that man's utilitization of the space environment as a springboard of scientific betterment for all mankind is hamstrung and limited by judges of our times who dictate that the unknown to be gained must bow to the wants of the unimaginative or the lazy and those without pride; not enough that with their limited knowledge of what is possible for the defense of our peoples from the platform of space, some can say it can wait until we find peace or disarmament; and not enough that theorists within the Defense Department, the State Department and the CIA can dictate the schedule a program will take not on the basis of fact but of supposition.

Those that are making the frontal attack on MOL and asking for tight restrictions are premeditated assassins, knowning full well that MOL cannot survive for long if it remains as approved. They know that it will die as surely as Dyna Soar for it will choke on its own limitations to compete in the future. Leaders within the NASA and the Congress blandly point out that MOL is only an experiment within a program, a contribution to manned space science and military operations but a deadend they explain and no farther reaching than five flights of the Gemini program.

We know better than this because we know as we always have known that once the results of a MOL flight over the Soviet Union are within the hands of the DOD, the CIA, and the State Department, MOL will not have to go begging for existence. But our concern is with competitiveness. MOL may and must be expected to be far outdistanced by the time it flies. If it is ahead of its time then the Soviets have never been in competition. But to be assured that it is at least a partner to its time it must grow just as its booster the Titan III grew when its predecessors became inadequate. It must develop rendezvous and docking capabilities and this the Air Force intends to do (Space Daily, Oct. 20). It must develop realistic maneuverable space shuttle vehicle systems on a time scale that will allow optimum integration for operational systems and this the Air Force intends to do (Space Daily, Sept. 20). But the assassins would not permit this to happen and this is where their cries for limitations and restrictions will be most detrimental.

An example of the warnings of the possible dangers of the MOL program is to be found in the latest issue of Science, the magazine of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

In an editorial Luther J. Carter explains that "Much of the (military space) spending has not been against known military requirements, but for the development of a broad base of technology as insurance against an uncertain future. For example, development of the Titan III, which as the Air Force's workhorse booster will put MOL into orbit, was begun several years ago even though there was no specific mission for it." (Titan III's development was undertaken to provide the Dyna Soar with an orbital capability instead of the suborbital capabilities of the Titan II. Besides, even then MOL was MODS, MOSS, Blue Gemini and other designations for a DOD space station were in active planning as a payload.)

Carter also explained that: "Civilian control of the military space program also can be exercised at higher levels in the administrative structure. Vice President HUMPHREY, as chairman of the Space Council and at least nominally an important adviser to the President on space matters, is not likely to take a romantic view of Air Force space proposals. Though they favor MOL, the space committees of the Congress, if only out of jurisdictional jealousy, may buck against expansions of the military space program at NASA's expense; some members of the House committee already are watchful for any such tendency." (So are some members of the Senate committee.)

Before leaving the attack Carter moved out with a recognized and well-used but less than objective analysis of the bulk of the space community as biased observers when he said: "The Air Force has allies in the aerospace industry, the trade press, and the Air Force Association who strive to keep before the public visions of outer space combat." (Carter should have mentioned that all three of the Air Force allies are also equal allies of the NASA.) Then, just in case you have not yet become aware that to accede to a possible need of a manned military space posture is to be on the outs, Carter further explains that "Some Members of Congress, including Barry Goldwater, when he was there, have tried to keep these same visions alive, but without much success."

Willing To Serve

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, my gratification and pleasure upon receiving the following letter prompted me to submit it to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the edification of whomever may read it.

It was written by Mr. Eric Richstein who served as an intern on my staff this past summer. He has now returned to Lindsborg, Kans., where he is continuing his studies in his junior year at Bethany College.

Eric has traveled extensively and has lived abroad wherever the career of his father has taken his family. His father is Lt. Col. A. R. Richstein, an attorney currently attending the National War College. Observing the mores and being involved in the educational structures of various countries, I am sure, has broadened Eric's perspective and understanding.

In light of the pragmatism and cynicism prevalent in the minds of so many of our youth today, it is indeed a grand experience to read the words of this young man who sincerely believes in the ideals of our democratic society. Though his steps are yet uncertain, he is eager to comprehend and willing to serve the needs of his nation.

The letter follows:

SEPTEMBER 2, 1965.

DEAR MRS. KELLY: Permit me to take this opportunity to thank you for a lovely luncheon. It is not often that I am charmed by the company of such a wonderful woman and distinguished Congresswoman from New York. I feel honored indeed.

My experiences in your office have been both challenging and exciting. As I reported to work several weeks ago, I carried with me only a precursory knowledge of what to expect and that you would expect of me. I am certain that at times, I must have caused more chaos than I helped to alleviate. However, with Shirley, Rosemary, Joan, Catherine, and Kathy to guide and advise me, and finally overcoming that feeling of awe that accompanies one constantly walking in the shadow of greatness, I managed to survive. I began to gain some perspective of my situation.

Most valuable to me as I leave here are the impressions that I will carry with me. Impressions of you, of the office, of Congress, of Government. It is difficult for me to understand how every 2 years one could persevere the rigors of campaigning, the physical strain would certainly be enough to eliminate many. It is certainly no way to amass a fortune, the hours are ghastly, the obligations are many. As you yourself stated, when speaking of a fellow Member, it must take a particularly devoted person, "one who loves his fellowman" dearly.

In closing, let me try to finish the analogy that I began over lunch. I related my excitement at first seeing the Arc de Triomphe and the Eiffel Tower in Paris, even though these were things I had heard about and read about since entering grade school. It was a similar feeling that overcame me in working in your office this summer; that feeling of being in the midst of it all, where the news is made, the laws are formulated, and the future of our country is decided. This experience is one that I will not allow myself to forget.

Sincerely yours,

ERIC.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 2 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Life in Hungary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the Members of the House two more articles by Henry J. Taylor, the well-known columnist, who is writing his observations as he travels through the captive nations of Eastern Europe. The comments Mr. Taylor makes on life in Hungary are certainly deserving of serious study by the Department of State policymakers as well:

SATELLITE NATIONS BESET BY TRIPLE WOES

(By Henry J. Taylor)

BUDAPEST.—Hungarian workers are telling this story: "It's impossible to do anything right. If you arrive 5 minutes early you are a saboteur. If you arrive 5 minutes late you are betraying socialism. If you arrive on time the commissar asks, 'Where did you get the watch?' "

They repeat it quietly to all who will listen, but there is hot thunder in their whisper.

Peasants, in turn, have their story about the farmer who shouts as he beats the cart horse: "Pull, beast, this wagon belongs to you."

Intellectuals here, and some are superb, add a third famous story:

A professor went into a Budapest store to buy some tea.

"Russian or Chinese?" the storekeeper asked.

"Make it coffee instead," the professor said.

The macabre plight of the satellite people is not one dominant feature, the standard of living, or the secret police, or any other one thing. The plight is a morass and each of the above three fables touches a side of it—the frustration in one's working life, the unnaturalness in agricultural planning, and the contamination of free thought.

Incentive programs, bonuses for more work, etc., are being introduced. But much of the editorial comment and growing speculation in our country about what this means seems far—very far—off the mark here.

When in America we interpret such innovations as a crack in the dike, a shift toward the working life and attitudes of the free world, you get no such impression here.

The new features are merely mechanical adjustments in the same machine. They have no more to do with capitalism and free enterprise than a change the warden might make at Sing Sing Prison.

If brooms are manufactured in the prison shop the warden would be only intelligent if he allotted more exercise privileges and whatnot to inmates who boosted their output. But it remains Sing Sing, the inmates are still not going any place, and they can still be put instantly into solitary confinement. Their rights remain as limited and circumscribed as ever. The warden's control is as complete as ever.

And so it is with the new incentives here. They get lost in the system as a whole.

For example, topic No. 1 throughout the satellite countries is the housing shortage. Here it is immense. Yet the Red government twists the problem into a device for party entrenchment and surer controls.

A directive requires that when a young couple marries they must move in with the parents of the bride or groom. It doesn't matter whether the parents have space for them or not. Couples can list their names for an apartment. Bue the apartments are given to party favorites, police informers (a big incentive to be an informer), those who pay petty graft into the bureaucracy, or people who have a good record for not going to church. A block warden often stands at a church door checking those who attend.

After several years you may be assigned an apartment. But you first must pay a deposit averaging about one year's wages before you're allowed to move. Then you become a housed person. And that's that. There's slight hope you may ever be able to move again as your family grows or your pay increases. This is an incentive system?

Odd achievements turn up nevertheless. For example, extraordinary 40-miles-per-hour hydrofoil pleasure boats skim the Danube to Vienna and back three times a week. Hungary is delivering Norway (a shipbuilding nation) sixteen 1,500-ton river ships of advanced design and at a low cost.

The precision instrument output is on a par with that of the Soviet Union, where the product is very good indeed. Hungary supplied most of the instrumentation for Russia's uranium development in Czechoslovakia, now largely idle for reasons I couldn't discover either there or here.

Intricate Hungarian machine tools are highly prized throughout Europe. So is some of the optical output, the crystal work, and the distinctive glass. The famous horse-breeding farms, too, are doing well. Most of their thoroughbreds now go to Russia, England, Italy and France.

But with these specialties the atmosphere of triumph ends and the system greets the people with eyes as cold as black beads.

SOVIET UNION IS DRAIN ON SATELLITE GOODS

(By Henry J. Taylor)

BABOLNA, HUNGARY.—A state farm and technical college here, which specializes in poultry, summarizes the satellite agricultural mess.

I'm surrounded by some visiting Czechs, Bulgarians, Poles, and Mongolians, and this ragbag assortment of junior commissars has had no little success in making me feel like a boll weevil.

Hungarian chickens have always been good, and even famous, but surely these satelliteers already knew why the Hungarians get so few.

They are siphoned off to the Soviet Union.

Beyond this satellite foodstuffs siphoning, which parallels the drainage of other goods, the key to the agricultural mess is the artificial, political industrialization.

As in Tito's normally argicultural Yugoslavia, most giant new factories built represent no true organic growth. They represent, instead, chiefly the Communist principle that industrial workers are easier to organize and control than farmers and, therefore, you must have them.

Thus, tens of thousands of farmworkers are taken from the fields and put in cities where they remain largely jobless.

A brilliant neon red star with its slogan, "Tivio Tito"—"Long Live Tito"—blazes atop the misfit plants throughout Yugoslavia. But what about the welfare of the people?

Traditionally, Yugoslavia has been a large wheat exporter. Now, for the past several years, Tito can show only a wheat deficit. The country has become a wheat importer without the exports to pay for it.

Tito has depended chiefly on hundreds of millions of bushels of U.S. wheat—alas, free.

Czechoslovakia, too, lived well on her own foodstuffs. Her ham, grape and hops specialties, too, are world famous. Today, Czechoslovakia imports lowest grade Polish ham and tries to save her better hams for export. Her biggest salami manufacturer has skipped the country and now manufactures his renowned product in Holland. And the Prague government has been forced to buy $40 million of Canadian grains, consuming about all the hard currency it had.

In fact, forced foreign spending for food accounts for much of the drive of the Czech, Hungarian and other satellite countries to attract foreign tourists. The agricultural mess has left less than ever in the hard-currency till.

Hungary has always been a breadbasket for the Balkans. For centuries her cargoes studded the Danube. The breadbasket has sprung a leak. Output runs nip and tuck with domestic needs.

Some observers in our country see the satellites' widely reported introduction of various incentives as smacking of free enterprise, and as a shift away from rigid Communist control—and even as a shift away from Moscow.

It certainly does not look like that to me.

Poland—which is flat on her agricultural back—decollectivized its farms in 1957. They are 85-percent privately owned. The Communist redtape, the defeatism of farmers and industrial workers alike, and the erosion of the human spirit of endeavor remains.

Hungary, in contradictions, blamed private ownership for its failures. The little-known fact is that Hungary did not collectivize its farms until 1960. And agriculture continues downhill at toboggan speed.

About 96 percent of the arable land is in 3,611 large-scale state farms like the one right here. Budapest planners claim the country has 58,700 tractors. About the closest they would come to confessing a problem to me was: "We still have only 40,000 colonies of bees, the level prewar."

One reason for the failures, agricultural and otherwise, is that humanity is an organism, not a system. What human nature protests the many forms of bad results, the general effort slows down to a walk.

It is not enough to talk to people, indoctrinate people or even to imprison people; you must satisfy them. And communism, in spite of all its highly publicized twists and turns toward this and what we call "incentives," has long demonstrated itself to be the world's worst economic hoax.

Right-To-Work Baloney

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Charles Dancey has some interesting comments in his editorial of September 24, 1965, in the Peoria Journal Star, regarding the possible Senate filibuster on repeal of section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act. Mr. Dancey feels the entire matter is academic and no real good arguments exist on either side. I am sure that Senators DIRKSEN and FANNIN who are the organizers for the planned "extended educational debate" will agree with Mr. Dancey that certainly those in favor of repeal have no logical arguments. Perhaps the academic atmosphere will in the long run have a desirable effect on the voting public.

Under unanimous consent, I include the Dancey editorial at this point:

[From the Peoria Journal Star, Sept. 24, 1965]

RIGHT-TO-WORK BALONEY

The filibuster against congressional interference with right-to-work laws leaves us unable to work up much excitement.

Its leader, Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, is certainly consistent, and his chief opponents are certainly inconsistent, but the whole thing is academic in so many ways.

DIRKSEN is championing a natural, American minority right in this case. Curiously, the self-styled "liberals" in the Senate who have made the most pious howls about the sacred rights of minorities express violent exception when it comes to that mystic organization of people that has a label called "union" put on it.

In such case, they think the majority has a sacred right to (1) gerrymander its own selected jurisdiction; (2) impose majority will on the minority of workers taken into it; and (3) force said minority to financially support the majority.

It is a strange exception for breast-beating liberals to take to the principles they so often proclaim, but this is one area in which they come down to earth as hard realists in the pretty earthy business of politics, for most of them rely rather substantially on unions for financial support.

Thus they are fighting to make sure that the minority in some cases continues to be forced to contribute financially to their campaigns, because that's where some of the cash comes from.

This will be denied. It is against the law for these tax-free union funds to be used for political purposes. However, we well remember a group of union chiefs and their liberal supporters in Congress in a labor committee hearing guffaw joyously at the biggest joke in the hearing; i.e., when the president of the AFL-CIO announced that they do not engage in politics but do spend a good deal of money for education purposes.

That's the gimmick by which the law is laughed at with the connivance of labor and government—"education" consisting of educating people on who to vote for and who to vote against. That's nonpolitical.

This kind of crude practicality that scoffs at ethics and morals as it spreads to all segments of our society is the one that may some day bring us all down.

And that flavor exists in the whole debate, unhappily, in another way, and this is why we can't get too excited about the issue itself.

In terms of the actual results, we have been unable to find any significant result, in fact, produced by right-to-work laws or their absence. In terms of anything of emotion and political argument, in what actually happens to people, we can't find that the laws have any real effect.

It seems like a make-believe argument over an idea that has been built up on both sides as if it were the end of the world, when it simply isn't.

And that is another characteristic of our times.

There are a lot of folks making $20,000 to $80,000 a year to represent various interests at the national level, and both sides must manage to cook up a major crisis, and make it seem like a life-or-death matter to their respective memberships be it the National Chamber of Commerce or the AFL-CIO or any of a host of others.

Otherwise, some folks might begin to grumble and wonder just what they are paying out those fat salaries for.

We can't help but be cynical on this one. We've seen too many such phony issues.

We think the real issue is to give these high salary representatives a chance to prove how needed they are. Things on that front have been too quiet.

That's the real push behind it all.

C. L. DANCEY.

The L.B.J.'s and Beautification

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, it is real interesting to learn through the Washington Daily News of September 24, 1965, and its columnist, Don Maclean, that the Lyndon B. Johnson television and radio setup in Austin, Tex., otherwise known as the Texas Broadcasting Co., is not at all squeamish about cluttering up a highway with billboard advertising.

It is to be regretted that the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD cannot reproduce the picture carried in Maclean's column showing the huge billboard, to be found on Route 290, near Austin, advertising station KTBC, the most valuable television-radio facility owned by the Johnson family.

Meanwhile, the Johnson arm-twisting technique is being worked overtime in Congress to appropriate millions of dollars to promote beautification of the Nation's highways. Once again it is clear that the Johnsons are resorting to the old gimmick of telling the rest of the country—"do not do as we do, but do as we say."

The column in the Washington Daily News by Don Maclean follows:

Yesterday, in a roundabout fashion, an interesting picture came my way. It shows a billboard advertising television station KTBC, of Austin, Tex. Now, the thing that's interesting about that is this: KTBC is owned by the Texas Broadcasting Co., which is operated, in trust, for L.B.J. and Lady Bird. Of course, as we all know, Lady Bird is one of the prime movers behind the highway beautification plan which would eliminate unsightly billboards. They conceal the natural beauty of the land along our highways. At any rate, I got the picture and the whole thing sounded like a funny note to the news. But wait.

My question to the source that gave me the picture was, "Exactly where is this billboard? What highway, etc? Is it still there? Maybe it was taken down years ago." My source didn't know. The next step was to examine the picture carefully. Look at it. Perhaps you can see that underneath the KTBC sign is another billboard advertising the Gage Furniture Co., in a place called Cameron Village. I telephoned the Gage Furniture Co., which, it turned out, is located in a suburb of Austin. The folks there were most helpful.

The girl who answered the telephone said that the Gage Co. had several billboards around, but the lighted one, with the KTBC billboard on top, was located on Route 290, near Austin. "But here's Mr. Gage himself," she said, "ask him." Mr. Gage said that, "Yes, KTBC's sign and our sign are both out there, on Route 290 west." I asked him when he saw the KTBC sign last, thinking it might have been taken down suddenly. He said, "I don't think so. I believe I saw them both last Sunday."

I couldn't find anyone willing to testify that this particular stretch of Texas is beautiful, so we don't really know if the billboard is covering up any scenic wonder. Perhaps it isn't even one of the billboards that should be torn down, I don't know. The billboard is in a section called Oak Hill. That certainly sounds pretty.

Economist Sets Fatal Date

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Arthur R. Upgren, professor of economics at Macalaster College, St. Paul, Minn., delivered a talk in San Francisco on September 21 which was reported by Sidney P. Allen, financial editor of the San Francisco Chronicle.

Dr. Upgren advanced a very unusual and alarming conclusion about our economic situation.

Mr. Allen's report follows:

ECONOMIST SETS THE FATAL DATE

(By Sidney P. Allen)

On November 18, 1970, the United States is slated to "go busted," Dr. Arthur R. Upgren said here yesterday.

Ordinarily such soothsaying should be dismissed as utter nonsense, and the soothsayer dismissed as a crackpot. But Dr. Upgren, who is professor of economics at Macalaster College, St. Paul, Minn., hasn't lost his mind. Not at all.

The hardheaded economist is simply employing the obvious strategem for attention-getting: "You have to preach about Hell, not Heaven, to get their ears."

He is not, however, simply indulging in basic untruths to gain his own ends. He is just projecting the trend line of liquidity of all banks in the Nation. It is the ratio of all cash and reserves plus all U.S. securities to total bank deposits.

That liquidity ratio, he figures, was 83 percent at the end of 1945, was down below 36 percent last November 25, and at that

rate of decline will be down to 23 percent, which he says is the "bust point," on that day in 1970. It's 23 skidoo, you might say.

Of course, it's not absolutely necessary that the liquidity trend line continue unbroken. In fact, the good doctor is quite sure the fatal date can be deferred, and he has written extensively about ways to correct both national and international economic problems of liquidity.

Domestically, he says, one obvious answer is branch banking—just like you have in California. England, he recalls, hasn't had a bank failure since the 1890's—thanks in good part to the branch banking system.

But 32 States in the United States have laws against branch banking. This despite the fact that the record shows, for example, that 82 percent of the 625 banks chartered in Montana have folded, that 72 percent of those chartered for Minnesota have gone "bust."

He reminds that there were 30,100 banks in the United States in 1930, but now there are just 15,000.

"Apparently we'd rather have 'em go busted than let 'em branch," says he.

Dr. Upgren will talk about some of these matters today before the Life Underwriters Association luncheon. He will, undoubtedly, adapt his remarks to the new significance of life insurance.

For as liquidity declines, and as the individual gets older, cash value life insurance, the rising earning power of money, take on greater personal importance. As a senior citizen himself, Dr. Upgren appreciates the point.

Computers and Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker on September 22, 1965, our distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania, WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD, addressed the 10th anniversary banquet of the Univac Users Association, in Pittsburgh, Pa.

Speaking to this group he discussed the use of computers by the Federal Government and the need for coordination of automatic data processing management on a Government-wide basis. As a ranking majority member on the Government Activities Subcommittee, he has studied this matter thoroughly and has done much to perfect legislation recently approved by the House of Representatives which would bring about a more efficient, businesslike management of our Government ADP equipment.

His address, which reflects the findings of the committee, follows:

Today, men stand in awe—and even in fear—of the great computing machines which can do so much.

We know our own frailties, the great machines appear to have none.

We hear people wondering about the relationship of man and the machine—who is master, who is servant? Is it the infallible machine or the only too fallible man?

Some lines that the great poet laureate, John Mansfield, wrote may help us decide. He said:

"Man consists of body, mind, and imagination. His body is faulty his mind untrustworthy, but his imagination has made him remarkable."

The story of the great mathematician, Karl Frederick Gauss, illustrates this precept. In the year 1809 his imagination led him to develop the formula for computing the orbits of the planets in the solar system. Subsequently, he spent 20 years computing the orbits of the various planets. His greatness depends not upon his 20 years of computations, but upon his one remarkable formula. Today, Gauss' 20 years of computations could be accomplished in less than a week on a modern computer. Imagine to what greater heights the imagination of this great mathematician might have soared had he had a computer to do his unimaginative work of calculation.

So tonight, I stand not so much in awe of your machines, but in awe of you who use the machines. I stand in awe of you who have the imagination to devise the input and who have the imagination to use the output of these great machines.

The first all-electronic computer was constructed during World War II and delivered to the Army Ordnance Corps in 1945. Univac I, the first computer with general data processing capability, was installed at the Bureau of the Census in 1951. In 1954, there were 10 computer systems in operation within the Federal Government. By 1962, the number had increased to 1,000. There are now at least 2,000.

Today, your U.S. Government is the largest user of computing machines in the entire world. Your 10 years of experience in the use of these machines can be of inestimable value to your Government in the two problems which I would like to discuss with you tonight: (1) managing the use of these machines in the most efficient and economical manner and (2) realizing the maximum benefit from their use.

Under the rules of the House of Representatives, the duty of "studying the operation of Government activities at all levels with a view to determining its economy and efficiency" is assigned to the Government Operations Committee on which I serve. With respect to automatic data processing, this duty is specifically assigned to the Brooks Subcommittee on Government Activities.

For several years this subcommittee, on which I am the ranking majority member, has been concerned about the deficiencies in the manner in which the Federal Government has been acquiring and using ADP equipment.

In 1963 Congressman BROOKS, of Texas, chairman of the subcommittee, introduced legislation to make it possible for those agencies in Government with ADP management responsibilities to do a better job. This bill was passed by the House but no action was taken by the Senate and it died at the end of the 88th Congress.

Soon after the 89th Congress convened in January this year, this legislation was reintroduced. Comprehensive hearings were held, the testimony evaluated, and a bill, H.R. 4845, was reported to the House of Representatives in July. A few weeks ago, the House of Representatives unanimously approved this measure and there is still time for action in the Senate although I personally do not expect action until the next session of Congress.

Under provisions of this bill, the General Services Administration, which presently has governmentwide responsibilities for the procurement of common use items for the civil agencies of Government, is extended authority to coordinatee ADP management on a governmentwide basis. The GSA, is not given arbitrary or dictatorial powers. But, operating under the policy and fiscal control of the Bureau of the Budget and the President, GSA would coordinate those aspects of ADP management which extend beyond the confines of any particular agency and develop the information the Bureau of the Budget and other Federal officials need for policy and decisionmaking purposes. To perform this function, this legislation establishes in GSA a revolving fund which would have three principal purposes. First, it would consolidate Government accounting of disbursements and capital investment in ADP so that Federal managers would have this information available to them. Second, the GSA would use this fiscal information, plus the data obtained from a comprehensive governmentwide inventory of ADP which would be maintained through the use of a data processing system, to increase use of equipment the Government now has. Third, the revolving fund would be used to consolidate Government procurement of ADP.

As ADP users, I believe that you will be interested in some of the more pronounced problems we have found in Government ADP management. To some of you, especially those representing the larger organizations, some of these problems may sound familiar.

A principal deficiency in present ADP acquisition and use is the lack of governmentwide coordination in management. Although the selection and the use of equipment must logically remain within the province of the using agency, certain aspects of ADP management require a coordinated effort if the Government as a whole is to achieve the most efficient acquisition and use.

During the recent hearings, we learned of a case where the Air Force sold what was characterized as an old, obsolete, useless ADP system for a thousand dollars. Yet, at the same time, the Army was leasing the same type of system for approximately $50,000—a month. Approximately 18 months later, the Army purchased the system for about a quarter of a million dollars. We could not determine whether the surplus system could have been substituted for the equipment under lease, but at the time the surplus system was sold, no serious attempt was made to determine the feasibility of substituting the surplus for the leased system. As a result, the Government may well have lost a valuable option. A possibility was ignored which could have saved the taxpayer many, many dollars.

I cite this example not so much in criticism of the Defense Department but to demonstrate the very real need for coordination in Government management of such equipment.

During the hearings, we also found that the three military services have each designed and are procuring worldwide inventory systems using ADP. Yet, design and procurement of these three inventory systems, according to the Defense Department witnesses appearing before the subcommittee, were in no way coordinated and are not necessarily compatible.

As a result of this lack of coordination the opportunity to save millions of dollars through the standardization of these inventory systems may have been lost.

The Comptroller General, in approximately 100 audit reports over the past 7 years has given strong documentary support to the case for coordinated governmentwide ADP management. These GAO reports reveal some of the costly deficiencies of trying to manage this equipment on an agency-by-agency basis. And, from your own professional experience, I am sure that you are aware of many occasions where organizationwide coordination in the management of common-use items of equipment or in the performance of similar functions has led to greater efficiency and economy.

Another serious deficiency is the lack of adequate information. I need not emphasize to you the paramount need for timely, pertinent, accurate information.

In Government, there is no adequate information as to ADP acquisition or use. Funds for ADP are scattered throughout the Federal Budget and there is no consolidated fiscal data on ADP investment, costs or expenditures. The only governmentwide information available is in the form of highly speculative estimates. As an example, at this time, no one can give an estimate of total Government ADP expenditures accurate within hundreds of millions of dollars without having the estimate subject to serious challenge.

Through the use of the revolving fund provided in our legislation and the comprehensive ADP inventory that would be established, the Government would have the benefits which logically flow from more adequate management information essential to effective policy and decisionmaking and management control.

A low rate of equipment use resulting from inadequate Government-wide coordination is extremely costly to the taxpayers. The most recent inventory of ADP equipment indicates that in the period of 1 year, the unused ADP capacity in Government has risen from 500,000 to 640,000 hours. The General Accounting Office estimates that is worth approximately $400 million. Every hour of ADP capacity in the hands of the Federal Government that can efficiently and effectively be used must be used. The Government Operations Committee does not suggest that unused ADP capacity be arbitrarily assigned to meet agency requirements. Express provisions of our legislation preclude such an approach. But, with an annual investment of up to $400 million in unused capacity, a sum which is approximately one-half of 1 percent of the total Federal budget, there is a compelling need for prompt and efficient action.

Under the legislation passed by the House, the Government's sharing program would be vastly improved. With accurate, up-to-date information as to equipment availability, new Government ADP requirements hopefully could be matched with unused capacity so as to avoid the acquisition of additional systems whenever possible.

There have also been countless occasions brought to the attention of the committee where, through the exercise of purchase options, agencies could have bought equipment under lease for sums less than the annual payment. There are numerous examples where several highly sophisticated systems have been located in the same geographical area, owned or leased by various agencies, the total usage of which has not exceeded the capacity of one system. One agency installed duplicate systems in the same building side by side when the total capacity required was less than that of one system.

During the hearings on this legislation last spring, the Comptroller General of the United States, a man who by the very nature of his personality and his position is not given to making unreliable statements, estimated that savings from this legislation as ultimately approved by the Houes of Representatives would amount to approximately a quarter of a billion dollars annually and could be expected to increase each year thereafter for an indefinite period in the future.

The importance of efficient and economic management of ADP equipment will increase in the future because we are now approaching what many people refer to as the third generation of ADP equipment.

A leading ADP expert describes this coming generation: "Huge new machines with fantastic memories and arithmetical capacities linked to numerous smaller satellite machines and serving literally dozens of users simultaneously, are on the horizon at even lower cost."

With the arrival of third-generation ADP equipment, communications systems will link large, fast, high-capacity data processing systems to offices and laboratories of numerous users. These users, instead of acquiring an ADP system or visiting an ADP service center, will feed problems or information to be processed into the central computer system over a communications system. The user would have installed in his office or laboratory an input-output component no more conspicuous than commonly used teletype units found in business offices throughout the world. The user could either receive an immediate response over this unit installed in his office or laboratory or the information could be accumulated for periodic processing, recorded on tape or punched cards at the ADP center, or a printed response could be prepared at the center and mailed or otherwise delivered to him.

These larger computers are more efficient per unit of work. They process information faster and have larger processing capacities—but they cost more. So, to obtain the efficiency inherent in these larger new computers, they must be kept busy. As a result, fewer units of Government or business or industry will have sufficient requirements for processing capacity to justify sole use of individual systems. The potentials of the larger computers now in the offing which can be integrated with communications is so great that full use of one system's maximum capability is sufficient to fit the needs of scores of potential users. And, the use of the maximum potential of a third-generation system under conditions of optimum efficiency can result in a phenomenal reduction in ADP costs to individual users. This greater potential and lower cost cannot be ignored by either Government or business or industry.

But lower cost of acquisition and operation is not the only problem in the field of Government and computers.

At a time when decisions which Government must make can have such a powerful impact on the lives of each and every one of us and when these decisions must be based on an almost infinite number of interrelated factors—the question we must ask is—is the Government getting the maximum benefit from computer technology? With a few exceptions the answer is "No."

To help to correct this situation, I introduced yesterday House Joint Resolution 666 providing for the establishment of an agency in the Executive Office of the President to be known as the President's Advisory Staff on Scientific Information Management.

The purpose of the resolution is to assemble at the highest level of Government an extremely high caliber staff of economists, sociologists, mathematicians, and scientists to develop decision-aiding systems, for use by the Government.

Such action is necessary, because ever since World War II the rapid rate of change, the breadth and depth of new knowledge, and the complexity and interdependence of today's sociological, technological, economical and governmental factors has exceeded the normal capacity of the human mind for assimilation on a scale equal to the demands of this new environment.

Responsible decisionmakers in Government and in industry need new techniques and systems for organizing, storing, retrieving, integrating, analyzing, and testing the multitude of factors upon which a rational decision must rest.

Certain areas of industry and certain areas of Government have developed information structures and decision-aiding techniques. Some of these new techniques make substantial use of mathematics and the computer sciences, mathematical programing, mathematical simulation, and econometrics.

Now is the time to use these techniques at the highest level of Government where the mass of relevant and important information is the largest, where the complexity of the interrelationships is the greatest and, hence, where the decisionmaking is most difficult.

The agency which this resolution would establish will give us a start on discovering and applying new information management techniques to the major unsolved problems of our society.

This proposal was first put forward a year ago by the then Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY. In introducing then such a resolution Mr. HUMPHREY said:

"Many of the current and impending problems of our society will remain insolvable until we discover and adapt information management and decision-aiding techniques which are commensurate with the changes which have occurred and will occur in our national and international environment."

Mr. HUMPHREY found it evident that "we have many serious unsolved problems which exceed in scope and complexity present information management and problem-solving structures."

Experts say that the human mind has difficulty in considering more than 10 or 20 factors at the same time in making decisions. Yet, the unsolved problems of our society may require thousands or hundreds of thousands of factors or subfactors to be considered. Industry has learned to simulate mathematically a given environment. By varying the input assumptions or by varying subdecisions the decisionmaker can be given rational basis on which to make alternative decisions.

It should be emphasized that such decision-aiding techniques are only to aid decisionmakers by providing them with the type of information which will, along with other factors, including their own judgment and experience, assist them in establishing sound policies and in making meaningful decisions.

Thus, these modern techniques are consistent with the processes of democratic government. The use of them may be necessary for the survival of democratic government.

It is equally important that we efficiently manage ADP as we use this equipment to manage our other affairs. To Government, business, or industry, the waste inherent in unused ADP potential and errors in equipment application or selection will be staggering. Fortunately, this fantastic equipment offers in itself the means for its own efficient management. Those of us with primary responsibilities for the efficiency and economy of Government operations are doing everything that we can to constantly improve the management of the world's largest user of ADP so that Federal operations in this area can match the sound businesslike approach which the competitive free enterprise system requires of ADP users in business and industry.

When I think of the subject of Government and computers—I can only plagiarize your program—"The field is growing. The present—challenging, the future—exciting."

What Cities Are Doing to People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR CALLAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, the high dramatic outbursts of violence in some of our metropolises are receiving a great deal of attention in all of our mass media communication. A number of newspaper articles have mentioned the fact that

these acute problems stem from the frustration of people who migrated out of rural poverty seeking opportunity in the city but finding only disillusionment and despair.

It seems to me that the response to these tragic situations has been a preoccupation with projects and poverty programs in the big cities, where the problem has become concentrated and explosive. We dare not, however, overlook the source of the problem, which is, to a great extent, poverty found in rural America.

We must remember that 47 percent of the Nation's poverty is in rural areas, even though only one-third of the total population lives there. It is always important to know that these people continue to migrate to the metropolitan areas in great numbers. I am distressed that this major source of our poverty problem is being neglected. I want to remind my colleagues that President Johnson, in his message to Congress of February 4, pledged energetic action to insure that full equality of opportunity is made available to all the people who live in rural America. In that same message, the President announced the formation of the Rural Community Development Service, in the Department of Agriculture, to carry out that pledge of equal opportunity for rural people.

Today, I would like to have inserted in the RECORD, for the attention of my colleagues, an article from the September 20 issue of U.S. News & World Report that says, "Rush to the cities is emerging as the number one domestic problem facing America."

I urge my colleagues to read this article entitled "What Cities Are Doing to People." It is imperative that the Rural Community Development Service has the resources necessary to carry on a full-scale war on poverty in rural America:

WHAT CITIES ARE DOING TO PEOPLE

When Negroes put the torch to parts of Los Angeles and took to looting, this insurrection was blamed in large measure upon the frustrations of big-city living.

Across the Nation, a rise in medical problem of deafness is being traced to the ascending scale of noise beating on the ears of people who live and work in cities amid screeching sirens, nerve-racking traffic, din of construction projects.

A California scientist warns: "The world's atmosphere will grow more and more polluted until, a century from now, it will be too poisonous for human life to survive."

Smog even now is blamed by public health officials for the high and rising incidence of bronchitis, emphysema, and even lung cancer among city dwellers.

MENTAL AND EMOTIONAL STRESS

Psychiatrists place considerable blame for the growing volume of mental and emotional disturbance on the strain of city living.

The Arthritis and Rheumatism Association reports that there may well be a link between the increase in arthritic ailments among city dwellers and the growing pollution of the air in cities.

President Johnson is placing high on the list of his "must" legislation a request that Congress enact programs to do something about the polluted air of big cities. He is also prodding the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to crack down on cities and industries that dump sewage and waste into rivers, lakes, and bays.

Many specialists blame the pressures of city and suburban living for the increasing amount of heart trouble among Americans.

UNSAFE STREETS AND HOMES

It is in the cities and suburbs that violent crime is skyrocketing, making streets, public parks, and even private homes more and more unsafe for the law-abiding citizen. Venereal disease rates are also rising alarmingly in cities.

Cities, increasingly, are places of danger—whether because of health hazards, traffic hazards or hazards of life in the midst of a growing population of criminals.

Yet all the while a steady and rising movement of people into cities is underway in America, as it is in other parts of the world.

"The Economist" of London linked this trek to the cities with the Negro riot in Los Angeles, stating:

"Outbreaks like this are part of the price we are going to pay for a society in which more and more people live in cities and do deadly dull work and waste their leisure."

"The Economist" finds that "frustrations" lie back of the growth of violence in cities. It then goes on to say:

"Communism and capitalism are rival mechanisms for supplying material plenty.

"What neither of them has thought out, and what both of them are going to run headlong into by the end of the century, is the problem of the needs left unsatisfied by relative abundance: how to make routine work bearable, how to help people use their leisure, how to stop them dying of boredom—or killing from it."

The immediate problems of cities are found to be real and serious enough in the United States to place them at the top of the list of domestic troubles that the Federal Government must face.

SEEKING A SOLUTION

To try to solve these problems a new executive department of Housing and Urban Development, to be headed by an official of Cabinet rank, is now being organized.

Major universities in every area of the country are establishing new "centers for urban studies" for strengthening existing centers. They will work with city administrations in operating "urban observatories," collecting hard facts on just what city problems are worst and what can be done about them.

DIRTY AIR

One of the biggest worries for people living in cities today is the air they breathe. It smells bad, soils clothes, tarnishes metals, ruins paint, kills crops on farms miles away—and plays a role in serious illnesses of the heart, lungs, and circulation.

A recent survey by the U.S. Public Health Service reveals that every American city of more than 50,000 population has an air-pollution problem.

Crackdown on cars

Chief blame for dirtying the air of cities is usually focused on exhausts from private cars, buses, and trucks.

In the area around Los Angeles, vehicle fumes are said by authorities to account for some 80 percent of the noxious smog that afflicts the city and its suburbs.

California is cracking down on pollution from vehicle exhausts. It is compelling car, truck, and bus owners to use devices that will eliminate the worst fumes. Traffic police in many other cities are now quicker to give summonses to operators of vehicles with smoky exhausts. But still the air gets dirtier and dirtier.

More and more frequently, airline pilots before landing at most major American cities will tell passengers to expect "low overcast" at their destination. Privately, the pilots will tell you: "It's just plain dirty air."

Motor exhausts are not the only sources of air pollution. In some areas they may not even be the most serious sources, according to Prof. Leslie Silverman, of the Harvard School of Public Health. Other prominent causes of air pollution he cites are: smoke and dust from city dumps, fumes and smoke from home incineration of trash and garbage, chemical fumes and smoke from industry and from power-generating plants. "The trouble is you get them all together, plus exhaust fumes, in metropolitan areas," he said.

Fumes that kill crops

Farmers in New Jersey, between the big urban areas around New York and Philadelphia, get polluted air almost any way the wind blows. Crop damage costs millions of dollars, agricultural experts say. Some farmers are giving up, moving away.

Now public health authorities in the area have a new worry. Housing developments are rising on the land the farmers are leaving. That means that more people are breathing the air that blighted the crops. Dr. Herman E. Hilleboe, former health commissioner of New York State, has this to say:

"Millions of citizens are living in an ocean of air that is, on good evidence, unhealthy to breathe."

Within cities themselves, so-called urban renewal projects are big sources of air pollution. These projects always start by creating clouds of dust, millions of tons of debris. Disposing of that debris is a big problem. Harvard's Dr. Silverman says:

"If you burn it, you have smoke. If you put it on open dumps, it attracts rodents, flies and other vermin. It can be used as landfill, but urban areas are running out of space they can use that way."

The problem, serious now, is almost certain to increase as more American cities start new urban renewal programs and expand existing ones.

FILTHY WATER

City dwellers often are faced with a health hazard from the water they must drink as well as from the air they must breathe.

Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall has warned: "Growth and spread of urban and industrial communities bring continually closer together the sewage outfall of one community and the water intake of the next one downstream."

Fifthhand drinking water

At least 50 million people in the United States are drinking secondhand water, a Public Health Service expert estimates. In some areas they may even be drinking fourth- or fifthhand water, he adds.

This is water that has been used to carry off wastes from one community and then has been treated to make it fit to drink by another community. Treatment processes in use today were designed for the wastes of 40 years ago. * * * For larger cities they will prove inadequate in a growing number of instances," James M. Quigley, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, recently told a congressional committee.

Another HEW official says: "We have been lucky so far. We haven't had an epidemic of typhoid or cholera. Our water may not taste good, but it's usually clean."

Nevertheless, outbreaks of hepatitis in the New York and New Orleans regions have been traced to shellfish taken from contaminated waters. And public-health officers suggest that hepatitis flareups in other communities may also have come from dirty water.

Recently in Riverside, Calif., 18,000 persons contracted a bacterial infection that was traced to the city's water. Four persons died.

A big problem, growing bigger, is the new kinds of wastes that modern chemical processes are pouring into the water. Says an official of the Public Health Service: "We have a backlog of ignorance when it comes to these things. We don't know how dan-

gerous these wastes are. We don't know how to detect them, or how to remove them."

"Dead water" in Lake Erie

U.S. officials cite what happened to Lake Erie as an example of how fresh water is being spoiled:

Cities of 5 States are dumping 17 million tons of waste into the lake every day, authorities estimate. By now, they say, a great part of the lake is dead water—water that will not purify itself by natural means. The experts doubt that much of the lake will ever be fit to drink from or swim in again.

The Federal Government has had to step in, but the pollution goes on. And Lake Erie is only one example worrying health authorities.

GROWING CRIME

Fast-expanding cities and suburbs have had the greatest rise in crime rates. This has been true for at least 20 years, as indicated in records compiled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

In 1964, major crimes—murder, felonious assault, robbery, rape, larceny—in cities over 250,000 population increased by 9 percent over 1963. In suburbs the rate of increase was even higher—17 percent.

Parks, playgrounds, and streets in many parts of a growing number of American cities are no longer safe at night for the honest citizens whose taxes pay for them. Even private homes are not as secure as they once were. Police records show that housebreaking accompanied by violence is on the increase.

Scourge of venereal disease

Along with crime, another problem found to be getting out of control in metropolitan areas is that of venereal disease.

Figures announced on September 1 by the American Medical Association show that venereal rates in some American cities have doubled in the past 4 years. In other cities, the increase has been even higher—an eightfold jump in some places.

"Complacency, ignorance and a free-and-easy attitude toward moral standards" are largely to blame for the epidemic spread of these diseases, the AMA finds.

Police officials trace the epidemic of crime, too, to these city and suburban attitudes.

CROWDS, NOISE, TENSION

Beyond all the other problems, the hustle and bustle of city life is becoming a problem of increasing concern. Dr. Werner Z. Hirsch, an authority on urban affairs, says the typical city has become "a noisy madhouse."

Among the most annoying noisemakers listed by the Acoustical Society of America are: automobile horns, roaring trucks, and buses, pneumatic drills, pneumatic riveting machines, heavy construction equipment tearing down buildings or putting up buildings, blaring radios, shrieking jets and droning piston planes.

People who are subjected to these noises at their worst over a protracted period may well suffer impaired hearing, according to acoustic scientists.

Exposure to city din also can build up inner tensions and lead to fatigue, irritability—possibly even mental disturbance or heart trouble—some scientists believe.

Noise breeds rage, jealousy

Dr. Lawrence C. Kolb, director of the New York State Psychiatric Institute, who works in the city, says:

"City stresses—particularly crowds, traffic, and noise—bring out the best and the worst in people. The weak go under, the strong succeed. Crowding and hubbub sharpen conflicts, increase anxieties, rage, and jealousy. That may be why you find an increasing number of city dwellers in need of some form of psychiatric help."

City-made tensions, Dr. Kolb suggests, may also account for the fact that people who live and work in urban areas tend to drink and smoke more—if they drink or smoke at all—than those living in smaller communities. Dr. Kolb's explanation:

"The village drunk is a marked man. Everyone knows him. The five-martini man in the city is just one of a crowd."

Statistics bear out Dr. Kolb's assertions: Half the hospital beds in U.S. cities are occupied by mental patients. Over drinking is on the rise in cities and suburbs, the National Council on Alcoholism reports.

YOUNGSTERS—THE REAL VICTIMS

Still another kind of danger in city living now deeply concerns social phychiatrists and psychologists. It is the danger to normal development of youngsters while they are growing up Many feel that this may turn out to be the most serious urban hazard of all.

As experts sum up the problem:

Urban slums are growing. Stable neighborhoods are being broken up by urban renewal projects, by highways, by high-rise apartments.

Established families, even those of limited means, are moving to suburbs in large numbers. They are helped in many cases by federally insured loans. These are mostly white families.

Their places are being taken by newcomers to the city—most often Negroes—who in many cases are poor, uneducated, and bewildered. Only slum dwellings or low-cost housing are available to them. As their numbers increase, slums spread and low-cost housing turns into slum.

And slum living, in neighborhoods that are changing, breeds irresponsibility, breaks up family ties.

Dr. Hilleboe describes the process: "Inadequate nutrition and medical care and relatively low socio-economic status, all depress the health of those in slum areas. Persons from these blighted areas fill half of the medical and institutional care facilities in our cities, occupy one-half of all police time, one-third of fire department time, use most of the welfare benefits funds, and account for more than half of all sanitation complaints."

Children brought up in that background, which is spreading in American cities, often face real trouble. Dr. Leonard J. Duhl, social psychiatrist of the National Institute of Mental Health, puts it this way:

"The slum child's family teaches him one set of values—if it teaches him at all. The schools teach him another set—if he goes to school. The streets, which are always there, teach him something else. Nothing he learns in one place seems to relate to what he learns elsewhere. This may well be at the heart of the dropout and delinquency problems that are plaguing cities."

WHERE SUBURBS FAIL

Moving to the suburbs to "get away from it all" has its own risks, many people who try it find.

For one thing, it means commuting, which lengthens the working day, adds to tensions. People who commute by public transportation discover that they start and end their working day with the noise and crowding they moved to the suburbs to escape.

Suburbanites who drive to and from work along today's jammed streets and highways complain that they arrive at their offices tense, get home at night jittery. Noisy lawnmowers and "hot rodding" motorists in high-powered cars have robbed many suburbs of their peace and quiet.

Women in kiddie world

Mental health experts see other drawbacks to suburban living.

"Women in the suburbs live in a kiddie world," Dr. Duhl points out. "They are mainly chauffeurs and housemaids, not adults living up to their capabilities. Such frustration can be damaging."

Even more dangerous, says Dr. Duhl, is the fact that children in suburbs grow up never seeing their fathers at work. "They never have a chance to learn what work is, or why men do it. They live in a frivolous world. And the steps from frivolousness to mischief to delinquent behavior are not long ones."

Low-cost suburbs, mushrooming around every major U.S. city, have the same drawbacks as more expensive communities—plus some additional ones. Public health authorities worry about these common flaws in many low-priced suburban developments:

Inadequate ventilation, light, heat.

Cramped quarters on lots that are too small.

Improper sewage disposal in faulty septic tanks.

Drinking water drawn from the same ground level as septic tanks.

These conditions add up to slum living, health officials say, even though the residents are actually living in the suburbs.

The notion that suburbs are much healthier than cities is probably false, medical men say. They point to statistics showing that while city dwellers run the greatest risks from accidents, contagious diseases, and psychosis, people who live in suburbs suffer more from neuroses, high blood pressure and coronaries.

BIGGER CITIES COMING

Still people are flocking to cities and suburbs, despite all the drawbacks of city and suburban living, because, as one city official puts it, "here's where the money is."

The Bureau of the Census estimates that some 135 million Americans, 7 out of 10, now live in metropolitan areas—cities and their suburbs.

By the year 2000, the prediction is, 80 percent of the U.S. population—which is expected to be 330 million by then—will be living in metropolitan areas. And, if present trends continue, cities will merge together in long strips of industrial and "bedroom" suburbs running back from highways and railroads.

Time running out?

That is happening now in the Northeast, around the Great Lakes, in California. State and local authorities are increasingly worried. They see some hope that the new Department of Housing and Urban Development may control this sprawl, help clean up city air and water, help get rid of slums and slum problems. But, they agree, time for solving there problems is running out, and every minute counts.

A POPULATION EXPERT'S FORECAST OF CITY LIFE IN THE FUTURE

From a statement issued August 23 by Robert C. Cook, president of the Population Reference Bureau, a private research center on population trends:

"Over 70 percent of all Americans live in cities. Already we are nationally distraught by the perplexing problems of urban congestion, water shortage, juvenile crime, chronic deficiency in educational facilities, and inadequate care of the aged.

"Those who think growth to 195 million Americans should be celebrated with noisemakers and paper hats might well prepare their children to celebrate the 400-million mark with padlocked personal water bottles and oxygen masks."

The bureau's studies indicate that the United States will have 400 million people about 60 years from now, Mr. Cook declared.

The Real Alabama—Part LXV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, economic growth in any State

depends heavily on the four major modes of transportation—road, rail, water, and air. Alabama excels in each.

The way Alabama does it is outlined in the following article taken from the Birmingham News of August 22, 1965:

A house still stands at graceful Mooresville that served as a stagecoach stop when that north Alabama community became Alabama's first incorporated town.

To the delight of ante bellum enthusiasts and satisfaction of a majority of today's Mooresville residents, the tucked-away town hasn't changed much.

But transportation really has.

When 1965's businessman wants to ship something into or out of Alabama he has four fast, dependable choices. All are more than adequate, have been a major factor in the State's industrial spiral.

A century ago there were 600 miles of railroad in Alabama. Today, 4,622 miles of rails crisscross through hundreds of communities on their mainline way. There are 6 class I railroads and several smaller and shorter ones, combining to employ 10,000 people who command a $62 million annual paycheck.

Direct service leads to port of Mobile and New Orleans; to St. Louis, Cincinnati, and the Midwest; to Savannah and on to Florida; and through Chattanooga and Atlanta to the east. Principal lines operate streamlined overnight service to the southeast and to midwestern points. Freight schedules offer 1- to 3-day service to all market areas natural to Alabama's location.

Huge freight yards have been constructed by both Southern Railway and Louisville & Nashville Railroad, both in the Birmingham district, provide the most efficient freight service available in the transport industry.

Trucking is growing faster in Alabama than in any State east of the Rookies. There were 254,000 trucks registered in the State at the beginning of this year. More than 38 percent of all post office communities in the State and 19 county seats depend entirely upon trucks for in-and-out shipment. Birmingham's produce market, one of the Nation's top 41, handles 89 percent of its fresh fruit and vegetables by motor carrier.

Trucking executives understandably feel that Alabama has been able to decentralize its industry more rapidly because of their service, permitting enterprise to choose a location anywhere in the State with the knowledge that it can obtain top transport.

River barge service provides an inexpensive means of bulk materials transportation over the hundreds of miles of navigable river channels and an inland docks system, both of which are expanding steadily.

Alabama's great ocean gateway at Mobile ranks sixth among the Nation's ports, presently has undertaken still another expansion to serve 60 steamship lines which can berth up to 29 vessels at one time.

Air service from all principal Alabama cities to all major cities of the Nation are furnished by Eastern, United and Delta Airlines. Nonstop flights are now available to eastern and midwestern points and interchange flights offer the businessman in a hurry to the west coast and Northwest.

To carry intrastate and interstate travel over concrete ribbons in addition to its maze of paved Federal, State and farm-to-market highways, Alabama now has 257 miles of interstate highways open to travel, will add 83 more by the end of the year. The present, no-stop, limited access system programed for the State is scheduled to reach 878 miles in 1972.

To provide convenient, speedy movement of the producer to market and business to the farm, Alabama has built 13,218 miles of paved farm-to-market roads, one of many reasons why the cattle, poultry, and food processing industries have grown so dramatically within the past decade.

One of the greatest roadbuilding programs in State history has been in progress since advent of the Wallace administration in early 1963.

The concrete and hard surface network crisscrosses the State through all 67 counties, links interstate projects with four-lane State highways and vital farm-to-market "blacktops."

PTA Officials Concerned Over Education Trends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Art Andrews, staff writer for the Peoria Journal Star, points out in his article of September 24, 1965, national concern with respect to some recent trends in education. I hope that some of my remarks delivered recently on the floor of this House concerning these problems have helped to alert lay citizens in the PTA.

Under unanimous consent, I include the Andrews article at this point:

PTA OFFICIALS CONCERNED OVER EDUCATION TRENDS

(By Art Andrews)

Some hints of the ferment which is brewing nationally in educational circles, particularly those involving lay citizens, have been given by a Peorian who recently returned from a meeting of top leaders of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers in Chicago.

Discussions centered on such topics as Federal aid to education, national testing, church and state relationships and other matters which have implications for the basic philosophies of American education.

Dr. Milton Litterst, State president of the Illinois Congress of Parents and Teachers, said that PTA officials are definitely concerned about some of the trends which have been developing.

He was an Illinois delegate to executive committee meetings and was present for the 75-member board of managers meeting September 12–16 in Chicago.

The press was not invited to the sessions.

After further study, discussions and reports on the State level, formal resolutions will be presented at the national convention in Baltimore, Md., next May.

Much attention was devoted to the recent White House Conference on Education which excluded representation of PTA and school board organizations with millions of members, Litterst said.

"Only the president of the national congress was invited," Litterst said. "She was in Europe and could not attend. The first vice president was not allowed by conference officials to substitute for her."

New names and faces were evident among the educators. The old guard of veteran, respected educators were not at the White House Conference.

Proposals for a national testing program have created alarm because national standards of academic achievement would be established, thus removing a traditional prerogative of State and local citizens and school people.

Although Government proponents say such tests would be voluntary, they would be a foot in the door which could lead to their being mandatory for the recipient of Federal aid, Litterst pointed out.

This touches upon some basic issues in education.

An educated citizenry is essential for the preservation of democracy and for maintaining the strength and security of the United States. The Federal Government has legitimate concern about education in the national interest. The Constitution grants Congress the power to provide for the general welfare.

However, the basic responsibility for education has always been vested in the States rather than the Federal Government.

It has generally been agreed that the people should be responsible for the schools. The Federal Government should have no direct control over the schools and should not be responsible for organizing or operating schools for the people.

In practice, the States have turned the job of organizing and operating the schools over to local boards of education.

Ultimately, the people are responsible for the schools. They elect school board members whose functions are to select competent administrators, who operate the educational program, and determine policies for developing and conducting the program.

Because of the urgency of the testing issue, it probably will be taken up first and be threshed out at the Illinois Congress Convention next April in Chicago, Litterst indicated.

"Measures may be included in the platform to resist this trend at the national level which would destroy local control and the creativity of teachers in tailoring instruction to local needs," he asserted.

Home Rule Sellout

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD an editorial from the Thursday, September 23, 1965, edition of the Washington Evening Star. It does a very good job of analyzing the situation regarding home rule for the District of Columbia.

The editorial is as follows:

HOME RULE SELLOUT

The so-called bipartisan compromise bill introduced in the House last night, presumably with the administration's blessings, is advanced as a reasonable, acceptable basis for giving the District of Columbia home rule.

The unfortunate fact, moreover, is that in view of its political concessions this atrocious legislation might actually appeal to many Members of the House. But by no stretch of anyone's imagination could it be called reasonable, desirable or beneficial.

It is an outrageous bill. Its pretensions toward meaningful self-government are illusory. Its enactment would be the cruelest sort of deception to play on this city and the people who live here.

The whole business of attempting to split the direct control of the Nation's Capital into separate Federal and local parts—which

in the final analysis is what home rule is all about—is an exceedingly dubious proposition, with nothing in the entire 165-year history of this city to recommend its chances of success. Under the best of circumstances, we have no enthusiasm for the experiment.

President Johnson's original home rule bill, however, and the version in which it passed the Senate, at least attempted to provide a rational system of financial stability. Its crucial provision would determine the amount of the Federal Government's annual share of the cost of running the city, according to an in-lieu-of-taxes formula specified in the bill. It would make these amounts automatically available each year to the District, without the need for annual appropriation action by Congress. This would serve the essential purpose of assuring an adequate Federal payment to complement local taxes. Equally important to the concept of home rule, it would offer a basis on which an elected city council could draft and adopt, on its own authority, a city budget.

In abandoning the automatic financing feature, however, the new bipartisan bill commits the Federal Government to no continuing financial responsibility whatever to the city under home rule. And it reduces the claim of local fiscal responsibility to the level of a farce. Asked to explain the retrenchment, Representative MULTER of New York candidly told reporters last night that a head-count of House Members' positions on the bill with the automatic financing feature included was uncomfortably close. With this bone of contention removed, he said, there would be votes to spare.

This is no compromise. It is a crass political sellout.

And the most incredible thing of all is the report that President Johnson is likewise prepared to abandon the financing proposal—if he must in order to pass some kind of bill. How could this be? Last April, in sending the bill to Congress, the President defined this same feature as "essential to the proper assignment" of fiscal responsibility between the Federal Government and local citizens.

After their own intensive study, the liberal Democrats on the Senate District Committee agreed unanimously that the financing provision was "the heart of the entire home rule proposal." Schuyler Lowe, who has managed city-Federal fiscal affairs for many years as the District's chief administrative officer, says flatly that home rule government would be unworkable in the absence of such a provision. Without it, Representative SISK, of California, one of the leading liberal voices in the House, believes home rule would be a hollow shell.

And last week, in a confidential letter to the President, the District Commissioners expressed their own urgent concern about reports that the financing feature might be negotiable in the House. Their letter implied that home rule would be better killed than passed without adequate financial protection for the District, and of course they were precisely right.

Yet, in the fever of political maneuvering, with the showdown vote in the House only 4 days away, all the legitimate concerns about the basic issues of home rule now seem to have gone by the boards. Why? The answer lies in Mr. MULTER's comments, quoted above. The whole thrust of the home rule drive now, it seems, is to pass a bill—any bill, at any cost.

We trust, however, that this will not be the sense of the House next Monday. For the new compromise bill, if enacted, will accomplish nothing more than to permit this administration to rack up a few more Brownie points in the civil rights game. It will do so at incalculable cost to the future of the Nation's Capital.

Alviso, Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to the small and little-known town of Alviso, Calif., which now stands on the edge of an expanding vital future.

A primary reason for the impending importance of Alviso is its strategic location—at the very southern tip of the magnificent San Francisco Bay. Much of Alviso's history, its settlement, and its development, can be traced to this geographic fact.

In the early 19th century, this area was still untouched by both Spanish and American pioneers. The wide plain was to a large extent marshland—fields for miles and miles were covered with bright yellow mustard and wild animals and fowl roamed undisturbed.

But by 1840, the first evidence of settlement was to appear—three adobe homes built on land grants by the Spanish Crown. In the next decade, the port of Alviso rapidly became an important center for importing and exporting hides, tallow, and other native products including quicksilver from the New Almaden mine. And with the heavy influx of gold-seeking miners, the population of the bay area was greatly increased as many decided to stay on and settle down.

A regular steamer route was soon established between Alviso and San Francisco. For $40, a man could go by boat from the southernmost tip of the bay to the bustling city of San Francisco in 10 hours—the time it now takes to drive from the southernmost border of the State of California to the same city. On March 26, 1852, Alviso became the first town to be incorporated in the new State.

Lying immediately north of the city of San Jose, Alviso is ideally situated as the prime waterway to the lush Santa Clara Valley. The valley has long been noted for its fertile soil and favorable climate which produces an amazing variety of fruits and vegetables. Santa Clara County is emerging from a primarily agricultural county to a major industrial complex and the population is one of the fastest growing in the entire Nation.

Because of this ideal location and the rapid growth of the surrounding area, Alviso faces a bright future as its enlightened and hard working local leaders plan its development.

The Army Corps of Engineers are presently conducting a new study of the southern portion of San Francisco Bay, on San Jose deep-draft and Alviso light-draft waterway improvements. These studies may well result in Alviso once again becoming the major seaport which it was many years ago.

The city of Alviso is also busy. The local body is now in the process of adopting a general plan which is aimed at establishing Alviso as a recreational and residential center.

The city is working with Federal agencies here in Washington under the provisions of the new Housing and Urban Development Act recently passed by the Congress and signed by the President.

Through local initiative and Federal programs, Alviso is about to emerge from its historical past and once again play an important part in California's continuing expansion.

Rusk Should Be Disqualified

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, in the light of his involvement in nearly every aspect of the Otto Otepka case, Secretary of State Dean Rusk should disqualify himself or be disqualified from any role in the decision on Otepka's appeal.

It was startling for me to note that Mr. Rusk has had such a role in the light of his insistence that he was avoiding any contact with the case and seeking to be an impartial judge. In the light of his testimony and the testimony of William Crockett, one of his top aids, there can be no doubt that Rusk should keep his hands off of this case.

The record shows that he even tried to get a criminal prosecution of Otepka in connection with evidence that Otepka had given information to a properly authorized committee of Congress.

The more we learn about this case, the more shocking it becomes. If the State Department would do the decent thing, Otepka would be restored to duty immediately as Chief Security Officer and the charges dropped. The next best thing is for Secretary Rusk to stand apart from this matter for the record now shows he was a major mover in the effort to get Otto Otepka.

The story from the September 19, 1965, Des Moines Register is as follows:

LABELS RUSK AS KEY MAN IN OTEPKA CASE—TESTIMONY OF AID IS REVEALED

(By Clark Mollenhoff)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Secretary of State Dean Rusk was identified Saturday as a key figure in the filing of charges and attempted ouster of Otto F. Otepka, State Department security evaluator.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee released testimony released testimony that Rusk "made a basic decision that there should be an investigation" and participated in the decision to file charges and seek to dismiss the veteran security evaluator.

William P. Crockett, Deputy Under Secretary of State for the Administration, testified Rusk was involved in all major decisions that have been criticized as harassment of Otepka for telling the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of laxity in certain security cases at the State Department.

Crockett also testified he was acting on personal instructions from Rusk when he made an unsuccessful effort to get the Justice Department to initiate criminal prosecution of Otepka for giving State Department records to the Senate subcommittee.

Otepka has testified he gave the documents to Senate subcommittee counsel, J. G. Sourwine, to prove that he was testifying truthfully on a security case and that one of his superiors, John F. Reilly, had given untruthful testimony under oath.

Although the State Department has been vigorous in seeking to punish Otepka, it has taken no action against Reilly and others involved in untruthful testimony and unauthorized wiretapping of Otepka.

Secretary Rusk has declined public comment on the Otepka case, contending he has avoided the facts in the case because he will be in a semijudicial capacity in judging the case later after Otepka has a hearing on the ouster charges.

Otepka has contended that both Rusk and Crockett have decided to try to fire him, and that they have not been judicial and fair in their handling of the matter but have been intent upon punishing him for telling the truth.

In the Senate subcommittee transcript released Saturday, Rusk still contends he only asked his subordinates to take proper action and "abstained from further participation" so he can later serve as an impartial judge.

In the past, Crockett also has contended that he has avoided any conclusion on Otepka's case, but now has testified: "I think I would not be quite truthful if I did not say I had formed some opinion.

"YOUR OPINION?

"Would you be willing to tell us what it is?" Counsel Sourwine asekd, and Crockett answered:

"I think it is inappropriate under the same injunction that the Secretary (Rusk) has given the others."

Crockett made reference to Secretary Rusk's instructions that State Department officials who might be called as witnesses in the Otepka hearings were not to testify before the Senate subcommittee on any facts dealing with the Otepka case.

"It was inappropriate for these people to express opinions when they might be called upon to be witnesses for either side," Crockett explained.

"Would you think that the giving of testimony with regard to a set of facts would influence the testimony the same witness might give later about the same set of facts?" Sourwine asked.

"No, sir; I would not," Crockett replied.

PUT ON NOTICE

"Don't you think that, in effect, each of these witnesses was put on notice that if he discussed anything at all having to do with Otepka he might be violating an instruction of the Department?" Sourwine asked.

"That is a possibility," Crockett answered.

Otepka's attorney, Roger Robb, has contended that the State Department was attempting to muzzle witnesses and block testimony that might be favorable to Otepka and unfavorable to the State Department.

Crockett insisted that "I think the Department's effort was to protect Mr. Otepka."

"Have you ever stated that you think that Otepka ought to be fired?" Sourwine asked Crockett.

"Not in that context, Mr. Sourwine," Crockett said. "I think it depends upon whether or not the charges are upheld."

HONEST DISSENT

It was pointed out that Crockett had told another Senate committee that the State Department has "a system in which the individual understands that honest dissent is a part of his job and that the environment that exists is tolerant of dissent."

"I wonder how you would apply those precepts to the circumstances in the Otepka case?" Sourwine asked.

Crockett replied that the dissent should be restricted to channels within the State Department and added: "I think that the right to dissent in other channels is always risky and that when people dissent in that manner they are running a risk."

Crockett declared that Otepka was wrong in not asking to see Crockett or Secretary Rusk before giving information to the Senate Internal Subcommittee.

Otepka and subcommittee members have contended that the subcommittee was entitled to frank testimony from all Government employees, uncensored by department superiors.

CREDIBILITY ATTACKED

Otepka contends that when his own credibility was attacked by contradictory testimony, he had a right to produce records to prove he was right without seeking the approval of superiors who might be opposed to his testimony.

Otepka also has contended he was the object of a "get Otepka" move after he testified about laxity on some security matters. He has said he does not know who ordered the attack upon him, but knew it was being carried out by Reilly, then the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Security Matters; David Belisle, who was Reilly's assistant, and Elmer D. Hill, an electronics expert.

Reilly, Belisle, and Hill first denied any knowledge of placing what have been termed unauthorized wire taps on Otepka's telephone in an effort to find grounds for firing him. Later, however, they admitted knowledge of such wire-tapping activity, although Belisle did not take part in the taps that Reilly and Hill placed on Otepka's telephone.

Reilly and Hill were permitted to resign from the State Department with no derogatory findings despite the admisisons of involvement in the wiretaps.

Reilly since has been hired as a hearing lawyer by the Federal Communications Commission. Belisle still holds a top post at the State Department and was permitted to serve as an adviser to a department panel that has been doing a study of some controversial aspects of the Otepka case.

DECLINED COMMENT

Secretary Rusk has declined comment on the handling of the cases of Reilly, Hill, or Belisle on grounds it involves the Otepka case and would interfere with his posture as an impartial judge.

The Otepka hearing was set for October 15. But because of a delay in the release of Senate subcommittee testimony, Otepka's lawyer has asked for another 2-week postponement so he can study all of the testimony by Rusk, Crockett, and others on all aspects of the Otepka case.

There are three main groups of charges against Otepka. The first is that Otepka furnished subcommittee counsel Sourwine with what Rusk calls "classified information concerning the loyalty of prospective State Department employees" in violation of an executive branch directive.

Otepka admits delivering three documents to Sourwine which he said cannot be classed as classified under the directive.

The second group of charges alleges that Otepka furnished Sourwine with a detailed series of questions for use in questioning one of Otepka's superiors on a security matter. Otepka admits delivering the questions, in an effort to force his superior to tell the truth.

The third group of charges is that Otepka was responsible for clipping the classification indicators from a number of classified documents, and thereby declassified the papers in violation of a Department procedure. It also is claimed that Otepka, in clipping the documents, had mutilated them in violation of a criminal statute.

Otepka denies he clipped the classification indicators and has offered to take a lie detector test if the State Department will give such a test to Reilly.

The Isolated Fortress Theory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, there are still some theorists around today who claim that the United States should completely disengage itself from all problems outside our borders. These self-styled experts quote from George Washington's Farewell Address and defend the "isolated fortress" theory which was popular with idealists before World War I.

It is unbelievably difficult to explain to such people that the United States is involved in nearly all global affairs—and rightly so. Our distance from other countries is no longer our protection. In this day and age, missiles, rockets, and planes can bring war to our front door. The day we discontinue our active role of leadership for the free world, is the day we invite aggression by the Communist nations. As we watch the weaker nations fall one by one, we will eventually find we are fighting for our freedom on our own soil.

Recently the Carroll Times Herald published an article which supports my feelings. The article points out that Red China's submarines are bringing that country within nuclear firing range of the United States. I present this article for the benefit of my colleagues and as a dramatization of our need for continued alertness and active participation in foreign affairs.

The article follows:

[From the Carroll (La.) Times Herald, Sept. 1, 1965]

SUBMARINES PUTTING UNITED STATES IN RANGE, OF COMMUNIST CHINESE BOMBS

(By Tom Nolan)

WASHINGTON.—The weapons experts who dismissed the first Chinese Communist nuclear explosion last October as an atomic firecracker now have some startling new evidence to consider. Although nobody is panicking, it is causing no little concern.

Peiping is building a new long-range submarine capable of firing atomic missiles. It is estimated that within 3 years, possibly sooner, the Chinese Reds will be able to project a genuine nuclear threat across the Pacific Ocean.

Just a few years back, the words "Red Chinese Navy" were almost always good for a laugh in U.S. military circles. At best, they conjured up an image of a bunch of motorized junks flitting in and out of the fog around Hong Kong.

Although this image may still hold true for Peiping's surface fleet, the Red Chinese undersea navy is altogether a different story.

Literally from scratch, Peiping has built in less than a decade a submarine fleet which in numbers may be the third largest in the world. The latest breakdown in "Jane's Fighting Ships" ranks Red China fourth with

30 subs. Russia is first with 430 (including 30 nuclear-powered subs), the United States second with 198 (85 of which are nuclear powered), Great Britain third with 50, and France fifth with 23.

Some sources now put the Red Chinese quantitative sub strength at 55, greater than Britain's.

Most of the subs are the Soviet type W-class craft, which have a round-trip range of roughly 30,000 miles. They are armed only with conventional torpedoes.

But construction reportedly is underway on a larger Soviet-type sub of the G-class, equipped with vertical tubes for missile launching. Its total range is over 40,000 miles.

This would give Peiping the means of delivering nuclear payloads to American coastal cities. Current Chinese Communist missiles are believed to be accurate only up to 200 miles. Red China's longest range bomber, the TU-4, travels a total of about 4,000 miles.

Current Peiping submarine strategy follows Mao Tse-tung's ideas on guerrilla warfare which interweaves offensive and defensive actions to fit the circumstances. Until 1959, Peiping sub training was mostly defensive in posture. Since then, it has been evolving to the offense.

In the early 1960's, U.S. Pacific Fleet Headquarters announced that joint Sino-Soviet submarine operations were being undertaken in the western Pacific. In 1963, India uncovered evidence that Chinese Communist subs were operating in the Bay of Bengal and Indian Ocean.

On the balance sheet, Red China—even with a fleet of missile-firing subs—does not pose much of a threat to the United States. One military source notes that comparing Peiping's primitive missiles to the heavy U.S. arsenal is like arguing the advantages of Poland's cavalry squadrons against Hitler's Panzer divisions in 1939.

But no nuclear threat is regarded lightly by military men anywhere. Developing a delivery system for missiles opens a Pandora's box of potential military threats.

Charles de Gaulle has advanced a theory that Russian aggression against any U.S. ally in Western Europe would be highly unlikely to bring U.S. intervention by strategic nuclear bombing. De Gaulle reasons that the United States would be deterred by the threat of immediate Russian retaliation against American cities. A similar theory may soon be argued by U.S. allies in southeast Asia.

A few Chinese Communist missiles poised off the coast of California might, the theory goes, deter American nuclear reaction to open aggression by Peiping in Asia.

To at least one American nuclear scientist, Dr. Edward Teller, the Red Chinese nuclear threat may be a blessing in disguise, since it may prompt early U.S. development of an effective missile defense.

"That the Chinese bomb is a real threat to peace, no one can doubt," says Teller. "Yet, if it elicits the correct positive response from us, we might find ourselves in the end in a much improved situation."

To Teller, the best missile defense is based on a rocket which need not hit the incoming warhead to destroy it, but which neutralizes it by merely approaching it. This can be done, he says, only by a nuclear explosion.

Only the United States among Western Nations, he argues, has the nuclear technology to develop such a device at this time.

"This defensive unit can be wired up in such a manner that, if fired, it would explode at a safe distance from the ground," says Teller. "We can give our allies instruments which cannot be used except in self-defense. If anybody wants to change the wiring, he will destroy the rocket."

Strengthening the Effectiveness of Parliamentary Institutions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER PIRNIE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, at the 54th Inter-Parliamentary Conference recently held in Ottawa, Canada, the Honorable Allan A. MacNaughton, Speaker of Canada's House of Commons, gave an important address on "Strengthening the Effectiveness of Parliamentary Institutions." This excellent speech was directed to one of the more significant topics on the agenda of the conference and carried a message of interest to every Member of this body.

While the problems facing our respective nations have not been entirely similar, we have a close bond with our sister Parliament to the north. Together we share the objective of responsible and responsive representative government and seek to envision and to employ those means which will insure its survival. Mr. MacNaughton characterizes a parliament as "both the pulse and the voice of the nation."

We, in this country, trust that our Congress is also the conscience of the Nation. I commend to my colleagues the thoughts which this distinguished parliamentarian has set forth, particularly, his summary of suggested emphasis if parliamentary bodies are to insure their effectiveness:

STRENGTHENING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS

(An address by the Honorable Alan A. MacNaughton, QC., MP., Speaker of Canada's House of Commons to the 54th Inter-Parliamentary Conference, September 15, 1965)

Mr. President, distinguished delegates, it has been suggested to me that, as Speaker of the House of Commons, I might be in a position to contribute something from our Canadian experience to the consideration of agenda item No. 5—"Means of Strengthening the Effectiveness of Parliamentary Institutions." Before doing so, however, let me say again how very happy we are to be host to this important international Conference. We do hope that the program we have arranged has commended itself to the delegates and that you will take back to your home countries pleasurable memories of your stay in Canada.

The agenda of this Conference is directed in main toward the great international political questions of our time. This is as it should be, for this forum provides an unexampled opportunity for their discussion in an objective and detached atmosphere. It is well, however, that the agenda also provides for the consideration by parliamentarians of the effectiveness of their own institutions.

It is important in a debate of this kind to be sure just what we mean when we speak of "strengthening parliamentary institutions."

Parliament, as a repository of power, could be strengthened by suppressing the rights of minorities and individual members, thereby stifling opposition and bringing the institution of Parliament under monolithic control. This would certainly strengthen Parliament but it just as certainly would weaken democracy.

If Parliament is to be an instrument in the preservation of democracy, its strength must be measured by its success in the fulfillment of that function.

This means that, in strengthening Parliament, we should seek to do more than merely to promote its efficiency as a law-making body. We must insure that it remains a representative institution, dependent upon the operation of a free electoral system. Parliament should be a microcosm of the electorate—no better and no worse than the men and women who elect it.

We must also insure that those charged with the responsibility to govern are given reasonable facilities for doing so, while those whose right it is to oppose and whose duty it is to offer alternatives are not unduly frustrated. We must insure that every Member is given the opportunity to play a full part in Parliament's activities; that Parliament uses its time profitably; that the built-in checks and balances remain effective without becoming merely obstructive; and that every valid point of view may be heard and given the chance to make its impact.

Fortunately, Parliament is a flexible institution, and it is probable that its greatest strength lies in its adaptability and capacity for evolution. Parliamentary reform is a continuing process and in Great Britain, for example, it has been going on for many centuries. Yet, in spite of the revolutionary changes which have taken place in the parliamentary system, the basic structure of the British Parliament has undergone no fundamental alteration since the House of Lords and the House of Commons began to site separately some time in the 14th century. The British people, while preserving their ancient constitution, achieved democracy through Parliament, thus demonstrating their genius for adapting ancient institutions to modern requirements.

If any Parliament is to function properly, it must obviously keep pace with the times. It must recognize the realities of the age in which we live, one of which is the extent to which the responsibilities of government have increased during the 20th century. There are few member countries who have not undergone this experience.

In the simpler societies of yesteryear—in the days before universal education, measures of health and social welfare, and the many other forms of governmental participation in the economic and social life of the nation—Parliament was as much a forum for the expression of private opinion as it was an instrument of government action. But the responsibilities of government today extend into so many spheres of activity that the greater part of Parliament's time necessarily be consumed by government business. The opportunities of the private member are greatly curtailed as a result of this situation but it is one which we must accept and to which we must attune our procedure.

Parliamentary procedure is the cornerstone of parliamentary democracy. John Hatsell, the great parliamentary authority of the 18th century put it this way:

"The forms of proceedings, as instituted by our ancestors, operated as a check and a control on the action of ministers, and they were, in many instances, a shelter and a protection to the minority against the attempts of power."

This is a truth which has not faded with the passage of time. But it has become necessary to devise our rules of procedure in such a way as to enable the majority to secure the passage of its measures while at the same time preserving the rights of the minority to delay, to criticize, and to exert its legitimate influence. We, in Canada—with

five political parties represented in Parliament—have reason to know that this is more easily said than done.

Canada inherited the British parliamentary system, and we have found—as in Britain—that the process of reform must be dynamic in nature. Parliament cannot remain static if it is to avoid stagnation. Our procedure is based on that of Westminster, but it was inherited before the procedural crisis into which the British House of Commons was plunged during the 1880's. Drastic rule changes were implemented at that time relating to the closure, the disciplinary powers of the chair, dilatory motions, the unnecessary claiming of divisions, the adjournment of the house on a definite matter of urgent public importance, and the introduction of fixed hours of sitting and adjournment. Those rules—introduced originally for the purpose of countering obstruction—have become an essential part of the procedural machinery at Westminster without which the house would never be able to dispose of the massive volume of business before it.

A few of these rules found their way into Canadian procedure but—before the major reforms introduced by the government and adopted on an experimental basis in June of this year—Canadian procedure was to some extent at the same stage of development as British procedure prior to the 1880's. Our standing orders provided for no allocation of time procedure; no limitation of financial debates; no limit on the question period—except on Wednesdays; no proper regulation of the raising of questions of privilege. In addition, the speaker's authority was severely curbed by a rule permitting any member to appeal to the house against a ruling from the chair, no notice of motion being required.

Our procedure had just not kept pace with the times, with the result that the house was unable to program its business, it was impossible to plan a timetable, and none of us had any idea when a session would begin or end. For example, the session of 1964–65 lasted 248 days—the longest in Canadian history.

It was clear that these conditions were weakening Parliament, and this problem had engaged the attention of more than one select committee in recent years. However, a real breakthrough was accomplished last June, and I think it is fair to say that the reform measures introduced by the government were the direct result of the work of an all-party committee of which it was my privilege to be the chairman.

It was at the beginning of the 1964–65 session that the House appointed our Special Committee on Procedure and Organization to carry on the work started by a similar committee late in the previous session. Our committee was given extremely wide terms of reference—namely to consider the procedure and organization of the House "for the purpose of suggesting any changes that would assure the more expeditious dispatch of public business and would strengthen Parliament and make it more effective."

It will be seen that in our approach to the task we were not limited—as previous procedural committees had been—to the consideration of procedure alone. In fact, much of the committee's best work was accomplished in nonprocedural areas such as staff organization, public relations, the facilities and services provided for Members, and the improvement of parliamentary publications. The committee realized that the provision of adequate working conditions for Members was an essential prerequisite to the strengthening of Parliament.

The facilities for simultaneous interpretation in six languages now in use in this chamber, and the establishment of the Canadian Secretariat which has organized this important international Conference, both resulted from the initiative of the committee. In addition, provision has been made for electronic recording of committee proceedings and a number of the rooms so equipped are in use this week. The implementation of these recommendations demonstrates the importance which we, in Canada, attach to the promotion of interparliamentary cooperation and the strengthening of institutions such as the IPU.

Delegates may also be aware that we have recruited some 30 students from universities all across Canada to act as tourist guides and to assist in the reception and hospitality programs for this Conference. We feel that it is most important to introduce our young people—the future leaders of society—to the institutions and processes of government. We wish them to take pride in their country's democratic inheritance, and we therefore welcome any opportunity which brings them into direct contact with Parliament and its functioning.

As a result of the committee's work, we have also made a start on the establishment of a research service for Members of Parliament. A small research staff is now being organized within the Library of Parliament as the nucleus for the creation of an expert Legislative Reference Service.

On the purely procedural side, we have made some headway in our efforts to make better use of Parliament's time. For example, the Speaker's control over the daily question period—which sometimes lasted as much as an hour and a half—has been greatly strengthened. We now have, on an experimental basis, a half-hour time limit on oral questions each day—except Monday—when 1 hour is provided.

A feature—entirely new to Canadian practice but familiar to the parliamentarians of Westminster—has been the provision three times weekly of an extra half-hour at the end of the day for the airing of grievances. This has provided a most useful "safety valve" for members who have been dissatisfied with the answers given to them by Ministers of the Crown.

It has also improved the opportunities available to private members by providing them with an additional hour and a half during the week for the ventilation of matters unrelated to government business. One of the great problems of modern parliamentary government is to avoid curtailing too severely the time available to the individual member for raising matters on his own initiative. Government business consumes by far the greater part of parliamentary time and we must, I believe, spare no effort to widen the horizon of those who sit on the backbenches—both government and opposition.

Improvements were also made in the procedure for adjourning the House on a definite matter of urgent public importance, and a time limitation was introduced in respect of the debate on the resolution stage of a money bill. At the same time, provision was made for postponing consideration of the short title clause of a bill at the committee stage, experience having shown that the debate on this clause tended to become a repetition of the second reading debate.

It has also been written into our permanent rules (standing orders) that the House will not sit on certain specified public holidays, unless otherwise ordered.

The most far-reaching reforms proposed by the committee relate to committee work. Our recommendations formed the basis for measures introduced by the Government in May of this year and adopted by the House a month later. The new rules provided for the complete restructuring of our standing committees; the reference of spending estimates to these committees as a regular practice; and the introduction of a time limitation on supply debates in the House and in committee of supply. These changes were adopted on a temporary basis only, but it is my earnest hope that one of the first actions of the new parliament will be to reaffirm them.

Under these temporary rule changes, standing committees were restructured in such a way as to distribute committee work more equitably among Members; to strengthen the effectiveness of the committees; and to widen the opportunities of the individual Member who can so easily find his initiative stifled. By referring financial estimates to these committees and limiting supply debates elsewhere, it was our hope that the details of the estimates would be thrashed out in the committees and then be reported to the House.

We envisaged that the committee of supply debates in the House itself would be concerned only with broad questions of policy, the opposition reserving the right to select the departments for discussion, as at Westminster. Thus, much of the work of supply would take place in committees concerned with particular departments, enabling private members to increase the usefulness of their contribution and to become better informed on the workings of the various departments of government.

I had long been of the opinion that we in this Parliament were not extracting the maximum effectiveness from our committee system. It had seemed to me that much of the detail—particularly with regard to finance—which would never adequately be discussed on the floor of this chamber, could profitably be considered in committees specially designed for the purpose.

In such committees the individual member could acquire specialized knowledge; his opportunity to participate in the process of government at a crucial level would be greater; his potential influence would be improved; and his role would become altogether more effective. Government pressure upon parliamentary time—which all our countries have experienced—is with us to stay. It is through the effective use of committees that Parliament can probably best fulfill its traditional role as the watchdog of the constitution; and individual members best exercise their functions as guardians of the purse and protectors against executive action.

Another important reform introduced by the Government is the abolition of appeals from speaker's rulings. This matter had engaged the attention of our Committee on Procedure and Organization, although no formal recommendation had been made with regard to it. There was, however, general agreement that this rule was a constant threat to the speaker's authority and served no good purpose. The House did not require such a rule to remain master of its own procedure, since the Chair could always be challenged by way of a substantive motion requiring notice.

The authority and discipline of the chair—willing accepted by the house—is a necessary foundation of Parliament's strength, and a rule permitting appeals is incompatible with the need to protect the speaker from impulsive or frivolous challenges to his authority.

It is not enough, however, merely to reform procedure. The success and the strength of Parliament must in the long run depend not on written rules but on the attitude of the members to their responsibilities; the attitude of the people who elect them and to whom they are accountable; and the quality of the leadership provided in both the national and parliamentary areas.

Parliamentary government must be responsible government if it is to succeed, and the burden of responsibility must be carried, not only by each individual legislator, but by each individual elector. No written document alone can guarantee the preservation of parliamentary freedom. Delegates will recall that the constitution of the Weimar Republic was one of the most democratic ever

devised by man, and we all know what that led to.

Only a responsible nation can elect a responsible government. Every elector should be aware of what he is voting for, and political consciousness can only be achieved through education, and I do not mean formal education alone. We have all heard of the constituency—and every country has them—of which it is said: "They would vote for a baboon in that place as long as he wore the right party label." An exaggeration, perhaps, but it reflects the kind of attitude which one finds wherever votes are cast according to unreasoning prejudice.

The elector must be educated to use his judgment, which leads me to the special responsibility which is borne by the candidate. By offering himself for election in the first place he is presuming that he is worthy of representing his country, and it is therefore his duty to offer his electors the choice to which he himself is sincerely pledged and to explain that choice fully and honestly.

The education of the electorate is the responsibility of the leadership. The process begins in the schools and in the universities, at which period we in Parliament can also assist with organized visits and such projects as our recruitment of student guides to which I have already referred. But after the period of formal education, it is the chosen leadership of our political parties who must take on the responsibility and keep the public from falling into apathy and political ignorance. The country looks for something worth voting for—something it can believe in—and, of course, something which the leaders believe in themselves.

Once elected to Parliament the Member is the representative as much of those who voted against him as of those who support him. One of the first things of which he will become aware is the extent to which the executive has encroached on the traditional preserve of Parliament. This has been an inevitable accompaniment of the increase in the responsibilities of government. It is therefore doubly important that the fundamental authority of Parliament—namely its ultimate control over executive action—should be jealously safeguarded.

The basic parliamentary freedom which we read about in the textbooks is the control over finance. This is in danger of becoming a myth. Vast sums are voted by Parliaments each year for various purposes, and how many of the Members who vote really know the purposes for which these moneys are required. Under modern parliamentary conditions it is quite impossible to hold thorough debates on the details of taxation and appropriation except through committees—and again I would emphasize that this is the forum where the private member could perform some of his most useful work.

We must take account of the problems of the executive but at the same time we we must not forget that Parliament is a far more basic institution of government. Governments are entitled to expect reasonable cooperation, but not abject compliance. Tyranny takes over when Parliament becomes a rubberstamp.

In summing up our Canadian experience, I would suggest six necessary prerequisites for the strengthening of parliamentary institutions in the 20th century:

1. All concerned in the political process—from the national leader down to the newly qualified elector—should recognize and accept their share of the burden of democratic responsibility;

2. Parliamentary procedure must take account of the pressure of government business and be such as to enable us to plan our parliamentary programs and to allocate our time profitably;

3. At the same time, in expediting the passage of government business we must avoid any violation of the basic principle of parliamentary control;

4. The effectiveness of the individual Member should be promoted through his employment on committees, and by all other means possible;

5. The House should respect and support the authority of the Chair, investing it with all the powers it requires for the maintenance of order and dignity and, above all, the protection of minority rights;

6. Finally, members should be provided with proper facilities and services to enable them to discharge their important responsibilities adequately and in the best interests of those they represent.

Parliament is both the pulse and the voice of a nation. The privileges of Parliament are the privileges of the people, for in protecting the rights of members, we are protecting the freedom of the nation as a whole. And if the precious legacy of freedom is thus protected in every land, then the world as a whole will be free to enjoy the fruit of man's progress.

This great parliamentary gathering of more than 60 nations is an earnest of our determination to reach those broad sunlit uplands that beckon us on. Liberty was never bought without sacrifice, and no Parliament can vindicate itself as a pillar of freedom merely by taking the line of least resistance. It was Edmund Burke who said: "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing."

Our road is not an easy one. Yet I still hope that I may live to see the day when the nations will compete together only in peaceful pursuits for the betterment of mankind and when their peoples will meet, not upon the battlefield, but through their chosen delegates at assemblies such as this.

Mail Volume and Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. OLSEN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, the Post Office Department for years has attempted to minimize the cause-and-effect relationship between mail volume and prosperity. This has been particularly true when the Department has been attempting to raise the postage rates.

It is gratifying, therefore, to read the Post Office Department's press release No. 141, dated September 26, which attributes the unexpected and unprecedented increase in mail volume during the past summer to "the stimulus of a strong national economy."

The fact is, the statisticians and prognosticators in the department predicted only a normal volume increase of 2.7 percent over the summer of 1964, instead of which they have been confronted with a 5.1 percent increase. Since departmental officials had based their budget and their appropriations requests on the lesser figure, this has caused them considerable inconvenience in operating the service.

The point is, Mr. Speaker, the business users of the mails do stimulate and prime the national economy. And when the national economy is thriving, the usage of the mails increases proportionately.

This is a fact that has, in the past, been obvious to everyone except Government accountants. It is nice to see the Post Office Department finally admitting the validity of the obvious.

Under unanimous consent I place Post Office Department release No. 141 in the RECORD:

Mail volume, a traditional barometer of economic strength, surged far beyond expectations during the past summer, under the stimulus of a strong national economy, the Post Office Department reported today. Here are highlights, based on expert estimates:

1. For the first two accounting periods this summer, from mid-June to mid-August, mail volume jumped 5.1 percent over a comparable period last year .

2. The 5.1-percent increase was almost twice as much as a 2.7-percent increase previously forecast by Department experts.

3. The approximate 5-percent increase was uniform in major mail categories—letters, newspapers, and periodicals, advertising matter, reflecting uniformity of strength in many sectors of the national economy.

4. Mail volume for the two accounting periods of 4 weeks each rose from 9,521,117,000 pieces for last year to 10,003,028,000 pieces this summer.

5. Revenue this past summer was $627,301,000 for the two periods compared with $594,342,000 last year, an increase of nearly $33 million and $8 million more than anticipated earlier by expert projections.

History has demonstrated the validity of mail volume as a barometer of economic strength. In 1929, before the depression, for example, mail volume was nearly 28 billion pieces. It dropped steadily to 19.8 billion pieces in 1933, setting back the clock on mail volume to pre-World-War-I days.

A report from the Department's Bureau of Finance and Administration on the mail volume increase stated: "Instead of tapering off, as had been expected, the recovery seemed to gain renewed strength this summer. Sustained economic gains and the more optimistic tone that pervades spending plans have pushed mail volume and revenues well ahead of forecasts."

The Department pointed out that the increase in mail volume was not caused by any seasonal factors, and, in most years, it noted, the period is on the dull side because it occurs at the height of the vacation season.

The comparison between the summer periods in 1964 and 1965, however, is particularly noteworthy because mail volume last summer was at an exceptionally high level due to the mail generated all over the Nation by election campaigns.

Home Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, although opponents of home rule for the District of Columbia have indicated concern lest the rights of all American citizens to a National Capital of which they can be proud be somehow restricted under home rule, a recent national poll has revealed that Americans throughout the country feel overwhelmingly that the residents of the District of Columbia ought to be able to govern themselves.

I submit the results of the Harris survey as they appeared in the Washington Post, Thursday, September 23, 1965, and commend them to the attention of our colleagues.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 23, 1965]

AMERICANS FAVOR HOME RULE FOR WASHINGTON BY 6 TO 1

(By Louis Harris)

By better than 6 to 1, Americans support home rule for the city of Washington. Sizable majorities of voters in all parties, people who voted for Goldwater or for Johnson in 1964, people from all regions, voters from big cities and small towns all favor home rule for residents of Washington.

The main reasons people give for backing home rule are three: that people in any area should have the right to govern themselves, that a city should determine its own destiny, and that Congress has not done a good job in running the city of Washington.

The opposition centers on one major concern over home rule—that with its large Negro population, a newly elected local District government would be dominated by that minority group.

A special cross section of the national electorate was reminded that Congress is soon going to vote on whether to give Washington home rule. Each person interviewed was then asked, "Would you favor or oppose home rule for Washington, D.C.?"

A total of 66 percent of the Nation's voters said they favor home rule, 10 percent said they oppose it and 24 percent said they were not sure how they felt about the issue.

Sentiment in favor of home rule for the city of Washington tends to run higher among the more affluent sectors of the population—those who have attended college and those earning over $10,000 a year. Negroes also are overwhelmingly in favor of establishing local elective government in the Nation's Capital.

Support for home rule clearly is not a partisan political issue among the people, as evidenced by the fact that 1964 Goldwater and Johnson voters are almost equally in favor of passage of a home rule bill.

While support of home rule is highest in the West and Midwest, the ratio of backing is generally uniform across the Nation. The 6-to-1 majorities remain intact in the big cities, suburbs, small towns, and farms of the country.

Voters were probed in depth for what lay behind their stated views.

Typical of the comments volunteered in favor of home rule was that of a 68-year-old retired man in Los Angeles who said, "They are people like us and should have their own officials and their own government. Why should they be an exception?" A 40-year-old housewife in Stroud, Okla., added, "They have a right to their own government. America stands for what is right for one is right for all." A 39-year-old executive from Ann Arbor, Mich., said, "Congress has neither the time nor inclination to deal with the city's problems."

Opposing home rule was the wife of the store manager in Lancaster, N.Y., who said, "Because of the racial imbalance, every city office will be held by a Negro." A 31-year-old Okron, Ohio, rubber worker added, "The colored would just take over."

While the issue of home rule has stirred a division of opinion generating considerable heat, when all of the opinions are added, the prevailing view is a landslide in favor of home rule for the Capital City.

A cross section of Americans was asked:

"As you know, the city of Washington, D.C., can vote in presidential elections, but does not elect its own city government. Congress is soon going to vote on whether or not to give the city of Washington home rule. Would you favor or oppose home rule for Washington, D.C."

Home rule for District of Columbia

	Favor	Oppose	Not sure
Nationwide	66	10	24
By political party:			
Republicans	56	11	23
Democrats	67	8	25
Independents	74	14	12
By region:			
East	50	8	42
Midwest	72	10	18
South	69	10	21
West	72	10	18
By size of place:			
City	66	11	23
Suburbs	63	5	32
Towns	67	11	22
Rural	66	12	22
By 1964 vote:			
Goldwater voters	63	14	23
Johnson voters	68	7	25
By education:			
8th grade or less	56	9	35
High school	67	8	25
College	69	15	16
By race:			
White	63	12	25
Negro	82	5	13
By religion:			
Protestant	73	9	18
Catholic	55	9	36
Jewish	63	11	26
By income:			
Under $5,000	64	12	24
$5,000 to $9,999	65	7	28
Over $10,000	72	15	13

Each voter who said he either favored or opposed home rule for Washington was asked:

"Why do you feel that way? Any other reason?"

Reasons favor or oppose home rule

	Total Nation	Republicans	Democrats	Independent
Why favor:				
Every city should determine own destiny	33	28	33	38
Every community has right to self-government	24	19	28	20
Can do better job than Congress	9	9	6	16
Total favoring	66	56	76	74
Why oppose:				
Too many Negroes, would take over	7	8	6	8
Seat of Federal Government should be run by Federal Government	2	1	1	6
Population is transient	1	2	1	0
Total opposing	10	11	8	14
Total not sure	24	33	25	12

Proposed Wage-Hour Bill Undermining Economics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, the Pekin, Ill., downtown businessmen got together and passed a resolution indicating their strong feelings on H.R. 10518. It is obvious these men and women feel the bill embodies simon-pure inflation and the payment of money not justified for the services rendered. The two aforementioned economic evils can kill a small businessman quicker than anything. Needless to say, many of the Pekin downtown group are small businessmen.

Under unanimous consent, I include the resolution at this point:

RESOLUTION BY THE PEKIN DOWNTOWN BUSINESSMEN'S ASSOCIATION

Whereas wages is a problem between employer and employee, based on type of business and location, and therefore impossible and impractical to legislate; and

Whereas the proposed increase in the Federal minimum wage will work a hardship on small business whether it is or is not covered by H.R. 10518; and

Whereas necessitated increases to retain present personnel in the face of competition for employees and the resultant wage differentials; and

Whereas the decrease in the margin of profit which is already in a dangerous position; and

Whereas the increase of wage cost will necessarily be passed on to the consumer in higher prices; and

Whereas passage of the bill will, of necessity, eliminate jobs for the teenager and the unskilled; and

Whereas millions of second wage earners in a household with no skills and a willingness to work, will no longer have employment: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Pekin Downtown Businessmen's Association, That all legislators carefully study the results of such legislation in the light of employment and taxes derived from business and individual profit; and be it further

Resolved, That the Downtown Businessmen's Association, realizing the costly consequences of an increase in the minimum wage law, strongly recommends the defeat of H.R. 10518; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to our Representatives in Congress.

Adopted in Pekin, Ill., this 13th day of September, A.D. 1965.

RUSSELL STRAUMANN,
Chairman.

A Question of Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the ruthlessness with which the majority party has steamrollered through the Congress legislation demanded by the President has brought the charge from many quarters that the 89th Congress is a rubberstamp body doing the bidding of the President without adequate deliberation and the honest consideration of diverse views. There is no denying that there is substance to this charge. An editorial which appeared in the September 22, 1965, issue of the Chicago American discusses an example of the abuse of the legislative process and points out the danger to representative government in the application of such tactics.

The editorial follows:

A QUESTION OF POWER

The congressional debate over doing away with right-to-work laws is a debate by courtesy only. Normally the word means an exchange of differing viewpoints in an effort to settle an issue, or at least to clarify it,

but very little of that has been going on in Washington. The decisive question is how much steam there is in the Democratic steamroller.

President Johnson and the Democratic majority want to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law, which permits States to enact laws banning the union shop if they choose. A largely Republican minority led by Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, of Illinois, wants 14(b) maintained, and is planning a filibuster to prevent its removal. The whole issue apparently is to be settled by a test of lung power versus sheer weight of numbers.

And that prospect is not encouraging. To our mind, the central issue here is not whether 14(b) is repealed, but whether this same method of indifferently squashing opposition is to become normal procedure with the Federal Government. If the congressional majority flattens its opposition, the Justice Department will then roll over the 19 States that now have right-to-work laws; and in neither case will a question have been settled on its merits, but only by exercise of power.

We do not think right-to-work laws are an unmixed blessing, and we certainly would not like to see Illinois adopt one. What they generally confer is the right to work cheap. It can even be argued that the States that have these laws are following a short-sighted policy. They can boast an immediate advantage, in that the relatively low wage scales in these States tend to attract more industries; but once the industries have been attracted, the lower wages and consequently smaller buying power works against them.

The point is that the question of enacting these laws is one for individual States to decide. The value of laws against the union shop depends on a State's own circumstances, and should be judged by the State's voters. This exemplifies what the late Justice Frankfurter meant with his remark that the States serve as "laboratories for social experiment." There is no guarantee that an experiment will work, but the right to try it must be protected.

For the Federal Government to tell States that they may not have such laws is a frightening intrusion of Federal power into a State matter. And this time, there would be no question of Washington moving perforce into a vacuum left by a State's unwillingness to act.

The Johnson administration would be frankly using its power over Congress to flatten State opposition. It would be operating under a new and dangerous rule of thumb: If a State government doesn't share the official Federal view, that proves it isn't competent to enact its own laws.

And once that philosophy gains ground, State governments will be little more than lower echelon desks in a Federal bureaucracy.

The Situation in the Dominican Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial appearing in the Herald-American newspapers, Los Angeles, Calif., published by Mr. Cliff Smith.

I cannot conceive of how the State Department can continue on its piecemeal surrender to communism throughout the world without a violent protest on the part of the American people. America seems to be like a person on the operating table, completely under anesthetics which have been applied in large doses by the administration. A thorough revamping of our State Department is long overdue, and, as George Washington said, "Put only Americans on guard tonight."

The editorial follows:

RUSK REPEATS HIS MISTAKES IN DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The Dominican situation is deteriorating like everything else deteriorates that our Secretary of State Rusk has anything to do with. He has a 25-year record of either deliberately messing up everything or making the wrong guess. It started when he gave the go ahead to the Chinese Communists as being nothing but simple agrarians seeking justice.

The Dominican Republic had a record of nothing but strife except during the time that the Dictator Trujillo was in charge After he was murdered there was nothing but trouble, then a President named Juan Bosch was elected. He had strong leftwing tendencies and pulled into the Government numerous Communist sympathizers.

The rightwing party, which included the army and the air service in the Dominican Republic, executed a coup and forced Bosch to flee the country. They appointed a provisional government. The friends of Bosch then staged a counterrevolution and as the fighting became more and more pronounced, the counterrevolutionists welcomed more and more Communists and Communist sympathizers.

One of those reportedly killed on their side was Che Guevera, who for a number of years was Castro's right-hand man and a more radical Communist than Castro. There were 57 other pro-Communists in the high command of the rebel army according to the CIA.

Now the new deal has been set up by the Organization of American States with the consent and assistance of the U.S. State Department. They have picked a president, now in office, who was one of the assistants of Bosch when Bosch was President.

The next headline we find is that General Wessin y Wessin, brigadier general in command of the Dominican Air Corps was arrested and at bayonet point was put on a plane bound for Miami. He was appointed Dominican consul general to that city after he was deported but has refused the appointment.

Wessin y Wessin was not only a capable officer, he was a friend of the United States and completely free of Communist influences.

The same thing has now happened to him that has happened to many of the other friends of the United States in the various parts of the world. We have turned on our friends and backed such people as Castro in Cuba. The so-called dictator, Batista, that we threw out of Cuba, was a real friend of the United States. Our State Department insisted that Castro was the man we wanted to govern Cuba. They neglected to tell the people that he was a graduate of a Communist school. Everyone knows what happened after he took command in Cuba.

We forced the Indies chief, Sukarno, on the Dutch, and assisted him to take command of Indonesia.

The State Department handpicked Nasser to be the head man in Egypt. The State Department forced England, France, and Israel to pull back their armies when they were within 24 hours of capturing Cairo and Nasser.

Ayub Khan of Pakistan was our handpicked little boy and we spent a number of billion dollars on him and the next thing he did was get mad at us and throw in his lot with Red China.

There are many other instances of the United States throwing its weight behind men who became our drastic enemies shortly afterward.

When, oh, when are we going to clean out the State Department and get rid of the men who always pick the wrong horse.

L.B.J.'s Pedernales Press Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, much has been written about L.B.J.'s Pedernales Press Service but two of the best articles I have read appeared in the San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle of September 26. The first article is by Douglas Kiker, correspondent from Washington, and the second is an article by Art Hoppe on the same subject. Both of these articles follow:

[From the San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle, Sept. 26, 1965]

L.B.J.'S PEDERNALES PRESS SERVICE: HE WANTS GOOD NEWS

(By Douglas Kiker)

WASHINGTON.—President Johnson told a gathering of Government information officers last month that he expects them to spend more time producing favorable news about his administration and less time cooperating with reporters in search of stories which displease him.

The 62-minute meeting was held in the Fish Room at the White House on August 27 and the President delayed three appointments while he delivered his lecture.

At one point, sources said recently, he referred to a recent story which had angered him and pointed out that the reporter could not have gotten the facts without the cooperation of some of the men present in the room.

He then warned the group that if they could not produce the sort of good news he wanted, he would hire some high school seniors from Johnson City, Tex. and count on them to do the job.

At the same meeting, Presidential Press Secretary Bill Moyers told the group that the White House expects to have first choice on all the favorable news from all Federal agencies and departments.

Sources said that Johnson himself gave some specific examples of the sort of thing he had in mind. For example, he said, the Agriculture Department recently installed a new calculating machine which was serving to increase departmental efficiency. News of this should have been released by the White House, he maintained.

As a result of the meeting, the public relations men in the administration have been working overtime to supply the White House with the sort of news releases they want.

On September 6, for example, during a weekend in Austin, the White House released 42 stories, which ranged from the increase in national park visitors to the increase in homes for Indians financed by the Public Housing Administration.

White House reporters junked most of the releases, and joked about them to the extent that Moyers now reportedly has decided that the project was overdone and needs curtailing somewhat.

Another result of the White House move is a feeling of unease among Washington's Government information officers.

At one agency, when the chief press officer explained what the President wanted, his subordinates broke into laughter. At another, a special committee has been appointed to come up with what the President wants. At the Pentagon, press officials are speaking of the Pedernales Press Service.

Moyers said it is his policy to make public everything in which the President is legitimately involved.

He added: "My request is the departments and agencies keep me posted on anything anybody in their department has done with the President or is likely to do with the President or concerns him. * * * We don't need to manufacture events or actions or decisions and say that the President was involved when he wasn't."

The August meeting marked the third time Johnson has dressed down the administration's public relations men. He called them together in December 1963, and again this past spring.

Also present at the meeting last month were many lower-echelon Cabinet officials not involved in public relations.

One source said that one of the original purposes of the meeting was to give these men a greater sense of participation in the administration and a greater personal identification with the White House.

Johnson's talk, these sources said, ranged over a number of subjects, of which press relations was only a part.

Meanwhile, good news continued to come from the White House. The press office announced that personal income hit a new all-time high last month. Usually such reports are issued directly by the Commerce Department.

The short White House relays did have a footnote saying that further details and figures were available at Commerce. One of those details, not included in the White House release, was the fact that in August farm income dropped $1 billion.

THE PEDERNALES PRESS SERVICE

(By Art Hoppe)

WASHINGTON.—I hurried back here as soon as I heard the news. The news, of course, is that henceforth President Johnson will issue the news. Mr. Johnson issued this news through his press secretary, Mr. Bill Moyers.

Mr. Moyers said all Government agencies have been told to send their press releases to the White House so that Mr. Johnson can break whatever news in which he is "legitimately involved." This showed, said Mr. Moyers, Mr. Johnson's "concern about keeping the American people informed. He feels deeply about that."

"For example," said Mr. Moyers, "he read this morning a report from the Bureau of the Budget concerning personal income during August." So Mr. Moyers handed everyone a long press release saying personal income was up 6½ percent. With a footnote saying further details were available as usual from the Commerce Department. The further details over at Commerce said the rate of farm income had dropped $1 million.

It all seemed a little confusing. So in hopes of clarification I hustled over to interview Mr. Homer T. Pettibone, public affairs director of one of the hugest and busiest Government agencies in Washington today—the Pedernales Press Service.

Question. How are you, Mr. Pettibone?

Answer. I am healthy, happy, and prosperous, President Lyndon B. Johnson announced today.

Question. President Johnson announced it?

Answer. My health and welfare, like that of all Americans, legitimately involves him greatly. He feels deeply about that.

Question. And how's the family?

Answer. Wife's sick, dog's ailing, and the boy just fell in the washing machine. Things couldn't be worse, let me tell you.

Question. That's bad news.

Answer. But they are all expected to make a full recovery, President Lyndon B. Johnson disclosed today.

Question. That's good news. But how about this new policy where you must issue all news releases through the White House?

Answer. Excuse me, not all news releases. We public affairs officers for the agencies will still exercise wide discretion on what stories should be issued through the White House, President Lyndon B. Johnson emphasized today.

Question. That's good news.

Answer. Yes. For example, here is a release on plans to expand the South Centerville sewage system, President Lyndon B. Johnson announced today. He feels deeply about that.

Question. That's good news.

Answer. And here, off the record, is a report on the Bobby Baker case, which, exercising my wide discretion, I will now burn.

Question. That's bad news. Isn't the President legitimately involved?

Answer. He feels deeply about that, too.

Question. Well, Mr. Pettibone, this certainly is a complicated new policy. I'm afraid the American public will never understand exactly what kind of news the President himself will issue.

Answer. That's good news.

A Spiritual Development for the Youth of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. OLIVA HUOT

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. HUOT. Mr. Speaker, on November 18 next, at Chicago, Ill., there will begin a convention of the National Federation of Catholic Youth Organizations. I desire to call the attention of my distinguished colleagues to the fine work which the Catholic Youth Organizations are undertaking for the social and spiritual development of a large sector of American youth.

In New Hampshire, more than 10,000 young people, under the generous and capable guidance of adult advisers strive to develop the qualities of leadership and responsibility to take over the conduct of the affairs of this Nation when we have passed from the scene. Their program seeks to supplement their education by a fourfold program of spiritual, cultural, social, and physical activities.

The New Hampshire council is privileged to have effective and responsible leadership on both adult and youth levels. Moreover, the New Hampshire council proposes to present for the consideration of the national convention at Chicago, a young lady for the office of vice president of the young adult section of the federation. Miss Mary Clancy, of Dover, N.H., has distinguished herself in the service of the New Hampshire council, as a personable, capable, and effective young leader, of whom all of us in New Hampshire can be justly proud.

I wholeheartedly support the work of the Catholic Youth Organizations, and urge all of my colleagues to support the efforts of the youth organizations of this country, and of their respective faiths. The future of this Nation is in its youth, and it is only through our active support of our many youth organizations that we can insure that future generations will display the same courage and dedication which has characterized the leaders of the past.

Tennessee Leaders Praise Tims Ford Dam in Public Letters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the letters of County Judge C. O. Prince, Sr., of Franklin County, Mayor Thomas Green, of Lewisburg, Tenn., and Mr. W. A. Smith, president of Elk River Development Association, Fayetteville, Tenn.—published in the Nashville Tennessean—are typical and representative of many letters, cards, petitions, resolutions, and other documented evidences of the strong support for the Tims Ford Dam project to be built by TVA in Tennessee.

I ask unanimous consent for these to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. I believe them to be of widespread interest to all concerned with water resource and economic development.

The letters from these distinguished citizens follow:

[From the Nashville Tennessean]

TIMS FORD DAM HOUR OF DECISION

WINCHESTER, TENN.

To the EDITOR:

Hopefully, southern middle Tennessee faces the next 2 weeks with an eye and an ear trained toward Washington. The upcoming House-Senate conference will be the hour of decision for Tims Ford Dam, and it could vitally affect the future welfare and economy of our section.

Value of the project in regards to recreation is a foregone conclusion, but there is a more serious aspect. Already at least one industrial prospect has inquired of the Franklin County Chamber of Commerce concerning a site, should the dam become a reality. Tims Ford would provide an inexhaustible supply of cool, clear, unpolluted water for years to come—an invaluable inducement to industry and also insurance against water shortage that even now plagues some parts of the United States.

It is my feeling that an elected official should support those measures approved by a majority of his constituents. As the nominal head of the county government, I have labored with an overwhelming majority of Franklin County citizens in support of the entire program of the Elk River Development Association. The same can be said for Congressman JOE EVINS. The interests of the section he represents have been paramount in his every endeavor and our gratitude to him should be unbounded.

When Tims Ford and Tellico Dams are up for discussion by the joint conference, it will fall largely upon Senators GORE and BASS to carry the ball. We hope fervently that both

projects will be approved. We trust, also, that our Senators will put their shoulders to the wheel and join Congressman EVINS in actively endorsing a measure plainly in the interests of the people they represent. By so doing, they will justify the faith that the people of middle Tennessee have placed in them.

C. O. PRINCE, Sr.,
Franklin County Judge.

[From the Nashville Tennessean]

TIMS FORD DAM SORELY NEEDED

LEWISBURG, TENN.

To the EDITOR:

The key to the future development of middle Tennessee is the water resource development of Elk and Duck Rivers. The first project is the building of Tims Ford Dam in Franklin County.

We in middle Tennessee are not asking Senator GORE's and Senator BASS' support of these projects just to pass the time of day. Here we have dedicated people, representing the united support of our cities and counties, combined in a legitimate effort to look to the future, so that we can build a section of our country into an area that provides full benefits for all its citizens, and the whole country as well.

Congressman JOE EVINS has fought a good fight; he knows what water resource development can mean. He sees in the Cumberland River and TVA developments in east Tennessee what can be accomplished. He also recognizes that the efforts of the Elk and Duck Rivers developments are sponsored and supported—not only by taxpaying citizens but taxpayers money appropriated by most all the cities and counties in this area to coordinate and initiate with TVA these developments on a sound basis.

The taxpayers of the Elk and Duck would like to get on with conservation of water in the Elk and Duck. We are asking Mr. GORE and Mr. BASS to get down to the business at hand—which is the most major and pressing large project in middle Tennessee—the building of Tims Ford Dam.

THOMAS GREEN,
Mayor.

[From the Nashville Tennessean]

TIMS FORD DAM PROJECT

FAYETTEVILLE, TENN.

To the EDITOR:

In the past 6 months, we have witnessed probably the greatest widespread interest and local support for construction of a dam ever presented anywhere, anytime in this great land of ours. We, of the Elk River Development Association, express our sincere gratitude to every government, organization, news media, and citizen for joining with us in urging the Congress to appropriate funds to start construction of the Tims Ford Dam this year.

While 6 months may seem like a long time for the Tims Ford Dam to be in the news, the people of the Elk River Valley have worked faithfully and purposely more than 6 years in preparation for this project as an integral part of a broad, comprehensive resource development program.

We are humbled, yet honored and encouraged by the fact that this local support, our program which is in line with the National Policy on Regional Development, and the benefits of the project in the local and national interest were determining factors in action of the House and particularly Congressman JOE L. EVINS in appropriating funds to start Tims Ford construction.

Decision on the Tims Ford project in the Senate was predetermined for strategical or bargaining purposes and not on its own merit. This course of action, recommended by Senator GORE and Senator BASS, was disappointing; however, we have accepted in good faith their announced support of the Tims Ford project and have tried to hopefully share their optimism in this approach.

The moment of truth has now arrived. Since the Senate followed their recommendation, the fate of Tims Ford Dam is in the hands of the joint Senate-House conference.

We trust that our efforts have not been in vain. We further trust the conferees will consider the work which has been done over the past years by ERDA in preparation for this moment.

W. A. SMITH,
President, Elk River Development Association.

Legislation With 4.5-Percent Increase for Federal Employees Should Be Passed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, the schedule of legislative activity for the week of September 27 to October 1, indicates that the Government Employees Salary Comparability Act will be up in the House for debate and a vote before the end of this week.

Because I have a series of commitments in the Second Congressional District of Kansas which may require my presence in Kansas at the time this particular bill comes up for a vote, I wish to state that in general I support the comparability principle which has been incorporated in this bill, and I plan to support the legislation if certain amendments are approved which will delete the provision to include Members of Congress in the increases. Despite the sound arguments which have been made in favor of additional pay for Members of Congress, I am not in favor of including them at this time.

As far as the other employees are concerned, I support the 4.5-percent increase which the House bill proposes. I am aware of the move which will be made to decrease this figure. I would hope that the House, in its wisdom, will approve a figure as close to 4.5 percent as possible.

It should be stated that although I am in favor of the purposes of this bill with the exception of the proposed increase for Members of Congress, I was not in favor of invoking the 21-day rule in order to bring it to the floor. When a resolution was offered on September 13 for the purposes of granting this bill a rule without Rules Committee action, I voted against bringing it to the floor in this manner. Unfortunately, this was interpreted by some of my constituents to indicate that I was against the bill because I was against the increase for Members of Congress. I am sorry about this misinterpretation. I wish to state that I do favor the increase for other Government employees and will suport a bill which carries the proposed increase. I trust that my schedule permits me to be present when such a vote is taken. If not, I want to make sure that there is no misunderstanding about my position.

Interagency Maritime Task Force Report Jeopardizes National Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, newspaper reports regarding a 60-page Maritime task force report confirm what many advocates of a strong American merchant marine had feared. Nicholas Johnson, Maritime Administrator, in speeches and conversation, has openly been supporting many of these radical changes.

The Johnson administration is about to call for a new maritime policy of eliminating American-flag passenger ships. In addition, it would call for eliminating all but a few American shipyards and permitting American steamship operators to build their ships in foreign shipyards. And in this connection, it suggests the Government subsidize American operators of both American and foreign-built ships.

Mr. Speaker, members of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, I believe, favor the present policy set forth in the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, which provides for an adequate and up-to-date U.S. merchant marine in the interest of national defense. A study of this act by Congress may well be in order, but with the Soviet Union in the process of building up a great modern fleet of new ships, I do not believe it is time for the United States to determine that our merchant marine is expendable.

To depend on foreign-flag ships is unthinkable. Only the other day certain foreign ships from presumably friendly countries refused to transport American military cargoes to Vietnam.

As a member of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, I stand firmly—and I believe other members do too—for a strong and modern merchant marine including sufficient passenger ships to transfer American citizens' and military dependents home and military personnel overseas in the event of hostilities.

This administration is recklessly spending hundreds of millions of dollars of the taxpayers' money for unnecessary but politically expedient projects.

I favor curtailment of Federal spending but not in the vital areas of preserving our shipbuilding capacity and maintaining an adequate fleet of American-flag vessels to meet any future situations like the Korean war. Our merchant marine can be maintained at an annual cost of no more than the cost of one pork-barrel project such as the House cut out of the flood control bill last week.

Let us economize in the Nation's interest but in so doing let us not jeopardize the national security. To change our maritime policy as suggested by the Task Force report, I consider unwise and completely unjustified.

Stamp Out Crime Crusade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, members of the Independent Insurance Agents Association of San Diego, like thousands of other people in San Diego and millions across the country have become alarmed at the continued rising rate of crime locally and nationally.

They feel something has to be done to arouse the citizens to become more responsible in recognizing and assisting people in distress, reporting crimes to police, appearing as witnesses when needed in court and cooperating with law enforcement bodies in maintaining law and order.

They have organized a speakers bureau and have appeared before numerous civic bodies, service clubs, professional associations and trade associations and have without exception received their endorsement.

They hope to enlist at least 100 organizations, with approximately 8,000 members in San Diego, and they are well on their way with 17 endorsements since July 22, 1965.

They recently awarded good citizenship scrolls to two young girls whom they felt took commendable action in a hit-and-run incident. They have made a second award presentation to a Negro woman employee of the San Diego Gas & Electric Co. for outstanding service in assisting police and saving the life of a man who had been shot in a holdup.

The San Diego City Council and San Diego Board of Supervisors and the city of La Mesa have enthusiastically endorsed their program.

I am pleased to include with these remarks a copy of the Independent Insurance Agents' resolution for review by my fellow Members of Congress and by many people across the country who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I am wholeheartedly behind this long needed crusade to stamp out crime and particularly want to commend the officers and executive committee of the Independent Insurance Agents Association of San Diego for their leadership and foresight.

I ask unanimous consent to include this as a portion of my remarks.

RESOLUTION

Whereas the apathy of many citizens toward law and order has reached an all-time high; and

Whereas the failure of many citizens to observe and respect law and to cooperate with law enforcement officials has become more noticeable daily; and

Whereas the fear of personal involvement or disinterest of a few citizens is preventing timely police action and speedy apprehension of criminals; and

Whereas the coddling and protection of criminals and hoodlums in some instances has produced a staggering increase in crime, as well as in the number of criminals who prey on our families and our property, with immunity: Therefore, be it hereby

Resolved by the Independent Insurance Agents Association of San Diego, That:

We agree to sponsor and furnish the necessary leadership for a positive program to encourage citizens to do their duty in combating the criminal element and to:

(a) Acknowledge and discharge our obligations as good citizens by observing the laws, and to encourage others so to do, and

(b) To report to the nearest law enforcement officer any evidence of a crime being committed, or having been committed, and

(c) To aid officers in distress at their request and direction, and

(d) To solicit the assistance and cooperation of all civic, service, business, trade, and other groups locally, statewide, and nationally, and

(e) To single out and publicly commend citizens and groups who perform outstanding deeds in the maintenance of law and order.

WILLIAM J. CLONEY,
President.

Community Schools Setting a Trend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the growth of community colleges and the solid foundation in higher education these new facilities are providing in many parts of the Nation can only be described as phenomenal.

One of the most successful of these new programs has just started in Oakland County, Mich., in my congressional district.

A recent series in the Detroit Free Press by Mary Ann Damme and Roberta Mackey describes Oakland Community College and the new approaches to education it is providing. I think you will find this first article most useful and informative.

The article follows:

THE NEW TREND: HOMETOWN COLLEGE FOR $200 A YEAR

(By Mary Ann Damme and Roberta Mackey)

From the tip of his tie clasp to the top of his toes, John E. Tirrell is a space-age guy.

The tie clasp is a piece of titanium from a Project Mercury space capsule.

He talks about computer programing with the familiarity of a golfer giving a new member tips on the roll of the sixth green at the country club.

Tirrell, 39, is president of Oakland Community College. He and his school epitomize a new era in education:

Community colleges, long the stepchildren of the teaching profession, have become its Cinderellas.

They're the biggest boom in education. So big that educators predict that in the Detroit area alone almost 100,000 students will be attending community colleges by 1970.

Why the boom?

The need for trained technicians to fill the jobs of the 1960's.

The need to utilize the tremendous human potential of youngsters who aren't equipped for or don't want university sheepskins.

It began at the turn of the century.

American public education committed itself to 12 years of free education for all. Soon, many educators now think the basic program will be 14 years of education—2 years beyond the high school diploma.

The reason: By 1970, fully half the Nation's work force will need up to 2 years of post-high-school training just to keep a job.

If you're a high school graduate and want to go to a community college, it'll cost you $200 a year tuition. You can live at home and work part time.

For your money you can get:

The first 2 years of college—and transfer credit to a 4-year school. If you went away to a 4-year public college this would cost about $1,800 a year. A private college would bill you an average of $2,300.

Training for a semiprofessional job. A year or two of study earns an associate's degree in automative technology, dental assisting, drafting, cooking and baking, electronic technology, executive secretarial, nursing, or radio and television repair.

Part-time classes. A housewife can park the kids with a babysitter and take an evening art course. A factory worker can upgrade his earning power by taking an advanced metalwork trades course.

Community colleges are there to provide all comers with low-cost, close-to-house higher education to equip them to live in today's society.

This fall, 19 community colleges in Michigan are teaching more than 57,000 students. Five more are in the planning stages. In 1958 there were only a dozen.

Newest is Oakland, which opened September 7 on two hand-me-down campuses at Auburn Heights and Union Lake. A third, brandnew campus in Farmington will open in 1966.

Created by a razor-thin 460-vote margin less than 2 years ago Oakland College's new board of directors had less than 2 weeks to prepare a budget and less than 18 months to line up a faculty and campuses and get into operation.

They expected 3,000 students the first year. More than 4,480 enrolled.

But they landed Tirrell and a gung-ho faculty to run the show.

"When you're new, without traditions and customs," said Tirrell, "that's the time to break with tradition."

He didn't merely break tradition, he stomped on it.

He threw out the traditional lecture system of learning and set up a tutorial system.

An Oakland faculty member described it this way: "You take the English Don method at its best, and add modern technology, and you have what we're doing."

Students are given a step-by-step statement of course requirement at the outset, plus all the materials they'll need. Then they're on their own to learn at their own pace. Instructors are always on hand to answer questions, and frequent quizzes keep both students and teachers appraised of their progress.

The place where the learning goes on is a carrel—a formica-covered, desk-like study booth designed and patented by Dr. Albert A. Canfield, vice president for instruction.

The carrels are equipped with electrical outlets, tape recorders and whatever other equipment the students might need to fulfill their assignments.

The college had 3,000 applicants for 120 faculty positions.

Said Ted Pohrte, associate professor of physics who came to Oakland from the Colorado School of Mines: "It's got to be a pretty exciting challenge to get you to pull up stakes and move. But that's what happened."

For weeks before classes started, faculty members scurried around the campuses trying to put their knowledge in a logical progression of problems that would make sense to the pupils.

"You're constantly questioning your objectives," said English Prof. William Boast. "You can't use vague terminology. Everything is for the students."

Indeed, it is the students—not the knowledge or the research—that are the apple of the college's eye.

"We have a learning-centered, instead of a teaching-centered, program here," said Pohrte. "In a teaching-centered institution, the professor gets up at the lectern and displays his erudition. The student is in a passive role, and sometimes he's pretty unimportant.

"But in a learning-centered institution the student is on center stage. The instructor is in the wings. He guides and directs the student and evaluates his progress."

Administrators were pleased that fully a third of the first-year students elected vocational programs. Many community colleges have trouble channeling young people—raised on the American myth that a university degree is the key to all good things—into badly needed semiprofessional programs.

Take pretty Katherine Hobson, 17, of 1808 Graefield, Birmingham. She wanted to be a medical technologist. Her parents wanted her to get a university degree. "I didn't want a 4-year course," she said. "I don't like school that much, actually. My parents wanted me to go to (a 4 year) college, but the decision was up to me."

She's happy enrolled in Oakland Community College's 2-year-old medical technologist's course and looking forward to a hospital job when she graduates.

Another coed, Pat Reuter, 18, of 6638 Mellow Wood Lane, Birmingham, said: "My parents wanted me to go to college. That's all I heard. I didn't even want to go to school at first. I wanted to work."

She was going to enroll in Central Michigan University, but then Pat found out about Oakland's executive secretary program. She decided to take the 2-year course.

For the two-thirds of the students in the college transfer program, Oakland is a low-cost answer to what could have been a financial headache.

For example, there's Craig Rogers, 17, of 7440 Honeysuckle, Orchard Lake, who's planning to transfer to the University of Michigan and study chemistry.

"This is an ideal situation," said Craig. "It's less money, and that is a big factor. I can commute, and that cuts down on expenses a lot. If I wanted to go to a 4-year school, I'd have to wait until I earned the money."

Award of National Association of Metal Finishers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a speech made by me at the National Association of Metal Finishers, Hilton Hotel, New York City, on July 10, 1965, when a cherished award was conferred upon me.

I was very much impressed by this outstanding event and am very grateful to Mr. P. Peter Kovatis and the association for the very great honor they conferred upon me and for their kindness and cooperation which have been so very constructive and helpful.

The speech follows:

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN PHILIP J. PHILBIN AT AWARD BANQUET, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF METAL FINISHERS, HILTON HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, JULY 10, 1965

Mr. Toastmaster, distinguished guests, friends, and fellow Americans, let me assure you that I am deeply touched and greatly honored as well as very grateful to receive one of your highest awards bestowed on individuals by your outstanding organization, the National Association of Metal Finishers.

In fact, I am humbled and somewhat overwhelmed at the special distinction you have accorded me in receiving this cherished award at a time when you are conferring it upon our very distinguished friends, Mr. William R. Crawford and Mr. P. Peter Kovatis, who has personally been so helpful to me and my committee.

This unusual award will always have great significance to me, and I would like to suggest that I regard it as being something more than personal, since my modest contributions never would have been possible without the loyal, effective support of the great American who heads the House Armed Services Committee, the Honorable L. MENDEL RIVERS, and each and every member of that great committee of which I am so proud, nor could we have achieved the results we did without the help and support of the Members of the House and Senate, of both parties, and the great President of the United States, our executive agencies and the many expert leaders of your organization like Pete Kovatis, and other business groups throughout the country, who counseled and assisted us so invaluably in understanding the problems and pointing the way to their possible solution.

So I feel, my friends, that this cherished award symbolizes the work and dedication of many, not just the work and dedication of one, and in that sense it is to be shared with all those who have served us so loyally, so faithfully, so effectively, and so well, and I want our valued friend, Peter Kovatis to know of our special appreciation.

The sound honest management of our stockpiles to serve the national defense and interests, and to help our economy, our industries, our business groups, and our faithful workers, must continue to be one of our most important national objectives.

As you probably know, in our strategic and critical stockpiles required for defense and national emergency are very large quantities of materials essential to the maintenance of a defense economy, totaling in the aggregate to something over the huge sum of $8 billion.

I will not discuss these matters extensively at this time, but believe it should be noted that in handling these huge quantities of stockpile materials, including those determined to be in surplus supply, the Congress must constantly keep in mind, not only the strategic and critical nature of these stockpiles but also the great need for orderly disposal of surplus materials to industry and commerce in such a manner as to protect the Government and the free market, avoid disruption of price levels and insure as best we can that the needs and well-being of our economy and our industries are served fairly and equitably under the conditions confronting us at any given time. Honesty, fairness, equity, and sound judgments are essential in these tasks.

Next week our committee will start hearings on S. 28, a bill introduced by our able, distinguished friend, Senator SYMINGTON, of Missouri, which has already passed the Senate.

This measure provides for sweeping changes in current disposal and housekeeping functions and procedures. It will be heard before the full House Armed Services Committee and many witnesses representing Government, industry, and business will present their testimony.

Let me assure you that our committee will receive and evaluate this testimony in a fair and impartial manner and will accord interested witnesses every opportuinty to be heard, and then the committee will work its will, as it is required to do, in what it deems to be in the best interests of the Government, our defense, our national security, our economy, and our great free enterprise business institutions.

The Members of Congress are deeply interested, as you are, in securing the proper adjustment, implementation, and effective utilization of stockpile materials and I express the hope and the confidence that we will find appropriate solutions for the very complex, challenging problems inherent in this proposed stockpile legislation. We desire and will welcome your cooperation in this vital work.

We are facing a very critical and very difficult international crisis stemming from the aggression, infiltration, and revolutionary tactics of the Communist conspiracy which, according to Marxist time schedules, is moving toward world domination.

In the decisions we make, and the action we take, and the determination we show, to guard and protect our own precious liberties and fulfill our commitments to the cause of freedom throughout the world, much is at stake, because what we say and do in these troublous days, the firmness and resolution and purpose we demonstrate, will determine the whole course of history for many years to come, will determine the fate of small helpless nations, yes, could well determine the destiny of our own great, free Nation.

I know that in these struggles for freedom and, we pray, enduring peace, you and your group will do your full part and that Americans of every class, race, creed, and station in life will unite behind the national leadership with patience, resolution, and unflagging determination to defend our great heritage of liberty, democracy, and justice from all those who seek to overpower and destroy us.

Not only with great strength of arms will our cause prevail, but with strength of the spirit, with continued devotion and loyalty to the fundamental principles of human liberty and the rights of the individual and our interest and purpose to strive for peace, for humanity, for justice, for all peoples, and all nations. Prevail we must and prevail we will.

Let me thank you all for your great kindness to me. I hope in the future to be worthy of your support and confidence and to be privileged to serve you and all our people in the interests of our great beloved free country.

Thank you very much.

Juicy Federal Grants Really Are Not Free

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the use of Federal grants for local and State projects has lulled many taxpayers into believing that Federal money is free. In addition to the brokerage fee charged for every Federal dollar that a State receives, there is the damaging erosion of State and local governmental authority. The Jackson Citizen Patriot of Jackson, Mich., in its September 21, 1965, edition,

included an editorial pointing out that "Juicy Federal Grants Really Are Not Free." I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the RECORD.

IN OUR OPINION—JUICY FEDERAL GRANTS REALLY ARE NOT FREE

City officials noting the current hassle between Governor Romney and Detroit's Mayor Cavanagh over an antipoverty program in the Motor City are reported agreeing in part with each one.

Governor Romney fears that close ties between the Federal Government and the administration of cities will erode democratic local government.

On the other hand, city officials see the municipal improvement programs which are largely financed by taxpayers' money funneled through the Federal Treasury as too attractive to pass up.

It is easy for municipal officials to say that they have tried to get help from their States, but have failed to achieve anything. The States, they say, don't have the money or the taxing power to assist cities. The Federal Government does have the money and seems very willing to spend it. If accepting the Federal grants and programs means passing a great deal of control to Washington, then so be it.

This matter of control of spending is the important aspect of the trend in financing programs for cities. And it is on this point that the cities and the Federal Government may be inviting disaster.

Nothing is free. Every cent spent on urban renewal or antipoverty programs, education, improving utility-type services in the cities, and so on and on, has to come from the American people in the form of taxes. The Federal Government can borrow money, can run huge deficits, and permit a certain amount of inflation. But, in the end, the people have to pay.

The further control of spending slips away from the people, the less the restraint on dishing out the dollars. And the greater the waste the looser the administration of the cash.

If the people of Michigan, or of Detroit, or Jackson, were willing to spend through their own local and State governments the kind of money that is filtering down from the National Treasury they would get far more action for each dollar.

The Federal Government has preempted the most productive sources of revenue. It has done so, to a large degree, because it has had to fill needs which the cities or the States have failed to recognize or to meet.

Reversing the trend on the part of the cities to look to Washington for funds may be an impossibility. But an effort must be made to retain as much control as possible at the State and local level.

Administration of the antipoverty program to date indicates that it is lax and is heavily flavored with politics.

A city commission or council which spent the amount of money the Federal Government does on such a program and with such poor results and such great expense would be thrown out of office by the voters.

Yet the Federal Government can pour millions, or even billions into programs of questionable value without raising a ripple among the populace. Anyone who raises a voice of dissent can expect to be accused of wanting to shoot Santa Claus. At the very least he is charged with blocking progress.

Meanwhile, many city officials stand with their eyes gleaming and their hot little hands outstretched for more gifts from big daddy in Washington.

They take pride in being able to tell their people how many millions they got from the Federal Treasury. And the voters swallow that because they can't understand the connection between these gifts and what they pay into the Federal Government each year.

Different, but Always the Same

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Henry J. Taylor, the distinguished columnist, has just returned from a thorough inspection of the satellite countries of Eastern Europe. His commentary in the Saturday, September 25, edition of the Washington Daily News is penetrating, provocative, and timely, and I call it to the attention of the Members:

[From the Washington Daily News, Sept. 25, 1965]

DIFFERENT, BUT ALWAYS THE SAME

(By Henry J. Taylor)

EAST BERLIN.—If we at home think the satellites are shifting out of Moscow's control this dream is merely our own.

Anyone who would trust Polish Premier Josef Cyrankiewicz or infamous Hungarian Janos Kadar, who are typical, must be out of his mind. The reported shifts are in form, not substance, and all we're seeing is a propaganda pitch to get our loans and our money and improve the gray, decaying face of the system.

Nevertheless, on leaving Iron Curtain Europe to return home, and dealing with particulars, a roundup report requires the question: Which satellite are you talking about?

Throughout the area the ethnic, economic, and geographic differences are great. But that fact too, can lead us into a second error if we think this is a novel problem for the Soviet Union.

Russia herself is an area of immense ethnic differences and 17 languages, and more than half of its population is not Russian.

The East Germans today do as they are told. And 300,000 Russian troops have them in a clamp.

Tigerish (and prejudiced) French statesman George Clemenceau once caustically characterized Romania. "It is a country," he said, "Where the rose is without fragrance, the women without virtue, the men without valor." But the Poles' fighting tradition flows through the centuries and much resistance remains, as in Hungary.

In contrast, the Czechs are an amiable people; individually brave, but collectively they have been the doormat of Europe.

In contrast, Bucharest economic planner, pale-faced George Gaston Marin, would reveal to you that Romania now does more business with West Germany than with East Germany. But Bulgaria might as clearly be incorporated into the Soviet Union as Latvia, Lithuania or Estonia.

Poland, claiming collectivization is a failure, decollectivitized the farms 8 years ago. About 85 percent are privately owned. Hungary, claiming private ownership is a failure, collectivized the land 5 years ago. About 96 percent is now in state farms.

In Czechoslovakia, planner Dr. Ota Sik has broken some branches of the same industries into semicompetitive units. But are we to forget that the government remains the only customer?

On September 15 Poland's CPN state petroleum trust put a profit into gasoline sales. It introduced commission agents into 200 of the government's 1,089 filling stations. They get 1 to 8 percent on sales if they stay open not less than 16 hours a day. But their boss remains the Polish Communist Party.

The one common denominator is the human disintegration.

Communists not only govern the satellite countries, they pillage them—morally, economically, ethically and spiritually.

The Iron Curtain is both an electrified fence and a frame of mind. It is a terrible feeling of loneliness and frustration, the feeling that no matter what happens you are being thrown away.

Although secret police are everywhere, far fewer than we suppose lie listening at night for the knock. Relatively few defy authority. By and large you see a scene as old as mankind: The minions of power, the victim, and the eternal third—the onlooker who doesn't lift a finger for the victim because he fears for his own safety which for that very reason is always in danger.

Address of Representative John M. Murphy, of New York, at the General Casimir Pulaski Memorial Day Ceremonies, Staten Island, N.Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL D. ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, in the following address by Representative JOHN M. MURPHY at the Pulaski Day ceremonies, Mr. MURPHY points out the similarity of the struggle for freedom not only in this country and Poland, but the struggle that takes place in every country that has a love of freedom.

I commend this speech to my colleagues for it is of outstanding value made by an outstanding young American:

ADDRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE JOHN M. MURPHY AT THE GENERAL CASIMIR PULASKI MEMORIAL DAY CEREMONIES, STATEN ISLAND, N.Y. SEPTEMBER 26, 1965

Thank you Toastmaster Sigmund A. Grajewski for your gracious introduction.

I want to congratulate Yolanda Brach and the Staten Island Musician's Band for the very beautiful rendition of the United States and Polish national anthems.

I would like to extend my greetings to Msgr. Stanislaus J. Malinowski, Msgr. John S. Felczak, Grand Marshal William Kosciow, Grand Marshal Frieda Majewski, Henry Wazeter, Borough President Maniscalco, Councilman Robert G. Lindsay, Judge Frank D. Paulo, Comdr. Edward Ringel, Comdr. Edward Markowski, Councilman Conner, Councilman Curry, Judge Costantino, Candidate Armoury, State Senate Candidate Vito Titone, and Miss Polonia. I also want to greet Theodore Pulaski, who through congressional oversight was not included in the christening ceremonies of the nuclear submarine *Casimir Pulaski* which at the present time is patroling enemy waters in defense of the free world.

My close associate and colleague, Hon. DAN ROSTENKOWSKI, leader of the Illinois congressional delegation and one of our national political leaders, has graciously suggested that he include this address in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

For the benefit of our many schoolchildren here today, I would like to furnish them with a copy of this address.

Looking out upon today's America, one is struck by the vastness and diversity of its scene. We see a picture not only of material grandeur, but of mental adventure, artistic achievement, and spiritual growth. We see a land which has challenged the

spirit and tested ingenuity of men from every nation and race on earth. We see a living demonstration of the truth that warring mankind can be welded together into a single unwarlike family. We see, what is perhaps the first international nation in history, standing as a powerful, thriving monument to the ideals of democracy and freedom.

Our Founding Fathers were blessed with the opportunities of a new world. But the ideals to which they hoped to give reality had long been bedded in the hearts of men. The secret of America has been that it represents a nation of people with vivid memories and the determination to build anew old traditions and aspirations.

In 1776, when our Republic was struggling for birth, the State of Poland was already eight centuries old. Her people knew well the thirst for freedom and liberty. Only 4 years before, that nation, once the largest in Europe, had suffered the shock of the first partition in 1772. Prussia, Austria, and Russia had divided the land and imposed a new humiliating constitution upon that mutilated country.

The surge of heroic patriotism and deep resolve for independence that followed transcended Polish borders. The sons of Poland embraced the lasting truth that the fight for freedom is universal.

One such son was Count Casimir Pulaski. A Polish nobleman, beloved patriot, and brigadier-general in the American Revolution, he gave his life and fortune for the principles of liberty.

As a young man in Poland, he and his family watched in horror as the foreign powers began to overcome their country. Submission would have been the easier, safer course, but his family chose to fight.

In about 1768 his father, one of the country's most able jurists, joined in forming the famed Confederation of the Bar, pledged to Poland's redemption. This act of resistance resulted in his arrest and death.

Determined to pursue the struggle for freedom, young Casimir became the life of the Polish movement. Still in his early twenties, he and his brother, Francis, carried the revolt across Poland and into Lithuania. Fortified in the mountains of Galicia, their band became a constant terror to the Russians. The temporary success of this small group against great odds caused the name of Pulaski to spread throughout Europe.

He became famed as a cavalry officer and as Poland's leading military patriot. But as his reputation grew, so did the strength of his adversary. The overwhelming courage of a few men was no longer enough. His usefulness to his country was at an end. With his forces crushed, his estates confiscated, and death imminent, he escaped into Turkey and eventually made his way to Paris.

All men have a potential for greatness, yet we are still amazed and awed by those who develop it. Man is basically a selfish creature, but, occasionally, because of his ability to reason and to think, he finds himself the possessor of something he feels is greater than himself—a cause, or a country, or a child, perhaps. It is purpose which gives man his nobility. Yet, it is not always an easy path to follow.

When Count Pulaski came to Paris, he could easily have felt that he had done enough. But it would have been inconsistent with his Polish mind and temperament. It would have been inconsistent with the Polish acceptance of the belief that the fight for freedom is universal. As he wrote in later life, "I could not submit to stoop before the sovereigns of Europe, so I came here to hazard all for the freedom of America."

Through the influence of Benjamin Franklin, he joined the American Revolutionary Forces as a volunteer in 1777. He eventually commanded four regiments, proving his military abilities to such an extent that he has often been called the "Father of the American Cavalry." By bold cavalry attacks he saved Washington's Army from destruction at Brandywine and at Warren Tavern. In fact, General Washington was so impressed that within days the Polish count became a brigadier general in the Continental Army.

Later it was at the head of his famed "Pulaski Legion," organized, equipped and fed largely with the assistance of his own private fortune, that he marched into South Carolina and lifted by sheer bravery the impending siege of Charleston.

Then on October 9, 1779, he led his legion, together with the American and French cavalry, against the British at Savannah, Ga. In that charge, Count Casimir Pulaski was mortally wounded. Two days later on October 11, at the age of 31, he gave his life for a country he scarcely knew. But his memory and the cause for which he fought were immortalized. His heroic death has served to remind succeeding generations that the quest for freedom knows no national boundaries, that the hope for liberty has no native tongue. It is mankind's silent prayer.

The Polish-Americans of today can be justifiably proud of the legacy left by this great man. They can be proud, also, of the Polish spirit and courage which have been a constant contribution to the development and progress of this Nation. Men and women of Polish extraction have entered with distinction into every area of our national life. They have maintained two priceless possessions: an astounding capacity for hard work and a flaming love of freedom. And by refusing to give up the hope of liberty for their enslaved homeland they have broadened the scope of American political thinking.

I cannot help but feel that mankind struggles only for one thing—for the future, for the hope of something better tomorrow for our children and grandchildren as well as for ourselves. Today on General Pulaski Memorial Day, as we lend special memory to one of the many men and women who have given life to our past, who have struggled and built—sometimes succeeding, sometimes failing—who have passed on to us the opportunities for all that we have, let us renew our own determination.

As President Johnson said in his State of the Union Message last January: "Our own freedom and growth have never been the final goal of the American dream.

"We were never meant to be an oasis of liberty in a worldwide desert of disappointed dreams. Our Nation was created to help strike away the chains of ignorance and misery and tyranny wherever they keep man less than God means him to be."

The problems we face today cannot be solved overnight. It will take the patient and determined efforts of the free peoples of the world. We must try with every creative spark that the divine providence has blessed us with to find better answers and new ways to achieve the peace and freedom we so desparately hope for mankind.

The Polish-Americans have consistently remained in the forefront of this quest. And to Americans everywhere, their devotion stands as an inspiration and a challenge.

Congress Butts In

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, last week this House passed a resolution justifying unilateral intervention in Latin America whenever there is a threat of Communist subversion.

I opposed the resolution at that time, as I believe it was mischievous and reactionary and, as time has proven, it has certainly not strengthened our image in the South American countries. In addition, it is contradictory to the treaties already in force, to which the United States is a signatory.

Many of our outstanding newspapers have taken a stand in opposition to the resolution, and I am happy to see that the Long Island Press, which publishes in my area in New York, has expressed its dismay at our intrusion into the internal affairs of our Latin American neighbors.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I am including that editorial at this point:

CONGRESS BUTTS IN

As might have been expected, there was a roar of anger—from Mexico to the Argentine—against a resolution passed the other day by our House of Representatives. The Congressmen took it on themselves to proclaim their approval of the use of force in any American nation threatened by a Communist take-over.

They couldn't have picked a worse time to sound off. Latin America is still smarting from the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic. The use of unilateral force by the big Yankee to the north has always touched the rawest nerve down there.

Of course there is a strong case for the Dominican intervention—and perhaps for future similar episodes. The Communist conspiracy is very active in Latin America, yet the Latin American nations have not learned to act effectively for their own collective security.

Every nation in Latin America is in danger today and the United States, in the absence of an effective inter-American force, may well have to intervene again. But this is hardly a policy that should be telegraphed in advance, fixed in a rigid doctrinaire statement of intent. The most effective foreign policy is a flexible one.

For Congress to intrude at this point simply muddies the waters—to no good purpose. Every shade of Latin public opinion—from conservative radical—got its back up. The irony is that the resolution is simply an expression of House feeling. It does not require Senate action and does not in any way fix administration policy. But you can't tell that to outsiders who aren't familiar with the mechanics of our government. To them, it's Uncle Sam speaking.

It's baffling to figure out what constructive purpose the Congressmen hoped to serve by butting in at this time. They delighted the Communists with a propaganda gift and dismayed our friends by undermining their attempts to build trust in Uncle Sam. Sometimes it pays to just shut up—even if what you have to say may have merit.

Officer Promotion System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, because of the numerous inquiries I have had concerning a letter I

addressed to the Secretary of Defense on the subject of officer promotions, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, my letter to Secretary McNamara, dated September 7, 1965.

I would also like to insert an article which appeared in various newspapers throughout the United States, by Gen. Ira C. Eaker, U.S. Air Force, retired, concerning the so-called below-the-zone selection fad which seems to be sweeping the Department of Defense. General Eaker had a distinguished military career and he is well qualified to express the opinions so well stated in his article in defense of normal promotion procedures.

I have communicated with the Secretary of Defense on several occasions concerning below-the-zone selections, for I am thoroughly convinced that personnel planners in the Pentagon are being carried away by the so-called youth movement. If it is not stopped, we are going to destroy morale. In addition, we will create a hump in our promotion system which will prove very costly in the years ahead.

I am well aware of the fascination that below-the-zone selection has for those who recommend its use without studying its consequences. When it is used sparingly, in outstanding cases, it is highly commendable. When it becomes the rule rather than the exception, it creates many serious problems which I am afraid are not being seriously considered by the personnel planners in the Department of Defense.

The Committee on Armed Services will look into this matter in the next session of Congress if this trend continues.

The insertions follow:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES,
Washington, D.C., September 7, 1965.

Hon. ROBERT S. MCNAMARA,
Secretary of Defense,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: The more I look into the so-called below-the-zone selection system, the more I am convinced that it is being used as the rule rather than the exception, and will eventually create a situation comparable to the "hump" problem that has plagued all the services since World War II.

As I have indicated on previous occasions, I have no objection to a below-the-zone system which is used sparingly as an exception to normal promotion policies. But when it is utilized to the extent that practically all Navy promotions to flag officers are from below the zone, then, in my opinion, the system is being abused. When flag and general officers are selected from below the zone, they obviously have a longer career ahead of them as flag or general officers than do those selected at normal promotion points. Since there is a limited number who may serve in these grades, this of course tends to create, over the years, a reduction in the number of persons who may be selected to flag or general officer rank.

In addition, I am now convinced that excessive below-the-zone selections destroy the incentive of many officers who, through no fault of their own, have not had an opportunity to demonstrate their capabilities in positions of higher responsibility until too late in their careers.

I recognize the objectives and advantages of a below-the-zone selection system, but I don't believe the ill effects of excessive use have been thoroughly analyzed. If this continues, it is quite possible that the Committee on Armed Services may seek to amend the law so as to place a limitation on the number of officers that may be selected from below the zone, particularly in the general and flag officer grades. We may do this by specifying, without exception, the number of years of service required as a captain or a colonel before being eligible for promotion, or by just putting a flat limitation on the number of officers who may be so selected.

I am well aware of the charge, unfounded as it is, that the seniority system is archaic. That system was eliminated for the Army in 1947, and has not been in existence in the Navy for many years.

As I stated in my letter of July 2, 1965, I believe that maturity and experience are valuable assets that are being downgraded by the below-the-zone selection system. This could become apparent in the years ahead when we may end up with many flag and general officers who are long on brains, but short on leadership.

I am sure you will agree with me that people are still the most important asset we possess in our armed services.

Sincerely yours,

L. MENDEL RIVERS,
Chairman.

HOW GENERALS AND ADMIRALS ARE MADE

(By Ira C. Eaker)

Secretary of Defense McNamara, in a letter to the service secretaries, has expressed concern "that age in grade and seniority criteria are having a deleterious impact on the caliber of our generals and flag officers and on the morale and retention of promising younger officers."

Much of the editorial comment I have seen has praised the Secretary for sacking the lockstep, seniority system of promotion. This attitude seems to be based on the mistaken notion that if a military officer lives long enough, he must eventually be the senior colonel of the Army, Air Force, or Marine Corps, or the senior captain in the Navy when his promotion to star or flag rank will be automatic.

Seniority was never the sole criteria for the selection of generals and admirals. Since 1940 seniority has not been very high on the criteria list by which they are chosen.

Generals and admirals currently are selected by this process: Boards composed of the most experienced officers of each service thoroughly review the efficiency reports of all officers eligible for promotion, and select from several thousand available a hundred or so who are clearly outstanding. These recommended promotion lists are sent in turn to the Chief of Staff and the Secretary of the service concerned, to the Secretary of Defense and the President, each of whom exercises his opportunity and privilege of review, alteration, or approval. The President then sends his nominations to the Senate, whose Armed Services Committee holds hearings before confirmation by the Senate.

One objection to the current obsession to reach down and pick less experienced officers in the lower ranks is the inference that our present generals and admirals are inferior. I have known most of the senior generals and flag officers and observed their commands. All are clearly adequate; most are outstanding.

The concern about the morale of promising youngsters will not stand up under careful examination. Each of these brilliant young men knew, when he selected the military career, that he would be expected to serve in all the ranks from lieutenant to colonel.

What the average human being wants in a career is predictable stability. He wants to look down the road and see certain definite milestones along the way to eventual preferment and promotion. Every labor union jealously guards its seniority system.

Some people now presume that generals and admirals are senile, doddering old men. Air Force generals average 50 years of age, Army generals 51 years, and Navy admirals 55 years. This is less than the average age of those at the top in civil professions.

What is wanted in generals and admirals far above all else is the wisdom to make sound decisions since the lives of many men, indeed the fate of the Nation, can turn on those decisions. Wisdom is a function of age and experience. There are no young patriarchs. History discloses that the tribal groups which survived and prospered in their time were usually led by their elders, their wise men.

In all our history, only two top generals possessed academic brilliance, early demonstrated by graduating at the head of their respective classes at the Military Academy, Robert E. Lee and Douglas MacArthur.

If generals and admirals were selected from dean's list, the first 10 percent of their class, Grant, Pershing, and Eisenhower would not have qualified. All the 5-star generals and admirals of the last war also would have missed.

If I were a German, a Japanese, or a Frenchman, or a member of any nationality which had suffered military defeats, I would be deeply concerned about the system for selecting military leaders. Since the United States has won all its wars, our method of selecting our generals and admirals has demonstrated reasonable success. It should be modified with caution.

What may be needed in the Pentagon is not more youthful brilliance but more mature wisdom.

Greek Orthodox Primate Urges Prayers for Pope Paul's Peace Mission to the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD the text of a statement issued by Archbishop Iakovos, primate of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, on the forthcoming visit of Pope Paul VI to the United Nations on October 4, 1965.

The statement of Archbishop Iakovos follows:

Just as the Greek Orthodox of America were most gratified when Pope Paul VI made his historic trip to the Holy Land in January 1964, to meet with the spiritual leader of Orthodoxy, Ecumencial Patriarch Athenagoras I, in the interests of Christian unity, so are they now most responsive to Pope Paul's historic forthcoming visit to the United Nations to plead for world peace, thus implementing the pious concern on this subject voiced by his beloved and illustrious predecessor, Pope John XXIII in his famous encyclical "Pacem in Terris."

Though the Pontiff of Rome will be surrounded by the distinguished diplomats of the world when he speaks at the United Nations, his address should not be construed as diplomatic or political. For his visit will be, in essence, the expression of the sincere desire of a great religious leader, fully conscious of his responsibilities, to project peace

in the light of the Christian Gospel, before the legislators to whom the task of insuring peace, justice, and security through the United Nations has been solemnly entrusted to them by their respective governments.

Let us then pray for the success of Pope Paul's exalted mission; and through our prayers and entreaties bear witness that we recognize the omnipotence and omniscience of our Lord and Father in Heaven, who above all can inspire the members of this world forum to transcend the considerations of expediency, and to realize that the attainment of a lasting peace with His divine guidance is their prime responsibility toward man and God.

Mr. Speaker, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America is the largest of the Eastern Orthodox bodies here with an estimated 1,750,000 members. It is under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the ecumencial patriarchate of Constantinople—in Istanbul—headed by Ecumencial Patriarch Athenagoras I, generally considered the spiritual leader of world orthodoxy, who was archbishop of the Americas from 1931 to 1949.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend by remarks in the RECORD I would like to include my newsletter to the people of the Seventh District of Alabama for September 27, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman JIM MARTIN, Seventh District, Alabama)

MINIMUM WAGE INCREASE—WILL IT HELP OR HURT?

L.B.J. is demanding that Congress pass a bill increasing minimum wages and expanding the Wage and Hour Act to cover 7.9 million additional workers on farms, retailing, hotels and restaurants, laundering and drycleaning establishments, and other businesses. The bill as reported from committee would increase the minimum wage to $1.75 an hour. Like many of the other Great Society measures, this legislation will hurt mostly those it is supposed to help. It will endanger the jobs of thousands of unskilled workers; it may force small farmers and small businessmen out of business, and it will add billions of dollars to the cost of doing business—which means consumer prices, especially food, will skyrocket.

No one really knows, including the administration, just what this bill will cost, or how many jobs it will abolish. Estimates from such authoritative sources as the U.S. News & World Report, put the estimated direct increase in business cost at $9 billion, and it could mean another $18 billion in indirect cost when wages are adjusted to separate the most productive workers from the least productive. As for loss of jobs, it is recalled that when the minimum wage jumped from $1.15 to $1.25 an hour, 18 crabpacking plants in North Carolina shut down and the workers lost their jobs. Many other industries, unable to meet the cost of this added Federal standard were closed in every section of the country. Workers thrown out of work at that time are still unemployed in many cases and are on the relief rolls being supported from the taxes taken from the workers in Alabama and other States. Always, when such layoffs take place, it is the least skilled workers who lose their jobs, also the handicapped, the young workers, and the elderly.

Hardest hit by the new minimum wage demands will be small farmers and farmworkers. Extending minimum wage legislation to include farm labor would stimulate a crash program to mechanize farms. Experience shows that when machinery replaces farm manpower, those employed in hand cultivation for harvest are not usually the ones employed to handle expensive machinery. Small farmers and marginal farmers of high labor requirement crops would be forced to mechanize to the same extent as large growers and would, therefore, be squeezed out. Agriculture experts figure the new bill will raise the present cost of $15 for ginning a bale of cotton by an additional $5.

The hotel-motel industry is the largest single employer of the young, the handicapped, and the elderly. Under the President's minimum wage bill the very people it is supposed to help, the so-called marginal workers, would be priced out of the labor market, thus adding to the unemployment and relief rolls. Restaurant workers would be affected in the same way, as would employees of laundries and drycleaners.

The L.B.J. minimum wage bill is bad legislation because it is highly inflationary and may well shake our economy to its roots, bringing disaster to thousands of workers, small businessmen, and small farmers.

Housewives alarmed at rising food costs

The reckless policies of the Johnson administration are hitting the American people where it hurts—the cost of food.

This was first brought to my attention in no uncertain terms in my own home by my wife, Pat. Now I am besieged with mail from irate housewives from all over the country who find that their grocery dollars are buying less and less. Passage of the L.B.J. minimum wage bill and more of the L.B.J. spending programs will further add to the cost of food. Again those who are least able to pay are hurt most, workers with large families, workers on fixed salaries and older folks living on pensions.

When the dollar in your pocket buys less milk, bread, fruits and vegetables for your children, we do not have real prosperity. Getting an increase in wages doesn't mean a thing if the increase is put into one pocket and taken out of the other because of higher prices caused by Government spending.

Instead of White House press releases and TV performances by the President telling us how well off we are, we need responsibility in Government to cut Federal spending and protect the buying power of the dollar in your pocket. We should be working to get people jobs and take them off the relief rolls instead of starting new programs to add more to the already heavy welfare load.

By following the Johnson policies of promising something to everybody, we are not only playing fast and loose with your money, but we are robbing good people of their character. The result is the ridiculous situation we now hsev where it is necessary to import workers from Jamaica to pick apples in northern Virginia and within an hour and a half drive thousands of workers are on welfare in the District of Columbia. They refuse to take the apple picking jobs, but would rather sit at home and draw a welfare check. This is unfair to those who are willing to work and have to foot the bills, and it is unfair to those we keep on relief rolls when work is available. To rob a man of his self-respect is one of the worst crimes a paternal government commits.

Teddy Roosevelt said it

"The things that will destroy America are peace at any price, prosperity at any price, safety first instead of duty first, love of soft living and the get-rich-quick theory of life."

Drive against right-to-work continues

Senate opposition to repeal section 14(b) remains strong, and there is a chance the bill may yet be defeated. Many of the same groups which have been the loudest in leading the demonstrations demanding equal rights are now the same groups leading the battle to take away from the individual worker his most sacred right, the right to work.

Sincerely yours,

JIM MARTIN,
Member of Congress.

Congressman Grover Blames Too-Compliant Congress for Creation of Unquestioned One-Man Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. GROVER], in a column appearing in the September 23 issue of Roll Call, has expressed concisely the concern of many private citizens as well as Members of Congress over the current domination of the Congress by the executive branch. Although Congress is intended by the Constitution to be a separate and equal branch of the Government, for the precise purpose of preventing one-person rule, there can be little argument that effective debate on many issues has been pretty well stifled in this session of Congress. When this happens, we get one-man rule and the purposes of the Constitution are effectively thwarted. The situation today is profoundly disturbing. The comments of the gentleman from New York are worth pondering. They are perceptive. I offer them at this point in the RECORD for the earnest consideration of all Members:

NO INK ON ME

(By Representative JAMES R. GROVER, JR., of New York)

Many observers of the political scene feel that the government by consensus, which President Johnson is attempting, is a good thing. How much more efficiently we are being governed, they point out, when Congress agrees with all the programs being originated by the President and passes them without wasteful discussion or argument.

What is emerging, however, is a rubber-stamp Congress and I find, to my alarm, that many members of the majority party are actually priding themselves on this development. There is none of the President's ink on me and I'm occasionally chided by more pliable colleagues for voting my own mind. I often agree with the President but reserve the right to disagree. It is so much easier to go along but then, why bother to have a Congress? We could save a great many salaries by giving the President an "out" basket in which to drop his bills as he prepares them, and a clerk to ship them to the printers. Of course, we would lose a great deal too, because our system of checks and balances would go down the drain. Not much of the system has survived this government by consensus.

The people who set up our form of Government feared one-man rule. Our Government, in its historical development, evolved into a three-way balance between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. Over recent years, with the withering away of the dissent by the legislative branch, the executive and judicial branches have gradually imposed a Federal rule which is erasing State boundaries, which is imposing Federal authority into almost every field of acivity.

The liberal Congressmen who have been most active in abdicating their authority, if they were true civil libertarians, should be the most zealous in fighting this loss of individual freedom. But I don't believe they realize what is happening. Certainly, the President appears to have no desire for a public appraisal of his programs in Congress. Those of us who attempt to introduce alternative programs, compromises or constructive plans which have not originated with the White House are voted down. We are often blocked from even the opportunity for a rational discussion by "gag" rules.

The President is undoubtedly a master politician and a masterful handler of men. He is continually being congratulated by political columnists for the control he exercises over Congress.

I wonder whether this centralizing and totalizing of power in one individual was ever contemplated by our Founding Fathers? I wonder if many people in this country want to entrust one fallible human with so much power today? And I wonder whether many people even realize that Congress except for a few stubborn lawmakers like myself, has already given up its right to disagree with the President?

Oh for the good old inefficient days of argument and debate! There was some time wasted but ideas were hammered out in the process. Peace—in Congress—isn't necessarily wonderful.

The Contagion of Hope

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, in the current Newsweek there appears a remarkable article by Emmet John Hughes on "The Contagion of Hope." The article is well worth reading. I was particularly struck by Mr. Hughes' point that:

> If all the world's revolutionary forces are to be condemned unless their political purity is perfect and proven, all these forces finally will be pitted against America.

While I do not always agree with Mr. Hughes, in this case I believe his article deserves a careful reading by the Members of Congress and other readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article follows:

THE CONTAGION OF HOPE

(By Emmet John Hughes)

As the chorus of voices extolling or excoriating U.S. foreign policy has lately swelled, we seek for the sense in the din. The boldest cry has been Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT's lament over U.S. conduct toward the whole social revolution in Latin America: "If we are automatically to oppose any reform movement that Communists adhere to, we are likely to end by opposing every reform movement." In Washington, Senator THOMAS J. DODD did more than snap back that such logic betrayed "an indiscriminate infatuation with revolution of all kinds": he slashed at all signs of "conciliationism" in U.S. policy, feverishly comparing sale of wheat to the Soviets in the 1960's to sale of scrap to Japan in the 1930's. In New York, however, U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg has sounded stubbornly "conciliationist" in hailing Soviet-American action on the Kashmir crisis as "a very dramatic example of cooperation * * * without any evidence of cold-war confrontation." But back from Washington has come the bellicose cry of more than 300 Congressmen in support of the preposterous Selden resolution—inviting any Western Hemisphere nation to take any military action against any Communist threat.

There is something to be learned from this babble. For quite independently, both Mr. FULBRIGHT and Mr. Goldberg believe they discern three critical facts of world life to which many others seem blind.

1. The central hope and thrust of U.S. policy must be to encourage more confident relations with Moscow and more responsible behavior by Moscow. "Every important U.S. posture in the world today," a U.S. diplomat at the U.N. recently confessed, "has come to depend on Soviet restraint and reason." To see the force of this truth, one need take only a bleak moment to envision the world of the last year inflamed by a Soviet policy of militant retaliation—pouring massive aid into North Vietnam, answering U.S. action in the Caribbean with Soviet action in Berlin, and rivaling Peiping with slogans and arms to goad Pakistan toward war.

2. Within the highest U.S. councils, however, this political view of relations with world communism suffers almost constant challenge from an essentially military view. In the lament of one high official often taking part in sessions of the National Security Council: "Every time a major policy decision arises, the soldiers outtalk the diplomats. Their targets are precise, their maps beautiful, their confidence complete. And any State Department rebuttal usually flounders in mere reticences or mild reservations." And it is a keen knowledge of this fact that impels men like Fulbright to warn against total faith in military solutions—from the Caribbean to southeast Asia.

3. Just as U.S. diplomacy toward sovereign Communist governments has had to heed differences among them, so U.S. policy—as it contends with upheaval in Asia, Africa and Latin America—must learn now to distinguish among revolutionary forces even when they may be tinged with Communist influence. In the immediate postwar years, the tough-minded Secretary of State Dean Acheson knew that the United States must recognize and defend many a regime unpalatably rightist nad militarist; and he warned U.S. liberals to stop demanding litmus-paper tests on all allies to assure their true-blue devotion to democracy. It took many liberals a while a accept such pragmatism. And it is now the turn of the conservatives to be tutored in the matching truth: if all the world's revolutionary forces are to be condemned unless their political purity is perfect and proven, all these forces finally will be pitted against America.

DEADLY PLAY

Precisely because these new truths jar old premises, a large band of leaders in both parties stoutly ignores them. This band still traffics in the stalest clichés of anticommunism. It regards Soviet-American relations with more horror than hope. And it thus stays a decade behind history in apprehending the still perilous balance of powers on which rests all chance of peace.

The Fulbrights and the Goldbergs nonetheless persist. They are wholly uninterested in the empty wordplay about "soft" and "hard" policies shouted around the Nation; they are fiercely concerned about the life-and-death play between revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces surging around the world. They are unafraid of any fitting use of American firepower; they are afraid only of its feckless substitution for American brainpower.

And they doubt—above all—that the course of world politics can be turned by the antiseptic devices of quarantine or embargo or repression. For their sense of reality is wholly different. Their faith is in what Jefferson called "the disease of liberty." It can be spread and caught in improbable places and under intractable tyrannies. And it will require the most patient physicians—quite unafraid to deal, at times, with sheer seeds and alien germs—to extend this subtle and splendid contagion.

The Public's Right To Know—Release of Government Personnel Information

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, in recent months the Post Office Department has been in the news because of its unwillingness to reveal the names of those who were given temporary summer jobs. Although the Postmaster General has now authorized the release of these names, the question remains unanswered: "What is the right of a Government agency to withhold the names of those who work for that agency?" National security requirements justify a restriction on the release of this information by agencies such as the CIA, NSA, and perhaps a few others.

John Macy, Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, has called attention to the commission guidelines on release of personnel information. These guidelines state a policy that strikes a reasonable balance between the public's right to know and protection of employees from commercial exploitation.

Mr. Speaker, in my 12 years of public service I have always supported those policies which affirm the public's right to know. I believe that Government is the business of the people, and that Government carries a very heavy burden of proof if it seeks to justify a denial of information to the public.

Encroachments on the right to know about Government are inherently dangerous. Government exists to promote the welfare of the people. The power of government is awesome. Government can go astray—and sometimes does. One of the most important checks on possible abuse of that power is the right of the people to have access to information about what it does and how.

For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, I was gratified to read the recent statements by the chairman of the Civil Service Commission. His suggestion that the guidelines permitting the release of basic information as to who works for the Federal Government become mandatory upon all agencies is a wise one.

I strongly support such action. He has my unqualified support for putting into effect such a policy.

By unanimous consent Mr. Macy's views as reported in the Minneapolis Tribune for September 26, 1965, and excerpts from the Commission guidelines are inserted at this point in the RECORD:

CIVIL SERVICE BOSS ORDERS STUDY OF U.S. SECRECY RULES

(By Nick Kotz)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—John W. Macy Jr., Civil Service Commission Chairman, disagrees with Post Office Department secrecy regulation concerning its employees and has ordered a study of information policies in all Government agencies.

Macy said in an interview that his Commission is studying whether there is need for a Government-wide policy on making basic information about Federal employees available when in the public interest.

Aside from matters affecting national security, the Chairman said he personally believes the public is entitled to know the names, salaries, job titles, and addresses of Federal employees.

Macy said the Commission study was triggered by the controversy in which Postmaster General John Gronouski refused to give Congressmen or news media the names of youths hired under the President's Youth Opportunity summer hiring campaign.

The names were requested after the Minneapolis Tribune disclosed that at least 3,380 postal jobs were distributed as congressional patronage, including some to Congressmen's sons. The President and Civil Service Commission had ordered that the jobs go to needy youths selected through the employment service.

After considerable criticism, the Postmaster General now has made the names available through local postmasters, but he still upholds the Department regulation prohibiting disclosure of names of postal employees.

Macy emphasized he has not studied the reasons for the postal secrecy regulation and does not want to criticize it without learning on what grounds it is being justified.

But in his personal view, Macy said the postal regulation—at face value—is not in accord with Civil Service information guidelines in which he believes.

These guidelines generally require that—in nonsecurity matters—news media and Congress are entitled to know who works for the Federal Government. The guidelines discourage release of employee lists to commercial firms or others desiring to use them for commercial or political solicitations.

The Commission guidelines are only advisory and not binding on other agencies. Macy said the purpose of his study is to see whether these guidelines are adequate today, and whether they should be made uniformly mandatory for all Government agencies.

In his role as the President's personnel adviser, Macy could order a uniform employee information policy for all Government departments.

"I start off with the view that basic facts about public employees are public business," said Macy. "The public is entitled to know the names, salaries, job titles and addresses of its Federal employees. Such information should be given out on requests of legitimate public interest."

Macy said he can see no reasons why supplying such basic information would not be in the public interest.

In disagreement with a Post Office Department position, Macy does not believe that release of names, salaries, and addresses would constitute an invasion of employees' personal privacy.

"The privacy of employees should be protected," said Macy, "but I think we also need to consider the public because the public is paying the bill."

Macy said the lists of employees should not be furnished to commercial firms or organizations for commercial or political solicitations.

EXCERPTS FROM CHAPTER 22 CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION PERSONNEL MANUAL

GENERAL STATEMENT

The Commission recognizes that the citizens of our Nation should have available to them accurate information about the Commission's functions, objectives, programs, and activities. Therefore, it is the policy of the Commission to bring to the attention of the public, information about the Commission and its work which is of public interest. It is also the Commission's policy to give clear, complete, accurate, and prompt replies to inquiries about it and its work.

All Commission employees have a responsibility to assist in the task of keeping the public informed. Because of their official connection with the Commission they can expect to be considered as sources of information about the Commission and its work by other members of the public. This places them in a good position, both on and off the job, to help the public understand better the purposes, functions, and activities of the Commission.

It is very important, of course, that the information which is conveyed to the public be accurate and reliable. It is also important that information and materials developed and used by the Commission in the conduct of its business not be used by its employees or others for personal gain or other improper purposes. It is important to the security of our Nation that classified defense information be protected from misuse and unauthorized disclosure. To insure that these purposes are accomplished, Commission employees are required to follow certain guides and instructions which pertain to the use, discussion, and disclosure of information about the Commission's work.

RELEASE OF PERSONNEL INFORMATION

All inquiries from outside the Commission should be referred to the Personnel Division in the Central Office or to the official responsible for personnel activities in a regional office. The following guidelines, subject to any applicable restrictions set forth in chapter E7.03 of the Organization and Policy Manual, will be observed in releasing information.

CREDIT INQUIRY

With the following restrictions, personnel information may be furnished upon request to reputable business firms and credit organizations. If the employee has not applied to the organization for credit, verification only will be made of all information other than the title of the employee's position and the date he began working for the Commission. If the employee has made application for credit with the organization, other information such as salary, home address, and date of birth may also be furnished when requested. If there is any doubt as to whether the employee has applied for credit or as to the identity or credibility of the inquirer, a call back must be made and, if feasible, the employee contacted for confirmation.

DEBT COLLECTION

If the employee has left the Commission, the creditor will be given this information in the personnel office. No other information will be given, other than name of agency to which he transferred (if requested) and verification of the employee's address on file if the creditor presents that address. No information other than verification of employment will be given to persons attempting to collect debts from present employees. The employee contacted will explain the Commission's policy regarding employee indebtedness and suggest that the creditor put his complaint in writing.

POTENTIAL EMPLOYERS

When the potential employer is another Government agency, complete information requested may be furnished. When a private employer telephones, verification only will be made of all information except the title of the employee's position and the date he began working for the Commission.

The employer can be told that his request for information regarding the employee, or former employee, should be put in writing.

Calls from press

All telephone calls requesting information about present or former employees which come from representatives of the press should be referred to the Public Information Office in the Central Office or to the regional director in the field.

Personal inquiries

Anyone may be told whether or not an employee works in the Commission but no additional information regarding a present or former employee may be given out. An address may be verified. In the event an inquiry is made as to whether the employee has transferred to another agency, the person inquiring may be given this information and the name of the agency.

FURNISHING PERSONNEL LISTS

Factors to consider

Recognizing the general desirability of releasing information upon request, the Commission will consider the following factors in deciding whether a personnel list of employee names, salaries, official titles, and stations should be furnished in a particular case:

Whether the request is by the Congress or otherwise on behalf of the public.

Whether the list can be furnished without public expense or interruption of work.

Whether furnishing the list is consistent with the purpose of the Commission or whether it impedes achievement of its objectives.

Whether Commission employees so listed would be benefited or disadvantaged.

Requests clearly on behalf of the public should be granted even though some expense or interruption of work might be entailed and even though employees would not be benefited. Lists for private purposes should be furnished only if this can be done without public expense or interruption of work and if employees would not be disadvantaged by being listed.

Specific guides

Examples of guides applied to specific requests for lists of employees' names, salaries, official titles and stations follow:

From Congressmen or congressional committees: Such information should be furnished promptly; if furnishing lists precisely as requested would entail undue cost, this should be reported to the requesting party along with suggestions of any possible alternatives that would be helpful but more economical.

From the press and other information media on behalf of the public: Such information should be furnished if it is available without unreasonable public or interruption of regular work.

From professional organizations: The Commission recognizes that it is important for employees to hold membership and to participate in appropriate professional organizations (i.e., public administration, personnel administration, legal, medical, etc.). Such activities benefit both the agency and the employee. Full cooperation is given to publicizing the programs of professional organizations and to encouraging membership. However, as a general rule, lists of personnel

will not be furnished unless it is evident that the employees and the agency would benefit and if little cost or interruption of work would be entailed.

From colleges, correspondence schools, and other educational institutions: Where it is desirable to encourage employees to take outside training, the Commission should cooperate in distributing appropriate announcements of courses and in counseling its employees with regard to available training suitable for their individual needs. This is usually preferable to the alternative of preparing and distributing lists.

From organizations such as State societies, veterans' groups, and other nonprofit organizations: In general, it should be the policy to furnish lists of personnel to such organizations only when some specific benefit is to be received by the employees and if little cost or interruption of work would be entailed.

From commercial firms and individual solicitors: Such requests must ordinarily be refused; exceptions should be made only when they can be granted with negligible public expense or interruption of regular work and without adverse effect upon individual employees.

Whereas in response to requests such as cited above, the Commission will usually furnish information about its employees in the work situation, it will usually not include employees' home addresses along with the basic personnel data. An exception would be made if a congressional request should ask inclusion of addresses or if an important communitywide purpose would be served in compatibility with other interests.

How the CIA Looks From Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, as a sponsor of House Concurrent Resolution 487 to establish a Joint Committee on Intelligence, I was impressed to see an editorial in the September 22, 1965, Portage, Wis., Daily Register, a small Wisconsin daily newspaper, expressing some concern over the basic issues raised by the Central Intelligence Agency and its activities.

The publisher of the Register, John M. Lavine, is currently traveling in the British Isles and his editorials reflect on the concerns about American policies he has encountered abroad. It is significant that the doubts which he has met arise out of a feeling the CIA lacks "direction and answerability" not over its intelligence gathering functions so much as over its field operations.

I believe Mr. Lavine's editorial evidences the support that is growing for broader and more incisive congressional supervision of the CIA and its operations. I commend it to you for your consideration:

DEFINE THE UNDEFINABLE

The European newspapers recently carried a story which has much more significance than a casual reading would indicate.

The story said that the United States—particularly the Central Intelligence Agency, the CIA—had been a prime force in suggesting to India that she might successfully attack Pakistan. Obviously, the State Department of the United States quickly called the charge "an obvious falsehood."

And to the reader, the proposition did seem a bit ridiculous, even amidst all of the obvious CIA involvement in the various governments of South Vietnam or the CIA spying, discovery of an attempted bribe in Singapore—now under congressional investigation.

What was an unexpected addition to this CIA saga, however, was the charge by Senator FULBRIGHT, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in which he said that President Johnson did not have to intervene in the Dominican Republic but "the President had such inaccurate information that he had no choice but to make the decision he did knowing what he knew."

The question that Europeans are asking now is obvious: If the CIA bungles some of its jobs and gives wrong information to the President himself on other situations, who is running the American "invisible government and to what end?" Does the CIA work solely on the basis of expediency? Does it have to answer to anyone—even the President?

Now, it must be understood that the more intelligent European, certainly the Britisher, knows that every country—particularly a free world leader like the United States—has to have its counterintelligence arm.

It is not the presence of the CIA which is causing disturbance here; it is the seeming lack of direction and answerability of the secret organization.

In short, for the sake of the American public, as well as for the sake of the reaction of our foreign allies, it is hoped that the congressional hearings will not only clear the air but still also establish the type of controls which will not destroy the Central Intelligence Agency's effectiveness but which will insure its accountability to the country's leaders and its continual working for the country's good and purpose.

Fight Killer Disease

SPEECH

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 3140) to amend the Public Health Service Act to assist in combating heart disease, cancer, stroke, and other major diseases.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Chairman, passing a bill to assist in combating heart disease, cancer, and stroke and other major diseases is, in my opinion, of highest priority, and I congratulate and compliment the Committee for bringing it to the floor of the House.

The principal purpose of the bill is to provide for the establishment of programs of cooperation between medical schools, research institutions, and hospitals for research and training for the care of patients suffering from heart disease, cancer, stroke and related diseases.

This fine bill does not compete with other bills passed in the area of research and development which are numerous and which are doing tremendously valuable work in trying to unlock the secrets of cure and rehabilitation of the so-called killer diseases that are steadily demanding the lives of larger numbers of our fellow citizens. Most regrettably, the death rates for these diseases seem to be rising despite the vigorous attack which we are making upon them at so many levels of government, science, education and medicine, nuclear surgery and nuclear therapy.

There is little danger, in my understanding, that this bill would interfere in any way with the freedom of our great medical profession, or our hospital system, or related institutions since it entails cooperative arrangements for local participation of existing institutions and medical practitioners.

Basically, through the program provided by this bill, the results, fruits, and benefits of our great research and development programs can be channeled through medical and hospital facilities and institutions to local practitioners and ultimately to suffering patients who in many cases can be assisted and cured, it is our hope.

Programs of this kind have been conducted for more than 50 years, not only in my own great State of Massachusetts, but in Iowa and other places throughout the country and the experience with them has been excellent. They have proved valuable in acquainting the medical profession with latest modern up-to-date techniques, therapies, and methods and thus, in a sense, have constituted not only reeducation, but constant updating of everything that is new and functionally desirable in modern medicine and scientific advancement.

The board which studied the subject matter of this bill was comprised of some of the outstanding doctors, administrators, and public figures of the Nation, and the committee has done an outstanding piece of work in the elimination of practically all objections to the bill.

I have great confidence that this bill will work out well, and it has been very carefully considered by the committee and has received the attention of all the leading experts and authors in the field, and I believe that it will be extremely helpful in strengthening our determined fight against all the killer diseases that are taking such a sorrowful toll of our people.

Some people think that the Government is already spending enough money in the area of controlling and eliminating these killer diseases, but I am of the opinion that we should spare no expense, no determined effort to aid humanity and strengthen our country by doing everything we can to eradicate or bring every possible measure of control over, the terrible diseases that are blighting humanity and causing untold suffering and misery to many fine people and their dear ones. Many of our families have known grievous loss we can never forget.

But this is not a sentimental matter, Mr. Chairman; it is a great human matter and a question of putting our every effort and energy behind measures eliminating the killer diseases, all related diseases, and every disease and malady to which the human flesh is heir that the Members of this great body possibly can effect.

I strongly favor this bill and urge its adoption by the House. We should have crash programs to fight killer disease. Let us move to that end with all possible speed without regard to the cost.

Rural Water and Sanitation Facilities

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLAIR CALLAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10232) to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to make or issue loans to public and quasi-public agencies and corporations not operated for profit with respect to water supply, water systems, and waste disposal systems serving rural areas and to make grants to aid in rural community development planning and in connection with the construction of such community facilities, to increase the annual aggregate of insured loans thereunder, and for other purposes.

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Chairman, throughout my State of Nebraska, rural communities are working to the fullest extent of their resources to bring about a new era of recovery and growth.

We believe that such an era is now in sight. These hopes are alive because broader opportunities are now in the making for smaller towns and the farms surrounding to bring themselves fully up to 20th century standards in the equality of living facilities they can offer their people.

In times past, piped-in pure water, sanitary sewer systems, and varied outdoor recreation facilities may have been reserved as special embellishments of city life. But today they are recognized as minimum necessities for revitalizing any community that lacks them, rural or urban.

The opportunity to march ahead is clearly in prospect for thousands of communities as we look toward the passage of H.R. 10232. This bill would more than double the rate at which the Farmers Home Administration can support these improvements in enterprising and self-reliant rural communities.

Some already have succeeded in developing projects under the direct and insured lending authority available the past 5 years. But many more are ready and still waiting for their chance to proceed.

Under H.R. 10232 this great expansion will be carried out with private loans insured by Farmers Home and paid back by revenues of the projects. This is a way for community enterprise to work its will without burden on the Public Treasury.

As the House considers this bill today, its objectives and provisions are hardly in question. Support in the Congress has been overwhelmingly bipartisan.

Its best effects will vary from State to State according to the needs outstanding in each rural region. In Nebraska, one of the most salutary benefits may be to speed the development of rural community recreation facilities.

Certainly the business and civic leaders and other citizens who devote themselves to practical plans for advancement of our rural communities would scorn any depreciation of recreation centers as a vital factor in community growth.

In 2 counties of my district, 4 more in Nebraska and over 150 localities in numerous other States, projects already have been developed within the present authority of the Farmers Home Administration to help shift land not needed for farm production into recreation use.

Beemer, Nebr., offers an example. The Cuming County Recreation Center has come into use this summer—a 215-acre farm converted into what the Omaha World-Herald has pronounced "one of the finest recreational areas in the State." It offers the families of Cuming County an 18-hole golf course, swimming pool, tennis courts, skeet and archery range, picnic area, and lake. It was made possible by a $250,000 loan that will be paid back with interest entirely from membership and user fees.

The tricounty center near Leigh in Colfax County is the next such project under development in our district of Nebraska. Farther west, the community of Blue Hill in Webster County has celebrated the opening of its recreation center. Franklin, Merrick, and Sheridan Counties have also developed projects. Many other counties and communities are in the process of organizing recreation centers which they hope can be brought to reality, under the insured loan plan provided by the bill before us today.

The testimony of community leaders wherever such development has come about is that nothing does more than a modern recreation center to bring a town into the up-and-coming class.

Our projects in Nebraska are new, but we have every reason to believe they will profit our communities in the same way as rural recreation centers established earlier in other States through the support of Farmers Home Administration credit.

Looking to this eastern part of the country, we know the example of Duplin County, N.C. A large new textile industry plant has located there, and one of the three principal reasons given by the company for selecting that location is that living conditions there were more attractive than other possible sites, because the company's personnel and their families can enjoy a recreation center nearby.

The State of North Carolina thus far has developed 18 of these projects authorized for financing through the Farmers Home Administration plan. Its neighbor South Carolina has 14 to date; Virginia, 5; West Virginia, 6; upstate New York, 9.

In our western part of the country, Iowa already has organized and gained authorization of 18 projects; Colorado, 13; Minnesota, 10; South Dakota, 9.

The expanded financing of rural community recreation centers contemplated in H.R. 10232 will be accomplished entirely through the use of private capital on an insured loan basis.

Mr. Chairman, these are self-supporting community enterprises which pay their own way, and they are truly a boon to rural community family life. The past summer at Beemer and at other rural recreation areas already in use, it could be seen that preteen and teenage young people of the community predominated in use of the swimming pools, golf facilities, lakes and target ranges, tennis courts, and ball fields.

Rural recreation development such as this is proving a dynamic program to strengthen rural community life, boom the attractiveness of rural towns for industry, and cast a new light on the rural hometown as a place for the young generation to seek the good and prosperous life.

Not only on the community scale, but on many private farms, the conversion of idle land to recreation use also is paying dividends as a way of improving rural family income. A Farmers Home Administration survey of 83 farmers who took out loans to develop recreation enterprises showed an average gain of approximately $1,500 in net income from the first full season of operation.

Many more benefits of profound importance to the families and communities of rural America will accrue from this bill which I am confident we will pass today. It will strengthen not only the future resources of our towns, but also the use of private credit insured by the Farmers Home Administration to secure the position of family farmers on their land.

It moves rural America another step toward parity of opportunity, to the immeasurable benefit of all interests in our Nation and State.

Senate Majority Leader Exposes Faulty Great Society Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, many of us on this side of the aisle have deplored the manner in which much of the Great Society legislation has been acted on in this session of the 89th Congress. Every Member of Congress was aware, for example, of the blatant deficiencies in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, especially as regards the distribution formula contained in that legislation.

It now seems, Mr. Speaker, that the Senate majority leader has addressed himself to the necessity for cleaning up many of the deficiencies contained in the hastily drafted Great Society measures that have been passed by the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

This was reported in an article which appeared in the September 22 issue of the Baltimore Evening Sun. In that article, the noted columnist, Arthur Krock, discusses the need for correcting these deficiencies. Under unanimous consent, I ask that the article by Arthur Krock, entitled "MANSFIELD Describes Plan To Correct Passed Bills," be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

The article referred to follows:

[From the Baltimore Evening Sun, Sept. 22, 1965]

MANSFIELD DESCRIBES PLAN TO CORRECT PASSED BILLS

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, September 22.—Senator MANSFIELD, the majority leader, is about to demonstrate once more that when he says something should be done he means to follow through. Recently he proposed that the next session of the 89th Congress "spend less time on new legislation and more time correcting oversights in legislation we have just passed." Today, reached by telephone in his home State of Montana, he described the practical steps with which he plans to give effect to his proposal.

"I intend to submit it for action at a Democratic Senate conference before adjournment," he said. "We have passed a lot of major bills at this session, some of them very hastily, and they stand in extreme need of a going-over for loopholes, rough corners, and particularly for an assessment of current and ultimate cost in the framework of our capacity to meet it."

OVERSEEING SUBCOMMITTEES

"In reminding the conference of this, I plan to ask for the creation of overseeing subcommittees among whose functions it would be to tighten up the hasty enactments in general and evaluate the degree of efficiency with which they are being administered by the executive."

The plan seems marked for resistance in the Democratic Senate conference, despite its urgent necessity. And pressure against it may be expected from House Democrats also. For the next session will occur in the year of the general congressional elections. And Democrats from States and districts where the 1964 landslide broke a long pattern of electing Republicans will in all likelihood prefer to postpone the risk inherent in such a reexamination and appraisal. Fearful Democratic candidates for reelection conceivably will even include some who sought to stem the legislative onrush of the President and the party majority toward the welfare state goal of the Great Society.

In this event the President's active support of MANSFIELD's highly constructive program may be required. And, although he can sense a political liability as keenly as any politician in the American past or present, he is also alert to the hazard in exposing it as the unmistakable motive for the rejection of a plan so obviously in the public interest. And that interest is implicit in a simple catalog of the measures he drove through this session of Congress.

Moreover, Vice President HUMPHREY may not have been speaking entirely on his own, if he has been accurately reported as believing "the huge legislative tonnage dropped on our doorstop" should undergo the management analysis to which Defense Secretary McNamara subjects all military programs. And this is precisely what Senator MANSFIELD intends to propose to the Democratic Senate conference.

"TONNAGE" LISTED

This "tonnage" already consists of the following on which action has been completed: medical care; financial help for Appalachia; the financing of regional development; elementary-secondary education; omnibus public housing; a new department of housing; reduced excise taxes, and foreign aid. Nearing final enactment are financing programs for higher education, depollution of the waters, a supplemental antipoverty law, a national arts foundation, and omnibus farm subsidies legislation.

To this partial list of Federal undertakings at undetermined costs and wholly speculative effects on the socioeconomy administration pressure is now being exerted for a health conservation program more revolutionary than medicare and even more speculative as to cost. This calls for the establishment of a network of at least 1,350 diagnostic and treatment centers for heart disease, cancer, and stroke. A host of surgical teams and other hospital specialists would be paid for by grants from the Federal Government.

Everyone Else Is Organized; Farmers Should Be, Too

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, the third in a series of articles generally titled "Great Myths of Agricultural Policy" appears in the October 1965 issue of the Successful Farming magazine.

While I do not necessarily agree with all the conclusions drawn by the author, Don Paarlberg of Purdue University, I do feel that his thoughtful studies on the subjects with which he has chosen to deal are significant and that they deserve our consideration. Therefore, I commend of my colleagues the latest in his series titled "Everyone Else Is Organized; Farmers Should Be, Too":

EVERYONE ELSE IS ORGANIZED; FARMERS SHOULD BE, TOO

(By Don Paarlberg)

Farm policy myths, as has been said, have enough truth to make them convincing and enough untruth to make them dangerous.

One such myth is the often-quoted saying that farmers could get what they went after if only they would organize. "Everybody else in the economy is organized; we should be too."

HOW IT LOOKS TO FARMERS

When farmers take their produce to market they have to accept the price that is offered. When they go into the store to buy, they have to pay the price that is asked.

The thing that irks the farmer is that he is never able to name the price, either of what he buys or of what he sells. The other fellow always tells him what the price is. What the farmer wants is the bargaining power that will enable him to name the price and terms of sale.

Labor has economic power through its unions and negotiates wages by collective bargaining. Industry limits output and thereby makes possible the attainment of its price objective.

Of all the major economic groups, only farmers bring their products to market and passively accepts whatever the market will bring. This is galling and humiliating to farmers, especially if prices are weak. And enough evidence of market rigging comes to light from time to time to lend credence to the worst suspicions held by some farmers.

Farmers make economic decisions individually and face, across the bargaining table, the concentrated economic power of labor and industry. Farmers have reasoned that if they could somehow organize and combine as labor does and as they suspect industry does, they could name the prices for what they sell and increase their incomes.

THE TRUTH BEHIND THE MYTH

There is of course, truth in this belief. Farmers have in fact organized to increase their bargaining power. About 15 percent of the articles farmers buy are purchased cooperatively, and 20 to 25 percent of their crops and livestock products are thus sold. Through the bargaining power thus pooled, farmers save themselves much money and supply themselves with improved services.

Farmers have organized themselves into groups to bargain with food processors, seed companies, and milk dealers. They have sought and obtained, through the Capper-Volstead Act, partial immunity from the antitrust laws. Through marketing orders they have increased their leverage, raising market prices.

Farm organizations also have been powerful and influential in public policy affairs at local, State, and international levels. A vast body of agricultural legislation attests the vigor, if not always the wisdom, of organized effort in behalf of agriculture.

Probably commodity groups have been effective in obtaining Government price support and food distribution programs which reduce the amount of the commodity flowing through commercial markets.

THE ERROR BEHIND THE MYTH

But some farmers have not been content with the gains thus far won by their organizations. There is the vision of the big gain. Not the trifling 3-percent patronage dividend from buying farm supplies cooperatively. Not the modest income gains which come from organizing and carrying out a marketing order. Not the increase in farm prices due to existing price support and food distribution programs.

But a big push. A holding action which boosts the price of hogs by 20 percent. And the price of cattle by a like amount. A tieup of food supplies which will bring a hungry public to its knees, anxious to pay whatever the farmers ask.

These efforts fail. Why do they fail? Six reasons:

1. Farmers, being individualistic, will not all join the organization.

2. Not all those who join the organization will be loyal to it.

3. The withholding action does not reduce supply; it increases supply. Unlike the labor withheld during a strike, farm products held back on farms must eventually come on the market. With livestock, the total tonnage is in fact increased.

4. Being thus unable to control supply, farmers are unable to set the price. The only way to achieve iron-tight supply control in agriculture is through Government action; and farmers have made it clear they aren't willing to do this.

5. If the action should be temporarily successful and if the price should rise, consumers would shift to other foods. And farmers would expand production in response to the higher price.

6. If a withholding action should bring about a temporary price rise, the advantages would go chiefly to the nonmembers, who are less likely to hold.

Thus the big effort fails. Then farmers face a choice. They either content themselves with the small effort, or they turn the control job over to the Government, or they give up for 25 years or so. Then a new generation, which has no memory of the past failure, is likely to make a new try. With the same results.

Upper Michigan—Part V

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAYMOND F. CLEVENGER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. CLEVENGER. Mr. Speaker, Michigan is known for the hustle and aggressiveness of Detroit and its automobile industry. Upper Michigan, however, might better be known for its people.

This weekend I visited Posen in the 11th Congressional District of Michigan, and rediscovered a community that might be the classic example of independent, determined, grassroots Americans.

Posen's 300, or so, residents were staging their annual potato festival. In the fields surrounding Posen and the rest of Presque Isle County, approximately 4,000 acres of potatoes were planted this year. This includes such tasty varieties as Onaways, Russet Rurals, Ontarios, Sebagos and Kennebecs and Russet Burbanks.

Now in its 13th year, the Posen Potato Festival attracts tens-of-thousands of visitors. For a community the size of Posen to make all these people feel welcome is a big job. But it is a job that was well handled by such people as Earl Bradford, Elsie Bronikowski, Lucille DeRocque, Eleanor Kapalla, Clement Misiak, Jr., Ted Kasprzyk, Frank A. Budnik, Lorraine Bronikowski, Tom Peters, Joseph Rygwelski, Bole Centala, Harlan Addison, Victoria Jesionnowski, Harley Ennest, Jr. and Otto Swan.

Five charming young women, who wore the healthy complexion of country girls, reigned as official beauties of the festival. Wearing the queen's crown was Judy Hentkowski. Surrounding her, as members of the queen's court, were Elaine Romel, Lorraine Wasilk, Theresa Donajkowski and Joyce Nowak.

Posen's complete story deserves telling and it is outstandingly reported in the following article by James E. Kraemer, which appeared in the Automobile Club of Michigan's magazine, Motor News.

The article follows:

Every area that produces something useful seems to celebrate with a festival. Holland sings the praises of the tulips in the spring; Traverse City decks itself in red when the cherries ripen.

But over in the northeastern section of Michigan, there didn't seem to be much to celebrate until the townsfolk of Posen, a hamlet of 400 people, give or take a few, realized that they did have a commodity. Now, the lowly potato reigns supreme during Michigan's magnificent autumn.

This late celebration was born of dire necessity.

Posen, founded in 1874 by a group of Polish immigrants under the leadership of their priest, Father F. H. Szulak, had been sitting there for years amid rich, rocky fields unsuitable for most conventional crops because of the short growing season. Eventually the land was cleared of rocks and lumberman's stumps.

Then came the potato. The cool weather and the cool, moist earth seemed designed by nature to produce great yields of this American staple. But the town still remained an anonymity. A dot on the map off the beaten path.

A youthful chamber of commerce realized that to keep a town alive it had to look alive and it had to be unique. Posen reasoned that its uniqueness lay in two things. It was an Old World community and its people were devoting whole fields to potatoes.

Forty and fifty acres of spuds were not unusual, and they were the best. And realistically, the little town needed things badly—schools, recreational facilities, new businesses. The Posen folks knew that they had the most beautiful time of year for a celebration and that people always like a good time. This spelled festival.

KING SPUD

The word went out: The "spud" was king. Carefully the date of the harvest was calculated and preparations were made around that date. It had to be a community affair; the little town simply couldn't afford to hire help.

Boy Scouts pitched in, church groups sewed, the chamber of commerce worked on parade plans. Lumberyards made floats and the publicity wheels began to grind as the crop began to ripen.

Costume balls were planned. Dinners were prepared by the Polish housewives that make a gourmet roll his eyes. A queen and her court were chosen from the high school senior class, and the festival was off and running.

From the concerted effort 13 years ago, the festival has become a real autumn whingding; a harvest celebration reminiscent of the old life in Poznan, Poland, ancestral home of the first settlers. And the townsfolk see to it that everyone has a good time.

To be held this year on September 24–26, the time is ideal for a festival since the heat of summer is gone and the tourist season is at an end.

The town craftsmen work all year around on their secrets. They begin to construct floats and exhibits months ahead for the 2-mile parade and the 20,000 people who flock to the area.

Four-H Clubs present displays of livestock, handicrafts and fruits and vegetables. Recently they produced a 2-pound, 5-ounce potato.

Resident families prepare food for the incoming guests, and one can't help but marvel at the ways potatoes can be groomed for the table. They are fried, roasted, sauteed, fricasseed and, as the crowning glory, visitors stuff themselves shamefully on stacks of golden potato pancakes. It is no weekend for a dieter.

Posen itself, a town of modest homes, lives with a heritage, having been founded from oppression and poverty. Children can tell of their grandparents' trek from Poznan, where they were slaves of rich landowners, to America where the soil was their own. Each family has a story to tell, and they relate it at the drop of a czapka—a Polish hat.

Ninety-five percent of the people speak Polish, for until recently it was taught in the school. Sunday sermons are delivered in Polish and English. They speak an ancient dialect that modern Poles have difficulty understanding, and there are words that have no literal English counterparts.

Business in the stores is conducted in Polish, yet all the tradesmen speak English. Children are bilingual.

In true Polish style, the total Catholic population celebrates St. Casimir's day on March 4 with church services and a dance.

What about the young people? Do they resist this atmosphere? Far from it. At dances and festivals one hears no rock and roll; the music is polkas, mazurkas, obereks and krakowiaks, danced with verve and pride by the teenagers. This is a dancing town.

Housewives still bake palacek, a flour and water bread baked in an open oven, and they make the "real" kielbasa sausage. The secret, they confide, is in using the finest pork with tiny amounts of garlic, onion and marjoram.

NO HEIRLOOMS

One would expect a wealth of family heirlooms in a town holding to ancient traditions, but there are none. So abject was the immigrants' poverty that they arrived with only clothes and a little food. But Posen wears that lack like a badge of honor.

The festival has produced the result the little town wanted to remain alive. It has built a school, a church, and a rectory and has inaugurated a tri-township fire department.

Its deepest pride, however, was to bring medical service to the town. It has built a modern clinic, now serviced by Dr. Lawrence Jackowski and his wife who is a nurse. It also has built and financed a modern pharmacy across the street.

As if to augument the efforts the Frito Co. opened a plant near Rogers City. It processes 500,000 hundred-pound sacks of potatoes yearly, mashing, drying, flaking and precooking them for the Nation's tables. Visitors are always welcome.

The festival visitor can't help but admire the town's accomplishments, but he soon learns that he is there for a good time as he watches the dancing, singing, parading and dignitaries having fun.

Posen lies on M–65, which is readily accessible from U.S. 23, halfway between Alpena and Rogers City. It is a quick 5-mile drive on M–65 on a good road into Posen. The area is a fast 4 hours from Detroit, over half of which is expressway.

The overnight visitor can find ample accommodations the whole length of U.S. 23, north of Alpena. Because the main tourist season has ended on Labor Day, rates run quite low. Six dollars a night for a double is average.

In Posen itself, the townfolk rent rooms for sleeping, but these fill rapidly, so a quick call a day or so in advance to Auto Club or one of the motels would assure the visitor of lodging.

During or after the festivities, which are always on a weekend, hikers delight in roaming the back country roads and hilly fields, enjoying the riotous color of the yellow sugar maples and the orangy birch that abound in the area.

"School Scrutiny: Good Educational Systems a Key Factor in Locating Plants," an Article in the Wall Street Journal, September 23, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include in the RECORD a significant article from the Wall Street Journal of September 23, 1965, concerning the importance which industrial firms attach to first-class educational systems in determining where to locate new plants.

The article follows:

SCHOOL SCRUTINY: GOOD EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS A KEY FACTOR IN LOCATING PLANTS

(By George Melloan)

Not long ago, Rumrill Co., Inc., an advertising agency based on the outskirts of Roch-

ester, N.Y., invited a young man from another city to come up and talk about hiring on as an account executive.

"The first thing his wife did when she got here was to go around and find out what the local schools were like," recalls Charles N. Gleason, Rumrill's senior vice president and treasurer. With some cursory investigation itself, Rumrill learned that school systems in two nearby suburbs do indeed have excellent reputations. So, adding a touch of ad agency license, it included the line "watch your kids grow up in one of the finest school systems in the Nation" in a subsequent writer wanted ad in Advertising Age.

Rumrill had discovered, says Mr. Gleason, that in this day of fierce student competition one of the most important factors—perhaps the most important—in a family head's decision to take a new job in a new town is the quality of the local school system. "Parents are anxious that their children be in a school system that will afford them a good chance of getting into college," says the Rumrill officer. "They didn't worry so much about that a few years ago."

Rumrill is by no means unique in its discovery. Some of the Nation's largest companies have become so much aware of their key employees' concern about local school conditions that they go to great lengths to measure school quality and make it a major factor in selecting new plant sites. A few are making strong efforts to improve schools in towns where they already have plants.

INFLUENCING AN IMPROVEMENT

As a result, communities that want to attract and hold industry are learning that one way to do it is to improve schools. Put another way, communities with serious school problems are finding them to be a major handicap in attracting new industry. The upshot is that, both directly and indirectly, corporations are influencing an improvement in local public schools.

Roger L. Yaseen, vice president of Fantus Factory Locating Service, a consulting firm that helps companies decide where to put a plant, says he has been amazed by the sharp rise in importance of schools in plant site selection. "You would think there would be more interest in operating economics than in the local schools and that obligations to the stockholders would take precedence over the needs of company executives," says he, "but prevailing school conditions has become one of the primary factors in site selection."

General Electric Co., Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co., and Celanese Corp. of America are but a few of the major corporations that now scan schools carefully before selecting a town as a site for a plant. "It becomes increasingly important where large numbers of professional people, such as scientists and engineers, have to be attracted to the plant from other parts of the country," says Lee J. Guittar, manager of community and Government services at General Electric.

Included on a sizable list of school features that General Electric studies in a prospective plant town are whether the system has a good long-range plan for providing necessary facilities, how well it pays its teachers, the ratio of pupils to teachers, relations between teachers and the community, the educational background of teachers, the quality and breadth of school curricula and the percentage of graduates who enter college.

Celanese applies a simpler test but also puts strong emphasis on local school quality. According to Richard R. M. McGhee, who is the company's director of engineering and has major responsibility for plant site selection, Celanese relies heavily on results of the standard college board examinations administered by the College Entrance Examination Board to high school students who want to enter college.

Another requirement which in engineering parlance has become a "go-no go" factor in Celanese site selections is the presence of an institution of higher learning (junior college at least) within easy range of the town, says Mr. McGhee. "There are all sorts of places that look like good sites in the boondocks of such States as Louisiana," he says. "They have water, sulphur, gas—everything we need. But you can't get anyone to go there to work."

Another important reason why companies scrutinize a local school system carefully is that they expect to draw their work force largely from its graduates. "When we put a plant in a town we do so on the assumption that we will be there forever," says C. P. Pesek, vice president in charge of engineering and staff manufacturing at Minnesota Mining. "You can't possibly expect to provide the training yourself that a good school system should provide for your employees."

Corporate concern over school quality is beginning to be felt by those who have direct responsibility for schools. This has been noticed, for instance, by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS), a school accrediting agency which has been pushing for higher standards in Southern schools. Recognition of the potential impact on a community's plant attracting capabilities has become an important force for improvement when a school system is in danger of losing accreditation, says Jerry Miller, assistant to the director of the association.

There can be little doubt, for instance, that concern over attracting industry has spurred community leaders in Duval County, Fla. (Jacksonville) in efforts to repair a reputation damaged when acreditation was withdrawn from 15 county high schools last December. Harry G. Kincaid, a Jacksonville attorney who has been one of the leaders in the reaccreditation effort says, "We were getting industry at a pretty good clip. Now it has dwindled to practically nothing."

In some communities, companies that are already major employers (and, not incidentally, major taxpayers) have taken a strong hand in trying to bring about heavier spending for schools. Such is the case in Louisville, Ky., which had been in danger of becoming the next major city to lose accreditation from the tough-minded SACS. One of the leaders in attempts to bring about better tax support for schools in Louisville and surrounding Jefferson County is GE, which has its huge Appliance Park factory complex in Louisville.

GE's Louisville management and some 200 of its local employees worked actively last fall to obtain passage of a tax referendum that would have provided new financing for schools. The referendum failed. This fall, efforts to head off loss of accreditation—which would have been primarily due to underfinancing—shifted to the Kentucky State Legislature, which has just passed a bill to provide emergency financing for Louisville and Jefferson County schools. The bill's success was partly due to lobbying by some major Louisville companies.

PAPER COMPANY'S HELP

The International Paper Co. Foundation has budgeted $385,000 in the current year for aid to 26 school systems that educate the children of employees in International Paper Co. plants around the Nation. The figure is double that budgeted 10 years ago when the program started. The money is used to provide advanced training for teachers and to finance a program that the schools themselves devise.

One of the schools aided, the Choppee School at Georgetown, S.C., not long ago became the first consolidated school in South Carolina to receive accreditation, according to Richard C. Millett, vice president of the foundation. Among other things, Choppee has cut its dropout rate to 3 percent, extremely low for a predominantly Negro school, and has installed language laboratories and other facilities that are not common in rural southern schools.

Corning Glass Works Foundation helps high school teachers in the 18 towns where Corning Glass Works has plants, attend summer school to advance their knowledge of the subjects they teach.

Of course, there still are business interests in some communities that oppose tax increases often needed for school improvement. Junius Eddy, director of public information for the National Committee for Support of the Public Schools (which in turn draws a good deal of its support from industry) notes that real estate interests in some cities still lead campaigns against school spending. But, says Mr. Eddy, "even they are beginning to see the light."

Despite the remaining holdouts, though, more businesses are coming to agree with Robert A. Will, manager of location surveys for the Austin Co., a large engineering firm which offers site selection advice. A good local school system is a "top requisite" for employees' families and therefore of a plant site, he says. "A company cannot afford to overlook the influence of this factor on retaining and recruiting key employees."

House Resolution 560

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, last Monday, September 20, 1965, before consideration of House Resolution 560, which involves the right of one nation to intervene in any other Western Hemisphere nation where there is a Communist threat, I warned the State Department that the resolution was tantamount to arming the Communists with another propaganda weapon to use against us.

Although it was not happy with the resolution, the State Department declined to make its feelings known to Members of Congress. The resolution passed overwhelmingly. And, predictably, a new wave of anti-American feeling swept through Latin America.

For proof of this, I direct the attention of my colleagues to my previous insertions plus an article from the September 25, 1965, Christian Science Monitor, which I am placing in the RECORD.

In addition, there has been a drumfire of criticism in this country as the folly of the resolution has become apparent.

The latest two examples of this are an editorial from that same edition of the Christian Science Monitor called "A Misstep by the House" and one from the Washington Evening Star of September 24, 1965, headlined "Sentiment of the House."

I would particularly like to single out this latter editorial, since it seems to most closely sum up my feelings about the matter.

Being opposed to this resolution, as the Star editorial points out, "is not to say that the United States should or will stand by and do nothing to prevent the establishment of another Castroite Cuba in this hemisphere."

As one who supported the President on his decision to act in the Dominican Republic, I find myself in strong agreement with the Star when it says:

The important distinction is between acting and talking. Specific action, when justified, will have at least the tacit approval of most if not all of our neighbors. But elaborate attempts to verbalize these delicate situations—to win advance acceptance of a general code for handling them—will not sit well with our friends south of the border.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I place these clippings to which I have referred to in the RECORD:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 25, 1965]

LATIN AMERICA STEAMS—"WAR OF RESOLUTIONS"

(By Richard L. Strout)

WASHINGTON.—The House of Representatives has passed a resolution against communism in the Western Hemisphere which is bringing cries of "Yankee imperialism" from all over Latin America.

The Congresses of Peru and Colombia have passed counterresolutions. How far the "war of resolutions" and legislative tit-for-tat will go is unknown.

The House resolution promulgates a policy of unilateral intervention by the United States to head off communism "in any American state" as contrary to the Monroe Doctrine.

It announces as the "sense of the House of Representatives" that the United States, either alone or collectively, may "take steps to forestall or combat intervention, domination, control and colonization in whatever form, by the subversive forces known as international communism and its agencies in the Western Hemisphere."

Without apparent consultation with the State Department, the White House, or its sister legislative body, the Senate, which normally deals with foreign affairs, the House, with a brief debate filling only 15 pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, passed the policy statement 312 to 52, with 3 answering "present," and 65 not voting.

HOSTILE PRESS REACTION

The reaction from Latin America was predictable according to those familiar with the highly sensitive and suspicious attitude of most South American countries on these matters.

What seems like a reasonable denunciation of communism in Washington looks like an unwarranted announcement by the colossus of the north of an intention to interfere at will in the affairs of independent, sovereign nations.

According to press dispatches, Latin American newspapers from left to right are hostile and there has been no favorable comment.

Peru's lower house of Parliament voted to protest and reject the resolution, saying it was "American imperialism in hemisphere affairs." It calls the U.S. move "pretentious."

An official of the Argentine Government quoted by the Associated Press said he found the resolution baffling. "It will give Communists and leftists fresh ammunition," he said. "It can result in renewed attacks against the United States."

The U.S. House action does not have the force of law. For most Members it was just a momentary outburst, probably provoked by the debate in the Senate over the Santo Domingo crisis, precipitated in turn by Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Ironically, Senator FULBRIGHT pleaded with the U.S. Government not to take one-sided action which, he argued, aided communism rather than injured it by wounding sensibilities of Latin American neighbors.

Congress is debating whether to put a ceiling on Western Hemisphere immigration for the first time, like that imposed on the rest of the world.

LEGISLATIVE COMMENT

The resolution was introduced September 20 by Representative ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, JR., Democrat, of Alabama, member of the Foreign Affairs Committee. It was at once challenged by Representative DONALD M. FRASER, Democrat, of Minnesota and other committee members.

Neither the administration nor the State Department apparently intervened in the sudden affair. Representative JOHN BRADEMAS, Democrat, of Indiana, urged it to put "a little backbone" in State Department policies.

Republican spokesman GERALD R. FORD, of Michigan, favored the resolution because, he said, it reaffirms the Monroe Doctrine. He interpreted it also as calling for collective action, though he charged that the report on which it was based was badly written. The report was prepared by the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs.

Latin America has long been restive under the Monroe Doctrine, arguing that it was a unilateral declaration which gave the United States an all-season hunting license to intervene with marines in Latin-American affairs.

In recent years the United States has tactfully pushed collective action. Senator FULBRIGHT, however, asked whether President Johnson's intervention in Santo Domingo was a return to the former one-sided policy, which the Senator condemned.

Typical comments during House debate on the Selden resolution:

Mr. SELDEN: "A recognition of this country's primary obligations to our own security and that of the hemisphere * * * breaks no fresh policy ground."

Mr. FRASER: "Very bady worded."

Representative BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, Democrat, of New York: "Undercuts the principled commitments of American diplomacy in Latin America."

Representative DANIEL J. FLOOD, Democrat, of Pennsylvania: "An extension of a sacred American doctrine, the Monroe Doctrine."

[The Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 25, 1965]

A MISSTEP BY THE HOUSE

As expected, Latin Americans are burned up over the resolution by the U.S. House of Representatives favoring unilateral intervention to prevent Communist takeovers anywhere in the Western Hemisphere. Some countries have passed resolutions of their own condemning the House action. As this is written no Latin-American country had come out in support of it.

The dismay of the U.S. southern neighbors is understandable. For the resolution does not merely express the feeling that the Congressmen's own country should use force to stop communism in other independent countries. Which in itself would be a dubious help to hemisphere relations even if official judgments on the degree of Communist threat were less controversial than in the recent Dominican situation.

But the House went further to say it thought any American nation was justified in stepping in when any other nation in the hemisphere was threatened. Does this mean that if Colombia thinks Venezuela is going to be taken over, the Congressmen would want Colombia to intervene? In the unlikely event that the CIA tells Washington that Canada is going Communist, would the Congressmen want their own troops to cross their northern border?

The sponsor of the resolution said its purpose was "to make clear to Communists that they cannot count on the principle of nonintervention to shield their takeover of a hemisphere country." It is not intended to be binding on the administration.

We share the feeling that Communists should know the United States and its allies are resolute in opposition to Communist takeover. However, the role of the House should not be to make unimplemented statements alienating lands who want to be assured that the tactics of democracy are more principled than those of communism. Rather the House should show its entirely proper concern by initiating or supporting legislation to strengthen the hand of the administration in dealing with each crisis in appropriate terms—legislation to firm up the alliance rather than add further internal tensions.

[The Washington Evening Star, Sept. 24, 1965]

SENTIMENT OF THE HOUSE

As an expression of the "sense" of the House, and that is all it is, Representative SELDEN's resolution will have little or no effect on the policy of the United States in Latin America. But it has produced unfortunate repercussions.

The resolution itself, which is clumsily worded, endorses the unilateral use of armed force by the United States or any Latin country to put down actual Communist subversion and domination or the "threat" of such domination in any OAS country. Mr. SELDEN took the floor at the request of the State Department to say that the House in approving the resolution was not sanctioning the unilateral use of force against the mere threat of subversion. But this is not what the resolution says, and its adoption by the House by a 312-to-52 vote surely will arm the Communist propagandists with another weapon to use against us.

President Johnson last May said that "the American Nations cannot, must not and will not permit the establishment of another Communist Government in the Western Hemisphere." We thought, and said, at the time that this was a case of talking too much. But at least the President was speaking of action by "the American Nations," which implies collective action. The House resolution in its plain endorsement of unilateral action goes far beyond anything the President said. It is another example of talking much too much.

This is not to say that the United States should or will stand by and do nothing to prevent the establishment of another Castroite Cuba in this hemisphere. Nor will this Government twiddle its thumbs if and when revolution clearly threatens American lives. Of course this country will always act, unilaterally if necessary, to protect its security and the lives of its citizens.

The important distinction is between acting and talking. Specific action, when justified, will have at least the tacit approval of most if not all of our neighbors. But elaborate efforts to verbalize these delicate situations—to win advance acceptance of a general code for handling them—will not sit well with our friends south of the border.

Ripley, W. Va., on the Fourth of July

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, the old-time, traditional Fourth of July celebration is fading out, but in Ripley, W. Va.,

Independence Day is celebrated by countless thousands who swell the population to many times its normal size. This year, the celebration was supported so enthusiastically that it was actually staged twice—once for television and then for real.

The merchants of Jackson County annually sponsor the Fourth of July event in Ripley. Anybody can come for free, and there is no admission charge for the stage acts, the circus performers, the parade, or anything else except the hot dogs and pop sold at the booths on the courthouse lawn. Everybody in Jackson County works together to make the Fourth of July a success, but the man who does more than anybody is the managing director, Don Flesher, who has headed up the celebration for almost 20 years.

DON FLESHER SCORES

Some people get up early in the morning and tune in on their television sets to NBC's "Today" show. One such morning, viewers rubbed their eyes sleepily and wondered about a short, stocky man with glasses, bearing a large sign in front of the "Showcase" window, proclaiming that the Nation was invited to come to Ripley, W. Va., for the annual Fourth of July celebration. Nobody would think of that one except Don Flesher. When he told me in my office that he was going to do it, I looked at him darkly and promptly forgot about it. But he surprised everybody, as Don is always doing.

The "Today" show must have been intrigued by Don's sign, because they not only allowed the sign to appear, they also accepted the invitation and decided to come to Ripley with a camera crew and writer named Al Smith. The annual celebration had been scheduled for July 5, since the 4th fell on Sunday. In order to televise the entire proceedings for showing on July 5, Don Flesher announced that the celebration would be staged on July 2 for TV, and then the real thing would take place on July 5. Only Mr. Flesher could get away with such a strange directive, but everybody took it in stride and few people could tell the difference between the July 2 and the July 5 celebrations. As one who actively took part in both of them, I am still not sure which was more fun.

RIPLEY'S BEAUTIFUL ELLA DEE KESSEL

Miss Ella Dee Kessel is one of Ripley's foremost citizens, although only in her early twenties. In the 1964 Miss America contest, she was second runner-up. When asked about her hometown over nationwide television during the judging, this tall, blond beauty told about the famous Ripley Fourth of July celebration. Miss Kessel's father, Circuit Judge Oliver Kessel, is a fixture in the parade each year, riding a spirited horse. Judge Kessel also acts as the "Town Crier," riding over the town and awakening the citizens of Ripley to proclaim the start of the Independence Day celebration.

The greased pig, greasy pole, pie-eating contest, "dunk a Jaycee" show, high-wire acts, display of the X–15 airplane, flyover by Air Force jets, the high-stepping majorettes—like comely Miss Carolyn Rader, head majorette of Ripley High School—all these attractions and more are packed into a Fourth of July at Ripley. But let's see what happens when NBC's "Today" show actually comes to Ripley, as they did on July 2, 1965. Here is the actual text of their telecast, as prepared by Al Smith, narrated by Frank Blair, and with off-the-cuff comments by Jack Lescoulie and Barbara Walters:

RIPLEY, W.VA., ON THE FOURTH OF JULY

FRANK BLAIR. Yesterday, as all of you know, was the Fourth of July, an event that, to our minds at least, seems to conjure up the picture of a small town celebration. So, we set out to find one, and we did, in Ripley, W. Va., a town whose Fourth of July tradition goes back as far as anyone there can remember. And this is the key to the town, and by accepting it, we became honorary citizens of Ripley. So, I guess we're justified in calling it our town.

(Music up under.)

This is it below us now. We've got a few minutes before the celebration begins; so I'd like to show you around a bit and let you meet some of the people. That's Main Street down there, you're looking at, the corner of Main and Court to be more exact. Ripley got its name from a young Methodist minister who drowned down here in Mill Creek at the bottom of Main in the early 1800's. The creek floods once in a while, but mostly, it's pretty shallow and quiet. The other day, a woman jumped in and tried to kill herself, but the water didn't come up over her waist and she wasn't hurt any.

(Music up, under again.)

The town's weather station is down here too. And every day, Chief of Police Whitehouse comes down, takes the temperature, rainfall reading, and then, he sends them on to Parkersburg and Chattanooga. That's him there now.

(Music up, under again.)

Back up on Main Street is our firehouse, where we have some of the best volunteer firemen in the State. Most weeks we hold the town dances here too. About a block up is Doc Smith's place. We've got five dentists here. Doc's the newcomer, but he's got a real good location right on Main.

(Music up, under again.)

Next door is one of our two hotels. T. R. and Jenny bought it not too long ago. I don't think anyone remembers what their last name is. Anyhow, nobody ever uses it.

(Music up, under again.)

The movie house is next up the street. "Hush, Hush, Sweet Charlotte" is playing right now.

(Music up, under again.)

Our other hotel used to be the Kelly, but it's called the Alpine now. Pizza's one of the dining room specialties.

(Music up, under again.)

Well, the parade'll be coming up Main in just a few minutes, but before it does, I want to take you down a few more streets and show you around just a bit more. Now, this is Court Street we're on now, and that building way down at the end is City Hall. We've got a full-time mayor here too—that's him working on some papers—Mayor George Jordan, who used to work for the post office.

(Music up, under again.)

The lot we used last year for our Fourth of July carnival wasn't free again this time, so we're using the old Court Street School lot. It's a little cramped, but nobody minds. That's one of our poultry hatcheries across the street. A lot of folks raise chickens hereabouts. And one of the feed stores is right next door. Pretty good location, I'd say.

(Music up, under again.)

Oh, and there's one of our taxis right there. We've got a couple or three of them in town. They charge different rates, depending on whether the road is paved or gravel. Gravel is a nickle more. And by the way, we're starting up the other end of Main Street right now.

Doc Kessel's house is up there around the bend, and I want you to see it. He's pretty much retired, but he delivered a good share of Ripley's population in his day. His son, Jimmy, has the practice now. His other son, C. E., is the county clerk, and his cousin, Oliver, is the circuit judge.

(Music up, under again.)

Back down Main, near to where we're standing is the village cafeteria. They've got a juke box, and a lot of the young folks like to meet here.

(Music up, under again.)

Across the street is our post office, pretty modern building too, we think.

(Music up, under again.)

Turning a bit more, we can go down to the other end of Court Street now. Now, those things you see in the middle of the street are some displays that were brought in for this Fourth of July. We have something like this every year. The kids and the older folks too, I guess, get a real kick out of it.

Down at the end of the street is Bess Polk's house. Her real name is Blanche, but everybody calls her Bess. Back nearer us is one of our churches. We've got eight or nine in town. Most everyone attends.

(Music up, under again.)

Around the corner is Jo Ellen's. The young folks like to come here, because Jo Ellen goes up to Pittsburgh every now and then to see the latest hair styles. On Court Street again, just across from the church, is the agricultural office. Farmers can get a lot of good help here. And with the poor rainfall we've been getting, they can use it.

(Music up, under again.)

Next door is the library. We've got a pretty good selection for a small town too. This is our weekly newspaper office, Sattis Simmons, the editor. That's his daughter Helen Hindman in the doorway, talking with Chet Heisel, one of the printers.

(Music up, under again.)

Ripley, by the way, is the county seat; and the county courthouse is right across from the newspaper office. Sheriff Harpold and his deputies have their offices here. The jail's here too, but it's usually pretty empty. Even so, there are two justices of the peace, Delma Goode and Doc Duke. Doc was mayor of Ripley for a while.

(Music up, under again.)

There are two monuments out on the courthouse lawn, this one, and one commemorating a much more recent event. The other—you'll see it in a minute—is for Ella D. Kessel. She was Miss West Virginia in 1964, and a Miss America runner-up.

(Music up, under again.)

Well, I think I hear the Fourth of July celebration starting up, so let's go around to the other side of the courthouse and watch the festivities.

(Music up, sustained, out.)

MAN. The national anthem will be sung by Mrs. Paul Beale.

WOMAN. (Sings national anthem.)

MAN. Ladies and gentlemen, at this time, we'll have the Independence Day speech by Mr. Albert "Bert" Goodwin. [Applause.]

GOODWIN. My fellow Americans, we meet here today to recapture the spirit and commemorate the judgment expressed by our fathers in Philadelphia in July of 1776, as has been the annual custom in our small community for over 100 years. In the carnival atmosphere of modern-day celebrations, it is difficult to recall the perils of the hour and the dignity and solemnity of the words and thoughts of those men who authored our Declaration of Independence.

As descendants of the men who cast the mold of freedom and this Nation, let us now,

each, in his own way, make our contribution to the preservation of their declaration. [Applause.]

MAN. All right, there's the first contestant trying to climb that greased pole. There he goes. [Sustained laughter and shouts of encouragement.]

MAN. Make sure you get your feet on his shoulders now. Stay right there, and that'll do it. Now, get your foot on the other shoulder. Now. Now. [Sustained laughter and shouts of encouragement, then applause.]

MAN. All right, let's line up now. Just a second. When you get the signal, go. OK, let's go. [Laughter and cheers.]

MAN. All right, that's it. Now, do we have a winner? [Cheers and applause.]

MAN. Okay, let's go. Now, don't move your hands. [Laughter.] Get ready. Get down there. Go. [Applause, then music up, sustained, under.]

BLAIR. And that's the way the Fourth of July is celebrated in a small town, Ripley, W. Va., our town, because we're honorary citizens now. There's something for everyone here, and I don't think there's anyone in town who hasn't enjoyed it. We did. And we're rather sorry to have to climb back up here on Reservoir Hill and take our last look back at the West Virginia hills and the small town of Ripley. [Music out.]

JACK LESCOULIE. That's a nice report.

FRANK BLAIR. Al Smith did that. He's good on this.

BARBARA WALTERS. These things never do get on the news reports we hear today—oh, about all of the riots of the young people—unfortunately they don't show in the news reports the thousands of kids skinnying up the trees and being cheerleaders. That's the better part of it, fortunately, the part of our country.

FRANK BLAIR. I was away over the weekend in a small town up in Massachusetts, Duxbury, it's called. And they're having their Fourth of July parade today. I'd like to be there for it. I had to come back and tell you about Ripley, W. Va.

JACK LESCOULIE. One of the nicest Fourth of Julys I ever spent was in a town called Newhall, in California. And there, again, everybody just has a delightful time. It's an all-day celebration with the parade and the band; and the men have all barbecued all night long, and then, they get the group out there and feed everybody; and I think the charge on the whole day is something like a dollar.

FRANK BLAIR. [Laughs.]

JACK LESCOULIE. But what a time they have, you know.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

Hooray for Their Side

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the attached editorial from the Richmond News-Leader of September 27, 1965, entitled "Hooray for Their Side."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOORAY FOR THEIR SIDE

President Johnson announced on Friday that Panama and the United States have agreed to a new canal treaty. After 18 months, three points have been settled by negotiators, to wit: (1) The 1903 treaty will be abrogated. (2) The new treaty will effectively recognize Panama's sovereignty over the area of the present canal zone. (3) Panama will share in the direct and indirect benefits of having the canal within its borders.

Agreement on these three points leaves only one question yet to be settled; namely, what on earth have the American negotiators been doing for 18 months? These are precisely the points that have been the aim of international communism for years. They are not concessions; they add up to a total giveaway. When the Americans sat down to negotiate, they held almost all the cards: Legal right, a humanitarian record, power of life and death over the Panamanian economy, and the power to give or withhold a whole new canal. The Panamanians held only one card, the 1964 January riots, declared by the OAS to be Communist organized. And now the Panamanians get up from the table with the whole pot.

What have the Americans been doing? Instead of playing poker, they have been playing Old Maid. Or perhaps tiddlywinks. They must have been doing something to fill up the boredom of 18 months with nothing to do—because surely they have not been pressing the Panamanians for anything. One would think that even propaganda for the homefolks would demand at least some face-saving formula, some complicated device that would conceal abject surrender to a gang of blackmailers. But the American diplomats have been so brazenly intent on dismembering American power and prestige that they feel it is necessary only to wait 18 months to grant what they could have granted as well on the very first day.

The effect of withdrawing American sovereignty over the canal and increasing the graft to the rich Panamanian demagogs is obvious. We will be allowed the headache of running the canal as long as it seems convenient, but we will have no effective protection against Communist seizure or sabotage. Under a status-of-force agreement, American troops will be on guard at canal installations; but troops still are ineffective in a situation where sovereign control is vested in a weak government, where the regular security staff is filled out and controlled by other nations, and where the key technical positions have been turned over to the direction of a government that may easily fall under alien control. In a moment of crisis, the canal could be closed to our warships, and our ocean-to-ocean shipping could be strangled. Let us join with Lyndon Johnson in shouting, "Hooray for their side."

Why Stronger Law Is Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, sometime ago, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, of which I am a member, came forward with legislation for the better regulation of barbiturates and amphetamines—more commonly known as "goof balls" and "pep pills." This bill has passed both Houses of Congress and has been signed into law by the President.

Properly enforced, such a bill can be extremely helpful. The Food and Drug Administration is given much wider jurisdiction in the enforcement of this law. The attached editorial from the Champaign-Urbana News-Gazette of sometime ago more nearly expresses the public concern than anything I have read recently. I attach it herewith for the benefit of my colleagues:

WHY STRONGER LAW IS NEEDED

Congress has good reason to give close attention to proposals before it to tighten U.S. laws on the distribution and sale of narcotics. Better regulation of the growing menace of pep pills also is essential.

These pep pills, often called beanies or goof balls, have given rise to a dangerous, growing menace to society.

This report made at a recent scientific session of the American Medical Association gathering pinpoints some of the wide uses and dangers of pep pills:

More than 8 billion of them are produced each year. There are enough to give 35 hefty doses annually to every man, woman and child in the country. Half of them are sold illegally at high profit. Excessive use is blamed for causing accidents, tensions and anxiety after the first "lift." They also cause or can lead to addiction, says the medical director of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration.

These pep pills, or amphetamines, are some of the drugs—not narcotics—which are causing serious addiction, illness and sometimes death, the AMA was told.

The Food and Drug agency official described ways in which the pep pills and other drugs have often been channeled into illegal sales. He told of one jobber who obtained 11½ million amphetamine pills from five firms within a fairly short time. That man is now in jail.

He warned: "Profit margins to vice and crime for barbiturates are similar to amphetamines * * *. A similar problem will appear for the tranquilizers when barbiturates disappear from the illicit market. The sooner we have a stronger law to attack these problems the sooner we will remove them."

As we've commented before, legislation in this field is among the most important—for safety and health of Americans—now before the Congress.

It might help to let your Congressman know how you feel about it, if you have the same concern.

The Proposed Repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, one of the most important issues with which Congress has been faced in recent years is the proposed repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. The issue has been joined and both sides are closing up their ranks to present their case in its most convincing fashion. This is as it should be. Nevertheless, there has been some mention in the press that undue pressure is being brought to bear from some quarters in support of the legislation to repeal section 14(b). Mr. James J. Kilpatrick, the noted and able editor of the Richmond News Leader, has written an article entitled "Moment of Truth," concerning one occurrence of this type. I ask unanimous consent that this article, which appeared in the Columbia (S.C.) State, on September 21, 1965, be printed in the Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I also ask unanimous consent that an article by the able columnist, David Lawrence, entitled "Informative Filibuster Due in Senate," be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Columbia (S.C.) State, Sept. 21, 1965]

MOMENT OF TRUTH: LABOR LEADERS THREATEN SOLONS AGAINST WEAKENING

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

A moment of truth approaches rapidly now, in the fight over repeal of section 14(b). If Senator DIRKSEN and his bipartisan troops demonstrate the will and the discipline for a truly "extended discussion," they may be able to preserve intact the principle of State right-to-work laws. If they fail, this section of the Taft-Hartley Act will be wiped out, and organized labor will have collected its campaign bill.

The pressures from labor get rougher with every passing day. There is at hand a letter from William R. Cloud, secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union, addressed on September 1 to Virginia's Senator A. WILLIS ROBERTSON. It begins with a curt "sir," and directs the Senator's attention to an address by the ITU's President Elmer Brown at the mid-August convention of the printers' union. This is what Brown had to say:

"It has been called to my attention by some of the delegates who have been visiting U.S. Senators from their various States, that there seems to be a tendency on the part of some of the Senators, who are allegedly our friends, to sit on the proposed amendment to the Taft-Hartley law which would eliminate section 14(b). These alleged friends are under great pressure, undoubtedly, but we should not let them forget that we of the labor movement put them in office.

"I think at this time we should state at this convention that those Members of the U.S. Senate who were elected on the ticket with President Johnson on a platform to repeal 14(b) will either discharge their obligation or we shall mass our forces and discharge them at the next election.

"I think the delegates from this convention should express themselves in no uncertain terms to the Senators who are now weakening, that we shall not only express our feelings here, but we shall express them also at our local union meetings and the entire labor movement if necessary. The ITU will take part in mobilizing delegations that will make the civil rights demonstrations look like Sunday school picnics.

"Our patience is about exhausted with being doublecrossed and the Senators ought to know that they cannot doublecross the labor movement again and get away with it."

In a final paragraph, Brown acknowledged that it would be "even more difficult" to get a repeal bill passed in 1966. The union members, he said, "are not going to tolerate dilly-dallying tactics." And Secretary Cloud closed with a reminder to Senator ROBERTSON that the printers' convention had concurred unanimously in the statement of President Brown.

The Virginia Senator, who comes up for election next year, was visibly moved by the ITU's letter, but he was moved rather closer to apoplexy than to submission.

Meanwhile, some counterpressures are being exerted from the other side. These are being channeled primarily through the National Right-to-Work Committee, which represents individuals and businesses dedicated to voluntary unionism as opposed to compulsory unionism. A few days ago the committee released some sobering figures on what repeal of 14(b) would mean in the 19 right-to-work States.

Among other things, said the committee, repeal would impose union membership automatically upon 250,000 nonunion workers in the 19 States. These are men nad women employed in plants in which contracts already have been negotiated containing contingent union shop clauses. In Texas, organized labor would pick up 34,000 captive members the moment 14(b) is repealed. In Alabama, unions would gain 60,000 members, in Georgia 20,000, and in Kansas 25,000. At the rate of $60 per worker per year, these captives would be compelled to pay some $120 million annually in dues to the various unions.

High stakes; and all the Right-to-Work Committee can put in the pot against them are the principles of a voluntary society. On this issue—compulsion versus freedom—the fight will be waged. Freedom can win it yet.

INFORMATIVE FILIBUSTER DUE IN SENATE

(By David Lawrence)

One of the most informative filibusters in the history of Congress is due to start in the Senate next week. The extensive debate will deal with a bill already passed by the House of Representatives which would open the way for compulsory unionization in the plants, factories, and service businesses where unions have managed to get recognition in behalf of a supposed majority of employees.

Unless a worker joins a union, he can today be deprived of his job in 31 States because the employer must agree to do the bidding of the union in this respect or else face a costly strike. In 19 States such contracts are forbidden. Shall they be permitted now in all 50 States?

Very few people know that compulsory unionization involves a violation of civil rights and runs contrary to the basic principles of individual freedom in a democracy.

The entire labor-management situation will be thoroughly explored in the Senate, not only on the issue of compulsory unionization but with respect to the many cases of fraud that have been uncovered in connection with the securing of a union majority in a plant.

The National Labor Relations Board will be under fire, too. It has, for instance, compelled an employer to recognize a union without a secret election in case after case where union organizers have intimidated individual workers and forced them to sign cards declaring that they are willing to join a union. The public has, however, been led to believe mistakenly that any employer can get an election at any time he has an honest doubt that a union represents a majority of his employees, and that the balloting is secret.

The National Labor Relations Board itself has been occused of operating as an adjunct of the labor unions. The situation has gone to such an extreme that Representative ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, Republican, of Michigan, coauthor of the Landrum-Griffin Labor Law, has introduced a bill to abolish the National Labor Relations Board and establish in its place a 15-man labor court. This would be similar to the U.S. Tax Court. U.S. Commissioners would replace the trial examiners who now hear most of the National Labor Relations Board cases. Griffin declares that his bill generally fills the recommendation made by the American Bar Association.

The main issue, however, is whether the individual in America is to have the right to work or whether he is to be given the privilege only with the consent of a labor union.

One of the big arguments made by the labor unions is that the employees in a plant or shop who are not members of the union get the benefit of the negotiations conducted by the union and hence are "free riders." So the contention is that they should be required to join and pay dues to the union.

Just a few days ago, Henry C. Newton, director of information of the National Right-to-Work Committee, wrote a spoofing letter to the Star relating an imaginary conversation between Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY and President Johnson. The Vice President was quoted as having said to the President:

"I can't tell you how delighted I am at the prospect of striking down the right-to-work laws. But I believe there are some very important principles here that we've overlooked. For example, we're against free riders, and that's good. But the scabs and loafers who won't join the union aren't the only free riders around. * * *

"I mean the Republicans, the independents, all those who aren't Democrats—they're all free riders on the good works and good government of the Democratic Party. * * *

"Most people don't do a thing to keep the Democratic Party in office. And so, I propose dues-paying membership in the Democratic Party as a condition of citizenship. Too many people are not doing a thing to advance the Great Society. Now a majority of the people are for us; and as long as we Democrats must bear the burdens of office, and, particularly, as long as Democrats in office are forced to represent all the people, all the people should support the Democrats—at least with their money."

But there is more truth than jest in the above fable. As a matter of fact, in the Soviet Union, while workers are not obliged to belong to the Communist Party, they find that as a practical matter promotion and advancement are given primarily to members of the Communist Party.

Power: Let the Facts Decide

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, with the approval by this body of the amendment offered by our colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], to S. 2300, the rivers, harbors and flood control bill, a survey of the St. John River, Maine, was authorized to be conducted by the Secretary of the Army.

It is important to all Americans, as taxpayers, and even more so to all New Englanders, who would benefit from more reasonable power rates, that the spirit of this study be such as to seek out the facts on which an objective decision for this project can be based. This stepchild of the Passamaquoddy tidal power project, suffering as it does from its heritage, had hardly been given a chance to stand by itself before it was besieged from all quarters with arguments, characterized more by self-interest than objectivity.

At this time, the worst thing that could happen to New England, its private power companies and its private power consumers would be to saddle them with a public power project insufficient to meet the needs of today and the demands that will be made in the future. Perhaps the St. John River project is the best answer to the needs of New England; however, it should claim a heritage of sound fact rather than the emotionalism of private opinions. I am hopeful that those facts will be forthcoming from the study that has been authorized by the House.

Yesterday, the Springfield Union of Springfield, Mass., commented editorially on this proposed study. I believe that this editorial shares my hopes for this study and I commend it to my colleagues:

POWER: LET THE FACTS DECIDE

The conflict between public and private power in New England is shaping up into a real contest. It seems that the facts rather than emotions may yet have to dictate the decision.

Earlier this year the Senate passed a $1.7 billion rivers and harbors bill including $227 million for a Federal hydroelectric project at the Dickey Dam-Lincoln School area on the St. John's River in Maine.

This week the House passed a similar bill for nearly 150 flood control, navigation, and beach improvement programs in 41 States but cut out the Dickey-Lincoln project in Maine. Only 4 of New England's Congressmen voted on the side of Federal power in the 207-to-185 rollcall that knocked Dickey-Lincoln down.

The measure now goes to a conference committee to iron out differences between the House and Senate versions. The House bill

asks a new study by the Corps of Engineers on the feasibility and justification of the Dickey-Lincoln undertaking.

This is not yet a victory for the private New England power companies against the tempting and wispy concept that the Federal establishment can generate and distribute electricity better and cheaper. The issue is still in doubt. And part of the voting strength that gave private power this second chance came from the coal interests that hope to keep the New England power companies as prime customers.

But the point is that there is going to be more "study." A Maine Congressman who favors the Federal plan fears "they'll study it to death." But this need not be the sidetracking political type of study.

It should seek, factually and objectively, to determine the main point at issue, on which the two sides' "facts" disagree: Whether a Federal hydro project in northern Maine can be built, operated, and put into service so that its output really means cheaper power for New England users.

The private utilities say it can't be done, and they point to progress with nuclear plants and pumped storage hydroelectric facilities—integrated to reach the markets easily—to show that their own efficiency is growing by leaps and bounds. In the process, incidentally, reliance on coal from distant sources will diminish.

The Senate owes New England and its private companies the study the House accepted with big support from the region's Representatives. Let's let the real facts speak louder than political philosophies.

Fireman Recalls His Railroad Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, the transportation industry has undergone many changes in recent years. While these improvements have accelerated our means of transportation and have drawn us closer together, they have meant the passing of many familiar aspects of earlier means of transportation.

I wish to call to the attention of the Members of the House a very interesting article which appeared in the September 12 edition of the Progress-Index of Petersburg, Va., concerning the experiences of Mr. George W. Bailey.

As the article points out, Mr. Bailey has had a long and interesting career in the railroad business. I am pleased to insert this article at this point in the RECORD as I feel that it will remind us of many similar stories which could be written in many parts of the country:

FIREMAN OF CANNONBALL DAYS RECALLS HIS RAILROAD WORK

(By Pat Matthews)

George W. Bailey was a railroad man in the days when a man needed a strong back to fire the engine, and his wits about him at all times in case he had to jump for his life.

It was a period of hard work, long hours, and lots of excitement. It was the time on which all old railroaders now look back with nostalgia.

Bailey, 80, was the fireman on the Cannonball, known as the fastest train in the country back in the early 1900's. This was a source of pride both to the crew and to the whole Norfolk & Western Railroad. It could run up to 70 miles an hour.

Firing the engine was no easy job. The fireman shoveled all the coal and the smallest tank on the train contained 14 tons. Bailey shoveled hundreds of tons of coal in his 46 years with the railroad.

"The firemen had to put it all in. There was no one else to do it," Bailey said.

The amount of coal needed for the trip depended on the tonnage of the train and on the engineer. Railroad men got paid by the mile and they worked until they got there, he said.

Bailey worked out of Crewe, which was sort of a headquarters in those days, and went from Crewe to Norfolk. In those days all the eastbound trains had the right-of-way over the westbound.

Since there was only a single track at that time, Bailey's train would have to run onto a siding whenever an eastbound train was due.

"That's the way we would get our rest," he said. "Otherwise, we would have been mighty tired on those long trips," he added.

"There were a lot of train wrecks in those days. I remember once I was firing for John Sullivan on a coal train. We got to Rogers Bank and they were laying rail and somehow we hadn't been told about it. We couldn't stop in time and the engine turned over with its wheels up. Fourteen cars of coal followed suit.

"We jumped off. But after I jumped I fell. And I still have a knot on my back to this day from that wreck. But we were lucky."

Another accident was caused by sleet. The engine derailed and came within an inch of turning over. Another time in Suffolk an engineer backed out right in front of us. We jumped before he hit us and we were lucky again. No one was killed, Bailey said.

Bailey was raised near Disputanta on a farm and didn't become a railroadman until his early twenties because of his mother and sisters who were against him taking up such a dangerous profession.

"In those days, joining the railroad was like joining the Army and I got talked down every time I brought up the matter."

However, when he became 24 Bailey became an apprentice for the N. & W. and after a year was elevated to firing engines. Six years later he became an engineer just about the time the company put in stokers.

Bailey worked for the railroad 46 years, retiring in 1955. During the war he hauled troops to and from Fort Lee. However, his main run was from Petersburg or Crewe to Norfolk.

In those early days a cowcatcher was a necessary part of train equipment. "We had a cowcatcher and we used it too. Down below Waverly the cows were especially bad and would get on the tracks."

Bailey, who was known to fellow crewmen and to his present friends in Colonial Heights as "Uncle George" lives with his wife of nearly 53 years at 239 Chesterfield Avenue.

They have four children, George W., Jr., James, Mrs. James Stewart, Jr., and Mrs. Howard Saunders. They also have 10 grandchildren and 4 great-grandchildren.

Since his retirement "Uncle George" has had a good sized garden every year in which he raises everything from strawberries to butterbeans. Until slowed up recently by varicose veins he was a great visitor and spent a good deal of time cheering up the sick and shut-ins.

Mr. and Mrs. Bailey are looking forward to celebrating their 53d wedding anniversary October 30. Mrs. Bailey has always taken great pride in raising her children and in being a good homemaker.

"Uncle George" has only one regret. When he retired he took with him the shovel he had used to power those long ago engines. In recent months the shovel must have been borrowed and not returned. "I sure would like to have it back," he said.

The Humane Gas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, a very sensible editorial from the pen of J. Earle Bowden on the controversial subject of the use of tear gas in warfare appeared in the Pensacola Journal on Saturday, September 25. I recommend careful reading of the argument that it advances.

The editorial follows:

[From the Pensacola Journal, Sept. 25, 1965]

THE HUMANE GAS

One of the minor irrationalities arising from that ultimate irrationality called war is this Nation's fear of exploring means of achieving the ends of war while at the same time reducing its accustomed carnage.

As long as we kill people in the age-old accepted ways—shooting them, burning them, pulverizing them—we seem to get only the usual praise of friends and sniping criticisms of enemies.

But let someone dare suggest the possibility of using weapons that do not kill or even wound but merely take people out of action temporarily and the bogeyman of world opinion screams in a righteous outrage.

This happened a few months ago when it was revealed that we were experimenting with incapacitating gases in Vietnam—the kind of riot-control gases used by police the world over.

The United States bowed to the denunciations and ordered no further use of gas of any type in Vietnam without explicit permission from the highest authority.

A Marine battalion commander disobeyed that order a few days ago. Faced with the job of flushing suspected Vietcong guerrillas out of some tunnels and caves, where they were mixed in with a bunch of frightened women and children, he used tear gas. He simply thought it was the most humane and practical method of handling the problem.

For that, he was placed under investigation. Presumably, had he cleared these people out in the conventional manner, by blasting them to bits with grenades, he would have been commended.

"Chemical warfare has been engulfed in a haze of horror through propaganda and ignorance," wrote Dr. Richard L. Kenyon in a recent issue of Chemical and Engineering News.

"Yet," he continued, "it could likely mitigate dreadful aspects of what we read about in news stories from Vietnam. In the midst of some of those reported actions, any of a number of militarily effective chemical agents would have been less atrocious."

As tear gas was in the case of the Marine commander.

The argument that the use of mild gases would inevitably lead to the unleashing of the full range of horrible chemical and biological weapons that have reportedly been developed simply does not hold water—any more than the use of a conventional cannon must lead to nuclear bombs.

The abolition of war is one of man's most pressing goals. But where war exists, said

Kenyon—and it exists in Vietnam—reason and knowledge ought to be used in any way possible to reduce its awfulness.

But men are not reasonable. Otherwise they would never fight wars to begin with.

Home Rule for the District of Columbia

SPEECH

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 4644) to provide an elected mayor, city council, and nonvoting Delegate to the House of Representatives for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Chairman, I have been a little puzzled by the debate today. I cannot quite understand the opponents of home rule. I have heard all of them, since I have been in this body, make speeches telling us that the Federal Government was bad and evil, and that State and local governments were good, and that the best government was the government closest to the people, and that we must avoid at all times—I remember these speeches—Federal interference with local schools, with local zoning, and with local problems.

On nearly every bill that comes before us we are told how bad Federal interference is.

Apparently these principles apply in North Carolina, and South Carolina, and apply in Virginia, but they do not apply in the District of Columbia, because here Federal interference is very good, Federal control is very good, and we must have it at all times; and local community control is not good for zoning, dog leashes, and whether one stands up or sits down to drink his beer. That is all very bad.

I remember the remarks of the minority leader. I did not want to ignore him in this little oration. I remember when we tried to enlarge the Rules Committee, when we wanted the 21-day rule, we were told that we did not need these things, that we had democracy, that any time 218 Members wanted to bring up a bill they could sign a discharge petition. Because we had this "out" we were told we did not need to do anything about the Rules Committee.

Now we are told here today that the minority leader cannot possibly vote even to have debate on home rule because this is an irregular and unusual procedure, and this bill ought to come out through the regular processes of the District Committee.

So I was puzzled by those two things.

Then I was puzzled today when the gentleman from North Carolina, the very able advocate and my good friend, said we should not be legislating in haste here.

Let me tell you about the haste we have had. We have had so much haste on home rule that while the other body has passed a bill of this kind I believe eight times now in the past 15 years this is the first debate we have ever had on home rule in the House of Representatives in modern times.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. UDALL. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. WHITENER. I am sure the gentleman is speaking in all intentional honesty, but the fact happens to be that in 1948 this House debated this issue for 3 days.

Mr. UDALL. I withdraw my charge. I say it has been 17 years. We have debated this matter one time in 17 years. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield again?

Mr. UDALL. Briefly. I had a couple of other friendly observations I wanted to make.

Mr. WHITENER. The gentleman has made some reference to not understanding what is going on. I am sure the gentleman is being entirely too modest, because he is a man of great understanding. I am sure also, distinguished lawyer that he is, that he is familiar with the Constitution. Certainly he would not recommend that any local community be given authority to establish post offices or to declare war or to raise and support armies or to provide and maintain a navy, yet the very section of the Constitution which puts that responsibility upon the Congress in its opening statement says that Congress shall have the power to do these certain acts and among those acts its says "to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such District."

Mr. UDALL. The gentleman is using up my time. He knows I do not advocate letting the District of Columbia City Council declare war or establish post offices or anything of that sort, and these bills do not do anything of that sort.

Mr. WHITENER. Will the gentleman permit me to say this——

Mr. UDALL. The gentleman has used almost all of my time.

Mr. WHITENER. I think I can prevail on the gentleman from South Carolina to yield you some more time, because I think you are helping our cause.

Mr. UDALL. That was not my intention, I assure you.

Mr. WHITENER. As I said earlier, the gentleman is a man of good intentions, but the substitute places on this Congress a direct responsibility which the gentleman now advocates we abandon, because he says we shall exercise exclusive jurisdiction over the District of Columbia.

Mr. UDALL. No, not at all. Your committee does not lose one bit of power nor does the Congress. All we say to the local people in this bill is, "friends, you get the first shot to legislate on dog leashes and on schools and do your own local zoning and do what every other community does in your State and in mine. If we do not like it, here in Congress any Monday afternoon we can repeal, revise, or otherwise take care of it."

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Arizona has expired.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 2 additional minutes.

Mr. UDALL. The people of the District are getting a very limited, modest, half-loaf kind of home rule. All they are getting is a first shot, some little voice, and some little first shot at what kind of schools they have and how they will handle their own local problems.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. UDALL. I yield to my good friend from California.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the remarks of the gentleman, but that last statement he made before I asked him to yield was completely in accord with my substitute which I propose to offer tomorrow. I wonder if this is what he proposes to wind up with in his pledge to give the power to the people in the District just like to all of the people across the country and in his State and mine.

Mr. UDALL. The gentleman is known throughout central California as a great optomist and I feel he is that in this case because I support the bipartisan bill the gentleman from New York is going to offer as a substitute.

Mr. SISK. I have been curious to find out just what is in that bill.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Chairman, I decline to yield further, because I am running out of time. I would like to continue the discussion. Let me continue with one other point here. I think there has been a really serious misunderstanding. A lot of my friends who are sincere say they cannot be for this bill because Washington is a Federal city and belongs to all of the people of the United States and we will give that away in these bills. They are partly right. There are portions that do belong to all of the people and I do not want some city council telling us what goes on in the White House or what goes on in the Capitol, but the point I make is you can separate the parts of Washington as a city which have a national interest and the parts of Washington which do not have a national interest. Congress does have an overriding concern with what goes on in the Capitol and these great Federal buildings, but the voters in Tombstone, Ariz., have no real concern about zoning at 49th and Upshur Street or dog leashes or liquor laws and other things that I have referred to. This bill very carefully lets the people of the District legislate on things that are local and reserves to the Congress and the President the right to legislate on things that have a national interest.

Lt. Robert E. Ricks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, I take great pleasure in calling to the attention of the Members of the House of Represent-

atives the name of the outstanding hero from my congressional district who has received numerous high honors as a lieutenant in the Vietnam war. I had the privilege and pleasure of appointing Lt. Robert E. Ricks to West Point only a few years ago.

Even though it is difficult for some of our people to understand why it should be necessary for us to travel 10,000 miles to fight a war, our young men of this country have the intestinal fortitude and the love of their country to give their lives and all they possess to see that communism is prevented from taking over any additional countries throughout the world.

You will note that Lieutenant Ricks has received seven medals of heroism during the present Vietnam war.

I believe that one of the first men to lose his life in the Vietnam war was from my congressional district—a young man from Bennettsville, S.C., and just recently Captain Lemmon of Conway, S.C., which is in my congressional district, was awarded one of the highest war medals for his part in destroying Communists in one section of Vietnam and he was one of three who survived the battle. I also had the privilege and pleasure of appointing Captain Lemmon to West Point.

These young men have left their families to protect the interest of our country in Vietnam, and I am certain the people of the United States will give them their full backing in this very difficult task.

Following is an article from the Georgetown, S.C., Times:

[From the Georgetown (S.C.) Times, Sept. 23, 1965]

GEORGETOWN OFFICER DECORATED IN VIETNAM RETURNS HOME

First Lt. Robert E. Ricks arrived home in Georgetown, Monday, after a flight from Saigon where he has spent the past year.

Lieutenant Ricks brought with him a number of medals in recognition of his service in Vietnam, including the Air Medal, the most recently bestowed.

He was presented the medal by Gen. Richard Stillwell, Jr., upon completion of 100 air strikes against the Vietcong.

The young infantry officer had previously been awarded two Bronze Stars for heroism against the Communist Vietcong in South Vietnam.

The officer, son of Mr. and Mrs. R. E. Ricks, of the Andrews Highway, earlier received the Combat Infantryman's Badge, two Vietnamese Gallantry Crosses, the Purple Heart and the Vietnamese Honor Medal.

Citation by the U.S. Department of Defense outlined the combat action that earned the West Point officer and Winyah High School graduate Bronze Star Medals:

By direction of the President under the provisions of Executive order, 1st Lt. Robert E. Ricks, Jr., was awarded two Bronze Stars for heroism against an armed enemy.

On November 19, 1964, Lieutenant Ricks was accompanying an ARVN battalion as senior adviser on a search mission when the battalion came under fire by an equal size enemy force. Lieutenant Ricks ran to the forward elements of his unit, which was 60 feet away from the enemy, and began to direct armed helicopter and artillery fire. He had to expose himself to intense enemy fire in order to accurately direct the supporting fire. Lieutenant Ricks' actions resulted in 106 Vietcong being killed.

Again on December 27, 1964, Lieutenant Ricks was the senior adviser when the battalion he was accompanying was ambushed by a superior force. Lieutenant Ricks was wounded by machinegun fire in the initial fighting.

During the fighting, Lieutenant Ricks saw a seriously wounded Vietnamese officer in an open area exposed to enemy fire. As Lieutenant Ricks exposed himself to assist the officer, he was wounded a second time by mortar fire. However, he managed to reach the officer and carry him to safety.

As the Vietcong surrounded the battalion, and began to close in, the battalion commander gave the order to break up into small groups, and attempt to reach friendly lines. Lieutenant Ricks, his American radio operator, and three Vietnamese moved into a jungle thicket and crawled through the Vietcong lines.

Although wounded himself, and closely pursued by the enemy, Lieutenant Ricks refused to leave the wounded officer behind, and carried him approximately 2 miles to friendly lines. Once back to safety, Lieutenant Ricks refused aid until all of the other wounded were treated and evacuated. Lieutenant Ricks courageous action reflects great credit upon himself and the U.S. Army and is in keeping with the highest traditions of the military service.

Combat Infantryman's Badge, November 10, 1964.

Vietnamese Gallantry Cross (Silver Star), November 18, 1964.

Vietnamese Gallantry Cross (Silver Star), November 27, 1964.

Purple Heart, January 11, 1965.

Vietnamese Honor Medal, January 15, 1965.

Bronze Star Medal, May 26, 1965.

Bronze Star Medal (first oak leaf cluster), May 26,1965.

The Real Alabama—Part LXVI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, though Alabama anticipates a continuation of its economic growth in terms of business and industry, the State is also making major efforts in agriculture.

Research in many areas of agricultural science and livestock development is proceeding at great rates. I include in my remarks the following material from the Birmingham News of August 22, 1965:

MEN BEHIND THE MEN ON THE LAND

Agricultural research, in its broadest application, is designed to provide greatest benefit to the largest number of people over extended time. This includes farmers, processors, other agricultural-related firms, industries, and consumers.

In basic research, scientists make explorations in depth and in highly specialized fields, probing the unknown for new knowledge. In applied research, they seek answers to specific questions.

While an effective research program must be narrowed down to many highly specialized segments, findings may require much broader implementation for most effective use by farmers, manufacturers, and distributors.

Growing cotton and corn, for example, requires a farmer to put together the best technology in fertilization, insect and disease control, machinery and equipment for land preparation, planting, cultivation, spraying and dusting, harvesting, processing, and marketing. He looks to his local dealers for one or more of these services. The manufacturer of farm equipment, in turn, finds it necessary to provide attachments and service if he is to sell tractors.

Agriculture is so much more than farming today—a three-quarter-billion-dollar industry in Alabama last year—that most of the opportunities for economic growth, new and expanded industries and creation of new jobs in agriculture are to be found beyond the farm.

Among the many implications is that of agricultural research being conducted at institutions such as Auburn University. This must be channeled along lines that will be of direct interest to businessmen, manufacturers, local dealers, and others who are looking for new opportunities in industry.

Agricultural research and teaching in the School of Agriculture and Agricultural Experiment Station at Auburn, including substations and fields over the State, are centered in agricultural economics, agricultural engineering, animal science, forestry, agronomy and soils, zoology and entomology, botany and plant pathology, poultry science, dairy science, publications, horticulture, animal disease research, and home economics research.

Economic studies in agriculture being made at Auburn and in cooperation with other States point to the vastly increased demand for farm production and agricultural industries in the Southeast during the last third of this century as the Nation's population moves toward 400 and 500 million.

In several principal areas fruit and vegetable processing will be depended upon more and fresh market sales relatively less. One such area will include southwestern and southeastern Alabama.

Central Alabama, south of Birmingham, will move more toward livestock on larger farms and ranches. Birmingham and northward will continue as the big population area. Sand Mountain counties will engage in intensive output of fresh market fruits, vegetables, poultry, and eggs for heavily populated areas and other States. The Tennessee Valley will fit into more of a Midwest type of agriculture—field crops, livestock, feedlots, slaughter livestock, and dairying.

Major growth areas for agricultural-related industries will center around Dothan, Mobile, Montgomery, Phenix City-Columbus, Birmingham, Decatur, Anniston, Gadsden, Huntsville, and Tri-Cities.

Auburn's main experiment station, with its network of substations and experiment fields strategically located in major soil and farming areas, will continue to be the major source of information for agricultural-related industries looking for plant sites.

Engineering research is so essential to all agriculture—in production, processing, transportation, storage, distribution, and marketing, that every other research area as well as farmers and industries depend on agricultural engineering research directly or indirectly to carry on more complicated activities.

For manufacturing industries, local equipment dealers, fuel, repairs and other allied engineering services, farm machinery sales and maintenance make up one of the Nation's high dollar investments and economic multipliers.

In Alabama, farmers annually purchase more than 4,000 new tractors—at an average of about $5,000—and a similar amount for attachments, plows, planters, harrows, cultivators, harvesters, sprayers and other equipment.

Mechanical harvesting of peanuts provides one of the best examples of changing from hand labor to complete mechanization. Mechanical harvesting, curing, picking and storage is now done with a fraction of the labor formerly required.

In cooperation with poultry science, the engineering department has operated a controlled environmental physiology laboratory. Capacity of this operation will be doubled this year. Cooperative relations are maintained with National Tillage Machinery Laboratory, USDA, Auburn.

More farmers today probably are conscious of and interested in soil testing and application of needed plant nutrients based on test results than any one improved farming practice. Soil testing thus becomes the basis of approved fertilizer grades, manufacture, sales and application.

Much of the success of the rapidly expanding livestock industry in the Southeast stems from research which produces more efficient forage crops. Great progress has been made. In joint effort, agronomy, entomology and botany at Auburn have bred a vetch variety that meets demanding requirements. Now in seed multiplication stage, it should undergo extensive field grazing tests by next year.

Research is underway for a high-yielding, economical, permanent summer-growing legume for grazing and hay to help cattlemen over low-priced years. Auburn has come up with a very promising variety of sericea to meet this need.

A large number of crops are coming under research for industrial uses. One variety of sorghum adapted to central and south Alabama offers real potential for sugar production. From 1 to 2 tons of sugar per acre has been produced and could exceed Louisiana sugarcane yield. Processing would require a sizable sugar mill and 1,000 or more acres of production.

A rapidly expanding population plus increasing per capita consumption of meats and other animal products makes the production of more hogs, beef cattle, and other meat animals one of the State's more attractive opportunities. Providing production supplies and facilities for processing and marketing the needed increase opens new doors for industry.

Auburn research is designed to speed profitable expansion of the animal industry in major ways. Intensive testing is underway in cooperation with purebred breeders and commercial growers for breeding higher performing and more profitable animals. Notable progress has resulted in more rapid weight gains and higher quality cuts of pork and beef.

A rising rate of cottage cheese consumption in Alabama offers dairymen, milk processors, distributors, and food stores their one best opportunity to increase sales. Production of creamed cottage cheese in the State rose 150 percent between 1955 and 1960.

Auburn University food service tripled consumption of this product in 3 years without promotion or advertising, but through work in nutrition and a uniformly good product.

From 3½ million commercial broilers grown in 1944, Alabama poultrymen in early 1965 were producing at a rate of almost 300 million birds a year. Only two States—Georgia and Arkansas—report greater volume.

In egg production, Alabama poultrymen have come from a deficit position a decade ago to a surplus status, supply large consuming centers several States away.

Such rapid and continued development in poultry came as research programs gave guidance in breeding, feeding, housing, processing, and marketing.

One of today's most widely used and effective boll weevil killing chemicals existed only in one small laboratory sample in 1947. It was field tested under exacting conditions on an Alabama farm with Auburn and the manufacturer cooperating.

Zoology research also provides basic information in fish culturer, wildlife, aquatic weed control, water pollution, recreation, and multiple land use that ties one or more of these activities to forestry.

Research in horticulture, through the years, has aimed at assisting both farmers and industry in Alabama to develop all phases of fruit and vegetable growth and marketing.

During World War II emphasis was placed on concentrated foods of high quality and nutritional value that could be stored. One major product, born at Auburn, was a sweet potato puree that could be held in storage over long periods for use in a variety of ways. This product, which has an even greater potential, is now being produced by industry.

A new refrigerated peach product that is different from either canned or frozen peaches can be held in storage at 32–34° F. This process is designed to retain the high qualities of fresh, prime-ripe peaches for long periods in packaged, ready-to-serve form.

This and other similar research now underway offers industry a barely tapped field in Alabama.

With the most rapid growth rate going on in Alabama forest production, wood processing and utilization of any industry, the entire field of forestry research assumes major importance.

A new industry—plywood from southern pine—is just taking hold. One plant of major size is at construction stage and four others under planning. For the time, at least, this is a "wide open" field.

Careful projections indicate that the $500 million annual vale of the total timber industry in Alabama will be doubled by 1975.

To meet this growing challenge, Auburn's Forestry Department research is engaged in comprehensive work. Unique is a process employing interlocking finger end joints. Successful, economical glue mixtures have been made that provide needed strength and moisture resistance. This technique results in joints that are stronger than the wood itself.

Following this method, experimental chairs and other furniture of attractive modern design were made by fastening two and three wooden members such as required in chair design, by end jointing with glue to produce joints that are simpler, stronger, and more durable than dowel-type construction.

This presents a prime opportunity for imaginative industry.

Clearinghouse for the story of Alabama agriculture and its major progress and future is the experiment station's department of publications, funnel for tens of thousands of bulletins, leaflets, progress reports, and special publications, including research-reporting quarterly.

This is where Auburn's vital research on the agricultural front moves to the daily and weekly newspapers, farmers and agricultural leaders.

This is also where interested industry may make its initial contact for information about exactly how Alabama offers an almost limitless field-tested research from which successful business may grow.

Last Straw, Says Farmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, I have just received a letter from a warm personal friend with whom I attended college, and who is now farming near Davis, Calif. With the letter he enclosed a copy of the Sacramento Union, dated September 23 with an article entitled "Last Straw, Says Farmer."

Since this letter and the article vividly illustrates some of the difficulties of many of the farmers in California, I am sure it will be of interest to readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The letter and the news article follow:

DEAR ARTHUR: At your level you're probably swamped with clips from constituents and besides you probably take all these valley papers.

In Dixon the other day a farmer friend told me he'd taken 25 Negroes to pick tomatoes. They ruined the vines and filled the bottom of the boxes with greens. When he told them the cannery would reject the lot they said, "That's your problem, mister." When he insisted, they said, "Listen, buster, last year you had dummies. We're smart."

He had to fire the lot, but now he's up all night for fear they'll sneak in and burn his buildings. Do you hear the knell for the landlord?

LAST STRAW, SAYS FARMER

(By Donn Selhorn)

A busload of Oklahoma farm laborers "with a thirst for liquor and hell raising" arrived in Sacramento recently. They worked at Rudy Volz' tomato farm. When they weren't picking tomatoes they "passed the time by hurling a man through a closed window, burning Voltz' haystacks, and dodging sheriff's deputies."

The crew of 35 workers were part of Secretary of Labor W. Williard Wirtz' domestic labor force, intended to replace the Mexican braceros on American farms.

Volz, who grows 277 acres on Twin Cities Road, said the Oklahomans were literally "forced on him" by Wirtz.

ULTIMATUM

"He told us farmers that unless we imported laborers from outside the State, we'd never get any braceros," Volz said.

Volz kept his end of the bargain, but the domestics didn't pan out, he said. He got rid of them. Wirtz relented and Volz was allotted 30 braceros, who began work Tuesday.

Oklahomans aren't the only farmworkers that ire local agrarians. Imports from Louisiana, Texas, and South Dakota have done little to popularize Wirtz' program. Main complaint from the farmers: the workers are bussed to California and most of them scatter. They just walk off the fields after a day or two.

TEN OUT OF THIRTY-FIVE

Of the 35 laborers who arrived at the Volz farm from Tulsa, only 10 were on the job 2 weeks later.

The men were hired in Oklahoma by John Perez, manager of the United Farm Labor Association which supplies laborers to 22 growers in Sacramento, Yolo, and San Joaquin Counties.

Perez said the men started to raise a ruckus before they even got out of Tulsa. At a dinner stop, some of the men got drunk and three were jailed. The bus took off without them.

COST $56 PER MAN

It cost Volz $56 per laborer to bring them to Sacramento. He was to deduct the expense from their earnings, and then return the $56 to each worker after they completed 1 month's labor.

When the men signed up, they agreed to be paid at the end of every 2 weeks. Later, the men revolted against this clause in their contract, Volz said.

At the end of the first week, Volz said they told him they wouldn't pick another tomato unless they were advanced $10 each. Volz said he had supplied them with room, board, and offered clothes, soap, etc., but no

liquor. The men wanted the $10 to go into town.

MEN GOT DRUNK

Volz said he gave them the money. That night the men returned and many were drunk, he said. An argument in the bunkhouse resulted in one laborer being flung through a window. The sheriff's office was called, but the two men involved in the fight had packed their belongings and vanished, Volz declared.

The next morning, only half of the crew reported for work. The others were in bed with hangovers, Volz stated.

The next night, the men walked to Hood and bought wine, he said. Another fight in the bunkhouse. Again, sheriff deputies were called. The nightly bunkhouse brawls caused a few men to quit. They said they couldn't sleep.

WARNING

After sweeping out scores of wine bottles from the bunkhouse, Volz said the men were warned, "No more booze. Get drunk and you're fired."

Two days passed and a tomato picker got drunk. Volz said he pulled a knife on a fellow worker and was sentenced to 15 days in jail.

On September 15, the men got their first paycheck. They also got drunk, Volz declared. That night three fires broke out on Volz' farm. The fires were scattered, but all occurred within minutes. The damage was limited to bales of hay, about $1,000 worth, Volz said. Sheriff deputies are investigating the possibility of arson.

"No doubt in my mind it's arson," Volz said. "As soon as we got one fire out, another popped up."

THREAT OF ARSON

Perez said one of the workers, sulking over the restriction on liquor, had threatened to set his house afire.

The fires were the last straw for Volz. He complained to the department of employment. The Oklahomans were shifted to other farms.

"You know," Perez said, "those guys were actually good workers—when they were sober."

The Watts riots in August put another crimp in the tomato harvest. Perez noted that 4,000 workers from Watts were slated to migrate to northern California farms. The riots changed that; Watts workers refused to leave their homes.

ALLOTMENT OF 387

Perez said that members of the United Farm Labor Association have been allotted 387 braceros this year, compared to 900 in 1964.

The farmers aren't the only ones suffering with domestic labor. Canners in the Sacramento area put up $750,000 to help farmers hire out-of-State laborers, Perez said.

"The scum of the earth," said Volz. "Wirtz has forced us to hire the scum of the earth."

Constitutional Government Will Survive Johnson Era

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest concerns of our Nation today is that Congress is giving in to the President on too many issues and that we are compiling too many excesses in legislation and spending. Certainly, I agree.

However, the Knoxville Journal on its Monday, September 27, editorial page expresses great confidence that our constitutional Government will survive. I would like to share this encouraging article with my colleagues by placing it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT WILL SURVIVE JOHNSON ERA

It certainly cannot be claimed as an original discovery that there are millions of Americans, even among many who helped elect President Johnson to office, who, if not disturbed, at least have misgivings about what seems to be a trend toward dictatorship in this country since his election last November.

As this 1st session of the 89th Congress nears its close, the record of legislation proposed by the White House and enacted into law by the Congress makes clear that no President in our history has so completely and continuously dominated the action of the legislative branch of the Government.

If one were to select an incident during this period to be used as typical of the relationship between the White House and the Congress, he would go back to the joint session of that body which the President addressed on March 15, this year.

A TYPICAL RELATIONSHIP

This was the session attended not only by both Houses of Congress, but also members of the Supreme Court and the President's Cabinet. The subject of the President's address was passage of a voting rights law and it will be remembered by some that the President advised Congress at that time that an outline of the law to be passed was already in his possession. Both his words and the tone in which they were delivered left no doubt in the mind of any hearer that this was the master not requesting, but ordering, his faithful vassals to do his bidding. Further, he did not intend for Congress to take all year doing what it was told.

We select this incident, as we said above, because it has been typical of the relationship between the White House and the legislative branch at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue throughout this session.

COMPLETE DOMINATION

Congress, at the President's behest, has racked up a record of social, economic, and other legislation that makes the first 100 days of the late F.D.R. appear by comparison to be a kindergarten session of our national legislative body. Mr. Johnson was successful in getting more of his proposed legislation through in less than 9 months than the late President Kennedy could wangle through Congress in 3 years. Johnson may, in fact, as some of the Kennedy cult charges, be short on "style"; he may lack the "charm" which F.D.R.'s devotees talked so much about; but when it comes to getting new laws on the books, President Johnson has had no peer in American history.

How he achieved this position of complete domination of the Congress need not be reviewed here at this time, save to say that the Goldwater debacle provided him with a majority in both Houses of Congress so large that he had votes to spare even when there was some rumbling of discontent among his own partisans.

SOME CONSOLATION

The thing that disturbs many Americans is the question as to whether or not the political events which have made Johnson a virtual dictator have, in fact, permanently altered the character of our Government as envisioned by the Founding Fathers and have destroyed the constitutionalism which has been the toast of this country for almost 200 years.

We believe that the answer is no, though we will confess that we are comforted by the existence of the 22d amendment to the Constitution which became effective on February 26, 1951. This was the one which restricted the tenure of any citizen to two full terms as President of the United States.

Even had this amendment not been adopted, however, so great is our confidence in the fundamental strength of our constitutional system that we are not too greatly concerned about the obliteration of our constitutional processes in the years ahead, or the seizure of complete power by a strong man to serve as dictator in name as well as in fact.

INTRUSIONS OF SOCIALISM

The tides of political change and the moods of the country have historically had a way of keeping the pendulum of power moving within the limitations of the Constitution. We are confident that these same forces will again be operative in the years to come.

It is true and may well be recognized by any student of our governmental system that future changes of leadership at the Federal level or future shifts of power will not roll back, for example, the intrusions of socialism or the adoption of certain features of the welfare state. These, once on the statue books, become permanent facts of life, if for no other reason because Socialist programs take the form of irrevocable contracts between the citizen and the Federal Government.

OUR CONVICTIONS

What all this adds up to is an expression of confidence that, despite the concern many of us have felt about the abdication by the majority in Congress of its constitutional role as a branch of the Government coequal with the executive, we do not believe that the country is going to hell in a basket. Nor do we believe that the constitutional fabric of our Government has been stretched to a point which will not permit correction of the excesses—spending is one example—of the Johnson administration.

These are our convictions even though Mr. Johnson has come nearer to attaining the status of a dictator than any President in our history.

Home Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, it is marvelous to see the ingenuity with which the opponents of home rule for the District of Columbia resort to diversionary tactics, complex applications of the red herring principle, arguments that have nothing to do with the merits of the case, criticisms of compromise by people who originally criticized what was compromised away, and so forth, ad infinitum.

One of the most remarkable of the diversionary proposals made, which has actually been reported out by the House District Committee, is that the bulk of the District should be ceded back to Maryland. A commentary broadcast early this month by station WTOP's soft-selling feature reporter, Steve Geer, puts this proposal in its proper perspective. I commend it to my colleagues for their attention and their amusement:

HOME RULE

Washington, D.C., may soon become known as, "the city nobody wants."

The House District Committee, as you know, has turned out a bill calling for retrocession of a large portion of the District to the State of Maryland.

Since the beginning of recorded time, man has proved to be an acquisitive being—especially when it comes to land.

But here we have a case of human nature being reversed—officials of the State of Maryland, instead of jumping for joy, as you might expect, over the possible acquisition of some very valuable territory on the banks of the Potomac—are turning up their noses at the very idea.

Congressman JOEL BROYHILL, of Virginia, who first introduced the concept, does not seem to be terribly hurt at this rejection. I thought perhaps, feeling snubbed, he might announce: "Well—all right—if you don't want it—we folks in Virginia will be glad to have it."

But no—the Congressman shows no indication of making such an offer.

It would seem only fair, however, that Virginia should be offered the chance—and then, if she refuses, any of the other States in the Union should be allowed to put in their bids.

In the event that none responds—then perhaps the District Committee might look farther afield—wars of territorial acquisition are being fought right now—perhaps the chance to acquire some free real estate here would lead some warring nation to lay down its arms.

If that fails—as well it might, judging from the reaction of Maryland—then perhaps a lottery could be organized, and the purchaser of the winning ticket would find himself the proud owner of about half-a-million people, and some very fine homes, schools, churches, business enterprises, and so forth.

That lucky man, of course, would then be faced with the problem of organizing some kind of government for the area—and we might be back where we started.

Another possible solution would be to run a want-ad in the newspapers around the Nation—reading:

"Available—most of a city of hundreds of thousands of people, good climate, but rather warm in the summer, central east-coast location, fascinating history, reasonable. Inquiries should be directed to the House District Committee, Washington, D.C."

Now—I wouldn't answer that ad, but you can't tell, they might get two or three responses.

Pickle Growers Rap Bracero Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. HARVEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the Labor Department would have us believe that all is well in Michigan as far as farm labor is concerned and if there is any trouble, it is the fault of the farmer or the grower. The article set forth below, written by Mr. John L. Dotson, Jr., and which appeared in the Monday, September 27, 1965, issue of the Detroit Free-Press, makes clear the plight of Michigan pickle farmers, "disillusioned, discouraged, disgusted." The sad part of it is that next year farmers will refuse to grow pickles, prices will go up, and the consumer will foot the bill.

The article follows:

PICKLE GROWERS ADD UP LOSSES, RAP BRACERO BAN

(By John L. Dotson, Jr.)

It takes just three words to describe Michigan's pickle farmers:

Disillusioned. Discouraged. Disgusted.

They had thought the Federal Government would relent this year and allow Mexican braceros into Michigan for the cucumber harvest, as they had for nearly a decade.

But the bracero ban held.

The farmers cut back their plantings and put American laborers in the fields. But American backs were not as strong and cucumbers began turning into pumpkins before they could be picked.

Now, they're tallying their earnings from the year's harvest. And they're hurting.

"It was a good pickle crop this year up here. Worth $200 an acre to any farmer who could get them picked," said Victor Lutz, a Turner farmer. "But we're averaging only $75 an acre."

John Swartz, who owns a farm up the road from Lutz, put it another way: "Last year, which wasn't too good, I earned $2,050 off 20 acres. This year, I planted 42 acres and I won't even make that much."

Some less fortunate farmers in the Arenac County mucklands on Saginaw Bay are getting less than $50 an acre. Hardly worth the effort.

A few, who saw the handwriting early, "disked up" their cucumber fields in midseason, rather than watch them rot on the vines.

It was much the same story throughout the central Michigan pickle belt, said a spokesman for the Michigan Farm Bureau, a cooperative representing 65,000 farm families.

The cucumbers grew too big to make good pickles.

The bureau is compiling a report which is expected to show a 10,000-acre reduction in cucumber planting (last year's total was 28,000 acres) and a $2 million loss to Michigan farmers. Quite a blow to a $7 million crop.

The U.S. Department of Labor, which sought to replace braceros with domestic laborers, also is assessing the harvest. It will present a white paper on the problem next month.

At least one Michigan Congressman and a State senator are calling for public hearings to get the growers' stories first hand.

Labor Department officials have contended that there are more than enough laborers in this country for the pickle harvest. Last year, 13,000 Mexican nationals picked almost all of Michigan's cucumbers.

The State's growers argue the Americans just aren't willing or able to do the kind of labor that demands bending over in the hot sun all day long.

This first season proved it, they say.

Except for Latin-born U.S. citizens from Texas, the growers could count on their fingers and toes the number of others they'd ask to return next year.

"Kids," grunted Clayton Algueseva, owner of a small pickle company in Pinconning, just north of Bay City. "They trampled through the fields like a herd of elephants. They wouldn't pick. And they'd cuss you if you told them about it."

Algueseva, who sells most of his pickles to large processing companies, had to throw away thousands of oversized pickles. Smaller cucumbers are best for pickling and bring more money.

Lutz, Swartz and others in Turner are fed up, too, with young pickle pickers.

"They'd have pickle fights," Lutz said. "They'd hide under the big tote boxes to keep from working. They'd kick in the sides of their pails so they could fill them faster and make more money. They even raided a farmer's cowherd and rode the cows into the road."

He pulled records to show that during the season, some of the young crews picked an average of only 20 cents worth of pickles an hour for the company. Yet, they got the regular pay of 95 cents to $1.95 an hour.

For the last 2 weeks, Lutz has been watching cucumbers balloon on his yet-productive vines. He is without pickers.

"It's going to cost the 10 farmers in this area $25,000 to $30,000 this year, just because of the lack of help," Lutz said.

Algueseva, a former migrant worker who first hoboed his way from Texas to Michigan on a freight train in 1925, finds himself in a financial bind at the end of this season. He used to bring in 200 braceros to pick 500 to 600 acres each year.

This year, he had to guarantee farmers $75 an acre to grow pickles and, with that, contracted for only 145 acres. They wouldn't grow pickles if Algueseva couldn't guarantee pickers. He recruited 100 Texans for the job, but ended up with only 60.

"I've got a $700 grocery bill now for those who skipped and I lost another several hundred dollars in advances and car bills to people who never even showed up," he said.

"I won't make a red copper penny this year."

Losses like that will mean a great deal to small farming communities like Pinconning and Turner. Algueseva said he alone had a payroll last year of $35,000 to $40,000 a week. This year, it was only $10,000.

"Mr. Wirtz (Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz) assured us we'd have sufficient labor and he said we wouldn't suffer financially," Algueseva said. "Mr. Wirtz sure pulled a boo-boo."

Even the large pickle companies suffered hardships without their traditional Mexican help, but the hurt may not be felt as badly. They're still compiling reports and won't know the results until the end of next month.

The big firms are resigned to the loss of braceros and are hopeful of building Texas crews that can be called back each year.

"Ninety-seven percent of my help never even saw a pickle before they got here," said Russell Horn, long-time field manager for Aunt Jane's Foods, in New Lothrop. "They did a good job for us and we'd keep them even if we could get braceros next year."

He said his growers also were satisfied with the income from pickles.

But Aunt Jane's production was way down this year. It anticipated early that there would be no braceros coming into the country and, accordingly, reduced its pickle acreage by about 60 percent. Filling the labor commitment was made that much easier.

Consequently, Aunt Jane's is going to have to buy about half of its pickles from out of State (as compared with 10 percent in other years).

"We sent our Texans home happy, too," said Herb Turner, field manager for the Dailey Pickle Co., of Saginaw. "And we hope they and another 100 or 150 will be back next year."

But a hopeful gleam comes into Turner's eye when he talks about the braceros: "I can't count on them any more, but I sure would like to have them back. Nobody works like a bracero."

Dailey, which ran a special program to train local boys in the pickle fields, had more success than most others. By the end of the picking season, the firm had a crew of about 50 steady young workers.

Dailey still had difficulty meeting the harvest needs and ordered 200 acres of pickles plowed under in midseason because no pickers were available.

Though the majority of out-of-Staters (other than Texans) left early in the season,

those few who put up with the backbreaking work for the full 6 weeks will be taking back good financial reports.

"I found the gravy train up here," said Leroy Collins, 38, who bused up 27 workers from Fort Lauderdale, Fla. "I made more money in pickles than anything else. I'm never going to pick another cherry."

Labor Department officials admit that the domestic program didn't pan out this year as had been hoped. They contend that part of the blame belongs to the farmer and grower associations.

"We recruited enough labor, but it wasn't the type farmers wanted," said one official. "The bracero was an unusually good worker and set high standards. And he took a lot of browbeating that our domestic workers just won't stand for."

"They'll be talking about how good the Mexicans were for the next 10 years. But under the laws of our land, we can't allow foreigners to compete with domestics when there are some to be employed."

Though they're still hoping and fighting for the return of braceros, the large pickle companies are planning ways to keep the bulk of the pickle industry in Michigan.

"We're taking a constructive viewpoint," said William R. Moore, secretary-treasurer of Pickle Packers International, Inc., the association of pickle companies.

"Instead of sitting around gnashing our teeth, we'll be meeting with growers to discuss how to better utilize the labor we can get. We intend to try to work out better recruiting methods now that the sources of labor have been established," Moore said.

The Labor Department also is preparing a program to show growers what they can do to improve their chances of keeping workers once they get them.

Moore said efforts are being speeded to develop a new variety of pickle seed that will produce a great many more pickles at one time. Mechanical harvesters then may be employed to replace—or at least reduce—the hand labor.

"Our main concern is to convince Michigan farmers to plant pickles next year," Moore said. "Right now, there are enough unhappy farmers to create somewhat of a problem. We hope there will be others to take the place of those who refuse."

The job of convincing may be a bigger one than anyone expects. Land is land and another crop may be more productive than pickles, especially one that has a better chance of being picked.

The thought is already set in farmer Lutz' mind:

"I guess if we don't get braceros back next year, we'll quit pickles and try something else."

Sugar Policy Needs Revision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial dated September 27, from the Barron's Financial Weekly:

THE TIME IS RIPE FOR THE UNITED STATES TO REVISE ITS SUGAR POLICY

The truth is that of late the dozens of fields of knowledge cultivated by his Department have yielded up precious little to enrich anyone, except, to be sure, a favored few. More often than not, as a matter of fact, Agriculture's experts in the past 5 years have cost the Nation dear. A striking case in point is sugar, where Washington's faulty grasp of the global market launched the industry on an expansion from which it has yet fully to recover. Woefully out of tune with supply and demand, moreover, Mr. Freeman's hired hands also have struck many a sour note technically, vigorously encouraging ventures on soils where hopes are raised more easily than crops. In the process, corporations and investors alike have taken their lumps.

Congress is busily working to repair the damage. By all accounts, the new legislation promises relief to the processors, cane and beet alike. Yet even in the act of compensating for bureaucratic folly, the lawmakers are sowing the seeds of future mischief. For the real trouble is simply the power of Government, undisturbed under the new measure, to tell producers how much they may sell in the United States. Quotas may do their job; but largely at the expense of the consumer who pays more than necessary for the sweet. Undeniably, moreover, they have several undesirable byproducts, not the least of which are questionable political practice at home and disgruntled friends abroad. Before rushing to put its rubberstamp on the latest revision of the sugar act, Congress might ponder that those who refuse to learn from the past are doomed to repeat their mistakes.

Sugar, of course, long has been a hothouse industry. Over half a century ago, for instance, the redoubtable Mr. Dooley spoke of "Govern'mint iv th' Beet, by th' Beet an' f'r th' Beet." In its present form, however, Federal control dates back to the depressed thirties, when the Secretary of Agriculture was authorized to estimate probable U.S. consumption each year and slice up the pie among favored domestic and foreign suppliers. Until 1960 this was more or less routine, since Cuba traditionally snared something over a third of the total. However, with the coming of Castro, Havana gained a Communist regime and lost access to the American sugar bowl. In 1962, Congress amended the act, more richly endowing established sources and admitting a selected number of brandnew members to the club.

Just, it seemed, in the nick of time. For true to Communist tradition, Cuban sugar output under Castro fell precipitously in 1962, from 6 million tons to 3.8 million. To make matters worse, western Europe that year was hit by extremely harsh weather which ravaged its beet crop. Suddenly, the perennial global glut in the sweet melted away; in its place, sprang up the novel threat of scarcity. Big users hastened to lay in an ample supply, just in case. On the global market, prices spiralled upward to a 40-year high. No speculative boom lasts forever and, in due course, this one collapsed with a bang. The impact was felt last year by, among others, that canny old sugar hand Julio Lobo and, of course, the Department of Agriculture, both long on the sweet.

The Lobo interests are paying for their mistakes in the cold confines of chapter 11. The burden of Washington's errors, by contrast, has been borne not only by taxpayers and consumers but also by private investors. Its eagerness to raise cane, to illustrate, touched off a Florida land rush in the Lake Okeechobee area, near the Everglades. Land values quintupled in no time at all; unfortunately some of the newly bought acreage was ill-suited for growing sugar. So discovered Talisman Sugar Co., which, as it happens, has led anything but a charmed life. The brainchild of a trio of Cuban operators, Talisman attracted such prominent sponsors as a leading farm equipment concern, a couple of New York banks and a motor mogul; in the aggregate, they sank a cool $14 million into the necessary facilities. Alas, the venture turned sour with the first touch of frost. Now struggling to emerge from receivership, Talisman points up clearly the risks of doing business with the Government. Thus Lukens Steel, which took a flyer and dropped $2 million in the process, explained to its shareholders that what hurt Talisman, as much as anything, was that "the Government through the U.S. Department of Agriculture, changed its rules abruptly, reapplied restrictions on planned acreages and sugar marketing in 1964, and for 1965 insisted on cutting back by 18 percent the plantings permitted in 1964."

Investors in Talisman got a raw deal from Uncle Sam in other ways, too: Secretary Freeman's experts should have turned thumbs down on the original allotment request for technical reasons. Seemingly, though, whatever their special talents, telling good sugar land from bad isn't one of them. This is true, moreover, in Maine as in Florida. Among the designated new sources of supply was a group of potato growers in Aroostook, who no sooner got the go-ahead than they turned to Great Western, the Nation's top beet producer. They offered a very sweet bargain: for a $600,000 investment, the company could get a controlling interest in a $17.5 million plant, amply financed by Federal and State money. After some careful study, though, Great Western bowed out because, in its seasoned view, Aroostook soil and sugar weren't made for each other. Where Great Western feared to tread, Maine's biggest potato wholesaler rushed in. Hopefully, the new management expects to start operations next year, with imported German seed and using German equipment. Whether it succeeds remains to be seen. What is certain is that in granting Maine a slice of the pie, Washington is seeking some rich political returns.

Indeed, in sugar, political considerations swamp all others. The best evidence of this truth, perhaps, are the swarms of lobbyists, representing every interest from New York to the Fiji Islands, that regularly infest the Capitol. Nor is the humiliating ritual of making friendly nations queue up for a slice of the pie ever likely to yield much except resentment. Those entrusted with the power to lift, or to lower, the lid of the Nation's sugar bowl lack both the wisdom and the will to do the job without fear or favor. On virtually every count, then, the Nation pays a high price for its patchwork quota system. The time is ripe for Congress to abandon barren soil and break fresh ground.

Girl Dropouts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, at the present time, there are many people who are apparently worried about giving women equal employment rights. The lack of employment rights and equal pay for women has adversely affected this Nation for generations. I am pleased to insert the following article, "Girl Dropouts," written by Jack Harrison Pollack, which appeared in Parade, the Sunday newspaper magazine:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Sept. 26, 1965]

GIRL DROPOUTS: A NEGLECTED NATIONAL TRAGEDY

(By Jack Harrison Pollack)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—When you hear the word "dropout," you probably picture a de-

linquent teenage boy hanging around a poolroom. Yet each year approximately half the 1 million young Americans who quit high school before graduating are girls. In some areas the proportion is as high as two-thirds. And these hundreds of thousands of young girls make up the most forlorn and forgotten segment of our society.

True, boy dropouts may commit more dramatic crimes. But girl dropouts—though "nicer" and "smarter" as a group—are probably more self-destructive. When girls quit school, they doom themselves. They become jobless, lost, bewildered, defeated, hopeless, rejected, drifting outsiders of society—"fugitives from failure." Dr. Samuel Schreiber, director of the National Education Association's pioneering school dropout project, calls them. Some plunge into senseless sex or run off to a hasty marriage. Others enter a harsh world that has no place for them. Nearly 9 out of 10 report afterward they regret quitting.

"WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE"

Both the girls and the Nation are the losers. Girl dropouts are a welfare problem, an employment problem and a moral problem. They cost the taxpayers millions. Yet few people seem to care. Although one in three workers in the labor market today is a woman, American culture clings to the notion that education is less important for girls than for boys. "What's the difference if girls quit school?" goes the refrain. "They won't have to earn a living. They're just going to get married." Even if this is so, the attitude is short-sighted, since as mothers the girls will be responsible for the education of their families.

Yet virtually all efforts to assist dropouts concentrate on boys. Investigations by educators, Selective Service, the Department of Labor and State employment services all either ignore or underplay the girl dropout problem.

In fact, a 6-year study of New York State schools by Dr. James Moore, of the State education department's Bureau of Guidance, found that in the case of about half the girl dropouts, no effort whatever had been made to keep them in school. By contrast, two-thirds of boy dropouts had "exit interviews" with school counselors, teachers or principals before quitting.

"Female dropouts were less well served than males," Dr. Moore reported. "Furthermore a greater percentage of males than females were granted program adjustments and more contacts were attempted with their parents."

"This has been one of our biggest educational lags," says U.S. Office of Education Guidance Specialist Leonard M. Miller.

Ironically, there is strong evidence that girl dropouts have better school records than boys. "Nearly all the local and regional reports coming across my desk," says the NEA's Dr. Schreiber, "indicate that girls had better disciplinary records, better marks, and even higher IQ's not only than boy dropouts but many boys who stayed in school."

But what happens to the girls after they quit school is more pathetic and tragic. When President Johnson last month announced a nationwide back-to-school drive to reduce the number of dropouts, he said, "Their employment rate was almost 17 percent—four times that of the entire labor force." What the President did not mention was that nearly twice as many girl as boy dropouts were unemployed.

Girls who have quit school find themselves at the bottom of the employment barrel. They get only the most menial and routine jobs, receive the lowest pay, are the last to be hired and the first to be laid off, and are out of work for longer periods. They can't even get unemployment benefits, because many of them have never been employed.

A California study of dropout girls showed that 46 percent had never worked. Those who did were mostly part-time waitresses and carhops. Even in the industrial city of Bridgeport, Conn., twice as many girl dropouts were unemployed as held jobs, School Superintendent Joseph B. Porter told Parade.

"The overwhelming majority of girl dropouts enter the labor market with no skills whatsoever," says Dr. Schreiber. "They are ill prepared and inadequately educated to enter the adult world. They knock on the doors of employment offices, file applications, are interviewed, but then at least half are turned away. They face the prospect not only of unemployment but also of being unemployable."

A few years ago this wasn't true. A girl could drop out of school and usually drop into a job. But today automation is making a scarcity of unskilled jobs. With machines now doing much of the work formerly done by hand, girls need special skills to operate machines or work in offices.

In an increasingly selective labor market, preference is given to the better qualified. "Why should I gamble on a quitter when there are better risks?" asks a Pennsylvania personnel director. "If this girl didn't finish high school, something must be wrong. Why should I take on her troubles?"

DOROTHY'S PROBLEM

What happens to a girl dropout is typified by the case of Dorothy, who recently visited Katherine Cook, director of guidance for the Arlington, Va., schools. An attracive, intelligent, neat 22-year-old, Dorothy told Miss Cook:

"I quit school in the 10th grade on my 16th birthday even though I had pretty good marks. I didn't get along too well with the other kids, who had their own cliques and cars and things. I thought I was being snubbed. When I talked about it at home, they didn't seem to care. Since I quit, when I've had a job, its been mostly as a waitress, hotel maid or baby sitter. But now I'd like a real steady job, like working for the government. I was told that I need a high school diploma or have to take an equivalency examination. Not having a diploma has been my big problem. I was told I'd be sorry I quit. Well, I am."

Not surprisingly, a vast number of dropouts wind up on relief rolls. In Cook County, Ill., 85 percent of those receiving welfare aid never finished high school. Studies indicate the figure elsewhere runs as high as 90 percent. Dropouts also make up a large percentage of the 250,000 women who bear illegitimate children every year—90,000 of whom are teenagers and 5,000 of whom are under 15. This is partly because many schools follow a rigid policy of automatically expelling girls when they become pregnant and do little to encourage them to return to school after the baby is born. This is especially shortsighted, because the girl may now need education more than ever in order to earn a living for herself and the baby.

Why do most girls quit school?

By far the largest number claim they drop out to marry or because they wish to marry. According to one estimate, about 200,000 girls aged 15 to 17 each year forsake the road to learning for the bridal path.

Sadly, these marriages turn out much less successfully than others. One study shows that dropouts tend to marry dropouts, thus perpetuating the breed. And when they do not marry dropouts the results may be worse. One expert cites the case of Alice who, when Fred finished high school, quit to marry him. For a time they were happy. But Fred, an alert and ambitious young man who realized that he needed more education, enrolled for night courses. Often his college friends gathered at his home. Alice, good wife that she tried to be, quietly filled the coffee cups and listened to them talk about things she did not understand. She felt left out. As the time went on, a gap developed between Alice and her husband. They seemed to have less and less to say to each other. The final result was heartbreak for Alice and divorce.

A second big reason why girls quit school is rebellion against their parents. An intensive Chicago study of intellectually capable dropouts, directed by Dr. Solomon Lichter, found that, "The majority of girls were rebelling and acting out hostilities against problems at home not only in school but in other social areas of their lives. They became aggressive and defiant in the face of any authority. Truancy, one of the ways they expressed their rebellion, was a frequent problem and often came as a complete surprise to their parents."

Many girls, the study said, find their parents rigid, dictatorial, tyrannical and compulsive. They strike back against parental nagging and pushing by making the school the battleground.

A third important reason why girls (as well as boys) drop out is what Dr. Schreiber terms "adverse school experience." This includes failing grades, getting behind and feeling discouraged, dissatisfaction with the school program—especially the lack of desired vocational training—moving from one school to another, rejection by classmates or the school staff and, of course, reading retardation.

TEACHER ATTITUDE

Some teachers give up too easily on the potential dropout. Dr. K. B. Hoyt of Iowa State University, president of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, deplores this attitude as one of "teach the best and shoot the rest."

What is being done to help girl dropouts?

A dramatic effort now is being made by Uncle Sam through the Job Corps, in the Office of Economic Opportunity, an arm of the Johnson administration's war on poverty. It is now operating five residential training centers for about 1,500 girls in Cleveland; Charleston, W. Va.; Los Angeles; Omaha; and St. Petersburg. Officials hope to have 14 centers accommodating 5,000 girls at this year's end and to reach 100,000 next year. The aim is to make these girls useful, responsible citizens.

At the centers girl dropouts receive guidance, academic and vocational training including basic instruction in reading, speech, and mathematics. They are taught business and clerical skills and child and home care.

Dr. Bennetta B. Washington, director of the training centers, a former Washington, D.C., high school principal who was nationally acclaimed for helping hundreds of young people stay in school, told Parade: "These girl dropouts do not know who they are, what they can be or what they want to be. They are afraid, but they do not know of what. They are angry, but they do not know at whom. They are rejected and they do not know why. All they want is to be somebody."

The Neighborhood Youth Corps, operated by the Department of Labor, also has begun battling the problem. It trains dropouts in their home areas and helps them find jobs where they work 30 hours a week at $1.25 an hour while attending school at night. The Corps also enables potential dropouts to work part time while attending school. Jobs include nurses aids, assistant librarians, hospital helpers, teachers' aids, park workers, and playground attendants.

Alert schools also are launching work-study programs, or stepping up those that already exist. New York State now has a lively School To Employment Program (STEP) where potential dropout students attend school in the morning and work in the afternoon. Orange County, Calif., has a unique summer school program for dropouts with ungraded classes in reading, English, math, and other subjects. Other school systems, including Toledo; Seattle; Philadelphia; Portland, Oreg.; Washington, D.C.; and

San Francisco have their programs to help unwed mothers continue their educations and receive child care and family living instruction.

Recalling how successful women were in traditionally male jobs during World War II, Dr. Schreiber suggests opening industrial arts shop classes to girls in junior high. "Most work experience programs have been initiated and developed specifically for boys," he points out. "It is disappointing to find hardly any developed particularly for girls."

Indeed, infinitely more needs to be done by parents, schools, employers, unions, civic, trade, and religious organizations, if the tragedy of America's girl dropouts is to be averted. We must try harder to break this vicious cycle of human waste where the girl dropout becomes the frustrated woman—and the next generation pays the price.

And we must overcome the attitude that education of girls is unimportant. For, as Mrs. Lyndon Johnson has said, "When you teach a man, you teach an individual. But when you teach a woman, you teach a family."

Outsiders in Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PRENTISS WALKER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. WALKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, in observing the activities of the so-called civil rights groups in the South over the past several years, I have noticed along with most every responsible resident in the South, that these activities generally are not initiated by residents of the South, but by people from outside the South dedicated to the principle of racial unrest.

In the September 9, 1965, issue of the Neshoba Democrat, Philadelphia, Miss., there appeared a copy of a letter from an unsigned author pointing out that while one State representative was in Mississippi causing trouble, he was avoiding important legislative business in his home State.

I particularly call to the attention of my colleagues, the fourth paragraph of the letter which points out that even though this dedicated civil rights worker could travel over 1,000 miles to get arrested in Mississippi, he could not even travel 98 miles from the State capitol to participate in a full-scale race riot in his own home city.

The article follows:

MASSACHUSETTS CITIZEN GIVES HIS OPINION OF ARRESTED LAWMAKER

(NOTE.—The following letter is self-explanatory. It was received by Deputy Sheriff Cecil Price this week, following the arrest, bathing, and jailing of a Massachusetts State representative here last week.)

DEAR SHERIFF PRICE: This letter will not be signed as I am a Massachusetts State employee and it could cost me my job. I know you will understand why I am not signing it for that reason.

The enclosed copy of a Boston newspaper deals with the arrest of one State Representative Vignault who was in your community this past week.

Let me tell you about him. He is a first-class nut. He has a station wagon that he parks in the lot at the rear of the statehouse in Boston and he sleeps in it right there in the lot.

During the time he was in your community, the Massachusetts Legislature had several important tax matters before it. These were in regard to imposing new taxes and this is a rather important subject to all the working people of this State and yet this representative, who was elected and paid by the people of this State to attend to their business, found time to travel 1,000 miles away to stick his nose into something that was no concern of his for if he had wanted to take part in so-called civil rights demonstrations there was one in his own home city of Springfield last Sunday. However, he cutely decided to stay in Boston, 98 miles away, that Sunday and was actually seen inside the statehouse so that he was going to be certain no one could locate him and ask him to participate in that march.

As for the important tax matters in the statehouse, he missed every single rollcall on that question and the people in his district are not too happy about that for they are also aware of his trip down to Philadelphia and also aware that certain agitators in Springfield, Mass., are charging police brutality against members of his own city's police force who were called in to break up a noisy gathering of Negroes near a local nightclub. The people of Springfield, Mass., have a mayor named Ryan and he told the so-called civil rights people off in no uncertain terms and told them there would be law and order despite what they thought.

As for Vignault, his trip to your community will cost him something in the next election for there are already plans to line up an opponent against him and these newspaper articles will not help him get elected in Springfield where the people are not too happy over developments there.

P.S.—Everyone in the statehouse roared out loud when they read his statement "they made me take a shower and I was terrified." Like most of those bearded unwashed creatures, they hate soap and water. Too bad you did not stick the soap where it would have done the most good.

P.S.—His companion, Donovan, is an unemployed schoolteacher. How does that measure up in a State where we have hundreds of schools where any teacher worth his salt could get a job in 5 minutes? Just another unwashed slob who does not want to work but would rather tell everyone else how to tend their affairs.

Boulder Better Place To Live Because of Dwain Miller

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, as this Congress continues to work on the process of trying to make America's outdoors a continually more beautiful thing it is good to be reminded that such legislation must depend upon skilled Americans and artisans to be meaningful and permanent.

In Boulder County, Colo., we are fortunate to have such a person, Mr. Dwain Miller, who last week was presented the Everly Medal of the American Institute of Park Executives, by the First Lady, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson.

By unanimous consent I include at this point the editorial on this event from the Boulder Daily Camera of Thursday, September 23, 1965:

MILLER IS OUTSTANDING IN HIS FIELD

Dwain Miller, hard-working Boulder parks and recreation director, has earned honor for himself and the community. This week at Milwaukee the First Lady of the land, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, presented Mr. Miller the Everly Medal of the American Institute of Park Executives.

The citation reads in part: "Dwain Miller exemplifies the caliber of professional required to meet the challenge of the future. His record at Boulder, Colo., illustrates his adeptness and ability to create the vibrant, meaningful program for parks and recreation. Confronted with staggering problems in consolidating two departments when assuming his present position in 1961, he has welded the two into one cohesive unit and has made giant strides in park development, maintenance, and recreation programs."

To Boulderites this means development of new parks, including Scott Carpenter Park with its fine swimming pool, and improvement of existing facilities, such as the expansion of the north Boulder tennis courts, the excellent improvements at North Boulder Park, revamping and improving the old swimming pool at 21st and Spruce, to name a few.

Boulder's vast 5,000-acre mountain parks system has been an added challenge. Under Mr. Miller's administration new picnic and recreation areas have been developed in the mountains. Flagstaff Mountain Park has been greatly improved, and the new Cathedral Park has been established on the Kossler Lake Road.

Recreation activities have seen excellent expansion and improvement, giving wide opportunities for wholesome, constructive recreation to citizens of all ages but with special emphasis on programs for youth and senior citizens.

One of the most outstanding programs created by Mr. Miller's department is the junior ranger work and recreation force, in which boys are given summer jobs making improvements in parks. Mrs. Johnson had a special word of praise for such programs in her speech at Milwaukee.

The Everly Award was Mr. Miller's second major citation. Earlier he received the Founders' Award from the Southwest Park and Recreation Training Institute. He became president of the institute this year.

His job has been a tough one. In a rapidly growing community, such as Boulder, it is no easy task to keep up with expanding park and recreation needs. But Mr. Miller is, a hard worker and able planner. And he has a knack for getting cooperation, without which he would have made little progress. This knack makes up most of the difference between an effective leader and a mere officeholder.

Boulder is fortunate to have a man of Mr. Miller's caliber in so difficult a job.

House Resolution 560

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, passage of House Resolution 560, which deals with the right of one Western Hemisphere nation to intervene in another hemisphere nation where there is a Commu-

nist threat, has drawn predictable criticism from Latin America—in the press, in government circles and among the people.

The State Department certainly was aware that the resolution would come under fire in Latin America, but it declined to make its feelings known clearly to Members of Congress.

What the State Department may not have anticipated was the steady criticism that the resolution would face in this country. And in this respect, I find myself on the side of some of the most distinguished newspapers in the Nation—the New York Times, the Baltimore Sun, the Christian Science Monitor, the Washington Post, and the Washington Evening Star.

Since many of my colleagues may not have known about the Times editorial because of the New York newspaper strike, I would like to bring it to their attention.

The editorial, which was read over WRC–TV here last Sunday on "The New York Times of the Air," follows:

TURNING THE CLOCK BACK

The House of Representatives has passed a resolution in favor of unilateral intervention in Latin America that can only harm this Nation's diplomatic efforts and provide helpful propaganda for its enemies. It was the worst day's work the House has done in a long time.

The resolution provides that if any country in the Western Hemisphere decides that there is even a threat of subversive domination in any other hemispheric country, then it can "take steps to forestall or combat" it. These steps, according to the resolution, may specifically include "resort to armed force."

There was a time when this declaration would have sounded perfectly normal. That was the period earlier in this century when American Presidents almost routinely dispatched the marines to Caribbean and Central American countries to protect private investments, collect debts, punish bandits, and maintain order. But this country's experience with that hit-or-miss kind of imperialism proved that it created more problems than it solved, no matter how enlightened the objectives—and they weren't always so enlightened.

A generation ago, there began the effort—continued under administrations of both parties—to disengage the United States from these entanglements and to liquidate their bad effects. One of the principal aims of this country's diplomacy in Latin America has been to convert the Monroe Doctrine into a multilateral commitment and to develop hemispheric institutions to cope with military defense and Communist subversion.

The sudden intervention in the Dominican Republic last spring was a serious mistake because among other things, it undid so much of the mutual confidence this country has spent decades trying to establish. The House resolution is not only a gratuitous endorsement of this mistake but it will make it more difficult than ever to correct it. Worst of all, it puts the House on record as approving the immoral and illegal position that this country, whenever it sees fit, is free to violate its treaty obligations to other hemispheric countries—obligations which require prior consultation and provide for joint action. The Congresses of both Colombia and of Peru have already passed resolutions denouncing the House action.

The declaration has no binding effect and is expected to disappear quietly on the Senate side; but the harm has been done, and at considerable expense to the national interest.

Equity Into Bank Holding Company Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, when the House of Representatives voted last week to exclude exemptions under the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956, it brought all banks and companies under one roof, providing equity under the law.

The legislation, H.R. 7371, as amended, now goes to the Senate, where Senator A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, of Virginia, chairman of the powerful Banking and Currency Committee, has announced he will have hearings on the bill early in 1966. Senator ROBERTSON has introduced in the Senate a similar bill to the amendment which was added to the House bill on the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956, which excludes all exemptions, and which has the support of the Federal Reserve Board.

I am confident this legislation will be enacted into law in the 2d session of the 89th Congress, and I plan to vigorously support it. The principle of the Bank Holding Company Act—that banks should not have the ability to bail out their nonbanking interests at the expense of bank depositors—will be upheld with this broadened version of the act.

I enclose an editorial from the Miami Herald of September 25, 1965, which stresses the need for equity in the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956:

[From the Miami Herald, Miami, Fla., Sept. 5, 1965]

BANKED INTO THE SIDE POCKET

Sauce brewed for the goose was ladled also on the gander by a House vote in Washington this week.

Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, was pushing a bill which would compel the Alfred I. du Pont estate of Jacksonville either to get out of the banking business or get rid of its other holdings such as the Florida East Coast Railway, the St. Joe Paper Co., and extensive real estate.

Because it is a testamentary trust, the Du Pont estate is exempt from the Federal Bank Holding Company Act. This laws says, in effect, that you can't own banks and nonbanking interests at the same time. Other exemptions apply to labor unions, churches, charitable organizations, and nonbanking companies controlling only one bank.

Opponents of Representative PATMAN'S bill contended it was aimed only at the Du Pont estate, which is run mainly by Ed Ball. They charged that the measure was inspired largely by organized labor because of the FEC strike.

Representative CHARLES BENNETT, of Jacksonville, won approval of an amendment which would abolish all exemptions under the Bank Holding Company Act, as requested repeatedly—in vain—by the Federal Reserve Board. Representative BENNETT said organized labor was against his amendment because it would remove the exemption which lets unions own banks.

The Congressman from Jacksonville said he believed the Du Pont bill alone would die in the Senate. Other observers think his amendment guarantees Senate disapproval or inaction.

Nonetheless, Mr. BENNETT'S amendment injected equity into a bill which otherwise would have been punitive legislation against the Florida Du Pont estate. As passed by the House, the measure deserves favorable consideration by the Senate.

Federal Business and Equal Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following excellent article by David Lawrence from the Washington Evening Star of September 27. Mr. Lawrence warns of the inherent dangers in the procedures to be followed by the administration in forcing all businesses doing business with the Government to conform to Federal standards in their hiring practices.

The article follows:

FEDERAL BUSINESS AND EQUAL RIGHTS

(By David Lawrence)

President Johnson has just approved a plan to put into effect a system whereby each department in the Federal Government is, in effect, to judge for itself how to punish racial discrimination. In the award of Federal contracts, the authority to be vested in the operating departments of the Government in dealing with problems of discrimination is so broad that there are virtually no guidelines except individual discretion.

It would be possible, for instance, to use this power to demand of private businesses and their subcontractors that, before being awarded a Government contract, an "equal rights" doctrine should be applied so as to require employment of 50 percent whites and 50 percent nonwhites.

While the objective in attempting to remove racial discrimination is a worthy one, the method to be used can do more harm than good. To abolish the interdepartmental agencies, as the President plans to do, is a step in the wrong direction. Instead of concentrating responsibility, it tends to diffuse responsibility.

Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY'S memorandum, as approved and issued by the White House, reads in part as follows:

"Every employee responsible for the administration of our vast education programs must recognize that he is also responsible for enforcement of equal opportunity and nondiscrimination.

"Every individual responsible for the administration of our labor programs must recognize that he is also responsible for compliance with our civil rights laws as they affect his programs.

"Every person who contracts on behalf of the Government with private parties must recognize that he is responsible for nondiscrimination in Government contracts.

"Every individual who hires any Federal employee must recognize that he is responsible for equal opportunity for all Americans to serve in the Federal Government.

"In short, I believe the time has now come when operating functions can and should be performed by departments and agencies with clearly defined responsibility for the basic program, and that interagency

committees and other interagency arrangements would now only diffuse responsibility."

Federal officials hitherto have had leeway in awarding contracts when strictly economic or business factors were involved that were related to the kind of service or products the Government could expect for its money. But now for the first time a sociological or political factor has been introduced.

What, for instance, are the "standards," if any, which will be prescribed for the guidance of individual officials in the operating departments, and what happens if they use bad judgment?

The Supreme Court of the United States in an 8-to-1 decision has ruled that Congress cannot delegate broad legislative power to executive agencies or departments or commissions, but that if any delegation is authorized the legislative standards must be spelled out explicitly in the law itself.

In the present instance, who is to determine whether the company that employs a small percentage of nonwhite employees has made a conscientious effort to find qualified workers in that category?

Will the businessman be allowed to go to court to prove his case?

Will he be permitted to have counsel to cross-examine Government officials who accuse him of discrimination?

Will there be, in other words, "due process of law" applied to checkmate any arbitrary action?

All this points up the problem before Congress which at its next session will receive the President's new plan of reorganization.

There is nothing in the Constitution or in Supreme Court rulings which permits any executive department or agency or commission to disregard specifications of a business nature and withhold Government contracts at will for reasons not in any way related to the quality of the good or services to be purchased by the Government.

To do so without specific authorization written into law by Congress means that political favoritism in the award of Government contracts will, in effect, have been sanctioned.

Congress Power on the Decline

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I know that many of my colleagues have been concerned with the decline of the power of Congress and the ascendency of the Chief Executive as well as the Supreme Court. The American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research—a nonprofit educational institution—has completed a study of this situation. The attached editorial from the Champaign-Urbana News-Gazette of Friday, September 24, 1965, is herewith appended and gives in summary the results of that study for the information of all of us in the House:

CONGRESS' POWER ON THE DECLINE

Give a man a specific assignment and practically unlimited resources to accomplish it, and then turn him loose with few restrictions, and he wouldn't be human if he didn't stray from his allotted task into areas of more power and personal satisfaction.

In essence, this is the warning given about the office of the Presidency by the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. The nonprofit educational institution has completed a study of the present role of Congress with the conclusion that the public is creating "a veritable threat of dictatorship" by placing both the office and the person of the President on an exalted pedestal.

Seldom if ever in the history of the Republic has congressional influence in Government been at such a low ebb. While the executive branch has assumed many of the prerogatives once held by Congress, it must also be noted that the third branch of the Federal system, the Supreme Court, has gone far afield from the interpretive role it was expected to play by framers of the Constitution.

As the branch closest to the grassroots of American politics, Congress is the essential ingredient in a representative government. Only two men in the sprawling executive bureaucracy are put in office by the voters, and not that much of the judicial branch.

The task force of U.S. scholars which examined the modern Congress and did not like what it saw has made some recommendations to bring congressional power back into balance, including resident agents of Congress throughout the land to insure that congressional directives are enforced and guarantees of wider congressional access to independent Federal agencies.

Enumerating the traditional prerogatives and direct powers which Congress has lost to the executive and judicial branches in recent years would be almost an endless task, but the powers to declare war and exert independent judgment on the Federal budget are two which have been seriously eroded.

This Congress shows no willingness to begin reversing the course of congressional demise, but perhaps the next one will.

Missouri River Dams Set Records

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, with the emphasis today on the efficient use and conservation of water, I would like to point out some of the great forward strides made along these lines in the Midwestern States.

There are times when our problems in the Midwest have centered around too much rather than too little water in the wrong places. Generally this area has long suffered from a shortage of this most precious resource during the larger portion of each year just at a time when we are in the greatest need of it.

To inform my colleagues of the outstanding success and the dual value of our six dams and hydroelectric plants on the Missouri River which provide for both flood control and water conservation, I would like to introduce this recent article from the Des Moines Register into the RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register, Aug. 30, 1965]

MISSOURI RIVER DAMS SET RECORDS

OMAHA, NEBR.—With the six big upstream dams and hydroelectric plants on the Missouri River in record operation, numerous goals of efficient water use and conservation are now achieved.

Sponsors of rural electrification projects and downstream barge interests carried on a quarrel for several years over water releases from the dams. Barge interests wanted more water for longer navigation seasons. Power interests wanted top priorities for hydroelectric operations.

Today there appears to be enough water for everybody on the river. The best July ever experienced by the Corps of Engineers' main stem reservoir system brought a storage incrase for the month of July of 2,854,000 acre-feet of water.

Maj. Gen. George H. Walker, Missouri River division engineer, said the storage in the six reservoirs now exceeds 57,141,000 acre-feet—enough to place 1.6 feet of water over the entire State of Iowa. This is more than a 2-year average flow of the Missouri River.

Generators at the main stem projects are setting new records. Electrical energy produced during the month totaled 820 million kilowatt-hours, up 15 percent from the previous record of 711 million set in June and up 44 percent since July 1964.

A new daily generation record was set July 22 when 30,193,000 kilowatt-hours were produced. This is approximately the same amount of electricity used in one day in the Los Angeles metropolitan area.

As a result of the large storage gain accumulated so far this year, there is a prospect of complete fill of the system conservation storage within a few years.

Service to navigation this season has been improved by raising releases for navigation to record levels. Prospects are that river navigation from St. Louis, Mo., to Omaha will be continued as late as aproaching winter permits, with deeper weight loads carried on barges.

Barge tonnage of 1,331,752 tons so far this season is about the same as that for 1964 but a new record for the full year may be established.

First of the dams at Fort Peck, Mont. went into operation in 1933. Garrison Dam above Bismarck, N. Dak., was put in operation in 1946; the Oahe Dam, at Pierre, S. Dak., in 1948. Between Pierre and Sioux City, the Fort Randall Dam began operation in 1946, Gavin's Point in 1952, and the Big Bend Dam last April.

Flood-control value of the dams is almost inestimable, Army Engineers declared. Without the use of the dams in operation in 1952, the successful flood-fighting efforts at Council Bluffs and Omaha of that year probably would have failed, Army Engineers reported.

The Dickey-Lincoln Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STANLEY R. TUPPER

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial in regard to the Dickey-Lincoln School hydroelectric power project appeared in the largest newspaper in my district, the Portland Press Herald, on September 25.

I hope Members will take the time to read it:

DICKEY, DESERTED AND DECAPITATED, MAY STILL BE RESTORED TO HEALTH

Mark Twain once wrote, in "Pudd'nhead Wilson's Calendar," that "the reports of my death are greatly exaggerated," and the same

might well be applied to the northern Maine power project succinctly known as Dickey.

Literal acceptance of what happened in the House of Representatives on Wednesday is convincing evidence that Dickey is dead—dead as the fabled dodo—deserted by those that should be its friends, stabbed, beaten, stomped on and mutilated by its enemies, and left, one might say, weltering in its own gore on the floor of the Chamber.

Yet while the obsequies and eulogies are premature, to one versed in the operation of the Capitol Hill system, it may be useful to examine the identity of Dickey's foes, the reasons for their hysterical animosity, and the contradictory nature of the hostile alliance that forced 207 Members of the House, on Wednesday, to single out 1 among 144 items in the biennial public works bill for decapitation.

The brunt of the campaign was carried by the private power lobby, which is determined not to allow a public power project to be built in the U.S. Northeast, if it can be prevented. This is normal and traditional but this time the power lobby was joined by the coal miners union, so we had a situation in which the power industry snuggled into bed with the very labor union whose influence is retaining residual oil quotas which the Central Maine Power Co. and the New England Council—another Dickey foe—charge are an unfair tax against electricity and other consumers in New England.

When this cabal was formed, logic fled out the window, and eventually Dickey was meataxed in the House. But it may be well to keep in mind what Mark Twain once wrote.

In the Best Tradition of Cycling: Made in Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, long before the day that a proposal was made to "Daisy" to ride through life on a "bicycle built for two," the Columbia Manufacturing Co. was building bicycles in Massachusets. Founded in Boston in 1877 by a Civil War officer, the company moved to Westfield in the First Congressional District of Massachusetts 22 years later and has been in operation there ever since.

Today, Columbia, the oldest bicycle manufacturer in the United States, is under the vigorous direction of a group of young men headed by Norman A. Clarke, the president of the company. In a few short years, the dynamism of these men has been transferred to the operations of this company; production is the greatest it has ever been in the almost 100-year history of the company and, in the spirit which today is often the mark of success for our manufacturing concerns, the operations of the longtime bicyclemaker is being diversified to include the manufacture of school furniture.

The story of Columbia Manufacturing Co. is one of which anyone would be proud, but there is even more to it than this. Despite all of their 20th century ideas and their application of modern techniques to the company operations to insure maximum quality, efficiency, and productivity, these able young men have not forsaken the heritage which has come down to them from those early days in Boston. President Clarke expresses it quite matter of factly:

Despite numerous offers of financial assistance and offers to move to other States, as many of our competitors have done, we decided to remain in Westfield and continue as an important factor in the community and the State.

Everyone in Massachusetts and especially myself and the people of the First Congressional District are gratified by this action. Mr. Clarke and all of the people of the Columbia Manufacturing Co. are assets to Westfield and to Massachusetts. I am proud to count them among my constituents and look forward to their continued contributions to the community, the district, and the Commonwealth in the tradition which they have established over the years.

The August 1965, volume of Industry magazine contained an article on this progressive manufacturing organization. I commend it to my colleagues in the House of Representatives as a testimonial to the fact that enterprise and initiative, without the sacrifice of principle or heritage, are very much alive in Massachusetts today:

WESTFIELD FIRM NOW A MAJOR FACTOR IN TWO RAPIDLY GROWING INDUSTRIES—OLDEST U.S. BICYCLE MANUFACTURER ALSO PRODUCES SCHOOL FURNITURE

Columbia Manufacturing Co., Inc., of Westfield, a leading name in bicycle manufacturing since 1877, is diversifying its operations into the promising school furniture field at the same time the bicycle business is booming.

Columbia shipped 50,000 bicycles in June, by far the best month in the company's history, but the management of the Westfield firm continues to give more and more attention to developing and promoting its line of tubular furniture which will account for about 15 percent of Columbia's sales volume this year.

LOGICAL PRODUCT ADDITION

President Norman A. Clarke is enthusiastic about Columbia's growth prospects. "We are in two rapidly growing industries and have become a major factor in both," he said.

Columbia's entry into the school furniture field has resulted in a close relationship between the Westfield company and the C. F. Church Division of American Standard Corp. in Monson. Church, best known for the manufacture of toilet seats, supplies all of the seats, backs, and desk tops for Columbia's tubular furniture.

Productions of school furniture began at Columbia on a small scale in 1953. The new line was a logical product addition, Clarke said, because of Columbia's extensive facilities for making fabricating and plating steel tubing used in manufacturing bicycles.

The furniture is sold through distributors, primarily in the Northeast. New territories are being added gradually in other parts of the Nation.

GROWING INTEREST IN CYCLING

While the bicycle is no longer Columbia's only product, it will always be its main business. Columbia, the oldest manufacturer of bicycles in the United States, is in an excellent position to capture an even greater share of a growing market. The Athletic Institute reports that cycling, with 55 million participants, is the Nation's second leading participant sport.

More leisure time and a variety of factors accounts for the growing interest in cycling. One of the country's most prominent cardiologists, Dr. Paul Dudley White of Boston, is also one of cycling's most avid advocates. He was instrumental in making cycling an important part of the Federal physical fitness program inaugurated during the administration of former President Eisenhower. Dr. White has led many of the industry's promotional events, stressing cycling as a lifesaving exercise for all ages.

Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, with the backing of President Johnson, has proposed Federal aid for the development of cycling paths and other facilities by the States and local communities. He also wants similar facilities in the national parks.

Other industry promotions, such as American Bicycle Month, plus new interest shown in collegiate and other amateur bike racing, has drawn more attention to cycling.

Clarke estimates that by just holding its own percentage of the bicycle market, Columbia is assured of tremendous growth. "We are laying plans now for facilities and equipment to produce 65,000 to 70,000 bikes per month," he said.

SOLUTION TO IMPORT PROBLEMS

Columbia's sales this year are expected to be about double the volume of 1960 when the present ownership took over the company. Industry sales of 5 million bikes have been forecast for this year; by 1970 they are expected to reach 8 million.

Although imports represent a smaller percentage of total industry sales, Clarke says that they still present an extreme competitive force, requiring heavy production volume by U.S. manufacturers to make a profit.

About 1 million bikes will be imported this year, down from 1.3 million last year. The imports will come in from 17 different countries where pricing policies and restrictions prevent U.S. manufacturers from entering those markets on a profitable basis.

One way Columbia has found to fight foreign competition is to import component parts which it formerly purchased in the U.S. market. Clarke said the Westfield company buys tires, coaster brakes, three-speed gear mechanisms, chains, lamps, spokes, and saddles in the world market.

The duty on finished bikes was cut from 30 to 7.5 percent in 1949, favoring foreign bike producers. In one of the few successful escape clause proceedings before the U.S. Tariff Commission, the duty was raised in 1955, providing some help to domestic manufacturers.

But the duty on bike parts was never changed from the 30 percent. Even with this high duty, Clarke says many foreign parts of high quality are substantially cheaper to buy than equivalent parts made in the United States. He said Columbia will buy $3 million worth of parts this year from Japan, East Germany, France, England, and Sweden.

Clarke said that Columbia never buys foreign parts until a company official has investigated the company thoroughly to determine its reputation and the quality of its products.

HEAVY PAYER OF DUTIES

By stepping up its import activity, Columbia discovered that a port of Springfield existed. The port actually consists of a couple of men sitting in an office in the Federal building, but it is there to serve western Massachusetts business.

"We have become the largest payer of duty in western Massachusetts," Clarke said. The imported bike parts are landed at the Port of Boston and transported by truck to the Westfield plant.

PROGRESS BEING MADE

Columbia was founded as the Pope Manufacturing Co. in 1877 in Boston by Albert A. Pope, an officer during the Civil War. He moved the company to Hartford, Conn., in 1878. In 1899 Pope acquired the former

Lozier automobile plant in Westfield and it has served as the site for the production of Columbia Bikes ever since.

The company became a subsidiary of the Torrington Co. of Torrington, Conn., in 1933. Torrington sold the company to a group headed by Clarke in 1960. Other principals in the purchasing group included Sterling A. Orr, who operates a Cadillac agency in Springfield, and Elbridge Rathbone, owner of E. Rathbone Corp. of Palmer'

"There were a lot of skeptics when we bought the company," Clarke said. "Many bike manufacturers were convinced that Massachusetts was not an economical place to do business. We still have a ways to go. Profits are not up as much as we would like, but we are making progress."

VISUALIZE NEW PLANT

He said that company officials are dreaming of the day when it can break ground for a new plant on a site it already owns in Westfield. "Despite numerous offers of financial assistance and offers to move to other States, as many of our competitors have done, we decided to remain in Westfield and continue as an important factor in the community and the State," Clarke said.

The present plant consists of 243,000 square feet of manufacturing and storage space and is equipped with the latest developments of the automotive and related industries, including a silver-braze frame shop, automatic dip-brazing facilities, mechanized wheel room, a large automatic plating shop, conveyorized assembly line, a unique paint spray system, and automatic cartoning equipment.

Employment at Columbia is in the 400 to 500 range although it reaches 800 at peak periods.

PIONEERS NEW DEVELOPMENTS

Columbia has been able to maintain its position as a leader in the industry by pioneering new developments and introducing innovations. "Our company does more in the tooling and designing of new models than any other U.S. manufacturer," Clarke said. "This is a style conscious industry, so we've tried to keep ahead of our competitors in this field."

Columbia's lines of bikes is divided into three major groups—the middleweight, the standard bike for young riders; the lightweight, which has a small diameter, high-pressure tire and is the type preferred by older youth and the adult market; and the novelty bike exemplified by the Playboy sport bike with low wheels, high handlebars and long banana saddle.

The company also makes cycle exercisers and is bringing back the unicycle, long used by circus performers, in a promotion company officials hope will sweep the country as a new fad.

Columbia's production and sales will reach new all-time highs this year, signifying that the company is embarking on the greatest period of growth in its history.

As long as the American public keeps pedling bicycles and the growth of the country's school population continues. Columbia appears destined to play increasingly important roles in both fields.

Traer, Iowa, Couple Active in Soil and Water Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, soil and water conservation has contributed much to American agriculture, but these gains would have been impossible without the enthusiasm and dedication of people on the local level.

In this connection, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an article on Mr. and Mrs. Harold Higgins of Traer, Iowa, which appeared in the Des Moines Register of September 27, 1965.

Last week, Mr. Higgins was elected president of the Iowa Association of Soil Conservation District Commissioners and his wife was selected president of the association's women's auxiliary.

Mr. Higgins' comments on the value of soil and water conservation are well worth reading and, under leave to extend my remarks, I hereby include the article:

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register, Sept. 27, 1965]

BUSY TRAER COUPLE

(By Don Muhm)

TRAER, IOWA.—It is going to be a busy year for Mr. and Mrs. Harold Higgins, Traer farm couple recently elected to State offices in the soil conservation field.

Higgins, 59, was elected secretary of the Iowa Association of Soil Conservation District Commissioners.

Mrs. Higgins was elected president of the women's auxiliary of the same soil conservation organization.

BOTH ACTIVE

Mr. and Mrs. Higgins have been active in the organization for several years. Higgins has served as a State director while his wife has been vice president of the women's auxiliary for 2 years.

Their election to higher offices occurred during the conference of the State association last week in Des Moines.

For Higgins, who farms 680 acres in partnership with his son, Robert, 33, soil conservation has a special meaning.

He recalls that as a boy in Harrison County he helped his father set fence posts in gullies, hoping to halt the erosive forces of runoff water.

"We tried a lot of different things to stop the soil erosion," Higgins related. "But we didn't have too much luck.

"I vowed then that if I ever farmed for myself, I would work to conserve the soil."

The problems of soil and water conservation are different in Tama County for Higgins today, compared with the days when as a 10-year-old in Harrison County he watched nature rob the land of its topsoil and its fertility.

SOIL PLAN

Yet, the Higgins farm boasts 5 miles of terraces, 160 acres of stripcropping, and a 3-acre farm pond. And, Higgins since 1948 has had, in effect, a soil conservation plan for his farm.

For the last 8 years, the Traer farmer has served as a Tama County soil conservation district commissioner. This is an elective, nonsalaried post. And as a commissioner, he helps direct the installation of soil and water conservation practices by the U.S. Soil Conservation Service workers in that county.

Mrs. Higgins, in her job as auxiliary vice president, has directed the annual statewide conservation speech contest. This is no small chore, since about 325 youths compete in the contest annually.

But Mrs. Higgins feels such effort is well spent.

"We recognize the value of having young people fully informed concerning the importance of soil and water conservation," he said.

"If the younger generation is not convinced of the value of conservation, then the work of older people is wasted. We think that the conservation speech contest is a good investment in what we hope will be a new generation of conservationists."

WATER RUNOFF

Higgins feels that by contributing time and effort to the soil and water conservation movement, he may influence other farmers to take steps to halt costly, and damaging, water runoff and erosion.

The Higgins family consists of the son-partner Robert, and two married daughters. They are Mrs. Gordon Mixdorf, of Cedar Rapids, and Mrs. Larry Mitchell, of Princeton, N.J.

There are some fringe benefits for the Traer couple in its work along soil conservation lines.

Earlier this year, Mr. and Mrs. Higgins attended the national soil conservation convention at Portland, Oreg., and went from there on a holiday trip to Hawaii.

In 1966, the national conservation meeting will be held in New Orleans, La. And, of course, the Higginses plan to be present.

The Kansas City Star

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, in the October 1 issue of Time magazine there appears an article concerning one of the outstanding newspapers which serves my district. The Kansas City Star is certainly one of the Nation's finest newspapers and as such it has served as a training ground for some of the Nation's outstanding leaders as well as writers from Theodore Roosevelt to Ernest Hemingway.

At this point in the RECORD I insert the article from Time magazine:

So many reporters have come and gone at the Kansas City Star that the paper's register of alumni has earned it a reputation as one of the top journalism schools in the United States. Last week 177 former IWATS (short for I worked at the Star) went back to Kansas City to pay tribute to their alma mater and its longtime editor, Roy A. Roberts, 77, who retired last January. The occasion was the 85th anniversary of the Star, but the star attraction was Roberts. Amid steaks, bloody marys, speeches, reminiscences, and a Sigma Delta Chi award to the Star, guests could hardly decide whether they were more surprised that their crusty old editor had slimmed from 300 pounds to 185 or that he had finally given up control of the Star. But on one thing they all agreed: the paper will never be quite the same without him.

When Roy Roberts took over at the Star, it was a case of one corpulent autocrat replacing another. The paper's founder, 300-pound William Rockhill Nelson, turned to journalism after dabbling in real estate, cotton farming, and contracting. Defeats had only stirred Nelson's crusading spirit, and he wasted no time getting his paper embroiled in fights for clean government, clean streets, and clean souls. Derided by Kansas City's 4 other papers, the Star overtook them all, and by World War I had a circulation of 200,000. "Nelson could be mean as hell," says Roberts, who suffered and learned under the founder for 7 years. "But he inspired loyalty. He loved a fight; and if there wasn't one going, he would go out and pick one."

LOCAL KINGMAKER

When he became editor, Roberts was just as belligerent. Considering the Star the "hair

shirt of the community," he joined in the growing newspaper war on the corrupt Pendergast machine, and kept firing until Pendergast was destroyed. "I'd rather report than eat," said the editor, who excelled at both. He loved to play politics, and became a kingmaker in the Republican Party, backing Dewey, Wilkie, and Ike; he also lent a helping hand to a local Democratic boy, Harry Truman. Dubbed "Mr. Kansas City," he once boasted: "I'll have the biggest damn funeral Kansas City has ever seen. They'll all come out to see their old master laid away."

In recent years, cataracts and ulcers have slowed Roy down. He neither eats nor reports as much as he used to, though he still smokes 15 coronas a day. In 1963 he became chairman of the board after he resigned as editor, and was replaced by Richard B. Fowler, 63, a quiet, diffident man who is less interested in playing politics than in administering a newspaper. "Nelson ran the Star as his personal paper," mused Roberts last week, characterizing his own regime as well. "Today it is run as the readers' paper."

OPENMINDED COVERAGE

Though he lacks Roberts' flamboyance, Fowler has some firm ideas of his own regarding the Star, and readers seem to be responding to the changes he is making. The Star has a Washington bureau of two, and it now sends correspondents as far as Africa; though its real strength remains its enthusiastic and comprehensive local coverage which, to the Star, means generous hunks of Kansas as well as its native Missouri.

Always an open-minded, liberal Republican paper, the Star boosted Alf Landon into national political prominence and gave him a try at the Presidency. Last year the Star supported a Democratic candidate for President for the first time since Grover Cleveland—not so much because it liked L.B.J. as because it disliked Goldwater even more. Since then, the Star has supported much of the Johnson program, from the war in Vietnam to the poverty bills to civil rights legislation. As for the farm bill, the Star found something to cheer about in the fact that while it was not very good, it was written to take care of the next 4 years—promise of a welcome breather from an annual congressional hassle. More vehemently, the paper deplores the splintering of the Republican Party by rightwing extremists. At home in Missouri, while it did not support Gov. Warren Hearnes in his campaign, it has applauded his accomplishments and his growth as a leader.

COSMIC UNCONCERN

Famed for promoting only from within, the once inbred Star is now casting about for outside talent. It hired Music Critic John Haskins, who wrote for the Washington Evening Star, to bolster its new, well-received arts and entertainment section. "Until recently," says a staffer, "they just wouldn't have done that. They'd have simply grabbed some gal on the staff, on the theory that girls probably know about music, and moved her in there." The remark was a bit of city room hyperbole; in fairness to the Star, the last music critic was a man.

The Star is even having second thoughts about all those reporters leaving for other jobs. "Their attitude used to be one of cosmic unconcern," says a reporter who stayed on. "The idea was that if you'd even consider leaving the Star, they didn't want you anyway." Now the Star has raised salaries and approved a pension plan that calls for mandatory retirement at 65, thus giving younger men a chance to get ahead. "We've finally got to the point," says one encouraged youngster, "where you don't have to wait until some guy dies for places to be opening up." After all, if Roy Roberts can retire peacefully, anyone can.

The Youthful Criminal as a Local Police Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL D. ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, on September 16, 1965, Deputy Chief John E. Winters, of the Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D.C., spoke before the national convention of the Federal Bar Association in Chicago, Ill., on a major domestic problem, juvenile delinquency.

This problem is the concern of every city, village, and hamlet in the United States. Chief Winters has presented four suggestions to reverse the crime and delinquency trend, which I believe deserve thoughtful consideration by all of us. His remarks follow:

THE YOUTHFUL CRIMINAL AS A LOCAL POLICE PROBLEM

It appears that the commission of crime in this country has become a major domestic problem. This comes as no surprise to those of us in law enforcement. We have lived with crime and delinquency for many years. We have seen it flourish and increase steadily. We have seen the blood, the grief, and the emotional havoc wreaked upon its victims. We have read and heard a myriad of excuses for its causation. We have seen a judicial trend that has woven a tight cloak of protection around those accused of criminal acts far beyond our experience in the past.

As police officers we must adhere to the rules laid down by the courts. We must strive to develop techniques and methods within these rules that will enable us to carry out our responsibilities to the community we serve, as best we can. We look forward to legislative remedy that will serve to restore a balance between the right of the people to be protected in their persons and property and afford those accused of crime with the protections intended by our Founding Fathers. The scales of justice, in the judgment of many persons, have been tipped too far in favor of the criminal. Among these persons are the Attorney General, the Director of the FBI, the president of the American Bar Association, veteran police officials, and numerous members of the general public having a knowledge of the facts.

This is one aspect of the crime problem. The rules referred to, in most cases, apply to adult courts. My specific subject deals with the youthful criminal as a local police problem and herein lies the real core of any crime prevention program that hopes to be successful on a long range basis.

Youthful offenders are responsible for the crime rise locally and nationally. The composite criminal tried in U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., is in his middle twenties and has a juvenile record, and that juvenile record holds the key to a hope for a reversal of the crime trend. The adult criminal evolves from the delinquent—and the delinquent is a product of many factors not the least of which is improper handling during a period when rehabilitation has its greatest chance of success. Stop the development of the juvenile delinquent and you stop the development of a criminal.

This matter of juvenile delinquency has been studied and researched for years. A multitude of conditioning factors, most of them theoretical, have been expounded as contributing to the development of delinquents and, eventually, adult criminals. You have read or heard about most of them—economic deprivation—social disorganization—lack of recreational facilities—broken homes—poor educational opportunities—etc. When the facts are examined, however, many of these theories do not stand up.

In the District of Columbia, only 2.6 percent of the population 7 through 17 years of age can be reasonably considered delinquent. Approximately 128,000 persons in these age groups reside in the District of Columbia. The greater portion of serious juvenile crime is committed by persons 15 through 17 years of age. There are approximately 35,000 in this group and about 6 percent of them are considered delinquent. In other words, thousands of youngsters who are faced with identical adversities do not turn to crime and delinquency because of these factors.

There are many fine homes that are economically deprived but rich in love, affection, cohesiveness, and consistent fair discipline. Conversely, the delinquency rate in suburban areas has risen steadily (13 percent during the past year). Economic deprivation cannot be presumed to be a factor in suburban areas.

What is the role of the police on a local basis in crime prevention programs? Putting aside the traditional and historical aspects of law enforcement and crime prevention, the police are in a strategic position to perform an additional service toward that end. Through minor violations of the law, conditions detrimental to the welfare of children, close cooperation with the schools, and other sources, the police can identify potentially delinquent children before a real stage of delinquency is reached.

This discovery followed by investigation, diagnosis, and referral by specially trained police officers and policewomen, is designed to institute remedial action at a time when the pattern of behavior has not become so deep set that successful rehabilitation is difficult, and perhaps impossible. It is a fact that as a person grows older the chances of changing his mode of behavior or his outlook toward society are just that much less. The rate of recidivism among adult criminals and older juveniles proves the point.

This, of course, is long-range crime prevention. There is also a need to realistically recognize that some individuals will continue to prey upon society regardless of the opportunities afforded to them. For them there is only one answer—firm and expeditious application of the law by both juvenile and adult courts.

The juvenile court is primary in any crime prevention program. For those juveniles who require the authority of the court, the court must have the staff, resources, and facilities to carry out its purposes—the protection and rehabilitation of children in conflict with the law. It should also function within its philosophy.

That philosophy is sound when applied to children—real children. It is a fact, however, that in Washington and elsewhere, too many young thugs and hoodlums are being processed as children simply because they have not reached some magic age that would arbitrarily make them responsible for the consequences of their acts.

No doubt it is the conscientious belief of some people in the juvenile field that this is proper within the meaning of the law. It may be the reason for what appears to be unwarranted leniency and a disregard for the rights of the general public. In many cases, as in Washington, the law is obsolete. The rapidity with which young people mature today with our modern communication media, mobile population, and extensive opportunities to learn more quickly through experience, indicates a need for realistic ap-

praisal and revision of present law. It has been 27 years since the law pertaining to juveniles in the District of Columbia has been revised.

It is true that most juvenile courts have the power to waive jurisdiction but this power is exercised infrequently. Whether it is the interpretation of existing law, appellate court rulings, or the viewpoint of the judge, too many young criminals are being treated as children. There have been too many instances of juveniles with past records being permitted to remain in the community while undergoing the treatment process.

The juvenile court has been well established as an informal court that is not required to follow the strict rules laid down for criminal courts. In recent years, however, the appellate court has decreed that juveniles are entitled to counsel and, if requested, the court must appoint counsel. The result has been a flow of motions based on adult court procedures. Technical challenges designed to prevent the introduction of evidence that would establish the truth have become more prevalent. Such motions and maneuvers are foreign to the philosophy of juvenile court law. The court was established for the purpose of helping the child, not punishing him. To attain this purpose the court must know the truth and the barring of that truth by legal technicalities which permits the child to beat the rap is a disservice to the child and to the community. By all means the child is entitled to a fair hearing. There should be sufficient evidence to convince the court that the child did commit the offense alleged, but the court should be permitted to hear that evidence.

It is a fact, also, that the court does not see the older, experienced, and sophisticated juveniles as we do. They do not exhibit the arrogance, defiance, and contempt for law, in the presence of the court's social workers or the court, that they do so often in the presence of the police. This is understandable—they have everything to gain and nothing to lose by standing before the court respectfully and politely, basking in the light of manufactured halos.

Regardless of the disposition of the case, a juvenile should leave the courtroom with a feeling of respect—not fear. Too many of them do not and you may be sure that their feelings and impressions are passed on to their contemporaries.

Delinquency has increased 97 percent in the District of Columbia during the past 7 years. Reported crime has increased for 38 consecutive months. About one third of the most frequently committed serious crimes in the District of Columbia can be attributed to juveniles. Approximately 65 percent of the juveniles arrested during the past fiscal year were repeaters. Even more significant were the records of 16- and 17-year-old juveniles accused of felonies. These are waivable cases and 76 percent of these so-called children were repeaters. Approximately 93 percent of these juveniles were treated as children. I challenge the wisdom of categorizing and treating confirmed delinquents, in the upper age brackets, as children. It is difficult to reconcile a well-established pattern of law violations or the commission of vicious and brutal crimes by older juveniles with the general understanding of the term, "children."

I mentioned appellate court rulings concerning juveniles. You are probably familiar with the Harling ruling and its expansion by the Kent decision. If not, I will explain the implications of these rulings during the question and answer period.

With a view of reversing the trend of crime locally and nationally, I have several suggestions to offer for your consideration:

1. Afford every child in his early formative years the opportunity for an adequate education, a chance for proper development of his skill and talent, a concept of his obligations toward society, a respect for the rights of others, a respect for properly constituted authority, a knowledge that his efforts will be rewarded, a desire to lead a decent, law-abiding life. To instill these values, the home environment is critical, and if the home lacks the love, guidance, security, and discipline necessary, then society must provide, as best it can, these essential ingredients.

2. For those children who require the authority of the juvenile court to provide the necessary care and supervision, the court should have adequate staff and resources to carry out its purposes.

3. Remove from juvenile court jurisdiction those older, sophisticated individuals who, by their records and actions have become menaces to the community and treat them for what they are.

4. For those individuals who are deemed to be beyond the purposes and facilities of juvenile court, and in an attempt to reach some agreement with persons having divergent points of view, establish a youth court. This court would function in the gray area of life between 16 and 21 years of age. It would operate as a criminal court thereby affording the accused his constitutional protections, eliminate such rulings as Harling, provide protection for the community, and encompass the rehabilitative provisions of the Federal Youth Corrections Act.

It is my sincere belief that these four suggestions, successfully implemented, will reverse the crime and delinquency trend.

We are a nation of laws. Respect for the law is essential to the well-being of our society. The manner in which the law is enforced and administered engenders that respect. The law must be supreme—or we face chaos.

The Future of the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLETON J. KING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, I believe all Americans are vitally interested in the survival and success of the United Nations. It is difficult to imagine a world without some international body to which all can come in their desire to live at peace.

Many shortcomings have developed in the operation of the United Nations. Many changes, no doubt, are needed. Many praise and many condemn it. It is for us to examine all praise and all criticism to see if we cannot somehow work out a more effective body. Revision of the Charter is long overdue.

Recently, one of my colleagues, the Honorable PAUL A. FINO, of the 24th District of New York, delivered a thought-provoking address to the Veterans of World War I at their banquet in Tampa, Fla., on the occasion of their 13th annual national convention. I believe all should read carefully and reflect on Congressman FINO's remarks:

THE FUTURE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. Chairman, National Commander Colonel Houston, Mrs. Houston, Madam Auxiliary Commander Mrs. Walton, distinguished guests, and fellow Americans, it is indeed a privilege and a pleasure for me to be here this evening.

I certainly welcome and appreciate your invitation to address this convention of one of the finest veterans' organizations in America.

Tonight, I am going to speak on a matter of great interest and importance not only to you but to every American and to the free world. The topic I will speak on should be of interest to all in the light of what has been happening in the world in the last weeks and months.

I refer to the future of the United Nations—that international device whose primary objective and purpose is to keep the peace. In my opinion, which is shared by many, the future of this organization doesn't look very bright. As a matter of fact, from all indications, it is on its last legs and doomed to certain failure.

This is most unfortunate because, although many of us in Washington often get annoyed with the U.N., we have always felt it is a good idea to have some kind of international peacekeeping organization in existence for emergencies—an organization that is meaningful and worthwhile—an organization that can really fulfill its real objectives.

The first purpose of the United Nations is to keep the peace, yet, faced with war and the danger of war throughout the globe, the U.N. remains powerless to act.

Let's take a good look at the present fighting between India and Pakistan. This friction is not new. It goes back to 1947 when England finally allowed these two countries to become independent nations.

For a long time, India and Pakistan had been governed by Great Britain as one country. But when the time for independence came, they wanted to be two different countries because, among other reasons, they had different religions.

India is Hindu and Pakistan is Moslem. When the British split up the country, some of the Hindus still lived in Pakistan and some of the Moslems still lived in India. As expected, both groups were unhappy about this and they started fighting. They started riots that killed thousands, making the Los Angeles riots look like a Boy Scout meeting.

One section of the old British area had a population of Moslems but because the local ruler was a Hindu he tried to make his area part of India. The people wanted to go with Pakistan and a fight broke out in this area—called Kashmir—between Pakistan and India.

The United Nations stepped in and got both countries to stop fighting along a truce line. The U.N. also got both nations to agree to have a vote in Kashmir—to see whether the people wanted to be part of India or Pakistan. That was 18 years ago—that was in 1947.

While it is true that the U.N. did stop the fighting 18 years ago, it hasn't been able to do anything else since. It hasn't been able to do anything because it has no power where the countries it is dealing with do not want to cooperate. Although elections were promised 18 years ago, they haven't been held because India fears that Kashmir will vote to become a part of Pakistan. So India has balked at holding elections and there is nothing—absolutely nothing—the U.N. can do about it because this peacekeeping organization cannot compel anything when you get right down to brass tacks. Let's face it. No nation wants to vote away part of its own authority to the United Nations. I can't imagine the U.S. Congress giving the U.N. power to enforce an order within our boundaries over our objections. So when India doesn't want to cooperate in Kashmir, there is nothing that the U.N. can do.

In the days after World War II, the U.N. was more powerful than it is today because it was then basically a group of nations that had fought together in that war. These countries, for the most part, thought alike

and had similar interests. Russia and her satellites were really the only exception.

You might ask, what about Korea? Well, it was only because Russia was absent from the U.N. at the time North Korea invaded South Korea. Because of this absence, the U.N. Security Council was able to agree on taking action against the aggression. They haven't been able to agree on very much since then.

Let me remind you that the U.N. did nothing about the Russian invasion of Hungary to overcome the freedom fighters of 1956.

Nothing was done about Indochina in the 1950's and nothing has been done about Laos or Vietnam in recent years. And from all indications, it doesn't look like anything will be done about India and Pakistan.

Most people don't know it, but U.N. forces have been in Kashmir ever since the armistice between Pakistan and India 18 years ago. Although these troops have been maintained there as a peacekeeping force, nobody pays any attention to them. The moment serious fighting broke out between Pakistan and India last month, the U.N. special peacekeeping force became a joke—they had no power to do anything. Confronted, as it was, with a real crisis, the U.N. peacekeeping force was absolutely useles.

Let me, however, in all fairness say that under some circumstances a U.N. peacekeeping force can be a useful thing. When a crisis has cooled off and it becomes necessary to have some kind of armed forces present to keep the two enemies apart, the U.N. force made up of troops from a number of countries comes in handy. This, to some degree was true in Cyprus. On the other hand, when a U.N. peacekeeping force is put into a country where everything is a mess, not very much is accomplished.

Let's take for example the U.N. forces that were sent into the Congo when that country went up in flames. This was just a few years ago, by which time the United Nations was already starting to include among its members every little two-bit ex-colony in Africa.

Not surprisingly, all of these new countries were extremely sensitive—sensitive to anything that looked like European intervention in the Congo. Some of the U.N. troops came from the new nations of Africa and many people who fled the Congo reported that these U.N. troops often proved blind to race riot killings of Europeans and to the rough handling of nuns and missionaries by Congolese government forces. The United Nations received a bad name in the Congo. We found out the hard way that the Congo was not the type of situation where peacekeeping force can really be used. First, because almost any troops sent in were suspected of race bias one way or the other and, secondly, because no solution had yet been reached. It wasn't a simple case of patrolling a ceasefire line or of supervising a truce. That the United Nations does well. What the United Nations has been unable to do is achieve a settlement of a crisis—settling a crisis is a far cry from supervising some settlement that has already been achieved by some other power.

The United Nations can patrol a truce because this doesn't involve anybody giving any real power to the United Nations. The United Nations cannot achieve a settlement of a tough question on its own unless and until the parties are willing and ready to settle because the United Nations has no power to bring to bear on the disputing parties, except world opinion, which is usually not feared when important national interests are at stake.

Now, getting back to the present India-Pakistan conflict. I don't see how the U.N. can do very much to stop this fighting unless and until both sides cool off a bit.

This war is something of a religious fight and the two religions have hated each other for hundreds of years. However, there is only one consolation and that is that neither side has enough arms and guns, spare parts or aircraft fuel to continue a prolonged war. I thing we can hopefully count on this lack of military supplies to make them stop fighting before too long. That is provided no other country, like Red China, sends any more supplies or interferes. When both sides start to run out of ammunition—or when one side does—then maybe one or both countries will start talking to the U.N. Oh, yes, the U.N. Security Council yesterday called on India and Pakistan to end their fighting by tomorrow morning. But will Pakistan go along without a proviso for a vote on Kashmir? I doubt it.

It is hard to see what can be done about this problem of U.N. power. Are we going to try to get the U.N. set up so that it can intervene in any and all conflicts with a special U.N. army of its own? I hardly think so. For the simple reason that there are a number of countries that belong to the U.N. which would not like to have the United Nations interfering on questions which the small nations might feel were purely internal matters. For example, revolutions. Let's not forget that colonialism, imperialism and so forth are still dirty words to a lot of these new nations. They still suspect the wealthy industrial powers of western Europe and the United States.

How many of you have any idea of how many of these tiny, poor ex-European colonies belong to the U.N.? Let me read you a few: Burundi, Chad, Mali, Togo, Zambia. These are just a few of ex-British, French or Belgian colonies in Africa that make up the 114 nations in the U.N. I don't imagine that anyone here knows where each of these new countries are located in Africa. I certainly don't.

But, although poor and small, they're all in the big crystal palace called the United Nations. And, this morning three more little nations were added—Gambia, Singapore, and the Maldive Islands which increases the membership to 117 nations.

There should be no question in anyone's mind that the addition of all of these new nations has steadily changed the political makeup of this organization. Gone are the days when most of the U.N. members were European or American nations with largely similar outlooks. I might point out that all of the new nations no matter how small or poor or weak have exactly the same U.N. voting power as the United States, Britain, France, Canada, Australia, and Japan. Slowly but surely, these new ex-colonial nations are gathering more U.N. votes than the old established nations that founded this world organization. Let's make no mistake about it. That is why the U.N. is losing its power, its prestige and strength. It no longer resembles anything like a consensus.

With all these small, undeveloped and often neutralist countries in the U.N., many European and American nations are rapidly losing faith in the future of the United Nations.

On one hand, the new ex-colonial nations don't want a powerful U.N. for fear that it might interfere in their domestic political upheavals. On the other hand, the old, powerful countries don't want to give more power to the U.N. which is more and more coming to be controlled by half-pint countries having more U.N. delegates than college graduates. And of course, the more dissimilarity you have among the U.N. membership, the less likely you are to find lack of real power replaced by consensual cooperation. As far as I can see, and the events of the past and present substantiate this conclusion, the United Nations is rapidly declining into a combination cocktail party and discussion group.

Now, someone might say that this sort of thing serves some purpose because at least it provides a place where world opinion can be expressed. Well, I don't quite feel that a discussion-club United Nations is so badly needed—not at these prices. Whenever a world crisis presents itself, it is just as easy to bring together those nations whose cooperation is needed to solve the crisis as it is to work through a discussion-club U.N.

Now if the U.N. had teeth—real teeth—that would be another story. If the United Nations could deal with crisis on its own initiative, it could really perform a worthwhile, meaningful function.

Let me point out another unfortunate effect of the changing membership of the U.N. That is the ever-increasing probability of the admission of Red China. As the roster of African and Asian ex-colonial nations in the U.N. grows, so does the voting support for the admission of Red China.

Can you imagine the Soviet Union and Red China as members? Why, these two nations, acting together and in unison, would represent an extremely powerful combination with an enormous political, economic and military potential. Let us never forget that both Communist powers are committed to a Communist world system aimed at final destruction of freedom.

Up until 1960, the United States successfully prevented the question of Red China's admission from being considered by the U.N. Unfortunately, the administrations in power since 1961 have not been so lucky. Slowly but surely they have been losing the battle to keep Red China out of the U.N.

Let's hope that our new team at the United Nations will be able to reverse this trend—but I seriously doubt it.

The United Nations is more and more becoming the plaything of these brandnew, two-bit nations of Africa and Asia and they don't seem to care that Red China 12 years ago was actually fighting United Nations forces in Korea. Besides, many of the newly independent nations oppose the West as much as, if not more than, they oppose the Communist world.

The present administration has had no luck in winning the Afro-Asian nations to support our position against the admission of Red China to the United Nations and there is no improved prospect in sight. It seems that each year more and more U.N. members are voting to seat Communist China.

This disturbing fact is true despite the fact that many of these newly independent nations are coming to realize that Communist China is openly stirring up subversion throughout Asia and Africa—even subverting nations which recognize Red China and urge her admission to the United Nations.

It is most unfortunate that our administration has not been able to develop a foreign policy capable of making these new countries aware of the evil designs Red China has upon them.

As a result, we can expect pretty soon our policy will pay the price of failure, and we will see Communist China in the United Nations. This will be a blow to our position in Asia, a blow to the integrity of the United Nations and a black day for our prestige throughout the world.

Less than 3 weeks ago, the United States suffered a bad beating in the United Nations on the issue of enforcing the obligations of all members to pay their dues or lose their votes. This is specifically in the U.N. Charter. But, as you know, the Russians refused to pay their dues and so did some other nations and we just stopped insisting that they do so.

Thanks to the American surrender, the Russians and others are now voting without paying. This, in my book, is just another step toward making the United Nations a glorified debating club with little or no meaning in world politics. I have no doubt whatsoever that because of our failure to force a showdown on this question and because of our failure to stand behind the U.N. Charter, we have helped to accelerate

the decline, if not the demise of the United Nations.

I spoke in opposition to this surrender on the floor of the House of Representatives, and I made my feelings very plain. I said that if the U.N. Charter cannot command the support and respect of U.N. member nations, then the United Nations is not a functioning world body, but a lightweight world debating society which will continue to function just so long as a few nations can be persuaded to continue to pay its bills.

To me it is obvious that the United Nations is only as effective as its members want it to be, and the wishes of the United States are only one part of an otherwise often negative or evasive consensus. Our hopes do not translate into results. Unfortunately, our hopes have so entranced us that we refuse to put them to the steel test.

If we had forced a showdown on the question of United Nations dues, I suspect we would have seen that the world does not care as we do. We would have seen that many nations do not really care to see the United Nations strong and effective. Many nations care only about the superficial role of the United Nations as a cosmopolitan world meeting place. By our actions, we have bowed and yielded to this assessment of the United Nations.

Unless things change, pretty soon that great big crystal palace of the East River in New York City will be nothing more than an expensive international clubhouse paid for out of the wallets of Uncle Sam and a few other gullible contributors. We do not need to be the sugardaddy of an overgrown cocktail party, which is what United Nations activities are beginning to boil down to. As I said earlier, there is some merit in simply keeping the United Nations as a world meeting place, but if we become preoccupied by the desire merely to keep such lines of communication open, we will soon guarantee that we will have a meeting place and discussion club and no more. If we are to make something really worthwhile out of the United Nations, we must insist that its members fish or cut bait.

Ultimately, my friends, we have two choices: (1) We can continue in the spirit of the administration's surrender on the question of dues, which is part of the trend towards a meaningless, discussion-club type of United Nations; or (2) we may seek to fashion an attack out of retreat, and try to force the issue of whether the United Nations is or is not to have any real meaning. If we do this, I suppose we take the chance of throwing the U.N. on the rocks. But, my friends, if all the United Nations is going to amount to is a discussion club, we would not be risking very much.

I think the time has come to see what the story is in the United Nations. Either it amounts to something or it does not. This administration, choosing not to risk its delusions in the face of obvious international apathy, ducked a showdown on the dues issue. But, if the United Nations is to amount to anything, it has to face a crisis of its existence sometime or other. I would like to see this administration find out what the facts are and face up to them. If the United Nations, as originally conceived, has outlived its usefulness, it would be well to know now. It may be that we need to fashion a new vehicle of international cooperation. Whatever is necessary; the process of starting the right ball rolling will probably be up to us.

This Nation has been the world leader in the brave dream of building world law and world peace. The hope for the United Nations lies in our commitment and our actions. If the United Nations is to survive as a functioning body, we must reactivate our courage and renew our leadership in defense of the United Nations Charter. The United Nations has survived some difficult crises in the past, but now the hour has grown late. It will take a decisive effort to turn defeat into victory—and we must act quickly. But I do not want to give the impression that all the responsibility rests on us. It may be—and I feel it is—our duty to lead, but as Henry Cabot Lodge said when he was our Ambassador to the U.N. some years ago:

"While the need for the United Nations is as strong and as steady as the human yearning for peace, its future success depends entirely on the extent to which its members support it."

That about sums it up. The future of the United Nations is what the world makes of it and so far, unfortunately, it has not done a very good job at it.

Thank you.

The 100th Anniversary of the Purchase of Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, within 2 years our Nation will commemorate the 100th anniversary of the purchase of Alaska. At the time of this historic step much criticism was leveled at Secretary of State Seward, and the administration responsible for the acquisition of this large land mass. Looking back with hindsight, we see that Secretary Seward and those responsible for this decision had truly great foresight. How different history might have been had this 49th State not been purchased in 1867.

Legislation is currently pending before Congress to provide for an appropriate observance of the Alaska purchase centennial. The chamber of commerce in Oakland, Calif., on September 20, 1965, passed a special resolution urging favorable action on this legislation. I am pleased to insert this resolution into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that it might stand as fine testimony of a community in my congressional district for the need to honor a great occasion in our Nation's history:

Whereas the State of Alaska will observe and commemorate the 100th anniversary of the purchase of Alaska from Russia during the year 1967, with Fairbanks designated by the Alaska Centennial Commission and Governor Egan as the official site for an observance exposition; and

Whereas the action by the Congress of the United States in purchasing Alaska, in the face of severe criticism, has proven to be one of the most important and successful investments ever made by the Government and has returned the original investment many times over with a wealth of mineral, fur, timber, food products, and other resources; and

Whereas this purchase has provided the North American continent with its most important first line of military defense—a defense which has provided security from enemy invasion to the entire United States; and

Whereas the State of Alaska presently offers this country's greatest frontier for development by this and the coming generation; and

Whereas the State of Alaska is now one of the country's foremost tourist attractions with thousands of people nourishing a desire to visit this great unspoiled wonderland; and

Whereas the U.S. Government can point with pride to the wisdom of the Congress in purchasing Alaska and to the part the Government has played in developing this territory, now our 49th State, thereby inspiring confidence in the actions of Congress and in Government expeditures for development and defense; and

Whereas the exposition in Fairbanks observing the Alaska purchase will attract thousands of tourists from throughout the United States, many of whom will travel through the Metropolitan Oakland area—Alameda County, to reach the Pacific Northwest highway, air and water terminals for Alaska, resulting in economical benefits to our community: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Chamber of Commerce of Oakland, Calif., That the U.S. Congress be urged to take an active part in this observance of the Alaska purchase and that our congressional delegation be advised of this action and requested to support H.R. 9963 and S. 2309, which make this participation possible.

By action of the board of the Chamber of Commerce of Oakland, Calif., this 20th day of September 1965.

OAKLAND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.
ELMO MAZZERA,
President.
W. A. SPARLING,
General Manager.

Address by Hon. Robert L. F. Sikes, of Florida

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to have the privilege of inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a speech delivered by my good friend and distinguished colleague, Hon. ROBERT L. F. SIKES, of Florida, a few days ago. The occasion was a countywide celebration held in Fort Walton Beach, Fla., on September 24. On this occasion, his home county, Okaloosa, commemorated his 25 years of service in Congress by observing Bob Sikes Day with appropriate ceremonies throughout the county and terminating with a massive celebration in Fort Walton Beach:

ADDRESS BY CONGRESSMAN BOB SIKES, 25TH YEAR CELEBRATION, FORT WALTON BEACH

I am tremendously grateful to all of you for your presence here. For the honor you do me by sharing this occasion with me. I am especially grateful to those who have accepted the responsibility for the tremendous amount of work necessary for success on an occasion like this. That includes Elbert Davis, who is general chairman, and each of the rest of you, who have so generously helped throughout the county. I am happy that Fort Walton claims the privilege of being the host city. Fort Walton is a great, thriving, forward-looking, forward-thinking city. I never cease to be amazed at the progress that I see here each time that I return. I am proud of all my home county—all of its people.

I am delighted to see many old friends here. Also, those who are here that I don't

even know. I appreciate your presence. Our county has grown so fast that it hasn't been possible for me to keep up with all the new people. This I regret. I want to know all of you. I want to be your friend and I want you to be mine. I would like to spend much more time here with you, for this is home. But the work which you have elected me to do is in the Nation's Capital. The efforts which must be put forth to hold our military bases, to secure improvements for them, to seek additional personnel, all must be done in the Nation's Capital. The efforts which I engage in to bring new projects to the district, to stimulate new industrial activities, to encourage improvements and recreational advantages, all are done most effectively from my office in the Capital. And that is where my paramount responsibility—that of legislating—must also be done. It doesn't leave much time for visiting with my people back home. I can assure you, I am proud of the district which I represent. Proud of its people, proud of the progress, proud of the opportunity given me to work for you and with you.

I take a great deal of pride in the progress that we are making. Florida is clearly the leader among the Southeastern States in personal income, in wages and salaries paid, and in industrial expansion. This becomes more significant when one considers the fact that the Southeast is leading the Nation in industrial progress. In this bright picture, Okaloosa County stands out as a solid, substantial market according to a national survey of business activity. We show significant gains in nearly every field of activity. Our people have confidence. They are going ahead.

Those of you who remember Okaloosa County and Fort Walton Beach 25 years ago can fully appreciate the significance of this situation. We were far, far down the list in actuality and not many were optimistic enough to admit the promise of the future. We had only a few years before been listed as 43d in the State in automobile registration and this was a pretty good indicator of our standing statewide. The changes have been almost miraculous. Roads, bridges, recreational facilities, education, industry, shopping centers; you name it, we've got it.

Then the question becomes—have we reached the end of the line? Are we going to continue that development? Is the past a prelude to the future? These things depend on people, they depend on promise. The promise is here. It is even brighter than it was in 1940. It is just as bright as we want it to be. We have come a long ways—we can go much further. There still are problems to be overcome, but I doubt they are as serious as the problems we have already overcome. But whatever we do in the future, we can do it better as a team. We can blaze a broader path, reach greater heights, broaden our horizons infinitely better if we are working together, if all our communities cooperate to help each other.

Twenty-five years is a long time—a quarter of a century, a generation, and for some, a lifetime. Few men have been privileged to serve 25 years in Congress. For this privilege, I am very proud and very humble. It is one of the highest posts which the people can bestow. For a great many people the Congress is their only voice in today's big, complicated and cumbersome Federal Government. It is not an easy post to fill. Seldom are the issues clearly discernible, or the decisions easy. It isn't often that a bill is all black or all white. Most of the important ones have gray areas and a Congressman must choose between what he thinks is right and best, and what the administration wants or even what his own people want.

I think the first issue of great moment of this nature which confronted me was the vote on extending the draft in October of 1941. It was not my first major decision. Almost as soon as I reached Congress I was picked for the House Foreign Affairs Committee when it was given the momentous task of writing the lend-lease bill. This marked an entirely new departure in U.S. foreign policy and it permitted the arming of our allies during the dark days of the struggle with Germany. It was hard-fought issue, but the decision of supporting lend-lease gave me no particular problem. We were on the side of the allies even though we weren't at war and I have always believed in helping my friends.

The vote on the extension of the draft was an entirely different matter. We were at that time operating under a universal draft act which would expire at the end of 1941. The question of extension of the act was before Congress. Now it has become a routine thing to accept the draft as something necessary to insure proper strength levels for our military forces. At that time a different attitude prevailed. The draft had never before been used in peacetime. A very strong sentiment had been built up against it. My mail was nearly all antidraft. In the House the battle was long and hard fought and we went right down to the wire with the issue undecided on the final vote. That was one vote I really sweated out. But, after a paternal lecture by Sam Rayburn on my responsibilities to the Nation, I voted for the extension of the draft. The bill carried by one vote—203 to 202. A month later we were at war.

Memories dim in 25 years, but I recall something else that made a lasting impression on me. I had been in Congress little more than a month when a Congressman from one of the northern industrial centers took the floor to speak out against things that were being done to the oppressed in other parts of the world. He made an impassioned appeal for tolerance which carried such a forceful message that his voice stilled the normal hubbub of the House. Then his message completed, he stepped back from the microphone, collapsed, and died. It seemed to me that he knew that all he would ever have an opportunity to say for humanity had to be said in those last few moments of his life. It made a lasting impression on me—on the importance of the responsibilities which are mine in the work I do.

I have passed many bills, some minor, some important. The ones I remember best are the ones which have helped people or created progress. My greatest satisfaction has been derived from the growth and development of this district. This is home; this is where my heart is. I have been offered administrative positions by more than one administration in Washington and none of them have had the slightest appeal to me. I note that most of my colleagues upon leaving Congress remain in Washington as lobbyists or lawyers or in any other capacity that they may find themselves. I have had industrialists say to me, "If ever you leave Congress, let us talk with you about a place in our organization." On these things my mind is perfectly clear. When my work as a Member of Congress for the First District is done, I am coming home. I have no interest in living anywhere else or being anything other than a citizen of Florida and of this county.

So, if some day I should write a book as every ex-politician seems determined to do, it will be very full of memories, memories richer than most men are privileged to know. Memories of efforts to do for you and my district all the things that a grateful heart would want to do. Of the steps we have taken together to build here a great land which will constantly grow in prosperity and happiness, and beauty; memories which you have given to me in these 25 years.

We have for many years been primarily a defense community and, as such, we have been intimately associated with the history and the development, and with the benefits of, Eglin Air Force Base. It has been mainstay of our economy for so long that most people have forgotten what it was like to make a living here before Eglin. I was here, and I can tell you it is much better this way. Eglin now enjoys a position of great affluence among military establishments and, just in case you need reminding, your Congressman isn't hurting Eglin while serving as chairman of military construction and vice chairman of defense appropriations. Some of the most important contributions to community life are made by the people who work and serve at Eglin. Each of us should bow thrice daily in the direction of Eglin Air Force Base.

For our friends in the military, let me say I am particularly proud this year of two things. One—for the military pay bill. The Congress has given to military personnel a meaningful pay raise. It will be reflected in a very substantial boost for the economy of the local communities. More particularly, it will help to give to those who wear the uniform a standard of living comparable to that for which they fight. I helped pass this year's pay bill, and I am proud of it. Then, there is the matter of places for people in uniform to live. Barracks and BOQ facilities have in many areas gone downhill to the point where they simply aren't fit for habitation. Yet, we have expected highly trained, highly schooled personnel to exist in these quarters. This year, my Military Construction Committee helped give the Nation the biggest boost we have had in 20 years toward improved barracks and BOQ's throughout the Nation.

The fight that you have made and that I have made for stronger military bases, for a continuing national defense, for better pay, and better living and working conditions for both civilian and uniformed personnel, is justified each time our Nation is called upon to risk its prestige in the defense of freedom. Without the strength imparted to our policies by both uniformed and civilian groups, it would not be possible to face up to our world responsibilities or to successfully wage war if that is required.

Let's talk about water and recreation. This is of countrywide importance and nothing is of more immediate importance. In many cities and towns a dwindling water supply poses a serious threat for the future. You in Fort Walton Beach know of what I speak. Even here we have learned that water is not inexhaustible. But countywide we have an almost unlimited supply of fresh, clean water. The development of a statewide water resources conservation program based on an inventory of existing supplies and the needs of future years has now taken shape. Certainly, we will stand high on any list of areas amply provided with water for industrial, municipal, or recreational expansion. An adequate water supply is one of the richest blessings which any area can enjoy. We have it in full measure; in such full measure that we have never given thought to the tremendous quantities which daily flow to the sea.

We have heard it said that squandered resources are lost forever. Water and recreational resources that aren't properly utilized also are lost forever. We have had so much of both for so many years that we are only barely beginning to comprehend the plight of people who have neither. Let's be doubly certain that we are never confronted with this problem by getting ready now. Here and throughout my district there is a continuing need for modern, carefully planned and designed, up-to-the-minute recreational areas and one of these days there will be need for a source of water also. Greater than anything else at the moment is the unfulfilled need to meet the growing, insistent demand of the public for wholesome, pleasant places for recreation. It would be my suggestion that your leaders confer about

joint-use recreational areas whose development would not interfere with the Eglin mission and which would be equally valuable to Eglin personnel. Let's get these projects in motion all over Okaloosa County. In Florida, water and recreation inevitably are found together.

It came as a surprise to a great many people to find that Panama City, for instance, is second to Florida in summer tourism and third in the number of year-around tourists. That tells you want can be done. This serves to illustrate positively the fact that Florida has year-around attraction to offer visitors. Northwest Florida has its beaches—and they are the finest in the world. But northwest Florida has summer and winter recreation to offer. These attractions are not confined to the coastline. There is boating, fishing, and hunting; hiking, swimming and sightseeing. History abounds in northwest Florida. Florida's earliest settlements were recorded in northwest Florida and there are a hundred sights, and more, of historical interest awaiting the tourist who wants to know about our 400-year history. Florida has something to offer all year around, and it is better in northwest Florida.

You will be glad to know that completion of legislation on the omnibus rivers and harbors bill containing the new East Pass channel and jetties at Destin has opened the door to efforts to secure a budget item for funding the project next year. I have already forwarded to the President, to the Chief of Engineers, and to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, full details on the project and the need for its early implementation. With the help of our two U.S. Senators, I hope to have the administration recommend a budget item for initiating constuction next year. It has been a long and difficult task to get the new channel approved, principally because of circumstances which prevented the passage for 3 years of an omnibus rivers and harbors bill. Consequently, there was no way in which to get the new project authorized—an essential step before funding. The Federal share of the cost is $1,151,000 and the local contribution is $460,000.

Fort Walton Beach is still in the running for the new AEC site, a tremendous undertaking. I do not anticipate there will be additional information available until the end of the year. Selection of the site has taken much more time than had been expected. When I say that you are in the running, I am not seeking to appear either optimistic or pessimistic. There are many other sites that are under consideration, nearly a hundred all totaled.

And now to turn to world problems; things have taken a turn for the better in Vietnam. The power of U.S. forces and equipment is being used to very good advantage. The realistic training which has prompted me to say for years that ours are the best forces in the world is proving itself in conflict. Campaigns to date have been well planned, well coordinated, and well carried out. Actually, they have been few and the results conclusive only in the areas where they took place. It is possible to state, however, that this change has resulted in a tremendous boost of morale for the Vietnamese and the corresponding drop in morale for the Vietcong. North Vietnam is definitely worried about the prospect of fighting alone and there is nothing to indicate that help in the form of manpower will be forthcoming either from Russia or Red China.

It is easy to take comfort from this situation and assume that we will soon be out of the woods. This would be an extremely dangerous conclusion. The Communists use consummate skill to achieve their purposes. They will draw out fighting, use terrorism, adopt whatever tactics will serve to extricate them from difficult situations. If they feel there is no hope of victory through conflict, they will agree to negotiate. Negotiations with Communists historically have been endless and largely meaningless. We will be a long time getting out of Vietnam victorious. There always is the prospect of an intervention of the Red Chinese, in one guise or another. Regardless of all this, we have demonstrated that we can win and, thus far, we have made it plain we intend to win. Both are extremely important.

Meantime there is concern about the growing threat of widening conflict in Asia. The world has witnessed the amazing spectacle of Russia attempting to pour oil on the troubled waters while Red China continues to foment strife. I have pointed out for years that America's real enemy and the real enemy of world peace is now Red China not Russia. China has threatened India's far-flung outposts. This placed India in double jeopardy and if ever carried out the result inevitably would be India's crushing defeat unless there were massive intervention by the United States. World leaders who seek peace have worked overtime thus far successfully—in an effort to checkmate Red China's moves. It is doubtful that full scale war will develop, but under the present circumstances, Red China is calling the turn and has gained in world prestige.

Let me leave this final thought with you. We are now in a period of great change. But the responsibilities of the citizen to his country and to his government have not changed. Our country and our government are no better or no worse than the people who make it up. It may very well be true that at no time in the history of mankind has it been more important for people who love and cherish the true blessings of democracy to determine to protect those blessings. You, like all the others who make up this Nation, can help.

Perhaps it is best expressed in a thing called patriotism—belief in America. Some people think patriotism is going out of style in this country—along with prayer in the schools. To many, the Fourth of July is just another day when they don't have to work. Patriotism, more than anything else is what holds a nation together. We need to work a little harder at generating patriotism, and less at placating rabble rousers and demonstrators.

Mr. Speaker, 2,500 years ago the Greek poet, Alcaous, laid down the principles which best sum up the greatness of any area:

Not houses firmly roofed—

He wrote—

or the stones of walls well builded, may nor canals and dockyards make the city—but men able to use their opportunities.

We have been blessed to have such men, and I trust that in the years ahead northwest Florida will continue to be peopled by "men able to use their opportunities."

The Christian Science Monitor Comments on New Program To Aid Arts and Humanities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, on September 15, I made some remarks in the RECORD explaining why I felt compelled to vote for the motion to recommit the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities bill.

The Christian Science Monitor for September 21, 1965, carried a brief editorial on this legislation, raising some of the same questions about the basic approach of the new program.

The editorial follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 21, 1965]

ARTS, HUMANITIES, AND GOVERNMENT

Despite the poor jokes of a Congressman from Iowa, the American House of Representatives has passed a bill similar to the Senate's for Federal subsidies to the arts and humanities.

We have had our doubts about the setting up of a humanities foundation under such legislation. It seemed to us that one strength of the humanities lay in surviving despite bureaucracy rather than because of it. Also, in both the arts and the humanities, there is the danger of blighting creativity rather than fostering it, as seekers of grants are tempted to do what is wanted rather than what they want to do.

Yet such considerations will not affect the best artists and scholars. And there are plenty of basic uses for effectively administered funds to make possible worthy projects with dubious commercial prospects.

European countries have proved that serious art can flourish under subsidy. The current legislation should at least have symbolic value in countering the impression expressed by its author: "We are the only civilized Nation on earth which has not given recognition to the arts."

Father Kelley Leaves the Presidency of Marquette University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, recently it was announced at Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wis., that the president of the university, the Very Reverend William F. Kelley, S.J., had been assigned by the Jesuit order to study Jesuit higher education in the United States and would relinquish his present post.

Father Kelley will be missed at Marquette and in Milwaukee. He came to the university at a crucial period. His predecessor, the Reverend Edward J. O'Donnell, had done yeoman service in laying the groundwork for an expanded and improved campus. Father Kelley took up this work with characteristic energy and effectiveness, and brought many earlier plans to fruition.

Today the job of running a large, urban university requires outstanding ability. The university president must be, at once, a hardheaded businessman, a farsighted educator, a skilled diplomat, and an articulate spokesman for the institution he heads. Father Kelley was equal to this challenge.

Facing difficult financial and education problems, he helped forge forward-looking policies which will result in the construction of more than $10 million

worth of new facilities. Some of this construction will be done where once substandard structures stood.

This has been made possible by close cooperation between the university and the city of Milwaukee in a federally aided urban renewal project. It will allow for a new and beautiful campus in the midst of a bustling city. It will insure that the educational needs of our community and our State will continue to be met by the high quality of instruction Marquette has provided throughout its history.

The final steps toward the goal of a "Greater Marquette in a Greater Milwaukee" will be taken under the leadership and guidance of Father Kelley's successor, the Very Reverend John P. Raynor, S.J., the former academic vice president at Marquette.

Along with completing the physical facilities necessary to provide up-to-date education, Father Raynor also has tackled the problem of making the university's faculty the best possible. Judging from the achievements of his predecessors, Father O'Donnell and Father Kelley, one may be confident of his ultimate success.

The change in presidents at Marquette has been the subject of editorials in both the Milwaukee Sentinel and the Milwaukee Journal. They point up still further the accomplishments of Father Kelley. I am pleased, therefore, to include them at this point:

[From the Milwaukee Journal, Sept. 10, 1965]

FATHER KELLEY'S CONTRIBUTION

Father William F. Kelley's presidency of Marquette University will be remembered best for three developments.

The school's plans for an expanded campus really started to jell. The vehicle for this—a city-federally aided urban renewal project—moved through the most difficult stages of preparation and has now been approved by Washington.

The university's latest fund drive made considerable gains. More than $10 million worth of new facilities are either under construction now or soon will be.

Finally, Father Kelley was influential in helping to set in motion the new commission for higher educational aids, which dispenses Federal aid to both public and private universities. This is something of a pioneering effort in higher education. It took hard work, and plenty of diplomacy, to make it work effectively.

His successor, Father John P. Raynor, faces the task of consolidating these gains and extending the progress, particularly in the important academic sphere.

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel, Sept. 11, 1965]

CHANGES AT MU

Marquette University, and indeed the Milwaukee community, will miss Father William F. Kelley, as he leaves the presidency of the university for a new position of responsibility.

Under Father Kelley, Marquette laid the groundwork for the creation of a new and expanded campus which, when completed, will more than double the present university campus. Much of the success of this ambitious effort must be credited to the talents, the preseverance, and the diplomacy of Father Kelley.

As we wish Father Kelley well in his new task of studying the Jesuit colleges and universities throughout the country, we can be confident that under its new president, Father John P. Raynor, Marquette will maintain the highest traditions of its past and will fulfill the glorious promises of its future.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

The National Foundation of the Arts and the Humanities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of this body to the following column by Don Maclean of United Features Syndicate in which he points out in humorous fashion a problem with which we all ought to be concerned. For mixed in with Mr. Maclean's light touch is a serious problem which he points up very well.

The text of his column follows:

THE NATIONAL FOUNDATION OF THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES

(By Don Maclean)

The Government is about to get into the arts and humanities game in a big way. It will mean legitimate theaters in neighborhood shopping centers, sculpture in the suburbs and, I guess, a humanitarian in every garage. It's all wrapped up in a couple of complicated bills creating something called the National Foundation of the Arts and the Humanities. What it boils down to is a separate poverty program for artists. The Foundation's big gimmick is its two endowment funds, one for artists of all kinds and one to promote work considered humanitarian.

The humanitarian angle evades my understanding, but the arts endowment I have doped out, if you'll pardon the expression. All an artist need do is prove to the Government that his work meets certain Federal standards and he will be in line for economic aid.

Personally, the only satisfaction I get out of being noncreative is occasionally to see some arty person who has shucked the 9-to-5 world go hungry. But, now, artists whom the Government finds good will be supported by the Foundation and ones who fail to qualify can always rely on the poverty programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity. My question is: If an artist, good or bad, no longer must struggle for his existence, then what's a heaven for?

ACT TWO

According to the House and Senate bills, there will be a Government superclerk in charge of endowing deserving artists. He will be appointed by the President and his appointment will not have to be approved by the Senate. In contrast, the superclerk in charge of handing out money to humanitarians will have to be approved by the Senate.

One is led to conclude that there are fewer starving humanitarians than there are starving artists; the arts endowment thing is going to be so big the White House doesn't want the Senate to mess with it. It is obvious that the chairman of the arts endowment fund, with $63 million behind him, soon will be the most powerful man in art galleries and stages across the country.

According to the bills, he will have a board of experts to advise him, but he will not have to take that advice. In the meantime, he can have the Government underwrite road companies of operas, musicals, and plays, put on arts shows, finance great poetry and sculpture, you name it. Actors, whistlers, folksingers, yodelers, and ventriloquists can hit the boards aided by our money.

ACT THREE

The concern of some Congressmen, Representative WILLIAM WIDNALL, Republican, of New Jersey, for example, is that someone who still has connections with show biz or the arts world will be appointed as arts endowment czar. Certainly one experienced in these things will be named, but Representative WIDNALL feels the only way to avoid conflict-of-interest cries and screams of favoritism by outraged, left-out artists is to have the Senate chat with the appointee.

The Senate could then make sure the arts endowment mogul has shucked all arty financial connections. Another good idea would be to give him a board which cannot be ignored. This would share the responsibility of deciding which great art work or dramatic offering the Government should sponsor.

Representative WIDNALL worries about how embarrassing it might be to everyone if, say, the Government should send a road company of a famous musical off on a tour of shopping centers and then discover that the arts endowment emperor was still drawing royalties from it. Of course, it might be done in all innocence and actually benefit the country, as was pointed out during the Teapot Dome affair, but think how it would look.

Acceptance Speech of L. Eldon James Upon Election as National Commander of the American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, L. Eldon James, a prominent attorney of Hampton, Virginia was elected national commander of the American Legion at Portland, Oreg., on August 26 of this year.

I take pride in pointing out that Commander James is the second Virginian to be elected to this high and responsible position of the world's largest veterans organization, the first having been W. C. "Dan" Daniel, of Danville, Va., in 1956–57 who served the American Legion and the Nation with distinction.

Commander James went on active duty as a lieutenant, U.S. Naval Reserve, shortly after the outbreak of World War II, and became prominent in Legion activities upon his release from the service. In addition to having served as vice commander and commander of his post; as judge advocate, vice commander, and commander of the American Legion, Department of Virginia; national executive committeeman for 8 years; as president of the National Child Welfare Foundation for 2 years; 3 years as chairman of the NEC liaison subcommittee to the national finance commission, he has used his unusual talents as a dedicated servant in many other fields, local, State, and national.

His zeal and determination in face of opposition once earned him the nickname of "The Hawk."

Mr. President, I want to congratulate Commander James for receiving this recognition from his fellow Legionnaires, and say that in my opinion, he is eminently qualified by training and experience to serve well the American Legion, and the American people in this most important post.

I ask unanimous consent that my remarks and Commander James' excellent acceptance speech upon his election as national commander, the American Legion, at Portland, Oreg., on August 26, 1965, be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH OF L. ELDON JAMES UPON ELECTION AS NATIONAL COMMANDER, THE AMERICAN LEGION, AT PORTLAND, OREG., AUGUST 26, 1965

As the change of command is now taking place, let our first words and our first deeds be a resounding thanks to you, Cmdr. Don Johnson, for the magnificent leadership you have given us this year.

Mr. Commander, distinguished guests, fellow Legionnaires, to the 2,917 delegates to this convention and the over 2,600,000 Legionnaires you represent; to 30,000 Legionnaires in the Department of Virginia and especially to the 186 members of my own Hampton Roads Post 31; to our loyal and close friends there, and here, and throughout this land; to the staff of my law firm and to all of my family, for the confidence you have expressed in me by your contribution to my, election to this responsible office of leadership, through the spoken word—I can only say "Thank you." Through my actions and work in the 12 months ahead, I will strive to deserve that confidence. You must share in those actions and you must share in the work to be done.

Since we met in convention 1 year ago in Dallas, Tex., crises in number and magnitude then unanticipated have confronted the American Legion. The actions of that convention, the courageous leaders you selected there, and the determined loyalty in the ranks enabled the American Legion to meet its responsibilities squarely, and with each passing month we have grown stronger.

We possess neither the wisdom nor the intuition to predict with certainty what critical emergency issues may beset us in the year ahead. But what lies immediately before our eyes we must see and with your mandates we will face the obligation that is ours. The strength we possess as an organization, the respect and influence we enjoy in the Halls of Congress, in government, and throughout the land, was not achieved by

refusing to face a vital issue or by turning our back on a problem merely because it was a tough one to lick. For 46 years we have faced the issues—fortified with facts. We have stood firm in the face of pressure. I pledge to you in the year ahead this we shall continue to do.

Well you know the battles we have fought, the issues we have faced, the discouraging setbacks we have experienced, the partial victories we have won, the goals we have sought and often proudly attained. You know them well for you have made that history—made it by work in your posts, in your communities, and through organized group effort with your representatives in Government.

Our national staff has made an outstanding contribution to our success. I am grateful for that excellent and devoted staff, without which the commander's task would not be fulfilled. Experienced and able—cohesive and concerned—they are one of our great assets.

From our gains we take pride and draw encouragement. From our setbacks we must develop wisdom and a new determination to be armed for the new crisis that lie ahead.

In the closing hour of this convention, let us quickly take a look at the responsibilities that confront us.

Two decades now have found no recess in the constant confrontation between the conflicting ideologies of the free world and those of the Communist conspirators. Two decades now have produced no intermission in a cold war that has become very hot in South Vietnam. Hot to the point where young Americans risk and all too often lose their lives in the cause of freedom.

Four Presidents in succession now have committed our lives—our fortunes—and our honor to the end that people who love and seek freedom shall have the right of free determination as to the form of government under which they shall live. Those Presidents have found ample precedent for their decisions in the actions of the early Americans who declared our independence from tyranny and sought and fought for liberty often at the cost of life itself. The firm resolve of our President now to stand fast in Vietnam is in the best tradition of our history and is realistic understanding of the folly of concession to a force that knows no honor.

We must not be lulled asleep in the hope that everyone shares our concern or joins in support of our Government's position in Vietnam. Each passing day brings reports of the voices of opposition—first, it's the misguided—then the misdirected—often the so-called innocent lover of peace—peace at any price. But usually present in the chorus of those who say "pull out of Vietnam" we find detractors who are ready to espouse the Communist doctrine—there are those that go to the revolting extreme of urging our youth not only to refuse to fight in South Vietnam, but to tear up their draft cards and go to other extremes in attempting to embarrass the policies of our Government. Let us look very carefully behind those voices who, although having no authority, are constantly striving to be peacemakers at any price through their own personal intercession.

The American Legion is made up of responsible men and women who hold dear the principles which have made this country great. The responsibility we face now and in the months ahead is to back our Government's determined policy in South Vietnam—and further—to help rally the firm support of all Americans to the defense of freedom there.

At this very hour thousands of our young men are meeting their responsibility in South Vietnam, and thousands more stand ready. To the mothers and fathers of these boys—and to all of their loved ones—for the American Legion I say—personally to them—we thank you. We are proud of them—our prayers are for them—and for you. And we shall do our determined best to support them in every way that will enable them to do their job and return home to you. Your sacrifices are our sacrifices—you stand not alone—for millions of Legionnaires are with you—all the way.

This, then, is our responsibility—yours and mine—in the year ahead. The American Legion accepts that responsibility—and you and I will work at it—together.

During the last year we have witnessed a devastating onslaught against the Veterans' Administration and veterans services. Fast, knowledgeable, and effective action by the American Legion, with able and valuable support of concerned Members of the Congress, lessened the disastrous effect of this Bureau of the Budget inspired attack.

Retiring National Commander Johnson has warned that we have only seen the beginning of the attack upon the Veterans' Administration. This is a realistic assessment of things to come. That challenge is here before us. In the name of the American Legion, I accept that challenge—here and now.

"To care for him who shall have borne the battle, for his widow and his orphan" are words a century old. As long as there is an American Legion, that eloquently expressed concept shall never die.

For 4½ decades, the American Legion has fought to build our national rehabilitation program. If fight we must to maintain those hard-won gains, then fight we shall. The responsibility is ours to see that a grateful people remain ever mindful of their obligation to those who have borne the battle—to those who bear it now—and to those who must bear it in the days to come.

We accept that responsibility—and you and I will work at it—together.

Before the Legion year ahead becomes history, our Nation will have completed 190 years of the greatest achievement in representative government man has ever known. On July 4, 1966, we celebrate our 190th birthday. We are a small Nation when we think in terms of population, yet our little country, in less than two centuries, with only 9 percent of the world's peoples, possesses over 50 percent of the world's good things. What we will have achieved in this time must not be dissipated in the last decade of our first 200 years. Yet, as we glance quickly over our shoulder, the occurrences of yesterday—and yes—today—give us reason for grave concern. The increasing refusal to accept established authority, the growing lack of respect for the rule of our land by law, and the callous disregard for our democratic institutions and their place in an orderly society pose a grave threat to our survival as a representative government.

Nothing is long maintained when respect for it is gone. Disrespect for law, reckless disregard for the rights of others, and flagrant contempt for the orderly legal processes can undermine, and eventually destroy, our society.

These conditions have existed before in the short span of our Nation's history. The roaring 1920's brought gangland wars in our large cities. During the frontier days, terror would grip the hearts of law-abiding people when the word came through—"The Daltons are riding again."

These were symptoms of contempt for discipline and the rule of law. We did not then recklessly throw away our cherished rights in order to correct the conditions. Those conditions were suppressed only to the extent that the orderly processes of a civilized rule of law were applied to suppress them.

In the past, we have prospered as we have maintained a system of government of laws and not of men. Our progress as a nation in the years ahead will be determined by the degree of respect we hold for government by rule of law.

The American Legion is made up of men and women sensitive to their obligations to the law of our land and its orderly administration. In the very beginning of the preamble to our Constitution, we associate ourselves together "to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States and to maintain law and order." To maintain, then—and to instill in others—a solemn respect for law—is our responsibility.

The American Legion must accept that responsibility—and you and I must work at this—together.

These, then, are three of the responsibilities that starky confront us in the days ahead.

1. To strongly support our Government in its determination to resist attacks upon free peoples.

2. To maintain a consciousness of Government's responsibility to care for him who has borne and shall bear the battle.

3. To maintain and promote respect for law and our institutions of government.

These responsibilities we must fulfill and yet our efforts may be in vain. The freedom protected by the sentry who guards the gate today will surely be lost if the sentry whose job it is to guard the gate tomorrow is lulled to sleep at his post.

Through the years, the American Legion has tried to build a better tomorrow for the children of this land. There is vivid testimony of this in the thrilling experience that was ours when five fine young representatives of American Legion programs appeared before this convention. Our positive programs seek to build better citizens for tomorrow that their children may enjoy freedom, too. Those programs fail—and we with them—unless we successfully instill in the youth of this land a patriotic love for God and country and a devoted respect for our institutions of representative government.

We will not accomplish this if we let go unnoticed and unanswered the efforts on the campuses of our colleges by such organizations as the Communist dominated W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs. Clubs which in less than 2 years have amassed a total of over 800 members in 30 separate chapters on our college and university campuses. These groups seek to pervert the patriotism of our youth and distort our traditional concepts for authority and observance of law.

We recognize that out of millions of American college students 800 is a tiny minority. It is to the vast majority of fine young people that we say—we have confidence in you and we offer our help in opposing a threat which is no less serious merely because it is presently small.

The responsibility to instill in our youth love of country and an understanding of the true traditions of Americanism demands our devoted attention. Our youth deserve the best we can give. Above all, you and I must work at this responsibility—together.

One year from today, we will meet in convention in our Nation's Capital. An inventory then of the accomplishments of our first 190 years as a nation will stagger the imagination and will overshadow any other nation or culture that may seek comparison. This is indisputable whether we measure in terms of spiritual growth, material accumulation, political maturity or social progress. The accomplishments have been so magnificent they have encouraged an alarming indifference toward the very qualities of citizenship that have made possible this magnificent progress.

I believe that patriotic citizens, loyal to the cause of freedom and representative government, grateful for the opportunity that our Nation's progress has afforded them, and responsive to the urgent need now that our institutions of government under law be strengthened, will during the closing decade of our first 200 years as a nation rekindle

the fires of freedom and keep alive a vibrant, disciplined respect for government by law and not by men.

I further believe that the American Legion will take a back seat to no organization, or group, in its patriotic and enlightened concern for the problems that face us today and in the decade ahead.

And I also believe that the American Legion will take the initiative in calling upon all citizens who love liberty and detest tyranny to promote a new awareness among our people of the virtues of self-discipline, of respect for law, and for the use of the orderly processes of government.

This we must do by standing behind our Government in its firm resolve against encroachment from beyond our shores, by resisting the inroads of subversion and indifference from within, by defending and protecting the just treatment of the disabled and needy veteran. And, finally, my friends, lest in the end all be lost—by recognizing that the youth of this land are the trustees of tomorrow. To them we must turn—and in them diligently instill the burning desire to keep alive the fires of freedom and preserve the institutions of government that have made us great.

Your mandates to me are clear. I pledge to you my total effort as we strive to make those mandates effective.

All of this is your responsibility and mine. All of this you and I must do—together—in the days and the months that lie ahead.

A Review of the Lindsay Book

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, Caspar Citron, a New York political activist of Democratic stripe, has written a book, published by the Fleet Publishing Corp., entitled "JOHN V. LINDSAY and the Silk Stocking Story."

The letter I received from the publisher asking me for a review noted that "several publications have mistaken the book for a campaign biography." I do not see why. The book is no sugar coated, hard to take seriously deification thrown together for the short-lived but lucrative campaign-time sales market. On the contrary, it is a discussion of the forces that have shaped and are shaping the Nation's most publicized congressional district. Only after some 60 pages does a preoccupation with the incumbent Congressman set in, belatedly living up to the promise of the full-page, campaign market oriented picture of JOHN that enlivens the backflap of the book jacket. Up until that time, Caspar Citron has concerned himself with evolution of the latter-day 17th Congressional District as seen through the political careers of JOHN LINDSAY's predecessors.

In my opinion, Mr. Citron has done a good job in setting down the shifting philosophical sands and changing socioeconomic wellsprings of a district which he now portrays as finding its present optimum political representation in the efforts of our distinguished colleague. He makes a breathing entity of a district which for many people takes shape only as the creature and creation of media preoccupation and consequent distortion.

JOHN LINDSAY may be better known as a Congressman, I feel, by knowing him in the context of his district. As we all know, districts change—and in changing they often revamp their representational requirements. For example, it may be hard for people who know the present complexion of the 17th District to credit the fact that in the 1946 Republican primary, the then Congressman, a noted liberal internationalist, was defeated 5 to 1 by a stanch Taft conservative who was for a time to oppose the graduated income tax. I was in the New York State Senate at the time, so I barely knew the defeated Joe Baldwin, but I served with Fritz Coudert during my first 6 years in this House until his retirement in 1958. He was as unlike JOHN LINDSAY as he could be.

Caspar Citron interviewed Fritz Coudert who attributes the liberal trend of the district to the tearing down of all the old, monied apartment buildings in the midtown section, to be replaced by grand canyons of glass-encased office buildings, accompanied by the construction of slab after slab of cheaper, white-collar "cavedweller" efficiency apartment houses on the district's periphery. There is more to the changing portrait of the district than residential construction and destruction, of course, and Mr. Citron manages to touch on most of it in an unpretentious and interesting study. Perhaps the book is most valuable as the evolved context of a Congressman. Its best title might be "The Silk Stocking Story and JOHN LINDSAY," but under any title, it is informative and enjoyable reading. I commend it to all interested Members.

Rev. Calvin Thielman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, Rev. Calvin Thielman, originally from Texas, now of Montreat, N.C., is one of the finest young men I have ever been privileged to know. He recently went to Vietnam, where he preached and prayed with our troops there. I understand that very shortly, since his return, he is going to be attached to the Navy as a preacher. He had an experience in Vietnam worthy of everyone's reading. He wrote an article which appeared in the Presbyterian Journal of September 15, 1965, entitled "Viet Missionaries See No Backout Now."

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VIET MISSIONARIES SEE NO BACKOUT NOW

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—With increasing attention being paid to the Vietnam war in the religious community, a Presbyterian U.S. minister has gone to take a look for himself. The following article is based on an interview with the visitor, the Reverend Calvin Thielman.)

MONTREAT, N.C.—"Christian ministers in the United States who oppose what is going on out here do not understand the situation. Don't the people back home know we are helping these people out here? I am frustrated and disgusted by what I have read." The speaker was the Reverend Grady Mangrum, for 18 years a Christian and Missionary Alliance missionary in Vietnam. Telling his story here was the Reverend Calvin Thielman, pastor of the Montreat church, back home after 2 weeks in Vietnam.

"I did not meet a single missionary who did not believe that the United States did not have a commitment to stay in Vietnam," reported Mr. Thielman. "One missionary said he knew of a Mennonite fellow worker who was opposed to war on conscientious grounds but he did not believe that the United States should pull out of Vietnam now," he continued.

DISAGREE WITH CLERICS

The Presbyterian U.S. minister made the trip under the sponsorship of the Department of Defense at the request of the White House. He traveled from one end of South Vietnam to the other, preaching in villages and cities and in the field, wherever he could assemble military personnel for a service. He even flew a Phantom jet mission from an aircraft carrier, and took helicopter trips to several military installations and fortified villages in the countryside. He reported sharp disagreement from the military, from civilians and from U.S. missionaries, with the clergymen who have made hurried trips to Vietnam and returned to criticize American foreign policy.

"I met no one on my trip who had so much as seen that group of clergymen who signed those full-page newspaper ads," reported Mr. Thielman. "From the chief of chaplains in Vietnam to Gen. William C. Westmoreland, commander of all American forces there, none I talked to said they had known anything about them until they read the reports from back home. The general told me he would have been glad to talk to them had he known they were in the country and had they requested an interview," reported Mr. Thielman.

DOORS WOULD CLOSE

Christian work continues in Vietnam and very few missionaries have been forced to come home, the softspoken Texan who is a personal friend of President Johnson told the journal. "I looked up Gordon Cathy, of Asheville, N.C., who is now pastor of the International Protestant Church in Saigon," he said, "and he stressed the freedom which Christian work enjoys even in wartime under the present circumstances. Mr. Cathy told me was thankful to be able to continue his Christian witness. But he said, "If concessions are made this door will surely be closed."

Mr. Thielman was particularly impressed with the evidence he saw of service rendered to civilians by the military. On one inspection trip by helicopter to a fortified village with General Westmoreland, the general queried a tall Negro medical sergeant about his work after hours. "This month I delivered 4 babies and treated nearly 1,000 people for various ailments and injuries," reported the sergeant.

I met another medic who has requested an extension of his tour of duty in order that he might continue working with the Vietnamese," said Mr. Thielman. "A wearer of the coveted green beret of the Special Forces, that medic was more like a missionary than a blood and thunder commando."

Smiling at one recollection, Mr. Thielman said, "I remember one time when a Marine

major general was giving orders for the replacement of a cow killed in an artillery barrage. 'I don't want paper compensation for this woman," said the general, referring to the peasant woman whose cow had been killed. 'I want you to go out and buy her another cow and bring it to her'."

Also impressive, according to Mr. Thielman, was the evidence he saw of high morale among the troops. "I saw it in the hospitals I visited and heard of it from wounded men who knew why they were fighting and who believed they were doing the right thing," he said.

"Many of the men go to Vietnam with reservations about the war—with resentment and bitterness, even," continued Mr. Thielman. "But after seeing first hand the atrocities committed by the Communists and witnessing the desire of so many of those people to defend themselves, most of them begin to feel differently about it. They tell you stories of babies with chopsticks rammed into their ears, of native Christians buried alive, of civilians used as human shields.

"And these have been martyrs among missionaries, too," when on the minister. "One of the Wycliffe translators was killed holding her baby. The bullet that killed her killed the child too."

Mr. Thielman had a final word from Chaplain Peter Bakker, of the Marines. Said Chaplain Bakker, who had been in the big battle at Chou Lai: "Take this word back home from a man who has had his hands stained with the blood of dying men: Freedom may seem free to most but it is not cheap. It has cost many their lives."

Raise Pay, Boost Rent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. HARVEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, a number of weeks ago, when Congress boosted the pay scale for our servicemen by unanimous vote, there were many Members who felt an even larger increase was justified. I, for one, was thoroughly convinced that the pay bill was an absolute necessity.

It is, therefore, most disturbing and practically unbelievable to read about what has taken place just recently at Selfridge Air Force Base, located near Mount Clemens, Mich., and just barely outside the limits of Michigan's Eighth District. As reported in the September 27 edition of the Port Huron Times Herald, Port Huron, Mich., the Federal Government has now raised the rent of the housing it supplies to military personnel just off the base. With one hand we authorize a slight pay increase and then another branch of our Government takes it away. I urge each of you to read this newspaper article.

Just read this one quote by the wife of an airman first class.

We'd have to take more out of our base pay. I'm working nights as a press operator to help out as it is.

Even the conditions of this housing are difficult to defend.

We are concerned—and rightfully so—about why we cannot encourage talented and dedicated young men to make a career of military service. This is an excellent reason why we are failing * * * we are simply failing our men and their families.

I have today written to Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara on this particular situation at Selfridge. I have also inquired as to whether rent increases have been ordered in other branches of our services and at other bases.

The article follows:

[From the Port Huron Times-Herald, Sept. 27, 1965]

UNITED STATES RAISES PAY, THEN UPS RENTALS—SELFRIDGE WIVES UNHAPPY

MOUNT CLEMENS.—Air Force wives here were happy about the raises their husbands got recently until the Federal Government raised the rent at the housing it supplies just off Selfridge Air Force Base.

"I don't understand how they can charge us more," said Mrs. Betty Dellew. She pointed to holes in the side of her kitchen sink and a broken window with cardboard in it.

Mrs. Dellew's husband, an airman first class, received a $23 monthly raise, she said, and the rent was raised from $82 to $105 a month almost simultaneously.

"The timing was strictly accidental," explained Capt. Edward B. Leland, base housing officer.

"When I do my washing," said Mrs. Susan Miller, the mother of seven, "the water goes from my washer into my neighbor's sink. The same thing happens to me when she does the wash."

"We moved in because it was cheaper than anything else we could find," said Mrs. Renee Rogers.

Captain Leland said the families knew the conditions of the houses when they rented them, adding an appeal would be made to the Air Force to have the rent increase repealed.

The servicemen get an allowance for their housing although it is not sufficient to cover the rent in many instances, some wives said. They said they feared losing their quarters allowance if they moved to other housing.

"We'd have to take more out of our base pay," Mrs. Dellew said. "I'm working nights as a press operator to help out as it is."

However, Captain Leland said "as far as I know, the quarters allowances will not be cut off if the families move."

The 138 Government-owned living units at Selfridge are listed as substandard under military housing standards. Leland said they were built in the early forties to provide temporary housing for military families.

No Voter Discrimination Suit Filed in Bolivar County, Miss.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PRENTISS WALKER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. WALKER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I received a telegram from the elected officials of Bolivar County, Miss. These people feel that they have received unfair treatment from the Justice Department and ask that we attempt to correct the injustices. Although this county is not in my district these people are my friends and I feel it my duty as a Mississippian to see if the situation in Bolivar County can be corrected. This telegram which I shall insert in the RECORD, points out that Bolivar County, Miss., has never had any discrimination in voter registration—nor have they ever had a voter discrimination suit filed against them. Nevertheless, the Attorney General has seen fit to send registrars into the county under provisions of the Voter Rights Act of 1965.

Mr. Speaker, on this day, I have directed a letter with a copy of the telegram to Mr. Katzenbach asking for an explanation of the charges outlined in the telegram. If the Attorney General's office can offer no encouraging information, I shall be compelled to call upon the Office of the President.

I am aware that the Voter Rights Act of 1965 must be obeyed, as any other law of the land, but I am also aware of the fact that the Voter Rights Act may be used by those in power as machinery for developing the most powerful political whip the South has ever seen.

I urge my colleagues to call upon the Justice Department to encourage them to be just in their use of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The act was passed supposedly to insure the equal application of voting requirements to both Negro and whites. But, under no circumstances should this act be inaugurated in communities where it is not needed.

The telegram follows:

CLEVELAND, MISS.,
September 28, 1965.

Hon. PRENTISS WALKER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

This message is sent to you and the other members of our congressional delegation by all of the elected officials of Bolivar County. We feel that an injustice is about to be inflicted on Bolivar County and we ask your active support to correct it. Last Friday UPI reported that Federal registars would be sent into five more Mississippi counties including Bolivar. Quoting the article, "Katzenbach said the additional counties were pegged because of a series of lawsuits brought by Mississippi Attorney General Joe Patterson to prevent registration of illiterates." We would like to point out that Bolivar County had nothing to do with these lawsuits and it is unjust and wrong for us to be the butt of Mr. Katzenbach's ire when the facts don't justify Federal registars.

What are the facts? The facts are that Bolivar County has had Negro voters for 75 years. There has never been any discrimination in voting on account of race. The Justice Department has in its files, photostats of every voter application from 1954 to June 28, 1965. Justice Department attorneys and FBI men reviewed these records time after time and found no discrimination.

While voter suits were filed by the Attorney General throughout the South and 28 suits were filed in Mississippi, none was filed against Bolivar County. In fact, for 11 years there was not a single complaint by the Attorney General of discrimination on the part of our circuit clerk. We have not kept voter registration records according to race in many years because we have considered it contrary to law. However, on June 28, 1965, the approximate date the new, simplified voter form went into effect in Mississippi, the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou had 370 Negroes registered to vote. The Attorney General can verify this either from his records or our records. This is true in spite of the fact that the Attorney

General in his news release saw fit to quote 1959 voter figures for Bolivar County. The Mississippi Legislature passed a simplified voter form about June 28, 1965. This form is as simple or is simpler than the laws of 20 other States.

Since that date 1,763 people have registered to vote in Bolivar County. In a period of less than 90 days the voter registration has increased by more than 25 percent and the overwhelming majority of these 1,763 people are Negroes. Mound Bayou has increased its registration by 223 since that date. The East and East Cleveland, a predominately Negro precinct, has increased by 332. Mr. Katzenbach has the reputation of being a fair and honorable man. We believe that if these facts are brought to his attention he will rescind his previous order to send registars to Bolivar County. The people of Mississippi adopted the simple voter form by 3 to 1. The vote in Bolivar County was 7 to 1. We have made an honest effort to do the right thing. The Attorney General's announcement, in view of our attitude and our past action of no discrimination, astounded us because of its gross unfairness. We are calling upon you as our elected people in Washington to take our case to the President and to Mr. Katzenbach and urge that this unjust order be descinded. And we request that you inform us as to the action taken.

C. W. Capps, Jr., H. B. Boykin, G. D. Criss, I. Myers, Milton Smith, Danna C. Moore, Wm. B. Alexander, Max Dilworth, Elmer Prewitt, Alfred Welshans, O. J. Scott, Walter Sillers, J. A. Thigpen, E. H. Green.

The Real Alabama—Part LXVII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, many cities in Alabama have undergone basic economic changes in recent years as conditions change to require new enterprise and development. In many cases great diversification has been the result, bringing with it a broad economic base.

One example of this is the city of Jasper. The story of Jasper has been told in an article appearing in the Birmingham News, and I include the text of that article here:

Jasper, Ala., was thrown deep into economic depression in the early 1950's when the coal market collapsed. Through determination, initiative, and confidence the city bounced back to realize a versatile industrial complex, and a solid economy.

And Jasper, county seat of Walker County in northwest Alabama, is not about to rest on this. The city and county are on the march to attract more industry.

Now thriving with a population of 13,636, Jasper doesn't find it difficult to remember the dark days of the 1950's when they saw 6,000 county coal miners lose their jobs overnight.

"Up until 1950," Doug Leake, former chamber of commerce president explains, "this county was mainly dependent on coal. The sudden decline in the market gave Walker County its own private depression."

Leake said the citizens endeavored to find other industries to replace coal and with an eye toward diversification.

Industry in Jasper today ranges from dress shirts to dressed chickens and from strip mining to mink food.

"We're not a one-engine town now," John Oliver, chamber vice president says, "We've got good diversification in industry and we've got everything needed for industry—railways, highways, water, and a good trading center."

Jasper has developed a 95-acre industrial park to attract more industry while advertising its most valuable resources—good plant sites, abundant timber, available labor, three railroads, water, river transportation, and community cooperation.

Jasper and other county communities speak with pride about their school system, their good hospitals and particular pride is taken in Walker College, a private, independent, and nondenominational 2-year liberal arts college. Established in 1938, the college now has a faculty of 25 with an enrollment of more than 400.

Strip mining is a major factor in the county economy but the adversity of the fifties really taught the people a lesson—don't put all those economy eggs in one basket.

Agricultural products, displayed every year in the Northwest Alabama Fair in Jasper, have grown from a $5 million industry in 1954 to a total farm income of $15,310,000 in 1963.

Poultry business zoomed from a small $1,210,000 in 1954 to an income of $11,500,000 in 1963.

A pet project currently underway is the development of Smith Lake as a recreational area. The huge body of fish-filled water has a shoreline of 500 miles and covers 21,000 acres.

"The development of Smith Lake will mean a tremendous amount of money for our community," Joe McCluney, chamber executive director says.

In A. R. Simmons, chamber president's view, "The diversification in Jasper and Walker County since the coal mine recession is a monument to the determination and initiative of the people."

Simmons also paid tribute to the confidence of the companies and organizations "both local and foreign who brought many jobs to our county." He sees the area as an ideal geographical location for industry "with a healthy and mature labor atmosphere and a population determined to help itself."

Human Investment Act of 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing a bill today which I believe to be a sound approach to an aspect of the Nation's continuing problem of unemployment and job retraining. It is known as the Human Investment Act of 1965. A number of my Republican colleagues, under the leadership of the distinguished gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] have introduced similar bills.

The Human Investment Act would encourage private business both large and small to invest in upgrading the job skills of the Nation's labor force. It would accomplish this by providing a 7-percent tax credit to an employer toward certain of his employee training expenses. Among the expenses specifically named are those relating to: apprenticeship training, on-the-job training under the Manpower Development and Training Act, cooperative work study programs, and tuition refund and organized group instruction payments by employers.

This would give an employer an incentive to expand his training programs and to initiate new programs for his employees. By participating in advanced training, an employee can improve his skills and thus improve his job security and earning ability. As those presently employed move up to better jobs through more training, those now unemployed because of insufficient skills can be hired to take their places. Also it would offer new hope to workers whose jobs are threatened by automation or by shifting defense contracts.

In passing the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Congress indicated its awareness of the need for meeting the increasingly serious problem of structural unemployment caused by a labor force ill fitted for existing and developing job opportunities. The Human Investment Act will link private enterprise efforts with those efforts being made by Federal and State governments in this important area. The major premise of the proposal which I am introducing is that private business has over the years learned how to obtain the most results per training dollar and should now be encouraged to expand its training programs to meet this national need.

It is my hope that my colleagues on both sides of the aisle will examine seriously the merits of this legislation.

Whose Side Are We On?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, many of us have been, to say the least, a little confused about our foreign policy in regard to India and Pakistan.

Fortunately, Mr. Art Buchwald, writing in the Washington Post of September 23, 1965, has brilliantly clarified any confusion that might have existed.

I commend his article, which follows, to all Members of Congress and to the State Department:

"WHOSE SIDE ARE WE ON?"

(By Art Buchwald)

It is very important, the psychiatrists say, to answer your children's questions honestly and concisely no matter how difficult they become. I thought of this the other day while I was watching a news broadcast of the Indian-Pakistani war and my 11-year-old son with a machinegun in his hand asked, "What are they fighting about?"

"A place called Kashmir," I replied. "You see, the Indians have Kashmir now, but the Pakistanis claim the Kashmir people want to be a part of Pakistan because they're Moslem and not Hindu."

My son looked at me questioningly. "Whose side are we on?"

"We're not on either side. We have a treaty with Pakistan and we supplied her with most of the planes and arms that she is using against India. At the same time we supplied India with arms and planes, but we didn't think they'd use them to fight each other."

"What did we think?"

"We thought they'd use them to fight the Communists."

"Why don't they fight the Communists?"

"It's not that simple," I said, slightly annoyed. "The Chinese Communists are supporting Pakistan and the Russian Communists seem to be supporting India. We would probably be more sympathetic toward the Pakistanis, except that the Chinese Communists are threatening to invade India.

"Without confusing you," I continued, "our main problem is: do we send military aid to India to repulse the Chinese Communists or not?"

He seemed to enjoy seeing me perspire.

"Why is it a problem?" he wanted to know.

"Because if we help the Indians against the Red Chinese, the Indians might turn around and use the equipment on the Pakistanis and prolong the war between India and Pakistan."

This seemed to satisfy him and I relaxed. But he was just digesting the material. Finally he said, "What is the solution?"

I grabbed the sides of the chair. "The solution is to take the war to the United Nations and let them solve it."

"But if we go to the United Nations, won't the Russians vote against us?"

"No, on this issue the Russians will vote with us. They're against us in Vietnam but not in India."

"Why not?"

"Because the Russians are as worried about the Red Chinese as we are."

"I don't understand. Aren't they both Communists?"

"Yes," I said, "but the Chinese Communists are more communistic than the Russian Communists. We can live with Russian communism but we can't live with Chinese communism, unless, of course, the Russians start pushing us around again in Cuba."

"Then should we like the Russians?"

"As far as India is concerned, yes. But we don't have to like them in Vietnam."

"Would we fight with the Russians against China if they attacked India?"

"It's possible. At the same time the Russians would probably fight with the Chinese if we attacked China."

"I don't get it," he said as he aimed a machinegun at Walter Cronkite who was at that moment on the TV screen.

"I don't see how I could make it simpler. Any child could understand it."

A Sound Way To Combat Unemployment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation designed to give private industry a 7-percent income tax credit for providing employees with needed job training or to improve their skills. This proposal is advisedly known as the Human Investment Act.

Under its terms, a tax credit would apply to wages of apprentices plus the cost of classroom instruction paid for by employers. Trainees would have to stay on the employer payroll for at least 3 months after finishing training.

This would meet the problem that many Government programs have run into—finding jobs for newly trained workers. Apprentices could be trained for jobs where labor shortages are current.

Also, the bill would give an employer an incentive to expand his training programs and initiate new programs for employees. It is the kind of program all business, big or small, could utilize.

This tax credit approach places the responsibility for increased job training where it belongs—on the private enterprise system. This system is equipped to conduct job training more effectively, efficiently, and economically than is the Government. It also offers new hope to workers whose jobs are threatened by automation.

Mr. Speaker, there is ample justification for such a tax credit proposal. Gordie Neufeld, in an editorial which appeared in the September 16 issue of the Mountain Lake, Minn., Observer, reported that 2.2 million jobs were created in 1964 alone by private employers in a massive and realistic war on poverty. Mr. Neufeld's editorial provides much insight into the need for the kind of legislation I am introducing today, and I include it in full at this point in my remarks:

WAR ON POVERTY

(By Gordie Neufeld)

The Government's antipoverty program is coming in for much criticism. Charges against the program are common. So far, it is said, most of the benefits seem to have gone to a well-paid administrative bureaucracy—relatively few to the poor.

Meanwhile, private employers are creating millions of jobs in a "poverty war" of their own. About 6 million of these jobs have come into existence in the last 5 years—2.2 million in 1964 alone. And, to quote a magazine article, "the private war on poverty has been particularly helpful to those Negroes, teenagers, and others, who were without education, skills, or experience."

Whatever the Government program may ultimately achieve, the most effective weapon against poverty is dynamic, expanding, socially conscious private enterprise.

Matching Skills to Jobs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call to my colleagues' attention an excellent editorial which was published in the September 27, 1965, edition of the Chicago Daily News.

The editorial discusses the Human Investment Act of 1965, a bill which more than 43 Members of the House introduced recently. I was pleased to join the gentleman from Missouri, Congressman TOM CURTIS, and Senator WINSTON PROUTY, of Vermont, in this significant effort.

Our bill proposes to complement the manpower training programs under Government supervision by offering a 7-percent tax credit to employers who train workers in new job skills. This is an approach to a specific problem which combines incentive and independence. It is an approach which, I am convinced, will work. It is an approach which will give private business an opportunity to contribute to its own well-being, as well as to the well-being of the Nation.

The Daily News editorial suggests that the administration may be considering supporting this bill. I welcome—and I am sure the cosponsors of this bill will welcome—any and all assistance which might be given to this important proposal. Though the bill has been sponsored up to this point solely by the representatives of one political party, the support of the other party would represent a fine victory for the best interests of the American people.

The editorial follows:

MATCHING SKILLS TO JOBS

The human investment bill, introduced in Congress by a group of Republicans of virtually all shades of party opinion, is a sound approach to one of the Nation's most nagging problems.

The problem is known as "structural unemployment" and was defined by Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, Republican, of Missouri, in presenting the bill on the House floor:

"A large portion of our unemployment is not because of too few jobs, but because a large portion of our manpower is untrained in the skills that are actually at this moment in serious demand."

The proposed Human Investment Act would complement the manpower training programs under Government supervision by offering a 7-percent tax credit to employers who train workers in new job skills. The credit parallels the 7-percent allowance enacted 3 years ago to spur investment in machinery, plant, and equipment. The GOP position, CURTIS pointed out, is "that tax laws should treat humans as at least equal to machines."

The proposed act has several advantages over programs under direct Government control. It accomplishes an important objective without the waste of collecting tax money and then disbursing it, and without the increase in Federal control inherent in other programs.

It stipulates that a successful trainee must be offered a job and that no tax credit will be allowed for the training of management, professional, or advanced scientific employes. The emphasis is thus placed on new and better jobs for those at the bottom of the skills and income ladder.

By encouraging private industry's role in retraining, the bill involves the people who know best what skills are needed and how to get the greatest results for the money.

There is talk in Washington that the virtues of this approach are so apparent the Johnson administration is thinking of taking over the bill, in some amended version, and perhaps eventually portraying it to the public as a Democratic achievement in the war on poverty.

This would be no new experience for CURTIS. As a ranking GOP economic ideaman, he was chairman of a 48-member subcommittee of the Republican policy committee that studied unemployment in 1961 and issued a germinal report stressing the fact of "structural unemployment" and the need for job retraining. Much of this Republican spadework went into the Manpower Develop-

ment and Training Act, passed in 1962 as a New Frontier measure

The Democrats may again try to grab the credit in the proposed Human Investment Act The record makes clear however, that it was the product of the thinking of Republicans like WINSTON L. PROUTY, of Vermont, in the Senate, and CURTIS and 43 other GOP Representatives, including RUMSFELD, ANDERSON, COLLIER, FINDLEY, and MCCLORY, of Illinois.

How To Obtain the Best Medical Care for Individual Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, as I have taken a very vigorous position over the years as to how to provide the best medical care possible for the American people, and in light of the passage by Congress recently of the so-called medicare bill, I was particularly interested in some very blunt constructive comments on medicare by Samuel Lubell, the noted author, public opinion analyst, and researcher. This appeared in his syndicated column described by the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain, and was published, for example, in the Bangor, Maine, Daily News, August 28, 1965. In his column, Mr. Lubell describes the experience of his wife and himself with the Mary Fletcher Hospital and its doctors in Burlington, Vt., after their 15-year-old son, Walter, was found semiconscious in an up-State New York camp. Because I deeply care that individual Americans receive thoughtful, helpful, individualized medical care, carefully administered rather than sloppily dished out, the very moving experience of the Samuel Lubell family should give all of us pause to think and to learn from it as to how the so-called medical program is developed:

QUESTION BORN OF TRAGEDY: CAN A SOCIETY BE GREAT AND LACK FOCUS ON INDIVIDUAL?—BATTLE FOR YOUR MIND

(By Samuel Lubell)

It was a strange way to get a glimpse into what makes a truly Great Society.

At 2 o'clock one morning my wife and I were startled out of our sleep by the ringing telephone—our 15-year-old son, Walter, had been found semiconscious on the bathroom floor at camp in upstate New York and had been driven to the Mary Fletcher Hospital in Burlington, Vt. Brain surgery might be needed.

Before leaving for the hospital, we asked our family doctor to find out which New York City brain surgeons were on hand in the city and might be flown to Burlington.

But the Mary Fletcher turned out to be an unusual kind of hospital, particularly skilled in neurosurgery. Walter had shown almost immediate improvement, which gave Dr. Martin Flanagan time to perform a series of tests to determine what had happened inside Walter's brain.

On the second day, through the angiogram technique, Dr. Flanagan discovered that a blood vessel in Walter's brain had been closed off, producing a mild stroke which partially paralyzed part of his left side. Fortunately, other veins and blood vessels took over, sending blood into the deprived part of the brain and restoring Walter's functioning to normal.

HUMAN FEELING

Gratified as we were by the skill of the doctor, we were equally impressed by another feature of the Mary Fletcher Hospital—the gentle, human feeling shown by the nursing and hospital staff not simply to us, but to all the hospital's patients and visitors.

While living in New York City and Washington we had come to accept depersonalization as part of the price to be paid for modern medical technology and urban living. Mary Fletcher is free of the many big city difficulties. Still, in serving a population area of 100,000, it is plagued with the same problems of too few hospital beds and a shortage of nurses that confront larger institutions. And yet, no one seemed too busy to be thoughtful.

We noticed that the nurses and attendants refer to each patient by name, rather than by room number or as "that cardiac" or "traffic accident" case.

Dick Courtiss, the counselor who drove Walter from the camp, found that a cot had been set up for him so that he could sleep within easy call. While Helen, my wife, was waiting to see the doctor, an elderly attendant stopped and asked "How is Walter?"

After chatting a few moments, she asked Helen, "Can I get you a cup of tea?"

The gray-haired clerk at the information desk was never the brusque gatekeeper. She answered requests for information about the patients in full detail, and telephoned about motel accommodations for out-of-town visitors. This consideratenesss was evident everywhere in the hospital.

WORK IS ORGANIZED

What is Mary Fletcher's secret that enables it to combine so high a degree of medical efficiency with an old-fashioned "You're part of the family" quality of nursing care?

One of the head nurses, Phyllis Raine, insisted, "It's the kind of people Vermonters are." But another Vermonter, Sally Sample, who is the director of nursing, pointed out that only half of the nursing staff is from Vermont.

Miss Sample had no simple explanation for Mary Fletcher beyond the fact that "We really work at making the care of the patients our whole purpose."

The fact that Mary Fletcher is attached to the University of Vermont's medical school helps. The hospital work is organized as an educational experience, with doctors and nurses working together as a team.

"The young nurses lift the tone of the whole staff," Miss Sample explained, "They're idealistice and enthusiastic."

Size is an other important factor. Still, in 3 years, Mary Fletcher has grown from 240 to 330 beds, with another 150-bed unit going into construction. Each year 30 percent of the nurses leave and must be replaced in competition with higher paying cities. The starting salary for a nurse in New York City is $100 a week, while Mary Fletcher pays only $75, though this is now being raised to $85.

NEED PERSONAL TOUCH

I asked several nurses whether they received fomal indoctrination in how to be considerate. Their reply invariably was, "We're given no set of rules. You see everyone behaving that way and just do it naturally yourself."

Their replies left me wondering whether the real secret of Mary Fletcher might not be just this: that the sense of personal human care had always been there and had never been lost, even while the hospital doubled and tripled in size and added the latest advances in medical technology.

After Walter was out of danger, we sat talking with Dr. Lester Wallman, another of Mary Fletcher's neurosurgeons. He remarked, "Some big city doctors have told me they must build a wall between themselves and their patients—there are so many of them."

But does this fact that there are so many of them mean that medical efficiency must be callous and depersonalized? Or is it that we have just given up trying to preserve the personal touch?

We have become so intent upon organizing our society in terms of masses of people, statistics and punch cards, and with so much emphasis on spending by the billions. But can you build a really Great Society if it is so impersonal and it it has lost the focus on the individual human being?

Warren Hearn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, for over 30 years I have had the privilege and honor of knowing Warren Hearn, FBI special agent at Dyersburg, Tenn.

Mr. Hearn was born in Weakley County, Tenn., and graduated from Dresden High School. He and I were in college together and I have watched his career since then.

He is retiring from the Federal Bureau of Investigation on October 8. There appeared an excellent article about his service in the Dyersburg State Gazette, an outstanding daily newspaper of the Nation, and also relative to his recognition for over a quarter of a century of service with the Bureau. These articles are quoted below.

One of the important cases Mr. Hearn worked on and helped to solve was the kidnap care of Dennis Clyde Burke, an 8-year-old boy who was kidnaped at Humboldt, Tenn., on April 24, 1964.

Four days later, on April 28, 1964, Dennis was spotted riding in a car with an adult male in New Orleans, La., by a special agent of the FBI. This individual, wanted for three kidnap-murders of children, was arrested by FBI agents and Dennis was rescued unharmed, to be happily reunited with his family.

When the disappearance of Dennis Burke was reported to the FBI on April 25, 1964, Special Agent Warren R. Hearn, in charge of the FBI's resident agency at Dyersburg, Tenn., set in motion an intensive, 'round-the-clock investigation that culminated in the kidnaper's arrest in New Orleans and the release of his victim.

FBI agents under Special Agent Hearn's supervision determined that Dennis Burke was last seen in the company of an individual who was probably identical with one of the FBI's 10 most wanted fugitives. Additional investigation identified the automobile believed to be in the possession of the fugitive and Special Agent Hearn learned that it had been recently stolen. Through tactful, diplomatic interviews with the distraught parents, Mr. Hearn obtained

descriptive and other information regarding their son. He then caused this information, along with identifying data on the stolen automobile, to be widely disseminated to various law enforcement agencies, including the New Orleans FBI office. The fugitive and Dennis Burke were observed in this automobile in New Orleans.

In a personal letter to Special Agent Hearn, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover stated that:

Under your skillful direction, this matter was handled with a high degree of alertness and initiative. * * * You should entertain a feeling of pride in having contributed immeasurably to the success achieved and I wish to express my appreciation for your fine services.

The accused kidnaper is Joseph Francis Bryan, Jr.

Mr. Hearn has certainly been an asset and credit to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which we all know has had such an outstanding record under the direction of the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover.

As Mr. Hearn retires to become the trust officer at the First Citizens National Bank of Dyersburg, Tenn., we wish for him continued success.

The articles follow:

[From the Dyersburg (Tenn.) State Gazette, Sept. 7, 1965]

HEARN TO JOIN FIRST-CITIZENS—APPLICATION OF RESIDENT AGENT FOR FBI RETIREMENT ACCEPTED

Vern Forcum, president of First-Citizens National Bank of Dyersburg announced today that Warren R. Hearn will join the bank's staff on October 11, 1965, following his retirement from the Federal Bureau of Investigation on October 8.

Mr. Hearn was born in Weakley County, Tenn., received his early education in Weakley County and graduated from the Dresden High School. He is an alumnus of Murray State College, Murray, Ky., and National Law University, Washington, D.C., now a branch of George Washington University, where he received his LL.B. degree in 1940. He was admitted to practice law in the State of Tennessee during 1940.

Mr. Hearn was appointed as a special agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on August 5, 1940, and has served in offices at Salt Lake City, Dallas, New York City, Charlotte, N.C., San Francisco, and Memphis. He has been resident agent at Dyersburg since 1948, completing his 25th year of service in the FBI on August 25, 1965. His application for retirement has been accepted by J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, and will become effective at the close of business October 8, 1965.

Mr. Hearn, his wife Dolores, and two children, Penny and Sandy, reside at 992 Summer, Dyersburg. Mh. Hearn's duties with First-Citizens will be in the trust department, which has offices on the mezzanine floor of the bank. Other employees in this department are Mrs. Irene O'Bryan, assistant cashier and trust officer, and Miss Sue Carolyn Akins, secretary and bookkeeper.

[From the Dyersburg (Tenn.) State Gazette, Aug. 25, 1965]

AGENT HEARN HONORED FOR QUARTER CENTURY IN THE FBI

In recognition of his 25 years of service with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Warren Hearn, of Dyersburg, has been awarded the organization's golden key by the Director, J. Edgar Hoover, who sent it along with a personal letter from Mr. Hoover. He also has been presented a gold desk pen set by his coworkers of the Memphis office to which he is attached. The letter to Mr. Hearn, who has been resident agent for several years, follows:

"Please accept my sincere congratulations on this, the noteworthy occasion of your quarter century of service with the FBI. In recognition of this special event I wish to present, on behalf of your friends of the Bureau, your 25-year service award key.

"As you look back over the years that have just passed, I hope you recall with pleasure your varied assignments. For the many years in which you have been a part of our organization you have been untiring in your efforts to further the best interests of the Bureau and your services have contributed to its achievements. The Bureau has been able to cope with its many problems only through the diligent application to duty of associates such as you and your work is indeed proof that a vigorous self-sacrificing career has a gratifying personal reward.

"I hope this key will mean as much to you as it has to others who have passed this milestone."

Hudson River Study

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. DOW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, as one who has introduced a bill for the Hudson riverway that is different from some others, I am pleased to note a fair amount of thinking that supports the position I have taken.

This Congressman favors: First, cooperation by Federal and State authorities on an equal footing in any Hudson project; second, local participation; third, a full-scale study before a final plan is drawn; fourth, resolution at the end in some form of compact like the Delaware River Basin Compact.

To hear these views expressed by others is a satisfaction. I submit below an editorial that appeared on July 27 last in Newsday of Garden City, N.Y., and a letter to that same paper by Robert G. Burlingham, which appeared on September 15 last:

THE HUDSON RIVER SQUABBLE

An argument is raging over the protection of the Hudson River Valley, over much of its length one of America's scenic treasure, but in some areas unbelievably defouled and marred. A segment of Congress wants the river in its lower reaches to be under the protection of the Federal Government. Governor Rockefeller proposes that the State undertake the same job of protection from source to mouth.

While it's heartening that so much attention is being paid so suddenly to the Hudson, the squabble over Federal versus State trusteeship is unedifying. The Hudson Valley is big enough, long enough and important enough to require the maximum in pollution control, scenic preservation, and public access to the riverbanks.

Why cannot the State and Federal Governments get together, recognizing the importance of the river—both as a source of clean water and as an almost unmatched scenic asset—and pool both their talents and their money? A cooperative effort to save the Hudson, similar to the cooperative effort involved in the preservation and enhancement of the Delaware River Basin, is urgently required. The arguments as to jurisdiction should be replaced by agreement as to protection.

CONSERVATION BILL

OCEAN BEACH.—As a summer resident of Long Island and winter resident of Rockland County in the Hudson River valley, I should like to commend and express full agreement with your editorial stand on the Hudson River conservation problem (July 27).

A bill has already been introduced in Congress which points the way to a sensible, long-term solution of the Hudson River problem in accordance with your editorial specifications for a cooperative Federal-State effort to save this majestic waterway. I refer to H.R. 9868, introduced by Representative JOHN G. DOW, Democrat, of Grand View.

The Dow bill does not offer any final panacea for preservation of New York's and the Nation's priceless Hudson River heritage, nor aline itself with any of the Federal or State-directed plans previously advanced. It provides, simply and exclusively, for a joint Federal-State study of the problem in all its ramifications, with the participation of many vitally interested parties who have been left out of other proposals—such as local officials in towns and counties of the Hudson Valley, interstate agencies and the State of New Jersey.

In recent testimony at hearings devoted to conflicting Federal and State legislative proposals for the Hudson riverway—emphasizing scenic, historic and recreational considerations—Dow stressed the advantages of a Federal-State partnership in the study and administration of a Hudson River conservation plan. While the study group established under his bill would go beyond scenic and historic considerations to "alternate beneficial uses" such as industrial, commercial and residential uses for the river valley, and while the governmental form best suited to administer a riverfront program would be developed in the course of the study, Dow said he personally favors a Federal-State compact on the model of the Delaware River Basin Compact (also suggested in the Newsday editorial).

One can easily anticipate the criticism that the deteriorating situation along the Hudson cries for action more than study. But wouldn't it be a shame if we were to foreclose on better solutions and a reconciliation of State and national interests in the preservation of Hudson River values by taking premature and possibly irretrievable steps based on the status-seeking and mutual distrust of warring politicians? Also, why shouldn't the experience and technical facilities of such agencies as the Department of Interior, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, the Coast Guard and the Palisades Interstate Park Commission be pooled in a concerted effort to reach an effective overall solution satisfying to the interested parties?

ROBERT G. BURLINGHAM.

The War on Hunger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday, September 23, Senator GEORGE MCGOVERN spoke to the Senate on the subject of hunger throughout the world. The United States is unique in having to maintain a lid on its

production of food. But we must look beyond this and realize that the population of the United States is only a tiny fraction of that of the rest of the world. When we broaden our outlook, the future is frightening.

As present, 2 billion persons, or two-thirds of the world's population live in areas of nutritional deficiency and an estimated half of these—1 billion persons—suffer daily or recurrent crippling hunger. As Senator MCGOVERN very ably and cogently pointed out, our concern arises from the realization that we are not doing well now in combating hunger and that the situation can only worsen, for world population is increasing at a much greater rate than food production. And where these two trends, rapid population growth and low levels of food production, most commonly coincide are in the underdeveloped and developing regions of the world.

I would like to emphasize what Senator MCGOVERN said on Thursday—that neither from a moral nor from a political standpoint can we sit idly by. I support the Senator's proposals for a two-front war on hunger: for a more effective use and distribution of our own farm abundance and for a need to stimulate an agricultural revolution abroad.

Senator MCGOVERN further suggests an expanded role for our Nation through greater participation in the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization Freedom From Hunger campaign. The invaluable work of the FAO is well illustrated by one of its local groups, the Northern California Freedom From Hunger Committee.

The committee's executive secretary is Mrs. Grace McDonald, a long-time, active resident of the city of San Jose, Calif. Although Mrs. McDonald recently suffered a broken shoulder bone and knee cap as the result of a nasty fall, she is now getting along fine and her unbounded spirit, which pervades the committee's work, has not been dampened.

Like Senator MCGOVERN, Mrs. McDonald and the northern committee do not believe that mere provision of food is a sufficient solution to this problem—it is only a palliative and looks not at all to the future. This past year, members of the committee raised over $1,000 to replace diving equipment lost to the Ancud shell fishermen in Chile during the 1960 earthquake and resulting tidal waves. They are now working to provide the fishermen with a $10,000 drying tunnel and a $3,000 ice-crushing plant so that they will be able to ship their fish to metropolitan marketplaces.

The Northern California Committee and the Food and Agriculture Organization begin next month a 21-week "Young World Appeal" to involve the youth of the world in this fight against hunger. This worldwide effort, as well as Senator MCGOVERN's legislation have my fullest support. The problem is not one which will work itself out—it will take the hard work and farsighted planning of such committees as Mrs. Grace McDonald's to prevent an enormous gap between the level of food production and world population.

Public Power in New England: Let the Facts Decide

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, last Wednesday the House, by a vote of 207 yeas to 185 nays, approved the Clark amendment to the omnibus rivers and harbors bill, S. 2300, authorizing the Secretary of the Army to conduct and report to Congress on a survey of the St. John River, Maine, for flood control and allied functions, separate and apart from the proposed Passamaquoddy tidal power project. I thought that this was a reasonable request and I voted for the amendment. At this point I would like to call to the attention of the Members of the House an editorial, entitled "Power: Let the Facts Decide," from the Springfield, Mass., Union of September 27, and place it with my remarks in the RECORD:

POWER: LET THE FACTS DECIDE

The conflict between public and private power in New England is shaping up into a real contest. It seems that the facts rather than emotions may yet have to dictate the decision.

Earlier this year the Senate passed a $1.7 billion rivers and harbors bill including $227 million for a Federal hydroelectric project at the Dickey Dam-Lincoln School area on the St. John's River in Maine.

This week the House passed a similar bill for nearly 150 flood control, navigation, and beach improvement programs in 41 States but cut out the Dickey-Lincoln project in Maine. Only four of New England's Congressmen voted on the side of Federal power in the 207-to-185 rollcall that knocked Dickey-Lincoln down.

The measure now goes to a conference committee to iron out differences between the House and Senate versions. The House bill asks a new study by the Corps of Engineers on the feasibility and justification of the Dickey-Lincoln undertaking.

This is not yet a victory for the private New England power companies against the tempting and whispy concept that the Federal Establishment can generate and distribute electricity better and cheaper. The issue is still in doubt. And part of the voting strength that gave private power this second chance came from the coal interests that hope to keep the New England power companies as prime customers.

But the point is that there is going to be more study. A Maine Congressman who favors the Federal plan fears "they'll study it to death." But this need not be the sidetracking political type of study.

It should seek, factually and objectively, to determine the main point at issue, on which the two sides' facts disagree: whether a Federal hydro project in northern Maine can be built, operated, and put into service so that its output really means cheaper power for New England users.

The private utilities say it can't be done, and they point to progress with nuclear plants and pumped-storage hydroelectric facilities—integrated to reach the markets easily—to show that their own efficiency is growing by leaps and bounds. In the process, incidentally, reliance on coal from distant sources will diminish.

The Senate owes New England and its private companies the study the House accepted with big support from the region's representatives. Let's let the real facts speak louder than political philosophies.

Special Subcommittee on Louisiana Disaster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. FALLON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, under my direction and request a special Subcommittee of the Committee on Public Works last week during the period of Friday, September 24; Saturday, September 25; and Sunday, September 26; visited the flood-devastated and hurricane-stricken areas of Louisiana. The subcommittee held hearings in New Orleans and Baton Rouge and heard extensive testimony from State and local officials and private individuals as to the effect of the tremendous disaster wrought by Hurricane Betsy.

This is the sixth trip that a special subcommittee of the Subcommittee on Flood Control has taken to various sections of this country. In all cases its appearance in the devastated areas has had a tremendous effect and, in practically every case, there has been remedial legislation or increase in existing authorization to take care of immediate problems as a result of the havoc wrought by natural disasters.

The chairmanship of the subcommittee has been under the jurisdiction of my good friend and colleague, one of the most able Members of the House, and an expert in the field of water resources, the gentleman from Alabama, the Honorable ROBERT E. JONES.

I am therefore most pleased and happy to know that one of the leading papers in Mr. JONES' district, the Decatur Daily, of Decatur, Ala., in an editorial of September 23 last made full recognition of this distinguished public servant.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the editorial of September 23, 1965, from the Decatur Daily:

REPRESENTATIVE JONES TO LOUISIANA

The Eighth Congressional District's man, Representative ROBERT E. JONES, is in Louisiana this weekend as chairman of the flood control subcommittee of the House Public Works Committee, to hear testimony on property damage, both public and private, caused by Hurricane Betsy in Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, and Alabama.

The Jones subcommittee has the authority to recommend legislation to appropriate Federal funds to aid victims of the hurricane.

Shortly after the hurricane the Governor of Louisiana said never again would the people of Louisiana be the victims of low land flooding. He didn't spell it out, but it became immediately evident that he was talking about some system, perhaps levees, for holding back floods.

Here again, in the making, we see the beginning of a partnership between the Fed-

eral and State Governments for the protection of the people of Louisiana.

That Representative JONES is cast in such a role must be most gratifying to him for this is public service in the highest sense and the people of the Eighth Congressional District can congratulate themselves on the use of commonsense in sending JONES back to Congress for such a period of time that he is now in such a position of power.

Courageous Arizona Youth Aids Police

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE F. SENNER, JR.

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Speaker, all too frequently these days we read reports of citizens who refuse to assist law enforcement officers in pursuit of their duty to protect society. In fact, there are actually instances in which officers are wilfully obstructed. National publicity has been given such instances so I will not repeat them here.

But not all men are infected with the "I do not want to get involved" virus—a pernicious disease sometimes characterized by softening of the spine and watering of the blood. Certainly John Harvey, a 24-year-old service station attendant in Flagstaff, Ariz., has no such affliction.

On September 9, 1965, an exconvict sought for the brutal murders of four men in three States during a 7-day period was arrested in Flagstaff. He was apprehended after John Harvey identified and followed him, keeping law enforcement officials continuously informed of the suspect's movements until they were able to close in on him.

Keep in mind that young Harvey stayed right on the suspect's heels knowing full well that the man might be a cold-blooded killer and that he was armed.

Every law-abiding citizen can well be proud of John Harvey. His courage is truly exemplary.

I am including here portions of two newspaper accounts from the Arizona Daily Sun together with John Harvey's personal report as published in the Phoenix, Ariz., Gazette so that my colleagues may fully understand the nature of John's act:

[From the Arizona Daily Sun, Flagstaff, Ariz.]

EX-CON ADMITS FOUR SLAYINGS IN THREE STATES FOR MONEY—AND ESCAPE—MURDER MANHUNT ENDS HERE

(By Barbara West and William Hoyt)

A clean-cut, moon-faced, bespectacled young ex-convict calmly and publicly admitted here today that he had killed four men in three States over the past 7 days.

Donald Melvin Boggs, 23, arrested in a downtown Flagstaff store yesterday in a fast-moving and dramatic climax to a regionwide manhunt, said tonelessly that he committed the four murders "mostly for money and a means of escape—escape from the law that was after me in Ohio."

[From the Arizona Daily Sun, Sept. 10, 1965]

CREDIT CARDS LEAD TO DOWNFALL—ALERT STATION ATTENDANT KEY IN SUSPECT'S CAPTURE

(By Samuel Semoff)

An alert service station attendant, credit cards, and quick action by the Coconino County sheriff's office, combined here yesterday to stop a young Ohio couple, suspects in four vicious murders the past 7 days.

John Harvey, 24-year-old service station attendant at Bill Mays Chevron Service, 124 East Santa Fe, had just left the sheriff's office after giving information regarding the couple who had purchased gas on victim Robert Willis credit card Wednesday afternoon.

Harvey had just returned to the station to take the wrecker to Williams on an emergency call. As he pulled out of the station headed west on U.S. 66 he saw the 1957 two-tone green Oldsmobile that he had just described to the sheriff with suspect Donald Boggs driving, "only four cars ahead of me at the corner of San Francisco Street and Highway 66, headed west."

"I maneuvered around in the traffic to get behind the car and called the sheriff's office on the radio telephone in the wrecker to confirm the license number," Harvey said.

[From the Phoenix (Ariz.) Gazette, Sept. 10, 1965]

HARVEY RELATES CAPTURE ROLE

(By John Harvey)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—John Harvey, a Flagstaff service station attendant, played a dramatic role in the capture of Donald Melvin Boggs, 23, accused of killing and robbing four men. Here is Harvey's account of his part in the capture.)

FLAGSTAFF.—Sheriff Cecil Richardson asked me if I remembered servicing an Oldsmobile yesterday, and at first I said no. But then I asked what year and he said 1957. And just seeing the back of that car stuck in my mind and I told the sheriff about it. I guess he had been checking all the service stations and found a credit card issued to Robert Willis used to buy the gas and it had my initials on it.

The sheriff told me to keep an eye out for that car, and I started back to Williams. I just pulled out of the station when I saw the top of that Olds. I was in the wrecker with the two-way radio. Man, I pulled around cars to see if I could catch the license. And when I asked the sheriff's office if that number was QVJ or OVJ and when they told me I had the right car, I just about died.

I started following them (Boggs and his girlfriend) and I thought he (Boggs) saw me. He was looking in the rear-view mirror. If he'd pulled a gun, I was a gone goose.

Finally, he parked and pulled some stuff out of the car and started walking down the street.

I was scared, but I kept following him in the truck and talking to the sheriff and I told them where he (Boggs) was, store by store, all the time, all the way down the sidewalk.

By that time, we got back by the service station he went into a store and I lost sight of him so I pulled into the station.

All the customers saw how excited I was and came running out. I told them to get back into their cars because I didn't know what this guy would do.

A bunch of deputies showed up and followed him into the store, but they said they didn't know where the car was that the girl was in.

I said, "Well, come on, I'll show you," and we went back to the car and she was still sitting there.

I was scared, but I was sure hoping that I had the right guy.

Should We Let Business Do It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 2, 1965

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the subject of increased American private investment abroad, particularly in the developing nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, is of increasing importance to the continued development and prosperity of our own country, and of its private sector.

The fact is that we need to take some new and positive steps in this field, particularly by way of the avenue of providing to American business and industry broader incentives for investment in the developing countries of the world. I am most hopeful that the 89th Congress will have the opportunity to act in this area, so that our own business and industry will have a greater opportunity not only to enhance their development and prosperity, but also to augment the efforts of our National Government to assist the orderly progress and prosperity of the developing countries.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Peter Weaver, manager of the Washington Bureau of Forbes magazine, a highly respected bimonthly journal, has written an article on the outlook for new legislation in the field of giving new incentive to American business and industry to invest abroad. Mr. Weaver's article appears in the October 1, 1965, issue of Forbes under the title "Side Lines," and I am pleased to insert this fine article in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues.

The October 1 article from Forbes follows:

[From Forbes (magazine), Oct. 1, 1965]

SIDE LINES: SHOULD WE LET BUSINESS DO IT?

The foreign-aid issue has boiled up again. And no wonder. Over the years we've poured out billions of dollars to aid Pakistan. What happens? Pakistan turns our arms on her neighbor, India, and a senseless war breaks out. Many Americans who supported the foreign-aid program in the past have thrown up their hands in despair.

Many thoughtful people suspect that one trouble with the foreign-aid program is that it's too much a Government program; it gets entangled with politics and nationalism. It doesn't rely enough on private enterprise. U.S. industry has capital, it has know-how, it's always looking for new markets. If properly encouraged, couldn't it do a lot more to develop the underdeveloped countries than Government is now doing—and without creating all sorts of foreign policy complications of the kind Government aid does? (Our giving aid to Pakistan, for example, angered the Indians; in turn, our aid to India caused the Pakistanis to cuddle with Red China.)

CONCRETE SUGGESTIONS

About 2 years ago, Congress authorized the creation of a citizens' committee, headed by Arthur K. Watson, chairman of the IBM World Trade Corp., to investigate just how private business could be encouraged to supplement the foreign-aid program. This Advisory Committee on Foreign Investment in

Private Aid has now made its report. There's a good chance that President Johnson will accept many of its recommendations. HALE BOGGS, the House majority whip, thinks that he will and that Congress will accept them, too. If that happens, it will make investing abroad far less risky—and far more profitable. By doing well, it is hoped the investing companies will be doing good.

The Watson committee does not believe the foreign-aid program can possibly work unless it relies heavily on "the vast private resources of this country." For one thing, the $3 billion-plus the United States devotes to foreign aid is a drop in the bucket compared with the needs of Latin America, Asia, and Africa. The gap, it says, "has been estimated at between $5 and $20 billion." U.S. taxpayers cannot possibly be expected to fill it. That leaves private enterprise as "the only hope for filling this gap."

The committee also believes "the skills and other human resources which the less developed countries must * * * come largely from non-Government sources. Governments simply do not have command over most of the human resources that are needed."

All told, the committee made 33 recommendations for encouraging U.S. business to build plants in underdeveloped countries. The most important—and, incidentally, the one that has the greatest chance of getting through Congress—is the enactment of a 30-percent tax credit bill for productive investments in the less developed countries." This would mean that if a company put, say, $10 million into an underdeveloped country, it would get a $3 million credit that year on its tax.

This has long been a pet idea of BOGGS. He has twice introduced bills providing for such a tax credit. His first bill died in the Senate. His second was ignored.

ROSY OUTLOOK

BOGGS is going to introduce a third bill. This one he thinks will go through. His reason: Arthur K. Watson.

The President thinks very highly of Watson and his brother, Thomas J. Jr., and makes no secret of the fact. He has expressed approval of several of the report's ideas. Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor, who has studied the report, supports it. David Bell, AID Administrator, already has started lobbying for the tax-credit provision. He has spoken to Chairman WILBUR MILLS of the House Ways and Means Committee, about it. Although the Treasury Department opposes a tax credit, BOGGS insists: "This time, when I offer my 30-percent tax-credit bill, it will be an administration bill—and administration bills have been doing very well lately."

The measure could induce a lot more companies to invest abroad in the countries that most need the investment. It could help raise production in nations which are seething with unrest because of poverty. It could be a boon to U.S. foreign policy. And good business, too.

Financial Publication Describes House Passage of H.R. 7371 as a Great Victory for Chairman Patman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, I believe the following article, which appeared in Washington Financial Reports on September 27, correctly portrays the attitude of the distinguished chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, on the bank holding company legislation which passed the House September 23.

In speaking for myself, I am delighted that the Bennett amendment was accepted by the House because I consider it an improvement in strengthening the bill, particularly in view of the fact that the bill passed and that hearings will be conducted in the Senate and all interested parties will have an opportunity to present their viewpoint.

I had the privilege of discussing the amendment with Congressman BENNETT prior to his offering it, and would further like to comment that I believe the article incorrectly evaluates his motives in introducing the amendment, and that his objective was to do exactly what the amendment would, namely, to broaden the bill and eliminate all of the loopholes at one time.

The article follows:

MAJOR BANK HOLDING COMPANY LEGISLATION WILL BE PASSED NEXT YEAR; BUT ONE-BANK DEFINITION IS EXPECTED TO DRAW STRONG OPPOSITION

Major bank holding company legislation is almost certain to be enacted by Congress next year as a result of the House action last week closing all of the current exemptions in the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956, including the two-bank definition.

However, the shift from the two-bank definition in the present law to the one-bank definition in the amended Du Pont bill (H.R. 7371) that passed the House last week is certain to draw strong opposition. The opposition will come from companies affected by the narrower definition—an estimated 341 companies that own or control 331 banks with total deposits of $13.5 billion in 44 States and the District of Columbia. These companies are not now required to register as bank holding companies, but, if the bill survives in its present form, they would be required to divest themselves of either the banks or their nonbanking interests.

However, the revised bill provides that a holding company with no nonbanking interests, which is to control only one bank, would not have to go to the Federal Reserve Board for approval to acquire the bank. In other words, the company would have to register but would not need the Fed's approval to become a bank holding company.

The House-passed bill would also end the present exemptions for charitable, nonprofit religious, and educational organizations. This alone would affect an additional 10 companies that control 16 other banks with deposits of $187 million.

The amendment offered by Representative CHARLES E. BENNETT, Democrat, of Florida, and accepted by a 199 to 178 vote broadened the Du Pont bill so much that it changed what was basically a thrust at breaking up the billion-dollar testamentary trust of the Alfred I. du Pont estate in Jacksonville, Fla., which controls 31 banks and extensive rail, real estate, and paper interests, into an extensive revision of the bank holding company law.

This was part of the strategy of BENNETT and other opponents of the bill—to load it up with so many provisions objectionable to a large number of groups that the bill would not clear the House. As one of the opponents, Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, Republican, of Missouri, put it, a vote for the Bennett amendment would be a vote to kill the bill.

But the move backfired. House Banking Committee Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, went on the House floor with his bill to end only a few exemptions, but walked off—with the aid of his opponents—with an expanded bill to end all permanent exemptions from the 1956 law. The bill passed by a voice vote. Despite published reports that this was a defeat for the 72-year-old veteran Congressman, it was in fact a major victory that pleased him considerably.

The Bennett amendment also took care of an exemption that PATMAN has been trying hard to end for some time. In its expanded form, the House-passed bill would bring the huge Financial General Corp. of Washington under the provisions of the Bank Holding Company Act. This would seem to obviate the need for PATMAN to push for passage of his Financial General bill (H.R. 7372). Financial General presently is exempt under the so-called Investment Company Act exemption of the 1956 law.

The Patman-Bennett bill also would:

1. Repeal the present exemption for companies which have at least 80 percent of their total assets in the field of agriculture. This exemption was designed for Consolidated Naval Stores which has since gone out of business.

2. Repeal the exemption from the divestitures requirements for shares acquired or held prior to the enactment of the 1956 Bank Holding Company Act by a bank which is a bank holding company or by any of its wholly owned subsidiaries. This would require the Trust Co. of Georgia to sell its share in Coca-Cola International Co., estimated at $38 million.

3. Repeal the exemption for any "bank holding company which is a labor, agricultural, or horticultural organization and which is exempt from taxation under section 501 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954." Under this proviso, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America would have to divest itself of its controlling interest in the Amalgamated Trust and Savings Bank, Chicago, and in the Amalgamated Bank of New York. The United Mine Workers Union has a controlling interest in the National Bank of Washington, D.C., and would come under the act by virtue of the one-bank definition. (The AFL-CIO supported the Patman bill, but not the Bennett amendment.)

Senate Banking Committee Chairman A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, Democrat, of Virginia, has indicated that his committee will hold hearings on the House bill next year and he has voiced his support of ending all exemptions from the act. He introduced a Fed-requested bill (S. 2353) to end all exemptions on August 3.

Lester S. Moody

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT G. STEPHENS, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, in further tribute to a man who has devoted many years to the development of our natural resources and most particularly the Savannah River, I am pleased to have inserted in the RECORD the following editorial about the service of Lester S. Moody. I commend the highway departments of Georgia and South Carolina on their decision to name the new bridge over the Savannah River for Lester S. Moody.

I am glad to have inserted in the RECORD the following editorial from radio station WGAC in Augusta, Ga.:

WGAC EDITORIAL, AUGUST 30 AND 31, 1965

We believe that the decision of the highway departments of Georgia and South Carolina to name the new Sand Bar Ferry Bridge, construction of which is soon to begin, for Lester S. Moody, retired secretary of the Augusta Chamber of Commerce, is a well warranted tribute to the man who has for nearly four decades doggedly and effectively led a campaign to develop the Savannah River for electric power, soil conservation, transportation, and recreation.

It may safely be said that but for the persistent prodding by Lester Moody and his committees there would be no Clark's Hill or Hartwell Dam developments at this time and the gigantic bomb plant between Augusta and Aiken would not have been constructed in this area. Water, hundreds of millions of gallons of it, were a prime requisite in the construction of this multi-billion-dollar bomb plant, and only the building of the mighty dam at Clark Hill made this unlimited supply of water available.

Many of the new industrial plants, representing millions of dollars of investment and the employment of thousands of workers, were made possible for this area because of an abundant water supply. It is Clark Hill and Hartwell that have provided this steady and abundant supply of water.

Development of the river was hard going in the early days. To sell Army Engineers and the U.S. Congress on the feasibility of this vast river development required the preparation of voluminous briefs and countless trips to Washington. When the late President Roosevelt was finally persuaded to appoint a Commission to study the practicality of constructing nine dams on the river, the whole undertaking had begun to appear hopeless and a less dauntless and resourceful man than Lester Moody would have abandoned the project and turned his attention to other promotions.

Truly it can be said that Lester Moody is one man in our midst who has but to look about him to see his monuments. Augusta and this whole area is lastingly in debt to Lester Moody and the bridge that is to be named for him is but one of the monuments that will keep his name alive for generations to come.

A Salute to 4-H

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join the large number of other Members who are extending congratulations this week to the more than 2 million young people across the Nation who belong to the 4-H and are celebrating this National 4-H Club Week.

The young Americans who belong to this wonderful organization are working to improve themselves and their country. 4-H is no longer purely a rural organization but draws its membership from cities and towns as well. Anyone who feels discouraged by the incessant news of juvenile delinquency and other disorders among the young that makes for grim and screaming headlines should take heart from the work of the 4-H.

Since 1914, when the Smith-Lever Act created the Extension Service, which helped to promote and finance 4-H Club activity, 23 million young Americans have participated in club activities.

Mr. Speaker, 4-H members have the answer to juvenile delinquency, immorality, and disrespect for law and order. They are constructive, creative, and progressive. They learn, they teach, they lead. They add to the Nation's wealth. They build character. And they have a wonderful time in the process. In a world of hatred, turmoil, and war, filled with people who seem more concerned with what they can get from society than with what they owe it, 4-H is a refreshing, cheering, optimistic, and important force for good.

The 4-H pledge taken by every member is:

My head to clearer thinking.
My heart to greater loyalty.
My hands to larger service.
My health to better living, for my club, my community, and my country.

It would be a fine motto for every American. I am proud to salute 4-H at this time and wish the young men and women of 4-H continued success in the years to come.

AMVETS Behind Johnson Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday, September 25, Buffalo, N.Y., celebrated AMVETS Day.

The national commander of AMVETS, Mr. Lincoln S. Tamraz, and the national commander-elect, Mr. Ralph E. Hall, attended as guests of honor and delivered addresses at the dinner dance which was sponsored by the Hank Nowak Post No. 45 and held at the St. Stanislaus Hall in Buffalo.

The Hank Nowak Post is considered to be the No. 1 AMVETS Post in the Nation. It was named after a great American, Sgt. Hank Nowak, a son of Buffalo who paid the supreme sacrifice at the Battle of the Bulge in World War II on January 1, 1945.

On that day, as the bells were ringing out in our land heralding a new year, Sergeant Nowak and his buddies were not celebrating. They were on a bloody battlefield, with one objective—to whip the enemy.

It was not Sergeant Nowak's fate to see the victory that was ours. It was a sad day for Buffalonians when they learned that he would not return to his family, his friends, his community.

I was privileged to know Hank Nowak from the time tha we were youngsters in the same neighborhood. We participated in sports together, and he was an outstanding athlete. As a matter of fact, he was observed by a scout from the National Baseball League and before his entry into military service, Hank Nowak became the property of the St. Louis Cardinal chain. I feel sure that if he had survived the war, his name would be among baseball's greatest. He had all the earmarks of a hero.

Today we can thank men like Hank Nowak that we will live in a country where we can continue to enjoy the freedom that are denied to millions of people in the captive nations throughout the world.

It was my pleasure to meet Commander Tamraz and Commander-Elect Hall for the first time. Both spoke eloquently and Commander Tamraz' comments in support of President Johnson's position with respect to Vietnam and Santo Domingo were particularly encouraging.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include below an article from the Buffalo Courier-Express, Buffalo, N.Y., dated September 26, 1965, covering the highlights of the AMVETS Day celebration in our city:

RETIRING COMMANDER ADJUSTS SUCCESSOR'S HAT—AMVETS BEHIND JOHNSON POLICIES, POST HERE TOLD

AMVETS stands squarely behind the actions of President Lyndon B. Johnson in handling the crises in Vietnam and in the Dominican Republic, its national commander said here Saturday night.

Lincoln S. Tamraz of Chicago, told 400 guests at Hank Nowak Post No. 45's ninth annual commanders' dinner that "the United States is indeed fortunate in having President Johnson at the helm of the Government, and his actions in Vietnam and Santo Domingo avoided World War III."

He urged those attending the dinner-dance in St. Stanislaus Hall, Wilson and Peckham, to "say a prayer so he can continue to exert his leadership in world and domestic affairs."

Tamraz presented a plaque to Frederick J. Augustyniak, post commander, designating Hank Nowak Post No. 45 the "No. 1 AMVETS post in the Nation." He said the post is being used as an example for other AMVETS posts to follow in its contributions to the welfare of veterans and in community service. The post spent over $23,000 last year in community service.

Ralph E. Hall, of Fort Myers Beach, Fla., AMVETS national commander-in-elect, also paid tribute to the work of the post in community service. He presented a plaque to John Golebiewski for his efforts during a spring telethon to raise funds for the crippled children's rehabilitation center. The post collected over $5,000 and contributed $1,600 of its own funds during the telethon.

HEROISM CITED

Hall also presented trophies to past post commander Richard E. Kogut and Patrolman Robert Ammermen of the Fillmore Station for trying to free a girl from a burning auto at a traffic accident at Broadway and Lathrop last spring. Ammermen is also a member of the post.

Mrs. Augustyniak received an inscribed wrist watch and a past auxiliary president bracelet for outstanding service to the post.

The awards were presented by her husband and Mrs. Eleanor Sokol, auxiliary president.

The dinner marked the first time the national commander-elect and the outgoing commander have joined to honor one post. Hall will be installed as national commander October 1.

Regional Medical Programs for Heart Disease, Cancer, and Stroke

SPEECH

OF

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 3140) to amend the Public Health Service Act to assist in combating heart disease, cancer, stroke, and other major diseases.

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Chairman, in his health message to Congress last January, President Johnson asked for legislation authorizing a program of grants to develop multipurpose regional medical programs for an all-out attack on cancer, stroke, and heart diseases, the three dreaded diseases which cause over 70 percent of the deaths in our country each year. The President had appointed a Commission on Heart Disease, Cancer, and Stroke early in 1964, and in its report the Commission recommended steps to reduce the incidence of these diseases through new knowledge and more complete utilization of the medical knowledge we have already.

I am pleased that the President's request and recommendations of the Commission are incorporated in H.R. 3140. I commend the chairman and members of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee for the thorough and careful attention they gave to preparing this legislation.

Mr. Chairman, we are fortunate to have the best medical care in the world in our country. Unfortunately, however, our most modern techniques and our best medical care are not available to all who need them. The program provided in this bill will bring the latest in medical advances in the prevention, treatment, and cure to all who are afflicted with cancer, stroke, and heart diseases.

Congress can well be proud of its record in improving the health and welfare of our citizens. In the past few years we have passed the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act, the Community Health Services Act, programs of assistance for our mentally ill and retarded, extended vocational rehabilitation, and provided many other programs for Federal participation in medical research and health facilities. And, of course, just recently we enacted a program of medical care for our aged.

While we can look with pride on our achievements and our present health resources and medical advancement, the battle is far from won. Thousands of hospitals have been built since World War II; there are bed shortages and doctor shortages. We are faced with a maldistribution of our health resources, and we must expand and develop new approaches and provide the continuity that is essential for an effective medical-education program.

H.R. 3140 will provide for the establishment of locally administered programs of cooperation between medical schools, clinical research institutions and hospitals. It will advance research, train more personnel and make the latest techniques and advances available to all suffering from these three diseases which bring premature death to so many annually.

Grants will be available to public or nonprofit private institutions or agencies for planning, establishing, and operating regional medical programs. The regional medical programs will be cooperative arrangements and they will link existing medical schools and affiliated teaching hospitals with their highly developed capabilities in diagnosis training, and treatment with existing clinical research centers, local community hospitals, and practicing physicians within the same geographical area. Cooperative arrangements will permit an interchange of personnel and patients and will provide for more effective flow of information concerning the latest advances in diagnosis and treatment. Local control of all programs is insured in the bill. A 12-member National Advisory Council on Regional Medical Programs will consider applications and make recommendations before an application to establish and operate a regional medical program may be approved.

Mr. Chairman, I strongly support H.R. 3140 to amend the Public Health Service Act to assist in combating heart disease, cancer, and stroke.

Boundary Waters Canoe Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, there is only one designated wilderness area left in America between the Appalachian Mountains on the east and the Rocky Mountains on the west. This area is known as the Boundary Waters Canoe area and is located in the Superior National Forest in northeastern Minnesota.

There is a movement today by logging, mining, and commercial development companies—among others—to open this area up. It is my feeling that by so doing we will destroy the only area in midcontinent America which still retains its natural, primeval character, and in which the miracle of creation continues unaided and unbothered by the constant rush of modern man.

On January 12, 1965, the Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman took a bold step to preserve the BWCA. He issued a directive which altered management plans in favor of wilderness protection. Mr. Freeman added 150,000 acres to the no cut region of the BWCA thus excluding logging companies from this area. He earmarked another 100,000 acres for addition to the no cut zone and called for study and action on litter and pollution control. He also specified that hunting and fishing be maintained and improved in keeping with the primitive environment.

These are but a few of the steps in Secretary Freeman's directive. All were aimed at protecting this last great wilderness area. And yet his entire plan has been severely attacked by special interest groups.

I would like to state for the record right now that I am solidly behind Secretary Freeman. Being an avid sportsman and lover of the outdoors myself, I find it shameful that there are those who would begrudge even a small area like this remaining in its primeval form. In my opinion, this area should be set aside as an ageless example of the America that once was.

I would like to take this opportunity to encourage my colleagues to support Secretary of Agriculture Freeman in his efforts to preserve our American heritage.

U.S. News Gives Facts on Missouri River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to an excellent article in the current issue of U.S. News & World Report, dealing with the development of the Missouri River Basin.

This article—"The Mighty Missouri: River That Was Finally Tamed"—presents the factual and inspirational story of river development at its best. It recalls the devastating floods which were yearly occurrences along the 2,300 miles of the Missouri before the Pick-Sloan plan was authorized by Congress and put into effect by the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation. It tells of the floodless springs along the Missouri since the seven mighty dams on that river have been completed. It tells of economical gains and hope and optimism which have come to the Missouri River area since the river has been tamed, and since its benefits of electric power, irrigation and recreation have been realized. In short, Mr. Speaker, it tells the whole story of this river basin development.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to compliment the U.S. News & World Report for this full and factual presentation. It is easy to attract readership by exposing public works projects as pork barrel and calling attention to the cost, without reporting the benefits. It is easy to report of money spent wothout reporting money saved and benefit to people. However, the more responsible press will give the full picture and leave the conclusions to the reader after giving him all the facts. This article is one of the finest examples of this responsible approach to journalism which I have seen, and I would like to have it printed in the RECORD at this point:

THE MIGHTY MISSOURI: RIVER THAT WAS FINALLY TAMED

(NOTE.—An engineering saga that spans two decades has brought the Missouri River under control. Now, for the first time, the "great lakes" of the Missouri are full of water to generate power, irrigate fertile land and create an inland waterway from St. Louis to Sioux City. A vast region, crammed with resources, is entering a new era. What this means to the whole Nation is told in a report that covers even the most remote corners of the Missouri Basin.)

FORT SMITH, MONT.—Soon to be completed here at the foot of the Bighorn Mountains is one of the world's major engineering feats—taming of the wild Missouri River.

In early October, the concrete crest of the massive Yellowtail Dam is to be topped off 525 feet above the bed of the Bighorn River, which flows into the Yellowstone River, largest of the Missouri's tributaries.

With completion of Yellowtail Dam, the major work of taming the Missouri is finished.

It was 21 years ago that Congress laid down the Pick-Sloan plan as the master blueprint for bringing the Missouri under man's control.

In those days, the Missouri leaped its banks as sure as spring came and melting snow rushed down from the mountains to swell the runoff from spring rains on the prairies.

In major floods, the mighty river killed hundreds, cost billions in damages, gobbled up whole farms and small towns, and changed State boundaries as it rampaged back and forth across its flood plain.

FROM SILT TO BLUE LAKES

Today, the once wild Missouri River flows obediently along its 2,300-mile channel from Three Forks in western Montana to its confluence with the Mississippi River just above St. Louis. Its water, once brown with silt, now forms shimmering blue lakes that stretch hundreds of miles, one after the other, through the Dakotas.

Now the Missouri Basin is on the threshold of a new era. It is a vast region, big enough to hold 13 Tennessee Valleys. It is a varied region with almost limitless resources.

There still is gold in quantity in the Black Hills of South Dakota, silver and copper in Rocky Mountain mines, oil in the Williston Basin of North Dakota waiting to be tapped. Coal and lignite abound, along with a host of other raw materials such as gypsum and bentonite.

For the first time, the "great lakes" of the Missouri are full of water ready to generate billions of kilowatts hours of electricity, irrigate millions of acres of crops, and keep a steady flow of water in a navigation channel that stretches 732 miles from St. Louis up to Sioux City.

BILLIONS IN DAMAGE

Before the engineers worked their miracle, those who lived and worked along the Missouri were at its mercy.

It was after the flood of 1943 had swept away $1.6 billion worth of property that Congress authorized the Pick-Sloan plan.

The blueprint for harnessing the Missouri was named for Gen. Lewis A. Pick, then head of the Missouri River Division of the Corps of Army Engineers, and W. G. Sloan, then a regional engineer for the Bureau of Reclamation.

General Pick had drawn up a plan for dams and other flood-control works along the main stem of the Missouri and its major tributaries in the lower basin.

The Sloan plan provided dams and reservoirs throughout upper reaches of the basin for flood control, irrigation and generation of electrical power.

Congress combined the two plans and authorized the overall project in the Flood Control Act of 1944.

BIG SEVEN DAMS

The Pick-Sloan plan called for seven big dams on the main stem of the Missouri. All are now in place. Farthest upstream is Canyon Ferry in western Montana.

Moving downstream there is Fort Peck in eastern Montana and then Garrison in North Dakota.

Across South Dakota, the Missouri has been transformed into a series of lakes behind four dams—Oahe, Big Bend, Fort Randall, and Gavins Point.

When work began on the Pick-Sloan plan, the Fort Peck Dam was in place. It had been built in the 1930's. But none of the other dams on the main stem of the Missouri had been completed when the flood of 1952 ravaged the lower reaches of the river from Sioux City to St. Louis.

In the 1952 flood, however, the Fort Peck Dam was credited with shaving 1 foot off the flood crest. That narrow margin saved Omaha and Council Bluffs, where 25,000 people worked around the clock to raise the dikes as the flood crest approached.

READY AND ABLE

Following the 1952 flood, work on the main-stem dams was speeded. All were in place by 1960—in time to prevent more than $200 million of damage when another spring flood roared down the river.

Again in 1963 and 1964, the main-stem dams saved millions of dollars in property damage.

All the time, construction of dams on Missouri tributaries has been going forward. The engineers say some are still needed, especially on tributaries that enter the river below the seven main-stem dams, to prevent flash floods when rain is locally heavy.

Yellowtail is the largest dam on the tributary rivers and ranks seventh in height among all the concrete dams in the United States. It will aid in flood control, provide water for irrigation, and remove a heavy load of silt that the Bighorn has been sending downstream to the Missouri by way of the Yellowstone.

The 250,000 kilowatts of generating capacity to be installed at Yellowtail will bring overall capacity of the Missouri Basin system to more than 2 million kilowatts.

While generating capacity is measured in kilowatts, actual output, which depends on how much the generators are run, is measured in kilowatt-hours.

In the year that ended June 30, 1965, total output from the Missouri Basin system was 8.9 billion kilowatt-hours. Revenue from this output was $37.4 million.

By 1971, the basin power output will increase to an estimated 11 billion kilowatt-hours a year.

A major use of this power will be the Mid-Continent Area Power Planners, an organization of more than 39 power suppliers—private, cooperative, and municipal. By 1980, these suppliers expect to spend more than $2 billion to integrate their facilities into a power pool covering 10 Midwest States.

VAST GROWTH AHEAD

All this, in the view of the Missouri Basin's leaders, adds up to a tremendous potential for growth.

Already, the lower part of the basin is showing rapid growth in many areas. From 1960 to 1964, Kansas City, Mo., and Kansas City, Kans., gained nearly 7 percent in population. Omaha's gain is estimated at more than 10 percent since 1960.

Navigation on the Missouri—just now getting underway—is expected to spur expansion of business and industry.

The navigation channel has not been completed to its full 9-foot depth. It is 7½ feet deep from St. Louis to Kansas City, 6½ feet from Kansas City to Omaha, and 6 feet on up to Sioux City.

Even so, 2.6 million tons of freight moved on the Missouri in 1964.

Said Harry Trustin, an Omaha businessman who has been a prime mover in getting the Pick-Sloan plan off the drawing boards and into place, "We've just begun to get a taste of what the river is going to mean to the Midwest."

In the wide-open spaces beyond the lower basin—through Nebraska, the Dakotas, Wyoming and Montana—you find an entirely different kind of world. Here you feel the real vastness of the Missouri Basin.

The economy of the upper basin turns largely on crops and livestock. The flight from farms and ranches in the period since World War II has depopulated much of the open land.

Most of those leaving the land have bypassed the small towns. Some have gone to the small cities in the basin, such as Sioux Falls in South Dakota, Bismarck in North Dakota, Billings and Great Falls in Montana. But a great many have moved on to bigger cities.

A REVERSE TREND?

Now residents of the upper basin are convinced that these trends are going to be reversed.

Irrigation is counted on to bring stability to the region's agriculture, which has been subject to boom and bust because of the vagaries of the weather. Experience has shown that, wherever irrigation has been introduced, population stabilizes and new jobs are created in businesses serving the farmers.

Up to now, only 10 to 15 percent of the irrigation potential in the upper basin has been developed, according to officials of the Bureau of Reclamation.

Key Congressmen have felt that more revenue had to be derived from power generated at the dams before irrigation projects could move ahead. A large part of the cost of irrigation works is paid from power revenues.

This spring, an average increase of .25 mill in the cost of basin power was agreed upon. Now, irrigation projects on a large scale are beginning to get approval in Congress.

ACRES OF WATER

First big irrigation development to be approved by Congress was the Garrison diversion unit that will draw water from the Garrison Reservoir to irrigate 250,000 acres in eastern North Dakota. The project may eventually be expanded to a million acres.

The Garrison project also will assure a stable water supply to 14 cities and towns of North Dakota.

Next big irrigation plan expected to come before Congress for approval is one to bring water to 195,000 acres in South Dakota by tapping the Oahe reservoir. This project is said to have potenial for expansion to nearly half a million acres.

The importance of irrigation to the growth of the upper-basin States was stressed by R. B. Hipple, editor of the Daily Capital Journal in Pierre, S. Dak.

"Our economy is based almost 100 percent on agriculture and 70 percent is livestock," said Mr. Hipple. "Too much of that livestock leaves the State to be fattened for market. With irrigation, we can raise the corn and other grain needed to fatten livestock right here in South Dakota and thus expand our economy."

Elsewhere throughout the basin, irrigation projects that would involve from 10,000 to well over 100,000 acres each are in the planning stage.

Recreation and tourism also are seen as growing to expand the economy in the upper basin. Flying over the manmade lakes, you can see boat anchorages up and down their shorelines.

All through the region, boat sales are booming. South Dakota now is said to be selling more boats for each 1,000 of population than any other State in the Nation.

The Federal highway-construction program is opening up this country, too. In Bismarck, N. Dak., business is reported to be booming this summer as never before. Much of the credit is given to the new Interstate Highway 94 now nearly competed.

BOOM FOR A TOWN

Even in the more remote upper reaches of the Missouri Basin, small towns are found to be preparing for growth. As just one example there is Lovell, Wyo., a town of around 3,000 in the Bighorn Basin.

Lovell will offer access to the south end of the Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area that is to be developed around the reservoir created by Yellowtail Dam.

In the past 3 years, Lovell has spent $1.5 million building new streets, improving its water supply, installing new sewers. A new high school has been built and the hospital expanded. Several new business buildings are under construction.

Lovell has a growing industrial base with a sugarbeet plant and a clay-products factory. Near town, big deposits of gypsum and bentonite are being opened up.

A STEADY GROWTH

Said Lovell's mayor, Cal Taggart: "We don't expect to be another Denver, but we do expect to get steady growth. People can't go on crowding into big cities forever. When they find that out, Lovell and other communities like it will be ready to offer them a place where they can enjoy life and earn a good living."

Billings, in Montana, also expects to benefit from recreation in the Bighorn Canyon area. This sun-drenched city, along with others in the upper basin, already is getting increased traffic from sportsmen who come to enjoy year-around attractions—water sports, hunting and fishing, ski slopes, and pack trips into wilderness areas.

And, said Billings Mayor Willard E. Fraser: "We are getting a surprising amount of interest from people preparing to retire who are still active and have found that life out here can be pleasant the year around."

The future of the Missouri Basin was put in these terms by Guy Larsen, a Bismarck businessman:

"The engineers have achieved a miracle in bringing this river under control. We can't be satisfied to let this miracle be nothing more than a monument to engineering skill. It's up to those of us who live here to transform the miracle into economic growth."

Home Rule for the District of Columbia

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 4644) to provide an elected Mayor, City Council, and nonvoting Delegate to the House of Representatives for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Chairman, home rule for the District of Columbia raises the problem of the Hatch Act. This act prohibits Federal employees in the executive branch from taking an active part in political affairs.

Federal employees constitute from 10 to 15 percent of the District's population and about 20 percent of District residents who are 18 or over. The number of Federal employees in relation to eligible electors is possibly as high as 35 percent.

To foreclose these people from participation in the political affairs of the District is to deny the District the benefit of the wisdom and experience of, probably, its most sophisticated political element. This just does not make any sense.

The home rule bill before us recognizes the problem by permitting Federal employees to engage in political activity in connection with elections for District Mayor, and District Council. Stated simply this home rule bill permits Federal employees living in the District to engage in political activity in connection with elections for local officials held under the bill.

Let there be no mistake—these employees still continue under the restraint of the Hatch Act in connection with elections for President, Vice President, and Delegate to Congress for membership in the Democratic or Republican Party, District central committees, and for delegates to the convention of these parties. Since election to these offices is not held under the home rule bill, it comes within the restraint of the Hatch Act.

Under the home rule bill, members of the Board of Education are required to be nonpartisan. Elections for this office are exempt from the Hatch Act which by its terms excludes nonpartisan elections. That act exempts election of candidates who do not represent a party whose presidential elector candidates received votes in the last preceding election for presidential electors.

Referendums on the adoption of the home rule bill or on bond issues under the bill are exempt. This is true also under section 18 of the Hatch Act, which excepts constitutional amendments, referendums and approval of municipal ordinances.

Federal employees continue under Hatch Act restraint to refrain from using their official authority to interfere with an election or to effect its result. They also continue to be subject to the penalties of the Criminal Code with reference to such political activity as solicitation of political contributions in Federal buildings or from any person receiving funds appropriated by the Congress for relief or for solicitation of anything of value for personal reward or as a political contribution in return for the promise to use influence to secure an appointive office—to mention but a few.

District government employees also are prohibited from using their authority to interfere with an election or to effect its results and also are subject to all the penalties of the criminal code in respect to prohibited political activity.

Why is it necessary to exempt elections held under the home rule bill from the Hatch Act? Section 16 of the Hatch Act confers authority on the Civil Service Commission to allow Federal employees to engage in political activity when it is in the domestic interest of such employees or under certain unusual circumstances. It may and does allow them to engage in such activity in the immediate vicinity of the National Capital, in Maryland, Virginia, or in municipalities where the majority of the voters are Federal employees. The Commission is also authorized to regulate the extent to which Federal employees may take part in such political activity.

The Commission has extended these privileges to 40 communities in the Maryland suburbs of Washington and to 9 communities in the Virginia suburbs. Similar privileges have been extended to nine other cities in Washington, California, Georgia, Arizona, and Tennessee. It has, however, prescribed limits on the use of this privilege.

For example, a Federal employee may run as an independent candidate where permitted by State law even though he is the candidate of a permanent political organization and he may do so in partison elections where the Republicans and Democrats likewise file a slate of candidates. The candidate is independent so long as no name like Democratic or Republican is attached to his group and it is not connected with a State or National party. Such group as Arlingtonian's for a Better County —ABC's— is an example of this.

In any event, present law operating under the exception to the Hatch Act and through the Commission recognizes the need for an escape under certain circumstances from the flat prohibition of the Hatch Act. It should be remembered that this escape mechanism was enacted a quarter of a century ago when possible home rule for the District was not taken into account. The Congress then failed to give the Commission the authority to extend the same relief to Federal employees residing in the District that it authorized for them in nearby Maryland and Virginia.

To meet this problem, section 810(c) was written into the home rule bill. It extends the same privileges of political activity to the District which are extended to Maryland and Virginia suburbs under section 16 of the Hatch Act.

It differs from section 16 in two ways. First, Congress rather than the Commission makes the decision to extend the privilege of political activity. Second, it does not limit political activity to campaigns for independent candidates. This second difference is not really a difference. For section 16 of the Hatch Act does not by its terms apply only to independent and nonpartisan candidates. The limitation in that respect is imposed by Commission regulation.

In any event the home rule bill allows political participation in partisan District elections and even provides for minority representation on the District Council. In this respect the home rule bill applies the section 16 principle to Federal employees in the District.

Once before when Congress was confronted with a similar problem, it made the same determination that is made by the home rule bill. In that instance, the Congress wrote into the Hatch Act an exemption in favor of Alaska Railroad employees residing in communities along the line of the Railroad in respect to political activity. A similar exemption is contained in the home rule bill in favor of Federal employees residing in the District.

The problem of political activity by Federal employees in the District represents the unusual circumstances contemplated in the Hatch Act to warrant exemption from its restraint. Under these circumstances, it would appear to be perfectly reasonable to allow Federal employees residing in the District to participate in political activity in connection with elections held under the District home rule bill.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Chairman will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NIX. I yield, briefly.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. I should like to ask a question. The gentleman made the point that the School Board was going to be elected on a nonpartisan basis. Why would it not be a good idea to have the local elective body for the city of Washington itself elected on a nonpartisan basis?

Mr. NIX. I answer the gentleman in this way. It might be a good idea; many other suggestions might be good ideas. But this, I take it, has been deemed to be the best idea by those who formulated this legislation.

Need To Eliminate Exemptions to Bank Holding Company Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, the Pensacola Journal, in an editorial of September 27, 1965, has made the point that if the Du Pont Estate of Florida exemption to the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 should be excluded, then similar exemptions affecting similar institutions also should be removed. That was the purpose of the amendment which was added to H.R. 7371 last week, and which passed the House.

I am pleased to include the following editorial from the Pensacola, Fla., newspaper in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and would like also to note that the Senate chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee has supported the exclusion of all exemptions to the Bank Holding Act by introduction of such legislation and plans hearings on the legislation early in 1966. I believe that the Senate will approve this bill in a form substantially like the bill that passed the House. In that broad, equitable form it is an excellent piece of legislation.

The editorial follows:

FIGHTER ON CAPITOL HILL

Edward Ball always has been a fighter.

Surrender is not in his vocabulary.

And the Alfred I. Du Pont Estate trustee gave the fighter's traditional victory sign—clasped hands—last Thursday in Washington after another apparent victory in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Mr. Ball proved his point. National legislation rightfully should not strike at one institution when others are permitted to escape such a single purpose punitive measure.

The House passed the Patman bill aimed at partially breaking up the billion-dollar banking, railroad, industrial, and land holdings of the Du Pont Estate in Florida. But the vote did not come before an amendment by Florida Representative CHARLES E. BENNETT broadened the bill so that it would affect hundreds of other institutions. Critics say the Senate won't accept the expanded version.

We question the motives behind the action of a Congressman—in this case, Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, of Texas, chairman of the House Banking Committee—when legislation directly slaps down one estate. He was aiming at the Du Pont Estate exemption under provisions of trusts created by wills. Du Pont's will sets up a lifetime trust for his widow, with the estate to go to charity at her death. She has already diverted part of the proceeds to an institution for crippled children.

The bill with the Bennett amendment—which all Florida Congressmen supported except Representative SYDNEY HERLONG, of Leesburg, who did not vote—would eliminate testamentary trusts and cover other institutions, not just serving as a punitive measure against the Du Pont Estate. This is only proper; if the exemption in present law benefiting the Du Pont Estate is repealed, similar exemptions affecting similar institutions also should be removed.

It is significant that conservative and liberal Congressmen alike—including Representative BOB SIKES, of Crestview, and Representaitve EMANUEL CELLER, of New York—voted for the expanded version.

As the Texas Representative JOE R. POOL put it while referring to a strike against the Florida East Coast Railroad, owned by the Du Pont Estate, and violence that broke out along the line:

"The same outfit that couldn't bomb them out of existence now is trying to bomb Congress into voting them out of existence."

But it didn't work in the House of Representatives. A fighter named Edward Ball had proven his point.

Safewater for Rural America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STANLEY L. GREIGG

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. GREIGG. Mr. Speaker, I associate myself in support of this measure with my very distinguished subcommittee chairman, Congressman POAGE, of Texas, the author of this measure. Serving on the House Agriculture Committee, and specifically the Subcommittee of Conservation and Credit, I fully appreciate the importance of this measure and why it is so essential to my rural district in the State of Iowa. Having heard the testimony on this measure and coordinating various facts and statistics with the Department of Agriculture, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues some pertinent information.

No doubt the establishing of water systems in such a goodly number of communities during the past 4 years approaches the intent of the 87th Congress which launched this program in 1961.

However, the fact remains that some 30,000 rural communities will lack dependable supplies of unpolluted water.

The passage of H.R. 10232 goes a long way toward bringing an adequate supply of safe water to the residents of rural America.

The bill raises the annual insurance authority of the Farmers Home Administration to the point where double the amount of funds would be available for water systems, has increased by four times the size of a loan available to any one community, eliminates the credit gap faced by some of the larger rural towns by making loans available to them for the first time, and provides grants to help defray unusually high costs of community water systems which the residents themselves could not hope to offset from water revenues alone.

That many rural communities have a critical need for water systems, there can be no doubt.

In Iowa, alone, U.S. Public Health Service figures show that some 290 rural towns of 100 to 1,200 population are without communitywide water systems.

Many larger towns above this population category have systems in dire need of new water mains, pumping stations, and other improvements.

And hundreds of crossroad communities dependent on shallow wells and beset with pollution problems could better meet their needs piping water to their few stores, churches, and surrounding farms from a central water system.

At the current time, some 15 communities in my State are in various stages of obtaining financing from the Farmers Home Administration for central water systems.

Some are plagued with nitrate fertilizers leaching into wells 150 to 200 feet in depth.

Some communities are troubled with wastes polluting shallow wells that one time provided only good clean water. Some communities can no longer find any water at a reasonable depth.

The cost of drilling a well ranging from several hundred to a few thousand feet is prohibitive for individual families. Their only alternative is to band together and develop a central water system.

The passage of H.R. 10232 helps provide financing for such a project.

The grant provision contained in this bill is important to certain Iowa communities populated by a high proportion of older people living out retirement.

Like many agriculturally based States, Iowa has witnessed a tragic loss of younger people from its farms and small towns. Whereas our total population increased by 5.2 percent during the period 1950–60, our rural population dropped by some 75,000 persons.

Iowa has the highest proportion of senior citizens—12.2 percent of our citizens are age 65 or over.

Nearly one-fifth of our people in some rural counties are senior citizens and rural towns in these counties have an even higher ratio.

The dilemma faced by these communities in obtaining a good water system may be characterized by a small town in the northern end of my district. With a population of slightly over 200 the town is now finding that its shallow wells are becoming polluted.

In the process of searching for credit to finance a central water system, the community applied for an FHA loan. Subsequent planning however revealed that no money was available in the local community to determine if a good source of water was available. Besides lacking funds to explore a source of water, the town finds that it lacks an economic base to repay costs of an expensive system since many of its citizens are of retirement age receiving social security checks of $100 or less. Faced with these problems, its residents have no choice but to continue to use contaminated water. Some of the luckier few who can afford it haul in their drinking water from a large city system several miles away.

Frequently, some communities needing water are clustered together and located near a larger town which could well improve its present system if funds were available. One system involving a larger investment and serving the entire area could meet all their needs and be far more efficient than a number of individual smaller systems, each with its own well and water treatment, storage, and pipeline facilities.

H.R. 10232 wisely makes provision for such a situation by raising the ceiling of FHA loans from $1 million to $4 million.

Mr. Speaker, the Poage bill also contains additional loaning ability for more farmownership loans.

Currently, nearly 3,000 families in Iowa are buying their own farms through this good program. But for the $55 million in loans which they are now using from the Farmers Home Administration, many of these family farmers would still be tenants and chances are some would not even be engaged in farming.

A strong farmownership program, adequately funded, is an important bulwark against the onslaught of those who would see us arrive at a monopoly in agriculture by destroying all farmers but a few hundred thousand integrated corporations.

Mr. Speaker, I say in summary, that passage of this bill has answered some of the basic needs of rural America.

Medical Committee for Human Rights and Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues a statement concerning the Mississippi challenge which was issued by the Medical Committee for Human Rights. I believe this statement contains information on the medical situation in Mississippi which is of great interest to all interested in human rights:

THE MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS SUPPORTS THE CHALLENGE OF THE MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY

In the summer of 1964 the Medical Committee for Human Rights established several permanent projects in the State of Mississippi. During the year they have been staffed by trained medical personnel—public health nurses, doctors, and medical students. One of our purposes has been to examine existing health facilities with respect to both adequacy of service and the manner in which the service is rendered. It is our feeling that discrimination is so inherent in Mississippi life that even in the fields of health and welfare, Negroes are denied full access to the services which they need and to which they are entitled.

Discrimination in the fields of health and welfare, as in other fields, will not be entirely eliminated through Federal legislation. Local authorities have extremely effective means of circumventing national laws. Only when there is reform of existing State laws governing the welfare of the population, and only when the present personnel are replaced by those more dedicated to serving the community regardless of race, will the Mississippi Negro be able to receive proper health care.

At present, there are several organizations in the State working for such a reform. One of these organizations is the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Their challenge to unseat the present Mississippi Congressmen is an effort to provide the Negro, not only with political representation, but also with the power to better the health of his community, his family, and himself.

A survey of public health statistics for the State of Mississippi reveals the striking fact that any comparison of public health figures between the Negro population and the white shows an alarmingly large gap which, it is clear, is not due to any physical inferiority of the Negro.

Two of the most sensitive indices of the health of a community, maternal death rate per 10,000 live births, and infant mortality rate, make clear this difference. In 1963 the maternal death rate for the white population was 3.4 while that of the Negro population was 11.5, a threefold difference. For the same year, the infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births) among whites was 22.7, which was the lowest on record for the State, while the Negro rate was 57.8 (2½ times the rate for whites) and was the highest since 1941. It should also be noted here that for the white population 99.6 percent of live births in 1963 were attended by a physician, while only 57.1 percent of Negro births were attended by a physician.

Explanations for such differences have often centered around the concept that in a socially deprived population public health is poor for economic, cultural, and educational reasons. However, we submit that many of the discrepancies in health care in the State of Mississippi are due to overt or covert discrimination. In a State where such a meager proportion of all trained health personnel are Negro, and where most whites adhere to the doctrine of racial segregation and white supremacy, it is extremely difficult for a Negro to find a place where he will be treated with the respect we assume is due all human beings. The malevolent attitude of many public white personnel frequently repels the Negro population from making full use of health and welfare services. Although the Mississippi State Health and Welfare Departments deal largely with Negroes, there are no Negro public health nurses, and not a single Negro welfare visitor.

At present there is not one school in Mississippi that will train Negroes as registered nurses or physicians. Negro students usually attend schools out-of-State for training in nursing and medicine. However, because of the discriminatory practices of organized medicine in Mississippi, few return to add to the available medical resources. It is also understandable that qualified Negro health professionals from around the Nation would be reluctant to practice in a State which so blatantly discriminates against their race.

This thwarting of the Negroes' quest for education in the health fields also exists in insidious form in many local health facilities. In a pamphlet distributed by the State board of health that describes the benefits and services of the county health department, there is the following statement:

"You, along with other interested citizens may want to form a study committee to find out all you can about available health services and how you can best use them.

"Visit your health department and talk with the health officer about community health problems and what you, as an individual, can do about them."

Apparently, that statement is addressed mainly to whites and not to Negro citizens. In a number of counties the health departments do not advertise their services in the Negro community and, at times, there seems to be a deliberate attempt to withhold information from Negroes about available health services. Recently a Negro woman entered her county health clinic because she was interested in finding out what kind of services the clinic offered. She asked them if they could give her anything that would tell her about the services. The nurse on duty asked her why she wanted to know. The woman answered that she was interested in learning about the clinic. She was then told that they did not give out such information to anyone who was not a nurse. The Negro woman said nothing else and left. This woman's experience is not atypical of many Negroes around the State seeking information from public facilities in order to better their communities. This type of discrimination may be rarely identified by a Federal investigator, but it is discrimination in its most insidious form.

We realize that a Federal agency such as the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare may have little authority to change existing State laws and to control State employed personnel. However, the issue of States' rights in Mississippi is just another bit of hypocrisy since these rights belong to slightly more than 50 percent of the population. The other half (the Negro) has had until now very few rights. Any Federal agency concerned with the proper administration of services falling under its jurisdiction should be emphatic to the effort of Mississippi Negroes to unseat the Congressmen of their State who do not represent their interests. True change in the health of the Negro, as in any other facet of Negro life, will come only when they obtain full political freedom and the opportunity to participate fully in the government of the State of Mississippi. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenge in September 1965, is the first major effort to attain such goals.

Therefore, as health professionals concerned with improving the health standards of all the people of Mississippi, the Medical Committee for Human Rights fully supports the challenge. We hope that others will join with us in this support, and that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will give their time and interest to these courageous people who are trying to bring about better life not only for the people of Mississippi, but for all Americans.

Conner Prairie Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, of historical significance to the State of Indiana is the beautiful Conner Prairie

Farm located in Hamilton County, Ind., near my hometown of Noblesville.

The home has been preserved and restored, and now is owned by Earlham College located at Richmond, Ind.

Two interesting and factual accounts of this famed Hoosier farm appeared recently in the Indianapolis Star and the Richmond Palladium-Item.

They will be of interest to all students of Indiana history, and I wish to draw attention of Members of Congress to this colorful period in Indiana history.

The articles follow:

[From the Indianapolis (Ind.) Star, Sept. 25, 1965]

CONNER PRAIRIE FARM BRINGS HISTORY ALIVE

One of the most picturesque chapters of Indiana history comes to life at magnificent Conner Prairie Farm with its original house and restored village located 14 miles northeast of Indianapolis.

White River winds its own whimsical way through green hills and meadows brushed with hints of russet and gold. In the springtime black locust trees bloom riotously around the brick house which is as sturdy and forthright as William Conner who built it.

The settlement was restored at a staggering cost by Mr. and Mrs. Eli Lilly after acquiring the property in 1930 and was kept open to visitors on a limited basis. It was presented to Earlham College in 1964 to be operated as a permanent muesum.

Earlham opened the settlement to groups by appointment in April. It now is open to the public on Saturday and Sunday afternoons until October.

The fate of Indianapolis was decided in Hilltop Cabin on the farm when the General Assembly of Indiana met to choose the location of the future capital of the State.

Antique furniture has been added to the main house slowly and with utmost care to preserve the feeling that the Conners have just gone to the Sunday morning church meeting.

Some has been given by members of the Conner family. Dr. and Mrs. Kenneth Smithburn, 3339 West 52d Street, are contributing a cupboard that belonged to the family. It is massive and has the original hardware and wavy glass.

Dr. Smithburn has carried on the family tradition of community service by doing work in Africa on malaria for the Rockefeller Foundation.

The visitor to the big brick house, which looks out benignly upon the little village, will feel an unspoken current of sadness when he learns the story of the first little log Princess Cabin.

William Conner built it in 1802 for his Indian princess wife Mekinges and their 6 children. It was part of a trading post built by William that was abuzz with activity from early morning until the evening candles were lit.

Eight other log buildings in the village include a milk house where butter, milk and cream were kept cool in earthen crocks on a damp, clay-packed floor, and a still house where whisky was made. It was an important factor in trading with the Indians and the economy of the State depended upon it too.

There was a loom house where clothing and coverlets were woven. The trading post had a meager supply of simple tools, traps and Hudson Bay blankets that were a real luxury.

The William Conner house was the first brick house built in the "new purchase" and was quite elegant by contrast to Mekinges' cabin. It was built in 1823 for his second wife, Elizabeth Chapman.

After 18 years of marriage Mekinges left silently with their 6 children and followed the Delaware Indians when they went West after selling their lands. Mekinges was the daughter of a Delaware chief and it was tribal custom for Indian women to follow wherever their people went.

It was a sad leavetaking. William gave the princess 60 ponies and half of his entire belongings when she and the children said goodby.

William became a man of consequence who was known all over Indiana as a leader during the troubled period when land was acquired for the Indiana territory.

Elizabeth and William became social leaders, too, and entertained John Jacob Astor, James Fenimore Cooper and other famous people in the gracious home.

William planned the city of Noblesville and helped plan Alexandria. He also helped start the Indiana Historical Society.

[From the Richmond (Ind.) Palladium-Item, Sept. 27, 1965]

CONNER PRAIRIE MUSEUM HAS 1,500 VISITORS

An estimated 1,500 visitors attended an open house Sunday at Earlham College's Conner Prairie Museum near Noblesville, Ind.

James Cope, museum director, said a 150-year-old dugout canoe unearthed near the museum last autumn was placed on display for the first time. The canoe has been undergoing treatment with chemical preservatives at Earlham College since its discovery.

Cope showed films depicting the canoe excavation and chemical treatment to standing-room-only crowds seven times during the day.

Also announced was formation of a new organization called the Conner Prairie Museum Pioneers which will assist the museum staff in scheduling and conducting tours of the buildings.

The organization also will engage in historical research and aid in long-range planning for the museum. Membership is open to all persons interested in volunteer service to the museum. Detailed information about membership is available at the Joseph Moore Museum on the Earlham campus.

The Conner Prairie Museum includes several restored pioneer buildings and the brick mansion of William Conner, an early Indiana settler and prominent figure in business and politics.

It is operated by the college as a public historical museum under terms of a gift from Eli Lilly of Indianapolis.

The U.S.S. "Simon Bolivar"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the successful completion of the first sea trials of the U.S.S. *Simon Bolivar*, our 31st Polaris nuclear submarine, the father of our nuclear fleet, Vice Adm. H. G. Rickover, has written an excellent summary of the career of the father of much of Latin America's independence. I offer Admiral Rickover's letter, as follows:

U.S.S. "SIMON BOLIVAR" (SSBN641),
At Sea, North Atlantic, September 28, 1965.
The Honorable CLAUDE PEPPER,
U.S. House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. PEPPER: We have just successfully completed the first sea trials of the U.S.S. *Simon Bolivar*, our 31st Polaris nuclear submarine. We also have in operation 22 attack-type nuclear submarines, making a total of 53. The *Simon Bolivar* was built by the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co. of Newport News, Va.

This ship is named for a great American soldier, patriot, and statesman. Simon Bolivar (1783–1830) was American in the broad sense of the word prevailing south of the border, where it is applied to citizens of the entire Western Hemisphere, north, central, and south.

Not only for us, but for all who share this vast continent with us, the word has a magic of its own. It stands for what we have in common, what gives us a sense of belonging to the same family of nations, despite the fact that we differ in many important respects. Not the least of the bonds uniting us is a revolutionary heritage that is peculiarly American.

What sets America's wars of independence apart from other struggles for colonial emancipation is that they were fought for political liberty, pure and simple. They were wars led in the north by Englishmen and in the south by Spaniards against men of their own race, language, and culture who would deny them the right to self-government. The leaders of the revolt laid down their "lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" from motives of pure patriotism unadulterated by desire for personal advantage. They were already successful and important men in their comunities; they did not expect independence to enrich them or to enhance their status. They fought for the ideal of liberty at great personal risk. None risked more and gained less personally than Simon Bolivar.

Born in Caracas, Venezuela—the year England recognized the independence of the United States—the son of a wealthy and aristocratic Spanish family long settled in the colony, Bolivar was educated abroad and, until the age of 27, lived the pleasant life of a rich planter. But from the moment of the first revolt in Caracas against Spain in 1810 to the end of his brief life of but 47 years, Bolivar served almost continuously as leader of the revolt. He richly deserved the title "liberator" bestowed on him by his countrymen, for he succeeded in driving the Spaniards from the vast area now occupied by the Republics of Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Peru. At one time or another he was not only military leader but civilian chief as well of one or more of these Republics; for a brief time all were united under him.

The Hispanic-American wars of independence lasted twice as long as did our own, and were fought over a vastly larger area and more intractable terrain. In population, the adversaries were more evenly matched, there being 11 million Spaniards to 15 million colonials, while we had but a third as large a population as England. Spain at the time was weakened by the Napoleonic wars while England was the premier maritime empire of the world. On the other hand, the Spanish colonials had to fight with no outside help except for individual volunteers who flocked to Bolivar's army as they did to Washington's. No major country gave aid as we received from France. Only little Haiti, under President Pétion, supported the cause of freedom by giving men and materiel to Bolivar at a time when he sorely needed them.

Of his military feats, Thomas Carlyle said that Bolivar rode "fighting all the way, through torrid deserts, hot mud swamps, through ice-chasms beyond the curve of perpetual frost—more miles than Ulysses ever sailed." He "marched over the Andes more than once, a feat analogous to Hannibal's and seemed to think little of it. Often beaten, banished from the firm land, he always returned again, truculently fought again."

Henry Clay called Bolivar the Washington of South America. Indeed, there are strik-

ing similarities, but the differences in temperament and in the turn of their lives are equally great. Both were self-taught soldiers. Bartolomé Mitre, famed Argentinean statesman, journalist, author and historian said that though Bolivar "had no military education, he possessed the talents of a great revolutionary leader and the inspiration of genius. He formed his plans quickly and executed them with daring resolution, while he lost no time in securing the fruits of his victory." And, speaking of his reconquest of western Venezuela, he remarked that "never, with such small means, was so much accomplished over so vast an extent of country, in so short a time."

Like Washington, Bolivar had that quality without which no man becomes a great military leader—a capacity to bear adversity with fortitude and to rise from defeat to win victory. His Spanish adversary General Morillo said that Bolivar was "more fearful vanquished than victorious"—just as of Washington one might well say that his finest hour was Valley Forge. Both cared for the welfare of their troops and were generous toward them. Both in their lifetime received much public adoration, both have a secure place in history as liberators of their nations. A South American republic was named for Bolivar, an American state for Washington.

But, while Washington remained popular and died venerated by his countrymen on the estate he loved so well, Bolivar lost the support of his people and died penniless of a lung ailment which might not have proved fatal had he spared himself. Toward the end he was discouraged and said that "those of us who have toiled for liberty in South America have but plowed the sea." Hendrik Willem Van Loon, in his biography writes an epitaph that is more just. "If those words, spoken in the bitterness of his final defeat and loneliness, had truly been the summing up of his restless labors, the life of Simon Bolivar might well have been considered a hopeless failure. Whereas a single glance at the map of the southern half of our continent proclaims the glory of his achievements. Half a dozen free and independent nations, arisen from among the ruins of Spain's imperial ambitions, are surely a monument of which any human being might well feel proud."

Respectfully,

H. G. RICKOVER.

Mr. Findley, Sugar, and Lobbyists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, an editorial which appeared in today's issue of the Washington Daily News gives well-deserved praise to my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois, Congressman FINDLEY, for his courageous and responsible work in connection with the sugar bill which will soon be considered by the House. The consumers of the country are indeed indebted to this fine member of the House Agriculture Committee for his diligent work on their behalf. The editorial follows:

MR. FINDLEY, SUGAR, AND LOBBYISTS

To Congressman PAUL FINDLEY, of Pittsfield, Ill., the sugar users in this country owe a debt for at least trying. Mr. FINDLEY has not won his battle to change the high price-fixing law on sugar. But he is one of the few to challenge this law, and he has scored an opening.

He has won the right to offer amendments on the House floor to a 5-year extension of the law proposed by the House Agriculture Committee, which virtually has been a czar in deciding who would sell sugar in the United States.

If the committee and its chairman, HAROLD COOLEY, of North Carolina, had had their way, the bill would have gone to the House floor under a "gag" rule—no amendments.

Mr. FINDLEY has two amendments, which the House now will get a chance to vote on. He wants to bar from the privileged list of countries permitted to sell sugar to the prize American market any foreign producers who hire Washington lobbyists. And he wants to impose a Federal tax on imported sugar to recapture part of the premium prices (over world prices) the United States pays for its sugar under this law.

In short, Mr. FINDLEY is trying to take the "gravy" out of the sugar business.

As it is, U.S. consumers are paying about 3 cents a pound more for sugar than consumers in, say, Canada. This is because of the sugar law.

In the sugar bill approved by the Cooley committee, Mr. FINDLEY says nine countries awarded quotas for the first time were represented by lobbyists. Argentina, which had no lobbyist, had its quota severely reduced.

So Mr. FINDLEY wants to know how much influence lobbyists have in setting quotas. His amendment is intended to reduce their influence to nil.

Some of the lobbyist fees run as high as $50,000 a year, and in the past at least some fees have been hinged to the size of the quotas.

Mr. FINDLEY has other questions about the validity of the sugar law, such as whether the law is really necesary, as its backers claim, to assure the country of an adequate supply of sugar. Before Congress acts, all these questions should be answered.

Moreover, the present law does not expire until December 31, 1966. Why, then, is there such a rush about jamming through a 5-year extension in the 1965 session of Congress, without answers to these questions?

GOP Campaign Issue Is Found

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, much has been said by Democrats to the effect that theirs is the "party of the people." We Republicans disagree. We do not submit to the contention that a "big brother" government in Washington—a government that attempts to solve all problems of all people through a regressive centralization of power in the Federal Government—is actually a party of the people.

Rather, we feel that a party which fights for the rights and dignity of the individual as an individual—a party which fights for retention by the States of their constitutionally bestowed powers—a party which fights against an ever-expanding, top-heavy, and expensive bureaucratic Federal Government—is more truly representative of the will and welfare of all the people, and therefore is more truly the party of the people.

Mr. Lyle Wilson, writing in the September 24 edition of the North Idaho Press, published at Wallace, Idaho, has pinpointed a number of the issues which will be stressed during the campaigns in 1966. These issues clearly show that Republicans have steadfastly resisted and protested the efforts of the overwhelming Democrat majorities in both Houses of the Congress to foist regimentation and Federal control on our people. The article shows well how the Republican Party is truly the party of the people.

The article follows:

GOP CAMPAIGN ISSUE IS FOUND

(By Lyle Wilson)

If the Republicans are able to salvage anything worthwhile from their performance in the 89th Congress it is likely to be the party's record in defense of local government against the massive centralization of power in Washington. That should be a good political issue in next year's congressional election.

The pat name for that issue is States rights. But that name has unfortunate side effect meanings. To many Negroes, States rights is the battle cry of opposition to minority civil rights. It would be unfair to confuse the issue of civil rights with the effort of congressional Republicans to shield local government against heavyhanded domination by Federal courts and Washington bureaucrats.

The only Republican score so far in the 89th Congress came about last week in the House. Democrats joined in rejecting power-grab compromise on L.B.J.'s appropriation bill. By a vote of 209 to 180 the House insisted that there be restored to the bill provision for Governors to veto end-poverty projects proposed from Washington. The veto right is limited and could not prevail against bureaucratic insistence from Washington upon a given project.

This limited veto had been opposed and defeated by administration forces in the Senate. In conference between Senate and House representatives the veto provision was eliminated from the compromise bill proposed for final action. Thirty-seven of the fifty State Governors had appealed to Congress to support the States rights point of view by providing for the veto. Of these 37 Governors, 21 were Democrats. The Johnson administration and its U.S. Senators-on-leash were unimpressed. It remained for the Republican minority to press the issue in the House and to win. A good job well done.

Senate Republicans—a pitiful minority—are maneuvering on two fronts to protect local government against big brother in Washington. Senate Minority Leader EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN threatens to filibuster against Johnson's effort to repeal section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Labor Management Act.

Section 14(b) is organized labor's No. 1 legislative project. Big labor helped the Democrats to their 1964 election triumphs for which Johnson has agreed to pay off by repealing 14(b). The section denies no right of organized labor. It merely assures the right of voters in any State to determine for themselves whether compulsory unionism shall or shall not be permitted. There seems to be at least a possibility that DIRKSEN will be able to lick L.B.J. on this issue.

The other local front defended by Senate Republicans involves an effort to reject the Supreme Court's rule that membership of both houses of State legislatures must be apportioned solely on the basis of population. DIRKSEN is pressing for amendment of the Constitution to overrule the Court. But DIRKSEN would not impose a substitute rule on the States. His proposal merely would permit a State to apportion membership in

one house of its legislature on a basis other than population if the voters so willed.

Note that in these matters the Republicans do not seek to impose anything or any system upon any State. In all instances it is proposed only that each State shall decide for itself according to the will of its voting citizens. What could be more fair than that?

It all adds up to a good and intelligent Republican campaign issue for 1966.

Tribute to Colonel Fitzmaurice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, one of the gratifications of aging is the recollection of great events that were vivid yesterday and pale today. Only the epic things remain vivid now as then.

Among these the attempts to span the Atlantic in solo flight in the 1920's stands out as some of man's most heroic hours.

Our own Charles Lindbergh was and is, of course, the greatest. But others reached at least the rim of glory with their courage.

One of these, the intrepid Irishman, Colonel Fitzmaurice, has just passed away. He was truly a pioneer in this age of flight. Colonel Fitzmaurice lived to see the dream of an Irish crossing of the Atlantic become not only a reality, but a point of leadership in Irish progress. It must have been a tremendous satisfaction to this courageous flying Gael to see the growth of Irish International Airlines into one of the world's leading air carriers with the finest jet service in daily operation between New York, Shannon, and the great cities of Europe and America. Fitzmaurice is gone but the Irish fly on.

I submit for the edification of my colleagues the obituary of Colonel Fitzmaurice which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune:

COLONEL FITZMAURICE: EIRE'S AERIAL HERO

DUBLIN, IRELAND.—The silver Junkers monoplane was backed up to the end of the single runway at Baldonnel Airdrome outside Dublin. "Bremen D1167" was painted on the side. It was April 6, 1928, and the world was awaiting, with three German airmen, the break in the weather that would allow them to attempt the first east-west crossing of the Atlantic Ocean.

The plane's oversized tanks were filled with special fuel and takeoff time was hours away when one of the pilots walked out on the others. But the flight wasn't canceled—Col. James C. Fitzmaurice, 30, commander of the Irish Free State's tiny air corps, volunteered to join the Germans.

The dashing Colonel Fitzmaurice was a hero outranked only by Charles Lindberg when the Bremen crash-landed in Labrador, 11 months after the Lindberg west-east crossing. Until World War II, he was one of the band of adventureous international pilots who thrilled the world with racing and endurance flights.

Colonel Fitzmaurice died yesterday in a Dublin hospital after years of illness.

"Mitchell Field or heaven" was the announced goal of Colonel Fitzmaurice and his German companions as they took off on April 12. The Germans were Capt. Hermann Kiehl, a war hero, and Baron Ehrenfried von Huenefeld, who financed the flight.

The trio never made it to Long Island. Thirty-six and a half hours after takeoff they crashed on Greenly Island, Labrador, and were discovered 13 days later by a party searching for the wreckage after having been given up for dead.

Storms were blamed for the crash, but the delay in takeoff was not due to weather. The Irish Government would not allow the *Bremen* to take off until insurance was purchased to protect Colonel Fitzmaurice's young wife and daughter. After several days a policy was purchased at a reported premium of 75 percent of its payoff value.

After their rescue from the island, the three were lionized in America and Europe. A triumphal tour of 10 U.S. cities was climaxed by lunch with President Coolidge and the awarding of the Distinguished Flying Cross to all three.

For more than a year, the heroes toured the capitals of Europe with huge crowds greeting them everywhere.

The young Irish flyer was no stranger to adventure when he climbed aboard the *Bremen*. He was a Royal Flying Corps hero in World War I before resigning to join the Irish Corps as a private in 1922.

In September 1927 he attempted a trans-Atlantic crossing with another Irish pilot, but bad weather forced them back.

Writing of his flights, the flier said:

"It is all so deadly monotonous. There was nothing to do but grind our teeth, grin, and forge on ahead into the west, hoping that terra firma would soon loom up in front."

Caterpillar With a Big "C"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, in Joseph Alsop's column in the Washington Post of September 17, 1965, he referred to Caterpillar tractors with a small "c." Although his story was wired back all in caps, I checked to see if the Caterpillar tractor was on the job. The international headquarters of the Caterpillar Tractor Co. is located in Peoria, Ill., the largest city in my district, and I was very pleased to learn that they are on the job, aiding the war effort in Vietnam.

I might add, Mr. Speaker, the Caterpillar Tractor Co. is the largest industry in the State of Illinois. Under unanimous consent, I include the article at this point:

POWER'S LONG ARM

(By Joseph Alsop)

AN KHE, VIETNAM.—This is a wide green vale among the hills, halfway between the rich, populous coastal lowlands and the half-empty high plateaus of South Vietnam, where the Vietcong were having much success until just the other day.

The higher ground behind the airport is like an immense human ant hill; for the newly arrived men of the 1st Calvary Division are hard at work setting up housekeeping in the open. A Caribou transport touches down on the average of once every 3 minutes, and 30 more soldiers stumble down the ramp, heavily burdened with weapons and packs and ammunition.

Trucks crawl up Highway 19 in an unending mechanical caterpillar. The division's gigantic Chinook helicopters bring in still more troops and hover away again. Surveying this astonishing scene, General Westmoreland remarks with quiet irony: "Well, I think the balance is changing a bit in this particular part of Vietnam."

Such was the understated climax of an extraordinary and instructive day. The day had a single, simple theme. General Westmoreland wished to have a look at the whole process of deployment of U.S. power in this country, beginning at the beginning and finishing with the end product; he asked me to make the trip as his guest.

The beginning, of course, was the logistical supporting structure that U.S. power always requires. When the general announced that this was at Camranh Bay, a vivid memory came back of the place as it was in the French time—the magnificent harbor, where the Russian fleet got coal and water on its way to its doom at Port Arthur, lying blue and empty of all shipping except a few fishing shacks. The vast sandspit and its terminal stony mountain that protect the anchorage were both as empty as the bay itself except for a tiny fishing village.

Even from the air, the change since those times was a bit startling. A 10,000-foot airstrip now cuts across the great sandspit's upper neck. The vast bay seemed almost crowded, so numerous were the freighters lying at anchor. A giant bite had been taken out of the side of the mountain, and a huge quarry made another raw wound on the mountain's flank.

Yet these proved trifling wonders, compared to what we saw on landing. Col. William F. Hart, Jr., led his 35th Engineer Group ashore at Camranh Bay in June. All but one of the group's battalions had to be sent on at once to other assignments. So Colonel Hart was left with 1,330 men and the not inconsiderable assignment of making a sandspit into a port capable of handling 10,000 tons a week within 2 months.

He got the job done on time, too. This modern miracle was wrought, of course, with America's long-legendary heavy engineering equipment but it must be added that it is one thing to hear the legend, and quite another thing to see the staggering reality.

Bulldozers literally big enough to move mountains; vast caterpillar tractors pulling 18-yard scrapers; gigantic concrete mixers set up in battery being fed by another battery of equally gigantic crushers; down by the beaches landing craft of every sort, including unwieldy amphibians that can either wallow or waddle—at every turn there was something to make one's eyes pop.

"But, of course, it will be much better soon," said Colonel Hart at the end of our visit. "We towed our 100-ton cranes from Okinawa, but our floating pier has to come all the way from Charleston, S.C. It will be here soon, and then we will be handling over 2,000 tons a day."

"You can get a lot done with a little Yankee ingenuity," General Westmoreland remarked dryly, after the little command plane had taken off again for Quinhon. The great sight, here, was the actual delivery, halfway round the world, of an entire U.S. division in complete fighting trim. The needed troop transports and carriers, with decks stacked with helicopters all but filled Quinhon's little roadstead.

Down by the beach, a harassed landing control officer was shouting orders. Waiting to welcome the troops as they came ashore, General Westmoreland talked quietly with another officer about the division's movement inland. The first LST pushed its snout onto the beach. The general stepped forward.

A scene of comic anticlimax thereupon ensued, for there was something wrong with the landing ramp, which refused to let down for a long, tumultuous quarter hour. Then, at

last, the ramp grudgingly dropped. A hundred soldiers, weary and sweating in the unaccustomed heat, came ashore, were greeted, and climbed heavily into waiting trucks.

A moment earlier, I had been inwardly laughing at the total consternation caused by one ramp's untimely obstinacy in the inspiring presence of a four-star general. Yet the impulse to giggle died when those damply fatigued men crossed the narrow beach. For I suddenly found myself thinking of Greece, and the Berlin blockade, and Korea and the Formosa Strait, and the second round at Berlin and the missiles in Cuba—of all the times, in short, when the United States has stood up and been counted since the end of the Second War.

That thought lingers here at Ankhe, with the strong division settling into its foxholes on the hill above me, because the United States is standing up and being counted once again.

H.R. 10232

SPEECH

OF

HON. RAY ROBERTS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10232) to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to make or insure loans to public and quasi-public agencies and corporations not operated for profit with respect to water supply, water systems, and waste disposal systems serving rural areas and to make grants to aid in rural community development planning and in connection with the construction of such community facilities, to increase the annual aggregate of insured loans thereunder, and for other purposes.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Chairman, I am happy to support H.R. 10232, a bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to make or insure loans to public and quasi-public agencies and corporations not operated for profit with respect to water supply, water systems, and waste disposal systems serving rural areas, and to make grants to aid in rural community development planning and in connection with the construction of such community facilities.

This bill is identical to one that I introduced, H.R. 10359, and I am proud that the Committee saw fit to consider it and to recommend this bill.

The purpose of the bill is obvious—to extend to rural communities the same kind of loans and/or grants that are now available to larger cities. The upper population limit of 5,500 contained in this bill is the lower limit at which the Housing and Home Finance Agency can make this same type loan or grant.

Today the establishment of adequate water and waste disposal systems is one of the pressing needs of rural America. Necessities that a city dweller takes for granted a rural resident many times must provide for himself at great cost.

Not only is the need for water and sanitation facilities for household consumption great, but dairy farmers as well as fruit and vegetable farmers are finding it increasingly necessary and increasingly more difficult to have an ample supply of pure water and adequate sanitation facilities for the handling of their products.

Today there are at least 30,000 rural communities in need of water and sanitation facilities. This need must be met if these communities are to grow and make their continuing contribution to the Nation. This bill will go a long way toward facilitating the need and allowing the growth and contribution that rural America has made—and will continue to make.

I enthusiastically endorse this bill.

War on Poverty Builds Hope in Picher

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, in June the small town of Picher, Okla., received a community action program grant of $71,768 to establish a multipurpose center to provide a variety of services for the town's 2,553 people.

The size of the grant compared to the size of Picher was unusual. But not nearly so unusual as the town itself. Picher was once a booming lead and zinc mining town 15,000. The mining boom is over, but Picher refuses to die. In fact, the town's citizens are more determined than ever to survive as a town, despite great odds against them.

When the Economic Opportunity Act was passed, Picher's people saw the promise in its provisions. With only a copy of the act to guide them, they made application for help. Not only all segments of the Picher population, but virtually the whole population, helped in the effort, a fact which caused Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, to say:

> The most remarkable thing about Picher is not its poverty, but its citizens' firm determination to survive as a community.

Picher received its grant some 6 weeks ago, and the town already has started to work on the plans the grant will make it possible to carry out. Mike McCarville, a reporter for the Tulsa Tribune, visited Picher to see the war on poverty in action, and his account of Picher's effort reflects the optimism of the people of that town.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to have that account, "Picher, Town That 'Jack' Built, Then Abandoned, Refuses to Die," included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

PICHER, TOWN THAT "JACK" BUILT, THEN ABANDONED, REFUSES TO DIE

(By Mike McCarville)

PICHER.—Picher is the town that jack built—and then abandoned.

Jack left Picher with the mine operators 8 years ago when zinc operations were virtually eliminated. The town's retail sales dropped 60 percent.

After jack departed, the dingy buildings became more dingy.

Jack was plentiful in the lead and zinc boom days when 15,000 persons lived here and mining was a multimillion dollar a year business.

When the miners, the drifters, the big money companies and the get-rich-quick boys left, most of the jack—money—left with them.

But despite the lack of jack, this bundle of 2,533 persons (667 families) is a most unusual community.

Economically starved, surrounded by the remains of 50 years of deep-shaft mining and without industry except for two small low-output firms. Picher for 8 years has faced extinction, but refuses to die. This is a far cry from the bustling boom town of 1917, when it was incorporated.

A two-block square area in downtown Pitcher has been fenced off since 1950.

It was closed by the Eagle-Picher Co. which feared there could be future cave-ins since gaping holes had been gouged beneath the surface to extract lead and zinc ores.

The fight against extinction by the town's 2,533 residents should stand as a lighthouse for shoulder-shruggers.

Consider these facts (and remember that of the 667 families, 465 have annual incomes of $4,000 or less):

A housing authority; a $71,768 community action program grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity requested before that aid agency even was open for business, and an active social antipoverty project that transposes glum days to glee days for more than 100 youngsters.

Many of the youngsters are from 351 families with annual incomes of less than $3,000 a year.

Consider further: The OEO grant to Picher named the Lions Club as the administrative unit, the only Lions Club in the Nation to be so named. The club promptly emerged with 10 local young adults to supervise the multiservice center project.

Named community action program chairman by the club was Ron Sparkman, a balding, muscular go-getter whose wife boosted the population to 2,534 with a baby girl only hours before this interview.

Mayor Harold McLain, in office 8 months, says all the activity began when those who stayed decided, "We just aren't going to let this town die."

And that was what was happening, the mayor said.

Instrumental in getting the let's-do-something ball rolling was School Superintendent Jess Fronterhouse, a former State legislator.

One hears the names of many who work to save Picher. There's Jim Coble, past Lions Club president; C. Allan Mathews, publisher of the Tri-State Tribune; McLain; the Reverend Ward Allen, Charlie Becker, Louis Bowers, W. Albert Brewer, Ralph Chambers, Merl Carlin, Geral Carlin, Earl Fisher, Jimmy Koronis, John Leffler, Burl Lane, Max Martin, Wendall Miller, the Reverend Robert Nichols, Jack McNeeley, Jack Osborn, Lyndon Scott, John Stidham, Paul Sanders, Donald Smith, Paul Thomas, Paul Pace, the Reverend Basil Meeks, Coleman Hopper, and the Reverend James G. Garrison.

It was this procession of names that prompted OEO Director Sargent Shriver to remark, "The most remarkable thing about Picher is not its poverty, but its citizens' firm determination to survive as a community."

The effort to survive as a community led the Picher City Council to spend $5,400 on an urban renewal project survey. Thursday, a former councilman, Mike Laramore, filed suit in Ottawa District Court seeking $10,800, double the amount spent. He alleges the money was spent unlawfully and was collected by the city but not appropriated by the Ottawa County Excise Board.

Laramore said if the suit is successful he will give the money awarded him to the city.

Whatever the result of that suit, the urban renewal survey provides the foundation for Picher's entire effort to survive. The data compiled with it is being used in planning the multiservice center projects.

Picher is a test town, CAP Coordinator Sparkman says. For that reason, the 12-month program must make progress.

The first phase of the program, implementing the administrative end, is underway.

Richard Scott, the health and social activities coordinator, has conducted surveys of the town directed at locating eyesores. The next step is eradication of eyesores by using a T&I (training-instruction) work crew composed of Picher youths.

Picher's progress is all the more remarkable when the town's budget is examined. The cash balance in the general fund as of June 30 was $1,388.84.

The fiscal 1965–66 budget totals $15,000, with $5,680.06 to come from ad valorem taxes.

The town has an occupation tax (estimated 1965–66 income—$800), a dog tax ($102), police fines ($465), alcoholic beverage tax ($2,215), 2 percent utility tax ($3,495), miscellaneous ($39.98), and water utility surpluses ($2,000).

Expenditures in the coming year will include $1,200 for the city clerk, $4,200 for the police department, $4,000 for the fire department, and $5,600 for general government.

The OEO grant is four and a half times Picher's budget.

None of the town's money is to be spent on the multiservice center project. Salaries for the project's coordinators are paid from the grant.

On September 1, Scott will move to provide day-care for preschool age children.

"But our aim is not the children," says Scott. "It's their mothers."

Scott said the program includes lessons in hygiene, housekeeping, and homelife.

Sparkman's chief assistant is Bennie Miller. Other project officers are George Allen, secretary-accountant; Kay Miller, secretary; Cora Mae Bayliss, economic and employment counselor, and workers Bert Reeves, Clell Ware, David Wilson, and Nina Ward.

The group meets in a large, old office over the post office.

The windows have no screens and the door to Sparkman's office has no knob.

"But we don't pay rent," Sparkman and the mayor said, with grins.

Four borrowed desks, a table, chairs, and three maps are in the room.

The borrowed items tell Picher's story—"We couldn't beg 'em or steal 'em," said the mayor, "so we just borrowed 'em."

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Code of Laws of the United States

Title 44, Section 181. Congressional Record; arrangement, style, contents, and indexes.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

Title 44, Section 182b. Same; illustrations, maps, diagrams.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the Record without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the Record shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the Record shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the Record shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the Record style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the Record.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent Record is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the Congressional Record shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the Congressional Record, nor to Records printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional Record which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

Final Review for Proton Accelerator Sites

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, the Atomic Energy Commission announced recently a list of sites which will undergo final review by the National Academy of Sciences for the planned $300 million-plus 200 Bev. proton accelerator.

Indiana sites in Marion County, near Indianapolis, and near Dana, in western Indiana, are on this final list.

The next step will be up to the National Academy's Site Selection Committee, and, of course, the competition will be rough.

Many experts participated in drawing up the Indiana proposals, and an Indiana site would fully satisfy the technical requirements set by the Atomic Energy Commission.

There has been a tremendous bipartisan effort at all levels of local and State government in Indiana to present the advantages a Hoosier home for this space-age accelerator would afford the Nation and our scientific endeavors.

Indiana cannot be overlooked if the site selection is determined by the technical, topographical, geographical, and scientific criteria laid down by the Government.

Indiana meets every requirement and condition, and we certainly hope this selection will be made on this basis.

There has already been, however, reports that delays in the selection may be due to political factors. If true, this is unfortunate and is an injustice to the literally hundreds of people who have worked for a fair consideration of Indiana for this project.

It is appropriate that we also discuss some of the broader factors which relate to the eventual selection of a site. There are many regional factors which should be considered in the selection of this site.

The Midwest has two overall and important assets which are pertinent to the placement of an accelerator:

It is centrally located, making the facilities of the accelerator easily accessible to qualified scientists throughout the country.

The great universities of the Midwest have produced much of the top scientific talent of the Nation. Owing, however, to the placement of the bulk of Government research facilities on the east and west coasts, there has been a considerable and harmful scientific emigration from the Midwest, which in the long run could damage the outstanding quality of education at Midwest universities.

Of the eight major accelerators built in the United States to date, only one has been located in the Midwest—at Argonne, Ill. In addition, virtually all the major nuclear development and production facilities have been built outside the Midwest.

By contrast, the States of Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan produced nearly 30 percent of the doctorates in the natural sciences at work in America in 1962.

There is clear evidence that the Midwest has been getting the short end of the deal. This applies not only to atomic accelerators and other nuclear facilities, but also to other programs of advanced technology and research.

This is clearly documented in the Government and Science Report No. 4 of the committee which I serve upon, the Science and Astronautics Committee of the House of Representatives.

Additional evidence is available through the report of the Committee on the Economic Impact of Defense and Disarmament, published July 1965, which contains percentage breakdowns, listed by States, of Defense Department prime contract awards and National Aeronautics and Space Administration direct procurement awards.

This report shows that while Indiana has 2.5 percent of the population of the United States, it is receiving only 2.2 percent of the Department of Defense prime contract awards, and even worse, only 0.1 percent of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration procurement awards.

We can assume that whereas Defense Department prime contract awards heavily reflect the direct production of goods, such as guns, airplanes, and electronic equipment, NASA procurements relate to even more highly sophisticated and research-oriented space-age technology.

These statistics on Indiana and others which I have examined for Midwestern States make it abundantly clear that on a per capita basis, our area is not in any way receiving an equitable share of advanced research-oriented Government contracts, measured by NASA direct procurement awards. The Midwest is receiving only around 25 percent on a per capita basis.

Even in the area of production for the Defense Department, the Midwest lags—by nearly 50 percent—behind an equitable per capita share.

This is an extraordinary and disturbing state of affairs. In the Midwest are located many of the finest universities and much of the best production capability in this Nation. Yet when it comes to government facilities and contracts, the Midwest is getting shortchanged. This is particularly true with respect to highly technical research facilities, of which the planned Atomic Energy Commission accelerator is the best current example.

Inequities are uncomfortable and unpleasant, particularly if they are as unjustified and unexplainable as are those affecting our State of Indiana and the entire Midwest.

The Midwest has demonstrated its talent and capabilities. I certainly think it is about time that it has a chance to put them to maximum use.

If Indiana is bypassed in the location of the AEC accelerator, it will not be a competitive decision, but pure power politics. I fear at this time that the degree of competition involved in this project will result in a political judgment.

The State of Indiana—and the entire Midwest—will be watching and awaiting this decision with interest. Should this installation go to Texas—or another politically "correct" area—our worst suspicions will be confirmed.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Decline of Liberalism and the Shadowboxing Elephant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, although perhaps entirely coincidental, the appearance of two editorials in the September 27 edition of the Wall Street Journal, entitled "The Decline of Liberalism" and "The Shadowboxing Elephant," one directly above the other, is highly appropriate and meaningful for the direction of the Republican Party. I commend these editorials to the attention of my colleagues and under unanimous consent place them in the Appendix of the RECORD:

THE DECLINE OF LIBERALISM

Even amid the rush of the most "liberal" legislation in a generation, some liberals themselves fear that the movement is running out of intellectual steam. They also suspect they know part of the reason.

Liberalism as it has evolved in 20th century America is essentially a creed of materialism, despite its customary clothing in words of idealism. This characteristic it shares with Marxism, from which it in addition draws a certain amount of political-economic sustenance. The central idea seems to be that if people's physical conditions can only be improved, usually by the collective action of the State, the needs of the spirit will automatically be attended to.

Unfortunately for the theory, such is not the case. Putting poor people in better housing, for example, may be desirable on humanitarian grounds, but it does not neces-

sarily make anyone more law abiding or provide him with a motivation to become an effective member of society. It can hardly be a coincidence that the sweep of social legislation in the past few decades has been accompanied by an increase of crime, out of all proportion to population growth, and numerous other evidences of social maladjustment.

While physical deprivation is a manifest ill with which everyone should be concerned, the torments of the soul can be no less real, regardless of the economic stratum. Probably the proportion of the population enveloped in Dostoevskian despair is relatively small; what can nonetheless be discerned is a growing sense of something awry, or of something missing in our lives.

Traditionally the established religions have helped ease the disquiet and could once again be a principal instrumentality. Yet it is acknowledged that their efficacy is being challenged, albeit unwittingly, by a number of current phenomena. Apart from the total materialism of liberalism itself, doubtless the most notable development is the incredible speed of scientific advance, carrying with it such unsettling possibilities as genetic engineering to prefashion human beings.

A malaise of the spirit, in any event, cannot be cured by great impersonal programs aimed primarily at the body. So it is that today there is a good deal of casting about in an effort to find something to reinvigorate, or give new dimension to, the philosophy of liberalism.

President Johnson, for one, frequently speaks of the need to improve the quality, as distinct from the material embellishments, of American life. He stresses education, the rebuilding of the cities, the beautification of the landscape.

Now it may be that a better educated society would be more at ease with itself, although the proposition lacks proof. Even here, however, a confusion with quantity appears, as if more numbers of young people in school is equatable with a higher quality of education; again, we are back to materialism.

When it comes to matters like attacking urban congestion and decay, the upshot (if by some as yet undiscovered magic the Federal Government could solve them) might be fewer frayed nerves, but the approach is fundamentally materialistic. It is not the kind of thing to infuse great new meaning into life or lighten the spirit.

More extreme suggestions proceed from the not so novel notion that if only the majority of people did not have to work, they would turn to helping the less fortunate or to the pursuit of the arts and humanities. Passing over the utopian economics of the assumption, it fails as an interpretation of human nature. Those who engage in social welfare or creative activity or whatever have their particular drives mysteriously embedded in them; they cannot be brought forth and multiplied by the authority of the state.

We doubt, then, that our liberal friends will soon find a fresh significance to offer the Nation, which is not the same as saying they will not go on garnering votes with their materialistic programs.

It has long seemed to us, though, that this intellectual void is both a political opportunity and a chance for genuine upgrading of the quality of life if it were possible to persuasively present a different kind of philosophy. It would have to include, we think, a turning away from excessive devotion to mass man and his material wants, from dedication to the conformity of the collective; it would have to attempt a redefining of the value and dignity of the individual even in terms of the scientific explosion and all other disturbing developments of the day.

Whatever is done about it, the vacuum waits to be filled. In the ledgers of the spirit, contemporary liberalism is running a continuing and growing deficit.

THE SHADOWBOXING ELEPHANT

There are signs lately suggesting that the Grand Old Party's leadership is getting so busy slapping at gnats it is in danger of leaving itself little time to tackle real issues.

The Republican congressional committee, for instance, complains about some intelligence tests for high school children that, it says, present the party in a poor light. The committee offers for inspection a question from a test given to ninth graders: "Question: A club that accepts only rich members is said to be—(a) snobbish (b) exclusive (c) conservative (d) Republican (e) un-American."

Although the "exclusive" answer is considered correct, the committee solemnly observes, linkage of the words "conservative" and "Republican" with "un-American" plus the possible implication that Republicans are very rich raise some serious questions.

Maybe so. But instead of worrying that a Democrat seems to have infiltrated an intelligence test-writing staff, perhaps the GOP would have been more intelligent to demand, tongue in cheek, equal space for questions of its own, such at: Question: A club that accepts anybody is (a) gregarious (b) indiscriminate (c) liberal (d) Democratic (e) overcrowded."

Then the Young Republicans have been fretting about their symbol, a baby elephant named "Punchy" that wears boxing trunks and gloves. Not only is the symbol immature, aver the young GOPs, but also "the image of boxing in our country does not enhance the stature of our national emblem." Which should inspire little argument. Or little intellectual excitement, either.

Now all this and more is likely to strike people as mere shadowboxing, while the Democratic administration continues to crank out one far-reaching program after another. The GOP can take the gloves off its elephant and otherwise tinker with its image, but that won't help much unless it also gets into the middle of the ring and starts swinging.

After all, the Democrats waste little time worrying about their visual symbol, even though it is what it is.

Home Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, in view of the action taken by the House yesterday, on home rule, I think it would be interesting to the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to have the comments of Mr. Arthur Hoppe, who recently visited Washington.

This column, which follows, was printed in the San Francisco Chronicle on September 27:

THE NATIVES ARE GROWING RESTLESS

(By Arthur Hoppe)

WASHINGTON.—In my book, strange native customs in Washington and other savage lands, I have avoided writing a chapter on how the natives are governed; in fear of being booted out of the anthropological society. But the time has now come. For the natives are growing restless.

Indeed, like many other emerging peoples throughout the world, the Washington natives are now raising a hue and cry for self-determination, home rule, the ballot, and all the other appurtenances of civilized democracy. Thus the burning question we members of more advanced societies face today is: "Are these backward savings ready for self-government?"

Historically, the many indigenous tribes of Washington have been ruled by the solons, a group of elderly autocrats who occupy the strategic heights of Capitol Hill. Actually, the solons are far too busy wrangling among themselves to give much attention to the matter. And they have assigned the task to a minor committee, composed apparently of solons unfit for any useful jobs.

This committee, in desultory fashion, performs the customary Washington ritual of appointing various subcommittees, boards, and agencies to do the actual work. But because the local natives have no votes, the committee begrudges them any money—that being the traditional pattern of trade among the solons.

As a direct consequence of these long years of neglect, the lot of the natives today is not a happy one. And the uninformed observer may well wonder why they did not revolt long ago under this oppression, storm Capitol Hill and proclaim a native republic.

There are many obvious reasons. One is the fact that the flatland natives dwell in a vast reclaimed swamp, pervaded with enervating summer heat, numbing winter cold and a year-round miasma guaranteed to sap the energy of the most fiery-eyed revolutionary.

Second, as there has been no industrial development whatsoever, the natives must listlessly devote their days in their beehive-like edifices to such native handicrafts as stapling, filing, stabbing each other in the back, and other lackluster activities.

Lastly, of course, is the cleverness of the ruling solons in so laying out the maze of angling, curving, and meandering streets that the native bent on storming Capitol Hill would probably never be able to find it.

But now that Gambia, Zambia, and the Chad Republic have won their freedom, the spark of independence has caught fire even in this humid wasteland. And the natives are demanding an end to solon colonialism and the right to elect their own leaders.

Observers who understand the character and daily pursuits of such indigenous tribes as State, Pentagon, and White House gloomily predict that independence can only be followed by a round of coups, back stabbing, revolts, and chaos that will make the Congo and Vietnam seem model Republics. For it cannot be denied that the Washington native is simply neither trained nor qualified to govern anything.

However, it must be admitted that his lot could certainly be no worse. Nor can any thinking man reject the principle of self-government, on the grounds that any man who governs himself gets what he deserves.

Moreover, we can optimistically hope that independence and self rule will somehow instill in these backward peoples a sense of responsibility. Perhaps it will give them a purpose in life. Maybe someday they will become a civilized society, leading useful, productive lives. Of course, one glance at present conditions tells you that this is going to take, at best, years and years.

East-West Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, on June 3, 1965, I inserted in the RECORD a column

from the Indianapolis Star entitled "Panel on Red China Reveals Curious Views."

In response thereto, I have had a letter from Mr. Ernest S. Lee, assistant director, Department of International Affairs, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, commenting upon some of the matters expressed in that column. In order that his views as well as the attitude of the AFL-CIO Executive Council and of President George Meany upon the question of East-West trade may be fully understood, I include the following:

The letter from Mr. Lee, referred to above; statement by the AFL-CIO executive council on East-West trade; and text of an address by AFL-CIO President George Meany to the Freedom Award Dinner of the International Rescue Committee in New York on January 28, 1965:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS,
Washington, D.C. June 10, 1965.

Hon. E. ROSS ADAIR,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ADAIR: It was with great interest that I reviewed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Appendix A2842, dated June 3, 1965, an insertion you made of a column from the Indianapolis Star of May 19, 1965, entitled "Panel on Red China Reveals Curious Views."

A significant error on the part of author Thomas G. Karsell has placed Mr. Stanley Greenspan, a member of the International Department of the International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW), in the position of assistant to the director of the International Affairs Department, AFL-CIO. It is my sincere desire that this error be corrected in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and that the position of the AFL-CIO concerning East-West trade be made doubly clear to the extent that the personal thinking of Mr. Greenspan will not be interpreted as the official policy of the AFL-CIO. It would be a disservice to the labor movement to permit your inclusion of this material in the RECORD to go unchallenged.

The official position of the AFL-CIO on East-West trade is stated in a document, unanimously approved by the executive council of the AFL-CIO at Miami, Fla., on March 1, 1965. For that reason, I am enclosing the policy statement, together with the remarks of President Meany included in his address before the International Rescue Committee Freedom Award dinner.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

ERNEST S. LEE,
Assistant Director, Department of International Affairs.

STATEMENT BY THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON EAST-WEST TRADE, BAL HARBOUR, FLA., MARCH 1, 1965

The economy of all Communist countries has been beset for some time by grave economic difficulties. Their much-vaunted system of totalitarian economic planning is plagued with serious imbalance, shoddy production, costly dislocation of manpower and waste. Communist collectivized and state agriculture have been in continuous crisis. The dearth of consumers' goods continues unabated in the U.S.S.R. and in all other Communist countries. These economic difficulties have been profoundly aggravated, especially in the Soviet Union and Communist China, by their relentless drive to build a huge arsenal of nuclear and other modern weapons for aggression. The huge sums they have been spending on economic and military projects for subversive purposes in some developing countries have further strained their economies and placed additional heavy burdens on the Soviet and Chinese people.

The Communist governments are seeking expanded trade with and long-term credits from the Western democracies in order to overcome their economic plight. Some free world businessmen have been showing real interest in expanding trade with and credits to Moscow, its satellites and even Peiping. In facing this problem, these businessmen must realize that, in all Communist countries, all economic matters are totally dominated by the State. In these totalitarian societies, all economic relations are, first of all, political in character and aim. Khrushchev made this clear several years ago when he told a delegation of U.S. Senators that "We value trade least for economic reasons and most for political reasons."

Consequently, it would be utterly unrealistic for American industrialists and traders to think that they can do "business as usual" when they deal with Communist governments. It is not true that in such deals "the only thing that matters is profit and competitive advantage." This practice of doing "business as usual" with the Nazi and Fascist dictators proved disastrous before World War II. Business as usual with Communist dictators will certainly be no less disastrous. The decisive consideration in commercial transactions with these dictatorships is that such deals must serve the national interest of our country and its free society and not merely help bail the Communist regimes out of their economic difficulties.

The record shows that, in seeking expanded economic relations with the West, Communist governments have been motivated primarily by a desire to strengthen their economic system and totalitarian rule rather than by serious concern for speeding the improvement of the living conditions of the people. The substantial Western aid extended to date to these countries, including Yugoslavia, has not resulted in a comparable improvement of the living standards of the people.

The executive council maintains that under no circumstances should any strategic goods be sold today to any Communist government. We further propose that no American businessmen should enter into any commercial transaction with Moscow or its European satellites which would enable them to provide Castro or Mao Tse-tung with any material they need for bolstering their faltering economy.

There is no reason for American businessmen to join in a mad scramble for trade with Communist countries. Such a scramble only puts the Communist rulers in a position to exploit, for their own benefit, such competition among Western economic interests and to divide and weaken the democracies.

There is no foundation to the myth that the expansion of Western trade will promote the liberalization of any Communist government or encourage the separation of the satellites from the U.S.S.R. These regimes are tied to Moscow by strong ideological, political, military, and economic bonds. Their rulers share with Moscow the basic aim of Communist world domination. The revolutionary upheavals of 1953 and 1956 have demonstrated forcefully that these satellite regimes could not survive without Moscow's military support.

Their armies are part of the Warsaw Pact Organization. Their economies have, in large measure, been integrated into the Comecon, the Communist counterpart of the Common Market. In spite of $700 million in U.S. aid, Communist Poland has set the pace in championing the Comecon and Soviet foreign policies. Its domestic policies are increasingly retrogressive. Tito's Yugoslavia which has received over a billion dollars of Western aid has lately strengthened its economic ties with Moscow by associating itself with the Comecon. Rumania, which is supposed to be turning away from Moscow, has more political prisoners than any other satellite and lends aid and comfort to Peiping.

Increased economic relations with the Communist satellites will not improve the general East-West relations. The satellite regimes continue to support Soviet foreign policies in Vietnam, the Congo, in the U.N., and Cyprus. The American Legations in Bulgaria and Hungary were recently subjected to the same mob attack as was our Embassy in Moscow.

American businessmen would be guilty of terrible short-sightedness if they were to provide the Kremlin, on a business-as-usual basis, the goods and technical know-how it needs so badly. American businessmen are not starved for foreign markets. They do not have to chase for such low-grade outlets as the Iron Curtain countries. The U.S. foreign trade balance has, for years, continued to be highly favorable. There is no reason why American businessmen should compete with others in doing the wrong thing. Let none forget that agreements with the Soviets, whether they be in the realm of science, politics, diplomacy, or economics are worthless. The Kremlin rulers never enter into any agreements on the basis of a mutuality of interests. Despite much effort and generous scientific help by the United States in the realm of space science, Moscow persists in refusing to contribute any weather information obtained through space satellites.

All Moscow wants to get from expanded commercial and financial relations with our country and the other democracies is help for overcoming its serious economic difficulties, help to enable it to give its people some badly needed consumers' goods while it continues to build up its nuclear weapons arsenal, help to continue its program of economic and political subversion of the developing countries. Such help by American and other business interests can only finance and facilitate further Soviet aggression against the democracies.

We urge our Government to make utmost effort to have the Western democracies develop a concerted policy toward trade with the Communist countries. No trade or credits concessions should be accorded to Moscow, Peiping, or any Communist government without an adequate political quid pro quo like ceasing subversion and invasion of Vietnam, dismantling the wall of shame in Berlin, and calling off their military infiltration of the Congo. Only under such conditions, can trade and credits be a valuable weapon in the hands of the Western democracies in their dealings with the Soviet Union and other Communist regimes, and in furthering human freedom and world peace.

TEXT OF ADDRESS BY AFL-CIO PRESIDENT GEORGE MEANY TO THE FREEDOM AWARD DINNER OF THE INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

I deeply appreciate the honor which you have bestowed on me this evening. I accept it not as a personal tribute to me but rather as a recognition of the contribution of the American trade union movement to the cause of human freedom and democracy.

For three decades the international rescue committee has worked tirelessly and effectively in that same cause. The committee has endeavored to bolster the spirit and sustain the courage of the victims of tyranny to give them asylum and moral and material support, and to build their capacity as fighters for right and justice.

The great mass of refugees aided by the IRC were not human beings fleeing from natural disasters like floods or earthquakes; nor were they displaced by the force of embattled armies locked in combat. They were refugees from manmade calamities—from the terror of governments engaged in the ruthless extermination of the rights and freedom of their own people. That is the great tragedy of their lives and of our times. That is the tragedy that all men of reason, hope and good will must join in averting wherever it threatens.

The American trade union movement has a long history of devotion to the cause of human freedom all over the world. Today, to a greater extent than ever before, we were active in that cause.

The representatives of American labor are at this moment lending their support to the advancement of workers' freedom in Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

To give you some idea of the scope of our involvement in this work, more than 24 percent of the income of the national AFL–CIO is spent outside the country—though we do not expect to ever be repaid or to collect any dues in these faraway places.

Why should American labor be interested in the conditions of workers in Bolivia, Nigeria, Pakistan, or Ghana? For that matter, why were we active in rebuilding free trade unions in France, Germany, Japan, and Italy in the crucial years immediately following World War II? The answer is really very simple—we are interested in the achievement and preservation of free societies on the practical theory that every instrument of oppression that exists anywhere in the world is a potential threat to the continued existence of democracy and freedom in this land of ours.

Let us imagine, for a moment, where we would stand here in America if the Soviet plan to extend communism to all of Latin America by way of Castro's Cuba were to be successful. To what extent would such a circumstance jeopardize our free way of life here in the United States?

We know from actual experience that trade unions cannot exist in any atmosphere except that of freedom.

Likewise we know from bitter experience in our lifetime that no dictatorship of any kind whether of the Hitler type or the Soviet type can exist without controlling the lives of the workers and their organizaitons.

President John F. Kennedy made this point very well when he said in addressing a trade union convention in West Berlin on June 26, 1963:

"I urge you gentlemen, in meeting your responsibilities to those who belong to your unions, to also realize that your unions will not survive except in a world of freedom. I urge you to hold out, as we are trying to do in the United States in the AFL–CIO, a helping hand to those who seek to organize trade unions in Latin America, Africa and Asia. This is how a free society remains free."

That is why we in the labor movement in America take the position that, in any approach to the complex and crucial problems of the world today—human freedom is basic and fundamental.

We want a world in peace, but we mean peace with freedom—not the peace of the slave labor camp or the surface tranquillity of people living in constant fear of a tyrannical government. We support the principle of international cooperation to ease world tensions, but we are convinced there can be no permanent cooperation or relaxation of tension between nations without that mutual trust and respect that can come only where all enjoy the dignity of freedom.

We are convinced beyond question that there is no long-range hope for world peace unless it is based on the elemental spirit of freedom that lies within the breast of all men.

While American labor uses its influence and material resources to defend and preserve free societies all over the world, our number one concern is with the preservation of a free way of life here at home.

We make no apologies to anyone for our defense of the American system. Oh, yes, we are constantly portrayed by Communist propaganda as capitalist lackeys, or agents of Wall Street—but this does not concern us very much. We can prove beyond question that we have achieved more for the workers of America through free trade unions operating within the American economic system than have the organizations of labor in any other place on earth—no matter what label they operate under, be it Socialist, Communist, or any other.

Very frankly, we of the trade union movement like this system. We, of course, intend to continue our efforts to improve the standard of America's workers by improving the system. We do not propose to abandon it for a pipedream or some ideological fantasy conjured up by those who do not understand the real needs and aspirations of a working people.

I believe that most American businessmen are coming to recognize the role of the trade union movement as a bulwark of our American system. I do not mean, of course, that we have no disagreements or conflicts. But I have observed over the years of a growing appreciation, by thoughtful leaders of industry, of the vital part that strong and responsible trade unions play in our system and in the defense of our democratic free way of life.

An outstanding example of this is the American Institute for Free Labor Development which was established in Washington by the AFL–CIO to train young Latin American workers in the fundamentals of trade unionism as it is practiced in this country.

This is a joint venture. Many employers have joined with us in this undertaking, and these employers are part and parcel of the American Institute for Free Labor Development, and they provide equally with the labor movement the financial support that makes the institute possible.

Similarly, it should by now be clear to businessmen as well as workers, to management as well as labor, to intellectuals and farmers no less than to our Government leaders that all of us have a vital stake in the preservation of that system.

The idea that some can make progress or profits by doing business with those who would destroy all of us is just plain nonsense. If we lose the cold war, if totalitarian communism engulfs the entire world, as the leaders in Moscow so fondly hope, not only trade unions but business management, profits and all other aspects of our present system will be wiped out. No single group or element in our society will be spared.

In this light, I wonder why some of the leaders of American industry have been calling for the expansion of trade with and the extension of long-term credits to the Communist regimes. Surely, they know that no Communist Party in or out of power has dropped its basic aim to remold the entire world on the pattern of totalitarian dictatorship.

Why, then, are some of our businessmen so eager for our Government to grant economic concessions to the Communist dictators? Why are they so disinterested in the requirement beforehand of steps that might warrant the resumption of normal trade relations by reducing world tension and eliminating the causes of the cold war? Why are they now indifferent to the proposition that concessions should be called for in return, such as an end to Communist aggression in South Vietnam, dismantling of the Berlin wall of shame, agreement to German national unification in freedom, and the acceptance of international inspection and supervision of disarmament? I wonder why these businessmen, in their eagerness for profits, have forgotten the disastrous experience of business as usual with the Nazi and Fascist dictatorships prior to World War II. Have they forgotten how the New York City Third Avenue Elevated scrap iron sold for a profit to the Japanese war lords came back to the American people in the most cruel casualties at Guadalcanal? Surely they do not want the enemies of freedom to be so strengthened by American long-term credits and technical proficiency as to be encouraged to resort to new aggressions which might precipitate a nuclear conflagration.

One prominent industrialist recently urged the extension of trade with all countries as a solution to world problems. He said: "I think the place to start is in commerce and trade. It is the best, because you are not concerned with the economic, political, or religious views of those buying your product. The only thing that matters is profit and competitive advantage."

This man, who is not alone in his view, apparently believes that he can do business in an international vacuum.

He would have us believe that the political differences between American democracy and the Russian and Chinese Communist dictatorships are similar to the political differences between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. Obviously, it is easy for one who believes that "the only thing that matters is profit and competitive advantage" in commerce with the Communists, to equate the differences between the great religious faiths with the differences between the ideology of communism and the ideals of democracy.

Why should American free enterprise seek to rescue its sworn enemies from the snare of their own economic fallacies? The Russian and Chinese Communists share a common basic aim—the destruction of democracy and the free enterprise system throughout the world. They only differ as to how they would bury us.

With help from American industry, the Soviet Communists might overcome some of their present serious economic difficulties. With such American help, they would find it less difficult to accelerate their production of more destructive nuclear weapons and at the same time ease the heavy burdens of armament on their disillusioned people.

But will such American business policies and practices help our country and promote freedom and world peace? Will it help strengthen democracy in its worldwide struggle with dictatorship? Or will such economic aid to the Kremlin only help the Soviet dictatorship in its policy of arming for Communist world conquest.

Those who would risk weakening essential liberty to purchase a little temporary profit deserve neither liberty nor profit. President Lyndon Johnson reflected this conviction when he struck the following keynote in his message on foreign aid:

"We live in a turbulent world. But amid the conflict and confusion, the United States holds firm to its primary goal—a world of stability, freedom, and peace where independent nations can enjoy the benefits of modern knowledge. Here is our difference with the Communists—and our strength. They would use their skills to forge new chains of tyranny. We would use ours to free man from the bonds of the past."

Why provide the Communist rulers with skills to forge new chains of tyranny? I do not question the patriotism of these confused captains of American industry. But I would point out to them that the American business community has been doing quite well in garnering profits without strengthening the enemies of our democracy. Why endanger our entire free enterprise system by putting faith in the promises and pretensions of the Communist leaders? Why should we help them avoid the pitfalls and

perils of their own false and despotic doctrines?

These shortsighted advocates of business as usual could learn much from the refugees aided, over the years, by the work of the international rescue committee. Among the artists and scholars, scientists and simple workers, they would find men of business and industry who could tell them much about the economics of trade and commerce under tyranny.

They would find men of wealth whose property was taken from them; businessmen whose enterprises were seized; and merchants whose profits were forfeit.

When freedom was lost, all was lost. All came to the same level and were driven to the same last hope—escape to freedom, leaving all else behind. In the light of their experience, can anyone seriously propose that we should feed tyranny with one hand, while we welcome its refugees with the other? I am perhaps too simple to comprehend the virtue of such logic or the necessity for such duplicity. I believe in the cause of freedom; I cannot understand that we can advance that cause if we sell it out, for a bit of profit or a better balance of trade.

In the fight for freedom, our country and its leaders should always have a sense of the urgency of the world crisis. Let us always show a feeling for the people under the yoke of dictatorship. Let us never forget that the exiles and refugees of today are the symbols and spokesmen of a cause that is also our cause. In their hands, firmly clasped with ours, is the tomorrow of freedom.

Let us keep faith with them. Let us not lend aid and comfort to their oppressors.

In the final analysis this is exactly what the International Rescue Committee stands for.

Nice Guys Do Finish First

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, the State of Kansas has lost a most outstanding and longtime public servant in the passing of Richard T. Fadely in Topeka, Kans., last week. My personal friendship with Dick was highly valued and I, like all those who knew him, am deeply saddened by his death.

The following editorial from the September 26, 1965, Topeka Daily Capital is an especially fine tribute to Richard Fadely, and it is my honor to include it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

DEDICATED OFFICIAL

A quiet, almost shy man, Richard T. (Dick) Fadely will be remembered as a capable, dedicated public servant. Not once in his more than 25 years of service to his county, State, and Nation was there a wisp of a shadow cast upon his honesty and integrity.

Voters recognized these qualities in Dick Fadely time after time. They elected him treasurer of Shawnee County, then reelected him. Five times they elected him treasurer of Kansas.

Later, he held a responsible position with the Federal Small Business Administration in its investment division. His early banking experience and his service as an elected and appointed official qualified him for his final public service—director of revenue for the State department of revenue and taxation.

Twice, failing health forced him to resign responsible positions. Still, his ready smile and soft voice reassured his friends that nice guys do finish first.

White Hope

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, one of the most successful and diversified industries in the United States is the Borg-Warner Corp.

A leading division of Borg-Warner, the Warner Gear Division, is located in Muncie, Ind.

Mr. E. S. Russey is president and general manager of this division which is engaged in the manufacture of automatic automotive transmissions, overdrives, industrial transmissions, miscellaneous gears, and other products.

An intriguing story of Borg-Warner's growth and progress appears in the October issue of Forbes magazine, and explains the fine management and forward-looking leadership of this great American industry.

The story of this fine company will be of interest to all Members of Congress. The story follows:

WHITE HOPE?

(Borg-Warner hasn't had much luck with diversification—in the past. But now it has high hopes for an old acquisition that is showing lots of life these days.)

In the mid-fifties, when diversification was the magic word in U.S. business, Borg-Warner Corp.[1] was one of the champion diversifiers. And with good reason. The old-line auto equipment manufacturer knew it was going to lose its contract to make automatic transmissions for Ford, which wanted to make its own.

By the time the Ford blow fell in 1958, Borg-Warner had made two major acquisitions: Bryon Jackson Co., a producer of oil well drilling gear, and York Corp., an air-conditioning equipment manufacturer. Already diversified into appliances (Norge), building materials and chemicals, Borg-Warner soon had 42 separate divisions.

The acquisitions helped cushion the loss of the Ford business. But they did little more. Between 1955 and 1961, sales climbed only 6 percent (to $585 million) while profits per share plunged from $5.17 to $2.57.

Both major acquisitions had gone sour. Byron Jackson was hard hit by the decline in drilling. York plunged deep in the red when it had to make good millions of dollars of warranty payments on faulty equipment.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS

Then came a succession of superior auto years which bolstered transmission and other auto parts sales. York, which was completely reorganized (only one of the original executives still remains), is earning its first profits since 1956 in an industry boom year. Byron Jackson has diversified into pumps and oil field services. And Borg-Warner's big Norge division is riding the appliance boom. By 1964 profits were up to $4.46 per share.

With all this, Borg-Warner is still not exactly coining money. Only by consolidation of foreign earnings did first half profits rise 12 percent to $2.13 per share on a 14 percent gain in sales to $408 million. Third-quarter earnings will barely equal 1964's level and for the full year Borg-Warner will do well to net much over 10 percent on stockholders' equity.

Yet the improvement has been enough to permit Chairman Robert S. Ingersoll the unaccustomed luxury of making glowing predictions. What he talks about longest and most eloquently these days is one of the company's smallest and oldest acquisitions: Marbon Chemical Division.

Marbon, which was acquired in 1934, will contribute only about 5–10 percent of the company's $800-million-odd sales this year. But it has come a long way recently: Since its first ABS plastic (acrylonitrile-butadiene-styrene) plant opened in 1957, Marbon's sales have mushroomed 700 percent to gain a 50 percent market share. Its profits, says Ingersoll, have grown even faster. Then he adds: "I would be surprised if chemicals were not our No. 1 product line by the end of this decade."

That's quite a claim for a company that only 10 years ago depended on auto parts for two-thirds of its sales. Even today, after its near ruinous diversification, Borg-Warner still gets two-thirds of sales from auto parts plus Norge appliances and York air conditioning gear.

It's quite an order, too, for a newcomer to the rough-and-tumble plastics business. Plastics have been among the hardest hit in the general decline of chemical prices in recent years. Wonder products just a decade ago, such plastics as polyethylene and polystyrene have become the victims of overcapacity and price cutting.

"SPECIAL NICHE"

Ingersoll, however, feels that good planning and smart management can forestall such a fate for his ABS plastic, called Cycolac. "We're trying to carve our own special niche," he explains. "Our marketing people are trying to find new applications for Cycolac, rather than replacing old products used in old applications. Where we do replace an existing product, it's most often metal or wood, not another plastic."

So far, Marbon has sold its Cycolac for use in telephone casings, auto trim, appliance coverings, luggage, cameras, and even the heels of women's shoes. And as the market leader, it is probably in a strong position to control any price cutting. In fact, Marbon has initiated almost all of the cuts that have reduced the average price of its ABS plastic from 65 cents to 40 cents a pound since 1957.

Ingersoll is aware of the chemical industry facts of life. Sounding very much like an old industry hand, he talks about having "integrated backward" with a styrene plant in Texas, now being expanded, which he hopes will lower the cost of the largest ABS component. And he knows he must fabricate products for end-use consumers on a much larger scale to find the "special niche" he talks about. "That kind of forward integration will protect our profit margins," he says. At present Marbon's only fabricated products are highway signs.

To achieve his growth ambitions in chemicals, Ingersoll is counting almost entirely on ABS plastics. By the end of 1966, in fact, his chemical investment may be twice what it is today. Ingersoll says he is even willing to go into debt to finance the heavy chemical expansion—quite a step for a traditionally debt-free Borg-Warner.

[1] Borg-Warner Corp. traded New York Stock Exchange. Recent price, 48¾; 1965 range, 54¼–45⅝; dividend (1964), $2.05; indicated 1965, $2.20; earnings per share (1964), $4.46; common shares, 9,299,999; total assets, $523.7 million; ticker symbol, BOR.

"I'm not a chemist," Ingersoll says, "but I think the same basic management principles apply to almost every kind of business."

QUESTION MARK

These are expansive times and such expansive talk is the order of the day. Yet it cannot obscure unpleasant facts for Borg-Warner. One is that American Motors, Borg-Warner's biggest auto parts customer, is in trouble. Another: Norge's coin drycleaner operation, the company's pride and joy a few years ago, has been a terrible disappointment and is still in the red. And, of course, York is still no big moneybaker.

The obvious question, then, is: How much of Borg-Warner's recent upturn is a result of its own efforts? Right now the big auto and appliance booms are obscuring the answer. But the outcome of Ingersoll's highly ambitious chemical expansion should shortly clear matters up.

Communism Has To Be Stopped Somewhere

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I, along with other Members of the House of Representatives, concerned with foreign affairs voted in favor of the President's request for $700 million to pursue the fighting in which we are engaged in Vietnam. It is my conviction that now is the time to stop the Communists in their tracks. Any continued expansion of their aggressive takeover in the Far East can only spell more trouble for the United States. It is imperative that we stiffen our foreign policy and put down the Communists before it is too late.

I recently received a letter from a constituent of mine, Seaman Danford R. McFarlin, of Omaha, Nebr., who has served aboard the U.S.S. *Bon Homme Richard* patrolling the China Seas. I think my distinguished colleagues will be interested in some of the remarks of this fine young man, and I am sure many of our servicemen feel the same way that he does in that communism must be stopped somewhere and let it be stopped in Vietnam. Under unanimous consent I include his remarks:

When one of our planes is launched in one way or another each and every member of the crew leaves with it. We don't envy the pilots their jobs, their jobs are very difficult and extremely dangerous. Each and every member of the crew takes some credit for each one of our strikes. The pilot is the person who makes the actual strike, but there is more to the strike than meets the naked eye. The bombs and ammunition have to be loaded aboard the plane. The pilots flight plan has to be planned, his target designated. The plane has to be put in faultless mechanical condition. The pilots have to be fed. Boilers have to make the steam to launch the planes with. Its really a very complex operation with each and every strike depending upon every member of the crew. No job is unimportant, whether its from a man to captain the ship or a man serving potatoes on the mess decks the job has to be done.

We are out here doing a job that has to be done, a job that we believe in and feel strongly about. President Johnson made a very difficult decision when he chose to take the offensive rather than the defensive side of the battle. I know I can safely speak for each and every member of the crew in saying that we will back up President Johnson just as far as he decides to go. President Kennedy struck a mighty blow to communism when he blocked the Russian arms buildup in Cuba. President Johnson has kept this ball rolling by deciding to defend South Vietnam at all costs. Communism has to be stopped somewhere, let's let it be here in Vietnam. Its the duty of each and every American to stand by their President and his convictions. How can we doubt his decisions when we know what communism is?

The Real Alabama—Part LXVIII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the story of Huntsville, Ala., is a story of dramatic change and startling growth. But the significant fact is that this all just didn't happen by itself: It required the imagination, energy, spirit, and enterprise of many forward-looking Alabama people.

The story is told in the following article:

It's not so unusual that Huntsville, Ala., promotes itself with a different nickname for every day of the week.

"Missile and space capital." "Strategic center of the Southeast." "Rocket City USA." "City of opportunity." "Where space begins." "Huntsville has growpower." "Space capital of the universe."

It is novel, however, that this city of 125,000, which was a city of 16,000 15 years ago, justifies every one of its labels.

Like neon billboards, these catchlines flash across the land in bright green and white advertisements in the Wall Street Journal, Aviation Week, and Space Technology and other national trade journals.

They are lures for the one big catchall cities seek—industry. Plants and people. Businesses and buyers. Progress. Growth. However it's tagged it comes out the same any place that stays in step with modern America.

A visitor driving around Huntsville sees the University of Alabama Research Center and three other colleges; the strip of gaudy motels and restaurants along Memorial Parkway; the new schools, houses, city hall, and library; the courthouse and jetport and chamber of commerce under construction; the signs that read "NASA George C. Marshall Space Flight Center" and "U.S. Army, Redstone Arsenal." He is impressed that Huntsville is staying in step.

Indeed, it ranks 22d in the Nation in new buildings, in 1963 was the ninth fastest growing city in America, and is Alabama's largest city in area with 90.2 square miles and fourth largest in population.

Ask the Huntsville Industrial Expansion Committee and it emits voluminously of the city's industrial growpower.

One sheet lists 21 new and 12 expanded aerospace industries (33) in the past 33 months, plus 12 others that were already here. And the roster names some of the biggest: Brown Engineering, Boeing, Chrysler, IBM, Rohm & Haas, Space Craft Inc., Spaco Inc., Thiokol. Their business is either helping America go to the moon and back or making components for Army missiles, or both.

Another sheet shows that on March 1, 133 companies were represented in Huntsville and that in 1963 building permits totaled $81 million.

Jimmy Walker, chamber of commerce executive vice president, recalls that Huntsville's economy farmed cotton in the rich, red Madison County fields for 150 years. But its 13 textile mills finally dwindled to 1.

Then space stepped in, and today's ads, you might say, are paying off. So is the tenacity of the chamber and expansion committee, city and county governments, all the commissions, authorities and boards, and the teamwork of oldtimers and newcomers alike who are rebuilding Alabama's first English-settled town.

"The whole secret of this growth comes back to the people who live here," says Tom Thrasher, an oil dealer and one of 400 industrial expansion committee members.

"They want a good community." He speaks firmly. "They want good government. Good schools. They recognize the value of these things and they want them."

The likes of this populace probably is found nowhere else. First, it is composed of native-born Alabamians descendants of the pioneers who settled that part of the Mississippi territory which the Indians called Ah-la-ba-ma.

Next there are the military personnel who were directed to Huntsville from throughout the world for duty at the Army's missile center. Three thousand retired military personnel live here.

Third are the German rocket experts, brought to the United States after World War II, held at Fort Bliss, Tex., for a time, finally transferred to Huntsville and the old Army Ordnance Guided Missile School. They direct the Saturn rocket program at the Marshall Space Flight Center and some of them play in the Huntsville Civic Symphony.

Lastly come the nameless thousands who make Huntsville a truly cosmopolitan city. Generally, there are two groups: The wives, husbands, sons and daughters from Seattle, Wash., Michigan, New Orleans, Wichita and who knows where else, all sent by the space age; and the 6,000 soldiers who come annually from 16 foreign nations to study missile maintenance at Redstone's Ordnance Guided Missile School.

Some of them organized a soccer team named the "Dixie Krauts." The first nine staff members at the Research Institute represented seven nationalities.

How they came to live together and solve their problems together (race relations included) is a story that reveals the full impact of Huntsville. Six men tell it here: James Record, county commission president; Milton Cummings, president of Brown Engineering, north Alabama's biggest industry; Loyd Little of the chamber of commerce; Guy B. Nerrin, executive director of the industrial expansion committee; Walker and Thrasher.

A chemical warfare installation employing 15,000 during World War II, Redstone Arsenal virtually closed after the war. But a group of business leaders, Walker and Cummings among them, prevailed upon the Secretary of the Army to keep the arsenal intact, hopeful of attracting industry there. The industrial expansion committee was formed about this time.

Huntsville lost a big wind tunnel project to Tullahoma, Tenn., in 1949. But then Gen. H. N. Toftoy announced that the Army would establish Redstone as a missile development center. Papers carried a small story about the transfer of a German missile team

from Fort Bliss to Huntsville. Head of the group was Wernher von Braun.

General Toftoy toured the Nation, without much success, trying to lure industry to Huntsville. In the meantime a group of citizens organized to offer machine shop work to support the new Army Ballistic Agency. That was the birth of Brown Engineering.

Redstone began moving into high gear in 1956 when Gen. John B. Medaris was assigned its commanding officer. Huntsville, then 4.7 square miles, annexed some 40 square miles that year, enabling extension of municipal services and opening the door for new growth. Gov. James B. Folsom held the legislature in session to allow advertisement of an annexation bill.

Citizens built homes or apartments to rent and listed them with the chamber of commerce; and still do today. Another group of citizens bought a deserted textile mill near downtown to turn it into an office complex that now houses 5,000 aerospace workers.

The city donated 300 acres for a University of Alabama Extension Center. The city and county each gave $250,000, or two-thirds the cost of the building. That building, Morton Hall, was dedicated in 1961.

Alabama citizens also voted a $3 million bond issue that year to build a University of Alabama Research Center in Huntsville. Established at the request of Marshall Center and the missile command, it supports the graduate and undergraduate programs and received a $600,000 grant from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

More land was needed for expansion. Again the city and county chipped in $200,000 each for the property and paid for site improvements. Huntsville has contributed or pledged more than $2 million in the past 4 years to higher education. The university's engineering graduate program is the South's largest in the number of students enrolled.

To control land development near the research institute and university campus, a nonprofit corporation was formed and the area zoned as a research park. The corporation bought $1½ million worth of land and sells it to industry at cost plus interest and low development costs. The university gets any profits. Nerrin quotes leading U.S. businessmen as saying: "Without exception, this is one of the most amazing developments taking place in the Nation."

The city is building an average of three schoolrooms a week to avoid double sessions. Last December another 5-mill property tax was passed, 3 to 1, to finance school construction. Huntsville has 32 schools and 80 percent of its 1964 graduates went to college.

The 2-year-old art council held its second annual festival of arts in April. From January through March, 45 cultural events were presented in the area.

Thrasher summed up the impact of Huntsville last fall, telling NASA Administrator James E. Webb: "It is our firm belief that no community in America has done more, or with greater enthusiasm and dispatch, to create a local climate designed to attract and keep the scientists and skilled personnel necessary for a successful space center."

This is why Huntsville can justify a different tag every day of the week. This is why Huntsville has growpower.

The Powerful Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, we are all aware of the President's role in averting an impasse between labor and management in the recent steel case. While the short-term results of this action may be good, it is incumbent on us to ascertain if his power does not negate the independence of free and collective bargaining which I believe is a mainstay in our overall economic system.

The role of government must not be to seek power for its own end, but to expand freedom. While the short-range use of power may be good, it has the effect, sometimes, of endangering initiative, self-confidence, and self-reliance.

In the October 4 Newsweek, Henry C. Wallich provides keen insight into the power of the Great Society. Under unanimous consent I place his article "The Powerful Society" in the Appendix of the RECORD:

THE POWERFUL SOCIETY

(By Henry C. Wallich)

The President's masterful handling of the steel case has taken us a long step into the Great Society. While the immediate results of the President's action are almost wholly good, this is far from true of all that now seems to be taking shape farther down the road.

What seems ahead is not the usual bugaboo of a drastically enlarged public sector. Instead, new powers are being generated within the existing scope of the public sector, some of which have nothing to do with public expenditures. Will the Great Society give the President intolerable amounts of power?

The size of the public sector has been a test applied by the economists to measure the role of government in the economy. Measured by the ratio of government expenditures to gross national product, the public sector doubled from 1929 to 1940. It gained moderately from 1940 to 1955, and surprisingly little thereafter. Almost all the increase since 1955, moreover, came from States and local authorities. The Federal Government has kept its spending almost perfectly in line with the mounting gross national product. Great Society programs hereafter may help raise the ratio, especially if Vietnam pushes up defense as well. But so far the public-sector threat has been kept at arm's length on the Federal level, where it counts.

THE MANIPULATED

Something else, however is happening. Within the stable share of the Federal budget, new programs are coming in as old ones are shrinkage. Some of the old ones packed concentrated power in small sectors. One need only remember former President Eisenhower's concern at the time of his retirement over the unholy alliance of political figures, military men and large defense manufacturers. The power relationships created by Great Society programs are much broader and more subtle. The poverty program, medicare, rent subsidies, aid to education reach vast new numbers of people. It seems as if in the Great Society everybody will be beholden to the government for benfits, privileges and favors through which he can be manipulated.

A few examples suffice. If the people of a town don't want to handle their poverty funds according to the rules laid down by the director in Washington, he can hold up the money. Some low-income earner may not like the Government's policies in Vietnam—but part of his rent money comes from the present administration, and before he votes it out of office, he wonders whether another would continue the program. A physics professor wants to criticize the Government in public, but his research money comes from the Defense Department, and perhaps he is wise if he keeps quiet. At what point does a healthy preference for the side of our bread that is buttered begin to smack of corruption?

COSTLY POWER

Powers unrelated to the budget also grow. A steel strike is avoided, the inflation threat averted—but at what cost in terms of industry and labor's capacity to bargain? The balance of payments is saved, capital outflows curbed by the President's voluntary program—but how long will it be till these controls must be made statutory? Both uses of power have been good, in intention and in immediate results. The short-run cost of inaction would have been high. But each such tour de force threatens the long-run ability of the Great Society to handle its affairs.

I doubt that a realistic answer will be found in forswearing the President's methods. It would be foolish to argue in the face of success. He probably will not be able to bequeath his power to his successor, although some of it may stick. Certainly it would be worse if Congress made the power statutory.

But we must compensate for a greater role of government on some fronts by strengthening freedom on others. We must see to it that Federal money and Federal control do not become synonymous. States, municipalities, universities and individual recipients of Federal benefits must have the greatest independence in the use of Federal money assigned to them. No doubt this will lead to inefficiency and waste. But it will strengthen the people against their Government and it will help keep the Great Society a good society.

Chief Judge William J. Campbell Celebrates 25 Years on Federal Bench

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, today is the 25th anniversary of Chief Judge William J. Campbell's appointment to the Federal District Court of Northern Illinois.

Marking this milestone in his career, a reception and dinner will be held this evening in his honor by the Bench and Bar of Chicago. It is expected that more than 500 persons will attend including Governor of Illinois Otto Kerner, Mayor of Chicago Richard Daley, Chief Judge John S. Hastings of the U.S. Court of Appeals, and other judges from the Federal appellate and district courts.

Judge Campbell, at the age of 34, was one of the youngest men ever to be named as a Federal judge. He became chief judge of the Federal district court in 1959, and today serves not only in that capacity, but also as chairman of the Budget Committee of the Judicial Conference of the United States.

I have known Judge Campbell for over a quarter of a century and first had the privilege of meeting him when he was U.S. district attorney for the northern district of Illinois and was serving as State administrator of the Illinois National Youth Administration.

The father of eight children, Judge Campbell over the years has maintained his interest in young people and has been actively engaged in youth programs with Archbishop Bernard J. Sheil, for-

mer director of the Catholic Youth Organization in our community.

Throughout his career, Judge Campbell has been a valuable citizen not only in our State of Illinois but in our Nation. He has served as director of the Catholic Charities of Chicago, on the national executive board of the Boy Scouts of America, on the executive board of the Chicago council and on the board of trustees for Barat College, Lake Forest, Ill., Roosevelt College and the University of Chicago. He has also served on the citizen's board for Loyola University, from which he received his bachelor of law degree and his master of law degree.

Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to extend to Chief Judge Campbell my sincerest congratulations on the observation of his 25th anniversary on the Federal district bench, to commend him for his countless contributions to his State and to his Nation, and to wish him continuing good health in his service to the people.

I am also happy to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following editorial which appeared in the Chicago Tribune on September 29 about Judge Campbell:

A GREAT JUDGE

Public officials and leaders of the bench and bar will attend a reception and dinner tomorrow in honor of Chief Judge William J. Campbell of the Federal district court. The event will mark the 25th anniversary of his appointment to the court by President Roosevelt.

He was only 34 years old at that time, and some doubts were expressed about the wisdom of the appointment. The fears vanished long ago as Judge Campbell became known for his industry, integrity, courage, and judicial competence. As chief judge he has presided with exceptional skill over one of the busiest, if not the busiest, court in the United States.

Recently Judge Campbell's judicial and executive talents passed a supreme test when he took the lead in reapportioning Illinois Senate districts after the State legislature had failed to act. The smooth solution of this problem by a panel of Federal judges and the Illinois Supreme Court has attracted national admiration.

The reception and dinner tomorrow will honor one of the most distinguished citizens of Chicago.

Defeat Through Victory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, all of us are concerned about Vietnam. Much has been written about this most important matter but few have expressed themselves as well as Mr. Joseph Kraft in his Washington Post article of September 29, 1965, entitled, "Defeat Through Victory." I am proud to make his views a part of the RECORD:

DEFEAT THROUGH VICTORY

(By Joseph Kraft)

Cynics in Saigon used to say that the only thing worse for the United States than losing the war in Vietnam would be winning it. Now the full truth of that bitter jest is coming home.

In the past few months, American military efforts have had an undoubted success. The true extent of that success is not yet known. The only certainty is that the other side has not mounted a major action since July 4. But already, thanks to the limited military improvement, a dark shadow has been cast on the prospects for the diplomatic settlement that this country needs as its eventual exit visa from Vietnam

The first political consequence of the relative military success has been a boost for the military junta comprising the Saigon regime. The Vietnamese generals have used their new strength against all moves for negotiating with the other side.

All summer long, the generals have been successfully resisting American suggestions for an exchange of prisoners with the Vietcong rebels. The three prisoners executed in the stadium at Danang last week were not, as widely reported in the American press, even Vietcong terrorists. They were political opponents of the military regime who had led demonstrations in favor of negotiations.

The attitude of the Saigon generals seems to be shared by many American officials in Vietnam. Military briefings have yielded a flood of optimistic accounts, accompanied by statements that, with the tide running so favorably, it would be a mistake even to talk about negotiating with the other side. That Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge opposed the almost innocuous mention of negotiations in Ambassador Arthur Goldberg's speech to the U.N. General Assembly seems to be an apt expression of the mood in Saigon.

The perceptible stiffening on the part of the Saigon regime and the United States finds its counterpart on the other side. The execution of two American prisoners by the Vietcong this week is only the most dramatic sign of increased Communist militancy on Vietnam.

A far more important sign of the new hard line lies in a formal communique put out by North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry on Sept. 23. In the communique, Hanoi, for the first time, denounced President Johnson's various peace offers in the accents of Peiping. Among other terms borrowed from the Chinese, the communique uses the epithets "tricks," "maneuvers," and "mere swindle."

At the same time, the communique does an about-face on the most hopeful note ever sounded by Hanoi on negotiations—the four-point program enunciated by Premier Pham Van Dong on April 8. At that time it was not clear whether the four points were to be conditions for negotiations, or merely a declaration of principles. But it has now become known that on May 18, just before the end of the pause in the bombing of North Vietnam, Hanoi officially told Washington through its representative in Paris that the four-point program was not to be considered as a set of preconditions for negotiations.

In the communique of September 23, Hanoi pointedly reverses the May 18 position to make the four points an absolute pre-condition of any talks. The communique says: "The U.S. Government must solemnly declare its acceptance of this four-point stand before a political settlement of the Vietnam problem can be considered."

On both sides, in other words, progress toward negotiations has been braked. Because it seems to be winning militarily, the United States does not seem to be suffering from the new deemphasis on finding a diplomatic solution to the Vietnam problem. Indeed, there are some American officials who believe that with a little more pressure, the Vietcong effort will lose momentum, and then collapse entirely.

In my view, however, the United States, far from being the big gainer in the most recent developments, is the main loser. The history of guerrilla wars in China, in Vietnam, and in Algeria shows that the insurgents can sustain years of defeat, and still keep going. They have no need, accordingly, for a truce and then a treaty that spells out a settlement.

But this country, unless it is prepared to go on fighting in Vietnam year after year, does need such a treaty. More than any other party to the conflict, in fact, this country has an interest in a formal settlement. For short of a very long war, that is the only way that American obligations to South Vietnam can be honorably met.

The recent military successes, in other words, can serve the long-run American interests only if the victory does not belong to the spoils.

Red Atrocities, Amid Silence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS C. McGRATH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. Speaker, every American, every civilized human being, should be deeply shocked, as I am, at the declaration by the Government of North Vietnam that they intend to execute American servicemen captured by them in the future in utter disregard of the Geneva convention, to which they are a signatory.

It is already sufficiently shocking that the North Vietnamese have committed murder within the past week, executing without trials two captured U.S. servicemen. They were soldiers following the orders of their superiors in war. As such, their execution in obvious reprisal for the executions—after trials—of three Vietcong members convicted by the South Vietnamese of being engaged in terrorist activities out of military uniform and among the civilian population of South Vietnam, can only be considered an act of wanton murder.

The North Vietnamese announcement that uniformed American servicemen captured in the future will be similarly murdered is as great a shock to the sensibilities as were the grisly murders during the Mau Mau uprising in Kenya and the blatant savagery witnessed in the Congo.

The idea of "civilized warfare" is, it seems to me, a contradiction in terms, yet there are rules by which warfare is conducted and the Government of North Vietnam, by signing the Geneva convention, has pledged itself to conduct warfare within these rules. The murders of uniformed soldiers without trials, and the threats to commit future murders as reprisals must place the Government of North Vietnam outside the group of civilized nations of our world.

Just as disturbing to me, Mr. Speaker, as are the wanton murders of prisoners of war by the North Vietnamese is the complete silence with which the acts already committed and those threatened by that Government has been accepted by the world at large.

When the United States felt it practical to make use of a gas which ren-

dered its Vietcong enemies ill at their stomachs for a brief period, the hue and cry around the world was deafening. This harmless gas—used by the police forces of many of the nations which were most vocal against our use of it in warfare—was not in contravention of any article of the Geneva Convention.

Yet, the world—our friends as well as our enemies—literally "ganged up" on us, and we stopped using the gas.

But in the face of wanton murder by the North Vietnamese, where are those voices of condemnation which felt no compunction about berating the United States for a harmless "legal" act of warfare? There has been no hue and cry over the murders of two captured American airmen. Neither our friends nor our enemies have seen fit to voice complaint or protest.

Is not murder an atrocity of higher magnitude than the causing of upset stomachs?

Mr. Speaker, in the Philadelphia Inquirer of Wednesday, September 29, an editorial entitled "Red Atrocities, Amid Silence," discusses this point eloquently. For the further edification of my colleagues, I insert that editorial from this outstanding newspaper in the RECORD:

RED ATROCITIES, AMID SILENCE

Where are all the protesters now?

What has happened to the voices of the self-righteous critics of American policy in Vietnam?

Why are they not speaking out with wrathful indignation against the latest atrocities committed by the Communists?

How is it that no mass picketing has been organized at Red embassies and consulates in this country and abroad to demand an end to the brutal, coldblooded execution of American prisoners of war and South Vietnamese civilians?

The Communists in Vietnam have boasted to the world, by radio, that two U.S. servicemen captured in 1963 have been put to death. There was not even the pretense of a trial on any charges. The implication is unmistakably clear that the men, probably selected at random, were murdered for no cause except as a brutal and totally irrational reprisal for death sentences imposed and carried out by the South Vietnam Government against three Vietnamese terrorists who were tried and convicted on capital charges in a South Vietnam court.

As the U.S. State Department asserted, in its official protest of this outrage committed by the Communists, the execution of prisoners of war as an act of reprisal is specifically prohibited by terms of the Geneva convention, which was signed by North Vietnam and most other countries. These executions of captured Americans were, in the State Department's well-chosen words, "two more acts of brutal murder" that "violate the sense of decency of all civilized men."

On the heels of this atrocity against Americans comes word of an equally barbaric execution of a South Vietnamese village chieftain. Communist guerrillas who overran the area tied him to the village flagpole and shot him. Two other South Vietnamese officials in the village and two South Vietnamese women also were slain, according to official U.S. reports.

Chronic critics of American policy in southeast Asia are fast on the draw when it comes to condemning any and every act by U.S. troops in their efforts to hold the line against Communist aggression. There is a strange silence among these same critics, however, when details of the incessant campaign of Communist terror are brought to light. They conveniently ignore, also, the fact that the Reds have rejected repeatedly U.S. offers for unconditional peace negotiations.

Misguided advocates of retreat and appeasement, who so glibly urge that "the United States get out of Vietnam," should give some thought to the horrible fate that would lie in store for the South Vietnamese after they were left, abandoned and defenseless, to the not very tender mercies of the ruthless Red enemy.

Reinforcing Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, I wish to express my very favorable reaction to the President's reorganization of the Federal Government's civil rights activities. I deem the result to be one which exemplifies improvements both as to organization and administration of these very vital operations.

Until this change was made Federal civil rights activity was scattered about among a variety of departments and agencies in a rather haphazard fashion. Accordingly, responsibility was hopelessly divided and efficient enforcement of civil rights legislation and policies was seriously hampered.

Consolidation of the apparatus for enforcing civil rights laws is, by virtue of reorganization, a giant step in the right direction. Noting this, the Philadelphia Inquirer commends the action under the President's Executive order in these words which I insert in the RECORD:

REINFORCING CIVIL RIGHTS

The effectiveness of civil rights legislation depends, naturally, upon enforcement. Enforcement can be handicapped if responsibility is dispersed, authority is uncertain, and time and effort are wasted by duplication.

President Johnson's reorganization order is intended to achieve greater coordination of Federal measures to eliminate discrimination by "getting people out of other people's way," as Vice President HUMPHREY has expressed it.

Getting civil rights laws on the books is one thing; making sure there is no delay or confusion in putting them to work, is another.

Under the reorganization plan there need be no speculation as to which Federal agency handles which phase of civil rights. Thus, the Civil Service Commission will make certain that the Federal Government has no discriminatory personnel policies; the Secretary of Labor will insure compliance by Government contractors with nondiscrimination requirements; the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will handle discrimination in private businesses.

The Civil Rights Commission will become the principal factfinding agency in the civil rights field, and the Justice Department will be responsible for coordinating all the Federal enforcement policies in the civil rights area.

The reorganization will do away with certain agencies and streamline others. It should bring about greater efficiency and less buckpassing, in Government efforts to protect and promote the civil rights of all Americans.

Time To Close Job Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, the $10 million Job Corps program at Camp Atterbury, Ind., has been an expensive failure thus far, and all indications are that the Government intends to plow more millions into the project.

Controversy, dissension, turmoil, inexcusable behavior and criminal charges have been the result of the project thus far.

A total lack of discipline has been evidenced at the Atterbury Job Corps Center—a basic requirement for our young men in the armed services and in useful occupations.

I was recently appalled to read a Job Corps newspaper publication which featured a story on the draft which was written from the standpoint that being drafted was unlikely and if one was unlucky enough to be drafted his chances of serving in a battle zone were remote.

The article concluded that even if a Job Corps man should be drafted he would likely only be a replacement for some serviceman with more time in service, on regular Army personnel, who are expected to do the fighting and dying in Vietnam.

It has even been suggested by apologists for the administration that the Job Corps experiment in Indiana has not proved to be a success because Indiana is full of rightwing extremists and the people of the Hoosier State are hostile.

This is utter propaganda, of the type we are accustomed to hearing, and the truth of the matter is that the people of Indiana have sought to make these boys welcome.

An Indianapolis racetrack operator recently invited about 30 of the corpsmen as his special guests for an evening's racing, and they responded by shouting obscenities at women; creating a small-scale riot and after being dispersed from the track, threw sticks and stones into the crowds, according to newspaper accounts of the incident.

In an effort to whitewash the situation at Atterbury, where there are twice as many employees on the payroll as there are Job Corps men, the Job Corps heirarchy has dispatched "inspection teams" to Atterbury.

Glowing reports have been issued after these trips. My information is that one group of inspectors was comprised of sociology students just recently graduated from college.

I have inspected the camp myself and found the vocational training facilities woefully inadequate. Perhaps the theory behind such a program is good, but the administration in this instance has been poor.

The Indianapolis News, the leading metropolitan afternoon newspaper in Indiana, has done a fine job of reporting

the facts on the Atterbury Job Corps project.

Mr. Ross Hermann, an editorial writer for the News, has visited the camp and interviewed many people connected with the project. His writing is informed, accurate, and constructive. I offer for the RECORD, Mr. Hermann's latest story on the camp, and another article from the Indianapolis Star depicting the recent incident at the Indianapolis Speedrome.

The articles follow:

[From the Indianapolis News, Sept. 28, 1965]

TIME TO CLOSE JOB CORPS?

(By Ross Hermann)

Official discussions of the ill-fated Job Corps center at Camp Atterbury have tended to ignore one of the more obvious solutions: Why not close Camp Atterbury and send its trainees to centers elsewhere?

That suggestion is dismissed without serious consideration by Job Corps officials, among them Federal Project Manager Dr. John H. Kennedy, who says such action would be too expensive and politically explosive.

The present state of affairs at Atterbury suggests, however, that it might be more expensive and politically embarrassing to continue operating the center.

Atterbury's most recent crisis, which brought a three-man inspection team from Washington, centers on the lack of an effective vocational training program, a condition which caused Federal officials to stop sending Job Corps recruits to the local center.

In the absence of new recruits, Atterbury's enrollment is dropping steadily, the victim of mass departures by disenchanted corpsmen and transferrals to other centers. At present, Atterbury has only 269 trainees—down from 632 last spring. If the Federal ban on new assignments remains in effect for long the program could become extinct on its own accord.

In contrast, Atterbury now has 498 employees—almost twice the number of corpsmen.

Local Program Director Dr. James Bryner assures the press that development of the vocational program is progressing and the center will have a capacity enrollment of 2,600 corpsmen by next May. The first of the new recruits, he says, will start arriving this November.

Federal officials, however, are more guarded. The inspection team expressed favorable reaction upon leaving the center, but no decision has been made yet on whether to resume assignments. Federal Director Dr. Otis Singletary, who will receive the team's report tomorrow, will say only that the ban will remain in effect "until such time as they convince me beyond any doubt that a successful vocational training program is in operation."

With the ban in effect and enrollment dropping, program officials have continued spending money in an attempt to regain full Federal favor. With an estimated $4 million already spent since the camp opened last spring, officials are now putting out another $1.7 million to renovate barracks. Another $7 million is expected to be spent in the next year—without definite assurance there will be any corpsmen around by that time.

These facts suggest a conclusion from which Federal and local Job Corps officials shrink. More than $7 million could be saved if the camp were closed immediately and the remaining corpsmen sent to other centers.

Events of the past 2 weeks indicate the center's troubles are tenacious, particularly in the absence of policy changes officials so far have been unwilling to make.

A month ago, Director Bryner fired nine "resident assistants" (counselors) and declared his action solved all personnel problems. Last week he dismissed Procurement Director Franklin B. Mitchum, charging "sloppy purchasing procedures." Mitchum, in turn, charges: "I was fired because I repeatedly questioned purchase orders which I thought were out of line. I tried to do my duty to the corps and the taxpayers."

Similarly, Bryner stated recently that all troublemakers had been weeded out of the program. Shortly afterward, according to a sheriff's office report, corpsmen were involved in a riot at the Indianapolis Speedrome, sparked when six of the youths shouted obscenities at women entering a rest room. What might have happened at the Speedrome if "troublemakers" had not already departed the program is a matter of speculation.

Official policy toward discipline is unchanged, despite Atterbury's periodic outbreaks. Federal officials, mindful of their prerogatives, decline to give the local director authority to dismiss delinquents from the program. Such a decision can come only from Washington. And Director Bryner says he is satisfied with present procedures and declines to seek such authority.

These facts, in themselves, inspire little confidence in the corps' future, particularly if the ban on new recruits is lifted. Policies that fail to control 269 corpsmen can hardly be expected to do better with 2,600.

SPEEDROME SPECTATORS, JOB CORPS MEN RIOT

[From the Indianapolis Star, Sept. 20, 1965]

A woman was injured Saturday night when a riot broke out at the Speedrome, Kitley Avenue and U.S. 52, between members of the Federal Job Corps stationed at Camp Atterbury and spectators, a deputy sheriff said.

The ruckus started when 6 Job Corps men, sitting at the south end of the racetrack with 29 other Job Corps members, began shouting obscenities at women entering a restroom, Deputy Sheriff D. J. Oberlies said.

The Job Corps youths were special guests at the Speedrome.

When 15 of the youths went to stand in front of the restroom at the back of the stands, continuing the vocal barrage, irritated spectators sought to silence them, the deputy said. About 50 persons were involved in the fracas.

After the Job Corps youths finally were ushered from the Speedrome, the six who had started the melee retaliated by throwing sticks and stones into the crowd, the deputy reported.

Arrival of police and deputies halted the melee.

Mrs. Shirley McKinney, 37 years old, 1933 Mann Drive, a waitress at a stand operated by her husband, George N. McKinney, 37, suffered lacerations on her arms when she tried to stop the fighting, the deputy said.

Oberlies declared there was evidence the Job Corps Men who started the fight had illegally purchased beer.

Oscar Brigenbine, 52, 2910 East New York Street, entertainment director of the camp who accompanied the youths, said he was not around when the fighting started.

Speedrome owner Leroy Warriner, 48, former race driver, said the Jobs Corps Men would never again be invited back to the Speedrome.

Instructions to Student-Instructors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, the very able Novice G. Fawcett, president, the Ohio State University, delivered a very enlightening address to the town student-assistants in preparation to their welcoming the freshman ladies at O.S.U.

President Fawcett's remarks were made on September 22, 1965, at Columbus, Ohio, as follows:

AN ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT NOVICE G. FAWCETT, THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

If I were to give a title to my talk this evening, it would be "Why I Like Girls—Like You."

This gigantic institution is like a mighty rocket whose fuse is being lighted this week—a period in which all systems are checked and placed in a "go" position. I trust that the launching will go as smoothly as did that of Gemini 5 a few weeks ago. The success of our mission, of course, and the significance of the data to be retrieved will be determined primarily by the readiness of the university to receive its payload.

And what is that payload? It is the students—not simply because they want to make the journey, but rather because this university is here as a vehicle through which the minds of men—and of women like you—can find expression in all manner of form that keeps alive and growing a unique way of life; that champions freedom; that emphasizes compassion; that thrives on the love of one's fellow man; that places the honest quest for truth above all other values.

I know I need not lecture you (you who are the vigorous and trusted student leaders on this campus) but permit me, please, to share with you an episode that I hope may come to your minds as you meet the quiet or noisy, timid or bold, frightened or overconfident, plain or glamorous, introverted or intrepid freshman who may attempt to avoid you or who may seek your assistance.

A traveler nearing a great city asked a man seated by the wayside, "What are the people like in the city?" and the response was:

"How were the people where you came from?"

"A terrible lot," the traveler replied. "Mean, untrustworthy, detestable in all respects."

"Ah," said the sage, "You will find them the same in the city ahead."

Scarcely was the first traveler gone when another one stopped and also inquired about the people in the city before him. Again the old man asked about the people in the place the traveler had left.

"They were fine people, honest, industrious, and generous to a fault. I was sorry to leave," declared the second traveler.

Responded the venerable one: "So you will find them in the city ahead."

Human nature, as you know, is a variable and unpredictable quality, but I shall be so bold as to predict that most of the new students you meet will be endowed with a positive and enthusiastic attitude toward their exciting venture in higher education. You yourselves are aware of what an inspiring and enriching experience that venture can be, and I know that your own enthusiasm and sense of values will be communicated to all those with whom you have contact.

What are some of the insights and attitudes which will help these young men and women orient themselves toward a new way of life and make this an eventful and meaningful year for them? Certainly loyalty to their university and pride in being a member of this community of scholars are among the important attitudes of mind with which to approach the enriching intellectual experience which awaits our new students. Again, I believe that most of our young scholars will possess those attributes.

As you well know, there is much to be proud of here—our position as one of the

most versatile and comprehensive universities in the United States, our achievements in scholarship, our vitally important research programs which are helping to shape a better future for mankind, our responsible student government organizations, and our multitude of cultural, social, recreational, and service activities. Furthermore, I cannot neglect a prideful reference to the 50 honorary societies which flourish on this campus, presenting a powerful incentive and challenge to those who would strive for outstanding scholarship, leadership, service, and integrity.

Just 16 days ago I answered in Tokyo, Japan, for the Ohio State University the rollcall of 300 universities from more than 60 countries and territories in the world as I cast a ballot in a formal ceremony, where language barriers were overcome with ease; where educators were striving for a quality of scholarly endeavor that marks the truly enlightened man; where the quest for knowledge transcended every political thought; and where men for 7 days were men first and nationals second, seeking to place opportunity for the education of people above other thoughts. Never before had the full influence of this university in the world of higher education come so clearly into focus for me, and again I was proud of Ohio State, as I know you are.

You see, therefore, why I want all of our new students to make their start here saying, "I'm glad I came to Ohio State." I want them to be aware of the vitality and purposes of this university, stimulated by the knowledge that here, in this place, they are participating in the most exciting and rewarding venture that can arouse the mind of man—the exchange of great ideas, the search for truth, and the acquisition of that wisdom which will make life more meaningful and more humane.

It is my hope that our new students will come to us with an attitude of responsibility to the university community, to their fellow students, and to the great opportunities which exist for them here. Only with this insight into the basic values that govern their new-found freedom will they achieve the quality of intellectual maturity that will enable them to become effective leaders and participants in the life of the campus and in our democratic society.

Above all else, I hope that our students will come with a disciplined mind, an inquisitive spirit, a sensitivity to beauty, and a recognition of the excitement of challenging ideas. With those qualities, which are indispensable to successful and satisfying scholarly endeavor, our young students may the sooner come to know the power and the pleasures that reside in knowledge newly gained and the unsuspected energies of their own creative spirit.

If I were addressing the new students, I might add this guide to self-knowledge, this method of discovering new horizons and enjoying old ones, which was compiled by David McCord of Harvard University:

You must have more than methods, philosophies, professions, languages, and apparatus to attain your goals.

You must learn to discover the true meaning of culture and that scraps of information have nothing to do with it.

You must be able to distinguish honest sentiment from sentimentality, and to inform the exactness of scholarship with the inexactness of poetry.

You must strengthen your Vergilian inheritance of the delight in landscape, the sea, the stars, and all the skymarks of the night, and the physical world in which you live.

You must learn that individual taste is but a changing pattern of constant values, and in acquiring good taste you must learn to weigh and discriminate.

You must assimilate all you can from the companionship of books and pictures, the inspiration of noble architecture, from music and great art.

You must be like the ancient Greeks when it was said of them that they possessed "the power of thinking before they acted * * * and of acting, too."

Yours is a high and joyous privilege this week, one that probably will not be shared by faculty or staff. I do not say this idly, for you will directly touch the lives of the young students during this process of orientation—you will touch them to a degree which I envy from my place of an oft-times distant lectern. You will exercise the positiveness of human encounter as you help our young people prepare for the great task of learning that lies ahead.

If this seems too lofty or distant a philosophy, let me hasten to say that it is really the most practical of stuff. Within it lies the essence of compassion and wisdom, and the ability to bring your best selves to the service of others. What I am saying is that each one of you is vital to this process of orientation and that no contact made will fail to have its influence.

Lest you think your influence is not important, remember that when the freshman woman and her mother, laden with the tonnage so essential to a young lady's college debut, face you, the radiance of this university and all that it stands for will be reflected in you. In their eyes, you will be the image of this university. And no better image could they have, for you are the select. You are the leaders in whom the dean of women and her staff and all of us in central administration place our confidence. And little wonder.

I know many among you personally. Some of you have called at our home for an evening chat. Some of you I have been privileged to know in student organizations. Others have called at my office. Just as you lift the aspirations of the new student, you lift my confidence in mankind. Your unselfish sharing of yourselves during the next several days ignites in me the energy to serve your university as well as I can. Without fail, you renew my faith in all that is good.

What, then, do you seek to bring to this service to which you have so graciously and generously committed yourselves? What climate will you create? What values, which you hold and live by, will be emulated by those whose lives you touch?

I have every confidence that your wisdom and experience will influence the new students at the beginning of their great adventure:

1. To go with courage and without fear.
2. To go with confidence, yet not proud.
3. To go with kindness, compassion and courtesy, yet resolutely.
4. To go honestly as individuals with the strength and elasticity to cooperate with fellow men, applying each day the test—is it right or is it wrong?
5. To go in truth.
6. To go with eagerness at life, knowing there is little enough time, yet taking the time to understand.
7. To go with patience.
8. To go with freedom and yet know the boundaries of values.
9. To go with reason.
10. To go creatively.
11. To go spiritually.
12. To go ethically.
13. To go with respect, knowing that respect cannot be forced, that cooperation cannot be coerced, and that loyalty cannot be demanded.
14. And finally, to go in faith in the quest for intellectual excellence to which this university is dedicated.

The Teacher and Our Social Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, in these days when many of our national, educational, and religious leaders seem to be more interested in encouraging lawlessness, irresponsibility, and revolt against morality, it is refreshing to have a prominent educator remind us of the basic values to which we must be dedicated.

In a recent address to the Birmingham City Teachers' Institute, Dr. Houston Cole, president of Jacksonville State College at Jackson, Ala., told the assembled teachers:

The time has come for the teachers of this country to lead the greatest demonstration in history of the Nation. By careful planning and effective teaching they must demonstrate against the forces of lawlessness, indifferent citizenship, and moral deterioration.

Dr. Cole's message is so full of challenge for all Americans that I would like to include it as a part of these remarks. The address follows:

THE TEACHER AND OUR SOCIAL CRISIS

We are living in an age of abundance, of challenge, and of violence. While our economic well-being and scientific wonders grow and expand, our social problems threaten the stability and welfare of the Nation.

Today we enjoy economic plenty, a longer span on earth, and a ceaseless reduction of the physical efforts necessary for making a livelihood. In the years immediately ahead we can expect new forms of food, new types of energy, and improvements in our automated processes. The country might well be at the threshold of an economic order where it will no longer know poverty and want.

Despite these material blessings, however, deep and dark social shadows fall across our path. These storm clouds have been accumulating for years, and now their full fury is upon us. Youth is on the move. From the thirties through the fifties, our youngsters were designated—in order—as the lost, the silent, and the beat generations. Now they are referred to as the explosive generation.

Some are turning to demonstrations, some to rebellion against authority, and others to outright violence. During the past year, revolts have resulted in academic impediments, increase in crime, and the loss of life.

We have seen the operations of great universities halted, the dignity and sacredness of the White House violated, and general rioting that has brought senseless destruction of property and life. No place has been too sacred for attack. Churches and cemeteries have felt the ravages of teenage gangs who frankly admitted that they were revolting against God.

CAUSES

In this period of social upheaval, the question is being asked: Why these revolts, these demonstrations, and these riots?

Many explanations are offered. Some say that youngsters are rebelling against the automat and not "The Lord's Supper." They point out that automated life and the new freedom of leisure have reduced the individual to a mathematical cipher. Others say it is the growing impersonality of our ever-

increasing urban centers that gives the individual the feeling he is merely a helpless and hapless pawn on a cosmic chessboard.

Some trace it to a feeling of meaninglessness in life, to parental permissiveness, and to family breakdowns.

Are the youngsters to be blamed for their conduct? In a society where a sizable element of the population recognizes the principle of freedom without restraint, lust without love, life without meaning, and pay without work, how can we expect anything but social upheaval? In an entertainment world where illicit sex is elevated to the top as entertainment and violence is considered as a good form of amusement how can we expect restraint from our youth?

We have sowed to the wind and we are now reaping the whirlwind.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE TEACHER

The teacher must find the causes of our social disturbances and contribute her best efforts toward eliminating them. Next to the parent, the teacher exercises the greatest influence in the life of the child. She is in a position to build a better society than the politician and the policeman. If this is not true, then our claims for the benefits of education are false.

The question poses itself: What can teachers do? It would be helpful in the long run, I think, if we shifted emphasis from the materialistic to the humanistic approach.

During the past two decades, I fear we have maximized the economic benefits of education and minimized its human values. We have gone to sleep on a full stomach and have become oblivious to the factors of the human spirit. We have allowed the techniques of life to obscure human meaning and purpose.

Now we are at the point where we must humanize and personalize education more and materialize it less. When cynicism prevails, faith must be substituted; where meaninglessness occurs, purposes and goals must be found.

We might well bear in mind that there is an ever-present past. There is still a place for ideals and vision. Economic laws change but moral laws are eternal. Let us teach the economic principles of the jet age but the moral principles of the horse-and-buggy era. The spiritual principles of the good life that were true yesterday will be true tomorrow and forever.

The time has come for the teachers of this country to lead the greatest demonstration in history of the Nation. By careful planning and effective teaching they must demonstrate against the forces of lawlessness, indifferent citizenship, and moral deterioration. They must not feel that they are the victims of personal and impersonal circumstances over which they have no control.

We must not allow the half-wits, the nowits, the punks, and the hoodlums to take over this country.

The way will be long, the road will be rough, and the task will be difficult. But if we succeed the rewards will be great.

The Bill for Billboards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an article appearing in the September 22, 1965, issue of the Wall Street Journal, covering one of the more serious phases of the billboard bill.

The article is as follows:

THE BILL FOR BILLBOARDS

The administration's highway beautification bill is one of those measures which arouses such strong emotions that it is hard for many people to discuss it with reasoned calm. However, it seems to us that you can be on the side of beauty and against the misuse of billboards and still quite properly question some features of the bill.

For instance, the version passed by the Senate and sent to the House exempts from billboard controls industrially or commercially zoned land along highways—land which, incidentally, now largely contains a far worse collection of affronts to the eye than highway rights-of-way in open country. And it permits the Secretary of Commerce to veto, if he chooses, State or local moves to rezone for industry or commerce along highways not so zoned now.

The old States rights flag has become so tattered that maybe one more rent in it is not going to make much difference one way or the other. But permitting the Secretary of Commerce to step into the complexities of local zoning restrictions not only would be burdening that office with a well-nigh impossible job but would also be a remarkable intrusion of Government authority.

Perhaps a more compelling reason for a little less haste in the handling of this bill is its probable cost, which nobody as yet has figured out. There already is a billboard control program of sorts in effect on the 41,000-mile interstate highway system, under which the Federal Government in effect bribes the States to curb roadside signs. The new plan directs that owners would be paid for moving their signs and for moving or screening auto junk yards along those 41,000 miles of roads and, in addition, along the 225,000-mile primary system, some of which now is adorned with 40 years' accumulation of all sorts of debris. The Government would put up 75 percent of the cost, the States the rest.

Since that's the case, little consolation is to be found in the Senate's amendment hopefully directing that cost data be developed at some future date. However desirable highway beauty may be, any reasonable sense of priorities would suggest that it hardly rates a blank check.

Greater Greenville, S.C., Chamber of Commerce Supports H.R. 6183, a Middecade Census

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARLEY O. STAGGERS

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to your attention a resolution of the Greater Greenville, S.C., Chamber of Commerce in support of H.R. 6183, my bill which provides for a middecade census of population, unemployment, and housing starting in 1966. This resolution is well conceived and very much to the point. Also, Mr. Speaker, I believe it is representative of the feelings of local communities throughout the United States in favor of a middecade census.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION SUPPORTING BILL AUTHORIZING MID-DECADE CENSUS OF POPULATION

Whereas House bill H.R. 6183 providing for a mid-decade census of population, unemployment, and housing (1966, 1975, and each mid-decade thereafter) has been committed to the Committee of the Whole House of the House of Representatives of the Congress; and

Whereas the need for up-to-date information on population and housing is essential to the systematic planning for growth by both governmental bodies and private enterprise; and

Whereas sample surveys now made by governmental agencies on housing, education, welfare, employment, agriculture, and other governmental programs would substantially increase in value and reliability if they could be related to complete census counts that were no more than 5 years old; and

Whereas these sample surveys cannot take the place of a complete population count obtained by the census; and

Whereas the annual rate of population growth today exceeds that spanning a decade at the time when the census was first taken in 1790; and

Whereas even the agricultural and business censuses are now taken every 5 years: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Greater Greenville Chamber of Commerce goes on record as being in favor of a simplified middecade census as provided for in H.R. 6183 and that a copy of this resolution be furnished to Representative H. O. STAGGERS, of West Virginia, chairman of the Subcommittee on Census and Statistics; the South Carolina congressional delegation; and to other interested parties in the furtherance of this objective.

Federal Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for inclusion in the RECORD an article by Prof. Roger A. Freeman which appeared in the September 21, 1965, issue of National Review.

Professor Freeman, who is with the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University, is a noted and highly respected analyst. In the article he contrasts current trends in Federal spending for national defense and for welfare programs. I believe the article will be of much interest to the Congress and the public.

The article follows:

ARTICLE BY ROGER A. FREEMAN

Those of us who have been troubled by the explosive growth of governmental activities in recent years and by the threat they pose to the freedom and responsibility of the individual can relax. We have all been mistaken and Government isn't really growing when we view it in meaningful terms. I have that on the highest authority in the land. The President himself said so in a speech to the CED (Committee for Economic Development): "Total Federal spending in 1965 will be the lowest in 14 years in terms of our gross national product. Nondefense spending will be lower than it was 30 years ago in terms of our gross national product (GNP). There are fewer Federal employees now than there were a year ago when I took office." Mr. Johnson also offered a cheerful outlook in his January 1965 budget message: "* * * we have good reason to expect that Government expenditures in the years ahead will grow

more slowly than the gross national product, so that the ratio of Federal spending to our total output will continue to decline."

We probably ought to feel as comforted by L.B.J.'s assurances as the 6-foot-tall traveler who was told that the river he was about to cross had an average depth of 3 feet. The story has it that he drowned nevertheless, a victim of averages. Federal officials and agencies are now flooding the public with tricky statements such as those I cited above which, unless contradicted, are bound to drown us in a sea of confusion.

BUDGET COMPARISONS DECEPTIVE

Total Federal spending in 1965 as a percentage of GNP is not the lowest in 14 years and nondefense spending in relation to GNP is not lower in 1965 that it was in 1935; it is higher. Federal employment has been stable—at 2,345,000 in November 1963 and in May 1965—only because most of the new or expanded Federal programs are being carried out through State and local government employees whose number has been soaring, under Federal pressure and with Federal financing. While those employees are statistically classified as State and local, many of them carry out programs enacted by Congress, work under orders from Washington bureaus, and are at least partly paid from Federal funds. Federal subventions to State and local governments have quadrupled in the past 10 years. L.B.J.'s boast in his budget message that Federal employment grew proportionately less than the U.S. population in the past 10 years neglected to mention that during that time civilian government employment (Federal, State, local) shot up 43 percent—compared with an increase in population of only 18 percent and in private employment of 11 percent. Ten years ago there was one person on the public civilian payroll for every eight in private employment. Today that ratio is down to 1 to 6.3. Where will it be 10 or 20 years hence at that rate of "progress"?

When Mr. Johnson talked about "total Federal spending" he was using an incorrect term. It is evident from the tables in his January 1965 budget that he was referring not to the cash-consolidated budget but to the administrative budget which now excludes about one-fourth of all Federal spending.

The administrative budget, when first established, was intended to give a comprehensive picture of Federal income and outgo. It still included 97 percent of the cash flow in the late 1940's. But then several major items were shifted from the administrative budget to so-called trust funds whose annual total now exceeds $30 billion. The start of such a big new program as the Interstate Highway System in 1956 boosted Federal road spending from less than a billion to $4 billion annually—but it reduced highway costs in the administrative budget to almost nothing. Some of the sharpest expansions in Federal spending have taken place in social security and unemployment benefits which are channeled through trust funds. Medicare will not add to the administrative budget but will of course boost Federal spending very substantially. So to compare the size of the administrative budget in 1965 with earlier years is outright deception.

1984 BY 1984?

The term "total Federal spending" which Mr. Johnson used is commonly applied to the cash-consolidated budget (payments to the public) which includes transactions in the administrative budget as well as in the trust accounts. The cash budget has come into increasing use in recent years as a more comprehensive and meaningful yardstick of Federal spending. In fact, both J.F.K. and L.B.J. have repeatedly expressed preference for the cash budget, not necessarily because it is more inclusive but because it shows a smaller deficit: only $21 billion over the past 5 years compared with $29 billion in the administrative budget. But when it comes to historical comparisons L.B.J. occasionally likes to shift back to the administrative budget because it excludes some of the fastest growing spending categories.

"Total Federal spending," i.e., payments to the public, in fiscal 1965 equaled 19 percent of GNP, or slightly more than it did in 3 years during the mid-1950's, according to the President's latest Budget in Brief (p. 76). Even so, total Federal spending appears to have established a remarkable record of stability in proportion to GNP over the 1952–65 period to which Mr. Johnson apparently referred. But this does not mean that governmental growth has come to a halt. The overall total simply hides an unprecedented expansion in domestic welfare programs behind a sharp relative cutback in outlays for national defense, as shown in the table.[1]

Federal expenditures, 1955 and 1965 (payments to the public)

[Dollars in billions]

	1955	1965 [1]	Increase (percent)
Total	$70.5	$121.4	+72
Defense related	42.9	59.7	+39
National defense	40.9	52.8	+29
Space research and technology	.1	4.9	+562
International affairs and finance	2.0	2.0	+1
Veterans services and benefits	5.1	6.0	+17
Interest on the debt	4.7	8.5	+81
Domestic services	17.9	47.2	+164
Health, labor, and welfare	9.5	28.9	+204
Education	.4	1.5	+287
Commerce and transport (highways)	1.1	7.4	+541
Natural resources	1.3	2.8	+126
All other	5.6	6.7	+19

[1] These are official estimates of January 1965. Treasury Secretary Fowler disclosed on July 21 that the defense-related costs in fiscal 1965 actually had run close to $2,000,000,000 lower, domestic services $2,500,000,000 higher than estimates. Thus, the analysis above understates the discrepancy between defense and welfare spending trends

The slight rise in defense outlays from their post-Korea low was largely consumed by higher prices. But domestic services multiplied two and a half times—an increase of 164 percent over a 10-year period when population and prices advanced only about 18 percent each. Proponents of big government usually explain this expansion as having been made necessary by a "lag" on the part of State and local governments. But the spending of State and local governments from their own sources meanwhile shot up 110 percent, of which less than 40 percent can be attributed to greater population and higher prices.

While public spending for civilian purposes jumped 164 percent, personal consumption—that is the outlays which individuals and families incur for themselves for necessities and pleasures—rose only 65 percent: food 39 percent, clothing 53 percent, housing 73 percent, automobiles 81 percent, etc. On a per capita, constant dollar basis, personal consumption increased 22 percent, governmental spending (Federal-State-local) for domestic purposes 70 percent. These trends provide a pungent comment on John Galbraith's myth that consumers are luxuriating while government is being starved. Continued expansion of public services at three times the rate of growth in private spending for another decade or two would give us the Government-directed, centralized society George Orwell pictured. It is understandable that President Johnson stopped long-range projections of governmental revenues and expenditures which the Budget Bureau had started to develop. They might have drawn too realistic a picture of the future of the Great Society.

Possibly the most significant yardstick for measuring individual versus socialized decisionmaking is the ratio between personal consumption expenditures and governmental spending for domestic purposes; i.e., the relationship between the sums which the individual lays out according to his own discretion and those the government spends for him.[2] Here is what happened over the past decade:

	Fiscal 1954	*Fiscal 1964*
Personal consumption	$234	$386
Government expenditures (Federal-State-local) for domestic services	52	122
Ratio (percent)	22	32

Only in future years, when the passing of time gives us a broader perspective, shall we be able to recognize that the most significant transfer from private to public decisionmaking over money took place neither in the 1930's nor in the immediate postwar period, but during the 1950's and 1960's.

Though some public officials like to blame defense for our crushing tax burden, those costs are responsible for a shrinking share of public spending. In the annual battles over the division of public funds, over the slicing of the budget dollar, the armed services have almost always lost out to the politically charmed services—domestic welfare programs, lobbied for by powerful, well organized, special interest groups.

DEFENSE HAS COME SECOND

Rapid demobilization after World War II lowered military costs to a mere 17 percent of all public (Federal-State-local) expenditures in 1950. That unilateral disarmament led to the Korean war which, in turn, boosted defense spending to 40 percent of all Government costs in 1953. Ever since, the share of the military has been declining and gradually slid to 25 percent by 1964. If we include outlays for space and foreign aid, the cost of national security may be said to equal 30 percent of all governmental spending in the United States. We now devote only half as great a share of our GNP to national defense as the Soviet Union, as Timothy Sosnovy, Soviet economy specialist at the Library of Congress, demonstrated in an incisive analysis of "The Soviet Military Budget," in the April 1964 Foreign Affairs.

When L.B.J. started to work on the 1965 budget, the Tuesday morning following J.F.K.'s burial, he realized that the American public was not prepared for the vast expansion in public spending which his domestic schemes required. There was only one way to present a modest overall budget total while pushing the gravy projects of the Great Society: slash national defense. His Defense Secretary's ability to carry out this policy made Mr. McNamara L.B.J.'s hero and strong man, a willing hatchetman for the White House who could beat the leaders of the armed services into submission, or replace them with more pliable successors.

L.B.J. refined the policy of unilateral partial disarmament to a new perfection but it actually dates back two decades to the days when Harry Truman's Secretary of Defense, Louis Johnson, dismantled the armed

[1] A 14-year comparison (1952–65) would show an even stronger contrast between the growth of defense spending (27 percent) and of domestic services (330 percent). But because 1952 might be called a war year, I thought it fairer to present a 10-year comparison.

[2] There is a technical overlap because welfare costs are included in government outlays and also, when spent, shown as personal expenditures. But this does not change the picture significantly.

services, inviting the Communist takeover of Eastern Europe and much of Asia. The American public was lulled into a false sense of security by such statements as former Budget Director David Bell's: "We give top priority to defense and then argue about what comes second." Unfortunately it has been the other way around. In a carefully documented study of postwar budget formation, Samuel P. Huntington, of the Institute of War and Peace Studies at Columbia University, found:

"In both the Truman administration before the Korean war and in the Eisenhower administration after the war, the tendency was:

"1. To estimate the revenues of the Government or total expenditures possible within the existing debt limit;

"2. To deduct from this figure the estimated cost of domestic programs and foreign aid; and

"3. To allocate the remainder to the military." [3]

Upon assuming the Presidency Mr. Eisenhower promised to "reduce the share of national income which is spent by Government." This promise he kept: Federal expenditures as a percentage of national income (NI) dropped from 23.8 percent in 1952 to 23.1 percent in 1960. But this was accomplished only by cutting national security from 16.5 percent of NI to 11.7 percent while boosting domestic services from 3.8 percent to 8.2 percent of NI.[4]

To view this in historical perspective: It took 160 years—from 1789 to 1949—to bring Federal expenditures for civilian purposes to a level of $10 billion. It took only another 17 years to the fiscal year 1966, to lift them from $10 to $53 billion. To be fair and impartial I probably should mention that of the $43 billion increase in 17 years, $21 billion were added in 9 years of Truman-Kennedy-Johnson, $22 billion in 8 years of Eisenhower.

NO MAJOR NEW WEAPONS

Only twice in the postwar period, during the Korean conflict and after the Bay of Pigs debacle and the failure of J.F.K.'s Vienna talks, did national security receive more attention. On the whole, our generals and admirals were no match for the numerous special interest groups which promised the President votes in return for support of their pet projects. Not long before becoming Controller of the Department of Defense, Charles Hitch had predicted that defense costs would (and should) remain at 10 percent of GNP through the 1960's. But they equal less than 8 percent in L.B.J.'s budget for 1966 and could slide below 7 percent by 1970.

Mr. McNamara slashed the 1964 budget of the Joint Chiefs of Staff by $14 billion before he sent it to Congress. In fiscal 1965 defense outlays ran $4 billion lower than in 1964 but those "savings" were more than made up by a $6 billion spending boost for nonmilitary purposes. Under continued browbeating from the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Chiefs trimmed their budget requests for fiscal 1966—only to have Mr. McNamara chop off another $5 billion.

The number of military projects or programs scrapped, deferred or slowed down to a snail's pace in the past few years is legion; the number of major new weapons systems put into active use is zero. I have space to mention only a few of the major projects which failed to find favor with our Secretary of Defense.

The Navy has long asked for a changeover to nuclear power for its over 8,000-ton vessels, particularly aircraft carriers. No one disputes the vast superiority of nuclear over conventional propulsion and a review of the latest edition of "Jane's Fighting Ships" drives home the grave threat posed by the expanding Soviet Navy, especially its subsurface fleet. But Mr. McNamara rejected all such plans because each nuclear-powered carrier would cost $100 to $150 million more. Even the New York Times called the decision "an example of foolish economy" and "a backward step" and Secretary of the Navy Fred Korth resigned over it. But there it stands as of now.

Air Force leaders are deeply troubled by the decline in our bomber power. The B-47's are being phased out and the lives of the 10-year-old B-52 (modified) and B-58 are being stretched out for up to another 10 years. They are to serve as our only bombers into the early, or even mid-1970's. Responsible military experts have repeatedly demanded a more advanced "follow-on" bomber such as a supersonic plane with high- and low-altitude penetration capability or a missile-carrying strike plane (AMSA). But they have been unable to persuade Mr. McNamara that manned bombers are needed at all, or that we should develop nuclear-powered aircraft and that a Polaris-Minuteman missile program could not do the whole job—although experts call this at best a minimum deterrent force. General LeMay's efforts were in vain and General Power's dire warning in "Design for Survival" went for naught. Mr. McNamara even cut the Minuteman force to 1,000, substantially below the minimum of 1,800 that the Air Force deemed necessary.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff unanimously recommended the adoption of the Skybolt air-to-ground missile in order to increase the usefulness of our—and Britain's—existing manned bombers. But Mr. McNamara, determined to save $2.5 billion, overruled the military, dealt a blow to NATO—and helped to sink the Tory Government. The nuclear rocket Rover, the manned space glider Dyna Soar, the Pluto ram jet rocket engine, and other projects too numerous to list, shared Skybolt's fate.

Mr. McNamara based his refusals on "cost efficiency studies." But there seem to be glaring holes in his knowledge of what our potential opponents are up to. He declared last April 12 that the Russians had no solid propellant ballistic missiles; whereupon the Soviet Government on May 9 paraded "Iron Maiden," a solid-fueled MMRBM. Previously Mr. McNamara had nixed plans for an American MMRBM.

GS SUPERSEDES NIKE X

Our most glaring deficiency may well be the absence of an anti-missile-missile system. But though it would take at least 5 years from the time of decision until a working system could be established, Mr. McNamara has so far turned a cold shoulder toward those plans and deferred a decision on the Nike X project. After all, an antiballistic system might cost $20 to $30 billion which are urgently needed for Great Society projects.

Now, maybe Mr. McNamara knows that Mr. Brezhnev's announcement in early July 1965 about important Russian strides in anti-missile defense facilities had little basis in fact and that his reference to orbital rockets (which can be put into orbit and brought down by radio signals to hit a target on earth) only expressed wishful thinking. But suppose Mr. Brezhnev wasn't just boasting. We could wake up some sunny morning to a great surprise of the type with which the Russians have presented us a few times since they launched the first sputnik. But then maybe we won't wake up at all some morning.

Perhaps nothing can prevent a surprise nuclear attack. But if one ever came, an effective fallout shelter program could save many millions of American lives. The never published Gaither report is said to have recommended one, and many experts since then have strongly urged the Government to construct and equip shelters. Nobody has done so more convincingly and impassionately than Dr. Edward Teller. It has been estimated that a $5 billion program could save 30 million lives, and a $25 billion program 72 million lives. Even more important, the existence of such protection and our ability to survive a nuclear strike might deter a potential aggressor. But no such plans are presently pursued by the administration and even recommendations for an incentive shelter program have been dropped.

That the Soviets are ahead in military space technology has been evident for some time and our Air Force is gravely concerned over the potential of inner-space space platforms in close orbit range. But it was unable, until the flight of Gemini 5, to get even a qualified go-ahead for a man-in-space program. When the Navy and Air Force Chiefs wanted their own specialized TFX, Mr. McNamara overruled them and decided on a different and less costly model—now a F-111A and F-111B—which is already in trouble on several counts. I could cite many other instances in which our Secretary of Defense disregarded the unanimous advice of the Joint Chiefs, rejected or reduced a program, deferred action or settled for a cheaper plan. In some cases he may have been right, there are ways to get "more bang for the buck." In many cases we'll never know.

Former Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell L. Gilpatric suggested reducing defense expenditures 25 percent from their 1964 level. That such action would cut heavily into the military muscle few will deny. But it is not likely to happen. Every time we trim our defense apparatus, crises develop, somewhere in the world, which force us into action—with consequent boosts in military costs.

We are now about to repeat that experience. Upon his return from Vietnam on July 20 Mr. McNamara admitted that the situation had deteriorated in the preceding 12 months and that we need to invest more heavily in manpower and materiel. He did not explain why the big United States has not been able to cope with aggression by a small country—even though the reason is becoming increasingly clear: the Communists know just when we start to turn paper tiger. If we react to their provocations in a half-hearted way, with a goal in mind other than victory, the engagements tend to drag and we are lucky to get out without overt defeat. The Hanoi government won't negotiate with us because it feels, not without reason, that we lack either the strength or the determination to put an end to its aggressive activities with adequate force.

GOVERNMENT COSTS SPIRAL

While cost effectiveness studies are being used to kill defense projects, they do not seem to be applied to screen the welfare schemes that Mr. Johnson is railroading through Congress by the dozen. The cost of governmental services, which shot up from 12 percent of the national income in 1944 to 17 percent in 1954 and to 25 percent in 1964, is headed for the stars. That process may go on for quite a while—until Communist aggressors take advantage of the niggardliness with which our Government has been treating the armed services in its eagerness to expand the politically more promising "Charmed Services." Unless, of course, this process is halted or reversed. But there is no sign at this time that this is about to happen.

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[3] "The Common Defense: Strategic Programs in National Politics (New York, Columbia University Press, 1961) p. 221.

[4] The balance—veterans services and interest on debt—dropped from 3.5 percent to 3.2 percent of NI.

Stalemate in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, I commend the "Stalemate in Vietnam," by Walter Lippmann, that appeared in the September 30, 1965, edition of the Washington Post to my fellow colleagues. The analysis that Mr. Lippmann presents is an interesting one, indeed, and we can all profit by what he has to say:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 30, 1965]

TODAY AND TOMORROW: STALEMATE IN VIETNAM

(By Walter Lippmann)

The success of the American buildup in South Vietnam has been very considerable when we measure it by what so many informed people feared last June. The Vietcong has not been able to smash the Saigonese army, to cut the country in half, and in this military disaster to bring about the overthrow of the government in Saigon. There is reason to think that the size and power of the American forces has discouraged or prevented the Vietcong from mounting big enough battles to win a victory over the Saigonese.

Yet, things have not come out as the administration spokesmen hoped they would. They allowed themselves to think that a demonstration of our ability to build up a great American force which could not be defeated would compel or persuade the Vietcong and Hanoi to agree to a negotiated settlement. Quite the contrary has happened. The position of the Vietcong and Hanoi today is even harder than it was last spring.

Why? Why, as we have put more and more of the best troops we have into South Vietnam, as we have escalated the violence of our attacks, have our adversaries become ever more scornful of our proposals to negotiate?

My own belief is that they are convinced that, while the Americans cannot be defeated, the Americans cannot win the war on the ground. This, however, is where the war has to be won, in the villages of South Vietnam, and that is where the struggle will in the end be decided. The essential fact, which is beginning to seep through the dispatches of some of the American correspondents, is that while the Americans can seize almost any place they choose to attack, the Vietcong will almost surely come back once the Americans leave.

The war in Vietnam is like punching a tub full of water. We can make a hole with our powerful fist wherever we punch the water. But once we pull back our hand, possibly to punch another hole in the water, the first hole disappears. In theory, the Siagonese army ought to fill the hole, ought to occupy and pacify the places we seize. But the Saigonese army is not able to do this because it is too small and too war weary.

It is too small because the villages, which are the reservoir of available manpower, are for the most part Vietcong in their sympathies or are terrorized by the Vietcong. The Saigonese army is too disillusioned and has too little morale to occupy territory which the Americans have seized. What remains of the Saigonese army has little enthusiasm for the revolving politicians in Saigon.

There are some Republican politicans who think that this mess can be disentangled or ended by bombing the industrial, and therefore populated, centers of Hanoi and Haiphong. The President, fortunately, has resisted the temptation to make the war a total war, and thus to make it a general Asian war.

In any event, our adversaries in the Vietcong and in Hanoi show no signs of being intimidated by the possibility of total war. The Vietcong in the south are already receiving the full treatment of total war by our area bombing, and the North Vietnamese do not value their material possessions, which are few, nor even their lives, which are short and unhappy, as do the people of a country who have much to lose and much to live for.

Our adversaries, moreover, have time to wait, time to retreat, to hide, and to live to fight another day. So we shall be forced to face the fact that in order to win the war in South Vietnam we shall have to occupy South Vietnam with American troops. A few months ago Mr. Hanson Baldwin, the military correspondent of the New York Times, called for a million men for Vietnam. It sounded fantastic at the time in the light of what President Johnson was saying about not wanting a wider war. But it is beginning to look very much as if Mr. Baldwin had made an informed and realistic estimate of what a military solution would require.

The situation has become so tangled that no clear and decisive solution is for the present conceivable. The President is no nearer the negotiated settlement which he has hoped to bring about. Nor, as a matter of fact, is the administration truly resolved to negotiate in a sense that it is prepared, even in its private thinking, to make the concessions that any successful negotiation is bound to call for.

Failing the prospect of a settlement, the President has managed to obtain the assent of most of the country to the kind of war we are fighting—a sporadic, low-grade war carried on chiefly by a professional American Army. There is no immediate prospect of big battles with big casualities because the Vietcong, so it would seem, have withdrawn into guerrilla warfare. Against the kind of force we have in Vietnam, guerrilla warfare cannot win a victory. But neither can the guerrillas be defeated decisively and put out of business.

If we cannot or will not escalate the war until we have an enormous army which can occupy the country, our best course is to dig in along the coast and begin to discuss with the Vietnamese politicians the formation of a government in Saigon which can negotiate a true in the civil war. This course will not please the majority of the President's current advisers. But with all due respect to them, how do they propose to win this war, specifically, what size of American Army are they prepared to draft and put into Indochina? For the war is not going to be won by punching the water.

Exposing the Auto Pact

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, this morning Washington Post contains a thoughtful editorial discussing the proposed automotive trade agreement between the United States and Canada. In my judgment, the editorial raises a number of points of concern to many Members of the House. Many of them have been made before by Mr. Allan Levine of Lowell, Mass., president of the Automotive Service Industry Association, who testified before the House Ways and Means Committee on behalf of independents parts producers in the United States.

In my judgment, this editorial deserves the attention of the House and under unanimous consent I include it in the RECORD at this point:

EXPOSING THE AUTO PACT

Will the American public benefit by the proposed automotive tariff agreement with Canada? A small band of Senate skeptics—Senators GORE, HARTKE, and RIBICOFF—has subjected the administration's measure to a searching analysis and reached the same verdict as this newspaper. Congressional approval of the executive agreement between President Johnson and Prime Minister Pearson would have a deleterious effect upon the domestic economy and a positively pernicious effect on this country's reputation as a leading proponent of freer world trade.

The essentials of this unusual trade agreement are these: Canada is to eliminate its tariffs from automobiles and parts for new autos that are imported from this country by designated manufacturers. The United States is to permit the duty-free entry of Canadian produced autos and parts, irrespective of who does the importing in return for the privilege of duty-free imports the leading domestic auto manufacturers, through their Canadian subsidiaries have agreed to a sharp increase in the volume of Canadian auto production.

Proponents of the agreement proclaim that greater output at lower costs will be achieved in what they visualize as an integrated, North American market for autos. But this roseate view blinks at the asymmetrical nature of the agreement. Only the Canadian manufacturers, not the consumers, will enjoy the blessings of duty-free trade under this agreement. As long as auto prices in Canada remain much higher than they are in this country. It is difficult to envisage a great expansion of the market.

One can sympathize with the Canadian desire to maintain a strong and growing automotive industry. But sympathy is hardly an excuse for entering into an agreement which will ruin a number of independent parts manufacturers in this country and increase the market power of the leading auto makers. The agreement, to be sure, provides very liberal adjustment assistance for displaced workers. But why should they be displaced? Surely the threatened domestic parts manufacturers are at least as efficient, if not more so, than their Canadian counterparts.

The auto agreement is particularly inappropriate at a time when there is anxiety over this country's balance-of-payments position. In order to fulfill their obligations to the Canadian Government and provide 50,000 new jobs over the next 3 years, the Canadian auto subsidiaries will have to invest about $1 billion in new productive facilities. It is reasonable to assume that most of the required capital will be raised in this country, thus swelling the payments deficit.

It is conceded that the auto pact violates the most-favored-nation principle of tariff concessions, but proponents are confident that a waiver can be obtained from the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in Geneva. But there is grave doubt as to whether a waiver can be obtained without making substantial compensation to countries that are not parties to the auto treaty. Moreover, the granting of a waiver will open the door to other restrictionist agreements.

Great pressure is being exerted to pass a radical trade measure that may work against the national interest. Rather than legislate hastily and regret it later on, the Senate should defer final action pending a thorough investigation and report by the Tariff Commission.

War Zone Cargoes Delayed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, the Alhambra, Calif., Post Advocate on September 17, 1965 discussed the declining condition of our merchant marine, its effect on our efforts in Vietnam, and our national security generally.

Considering the fast pace of merchant marine expansion by other countries, particularly the Soviet Union, this serious problem must be faced up to now and a solution must be found.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the editorial for inclusion in the RECORD:

[From the San Gabriel Valley (Calif.) Post Advocate, Sept. 17, 1965]

SHIP SHORTAGE: WAR ZONE CARGOES DELAYED

A recent incident at Long Beach should puncture remaining optimism that in times of emergency the United States can depend upon the ships of our allies to supply our overseas troops.

For more than 2 weeks about 10,000 tons of needed construction equipment, material, and general supplies waited on the Long Beach dock while U.S. officials frantically looked for a ship to carry them to South Vietnam.

Mexican officials, explaining their laws forbid ships flying their flag from entering a war zone, ordered the cargo unloaded when the original contracting ship was nearly ready to sail.

On the next attempt, the crew of a Greek freighter refused a $10,000 bonus to carry the U.S. Army supplies to South Vietnam. The Greeks have no compunctions about sailing into war zones. In the last 18 months nearly 30 Greek ships have been tallied in Communist North Vietnamese harbors, including 9 in the first half of this year.

After a delay of more than 2 weeks, U.S. officials finally found an American-flag carrier to ship the essential material to South Vietnam.

The incident illuminates the increasingly critical problem caused by the declining and once proud U.S. merchant marine. Unless the trend is reversed, our economic well-being as well as our security and defense will be affected increasingly.

Since World War II, the American merchant marine has slipped from first- to fifth-ranking status in the world. Britain, Japan, Liberia, and even Norway rank ahead of us.

This year Lloyd's Register of Shipping reported that the United States is constructing only 62 of the 1,700 ships on the slips today. This does not include the ships under construction in Red China and Russia, which are increasing emphasis on their maritime fleets.

From the economic standpoint, only about 9 percent of the estimated 315 million tons of import-export cargo that U.S. ports will handle this year will be carried in American bottoms. If the trend continues, the total will slip to 3 percent by 1985.

As Representative WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD, of California, has noted: "If we do not need a merchant marine fleet (and he firmly believes we do) we're wasting $350 million a year in subsidies. If we do need one, we should keep and increase what we have to the point here the United States once again is a leading maritime power."

Another enlightened position has been taken by Capt. Lloyd W. Shelton, president of the AFL-CIO union for masters, mates, and pilots. Noting the Long Beach incident, Captain Shelton wrote the President that "the only reliable ships are American ships with American seamen," in times of emergency.

He advocates creation of a reserve fleet, partly manned, that can be pressed into duty for emergency shipment of military supplies. The idea might have merit, but it does not touch on the need for a healthy merchant marine at all times.

The present declining state of the U.S. merchant marine is a sad commentary for a nation that can afford, and rightly so, whatever it costs to keep superiority in the air and space.

Indianapolis Comes to Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, for a number of years the city of Indianapolis had the unfortunate reputation of withdrawing into isolation from the rest of the United States.

Without consulting the voters of Indianapolis at the polls, some public and private officials decreed that Indianapolis would cut off its future to spite its face by rejecting aid from our American Government as though such aid were somehow tainted.

I am proud to report that the face of Indianapolis is now turned toward the future. And why? Because in 1963, the Honorable John J. Barton, now mayor of Indianapolis, dared to stake his election on the issue of Federal aid.

When at long last the voters were consulted, Indianapolis said, "Yes" to Federal aid.

And apparently there were no regrets over this businesslike and commonsense decision. Just 1 year later the entire metropolitan area of Indianapolis elected those candidates who rejected the idea of boycotting Federal programs out of hand for no better reason than some vague shadowy accusation that somehow the American Government is un-American.

In the business community the change was no less dramatic. There it began with the highly respected and responsible Indianapolis Times which alerted other business organizations to the folly of the old policy. And today the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce reflects the business community's approval of the new policy.

In the years to come, every poor child in Indianapolis who is helped to become a better citizen by decent low-cost housing and better school facilities will owe a debt of gratitude to Mayor Barton and the Indianapolis Times.

Because an article in the September 1965 issue of Architectural Forum explains so well the change in attitude that has occurred in Indianapolis, I insert the article in the RECORD:

[From the Architectural Forum, Sept. 1965]

THE MOST FORGETTABLE CITY READER'S DIGEST EVER MET

The last frontier of civic self-reliance—certified as such by no less an authority than the Reader's Digest—has fallen to the lure of Federal funds. In July, Indianapolis, Ind., accepted $15.9 million in Government money to continue the urban renewal program it began 20 years ago in disdain, if not outright defiance, of help from Washington.

A little more than 2 years ago, a big headline on one of the Digest's little pages crowed, "Federal Aid? Indianapolis Says Uncle, Go Home." The accompanying article (written by Paul Friggens, a former editor of Farm Journal, and originally published in the National Civic Review, a house organ for city officials) began boldly with a statement that the Digest obviously considered outrageous: "We're pay for it, so we might as well get our share."

The Digest article dealt unmercifully with such heresy: "Soothed by this self-deception, mayors and city managers from all over the United States are today parading to Washington for perhaps the juciest Federal handout ever—slum clearance and urban renewal. Every city and hamlet in the land is being encouraged by the Government to get its snout in the trough and discover its own 'urban renewal problems.'"

"But not Indianapolis," proclaimed the Digest. "This proud State capital is pushing is own urban renewal—without one dime of Federal aid." The article let Charles E. Wagner, then president of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, state why. "We're stubborn, independent Hoosiers, and we don't believe that the citizens of California or Kansas or New York are obligated to clean up our slums," said Wagner. "It's our job, and we intend to take care of it."

The Digest then recited the city's accomplishments, making lavish use of adjectives like "dramatic," "gleaming," "spectacular," and "prideful." They included "$55 million in new schools; $65 million for sewers and sanitation; a $25-million flood-control program; a $40 million downtown luxury apartment complex called 'Riley Center'; $12 million in new hospitals; more than $11 million to date for slum clearance; and one of the best 'self-help' housing developments in the United States, in which homeowners contribute their own labor as their down payment."

ANOTHER VIEWPOINT

At the same time the Digest story appeared, the Indianapolis Times published a series of its own articles. The contrast was considerable. While the Digest gushed, the Times gasped. Proving that two can play the Digest's game, the Times published a cartoon depicting a fat, cigar-puffing individual pointing to a slum area and remarking, "and we built it without Federal aid." And, in an editorial, the Times charged: "There's been much too much self-satisfaction about housing here for years. Too much self-congratulation over inadequate results. And too little dissatisfaction with what hasn't been done."

Indianapolis, pointed out the Times, had not built a single low-income housing unit in the then 18 years of its go-it-alone program. Nor had it made any real effort to find decent housing for those displaced by clearance, the newspaper charged.

"This community and this State do, of course, join in countless other Federal programs, including highway building and airport construction," said the Times—a fact overlooked by the Digest. (For that matter, the Digest's assertion that Indianapolis refused all Federal renewal help is an overstatement: such Federal aids as VA mortgage guarantees and FHA mortgage insurance were used extensively.)

"But in dealing with the immensely human problem of decent housing," continued the Times, "the community says no. It's certainly time that Indianapolis asks itself if the price it's paying isn't too high, and, most important, if it isn't being charged against the wrong people—those who, for a variety of reasons, urgently need the low-cost housing these programs would help provide."

At the time the two articles appeared, Indianapolis voters were pondering some of these questions, and wondering about the price of independence. On the one hand, the city's achievements were not inconsiderable: clearance of 347 acres of slums, and construction of 1,268 new dwelling units, 11 business buildings, and 3 public buildings on the reclaimed land.

All this had cost the city $13.4 million, however, of which it had regained $3.6 million through land sales. The balance had been paid primarily through a city redevelopment tax, which started at $10 for each $100 of assessed valuation and was reduced after 2 years to a $5 maximum that was not fully imposed during most years.

GAPS IN THE PROGRAM

And there was still a great deal to be done. Despite nearly two decades of slum clearance, more than 10 percent of the city's housing stock—26,000 units—was dilapidated or without plumbing. The treatment of low-income families, moreover, was getting on the conscience of Indianapolis. In cities which had federally aided renewal programs the record on low-income housing may have been bad, but in Indianapolis it was nonexistent.

Even the so-called "sweat equity" program, in which buyers of single-family homes on renewal sites would earn their downpayments by contributing 1,000 to 1,300 hours of building labor, had turned out disappointingly. Only 371 units were built under the program, sponsored by a local nonprofit social agency, and the average mortgage payment was about $80 per month. It was a figure beyond the reach of 40 percent of the city's families who now pay rent, including, of course, most low-income families.

"Indianapolis is going through a rigorous soul-searching today," the Digest admitted in its article, and indeed it was. Despite the Digest, and prodded by the Times, civic pressure for Federal participation in renewal of the city gradually began building up.

The Democratic mayoral candidate, John J. Barton, was campaigning on a plan calling for Federal assistance. Even the local chamber of commerce, a long-time powerful champion of Indianapolis' self-determination, began to shift its stance. While it didn't come out in full support of using Federal funds, it did adopt a wait-and-see attitude.

"For 20 years we tried to show the way," said the chamber's executive vice president, Carl Dortch, "but now we want to bite the apple ourselves. This is not a reversal of our attitude. It is an economic and political fact of life that the Federal Government is going to be involved in urban affairs."

RENEWAL IN POLITICS

The groundswell of civic discontent over Indianapolis' slum conditions not only helped Barton win his campaign for mayor, but also helped elect a Democratic Congressman and an all-Democratic delegation to the State legislature. The new State representatives promptly fought for and got repeal of an eccentric, 20-year-old State law which prohibited Indianapolis from accepting Federal renewal funds.

With this last barrier out of the way, Indianapolis was both legally and politically in a position to "get its snout in the [Federal] trough," as the Digest so indelicately put it. Its snout came up covered in green: the Public Housing Administration has approved a $10.7 million loan for 700 low-rent units, including a 250-unit apartment building for the elderly, complete with its own geriatrics center, and the Federal Housing Administration has authorized allocation of $5.2 million for low-interest loans.

Moreover, Mayor Barton and his Greater Indianapolis Progress Committee are searching for new programs for which Federal funds can be used. They hope to appropriate $100,000 of city funds for a full-time urban renewal planning staff, and are asking for another $200,000 in Federal grants.

Meanwhile, back at the Reader's Digest, Indianapolis seems to have been wiped off the office map. The Digest hasn't said a word about the city since the Federal money began to flow. Last month, the editors were back at the sort of story they know how to do best: killer sharks, hypochondria, and subversion.

JAMES BAILEY.

Nigerian Independence Day, October 1, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, today the Federal Republic of Nigeria marks its fifth anniversary as an independent state, and we should take this opportunity to extend our warmest congratulations to the people of Nigeria, to their president, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, and to their able representative in Washington, the Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Goodwin Onyegbula.

Nigeria is the most populas country in Africa. Its population of 55 million exceeds the population of the entire northeastern United States by approximately 10 million. Our country, which is historically proud of its diversity, seems relatively homogeneous when compared to the over 100 different tribal groups, many speaking languages foreign to their neighbors, which inhabit geographically diverse Nigeria.

The Nigerians have chosen a Federal and democratic form of government, one which has given considerable emphasis to the problems of developing a sound economy in the framework of a free society. Because of the road which Nigeria has chosen to travel on the way to development, this country has drawn our interest and elicited our active encouragement.

Nigeria has committed significant amounts of its own resources to the important problem of securing a richer life for its people through rapid, but controlled, economic development. These resources have included money and materials, but have not neglected the time, human energy, and careful thought necessary for a rational approach to improvement. The contribution of its own resources to the creation of an overall plan for development has increased its ability to absorb and effectively utilize both assistance from foreign governments and foreign private investment. The United States has agreed to support Nigeria's development plans with $225 million in loans and grants. Since Nigeria is practically agriculturally self-sufficient, the plans call for the further development of a young, but vigorous industrial sector. This sector will include cement production, plywood fabrication, oil refineries, and rubber processing.

Hopefully, Nigeria's goal of reasoned, sustained economic growth, attained in the context of a stable and free society, will serve as an example to the other emerging states of Africa. We commend today both the goal and the methods by which it is sought. On this fifth anniversary of its independence we extend our congratulations for what has been achieved to date and our warm encouragement for Nigeria's continuing development.

The Contagion of Hope

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, seldom is the reader treated to such a well-thought-out article as he finds in Emmet John Hughes' article "The Contagion of Hope," that appears in the October 4 issues of Newsweek. Of the voluminous material that is being written on our foreign policy this article truly stands out. If the reader remembers but one sentence:

> They (the Fulbrights and the Goldbergs) are unafraid of any fitting use of American firepower; they are afraid only of its feckless substitution for American brainpower.

The article would be a tremendous success. The article follows:

THE CONTAGION OF HOPE

(By Emmet John Hughes)

As the chorus of voices extolling or excoriating U.S. foreign policy has lately swelled, we seek for the sense in the din. The boldest cry has been Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT's lament over U.S. conduct toward the whole social revolution in Latin America: "If we are automatically to oppose any reform movement that Communists adhere to, we are likely to end by opposing every reform movement." In Washington, Senator THOMAS J. DODD did more than snap back that such logic betrayed "an indiscriminate infatuation with revolution of all kinds": he slashed at all signs of conciliationism in U.S. policy, feverishly comparing sale of wheat to the Soviets in the 1960's to sale of scrap to Japan in the 1930's. In New York, however, U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg has sounded stubbornly conciliationist in hailing Soviet-American action on the Kashmir crisis as "a very dramatic example of cooperation * * * without any evidence of cold war confrontation." But back from Washington has come the bellicose cry of more than 300 Congressmen in support of the preposterous Selden resolution—inviting any Western Hemisphere nation to take any military action against any Communist threat.

There is something to be learned from this babble. For quite independently, both Mr. FULBRIGHT and Mr. Goldberg believe they

discern three critical facts of world life to which many others seem blind.

1. The central hope and thrust of U.S. policy must be to encourage more confident relations with Moscow and more responsible behavior by Moscow. "Every important U.S. posture in the world today," a U.S. diplomat at the U.N. recently confessed, "has come to depend on Soviet restraint and reason." To see the force of this truth, one need take only a bleak moment to envision the world of the last year inflamed by a Soviet policy of militant retaliation—pouring massive aid into North Vietnam, answering U.S. action in the Caribbean with Soviet action in Berlin, and rivaling Peiping with slogans and arms to goad Pakistan toward war.

2. Within the highest U.S. councils, however, this political view of relations with world communism suffers almost constant challenge from an essentially military view. In the lament of one high official often taking part in sessions of the National Security Council: "Every time a major policy decision arises, the soldiers outtalk the diplomats. Their targets are precise, their maps beautiful, their confidence complete. And any State Department rebuttal usually flounders in mere reticences or mild reservations." And it is a keen knowledge of this fact that impels men like FULBRIGHT to warn against total faith in military solutions—from the Caribbean to southeast Asia.

3. Just as U.S. diplomacy toward sovereign Communist governments has had to heed differences among them, so U.S. policy—as it contends with upheaval in Asia, Africa, and Latin America—must learn now to distinguish among revolutionary forces even when they may be tinged with Communist influence. In the immediate postwar years, the tough-minded Secretary of State Dean Acheson knew that the United States must recognize and defend many a regime unpalatably rightist and militarist; and he warned U.S. liberals to stop demanding litmus-paper tests on all allies to assure their true-blue devotion to democracy. It took many liberals a while to accept such pragmatism. And it is now the turn of the conservatives to be tutored in the matching truth: if all the world revolutionary forces are to be condemned unless their political purity is perfect and proven, all these forces finally will be pitted against America.

DEADLY PLAY

Precisely because these new truths jar old premises, a large band of leaders in both parties stoutly ignores them. This band still traffics in the stalest clichés of anticommunism. It regards Soviet-American relations with more horror than hope. And it thus stays a decade behind history in apprehending the still perilous balance of powers on which rests all chance of peace.

The Fulbrights and the Goldbergs nonetheless persist. They are wholly uninterested in the empty wordplay about soft and hard policies shouted around the Nation; they are fiercely concerned about the life-and-death play between revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces surging around the world. They are unafraid of any fitting use of American firepower; they are afraid only of its feckless substitution for American brainpower.

And they doubt—above all—that the course of world politics can be turned by the antiseptic devices of quarantine or embargo or repression. For their sense of reality is wholly different. Their faith is in what Jefferson called the disease of liberty. It can be spread and caught in improbable places and under intractable tyrannies. And it will require the most patient physicians—quite unfraid to deal, at times, with queer seeds and alien germs—to extend this subtle and splendid contagion.

Monte Hill Davis Aids South American Alliance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, Dallas can well be proud of one of her outstanding artists who is now on an extensive concert tour in Latin America. Miss Monte Hill Davis, well-known concert pianist, has just completed a countrywide swing throughout Peru and is now in Brazil for nine concerts in its major cities. I know that all Texans share my pride in Miss Davis' well-received performance in Peru. It is noteworthy that all proceeds from the concerts will go to social and economic development projects underway between Texas and Peru, which are joined in a partnership program under the Alliance for Progress.

Miss Davis' tour is another aspect of the direct alliance participation under the partners program, which provides a channel for individuals, groups, and organizations to work with the private community in areas of Latin America. Dallas and Texas salute Miss Monte Hill Davis on her achievement and personal participation to improve understanding between our State and the Republic of Peru. An article in the Dallas Morning News on Sunday, September 26, written by Carlos Conde from Lima, Peru, reflects the fine impression this young Texan made in Peru. I place the article in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Dallas (Tex.) Morning News, Sept. 26, 1965]

MONTE HILL DAVIS AIDS SOUTH AMERICAN ALLIANCE

(By Carlos Conde)

LIMA, PERU.—Pianist Monte Hill Davis of Dallas opened the Texas Partners of the Alliance's cultural program in Peru recently with a series of concerts that were received with accolades of "Bravo."

Miss Davis, one of Texas' most acclaimed concert pianists and former winner of the G. B. Dealey Memorial Award, stirred the usually conservative Peruvians to a thunderous ovation after her opening performance in Lima's "Sala Alazado."

She played eight performances throughout Peru in 10 days and then left for a series of concerts and recitals in Brazil.

Miss Davis' debut in South America marked another phase in the rapidly developing program of the Texas Partners of the Alliance. The Texans and the Peruvians teamed up as "People-to-Pepole" partners in 1964 under the auspices of the Alliance for Progress program. The Texas Partners are giving a personal touch to the U.S. aid program by actively participating in Peru's social and economic development.

Until now, most of Texas' projects have been concentrated in such efforts as helping provide picks and shovels for roads or chicken wire for a jungle tribe. The reception which Peruvians gave Miss Davis showed that they are just as grateful for an occasional evening of Chopin and Bach.

Miss Davis particularly touched the hearts of the Peruvians in her opening performance when she played several selections from the music of Rudolph Holzmann, a noted Peruvian composer. It gained her the biggest ovation of the night.

In Arequipa, people stood in the 350-seat auditorium of the Peruvian-American Cultural Institute to hear her play. Most of her audience was made up of students who responded with lusty yells of "more, more," and Miss Davis played two encores.

Guido de Rossi, president of the Peruvian Institute for the Development of Education, which cosponsored her Lima concerts, called her performance another magnificent Texas triumph.

"The finest testimonial was in the large audiences she drew, because we are nearing the end of the concert season in Lima, and people usually are not as enthusiastic," De Rossi said. "A lot of European musicians have come at this time and played to only 10 or 15 people."

Miss Davis, who has performed with Dallas and Houston symphonies and throughout Europe, admitted to being a little nervous as to how the rhythm-loving Latins would receive her kind of music.

"I was elated to find how much they appreciate and understand this kind of music," she said. "I felt as if I was playing to a European audience. Latins, however, have a response and charm all their own."

After Miss Davis' Lima debut, the Peruvians, young and old, showed another rare gesture when they rushed backstage and lined up to shake her hand and ask her to sign their programs.

She was wined and dined throughout her stay here. She held a press conference when she arrived and was the honored guest of the Lima Press Club at their weekly luncheon. She also had a roomful of roses and gifts from grateful Peruvians.

Flood Precautions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR CALLAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, parts of the First Nebraska District have experienced extended periods of heavy rains in the past weeks. Were it not for precautions begun years ago, flooding with accompanying loss of life and property might well have taken place. Great efforts were required on the part of many people to take these precautions and an editorial in the Falls City Journal should serve as a congratulatory message to those whose dedicated work has obviated the dangers from floods that this area of the Nation has had reason to fear in the past. I include it here as an indication of the work that has been done and which remains to be done:

Up at the Dawson Co-op the other day, people waiting for the downpour to quit before starting home, or using it for an excuse not to start, were reminiscing about floods on the North Fork of the Nemaha, which threads past the south side of Dawson. It has been a long time since any really serious flooding has occurred on the North Fork at Dawson. The last time was in the 1940's, someone recalled, when the North Fork got into the storage bins along the tracks and

damaged stored grain. There's a reason why the North Fork hasn't caused any trouble at Dawson in a long time. And we believe the reason is all of the soil and water conservation which has been done on the Nemaha and its tributaries above that point. The field terraces, the innumerable small dams, built for stock water, grade stabilization, gully control, or just for fishing, watershed development in the upper reaches, the grassed waterways, pasture terraces and land returned to native grass, all have contributed to holding back the water that might have boiled out of the Nemaha at Dawson in recent years. The conservation job is not completed, not by a long shot. But it is an important and beneficial fact in Richardson County these days.

Better Education, Better Pay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, this Congress has given almost unprecedented attention to the task of strengthening and improving education in the United States. We have wisely recognized that education is one of our most powerful weapons in the war against poverty and have taken far-reaching steps to break the cycle of poverty through intensive education and training programs.

The Los Angeles Times also has recognized the part education must play in helping the poor share in the abundance of American life. The newspaper's views on education were very well presented in an editorial on September 20, which I now bring to the attention of my colleagues.

The editorial follows:

BETTER EDUCATION, BETTER PAY

One of the greatest social challenges facing the United States now and for some years to come is improving the quality of life for millions of disadvantaged citizens who, for a variety of reasons, do not share in the benefits and promises of our society.

Efforts to help improve the condition of the disadvantaged—the poor—are underway along a broad front, involving numerous programs of government and private action.

One key point of attack is in the area of education.

Poverty, it is generally recognized, has many root and contributing causes, not all of which are readily discernible. There is, however, clear evidence on one point—the relation between education and income levels.

In general terms, people with little education have lower incomes than their better-educated fellow citizens. According to the Census Bureau, 61 percent of all poor families—those with an annual cash income of under $3,000—are headed by persons with 8 years or less of schooling. And 78 percent of all poor family heads have less than a high school education.

Lack of education more often than not means a lack of marketable skills and, at the same time, low productivity. The results are apparent: either limited employment at low wages, or unemployment through lack of demand. In either case, income falls into the poverty-area category.

Automation notwithstanding, technological advances have actually increased greatly the demand for labor in the United States. But the quality of labor sought is now higher than ever before. This is perhaps at the heart of the low education, low income problem.

A recent report by the Committee for Economic Development, "Raising Low Incomes Through Improved Education," considers this matter. Among the suggestions offered by the CED:

More and better early education, beginning before kindergarten, for children from disadvantaged homes and neighborhoods. The federally financed Project Head Start is already doing some work in this area but, says the CED, "the responsibility for creating and carrying out effective programs, and much of the financial responsibility, rests with the States and localities."

Modernized vocational training in the schools, in line with existing and foreseen occupational requirements. Too much vocational training today is for jobs that no longer exist.

Stepped-up adult training and retraining programs, as well as more programs to eliminate adult illiteracy, with support coming especially at the State and local levels.

None of this, warns the CED, can be done cheaply, nor can it or should it be done by government alone. The schools, organized labor, business, and private citizens all have roles to play in helping to reduce the number of people whose income is below average. Not only money, but leadership, talent and imagination are required.

The challenge—the necessity—is great It requires a great response.

Does Use of Poverty Funds for Bail Constitute Misuse of Taxpayers' Money?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, as one who has observed firsthand the waste and extravagance in the so-called poverty program, I had reached the point where I thought nothing would surprise me. That is, this was my thought until I received information that poverty funds were being used to supply bail money for some of the beatnik type youths who run afoul of the law while receiving the beneficence of of this pampering program. Federal funds have been used to bail out a Job Corps trainee in a dope case and a shooting.

Now taxpayers might wonder just what will come next. The high salaries which have been thrown around and the partisan politics played by those who have dispensed these funds alone should have been enough to kill the program this year. Instead, a rubberstamp Congress virtually doubled the appropriation to just under $2 billion and encouraged more of the same thing. I find this very regrettable because the man heading the program, Sargent Shriver, has impressed me over the past 4 years as being one of the most competent and hard-working officials in the administration. I have called these irregularities to his attention. In the past, he has conscientiously given attention to constructive criticisms and I hope he will make sure that this black mark is removed.

Ernest Gross, antipoverty official, has stated that these funds have been used—to quote him—maybe a dozen times—to obtain the release from jail of Job Corps members arrested on a variety of charges. Let us examine just one instance which occurred on September 13, 1965. Manuel Martinez, 18, was enrolled in a Kentucky Job Corps center and was on leave to attend the funeral of his mother when Billings, Mont., police found him in a local saloon.

The police say that Martinez whipped out a gun when asked to leave and fired at Officer Robert Pace. Obviously he was just exercising his newly acquired rights. The bullet missed, wounding an innocent bystander in the leg. Martinez was awaiting trial on second-degree assault charges when the Job Corps came to the rescue and posted his $2,500 bond.

The local police chief, John Bevens, was stunned and wondered why the same courtesy is not accorded to a member of the Armed Forces. In the latter case, the soldier would be left to meet the civil charges and then face a reprimand, possibly a court-martial, by the military authorities. "Nobody bails out a soldier who has been charged with fighting in a bar," the chief said.

The Job Corps has retained a Billings lawyer, Arnold Berger, for Martinez' defense. Antipoverty funds will be used for an appeal, if necessary. When five Job Corps members were arrested in San Antonio, Tex., and charged with the stickup-shooting of two airmen, antipoverty officials supplied each youth with his own lawyer. Who else could get this kind of pampering?

Mr. Speaker, I think the taxpayers have cause to wonder about such use of their moneys. I think this is wrong from a legislative standpoint—we certainly did not authorize such a thing. Even worse, I think it is wrong from a disciplinary standpoint. How can these youths learn respect for law and order—maybe I am wrong in thinking these are still values they should learn—when they are pampered by a doting poverty bureaucracy which lavishes such luxuries on them. This is virtually a subsidy for wrongdoing and it should be stopped immediately. Let them face up to their responsibilities and learn that they cannot have it both ways. Why make them a preferred class to our servicemen who are being paid less and at the same time are taught to act like men.

I enclose at this point five related news items on this fiasco:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Sept. 8, 1965]

JOB CORPS BAILS OUT TRAINEE IN DOPE CASE—FEDERAL FUNDS USED

(By James W. Sullivan)

A 16-year-old Job Corps trainee from New York City was arrested in New Haven, Conn., yesterday for possession of marihuana and then bailed out by representatives of the center, which is teaching him business education under the Federal antipoverty program.

Jerome Ziegler, director of the Rodman Job Corps Training Center in New Bedford, Mass., said the professional bondsman's charge for furnishing the $1,000 bail was paid by a representative of the Rodman center but eventually will be paid by the Federal Government, which underwrites all the costs of the training program.

Mr. Ziegler said he did not know how much the bondsman charged, but New Ha-

ven Detective Capt. William Holohan said it probably was $50, since New Haven bondsmen charge $5 per hundred.

Captain Holohan said Roy B. Atkins, 16, of 1895 Harrison Avenue, the Bronx, was arrested by New Haven Railroad police who found him tampering with a hubcap on an auto near the railroad.

At the police station, detectives found what appeared to be an envelope of marihuana in the youth's pocket, Capt. Holohan said, and young Atkins said it was marihuana which he had bought from a boy in New York City before leaving the 125th Street station on his way to New Bedford.

Atkins was charged with tampering with a motorvehicle and violation of the State narcotics act. A representative of the Rodman center arranged for the bond after his case was continued to Friday and took him to the center.

Mr. Ziegler said the youth has been enrolled in a business education course for nearly a month and had been home on a Labor Day weekend visit.

The arrest does not automatically drop the boy from the antipoverty program.

"It depends first of all on what the court will do with him," the director said.

[From the Billings (Mont.) Gazette, Sept. 15, 1965]

JOB CORPS POSTS BOND FOR BILLINGS YOUTH: FACES TRIAL IN BAR SHOOTING

(By Jeff Gibson)

A Billings youth awaiting trial on first- and second-degree assault charges has been released from Yellowstone County jail on $2,500 bond—posted by the Job Corps.

The Job Corps also will pay attorney's fees for Manuel A. Martinez, 18, who is accused of trying to kill police officer Robert Pace and wounding Ruth Colden, 25, of Billings, August 27 in a southside bar.

But lawyer Arnold Berger, who will represent Martinez, said the Job Corps is bearing all responsibility for the man while he is free and the action will save Yellowstone County a few dollars.

Martinez was on leave from Camp Breckenridge, a Federal Job Corps camp near Morganfield, Ky., August 27, to attend his mother's funeral in Billings.

Police say they found him in a bar and ordered him to leave. He is charged with firing a pistol at Pace, the officer taking him out of the bar. The shot missed Pace but wounded Ruth Colden in the leg, say police.

Berger said attorneys with the Corps at Camp Breckenridge told him that Martinez will be returned by train to the camp Wednesday, and he will be sent back to Billings for trial.

As for his fee, Berger said it will be the same as if he had been appointed counsel by a Federal court on any similar case—$10 per hour for case preparation and $15 per hour for trial work.

Berger said his fee for the case probably will amount to $200 to $240.

"If the Job Corps did not pay this nominal fee," Berger said, "the county would have to appoint a lawyer and pay him about $250 under the county's fee schedule."

Berger says he feels fees payment by the Corps was partly due to the fact that, unlike Montana, some States do not provide county-paid lawyers for indigent defendants in State felony actions.

"And these Job Corps kids are indigents or they wouldn't be there."

"If all States were like Montana, where all the defendant has to do is ask for an attorney, the Job Corps probably wouldn't (pay attorney's fees)," says Berger.

Berger, saying Job Corps action was a complete surprise to him, received a money order for the bond. It was wired from Morganfield and contained no message.

[From the Billings (Mont.) Gazette, Sept. 16, 1965]

JOB CORPS ACTION COMES UNDER FIRE

County Attorney John Adams charged Wednesday bonds posted by the Federal Government for Job Corps trainees constitutes a questionable precedent of granting special privilege to a select group.

Adams was commenting on a $2,500 bond posted by the Job Corps for Manuel Martinez, 18, a trainee charged with first- and second-degree assault in district court here.

"The attorney's fees (which the corps also is paying) aren't at issue," Adams said.

STATE WILL APPOINT

"Montana will appoint a paid lawyer for any man charged with a felony," he said.

But Adams said the posting of bond for any man by the Government, State or Federal, was something completely new in his judicial experience.

"I recognize Washington is the Great White Father," Adams said, "but I didn't realize its responsibilities to its children went this far.

"It's an extension of a privilege to members of a group which to my knowledge is not extended to any other group of people under the patronage of Washington," Adams said.

The county attorney said it made no difference to him as prosecutor who posted bond, but he said he privately thinks the action constitutes a misuse of tax dollars.

BEVEN AGREES

Police Chief John Beven feels the same way.

"I'm stumped," he said when asked to comment on the bond.

"It came as a surprise to me," said Beven, who wondered why the same courtesy isn't accorded a member of the Armed Forces.

"Nobody bails out a soldier who has been charged with fighting in a bar," the chief said.

District Judge Guy C. Derry declined to comment on the action because he felt it improper for a judge to do so. But Derry did say that he understood the Job Corps has asked lawyer Arnold Berger to not only defend Martinez, but to appeal if necessary.

[From the Billings (Mont.) Gazette, Sept. 17, 1965]

AN INNOVATION IN PATERNALISM

When the Federal Government becomes a bondsman supplying bail to release a defendant from jail and to guarantee his appearance for trial in a State court, we have something of an innovation in the benign practices of the Great Father in Washington.

In this instance it was the Job Corps that put up bond for a Billings youth who was detained in connection with a shooting in a south side bar. The theory behind the posting of bond apparently is that the youth was a ward of the Federal Government by reason of his being in the Job Corps.

This opens an interesting new area of discrimination wherein the Great Society does for participants in a welfare program a favor that's unavailable to other young Americans outside the Job Corps. It's one more sour note in Youth Opportunity, which blossomed under the warmth of compassion and idealism only to be mismanaged and used by Democratic politicians to do favors for young friends by finding them summer jobs in the post offices.

RADIO STATION KBMY NEWS STORY

KBMY learned today that the Federal Job Corps antipoverty program posted a $2,500 freedom bond for one of its Corps members.

Twenty-one-year-old Manuel Martinez of 21 South 26th Street has pleaded innocent to shooting a Billings police officer, Robert Pace, in a south Billings bar 2 weeks ago. A woman bystander was wounded in the leg during the fray. A Western Union draft was delivered yesterday to Martinez' Billings lawyer, Arnold Berger.

The draft was posted in Yellowstone District Court, and Martinez was released today. A jailer quoted Martinez as asking Berger: "Who posted my bond?" Berger told KBMY that Martinez will leave Billings by train tomorrow for the Job Corp's Camp Breckinridge, near Morganfield, Ky. He will remain there until his trial, said Berger, then the Job Corps will return him.

Besides paying Martinez' transportation, the Job Corps will also pay Berger's fees at the rate of $10 an hour for pretrial research, and $15 an hour for court room activity. Berger estimates his fee at $240.

The Billings attorney said final arrangement for bond was made through a Job Corps legal adviser named Will Tom Waphen, apparently from Kentucky. Berger doesn't know who authorized the bond draft. When it came, Berger received a call from another Job Corps attorney named Alexander Adams, apparently the Kentucky camp's legal adviser.

Berger said the Job Corps has put up $2,500 to insure Martinez will return for trial. He said it's not a risk.

Martinez entered the Job Corps on June 28, after being screened by the Billings Youth Opportunities Center. Center director, Robert Furman, said corpsmen, once assigned, are no longer the responsibility of the Billings office. He was not aware the Job Corps would post bail bond for corpsmen. Clarence Nybo, economic opportunity program director for eastern Montana, said he didn't know anything about Martinez' bond. But Nybo said he read in newspapers that the Job Corps has done this in the past. Billings' assistant police chief, Edward Martin, said he was stunned to learn of the information. Martin wonders why the Job Corpsmen are given fringe benefits denied to soldiers fighting in Vietnam.

A Temperate Man Loses His Temper

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, Houston Waring, editor of the Littleton, Colo., Independent, is a calm and reflective man, not given to displays of anger. But Mr. Waring's patience has been sorely tried by what seems to me to be inexcusable harassments of bureaucracy.

Mr. Waring is not the type to rant against Government. His newspapers reflect his own wise and throughtful personality. It therefore is noteworthy when he is moved to remonstrate in print against the treatment to which he has been subjected.

We in the Congress are held responsible for the policies of Government agencies and the actions of Government employees. I therefore think the Members of the Congress would be interested in Mr. Waring's bill of particulars.

I include in the RECORD the following editorial from the Littleton Independent of September 24, 1965:

THE OVERREGULATED STATE

This shot is fired in anger.

Congress, eager to please a dozen big union leaders since 1939 has made it almost impossible for little businessmen to obey the law.

There are 4 million entreprenuers in Amer-

ica and 3,900,000 of these employ only from 1 to 80 persons.

These small businessmen are the backbone of their communities. They are the stable element in a mobile society, and they are proud to provide jobs for families in their neighborhoods.

They collect taxes for the Federal Government, for the State government, and for the city government. They sit up nights preparing figures for Government forms. Many can't get this done at nights, and they come back to the office on Saturdays and Sundays.

They pay out money for an accountant to calculate some of the monthly reports, but they are unable to pay a labor lawyer $20 an hour to be at their elbows day after day.

Every now and then one of them comes to this newspaper. "I am closing up my business and taking a civil service job or one with a big corporation," they say in substance. "I just can't keep up with all the laws."

One Main Street businessman had to surrender his records. The Government agent kept them for 6 months. The merchant worried. He thought about Disraeli who said, "A man can stand only so much uncertainty."

After his term in purgatory was up, the agent returned the records. He gave the merchant a clean bill of health.

Another businessman not far from Main Street also had a visitor. The agent asked for a desk and stayed 13 months. Morale in that office went down. At the end of the period, the agent again gave a good report.

Those two cases involved income taxes and excise collections.

It is harder to comply in other fields, such as public health requirements or on labor clauses. Until a few years ago, Littleton's chief income was derived from small dairies. Then the State government passed laws that drove every one of them out of business. Now we come close to having milk trusts.

This newspaper has had trouble with the Department of Labor for 2 months. When the agent arrived to swoop up our records, we had confidence that we were complying with the minimum wage and overtime laws.

But we didn't know what the bureaucrats in Washington have done.

We were assessed a penalty for our sins. We can pay off this penalty from the profits of 73,000 extra newspaper sales (in a town of 4,900 homes).

What was our mistake?

We made two. The first was in looking upon our staff as members of the family. Some years ago we decided to give about one-third of the monthly profits to the employees. The Department of Labor says you can't use this as an incentive. Washington has its own formula.

For example, employee A, with 20 years of experience, draws $110 a week as a supervisor. Employee B, with 2 years of experience, gets $90. If business thrives and both men work Saturday, Mr. A gets $110 for the week as usual and B gets $117.

All of this makes a bigger profit, and when profit-sharing times comes around, it would seem logical to pay Mr. A 110 units of profit to B's 90.

The bureaucrats in Washington don't let you do that. You must pay A 110 units of profit and B (the beginner) must get 117 units.

For violating this regulation from Washington, we were heavily penalized.

Our second violation concerned monthly wage earners.

Reporters must necessarily keep odd hours. We explain the assignments to them when they are employed. The Department of Labor won't stand for this.

It will allow a newspaper to hire a reporter for $1.25 an hour. If that reporter works 42 hours a week, he is to get $3.75 for the extra 2 hours—making his pay $53.75 for the week.

It is illegal to say, "Joe, we want you to go to one meeting a week and work 2 hours at it, above your regular 8-to-5 job. For this you will get $90 a week."

Joe likes that arrangement, but Washington won't stand for it.

The employer and the employee must both keep timecards. They must become bookkeepers instead of newspapermen. The Department of Labor has given us nine paperback books filled with regulations. They must be studied.

We have asked the Denver office what some of the regulations mean, and we often get evasive answers. One agent told a supervisor that he can't spend more than 20 percent of his time on the phone or reading proof.

The fact is that the Department of Labor can send 10 men to examine our records and they would come up with 10 different reports and 10 different dollar penalties. It's that complicated.

While we were being examined, two retail stores also came under the gun. The Constitution permits Congress to regulate interstate commerce and at present the Department of Labor is only bothering big and medium-size stores, but the agent told us that the little stores will come under the law soon.

Retailers don't consider themselves in interstate commerce. But they'll learn. Maybe they deal with a wholesaler in Denver who buy brassieres in Cincinnati.

This newspaper is primarily local in news and local in circulation. But if a woman asks us to send a paper containing her daughter's wedding to Boise, that makes us interstate commerce.

Our paper sells for 7 cents. If we have to mail it, the price is 10 cents. For this extra 3 cents we get a piece of wrapping paper and a pot of paste. We write the address down just as the fond mother asked us to do. We go to our rubber stamp collection and find the proper stamp to comply with regulations. And we run over to the post office.

That isn't all. The bureaucrats in Washington require that we make a record of this transaction. We must state how much each sheet of the newspaper weighs, to 6 decimal points. We must state what percentage of advertising the paper contains and submit a marked copy of each inch of paper to the post office. We must look up the mileage (907) between Littleton and Boise so that the Government may be informed of the distance we sent the wedding story.

Washington has decreed that we cannot let our newsboys have their newspaper bags at less than cost. Violation of this section can get a newspaper in bad trouble.

Regulations take the time of America's 8,500 newspaper editors who should be devoting their energies to community projects and national problems. The smaller papers are still beyond the clutches of the Department of Labor, but the Department almost got Congress' permission to grab them last month.

The whole emphasis at the Department of Labor is on equality instead of excellence. This is the fashion of the times, an idea that may mean the death of America.

Equal opportunity is one thing, but it should not breed laws that curb the superior individual.

Australia is worse off than we are. It tells a newspaperman what training he must have before he sits down to a typewriter, and the government tells the editor what the man's pay should be (equality rather than excellence). Australia tells the farmer what he must pay the hired man. Our Congress has heard of this regulation, and it plans to bring 1.3 million farmhands under the law.

Many other nations of Western culture have similar redtape regulations, and not a one of them matches our production record or the living standard of the American worker. But just give the Department of Labor a little more leash.

What are the social consequences of the overregulated state?

Such harassment means the slow demise of the small businessman. Most of these entrepreneurs struggle with their own affairs because they enjoy that freedom of decision which is their heritage. They like the challenge of invention and innovating. They must not be beaten into submission. They must be allowed to give jobs to 15 or 20 million Americans, some of them old, sickly, or with IQ's below 90.

Washington and Denver have to do some regulating. Otherwise the American people would be crushed by big business and big labor. But the lawmakers must put restrictions on the zealots in the various bureaus—men who think they alone can create the good society.

Uncle Sam regards anyone with fewer than 500 employees as small business. He should release small business from onerous regulations that tend to discourage solid, enterprising citizens.

If he would but keep his hands off those with 80 or fewer employees, he would give breathing time to 97 percent of the business firms. These firms do less than 20 percent of the Nation's business and would hardly upset any Government standards.

Their continued existence is essential to democratic life in 12,000 American communities.

Coin Hoarding Is Losing Popularity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COMPTON I. WHITE, JR.

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, the national coin shortage, which has reached serious proportions in some areas, has been attributed in large part to coin hoarders and speculators. In my own State of Idaho, bankers and merchants have complained for some time that the coin shortage has made it difficult to transact business. Hoarding has continued despite warnings that it is a profitless practice. An article in Forbes magazine this week sets forth evidence that our coins are now flowing out of the vaults and into the stream of commerce. I certainly hope this is true, and I commend the article to my colleagues:

THE GREAT COIN MADNESS: IT'S MOSTLY OVER NOW, BUT IT HAS LEFT BEHIND MANY FLATTENED POCKETBOOKS

"We've just come through something like 1929 in the stock market," says J. Oliver Amos, the Sidney, Ohio publisher of the coin collector's weekly bible, Coin World.

The return of sanity to the coin world marks the end of a delusion that ranks, in its way, with the 17th century Dutch tulip craze. The early 1960's saw a rage in collecting in which people were persuaded that all modern coins would become scarce. Rolls of coins which were not at all rare rose as much as 100 percent in price in a day, (Forbes, Dec. 15, 1963, p. 28).

THE EASY WAY

Advertisements by get-rich-quick coin dealers used stock-market jargon. Some bucket shop coin dealers were sharp operators who sheared the sheep and then got out fast. But, surprisingly, most of the speculators—as opposed to the long-established coin dealers—were otherwise sane men who were blinded by the vision of making a fortune the easy way. In Houston, a group of

doctors put up about $200,000 to finance a wire service that would give hour-by-hour coin prices to some 200 dealers; in Detroit was another service, also with 200 customers. In Ohio, Democratic ex-Gov. Michael DiSalle became chairman of the Paramount International Coin Co., which sold $1 million in stock in June of 1964.

With some 10 million Americans involved in hoarding at the height of the fever, banks and businesses began to run out of coins. Over 272 million silver dollars, 200 million Kennedy half dollars, and billions of other coins simply disappeared from circulation. The Federal Government stepped into the act by cracking down on bank loans that used coins as collateral, keeping the date 1964 on coins made in 1965 and stopping the sale of proof and mint sets of U.S. coins. But still the hoarding and trading went on, and the prices went up, up, up. A roll of 50 dimes dated 1949 and minted in San Francisco sold for $700.

The crash came last March.

"Suddenly there were all sellers and no buyers," says Jack Friedberg, president of Capital Coins.

Rare-coin specialist Benjamin Stack, of Stack's Coin, who predicted the great coin crash, has little sympathy for any of his fellow dealers who are in trouble. "They cut their own throats and now they're wallowing in their own blood," he says. "Some 15 percent of all coin dealers have gone out of business, and I predict we'll lose another 15 percent by the end of the year."

There were some weird twists. In Arkansas, there was Roger Luker, president of Mercury Life & Accident, a North Little Rock company that was the Nation's only insurance firm to speculate in coins. He was lucky. He unloaded about $35,000 in modern coins 2 months before the crash. But an insurance company speculating in coins?

At August's coin show in Houston, a speculator was boasting that he had dumped $200,000 worth of modern coins before the crash. "I could buy them today for $50,000," he said.

Many regular dealers are in trouble today because they are under-capitalized. Others cannot pay for coins they have already sold on consignment because they invested the money in the sacks of modern coins that dropped so drastically. "Some dealers are bitter and feel taken," says one midwestern numismatist. "They're holding coins that no one wants."

In Detroit, the U.S. Coin Exchange, which operated a price wire service to coin dealers, bought up the rights to the few clients left on the wire service that had been established by the doctors in Houston. But where the two services once had 400 clients, the survivor has only 135. The doctors are trying to recoup in real estate.

"Prices don't jump the way they used to now that the fast-money boys are gone," says James D. Martin, manager of the U.S. Coin Exchange. "We survived the crash because we also deal in rare coins."

Manager Henry G. Spangenberger, of Mike DiSalle's Paramount International, said that the company had "weathered the storm," though it ended its first fiscal year last June 30 with a loss. "We do have coins in our inventory that are not presently salable," he admits. What really hurt Paramount was that the crash also toppled the prices of world proof sets. For example, the 1964 South African proof set dropped from $50 to $22.

A HOBBY AGAIN

There's still action in the coin market, of course, and some dollar-poor foreign governments are aiming their offerings at the American investor. Sierra Leone, Surinam, Zambia, and Malawi are all offering proof sets with high prices and low mintage. The Persian Gulf State of Sharjah just issued its first silver coin—minted in France—bearing an image of John F. Kennedy.

Today, coin collecting has become a hobby again. But the madness has left a permanent gap in coinage: There will never be a U.S. cent dated 1965.

Report on Conditions at Walter Reed Hospital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, immediately upon noting a recent Pearson-Anderson column criticizing conditions at Walter Reed Army Hospital, I requested an investigation by members of the Appropriations Committee staff. A report from Gen. James T. McGibony, Acting Surgeon General, to Mr. Frank Sanders, of the Appropriations Committee staff, is attached for the consideration of the House:

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY,
OFFICE OF THE SURGEON GENERAL,
Washington, D.C., September 29, 1965.

Mr. FRANK SANDERS,
Staff Member, House Appropriations Committee, Rayburn Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SANDERS: The Director of Army Budget has requested that I reply direct to your telephone request of September 27 for the Department of Army comments on the allegations against Walter Reed General Hospital as they appeared in Jack Anderson's column, "The Washington Merry-Go-Round" of September 22, 1965, in the Washington Post.

The following findings extracted from a report of investigation conducted immediately following Mr. Anderson's allegations clearly indicate the actual conditions existing at Walter Reed:

From the type of patients referred to in the article it can be assumed that the wards alluded to by Mr. Anderson were ward 35, an enlisted orthopedic ward (including amputees), and ward 33, a thoracic-cardiac surgery ward.

Ward 35 is a standard 45-bed ward and consists of a 28-bed main area measuring 116 by 24 feet, a completely enclosed 15-bed porch measuring 116 by 11.6 feet, and 2 (1-bed) intensive treatment rooms. Of the 45 patients currently on the ward, only 8 are battle casualties from the Republic of Vietnam. On this ward, only 2 of a total of 21 amputees are battle casualties from the Republic of Vietnam. The ward has one shower, one bathtub, and five wash basins. Since only one-third of the patients are ambulatory, these facilities are adequate. The bathroom is cleaned at least twice daily and more often if required. Soiled hospital clothing is collected in conveniently located hampers and is removed from the ward daily. This ward, like all wards, receives its air conditioning directly from a modern, highly efficient, central plant. The allegation that a corpsman was sleeping on duty or that any patient was unable to obtain assistance cannot be substantiated. Furthermore, any patient can contact the nurse through a bedside electrical call system. The night staffing of this ward is consistent with accepted military and civilian nursing standards.

It can also be assumed that the ward referred to as "officers quarters" is in reality Ward 33, located 2 floors below Ward 35. This is a highly specialized treatment facility for lung and heart surgery cases, both male and female. The nature of the care provided requires that the ward be cubicalized, and that the temperature be kept several degrees cooler than other areas. There are now eight dependents, four enlisted men and one officer patient on this ward.

The interior areas of the hospital are scheduled for painting every 3 years. Ward 35 was painted in 1962 and is scheduled for repainting during the next 9 months. Exterior areas are currently being painted, and may be repainted every 5 years. However, a few of these have not been painted for 15 years because it has not been deemed necessary.

To further refute Mr. Anderson's statement: the front steps of the hospital are made of granite, not marble; the lobby is finished in a conservative buff, not dazzling white; and a hospital always suggests itself by the inevitable odor of antiseptics, alcohol and ether. Walter Reed General Hospital is no exception to the rule. The exposed pipes in some of the basement corridors are part of the air-conditioning system and are at least 7 feet, 6 inches above the floor level.

The battle casualties from the Republic of Vietnam, like all patients entering Army medical facilities, expect and receive the very best care and treatment regardless of rank or station. Their satisfaction with this service is evidenced by the many expressions of gratitude received from patients and their families. Walter Reed General Hospital has attained its prominent position in the world by the dedication of highly trained medical personnel embracing the complete spectrum of health sciences. You may conclude most assuredly, that its present superb standards will be maintained.

Your interest in this matter is appreciated and I trust that this information will assist you.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES T. MCGIBONY,
Brigadier General, MC, the Acting Surgeon General.

Troublemakers at Work as Fall Semester Starts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that decent Americans everywhere including all but a minute fraction of the students at the University of California, were appalled at the actions of left-wing agitators on the Berkeley campus list spring.

Those troublemakers apparently are again hard at work as the fall semester starts, and there is evidence that other agitators are at work on other campuses across the country. I submit, Mr. Speaker, that, should this agitation grow to any extent, it will pose a serious threat to the efficacy of our universities and our entire system of higher learning.

The situation on the Berkeley campus is shockingly described by Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, writ-

ing the Washington Post of September 30. Their article follows:

THE AGONY OF BERKELEY

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

BERKELEY, CALIF.—Almost every noon at sunbaked Sproul Plaza in the heart of the campus here, a leftist agitator harangues students with angry denunciations of President Johnson, the university administration, and the faculty.

What makes this so remarkable is that such oratory is fully sanctioned by the University of California, which even supplies the loudspeaker equipment. It is as though a government were supplying bullets to the revolution.

This typifies the mood of nightmarish carnival prevailing on the Berkeley campus as the fall term begins. Although the new administration here has staved off a recurrence of last term's violent student riots, peace has been bought by giving the student radicals what they want.

The implications are far reaching. The Republicans have a readymade issue in their campaign for Governor next year. Because of Berkeley's national eminence, the radicals' success may be attempted on other campuses—raising the danger that the American university, traditionally nonpolitical, may become a haven for political agitators.

"We were able to withstand 1 year of this," one worried liberal professor told us. "No university can go through another year of this agitation and survive."

To understand what is happening at Berkeley, it is essential to demolish the widely propagated myth of a spontaneous student revolt at Berkeley against mass education and the depersonalized university.

In fact, the student movement is the product of 300 student leftists (including some 30 nonstudents maintaining only the most tenuous connection with the university). But because they can rub the administration's nose in the dirt and get away with it, the radicals get tacit support from a majority of the 27,000 students here.

This radical hard core controls a network of student organizations concerned with both campus affairs and foreign affairs (with a tendency to follow the Chinese Communist line in foreign affairs).

The tone is set on Sproul Plaza with posters that picture the President of the United States over the caption "Lyndon Johnson: Wanted for Murder in Vietnam," and petitions circulated among students pledging them to defy the draft.

Any faculty member bold enough to fight this risks harassment. When liberal professors recently criticized the intemperate stand of one student organization protesting the Vietnam war, they were promptly reviled at the daily noontime harangue.

Professors who had hoped the new administration would crack down this fall have been disappointed.

John Searle, a philosophy professor who loudly encouraged the student radicals last spring, was named liaison officer to the student groups. Moreover, Searle promulgated a new set of rules that includes a loose definition of "student." This definition permits a nonstudent agitator to get a part-time job as a university typist or librarian and still be classified as a student eligible for office in student groups.

More ominous, however, are portents that the agitators are encroaching on academic freedoms. Under the intense pressure from radical professors and students, the university has instituted a 2-year course in social conflicts (though the plan was voted down by the academic senate). Its critics on the faculty describe it as academically unsound and nothing more than a course for social revolution.

It should be added that the new administration does have a general strategy of whittling down student radicals with salami tactics. But the first slice of salami has not yet been cut. Before it is, the taxpayers of California will probably demand that sterner discipline be imposed.

However, time is running out. Distinguished professors are considering leaving here if the situation does not change soon. Simultaneously, professors at other schools who view the university primarily as an instrument of social revolution are attracted here as a bee is to honey.

If this informal faculty transfer assumes mass proportions, the cost to one of America's great universities of its student movement will be high indeed.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the report by Evans and Novak that the University of California has instituted a 2-year course in social conflicts, perhaps the facetious suggested curriculum for the university, which is currently being privately circulated on Capitol Hill, is not so facetious after all.

I trust, Mr. Speaker, that this looney takeover will be stopped in its tracks and that the suggested curriculum, which follows, will be, as intended, merely as a satire on the Berkeley situation:

Suggested curriculum for those entering University of California at Berkeley

FRESHMAN

First semester:	Hours
1. Riot 101	4
2. Insurrection 121	3
3. Russian 102	3
4. Lab.—riot techniques	½
5. Political science	3
Total	13½

Second semester:	
1. Dirty books 101	3
2. Russian 103	3
3. Insurrection 122	3
4. Lab.—mob rule	½
5. Arson techniques	3
Total	12½

SOPHOMORE

First semester:	
1. Personal hygiene (optional) (in minutes)	2
2. Draft dodging (in hours)	4
3. Troop train delaying (in hours)	3
4. Lab. (draft card burning, train track lying) (in hours)	1
5. English composition 110A (picket signs) (in hours)	3
Total	12 hrs., 2 min.

Second semester:	
1. Democracy (in minutes)	2
2. Communism (in hours)	5
3. Civil disobedience (in hours)	3
4. C.D. lab. (sitting, lying, and sleeping-in) (in hours)	1
5. Composition (4-letter words) (in hours)	3
Total	12 hrs., 2 min.

JUNIOR

First semester:	
1. Introduction to free love	5
2. Police car sit-in 331	2
3. Car burning lab	½
4. Beard growing (optional)	4
5. "Pad" fabrication 300	2
Total	13½

Suggested curriculum for those entering University of California at Berkeley—Con.

Second semester:	Hours
1. Sandal mending 302 (in hours)	4
2. Sweatshirt washing (in minutes)	1
3. Barber school (optional) (in minutes)	1
4. Public speaking (in hours)	3
5. Public speaking lab (yelling and shouting) (in hours)	5
Total	12 hrs., 2 min.

SENIOR

First semester:	
1. Job Corps prep. 401	6
2. Seminar (job training for riots)	6
Total	12

Second semester:	
1. Seminar on peaceful demonstration (includes 1 hour on care and handling of deadly weapons)	6
2. Seminar on disrespect for law and order	6
Total	12

POST-GRADUATE STUDY

1. Rules and regulations for understanding welfare and unemployment collection.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Senate passed bills on automotive products agreement between U.S. and Canada and aid for education in health professions.
House passed modified Federal employees pay raise bill.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 24632–24678

Bills Introduced: 8 bills and 1 resolution were introduced, as follows: S. 2577–2584; and S.J. Res. 114.

Page 24642

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows:

H.R. 10238, to provide labor standards for certain persons employed by Federal contractors to furnish services to Federal agencies, with amendment (S. Rept. 798);

H.R. 724, authorizing transfer to the custody of the Attorney General of certain prisoners of the Canal Zone who are U.S. citizens (S. Rept. 799);

H.R. 3045, authorizing military personnel who have served in Vietnam since 1961 to accept decorations from the Government of Vietnam or its allies (S. Rept. 800);

H.R. 5665, authorizing advance of funds to disbursing officers for members of armed forces of friendly foreign nations (S. Rept. 801);

H.R. 7329, to convey to the city of San Diego certain lands owned by the Navy (S. Rept. 802);

H.R. 9047, authorizing the release of zinc from either the national stockpile or the supplemental stockpile, with amendment (S. Rept. 803);

H.R. 9975, authorizing shipment of vehicles owned by deceased or missing military personnel (S. Rept. 804);

H.R. 10234, eliminating requirements for reimbursement among military departments for medical care furnished a member of another department (S. Rept. 805);

H.R. 8310, proposed Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1965, with amendment and with additional views (S. Rept. 806);

H.R. 7484, to provide rank of lieutenant general or vice admiral for military officers serving as Surgeons General, with amendments (S. Rept. 807); and

H.R. 1805, to provide authority for promotion of below-the-zone Naval Reserve captains to the grade of rear admiral, with amendment (S. Rept. 808).

Pages 24632–24633

Bill Referred: One House-passed bill was referred to Committee on Armed Services. Pages 24623–24624

President's Communication—Historical Site: Communication from President transmitting draft of proposed legislation to provide for administration and development of Pennsylvania Avenue as a national historical site, was received, and referred to Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Page 24632

Immigration: H.R. 2580, proposing various amendments to the immigration and nationality laws, was cleared for President's signature when Senate adopted conference report thereon. Pages 24703–24705

Marquette Tercentenary: Vice President appointed Senators Hart, Douglas, Mundt, and Miller to be members of the Father Marquette Tercentenary Commission.

Page 24723

Calendar Call: On call of calendar Senate passed the following seven bills affecting the District of Columbia:

With amendment to be sent back to House:

H.R. 1778, relating to the payment of taxes as a result of removal of condemned buildings within the D.C.;

H.R. 3314, requiring premarital examinations in the D.C.;

H.R. 5597, relieving physicians of liability for medical treatment at the scene of an accident in the D.C.;

H.R. 9985, providing for mandatory reporting by physicians and D.C. institutions of injuries caused by firearms; and

H.R. 10304, providing for mandatory reporting by physicians and institutions in the D.C. of physical abuse of children.

Without amendment and cleared for House:

S. 1314, authorizing D.C. Commissioners to close streets or alleys without complying with certain notice requirements.

With amendment and cleared for House:

S. 1719, to authorize overtime pay for Metropolitan Police, D.C. Fire Department, U.S. Park Police, and White House Police. Pages 24624–24632

Automotive Products: By 54 yeas to 18 nays (motion to reconsider tabled), Senate passed with amendments H.R. 9042, proposed Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965, rejecting by 32 yeas to 43 nays Gore motion to

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Oct 1-Nov 15

Appendix

Remarks by Mr. Feighan During Consideration of Conference Report on Immigration

SPEECH

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FEIGHAN].

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, this conference report is truly and genuinely bipartisan. In all respects it serves the best national interest. Its bipartisanship is reflected in the unanimity by which its basic provisions passed the House Subcommittee on Immigration and the strong vote of confidence given to it by the full Judiciary Committee.

When this subcommittee bill was before the full committee not one single syllable was changed, and I want to commend the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER] who graciously accepted the new immigration bill.

The Senate abandoned consideration of any pending Senate bill and considered solely and adopted the House subcommittee bill with only one major change, namely, placing a ceiling of 120,000 on immigration from independent republics of the Western Hemisphere. It added also other minor provisions which were resolved in conference.

The distinguished gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. MOORE] has stated that the conference changed the composition of the select Commission to study immigration from the Western Hemisphere. Under this conference report, the Commission will consist of five Members of the House, five Members of the Senate, and five members appointed by the President. This change clearly recognizes the primary duty and responsibility of the Congress to regulate immigration into the United States. That congressional responsibility has been affirmed by the Supreme Court in the interstate and foreign commerce decision and which has been reaffirmed many times since. I want to commend the Senate conferees for their acceptance of this change which removes any doubts that responsibility for regulating immigration into the United States rests with the Congress. That fact is restated in the conference report. The responsibility remains in the Congress where it properly belongs.

I would like to pay tribute also to the Members of the House subcommittee for the arduous work they have performed. I would just like to read a pertinent sentence from the Senate report:

> We owe a great debt to the House Immigration Subcommittee and its staff for the creation of this system.

I pay special tribute to the very able and distinguished ranking Republican Member of the House subcommittee, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. MOORE] for the steady and sturdy role that he played in the long and hard struggle to produce this immigration bill. The distinguished Member from Kentucky [Mr. CHELF] gave our work the full benefit of his wisdom gained by 18 years experience as a member of our subcommittee. It has been my pleasure to sit next to him in committee meetings for all those years and I take this opportunity to thank him for his great service in guiding some of our most difficult deliberations to a happy conclusion. I feel the House can take justifiable pride in this bill because its genesis was in the House Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality. One can support this bill on the basis of sound logic and reason, devoid of any emotion.

I urge all Members to support this conference report.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the remainder of my time.

(Mr. FEIGHAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Our American Merchant Marine—The Fourth Arm of Our Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 1, 1965

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, on Wednesday, September 29, 1965, the Washington Propeller Club was privileged to hear from the national commander of the American Legion, L. Eldon James, who delivered an address on the subject of the American merchant marine.

I recommend it very highly. It is an intelligent address on some of the problems confronting the merchant marine and the real necessity to keep what we would like to call an adequate American merchant marine available, not only for commercial purposes but also for purposes of national defense.

Mr. James points out that the merchant marine is, literally, the fourth arm of defense in this country.

I ask unanimous consent to have the address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN ADDRESS BY L. ELDON JAMES, NATIONAL COMMANDER, THE AMERICAN LEGION, BEFORE THE PROPELLER CLUB, IN WASHINGTON, D.C., SEPTEMBER 29, 1965

Summer 1965—in the annals of the American merchant marine—must go down as a summer to remember. It represents a turning point. The public has become aware that our merchant marine—as the fourth arm of our defense—has become and must continue to be our country's man for all seasons—in peace, in war, and during those grey seasons in between. This was the summer of public awareness that the United States has need of a merchant marine every day of every year, in peace as well as in war—of sudden public understanding of how much we rely on that merchant marine—of sudden public interest in whether or not we have enough merchant ships to deliver safely and quickly the men and material necessary to fulfill our defense commitments.

Make no mistake about it: There is a strong tide of public support running today for American shipping, stronger than at any time since the days of World War II. Two unrelated things that were thrust upon us together seemed to mobilize public opinion overnight behind the concept of a strong merchant marine. They were: First, Vietnam and our increased commitment to that cause; and, second, the unfortunate tieup of Atlantic and gulf coast shipping.

Across the land, the events of the summer of 1965 have created great concern in the minds of the American people, concern about preparedness. The organs of opinion focused as never before on the complex problems of the companies that own the vessels, on the men who operate the ships, and on a Government looking to its shipping industry to function on a peacetime and a wartime footing at the same time.

This past summer ships were needed to haul military equipment for the war in Vietnam. At the same time, shipping was required to carry civilian goods across the seas; to carry American exports so vital in our drive to bring dollars back home and stop the flow of gold from our shores. Where there was once silent indifference, we now hear people talk about the need for modern ships—ships of our own ready and waiting to deal with emergency defense situations. Many people now have relatives or friends fighting in Vietnam. Their supply is a matter of growing public interest and concern. The American Legion pledges its best efforts to keep that interest alive.

Clear cut indications of the inadequacy of our merchant fleet, and the fallacy of reliance upon foreign flags were seen this summer in at least two instances in west coast ports where foreign flagships refused to transport vital cargoes bound for Vietnam.

After time-consuming and futile negotiations with foreign ship operators, both cargoes, one from Long Beach, Calif., and another from Tacoma, Wash., finally were shipped aboard new American merchant ships built as a part of a limited vessel replacement program.

Incidents such as these vividly illustrate the need for a strong U.S. merchant marine in readiness. The American Legion's 1965

National Convention in Portland, Oreg., put our organization on record in favor of strenghtening American merchant marine seapower. We passed perhaps the strongest single resolution we have ever adopted with regard to the merchant marine.

We simply cannot send American fighting men overseas to cope with situations such as the one we now face in Vietnam, without a reliable transport system able to carry safely to their destination both the men, and their supplies.

Early this month, I asked the Department of Defense for their views on the status of the merchant marine, and I relay to you portions of the response from Assistant Secretary of Defense, Arthur Sylvester. He said, in part:

"The ability of our merchant marine to respond to defense needs has been clearly demonstrated here. In August, we shipped over 500,000 measurement tons to the general area of southeast Asia. This is in marked contrast to our routine shipments of a little over 100,000 measurement tons per month in the first part of the year."

Mr. Sylvester went on to say: "At our request, the Maritime Administration is reactivating ships from the national defense reserve fleet. The first ships reactivated were loading cargoes within less than 2 weeks of our initial call."

This is encouraging news, but do we really possess the total reserve strength we need to perform any task that may be required?

Of the approximately 100 ships chartered by the Military Sea Transportation Service up to September 15, more than half were subsidized vessels which had been built by private U.S. liner companies under Government contract against just such a day—against just such an emergency. The ships were ready and waiting for rapid conversion from commercial duty to military functions. The Merchant Marine Act, passed in 1936 after bitter lessons from the past, has proven itself a partial, yet true lifesaver in the stormy season of emergency.

Our newer and speedier merchant vessels are even having a favorable effect on military training schedules. Because of the ability of these ships to zip across the Pacific, some of our greener troops have had a chance to keep their combat equipment for a full week longer for training in the States before it was shipped overseas. The extra time is the difference between the speed of the new ships and the older, slower merchant ships. The newer vessels can start a week later and still meet Vietnam arrival dates on time. The additional training time could mean the difference between life and death for some of our fighting men.

How we got around to a Merchant Marine Act in 1936 is a familiar story to this audience. It traces back to 1916 when the U.S. Government looked about in horror and discovered that we had no merchant fleet to cope with the problems of World War I. The Government promptly spent $2½ billion on shipbuilding. A shiny fleet was duly delivered—after the crisis, after the war. These same ships, 2,300 of them, had been built with little or no consideration of how to use them in peacetime. They were not suitable for economic commercial operation, yet they were put into commercial service by the Government in 1920. The results were disastrous. As you know, in 1928 the Government sold its steamship lines to private companies, established essential trade routes, and began subsidy incentive programs by awarding ocean mail contracts. In the midthirties, a famous Senate investigation evaluated this system and its flaws and stressed the overriding importance of a peace and war concept for an American merchant marine—a servant for all seasons. This led directly to the 1936 act and the foundation for a modern cargoliner fleet.

When Pearl Harbor came, the U.S. merchant fleet was in an entirely different position than it was in World War I—for one thing, it existed. Thanks to the act of 1936, 95 vessels had been built by the subsidized lines and they went to war right away. Another bonus of this preparedness was that the shipbuilding program over the 5-year period had developed the skills and oiled the machinery for the almost unbelievable expansion of ship production we needed to win the war.

Frankly, I have a deep personal interest in this subject, not only as the national commander of the American Legion, but as a resident of nearby Hampton, Va., next door neighbor of Newport News, one of America's great shipbuilding and repair centers. On an even more personal note, my service during World War II was with the U.S. Navy.

At Hampton Roads in Newport News we have witnessed the construction of the U.S.S. *Enterprise*, the great nuclear powered aircraft carrier which, incidentally, was just refueled at Newport News. I have a son-in-law who was engaged in this operation. It was a highly intricate operation demanding topnotch scientific and technical skills of the type which America must keep sharpened to the highest degree of efficiency. How can we hope to retain those skills and maintain that efficiently if we allow our seapower to lag?

The SS *United States*, the SS *America* and several submarines of the Polaris class also were built at Newport News on Hampton Roads, and I have more than a passing knowledge of the combined skills that were required to produce vessels of this type. You and I know that America can ill afford to dissipate such talent.

This, of course, is one of the basic considerations behind a separate American Legion resolution adopted by our 1965 national convention, in which we go on record in opposition to the purchase of vessels constructed in foreign shipyards.

When a crisis strikes a nation, no dollar and cents figures can be applied to the state of readiness. You're either ready, or you're not. The 1936 act justified itself, and, from the sounding of the first siren at Pearl Harbor, the American merchant marine established itself as the fourth arm of defense—standing and serving beside the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps.

No one should understand better than this assemblage that the principles of the 1936 act are just as sound and solid in the space age as they were 30 years ago. There is a $4 billion replacement program well underway—shared by private industry and the Government—to give the United States by 1975, 295 new, modern cargoliners. Even now, as far as the program has gone we can claim at least twice as many ships, with a capacity of 20 knots or greater, than the rest of the world put together.

But—this still doesn't answer the need. It is time we approached our maritime policy from the viewpoint that it must be ready in all seasons for the dual function that it must serve—modern, efficient, available—available when needed. There is no question about our need for the world's best army, navy, and air force.

We proudly say we have them—and we do. We have them for a purpose—that purpose is national security—that purpose is national survival. Two hundred years of history—and history as current as yesterday—prove that an American merchant marine in readiness is also vital to our national security and to our international commitments. Yet, aside from the roughly 300 subsidized ships, our merchant marine is a conglomeration of vessels built during World War II—low speed, inefficient, and overaged. These are backed-up by a mothball fleet of about 1,500 ancient ships harbored in rivers and bays waiting for a callup to creak slowly to a shipyard for costly and time-consuming repairs. This is not the kind of tonnage that we should kid ourselves about when comparing our seapower with the Soviets, yet we are doing just that.

Between 1954 and 1960, the U.S. merchant marine decreased 310,000 tons a year while the Soviet Union's fleet increased 450,000 tons annually. In 1961, 1962, and 1963, we dropped 500,000 tons. During the same time, Russia added 1 million tons of vessels of the latest design.

As of February 1, 1965, 612 merchant vessels totaling more than 4 million deadweight tons were on order, or under construction, for the U.S.S.R. As of the same date there were only 44 merchant ships totaling 650,000 deadweight tons on order, or under construction, in U.S. shipyards. As of September 1, this year, the number of merchant ships built in our yards had dropped to 39.

Let's look at it another way. The United States has just been bounced from 9th place into 10th place in world shipbuilding. We're right down there in 10th place, which, in the major leagues, is a cellar dweller. Would any of you care to guess which maritime country managed to ease us out? It was Poland. The Poles have 67 ships under construction at this minute. World shipbuilding is at a record level, but nothing is being done to replace our commercial leftovers of World War II—the tankers, tramps, and bulk carriers. Some defense thinking is that we, the prime power in the world, will charter foreign vessels for this duty. For years a number of voices have been raised to caution our defense leaders that we cannot rely on foreign powers for help during wartime.

None of these voices can speak as eloquently as thousands of tons of material destined for Vietnam piled up on a Long Beach pier and another 10,000 tons partially loaded on a foreign-flag vessel in Tacoma while men of a different nationality, and with no allegiance or ties to our country, decide that they will not carry American goods to Vietnam. Here, my friends, is a picture for every American to etch vividly in his mind. It is a picture that Congress should not forget when it debates maritime matters.

Keeping defense costs down is one thing. It is fine, it is important. But keeping it down by planning foreign charter into our maritime defense is a dangerous and serious gamble. It is one that recent history has proved we can ill afford to take. Let us proceed to build the fleet we need, based on new maritime research and development. And let us appropriate adequate funds to explore the newest types of vessel propulsion, design, and cargo handling techniques.

Our manned space research projects, our communications satellite programs, our lunar landing explorations, planning, and research deserve our resources and our devoted support. Each holds out the promise for future improvement of man's opportunity to advance. The sea is here—now—it will be here tomorrow with all of its mysteries and opportunities. It is reality and we must face realistically its problems and its challenges. Research and development necessary to enable our merchant marine to efficiently contribute to international commerce and national security, also deserves our resources and our devoted support.

Merchant marine research must not take a back seat to other research and development planning.

To be readily available, and to function properly during time of war, ships of the American merchant marine must be fully utilized during time of peace. This calls for cooperative and concentrated support of American cargoliners and passenger vessels by Government and business. We all know how passenger vessels became troop ships in war.

In World War II, because there were no suitable American-flag vessels available for duty, the United States spent more than $100 million to charter the *Queen Elizabeth*

and *Queen Mary* as troop transports. We would hope that this will not become necessary today, or in the future, regardless of the scale of war. The 1936 act has made possible the construction of vessels like the superliner SS *United States*. It can convert quickly from a luxury ship to a 15,000 passenger troop ship. There are other American ships that can become transports too, and which are currently carrying tourists and cargo to ports all around the world.

Incidentally, if in spite of our President's suggestion that we stay at home to help the balance of payment, you are planning to travel abroad, just remember that if you travel on an American ship at least the fare for your passage will remain in the United States.

American ships are vital in our national export expansion campaign to help cut the deficit in our balance of payments. President Johnson through public statement has recognized the key role played by the American merchant marine in our effort to stop the outflow of gold. Our American ships contribute a billion dollars a year toward a favorable balance of trade. Yet, even here, there is much work to be done.

The entire American merchant marine now carries only about 8.3 percent of U.S. waterborne commerce. The rest, 91.7 percent, is strengthening the position of foreign merchant fleets and cuts down enormously our trade balance.

The summer stoppage of U.S. freighters and passenger ships did nothing to improve the situation. It cost the economy dearly and the Legion sympathizes with all concerned—the employers, the employees and the country at large. So vital a defense arm needs labor peace more than almost any other industry. The Legion, through its new mandates concerning the American merchant marine, will urge the Congress, the President, and appropriate executive agencies to: "Utilize all Government and public resources to achieve labor peace which is essential to the very survival of the American-flag fleet."

Strong support of the American merchant marine is not a new position with the American Legion—quite the contrary. Listen to this quotation from the report of our naval affairs committee to our 1921 national convention:

"We believe * * * that the growth, maintenance, and prosperity of American shipping must be close to the heart of every patriotic American citizen. The American Legion heartily subscribes to the motto 'Keep the Stars and Stripes on the seven seas.' The preamble to our Constitution pledges us to God and country, and an adequate merchant marine is a national asset in peace and a necessary weapon in war."

Thus, the position of the American Legion that we need a strong merchant marine is no "Johnny-come-lately" stand. The foresightedness of the American Legion was demonstrated by this action taken a full 15 years prior to the act of 1936. The merchant marine resolution adopted by our 1965 national convention is simply the latest expression of studied concern for our merchant marine strength—a concern which spans four and one-half decades.

You have copies of the new 12-point Legion program at your tables. I have touched on most of these points. The Legion's primary concern is to assure the appropriation of adequate funds to enable the industry and Government to proceed with an accelerated vessel replacement program so that we may turn back the challenge of the Soviet Union for the supremacy and domination of seaborne commerce. In short, we want the assurance that our ships will be there in every season when they are needed, both for national security purposes and for our self-reliance—self-reliance as the world's greatest industrial nation, a nation with a mighty stake in world commerce.

A decade ago it was Korea that emphasized the need. Today it is Vietnam. Tomorrow—we would all hope for a just and lasting peace—but we must be prepared should we fail to find it. Man and material from our country have been transported overseas to fight brush fires over and over again. In times of emergency the merchant marine is the means by which the fire brigade gets where it needs to be. This Nation must have a strong American merchant marine. We must always have the capability to meet any challenge that may confront us, in the air, yes; on land, yes indeed, and on the sea with a merchant marine ready—to go in all seasons—in any emergency.

We who share concern for this vital fourth arm of our defense must work together to make it so, remembering the lessons of history and the teachings of the summer of 1965.

Great Society Planners Put Packers in a Pickle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 1, 1965

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial in the Detroit Free Press on September 28 on the sad plight of the Michigan cucumber farmer speaks for itself and needs no elaboration:

GREAT SOCIETY PLANNERS PUT PACKERS IN A PICKLE

For Michigan farmers who raise the cucumbers that wind up in pickle jars, the Great Society has failed to come off.

The year has been one of frustrations, discouragement, curtailed earnings, and a plowing under of dead loss cucumber fields. Only a few made out.

In its wisdom, the Great Society had decided that thousands of Americans—youths particularly—were being deprived of yearned-for employment by braceros.

Braceros are Mexican migrants who in the past have come north each summer to help get in the crops. Now they are barred by law.

But something turned out to be wrong with the Great Society's crystal ball. Few were yearning for the arduous labor done by the bracero picklepicker. There was no swarming to the fields.

Recruiting was a disappointment. Many recruits quickly vamoosed, while others thought up ways of evading a day's work for a day's pay.

These aren't to be blamed too much. Harvesting pickles is back-breaking labor. Only those born to such work stay with it.

One labor office functionary has put the blame on the attitude of growers, but that overlooks the blame which lies with the cucumber itself. It grows close to the ground in large, unshaded fields. Also, it has to be harvested quickly before it grows larger than a pickle ought to be.

Americans, in the main, aren't adapted to bending over all day under a hot sun—and probably this speaks well for the economy in which we live. There are, however, some exceptions. Cucumber picking is one of them.

If the Great Society weren't so dedicated to dogmatic theory the exceptions would be understood and people such as cucumber growers wouldn't get sold short by planners.

Now, it seems, time will take care of the troubles. According to William R. Moore of Pickle Packers International, Inc., efforts to breed a new variety of cucumber are being pushed.

It will, hopefully produce a great many more pickle-size cucumbers simultaneously, and mechanical harvesters can be used instead of human labor.

This won't be what the Great Society had in mind. There won't be jobs for anyone—braceros or otherwise. But that's the way the pickle packs when planners don't look into the facts.

A Salute to Guinea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 1, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on October 2, the Republic of Guinea will celebrate the seventh anniversary of her independence. On this memorable occasion, we wish to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Sékou Touré, the President of Guinea; and to His Excellency Karim Bangoura, the Guinea Ambassador to the United States.

It is indicative of Guinea's interest in becoming an important part of the world community that a little more than 2 months after she became independent she became a member of the United Nations, on December 12, 1958. In May of 1963, Guinea became a charter member of the Organization of African Unity and has played an important and significant role in this organization.

Guinea is partial heir to a series of great African empires, which at their height influenced tribal groups over a wide area. The leaders of Guinea have encouraged their people to take pride in their great historical traditions. Guinea also benefits from the fact that, although Europeans held the high administrative posts until after World War II, Africans occupied some of the other posts in the government as early as 1900. Colonial reforms after the war gradually reduced the responsibilities of the federal administration and placed more political responsibility in the hands of Africans at the local level. These reforms were in part the result of the constructive nationalist pressures exerted by the educated Guinean groups which returned to Africa after the war.

Guinea has excellent economic possibilities. She possesses over one-quarter of the world's supply of bauxite reserves along with significant deposits of iron ore, gold, and diamonds. Guinea also has great potential for hydroelectric power and a very promising agricultural economy. The Guinean Government is involved in economic planning but it has also been quite successful in encouraging private foreign investment. Most of the private capital remained in the country when independence came and a new effort is now being made by the Government to attract new industries. A private investment law was enacted in April 1962 and investment-guarantee agreements were concluded with West Ger-

many, the United States, and Switzerland.

The United States and Guinea enjoy close and friendly relations. The United States is providing economic assistance as well as agricultural surpluses for this promising independent country. On this occasion we wish to congratulate this young, dynamic nation.

"Nothing in Life Is To Be Feared—It Is Only To Be Understood"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very interesting article about our youth by Juliana Huszonek, which appeared in the October 2, 1965, issue of the Polish American Journal:

"NOTHING IN LIFE IS TO BE FEARED—IT IS ONLY TO BE UNDERSTOOD"

(By Juliana Huszonek)

If it were in my power to bestow just one gift upon my fellow Polish Americans, I would unhesitatingly grant them the priceless gift of a curious, eternally exploring mind—a mind thirsty for education, for knowledge—a mind with an immense desire to learn—to comprehend—to solve nature's riddles and life's complexities—a mind contemptuous of the shoddy, the trivial, the unimportant distractions which beguile and waste the time of the dull mediocrities. A mind keenly aware of the challenge of life is not as prone to stagnation, even in old age, as the sluggish mentality.

This gift of an inquisitive intellect would be the key to the future happiness of the individual and, in turn, would become a boon to mankind because an educated mind is a productive mind—it has a sense of values—it is character in focus.

Fortunate is the child whose parents have a sense of values, who maintain standards of good behavior and educational goals for their offspring. It is very difficult for teenagers to resist the pull of gravity. It is so much easier to coast along with the crowd, to like the same things, to jeer at the same things. But crowds and mobs do not as a rule advance civilization nor do they contribute to the various fields of human endeavor in any worthwhile way. Unthinking crowds often become puppets in the hands of a manipulator who pulls the strings for the advancement of his own power and prestige. However, it is not surprising that our youth imitates and idolizes so-called glamorous personalities in glamorous clothes when one realizes that our newsstands are covered with periodicals which emphasize with monotonous regularity the irregular activities of notorious neurotics.

Parents, schools, and group leaders should take time to point out that all these publicized nonentities will be thrown into the trash heap of oblivion once they have served their purpose of engaging the public's temporary interest in them. Even though the youngsters may not agree with the viewpoint expressed, it needs to be said, and it is possible that the seed of understanding may slowly take root in their minds although it may appear to have fallen on stony ground.

Our youth should be shown how to separate the wheat from the chaff. It must be brought to their attention that during the lifetimes of people like Marie Sklodowska Curie and Abraham Lincoln the press was highlighting the fashionable doings of glittering personalities. Can anyone recall their names offhand? No, of course not. But the names of Abraham Lincoln and Marie Curie are household words.

One important fact stands out starkly in the lives of the scientific genius, Marie Curie, who happened to be a beautiful woman, and the great President, who happened to be a homely man—strength of character. Marie Curie's indomitable will and dedication to her work in the face of heart- and health-breaking hardships made possible her great discoveries while Abraham Lincoln, overcoming poverty and lack of schooling, rose to the Presidency of the United States where he had to make the decision to preserve the Union regardless of the cost. They both served the cause of humanity, each in his own way. It is dedicated people like these who are untouched by the blight of uncreative lives which in our day leads to increased incidence of alcoholism, juvenile delinquency, broken marriages, and moral decay.

We must do everything in our power to strengthen the physical and moral fiber of our youth by arming them with standards of integrity, industry, and intellectual curiosity geared to the philosophy of service to mankind. We can then be proud of the fruits of our culture and unafraid that our youth will succumb to the blandishments or threats of an enslaving ideology. Then we will be able to repeat Marie Sklodowska Curie's courageous words: "Nothing in life is to be feared. It is only to be understood."

A Billion a Year in Oceanics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, on September 20, 1965, this body considered and passed S. 944, the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1965. The legislation would establish a National Oceanographic Council to coordinate and expand our research and development program in the field of marine resources. While it is a comprehensive bill that is capable of meeting the research and administrative needs of a full-scale program, it has been tardy in coming. It is late, and we cannot afford to dally if we are to continue to maintain our role of leadership in marine exploitations. Speed must necessarily characterize the implementation of S. 944. We must make immediate use of all of our existing resources.

I am proud to point out that the Hawaiian archipelago has many of the needed resources to meet the challenge of just such a crash program. As I stated on this floor when S. 944 was being debated, Hawaii has the climate, the location, the industries, the research facilities, and the scientists to help meet the challenge of rapid expansion and development of our marine resources.

Mr. Taylor A. Pryor, who heads the nonprofit Oceanic Foundation in Hawaii, recently presented some convincing scientific reasons which support the contention that Hawaii is the natural center for oceanic studies. One of his arguments is that our islands have "routine access to great depths," which is an important requirement for deep sea research.

I submit for inclusion in the RECORD a related article by Mr. A. A. Smyser, managing editor of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin. The article, which appeared in the September 18, 1965, issue of the daily, includes Mr. Pryor's enumeration of all the potentialities that Hawaii has to offer in our national marine resources development effort:

A BILLION A YEAR IN OCEANICS

(By A. A. Smyser)

There's a man who thinks he sees a $1-billion-a-year new industry in Hawaii's future.

That's more dollars than Hawaii now gets from sugar, pineapple, tourism and military spending combined.

The ebb and flow of sources of Hawaii's wealth has been one of the major characteristics of its history.

A century ago, the community turned on whaling, now a dead industry. Before that it was sandalwood, soon lumbered to death.

Then came sugar and pineapple—both now considered near their maximum growth potential.

Then came the mighty military dollar—the most bountiful dollar source of all, but one that creates uneasiness since it sooner or later should taper off.

Tourism is today the principal growth element in the economy, and the end is not in sight, but neither is it yet the equal of military spending.

If Taylor A. Pryor is right Hawaii has a chance for even bigger things in oceanics.

Pryor is young enough (34) to be dismissed as a dreamer, but successful enough, determined enough and equipped with the kind of background to be taken seriously.

It was only because of his singlemindedness that Sea Life Park exists today and this $2 million venture has reached the break-even point in 2 years.

It also puts an automatic 10 percent of its gross into a nonprofit parent, the Oceanic Foundation. This should mean an endowment of more than $4 million for the foundation in the next 20 years.

"Don't say that I'm predicting a $1 billion oceanics industry for Hawaii," Pryor said this week, "but say that Hawaii can reasonably hope for a $1 billion oceanics industry if it goes after it aggressively."

Some people say, he notes, that Cleveland could have been the hub of the auto industry, but it muffed its chance. Detroit became the auto capital.

Pryor sees Hawaii as capable of playing the role in oceanics that either Cape Kennedy or Houston plays in the space program.

He thinks a $500 million-a-year level in expenditures here is within reach in the next 10 years, and $1 billion a year over a longer pull.

Follow along with his reasoning:

The world below the surface of the oceans is more unknown and more alien to man today than outer space.

America today is spending $5 billion a year on space research.

Present spending on the other alien environment—the underocean—is small, but there are evidences that interest is growing.

A 1964 publication of the National Academy of Sciences and the National Research Council attempted to assess the benefits from oceanographic research.

It came up with the estimate that $165 million a year, not counting funds for national defense, could bring savings of $3 billion a year plus added annual production worth almost as much.

Space research offers few clear economic benefits other than the activity generated by the program itself.

Oceanography, on the other hand, has a clear economic potential for the Nation.

The study mentioned above enumerates potential benefits in these categories: Increases in fisheries production, marine minerals, marine recreation, ocean shipping, long-range weather forecasting, sewage disposal, international cooperation, oceanography for defense.

It studies costs and potential benefits in each category, and identifies oceanography as a challenge with the very real hope of a big payoff for those who partake.

In practical elaboration on this, the report cites the possibilities of big savings from routing ships to avoid storms, from developing reliable long-range weather forecasts that could predict storms and droughts, from designing ship hulls that would speed voyages, from increasing the world's food supply by tapping the ocean's protein, from milling the rich ocean beds of manganese and phosphate, or of adding to U.S. oil reserves by learning to tap offshore deposits.

These are all in addition to the tremendous military potential of the deep ocean and of being first in mastery of its offensive and defensive possibilities.

Pryor thinks the vehicles can be designed now by which men can move routinely back and forth to 18,000 feet to work, test, study, and experiment. He has a sketch of a glass bubble, motor-propelled sled, which could simply drive along the downhill ocean floor off Waimanalo to 18,000 feet and then back again with no surface support system.

It would use fuel cells like those in Gemini 5, and the comparability of man space and oceanic problems is one reason Pryor wants an aerospace firm to be part of any local undertaking.

He and Lockheed have in common an oceanics adviser—Andre Galerne—who agrees with Pryor that Hawaii is one of the ideal places in the world for oceanic research.

Pryor quotes George T. Schraffenberger, senior vice president of Litton Industries, as saying: "Within 10 years, the annual oceanographic market will be about $5 billion, approximately the current annual budget of the National Aeronautic and Space Administration."

Pryor adds his own estimate that as the Cape Kennedy or Houston of the oceanographic program, Hawaii could claim from 10 to 20 percent of this—or from $500 million to $1 billion a year.

Why Hawaii?

Simply because Hawaii is the best place in the United States to base such a program. Pryor says—"if these islands weren't here, someone would have to build them."

Hawaii lies in the middle of the world's biggest ocean.

It offers clear, warm waters year round and relative freedom from storms.

Put another way, it offers "routine access to great depths," a phrase Pryor is prone to repeat as he points out that the U.S. east and west coasts are handicapped by murky, cold waters and several hundred miles of Continental Shelf between them and the greatest ocean depths.

For a permanent operations base, Pryor sees no place better for the United States than Hawaii.

"This is a matter of man learning how to work and operate in an alien environment," he says, "and Hawaii offers the approaches that are least alien and most accessible."

He sees Hawaii's near-in 18,000-depths as particularly important.

Some persons, he said, will favor developing equipment to first work in depths of only 1,000 to 2,000 feet. He recalls the story of Admiral Rickover when the nuclear submarine powerplant was being developed. Rickover insisted the plant be built in a space no bigger than would be allowed on the submarine. Others argued for an initial plant of unlimited size.

Rickover argued it was important to face the critical problems of size from the outset, prevailed, and cut several years off the development time of the nuclear sub.

Similarly, says Pryor, oceanographers should face from the beginning the problems of the 18,000-foot depths that prevail in most of the world's oceans.

Pryor's Oceanic Foundation is now bidding for its own small initial role in oceanics.

Its research programs with porpoises are already well-known. Its combined Government and private industry contracts for 1965 have passed the half-million dollar mark.

Pryor now is trying to get a minimum of five major companies to contribute $20,000 each for a cooperative undersea research effort off the Sea Life Park complex that will build manned underwater stations down to a depth of 600 feet.

This is the Continental Shelf depth—a level which is now the target of many preliminary research programs in other areas.

Hawaii, Pryor points out, has the added advantage of having these depths within arm's reach as well as being close to the greater 18,000-foot depths.

For his Continental Shelf project he has three firms pretty well committed and five more interested, for a total of eight. They span the areas of electronics, chemicals and gas, aerospace, steel, aluminum, petroleum, mining, and food.

His concept is that each firm will have the right to withdraw after the first participation if it is not encouraged by the results, but he hopes that this will prove to be the critical mass from which far more ambitious programs will spring.

Nowhere else, he points out, is an effort being made to bring industry together for cooperative work of this type.

Yet the industries he enumerates all have a potential role in oceanics and many of the basic techniques are things they would use in common.

Pryor would place instruments under the sea and check instruments ashore at the Oceanics Foundation adjoining Sea Life Park.

The two systems would work together and check each other. Men would move routinely from lab to sea and back again.

If Jacques-Yves Cousteau's undersea village in the Red Sea ran into trouble, he had to go back to France for parts. Pryor's men will need to go no farther than Honolulu Iron Works or Kapalama Shipyard.

The naval facility at Pearl Harbor, the growing strength of the University of Hawaii, and the commercial know-how of Hawaii's big firms will all be on tap.

Electronics removes communication with the mainland of worldwide facilities from the problem area.

Will Hawaii realize this potential?

Pryor is sure it can.

He is sure it can help speed up the national breakthrough into oceanics if it is aggressive in business and in politics.

Aggressiveness is what brought the NASA center to Houston, and he suggests Hawaii match it.

"I still don't see a coordinated awareness of all the forces we have here," he says, "and of how we can do it vastly quicker and vastly greater by all working together.

"But I know we can do it. I think it is our greatest opportunity today."

Federal Pay Bill

SPEECH

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10281) to adjust the rates of basic compensation of certain officers and employees in the Federal Government, to establish the Federal Salary Review Commission, and for other purposes.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, the 1st session of the 89th Congress must not adjourn without acting on the most important item of Federal personnel legislation that has been introduced this year.

I am, of course, referring to H.R. 10281, the Federal pay raise bill. Actually, this legislation is much more than just a pay bill. It would enact into law several new policies regarding Federal compensation that would move us a long step closer to the goal we all want—making the Federal Government a model employer.

Among the most important of these innovations are the idea of severance pay for employees who lose their jobs through no fault of their own before they are eligible for retirement benefits and the creation of a Federal Salary Review Commission.

The tasks of this Commission would be, first, to review congressional, judicial, and Federal executive salaries with the idea of sustaining them at an equitable level and in an appropriate relationship to pay rates under the Classification Act. Second, a major function of the Commission would be to review the structures, principles, and interrelationships of the statutory salary systems under which Federal employees are paid.

It would be on the basis of the Commission's findings and reports that the President would make his salary recommendations to Congress.

The primary purpose of this legislation, in the words of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee report accompanying the bill, is "to honor—through moderate but timely and meaningful salary adjustments—the pledges made by the committee, by the Congress, and by two Presidents of the United States that Federal salary rates shall be comparable with those paid by private enterprise for the same levels of work."

The comparability principle, one of the most enlightened statements of congressional pay policy ever written into Federal law, was incorporated in the 1962 pay law. It is, however, just a statement of policy. Pay adjustments to assure comparability are not made automatically. The economic data are provided by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, but Congress must still enact legislation to put the raises into effect.

Complete comparability between Federal compensation and salaries in the private economy has proved an elusive goal. We moved toward it with a two-phase increase in the 1962 pay law, the second increment becoming effective in

January 1964, and with the pay law enacted in August 1964.

Nevertheless, statistics on the economy and other indicators leave no doubt that our classified and postal employees are still not receiving salaries commensurate with those being paid by business and industry for work of approximately the same level of difficulty and responsibility.

As President Johnson said in his pay message of May 12, 1965:

> We do not have two standards of what makes a good employer in the United States: One standard for private enterprise and another for the Government. A double standard which puts the Government employee at a compartive disadvantage is shortsighted. In the long run, it costs more.

If we are to continue to work toward the removal of this double standard, if we are to assure classified and postal employees of the income they need and deserve for the services they render, we must enact H.R. 10281 into law.

This bill, like the 1962 pay law, calls for two salary adjustments. The first would become effective this October; the second, about a year from now. Its passage would bring virtually complete comparability to the lower Federal and postal salaries, whereas pay for middle and upper levels would relate to private enterprise rates of a year or 18 months ago.

This may not be perfection, but certainly it is progress.

In addition to pay raises, severance pay, and the Federal Salary Review Commission, the bill would make other substantial improvements in personnel management. For classified employees it would, just to mention two points, permit appeal from unfavorable "acceptable level of competence" rulings and establish a more liberal overtime pay schedule.

For postal workers certain inequities that have arisen in regard to seniority would be straightened out, overtime and holiday pay provisions would be modernized, and relocation and uniform allowances would be liberalized.

The responsibility for the welfare and just treatment of every employee of the Federal Government rests squarely on Congress. H.R. 10281 is a good bill, and by passing it, Congress will have discharged this responsibility.

Republic of Guinea Marks 7 Years of Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 1, 1965

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow will mark 7 years of independence for the Republic of Guinea. On October 2, 1958, the overseas territory of French Guinea became an independent republic. Guinea became a member of the United Nations on December 12, 1958, and is a charter member of the Organization of African Unity.

Mr. Speaker, on this occasion, I want to extend my congratulations and best wishes to the people of the Republic of Guinea and to their President, Sékou Touré.

A Salute to Nigeria

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 1, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker today marks the fifth anniversary of the independence of Nigeria. On this grand occasion, we wish to extend warm felicitations to the President of Nigeria, His Excellency Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe; and to the Prime Minister of Nigeria, His Excellency Sir Abubabar Tafawa Balewa.

Five years ago today a remarkable, 200-year interaction of religious, economic and political currents culminated in the birth of a nation. When the first English ship dropped anchor at the mouth of the Niger River in the 17th century the area was already known among Europeans as the Slave Coast. The peoples that the English encountered on the coast, and later inland, called themselves Beni, Ibo, Yoruba, Hausa, and Fulani. Some were village folk dwelling in lush, tropical rain forests; others were nomads taking their livelihood from arid lands of thorn scrub; all shared the heritage of warfare perpetrated each upon the other. The great diversity of climate, vegetation, custom and language persists to the present but, of it all, through the instrument of federal democracy, has been built the single, young and vigorous nation we know as Nigeria.

Now, in retrospect, we are able to see that four major historical forces have been at work through the years bringing the sinew and spirit of nationhood to the people now called Nigerians. Islam was the first of these. At the turn of the 19th century the great Fulani holy war knit together the northern lands of the Hausa, Gwari, Nupe, and Jukun under a common Koranic law. The Fulani spread the Arabic language and the Islamic culture; they brought the concept of cosmopolitan state with criteria of inclusion far beyond those of kith, kin and locality.

Even as the Fulani Holy War was in progress, in London's distant parliamentary halls, the slave trade was outlawed. The ensuing years found former slaves who had labored in Europe, the West Indies, Brazil, and Sierra Leone settling in the Niger Delta. They brought with them useful trades, new skills, a different horizon of expectations, a deep respect for learning, and they brought Christianity. The worldly newcomers and returnees in time formed a new middle class which sent its sons to learn from the missionaries who came from Europe and America. Slavery, for all its ills, had destroyed localism in these men; they had broad, regional views, were unafraid to travel and were anxious to trade and spread their Christian ethic.

In the last quarter of the 19th century England's traders and soldiers gradually spread a colonial administration from the coast into the uplands and finally established the rough boundaries of the present nation. The Britons partook freely of the area's wealth but they brought many of the essentials for the future building of an independent and viable nation. Rails, roads, telegraph, a standard time, a unified system of administration, a common rule of law, a trained civil service and the idea of a Nigerian political entity, these were the heritage left by Imperial England.

But to administer and to govern are two very different things. Following World War II a constitutional council held under British auspices for the first time provided Nigerian political thinkers and native administrators from all areas with the opportunity to meet as countrymen and attempt the hammering out of broad, governmental rules of a national scope. It was a heady and challenging experience and the Nigerian nationalist movement has grown rapidly in size, depth and maturity from that time to the present. The 1947 constitution was followed by numerous revisions which drew nationwide attention, brought a sharp awareness of common interests and problems to villages the length and breadth of the land, led to the building of multiple political parties and culminated in a series of nationwide elections based upon expanding suffrage. Nigerian leaders were rapidly learning political skills to match their administrative abilities.

The nationalist writers and activists realized the fruition of part of their dream on October 1, 5 years ago when their land became a free and independent country. But nation-building does not stop with the attainment of nationhood. Sound, vigorous programs have been undertaken in education, public health, economic diversification and the attraction of foreign investment. Statesmanly adjustment of the political structure within the concept of democratic federalism has been instituted when need for it was discovered. Crises have been met calmly and competently overcome. And among the diverse peoples of Nigeria, the idea of Nigerian identity, and the idea of a Nigerian place and purpose in the affairs of the world grows with each passing year.

Let us then salute this new nation for the accomplishments of its first 5 years and warmly wish it well in the decades to come.

Voting Is a Key to the Progress of the Negro

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES P. FARNSLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 1, 1965

Mr. FARNSLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the Courier-Journal,

67 354 K A 30

Louisville, Ky., on Tuesday, August 24:

VOTING IS KEY TO THE PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO

Negro voter registration in the South has not been spectacular since the new voting-rights law took effect some 3 weeks ago. But it has been significant, for the effort has been concentrated in "hard-core" counties where resistance to Negro voting has been strong and effective.

An Associated Press roundup estimates that for the summer Negro registration in the South was something below 100,000. In terms of the more than 2.5 million Negroes of voting age who are unregistered this is not an impressive figure. However, the new voting rights law has been in effect only a short time, and even in the best of circumstances apathy is a constant factor.

Nevertheless, increased Negro registration in the 11 States of the old Confederacy is inevitable. The question is whether it will be substantial enough in some States—Alabama, for example—to have any meaningful effect on elections next year.

The success of voter drives by civil rights groups prior to the presidential election last year made a difference. Returns showed that the Negro vote was responsible for victory for the Johnson ticket in five southern States—Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia. The Republican candidate won in southern States where fewer than 45 percent of eligible Negroes were registered.

One problem voter-registration leaders face is convincing poorer Negroes in the South that the ballot can make a difference in their lives. Many of them are skeptical, just as are their counterparts in the depressed Negro areas of the North. Yet effective use of the vote can be the key to the elimination of diehard resistance to desegregation in the South and to action to benefit Negroes everywhere in the country.

A Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch

SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. Speaker, I have today joined a number of my colleagues in introducing a bill to establish a bipartisan study commission to make a comprehensive review of executive branch operations and report to Congress its recommendations for changes and reform.

The legislation would create a 14-member blue-ribbon Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch similar to the two Hoover Commissions created during the Eisenhower and Truman administrations. It would instruct the Commission to find ways to promote economy, efficiency and improved service in the transaction of the public business throughout the executive branch.

Members of the Commission would include six Presidential appointees—two Governors, two from the executive branch and two citizens from private life; four appointed by the Senate President pro tempore—two Senators and two private citizens; and four appointed by the House Speaker—two Congressmen and two private citizens. At least one of the Governors, one of the Congressmen and one of the Senators would be from each of the two major political parties.

The Commission would submit its first comprehensive report to Congress 1 year after enactment of the proposed legislation and would submit its final report a year later.

Its duties would include:

Defining responsibilities of the various executive branch officials and departments; consolidating services and functions of a duplicate or similar nature and abolishing those not necessary to efficient conduct of Government; and recommended procedures for reducing expenditures to the lowest amount consistent with efficient performance of essential services.

In addition, unlike the two Hoover Commissions, the Commission proposed in the Schweiker bill would be charged with recommending ways to expedite coordination of programs in areas such as urban affairs, natural resources, and transportation, and recommending ways to improve communication and liaison within the executive branch, between the executive and legislative branches, and between the Federal Government and appropriate State and local governments.

Mr. Speaker, more than 10 years have passed since the last comprehensive review of the executive branch. The tremendous growth of Federal activities in the past decade is but one of several compelling reasons for prompt creation of this special Commission to scrutinize the executive branch and help Congress make certain the American taxpayer is getting his money's worth from our Government.

I commend the distinguished gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MATHIAS] for his leading role in the effort to gain passage of this legislation and I urge my colleagues to support its prompt enactment.

The Real Alabama—Part LXIX

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 1, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, an emphasis on research is an important key to Alabama's industrial expansion. Some of the ways the State is engaged in research activities are described in the following article taken from the Birmingham News of August 22, 1965:

YOU TRY AND TRY, AND THEN YOU TRY AGAIN

Research, whether it be a search for ways to cure mankind's ills, refine a metal or a bolt of cloth, make a wheel turn faster, or pour a miracle from a test tube, is mostly brick-by-brick drudgery.

Natural resources, manpower, and mere structures are of little value to industry without the all-important knowledge which comes from research.

To the lasting benefit of the State and to the people who choose to settle here, Alabama has the human and scientific tools which are the catalyst that turns careful drudgery into exciting progress.

Recognizing her place of importance in the industrial world, Alabama has heeded the call to take part in the research boom which has overtaken the mid-20th century.

Heading the list of research-oriented facilities in the State are Southern Research Institute at Birmingham; Engineering Experiment Station, Auburn Research Foundation, and Water Resources Research Institute at Auburn University; and University of Alabama Research Institute and the Industrial Research Park at Huntsville.

A Southern Research Institute staff of 435 worked in a $5 million laboratory complex near downtown Birmingham on 200 different projects in 1964. Total research volume reached the $4.5 million mark.

Scientists with backgrounds in chemistry, biology, physics, engineering, metallurgy, and economics applied their talents to help industrialists develop a new process or product, solve a vexing problem and improve their technical capabilities.

Institute staff members are always available for exploratory discussions with industrialists on problems and goals which may require research.

When these discussions indicate that the Institute can contribute to the effort, a written proposal is submitted to the prospective sponsor.

If the sponsor wishes to support the project financially; all information developed in the course of the research becomes the property of the sponsor.

Sponsors include many of the largest industries in the United States, as well as hundreds of small and medium-size businesses.

Another large portion of the Institute's work is done under contracts with numerous Government agencies, such as National Aeronautics and Space Administration, National Institutes of Health, Atomic Energy Commission, and the military services.

Foundations, health organizations, and individuals also sponsor research at SRI: a 20-year-old operation.

Specific examples of current research include:

Textiles: Development of polymers for use in fibers, spinning on the Institute's complete experimental equipment, evaluation of additives and establishing best processing conditions.

Metals and ceramic materials: Evaluating materials for specific uses ranging from rocket casings to structural beams at temperatures ranging from −320° F. to 6,500° F., development of new alloys, determining best casting, rolling and heat-treatment techniques.

Economics: Market studies of new processes and products, evaluation of new business venture, long-term potentials for raw material reserves.

Instruments: Design and development of devices to measure properties of brittle fibers, to determine the temperature of portions of the moon's surface, to accurately count and record the size and number of particles in the air, to measure the heat generated inside the engines of Saturn space vehicles, and to automate and improve production lines.

Drugs: Research on anticancer and antivirus drugs, including basic studies of normal and cancer cells, synthesis of new drugs, and evaluation of drugs in laboratory animals.

Water treatment: Development of coagulating agents for purifying water or treating waste streams; design and development of units for removing salts from sea water or brackish inland waters.

Chemicals: Development of processes for making chemicals from low-cost raw materials, elimination of unwanted contami-

nants from chemical plants, improvement of consumer products.

At Auburn University, three research endeavors are currently fitting prominently into the State's industrial picture—the 35-year-old engineering experiment station, Auburn Research Foundation and the newly created water resources research institute.

The engineering experiment station, which had 19 active research projects during the past fiscal year, conducts basic and applied research in all fields of engineering with emphasis on projects offering opportunities to help foster and develop industries in Alabama.

The station handles continuing programs such as those in civil engineering, where research supports Alabama's multimillion-dollar road building industry.

Nigeria's Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 1, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, with an estimated 55 million persons, Nigeria is the most populous nation in Africa. It is a large country—bigger than Texas and Oklahoma combined—and its people, like those of the United States, come from a wide variety of backgrounds. Despite their cultural diversity, however, the Hausa and Fulani of the arid north, the Ibo of the east, and the Yoruba of the subtropical west are joining with hundreds of different ethnic groups in forging a strong and united society.

Devoted to the rule of law and respect for individual freedom and dignity, Nigeria is making tremendous strides in developing a healthy and growing economy. With a gross national product of over $4 billion, an economy growing at a rate of over 4 percent per year, and what appear to be considerable reserves of petroleum and natural gas, Nigeria bids fair to become one of the new economic giants of Africa.

We in the United States are proud to be associated with Nigeria as it devotes itself to the great task of nation building. When Nigeria received its independence in October 1960, we pledged ourselves to assist the new nation to the extent of $225 million during the 6 years of its first development plan. With the 1962–68 plan period now half over, a visitor to Nigeria can see the tremendous strides being made throughout the nation. From northern Nigeria's humming textile mills and vast groundnut—peanut—plantations to the oil drilling rigs in the eastern section of the country and the west's rolling cocoa farms and industrial estates, development is to be seen everywhere. The huge Niger dam complex at Kainji is rising on one of Africa's mightiest rivers; a modern refinery is nearing completion near the new producing oil fields, and tall buildings are giving a cosmopolitan appearance to the skyline of the bustling city of Lagos, the capital of this great country.

Nigeria's is one of the most respected voices in Africa. A prominent member of the continental Organization of African Unity, as well as an articulate spokesman within the United Nations, Nigeria speaks with a voice of wisdom and moderation to her colleagues in Africa and throughout the world.

On this, the fifth anniversary of Nigeria's independence, and her second year as a republic, I would like to express to the people and government of that great nation our confidence in her great future and our warmest best wishes for the coming year.

Mathias Commission Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 1, 1965

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I joined my distinguished colleague from Maryland, Congressman MATHIAS, in sponsoring legislation which would establish a new Hoover-type Commission on the executive branch.

This special 14-member panel would be charged with the responsibility of reviewing the massive operations of the Federal Government and coming back to Congress at the end of 2 years with recommendations for promoting greater economy and efficiency in the executive branch. It has been 10 years now since the second Hoover Commission completed a similar task—one which was widely acclaimed for its usefulness.

The Washington Daily News yesterday commented editorially on the recent urging by the Senate majority leader for a greater effort on the part of the Congress in the field of legislative oversight. I wholeheartedly agree with Senator MANSFIELD that this is an increasingly important role for Congress. However, the tremendous growth of Federal Government within the past decade makes it imperative that, in addition to the daily watch kept by individual Senators and Representatives and the various committees of Congress, we initiate a comprehensive, well-staffed overall study—a study expressly designed to find ways and means of streamlining programs, reducing costs, and wiping out inefficiences. This approach is one in which the trees of daily legislative routine will not be allowed to obscure a thoughtful and broad view of the whole forest of departments, bureaus, agencies, boards, and other instrumentalities that compose the executive branch of the Federal Government.

The Washington Daily News notes that the Johnson administration has "jammed" through Congress a bewildering assortment of new laws, and additionally refers to "the sweeping character of the new and untried programs" which have come out of this session. Because we have seen the enactment of such legislation, which is going to cost the taxpayers billions of dollars, is all the more reason that we should establish a Commission which will be on guard for duplication of effort, overlapping, and other wasteful pitfalls of administration.

In commenting on Senator MANSFIELD's call for more attention to legislative oversight, I think the Daily News made an excellent case at the same time for the blue-ribbon Commission envisioned in the legislation championed by Congressman MATHIAS and many of our colleagues, and which I have the honor of cosponsoring.

I, therefore, offer this editorial for the information of my colleagues as I ask for their support of this constructive new legislation:

MORE "OVERSIGHT" NEEDED

In the U.S. Senate, Democratic Leader MIKE MANSFIELD is urging his fellow Members to step up their "legislative oversight." This formidable term simply defines a basic congressional duty—to see that the laws Congress passes are carried out in the intended way.

Seldom in history has a single session of Congress passed so many laws affecting so many people and involving so many tax dollars.

The Johnson administration, having jammed through Congress a bewildering assortment of new laws, now has the monumental job of getting these programs under way.

"It is hardly possible," Senator MANSFIELD says, "to set in legislative motion so many new Federal approaches to the Nation's problems, as we have done in recent years, without leaving a number of gaps and any number of rough edges, overextensions, and overlaps."

So, the Senator thinks, the legislative committees, which handled these programs now should take the initiative in following up, in policing the programs day by day, instead of waiting for the bureaucracy itself to report on its own assignments.

The Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee is required by law to keep daily watch on our atomic operations. Results: Good.

The Senate Armed Services Committee, especially through its Preparedness Investigation Subcommittee, has done credit to itself and a service to the taxpayers by kibitzing the Pentagon.

These examples are proof of the usefulness of congressional "oversight." The sweeping character of the new and untried programs President Johnson has won from this session makes this obligation of Congress more pertinent than ever. And now is the time to start.

Independence Day for Republic of Guinea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 1, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, October 2, the Republic of Guinea celebrates its day of independence. Since independence, Guinea has faced the problems of development with courage and fortitude.

Although Guinea's mineral wealth makes its economy potentially one of the

strongest in Africa, its development has, in the past, been hindered by a shortage of trained personnel for industry. Fruitful technical cooperation has taken place since 1962 between this country and the United States. To encourage a rapid increase in production, the Guinea Government is taking wise steps to further stabilize its internal economy.

Mr. Speaker, on this day I think it is appropriate that this body express its best wishes and its hopes for further prosperous and responsible development.

More Stores in His Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, it is always encouraging to read an individual success story, because basically individual initiative and the results of it are what make America a strong, free, democratic society. One of these stories concerns Mr. Mervin Morris, from my congressional district, whose efforts and ingenuity are exemplary of what can be done when one applies his talents judiciously.

I am pleased to insert an item from the Oakland Tribune of Oakland, Calif., for September 27, 1965 which highlights Mr. Morris' success:

"Y" FOR "I"—MORE STORES IN HIS FUTURE

(By Wallace S. Willis)

The misspelling in the name is an accident by design; everything else has come through designs for progress.

This capsulizes, more or less, one of the more flourishing, individually owned, rapidly expanding commercial enterprises in the area—Mervyn's department stores. (An architect said it looked better with a Y than an I.)

In business for himself just 17 years, Mervin Morris today is the sole owner of three stores—San Lorenzo, Fremont, and Napa—and has plans for several more in the next 5 years.

"With the executive staff we have at present," he says, "we can operate six stores as easily as three. And we are interested in ones of at least 35,000 square feet and possibly larger."

That's a lot of area when you consider his first store at 16015 Via Arriba, San Lorenzo, contained 2,500 square feet. It is many times that today, after being enlarged 13 times in its first 11 years and 6 or 7 times after that. Soon there will be a new toy department across the street and a complete remodeling is scheduled to start in the next 90 days.

"We're looking at areas that have regional possibilities," Morris said. "For instance, the Dublin-San Ramon-Livermore area. And a natural extension of our pesent territory would be Milpitas, although it is not quite ready."

BACKGROUND IN DEPARTMENT STORES

Morris is no newcomer to the department store business. He was raised in it in Delano, a San Joaquin Valley community where his father established a store some 40 years ago. The business is also in his wife's background.

She is the former Roslyn Grossman, an Oakland native whose father, Harry Grossman, operated the shoe concession at Kahn's (now Rhodes) here before going to Napa. There Grossman purchased a department store from his father-in-law, the late Jacob Albert, who had a bay area chain, and it was from Grossman that Morris bought his Napa outlet in 1963.

After 5 years of military service during World War II, metropolitan living attracted Morris from Delano and he took on a job as a traveling hat salesman. "That had about as much future as the buggy whip business," Morris declared, pointing out that his two luncheon companions as well as he had come without hats.

"About that time I also heard a store had gone bankrupt in San Lorenzo," Morris declared. "I found out where San Lorenzo is, looked the community over and decided it could use a junior type department store."

ONE "VETERAN" EMPLOYEE OF FIRM

When he opened his first store, Morris had two employees, one of whom is still with him. Robert Stewart, also from Delano, joined Morris at the age of 18 and today is manager of the store in the Fremont Hub. That store, incidentally, started out in October 1963, with 33,000 square feet and has been enlarged to 68,000 square feet.

"We have found a unique department store niche," Morris said. "We handle everything a large department store does except what is known in the trade as 'brown and white goods'—furniture and appliances.

"When the large downtown department stores started moving to the suburbs, I was frankly worried. But when they moved out, they completely upgraded their image. We feel we are more in tune with the needs of Mr. and Mrs. Suburbia. The big ones are too inflexible; they couldn't adapt to the blue-collar areas.

"Independently owned and right on the scene, we were more in the ball park. We have the major brands, but also have one price line below them, an area the majors have left open for the independents."

TABLECLOTHS VERSUS TABLE MATS

Morris' merchandising concept is somewhat differently tailored in the Napa store. He points out that "while the Napa volume is only one-quarter that of the San Lorenzo store, they sell more tablecloths. But San Lorenzo sells more table mats."

The general plan of Mervyn's has made them oriented more to the working people, Morris noted, and to people just getting started in development of families. This is attested by a further statement that "children's wear is probably 25 percent of our volume." And the three stores operate a total of 35,000 revolving accounts.

While reluctant to reveal sales figures because he owns 100 percent of the corporation's stock, Morris explained that "volume last year was 100 times what it was our first year and we have grown from 2 employees to about 500."

That's a pretty good record, and indicative of why there have been several overtures for Mervyn's. And that may be in the not-too-distant future.

Independence Day in the Federal Republic of Nigeria

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 1, 1965

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, Africa's most populous country celebrates 5 years of independence today. Although it has remained in the British Commonwealth, the Federal Republic of Nigeria became independent on October 1, 1960. On this occasion, I want to extend my congratulations and best wishes to the people of Nigeria, their President, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, and their Prime Minister, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa.

Mr. Speaker, Nigeria has a federal form of government and a written constitution. Its parliamentary government is based on the British model. I cannot help but think that much of Nigeria's strength comes from the considerable power granted to the regional governments to handle predominantly local affairs.

The economy of Nigeria is built primarily around agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry, which provides about two-thirds of Nigeria's national income. The outlook for the development of an expanded and more diverse economy is good, since it has largely untapped mineral and petroleum resources as well as considerable hydroelectric potential.

Nigeria is in the midst of a 6-year economic and social development plan begun in 1962. Envisioning an annual growth rate of over 4 percent, Nigeria has emphasized its readiness to welcome foreign private investment. In this regard, an investment-guarantee agreement has been concluded between the United States and Nigeria.

Nigeria is an active member of the Organization of African Unity and has provided active support and played a leading role in the work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

Mr. Speaker, I join my fellow Americans in wishing the people of Nigeria continued success and progress as they build a strong and independent nation.

How a Republic Died

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 1, 1965

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to place my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include a sermon by Dr. Charles Poling, D.D., senior minister of the Church of All Christian Faiths, Phoenix, Ariz., on Sunday, August 15, 1965, entitled "How a Republic Died."

The sermon follows:

HOW A REPUBLIC DIED

In this day of world crisis who can predict the future of our civilization? There are several certainties however that all thoughtful Americans must recognize. We cannot go on bearing the expense of unbridled Government spending without eventually crashing head on with a cataclysmic day of reckoning. We cannot continue ignoring the charter of our freedom, the Constitution that made us the strongest, richest, and greatest Nation this world has ever known and survive. Even while I speak we face national bankruptcy and the slavery of so-

cialism, the chains of dictatorship, and a police state.

We have toyed dangerously with statism and a planned socialist economy. Government is no longer our servant—it is our master. To a greater degree than we realize, Congress is no longer the legislative arm of America. Under the provisions of the Spence Act the President actually has power over the entire life of this Nation, empowered to do as he personally pleases. And one leader, one demagogue, with delusions of infallibility, can lead a proud and mighty nation down the dark road to oblivion. A hasty glance at history supports this statement. Today we have the executive and judiciary, in violation of our Constitution, usurping and assuming the functions and authority granted only to the legislative arm of our Government.

Now all that is transpiring in our society and Government today is vitally related to the church and the kingdom enterprise. The record of history reveals that as the church goes so goes the nation. We are not interested in partisan politics; we are opposed to the church meddling in civil affairs as we are in the state meddling in church and religious affairs. We believe that the chief business of the church is to make sinful men aware of their sinful state and to lead them to a penitent form; her business is preaching the gospel of the living Christ. We do not believe that the church should be in politics but we do believe that Christians should be in politics.

I am frightened as I look upon the present world scene. I am ashamed when I view the spectacle of clergymen engaging in demonstrations that lead to civil disobedience, violence, and death. I am outraged when a church agency, the National Council of Churches, trains young people at Oxford, Ohio, for the invasion of a sovereign State and while mouthing something about human dignity has women and girls wallow in the filth of a city street. I am angered when this same church agency and her clergy associate with drunken, dirty, sex-hungry mobs as they flaunt the law, and this while our young men are marching and dying for freedom in Vietnam. The organizers and leaders of these rag-tag mobs assist and encourage their brainwashed youth to avoid military service. I get a sick feeling when a minister and former president of the National Council of Churches, voicing their pacifistic doctrine, standing in a Phoenix pulpit, declares "the war in Vietnam is sinful." This gentleman is so blind to facts that he says, "The civil rights groups have shown that the churches can be effective in battling injustice in society."

I recently returned from speaking engagements in Birmingham, Selma, and Montgomery. The picture I bring back is evil and ugly beyond the power of words to describe. The National Council of Churches and her trained invaders of lawlessness and anarchy, led and helped finance the drunken, sex-inflamed mobs of whites and blacks that terrorized those decent, peaceful, American communities. Here we have drunken hoodlums, many wearing clerical apparel, invading a sovereign State—in fact the two States that rank number one and two as the most law-abiding States in our Union. Dr. Dahlberg is pretty badly mixed up—the civil rights mobs did put on quite an orgy, but a demonstration that should drive every Christian and patriot to his knees asking God for forgiveness. These pacifists are freeloaders and are not entitled to, neither are they worthy of, the blessings of freedom; freedom purchased by gallant kids like those who march and die in Vietnam. I do agree with the doctor that "we have become inoculated with violence and hoodlumism" and if he will but open his eyes he'll find that he is standing right in the center of it.

Dr. Dahlberg refers to our democratic society and though our Founding Fathers were very careful to explain that they were establishing a republican form of government, our Nation has degenerated into a democracy; and from a democracy to mobocracy is but a quick breath. Here is the answer to the "why" of our present chaotic and lawless state. By our departure from government as prescribed by our Constitution, our republican form of government, we are sowing the seed of our own dissolution. Thomas Macaulay, the famous British historian, who died on the eve of our Civil War, wrote this prophesy: "Your Republic will be fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the 20th century as the Roman Empire was in the fifth, with this difference; that the Huns and vandals who ravaged the Roman Empire came from without and your Huns and vandals will have been engendered within your own country, by your own institutions."

One of the great perils we face today is the political illiteracy current in America. Practically everyone is referring to, and thinking of, America as a great democracy. Where is the word of authority? For me, it is with those who in the Constitutional Convention gave to us our charter of freedom.

Alexander Hamilton, the towering genius of that Convention, spoke with tremendous force when, addressing that gathering he said: "The members most tenacious of republicanism are as loud as any in declaring against the vices of democracy * * *. Give all power to the many, they will oppress the few. Give all power to the few, they will oppress the many. Both therefore ought to have the power that each may defend itself against the other * * *. We are forming a republican government. Real liberty is never found in despotism or the extremes of democracy * * *. If we incline too much to democracy, we shall soon shoot into monarchy."

Madison, with Hamilton, was designated as a spokesman and interpreter of the work of the Constitutional Convention. Writing in "The Federalist" Madison says: "What then are the distinctive characters of the republican form? Where an answer to this to be sought, not by recurring to principles, but by the application of the term by political writers, to the constitutions of different States, no satisfactory one would ever be found. Holland, in which no particle of supreme authority is derived from the people, has passed almost universally under the denomination of a republic. The same title has been bestowed upon Venice, where absolute power over the body of the people is exercised, in the most absolute manner, by a small body of hereditary nobles. Poland, which is a mixture of aristocracy and monarchy in their worst forms, has been dignified with the designation of a republic. The government of England, which has one republican branch only, combined with an hereditary aristocracy and monarchy, has, with equal impropriety, been frequently placed on the list of republics. These examples, * * * show the extreme inaccuracy with which the term republic has been used in political discussions."

Again, writing in "the Federalist," Madison said: "Hence it is that such democracies have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention; have ever been found incompatible with personal security or the rights of property, and have in general been as short lived in their lives as they have been violent in their deaths. Theoretic politicians, who have patronized this species of government, have erroneously supposed that by reducing mankind to a perfect equality in their political rights, they would, at the same time, be perfectly equalized and assimilated in their professions, their opinions and their passions * * *. A republic, by which I mean a government in which the scheme of representation takes place, opens a different prospect, and promises the cure for which we are seeking."

On September 18, 1803, Hamilton wrote to Pickering: "The plan of the Constitution which I drew up while the Convention was sitting, and which I communicated to Mr. Madison, was predicated upon these bases: First, that the political principals of the people of this country would endure nothing but republican government. Second, that the actual situation of the country was such that it was right and proper that the republican theory should have full and fair trial. Third, that to such a trial it was essential that the Government should be so constructed as to give all the energy and stability reconcilable with the principles of that theory. These were the genuine sentiments of my heart, and upon them I acted."

Article 4, section 4, of the Constitution provides: "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government." It is inconceivable that the fathers would guarantee a republican form of government to every State in the Union without the absolute intent of providing the same form of government for the Nation.

It would seem that the founders of this Republic, after a careful survey of the governments of history, concluded that autocracy resulted in tyranny and democracy merged into mobocracy and socialism. Loud and clear have been the warnings shouted from platforms by informed patriots but the drift away from constitutional government and our Republican heritage has continued, and today those who refer to us as a democracy are more correct than we care to admit. No longer can we warn, "we are being socialized"—the takeover is all but completed and we are socialized; the bells now toll a requiem for the Republic. The brave candles of freedom are being snuffed out one by one.

How is it possible for a great republic to lose her freedom without the armies of an enemy ever setting foot upon her shores, without a shot ever being fired? The great enemy is lack of vigilence on the part of the people, the selfishness and greed that makes slaves of free born men so that they refuse to concern themselves about the welfare of their country; they won't be bothered and they are not about to get involved with an army of fanatics and lunatics. To further their own selfish ends, cunning leaders will contrive to, as has been done within the span of your life and mine, merge the republic into a democracy. From a democracy to a socialist state is but a short, but inevitable step. You've lived to see this happen. Multitudes crusade and march for civil rights but said little or nothing about civil responsibility.

As a lure, there has been eloquent talk about public welfare pensions, insurance, socialized medicine, aid to education, aid to farmers, a great society in which poverty will be conquered for "we will take from those who have and give to those who have not"; this will be done, though it require that the States surrender their sovereignty to the Federal Government. The Great White Father in Washington, snapped his fingers at the Constitution and a subservient Congress gave him his civil rights legislation.

There are demagogs who preach that we have outgrown our Constitution and that now we must have something new. Well, they have put over their point and now we have "something new"; a weird philosophy of government brewed in the witch pots of Karl Marx, Frederich Engels, and Lenin. Before we take a look at the America we have become under this new order, just for the record, let's take a backward look at the America that emerged following the adoption of the Constitution and the founding of the republic of the United States.

Immediately there began the greatest era of progress, governmentally, the world had ever known. We began to solve problems and secure privileges that had baffled philosophers and statesmen for ages. We developed a larger galaxy of great statesmen than had been developed by all other governments in the history of mankind. We organized into a splendid and loyal citizenship people of many nationalities, coming to our shores with varying ambitions and ideals. We stood the strain of the great Civil War and came out of it stronger and better.

The governmental atmosphere of individual security seemed to stimulate individual effort toward discovery and invention, so that we made material and commercial progress that has no parallel in history. We advanced from the spade to the steam plow, from the ox cart to the freight train, from the blacksmith shop to the great manufacturing plant, from the cradle to the selfbinder, from the spinning wheel to the great textile mill, from the stagecoach to the pullman car, from the pony express to the telephone and telegraph, and on to the automotive means of transportation. Thus the march of progress continued under our free enterprise system.

While doing all this we advanced from the education of the few to our great public school system. Other nations of the world were struck with awe and admiration by the marvelous manner in which this Republic solved its early problems, faced and overcame difficulties. And this Republic offered political privileges and freedoms unmatched by any nation on this globe.

We radiated over all the world the rays of light, of hope, of progress, of justice, of commonsense and of scientific governmental procedure: and while making that matchless record, and yielding that splendid world influence, we made for the United States the undisputed leading place among the nations. And this place in the sun was not won because of our great Army, our great Navy, our great Air Force, our atomic bomb, our vast possessions, our many people, but because we were enjoying the blessings of the best form of government mankind had ever known.

The world admired us. Our character and dignity was such that the safety of our citizens in foreign lands was guaranteed. We had nothing but contempt for the devices of expediency, bluff, and compromise. We were above dealing with international bullies and bandits. Our great strength was of moral and spiritual elements and this force, as always, commanded the respect of the world.

But while America became the captive of Morpheus and an addict of the opiate of indifference and overconfidence, the termites of our national dissolution, the New Deal, the New Frontier, the Social Gospel, and presently the Great Society have been unremittingly eating away the sustaining pillars of our republican constitutional government. As prophesied by Thomas Macaulay, "the Huns and Vandals we have gendered within our own country and institutions" have by unconstitutional methods, by judicial and executive fiat, made captive our legislative bodies and made a noble document to read, "government of the party, by the party, and for the party." I repeat, we are not about to lose our republican form of government, we have lost it and are now, like it or not, a socialist state.

Constitutional State rights no longer exist. Government is no longer from the statehouse and the State legislative bodies; government is from Washington and the White House. Government is in partnership, maybe the captive, of labor unions; our free enterprise system is but a memory. Today, big government competes with the little businessman, regulates and restricts business. Today the farmer is no longer free to manage his own farm, no longer free to decide what crops he will plant—this decision is handed down from Washington. As citizens, we have no way of knowing just what is happening in, or to, our Government—all of our news media is managed and we are told only what Washington wants us to know. Treason in high places of Government, Billie Sol Estes, Bobby Baker, and Jenkins, are shielded; and too many others who have betrayed America, are protected by public servants who are sworn to uphold and defend the Constitution.

Men who fraternize and play patsy with our godless enemy are received as royalty in high places. Martin Luther King known to associate with Communists, having as his chief lieutenants, sex perverts and identified Communists—an ordained Baptist minister who openly denied in the National Observer the Baptist doctrines he said, when ordained, that he believed—he went on record as not believing the doctrines of the virgin birth, the deity of Jesus Christ, the substitutionary atonement of Christ, the literal resurrection of Christ and other basic doctrines he confessed before Almighty God to believe and accept.

While mouthing a doctrine of nonviolence, he organizes and leads (from a safe distance) demonstrations he knows will end in violence, perhaps death. What hypocrisy, and this egomaniac has become the spiritual Moses of a militant minority of his race and the socialist liberal clergy. He has whipped his disciples into a frenzy of lawlessness. The mood of his army is illustrated in a threat issued by one of his lieutenants in Americus, Ga. "We'll tear this town down." This is nonviolence? King is not a man of peace; he is not really an apostle of nonviolence; he can hold his position of rule only through riots, subversion, and revolt. Probably he is not a Communist, but he is communism's chief ally, whether he realizes it or not. His program of civil disobedience is a deadly pestilence, and if unchecked, will destroy our republic through the ever-growing bloody revolts that are spreading with frightening speed from city to city in America. When human beings behave like jungle brutes, they can be controlled only by force, and their cry about "police brutality," is offensive and disgusting to decent law-abiding citizens. My sympathy is not with the plundering, revolting, "barbarians," but with the police who are sworn to uphold our laws and preserve peace.

I am not about to forget that these hoodlums have seriously beaten, injured, and killed many of our police. Is it not significant that people who are obeying the law and respecting the rights of others never complain about "police brutality?" "The court and not the street is the place to seek justice" and redress from grievance. Truly our land is cursed by "barbarians" and our highways and byways are red with violence.

Presently, organized crime is at an alltime high. Last year we had a 13-percent increase in crimes reported, over 1963. There were 20,500 reported cases of forced rape; 112,000 reported robberies, and more than a million cases of aggrevated assault. Students riot on the compuses of our universities, destroy property and shout obscene epithets. Every day we read of lawless demonstrations in our cities and youthful wolfpacks are prowling our city parks, subways, and streets; even in Washington, and in our government buildings, women workers are molested. Just what kind of people have we become? How long will we temporize and retreat before these jungle mobs? I find myself asking, "just how unselfish, how patriotic and dedicated to freedom and constitutional government are the leaders we elect to office?"

Have the flames of patriotism died out in the heart of America? Are we afraid to march, if required, die, in combat for our country? America's destiny depends upon the answers we can give to these questions.

The white crosses still stand row on row in Flanders fields, and there are many other places, here and abroad, sanctified and made sacred by the blood of gallant Americans who, in the painful moment of their dying, bequeathed to us a goodly heritage of freedom. Was their dying in vain?

I have beheld motley lines of blacks and whites, unshaved, unwashed, and dirty, marching and chanting their jungle syncopation: "We shall overcome" and "freedom now." What have they done; what are they doing now, to deserve the blessings of freedom? How many of these marchers, marched through the fire and hell of war to defend America and to preserve the freedom, they now, and all of us, presently enjoy. Where were they when some of us were marching, and watching, while brave young men were dying to guarantee and preserve the freedom these whining, crying, pacifists now demand? Actually, they would not be allowed to march and demonstrate if they did not now enjoy the blessings of freedom. These pacifists support the philosophy and aims of the Communists, the evil, godless, power that has sworn to destroy us; they "cry peace" when their kind of peace means the enslavement of people now fighting for freedom. I am sickened when a clergyman pronounces our effort in Vietnam sinful.

Do I use this pulpit for a cause unrelated to our Christian religion? Can the church long survive in a Socialist-Communist state? I have dedicated these latter days of my life to challenge Christians and the church we love to get back to being the church. The church as a political arm cannot save the Republic, but the church returning to her pilgrim character and functioning as the church of the living God, making evil men good and leading the lost to the cleansing of the redemptive cross, can still save society, our Nation, and our free way of life.

Before Union Theological Seminary of New York became captured by the socialist liberals, Union's professor of church history, was the great and good Philip Schaff. I quote from this noble Christian patriot. He wrote, "Republican institutions in the hands of a virtuous and God-fearing nation are the very best in the world, but in the hands of corrupt and irreligious people they are the very worst, and the most effective weapon of destruction. An indignant people may rise in rebellion against a cruel tyrant; but who will rise against the tyranny of the people in possession of the ballot box and the whole machinery of government? Here lies our great danger, and it is increasing every year. Destroy our churches, close our Sunday schools, abolish the Lord's Day, and our Republic would become an empty shell, and our people would tend to heathenism and barbarism. Christianty is the most powerful factor in our society and the pillar of our institutions. It regulates the family; it enjoins private and public virtue; it builds up moral character; it teaches us to love God supremely, and our neighbor as ourselves; it makes good men and useful citizens; it denounces every vice; it encourages every virtue; it promotes and serves the public welfare; it upholds peace and order. Christianity is the only possible religion for the American people, and with Christianity are bound up all our hopes for the future." (Philip Schaff, 1888.)

The "Huns and Vandals" Macauley so accurately prophesied are here; they have taken over our institutions of higher learning and theological seminaries; they stalk through our halls of government, and have become overlords in our liberal socialist pulpits. The portrait Philip Schaff presents of the true church is a far cry from the political religious machine carrying the banner of the church today.

Does the church you know unite families when many of its youth leaders teach a moral code contrary to that taught in the Bible and by old fashioned, God-fearing parents? Is the church you know denounc-

ing every vice or is she making premarital sex and homosexuality respectable?

The RNS news media reports from Elmhurst, Ill., on a new morality being taught to 80 teenagers attending a youth forum—the instructor is Dr. Joseph Fletcher, professor of ethics at Episcopal Theological Seminary, Cambridge, Mass. "In certain situations," he announces, "unmarried love could be infinitely more moral than married love. Lying could be more Christian than telling the truth; stealing could be better than respecting private property. Not every premarital sex relationship is wrong."

Another speaker at the same youth forum was Anson Mount, public affairs manager of Playboy magazine; this speaker advocated "recreational sex" and welcomed "the changing moral climate of today which has the backing of many modern theologians."

Is the church you attend and support "upholding peace and order," or is she encouraging laymen and ministers to practice and teach civil disobedience, and to invade a sovereign state to foment riots and rebellion?

How does one square the doctrines and crusades of the present-day liberal Socialist clergy with the gospel of the Carpenter of Nazareth? How does one reconcile the political meddling of the National Council of Churches, and the Social Gospel, unctuously proclaimed by these Socialist liberals, jell with the commission of our Lord to His disciples in Matthew 10: 7? "And as ye go, preach, saying, the kingdom of heaven is at hand." And again, Luke 9: 60, "Go thou and preach the kingdom of God." And it is well to remember that Jesus used the call of ancient Isaiah as a challenge to His followers when He quoted from that great Prophet as recorded in Luke 4: 18: "He hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised (v. 19). To preach the acceptable year of the Lord." According to my Bible, the business of the clergy is to preach and "by the foolishness of preaching," to set the crooked straight, and to guide the lost to the cross of redemption. I find no word suggesting that I am to go out to join the unregenerate, drunken mobs, in marches that are planned and designed to offer sex orgies and stimulate lawless acts of rebellion and violence.

The most frightening aspect of today's reign of rebellion is the role the church is playing in these disgraceful demonstrations.

Truly, "the Huns and the vandals engendered without our own country, by our own institutions" are with us. The cry of the watchman on the walls of freedom must sound clear and strong; the temples of the living God must echo and reecho a warning and a challenge to every Christian and patriot to unite in this battle, that the lamps of freedom may not be put out, and that we might return His church to Him, "a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish" (Ephesians 5: 27).

Editor, Woman of Quiet Dignity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 1, 1965

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I should like to join the North Vernon Plain Dealer in paying their respects to a dedicated woman, who devoted 41 years of her life in service to her community as editor of its newspaper.

The following editorial appeared in the paper of former editor Mary Cassin, on September 16, 1965:

A WOMAN OF QUIET DIGNITY

It was back in late 1954 that Miss Mary Cassin, for 41 years editor of the Plain Dealer, gave up handling these difficult chores and went into the gentle retirement that ended with her death Saturday. The paper that she was so proud of and which she worked so hard for has changed considerably since her day, but we like to think that we have retained some of the virtues that were such a trademark of this publication when her name was on the masthead. These would include her lively intelligence, a deep sensitivity not only to the needs of her community but also for individuals (people were always most important to her), an apt way of expressing herself in print and a devotion to the paper that transcended almost all other interests. All these attributes Miss Cassin had in abundance.

We saw little of her after her retirement, but the times that we did see her were always pleasant ones. Though, in the way of life at her age, she was finding her health not the best, we never remember hearing her complain. Instead there would always be an exchange of pleasantries and a personal word or two. She had, what alas is a disapearing feminine trait, and that was a quiet dignity that would make you notice her in a roomful of women.

So much of the news that was of prime importance to countless thousands of Jennings County citizens went through her hands in the many years she served the paper. The tornado at Vernon in the 1930's, the heartaches of the depression and those turbulent times of World War II; and births and deaths and weddings—and all the lesser stories that perhaps in the long run were of the most important to those people they touched.

We mourn now even as she so often sat at a typewriter during her 41 years mourning as she wrote of the death of one in Jennings close to her heart. Our deep condolences to her loved ones. There is, we feel most positive, too much of her in the files of the Plain Dealer and in the history of the county that it will ever be necessary to write "30" with finality for her life.

God be with you, Miss Cassin.

Sugar Lobby Buffeted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, with sugar legislation due to be brought to the floor of the House in the near future, I believe the following article by Mr. William C. Selover, writing in the Christian Science Monitor of October 1 is very timely.

As a Representative from a large sugar-producing area, I found it most interesting and believe it will be of equal interest to all Members of the House as we prepare to vote on this important issue.

The article follows:

SUGAR LOBBY BUFFETED

(By William C. Selover)

WASHINGTON.—Someone threw a little jam in the sugar legislation this year, and the results are pretty sticky.

Usually the sugar bill, to extend the Sugar Act of 1934, is passed intact, with no questions asked. But this year is different.

Some basic questions are being raised about parts of the bill. And for the first time the Rules Committee is allowing two amendments to it to be considered on the House floor.

These amendments were framed by Representative PAUL FINDLEY, Republican, of Illinois, who argues that the bill without his amendments would cost the American consumer some $3.5 billion over the next 5 years.

He contends that "the best improvements would be to drop the act entirely, and rely on a simple tariff to give desired domestic protection."

Sugar act quotas currently thrust the U.S. price for raw sugar to a level three times higher than the world price.

LAST-MINUTE ACTION

Mr. FINDLEY blew wide open the simmering discussion here about the propriety of the highly paid sugar lobbyists in Washington representing foreign countries.

In an interview with this newspaper, he called them "specialists in influence" and "influence peddlers." One is a former U.S. Representative who served on the Agriculture Committee which considers the sugar bill.

"It's unhealthy. Such lobbyists serve no purpose," he said.

None of the lobbyists have made any replies to these statements. Nor, in fact, would they meet with newspapermen.

A Findley amendment would virtually outlaw such lobbyists.

The final blow came when Mr. FINDLEY said the bill allowed "profiteering on a grand scale."

In past years, the sugar legislation has been holed up in the House Agriculture Committee until the last minute. Then, just before Congress adjourns, it emerges.

Committee Chairman HAROLD D. COOLEY, Democrat, of North Carolina, has conveyed it to the Rules Committee, often terminng it too complex for anyone to understand but nevertheless a very good bill, and has asked for a "closed rule." This means that no amendments can be made to it on the House floor. It must be passed as is, or rejected.

QUOTA ASSIGNED

Rules Committee Chairman HOWARD W. SMITH, Democrat, of Virginia has usually granted this rule.

Then, Mr. COOLEY has generally delivered the bill intact and asked members to trust his judgment on every provision.

Because the legislation is so important to domestic cane and beet producers, some kind of legislation must be provided. And it is voted through without amendment.

Why is the bill so important?

Under a long-standing U.S. commodities control program, a Government quota must be assigned for all sugar grown, marketed, or imported. This is intended to stabilize the sugar market, while assuring adequate supplies.

The bill allots quotas to domestic and foreign producers on a 60-to-40 ratio. That is, 60 percent of the estimated 10 million tons of sugar needed this year will be provided by domestic producers under specific allotments. Without a law these allotments are unknown and the producers are without guidelines in their output.

The other 40 percent needed to meet the United States needs of sugar are allotted among 20 countries of the Western Hemisphere and 10 countries outside this area.

This week, when it looked as if this same sugar story would be retold, the Rules Committee began asking questions.

Mr. COOLEY came to ask the committee for a "closed rule" on the bill. In his testimony Tuesday, Congressman COOLEY said the bill had "more uniform support than any other ever presented before."

And he called it a "must bill for domestic industry."

AMENDMENT INVITED

But what has apparently begun to bother people here is why the Agriculture Committee changed every one of the quota allotments from those suggested by the administration. And some here are wondering what "services" are being performed by foreign sugar lobbyists here whose salaries range from $3,000 up to $50,000 a year.

Representative RICHARD BOLLING, Democrat, of Missouri, asked Mr. COOLEY for a full explanation for each of the foreign country quotas. "What is the rationale, the basis" for the changes from the administration guidelines, he asked.

Mr. COOLEY proceeded to read through nine general provisions of the bill.

"There is no rational justification for each of these quotas," Mr. BOLLING broke in heatedly.

Mr. COOLEY admitted some quotas had been set arbitrarily, but, he said, the administration's proposal had been arbitrary as well.

Congressional sources explain that the administration's quota recommendations were based on actual production figures during a recent representative year.

The real drama came when Mr. FINDLEY appeared before the Rules Committee to ask for an "open rule" on the bill. This would eprmit amendments and discussion in the House debate which is expected late next week.

He also asked the committee to rule for consideration of his amendments to eliminate foreign sugar lobbyists and to restore an import fee.

When Mr. FINDLEY began to speak in a low, even voice, the overcrowded hearing room in the Capitol became quiet. Some of the lobbyists shifted uncomfortably in their folding chairs. Some took out pads and jotted down notes.

Even veteran Chairman SMITH stopped talking to an assistant to his left, and leaned forward toward the speaker at the far end of the table.

Only Mr. COOLEY continued talking to an assistant behind the testifier.

SUSPICIONS VOICED

Mr. FINDLEY proceeded to call the lobbyists "rather unsavory" and added they "serve no legitimate function."

Mr. FINDLEY made no specific charges. But he said the lobbyists "raise a cloud of doubt and suspicion over the whole business" of how the import quotas are decided on.

His amendment provides that any country employing a sugar lobbyist during the 5-year life of the bill shall have its quota reduced to zero.

More uncomfortable shifting around the hearing room.

Mr. FINDLEY also charged that the program has a lot of "gravy" in it.

This is the "pure profit" going to a company for the difference between the world market price of $2 a hundred weight and the artificially pegged U.S. price of $5 a hundred weight.

The administration had proposed imposing an import fee to collect the difference, thereby making it no more profitable to sell in the United States than elsewhere.

The lobbyists banded together in opposition to this fee, and the administration relented.

In hearings earlier, Mr. COOLEY congratulated one lobbyist, Arthur L. Quinn, for his part in getting the fee removed from the administration proposal.

AID ROLE DOUBTED

"I think Mr. Quinn is entitled to credit for having arranged those meetings, which resulted in giving up this fee, which was more or less a nuisance and entirely incompatible with our foreign policy and with our attitude toward our Latin American friends," said Mr. COOLEY for the record.

Then, in lauding Mr. Quinn, he called him "about the oldest sugar rat in the barn."

Some agree that the fee is incompatible with American foreign policy objectives. Officials high in the State Department reportedly feel that the fee only counters U.S. aid efforts in certain areas. Removal of them, these officials argue, would be a form of aid.

But Representative FINDLEY has a test for that argument.

"Does it go for better villages, is it really aid?" he asks. "No."

"It just makes the rich richer," he told this reporter.

Mr. FINDLEY's second amendment would replace three-fourths of the import fee dropped by the committee. This should remove temptations, he said.

DECISIONS BY "HUDDLE"

Mr. FINDLEY also pointed out that the profit for foreign countries is even greater when account is taken of the difference of wages between the United States and other countries. Where the United States pays $2.50 to $3.50 an hour to caneworkers, other countries pay as low as 7 cents and as high as 30 cents an hour.

How Mr. COOLEY actually arrives at the quotas is somewhat of a mystery here. Mr. FINDLEY, who is a member of the Agriculture Committee, charges that "a huddle made the basic decisions, then the accomplished fact was proposed by the committee chairman."

Mr. FINDLEY said the chairman told the group that it was "so complicated" that "we shouldn't change it."

Mr. FINDLEY explained that three or four Republicans were permitted in the private huddle. But this reporter found that one, Representative CATHERINE MAY, Republican, of Washington, had been out of town when most of the decisions were made.

As time for floor debate on the amendments nears, more and more people are talking about it here.

Mr. COOLEY was not discussing this issue with newsmen.

This reporter learned that powerful nonpartisan support for the Findley amendments is coming from the Senate side of the Hill. This is added to growing support in the House.

The general feeling around here seems best summed up in what Mr. BOLLING said another Member told him: "We're glad somebody finally began asking some questions."

As for the unprecedented move by the Rules Committee, Chairman SMITH put it this way: "Everyone else has been getting into a ruckus on sugar, why not the Rules Committee?"

Wolff's Stamp Inquiry Benefits Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to see that the September 30, 1965, issue of the Machinist, a publication of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, takes note of the work of our colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. WOLFF], in looking into trading stamps and their impact upon consumer prices.

The relationship of trading stamps to the cost of food should be thoroughly examined. Those who live on a limited budget will benefit especially from this inquiry. The following article by Sidney Margolius points up some of the differences in prices between nonstamp stores and stamp-giving stores:

[From the Machinist, Sept. 30, 1965]

PRICE CUTS VERSUS STAMPS

(By Sidney Margolius)

A price battle on food has erupted in a number of eastern and midwest cities as several supermarket chains announced they will no longer give trading stamps. Instead, the rebels have said, they will cut prices.

A group of consumer-minded Congressmen has helped to accelerate the young price war with an informal investigation. The Congressmen, headed by U.S. Representative LESTER WOLFF, of New York, want to know whether stamps, supposedly given free with grocery purchases, actually have increased the prices you pay for the food itself.

The price cuts by the chains which discontinued stamps, and the congressional inquiry, naturally have aroused opposition from the stamp companies. The largest, Sperry and Hutchinson, not only refused the congressional committee's invitation to testify, but ran big ads hinting that the stores which recently dropped stamps, are cutting prices only temporarily.

One eastern chain which dropped stamps announced it has cut prices an average of 3 percent. We decided to make our own comparisons between this chain and a similar medium-price supermarket chain which still gives stamps.

COMPARISON SHOPPING

We priced 23 items selected not as advertised leaders but as typical of a family's usual needs. The "shopping basket" included cleaning supplies and paper goods as well as food.

The 23 items cost $9.33 at the nonstamp store; $9.89 at the stamp-giving store. The difference of 56 cents is 6 percent. If this difference continues, it represents a significant variation in the cost of food, far outweighing the value of the stamps.

The real value of trading stamps, in this writer's experience, is about 1½ to 2 percent of the money you spend to get the stamps. For example, if you buy $10 worth of groceries, you get 100 stamps in the most widely used stamp plan. These 100 stamps are worth about 15 to 20 cents, at going retail values, in "gift" merchandise.

VALUE OF STAMPS

The stamp company says a book of 1,200 stamps is worth $3 in gift merchandise. Apparently this claim is based on the list price or the stamp company's own estimate of value. Our comparisons indicate that a book of stamps is worth about $1.50 to $2 in merchandise, based on the usual discount or chain-store prices.

Thus, even if you count the value of the stamps at the stamp-giving supermarket chain, prices at the nonstamp chain are still 4 to 4½ percent less on the 23 items we compared.

Not all prices at the nonstamp chain were less. The nonstamp chain was lower on 10 items, the same on 8, higher on 5. But the potential savings were especially noticeable in produce and dairy products. For example, the nonstamp store sold grade A homogenized milk at 23 cents a quart; the stamp store, 27; potatoes at 6 cents a pound compared to 8; grade A eggs, 57 compared to 61; tomatoes, 29, compared to 39.

Soaps and cleaning products were much the same price at both stores. So were meats,

with both chains juggling prices through the use of fancy names such as "fillet steak" and "Swiss steak" for various forms of what were really chuck steak in every case.

One of the most revealing differences was in the price of a well-known brand of instant coffee. It was 69 cents at the nonstamp chain and 95 at the stampgiving chain, even though the label at the stampgiving super read "10 cents off."

While no particular emphasis was given to selecting the advertised specials at either chain, it was noticeable at both chains, that you could save more on their own brands than buying the advertised specials on nationally advertised brands. For example, one chain had a special on a well-known brand of canned peas at two for 45 cents. But its own brand of comparable quality peas was two for 33. In general the savings on the stores' private brands averaged about 18 percent.

It is also noticeable that often stampgiving stores feature the costlier or luxury grades of food in their advertised specials.

GOVERNMENT STUDY

U.S. Representative JOSEPH MINISH, of New Jersey, has asked for a Government study of the effect of stamps on food prices. He feels that the stamps conceal the additional prices paid for essential commodities. "The higher prices required by the food market to cover the stamp premium exceeds the prices the consumer would have to pay were he to shop for his gift with cash," MINISH says.

How right is he. You have to buy $1,140 of groceries to get enough stamps for an automatic skillet worth about $20. A reduction in the price of food of even 3 percent would save you $33. You could buy the skillet and an automatic toaster, too.

From all indications, many stores who give stamps would like to get rid of them. Trading stamps have become the second highest business expense for the retailers, second only to personnel costs, reports Robert Mueller, editor of Progressive Grocer. A survey by his magazine found stamps take 14 percent of the food retailer's expense dollar.

Cheers for U.S.S. "Simon Bolivar" and Her Good Crew

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I offer for the RECORD the letter of Vice Adm. H. G. Rickover giving the fine success of the U.S.S. *Simon Bolivar*, our 31st Polaris nuclear submarine on her first sea trials:

U.S.S. "SIMON BOLIVAR" (SSBN641),
At Sea, North Atlantic, September 28, 1965.
Hon. JAMES G. FULTON,
U.S. House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. FULTON: We have just successfully completed the first sea trials of the U.S.S. *Simon Bolivar*, our 31st Polaris nuclear submarine. We also have in operation 22 attack-type nuclear submarines, making a total of 53. The *Simon Bolivar* was built by the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co. of Newport News, Va.

This ship is named for a great American soldier, patriot, and statesman. Simon Bolivar (1783–1830) was American in the broad sense of the word prevailing south of the border, where it is applied to citizens of the entire Western Hemisphere, north, central, and south.

Not only for us, but for all who share this vast continent with us, the word has a magic of its own. It stands for what we have in common, what gives us a sense of belonging to the same family of nations, despite the fact that we differ in many important respects. Not the least of the bonds uniting us is a revolutionary heritage that is peculiarly American.

What sets America's wars of independence apart from other struggles for colonial emancipation is that they were fought for political liberty, pure and simple. They were wars led in the north by Englishmen and in the south by Spaniards against men of their own race, language, and culture who would deny them the right to self-government. The leaders of the revolt laid down their "lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" from motives of pure patriotism unadulterated by desire for personal advantage. They were already successful and important men in their communities; they did not expect independence to enrich them or to enhance their status. They fought for the ideal of liberty at great personal risk. None risked more and gained less personally than Simon Bolivar.

Born in Caracas, Venezuela—the year England recognized the independence of the United States—the son of a wealthy and aristocratic Spanish family long settled in the colony, Bolivar was educated abroad and, until the age of 27, lived the pleasant life of a rich planter. But from the moment of the first revolt in Caracas against Spain in 1810 to the end of his brief life of but 47 years, Bolivar served almost continuously as leader of the revolt. He richly deserved the title Liberator bestowed on him by his countrymen, for he succeeded in driving the Spaniards from the vast area now occupied by the republics of Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Peru. At one time or another he was not only military leader but civilian chief as well of one or more of these republics; for a brief time all were united under him.

The Hispanic-American wars of independence lasted twice as long as did our own, and were fought over a vastly larger area and more intractable terrain. In population, the adversaries were more evenly matched, there being 11 million Spaniards to 15 million colonials, while we had but a third as large a population as England. Spain at the time was weakened by the Napoleonic Wars while England was the premier maritime empire of the world. On the other hand, the Spanish colonials had to fight with no outside help except for individual volunteers who flocked to Bolivar's army as they did to Washington's. No major country gave aid as we received from France. Only little Haiti, under President Pétion, supported the cause of freedom by giving men and materiel to Bolivar at a time when he sorely needed them.

Of his military feats, Thomas Carlyle said that Bolivar rode "fighting all the way, through torrid deserts, hot mud swamps, through ice-chasms beyond the curve of perpetual frost—more miles than Ulysses ever sailed." He "marched over the Andes more than once, a feat analogous to Hannibal's and seemed to think little of it. Often beaten, banished from the firm land, he always returned again, truculently fought again."

Henry Clay called Bolivar the Washington of South America. Indeed, there are striking similarities, but the differences in temperament and in the turn of their lives are equally great. Both were self-taught soldiers. Bartolomé Mitre, famed Argentine statesman, journalist, author, and historian said that though Bolivar "had no military education, he possessed the talents of a great revolutionary leader with the inspiration of genius * * *. He formed his plans quickly and executed them with daring resolution, while he lost no time in securing the fruits of his victory." And, speaking of his reconquest of western Venezuela, he remarked that "never, with such small means, was so much accomplished over so vast an extent of country, in so short a time."

Like Washington, Bolivar had that quality without which no man becomes a great military leader—a capacity to bear adversity with fortitude and to rise from defeat to win victory. His Spanish adversary General Morillo said that Bolivar was "more fearful vanquished than victorious"—just as of Washington one might well say that his finest hour was Valley Forge. Both cared for the welfare of their troops and were generous toward them. Both in their lifetime received much public adoration, both have a secure place in history as liberators of their nations. A South American Republic was named for Bolivar, an American State for Washington.

But, while Washington remained popular and died venerated by his countrymen on the estate he loved so well, Bolivar lost the support of his people and died penniless of a lung ailment which might not have proved fatal had he spared himself. Toward the end he was discouraged and said that "those of us who have toiled for liberty in South America have but plowed the sea." Hendrik William Van Loon, in his biography writes an epitaph that is more just. "If those words, spoken in the bitterness of his final defeat and loneliness, had truly been the summing up of his restless labors, the life of Simon Bolivar might well have been considered a hopeless failure. Whereas a single glance at the map of the southern half of our continent proclaims the glory of his achievements. Half a dozen free and independent nations, arisen from among the ruins of Spain's imperial ambitions, are surely a monument of which any human being might well feel proud."

Respectfully,

H. G. RICKOVER.

Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 1, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, managed news from the White House, the L.B.J. Ranch, and other administration bastions pour out in such prolific amounts that the public is thoroughly confused. The net result is that many matters which deserve thorough public scrutiny slip by in the artificial creation of mass confusion.

Columnist Walter Trohan, chief of the Chicago Tribune Washington Bureau, helps us pause to effectively analyze our foreign policy in an article in the Wednesday, September 29, Tribune:

AGAIN, WHY DOES FOREIGN POLICY PUSH RED AIMS?

WASHINGTON, September 28.—Recent developments in Panama and the Dominican Republic again raise serious questions about a foreign policy which advances Communist aims in this hemisphere. Americans are wondering why we always lose and why our Government tries to make victory out of every defeat.

Things have been running so badly as to raise suspicion that sinister forces are pulling policy strings to bring about defeat. Yet it is obvious that our Government is not full of traitors. It may be full of confused and fuzzy thinkers, who can do even more harm than traitors.

In Panama we are preparing to haul down the American flag. President Johnson has abrogated the 1903 Panama Canal Zone Treaty to surrender sovereignty to Panama, a nation which owes its existence to the United States. The United States performed all its responsibilities under the treaty, building and guarding the canal, and developing and maintaining the Canal Zone, which was bought with American tax dollars.

The Communists have long wanted the United States out of the canal. When Fidel Castro took over in Cuba, almost his first act was to launch an expedition against the canal, which proved abortive.

GRAVE MILITARY QUESTIONS

Now the United States is giving up on its own after having threatened to bypass the canal by building another waterway across Mexico or Nicaragua. The present plan is to build a second canal across Panama, so the nation will have two canals.

Grave military questions are involved, but no one in the services dares put his head under the ax of White House displeasure. We are reportedly to continue to guard the Panama Canal, but just how effective this can be when sovereignty has ben abrogated is a grave problem. A nation that hauls down its flag can expect to be invited to take its troops out any time.

In the Dominican Republic, former President Juan Bosch was welcomed back by followers who waved Marxist-Leninist signs and shouted Communist chants a la Castro. It was readily obvious to all that although we went into the Dominican Republic with marines and paratroopers to prevent a Communist takeover, the Communists are still there. We capitulated to a nest of Red agitators whom we might have destroyed.

Bosch spent 2 years in exile enjoying American hospitality in Puerto Rico. He was brought back to the Dominican Republic in an American plane. Immediately on arrival, he made a speech urging the people to drive out American forces by any means and demanding that the United States pay the country a billion dollars for the great crime of halting bloodshed and ending chaos.

HIS FRIENDS ARE REDS

Our State Department favors Bosch. We are told Bosch isn't an avowed Communist, but he is a Communist hero, his friends are Communists, and he mouths the Communist line against America in his homeland. He has steadfastly denied that there was any Communist influence in the revolt of last April, even though he was gretted by Red slogans and chants on his return.

Many Americans suspect that our greatest effort in Vietnam is to force negotiations. It can be expected that any negotiations with the Communists can only lead to defeat in that area.

One can wonder why we expect to gain respect by surrender when we have law and morality on our side. The times cry for firmness of purpose and we capitulate.

Ginger Cory and "Escuela KMEX"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALPHONZO BELL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 1, 1965

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, Adlai Stevenson once said that "our Nation needs new standards of respect and reward for intellect and culture." Today we are making great advances in education, not the least of them in the area of educational television. Here in Los Angeles we are particularly proud of the work that is being done to establish new standards of respect for our culture on the community television program "Escuela KMEX." This program is being considered for funding under title II, section A, of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. It reaches out to a significant segment of the disadvantaged portion of the Los Angeles community who are non-English speaking. This television program is designed to help individuals in this group begin to gain some skill in communicating in oral and written English. This we consider a very positive service to our city, our State and our Nation. The one woman who has spearheaded this gigantic effort is Miss Ginger Cory. Miss Cory teaches the daily television program "Escuela KMEX," serving thousands of adults in Los Angeles who are unable to attend adult school. She teaches beginning English to non-English-speaking adults—reading and writing and the dissemination of general community information. In addition to teaching the class, Miss Cory writes and prepares all of the material for "Escuela KMEX."

It has been said "the school is the key to success." This is true for adults of middle class backgrounds. They perceive the relationship of formal education to an upward mobility in the social strata. However, the disadvantaged one-third of the population, according to E. des Brunner in his "Overview of Adult Education Research," does not look to formal adult education as an answer to its personal problems. Individuals in this group have not understood the role of education as a means for securing economic rewards. Adults, in this disadvantaged group, are unlikely to motivate their children to persevere in their formal school training. This is evidenced by the numbers of disinterested youngsters in this group who swell the dropout statistics.

Miss Cory has been highly successful in instilling in the non-English speaking people a full appreciation of the values and benefits derived from learning to speak and write the English language as the key to fuller and better employment. In July 1964 Miss Cory assumed the responsibility for "Escuela KMEX." Audience responses increased rapidly. By July 1965, 1,500 students who had enrolled in February had completed a majority of all written lessons qualifying them for certificates of course completion. Due to audience responses by telephone, mail, and in person, a classroom enrollment of 3,000 has been estimated for the coming semester with thousands more envisioned in the near future. Miss Cory is receiving more daily mail for "Escuela KMEX" than any other single person on channel 34. This program stimulates comprehension and acceptance of the people of the United States, encourages the students integration into our way of life and culture.

Miss Cory gives unstintingly of her time to speak to civic groups and professional organizations about the needs of the non-English people. In addition to television teaching Miss Cory has served as a demonstration teacher and coordinator of English as a second language in Los Angeles adult schools. She has taught elementary school and conducted a study on group counseling to serve the special needs of children in poverty areas. Miss Cory operates a private reading clinic and tutoring service which awards deserving exceptional children free scholarships in intensive academic exploration.

Miss Cory's sincere affection for her students and learning has won her the profound respect of all who have been privileged to know and work with her. Each day she stimulates a respect for intellect and the American culture in her students. Their reward is knowledge.

Chairman Wayne N. Aspinall Outlines the Interest of the Public Land Law Review Commission in the Gas and Oil Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COMPTON I. WHITE, JR.

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, Chairman WAYNE ASPINALL, the author and chairman of the Public Land Law Review Commission yesterday addressed the Rocky Mountain Oil & Gas Association in Denver, Colo. His remarks so well express the purpose and objectives of the Commission, that I believe all Members should have the opportunity to review them.

Of particular interest to Members of Congress, the administrators and the users of the public lands are his statements about the effect the establishment of the Commission has upon existing law. He points out that hasty efforts to change the law before the Commission reports, are as ill-advised as are excuses to not execute the statutes on the books because changes may be made. In short, the law, however in need of clarification, should be administered as enacted.

His remarks follow:

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE WAYNE N. ASPINALL, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM COLORADO, CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS, AND CHAIRMAN OF THE PUBLIC LAND LAW REVIEW COMMISSION AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN OIL & GAS ASSOCIATION AT THE BROWN PALACE HOTEL, DENVER, COLO., SEPTEMBER 30, 1965

It is an understatement and an oversimplification to say that your industry or any industry or group interested in the use of public lands will for a long time to come feel the impact of the study now being undertaken by the Public Land Law Review Commission. It can truly be said that the oil and gas industry has a dual interest because the Commission will not only be studying large land areas, including the shale-rich lands of Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming, and the unexplored and untapped potential in Alaska, but also reviewing the disposition or restriction on disposition of the mineral resources in the outer Continental Shelf.

For the record, and for the few here who may not know the details, let me quickly state the basis and format of our operations.

The Commission's study is required because the basic public land laws were in most instances developed without regard one to the other. Although many of them, such as the Homestead Act of 1862 and the mining law of 1872, are approximately 100 years old, they remain on the statute books virtually as they were enacted. Therefore, in the words of the statute creating the Commission, they "may be inadequate to meet the current and future needs of the American people."

With the exception of staking a claim under the mining law, land laws generally cannot be utilized by the American people outside of Alaska without the exercise of some discretionary authority by the Secretary of the Interior. Broad grants of authority have been delegated to the Secretary by the Congress, such as the temporary but sweeping classification authority of the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934 and specific grants such as in the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920. In other areas, such as administration of the mining law, the executive branch, through long usage, has developed methods of exercising authority not specifically delegated by Congress.

Some of the most complex problems relative to the so-called vacant unappropriated lands as well as other land areas have arisen in the administration of the public lands. In part this is traceable to the multitude of Federal agencies engaged in these activities. The Forest Service administers its own areas but users in certain instances must also proceed through Interior Department channels in order to extract natural resources within the national forests. The rules applicable in sheltered special-purpose portions of national forests are not the same as the rules applicable to wildlife refuges and game ranges. I think we will find a lack of uniformity even among the refuges and game ranges in the application, for example, of the Mineral Leasing Act.

The fact is that we just don't know what the law in its broadest sense is as applied to the various lands coming within the jurisdiction of the Commission's study. Between conflicting statutes on the one side and judicial and departmental interpretations on the other, anyone desirous of using the public lands is confronted with a maze of law and regulation that in many instances make it impossible to predict whether a venture—be it an irrigated farm sought under the Desert Land Act or a project for mineral production—is one that would be authorized even under ideal conditions.

As you know, the Public Land Law Review Commission itself is composed of 19 members, of whom 6 are appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, 6 by the President of the Senate, 6 by the President of the United States, and the 19th a chairman elected by the first 18. It is my honor to be chosen as Chairman, and I am pleased to serve in this capacity. Working very closely with our staff and with the Commission itself is an advisory council, comprised of 25 persons from outside the Federal Government, plus 8 persons being designated by interested Federal departments and agencies. There will also be representatives of those Governors who wish to designate people to work with us. I am pleased to say that in response to my invitation to the Governors of the 50 States just a short while ago, we have heard from 39; and of the 39 responding, 38 have named representatives, thereby expressing an interest in the work of the Commission.

The early stage of the study will be primarily a staff responsibility: the drudgery of developing the status of the law as it is today while, at the same time, engaging in such basic studies as may be necessary for the later effort in which we will seek to determine whether the existing law is adequate or whether the Commission should recommend changes. But, even in the early stage, the Commission, the Advisory Council, and the Governors' representatives will work together in order to assure the initiation of all necessary projects and to assure that a cross-section of thinking, representative of all interested parties, is considered.

There may or may not be hearings held in the early stage; but it seems to me that the Commission, either directly or through its staff, must, as part of the initial phase, ascertain the problems that are bothering the people and groups using or seeking to use the public lands. We may be able to obtain this through the Advisory Council and the Governors' representatives; but public hearings may well serve a useful purpose in identifying the problem areas that should be given particular attention This is one of the many decisions that must be made in the immediate future.

We think we know the problems uppermost in the minds of people in the oil and gas industry; but, we cannot be certain until we have explored with you and your representatives the various aspects involved. We think that the least of your problems involves the administration of the Mineral Leasing Act. Still, we know that the time lag in obtaining decisions creates situations that are not compatible with maintaining an orderly business. Whether we can offer solutions to speed up title clearance and expedite appeals remains to be seen; but these are areas with which we will concern ourselves.

Obviously of far greater importance to this industry is the question of whether and to what extent new sources of oil will be made available for production. To look at this aspect, we will involve ourselves in several areas that have resisted solution in the past. To my knowledge, however, no group such as the Public Land Law Review Commission, with representation from the Congress and the public, supported by a broad-based advisory council, has ever concentrated its attention on all of these matters at one time.

These problems are not new to any of us. For 35 years we have had a temporary withdrawal of all oil shale lands. For 12 years we have had statutes seeking to provide the means to reconcile the military requirements in, on, and over the waters of the Outer Continental Shelf with the readiness of private enterprise to produce minerals from the Outer Continental Sehlf. These and other problems will be examined in depth in the next few years with a view to recommending solutions in the national interest, a term that, to me, requires being fair to all elements that comprise the national interest, including industry.

Bearing heavily on the extent to which we utilize our resources is the extent to which we allow imports from foreign sources. You who are interested in the leasable minerals may not be aware of the fact that the Solicitor of the Department of the Interior, in a decision under the mining law, held, not too long ago, that a claim for manganese was invalid because an American producer could not engage in economic production in competition with manganese that could be imported from abroad. In another, unrelated, situation, two members of the Oil Shale Advisory Board that reported to the Secretary of the Interior earlier this year took the position that we need not open up oil shale lands for development at this time because there are other sources, including foreign sources, that provide adequate supplies of oil.

As I have said on other occasions, there would be small point for us to seek solutions for the management and use of the public lands for resource development if, at the same time, reliance on foreign sources eliminates the need for the domestic source of a particular resource. In assessing the potential for development of public land resources, we will consider local and regional interests, as well as the overall national interest, when evaluating the economic impact of new or expanded industries. Public lands must be permitted to contribute to the continued growth of the Nation's gross national product and the communities involved must be permitted to join in the expanding prosperity.

If we disregard normal economic expansion, disregard the basics of competition in a free enterprise society, disregard the national security and possible defense emergency implications, it is probable that, despite soaring demand, domestic production of petroleum with an expanded oil import quota might satisfy domestic consumption requirements for the immediate future. But, I do not think that the Public Land Law Review Commission will ignore these factors and certainly not the national security and defense emergency requirements. On the contrary, I anticipate that the Commission will be very much concerned with the question of whether public lands contain resources—and I do not confine it to oil and gas alone—that can make us self-sufficient in the event of some national security requirement.

Of necessity, therefore, the Commission will in the next few years be following very closely the course of tariffs, quotas, proposed international commodity agreements, and developments such as petrochemical complexes in Puerto Rico. Any recommendations that the Commission makes must, realistically, take into consideration and possibly recommend changes in U.S. foreign trade policy.

Likewise, no study of the public lands and their resources would be complete without considering all of the tax implications bearing thereon. From what I can gather, for example, the gap between an uneconomic oil shale industry and one that could produce products competitive with those produced from traditional sources might well be found in the depletion allowance permitted under the tax laws. We shall, therefore, probably, take a close look at this question if it has not been resolved before the completion of our study.

Before pursuing this thought further, let me inject a comment that I have made many times before. While I anticipate that committees of the Congress will not, in the absence of a showing of urgency, act on substantive matters pending before the Public Land Law Review Commission, I do not expect the existence of the Commission to provide an excuse for a delay in the consideration of matters of urgency that need attention. Accordingly, if it becomes apparent that it is feasible to move forward and permit an oil shale industry to get started, such action need not await the outcome of the Commission's study and report.

While I have sponsored legislation in the last Congress, as well as in this Congress, to define clearly the point of application of the depletion allowance when oil is extracted from oil shale through retorting, I recognize that the in situ method of extraction, if proven feasible, might well alter the course of the entire industry and definitely fix the point of application of the depletion allowance at the oil coming out of the ground. This, in turn, conceivably might alter the rate of depletion allowance applicable to the production of oil from this source.

I am informed that the in situ procedure is not new to the petroleum industry and, as a matter of fact, in the words of a Department of the Interior background synopsis prepared for the Oil Shale Advisory Board, "has been fairly well developed by the petroleum industry as a means of increasing recovery from certain types of petroleum reservoirs that have been depleted to the point that conventional production methods are ineffective." This serves to

point up one major area that needs further study. If the in situ method in one instance brings forth oil, permitting the application of the existing depletion allowance for oil production, will the in situ method that likewise brings forth oil directly from the ground, but from a different geologic formation, result in application of the depletion allowance that is "standard" in traditional oil production?

Logically we might find the answer by merely phrasing questions a little differently: Should the rate of depletion allowance depend on the source from which oil is produced? Should the rate depend on how oil is produced?

It is my hope that the question of the applicable depletion allowance, as well as all other questions bearing upon the establishment of an oil shale industry, may be resolved quickly. The recurrent eruption of trouble spots throughout the world makes our dependence on foreign sources of oil less certain each day, while at the same time our requirements may increase because of security needs. I would not want the Public Land Law Review Commission to be responsible in any way for holding up development of an oil shale industry, if development is feasible.

Likewise, I would not want to be in charge of any other agency which anyone could say had contributed to a delay in opening shale lands for development. The fact is that anyone who does delay this development is not only ignoring the existing law, but is, as evidenced by the endorsement by the Navy Department of the need for an immediate oil shale industry, exposing himself to the possibility of having endangered our security.

Naturally, regardless of whether an oil shale industry is started, the matter of development of oil shale lands will be the subject of some attention by the Public Land Law Review Commission. If the in situ method, as now seems probable, becomes a reality, as indicated by the attention being given to it by potential major producers, we will not have to face some of the questions posed by traditional mining and the disposal of waste products. In any event, we shall be concerned with the use of the surface both during and after the production of oil from oil shale in the lands affected.

As I said at the beginning of my address, the oil and gas industry has a major interest in the work being undertaken by the Public Land Law Review Commission. We not only welcome but solicit your assistance in undertaking our tasks. We hope that on a day-to-day basis your representatives will work with the Commission staff through its Director to the end that we may truly reach conclusions and recommendations in the broad national interest.

Nigeria

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 1, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, today the Republic of Nigeria observed its fifth year of independence. This former British colony has, in its movement from colonial status to independence, faced a transition fraught with extraordinary difficulties. The diverse nature of its geography, climate, economic character, religions, and ethnic makeup have not made independence easy.

Yet, Nigeria is today a model among the African nations. Under its able Prime Minister, Abukabar, it is an active member of the British Commonwealth and a strong supporter of the Organization of African Unity. The United States has agreed to support a Nigerian-originated 6-year plan for economic and social development.

With respect to the State of Michigan, at the request of the Agency for Industrial Development, Western Michigan University has established a technical college in Ibadan. The purpose of this program is to develop trained technical personnel. These students will return to Nigeria to teach in the technical college. It is hoped that by 1968 the Nigerian Government will be able to administer the entire operation of this program. In addition to this program western Michigan has trained nearly 100 Peace Corps volunteers for Nigeria.

Despite the obvious challenges, Nigeria has the essential resources and has shown the human potential to succeed in its drive for development. It is appropriate, Mr. Speaker, that on this day, marking the independence of Nigeria, we commend that nation on its progress and stability and express our high hopes for its future.

Remarks in Favor of Home Rule for Washington

SPEECH

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 4644) to provide an elected Mayor, City Council, and nonvoting Delegate to the House of Representatives for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, in his book, "The Public Philosophy," which appeared a few years ago, Walter Lippmann analyzed the basic ideas that underlie English and American political institutions. These ideas were embodied in the Magna Carta, the English Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, the Federal Constitution, and our own Bill of Rights.

The ideas set forth in these constituent documents concerning the natural rights of man and the proper conduct of government make up what Lippmann calls the public philosophy.

It is the soverign principle of the public philosophy—

He says—

that we live in a rational order in which by sincere inquiry and rational debate we can distinguish the true and the false, the right and the wrong.

One of the cardinal tenets of the public philosophy is the principle of local self-government by the elective process. Inherited from medieval England and incorporated in our State constitutions, this principle is now practiced throughout the United States, except in Washington, D.C.

We know from James Madison's statement on the subject in the Federalist Papers No. 43 that the framers of the American Constitution contemplated that the inhabitants of the Federal City would enjoy local self-government. Writing in 1788 he said:

A municipal legislature for local purposes, derived from their own suffrage, will of course be allowed them.

Congress carried out the promise of the Founding Fathers and granted local autonomy to the District of Columbia down to 1875. In that year the continuity of the democratic tradition was ruptured and the rupture has not been repaired for 90 years. For nine decades the city of Washington has suffered from the eclipse of this basic principle of the public philosophy.

During the past 20 years there has been a locally inspired effort to revive and restore local self-government in the Nation's Capital City. This effort is based not only on the intrinsic validity of the principle of local autonomy, but also upon awareness that self-rule for the District of Columbia would relieve Congress of an onerous work load. Serious local problems accumulate and remain unsolved because Congress is internally too preoccupied with more urgent matters to function effectively as a city council for Washington. The growing demand for home rule has also been reenforced by a recognition of the vital educative effect on the people of representative local institutions.

This movement has been encouraged by endorsements of the principle of local self-government for the District of Columbia in the national platforms of both political parties, by supporting statements by both Republican and Democratic Presidents, and by the action of the U.S. Senate which six times has passed home rule bills with strong bipartisan support.

Twenty years of sincere inquiry and rational debate have enabled us to distinguish the true and the false, the right and the wrong. Honest reflection on our common experience, past and present, have led me and many of my colleagues in this House to conclude that home rule should be restored to the people of the District of Columbia. I favor the pending bill and hope that it will become law.

Calendar of Events of the National Gallery of Art

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following calendar of events at the National Gallery of Art:

THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 27 THROUGH SUNDAY, OCTOBER 3

Painting of the week: Bosch, "Death and the Miser" (Samuel H. Kress collection), gallery 35A, Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: Copley's American Paintings, central lobby, Tuesday through Saturday, 1; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the Collection, rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11 and 3; Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "The Conflict of Insight and Genteel Behavior in Copley's Art," guest speaker, Edgar P. Richardson, director, the Henry Francis Du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur Lecture Hall, 4.

Sunday concert: National Gallery Orchestra, Richard Bales, conducter; assisted by the Mozart Society, east garden court, 8.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 4 THROUGH SUNDAY, OCTOBER 10

Painting of the week: Courbet, "Beach at Etrétat" (Chester Dale collection), gallery 89, Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: Copley's European Paintings, central lobby, Tuesday through Saturday, 1; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the Collection, rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11 and 3; Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "The Art of Heraldry," guest speaker, J. P. Brooke-Little, Bluemantle Pursuivant of Arms, the College of Arms, London, lecture hall, 4.

Sunday concert: Claudia Lindsey, soprano, east garden court, 8.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 11, THROUGH SUNDAY, OCTOBER 17

Painting of the week: Dürer, "Portrait of a Clergyman" (Samuel H. Kress Collection), gallery 35A; Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: "American Primitive Painting," central lobby; Tuesday through Saturday, 1; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: "Introduction to the Collection," rotunda; Monday through Saturday, 11 and 3; Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "Treasures Pizarro Missed," guest speaker, Junius B. Bird, curator of South American archeology, the American Museum of Natural History, New York, lecture hall, 4.

Sunday concert: Richard Syracuse, pianist, east garden court, 8.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 18, THROUGH SUNDAY, OCTOBER 24

Painting of the week: Cézanne, "Still Life" (Chester Dale Collection), gallery 87; Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: "American Paintings in the National Gallery," rotunda; Tuesday through Saturday, 1; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: "Introduction to the Collection", rotunda; Monday through Saturday, 11 and 3; Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "The Creative Process in Art," guest speaker, Norman C. Meier, professor of psychology, University of Iowa, Iowa City, lecture hall, 4.

Sunday concert: National Gallery Orchestra, Richard Bales, conductor; Eugene List, pianist (concert in honor of United Nations Day), east garden court, 8.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 25 THROUGH SUNDAY, OCTOBER 31

Painting of the week: Cranach, "A Prince of Saxony" (Ralph and Mary Booth collection) gallery 40; Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: "Treasures of Peruvian Gold," rotunda; Tuesday through Saturday, 1; Sunday 2:30.

Tour: "Introduction to the Collection," rotunda; Monday through Saturday, 11 and 3; Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "Kandinsky and Abstract Painting," guest speaker, Thomas Munro, curator of education, the Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, lecture hall, 4.

Sunday concert: Masuko Ushioda, violinist, east garden court, 8.

Gallery hours: Weekdays, 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Sundays, 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. Admission is free to the Gallery and to all programs scheduled.

Collections: Paintings and sculpture from the Andrew Mellon, Samuel H. Kress, Widener, and Chester Dale collections, with gifts from other donors, are on the main floor. American primitive paintings from the collection of Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch, Kress Renaissance bronzes, and Widener decorative arts are on the ground floor.

New exhibition: "Treasures of Peruvian Gold." Sponsored by the Government of Peru, rotunda, October 14 through November 28.

New publication: Catalog. Treasures of Peruvian Gold. 72 pages, 10 inches by 7 inches; with introduction by Jorge Muelle; 4 color plates; 90 black and white illustrations, $2.50 postpaid.

Continuing exhibition: John Singleton Copley: "A Retrospective Exhibition," ground floor, through October 31.

Recent publication: Catalog, John Singleton Copley, 1738–1815, 168 pages, 10 by 7 inches; with introduction by Jules David Prown; 16 color plates, 87 black and white illustrations; $3.50, postpaid.

New reproductions: 11- by 14-inch color reproductions, Manet, "Oysters"; Courbet, "Beach at Etrétat"; Degas, "Ballet Scene"; Matisse, "Pot of Geraniums"; Picasso, "Le Gourmet"; Vuillard, "Théodore Duret"; Degas, "Mlle. Malo"; Henner, "Alsatian Girl"; Picasso, "Pedro Mañach"; Boudin, "The Beach at Villerville"; Renoir, "Girl With a Hoop"; Monet, "Rouen Cathedral, West Façade, Sunlight."

The 1965 Christmas card catalog; available upon request.

LecTour: A radio lecture device is installed in 30 exhibition galleries. Talks, running continuously, cover most of the periods of art represented by the collections. A visitor may rent a small receiving set for 25 cents to use in hearing these LecTour broadcasts.

Cafeteria: Open to the public Monday through Saturday, 11 a.m. to 4 p.m.; Sunday, 4 p.m. to 7 p.m.

If Water Were Gold, Washington State Would Be Fort Knox

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 1, 1965

Mr. ROYBALL. Mr. Speaker, recent testimony before the House Interior Committee has fully documented the generally recognized, and increasingly serious shortage of water in the Colorado River Basin States of our fast-growing, but arid Southwest.

Some of the testimony, however, has caused a great deal of concern to many Members of Congress because of the frightening possibility suggested that the mighty Columbia River, that proud aquatic artery of America's water-wealthy Pacific Northwest, may also be dwindling—perhaps in the mysterious grip of some adverse meteorological cycle—to a mere shadow, or rather trickle, of its former torrential self.

Pessimists have even gone so far as to intimate that this majestic riverbed, now nearly brimming over with its bountiful stream of life-giving liquid, could some day carry only furtive animal tracks hurrying in search of the last few traces of moisture left by an unkind climatic fate.

I am sure my colleagues will be happy to know, therefore, that the Honorable Daniel J. Evans, Governor of the great State of Washington, has just issued a public invitation in the respected pages of the Wall Street Journal, urging industry to consider locating in his fine State, where he asserts categorically that the Columbia River still flows vigorously, with literally billions of gallons of water cascading daily into the Pacific Ocean.

We owe a debt of gratitude to Governor Evans for dispelling our fears, and for once again restoring the Columbia to the vanguard of the great rivers of America.

Mr. Speaker, I would like particularly to point out some of the awesome statistics cited by Governor Evans' open letter, which appeared in the September 28 edition of the Journal, to indicate what positively monumental quantities of water waste uselessly to the sea.

The figures are simply staggering.

Six and eight-tenths billion gallons of Columbia River water an hour are poured into the Pacific, the good Governor tells us. This is enough to support a city of 100,000 people for a year.

And if this amount were collected for a day, it would supply a city of 2.5 million residents for a year.

And a year's wasted water would fill the needs of an unbelievable 900 million human beings.

Governor Evans begins his letter by saying:

> If water were gold, Washington State would be Fort Knox.

May I suggest to the Governor that if water were gold, Fort Knox would be green with envy.

Perhaps at this point, I should extend apologies for the witnesses for my home State of California who, during the Interior Committee hearings I mentioned earlier, carelessly underestimated this fantastic deluge—in some instances by as much as 20 percent. Please be assured that our slip was unintentional.

Moreover, our dust filled and envious eyes blink in disbelief as the Governor letter goes on, "there are dozens of other rivers, lakes and streams" and then, as if to add insult to injury, he gloats about "a vast, virtually untapped storehouse of water in underground reservoirs."

One would have thought that a decent respect for the feelings of his parched and thirsty fellow man, might have restrained the Governor from portraying such a mouth-watering mirage-for-real.

In his letter of public invitation Governor Evans has, unfortunately, omitted what must certainly be one of the most critical tests for locating a favorable industrial plant site in Washington, that of buoyancy.

We hope the Governor would not object if we in the Colorado River Basin kept just about 2 weeks' worth of this plentiful flood from wasting into the Pacific. Hopefully, 50 weeks' worth will

continue to keep his great State in the Pacific Northwest humming.

We welcome Governor Evans' assurances that all is well in Washington State, and in recognition, not only of its tremendous water supply, but also of its many other progressive and delightful features, I include the entire text of his fine letter in the RECORD:

IF WATER WERE GOLD, WASHINGTON STATE WOULD BE FORT KNOX

To the businessman who requires millions of gallons of cold, clear, and chemically pure water for the operation of his plants and industrial processes, water is mighty valuable. And Washington State has lots of it—in greater abundance than anywhere in the Nation.

The Columbia River alone, running through our State and along our southern border, pours 6.8 billion gallons of water an hour into the Pacific—enough to provide for twice the present industrial requirement of the entire Nation.

And there are dozens of other rivers, lakes, springs, snow-capped peaks and glaciers. Plus a vast, virtually untapped storehouse of water in underground reservoirs.

WATER POWER FOR INDUSTRY

Development of Washington's water resources has led to our State's present status as the Nation's leading producer of low-cost hydroelectric power. There are 54 hydroelectric generating plants in Washington State, with a combined total capacity of more than 10 million kilowatts. This power is available to industry at the lowest commercial rate in the Nation.

Fifteen major deep water ports facilitate transportation of the State's goods, with numerous freight and barge lines serving industry. Washington State's rivers, streams, and inland lakes also provide some of the finest fishing and boating you'll find anywhere—one reason Washingtonians enjoy the highest per-capita boat ownership in the country.

A FEW MORE REASONS YOU'LL BE INTERESTED IN WASHINGTON STATE

Markets: Washington State offers the second largest, and one of the most rapidly expanding, consumer and industrial markets in the West. It's the ideal shipping point to markets in the Orient and Alaska.

Scientific and technical know-how: Today, Washington stands among the Nation's top States in technology, thanks to its nuclear laboratories at Hanford, its excellent research facilities at two State universities, and its expanding aerospace and electronics industries.

Living conditions: Island-dotted sound and coastal regions, forests, mountain ranges, tremendous eastern plains areas, parks—Washington State's varied geography and mild climate make it ideal for work or play. It's easy to understand why Washington people are proud of their State— and happy to stay where they are.

Productivity: Washington's workers are 25 percent more productive than the national average, ranking among the better educated and most highly skilled anywhere.

Education and training facilities: Washington has one of the highest median levels of education in the country. The State leads the Nation in the training of data processing personnel, and is sixth in the number of people enrolled in vocational and technical schools.

Diversification. There's a broad range of industry in Washington. Firms vary from aluminum and electronics to forest products and agriculture. For example, of all the jet transport orders announced to date in the free world, Washington State will fill 49.2 percent.

Taxes: Washington State's tax laws are competitive with those in all other Western States. Real and personal property taxes are among the lowest in the Nation.

AN IDEAL CLIMATE FOR EVERY BUSINESS NEED

Living conditions, availability of raw materials, transportation, investment capital, a cooperative government attitude toward industry, an abundance of available plant sites—whatever your special need, chances are the industrial world of Washington State has what you want.

But why not let us prove it to you? If you're considering a new plant location and you'd like more facts about Washington State, I hope you'll write: Judson Wonderly, acting director of our State's department of commerce and economic development, Olympia.

Or call me personally. I'd welcome the opportunity to convince you that you will profit by a move to Washington State.

DANIEL J. EVANS,
Governor.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided,* That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

A New Ship and a Great American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 4, 1965

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I recently received a letter from Vice Admiral Rickover, noting the completion of sea trials for the U.S.S. *Simon Bolivar*, our 31st nuclear submarine. With his usual acumen, the distinguished "father of the nuclear submarine" provided in this letter an excellent sketch of the life of the man for whom the ship is named.

Because Simon Bolivar, the Liberator, represents so much of the best of our hemispheric heritage—our common aspirations for liberty—it is well that we should recall his momentous achievements. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that Admiral Rickover's noteworthy letter be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S.S. "SIMON BOLIVAR" (SSBN641),
At Sea, North Atlantic, September 28, 1965.
Hon. R. VANCE HARTKE,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR HARTKE: We have just successfully completed the first sea trials of the U.S.S. *Simon Bolivar*, our 31st Polaris submarine. We also have in operation 22 attack type nuclear submarines, making a total of 53. The *Simon Bolivar* was built by the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co. of Newport News, Va.

This ship is named for a great American soldier, patriot and statesman. Simon Bolivar (1783–1830) was American in the broad sense of the word prevailing south of the border, where it is applied to citizens of the entire Western Hemisphere, north, central, and south.

Not only for us, but for all who share this vast continent with us, the word has a magic of its own. It stands for what we have in common, what gives us a sense of belonging to the same family of nations, despite the fact that we differ in many important respects. Not the least of the bonds uniting us is a revolutionary heritage that is peculiarly American.

What sets America's wars of independence apart from other struggles for colonial emancipation is that they were fought for political liberty, pure and simple. They were wars led in the north by Englishmen and in the south by Spaniards against men of their own race, language, and culture who would deny them the right to self- government. The leaders of the revolt laid down their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor from motives of pure patriotism unadulterated by desire for personal advantage. They were already successful and important men in their communities; they did not expect independence to enrich them or to enhance their status. They fought for the ideal of liberty at great personal risk. None risked more and gained less personally than Simon Bolivar.

Born in Caracas, Venezuela—the year England recognized the independence of the United States—the son of a wealthy and aristocratic Spanish family long settled in the colony, Bolivar was educated abroad and, until the age of 27, lived the pleasant life of a rich planter. But from the moment of the first revolt in Caracas against Spain in 1810 to the end of his brief life of but 47 years, Bolivar served almost continuously as leader of the revolt. He richly deserved the title "Liberator" bestowed on him by his countrymen, for he succeeded in driving the Spaniards from the vast area now occupied by the Republics of Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Peru. At one time or another he was not only military leader but civilian chief as well as one or more of these Republics; for a brief time all were united under him.

The Hispanic-American wars of independence lasted twice as long as did our own, and were fought over a vastly larger area and more intractable terrain. In population, the adversaries were more evenly matched, there being 11 million Spaniards to 15 million colonials, while we had but a third as large a population as England.

Spain at the time was weakened by the Napoleonic wars while England was the premier maritime empire of the world. On the other hand, the Spanish colonials had to fight with no outside help except for individual volunteers who flocked to Bolivar's army as they did to Washington's. No major country gave aid as we received from France. Only little Haiti, under President Pétion, supported the cause of freedom by giving men and materiel to Bolivar at a time when he sorely needed them.

Of his military feats, Thomas Carlyle said that Bolivar rode "fighting all the way, through torrid deserts, hot mud swamps, through ice-chasms beyond the curve of perpetual frost—more miles than Ulysses ever sailed." He "marched over the Andes more than once, a feat analogous to Hannibal's and seemed to think little of it. Often beaten, banished from the firm land, he always returned again, truculently fought again."

Henry Clay called Bolivar the Washington of South America. Indeed, there are striking similarities, but the differences in temperament and in the turn of their lives are equally great. Both were self-taught soldiers. Bartolomé Mitre, famed Argentine, statesman, journalist, author, and historian said that though Bolivar "had no military education, he possessed the talents of a great revolutionary leader and the inspiration of genius * * *. He formed his plans quickly and executed them with daring resolution, while he lost no time in securing the fruits of his victory." And, speaking of his reconquest of western Venezuela, he remarked that "never, with such small means, was so much accomplished over so vast an extent of country, in so short a time."

Like Washington, Bolivar had that quality without which no man becomes a great military leader—capacity to bear adversity with fortitude and to rise from defeat to win victory. His Spanish adversary General Morillo said that Bolivar was "more fearful vanquished than victorious"—just as Washington one might well say that his finest hour was Valley Forge. Both cared for the welfare of their troops and were generous toward them. Both in their lifetime received much public adoration, both have a secure place in history as liberators of their nations. A South American republic was named for Bolivar, an American State for Washington.

But, while Washington remained popular and died venerated by his countrymen on the estate he loved so well, Bolivar lost the support of his people and died penniless of a lung ailment which might not have proved fatal had he spared himself. Toward the end he was discouraged and said that "those of us who have toiled for liberty in South America have but plowed the sea." Hendrik Willem Van Loon, in his biography writes an epitaph that is more just. "If those words, spoken in the bitterness of his final defeat and loneliness, had truly been the summing up of his restless labors, the life of Simon Bolivar might well have been considered a hopeless failure. Whereas a single glance at the map of the southern half of our continent proclaims the glory of his achievements. Half a dozen free and independent nations, arisen from among the ruins of Spain's imperial ambitions, are surely a monument of which any human being might well feel proud."

Respectfully,

H. G. RICKOVER.

The Balance-of-Payments Problem Discussed by Representatives Curtis and Reuss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I include a transcript of the September 15 "Capitol Cloakroom" program in which Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS and myself were interviewed on the international financial picture by CBS Commentator Martin Agronsky:

Mr. AGRONSKY. This is Martin Agronsky. One of the points in continuing controversy in Washington and on Capitol Hill is the U.S. imbalance-of-payments problem; that is, more gold leaves the country than comes in. How to correct this problem? This week's subject on "Capitol Cloakroom."

The ANNOUNCER. From the Nation's Capitol, CBS radio brings you the 872d presentation of "Capitol Cloakroom." This week's guests are Representative HENRY S. REUSS, Democrat, of Wisconsin; and Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, Republican, of Missouri. Now, here is CBS news correspondent, Martin Agronsky.

Mr. AGRONSKY. The United States has been running a deficit in international payments because it spends, invests, lends, and gives more abroad than it takes in from foreign countries. This outflow of dollars leads to a reduction in the U.S. gold supplies because the countries holding American dollars can demand gold for them. A controversy on Capitol Hill is the best method of controlling and correcting this monetary problem. A Republican coordinating committee paper recently charged the Johnson administration as following an international fiscal policy

that could lead to world monetary chaos. And with us today to discuss the international monetary situation and the opposed Republican and Democratic points of view are two experts on finance from the House of Representatives. Representative HENRY S. REUSS, Democrat, of Wisconsin, a member of the House Banking and Currency Committee and the Joint Economic Committee; and Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, Republican, of Missouri, also a member of the Joint Economic Committee and of the House Ways and Means Committee. Mr. REUSS will be giving the views as a spokesman for the majority. The Republican coordinating committee, I repeat, has accused the Johnson administration of following an international fiscal policy that could lead to world monetary chaos. How would you respond to that?

Mr. REUSS. Oh, I'd respond by saying that that's a wild swinging and completely unjustified charge. What has happened is that the Johnson administration currently has brought our balance of payments into order. We didn't have a deficit in the quarter of the year immediately preceding. This is good. This is what we've been trying to do for a long time. Now, it is equally true that if we no longer run deficits in our balance of payments, and I'm determined that we shall not, the free world is going to run out of international money because dollar deficits have been the leading source of international money. Therefore, the Johnson administration has been moving with equal speed to try to get our friends throughout the world to adopt a new form of international money to supplement gold, the British pound sterling, and the dollar. If we do that, there won't be any international financial chaos because the dollar will have been brought into balance and the world will have moved to do internationally what our Federal Reserve System in the last 50 years has done within our country; namely, to see that there is an adequate supply of money to lubricate trade and investment. So if our Republican friends will work with us to improve the international monetary mechanism, we will have a situation where we can have full employment without inflation at home and still have an orderly world.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Mr. CURTIS, as a Republican friend, how would you answer that?

Mr. CURTIS. Well, first I would comment that Mr. REUSS is like the administration—grabbing at straws—when he points out that in this one quarter which we just went through, they happened to have a balance. Fortunately, Secretary of the Treasury Fowler takes a more realistic view and warns everybody that this one quarter, which this assertion is based upon, is not going to mean that we've got our international balance of payments in order, and this thing remains very serious. What we've been pointing out is that the administration has been treating the symptoms rather than the disease. Furthermore, I would comment that Mr. REUSS now is doing exactly what I was afraid would happen when we Republicans, beginning about 3 years ago on the Joint Economic Committee, recommended that we do have an international monetary conference, which is now going on in Europe. But, we warned that this is no solution to the balance-of-payments problem at all. This is a desirable thing whether we had a balance-of-payment problem or not. This has to do with having a strengthened international currency. But the main trouble with the international balance of payments is that the dollar has been weakened primarily because of our domestic fiscal policies. People keep saying what's the matter with the deficit financing, spending more than we take in at the Federal level? My response is that it weakens our own dollar and, in an international marketplace where the dollar is the main means of exchange, it creates and will create this economic chaos if it were to be devalued.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Congressman CURTIS, one of the points that the Republican coordinating committee makes in the paper addresses itself to this very subject. You recommend that interest payments be increased and at home as well as abroad.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes, but I would not put it that way, as this is the way our opponents would put it, as if we want to actually increase it. Now, what we're saying is that the marketplace has to set the interest rate. Quit trying to peg interest rates through government intervention because money, just like a commodity, has a market. And if we continue to try to bolster the interest rate through artificiality, we create this very problem. So when we say that the interest rates should go up, we're simply arguing to let the marketplace play a part in this process and let the interest rates seek their level. Now as a matter of fact——

Mr. AGRONSKY. As the marketplace permits interest rates to go up, then you say to let them go up.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes, indeed. And, in fact, there is no question here. I don't want to quibble. Interest rates would go up. One reason that money has been flowing out of the United States is that interest rates abroad have been more realistic.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Mr. REUSS, would you——

Mr. REUSS. Yes, I certainly would like to comment on that. In the first place, in this country interest rates are a creature of the Federal Reserve, an independent agency. I find it ironic that the Republicans, who are the best friends of the independent Federal Reserve, should be criticizing Chairman Martin, in effect, for what they call a rigid and uncompromising commitment to easy money. Now, if that's so, then they should be raising the roof with the Federal Reserve. In fact, what we have had in this country is a rather steady increase in interest rates over the last 12 years—by no means all of which, in my judgment, was necessary. This increase has been the result of policies, not of the administration's, but of the independent Federal Reserve. What worries me about the Republican position that we should now have tighter money and higher interest rates in this country, is that reasonable interest rates—particularly long-term rates—are essential if our people are going to be able, for example, to buy the homes they need, because a mortgage rate over 20 or 25 years of 7 percent as opposed to one of 6 percent is going to mean that a family is going to have one less room in their house for the same price. Equally, with the tremendous need for schools in this country, if our localities are going to be able to build the new schools and colleges that they need, they're going to have to be able to borrow the money at relatively reasonable interest rates. The same thing applies to small business. If the small businessman has to pay exorbitant interest rates at his bank for a loan, he just isn't going to make that investment or, indeed, stay in business. So that it's a real difference between the two parties and has been one for many years. We Democrats believe in just as reasonable interest rates as the economic situation will stand.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Now, gentlemen, may I understand, see if I understand, what you regard as this fundamental difference on interest rates, and would you both correct if I'm wrong.

Mr. CURTIS. I stand on what was said before, but go ahead.

Mr. AGRONSKY. You contend, Congressman CURTIS, that interest rates should be permitted to seek their own level. You contend, Congressman REUSS, that interest rates should not be permitted to seek their level, that they should be held down.

Mr. REUSS. Well, not exactly. Actually, interest rates are whatever the Federal Reserve Board decides they should be. The Federal Reserve Board could, at any time, see that interest rates were at almost any level they want by increasing or tightening money. Now, while at various times I would agree they need to adopt different policies, all that I, as a Democrat, want to make sure of is that the Federal Reserve Board does not choke off the excellent 55 months of prosperity we've had in this country by taking the Republican proposal of tightening money and increasing interest rates at this time.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Congressman CURTIS.

Mr. CURTIS. I must add that Mr. REUSS—as is typical, I might say, of a Democratic spokesman—put in his semantics, and that is unfair. The difference lies in the function of the Federal Reserve. Mr. REUSS says that it can fix interest rates. Indeed it can, in disregard of the marketplace. It did do just that up until the Federal Reserve-Treasury Accord of 1951 when it continued to create a market for Federal bonds at a very low and unrealistic interest rate in comparison with what the marketplace demanded. Yes, it can do that, but the policy of the present Federal Reserve Board, which I do approve of, is to try to anticipate and figure out what is the market demand for money. In other words, you increase the money supply in a society in accordance with the increased economic activity, and the real test to whether you increase money is where there really has been economic growth. But if you try to reverse it through cheap money to get growth, you actually bring about inflation, and, in our judgment, you damage the economy. What we're arguing is that the administration, through its deficit financing and having the Federal Reserve Board buy up more of the Federal bonds than the marketplace can absorb with these interest rates, is being unrealistic. We want the marketplace to reflect our actual economic accomplishments through the test of how much money we should have.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Now, we're speaking of domestic economy. Now, how does this apply to the balance-of-payments problem and the deficit?

Mr. CURTIS. Because, thank goodness, we are in a fortunate position that the U.S. dollar is the international medium of exchange. So, if we, in effect, through our fiscal policy as it relates to our Federal Reserve policy, are creating artificially lower interest rates, in effect devaluing the dollar, this dollar is devalued in the international marketplace. Now, the dollar, still, in the international marketplace, is tied to gold. We still do promise to redeem the paper dollars that are issued to foreign governments. We promise to pay in gold. We don't let our own citizens do it. But in the international marketplace, we do. So——

Mr. AGRONSKY. Please make sure that we hold good on that promise.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes, and what's happened, and the reason we had to repeal the Silver Act and why we had to pass the wooden nickel bill—taking the intrinsic monetary metal value out of our coins, is that the commodities, gold and silver and other things—are worth more than the full faith and credit of the United States because of these fiscal policies that we have pursued.

Mr. REUSS. Well, the reason we're coming up with a coinage based not on pure silver, but on nickel and other subsidiary metals is that Americans use so many coins, so many dimes and quarters and 50-cent pieces, that there wasn't enough silver to supply the market. So at the request of all elements in American society, we have cut down or cut out the silver content of our small coinage. This is a good thing, because the American public needs coins to put in that laundromat or whatever they're doing with them.

Mr. CURTIS. Well, Henry, what you're in effect saying, is that the value of silver as a commodity and use for other things is worth more than the full faith and credit of

the United States, and of U.S. paper money. If we had not continued to peg our gold and silver prices in relation to our paper money, we wouldn't have this problem. But people are hoarding silver coins and if the gold were around they would hoard it too because it's worth more than what we're willing to pay for it in dollars.

Mr. REUSS. Yes, and unfortunately, we had the good sense in this country a few months ago to cut down or cut out the use of silver in our coins. There's no point in Uncle Sam paying $1.40 an ounce for silver and losing money on its quarters and dimes.

Mr. CURTIS. That point is true, but the point is—and this was the debate on the floor of the House—that this is an example of the administration treating the symptoms rather than the disease. It's true, regardless, as in this situation. But I'm pointing out the reason we're here is because we continue to spend more money than we take in and we do not balance our budget every business cycle. That's the fundamental error in this administration's fiscal policy.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Congressman CURTIS, one other point the Republican paper makes is that there should be a reduction in the American troops in Europe and a cutback in military and economic aid made to foreign countries. Am I correct in that?

Mr. CURTIS. I think the way you state it will mislead people. It says redetermine the extended need under present conditions for U.S. military forces. Now, it is our belief and the military authorities tell us that we can cut down considerably on our troops abroad and actually have an increased defense capability, but we would at no time cut back on our military capabilities. We're simply saying that by redetermining the extended need—and the administration itself, I think, agrees with this—we're pointing out the heavy drainings on our economy in maintaining large garrisons of troops in Europe. I do think that this is not to be at the sacrifice of military strength.

Mr. AGRONSKY. I didn't indicate in any way, nor did I intend to indicate that it was——

Mr. CURTIS. No, I didn't think you did, but as it's worded, it could be misleading, and the people might think that.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Let me take the exact wording and discuss that.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes. I read the exact wording.

Mr. AGRONSKY. The Republicans accuse the Democratic administration of pursuing, I quote "a restrictive, shortrun, pennywise, little think, isolationist policy," end quote in trying to reduce the deficit.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes, and that is referring to things like restricting the amount of goods tourists could bring into this country; and the interest equalization tax on foreign investing rather than this particular point on military. But it certainly is true that they have been pursuing this policy of trying to treat the symptoms instead of the disease. In regard to what I was saying about the military, I didn't want anyone to think that in any sense we were advocating weakening our military structure. We do think, though, that in reading the exact words, we should "redetermine the extent of need and the present conditions for U.S. military forces in the European theater with the objective of reducing our expenditures there."

Mr. REUSS. Well, I would like to comment on that because, like so many of the points in the Republican paper, there is a grain of commonsense to it, but it's so wildly overstated that it will do more harm than good. Let's just take this military point. The Republican paper points out that we now have 700,000 military and associated personnel in Europe, and that this number could be cut down. If what they had said was that the United States should take a new look, for instance, at our supply line through France, which now services our forces in Germany, and see whether it isn't possible to perhaps service those German forces through ports like Bremen and Hamburg, and thus eliminate the half billion dollars that it costs us to maintain our supply lines in France, that would have been a proposition well worth looking at. Instead, however, and I really regret this, the Republican paper says—of our 700,000 forces in Western Europe—it says this, and I'm quoting, "a small detachment of our forces can serve as evidence of our commitment." In other words, they would apparently cut down our forces in Europe to a detachment. Now, this could be very unfortunate. It would feed the fires of De Gaulle who has been saying that the Americans all along have intended to chicken out in Europe. It's also extremely unfortunate coming as it does just a few days before the important election in West Germany.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Congressman Curtis.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes, I would say to all people, read the Republican paper yourself because Mr. REUSS quoted only a certain portion. Let me read the sentences just before, "A force of this size was unequestionably desirable 15 years ago (referring to the 700,000) as an emergency protective matter when our European allies were weak and relatively defenseless. But with their economic recovery, the Western European countries should be able to marshall their own conventional forces against invasion. However, they are continuing foreign commitments to assist in our defenses." Incidentally, I think the administration itself—the Johnson administration—and so did the Eisenhower administration, came to these conclusions, but for some reason or other we haven't implemented them.

Mr. AGRONSKY. You eventually foresee, then, the possibility that we could substitute a commitment which they would accept for actual troop presence.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes, this is one reason Secretary of Defense McNamara had that Operation Airlift to demonstrate our capabilities of doing just that.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Gentlemen, can I leave this to a perhaps nonpartisan area and quote from the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Fowler, a July 10th speech when he said that a continuing U.S. payments deficit would jeopardize U.S. gold reserves upon which the dollar as a medium of international exchange is based, and that this poses a paradox for the United States in that on the other hand, a prolonged surplus in the U.S. payments position would shrink the resources available to finance international credit and economic development. And the point he makes is that even a partial equilibrium in the U.S. payments account could retard the growth of world trade and economic development, thus, in the end, hurt the United States.

Mr. CURTIS. Well, then that's a contradiction. In fact, one part of that is exactly what we were trying to say. But we, the Republicans on the Joint Economic Committee, were urging that this international monetary conference be set up so that the world wouldn't be so dependent upon the U.S. dollar itself as a reserve currency. This could be achieved. Otherwise, the argument might prevail that it is necessary for the United States to continue to run these kinds of deficits. Now what I argue is that we should not run deficits and we should not use our deficits as the liquidity for the rest of the world. We should use a setup on international monetary systems so that we have liquidity, but we've got to get our own house in order.

Mr. AGRONSKY. But what about Secretary Fowler's indication that a partial equilibrium in the U.S. payments account, that is, as you get a balance of payments, you have a balance-of-payments deficit, could retard the growth of world trade in the economic development.

Mr. CURTIS. Although I happen to think well of Secretary Fowler, I disagree with him on this point. If he does a good job in the international montetary conference, he is not going to have to insist on this unfortunate deficit which would, in the long run, hurt us.

Mr. REUSS. Well, I think that Secretary Fowler's words there pinpoint what should be our real national goal. We should keep on working toward full employment without inflation at home; we should get our balance of payments in order; and, finally, and without much delay, we should get into being a new international monetary mechanism so that our getting our house in order, which we're trying to do and succeeding pretty well at doing, doesn't create international repercussions. That's the whole point and on that I would hope our Republican friends would agree, and I think many of them do.

Mr. AGRONSKY. What kind of international monetary mechanism are you referring to?

Mr. REUSS. I'm thinking of something under the International Monetary Fund such as the Joint Economic Committee suggested the other day in a bipartisan report, with complete acquiescence on both sides. Let the Fund develop an additional international currency to supplement gold, the pound sterling, and the American dollar. If they can do that, then our getting our house in order, internationally speaking, isn't going to produce a crisis in liquidity affecting world trade.

Mr. AGRONSKY. By international currency, you mean something in addition to the dollar, the pound, the franc?

Mr. REUSS. Exactly. Some new so-called fiduciary currency which bears the backing of the International Monetary Fund and which central bankers are willing to accept.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Congressman CURTIS.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, this is right except one thing that we've got to be sure of—that in doing this, you do not take away the discipline that is imposed upon societies, including the United States, to keep their own domestic houses in order and that this is not used as a crutch. Here is the difference of opinion. We feel that the fiscal policies in the United States are not adequate, and these are the things that are leading to the trouble in the international balance of payments.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Congressman REUSS.

Mr. REUSS. I'd just as soon settle for our 55 consecutive months of prosperity and the prospect that we will continue that and keep the dollar stable and its purchasing power stable. I believe we can do all that and still move with our friends and neighbors to set up a better international monetary order.

Mr. AGRONSKY. Thank you, gentlemen, for discussing with such clarity this very complicated problem on "Capitol Cloakroom."

Echo of Distant Drums

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to place in the Appendix of the RECORD Helen Glasgow's lyrics for a march dedicated to Dwight D. Eisenhower. The lyrics, which were reprinted in Genevieve Neville's column in the Bridgeport Post of August 17, 1965, follow:

ECHO OF DISTANT DRUMS

The related meter of music and verse has given the downbeat in the vigorous career of Helen Glasgow, born Elena Erzdorf von

Kupfer in Leningrad when the Russian capital was St. Petersburg.

The march, dedicated to Dwight D. Eisenhower, for which she composed music and lyrics in July 1952, when he accepted the nomination for Presidency, has been received with response ranging from courteous to enthusiastic. The lyrics, appropriate this week commemorating the close of World War II are:

The steps draw nearer,
The drums sound louder,
Can't take the memories away;
The roar of guns, the smell of powder—
All that brought on the great V-Day!
In peace time thereafter, its gallant hero
Did try to calm the war-torn world.
Kind heart, great wisdom and the power
Blend in one name; Dwight Eisenhower!
And now, again, the bugle's calling
For glorious victory once more!
And on this man the fate's befalling
To serve his flag as well in peace as in the war.

The Draft and the Draft Dodger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD a WBBM-TV editorial presented on Standpoint by the distinguished editorial director of that station, Carter Davidson. I invite the attention of my colleagues in the House to it in the light of the recent action which this body took with regard to the burning and public destruction of draft cards. The editorial follows:

THE DRAFT AND THE DRAFT DODGER

In the next 2 months, some 5,000 young men of Illinois will be drafted into military service. It's a pretty safe bet that this is not something any one of them would wish to have happen. It's also a fairly safe bet that all of them will show up at the induction center, prepared to put on a uniform and march off to military service.

When this country calls its men to duty, it has been tradition to answer that call. Such a time is now, when the war in Vietnam is demanding more and more American manpower. The call to duty has been stepped up, and is being answered, even by young men who would prefer, quite naturally, to occupy themselves otherwise.

There are exceptions. The war in Vietnam is not a popular war. Neither was any war, since the misty moments when men fought their wars with stone axes. With unpopular wars came unpopular men, fortunately only a handful of them or less, who perform such exhibitionism as tearing up their draft cards and mailing the pieces to Federal authorities.

One example came to attention a few days ago. It was an infuriating, and in some ways sad, case of a man swimming upstream. He tore his draft card into bits and mailed it to the U.S. attorney's office here in Chicago, with a covering letter with copies to various editorial commentators on newspapers and in radio and television.

He was ineligible for the draft because he was married and had children, he was too old to be drafted by 7 or 8 years, and he was physically disabled. Yet he went through with the exhibitionism to show his support for young men eligible for the draft who wished to avoid it. It was a senseless gesture which could lead him to 5 years in prison. That will be up to the courts.

But we are convinced the 5,000 or so young men of Illinois—about half of them come from the Chicago area—who will be drafted in October and November neither need nor want such gestures on their behalf. The war in Vietnam, as we have mentioned, is not popular. No war ever is. But it is a war we are committed to fight. It is a venture of the United States to which the young manhood of this country pledges allegiance. Vietnam is a corner of the world where U.S. interests are very much involved, where hundreds of American lives already have been lost, where the prospects of victory remain elusive.

Obviously, no American wants even a limited war, and even less the ever-present threat that small wars can become global wars and lead to the death of mankind. But we are convinced that no thinking American wants to run from war, if that obligation is what is left to us. There are legitimate reasons for wanting to avoid being drafted, of course, reasons other than being otherwise minded about risking life and limb for country. Our laws make provisions to excuse such exemptions.

But our laws make no provisions to excuse such exhibitionism as tearing up draft cards—an act that brings shame to the man who does it and, in a sense, disgraces us all.

The Offered Hand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, as President Johnson has so often pointed out, our youth is our most precious resource. That is why it is so encouraging to note the splendid success of Project Head Start in communities across the Nation this past summer—and to note that Head Start has now become a year-round program.

Recently, the Sacramento Bee carried an editorial in praise of the local Head Start efforts. I recommend this editorial to my colleagues. More than a mere summation of the program, it describes the real meaning of Head Start to the people it serves: the children to whom entirely new world's have been opened. And it concludes:

If identity and dignity are so important to the adult society, and they are, how much more precious must they be to the sensitive child, bewildered by life around him and reaching for the offered hand?

It should make us all proud to be part of the generation which has stretched out that offered hand.

I submit the Sacramento Bee editorial as follows:

THE OFFERED HAND

Of the various programs aimed at giving the disadvantaged American a break, perhaps none has had the startling and dramatic success of Project Head Start—the program designed to help prepare preschool children in impoverished neighborhoods for school.

This became abundantly clear as the State board of education began to receive preliminary reports at its Los Angeles meeting. So effective have been the results, in fact, the State consultant for Project Head Start has recommended the admission age for children be lowered to 3 years.

Among the benefits are these:

For many of the 21,000 children enrolled in the first classes the medical examinations they received were their first. Startling and severe handicaps were detected among many and were given immediate treatment.

For most children, the project provided their first exposure to society action; and fortunately, the exposure was one of affection, care, concern.

Moreover, the project tends to involve the entire community, and the community benefits by becoming aware, first hand, of some of the human problems which had gone so long undetected. For example, psychological tests disclosed that in the minds of many of the young enrolled from impoverished neighborhoods, policemen are people who "shoot you, hurt you, or arrest you." How crippling this early identification can be to the growing child.

Perhaps Mrs. Hortense Hurle, Head Start director in Del Paso Heights, best summed it up when she told the board: Head Start gives to some of the children the "first knowledge" of their identity and dignity as human beings. Ponder upon that for a moment: If identity and dignity are so important to the adult society, and they are, how much more precious must they be to the sensitive child, bewildered by life around him and reaching for the offered hand?

The Sisk Bill, Vigorously Implemented, Can Make Home Rule Possible

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, forces favoring home rule for the District of Columbia, after last week's House floor action, are naturally less than happy. But I believe that the Sisk bill, passed by the House by a large margin, offers a real opportunity of achieving home rule in this 89th Congress. I include my letter to District Commissioner Walter N. Tobriner, in which I set forth a proposed Sisk bill home rule timetable, which I believe possible to achieve:

OCTOBER 4, 1965.

Commissioner WALTER N. TOBRINER,
District Building, Pennsylvania Avenue and 14th Street, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. TOBRINER: As one who has long worked for home rule for the District of Columbia, I share the disappointment of many residents that the House of Representatives last week rejected the so-called Multer compromise home rule bill and instead substituted the Sisk bill. After the remarkable performance whereby 218 Members signed a home rule discharge petition, it was a setback to have the House work its will by substituting the Sisk bill, even though the Sisk bill is the first home rule bill to pass the House within historic memory.

I write because I believe that action on the Sisk bill is vitally necessary in these closing days of the first session of the 89th Congress, and that if such action is not taken we shall have lost our best opportunity for home rule for many years to come. This Congress, I believe, contains majorities in both Houses favorable to some sort of home rule. Future Congresses may not. If the Sisk bill becomes law, and its procedures are speedily carried through, I believe that both House and Senate could have before them by next June—

the last possible date before final adjournment—a home rule proposition which, when subjected to a square yea-and-nea vote, I believe stands a good chance of adoption.

Accordingly, I would hope that you and the other two District Commissioners could shortly publicly support the passage of the House-approved Sisk bill, as is, by the Senate, so that it may go directly to the President for signature.

While there may be some temptation to improve the Sisk bill in the Senate, I do not believe that any Senate improvements would be very consequential. On the other hand, any change in the Sisk bill would require a conference with the House. While the House rules reform of last January deprived the Rules Committee of its power to veto a conference, it nevertheless lodged power to request a conference in the "committee with jurisdiction of the subject matter," in this case the House District of Columbia Committee. Because of the antihome rule composition of that committee, it is too much t hope that it would request a conference in these closing days of the session. A Sisk bill amended by the Senate would therefore die, and the chance to get aboard the Sisk bill timetable would be lost forever.

I submit for your consideration the following timetable, designed to achieve home rule for the District of Columbia by Congress' target adjournment date of July 1, 1966:

1. A request by the District Commissioners to the Senate that the Senate pass the Sisk bill without amendment, and send it to the President for signature. Hopefully, such action could be completed by October 15, 1965.

2. The Sisk bill provides for a self-government referendum and charter board election not later than 100 days after enactment. Like other limitations in the Sisk bill, these are maximums and not minimums. The effective minimum date for the self-government referendum and charter board election would seem to be Tuesday, December 14, 1965, which would allow candidates to file with the District of Columbia Board of Elections by Friday, October 29 (the Sisk bill requires nomination papers to be filed 45 days prior to the election). According to the Sisk bill, 2 weeks before the proposed December 14 election and referendum the board of elections shall mail a voter information pamphlet containing, among other things, 500-word arguments for approval and disapproval of the referendum, on both sides, by two Members of the House and two Members of the Senate. The appointing officers—the Speaker of the House and President pro tempore of the Senate—could verify beforehand that the antihome rule Members writing the arguments would, in fact, comply with the timetable. My guess is that the voters of the District of Columbia would overwhelming support home rule, and elect a serious and dedicated charter board.

3. The charter board, under the Sisk bill, has no minimum time for action (there is a 210 day maximum). By adopting the amended Multer bill as its starting point (because this has been subjected to searching House debate and carries an excellent chance of House approval, if it is put squarely to the House), the charter board could hold prompt hearings and deliberations. The amended Multer bill, it will be remembered, is substantially like the Senate-passed home rule bill, except for: (a) the Federal payment, while authorized on a permanent basis, would be subject to annual congressional appropriations; (b) elections would be on a nonpartisan basis; (c) the Hatch Act would be technically operative (though, because of the nonpartisan elections, this would not substantially impede activity by Federal employees); and (d) political contributions by corporations and labor unions would be outlawed (as is done in Federal elections anyway). The $300,000 appropriation for charter board activities authorized in the Sisk bill could be the subject of a special appropriation at this session of Congress. There is no reason why, by deliberations as intensive as those of the College of Cardinals in selecting a Pontiff, the charter board could not approve a District of Columbia charter within 30 days by, say, January 14, 1966, and transmit it to the District of Columbia Board of Elections.

4. The Sisk bill requires that the charter referendum be held no later than 45 days after transmittal. The charter referendum, therefore, might well be held on Tuesday, February 22, 1966, Washington's Birthday. Again, I believe that the District of Columbia electors would overwhelmingly approve such a charter, which could then be immediately delivered to House and Senate.

5. Under the Sisk bill, approval of the charter by Congress is automatic after the expiration of 90 days, unless either House of Congress has approved a disapproving resolution by that time. My belief is that neither House would pass a disapproving resolution of a charter along the lines described above. For the purpose of counting 90 days, the Sisk bill excludes days on which "either House is not in session because of an adjournment to a day certain or sine die." The House and Senate leadership would, I believe, be willing to exclude lengthier adjournments during the 90-day period. But if this should not be so, the Sisk bill also provides that Congress may, by concurrent resolution, within the 90-day period approve the charter. So one way or another, both Houses would have an opportunity to act (incidentally, if congressional action on the charter should be deemed legally insufficient to constitute a permanent authorization for the Federal payment—as opposed to appropriation—a separate authorizing bill could be passed next spring, using the already-tested discharge procedure in the House if necessary).

Admittedly, the above procedure, like a space shot, can work only if "all systems are go." But self-government and democracy never did come easy. In view of the absence of any other workable procedure, I would hope that you and your associates could take the lead in shepherding the Sisk bill along the route proposed. It will cost some money to have the elections, and in the end it may not succeed. In my judgment, however, it offers the last clear chance for home rule for the District for many years to come.

Sincerely,

HENRY S. REUSS,
Member of Congress.

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Appendix

Antioch News Editorial Spotlights Water Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, an editorial entitled "Water Pollution" appeared in the September 30, 1965, issue of the Antioch News published by my friend, Margaret E. Gaston, in Antioch, Ill., which is located in Illinois' 12th Congressional District.

This editorial summarizes the acute problem of water pollution and presents the challenge to local, State, and Federal authorities which is recognized in the recently enacted water-pollution control amendments.

Mr. Speaker, the subject of water pollution is of particular interest to the Antioch community since it is located in the heart of the lake-resort area of northern Illinois.

I commend this timely article of sound advice to my colleagues in the House of Representatives as well as to the citizens throughout the Nation which are each individually affected by this grave problem.

The editorial follows:

WATER POLLUTION

Water pollution is one of the biggest problems facing communities today. At times, as we listen to the dire forecasts of biologists and conservationists, we feel that the human race is more likely to die of poisoning by its own wastes than from an atomic bomb.

It's also one of the most prohibitively expensive problems to really clear up. Towns and cities solve their sewage problems by dumping their waste into lakes and streams, and create a problem for their neighbors. Industry adds to the problem with waste chemicals. How to dispose of all this waste without prohibitive expense?

So far, no community has found a really satisfactory answer without adding to general pollution of nearby bodies of water. Now, the Federal Government is getting ready to step in and try to help where it's needed, and force action where necessary.

The Federal Government's water pollution control bill allows a 22-month period of grace for States to start taking action to clean up their own backyards. After that, the Federal Government will step in and force action.

Industries are getting a 6-month period to get to work on their waste-disposal problems.

In general, Federal funds are a snare and a delusion. It is, after all, still money from the taxpayer's pocket, the same taxpayer whose funds support the local and State government.

Water pollution, though, is one area where Federal funds and intervention could prove of great benefit. Streams are no respecter of State lines. It does little good for the downstream State or community to clean up adjacent streams if waste is dumped in upstream. States are more likely to cooperate in cleaning up common bodies of water when the threat of Federal intervention is hanging over them.

We're years late in halting the pollution of our streams. A truly intensive national drive with the Federal Government supplying all available scientific know-how to States and communities would benefit the national health as well as producing an esthetic improvement.

Visit of Pope Paul VI to the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, yesterday, the world heard a stirring message of peace, delivered from the rostrum of the United Nations General Assembly. The message was delivered by the Pope, the spiritual leader of the Roman Catholic faith. But when the pontiff of Rome spoke to the representatives of the nations, he expressed the cherished aspirations of all men.

The Pope quoted the words of the late President Kennedy, that:

Mankind must put an end to war, or war will put an end to mankind.

He spoke of the building of a world in which peace is guaranteed by a concert of nations. Yet the Pope reminded us all that peace is not built by means of politics and of balancing of interests alone, but is constructed by concrete works of peace, and by enlightened ideas, the product of 20th century man grappling with his destiny.

Technological advances have made the prospect of war so menacing, so potentially destructive of all that mankind has labored so hard to construct, that all of us must share the Pope's plea of "No more war, war never again." But the real danger to mankind "comes not from progress or from science. No, the real danger comes from man himself, wielding ever more powerful arms which can be employed equally well for destruction or for the loftiest conquests."

What we desperately require for our technological advances to be turned to man's betterment, instead of our detriment, for our advancement as social beings to keep pace with our scientific progress, is, as the Pope so eloquently declared, "a halt, a moment of recollection, of reflection, almost a prayer; a moment to think anew of our common origin, our history, our common destiny."

Mr. President, only when we begin to think in terms of the common origin and common destiny of all mankind, when we begin to put into practice our splendid ideal of the brotherhood of man, only then will peace be assured between the nations and within them.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of the Pope's address to the United Nations, and an editorial from the Baltimore Sun commenting on this historic occasion.

There being no objection, the address and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Oct. 5, 1965]

THE POPE'S ADDRESS

The message of Paul VI to the General Assembly of the United Nations was, as he said, a simple message: The nations of the world must seek together a stable system of international life, without settlements of disputes through warfare, and the United Nations is not only the best vehicle for seeking peace, but in the broad view it may be the sole vehicle. It may be the last chance, though the Pope did not put it in words so blunt.

If his message was simple, its manner was not, nor was the background of its preparation. Behind the measured eloquence and the magnificent form of the address, there lay years of personal contemplation, years of anxiety over the difficulties of the world and over its faults, including the imperfections of the United Nations—and there lay also, as he humbly said, nearly 20 centuries of yearning for the good of peoples, and for peace among them. Of Secretary General U Thant's invitation, and the acceptance that led to yesterday's historic occasion, Pope Paul said: "Like a messenger who, after a long journey, finally succeeds in delivering the letter which has been entrusted to him, so we appreciate the good fortune of this moment, however brief. * * * As you will remember, we are very ancient; we here represent a long history; we here celebrate the epilog of a wearying pilgrimage in search of a conversation with the entire world."

The Pope's message was of course a spiritual message, yet in context it was spiritual in that it dealt with the intellectual and moral values, of whatever religion or belief, on which any man's or nation's hope for peace must rest. Peace, he said, is built not only by a balance of forces and of interests, but also with the mind, with ideas; and a first danger to the viability of organizations which seek peace, as the United Nations does, is pride, which "no matter how legitimate it may seem to be * * * provokes tension and struggles for prestige, for predominance, colonialism, egoism."

Even as he looked backward to the lessons and precepts of history, the Pope looked forward, telling his listeners that we must all get used to thinking of man in a new way, with a new manner of conceiving the paths of history and the destiny of mankind. Spoken in isolation or ignorance, these might be thought platitudes. Spoken by one of the great leaders of the world (though the leader of a temporal state that is miniscule, with sovereignty only enough to enable him independently to exercise his spiritual mis-

sion), a leader who does not live in isolation, who knows the troubles and perils of the globe, they carry a force no one however cynical can wholly ignore; and the occasion of their delivery will have reinforced the foundations of history's most earnest attempt to secure a universal peace.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Oct. 5, 1965]

TRANSLATION OF POPE'S ADDRESS AT U.N.

(NOTE.—UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., October 4.—Here is an English translation of Pope Paul VI's address in French to the U.N. General Assembly today:)

As we commence our address to this unique world audience, we wish to thank your Secretary General, U Thant, for the invitation which he extended to us to visit the United Nations, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the foundation of this world institution for peace and for collaboration between the peoples of the entire earth.

Our thanks also to the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Amitore Fanfani, who used such kind language in our regard from the very day of his election.

We thank all of you here present for your kind welcome, and we present to each one of you our deferential and sincere salutation. In friendship you have invited us and admitted us to this meeting; and it is as a friend that we are here today.

We express to you our cordial personal homage, and we bring you that of the entire second Vatican Ecumenical Council now meeting in Rome, and represented here by the eminent cardinals who accompany us for this purpose.

In their name and in our own, to each and every one of you, honor and greeting.

This encounter, as you all understand, marks a simple and at the same time a great moment. It is simple because you have before you a humble man; your brother; and among you all, representatives of sovereign states, the least invested, if you wish to think of him thus, with a minuscule, as it were symbolic, temporal sovereignty, only as much as is necessary to be free to exercise his spiritual mission, and to assure all those who deal with him that he is independent of every other sovereignty of this world.

But he, who now addresses you, has no temporal power, nor any ambition to compete with you. In fact, we have nothing to ask for, no question to raise; we have only a desire to express and a permission to request; namely, that of serving you insofar as we can, with disinterest, with humility and love.

FIRST DECLARATION

This is our first declaration. As you can see, it is so simple as to seem insignificant to this assembly, which always treats of most important and most difficult matters.

We said also, however, and all here today feel it, that this moment is also a great one. Great for us, great for you.

For us: you know well who we are. Whatever may be the opinion you have of the Pontiff of Rome, you know our mission.

We are the bearer of a message for all mankind. And this we are, not only in our own personal name and in the name of the great Catholic family; but also in that of those Christian brethren who share the same sentiments which we express here, particularly of those who so kindly charged us explicitly to be their spokesman here.

Like a messenger who, after a long journey, finally succeeds in delivering the letter which has been entrusted to him, so we appreciate the good fortune of this moment, however brief, which fulfills a desire nourished in the heart for nearly 20 centuries.

For, as you will remember, we are very ancient; we here represent a long history; we here celebrate the epilog of a wearying pilgrimage in search of a conversation with the entire world, ever since the command was given to us: Go and bring the good news to all peoples.

Now, you here represent all peoples, allow us to tell you that we have a message, a happy message, to deliver to each one of you and to all.

1. We might call our message a ratification, a solemn moral ratification of this lofty institution. This message comes from our historical experience.

As "an expert in humanity," we bring to this organization the suffrage of our recent predecessors, that of the entire Catholic episcopate and our own, convinced as we are that this organization represents the obligatory path of modern civilization and of world peace.

In saying this, we feel we are making our own the voice of the dead and of the living; of the dead who fell in the terrible wars of the past; of the living who survived those wars, bearing in their hearts a condemnation of those who would try to renew wars; and also of those living who rise up fresh and confident, the youth of the present generation, who legitimately dream of a better human race.

And we also make our own the voice of the poor, the disinherited, the suffering, of those who hunger and thirst for justice, for the dignity of life, for freedom, for well being, and progress. The peoples of the earth turn to the United Nations as the last hope of concord and peace; we presume to present here, with their tribute of honor and of hope, our own tribute also. That is why this moment is great for you, also.

2. We feel that you are already aware of this. Hearken now to the continuation of our message. It becomes a message of good wishes for the future. The edifice which you have constructed must never fall; it must be perfected, and made equal to the needs which world history will present.

You mark a stage in the development of mankind from which retreat must never be admitted but from which it is necessary that advance be made.

To the pluralism of states, which can no longer ignore one another, you offer an extremely simple and fruitful formula of coexistence.

First of all, you recognize and distinguish the ones and the others. You do not confer existence upon states; but you qualify each single nation as fit to sit in the orderly congress of peoples.

That is, you grant recognition, of the highest ethical and juridical value, to each single sovereign national community, guaranteeing it an honored international citizenship.

"A GREAT SERVICE"

This in itself is a great service to the cause of humanity, namely to define clearly and to honor the national subjects of the world community, and to classify them in a juridical condition, worthy thereby of being recognized and respected by all, and from which there may derive an orderly and stable system of international life.

You give sanction to the great principle that the relations between peoples should be regulated by reason, by justice, by law, by negotiation; not by force, nor by violence, not by war, not by fear or by defeat.

Thus it must be. Allow us to congratulate you for having had the wisdom to open this hall to the younger peoples, to those states which have recently attained independence and national freedom. Their presence is the proof of the universality and magnanimity which inspire the principles of this institution.

Thus it must be. This is our praise and our good wish; and, as you can see, we do not attribute these as from outside; we derive them from inside, from the very genius of your institution.

3. Your charter goes further than this, and our message advances with it. You exist and operate to unite the nations, to bind states together.

Let us use this second formula: to bring the ones together with the others.

You are an association. You are a bridge between peoples. You are a network of relations between states. We would almost say that your chief characteristic is a reflection, as it were, in the temporal field, of what our Catholic Church aspires to be in the spiritual field: unique and universal.

In the ideological construction of mankind, there is on the natural level nothing superior to this. Your vocation is to make brothers not only of some but of all peoples, a difficult undertaking, indeed; but this it is, your most noble undertaking. Is there anyone who does not see the necessity of coming thus progressively to the establishment of a world authority, able to act efficaciously on the juridicial and political levels?

WISH REITERATED

Once more we reiterate our good wish: Advance always. We will go further, and say: strive to bring back among you any who have separated themselves, and study the right method of uniting to your pact of brotherhood, in honor and loyalty, those who do not yet share in it.

Act so that those still outside will desire and merit the confidence of all; and then be generous in granting such confidence. You have the good fortune and the honor of sitting in this assembly of peaceful community; hear us as we say: insure that the reciprocal trust which here units you, and enables you to do good and great things, may never be undermined or betrayed.

4. The inherent logic of this wish, which might be considered to pertain to the very structure of your organization, leads us to complete it with other formulas. Thus, let no one, inasmuch as he is a member of your union, be superior to the others; never one above the other.

This is the formula of equality. We are well aware that it must be completed by the evaluation of other factors besides simple membership in this institution; but equality, too, belongs to its constitution.

You are not equal, but here you make yourselves equal.

For several among you, this may be an act of high virtue; allow us to say this to you, as the representative of a religion which accomplishes salvation through the humility of its divine founder. Men cannot be brothers if they are not humble.

It is pride, no matter how legitimate it may seem to be, which provokes tension and struggles for prestige, for predominance, colonialism, egoism; that is, pride disrupts brotherhood.

5. And now our message reaches its highest point, which is, at first, a negative point.

You are expecting us to utter this sentence, and we are well aware of its gravity and solemnity:

Not the ones against the others, never again, never more!

It was principally for this purpose that the organization of the United Nations arose: against war, in favor of peace!

Listen to the lucid words of the great departed John Kennedy, who proclaimed, four years ago: "Mankind must put an end to war, or war will put an end to mankind."

Many words are not needed to proclaim this loftiest aim of your institution. It suffices to remember that the blood of millions of men, that numberless and unheard of sufferings, useless slaughter and frightful ruin, are the sanction of the pact which unites you, with an oath which must change the future history of the world:

"WAR NEVER AGAIN"

No more war, war never again! Peace, it is peace which must guide the destinies of people and of all mankind.

Gratitude to you, glory to you, who for 20 years have labored for peace. Gratitude and glory to you for the conflicts which you have prevented or have brought to an end. The results of your efforts in recent days in favor of peace, even if not yet proved decisive, are such as to deserve that we, presuming to interpret the sentiments of the world, express to you both praise and thanks.

Gentlemen, you have performed and you continue to perform a great work: the education of mankind in the ways of peace. The United Nations is the great school where that education is imparted. And we are today in the assembly hall of that school.

Everyone taking his place here becomes a pupil and also a teacher in the art of building peace. When you leave this hall, the world looks upon you as the architects and constructors of peace.

Peace, as you know, is not built up only by means of politics, by the balance of forces and of interests. It is constructed with the mind, with ideas, with works of peace.

You labor in this great construction. But you are still at the beginnings.

Will the world ever succeed in changing that selfish and bellicose mentality which, up to now, has been interwoven into so much of its history?

It is hard to foresee; but it is easy to affirm that it is toward that new history—peaceful truly human, history, as promised by God to men of good will, that we must resolutely march; the roads thereto are already well marked out for you; and the first is that of disarmament.

"LET THE ARMS FALL"

If you wish to be brothers, let the arms fall from your hands. One cannot love while holding offensive arms.

Those armaments, especially those terrible arms which modern science has given you, long before they produce victims and ruins, nourish bad feelings, create nightmares, distrust and somber resolutions; they demand enormous expenditures; they obstruct projects of union and useful collaboration; they falsify the psychology of peoples.

As long as man remains that weak, changeable and even wicked being that he often shows himself to be, defensive arms will, unfortunately, be neecssary.

You, however, in your courage and valiance, are studying the ways of guaranteeing the security of international life, without having recourse to arms.

This is a most noble aim, this the peoples expect of you, this must be obtained.

Let unanimous trust in this institution grow, let its authority increase; and this aim, we believe, will be secured.

Gratitude will be expressed to you by all peoples, relieved as they will then be from the crushing expenses of armaments, and freed from the nightmare of an ever imminent war.

We rejoice in the knowledge that many of you have considered favorably our invitation, addressed to all states in the cause of peace from Bombay, last December, to divert to the benefit of the developing countries at least a part of the savings, which could be realized by reducing armaments.

We here renew that invitation, trusting in your sentiments of humanity and generosity.

6. In so doing, we become aware that we are echoing another principle which is structural to the United Nations, which is its positive and affirmative high point; namely, that you work here not only to avert conflicts between states, but also to make them capable of working the ones for the others.

You are not satisfied with facilitating mere coexistence between nations; you take a much greater step forward, one deserving of our praise and our support—you organize the brotherly collaboration of peoples.

In this way a system of solidarity is set up, and its lofty civilized aims win the orderly and unanimous support of all the family of peoples for the common good and for the good of each individual.

This aspect of the organization of the United Nations is the most beautiful; it is its most truly human visage; it is the ideal of which mankind dreams on its pilgrimage through time; it is the world's greatest hope; it is, we presume to say, the reflection of the loving and transcendent design of God for the progress of the human family on earth—a reflection in which we see the message of the Gospel which is heavenly become earthly.

Indeed, it seems to us that here we hear the echo of the voice of our predecessors, and particularly of that of Pope John XXIII, whose message of "Pacem in Terris" was so honorably and significantly received among you.

RIGHTS PROCLAIMED

You proclaim here the fundamental rights and duties of man, his dignity, his freedom—and above all his religious freedom. We feel that you thus interpret the highest sphere of human wisdom and, we might add, its sacred character. For you deal here above all with human life; and the life of man is sacred; no one may dare offend it. Respect for life, even with regard to the great problem of birth, must find here in your assembly its highest affirmation and its most reasoned defense.

You must strive to multiply bread so that it suffices for the tables of mankind, and not rather favor an artificial control of birth, which would be irrational, in order to diminish the number of guests at the banquet of life.

It does not suffice, however, to feed the hungry, it is necessary also to assure to each man a life conformed to his dignity. This too you strive to perform. We may consider this the fulfillment before our very eyes and by your efforts, of that prophetical announcement so applicable to your institution: "They will melt down their swords into plowshares, their spears into pruning forks."

Are you not using the prodigious energies of the earth and the magnificent inventions of science, no longer as instruments of death but as tools of life for humanity's new era?

We know how intense and ever more efficacious are the efforts of the United Nations and its dependent world agencies to assist those governments who need help to hasten their economic and social progress.

We know how ardently you labor to overcome illiteracy and to spread good culture throughout the world; to give men adequate modern medical assistance; to employ in man's service the marvelous resources of science, of technique and of organization—all of this is magnificient, and merits the praise and support of all, including our own.

We ourself wish to give the good example, even though the smallness of our means is inadequate to the practical and quantitative needs. We intend to intensify the development of our charitable institutions to combat world hunger and fulfill world needs. It is thus, and in no other way, that peace can be built up.

7. One more word, gentlemen, our final word: this edifice which you are constructing does not rest upon merely material and earthly foundations, for thus it would be a house built upon sand; and above all, it is based on our own consciences.

The hour has struck for our "conversion," for personal transformation, for interior renewal. We must get used to thinking of man in a new way; and in a new way also of men's life in common; with a new manner, too, of conceiving the paths of history and the destiny of the world, according to the words of St. Paul: "You must be clothed in the new self, which is created in God's image, justified and sanctified through the truth" (Ephesians iv: 23).

The hour has struck for a halt, a moment of recollection, of reflection, almost of prayer; a moment to think anew of our common origin, our history, our common destiny.

Today as never before, in our era so marked by human progress, there is need for an appeal to the moral conscience of man. For the danger comes not from progress nor from science; indeed, if properly utilized, these could rather resolve many of the grave problems which assail mankind.

No, the real danger comes from man himself, wielding ever more powerful arms, which can be employed equally well for destruction or for the loftiest conquests.

In a word, then, the edifice of modern civilization must be built upon spiritual principles which alone cannot only support it but even illuminate and animate it.

We believe, as you know, that these indispensable principles of superior wisdom must be founded upon faith in God, that unknown God of whom Saint Paul spoke to the Athenians in the Areopagus: unknown to them, although without realizing it, they sought Him and He was close to them, as happens also to many men of our times.

To us, in any case, and to all those who accept the ineffable revelation which Christ has given us of Him, He is the living God, the Father of all men.

Highway Beautification

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, this Congress is being given the opportunity this week to vote in favor of a more beautiful America and against roadside ugliness.

On Thursday the Highway Beautification Act of 1965 will come to a vote on the floor. We must vote in favor of the American people and approve this important legislation.

Title III of this bill will provide for $230 million of new funds available to States in the next 2 years for beautification efforts. It is important to point out that this is new money, available to the States without matching funds, and not a penny of this money comes from the highway trust fund.

Therefore, our efforts to give the American people a more beautiful Nation will not in any way utilize money which would normally be earmarked for even 1 foot of highway construction. We would not expect our States to sacrifice desperately needed highways as a substitute for beauty.

This money will enable the States to acquire and maintain scenic corridors along the highways. It also will allow acquisition and development of publicly owned rest and recreation areas and sanitary and other facilities reasonably necessry to accommodate the traveling public.

In order to point out the very beneficial financial impact this bill will have on each and every State in our Nation, I am happy to place the following chart in the RECORD:

Additional funds available for acquisition and improvement of scenic land strips and for roadside development pursuant to Highway Beautification Act of 1965, fiscal years 1966 and 1967

State	Additional amounts available equivalent to 3 percent of Federal-aid highway funds apportioned for fiscal years—	
	1966	1967
Alabama	$2,304,179	$2,495,113
Alaska	1,211,468	1,207,744
Arizona	1,551,791	1,742,506
Arkansas	1,270,862	1,093,562
California	9,781,295	10,437,680
Colorado	1,559,155	1,526,908
Connecticut	1,440,203	2,148,991
Delaware	440,247	287,600
Florida	2,405,936	2,595,429
Georgia	2,231,862	1,960,232
Hawaii	796,795	902,813
Idaho	665,073	794,496
Illinois	5,621,723	6,338,953
Indiana	2,750,590	2,624,324
Iowa	1,682,605	1,697,459
Kansas	1,235,232	1,250,358
Kentucky	2,198,665	2,341,256
Louisiana	2,890,063	2,723,924
Maine	595,217	596,288
Maryland	1,881,298	1,784,912
Massachusetts	2,283,578	2,420,602
Michigan	4,268,150	3,651,544
Minnesota	2,880,727	2,777,168
Mississippi	1,466,177	1,426,685
Missouri	2,930,934	2,943,740
Montana	1,214,501	1,338,242
Nebraska	949,005	951,054
Nevada	682,400	818,806
New Hampshire	506,746	559,717
New Jersey	2,747,086	2,905,679
New Mexico	1,215,304	1,440,553
New York	5,685,945	6,246,192
North Carolina	1,387,897	1,513,415
North Dakota	688,649	732,708
Ohio	6,870,423	6,638,081
Oklahoma	1,556,745	1,479,449
Oregon	1,868,917	1,974,999
Pennsylvania	5,017,585	5,560,152
Rhode Island	464,876	650,573
South Carolina	1,105,127	948,060
South Dakota	888,719	1,143,265
Tennessee	2,717,881	2,530,284
Texas	5,547,808	6,237,533
Utah	1,485,131	1,624,918
Vermont	697,309	753,580
Virginia	3,129,639	3,331,429
Washington	2,210,622	2,618,414
West Virginia	1,557,253	2,335,689
Wisconsin	1,409,347	1,418,234
Wyoming	1,065,004	1,136,602
District of Columbia	1,362,728	1,344,030
Puerto Rico	198,528	198,055
Total	112,575,000	118,200,000

The Real Alabama—Part LXX

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the research activities underway in Alabama are noteworthy for their variety. They range from hypersonic aerodynamics to water resources.

The State and various of its agencies are engaged in these extensive research projects because the people of Alabama recognize the need for expanding knowledge as an essential part of economic development.

A summary of some of these research projects is presented in the following material:

Research in spinning techniques to most effectively use the Alabama cotton crop in the State's textile mills is conducted in the area of textile technology.

The second of Auburn's research centers is the Auburn Research Foundation; incorporated in 1944 to receive and handle contracts with outside governmental or private agencies.

The foundation sponsored a total of 31 projects during the past fiscal year with contracts amounting to approximately $2.8 million.

When the Alabama-built Saturn I beamed to million of people a live televised account of its orbital approach early in 1964, it was utilizing a transmitter designed and built by electrical engineers at Auburn.

Other research in this area includes the designing and testing of antenna of the type used in space communication.

Another study is directed at insuring stability of the automatic control systems on large missiles.

Data developed by mechanical engineers at Auburn through studies involving fracture toughness of high strength metals is now incorporated in the metallurgical specifications for use of high strength steels in missiles.

Seven volumes of aerodynamic design data were compiled and later condensed to a single handbook by Auburn aerospace engineers. The handbook is now in use by interested Government agencies and industry.

Another major area of research at Auburn, far-reaching in its application to Alabama's economic and industrial future, is that coordinated through a newly created Water Resources Research Institute.

Federal legislation provides support for administering such an institute in each of the 50 States. Auburn was designated by the 1963 legislature as the location for Alabama's institute.

The institute received one of the first matching fund grants awarded under the national program of the Department of the Interior—a project on the dynamics of chemical and physical characteristics of water, bottom muds, and aquatic life in a large river impoundment.

Among other activity coordinated through the institute will be some phase of training or research programs relating to water resources, already underway in many departments of the nine academic schools at Auburn University.

The institute at Auburn will be dedicated to maximum efforts in wise conservation and use of abundant water resources in Alabama, since the State has one-fourteenth of the Nation's surface water and some of the most important ground water bearing formations in the United States.

The last of the three industrial research strongholds in the State is represented by the relatively new University of Alabama Research Institute and Industrial Research Park in Huntsville.

Located on the western edge of Huntsville, the facility provides a park-like development and favorable operating environment for a combination of industrial, research, and educational activities.

The building was occupied in June 1964 and is one of two modern buildings on the 330-acre Huntsville campus.

The research institute was established to provide research support for those who may seek its services. The building was constructed at a cost of $1.5 million, contains 64,000 square feet of floor space, and houses a Univac 1107 computer and laboratories designed as specialized facilities for effective use in planned research activities.

Initial capabilities have been established in the aerospace and missile-related physical and engineering sciences. Approximately 50 people now devote all or a portion of their time to the institute's research program.

Through this staff, the institute has current capabilities in hypersonic aerodynamics; electromagnetic radiation phenomena, including communication theory and microwave transmissison through plasma; applied mathematics; control theory; and physics, including optics, nuclear, theoretical, and chemical physics.

Total amount of research contract and grants in force is approximately $700,000 and is increasing. Currently averaging about 12 in number, these contracts and grants support the programs of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in the Department of Defense.

The institute benefits industry in many ways other than laboratory research.

Through the strong support it gives the science and engineering programs of the University of Alabama in Huntsville, it provides a unique educational and research experience both in depth and breadth for employees of industries in the area.

Approximately 78 percent of enrollment in these programs in the past fall quarter was made up of Government and industrial employees.

As a part of the University of Alabama in Huntsville, the institute helps provide the stimulating environment which industries, particularly those with advance technology, need for their scientists and engineers.

For example, the institute provides a continuing series of seminars and lectures by outstanding scientists from all over the United States. These are well attended by representatives of industry and Government.

Also, results of research currently being performed becomes readily available through technical publications in industry, where they can often be applied to development of new products and processes.

Although current capability at the institute is heavily weighed toward aerospace and missile-related sciences in engineering, it is anticipated that research programs of interest to other industries in the State will be developed as the staff grows and the laboratories become more fully equipped and instrumented.

The Canal Zone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's announcement that the United States and Panama are in agreement in principle on a new Panama Canal treaty is a strong and effective step toward cementing political solidarity in this hemisphere.

This agreement is, of course, the result of long, patient and deliberate efforts to find a workable solution to the complexities of the Panama Canal situation.

The Baltimore Sun commented on September 27 that these efforts "now appear to have paid off," and it looked down the road, as we all should do, when it said:

> The fact that the two countries have found a formula for a treaty on the old canal means that the formula for the next treaty, one appropriate for the mid-20th century, should not be difficult to arrive at.

The Sun's editorial brings into focus the solution to the problem which has long embarrassed us in Panama and Latin America, and under unanimous consent I place it in the RECORD in order that all Members may read it:

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Sept. 27, 1965]

THE CANAL ZONE

The Panama Canal Zone has been a modern embarrassment to the United States. On the one hand this country was urging Western friends to rid themselves of former colonies and warning the resulting new nations about the new, sophisticated colonialism of international communism. On the other hand, a broad strip of land down the middle of a sovereign nation, Panama, was governed by this country. The aura, if not the essence, of colonialism was there.

Intensive efforts to find a new approach to the problem, harmonizing the Panamanian and the American interests, began after a bloody riot there in 1964. They now appear to have paid off. President Johnson has announced the two nations are in agreement in principle on a new treaty. The treaty proposal reflects the diplomatic reality of Panamanian sensitivity to colonial-like arrangements by making the Canal Zone a part of the Republic of Panama. It reflects the strategic reality of American sensitivity on the question of military defense of the canal by giving this country the right to maintain its bases there. The canal, itself, would be jointly operated.

Ahead lies the decision on a new, larger Central American canal, possibly in Panama. The fact that the two countries have found a formula for a treaty on the old canal means that the formula for the next treaty, one appropriate for the mid-20th century, should not be difficult to arrive at.

Panamanian Sovereignty Over Panama Canal—Editorial Reaction to Proposed Surrender

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the reactions to the recently proposed giveaway of the Panama Canal have been extensive and immediate. Among the clippings of editorials received by me is one in the September 27, 1965, issue of the Richmond, Va., News-Leader, which I quote:

HOORAY FOR THEIR SIDE

President Johnson announced on Friday that Panama and the United States have agreed to a new canal treaty. After 18 months, three points have been settled by negotiators, to wit: (1) The 1903 treaty will be abrogated. (2) The new treaty will effectively recognize Panama's sovereignty over the area of the present canal zone. (3) Panama will share in the direct and indirect benefits of having the canal within its borders.

Agreement on these three points leaves only one question yet to be settled, namely, what on earth have the American negotiators been doing for 18 months? These are precisely the points that have been the aim of international communism for years. They are not concessions; they add up to a total giveaway. When the Americans sat down to negotiate, they held almost all the cards: Legal right, a humanitarian record, power of life and death over the Panamanian economy, and the power to give or withhold a whole new canal. The Panamanians held only one card, the 1964 January riots, declared by the OAS to be Communist-organized. And now the Panamanians get up from the table with the whole pot.

What have the Americans been doing? Instead of playing poker, they have been playing Old Maid. They must have been doing something to fill up the boredom of 18 months with nothing to do—because surely they have not been pressing the Panamanians for anything. One would think that even propaganda for the homefolks would demand at least some face-saving formula, some complicated device that would conceal abject surrender to a gang of blackmailers. But the American diplomats have been so brazenly intent on dismembering American power and prestige that they feel it is necessary only to wait 18 months to grant what they could have granted as well on the very first day.

The effect of withdrawing American sovereignty over the canal and increasing the graft to the rich Panamanian demagogs is obvious. We will be allowed the headache of running the canal as long as it seems convenient, but we will have no effective protection against Communist seizure or sabotage. Under a status-of-forces agreement, American troops will still be on guard at canal installations; but troops are ineffective in a situation where sovereign control is vested in a weak government, where the regular security staff is filled out and controlled by other nations, and where the key technical positions have been turned over to the direction of a government that may easily fall under alien control. In a moment of crisis, the canal could be closed to our warships, and our ocean-to-ocean shipping could be strangled. Let us join with Lyndon Johnson in shouting, "Hooray for their side."

Highway Beautification Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I am inserting two editorials—one from the Washington Evening Star, the other from the Washington Daily News, issues of October 2, 1965, in regard to the highway beautification bill.

The exact language to be employed in legislation of this type is understandably controversial and everybody is entitled to his own viewpoint. Some have financial interests at stake and are concerned that their rights be protected insofar as reasonably possible.

While the language of the bill is controversial, I believe the people of our country generally feel as I do that a highway beautification program is very much in order. As we approach consideration of the legislation in the House the following editorials may be of interest:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Oct. 2, 1965]

SEVEN YEARS LATER

The late Senator Kerr, of Oklahoma, spoke for too many Congressmen when he remarked in 1958 that antibillboard legislation was an "esthetic" plot to kill off the free enterprise system. This is nonsense. But the notion has lingered, and it threatens to keep the present highway beautification bill from becoming law.

The measure emerged from the Senate 2 weeks ago, buffeted but essentially intact. It provides for the virtual elimination of billboards along the Nation's major highways by the end of the decade. Junkyards would be screened from adjoining roads. And the losers—both the advertising companies and all property owners—would be liberally compensated.

Once it is accepted that highway billboards must go and junkyards must be screened, the bill iself is about as fair as it can be. The companies involved have 5 years in which to amortize their investments. Compensation would be paid not only for property taken but also for restrictions on the "reasonable use" of property. This means the landowner who rents billboard space would be paid, too, even though he is cashing in only because a tax-built highway happens to adjoint his property.

Generous it is, but opponents aren't in the mood to discuss generosity. They want the bill dead. One Congressman, zeroing in on the legislation as it languished in the Rules Committee earlier this week, argued that billboards were beautiful. Another wondered whether those landowners who might rent billboard space in the future should not be compensated for denial of this right. Some Congressmen believe the bill might clog the courts with lawsuits brought by property owners—as if no reform legislation had ever been tested in the courts.

On balance, the highway beautification bill is a good one. Presidential pressure has certainly been brought to bear, since both the President and Mrs. Johnson have an interest in the bill. But the billboard debate goes back to the Eisenhower years, and everything has been said that can be said. It is time for Congress to end this 7-year dialog and pass S. 2084 into law.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Oct. 2, 1965]

SPEAK UP FOR BEAUTY

Now is the time for nature lovers, in this city and elsewhere, to come to the aid of President Johnson's embattled highway beautification bill.

The measure already has passed the Senate. But it faces stiff opposition in the House, where it will come up within a few days.

Lobbyists for the billboard and junkyard interests have been hard at work on House Members. They have produced all sorts of arguments that highway beauty would cost too much or interfere with private rights—by which they mean the right to disfigure roadways paid for by the public.

There is danger that this worthwhile program could be defeated—unless the voters who want a beautiful as well as prosperous America speak up.

The bill which the House will consider is not as strong as it should have been, in our opinion. Nevertheless, it provides controls over unsightly billboards and removal or screening of auto graveyards and other ugly areas.

If you would rather look at trees and green hillsides than detergent ads while you're driving * * * if you'd rather not be confronted with thousands of rusting auto carcasses * * * if you want your children to have a heritage of beauty * * * get busy and do something about it.

A letter, a wire, a phone call to your Congressman will help let him know that for every lobbyist interested in blocking this legislation, there are hundreds of voters who want it.

But don't put it off. After the House makes its decision, whatever you say will be too late.

Inauguration of Dr. G. Kenneth Andeen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, the inauguration of a new president on a college campus is a historic and colorful event in the life of the academic community. But it is also a significant occasion for the community and State. Bethany College, one of the outstanding private church-related colleges in my congressional district, has just inaugurated its seventh president, Dr. G. Kenneth Andeen. Dr. Andeen's inauguration as Bethany president signifies a time of rededication, new direction, and greater enrichment of educational opportunities for Bethany students. I take this opportunity to congratulate Dr. Andeen, and the college for the important cultural and educational mission it is performing for the area, State, and Nation.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorials from the Lindsborg, Kans., News-Record and the Kansas City, Mo., Times:

[From the Lindsborg (Kans.) News-Record]

WELCOME, DR. ANDEEN

Now that the pomp and circumstance is over, and it is time to settle down to the routine of day to day life in Lindsborg and at Bethany College, may we take time to add our welcome to Dr. Andeen and his family to Lindsborg?

The official welcomes were many, and I am sure heartfelt, but some things were left unsaid during the ceremonies, or else were touched on only lightly.

Mayor Fritz Carlson came the closest to saying it Monday, when he touched on the close cooperation of Bethany College and the city of Lindsborg, but due to limited time he could not go into detail.

The people of Lindsborg are pleased with the appointment of Dr. G. Kenneth Andeen as the seventh president of Bethany College and are looking forward to working with him and his administration at Bethany College.

One of the underlying themes of the inaugural ceremonies Monday, was the promise of consideration for the future of the students, the college, and the faculty. Such a program can only mean continued close cooperation between the people of Lindsborg and the college.

Bethany College is an important part of the Lindsborg community, and when the college gains, the community gains, just as the college benefits when the community benefits.

The development program hinted at during Dr. Andeen's response at the inauguration is a good example of what is to come at Bethany in the future, and we will be hearing a lot more about this program in the near future.

Yes, welcome to Lindsborg, Dr. Andeen; we have met you, and we like what we see. Now the time has arrived for the formalities to be set aside, the shirt sleeves rolled up, and the task at hand taken care of.

The job is not going to be easy for any of us, but we are sure that Bethany College can expect to continue to receive the full cooperation of the people of Lindsborg.

May the coming association be a mutually beneficial and profitable one for us all.

[From the Kansas City (Mo.) Star-Times]

BETHANY SERVES THE ARTS IN KANSAS

Bethany College at Lindsborg, Kans., one of the strong church-related liberal arts institutions in the State, is almost synonymous in the minds of generations of Kansans with its renowned Messiah chorus. The installation of its seventh president, Dr. G. Kenneth Andeen, last Monday directs attention to Bethany's role in the cultural life of the State.

Founded in 1881 in a Swedish farming community, the Lutheran school almost immediately organized the first chorus to sing Handel's Messiah on Palm Sunday. Since that time the chorus has grown to hundreds of voices from the college and townsfolk, attracting visitors from many cities.

Bethany's imprint on the area was established further when Dr. Birger Sandzen, head of its art department for 52 years, pioneeded in an exhibition of paintings, water colors, and prints in connection with the yearly festival. The farming community provided means for thousands of persons to hear good music and view art.

There are 21 denominational colleges in Kansas. Bethany and the others have a distinct mission. The private church-related college plays a necessary part in meeting the demands for liberal arts courses during a period of extraordinary growth.

The smaller school today has the advantage of close personal relationship between student and teacher, an asset that tends to be lost in the impersonalization of the huge mass educational institutions throughout the Nation. Dr. Andeen assumes the direction of a school with a splendid record of service in the Swedish—and Kansas—tradition.

Billboard Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, this is a ladybird's-eye view of billboard legislation as seen by Peg Bracken:

(By Peg Bracken)

A friend of mine once remarked, when we were talking about highway travel, that she tended to lose interest in the scenery as soon as the Burma Shave signs petered out. I think of her now, every time the conservation-and-beautification program comes up.

As I write, it's Lady Bird and the billboard lobbyists neck-and-neck, though it looks as though the lobbyists are gaining in the stretch. At least, they've cut down the distance a billboard has to be from a Federal highway, from 1,000 feet to 600.

Just how far away is that? Can you still read "Cocktails and Classy Cuisine, Firelight Inn, 2 Miles," at 660 feet? I hope so. Because sometimes it's these little things that can give you the courage to press on.

Several points must be considered here. For one, in some places billboards are perfectly OK. Like a homely hat on a homely woman, what difference does it make? A nice bright airline sign is every bit as pretty as an acre of old war housing and a supermarket. A big motel sign is just as esthetic as a crummy gas pump.

Then there is the large-thought factor. After several hundred miles' driving down a Federal highway through nature's wonderland and staring at all that grandeur, one tends to run out of large thoughts. Or, anyway, I do, and I get itchy. I find that I welcome the sight of "Chuck 'n' Edie's original Aztec Pizza Parlor, 5 Mi. Ahead, Take Quagmire Turnoff," because it refurnishes my mind with things to think about.

Pizza, for instance. A big hot savory Aztec Pizza with maybe some mushrooms on it. What do you suppose they charge for one?

Then I think for awhile about Chuck 'n' Edie. Are they man and wife? Does Chuck love Edie? Does Edie love Chuck? How did they ever get to this godforsaken place? How did I?

Soldiers overseas in World War II used to miss the ads in the stripped-down magazines, remember?

And then there is the matter of children. When do the kids get their reading practice, without any billboards? And what kind of car games are they going to play? Counting Nebraska licenses went out with the 75-mile-per-hour speed limit. But the little ones used to be able to count the O's on the billboards, or the doggies, or the men with hats on, or the blonde ladies. I always say, anything that shuts the kids up for awhile can't be all bad.

We Mass-Produce Almost Everything in This Country—Except Character

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I believe many of the Members of this distinguished body along with myself were shocked by the series of demonstrations which have occurred here in the Nation's Capital and in other parts of the United States. Young men and women calling themselves students, and others, have conducted marches, sit-ins, and lie-ins. Most of the demonstrators, as well as the demonstrations, were a disgrace to this Nation, a nation dedicated to the task of preserving freedom for all the world's peoples.

In this regard I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an advertisement by the Warner & Swasey Co. of Cleveland, which appeared in the September 6 issue of Newsweek magazine. I believe this public service advertisement reflects the thinking of many people in the United States.

It used to be that when you wanted something, you worked to earn it. Now you stage a riot to get it given to you at someone else's expense.

If your father or grandfather lost his job, he took whatever work he could get, and he went (probably walked miles) to where there was work—any honest work—being done. Now hordes of relief "clients" refuse a job unless it is to their liking, and they demand the job be brought to them in their community.

This Nation was built by immigrants (beginning in the 1600's and earlier) who struggled here for opportunity, and would have scorned the false idea of something for nothing. Now it seems to be an almost universal (and all too often the only) ambition.

It used to take a lifetime of gruelling work, and scrimping for a family or a country to earn a litle surplus, a taste of security. Now mobs of stupid students and whole emerging nations demand they be given it, out of your earnings and with no effort on their part.

Minority groups all over the earth seem to think the world owes them everything they want. So vicious destructiveness makes necessary higher taxes to pay for more police to protect decent citizens; higher taxes for playgrounds and parks which hoodlums promptly make unsafe; higher taxes for schooling for gangs who don't seem to want or are unable to be educated. The minority groups whose rights no one seems to consider are the taxpayers and decent citizens—who may have been pampering evil too long.

A Thing of Beauty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, the highway beautification program launched by President Johnson and the legislation he has proposed to implement it have been hailed by many newspapers long concerned with what has happened on the roadsides flanking highways in their own areas and in their States.

These newspapers have long deplored the conditions found on highways which have been permitted to deteriorate into shoddy ugliness because of the lack of control over the clutter of billboards, honky-tonks, and similar eyesores.

One of New Jersey's fine newspapers, the Paterson Call, describes in an editorial of September 20 some of the highways in that State as a "disgrace" and urges swift passage by the House of the pending legislation. It sees in the legislation an effective means of protecting new highways from the fate of older ones.

The newspaper succinctly sums up all the issues involved by asking a penetrating question:

Which road would you rather drive on: Route 17 with its hot dogs and carnivals, or the Palisades Interstate Parkway, with its natural beauty? Why any argument?

For anyone who has driven on both of the highways mentioned, the answer to the question is obvious. Actually, there is no choice because no reasonable motorist would prefer Route 17.

The excellent editorial follows:

[From the Paterson (N.J.) Call, Sept. 20, 1965]

A THING OF BEAUTY

The President's highway beautification bill has been passed by the Senate, albeit much revised in form. It is still a good bill, maybe 20 years too late. Nothing short of an earthquake can alter the horror of such highways as Route 17 or Route 46. These are a clutter of honky-tonks, discount houses, pizza parlors, and eye-searing billboards, and so they will remain until they are abandoned and the strip slums are left to rot into the soil. For the new roads, however, there is hope.

In the Senate measure is a program for limiting billboards and screening junkyards from view along 266,000 miles of the Nation's principal roads. These are the new roads; e.g., Route 80. The bill authorizes $120 million a year to be spent on landscaping and scenic enhancement along all Federal-aid highways.

This bill was fought long and hard in the Senate. Some Members, with strong support from a lobby here and there, contended the bill is too strong, that it imposes hardships on hotels, restaurants, and other roadside businesses. The objection is not valid, however; signs would be permitted in commercial and industrial areas and on the premises of the business doing the advertising. But the bill does call for the removal of all signs on the 225,000-mile primary system. Nominally there is now a program of billboard control on the 41,000-mile Interstate Highway System. States receive a bonus of 0.5 percent of construction costs if they accept the restrictions. But this has been ineffective. The President wanted to make penalties stiff—too stiff, perhaps. He had proposed that States failing to agree to install junkyard and billboard controls by January 1, 1968, lose all their Federal-aid highway funds. The Senate bill would limit this to a more realistic 10 percent of the aid.

Unfortunate is a condition that compels a government to penalize States for maintaining highways that disgrace us. But the States, in conspiracy with exploiting interests, have been willing and even eager to do just this. The penalty clause should be strictly enforced.

The House now gets the bill; swift passage appears assured. It should be passed. A 2-second test: Which road would you rather drive on: Route 17 with its hot dogs and carnivals, or the Palisades Interstate Parkway, with its natural beauty? Why any argument?

Fund Saving Seen Losing Fleet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, so many and such varied statements and proposals have been forthcoming in recent weeks, from Government sources and from within the industry itself, that the status and the future of the American maritime industry must be a matter of great confusion to not only the general public, but to some in the Congress as well.

Most helpful in understanding just what are the basic issues involved in the current administration-industry hassle concerning this important segment of our Nation's economy is an article in the Baltimore Sun of October 4, entitled, "Around the Waterfront: Fund Saving Seen Losing Fleet," written by Helen Delich Bentley, the Sun's maritime editor, possibly the most knowledgeable writer in the maritime field. This article puts forth in clear language the problems and suggested solutions. It deserves the thorough consideration of everyone in and out of Government who should be informed on these controversial issues:

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Oct. 4, 1965]

AROUND THE WATERFRONT: FUND SAVING SEEN LOSING FLEET

(By Helen Delich Bentley)

WASHINGTON, October 3.—The American maritime industry is faced with a challenge such as it has never faced before.

And it is one time the industry must get together, work as a unit and forget each selfish interest if the shipbuilders, shipowners, and labor intend to combat the intentions of the Interagency Maritime Task Force and fight for a strong and bigger American merchant marine.

When one consides the fact that the Government is about to spend $2 billion to develop a single type of airplane—a supersonic plane—and no one is complaining about this expenditure, then the maritime industry should sit back and ask itself plenty of questions about what it has done wrong in the past.

SUBSIDIES AND PLANE FUND

The expenditure for that single airplane is about equal to the total amount of money that the U.S. Government has spent in operating differential subsidies—allowing for recapture paid back by the shipping industry when business has been good—since the Merchant Marine Act was passed in 1936.

That covers a period of 29 years.

And yet all that has been heard, particularly since Nicholas Johnson became Maritime Administrator, is the amount of subsidy paid by the Government for the American merchant marine.

That amount comes to "peanuts" or nothing when one considers the value of the American merchant marine to this country's economic welfare as well as its national defense.

SUBSIDIES TO FARMS

That amount comes to "peanuts" or nothing when one considers the gigantic subsidies paid out to the farm industry every year.

That amount comes to "peanuts" or nothing when one considers the expenditure or investment for a single airplane.

Inasmuch as the maritime industry is buffeted from all sides of the Government about the subsidy money, about the cost of shipping American-subsidized agricultural surpluses on American-flag ships, about everything in general, it must mean that the maritime industry itself has failed somewhere along the line.

It has failed to properly sell its story, its value, its worth to the Nation.

STRENGTH AND SEAPOWER

From time immemorial, the countries that have been the strongest in the world are those with strong seapower. When a country's maritime strength wanes, it has not been too long before that nation itself began to wane.

And yet today novices are trying to tell the world that the United States no longer needs any particular shipbuilding capacity to speak of, or many merchant ships.

And the plan that is simmering within the Government is the thinking of those novices.

CONCERN SEEMS LACKING

But Russia—the country with which we compare all of our other forms of power—is well aware of the historical fact that the country with seapower is the powerful country. Russia is building a merchant marine that will surpass that of the United States within 2 years.

But nobody within the U.S. Government appears to take any heed of that fact.

When a top Navy admiral was asked recently whether this was true about Russia, he replied that it was. When he was asked what was being done to offset it, he simply shrugged, looked sad, and said, "Nothing."

Japan has recently reported that for the first time in its history, its mercantile fleet has exceeded the 10 million gross ton mark. Japan now has 10,814,000 gross tons of merchant vessels and proposes to build an additional 7,430,000 gross by 1968.

In a speech in Washington last week, the national commander of the American Legion, L. Eldon James, pointed out that at the beginning of World War II, the United States had to pay Great Britain more than $100 million to charter the *Queen Elizabeth* and *Queen Mary* as troop transports.

PLANES CALLED ENOUGH

In 1961, Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense, told a House Merchant Marine Committee that troopships no longer were necessary because airplanes would be adequate to transport all combat troops.

And yet when Cuba threatened to turn into a war, the American-flag passenger ships were put on a standby basis. For Vietnam, six of the Navy's troopships were taken off of their regular run and used to transport the 1st Cavalry (Airmobile) Division to southeast Asia.

American-flag passenger ships are doomed in the task force report.

One question that seems to be forgotten is where to get the gigantic airfields in places like Vietnam or Korea to land the troops in the supersonic planes. What happens when one bomb so easily disables the airstrips?

REFUSAL OF FOREIGN CREWS

The Legion commander cited the recent refusal of foreign crews to transport American supplies to Vietnam and emphasized that "it is a picture that Congress should not forget when it debates maritime matters."

"Keeping defense costs down is one thing," James said. "It is fine, it is important. But keeping it down by planning foreign charter into our maritime defense is a dangerous and serious gamble. It is one that recent history has proved we can ill afford to take.

"Let us proceed to build the fleet we need, based on new maritime research and development. And let us appropriate adequate funds to explore the newest types of vessel propulsion, design, and cargo-handling techniques."

OTHER PROJECTS APPROVED

"Our manned-space research projects, our communications satellite programs, our lunar landing explorations, planning and research deserve our resources and our devoted support. Each holds out the promise for future improvement of man's opportunity to advance.

"The sea is here—now—it will be here tomorrow with all of its mysteries and opportunities. It is a reality and we must face realistically its problems and its challenges. Research and development necessary to enable our merchant marine to efficiently contribute to international commerce and national security, also deserves our resources and our devoted support.

"Merchant marine research must not take a back seat to other research and development planning."

SHIPBUILDER BACKS RESEARCH

Edwin M. Hood, president of the Shipbuilders Council of America, makes similar points concerning research in his most recent communique to Nicholas Johnson, the 31-year-old Maritime Administrator who started the drums sounding that the subsidies to the merchant marine are too much.

Hood points out that the research and development expenditures by the Maritime Administration have amounted to almost nothing compared with other agencies. The only project that has taken any money has been that of the NS *Savannah;* when the *Savannah* funds "are eliminated from the Maritime Administration's figures," Hood said, "the contrast (with the other agencies) is even more striking."

"It can quickly be seen that maritime research and development programs have not had the same vision or support that has been assigned to Navy, aircraft, and aerospace programs," Hood said.

NOTES AIR EXPENDITURES

"Clearly, Department of Defense expenditures for aircraft research, plus Federal funds for production facilities, have greatly exceeded the Government's investment in merchant ship research or construction.

"Surely, the vast sums of Federal money spent over the last decade for aircraft research and development—and supporting facilities—have made it possible for our airframe industry to remain competitive under certain circumstances on a worldwide basis, in spite of higher U.S. wages and higher U.S. material costs.

"It should not be too difficult to prove that Federal support of a comparable magnitude would have made it possible for our merchant marine—and supporting shipyards—to be competitive on a worldwide basis.

"U.S. airlines would today be in dire straits if Federal Government research and development expenditures had not advanced aeronautics technology. It is bad enough that the American merchant marine carries less than 10 percent of our foreign commerce, but worse that what we do carry is in old ships built in World War II days and in a few new ships which are basically elaborations of World War II designs.

"While there is much talk of advanced concept merchant ships, the planned research and development expenditures of the Maritime Administration for advanced ships and systems for fiscal 1966 are only a quarter of a million dollars. There can be no question that such a minuscule effort will hardly advance the horizons of our maritime future. A condition with which the industry now suffers due to a lack of research and development effort in the past will only be perpetuated."

WIDE SUPPLY FOR SHIPS

In another communique, Hood chided Johnson for failing to relate in a recent speech he gave in his home State of Iowa that Iowa like every other State in the Union furnishes something that goes into the construction of every ship in a U.S. yard. For the NS *Savannah*, Iowa provided aluminum plate, control valves and pumps.

All Johnson talked about in Iowa, Hood said, was the payout of more than "$300 million in subsidy in maintenance of the merchant marine every year."

So the Maritime Administration is going to spend a whole $250,000 next year for research and development for a modern merchant marine, while the Federal Aviation Agency launches a $2 billion research and development program for one type of new airplane.

HOUSE BILL FOR SEPARATE MARITIME ADMINISTRATION

The comparisons are fantastic and certainly emphasize what was cited last week by three Congressmen who introduced legislation to make the Maritime Administration an independent agency as is the FAA so that it will be able to go out and fight freely for the merchant marine rather than be subjected to the Department of Commerce.

And at the same time, all the shipping interests had better prepare themselves to fight jointly in behalf of a strong merchant marine program, or the American maritime industry is going to be whittled away if one group concedes on one point, and another on another. If shipowners say they will go along with building abroad, thus sabotaging the shipbuilding industry, then the shipowners can bet that they will be the ones to lose out the next time around.

TWO LINES AGREE WITH REPORT

The only shipowners we know of who support the task force report are two whose ideas are contained therein. For example, Leigh White, president of Marine Transport Lines, has been urging building abroad, along with permitting American subsidized owners to also own foreign ships. Those are among the recommendations in the report.

Jacob Isbrandtsen, head of American Export Isbrandtsen Lines, has been calling for change in the subsidy setup so the trade routes can be flexible and the owners be paid on an incentive basis; he also has been urging the abolishment of American-flag passenger ships.

Both are among the recommendations in the task force report.

It actually is hard to conceive the great United States of America without any queens of the seas crossing the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, particularly the North Atlantic trade route. This should not be.

Time for Congress To Go Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, recently I opened the pages of the September 28 edition of the Waukegan News-Sun, the largest of the three daily newspapers published in the 12th Illinois Congressional District which I am privileged to represent. The lead editorial was entitled "Time for Congress To Go Home," and accompanying it was a cartoon in which the legislation enacted by the 89th Congress appears as an ultramodern skyscraper. But, this massive spectacle of glass, stone, and steel is mounted on a timber scaffolding labeled "Hasty Action," and the flimsy foundation is buckling and breaking with the weight of the superstructure.

The cartoon cannot be reproduced in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD but the timely and sober-sensed editorial can. I commend it to my colleagues for thoughtful reading:

TIME FOR CONGRESS TO GO HOME

Like an overactive gland, a Congress that tries to do everything at once can cause serious disorders of the body politic.

So it is with the go-go 89th Congress. Heavily dominated by Democrats swept into office by the massive Johnson landslide, it has responded willingly—indeed, at times overzealously—to Presidential requests for expansion of Federal powers and programs.

Proposals which any other Congress would have approached with caution, the 89th has rushed to embrace, sometimes enlarging them even beyond Presidential wishes. As a result, grandiose legislation abounds—from medicare and a new Cabinet-level Department on Urban Affairs to rent subsidies for moderate income families and Federal aid to struggling artists.

Some of the legislation, it is true, merely offers new wrinkles to established programs. Although these modifications usually add to the budget, they are at least rooted in some experience. Quite a few of the major enactments, however, break fresh ground and, sad to say, were discussed only hastily. The ever-present emphasis was on prompt delivery, not prudent deliberation.

And the press for more and more legislation continues. A prize example is the bill to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which gives States the authority to enact right-to-work laws. The bill raises some important philosophical questions which lawmakers choose to neglect in their haste to pass the measure and please the White House and labor leaders. There really is no valid reason why the bill could not be held over until next year. If a filibuster against repeal of section 14(b) can postpone action and encourage debate of the fundamental issues involved, it will be a filibuster properly used.

The need for delay and fuller deliberation applies equally to other pending legislation.

Congress has done too much already. Time is needed to assess the manifold effects of its hyperactivity, to judge—among other things—whether so great a dose of centralized government is the cure for our domestic ailments.

Right now, the best thing Congress can do is go home.

United States Again Shows Its Good Faith

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, once again, President Johnson has announced to the world this Nation's desire for an end to the arms race. Through his Ambassador to the United Nations, Arthur Goldberg, the President offered a new and imaginative proposal to the Soviet Union to reduce stockpiles of nuclear weapons.

Many such proposals in the past have been rejected by the U.S.S.R. But that did not prevent the President from offering a new one. He, perhaps more than anyone in the free world, knows that a way must be found to secure a just but lasting peace. He knows the alternatives are unthinkable. And so he is determined to push forward with new proposals.

As the Houston Post noted recently:

The fact that our desire for an end to the arms race has been demonstrated before on many occasions with little apparent result should not deter or discourage the United States from seeking ways to end a danger that threatens all mankind. Someday, somehow, a formula will be found or world conditions will permit a solution. The possibility that the time is now is always with us.

I recommend this thoughtful editorial to my colleagues:

[From the Houston Post, Sept. 27, 1965]

UNITED STATES AGAIN SHOWS ITS GOOD FAITH

In a major statement before the United Nations, Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg has once again demonstrated America's good faith in seeking an end to the nuclear arms race.

The fact that it has been demonstrated before on many occasions with little apparent result should not deter or discourage the United States from seeking ways to end a danger that threatens all mankind. Someday, somehow, a formula will be found or world conditions will permit a solution. The possibility that the time is now is always with us.

The U.S. proposals are constructive, and, if any other nation is serious about nuclear controls, worth deep consideration.

In making his suggestions, Goldberg prefaced them with the long-standing U.S. commitment to minimum inspection safeguards in enforcement of the nuclear test ban treaty.

"We do insist," said Goldberg, "on the minimum amount of inspection necessary under the present state of science to give confidence to all that a comprehensive test ban is actually being observed."

Goldberg's nuclear proposals were based upon two major goals:

1. That steps be taken to halt the accumulation of strategic nuclear delivery vehicles.

2. That a verified halt in production of fissionable material for weapon use be accomplished together with transfer of these materials in peaceful uses.

Goldberg proposed that in connection with a halt in fissionable material production that the United States and Russia participate in the demonstrated destruction of a substantial number of nuclear weapons from their stocks.

Goldberg said the United States is ready to transfer 60,000 kilograms of weapon-grade U-235 to non-weapon uses if Russia will transfer 40,000 kilograms.

He further said that the United States is ready, if Russia will do the same, to place plutonium obtained from the destroyed weapons under the International Atomic Agency or under equivalent safeguards.

In another portion of his speech, no less important, Goldberg again repeated his Nation's firm determination not to permit South Vietnam to become a victim of Communist China's aggressive designs in Asia.

"Our goals in South Vietnam," he said, "are plain and simple.

"We seek only to insure the independence of South Vietnam with freedom from attack and the opportunity for its people to determine their own future * * *

"We stand ready to withdraw our forces when Communist aggression has ended, and South Vietnam is left alone to determine its own destiny in its own way by principles of self-determination."

Goldberg's speech was an impressive demonstration of America's concern that the search for peace continue, and its conviction that selling out South Vietnam will not win lasting peace in Asia.

Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, in this time of change and agitation to make civil rights and equal opportunity a reality for all, we must not forget that the battle does not involve only our Negro citizens. In California and the southwestern portion of the United States, a substantial population of Americans of Mexican-American origin also suffer the consequences of discrimination—unemployment, lack of education, substandard housing, and on and on.

A principal organization in the struggle for equal rights for our Mexican-American citizens is the American GI Forum, which is a veterans family and patriotic group founded in 1948. The Forum has over 10,000 members with 23 State groups and 1,500 local chapters, one in San Jose, Calif., in the congressional district which I am honored to represent. The Washington office, headed by the Forum's very able director, Rudy L. Ramos, is very interested and active in national legislation revolving around civil rights and migratory labor. One of the Forum's primary aims is the education of its members and the public and one instrument for this is their monthly bulletin, the "Forumeer."

The 17th Annual Convention of the American GI Forum was held in Kansas City, Kans., on August 5–8 of this year. At the convention, a number of resolutions of importance to Mexican-Americans and Spanish speaking people throughout the country. To highlight these resolutions and the vital significance of this organization to a substantial population of citizens, I would like to have inserted in the RECORD two of the resolutions which illustrate the concerns and purposes of the American GI Forum:

Whereas the Agency for International Development has shown a genuine understanding of the important role of the Mexican-American community of the Southwest can play in Federal service, and

Whereas the Agency has taken the lead in setting up a specific recruitment effort in the Southwest to achieve the American ideal of equal opportunity for all: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American GI Forum, at its 17th annual national convention in Kansas City, Kans., August 5–8, 1965, commend the effort being made in behalf of the Spanish speaking community by the Agency for International Development and its able administrator, David Bell; and

Whereas the American GI Forum has always supported programs to help obliterate poverty wherever it may exist; and

Whereas many of our people are afflicted with the yoke of poverty; and

Whereas the Federal Government has enacted a war on poverty program; and

Whereas the Federal Government is now attempting to adequately administer this program: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American GI Forum fully supports the war on poverty, and that this organization pledges full cooperation and support in the proper administration of said program; and, that to achieve the maximum results in the effective implementation of OEO programs in our areas of concentration, the American GI Forum recommends the employment of members of our ethnic group in the Washington, D.C., office of OEO, as well as at regional, State, and local levels.

The Best Is None Too Good

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL J. KREBS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. KREBS. Mr. Speaker, during the past several days we have heard various remarks by some of our colleagues about conditions at Walter Reed Army Hospital. I agree that Members of Congress should not unwittingly "pick a quarrel with the Department of the Army" and I, too, would "hope that we will not demagog on this" as two of our fellow Members have so ably stated.

However, Mr. Speaker, I strongly feel that our American servicemen and servicewomen must constantly be reassured that we in Congress do care enough to investigate charges of understaffing or inadequate facilities for hospitalized battle casualties. We must not be deterred from looking into such charges for fear of being labeled a demagog, yellow journalist, or worse.

I commend especially my colleague from New Jersey, Representative DOMINICK V. DANIELS, for having taken the initiative in seeking out the truth or fal-

sity of charges involving facilities at Walter Reed Hospital, and I wish to make available to my fellow Congressmen the following editorial from the Hudson Dispatch, of Union City, N.J. The editorial clearly reflects the justified concern that "the best is none too good":

THE BEST IS NONE TOO GOOD

Reports of primitive conditions existing in a Government hospital have been received with utmost shock and alarm by veterans' leaders and legislators throughout the country, but it remained for a group of Hudson County residents to press the issue in Washington.

The clamor for an immediate remedy of an appalling situation should be joined by every right-thinking American until every convenience for the wounded and maimed GI's who are carried out of the sweltering jungles of Vietnam is provided by the Government. The best is none too good for these young men who have been abruptly separated from civilian environments and asked to place their lives on the line to prevent the spread of the scourge of communism.

To his credit, Congressman DOMINICK V. DANIELS, of the 14th District of Hudson County, presented damaging charges on the floor of the House with a warning that if immediate steps are not taken he would force an investigation by the House Armed Services Committee. It was a fighting speech, the details of which were repeated in a communication to Secretary of the Army Stanley R. Resor. A probe is strongly indicated.

It is unthinkable that in this day and age when we spend millions for rocket shots, explorations of outer space, foreign aid and multiple other things, our fighting men are compelled to be institutionalized at a hospital (Walter Reed) possessing inadequate facilities. It is nothing short of abominable to force 45 patients in a ward, some of them leg amputees, to share a single lavatory with only one shower.

The American people and their representatives in Congress should not allow conditions like this to continue. It's a disgrace, it's a shame and a black mark against those Army officials who let such deterioration creep into a hospital.

If it is a question of lack of funds, although we don't see how that could be possible, Congressman DANIELS would be glad to sponsor legislation to make money available. He adds, "I am sure all my fellow Congressmen share my feelings that these patients at Walter Reed Hospital, many of whom are wounded veterans of the Vietnam conflict, deserve the very best from their country."

Panama Canal: Sovereignty and Tolls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, an informative news story on the current situation at the Panama Canal by Ralph K. Skinner was published in the September 21, 1965, issue of the Christian Science Monitor.

Because Mr. Skinner has lived on the isthmus for many years and has been a close student of Panama Canal problems, he writes with the authority of facts gleaned in the course of personal inquiry and on-the-scene observation.

The indicated article follows and is commended for reading by all concerned with the Panama Canal question, especially the matter of tolls:

NEW TOLLS SKETCHED: PANAMA CANAL RESTUDIED

(By Ralph K. Skinner)

PANAMA CITY, PANAMA.—Panama is considering changing the toll rates at the Panama Canal when it gets jurisdiction over them—something it hopes to obtain in the new Panama-United States treaty now being negotiated.

The Panamanian concept holds that tolls should be levied on the value of the cargo being transported, with expensive cargo paying a higher rate than low-value items.

Although it might even propose lower toll rates on cheap bulk cargo such as ore, the over-all effect would be a considerable increase in Panama Canal tolls, thus raising total income appreciably.

SOVEREIGNTY SOUGHT

This information was disclosed to this correspondent by responsible officials of the Panama Government. They maintain that the United States is subsidizing its own water-borne commerce and that of many other countries by maintaining low tolls at the Panama Canal. This is asserted to be unfair to Panama, as a partner in the canal enterprise, at a time when more financial benefits from the canal are sought by Panama.

In the new treaty currently being negotiated in Washington, Panama expects to win complete sovereignty over the Canal Zone, contending this has been promised by President Johnson.

An official said that such sovereignty would give Panama the right to set canal tolls, completely excluding the United States in this affair. It is known that a study of Panama Canal tolls, tolls structure, cargo statistics, and other data has been made for Panama.

Panama expects the treaty to spell out the substantial direct income it will derive from the waterway. Most officials here favor a percentage of canal revenue, but how much is not known. One official told this correspondent he favors the 50–50 split in Panama Canal gross revenues which was proposed for Panama several years ago by Dr. Ernesto Castillero Pimentel and Aquilino Boyd, of Panama's Foreign Office.

THREE TREATIES DEMANDED

Actually, Panama is demanding three treaties with the United States—not one as is generally thought. The three deal with the existing Panama Canal; with a possible new sea-level canal in Panama; and with a status-of-forces agreement covering the U.S. military presence in the Canal Zone.

A Panamanian treaty negotiator said the U.S. military investment in the Canal Zone was greater than the U.S. investment in the canal. But no figures are available on the cost of the military investment.

It is known that Panama will ask the same terms for U.S. military bases in the Canal Zone that Spain received from the United States for military bases there.

Despite the many involved aspects of the three separate treaties insisted upon by Panama, the negotiations are progressing harmoniously and at a faster rate than anticipated, according to Panama President Robles.

JOHNSON INTERESTED

Much of this is said to result from the interest of President Johnson in the discussion.

Puzzling to many observers here is Panama's changed attitude about a sea level canal. For some months officialdom here was eager for construction of such a canal in Panama. Foreign Minister Fernando Eleta even proposed that Panama build such a canal itself with private capital, if the United States didn't fall in line with Panama's demands.

Now Panama Government officials take the stand that Panama is not desirious of a sea level canal here, arguing that it would wreck the economy of the country. Panama, which often has played down economic dependence on the waterway, now reports that more than 60 percent of its foreign-exchange revenue comes from the Panama Canal sector.

Consultants recently have made extensive studies concerning the impact on the Panamanian economy of the construction of a sea level canal over the existing route, over a new route in Panama, or elsewhere. The United Nations is to prepare a full study of the economic future of Panama for the next 20 years, including the effects of sea level canals here and elsewhere.

Obviously, Panama expects full reimbursement for the economic dislocation it expects to experience if the United States constructs a sea level canal. If built at any other location than the existing Panama Canal route, it would bring financial chaos to Panama City and Colon, the terminal cities of the present waterway, officials argue.

Panama Government officials, with an eye on the labor vote, are concerned that the labor force of the waterway will drop from the present 16,000 workers to less than 1,000 when a sea level canal opens.

Panamanians from top level to the peasants in the plazas hope that some declaration on the current treaty negotiations will be made before October 1 when the National Assembly opens for its yearly session.

Highway Beautification Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, many of the Nation's outstanding newspapers have joined the battle in behalf of President Johnson's highway beautification bill. One of them, the Washington Daily News, in an editorial on October 2, exhorted its readers to contact Members of Congress and inform them that passage of the bill is a must.

Urging its readers to "speak up for beauty" the editorial declares:

> If you would rather look at trees and green hillsides than detergent ads while driving * * * if you'd rather not be confronted with thousands of rusting auto carcasses * * * if you want your children to have a heritage of beauty * * * get busy and do something about it.

To the Daily News, the beautification program is both worthwhile and a necessity, if the American people are to see beauty rather than ugliness from the country's highways. The legislation now before us enables us to strike a blow against the blight that should have been corrected a long time ago. The opportunity to restore and preserve beauty is ours and we will be performing a disservice to future generations if we permit that opportunity to slip by without acting on the President's bill.

In my own home State of West Virginia, we have an abundance of natural beauty and, in fact, our State, with an

essential Federal investment, has now started construction of a tourism and recreational complex that will be unsurpassed on the east coast of the United States—and will afford relaxation and unequaled beauty to all of America.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I respectfully enclose for the attention of the Members of the House the excellent editorial of October 2, which appeared in the Washington Daily News:

SPEAK UP FOR BEAUTY

Now is the time for nature lovers, in this city and elsewhere, to come to the aid of President Johnson's embattled highway beautification bill.

The measure already has passed the Senate. But it faces stiff opposition in the House, where it will come up within a few days.

Lobbyists for the billboard and junkyard interests have been hard at work on House Members. They have produced all sorts of arguments that highway beauty would "cost too much" or "interfere with private rights"—by which they mean the right to disfigure roadways paid for by the public.

There is danger that this worthwhile program could be defeated—unless the voters who want a beautiful as well as prosperous America speak up.

The bill which the House will consider is not as strong as it should have been, in our opinion. Nevertheless, it provides controls over unsightly billboards and removal or screening of auto graveyards and other ugly areas.

If you would rather look at trees and green hillsides than detergent ads while you're driving * * * if you'd rather not be confronted with thousands of rusting auto carcasses * * * if you want your children to have a heritage of beauty * * * get busy and do something about it.

A letter, a wire, a phone call to your Congressman will help let him know that for every lobbyist interested in blocking this legislation, there are hundreds of voters who want it.

But don't put it off. After the House makes its decision, whatever you say will be too late.

Foreign Assistance Appropriations for 1966

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted by the House earlier today, I include below the full corrected text of my closing remarks, which appear in the RECORD of last Friday, October 1, 1965, at pages 24852–24853, in support of the conference agreement on the foreign assistance appropriation bill. In readying the copy for the typesetter, several consecutive paragraphs apparently got printed out of order and one quotation from the law of several which I gave got substituted for another.

The version which follows is as submitted to the printer Friday night:

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of the time on the conference report to the very distinguished, able and sincere chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. PASSMAN] for yielding to me the remaining 5 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to support the position which the gentleman from Louisiana has just taken in regard to the pending conference report and the position which he has just taken against the forthcoming motion to recommit the bill.

This bill has in it some $670 million, plus, for southeast Asia. Much of it is to equip South Vietnamese soldiers—to equip them and to feed them and to help them fight the battles and share the sacrifices in this war for freedom in South Vietnam. I support this contribution to encourage the South Vietnamese to share in the cost, and in the fighting, and in the dying in South Vietnam.

Some seem to be troubled by the fact that the restrictive language provisions in the bill and the conference report with respect to Cuba and with respect to North Vietnam are a bit different. The present restrictive language with respect to Cuba came about principally in 1962. Many countries were trading with Cuba at that time. Over a period of weeks and months our Government was able to shut off free world shipping to Cuba by countries which were receiving our aid. But it took some time. As the gentleman from New York has said, we are now making progress in shutting off all free world shipping to North Vietnam. Our objective, of course, is to shut off all free world shipping to North Vietnam; but this is not something that the President feels can be done immediately or overnight, especially in view of the situation in Greece. A number of Greek ships are involved. It is taking time. We all favor taking every appropriate step toward the elimination of all free world shipping to North Vietnam. This is certainly my position and my objective in supporting the conference agreement.

In this bill, which the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. PASSMAN] is asking you to vote for—and which I hope you will support—we have forbidden aid to any country which provides, sells, or ships in its vessels material to North Vietnam. We forbid it. We then propose to add the proviso—

> Unless the President determines that the withholding of such assistance would be contrary to the national interest of the United States and reports such determination to the Congress.

In other words, we are trusting the President as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces; we are trusting him as our spokesman in foreign policy, just as we have always trusted our Presidents in foreign policy matters. My point is, Why not trust him who is in command of our Armed Forces in South Vietnam in this matter of shipping and working out these arrangements which are well underway and which have been quite successful in part thus far? Why not continue to trust him in this matter? We trust him with many vital national matters affecting our freedom, our security, our lives. We trust him with his finger on the trigger of the atomic bomb. Under our system the President is automatically charged with many awesome responsibilities.

A vote otherwise could in my judgment be interpreted as a vote of no confidence in the President in this matter. This is certainly not the desire of any Members of the House on either side of the aisle.

Mr. Speaker, in elaboration, may I say that the casual reader of this RECORD or those not acquainted with the details of the various provisions of the bill might gather that this conference agreement with respect to modification of the North Vietnam restriction represented a radical departure from precedent or practice. On the contrary, Mr. Speaker, Congress has repeatedly recognized the need for Presidential discretion in highly sensitive situations where national security is involved. Cutting off shipping to North Vietnam is not the only question at stake; as indicated earlier, important relationships with NATO allies vital to our security might well be adversely affected if in our well-intentioned desire to hamstring North Vietnam in every way possible we should unwisely tie our President's hands. That is what we have tried to avoid, and that is our aim in this conference agreement to which some objection has been voiced.

But more specifically, Mr. Speaker, the whole of the truth about the pending provision is this: The only real difference—the only difference of substance—between the original House passed version and the conference version is that the conference version permits the Presidential discretion which I mentioned. That is the only difference. And there is nothing new or radical about that.

Elsewhere in the pending bill, in amendment No. 10, we prohibit assistance to Nasser's United Arab Republic unless—and I am reading from the bill itself—

> Unless the President determines that such availability is essential to the national interest of the United States.

Elsewhere in the bill, in amendment 11, we prohibit assistance to Sukarno's Indonesia unless—and I am reading from the bill itself—

> Unless the President determines that such availability is essential to the national interest of the United States.

Furthermore, Congress did a similar thing earlier this session with respect to Nasser and the United Arab Republic when we had up the Commodity Credit Corporation supplemental appropriation in January. In that instance, we prohibited the use of any funds to export any of our agricultural commodities to the United Arab Republic except—and this is the point—except when—and I quote from the law—

> Except when the President determines that the financing of such exports is in the national interest.

Furthermore, Mr. Speaker, for the sake of emphasis, I must repeat something

others have said, because it is pertinent and it is important to an evaluation of the question: The conference agreement against North Vietnam shipping is stronger—much stronger—than what Congress adopted only a few weeks ago in the foreign aid authorization bill. And the conference prohibition is also much stronger than the Senate amendment 9 which it replaces.

Both the authorization bill and the Senate amendment in the pending bill merely constituted expressions of the sense of Congress about cutting off aid under the given circumstances. But the conference agreement is a mandatory provision—not merely an expression of a view. And the conference agreement is as strict, as strong, and as prohibitive as the original House restrictions in this appropriation bill with the single and sole exception of the Presidential discretion provision, which reads—

Unless the President determines that the withholding of such assistance would be contrary to the national interest of the United States and reports such determination to the Congress.

During President Eisenhower's administration, discretionary language was likewise adopted by Congress in dealing with sensitive international situations in Yugoslavia. There are other examples. This policy grows out of a realization of the fact that often there are unpredictable changes in world trouble spots which require flexibility of action by the President if he is to serve the best interest of the United States.

So, Mr. Speaker, I hope the coming motion to recommit the conference report will fail, and that we retain in the bill language forbidding shipments to North Vietnam except in certain instances and circumstances in which the President determines—as he must under the conference bill—that it is in the national interest to do otherwise and notifies the Congress to that effect.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAHON. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I wonder if the distinguished chairman of the committee could give us an example of a case in which the President of the United States might determine that it was in the national interest of our country to permit free world ships to carry military hardware to North Vietnam?

Mr. MAHON. The President does not favor the carrying of military hardware to North Vietnam.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. That is the discretion we are giving him, is it not?

Mr. MAHON. I believe he needs the discretion which is in the pending bill in working with certain of our NATO allies until this matter can be handled in such a way as to enhance the stature of the United States in the NATO countries and also take care of our interests in southeast Asia. It seems to me that this is certainly a very wise position for us to take at this time under the circumstances.

Mr. PASSMAN. The President would never permit such a thing to happen if it was within his power to prevent it.

Tyranny of the Majority in United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD this excellent column by Marquis Childs which appeared in the September 27, 1965, Washington Post.

Mr. Childs must be commended for reminding us of the potential pitfalls of the concept of consensus and of the importance of the corollary principles to majority rule, the freedoms of speech and press. I urge my colleagues to read carefully Mr. Childs' remarks:

TYRANNY OF THE MAJORITY IN THE UNITED STATES

(By Marquis Childs)

The Johnson consensus is so powerful that large areas of policy—normally in past years a subject for debate—are now off limits. The zeal of a majority President, who by temperament and conviction draws the line against dissenters, underscores the fears of a time of troubles when revolutionary regimes threaten all order and stability.

Add to this an expanding Federal Government dispensing money in old ways—the House just passed a $1.7 billion pork barrel rivers and harbors bill—and new ways such as huge defense and research contracts. The sum total in the view of pessimistic observers is a new America with little resemblance to the give-and-take democracy of the past.

A case in point is what happened to Chairman J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Waiting until after a provisional government had been established in the Dominican Republic, FULBRIGHT in a Senate speech delivered a carefully reasoned criticism of how the Dominican crisis had been handled. This was based on an inquiry before the Foreign Relations Committee with 13 sessions at which all the principals testified.

Immediately the full force of administration spokesmen big and little was leveled against him. The voices turned up high did not so much seek to refute the criticism as to discredit the critic. At the lowest level, as represented by Senator RUSSELL LONG, of Louisiana, the majority whip, the suggestion was that if you didn't believe Communists were about to take over in the Dominican Republic then you must have more sympathy for communism than you knew.

On careful rereading of the Fulbright speech it is hard to discover why the reaction was as though it had been an offense against majesty. He was saying that aspects of America's policy in the Dominican Republic compounded these faults. The example of a Senator soundly birched for faulting the administration raises a troubling question: Is any dialog at all possible on the great issues of foreign policy?

To put it another way: Must the power of the Executive be so absolute in view of the threat to America's security that critics should keep silent? An American war in Vietnam is rapidly expanding with reports of 200,000 troops to be committed by the year's end and yet scarcely a doubt is expressed publicly over the authority of the Commander in Chief to direct an undeclared war.

Granted the stakes are awesome and the power of the Executive great in conducting policy with proper secrecy as in the India-Pakistan crisis. Granted, too, that nothing succeeds like the Johnson successes.

Nevertheless, the domination of the majority is so all-encompassing that a fundamental distortion of the American system seems for the time being at least to have resulted. More than a century ago Alexis de Tocqueville, one of the most searching and at the same time sympathetic foreign critics, wrote in his "Democracy in America" of the danger of the tyranny of the majority. Of the tyranny this French aristocrat considered the main evil of democratic institutions he wrote:

"The smallest reproach irritates its sensibility and the slightest joke that has any foundation in truth renders it indignant; from the forms of its language up to the solid virtues of its character, everything must be made the subject of encomium. No writer, whatever be his eminence, can escape paying this tribute of adulation to his fellow citizens."

De Tocqueville was writing of the majority itself but his words today might be applied to the master of the majority.

"I know of no country," de Tocqueville wrote, "in which there is so little independence of mind and real freedom of discussion as in American. Profound changes have occurred since democracy in America first appeared and yet it may be asked whether recognition of the right of dissent has gained substantially in practice as well as in theory."

Senator FULBRIGHT discovered in 1957 what it meant to go against the majority. He opposed the Eisenhower-Dulles doctrine embodied in a resolution giving the President power to use "the Armed Forces of the United States as he deems necessary" in the Middle East and to spend $200 million as he saw fit without congressional restrictions. The Senate majority leader then was Lyndon B. Johnson. He urged FULBRIGHT to back Eisenhower as he himself had.

Johnson has triple-starred consensus in the political lexicon. But, defined as "tyranny of the majority," consensus has another look.

Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. FALLON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, the Baltimore Sun yesterday morning carried a fine editorial calling for the enactment at this session of the highway beautification bill.

The Sun's editorial rightly says that this modest bill makes good sense as a conservation measure—"to conserve and make available for future generations part of the natural beauty of America's countryside."

Conservatives and liberals—

The Sun writes—

Democrats and Republicans have long supported conservation of our resources as a policy, but the record shows that this is something which must be fought for and something which can be won by persistent effort.

Mr. Speaker, we should make that effort now, this week. Let us not take the priceless asset of America's beauty for granted. Let us act to preserve it as a

legacy for our descendants, as Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin Roosevelt fought to preserve it for us.

Under unanimous consent I include the Sun's editorial at this point in the RECORD:

CONSERVATION

As a conservation measure, to conserve and make available for future generations part of the natural beauty of America's countryside, the bill pending in Congress to restrict billboards and junkyards along the highways makes good sense. It is a modest bill, as passed by the Senate, but it is a move in the right direction, and the program deserves support in the House of Representatives. It would be a shame to have the legislation put over to the next session of Congress for lack of the final, determined push needed now to bring it to a vote in the House.

Conservatives and liberals, Democrats and Republicans, have long supported conservation of our natural resources as a policy, but the record shows that this is something which must be fought for and something which can be won by persistent effort. The proposal to conserve the natural beauty of our roadsides, is part of the move for pure water and pure air. We have a way of taking such priceless assets for granted until, as in the case of water pollution, for example, we find they are slipping away under the pressure of industrialization, commercialism, and the blight of urban sprawl. The House should not let the roadside conservation bill slip away now.

A Unique Type: Quiet Congressman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, the other day a syndicated columnist informed the readers of America what we in the House of Representatives have known for some time. That is that our colleague, Representative JOHN BLATNIK, of Minnesota, is truly one of the unsung heroes of this body. The citizens of his district in northern Minnesota as well as all Americans, are fortunate in having a man of JOHN BLATNIK's caliber in the House of Representatives.

Through his efforts down the years, America is now a better place than it has been in the past and the legislation he has sponsored will make it even greater in the future. I am proud to include in the RECORD today the column to which I refer:

A UNIQUE TYPE: QUIET CONGRESSMAN

(By Drew Pearson)

While others have monopolized the spotlight, a quiet Minnesota Congressman by dint of sheer drudgery has fashioned some of this year's real legislative miracles. He is Representative JOHN BLATNIK, Democrat, whose gentle manner is merely the moss on a character of granite. For in the push and press of the backrooms, he has been as rugged a political infighter as he was a World War II commando who parachuted behind enemy lines into Yugoslavia.

The mild and modest BLATNIK, often working in his shirtsleeves late into the night, has handled the tedious, unspectacular legislation that seldom makes headlines.

He spent 4 months, for example, merely hammering out the Senate-House differences in the complex water pollution bill. Working with him line by line, equally without glory, was a Senate stalwart: Maine's cheerfully able Senator EDMUND MUSKIE, Democrat.

They shaped compromises that actually improved both the Senate and House measures, thus producing more effective legislation that will clean America's streams of contamination.

BLATNIK also piloted the difficult rivers and harbors bill through the House, carefully balancing the public interest against the political interests of his colleagues.

He was assisted by another unsung hero of the backrooms, Representative ROBERT JONES, one of the few surviving Democrats in the Alabama delegation. Together, they fashioned a far-reaching, $2 billion program to control floods, tap new water sources, open new channels to navigation, and battle beach erosion.

BLATNIK also did the painstaking job of consolidating the accelerated public works projects and the area redevelopment program into a new Economic Development Act for distressed areas. This will mean jobs for thousands of unemployed workers over the next 5 years.

It WAS JOHN BLATNIK, too, who led the backstage fight to strip the Rules Committee of its arbitrary powers.

The irony is that the underprivilege people, whom BLATNIK has helped most, probably understand least what he has accomplished for them.

Fort Custer Job Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, the Job Corps training centers which have recently opened around the country have been an important part of the President's war on poverty. Giving young men and women a real chance for self-improvement, the training centers offer a real route out of the maze of unemployment and hopelessness that creates such social chaos as was seen in recent riots in Watts, California.

Much criticism has been directed at the Job Corps and its training centers. A notable exception, however, is the Job Corps Training Center at Fort Custer, in my own congressional district. The center, run by United States Industries, Inc., and Western Michigan University under contract from the Job Corps, has a dropout rate well below the national average, and has had considerable success in trying to help the trainees make their own last chance to play a fruitful role in our society. Under the direction of Mr. John Borum and his able staff, the Fort Custer center has made some important steps in the difficult task of developing the training center idea into a functioning and useful institution.

The thoughtful and perceptive article printed below, by Mr. Lane Wick, of the Kalamazoo Gazette, details the activities of one of the Job Corps trainees at Fort Custer. I think it appropriate that this article be inserted in the RECORD, to show what an effective training center is trying to do:

ITS PURPOSE CATCHING ON: THEY'RE GETTING "SECOND BREAK," MANY FORT CUSTER JOB CORPS YOUTHS AGREE

(By Lane Wick)

Vince McClelland, a slender, quiet young man with an east coast accent, is a veteran of the newborn Job Corps center at Fort Custer.

He is also a high school dropout, a U.S. Navy veteran, and a former commercial fisherman, Everglades guide, waiter, and physical education instructor for small boys.

"Sure I've had some jobs," Vince says, "but nothing good. I felt the Job Corps would be a way to learn a trade and get a high school diploma. You can't get anyplace without a high school diploma."

So Vince is studying clerical courses at Fort Custer while attending night school in Battle Creek for his diploma.

He is one of the 350 jobless youths from across the country who enlisted in the Federal Job Corps and were assigned to the Fort Custer training center.

How does he like it?

"It's okay, really," he says convincingly. "We were a little disappointed when we first arrived, but I think they're doing a real good job here."

Vince was among the first group of corpsmen who arrived at Fort Custer in June. At first, there was too little to do and supplies were lacking, but this has been corrected.

Now Vince gets up at 7 a.m. and attends classes throughout the day, goes to night school, and has plenty of studying to do in his spare time.

Six days a week, Vince attends social studies, mathematics, English, and drivers education classes on various mornings. During the afternoon, he spends 3 hours in a clerical class. He also attends a daily physical education class.

Since he hopes someday to work in the field of data processing, he considers his clerical and small business machine training at Custer of utmost importance. He studies hard.

"Mac (for McClelland) is one of our best students," says clerical instructor A. H. Scherer. "He has asked for extra assignments, and has turned in a lot of extra homework."

Another Job Corps official, a group life supervisor, said:

"Vince, we think, knows what he's here for. He's well-liked and he's serious."

Vince, 21, dropped out of high school in Staten Island, N.Y., after the ninth grade. Then he went into the Navy.

After his discharge, he held various jobs and then decided to try the Job Corps. He's glad he did.

"I thought, you know, that I was too old to go back to high school," he says, "and this seemed to be the answer. I'd like to get a diploma and then go on to college. I talk to a lot of the group life foremen out here (most of whom are college students or graduates), and they've helped me plenty. They deserve a lot of credit."

Vince sees the Job Corps as a "last chance" for jobless high school dropouts who failed to realize when younger the importance of education.

"I think most of the corpsmen know what a good deal this is," he says. "They're serious now, where they weren't in high school."

Recently, a Gazette reporter followed Vince around the Job Corps center for a day, sitting in on classes, playing basketball, eating at the mess hall, conversing with other corpsmen in Vince's barracks.

The reporter asked numerous corpsmen how they liked the Custer Center.

Not a single corpsman said he did not like living at the center. Since corpsmen can quit the center at any time, it's understand-

able why disenchanted youths are few there. If they don't like it, they don't stay.

According to center officials, only about 5 percent of the corpsmen assigned to the Custer Training Center have dropped out. Officials consider this dropout low, especially in the light of reports from other Job Corps centers, which list dropout rates at over 30 percent.

Newsweek, the national weekly news magazine, reported in its September 13 edition that the dropout rate nationwide is 10.6 percent.

Vince McClelland rooms with three other youths in a reconditioned two-story barracks which houses 40 corpsmen.

Two double bunks, two desks, two easy chairs, and four metal lockers are in the room. It is partitioned off from other rooms but has no doors. Noise from record players, radios, and bull sessions echoes loudly through the building during daytime hours when corpsmen aren't in classes.

"We don't have any trouble sleeping," Vince said. "We have a 'quiet hour' at night, and most of the guys follow it pretty good. After 'lights out,' it's quiet."

After the 7 a.m. wake-up, Vince helps clean the room, then goes to breakfast.

Food, in both quality and quantity is good; he says Corpsmen may have as much to eat as they like, but are told to eat everything they put on their plates.

Visitors, reporters included, can eat with the corpsmen but must pay for their own meals. At lunch time with Vince, the reporter enjoyed chicken, tossed salad, mashed potatoes, bread and butter, corn, milk, and canned cherries.

In the classroom, Vince is quick to participate in group discussion.

Last week during a class taught by William Boards, a tall social studies instructor, a job interview session was held.

Boards acted as a personnel director while interviewing corpsmen as the rest of the class watched. Following the interview, corpsmen were called on to comment on the performance of the jobseekers and the personnel manager.

A Chicago youth during the interview had sought a job as a stereotyper. Boards had questioned him at length about his background and future plans.

Vince spotted two errors—the personnel manager looked at the application form instead of the jobseeker when talking, and the jobseeker looked out the window most of the time.

Other corpsmen joined in with constructive criticism, and a lengthy discussion evolved over whether a jobseeker should answer with "yes, sir," or just "yes" during an interview.

Boards convinced the class that "yes, sir," was the better reply.

In his drivers education class, Vince and two other youths drove about the Fort Custer area with instructor Wilson Hibbard. It was the first day of behind-the-wheel training, and the corpsmen discovered they had plenty to learn before passing the course.

An hour of basketball followed, and then Vince spent the noon hour in the messhall. His afternoon clerical class lasted until 4 p.m., and that night he attended the first night-school session in Battle Creek.

On weekends, corpsmen are allowed to visit neighboring cities, including Battle Creek and Kalamazoo, for recreation.

Battle Creek Police Chief Clifford D. Barney told the Gazette that his department has had some trouble with visiting corpsmen in that city, mostly involving liquor offenses. He said about 8 to 10 corpsmen have been arrested since the center opened.

"Considering the number of boys they have out there," he said, "there hasn't been too much trouble."

Barney said none of the corpsmen have been involved to his knowledge in a serious crime.

Kalamazoo police reported that they have had minor problems with some corpsmen visiting here, also involving liquor violations.

When Vince McClelland visited Kalamazoo recently, he walked around Western Michigan University. He said it was the first college campus he had ever been on.

"It's really nice," he said. "I talked to some of the students, and it made me want to go to college all the more."

Vince, and numerous corpsmen at Fort Custer, think the Job Corps center there is "OK," and are working at improving their own lot.

When asked what the center lacks, the corpsman there often replies with a grin:

"Girls, man, girls."

But few corpsmen complain about the center's routine, its food, or other conditions there.

Several weeks ago, there were reports from Camp Breckinridge, near Morganfield, Ky., of corpsmen rioting and State troopers being called in to keep order. It was reported that a shakedown racket was going on there among corpsmen, with some youths paying others to insure their own safety.

Job Corps officials complained that such incidents were overemphasized by the press, and one Washington official said:

"People are dwelling on isolated incidents to attack the program."

Vince McClelland was asked if Fort Custer corpsmen had heard of the Camp Breckinridge disturbances.

"Oh, yeah," he replied, "we heard about it but nobody talked about it much. Nothing like that could ever happen here.

"Most guys here are pretty serious about the Job Corps. They had a break when they went to high school, but they didn't realize the necessity then. Now they do. This is a second break for a lot of guys."

Vince said that when he leaves the Job Corps at the end of his training he plans on talking to some of his friends who might benefit from joining the program.

He believes in it.

"I hope you got the right idea about this place," he told the reporter.

State Ticks Because of Its "Winders"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, for those of us fortunate enough to have been born and raised in Indiana, the blessings of our State are well known and appreciated.

Others unacquainted with the advantages of Indiana citizenship can glean a great deal of understanding about the State from an excellent article written recently by Mr. Robert Corya, the capable business editor of the Indianapolis News.

Mr. Corya's article explains why Indiana is attracting new industry and residents. The article follows:

[From the Indiana News, Sept. 29, 1965]

STATE TICKS BECAUSE OF ITS "WINDERS"

(By Robert Corya)

Why does industry prosper in Indiana?

A 32-page booklet published by the State tells the world why.

It points out that from 1954 to 1963 capital spending for manufacturing climbed from $301,247,000 to $568 million.

A lot of what the booklet says has already appeared in a continuing flow of information. Perhaps the publication's best service is to wrap up the facts and put them inside a single booklet.

Indiana ranked ninth nationally in the number of employees in manufacturing, with 611,500 workers. Of a 1960 population of 4,662,000, the State had a labor force of 1,793,000 persons. It takes only a drive anywhere in the State to see the rising influence of urban life. Like it or not, Indiana's fields are becoming paved with shops, factories, highways, subdivisions.

By 1972 Indiana will have more interstate highway mileage for its size than any other State. More than 385,000 trucks are registered in Indiana. Three of the Nation's six largest moving companies have Indiana office headquarters. Indiana ranks fifth among States in highway mileage per square mile of area.

More than 6,000 miles of "main track" are operated by 15 class I railroads—5,600 more miles for multiple main lines, sidings, and yards. All main lines east of Chicago and St. Louis pass through Hoosierland. Northern Indiana has the sixth highest concentration of railroad lines in the Nation.

Map dots representing airline service makes Indiana look like it's suffering from measles. Jets roar into and away from Indianapolis in growing regularity. There are 105 airports able to handle passengers and freight.

One of these days Indiana will have access to the world by ocean vessels. Already one of the world's largest steel mills, computer-equipped, is but a rowboat-ride away from the proposed harbor site. At the southern end is a river that carries more than 80 million tons of shipping a year. All along that great winding Ohio and Lake Michigan are rising plants that will be able to reach directly 80 percent of the United States, excluding Hawaii and Alaska.

Electric power-generating facilities turn out more than 6 million kilowatts. Indiana has five major electrical power companies. Natural gas lines cross all but 2 and serve all but 4 of the State's 92 counties. Ten major companies distribute gas around the State.

More than 1,000 lakes are providing 326 square miles of water. Reservoirs are rising all the time. A creek and river map looks like the cracks in a shattered window pane.

Research continues in some of the finest educational and private laboratories in the world.

The State is within 800 miles of 41 of the top 50 consumer markets in the country. The State has an unlimited variety of natural wonders—hills, dunes, forests, coal, valleys, plains.

Climate? Well, some folks leave Indiana in winter and some in summer. And weather runs a close second to cars as a topic of conversation. There is something for the Eskimo and the swimmer. Sometimes it just requires a little waiting. Four seasons, not one or two, grace the entire State.

Some of the finest buildings in the world are that way because of Indiana limestone. The people are a wide mixture, just about as wide as the world's population itself. Some grumble, some cheer, but few leave for good and many more arrive, for good.

It has culture, it has history. It housed one of the Nation's greatest Presidents. It helped open the door west. It has its critics, although none come to mind. And it has its tooters. And that's what this was all about. That's why industry prospers in Indiana—and a lot of other things for that matter.

The Bahama Sugar Quota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, recent newspaper articles have reflected unfavorably upon the motivation of the Owens-Illinois Co., in requesting a sugar quota for its holdings on the island of Great Abaco in the Bahamas.

Believing that all parties to a controversy are entitled to have their sides of the story properly presented before the American public, I submit herewith a statement by the executive vice president of Owens-Illinois, Inc., Mr. Hugh C. Laughlin.

From the statement made by Mr. Laughlin and also from conversations with members of the House Agriculture Committee, who have devoted long hours to a conscientious study of the problem of sugar quotas, I sincerely believe that the action of Owens-Illinois, Inc., is perfectly proper and demonstrates a true compassion for their former employees on the island of Great Abaco.

The statement follows:

THE INTEREST OF OWENS-ILLINOIS, INC., IN THE BAHAMA SUGAR QUOTA

Since 1956 Owens-Illinois has conducted a pulpwood harvesting program in the Bahamas under a long-term Crown lease. Headquarters for this operation is now at Snake Cay on Great Abaco Island from which point wood is barged to a papermill in Jacksonville, Fla. More than $5 million are now invested in dock facilities, handling and hauling equipment, housing for employees, utilities systems and roads which total 1,000 miles. This investment has created employment for 500 persons whose rates of pay are fully equal to those paid in the southeastern United States for comparable work. Total annual payroll for this operation in 1964 was $1,319,000.

This pulpwood harvesting operation will cease in mid-1967 when all suitable wood will have been cut. It takes approximately 25 years to produce marketable trees under modern methods of forestry management in the Bahamas. Owens-Illinois feels an obligation and has a sincere desire to provide employment in this area where other opportunities for gainful work are almost nonexistent. The entire economy of the island would benefit from the continued use of the capital Owens-Illinois has already invested in this operation.

Extensive studies indicate that soil and climatic conditions on Great Abaco, and its location 185 miles from the Florida mainland, favor cultivation of cane and production of raw sugar. Plantings made in 1964 now provide a source of seed cane for an immediate replanting of 1,500 acres which would allow prompt development of this venture. Preliminary engineering now in progress will allow completion of a 50,000-ton capacity mill in late 1967.

This program is planned to phase in as the wood cutting operation phases out and would in its first year provide a payroll of $1,151,000, and an eventual payroll larger than the $1,319,000 now provided. Additional capital funds in the order of $20 million will be required to consummate this program, and some participation in the U.S. market is necessary to justify this investment.

Such U.S. market participation appears to conform fully with the purposes of the Sugar Act in that Great Abaco would constitute the closest offshore source of sugar (3 days delivery to United States) efficiently and economically produced. The strategic location of this island in relation to U.S. refiners is unique.

Perhaps more importantly, the opportunity for participation of the Bahamas under the U.S. quota system (even in the small amount of one-tenth of 1 percent of the total quota) would provide much needed support for the island's economy and employment opportunities for a friendly, neighboring country with a stable government, which has continuously worked in a splendid spirit of cooperation and helpfulness with the Government of this country, especially as regards missile tracking stations and the major naval installation on Andros Island.

U.S. dollars spent for Bahamian sugar will be like dollars spent domestically in that we are the Bahamas' principal supplier and trade balances run preponderantly in our favor even if American tourism expenditures are included.

In summary, quota participation by the Bahamas would provide:

1. A close-by, dependable, low-cost source of sugar.
2. Support for a friendly, nearby, stable government.
3. Employment opportunities—the absence of which would cause disruption and tragic hardship.
4. Continued use of presently existing road systems, dock and shipping facilities, heavy handling and hauling equipment, housing, schools, utilities, etc.

HUGH C. LAUGHLIN.

Pope Paul VI Visits the Bronx

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I was very proud yesterday when Pope Paul VI honored my city and my borough of the Bronx with a personal visit. The respect that his presence evoked among members of every faith testified to the joy that we all felt. The Bronx Press Review, a weekly newspaper that so accurately reflects the sentiment of our borough, published an editorial that was particularly appropriate to the occasion. It noted that citizens of the Bronx put aside their sectarian feelings to welcome the Pope with unanimous warmth.

With permission, I wish to insert in the RECORD the editorial of the Bronx Press Review, which follows:

POPE PAUL VI VISITS THE BRONX

A most signal honor will come to the Bronx on Monday when Pope Paul VI, head of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the world, comes to Yankee Stadium on Monday to celebrate mass on the same day he brings a message of peace to the United Nations.

All Bronxites can feel honored with this visit to our area. Catholics of the borough will, of course, experience a deep and personal surge of joy and warmth over the visit, but persons of all other faiths can share in this feeling, too.

We have had great historic moments and periods in our borough. The United Nations has used our purlieus for home. But probably never in the history of our Bronx has the eyes of the whole world, not just Christendum, been centered upon our locale with the interest and hope, respect and sympathy as will be vouchsafed on Monday.

We bid the pontiff welcome to our land, we wish him the utmost success in his errand of peace and goodliness.

And we ask his blessing and his prayers on behalf of all of us here in the Bronx, believers and nonbelievers, at a time when his own flock is flushed with pride and hope and the great Jewish community of the borough is immersed in its own deeply religious holy days.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include my weekly report to the people of the Seventh District of Alabama for October 4, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman JIM MARTIN)

JOHNSON-LIBERAL BLOC DEFEATED ON HOME RULE FOR WASHINGTON

The defeat of the President's home rule for Washington bill was an indication that many Members of Congress have decided they have had enough of pressure tactics and unconstitutional raids on the power of Congress to legislate. After 3 days of bitter debate and under heavy pressure from the House leadership, the President went down to a smashing defeat when the amendment by Congressman SISK, of California, was adopted 227 to 114. Conscientious Democrat Congressmen joined with an overwhelming majority of Republicans to pass the Sisk bill which insured the defeat of the Johnson bill which would have turned the Capital City over to local politicians with no control by Congress. Under the Constitution the Congress has no right to turn the responsibility for operation of the Federal City over to local people.

The Sisk bill calls for a referendum by a majority of the registered voters of Washington on the question of home rule, the election of a charter commission and the submission of any charter drawn, to the people of the District and to Congress. Most observors agree that home rule is dead for this session and could be dead for some time.

While the defeat on home rule was the most spectacular defeat for Lyndon Johnson, there have been several votes lately which indicate that Congress may want to get rid of its rubberstamp reputation. With not a single Republican vote lost, enough Democrats joined in saving the Governors' veto over projects in the individual States in the recently passed antipoverty bill. A lineup of Republicans and Democrats defeated one of the President's pet projects, the Dickey Lincoln $300 million public power project in the public works bill. A conference of Senators and Members of the House has put some very important limitations on the number of immigrants from the Western Hemisphere in the President's immigration bill. It now appears that a determined Senate may be able to defeat repel of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act for this year, thus

preserving the rights of the States to legislate on right to work laws.

REPEAL OF SECTION 14 (B)

Repeal of section 14(b) which protects the rights of individual workers from being forced to join a union is probably one of the most crucial bills before Congress. The President and northern big city labor bosses are determined to take this protection of individual rights out of the law. At the present time a number of Senators are committed to take part in extended debate (more popularly known as a filibuster) to prevent the repeal bill from passing. Both Alabama Senators have stated they are against repeal and I hope they will take an active part in the extended debate because it will take more than just saying they are against repeal or a "no" vote to prevent the repeal bill from passing.

SOME IMMIGRATION FACTS

Many of the facts about what the President's immigration bill will do have not been told to the public. Under present law, approximately 158,000 overseas immigrants may be admitted each year into the United States. Only about 100,000 of this number choose to come in. About 200,000 nonquota immigrants are admitted each year, making a total of about 300,000 who come in every year under present law.

The new bill increases the number of those who may be admitted from overseas from 158,000 to 170,000; 20,000 a year is allotted to each of the European, African and Asian countries—the latter two catagories are now limited to 100 annually. In addition to the 170,000, the new bill admits parents, wives, or husbands, and unmarried minor children of American citizens, plus additional numbers from the Jamaica and Trinidad-Tobago area. So instead of the 170,000, at least 200,000 will become admissible from these sources. When we add this 200,000 to the 200,000 now being admitted from nonquota countries, we will be bringing in an additional 400,000 people a year to compete with American workers for jobs. Many of those coming from Asian and African countries will be unskilled, thus creating added competition for jobs among those who are now finding employment opportunities most difficult. This bill is another example of the promise versus the reality of L.B.J.'s Great Society programs.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY BY TAX-EXEMPT GROUPS

In answer to many of those who have written to me asking about the political activities of the National Council of Churches and other religious groups, I am making a thorough study of such activities and hope that by early next year I will have a report and recommendations for consideration by Congress and the people. In the meantime, I believe the National Council of Churches and many other church groups are skating on very thin ice by engaging in lobbying and political activities. As religious groups they are tax-exempt, but as lobbying groups and groups engaging in partisan politics, they are subject to taxation under the law.

Many Members of Congress have been disturbed by the open activity of the National Council of Churches in support of the move to unseat the legally elected members of Congress from Mississippi, their activity for the voting rights bill to penalize six Southern States, their efforts in trying to get the Washington home rule bill through Congress. I think, too, many church members are deeply concerned about such activities where national religious organizations use the money of individual churches and church members to support causes with which the individuals are in disagreement. By such activities we are also putting into grave danger the doctrine of separation of church and state.

Hurricane Betsy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. HÉBERT Mr. Speaker, on September 8, 1965, Hurricane Betsy struck the Southeast and gulf coast of the United States with maniacal fury. This hurricane, which was the most vicious wind ever to sweep out of the Caribbean, left a toll of death and destruction that continues to mount day by day.

As I had previously advised the House, the primary target of Hurricane Betsy's rage was the great city of New Orleans which experienced the brunt of this frightful storm.

At the present time, the death toll has reached the 70 mark, and damages have passed the $1 billion mark.

The President, who personally visited this devastated area on the 10th of September, the day after the storm, therefore promptly and properly declared this a major disaster area and authorized Public Law 875 assistance.

The news media of our country have detailed harrowing accounts of this great storm and the devastating impact that it has had on the New Orleans area. However, with deference to our news media, I do not believe they have properly chronicled the great heroism and unparalled spirit of cooperation that was triggered by Hurricane Betsy's brief but disastrous visit.

I, therefore, feel it absolutely essential that I attempt to establish for the RECORD this magnificent demonstration of neighborliness and humanitarianism.

Every Federal and State agency, even remotely capable of assisting the residents of this stricken area, immediately volunteered to provide every possible assistance within their own resources and capabilities. Even before Hurricane Betsy struck the area, the Army Corps of Engineers, the U.S. Coast Guard, the U.S. Navy, civil defense authorities, and every other agency, both local and national, were preparing for the worst.

If it were not for this coordinated effort on the part of all concerned, including the often unsung hero—the ordinary citizen—the loss of life would undoubtedly have been much higher.

Having been warned of Betsy's impending arrival, the Coast Guard's Rescue Coordination Center in New Orleans braced itself for an around-the-clock ordeal. Every helicopter capable of getting off the ground was pressed into service to pick up the desperate men, women and children who suddenly found themselves marooned in a brown, swirling flood. Eleven Coast Guard helicopters evacuated 1,144 persons, transported 22 medicos, and flew 140 sorties. At the same time, 9 Navy helicopters evacuated 885 persons and flew 25 sorties.

The effective rescue efforts of the pilots who flew these helicopters cannot be overemphasized. They lifted hundreds of men, women, and children from flooded rooftops as the water overflowed the levies and surged over the tops of automobiles in the streets.

In surface operations, Coast Guard and Navy boats and vehicles in the New Orleans area evacuated more than 11,600 persons and transported many tons of food, water, and medical supplies. More than 11,000 homeless persons were sheltered at the naval station and the naval air station during Hurricane Betsy and during its aftermath.

Dispensaries at the two naval stations provided emergency treatment to over 1,400 civilian refugees during the first days of the disaster. Medical services were also made available to more than 9,000 additional persons who sought temporary shelter at the naval station.

The Army Corps of Engineers were magnificent during this disaster. Personnel of the New Orleans District, under the direction of Col. Thomas J. Bowen, district engineer, directed rescue work, flood damage assessment, location of wrecks and other obstructions to navigation, and restoration of navigation facilities.

Under the Office of Emergency Planning's direction, the Army Engineers rendered major assistance in restoring power and dewatering flooded areas in New Orleans and in the Venice area of Plaquemines Parish. These inundated areas in the Greater New Orleans area resulted from many breaks in the levees. The resulting power failures increased the problem manifold for the Corps of Engineers in their efforts to dewater more than 9 square miles of the city.

Other complicating factors confronting the Corps of Engineers was the fact that more than 300 vessels of all types and sizes were sunk during the hurricane within the Louisiana disaster area, including Barge *MTC 602*, carrying about 600 tons of liquid chlorine.

I am happy to add that after intensive search operations which were coordinated by the Coast Guard under the command of Major General Reaves, commanding general of Fort Polk, La., the missing chlorine barge was found on the 16th of September, 1965. The barge was found at River Mile 226.8 and about 200 feet from the east bank of the river, and approximately 400 yards from the main navigational channel. The depth of water over the highest point of the barge is approximately 40 feet. As a consequence, the river was opened to navigation on the 17th of September.

The Army Corps of Engineers, the Navy, the Coast Guard, and the Coast and Geodetic Survey all actively participated in this search.

Patrol boats with chlorine detection equipment now check this area every half hour, and the U.S. Public Health Service also takes periodic samples of the water.

The news media have accurately and fully described other precautionary measures taken by Federal and local officials, including the availability of more than 117,000 gas masks.

I am happy to advise that the Corps of Engineers, the Office of Emergency

planning, and the Department of Justice, have jointly agreed that the barge should be removed under the provisions of Public Law 875—the Natural Disaster Act of 1950. I further understand that a contract for salvage of the barge has been let and the work is scheduled to begin on or about the 4th of October.

I have outlined in some detail the circumstances surrounding this single incident for the dual purpose of providing you the latest accurate information on this subject, and also for the purpose of illustrating the marvelous spirit of cooperation that imbued everyone in the disaster area.

For example, the Navy sent a destroyer, 2 tracker aircraft, and 23 Navy diving experts to aid in the search for the barge. The traditional inertia of Government bureaucracy and associated redtape simply did not exist. It is evident to me that old-fashioned American resourcefulness and initiative can still overcome redtape.

Our Military Reserve components also contributed handsomely both during the actual hurricane and in the subsequent recovery effort. More than 4,000 National Guard personnel were committed to the disaster area to maintain law and order, prevent looting, and to assist disaster victims. The timely and effective role played by the National Guard in this disaster certainly fortified my determination to prevent any reduction in this tremendously important arm of our State Governors.

The Air Force Reserve again demonstrated its responsiveness by mounting a giant airlift to New Orleans. Air Force Reservists from troop carrier wings in 11 States airlifted vitally needed supplies and equipment into the New Orleans area.

Reservists flying C–119 "box cars," C–123 "providers," and four-engine C–124 "Globemasters" airlifted over 546 tons, and more than 500 passengers in 138 missions into the stricken area in the first few days after the disaster. These Air Force Reserve citizen-airmen flew a total of more than 430,000 ton-miles and 275,000 passenger-miles.

The citizens of the New Orleans area are indebted to these Air Force Reservists and to the Continental Air Command, commanded by Lt. Gen. Cecil Childre.

For the information of my colleagues, the following Air Force Reserve troop carrier wings took part in this domestic version of the Berlin airlift:

The 433d, from Kelly Air Force Base, Tex.;

The 446th, from Ellington Air Force Base, Tex.;

The 512th, from Carswell Air Force Base, Tex.;

The 302d, from Clinton County Air Force Base, Ohio;

The 445th, from Dobbins Air Force Base, Ga.;

The 434th, from Bakalar Air Force Base, Ind.;

The 442d, from Richards Gebaur Air Force Base, Mo.;

The 403d, from Selfridge Air Force Base, Mich.;

The 440th, from General Billy Mitchell Field, Wis.;

The 452d, from March Air Force Base, Calif.;

The 459th, from Andrews Air Force Base, Md.;

The 514th, from McGuire Air Force Base, N.J.; and

The 435th, from Homestead Air Force Base, Fla.

Air National Guard C–97's, C–121's, and C–54's flew numerous missions carrying relief supplies from various sections of the Nation to the New Orleans area.

The Civil Air Patrol demonstrated its capability in assisting in rescue and disaster relief operations during and after the onset of Hurricane Betsy. More than 700 CAP members participated in disaster relief under the direction of State and local parish civil defense agencies. The contribution made by these individual members, together with all their available equipment, did much to lighten the suffering of thousands of stranded victims of Hurricane Betsy.

The Red Cross, as always, anticipated the problems generated by this terrible disaster and established liaison with the Office of Civil Defense, the Office of Emergency Planning, and the military services through the 4th U.S. Army. Its resulting efforts and contributions will always be remembered by the citizens of Louisiana.

Our civil defense organization proved of immeasurable value during this disaster. In the initial stages of the hurricane, the specially engineered leased-wire voice and teletype communications systems provided the only communications link for command and control operations of civil government linking New Orleans, the State capital of Baton Rouge, OCD region 5 in Denton, Tex., and OCD in Washington. Thousands of cartons of emergency food and supplies were made available to refugees, together with more than 1,000 drums of water, which were taken from shelter stores, and supplied the emergency water requirements in the area.

More than 700 cartons of fallout shelter sanitation supplies and equipment, sufficient for 27,000 persons for 2 weeks, were distributed to hurricane victims.

The effectiveness and capabilities of the civil defense organization as reflected in its very active participation in this disaster should once and for all overcome the objections of even the most rabid civil defense skeptics.

Although I have confined my observations largely to the participation of government agencies, I do not wish to give the impression that private enterprise and the individual citizens of America had not similarly made available such assistance as was required. For example, thousands of pounds of clothing, medical supplies, and food were contributed by individual citizens from all over America. Some of the commercial airlines very generously offered and did in fact airlift a substantial portion of these contributions to the stricken area.

It would be impossible to identify every public official who contributed his talents and energies toward alleviating the suffering occasioned by Hurricane Betsy. However, in addition to the individuals I have specifically identified as having played a major role in this recovery effort, I can not overlook the tremendous contributions made by Capt. W. F. Chaires, commanding officer of the Naval Air Station, New Orleans; Rear Adm. Charles H. Lyman, commandant of the 8th Naval District; Rear Adm. James D. Craik, commandant of the 8th Coast Guard District; and Col. Edward Ketcham, Jr., commanding officer of the U.S. Army Terminal at New Orleans.

This disaster made crystal clear to me, and I am sure to every other American, that despite whatever differences we may have, when disaster strikes and the chips are down, we act as one with a common purpose and with a common goal. This American dream and hope was truly a living thing during Hurricane Betsy.

On behalf of the citizens of Louisiana, and more particulary the citizens of New Orleans and the Parishes of St. Bernard and Plaquemines, I thank you and every other American for your kind and generous help in this dark hour.

If I may be permitted to indulge in personalities for the moment I can give a specific example, which was in fact the rule instead of the exception for the military both Regular and Reserve.

One of my lifelong friends and close associates is Maj. Gen. Raymond F. Hufft, who is Louisiana's most decorated World War II hero. Following his return from the war General Hufft has served twice as the Adjutant General of Louisiana. At the present time he is the U.S. Collector of Customs for the Port of New Orleans.

Although now out of uniform General Hufft reflected the spirit of the "man in uniform" when he responded to the crisis as the citizen soldier, although officially the U.S. Collector of Customs. As Collector of Customs he immediately shut down the customs service when Betsy threatened and immediately made plans for the protection of all concerned. Following the devastation by the winds and water and during the early evacuation and rescue work Gov. John McKeithen summoned General Hufft into action to assist him in coordinating all governmental agencies in the lower Mississippi River devastated area including the Parishes of Plaquemines and St. Bernard.

There was established an immediate close liaison between the military, civil, and Government agencies.

I have paused to cite General Hufft in this instance because his name does not appear in any dispatches nor has there been any public acclaim of the role he played.

I have cited him because what he did was what many hundreds of others did within their own limitations. What he did was really not unusual or extraordinary as far as the military was concerned. It was the role to which each man responded and filled immediately. I cite the case of General Hufft not for himself as an individual but as a symbol of every man in uniform in this crisis. The Regulars plus the Reserves and the Louisiana National Guard, under the present adjutant general, Erbon W. Wise, did everything in their power to ease the effects of the cruel tragedy.

I firmly believe that the only manner in which I can effectively impress upon you what I have been trying to say and to dramatize the work done by the men

of the Navy, the Army, the Air Force, the National Guard, and the Coast Guard in the areas struck by Hurricane Betsy is to salute them with the same salutation given to the men in uniform in time of war. With these words: each in his own way demonstrated an uncommon valor which was a common virtue.

Dedication of West Thompson Dam in Connecticut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday, October 2, I was privileged to participate in the dedication ceremonies of the West Thompson Dam in Northeastern Connecticut. Built by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, this dam has been under construction for the past 2½ years. Participating in the dedication were Gov. John N. Dempsey, of Connecticut, Col. Edward J. Ribbs, of the Corps of Engineers, Mr. Samuel T. Sheard, chairman of the Thames River Valley Flood Control Commission, and others.

In my address on the occasion I stressed the fact that the United States must learn to conserve its water supplies and to make more efficient use of its water resources, because of the shortages and the drought. Under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to insert the full text of the address into the RECORD:

ADDRESS BY CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE, DEDICATION OF WEST THOMPSON DAM, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1965

Mr. Chairman, Governor Dempsey, Colonel Ribbs, ladies and gentlemen, to say that I am delighted to be here today would be an understatement. This is a great day, an historical day, for eastern Connecticut, particularly for this northeastern corner of the State. Today we dedicate the West Thompson dam as part of the Quinebaug-French Rivers project which has special meaning for the people of this area.

All of us, I am sure, are very proud of this outstanding achievement and all of us are gratified that this project has now been completed. It is by no means as spectacular as some of the programs in which America is investing her resources of money and talent. It does not have the glamour of the great rockets or the power to focus national attention in its direction. Most Americans may never know the West Thompson Dam exists—nor will they ever hear its name.

Our joy, however, is tempered by the memmory of that sudden and disastrous flood just about 10 years ago and the great destruction it brought in its wake. Those of us who experienced that tragedy will never forget it as long as we live. It seemed to us then and for a number of years later that we would never be able to recoup our losses, that we would never be able to rebuild the devastated areas, the towns, the villages, the farms.

Surely many of you must have asked yourselves—just as I have done—over this past decade: why did this tragedy occur? Why did we not take the necessary precautions? It is unfortunate that it required a tragedy to make this necessity urgent for us, but today all of us rejoice in the knowledge that such tragedies will not recur. This dam which we are dedicating here today should in the years ahead be a blessing to this entire area and also an assurance that 1955 will not be repeated.

The flood-control value of a project such as West Thompson Dam is inestimable. I believe all of us are well aware of that. Without the use of this dam and the four others to the north, successful flood fighting efforts would be almost an impossible task. But there is more than merely flood control to this project. Its importance reaches far beyond the reservoir behind this dam and the banks of this river. Beyond its usefulness to us—which is to control the river and prevent the heartache and devastation to life and property that has struck this valley in the form of rampaging flood waters, this project represents America's efforts to conserve its precious water resources.

We are faced today with a serious problem of water shortage and drought, which necessitates the efficient use and the conservation of our water supplies. Water has become a most precious resource, and we must therefore learn to preserve it, to make the best use of it for our needs, and to transfer it from areas where there is an abundance of water to areas where it is in short supply.

Let me cite to you a few facts. In the past 60 years the estimated daily use of water for all purposes has risen from 530 gallons to 1,600 gallons per person. Experts forecast this will rise to 2,200 gallons per person by 1975. Back in 1900, our total daily use of water for the entire Nation amounted to about 40 billion gallons. By 1958 this rose to 265 billion gallons, and it is estimated that by 1980 it will reach about 600 billion gallons. How much is 600 billion gallons? It is 60 times the average daily flow of the Hudson River at New York City.

In addition to flood control and water conservation, we must not overlook another very important factor—soil erosion. Rampaging rivers and swollen streams wash away thousands of tons of good topsoil from our farms, and this constitutes a type of destruction which is no less tragic. When all of this is taken together—the loss of soil, the loss of water resources so badly needed for urban and agricultural use, the destruction of property and often also of many lives—we can readily see what a staggering loss it constitutes for many sections of our country. Measured against the savings in property loss, and the benefits in recreational uses, fishing opportunities, and other benefits, the cost to the Government of projects such as the West Thompson Dam is indeed small.

I am glad that the people of this area have become aware of this problem and have had the vision and the foresight to take action to remedy this situation. All of us have a responsibility to cooperate in the effort to conserve our land and water resources. These resources constitute a basic heritage handed down to us, and it is our solemn obligation to preserve them for future generations.

In a recent statement on conservation and natural resources, President Johnson spoke of water, especially clear water, as being "a Nation's real treasure." He then added this observation:

"If future generations are to remember us more with gratitude than with sorrow, we must achieve more than just the miracles of technology. We must also leave them a glimpse of the world as God really made it, not just as it looked when we got through with it."

I feel sure that future generations will not only remember us with gratitude, but will bless us for having built this dam and preserving our resources. The West Thompson Dam is nearly a half mile long, 70 feet high, and is costing the Federal Government about $6.5 million. It has been under construction for the past two and a half years. Now that we have reached its completion, we know that we have also reached a significant milestone in the annals of northeastern Connecticut. The dangers of flooding have been substantially reduced. Our towns, villages, and farmlands are much safer today. Our land and water resources will be a blessing and will provide us with the bounty of our land, instead of being a source of devastation and destruction.

I rejoice in the fact that today we can all be proud of a job well done. This is a day in our lives when we can truly say to our people, especially to our younger generation: "Your heritage is secure. The bounty of our land is preserved." This dam that we have erected is not only a marvel of modern technology—it is a great bulwark for the safety of life and property.

And let me mention one other problem of water which has become quite serious in recent years. I refer, of course, to water pollution. There is no need for me to tell this audience about our urgent need for clean water and for control of pollution of our rivers, streams, ponds, wells, and other water resources. We are faced with a most difficult problem. On the one hand, our population is constantly expanding and as a result we have an increasing demand for fresh water supplies; on the other hand, our industries are growing and as a result the volume of waste is also increasing.

Our problem today is not a shortage of water in terms of total needs measured against total supplies. It is more a question of distribution, and of preserving and cleaning up sources which we have rendered useless through misuse. It is a crime the way in which we have permitted our streams and rivers to become almost open sewers. We should be appalled at the filth that is daily dumped into the beautiful streams that course through the woodlands, past our towns and cities and on toward the oceans. Most of our major streams are so saturated with pollution of industrial and municipal wastes that one has to have a strong stomach to even come near them—let alone to use them for any recreational activity.

We are well aware of the enormity of the problem of pollution. We all know the factors contributing to it. Unfortunately, we have not yet been able to completely solve the problem or to cope with it satisfactorily. It will still requires a great deal of time, money, effort, research, and considerable patience before we can master this problem. Pollution has become a serious national problem, and may even increase in the years ahead before we are able to gain control over it.

We know that water is essential to all animal and plant life—but it is equally important to industrial and economic growth. Let me give you an idea of what water means to industry. In 1954 the principal water-consuming industries—steel, petroleum, and the like—used some 21 billion gallons per day. In 1959 it rose to 30 billion gallons, and by 1980 it will be over 50 billion gallons of water per day.

Several days ago I had a conference in my office with officials from the U.S. Department of the Interior regarding the Government's programs in water conservation and water desalinization. One high official—an Assistant Secretary of the Department—told me of a visit he made to Europe last year to study their rivers and water problems. He found that the waters of the Rhine River, which has been used for many years as a main navigational artery in Europe, run almost pure—so good, in fact, that people dip the waters from the river and use them as such without fear of becoming sick.

We must have a greater awareness in this Nation of the value of our water resources. We must reclaim the rivers and streams we

have lost through pollution and return them to useable purposes. We owe this to our children and to future generations.

In conclusion, I want to express our deep appreciation to the Army Corps of Engineers and to the many fine men of the corps who worked hard to make this project—this dream of ours—a reality. We thank them for the many long hours they have put into it, their devotion, and the outstanding job for which they can feel justly proud. They have not only helped to preserve our resources, but also the beauty of our land and the safety of the inhabitants of this entire region and their dwelling places.

About 100 years ago the great New England Philosopher Henry David Thoreau gazed upon the beauty of America, its bounty and its resources, and he wrote:

"It is a noble country where we dwell, fit for a stalwart race."

Let us keep it that way. Let us preserve its bounty and its resources so that those who come after us will remember us with gratitude.

Over 5,000 See Museum, Old Canoe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, a historic pioneer settlement near my hometown of Noblesville, Ind., has been restored into a popular tourist attraction.

The exhibits recently drew a 1-day crowd of 5,000 persons, and the Noblesville Daily-Ledger published a very interesting account of this new museum and its attractions.

Of interest to all Hoosiers and persons throughout the Midwest, the Conner Prairie Farm near Noblesville is now owned by Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.

I offer for the RECORD, the Ledger article concerning this outstanding attraction in the Hoosier State. The article follows:

OVER 5,000 SEE MUSEUM, OLD CANOE

The "prairie" was never like this.

Even at the height of the trading season, when William Conner offered the Delaware, Shawnee or Wyandotte Indians a penny pint of ale for 50 bearskins, the traffic did not match the weekend crowd at Conner Prairie Museum.

Hamilton County Historical Society members, aiding Dr. James E. Cope, Earlham College curator, his assistant, Anthony DeBlase and staff, were elated at the interest Hoosiers displayed in the new Noblesville museum.

Beginning at noon Sunday, 2 hours before the program was to start, the first of more than 5,000 persons began trooping into the historic pioneer settlement located 4 miles south of Noblesville.

Long lines formed for the tour through William Conner's restored mansion. The restored trading post, cabin, and pioneer barn evoked great interest among the young and old alike.

Clarence Gascho and Dr. Roland M. Fisher, retired dentist, displayed a Conestoga wagon built in 1797 at Lancaster County, Pa., that was featured at the 1933 Chicago World's Fair.

This authentic wagon, constructed of black locust wood, was owned by Tobias Gascho. Tobias, his wife, seven sons and two daughters, set out for Hamilton County from Lancaster County in the wagon that was displayed yesterday.

Gascho, Route 5, Noblesville, a nephew of 103-year-old Aunt Fannie Fisher, mother of Dr. Fisher, served as narrator at the open house program Sunday at the pioneer barn.

Dr. Cope was narrator of the color film made during the excavation of the famed dugout canoe, found last November buried in a dry creek bed along White River. The film was run many times over when the crowds filled the Conner Prairie Museum Barn.

Others assisting at the day-long program were: Joe Burgess, president of Hamilton County Historical Society; Mr. and Mrs. Voss Hiatt; Joseph Roberts; Mrs. Joe Burgess; Linda and Martha Gascho; Ina Leas; Nona Abney; Kenneth Brattain.

Also Floyd Hopper, Tim Clark, Mrs. Gary Hiatt, Miss Mary Elizabeth Barker, and numerous Earlham College students.

DeBlase, assistant curator of Conner Prairie Museum, ordered 4 bushels of apples raised at Earlham's huge orchard grove. He miscalculated. The supply ran out long before the program reached the half-way point. Apple cider was "pressed" into service.

Computers and Government: House Joint Resolution 666

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, this is a time when Government decisions have a powerful impact on the lives of all of us. These decisions must be based on an almost infinite number of interrelated factors. Therefore we must ask ourselves the question: "Is the Government getting the maximum benefit from computer technology?" With some exceptions one must conclude that the answer is "No." To help correct this situation I introduced on September 21, 1965 House Joint Resolution 666 to provide for the establishment of an agency in the Executive Office of the President to be known as the President's Advisory Staff on Scientific Information Management. The purpose of this resolution is to assemble at the highest level of Government an extremely high caliber staff of economists, sociologists, mathematicians, and scientists to develop decision-aiding systems, for use by the Government.

In this connection I should like to call to the attention of Members of the Congress two articles published in the Washington Post, Sunday, October 3, 1965, under the heading "The Great Society Needs Mechanical Brains." Under leave to extend my remarks I include them at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 3, 1965]

THE GREAT SOCIETY NEEDS MECHANICAL BRAINS —OUR FRAGMENTED DOMESTIC OPERATIONS NEED A RAND CORP. JUST AS MUCH AS THE SATISFIED AIR FORCE

(By Amitai Etzioni)

(NOTE.—Etzioni is a member of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford, Calif.)

President Johnson's domestic program is more favorably regarded than his foreign policy, but getting Congress to pass bills is not equivalent to domestic success. Passing a bill does not assure Federal action, and Federal action, even if taken, may not yield the expected results.

Thus Congress could pass another civil rights bill but desegregation remain token; antipoverty funds might be tripled but poverty not significantly decline; a Department of Urban Affairs may be instituted but not achieve a substantial reduction in air pollution, drought effects or traffic jams.

One significant element still largely lacking on the domestic front is comprehensive strategic thought, without which key levers cannot be located and new resources effectively used.

PIECEMEAL INEFFICIENCY

Many of the problems that the Nation has decided to attack under Mr. Johnson's leadership are what social scientists refer to as the system type. Such problems have deep roots, are widespread throughout the society and cannot be handled conveniently by taking them one at a time with a dozen agencies each trying to trim its branch of the societal tree.

Example: many of the poor to be helped by the antipoverty drive are Negroes. What is less often stressed is that the other major group of poor people are diehard segregationists. The more effective the amelioration of their poverty, the less violent desegregation is likely to be.

Most other domestic problems are of a similarly intricate system nature in which affairs handled in one sector of the society are affected by and affect matters in other sectors. It is a commonplace among students of American Government that the Federal approach o national problems is just the opposite of a system approach: each Federal agency focuses on one or a few aspects of a total problem.

While Federal coordination on the domestic front might be increased to a degree, as has been done in the defense area, we must assume, at least for the short run, that it will remain more or less low, as it is now. A score of agencies will each continue to reform its slice of America, jealously guarding its empire from encroachment and exposure by the others.

One major way to provide the system approach is to include at the level of policy what cannot be provided at the level of executive action. What is needed is more studies of the Nation as one combination of societal forces and processes, all interacting with each other, all affecting each other.

This is not a question of one more research job: many Federal agencies have research and development divisions and all have some form of intellectual input in the form of expert advice, consultants or advisory boards. The problem is that this thought input itself is fragmented along the same lines as the agencies.

Relatively little investment is made in studying the way things hang together, the changes in one section that hinder or assist those in others. On the domestic front, we still study each weapon rather than entire weapons systems.

UNFRUITFUL CONFERENCES

The conditions under which the system approach thrives can be specified. They are rarely satisfied by a White House conference in which a large number of eminent men are flown to Washington for three days of discussion. Nor can such an approach be fruitfully developed by White House advisory committees whose members have scores of other assignments.

And whatever the value of such reports, they rarely have a system quality. Needed is a much more continuous, professional, systematic effort. The Air Force provides a good example.

I do not favor either the general posture or the specifics of the strategy the Air Force "think factory" (the Rand Corp.) turns out, but I greatly respect the systematic way it goes about it. The Air Force has retained for more than 10 years a sizable professional staff drawn from a large variety of disciplines. These researchers are paid comparatively high salaries, which is necessary to compete with rising academic salaries and to retain the same personnel over long periods. The Air Force gave this "think" corporation considerable autonomy and put it 3,000 miles from Washington and its daily political life.

REPORT TO PRESIDENT

What seems to be needed is a similar institute for domestic problems. The ratio of social to natural scientists would have to be much higher than in the Rand Corp. and the domestic Rand might well report to the White House rather than to any one Federal agency.

This group would study questions that cut across the responsibilities of any one Federal agency and examine the effects that programs planned by one agency could have on those of another. It would also ask, using the tools of modern social science, what will be the cumulative effect on our society of increased population, migration to cities, automation, mass education, etc., not independently for each process, as if the others do not exist, but as they work on each other.

These relationships are now occasionally explored in a "system" fashion by nonprofessionals or as a rush job by not fully qualified research organizations, often with a partisan or commercial bias. It seems worth the $2 million or so that it would cost to find out what could be achieved if a team of the best social scientists the Nation can recruit were put on the job on a full-time, fully professional basis.

Domestic policy deserves the same systematic strategic thought that our military policy has.

IT APPEARS THAT COMPUTERS WILL TELL WHAT'S WRONG WITH OUR GOVERNMENT AND MAYBE HELP WITH THE GARBAGE

(By Julius Duscha)

LOS ANGELES.—California has completed a $400,000 experiment with nationwide implications to determine whether the skills that help move astronauts around the world can solve the earthbound problems of freeway congestion, garbage disposal, crime prevention, and proliferation of paperwork.

The experiment, initiated less than a year ago by Gov. Edmund G. Brown, and completed last week, was a bold effort to find out if computerized engineering can take the "by guess and by gosh" out of governmental decisions.

President Johnson encouraged Brown to carry out the studies and is known to be eagerly awaiting an evaluation of conclusions.

Four California aerospace companies each studied a State problem: transportation, garbage, crime, and paperwork. The companies were optimistic that the problems could be solved with the aid of the same kind of systems engineering responsible for the development of missiles and the orbiting of astronauts.

Under the systems engineering concept, skilled specialists using advanced analytical techniques are told to define the essential elements of a problem such as putting man on the moon, and to recommend solutions based on all foreseeable contingencies.

What makes systems engineering so promising as a governmental instrument for solving social and economic problems is its use of computers to determine quickly whether a hypothesis makes sense or which of several alternative solutions is the best in terms of value received for money expended.

Here are some of the conclusions that the systems engineering studies set out for four governmental problems:

Transportation: North American Aviation found that in California, as big a State as it is, usable land is becoming far too valuable for freeways and that underground transportation may be the cheapest way to move people and products. In planning transportation systems, the State should take into consideration such seemingly unrelated matters as water desalinization and advanced communication devices. Desalinization probably would result in the rapid development of desert areas irrigated by desalted water. Instantaneous transfer of data could bring work back to the home and eliminate the long daily journey to and from the office.

PRIVATE DUMPS

Garbage: Aerojet-General, in its study of ways to dispose of all types of waste matter, included a chart comparing a weapon system with a waste management system. In the one case, the enemy had to be identified first while in the other, pollutants needed to be cataloged. While strategic objectives had to be defined on the one hand, "environment quality goals" had to be determined on the other. The final phase of both systems was the designing and fabricating of the optimum systems. The report suggested that the installation of garbage disposal equipment in every home may be the only way to keep California—and ultimately the Nation—from being smothered in trash.

Crime: Space-General's report on crime showed some obvious facts—that crowded and poor housing, for instance, is a breeding ground for crime—but the report also showed that a careful, yet quick, analysis of crime statistics programed on a computer where they would always be easily available might make it possible to set up an early warning system to alert police departments.

Paperwork: Lockheed's study of a proposed statewide information system placed on computer tapes clearly made a solid case for its use in coping with the fast development of California's economy, population trends and other factors needing intelligent Government decisions.

All four of the reports emphasized that computers still cannot be substituted for men in the decisionmaking process. What computers can do that men cannot is develop quickly the alternative solutions to difficult problems.

Rabbi Reuven Siegel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, on August 12, 1965, Rabbi Reuven Siegel of Temple Adath Israel in the Bronx delivered the opening prayer in this Chamber. It was a most moving and well-delivered prayer.

Rabbi Siegel received his B.A. degree from Yeshiva University and his degree as rabbi and master of Hebrew literature from the Jewish Theological Seminary.

Before coming to the Temple Adath Israel he was rabbi at Temple Tifereth Israel in Duluth, Minn., Temple Bnai Abrahman in Newark, N.J., and Temple Beth Sholom, in Providence, R.I.

Rabbi Siegel also served his country as an assistant force chaplain in the U.S. Navy. He is on the executive board of the Branch of Military Chaplains Association of New York.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank you for inviting Rabbi Siegel to come before this body and I would like to thank Rabbi Siegel, on behalf of the House of Representatives, for his moving opening prayer of August 12.

Operation Head Start

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD an excellent editorial from the September 18, 1965, issue of the LaPorte (Ind.) Herald-Argus describing the outstanding work being carried on through Operation Head Start, part of the antipoverty program.

The editorial follows:

OPERATION HEAD START

One of the more favorable facets of the war on poverty during recent weeks was the so-called Operation Head Start through which approximately 600,000 impoverished children, age 5, received 8 weeks of valuable preschool training. Most of these are now enrolled in regular schools.

Operation Head Start aimed to prepare these underprivileged youngsters for regular school work. The time was short, only 8 weeks, and in some areas it was difficult to find enough teachers to handle the preschool classes. But considering the haste with which the program was shaped and put into action, the results, so many teachers and educators assert, were surprisingly good.

Operation Head Start attempted to provide some basic knowledge which the child would never receive in his own impoverished home, typically in a ghetto of a large city. It attempted to substitute for a home atmosphere in which there was no stimulus for the child to learn or to acquire a taste for knowledge. It was found that many of the youngsters did not know the names of many commonplace items and activities of daily life. Some of them were not even aware of their names. Their world was a room or two in squalor and stark poverty.

During the summer session many learned a few fundamentals about everyday life, had the chance to be creative with their hands, and underwent their first thrills of discovery of pictures and words. They were exposed to some of the ordinary amenities of life as lived outside the slums. Their response to this educational opportunity was for the most part lively and also encouraging to teachers and leaders of the program.

Without doubt, many youngsters of the slums and from the wrong side of the tracks ordinarily begin regular schooling with two strikes on them because their total environment to that point did not prepare them to enjoy school or to benefit from it. And because they begin with this handicap many of them fall behind the pace, or never really begin the pace, and become before long the dropouts so widely publicized these days.

Operation Head Start tried to bring these unfortunate youngsters abreast of their more fortunate colleagues who come from better homes where there is the stimulus of learn-

ing. Many educators feel that the idea of preschool training for the underprivileged child is sound and should be developed more fully. Finding teachers will be a major task, however, if the operation is to be extended.

Remarkable Meeting of Pope and President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, one of the truly great lessons in the education of mankind in the ways of peace was given this week in the historic meeting between the Pope and the President at the U.N. The whole world was looking in at the glass house on the Hudson for a new ray of hope for peace for all mankind without regard for religious affiliation.

Certainly the meeting of the Catholic Pope, the Protestant President, the Buddhist leader of the U.N. and our Jewish Ambassador to the U.N. highlighted a new era of peace efforts for the whole world. I am honored, therefore, to include in the RECORD author Emmet John Hughes' stirring article on the "Remarkable Meeting of Pope and President" which appeared in the Washington Post on October 3, 1965:

REMARKABLE MEETING OF POPE AND PRESIDENT—VATICAN AND UNITED STATES HAVE TRAVELED LONG ROADS TO THIS MANHATTAN RENDEZVOUS

(By Emmet John Hughes)

There is no easy way for the eye to scan or the mind to judge the vast drama of human events and great causes that brings Paul VI, the 261st successor to St. Peter, to the United States and before the United Nations. It is a drama that cannot be caught by the most sensitive lens, or exposed on the widest screen, of television.

It cannot be measured by stunning size or deafening sound—not even as the Supreme Pontiff meets hordes beside the Hudson to match those that once beseiged him by the Jordan; not even as Brooklyn yells louder than Bombay.

There is but one way to see the true event; by a look down a long, winding corridor of history, through an age of revolution. For it is along such a corridor that the Holy See of Rome and the United States of America have come—swerving or stumbling or speeding—to this remarkable rendezvous.

A single coincidence is remarkable enough: As the bishops of Vatican II summon to Rome the scrutiny and the hope of the world of faith, the Bishop of Rome stands before the United Nations to beckon there the scrutiny and the hope of the world of politics. And as America watches with reasonable wonder, the meaning of the present grows clear only with a memory of the past * * * Thus.

FORGETFUL CELEBRATIONS

A mere 100 years ago, the Vatican of Pius IX unleashed the incredible Syllabus of Errors. Its 80 scathing axioms denounced all things modern, from public schools to religious tolerance. Summarily, it condemned all suggestion that the Pope "must reconcile himself with * * * progress, liberalism, and modern civilization."

The centennial of that event has now been marked by the bishops of Vatican II with some splendidly forgetful celebrations. They have overwhelmingly proclaimed the right of all men to freedom of conscience and worship. And with fierce debate they are concluding a declaration on "The Church in the Modern World" to review and clarify teaching on all matters from birth control to nuclear weapons.

A mere 90 years ago—a span little more than the lifetime of John XXIII—the church everywhere seemed under siege from the riotous forces of nationalism. In Italy, the armies of the Risorgimento had whipped papal troops at the gates of Rome. In Germany, Bismarck had banished the Jesuits. In America, the New York Herald Tribune lustily voiced a quite American conviction: "The papacy has lived out its time. It has had the full thousand years of the life of a nation, a government, or a system, and it must die."

A mere 5 years ago, the American people still doubted whether a Catholic could be their President. Even for most Catholic political leaders, as well as a host of the Nation's 42 million Catholics, the prospect stirred dismay or dread lest the wrath of bigots be inflamed anew.

In this electric atmosphere, the Catholic candidate felt impelled to renounce, with uncompromising vigor and untypical harshness, any notion of American diplomatic relations with the Vatican. And inside the Vatican, at that moment in history, a gentle and shy pontiff nearing his 80th year had murmured not a word about the revolution he soon would unleash.

THE TWO JOHNS

The splendid turmoil since that time, so recent and so reticent, has been sparked by another grand coincidence, for it is essentially a tale of the two Johns. John XXIII and John Kennedy never met in person. They did not have to; they met in history. They met when John Kennedy reminded Baptist ministers in Houston of his right to practice his faith without political punishment and when John XXIII urged Catholic bishops in Rome to press their honest debate in the name of "holy liberty."

They met when John Kennedy persuaded his electorate to enter the polling booth to vote their political convictions and not their sectarian prejudices, and when John XXIII told his Council to live and grow through vigorous dissent: "We are not friars singing in a choir."

Perhaps only this Pope could have "opened the windows" of his church. Perhaps only this President could have leveled some walls dividing his Nation. Together, they hastened the day when a cardinal from Boston would rise in the great aula of St. Peter's, exhort his church to honor religious liberty, and summon the prelates of all continents to take their theology from the American Declaration of Independence by proving a "decent respect for the opinion of mankind."

Thanks to this meeting in history, there are two other men—Lyndon Baines Johnson and Giovanni Battista Montini—who now can meet in New York.

Around this meeting of President and Pope, the sensible question obviously hovers: What does it all mean? There are questions within the question, for there are three powers sharing this encounter. From this, the more precise questions follow. What is its meaning for the United Nations? What is its relevance to the politics—and the Catholics—of the United States? And what is its omen for the central drama of Christendom in Rome?

PERFECT TIMING

The impact upon the United Nations—and its role as a servant of world peace—appears least hard to compute. In centuries past, the Catholic Church claimed for itself, of course, a unique right and commanding role in defending general peace, defining just war and arbitrating international dispute. The right is no longer recognized, and the role is no longer significant. The pacific preachments of Paul on Vietnam have matched in futility the exhortations of Benedict during World War I.

Yet this is undismaying, so far as the U.N. is concerned. Both Burma's U Thant and the United States' Arthur Goldberg speak as delightedly in private as in public about the prestige and honor assured the U.N. by Paul's visit. As one American diplomat at the U.N. observes: "The timing could not be improved. A year ago a lot of the press and public were recklessly ready to bury this institution. Now we are enjoying a kind of renaissance in respect. And here comes the Pope."

And this estimate does not seem unrealistically euphoric. Only an extravagant misreading of history would inspire a Roman pontiff to make the first such journey to the New World for the purpose of addressing an assemblage of no moment and mere pretense.

Instead, the venture would seem to reflect a logical judgment: a nuclear age, clouded by the menace of universal destruction, plainly calls upon a religious institution avowedly universal to stand beside the only political institution proclaiming a similarly Catholic purpose.

ELUSIVE MEANING

The meaning for American Catholicism may appear somewhat more elusive but no less encouraging. Only the last decade has seen United States Catholics begin to hammer off the shackles of a notorious parochialism. In the past, this spirit has shown itself not only in an abject awe of the clergy probably unmatched (outside Ireland) anywhere in the world. It also has inspired a crude capacity to meet the sternest bigots of Protestantism or secularism and to match them bias for bias, taboo for taboo, venom for venom.

In varied and subtle ways, the history of Vatican II and the prestige of Paul VI tend to ease these tensions and blunt these hostilities in the Catholic sector of American society. It is difficult, for example, to snarl at tormentors, in the voice of an outraged religious minority whe one of this group has lately occupied the White House, while the presence of its world leaders exalts the whole United Nations.

The coming of Paul VI before the U.N. promises an even more precise impact on the kind of Catholic opinion most bleakly associated with Brooklyn and Boston political reaction: deeply infected by the spite and suspicions of McCarthyism, this opinion must be jarred at least from its view of the U.N. as an East River house of political ill-repute.

All the while, the course of debates in Rome has healthily troubled the complacence of an American Catholicism famous for distrust of intellectual venture and for reverence of papal power as men like the late Albert Cardinal Meyer have boldly led rebellious bishops to pound in protest on the doors of Paul VI. Through such a turbulent time, the Catholics of America cannot pass and ever be the same again.

DIVERSIONARY TACTIC?

Strangely, it is the third of the powers present at New York's singular summit meeting—the papacy itself—whose response to past drama, and whose readiness for future venture, seem least clear and certain.

Unquestionably, the Catholic Church is striving, as never before in modern history, to become authentically catholic. But a sharply questioning doubt has grown in the minds of the most progressive princes of the church: Does all the jet-speed travel of Paul VI to East and to West seriously serve this end or does it threaten instead a flight from the harsh arena of Vatican II where

the gravest issues of Christendom are being fought to some kind of finish?

When the second session of the Council in 1963 closed in a dreary spiral of dismay, there were many bishops fearing that Paul VI had conceived his journey to the Holy Land as an Italian-issimo piece of theatrics to turn men's eyes away from a tragedy-in-the-making on the Roman scene. And now in 1965, with the final Council session laboring grimly toward its unsure end, the anxiety returns: Is the pageant at the United Nations a similar diversion?

PROFOUNDLY ITALIAN

For the man who is Paul VI has appeared to those nearest him, from the start of his pontificate, as baffling as a Hamlet and as secretive as a Richelieu. His oratory and his journeys attest generous concern for the wide world, but his manner of leadership and sense of diplomacy stay profoundly Italian.

He was elected as an outstanding liberal among prelates south of the Alps, but a full 32 years of his life had been spent in a Vatican Secretariat of State notoriously inhospitable to fresh thought or bold initiative. He has kept "the windows of the Church" quite open—but on careful latch.

He has promised to create a synod of bishops without modern precedent—but without independent powers. He has acclaimed a larger role for the laity—under the "watchful eye of an expert clergy." He has voiced affectionate concern for the world's Jews—without helping to speed a Council declaration on Jewry already made graceless by delay.

And all these half-acts and semi-decisions have provoked the confession of one counselor who works with him almost daily: Paul VI views the work of the Council as Lyndon Johnson views the war in Vietnam—a struggle he did not start, and ordeal he had to inherit and a conflict to be ended with as little trouble as possible.

There is a much different and more sanguine view of the man and his aims. By the word of patient admirers, he is a shrewd and serene strategist, veering and weaving only to contrive a great consensus in council and church.

Watching the final weeks of last year's council session in Rome, I learned the growing popularity of Vatican analogies to American politics. As one European prelate explained: "Paul succeeding John has not been psychologically unlike your Lyndon Johnson succeeding your John Kennedy. Both dead men quickly became living myths. They may have been lucky. John Kennedy never had to explain exactly the New Frontier and John XXIII never had to define precisely the meaning of aggiornamento. But the verdict of history may well be that Johnson and Paul were the men who got the legislation passed."

There may be no wiser answer to the riddle than the caution of Ignazio Silone: "It takes 3 years to make a Pope. Paul will emerge little by little." And a short while yet remains to apply this test.

DEEP IN OUR TIME

The fortunes and the needs of all continents on earth have conspired in its making. In Europe, the tragedy of World War II—imposing on all men the raw kind of ecumenism that is common suffering—cracked the barriers between different churches and between clergy and laity. In Latin America, the church's own teaching has helped to assure its own crisis: a third of the world's Catholic population—enjoined against all devices of birth control—finds itself poorly served by a tenth of the world's priesthood. In Africa and Asia, the bishops of newly independent nations have swiftly shown a personal sense of freedom: as their officials no longer shuffle timidly before the chancelleries of Paris or London, the prelates no longer quake before the Curia of Rome.

And the church in America—for so long so rich, so generous and so docile—has begun its drastic maturing as conciliar voices from Chicago and St. Louis have refused to be shouted down by anathemas from Genoa and Naples.

The unspoken knowledge of all this must take important room in the spiritual baggage carried by Paul VI on his unprecedented travels. It is such knowledge that must impel him to meet with the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople to speak of closing a schism nearly 1,000 years old. It is such awareness that must take him to India, with its small Catholic minority of 6 million, to sweat his way through the slums of Bombay as his ears ring with the cheers of Hindus and Moslems and Buddhists and Zoroastrians. And it is such perception—the sight of a church and a world living in common turmoil and shared peril—that must bring him to the place in Manhattan where all nations meet and worry and wrangle and hope.

For the world of Paul VI and U Thant and Lyndon Johnson, in 1965, would seem to ask all three to say—with faith—the prayer of a poet for such an age of man:

"Thank God our time is now when wrong
Comes up to face us everywhere,
Never to leave us till we take
The longest stride of soul men ever took.
Affairs are now soul-size."

Seven Years Later

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, the highway beautification bill soon to come before this House is a model of fairness and equity. It combines the means of achieving the public interest in beautification with the prinicple of just compensation to any private interest that may be affected. It provides an ample period for amortization of billboards, and compensation not only to billboard owners but also to landowners who rent advertising space. Similarly, it provides for screening junkyards at public expense, or for full compensation if they need to be removed.

As the Washington Evening Star stated in its editorial of October 2:

Once it is accepted that highway billboards must go and junkyards must be screened, the bill itself is about as fair as it can be.

The Star concludes, and I agree, that:

The billboard debate goes back to the Eisenhower years, and everything has been said that can be said. It is time for Congress to end this 7-year dialog and pass S. 2084 into law.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I place the Star editorial in the RECORD:

[From the Washington Star, Oct. 2, 1965]

SEVEN YEARS LATER

The late Senator Kerr of Oklahoma spoke for too many Congressmen when he remarked in 1958 that antibillboard legislation was an "assthetic" plot to kill off the free enterprise system. This is nonsense. But the notion has lingered, and it threatens to keep the present highway beautification bill from becoming law.

The measure emerged from the Senate 2 weeks ago, buffeted but essentially intact. It provides for the virtual elimination of billboards along the Nation's major highways by the end of the decade. Junkyards would be screened from adjoining roads. And the losers—both the advertising companies and all property owners—would be liberally compensated.

Once it is accepted that highway billboards must go and junk yards must be screened, the bill itself is about as fair as it can be. The companies involved have 5 years in which to amortize their investments. Compensation would be paid not only for property taken but also for restrictions on the "reasonable use" of property. This means the landowner who rents billboard space would be paid, too, even though he is cashing in only because a tax-built highway happens to adjoin his property.

Generous it is, but opponents aren't in the mood to discuss generosity. They want the bill dead. One Congressman, zeroing in on the legislation as it languished in the Rules Committee earlier this week, argued that billboards were beautiful. Another wondered whether those landowners who might rent billboard space in the future should not be compensated for denial of this right. Some Congressmen believe the bill might clog the courts with lawsuits brought by property owners—as if no reform legislation had ever been tested in the courts.

On balance, the highway beautification bill is a good one. Presidential pressure has certainly been brought to bear, since both the President and Mrs. Johnson have an interest in the bill. But the billboard debate goes back to the Eisenhower years, and everything has been said that can be said. It is time for Congress to end this 7-year dialog and pass S. 2084 into law.

A Path to Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RODNEY M. LOVE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. LOVE. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Irving Katz, a resident of my hometown of Dayton, Ohio, has sent me a paper which he has written about the possible organization of a "United States of the Free World" as a forerunner of a coalition, ultimately to be known as the United States of the World.

Mr. Katz is a man of many achievements. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa, holds the Air Force decoration for exceptional civilian service, and is listed in "American Men of Science," among other accomplishments. He has a long career as a public servant and for the past 9 years has been employed at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, primarily occupied with scientific methods for reducing the costs and increasing the effectiveness of the U.S. Military Establishment.

His article, entitled "A Path to Peace," is now being processed by the Committee for Research on the Development of International Institutions for possible

inclusion in the forthcoming White House Conference on International Cooperation.

Mr. Katz has done considerable thinking on the subject of peace and, while I do not subscribe completely to his opinions, the ideals and goals which he expresses are certainly commendable and worthy of serious consideration by all thoughtful people of our Nation who work for world peace.

I take this opportunity to present here his paper and congratulate him for some very hard, constructive thinking on the subjects of international conflicts, the nuclear threat, politics, economics, and world peace.

The paper follows:

A PATH TO PEACE

(By Irving Katz)

The price of warfare has been climbing steadily over the centuries, and the concentrations of military power which now exist make it inevitable that even greater costs lie ahead. Since these power concentrations are all controlled by the government authorities in the nation-states of the world, and since the reciprocal fears and suspicions of these sovereign nation-states would be the proximate cause of the next war, as they have been of the wars ever since nation-states came into existence, it follows that the price of peace is a widespread acknowledgment that the unbridled sovereignty of nation-states is obsolete.

This is not meant to imply that all nations have been equally guilty in causing wars. There have been rights and wrongs, attackers and attacked, in these international conflicts. However, there has always been more than one point of view regarding the issues at stake, and the primary reason that decisions were ultimately reached through violent conflict has been the absence of a duly constituted higher authority to settle the disputes peacefully.

The conclusion that sovereign nation-states are obsolete is a natural extension of the history of man's association into groups and societies. Disputes between individuals were reduced by the formation of tribes; disputes between feudal barons were curtailed when their sovereignty was transferred to strong nations ruling over them. As Emery Reves has noted, wars at any level have ceased when the warring sovereign units were integrated into a higher legal order.

World government or world law, recently described as indispensable by Arnold Toynbee, has been cited as a desirable objective many times and by many renowned leaders in recent decades—but not loudly enough, not firmly enough, and not with enough persistence. Perhaps the lack of tenacity of its best-known advocates has resulted from the kind of realism which led Senator FULBRIGHT to comment that political proposals are defective when they assume that because something may be desirable it is also possible. In any event there exists, even among those who subscribe to world government as an important goal, a great deal of pessimism regarding its achievability. Sovereignty is apparently prized so highly, especially by government leaders in these days of burgeoning nationalism, that it forces practical men to consider it to be impossible that all the nations would simultaneously yield their sovereignty to a supersovereignty.

It may be that such a concurrent yielding is not foreseeable at this time. In that event we need an approach to the achievement of world government which circumvents that hurdle. There is such an approach, which I call the path of peace, and which I believe can achieve the desired end in a gradual way. Before describing it, let me develop briefly the urgency of the need to start out on this path without delay. Three areas will be touched on, the achievement of freedom, of peace, and of material or economic progress.

To begin with, there is the "better dead than Red" argument, which decries the world government which we believe aggressive communism seeks. Let it be clear that a cardinal quality of world government, as advocated in this article, is that it will not be totalitarian. It will be a government which restrains the freedom of individuals and groups only where lack of such restraint would be an infringement upon the freedom of others. I begin with no dogmatic assertions about the ideal balance between state planning versus private enterprise, or materialistic versus theistic religions, or other considerations which are parts of the semantic problem we face in discussing communism. It is visualized, however, that the state will not be an end in itself, but will be a creature of man designed to protect and nurture the inalienable rights of the individual. The specific techniques for achieving this, within a general environment of law and order, will have to be spelled out in detail, just as the U.S. Constitution was specifically codified, with the all-important provision that the initial specifics will be subject to change by an orderly, peaceful process. On the basis of such a document the world government being sought will achieve, in fact will maximize, the freedom of all the individuals in the world.

Second, the world government we seek will add to the usual freedoms our best chance for freedom from war. It will accomplish this by eliminating the greatest present danger of war, the unbridled sovereignty of nation-states in conflict. The world government will possess a monopoly of those great concentrations of power which currently threaten to extinguish all or a major fraction of life on this planet. Such a monopoly is by itself the best assurance there can be that this great power will never need to be used; however, additional assurance will be discussed a bit later on.

Since the existing forms of nuclear power have been possessed without being used since World War II, there will be some who believe that current military deterrence can achieve this result equally well, and still preserve the existing national entities of which we are all so proud. Still it must be clear, even to them, that higher forms or more efficient versions of power will come along in due time. At that point, there will be an overwhelming fear that failure to use a transitory military advantage will ultimately permit return to the current delicate balance of terror, or even permit a future transitory military disadvantage.

This will cause an overwhelming pressure to use the advantage forcibly while it exists. Furthermore, new forms of military potency are not the only way in which world war III may be triggered. Secretary of Defense McNamara has stated recently that nuclear capability can now be produced with dramatically less capital expenditure and skill and time than heretofore, and that nuclear spread is one of the greatest dangers facing the world today. It may therefore be anticipated that history will dub the next decade the proliferation period. The prospects of a nuclear war resulting from an accident, a miscalculation, or a willful escalation rise geometrically with an increase in the number of nation-states who possess nuclear force. The anticipated proliferation therefore creates a deadline, and a highly urgent need for political progress to be made in the few years that may be available.

There was mention above of additional assurance that a monopoly of the highest forms of power by a world government would enable such power to be an effective instrument of law and order without being used. This assurance is needed because world government does not bring forth the millenium—hates, fears, and suspicions would not suddenly disappear. Tendencies toward criminal behavior will continue to have to be restrained by law. Since this law will be exercised by the world government, which will possess all the gradations of power needed for law enforcement, the most challenging problem of all may be the creation of guarantees that the individuals who control the power do not decide to misuse it themselves. Such misuse could consist of forcing something into existence which the populace does not wish—for example, a totalitarian form of government. The guarantees against this would have to be comparable to the techniques used today to avoid unwarranted use of nuclear weapons, sometimes described as "multiple keys" or as "fingers on the safety catch." The political balance of power which the United States has treasured (between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches) will have to be paralleled by a technical balance of power to control the major elements of government force. In short, prevention of the misuse of force will be a problem even in a world government, but it will be an order of magnitude simpler than the problems which exist between sovereign nation states.

The political threats to peace are as well known and widely discussed as the technical ones. There is no sign of a diminution in the fears and suspicions which are the landmarks of national boundaries. The unstabilizing influences are many: the recent liberation of colonial areas, the advocacy of further wars of national liberation, the postwar divisions of former nations or ethnic groups, the multilateral approaches to new economic and military and political coalitions, and the high frequency of internecine conflicts. All of these combine to make this an era of total political disequilibrium. The Sino-Soviet schism in the Communist monolith should not be applauded without restraint; it merely adds to the probabilities of a violent outburst.

The possibility of a politically unified European Community is not an unmixed blessing; existing strains in the Atlantic Alliance may deepen, for equal partners do not agree as readily as juniors (militarily) with a senior partner. We have grown accustomed to all these tensions, and note that it has ever been thus. This should be small comfort indeed, for in the past these conditions have invariably led to large scale conflicts, notwithstanding all the leagues, pacts, treaties and disarmament agreements that have been offered as the great hope for peace.

The strongest motivation toward political alliance has always been the recognition of a common enemy. Those who recognize that nuclear war has become mankind's foremost common enemy should be ready to join the movement towards world government. There may be some dispute over whether there would be any survivors of a general nuclear war, but there can hardly be any dispute that such a war would be a far more horrifying way of arriving at world government than by a peaceful and rational evaluation of the dangers inherent in our current nationalisms.

Furthermore, the government which is faced with the rebuilding the world after world war III would have too great a task and too suspicious a populace to have much chance of declaring individual liberties its highest objectives. World government, if freely reached before world war III, can stress freedom; world government, if forcibly imposed after world war III, is likely to be harshly repressive.

The third area to be treated, before outlining the "Path to Peace," is economic progress. There are some who fear that a world economic community would lead to a sharing by the have-nots of the wealth of the haves, with consequent poverty for all.

The new industrial revolution makes this a completely antiquated fear. We find the economics of the United States in two vicious circles today. First, increases in productivity promise a larger gross national product per capita. However, the automation which raises the productivity threatens to cause increases in unemployment. This is another illustration of Philip Hauser's parable of the statistician who drowned in a river which averaged only a few inches in depth; averages simply do not tell the whole story. The average GNP would rise, but there would be declines as well. The percentage relegated to a subminimum level of living will also rise. Is this an acceptable form of progress for either an affluent society or a Great Society? Here is another way in which this same problem may be described. We must make our economy grow, in order to provide additional jobs for the wave of new entrants into the work force, and for those displaced by automation.

Growth of the economy involves extensive expansion of new production capacity, most of which will be so automated as to make older plants obsolete and will accelerate the reduction in manpower requirements. This accentuates the need for even more growth, putting another twist in the spiral.

This leads us to the second vicious circle: the rising unemployment cited above could be avoided, by lowering the workweek and similar work-spreading devices, except that we fear that our growth rate would then be smaller than the rate in the Communist countries. The consequent emphasis on stimulating our growth rate results in a worldwide problem, namely that the economic gap is widening between the developed and the underdeveloped countries. The widening of this gap defeats the revolution of rising expectations, accentuating international hostilities.

It is said that the first vicious circle described above can be broken only if we increase our markets. Surely the increase of consumption from an annual average of $6,000 per family to $7,000 or more is not as promising nor as important as an increase in consumption by the overwhelming fraction of the world's people who now average far, far less.

This is not being accomplished by our current economic structures, not even with the large international aid programs which the great powers use both altruistically and in their power struggle. The kind of progress that is needed is exemplified in the countries where private enterprise has found opportunity to participate actively. Australia is a good example. Here we find that U.S. investments are recognized as the foundation of a leap ahead in technology, so that manufacturing output has increased 70 percent in a decade, factory wages have doubled, and nearly full employment has been achieved. This kind of progress could be made in many areas if national boundaries did not interfere.

Another aspect worthy of consideration is that the prime economic threat in the developed world is the cyclic depression. This comes to pass only when there is a wave of busines decisions that production has outpaced consumption, and that retrenchment is therefore due. Surely a commitment for the huge expansion in consumption, which must be arranged for the majority of the world's population, would serve within a world government as a huge buffer against depressions for a considerable period of time.

Finally, there remains the fear that a commitment for worldwide equity in economics would impoverish those now wealthy. This would be avoided by a process which equalizes economic opportunity rather than causing mere division of the wealth. Without the economic inefficiencies and constraints of national boundaries, new markets will develop rapidly and new production opportunities will appear without fear of expropriation, political unrest, or disloyalty to the entrepreneur's parent nation. The growth would seem slow at first, but the changes would be felt promptly. Many studies have found that science and technology are already sufficient to make a reasonable level of living feasible for all the world. With the rise in this level, and with the accompanying education, will also come greater success in another all-important area: rapid expansion of the voluntary exercise of birth control, and a great slowdown in the widely feared population explosion.

The time has come to describe my view of how the world can gradually and voluntarily coalesce into a single sovereign government. The essence of the approach lies in the great dynamic potential of the United States of America: its unmatched past performance in the economic arena, its great written guarantees of individual rights and equal opportunities, and the patent progress it continues to make in both these regards.

There are two major phases in my proposal. First, and soon, there should be a transformation of the United States of America into the United States of the Free World (USFW). This would be followed, as soon as circumstances allow, by an agreement between the two (or three) large power blocs then existing that a final coalition into the United States of the World (USW) is in everyone's best interest.

The USFW would begin with the 50 States from the United States of America, and would grow by gradual accretion of additional states, one by one, as other nations voluntarily recognize it to be in their best interests to join. One can visualize many reasons why sovereign nations would not rush immediately to join the USFW. The reasons why they would nevertheless join, each in its own good time, come under the three headings discussed above, that is, the achievement of economic progress and freedom and peace. The first of these three will be especially strong in cases where grave difficulty is being experienced in raising the level of living, or in expanding the education program to strengthen local government, or in fighting the depredations of such natural disasters as earthquakes, disease, and so on.

The achievement of freedom may be the crucial reason for joining the USFW in the case of countries which are in danger of falling prey to totalitarian conquest, whether overt as in Hungary, through gradual subversion of the people as in Vietnam, or through insidious capture of the leadership as in Cuba. Many political reasons will be cited to discourage the mergers into the USFW, the pessimists claiming that it flies in the face of nationalism, the Communists asserting that it is but thinly disguised imperialism. The first objection will have to be overcome by pointing out that it is people, not nations, which are the fundamental units of inherent value and inherent sovereignty. The people of the new states in the USFW will have their full share of everything that goes with healthy nationalism: a proportionate share in control of the government, an opportunity to become leaders in that government, a right to retain their own cultural values and mores along with the traditional freedoms cited in the U.S. Bill of Rights, an overwhelming appreciation of the material benefits they will receive from their newly adopted nationality, and a dramatic awareness of the prospects for peace which their government is sponsoring in its active efforts to arrive at world government. Furthermore, although being a Nation is certainly far better than being a deprived colony of an imperialist power, being a weak, poverty-stricken, fallout-fearing, internally torn, disillusioned nation is not nearly so desirable as being a state in a new, dynamic, prosperous, crusade-like movement toward a full-fledged world government.

The counter-argument against the epithet of imperialism will consist of pointing out that unifications can fall in two categories, those where all parties benefit, and those where some parties exploit the others. Since imperialism is opprobrious because it falls in the second category, whereas the USFW and the USW fall in the first, the term will clearly be inappropriate.

Over and above the economic progress and the human freedoms, we add the virtual assurance of peace when the USW finally comes into being.

In the light of such prospects we may be confident that some nations, after weighing all aspects carefully, will conclude that they have more to gain than to lose by joining the USFW. As other nations see the new states prosper, and as these others in turn review their own problems in economics and freedom and peace, the accretion of new states by individual and voluntary decisions to join the USFW will accelerate rapidly. The large European powers may not be the first to join, but when they see the reality and the prospects of the new union they will also agree that it is the most promising path to follow.

It may even come to pass that the Soviet Union will ultimately join the USFW voluntarily. This could occur if its differences with China continue to grow more severe, and if its own trends continue toward decentralized agriculture and industry and greater freedom for its masses.

In any event, the time will come when the USFW has grown to the point that the final stage of unification is in order. At this point a process of negotiation will begin for the formation of the complete world government, to be known as the United States of the World. It is impossible to predict just what the circumstances will be at that time, and therefore to show clearly why this negotiation will succeed. In its essence, it will have to be that all concerned will stand to gain more than they can lose.

Economic practices by then may have converged somewhat; the rising levels of material well-being may cause all to have too much to lose through a nuclear war; ideological differences may ultimately be recognized as less important than they have been made to seem. Incidents of brinkmanship are apt to have occurred, and their sobering influence will have more effect than in the past—for the all important reason that in the past there has not been a clear and attractive alternative to turn to in the wake of such incidents. In brief, although conditions may never develop which would cause all of a hundred or more countries to simultaneously agree to unite, conditions are very likely to develop which would cause two or three huge blocs to recognize this step as being mutually beneficial. Whatever they may be, the conditions that exist at the time of the negotiation of the USW will govern the specifics that are finally agreed upon.

It may seem that all of the above is too visionary, too idealistic, too good to come to pass. This is not so. It is barely good enough, and there is barely time enough to get along with it. The threat is unprecedented, and it is urgent. The benefits are universal. Above all, the risks are negligible, for there is no need to discontinue the current efforts (deterrance, arms control, United Nations, alliances, etc.) until the USFW/USW program actually outpaces them and proves them superfluous.

It may also seem that there are too many specific questions left unanswered, such as the economic and political arrangements for integration of the new states into the USFW. These have been considered, but space does not allow their treatment here. They have been found to be traceable in one way or another if the appreciation of the long-term objectives is keen enough. That, in fact, is

the only real hurdle—the awakening of a great burgeoning will for world government, based on the imperative necessities, the munificent benefits, and the conviction of its feasibility.

When we the people start on this path to peace, with an indominatable will to reach the goal of world government, practical leaders will provide the details to help us find the way. Won't you come along?

The U.S. Capitol Historical Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, one of the most remarkable institutions of Capitol Hill is the U.S. Capitol Historical Society. Under the dynamic leadership of its president, the Honorable Fred Schwengel, the society in a few short years has brought the story of our Capitol, as a symbol and as the seat of government, to countless people throughout the Nation and around the world. The demand for the society's publications, "We, the People" and the new "United States Capitol Coloring Book," has exceeded all expectations. The society's fame and membership are fast increasing, and it promises to be the source of many imaginative and constructive programs in the years ahead.

On September 14, I was privileged to attend the third annual breakfast meeting of the society, held in conjunction with the White House Historical Association, the Washington National Monument Association, and the Foundation of the Federal Bar Association. We were addressed at that meeting by Mr. Schwengel; by the Honorable Marguerite Stitt Church, a vice president of the society; by Senator B. EVERETT JORDAN; and by Mr. Carl Haverlin, a vice president of the society. Mr. Haverlin's speech, evoking the American past as inspiration for the present and future, was extremely thoughtful and provocative. I would like to bring his remarks and a summary of the entire meeting to the attention of my colleagues:

EXCERPTS FROM THE PROGRAM OF THE THIRD ANNUAL BREAKFAST MEETING, U.S. CAPITOL HISTORICAL SOCIETY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1965

(The Honorable Fred Schwengel, president, presiding)

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE FRED SCHWENGEL, FORMER CONGRESSMAN FROM IOWA AND PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. CAPITOL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Permit me to read to you two letters, one received from the White House the other day, and the other just this moment delivered to me:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, September 8, 1965.

Hon. FRED SCHWENGEL,
U.S. Capitol Historical Society, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SCHWENGEL: The copies of "Our Nation's Capital Coloring Book" have arrived and I am so glad to have them. What a delightful approach to familiarization with the landmarks of the Nation's Capital. This should be a "must" on every child's bookshelf.

I do appreciate your kind invitation to the September 14 annual meeting of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society. However, my crowded schedule is such that regrettably, I just cannot accept.

My best wishes for a productive joint meeting of the societies.

Sincerely,

LADY BIRD JOHNSON
Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson.

SEPTEMBER 13, 1965.

Hon. FRED SCHWENGEL,
President, U.S. Capitol Historical Society, Washington, D.C.

DEAR FRED: Please express to the officers, trustees, members, and friends of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society my good wishes as you assemble in your annual meeting. There is surely much to look back upon this year, for we have seen the society entering a variety of new and constructive areas of endeavor.

Through the leadership of the society's president, we have brought out a new edition of "We, the People," begun work on other publications, completed the "United States Capitol Coloring Book," and increased our membership dramatically. This good news testifies to the fine work of the officers and staff of the society and illustrates the important role which the society plays in bringing to the people of America and the world the message of freedom which is manifest in the labors of the U.S. Congress.

As vice president of the society, I look forward to another year of accomplishment and growth.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY.

The great historian, Allen Nevins, has called our Capitol a place of resounding deed. We agree that nowhere else can one find the ideals, the patriotism, the sentiments, the purpose and the honored traditions of our country so nobly enshrined as in the Capitol in Washington. All of this makes it a majestic symbol of the majesty of a grand and great land. It is both the heart of the Nation and the fountainhead of our Government.

Our Capitol is the center from which radiates the people's authority. Here their power and their goodness is clearly evident—"We, the People" with the inspiration, the power and the promises of "our Holy of Holies," the Constitution, are here enabled to achieve goals that prompt the respect and admiration of the free world.

It is a place that holds out hope for the less fortunate, gives assurance to the successful and promise to the ambitious. It is the forum for representative government. It is the citidel of the basic freedoms. Within its historic walls the voice of freemen is still heard in this country and thankfully increasingly throughout the world.

The Capitol is the place that helps civilization be more civilized. Here more than anywhere (with the help of elected representatives) we stand for orderly procedure in the resolving of human problems. The recognition of the supremacy of rule of law and not of men is a major factor in making us eminent as a force for world order. It is the enduring, enobling shrine of our country. Every student ought to learn more about what happened here through reading stories, books, and publications. Indeed every American ought to visit our Capitol and catch something of the spirit found in its historic art. And to feel the desire again that burned in the hearts of the torchbearers of freedom who served here.

When we know more about our country's history and its heritage we become better citizens. There is nothing that our country or the world needs more today than more good American citizens who want to prosper by sharing our freedoms with others.

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE MARGUERITE STITT CHURCH, FORMER CONGRESSWOMAN FROM ILLINOIS AND A VICE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. CAPITOL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Mr. President, Dr. (George R.) Davis (pastor, National City Christian Church), our good Senator (B. EVERETT) JORDAN, Democrat of North Carolina, whom I am always delighted to find here, and fellow members of this great society, this is not a speech. You will probably be relieved to hear that. But I am here and I want to bear witness to one subject. This is the only event that ever brings me back to Washington. And I'm delighted to come once a year. I'm delighted because there is nothing as good as to be reminded that this is the foundation of freedom and liberty. And it is equally as good to be living out in a world that does exist, you know, outside of Washington, although while you are here you sometimes doubt that. And to know that freedom and liberty are still hungered for and fought over.

Now, I will tell you a secret. I almost didn't come this year. Because the date happened to coincide with a birthday which a person of my years should never acknowledge, but which grandchildren had planned to celebrate. And in my trying to explain it to a granddaughter, she said, "What is the United States Capitol Historical Society?" And I said, "Well, you know, it's one of those associations which deal primarily with the strength which is built into this country through its history." And her quick rejoined was, "You know, I don't wonder they want you down there. You're a part of history, aren't you?"

I thought as I sat here this morning—two brief statements, and I am not quoting the first one right, but you remember that old nursery rhyme saying, "Great oaks from little acorns grow." I am particularly glad to have been a part of the time when the acorn had not even been planted. One time Fred Schwengel, for whom I have such high admiration, came out to my district and told how many bills I had voted on while I was a Member of the Congress. I had forgotten the number and I was impressed that he had taken time to count, although, I don't think he ever misses a detail. But I thought as I sat here this morning and listened to that all too brief tribute given to the author and "setter-upper" of this book, "We, the People," that whereas I couldn't say I'd rather write the songs of a nation than make the laws, I think I'd rather have produced "We, the People" than voted on any bill in the Congress while I was here. And the other statement, which I hope I can quote correctly with Dr. Davis by my side—Paul, do you remember Paul of Tarsus who said, "I am a citizen of no mean country." Well, I have known that all my life. And I think perhaps the most important contribution any of us here connected with the society will ever make is to keep sure that we are citizens of "no mean country," and cultivate its roots. It was Mrs. (Myrtle) Murdock, who, I think, first told me that this Capitol had the history that it did. And I think to her goes the inspiration for all that's happened since. But there is one person who made hope come alive and who had produced, and that is Fred Schwengel. And I do not think I could pay sufficient tribute, not only to his insight into the inner meaning of what has gone on in these halls, but to the faith and enthusiasm and courage with which he decided to carry on as a real president of this society when he might have done what some of the lesser of us did—voluntary, it's true—go home and let other people carry on the load. I don't believe the society can ever say a sufficient "thank you" to Fred Schwengel. We're proud of him, we're glad we have him, and we just hope, for our sake, we can keep him always.

And just one brief word. I don't believe there's any limit to what we can hope to do in the future. I personally have a dream that we can extend the membership. I'd like to extend the membership with every book we sell. I think we can work on it. But I think in coming here once a year, early though it may be, though I'm always glad to be reminded the Senators are allowed to sleep until 9 o'clock in the morning (reference to the 9 a.m. buzzer which had sounded during the program)—I think by coming here once a year we revive our faith, and I certainly hope you'll let me be one who comes from the hinterland each year to tell you to carry on. Thank you.

REMARKS BY SENATOR B. EVERETT JORDAN, DEMOCRAT, OF NORTH CAROLINA, SPECIAL GUEST OF THE SOCIETY

Thank you very much, Fred. I didn't know I was going to speak this morning, but I can assure you there will be no filibuster from this Senator. I am delighted to be with you distinguished guests and members of this great Society and to tell you that I am always honored to be with you and have an opportunity to say just a word. I would like to say to Mrs. Church that I join her in every word she said about Fred Schwengel. I see him nearly every day walking around through this Capitol doing the things for this great Society which only Fred can do because he loves it.

I'm very fond of this book, "We, the People." I'm afraid it's going to break me because my generous wife can't pass without buying some of them. Because she thinks that everybody ought to have a copy of that book. And I agree with her. And if I can just hold out with my purse, we are going to see that a lot of people do get it. I don't know of any better publication. I don't think there is one as good that portrays our Nation's Capitol as well as this does. I think it's some of the finest photography I've ever seen. These pictures around the wall here (referring to the Kiplinger Collection exhibit sponsored by the U.S. Capitol Historical Society), and more, I am told will be shown, are certainly things that would never be seen. People would not have an opportunity to see them had it not been for this Society and this publication.

Thank you, Fred, for letting me be with you and I want to assure you that bell that goes off at 9 o'clock is not to wake us up. We're already up and here when that goes off. Thank you very much.

MAIN ADDRESS OF THE PROGRAM "THE CHORUS OF THE UNION"

(By Carl Haverlin, vice president of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society)

Mr. President, Mrs. Church, Senator JORDAN, ladies and gentlemen, I welcome, truly, this opportunity to say publicly, what I have often said privately, and with agreement from all, that the country as a whole is profoundly obligated to Fred Schwengel, not only for sharing with us his abiding interest in the history of the Nation's Capitol but for dramatizing its importance to us as a people.

From the day I first met this young Congressman, I have been impressed by his vision and his enthusiasm. Others have these qualities too, but rarely in combination. And find them coupled with a tenacity as unyielding as his diplomacy is urbane, is unique.

All these virtues made him the guiding spirit in the creation of the commissions that commemorated the Lincoln Sesquicentennial and the Centenary of the Civil War. His were the joint bills that created those commissions, was the one, in 1960, that brought his great friend Carl Sandburg before the joint session in that never-to-be-forgotten address that moved all who heard it to tears. And the following years his joint bill for reenactment of Lincoln's two inaugural addresses brought Speaker Rayburn and McCORMACK, Carl Sandburg, Bruce Catton, and other notables to the east portico of this Capitol as major participants. These splendid ceremonies and that at the Lincoln Memorial marking the anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation brought his program of events to a fitting climax.

However, he had long planned the formation of the United States Capitol Historical Society. Our first conversations of this Society were in my room in 1959 in the month of April. It has already proved to be of greater importance than his any previous efforts of his in regard to history for there others dealt with single events. This society is crusade that is enduring—for the Capitol has lived, now lives and will live forever.

In Allen Nevins introduction to "We, the People," he asserts that the Capitol has heard eloquence equalling that of any parliament on earth; that it has written into law immortal charters of idealism; enacted the most generous measures known to history; and that no Capitol has done more to safeguard democratic debate, the privilege of minorities and the fundamental civil liberties of man. With him we can agree that the Capitol is history.

This meeting is all the more meaningful because it is held here in this splendor in stone, this consequent, this precedent, this majestic chalice inverted on this enchanted Hill.

It stands "in twice 5 miles of fertile ground, with walls and towers girdled round," an ideograph of freedom in granite by day; at night a hieroglyph of light the eternal sentinel of the Republic, glowing against the sky as though lit from within to repel the general darkness. Here liberty, our sacred river, rises from its well-spring and runs to every land, not "through caverns measureless to man," but open to the sun so that all may drink.

We are met in this place of so many august assemblies in common devotion to the power of the people of the United States as expressed in the three branches of the Government and in their outward attributes—the White House, the Capitol and the Court. Jointly we also honor the noble monument that soars above all else—as though it were the shining gnomon of our continental sundial.

You will find the direct purpose of your society's endeavors embedded, luminously, in the conclusion of Abraham Lincoln's first inaugural address:

"The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearthstone, throughout this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

To stir the chords of memory and swell the chorus of the Union * * * this is the very work that you are about. There can be no higher use made of our history than to remind us of how priceless is the blessing of our heritage and how fortunate are the people.

I share Walt Whitman's opinion of the people as expressed in the preface to the first edition of "Leaves of Grass." Because it was printed only once in his lifetime, in 1855, and has rarely appeared since, it may be that some among you have not yet come upon it. May I share with you this brief and moving apostrophe from Whitman to his fellow countrymen and his country?

"The Americans of all nations at any time on earth have probably the most poetical nature. The United States are essentially the greatest poem. In the history of the earth hitherto the largest and most stirring appear tame and orderly to their ampler largeness and air. Here at last is something in the doings of man that corresponds with the broadcast doings of the day and night. Here is not merely a nation but a teeming nation of nations. Here is action untied from strings necessarily blind to particulars and details magnificently moving in vast masses."

That great preface opens with six words that will sing for you and all custodians of American history—"America does not repel the past." As a positive measure of our country's maturity and of the great accomplishment of historians, the phrase must now read—"America embraces the past."

In that embrace we look back not in casual nor antiquarian interest but for renewal, direction, and assurance, we reexamine the stark verities of our foundation. We confirm the port of our departure and check the bearing of our present course. For it is as true now as it was in 1858 that, "If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could then better know what to do, and how to do it."

It is man's paramount problem to establish and maintain his identity, in the midst of his complexities. So is it with a nation. The clearer the electorate sees our beginning, the more it knows of the road that we have traveled, the smaller is the chance of losing our way and the greater the certainty of attaining our goal. Great assurance of that attainment lies in the work that this society is doing.

A sculptor may say, with disarming simplicity, that the statue is in the stone and emerges when he has removed all that is unnecessary, but the creation of your books, so skillfully and painstakingly derived from uncounted sources, cannot be so simplified. Each of the books of the associations and societies meeting here this morning, is a rich mosaic whose sparkling text and brilliant pictures beat out its chapter of the American story with the vibrancy of the drums of 1776. All are complete and wholly satisfying but, read in sequence, their 700 pages give one another added dimension and together blend into a sweeping profile of our history.

The admirable unity of all of these works, conceived and drafted by four separate organizations is due to the genius of a fifth—the National Geographic Society—and to its material aid, patient counsel, and unerring guidance. The public, the ultimate beneficiary of that generosity will be grateful down the years, for these are not books for a season only. Because they are good history and contain more than mere pictorial satisfaction and arrays of pedestrian facts the people have already given them a success unparalleled in publishing history. I know that all of you will join with me in heartfelt appreciation to Dr. Grosvenor, Dr. Payne and their colleagues of the National Geographic magazine for bringing our books to life.

More than 3 million copies of all of the books have been sold according to the most recent data I have information on. With a readership of only 4 persons per copy, and I am sure I am low, 12 million people have had their memories stirred and are now more deeply involved than ever in the flowing story of our past. Their renewed interest will thread the majority of these readers into the tapestry of our current history that is woven here in the Capitol daily by the ceaseless shuttle of events ever moving between the warp of time and the weft of men. These people are now better equipped as voters and for the assumption of other civic duties. And finally, in the realization of the recentness of our founding they marvel at the miracle that has been wrought here. For compared to other great nations, our brith was but yesterday.

Only 172 years ago this week George Washington came here to place mortar with a silver trowel on the foundation stone of this Capitol. That year, less than six generations ago, was almost midway between now and the landing of the *Mayflower*. The land that for more than 100 years had strangely denied itself to the coasting adventurers and explorers whose hope was worldly treasure—now held out the curling cape of their land-

fall like a beckoning finger to those who came here seeking only a new life and freedom.

By circumstance of the calendar, then, the cornerstone of the Capitol is the pivot of a gate in time whose short swing of 345 years encompasses our entire history. Since 1620 we have expanded from those few grim acres on a narrow shore to an ocean-bounded continent; grown from 100 people to a population nearing 200 million; and paralleled that physical growth in the worlds of the mind and spirit while successfully withstanding the aggression of the greatest military powers in grievous and bloody wars. Small wonder that there are those who hold that on more than one occasion providence has intervened in our behalf.

When Lincoln first spoke here, the Capitol, then but 68 years old, was yet unfinished. Its upper levels festooned with booms, derricks and tackle; the forecourts cluttered with the debris of construction. The Union was rent by division and a world of monarchies awaited our certain collapse.

But they had not considered the fiber of the Executive, nor the courage of Congress. There is great significance for us in what was said by the troubled President in closing his tremendous effort to stay secession—great significance for us. The strongest emotional appeal that he and his advisers could summon up was to remind the dissatisfied of the battlefields where, but recently, our Independence had been won and defended, and of the patriots who had died there. Some four generations and many sad battles later—though we hold our patriot dead, in no less reverance—from Concord to Vietnam—it would not be they nor where they died that would stir us most deeply. It is rather, I think, this Capitol, forever unchanging, despite its structural growth, this enduring house of the people, that would be the soaring symbol of all our dead have died for.

The shift from battlefield to Capitol as a symbol came slowly. It accompanied a vast procession of the people, during many years and after long and careful deliberations by many Congresses.

In the time of Lincoln, we held aloof behind the barrier seas. Now our country has been abroad for nearly a half century in aid of our fellow men. In 1861, because we were so aware of how narrow had been the margin of our victories; how tenuous was our hold on freedom; how frail was the very fabric of our Union—it was the scenes and the means of our liberation that were Lincoln's tocsin. But now, secure in our sovereignty we know it was not achieved by military power alone, not only on battlefields and through the sad death of our men, but it was through all the processes of government in combination and all the people working together—in the chorus of the Union.

The thrust of the new problems that came with our emergence as a world power is upon all of us, but bears most cruelly on the Chief Executive and on the Congress. Both have enduring love for the people they serve and both know how fateful may be their decisions. All of us may help them in their trials and share their burdens through a greater understanding of the meaning and process of government and the awesome power behind our own biennial ballots.

The Congress is the great sounding board of the people and sensitively attuned to and resonant with our fears, our hopes, and our aspirations. The greater the confidence the Congress can have in our vision and our wisdom the greater Congress can be.

Its Members must be inspired by the growing interest in their labors as reflected in the sales of these books and to take heart in the knowledge that every day more of their constituents are able to link the problems of the past with those of the present.

Members of Congress merit the full appreciation of the society, as well as of all Americans, for the unanimous decision to help us in so many ways, in every way they were asked—including photographic rights never granted before.

There is an ennoblement that comes from serving in this exalted place. No matter what the stature of men or women they are the finer for having been here. They draw strength and wisdom not only from their colleagues but, in an apostolic sense, from all who have served here before. There is no greater evidence of the growth that takes place here in the Capitol than the fact that more than half of our Chief Executives served one or more terms in the Congress.

As an officer of this society and as a private citizen, Mr. President, I wish to hail the great accomplishments of all four organizations meeting today. To the White House Historical Association must go special praise for its initiative in showing the way to the rest of us with its superb book—"The White House." To the Washington National Monument Association and the foundation of the Federal Bar Association whose books followed ours in time, in paraphase of Emerson's famous letter to Whitman "I greet your splendid books, 'George Washington, Man and Monument' and 'Equal Justice Under the Law,' at the beginning of their great careers."

And now, I shall propose at the board meeting tonight that the President be authorized to ask these three great organizations meeting with us to consider the advisibility of setting up a permanent coordinating committee to join our common interests in such matters as the joint promotion and distribution of our books and the study of other possible ways and means of fulfilling the great objectives of our society.

Thanks to Residents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, as the 1st session of the 89th Congress nears its end I want to express my thanks to Sixth District residents who have given me the benefit of their views during the year, and especially the 56,000 who responded to my questionnaire. This cooperation is most helpful and sincerely appreciated.

The questionnaire results in percentages follow:

Are you in favor of a Government-supported medical care plan for the aged? Yes, 58.9; no, 34.6

If your answer to the above question was "Yes," please answer one of the following:

(a) Do you favor medicare financed by social security taxes? Yes, 53.7.

(b) Do you favor eldercare financed by matching Federal-State taxes? Yes, 39.6.

Do you approve a reduction in excise taxes this year? Yes, 71.7; no, 21.3.

Should foreign aid be cut? Yes, 86; no, 9.7.

Do you favor repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which now permits the States to have right-to-work laws? Yes, 25.4; no, 67.

Do you approve increased Federal aid to education? Yes, 49.2; no, 45.1.

Do you favor my bill to raise the outside income limitation from $1,200 to $2,400 for those drawing social security benefits? Yes, 88.9; no, 9.4.

Do you support U.S. military activity in Vietnam? Yes, 55.5; no, 36.9.

Man's Free Agency, an Eternal Principle of Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, during the last four decades there has been an increasing and alarming trend in the United States toward a paternalistic, centralized Federal Government which has attempted to solve all of the problems of all of our people through Federal largesse. In so doing—in catering to the physical needs and desires of its people—our Federal Government has, concurrently, been destroying individual morality and enterprise, the very values which existed in untold quantities in those who fought for and founded this Nation.

On Friday, October 1, 1965, President David O. McKay of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, at the opening session of the church's 135th semiannual conference, held in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, delivered an address on "Man's Free Agency, an Eternal Principle of Progress," which I include in the RECORD at this point:

MAN'S FREE AGENCY

It is truly a joy to meet with you this morning. I want to thank you, my brethren and sisters, and to tell you how grateful I am for your thoughtful solicitations, and your faith and prayers in my behalf. God bless everyone of you for your integrity and devotion to the work of the Lord. It is an honor and a continual joy to be associated with you in the Church of Jesus Christ.

We are grateful for the blessings of the Lord to His church in all the world, for the assurance of His divine guidance and inspiration. With deep gratitude we acknowledge in your presence His nearness and His goodness, and in that spirit of prayerful appreciation, proclaim that our souls respond in harmony with the glorious vision given to the Prophet Joseph Smith, "Hear, O ye heavens, and give ear, O earth, and rejoice ye inhabitants thereof, for the Lord is God, and beside Him there is no other Savior. Great is His wisdom, marvelous are His ways, and the extent of His doings none can find out. For thus saith the Lord—I, the Lord, am merciful and gracious unto those who fear me, and delight to honor those who serve me in righteousness and in truth unto the end." (Doc. and Cov. 76:1–2, 5.)

I deeply sense my inadequacy in trying to express in words the message I have in my heart this morning. I earnestly pray for your help and assistance, and especially for the inspiration of the Lord, that we may sense His presence during this opening session and all the sessions of this conference.

Conditions in the world are such that I cannot get my thoughts off the fact that there are two great forces more potent than ever before operating in this world, each more determined to achieve success. Each perhaps more active in planning, and, on the one side—scheming—than ever before.

These two great forces are hate and love. Hate had its origin in our preexistent state. There is a significant reference in the Apocalypse to "a war in heaven." (Revelations 12: 4.) It is not only significant, but seemingly contradictory, for we think of heaven as a celestial abode of bliss, an impossible condition where war and contention could exist. The passage is significant because it implies a freedom of choice and of action in the spirit world. In the Pearl of Great Price we are given this account: "Wherefore, because that Satan rebelled against me, and sought to destroy the agency of man, which I, the Lord God, had given him, and also, that I should give unto him mine own power; by the power of mine only begotten, I caused that he should be cast down; and he became Satan, yea, even the devil, the father of all lies, to deceive and to blind men, and to lead them captive at his will, even as many as would not harken unto my voice." (Moses 4: 3–4.)

Two things you will note in that passage—one, that Satan was determined to destroy the free agency of man. Free agency is a gift of God, part of His divinity. The second point is that he desired to supplant God—"Give me Thy glory."

The world does not comprehend the significance of that divine gift to the individual. It is as inherent as intelligence which has never been nor can be created.

In the spirit of hate, as is manifest today in the world, the very existence of God is denied, the free agency of man is taken from him, and the power of the State supplanted. I do not know that there was ever a time in the history of mankind when the evil one seemed so determined to take from man his freedom.

A fundamental principle of the Gospel is free agency, and references in the scriptures show that this principle is (1) essential to man's salvation; and, (2) may become a measuring rod by which the actions of men of organizations, of nations may be judged.

"Therefore, cheer up your hearts, and remember that ye are free to act for yourselves—to choose the way of everlasting death or the way of eternal life," (2 Nephi 10:23).

"For the earth is full, and there is enough and to spare; yea, I prepared all things, and have given unto the children of men to be agents unto themselves" (Doctrine and Covenants 104:17).

"Therefore, it is not right that any man should be in bondage one to another. And for this purpose have I established the Constitution of this land, by the hands of wise men whom I raised up unto this very purpose, and redeemed the land by the shedding of blood" (Doctrine and Covenants 101:79–80).

"My independence is sacred to me," said Brigham Young. "It is a portion of that same deity that rules in the heavens. There is not a being upon the face of the earth who is made in the image of God, who stands erect and is organized as God is, that should be deprived of the free exercise of his agency so far as he does not infringe upon others' rights, save by good advice and a good example."

The history of the world with all its contention and strife is largely an account of man's effort to free himself from bondage and usurpation, or to protect himself in the freedom he already possessed.

Man's free agency is an eternal principle of progress, and any form of government that curtails or inhibits its free exercise is wrong—Satan's plan in the beginning was one of coercion, and it was rejected because he sought to destroy the agency of man which God had given him.

When man uses this God-given right to encroach upon the rights of another, he commits a wrong. Liberty becomes license, and the man, a transgressor. It is the function of the state to curtail the violator, and to protect the violated.

Next to the bestowal of life itself, the right to direct our lives is God's greatest gift to man. Freedom of choice is more to be treasured than any possession earth can give. It is inherent in the spirit of man. It is a divine gift to every normal being. Whether born in abject poverty, or shackled at birth by inherited riches, everyone has the most precious of all life's endowments—the gift of free agency, man's inherited and inalienable right.

It is the impelling source of the soul's progress. It is the purpose of the Lord that man become like Him. In order for man to achieve this, it was necessary for the Creator first to make him free. To man is given a special endowment, not bestowed upon any other living thing. God gave to him the power of choice. Only to the human being did the Creator say: "Thou mayest choose for thyself, for it is given unto thee" (Moses 3: 17). Without this divine power to choose, humanity cannot progress.

With free agency there comes responsibility. If man is to be rewarded for righteousness and punished for evil, then common justice demands that he be given the power of independent action. A knowledge of good and evil is essential to man's progress on earth. If he were coerced to do right at all times, or were helplessly enticed to commit sin, he would merit neither a blessing for the first nor punishment for the second. Man's responsibility is correspondingly operative with his free agency. Actions in harmony with divine law and the laws of nature will bring happiness, and those in opposition to divine truth, misery. Man is responsible not only for every deed, but also for every idle word and thought.

Freedom of the will and the responsibility associated with it are fundamental aspects of Jesus' teachings. Throughout His ministry He emphasized the worth of the individual and exemplified what is now expressed in modern revelation as "His work and His glory" (Moses 1: 39). Only through the divine gift of soul freedom is such progress possible.

Force rules in the world today. Individual freedom is threatened by international rivalries and false political ideals. Unwise legislation, too often prompted by political expediency, if enacted, will seductively undermine man's right of free agency, rob him of his rightful liberties, and make him but a cog in the crushing wheel of regimentation.

Though it is not a pleasing thought, we must realize that over half the world is under the influence of hate, as manifest by the Chinese leader, manifest by the Communist group in Russia, and manifest right next door to us in Cuba. Accompanying the spirit of hate is the denial of God. Satan was cast down because he tried to replace the Creator. But his power is still felt. He is active and is prompting at this moment the denial of God's existence, of the existence of His Beloved Son, denying the efficacy of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The Associated Press sometime ago related some instances that are taking place in China to change men's minds in a nation of over 600 million people, whose hearts, whose minds have been changed as far as they could be changed by the spirit of hate. Forty-five years ago there was the spirit of tolerance and respect over there for Americans. In a school at Peiping, which was fostered by America, I personally saw some of the most active young men in junior high school that I have ever seen in my life. I have never seen more courtesy in any country in the world. Today all that is changed. Listen to this from the Associated Press:

"Decade ago Mao Tse-tung's newly created People's Republic of China threw its Red shadow across an alarmed Asia. Today, the lengthening shadow has crept half way across the earth to the Americas. No one can say with certainty where it will stop * * *. In his 66th year, this round-faced, lofty browed son of peasants has been raised by his Communist followers to the eminence of a demigod. His words, actions, and even his thoughts are holy writ to 630 million people. He is one of the most powerful men on earth, and much of his power is based on the most debilitating of human emotions—hate. Hatred for the United States, hatred for rich landlords, for counter-revolutionaries, for Chiang Kai-shek, hatred for anyone who fails to conform. 'Hatred,' said a traveler recently returned from Mao's China, 'has become an institution, particularly hatred for the United States. It is horrible to see this vast human machinery run by only one fuel—hatred. If it used love instead, it could become the most powerful nation on earth'" (Associated Press, appearing in the Salt Lake Tribune, Sunday, December 11, 1960).

In the spirit of hate these men would supplant God. In the spirit of hate they deny His existence. They deny the existence of His Beloved Son. They would destroy the free agency of man. Here, in the spirit of love, we praise His name, and teach His precepts.

Now, let us look at Jesus, the man of love. He revered and worshiped God, and is himself revered and worshiped by all Christian nations and classes of individuals. "Whatever may be the surprises of the future," writes Renan, "Jesus will never be surpassed."

Millions of people, speaking different languages and cherishing various ideals, worship Him and revere Him today. We revere Him because His wisdom and spirituality comprehends and exceeds that of all others. He it is who said, "I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life" (John 8: 12). He also said to His disciples, "I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you" (John 13: 15).

First, in the spirit of love, let us consider Jesus' attitude toward God. That is the great question before the world today. The Communists deny Him. Mao ridicules Him, and they have poisoned untold millions of minds against Christ.

What about Jesus? In announcing His birth the Heavenly Hosts sang, "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, good will to men." In that message here is godliness, peace, brotherliness, kindness.

Godliness, Jesus exemplified every hour of His earthly existence. On the banks of the Jordan at the beginning of His ministry, we hear Him say to John, the forerunner: "Suffer it to be so now: for thus it becometh us to fulfill all righteousness" (Matthews 3:15).

On the Mount of Temptation, which rises just above the Jordan where Jesus was baptized, He was tempted by that tempter who tried to supplant God; tempted with all the things of earth and the power thereof. We hear Him say in sublime majesty, "Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve" (Matthew 4:10).

When He taught the Disciples to pray, He included in the first petition godliness, "Hallowed be thy name."

Addressing the Twelve at the Last Supper, He said, "This is life eternal, that they might know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent" (John 17:3).

That is the spirit of love, the spirit of faith in God the Creator of Heaven and earth through his beloved son. He is worshiped by His only begotten son.

What does the Saviour say about peace?

Peace has been defined as the happy, natural state of man, the "first of human blessings." Without it there can be no happiness,

and "happiness," said the Prophet Joseph Smith, "is the object and design of our existence; and will be the end thereof if we pursue the path that leads to it."

"Blessed are the peacemakers," said Jesus, "for they shall be called the children of God."

Toward the closing scenes of His life, He said to His disciples: "These things I have spoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace. In the world ye shall have tribulation: but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world" (John 16:33).

On the same occasion, He said, "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you." All throught His life peace was on His lips and in His heart, and when He came forth from the tomb, and appeared unto His disciples, His first greeting was, "Peace be unto you."

Peace as taught by the Saviour is exemption from individual troubles, from family broils, from national riots and difficulties. Such peace refers to the person just as much as it does to communities. That man is not at peace who is untrue to the whisperings of Christ, the promptings of his conscience. He cannot be at peace when he is untrue to his better self, when he transgresses the law of righteousness, either in dealing with himself by indulging in passions or appetites, in yielding to the temptations of the flesh or whether he is untrue to trust in transgressing the law.

Peace does not come to the transgressor of law. Peace comes by obedience to law, and it is that message which Jesus would have us establish among men—peace to the individual that he may be at peace with his God; perfect harmony existing between his Creator and himself; perfect harmony existing between himself and law, the righteous laws to which he is subject and from which he never can escape; peace in the home—families living at peace with each other and with their neighbors.

There are some who would say His teachings are not applicable today.

A few years ago there was a boy among boys who saw Him, who heard Him and received His teachings. Joseph Smith saw the Redeemer, and he has given that testimony to the world; he has recorded His message, and emphasized again the eternal truth that Christ's teachings are divine, and as applicable to the civilized world today as to the people among whom Jesus walked and talked.

Fundamental in all Christ's teachings was the crime of wrong thinking. He condemned avarice, enmity, hate, jealousy as vehemently as He did the results that avarice, enmity, and hate produce. Modern psychology, as all students know, proves the virtue of such teachings regarding the injury that follows the harboring of hate. He who harbors hatred and bitterness injures himself far more than the one towards whom he manifests these evil propensities.

Equally applicable to present conditions are His teachings regarding the value and sacredness of human life, the virtue of forgiveness, the necessity of fair dealings, the crime of hypocrisy, the sin of covetousness, the saving power of love, the immortality of man.

If men ever reject the fact that Christ is our Lord and Savior, and fill their souls with hatred as that nation of over 600 million people are compelled to do and not only to deny Christ, but to deny that His mission is to redeem man from the sordid life of selfish indulgence and sin, and lift him into a realm shown only by Him of self-sacrifice, generosity, beauty, and love; if the majority of nations fail to recognize Him as the only "name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved" (Acts 4:12), if doubting men reject the possibility of obtaining that spiritual assurance of Christ's divinity disclosed by Thomas when he reverently exclaimed: "My Lord and my God" (John 20:28); if the acts of men generally be in accordance with such rejection rather than in accordance with their acceptance of Him as the Divine One, then this world will continue to be torn by contention, made miserable by hideous warfare, and ignominiously wrecked on the shoals of materialism, selfish indulgence, and disbelief and hatred.

Without Jesus of Nazareth, the Crucified Christ, the Risen Lord, the traits of the jungle will hold the human family in bondage.

Now, in conclusion, the obligation and duty rests upon the Church of Jesus Christ to proclaim the mighty truth that the Man of Galilee, the Resurrected Christ, is truly the Way, the Truth, and the Life—that He is in very deed the Savior of all mankind.

Pernicious efforts and sinister schemes are cunningly and stealthily being fostered to deprive man of his individual freedom, and have him revert to the life of the jungle. With faith in the revealed word of God, let all true believers in individual freedom cherish the spiritual ideals of the Christ, and ever strive to make real the dream that all men shall be free, and that some day many nations will unite not for war, but for peace and the establishing of the Kingdom of God on earth, is my humble prayer, in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

Mr. Speaker, in my opinion President McKay has clearly pointed out our current drift away from God's intentions for man. To continue this drift would be to court destruction at the hands of evil.

In this respect, we must reverse the trend of complete reliance on the smothering embrace of an everything-for-everybody government and return once again to the principle of man's free agency.

Zip Code Dispute Eases, Mailers Ready

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the RECORD an article appearing in the Detroit Free Press of Tuesday, September 28, 1965, showing the progress being made on the utilization of the ZIP code by the Post Office Department:

ZIP CODE DISPUTE EASES, MAILERS READY

(By Ken Thompson)

The fuss and storm over the Post Office Department's order to commercial mailers to prepare for adoption of the ZIP code by January 1, 1967, appears to have subsided, at least in the Detroit area.

Major mailers of second- and third-class advertising matter have been busy adding zip numbers to their lists either by purchase of computers or by manual means.

R. L. Polk Co., which ranks with the big Reuben H. Donnelly Co., of Chicago, as topmost mailers in the country, reports that it virtually has completed the task of converting to zip-coded-lists with the aid of a computer.

Julian Haydon, vice president of marketing service, says the firm has lists totaling 100 million names. They heavily pertain to automotive but also include a wide variety of specialized lists. He reports that most already are programed on magnetic tape.

He says he has been too burdened with the conversion to know what's going on among other Detroit mailers. The zip-code adoption has been costly to the company, he emphasized.

It had been widely reported that the conversion would be costly, too, for smaller firms using Addressograph plates and stencil systems, in some cases so costly as to put firms out of business.

Last July 1 the Post Office Department said it was sticking by its earlier-announced 1967 deadline because the ZIP system was almost mandatory for coping with the vastly growing volume of mail in the Nation.

Advertisers and mailers apparently have accepted this reasoning, but some still protest the cost of complying.

American Mailers and Binders, perhaps Detroit's largest handler of bulk "occupant" mail, says it has worked over its system by manual methods and run into no difficulty, since its bundling of mail is by districts.

George J. Waters, operating partner, said his firm handled bulk "occupant" mail for other large mailers. On its own lists of over 2½ million names on plates, a million have been ZIP-coded, he said.

Peter F. Haderlein, vice president of National Mailing, reports that his firm has added ZIP numbers to 500,000 plates which covers 90 percent of its job. Cost was about $10 a thousand names, he said.

But from here on, customers will provide the ZIP code additions, he said.

Herbert Kramer—A Dynamic Communicator for Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, the staffing of our Federal Government in search of the important and substantial goals which we in the Congress have approved and established is a continuing task. I have been pleased by the success of our poverty program recently in recruiting an energetic and vigorous young businessman to its ranks from Hartford, in my district.

The accomplishments of Herb Kramer in a young life, his dynamic participation in the affairs of the community, were retold by the Hartford Courant's David Holmberg following the announcement of his selection by the Office of Economic Opportunity. I know Herb Kramer personally and I have great admiration for his abilities. I believe more in the Congress should be acquainted with his talents and should know the type of man whom Sargent Shriver is selecting for this effort. I therefor, include it in the RECORD:

HERBERT KRAMER—A DYNAMIC COMMUNICATOR FOR POVERTY

(By David Holmberg)

Before he left the groves of academe for the halls of commerce, Herbert Kramer used to stand before a classroom of eager freshmen and deliver a scathing denunciation of that favorite target of young English instructors: advertising.

His attack, Herbert Kramer said the other day, was devastating. He leaned back in his big leather chair with the huge picture win-

dow behind him showing a panorama of the city. "I would really take advertising apart," he said, "I'd show how it was a corruption of the language. It wasn't until I got into it that I realized it demands an acuteness and sharpness of language which I never dreamed possible."

Herbert Kramer got into it 14 years ago—when he realized that "this was probably my greatest skill—not as a pedant but as a salesman with the written word." He has used that skill to push him to the top of what he calls "the most demanding, the most competitive, the most stimulating business in the world"—insurance.

He is second vice-president of Travelers Insurance Co. now, in charge of advertising and public relations, and this month will put his skills to work in a new job: a director of the administration's antipoverty program.

BIG ON ENERGY

Kramer is a 43-year-old New York native whose hairline is receding and whose community activities are constantly increasing. An advertising man looking for a hard-driving executive to represent the dynamism of American business might well settle on Kramer: he talks fast, thinks fast, reads fast ("two or three books a week, from classics to garbage"), collects degrees fast (he had his high school diploma at 15, his Harvard B.A. at 19, later received his Ph. D. in literature and a University of Connecticut law degree), and is generally one of the most energetic people around.

In 1955 a writer labeled him the "busiest man in Hartford" and he has since become busier.

With this almost compulsive activism (for the last 5 years, Kramer has played 18 holes of golf every day of the summer before work), it is not hard to explain what may at first seem a puzzling aspect of Kramer's career: his switch from the relatively quiet confines of college teaching to the often frenzied pace of the business world.

Following his Harvard graduation and 3 years in the service, Kramer taught for a year at his alma mater and for 2 years at the University of California in Santa Barbara. Kramer likes to describe his life as one of "fortuitous circumstance and serendipitous occurence—the last fully planned action I took was to enroll at Harvard," and California is one of the places where fate intervened.

Shortly after Kramer got there the Korean war froze all promotions, including those in education, and Kramer, "being young and ambitious, decided to come back East."

The other, more important reasons for his departure had to do with the kind of person Kramer is.

JUST NOT ENOUGH

"I liked to teach," he says, "but I found it just didn't use up enough of my energy. It didn't put me enough in contact with the real world. I'm simply not the kind of person who can spend his life in the 18th century. And also, I simply couldn't tolerate the separation between town and gown."

So Kramer, with his wife and three children in tow (he now has seven children), returned to the East, and through another complicated series of coincidental meetings, friendly tips and the like, got a job in advertising. It was "a skill I never dreamed I wanted to possess," but with a year's experience at an agency he went on to the Travelers to begin what he calls "the 14 happiest years of my life."

Kramer's talents soon brought him to the top at the Travelers, but his burgeoning responsibilities increased rather than decreased his involvement in the community. In fact, he says, the Travelers encouraged this kind of participation as kind of an extension of his job.

Among other things, Kramer has been cofounder and chairman of the Greater Hartford People to People Council, secretary of the West Hartford Board of Education, a trustee of Hartt College, and a director of the YMCA World Service Committee, the Symphony Society, Foreign Policy Association of Greater Hartford, Greater Hartford Chapter, National Conference of Christians and Jews, and Children's Services of Connecticut.

And he is hard put to offer a description of himself. Is he an ad man, a businessman, what?

"I really don't know what I am," he says, "I'm a Democrat in a sea of Republicans, a do-gooder in a world of hardnosed businessmen, and in my outside activities a businessman in a world of do-gooders."

LIFE IS FOR USING

Some people, Kramer says, are critical of his participation in so many activities. "But I feel the whole purpose of life is being used, and for that reason I haven't the heart to say no."

When Kramer was offered the job of Assistant Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity recently, he couldn't say no either, though it meant "an agonizing appraisal" of his life.

He did not take the job because of any frustrations in the demanding job he holds now.

"I am simply not a frustrated man," he says, "In the 14 years I've been here I've never gotten up in the morning without a feeling of elation about coming to the office. Everything I do is creative, and I'm planning for the future of this company. I couldn't be in just any business, but the satisfactions of the insurance business are such that I wouldn't want to be anywhere else."

He took the job offered by Sargent Shriver—with whom he has worked on a mental retardation program for the past year—because "I believe in the antipoverty program, and I think I can do a job for them. I didn't feel the need of going to Washington. I told Shriver that what I have here is as close to a perfect life as a man could have. But I couldn't refuse him."

One of the primary reasons he took the job is that he was assured it would be temporary—probably for 2 years—and he has no intention of going into Government work permanently. Another reason is that in the last 15 years he has "become a real professional in my field, communications" and he wants to have his professionalism tested at the highest level.

NEEDED SPECIAL SKILLS

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Kramer remembers the advice he received from a family friend when he was considering leaving the teaching profession. The friend was Lewis Strauss, Atomic Energy Commissioner in the Eisenhower administration. Kramer was considering a career in Government then. Strauss persuaded him it was not the right move.

"He said that if I went in then, I'd be on a low level, just another career civil servant. He said I shouldn't consider Government work until the time I'd developed special skills."

Kramer has those skills now—and he has no compunctions about going into a program which many other equally talented men have quickly left. Shriver has been criticized frequently for bringing men from the business world into the Government, and then allowing them to leave a year or two later, instead of forming a more clearly defined organizational structure.

Kramer has no worries about this.

"Shriver," he said, "is a very demanding, creative man who operates best in a flexible, freewheeling environment. For a new operation this is probably the best way to work."

In his trips to Washington thus far, he has found a "skilled staff and intense dedication." And though he is accustomed to being in charge, he has had any worries about close contact with his new boss quickly removed. "There's an incoming button on my telephone in the Washington office and it says Shriver. In the day and a half I was there, it rang six times."

Water Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, it is only recently that the problems of water pollution have come to public attention. Experts have been telling us for years that this Nation's water supplies were not limitless and that something would have to be done to preserve them from fouling and destruction. Serious water shortages in some of our larger cities have helped bring the problem to the attention of the general public.

We would be remiss, however, if we did not recognize the important role played by the press in bringing the problem of water pollution to the fore. A newspaper in my congressional district, the Battle Creek Enquirer and News, has been devoting editorial space to the problem of pollution for some time. An editorial printed on September 26, discussing the problem of water pollution and the responsibilities of industries, cities, and other local governmental units is particularly pertinent and I think it appropriate that it be printed in the RECORD at this point:

INDUSTRY BEARS DUTY TO STOP POLLUTION

Imagine dumping the untreated wastes of 210 million people into the Nation's rivers. That sounds incredible.

Yet, on the word of a U.S. Senate committee, that's the equivalent of the wastes American industries will be dumping into the Nation's watercourses by 1970 unless remedial action is taken.

Action is imperative, for, as our population increases, so does the demand for unpolluted water. Preventable pollution, therefore, is intolerable and in one way or another it must be eliminated.

Only recently has much attention been paid to the pollution of water in this country. In the Nation's early days, it was thought that our natural resources, including water, were inexhaustible. Industries and cities dumped their wastes into rivers without serious consequence.

Now, however, manufacturing and population have expanded to the point that untreated industrial and domestic wastes endanger the health and well-being of the Nation's people. Many municipalities have taken steps to curb pollution, but with some notable exceptions industry has not. It must do more.

The magnitude of the problem was spelled out this last week in an Associated Press report from Cincinnati. The report pointed out that industry uses vast amounts of water and, in most cases, "pollutes it thoroughly before returning it to the streams."

While a household will use about 65 gallons of water daily for all purposes, according to the AP dispatch, manufacturers require 210 gallons of water to produce one 42-gallon barrel of oil, 17,000 to 65,000 gallons of water to make 1 ton of steel, 1,200 tons of water

to turn out a ton of aluminum, and 700 tons of water to make one ton of paper.

The report noted also that the Detroit River receives 1.6 billion gallons of polluted water daily, one-third of it sewage from the city, and the rest industrial wastes. All told, about 7 million pounds of chemicals are dumped daily into the western end of Lake Erie. These, the report adds, "rob the lake of life-supporting oxygen and create a smelly slime."

Confounding attempts to solve the problem is industry's reluctance to give governmental agencies information on the quality and quantity of wastes discharged into the the Nation's waterways. The reluctance is understandable; industries fear such information would reveal trade secrets to their competitors.

Also hampering the effort to combat pollution is the lack of information on the effects of residues that get by all forms of treatment and find their way into drinking water.

As can be seen, the problem is immense, but it is not insoluble. Finding solutions will require research and expenditures of billions of dollars by industry for treatment of its wastes. But the research must be done and the billions spent, for a nation that faces a shortage of water cannot allow potentially usable water to go unused because of pollution.

It is an encouraging sign that Michigan is taking steps to combat water pollution. Citing the need for corrective action on the Detroit River and Lake Erie, Governor Romney has asked the legislature to appropriate $125,000 for the water resources commission. The Governor also renewed a recommendation for a $125,000 appropriation to develop material on the water pollution problem.

"As our population increases and conflicting demands for water multiply," the Governor said, "we need more than ever a program in Michigan which will insure us of meeting our full water needs today and tomorrow."

Complaints of coercion can be expected. There may also be strong protests that industry cannot afford to clean up its wastes.

In some way, however, industry must find it possible to pay this price of citizenship. In some instances industries have found that recoverable byproducts from wastes could pay the cost of antipollution equipment over a long period. Some industries have devised systems of reusing water, to their own production advantage as well as in reducing pollution. In other cases, industrial treatment to return clean water to the rivers and lakes is an out-and-out expense.

The situation is one which requires action by industry, certainly. It also demands public recognition of the problems involved, and public support for the necessary corrective programs.

For both industry and the public have a vital stake in assuring the benefits of adequate supplies of usable water.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

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Allott, Gordon, *Colo*
Anderson, Clinton P., *N. Mex.* 6 Wesley Circle
Bartlett, E. L., *Alaska*
Bass, Ross, *Tenn*
Bayh, Birch E., *Ind*
Bennett, Wallace F., *Utah*
Bible, Alan, *Nev*
Boggs, J. Caleb, *Del*
Brewster, Daniel B., *Md* 1327 33d St.
Burdick, Quentin N., *N. Dak.*
Byrd, Harry Flood, *Va* The Shoreham
Byrd, Robert C., *W. Va*
Cannon, Howard W., *Nev*
Carlson, Frank, *Kans* Sheraton-Park
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Ellender, Allen J., *La*
Ervin, Sam J., Jr., *N.C*
Fannin, Paul J., *Ariz*
Fong, Hiram L., *Hawaii* 5519 Uppingham St., Chevy Chase, Md.
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Harris, Fred R., *Okla*
Hart, Philip A., *Mich*
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Hayden, Carl, *Ariz*
Hickenlooper, Bourke B., *Iowa.* 5511 Cedar Parkway, Chevy Chase, Md.
Hill, Lister, *Ala*
Holland, Spessard L., *Fla* Sheraton-Park
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Long, Russell B., *La*
McCarthy, Eugene J., *Minn.* 5916 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md.
McClellan, John L., *Ark*
McGee, Gale W., *Wyo*
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Metcalf, Lee, *Mont* 458 First St. SE.
Miller, Jack R., *Iowa* 5417 Kirkwood Dr., Bethesda, Md.
Mondale, Walter F., *Minn*
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Montoya, Joseph M., *N. Mex.*
Morse, Wayne, *Oreg* 4000 Mass. Ave.
Morton, Thruston B., *Ky*
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Mundt, Karl E., *S. Dak* 122 Schotts Court NE.
Murphy, George, *Calif*
Muskie, Edmund S., *Maine*
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Pastore, John O., *R.I*
Pearson, James B., *Kans*
Pell, Claiborne, *R.I* 3425 Prospect St.
Prouty, Winston L., *Vt*
Proxmire, William, *Wis*
Randolph, Jennings, *W. Va* 4608 Reservoir Rd.
Ribicoff, Abraham A., *Conn*
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Saltonstall, Leverett, *Mass* 2320 Tracy Pl.
Scott, Hugh, *Pa*
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Sparkman, John, *Ala* 4928 Indian Lane
Stennis, John, *Miss*
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Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 4852 Hutchins Pl.
Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut Ave.
Mr. Justice Harlan, of New York, 1677 31st St.
Mr. Justice Brennan, of New Jersey, 3037 Dumbarton Ave.
Mr. Justice Stewart, of Ohio, 5136 Palisade Lane.
Mr. Justice White, of Colorado, 2209 Hampshire Rd., McLean, Va.

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Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark. Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin.

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Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas. Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Guam, Hawaii.

Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, Wyoming.

Appendix

"What Now for Free China?"—An Excellent Book by Dr. Diosdado M. Yap—Tells of Unparalleled Prosperity in Nationalist China—Close Ally of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I have recently had the pleasure of reading "What Now for Free China?" by Dr. Diosdado M. Yap, a veteran Washington correspondent and my personal friend. This is a most comprehensive work depicting the Republic of China's substantial growth and industrial modernization.

Dr. Yap stated:

After a decade of struggle and effort, the Republic of China has brought literacy to 90 percent of the people of Taiwan Province; achieved a favorable balance of foreign trade; manages to make its people the best fed in all Asia; sustains next to the highest prosperity of countries in this part of the world; steadily increased agricultural, industrial, coal, natural gas, and textile production with a mounting value and volume of export of goods and services worldwide.

Nationalist China's military force is closely integrated with the Pacific Fleet of the U.S. Navy. President Chiang Kai-shek commands 600,000 troops trained and equipped with the most modern arms and techniques in a cooperative Sino-American program.

Yap said:

Faith of the Republic of China in the U.N. was evidenced in its payment to the U.N. of $4,990,550 early this year at a time when such countries as Soviet Russia and France were refusing to meet their financial obligations.

A U.S. firm, Allied Chemical Corp., will top the list of foreign investments in Taiwan with $28 million. This will place the 1965 foreign investment far ahead of last year's record total of $30 million.

Dr. Yap also discusses the allied roles of American Presidents with the Republic of China since 1945. Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson all have been closely associated with the Republic of China, as evidenced by our continued support.

This book represents the proven progress of Nationalist China.

Reckless House Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OMAR BURLESON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Washington Evening Star describes the situation in connection with the recently passed Federal pay raise bill by this body.

In this action, I supported President Johnson's views that the increase should have been held to 3 percent, and agree with what the Star has said that the action of the House last week is an embarrassment to the President.

The editorial follows:

RECKLESS HOUSE ACTION

Despite the President's strongly worded appeal last August for restraint, not to mention the implied threat of a veto, the House has plunged ahead and passed a Federal pay increase bill which would make a shambles of the administration's wage guidelines.

The bill provides for a 4-percent raise now and a second increase on October 1, 1966, ranging from about 3 to 8 percent. With the numerous fringe benefits in the measure, the total cost would be about $1.5 billion a year. The only concession made to the President came when Representative UDALL, the bill's sponsor, agreed to a reduction in the first pay raise from 4.5 to 4 percent. Ironically, the only real support for Mr. Johnson came from a Republican, Representative DERWINSKI, of Illinois, who is no friend of the Great Society. He offered an amendment to reduce the total increase to about 3 percent, roughly in line with what the President had advocated. When this was beaten on a 103-to-8 standing vote, DERWINSKI tossed in the sponge and called it a day. Not one Democratic leader came to the support of the administration.

Mr. Johnson, guided by the recommendations of an impartial panel of experts, had proposed pay increases costing about $426 million a year. And when the Udall bill was reported out by the House Civil Service Committee in August, the President denounced it in strong terms. The raises provided in the bill, he said, would violate the guidelines, and would in effect be seeking privileges for Federal workers which would not be expected in private industry. He added that the committee recommendations "would be very disastrous to our wage stabilization policy in this country."

As the bill came out of committee it contained provisions for automatic pay increases for Members of Congress and other high officials. These were sustained on several voice votes, but when the time came to stand up and be counted the Members beat a hasty retreat, doubtless in deference to what the folks back home might think about it—and do about it.

So this is out of the bill as it goes to the Senate, where the hope is that the House bill will be considerably cut back. If not, if it is finally enacted in anything like its present form, the President, if he is to keep faith with the private segments of the economy which have respected the guidelines at his urging, will almost certainly have to veto it.

Senator McNamara Earns Praise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, if ever a U.S. Senator deserved the title of "the people's Senator," Michigan's PAT MCNAMARA most certainly does. Throughout his career in the Senate, he has demonstrated time and time again that he is totally committed to the welfare of the people and to the public interest.

Those of us who live in the great State of Michigan—a State which Senator MCNAMARA has served so well in the U.S. Senate for 11 years, are well aware of his record of solid accomplishment.

Just recently, in the October 1965 issue of the Railway Carmen's Journal, the highlights of Senator MCNAMARA's record were summarized. It is an outstanding record of a dedicated public servant, and I commend the article to the attention of my colleagues.

The article follows:

MICHIGAN'S PAT MCNAMARA BUILDS RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT ON PEOPLE'S LEGISLATION

Nearing the end of his second full term in the U.S. Senate, Senator PAT MCNAMARA can marshal a powerful case for return to office based on a record of solid achievement. Here's a look at that record:

Michigan's senior Senator, a liberal Democrat, has introduced, cosponsored, and supported major legislation that will improve the lives and welfare of millions of Americans.

He successfully floor-managed antipoverty legislation through the Senate this year and last.

His was a major voice in the breakthrough this year in Federal aid to education legislation, after years of vain effort to pass a bill. The program will inject $42 million into the Michigan public school system this year alone. Its main thrust will be to help children from poor families get a better edu-

cation, the one big step toward better opportunity.

He consistently has sponsored, and spoken vigorously for, civil rights legislation with teeth in it.

His opposition to so-called right-to-work laws has been outspoken and constant.

He played a key role in passage of minimum wage legislation in 1961, increasing the minimum to $1.25 an hour and bringing 3.6 million additional workers under its coverage.

The act establishing equal pay for women bears his name.

He was a mainstay in the fight for passage of the 1961 interstate highway program. Under this program, Michigan already has completed 766 miles of new roads, 70 percent of the 1,090 miles designated for the State.

The list is only partial. What it signifies, however, is that PAT MCNAMARA's name, and efforts, have been associated closely with almost every piece of progressive legislation introduced or enacted into law in recent years. And he has been firm in his opposition to every attempt by reactionaries to shortchange the people. Trade unionists do not have a better friend in public office.

While his contribution to a better life for all Americans has reached into many different fields, in no area has it been more decisive and constructive than in improving the lot of older Americans.

As chairman of the Senate Special Committee on Aging, his hearings and reports developed much of the groundwork and the solid argument in behalf of passage, after more than 15 years of frustration, of medicare legislation, bringing health care for the elderly under the social security program.

This year, Senator MCNAMARA capped his efforts to help older Americans by introducing the "Older Americans Act of 1965," which was unanimously approved by the Senate. It got little press notice, but the bill could become a major step along the road to a better life for the elderly. It will provide Federal grants for programs designed to meet the problems of the aged.

Its ultimate objectives, according to Senator MCNAMARA, are to help the aged secure "an adequate income in retirement, the best possible physical and mental health which science can make available, suitable housing, opportunity for employment, pursuit of meaningful activity, efficient community services, and retirement in health, honor, and dignity."

A significant sidelight on the Older Americans Act is that it is one of the few pieces of important legislation in recent years that originated in the Congress. Most proposals these days come down from the executive branch for congressional attention. Senator MCNAMARA's bill was his own.

MCNAMARA has never been a headline hunter. He never clutters the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD with irrelevant speechmaking. When he speaks, it is brief and to the point. One of his rare departures from brevity came recently when he delivered a powerful 1-hour speech on the Senate floor upholding the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote ruling and attacking efforts to overthrow it.

Like most truly effective legislators, the hardworking senior Senator from Michigan goes at his committee assignments with energy and dedication. He has worked up the seniority ladded to key committee positions as chairman of the important Senate Committee on Public Works and as ranking Democrat on the crucial Labor and Public Welfare Committee, which handles all bills relating to organized labor,

In the past, as today, the Senate career of the liberal Michigan Democrat has been marked by courage and integrity. Indeed, his first key vote as a freshman Senator, according to official COPE voting records, was an act of courage. He was one of 39 Senators on May 24, 1955, to vote to override President Eisenhower's veto of a bill increasing postal workers' pay.

Since then, his record on key votes listed in the official COPE voting records has been perfect.

Unlike some in politics, Senator MCNAMARA does not sway with the slightest breeze. His colleague, liberal Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, has remarked: "I believe it can be said of the Senator from Michigan, 'Behold a Senator in whom there is no guile.' Everyone always knows where he stands. He does not make any ambiguous statements. He does not cast any ambiguous votes." High tribute from a colleague whose own integrity and courage are universally admired.

If a Great Society is to be built, it will be done by persons of integrity committed to the welfare of the people. As the job proceeds, Michigan's Senator PAT MCNAMARA will emerge as one of its chief architects.

Our Surrender Over the Panama Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's surrender on the question of the Panama Canal has surprised many of us in the Congress and I have seen no article that sets forth the facts in this case better than James J. Kilpatrick's column which was published in the Washington Star on October 3.

Mr. Kilpatrick's column follows:

OUR SURRENDER OVER THE PANAMA CANAL

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

Lyndon Johnson, a master of political poker, is playing his cards like a ribbon clerk in the high-stakes game of Latin American affairs. He has just lost the pot in Panama—lost it to a bluffer with a pair of deuces—and he has wasted his hole-cards in Santo Domingo. What began as a good evening at the table is steadily becoming a nightmare.

On the face of it, the Panama treaty baffles understanding. Eighteen months ago, when the negotiations began, the forces of international communism made three objectives clear. They wanted the 1903 treaty abrogated; they wanted a recognition of Panama's sovereignty in the Canal Zone; and they wanted a greater cut of the revenue. Last week the President announced that he would send to the Senate a new agreement. Astoundingly, this new agreement will (1) abrogate the 1903 treaty, (2) recognize Panama's sovereignty, and (3) give Panama more money.

What kind of bargaining is this? What have our negotiators been doing all this time? The Canal Zone, up to this moment, has been a territorial possession of the United States. By virtue of treaty rights granted in perpetuity, we have rightfully exercised sovereignty there. The defense and canal installations represent an investment of billions of dollars in American tax funds. The record of the U.S. Government in Panama is a record of order, accomplishment, humanitarianism.

None of these considerations seems to have mattered at all. Nothing suggests that the U.S. negotiators made any bargaining use of the possibility—a devastating possibility for Panama—that a new sea level canal could be dug somewhere else. It is not accurate to describe this treaty as a sellout, for a sellout implies some payment in return for principles yielded. This is surrender, abject surrender, to a gang of blackmailers whose bluff came down to this: Throw in your hand or we'll riot again.

Pennsylvania's DAN FLOOD, in an outraged speech last Monday in the House, gave this new treaty the ugly word: Appeasement. And he ventured a prophecy that has the bell-like ring of truth: "I predict," he said, "that the expressed willingness to surrender control over the Panama Canal will be taken as a signal for accelerated activity among communistic revolutionaries all over Latin America and the Caribbean."

How could it be otherwise? The capitulation to the Panamanian demagogs follows close upon the heels of an equally dismaying collapse of American policy in the Dominican Republic. What, now, does Mr. Johnson have to show for the 5 months that have elapsed since the insurrection of April 24?

In the spring, Mr. Johnson was hard and decisive. He acted partly from good intelligence, partly from sound instinct. What his eyes did not tell him, his nose did: The well-organized revolt reeked of Communist direction. Everyone could smell it—everyone, that is, but Senator FULBRIGHT, the Times, the Trib, and the Washington Post.

What has become of that decisiveness now? The leading anti-Communist of the Dominican Republic, an honest soldier beloved by his troops, was Gen. Elias Wessin y Wessin. We have deported him. One of the faint hopes for stability was that complex and gullible man, Juan Bosch. He has returned to Santo Domingo, breathing fire and arrogance, and demanding of the United States a billion dollar reparation. In the heart of Santo Domingo, Communist training activities continue undiminished. In the hills, the armed guerrillas wait.

Elsewhere in Latin America, the picture is no brighter. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee recently released a thin volume of testimony taken on August 4 in its investigation of Red Chinese infiltration of this hemisphere. Among the witnesses was Stanley Ross, editor of El Tiempo, a hard-nosed fellow who smelled out the Cuban missile sites ahead of everyone else. Without the slightest equivocation, he spoke of Red Chinese infiltration in Bolivia, Venezuela, Brazil, Guatemala, Colombia, and of course Cuba.

Few persons would suggest that Lyndon Johnson has an easy hand to play, at home or abroad, in coping with the Communist subversion of Latin America. Many of the Rightist leaders are no beauties; the President cannot conjure instant democracy out of the illiteracy of the cane fields; as John Kennedy once remarked, the most striking lesson of the Presidency often is to be found in how little a President can do. Here at home, a President pathetically eager for a consensus bleeds inside from the savage blows of the liberal left.

But Mr. Johnson can do better than he has been doing lately. If he will only return to the hardness of April, and turn those riverboat eyes on the Reds, he can pull out of this mess. The draft treaty may yet be rejected, and the Dominican situation may yet be salvaged, but the game is running out of cards and not much time remains.

Nation Facing One-Man Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, many students of political science and many

citizens of the United States have expressed their concerns over the growing trend toward centralization of the Federal Government in the executive branch. I, too, have been concerned over the recent expansions of the power and authority of the executive branch.

This great Nation needs a balance of powers; it needs a strong executive branch, a strong legislative branch, and a strong judicial branch. But it does not need the expansion of the powers of one of these branches at the expense of the other two. Specifically, it does not need an executive branch which is so strong that it can ride roughshod over the legislative and the judicial branches.

The following article from the Chicago Tribune cites some of the dangers of one-man government:

[From the Chicago Tribune, Sept. 12, 1965]

NATION FACING ONE-MAN RULE, POLITICAL STUDY GROUP WARNS—STRESSES NEED OF RESTORING ROLE OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON, September 11.—A group of political scientists reported today that the Nation faces one-man government unless Congress can be restored to its former status as a check upon Presidential power.

Thirteen noted scholars engaged in the study, sponsored by the American Enterprise Institute. It found that the checks-and-balances system of the Constitution is endangered by a rapidly expanding bureaucracy and exaltation of the President's office above its stated powers.

Dr. Alfred De Grazia, professor of government at New York University, coordinator of the project, released a preliminary report on the study to be published in book form later.

CREATING ADDED PROBLEMS

In seeking to solve its current problems—poverty, health and safety, civil rights, education, and foreign relations—the United States is creating three additional problems, Dr. De Grazia declared. He identified them as:

"First, the problem of bureaucracy, the handling of problems by large-scale institutions of permanent civil servants not effectively tied in to the larger society.

"Second, a kind of creeping militarism that emerges through oversecrecy, overcontrol, and overexcitement in the course of attempting to solve the problems of foreign affairs and their associated domestic aspects.

DISCUSSES THIRD PROBLEM

"Third, the increase of Presidential personalism, the exaltation of an office above the powers of the office, and the capacities of the human incumbent. This introduces, along with the other two problems, a verifiable problem of dictatorship, or whatever one may wish to call the overly great dependence of a people upon the magical qualities of a person occupying an outstandingly prominent office."

Congress is the central institution of the American democratic republic, Dr. De Grazia noted.

"Unless it functions well and powerfully, much more so than it has in the past," he said, "the road to a burocratic state and a kind of monarchic government will be opened up.

NEED OF STRONG CONGRESS

"Without a strong Congress, the major problems of the country will be handled in ways that will become excessively majoritarian, often arbitrary, usually collectivist, and in the end suppressive of the American ideal of individuality."

A congressional inquiry now is being conducted into methods of "reforming" Congress, the political scientists observed, but most of the proposals are designed to reduce the role of Congress in Government and expand the role of the executive branch.

Even organizations friendly to Congress unconsciously have sponsored proposals to weaken it, the study noted. Typical was a plan to hold elections for Members of the House of Representatives every 4 years at the time of a presidential election instead of every 2 years as now provided by the Constitution.

WARNING ON ELECTIONS

"Tied-in elections would go far to put the Congress at the political mercies of the President," Dr. De Grazia said.

Here are recommendations by other participants in the study:

Dr. Aaron Wildavsky, professor of political science, University of California at Berkeley: Substitution of a new annual budget system.

Dr. Lewis A. Dexter, visiting professor of political science, University of South Florida: A joint committee on legislative-executive relations to restore the balance of powers between the Congress and the President.

Dr. Cornelius P. Coter, chairman, department of political science, Wichita (Kans.) State University: "Resident agents" of Congress in a number of districts in the country.

Dr. Roger H. Davidson, professor of political science, Dartmouth College: Congressional task forces to serve geographic interests.

Edward de Grazia, Washington, D.C., attorney: Greatly increased access for Congress inside the executive agencies.

Dr. James A. Robinson, professor of political science at Ohio State University; Dr. Kenneth Janda, professor of political science, Northwestern University, Evanston; Dr. Charles R. Dechert, professor of political science, Purdue University; Samuel Lubell, political writer; Dr. Charles Clapp, assistant to Senator LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Republican, of Massachusetts; and Kenneth G. Olson, writer, also participated in the study.

Hawaii Leads Nation in Purchase of Life Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, although Hawaii is the newest and smallest State in the Union, we have been able to compete with our oldest and largest States in other areas. The most recent area in which Hawaii has emerged ahead is in the field of life insurance.

Hawaii is the first State in the entire Nation to average more than $20,000 worth of life insurance protection per family. Only five other States averaged more than $15,000. I believe that this enlightening statistic further supports the well-known fact that Hawaii enjoys a social and economic level of activity that is equal to that of our oldest and largest States.

The announcement of Hawaii's high life insurance ratio is found in the article which appeared in the September 20, 1965, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin:

HAWAII LEADS NATION IN LIFE INSURANCE

Hawaii tops all the States in the purchase of life insurance.

The Institute of Life Insurance reported that last year the 50th State became the first in the Nation to average more than $20,000 life insurance protection per family.

Hawaiian families had an average of $20,300 worth of life insurance policies at the end of 1964.

This was the equivalent of 219 percent of the average family's personal income—highest ratio in the Nation.

Only five other States had more than $15,000 worth of insurance per family: Delaware, Connecticut, New Jersey, Illinois, and Michigan.

Impact of Pope Paul's Address to Delegates at the U.N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, Monday, October 4, 1965, not only was a historical day in the life of the United Nations; and in the history of our country, but also in the advancement of mankind. For if Pope Paul's mighty words provide a catalyst for achieving a lasting peace, then this day will truly be a turning point in the life of this planet.

Mr. Speaker, the Evening Star newspaper of Washington has expressed in clear, vibrant language the impact of Pope Paul's address to the delegates at the U.N. and to the people of the world. The Star's editorial of October 5, 1965, notes the import of the Pope's words, and I am pleased to call to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress this editorial. It says much; its meaning is vital; its message eternal.

The editorial follows:

[From the Evening Star, Oct. 5, 1965]

THE POPE TO THE WORLD

Paul VI, in his historymaking address to the General Assembly, has given the United Nations an extraordinary blessing—a solemn moral ratification—without precedent or parallel. The world organization has reason to feel strengthened accordingly: The Pope has thrown behind it the prestige and influence not only of his own person, but also of the most ancient, most populous, and most powerful church in Christendom.

This is a matter of no small importance to the U.N., which in recent times has suffered reverses threatening its very existence. These reverses obviously have not shaken the Pope's faith in it. On the contrary, he has endorsed it with words of hope and optimism about its future. His view, which many worldly people may regard as wishful or naive, is that the organization can and must succeed, as it moves forward from its present beginning, because men and nations are desperately in need of its continuing services.

Paul holds, in short, that the U.N. is an indispensable, "obligatory path of modern civilization and of world peace." In taking this position, he has stressed that he is making his own voice, as Roman Catholicism's Vicar of Christ on earth, "the voice of the dead and of the living; of the dead who fell in the terrible wars of the past; of the living who survived those wars, bearing in their hearts a condemnation of those who would try to renew wars; and also of those living who rise up fresh and confident, the youth of the present generation, who legitimately dream of a better human race."

Pope Paul, exercising temporal sovereignty in a miniscule state, presides over a centuries-old apparatus whose knowledgeability in international affairs rivals that of the great powers, and perhaps sometimes excels it. Paul therefore deserves our attention when he gives powerful endorsement to the U.N. and when he calls upon it to go full steam ahead on such stalled projects as disarmament. As he suggests, progress in that field would divert funds from weaponry to the imperative task of promoting economic and social progress around the world.

In any event, the U.N.'s primary purpose and loftiest aim is to promote the peaceful advancement of humanity. As the Pope has said to the Assembly: "No more war; war never again. Peace; it is peace which must guide the destinies of peoples and of all mankind."

This may strike some as the voice of idealism crying in the wilderness. Actually, though, it is realism reduced to the simplest and most somber terms: "No more war; war never again." Otherwise, God pity us all as we drift, willy-nilly, toward an unimaginable doomsday. The Pope's message is clear enough for all the world to understand and abide by.

One for the Road

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, one of the really effective workers from the freshman ranks of our Public Works Committee is Congressman JAMES J. HOWARD, of New Jersey. After his fine and creative work in helping to floor manage the Appalachian bill, the Economic Development Act, and the water pollution bill, Congressman HOWARD is out front again working actively to pass President Johnson's highway bill. It is a pleasure to include the following October 4 editorial from the Newark Star-Ledger:

ONE FOR THE ROAD

New Jersey would be entitled to $5.6 million over a 2-year period under the administration's highway beautification bill to pretty up its roads. It is a sum that, if applied judiciously, would wipe out some of the garish eyesores along its major highways that offend the passing motorist.

Three States, including New York, already have drafted proposals to beautify their highways. It is to be hoped that the Garden State acts with similar dispatch in tending to its own highway cosmetics.

Representative JAMES J. HOWARD, New Jersey Democrat, who is one of the floor managers for President Johnson's highway bill, notes that the funds that would be made available represent new money, available to the States without matching funds. This would mean that States would be able to undertake highway scenic projects without dedicating their own funds, or depleting the regular highway aid appropriations for construction.

The bill, in its present form, is not as forceful as originally proposed by the administration, but it retains enough strong features to get programs off to a reasonably good start, particularly in urbanized States like New Jersey.

Mine Safety Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. OLSEN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, in 1961 the Congress adopted the Metal and Non-Metallic Mines Safety Study Act, directing the Secretary of the Interior to make a 2-year study of a Federal mine safety law that would give protection to the 230,000 men working in metal and nonmetallic mines, quarries, and sand and gravel pits. The Secretary was directed to investigate the causes of accidents, the hazards in the industry, the adequacy of State mine safety laws and their enforcement, and to make recommendations to the Congress for an effective safety program. Secretary Udall submitted his report to Congress in November of 1963.

The Secretary's report stated that in 1962 there were 10,189 injuries in the Nation's open pit and underground metallic and nonmetallic mines and quarries, 212 men were killed, 329 were permanently crippled. In 1963 there were 12,215 unnecessary injuries and 179 deaths in these pits and mines. These figures do not include coal and lignite mines. These accidents and fatalities will continue unless effective preventive Federal legislation is passed. The House has passed H.R. 8989. This bill does not contain all the safeguards for the protection of life of the miners; however, it is a start.

We must provide legislation for a more uniform Federal system of health and safety rules and regulations, for Federal inspection and investigation, and safety training and education in the thousands of mines and quarries in our States.

On the 18th of January 1965, I introduced H.R. 3008, which I feel would have provided for a good system of health and safety rules and regulations and proper enforcement for safety and health inspection of our metallic and nonmetallic mines and quarries.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to give this summary of the amendments to H.R. 8989 that were accepted on the floor of the House on September 2, 1965, after a careful study and analysis of this legislation as it passed the House.

SUMMARY OF THE AMENDMENTS TO H.R. 8989

(Accepted on the floor of the House of Representatives, September 2, 1965.)

First. Section 3 of the bill was amended to stipulate that "mines," as defined in the bill, whose operations "substantially" affect commerce will be subject to the act. Before amendment, the bill extended coverage to all mines whose operations "affect commerce."

The practical effect of this amendment is difficult to assess. It may cause the exclusion from coverage of some small mines, quarries, sand and gravel pits, and mills, whose operations will be considered to "affect commerce," but not substantially.

Second. Section 13(a) was amended to stipulate that a State, "at any time," may submit to the Secretary of the Interior its plan for development and enforcement of mine safety standards.

Insertion of the phrase "at any time" makes it clear that a State does not forgo all later opportunity to establish its own mine safety plan in lieu of Federal enforcement, by failing to submit such a plan at an early date after this act becomes effective.

Third. Section 13(b) was amended to omit the phrase "in judgment of the Secretary," from the sentence which reads: "The Secretary shall approve the plan submitted by a State * * * if, in the judgment of the Secretary, such plan * * *"

It was necessary to eliminate this phrase in view of the next amendment described below.

Fourth. Section 13 was further amended by the incorporation of a new subsection, 13(d). This was the major amendment, of those accepted on the floor. This amendment takes away from the Secretary of the Interior the final authority to refuse approval to, or withdraw approval from, a State plan. It provides the State a right of appeal to the Federal courts from an adverse decision of the Secretary with respect to the adequacy of the State plan or the adequacy of the manner in which it is being carried out by the State.

Specifically, the State may file an appeal with the appropriate U.S. circuit court of appeals no later than 60 days after notice of the Secretary's final decision. However, the court must accept the Secretary's finding of fact as conclusive, if these findings are supported by "substantial evidence." Nevertheless, if "good cause" is shown, the court may remand the case to the Secretary, with the instructions that he take further evidence. Such remanding of the case may—or may not—lead the Secretary to make new or modified findings of fact, by the Secretary must also be accepted by the court as conclusive, if supported by substantial evidence.

The circuit court, after hearing the appeal, is given the authority to affirm the decision of the Secretary, or to set it aside, in whole or in part. The practical effect of a decision by the circuit court to set aside, entirely, the Secretary's action in refusing approval of a State plan submitted to him would be to put that State plan into operation, and thereby exempt mines in that State from direct Federal mine safety enforcement authority.

Both parties—that is, the Secretary and the State—may file an appeal with the U.S. Supreme Court against the decision of the circuit court. If the Supreme Court, however, does not decide to review the case, the judgment of the circuit court will be final.

Fifth. Section 14 is amended to specify that the Secretary of the Interior has authority to appoint those who are to administer the act. However, such appointments must be made: First, "subject to the civil service laws," second, by the Secretary "acting through" that agency of the Department of the Interior" which has the major responsibility for carrying out the Federal Coal Mine Safety Act"—namely, the Bureau of Mines.

The effect of this amendment is to make clear that mine inspectors and other Federal employees selected to administer this act must be appointed under civil service and through the Bureau of Mines.

Sixth. Section 14 is also amended to require that those appointed as mine inspectors, of mines covered under this act, shall—"to the maximum extent feasible"—have had at least 5 years of "practical mining experience."

Seventh. Section 14 is further amended to direct the Secretary, in his assignment of a

mine inspector to specific mines, to give "due consideration" to the inspector's "previous practical experience" in the State, district, or region whose mines he is assigned to inspect.

The obvious intention of this amendment is to assure, where reasonably feasible, that a mine will not be inspected by a Federal inspector who has had little or no previous familiarity with the mining operations of the particular area in which the mine is located.

Eighth. Section 17 is amended to change the effective dates of certain parts of the act.

The amendment postpones, until 1 year after the date of publication in the Federal Register of mandatory mine health and safety standards, the power of the Secretary to issue a notice to a mine operator requiring the abatement of a violation of such a standard or to issue an order of withdrawal and debarment of persons from a mine where the Secretary finds an imminent danger of death or serious physical harm exists. In addition, these powers of the Secretary cannot be exercised in any State within less than 90 days after the adjournment of the next regular session of the State legislature which convenes after the date of publication of the mandatory standards in the Federal Register.

Before this amendment, H.R. 8989 had simply provided that these powers of the Secretary were to become effective 1 year after the date of enactment of the act. This provision impliedly instructed the Secretary that it was his responsibility to assure that the mandatory standards were designated within 1 year after the date of enactment.

The extent to which this amendment will postpone the effective date of the Secretary's powers to issue abatement notices and orders of withdrawal and debatement will depend upon the time lag between the enactment of the act and the designation of mandatory standards, as well as upon the timing of legislative sessions in the individual States—particularly in those States whose legislatures meet only biennially. To illustrate what would be presumably an extreme possibility for postponement of Federal enforcement power: Assume an 18-month lag between the date of enactment of the act and the date of publication in the Federal Register of the mandatory health and safety standards which the Secretary must develop in consultation with advisory committees. Assume that the next regular session of the legislature of State *x*, a State whose legislature meets biennially, does not convene until 18 months after the Federal Register publication date, and that the legislative session lasts 4 months. In this hypothetical case, a total of 43 months, or 3 years and 7 months, would elapse between the date of enactment of the act and the date at which Federal mine inspectors would acquire the authority, in State *x*, to issue notices of abatement or orders to withdraw and debar persons from mines where an immediate or imminent danger of death or serious physical harm is found to exist.

The purpose of delaying the effective date until 90 days after the close of the next State legislative session is to give the State legislature the opportunity—if it decides to avail itself of the opportunity—to look at the mandatory standards designated by the Secretary, take action to pass any new legislation that may be required for establishment of a State inspection and enforcement plan to be presented for the Secretary's approval, and to appropriate the money that will be necessary in order to have the State plan carried out to the Secretary's satisfaction. Since an approved plan, among other things, has to "provide for the development and enforcement of health and safety standards * * * which are or will be substantially as effective * * * as the mandatory standards" designated by the Secretary, it is not unreasonable to require that a substantial amount of time be given a State, after it has learned what these mandatory standards are to be, in which to decide whether it wishes to develop and finance a State plan embodying substantially as effective standards.

Mr. Speaker, I was born and raised in the mining community of Butte, Mont. I worked in and about the mines like my father before me. I have strong convictions about what must be done to guard the health and safety of the miners. I am proud to have played my bit in support of this legislation, and I want to salute the excellent record of the United Mine Workers, the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, the United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO, and the many individuals who through these many years have faithfully appeared before congressional committees to present firsthand information in support of this legislation.

Medal Given Posthumously to Sergeant Montilio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the posthumous award of the Bronze Star Medal to Sgt. George Montilio, hero son of Joseph Montilio and Adele M. Montilio of West Quincy, Mass.

The five sons of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Montilio served with honor in five different branches of the U.S. Armed Forces during World War II, and Sgt. George Montilio paid the supreme sacrifice in defense of his beloved country.

I was proud to assist in the presentation of this well-deserved medal, and would like to include here the story which appeared in the Quincy Patriot Ledger on Monday, October 4, 1965.

The article follows:

WORLD WAR II HERO: MEDAL GIVEN POSTHUMOUSLY TO SERGEANT MONTILIO

QUINCY.—By direction of President Lyndon B. Johnson, the Bronze Star Medal was posthumously awarded to Sgt. George Montilio, son of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Montilio, of 619 Willard St., West Quincy, Saturday.

The formal ceremony took place at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Ernest J. Montilio, of 148 Monroe Road, Quincy Center. Ernest Montilio is the elder brother of the late Sergeant Montilio.

The medal was pinned on Sergeant Montilio's mother, Mrs. Adele M. Montilio, 75, by Col. Herald H. Smith of Hingham, commanding officer at the Boston Army Base.

Assisting were Representative JAMES A. BURKE, Democrat, of Massachusetts; Lt. Rollin A. Daniel, adjutant at Boston Army Base, who read the citation, and Edward J. Moore, administrative assistant to Representative BURKE.

The medal was awarded posthumously to Sergeant Montilio "for exemplary conduct in ground combat against the armed enemy while assigned to the 506th Parachute Regiment, on or about June 15, 1944, in the European Theater of Operations."

Sergeant Montilio previously had been awarded the Distinguished Service Cross "for his bravery and courage in battle."

Sergeant Montilio died in an American Army hospital April 17, 1945, from wounds received while fighting in Germany. He was buried in a U.S. Army cemetery somewhere in France with an Army Catholic chaplain reading the burial services.

Computer Analysis for Federal Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OMAR BURLESON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson has pledged repeatedly that full value is going to be received for each dollar spent to operate the Federal Government under his administration.

It would be repetitious for me to enumerate here the steps he has already taken to fulfill this pledge.

However, the San Angelo, Tex., Standard-Times, commenting on the President's directive to heads of departments and agencies to set up program analysis staff to help determine the cost-effectiveness ratio of their operations, has covered a part of this subject in a very worthwhile manner.

In an editorial of September 13, the Standard-Times noted that:

> It would be foolish not to use the newest tools devised to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of self-government.

I believe my colleagues would be interested to see this very astute editorial in its entirety, and I therefore offer it for inclusion in the RECORD:

[From the San Angelo Standard-Times, Sept. 13, 1965]

COMPUTER ANALYSIS FOR FEDERAL BUDGET

President Johnson has ordered a Federal experiment which seems likely to have profound long-range impact on policymaking, program-planning and budgetmaking at all levels of American Government.

He has directed heads of all Federal departments and major agencies, under the general supervision of Budget Director Charles L. Schultze, to set up program analysis staffs which will use computer techniques to determine the cost-effectiveness ratio of all their existing and proposed operations. This adapting of computer technology to governmental decisionmaking was pioneered by Secretary McNamara in the Defense Department.

After the President's announcement, there were expressions of concern that spreading computerized administration—or "scientific management"—would dehumanize Government with undemocratic results. That concern is not wholly unjustified, but so long as the computer is kept in its place—as an aid to, rather than a substitute for human wisdom—its use should be greatly beneficial.

Computer analysis and evaluation, properly applied, can help policymakers determine whether existing programs should be continued or revised, what new programs it may be worthwhile to undertake, and which of alternative solutions to problems may be the least expensive and most effective.

That should prevent costly mistakes and save taxpayers' money generally. And, of course, computer analysis will always be subject to responsible human decisionmaking in the administration, which in turn is subject to congressional approval, rejection or revision, and thus to all the nonscientific pressures of democratic politics.

The "government by computer" feared by some is a bogey. It would be foolish not to use the newest tools devised to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of self-government. The crucial test will be how wisely those tools are used and that is a test on which the voters will keep a running scorecard.

Indianola Tribune Stresses Importance of United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, the September 27, 1965, issue of the Indianola Tribune of Indianola, Iowa, carried an excellent editorial commenting on the recent conflict between India and Pakistan and the role played by the United Nations in helping to negotiate a cease-fire.

The editorial, by Mr. Earl Godwin, stresses the point that the United Nations is still essential to maintaining world peace. This thought is all the more appropriate in light of the speech Monday by Pope Paul VI to the General Assembly.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I hereby include the editorial from the Indianola Tribune:

[From the Indianola Tribune, Sept. 27, 1965]

IMPORTANCE OF THE U.N.

(By Earl Godwin)

Sometimes events do occur that indicate man may not be completely without sense, afterall. With India and Pakistan engaged in a duel over some of the least desirable real estate on the globe, and with Red China making very serious threats against India, it looked 1 week ago as if the whole of Asia might be engulfed in war. There was already enough trouble on this corner of earth, with open warfare in Vietnam, threats and abusive activity by Indonesia against its neighbors, and political turmoil in many other countries. The India-Pakistani war threatened to engulf all of Asia, and hence all the world, seemingly for no good reason.

For the first time since World War II, Russia stood side by side with the United States and the rest of the Western nations in a common effort to halt the war in Kashmir. Working through the resources available at the United Nations, the United States, Russia, and Great Britain were able to exert tremendous diplomatic pressure upon the warring nations. Even France, who has been so contrary of late, did nothing to harm the delicate negotiations. The prospects of peace seemed quite remote, however, for the U.N. has been all but totally paralyzed for the past several months, and the major powers of the world have shown little or no desire to agree upon anything constructive for almost two decades. The dark shadow of Red China added to the unlikely chance for reaching any peaceful agreement between the feuding nations.

Both the United States and Russia gave stern warnings to the Chinese to keep out of the troubled areas of Asia, but few thought the Reds would pay any attention to these demands. They must have carried some weight, however, for the Chinese remained on their side of the border. The free world breathed a sigh of relief when the Chinese first extended an ultimatum they had given India, and then appeared to remove the threat altogether. China had evidently gotten the message.

In an effort that will certainly strengthen the prestige of the United Nations, that group made an all-out effort to halt the war between India and Pakistan. Despite pleas to President Johnson from both countries, asking him to intervene in the conflict, our Nation insisted on working through and with the U.N. on the matter. For the most part, Russia did likewise. The weight of world opinion was brought to bear in such a manner that the warring countries both felt it to be in their best interests to accept the cease-fire ultimatum of the U.N. So it was that a second sigh of relief went around the world last Wednesday afternoon as the fighting ground to a negotiated stop.

The cease-fire in Kashmir is a dramatic illustration of the very real value of the United Nations. This organization, with its diplomatic contacts to most every Nation in the world, offers a source of immediate discussion and debate that cannot be found elsewhere. Without discussion, there is little chance of agreement.

If the United Nations is able to sustain the cease-fire it reached last week (and this is a very big "if"), the value of the United Nations will have been proven as never before. Even its most ardent critics will have to admit that an organization that is able to achieve peace in such troubled waters is deserving of our heartiest financial and moral support. This peace, if it is maintained, could well be worth the entire cost of running the United Nations since it was founded 20 years ago.

Clarence Long Rides the Circuit in Maryland's Second District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in today's RECORD an article which appeared in the Baltimore Sun last Sunday. It is a wonderful piece about our colleague CLARENCE LONG and his efforts to help the people of his district:

WHAT HELP DO PEOPLE SEEK FROM A CONGRESSMAN?—FOR NEARLY 2 YEARS CLARENCE D. LONG HAS BEEN TOURING HIS DISTRICT TO SEE—HERE'S WHAT HE WAS ASKED AT BEL AIR

Congressman CLARENCE D. LONG, Democrat, Second District, has been making the rounds of the post offices in his district, from Pylesville to Westminster, "to find," as it says in his newsletter, "what help people seek."

He has been at it for almost 2 years and on a recent Saturday he was in the Bel Air Post Office in Howard County, where about 25 people were lined up to see him. Inside the air-conditioned office of the postmaster, the Congressman was seated under an autographed picture of Harry Truman, listening to a man who had with him a retired Navy chief. In one corner of the room a secretary took notes.

The chief had been mustered out of the service in 1959 because he was thought psychopathic. He had blown his stack a couple of times, and under subsequent examination by psychiatrists had been asked questions which confused him ("I've been confused myself sometimes," said the Congressman) and to which he gave, psychiatrically speaking, the wrong answers.

The man had a good combat record. Because of his early discharge he had missed getting retirement pay by only 8 months. Would the Congressman introduce a private bill to aid the former chief? He would, said LONG, if he couldn't get the Navy to reverse the decision. "But you know that these bills are extremely difficult to get through."

He knew that, said the man. And how was the Congressman going to vote on the bill to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which if passed, he said, "would be handing control over to union leaders"?

"I don't know," said LONG, "I haven't completely made up my mind about that yet." The two men left.

"Now, who's next?" said the Congressman.

A woman entered. She was worried about her son, who had recently been inducted into the Army. The son, it turned out, had a heart condition, so serious, from her description, that LONG expressed wonder that he had been inducted at all.

The woman was concerned because she thought the work that her son might be doing at boot camp would be too strenuous for his heart. Her husband, she said, had just a few weeks ago died as a result of a heart condition. She turned her head and there was an embarrassed silence.

"All right, don't worry now," said the Congressman. He directed his secretary to write to the doctor at the base, and find out what type of work the son was doing.

The procession continued. A woman was looking for a job with the State in Bel Air (the Congressman referred her case to his secretary, who heads his job desk). She was followed by an irate Baltimore countian who for several months had been fighting a losing battle with county administrators. She said they had been illegally using her property for drainage from adjacent ones ("Take this up with Agnew; this woman's been getting the runaround"). Then came an irascible old farmer, straight out of Faulkner, who carried a padded seat-cane, an adaptation of the device favored by English gentlemen to prop themselves up next to the rail at Ascot. He complained that he had been kept waiting, then allowed that he had not seen Long since "that little party up at Joe's" and how was Senator TYDINGS getting along? ("Just fine. Now what can I do for you?")

The morning wore on. A fire chief from Edgewood Arsenal was being forced to retire, a woman disabled by disease thought she should be getting more social security benefits, an electrical contractor hadn't been paid for his work by the General Services Administration.

LONG conducts the interviews with businesslike efficiency, punctuating the narration with his own comments, asking pointed questions, cutting short long-winded explanations. As a result he has seen up to 60 people in a few hours in one of his Saturday morning sessions. All of the cases are followed up by his staff.

Many of those he encounters are poor, many of them are uneducated, many of them want jobs. But jobs are becoming harder to find for such people in an increasingly technical employment market. "The great problem of age," says LONG, "is that it's correlated with lack of education." Even so, he has had considerable success in finding both Government and civilian employment for his constituents, and under a grant from the Department of Labor now has six job-finding clinics operating in the Baltimore area.

To some, the Congressman represent a "court of last resort." The parents of Radmila Lomsky, who were forced to leave their 11-month-old daughter with relatives in Czechoslovakia when they came to this country in 1948, had tried ever since to get her out. They finally came to LONG, their Representative, who wrote letters to everyone from President Novotny to the then Russian head of state Nikita Khrushchev, and finally succeeded, after 11 months of effort, in reuniting Radmila with her parents.

To others, the Congressman, or more properly his staff, serves as "ombudsman." This is a position filled in certain Scandinavian countries by persons familiar with the ponderous mechanisms of government who act as go-betweens for the individual citizen who must deal with a huge and sometimes senseless bureaucracy. A recent case involved a constituent of the Congressman on Rouse 40 who had a house and motel both of which needed improvements.

The Small Business Administration would not make a loan on the motel because the property contained a house; the Federal Housing Administration refused money for the house because of the motel. Congressman LONG arranged a conference between representatives of the two agencies: the result was a loan from each, and hopefully an agreement for future communication.

For some, the Congressman is someone to complain to. A few people follow him around as he "rides the circuit" as he calls it, of post offices in his district of Baltimore, Carroll, and Harford counties. One was a man who came in to report that he didn't like the promotion (he was a carpenter at Edgewood Arsenal) the Congressman had helped him get as the result of a previous visit.

From the bizarre, such as the man who hauled out a towel labeled U.S. Army Supply Depot, said it had recently been removed after having been part of his interior plumbing for several years following an Army operation and wanted to sue the surgeon (the case had already been to the Supreme Court) to the pathetic, an alcoholic electrical worker who thought that local firms were blacklisting him (they were, evidently with justification.) Representative LONG sees them all. At the same time that he is making friends, he is cannily keeping a finger on the pulse of his constituents, gaging their interests and concerns.

The great majority are just people who need some sort of guidance. "Many," he says, "without automobiles or even phones, cannot reach the Capital. Then there's always inertia," something that obviously seldom plagues the only Representative in Washington who offers curb service to his constituents.

Barksdale AFB Aids Hurricane Victims

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE D. WAGGONNER, JR.

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, during the recent Hurricane Betsy devastation, the personnel of Barksdale Air Force Base, La., once again demonstrated the exemplary role they play as an integral part of the Louisiana community.

Before the hurricane had left the State, military families at Barksdale began donating clothing and food to victims of the disaster as part of Operation New Orleans which was set in motion by Lt. Gen. David Wade, commander of the 2d Air Force.

Similar donations from four other 2d Air Force bases in Arkansas, Texas, and Louisiana were flown to Barksdale and from there to New Orleans where they were turned over to Red Cross and Salvation Army units for distribution.

During the course of "Operation New Orleans," Barksdale personnel donated and collected 43,460 pounds of food and clothing. Four other 2d Air Force bases contributed together 54,100 pounds. The total of 97,560 pounds of vitally needed clothing and food was flown to New Orleans and vicinity in 12 separate flights of 76 hours air time and covering 12,905 miles.

The northwest section of Louisiana where Barksdale Air Force Base is located was spared the devastation suffered elsewhere in the State, but as you can see by this digest of what General Wade's program accomplished, the hearts and hands of Barksdale personnel went out unhesitatingly and lavishly to the unfortunate victims in the southern part of the State.

To the General and all the men and women who gave so unselfishly in this hour of trial go the thanks of all Louisianians.

It is fitting, I believe, that this splendid accomplishment be recorded here in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804–06

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804–06, beginning in St. Charles, Mo., was one of history's greatest overland expeditions. It opened the way for settlement of the Northern Plains, the Rocky Mountains, and the Pacific Northwest, and it has had a profound and lasting effect on the political, economic, and geographic development of the United States.

The St. Charles County Historical Society arranged to meet with the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission in St. Louis, Mo., on September 30 and October 1, 1965. As part of research carried on by citizens of St. Charles County, an exhibition marker has been erected on historic Main Street in St. Charles, the first capital of the State of Missouri.

Located in St. Charles are several points of interest for present-day travelers to visit. At the corner of Walnut and Main, Lewis participated in the Louisiana Purchase ceremony, whereby the United States took over 1,172,000 square miles of territory. After the expedition, Clark lived where the chamber of commerce building now stands and he is buried in the huge Bellefontaine Cemetery.

The present-day traveler can easily locate and visit the town of St. Charles—the only large town on the Missouri River in existence when the exporers went west. Many of the buildings were constructed about the time of the Louisiana Purchase; thus, these sites and others like them will be sought after by numerous Americans retracing the steps of Lewis and Clark.

I think it commendable that some of our citizens have made the effort necessary to preserve our great heritage and the history of the events in areas that have been so important to the growth of our Nation.

Highway Beautification Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROLLAND REDLIN

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. REDLIN. Mr. Speaker, the Johnson administration has adopted a vigorous policy for preserving the natural beauty of America for the inspiration and enjoyment of all citizens, as well as future generations. Last week, North Dakota was honored by a visit from Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall, who has championed this cause. The administration's efforts were saluted by Dick Dobson, a leading North Dakota newsman in his column, "Inside North Dakota," in the October 2, 1965, edition of the Minot Daily News. Mr. Speaker, on the eve of consideration of S. 2084, the Highway Beautification Act of 1965, I invite the attention of my colleagues to the pertinent portion of Mr. Dobson's column:

(By Dick Dobson)

"Uncle Joe" Cannon, autocratic Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives from 1903–11, issued one of his famed edicts when he said, "Not 1 cent for scenery."

Cannon's law, which was laid down just as President Teddy Roosevelt was starting the conservation program, served as Government policy for many years.

It required that scenic lands outside the public domain be received by donation, not purchased, for park purposes. As a result, many good areas have been lost forever.

However, Cannon's law has not been repealed. And the man who did it, Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall, was in North Dakota this week to view Badlands vistas.

Udall probably has done more for conservation during his tenure than any of the 38 Secretaries in the 116-year history of the Interior Department.

Under his stewardship, Congress since 1961 has passed laws to:

Establish a land and water conservation fund, for States to develop outdoor recreation areas and for the Federal Government to expand its parks, forests, and wildlife refuges;

Incorporate 9 million acres of federally held primitive areas into a national wilderness system;

Create the first new national park since 1947 (Canyonlands in Utah) and a national riverway (Ozark in Missouri);

Set up national seashores at Cape Cod in the Northeast; Fire Island, N.Y.; Assateague Island off Maryland; Point Reyes, Calif.; and Padre Island, Tex.; and

Preserve the Oregon Dunes as well as a strip of prairie in Kansas and scenic stretches elsewhere in the West and Midwest.

As noted recently by President Johnson: "The 88th Congress passed more than 30 major conservation bills * * *. The 89th Congress is already adding magnificently to that record. And we haven't finished yet."

Among bills for North Dakota in the congressional pipeline are those to authorize construction of a scenic road linking the units of Theodore Roosevelt National Memorial Park and to make old Fort Union a national historic site.

Many of the projects for the "big outdoor States," as Udall says, combine scenery with history, making them even more attractive to the tourists who pour out of the cities every year.

Aside from the commercial aspect, however, there is another reason why Federal investment in scenery makes sense. It was expressed by President Johnson when he signed the Assateague National Seashore bill on September 21 as follows:

"So it remains for us, who live in the summer of our greatness as a Nation, to preserve both the vision and the beauty which gave it rise."

Or, as he remarked on another occasion, it is important to leave "a green legacy for tomorrow."

Impudent Big Stick Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, on September 20, the House of Representatives had before it a resolution which directly affected our relations with Latin America. Regretttably, only a relatively small minority of the Members foresaw the dire consequences of the action of the House in passing the said resolution and voted against it. On September 29, 1965, the Detroit News published an editorial which, in my judgment, states the case clearly, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

IMPUDENT BIG STICK RESOLUTION

In Cuba and the Dominican Republic, the United States did what this Government felt it had to do to halt Communist penetration of the Western Hemisphere. If similar threats arose again to another Latin American country, it is likely the United States again would intervene to protect its own interests and those of its southern neighbors.

Yet that prospect does not justify the resolution passed by the House of Representatives warning that any threat of Communist domination or subversion in Latin America could result in unilateral or collective intervention by other American Republics.

The resolution, whooped through the House by a 312-to-52 margin, already has produced sharp reaction in Latin America, always worried about the possibility of Yankee imperialism. Congresses of both Peru and Colombia have sharply criticized the measure and the press of other Latin American countries has roundly objected to it.

The resolution is unnecessary, it raises unnecessary fears in Latin America, it gives the Communists a new propaganda weapon with which to attack the United States and it adds nothing to the hemisphere's ability to protect itself from Communist subversion.

Nothing in the resolution calls for any collective finding that "subversive domination or a threat of it" exists. Each state presumably would be free to make that judgment for itself. It is not surprising that the Latin Americans fear the United States would be the sole judge of when a Communist threat existed in one of our southern neighbors' sovereignties.

But in addition the resolution raises the prospect of some Latin American country invading a neighbor in order to crush a revolt that the first country felt was Communist inspired.

It is true that there still is grave danger of Communist intervention and subversion in Latin America. But the Organization of American States already is pledged to collective action in the event of a threat of outright aggression or the indirect threat of subversion. From the U.S. viewpoint, it would be better to stick with the OAS consultative procedures than to go it alone.

The United States in an extreme emergency probably would intervene again in Latin America. But there is no sense in advertising its intention to do so to the entire world.

The House action proves again the wisdom of the Constitution in giving the President the authority for handling foreign affairs.

All the Way With L.B.J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, as we approach the end of this very productive and, in many ways, historic session of Congress, analyses of our record are beginning to appear in various publications.

In the opinion of some observers, the record of the first session of the 89th Congress has been brilliant. In the opinion of others, it has been a disappointment.

I happen to be among those who believe that this Congress has already compiled a very impressive record—especially when one considers that we still have the second session to go.

I was pleased to read the analysis of the 1st session of the 89th Congress carried in the UAW Washington Report of September 27. I commend the article, headlined "All the Way With L.B.J.," to the attention of my colleagues and under unanimous consent I place it in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

ALL THE WAY WITH L.B.J.

There's never been another Congress like it. Not even the first hundred days of the New Deal.

Adjournment is nowhere in sight. Programs to better life for all Americans keep rolling down Pennsylvania Avenue for the President's signature a dozen times a week.

What caused this furious pace, this outpouring of legislation? There are many reasons. First of all, the President gives strong leadership. He keeps the pressure on. Secondly, Congress has a working liberal majority. Rules are streamlined for action. And thirdly, the American people feel in their bones it's time for social fixing up and remodeling. The prevailing mood in the air is for change.

It started off with medicare—a massive program to help old people pay their medical bills through social security. Passage of medicare was a big step forward. But it was really late payment of debt to folks over age 65 dating from President Harry Truman's days in the White House when he advocated national health insurance.

The education bills set the pace for the Johnson "do-everything" Congress. For years Federal aid to education bogged down in furious controversy over aid to church schools and civil rights. This year the Johnson adminstration discovered a commonsense way to bypass the church-state stumbling block. Passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act ruled out the segregation snag. Several billion dollars will go to elementary and secondary schools, plus higher education—thanks to the forward thrust of that Johnson City schoolteacher who lives in the White House.

Next on the list of big accomplishments is a voting rights bill with teeth. Many are unhappy at the slow start in sending Federal registrars to but a handful of black belt counties when voting discrimination is rampant. But a new day in first class citizenship has arrived in the Deep South and the Old South will never be the same again.

Of course the best thing about the Johnson era is the continued level of prosperity which started under President John Kennedy and hasn't stopped since. There's a real economic boom on now. Surprisingly this has not dampened the President's dedication to the war on poverty.

The Job Corps camps, Operation Headstart, Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA—the domestic peace corps), these and other parts of the war on poverty are humming smoothly inside the Great Society. More money for the program is the 89th Congress contribution to this struggle against human deprivation. It both baffles rightwingers and gladdens reformers.

Two big programs to clean up America's water and clear the air of poisonous smog are about to become law. They won't solve anything immediately. Waters of our rivers and streams are much too filthy for any quick cleaning job. But some tough Federal standards are in the water pollution control bill (now agreed upon by a House-Senate conference and soon to be law). It's a beginning, but something long neglected.

The air pollution issue is not so quickly settled. The auto industry is caught between the devil and the deep blue sea on this. If it refuses to accept Federal standards as Congress itches to do, GM, Ford, and Chrysler will have about 50 different State standards to contend with. So the pressure for Federal action to clean up the air we breathe is strong and the 89th Congress is about to score another "plus."

Big strides in housing were made by the first session of the 89th. For too long housing programs meant lush windfalls to the mortgage banker, not much for the low income fellow. The new housing bill gives poor people a "rent supplement" to make life a little easier. Only President Johnson's personal intervention saved this section from sudden death.

A new Cabinet-level voice for cities is a product of the first session's eager-beaver behavior. A Secretary of Urban Affairs to pull together the programs facing cities is yet to be named, but he will be soon, and city life will be better for it.

A billion dollar program to build roads and hospitals in the hills of hard-pressed Appalachia not only will spark up this ill-stricken part of the United States. It also galvanized into law a program for regional development to help inject new economic

life to depressed areas—sort of a rejuvenated Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA).

Still to come are regional medical centers (where the best medical talent can be assembled under one roof, ready when it's most needed), immigration reform, repeal of so-called State right-to-work laws, Federal standards for unemployment insurance, and a higher Federal minimum wage law. They are all on L.B.J.'s agenda.

This Congress scored more points when it killed the Dirksen rotten borough amendment in the Senate by a comfortable margin, thus preserving intact a whole raft of Supreme Court "one man, one vote" reapportionment cases. This single battle might well be the one best remembered by the history books.

Much of the President's success with Congress stems from the fresh liberal faces he brought with him in 1964. Men like Congressman JOHN RACE, of Wisconsin, are good examples of the loyal troops Johnson has in the House of Representatives. RACE was a Democrat from a conservative district, mostly rural with a sprinkling of cities, who ran for Congress out of a sense of duty, hardly believing he might win. But thanks to Barry Goldwater and the Republican rout of 1964, there is a new look in the House of Representatives and RACE is part of it.

Slovenian Day Festival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, on October 10, the Slovenes will hold a festival celebrating the 415th anniversary of the first printed Slovenian book and the 47th anniversary of Slovenian independence from the Hapsburg empire. I have long felt that not enough is known about the history and the accomplishments of this outstanding group of people. It is fitting, therefore, on this occasion and during this celebration to recall the highlights of their history and some of their fine contributions to the cultural and intellectual advancement of civilization.

The Slovenes constitute one of the Slavic peoples whose present homeland is now in southern Europe. They have managed to survive aggression and division to emerge as an enlightened, well-educated, gifted and virtuous people, and today represent one of the most advanced peoples of Yugoslavia.

The history of these courageous people dates back to the early Middle Ages. Much of this part of their history is lost in antiquity due to our sparce knowledge of that era, yet we do know that in the 6th century they settled in the northern part of Yugoslavia and were the first of the Slavic peoples to penetrate that part of Europe.

In their new homeland, they were invaded by foreign elements which sought to absorb the Slovenes into their own cultures, but the Slovenes were able to sustain themselves as an independent group. However, in the eighth century they were overcome by the huge forces of the Holy Roman Emperor Charlemagne, and soon their country became part of Charlemagne's sprawling empire. During the ninth century they were christianized by German and Italian missionaries and embraced the Roman Catholic faith. The strongest support for national survival of the Slovenes came from their priests who were instrumental in preserving the language because they were the sole educators of the people. Still later, in the 12th century, Slovenia became part of the Hapsburg Empire. For the next 10 centuries, the Slovenes were under the domination of German peoples until the birth of the Slovene, Croat, and Serb Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1918.

Although subjected to alien rule in their homeland, the Slovenes were able to print the first book in their own language in the year 1550. The importance of this event is properly appreciated when one bears in mind that this first printed book in the Slovene language was also the first printed book in any Slavic language.

During these centuries of subjugation to alien overlords the Slovenes were registering startling advances on the spiritual, intellectual, commercial, and industrial fronts, but they could not make headway on the political front. All of their attempts to free themselves from Charlemagne's armies, from the clutches of Hapsburg rulers, and from their other oppressors were to no avail; all their revolts and uprisings ended in veritable bloodbaths. Toward the end of the 19th century the oppressive hand that held them in bondage had shown no signs of relaxing. The First World War and its sequel, however, ushered in a new era for these fearless Slovenes.

During World War I the Slovenes did all in their power to help the cause of democracy, and their hopes for national salvation were realized to some measure at the end of the war by the destruction of the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary and the creation of a kingdom of Slovenes, Serbs, and Croats.

However, even during the first few months of its existence late in 1918, this newly constituted government showed signs of internal struggle, and the Serbs succeeded, much against Slovene protests, in adopting a strongly centralistic constitution. This meant absolute Serbian domination, in utter disregard of the rights of Slovenes and Croats. The Serbian rulers in Belgrade were quite authoritarian and dictatorial and at times the Slovene opposition to the government in Belgrade was as bitter as had been their opposition to the Austrian Government in Vienna. In 1929 the constitution was suspended and a royal dictatorship was established which remained in power until the outbreak of World War II.

World War II had truly tragic consequences for the Slovenes. Throughout the war they suffered deprivation of freedom under the Nazi rule and in the end, when the Nazis were evicted, their goal of national autonomy was once again denied to them, this time by the revolutionary forces in Yugoslavia. The newly emerging leader there, Tito, wanted to fashion the new state according to his Communist image. Thus late in 1945 the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was born with Tito as its ruler. In Tito's Yugoslavia, Slovenia is one of the six People's Republics, with a territory a little less than 8,000 square miles and population about 1,500,000. On paper, at least, they have the right of self-government, and the least, as well as the most one can say, is that they seem to be reconciled, for the time being at any rate, to their present lot.

The story of Slovenes in the United States begins during the first half of the 18th century when a group of people from Yugoslavia sailed for America. A large number went to Georgia and settled on the right bank of the Savannah River. This group constituted the earliest Yugoslav settlement in the United States so these Slovenes were the pioneers of their kinsmen in the New World. The next important settlement of Yugoslav immigrants took place in New Orleans, where they engaged in the oyster industry. In the late 1840's, during the gold rush, a Slovenian community was founded in California.

In the meantime Slovene clergymen were arriving here to carry on missionary work in the Northwest. Best known among these was Bishop Frederick Baraga, who soon after his arrival in 1830, devoted his life to missionary work among the Indians in northern Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. In recognition of his work, Michigan has named one of its counties after him.

Until 1890 the number of Slovenes arriving in the United States was relatively small, and the total probably was no more than 25,000. But after that year Slovenes came and settled in our growing metropolitan centers by the thousands each year, so that the latest estimates of these industrious and wonderful people among us places their total number at over 400,000.

Until the outbreak of the First World War the Slovene people left their beloved homeland, which was then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and came here to enjoy freedom and also have the opportunity to develop their rich and varied natural talents as artisans and artists, as laborers and tradesmen, as men of letters and of science, as politicians in public affairs and dedicated public servants in many professions, and above all as daring and dauntless fighters for the preservation of the American democratic way of life.

It is hardly possible to mention leading and prominent Americans of Slovenian descent in this brief address. In large metropolitan communities such as Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Detroit, San Francisco, and a large number of other cities, where Slovene-Americans number in the tens of thousands, they have contributed more than their full share to civic and communal life. They are known for their robust character and for their readiness to undertake any important task, regardless of the difficulties and hazards involved. They are proud and loyal citizens of this great Republic; through loyalty and pure merit they have attained high and honored positions in public life. Among such honored individuals are Senator FRANK LAUSCHE of Ohio

and Congressman JOHN A. BLATNIK of Minnesota, to mention only two well-known public servants.

These brief remarks can hardly do full justice to the history and the accomplishments of these wonderfully gifted and courageous people. But I hope I have conveyed some sense of my wholehearted appreciation of what they have done to enrich our way of life, an appreciation which I particularly wanted to express on this occasion when we are honoring my good friend Ludwig A. Leskovar's 15th year as a Slovene radio broadcaster on the 415th anniversary of the first printed Slovenian book, and on the 47th anniversary of Slovenian independence from the Hapsburg Empire.

It is my pleasure to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a resolution introduced by Alderman Vito Marzullo of the 25th ward of Chicago and passed by the City Council of the City of Chicago.

Gov. Otto Kerner, Mayor Richard J. Daley, and Alderman Vito Marzullo are to be commended for their efforts and cooperation in proclaiming Sunday, October 10, 1965, as Slovenian Day in Chicago.

The resolution follows.

OCTOBER 10, 1965, SLOVENIAN DAY

Whereas thousands of Americans of Slovenian descent, living in this country for generations, have contributed greatly to its growth and development, and have formed and been active in hundreds of civic, fraternal, religious, and patriotic organizations; and

Whereas the Slovenians of Chicago have contributed to our American culture, notably in the field of polka music, and the Slovenian radio program of this great city, under the direction of Dr. Ludwig A. Leskovar, is celebrating 15 consecutive years of radio broadcasting; and

Whereas this year the Slovenians throughout the world observe the 415th anniversary of the first Slovenian book printed; and

Whereas this year also marks the 47th year since the Slovenian nation gained independence from the Hapsburg Empire: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the city council of the city of Chicago, hereby request Hon. Richard J. Daley, mayor, to proclaim Sunday, October 10, 1965, as "Slovenian Day in Chicago," and to urge all Chicagoans to join with their neighbors of Slovenian descent in the celebration of this day.

For the Oppressed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, I had the privilege of witnessing the historic signing of the immigration bill and share the views expressed in this fine Baltimore Sun editorial:

FOR THE OPPRESSED

It was altogether fitting that President Johnson, standing at the foot of the Statue of Liberty for the signing of the new immigration law, should have coupled this ceremony with a declaration that the United States, in keeping with its traditions, welcomes additional refugees from Castro's Cuba. As the President said, "the dedication of America to our traditions as an asylum for the oppressed will be upheld." Many thousands of Cubans already have fled from the political oppression Castro has enforced in that uphappy island, and more can be expected to leave if he will open the doors.

The new immigration law, as has been noted, is a broad revision of our immigration policy. It abolishes the national origins category under which immigration quotas have been applied for the past 40 years. While the new law continues numerous restrictions on immigration, including a questionable section establishing for the first time an annual limit of 120,000 for the Western Hemisphere, it brings our policy into line with present day attitudes and removes an injustice which long was done to many proud European countries whose people have already contributed notably to the well-being of the United States.

Water Pollution Is Everybody's Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the Congress has passed the Water Quality Act and other bills aimed at the scourge of water pollution. But, as the editor of the Appleton Post-Crescent points out in the September 26, edition of that paper:

Water pollution is everybody's business. And unless we all concern ourselves with it the law President Johnson is about to sign is meaningless.

This vast job—the job of cleaning up our water sources and insuring ourselves and our posterity adequate supplies of clean water—is a job in which every element of our society must become actively engaged. The Federal Government can no more do the job alone than it can turn back the tides. Every unit of government, every organization, every individual must work together if we are to win this momentous struggle.

The Post-Crescent editorial is included as part of my remarks:

WHO'S GOING TO CONTROL WATER POLLUTION?

Amid all of the renewed discussion about water pollution, Congress finally completed action this week on far-reaching legislation to give the Federal Government a stronger hand in this field.

The Senate had originally passed the legislation in January and the House in April, but there was a long deadlock over fixing water quality standards on interstate waterways, with the House favoring State control and the Senate Federal supremacy. A compromise was finally worked out under which the Federal Government has the final word.

The bill, now awaiting President Johnson's signature, increases Federal grants to States and municipalities for sewage treatment plants. It sets up a Federal water pollution control administration in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and provides for a new Assistant Secretary in the Department to supervise it. It authorizes research and demonstration grants in methods of sewage treatment and storm sewer separation. And it requires pollution abatement measures in commercial fishing waters.

In Wisconsin, Governor Knowles plans to lead a renewed fight on water pollution in the October session of the legislature. Our State is one of the leaders in the Nation in the field of water pollution control, but the further we go in the field the more immense we realize the job before us is. We have been working primarily on the larger river systems of the State to date. Now attention is being focused on our State's many inland lakes where residential settlement and civilization threaten their very existence.

The increased Federal aid should enable Wisconsin to move ahead faster on improved municipal sewage treatment facilities. Federal interest and activity can now be expected in the Lake Michigan pollution problem.

But other States are so much further behind Wisconsin that we cannot expect too much aid from Washington. As a matter of fact the problem is so huge that our State government cannot hope to make much of a dent either.

When we get down to the basics of water pollution control it becomes more and more of an individual problem. It's the problem of the cottage owner on the inland lake. It's the problem of the house owner in the city; if he's still letting his eaves empty into the sewer system he's negating the city's expensive treatment and separation system. It's the problem of the boat owner, of the owner of the cheese factory or the meat processing plant. It's the problem of towns, villages and cities, of papermills and canning factories.

Water pollution is everybody's business. And unless we all concern ourselves with it the law President Johnson is about to sign is meaningless.

The Real Alabama—Part LXXI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the movement of industry to Alabama in recent years has been one of the phenomenons of our national economic development.

It is summarized in the following article which is part of the Birmingham News supplement of August 22, 1965:

THE COMPANY WE KEEP

Alabama today has a diversified industrial establishment that is the envy of sister States throughout the Southeast. The products produced in the State range from heavy metals to snakeproof leggings to fine lingerie.

Once bound to an agricultural economy, industrial Alabama to day as compared with Alabama only a decade ago is a vastly different State.

Shoes, motor compressors, air conditioners, lace products, fish nets, plywood, signal lights, paper, vending machines, parts for space age missiles, mobile homes, surgical instruments, tires and tubes, molecular sieves, chemicals, fifth wheels for the trucking industry and boxcars.

Those are but a sampling. If there's a product not on the State's products list, many an Alabamian will set out to work out the addition.

The State has built access roads to industrial sites, helped interested business groups work out tax problems.

Business continues to move to Alabama.

Chemicals is the sophisticate in Alabama's industrial family. And at a less sophisticated level, its feeling its oats.

As an industry, chemicals extends itself into every area of the State. But its larger concentration is to the south.

An industrial chemical complex of vast proportions has grown almost phenomenally in the Mobile area over the last decade or so.

While some chemicals production or operations having close alliance with chemical processes were in existence before then, 1953 marked a key turning point in this particular industrial growth.

Since then, well over $100 million has been spent by huge chemical corporations on new and expanded plants and equipment. Much of this has come since 1962.

In and around the Mobile port area, there are important plants of such internationally known chemical giants as Olin Mathieson, Union Carbide, Diamond Alkali, Stauffer, Geigy, and American Cyanamid. And close cousins to the chemical industry as such other well-known names as Alcoa and Courtaulds.

Chemical employment has increased steadily despite the newer emphasis on automation in production methods.

Because of the new growth, the Mobile area now supplies significant quantities of basic heavy chemicals such as caustic soda, sulfuric acid, chlorine, and the solvents, carbon tetrachloride and carbon disulfide. This is the output of the true chemical industries.

In addition, Alcoa's Mobile plant produces a continuous flow of alumina from imported South American bauxite for later conversion into aluminum products. Courtaulds employs chemical processes in its textile field production of rayon staple fiber and nylon.

Other plants turn out liquid fertilizer, oxygen and acetylene gas, fiberglass, insecticides and herbicides.

Insofar as soda and chlorine are concerned, a factor attracting part of the industry to this area, was the discovery of vast salt deposits around McIntosh, north of Mobile.

Actually, however, the proximity of raw materials supply has not been a commanding factor in the chemical industry development. In a recent survey, industry officials ranked this factor in the Mobile area below transportation facilities, nearness to markets, labor and taxes.

A new survey made for the Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce by John H. Friend, Inc., research consultants, made this observation:

"A few years ago the chemical industry was facing predictions that it had reached maturity. These predictions were decidedly wrong. Sales and prospects for the chemical industry definitely indicate a growth industry. The 9-percent increase in after-tax profits posted by the industry in 1962 began an era of expansion, further accelerated by technological advances never anticipated.

"This resurgence, combined with the advantages Mobile offers the chemical industry, has prompted a closer look at future marriages between an industry and an area."

L.B.J. Pushing Luck on the Hill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Richard Wilson, in his column published in the Washington Star of October 3, brings into focus a fact which has been apparent for some time to many of us in the Congress. Mr. Wilson is a very knowledgeable observer of the happenings on the Hill and I was delighted to find that he has put into writing what many of us have been thinking. His article follows:

L.B.J. PUSHING LUCK ON THE HILL

(By Richard Wilson)

President Kennedy in a light moment once referred to Lyndon B. Johnson, who was then opposing him for the presidential nomination, as a "river boat gambler." Mr. Johnson is not quite living up to this description because a first-rate river boat gambler usually quit when he was ahead, finding other diversions outside the gaming room.

The President's winnings in this session of Congress have been so fabulous that he could lose a good many rounds and still be ahead. But his partners at the gaming table, having given their all, are growing restless to the point of snarling at each other. In short, Congress has had it. Johnson has played out his run of luck and skill to the end, and what he is getting from Congress now he doesn't want. Conversely, what he wants Congress doesn't very much want.

Repeal of section 14(b), the last gasp at enforcing compulsory unionism in this country, is a case in point. Congress gives every sign of wanting to let well enough alone and permit 14(b) to remain on the statute books so that 19 of the 50 States can continue to ban compulsory unionism if they wish to.

The point has been reached, in fact, where Johnson's continued advocacy of the 14(b) repeal to carry out Democratic campaign pledges may backfire. It may arouse the long latent desire in Congress for tightening up the labor laws to curb the blatantly prolabor National Labor Relations Board.

Another case in point is the adoption or passage in one House or the other of military and civilian pay increases which undercut and discredit the President's insistence on holding the line of wages and prices in private industry. When the House last week passed a pay increase bill that breaks through all the economic "guidelines" so ardently protected by the President, not a single Democrat arose to refer to this salient point. One Republican arose to do so as a kind of wry joke.

Johnson simply cannot let this pay increase go through and hold the respect of industry and labor leaders, who, for the most part, have already set the wage-price pattern for the next couple of years on lines demanded by the President and the Council of Economic Advisers.

The 89th Congress has always had the potential of being a runaway Congress. More than 40 of its current members are coattail riders who have furnished the critical votes for Johnson whenever there was a close issue. He has wooed them and tries to help them get reelected in every way he can.

But now a few of these coattail riders have found that when they break step with Johnson they receive plaudits in their home districts, and this increases their confidence in exercising their independent judgment.

Home rule for the District of Columbia—a national issue because it involves the race question in predominantly Negro Washington—looked like a sure thing a few weeks ago when Johnson was riding high. Congress, surfeited with following the leader, balked.

Local pundits blame this on the race issue and the rebirth of the southern Democrat-northern Republican coalition. This parochial view by local interests leaves out of account the simple fact that Congress does not think Washington belongs to local residents but to the whole Nation, and this being the case Congress intends to run the District of Columbia. It was the same when there were many fewer Negroes here, and it will be the same when there are more under any conceivable home rule bill that may eventually be passed.

At the White House, officials are beginning to talk about the need to see how the multitude of new programs already authorized in the Great Society is working out before proposing any new ones. But the President, who is supposed to hold this view also, cannot restrain himself; he talks of spreading the Great Society to the world. He has a compulsive urge for new programs. It's like building up the L.B.J. ranch; a dedicated rancher never has enough land or enough cattle and his aspirations are as wide as the horizon.

But it is evident for the time being that the President has run out his string, and if he presses for more he may start a chain reaction of revolt, not only in Congress but in the country as a whole, which will carry into the session next year.

The Senate Republican leader, EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, had the ulterior motive of blocking 14(b) repeal when he quoted Ecclesiastes to the President last week, but the quotation is still apropos: "For everything there is a season and a time for every purpose under heaven * * *."

Air Conditioning Is Very Costly Invention for U.S. Taxpayer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Walter Trohan, distinguished chief of the Chicago Tribune's Washington Bureau, has aptly described the adjournment situation facing the Congress in his October 2, 1965, "Report from Washington." I call particular attention to his proposal that the Congress establish a vacation period during the summer months in order that Members would have an opportunity to spend some time with their families and children. This plan has the support of a considerable number of the Members of the House and the Senate, as indicated by the testimony presented before the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress. I am hopeful that the joint committee will give serious consideration to the proposal.

Mr. Trohan's report follows:

AIR CONDITIONING IS VERY COSTLY INVENTION FOR U.S. TAXPAYER

(By Walter Trohan)

WASHINGTON, October 1.—One of the costliest inventions for the American taxpayer is air conditioning. It has enabled Congress to remain in session through the sweltering dog days to spend his money faster than he is called upon to dish it out.

Not long ago in years, but in what has become the distant past in governmental activity, Congress used to adjourn by July 4 to leave the Capital to mad dogs and the midday sun. A staid Capital newspaper used to run an annual editorial advising its readers to get out of town to escape the heat.

Today, Congress seems to be able to solve all problems but its own. Of course, it has great help from a wheeler and dealer in the White House who tells the overwhelming

Democratic majority what to do and how to do it.

Still, the legislative mills grind slowly, even in the event of considerable accomplishment worked by the first session of the 89th Congress. The comfort of air conditioning in the Senate and House Chambers and in the multimillion-dollar congressional office suites doesn't put legislation in the deep freeze, but it does slow down the pace considerably.

TALK OF ADJOURNMENT FOOLS EVERYONE

At the beginning of each session there is much talk of a July 1 adjournment. Then the vague hopes die and there is more talk of adjournment by Labor Day. Now, there is resigned and desperate talk of adjournment with any day as a day of delivery.

The adjournment talk fools everyone, even the sometimes cynical tribe of correspondents, who look down on Congress from the press galleries day after day. They may have found the right way to look upon politicians—down—but they still don't know the breed.

Every year there is a press wager pool on adjournment. This year, members of the press gallery recently started a second pool because the most likely winner for the first pool appeared to be a telegrapher who fixed Christmas eve as the adjournment date. The dates picked by almost everyone else have passed.

No doubt, the legislative load today is greater than it was in the faroff days of July adjournments. Problems are more complex and legislators are concerned with every corner of the world, as well as their own country and their own States or districts. The world may have become smaller in the space age; but the horizon of Members of Congress has grown larger and larger.

CONGRESS NEEDS TO FACE UP TO REALITY

Service in Congress has become a year-round job, but its Members hesitate to face up to the fact. They would like to work a half-year at their jobs and a half-year at keeping them.

What Congress needs to do is to face up to reality. Members should recognize that they will have to be in session all or most of a year and plan accordingly.

They should set themselves a 2-month vacation in July and August, which would give them time with their families and children in their homes. In election years they could adjourn for the final weeks of their campaigns and return to Washington after the elections unless the party in power should be defeated, which would produce the lame-duck session which the 20th amendment to the Constitution was designed to abolish.

Warren Court: Light for Our Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, amid the welter of unkind criticism we read and hear about the U.S. Supreme Court—much of it within this body—I am pleased to call the attention of colleagues to a more temperate view of the Court's recent activity. This view is contained in a lead editorial of September 28 from the Inland Empire Daily Californian, of El Cajon, Calif.

The editorial follows:

WARREN COURT: LIGHT FOR OUR TIME

Congress by its nature reflects the will of a collective body—"the peepul," in the parlance of contemporary politics. It is concerned with providing for the general welfare and, in the spirit of the Benthamites, bringing the greatest happiness to the greatest number.

But in a nation which prizes the rights of the individual above all, there must be some institution endowed with the authority to safeguard the solitary citizen against abuse either by an overzealous government or any individual, faction, or organization.

In this country, the courts have been given that awesome responsibility.

The U.S. Supreme Court, which is the final arbiter of great disputes, has been vilified of late for its defense of individual rights. Ironically, it has been castigated most severely by the very people who profess to be greatly concerned with maintaining the rights of the individual.

Future historians almost surely will describe what has come to be known as the Warren court in laudatory phrases. That is, they will if individual freedom is as highly regarded in this Nation 50 to 100 years hence as it is now.

The great Chief Justice John Marshall in 1803 emphatically stated the Court's business: "The province of the Court is, solely, to decide on the rights of individuals." It has not, in its long history, always adhered to that course, but one would have to be a devout cynic to suggest that the Warren court has not lived up to Marshall's dictum.

As a consequence of the times in which we live, the most notable of the Warren court's decisions have been in the field of civil rights. From the school desegregation decision of 1954 to the opinions upholding the Civil Rights Act of 1964 the tribunal has consistently said the color of one's skin is to be no barrier to the full enjoyment of every legal right available to all American citizens. We could hardly expect the court to do otherwise and fulfill its historic role as a defender of individual liberty.

Court critics frequently cite its decisions on reapportionment as uncalled for meddling in strictly political affairs. But the matter of citizens being properly represented in legislative bodies is not a purely political problem. It goes to the very heart of republican government. And the Warren court saw in the previous reapportionment schemes how a large percentage of the population was being effectively disenfranchised because the legislators of many States were paying homage to the force which kept them in power. That force was geography. The Court stripped off the old cast and declared that henceforth legislatures should represent people.

There is also a great deal of brimstone hurled at the Supreme Court as a result of its decisions tightening up procedural safeguards for those accused of crime. Such decisions are looked upon by the critics as unnecessary and unwarranted protection of criminals, not as protection of individual rights to a fair trial as guaranteed by the Constitution.

The Court has broken a great deal of new ground in an effort to assure that persons accused of crime are fully aware of their rights as the machinery of justice begins to roll. They do have rights, though some critics appear to believe otherwise, and the most important of them are clearly set forth in the Constitution for all to read. The difficulty has been in getting some primitive State courts to acknowledge that what the Constitution says should be observed.

Americans naturally are most jealous of their rights to speak, write and worship freely. The Warren court has thrown a protective shield around these rights and this, too, has caused consternation among those who advocate freedom for themselves and not others.

The Supreme Court is not exempt from criticism. It can be faulted for leaving too many loose strings dangling in its decisions on procedural rights of defendants. It can be properly taken to task at times for going beyond the instant case as it did in abating pending prosecutions for illegal sit-ins during civil rights demonstrations.

But during this critical time, when it is a popular pastime to lob stones at this country's institutions, the Warren court deserves commendation rather than condemnation. By its courageous decisions preserving the sanctity of individual freedom, the Warren court has breathed sustaining life into the Constitution.

Magnificent Job Done by Telephone Company Following Hurricane Betsy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call to the attention of my colleagues the following letter from Mr. Murray C. Fincher, vice president and general manager of the Southern Bell Telephone & Telegraph Co. in New Orleans, which recounts the magnificent job done by the telephone company following Hurricane Betsy:

SOUTHERN BELL TELEPHONE & TELEGRAPH CO.,
New Orleans, La., September 27, 1965.

Hon. HALE BOGGS,
Member of Congress, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BOGGS: With major restoration of telephone facilities approaching completion in most areas affected by Hurricane Betsy, I thought you might like to have a status report. I believe you will also be interested in information which has been developed on how the Louisiana telephone system performed during the height of the storm.

SERVICE RESTORAL

A final count shows that a maximum of 382,378 telephones of the State's more than 1,250,000 were affected. Service has been restored to 362,000 of the affected telephones. The approximately 20,000 stations still out of service are located in areas which were flooded. Affected in this way were sections of eastern New Orleans and major parts of the area extending southeast from New Orleans through St. Bernard and Plaquemine Parishes to the mouth of the Mississippi River. As you know, many homes and businesses in these areas are not presently habitable. Telephone service is being restored as rapidly as practicable, once access can be gained and the intentions of the owner can be determined.

Restoration of long-distance service to all stricken communities has been completed. The last of these restorals was at Venice, which was accomplished on September 20.

In light of the massive damage inflicted by the hurricane, careful examination has been made of telephone communications performance during the peak of the powerful assault launched by Betsy.

PERFORMANCE—DIRECT DISTANCE DIALING NETWORK

Performance of the long-distance direct dialing network under those stress condi-

tions was particularly significant because of the great need for communications to speed restoration efforts. The switching point for southern Louisiana is located in New Orleans. This New Orleans DDD switching machine is connected with other major telephone call switching points throughout the United States by diversified microwave radio and buried coaxial cable. This Louisiana long-distance system was fully operative to distant points during the entire storm period and was actually augmented by 143 additional circuits dedicated for New Orleans use immediately in the wake of the storm. The New Orleans DDD machine switched over 670,000 long-distance calls between midnight Thursday, September 9 and midnight Friday, September 10, which is 268 percent of a normal day.

There were 32,599 completed operator handled long-distance messages originated in New Orleans in the 24-hour period ending at midnight Thursday, September 9. This is 124 percent of a normal Thursday. On Friday, September 10, 19,419 messages were completed, which is 73 percent of a normal Friday. When consideration is given to the complete displacement of normal business and the deterrent that this would have on normal volume, combined with the knowledge that many calls could not be completed to usual locations because people were evacuated, the completion of three-quarters of the calls that would normally be handled on a Friday, is a significantly large percentage and reflects the substantial long-distance operating network which functioned both during and after the storm to speed urgent messages.

For the city of Baton Rouge, 111 percent of a normal Thursday's messages were handled and 95 percent of a normal Friday's messages were handled. The four major long-distance centers of southeastern Louisiana are New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Lafayette, and Houma. A composite of the performance reveals that on Thursday, September 9, 66,135 operator handled long-distance messages were completed, which is 129 percent of a normal Thursday. On Friday, September 10, 45,591 messages were handled, which is 88 percent of a normal Friday.

In preparation for the hurricane, cots and other sleeping facilities were provided in telephone buildings for operators so that an adequate force would be available to help handle the expected surge of calls during the critical hours. More than 1,000 operators were on duty in the hurricane area during the critical period, handling long-distance and information calls, and providing assistance on local calls where needed.

PERFORMANCE—LOCAL SERVICE

Advance provisions made to insure the integrity of local telephone service under adverse conditions proved their worth during the trial by Hurricane Betsy. There are 16 dial offices in Metropolitan New Orleans. All of these offices were in service before, throughout, and after the height of the storm. Southern Bell's emergency power generators, which are a standard part of each major central office installation, automatically provided the power in those cases where commercial power was not available. These emergency power generators carried the tremendous load of these offices as long as required. Only in the Franklin office in New Orleans did temporary malfunction of an emergency generator affect service.

Throughout the storm and its aftermath, the internal telephone communications of the city were handled in record proportions through the local dial telephone network. The 208, 447 Metropolitan New Orleans telephones which were continuously in service originated an unprecedented volume of local as well as long-distance calls.

For example, between 7 and 10 p.m., on Thursday, the night of the hurricane, the Lake office in New Orleans, located on Prentiss Avenue in the lakefront area, originated more than 163,000 calls which is 300 percent of the number normally placed during these busy evening hours. Despite this tremendous volume of calls which resulted in some customers getting delayed dial tone, 70 percent of the originating calls received dial tone within the objective 3-second interval.

In Baton Rouge, local calling volumes also reached exceptional peaks. Between 7 p.m. on Thursday, September 9, and 12 noon Friday, September 10, more than 644,000 local calls were registered, or 374 percent of normal for these storm affected hours. Houma and other affected communities likewise made record numbers of calls.

PERFORMANCE—SPECIAL SERVICES

In addition to the advance preparations which made possible this extremely heavy use of telephone service by the population as a whole, essential locations were provided special handling. As one example, on the morning of Thursday, September 9, a thorough check was made by telephone personnel of the condition of telephone facilities at the civil defense emergency operating center on Pontchartrain Boulevard in New Orleans. At 4 p.m. on that date a company supervisor was assigned to the center full time as liaison man for the duration of the emergency and was on duty there throughout the hurricane.

Telephone facilities in the center consist of one position of manual switchboard with 57 telephones served by 12 central office telephone trunk lines. For maximum protection the trunklines are divided, with four going to each of the Lake, midcity and Metaire central offices. Two additional individual lines are installed, one of these for the personal use of the civil defense director. Teletypewriter service is also provided. (In addition to telephone company-provided services, there are also radio facilities available in the center, such as, fire, city police, State police, and taxicab companies.) Telephone services were available at the civil defense center before, during, and after the hurricane. Telephone lines in the center also were operational when tested again on Friday morning, September 10. At no time was the center isolated.

COST

Hurricane Betsy was the costliest disaster ever to hit telephone facilities. Total damage to Southern Bell's Louisiana buildings and equipment will exceed $12 million.

When it seemed probable that the storm would hit Louisiana, telephone supplies and equipment were rushed to strategic locations throughout the coastal area. Other Southern Bell States and the Western Electric Co., the Bell System manufacturing and supply unit, were alerted to our expected needs for men and material. Over 800 million wire feet of cable already on hand in Louisiana was immediately available for restoration purposes.

An additional 700 million wire feet of cable, trucks, and other supplies were rushed in by fastest means available. Forty U.S. Air Force cargo planes sped men and materials into New Orleans. Louisiana telephone employees were soon joined by Southern Bell engineers, linemen, repairmen, and other technicians from Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, North and South Carolina, Florida, and Tennessee, and by others from the Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Southwestern Bell Co's. In all, some 2,500 men, more than 700 from outside the State, were put on emergency schedules throughout the storm affected area. The uniformity of equipment, tools, and procedures throughout the Bell System enabled us to speed restoration. The availability of the Western Electric Co.'s experience and resources contributed materially to the effectiveness of efforts to provide service to the damaged areas.

Every effort has been exerted to restore service with a minimum of delay. By diverting all possible manpower to the task of fast restoral, some communities in the State, outside of the hurricane area, have experienced moderate delays in the handling of their normal orders for service Knowing of your concern, I want to assure you that no effort has been spared to return all parts of the State's telephone operations to normal and we confidently expect this to be achieved soon.

Yours very truly,

_____ _____,

Vice President and General Manager.

When Urban Renewal Forces You To Move Your Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, with the growing scope and variety of federally aided urban renewal and highway projects, there is a growing need for a uniform policy regarding business relocation. In too many instances small businesses which are forced to relocate suffer irreparable harm. If the good record of urban renewal and Federal highway programs is not to be spoiled by their ill side effects, something must be done to standardize the guidelines and policies for relocation without rendering them inflexible and impersonal. Each forced move is a unique problem. Nonetheless, it should be possible to develop plans and programs which will enable local administrators to offer effective help in solving these problems.

Mr. Steven Harris has written an informative article on this subject for the American Society of Appraisers in which he outlines some of the ways in which small businessmen may take advantage of the programs now available to him. Mr. Harris also makes some excellent suggestions as to how the Federal Government can improve its programs for relocation.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I place Mr. Harris' article at this point in the RECORD:

WHEN URBAN RENEWAL FORCES YOU TO MOVE YOUR BUSINESS—SOME ABC'S OF COMMERCIAL RELOCATION

(By Stephen M. Harris)

Moving is a headache. But it isn't quite the headache when you make the decisions and decide on the timing as it is when a public agency tells you to move.

The location of many thousand business enterprises across the land will be affected by the plans of public agencies as, collectively, solutions are sought to the monumental problems of our urban complexes. Active response to these needs will cause dislocation, relocation and moves for business firms. One such prime mover is the urban renewal program and the recent general concentration on "center city" problems increases the magnitude of commercial relocation.

PAYMENT OF MOVING COSTS

The urban renewal program provides for the reimbursement of certain defined moving costs to a business when it relocates. Moving cost reimbursement in urban renewal projects was authorized by Congress.

The right to reimbursement is thus a matter of law. The Housing and Home Finance Agency is the responsible governmental unit, with administrators, followed by staffs, rules, forms, reviews, and, not the least, interpretations, governing the handling of these matters at the local level. The result is far from simple, but by and large it works. And it works a lot better when the businessman knows what the rules are.

PLANNING COMES FIRST

The framework of commercial relocation is this. Long before any physical changes are possible and anyone becomes directly affected, plans embodying every possible phase of any urban renewal program have been made and subjected to the scrutiny of various official bodies and to the public as well. This all takes place prior to any action. But it is a fact that the spread or time lag between the planning and the action stage, when the impact is felt by the businessman, is considerable. Because even talk creates problems, there is no area in urban renewal where good judgment, understanding, and initiative is more important or required of a public agency to a higher degree than in business relocation. Here the best that can be hoped for is to minimize (not solve) the problems. It is this question of "time" that creates the majority of problems for it is from this element that uncertainty comes.

Commercial or business relocation involves questions of economics, risk taking, consideration of a great many factors—some or all usually unique to each firm—and in each instance the business adapts its move to fit standard rules and regulations—if reimbursement of moving costs is sought.

FROM $1,500 TO $25,000 LIMIT

Ten years ago the maximum amount of moving costs that urban renewal could cover was $1,500; today it is $25,000. The Housing Act of 1964 authorized a supplemental payment for small businesses, where under certain conditions (earnings) a payment of $1,500 over, above, and in addition to moving costs can be made. This may be the first step toward the recognition of intangible values in a business and therefore may be a significant breakthrough whose implications are important to condemnation law and public land acquisition programs.

One general but important fact concerning reimbursement for moving expenses is important for businessmen to know: Although the actual amount he will receive will be paid by a local agency, the cost is fully borne by the Federal Government and the locality is reimbursed 100 percent. There is no two-thirds or three-fourths sharing as in the program as a whole. This factor is of importance for the full Federal backing on relocation expenses should be reflected in the manner and extent to which relocation assistance is given. While certain communities have deftly handled a wide variety of problems in business relocation, for the most part, this has been a lesser activity. With the emphasis on the central city areas it can be expected that the number of affected business firms will sharply increase.

THE REGULATIONS

There has been a remarkable degree of flexibility and administrative courage in the Federal urban renewal program in many, many ways. One least recognized aspect is the support given by the agency to a realistic level of moving costs and achieving this workable level in time to meet the needs of the program.

The relocation regulations define a business concern in a normal manner and moving expenses are stated succinctly as: "Costs of dismantling, crating, insuring, transporting, reassembling, reconnecting, and reinstalling of personal property, merchandise, et cetera, exclusive of the cost of any additions, improvements, alterations, or any other physical changes in or to any structure in connection with affecting such reassembly, reconnection, or reinstallation.

Among many other terse provisions, the public agency must give notice to the business of its intentions and present its rules, and the business, likewise, at the appropriate time must notify the local public agency of its intentions; when it proposes to move and agree to inspection of the premises.

NOTE THE "EXCEPTION"

A businessman, noting that the definition of moving costs is inclusive, direct, and self-explanatory, could now be lulled into a sweet sense of complacency. If he did he would be forgetting the exception. Directly following the definition quoted above in the regulations is a phrase "Actual direct loss of property." All personal property which cannot be moved or which is useless at the new location not affixed to or part of the realty exclusive of goods for sale comes under this heading. The "exception" works this way: If a business concern sustains an actual loss in the value of personal property (except inventory), and chooses to request reimbursement for the loss (according to the formula provided) as part of its moving costs, then the total of the calculated loss together with the moving bills is limited to a maximum of $3,000.

There are cases where this limit is very meaningful, even though the figure is relatively low. It is up to the claimant to establish by an appraisal satisfactory to the local public agency, "the fair market value of the property for continued use at its location in the urban renewal area * * *" or he may use a formula based on remaining useful life in place to establish value. From this point on, one argues.

HOW IT SHOULD START

Quite understandably it is difficult for the local agency or the firms to begin the process of business relocation. There must be an understanding between the two parties involved, the public agency and the business firm, so that the many possibilities, not always clear at the outset, can be explored. The usual lack of business experience on the part of the agency man, the perfectly understandable attitude of the businessman that "what the heck—this project has been talked about for years and will never happen." does not make for easy conversation.

Creating an effective framework for the consideration of his problems, and payment of his moving expenses aside, the businessman must first be aware of two facts: (1) He is almost certainly going to have to pay higher rent for new quarters, made up perhaps by better location, greater productivity, greater sales, and, (2) it well may mean the purchase of new fixtures, new equipment, modern machines, etc., for these moves are not those of transients; such firms are, for the most part, "old-timer" rooted to their locations. All the more reason why change creates a chain reaction of problems—emotional, political, and economic.

Yet, with forethought, and with the courage to assume a share of the responsibility in the relocation of businesses, retail, wholesale, and manufacturing, a public agency can do a good job if it has the cooperation of those affected. In one locality where the urban renewal program limped along, without apparent city support, where major decisions were unrelated, a program half tolerated, half understood by the community at large—in this atmosphere—the majority of businesses moved without repercussion and to their own advantage. Assistance started early amid the usual recriminations and fireworks, and was continuous. When the time came for moving, the firm had a friend and a helper and lost far less time from the primary purpose of being "open for business." The official rules and regulations had been translated and expanded from three paragraphs of official general information to several pages of step-by-step directions, and it followed that actions were taken on a relatively calm and certain footing by both parties—a far cry from the rest of the program.

Public agencies sometimes lose sight of the fact that urban renewal or other public programs must be "related" to the perception and knowledge of those affected. From a practical standpoint, businessmen in the area should be advised as soon as possible of: (a) those actions which directly affect the site occupants, such as the acquisition of property, the setting of rents, and the effect of static conditions, and, (b) plans for the future of the area. This latter point follows the immutable rule that one's enthusiasm for a program of local improvement is normally in absolutely inverse ratio to one's proximity to it.

MOVES PRIOR TO TAKING

In a well-intentioned attempt to provide a necessary degree of flexibility to business firms in an urban renewal area, the regulations were recently changed to provide that a site occupant may move prior to the acquisition of the property he occupies and be reimbursed for moving expenses. This point is reached after the locality has received Federal approval for the execution of the project in which the firms are located. If only because there are cases in which this would work, it is a good rule, but in the majority of cases it is utterly meaningless, since landlords are not about to void a lease for a tenant (especially under these conditions), and owner-occupants have no assurance as to when the property they occupy will be taken. But again, the mere fact that moving expenses can be paid in such instances is a step in the right direction. In fairness, the new rule also removed a certain onus, in that previously such an early move required a waiver of the right to receive moving expenses from the successor tenant under these conditions.

Actually, for business firms, the only point of certainty comes with the passage of title; the point of taking by the local public agency. Then there is no need to consider the problem of two leases or two properties or whatever. Now the decision can be made as to where to go and what to do.

THE SMALL BUSINESS

If the decision is to go out of business—cease operations—the firm is fully entitled to a "relocation" payment as well as the $1,500 small business relocation adjustment, if eligible. In this case, the business takes advantage of the loss of property provisions rather than those pertaining to moving costs. It is fairly safe to say that small businesses of the convenience nature which move to new quarters will generally find that a combination of moving expenses and loss of property which cannot be used at the new location will run below $3,000.

Business firms whose moving bills will greatly exceed $3,000 must give no thought whatsoever to loss of personal property possibilities. For when $1 of such loss is claimed the $25,000 ceiling falls to $3,000. To repeat—moving costs only, limit payable $25,000; claim for personal property loss (no matter the amount) limit of combined payments $3,000. This is a quirk of the regulations; no satisfactory explanation is available.

Planning the move must take into consideration how the regulations may be applied to the various elements consittuting the sum total of the firm's operations. When the words in the definition are analyzed—removing, dismantling, reassembling, reconnecting, reinstalling—it is clear that moving costs cover a wide range of activities. Work done by carpenters, riggers, electricians, plumbers, and technical experts as well as rug fitters and venetian blind installers may be included.

BIDS VERSUS ESTIMATES

Any firm moving after April 1, 1965, must, in order to receive moving expenses under urban renewal, submit three bids from movers to the local public agency. The agency is then empowered to pay only the lowest amount. There is an escape clause in the regulations available to the community "whenever law or local practice precludes the obtaining of bids." This is an unnecessarily rough provision in any but the simplest of moves. In this connection it should be noted that in many jurisdictions movers are precluded by regulation or by agreement from submitting bids. No general rule can be given. Since the local public agency must take the initiative in developing the local ground rules to meet this situation and it does appear that in many places this is an area of confusion between regulated and unregulated movers, and so forth, this requirement may become a matter of considerable minor annoyance all around.

The previous system of estimates for moving, and bids on technical work had its problems but at least this method responded to the flexibility and variety of business problems. Inventories and goods vary from day to day and a bid based on inspection of the goods to be moved one day may be wholly in error on the day the movers come with men and equipment. It would be prudent in a sense, for the business to begin the process by getting "estimates" and then assure themselves that the bids finally obtained and which must be submitted to the agency for approval do, in fact, consider the contingencies peculiar to that firm's operations. How valid will a bid be if that to be moved varies considerably from what the bid was based on?

MUST BE REALISTIC

The preceding only serves to emphasize that firms seeking moving bids must not only be realistic in fully disclosing all items to be moved but must also anticipate any changes in quantities and conditions at the time of the move. Case in point: manufacturer of shopping carts; inventory on inspection, rolls of wire, supply of strip steel; time of move—hundreds of partially and completely assembled carts. Under the estimate system substantial overages had to be justified, but this seemed a logical and appropriate step. Firms whose moving bills will approach or exceed $25,000 would do well to get such preliminary estimates first, since decisions as to the abandonment or other disposition of fixtures and equipment might be advantageous.

Against the three bids or estimates for moving to be obtained are the two bids that are required to be submitted for other work. This is an entirely reasonable and necessary procedure and follows normal practice. Each craftsman or trade must know precisely what it is to do nad when and all other terms and conditions which should be stated in the proposal received. Since bids can be readily checked by consultants available to the local agencies they should be prepared in a realistic and professional manner.

Leases should indicate who owns any additions, equipment, etc. in and about the premises. A business concern normally cannot move what does not belong to it. Coolers and freezers are typical of this problem.

Where the premises are owned by the occupant or where the occupant may have multiple leases and several corporations or firms are occupying the space, then moving costs may be payable to each concern having property and equipment but, again, the framework must meet ordinary legal requirements.

Rules, regulations, and procedures alone do not clearly establish guidelines for the specific situation but an awareness of content and intent is essential. All urban renewal programs may not, in and of themselves, force a business to move, there may be code enforcement and rehabilitation which may or may not require the decision to move. As an instance, if code enforcement or rehabilitation will apparently result in a 25-percent rent increase for the firm, it may be eligible for relocation payments if it moves. Another reason why good communication is so important.

Here are some A B C's:

(a) Unless your landlord has a heart of gold or if you are it and don't mind owning another piece of property—wait—wait to move until the property you occupy is acquired by the local agency. The exception would be if the obvious advantages of a new location are of major importance. No one is going to throw you out if you wait for the locality to take over.

(b) When you have sized up your own individual problem, talk it over with the local public agency's representative. It's up to you to find out what you can and cannot do. Remember the notice you must give. Failure to do so could be costly.

(c) Take an inventory, identify what must be moved and the conditions required (packing, special handling, etc.), consider your normal business practice in relation to the time of the year, orders, schedules, etc. Machines and equipment perhaps will require special handling requiring contractors.

(d) Insofar as movers are concerned, call in at least one and go over the proposed move and get his ideas. If you are going to be forced to get bids from movers you'll have to be doubly careful.

(e) If electrical, plumbing, carpentry or other work is necessary, remember you'll need bids on this, too. Very important, make a scale sketch of the new premises and locate the machines and equipment, lines, etc. so that the contractors' bids can be realistic and mutually understood. For instance, electrical installation costs are limited to those from the distribution panel to the machines, etc.

(f) Don't look for commonsense solutions. Look for the rule. In one instance a special removable installation cost $2,000 to replace and $4,000 to move. In order for the company to be reimbursed this facility had to be moved. In other words, before getting anything new, remember, if it can be cut, fitted, trimmed, taken apart and put back together again, take it along. It usually is eligible if what you propose has a "re" in front of it.

(g) If you apparently qualify as a small business as defined in the relocation regulations and can safely request IRS to let the agency see your income tax returns, the $1,500 could be quite helpful in replacing equipment which cannot be moved because of local codes, ordinances, age, or other reasons; restaurants and cleaners sometimes face this problem.

(h) You can move yourself. You still get the bids, the low bid is the ceiling on the amount of the expense for moving. If your hourly pay scale is higher than that paid by the mover to his help, the mover's scale is used to calculate the cost of the move. You can pay wages to yourself and any additional help you might need, you can pay overtime. You can rent a truck and claim that cost. You must keep accurate records of the hours worked and include all fringe benefits. You can still use contractors for special work.

(i) You are not alone. You'll get the best assistance the agency can give you, but equally, or perhaps more important, are the talks with the other businessmen in the area who have moved or who still must move.

(j) All claims for moving expenses in excess of $10,000 require a Federal review and approval. You cannot submit a claim without paid bills. Determine whether the agency will pay the mover directly or if you are going to have to arrange for funds. If you do, do it in ample time. Be prepared for an awesome timelag between the move and the check.

Although you'll never believe it now—that new place is going to be very nice and you'll be pleased with the results.

Korean Envoy at Large Credits Hawaii for His Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, Hawaii has been known for its friendliness, for its hospitality, and for its spirit of aloha. People come from all over the world to partake of and enjoy this unique Hawaiian product. Unfortunately for Hawaii and for the rest of the world, this product is intangible and not readily marketable. However, it can be and has been used and communicated by people who have been exposed to this spirit of aloha.

Attesting to the effectiveness of this spirit is Korea's new Ambassador at Large, Dr. You Chan Yang. Dr. Yang, who was appointed to his ambassadorial post on September 8, was a resident of Hawaii for 28 years. He says in an interview with Mr. Frank Hewlett, of the Honolulu Star Bulletin, that the Hawaiian tradition of friendliness by which he lived when he practiced medicine in Hawaii has contributed greatly toward his success in the field of diplomacy.

I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Mr. Hewlett's article on Dr. You Chan Yang which appeared in the September 23, 1965, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin:

KOREAN ENVOY AT LARGE GIVES CREDIT TO HAWAII

(By Frank Hewlett)

WASHINGTON.—Dr. You Chan Yang, South Korea's new Ambassador at Large, credits his success in the field of diplomacy to Hawaii, his home for many years.

The Ambassador spent 28 years in the islands and 10 years ago gave up his large medical practice to help out his native Korea and his old friend, the late Syngman Rhee, former President.

"Living in Hawaii you just can't help but be friendly," said Dr. Yang.

"Diplomacy has come easier for me from having been steeped in that tradition."

He received his new appointment September 7 while in Korea to pay his last respects at the tomb of Rhee.

Dr. Yang left soon after, bringing with him to the United States "The Little Angels From Korea," a dance group which has made a big hit in three appearances here this week.

The 7- to 13-year-old girls will make a nationwide tour and next month are scheduled to be on the Ed Sullivan TV show.

The Ambassador says he will make his home in Washington and will work closely with Korea's Ambassadors to Washington and the United Nations.

He also expects to travel extensively "wherever my Government directs me to go."

Under consideration is a good will mission to Africa early next year.

Dr. Yang said he also may be going to southeast Asia.

International Monetary Reform—The Real Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, there have been a number of expressions expounding the reaction to and evaluation of the recently concluded meeting of the IMF here in Washington, D.C. As a member of the Banking and Currency Committee, Subcommittee on International Finance, I followed the publicity of this conclave with consummate interest.

It would be easy to assume an air of disappointment from the general tenor of the conference. I prefer to be enthusiastically encouraged by the emergence of one very important and, I hope, well-noted presentation. I speak of the position presented by the President of the World Bank, Mr. George D. Woods. His is the most significant statement of the real challenge that reform of the international liquidity structure must meet.

The bottleneck that hampers most underdeveloped countries, if not all, is the shortage of foreign exchange. Without that bottleneck broken the gap between the haves and have nots will not be bridged; indeed may widen. I can sympathize, to a limited degree, with the concern for imported inflation entertained by Germany. The scars of their experience with runaway inflation make nightmares of worry understandable. It is hard to be persuaded that the dire results envisioned by them would in fact be inevitable. The French are also a reluctant player in the reform that would benefit the backward countries because they claim it would threaten not only inflation at home but competition abroad.

We have been impressed by the view expressed by Norman Macrae in his most excellent article on Latin America which appeared in the September 25, 1965, edition of the Economist. His main thesis comes close to the one we would like to see more active in decisions on international liquidity and we quote from his article:

A main thesis of this survey, spelled out in detail in the last article of it, is going to be that the cul de sac in the way of the less fortunate and less politically stable countries of Latin America can be broken only by a major reform in the accepted code of international trading practice, and by a second major reform in the international monetary system. We are going to argue that the need is to spread Keynesian policies across international frontiers; and that the present international monetary and trading system is not of the right type to allow this to happen.

Nothing that is said here will deny that there are other and internal prerequisites to sound economic development as well: good government, an adequate managerial cadre, good training facilities for skilled labor, a sensible agricultural policy, and the rest. But we are going to argue that even if a country in the poor two-thirds of the world progresses toward achieving these in adequate measure, it will not at present necessarily secure sound development unless it is lucky in the lottery that determines whether it has access to a sufficient supply of foreign exchange. The conclusion is that those lottery rules need to be abandoned. They need to be replaced by rules based on sound economic science: not the rule of to those who have shall it be given, but the rule of where development is most possible shall development funds be plowed in.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include an article by Marquis Childs and one from Walter Lippmann, which comment on the George Woods speech in a most constructive way:

A BANKER WARNS THE RICH NATIONS

(By Marquis Childs)

The leading bankers of the world, who have just spent a week in Washington bravely breasting a tide of cocktail parties, receptions and dinners, did nothing radical to alter the mysteries of the money market. But they heard plain words spoken by a banker with distinguished credentials in both private and public fields. And if they paid heed there was good reason why the complacency of those coming from the prosperous little island of the West should have been shaken.

In his 2½ years as president of the World Bank, George D. Woods has developed a dedicated conviction of the need to correct the perilous imbalance that finds three-fourths of the peoples of the earth desperately poor and one-fourth comparatively rich. What he told his board of governors in his annual address was that the rich have been getting richer while the poor have at best been standing still or getting poorer.

This is a long way for the chairman of the First Boston Corp., a conservative New York investment house to have come. In outward appearance he's a banker's banker of the new breed, looking much younger than his 64 years, concerned with philanthropy, cultural and civic endeavors. Yet it was in his early business career roaming the world in search of investment opportunities that he laid the base for his present role.

Out of 80 developing countries in the World Bank's membership. Woods said, one-third have attained recently a rate of 5 percent or more in growth of real income which is the target of the United Nations Development Decade. But on the other hand in close to half the 80 countries, with more than 50 percent of their population, income per head has risen by 1 percent or less.

"Even to keep abreast of recent high rates of population growth," Woods said, "is not a negligible achievement but is far from sufficient. The average per capita income in this group is no more than $120 a year. At a 1-percent growth rate income levels will hardly reach $170 a year by the end of this century. In some countries it will be much lower * * * if the present trends are allowed to continue there will be no adequate improvement in living standards in vast areas of the globe for the balance of this century."

The rich developed countries are simply not coming through with sufficient capital investment in the public or the private sector. And in many instances, Woods said, interest rates have been jacked up to such a point that a considerable share of the capital currently going in must be used to service debts.

While he pointed no finger there must have been red faces among the bankers who heard him. The goal of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development is 1 percent of a rich nation's gross national product channeled into investment in the poor countries. With two or three exceptions the rich Western Powers have failed to meet this standard.

Germany, with the swelling Erhard prosperity helped, incidentally, by $3 to $4 billion of American aid poured in at the end of the war, is a conspicuous example. The figure for 1963 was .77 percent, for 1964 .94, and this while gross national product was rising at a fast clip. And Germany has also been conspicuous for setting high interest rates on loans and credit sales to the developing nations.

The external debt of the developing nations has gone from $10 billion in 1956 to $33 billion in 1964. Higher interest rates, amortization and dividends paid out to foreign companies today offset half of the actual flow of capital to these nations and this offset is continuing at an accelerating rate. This was Wood's clincher: "In short to go on doing what we are doing will, in the not too long run, amount on balance to doing nothing at all."

Last July in Paris before the ministerial meeting of the development assistance committee, Woods noted that there had been a steady hardening of the terms of assistance to the developing countries from the United States—a shift to loans from grants and to loans repayable in dollars at higher interest rates. In that earlier warning Woods said that when the net contribution to the developing countries in all categories was balanced off against out going payments, it added up to only six-tenths of 1 percent of national income. In banker's language the handwriting on the wall is plain—poverty equals breakdown, chaos, and invitation to communism and banditry. That threat weighs heavily in the balance between those who grow richer and those who grow poorer.

THE RICHER AND THE POORER NATIONS

(By Walter Lippmann)

The bankers and monetary experts who met in Washington last week did not at the time seem to be doing very much. Yet, in the large perspective of time their meeting may well come to be thought of as historically important. For the report of the World Bank and the address of its president, Mr. George Woods, opened up, as officially it has never been opened up before, the problem which is crucial in the promotion of world peace—the problem of the relationship between the richer and the poorer nations of the globe.

This was not the advertised theme of the meeting. Generally speaking, attention was focused on how much progress could be made toward an agreement on the reform of the international monetary system. This would be an agreement essentially between the United States and Britain on the one hand and the continental European bankers on the other. There was no substantial progress toward such an agreement, and for that reason, the international meeting semed rather uninteresting and unimportant.

But we can see in retrospect that there was no good reason to expect much progress on monetary reform. The question posed to the bankers was what kind of "effective and adequate substitute" they would agree to provide for the dollar deficits, now that, as President Johnson told them, "the long period of large U.S. deficits has come to an end." The bankers did not provide the substitute. The reason was, no doubt, that there is no immediate crisis due to a shortage of international money, that there are unresolved conflicts of interests among the rich nations as to who shall control the creation of new reserves, and last, but not least, that the European bankers are by no means convinced that the United States will in fact put a permanent end to its deficits.

Although there were some useful technical and procedural agreements for further study,

nothing was settled because the bankers were asked to find a theoretical solution—which might not need to be applied for a long time—to a problem which was hypothetical, since our deficits are not yet permanently ended.

The other and largely neglected activity of the meeting has been to confront the governments and peoples of the world with the grim and dangerous contrast between the advanced nations in the Northern Hemisphere and the underdeveloped countries in the rest of the world. In the World Bank's masterly treatment of the subject, "the developed countries," which have market economies and are non-Communist, include the United States and Canada in North America, Japan in Asia, the industrialized countries of Western Europe. The "developing countries" include all of Asia except Japan and the Sino-Soviet bloc, all of Africa except South Africa, all of Latin America, and in Southern Europe, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Greece, Spain and Portugal. Leaving out Russia and China, these developing countries include 70 percent of the people of the world.

In varying degrees they are all in trouble. There is every reason to believe that, without a great change of feeling and policy in the developed nations, the underdeveloped nations face a dismal future. Insofar as they remain weak and disorderly, they will attract the rivalry for influence and power of the great powers.

Although there are many differences among the underdeveloped nations, the one weakness they have in common is that with only rare exceptions—those rich in oil and some minerals—they cannot earn enough by their exports to provide the capital they must have for their own development.

The developed nations buy about three-quarters of the exports of the developing nations. Since the Korean war, the main trend, with only a few years' exception, has been toward rising prices for manufactured goods and declining prices for raw materials. For many, if not for all, of the developing countries their earnings from exports are not sufficient to keep up with the growth of population. Relatively speaking, the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer.

In secular terms, this growing disparity is the paramount problem of mankind, and it is in the context and environment of this disparity that the problems of war and peace will have to be worked out.

This disparity cannot be overcome by preaching and exhorting the developing countries to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps. They cannot and will not do that—certainly not unless they pass through the ordeal of some kind of Stalinist dictatorship. There is again no good prospect that the terms of trade can be reversed by commodity subsidies and stabilization agreements. The only solution is that the rich countries make available to the poor countries the foreign exchange which they can usefully employ to make themselves self-sufficient. This is estimated to be about $4 to $5 billion a year more than is now going out to these countries.

Considering that the gross national product of the developed countries, not including the Soviet Union, rose to over a trillion dollars ($1,100 billion) in 1964, this increased help is really a trifling amount. It would, of course, best be raised and transferred collectively, rather than by any one country such as the United States, and in this work the Soviet Union should, as the President suggested, participate.

Unless the righer countries can rouse themselves to such an indispensable action, they should cease to pretend that they really care about peace among men.

Watts Riot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Lawrence C. Lockley, of the School of Business at the University of Santa Clara, publishes a very interesting economic letter which is most worthwhile. His October 1965 issue concerning the Watts riots in Los Angeles is especially interesting, since he was a member of the Los Angeles mayor's commission in 1959 which forewarned against the very thing which happened in Los Angeles. I commend Dr. Lockley's letter to my colleagues because it is sensibly addressed to a real problem which exists all over the country.

The letter follows:

ECONOMIC LETTER

There could be no clearer or more eloquent comment on some of our present national policies than the mid-August riots in Los Angeles. Although they shocked all of us, they were not unexpected by those who were familiar with the Negro community in that city. A little recollection will help to interpret what must be confusing to those who have not had a previous knowledge of the underlying problems.

Until sometime in 1957–59, the Negro community in Los Angeles, though large and growing, was an orderly community. Rather large areas of the city, including some which had been prestige areas, were dominantly black. Negro owned and managed business concerns were growing and prosperous. Whites had learned that Negro ownership of homes in a predominately white neighborhood did not destroy property values. Central Avenue was the axis of the less skilled and less well-urbanized Negroes. But fundamentally the Negro community was well enough organized to avoid or control disorder and to maintain a steady increase of employment for Negro workers. Probably Los Angeles represented the model city in terms of the opportunity it offered Negroes to live in decency and with dignity and respect.

Early in 1959, a delegation of Negro businessmen called on the mayor of Los Angeles, saying, almost in these words: "You know that we have maintained an orderly community, and if we had troubles, we found ways of handling these troubles. We can do this no longer. An increasing number of Negroes are coming here from the Deep South. They are field hands with no idea of self-discipline or self-improvement. They live with young women or girls until the latter are pregnant, then desert them. The girls have no skills to sell in the employment market, so mostly go onto the streets as prostitues. We have found no way of influencing or controlling these men. We have no basis of contact with them. They cannot be reached by any appeals to their ambition or long-term goals. We now ask for your help, before the situation becomes explosive."

This appraisal of the situation by the people closest to it was made 6½ years before the explosion. Something was done. A large committee was appointed by the mayor to study the situation and a five-man task force was appointed to write the specifics for a human relations program. I know of this because I was one of these five men. The resulting document and the mechanism it put into action helped maintain the peace for probably 5 years.

What went wrong? Why was it that the responsible elements among the whites and the blacks were not able to work out a permanent basis of understanding, particularly because the vast majority of each group wanted peace and mutual understanding?

In the first place, we have been dealing with a group of Negroes who are without personal understanding of individual development. For many reasons, they have not learned anything of human aspiration. They have felt that they could not have the fruits of our economic cornucopia. Actually, they were not able to have what they did not help produce, or to put it another way, they could not have what they had not earned.

Abraham Lincoln, as a boy in the hills of Illinois, said, "I will study and get ready, because someday my chance may come." It is the inability of the uncultivated field hand to take this kind of self-disciplining long-range point of view which makes it so difficult to help him to help himself. To say that the poor fellow has never had a home in which he has been taught to aspire or has never learned self-discipline from his schooling is to beg the question. The problem fact is not one of race, but of a group of people out of step with the culture in which they were living, and not inclined to adjust to the needs and opportunities of that culture.

Some consideration must be given to the fact that the weather was hot, for Los Angeles, uncomfortably hot. People are more likely to respond to disruptive influences when they are hot, idle, and discontented. It does not make much difference what the spark is that sets them off.

In the Watts area of Los Angeles, a majority of the adults were on some form of relief. For the United States, illiteracy was high. Unemployment was exceptionally high. The people in the Watts area had few skills to offer if they sought employment.

We realize that the proportion of unskilled work is a decreasing part of all work to be done in our economy. We realize that there is a decreasing market for those who are not willing to improve their own skills through more training and education. This statement—like the ones previously made—is as applicable to white workers as to Negro workers. It makes no difference whether the fault we discuss is due to the lethargy, the hedonism, or the improvidence of particular groups, whether it is due to influences forced on these groups generations ago, or whether it is due to a persistent and systematic prejudice operating against these groups over the years. The inability to offer marketable skills is as much a catastrophe for those who suffer from it as is endemic hookworm, pellagra, or malaria. We do not try to find a sentimental excuse for malaria, for example, and say we will subsidize malaria sufferers because it is really not their fault that they contract malaria. Instead, we make every effort we can to stamp out the Anopheles mosquito.

Over the generations since the Emancipation Proclamation, many Negroes have risen to prominence in various professions and many have risen to wealth. In some parts of the country, a deep prejudice operated against Negroes. But in many parts of the country, Negroes have been able to reach whatever levels of achievement their abilities made possible. Many of the restrictions under which Negroes have smarted have not been discriminatory. In the State of New York, for example, literacy tests were for many years a requirement for voting. When I lived in New York, and went to register, I did not take any kind of school diploma—which would have been accepted as a proof

of literacy. I therefore had to take a literacy test, and am now the proud possessor of a legal document attesting to the fact that I am literate. Many Negroes and many Puerto Ricans were unable to establish their literacy in New York, and were therefore disenfranchised. But they were disenfranchised as illiterates, not as Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Ideally, this distinction is important; I doubt if it made any impression on the nonwhites who could not vote.

Many of the deprivations and bars which faced Negroes over the years have not, in fact, been bars against Negroes. Nevertheless, there have been many discriminatory prohibitions. Jim Crow arrangements on public transportation, the provision of "colored" and "white" toilet facilities throughout much of the South, the unwillingness of many southern employers to consider Negroes for more than unskilled labor have been very real indignities.

Added to these real indignities have been the denials—in fact—to the Negroes of their rights to vote in many States, of their rights to serve on juries, of their rights to run for political office—these and many other deprivations, both illegal and unwise, have been constant irritants.

The Negro has been a second-class citizen for two reasons: first, he has faced a wall of prejudice he could not break through; and he has not been able to meet the standards of job preparation, education, health, and decorum his competitors were able to meet.

To the Negro, there probably seemed no distinction between these two points. If he got equal treatment, he would get not only his civil rights, but the wages of an industrial society. That his civil rights were his by birth, but that his economic rewards could be his only by his own achievement he did not understand.

We have had two influences bearing on the Negro group. The first is a group who might be called liberals, or who might be much further to the left. They are among the people who have sought to help the Negro improve his position by means of civil disobedience. They are among those who have made every effort to join the extreme Negroes in confronting officers of the law over acts of violence, trespass, and civil disorder. (I am not forgetting that the establishment, in many areas of the South, has erred fully as much on its own side, and is probably far more culpable.) In California we had an interesting experience with this group over what was called the Rumford Fair Housing Act. There was a considerable push to defeat the ballot measure to recall this act—particularly by those who had not bothered to read the act itself, which was vague, contradictory, and which set up or authorized a limitless bureaucracy, but which probably did not institute the stipulations which would have made it impossible to discriminate against Negroes in the sales or rental of multiple housing units.

In addition to the ultraliberals, our politicians have added to the tension. Not only have they passed legislation which, on the statute books, promises the Negro his full quota of civil rights, but they have passed legislation assuring the Negro equal rights to jobs. This latter effort has caused a considerable amount of confusion. Various companies, making every effort to avoid any discrimination in hiring, have required Negro applicants for jobs to take the same tests of skill and aptitude they required all other applicants to take. Many Negroes have been unable to qualify, and in some States, it appears that such examinations may not be given if they cannot be passed by Negro applicants. It is said that the Negro applicants are culturally unprepared for such examinations, and cannot pass them, therefore, are subject to discrimination.

Through this welter of propaganda and legislation, the less well educated elements of our Negro population may have believed that they were at last going to find high incomes, good jobs, and unlimited installment credit in the same package with their voting rights.

Legislation can assure the Negro his civil rights, and is very rapidly doing so. But I am afraid this is not what the Negro wants, unless he is a particularly intelligent Negro. I think what he wants is a higher standard of living than his abilities will allow him to earn. For a short period of time we can subsidize a few Negroes at the expense of Ameriman business by insisting that they get jobs for which they are not qualified, and by insisting that they be given discriminatory preference over other job applicants. In the long run, the only way of improving the economic lot of Negroes as a group is to improve their educational and occupational capacities and achievements.

Let us turn back to Watts for a moment. Most of the news services have continually called Watts a Negro ghetto. Watts is a large area of predominately single houses on separate and individual lots. In today's inflated real estate market, the typical value of these houses would range between $11,000 and $15,000. They have electricity. They have, for the most part, gas heat. They have bathrooms with toilets, bathing facilities, and washbasins. They have two or three bedrooms. The streets are reasonably wide and are paved; concrete sidewalks are almost universal. Now and then a single lot will have two houses, but this doubling up is far from usual. A majority of the residents in some parts of Watts are Negroes. In addition, there will be Caucasians, people of Oriental descent, and people of Latin American descent. Shopping facilities are average or better. Some concessions are made to the majority racial stock. Snuff will be stocked in most stores selling tobacco products, and fishcounters will frequently offer gaspergou (a fresh water drum fish caught in the bayous of Louisiana). Transportation is adequate, and residents of Watts can get to the industrial areas of Los Angeles without undue difficulty.

There are other areas of Los Angeles with at least as high a percentage of Negro residents as Watts has. I'm not sure that there are not other concentrations with as many Negroes. Watts itself is an entirely satisfactory low-income area. If we compare the environment of Negroes in Watts with that of Negroes in the shotgun houses of the southern cities, Watts looks very attractive. And I must stress that Los Angeles has no policy of area restriction for Negroes. Negroes in greater Los Angeles live as other racial strains do—in as good neighborhoods as they are willing and able to pay for.

The problem in Watts was not environment. It was not Negro concentration. It was the cumulative effect of leftish propaganda, much of it of the hate-the-whites variety; and the cumulative effect of political promises of more than civil rights legislation can offer.

We come back again—as we always must when we deal with the problems of poverty—to the fact that the causes of poverty are essentially within those who are poor. Poverty is not a disease which can be cured by the gift of a thousand dollars, or of $10,000, or of any amount of money. Poverty is a disease which can be cured only by the inculcation of aspiration and by the development of the individual who is poor to the point that he can earn what he needs, and ultimately, therefore, what he wants.

Now our problem is not a Negro problem alone. We have 2 or 3 million Puerto Ricans, people emigrating from Puerto Rico because they could not earn their livings in the agricultural economy of the island. We have a number of Latin Americans who have not been able to find abilities they could sell in the employment market. And we have an indeterminate number of native whites of low ability and negligible aspirations whose standard of living is as low as any we can find. These people cannot be cured of poverty by fiat. We might as well try to teach a small boy to wear a man's size 12 shoes as to try to teach these people to be unpoor. As with the boy, we must face a long period of growth and development.

Up to now, we have sought political remedies for poverty. And I suspect getting a good many votes, and will continue to get votes. But it will not cure poverty.

Our outright civil disorders, as in Watts, must be handled promptly and sternly. And we must penetrate the chaos of rioters in the streets to locate and punish those who have been accessories before the fact of murder. If we think a moment, we must admit that most of our racial riots and our outrageous demonstrations have been planned and led by leftists. In the San Francisco siege of the House Un-American Activities Committee, in the Palace Hotel sit-in, and in the automobile row disorders, the demonstrations were clearly stimulated and directed. It is not by accident that sound trucks, electronic communication systems, walkie-talkies, and the like were in full use in minutes after the disorders started. And it is equally clear that such equipment in Los Angeles was evidence of planning. I think it highly unlikely that an undirected group of rioters could maintain a riot of this type over nearly a week, or possibly more than a week, without organization and direction.

In the Watts riot, several dozen people were killed and a very great many were injured by the rioters. Our law-enforcement agencies know a deal of what has gone on, and could locate the instigators, if our politicians would allow them to do so.

If we are to work to the advantage and development of the less skilled and less well placed Negroes, we must free them from this kind of leadership. Votes are not worth the safety of our citizens on the streets, the degradation of an element of our population.

And above all, we must study our educational system to find out how we can make an appeal not only to young Negroes, but to all dropouts.

The United States Versus Otto Otepka

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the fascinating case of Otto F. Otepka is clearly and impartially delineated in an excellent feature story appearing in the October 3 edition of the Cleveland Plain Dealer. Newsman John P. Leacacos is a masterful reporter and his article on Mr. Otepka reflects the outstanding ability which has taken him around the world on Plain Dealer assignments.

It is my understanding that Mr. Otepka has requested an open hearing, and, on the basis of my own background knowledge of the matter and of the facts presented in the following story, I am hopeful that the Department of State will grant this request:

THE UNITED STATES VERSUS OTTO OTEPKA

(By John P. Leacacos)

WASHINGTON.—On October 25, Otto Fred Otepka, the nonfunctioning "chief" of the security evaluations division of the State Department, is scheduled—finally—to have his inning.

Otepka will be given a hearing on his appeal from notice of dismissal from a job for which he earlier had been given kudos as one of the Federal Government's top security experts.

The swarthy, stocky State Department employee faces 13 charges, covered, in the main, by an allegation of conduct "unbecoming an officer of the Department of State."

Alas, the story isn't that simple. Here are a few curlicues, just for openers:

Otepka got his pink slip more than 2 years ago, September 23, 1963.

Though retaining his title as evaluations chief, Otepka has been given (he says) WPA-type projects, i.e., made work. Mostly, he's been left alone to prepare his case.

Otepka has had six postponements of his hearing since its original date, November 16, 1964. The delays were by mutual agreement between the State Department and Otepka's attorney, Roger Robb.

The reason was to give the U.S. Senate internal subcommittee time to publish hitherto secret testimony which might supply evidence on Otepka's behalf. But only 5 out of 13 planned volumes have been issued to date.

In these 2 years, Otepka has benefited by two congressional pay raises for Federal employees. He was making $16,965 a year when he was put on the shelf. Today he makes $18,240. He has been kept on the payroll all the time.

The Otepka case, in short, has become almost a cause celebre. It's the most publicized instance of Government versus a Federal employee since the Atomic Energy Commission 12 years ago lifted the security clearance from J. Robert Oppenheimer, the renowned scientist and a father of the A-bomb.

But there's more to the Otepka case, much more.

Politics, for instance. Some Republicans think the Otepka case has a "big potential" for the 1966 congressional elections. Most Democrats doubt there is much political mileage in it.

President Kennedy, in one of his last press conferences before he was assassinated, lifted the Otepka case to the highest levels. J.F.K. promised to review the final decision himself.

President Johnson expressed uneasiness about the case before the 1964 elections. He keeps a queasy eye on it today.

Washington liberals cry that the Otepka case is a coverup to promote a revival of McCarthyism and "soft on communism" smears.

Other critics denounce the Otepka case as a frameup because Otepka was too good at his job.

Capitol Hill voices term the real issue is the right of the Senate to receive classified information from the executive department.

Administration officials agonize that the Otepka case opens the door to personnel anarchy. It's no way to run a railroad if every Government employee has the right to make his own rules.

In effect, there's now everything in the Otepka case but the kitchen sink.

Caught between the majesty of the U.S. Senate and the power and prestige of the Department of State, the senior establishment of the U.S. Government, Otepka himself, in a sense, looks like a human football.

Who is Otepka anyway? And how did this mess start?

The story is far too long to detail, but here are the highlights:

Otepka is a 50-year-old professional security evaluator. He was born in the Pilsen district of Chicago, populated by residents of Czechoslovak origin.

Today he leads a typically suburban life in adjacent Maryland. He bowls—160 average. He's handy with woodworking tools. He has a wife and daughter.

Otepka came to the State Department in 1953 after Washington service since 1936 with the Farm Credit Administration, the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and the U.S. Civil Service Commission, and a wartime stint in the Navy.

Scott McLeod, former aid to the late Senator Styles Bridges, Republican, of New Hampshire, was Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs under John Foster Dulles. His job was to clean up the State Department in the wake of the McCarthy scare. From 1957 to 1961 Otepka was Deputy Director of the Office of Security.

Then the fun began. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1961 began an inquiry into State Department security procedures. Cuba had fallen to Fidel Castro.

Otepka got involved up to his ears in the subcommittee's probing into the security clearance for William Wieland, a State Department officer in charge of the Caribbean.

Much Senate resentment in the Otepka case is traced to the coincidence that Otepka allegedly got the gate at the same time Wieland got a clean bill of health.

By 1963 Otepka and his immediate boss John F. Reilly, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Security were at daggers drawn.

What happened next is confusion incarnate, until it comes out in the wash at the Otepka hearing.

Two specific events did follow:

Reilly resigned. He is now with the Federal Communications Commission.

And Otepka got his notice of firing.

State Department sources wail that the whole affair was just a personal squabble between Reilly and Otepka. But in the intervening 2 years, passions have flared, positions have hardened. The case today is almost a tragi-comedy. For instance:

Kibitzers in droves. A bungled attempt at wiretapping Otepka's phone. Perjury accusations. Cloak-and-dagger antics about "burn bags," the paper receptacles in which useless classified material is placed to be burned. Innuendoes and Red herrings and flying rubbish.

Weight of the publicity has been on Otepka's side. For this the State Department has largely itself to blame, officials confess. It kept a pained, prim silence squarely behind the eight-ball in public eyes.

Only this year, for example, has the State Department loosened up in its form letter replies to inquiries about the Otepka case. In 3 months the form letter has been expanded from one page, to a page and a half, to two and a half pages.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk told the Senate group that no official comment was permitted for fear of prejudicing the case against Otepka.

The department leaned over backwards to be "ethical," it feels fervently. Regulations were changed to let Otepka continue getting paid. He was given an office and secretary.

The charges against Otepka fall into three groups:

That Otepka allegedly passed "classified information concerning the loyalty of prospective State Department appointees" (to United Nations advisory boards) to Julien G. (Jay) Sourwine, chief counsel of the Senate subcommittee, in violation of President Truman's 1948 directive.

That Otepka allegedly furnished "detailed questions" to Sourwine for questioning Otepka's superiors.

That Otepka allegedly "declassified documents in violation of Department procedures."

In his reply to the dismissal notification, Otepka more or less admits to the first two generalized charges, naturally within his own terms of explanation.

He rejects the third group. He admits giving Sourwine a 39-page memo and papers he describes as "innocuous."

Principally, however, Otepka was burned up because his veracity has been impugned, his professional word doubted. He asked me wistfully:

"How do you give embodiment to integrity?"

In other words, how was Otepka otherwise to defend his honor?

State sources grimly respond:

"He could have gone through channels."

What may or may not have been a technical incident now has grown in Otepka's mind to a "gut" issue.

Otepka says:

"All I seek is justice."

Other sources assert Otepka actually demands vindication; i.e., retsoration to his job. The terse establishment rejoinder:

"Out of the question."

U.S. Senator THOMAS J. DODD, Democrat, of Connecticut, vice chairman of the Senate subcommittee and a friend of President Johnson, thinks differently. He told me:

"A mutually amicable adjustment and restoration to service would be in the best interests of everybody."

In his opinion, DODD added, Opteka was "no McCarthyite or extremist, but fair, restrained, levelheaded, careful, moderate, capable, honest, and a decent evaluator."

But before any so-called deal can be arrived at, the formidable figure of Secretary Rusk has to be taken into account. Rusk is the ultimate arbiter of the Otepka case as a personnel matter in his shop.

Rusk insists that the full ceremonial and decorum of justice be dispensed to Otepka. That means a full hearing first.

In his committee testimony, Rusk maintains that there is no issue involved about Otepka's freedom of speech before the Senate body.

What Rusk and his associates are gravely concerned about is the unauthorized dissemination of classified information relating to State Department personnel.

Government sources cite keen interest in the Otepka case among the 2.5 million Federal employees, including the State Department's 24,000. In Washington, 240,000 work for the Government, of whom 6,500 in the State Department.

Like anyone else, the employees have a right to be worried about awkward incidents in their lives being broadcast or misinterpreted.

Inevitably in the murky atmosphere of shrouded conflict around the Otepka case, high-ranking personalities are being kicked all around the mulberry bush.

Some Capitol Hill circles pitch their ire at William J. Crockett, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration as the "bete noir."

Some administration circles fulminate against Sourwine, the Senate committee counsel, as the pro-Otepka "eminence grise."

The presence of Roger Robb as Otepka's attorney also sparks remarks. Robb, 58, is a high-class Washington lawyer. He was counsel for the Gray board in the AEC-Oppenheimer hearing.

Otepka says he has spent $8,000 on legal fees since he took up his defense 2 years ago. Robb declines to discuss fees. Government sources assert a special defense fund is run by an Otepka sympathizer from Wood Dale, Ill.

Sourwine, 57, has been with the Senate subcommittee since 1950. A native of Nevada, he was a friend of the late Senator Pat McCarran. He's also known President Johnson since 1933.

Crockett is rated as a fair-minded, affable, and energetic official who's shaken up more bureaucratic dust off the State Department than any Administrator in history.

To sum up: The Otepka issues are potentially explosive. The cast of characters is glittering. Even Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY and Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY have walk-on parts.

It's understandable, therefore, that President Johnson should be leery about the Otepka case getting out of hand politically.

As a longtime expert on the cogs-and-wheels of Government, the President is hipped on the need for ironclad security. L.B.J. also hates "leaks." He thinks "leaks" are "disloyal." He feels passionately that disloyal employees are disloyal to him, personally.

A close White House adviser told me:

"The feeling in this town is, we won't stand for even the shadow of any McCarthyism in this day and age."

Washington wonders: What kind of a rabbit will L.B.J. pull out of the hat—to get rid of the Otepka case—well before the next election campaign rolls around.

Make America Beautiful

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, this week the House of Representatives considers S. 2084, the Highway Beautification Act of 1965.

I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a thoughtful editorial supporting the passage of this legislation published in the September 25, 1965 issue of the LaPorte (Ind.) Herald-Argus.

The editorial follows:

MAKE AMERICA BEAUTIFUL

Lady Bird Johnson is stumping the country in a make America beautiful campaign which has already succeeded in getting a highway beautification bill through the Senate and a companion bill approved by the House Public Works Committee. The First Lady by getting the headlines with her efforts and by bringing pressures in the right places is speeding the progress of the beautification legislation.

The highway measure, although it had President Johnson's endorsement, was practically immobile in the Senate with little apparent chance of passage at this session. Likewise the House bill was lying dormant because no one appeared to care whether the committee gave it a hearty sendoff or not. Then the word went out that the White House wanted action. And action there was. Lady Bird had found an issue which could be dramatized before the whole country.

Whether the American people want all billboards kept at least 660 feet from interstate and primary roads, except in commercial areas, and want all auto junkyards within 1,000 feet of such roads screened or removed will perhaps never be known. But at least a small vocal minority has been urging for years that something be done about the billboard blight. And as auto junkyards multiplied there was more and more muttering against such esthetic curses. The President and his wife at least had from the first the backing of this largely unorganized minority. And the idea of a more beautiful America, the landscape, that is, has an appeal which appears to grow stronger with consideration.

In fact, the minority is talking now about preservation of beauties of the national landscape beyond the confines of highways. Supreme Court Justice Douglas in a new book attacks the continued proliferation of dams, new superhighways, industrialization and commercialization of scenic areas. Many of the dams are unnecessary and are obsolete before completion, he says. Many of the monster highways deplete areas which should be left as nature intended. Many scenic areas are falling to the ax and the bulldozer in the name of expanding the economy.

If the make America beautiful effort is to achieve much by way of conserving natural resources and keeping them inviolate for the use and enjoyment of people in the outdoors, there will have to be sweeping appraisals of the kind of raiding the Justice is writing about. Once the dams or highways are built or the areas converted to industrial or other uses, there can be no return, no restorations. The current legislation, about to become law, might be a good beginning for such appraisals before it is too late.

Moral Rearmament

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 22, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, at a time when the behavior of some of our young people leaves something to be desired, it is heartening to come upon youth such as those who in the name of moral rearmament are participating in "Sing Out '65," a musical celebration of such themes as patriotism, moral responsibility, and character. Therefore, I call the attention of my colleagues to the following columns from the September 23, 1965, Greenwich Time and the August 28, 1965, New York Journal American:

MORAL REARMAMENT—"SING-OUT 1965" WINS PRAISE FOR POSITIVE ROLE IN WORLD

(By John Chamberlain)

I don't know whether the world can be saved by a traveling musical extravaganza put on by a couple of hundred college-age kids who, in the name of the moral rearmament movement, want to show up the beatniks and pragmatic leftist revolutionists of their generation as a bunch of nihilists leading us all to slavery. But if the boys and girls who have been staging a show called "Sing-Out 1965" all across America, from Stamford, Conn., to the Los Angeles Hollywood Bowl, can't save the world by an exuberant song-and-dance celebration of such "square" items as patriotism, common decency, and character, it won't be for lack of trying. "Sing-Out 1965" has had some tremendous audiences in America this summer.

The effect of the "Sing-Out" group may not be enough to counterbalance the thrust of "teach-ins," marches, caterwauling demonstrations, and "peaceful" incitements to violence that the new left is reported to be scheduling for the university campuses this autumn. As a matter of fact, the moral rearmament people will have taken their show from California to Japan, Korea, and other distant foreign places by the time these words are in print. Which means that they won't be around for the crisis. But this could have its impact on the American campus scene by indirection. What happens abroad is often imitated here at home. The curious fact about the moral rearmament movement, which is so typically Western in its evangelical origins, is that it seems to be catching on with Asians who have big names in their own countries.

In India, the leader of the movement is Rajmohan Gandhi, the tall, eloquent grandson of the revered Mahatma Gandhi. And in Japan, the chief sponsor of the autumn invasion by the "Sing-Out" kids from America is a young business executive named Masahide Shibusawa, who was the first Japanese citizen to be received by the Prime Minister of Korea after the signing of the peace treaty between Seoul and Tokyo.

Everybody knows about Mahatma Gandhi, which means that his grandson, Rajmohan Gandhi, the editor of the Indian weekly Himmat, needs no special introduction to Americans. The ancestral background of Masahide Shibusawa is not as famous of Rajmohan Gandhi's in an international sense, but it is extremely important to Japan, for Masahide's great grandfather, the Viscount Shibusawa, was the man who built the first textile mill in Japan, thus committing his country to all the fateful consequences of the industrial revolution, Western style.

The old viscount was a man of force and ingenuity; when he couldn't persuade the daughters of feudal peasants to work in his mill, he went to the aristocracy. Well-born Japanese women, recruited in the name of patriotism, operated the first spinning and weaving equipment in the Shibusawa mills in the effort to make Japan competitive with the West.

The argument presented by Rajmohan Gandhi and Masahide Shibusawa, who toured the United States in July and August, is that communism must be opposed by something more inspiring than mere anticommunism. They are looking to the West for positive statements of theme and purpose. Of his audience with the Prime Minister of Korea, Masahide Shibusawa says: "He wanted to have a demonstration in Korea this autumn where the youth of the world would come and give the youth this new theme and new conception of the modernization of man. Korea is now going into a new phase of her history and she needs a big idea now so that her whole people can move forward to plan her real role in world history. He asked me to help plan a conference in Seoul. Then I want to have an assembly in Tokyo."

As an American who resents the multiplication of governmental coercions in the world, I have never felt the need for a positive theme to make me anti-Communist. I do not say this boastfully; maybe I would be a better person and a more effective anti-Communist if I could join a positive movement. It could be that Masahide Shibusawa and Rajmohan Gandhi are right in saying that their countries wil be lost to the West unless something more than anticommunism is supplied to fill the vacuum of purposeless lives. In any event, if the "Sing-Out" students from America can help fill a vacuum in Asia, the impact from a distance, on America itself could be tremendous.

[From the New York Journal-American, Aug. 28, 1965]

CAPITAL LETTER: YOUNG AMERICA'S REAL IMAGE

(By Ruth Montgomery)

WASHINGTON.—One hundred college-age Americans are off to Korea and Japan next month to try to convince Asians that rioting students on our university campuses are not typical of U.S. youth.

More than 4,000 people thronged a hall here this week to view "Sing-Out '65," the variety show which student members of Moral Rearmament are taking on tour in Asia. Ninety-six Members of Congress and 54 foreign Ambassadors sponsored the showing here.

Stan Musial, President Johnson's physical fitness adviser, who visited the Mackinac Island headquarters of Moral Rearmament earlier this month, said of the preparations for the Asian tour:

"I wish the Peace Corps could get this sort of training. The Peace Corps needs to learn more than just an occupation in order to be effective in the countries they go to. There is an instant need for a multiplication of what you are doing here. You are giving youths an aim and purpose for their lives."

After appearances at university campuses throughout Japan, the visit will be climaxed by an assemblage of governmental, youth, and labor leaders at Odawara, outside Tokyo.

The troupe hopes to proceed to India, where Mahatma Gandhi's grandson, Rajmohan Gandhi, is in charge of arrangements. Gandhi, 29-year-old editor of a weekly news magazine in India, attended the summer seminar at Mackinac, and said of it: "This is the young America we must take to Asia, to change the image of what America stands for; to show its dedication, patriotism, and selflessness. And also to give Asians some of this same enthusiasm and patriotism they need today."

The theme of the conference revolved around the idea that our way of life is producing: "technical giants but moral dwarfs;" that technological know-how can be animalizing unless it is paralleled by a humanizing process which develops moral fiber, guts, and character.

Half of today's world population is under 18 years of age. By next year half of the U.S. population will be under 25. Youth is therefore a potentially explosive force which, unless channeled into productive paths, can lead to upheaval and rioting for the mere sake of rioting.

Students attending this summer's seminar complained of the vacuum on American campuses "because no one shows us what to do." Resentful of the noisy minority, which is giving the United States a bad image abroad, 100 of the students are forgoing college for a year, and raising their own finances for the Asian trip, in order to demonstrate that the vast majority of young America is patriotic and idealistic.

Plane Rides for Job Corps Enrollees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, once again I am pleased to point up the enthusiastic support being given by the small rural community of Willows, Calif., to help remold underprivileged Job Corps youth, who almost entirely come from without California:

[From the Willows Daily Journal, Sept. 24, 1965]

JOB CORPS NOTES: PLANE RIDES FOR YOUTHS PLANNED

A group of 24 Corps men from the Adler Springs Job Corps camp will get an aerial view of a large chunk of Glenn County tomorrow morning.

High School Superintendent Erwin A. Decker and at least two to three other pilots will give the youths sky rides beginning at 8:30 a.m.

Decker is a member of the Willows Civic Advisory Committee, headed by Victor G. Hughes, which was formed to promote a smooth relationship between camp and community.

Decker described the trips as "orientation rides"—to orient the Corps men with their Glenn County environment.

In a program of increasing joint participation between Corps men and community residents, 100 youths were bussed to Willows for last week's high school football game.

Also, the newly established Alder Springs Journal reports plans for two basketball teams to play in the Willows league.

The Alder Springs camp wound up its baseball season with the championship of the Job Corps Center league, competing against Wolf Creek, Lewiston, and Toyon in California and Oregon.

Team members for the last two games included James Chamble, Robert Hackley, James Bell, David Orozco, Mitch Jamison, James Pringle, Terrel Ratliff, Charles Johnson, and Ed Roark.

The staff of the Alder Springs Journal, which is published occasionally, according to the masthead, includes Althaniel White, editor in chief; reporters Robert S. Butler, William Cortez, Ronald Schenck, James Gaymon, Tom McCoy, Kenneth Kirby, Winston King, and Joe Stinnett, with Victor Wood, Ronald Schenck, and Benjamin Braxton contributing sketches. Nathaniel Hunter is editorial adviser.

A record in completing the mathematics program has been established by Corps man Gary Humphries, of Virginia.

Time elapsed in meeting the match requirements, 2 days, or a total of about 4 hours.

Asian Conflicts Forcing New Look at U.S. Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, it becomes clearer with each new Asian crisis that U.S. policies for that part of the world must be reevaluated from time to time. The distinguished Washington columnist, Mr. James Reston, writing in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, October 4, made an outstanding contribution to our understanding of the problem.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include his analysis at this point in my remarks:

ASIAN CONFLICTS FORCING NEW LOOK AT U.S. POLICIES

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON.—The convulsion of Asia—war in Vietnam, fighting in India and Pakistan, rebellion in Indonesia—is forcing a fundamental reappraisal of American power and policy in that part of the world.

From India to Japan, it is now clear that we are only at the beginning of a vast struggle for those areas that lie between the zone of effective Chinese power and the zone of effective American power.

This area, which includes the sub-Indian continuent, southeast Asia, Formosa, the Indonesian archipelago, the Philippines, Japan, and Korea, is beyond American control but it is not beyond American influence, if we can organize sufficient military and political power to deal with it, and this problem is now under the most lively private discussion here and elsewhere.

It is reflected in the preparation of the new defense budget now getting down to ships and dollars. More naval and air power will almost certainly have to be ordered to provide the mobility to act quickly over so large and chaotic an area. Vietnam has drained away many more ships, planes, and ammunition than the budget planners expected a year ago.

These will not only have to be replaced but reinforced. The reserves of ships, planes, and ammunition and many other things are now well below normal levels. Some ammunition has actually had to be diverted from Germany to Vietnam, and many of the assumptions that underlay the last defense budget are no longer valid.

For example, it is now clear that the aircraft carrier, which seemed to be on its way out only a year or so ago, is a highly effective instrument of war in southeast Asian waters. This program, therefore, is being reviewed. Vietnam has also emphasized the need for more rocket-firing frigates and other ships now in short supply. The Navy, for example, is now engaged in river fighting in Vietnam, for the first time in over a generation. In short, the defense budget assumptions, based in the past on what was essential for atomic war, are now being revised to meet the requirements of conventional war in hot and humid climate, and this means not only new ships but the conversion of many old ships for service in oriental waters.

The old policy assumptions are also being reappraised. For a generation, the United States has been concentrating on the containment of Soviet power in Europe and in the waters from the Arctic Ocean to the Mediterranean.

This problem will continue; but for the next generation, the problem may very well include the containment of Chinese power, not in Europe but in Asia; and in this struggle, the Soviet Union may not always be the enemy but may in some cases, as in the Indian-Pakistani war, be an ally.

Presumably, this question of where Moscow and Washington can collaborate in Asia was one of the topics of conversation between Secretary of State Rusk and the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, during the past few days in New York.

These conversations should not be exaggerated. No elaborate revision in United States-Soviet relations is to be expected in Asia. Their interests clash, for example, in Vietnam, but there is a possibility that they may follow parallel policies on peripheral issues that lie outside their cold war conflict.

The new problems of Asia, therefore, are requiring here not only a greater mobility of military power, but a greater flexibility of mind. As the struggle for Asia becomes more intense, it will not be easy or practical to lump all Communists together as the enemy. All of them may be enemies part of the time but all of them may not be enemies all of the time. Some may be enemies and some of them unwilling collaborators, some may be opponents in one crisis and supporters in another.

Meanwhile, there is a new realization here that the United States will have to be more sensitive to Japan's grievances in the future than it has been in the past. The unity of India and the security of Japan are the essential anchors of American policy in that part of the world, and these anchors will have to be maintained even if this means policies which Pakistan and even some of our own commercial traders do not always like.

Washington has been fussing with Tokyo over Japan's air routes and rights, and permitting differences over Okinawa to poison the relations between the two countries. Hopefully, these secondary issues will be resolved in the face of the much larger issues that will require United States and Japanese cooperation in Asia.

The United States, the Soviet Union, Japan, India, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and several other countries all have an interest in keeping the bitter confusion and chaos of Asia from getting out of hand. Their interests will differ from place to place, but they may be able to develop working relationships for peace as the threat of China grows.

Tribute to American Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, on Labor Day of this year a very distinguished public servant, the Honorable John F. Henning, Under Secretary of Labor, gave a great tribute to American labor and to the development of the labor movement in our country. His address was given at the annual Labor Day ceremony held in front of the Shrine of the Sacred Heart Church in Washington, D.C., at the statue of the late Cardinal Gibbons. Cardinal Gibbons, as a spiritual leader interested in the social progress of mankind, did much to contribute to the early hopes of those who developed labor organizations in our country.

Under Secretary of Labor Henning's remarks are quite timely, particularly due to the renewed efforts to enhance the social progress of millions through the Great Society in this latter part of the 20th century. As this address points out, President Lyndon B. Johnson's goals of economic and social progress are truly the embodiment of the ideals of Cardinal Gibbons, Samuel Gompers, William Green, Philip Murray, and many, many others who really merely dreamed about what we are on the threshold of accomplishing today. I am pleased to insert this speech in the RECORD at this point:

ADDRESS OF JOHN F. HENNING, UNDER SECRETARY OF LABOR, AT THE ANNUAL LABOR DAY CEREMONY, SHRINE OF THE SACRED HEART CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D.C., SEPTEMBER 6, 1965

This morning we honor one of the historic liberals of American Catholicism, a prelate who spoke for union labor in a tragic era of industrial exploitation.

It is proper on Labor Day to recall the greatness of James Cardinal Gibbons. He was spiritual shepherd of a people who were, in large, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water. Indeed, the prestige of his church rested not in men of wealth, but in the Catholic millions who labored in factories, mines and mills, and who worked on docks and trucks and in the building trades of the Nation. Together with their brothers of every belief, they were to forge the strongest industrial power of history.

Cardinal Gibbons was distinguished for his many attainments, but labor historians would underline one profound memory. In 1887, he won Pope Leo XIII's endorsement of the Knights of Labor against those who viewed the Knights as an instrument of terror and domestic disruption.

The decision of 1887 perhaps inspired the momentous papal declaration of 1891 which found the modern church soaring over a Rubicon of reform.

In 1891 Leo XIII issud the first in a Catholic trilogy of social encyclicals. Leo's "Rerum Novarum" (New Things) acknowledged the social distress of the industrial revolution and espoused labor's right to organize for bread, dignity and freedom.

Four decades after "Rerum Novarum," Pius XI issued "Quadragesimo Anno" (Forty Years After), an updating and reaffirmation of "Rerum Novarum." Like Leo, Pius condemned the abuses of the old economic order and the ways of Adam Smith. He called for unionism and a socially responsible society.

The final encyclical of the trilogy came from John XXIII in 1961. "Mater et Magistra" (Mother and Teacher) stirred both secular and religious praise. Pope John sustained the liberalism of Leo and Pius. He defined new dimensions of Catholic social thought, among them an emphasis on international brotherhood. In this he was speaking the language of American labor.

The world of labor is one world. This was the teaching of Samuel Gompers in 1881; this is the teaching of the AFL–CIO in 1965.

The world of labor is a free world. It can never, and must never, be a world of compromise with totalitarian terror. Unionism and slavery share no common hopes, no common values, no common destiny. This, also, was the teaching of Gompers, of William Green, of Philip Murray. And this is the teaching today of George Meany and the men who direct the AFL–CIO.

The struggle is more than philosophical. American labor struck at slavery when it gave instant endorsement to the actions of President Johnson in the Dominican Republic and Vietnam. American labor wasted no time in cautious opportunism. Labor saw the menacing form of an old, implacable tyranny and it drew the line of battle as it had against the Fascist, the Nazi and the Communist in every disputed corner of the world.

All of this suggests that labor's international concerns deserve more than casual study.

The national AFL–CIO spends almost 25 percent of its income on international activities.

Its representations have been more than doctrinal. Following collapse of the Nazi empire in 1945, American labor made a conclusive contribution to the democracy of Europe through moral and organizational assistance to the free trade unionists of the Continent.

Moreover, American labor's service to the Marshall plan helped realize the economic restoration of Europe. The mobilization of free European workers was essential to the implementation of U.S. aid. Despite the political agitation and sabotage of terrorists, American labor rallied its brothers of the Continent to freedom's flag.

Nor has the AFL–CIO ignored its brothers of Latin America. Here, it has sponsored the American Institute of Free Labor Development. The institute functions in 15 of our neighbor nations to advance democratic unions and relate the Alliance for Progress to the workers of the Latin Republics.

The institute operates in two basic theaters: labor education and labor social projects.

Throughout the hemisphere the institute directs a system of labor training centers, extending from part-time evening seminars in local areas to a postgraduate school here in Washington. In these centers 20,000 Latin American union members have already been given the skills required to fashion labor as a positive social force: union organization and administration, collective bargaining techniques, democratic procedures, legislative planning, and defense against totalitarian infiltration.

The AFL–CIO social programs bring decent housing to slum families, liberal credit borrowing to union members, agricultural and legal advice to rural workers.

Across the world, democracy and dictatorship struggle to the death in Africa.

The AFL–CIO's African-American Labor Center was established this year to secure the advance and survival of democratic unionism and to assist the nation-building processes of newly liberated peoples.

Like the Institute in Latin America, the African Center is inspiring programs of educational and social meaning.

It is preparing new societies for the economic and social demands of 20th-century living.

Essentially, the Latin American and African programs are efforts of guidance and suggestion. They serve rather than destroy native cultures. In an age of change they offer the enduring values of social democracy and political freedom. The efforts symbolize the world commitments of American labor to free unions and free governments.

Here at home American labor is today sharing in the most dramatic era of social advance in the Nation's history. Here at home it is sharing in the 55th month of unbroken economic advance. Here at home it is, in company with fellow Americans, achieving the great society of man, the Great Society to which President Johnson has pledged the heart and will of a nation.

American labor would bear the great society of man to all the peoples of the world.

Humanity deserves a society of economic abundance, social equality and political liberty. Nothing less will satisfy the conscience of American labor. Nothing less will satisfy the American passion for peace and freedom.

Declining U.S. Merchant Fleet Needs Attention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 28, 1965

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the Greek-flag ship *Australis* is today tied up in Port Everglades, Fla. This vessel once proudly flew the American flag as the SS *America*. The *America* served this Nation's passenger fleet in time of war as a troop carrier, and in time of peace as the principal cruise vessel flying the U.S. flag.

Th SS *America* served the United States for more than 25 years. This vessel employed American officers and crew, brought profits to her American operators, and contributed to our balance of payments.

But now being operated as a foreign ship the *Australis* is hindering our balance-of-payments problem. It is typical of the outflow of not only U.S. gold but ships as well. In 1949 this Nation had 3,421 vessels registered under the American flag. In 1964, the number had slipped to 2,529 vessels.

American flag-ships now carry less than 10 percent of the total traffic in goods which flow through U.S. ports.

In the past decade Russia, by comparison, has more than doubled the number of her merchant ships of 1,000 tons or over.

Mr. Speaker, this decline cannot be allowed to continue. Either the United States is to have a strong merchant fleet or it is not. The critical importance of American flag merchant ships as a cornerstone of our national defense should not be questioned.

More attention must be focused on the decline of American merchant vessels, and a solution to correct this problem must be sought with earnest.

Citizen Initiative in Saline, Mich.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WESTON E. VIVIAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1965

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, we hear much rhetoric about the importance of citizen initiative in the art of government. It is my pleasure today to bring to the attention of the Members an excellent example of what one man can do with an idea and the determination to put it to work for the betterment of his community.

Mr. Edward Gray, who lives in the Second Congressional District of Michigan, which I am privileged to represent in the U.S. House of Representatives, became convinced that there were not enough trained draftsmen to fill the needs of industry in the Washtenaw County area of Michigan. He was also aware that there were people in his town of Saline who desired, but were unable to find, suitable employment. He approached the superintendent of schools in Saline with the idea of establishing vocational classes to train draftsmen and other industrial technicians.

Harold Hintz, superintendent of schools, approved of the idea, and now Mr. Gray, and other engineers employed in area industry, are conducting evening classes to prepare their students for interesting well-paid work. This is local initiative at its best, Mr. Speaker.

I commend to my colleagues an article recently published in the Ann Arbor News, describing Mr. Gray's project. The article follows:

SALINE.—Edward Gray, of Milan, became concerned when the places where he worked in private industry couldn't find people with adequate training to sit down at a drafting board or technician's bench and start work.

Gray discussed the problem with Harold Hintz, superintendent of the Saline area schools.

Former chief electrical draftsman for Applied Dynamics and presently employed in the production control division of the Bendix Systems Division of the Bendix Corp., Gray was given permission by the Saline Board of Education to set up the Saline Vocational School with Gray as superintendent.

Seeking high school dropouts and adults—including housewives—over 16 years of age who have no training in the field of industrial electronics as students, the school will begin October 4.

Registration for the classes will be from 7 to 9 p.m., October 4 and 5, in the Saline High School, where the classes will be held.

Classes will meet from 7 to 10 p.m. twice a week for 10 weeks during the first semester. Advanced courses will be offered during a 12-week semester beginning in January.

With Gray teaching electrical drafting, Donald Haddock, project engineer for Applied Dynamics, will teach basic electronics; George Rolfe, engineer in charge of the model shop for Applied Dynamics, will teach basic shop math, and Tom McMahan, mechanical designer for Bryant Computers, of Walled Lake, mechanical drafting.

"There are many positions open in this area for draftsmen, technicians, and associated skills," Gray said. "Many companies today are willing to hire women draftsmen. The wages are high and the field is growing."

Mr. Speaker, I also include an article on this fine project which was recently published in the Huron Valley Ad-Visor:

ELECTRONICS OPPORTUNITY: VOCATIONAL SCHOOL LAUNCHED IN SALINE

A venture in creative educational opportunity will be launched in Saline the week of October 4.

The Saline Vocational School, offering a full range of electronics training, will provide an opportunity for local youngsters to get a head start in electronics drafting, basic shop math, electrical and mechanical drafting.

The school is the brainchild of Mr. Edward Grey, an engineering supervisor at the Bendix Systems Division. Realizing that a gap existed in the technical training of electronics draftsmen and personnel, Grey enlisted electronics experts from area companies to teach the courses in the new school.

"The evening classes are a supplement to the academic curriculum," Grey said. "They are pointed in the direction of providing training before instead of after placement in technical electronics positions," he added.

The Saline Board of Education provided the use of the Saline High School for classes. Saline School Superintendent Harold Hintz voiced his approval of the project because "the facilities to provide training to the vocationally minded with emphasis on electronics just aren't available in the county."

Hintz emphasized that the evening classes are not just for Saline residents. Interested people from the county are invited to enroll in the electronics courses.

Since the Ann Arbor Community College does not plan to offer these courses for a number of years, the Saline venture offers the only curriculum of its kind for high school students in this area.

Registration will be October 4 and 5 from 7 to 9 p.m. at the Saline High School, Saline-Ann Arbor Road. Classes begin October 7. A $5 registration fee will be charged. Course fees are $40. Time payments are available.

A Community Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, seldom are we privileged to know and to witness firsthand dedication to the degree that is displayed by editor and civic leader, Miss Veda Ponikvar of Minnesota's great iron range. Her tireless efforts and determination have long been the measure of success in an otherwise doomed community project. The latest success of this hard working community conscious bundle of energy is outlined in the current issue of Woman's Day magazine. Hilda Cole Espy in her "A New Challenge to our Communities: Providing Day Care for Children" article vividly singles out the results of Veda's successful drive for a Range Day Care Center that ended up serving as a model for the whole Nation.

The article follows:

A NEW CHALLENGE TO OUR COMMUNITIES: PROVIDING DAY CARE FOR CHILDREN

(By Hilda Cole Espy)

Day-care services for children are urgently needed but often lacking today, particularly in our smaller communities. The number of mothers who are working because of economic necessity is growing; the figure has more than doubled since 1950 and is expected to increase 43 percent by 1980. In the words of Katherine Oettinger, Chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, "The hand that rocks the cradle must often also punch the time clock."

According to W. O. Heinze of the Child Welfare League of America, day care is now available for about 250,000 children but there are over 9 million youngsters under 12 whose mothers work.

What happens to this appallingly large group of inadequately supervised youngsters, which includes the 6 million who live in one-parent homes?

Sometimes their mothers take them along to work. Often they are locked out of the house, or locked in. They are placed in foster homes, farmed out to relatives, haphazardly watched over by neighbors who keep an eye on them, tended by older brothers and sisters, or expected to fend for themselves from the time school ends until parent or parents return from work. Mrs. Oettinger describes them as the latchkey kids, the stoop sitters, the street-corner dawdlers; prone to health and safety hazards and easy marks for delinquency.

Educators and social workers agree that neglected children are not exclusively a phenomenon of lower income families. Mrs. Oettinger cites the informal arrangements made in communities of young college mothers who bounce their babies and young children around from one mother to another while they attend full-time classes or work to support their husbands' college training, as problem creating.

Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY told 1,000 delegates who came to Washington last spring for the National Conference on Day Care Services that "We ought not to live in a society where the only way of receiving the social services we need is to become totally poverty stricken."

Evidence is snowballing that kindergarten is not soon enough to be introduced to stimulating cultural experiences and that the preschool years are critically important. The high incidence of delinquents, dropouts, and underachievers among our youth has underlined the need to "lay the foundation for a pattern of values early," in the words of Francis Keppel, U.S. Commissioner of Education.

Though expanding day-care facilities were declared by Vice President HUMPHREY to be "a community and national necessity," funds available through the Children's Bureau cannot be used for building or for major remodeling. And, in 1964, Congress cut back the President's budget request for $8 million for day care to $4 million. There will be a discouraging lag before new legislation increases Federal and State funds earmarked for day-care services.

Action by individual citizens in their communities appears to be indicated if day care for neglected children is to be more generally available in the near future. Encouragingly, the majority of centers operating today were started by volunteers who donated time, talent, and money. Supplementary support from voluntary organizations, grants from Government, united funds, or foundations followed.

SOME COMMUNITY BEGINNINGS

Dr. Robert Harder, young minister of the East Topeka, Kans., Methodist Church, discovered that the average income in his neighborhood was $4,500 a year and that the father of the family usually worked two shifts. "He might get off at 3:30 p.m. and work a night shift at the State hospital or Veterans' Administration," he says. "Boy Scout troops had to give up because of the small supply of fathers."

An alternative was for the mother to work a day shift and the father a night shift so that one of them would be home with the children. The parents seldom saw each other and family life deteriorated.

Dr. Harder reasoned that if both parents could be home by 5:30 and for weekends, family life would be happier and more serene. A day-care program offering preschoolers a hot lunch, a place to nap, and a place to learn seemed to him to be the only way to make this possible. He began to talk to church groups about starting a center. The community responded by donating funds, labor, and equipment, and now the center is in operation, just as he envisioned it.

Chisholm, Minn., is a town of 8,000. The publisher of the local newspaper is a quiet woman by the name of Veda Ponikvar. When she helped campaign for President John F. Kennedy, his interest in retarded children prompted her to look into the situation in her area. She discovered that the parents of retarded children faced what Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF has described as "the agonizing choice between total institutionalization or total isolation within the home." For most working parents, the only answer was an institution. At that time, in sections of Minnesota, such facilities were tragically understaffed. "You would find one instructor with as many as a hundred children," she recalls. "And the retarded require individual attention."

Veda took her concern to an elderly woman with whom she had worked on various community projects, "Grandma" Barnes. "Grandma," she said, "we've got to do something about these children."

The Range Day-Care Center at Chisholm is now offering training and recreation on a full day schedule and many small miracles have been worked for its attenders and their parents.

In Clarksdale, Miss., Rev. W. Bernard Crump, a young Negro minister on his first assignment at the Haven Methodist Church, was troubled by the helplessness of small children left to fend for themselves while their parents worked in the fields.

He turned to a distinguished elderly woman in his congregation, Lillian Rogers Johnson, a retired school supervisor. The prospect of organizing a center dismayed Mrs. Johnson. "I had retired," she says, "and I wanted to relax and enjoy life."

A short while before her young minister's challenge, Mrs. Johnson had been involved in an automobile accident. "I should have been killed," she says, "but aside from a small bruise on one ankle, I wasn't hurt. I asked the Lord to make known to me what it was that He wanted me to do. At the same time I was kicking like a mule about taking on responsibility for the center. One day I thought: and here you have been asking the Lord what He wanted you to do. So I said, 'Yes, Lord, I will do it.' Then I rolled up my sleeves and started out."

Today the community day-care center is providing for 50 children at Clarksdale, Miss.

HOW TO "GET THE GO LIGHT"

"Getting the go light" is Lillian Rogers Johnson's phrase for winning community approval and support.

She says, "We found it best to tell our story to individuals rather than to groups. Organizations will eventually vote on whether or not to support a center, but working with individuals will result in a far more favorable vote."

Recruiting a board of directors is one of the earliest steps. In addition to being capable of wise policymaking, board members should be versatile troubleshooters, should represent as many factions in the community as possible and be able to render an essential service, such as business, legal, architectural, or medical advice. The board of the East Topeka, Kans., Day-Care Center includes a member of the junior league and of the civic association; there is an attorney, a housewife, a psychologist of the Menninger Foundation, a pediatrician, a social worker, an architect, an insurance agent, a member of the family service association of the department of health, a union official, a businessman, and mothers whose children come to the center.

Veterans of day-care centers agree that an increasingly important qualification for a board member is political know-how. Applying for grants or lobbying for legislation requires an understanding of how to present the pertinent facts most usefully and favorably. Dr. Robert Harder, one of the founders of the East Topeka, Kans., center, and the State representative, was so struck with the need to work for day-care services that he has become an ambassador for good child-welfare legislation in the Kansas Legislature, in addition to serving as president of the center's board of directors.

Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF emphasizes, "It will be important in every State for interested citizens to convince their legislators that the neglect of children is costly to a community and that the provision of funds for day care results in a sound preventive program."

Every board should include a member who knows how to run an intelligent information program. Experience has shown that the public must be acquainted with all the facts of a proposed program, especially in communities where there have never been day-care facilities. What needs to be spelled out, above all, is the new application of the old philosophy that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." The child we save today has a chance to become a productive member of society rather than a delinquent.

The National Committee for the Day Care of Children puts it this way: "We must begin to help families who are showing signs of distress and not wait for their total collapse before we offer assistance."

HOW TO GET THE PROJECT STARTED

A day-care center should be located in the neighborhood it is to serve; transportation is a formidable obstacle to attendance. In East Topeka, Kans., the board particularly wanted a noninstitutional setting for its preschoolers. Their problem was solved when the First Presbyterian Church offered to buy and donate the unoccupied manse of the Third Presbyterian Church. The manse has a large, tree-shaded yard and spacious high-ceilinged rooms that are ideal for indoor activities.

In Chisholm, Minn., Veda Ponikvar and "Grandma" Barnes learned that the new elementary school had a section especially designed for handicapped children. The school board granted use of the facilities, with heat, light, and janitor service. Since the law does not provide for the free transportation of retarded children, a schedule for driving them to the day-care center had to be worked out.

In Clarksdale, Miss., the congregation of the Haven Methodist Church voted to offer its Fellowship Hall as a day-care center.

FUND RAISING, DONATIONS OF LABOR AND EQUIPMENT

Mrs. Lillian Rogers Johnson, director of the Community Day-Care Center in Clarksdale, Miss., points out that "You have to be licensed and operating before you can get any substantial financial aid." Yet a location, equipment, and supplies must inevitably precede licensing and operation.

The congregation of the Haven Methodist Church in Clarksdale donated $550 as well as the use of their hall. The donation did not cover the costs of remodeling the interior, of such needed equipment as cots, a new stove, a large refrigerator.

"We went to our local merchants and told our story," Mrs. Johnson says. "We said that we had 50 children and a long waiting list. We asked to open accounts, explaining that we wouldn't have any money for a couple of months. They said, 'Well, you can have anything you want.' "

Friends and neighbors pitched in to renovate. They built storage cubicles for bedding and clothes; they constructed tables, painted chairs, laid tiles, put up partitions and shelves.

The first outpouring of donations from the community came after open house at the center.

"We asked the whole town in and opened our grocery account immediately for refreshments," Mrs. Johnson recalls. "The guests went home and mailed us checks, saying 'We'd like to help.' "

Founders of the East Topeka, Kans., center raised their first $2,000 from church groups and individuals. On weekends board members patched plaster, painted walls and ceilings, laid tiles. A plumber's union and a local plumbing company donated equipment and labor for a second downstairs bathroom. Later, the State department of social welfare granted the center $10,000 to supplement the budget. It now depends on the local united fund for support.

Because Chisholm, Minn., is a mining community, Veda Ponikvar and "Grandma" Barnes raised their first $1,200 through a scrap iron drive. Then they thought of leaving memorial donation cards in mortuaries.

"We also discovered something about established women's groups," says Veda Ponikvar. "They welcome a new challenge."

Veda spoke before many groups in the area and as a result proceeds from bake sales, rummage sales and holiday concerts became an important backlog to the budget. Later, the Loyal Order of Moose adopted the center and now make monthly contributions toward its support.

HIRING STAFF, SETTING FEES, SELECTING ATTENDERS

Today there is a shortage of women, and a greater shortage of men, experienced in day-care and child-development programs. However, universities, colleges, and adult-education classes are beginning to offer intensive courses to prepare workers for this important new field. Day-care authorities believe that nonprofessionals, including volunteers and paid aides, can help substantially, provided they receive good on-the-job training and are supervised by experienced personnel.

Francis Keppel, Commissioner of Education, observes, "Teaching can proceed from a larger base than professionally certified teachers. In Oakland, Calif., for example, children attending day-care centers receive sound educational help from old students, mothers who volunteer their time and professional workers assigned to the center."

Since children are always more numerous than facilities, standards of priority must be established. The east Topeka, Kans., center gives priority to children from one-parent families, or from homes where both parents work. Next are children with special needs, those from homes with cultural deprivation, and children whose mothers are retraining for jobs.

Fees are based on a family's ability to pay; they range anywhere from 25 cents to $3 for a full day.

THE RESULTS ARE TANGIBLE AND ENCOURAGING

Men and women who have worked to bring day-care programs to the communities feel that the improvement in the lives of youngsters and their parents has been great.

Dr. Robert Harder and his associates in east Topeka, Kans., were gratified by "an upgrading of family life." He recalls a mother who was visited by a member of the center staff, whose mission was to tactfully advise her to send her child in clean clothes. The apartment was a shambles, with unmade beds and dirty dishes. "This home did not change all at once," he says, "but gradually the mother's housekeeping improved. First

we noticed that the dishes were stacked in the sink. Later, when we visited, they were washed and put away, and beds were made, and the home began to have a look of pride."

Veda Ponikvar glows when she speaks of the progress of the retarded children in Chisholm, Minn.

"We have definitely discovered that an institution is not the place for them," she says. "They mustn't be away from everything. Those who are able to atend become very active; they begin to do things with their hands."

She feels that the presence of the center in a wing of the elementary school has been good for all the children. The elementary school youngsters have shown an unexpected interest in their neighbors. At first they pooled their pennies for special class treats, such as a trip to the circus. Now all the money they collect or raise is given to the center.

Lillian Rogers Johnson marvels over the response of the 50 children who attend the Community Day Care Center in Clarksdale, Miss. "They are just not at all the same children who came to us," she says. "I thought I couldn't stand the noise of 3- to 5-year olds, but now it's music to my ears."

At first many of the youngsters were painfully withdrawn. But now she says that they crowd vociferously around her.

"I have some new shoes," brags one.

"I have some at home," says another, not to be outdone.

"I have a new baby sister," declares a third triumphantly.

"People have come from all over the State to see what we are doing," Mrs. Johnson says. "They say that we have inspired and awakened them."

Wherever a center has been successfully launched, others invariably folow in different sections of the community. In Clarksdale, Miss., five others are now scheduled to open their doors.

There are encouraging signs that such services may one day be available for all children who need them. Predicts Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, "One of the great advances in social science is about to be made.

Unilateral Military Intervention in the Western Hemisphere

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, on September 20, 1965, the House adopted, on a record vote of 312 to 52, House Resolution 560, expressing the sense of the House of Representatives relative to international communism in the Western Hemisphere.

This resolution declares:

> Any one or more of the (American Republics) may * * * resort to armed force * * * to forestall or combat * * * domination or threat of it * * * by the subversive forces known as international communism and its agencies in the Western Hemisphere.

With these words, the House has expressed its support for the principle of unilateral military intervention into the affairs of neighboring countries in the Western Hemisphere whenever, in the opinion of the intervening country or countries, there exists the mere threat of domination by what it considers to be the subversive forces of international communism.

Mr. Speaker, in my opinion, it is most regrettable and most unfortunate that this resolution was adopted. I consider it an unnecessary, ill-timed, and wholly ineffective resolution that is doing severe damage to the cause of better relations between the nations of North and South America.

Certainly, no one can predict with any real claim to accuracy what situations may develop in the Western Hemisphere, or for that matter, anywhere else in the world, in the future, or what actions, joint or unilateral, may become necessary.

These situations and our response to them will, in large part, have to be judged pragmatically at the time and in the light of the then prevailing circumstances.

But I believe it is highly detrimental to our own national interest in promoting the concept of hemispheric solidarity and the principle of collective security to publicly announce beforehand that we are assuming the unilateral right, and that we virtually invite each and every other American nation to assume the same right, to use military force to intervene in the internal affairs of any of our fellow American Republics whenever and wherever we feel there may be a threat of Communist subversion.

The almost universally negative reaction throughout Latin America, from every spectrum of political allegiance, to the adoption of House Resolution 560, is indication enough of the harm we have already done to our vital relationships with our neighbors to the south.

The resolution has been denounced as contrary to every precept of the good neighbor policy and of the Alliance for Progress. It is characterized as a return to the days of Yankee imperialism and gunboat diplomacy—the era when the feared and hated colossus of the north was pursuing its now repudiated 19th-century policy of manifest destiny.

Though some have asserted that House Resolution 560 merely attempts to bring the Monroe Doctrine up to date, we must remember that this doctrine was intended to combat the danger of external invasion, and, more to the point, that the Latin American countries have never fully accepted or recognized the validity of the Monroe Doctrine even in this limited frame of reference.

These nations have always suspected that the Monroe Doctrine was largely a unilateral declaration of a U.S. claim to its own "sphere of influence" in the Western Hemisphere which it wanted to keep as a special preserve for itself outside the area of contention of the other European colonial powers.

Clearly, House Resolution 560 is in line with the turn-of-the-century "big stick" policy, as well as the "send in the marines" philosophy we followed during the first three decades of the present century.

But it does not square with our current effort to live up to President Franklin Roosevelt's firm and unequivocal pledge to abide by the principle of nonintervention in the internal affairs of the independent nations of the Western Hemisphere.

We are now engaged in an effort to develop workable machinery for joint consideration of economic, political and military cooperation through the Organization of American States, based on the principles of national equality, mutual respect, and collective responsibility.

It seems to me that the House resolution is a step backward from this progressive effort, and that it will arouse continuing widespread Latin American fears that the United States is returning to some of its discredited policies of the past.

One of the avowed purposes of our support for the people of South Vietnam in their present struggle is to protect them from the threat of unilateral intervention and to guarantee to them the right of self-determination.

Moreover, in the recent India-Pakistan fighting over Kashmir, we recognized the imminent danger to world peace posed by any unilateral intervention in what started out as only a small scale so-called brushfire war, but what could easily have escalated into a world conflagration.

And, though House Resolution 560 is without any actual effect in law, and is merely a gratuitous expression of House sentiment, it will nevertheless be interpreted by every anti-U.S. and Communist group in the world as proof that we still support the idea of unilateral military intervention—contrary to any and all disavowals we may now make.

In effect, we have just given the Communists one of the best propaganda weapons they have ever received, and we can be sure they will use it on us with deadly effectiveness.

The passage of this resolution is, in my opinion, particularly unfortunate because under our constitutional form of government, the President, not the Congress, is charged with the primary day-to-day responsibility for the conduct of U.S. foreign policy.

But the House resolution threatens to reduce an essential element of the President's flexibility in this vital area.

In addition, the limited House committee consideration of House Resolution 560, and the unusual "suspension of the rules" procedure under which it was brought to the floor of the House—thus preventing any amendments from being offered to remedy its obvious defects—both contributed to the impression of undue haste and lack of appropriate study for a subject with such immediate and long-range implications.

We must also realize that Latin America is moving rapidly into a new era—lead by such progressive nations as Mexico, Chile, Venezuela, and Brazil—and they will not tolerate a return to the old dominant/subordinate relationship between the United States and the other countries of the Western Hemisphere.

Rather than take a negative attitude toward these innovative and forward-looking reform-minded regimes, we should encourage them and offer our assistance to help them direct their revo-

lutions of rising expectations into constructive and peaceful channels.

This was the basic idea behind President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress. And it motivated President Johnson's recent announcement of agreed guidelines for a fair and just renegotiation of the long-out-of-date 1903 Panama Canal Treaty.

The contrast, between these examples of outstanding executive branch leadership in creating the close hemispheric relations we desire for the future, and the wholly negative congressional approach as expressed in House Resolution 560, could hardly be greater.

It is my earnest hope, Mr. Speaker, that we in the House of Representatives will have another opportunity during the present session of Congress to help repair the damage already done by this resolution to the inter-American system of collective security, and to reaffirm our faith and our adherence to the cooperative principles on which the Organization of American States was founded.

Speech by Secretary Freeman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, during the time I have served in Congress, I have served with five Presidents and six Secretaries of Agriculture. During all of this time, I have been a member of the House Committee on Agriculture and for a long number of years, I have been chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture. All the Presidents and Secretaries of Agriculture with whom I have served have been my close personal friends. This, of course, includes President Eisenhower and Secretary Ezra Taft Benson. Frankness requires me to say that our present Secretary of Agriculture, in my opinion, is the most dedicated and devoted Secretary of Agriculture with whom I have served. Secretary Freeman came to Washington from the Governor's office of the great State of Minnesota. He knew very little about farm programs, but after his appointment, he did his homework, and when he came before our committee for the first time, he was well prepared and today he is perhaps the best prepared man in America to discuss the farm programs of the Federal Government.

Secretary Freeman is related to North Carolina by affinity. He married a very lovely North Carolina girl. She, too, is charming and eloquent. I know of no one who has done more in the interests of the welfare of the farmers of America than Orville Freeman.

On Friday, October 1, in the city of Raleigh, N.C., Secretary Freeman delivered a splendid speech. He was fair, forthright, and forceful, and I take great pleasure in submitting for the RECORD his manuscript in the hope that every Member of this House and other people throughout the Nation will read and consider every part and parcel of his speech:

Although North Carolina is well into the football season, in my home State of Minnesota the name of the game is still baseball. For the first time in history, Minnesota has a representative in the World Series and a sharp single gets more attention than a 50-yard pass—a stolen base has more status than a first down.

I can very readily apply a baseball term to my participation in this program—the triple play. And I feel like I'm on all the bases simultaneously, because I have three good reasons for finding pleasure in your company.

First, I am with representatives of an important sector of the Nation's agriculture at a time when the most comprehensive food and farming legislation we've seen in more than a quarter of a century is coming out of the Congress.

Second, I am in the home district of Congressman HAROLD COOLEY, chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, and in the home State of Senator EVERETT JORDAN of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry—two of the architects and builders of the food and agriculture policies and programs of the sixties.

And, on the first day of the nationwide observance of Cooperative Month, I have the privilege of reunion with friends of the Farmers Cooperative Exchange and the North Carolina Cotton Growers Association—among the outstanding cooperatives in the Nation.

Four years ago, when I appeared at your annual meeting, I expressed my appreciation for cooperatives and my belief in their growing potential for service to the farm economy and the whole of the free enterprise system. I announced the reactivation of a cooperative advisory committee to bring better communication and greater unity of purpose to cooperatives and the Department of Agriculture.

Since then the Department of Agriculture has broadened and intensified its educational, research, and action programs related to cooperatives.

We have provided over the past year technical assistance and consultation to more than 50 cooperatives, and 18 have adopted USDA research-developed products and processes. We have sponsored and participated in study and training conferences for cooperative leaders and members. We are examining changes in the agricultural marketing structure that have occurred over the last decade. We are upgrading attention to cooperatives at the State and local levels of Department operations. And we are making cooperative principles and methods a significant part of community action in using the new resources available for rural area development and the war on poverty.

We have acted, and are acting, in these areas and others in response to the recommendations of the fine advisory committee provided by the Nation's cooperatives.

At this harvest season we find ourselves midway through the decade of the sixties.

Four years ago, as this decade opened and a new administration took over direction of your Government in Washington, I said to you here in Raleigh that agriculture had turned the corner from hopelessness and was on the street of hope—was moving from a state of frustration into an era of progress.

Since 1961 the street of hope has been paved with confidence and faith * * * the era of progress has been documented with a record of performance.

Let's take a quick look at the performance record:

We've improved farm income. Realized net farm income this year will be around $13.5 billion—the highest in more than a decade and nearly $2 billion better than the total for 1960. This means average realized net income per farm will be improved by around a thousand dollars over the 1960 average. Here in North Carolina realized net farm income was $69 million better in 1964 than in 1960, and in the same period average realized net income per farm rose from $2,698 to $3,289. You can anticipate adding on to those gains this year.

Costly grain surpluses have been virtually eliminated—the supply-demand balance is the best in many years.

Farm exports are up. Back in 1960 they were valued at $4.5 billion. Now we've had 2 years in a row of agricultural exports exceeding $6 billion, and we're going for $7 billion with a good chance of making it.

Our abundance is an ever better bargain for consumers. American families are spending a smaller percentage of their incomes for food now than in 1960. If they were investing the same percentage of incomes in food now as they were then, they would have $7 billion less to spend for the items other than food they need and want.

All this progress has enabled us to add—in a realistic and purposeful manner—the goal of parity of opportunity for all rural people to the goal of parity of income for our commercial family farmers. We are driving toward that goal.

Today we stand on a new plateau—prepared to build a new period of progress into the era of abundance.

Seven months ago President Johnson recommended a bold, dynamic and purposeful farm program to the Congress. It passed both Houses, and when I left Washington the final steps on reconciling the two versions were being taken by the Senate and House conferees.

When President Johnson signs this bill—the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965—his name will be on page 1 of the new chapter of the miraculous success story of American agriculture that will be written before the start of the 1970's.

This is the most significant food and farm legislation to come from the Congress since the Agriculture Act of 1938. It matches the quality of the broad range of congressional actions taken in this session.

In the short space of 9 months you and I have seen a dedicated, imaginative, tireless and purposeful President—with the cooperation of an able and hard-working Congress—open wide the avenues for improving the quality of American life.

In education and culture, in economic growth and development, in the elimination of poverty, in housing and transportation, in human rights and voting rights, in battling pollution of air and water, in conserving beauty, in expanding outdoor recreation, in protecting health, in caring for the aged and for the handicapped among our children—in all these areas we are doing better than we were, and are well-equipped to do more and more.

In few periods of our history have we known greater unity between President, Congress, and people, a greater sense of purpose, or had a better understanding of how to pool individual, community, and national resources.

In legislative achievements I would like to focus attention on two commodities—cotton and tobacco.

These commodities are key parts of the economy of North Carolina. They were, until recently, in serious trouble.

Remedial efforts seemed at times to generate more heat than light. The fear that the pulling and hauling might actually tear the programs apart and leave farmers abandoned cost me many sleepless nights, as I'm sure it did many of you.

But out of the tumult and the shouting came logic and reason and cooperation, and now we have the basic legislation essential in solving the most acute problems of to-

bacco and cotton and lifting them back to a sound foundation.

Early this year, when Congress was considering the acreage-poundage legislation for tobacco, there was some feeling it would prove too restrictive—that it would drive incomes down and shackle the already hard-pressed tobacco grower.

The primary concern of the administration and the farm leaders in the Congress like Chairman COOLEY and Senator JORDAN was with strengthening the position of growers. Doing this demanded action to restore crop quality, expand export sales opportunities, and reduce Government-owned tobacco stocks.

The acreage-poundage proposal was approved by the Congress, and by growers in a referendum, as the best approach to the quality, world market, surplus and farm income problems. The hard work and effective leadership of this cooperative, and of you here today, played a critical part in that hard-fought referendum.

Standing the test of theory is comparatively easy for farm policies and programs. Standing the test of practice is another matter—that's where we separate the deeds from the words, or prove they belong together.

What's happened in tobacco?

The markets have opened in North Carolina, and what happened the first week is good. Growers are getting better prices than a year ago, production is down somewhat, and less tobacco is moving into Government stocks.

Sales through September 21 on the South Carolina-North Carolina border belt markets totaled 286 million pounds, compared with 301 million a year earlier. Prices averaged 65.59 cents a pound, an improvement of about 7 cents over 1964 prices. Only 6.3 percent went into stabilization compared with 14.1 percent last year.

Sales in the North Carolina middle belt totaled 40 million pounds as compared with 39 million last year. Prices averaged 63.08 cents a pound compared with 55.43 cents last year. And 6.3 percent of the tobacco went into price-support stocks. Last year's figure was 22.6 percent.

In the eastern North Carolina market, 200 million pounds of tobacco was marketed. The comparable 1964 figure was 205 million. The grower price averaged 63.19 cents a pound as against 54.67 in 1964. The percentage moving into stabilization was 6.6 as compared with 30.6 in 1964.

Sales have been completed on the Georgia-Florida market and amount to $11 million—a gain of 10 percent over last year—while sales volume dropped 2 percent.

We are making progress. Acreage-poundage is working.

For the first time in 4 years, production is below domestic needs plus exports. This means we can take a slice from the surplus.

With about 60 percent of the crops marketed, prices have been averaging about 7 cents a pound over last year.

There has been impressive improvement in tobacco quality.

And it is well to remember we were late making this program effective. President Johnson signed the bill on April 16, and the referendum followed on May 4. Experience should make the program even more effective in the years ahead.

Yet, we can't sit back and expect the future to take care of itself. We not only want to produce high-quality tobacco—it is in the interest of farmers and the whole of the economy to move more of it into world markets. The goal of competing there more efficiently and effectively demands continuing attention from all of us.

Now, what about cotton—as a result of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, cotton-growers will be provided with a more effective tool for tackling the very difficult problems which have developed in this industry.

This action is most gratifying because cotton was one of the toughest—if not the toughest—of the farm questions facing the Congress in this session. The successful grain programs, beginning in 1961, had been effective in bringing the wheat and feed grain surpluses down almost to needed reserve levels. Meanwhile, the cotton oversupply had continued to rise—with the result that cotton had assumed the dubious distinction of being the fattest albatross of them all.

The worst of it was that this surplus—while serious in itself—was a symptom of a whole complex of problems which we had been unable to resolve. We had had new legislation in 1964, which had helped on some counts—especially in making U.S. cotton available to American mills at a competitive price. But the new program had failed on other counts, and we—along with the House committee and others in Congress—felt that we should recognize this failure, and take a new approach to the need to reduce production and expand markets.

To do this—we had to face up to these facts:

1. Cotton has been losing markets abroad. While total farm exports have risen to record levels the past 2 years, cotton has fallen back to little more than half of the record 7.6 million bales exported in 1956.

2. Here at home, cotton has continued to lose ground to the test tube fibers. The use of synthetics now exceeds the use of cotton, despite the fact that cotton consumption has been helped by the one-price program in effect this year.

3. The cotton carryover is about to rise to a record smashing 15.7 million bales. That's the estimate for next August 1, based on this year's big crop. That carryover would be 1.3 million bales above the all-time high in 1956—and it represents a rise of 3½ million bales in only 2 years.

4. Costs continue to rise. Cotton cost the Government almost $900 million in fiscal 1965—although $150 million of this can more fairly be charges to programs of other years. Without new legislation—cost would shoot over a billion dollars and continue to rise.

Those are the problems that the Congress has moved to correct. Without action, the situation could do nothing but get worse. Without action, cotton might well be on its way to extinction as a major farm industry in this land. Certainly, the cotton program would be headed toward total collapse.

The answer to these threats borrows from the experience of the feed grain and wheat programs. These programs since 1961 have taught us that direct payments to the farmer who voluntarily reduces his production can strengthen farm income, help eliminate surpluses, and maintain a working balance between production and use. This enables the marketplace at home and abroad to function effectively.

In general, the new cotton program—which is for 4 years—provides for Government loans at a level near the world price. This will permit cotton to move freely, and without Government participation, into international trade. A system of direct payments will maintain grower returns at the higher level necessary for the U.S. farmer to meet his costs and to maintain a decent income for himself and his family.

American cotton will move into export without subsidy and without the need for the Commodity Credit Corporation to take any special action to make it competitive. There will be no need for equalization payments to domestic users of cotton.

In addition to the commodity loan and the price support payment which would be available to growers who restrict their plantings, diversion payments would also be made to cooperators based on acreage shifted to conservation uses.

These actions will enable us to move meaningfully into a year-by-year drawdown on the cotton surplus.

The Carolina grower—along with handlers and mill operators and workers of your State—will share in the general strengthening of the cotton industry that is one of the goals of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965.

Traditionally, the export market is an essential outlet for both cotton and tobacco. From colonial times, the world markets have looked to America for these commodities, and our Nation has looked to those exports as important items in its balance of trade.

Historically, America's cotton farmers have exported about one bale out of every three, and tobacco growers have exported about 1 pound out of every 4. When your economy is geared to that kind of export level, it is difficult and damaging to give up any part of it. Moreover, as one of the great trading nations of history, we shouldn't have to swallow that kind of indignity, either in tobacco or in cotton.

In the case of cotton, we have experienced an actual decline in exports—a substantial one. In tobacco, we have held our exports about steady, but we have not maintained our share of the growing world market.

The new programs for both cotton and tobacco are aimed at boosting our exports. In tobacco, the improvement of crop quality is a key part of this effort. In the case of cotton, the new program will help make U.S. cotton competitive in price by providing a loan level near the world market.

We know that most farm products will no longer move in world markets—any more than in domestic markets—at artificially high prices. They will be guided instead by conditions of supply and demand. The Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 is a major recognition of this fact—and as such is a declaration of our intention to sell aggressively in the markets of the world. At the same time, smaller nations around the world need not be alarmed. The United States will in the future, as in the past, be fairminded and considerate of the importance of trade to them. We will not dump either cotton or tobacco on world markets.

The new and extended commodity programs—together with the cropland adjustment program—will provide the flexibility needed to keep pace with a dynamic agriculture in a changing world. We will be able to produce what we need, in the quantities we need, when we need them, to satisfy both domestic and international purposes. And in the process I am confident we'll be able to continue making food and fiber available to consumers at a real cost that drops each year, and continue progress toward parity of income for the adequate family farm.

That is why I say the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 is opening a new chapter in the success story of American agriculture—bringing an era of abundance that will be truly a blessing to those who produce it as well as to consumers of our own country and the world.

Demands To Increase Medicare Already Started

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the highly touted medicare bill which we were told was going to take care of all the medical problems of our old people is not yet in effect, but already the move is underway to expand it. There were those of us who warned that the medicare bill passed in this Congress was only a foot-in-the-door for going all the way with Federal medicine. Suggestions to expand it are now being

made even before we have had the opportunity to work the bugs out of the original bill. I wonder, Mr. Speaker, how long those who toil in America to provide the necessities and good things of life for themselves and their families, are going to stand for the introduction of more and more programs to provide housing, medical care, recreation, clothes, education for everyone regardless of the individual's willingness to work and help share the cost?

The following editorial from the Wall Street Journal of October 4, warns of some of the programs we may be asked to vote upon in the next session of Congress:

THE NEXT LOGICAL STEP

Suggestions are already sprouting in Congress for improvements in the new medicare program, even though the hospital benefits and doctor-bill insurance don't take effect until next July. Mostly, you can be sure, the proposals would simply mean more Government service at greater public expense.

No one quarrels with the idea that society should care for its needy, elderly or not. That's far different, however, from providing care for all elderly citizens, whether they need it and want it or not. Once this free-care-for-all concept was established, the politicians' next moves may have been predictable.

Recently, for example, New Jersey's Democratic Senator, HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, advanced what he considers the next logical step after medicare. He calls it "preventicare." The idea, he told the Senate, is to provide a voluntary program under which persons over 65 would be warned of coming chronic diseases in time to ease or avert them. Eventually, the Senator said, he visualizes a nationwide network of health screening centers.

It's certain that preventicare won't be the end of it. Already there are other proposals for broadening health care for elderly Americans. And if it's perfectly proper for the Government to look after the health needs of all its older citizens, rich or poor, sooner or later someone will insist it's discriminatory to draw the age line at 65.

Moreover, if Americans can be totally relieved of the burden of looking after their own health, what's to stop the Government from taking over citizens' other responsibilities? Washington could provide homes for all, jobs for people who want to work and incomes even for those who don't. There are, in fact, would-be opinionmakers who urge some such all-pervasive "lifeacare."

To many of us the prospect may seem absurd. But once you accept the premise that citizens must turn over their health problems to Government, whether they want to or not, lifeacare is only a few logical steps away.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

His Holiness, Pope Paul VI—An Emissary for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, October 4 will long be remembered not only as a historic event for those of the Roman Catholic faith but also as a unique endeavor to secure a just peace for the world.

The visit of his holiness, Pope Paul VI to New York was one of the great moments of history because it marked the first visit of a reigning pontiff to the New World. Discovered as it was by a man of Italian origin, Christopher Columbus, and dedicated in its Constitution to spiritual, intellectual, and physical freedom for all its people, it was meaningful that another man of Italian origin should journey to the shores of the United States on a pilgrimage of peace to plead for the rights of all peoples.

The Pope's presence brought moral strength to the United Nations, faltering in this changing world, in its purpose to bind men together. His message of peace underscored the ultimate purpose of this world organization—its total commitment to peace.

In speaking of the worth and necessity of the United Nations Charter, his holiness reminded the nations of the world that the edifice of peace which they are constructing does not rest upon merely material foundations, for it would then be a house built upon sand; its base is in fact, the conscience of man. Scientific discoveries do not endanger the lives of men or threaten to end human progress, Pope Paul declared, for they can be utilized for the good of man. Instead, the danger is man himself, when he employs the tools devised by science for war instead of using them as a means to better the lot of his fellow men.

The Pope characterized his visit to the headquarters of the United Nations as an opportunity for a moment of reflection upon spiritual values—a moment to remember our common origin, our history and our common human destiny. Most importantly, by encouraging us to regard the rights of our fellow men as we do our own, His Holiness also gave us cause to reaffirm our goals and to strengthen our convictions in undertaking the betterment of all men.

It was indeed auspicious that October 4, the day of the Pope's pilgrimage for peace, was also a day dedicated by the Catholic Church to the Saint of Peace, St. Francis of Assisi. I would like to conclude my tribute with the prayer of St. Francis, from which Pope Paul quoted on several occasions during his trip to the United Nations and which will be remembered as an often quoted favorite of Eleanor Roosevelt:

Lord, make me an instrument of Thy peace; where there is hatred, let me sow love; where there is injury, pardon; where there is doubt, faith; where there is despair, hope; where there is darkness, light; and where there is sadness, joy.

O Divine Master, grant that I may not so much seek to be consoled as to console; to be understood as to understand; to be loved, as to love; for it is in giving that we receive, it is in pardoning that we are pardoned, and it is in dying that we are born to eternal life.

The Education Decade in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, on September 30, 1965, it was my privilege to deliver the keynote speech at the combined fifth, sixth, and seventh district convention of the Idaho Education Association. The meeting was held in Pocatello, Idaho, and was attended by more than 2,000 schoolteachers.

In my remarks, I attempted to trace the evolution of our public school system from its earliest days, and to underscore the present need for an adequate program of Federal aid.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of my address.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE EDUCATION DECADE IN AMERICA

(An address by Senator FRANK CHURCH, of Idaho)

It has been my good fortune to have served in the U.S. Senate during years that might well be described as the education decade in America.

These years—in the Nation generally and in Idaho as well—have been marked by an expansion in the dimensions of education, quite without parallel in the history of our country.

Whether we have done too much—or not enough depends upon the standard one applies. I recall the day, not long ago, when our youngest son, Chase, went off for his first day in school. Bethine and I could hardly wait for him to come home and report. "How was school?" I asked. He thought for a moment and then replied: "Compared to what?"

None of us can doubt that, as compared to the little red schoolhouse of yesteryears, public education has made enormous strides. But the proper test relates to how well our schools are equipping young people to cope with the spiraling requirements of today and tomorrow.

In our lifespan, we have witnessed an acceleration so vast that ordinary words are insufficient to describe it. We fall back upon a word of maximum impact, once confined to the narrow field of gun powder, dynamite, and TNT: explosion.

How else can we capsule the sudden, staggering upsurge in the world's population? How else can we define the massive proliferation of technology and the immensity of its impact upon our lives? How else can we sum up the burgeoning industrialization and urbanization of America that has so transformed our culture? Never in history has a revolution, borne by bayonets, produced changes that even compare with those we have experienced peacefully in this age of the most fundamental explosion of all—the knowledge explosion.

Scientific knowledge grows so fast that the most advanced computers are pressed to keep pace. Ninety-five percent of all the scientists who ever lived are alive today. Little wonder, then, that I should discover my older boy passing me by in mathematics in his sophomore year in high school, or that entrance requirements to the best colleges have vaulted almost out of reach. What a load this places on our youngsters, and what a challenge it imposes upon our public schools.

Never was the need so great for capable teachers, adequately educated and fairly paid. Never were the requirements so demanding for up-dated texts, new lab equipment, special audio and visual aids, and modern school facilities.

The price tag for covering today's educational needs must necessarily come high, much higher than ever before. Raising the money lies at the root of the current debate over public education, as it has since the early days of our Republic.

When the Founding Fathers overthrew the rule of George III and established a radical new government based upon the principle of popular control, they set in motion a political system which logically called for universal education. Thomas Jefferson was among the first to observe that an uneducated people could not long expect to remain free.

Even so, the 18th century ended and the 19th century was well advanced, before a tax-supported system of compulsory public education was finally established in this country. It was immensely difficult for the progressive forces to overcome the traditionalists.

Though we have largely forgotten the old arguments against establishing public schools, it is useful to review them, for they bear a close resemblance, philosophically, to the present controversy over the trend in financing today's educational needs.

We should remember that public schools were once attacked as a dangerous socialist scheme. The conservatives of our early period argued that education of children was the proper responsibility of the parents, and that the training any child received ought to correspond with the family's place in the community. Thus, the landed gentry furnished its sons with the finest education money could buy, involving private tutors in the younger years and later placement at a suitable private university, while the daughters learned the social graces at exclusive finishing schools. The craftsmen of the community taught their own children to read

and write, and then apprenticed their sons to a trade. The unskilled were left to forage for themselves, and most of them remained illiterate.

It was recognized that this custom imposed a gross inequality of educational opportunity upon the newly born, but this was justified as the natural consequence of the inequality in wealth. The few who were rich were inclined to oppose education for the many who were poor; they suspected it would lead to mischief, to unwanted changes in the social order, and quite possibly to a serious challenge of their own prerogatives. In any case, they recoiled from the radical notion that they—through taxation—should help to pay for the education of others.

It was not until the rise of the middle class in America that the battle for a universal system of tax-supported public schools was finally won. Victory came in the name of offering every child, regardless of station, an equal educational opportunity, even though the actual offering, in the beginning, was a meager one indeed.

Since then, the trend in public education has always been in the direction of achieving a broader measure of equal educational opportunity for every child. The key to ultimate success is the same today as it was a century ago: obtaining enough money in the places where it is needed to accomplish the goal.

At the turn of the present century, the majority of our people still live on the farm. The educational needs of our rural society for reading, writing, and arithmetic, were reasonably well met by public schools financed entirely from taxes imposed on local property owners. But with the rapid growth of our cities, and the concentration of wealth in urban areas, country schools began to fall far behind their city cousins. Inequality of wealth between rich and poor counties, instead of between the rich and poor citizens of earlier days, began to occasion marked disparity in the kind and quality of education furnished the youngsters of America. Once again, the battle for more equal treatment was renewed.

State governments, which had previously left the financing of public schools entirely to the localities, were now solicited for tax support. State revenues came largely from the richer counties, and were usually drawn from excise and income taxes borne by all the people, rather than from real property owners alone. The treasury of the State government was the obvious place to look, if the rising costs of advancing education were to be met, and the developing gaps between city and country schools were to be closed.

Yet this step in the evolving system of financing our public schools was long and bitterly contested. Representatives of the richer counties in State legislatures often resisted the appropriation of State funds, drawn largely from their constituents, to subsidize the schools of the poorer counties. Their battle-cry, as usual, was directed toward the emotional well-springs which are fed by fixed habits of mind and settled prejudice. In the name of protecting the little red schoolhouse, they tried to preserve the built-in inequalities favoring their particular localities.

Fortunately, the vitality of the principle that had originally given birth to our public school system proved too strong to overcome. State governments began to assist the public schools in accordance with statuatory formulas which helped to further the equalization of educational opportunity.

I mention these events from the past because, without them, we lack mooring for the present or guideposts for the future. In our time, we have seen the familiar battlelines redrawn over the issue of Federal aid to education.

This is rather odd, in a way, because the Federal Government has traditionally given financial support to public education throughout our history; in fact, the Continental Congress initiated the first aid program before the Constitution was adopted.

It was 180 years ago that the Land Ordinance of 1785 set aside a portion of the public lands in the Northwest Territory for the endowment of schools. The ordinance was carried on the strength of the argument that special help was needed on the Great Lakes frontier if our pioneers were to catch up with the better established, the more developed and settled parts of the country.

Eighty years later, in 1862, Congress passed the Land Grant College Act, giving the new States of the growing Union a substantial subsidy, in the form of special grants of land, to further higher education in agriculture and the mechanical arts. Idaho is one of many States which owes its first university to the Morrill Act. The program continues to the present day, and many a land-grant college draws subsistence from it.

In 1917 Congress added a new dimension to Federal aid to education with the passage of the Vocational Training Act. This program also continues to the present day. Last year, Idaho schools received about $300,000 from the Federal Government in support of locally conducted vocational training classes. This year, the sum will approach half a million.

The third major addition to the Federal aid program was approved by Congress nearly 20 years ago, when the School Lunch Act of 1946 was passed. Last year, this lunch program brought $585,000 worth of Federal financing into Idaho schools; this year, the total will reach $636,000.

The next enactment of Federal financial assistance to our public schools, one with which you have long been familiar, related to impacted areas, that is, to communities affected by a heavy concentration of Federal activity. We have many such areas in Idaho—53 school districts to be exact. Thirteen of these derive more than 10 percent of their total operating revenues from the Federal Government. In the last biennial, this program alone accounted for more than $2 million in Federal aid to the public schools of Idaho.

Then, in 1958, following my own election to the Senate, came the passage of the National Defense Education Act, which embraced both colleges and secondary schools. Federal loans to needy college students were included under one title of the act; other titles provided Federal money for equipment and improved supervisory services in the secondary schools in the fields of science, mathematics, history, civics, geography, modern foreign languages, English, and reading. The maps in many of your classrooms today may well owe their existence to the National Defense Education Act. During this school year, more than $2 million worth of the National Defense Education Act allotments will come to Idaho.

The year 1963 saw the enactment of the Higher Education Facilities Act, providing Federal grants and loans to colleges for classroom buildings, science laboratories, and libraries.

But this year, 1965, is, by any standard of measurement, the greatest year for public education in the history of Congress. By happy coincidence, the same can be said for our own State legislature.

Here in Idaho, the year began on a warning note. The Idaho Education Association issued a forthright pronouncement: "Idaho has slipped behind neighboring States," the association reported. "The unmet educational needs of Idaho are urgent, the educational inequalities among its schools severe, and the State's effort to meet these needs and to adjust these inequalities is considerably less than it ought to be * * * the longer the delay in providing adequate public school support, the more disasterous will be the consequences for Idaho's present prosperity and future growth."

To its everlasting credit, Idaho's legislature rose responsibly to the challenge. State support for public education was increased by an impressive 42 percent, and a State sales tax was approved to raise the necessary money. After lingering neglect, Idaho responded to the urgent needs of her young people for better schools.

At the same time, acting on the national front, Congress responded to President Johnson's call for a greatly expanded Federal aid to education program. On April 11th of this year, the President signed the Elementary-Secondary Education Act of 1965 into law. Your own NEA special report heralded the bill in these words:

"It represents the greatest single commitment ever made by the Federal Government for the improvement of education in the elementary and secondary schools of this Nation."

Under this bill, some $2 million in Federal funds will be available annually to Idaho schools for the improvement of educational opportunities for less fortunate children. Another million will become available for library resources and librarian training, for the establishment of research, and for expansion and strengthening of our State Department of Education.

While this measure contains much aid for our secondary and elementary schools, it neglects one important item, matching money for construction of school buildings. Accordingly, I am cosponsoring a bill to provide Federal funds for elementary and secondary school construction. At present, such funds are limited to federally impacted school districts. I would broaden the assistance to provide Federal help where the need exists and where it cannot be adequately met at the local level.

I am also cosponsoring a bill to provide tax relief for teachers who are improving their professional education in summer courses at college, making the expenses incurred, beyond those required to retain your positions, tax deductible.

As I speak to you this afternoon, there is pending in Congress a companion bill to the Elementary-Secondary Education Act. This is the Higher Education Act of 1965 that will accomplish for our colleges and universities what the earlier act is to do for the elementary and secondary schools. It incorporates and improves upon the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963. Included is Federal support for college-operated adult education programs; college library expansion and librarian training for developing colleges; college undergraduate scholarships for those with ability but without financial means to further their education; Federal insurance of reduced interest private loans to college students; fellowships for teachers studying for master's degrees; and a national teacher corps to work in underprivilegd areas.

During my years in the Senate, I have consistently supported this expanding program of Federal aid to education. I regard it as a natural extension of our historic effort to equalize educational opportunity for all our children. We live in one Nation all of us together. Each success in developing a child's full potential contributes to our general well-being; each failure subtracts from the whole.

If I had lived in the early part of the last century, I would have joined in the struggle to set up the public schools. If I had entered politics 30 years ago, I would have been one of those supporting the effort then in progress to secure contributions from State governments in support of local schools. So it is that today, in order to meet the rising costs of modern education, and to achieve a

larger measure of equal educational opportunity for all our children, I naturally find myself in the ranks of those who work for an adequate Federal-aid program.

The argument that Federal aid merely entails sending Idaho tax dollars to Washington and then returning them again to Idaho, less handling charges, simply is not true. We shall receive back, on the average, between $2 and $3 for every dollar Idaho taxpayers contribute to the Federal aid to education programs. This is just like putting a dollar bill on the table, and getting $3 in exchange. The extra Federal money comes from the richer industrial States with dense populations, and higher per capita income. From these States, the bulk of the Federal income tax, both corporate and personal, is collected. New York alone contributes about one-fifth of all the money paid into the Federal Treasury.

Is it fair to use New York, Massachusetts, or Michigan dollars to help support public schools in Idaho? Of course it is. Every time one of us buys a new car in Pocatello, American Falls, or Montpelier, we are furnishing Idaho dollars to Michigan manufacturers; every time we buy a suit of clothes or a pair of shoes, Idaho money is being contributed to the profits of some clothing firm in New York, or some shoe factory in New England. Only the Federal Government can tax these profits in the developed, industrial States, and then redistribute the money among all the States, as the needs of the whole Nation may require.

Indeed, this is the very way we have built one great nation. What if Idaho, with fewer than 10 persons per square mile, had no help from the Federal Government on roads? Why we would still be motoring in the dirt. Because we have access to Federal matching funds, drawn mainly from the densely populated States, Idaho is building a modern highway system that will equal any in the country, even as it will serve the needs of the country. Over 60 percent of the cost of our primary roads, and over 90 percent of the cost of our interstate highways, is paid for with Federal money.

The country requires good roads, but it has even greater need for good schools. The boy who lives in Beverly Hills need not worry, but the boy who lives in the hills of Idaho is also entitled to a school that can help him develop his full capabilities. This is the best investment our country can make in its future. It is the reason I favor Federal aid to education.

In saying this, I take nothing away from the credit due Idaho teachers or our local school districts. I myself am a product of the public schools of Idaho, and I am very proud of it. I believe in maximum local control over our public schools, and every bill in aid of education for which I have voted in the Senate has contained copper-riveted prohibitions against Federal intrusion. The long history of Federal aid programs clearly demonstrates that national financial help can be secured without the sacrifice of local direction, management, or control of our public schools.

So, for all you have done to preserve the integrity of our public education, and to improve its scope and quality, I salute you. I know you take the same pleasure I do in seeing young graduates of Idaho schools climb eagerly up life's ladder, competing successfully with all comers.

A young man from Ashton is today in Washington for a year's study as a presidential fellow, 1 of 15 selected from among the Nation's outstanding scholars. Following him into my office, not long ago, came a young woman, a graduate of the College of Idaho, with a scholarship for advanced study at the London School of Economics.

On my own staff is a young lawyer from Idaho Falls who was student body president at Notre Dame, while another of my assistants, from Boise, was a Rhodes scholar.

My wife and I recently heard a group of novices of the Metropolitan Opera Company bring a blasé Washington audience to its feet, cheering. The star performer was a young baritone from Sandpoint, Idaho.

Thank you for the help you have given these young comers, for the motivation you have supplied, for the desire you have nurtured in them to achieve such excellence.

Thank you for every child you have helped along the upward path which leads to the knowledge that sets men free.

Mansfield Apologizes for Congress' Haste

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I find it highly encouraging when Democrat leaders too apologize and state openly that they are concerned with the haste and waste of the 89th Congress, a view which I have expressed many times. I refer specifically to the recent statement of the Honorable MIKE MANSFIELD. I would like to share the following news account of the Senator's speech with my colleagues:

[From the Knoxville Journal, Oct. 4, 1965]

MANSFIELD APOLOGIZES FOR CONGRESS' HASTE

(By Willard Edwards)

WASHINGTON, October 3.—MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana, the Senate Democratic majority leader, was once proclaimed a saint on earth by Senator GEORGE SMATHERS, Democrat, of Florida.

SMATHERS tendered his tribute in admiration of MANSFIELD's demonstrated qualities—humility, tolerance, and long-suffering patience under stress.

There were few dissenters at the time and their doubts faded this week as MANSFIELD bared his soul in a confession of painful honesty.

The act required superhuman qualities not common to earthly mortals, all agreed and there was also a suspicion that MANSFIELD was risking political martyrdom.

During the wrath of the White House, MANSFIELD issued a virtual apology for the haphazard and hasty manner in which Congress has legislated at this session under pressures from President Johnson.

He sounded a warning of dangers ahead as ill-considered laws, containing admitted deficiencies, began to operate.

It was the duty of Congress, he said, to regain its almost-forgotten power of "legislative oversight." This phrase means that Congress has the duty and the authority to examine the effects of laws it has enacted with a view to correcting them, if necessary.

MANSFIELD is a former college professor and he garbed his criticism in discreet phrases. But his message was clear and it did not sit well, according to report, with the Senate majority leader who preceded him, now occupying the White House.

MANSFIELD gave his message first on Tuesday to a conference of 68 Democratic Senators, attending the last such session of the year. On the following day, in order to insure its permanent recording, he placed it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. He did not read it aloud, as is customary. Fortitude has its limits.

According to tradition, MANSFIELD should have used this occasion to summarize the achievements of the session, glorifying them as notable contributions to peace and prosperity in the Nation. This was the habit of Johnson when he was majority leader.

But MANSFIELD said simply that it had been "an exceptional session."

"You who made it so are well aware of that fact so there is no need to dwell upon its achievements," he remarked.

He thus mildly dismissed a legislative record of stunning magnitude and revolutionary implications, destined to affect the lives of most Americans for decades to come.

It was the manner in which major bills were passed that disturbed MANSFIELD. As he continued, all his listeners knew he was referring to White House demands for speed, the use of pressure tactics and gag rules and the edict against amendments which might delay action even when they were widely recognized as beneficial.

"The President has stated that Congress should be able to get out of here early next year," MANSFIELD recalled. "I hope that will be the case and recent experience obviously suggests a prudent caution.

"I welcome and applaud the President's view that he does not expect anything like the volume of substantive legislation next year that we have had this year."

His thin, pale face revealing his distress, MANSFIELD got down to cases.

"The scope of achievements in the last 8 or 9 months marks any repetition of the volume of significant legislation which has been cleared in the present session not only unlikely but, in my judgment, undesirable," he said.

"What is indicated, it seems to me, is that barring some extraordinary crisis in foreign policy, the main concern of the Senate in the second session will be the perfection, the elaboration and the refinement of the basic legislation which underpins major Federal programs. Indeed, that is likely to be the main concern not only in the next session but for some years to come."

MANSFIELD caled upon his fellow Democrats, particularly the committee chairmen, to study, in preparation for the next session, "the frequently mentioned but generally underexercised function of legislative oversight."

"It is hardly possible to set in legislative motion so many new Federal approaches to the Nation's problems without leaving a number of gaps and any number of rough edges, overextensions, and overlaps," he continued.

"The best time to catch these shortcomings, it seems to me, is before they become solidified by repetition into the administrative practices of the department and agencies."

The Senate Appropriations and Government Operations Committees, MANSFIELD noted, are supposed to concern themselves with the operation of laws after they are passed, but these committees find it difficult to keep up with the current activities and specific problems brought to light.

"They can hardly be expected to take on the immense additional task of oversight in connection with the Federal program of great magnitude which has been initiated," he said. "The other committees should not just sit and wait for the departments and agencies to present them with suggestions for corrective or elaborative legislation.

"The Senate, itself, must take a measure of legislative initiative with a view to bringing in, during the next session, such corrective, contractive, or elaborate as may be indicated.

"The Senate can and should make every effort to keep the major Federal programs on the right track—to keep them there, or to return them to it—as the case may be. That,

too, is a way of serving the Nation's needs, no less vital perhaps than was the enactment of these programs in the first place."

MANSFIELD, it was learned, was particularly perturbed about the ultimate cost of the Great Society programs started this year. Most of them carry authorizations for constantly increased spending over the year. Beginning with a first-year cost of approximately $9 billion, according to one estimate, the new programs could snowball to $100 billion annually in a decade, if not cut back, running up the annual cost of Government to $200 billion.

The majority leader's candor was not relished by most Democrats, particularly those up for reelection next year. Thirty-three Democratic Senators and 293 Democratic Representatives, who will be campaigning in 1966, are averse to a program of reappraisal of laws they rushed to passage or a study of the Nation's capacity to pay for them. They see no political benefit in the disclosure of flaws and deficiencies, diplomatically labeled "gaps, rough edges, extensions, overlaps, and shortcomings" by MANSFIELD.

"We have been deploring all session the manner in which Great Society legislation has been enacted," remarked Representative MELVIN R. LAIRD, of Wisconsin, chairman of the House GOP conference. "Time after time, bills were jammed to passage amid widespread agreement on both sides that they contained blatant deficiencies. Everything was sacrificed for speed under the lash of the presidential whip.

"Now the majority leader sees the needs for cleaning up the deficiencies in these hastily drafted measures. He wants Congress to get these programs 'returned to the right track.' It's too bad that Congress wasn't permitted time enough to put them on the right track in the first place."

Corning Glass Works Holds Board Meeting at Martinsburg, W. Va.—Successful Company Installations in Four Communities in State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, Corning Glass Works is nationally known as a manufacturer of a wide range of attractive and useful consumer items. Housewives in every State are familiar with Corning Ware as a quality product in the field of cooking utensils.

West Virginians are gratified that this respected and successful company has enjoyed remarkable expansion in our State. At present, Corning operates four plants in West Virginia: Martinsburg, Parkersburg, Paden City, and Buckhannon. More than 1,500 different products are made in the facilities located in the Mountain State, and approximately 1,500 of our citizens are employed in the Corning complex.

On Wednesday, October 6, the board of directors of Corning Glass Works conducted a board meeting at the Martinsburg plant. This was only the second time in the company's history that such a gathering has been held outside of New York City.

The previous evening, Mr. President, it was my privilege to attend a dinner meeting which marked the 5th anniversary of Corning's Martinsburg plant, and the 50th anniversary of the company's consumer products division. Also present on this occasion were: Hon. Hulett C. Smith, Governor of West Virginia; Senator ROBERT C. BYRD; Representative HARLEY O. STAGGERS, and numerous State and community leaders. Among Corning official were: Amory Houghton, Jr., chairman of the board; William C. Decker, chairman of the executive committee; R. Lee Waterman, president; Frederick H. Knight, secretary and corporate counsel; Thomas Waaland, treasurer; and, Robert W. Foster, controller.

A highlight of the program was the creative and informative manner in which company officials explained products, production methods, and developmental plans of the Corning Glass Works. Making effective use of slides and other visual aids, these department heads were able to clearly illustrate the progressive thinking which has been the hallmark of Corning's growth.

Mr. President, I am gratified to report that the association between West Virginia and our citizens and the Corning Glass Works, has been one which has brought mutual benefits, lasting friendships, and growing respect. Our people have found this responsible firm a willing partner in efforts to strengthen the region through increased industrial capability and community development.

On the other hand, Corning officials have frequently expressed to me their appreciation for the enthusiastic manner in which their organization has been received in West Virginia. At each plant location, they report, Corning has received an attitude of cooperation, with civic groups and individual citizens working energetically to make the installation a success. That goal is being achieved.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in the Appendix at this point, a news story from the October 6, 1965, Martinsburg Journal, which reports on the recent board meeting conducted by the officers of Corning Glass Works.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

CORNING GLASS HEAD LAUDS MARTINSBURG

Corning Glass Works is still congratulating itself for its decision to build a plant in Martinsburg in 1960, the company's chief executive officer said here last night.

Amory Houghton, Jr., chairman of the board, said Corning's experience in Martinsburg has been "very pleasant and profitable." He added: "We were happy then, and we are happy now; we had opportunity then, and we have opportunity now."

He spoke at a dinner at the Martinsburg Country Club attended by Corning's board of directors and a group of State and community representatives. Among the guests were Gov. Hulett C. Smith, Senator JENNINGS RANDOLPH, Senator ROBERT C. BYRD, and Representative HARLEY O. STAGGERS.

The dinner marked the fifth anniversary of the Martinsburg plant, as well as the 50th anniversary of the company's consumer products division, of which the local plant is an operating unit.

Today the Corning directors held a regular board meeting at the plant—the second time in the company's history that a board meeting has been held outside New York City.

In his remarks, Houghton traced the growth of the Martinsburg plant over the last 5 years. He said the plant's product line has grown from four products in 1960 to 46 different products today—products that are shipped throughout the United States and to 36 foreign countries. He added that the plant's Corning Ware line is being introduced abroad at the rate of one new country every 90 days.

In addition, Houghton said, in the last 5 years plant sales have more than doubled, employment has increased by more than 50 percent, and the plant itself has been enlarged by almost one-third, representing a capital investment of more than $4,500,000 in addition to initial $10 million expenditure. He congratulated the plant manager, Robert A. Sanders, "for your leadership in helping to make this growth possible."

Houghton also paid tribute to Governor Smith "as a man who understands both the social and economic problems of the State."

The Governor, in brief remarks, said the State of West Virginia "is proud and happy Corning has had such a fine experience in this State." He said the company "has made a significant contribution to the State by being a good citizen."

In addition to its Martinsburg plant, Corning has West Virginia facilities at Parkersburg, Paden City, and Buckhannon. In total, the company produces more than 1,500 different products in West Virginia.

Martinsburg Mayor J. Bernard Hutzler also spoke, extending a welcome to the Corning board of directors on behalf of the city.

The mayor congratulated the company for the caliber of people it has placed in its local plant. "These people not only have done a good job for the plant and company," he said, "but have also taken an active part in the social, education, literary, and sports life of the community. They have made themselves a part of our city."

Toastmaster for the dinner was James H. Bierer, a Corning vice president and general manager of its consumer products division.

He said that the Martinsburg plant's success "in large measure can be traced to the help that you people and your neighbors have so generously given."

Bierer added:

"The people of Martinsburg and the surrounding area who have come to work at the Martinsburg plant are responsible and dedicated people and the results of their labors manifest themselves in an efficient manufacturing facility and in a dynamic product line now to be found in 50,000 retail stores and 41 million American homes."

He then concluded:

"This friendly town of Martinsburg has more than lived up to the promises that were made to us in 1959. You have made us feel at home here."

Following the board meeting this morning, the Corning directors toured the Martinsburg plant, and then went on to the company's plant at Greencastle, Pa., for a tour of that plant. They were scheduled to depart by air later this afternoon.

Traffic Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KEN W. DYAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. DYAL. Mr. Speaker, the 89th Congress has been involved in a continu-

ing study affecting the course of traffic safety, and by introduction of resolutions concern has been expressed regarding this growing problem.

In my congressional district, I am pleased to note that under the auspices of the Apple Valley Lions Club of our Hi-Desert area in San Bernardino County, Calif., and the California Highway Patrol something specific has been done to create both an awareness of the problem and actual accomplishment of specific training to aid the driving public. I am referring to the Hi-Desert Safety Clinic.

This traffic safety clinic is the first of its kind anywhere in the United States and, in its operation, unique in the field of traffic safety. The clinic promoted awareness by all drivers of the need for safe driving, understanding of traffic laws, and a long overdue appreciation for the mechanically safe vehicle. Of particular interest to me was the rather large attendance of teenage drivers as participants in the clinic. In fact, the majority of those enrolled in the clinic who participated in the autogymkhana were under 20 years of age.

My purpose in mentioning this remarkable clinic is to invite the attention of the Lions International to the worthwhile efforts and success of their member club of my district, and since there are State highway patrols throughout our Nation I encourage others to copy the fine venture the Lions have made in the Apple Valley-Hi-Desert area. Traffic safety is a national problem and a traffic safety clinic like this one multiplied throughout the Nation could do much to prevent the mounting death and damage rates.

Colorado Football's Galloping Disaster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, now that the football season is in full swing, it might well be appropriate to call attention to a delightful article which appears in the October 1965, issue of Harpers magazine. Subtitled "Memoirs of a Bigtime Coach," the article is authored by Dr. William E. (Bud) Davis, the newly appointed president of Idaho State University in Pocatello, Idaho.

Dr. Davis reviews his chaotic year as head coach at the University of Colorado in a most refreshing way. He titles his experience, "Colorado Football's Galloping Disaster." Anyone reading the article will at once surmise that, although nearly everyone at the University of Colorado may have been mad at Davis before the season had ended, they could not have stayed mad at him very long. The qualities Dr. Davis displays in writing this article augur well for his success in the important new position he has assumed.

I ask unanimous consent to have this witty memoir printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COLORADO FOOTBALL'S GALLOPING DISASTER—MEMOIRS OF A BIGTIME COACH

(By Bud Davis)

I believe I might be the first coach in the history of intercollegiate football to be hung in effigy before he got the job. Bonfires, student rallies, and protest meetings of the football squad accompanied the news of my appointment as head football coach at the University of Colorado back in the spring of 1962. Overnight I had graduated from the tranquil life of a university alumni director into an arena where only the winners survive. Truly I was an unknown quantity, accustomed to obscurity.

I had first set foot on a college gridiron some 16 years earlier, joining an eager group of athletes for spring football at the University of Colorado. It was Dal Ward's first year as head coach at CU, and every former high school football star with the dream of making the varsity turned out with high aspirations. It was an indication of things to come that of the 13 teams organized that first week, I was on the 13th.

I remember my first interview with Coach Ward. Frustrated that the full potential of my 145 pounds of dynamite and enthusiasm was going unnoticed, I cornered him one day after practice.

"Coach Ward," I said with dignity, "I'm not sure whether I should be playing fullback or quarterback."

He looked me up and down critically before replying, "Frankly, I don't think it makes a hell of a lot of difference."

I finally ended up as a T-formation quarterback. That was fine, except for the fact that Colorado was running a single wing. For 3 years I quarterbacked the scouting team. One week I would be the Kansas quarterback, the next week the Missouri quarterback, then the Iowa State quarterback, and so on through the season. Every year I ran 10 different offenses, but never our own. Once in a while, however, I did get into a game. The coach employed a standing rule for using me at crucial times. Whenever we got 50 points ahead or 50 points behind, he called on me.

I shall never forget my first action as a varsity player. We were playing Kansas State at homecoming in 1948, and things were going well. In the fourth quarter we were enjoying a 51-point lead, and Coach Ward was clearing the bench. As players would come out of the game, he would have them move to the south end of the bench. Finally I was sitting all alone on the north end, wondering when I would get my chance. With 51 seconds on the clock, Ward walked up, looked at me, studied the scoreboard clock, shook his head, and started to move away.

At that moment my fraternity brothers up in the stands began chanting "We want Davis. We want Davis." Since there was a time-out on the field and the crowd had long since been lulled into indifference by the one-sided score, the idea suddenly appealed to the whole stadium. Soon the place was roaring with the plea, "We want Davis. We want Davis." They had no idea who Davis was, but they wanted him very badly. (Years later, when I was head coach at Colorado, the crowd took up the same chant, but for different reasons.)

All of this yelling obviously embarrassed Coach Ward. He turned to me again, studied the scoreboard and the clock once more, and said, "Okay, Davis, get in there as defensive halfback. We've got 51 seconds to play. For God's sake—don't blow our lead."

I dashed onto the field. Then I went back and got my helmet. As I was adjusting my chin strap, a Kansas State back ran around the end for 40 yards. I bent down to pull up my socks, and they completed a pass into my territory. I looked over to see how the coach was taking all this, and they completed another pass for a touchdown. That ended my playing career at Colorado.

"GET YOURSELF A TEAM"

In the following years I knocked around quite a bit, serving in the Marines and teaching English and coaching football at various high schools in the Rocky Mountain area. Finally, in 1960, I returned to my alma mater as director of alumni relations. In some ways this beat coaching. At a crucial moment in a big game when it came time to decide whether or not to kick on third down, I could always poll the alumni, a group blessed with perfect 20–20 hindsight. In fact, I was so adept at this hindsight that when a vacancy suddenly occurred in the head coaching position, it seemed a logical choice to appoint an alumni director to the job. Some people reasoned that alumni and their directors had had so much to say about the football team for so many years that it was time someone gave them the ultimate responsibility—a kind of poetic justice.

Thus, amidst the tensions of the preceding head coach's dismissal after a championship season and a National Collegiate Athletic Association investigation, I became the University of Colorado's 16th football coach. The team captain, upon being informed of my appointment, told the papers, "You've got yourself a coach, now get yourself a team." I was given a 1-year appointment. At the time I thought about asking for a definite contract covering a longer period, then remembered the case of the coach who insisted upon and got a lifetime contract. After two miserable seasons, the president of his university called him in and said, "I now officially pronounce you dead." Also, I rationalized that history favored my future. In 71 years of intercollegiate football, Colorado had never fired a losing coach.

In this predicament, I began casting about for someone who had had experience in college coaching, and managed to persuade my former coach, Dal Ward, to return as my assistant. Ward had been ousted from the head coaching job at Colorado in 1958 after an 11-year tenure in which he compiled a winning percentage of over 600. The emotional circumstances of his dismissal seemed to have focused upon his practice of kicking on third down. He promised to return only on the condition I assume the responsibility for punting on third down. I told him that with my offense, I didn't think we would ever need to punt. He replied that with my offense we had better have multiple punt formations.

Dal also gave me some good advice about handling alumni. He quoted Herman Hickman of Tennessee and Yale: "Don't lose all the time—that makes them angry. Just win often enough to keep them sullen, but not mutinous."

Meanwhile, we were losing players faster than we could coach them. Several players were declared ineligible following the NCAA and Big Eight Conference meetings, and academic ineligibilities took another heavy toll later. Each night I anxiously read the newspapers to see whom we were losing next; between spring practice and our first game we lost 35 key players. Newspapers stopped referring to us as "The Golden Buffaloes" and substituted "The Vanishing Herd." When signing the contract for a weekly TV program that fall, I started to name it "Where's My Line?"

As we prepared for the opening game against Utah, a nonconference opponent, I knew we were in for a long season. When we boarded the plane for Salt Lake City, we had three juniors and three seniors on the squad, and only two of the latter shaved. The rest were sophomores who had never heard a shot fired in anger in the college wars. For that matter, neither had I. In the pregame warmup drill, I was acutely sensitive of the fact that when our center bent down to snap the ball, he was thinner through the shoulders than our quarterback was broad across the hips. We dropped the Utah game 37 to 21.

At a meeting on Sunday morning I tried to cheer up a dejected staff, saying, "Don't worry. The university administration is behind us all the way." To which one of the assistant coaches replied, "So were the Utah pass receivers."

The following week we appeared before the home crowd for the first time when Kansas State came to Boulder. We scored early and held onto a 6 to 0 lead. Early in the fourth quarter our only center got hurt, so we moved a language major to this key position. His scholarship was excellent, but his snaps to the punter left something to be desired. In that agonizing final period, we had four punts blocked. Dal Ward, who by this time had turned philosopher, mused, "Some teams punt out of trouble. We punt into trouble." The game became one long goal-line stand, ending with Kansas State 1 foot away from the goal, and for 1 week we were leading the conference standings—undefeated, untied, and unscored upon.

We hit the road for 3 long weekends with games against Kansas, Oklahoma State, and Iowa State. The scores were so lopsided that it was clear that what had started out as a bad situation had begun to deteriorate.

After a 57 to 19 drubbing by Iowa State, we returned home to Boulder. Standing there in the drizzling rain, waiting to meet the bus, was my family. Little Becky, my 7-year-old daughter, greeted me with a big hug, exclaiming, "Daddy, we won. We won." I felt obliged to tell her the truth—that we had really lost. "Oh, I know that," she replied. "But it's lots more fun to pretend we won."

The alumni, however, had lost none of their sense of humor. At a luncheon in Denver, the emcee quipped, "Coach Davis is a big success. No one expected him to do much with his material this year—and he hasn't." But the worst was yet to come. The soft part of the schedule was behind us. Ahead lay Nebraska, Oklahoma, and Missouri, in that order.

ONE CANNON PER POINT

We rallied our forces for the homecoming game against Nebraska and played a respectable first half, in which we led 6 to 0. That was probably our biggest mistake of the season. In the first 5 minutes of the second half we had so many casualties that our stretcher-bearers were exhausted. We lost 31 to 6. That was followed by a humiliating 62 to 0 loss to Oklahoma. It was at this point that the president called me in and informed me that some of the alumni were getting restless. Very politely but very firmly he hinted that we had better win the next game or I might be in trouble. "By the way," he added, "whom are you playing?"

"Missouri," I replied. They were undefeated at the time and nationally ranked. We could only get 25 able-bodied bodies aboard the plane for the trip, and when we landed at Columbia only 23 would get off.

I learned the full measure of humility that Saturday. I stood on a hostile sideline with the score 57 to 0 against us, while some 40,000 homecoming fans beseeched their team to "hit 'em again, harder, harder."

In those 4 weeks, we had had more than 200 points scored against us. Each time our opponents scored, a cannon was fired. Our coaches and players had reached a stage of shell shock when we visited Texas Tech. We started the game in typical fashion by giving up an early score, and, as was our custom, anticipated the dreaded report of the cannon. I kept waiting for it to go off, and, hearing nothing, glanced down at the end zone where the ROTC boys were furiously jerking at a balky lanyard on their howitzer. As the football was dropping into the outstretched arms of our sophomore halfback, the cannon fired. He left the ground about 8 feet as the ball caromed off his chest and into the grasp of a Texas Tech lineman. Tech soon added another score.

Texas Tech had a tradition in which a masked rider, the Red Raider, rode a black stallion around the field after every touchdown while the crowd cheered. With my attention diverted by the trouble over the cannon, I didn't see the horse that second time around. I was probably the only college football coach ever run down by a horse on the sidelines.

We almost got back into that ball game. Driving for what might have been the tying touchdown in the fourth quarter, we threw a sideline pass from the 5-yard line. A Texas Tech end picked it off at the goal line and returned 100 yards for what proved to be the winning touchdown.

On the plane back to Colorado I asked our quarterback how he had happened to pick that particular man to throw to. He wistfully replied, "Coach, he was the only man open." I had heard this old story before, but had never believed it until then.

We limped into the final week of a disastrous season—a season which the sportswriters daily reminded the public was the worst in the history of Colorado football. The ballplayers eagerly rushed home from practice to read the evening papers and find out whether I had been fired, or whether the authorities would wait until after the final game to announce the decision.

I vividly remembered those quiet moments before we went out to play the Air Force Academy. There was an awful silence, broken only by the steady dripping of a leaky faucet. As the trainer passed among the players handing out chewing gum and daubing their cheeks with burnt cork, they were remote, almost grim.

I was all choked up as I launched into my final speech to that squad. "Lads," I said, "if you beat the Air Force today, I'll resign after the game."

They went out and fought like hell. The final score was Colorado 34, Air Force Academy 10.

But the memory of that season continues to haunt me. I still wake up nights hearing not the solid sound of toe against leather as a punter gets off a high spiral, but the double thud of toe hitting leather hitting opponent, followed by the vision of 22 players chasing the ball toward my goal line.

Happily, the story has a humane, if not a dramatic, ending. I did get out of town and coaching alive. I moved to Wyoming. Today, whenever a sports fan asks me why I left my native Colorado, I reply, "I just got tired of hanging around."

Untimely Death of Robert P. Mahon, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, we in west Tennessee were certainly saddened by the sudden death last week of Robert P. Mahon, Jr., the editor of the Jackson Sun of Jackson, Tenn.

Mr. Mahon was born in Humboldt, Tenn., on September 29, 1896, son of the late Dr. Robert P. and Kate Savage Mahon.

He has certainly made a great contribution to all of us and we feel by his coming our way that our section was a better place in which to live.

There appeared an outstanding editorial in the Jackson Sun on Sunday, October 3, 1965, which describes the wonderful life of Robert P. Mahon, Jr. It is so outstanding that I thought it should be brought to the attention of the Congress.

The editorial follows:

LOYALTY AND DEDICATION GUIDED EDITOR'S LIFE

Loyalty and dedication were more than mere words in the life of Robert P. Mahon, Jr., editor of the Jackson Sun. They were the stars by which he guided his course.

He was loyal to his duty, to his section, to his State and to his Nation. He was loyal to the company for which he worked, and he was loyal to his coworkers, including his subordinates.

He was loyal to his family, and he was loyal to his God.

Those who knew him as a teacher, whether at Jackson High School or in the Sunday school class at First Baptist Church which bears his name, knew his dedication.

This dedication would allow him to do no less than constantly search for the truth and constantly work to bring out the best in each individual.

And this dedication was a part of his work as a newspaperman, both as editor and in the other posts he held during more than two decades. Never would he settle for less than the truth and the whole truth.

His beliefs as a newspaperman were set forth in a recent editorial which he wrote to detail the obligations of a newspaper to its readers.

Opinions, he wrote, must be reserved for the editorial pages. News columns are for the facts—all the facts that bear on a story. Never must a newsman allow himself to present only those facts which tend to support his own opinions.

Bob Mahon knew that the hope of the world is our republican form of government. Representatives who write our laws, as well as those who enforce them, must be chosen by a fully informed electorate. Otherwise the government must become a mere sham and the forces of self-interest, whether they be of the far left or the far right, will march the world toward destruction.

The mission of the newspaper, he was convinced, is to keep the electorate informed. He never relaxed in his efforts to see that this mission was carried out.

His background ideally suited him for this mission. His father and mother, Dr. Robert P. and Kate Savage Mahon, were members of families which had helped to build this State and Nation.

Dr. Mahon was a Baptist missionary who gave up the familiar surroundings of Humboldt and west Tennessee when young Bob was 2 to take his family and his work into Mexico.

Although it took other forms, the missionary zeal was always a part of Bob Mahon's life.

After graduation from Union University in 1917, he volunteered for the Army and served during the remainder of World War I.

He taught hundreds of young people at Jackson High School, and the things they carried from his classroom were far more than just the mathematics and Spanish which were the official subject matter.

And he was a leader in the truest sense of the word.

Bob Mahon had his own firm convictions, and he was never hesitant about voicing them. But when others, including his subordinates, had suggestions, he was always ready to give them a full hearing and accept what was good.

He also believed in the adage, "There's no limit to what can be accomplished when you don't care who gets the credit."

When necessary, he could effectively use the editorial "voice" of the Jackson Sun to point the way or to support a project for the betterment of all. But he also spent long hours and traveled many miles to support projects and advances when he knew the general public would never know of nor credit his work.

His missionary father would have been proud of him.

Last, but by no means least, Bob Mahon was a gentleman of the "old school." He knew how to say "please" and he knew how to say "thank you." And no honest person, in high position or low, saw any other face in him but courtesy and respect.

He carried his full share of the burden of work through his last day on earth, and this is how he would have wanted it. And his last words on his final day at work to one of his coworkers were, "See you tomorrow, God willing."

To his memory, we can only say: We will do our best to carry forward your ideals. And, God willing, your loyalty and dedication will be remembered.

Blacklisting Ships That Supply Our Enemy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the time is long past due to call a halt to shipping activities which carry needed materials to our enemies and at the same time use our ports to load their cargoes.

The resolution adopted by the Maritime Trades Department, AFL-CIO, makes sense, and I wholeheartedly concurt with a recent editorial in the Buffalo Courier-Express, Buffalo, N.Y., applauding this action.

The October 1 editorial follows:

BLACKLISTING SHIPS THAT SUPPLY OUR ENEMY

While there may be those who disagree with some of the policies and activities of the country's maritime unions, there are few who will take issue with the latest stand of this labor organization. The Maritime Trades Department of the AFL-CIO adopted at its executive meeting a resolution which calls for the blacklisting of any free world vessel trading with North Vietnam.

The organization, which represents 32 affiliated national unions and a total of 5 million maritime workers, stated flatly that there is "no justification for failure to take economic action designed to prevent the flow of materials to the Vietcong." The resolution certainly makes sense to the millions of Americans who want to see the quickest possible termination of military action in South Vietnam and the Vietcong shoved back where they belong so they can no longer prey on their neighbors.

Vessel owners who find it profitable to supply our enemies and at the same time pick up cargoes in American ports are carrying water on both shoulders. They want to remain our friends but at the same time pick up the profit that comes from carrying needed supplies to our enemies. The proposed blacklisting, if it could be effected, would soon cause such shipping interests to make up their minds which friends they wanted to deal with. If they prefer North Vietnam, that's their business. They just won't be able to load cargoes in American ports. Certainly that's a fair choice.

The Real Alabama—Part LXXII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the pulp and paper industry is undergoing a tremendous growth in the country today, and this growth is displayed in full force in Alabama.

Some of the facts are set forth in the following material which is part of the total picture of the industrial strength in Alabama:

YOU TAKE A TREE AND ADD WATER

No. 1 in the South in pulpwood production is the within-reach goal of Alabama, already second in that field, third in lumber output and first in Southern pine pole and piling.

Pulpwood is the basis of the paper and paperboard industry. If you have the trees—and keep planting them—and the water, you're in business.

Alabama has both and is in the paper and pulp business in the greatest sort of way. The industry is not a brand new thing for the State, for enterprising business men saw and employed the potential many years ago. But it has been only within recent years that the onrush of pulp and paper has skyrocketed as a member of Alabama's industrial community.

Pulpwood production in the State has increased from a modest 758,000 cords in 1946 to the current level in excess of 3,400,000. And that figure is rising handsomely. Meanwhile, daily pulping capacity of the industry has moved toward the 6,000-ton level.

In the Mobile industrial complex, an early comer to the State, International Paper, and its multiproducts neighbor, Scott Paper, both provide whopping payrolls, are using millions of dollars worth of the State's raw materials.

Only in production since last year is Allied Paper Corp.'s bleached pulp mill at Jackson on the Tombigbee, a $20-million investment. Upstate at Prattville, Union Bag-Camp Paper Corp. is well along in construction of its $45 million pulp and paper mill on the Alabama, is scheduled for operation by next year. This is the paper industry's first location on the Alabama. But only a forerunner of many others.

Georgia Kraft is building a $45-million installation on the Chattahoochee at Cottonton, also expects to have wheels turning by 1966. Hammermill Paper has a $30-million bleached pulp mill rising near Selma on the Alabama, sets its original sights on a 400-ton daily production figure.

To meet the growing and changing needs, present and long term, of Southern newspapers, Kimberly-Clark Corp.'s big Coosa River Newsprint Division operation at Coosa Pines is adding additional equipment, will step up its annual output of newsprint from 275,000 to 425,000 tons.

Negotiations are underway which could bring several other pulp and paper enterprises into Alabama this year.

A predicted population by the year 2000 of 350 million Americans will triple the demand for pulp, paper, and paperboard. The southern segment of the industry, with Alabama as its mainstay, will play a leading role in meeting the demand.

Old Notre Dame

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as we struggle through the closing weeks of the congressional session, we must with candor recognize that the Members are being legitimately diverted by the world series and a spectacular football season.

During any football season one of the collegiate teams which attracts consistent attention due to its traditional greatness is the Fighting Irish of Notre Dame. The present coach of the Fighting Irish is himself a most colorful and successful individual. The Hairenik Weekly, publication of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation of North America, very appropriately salutes Coach Ara Parseghian in its issue of Thursday, September 30:

OLD NOTRE DAME

Old Notre Dame's 1965 football aggregation entered the sitting room of most every American home last Saturday, and what we saw was an awesome display of precision football played by a group of young collegians drilled into a team by Coach Ara Parseghian, an Armenian from Akron who coaches the Irish from South Bend.

We're wishing Ara and the Irish the best of luck this year, and from the reports reaching us, the Subway Alumni of Notre Dame have had 350,000 people added to its body. Win or lose, old Notre Dame has become the "alma mater" of most every Armenian American, simply because one of them, a gritty, inspired young man, has taken over a loser with a winning tradition and has done what few people can do—resurrect past glory in the twilight of a hopelessness which had Notre Dame's administration actually talking about giving up football. Parseghian has pumped new blood into Notre Dame, and the collegiate game of football is better off for it.

What our sports pecans cannot understand however, is that what Ara is doing for the Irish is old hat with Armenians. We've been playing the Phoenix ever since the Armens conquered Urartu, coming back stronger than ever, just as we have come back extraordinary from the terrible bloodlettings of 1915–18. We thrive on adversity; the desert becomes an oasis under our ministration. If this is self-praise so let it be. Some one ought to cite what is history, what is a characteristic of a people who produce a person like Ara Parseghian who put his career on the line when he took over the bad situation at Notre Dame, and gave back to this country something it had begun to miss—a cheer for old Notre Dame.

It is perhaps even as much a story that four, yes four, young men of Armenian parentage today are American collegiate football coaches. With Parseghian, there are of course Alex Agase, of Northwestern Univer-

sity, Andy Mooradian, New Hampshire University, and Joe Arslanian, of Weber State, in Colorado. If this isn't something of a record for a people of our numbers, then we've never seen a record.

The Pope's Plea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post of October 6 carried an editorial entitled "The Pope's Plea." That plea, as we all know, was a gentle, yet ringing plea for peace—the elusive object of so much of man's strife.

I think the Post editorial capsules the thrust and meaning of the Pope's words as well as anything I have seen:

THE POPE'S PLEA

Pope Paul VI, in his address at the United Nations, uttered what was essentially an appeal to the moral conscience of man for the abandonment of offensive arms, and the brotherly collaboration of peoples. The particulars of his message may be quarreled over or debated but they will increasingly diminish before the larger fact of the Pope's very presence at the United Nations and the more significant circumstance of his elevated and noble appeal for worldwide peaceful understanding.

That the Pope should have chosen the United Nations headquarters as the forum from which to deliver an appeal for peace may not tell the world much that is new about the position of the Church on the employment of offensive arms, but it tells the world a great deal about the reliance which the Vatican puts upon the United Nations as the secular instrument through which it hopes that peace may be attained. The Church is entitled to have its views upon the validity and vitality of political institutions respected both by its communicants and by others. Its emphasis upon the role of the United Nations is significant as the view of a great world institution which has been weighing the political establishments of mankind for 2,000 years. Whatever the Pope might have said at the United Nations, the fact that he chose to say it there would have given his appearance this especial significance and importance. But what he said had its own intrinsic significance and merit and importance for the world.

The gentle and persuasive petition of the pontiff contrasted sharply with the words that have been spoken in the same precincts by men who out of malice and hate and passion have shouted their obscenities and imprecations at each other. The great leader of the Roman Catholic faith was content to allow rightness, goodness, virtue, and high purpose to speak in the accents of the mild and meek. One can dare to hope that his quiet example will not speedily be forgotten and that those who speak after him in this tabernacle of the nations will imitate his speaking style and deferential delivery.

The elevated plane of the Pope's petition for peace loomed so high above that on which the transactions of the world customarily take place that many citizens must have been driven at once to the wish that this might be the level of all international transactions and to despair at the gulf between the world as it is and the world as it might be if secular affairs were governed in this generous spirit.

The wish is right and the despair is wrong. Sooner or later, the goodness in man's nature will assert its governance over the affairs of the world. We need to believe the hopeful words of Parrington: "With ebbing faith men may deny their divine nature, but the divinity is not destroyed; the music of the indwelling Godhood murmurs in the shell 'til the tide returns to flood it again."

What we heard at the United Nations in New York on Monday was the murmur of that far-off tide presaging that sure though distant day when men will live in the peace and brotherhood for which the Pope made his earnest plea.

Third Anniversary of Uganda's Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on October 9, 1965, Uganda celebrates the third anniversary of independence. This beautiful country in East Africa, whose southern boundary is the blue waters of Lake Victoria, whose territory includes the fabled Mountains of the Moon, and whose coffee we drink here in the United States, has been making steady and impressive progress in developing and building a national state and a strong economy.

I am pleased to enter into the RECORD my congratulations to President Sir Edward Mutesa, Vice President William Nadiope, Prime Minister Dr. A. Milton Obote, and especially to all the people of Uganda on this happy anniversary.

Some months ago I had the pleasure of entertaining the distinguished Ambassador of Uganda, Dr. Solomon B. Asea, at lunch here on Capitol Hill. We had an interesting talk reviewing past accomplishments and future hopes. It was particularly interesting for me to hear of the many new projects which have been started by the energetic and forward looking government. We discussed plans for moderate and reasonable industrial activity, we reviewed the great steps being taken in the field of education and agricultural expansion. It is gratifying to see this young country forging steadily ahead.

All over Africa there is an air of progress. The thirst for education in this great continent is certainly one of the most remarkable manifestations of the human desire for improvement that I have ever witnessed. The hard-working people of Uganda stand second to none in their desire for progress and stable democratic government.

Uganda is a beautiful country. The capital city of Kampala, situated like ancient Rome on seven hills, is a pleasant and bustling city of close to 200,000 citizens. The countryside is green and rich, dotted with small farms producing cotton, coffee and tea. Not far from Kampala, situated close to the shores of Lake Victoria where the Nile River starts its long trip to the Mediterranean, is the modern city of Jinja. There, thanks to the remarkable Owen Falls Dam, is a growing and modern industrial complex. Textile mills, a copper smelter and other establishments contribute to the prosperity of the country and the people. Farther away are the great national parks teeming with elephants, hippos, and the world-famous tree-climing lions. Modern roads span the country from north to south, from east to west.

Under the leadership of the President, the Vice President and the Prime Minister, Uganda is moving rapidly ahead. She is a member of the United Nations and is represented on a number of the specialized agencies of that body. Her diplomats in increasing numbers are making the voice of Uganda heard around the world. And so it is with particular pleasure that I wish to record my sincere congratulations to this progressive, democratic nation on the third anniversary of independence.

Things Were Looking Up for Student Robie Slusher

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER H. MOELLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. MOELLER. Mr. Speaker, death has a way of dramatizing the importance of some of the things we do or leave undone. Little do we know how far reaching our concerns for the poor and underpriviliged can extend, and how much satisfaction can come our way if we do not grow weary in well-doing.

This editorial from the September 28 issue of the Jackson Herald speaks most eloquently of the meaning of a manpower training center to a man by the name of Robie Slusher and to his Congressman:

THINGS WERE LOOKING UP FOR STUDENT ROBIE SLUSHER

Things were looking up for 53-year-old Robie Slusher, of Stockdale.

The first half-century had not been easy pickings. Robie was born in McGuffin County, Ky., in 1912 and had not attended a day of school in his life. He worked at odd jobs until he was inducted into the Army in World War II. He was a good soldier and served 4½ years, attaining the rank of staff sergeant.

Since the war he has worked as a laborer in scrap yards and held other miscellaneous jobs. Robie is married and has 8 children, all of whom are receiving conventional schooling.

In February, Robie became a student at the Southern Ohio Manpower Training Center. When he entered the school he could not read or write a word except his name. Robie was enrolled in the remedial education class in the building maintenance course. He attended class 3 hours in the morning in basic education classes—reading, writing, and arithmetic. In the afternoon, he took training in the field of building maintenance—a job skill.

Robie learned to read and write. After 12 weeks, he was able to compose this following letter to Congressman WALTER MOELLER:

"DEAR SIR: It is a pleasure to let you know we appreciate you being our Congressman, and all the things you are doing for us. I am taking training at Jackson, Ohio, at the manpower training center. It is a wonderful opportunity for people who aren't qualified for a job. We have good instructors. We are grateful to all of you that helped get the training started.

"Yours truly,

"ROBIE SLUSHER."

This letter eventually reached the desk of the President of the United States. President Johnson said the letter "gave him a heartwarming insight into the value of the manpower training program."

Robie was proud of his letter to the Congressman. He was proud to be able to write to his family. He was proud to be able to help his smaller children.

A new world was opening for Robie Slusher. He continued his studies and his training at the manpower training center. But it ended this past weekend for Robie. He died of a heart attack at his home to the shock of his family and friends and fellow students and instructors at the manpower training center.

But we don't think Robie's training was in vain. And Robie was but one of many students in the basic education classes at the manpower center who are showing tremendous progress.

Robie's instructor Art Jenkins and the training center director Clarence Gingerich report almost unbelievable progress in this area and other areas of the training program. "It is fantastic in many cases to see the development and growth of the individuals," says Director Gingerich.

Robie Slusher, a man coming out of a shell, will be mourned. But the program he was part of will go on.

What Is at Stake in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. NIX. Mr Speaker, the Christian Science Monitor recently carried an editorial which I believe is the clearest and most compelling argument for President Johnson's policies in Vietnam that has been published to date. With typical restraint, but with incisive logic—and the facts to back it up—the Monitor has, in my opinion, completely demolished all the arguments that have been used against our involvement in that wartorn country. The editorial acknowledges the criticism of our policy, but concludes:

We believe the first signs are now coming from that troubled and unhappy land that the policy was right, even though the end desired may still be far away. A change in mood is reported from Saigon. And the United States seems to be making the point that was so needed—that it simply cannot and will not be ejected from South Vietnam by force.

I hope all of my colleagues will read this excellent editorial:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 25, 1965]

WHAT IS AT STAKE IN VIETNAM

Ambassador Arthur Goldberg told the United Nations General Assembly, Thursday, that the Chinese Communists were trying "to transfer the country of South Vietnam into a proving ground for their theories." Their theories, in effect, are that "people's revolutionary wars"—in other words, wars that are likely to bring to power Communists tributary to Peiping—are just, must be supported, and will end in victory for the revolutionaries.

Chinese Defense Minister Lin Piao wrote the other day: "The spiritual atom bomb that the revolutionary people possess is a far more powerful and useful weapon than the physical atom bomb."

This statement of Marshal Lin's appeared in the manifesto on which Ambassador Goldberg commented with such vigor in his United Nations speech. In the manifesto, too, was a sentence which—placed alongside Mr. Goldberg's words quoted above—points up the confrontation and the incompatible positions in Vietnam. "The United States," the marshal wrote, "has made South Vietnam a testing ground for the suppression of people's war."

Such phrases of doubletalk have been made familiar in this age by the Communists, but the basic situation is age old. The conflict in Vietnam results from a collision on the frontier between the legitimate areas of power of two giants.

The United States—the only one of the three actual or potential superpowers that is an air and sea power rather than a land power—is legitimately concerned with what happens, not only along its own coastline, but on the far shores of the two oceans that bound it. For an air or sea power, the opposite shore is always a possible launching pad for air or sea attacks. (In the old days, that is why Britain always reacted when it saw a threat on the far side of the English Channel.)

Thus the United States has a justifiable interest in what happens along the Pacific coast of Asia. This explains and validates its present commitments in Japan, in South Korea, in the Philippines—and in South Vietnam.

Looking outward from the Asian heartland, the Chinese Communists see this same rim of Asia as the frontier of their power. And so they find themselves in collision with the United States. Under normally civilized conditions, a modus vivendi surely could be found—as the United States and the Soviet Union eventually found one at a point where they were in collision in Europe. This was in Austria. But an Austrian settlement would never have come about, had the Soviets committed themselves to ousting the Americans from the country by force—as the Chinese, subtly and indirectly, have committed themselves to ousting the Americans from Vietnam.

There has been this year sharp criticism from some quarters within the free world of President Johnson's policy of escalation in Vietnam. We believe the first signs are now coming from that troubled and unhappy land that the policy was right, even though the end desired may still be far away. A change in mood is reported from Saigon. And the United States seems to be making the point that was so needed—that it simply cannot and will not be ejected from South Vietnam by force.

There is repeated evidence from President Johnson himself—and most recently in Ambassador Goldberg's speech—that the U.S. purpose in Vietnam is indeed not war but peace and tranquillity for all Asia. We believe in the sincerity of the administration's invitation to the United Nations to help find a way to peace. And, generally speaking, the path chosen by the administration this year is the one most likely to produce the right kind of peace.

The Immigration Act—A Milestone in International Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, this Nation passed an historic milestone in its international relations on October 3 when President Johnson signed the new immigration bill abolishing the national origins quota system.

For 40 years we have suffered a stain to remain on our statute books and on the beautiful lady on Liberty Island who watches over our New York gateway and in whose shadow the President signed this historic bill.

Beginning in 1924, we proclaimed to the world that a person's contribution to our national well-being, and his right to join our national community, was to be judged in large part by the place of his birth or the country of his ancestors. This theme, so repugnant to our ideas of the equality of man, has haunted us at home and abroad for four decades.

By the act of October 3 we shall no longer be concerned with a man's birthplace or ancestry but he will be judged on two factors only: His relationship to citizens or aliens already here and the skills and talents he may bring with him, the better to help us in forging our national society.

No one should fear these changes. More importantly, no fears should be entertained that we are substantially increasing our immigration; relaxing our standards of admission; or prejudicing the jobs we hold. The bill authorizes a purely nominal increase in total immigration. It does not change any of the grounds of inadmissibility or deportability.

The new law does not prohibit the entry of aliens who do not have the relationship or the skills which result in a preferential treatment. It does not permit such an immigrant to come here, but only after preference classes have been taken care of and only if the Secretary of Labor has determined that his admission to this country will not undermine the wages and working conditions of the employed American.

No longer, however, will the immigrant without family ties or outstanding talent be able to migrate here immediately because he was born in northern or western Europe, while a U.S. citizen waits for years before his aged parents from southern or eastern Europe can obtain a quota number.

No longer will the scientist from southern Asia be kept from joining the staff of an American university because only 100 persons may be allowed to enter this country annually from his native land.

No longer will the refugee from communism's tyranny and oppression be stigmatized by being "paroled" into the

United States, a term too closely associated with the status of the released criminal. For the first time in our immigration experience, a specific authorization for the orderly entry of 10,700 such refugees annually has been incorporated into our basic law.

The new law is not a general revision of the patchwork quilt of sometimes obscure and sometimes contradictory legislation on immigration which occupies over 175 pages of our statute books. It is, however, a clear-cut repudiation of the fallacious and demeaning philosophy which constituted the national origins quota system. In the best sense of the term it is a selfish law. While its provisions give greater hope to those outside our gates, in the elimination of this 20th century shibboleth the greatest beneficiaries of the law are the American people.

I am proud to have been a sponsor of this legislation and to have been present at the historic ceremonies on Liberty Island when our President signed the immigration bill and reaffirmed our national policy.

Art in Iowa Besmirched

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, the Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Gazette is deeply concerned that Members of this body, and Americans all over this country, may have gotten the impression that Iowans are not concerned about arts and humanities.

As a gesture of friendliness to my neighbor State of Iowa, and lest some Members actually believe Iowans do not care for art, I include as part of my remarks the Gazette editorial of October 2, 1965, "Art in Iowa Besmirched":

ART IN IOWA BESMIRCHED

When the U.S. House of Representatives this month approved a bill to subsidize the arts and humanities with grants of $21 million for each of 3 years, Iowa's Representative H. R. GROSS made nationwide news in his effort to beat the bill by ridicule.

We are not convinced that Federal aid to artists, performers and scholars will be altogether good for them or for the country, but we do see regrettable flaws in derision as a weapon of attack.

Representative GROSS misreads the attitude of many Iowans and does no service to the State in spreading an impression that Iowans belittle the arts or consider them silly and subject to scorn. His opposition in the House had that effect through several deadpan Gross amendments, all rejected.

One proposed that belly-dancing be included in the arts definition. Another would have added to it "baseball, football, golf, tennis, squash, pinochle and poker." Another suggested direct arts aid to Appalachia and the "poverty-stricken areas of New York and New Jersey."

With this approach, Representative GROSS perpetuated tactics used for years by a self-styled "boob bloc" of congressional wits in their generally successful move to laugh arts bills off the floor. This time he alone led the snicker assault. It fell extremely flat. The arts-and-humanities subsidy bill won overwhelming passage, and more bills like it doubtless will appear in years ahead.

When it comes to Iowa's involvement in the arts, a far more fitting theme for national exposure would stress what Iowa has done in arts promotion fund-raising efforts for a million-dollar art gallery project on the University of Iowa campus are nearing success. Cedar Rapids is completing a campaign for $250,000 in contributions to remodel its art center building. Des Moines has an art center known and respected throughout the State. So does Davenport. So does Marshalltown. So do several other Iowa communities whose interest mirrors that of countless Iowans in tune with cultural enrichment progress everywhere.

To contradict this with misleading, stale comedy in Congress paints a picture both phony and harmful. The oldtime boob-bloc image was deserved and apropos, perhaps, but now it belongs to a bygone day that no true spokesman for the State should wrongly advertise.

Education's Keys to Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAM GIBBONS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Commissioner of Education, Francis Keppel this week delivered a significant address on the subject of the role of the Federal Government in American education.

He appeared before a seminar of the Educational Writers Association, meeting at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, Tuesday, October 5.

One of the reoccurring themes we hear so often, from some quarters, is that with the increasing Federal participation in the Nation's educational processes, there will follow Federal control and eventual domination, as surely as night follows day.

Commissioner Keppel does not believe that this is true, nor has to be the case. Neither do I. I think the Commissioner has successfully harpooned this argument. In his outstanding talk, he points out that the Federal Government, in reality, is a "junior partner," with the States and local governments, in American education.

Mr. Keppel correctly emphasizes that the Federal Government has had a vital interest in American education extending back virtually to the start of this Nation. He points out that today American education is not controlled in Washington, but in the State capitals, the local school districts, and the classrooms of this country. Support for education in the United States is predominantly in the hands of State and local governments. Even with the sharp increase in Federal contributions to our education processes in the past several years, notably through outstanding educational programs of the 88th Congress, "the education Congress" and the present session of the 89th Congress, the Federal Government invests less than 8 percent of its gross funds for all educational purposes, while the States allocate about 35 percent of their gross funds to the schools, while local governments invest 45 percent.

In his talk before the Education Writers Tuesday, Commissioner Keppel pointed out that the Governors and educators attending the recent Interstate Compact for Education conference in Kansas City, Mo., acknowledged the increasing need for Federal financial help to the Nation's school systems. On the other hand, they also urged stronger leadership in this area on the part of the States and local governments. In this, Commissioner Keppel agrees. And so do I. And, I feel sure, so do the great majority of the Members of the Congress.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 spells this out. As Commissioner Keppel points out:

Title V of the act is directed to help strengthen our State departments of education, the pivotal agencies on which we must depend if we mean to keep American education both strong and decentralized.

I firmly believe that the continued effectiveness of the Federal-State-local partnership in the field of education, as well as in many others, will depend to a great degree upon the kind of leadership exercised by the States and local education agencies. I believe it will be strong and vigorous.

I would like to take this opportunity to extend my congratulations to Commissioner Keppel upon his additional, new title, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for Education.

Under unanimous consent, I insert Commissioner Keppel's remarks at this point:

EDUCATION'S KEYS TO SUCCESS

(An address by Francis Keppel, U.S. Commissioner of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, before a seminar of the Education Writers Association, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C., October 5, 1965)

It is good to be here with you today, to resume our continuing discourse on what's new in American education.

Washington clearly has provided education news in abundance this year. It will doubtless continue to do so.

The President feels strongly about the urgency of strengthening education. So does the Congress. So, it is clear, do the American people.

And yet I think that all of us here in Washington look toward the day when the most dramatic news about American education will be developing beyond this capital city—across the country in our State capitols and, particularly, in the educational agencies established by our States to administer our education structure.

During the 88th and now the 89th Congress, we have seen the greatest array of education acts in the Nation's history—acts that establish a vigorous and effective relationship among local, State, and Federal activities for improving education at all levels. Recognizing that the strength of our schools and colleges and universities has become an overriding national concern, our elected representatives have called for strong national participation and national support, in partnership with the States and local communities.

For the Federal Government to participate in education—to be a partner, a junior partner, with the States and local communi-

ties—seems to me not only proper but necessary.

The impact of developments in our schools obviously stretches beyond local boundaries. Education plays a central role in determining the vigor of our national economy, the success of our system of government, the strength of our position in a restless family of nations.

The Federal Government, the national instrument of the people's will, obviously has a keen interest in education.

But as the legislative acts for education clearly spell out, the thrust of the Federal investment is to assure that the ultimate responsibility for the conduct of American education rests where it always has centered—in our States and localities and in our public and private institutions of higher learning.

In a national enterprise on which the people of the United States now expend $39 billion annually, the Federal investment has—to be sure—grown appreciably in the past few years.

In fiscal 1964, total Federal funds for education—including all Federal agencies, among them Defense, NASA, and the Atomic Energy Commission—came to $4.5 billion. In fiscal 1965 they rose to around $6.3 billion. Now, in fiscal 1966, they amount to about $8.7 billion—almost a twofold increase since 1964.

The major increase in these funds has been made within the U.S. Office of Education. In fiscal 1964, Office of Education appropriations came to about $700 million. They reached $1.5 billion in fiscal 1965, and now, in fiscal 1966, they will total about $3 billion—more than four times the amount of only 3 years ago.

Nevertheless, support for education in the United States still remains preponderantly in the hands of State and local governments. Despite the sharp increase in Federal expenditures, the Federal Government invests less than 8 percent of its gross funds for all educational purposes. By contrast, our States allocate about 35 percent of their gross funds to the schools, and local governments invest 45 percent of theirs.

These large local expenditures, this State and local autonomy, provided the United States with its first educational revolution—a revolution in which education became available to everyone. It was carried out by our States and our localities, not by a Federal effort. In this century, by this investment, the high school was made accessible to all America.

There were those who had argued, often vehemently, that expansion on such a scale could not occur without Federal money—and yet it did occur and became one of America's proudest accomplishments. It was not a uniform system of education; it was universal education. This great accomplishment was costly. In achieving it, State and local debt skyrocketed; in some cases that debt is approaching the outer limits.

But this sense of local responsibility established the concept of diversity, which brought with it advantages denied to nations which have a centralized system of education. Our diverse and fluid approach gave the individual teacher and the individual administrator the opportunity and enthusiasm to shape and reform the school in accordance with changing times and changing needs, a practice impossible in centralized systems. It permitted us to have some remarkably good institutions and, of course, some remarkably bad ones.

Meanwhile, local voting for school boards and local bond elections brought the people of our communities close to education, giving them democratic responsibility for the kind of schooling their children would receive. This identification between the American people and their schools in large part accounts for the very rapid spread of secondary education throughout the United States in the first four decades of this century.

The years subsequent to World War II brought a rising ferment in education, a need to expand educational opportunities to a degree far beyond any past development. The Nation was undergoing a profound social and economic revolution which education was called upon to share, to help shape, and to influence.

The issue could not be dodged. It had to be faced. And faced it has been, by the enactment of Federal programs to provide new stimulus, new tools, new approaches throughout our educational structure—from early schooling for disadvantaged children, to loans and scholarships to help make higher education available to all who can benefit by it.

The Federal expenditures called for in these programs can be regarded as seed money, designed to fortify and enhance localized educational enterprises. With this money we seek to support the exploration of promising new directions for education and to promote the development and application of innovations that will help every school in every part of the Nation to do the best possible job.

But the turning point of all the various Federal programs for education is that they be carried out within the States—under their direction, their authority. The Governors and educators attending the Interstate Compact for Education meeting in Kansas City last month recognized the need for Federal aid to education:

"The constantly mounting pressures of fiscal burden," they said, "have made inevitable the infusion of massive Federal financial assistance to State and local school districts."

But they also recognized the possible influence of these funds on educational policy and the necessity for strong State leadership in the use of Federal support. Again I quote:

"The mere determination of where and how to spend this money is of itself a major policy determinant * * * It is the belief of this committee that the leadership in the determination of these policy decisions must remain with the States."

I agree with this statement entirely. The Federal Government has spelled out the principle of State leadership in the culminating provision of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Title V of the Act is directed to help strength our State departments of education, the pivotal agencies on which we must depend if we mean to keep American education both strong and decentralized. These chief administrative agencies are now called upon for a whole new thrust of achievement:

To make equal educational opportunity a fact for all our children.

To provide the best schools and teachers for those who all too often have been given the worst.

To create new vocational schools that are responsive to the economic and social needs of our States and communities.

To bring the most creative talents into educational research, exploring new ways of teaching and learning in a day of unprecedented demands for the best.

To open the doors of possibility in all our schools through supplementary services, adequate libraries, counseling, laboratories.

This act recognizes, in short, that the success of these programs will not be won in Washington, but in the States and localities and institutions where they are carried out.

They will call for the participation of every citizen, and for the wisest counsel we can find, both inside and outside education.

They will call for new appreciation of teachers, and of their professional and personal contribution to the community.

They will call in turn for teachers who seek the most challenging assignments, not the least challenging.

They will call for an appropriate response by States and localities to the great work of Congress, which has supplied new educational legislation * * * but not a straitjacket of specific instructions for putting that legislation to work.

All these things are necessary if we mean to preserve the vitality of decentralized education—and here we must look for leadership to the individual State departments of education.

The Federal effort has illuminated new goals for education and provided funds to help reach them. But if we really mean to achieve our potential, we must have a high order of creative talent within the States.

The responsibilities of the State departments of education have increased enormously, yet few of these agencies have the mechanism for meeting that responsibility either in the size of their staffs or in the necessary range of special skills.

Beyond curriculum specialists, the ablest they can find, State planning staffs in education need a whole new range of skills—sociologists, economists, demographers, for example.

These agencies should be among the first to be concerned about problems of youth unemployment in a period of prosperity, about unacceptable illiteracy in a day of exploding knowledge.

For the Education Writers Association, the place for news in education is not necessarily in Washington. It is everywhere in America. Hopefully, it will soon be in our State education agencies as they seek to build leadership where it must really begin.

In the months ahead, you can serve education greatly by your careful examination of these agencies. For years, they have been working without much public attention or public support, and often with far too little status within their own State governments.

Today their responsibilities have soared. They know they need better staffs, bigger staffs, better ways of operating and planning and giving leadership to the educational process for which they are now responsible.

The Nation's press traditionally has helped our society achieve reforms. The very asking for news can inspire greater effort by the State agencies, and greater public understanding of their staggering responsibilities.

You have secured long-needed improvements time and again through your inquiries and analysis. Now we need these improvements urgently in our States if we are to achieve the educational possibilities that lie before us. We need your help.

In the past, State and local responsibility, State and local initiative have made American education great. They are still our keys to success as we set out on the greatest educational mission of the 20th century.

Youth Corps Report From the Quinault Indian Tribe of Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, today there are many comments and discussion pertaining to the various phases of the poverty program. Usually only the critics speak. Therefore, I would like to take this opportunity today

to tell the House of Representatives of a unique and interesting and successful program underway in our State.

For many years I have felt that the Federal Government was negligent beyond measure in its programs for the development of our Indian people. With the advent of President John F. Kennedy and Secretary of Interior Udall a new era began.

I have been privileged to be part of this new era as a member of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and now as a member of the Interior Subcommittee of Appropriations. Therefore, I was overjoyed to receive this month a letter from Blanche Pennick, county superintendent of schools of Grays Harbor County, where the Quinault Indian Reservation is located.

She says, in commenting upon the Quinault Tribal Neighborhood Youth Corps program which has been in progress at Queets and Taholah since July 6, 1965:

This is one of two NYC programs on Indian reservations in the State of Washington and I believe that the council members share my opinion that it has not only been eminently successful; it has made a most significant and worthwhile contribution to these communities.

I have been most pleased with the attitudes of the boys and girls employed; they have worked well, and I have enjoyed the finest cooperation. In short, I have never worked with a finer group of young people.

I can further assure you with pride that the money they have earned has been well spent; in a number of cases of which I have personal knowledge, the NYC checks have bought food for the family; almost all workers have provided themselves with school clothing and supplies, and in several cases these funds have made it possible to return to school.

In addition, significant learning has been achieved because the activities chosen were related to the resources and life of the community. We have carried on a fisheries project under the direction of the Bureau of Fisheries and a forestry project under the supervision of the BIA Forestry Department. In developing the recreation area on the Quinault River (which will be a source of satisfaction and pride for these people in years to come) we have enjoyed the cooperation of the Olympic Park Service. Through these and other such well chosen projects it has been possible to nurture attitudes of civic pride, responsibility, cultural pride, and dependability.

I feel that no program could have contributed more to these young people's welfare and development, and I believe that this is the assessment of all those who have worked with it. That it has been successful beyond our highest expectations is due to the fine people who have given it their time and energy; the tribal council and the fine group of supervisors. Given the same interest on the part of community leaders, these antipoverty programs will succeed in our areas.

Miss Pennick, who was a distinguished colleague of mine in the Legislature of Washington at one time, is considered one of Washington's leading educators. She was kind enough to send me also the Quinault Tribal Council Neighborhood Youth Corps preliminary report of major projects completed, which I insert in the RECORD at this time:

QUINAULT TRIBAL COUNCIL NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS PRELIMINARY REPORT

Total number of days work to date, 30; total number of workers enrolled, 61 (some part time).

MAJOR PROJECTS COMPLETED

1. Road to garbage dump (88) brushed, bulldozed, garbage dump made, barrier in place—turnaround made and graveled. Cost of bull dozing, $96. Paid by Neighborhood Youth Corps.

2. Fish marking and planting: Total of 140,824 fish marked and planted as follows: 101,859 planted in Cook Creek and 38,965 planted in the Moclips River. All equipment used made by crew. No cost to project. Supervised by James L. Heckman, fishery biologist, Bureau of Sports Fish and Wildlife.

3. Complete Gravel Survey on the Moclips River, both forks. Gravel surveys on logged portions of Duck and Camp Creeks. (Purpose of the gravel surveys: Determine circulation of oxygen through gravel to determine survival potential for fish eggs. From survey the number of fish that will survive in an area can be calculated.

Survey of log jams on Red Creek, unlogged portion Crane Creek logging unit. (Also related to survival of fish.)

4. Long House cleaned and interior painted. Plumbing fixed. Windows replaced. Exterior and porches repaired. Cost of paint and glass charged to tribal council.

5. Eagle Lake camp site: Road cleared, brushed, and graded. (State grader—not cost to project). Clearing of campground well under way and continuing.

6. Work on tribal trailer park (top of hill) stoves and tables installed, signs made and installed, barrier fence in place, clearing and cleaning done.

7. Forestry practice project under Bishop Buckle, Forester, Bureau of Indian Affairs, including thinning, pruning, forestry methods, etc., to be completed this week. Total of 4 acres thinned and pruned.

8. House for VISTA worker cleaned, painted, brush cut and removed, plumbing repaired.

9. General cleaning, painting, window washing and repairing done at the school. School shining.

10. General brushing, cleaning along powerline and in community.

11. Weekly garbage collection set up. Hope to continue through the winter.

12. Girls worked at the Taholah School as teachers' aids and assisted in the summer school program.

13. Library program: Girls assisted in library project: cataloging, repair, cleaning of books and general library work.

14. Clerical aids: Girls assisted in tribal office and project office.

15. Clerical: Girls set up record system, typed records and minutes, set up card file for Community Services Committee.

16. Work at Queets:

Community house completed this week. Roof repaired, walls covered with wall board, window frames made and installed, glass installed, plumbing fixed, doors repaired, general repair, and cleaning. Approximate cost to tribal council $150.

Church painted (as far as paint would go). Work done by girls.

Queets-Clearwater School cleaned and painted. Work done by girls. Good job and a big job.

Clearing, brushing of fire trails at Queets (according to directions given to Mr. Anderson by Mr. George Sevey, Bureau of Indian Affairs) still in progress.

Some work done on the water system.

17. Miscellaneous work projects:

Fish dock raised and repaired.

New floor in tribal office rest room.

Plumbing repaired in the tribal office.

Cars and trucks washed regularly.

All enrollees interviewed.

Janitor service set up for the tribal office.

Girls acted as chaperons for Bureau of Indian Affairs trips.

Work on ball field, goal posts installed.

Flag pole obtained—to be installed at the tribal office.

Trailer connections—water and sewage—made for VISTA workers at Queets.

General cleanup in both villages.

18. Educational projects arranged:

One day class in safety. Mr. Kneeland, instructor.

Two days: Classes held in first aid. Mr. Harvey, instructor.

RECREATION PROGRAM

1. Part of the time of the recreation director was occupied in supervising the Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees who worked on the Long House.

2. Major recreational trips: Enchanted Valley Sol Duc Hot Springs.

3. Local recreational projects included movies, games, picnics, campouts, and girls' softball.

Indeed this record of accomplishment in just a few short weeks will show that this program can work; it will work, and particularly may I urge that whenever possible this House continue to urge those in charge of directing the entire poverty program to place continued emphasis on those earliest Americans of us all.

On Sunday I was present at Liberty Island when the immigration bill was signed and I thought of the American Indian who stood on these shores as this invasion came in. I have wondered many times what they have thought as they have been pushed further and further from their lands and left with depleted resources, no jobs, poor schools and no opportunity to better themselves.

This was their land long before it was ours. It was their world, so let us not ever forget that we owe these people a deep feeling of gratitude and that we can emphasize this gratitude forcefully by making up our minds to abolish poverty, illiteracy, disease and lack of opportunity for the Indian peoples of America.

The Budget Bureau has been shortsighted in many instances. They have failed to provide funds for reforestation of the most beautiful wilderness lands of America at the same time the conservationists ask for more of this wilderness.

Administrations have come and gone. The problem of these people will not wait.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Mood of Congress Changes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the press, sensitive to every move of Congress, has quickly picked up some background reasoning for the shelving of the home rule bill.

Writing in the October 4 issue of the Knoxville Journal, columnist Ted Lewis describes the mood of Congress in a very interesting and noteworthy manner:

MOOD OF CONGRESS CHANGES

(By Ted Lewis)

WASHINGTON.—There is a moral in President Johnson's shattering defeat in the House on the issue of home rule for the District of Columbia. It is that at some point a docile cow rebels at being led around by a ring in its nose.

Congress has finally begun to kick up its heels, fed up with White House pressure tactics. It is not yet in a mood to run completely berserk. But if the President does get any more "must" legislation this session, it will not be delivered with a smile but with sufferance.

The President's defeat in his attempt to give the District the status of a city which governs itself had far more significance than the issue itself. The heavily weighted Democratic House found it had a chance to tell Lyndon off without deserting him on allegiance to his Great Society program.

This fact is clear, despite the fuzzy roll-call votes involved in the demise of Johnson's proposal. What happened was that Democrats who had consistently voted for the administration on all Great Society types of legislation left the fold on the home rule issue.

This hard core of 200 of 293 House Democrats had been counted on to do Johnson's bidding on any important vote. But in this instance they deserted in sufficient numbers to produce his defeat.

Just how contagious this rebellion in Congress against White House marching orders is going to be is uncertain. But it is a concrete display of resentment at being pushed around since last January, especially the arm-twisting methods used to get Congress to rubber stamp what the President wants.

There is a certain amount of truth in a Congresswoman's assessment of how Members feel right now. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS, Democrat, of Michigan, put it this way in a letter to her constituents:

"We have been a hard working Congress because we have a hard working President but we are beginning to get cross, mean, and hateful. Let's adjourn."

But Mrs. GRIFFITHS knows there is much more to the present congressional mood than the fact members have been working hard and are tired.

What has increasingly irked House and Senate Democrats in patricular is the way the White House sees to it that the President gets the major credit every time they pass one of his "must" bills.

White House aids emphasize Johnson's legislative record as the most significant in American history. But for his persuasive efforts—almost miraculous in their effectiveness—the impression is cunningly put forth that Congress would not have responded as it has. This is a natural White House line.

Yet there is a feeling throughout Congress that the tub-thumping has been too loud and too often, that the presidential image of a miracle producer of new laws makes the legislative branch of government appear to be a creature of the executive branch.

Senators and Representatives of the President's own party would not mind this exaggeration of Johnson's political weight if this were 1967 or 1968. In those years it is going to be important for the party's fortunes to have the President look as big as possible in advance of the next campaign for the Presidency.

But in this year and 1966, the Democratic Congressmen think what they have done should be emphasized by the administration, not what the President has succeeded in getting them to do. After all, they are the ones who will be seeking re-election a year from November, not the President.

Members are in an almost psychopathic fury over the way the President's brigade of "errand boys" operate in Capitol corridors and the way their telephones keep ringing with someone in the executive branch, often the President himself, cajoling, pleading, or ordering them to vote right on this or that.

When a House public roads subcommittee, for example, was about to vote on the highway beautification bill, outside the closed door were three White House aids. Their mere presence was threatening and effective, for the committee favorably reported the bill and the aids immediately phoned the White House so Lady Bird Johnson would get the good news about her pet project.

When House and Senate conferees met to iron out difference between two versions of the housing bill, outside were other White House operatives. Their purpose: To see to it that no changes were made in the bill except those the President was willing to accept.

It is such high-handed tactics which have done most to get Congress in a nasty mood, such as the House displayed when it booted the President on the home rule issue.

Safety Aspects of Highway Beautification

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KEN W. DYAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. DYAL. Mr. Speaker, traffic accidents and the high death toll on our highways constitute one of the Nation's most important problems. A serious deficiency in our highway transportation system is its inability to handle the immense traffic demands arising from a prospering national economy. The evidence is found in the congestion that clogs the streets and highways of our urban areas, and still more importantly in the extent and severity of the total traffic accident toll. During the past few years the problem has become especially acute. I have been reading in recent days that no less than 50,000 persons are expected to lose their lives in highway traffic accidents in 1965. More than 48,000 persons were killed in 1964. The monetary loss to the public and private sector of our economy is approaching $10 billion annually.

The national traffic accident situation will require the best efforts of many governmental agencies, even for its alleviation. Traffic accidents are most difficult of analysis for casual factors, but they must be attacked through improvements in all elements of highway transportation.

Highway users at all times need to have a roadway environment that is safe in its engineering design and in the functional features of its roadsides.

It has been established by authoritative research, notably a classic study conducted in Michigan several years ago, that roadside features are more closely interrelated with accident occurrence than are the basic design features of the highway itself. The billboard alleys through which many motorists travel today are not conducive to highway safety. The General Motors Corp. had directed additional study to roadside safety, and now prescribes strict requirements for completely clear roadsides on their proving grounds so as to minimize accidents as they test and evaluate new vehicles designs. A study of conditions on the New York State Thruway, conducted by the consulting firm of Madigan-Hyland, Inc., determined in 1963 that there was an important association even on this excellent facility between advertising devices and accident rates.

The accident reputation of our highway systems is likely to remain as shabby as the advertising signs that clutter their roadsides if steps are not taken to bring these distracting displays under proper control. A prime need for every one of our 96 million motoring Americans is for clear, conspicuous signs, route directions, and markings. These aids, installed by appropriate governmental authorities, enable him to make necessary decisions well in advance of route junctions and other critical points. If the driver has to search out a needed official sign message from amidst a welter of advertising copy he is likely to fail, and this failure too often may lead to a tragic end.

Psychological investigations have repeatedly proved that the vision capabilities of drivers are limited. Even those items of information that are actually seen and read cannot always be digested quickly enough to stimulate the proper responses. It is for these reasons that I call for control of those distracting roadside elements that interrupt and interfere with the effective official guidance signs and warnings so vital to the motorist's safety. The communications devices installed by official highway agencies must be the dominant features of our roadside displays. I am convinced that the present situation can be changed without offense to industrial or commercial interests. It is in the best interest of the Nation's welfare and safety to do so. The deserved efforts going forward on so many fronts to overcome the disgraceful traffic accident situation clearly call for effective control of commercial advertising at the roadside.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly support S. 2084 as the first step in not only aiding in national traffic safety but in a beautification program that will be a credit to our generation.

Home Rule for the District of Columbia

SPEECH

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 4644) to provide an elected mayor, city council and nonvoting delegate to the House of Representatives for

the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I have come from attendance at the General Assembly of the United Nations, to which I am one of the five delegates from the United States appointed by President Johnson, to cast my vote for home rule for the District of Columbia. In 1949, when I came to the Congress, I declared myself for home rule, and I have signed every discharge petition in the years that have followed. I trust my colleagues will understand why I feel so strongly that I would not wish to be absent when at long last the opportunity has come to vote to lift the colonial status that for too long has been the unhappy lot of the fair city of Washington.

Today I was to have been with Secretary of State Rusk at a meeting with the foreign ministers of eight African countries that recently have become sovereign and independent nations. I would have been uncomfortable in their presence with the thought that I had passed up the opportunity to cast my vote in a critical rollcall for political freedom for the Capital City of my country. So much had they given to break the colonial chains, and so little was I asked to give.

I have listened to the long debate on the pending bill, and I have found it interesting and in the best traditions of this historic Chamber. What impressed me most perhaps was the very evident sincerity of the debaters. Those who were opposed to home rule seemed as deeply confirmed in their convictions as those who visioned in the issue the challenge of a crusade.

Mr. Chairman, I think it has been that way since first man started to reach out for some form of government in which recognition would be given to the dignity of man. Perhaps there always has been an honest difference of opinion as to how far the right of suffrage should be extended.

Hamilton and those who subscribed to his political philosophy thought that the right should be restricted to those who had the benefits of education and the responsibility of property ownership. Even within the spans of my own lifetime the majority of men of good will and sound reason believe that woman's place was in the home and not at the polling places, and I was past 30 years of age when women's equal suffrage became an accomplished fact.

I have had a long life. At 83 I am the oldest Member of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States. There have been many changes since 1882, the year of my birth, in material things and our political thinking has taken on an enlargement in scope and a deepening in maturity that could be expected to accompany our advancement in possession and in power.

May I size it up briefly, and I think accurately, Mr. Chairman, by saying that the development to which the world has come is to the age of the dignity of man. In every nation is the longing to be free, to enjoy a full measure of independence and to map its own course. In every individual is the longing to be free, to stand on his own feet, neither slave nor master of any other man, in equality and in dignity combining with other men in mapping the problems and the courses of the governments of his community, his State, his Nation.

So, Mr. Chairman, I have left my assignment at the United Nations to return to cast my vote for home rule for the District of Columbia.

Liberation of Communist-Dominated Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, unfortunately it was not possible for me to attend the 11th Annual Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Comunist League which was held in Manila during the week of September 7. However, I followed the proceedings of the conference with great interest, and feel it will accomplish much in the common struggle for freedom and peace.

Among the various actions taken, I particularly laud the resolution which was unanimously approved by the plenary session of this conference on September 11, 1965, on the liberation of nations subjugated by Soviet imperialism and communism. This resolution, which I commend to the attention of my colleagues, follows:

RESOLUTION ON THE LIBERATION OF NATIONS SUBJUGATED BY SOVIET RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COMMUNISM

(Unanimously approved by Plenary Session of the 11th Conference of Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) on September 11, 1965, in Manila, Philippines.)

In consideration of the following:

That all nations and people in the world are entitled to the same right to national independence, personal freedom and human dignity, and that in the present epoch the idea of national independence through the dissolution of empires maintains its glorious advance and, on this side of the Iron Curtain, leads to the realization of the rights of men and of nations;

That, however, at the same time in the Soviet Russian colonial empire, which was extended by force of arms not only over foreign countries inside the U.S.S.R., but even in the same way over the so-called satellite states, men and nations are held captive by a brutal rule of violence, and Russian Communist colonialism openly aims at the creation of a world empire of total slavery and degradation;

That in revolt against this worldwide enslavement of nations and individuals the idea of national liberation has remained alive inside the Russian sphere of power, and contains within it an enormous explosive force by itself suited to cause the collapse not only of the Soviet Russian prison of nations, but also of world communism;

That the concentration of technical, economic and military resources in the hands of the Russian-Bolshevist world conspiracy enables them to manufacture weapons of mass annihilation, with the aim of extending Communist tyranny over the whole world.

ON THE POLICY OF LIBERATION

The 11th APACL Conference, held in Manila, in September 1965, has decided the following:

The Conference calls upon the governments of the free world to give up the policy of peaceful coexistence which ultimately amounts to a recognition of the status quo, that is to say of the right to exist of the aggressive Bolshevist tyranny as a springboard for the advancement of world conquest; furthermore the severance of all relations with Communist governments and the employment of all available resources in an economic, political, moral, and diplomatic offensive, if necessary even total blockades, and the introduction of a liberation policy by the free world through active support of national liberation movements, to popular uprisings in the subjugated countries. In the present-day era a worldwide ideological conflict in the shadow of the thermonuclear threat makes insurgent warfare based on national revolutionary guerillas a decisive factor in the liquidation of the Soviet Russian Empire as well as the aggressive Communist system, and at the same time this would avoid an atomic war.

ON THE EVENTUAL DISSOLUTION OF THE SOVIET RUSSIAN EMPIRE

The Conference advocates the dissolution of the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics into independent, national, democratic states, based on the ethnographic boundaries of all the subjugated peoples therein; as well as the reestablishment of the sovereignty of the peoples in the so-called satellite countries, and also the dissolution of all artificial states created by coercion, such as Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

It urges the destruction of aggressive communism in its headquarters which disregard both freedom and human dignity, challenge international peace, and despise world safety.

ON A COMMON FRONT AGAINST MOSCOW AND PEIPING

The 11th APACL Conference warns the free world against the illusion that the Russian Communist tyranny could be induced, through peaceful coexistence and economic cooperation, to adopt liberal and democratic policies, since this grossly contradicts its innermost nature. It also warns the free world against the deceptive hope of forming a common front with one Communist power against another, since even great differences between two tyrannical systems disappear before the contrast between freedom and despotism. The only prospect of success lies in a common front by the free world with the nations who have fallen victims to the tyranny of Moscow and Peiping.

The 11th APACL Conference warns the free world against supporting so-called national Communist governments, since they will not leave the side of tyranny at the decisive moment, and thus every help afforded them is indirectly of benefit to the Communist world headquarters, whilst the national revolutionary forces of the peoples concerned are thus only weakened.

The 11th Conference also warns the parliaments and governments of the free world against ill-considered disarmament and against the exclusion of various democratic powers from control of thermonuclear weapons, since the Communists, according to experience, disregard international agreements, so that the limitation of atomic or conventional armaments would ultimately only strengthen the Communist world position.

ON THE LANDING OF FREE CHINESE TROOPS ON THE MAINLAND AND THE LIBERATION OF VIETNAM

The 11th APACL Conference states that the final victory over world communism can

never be won through peripheral wars, but only through direct offensives against its world headquarters—Moscow and Peiping—and through all round, even military support of national revolutions and wars of liberation in the Soviet Russian and Communist spheres of power.

The 11th APACL Conference calls upon the governments of the free world to help the national revolutions of liberation in the subjugated countries succeed, by recognition and support of their national political aims. In particular it calls upon the free world to make it possible for the Liberation Army of the Republic of China to land on the Chinese mainland, and to abandon the liberation policy bounded by the 17th parallel. Instead of this, the liberation of all Vietnam and the reunification in freedom of the divided countries of Asia and Europe should be adopted as a declared aim of Western policy. Concrete measures should include the harrassment of the Chinese Reds in the Formosa Straits, encouragement of mass insurrection on mainland China, the formation of an All-Asian Alliance, no political or military sanctuaries for Hanoi in an applied liberation of North Vietnam, opening a new front in the dynamic liberation of North Korea, agreement of the United States for the attack on mainland China, and the dismantling of Chinese nuclear installations.

The 11th APACL conference appeals to the governments of the free world to afford economic and other support, above all to those countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America which have taken up a firm anti-Communist position and foresworn any form of neutralism.

And finally, this year's conference reaffirms the resolution of the 10th APACL conference on Soviet Russian colonialism, renews its solidarity with the U.S. Congress resolution (Public Law 86-90; July 17, 1959) on the subjugated nations, appeals to the parliaments and governments of the free world to testify to their full solidarity with the struggle for independence of the nations forced into the Russian Empire and Communist sphere of power and to demonstrate readiness to give universal support for this struggle.

Sponsored by: Senator Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu, chief delegate of Turkey; Mr. Kwan Soo Park, chief delegate of Korea.

Supported by: Dr. Vibul Thamavit, chief delegate of Thailand; Dr. Juitsu Kitaoka, chief delegate of Japan; Mr. Rama Swarup, delegate of India chapter; Mr. Chang Kuo-sin, chief delegate of Hongkong; Mr. Philibert Luyeye, observer, Congo (Leopoldville); Dr. Prof. Mahmud Brelvi, delegate of Pakistan; Mr. Mahmud Essaid, delegate of Jordan: Mr. George Elias Okwanyo, observer, Kenya; Mr. Rakotoniaina, observer, Malagasy Republic.

"Nonmetric Americans," an Editorial From the St. Paul Dispatch, St. Paul, Minn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the October 1 issue of the St. Paul Dispatch:

NONMETRIC AMERICANS

Will Americans ever adopt the international metric system of measurements in place of our ancient and unscientific hodgepodge of such units as inches and feet, ounces and pounds and pints and quarts?

For generations the scientific minded have advocated this change without success. But Commerce Department experts now warn business and industry that future sale of American made machinery and other goods to the rest of the world may be jeopardized if we fail to fall in line. Foreign buyers want metric measurements. If America fails to conform, its competitive position will eventually be weakened, say the trade authorities.

Britain, the original sources of most American measuring units, will begin phasing out its traditional system next year. By 1975 it hopes to be entirely on the metric plan, universally used throughout Europe and most of Asia.

American scientific groups want the United States to follow suit. The opposition is strong. A bill to authorize the Commerce Department to make a study of the practical problems involved was killed in the House of Representatives when an elderly member of the Rules Committee said metric measurements were Greek to him. Other Congressmen joked about the difficulty of translating the vital measurements of movie queens into meters.

Senators took a more serious view of the matter. They approved the proposed Commerce Department study, which leaves hope that it may be revived in the House next year.

There is no argument as to the practical advantages of the metric system. It is incomparably simpler, more logical and more scientific than the old English usages. The trouble is that Americans are used to their own ways and don't relish the bother of changing. But when Britain takes the plunge into meters, liters, and grams, Uncle Sam is going to occupy a very lonely position in the scientific and industrial world. Some day even the Members of Congress will have to pay attention to the way in which the rest of the globe does its measuring.

With Every Breath You Take

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STANLEY R. TUPPER

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues in the House a recent article appearing in the September 1965 issue of the Reader's Digest entitled "With Every Breath You Take," condensed from the book by Howard R. Lewis.

This article gives dramatic emphasis to the great hazards from air pollution to the health of our citizens and the ruinous damage to property.

The House on September 24 passed a bill, S. 306, introduced by Senator EDMUND S. MUSKIE, of Maine, providing for research programs relative to controlling air pollution and establishing a Federal Air Pollution Control Laboratory.

Senator MUSKIE, as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution, has led the fight against this insidious threat to the lives of millions and deserves considerable credit for bringing about a greater public awareness of this grave problem.

I call particular attention of Members to an allegation in the Reader's Digest article that Washington, D.C., has four times as many cars per square mile than Los Angeles County, producing smog conditions and heavy contamination of the air.

After reading this article, Congressmen may well insist on reducing air pollution at a faster pace, for the life they save may be their own.

The Strange Case of the Missing Qualifications

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I received in the mail a copy of an article which appeared in Liberty magazine, a publication of the Seventh Day Adventists dealing with one aspect of H.R. 77, the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. Many of my constituents are members of the Seventh Day Adventists and they have expressed a deep interest in the religious conscience amendment which was deemed nongermane when the House considered H.R. 77.

Under unanimous consent, I ask that the article which appeared in the September-October issue of Liberty, entitled "The Case of the Missing Qualifications," be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

The article referred to follows:

THE STRANGE CASE OF THE MISSING QUALIFICATIONS

(By Roland R. Hegstad)

(NOTE.—"Church Council Supports Labor in Bid To Repeal Union Shop Ban" read the headline in the New York Times. But a reading of answers given by an NCC spokesman before a House Labor Subcommittee tells a different story.)

Did the National Council of Churches voice unqualified "support for the administration's proposal to repeal the clause of the Taft-Hartley Act that permits the States to ber [sic] union shop contracts," as was implied by a report in the New York Times, for Saturday, June 5?

Far from it, as will be discovered by careful readers of answers given the Special House Subcommittee on Labor by National Council Spokesman J. Edward Carothers, secretary of the Commission of the Church and Economic Life, and as should have been reported by a careful chronicler of global events.

There remains some doubt, after several rereadings of Reverend Carothers' testimony, whether he himself desired the qualifications to be reported.

Qualifications aside, some representatives had difficulty determining even whether the council was for or against repeal of section 14(b).

Turning to the testimony:

RALPH J. SCOTT, Democrat, of North Carolina: "Thank you for your statement. When I first read your statement this morning I had some difficulty finding whether you were for or against repeal of section 14(b).

"What is your position?"

Reverend Carothers: "The position is that the matter of union membership as a condition of employment should be settled in

the process of collective bargaining when it is protected by certain safeguards, which would imply, sir, that the elimination of 14(b) would be desired."

Confusion stemmed from the following wording, which comprised the heart of the council statement:

"It is the opinion of the General Board of the National Council of Churches that union membership as a basis of continuing employment should be neither required nor forbidden by law; the decision should be left to agreement by management and labor through the processes of collective bargaining.

"Union membership as a condition of continued employment is not supported by this statement as a subject of collective bargaining unless the union concerned is recognized by established processes as representative of all employees in the bargaining unit."

Stay with us: the fog lifts—though by the time it had, the New York Times reporter must have turned in. Reverend Carothers' answers to questions added qualifications made by the NCC General Board which, if they mean anything, would commit the council to oppose repeal of 14(b) unless, among other conditions, the rights of workers having religious convictions against joining unions are specifically safeguarded by law.

Herewith follows a portion of the repartee between Representative ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, Republican, of Michigan, of Landrum-Griffin bill fame, and Reverend Carothers, which, I trust, shall establish the contention just advanced.

Mr. GRIFFIN: "I am leading up to asking you the question as to whether or not you don't feel that some higher, stricter standards ought to be imposed by Congress if we are going to permit unions to have compulsory union agreements?"

Reverend Carothers (reading from the official position of the general board of the national council):

" 'The following additional safeguards should also be required under any circumstances where union membership is established as one of the conditions of employment,' that is, wherever there is a union shop contract.

" 'Such protection should include such elements as: * * *

" '4. Adequate protection for those individuals who, for reasons of religious belief * * * cannot participate in all conditions of membership.' "

Added Reverend Carothers: "There are some persons who because of religious convictions just are not permitted to belong to the union. They have a compulsion in their church that won't let them join a union.

"There are the things that we believe should be conditional before there is a union shop."

Mr. GRIFFIN: "Before 14(b)——"

Reverend Carothers: "14(b) would be repealed only on these condtions."

After Reverend Carothers had outlined the five qualifying points approved by the general board, Mr. GRIFFIN asked: "Those are important conditions, aren't they?"

Reverend Carothers: "I feel they are. I feel they are fundamental."

Mr. GRIFFIN: "Fundamental?"

Reverend Carothers: "I do."

Mr. GRIFFIN: "And are they important enough that they should be protected in the law?"

Reverend Carothers: "This was the opinion of the general board at the time this was adopted on December 2, 1959."

Mr. GRIFFIN. "That they should be incorporated in the law."

Reverend Carothers: "Yes, sir."

Mr. GRIFFIN: "So your advocacy of the repeal of section 14(b) is conditioned upon adequate protection in the law of all of those conditions."

Reverend Carothers: "Yes, sir. Our position with regard to whether or not there should be a union shop agreement in collective bargaining has always been based upon the proposition that these safeguards should exist just about as we have stated them there."

Mr. GRIFFIN: "Now the law does not now, nor will it, if H.R. 77 is passed, protect a member of the Amish or the Mennonite or these other faiths to which you have referred, who have conscientious religious objection to being members of the union.

"Is your advocacy of the repeal of 14(b) conditioned upon a legal protection of those people?"

Reverend Carothers: "Yes, sir; and we would like to see it done in one of two ways: Either in the constitutions of the unions, where they will be subject to court enforcement, or by Federal statute. We believe it is that important."

It is on the basis of the above testimony that I would have written the Times lead thus:

"The National Council of Churches will support the administration's proposal to repeal Taft-Hartley 14(b) only if certain rights are protected by law.

"This was made plain by a spokesman—"

Alas for the New York Times; its correspondent not only missed these important qualifications but also fulfilled the prediction concerning the Times coverage of Reverend Carothers' testimony made in conclusion by Mr. GRIFFIN:

Mr. GRIFFIN: "If the Chair will permit an observation, it is going to be very interesting now to read in the New York Times and the other papers what it was that the National Council of Churches said here this morning. I will predict that they will report that the National Council of Churches appeared here today and testified in favor of the repeal of 14(b), and that there will be very little in the paper, if anything, about the fact that your advocacy is conditioned on some very important conditions which did not come out in the testimony, but which came out in questions and answers, and that in fact, you support the major provisions of my bill instead of H.R. 77.

"I want that to be spread on the record, even if it is not going to be apparent to the public when they read their papers."

"What Rights?" Unions Ask

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, despite fantastic arm-twisting pressure by the administration, the vote in the House on the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act was extremely close. It is my hope that the Senate, under the leadership of Senator DIRKSEN, will hold up against Johnsonian arm twisting and retain section 14(b).

One of the dubious situations that would develop were 14(b) to be repealed is dramatically discussed in an editorial in the September 30 edition of the La Grange Citizen, La Grange, Ill., which I insert into the RECORD due to its significance and clarity:

"WHAT RIGHTS?" UNIONS ASK

"Join the church or lose your job."

Suppose for a moment that such a requirement had legal force in this country today. Such supposition is difficult, of course, because the statement is so ridiculously at variance with American faith and practice.

We can't imagine any employer wanting such a statute on the books. We certainly can't conceive of any church of any kind of favoring such a proposal.

Especially, we would expect such an imposition to raise a fearful hue and cry from organized labor.

Interestingly, however, a similar restriction, in the form of the tinkering with the Taft-Hartley law that has been attemtped this session of Congress has the blessing of big labor.

We refer to H.R. 4350 and H.R. 77 which would declare State right-to-work laws (i.e., those which outlaw compulsory union membership in order to hold a job) illegal.

As pointed out in "Christianity Today," there are thousands of Christians in this country whose religious beliefs make them conscientious objectors when it comes to union membership. Some of these citizens are the Mennonites, Amish, Seventh-day Adventists, Christian Reformed, and Plymouth Brethren.

As the magazine explains, "Their reasons are not always the same. Some object to affiliation in an organization that is religiously neutral. Some object to the use of force in strikes. They think it unchristian to achieve their rights by coercive measures. Still others feel that, since they are members of Christ, they may not become members of a labor, professional, trade, or any other kind of organization to which non-Christians belong."

The magazine offers this further insight:

"These moral arguments are neither dodges nor cheap attempts to reap the advantages of organized labor without accepting responsibility or paying membership dues. Many are willing to pay their share of labor-bargaining costs; others would donate the equivalent or membership fees and dues to a charitable organization. Within the Christian Reformed churches, a Christian labor union has been organized."

This country has for a long time taken pains to see that, although the majority rules, the rights of the minority are respected.

This has had application in permitting conscientious objectors not to take up arms, in not forcing Jehovah's Witnesses to salute the flag, and so on.

The only difference we can see between the consideration previously given the minorities and now is that there was no lobby for big military whose economic self interests were at stake (in the conscientious objector argument), whereas there is a lobby for big labor, whose concern in the present controversy is more for its source of revenue (union dues) than it is in the civil and moral rights of Americans.

Suppose the church were to confront union members: "Join the church or lose your job." We both know the reaction that would follow. Not many, we suspect, of the union members would consider the choice an exercise in civil rights.

Geneva Conference: U.S. Change Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, there is, in the September 1965 issue of the ADA World magazine, a perceptive and knowledgeable review of the

17-nation Disarmament Conference at Geneva. The author is Mr. Walter Goldstein, an assistant professor at Brooklyn College in New York. Mr. Goldstein has held a number of fellowships, including the Fulbright, the Schaeffer, and a Ford Foundation grant, for studies in foreign affairs and he has written many articles in his field, concentrating on disarmament and nuclear policies. He is also a member of the Foreign Policy Commission of the National Board of the Americans for Democratic Action.

The dangers of widespread proliferation of nuclear weapons is a danger which has been recognized and discussed for a long while. Mr. Goldstein suggests that this problem be given first priority in the Johnson administration because of its fundamental importance to world peace. His outline of the reasons the conference was called in the first place also help explain why the discussions in Geneva have not resulted in a breakthrough. This is a careful analysis and I recommend it to all my colleagues.

The review follows:

GENEVA CONFERENCE: U.S. CHANGE NEEDED—UNITED STATES MUST GIVE UP MLF IDEA IF DISARMAMENT IS TO WORK

(By Walter Goldstein)

As all too many pessimists predicted, the 17-nation Disarmament Conference at Geneva has been unable to make any progress. Though all of its members agree that a treaty to curb the proliferation of nuclear weapons is urgently required, no consensus or effective action has emerged from the Conference's month-long session. Since this deadlock was predicted, the fascinating question remains: Why was the Conference ever called, especially at a time like this when the detente between the great powers has been so strained?

Several hypothetical answers have been advanced as there can be no authoritative response to the question. The first suggests that the new Soviet leaders were deeply impressed by the Foreign Affairs article written by the Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and which, they realized, must have been cleared at the highest level. It warned in dramatic terms that unless action were taken promptly, a dozen or more nations could attain a nuclear capability in a short while; were preventive steps not taken in the very near future, the statement continued, the stability of the international system might be gravely imperiled. Feasibly, therefore, the Soviets may have believed that a shift in U.S. policy was imminent, and that the President would now accept the recommendations advanced last winter by the top-level Gilpatric Committee.

NONPROLIFERATION TOP PRIORITY

One of the most significant of these recommendations urged that a greater priority should be attached to curbing proliferation than to the U.S. attempts to rebuild the NATO alliance with some design (such as the MLF) for nuclear sharing. Judging from the U.S. speeches at Geneva, this daring recommendation has not been adopted by the President. The supposition of the State Department has probably prevailed, despite some hard evidence to oppose it, that the Soviet nuclear threat to Europe is still more significant than the immediate threat of a dozen nations beginning to build nuclear programs in the next few years. Why this preference was made for the State Department's assessment over that of the Gilpatric Committee is not known. It is a surprising preference, nevertheless.

The Indians and the Israelis could make a rapid start on their nuclear programs as early as 1966, and if they were to crash the nuclear club there may be no limit to the number of anxious countries stampeding after them. To suggest that this problem is less serious and urgent than that of cementing together a 16-years-old alliance in Europe (that has lost most of its utility and cohesiveness anyway) is to betray a surprising judgment of political dynamics.

A second answer to the question of why the Conference was ever called tihs summer has suggested that the Soviets were not so much persuaded as intimidated to attend. This supposition rests upon the alarm generated in July by the astonishing speech made by the German Foreign Minister, that the Germans must review their defense needs if the United States is to remain so preoccupied with southeast Asia, or worse if the MLF option should be traded by the West as the price of a nonproliferation deal.

This supposition implies that unless the Soviets were prepared to help speed negotiations in Vietnam, or to accept a proliferation treaty on largely Western terms, the United States would find it very difficult to restrain the security anxieties (and nuclear aspirations?) of the West Germans. That the Soviets might bow before this demand, despite the vigorous abuse heaped upon them by their Communist rival in the East, is not altogether implausible.

POWERS SHOULD BE PRESSURED

The third hypothetical answer suggests that the eight nonalined members of the Conference put such powerful presure upon the great powers to revive the detente that the Conference just had to be recalled. Feasible as this appears, it does not explain what the conveners actually hoped to gain from the sessions. If a nonproliferation treaty is to be effective, it must require sacrifices not only from the nonnuclear nations (to forgo the acquisition of nuclear weapons) but also from the nuclear club members, as well. These sacrifices will be extremely difficult to enforce at a moment of high tension, and especially in the absence from Geneva of both France and China. It can only be assumed, therefore, that the nonalined nations believe in forcing the great powers to sit down together to talk about reviving the detente.

The prospect of arresting proliferation today looks very gloomy. Were the General Assembly of the U.N. during 1965–66 to maintain the present deadlock, nuclear dispersion will probably become an irreversible but awesome feature of the 1970's. At surprisingly little cost, but with incredible speed, a dozen countries will be able to crash the nuclear club and cause an uncontrollable acceleration to the arms race. With this prospect becoming daily more certain, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY was justified in warning the Senate that "the most vital issue now facing this Nation and the world * * * is not Vietnam, or the Dominican Republic, or Berlin. It is the question of nuclear proliferation—of the mounting threat posed by the spread of nuclear weapons."

Unfortunately, the present administration does not share this shrewd assessment of policy priorities and it is not yet clear whether the U.N. will be able to grapple with this momentous problem. Should it fail to take effective action, it is doubtful whether there will be a world order remaining that is amenable to any kind of U.N. arbitration and conciliation procedures. It appears that it is not yet too late for the great powers to reassess the priorities that they have attached to the small steps of nuclear disarmament. The day after a sixth power crashes the nuclear club there will be few small steps that can still be feasibly taken.

New Excuses for Socialism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the October 1, 1965, edition of the Wall Street Journal very effectively refutes arguments of those who contend that modern times demand an economy completely controlled by the Federal Government. It also denies the thesis that socialism in the United States is necessary.

The article quotes Prof. Michael D. Reagan of the University of California at Riverside, one of the political planners who advocate increasing Federal intervention in every aspect of our lives, as remarking that—

> Thomas Jefferson did not have to face the kind of economic and social problems we have today.

It adds:

> Very well; but Thomas Jefferson knew a tyranny when he saw one, and more to the point he knew what circumstances conspire to bring about a tyranny.

In this respect, Mr. Speaker, may I add these words of Jefferson which are just as true today as when he uttered them:

> I place economy among the first and most important virtues, and the public debt as the greatest of dangers to be feared. To preserve our independence, we must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt. We must make out choice between economy and liberty or profusion and servitude. If we can prevent the Governemnt from wasting the labors of the people under the pretense of caring for them, they will be happy.

Mr. Speaker, the article from the Wall Street Journal follows:

NEW EXCUSES FOR SOCIALISM

"At the risk of oversimplification, it seems fair to say that in the 20th century American society has undergone a basic shift in values from an individualistic, antigovernment value pattern to one that might be called socially (some would say socialistically) oriented."

The observation occurs in an article by Prof. Michael D. Reagan of the University of California at Riverside, writing in the current Challenge magazine. What he is saying is that the enormous and continuing growth of government at all levels must be attributed not merely to political empire building and pressure groups but also to fairly significant changes in population and economic organization. Since the argument is characteristic of a good deal of contemporary thinking, it is perhaps worth a closer look.

The big population change, from this standpoint, is that the productive age group of 21 to 65 is now a minority, outnumbered by the young and the elderly combined. The burden on the producers is thus much greater than it used to be, and it increasingly appears as taxpaying for governmentally provided schools, health care, and the like.

Even so, why can't the breadwinners do more on their own to take care of the members of their familes who can't take care of themselves? As Mr. Reagan and others see it, a major reason is the transition from an agricultural to an industrial-urban economy.

In earlier times, he explains, "people were literally more self-sufficient than it is possible for them to be today—growing their own food, for one example. Today most people work for cash pay; consequently loss of cash means loss of all sustenance." Hence still more governmental interventions to try to maintain cash income during periods of unemployment and otherwise take some of the load off the individual.

Certainly the changes are undeniable, and we suppose it was inevitable that they would entail some expansion of government. What seems to us extraordinarily difficult to defend in logic or sound political philosophy is the proposition that government, and especially these days the Federal Government, has to assume practically all of the burdens; that we must, in Mr. Reagan's implication, rush into socialism.

First off, the simple fact is that an abundance of alternatives exists. To mention just a few: Private schools and schools locally supported and administered, numerous privately financed scholarships, private health insurance for the aged, a host of private pension plans to ease the problems of retirement. If the Washington authorities were not constantly preempting responsibilities and tax resources, it's a safe bet there would be a far fuller flowering of such voluntary efforts.

Next is the fact that the Federal alternative is very often the worst available. In case after case the project fails, although it is not abandoned on that account. The flops, of course, include the costly agriculture and urban renewal programs; failure is also a frequent result when the Government undertakes to regulate and proceeds to make a mess of so essential an industry as transportation.

A number of explanations can be offered for this grotesque record of failure. A principal one is that a centrally managed economy and society is inherently incapable of the kind of effective action that comes naturally when people voluntarily join together in business or to help each other or to tackle problems of particular concern to them.

Finally, there are the political consequences of unlimited governmental growth, an aspect which Mr. Reagan's article mostly ignores and which other apologists discount. It is a truism, but no less true thereby, that to the extent you let officialdom provide for your wants you are letting it control you. Indeed, the governmental entities have little practical choice about it.

Mr. Reagan remarks that Thomas Jefferson did not have to face the kind of economic and social problems we have today. Very well; but Thomas Jefferson knew a tyranny when he saw one, and more to the point he knew what circumstances conspire to bring about a tyranny.

Perhaps the regimentation evolving in this country will be of a relatively benevolent type, but it is nonetheless regimentation the Nation is inviting. And it is, if we may say so, a mischievous misinterpretation of both the past and the present to contend that economic progress requires socialism or any other brand of depotism.

Liberal Doctors Bucking AMA Conservatism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, many of us have been aware for many years of the activities of the political doctors of the American Medical Association. The most recent demonstration we have had was their massive but unsuccessful campaign against the medicare legislation.

We all know many doctors, who do not share the extremely conservative approach of the American Medical Association. I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following very interesting article from the October 3, 1965, edition of the New York Herald Tribune:

LIBERAL DOCTORS BUCKING AMA CONSERVATISM

(By Joseph R. Hixson)

Competition, they say, is good for business and for labor as well. But one of the most prosperous unions in the Nation has never had any real competition. It is the American Medical Association.

Now, suddenly, the powerful doctors' lobby union faces a challenge from the group formed 70 years ago to provide a forum for Negro doctors who at that time were barred from most county and State medical societies.

The AMA has had its challengers before, but they have been local opposition groups such as the liberal Physicians' Forum in New York City. Their impact on AMA has not been noticeable.

Two years ago, the National Medical Association—the one a Georgia delegate to a recent AMA conclave referred to as the one for "niggah doctahs"—asked for conferences with AMA to discuss the remaining problems of segregation in medicine, primarily the inability of Negro physicians to join county medical societies in the Deep South on any but an observer basis. AMA officials were glad to meet with their NMA counterparts, but no concrete results came out of the sessions.

Militant liberals among the NMA membership—notably Dr. John L. S. Holloman, Jr., a general practitioner in Harlem and president-elect of NMA—demanded that AMA threaten discriminating county societies with expulsion, and both white and Negro doctors belonging to a medical civil rights group have picketed AMA meetings in Atlantic City and New York to emphasize the point.

But the AMA leaders point out that theirs is a constituent organization ruled by its grassroots, the State medical societies, which, in turn, are made up of the county groups. Thus, runs the argument from AMA headquarters in Chicago, it is impossible for the staff there to threaten Mississippi or Georgia county groups. Only the AMA house of delegates could vote sanctions against nonintegrated societies. This the delegates have steadfastly refused to do, despite annual resolutions from New York, New Jersey, and California.

Since AMA is not able or does not wish to enforce complete integration, NMA has decided to go out and actively pursue its own version of integration. In a recent interview with Medical World News, a weekly magazine for doctors, Dr. Leonidas H. Berry, current president of NMA, chronicled this effort.

Dr. Berry, speaking after the NMA convention in Cincinnati, said that more than 40 white doctors, including faculty members from such prestige medical schools as Yale, Cornell, the University of Illinois, the University of Maryland, and New York University, have applied for membership in his organization.

The scientific program of the NMA has long been its weakest point. There is good historical reason for this. The juicy medical plums or residencies at the top U.S. research hospitals have long been denied to Negro interns, so that, all too often, a promising young Negro surgeon has seen good training at a top medical school fit him only for tonsil and appendix jobs in the lower grade hospitals of the major U.S. cities.

But the AMA, too, has been worried about the caliber of its scientific programs, the papers delivered at its two annual meetings. AMA's problems have stemmed from the aggressive policies of specialty medical groups and a general disenchantment with conservative AMA policies among leading U.S. medical centers dominated by the big universities.

If the mutual distrust between medical school faculties and the general surgeons and practitioners who make up the AMA rank and file and the dismay of the more liberal medical professors at the conservative policies of AMA become just a little more intense, NMA could well find itself the home-away-from-home of the most influential segment of American medicine.

That is obviously what NMA president-elect Holloman has in mind. The NMA, founded in 1895 during a cotton exposition in Atlanta, now has 6,350 doctor members in 44 States compared with more than 200,000 in AMA in all 50 States.

But if the NMA enrolls even a few thousand leading lights in U.S. academic research medical circles, NMA could begin to swing considerably more weight than its numbers imply.

Dr. Holloman was asked for his ideas on what NMA stands for. His eloquent reply follows:

"There is nothing about the record of the AMA that would suggest it is anything other than an ultraconservative organization. To suggest that the AMA offers leadership in these times of rapid social, ethical, political, moral and scientific change is to dilute the truth.

"The record of the AMA clearly shows that, even under the tremendous weight of social revolution, legislative enlightenment, and progress, as well as rapid scientific advances coupled with the expressed desires of the majority of people of our democracy, it is not the leader and is in fact a most reluctant and unwilling, and an uncooperative follower, powerless by its own statements to do anything about racial discrimination which is purely a local matter.

"The record of opposition to social security for physicians, which is now the law of the land and the will of the majority, is one of the many examples of the type of leadership that has caused the medical profession to appear to be out of step with the times.

"The failure to lead the way to improved medical care, feasibly financed, for the older members of our democracy has caused further loss of respect for our so-called learned profession and more specifically its alleged governing organization, the AMA.

"To deny that in many areas the AMA is to be commended would be unfair and unrealistic, but to fail to attempt to correct its faults would be to permit the AMA to destroy itself.

"There are many physicians who do not share the antiquated, conservative views of the AMA. These more liberal physicians could perhaps render to our profession and to medicine in general a great service by banding together in an organization in which the clear majority, as expressed by its record, assumes a more liberal and enlightened stance. The NMA is such an organization. The NMA does not permit qualified physicians to be discriminated against because of color even if that is the savage and viscious local custom in the South now completely against the written law of the land.

"The NMA has supported the social revolution in this country and in the world since it was founded 70 years ago. Its record has reflected leadership in the fight for freedom and equality.

"The moral vacuum created by the failure of the AMA to afford enlightened leadership during the times of rapid change could easily be filled by the NMA, which offers to medicine a more liberal and nondiscriminatory voice.

"In a democratic society it is felt by many that a two-party system is more nearly ideal and offers at least a choice. The public as well as the medical profession could reap a great benefit from this extension of the democratic process. A two-party system in medicine, one conservative and one liberal, appears to be a rapidly developing reality since the AMA continues to look backward."

A Call for Peace: Pope Paul IV Addresses the U.N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1965

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the year 1965 marks the 20th anniversary of the signing of the U.N. Charter. In my 15th Congressional District of Michigan, the 24th of this month has been proclaimed U.N. Day in honor of the date that the U.N. Charter came into force. Americans everywhere and peace-loving peoples the world over, should pause and consider the significance of this historic occasion two decades ago. I am certain, Mr. Speaker, that every thinking person realizes the vital role that the United Nations has played in the past 20 years, in helping to preserve world peace.

One of the most eloquent tributes ever paid to the United Nations was given on Monday, October 4, in an address to the U.N. General Assembly by Pope Paul IV.

I commend this talk to my colleagues and to all Americans for careful reading and thoughtful consideration:

TEXT OF POPE'S TALK: "A SIMPLE YET GREAT MOMENT"

(NOTE.—Here is an English translation of Pope Paul VI's address delivered in French to the United Nations General Assembly Monday.)

As we commence our address to this unique world audience, we wish to thank your Secretary General, U Thant, for the invitation which he extended to us to visit the United Nations on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the foundation of this world institution for peace and for collaboration between the peoples of the entire earth.

Our thanks also to the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Amintore Fanfani, who used such kind language in our regard from the very day of his election.

We thank all of you here present for your kind welcome, and we present to each one of you our deferential and sincere salutation. In friendship you have invited us and admitted us to this meeting; and it is as a friend that we are here today.

We express to you our cordial personal homage, and we bring you that of the entire Second Vatican Ecumenical Council now meeting in Rome, and represented here by the eminent cardinals who accompany us for this purpose.

In their name and in our own, to each and every one of you, honor and greeting!

This encounter, as you all understand, marks a simple and at the same time a great moment. It is simple because you have before you a humble man, your brother; and among you all, representatives of sovereign states, the least invested, if you wish to think of him thus, with a minuscule, as it were symbolic, temporal sovereignty, only as much as is necessary to be free to exercise his spiritual mission, and to assure all those who deal with him that he is independent of every other sovereignty of this world.

But he who now addresses you has no temporal power, nor any ambition to compete with you. In fact, we have nothing to ask for, no question to raise; we have only a desire to express and a permission to request; namely, that of serving you, insofar as we can, with disinterest, with humility and love.

This is our first declaration. As you can see, it is so simple as to seem insignificant to this assembly, which always treats of most important and most difficult matters.

We said also, however, and all here today feel it, that this moment is also a great one. Great for us, great for you.

BEARS MESSAGE FOR ALL MEN

For us: You know well who we are. Whatever may be the opinion you have of the pontiff of Rome, you know our mission.

We are the bearer of a message for all mankind. And this we are, not only in our own personal name and in the name of the great Catholic family, but also in that of those Christian brethren who share the same sentiments which we express here, particularly of those who so kindly charged us explicitly to be their spokesman here.

Like a messenger who, after a long journey finally succeeds in delivering the letter which has been entrusted to him, so we appreciate the good fortune of this moment, however brief, which fulfills a desire nourished in the heart of nearly 20 centuries.

For, as you will remember, we are very ancient; we here represent a long history; we here celebrate the epilog of a wearying pilgrimage in search of a conversation with the entire world, ever since the command was given to us: "Go and bring the good news to all peoples."

Now, you here represent all peoples, allow us to tell you that we have a message, a happy message, to deliver to each one of you and to all.

1. We might call our message a ratification, a solemn moral ratification of this lofty institution. This message comes from our historical experience.

As "an expert in humanity," we bring to this organization the suffrage of our recent predecessors, that of the entire Catholic episcopate and our own, convinced as we are that this organization represents the obligatory path of modern civilization and of world peace.

In saying this, we feel we are making our own the voice of the dead and of the living; of the dead who fell in the terrible wars of the past; of the living who survived those wars, bearing in their hearts a condemnation of those who would try to renew wars; and also of those living who rise up fresh and confident, the youth of the present generation, who legitimately dream of a better human race.

And we also make our own voice of the poor, the disinherited, the suffering, of those who hunger and thirst for justice, for the dignity of life, for freedom, for well-being and progress. The peoples of the earth turn to the United Nations as the last hope of concord and peace; we presume to present here, with their tribute of honor and of hope, our own tribute. That is why this moment is great for you, also.

2. We feel that you are already aware of this. Hearken now to the continuation of our message. It becomes a message of good wishes for the future. The edifice which you have constructed must never fall; it must be perfected and made equal to the needs which world history will present.

You mark a stage in the development of mankind from which retreat must never be admitted but from which it is necessary that advance be made.

UNITED NATIONS' VALUE TO WORLD

To the pluralism of states, which can no longer ignore one another, you offer an extremely simple and fruitful formula of coexistence.

First of all, you recognize and distinguish the ones and the others. You do not confer existence upon states; but you qualify each single nation as fit to sit in the orderly congress of peoples.

That is, you grant recognition, of the highest ethical and juridical value, to each single sovereign national community, guaranteeing it an honored international citizenship.

This in itself is a great service to the cause of humanity, to define clearly and to honor the national subjects of the world community, and to classify them in a juridical condition, worthy thereby of being recognized and respected by all, and from which there may derive an orderly and stable system of international life.

You give sanction to the great principle that the relations between peoples should be regulated by reason, by justice, by law, by negotiation; not by force, nor by violence, not by war, nor by fear or by deceit.

Thus it must be. Allow us to congratulate you for having had the wisdom to open this hall to the younger peoples, to those states which have recently attained independence and national freedom. Their presence is the proof of the universality and magnanimity which inspire the principle of this institution.

Thus it must be. This is our praise and our good wish; and, as you can see, we do not attribute these as from outside; we derive them from inside, from the very genius of your institution.

3. Your charter goes further than this, and our message advances with it. You exist and operate to unite the nations, to bind states together.

Let us use this second formula: to bring the ones together with the others.

You are an association. You are a bridge between peoples. You are a network of relations between states. We would almost say that your chief characteristic is a reflection, as it were, in the temporal field, of what our Catholic Church aspire to be in the spiritual field: unique and universal.

In the ideological construction of mankind, there is on the natural level nothing superior to this. Your vocation is to make brothers not only of some but of all peoples, a difficult undertaking, indeed; but this it is, your most noble undertaking. Is there anyone who does not see the necessity of coming thus progressively to the establishment of a world authority, able to act efficaciously on the juridical and political levels?

Once more we reiterate our good wish: Advance always. We will go further and say: Strive to bring back among you any who have separated themselves, and study the right method of uniting to your pact of brotherhood, in honor and loyalty, those who do not yet share in it.

Act so that those still outside will desire and merit the confidence of all; and then be generous in granting such confidence. You have the good fortune and the honor of sitting in this assembly of peaceful community; hear us as we say: Insure that the reciprocal trust which here unites you, and enables you to do good and great things, may never be undermined or betrayed.

LET NO ONE BE ABOVE ANOTHER

4. The inherent logic of this wish, which might be considered to pertain to the very structure of your organization, leads us to complete it with other formulas. Thus, let no one, inasmuch as he is a member of your union, be superior to the others: never one above the other.

This is the formula of equality. We are well aware that it must be completed by the evaluation of other factors besides simple membership in this institution; but equality, too, belongs to its constitution.

You are not equal, but here you make yourselves equal.

For several among you, this may be an act of high virtue; allow us to say this to you, as the representative of a religion which accomplishes salvation through the humility of its divine founder. Men cannot be brothers if they are not humble.

It is pride, no matter how legitimate it may seem to be, which provokes tension and struggles for prestige, for predominance, colonialism, egoism; that is, pride disrupts brotherhood.

5. Now our message reaches its highest point, which is, at first, a negative point.

You are expecting us to utter this sentence, and we are well aware of its gravity and solemnity:

Not the ones against the others; never again, never more.

It was principally for this purpose that the organization of the United Nations arose; against war, in favor of peace.

Listen to the lucid words of the great departed John Kennedy, who proclaimed, 4 years ago: "Mankind must put an end to war, or war will put an end to mankind."

Many words are not needed to proclaim this loftiest aim of your institution. It suffices to remember that the blood of millions of men, that numberless and unheard of sufferings, useless slaughter, and frightful ruin, are the sanction of the pact which unites you with an oath which must change the future history of the world:

No more war; war never again. Peace; it is peace which must guide the destinies of peoples and of all mankind.

Gratitude to you, glory to you, who for 20 years have labored for peace. Gratitude and glory to you for the conflicts which you have prevented or have brought to an end. The results of your efforts in recent days in favor of peace, even if not yet proved decisive, are such as to deserve that we, presuming to interpret the sentiments of the world, express to you both praise and thanks.

U.N. TEACHES WAYS OF PEACE

Gentlemen, you have performed and you continue to perform a great work: the education of mankind in the ways of peace. The U.N. is the great school where that education is imparted. And we are today in the assembly hall of that school.

Everyone taking his place here becomes a pupil and also a teacher in the art of building peace. When you leave this hall, the world looks upon you as the architects and constructors of peace.

Peace, as you know, is not built by means of politics, by the balance of forces and of interests. It is constructed with the mind, with ideas, with works of peace.

You labor in this great construction. But you are still at the beginning.

Will the world ever succeed in changing that selfish and bellicose mentality which, up to now, has been interwoven into so much of its history?

It is hard to foresee; but it is easy to affirm that it is toward that new history—peaceful truly human history, as promised by God to men of good will—that we must resolutely march; the roads thereto are already well marked out for you, and the first that of disarmament.

If you wish to be brothers, let the arms fall down from your hands. One cannot love while holding offensive arms.

Those armaments, especially those terrible arms which modern science has given you, long before they produce victims and ruins, nourish bad feelings, create nightmares, distrust, and somber resolutions, they demand enormous expenditures; they obstruct projects of union and useful collaboration; they falsify the psychology of peoples.

As long as man remains that weak, changeable and even wicked being that he often shows himself to be, defensive arms will, unfortunately, be necessary.

You, however, in your courage and valiance, are studying the ways of guaranteeing the security of international life without having recourse to arms.

This is a most noble aim: this the peoples expect of you. This must be obtained.

Let unanimous trust in this institution grow; let its authority increase; and this aim, we believe, will be secured.

Gratitude will be expressed to you by all peoples, relieved as they will then be from the crushing expenses of armaments, and freed from the nightmare of an ever-imminent war.

HELP POOR WITH ARMS SAVINGS

We rejoice in the knowledge that many of you have considered favorably our invitation, addressed to all states in the cause of peace from Bombay, last December, to divert to the benefit of the developing countries of least a part of the savings which could be realized by reducing armaments.

We here renew that invitation, trusting in your sentiments of humanity and generosity.

6. In so doing, we become aware that we are echoing another principle which is structural to the United Nations, which is its positive and affirmative high point; namely, that you work here not only to avert conflicts between states, but also to make them capable of working the ones for the others.

You are not satisfied with facilitating mere coexistence between nations; you take a much greater step forward, one deserving of our praise and our support—you organize the brotherly collaboration of peoples.

In this way a system of solidarity is set up, and its lofty civilized aims win the orderly and unanimous support of all the family of peoples for the common good and for the good of each individual.

This aspect of the organization of the United Nations is the most beautiful; it is its most truly human visage; it is the ideal of which mankind dreams on its pilgrimage through time; it is the world's greatest hope; it is, we presume to say, the reflection of the loving and transcendent design of God for the progress of the human family on earth—a reflection in which we see the message of the Gospel which is heavenly become earthly.

Indeed, it seems to us that here we hear the echo of the voice of our predecessors, and particularly of that of Pope John XXIII, whose message of "Pacem in Terris" was so honorably and significantly received among you.

You proclaim here the fundamental rights and duties of man, his dignity, his freedom—and, above all, his religious freedom. We feel that you thus interpret the highest sphere of human wisdom and, we might add, its sacred character. For you deal here above all with human life; and the life of man is sacred; no one may dare offend it. Respect for life, even with regard to the great problem of birth, must find here in your assembly its highest affirmation and its most reasoned defense.

You must strive to multiply bread so that it suffices for the tables of mankind, and not rather favor an artificial control of birth, which would be irrational, in order to diminish the number of guests at the banquet of life.

It does not suffice, however, to feed the hungry; it is necessary also to assure to each man a life conformed to his dignity. This, too, you strive to perform. We may consider this the fulfillment before our very eyes, and by your efforts, of that prophetical announcement so applicable to your institution: "They will melt down their swords into ploughshares, their spears into pruning forks."

USING SCIENCE TO AID MANKIND

Are you not using the prodigious energies of the earth and the magnificent inventions of science, no longer as instruments of death, but as tools of life for humanity's new era?

We know how intense and ever more efficacious are the efforts of the United Nations and its dependent world agencies to assist those governments who need help to hasten their economic and social progress.

We know how ardently you labor to overcome illiteracy and to spread good culture throughout the world; to give men adequate modern medical assistance; to employ in man's service the marvelous resources of science, of technique and of organization—all of this is magnificent, and merits the praise and support of all, including our own.

We ourself wish to give the good example, even though the smallness of our means is inadequate to the practical and quantitative needs. We intend to intensify the development of our charitable institutions to combat world hunger and fulfill world needs. It is thus, and in no other way, that peace can be built up.

One more word, gentlemen, our final word: this edifice which you are constructing does not rest upon merely material and earthly foundations, for thus it would be a house built upon sand; and above all, it is based on our own consciences.

The hour has struck for our conversion, for personal transformation, for interior renewal. We must get used to thinking of man in a new way; and in a new way also of men's life in common; with a new manner, too, of conceiving the paths of history and the destiny of the world, according to the words of St. Paul: "You must be clothed in the new self, which is created in God's image, justified and sanctified through the truth" (Ephesians iv: 23).

The hour has struck for a halt, a moment of recollection, of reflection, almost of prayer; a moment to think anew of our common origin, our history, our common destiny.

Today as never before, in our era so marked by human progress, there is need for an appeal to the moral conscience of man. For the danger comes not from progress nor from science; indeed, if properly utilized, these could rather resolve many of the grave problems which assail mankind.

No, the real danger comes from man himself, wielding evermore powerful arms, which can be employed equally well for destruction or for the loftiest conquests.

In a word, then, the edifice of modern civilization must be built upon spiritual principles which alone can not only support it, but even illuminate and animate it.

To do this such indispensable principles of superior wisdom cannot but be founded so, as you are aware, we believe, upon faith in God, that unknown God of whom St. Paul spoke to the Athenians in the Areopagus; unknown by them, although without realizing it they sought Him and He was close to them, as happens also to many men of our times.

To us, in any case, and to all those who accept the ineffable revelation which Christ has given us of Him, He is the living God, the Father of all men.

Panama Canal Agreement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, last September 24, the President reported to the Nation on the progress of negotiations between Panama

and the United States on the 1903 Panama Canal agreement. I commend the President for the judicious and statesmanlike way in which these discussions are being conducted.

The talks revolve about the central idea that we recognize the importance and rightness of sharing responsibility for the efficient operation of the canal. This is the antithesis of the image of paternalism and imperialism which the the 1903 treaty represented to the people of Panama.

With the guidance of President Johnson and President Robles, I am confident that a new treaty will emerge which will result in the successful social, political, and economic integration of the Canal Zone with the Republic of Panama. We will soon be able to see an end to the anachronism of a major part of a nation's geography and economy wholly out of that nation's control, while the necessity to maintain defense of the canal is guaranteed.

I am encouraged by President Johnson's statement which shows a farsighted and sensible approach to our relations with our neighbors to the South. It is of the utmost necessity that these relations be based upon mutual respect, upon collective action in accordance with the honor and dignity becoming all sovereign nations. I fully support these negotiations and President Johnson's leadership in reworking the present outmoded agreement and I look forward to the day when the new treaty is a reality.

Idaho Ivy League

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, the October 11, 1965, edition of Newsweek magazine contains an excellent article on a business firm in my congressional district—Boise Cascade Corp.—which has done much to bolster the economy of the entire State of Idaho, as well as adding significantly to our gross national product through its farflung empire.

The management of Boise Cascade is to be commended for the aggressive, progressive—yet restrained—policies which have led to the corporation's tremendous growth. We, in Idaho, are very proud of Boise Cascade.

The article follows:

IDAHO IVY LEAGUE

Twenty years ago, Boise Payette Lumber Co.'s 3 sawmills and 78 building-materials stores were performing so poorly that the candid slogan around its Boise, Idaho, offices was: "Liquidate by '48." The company's directors would have liquidated it, too, if they could have found anyone adventuresome enough to buy it out.

So Boise Payette limped along until 1957, when Robert V. Hansberger, a Harvard Business School graduate (class of 1947) who had done well with a lumber firm in Oregon, was brought in as president. Importing a battery of snappy young Ivy League graduates as his chief lieutenants, Hansberger first merged the company with Washington State's Cascade Lumber Co., changed the corporate title to Boise Cascade Corp., then embarked on a whirlwind round of 30 acquisitions aimed at turning the company into a diversified forest-products producer.

GROWTH

In just 8 years, Hansberger and his transplanted Ivy Leaguers have transformed Boise Cascade into the Nation's second largest lumber producer (behind Weyerhaeuser Co.). They have come so far so fast from the $35-million-a-year company they took over in 1957 that Hansberger last week estimated that 1965 sales would approach $400 million.

Owner of the timber rights to an area as large as the State of New Jersey—5 million acres—Boise Cascade now operates 55 plants that produce lumber, plywood, pulp and paper, cartons, corrugated containers, paper bags, stationery, envelopes, roof decking, and even prebuilt homes, apartment houses, and motels. Its chain of building-materials stores has grown to 112.

Boise, a pleasant but remote town (population: 54,500) where a big cocktail-hour delicacy is the "Idatini" (a martini with a slice of pickled Idaho potato), strikes some visitors as an improbable place for a group of converted easterners to be building a new corporate empire. But, says Hansberger, "I think the simple fact that we're in Boise is responsible for at least a one-sixth increase in our efficiency. It would be impossible anywhere else to do as much work as we do here. If you want to work on Saturday morning, for instance, you can get to the office in 5 minutes.

Recruits: In any event, the balding, soft-spoken Hansberger, 45, has had little trouble luring talented eastern executives to the desolate, rugged country of southwestern Idaho (pay isn't bad: top salaries range up to $82,000 a year). He has collected almost two dozen so far, including corporate vice president William D. Eberle, 42, a 1949 graduate of Harvard Law School, and Financial Vice President Robert W. Halliday, 45, a 1941 Yale alumnus who says he left the East "because I didn't want to spend the rest of my life in a taxicab." Hansberger's secretary is a 1958 Radcliffe graduate, Mrs. Alice Hennessy, 29.

With profits last year of $15 million, the firm is no longer in any danger of liquidation. Looking confidently ahead years into the future, in fact, its bustling managers are now working with university and Government forestry experts to develop a new "supertree." By painstaking cross-pollination of the sturdiest ponderosa pine, they expect to breed a tree that will not only resist forest diseases and prune itself of knots and defects but accelerate profits by maturing in just 50 years instead of 100.

Phoebe Apperson Hearst, a True Philanthropist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest women in the history of this Nation was Mrs. Phoebe Apperson Hearst, who was born of humble origin in a small Missouri town. In later life, when she and her husband together amassed a sizable fortune, Mrs. Hearst became one of the most progressive educational philanthropists this Nation has ever known. She has done a great deal toward developing proper schools and library facilities for our young people.

Mrs. Vonnie Eastham, a very good friend of mine who lives in Chico, Calif., has spent many years studying the life of Mrs. Hearst and has just completed a comprehensive biography. A short time ago Mrs. Eastham was the guest of the 52d annual meeting of the Montana Library Association meeting in Anaconda, Mont., the community in which Mrs. Hearst did much of her good work. On this occasion she spoke on the life of Mrs. Hearst. It is a fine summary of the work done by this outstanding woman and, with permission granted, I place Mrs. Eastham's remarks in the RECORD at this point:

Thank you, Miss (Natalie) Sliepcevich, for that gracious introduction. It always fills me with warm pleasure to visit the two Anacondas that meant so much to Mrs. Hearst: the Anaconda near where she was born is located in Franklin County, Mo., about 50 miles south and west of St. Louis; and the Anaconda in Montana where she owned extensive holdings in the copper mines during the 1890's. She always held the deepest affection for the citizens of Anaconda, Mont., for she knew that this was one of the few places that she could visit and be met with open arms instead of outstretched palms wanting handouts.

Who was Phoebe Apperson Hearst? What type of philanthropy did she practice and in what ways did she spend her money to further education, spread culture, and help children? These particular aspects of Mrs. Hearst's life I wish to consider with you. First, who was she? She was an educator before she was a philanthropist. She was born in a log cabin, and we Americans do love our log cabin stories. A child of poverty, a woman of destiny, she hungered for knowledge. Hers was a powerful and brilliant mind, one of the most inquiring minds of all times. In Franklin and Crawford Counties in the two decades preceding the Civil War, libraries were almost nonexistent. Happiness to that tiny, pretty, little girl would most certainly have been books. Phoebe Apperson went through eight grades in a log cabin school and in her teens she attended a teacher training school. Before she was 17 years old she was teaching school in a one-room log cabin school in Missouri. At 18 she married George Hearst, a man 22 years her senior and of considerable wealth, although at the time of their marriage on June 15, 1862, he was by no means a millionaire. His multimillion-dollar estate was to come later.

The Hearsts arrived in San Francisco in early November 1862. Mrs. Hearst, not yet out of her teens, launched her career in philanthropy. That career was to continue almost 55 years—until she became a victim of the then flu epidemic which was sweeping across the Nation. Mrs. Hearst died in a castle near Pleasanton, Calif., on Sunday afternoon, April 13, 1919. At the time of her death, Mrs. Hearst was California's most beloved citizen, Missouri's most famous daughter, and one of the most widely known philanthropists in the United States.

What kind of philanthropy did Mrs. Hearst practice? Her philanthropy was a very warm, personal, and practical philanthropy. She believed that it is not what we give that counts, rather it is what we share that is important. She thought that we should share willingly these three things: Food, love, and knowledge. People with whom she worked, whether giving away a million dollars to the University of California or found-

ing a library in Anaconda, Mont., or a kindergarten in Lead, S. Dak., or a girls' school in Washington, D.C., could go directly to her with their problems and their aims. Mrs. Hearst didn't write out a check for a million dollars—or how much the project called for—and then send a representative to hand this check to a certain number of people. She, herself, became a part of the project. She attended the planning sessions, helped in the decisionmaking, so that when things went wrong she was there to help solve problems and overcome obstacles, and not merely write checks to pay the bills. That was the type of philanthropy she practiced.

What did Mrs. Hearst think of libraries? She believed that libraries should be attractive and spacious, well equipped and stocked with up-to-date books, maps, newspapers, and magazines, professionally and adequately staffed, and open during the time when they are in the greatest demand. To my knowledge Mrs. Hearst established three libraries. There are, however, legends that claim she founded many more. But so far I have been able to determine three: an architectural library at the University of California; the Hearst Free Library here in Anaconda, Mont.; and the one in Lead, S. Dak.

Before the end of the 19th century Mrs. Hearst made three predictions and, incidentally, these can be documented. She said that by the mid-20th century, California would be the empire State of the Union, having passed New York in population by that time. Also, she predicted that by the mid-20th century the United States would be engaged in a cultural exchange program with foreign nations and that the United States would also have a foreign student and professor exchange program. She once said that there is nothing so royal as truth and that truth is universal, and it belongs to all nations and to all generations. Moreover, she believed that by the mid-20th century—and she has been dead almost half a century—the mid-20th century's great universities of the world would be training young men and women for the age of outer space.

How did she spend her money? But for Mrs. Hearst, the daughters and sons of California, Washington, D.C., Lead, S. Dak., and Anaconda, Mont., would have found fewer open doors of opportunity during the last 50 years. But for her, progress in art and science would have suffered delay and postponement for decades; but for her, the kindergarten program in the United States would have progressed more slowly. During the 1870's, Mrs. Hearst made two trips to Europe, in the early 1870's and again in the late 1870's, studying the German kindergarten program. She became so impressed with the preschool classes in Germany that she came home and began to do all within her power to get that program—the kindergarten program—to rolling in the United States.

The Columbia Kindergarten Association was formed in the early 1890's for the specific purpose of convincing the U.S. Congress that the age limit for schoolchildren should be lowered from 6 years so that kindergartens could become part of the public schools. Mrs. Hearst was elected president of the Columbia Kindergarten Association, and Mrs. Grover Cleveland, then the First Lady of the United States, the vice president. But it takes time to undo a law, and Mrs. Hearst, rather than let little children suffer from the lack of preschool training, launched her own kindergarten programs in San Francisco, Lead, S. Dak., and Washington, D.C.

Without Phoebe Apperson Hearst, the PTA would probably never have been formed. In 1896, when Mrs. Hearst was recuperating from a near-fatal heart attack, she took on the project of founding the National Congress of Mothers. All the preliminary planning of that organization took place in Mrs. Hearst's mansion in Washington, D.C. She furnished food for the luncheons for the committee members who held all-day planning sessions in her home. She provided a secretary to help write letters, also the envelopes, stationery, and stamps. She offered transportation to the women who needed a way to come to her home and return to theirs. Mrs. Hearst engaged a hall large enough to accommodate 50 women and a dining room for their first luncheon. At her invitation and expense, speakers of national note came to lecture at the first convention of the National Congress of Mothers, held on February 17, 1897, in Washington, D.C.

The Congress of Mothers convened with a turnout of more than 2,000 women and several men, when plans had been made for only 50. There was considerable confusion—near pandemonium—in fact, since there weren't hotel facilities to accommodate the 2,000 women who had descended upon Washington, D.C. To meet the emergency, Mrs. Hearst appointed a telephone committee to contact private homes to ask those who had a spare bedroom or a bed in the dining room or den to take in one or more mothers. As soon as adequate lodging was found for the women, Mrs. Hearst rented a church that would seat 1,500 and nearby was an auditorium that would seat 600. The speakers, of course, repeated their talks to the overflowing crowd in the auditorium as soon as they left the church group.

As far as the first luncheon was concerned, that was served in the White House. Mrs. Grover Cleveland and Mrs. Hearst were close friends, and arrangements for a luncheon in the White House were made by them.

Mrs. Birney became the first president and Mrs. Hearst the first vice president of the National Congress of Mothers, the forerunner of today's PTA. I think it would be interesting to you to hear what Mrs. Birney had to say about Mrs. Hearst some time after the National Congress of Mothers had been established. Mrs. Birney wrote this letter to her sister:

"I wish you knew Mrs. Hearst or could see her, if only once. It is she, you know, who has indeed been the inspiration and stay of this movement from the first moment the idea was presented to her.

"I am confident she is doing more good in the world today than any other one individual.

"She sustains, I think, 18 free kindergartens, besides contributing largely to the support of many educational charitable institutions throughout the country.

"She is a liberal patroness of the arts and sciences, and makes valuable investigations possible on the part of those who might otherwise be hampered in their pursuit.

"She educates many girls, provides several thousand factory hands with nourishing luncheons each day, and does so many other gracious and beautiful things that I cannot begin to enumerate them.

"In addition to this overwhelming amount of work in behalf of humanity, Mrs. Hearst superintends the management of her vast business interest, and it is a constant marvel to those who come in contract with her how she can accomplish so much. With all this pressure upon her, she is yet so ideally gentle and womanly that she wins all hearts and holds them too. If the other men and women who have the power would do one-tenth the good which Mrs. Hearst is doing, the world, I am sure, would be quickly regenerated.

"Knowing all this, you cannot wonder that I rejoice that she stands before the world as godmother for this plan for a national congress of mothers."

No talk would be complete in Anaconda, Mont., without mentioning the magnificent library which Mrs. Hearst gave to this town. In July 1895, Mrs. Hearst opened a reading room here in Anaconda, and did so as an experiment. It was, incidentally, in 1895 that she sold her interests in this copper mining company, yet she never lost her affection for this community. The reading room became so popular in Anaconda and was so much appreciated, it inspired her to build the library building here.

On June 24, 1896, while on an inspection tour of the many mining interests she had sold in Anaconda, Mrs. Hearst wrote this letter:

"I am pleased to find my library here in such excellent condition, and well patronized and appreciated by the people—Fred Clark will not remain here after October but there are two very capable women who will take charge for a few weeks until I can secure a man for librarian—and they will be assistants—I shall not build a fine building as I intended—but will after 2 years more build a plain substantial building, and gradually year after year send a few hundred volumes."

Mrs. Hearst maintained the Hearst Free Library in Anaconda, at her own expense, something over $7,000 a year from 1898 until 1903, when she gave the library to the citizens of Anaconda as a Christmas gift. After that she granted the library $1,000 a year for 3 years, to buy books.

On January 8, 1895, Mrs. Hearst dictated this statement in a letter to a woman in Anaconda after the library was well under construction. A man of cloth in Anaconda had written to Mrs. Hearst proposing that she, at her own expense, construct a temperance union hall in conjunction with the library. Here is what she had to say to that proposal:

"Plans for a temperance hall hardly commends itself to me for the reason I wish to have all nationalities, colors, or religions to feel free to avail themesivs of the facilities therof."

Now, one of the great burdens of Mrs. Hearst's heart at that time was that her only brother, whom she adored, was a hopeless alcoholic. You can see how the mention of a temperance union hall in conjunction with the library must have irritated her.

Mrs. Hearst came out to Anaconda asking the citizens what they wanted her to give to the city. They sort of stammered and didn't give her an answer, so she finally said, "I have an idea. I have in mind a library." They replied, "Yes, that's what we need, and that's what we want," and she said, "Why didn't you tell me sooner?" They answered, "A library costs too much money and we didn't want to impose on you." It was a refreshing change of pace for Mrs. Hearst to visit Anaconda and be received with open arms and not outstretched hands.

If we accept Mrs. Hearst's statement that there is nothing so royal as truth, then we must admit there is nothing so queenly as kindness. Kindness never goes out of style. Kindness is never outdated; it is appreciated always, and in any part of the world, in any generation, and it is seldom forgotten. To speak directly to two queens in the Montana Library Association, Mrs. Ruth Longworth and Miss Natalie Sliepcevich, let me say that you two ladies were very kind to have invited me to be a part of the 52d annual conference of the Montana Library Association. It has been a distinct privilege for me to have been here to share with you food, love and knowledge—knowledge of the life of Phoebe Apperson Hearst, philanthropist, whose life was without parallel in American history.

The Immigration Act of 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, one of the great moral victories of 1965—a victory as well for the strengthening of our Nation and the benefit of our people—was the enactment of a long overdue reform in our immigration laws, the abolition of the 40-year-old national origins quota system. This was the system of choosing immigrants chiefly according to where they had been born.

Four President had urged action to end this discriminatory system: Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson. In January of this year, President Johnson sent Congress a bill to replace the national origins quota system with a system for choosing immigrants on the basis of their family relationships to people living in the United States, or those possessing special skills and talents of real benefit to our country.

In his message, President Johnson said:

> The national origins quota system does incalculable harm. The procedures imply that men and women from some countries are, just because of where they come from, more desirable citizens than others. We have no right to disparage the ancestors of millions of our fellow Americans in this way. Relationships with a number of countries, and hence the success of our foreign policy, is needlessly impeded by this proposition.
>
> The quota system has other grave defects. Too often it arbitrarily denies us immigrants who have outstanding and sorely needed talents and skills. I do not believe this is either good government or good sense.
>
> Thousands of our citizens are needlessly separated from their parents or other close relatives.

For more than 8 months, the Houses and committees of Congress held hearings on the bill, studied it, and debated it. It finally passed both Houses overwhelmingly. The bill passed by Congress, which President Johnson signed on October 3 at the Statue of Liberty, could be truly called a "statute of equality," because it brings back into our immigration laws the traditional American virtues of fair treatment and equal opportunity.

At the same time, it should be made plain that the new law does not "let down the bars" on immigration, either on quantity or quality. The new law will not alter the many legal safeguards which prevent an influx of undesirables and protect our people against excessive or unregulated immigration. Nothing in the new law relieves any immigrant of the necessity of satisfying all our security requirements, and the requirements designed to exclude persons likely to become public charges. The total number of immigrants will not be significantly increased. No immigrants will be admitted who would contribute to unemployment in the United States; in fact, the safeguards against this have been strengthened.

Thus, through a combination of good leadership, good legislative judgment, and good public understanding, we have purged our immigration laws of a long-standing source of discrimination and ill-will, and in so doing we have benefited and strengthened our country and its traditions.

The American Indian in Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WESTON E. VIVIAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, Doug Fulton, of the Ann Arbor News, has recently published a thoughtful and articulate article on the plight of American Indians living in Michigan. As Mr. Fulton has so sharply pointed out, we continue to ignore the problems that plague the American Indian. No one will deny that American Indians have, in the past, been badly treated at the hands of foreigners to his land; they are being badly treated to this day, Mr. Speaker, and I, for one, believe that it is time that we in the Congress thoroughly review the status, needs, and opportunities open to the American Indian in mid-20th-century U.S. society. I commend Mr. Fulton's article to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress:

WHAT OF INDIANS' CIVIL RIGHTS?

(By Doug Fulton)

On the sidelines of the fight for civil rights a group of Americans stands alone.

They have put on no demonstrations, nor sit-ins, nor have they picketed.

Few outside groups have taken up their cause, and the publicity they have received in their quest for justice and dignity has been relegated to the back pages, if it has appeared at all.

And yet their cause is far older, and their list of grievances far longer, than that of any other minority in the United States.

They are the American Indians—the original Americans—and they once had possession of this great country of ours from the Atlantic to the Pacific. They welcomed and befriended the first American settlers, and we paid them back by slaughter, confiscation of their lands, and ostracism.

The pattern continues to this day. Only a short time ago an entire reservation, which had been promised in a treaty signed by the Father of our Country, George Washington, to remain theirs forever, was confiscated by the Federal Government for a dam and reservoir. The Indians were moved from their ancestral home and crowded onto a strange place. Congress is still delaying payment for their lands.

All this in the 20th century, when talk of civil rights rolls from the tongues of politicians and daily echoes in the legislatures across the land.

Nor is this the last. Other Indian lands, treaty reservations, are eyed hungrily by other interests, and ways are being sought to get them from their rightful owners.

The breaking of treaties is nothing new to the Indian. He has grown accustomed to it. He reminds himself, among other things, that he was never given payment, as required by the treaty he signed, for thousands of square miles in Michigan (including the land on which the State Capitol stands).

He is accustomed also to being ignored by the strangers who have taken over his land.

Ask a Michiganite, for instance, to tell you how many reservations we have in the State, and not one in a thousand has the correct answer. Most, in fact, will look puzzled and comment they didn't know there were any at all.

There are five reservations in the State—L'nse, Hannahville, Bay Mills, Saginaw, and Isabella. About 1,200 Indians live on these reservations. In addition, another thousand or so living off the reservation are considered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs as coming under their jurisdiction to a greater or lesser extent.

There are, of course, many more who have left the reservation, and have, as the BIA puts it, "entered the mainstream of American life." Some of these still maintain contact with friends and relatives at home, others do not. There is no accurate count of these—not even an educated guess.

Michigan has made little real effort to help the plight of its Indian citizens. True, there have been token efforts, but most of the so-called help has been mere lipservice to the cause.

There have been several commissions through the years designed to better the Indian's lot, but most have failed because they attempted to tell the Indian what he should do, rather than elicit his cooperation and help in working out a plan which would be suitable for him.

This plan of attack is all too familiar to the Indian, and he is rightly suspicious of it.

He remembers, for instance, the long, enforced marches of the 19th century and the grand relocation plans forced upon him. He remembers how certain tribes were given land "forever" in Kansas on which to settle, and then how it was later taken away when the white men discovered it was fertile and "too good" for them.

He remembers, too, the attempt of the Government to force him to become a farmer, and how the Government gave him land for this purpose which had no arable soil and no water.

Now a new Indian commission is to be formed in the State, and 7 of its 11 members, by law, must be Indians. But there is no clause in the law which says these seven are to be elected by the Indians themselves. So the Indian wonders if his representatives are really going to represent him or be mere puppets of the status quo. Or worse yet, are they going to try another "solution" as unrealistic as everything that has been tried so far.

He cannot hope, for there is nothing on which to base this hope. The history of his people tells him not to hope.

It is, perhaps, wrong to generalize, and yet there are some generalizations which seem to be valid when talking about the Indian.

One of these is that he does not care to adapt to an 8-to-5 job 5 days a week. And in saying this it must not be assumed he is lazy. Far from it. For in the culture in which he grew up a lazy Indian soon became a dead one, and an improvident one did not last out a hard winter.

But, free spirit that he is, he does not want to be tied down.

One of the best examples of a successful business arrangement utilizing this characteristic of the Indian to its full advantage is that of the Old Town canoe factory in Maine. There the owners have constructed, within the huge barnlike factory, a number of small cubicles. An Indian wishing to work simply checks out his materials and works by himself in one of the small rooms. When he finishes the canoe he is free to take his pay and go, or he can check out more materials and start to work on another. The factory is open day and night, and it matters not to have a fixed time schedule.

This personal choice arrangement has been working for a long time.

The Mohawks, who have become famous for their high steel work on tall buildings, are but another example. Here their work is at a premium, and so they can change jobs or quit and come back as they will.

But most jobs, especially in this modern society with emphasis on the timeclock and our own cultural notions of group obligations, leave little room for individuality.

Another generalization which can be applied to the Indian is that he has a great deal of pride and dignity. It is this part of his character that makes him so unwilling to ask for help, or to volunteer, even when asked, an opinion about how he shall be helped. He would rather slip into the direst condition of poverty and neglect than to beg. He wants what is rightfully his, which is the reason he has pressed his claims for payment of land taken away from him a century or more ago, but he does not want a handout.

This latter facet of character makes it difficult to give him the help he so desperately needs. It is the reason all the previous commissions have failed to do any real good. Lacking a directive from the Indian himself, and having as members people who were not attuned to the Indian character, they struck out blindly for solutions which were not solutions at all.

In this rather gloomy picture of the plight of the Michigan Indian, there are a few bright spots.

First and foremost is a new desire on the part of some of the younger generation to preserve their customs and keep their identity as a people.

Several new Indian clubs have sprung up in the last few years designed to foster this link with the past and preservation of their heritage.

Gertrude Prokosch Kurath of Ann Arbor, one of the country's foremost authorities on ethnic dance and the author of a number of books and monographs on Indian culture, says the climate for such preservation, especially of dance, is much better now than at any time in the past. She is especially enthusiastic about the excellent job done by a new organization, the Grand River American Indian Society.

In just a little more than a year this group, under the direction and guidance of Chief Jack Neyome and Historian Jim Eagle Shaffer, has made a real effort to form a cohesive organization designed to foster a reawakening of the arts and dances of the Indian.

They sponsored a pow-wow in Lansing a short time ago which drew Indians from 11 different tribes, including one from Oklahoma and another from New York.

In addition, members of the society have traveled to other gatherings throughout the State to assist in fairs and dancing.

The North American Indian Club of Detroit is another such organization. It sponsors at least one fair of arts and dancing each year, and this year's powwow is scheduled for Ford High School, on Evergreen Avenue, September 25–26.

Eli Thomas, Chief Little Elk, of the Isabella Reservation south of Mount Pleasant, puts on a weekend powwow each year. This year, crowds of more than 200 spectators attended the afternoon and evening performances.

There probably would be far greater crowds at these affairs if some way could be found to publicize them properly. But the Indians do not have any sort of statewide organization and no public relations man. So word of mouth is about all the publicity they get. It is too bad, for, if more people could visit the reservations, there might be less reluctance on the part of citizens to consider the Indian and his plight.

Another bright spot is the return of some of the native crafts, or arts, especially among the younger generation. True, it has not reached in Michigan the status of some of the southwestern arts, and it is still only a part-time or leisure-time activity. Handwork of this sort is difficult to sell at a fair market price, but nevertheless an effort is being made to preserve the skills of long ago.

But the dancing and the arts will mean nothing in the long run unless the basic lot of the Indian is improved. And each day a solution is delayed, the harder it will be to catch up.

America has never had a bigger blot on her shield than her treatment of the Indian, and it is a blot which will be hard to erase.

We have come a long way from the old frontiersman philosophy that the only good Indian is a dead Indian, but we have not come far enough.

The Indian is here still, and if his presence is an embarrassing reminder of our treatment of him and his ancestors, we show little desire to admit it.

But admit it we must.

America has been called the great melting pot, and we are proud of our treatment of the various ethnic groups which make up the United States. We are proud we can assimilate them into our culture and still, if they wish, let them retain some measure of their individuality.

The people of Holland, Mich., can grow tulips and clomp around in wooden shoes, and build windmills and other remembrances of an Old World heritage. Chinatowns appear in every large city, as do clusters of other races, each holding to native customs, language, and roots.

But the Indian is told to conform—to "enter the mainstream of American life."

Perhaps it is because they are a mute reminder of what our forefathers did to them long ago.

But time is running out, and the other examples of fights for human and civil rights should have jarred our complacency enough to cast about for a realistic solution to one of the oldest problems our country has faced.

Congress Compiles Outstanding Conservation Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, conservation is certainly something in which we all share an interest. As a Member of the 89th Congress, I am very proud of our legislative record in the area of conservation.

I was pleased to see the summary of our conservation record which appeared in the October 1 issue of Conservation News, an educational service of the National Wildlife Federation. As the article points out, the conservation record of the 89th Congress is being compared to the remarkable record of the 88th Congress—the "Conservation Congress."

Under unanimous consent I place the article, "Congress Compiles Outstanding Conservation Record," at this point in the RECORD:

CONGRESS COMPILES OUTSTANDING CONSERVATION RECORD

Members of the 89th Congress can go home, when adjournment of the first session finally comes, secure in the full assurance that they have done an outstanding job on the enactment of conservation legislation. Significant accomplishments this year, in fact, are being compared to the remarkable record of the 88th Congress—the "Conservation Congress."

Enjoying exceptional cooperation and support from President Lyndon B. Johnson, congressional leaders have tallied major gains in a surprisingly diverse number of resource fields—water conservation and pollution control, air pollution control, the establishment of new public outdoor recreational areas, public use of agricultural areas, and highway beautification.

Here is the scoresheet of accomplishments racked up thus far, with additions a probability before adjournment comes, likely late in October:

WATER CONSERVATION

S. 4, the "Water Quality Act of 1965," creates a new Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, provides for the establishment of water quality criteria, and otherwise strengthens the Federal Water Pollution Control Act.

"Water Resources Planning Act" (Public Law 89–80), establishes a program for river basin studies and makes grants to States for planning.

"Federal Water Project Recreation Act" (Public Law 89–72), sets up procedures for allocating costs for fish and wildlife and recreational enhancement at Federal reservoirs, a process many people view with mixed emotions.

The saline water conversion program of the Department of the Interior is to be expanded, extended, and accelerated (Public Law 89–119).

PUBLIC OUTDOOR RECREATION

Establishment of Assateague Island National Seashore, Md. and Va. (Public Law 89–195), preserves one of the last important beaches on the east coast.

Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area (Public Law 89–158) provides an important outdoor recreational facility near major population centers in the East.

Establishment of the Spruce Knob-Seneca Rocks National Recreation Area sets aside 100,000 acres of scenic lands in West Virginia.

Beautiful Upper Priest Lake in Idaho is preserved through provision (Public Law 89–39) for the acquisition of land by the Forest Service.

Six other new units are added to the National Park System: Golden Spike National Monument (Public Law 89–102), commemorating the spot in Utah where the first transcontinental railroad was completed; Pecos National Monument (Public Law 89–54), preserving a 17th-century Spanish mission and ancient Indian pueblo in New Mexico; Agate Fossil Beds National Monument (Public Law 89–33), preserving unique paleontological deposits in Nebraska; Alibates Flint Quarries and Texas Panhandle Pueblo Culture National Monument (Public Law 89–154), Tex.; Nez Perce National Historical Park (Public Law 89–19) preserves important historical sites in Idaho; and Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, Ariz. (Public Law 89–148).

AGRICULTURE

The Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 contains cropland adjustment features of benefit to wildlife and providing incentives for farmers to open their lands to public hunting, fishing, trapping, and hiking.

Garrison Diversion Unit (Public Law 89–108) provides for major wildlife facilities as part of a huge irrigation project in the Missouri River Basin of North Dakota.

AIR POLLUTION

Amends the Clean Air Act (S. 306) to broaden authority of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to control air pollution from motor vehicles and provide for solid-waste disposal.

MARINE RESOURCES

The "Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1965" provides for a comprehensive, long-range, and coordinated national program in marine science.

WILDLIFE

The ceiling is being raised on appropriations for the Fish and Wildlife Service to study the effects of pesticides on fish and wildlife.

OTHER MEASURES

Other new measures adopted by the 89th Congress have important resource aspects. Among them are: the "Appalachian Regional Development Act" (Public Law 89-4); the "Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965" (Public Law 89-117); the "Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965" (Public Law 89-136); and S. 2300, the flood control-rivers and harbors omnibus bill.

Additional solid accomplishments probably will be added to the list before the solons go home. It appears likely that the Congress will clear a proposal to provide incentives for the beautification of highways. The Senate Committee on Commerce may clear a House-passed bill to establish a program for conserving the Nation's anadromous fishery resources.

Progress, of course, is not limited to passages. Several other proposals, including those to establish parks and seashores or lakeshores, and a national wild rivers preservation system, have been the subject of hearings and likely will receive early attention during the second session in 1966.

The Message of Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most appropriate and impressive comments on the visit of Pope Paul VI to New York City on Monday appeared on Tuesday in the Lowell, Mass., Sun.

Pointing out the potential cumulative impact of the Pope's moving plea for peace before the United Nations and the bar of history, the editorial comments:

His words on the brotherhood of man are indelibly written for this and later generations to study and respect.

Under unanimous consent I include the text of the editorial in the RECORD:

THE MESSAGE OF PEACE

In one of the most dramatic chapters of all history, Pope Paul VI departed from the century-old traditions of the Vatican, crossed the ocean by plane, and made a fervent plea for peace and international understanding before the assembled diplomats and statesmen of the United Nations.

The 1-day visit to New York was triumphant in every way and no one could have done more to promote the cause of universal peace.

In the great hall of the United Nations, His Holiness concluded his address with the observation:

"No more war, war never again. Peace; it is peace which must guide the destinies of peoples and of all mankind."

The lasting effect of this and other thoughts expressed by the pontiff will carry great weight and may eventually cause some belligerent nations to reassess the ultimate values of the border wars in which they are now engaged. Too, they may become more rational in their lackadaisical attitude which presently precludes consideration of small wars growing into global conflict.

The Pope spelled out the dangers of war, even so-called small conflicts, when he said that unless peace is restored and respected the world would some day face annihilation.

The immediate effect of this unprecedented speech in the United Nations by Pope Paul may not be apparent on the surface, although it may signal the start of a cooling-off period among those now engaged in war. But as the weeks and months go by, it is probable that small nations, however goaded by larger powers, will be less impulsive in trying to settle international arguments with guns, tanks, and planes.

Pope Paul has done a great service, not only to those who want lasting peace, but to civilization as a whole; his words on the brotherhood of man are indelibly written for this and later generations to study and respect.

Great Tribute Paid to an Outstanding Postmaster—Hon. Charles Puskar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. MORRISON

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, September 25, 1965, a testimonial dinner was held in Pittsburgh, Pa., for a most distinguished and able former postmaster and executive secretary-treasurer of the National Association of Postmasters, the Honorable Charles E. Puskar. This dinner was attended by approximately 1,000 persons from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Washington, D.C., and other States.

Because of pressing business in our Nation's Capitol, I was not able to attend this fine affair. However, I have heard from our colleagues, the gentlemen from Pennsylvania [Mr. CORBETT, Mr. FULTON, Mr. MORGAN, and Mr. CLARK], that the testimonial dinner was a huge success.

Mr. Puskar is well known to most Members of Congress. He was postmaster of Imperial, Pa., from 1933 to 1965, and for 14 years of that period he was the most effective executive secretary-treasurer of the National Association of Postmasters. In this capacity, he performed with great skill and he enjoyed the respect of every Member of Congress with whom he had dealings. He played an important part in the enactment of every law which has improved the prestige and the positions of 35,000 U.S. postmasters during the past 15 years. The first official recommendation for giving all postmasters a 5-day week was made by Charles E. "Chuck" Puskar and he laid the groundwork over the years which resulted in the enactment of this law in the 89th Congress.

While he was a top official in the National Association of Postmasters, he fought for the job rights and for the betterment of all postmasters in the United States. As a spokesman for the National Association of Postmasters when the administration changed in 1953, he insisted on postmasters receiving full protection under the career civil service system and he was most successful in his endeavors. This is one of the reasons the position of postmaster has become a career civil service job in every sense of the word.

When the present postal administration selected Chuck Puskar to be special assistant for employee relations in the Philadelphia regional office of the Post Office Department, this former postmaster brought to this position all of the skill, experience and excellent judgment he has demonstrated over the years in his dealings with the U.S. Congress.

I am certain my colleagues on the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee are delighted with the recognition awarded Chuck Puskar. I am informed that postal management and labor both are equally pleased with the manner in which this public servant has conducted the duties of his present office and every segment of the postal service was represented at his testimonial dinner.

I know that Chuck's many friends in the Congress join with me in wishing our friend, his lovely wife Marguerite, and his fine family the best fortune in terms of health, happiness and prosperity in the coming years.

Join the Job Corps and See the World's Fair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I am sure many of my colleagues read in the Corpsman, the new magazine published for the men and women of the Job Corps, that 12 Job Corps men and women are getting an inside look at the New York World's Fair. They are working at the U.S. pavilion there.

One of the girls from the Women's Job Corps Center located in my congressional district in Omaha, Nebr., said it was a "lot of fun," and added:

People usually ask what jobs we have to offer. Quite often an old man will come up and ask us what kind of job we could get him.

One might ask, "Was this trip necessary?"

The Omaha World-Herald had its own editorial comment about the World's Fair training program:

ON JOINING AND SEEING

"Join the Navy and see the world." So said the old U.S. Navy recruiting poster.

With the Office of Economic Opportunity now spending $10,000 so 12 Job Corps enrollees can spend 6 weeks at the New York World's Fair as part of their training, a new poster may be in the making:

"Join the Job Corps and see the World's Fair."

Faithful Service of Director Howard M. Tompkins, Jacksonville Office, Federal Housing Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, so often we fail to pay tribute to public servants who have distinguished themselves. I am pleased to enclose for the RECORD a resolution which has been passed by the Home Builders Association of Greater Jacksonville, Fla., commending our friend, Howard M. Tompkins, who has rendered exceptional service to the citizens of Florida in his capacity as director of the Federal Housing Administration office in Jacksonville. The resolution, which follows, is self-explanatory, and is a well-deserved tribute to Mr. Tompkins:

RESOLUTION OF HOME BUILDERS ASSOCIATION OF GREATER JACKSONVILLE

(Resolution unanimously adopted by the Board of Directors of the Home Builders Association of Greater Jacksonville at their regularly constituted board of directors meeting on August 25, 1965, Mayflower Hotel, Jacksonville, Fla.)

Whereas the Jacksonville office of the Federal Housing Administration plays a vital role in the economic welfare of the home building industry of Greater Jacksonville;

Whereas the Director Howard M. Tompkins has continually exhibited the greatest interest in the welfare of the home building industry in this area and has maintained the closest cooperation with the members of our industry and particularly the officers of our association;

Whereas Mr. Tompkins showed deep concern in the past where lack of staff and adequate appropriations impeded him from reducing processing time.

Whereas now through his efforts and the cooperation of his Jacksonville staff, he has achieved outstanding results for his efforts; where last year (1731–'64) 10 percent of the processing of home mortgages were completed in seven (7) days or less; (729–'65) 100 percent have been completed in five (5) days or less. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the officers, board of directors, and members of the Home Builders Association of Greater Jacksonville extend to Director Howard M. Tompkins and his staff their congratulations and sincere appreciation of an outstanding record of accomplishment and work. We further congratulate him on his commendation by P. M. Brownstein, Commissioner, Federal Housing Administration, Washington, D.C., who joins with us in congratulating him.

Copies of this resolution are to be sent to P. M. Brownstein, Commissioner, Federal Housing Administration, Washington, D.C.; Representatives CHARLES BENNETT, ROBERT L. F. SIKES, and D. R. MATTHEWS, Washington, D.C., as well as Senators SPESSARD HOLLAND and GEORGE SMATHERS, Washington, D.C.; and governmental affairs director, National Association of Home Builders, Washington, D.C.

Signed in Jacksonville, Fla., this 25th day of August 1965.

PAUL LAZEAU,
President, Home Builders Association of Greater Jacksonville.

GEORGE H. RUMPEL,
Executive Director, Home Builders Association of Greater Jacksonville.

Help for Junior Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the continued efforts of my colleague, the Honorable ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, to help junior colleges is well known. His most recent effort, an amendment to switch $74 million from a questionable Federal scholarship program into a junior college construction program was the subject of a recent editorial in the Jackson Citizen-Patriot, a newspaper published in my district.

I commend the editorial to the Members of the House:

JUNIOR COLLEGES FILL VITAL EDUCATION ROLE

Representative ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, Michigan Republican, who has a habit of talking commonsense in the House, has done it again.

He says that the Congress should seriously consider channeling a major portion of the $74 million now being set aside for federally financed work-study and college loan programs into aid for construction and expansion of junior colleges.

Representative GRIFFIN's reasoning is magnificent in its simplicity and the logic can be proved by looking into almost any community—including Jackson.

Literally millions of students now are seeking higher education. Many of them need help, or a chance to go to school for a minimum of expenses. Taxpayers are hard pressed to provide the classrooms. The best bargain for the student and taxpayer alike is the junior college.

Thus, why not spend more for junior colleges which will give students a chance to get 2 years of advanced schooling while living at home and cutting down the pressure on the larger schools?

It makes sense.

The Griffin theory may be lacking in glamor. A program which provides grants, loans or other forms of aid directly to students has a great deal of political appeal.

But as is the case in so many Federal projects, it misses a main point. The so-called benefits of the heavy spending programs often appear only on paper. They miss the objective of getting the most education for the greatest number of students for the smallest number of dollars.

GRIFFIN points out that no matter how much money is made available to potential students in scholarships and loans, classrooms will not be available for all of them. He says that in many instances, only students who have graduated in the top 25 percent of their classes can get into senior colleges. That eliminates large numbers of the young people whom the Federal programs are supposed to help and who are the objects of continuing discussions.

The junior colleges fill a vital role in education. They can provide courses for many students who, no matter how much financial help they have, can't make it in the 4-year schools.

Whether the goal is a bachelor's degree, or higher, or a terminal course in a junior college, the 2-year school can serve most students well and economically.

The sheer weight of the cost of higher education is astounding.

Drive around the campus of any major State school in Michigan today and you will see literally millions of dollars being poured into new buildings.

The big schools have the prestige (and the lobbying power, if we may call it that) to get what they need from the State treasury.

The junior, or community colleges, generally have to scratch for building and operating money. The new Jackson County Community College, for example, had a difficult time getting a modest tax levy which would permit it to start building its campus.

Many will argue that the 4-year schools are growing too big to give the students the kind of individual attention they deserve. We agree.

The ideal ultimate solution to a multitude of problems might be to send a majority of the students to the community colleges for the first 2 years of higher education and let them move on to the big schools in the junior year and for graduate study.

The cost would be far less than the eternal expansion of the larger school and the generous dispensation of scholarships to students. In the long run, more young people who need higher education would be served.

If the Johnson administration really feels concern for giving greater opportunity to individuals and classes which now find the road to higher education hard going it would do well to heed Representative GRIFFIN's words of wisdom about junior colleges.

Unfortunately there seems to be a school of thought, which includes a great number of educators as well as politicians, that vast sums of money will cure everything.

Althought it has come a long way in the past few years, the junior—or community—college system sometimes is treated as a stepchild by the big boys in education and by the men who hold the keys to the public treasuries, both State and national.

If this thinking isn't changed the taxpayers will be out millions of dollars that need not be spent and students who can profit by junior college education will be denied thir opportunities.

Bob Gries, of Course

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to pick up Wednesday's edition of the Cleveland Plain Dealer and find in it a tribute to my friend, Robert H. Gries, who has just been reelected president of the Vocational Guidance and Rehabilitation Services in Cleveland.

Bob Gries is a remarkable man and I am happy that his exceptional efforts have received editorial recognition from one of the Nation's outstanding newspapers.

The article follows:

GRIES, OF COURSE

There is nothing unexpected about the reelection yesterday of Robert H. Gries as president of the Vocational Guidance and Rehabilitation Services.

There just isn't anyone else nearly as capable of steering the work of the big center now undergoing the first phase of a $7 million expansion program.

Although he gives generously of his talents to innumerable civic and cultural projects, Gries has concentrated the greatest portion of his energies on increasing help for the handicapped at the East 55th Street facility.

He has been the dynamo of the people renewal program under which workshop space for the handicapped is to be doubled in the first stage of the expansion.

The VGRS is closest to the heart of this selfless man who gives so much of his time and of his capacity to get things done for so many organizations dedicated to improving the lot of mankind.

On October 12, when he celebrates his 65th birthday, Bob Gries can look back with satisfaction on a career in which concern for the happiness and progress of his fellow men dominates most of his activities.

The First Lady

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, at the recent meeting of the Associated Press Managing Editors in Buffalo, N.Y., Editor George Beebe of the Florida-based Miami Herald had the honor of introducing Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson. Because his remarks relate to the legislation before the House today, and the part our gracious First Lady has taken in it, I place them at this point in the RECORD:

(Introduction of Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, October 1, Buffalo, N.Y., by Mr. George Beebe, president, Associated Press Managing Editors and the managing editor of the Miami Herald)

We often hear managing editors complain about the pressures of their jobs—long hours and hectic schedules. We have a speaker today who puts us all to shame. She receives about 150 phone calls a day and 3,500 letters a week which must be answered.

We can refer to her as the First Lady of Journalism, for she received a degree in this field at the University of Texas.

Her marriage kept her from making a career of journalism, but she never has lost the journalistic instincts for wanting to do something to better her community, her State, and her Nation.

This delightful and energetic woman comes before APME today to ask our assistance in helping to clean up the beer cans, billboards, and junkyard jungles which our once beautiful countryside is becoming.

She is fortunate to have a powerful friend in the White House who has given considerable attention to legislation she needs for this very worthwhile campaign.

There is vigorous opposition from several well-financed lobbies and an AP dispatch Thursday indicated the highway beautification bill is having rough sledding. So it is imperative that her project be given assistance—and fast.

I am sure our speaker will be interested to know that most managing editors are as concerned as she about the obliteration of the magnificent views that God created for us to enjoy. I had a letter just last week from our Arville Schaleben, executive editor of the Milwaukee Journal, who today was reelected to APME's board of directors.

I quote: "It seems to me the Nation's masses are not aware of what is happening to our environment and how few years remain before disaster is full upon us. I don't blame the people of the past; most of them couldn't see it coming; but now it's here. We see it; we know it; we know its consequences and I am wondering if maybe APME—the most powerful influence on mass communication in existence—might not want to do something about it."

Yes, the deterioration of America's beautiful countryside is a national disgrace.

So, it is most heartening that the leading proponent to restore beauty to ugly landscapes is our gracious First Lady.

It is my privilege and pleasure to introduce Mrs. Lady Bird Johnson.

After Mrs. Johnson's speech, Mr. Beebe commented as follows:

Mrs. Johnson, we want to thank you for your inspiring message. I feel that I can speak for all the managing editors of the Nation in assuring you our enthusiastic and complete support.

We await further orders on how we can be of service to you. You have support elsewhere, too.

Buffalo has gone all out to acknowledge your visit today. The garden clubs, the girl scouts, business houses, etc. are planting 25,000 tulip bulbs today in public places in your honor.

And, on her way back to the airport, Mrs. Johnson will plant a tree on the campus of the teacher's college.

What kind of tree? Linden, of course.

Mrs. Johnson has asked the opportunity to meet APME members.

National Council for Sound Monetary Policy Protests Banking Community's Efforts To Raise Interest Rates—Points Out Organized Bankers on Trial Regarding Public Opinion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, the full text of an October 6 press release by the National Council for Sound Monetary Policy which headquarters in Washington is deserving of the attention of every single American citizen. This is not an overstatement because the subject matter covers interest rates which affect the pocketbooks of all Americans.

The statement was submitted by the chairman of the board, Milton J. Shapp, of Philadelphia, and officers and directors of the organization. It is my fervent hope that the members of the American Bankers Association will take time out to read this statement which contains some extremely worthwhile observations:

The banking industry in the United States is about to make a decision that will determine its fate for a good number of years.

The last time it had such a decision to make was in 1958 when it made the wrong choice and brought on one of three recessions which preceded our present long period of prosperity. It upped interest rates and tightened credit for the consumer and American business.

Then, as now, William McChesney Martin, whose decisions in the past have been so closely attuned to the great banks of America, is kingpin at the Federal Reserve—America's central banking system.

If he again pursues policies espoused by the organized American bankers now meeting in Chicago, he may well destroy, along with the policymaking group of bankers, the longest period of uninterrupted economic progress in the entire history of the United States.

Should Chairman Martin and his ill-advised sycophants bring about a manmade recession by following policies discredited by American economic experience, the wrath of the public may well overwhelm the local banker as well as Martin.

Charges of usury, arrogance, ignorance of economic life, reaction, and just plain greed will assuredly be heaped on the banking community.

It took a generation for the banker to regain the prestige he lost during America's great depression. We do not believe the average American banker will want to gamble well-earned prestige today and his unprecedented profits for a higher interest rate that could well be the straw that broke the prosperity camel's back.

The lead story in the Wall Street Journal of Monday, October 4, began, "Pressure is mounting in the banking industry for broad increases in interest rates. But many bankers are reluctant to act until they have a clearer indication of White House reaction to such boosts.

"There is now a widespread feeling among bankers that if the administration raises no particular objection to these increases, interest rates in general may start heading upward."

The organized banking industry has been propagandizing at enormous expense for interest rises since their convention in Miami, Fla., last year. Some of the rational forces within banking circles have advised against what the prevailing sector of the organized banking community is now seeking. These rational banking forces are mindful of what Lyndon Baines Johnson said in his economic report of the President of the United States, 1965, that "We expect a continuation of sound and healthy economic expansion. The Federal Reserve System must be free to accommodate that expansion—in 1965, and the years beyond 1965.

"Such an expansion needs to be supported by further orderly growth in money and credit."

There can be no orderly growth in money and credit by arbitrarily increasing interest rates and diminishing credit.

The National Council for Sound Monetary Policy is not an inflationary-minded, easy money group. It is composed of sober-minded, successful Americans in the fields of business, finance, banks, labor, academic, consumer, farm and co-op groups.

While it is true that the National Council for Sound Monetary Policy is a relatively new association, it was formed to be a watchdog group to fight such unnecessary, unwarranted and ill-advised increases in interest rates with its accompanying diminution of credit for the consumer and American business as is now proposed by the organized bankers of America now meeting in Chicago.

The objectives of the council are to seek sufficient credit to support the legitimate needs of business and consumers; to seek an expanding economy and an adequate money supply to sustain it; and to buoy the economy up by keeping interest rates down.

We have reason to believe that our objectives parallel those of the President of the United States of America. He has long indicated that he is not a high interest rate tight money man. If the bankers of the United States wish to find out how he feels on the subject, let them oppose responsible views of monetary policy that have brought on the greatest unprecedented period of economic well-being in the history of our country.

With still a 4½-percent-unemployment rate a reality and more than 10-percent factory capacity idle, there is little chance for inflation unless the Federal Reserve Board increases the discount rate to member banks. Then there would follow a general interest hike that would in the short run be dam-

aging to the overwhelming majority of Americans, and in the longer run prove harmful even to the self-seeking groups now attempting to charge more for borrowing of money.

We are making our views known to the President of the United States, his economic advisers, the Secretary of the Treasury and other interested Government officials. We are also wiring a copy of our statement to the president of the American Bankers Association now meeting in Chicago.

Mr. Speaker, following is a list of the officers and directors of the National Council for Sound Monetary Policy:

1. Mr. Milton J. Shapp, president, The Jerrold Corp., Philadelphia, Pa.
2. Mr. David Stuzin, president, Citizens Federal Savings & Loan Association, Hialeah, Fla.
3. Hon. Jerry Voorhies, Cooperative League of the USA, Chicago, Ill.
4. Mr. W. E. Chilton, III, publisher, Charleston Gazette, Charleston, W. Va.
5. Hon. Byron Johnson, Denver, Colo.
6. Dr. Nelson Peach, chairman of the School of Business, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.
7. Mr. Ed Wimmer, vice president, National Federation of Independent Business, Covington, Ky.
8. Mr. George E. Leighty, chairman, Railway Labor Executives Association, and president, Order of Railway Telegraphers, Washington, D.C.
9. Mr. Wallace J. Campbell, Foundation for Cooperative Housing, Washington, D.C.
10. Hon. Clyde T. Ellis, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, Washington, D.C.
11. Mr. Leon Keyserling, Conference on Economic Progress, Washington, D.C.
12. Mrs. Sarah Newman, National Consumers League, Washington, D.C.
13. Mr. Shelby Southard, Cooperative League of the USA, Washington, D.C.
14. Dr. Dewey Anderson, Public Affairs Institute, Washington, D.C.
15. Mr. Robert D. Partridge, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, Washington, D.C.
16. Mr. Jacob Clayman, Industrial Union Department, AFL–CIO, Washington, D.C.
17. Mr. Joseph Keenan, National Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Washington, D.C.
18. Mr. Alex Radin, general manager, American Public Power Association, Washington, D.C.
19. Mr. Murray Lincoln, Nationwide Insurance Co., Columbus, Ohio.
20. Mr. John W. Edelman, secretary, National Council of Senior Citizens, Washington, D.C.
21. Mr. Walter Reuther, president, United Auto Workers, Detroit, Mich.
22. Mr. Donald S. Beattie, executive secretary, Railway Labor Executives Association, Washington, D.C.
23. Mr. William McSorley, assistant to the president, Building & Construction Trades Department, AFL–CIO, Washington, D.C.
24. Mr. Jerome Keating, president, National Association of Letter Carriers, Washington, D.C.

Address by Dr. George E. Mueller

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 17, 1965

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, Dr. George E. Mueller, Associate Administrator for Manned Space Flight of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, spoke this week in Hartford, Conn., to the Hartford Rotary Club, about the progress of the national space effort.

Dr. Mueller, who assumed direction of the NASA manned space flight effort in September 1963, has done an exceptionally able job of conducting this program on its critical course. His assignment may well prove to be, as our colleague, the gentleman from Texas, Congressman OLIN TEAGUE, has said, the most important quest of knowledge and exploration of our century.

The manned space flight industry Government team involves about 300,000 people in this country. It is concerned with the achievement of a national goal, spelled out and supported by the Congress, to land an American on the moon and return him safely to earth before the end of this decade. The program, as managed under the direction of Dr. Mueller, has scored significant gains.

His word on our progress is authoritative and deserves our attention. I, therefore, include it in the RECORD:

ADDRESS BY DR. GEORGE E. MUELLER, ASSOCIATE ADMINISTRATOR FOR MANNED SPACE FLIGHT, NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION, BEFORE THE HARTFORD ROTARY CLUB, HARTFORD, CONN., OCTOBER 4, 1965

Thank you. I am very grateful for the opportunity to address this group this afternoon. It is a particular pleasure to meet with you in a State which has contributed so much to the national space effort. NASA's space work now going on in the State of Connecticut is in excess of $55 million. This is the equivalent of 5,500 direct jobs for Connecticut workers. Moreover, economists tell us that in such cases the number of indirect jobs is many times greater than this figure.

Many aspects of the country's space work are in progress here. For example, two major contractors in the manned space flight program are the Pratt & Whitney and Hamilton Standard Divisions of United Aircraft Corp. Pratt & Whitney, of East Hartford, is developing the fuel cell, a revolutionary system for supplying electrical power on board spacecraft. Pratt & Whitney also developed the RL–10 rocket engine used in the second stage of the Saturn I vehicle. The Saturn I recently completed its flight program with 10 successes in 10 flights. Hamilton Standard, of Windsor Locks, is developing space suits which may be used on manned lunar flights.

I have been asked to speak today on the progress, prospects, and future of our space programs. This is a particularly appropriate day for such a discussion, for it was just 8 years ago today, on October 4, 1957, that the space age really began. It was on that date that the flight of Sputnik I demonstrated to a shocked America that this country's position of leadership was being challenged and our security was placed in question because another nation was taking positive steps to master the new environment of space.

The Congress acted swiftly and responsibly in the face of this challenge by passage of the National Aeronautics and Space Act. The then Senator from Texas, Mr. JOHNSON, played a major role in this legislation, approved by President Eisenhower in the summer of 1958. Good progress was made in the next 2½ years and, in May of 1961, President Kennedy proposed, and Congress endorsed, a long-range program to expand and accelerate U.S. space activity so that, by the end of this decade, the United States would achieve indisputable leadership in this new realm.

This program called for increased space activity in all areas—in manned and unmanned flight, in scientific investigations, advancement of technology, and practical applications, and in the development of rocket power. As you know, it included a national commitment to advance manned space flight to a stage at which, by the end of this decade, it would be possible to fly outward a quarter million miles from the earth, to land on and take off from the moon, and return safely to earth. This was the beginning of the Apollo program.

The overall purposes of this program, however, should be reemphasized. Our primary objective is not, as many people seem to believe, merely to land on the moon ahead of the Soviets. The work to achieve manned lunar landing and safe return serves as the focal point of a much broader effort, the principal goal of which is to make the United States first in space by the end of this decade and to make this preeminence unmistakably clear to the world.

Why, you may ask, is it so vital that the United States be preeminent in space? There are many reasons that can be cited, and they fall generally into two major categories—the imperative reasons and the ancillary, or spinoff, benefits. It is necessary in the present state of world affairs that the United States be first for reasons of national security, national pride of achievement, and international prestige. The ancillary, or additive, reasons include the benefits of scientific discovery; the stimulation of economic and social progress; technological advancement, including the civilian application and utilization of the products of space-oriented research; and what has been called the compelling urge of man to explore and to discover.

Let us look first at the essential peacekeeping aspects of our space programs.

NASA has established a very close coordination with the military services. We are providing for the national security by developing manned space flight capabilities and making them available to the Department of Defense when and as required. These capabilities include people, know-how, space vehicles and the ability to fly them, systems for performing tests, measurements, and experiments during space flight missions, ground facilities, and the ability to manage large research and development programs to achieve results on time and within budgeted costs.

The first major example of a military application of the capability being developed in the manned space flight program occurred when the Department of Defense decided to employ NASA know-how, technology, and equipment as the basis for its manned orbiting laboratory, in which it plans to evaluate the military role of man in space. NASA and the Defense Department are cooperating at all levels to facilitate this effort. Gen. Bernard Schriever, commander of the Air Force Systems Command, and I have been meeting to work out some of the details of the NASA contribution to the MOL program. Members of his senior staff are assigned to my office to facilitate such coordination.

In the manned space flight programs—Gemini and Apollo—we are speeding development of very powerful launch vehicles, highly sophisticated spacecraft, complex test and launch facilities, better electronic devices, improved materials and more accurate guidance systems, as well as gaining valuable data on how well man can function in space and for how long.

All of these elements and capabilities constitute a national resource of enduring value which will provide the Nation with freedom of operation in space, with which it will be possible to carry out the wide variety of missions that may be required by the national interest. Such freedom of operation is essential to the national security and the preservation of peace in space. Indeed,

President Johnson has said that "the avenues of space offer man's best hope for bringing nearer the day of peace on earth."

The national pride of achievement engendered by our manned space program has never been more dramatically demonstrated than in the tremendous reactions of the people of this country to the three manned Gemini missions. Enthusiastic crowds have turned out to greet the returning astronauts at their public appearances throughout the country.

And such reactions have not been limited to this Nation alone. The warm receptions given Astronauts Gordon Cooper and Charles Conrad on their recent foreign goodwill tour are an indication of the worldwide excitement generated by this country's space accomplishments.

In Greece, the royal family, scientific and technical communities, and the man on the street joined in a warm and enthusiastic welcome, eager for every detail of the Gemini 5 flight, and the experiences of Astronauts Cooper and Conrad. In the African nations, heads of government and citizens exhibited equal interest and admiration in the accomplishments of the Gemini 5 mission.

Our space accomplishments—and manned space flight in particular—are thus inherently important from the aspect of international affairs, and may be considered as a measure of our ability to compete with a formidable rival, and as a criterion of our ability to maintain technological eminence worthy of emulation.

Turning to the other benefits, the scientific implications of the space programs are immense. Already the space science programs are yielding knowledge of significant scientific value.

On July 14, the Mariner 4 completed its flyby of Mars, taking history's first closeup pictures of the surface and enabling our scientists to gain fresh new insights regarding that planet.

The recently completed Ranger program had previously transmitted more than 17,000 high-quality, closeup pictures of the lunar surface, the last 5,800 of which were transmitted by television by Ranger 9 "live from the moon." Forthcoming programs to probe deep into space should give us a great deal more information on the structure and composition of the moon, and should provide additional information regarding the Martian surface.

Further in the future, the exploration of space, the moon, and the planets will answer vital questions about the origins, early history, and evolution of the solar system and the universe as a whole: It will enable us to investigate for life on other planets and, potentially, it will give us an understanding of the origin of life itself.

Clearly, having acquired this enormous technical capability, we must now continue our research and exploration. We cannot know all that we shall learn when we are able to place men, instruments, and laboratories outside the earth's atmosphere. But we can predict with certainty that we shall learn a great deal more than it is now possible to learn about the reality of which we are a part.

I will not attempt to forecast the eventual meaning of man's greater knowledge of the universe. A little closer to earth, however, the impact of space activities has already begun to show up in many areas affecting our daily lives.

Important benefits are already being derived from our weather, communications, and navigation satellites. As a result of our weather satellites, for example, we are able to provide timely warnings on weather conditions and trends on a worldwide basis.

Likewise, communications satellites have already demonstrated their usefulness in direct, practical ways. The most recent example is the commercial communications satellite, Early Bird, launched last April, which is providing direct telephone, radio, and television transmission between the European and North American Continents on a 24-hour basis.

Now let us consider the general benefits of space at a time when increasing emphasis is being placed on programs to better our country through elimination of poverty, greater attention to human welfare, and betterment of education.

In this connection we should recall that the space program is being carried out on earth. It has created hundreds of thousands of jobs, in almost every portion of the country. It involves not only science and technology, but also almost every form of ordinary business activity. In fact, only about one-fifth of the people working on the Apollo program are scientists and engineers.

It has created and is helping to create new basic industries for our economy. The number of private companies and space research organizations participating in the space program has grown to more than 20,000. Thousands of companies in turn are selling goods and services to companies in the space program, and untold thousands more are selling to people whose paychecks come from these companies.

The economic impact of the space program, then, is of very great significance. The impact of new technological developments will be no less profound.

I am sure many of you have read an article that appeared in the business section of the September 24 issue of Time magazine titled "Space Magic in the Marketplace." This article tells of the new, and in many cases revolutionary, commercial products whose origins lie in research carried out as part of the national space effort.

It points out, and I quote, that "just as the necessities of World War II led to such lasting innovations as the jet plane and the aerosol spray, the $5 billion-a-year exploration of space has started a beneficient fallout of commercial products an processes that promises profound effects on the economy and on U.S. life." Time magazine goes on to describe: lightweight plastics, developed for use in missiles, now being used in the construction of railway tank cars that weigh only half as much as their steel counterparts; new metals developed by space researchers, now being used in oil refineries where their resistance to corrosion is required; special transportation equipment developed to move space hardware over long distances, such as the 22½-ton capacity turboprop plane known as the super guppy, which Time said will have numerous commercial applications. The list is a long one: sealants, developed for the seams of spacecraft, now being used in caulking bathroom tiles and for sealing windows of automobiles; an alkali silicate paint that resists weather, solvents, and radiation.

In addition to developing new products, space research has led to the discovery of new uses for old ideas and products. An example of this is the fuel cell, to which I have already alluded, which is now being used to power experimental golf carts, tractors, spot welders, and fork-lift trucks. Pyrolytic graphite, the world's most heat resistant material, was developed by Thomas Edison in 1883, but found no marketable application until researchers began to coat nose cones with it to resist high reentry heat. Pipes lined with this material will shortly appear on the market.

Moreover, the article goes on to explain that, as important as are the new products, of equal importance are the improved methods of production and quality control that have been developed as part of the space effort. For example, from horizon sensors made for satellites, an infrared micrometer has been developed that is now used in steel mills to control the diameter of rods.

The space programs are in the forefront of a scientific and technological revolution that is changing radically our whole way of living here on earth. "Any prediction of what will happen in the next 5 years," the article concludes, "will be ultraconservative."

Having discussed the motivating forces behind our space programs let me now turn to some of the programs themselves. In manned space flight, the Gemini program is occupying center stage right now. In the earlier Mercury program the basic objective was simply to prove that man can endure the space flight environment. In Gemini, we are now developing proficiency and experience in manned flight, required for Apollo and other programs, in which we will be flying operational missions in earth orbit, in lunar orbit, and to the lunar surface. The primary objectives of the Gemini program are: to provide experience in long-duration flight, to provide capability in the rendezvous and docking of two spacecraft: and to provide experience in extravehicular activities. To a considerable extent, these objectives have already been achieved, and a great deal more progress is expected in the months immediately ahead.

The Gemini 4 mission last June marked our first experience in extravehicular activity, with Ed White's highly successful 22-minute walk in space.

The 8-day Gemini 5 mission of Astronauts Cooper and Conrad in August provided a great deal of valuable information on the physiological effects on man of long-duration flight, in addition to increasing our experience in rendezvous and maneuvering techniques.

I would like to mention here that your Congressman, Mr. DADDARIO, has long had a special interest in the area of space medicine, and has reviewed on a continuing basis the extensive program of experiments we are conducting to determine the effects of the space environment on man. Five such medical experiments carried out during the Gemini 5 flight provided critical and highly encouraging information in this area.

The Gemini 5 mission demonstrated that the prolonged weightlessness of a manned lunar landing mission is not a threat to the health of the crew, and that well-conditioned, well-trained astronauts can perform effectively over the duration of such a flight. The success of the Cooper-Conrad flight has greatly increased our confidence that we will be able to accomplish our national objective of beginning the manned exploration of the moon within this decade.

The ability to rendezvous and dock with another spaceship while in orbit about the moon is another vital element in the success of the lunar landing mission. In the lunar flights, the Apollo spacecraft command module will transport the three-man crew into a lunar orbit. Two of the crew will move through a hatch into the lunar landing vehicle itself, called the lunar excursion module, or LEM. The third astronaut will remain in the command module in orbit about the moon. After completing the initial exploration, the two explorers will launch the LEM back into lunar orbit to rendezvous and dock with the command module. Clearly, this rendezvous and docking maneuver is essential to the success of the mission.

The first mission calling for rendezvous and docking with a target vehicle is the Gemini 6 flight, with Astronauts Walter Schirra and Thomas Stafford, scheduled for no earlier than October 25. Successful rendezvous and docking will constitute one of the most important and significant milestones in our space program.

Following this will be the Gemini 7 flight, with Astronauts Frank Borman and James Lovell, a long-duration mission lasting up to 14 days. In the Gemini 8 flight scheduled for next year, it is planned that Astronaut David Scott will float outside the cabin for at least one orbit of the earth, or about 95 minutes. Astronaut Neil Armstrong will pilot the spacecraft. Rendezvous and docking are also planned for this mission.

It is a pleasure to report that the Apollo program is also moving ahead rapidly. The progress on Apollo is especially rewarding since it is the largest and most comprehensive single research and development project ever undertaken. This is a crucial year for Apollo, but prospects look good and we are becoming increasingly confident that the first lunar landings will take place before the end of 1969.

The major milestones in the Apollo schedule for the rest of the decade are as follows: 1966, beginning of the unmanned flights of the Apollo spacecraft, using an intermediate launch vehicle, the Saturn IB; 1967, beginning of manned flights of this spacecraft, carrying three men in earth orbit; 1967, beginning of unmanned flights of the Apollo-Saturn V, the vehicle for the lunar flights; 1968, beginning of the manned flights of this vehicle.

This is our schedule. We have openly stated our goals so that the American people and the entire world can judge our progress as we meet these milestones one by one.

The Gemini and Apollo-Saturn programs are providing this country with a broad base of technological, managerial, and resources capability which makes feasible a wide spectrum of space missions beyond the first lunar landings. This capability can be exploited in a wide range of earth orbital, lunar orbital, and lunar surface missions.

Let me cite several examples. The present Apollo spacecraft will be equipped to fly in earth orbit up to 14 days, and up to 8 days in lunar operations, including a visit to the moon's surface for up to 36 hours. Using the same Saturn 5 launch vehicle and by making minor modifications to the Apollo spacecraft, we can use this basic Apollo hardware to orbit the earth for 3 months, or the moon for 1 month, or to stay on the moon's surface for 2 weeks.

Over 90 percent of the Apollo program is directly applicable to our earth orbital capability. Many interesting ideas are under consideration on how to use this extended earth orbit capability to yield great benefits to mankind in his daily life on earth, and to conduct much significant scientific research.

We are also studying the use of modified Apollo vehicles for missions both in orbit about the moon and for exploration of the moon's surface. In lunar orbit, we can do mapping, surveying, and exploration of the moon. On the moon, we can conduct detailed exploration of the surface environment and the moon's overall properties. We are also looking at the moon as a base for astronomical and for biological studies.

All of these applications will capitalize on the presence of men in space. There is no substitute for having man's abilities available right on the spot during a mission, with his human intellect to cope with the unexpected and operate in an unplanned or unprogramed manner.

Beyond the Apollo applications program, we are also studying more advanced manned missions requiring the development of new equipment. These advanced missions are of three categories. The first is extended lunar exploration which can culminate in continuously supported outposts on the moon, similar to those in the Antarctic. The second is the operation of manned earth-orbital space stations of indefinite lifetime. The third consists of exploratory flights in deep space, leading ultimately to manned planetary exploration, with Mars as the first likely target.

While the opportunities which we can foresee today are thus great, it is reasonable to believe that the most important applications and benefits of our manned space flight programs lie in the still undetermined uses of the tremendous capabilities we are creating.

Today I have reviewed with you the Nation's space flight program. Much progress has been made since Sputnik I toward attaining American preeminence in space. The ability to accomplish a manned lunar landing and safe return serves as the focus of a decade-long effort to make and keep our country first in space. The benefits of our efforts promise to be great. They include the national defense, national pride, our international influence, and the scientific, economic, and technological benefits I have discussed.

The Gemini program is making rapid and spectacular progress and—if our present acceleration continues—will be completed on schedule. The Apollo program is well under way and right on schedule. A number of post-Apollo missions using equipment being developed for Apollo are now being defined. Beyond these, we are stuyding even more advanced manned missions.

In conclusion, I think that it is appropriate to recall the words of NASA Administrator James Webb, who pointed out recently that "today's programs are laying the groundwork for the missions of tomorrow, reaching not only to the moon, but to the planets and stars beyond." Thus as we look to the future we see unlimited opportunities for the advancement of knowledge and the benefit of all mankind through our space programs. With the enthusiastic support of the Congress and the American people, I know we will realize these opportunities.

Thank you.

Good Roads and Good Conservation Go Together

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

SEPTEMBER 23, 1965.

Hon. JAMES FULTON,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I congratulate you on what you have said about highway routing without regard to any values. Since you have always been a friend of small business, I thought you might be interested in the enclosures.

I believe that Rex Whitton wants to do the right thing, as stated in the enclosed article he wrote, but he is dealing with State highway officials who have no such ideas as the ones he expressed so well.

It might be a good idea to place Mr. Whitton's article in the RECORD for all to read and digest.

Again, my congratulations.

Very sincerely yours,

ED WIMMER,
Vice President.

ECONOMIC, ESTHETIC, EVEN SOCIAL FACTORS LOCATE HIGHWAYS

(By Rex M. Whitton, Federal Highway Administrator, U.S. Department of Commerce)

Selecting the best location or route for a new highway is one of the highway builder's most vexing problems, especially since "best" means different things to different people and since the meaning of "best" keeps changing.

Today, it means not only best from the standpoint of cost or even for the highway user, but best for all interests—social, economic, cultural, and esthetic—of the areas the highway serves.

In the early days, highways developed along animal paths or wagon trails. Animal traces and Indian paths preceded the pioneer routes of wagon and stagecoach crossing the plains.

And when, at the start of this century, efforts were launched to improve roads above a crude minimum, much of the work was undertaken on these existing roadbeds, partly because they were there, providing right-of-way, but also because they were demonstrated lines of enduring travel patterns.

In time, population growth and changes in population distribution, needs, and customs, as well as new requirements of agriculture, industry, and commerce, made many existing travel patterns inadequate; and new highways had to be built to meet the demands of the changing society.

For many years selection of a highway route was a relatively uncomplicated task for the competent engineer. He primarily had to pick the shortest line between two points consistent with the topography. He may not have had the help of photogrammetry, and sometimes he was frustrated because the shortest route involved too much excavating and hauling of earth—a costly procedure.

But once adequate equipment was developed, consideration could be given to other criteria, and roads could be built according to the cost-benefit ratio test, whereby the cost of building and opertaing a route was matched against user benefits.

The cost-benefit ratio was a paramount consideration for years, but ultimately it was recognized to have shortcomings, too, because it failed to take into account the effects highways have on the cultural, historical, economic, and esthetic values of a community.

The evolution of America from a tightly contained horse-and-buggy, rural society to a mobile, urban, vibrant nation on wheels changed the economic and social fabric of our country, and revolutionized road construction. Highways with more than functional excellence were demanded, and highway builders became increasingly aware, about 20 years ago, that if highways were to serve the people for whom they were built to the fullest extent, new approaches to the problem of route selection had to be made.

Roadbuilding was no longer a question of "getting the farmer out of the mud." It was a question of getting the Nation's ever-growing number of motor vehicles moving down highways between cities and within cities.

And it quickly became apparent that before a route selection could be made in any urban area, it was vital to know what its effect would be on various neighborhoods, school districts, parks, church parishes, and historical buildings. In rural areas, the impact on recreation, scenic sites, wildlife preserves, and the landscape in general had to be assessed.

Many State highway departments which plan, design, and build the Nation's highways, have been giving close scrutiny today to these factors, but some have not paid the attention they should. More and more are

becoming aware, however, that the highway built only on utilitarian considerations doesn't necessarily serve the best interests of the public.

A new concern for the appearance of highways and the roadsides flanking them has been stimulated by President Johnson's highway beautification program. Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor has directed that the resources of the Federal-aid highway program, administered by the U.S. Department of Commerce's Bureau of Public Roads, be utilized to implement the President's program, and that is now being done.

Federal legislation has created other safeguards against the possible abuse of human values by stipulations that Federal-aid projects in urban areas can only be approved when they are based on a planning process that involves not only all types of transportation but also all aspects of community life.

The process must take into consideration the existing amenities and the future hopes and aspirations of each community—thereby acknowledging that highways are not built as entities in themselves but are only one facet of the total community environment.

The new emphasis on the social obligations of roads doesn't mean that highway costs, capacity, safety, and convenience are to be ignored.

The goal of the superbly engineered road to serve the Nation's transportation needs has never dimmed and, as a consequence, we have highways of an excellence found nowhere else in the world. The Nation's modern roads, such as those found on the Interstate Highway System, are already saving 3,500 lives a year, and when the 41,000-mile interstate is completed, 8,000 persons who would die on conventional roads will be spared annually. At the same time, economic benefits to users of the system will total $11 billion a year through reduction in motor vehicle operating costs, time cost, and accident costs.

Emphasis now being given to "humanizing" highways does diminish our desire to give the highway user the safest and finest systems of roads obtainable for his tax dollar. But what it does do is upgrade the dimension of social responsibility in highway building to where it becomes a vital element in route selection and construction.

As with many exercises of judgment, choosing the "best" routes for highways, nevertheless, involves many difficult decisions. When, for example, a State highway department is confronted with the choice of routing an essential highway through a park or dislocating hundreds of families, it is not an easy decision. Or, if it is necessary to disturb a wildlife preserve to eliminate a dangerous stretch of highway, this, too, can be a problem.

Regardless of the course pursued, every possible effort must be made to keep the impact of a new road to a minimum. To lessen the temporary hardship to those who may be displaced, relocation assistance must be provided.

Before a highway touches a recreation area or a wildlife refuge, there must be consultation between State highway departments and other State agencies involved.

Many decisions face highway engineers who recognize the need to preserve and even enhance human values. They are decisions which often require the collaboration of planners, architects, and sociologists. More and more, highway engineers are calling on the talents of other disciplines to help in resolving conflicts posed by the many interests that must be considered.

Highway construction has come a long way since the days when the transportation of people and goods was a road's sole function. There is no doubt that while they continue to serve that purpose, highway builders, exercising social responsibility will construct roads which are esthetically attractive and a force for improving the social and economic health of the American people.

Rising Labor Costs Stir Inflation Worry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, in spite of repeated assurances by administration spokesmen that unit labor costs are remaining stable, evidence is now mounting to show that unit labor costs have been slowly creeping upward over the last 8 months. In an article in the Wall Street Journal of September 29, 1965, it was shown that since last December, the index of labor costs per unit of output has risen from 96.5 to 97.5 percent in August 1965.

Since the postwar record indicates a close connection between the trend of unit labor costs and the trend of prices, there are increasing fears that the upward movement of unit labor costs could signal a new round of inflation. Under unanimous consent, I include the article from the Wall Street Journal in the RECORD at this point:

CLIMB IN LABOR COSTS TOPS RISE IN OUTPUT, STIRRING INFLATION WORRY—MANUFACTURERS FEEL PRESSURE TO HIKE PRICES AS PER-UNIT COSTS REVERSE 4-YEAR DIP—WILL PROFIT MARGINS SHRINK?

(By Alfred L. Malabre, Jr.)

Manufacturers' labor costs are rising faster than the volume of goods their workers turn out.

This development, being watched warily by private and Government economists, represents an abrupt reversal of the trend of recent years. If it continues for long, most analysts believe, it will exert considerable upward pressure on prices and possibly erode companies' profit margins, which have been rising.

Alan Greenspan, president of Townsend-Greenspan & Co., a New York-based economics consulting firm, sounds a typical warning: "This new development eventually could lead to an unhealthy economic situation."

That labor costs in manufacturing industries are rising is hardly news, of course; they have been increasing, in almost any industry one cares to name, throughout the post-World War II era. To put this perennial rise into perspective, however, economists generally relate labor costs to the amount of goods being produced. Until very recently, production had been climbing even more swiftly than labor costs—a situation tending to hold down prices and help profit margins. Now, as a Government economist puts it, "there is increasing evidence the pattern is reversing."

FIGURING THE INDEX

The yardstick economists chiefly use to put labor costs into perspective is the Government's monthly index of "labor costs per unit of output." This index actually is a ratio of two other Government indexes—one which measures the total compensation (fringe benefits as well as wages and salaries) of manufacturing employees and one which measures the physical volume of goods produced in the Nation.

In February 1961, the first month of the current business expansion, labor costs per unit of output stood at 102.1 percent of the 1957–59 base of 100, up from less than 98 percent at the start of 1960. Subsequently, however, the index declined erratically at first, until by last December it stood at 96.5 percent, the lowest monthly level in nearly 10 years. But since December, the record shows, unit labor costs have begun slowly to edge upward, reaching 97.5 percent in August, the latest month for which a figure is available.

To be sure, the recent turnabout could be short lived; the record contains several instances where unit labor costs have inched higher only to turn suddenly downward again. This time, however, many analysts appear convinced that an important new trend is underway. "I'm afraid we may be witnessing the start of a sustained rise in unit labor costs," says an economist at the National Bureau of Economic Research.

WILL OUTPUT GAIN SLOW?

A sharp spurt in industrial production in coming months, of course, would tend to keep unit labor costs from pushing up. However, most economists expect that industrial output will rise at a slower pace in the months ahead, partly because of an anticipated leveling in steel production. Indeed, there is evidence that output gains already are shrinking. In August, the most recent recorded month, industrial production inched up only 0.2 points, to 144.9 percent of the 1957–59 level. In July, in contrast, the index climbed 1.5 points.

John Linter, professor of economics at Harvard University's Graduate School of Business, is among those who anticipate smaller output gains. In 1966, he predicts, "industrial production will be up about 3½ percent" over the 1965 level. In the past year, by comparison, the production index has climbed nearly 8 percent.

Aggravating the situation, many economists say, is a worsening scarcity of skilled workers in today's fast-stepping economy. Martin R. Gainsbrugh, chief economist of the National Industrial Conference Board, says that "shortages of skilled workers—and the increasing use of less trained and efficient labor—have begun to plague" the economy. Less efficient workers, of course, tend to be less productive, and without good productivity gains manufacturers normally are hard put to offset wage-rate increases.

Statistics leave little doubt that skilled workers are scarce. In mid-August, the latest period available, unemployment among married men, the backbone of the skilled labor force, stood at only 2.6 percent, barely half as high as levels prevailing early in the current expansion.

ROLE OF MACHINES

There also is evidence that machines are not taking over manufacturing jobs at anything like the rate some economists have feared. If machines were eliminating jobs at a very rapid clip, the effect obviously would be to spur productivity a great deal and reduce unit labor costs. However, according to many analysts, this simply doesn't appear to be happening. Employment in the highly mechanized auto industry, for example, has risen about 250,000, or 56 percent, since the start of the present expansion.

Though only yearly reports are published, a Labor Department economist estimates that the rise of factory workers' output per man-hour actually was smaller in the first half of 1965 than in the comparable 1964 period. Productivity in manufacturing industries has been rising at the annual rate of about 3½ percent in recent years, according to the Labor Department.

The postwar record indicates a close connection between the trend of unit labor costs and the trend of prices. From 1948 to 1950, for instance, the Consumer Price Index did not budge, remaining at precisely 83.8 per-

cent of the 1957–59 base of 100. By no coincidence, unit labor costs in the same span hardly budged, moving from 80.7 percent of the 1957–59 base to 80.8. In 1950–51, on the other hand, the price index leaped from 83.8 to 90.5. In the same period, unit labor costs climbed from 80.8 to 89.2.

A connection also appears to exist between the trend of unit labor costs and profit margins. In early 1961, at the start of the current upturn, manufacturers' after-tax profits amounted to 3.5 percent of sales. In the second quarter of 1965, after some 4 years of declining unit labor costs, manufacturers' profit margins were up to 5.8 percent of sales. Conversely, between 1956 and 1957, when unit labor costs soared from 92.3 to 102.4, profit margins shriveled. They dropped from a high of 5.5 percent in early 1956 to 4.4 percent at the end of 1957.

Most economists claim it is still too soon for the recent rise of unit labor costs to be reflected in profit-margin figures. The labor-cost rise, however, prompts some analysts to predict at the least a slower rise of profit margins from now on. The Conference Board's Mr. Gainsbrugh, for instance, warns that labor-cost pressures "may adversely affect the trend of profit margins" in coming months.

There already are some indications that labor costs may be forcing prices upward. In recent days, companies have boosted prices of such widely varied items as glass containers, shoes, electric motors and paper products. In nearly every instance, executives announcing the increases have cited rising labor costs as a major factor in the decision. Typically, an official of Owens-Illinois, Inc., which raised some glass container prices, said recent productivity gains have not been "enough to offset rising costs of labor."

Labor Department surveys certainly suggest labor costs are moving up more swiftly. In the first 6 months of this year, according to a recent report, the average wage rate of manufacturing workers climbed 4 percent in those major collective-bargaining settlements where wage increases were involved. The comparable increase in the first 6 months of 1964 was only 3.2 percent, according to the Department.

Miscellaneous Articles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following miscellaneous articles:

[From the San Diego (Calif.) Tribune, Sept. 28, 1965]

AMERICAN-FLAG STEAMSHIPS BOOSTING U.S. WORLD TRADE

The Committee of American Steamship Lines recently outlined a program to increase U.S. world trade, inspired by the American tradition of alert merchandising and applying this on a global scale.

Announced in Washington the other day by Rear Adm. Ralph K. James, U.S. Navy, retired, the plan should give a fillip to President Johnson's efforts to improve our balance of payments.

It provides prospective world traders, big and little, with a means of exploring the world market without the costly need for sending company representatives overseas.

This will be done, according to Admiral James, by using the worldwide network of representatives of the Committee of American Steamship Lines.

For many a U.S. businessman, their help will be invaluable. They are located in the 55 major trading nations of the world. Being on the spot, they can provide the latest information on the business climate. And information as to the U.S. share of the market, the market's size and potential, buying trends, import duties, licenses and controls, and identity of foreign competition.

The availability of this service should encourage many small manufacturers and other businessmen to seek foreign outlets.

In its well-conceived program, which has been applauded by Commerce Secretary John T. Connor, the CASL also plans to organize trade expansion workshops for U.S. export sales managers, and organize trade missions to establish direct sales contracts abroad, particularly in underdeveloped markets.

To be sure, the steamship lines are not entirely altruistic in pushing this program.

They have ships that need to be filled with cargo.

In supplying information to U.S. exporters and importers, the CASL representatives will also seek to sell the use of ships of the U.S. merchant fleet.

It is the claim of the CASL, in this regard, that American vessels provide the fastest and most economical service, even in the face of tremendous foreign ship competition on the high seas.

The U.S. steamship companies have suffered from misconceptions held by some traders. One is on freight rates. American and foreign freight rates, the CASL says, are generally the same.

A second is that the Americans merchant marine isn't growing. There are 14 members of the CASL. Four of these steamship companies are located on the west coast. These 14 steamship lines are in the midst of a 300-ship, $4 billion replacement program, with already over $1 billion worth of new ships—99 in number—plying the oceans.

San Diego has contributed to this number, and watches the expansion of the U.S. merchant marine with pride and hope.

The need for maintaining a strong U.S. merchant marine is self-evident. The use of these ships keeps vast amounts of money in the American economy. The ships are available in the event of a national emergency. The domestic shipbuilding facilities and skills must be retained, and for San Diego and many other ports, maritime commerce has a vastly important effect on the economy.

The CASL plan is smart merchandising on a global scale. It should enjoy great success.

[From the Arizona Republic, Oct. 2, 1965]

TOO MUCH WORRY ABOUT OUR IMAGE

(By Joseph Alsop)

SAIGON.—The American Government's capacity for plain silliness, when its famous "image" is in question, has just been demonstrated in a way that would be downright comic, if it were not pretty serious.

The story begins with the ludicrous flap some months ago about the revelation that "gas" was being used against the Vietcong. It did not matter that the gas in question was no different from that used in the Watts riots. "World opinion," it was said, was gravely shocked.

Hence the use of nontoxic gases, like tear gas, was stopped out here. The administration did not go quite so far as to remove General Westmoreland's authority to use the nontoxic gases of great urgency; but this authority was so hedged that employment of these gases by troops in the field was effectively ruled out.

More than one American soldier thereupon had to give his life to get Vietcong fighters out of caves and tunnels when tear gas would have done the job just as well. The issue came to a head when a Marine officer, Lt. Col. Leon Utter, boldly and defiantly used tear gas to clear a cave refuge of several score Vietcong plus over 300 women, children and other civilians.

A change in the image rules was therefore demanded, both by the high command and the U.S. Embassy here. It will no doubt be denied; but it is an open secret in Saigon that the first response from Washington refused this demand, partly on the singular ground that the use of nontoxic gases would sadly embarrass Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg during the session of the U.N. General Assembly.

This amounted to a suggestion that for the comfort of Ambassador Goldberg officers finding themselves in Colonel Utter's situation must make one of his other possible choices, which were to let the Vietcong go, or massacre the civilians.

This time, therefore, there was a real growl from Saigon and the rules were finally modified. And this revealed—that image, again—by a Pentagon announcement that General Westmoreland always had had the authority to use nontoxic gases anyway.

This piece of nonsense is relevant at the moment for a grimly practical reason. The heart of the new strategy here is to use the greatly increased American power on the ground to deny to the Vietcong these fortress areas where they have been immune from attack for two decades of war.

Judged in this light, the 173d Airborne Brigade's recent operation near Ben Cat had some exceedingly negative results. To begin with, two large engineering shops and weapons factories were not discovered, although there was firm intelligence that they were in the fortress area. This was undoubtedly because the area's deep-dug underground fortifications were hardly touched.

These were something to hear about. In the jungle camp of the Vietcong regular troops stationed in the area, for instance, each barracks building was erected over a deep cellar. What appeared to be great tubs of water stood in the corners of these cellars. But on investigation, the water tubs turned out, instead, to be water locks, through which the Vietcong could pass into huge cave fortifications far underground.

Rather naturally, the men of the infantry company in active combat, who overran this camp of the Vietcong regulars, had no time to investigate and certainly no time to destroy this huge underground complex. A satchel charge or two was put into a cave or two. The ground heaved and that had to be that, although the engineering shops and weapons factories were almost unquestionably somewhere in the caves.

In addition, 20-odd rice caches were found in the fortress area, one as large as 20 tons. Rice, unfortunately is indestructible by ordinary means. It tamps explosives, to begin with, and even when blown all over the landscape, it can still be gathered up and washed and eaten. So the rice was not more than one-third destroyed, either.

Underground fortifications, weapons factories, and rice caches are the main elements that make a fortress area into a fortress area. Hence means must be found to destroy all these things, if these areas which have served the Vietcong as their strong castles once served medieval robber barons, are to be put out of action. And right here, there may be image trouble.

Contaminants can of course be used to put the underground fortifications out of action for good; but there is a question, unfortunately, whether the nontoxic gases will be sufficient enduring contaminants.

The image trouble can be perceived. But crippling the new strategy here strikes one

as a rather more important sort of trouble, especially as the Vietcong fortress areas are in the main only inhabited by the Vietcong troops.

THE LATEST OF UNWANTED BABIES

(By Holmes Alexander)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The 89th Congress last week earned a footnote in history by writing birth control into both our foreign and domestic policies. Then it went itself one better by preventing a population explosion which could have added another municipality to the 18,000 which already exist as the brawling, unkept, and unruly problem children of the Nation. The astonishing 89th sidetracked the administration bill for home rule in the District of Columbia. It substituted a bill that called for referendum and would postpone the evil day for at least a year and maybe more—provided, of course, that the old pro in the White House doesn't pitch himself out of this defeat in the final innings of the session.

Listening last week to the House debate on home rule, the reporter heard every argument except the one that mattered: for heaven's sake, leave well enough alone.

The bill's proponents yapped about taxation without representation. But we all pay the Federal taxes which support the Nation's city, as well as the Nation's many other institutions. And we residents of the Nation's only city did vote in 1964 for the national offices of President and Vice President.

The bill's opponents yapped about anything that would postpone the final vote. They could hardly be blamed. They were desperate in the teeth of a demagogic tornado. This is a city without industry, except for Government, and without roots. It is a city from which crime and undesirable immigration are driving out such private financial capital as there is. The new telephone directory shows an exodus of phone-using persons and enterprises. The stock of the Potomac Electric & Power Co. is on the skids.

The anticipated home rule is the reason for the flight. The reality of home rule is expected to turn flight into rout. But Congress insisted upon becoming the legislative midwife to the most unwanted child of the century.

As if to document the fatuity of the House action, the mail last week brought materials from Los Angeles and New York, both in the throes of municipal anguish.

Poor Sam Yorty. The mayor of Los Angeles was writing to newsmen and columnists about a wolf that had come down on his fold. The Poverty Corps—the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity—was turning his slums into a "huge pork barrel," not for the city's poor but for the poor's Federal protectors. A charter of municipality is no immunity from the fix-its of Federalia. Here in Washington we will build a city hall that will become another province for the czarists of the welfare state to plunder.

From Manhattan came a new book, "A City Destroying Itself" by Richard Whalen, author of the Ambassador Joe Kennedy biography: "A Founding Father." Whalen tells of the built-in capacity for self-destruction that exists in cities. Washington and New York are much alike. The two towns hold enormous concentrations of human skills. They are filled with monuments and collections of knowledge that attest to the greatness of America and of Western civilization.

But, alas, are even the best of cities self-governable? Do the power and magnetism of the few civic grandees crush the more humble human spirit of the many? Is there in a city no neighborly comradeship that tempers the wind of the unshorn lambs?

In Washington this protection has been supplied by Congress to an extent that no city hall seems able to do. In Gotham, as Whalen writes:

"The New Yorker of humble talents and ambitions derives no benefit from living in the world's greatest city, but instead pays more or less each year."

These are the forces which this author finds to be destroying the cities: the venality and apathy of local politics; the cold unconcern of the financial and social rulers for the ruled.

It's a cruel, unsympathetic world into which to bring an infant municipality—and this was almost done by a Congress which has been preaching birth control.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, Sept. 30, 1965]

STOPPING REDS WAS CREDO OF DEAD MARINE—WROTE OF PLIGHT OF VIETNAMESE

Marine Cpl. Edwin J. Falloon, 20, firmly believed communism must be halted at any cost. He gave his life at Phu Bai in South Vietnam fighting for that belief.

"He was very concerned about the situation over there and he wanted to do anything that could be done about it," his father, Dr. Edwin L. Falloon, 9543 Central Park Avenue, Evergreen Park, said yesterday. "He was due to be coming out of Vietnam and was the next on the list to leave."

BROTHER RICE GRADUATE

Corporal Falloon was graduated from Brother Rice High School in 1963 and shortly thereafter joined the Marine Corps. He was a member of the 3d Marine Amphibious Group that was sent to South Vietnam in April.

"In all his letters he wrote of the plight of the people of South Vietnam," Dr. Falloon said. "He tried to pretend that he wasn't in any danger, but we knew he was."

Dr. and Mrs. Falloon have three other sons and four daughters. They are Robert, 13; Tom, 6; Jim, 4; Marilyn, 16; Jeanne, 14; Marguarite, 10; and Patricia, 9.

NOTIFIED TUESDAY

The family received notice of Corporal Falloon's death from the Defense Department on Tuesday.

The Defense Department yesterday identified two other servicemen who were killed in action in Vietnam. They were Navy Lt. Comdr. Carl J. Woods of Lemoore, Calif., and Army Lt. James P. Kelly of Hatboro, Pa. Listed as missing in action was Air Force Capt. George R. Hall, whose hometown was not listed.

Immigration Bill Conference

SPEECH

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am in support of the conference report on the immigration bill which is now under consideration by the House.

I think this bill is long overdue. Over a long period of time now, I have been filing and pressing a major immigration bill designed to remedy some of the problems that this bill deals with.

It is a bill which would allocate and transfer some unused quota numbers from some nations to other nations having oversubscribed quotas. It had the support of three Presidents and many groups and people.

My bill was designed, just as the current bill is, to reunite families and expedite the admission to the United States of the loved ones of American citizens, who have served this Nation faithfully and well, etstablished themselves here and brought up their children here, and who have as good loyal citizens contributed greatly, in war and peace, to the security, well-being and prosperity of our nation.

Naturally I am gratified that the principles of immigration law which I have striven for so long in this body have finally been written into this great human charter of immigration which we are considering today.

It was back in April 1953 that I first sponsored legislation to redistribute unused immigration quotas, which averaged about 60,000 yearly then. I did this in an effort to help correct the inequities in the immigration laws which discriminated against such countries as Italy and Greece in the allocation of immigration quotas.

I was prompted then, as I am now in my support of the bill now before the House, to help unite families here with their loved ones remaining overseas. I was convinced then, and I am convinced now more than ever, that liberalization of the immigration laws is a matter of simple justice and I am glad that this House is finally acting to revise the national origins clause so as to help thousands of worthy American citizens with close relatives caught in the web of discriminatory quotas who have been waiting for many years for the chance to come to this country.

As is the case in the bill now before the House, my bill was drafted in such a way that no increase in the overall quota totals is required. My bill merely redistributes the unused quotas with the added provision that those countries benefiting from the unused quota system would repay, whenever necessary, over a 5-year period, the countries from which additional quota numbers have been received. This would help such nations as Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Armenia, Albania, and other countries behind the Iron Curtain whenever freedom is restored to these unhappy lands.

However, I want to make it clear that I oppose the concessions made in the conference to the other body by writing into this bill a ceiling on immigration for our neighbors of the American hemisphere. To my mind, this is a step backward, and I am fearful that it will cause a great deal of misunderstanding on the part of our neighbors.

It is true that these neighbors will still receive 40 percent of the total quotas provided by the bill, but nevertheless, for the first time in history quota restrictions are imposed upon them, and I think this is most unfortunate and most unwise.

How the formula designed to admit people on the basis of their skills, talent, ability, and so forth, will work out is problematical, and depends upon the way the law is administered.

While scholarship, talents, and ability always have their place and contribute

much, we should not overlook the fact that, as our own national experience so clearly reveals, it is from the lowly, from the humble, from the unschooled and untutored, and often from those who for long have been denied opportunities, that much of the great leadership and most loyal followership of this Nation has emerged.

This Nation needs hewers of wood and drawers of water who can furnish the sinews for our economy and for our way of life and for the development of our family structure, from which so many leaders have sprung, and so many strong, loyal people have come to defend the country in time of need, to operate its factories, its transportation systems, its farms and do the work that has to be done in any great economic system like ours.

I hope and urge that the administrators of the immigration bill will have this factor in mind and will not close the doors to the worthy, the industrious, to the honest, eager, if ordinary, citizens who want to come to this country as many of our forebears did, to seek the opportunities of its freedom and by their devotion, loyalty, and labor lift themselves up and lift their families up to strengthen the fiber and the leadership of the country.

There is a great place for the geniuses, the supertalented, and the well to do. But they alone will not suffice. We must also, to the extent we can, be a haven for the worthy poor, the unprivileged, the disadvantaged, those of the strength, will, and determination to make their way, those willing to work their way up, those who will be loyal to American institutions, a credit and asset to the Nation.

In any event, Mr. Speaker, I think the committee, on the whole, has done well in formulating and presenting this bill and I think it will be helpful to our foreign relations and hope it will be helpful in other ways as well: to our friends and neighbors who can be reunited with their dear ones, to our economy to meet some of its needs, and to our great Government and our local communities to whom fresh, young vigorous blood may, as in the past, bring new strength, new ideas of shaping our free institutions along sound free, constructive lines, designed to cope with and conquer the problems of the space age.

I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include therein as part of my remarks a very fine letter from the highly dedicated, able and distinguished chairman of the subcommittee which heard and reported this legislation, my beloved and esteemed friend, Chairman MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN, which makes it clear that the new immigration bill as amended by the subcommittee and approved by the full committee under the able leadership of the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER], provides for the redistribution of the unused quota numbers and thereafter eliminates the national origin quota system and repeals section 207 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, all of which were primary objectives of my original bill. It has been a long struggle to enact this bill and I trust it will prove worthy of our confidence.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U.S.,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D.C., August 12, 1965.

Hon. PHILIP J. PHILBIN,
Member of Congress, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR COLLEAGUE: I have your letter of July 15, concerning H.R. 2078 to amend section 201 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, so as to provide that all quota numbers not used in any year shall be made available to immigrants in oversubscribed areas in the following year, and for other purposes. Your bill would provide for the redistribution of unused quota numbers over 5 fiscal years ending June 30, 1971.

The new immigration bill, as amended by my subcommittee and approved by the full Committee on the Judiciary provides for the redistribution of the unused quota numbers during the next 3 fiscal years and thereafter eliminates the national origins quota system. In addition, your bill repeals section 207 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, which is also repealed by H.R. 2580 as amended.

I am enclosing a copy of the report on that legislature.

With kind regards, I am,
Sincerely yours,
MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN,
Chairman.

Needed: A U.S. Congress With Ability To Say "No"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. WATSON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, the Greenville Piedmont, in an editorial of September 27, 1965, has made some timely observations on the surrender of congressional power and authority to the executive and judicial branches. I hope that everyone of my colleagues will read this editorial and take its message to heart. The editorial follows:

NEEDED: A U.S. CONGRESS WITH ABILITY TO SAY "NO"

The American Enterprise Institute has put its finger on a major threat to liberty in the United States. In a report on the present role of Congress, the institute concludes that the general public is guilty of creating "a veritable threat of dictatorship" by placing both the office and the person of the President on an exalted pedestal.

This conclusion stems from a basic fact about human nature: If you give a man a job and unlimited resources to accomplish it, he will expand his job into areas of more power.

The expansion of the presidency into areas formerly held by the Congress is exactly what has been happening in the United States for decades. It has been happening because the general public has failed to elect Congressmen who would insist upon maintaining the traditional system of checks and balances in the National Government.

As a result the present Congress has become but a puppet of the President—and the present President has no hesitancy about pulling the strings.

Seldom if ever has congressional influence been at such a low ebb. Not only has the President stolen power from the Congress; so, too, has the Supreme Court. The Court has gone far afield from its constitutional role of interpreting the law. It has demonstrated its power to make law as well.

Unless this trend is reversed—and soon—Congress will become a meaningless debating society, if the President will allow it the privilege of debate, that is.

The present Congress shown no signs of having either the willingness or the ability to pull itself and the Nation back from the brink of presidential dictatorship. Perhaps the next Congress will. It will only if the people of the United States have the good sense to elect individual Congressmen who possess the brains, stamina and intestinal fortitude to say "no" to both President and Court—and make it stick.

Pope Paul's Appeal for Peace at the United Nations; and the First Papal Visit in History to America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, only God knows if Pope Paul's sacrifice at his age and his unprecedented appeal to the United Nations today will result in a serious and successful consideration for true peace by the world. I am sure my colleagues will pray sincerely with His Holiness for the peace that is so desired by mankind and, to date, so elusive.

No matter the outcome, however, there is no doubt that the United States was blessed by the presence—the first time in history—of the Vicar of Christ, Peter's successor, on any American shore. To those millions of Americans of his faith, this visit was indeed a blessing. To those of other faiths, to whom he extended his arms, it was both a courtesy and history.

The author of the prize-winning book, "Love's Stigmata," and also author of the famous poetical tribute to President Kennedy called "Ask Not," which was cited in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on January 14, 1964, by the beloved friend of all of us, former Senator Kenneth B. Keating, of New York—this poet-friend of mine, Miss Kay Magenheimer of Babylon, N.Y., has written for her next book the following poem on the Pope's visit which she has given me permission to quote. And I do so now because I believe it contains for history the essence of our times and the significance of Pope Paul's visit to the United Nations.

The author-poet asks that you bear in mind that the word "devil" as used in the poem is used not only in the religious sense but is also symbolic of all the diabolical strictures and shocking actions against such a country as ours which means so well and sacrifices so many wonderful lives and so much hard-earned money to protect freedom here and around the world.

A beautifully engrossed copy of this poem was presented as a gift to His Holiness during his visit. It follows:

URBI ET ORBI (TO THE CITY AND TO THE WORLD)

(By Kay Magenheimer)

From the east, a White Flame
Streaks across the darkened sky:
Uncurled Lightning eerily exposing
Maimed, blood-stained corners
Of a fearsome, noisy world.
Frame,
With arms stretched wide,
And shadow of his Master's cross
Against the rising curtain of morning,
He comes to our shores—
Black man and brown and yellow
To bless and draw gently to his side.

And to bless the white man,
Flouted and frustrated by the Devil
Now that this penitent would purge himself
Of his slowly awakened guilt
Charged to him by God in His voice—
The Asian and the African.

Ariel of Peace,
Paul arrives, expectant and unafraid,
This very day his church is gladdened
By remembrance of love-filled Francis—
To plead, with him, for his children everywhere
Of every quarrel and creed and shade:
"Lord, make me an instrument of Thy peace."

Dedicated to: His Holiness, Pope Paul VI, in commemoration of the first papal visit in history to America; and Pope Paul's appeal to the United Nations in the cause of peace, October 4, 1965, Feast of St. Francis of Assisi.

Pay Bill

SPEECH

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10281) to adjust the rates of basic compensation of certain officers and employees in the Federal Government, to establish the Federal Salary Review Commission, and for other purposes.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Chairman, I am in strong support of the pending pay bill covering postal and classified employees of the Government and other Federal employees.

The principle of comparability proposed by this legislation is, I think, of great importance in insuring equity and justice to all those who are employed by the Federal Government.

Over a period of years, as the committee has so well pointed out, I think there has been a considerable lag in bringing Government pay scales and standards up to those obtaining in private industry.

In an important sense, this situation is probably the reverse of what it should be, in that the Government should be expected to furnish a good example for industry and other segments of the national economy in fixing pay, wages and salaries.

In the adjustment of pay scales in any event, I think that, on the basis of the comparability principle or otherwise, the Congress must make sure that, while fairness, equity and justice prevail the interests of the Government and the taxpayers should also be kept in mind.

The Government has the right to expect from its employees, loyal, faithful, adequate service for compensation received, and the Government can ill afford to follow practices in paying employees for work that they do not perform adequately or well.

The committee has striven hard and commendably, I believe, to try to bring the pay of Cabinet officers, Government executives, judges, and Members of Congress within the comparability principle.

The application of this principle is particularly desirable today, when the executive department is having so much trouble getting qualified executives to perform at high levels the necessary work of Government agencies. There is no doubt but that at these levels the pay scales of private corporations and business in this country have run well ahead of Government pay scales for similar services and, of course, there is need for some readjustment.

The value and urgency of adequate pay for the Federal judiciary is also incontrovertible.

The plan adopted by the able and distinguished gentleman from Arizona [Mr. UDALL] and his committee, for comparability pay in these categories has merit.

While I am opposed to raising congressional salaries at this time, or at any other future time, unless the Congress itself shall have an opportunity to vote expressly upon appropriation items that involve such proposed increases, I believe that the principle of comparability utilized and revised so well by the committee, should, in time, be made applicable to all Government employees, including Cabinet officers, high officials of the executive department, judges, and Members of Congress.

As I stated above, insofar as Members of Congress are concerned, we can and should be able as well to deal with any proposed increases affecting our own membership on the merits, as we have done before, and we must do this with reference to specific appropriation bills that will give us an opportunity to pass upon these matters individually and preferably by a record vote.

I want to make my position clear on this matter because I feel strongly that the plan of the committee to apply the comparability principle to Government employment has been carefully thought out by the committee and has real merit.

Members of Congress may invoke their own discretion to vote on individual appropriation bills, as they should, whenever salary raises for Members of Congress are proposed. It should be pointed out that Members of Congress will have that opportunity under this bill. I oppose congressional salary increases now.

The bill, as proposed, will be costly, as will these measures are, but the Government must expect to pay its faithful, loyal, capable employees well, and it must expect to pay them on a comparable basis with the compensation and salary scales existing in private industry. That is the elast the Congress can do.

I believe this bill seeks to recognize the very many devoted, public servants who are honestly discharging their responsibilities to the Government and making fine contributions of efficient service they are rendering our citizens and our Government.

Let me commend the committee for its excellent work on this bill.

Salute to a Sports Announcer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, for a long time Ray Scott has been recognized as one of television's finest sports announcers. Baseball fans know him as the voice of the Minnesota Twins. In football, he has established a national reputation for his work with the Green Bay Packers and at scores of intercollegiate and bowl games.

Some sports broadcasters have been forced into early retirement after coming to believe that viewers and listeners were more interested in their voices and comments than in action at the arena. In contrast to the egoists, Ray Scott has always called the play without attempting to inject himself into it. This modest style has won his millions of fans far and wide.

Last season the television network covering Packer games decided on some program changes with which Ray Scott could not agree. For one, he objected to player interviews on the sidelines during the games, an innovation repelling to the athlete with his heart in the ball game and his mind on winning. Because he remained firm, Scott found himself on the bench during the 1964 professional season. As a result, Ray was a subject of Bill Gleason, noted sports columnist of Chicago's American, in his June 27, 1965, editorial, entitled "A Salute to Real Men Who Live Up to Their Beliefs." Here is Gleason's reference to Ray:

> The extremely capable Scott is a sportscaster who does the Minnesota Twins' games. Ray also has done the Green Bay Packers games until CBS decided to present pro football differently last fall.
>
> The Yankees found CBS hard to resist, but Scott did not. He told the network that it could do football that way if it wished, but it would have to do it without him. He up and quit.
>
> What happened as a result of Scott's protest?
>
> This autumn Ray will be the Packers' telecaster again, and he also will be the only CBS pro football telecaster who will be permitted to work college football on Saturday.

Yes, Ray is back with the Packers, and fans and players alike are the better for it. The news is welcome in western Pennsylvania, for Ray Scott got his start as a sports announcer at WJAC in Johnstown, Pa. Later he moved to Pittsburgh for further outstanding service, finally taking over two major spots in Green Bay and Minneapolis.

Although their fans are disappointed that the Pirates did not come through with a pennant this year, everyone is

enjoying this World Series a great deal more because Ray Scott, a man who lives up to his beliefs, is describing the game for us.

Soundness of Our Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH HARVEY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD two editorials—one from the Shelbyville, Ind., News, the other from the Richmond, Ind., Palladium Item, setting forth two views on the soundness of our youth.

[From the Shelbyville News, Sept. 28, 1965]

SOUNDNESS OF OUR YOUTH

There's nothing wrong with American youth that training and action can't correct. All of that talk about softness, lack of spirit and poor patriotism is so much dressing for an infinitesimal minority.

That's the encouraging word from the man who has had the key job of drafting some 13 million young men for military service since the selective service system began.

Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, who happens to be a Hoosier and who at the age of 72 is still on duty as head of the draft machinery, has seen generations of American youth respond to their country's call—in the Second World War, in Korea, and now in Vietnam.

His verdict, perhaps the best informed in the Nation because of his position and opportunity for observation: "I do not agree with those who say our kids are different from those of past years, except of course they lead a different sort of life. I believe kids will respond about as they always did. They have the capacity to do right if well led."

To explain what he meant about the life they lead today, Hershey compared his youth with that of his grandchildren. His was a quiet backwater youth in Indiana. His grandchildren have lived in as many as four States and one has crossed the Atlantic by ship and plane. Hershey ate his first dining car meal as a college basketball player and was inside a Pullman sleeping car for the first time as a National Guard officer en route to the Mexican border.

"The kids today are softer when they are young but develop later, while the pioneer had to develop early," Hershey observed.

He did take note of the fact that the schools have had trouble trying to teach control—trying to teach a person so that he can become a member of society and be a minimum care of the police. For that reason, he conceded the Government may have to move more and more toward giving proper training to our youth.

That's a pretty sad commentary on modern parents who have the basic responsibility for bringing up good citizens. But it has nothing to do with the fundamental soundness of our youth, or their patriotism and response to the call of their country. In these fields, Hershey sees no change. His optimism is a most hopeful sign for the country. It means the manpower will be available—albeit under the compulsion of the draft—to defend the country. That is a basic and essential need.

[From the Palladium-Item and Sun-Telegram, Sept. 29, 1965]

NO MYSTERY ABOUT IT

Vandalism in schools is on the increase and as long as there is a long-haired approach to the problem such as has been shown in Washington, the situation probably won't get any better.

In the Nation's Capital, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, it cost $118,320 to replace the 26,518 window panes broken in District of Columbia schools.

According to the District Board of Education, this did not include the unestimated but additional thousands of dollars of damage that resulted from rain pouring through the broken windows.

Representative H. R. GROSS of Iowa says that the obvious reason for this vandalism, and all like it which is cropping up over the country, is an utter lack of civic pride and absolutely no parental discipline.

Yet according to the Iowa Representative, Mrs. Euphemia Haynes, who is a member of the District Board of Education, thinks that there must be a "scientific study" to cope with the problem of the young rock-throwing vandals.

"In other words," Representative GROSS says, "spend some more Federal taxpayers' money to come up with an obvious answer."

What these young hoodlums need is some time in jail, and the costs of damage they cause should be assessed against their parents. Perhaps next time the parents might wonder what their youngsters were up to.

It does not take a "scientific study" to figure out why youngsters break school windows. If they were paying attention to their schoolwork, or had part-time jobs to keep them busy, they would not have time to think what mischief they could get into next. And if they thought that they really would be punished if caught, that might deter them, too.

The closest distance between any two points has always been a straight line, but in this day of horror lest Junior become inhibited, it seems we have to go the long way around the barn to get to any problem involving juvenile delinquency.

Putting some police on guard, nabbing the window smashers, and then dealing with them severely enough to discourage them and any others in the future, would be considerably more productive than some fancy "scientific study."

Help-Wanted Ads Reflect Tight Labor Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the fact that the unemployment rate is still at 4.5 percent of the labor force after many months of economic expansion tends to mask the fact that a tight situation for workers with specific skills exists in many occupations and in many different areas of the country. One of the most useful indexes for measuring the state of the labor market is the number of help-wanted advertisements which appear in newspapers in 52 major labor market areas. During the past year and a half the national help-wanted index has risen faster than unemployment has fallen. Employers have been obliged to advertise more job openings for longer periods of time in order to obtain workers with needed skills.

Since the economy is already beset with inflationary pressures, it would be well to pay close attention to the movement of this sensitive index in considering further expansionary economic policies. Because the help-wanted index is such a useful tool for judging business conditions, under unanimous consent, I include a discussion of the index prepared by the Business Research Division of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., be included in the RECORD at this point:

HELP-WANTED ADS—REFLECT RECORD DEMAND FOR LABOR

The current record-long expansion in business activity (almost 4½ years) has resulted in record high employment and a tight labor market in many occupations and places. However, the failure of unemployment to fall more than it has (in July it was 4.5 percent of the labor force, after seasonal adjustment, compared with the administration's interim goal of 4 percent) has tended to mask the tight situation for workers with specific skills. One important indicator which does reflect this tightness in the labor market is the number of help-wanted advertisements appearing in newspapers. These ads are extremely sensitive to changes in general business, and their volume has risen to a record high.

Indexes measuring the volume of these help-wanted ads in newspapers in 52 major labor market areas are published monthly by the National Industrial Conference Board. The national composite of these indexes is shown in the accompanying chart together with (1) the rate of unemployment, and (2) the number of unemployment compensation claims as percent of covered employment, with the latter two plotted on an inverted scale. All three series have similar cyclical patterns, as might be expected. However, during the past year and one-half, the national help-wanted index has risen faster than unemployment has fallen, as employers have advertised more job openings for longer periods of time in an effort to obtain workers with needed skills. Similarly, the rate of unemployment insurance claims has declined faster than the rate of total unemployment, reflecting in part the greater demand for experienced than for inexperienced workers.

WANT ADS PRESENTED BY REGIONS

In the charts on the inside pages, the conference board's help-wanted indexes for the 52 cities in major labor market areas are presented by telephone company areas. Where there is more than one of the 52 cities in an area, the cities have been combined on the basis of civilian labor force participation. In most cases, data begin in 1951 for all cities in an area. Where they do not, the data for which one or more cities are missing are shown by a broken curve (not printed in RECORD).

Also shown, as regional measures of unemployment, are the number of unemployment insurance claims as a percent of covered employment. (Total unemployment as a percent of the labor force is not available on a comparable basis for all parts of the country.) The insurance claims ratio tends to reflect unemployment conditions for experienced workers. The two indexes tend to

reflect both the demand and supply sides of the regional labor markets.

ADS LEAD UNEMPLOYMENT AT PEAKS

At cyclical peaks, changes in the volume of want ads for the 52 cities tend to lead changes in employment and unemployment for the total United States. As the adjacent chart shows, on a 3-month moving average basis the peak in the help-wanted index has tended to precede the low point in the unemployment rate in recent business cycles. Help-wanted advertising also led changes in employment at cyclical peaks—by 1 month in 1953, by 2 or more months in 1956–57, and by 2 months in 1960.

Help wanted ads lead employment and unemployment at cyclical peaks because a slowdown in the growth in employment adversely affects advertising for workers and, also, a drop in the number of workers quitting their jobs (typically the quit rate declines as employment growth slows near a cyclical peak) brings a decrease in the number of ads induced by labor turnover.

BUT NOT AT TROUGHS

The factors which explain the lead of the help-wanted index at peaks do not operate exactly in reverse at troughs. A slowing in the rate of decline in employment near the trough still means no new jobs and, therefore, has no positive effect on advertising. Also, a significant part of the initial upturn in employment is taken care of by the recall of workers previously laid off and this requires little or no advertising. The conditions at troughs, therefore, do not appear as favorable as at peaks for a lead of the help-wanted index over employment. However, the largest amount of unemployment usually occurs after the low point of employment, and recent experience does suggest a tendency for the low in want ads to lead unemployment at troughs. In 1954, the high in unemployment and the low in the help-wanted index occurred in the same month. In 1958 and in 1961 the want ads led unemployment by 3 months and 4 months, respectively.

ADS ARE A COINCIDENT INDICATOR OF GENERAL ACTIVITY

The help-wanted index is classified as a coincident indicator of general business conditions by the National Bureau of Economic Research, rather than a leading series. During the period 1919–58 it led at four of eight peaks, coincided at two, and lagged in two. At nine troughs it led in two, was coicident at four, and lagged three times. However, it does seem to lead unemployment, and to lead employment at cyclical peaks. In any case, it is a useful tool for judging business conditions because of its pronounced cyclical movements and early availability.

HELP-WANTED INDEXES BY REGIONS

The help-wanted indexes for individual cities provide a useful supplement to other regional economic data. Regional data on business conditions tend to be less plentiful and less timely than national data. Help-wanted data, however, have the advantage of promptness, are readily available, and are generally comparable between areas.

The area help-wanted indexes differ among themselves in several respects—in the direction of trend and in amplitude and timing of cyclical movements. As in the case with the national index, the trends of the regional indexes in many cases do not measure growth in the area. Comparison of the volume of help-wanted ads with business activity, therefore, probably should be confined to the short term.

The cyclical movements of the help-wanted indexes vary widely among the areas. The indexes for highly specialized metal-processing centers have had greater fluctuations than those for more diversified areas. Areas which have had the greatest fluctuations in employment also had the greatest changes in help-wanted advertising. Thus, it appears that movements in the volume of want-ads could be used to gage, at least approximately, the order of magnitude and direction of area employment changes.

HELP-WANTED INDEX CITIES GROUPED BY TELEPHONE AREAS

New England Telephone & Telegraph Co.: Boston, Providence.

Southern New England Telephone Co.: Hartford.

New York Telephone Co.: Albany, New York City, Rochester, Syracuse.

New Jersey Bell Telephone Co.: Newark (1957).

Bell Telephone Co. of Pennsylvania and Diamond State Telephone Co.: Allentown, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh.

Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Cos.: Baltimore, Richmond, Washington, D.C. (1955).

Southern Bell Telephone & Telegraph Co.: Atlanta, Birmingham, Charlotte, Jacksonville, Knoxville, Louisville, Memphis, Miami, Nashville, New Orleans.

Ohio Bell Telephone Co. and Cincinnati & Suburban Bell Telephone Co.: Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus (1956), Dayton, Toledo.

Michigan Bell Telephone Co.: Detroit.

Indiana Bell Telephone Co.: Gary (1953),[1] Indianapolis.

Wisconsin Telephone Co.: Milwaukee.

Illinois Bell Telephone Co.: Chicago.

Northwestern Bell Telephone Co.: Minneapolis, Omaha (1956).

Southwestern Bell Telephone Co.: Dallas, Houston, Kansas City, Oklahoma City, San Antonio, St. Louis, Tulsa.

Mountain States Telephone & Telegraph Co.: Denver (1955), Phoenix (1958),[2] Salt Lake City.

Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co.: Los Angeles, Sacramento, San Bernardino, San Diego, San Francisco.

Pacific Northwest Bell Telephone Co.: Seattle.

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[1] Although Gary is in Illinois Bell territory, it is included in Indiana because the insurance claims data are for that State.

[2] The Phoenix index used in the combined index for Mountain States is on a 1958–59 = 100 base.

NOTE.—Dates in parentheses indicate the earliest data available.

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Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Appendix

Oil and Natural Gas—"Honey in the Rock"—Are Partners in West Virginia Growth; Gov. Hulett C. Smith Addresses 51st Annual Meeting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, West Virginia is blessed not only with an abundance of scenic beauty but, also, continues to be rich in fossil fuels—coal, oil, and natural gas. Much has been spoken and written on the subject of coal and its relationship to the national economy, to the economy of Appalachia, and especially to that of West Virginia. Too little recognition has been accorded to the role of oil and natural gas in West Virginia.

A week ago today—on October 1—I was privileged to be a participant in the annual conference program of the West Virginia Oil & Natural Gas Association—the 51st annual meeting.

I was born and reared in the Salem community of Harrison County, W. Va. There were abundant oil and natural gas fields in the area. My father was an active producer. Prosperous coal fields also were developed to the north and east. Throughout my adult life I have been aware of the significance of these great natural resources to family fortunes, employment opportunities, community development, and State progress. This is especially true with respect to oil and natural gas.

There have been periods of decline and prosperity, but we are in another active period. I learned from officials of the West Virginia Oil & Natural Gas Association gratifying contemporary facts concerning these useful natural resource products in our State:

Forty-seven percent of West Virginia land is under lease or is in use for production of oil and natural gas.

Production of these petroleum products in West Virginia in 1964 aggregated 195.8 billion cubic feet of natural gas and 3,368,000 barrels of oil.

Capital investment in property, plant, and equipment by the oil and natural gas industry is in excess of $1,450 million.

One out of 12 West Virginians is a recipient of some direct income from the oil and natural gas industry and this does not include refining or distribution of refined oil or gasoline.

West Virginia ranks fourth among all of the States in the storage of natural gas.

Between $12 and $13 million in taxes are paid to the State of West Virginia and its political subdivisions by these industries.

Conservatively estimated, the payrolls of oil and natural gas businesses in West Virginia amounted to approximately $45 million last year.

The average yearly value of crude oil produced in the 10-year period, 1953–62, inclusive, was $9,625,200, production having gone from a low of $9,350,000 in 1950 to a high of $16,892,000 in 1962.

Natural gas, on the other hand, yielded an average yearly value in the 1953–62 period of $50,021,800, having moved from a 1950 low of $31,917,000 to a high of $57,692,000 in 1961, and almost that much in 1962.

In 1963, revenues from natural gas sales to consumers in West Virginia were $84 million, and in providing this service the distribution companies employed approximately 10,000 persons.

As Gov. Hulett C. Smith pointed out in his significant address at the recent meeting of the West Virginia Oil & Natural Gas Association, there are approximately 14,000 men and women in West Virginia who hold jobs in the oil and natural gas industries—from producers in the field to attendants in retail service stations.

West Virginia's pavilion at the New York World's Fair houses an informative and effective four-panel display over which is the banner line, "Natural Gas and Oil—West Virginia Partners in Growth." Indeed, the panels in the display tell, in a concise manner, a story of the importance of oil and natural gas to West Virginia and our citizens.

One panel is entitled, "Honey in the Rock," and begins the brief history which reads as follows:

Long before West Virginia was settled, the Indians knew about natural gas but did not know what it could do. So they called it "honey in the rock"—an appropriate name, for natural gas from the beginning has been one of West Virginia's greatest assets. Low-cost fuel made possible the State's earliest industries, such as salt and glass, and today is attracting new industries, such as chemicals and aluminum. "Honey in the rock" is still one of the State's greatest natural resources.

In fact, no State east of the Mississippi produces as much natural gas—260 billion cubic feet in 1963; and West Virginia ranks fourth among all States in storage of natural gas. The State's vast underground reserves are available not only for local industry but also for key areas in the East that look to West Virginia for the energy they need to run their industries and to bring comfort to their homes.

Today "honey in the rock" is so important to West Virginians that 1 out of 12 receives direct payment from the oil and natural gas industries. Most of our major industries depend totally or in part on natural gas. The State's industrial employment is rising because abundance of this low-cost fuel encourages existing industries to expand and brings in new industries.

Natural gas—the fuel that is millions of years old—is also the modern fuel, because it is so abundant, so useful, and does so much at so little cost. Today "honey in the rock" is used for more than heating, cooking, water heating, and clothes drying—it is also used for air conditioning; in production of chemicals, plastics, textiles; for manufacturing glass, steel, and many other products; to preserve and process foodstuffs; to generate electric power economically—and West Virginia, so rich in this modern fuel, looks to natural gas to help build an even more abundant future for its citizens.

Governor Smith's address reflected the optimism and the enthusiasm with which he and the State administration are leading West Virginia. They are creating a business climate which is encouraging to an advancement consistent with the prosperity of the Nation. Appropriately, he commended the officers and members of the association for their vigorous role in the renaissance of the oil and natural gas industry and for that industry's part in strengthening the State's economy. I underscore this recognition and extend it to the management and labor effort being carried forward by scores of progressive companies whose investments are vital to a sound economic base.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD following these remarks excerpts from Governor Smith's speech.

There being no objection, the speech excerpts were ordered printed, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR HULETT C. SMITH TO THE WEST VIRGINIA OIL & NATURAL GAS ASSOCIATION AT JACKSON'S MILL, W. VA., OCTOBER 1, 1965

It's a pleasure to join the members of the West Virginia Oil & Natural Gas Association at this 51st annual conference.

The oil and natural gas industry in this State is a very important part of our State's economy.

More than that, the history of its development in West Virginia is one of the more colorful chapters of our State life—and its future certainly is promising.

As a spokesman for the people of West Virginia, I do appreciate this opportunity to congratulate you on the work you and your associates are doing to strengthen the State's economy.

There are approximately 14,000 men and women in West Virginia who hold jobs in the oil and natural gas industries—from producers to service station attendants.

Their welfare and their well-being are dependent upon your efforts as an industry

to broaden your horizons—and upon our roles, as government officials, to define goals and to provide direction for the State as it moves ahead.

Overall, I believe we can agree that West Virginia is economically much healthier, and it's a good feeling, indeed.

But, at the same time, we still have much difficult work ahead of us before we reach the goals that we, as West Virginians, have set for ourselves.

To me, it is most encouraging to know that all across this State our people have grasped the initiative. They are moving confidently ahead with a new, positive attitude with respect to West Virginia.

One of the problems that has plagued this State has been a scarcity of jobs and job opportunities. This has been especially true of those who were most affected when West Virginians were forced to recognize that ours could no longer be a one-industry State.

We have begun to make sharp gains and inroads into the unemployment problem. Men are being retrained in new skills, and most of our industries have shown a remarkable desire and determination to grow and expand.

The Department of Employment Security will soon release figures for the months of July and August which will show that current employment in West Virginia exceeds by some 25,400 the number of persons employed last year. On a month-to-month basis, there was a decline over previous months, but a large part of this was due to a decrease in agricultural workers, which normally occurs at this time of the year. But overall, on an annualized basis, we can see where the gains are being made. And the number of unemployed in August of this year shows that there are 3,700 less unemployed in this State than there were last year. So all in all, the figures tell us that there are more jobs and more people working in West Virginia this year than last. This is one of the strongest signs that our State is on the move.

I have been particularly impressed with the recent surge of activity in the oil and gasfields.

In 1964, for example, the Independent Petroleum Association of America tells us there were 71 wildcat wells drilled in our State as compared with only 11 5 years ago. And 1965 also is turning out to be a year of action for your industry.

Earlier this week, I spoke before the West Virginia Manufacturers' Association convention. The theme of that program was, "What can we do to help West Virginia move ahead?" I was pleased that the manufacturers had chosen such a topic for their conference.

Actually, there is much more that can be done.

There are many oil and gas wells in our State now being reactivated by new techniques. These new techniques mean that oil or gas operations once written off as exhausted are being brought to life again.

There is a tremendous amount of gas and oil still underground in this State. In this age, when new techniques are being employed in almost every industry and field of endeavor, new drilling technique should also be brought into use wherever possible in West Virginia. Perhaps there can be reactivation of numerous areas that we thought could not be used again for the benefit of our people.

Such activity would indicate to business interests having West Virginia under study that we have the means and the initiative to make full and appropriate use of our natural resources. This is your area of work, and I know you are now studying, and in many cases, using such methods. This new activity in the oil and gas industries of West Virginia is indicative of better things to come.

Finally, let me say a word about the men and women of our State who work for you. They have a unique opportunity to accomplish feats undreamed of a few years ago. Already—in the fields of education, highways, and government revision, for example—we of this generation have started on the long road of up dating here, revising there, discarding the bad, keeping the good, implementing the new—all for the purpose of building a better State.

I urge all of you to leave this very important conference with a feeling of awareness concerning that which is going on in West Virginia. Of course, you will take back with you the results of what I'm sure has been a very worthwhile meeting. But you can do your State a very real service if you urge the men and women of your profession, all the way down the line, to participate vigorously in building a better State.

Urge them to be interested in the new activities in your business and profession.

And urge them to become more interested in public affairs, for this is where important aspects of our courses of action are to be charted for the years to come.

It is apparent and essential that there be teamwork between all of us.

No longer can we afford to retire to our own little spheres of influence and become isolationists. The competition is too keen because we are in a society on the move and our era is one of drastic change and rapid technological and economic advancement.

But teamwork—between business and labor—between private citizen and government official—can build the kind of West Virginia we all seek—the type of State that will arrive when the proudest boast any citizen can make is, "I am a West Virginian."

U.S. Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, the Honorable TOM CURTIS of Missouri, discusses in a recent report to his constituents the basic concepts which he believes must underlie U.S. foreign policy. I believe this penetrating analysis of the subject should be called to the attention of the Members. The full text of the report follows:

A REPORT FROM YOUR CONGRESSMAN, TOM CURTIS, REPRESENTATING ST. LOUIS COUNTY, MO.

(Member of the Ways and Means Committee, Joint Economic Committee)

OCTOBER 1965.

DEAR CONSTITUENTS: I have seldom discussed substantive aspects of our foreign policy in my newsletter. However, with constant breakdowns in our foreign policy occurring—I regard war as a breakdown, a failure, in our foreign policy—I think nothing at the present time is more important to all of us. The Korean war was a breakdown, Cuba was a breakdown, Santo Domingo and Vietnam are other breakdowns.

As most of you know my comments have been primarily directed to the economic aspects of our foreign policy, to a large degree, because my committee assignments require me to dig deeply into these areas, hopefully to inform the House on these matters. The Foreign Affairs Committee has the assignment of keeping the House informed on overall political foreign policy.

My first comment is a regrettable one. The House Foreign Affairs Committee has not done its homework and at present is not doing its homework. I think the primary difficulty arises from the little effort made by the executive department to assist in or encourage the Foreign Affairs Committee to do its homework. President Johnson thinks calling the Congressmen down to the White House to lecture to them behind closed doors or sending a State Department official to Capitol Hill for similar lecturing is an adequate substitute for knowledgeable executive officials appearing before the appropriate congressional committees to testify in public hearings under cross examination and to reply to rebuttal witnesses on the issues. Of course, it is no substitute at all. The result is that our foreign policy has been made behind closed doors at the White House with no one in the Congress or the public knowing really who participates in the decisions or what assumptions of fact and logic have been made as a base for them.

Now that the decisions have resulted in failure—to the extent that they have resulted in war, not caused war, but certainly not prevented war—certainly it is time to review the premises upon which these decisions have been made. Incidentally, most of the data upon which the decisions must be based have been published so there is little which needs to be classified secret for security reasons. Furthermore, I do not think foreign policy in a society such as ours is sound unless it is openly arrived at and clearly understood by nations abroad which means that of course it must be understood and agreed upon by our own people.

WHEELING AND DEALING

It is perfectly clear that "wheelers and dealers" can move unmeritorious legislation and block meritorious legislation in the Congress. I still would adhere to a basic point, however, that the great bulk of the legislation which passes the Congress or has failed the congressional test results from presenting honest facts and fair arguments, not from wheeling and dealing. The present administration adheres to a converse viewpoint and regrettably its wheeling and dealing tactics have been praised by some people as political astuteness. In my book, it is still political corruptness, something to fight against, not to emulate, something to regret, not to praise.

Now what has this to do with foreign policy? Simply that the American political genius does not lie in wheeling and dealing. Certain American politicians achieve a modicum of success in the American political arena from time to time through wheeling and dealing and they begin to believe what they hear about their political astuteness. Accordingly, they are encouraged to carry over these techniques which have worked well for them in American politics into international politics, they fail to perceive that their limited success comes from cashing in on the basic American belief in rules and ethics. Well, most of the world countries regrettably are based upon wheeling and dealing politics and the American champion wheeler and dealer is a neophyte when it comes to the professionals abroad. Not only do these tactics result in failure but a brand of politics has been utilized which is alien to the United States which certainly sets no good example of the American system which has moved us forward.

I find the same set of circumstances in the field of economics. I would argue that it has been the development of the marketplace theory of economics which has moved America forward economically, not the use of Government bureaucratic process to reach economic decisions. Yet our foreign economic policy utilizes the political bureaucratic process for making economic decisions and does not promote the marketplace

theory. The result is that not only have we failed in our foreign economic policy, we have been promoting a brand of economics alien to the United States which again sets no good example of what has moved America forward.

THEORY VERSUS DOCTRINE

Now what I am advancing are merely theories, matters to be debated and tested. This is true no matter how deeply I believe in the theories. All I ask is that those who promote the opposite theories, of economic judgments being reached in the political sector as opposed to economic judgments being reached through the marketplace mechanism, agree to debate and testing of their theories. However, I find coupled with what I believe are errors in their theories is a belief by these advocates that their views are doctrines and hence do not need to be debated and tested. This becomes significant when one realizes that it is only when one becomes so certain of one's own theories to call them doctrine that one adopts the philosophy that the ends justify the means—wheeling and dealing.

BASIC AMERICAN POLITICAL THEORY

American political theory is based upon the belief in the right of people to self-determine their own government. Self-determination is based upon the right to exercise the franchise periodically. The right of franchise is not just the right to vote, that is only a part of the right of franchise. The full franchise consists of the right to vote and to cast the ballot without outside coercion or bribery (hence the secret ballot) and to have that ballot counted honestly along with all other proper ballots. Under this theory, what kind of government the people choose is their business even though it be a dictatorship. However, the right of self determination requires that the choice shall be exercised periodically. For example, if a dictator is selected, then in 2 years or whatever appropriate time is set, there will be another election in which the people can exercise their judgment all over again. However, the election must not be a Hitler- or Stalin-type election where there is no real choice. There must be an opportunity provided for varying sides to present their suggestions to the people, in other words, there must be fair election campaigns and the right to nominate opposition candidates.

Perhaps these issues can be better understood by putting them into a more homely context. These were the issues involved in the Landrum-Griffin Act providing guarantees of the right to secret ballot and to periodic elections for all employees in the elections to determine whether there is to be union representation.

These are the issues involved in the recent Supreme Court decisions which would force the people of the States to adopt a one-man, one-vote type of representative government for their State legislature. Why should not the people of a State, if they wish, adopt other theories of the Republican form of government—and there are many other theories and valid ones—in exercising the franchise?

These are the issues involved in the decision to give one vote to each member nation in the United Nations, a theory supported, strangely enough, by the very one-man, one-vote advocates we find in the United States. In other words, a nation which according to U.N. standards can consist of 1 million people, or even less, is granted a vote equal to the United States consisting of 190 million people. One man, one vote, indeed. Obviously the theories lying behind the great compromise at our Constitutional Convention in 1789 between the large and the small States need to be reviewed by 20th century Americans.

We find arguments advanced against the right of self-determination couched in strange semantics. What right have we, one argument goes, to tell other people what kind of government they are to have by insisting upon free and periodic elections for them? There are many paradoxes like this. Another example is how can one be tolerant if one is intolerant toward intolerance?

I recall the strange argument advanced by an Assistant Secretary of State, under the Eisenhower administration—these issues are not divided on a Republican-Democrat basis—urging the United States to support the OTC (the proposed Organization for Trade Cooperation, which would have established a permanent international trade mechanism, making the provisional GATT, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, permanent) on a one-vote, one-nation basis. I said, "How can such a thing be suggested in economics? The United States has a gross national product of over $400 billion a year and some of these member nations do not even have a gross national product of $400 million."

Now I hope my point is beginning to come through. We set up the United Nations and adhere to other foreign policies with a disregard for the basic political and economic theories upon which our country has grown great. Certainly these are only theories, although the amazing success of the United States, both politically and economically, should suggest that maybe these theories make sense. However, our Government is not advancing these theories abroad either in thought or in deed. In the name of "tolerance" we have abandoned our theories. The test of true tolerance is adhering to one's own theories, but not insisting they are doctrines; being willing to debate them as theories. A person who has no theories has no problem being tolerant of others' theories. That person is merely a pushover for any theory whoever advances it. Now just as we should be willing to debate our theories, we should insist that others be willing to debate theirs.

WHAT TO DO

People have asked me what would I have us do in Cuba. They ask me what I would have us do in South Vietnam. My answer is: If you are talking about whether to use military force (and of what variety), economic force, or political force, or a mixture of the three, my answer is quite clear; how can I know or any American know until we first have resolved what goals we seek? I am well aware of, and approve, the negative goal we seek—to contain international communism, i.e., political dictatorship and political control over economic judgments. However, I would point up a basic American political maxim: it is hard to beat something with nothing. Or, to put it another way, the best defense is a good offense.

What theories do we as a nation believe in? Are we willing to practice what we preach or to put it more correctly preach what we practice? Do we believe in self-determination as a method of establishing our political structures for making political decisions? I think we do, but let's debate the theory to get the cobwebs of fuzzy thinking cleared out. Do we believe in the people participating in and making economic decisions through the marketplace mechanism, or through the political mechanism? I think we favor the marketplace mechanism, but here certainly we must debate this theory because there are powerful thinkers in our society who have challenged this theory with what they say is opposing doctrine. Without supporting their position as a theory, through forthright national debate, they have sought to have it implemented as national domestic policy and they have begun to succeed in certain major areas in both domestic and foreign policy. To do this without debate the wheeling and dealing techniques have been developed in the United States to a high sophistication; but the success is parasitical. It has depended for nourishment on the strength of its host, the great American system of republican government and private enterprise economics.

I certainly do approve a military holding action in South Vietnam until we make a determination what our affirmative goals are. Once we make this determination and express it clearly, I think we will find that the need for military force and even economic force to sustain our theories will be greatly diminished. I don't think the American people are much different from peoples all around the globe in their belief in the importance of the individual human being and in the theory that government should provide the proper climate so all persons can develop their God-given talents, differing as they are, meager as some may be, to their fullest. Government can provide for the pursuit of happiness, but it cannot provide for happiness, that must remain forever the choice of the individual human being, his basic bill of rights.

My honorable opponents have responded to these arguments by referring to my beliefs and theories, as myths. I reply by observing that ideals are not myths merely because they cannot be attained in a lifetime or, indeed, even in many generations or eons. They are, however, guiding stars by which we can set our earthly courses.

Now to the mundane problems that face us. I recall attention to the fact that a society cannot depend upon its political mechanism to render wise political decisions, let alone wise economic decision, until it has first been able to establish a career system for Government employees. The greatness and the stability of the U.S. Government lies in its great civil service system. We are prone to criticize our "bureaucracy," and I am a great critic here, too, albeit I hope a constructive one, but when all is said and done its excellence is the reason America can lose a President overnight in a great tragedy and continue to move forward almost as if nothing had happened. I would have inauguration day, which comes every 4 years, a national holiday merely to impress upon us the uniqueness in history and in the world today of the peaceful transition of political power.

The newly emerging countries must develop civil service systems which remove those who exercise daily the powers of political government from spoils politics. This is a 30-year job at the least, inasmuch as a social system is not fully established until 90 years have passed, three generations.

But there must be an understanding on the part of political civil servants of the right of the people to make the basic political policy judgments from time to time and of the limitations of the areas for the political mechanism to reach judgments in a society. The best conceived political mechanism does not work well in economics, religion, and education, to mention a few important fields.

The newly emerging nations must begin on a viable economic base. Just as we in America have recently gone through the process of consolidating school districts throughout the country, not just because of population shifts and new means of transportation, but to provide an adequate tax base, so that the districts can raise their own revenues and retain the freedom to make their own decisions. So it is in error to permit and to encourage scores of societies to be recognized as "nations" when they have neither the population nor economic base ever to operate with independence. It is a disfavor to them because they either become sycophants or slaves; and it is inequitable and debilitating to the rest of the world's societies because slavery has proven to be as bad for the master as for the slave.

Finally, I would observe that trade, not aid, is the economic goal for nations. Trade

is dignified and free; aid is charity only if temporary and for a specific cause; if prolonged, it is patronizing and slavish.

Even when we have the world on a viable economic and political base, I would observe that the causes of war will only be 90 percent eliminated. Underlying is the mysterious difference in human races, and in people themselves. However, if we can establish societies where differences between individuals are welcomed—because people have different talents—not discouraged and sought to be forced into the mold of sameness, miscalled equality, then perhaps the differences in races will be welcomed, not discouraged, and variety will remain the spice of life.

Sincerely,

TOM CURTIS,
Your Congressman.

A Clergyman's Justification for Participation in Civil Rights Demonstrations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, on August 30 I inserted in the RECORD—page A4875—a very provocative editorial raising questions on the propriety as to the clergy's participation in civil rights demonstrations. This editorial appeared in the August 26 St. Louis Globe Democrat and was entitled "Questions for the Clergy." At the time I inserted this editorial I invited the clergy or anyone else to respond to this serious issue so that the Nation might benefit by having some searching and intelligent debate on these questions. I am pleased to report to the House today that one clergyman has undertaken to enter the dialog, and I am placing in the RECORD a letter to the editor of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat appearing on September 3, written by the Very Reverend William Mead, dean, Christ Church Cathedral, St. Louis.

The letter to the editor follows:

DEAN MEAD ANSWERS QUESTIONS

To the EDITOR:

In answer to your editorial of August 26, "Questions for the Clergy":

1. It is not true to say that "in their own minds these ministers, priests, nuns, and rabbis are as firmly convinced of the rectitude of their actions as Governor Wallace is of his."

I, for one, am never certain that what I do in this life is absolutely right, for the simple reason that I am not God. Given the limitations of who I am, and always viewing the situation facing me and the decisions which I am called upon to make as a responsible human being and a Christian, "as through a glass, darkly," I do the best I can—and pray for God's forgiveness.

If you knew better the ministers, priests, nuns, and rabbis who are deeply committed to the Negro's struggle for human rights in this country, you would know that Governor Wallace is much more convinced of the rectitude of his actions than we are of ours.

2. It is both unfair and untrue of you to smear the ordained religious leaders of this country by implying that they are, by and large, lawless demonstrators who "urge disobedience of bad laws." The overwhelming majority of demonstrations have not only been nonviolent, but within the law—and you know it.

3. As for who is responsible for the death of Mrs. Liuzzo, there is a sense in which we all are—including yourself—for we all ignored, or tolerated, too long, those conditions (the plight of the Negro and redneck justice) which now make it necessary for some people to risk their lives in order that all people in this Nation might live in freedom and with dignity.

You would have us do nothing about human rights for fear of provoking and inciting the rednecks. Would you also advise us to keep American troops out of Vietnam for fear of provoking and inciting the Vietcong?

4. In your closing remarks you said that these demonstrations haven't brought "greater understanding and love between the races." Maybe, for the moment, this is true—I don't know. But, I firmly believe that in time you will be proven wrong.

Very Rev. WILLIAM MEAD,
Dean, Christ Church Cathedral.

Lowndes County Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the Detroit News, Oct. 1, 1965]

MORE TRUTH ABOUT ALABAMA—LOWNDES COUNTY JUSTICE

The farce in Hayneville, Ala., is played out to the end once again. Once more a Lowndes County jury has gone through the motions of weighing the evidence against a white man accused of killing a civil rights worker and, after a polite pause, has set him free.

"I knew it all the time," exclaimed Tom Coleman's wife after the verdict. Of course she did. Who didn't?

Who on earth would expect a Lowndes County jury to punish a white man who did no more than shoot a couple of "nigger-loving preachers" who came down from the North to make trouble?

It may be unfair to the good white people of Lowndes County to assume that they consider urging Negroes to register and vote a crime properly punishable by a death sentence summarily executed by a part-time deputy. Most would probably prescribe no more than a little kicking around.

But who's to blame Tom Coleman for being provoked to deadly violence when they make so bold as to try to walk into a store? Not gonna hang a man for that, are you?

"All of you know Tom Coleman," the defense attorney said to the jury.

That's enough of a license to kill a man.

"You knew his mother and you knew his father."

That's enough of a license to kill a man.

"You named your football field for him."

That's enough of a license to kill a man.

It is, in Lowndes County, Ala., if the man to be killed has been telling Negroes they ought to register and vote.

It is, in Lowndes County, Ala., if the killer's pal is willing to testify vaguely that he saw "a shiny object" in one victim's hand that "appeared to be a knife," and in the other victim's hand what he "took to be" a pistol.

Elsewhere in this civilized land it may seem most unlikely that two young men of religion, knowing well that they were deep in hostile territory where the slightest excuse would be used to put them in jail, or worse, would go charging around armed. But in Hayneville, Tom Coleman needed a self-defense alibi.

Elsewhere it might seem strange that their weapons could then disappear forever simply because a couple of Negroes—unhindered and unidentified—could pick them up and walk away from a crowd of white witnesses. But in Hayneville, Tom Coleman was pleading self-defense.

Elsewhere people may wonder how one of these murderous young clergymen could have gotten so much of Coleman's buckshot in his liver and kidney if he was not, as he claims, running away, but was charging Coleman and his shotgun, as Coleman's pal says. But in Hayneville they named their football field after Tom Coleman.

"What could you expect in this county?" asked the county solicitor, Carlton Perdue.

Perdue is no flaming southern liberal, nor yet a faint southern liberal. His comment just after the shootings last August was, "If they'd been tending to their own business, like I tend to mine, they'd be living and enjoying themselves today."

But he did make somewhat of a try, in his official capacity, to bring Hayneville to face up to such conscience as it may possess, to convince it that gunning men down in the street—in this case glossed over as manslaughter—is not something a civilized community can keep on its stomach in health.

He failed even in this faint effort, and time will tell how the good white people of Lowndes County will tolerate even this mild apostasy.

Alabama State Senator Vaughn Hill Robinson, in defense of Tom Coleman, summed up Hayneville and Lowndes County in his address to the jury:

"Justice does not sleep in Lowndes County today. By your verdict of not guilty, you will say, 'Justice is alive in Lowndes County.'"

Justice.

The word must stick in his throat.

The Sugar Act Has Soured

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Hutchinson, (Kans.) News which presents some constructive arguments for a full reevaluation and revision of the Sugar Act. Since the Sugar Act Amendments of 1965 soon will be debated in the House of Representatives, I call this editorial to the attention of my colleagues for their consideration:

THE SUGAR ACT HAS SOURED

At its inception, the U.S. sugar program was almost a model for Government efforts to bring sanity to food production and overproduction.

It helped stabilize domestic production and sales, and at the same time provided needed help for friends we wanted, principally Cuba and to a lesser extent, the Philippines.

History has altered sharply the patterns under which the Sugar Act was established, but Congress is treating the act as though nothing has changed except perhaps the names.

Consider the western Kansas stake alone. The present congressional proposal is to reduce Kansas' allotment for sugarbeet production from 24,000 to 19,000 acres. Sugarbeets have always had the short end of the draw in comparison with cane, and the situation now is at its lowest ebb.

Forty percent of the U.S. domestic sugar consumption will be provided by foreign producers. In some instances, this makes sense because we must buy abroad if we would sell abroad. An abrupt cutoff for imported sugar would not be in the national interest.

But neither is it in the national interest to authorize the same old indiscriminate purchasing, and at the same time hampering domestic producers.

Some Congressmen blame the State Department, for using sugar as a diplomatic tool. Others blame the Agriculture Department, for blindly accepting State's suggestions.

But the buck can't be passed beyond congressional Halls. The evidence is that Congressmen still listen more to the blandishments of sugar lobbyists, both domestic and foreign, than they do to commonsense. Only Congress can update the Sugar Act, and Congress doesn't seem interested.

United States-Panama Agreement a Welcome Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson recently announced that the United States and Panama have agreed to write a new treaty with regard to the present canal, and to explore possibilities for a new, modern sea-level canal. This announcement was greeted with enthusiasm by our friends and allies throughout the world. It was greeted with consternation and dismay by our enemies, who have spent long years in efforts to alienate our friends with the boogie man of "Yankee imperialism."

As the Nashville Tennessean recently stated, it would have been ominous news had the President's announcement been the reverse of what it was. Those who resist a fair and equitable solution to the canal problem can only encourage those abroad who would have the small nations of the world look upon America as something other than she is. We are not imperialists. We do not follow the road of violence. We do not believe that force or superior power is a legitimate way to solve differences among nations.

Our voluntary and magnanimous action in connection with the Panama Canal dispute, which dates all the way back to 1903, is positive proof that America intends to suit her actions to her words. The importance of this event is excellently described in the editorial to which I have referred, and I request permission to make that editoral a part of the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

[From the Nashville Tennessean, Sept. 27, 1965]

UNITED STATES-PANAMA AGREEMENT IS WELCOME DEVELOPMENT

President Johnson's announcement that the United States and Panama have agreed to write a new treaty was not unexpected. It would have been ominous news had the reverse been announced.

The new treaty, according to the President, will give Panama a share in administration, management and operations of the canal. The new treaty will also effectively recognize Panama's sovereignty over the area of the present Canal Zone.

President Johnson did not go into detail about how much Panama will share in operating the canal, nor did he indicate how that country will share in benefits, direct and indirect from the existence of the canal.

Presumably these are details which are yet to be worked out, and it is too early to weigh the overall impact of the treaty. There are those in this country who already are making critical noises, despite the fact the details are not completed.

Panamanian aspirations have been to have some share in operation of the canal, free port privileges, equal treatment for Panamanian labor in the Canal Zone and some recognition, such as flying its flag, that it has sovereignty in the zone.

Panamanian differences with the United States over some of these points have led to major rioting and bloodshed. The United States hardly relishes the thought of recurrence of violence in Panama and the consequent effect this would have on relations with the various countries in the hemisphere.

Those who have argued in favor of keeping the status quo underestimate Panamanian pride and nationalism, both of which are sincere and deep seated. And it might be added, both have proved to have an explosive potential.

The President said the new treaty would be terminated after a specified number of years or on the date of the opening of a new sea-level canal, whichever occurs first.

The United States has been studying four possible sites for a new sea level canal. One site is in Colombia, a second is in Nicaragua, and two sites are in Panama.

A newer, larger canal is badly needed, but whether it, too, should be in Panama is a question that needs a great deal of debate. It is hoped the new agreement between Panama and the United States will repair relations between the two countries and lessen the possibility of further explosive violence. The two countries have a great deal more to gain from harmony than friction, and for that reason a fair and equitable treaty arrangement should be welcomed.

George Meany on the Vietnam War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, one of the strong pillars for a sane and responsible foreign policy in the United States has been the American labor movement.

The support which organized labor has given to the effort to contain communism and foster world economic development hardly can be overestimated.

This truth was brought to mind once again by the fine editorial, signed by AFL–CIO President George Meany, which appears in the current issue of the American Federationist, on the war in Vietnam.

Mr. Meany points out that recent developments in Vietnam "confirm the soundness and effectiveness of President Johnson's basic policy."

The distinguished labor leader goes on to assert:

It is gratifying to note that more and more people in our country are showing greater understanding and rendering wholehearted support to President Johnson's course.

Once again, Mr. Speaker, organized labor is playing a constructive role in the formulation and execution of wise and responsible foreign policy. To Mr. Meany and his associates must go our sincere commendations.

In order to bring the complete text of this editorial statement to the attention of my colleagues, I am inserting it in the RECORD at this point:

(NOTE.—Following is the text of an editorial, signed by AFL–CIO President George Meany, which appears today in the current issue of the American Federationist, official monthly publication of the AFL–CIO.)

In recent weeks, there has been a meaningful improvement in the critical Vietnam situation. This turn for the better is due to a number of factors. The determination of our government and the superb fighting capacities of the enlarged American Armed Forces is the paramount reason for the changed picture. This has served to lift the morale of the courageous South Vietnamese people and to increase the effectiveness of their military forces. Credit is also due to the participation of cooperating nations like South Korea, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand. The growing sympathetic understanding of our country's policy and position in Vietnam among the peoples of Asia, Europe and the developing countries is as significant as it is encouraging.

In consequence of this combination of forces, the much-vaunted Vietcong "monsoon offensive" has been stopped cold. Actually, in some vital combat areas the initiative has passed into the hands of the Americans and South Vietnamese fighting to defend the territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of South Vietnam.

Certain significant developments have come in the wake of this turn for the better. In the Vietcong-ridden regions, the people are beginning to lose their fear of the Communist guerrilla terrorists. What is more, the Vietcong forces are becoming bone-tired.

In sum, these developments confirm the soundness and effectiveness of President Johnson's basic policy—readiness to negotiate for a just settlement of the conflict and determination to fight, if necessary, until the people of South Vietnam are assured peace, national security and freedom. In this light, it is gratifying to note that more and more people in our own country are showing greater understanding of and rendering wholehearted support to President Johnson's course.

It would, however, be a costly mistake to conclude that the most difficult tasks in the Vietnam crisis have already been met. It would be far from the truth to say that the terrible conflict is about to end. The Hanoi dictatorship has contemptuously spurned the numerous American offers for unconditional peace negotiations. This Communist

regime has rebuffed similar peace moves by the United Nations and the "nonalined" nations.

Furthermore, the Communist enemy is still very strong. It enjoys the full backing of Moscow and Peiping for continuing its subversion and aggression.

Given this new situation, the first task the forces of freedom and peace face in this arena of terrible warfare is to convince the people that they have good and urgent reasons to fight against the Communist forces. It would be self-deception to hide the fact that very much remains to be done toward the building of a government of, by, and for the people of South Vietnam. It is rather easy to set up a government which rules by terror, but the great need and overriding aim here is to develop an effective democratic government which would stand out in clear and inspiring contrast to the ruthless totalitarian dictatorship in North Vietnam.

Nor can we exaggerate the urgency of proceeding with increased vigor to develop an extensive land reform program and to put into effect other long overdue social reforms. In fact, the improved overall situation provides more favorable conditions for such beneficial social changes, for a social transformation that will profoundly change for the better the conditions of life and labor for the great mass of the people. This is the best way to win the people for the war and to win the peace for the people.

In this connection, we must emphasize with all the energy at our command that our Government would be very well advised to impress forcefully upon the Ky regime the urgency of its discontinuing its hostile attitude and acts against the Confederation of Vietnam Workers (CVT) and the organizations of the peasantry. The American military forces can do much in this direction by impressing upon the cooperating Vietnamese military commanders the enormous importance of befriending rather than harassing and hounding the spokesmen of labor.

Unless these organizations of the people are assured their right to play a constructive and vital role in the protection and building of their nation, social justice and democracy have very little chance of developing in this pivotal area of southeast Asia. Persecution of democratic labor is no way of prosecuting the war or winning the peace. Building the democratic forces is the only way to win a better day for the long-suffering people of all Vietnam.

Our Dangerous Complacency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the Community News of Reisterstown, Md., points out the responsibility resting on the average citizen, and particularly on the business community, to concern himself with the affairs of government. The continuation of the "American dream" depends on the reawakened sense of responsibility of all citizens to be active participants in government. I am happy to include this editorial in the RECORD:

OUR DANGEROUS COMPLACENCY

Love of freedom, respect for the individual and a society dedicated to laws which hold inviolate the rights of property and persons are the bedrock upon which our country was built. Under the pressures of war, population growth, inflation, and the complacency of prosperity, there has been a definite crumbling of this bedrock.

In ways too numerous to mention, from the rising crime rate to the philosophical acceptance of mounting national debt and continually depreciating currency, the people have shown a declining regard for the "American dream" which took root in our land nearly two centuries ago.

Never has there been a greater need for people in all walks of life to take a renewed interest in public affairs and the actions of public officials, lawmakers, and legislative bodies. Especially is this true of businessmen. Speaking of businessmen, a leader in the business world, A. C. Rubel, retiring chairman of the Union Oil Co. of California, observes:

"Many businessmen ask, why become involved in the affairs of government? I'm doing all right. The answer is that government has become deeply involved in the affairs of business, your business. As a businessman, you had better become involved or you will wake up too late and find that you are on the outside looking in. By government, I mean everything from the local school board to the Federal Administration in Washington."

This advice to businessmen applies to all of us.

"The Rightist Atmosphere," an Editorial From the North Judson, Ind., News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the text of an excellent editorial from the September 16, 1965, issue of the North Judson News, a weekly newspaper published in North Judson, Starke County, Ind.

The editorial follows:

THE RIGHTIST ATMOSPHERE

By purporting to stand for decency, law, and order, by issuing pronouncements against communism, vice and other undesirable developments the organized ultrareactionaries hope to create an atmosphere of respectability and constitutionality about themselves and their activities. This is done to give their pronouncements against the Supreme Court, against integration and against Federal officials as opposed to State officials credibility and rationality. By presenting plausible statements their whole argument is based on rationalization rather than logic. Such organizations, among them John Birchers, the Ku Klux Klan, Minute Men and others, actually aid each other in creating the atmosphere of respectability which they all claim.

The self-righteousness of these groups breaks down when they begin to use the methods of communism: intimidation, violence, name-calling, subversion and character assassination. To call Chief Justice Warren, former Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Truman Communists (the top Reds in America) is ridiculous but is believed by a good number of gullible Americans. The Ku Klux Klan thrives on such an atmosphere with its advocacy of white supremacy, by intimidation, murder, bombing, and cruel propaganda. All these methods are anathema to lovers of liberty, freedom, and democracy. They are also the methods of communism. Rightists ignore the fact that communism is also a method as well as a philosophy. Indeed it is more the method of communism that makes it so obnoxious than anything else. Using these methods inevitably leads to the institution of totalitarianism which can in no manner be reconciled with democracy, liberty and individual rights.

In a recent incident in an Indiana community a revived Ku Klux Klan spread the propaganda of hate literature through the mails to poison the minds of citizens with doubt and opposition to authority. More often than not these rightist groups are financed by well-heeled individuals who support these ideologies with large contributions. They often own their own printing presses and radio stations. Organized as "educational organizations" they have tax free privileges in carryout on their voluminous publication activity. Millions of copies of their propaganda books are sold, so they actually run a profitmaking project. This is subversion at the expense of the taxpayer. There are attempts to infiltrate and control political parties and governing boards. In past years entire school boards and city councils in southern California have been dominated by John Birchers, almost ruining the entire educational system in some communities before school patrons became aware of the subversion and reasserted popular control. In such cases newspapers are often intimidated or dominated.

In all States citizens need to be alert to all extremism from the far right to the communism of the far left. These groups are subversive and un-American even though they operate under titles of freedom, Americanism constitutionality, or other pretenses. It is the moderate conservative and the moderate progressive who through open discussion of issues and solutions will guarantee steady progress for America. It would be stupid for good American citizens to join Nazi or Facist groups to fight communism when good democratic methods of procedure are available to all. We need to solve our many problems to avoid encouraging communism to step in and pick up the pieces. If rightists should win over communism in an open clash, we would immediately be dominated by a totalitarianism no less evil which would terminate our cherished democratic heritage. Democracy is as dead under Facist rule as it would be under communism. Neither is American.

Chase Bank Reports on Latin Outlook

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, the critics of the Alliance for Progress, indeed any form of foreign assistance, are prone to look with jaundiced eye upon any favorable comment on the program since their political sixth sense—which usually misleads—tells them it must be coming from left of center.

It is fair to say that the Alliance's most vocal critics are of a politically conservative nature, and thus I hope it is they who will take a moment to acquaint themselves with an economic report on Latin America compiled by the Chase Manhattan Bank, hardly a hotbed of liberalism.

A news story on the Chase Bank report follows:

[From the Latin American Times, Sept. 30, 1965]

CHASE BANK REPORTS ON LATIN OUTLOOK

(By George F. W. Telfer)

Economic growth has quickened in Latin America in the last 2 years. It probably will be more rapid in the second half of the 1960's than it was in the first, when it lagged behind target levels, the Chase Manhattan Bank said yesterday.

"There is an increasing realization throughout the area of the dangers of inflation and of the necessity to promote private investments, domestic and foreign. Foreign capital inflows are increasing." Chase said in its quarterly report, Latin American Business Highlights.

In an article entitled, "Latin America at Middecade," the huge bank makes the following points:

On economic growth: Recent performance indicates a quickening in the growth rate, which could well be sustained in the latter half of the sixties. Unrealistic expectations of what could be done may account for the lag so far.

On per capita income: Most countries met the 2.5 percent growth target last year, and it is expected generally to be reached again this year. Several countries; namely, Chile, El Salvador, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, and Peru, exceeded this target in the 1960–63 period.

On tax reform: The climate has changed and tax reform has entered the national consicousness.

On agriculture: There is growing recognition of the need to develop agriculture together with industry. In the past much of the cultivable land has been neglected, often because governments adopted policies which penalized the farming sector in order to subsidize industry. All too few youths choose agronomy and veterinary medicine as careers.

On foreign investments: A sustained pick-up in foreign investments in the area might well take place during the second half of the decade.

On private savings: Mexico and Venezuela have expanded private savings significantly in recent years. Elsewhere, inflation has held back savings.

On foreign trade: Export expansion has been slower than in the world as a whole and the rest of the developing countries. The process of import substitution "has gone about as can reasonably be expected. Emphasis is expected to shift toward export-oriented industries."

High prices for mineral exports and a generally improved investment climate in the area have accounted for the recent rise in per capita income.

So far in the sixties, through 1964, the annual increase in gross national product has been about 3.9 percent, Chase notes. "With population growing at about 2.7 percent per year, this means an increase in per capita income of about 1 percent per year—a barely discernible improvement."

But, the bank says, maybe the target was too high. "After all, in the 5-year period preceding the Alliance for Progress, per capita income grew at an average rate of only 0.5 percent per year."

Also, many of the changes already initiated, such as tax reforms, improvements in health and education facilities, and better agricultural technology, have not yet been translated into higher incomes.

TAX RECEIPTS GAIN

Where real efforts have been made in tax reform, as in Mexico and Chile, "receipts gained significantly, measured against the rise in gross national product. And this year, the Brazilian Government's tax revenues have far exceeded those of earlier years."

Despite an average annual rise of 1.6 percent in food production over the past 5 years, Chase says, per capita levels are lower today than at the start of the decade.

"And including export crops, total agricultural production has declined at an annual rate of about 2 percent since the start of the decade."

In the savings area, success by Brazil in reducing inflation and creating a climate for domestic savings "would demonstrate to those in other countries who oppose inflationary policies that severe inflation can be successfully countered."

Job Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, computation of costs for the Job Corps Center at Camp Atterbury, Ind., indicates it is costing $22,000 this year for each of the 269 corpsmen in the project.

This is pretty expensive schooling, especially for the parents of college-age students who are digging into their own pockets this fall for $1,500 to $2,000 to send their own sons and daughters to school.

Even in these days of Great Society inflation a student could be sent through the most expensive college or university in America, and presented with a round-the-world graduation gift vacation, for the cost of maintaining one Job Corps man at Camp Atterbury for 1 year.

Costs of the so-called war on poverty do not concern the spenders of the public moneys and plans are underway for shoveling $7 million additional into the Atterbury fiasco in the next 12 months.

The real reason this program hasn't been scrapped despite its utter failure is, of course, the patronage gravy train. Today there are nearly twice as many payrollers at Atterbury as there are Job corpsmen. Many of these are drawing down salaries ranging from $8,000 to $20,000.

Grandiose plans for enlarging the Atterbury program have been issued almost daily with more than 2,600 corpsmen scheduled for enrollment next year. If the ratio of employment increases accordingly, the people of Indiana and the rest of the Nation will be footing the bill for thousands more "deserving" Great Society politicians masquerading as poverty fighters.

Mr. Speaker, the Job Corps program in Indiana has proven unworkable and an extravagant waste of taxpayer moneys.

Reasons for the failure of these programs are not difficult to pinpoint. These teenagers from broken homes and slum streets require discipline, but they are not getting it in the Job Corps.

After free cross-country trips to training camps, they are invited rather than told to study and keep their rooms neat. Many of them rebel and engage in antisocial behavior. At the first sign of adult chastisement they demand a return ticket home—and get it.

I cannot understand why compulsion and discipline are taboo with the poverty fighters. Education in America is compulsory to the age of 16, and obedience and discipline are required in the Nation's Armed Forces. How else could our Nation organize and field military units capable of defending our country. By the same token, discipline is necessary in the workaday world, or a man loses his job.

Why, then should teenagers who are being supported out of the public till not be required to learn, to study, to obey, and to stick out the prescribed course.

The instruction by the Job Corps hierarchy which reads, "formal discipline must be kept to a minimum" is absurd and should be revoked immediately if this program is to salvage any of the millions of tax dollars squandered thus far.

Mr. Speaker, I would also draw attention to the administration's VISTA program—Volunteers in Service to America. At the end of its first fiscal year, which ended June 30, the program had spent $3.1 million and had 202 trained volunteers to show for it. At the same time, VISTA had 120 salaried employees in Washington—more than one for every two volunteers in the field.

Mr. Speaker, I offer two newspaper articles concerning the Job Corps program in Indiana.

The articles follow:

GOOD MONEY AFTER BAD

"If you spend a lot of money on something it must be good." This seems to be the philosophy behind the decision of the Job Corps management at the Camp Atterbury Center to keep the project going despite tremendous expense, little achievement and plenty of scandal.

It would seem to us that the main purpose of the Job Corps is supposed to be to help school dropouts to train themselves for doing some useful work. But according to the statements made recently by Dr. John Kennedy, the national project manager, "there's too much invested" in the project now to abandon it—even if that could save the taxpayers $7 million in the next 12 months.

We have always had reservations about the possibility of success of these Job Corps projects, although we sympathize with the aims behind them. Our reservations are simply based on the evidence that enormous sums of our tax money is being poured into something that isn't working and probably cannot work. Already $4 million has been spent on the project at Camp Atterbury. Another $2 million is now going to be spent. Salaries for Job Corps administrators running from $8,000 to $20,000 a year, huge sums of equipment and repair of the buildings seems to have produced little result except confusion, recrimination and scandal.

There are almost twice as many employees at the Center as there are Job Corps men. If the total of $6 million is spent to get the Job Corps Center going for its 269 corpsmen, that will mean it is costing the taxpayers over $22,000 this year for every Job Corps man in the project. This is quite enough money to send every one of them through grade school, high school, and Harvard University.

We see no point in throwing more money after bad on this project. Why not shut it down?

TWO JOB CORPS MEN ARRESTED HERE

Two Camp Atterbury Job Corps men were to appear in municipal court six today as the result of their arrests here late Saturday night in the city bus terminal.

Andrew Amos, 21, was charged with being drunk when, police said, they found him unconscious on a bench in the waiting room of the bus station.

When Amos was arrested, a 17-year-old Job Corps man told police they were not going to arrest him (Amos). The youth was charged with disorderly conduct and interfering with the police.

When police searched the youth he began fighting with one of the patrolmen who called for assistance.

Potentials of the Urban Transportation Planning Process

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Mr. Norman Beckman, assistant director of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations before the American Association of State Highway Officials Urban Transportation Planning Committee, at the Commodore Hotel, New York City, on October 7, 1965:

POTENTIALS OF THE URBAN TRANSPORTATION PLANNING PROCESS

(By Norman Beckman, assistant director, Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, before the American Association of State Highway Officials, Urban Transportation Planning Committee, Commodore Hotel, New York City, session B, October 7, 1965)

In domestic affairs, the State highway director today finds himself in a position somewhat akin to that of the United States in world affairs. Our national leaders want nothing more than to devote their attention to achieving the good life for the American people. Yet, our role and responsibilities as leader of the non-Communist world are such that we must send our troops to Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, and our guns and grain to every continent. In playing this indispensable role in world affairs, we must reconcile ourselves to being criticized by our friends and condemned by our enemies.

And this picture must occasionally strike a responsive cord in the mind of the director of a State highway department. Your responsibilities, your legislative directives, your education, and training are all directed to building and maintaining facilities for moving persons and goods in the most economical and efficient manner. Yet, the role and responsibilities are so big, so interdependent, so determining of what else will happen, that instead of spending your time on, say, construction technology, the day is taken up with problems of local politics, relocation housing, and, now, beautification. And as if this weren't bad enough, you are accused on the one hand of contributing to "urban chaos," destroying neighborhoods, undermining community goals, displacing the poor, defacing the neighborhood, and on the other hand of upsetting the marketing mechanism, neglecting your responsibilities for promoting commerce and the economy, and using highway tax funds for other than strictly transportation purposes. Such is the price of success.

Our Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has long been concerned with highways because of its dominant role in the field of grants-in-aid and its impact on all levels of government. The Commission views the 1962 Highway Act planning provisions as one of the most significant contributions in recent years toward improved intergovernmental relationships in our governmentally fragmented metropolitan areas. But, before turning specifically to the subject of the potentials of the continuing urban transportation planning process, it may be appropriate to briefly describe our Commission and several of its recommendations that are most directly concerned with the implementation of transportation plans.

Public Law 86-380, approved by the President September 24, 1959, provided for the establishment of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, a permanent, bipartisan body of 26 members, to give continuing study to the relationships among local, State, and National levels of government.

The act provides that the Commission will bring together representatives of the Federal, State, and local governments for consideration of common problems; review proposed legislation to determine its overall effect on the Federal system; and encourage discussion and study at an early stage of emerging public problems that are likely to require intergovernmental cooperation.

The composition of the Commission is specified by the act: three private citizens appointed by the President; three members of the U.S. Senate; three members of the U.S. House of Representatives; three officers of the executive branch of the National Government; four Governors; three State legislators; four mayors; and three county officials. The President designates the Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Commission. Our current Commission Governor members, some whom I believe are your bosses, are John Dempsey, of Connecticut, Carl E. Sanders, of Georgia, and Robert E. Smylie, of Idaho.

Among the published reports of the commission to date of possible interest to State highway officials are: "Alternative Approaches to Governmental Reorganization in Metropolitan Areas"; "State Constitutional and Statutory Restrictions Upon the Structural, Functional, and Personnel Powers of Local Government"; "Impact of Federal Urban Development Programs on Local Government Organization and Planning"; "Metropolitan Social and Economic Disparities: Implications for Intergovernmental Relations in Central Cities and Suburbs"; "Relocation: Unequal Treatment of People and Businesses Displaced by Governments"; "Factors Affecting Voter Reactions to Governmental Reorganization in Metropolitan Areas"; and "Performance of Urban Functions: Local and Areawide." These are available on request to our commission.

Legislative recommendations to the States are translated into draft bill form and appear in the commission's State legislative program. A number of these pieces of model State legislation are designed to help achieve the implementation of plans developed under the urban transportation planning process. A listing of such model bills would include State legislation to permit local governments to contract with each other; liberalize State restrictions on local government borrowing and taxing powers; establish charter commissions in metropolitan areas to study proposed changes in local government structure and performance of services; liberalize annexation and extraterritoriality laws; authorize creation of multipurpose metropolitan service corporations; and create a State office of local affairs to be concerned with the effectiveness and general health of local government throughout the State.

Two additional bills that I will describe in some more detail below are of special interest to the American Association of State Highway Officials. These are legislation to establish uniform statewide relocation policy and practices, and to authorize local governments in certain areas to establish and participate in areawide councils of elected officials.

POTENTIALS OF THE PLANNING PROCESS

The continuing comprehensive urban transportation planning process is the most significant and far-reaching intergovernmental planning procedure on the books. As such, it presents the greatest potentialities and opportunities for helping to meet many of the ills of our metropolitan areas. This is so because—

First, it involves local governments in the planning process, as well as the State agency affected in a meaningful way, thus assuring reasonably direct political accountability and citizen participation.

Second, it operates in the broader context of comprehensive planning and as such helps assure that sewer, water, open space, zoning, housing, and highway developments can be made compatible and mutually reenforcing.

Third, it operates across the entire urbanized and urbanizing area, recognizing the economic and social interdependency of the many governments that make up a typical metropolitan area.

Fourth, the required elements of the planning process require that planning be concerned with the development of an improved and balanced transportation system, including public transportation, and take into account the less tangible but increasingly crucial factors of social and community values.

Fifth, the process is directly linked to policymaking and implementation machinery: in most cases the State highway department itself is responsible for following through on agreed upon plans.

Sixth, the Bureau of Public Roads and the State highway departments appear to mean business in the implementation of the planning requirements—unlike too many Federal programs where the responsible agencies either look the other way or treat the process as a paper shuffling operation in the hope that mañana the local governments will shape up.

Seventh, and perhaps, most important, the planning process has great potentialities because the public function being planned—transportation—is the single most important determinant of sound and orderly urban development and redevelopment.

What are the most important potentialities of the continuing transportation planning process? I would like to suggest two:

1. It can help achieve the social and economic objectives of the communities making up the metropolitan area, and improve the quality of the urban environment; and

2. It can strengthen the ability of local governments in metropolitan areas to deal cooperatively with areawide problems that they cannot now solve independently.

POTENTIALS FOR ACHIEVING COMMUNITY SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC VALUES

The highway engineering profession was developed in a climate of opinion that agreed on certain fundamentals, as did my own profession of public administration. The first of these was that efficiency and economy are the prime objectives and, second, that the science of highway construction and the art of politics are separate and distinct. Yet the environment in which highway construction and, indeed, all government activities must operate is changing rapidly, and we are having to face up to the essential and often unpleasant facts of urban life.

Let me quote from a speech made by Paul Ylvisaker of the Ford Foundation before the

International City Managers' Association that speaks to this same point:

"You will object that you were not hired to solve all the problems of the world. The trouble is, the problems of the world are the problems of your urban community. And you were hired not to dodge them but to help solve them."

He notes that, while the city manager tries to limit himself to questions of efficiency and economy, he is more likely to be forced to spend his time on problems of school integration, city hiring practices, and charges of police brutality.

"You will argue that you are being asked to lead a crusade. Quite the contrary. You are being asked to make crusades unnecessary, for crusades usually develop when social inventiveness has failed; and as we should have learned from the original crusades, the legacy of that kind of action is usually generations of darkness and bitterness."

Kenneth Galbraith in "The Affluent Society," and Michael Harrington in "The Other America," two of the more influential books of this decade, have driven home the argument that today many of our problems lie concealed beneath the attractive surface of abundance, wealth, and power. Our Commission studies and the statistics of the Census Bureau paint a disquieting picture for metropolitan areas. Population disparities between central cities and suburbs and among suburban jurisdictions themselves are growing more significant. Governmental structure in our metropolitan areas is growing more complex. The resultant need of services by residents of a community and the ability of the community to provide those services are drifting apart. If governments at all levels do not address themselves through a wide range of approaches to these problems, urban residents are likely to pay more for their governmental services, restrict the market in which they can choose where to live and work, and, in the long run, reap a harvest of tensions on the one hand and stagnation and the spreading of slums on the other.

In the fact of this worsening situation, the record of agreements signed and implemented among local governments and State highway departments to implement the 1962 Highway Act requirement stands as a major achievement.

To its credit, the Bureau of Public Roads has recognized this problem and included social and community value factors as one of its 10 commandments of transportation planning. The initial instructional memorandums on this subject make the point:

"Care should be exercised in selecting locations for new transportation facilities so that neighborhoods are not disrupted. To the maximum extent possible, cutting through school districts, ethnic groups, fire station districts, etc., should be avoided.

"New transportation facilities should be made to blend into the natural landscape, taking advantage of scenic vistas, topography, etc. The location and design of new facilities should be such as to insure a pleasing appearance for the motorist, the pedestrian, and the nearby resident."

Our commission in its relocation report has studied the intergovernmental problems of displacement of people and businesses by governmental activities and has recommended both Federal and State action to achieve more equitable provisions for those displaced. The groups most often displaced are low-income persons, particularly nonwhites, the elderly, and large families. Among business displacees, small businesses owned and operated by the elderly are major displacement casualties.

A model State bill has been prepared under which a displaced person would be entitled to reimbursement for moving costs and assistance in minimizing the hardships caused by relocation by any State or local government activity. The bill would also require that property acquisition proceed only when there is assurance of available standard housing for those displaced. Only seven States now have relocation legislation on the books (other than that provided for federally aided highways in 22 States). Similar legislation has been introduced in Congress to cover all Federal agency programs.

The greatest need of the unemployed, however, is not relocation but jobs. Urban transportation planning must increasingly be linked to local community economic development programs and other efforts to minimize unemployment and poverty. The ability of the new circumferential highways surrounding our metropolitan areas to attract R. & D. "perfume" industries is now well recognized. Comparable attention has not been given to the importance of commercial and industrial facilities to central city residents to provide jobs that require relatively little training. Redevelopment, including highways that can provide sites and service for labor intensive industry, can play a significant role in bringing jobs to the less skilled. Such planning should consider the special needs of the poor in central cities for access to good transportation facilities to expand their opportunities for employment.

But the political articulateness of the low-income groups in our cities is increasing. It the social and economic needs of these residents are not satisfactorily met, there will be an increasing questioning of the relative allocation of tax revenues, always in short supply at the local level; questioning as to whether these funds, earmarked or not, should continue to go for highway construction and maintenance, or whether they might better be put in the school budget for culturally deprived kids, rehabilitation of substandard housing, and larger welfare payments.

A recent study on the social impact of the highway on an urban community reported at the 1964 annual meeting of the Highway Research Board concluded that a better understanding before construction of the potential effects of public works projects on residents of the community can lead to activities to help dispel the fears, immobilize some of the opposition, and contribute to the betterment of the community itself. Building in of such concern for the potential effects of highway projects into the urban transportation planning process will go far toward helping it achieve its potentialities for meeting current urban needs.

Without such planning activities by the highway department and the city, there is the increasing possibility of resentment and hostility. In recent years, urban renewal projects, even more than highways, have felt the backlash, or perhaps it is frontlash, of such criticism. Such hostility can reach the point where public officials, reflecting the views of their constituents, may postpone necessary changes to the detriment of the city's progress.

STRENGTHENING THE ABILITY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS TO MEET METROPOLITAN PROBLEMS

The urban transportation planning process can strengthen the ability of local governments to deal with areawide problems that none can solve independently. Highway officials should do this as a matter of self-interest and public interest and can do it in at least two ways. First, the transportation planning process can help strengthen the comprehensive planning process. Second, responsibility for the planning process can give substance and meaning to an official organization of the elected officials of the area.

Presidential policy, Federal legislation, and administrative regulation recognize the primacy of overall and comprehensive goals for a region and for comprehensive planning as the necessary basis for transportation development decisions. New highways influence decisions on which places will remain open green areas and which will be populated. They set in motion a pattern of movement of people that determines where new schools will be built, utility services will be installed, and whether public facilities will or will not become obsolete. Conversely, as you are well aware, these other urban development activities, especially water and sewerage facility planning, and day-to-day decisions on zoning, budgeting, etc., will affect highway construction costs and determine whether highways built will be overutilized, or otherwise made obsolete. Policies on the density of development whether slum clearance is to be carried on on a major scale, plans for the future of the downtown are all basic to sound transportation planning. The point does not have to be labored.

Yet, the comprehensive planners are nervous. To quote from a publication issued by the American Institute of Planners just last month, entitled "The Role of Metropolitan Planning":

"The 1962 Federal Aid Highway Act calls for cooperation between State highway departments and local communities. Often the latter may already be working together through metropolitan planning agencies. Because of the nature of the highway departments, the planning agency may have to work with superhuman vigor to achieve its proper role in the transportation planning process, an objective strongly supported by the Federal Government."

Comprehensive metropolitan planning agencies are now officially operating in approximately three-fourths of the country's metropolitan areas. The transportation planning process has the potentiality of extending this process to all the metropolitan areas and making it more meaningful and effective. Indeed, we can already point to a number of comprehensive planning agencies that have been strengthened by the 1962 Highway Act provisions. These include, among others, the Southeastern Wisconsin Regional Planning Commission, Twin Cities Metropolitan Planning Commission, and those operating in the Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Nashville, and Birmingham metropolitan areas.

Given its significance, there is a great need for full and continuing information on the nature and form of the transportation planning. At a minimum, yearly inventories should be made by the Bureau of Public Roads or this committee providing information on the organizational machinery for policy and decisionmaking, who is represented, staffing patterns, sources, and amounts of financing relationships to the comprehensive planning agencies and to local governments, the status of plan implementation and methodologies employed. Until this comparative information is available to State highway officials and others, it will be difficult to evaluate the full potentialities and effects of the 1962 Highway Act planning provisions on comprehensive planning and local government participation.

Local governments in metropolitan areas today need help. Each such local government is trying to deal with: (a) rapid and uneven population growth; (b) increasing racial and economic disparties; (c) fragmentation and overlap of governments; (d) uneven allocation of fiscal resources and demands for service among these governments; (e) constitutional and statutory restrictions; and (f) paucity of metropolitan area leadership.

Probably no one but the local governments themselves are wise enough to solve their own problems. But the skills, the facts, the planning tools, the money, the people, the high performance standards, and the authority that the transportation planners and the State highway departments have avail-

able can help them. Both the transportation and comprehensive planning staffs are helping direct attention to aspects of development in which the politician is weakest—orientation to the whole metropolitan area, and focus upon future conditions.

Likewise, the transportation and comprehensive planning staffs need the political legitimacy that local governments in metropolitan areas, properly organized can provide. For the transportation planning process will inevitably be involved in the political process. No plan is politically neutral. Any plan which concerns itself solely with technical and engineering questions and ignores the questions—Who is going to be mad? How mad? Who is going to be glad? How glad?—is headed for trouble. It is here that the political leaders of the governments within the metropolitan areas can play an indispensable role in transportation planning. The members are familiar with local problems and the obstacles to implementing a transportation plan. They can serve as a useful communication link between planners and other local decisionmakers and help break down the isolation or political limbo that any metropolitanwide study must overcome. These politicians are responsible to their local electorate, and often in a position to initiate necessary local planned implementation.

One of the exciting aspects of the transportation planning process is its potentiality for breaking the logjam of intergovernmental action and getting local governments in metropolitan areas to talk to each other about matters of common concern. If one could hazard a prediction, the transportation planning process will serve as a catalyst for the creation of metropolitan councils of governments throughout the country. These are voluntary associations of elected public officials from most or all of the governments of a metropolitan area. The first such council was organized in the Detroit area in 1954. Since then, the number has grown rapidly with councils now operating in such metropolitan areas as New York, San Francisco, Salem (Oreg.), Philadelphia, Seattle, and Washington.

As Mr. Ives of the Housing and Home Finance Agency described yesterday, Congress has just made available two-thirds matching grants to these councils. To qualify for grants:

1. Voting members of the council must be, for the most part, elected officials, but may include representatives from the State government.

2. Members of the council must represent about 90 percent of the aggregate population of the political jurisdictions of the metropolitan area.

3. The council must either (a) be a corporation or an entity otherwise established pursuant to State and local law or interstate compact, or (b) have the membership of each participating jurisdiction authorized by a resolution of the governing body of the jurisdiction.

4. The council must have competent professional, technical, and administrative staff sufficient to carry out the activities proposed for Federal support.

5. The council must be able to assure that the non-Federal funds to match the grant will be provided.

The Congress, in enacting this new legislation, indicated that eligible activities may include studies of legal, governmental, and administrative problems affecting the cooperating jurisdictions, the development of uniform coordinated regulatory measures, the development of interjurisdictional agreements and arrangements for jointly providing public services, and the development of programs, on a unified metropolitan basis where necessary, for providing and operating facilities proposed in comprehensive metropolitan plans. Eligible activities also may include the collection of data and the preparation of plans and programs for land use, transportation, housing, economic development, natural resources development, community facilities, and the general improvement of living environments. Studies may deal with approaches to the control and guidance of metropolitan development and more effective and equitable approaches to the financing of needed public facilities and services.

These councils of elected officials have great potentialities as a logical base for both the continuing transportation planning process and the comprehensive metropolitan planning cooperatively carried on by the State and local governments. How effective the council approach actually will be depends in large part on whether it brings out the full expression of conflicting views, creates an awareness of varying problems and interests among jurisdictions, uses existing Federal, State, and local government machinery to implement council decisions, and develops that crucial but currently missing ingredient of the metropolitan mix—regional leadership.

Our Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has prepared a model State bill authorizing local governments to join together for the specific purpose of operating regional councils of governments. In many metropolitan areas, local governments already have the authority through their joint exercise of power and interlocal contracting authorities to form such councils.

CONCLUSION

Helping achieve better communities and strengthen the ability of local governments in metropolitan areas to control their destinies are some of the major potentialities of the urban transportation planning process.

Or things can go the other way. Transportation planning can be viewed as an end in itself. But we are really past that point. The continuing transportation planning process is well underway. Comprehensive metropolitan and local planning is receiving support at all levels of government. We are growing more sensitive to the links between physical development and social needs. Councils of governments and other tools of intergovernmental cooperation are growing. And, increasingly, we are achieving a national consensus, in the words of the President, on the goal of all our efforts. Our goal, he has emphasized, is not merely better transportation, housing, or recreation, it "is nothing less than to improve the quality of life for every American." Through the transportation planning process that you have gotten underway; through the mutual concern, cooperation, and respect that this process promotes among highway officials, engineers, planners, and elected officials; and through meetings such as this and the Post-Sagamore Conference being planned for Williamsburg in December, this goal of quality can be achieved.

The Field Tradition Continues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, since September 18, 1965, much has been said and written about Marshall Field, Jr., whose untimely death saddened the Nation. I join with the other Members of this body who have already paid tribute to this distinguished editor, publisher, educator, philanthropist, patriot, World War II veteran, husband, and father.

Marshall Field, Jr., was a part-time resident of the 12th Illinois Congressional District, maintaining a home at Lake Forest. His passing represents a loss of a personal friend in addition to the loss of a great citizen which the Nation and the free world has sustained.

I am reminded today of the excellence of the lifetime pursuits of Marshall Field, Jr., as I note that two highly respected newspapermen have been promoted to carry on his plans and policies. Emmet Dedmon was named editor of the Chicago Sun-Times and Larry Fanning was named editor of the Chicago Daily News. During Mr. Field's administration of these two great metropolitan dailies, they worked closely with him and contributed significantly to the growth of their respective journals. The shadow of Marshall Field, Jr., lengthens as the institutions into which he breathed his integrity continue to develop under the able guidance of those whom he chose. That they will carry on his dedicated program, keeping these newspapers in the best traditions of the free press, is not only predictable but assured.

Adlai Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the illustrious and distinguished EUGENE MCCARTHY, U.S. Senator from Minnesota, sent us the following excerpts from "Desiderata," by Max Ehrmann, which was found marked on the late Honorable Adlai Stevenson's bedside table. These excerpts from "Desiderata" typify the philosophy and character of Mr. Stevenson. I commend them to the attention of the Congress and to every American:

(From a marked page found on Mr. Stevenson's bedside table)

Go placidly amid the noise and the haste, and remember what peace there may be in silence. * * * Speak your truth quietly and clearly; and listen to others, even to the dull and the ignorant; they too have their story. * * * If you compare yourself with others, you may become vain or bitter, for always there will be greater and lesser persons than yourself. Enjoy your achievements as well as your plans. Keep interested in your own career, however humble; it is a real possession in the changing fortunes of time. Exercise caution in your business affairs, for the world is full of trickery. But let this not blind you to what virtue there is; many persons strive for high ideals, and everywhere life is full of heroism. Be yourself. Especially do not feign affection. Neither be cynical about love; for in the face of all aridity and disenchantment, it is as perennial as the grass. Take kindly the counsel of the years, gracefully surrendering the things of youth. Nurture strength of spirit to shield you in sudden misfortune. But do not distress yourself with dark imaginings. Many fears are born of fatigue and loneliness. Beyond a wholesome discipline, be

gentle with yourself. You are a child of the universe no less than the trees and the stars; you have a right to be here. And whether or not it is clear to you, no doubt the universe is unfolding as it should.

Federal Funds Sustaining Racial Inequality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the ramifications of the recurrent failure of the administrators of the Federal job training programs to train people for jobs that are available seem to spring up everywhere. I have repeatedly warned that providing training to individuals for jobs that are not in existence does nothing toward alleviating the unemployment problem; indeed it more often exacerbates it for those particular individuals concerned.

Today I insert in the RECORD a very interesting article appearing in the Bangor Daily News on August 20 written by Samuel Lubell which illuminates another unfortunate result of this lack of foresight of the administrators of the current Federal job training programs. In this article Mr. Lubell attributes training of Negroes for outmoded and nonexistent jobs to the continuation of racial inequality in certain parts of the country, and a drag on the entire civil rights movement.

The article follows:

[From the Bangor (Maine) Daily News, Aug. 20, 1965]

BATTLE FOR YOUR MIND: TRAINING OF NEGROES OUT OF STEP WITH WHOLE CIVIL RIGHTS DRIVE

(By Samuel Lubell)

On one trip through Arkansas I stopped to talk to the head of the school board in a small rural town. All of the nearby cotton plantations had been mechanized, cutting their labor needs to a 10th of what they had been before. I wondered what school changes had been made to adjust to the fact that the main source of local employment was gone.

The school board proved to be the local banker, in his vigorous 40's. With some pride he explained:

"A smalltown high school can't hire teachers for every subject. We've bought new teaching machines so our youngsters can get the science and foreign language courses they need to get into college."

When I asked about the schools attended by Negroes, he replied, "They go heavy on vocational agriculture."

This community, which could be so enterprising in meeting the changing needs of its better income elements, was still training Negroes for work that no longer existed.

TRAGIC NEGLECT

That incident points to one of the more tragic neglects in the whole national racial crisis. Through most of the rural South, farmworkers, both Negro and white, have been—and still are being—displaced by tractors and mechanical pickers. Most of the workers have drifted into the cities—in the 1950–60 decade alone, 1,500,000 Negroes migrated from the South to the northern cities—where they have complicated every problem of racial adjustment.

Last spring, while interviewing unemployed workers in 21 northern cities, I found that many of the Negroes in the jobless lines were recent arrivals from the South. They were highschool graduates but, when asked what skills they had been taught often replied "I learned how to farm."

Recently Chicago Superintendent of Schools Benjamin Willis testified before Congress on some of the problems created by this heavy migration into Chicago. Of the elementary school children who were overage and required special handling. Willis estimated that 35 percent had been born in the Deep South and had lived in Chicago less than 5 years.

Up to now the Federal Government, for all its civil rights activities, has seemed virtually helpless before this problem. Government statisticians so ingenious in providing statistics on many varied subjects are unable to estimate what part of our racial problems traces back to the mechanization of Southern agriculture. Federal funds are still being use to finance useless training in farming, not alone in the South but in many parts of the Midwest.

One wonders whether a shift in emphasis is not needed, so that more action is directed at the beginning stages of our difficulties. Most racial troubles move in upon us from the past as part of a seemingly endless chain. The neglects of 5, 10, or 20 years ago hit us today; the neglects of today will hit us 5, 10, 20 years from now—unless we reach down and stop the chain at an early enough point.

Actually the problem is bigger than that of agricultural education alone, or of just Southern schools. It cuts into the whole stormy issue of improving the quality of Negro education, everywhere. Since the Supreme Court's desegregation decision the civil rights movement has concentrated on breaking down school segregation. In recent months, though, some civil rights leaders have begun to argue that the attack should be broadened, beyond integration alone, to finding ways of lifting the quality of Negro education even in segregated schools.

NEED MODERN SKILLS

What is the more important action to be taken in, say, the tobacco-growing areas of Virginia and North Carolina? Right now the displacement of farm labor is still at an early stage—but within 3 to 5 years, as mechanical harvesters are perfected, several hundred thousand farm jobs will be eliminated.

In these areas is it more pressing to gain some degree of integration or to begin training young Negroes in more modern skills in place of vocational agriculture?

Similarly, in all of the larger cities, both in the North and the South, a considerable degree of school segregation is certain to persist for many years, not by law but because of housing patterns. While integration should continue to be pressed, the only realistic choice is to seek improvements in existing ghetto schools.

Resolution No. 146

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent Resolution 146, by the American Legion pertaining to firearms control legislation.

A distinguished group of American patriots, veterans, and citizens joins the legion of right thinking citizenry in opposition to harmful legislation which would deprive our people of the right to legitimately bear arms for lawful sporting purposes.

It would seem that this resolution of opposition, so excellently expressed by thousands of Americans through their individual efforts and through the organizations representing them, would lay to rest the outrageous firearms control legislation, S. 1592, the Dodd bill, and other legislation of like purport now pending before the Congress.

Whereas, for years effort to compel registration of all firearms by the American people has been steadfastly rejected as an inconvenience and unnecessary control, if not curtailment of the right of the people to have and bear arms guaranteed in the Constitution; and

Whereas knowledge that a home is likely to have one or more guns for either sport or protection, which is a deterrent in this period of alarming crime increase: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the American Legion in National Convention assembled in Portland, Oreg., August 24–26, 1965, That it is opposed to legislation that would require Federal registration or control of firearms; and be it further

Resolved, That the American Legion recommend that henceforth those desiring to purchase a concealable firearm be required to obtain a permit from a duly authorized local law enforcement officer."

Efficiency for Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, it goes without saying that if we could just all live by the Golden Rule, we would hardly need so many regulations.

We do live under the law—God's and man's—and because of this, the more efficient we make our own laws, the better.

I call the attention of my colleagues to a recent editorial in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, which praises the administration's reorganization of civil rights programs.

The paper points out that:

Among the major changes is the transfer of the Community Relations Service from the Commerce to the Justice Department where it will become part of the civil rights enforcement program, as it should be.

The editorial, entitled "Efficiency for Rights," follows:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Sept. 29, 1965]

EFFICIENCY FOR RIGHTS

Though the administration's reorganization of civil rights programs can be viewed as a matter of improving efficiency, it also

must be viewed in terms of the huge task ahead.

Among the major changes is the transfer of the Community Relations Service from the Commerce to the Justice Department, where it will become part of the civil rights enforcement program, as it should be. Meanwhile the older Civil Rights Commission will take over the Community Relations Service factfinding work. The Commission has served so well in this field that its findings helped passage of the new civil rights legislation.

These moves are intended to speed the progress of enforcement. President Johnson is admittedly dissatisfied with efforts to speed Negro voter registration under the 1965 Civil Rights Act. Nearly 45,000 Negroes have been registered by Federal examiners, and new voluntary compliance may have added another 60,000 Negroes to the voting lists. This is an achievement, considering the short time involved, but so far Federal registration is in effect in only 19 counties.

As for school integration under the 1964 Civil Rights Act, a new survey shows that only 7.5 percent of the Negro pupils in the South are attending classes with whites. Integration was not quite doubled in 1 year, but the advance was not as much as the administration expected.

What the two most recent civil rights laws started was not a sudden miracle, but a process which will demand close Federal attention for years to come. The reorganized Federal machinery is better prepared for this long haul.

Highway Beautification Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2084) to provide for scenic development and road beautification of the Federal-aid highway systems.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Chairman, I find it very difficult to understand the reasoning which is put before us today by proponents of this legislation to restrict and in many areas completely eliminate highway advertising. Here we are, as a Congress, doing everything to build up industry, keep the economy moving ahead, and to reduce unemployment and yet we are here considering legislation which if passed would strike at the heart of all of our efforts to build up the economy because it actually sounds the deathknell for thousands of small businesses.

My district is an area very much dependent upon the tourist industry and therefore has a special interest in this legislation. One business is particularly illustrative of the effect that this bill would have upon my district, or any other district which is engaged in tourism.

One of the outstanding examples of business success from effective highway advertising is the Wall Drug Store, in Wall, S. Dak. In a town of fewer than 1,000 people, a drug store that would normally employ probably no more than 1 or 2 people has been developed into a thriving enterprise that today employs 122 people during tourist season, in addition to the management, solely because of highway advertising.

For 25 years, Wall Drug has had thousands of highway signs cleverly written, well displayed, causing no traffic hazard whatever, but doing a good, serviceable job of advertising the Wall Drug Store. The result has been that tourists have gone out of their way to go to Wall just to visit Wall Drug.

What are the potential effects of this legislation on a business such as Wall Drug? If this antisign legislation is passed, the business will be finished, and every business in the city of Wall will suffer. When this bill becomes law, it will be impossible for the owners of Wall Drug to advertise their business and for the town to attract the traveling public. But the welfare and employment of those directly concerned with Wall Drug is only part of the total effect of this legislation.

Eighty-seven percent of the business in Wall depends upon the traveling public. Last year alone Wall Drug put over $100,000 of improvements into their business providing winter construction jobs for 18 skilled personnel. Small towns of similar population enjoying business from the traveling public turn in at least twice as much revenue to the State as towns depending solely on farms and ranch revenue. Wall pays between $80,000 and $90,000 a year in sales tax to our State treasurer.

I think the effects of this legislation are quite obvious. It is my considered opinion that the Federal Government should not set up nationwide formula for regulating use of private property adjacent to main highways and call upon the States to conform through a program which either rewards for conformance or penalizes for nonconformance. Local agencies are far more competent to decide what is necessary in line with changes which occur in connection with economic development and growth in the area. Change occurs too rapidly for the Federal Government authorities to keep pace with those in each and every locale across the country.

Further, Federal control of advertising or any other industry or business in the various States and municipalities is completely contrary to the basic philosophy of our form of government. The States have the right to regulate themselves.

Outdoor advertising promotes commerce, creating business for both large and small communities. If it did not, advertising through this media would not account for $200 million spent annually.

The tragedy of the bill is that it runs counter to our every effort to support and aid new businesses. It means businesses will have to close if highway advertising even out in these great open expanses of the West, is curtailed.

This is the great difficulty of making one law to apply to the teeming cities and to the great outdoor expanses. Out on the prairie there is little that the tourist sees crossing the country. Does it do any harm to have a sign saying "598 miles to Wall Drug," and another 5 miles away saying "593 miles to Wall Drug"? Does it do any harm to tell that traveling public that they can get free ice water or other comforts at Wall Drug?

Mr. Chairman, this is only one example. There are many others in my district which face ruination under this blanket legislation, and thousands across the Nation who will be put out of business meaning many thousands of employees who will be thrown onto relief. How do you build up a Nation this way?

In conclusion, may I say that the purpose of the highway trust fund is to assist the States in building adequate highways, and no State should be deprived of this assistance so necessary to provide a complete nationwide system for commerce and defense needs, by reason of not being able to qualify as a member in good standing of an extraneous program. The highway users of all the States furnish the funds for the trust fund, and they should not be denied participation in any portion of the highway program because they are not able to support another program which is not concerned with highway construction.

Pulaski Day, October 11, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES M. HANLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, on October 11, 1779, 186 years ago, Count Casimir Pulaski of Poland died defending America—his adopted native land.

This Polish aristocrat throughout his short life of 31 years, was devoted to the calvary branch of the armed services. From his birth to his death, he was dedicated to the cause of freedom and the cavalry.

During his childhood, Pulaski observed the group of men who defended his father's Polish estate from invading forces of Turkey and Austria. As a young man, he became interested in the efforts of Charles, son of the Polish king, to retain the province of Courtland. In 1768, he joined the Confederation of Bar, a group composed of Polish noblemen dedicated to the redemption of Poland. Leading this group, Pulaski vigorously traversed Poland performing heroic feats. He further carried the revolt into Lithuania. From the mountains of Galicia in the winter of 1769–70, he earned a reputation as a terror to the Russians. Unfortunately his efforts to obtain funds from France and Turkey for the Confederation of Bar failed and he was forced to leave the country of his birth. He escaped into Paris, France.

It was during his stay in Paris that he met Benjamin Franklin. Having read of America's struggle for freedom, Count Pulaski was most anxious to come to America to join the American troops. Subsequently, Mr. Franklin wrote a letter of introduction to George Washington in Pulaski's behalf stating his own high regard of the count.

Upon Count Pulaski's arrival in America, he was introduced to George Wash-

ington by Lafayette. General Washington was very much impressed by Count Pulaski's charm and heroic background in defense of his country's liberty against Russia, Austria and Prussia. Washington strongly recommended to the Congress that Pulaski be commissioned an American Brigadier General.

After Congress concurred with Washington's recommendaiton, Pulaski distinguished himself in the American Revolution. In September of 1777, he volunteered in the battle of Brandywine. He served with great distinction in this encounter. Although Pulaski often erred and was in part responsible for several military disasters, Congress, supported by Washington, permitted him to organize an independent corps of cavalry to be established in Baltimore, Md.

This cavalry was to protect the American supplies at Egg Harbor, N.J. However, on October 15, the British slashed this legion at Egg Harbor. Pulaski then commanded the cavalry during the winter of 1777 at Trenton and later scouted for supplies for our famishing troops at Valley Forge. Indian massacres that followed in Cherry Valley resulted in Pulaski's orders to report for Minisink on the Delaware River. It was in the idle town of Minisink that the vigorous Count became restless for action as most energetic leaders do. He wished to return to Poland.

On February 2, 1779, 3 months later, he joined Gen. Benjamin Lincoln in South Carolina. Arriving in Charlestown on May 8, he was confronted with the approach of General Provost northward from Savannah. He rushed to aid on the defense but was decisively repelled.

During this summer, Pulaski had high hopes for victory. He now felt he could do for America what he had sought. He had devoted soldiers and an abundance of work. Furthermore, it was reported that finally Congress was to resolve to grant his requests.

Pulaski again joined General Lincoln as he prepared with a French fleet to attack Savannah. On October 9, Pulaski, heading his cavalry, charged into the enemy lines at Savannah. During his gallant charge, he was mortally wounded. Two days later aboard the ship *Wasp*, he died. The surgeons had been unsuccessful in removing the fatal bullet.

Today we commemorate Count Casimir Pulaski whose selfless devotion has become a symbol of liberty. Indeed, he was a man of honor and integrity.

Our First Lady, Mrs. Johnson, Has Earned the Gratitude of the Country

SPEECH

OF

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2084) to provide for scenic development and road beautification of the Federal-aid highway systems.

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Chairman, the passage of S. 2084, the Highway Beautification Act of 1965, by this House early this morning was a victory for those who seek to preserve the natural beauty of our country.

It was a legislative triumph for the Congress and a reflection of our support of the "Keep America Beautiful" program to which our First Lady, Mrs. Johnson, has devoted her time and energies. She is to be commended for the leadership which she has displayed in this program to retain the natural beauties of our country. She has earned the gratitude of the entire Nation, for the passage of S. 2084 was a triumph for the Nation.

Two Able Public Servants Rewarded by President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the President has emphasized on several occasions that the chief criterion for his top appointments is ability. Nothing demonstrates his sincerity better than the recent appointment of Postmaster General Gronouski as Ambassador to Poland and the elevation of Larry O'Brien to Postmaster General.

Both are able men. Both were appointed by President Kennedy. They served him with competence, and they continued that valuable service under President Johnson. The President looked to them when he had important positions of responsibility to fill.

This point is incisively made in the August 31 Nashville Tennessean, and I ask consent to insert this editorial in the RECORD at this time.

The editorial follows:

[From the Nashville Tennessean, Aug. 31, 1965]

TWO ABLE PUBLIC SERVANTS REWARDED BY PRESIDENT

President Johnson selected wisely when he named John Gronouski the new Ambassador to Poland and placed Mr. Lawrence O'Brien in the Cabinet as Postmaster General, succeeding Mr. Gronouski.

These nominations by Mr. Johnson are far more than political rewards to political friends. Both Mr. Gronouski and Mr. O'Brien are able men. They come from different sections of the Nation—even as their ancestors came to America from different parts of the world—and they come from different backgrounds. But each in his own way represents the very best that the American political system can develop and offer in the way of public servants.

Mr. Gronouski—actually it is Dr. Gronouski, by virtue of a Ph. D. earned at the University of Wisconsin—is an intellectual who was a college professor before he entered Government service at the State level. President Kennedy picked him to be Postmaster General—the last Cabinet appointment he made before his assassination.

As Postmaster General he was a candid critic of the bureaucracy in his department, once commenting that he was surprised that he ever got a letter mailed to him. He worked to shake his department out of its lethargy—and to some degree he was successful.

His name, his candor, and his strong will will make him an effective voice for his nation in the country from which his grandfather immigrated to America.

Mr. O'Brien's life has always been involved in the world of politics and public relations. As a child he worked with his father, an Irish hotelkeeper in Boston, in ward politics. In 1950 Mr. O'Brien saw a flash of great promise in a young Congressman from Massachusetts. He selected Mr. Kennedy and dedicated all his efforts to helping make him the President. He was with Mr. Kennedy all the way—even to the end at Dallas.

After President Kennedy was elected in 1960 Mr. O'Brien reportedly had hoped he would be Postmaster General. But the President needed his talents elsewhere—in the area of legislation. And so Mr. O'Brien went to work on the White House staff, striving to push through a sometimes stubborn Congress, the New Frontier program.

He worked diligently—even courageously. His job was never easy. Much of the program came into law after Mr. Kennedy's death.

President Johnson—who has a telling way with Congress—graciously paid great tribute to Mr. O'Brien for his work in getting the Kennedy-Johnson legislative program enacted.

Neither of the two new appointees was originally a "Johnson man." Neither came to Washington to serve the man from Texas. But when Mr. Johnson came to the White House both demonstrated loyalty to his administration. They put their best talents to work to help make Mr. Johnson's Presidency a success.

There is every reason to believe that both would have continued to serve in their jobs—or would have vacated their jobs if Mr. Johnson had desired it. The President has promoted them. And even the most severe critics of the administrations will be hard pressed to find fault with these appointments which show politics to be, not a dirty business but a most worthwhile business because it offers able men the opportunity to give high service to their country.

Ban Aid and Other Benefits to Nations Doing Business-as-Usual With North Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, it was just a week ago that the House of Representatives considered the conference report on the 1966 foreign aid appropriations bill. You will recall at the time I offered a motion to recommit the bill to conference with instructions that the House insist on its strong language prohibiting the giving of aid to any nation which engages in the shipment of strategic materials to North Vietnam. It was disappointing to me to see this motion defeated by the narrow margin of only 10 votes.

In reading the committee report on H.R. 11135, Sugar Act Amendments of

1965, which soon will be debated in the House, I note that a similar amendment relating to the assignment of sugar quotas to those nations who trade or ship goods to North Vietnam was offered by my colleague, the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. DOLE]. It was rejected by the committee on the grounds that the bill already contained language which would take care of such situations.

The bill leaves to the discretion of the President the withholding or suspension of sugar quotas and similarly the foreign aid appropriations bill contained language delegating the President discretionary authority to withhold foreign aid money.

While I do not question the President's judgment, I strongly feel that the Congress, which holds the constitutional power over the pursestrings, should be clearly on record in opposition to giving foreign aid or other economic benefits to those nations who continue business as usual with the Communists of North Vietnam.

American servicemen are each day risking their lives in behalf of freedom in southeast Asia. The casualty lists are growing. The very least we can do for our military forces in Vietnam is demonstrate our confidence and support for them by meaningful legislative actions relating to the American commitment to South Vietnam.

How can we explain a 10-vote rejection of a ban on aid to nations doing business with North Vietnam to the wounded men or the survivors of the 1st Infantry Division squad which recently suffered the loss of all its members on a patrol in the combat zone?

How can we explain the refusal of the Congress to write strong prohibitions into sugar legislation to the parents, wives, and children of the more than 130,000 Americans now in Vietnam?

Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news dispatch published in the Wichita, Kans., Beacon on October 5, 1965, which certainly illustrates the nature and seriousness of the war in which America is involved:

CONG WIPE OUT KANSAS UNIT

SAIGON.—The famed 1st Infantry Division from Fort Riley, Kans., lost every member of a squad on patrol in the jungle 15 miles northeast of Saigon today, a military spokesman reported.

All members of the patrol were killed or wounded by Vietcong guerrillas. A squad usually has about 12 members.

The "Big Red One" also was in action today in infamous zone D, 30 miles north of Saigon.

A dispatch from Phuoc Vinh village said a major force of the 1st Division was carrying out a 3-day sweep of the zone but so far had had only light contact with the enemy. The Americans suffered a few minor fragment wounds.

Two Vietcong battalions (up to 1,200 men) were reported in the area.

In air action, two American planes were lost, and one pilot was presumably killed. One of the planes was hit by ground fire during a raid over North Vietnam. The other crashed in South Vietnam for unknown reasons.

B-52 bombers from Guam blasted "war zone C" again today in a predawn raid aimed at crushing tunnel headquarters of the Vietcong 70 miles northwest of Saigon.

Farther north, in the Qui Nhon area, guerrilla forces were reported using children as shields against American air raids, then shooting the children. The atrocity was witnessed by Maj. B. H. Mann, a Marine Corps helicopter pilot.

The ambushed patrol of the U.S. Army's 1st Infantry Division was attacked as it was returning from a nighttime search-and-kill mission in the Bien Hoa area shortly before sunrise. Another American patrol in the area heard the sound of battle and tried to work its way through jungle to help repulse the guerrillas.

But the Vietcong had fled by the time the patrol arrived. American casualties were described as "heavy." Two Vietcong bodies were found.

Mann said he saw 18 people getting into a boat at the water's edge. As it started across the river, Mann said he saw children in the group and radioed the air controller not to order strafing runs on the boat.

"The men sat in the boat and held the children as two persons poled the boat," Mann said. "As they approached the other shore, the men stood up and threw the children into the water and ran ashore.

"As soon as the men had cleared the area, persons on the peninsula opened fire on the children. Several were hit and at least one appeared to be dead.

"I circled to investigate the firing and the Vietcong opened fire at me and hit the fuel tank, forcing me to make an emergency landing."

At Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, Premier Nguyen Cao Ky, of South Vietnam, said Communists are "gradually losing what popular support they had" in his country.

He said recent estimates of refugees from Communist zones and defectors from Vietcong ranks have proven this.

His government, Ky said, "has begun to create hope" and the South Vietnamese people are "now beginning to think of certain victory."

U.S. military officials said American military personnel in South Vietnam totaled 131,700 as of September 30. They said this included 75,600 Army, 5,830 Navy, 36,900 Marines, 13,100 Air Force, and 270 Coast Guard.

There has been speculation here continuing buildup of American strength may go as high as 200,000 men by year's end.

The Real Alabama—Part LXXIII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, Alabama's forest products industry is awakening the respectful attention of the Nation. With the help of extensive research and the energy and immagination of Alabama's people, the industry is expanding until now it is the State's second largest dollar producer.

I include in my remarks an article summarizing that expansion:

Based on dollar value of products, forest products is the second largest industry in Alabama, now bring jobs to more than 100,000 people in the State.

Approximately half the $406 million of new and expanded industry announced in the State last year, including pulp and papermills, was in the forest-related industry.

There are about 550 sawmills active in the State, cutting timber for use in the lumber industry, for home building and general construction. In 1962 alone, the State's sawlog harvest exceeded a billion board feet.

A new and highly profitable market has been created for plant residues, formerly considered simple waste. More than 120 sawmills in the State now convert slabs and edgings, mostly pine, into high-quality chips for sale to pulpmills. One in every six cords of pine pulpwood produced in Alabama now comes from chips.

Now standing at 34 but on the rise, veneer plants in Alabama draw the greater part of their raw material from hardwood. Most of that, in turn, is used for containers of various kinds. Veneer log production has gone beyond 1 million board feet and a sizable portion of that has been shipped outside the State. Gums and yellow poplar are the leading species.

As the top-ranking producer of pine poles and piling in the South, this phase of the industry offers residual benefits to other enterprises. In recent years, pines cut for this purpose have soared to the 850,000 level, about half of which are shipped to wood-preserving plants for treatment. There are 25 of those plants operating today.

One of the most exciting newcomers to the forest products industry is the bright future predicted for plywood made from Southern pine. Much research has been done in this field, and a strong and payroll-producing breakthrough is near. Scotch Lumber, a veteran enterprise on the Alabama scene, has already stepped out front with a $1 million facility in southwest Alabama.

Fortunately, expanding forest management practices have assured continued abundance of the green gold that blankets the State.

Uganda Celebrates 3 Years' Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow will mark 3 years of independence for the people of Uganda. Although they are still a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, Uganda was granted full internal self-government on March 1, 1962, and became independent on October 9, 1962.

The economy of Uganda is still heavily dependent upon exporting agricultural products, but increased attention is being given to exploiting sources of outside assistance. A step in this direction was the award of a loan by the World Bank for electricity development. A 5-year development plan, based largely on the recommendations made by the Bank, was started in 1962.

The United States is encouraging the Government of Uganda in a program to increase agricultural production and to make use of the limited mineral resources of the country. We also have an AID program providing educational assistance.

Mr. Speaker, on this occasion, I want to extend my congratulations and best wishes to the people of Uganda; to their President, Sir Edward Frederick Mutesa II; and to their Ambassador to the United States, Dr. Solomon Bayo Asea.

John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, a Member has recently introduced legislation to change the site of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts from the Potomac River location chosen by the National Capital Planning Commission and approved by Congress.

This legislation has stimulated a little flutter of statements by opponents of the Potomac site which are in many instances factually incorrect and extremely misleading.

Regrettably, some of those most interested in the provision of facilities for the performing arts could be misled and disturbed by rumors and distortions.

DELAY COULD BE FATAL

At a time when all the land needed for the Center has been acquired on the river site, when the site has been long since formally dedicated, when demolition has begun, when the plans for the building are practically complete, and when the general construction contract is soon to be awarded, I am simply at a loss to understand how a question of relocating the Kennedy Center now could be raised or seriously considered.

The only conceivable result of again raising the long-settled question at this late date would be confusing and hard feelings, where none should exist. The Member who has raised the question has been heard before the Public Works Committee, of which I am a member, and before the Appropriations Committee. Almost 2 years ago, the Public Works Committee considered this matter in detail and reaffirmed its earlier decision in favor of the present site.

The Member who continues to oppose the Cultural Center locaton has been heard on the floor of the House, fully and repeatedly, on this question. His testimony before the Appropriations Committee indicates some concern with protecting the Watergate Inn. This property has now been condemned and is owned by the U.S. Government. Regardless of the basis of the member's position, he has made it clear on several occasions, and it has been fully and amply considered.

And this position has been rejected repeatedly. How often can a Member wish reconsideration of an action of this House? The site has been before the Congress on four occasions, the most recent last year, since it was originally accepted on the recommendation of the National Capital Planning Commission. It has been approved by three Presidents. It was dedicated by President Johnson on December 2, 1964, in a moving speech which called the location "most beautiful." This speech was inserted into the RECORD last week by my distinguished colleague on the Board of Trustees, Senator SALTONSTALL.

I am reminded of a poem which I read many years ago. I'm not certain of the author, though it could have been Kipling. It is, I think, apropo:

They peck out, dissect, and extrude to the mind
The flaccid tissues of long dead issues,
Offensive to God and mankind,
Like vultures over an ox
That the army has left behind.

If the Center is built, without delay, where it is presently planned, we know that it will be a reality. If it is subjected to delays and reconsiderations, we have no way of knowing that it will ever be built. We have been too long a deprived capital city, in comparison with the great capitals of the world, with respect to adequate facilities for the performing arts. The Congress recognized this fact when it authorized the Center. Further delay would be not only ridiculous but indefensible.

For example, very soon the Royal Danish Ballet is to perform in the Coliseum, which experts say is perhaps as poorly suited for ballet as a place could be. But more delay is asked, to select another site, to redesign the building, to acquire more land, to raise more money. In short, we are being asked to retrace the steps taken for the last 7 years which finally have brought us within sight of the goal.

If another site were chosen, what then? After land had been acquired, a building designed, funds raised, and ground broken, suppose another site then might be proposed. We would be asked to change again, to reconsider.

If we did not proceed with present plans, it would be most doubtful that the Nation's memorial to President Kennedy would ever be built in the form of a center for performing arts. Delay after delay would kill the project, if it were not studied to death under the pretext of selecting another site.

Can the Center's critics ever be permanently satisfied, or would the Congress be perpetually reconsidering? Just as we never can expect unanimity on any site, we never can expect unanimity on the architectural design. The people legally charged with the responsibility have to make a decision and then stick with that decision, just as in any undertaking under the sun that ever finds fruition in reality.

DESIGN CRITICISMS

A group of architects has criticized Edward D. Stone's design for the Kennedy Center. We remember the anguished cries from some of that fraternity when we extended the East Front of the Capitol when we built the new Senate Office Building, when we constructed the Rayburn Building. If we had stopped each time some self-styled and self-appointed critic had disagreed, nothing would have been accomplished in the past decade.

Are these critics the same ones who proposed to surround the historic Octogon House with a modern office building? Do they feel that the Potomac will be made more beautiful by the massive apartment houses of Watergate Town than by the Kennedy Center? What assurance do we have that they could do better in the redesigning that would be necessitated by a change of location? We have no such assurance, nor do we have any reason to believe that a new design would not be then bombarded by still other architects and critics, and that the same bickering would not be repeated. In fact, we have ample reason to believe that precisely this would happen, ad infinitum and ad nauseum.

Truly, I believe that, if our modern architectural critics had been present when Moses came down from Mount Sinai with the sacred tablets of stone, they would have found something in them to criticize. Indeed, they might have demanded that they be redone.

I have been privileged to serve as one of the trustees of the Center, a member of the board that selected Edward D. Stone as architect and approved his design. Critics, apart from their esthetic taste, have argued that the building does not furnish enough facilities. In actuality, the Center will ingeniously and artistically furnish under one roof, a variety of facilities: for grand operat, musical comedy, ballet, for musical performances from the full symphony to the solo recital, for plays, motion pictures, and even for small experimental production uses.

ACCESSIBILITY

Opponents argue that the Center will be inaccessible. My recollection as a trustee was that the plans for the Center provided more than adequate access to the river site. My recollection is completely verified by information furnished by the National Capital Planning Commission. I am informed that the question of accessibility of the Kennedy Center was among the issues considered by the special task force appointed by the NCPC and by the Commission itself.

Disregarding the catchiness of the slogan which had been used to characterize the road network to the south and east of the Center, the task force, the Federal Projects Committee of NCPC which was chaired by the distinguished architect, Paul Thiry, and the NCPC itself found that the Center had adequate vehicular and pedestrian accessibility. Where the task force had criticisms of the original design, the plans were changed to accommodate design to the criticisms, with the following results:

At the north end of the building, the garage exits will be used also as entrances making it possible to enter the garage directly from New Hampshire Avenue, thereby eliminating the need for all traffic to cross the Plaza. This makes the Plaza a more attractive place for the discharge of patrons at the building entrances.

Also at the north end of the building it is possible to make an entrance to the lower level of the garage directly off Rock Creek and Potomac Parkway. Such an entrance is directly complementary to the exit which is provided there. Traffic destined to the Center from the north via the parkway can make a direct entrance into the Center.

At the south end of the garage it is possible to enter directly from the parkway. This entrance is also operated as an exit, thereby giving direct access out

of the garage into the parkway for such routes as Arlington Memorial Bridge and Constitution Avenue. The maximum access to and from the parkway is provided since the Kennedy Center is a facility located in the park on park land, served directly by the parkway road system.

Vehicular access is also provided from the Inner Loop by ramps, and an entrance for official parties is provided which will cause no interruption of traffic at other entrances. By this design the road network which serves the Center is turned to positive advantage rather than being a disadvantage, providing for 12 lanes of ingress and egress.

Because the Inner Loop is designed to connect with various freeway "legs," two interstate highways, the Anacostia Freeway, both George Washington Memorial Parkways, and via these routes to the Capital Beltway, speedy automobile access to the Center site is provided to all parts of the metropolitan area. The river site takes advantage of the comprehensive highway planning for the area in a way which would be completely lost in a Pennsylvania Avenue site, where access would be impeded by a welter of grid plat streets and a barrier of traffic lights in all directions.

For passengers who arrive by bus, a 700-foot covered unloading area is provided at the plaza entrance. It is not unreasonable to predict that the generation of demand for bus transportation by the Center will result in fully adequate bus routes to it. D.C. Transit has always been most willing to service profitable areas, by regular routes, special bus service, and by minibus, as required.

The location of a subway stop in the vicinity of the Center has not been as precisely determined as have the location of stops in the downtown area. While subway service to the Center will not be available for 2 or 3 years after the completion of the Center under present plans, there is no reason to believe that planning of the subway will ignore an important facility such as the Center. Rather, it is to be expected that subway design will take due consideration of its relation to the Center, regardless of the location of the Center.

PEDESTRIAN ACCESS

Pedestrian access to the Center will be superior to pedestrian access to the unimproved Center site as regards safety, and almost all existing pedestrian routes will be preserved. Pedestrian safety will be increased and routes which presently do not exist will be opened up by the construction of pedestrian overpasses.

Apart from pedestrians coming directly from the Watergate Town and directly to the Plaza along New Hampshire Avenue, it is not really known whether pedestrian attendance at performances will be truly significant in numbers. Nevertheless, ample pedestrian walks are provided from other routes in anticipation of daytime tourist visits. Pedestrian access from all quarters is both more direct and vastly more safe than pedestrian access to the Jefferson Memorial or the Lincoln Memorial.

My conclusion is that the Potomac site is more accessible to most of the District of Columbia and to suburban Maryland and Virginia than would be the location which has been proposed on Pennsylvania Avenue. The task force also did a complete analysis of unloading from all types of vehicles: private cars, taxis, and buses, and concluded that unloading capacity is more than adequate to serve the peak demand.

LOCATION AND PRICES

Mr. Speaker, there has also been a considerable amount of nonsense in the press about the prospective price of performances at the Kennedy Center. Let me say first of all that there is no relation whatsoever between the site of the Center and the price of performances. Senator CLARK has demonstrated that the cost of the proposed Pennsylvania Avenue site would be considerably greater than building on the river site. This would lead to the conclusion that prices would have to be higher on Pennsylvania Avenue than on the river, as a simple matter of economics.

I know as a trustee that there has been consideration of the use of Center facilities by the Smithsonian Institution of educational and public service programs. Such programs would undoubtedly be free. The program committee, chaired by Mr. Arthur Schlesinger, has fully in mind the obligation to make programs available at moderate prices or free.

For example, the Kennedy Center and the Lincoln Center recently sponsored an International University Choral Festival at the National Cathedral, and at least half the audience only paid $2. The National Opera Company, a joint venture of the Kennedy Center and the Metropolitan Opera, will play in large cities and small towns and on college campuses during the coming year, at moderate prices which will result in a deficit in many places. This deficit will be absorbed to make this public service available.

Mr. Speaker, we have been very fortunate that the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Kennedy Center, Mr. Roger Stevens, is one of the most experienced and knowledgeable men in the country on all phases of the performing arts. He has made it clear on many occasions that the facilities at the Center will be the finest in this country for both the artist and the audience and the presentations will not be made at Broadway prices.

We have in mind an endowment program to help students, children, veterans, and the handicapped.

People who are ignorant of the plans of the Kennedy Center to live up to its obligation, required by law, to foster and encourage the performing arts, are in no position to criticize these plans. Still less is it possible to relate the location to a program which is still in the process of formulation.

Mr. Speaker, not only is there no substance in the arguments advanced against the river site. When they are dissipated like the morning fog they resemble, we are left with the hard, practical, crystal-clear facts that the river site is the best site available, that it is the site which has been chosen, and that it is the site upon which the Center is being built now.

This was the conclusion of WTOP radio and television in an editorial broadcast on September 26 and 27.

NEW CULTURAL CENTER

There's something about Washington for almost everyone to dislike, and still it's an inspiring and wonderful city. The Treasury Building sits where it does in interruption of the White House-to-Capital vista because an irritated, temper-ridden President Andrew Jackson tired of argument and said put it there.

The Pentagon has been reviled as an architectural monstrosity, and lately the third House Office Building has been lumped into the same category. But they serve their purposes somehow and for every target, of course, there is a defender. We would like to step into that role with respect to the new cultural center.

This outstanding prospective memorial to the late President Kennedy's intense interest in the arts is to be built beside the Potomac near the Theodore Roosevelt Bridge. Critics of the plan with considerable reason have called attention to shortcomings in the site—away from the center of town, cramped for potential parking space, unsuitable as a terminal point for auto travel, and too far from anywhere to walk. The critics, their ranks newly enlarged by an informal group of close to four-score distinguished Washingtonians, would like the project delayed, restudied, and presumably moved in whole or in pieces to the central city to enhance the Pennsylvania area and downtown redevelopment plans. Somthing might be gained from this, but something far more, we believe, would be lost. What would be lost in our judgment, would be the cultural center itself.

It's hard to believe that trying to push the project through Congress now in some other form could meet with any immediate success. Such an effort might result in scrapping the whole thing. Faults now forseen can be resolved at least in part. We have the money, we have the site, we have the go-ahead. The thing to do now is build it and enjoy it—as one more new contribution to an inspiring and wonderful city.

This was a WTOP editorial, Frank Wilson speaking for WTOP.

Soil Conservation Society of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, at its annual convention, held in Philadelphia August 22–25, the Soil Conservation Society of America bestowed its highest honor on a distinguished Tennessean when it awarded the degree of fellow to Joseph Ralph Sasser, of Tennessee. This degree was given in "recognition of his exceptionally outstanding achievement and leadership in the field of soil and water conservation." The Soil Conservation Society of America was founded by the late Dr. Hugh Hammond Bennett, who is known as the father of soil conservation in America.

This society's membership is made up of dedicated professional conservation-

ists in America and throughout the free world. Within the ranks of this notable society are many of the world's recognized leaders in the conservation of our natural resources. We all owe a great debt of gratitude to this society for its noble work and its professional excellence in promoting the science and art of good land use.

To be singled out by one's peers for exceptional achievement, and public recognized by an award that is international in scope, is indeed a high honor. In Tennessee we are all proud of Ralph Sasser. This award did not come as a complete surprise to us for we have long known of his devotion to duty and the continuous excellent leadership he has given, over the years, to the soil conservation work in our State. He has served as State conservationist for the Soil Conservation Service in Tennessee since 1952. He rose from the lowest field rank in this agency to its highest position in the State.

He served valiantly in the U.S. Marine Corps in the famed 1st Marine Division in the Pacific during World War II. He returned after the war and moved up the professional ladder through energetic actions, diligence, and devotion to enlightened public service in the field of natural resources conservation and development. He is an exceedingly able public service career administrator and leads a highly competent, industrious corps of professional conservationists in the Soil Conservation Service in Tennessee.

Ralph Sasser is a native of Tipton County, Tenn., a county located in the Eighth Congressional District, which I have the honor to represent in Congress.

I first met Ralph Sasser in 1940 when he became the first SCS work unit conservationist in the Reelfoot Creek Soil Conservation District in my home county of Obion. I have followed his career in the public service with a great deal of interest and it is extremely pleasing to me, personally, that he has received this honor.

I am happy to list here the official citation of the Soil Conservation Society of America in supporting its decision to bestow upon Joseph Ralph Sasser the degree of fellow at its convention recently held in Philadelphia, Pa.:

Joseph R. Sasser, Nashville, Tenn., State conservationist, Soil Conservation Service. A graduate of the University of Tennessee with a B.S. degree in agriculture, Sasser taught vocational agriculture briefly before joining the Soil Conservation Service in 1935. He received a Littauer Foundation Fellowship for graduate study at Harvard University and that institution conferred upon him a master's degree in public administration. He served as assistant State conservationist in Florida before accepting his present assignment in 1959. A leader in the rural development program in Tennessee, he served as a consultant to the Tennessee Legislative Committee in drafting the Tennessee Watershed Act and in creating the Tennessee Water Resources Division. In 1958, he received a President's citation for his service as chairman of the annual meeting program committee of the Soil Conservation Society of America. He is a member of the editorial board of the Journal of Soil and Water Conservation.

Cooperation Along the Colorado

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to draw attention to a very significant development in the national water crisis which has caused so much concern to so many Members of this body. I refer to the tremendous efforts being exerted by representatives of the Colorado River Basin States to bring about a seven-State agreement on a common solution to their water problems.

The consensus agreement recently drafted by the Colorado River Basin States representatives has been endorsed by the Colorado River Board of California. We are hopeful that all the other States involved will take similar action and thus give concrete form to the first basin cooperation in more than 40 years.

I place in the RECORD at this time the text of the statements signifying California's support of the agreement, as well as a Los Angeles Times editorial, of September 29, 1965, saluting the accord:

RESOLUTION OF COLORADO RIVER BOARD OF CALIFORNIA, SEPTEMBER 23, 1965

The Colorado River Board of California has considered the draft of a bill "to authorize the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Colorado River Basin project," dated September 20, 1965. This has been drafted by representatives of the upper and lower basin States.

The bill incorporates the features of legislation previously recommended by the Colorado River Board and introduced by the California and Arizona delegations. These include the authorization of the Central Arizona project, but subject to priorities to protect existing projects in California to the extent of 4.4 million acre-feet annually until at least 2.5 million acre-feet annually is imported into Colorado. This is the additional water required to prevent shortages in the 7.5 million acre-feet which the Supreme Court apportioned among Arizona, California, and Nevada. The bill instructs the Secretary to investigate sources from which this and additional quantities of water can be imported into the Colorado to meet the expected shortages in both the upper and lower basins. It tells him to do so from areas for surplus from which the water can be imported without injury to any area of origin. The bill properly treats the Mexican Water Treaty as a national obligation and relieves both the upper and lower basin from that burden and from the cost of importing water to make good the shortage which the treaty occasions. It creates a development fund, from power revenues, to help finance importations.

The compromise bill adds certain other features not contained in the earlier bills. It directs the Secretary to devise adequate criteria for operation of the reservoirs at Hoover Dam and at Glen Canyon Dam, in order to minimize causes of friction between the upper and lower basin. It authorizes the construction of certain new projects in the upper basin, but makes this authorization, in most cases, conditional on the Secretary's making a finding of their feasibility. This includes the necessity of a finding of an adequate supply for these new projects. The compromise bill strengthens the protection of areas of origin. This benefits California as a potential area of origin, as well as the Columbia Basin States.

The bill in all these provisions thus recognizes that the full development of both the upper and lower basins is dependent upon the importation of large quantities of water, but that this must be done under conditions that are completely equitable to the States from which that water is imported. The compromise bill aliens the whole Colorado River Basin in support of a regional plan for the benefit of the entire basin.

California has been represented in these negotiations in a fine spirit of harmony by men speaking for Governor Brown, Attorney General Lynch, and the Colorado River Board.

The Colorado River Board of California recommends to Governor Brown that he advise the other Colorado River Basin States that California will join them in endorsement of the principles of the compromise bill and press for its enactment.

STATEMENT BY NORTHCUTT ELY, SPECIAL ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL AND SPECIAL COUNSEL TO THE COLORADO RIVER BOARD OF CALIFORNIA

On Wednesday of this week I had the pleasure of reporting to Governor Brown and Attorney General Lynch, and on Thursday to the Colorado River Board, that we had succeeded in negotiating an agreement between the Upper and Lower Colorado River Basin States. The Colorado River Board of California and Attorney General Lynch have recommended it to Governor Brown. I am confident that it meets his views. Today the boards in the States of Arizona and Colorado which deal with Colorado River waters are meeting to take action. Other States will act later.

The agreement takes the form of congressional legislation, to be sponsored by the seven States of the basin. It is summarized in the board's resolution.

The agreement is significant to California for three major reasons.

First, it is significant because of its terms, in which both the upper and lower basins now recognize the principle for which we contended in the Supreme Court, but which the Court referred to Congress for decision—the principle that the water supplies of California's existing projects are to have a priority against the central Arizona project until enough water is imported to assure against any danger of shortage in the waters which the Court apportioned. Seven States can now unite to make a drive for importation of enough water into the Colorado to assure all of them against a common danger.

Second, it is significant because the upper and lower States have been able to agree on a basinwide water plan for the first time in 43 years of controversy since they signed the Colorado River Compact.

Third, and far from least, the bill unites California. Governor Brown, Attorney General Lynch, and the Colorado River Board were all represented in these negotiations, and they are in complete accord. I was assisted by Wesley E. Steiner, assistant chief engineer of the department of water resources, and Burton J. Gindler, deputy attorney general, and no man ever had finer support.

The bill has a long way to go before it becomes law, but it is a breakthrough in the three respects I have named. Now, for the first time in several decades, there is a prospect of getting enough water into the Colorado to satisfy the reasonable aspirations of all seven States, a prospect which replaces the sad one of quarreling with our sisters over the water that isn't there.

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, Sept. 29, 1965]

COOPERATION ALONG THE COLORADO

For the first time in four decades, all the Colorado River Basin States are cooperating on a common solution to their water problems.

The compromise legislation worked out by representatives of the seven States recognizes the hard truth that there isn't nearly enough water in the Colorado to satisfy their future needs. But instead of quarreling over shortages, the basin States are now working together toward solving them.

The only answer for the arid Southwest is, of course, the importation of water from areas of surplus.

Each year the Columbia River, for instance, dumps into the ocean more than 11 times the entire 15 million acre-feet flow of the Colorado. This is water forever wasted, and no Nation can afford to squander so precious a resource.

As drafted, the proposed new legislation calls for authorization of the central Arizona project and approval of 14 new water development projects in Colorado and Wyoming. At the same time, however, Interior Secretary Udall would be directed to seek alternate sources of water that could import as much as 8.5 million acre-feet to the Colorado.

To protect States which export excess water the compromise goes beyond the Colorado River legislation now pending in Congress. States of origin would be guaranteed that they will never lack water in the amount—or at the price—that they can now provide for themselves.

"The compromise," said California Attorney General Thomas Lynch, "assures the States with water that they will never thirst because they have shipped water to their dry neighbors."

Financing of the importation works plus the $1.7 billion of new projects would be assured by the revenues from the proposed Marble and Bridge Canyon Dams as well as Hoover, Parker, and Davis Dams after payout.

Governor Brown enthusiastically endorsed the compromise which was announced in Los Angeles by Northcutt Ely, special assistant attorney general who has long fought California's water battles.

"We stand on the threshold of one of the great epoch achievements in the development of the West," said Brown.

Governors of the other basin States should waste no time in seconding the endorsement.

Independence of Uganda

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, October 9, Uganda will celebrate the third anniversary of its independent nationhood. On this memorable occasion, we wish to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Sir Edward Mutesa, President of Zambia; His Excellency A. Milton Obote, the Prime Minister of Uganda; and Uganda's Ambassador to the United States, His Excellency Dr. Solomon B. Asea.

This beautiful country located in the heart of Africa will also commemorate the second anniversary of its establishment as a republic within the British Commonwealth. On the first anniversary of its independence in October 1963, Uganda ceased to be tied to the British crown. On this occasion we send our best regards to the people of Uganda.

Before October 9, 1962, Uganda was a British protectorate. The agreements by which the native rulers of the area had accepted the protection of Great Britain date to around the turn of the century. In 1955 an important step in the process of self-government took place in the inauguration of a ministerial form of government along the English tradition. Countrywide elections were held in 1961 and 1962. Since becoming independent Uganda has taken a position of nonalinement in international politics and has been a strong supporter of African unity.

This nation has good prospects for future economic development. Last year its balance of trade was very good—about twice as much in export earnings as spent on imports. The first 5-year economic growth plan is now being completed. Future plans call for a doubling of the gross national product in the next 15 years. The basis for these plans is a diversification of the agricultural base and the creation of more industries, mainly light in nature, within Uganda. One industry which is being actively promoted is tourism.

Uganda has much to attract foreign visitors. It is one of the most beautiful nations in the world. On the western borders are the famed Mountains of the Moon of antiquity. There are several spectacular volcanoes accessible to tourists. Uganda is promoting an expansion of the fishing industry for both greater commercial sales abroad and more interest by foreign hunters and fishers. The country is widely known for its diversity of wild animals which should attract many with a hunting, photographic, or scientific interest. The internal communication system is one of the best in Africa and is being improved under the development plans. The airport at Entebbe is equipped to handle international flights.

There are other bases for the hopes of economic growth besides increased tourist income. The nation already has an excellent source of hydroelectric power in the dam on the White Nile River at Owens Falls. This dam now produces 150 megawatts of power to meet the expanding domestic electricity needs. It also provides power to the neighboring country of Kenya. Another reason for optimism is the favorable balance of trade which has existed for many years and has provided foreign exchange reserves. Furthermore, foreign capital has been welcomed and given inducements under a law passed last year. The Uganda Development Corporation, an organization with 13 years experience in planning economic growth, will aid private companies in a variety of development projects.

Mr. Speaker, Uganda is a beautiful land, mainly inhabited by independent small farmers. It has great promise for the future. Its people are working to diversify and expand their economy. We send our most earnest hopes to them for a happy and successful future of progress and development.

Statue of Liberty and Emma Lazarus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, at this time, I insert the following article in the RECORD written by Philip Slomovitz, who is the distinguished editor of the Jewish News in my district. The article is a tribute to Emma Lazarus.

STATUE OF LIBERTY, 80—EMMA LAZARUS, FREEDOM'S BARD

(By Philip Slomovitz)

On the 80th anniversary of the arrival of the Statue of Liberty in New York's harbor, on the French warship *Isere*, the city of New York proclaimed the event as Bartholdi Day. It was in honor of the statue's sculptor, Frederic Auguste Bartholdi, who had gotten the idea for the historic monument from the French patriot Edouard de Laboulaye, in 1865. The unveiling of the statue, after the fruition of the idea given to Bartholdi, took place on October 28, 1886.

The occasion recalls the history of the statue and the link with it of the great American poetess, Emma Lazarus.

It is a time to recall the history of a friendship—America's with France.

Presented by the people of France as a gift to the people of America, in tribute to the high ideals that animated the birth of the United States, the world-famous Statue of Liberty has become a permanent symbol of these ideals.

Standing on Bedloe Island, at the entrance to New York Harbor, this huge symbol of liberty has become an inspiration to tens of millions who had fled to our shores from oppression and tyranny abroad. For seven decades and for three generations the towering figure has been a beacon of hope and joy to suffering multitudes for whom a new life began when they sailed past Miss Liberty with her forearm outstretched in welcome.

Since that day 70 years ago—October 28, 1886—when President Grover Cleveland formally dedicated the Statue of Liberty, millions upon millions of people have gone to Bedloe Island to see it. These myriads of visitors from every corner of the earth have marveled at the colossal creation of Frederic Auguste Bartholdi. They have been thrilled as they climbed up into the head and squeezed themselves into the crown. On the way down they doubtless paused to read the two tablets that tell of the group of Frenchmen who conceived of the statue as France's gift to her sister republic upon the occasion of the centenary of its independence, and of the voluntary contributions by thousands of Americans toward the fund for building the giant pedestal.

Not far from these tablets is a third on which is inscribed a poem, "The New Colossus." The author of this poem, which sings the praises of the goddess of liberty in language that has become inerasable from the record of mankind's aspirations for freedom, was Emma Lazarus, one of the unforgotten geniuses of American Jewry. She was one of the most brilliant writers of the 19th century. Her life was tragically short, but her literary creations today are hailed among the most inspiring in American Jewish history. Her career had in it the ennobling and humanitarian qualities symbolized by the statue of which she wrote with prophetic fervor.

Daughter of Moses and Esther Lazarus, Orthodox Jews of aristocratic Portuguese lineage, Emma Lazarus was born in New York City, July 22, 1849. Raised in wealthy

and sheltered surroundings, she was educated by private tutors and spent her youth among the well-to-do.

She wrote her first poem at the age of 14. When she was 17, she published a collection of her own verses and some translations. These promising early efforts soon flowered into real genius. By the time she was 21, the literary world began to take notice of Emma Lazarus, and her second volume of poems won acclaim from Ralph Waldo Emerson and William Cullen Bryant.

Animated by a love of the classic poets and writers of France and Germany, the mythology of the Greeks and the beauty of nature, Emma Lazarus' early works bore the stamp of these influences. Her translations were devoted to the writings of Heinrich Heine and Victor Hugo, and her original pieces reflected a genuine sense of beauty.

Despite the approval her poems had won from the public and from men of letters, she was yet to acquire her greatest spark of inspiration. She reached the peak of her greatness as the result of the awakening within her of the Hebraic spirit. It had always been latent but was not brought to the surface until she was shaken out of her reticence and literary naivete by the pogroms in Russia and Romania from 1879 to 1882. The tragedy of these events stirred her so deeply that she turned her poetic genius to the defense of her people.

With the zeal that takes possession of converts, Emma Lazarus abandoned the delicateness and the purposelessness that had characterized her youthful writings, and she plunged into the formulation of a solution to the Jewish problem. Fully a decade before Dr. Theodor Herzl convened the First World Zionist Congress, her imagination was fired by the Palestine ideal, and she wrote a series of "Epistles to the Hebrews" in which she outlined a plan for the repatriation of the Jews in their ancient homeland.

In prose and in verse, she pleaded impassionately for justice to the Jews. The vigor of her writing and the patent sincerity of her pleas gave notice that a giant advocate had arisen to defend the rights of the Jews. In poem after poem, she counseled a Zion rebuilt, depicted the tragedy of a harassed Israel and created word pictures which, for prophetic and beautiful expression of the age-long cry of the Jews, have seldom been equaled.

It was inevitable that her new inspiration should have led her to the storehouse of her people's literary treasures. She made a study of the Hebrew language, and within 7 months read the Hebrew Bible in the original. From her pen came translations of some of the finest gems of medieval Hebrew poetry. At first she translated into English from German versions of Hebrew classics, but when she acquired a knowledge of Hebrew she translated from the original works of Solomon Ibn Gabirol, Judah Halevy, Moses Ben Ezra and other writers of the golden age in Jewish literature.

The writing of "The New Colossus," which links Emma Lazarus' name for all time with the Statue of Liberty, was a direct outgrowth of her belated but passionate interest in the plight of her people. Despite her delicate health, she spent many days visiting the haggard and ragged Jewish immigrants from Russia and Rumania who crowded the immigration station on Ward Island in 1881 and 1882. The sight of the refugees from pogroms had stimulated her fervor as much as had the news of the persecutions in Europe.

Those were the years when Americans were asked to contribute to the $300,000 fund to build the pedestal on which the Statue of Liberty was to stand. Money was slow in coming in. Many devices were utilized to obtain the needed funds. Public-spirited citizens held mass meetings and social-minded women organized rummage sales and sold souvenirs.

Constance Gary Harrison was one of this group of women. She was collecting poems, drawings and stories for publication in a souvenir book to be sold for the benefit of the pedestal fund. When she appealed to Emma Lazarus for a contribution in the book, the Jewish poetess at first declined. A modest person, she was not inclined to write for souvenir journals. But when Mrs. Harrison reminded Miss Lazarus "of the goddess standing on her pedestal down yonder in the bay and holding out her torch to those Russian refugees of yours whom you are so fond of visiting," she was galvanized into action. Miss Lazarus' contribution to the souvenir book was "The New Colossus," a poem of such tender beauty that it was inscribed on a tablet fastened to the inside of the statue's base.

Emma Lazarus' declaration of faith in the great lady of liberty, who is perpetuating her message of "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses * * * I lift my lamp beside the golden door," continues to inspire America. Among the great symbols of the freedom advocated by the goddess of liberty are the broken chains at her feet. There is a reminder of the great democratic American ideals in the tablet the great lady holds in her left hand, with the inscription July IV, MDCCLXXVI—July 4, 1776.

The poem by Emma Lazarus, coupled with this reminder of the statue's guardianship over American principles, at the golden gate of our land, jointly cement an imperishable ideal.

It is one of the ironies of fate that the life of the brilliant Jewess, of Emma Lazarus, liberty's bard, should have been cut short in its prime. She died November 19, 1887, at the age of 39, a year after the Statue of Liberty was dedicated.

Neighborhood Youth Corps Well-Deserved Praise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1965

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, so often we fail to realize that an investment in knowledge—not criticism—always pays the highest interest. I am referring to the Office of Economic Opportunity and its many-faceted program to alleviate poverty and unemployment through education.

We are all aware of the constant negative criticism OEO has been subjected to since its inception. Mr. Speaker, Goethe once said: "Correction does much, but encouragement does more." We have been derisive long enough. Let us start encouraging by praising when praise is due. Let us end unceasing disapprobation and begin giving credit for worthwhile accomplishments. They have been many, though sometimes they undoubtedly seem few to some of us in light of OEO's negative publicity.

Today I am pleased to bring to the attention of my colleagues a letter from one of my constituents. I share his admiration for one of OEO's most successful programs—the Neighborhood Youth Corps, a program designed to provide work-training experience for unemployed young people so that their immediate employability quotient may be increased or their education resumed or continued.

The letter follows:

WEST COVINA, CALIF.,
October 4, 1965.

Hon. RONALD B. CAMERON,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CAMERON: As a constituent and as one who has had close contact with the Neighborhood Youth Corps program, I should like to take this opportunity to express my admiration for and support of this fine program.

In my position as a social science instructor for the La Puente Union High School district, I have had the pleasure to view the tangible and intangible benefits to individual and community as a result of the employment by our school district of more than 200 students. It is difficult to assess in monetary terms the increased self-respect, the sense of belonging, the courage to hold one's head high, and the increased responsibility enjoyed by the young men and women who have participated in the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Tangibly, improved attendance, better grade averages, and broader participation in the school program by these young people are self-evident signs of the benefits of such an approach to solving one of the serious problems facing our Nation. I know from personal contact with many of these students that the income earned from their part-time jobs with the Neighborhood Youth Corps has made it possible for them to participate more fully in the life enjoyed by their better endowed contemporaries, while their families, too, benefited by this increased income.

We can ill afford, in these times of unprecedented prosperity, to overlook those young people and their families who have not shared in this prosperity. Without bringing to bear the positive powers of government in such a fashion as the Neighborhood Youth Corps, these young people will not share in the future prosperity of this bountiful land. I urge you to support further efforts by our Nation to enable its citizens and future citizens to perform useful and worthwhile functions while learning the virtues of responsibility and hard work.

Sincerely,

THOMAS L. LINDLEY.

The Papal Plea for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, it was my deep and unforgettable privilege to be among those Members of Congress who traveled to New York City Monday for the visit of Pope Paul to the United Nations.

The events of that day—so vividly brought to the American public through broadcasting media and the press—were most memorable. Yet there can be little doubt that the high point of the Pope's visit was his historic and moving address to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

That address has been read and reread throughout the world because of its

profound message of concern for mankind in a nuclear age. To those who heard Pope Paul speak it was evident that his words flowed from a deep love of humanity and a spiritual fervor of purpose.

His words, "No more war; no more war," were a cry for peace and order and progress which will echo down the halls of history. By this great speech Pope Paul justly has merited the reputation as a towering world figure and, thereby, reflected credit on the church he represents.

Today, as we contemplate and study the papal speech, let us be remined of the Biblical injunction to be "doers of the word, not hearers only."

In that context, let us redouble our search for peace in this troubled world. Let us resolve to work with the United Nations in solving the disputes among nations and in bringing fruitful development to emerging lands.

Let us, in short, be always reminded of the brotherhood of all men under heaven and the corresponding duty of—as Pope Paul put it—"brotherly collaboration among peoples."

Among the many press statements and editorials on the Pope's United Nations address have been two which appear to have caught the essence of the papal message. They are an editorial which appeared in the Milwaukee Sentinel on Tuesday, October 5, and the column by Walter Lippmann of October 7.

I am pleased to bring these items to the attention of my colleagues by inserting them in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Sentinel, Oct. 5, 1965]

PAPAL PLEA—POPE'S WORDS WERE HUMBLE

Spiritual force reached out to make a common bond with temporal force in the hope and prayer that the cross of war can be lifted from mankind.

That, in essence, is the story of Pope Paul's memorable 14-hour visit in New York City, climaxed by his address to the United Nations.

In contrast with the bitter and strident debate of the everyday U.N., Pope Paul's words were simple and humble. At the same time, for all the quietness of its presentation, the message from the pontiff was loud, urgent and challenging. Perhaps also the Pope's message will be inspirational. Troubled peoples everywhere can only hope that the temporal leaders, to whom one of the world's leading spiritual figures addressed himself, will get the message. The heart of the message is in the oath Pope Paul would have the world leaders take: "No more war, war never again."

But how can this heavenly state be achieved on earth? The Pope's address was filled with good counsel on attaining the peace which, he said, "must guide the destinies of peoples and of all mankind."

He spoke of the need for the spirit of equality—"never one above the other." He spoke of the evil of pride—"Men cannot be brothers if they are not humble."

He spoke of the need for world order—"Is there anyone who does not see the necessity of coming thus progressively to the establishment of a world authority, able to act efficaciously on the juridical and political levels?"

The key point of Pope Paul's appeal, however, perhaps came when he stressed the theme of "not mere coexistence between nations" but the "brotherly collaboration of peoples."

It is a thought for the temporal leaders to keep always in mind as they deliberate so fatefully—not mere coexistence of nations, but brotherly collaboration of peoples.

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 7, 1965]

THE POPE AT THE U.N.

(By Walter Lippmann)

On Monday, when the Pope came to the United Nations, we witnessed an event of which we shall be able to appreciate the significance only as time goes on. His journey and his address were a blinding illumination in which the immediate consequences will only gradually become visible. "We are the bearer," said the Pope, "of a message for all mankind," and, he went on to say, "like a messenger who, after a long journey, finally succeeds in delivering the letter which has been entrusted to him, so we appreciate the good fortune of this moment, however brief, which fulfills a desire nourished in the heart for nearly 20 centuries."

The letter which the Pope was at last able to deliver said that the church, now at peace with all mankind, was able to ratify the purposes of the United Nations, which is a human institution aspiring to be universal. That has never been possible before. Never before has there existed an institution in which there is a place for all the nations of the world. The moral ratification of the United Nations, which the Pope declared on Monday, could be given by him only after the Roman church had reached a religious peace—only after the religious wars and persecutions of the past had been brought to an end.

This historic act of ratification marks the progress made under the inspiration of Pope John XXIII in the rejuvenation of the church. The modernizing church has brought itself into the mainstream of human affairs. It has done this by committing itself to the religious reconciliation of mankind, and also by making itself no longer the support of reaction and privilege but, "the voice of the poor, the disinherited, the suffering, of those who hunger and thirst for justice, for the dignity of life, for freedom, for well-being and progress."

This is the Johannine Church, of which Pope Paul is a faithful and convincing apostle, and there is now new hope in the world because this enormous transformation has gone so far.

We must realize that the moral ratification of the United Nations by the Catholic Church does not mean and cannot mean the moral ratification of the policies and the behavior of all the member states, even of our own. The Pope spoke with great gentleness. But what he said so gently cut to the quick. No one who heard him attentively, or will read him now, can fail to realize that he was speaking a different language from that which is current and conventional. In fact, the Pope, who is without pride and has nothing to fear, was thinking what is unthinkable for so many, and he was saying it out loud.

His conception of the secular world is quite different from the conception which underlies public discussion—be it in Peiping or in Washington. The crucial difference is that in the Pope's address the paramount issue is not the cold war of hostile ideologies. Although religion in general and the Roman Church in particular have been treated as the chief enemies of the Communists, the Pope said that the pursuit of peace transcends all other duties, and that the paramount crusade of mankind is the crusade against war and for peace.

This is a different set of values than are accepted as righteous in the public life of the warring nations. The Pope was, of course, intending to make this known, and he reached the climax of his message, so it seemed to me, when he declared that the root of evil in this angry, hostile and quarreling world "is pride, no matter how legitimate it may seem to be, which provokes tension and struggles for prestige, for predominance, colonialism, egoism; that is, pride disrupts brotherhood."

We shall have heard the Pope's message when we have taken these words to heart.

"No Future for Dropouts," a Statement by Hon. John T. Connor, U.S. Secretary of Commerce, September 26, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the following open letter, dated September 26, 1965, from the Honorable John T. Conner, Secretary of Commerce.

Secretary Connor's letter concerns a problem not peculiar to any one district in the United States but common to most districts; it is the problem of the high school dropout.

Because October and November are the principal dropout months and because this problem affects every American community, I believe that Members of Congress will be interested in Secretary Connor's statement.

NO FUTURE FOR DROPOUTS

(By John T. Connor, U.S. Secretary of Commerce)

This is on the order of an open letter to the public.

We have a tremendous problem confronting our country, and I need to ask your help in doing something about it right away.

Only if you help, have we any hope of licking it.

Many of our wonderful young people are about to make a big decision in their lives that could be disastrous. Some of them don't understand that they are putting their futures in jeopardy. Some are lured by the idea of earning dollars of their own. Some, unfortunately, desperately need to put aside schoolbooks and take on the adult task of supporting themselves or their families.

The problem I am talking about is our school dropouts—the most disruptive development in our society since the war—and one that poses the severest challenge to all of us.

"HORSE-AND-BUGGY LEARNING"

Our youth is our most precious resource—the strength of our country's future. Yet, because they are young and inexperienced, some seem willing to face this future—and the nuclear age—with "horse-and-buggy learning," which is the way, I think, that President Lyndon B. Johnson phrases it.

If we let them, the results will be calamitous. Three-quarters of a million will leave school without a high school diploma in the coming year. Another million or so will quit next year; and in 10 years we will have 32 million adult Americans in the labor force who will not have finished high school at a time when a high school education will be a minimal requisite for most jobs.

I cannot emphasize enough the meaning of such an alarming exodus from school in these changing times of ours.

Once it was that a young man or woman could leave school with a limited amount of formal training and still have a reasonably rewarding life.

But, we live today in the midst of a knowledge explosion unlike any known to man since the golden age of Greece. Revolutionary new ideas are emerging around us all the time, and these affect not only the scientific and technological aspects of our lives but the social and cultural. I'm sure you will agree that when we land an American on the moon in a few years, it won't prove how smart we are but only how much more we need to learn.

Already, we have a greater demand for skilled workers than unskilled. This is one of the reasons why we have such a high rate of unemployment at a peak period of prosperity—even though 4 million unemployed is the lowest number we've had in 8 years. There are jobs, but the big growth in opportunities has been in the white-collar area where nearly half the labor force was employed last year. And the demand for professional and technical workers has grown even more.

Today, unless you know your "'riting," you can't be a clerk. Unless you know your "'rithmetic," you can't be a gas station attendant. And unless you have a high school diploma, it's virtually impossible to get even a factory job.

QUALITATIVE CHANGES IN THE LABOR SUPPLY

But it isn't only the job market that's changing. The character and quality of our labor supply is changing too, mainly because of the heavy influx of teenagers—and teenage dropouts—at rates running, as a result of the youth explosion, into the millions every year.

This year, for the first time, almost 4 million boys and girls—the first of our war babies—will turn 18. More than 2.5 million new young workers will enter the labor force, and a considerable number of them, without a high school diploma.

THE STATISTICS OF THE PROBLEM

Such an invasion of young, untrained, and inexperienced workers becomes an urgent concern for our country when one realizes that:

We already have some 14 million young people, aged 16 to 24, out of school—5.1 million of whom are dropouts;

Teenage unemployment is the highest of any group in the labor force; an estimated 2 million youths, aged 18 to 24, had job problems last year; and in July of this year, the unemployment rate for young people was 12.3 percent—the lowest in years, but still more than 2½ times that for all workers;

Six out of ten of our Nation's dropouts are only 16 and 17 years old, and the unemployment rate for dropouts, aged 16 to 21, is 16.6 percent or almost 4 times the national average.

Many Federal training programs have been set up under the Manpower Development and Training Act, and the Economic Opportunity Act, to help our young people prepare themselves for useful and productive lives, despite educational handicaps. Others have been set up in the private sector by far-seeing civic, trade, religious, and business organizations, such as the Lions and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

However, a great deal more remains to be done to equip our youth for the future—and to impress upon them especially, the need to stay in school now and complete their education.

It is, of course, up to schools, and certainly up to parents, to do everything in their power to keep their children in school and to give them the best education they can afford. But it is too much to hope that schools or parents can combat this alone—without the help of every force in the community, including business interests and employers.

YOUTH OPPORTUNITY BACK-TO-SCHOOL DRIVE

This is now an economic problem, and for this reason President Johnson has launched a massive youth opportunity back-to-school drive, in which we believe every citizen, and especially every businessman and employer can play a part.

This summer American business responded with such spirit and enthusiasm to the President's appeal for summer jobs for youths 16 to 21—at last count industry had created over 1 million jobs, nearly double what the President had originally hoped for—we are convinced we can tackle this new assignment together with success.

THE SMALL ROLE OF THE BUSINESSMAN

There are two ways in which businessmen can help: first, by impressing upon young people everywhere the value of an education, and second, by creating part-time jobs for youths now in school who want to work.

Surprisingly enough, a part-time job can make the difference between getting and not getting an education for a vast number of our youths.

Dropouts are not below average in intelligence. But most do come from low income families and need to work. Over 40 percent, in fact, come from families in poverty income brackets of less than $3,000 annually. About half a million of our teenagers are primary earners in the family, and some 20,000 are heads of families whose average earnings are tragically less than $2,200 a year.

They need to work—desperately—and if they are to continue in school, they must be provided with jobs that can be combined with their study programs.

In the past weeks I have written to thousands of businessmen to invite their help with this problem, and they have responded with the same enthusiasm and dedication that they offered in creating summer jobs for youth.

Many have assured me that they now have or will soon get programs underway to employ students part time during the current school year. Many have said that they have found it good business to provide employment for cooperative and part-time students, or that working with young people has enabled them to get an insight into the thinking of our citizens of tomorrow.

And several have come up with novel ideas for working students into their companies on a part-time basis, which I think might be useful for other companies to know.

The Federal Reserve Bank of New York, for example, has worked out a cooperative program enabling high school students to work alternating weeks while attending school.

The Aetna Life Insurance Co., of Hartford, Conn., which has already given part-time work to some 100 high school pupils over the past decade in their own anti-drop-out program won't permit their student employees to continue to work if they drop out of school. Aetna has also developed a program with local school authorities to identify potential dropouts, and hired 38 of them on condition they remain in scohol.

Chicken Delight of California, Inc. which employs a great many college students who also need part-time jobs—has recommended that their store owners trim work schedules of students to about 20 hours a week so that they can maintain their college load. And in Chicago, the Demo-Sells Co., has worked out a program of splitting full-time shifts into several part-time jobs tailored to accommodate students' free hours.

There are many other courses of combating dropouts which businesses may follow, through company speakers' bureaus, the observance of "career days," individual counseling, and tuition aid programs.

THE KEY TO THE GREAT SOCIETY

Our President has said that "Education is the key to a Great Society." He knows that human enlightenment is the essential difference between a great power and a Great Society. And he proposes to see to it that our Nation stops wasting talent and that anyone who wants to go to school shall have "the best education our Nation can afford."

This is the birthright of all Americans.

Learning liberates minds, frees us from fear and poverty, and assures us not only of economic well-being but also of a rich social and cultural life. It made possible the success of the American experiment from the very beginning.

I think the President summed up the real meaning of his battle for educational opportunity for all Americans in his message to Congress last January, when he said:

"Nothing matters more to the future of our country, not our military preparedness—for armed might is worthless if we lack the brainpower to build a world of peace; not our productive economy—for we cannot sustain growth without trained manpower; not our democratic system of government—for our freedom is fragile if citizens are ignorant."

But one doesn't have to be in Government to serve our youth. We all have an obligation to them. October and November are the principal dropout months—I ask you to act now.

Respecting the Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, respect for the law is the only way in which we may even hope to maintain a civilized society for the protection of all the people. The false doctrine that we need not obey laws considered unjust and that each individual is to decide for himself which laws he will obey or disobey can only lead to anarchy.

The following editorial from the Sand Mountain Reporter of Albertville, Ala., is well worth reading by all who are truly interested in the rights and responsibilities of all the people:

RESPECTING THE LAW

On Sunday, August 15, 1965, the Reverend Robert B. Watts rose in his pulpit in La Jolla, Calif. He began: "Last night I laid aside the sermon which I had prepared for today, because of an irresistible feeling that I must offer certain suggestions and conclusions concerning the holocaust of riots through which we are passing."

Many years ago, Dr. Watts was graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Yale Law School. He practiced law in Chicago and New York. For several years he served as chief assistant U.S. attorney in New York City; he was a special assistant to the Attorney General of the United States, and the General Counsel to the National Labor Relations Board. Dr. Watts was ordained in 1958. Midway in his sermon we find the following paragraphs—read them with his distinguished career and credentials in mind:

"There has been advanced by various philosophical followers of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., one of the most extraordinary suggestions ever made in Anglo-Saxon or American legal annals. As a mixture of

sophistry and soft-headedness, brewed by nonlegal or corroded legal minds, I assert that this suggestion has spawned the present wave of destruction now sweeping the country. In brief, this proposed doctrine is that if any individual citizen or group of citizens, after meditation, come to the conclusion that any law is unjust, and further conclude that if apprehended he or they are willing to accept the penalty imposed for violation of the law—then it becomes morally justifiable to break the law openly and notoriously.

"Of course, the worst thing about this doctrine is that there are no dividing lines in it. If it is valid for a small violation, it applies equally to a more serious one. Once you start this approach there is no stopping. It is like a rollercoaster which nears the top of the track. Once you push it over a little bit it plunges all the way.

"The amazing thing is that many clergy have openly and officially accepted this doctrine, and large numbers of clergy have been sent, or have gone on their own volition, to southern areas for the sole purpose of expressing racial concerns by open law defiance pursuant to this new assertion of moral right. Finally, we see instance after instance of reluctance on the part of elected officials to meet lawlessness quickly and firmly lest there be an adverse effect upon their personal political careers at the ballot box. Thank God, not all our officials are of this character, but too many are."

As tragic as they were, the California riots may have served a vital purpose in warning the sober-thinking citizens of this Nation of the consequences of civil disobedience. Such lawless riots in Alabama and elsewhere in the South, it seems, have elicited little more than contempt for the South and its citizens—including law enforcement officers—from the great masses of citizens in other areas of the country. Now the tide of thinking seems to be turning.

Let us hope that it is. For we cannot maintain our society in the face of wanton public disregard for law and order, whether for so-called civil rights or any other cause. This is a fact which Americans of all colors and creeds had better not ignore.

Saga of the Federal Man and His Lifetime U.S. Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the following portrayal of the life of a citizen in the Great Society needs no comment. It was written by the able and astute reporter, Mr. Charles Nicodemus, of the Chicago Daily News Washington Bureau:

SAGA OF FEDERAL MAN AND HIS LIFETIME U.S. BENEFITS

(By Charles Nicodemus)

WASHINGTON.—Ever wonder just how much Uncle Sam could help you out in life if you both really tried?

Here's one answer in the fictional birth-to-death saga of a gent we'll call Simon Poor. He is what we might label a Federal man: He gets U.S. aid whenever he can.

From his cradle to the tomb, he's entwined with his National Government.

That broadening Federal role in our lives was accelerated significantly this year by the 89th Congress and its spate of Great Society legislation.

Federal man not only can get such things as counseling on subjects from business to brides, aid for his children's education, or help with his water's chlorination. He can also be housed and dehoused; insured and inured; medicated, census-rated, smoke-abated, and integrated.

We start at city general hospital. Simon's mother-to-be has just entered the hospital largely built with Hill-Burton Federal grants. That nurse pushing her wheelchair toward the maternity ward was trained under a federally supported program.

The doctor who thwacks Simon's backside at birth has federally financed degrees.

Simon's mother, a charity patient, had used the hospital's federally financed maternal and child welfare clinic since the third month of pregnancy. She'll be back there for postnatal care, too.

From the moment her baby breathes his first, medical research, financed in bulk by Uncle Sam, starts fighting to keep him alive.

That vital PKU test, for instance, given shortly after birth, discloses that chemical imbalances in the baby's system might render him retarded. Federal research perfected the test—and the diet that can now correct the deficiency.

So starts Simon's life.

Simon's father dies in an industrial accident a short time later, and social security, aid to the dependent children and food stamp programs support the family.

The next year, the wrecker's swinging ball razes Simon's tenement, as urban renewal bite into his slum.

Pocketing a Federal relocation payment, Simon and mother move to a FHA-financed project in the new rent-subsidy program.

For a third birthday present, Simon's mother tells him about the Federal antipoverty program.

Soon, Simon is parked at a community action program day care center in a federally financed neighborhood health and recreation center while his mother soaks up:

Home management counseling, on how to cook better food for Simon, and keep herself and her house presentable.

Training for a job as a practical nurse, through an antipoverty work experience program.

Uncle Sam's present on Simon's 4th birthday is the first of a long line of educational benefits that Simon may savor for some 20 years.

As a starter, he is brought up to the level of his more privileged peers in the antipoverty campaign's project Head Start.

Then there are preschool medical and dental checkups at the neighborhood center. His cavities are filled, his lisp corrected and he gets new shoes for the walk to school.

When he trots into kindergarten the following year, it's in a new school wing built with federally impacted aid funds. And from there on, the benefits fly:

There's teaching help from the Teacher Corps,
School lunch programs, milk and more:
Movies, maps, and globes galore,
Library books as ne'er before;
Counselors, psychiatrists,
Nurses and podiatrists.
Remedial reading, guidance tests,
To see what course of study's best;
Research work and language lab.
Picking up the growing tab:
The newest Federal school aid bill,
One billion-two, put in the till.

After 8 more years in elementary school, it becomes obvious to Simon that somebody up there likes him—"up there" being in Washington, D.C.

He finds high school more of the same, with vocational training; counseling to back his will to stick in school; science equipment and mental health screening.

As always, there's an antipoverty program to help out: a part-time job with the neighborhood Youth Corps, sprucing up local parks.

Come graduation, Simon hops one rung up the antipoverty ladder: He enlists for a 2-year stint at a Job Corps camp where he learns to handle heavy construction equipment.

That takes him up to age 20, when Uncle Sam—for a change—says: "Ask not what your country can do for you but what you can do for your country." At this point he is drafted.

In 2 years, Simon Poor emerges with corporal's stripes and another lien on the Federal Treasury: veterans' benefits.

Thanks to some Army extension courses, Simon thinks he is now ready to tackle college.

A federally aided community college gets him the first year. Then he enrolls at State U, where he finds a student union, dormitory, library, observatory, labs and classrooms and cafe, all financed by the United States of America.

As for tuition and expenses, there's help to be had from the GI bill; low-interest loans under the National Defense Education Act, a Federal scholarship—which he can't quite swing—and another antipoverty program, a summer job under college work-study.

But he becomes a college dropout and a married man.

From his neighborhood center, he then gets counseling on courtship, marriage, and birth control.

The latter, however, proves deficient, because Simon's soon writing for that ever-popular Federal pamphlet: "Raising Your Child."

Lacking a job, Simon Poor heads for the land of opportunity: Appalachia. He figures any place Uncle Sam is spending $1 billion extra a year can't be all bad.

There, with a new company set up under the Regional Development Act, he lands a job as a heavy equipment operator, helping build the millions of dollars' worth of Federally aided roads mapped out in the Appalachia program.

Before too long:

His local bank fails. But why worry? There's Federal Deposit Insurance.

His union president runs off with the local's treasury—but he's bonded under Federal law.

A tornado hits his rented house. But it's fixed up fast with a Federal disaster loan.

Then, trouble hits.

Simon's bulldozer runs over his foot, necessitating amputation. Goodby job. But Simon's still cheery:

After all, there's always workman's compensation; unemployment compensation; Federal rehabilitation; treatment by VA, and help from the Manpower Development and Training Act, which Simon uses to become an electrician.

Soon, he's working as a civilian electrician at a nearby Army base.

He buys a home with a VA loan, and gets another from FHA to expand it.

The home's on a new subdivision, financed by the maximum HHFA $10 million loan. And it's in a new suburb that has just built a sewer and water system with a community facilities grant.

This idyll is interrupted by the Secretary of Defense, who orders the Army base closed. This leaves Simon with no job, no mortgage payments, and a heart attack. At this, his wife has a nervous breakdown.

But all's well.

For him, there's the regional center on heart disease, cancer, and stroke. For her, there's the community mental health clinic.

And for the mortgages, there's a 1-year grace period if you're tossed out of work by a base shutdown.

With time growing short now, Simon presses on to leave no Federal benefit unsampled.

He retires and collects social security.

He vacations in national parks; breathes less polluted air; swims in depolluted water; drives in cars with seat belts and exhaust-fume suppressors along billboard-free highways constructed with Federal funds; sees plays and paintings sponsored by the Federal Arts Commission.

His fatal mistake was to watch night TV
Hoping on hope that the old FCC
Had finally given the people a break.
But what he saw was more than weak hearts can take.

His final expenses are paid by the VA, hers mostly by medicare.

Then both are buried in Federal land:
Arlington Cemetery, near at hand
To Washington, D'C., their Capital where
There's always perpetual care.

Highway Beautification Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2084) to provide for scenic development and road beautification of the Federal aid highway systems.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Chairman, may I congratulate and commend Mr. KLUCZYNSKI, the illustrious and able gentleman from Illinois for his herculean efforts in bringing this bill before the House today. I wish to commend my great colleague, Mr. FALLON, chairman of the full committee. They have done a magnificent job to bring this bill so promptly before us.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to commend also the staff of the Committee on Public Works. They have worked day and night, 7 days a week, to bring major and important legislation before the Congress time and time again this year. I have never known a more dedicated, patriotic, and loyal group of men and women than the staff of our Committee on Public Works.

Mr. Chairman, I supported this bill in committee, and I support it today. I live on a highway where my neighbors and I for many years have made every effort to beautify the roadside. For too long rural America has been kicked around by thoughtless individuals who dump trash, beer cans, and whisky bottles into our shrubbery and grass along the highways we have nurtured and cared for in order to improve the looks of our communities.

We have laws against littering our highways. Now it is time to curb those who would depreciate rural property with junkyards and trashpiles. I believe in States rights, local community rights, and individual rights, but no individual, community, State or even the Federal Government has the right to mar the beauty of our landscape or to depreciate the property of others. Democracy and individual freedom in order to survive must be disciplined and restrained. The time has come for America to discipline itself and eliminate eyesores and unsightly objects along the highways of our country. This bill will aid our people to improve their communities and make America a more beautiful and healthy place in which to live.

Oldest, Most Active

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, recently the Harford Democrat carried a personality sketch of Mrs. P. S. Brumfield, one of its contributors and a citizen of distinction in Harford County, Md. The sketch was written by Eileen Burke of the University of Maryland.

Over the years, Mrs. Brumfield has interested herself in landscape beautification, teaching the blind, political activities, and homemaking. In each field she has demonstrated how successful a single person's action can be. Now, at the age of 81, she still keeps busy with teaching the blind and writing for the newspaper.

I take this occasion to salute Mrs. Brumfield for her long years of generous service to her fellow citizens.

The personality sketch follows:

OLDEST, MOST ACTIVE?

(By Eileen Burke, University of Maryland summer interner)

Mrs. Corinne Brumfield is 81, but occasionally she still drives from Edgewood to the Harford Democrat office in Aberdeen in her late-model compact car to deliver her weekly column to the paper.

She has been writing the "First District News" under the byline P. S. Brumfield since the early 1940's. Although most of her column describes the anniversaries, birthdays, trips, and other activities of the residents of the Edgewood area, Mrs. Brumfield prefers to write what she describes as "sentiment." Every week her social notes are interspersed with sentiment—quotes, reminiscences, original poems, and comments on national and international events.

All week Mrs. Brumfield collects news from people she happens to see and sentiment from her readings. Sunday night she writes out her column in longhand. If she forgets to give the column to her son, who lives next door, to mail; she delivers it herself the next morning.

Mrs. Brumfield "scribbles" little verses whenever she sees anything that inspires her. She prefers to write about small things like the children who go sledding in the winter on the road in front of her house. Although she loves to write poetry, she does not feel that any of her work is important enough to be published anywhere but in her column. Her own favorite poets are the early American ones, particularly Whittier and Longfellow.

Mrs. Brumfield's literary activities also include frequent letters to the editors of the Baltimore and local papers.

Her interest in journalism began when she was an editor on the literary magazine at West Nottingham Academy in Cecil County, where she went to school. When she graduated in 1901, she would have liked to have gone to college to take some journalism courses, but she married instead.

Besides sentiment, Mrs. Brumfield likes to collect antiques and her one-story house is filled with cutglass, family pictures, old furniture, and china.

One of her teachers at West Nottingham used to say, "Time is passing, young ladies. Time is passing" whenever he saw an idle student. Ever since then, Mrs. Brumfield has been searching for ways to keep her time from passing away in idleness.

Since she came from a politically minded family, she has devoted much of her time to politics. She has helped others campaign for office and conducted two campaigns of her own. In 1946 she ran for the Maryland House of Delegates and in 1962 she ran for judge of the Harford County Orphans Court. Both times she ran against seven or eight men. She "got licked" both times, but stated she is grateful for the votes she received because they showed her how many friends she had.

Mrs. Brumfield has had more luck influencing other elected officials and winning club elections. She says that the "Keep America Beautiful" campaign began 15 years ago, when she went to the Harford County Commissioners to ask them to establish dumps so that the countryside would stay clean. At first the commissioners laughed at her. Later they decided to create dumps, and imposed fines for littering the highways.

She has held offices in the Women's First District and County Democratic Clubs; been president of the Edgewood Homemakers Club and the County Council for all the Homemakers Clubs.

Some years ago the need for something to keep her "out of mischief" led Mrs. Brumfield to volunteer to teach handicapped children for the Harford County Board of Education. This summer she enjoyed what she called one of the most wonderful experiences of her life when she watched her first pupil graduate from the Maryland School for the Blind. Since the first year, Mrs. Brumfield has been giving 2-hour, daily lessons to three pupils a year. She thought she would retire last year after suffering a nearly fatal illness, but when the school board asked her to take a student she accepted. Mrs. Brumfield says she is a "yes man," because she can never turn down a request for her time.

A Stimulating Move

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, in this day an astronaut can orbit the earth faster than a man on the ground can get from New York to Washington. Certainly, as President Johnson has said, the same science and technology which provides airplanes and space probes can provide better, faster, and more economical rail transportation.

We welcome the news that New York-Washington trains will be speeding at 125 miles an hour in another year, cut-

ting at least an hour off the travel time. The New York Herald Tribune has praised the administration editorially for its efforts to speed up travel by rail.

It said that the Government's support "is a stimulating move toward dramatic improvement of intercity transportation." The editorial is as follows:

SOMETHING NEW IN TRAVEL

The news that New York-Washington railroad trains will be speeding at 125 miles an hour in another year, cutting at least an hour off the traveltime, sounds astonishing. But the research and development people have no doubts whatever, and this is projected as only the beginning for high-speed mass travel on the ground.

The trouble, of course, is that most of us have long taken it for granted that such means of getting around (by rubber as well as rail) aren't capable of radical improvement. As President Johnson observes, "the same tired inadequate mass transportation" of 30 years ago still prevails, and this is in an age in which airplanes can fly three times the speed of sound. Without the public being particularly aware of it, scientific ability has been applied almost wholly to traversing air and space. And advances in ground travel, of intimate concern to everybody, haven't kept pace.

As Federal spending goes, the $20 million asked by the President for the first year of such development is comparatively small. Even the $90 million envisaged for the 3-year program, considering all the potential benefits, is an excellent investment. For the legislation is concerned not only with new rail concepts for the northeast corridor from Washington to Boston, but with the long-range investigation of every idea for speeding ground travel by highway as well. We may learn in time that the possibilities on earth, researched and developed with the same thoroughness as those of outer flight, are greater than yet imagined. Certainly, the Government's support is a stimulating move toward dramatic improvement of intercity transportation.

Highway Beautification Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. HOWARD H. CALLAWAY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2084) to provide for scenic development and road beautification of the Federal-aid highway systems.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Chairman, I am concerned that the bill under consideration bears the misleading title "Highway Beautification." The impact that this bill is bound to have on travelers, motorists, State governments, private commercial and industrial enterprises is conveniently hidden behind these high-sounding words. The implication of the words would lead us to believe that anyone opposed to the bill is opposed to beauty. Nothing could be further from the truth. I do not think there is an American alive today who is actually opposed to enhancing beauty in any part of our Nation—including our highways.

For my own part, I have spent much of my life in an enterprise dedicated to the very idea of beauty. The founding of this enterprise was my own father's greatest achievement, and his sole purpose was to create a place where Georgians could enjoy the natural beauty of our State. Why would I or any of my colleagues now stand in opposition to beauty? Clearly I would not oppose any reasonable plan for highway beautification, but I do oppose a law saying remove the signs and junkyards at any cost to anyone—or else. I do oppose a bill that in the name of beauty, creates a wealth of problems, and takes no steps to solve them. I refer to mandatory withholding of funds even when a State cannot comply for complicated constitutional reasons. I refer to the removal of signs giving necessary and valuable information to the traveling public. And I refer to the elimination of signs, displays, and devices which will no doubt lead to the bankruptcy of thousands of small businesses which are dependent upon the patronage of highway users for their existence. These are only a few of the unsolved problems inherent in the bill. But these factors, coupled with the mandatory "or else" tenor of the bill, lead me to oppose it on the ground that there is very little that is beautiful in this legislation.

"Rights-Responsibilities"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday it was my pleasure to participate in the preview of a television series on the rights and responsibilities of American citizens as set forth in the Bill of Rights and more specifically in the first amendment.

This series was produced by one of my distinguished constitutents, Mr. Robert T. Schlinkert, Taft Vice President and general manager of WBRC–TV in Birmingham. I was greatly impressed by this excellent presentation and congratulate Mr. Schlinkert, WBRC, and the Taft Broadcasting Co. for the fine public service they have rendered in this production.

The following is a summary which reviews the pertinent facts about this new television feature:

TAFT BROADCASTING CO. PREVIEWS NEW FEATURE: "RIGHTS-RESPONSIBILITIES"

WASHINGTON, D.C., October 7.—A new series of 5-minute color television programs defining the rights and responsibilities of American citizens under the Constitution of the United States was previewed here today by Taft Broadcasting Co.

The series, conceived by Robert T. Schlinkert, general manager of Taft's Birmingham, Ala., television station, WBRC–TV, features in the first national releases, a study of the first amendment to the Constitution.

The programs, described as "a determined effort to relate our responsibilities to our rights," present discussions of the first amendment by Pat Boone, Art Linkletter, Dr. Billy Graham, and Bob Considine.

The initial programs were shown at the Madison Hotel to Members of Congress, the Federal Communications Commission, and other Government, business, and educational leaders in the Capital. Simultaneous previews were offered in Birmingham to southern leaders.

In defining the programs, which will be scheduled immediately on all Taft stations and offered without charge to all commercial and educational television and radio stations in the country, Mr. Schlinkert said: "The great city of Birmingham has been the focus of national attention in recent years as a result of the dialog on civil rights. We recommended the development of this series because we believed that citizens everywhere would profit by a clear delineation of the responsibilities that accompany the rights reserved to us, employing the broadcast media as the most effective way to reach the most people."

The programs are constructed in 5-minute segments permitting flexible use on the Nation's stations and are so designed that they may be employed as half-hour presentations if the stations so elect. The programs are produced by Charles Vanda, Beverly Hills, Calif., who has won many awards for his public service documentaries.

Lawrence H. Rogers II, president of Taft Broadcasting Co., announced to the preview audience that letters already have gone forward to the Nation's radio and television stations proffering the series without charge.

"After studying Mr. Schlinkert's suggestion," Mr. Rogers said, "and recognizing the critical need of a restudy of the Bill of Rights and the implicit responsibilities required of every citizen, we decided to place our fullest possible resources behind this effort. We have sought and obtained the services of eminent performers and writers whose names are calculated to attract the largest potential audiences.

"We feel, speaking of our own responsibilities, that group broadcasters are in a unique position to employ the broadcast media usefully and effectively in dealing with public matters of this type."

In the programs ready for distribution and shown today, Mr. Boone presents a 5-minute "Background to the First Amendment." Other programs feature Dr. Billy Graham, "Freedom of Religion"; Mr. Linkletter, "Freedom of Speech"; Mr. Considine, "Freedom of the Press"; and Mr. Boone, "The Rights of Assembly and Petition."

Future programs in the series dealing with the Bill of Rights are in production.

The Taft broadcasting stations are: WKRC–AM–FM–TV, Cincinnati, and WTVN–AM–FM–TV, Columbus, both Ohio; WBRC–AM–FM–TV, Birmingham, Ala.; WKYT, Lexington, Ky.; WGR–AM–FM–TV, Buffalo, N.Y.; WDAF–AM–FM–TV, Kansas City, Mo.; and WNEP–TV, Scranton, Pa.

The company's headquarters are in Cincinnati.

Bruneau Desert Blast May Lead to New Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, September 30, 1965, history, present and future, was made on a remote desert spot in my congressional district. On that date a nonnuclear explosion, dubbed "Pre-Schooner II"

blasted a crater in the desert 100 feet deep and 200 feet in diameter.

The explosion, a forerunner of a planned nuclear blast, in the same area, is a study in "digging" techniques which could be used in digging the proposed sea level complement to the Panama Canal.

The event, Mr. Speaker, is graphically explained by Mr. O. A. (Gus) Kelker, feature editor of the Times-News, published in Twin Falls, Idaho, in the October 3 edition of the paper.

The article follows:

BRUNEAU DESERT BLAST MAY LEAD TO NEW CANAL

(By O. A. (Gus) Kelker)

MOUNTAIN HOME.—It actually sounds too strange to be true and yet the first shovelful of dirt which will result in construction of a new sea level canal across Central America was probably moved Thursday afternoon in the form of a piece of Idaho's desolate Bruneau Desert country.

The experiment, which came about as a result of 2 years of planning and study, was in the form of a great explosion, probably the biggest manmade blast to ever take place within the boundaries of the State.

It was the forerunner for a proposed 100-kiloton nuclear cratering project which may be undertaken in the same general area in about 3 years. This is the method of dirt and rock removal which someday may be used to dig the big ditch which is now in the planning stage.

The awe-inspiring explosion which ripped the solid rock of the Bruneau area took place at a point 2 or 3 hours away from Mountain Home by car or truck, depending on the speed you drive. It was more than 70 miles of bumps and dust which stretched out into nowhere.

A joint venture of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Corps of Army Engineers nuclear excavation research program, the project came down to the last day with scheduled projects ticking off like a well-oiled clock.

The last 24 hours, before the explosion was detonated and ripped a hole 200 feet wide and 100 feet deep in the desert rock, were a headache. In fact they almost resulted in the blast being scrubbed.

After the liquid explosive called nitromethane had been poured into a 36-inch access hole and filled a mined spherical cavity approximately 18 feet in diameter, a leak developed.

The leak was spotted by instruments and after it was confirmed officials ordered two trucks in from the atomic site near Las Vegas, Nev. They were to bring 55 more drums of the explosive. But this scheduled departure set off a chain of events not expected. One truck broke down near Las Vegas. The other gave up before reaching the test site in Idaho. Two smaller standby trucks were dispatched and the load of 23 drums of explosive was transferred.

These two trucks arrived at ground zero and the liquid was transferred below the ground. The countdown began but a few seconds before the big blast was to take place it was halted.

The 15-minute countdown finally was undertaken once more and this time the end result was something to behold.

On the second at the end of the count the desert not more than 3,000 feet from where photographers, newsmen, officials, project personnel, and others stood, heaved in a pattern that was both grotesque and beautiful at the same time.

So overpowering was the great earth movement, with heavy dust and great pieces of rock rising more than 3,000 feet into the air, that it was difficult to comprehend. The great dust cloud, studded with rock, seemed for awhile to threaten the area where the observers stood, but it was all an optical illusion. The blast was so mammoth that the mind was unable to take it into consideration with only one sweep of the imagination.

The long wait, the desert travel and the dust and heat were forgotten at the instant of the spectacle. For most of the observers this thing was a first and it will never be forgotten.

As one newsman put it:

"The gates of hell itself could not be more terrifying than the turmoil which we saw today."

One thing was certain, and as a result data which will be important in future tests—even of the atomic variety—was written into the book.

Because of the leak, the explosion took place with about 12 tons less nitromethane than was planned, and yet the results were greater than anticipated.

Checked and rechecked figuring on the curve had shown that depth of the crater would be about 41 feet, plus or minus 5 feet, and radius would be 76 feet, plus or minus 9 feet.

When the dust and rocks had settled and experts and observers trudged up to the crater's lip they found that it was about 100 feet deep and 200 feet in diameter. The lip of the newborn crater resembled a mountain on the level plateau.

The entire project was dubbed Pre-Schooner II. The big blast was associated with three other separate 1.2-ton TNT calibration shots.

Above ground, these three detonations a good distance from ground zero shoved shock waves through the air which were easily felt by observers. The big blast did not produce any appreciable shock wave because of the underground location of the charge.

But in the case of the big one, the ground shook like a great earthquake was underway and was easily noticeable where observers stood more than 3,000 feet away from ground zero.

The U.S. Army Engineer Nuclear Cratering Group, Corps of Engineers, is headquartered at the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory, Livermore, Calif. The Atomic Energy Commission experts were from the Nevada test range.

Actual purpose behind the detonation was to improve the knowledge of crater dimensions in hard, dry rock as a function of depth of burst and type of explosive.

WARNING BALLOON

As a precaution prior to the blast, a bright yellow balloon, anchored to the ground by cable, was flown at a height of several thousand feet.

It served as a warning to possible flights of aircraft in the area and also held a set of instruments aloft to gain pressure measurements above the blast area. It was hoisted more than an hour before detonation time.

The data obtained from the experiment will be used in the design of the proposed Schooner atomic cratering project and in the general development of a theory of cratering and techniques for predicting slope stability and other engineering properties of nuclear craters.

Results of the blast will end in months of study before final tabulations are made, officials said.

But to the casual observer the entire project could be nothing short of a complete success.

It was the biggest blast in the State's history and the rumble of it will be heard for years to come.

The Pope at the U.N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, many persons have discussed and sought to analyze the historical impact of the visit of His Holiness, Pope Paul VI, to the United Nations this Monday. In his eloquent essay of Thursday, October 7, Mr. Walter Lippmann captured the central meaning and full promise of this unprecedented event. I would like to commend Mr. Lippmann's words to all, as follows:

THE POPE AT THE U.N.

(By Walter Lippmann)

On Monday, when the Pope came to the United Nations, we witnessed an event of which we shall be able to appreciate the signifiance only as time goes on. His journey and his address were a blinding illumination in which the immediate consequences will only gradually become visible. "We are the bearer," said the Pope, "of a message for all mankind," and, he went on to say, "like a messenger who, after a long journey, finally succeeds in delivering the letter which has been entrusted to him, so we appreciate the good fortune of this moment, however brief, which fulfills a desire nourished in the heart for nearly 20 centuries."

The letter which the Pope was at last able to deliver said that the church, now at peace with all mankind, was able to ratify the purposes of the United Nations, which is a human institution aspiring to be universal. That has never been possible before. Never before has there existed an institution in which there is a place for all the nations of the world. The moral ratification of the United Nations, which the Pope declared on Monday, could be given by him only after the Roman church had reached a religious peace—only after the religious wars and persecutions of the past had been brought to an end.

This historic act of ratification marks the progress made under the inspiration of Pope John XXIII in the rejuvenation of the church. The modernizing church has brought itself into the mainstream of human affairs. It has done this by committing itself to the religious reconciliation of mankind, and also by making itself no longer the support of reaction and privilege but, "the voice of the poor, the disinherited, the suffering, of those who hunger and thirst for justice, for the dignity of life, for freedom, for well being and progress."

This is the Johannine church, of which Pope Paul is a faithful and convincing apostle, and there is now new hope in the world because this enormous transformation has gone so far.

We must realize that the moral ratification of the United Nations by the Catholic church does not mean and cannot mean the moral ratification of the policies and the behavior of all the member states, even of our own. The Pope spoke with great gentleness. But what he said so gently cut to the quick. No one who heard him attentively, or will read him now, can fail to realize that he was speaking a different language from that which is current and conventional. In fact, the Pope, who is without pride and has nothing to fear, was thinking what is unthink-

able for so many, and he was saying it out loud.

His conception of the secular world is quite different from the conception which underlies public discussion—be it in Peiping or in Washington. The crucial difference is that in the Pope's address the paramount issue is not the cold war of hostile ideologies. Although religion in general and the Roman church in particular have been treated as the chief enemies of the Communists, the Pope said that the pursuit of peace transcends all other duties, and that the paramount crusade of mankind is the crusade against war and for peace.

This is a different set of values than are accepted as righteous in the public life of the warring nations. The Pope was, of course, intending to make this known, and he reached the climax of his message, so it seemed to me, when he declared that the root of evil in this angry, hostile and quarreling world "is pride, no matter how legitimate it may seem to be, which provokes tension and struggles for prestige, for predominance, colonialism, egoism; that is, pride disrupts brotherhood."

We shall have heard the Pope's message when we have taken these words to heart.

A Commemoration of Nikola Petkov

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, on September 23, 1947, a brutal blow was dealt to the cause of human freedom and self-determination.

On that day 18 years ago Nikola Petkov, courageous leader of the opposition to the Soviet Communist takeover of the proud country of Bulgaria, was executed on the charge of "conspiracy against the state and the Soviet Union."

The murder of Nikola Petkov shattered virtually all Bulgarian hopes of resisting Soviet domination and preserving national independence. It dramatically marked the end of all legal political opposition to the entrenchment of communism in Bulgaria.

To commemorate the day on which Nikola Petkov was hanged for his efforts in behalf of Bulgarian independence, the Bulgarian National Committee scheduled a memorial meeting and reception at the Carnegie Endowment International Center on September 18 and a requiem mass at the Russian Orthodox Church of St. Nicholas in Washington, D.C., September 19. The committee is to be commended for commemorating the bravery of Nikola Petkov and of the Bulgarian resistance movement which he led.

Communist oppression and economic exploitation of the Bulgarian people have only intensified their longing for ties with the people of the Western World. The Bulgarian regime is gradually being forced to relax its rigid control and to grant the economic, political, and cultural contacts with the West which have been denied to the courageous people of this country for so many years.

Opportunities for increased human freedom in the liberalization of Communist control in Soviet bloc countries have been recognized by my Subcommittee on the Far East and the Pacific of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

The subcommittee conducted hearings on the Sino-Soviet conflict and its implications earlier this year. In the report issued, the subcommittee recommended providing the countries of Eastern Europe with the incentive and leverage they need to remove themselves from complete economic dependence on the Soviet Union by expanding commercial trade of nonstrategic items with these countries. In addition, the subcommittee suggested intensifying political and cultural relations with those European Communist-controlled states who are achieving a degree of independence from Moscow and are showing moderation in their external affairs.

We are committed to help alleviate the plight of captive peoples such as the Bulgarians. President John F. Kennedy recalled this commitment to the countries of Eastern Europe when he addressed himself to the people of free Europe at Frankfurt, Germany, on June 25, 1963. He said:

> All of us in the West must be faithful to our conviction that peace in Europe can never be complete until everywhere in Europe * * * men can choose in peace and freedom how their countries shall be governed.

Let us pay tribute to Nikola Petkov and to the liberty-loving heroes of other oppressed nations who have worked, fought, and died for the basic human right of self-government. May their example be an inspiration to men everywhere when the path of freedom is difficult, as it is today in Vietnam. May we also always remember our traditional, abiding commitment to the principles of liberty and human dignity and to the peoples who struggle to achieve them.

The New Immigration Reform Act

SPEECH

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to have the opportunity to join in commending the distinguished chairman of our Immigration and Nationality Subcommittee, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FEIGHAN], for the fine presentation he has made in summarizing provisions of the newly enacted immigration reform bill. In this question and answer form, our colleague's summary will provide most useful information for the citizens who are immediately concerned about effects of the new law. The gentleman from Ohio certainly deserves our thanks for making available to us so expeditiously this practical and concise guide to our new immigration polices. I am sure many Members of Congress, as I, have already received urgent inquiries from citizens who have been waiting long years for reunion with relatives in countries with heavily oversubscribed quotas. This summary for the layman, together with the detailed analysis being prepared by the Judiciary Committee, will be invaluable to all Members in informing and assisting the many people throughout the Nation who can now look forward to having their families united in America.

Wise Words by Dr. Frederick Brown Harris

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include some very inspiring words by Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, beloved Chaplain of the U.S. Senate. The following article, "Yesterday's Sour Grapes Don't Explain You," should be carefully read by every American in these critical days when so many are eager to shed individual responsibility by blaming all our shortcomings on the past.

Dr. Harris' article appeared in the Washington Sunday Star of October 3, 1965:

SPIRES OF THE SPIRIT: "YESTERDAY'S SOUR GRAPES DON'T EXPLAIN YOU"

(By Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain, U.S. Senate)

More than 2,500 years before the date of this column, the public-spirited prophet, Ezekiel, was probing for the cause of the debauchery of the day. The question was: Why does this wild generation act the way they do—commit the excesses of which they are guilty? There was a breakdown of moral standards, sex perversion was rampant, business was honeycombed with dishonesty and doubledealing. There was complacent indifference to the welfare of the underprivileged. Honor, once bright, was now dimmed.

All this is mirrored in the Biblical record of this day of so long ago, which seems almost to match the headlines of the 20th-century days. To the prophet's insistence that there was no excuse for those who were guilty of betraying the high ethical ideals which were a part of the national heritage, the young generation, running wild, cried out to this preacher of old-fashioned righteous, "Don't blame us. The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth have been set on edge." To which sophistry Ezekiel thundered, "Don't undertake to explain your lapses by quoting that old cliche, and claiming that a former generation is to blame for putting something into your life, or by withholding something from it. Yesterday's sour grapes do not explain you. Heredity and environment are not the chief factors of your destiny."

Centuries after the prophet's scornful rejection of the sour grape theory to explain today's debauchery, Jesus told the story of the good Samaritan. There seems to be a new version of that matchless story for the days we now face. To some modern psychiatrists the chief thing in that narrative is not the victim, wounded, robbed, and left by the highwaymen by the roadside to die. It

is not the great-hearted traveler who, seeing the one who had fallen among thieves, bent over him in mercy and help. It is not the devout churchmen, on their way to the temple, who, seeing the plight of the assaulted man, passed by on the other side.

No, according to this 20th-century interpretation of the matchless story, the men to study are the murderous thieves who perpetrated the shameful act. There is little thought of apprehending them, or punishing them, so that for the sake of society they may be taken out of circulation. Rather, the main thing to do is to find out who failed at some stage in the life of the robbers. Surely, they became robbers because somebody back of them ate sour grapes. If we can find that, we can explain their sour conduct. How superficial is such reasoning?

People who, in our day, undertake to explain a scene such as erupted in Los Angeles and can find no explanation to account for the atrocious actions of such hoodlums except to conclude that they are the result of somebody else's sour grapes seem oblivious to the disgraceful exhibition of uncontrolled violence manifested by youth from our college campuses who, on holidays, riot and rave and ravage. The fact is that many such from favorable environments have been given everything, perhaps too much, and yet the sour grapes theory, pointing to the generation before, does not explain such hooliganism.

Of course, in all the lines of his personality, physical, mental, moral, man derives much from his past. But the truth is that the factors of destiny are not two—heredity environment, self, and God.

An Eastern judge was recently trying the case of a 20-year-old rebel against decent behavior. Among other offenses, he had led the police on a 50-mile-an-hour chase. He was found guilty of 12 traffic violations. The defense was based solely on the fact that this antisocial youth was the twisted product of a broken home. The sour grapes of the parents were lifted up at the trial as an excuse as to why the teeth of the young fellow were set on edge. He was not to be blamed for the sour grapes that his parents had eaten. In sentencing the accused to a term in jail as well as a fine, the judge seemed to put on the prophet's robe of Ezekiel as he said. "I am geting sick and tired of certain places where everything is blamed on a bad background and a bad home. The police are not going to be picked upon the way you turned upon them endeavoring to do them bodily harm. I wouldn't blame them if they had shot you. Your parents are guilty people, but you are a man now, and responsible for your own behavior. The world is full of successful people who didn't get a fair shake when they were children."

This modern judge joins the ancient prophet in this deep insight. "You can't explain today's delinquency by pointing to yesterday's sour grapes."

Glory for Cleveland's Lewis Research Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 24, 1965

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, Cleveland, Ohio, contributes much to the scientific and engineering world. One of the largest contributions is made by our famous Lewis Research Center, which has won worldwide renown for its achievements in the space age.

Our community pride in Lewis was given another boost recently when the Honorable James E. Webb, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, presented awards to two Lewis scientists and to the center's Agena project team.

The Cleveland Plain Dealer, one of the Nation's leading newspapers, reflected this spirit in an excellent editorial on October 7, as follows:

GLORY FOR LEWIS

The value of Cleveland's Lewis Research Center of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to the U.S. space program is underscored by the awards just made to two scientists and the Lewis Agena project team.

NASA Administrator James E. Webb presented the awards in a ceremony in Washington to Bruce T. Lundin, associate director for development, and to Dr. Seymour C. Himmel, Agena rocket project manager.

Dr. Himmel's award, the Exceptional Service Medal, is NASA's second highest and is the honor given to the Gemini astronauts by President Johnson. Its presentation to Dr. Himmel is a signal recognition of his great contributions to the Nation's space program.

Lundin was the recipient of the NASA outstanding leadership award for his direction of planning, organizing, and carrying out highly successful research and development programs at Lewis.

Further glory has been given the Agena project team for outstanding technical and management achievements as well as scientific and engineering contributions to the Agena program.

The awards reflect credit on all NASA personnel as well as on Greater Cleveland, which is the proud home of Lewis and a vital part of the NASA effort.

Eisenhower on the Choice Americans Must Make

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, in an exclusive interview with General Eisenhower, Nation's Business asks some pertinent and timely questions concerning the expanding role of the Federal Government in American life and its increasing interference in local and individual affairs. These are questions which every thoughtful American should be asking himself today for on the answers will depend the future course of our society and the preservation or loss of individual liberties and rights.

General Eisenhower warns of the dangers in the current trend of diminishing personal and local responsibility and asserts once again that solutions to our problems can best be made at the local levels of Government.

The interview, which appeared in the October 1965 issue of Nation's Business, follows:

EISENHOWER ON THE CHOICE AMERICANS MUST MAKE

(NOTE.—General Eisenhower, in the dedication to your new book, "The White House Years: Waging Peace," you express the hope that your grandchildren will enjoy the freedoms that we have now and that these will not be lost when they are adults. Many of our readers also have grandchildren, and are concerned, too, about maintaining freedoms. Do you see any real danger that Americans may lose some of the freedoms they have today?)

Well, just as a matter of history, we must take note of what happens to a nation when it becomes affluent after a long period of work and adventurous activity have brought it to a position of great prominence and prosperity.

Thereafter, you begin to have a different atmosphere in a society. As long as the Roman nation made patriotism almost the basis of its whole philosophy, as long as each citizen took great pride in the fact that he had served in the army and had done his duty as a soldier, as long—in other words—as citizens were carrying on the work of pushing for the greater strength and glory of Rome, they were a great nation. They ruled practically all of the known territory of the earth.

But when they got rich and began to be more concerned with circuses than with their duties, and when they found that they could let the nation collect the taxes from abroad or wherever it wanted to, pretty soon they got to the point of dissolution. And Gibbon's history was written of a tragedy rather than of a great and constructive accomplishment.

Today the United States has gotten to the highest point up to this moment in prosperity and general income, expressed in terms of the conveniences and all the comforts and things that individuals like; excelling in this regard any nation in history. But we should not assume that we are not prey to the same kind of deterioration that has afflicted other societies.

So what I am really concerned with is this: Are we getting so used to riches in the United States that we are losing some of those great qualities that did so much to bring us to the place where we are now? The initiative? The sense of self-assurance? Self-confidence? The ambition to do for oneself and one's family and one's locality?

Are we losing some of these qualities and, therefore, risking the loss of the liberties that will come about when some centralized government begins to perform more and more things for us?

A big part of it is the increased reliance on centralized government?

That is correct. More reliance because we are offered so many things. And the bill gets bigger and bigger and is reaching more and more people. Finally, everybody is told, "Well, just leave your problems to us. We are the bright boys, and we will do it for you. Don't worry."

Well, if we are going to lose our kind of personal ambition and individualism, that kind of citizenship responsibility, then the future begins to look dark indeed.

It is often argued, because of our fast-moving and complex age, that only the Federal Government is sufficiently big and well equipped to handle our problems. How do you answer this argument, General?

Well, I'd put it this way: I think that the millions of economic and social and political decisions that are made each day by a whole nation, if respected and properly applied by the several echelons of Government as envisioned and set up under our Constitution, give us a much greater assurance of continued prosperity and progress and the attainments of our basic aspirations and objectives than do the opinions and decisions of a few political figures in Washington, D.C.

How can this idea of individual responsibility be gotten across to people at a time when politicians are able to argue so per-

suasively in favor of Federal programs of one kind or another?

Human nature seems to be the only unchanging thing in this whole world. Even terrain changes. But go back to the time of Pericles, and study the history of his time, and you find that human nature is still the most stable or most rigid in its basic characteristics.

It would be foolish to think that we are now going to change human nature. But if we take the history of this country and show that free government is still under test, that it is not a completely proved philosophy for the long term, then, maybe we can appeal to self-interest—as well as to any other higher instincts of man—to get him to do the things he should do. It is his choice.

I am perfectly certain myself that the best answer to overcentralized government is better local and State government. Strangely enough, it seems that in local and State government more malfeasance and more crookedness have come to light than in the Federal Government.

Here and there, you hear of some of it at the Federal level, like the Teapot Dome scandal and a few others. But by and large, that part of it that has become visible has been in local government.

The real answer is, in my opinion, for these local governments to perform better. And that must come from the education of their citizens—better information and participation.

And I think, among other things, we have got to make the words "patriotism," "sacrifice," "citizenship"—these terms—mean more, as they once did.

When I was a boy, any 4th of July orator who didn't get up and talk about at least the Civil War and the Revolutionary War—as we used to say, "Pull a few feathers out of the eagle's tail"—we didn't think anything of him.

Now, today, you are considered sort of a square if you say that we ought to talk about patriotic instincts. And this is part of what I am talking about—the softening of the character of the individual, which means in the long run the softening of the Nation. We have got to be tougher with ourselves.

The Federal Government seems to be more and more involved in activities that pertain to local problems. Do you feel that citizens can really solve their problems if they show more initiative at the community level?

Let me say this: The Federal Government doesn't get any revenue that doesn't come from the localities. It gets its money from taxes.

Now, they do get a little more by printing a little money and through their borrowing capacity and the authority of the Federal Government. But by and large, the money Washington gets, it takes away from us.

Why do they know more about local problems than we do ourselves? Let's take a little town like this one—Gettysburg. Why does the Federal Government have greater wisdom in finding solutions for its problems than the people living here?

I think its a false assumption that the wisdom of the United States is centered in Washington. And I think it is on that assumption that we are so ready to give up our own responsibilities and powers of decisions. Let the money go there, and then some of it will come back to us under schemes and plans and programs that the bureaucrats say are proper and justified.

I think there ought to be more local pride. Our schools and the private local organizations that we have should indoctrinate our people by stressing local pride and local responsibility and authority. In the long run I simply don't believe it is possible to make laws centrally that can completely and wisely govern a nation as big as ours.

The conditions in the State of Washington are very different from conditions in Florida. And all across the way, when you go to the desert, the mountains or the agricultural regions or the great industrial centers, conditions are different. I just don't believe that we should have laws that assume complete conformity across the board.

One of our great American principles is free collective bargaining. Is the Federal Government moving too deeply into labor-management relations?

Well, they give guidelines, and I think that governing our economy by guidelines is false and bad. I believe that when the Federal Government throws its whole weight, its political weight, and every kind of influence it can bring to bear to dictate the prices of this country, it is going outside its province.

I do think the Federal Government has a right to call attention to such things as wage-price spirals, the danger of inflation and the risks that we run with an inflation trend. All of that kind of thing is perfectly proper, but it should be done in terms of dialogue or debate. When they definitely intervene in these things with a so-called constitutional responsibility, then I think it is wrong, very wrong.

There seems to be quite a widespread feeling now that Uncle Sam has to keep things booming. Is this one of the jobs of Government?

The Government should keep political and economic conditions in this country so that every man feels free to fulfill his own ambitions as long as he doesn't trample on the similar rights of others or ignore his obligations as a citizen.

Now, I think that the effort to keep a boom going when maybe a boom is not called for always, this is a matter of a few people saying they know better what is good for all of us than we do ourselves.

I do not want to appear as criticizing the need for national decisions affecting our currency, the value of our dollar, protecting it abroad, and all the rest of it. All these things have to be done because no individual can do them. But I think they ought to be done with the greatest concern for the mass of economic opinion—plain commonsense.

I don't think we should follow any one school of thought. We should strive here and see what every professional believes about these things. I flatly disagree with all those economists who say that it should be a deliberate policy of government to have unbalanced budgets, that we need to spend more money in the economy through the Federal Government than we take in. In the long run, this is a certain route to inflation. Creeping inflation, you see, has a tendency finally to become galloping inflation. That's the thing we should remember.

We have never had experience with a completely out-of-hand inflation, even though I believe that in the 7 years from 1945 to 1952, the cost of living went up about 47 percent. That was quite a heavy rise. And we seem to have a little bit now right along that line.

The policy of our Government should be to sustain the value of the dollar.

One reason is that we have become very dependent in our economy on pensions, insurance policies, on savings deposits, on the purchase of Government bonds, and so forth.

Now, if we are going constantly to find that when we put money into bonds, insurance policies, savings banks, and so on, we are going to get back in our old age only half of what we put in, sooner or later there is going to be a loss of confidence. And this is going to bring about a disastrous situation. You just can't do that.

Someone told me, although I never looked it up, that everybody who bought E bonds in World War II was told he was going to get back $1,000 for whatever he put in—$750, I think—that this was a very fine investment. Well, I was told that no one got back, in real purchasing power, as much as he put in. This is, to my mind, the Government fooling its people.

Well, General, what do you think is the wisest economic policy right now? We have had an unbalanced budget and we haven't seemed to have had much inflation.

As a matter of fact, we seem to be in a sustained rise in economic productivity and general prosperity that has lasted longer than in any similar period in our history. Some are saying it is because of our policies of reducing taxes. Well, this is just wonderful except for this: If it is true, why don't we reduce taxes to zero? So if you reduce this argument to the absurd, you begin to say somewhere along the line, "There must be a proper level."

Another thing, why in the first place did taxes have to go so very high? Why did our debt have to go so big? The costs of the war, of course, are one great answer. And the fact is that even during the war, our prices went up rapidly, in spite of OPA and all of its activities. Not only did you have black markets here and there, but the second you took all those controls off, you found out what your dollar would really purchase.

What we have to watch out for in coming years is some very real inflation. Certainly, unless our productivity grows continuously at a rate that is exceptionally rapid, we are bound to have—with the supply of money becoming more and more excessive—we are bound to have inflation.

And the unbalanced budget?

Well, I think an unbalanced budget also hurts us a bit abroad. While we now have this imbalance of payments, a lot of countries still believe we are capable of paying our debts. Therefore, they have faith in the dollar. This is an international faith that is distinguished from our domestic faith in the dollar. If others lose faith and begin to cash their dollars, goodness knows what would happen.

Would you say, then, that we need a more guarded policy toward protecting the value of the dollar than we have?

I think this: Whenever you have got high costs of government—and remember, our costs are not all reflected in just our administrative budget alone, there are trust funds and so on—cash expenditures are on the order of $120 billion—we should take up the domestic problems in cautious steps insofar as new government programs are concerned. If we initiate a vast number of programs that make the expenses go up and up, outside of our great defenses costs, then we are asking for trouble.

In other words, Federal Government activities have proliferated out of proportion to our real needs?

That's right. That's exactly what I mean.

General, do you feel that the American people, the people at large, really want a paternalistic government?

No; I think if you put it in those terms they would say "No." But everybody who gets something out of it, well, he says, "Everybody should be curtailed except me."

For example, when I was President I once went down before several thousand representatives of the rural electric cooperatives. And I told them, "Look, the job for which you were set up was not only a necessary one, the idea was a good one, and you were given money at 2 percent. Out of the Treasury you borrowed this money at 2 percent."

By that time, 95 percent or more of the farms in the United States had been electrified. I told them: "Today you ought to be ashamed of yourselves to take money from the Federal Government at 2 percent that we have to pay 4¼ for. This just doesn't make sense."

Well, they listened, and they were polite. I got polite applause because I came down to see them and because of my office. But the next day, an opposing political figure got up and suggested that if anyone came into their areas to propose that they should lose

their 2-percent money they ought to drive him out of the region with beer bottles.

Now this is the kind of thing that to my mind makes no sense. And the REA today needs 2 percent money just about like a dog needs a new flea. I don't see how anyone can defend it except as a way to keep some votes on his side.

General, in your forthcoming book, "The White House Years: Waging Peace," at several points you mentioned the farm economy of this country.

Yes.

Do you think we can ever get the American farm economy back on a free-market basis?

Well, of course, I took as my purpose, in my 8 years as President, not to do anything so abruptly that farmers would be ruined. But I found this from men experienced in this thing: The big farmer, the fellow who went into commercial farming on a big basis, was getting rich under our farm policies. I knew at least one such farmer intimately. And he told me what he had done and how he made himself a few million dollars.

But the little farmer, for whom all these things are presumably established, has been helped very little. He doesn't sell very much. What is the use of his going and selling a few hundred bushels of wheat or a few bushels of corn?

He consumes many of the things he grows on his farm. And then, he sells a few head of livestock that are fed from it. And there is very little that the program does for this fellow; he has to secure an additional part-time job.

What we tried to do was this: To get policies that would work gradually to get the Government out of these programs except on the basis of insurance against great disaster, because we found that the big commercial farms were profitable and the little fellow profited little.

As long as the little farm is no longer profitable except when run on a part-time or a garden basis, as in New Jersey, well, then, if we try to keep that kind of program going forever just by Federal handouts, then we are indeed foolish.

We have to bring farming back gradually to dependence upon a free market. If we don't, we will have an unbalanced economy, because we don't need that many men producing food and fiber today for us.

If we insist on keeping them there just on subsidy, I think we are being foolish.

We have gotten so used to the idea that when you get into trouble economically, either by class or by area, you just run to the Government and get a new law.

I would say that the more we can reduce Federal subsidies and use them only where we have national human problems that can't be solved completely locally, the better off we'll be. We have gone overboard with subsidies.

General, do you feel that businessmen can help to reeducate people to the economic realities you have discussed here? To the realization of the choices Americans must make to keep our freedoms?

Of course. But, the businessman, when he sees everything booming, often says, "Maybe we should just let things alone."

Remember this: No longer are as many businesses owned by a family or is there as much ownership management. We have a professional managerial class now that is in a position of great influence for a short time.

Therefore, instead of looking down the road at what is going to happen to business, they tend to take the short view, maybe looking at when they can cash their stock options and all the rest of it. They are more interested in the short term than they are in the long term.

We have talked about human nature. It seems that most of us prefer a bird in the hand rather than several in the bush.

Are we not more interested in the present dollar, the one that is now given us, than we are in the hope and the expectation and the planning of a better climate in the future to earn more dollars for the increased population we are bound to have?

Now, the businessman is less concerned about the future than if he and his family owned the business like they did before the times of the heavy death taxes and income taxes. It was then possible to pass businesses along pretty well.

Now, I believe in the graduated income tax. And I believe in reasonable death duties. But I do think that this has had a tendency to produce short-term rather than long-term ambitions.

General, do you thing it is feasible for some of the money-gathering and spending power of this country to be returned from Washington to the States and localities?

I'd like to, but let me tell you of one instance when I was in the White House. I had worked on this idea and talked to the Governors about it. We set up a plan under which we were going to give back one or two functions to the States, and had a particular tax we were going to give back to them.

Finally, a little group of Governors came to me and said, "Look, Mr. President, this is a very fine idea; we will take it on, except for this: Don't reduce that tax. Just give it back to us in our proper share."

I said, "Why?"

They said, "We don't want the burden of going and asking for taxes from our own people."

You see, they found that if the Federal Government would give them the money, this was easy for them. This is another reason why we have this constant magnet of Washington drawing in, not only money, but responsibility. And, finally, authority.

General, do you see your administration—in retrospect—as just a brief respite in the march toward more Federal involvement in people's lives?

Well, I'll tell you, a "respite" is the way you'd have to look at it now. I desperately tried to do this: To give the United States a chance to think, to take a look and see that there were different economic and governmental philosophies. You see, no one denies that there are problems. But it is just irresponsible to take money, give it to Washington and say that solves that one.

When the times comes that we in the United States cease to think of the individual as the most important factor in our whole governmental system, then we are going down the road of one-party government and centralized government.

In my case, I said, "Look, let's read the Constitution," and I talked to my Cabinet very seriously on this, "It is going to take a lot of courage to avoid doing some of the things that have seemed so popular in the past. Let us try to get back to the proper division of powers, between the legislature and the President and all the rest. Let us get back and look at the patterns given us by the Constitution for dispersing power, first geographically through the States and functionally among the judiciary, legislative, and the executive."

I think a lot of things have been happening. We have got too many and too powerful regulatory commissions that really have judicial, executive, and legislative powers. And I think it is bad unless they are properly controlled and made definitely responsible to the Congress and the President.

The effort of my administration, I should say, was to create an atmosphere of self-reliance and self-confidence among the people, to encourage them to make more of their decisions. I wanted localities and States to do more, so that we might halt the trend toward centralization that I thought to be unhealthy.

Of course, for 6 of my 8 years in the Presidency, Congress was controlled by the opposition. It was a difficult situation. I could do many things by persuasion because in certain fields there wasn't any great political advantage to be gained by the opposition. And so I had to use persuasion. It would have been crazy for me to get up and use the methods of a general running an army or a President with a large majority in the Congress.

But the fact is we continued to try to give individuals and localities larger responsibilities. In one thing for which I guess I was almost personally responsible—the highway construction program—it took me a long time to persuade Congress, but we finally got this great interstate system of roads. I felt strongly about the matter, partly because I had seen the great autobahns of Germany. But we had to settle for 90 percent Federal money and only 10 percent of State funds. I thought that was really unfair. I thought that at the very least, it should have been 75–25. At first I wanted them to be paid for on a toll basis, but I was persuaded that tolls were impractical.

Finally, we got the money by a tax on gasoline, oil, and so on. But I would really have preferred to have made them toll roads and, as they paid for themselves, abolished the tolls.

The highways are not paid for yet. Our plan was to get them built in 10 years, paid in 13 years, because I was certain that by the time we got them built, we would need some more.

Incidentally, I think the building of those highway systems is one of the reasons for our great increase in automobile sales.

But in all these various activities, local responsibility usually provides the best solution.

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Appendix

Rural Youth in a Changing Environment—A Report by Ruth Cowan Nash, of the National Conference, Sponsored by the National Committee for Children and Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the first national conference on the problems of rural youth in a changing environment was held at Oklahoma State University in Stillwater in 1963.

The objectives were to bring into national focus the complex problems of youth; to understand what causes these problems and to provide suitable answers.

Many of the Nation's top educators participated in this conference, including Dr. Paul A. Miller, president of West Virginia University, and conference cochairman.

Mrs. Ruth Cowan Nash, an able author and also a West Virginian, edited the report of the conference which provided a factual summary. Considerable attention was given to the needs of special groups, including Negro, American Indian, Spanish-American youth and also children of migrant workers. The recommendations of the conference are presented in "Rural Youth in a Changing Environment," and there is also an interesting "Profile of the Rural Juvenile Court Judge," included in the Appendix.

Winthrop Rockefeller, chairman of the conference, in his keynote address stated that he was gratified in the answers of youth relative to self-employment or working for the Government or a large corporation. The individualism of the majority came out when they replied that they would rather be on "their own," and Mr. Rockefeller admired the spunk of this generation. He said:

> Today, young people by and large are literate, intelligent, vibrant with courageous response to life. They are challenged by an educational experience that far exceeds anything which confronted past generations.

Many students from varied backgrounds were interviewed in a study analyzed by Dr. William Osborne, Arkansas State Teachers College. From these interviews came an insight into the thinking of rural youth—their views, fears, challenges, and hopes of the future.

As Dr. Miller stated:

> Rural young people are acquiring skills and work habits to go with them which, to considerable degree, may not relate to aptitude or aspiration; may not be realistic in terms of employment in or out of the rural community, and in fact, may be oriented to jobs or occupations that are obsolescent and disappearing.
>
> This characteristic is rooted in the very complex nature of values in the rural community, in the lagging aspirations of the family, in the quantity and quality of educational and other community services, and in the presence of special features of the community expressed through race, minority groups, and the extent of delinquency and retardation.
>
> Since the rural child is up against the natural reality of family, community, and kinship, we must face the possibility that the range and quality of his visual and verbal impressions, in and out of school, tend to limit his knowledge about alternatives in work as in other fields, to reduce his ability to deal with abstractions and concepts, and to emphasize a probably inward-facing disposition toward change.
>
> If this characterization is correct, we must conclude that rurality exacts the price from its young of relatively less awareness of the nonfarm world.

From this frank discussion, the conference gained an insight into the types of adversities rural youths face.

The postconference activities included reports, one of the foremost being the strengthening of our schools. This is so fundamental to an increased awareness and with the passage of the Higher Education Act of 1965, which was considered in the Senate Subcommittee on Education of which I am an active member, our schools will be strengthened.

Among other suggestions were: First, increasing the awareness of rural youth; second, mobilize the rural community for action; third, initiate and expand related educational programs; fourth, improve programs in guidance and counseling; fifth, expand opportunities for employment; sixth, provide necessary community services; seventh, foster moral and spiritual values; eighth, assist in adjustments to urban living and to conduct appropriate research.

The areas of concern in West Virginia were education, prevention of dropouts, and youth employment, as well as the development of human resources and economic resources. Also needed are ways of extending basic services to remote areas and job training, not for specific skills that may become obsolete, but to train young people to live in an era of change and in urban situations. The latter is being accomplished by the Job Corps centers, exemplified by two now functioning well in West Virginia, and more being planned for our State.

Battle of Fort Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 16, 1965

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, on October 10 the Washington Post published an editorial entitled the "Battle of Fort Washington." This timely editorial correctly states what I believe to be the proper method of settling the dispute over the future of Fort Washington which is located in my congressional district. Because I hope and assume that this issue will be before us in one form or another next session, I hereby request that the editorial be printed in the RECORD for the illumination of my colleagues.

BATTLE OF FORT WASHINGTON

Though nary a shot was fired from Fort Washington in 1814 against Redcoats advancing up the Potomac toward the Nation's Capital, this historic fortification on the Maryland shore has become a battleground a century and a half later. Fighting over the 340-acre site are two of the Federal Government's most peaceful agencies, the Smithsonian Institution and the National Park Service.

The Smithsonian would erect a National Armed Forces Museum there while retaining the natural landscape for outdoor exhibits and recreation use. The Park Service, championed aggressively by Secretary of the Interior Udall, wants to keep the land in order to complete longstanding plans to repair the fort, install a museum and build extensive camping and recreation facilities. In addition, the Park Service has embraced a proposal to build an amphitheater beside the Potomac to house an historical pageant. As things stand now, both forces are equipped with master plans though the Park Service has the tactical advantage of possession of the disputed territory.

The logical thing to do, however, is to get the battle out of the fort and before Congress. The museum plan is a good one, carefully worked out. It must be approved by Congress, where its merits and demerits as well as alternative uses for the site can be fully aired at open hearings. There is no reason why the Smithsonian and the Park Service cannot jointly administer the site if this proves desirable.

The pageant has a good deal of support and Washington's summer tourist influx could provide a large audience for such a venture; but its backers would be foolish to tie themselves to the Fort Washington site alone. An alternate location could be found. It would be equally foolish of Secretary Udall, in the face of the refusal of Congress to appropriate funds for renovation of Fort Washington in the past, to pursue this battle to remain commander of Fort Washington too stubbornly.

Dante Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, observance of the 700th anniversary of the birth of the great Italian poet, Dante, has been commemorated nationally. The Post Office Department has issued a special stamp to mark the event. In communities throughout the country special ceremonies have been in order, particularly observances sponsored by the academic community.

The recent Dante commemoration in Utica, N.Y., has been especially unique as it has not been sponsored by any academic society but rather stems from a community organization, the Mazzini Society, a group named after the great 19th century Italian leader in the Dante tradition.

I ask unanimous consent that the article by the chairman of the Utica Dante Centennial Celebration, Vernon Reyman, describing the commemoration and eloquently detailing the accomplishments and significance of Dante Alighieri, greatest of the Italian poets, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAZZINI SOCIETY OBSERVANCE: DANTE BELIEVED IN MAN'S RIGHT TO BE FREE

The 700th anniversary of the birth of Dante Alighieri, greatest of Italian poets, is being observed in Utica under the auspices of the Mazzini Society.

Two special events—an exhibit at Utica Public Library and a banquet at Twin Ponds on Sunday, September 19—are the climactic points in the area program.

Dante is being hailed and affectionately honored as philosopher, political scientist, social observer, and founder of the contemporary Italian language.

It is interesting to note that for several years Dante societies and scholars have been planning appropriate exhibits, concerts, symposia, and other programs.

The Mazzini Society of Utica, a cultural organization dedicated to the principles of freedom, unity, and justice is composed of Americans of Italian descent—has taken pride in sponsoring the local Dante observance celebration from September 6 to 20 because it believes it is the only nonacademically sponsored celebration anywhere.

It is true that the average citizen may have no more knowledge of this great genius except for his first name, Dante, but that goes also for men like Raphael, Michelangelo, Galileo, and others whose last names only few recognize.

It may further be true that only scholars are acquainted with his works, such as La Vita Nuova (1284) which deals with his spiritual love for a graceful, beautiful Beatrice whom he only met twice, but who was to leave a lasting impression upon him until he finally immortalized her in his great work, La Divina Commedia (1317).

The Commedia deals with his love, friendship, hates, morals, errors, intellectual weaknesses against a social and political background not too different from our own. The human struggle then was the same as now between power and obligation, the the choices of right and wrong and eventually to find peace within ourselves and peace with our God.

In his other contribution, De Vulgarie Eloquentia, he set out to establish the Italian language as one distinct from many local dialects and thus eventually serve as a unifying force in building a nation without feuds and divisions. Thus, Dante, later followed by Mazzini, Garibaldi, Carducci, D'Anunzio, and others, was an apostle of Italian unity.

In his political essay De Monarchia, dealing with the world-state, Dante searched closer and closer to the heart of things because he knew that only by such questioning or dialog all knowledge grows. He teaches us that man's potentialities cannot be realized in a void, and that only by social reactions may the individual obtain his full spiritual stature.

Dante was painfully concerned with the corruptio optimi pessima and saw in his own time what many of us see today—the curse of materialism that in itself breeds the thirst for worldly power which cannot but result in the catastrophe of the majestic empire, impotently prostrate, self-profaned and self-defeated in its own unholy triumph.

Interestingly enough, Dante was no rebel against political authority but perhaps a rebel against rebellion, against all and every form of anarchy, all social and political unrest.

Dante teaches us not only to put will into action, but he guides us through his own example of 19 years of political exile, to accept responsibility. He further proves that the search for happiness incorporated in our own political philosophy is a necessary consequence of the accomplishment of a moral obligation and that the search is not so much a right as it is a duty.

So he says in his De Monarchia, it is proper to the human race to make effective the latent or potential power of knowledge but that knowledge cannot be pursued without peace. Dante was in fact arguing for an international tribunal to keep peace and to direct the cooperation of men toward the realization of fullest humanity.

One must wonder why and how Dante was neglected for hundreds of years when he has so much to offer serving as an example to other men and ages who wish to attain universality and true glory. It is good then that we in Utica should look to Dante not only as a divine scholar but as a teacher for all men who sense and feel and suffer and love and die, and who are involved daily with personal problems as well as those problems enmeshed in the local, national, worldly, and also the religious ideas.

We must not limit our interest in Dante because his world-heaven picture may no longer fit ours. It would be most unfair to ourselves not to concern ourselves with his wisdom and contemplate carefully and cautiously his and our own present feelings and thoughts on equality, for example. Dante does not believe that men are born equal since nature imposes an obvious veto. In fact, he believes that inequality is essential to human progress.

Human progress, argues Dante, demands social organizations and social organizations involve a diversity of individual functions which means that humble jobs as well as exalted jobs, privates as well as captains, stokers as well as stewards, and college professors as well as college presidents are necessary. So we see that the great teacher is democratic indeed since he feels as we do today that personal fitness and inborn merit should be the proper criteria for qualifications of a man's birthright. No one can disagree with his whole total philosophy of universal life when he states that love and the gentle heart are but one and the same thing.

This great and good man died September 14, 1321 at the age of 56. He was buried in Ravenna in a stone tomb near the church of San Pier Maggiore.

VERNON REYMAN,
Chairman of the Utica Dante Centennial Celebration.

Mr. Johnson Meets the Pope

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to insert my own remarks and include extraneous matter, I wish to insert another column by Mr. Arthur Hoppe on his version of the meeting between President Johnson and Pope Paul:

MR. JOHNSON MEETS THE POPE

(By Arthur Hoppe)

"The Pope seems like a mighty nice feller," said the kindly old philosopher, leaning back in his rocker and snapping his galluses. "And it was a great speech he made to the U.N. But I think you got to hand it to our President, Mr. Johnson, for the way he brought the whole thing off."

Brought what off? "Why, the meeting," said the kindly old philosopher. "It's a touchy thing when one of our democratic Presidents meets a Pope. If he ain't reverent enough, there goes 10 million Catholic votes. And if he's too reverent, he loses six Bible belt States and all of east Texas.

"But he's got to worry about protocol. Now it's protocol you got to kneel and kiss the ring. I hear the boys down to the White House was pretty worried about this. But finally the President makes up his mind. 'Nope, boys,' he says humbly, 'it just wouldn't look right, the Pope kneeling to kiss my ring and I ain't a-going to make him do it.'

"So the President flies up to New York to have this chat with the Pope. Course, they got to talk to each other through interpreters. 'I sure been looking forward to howdying with you and pressing the flesh,' says the President for openers.

"'The President wishes to welcome Your Holiness to America,' explains the interpreter.

"The Pope says that's right neighborly. And he says he's come here to say how much he's in favor of peace and helping out poor folks, old folks, sick folks and the whole blessed human race.

"At this the President beams. 'Pope,' he says, 'I can't tell you how tickled I am you've come all this way to endorse the Democratic Party platform and my legislative record with Congress. And a speech like that's sure going to go over big here in New York. Course, I'd be obliged if you didn't hit the hustings. No offense, but I reckon an endorsement from you might be a mistake down home in Texas and such places.'

"This kind of riles a few of the Pope's aids and one mentions the doctrine of infallibility. 'Hold on,' says the President, raising his hand and bowing his head, 'a lot of my best friends cotton to that there doctrine. But not me. Like I tell them in all humility, I did too make a mistake once. I think it was back in 1934. Or maybe 1935.'

"Well, with this out of the way, they get down to a nice chat about world problems. And the President don't mind giving the Pope his advice. Like: 'Now what you should've done with that there ecumenical council is invite the opposition up to a barbecue and drop a few hints about dams and postmasterships.'

"So finally the meeting's over. He goes out to bless the crowd. And the Pope does too. 'Y'all come back in 19 and 68,' says the President for closers. 'And I'll grant you another private audience.'"

"Now wait a minute," I said, interrupting the kindly old philosopher, "from reading the papers I didn't believe it happened that way at all."

"Well, maybe not," he said, his kindly old eyes twinkling through his kindly old specs. "But from what I read, you still got to hand it to Mr. Johnson. Yes, sir, he swallowed his pride and treated the Pope like an equal."

Good Reason To Keep 14(b)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACKSON E. BETTS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, on October 7, 1965, the Washington Daily News published an editorial which brought to light a powerful argument against repeal of the right-to-work law which, it seems to me, has not been stressed enough. That is the threat by Federal employee unions to drive for union shop contracts with the Government if repeal is passed by Congress. The case which the News makes against repeal on this ground is strengthened by a quote from former Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg who said that the union shop was "inappropriate to the Federal Government." A copy of the editorial follows:

[From the Washington Daily News, Oct. 7, 1965]

GOOD REASON TO KEEP 14(b)

If the Taft-Hartley Act's section 14(b) is repealed, unions which represent Federal employees are reported ready to launch a major drive for union shop contracts with the Government.

They are inhibited in this ambition now by the laws of 19 States which outlaw such agreements. But repeal would wipe these laws off the books, and give sanction to the union shop principle as national policy.

This is one of the best reasons we can think of for opposing repeal of 14(b).

We stand with Arthur Goldberg, who said while he was Secretary of Labor that the union shop was "inappropriate to the Federal Government." We go further; we think compulsory unionism is inappropriate (and worse) anywhere. But especially as applied to Federal employees.

Union shop contracts would force Government workers to join unions and pay dues or lose their jobs.

This would not only be repugnant to the hard-won merit system in civil service, but also would violate—at least in spirit—restrictions on political coercion written into present law.

The Hatch Act, for instance, forbids any person paid with U.S. funds from firing or "degrading" a Federal employee for failing to make a contribtuion "for any political purpose." It provides stiff criminal penalties. Another section of the United States Code guarantees that no Federal employee is under any obligation to contribute to any political fund or activity, and that "he will not be removed or otherwise prejudiced for refusing to do so."

These laws were passed for good reason—to prevent shakedowns and reprisals by politically partisan higher-ups in the Government. Yet Federal union shop contracts, in effect, would give labor bosses the same power which is denied to Federal employers.

It is true that only a portion of union dues money is used for openly political purposes. And that the Supreme Court has ruled a union member may refuse to pay that portion of his dues which is to be used for political activities which he opposes.

In practice, however, the Court's edict is impossible to enforce. As Justice Black said in his separate opinion on the case:

"There can be no doubt that the * * * union shop contract * * * takes a portion of the earnings of some men and turns it over to others, who spend a substantial part of the funds so received in efforts to thwart the political, economic, and ideological hopes of those whose money has been forced from them under authority of law."

Senators engaged in the current debate on 14(b) repeal—and especially those not yet completely dominated by labor's political power—should ask themselves:

"Is this what I want for Federal, as well as other, rank-and-file workers? Is this what my vote should help establish as a matter of national policy?"

If they think about it long enough, and hard enough, we're convinced the answer of a majority of Senators will be: No.

Life Magazine Editorial Answered With the Facts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, in its September 17 issue, Life magazine, which has repeatedly published misleading information concerning flood control and river development projects—hit a new low in editorial comment.

In an editorial, entitled "The Seductive Odor of Pork," the Life editors once again attempted to discredit the Nation's water resources development program.

On September 22, 1965, the executive vice president of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, John L. Person, replied to the Life editorial in a letter addressed to the editor.

Life magazine has chosen not to print the Person letter, and thereby has compounded the wrong committed in its September 17 editorial.

In the belief that the full text of General Person's letter will be of general interest, and in the further belief that it is an effective rebuttal to the misrepresentations of the September 17 Life editorial, the complete text of the letter is reproduced at this point in the RECORD:

NATIONAL RIVERS AND HARBORS CONGRESS,
Washington, D.C., September 22, 1965.

To the EDITOR,
Life Magazine, Times-Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y.

DEAR SIR: I have read your September 17 editorial, entitled "The Seductive Odor of Pork," with its implication that most, if not all, projects for water resource development are politically inspired boondoggles. It demonstrates an appalling lack of recognition of the vital part which water resources have played in the growth of the Nation and of the urgent need for accelerated development of those resources if the United States is to meet the needs of an expanding population and an expanding economy.

Seldom does a year pass without a devastating flood ravaging some area of the country. Existing flood control projects—which your editorial condemns as "pork-barrel"—have cost a total of about $5 billion. They have prevented an estimated $12.5 billion in direct property damage, to say nothing of the loss of life and the physical and mental suffering which they have prevented. As one example, the Cherry Creek Dam in Colorado, which was widely ridiculed a few years ago, was built at a cost of about $15 million. This dam prevented in excess of $130 million in damages to the Denver area during the recent floods—thus paying for itself more than eight times over in 1 year. Had the nearby companion Chattfield Dam been constructed—and the fact that it was not constructed was largely due to the "pork barrel" attacks on Cherry Creek—practically all of the $300 million damages Denver suffered would have been prevented. Example after example could be cited of flood control projects which have far more than paid for themselves in their brief life, and the structures will remain to give protection for generations to come. And yet you repeat the hoary cliche of "pork-barrel."

As to navigation, the record shows that the annual transportation savings is several times the annual cost. All but one of our major ports and harbors were created by and are dependent upon pork barrel projects—past, present, and future—for their ability to carry our ocean-going traffic. Our 19,000 miles of improved inland waterways have made possible the industrialization of vast areas of the interior of the country. From 1952 through 1964, 5,370 new plant construction projects were completed along the navigable waterways. As one example, about $22 billion was invested in industrial expansion between 1950 and 1964 in the counties bordering the canalized Ohio River. Low-cost water transportation was an important factor in stimulating this expansion. The dispersal of industry, occurring naturally by reason of the availability of inland water transportation for bulk raw materials and fuels, would be of inestimable value in the event of a nuclear war.

What used to be considered as incidental benefits of many flood control and navigation projects—water supply, low-flow augmentation, and recreation—are gaining daily in importance. The current water supply crisis in the Northeastern States is one excellent example of the need for accelerating the program which you refer to as pork barrel. In the August 1963 drought over half the Ohio River's flow at Cincinnati came from upstream flood control reservoirs. Without these releases, the river's flow would have been the lowest in 30 years. U.S. Public Health Service experts recognize that dilution through low-flow augmentation is essential to insure adequate water quality.

You suggest that one way to cut out the "pork" would be to require local areas to "put up a substantial percentage of the cost of every pork barrel appropriation." They have been doing it for years. Of the 12 projects recommended by the Board of Engineers for rivers and harbors on the very day your editorial was dated—September 17—local interests will pay 30 percent of the costs of 1 of the projects, 43 percent of another, 50 percent of 3 more, 63 percent of still another, a substantial but as yet uncomputed part of 2 others, and on only 4—4 projects which will benefit the public generally, as distinguished from identifiable individuals or groups against whom costs could be charged—will the local contribution be less than 30 percent.

You scorned the benefit-to-cost ratio applied in these projects. You ignore the strict standards of cost analysis and review, by the Corps of Engineers and the Congress—so strict that the Corps has rejected 4,302 project proposals, against recommendation of 3,380, over the years. Whether or not this rejection was "pious"—to use your word—is not particularly pertinent.

One of the most misleading of the many inaccuracies in your editorial is that "The massed weight of the Texas congressional delegation is working for an eventual $900 million authorization that would make seaports out of Dallas and Fort Worth by dredging the Trinity River to a depth of 12 feet * * *." Disregarding the obviously ridiculous idea that a 12-foot barge channel creates a "seaport," the fact is that the Trinity River project is a multipurpose project for flood control, water supply, water quality control, navigation, and recreation. There is an urgent need in the area for all of those features. For example, an official of the U.S. Public Health Service has stated that "In the Trinity system, storage for water pollution control is a plain necessity; the river serves one of the fastest growing areas in the United States, it is already polluted along many of its reaches, and flow augmentation is a requirement." Though your editorial implied that the total cost was for navigation, in fact the navigation features account for less than half the cost. If the total project, including navigation, is authorized a local contribution of over $173 million will be required. The Report of the House Committee on Public Works states that local and State sources have already spent $269 million in the Trinity Basin, and expenditures to be made will bring their investment to half a billion. This would appear to constitute a "substantial percentage."

In summary, it is disappointing and disturbing that a national magazine would print a superficial, inaccurate, and cynical editorial using innuendo and false implications not only to discredit the entire program of water resource development, on which the future of this country largely depends, but also to impugn the integrity of the Congress and the Army Corps of Engineers.

Sincerely,

JOHN L. PERSON,
Executive Vice President,
National Rivers and Harbors Congress.

Food and Agriculture Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman very much. I would like to direct a question to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] in regard to the provisions now in the cotton bill. As I understand the law, we have always had a prohibition against grazing diverted acres in the wheat and feed grain sections of the law other than under drought conditions or adverse circumstances. Is it my understanding that the same provisions exactly would now apply to cotton on grazing diverted acres?

Mr. POAGE. That is exactly my understanding. There will be no grazing allowed on any diverted acres except in the case of these emergency situations such as a drought where the Secretary makes that kind of a finding.

Mr. PURCELL. I thank the gentleman very much.

The Real Alabama—LXXIV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the picture of southern fried chicken draws up a vision of the Old South which in many ways is no longer accurate. Recent changes in most parts of the South have been so great that they are probably not recognized by persons who have not gone to see for themselves.

The way poultry is grown and processed, for example, has little relation to the former days. It all is modern now.

The same is true with other aspects of the food industry including meat growing and processing and the production of fruit and vegetables.

The following article from the Birmingham News supplement of August 22, 1965, describes recent progress in Alabama's food industry.

AN OPPORTUNITY FOR BROAD EXPANSION

The food industry in Alabama is one of the most promising aspects of the State's economy.

Alabama's natural resources, coupled with individual industries, food processing research at Auburn University and efforts of the Alabama Farm Bureau Federation provide the impetus for the bright food picture.

Just recently the Alabama Farm Bureau Federation announced plans to build a State-owned experimental food procesing plant, thus giving farmers in the State a bigger share in the food market.

The Agricultural Experiment Station at Auburn University conducts constant research in the field of food and food processing, fostering scientific and industrial advances which have brought about improvements in packaged foods available to American consumers.

New processing methods developed for peaches, berries, potatoes, and fresh fruits and vegetables in the Auburn Agricultural Research Center offers excellent possibilities for industrial development in Alabama.

This State has a number of advantages for growing certain fruits and vegetables for canning, freezing, pickling, and preserving. Its soil and climate are suited to vegetable crops such as peas, okra, turnip greens, collards, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, green beans, limas, pimentos, and pickling cucumbers.

One food processor which has grown tremendously in the past 20 years is King Pharr with three plants in the State.

The Cullman plant provides an excellent example of a firm's impact on the community and the area. With few exceptions, all raw vegetables are purchased from farmers in the area around Cullman.

Harvest time finds farmers bringing their vegetables to the King Pharr plant where processing begins. Another boon to the independent farmer's economy is that many of the workers at the plant are wives of the farmers who find it convenient and profitable to take this type of part-time work.

Meat processing and poultry processing also plays an important part in the State's economic picture. During the early years food processing—a veritable industrial giant—developed greatly on a national level, yet developments in the South and especially in Alabama were comparatively slow.

Alabama's multimillion-dollar poultry processing industry seems assured of continued steady expansion over the next few years as it moves further and further away from the day of the "shade tree" operation.

The processing industry future looks bright in view of Agriculture Commissioner A. W. Todd's description of Alabama as the "fastest growing" broiler State in the United States.

The "forced" marriage of the processing industry to the producers thereby appears to be on a blissful honeymoon course.

Both have come a long way from the time when a cotton farmer raised some broilers for his family and a few more to sell by the roadside to pick up extra cash. The processing industry then was a pot of water under a shade tree out in the yard.

Last year, Alabama's broiler flock was 242,764,000 and the vast majority were prepared by the State's 30 modern processing plants for cooking in the ovens of millions of American and European homes.

The processors dressed enough birds that each of the 3,266,740 persons in Alabama could have been supplied with about 75 fowl—and that's a lot of southern fried chicken.

The poultry and processing industries have multiplied their output almost five times over sinve 1955—when only 57 million birds were raised and about 50 million dressed.

"Alabama is recognized throughout the United States and the world as a leader in the poultry industry," says Pyron Keener, supervisor of the division of poultry, State department of agriculture.

Alabama ranked third in broiler production in 1964 behind Georgia and Arkansas the poultry expert said.

Gov. William W. Scranton, of Pennsylvania, Assures Canadian Businessmen and Industrialists That the New Business Climate in the Keystone State Provides a Profitable Place To Locate a Production of Distribution Facility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT J. CORBETT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. CORBETT. Mr. Speaker, on October 5, 1965, the committee of 100,000 Pennsylvanians sponsored a luncheon for Canadian businessmen at the Royal York Hotel, Toronto, Canada, at which time Gov. William W. Scranton described with telling effect the result of the recent economic resurgence in Pennsylvania. Governor Scranton's interesting address follows:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE WILLIAM W. SCRANTON, GOVERNOR, COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA, 100,000 PENNSYLVANIANS LUNCHEON, ROYAL YORK HOTEL, TORONTO, CANADA, OCTOBER 5, 1965

Although you have graciously accepted our invitation to join us here for lunch, actually, we are here as your guests.

And as grateful guests, we intend to observe faithfully the visitors' Golden Rule—never bite the hand that feeds you.

By that, I mean we are not here to spirit away—or pirate—your industries.

In the first place, we have deep respect for the industrial progress and achievements which you have made here and elsewhere in our very good neighbor to the north.

And, in the second place, "pirating" doesn't work. I know, because I have tried it.

Even if one succeeds in moving an industry completely from one State or country to another, usually the result is an unhappy management with new problems they didn't anticipate.

We are here simply to suggest that, as your businesses grow and prosper and you seek new markets to conquer, Pennsylvania deserves a good, hard look as a profitable place to locate a production or distribution facility.

Several of your industries have already found a home away from home in Pennsylvania. Recently, Moore Business Forms expanded into southeastern Pennsylvania, their third plant in our State; Turnbull Elevator located a facility in Erie; and Alcor Packaging Co., expanded in New Castle.

We have welcomed and prized them as fine, responsible, industrial citizens of our State; and we hope others will follow.

The fact is, business and industry have been discovering the new Pennsylvania in record numbers lately.

Last year, there were 811 announcements of new plant locations or expansions in Pennsylvania—the greatest number in recent years. This year looks equally good.

The results of Pennsylvania's recent economic resurgence have been spectacular.

Twice this year we have established new monthly records for low unemployment.

Seven times in the past year the unemployment rate has fallen equal to or below the U.S. rate.

Pennsylvania's index of general business this year hit its alltime high.

Pennsylvania's growth rate in industrial production has hit a pace nearly three times as fast as the Nation's.

Pennsylvania's increase in average family income has been greater than the national average.

And just this past July, we were able to announce the largest State budget surplus in the history of our Commonwealth—$105 million—a direct result of the unprecedented progress and prosperity which we are currently enjoying.

The truth is—Pennsylvania is young again.

With this rejuvenation has come the thunder and strength, the high spirits and strapping good health which are the special treasures of youth.

How has all this come about?

Obviously, we must be doing something right. Certainly, our very success is an important multiplier, because business, just as everyone else, likes to put its money on a winner.

We think there are five main reasons for this success.

These are geography and how we're exploiting it; financial capital; our work force; our modern and progressive tax climate; and our new, clean, bright business climate.

As a matter of geography, Pennsylvania is situated smack in the middle of the heavily populated megalopolis that sprawls down the eastern seaboard. And it is the natural corridor between the East and Midwest.

There are points in Pennsylvania from which goods can be shipped to reach overnight 85 million consumers in the world's richest market.

To make full use of nature's endowment, Pennsylvania has probably the most flexible transportation system in the Nation; 62,000 miles of hard-surfaced roads; 8,800 miles of railroads; 16 commercial airline terminals; two deepwater seaports; a major river port.

We are further exploiting our natural geography advantage by developing a highway system that soon will be the envy of the Nation.

This year, I proposed the biggest highway-building program in any State's history. Ten billion dollars of construction in 10 years. This program has already been launched with the expansion of our highway department's capability to handle this enormously increased load.

Our current budget calls for the biggest single year of highway construction in Pennsylvania history. When our part of the Interstate Highway System is completed, it will be literally possible to move goods anywhere in the eastern market and do it quicker and cheaper from Pennsylvania than from any neighboring State.

We have begun to experience, because of this fact, a big increase in location of truck terminals, warehouses and other distribution facilities within our State.

In 1963, the Pennsylvania Legislature made such distribution facilities eligible for the same low interest loans that have been granted to manufacturing plants by the Pennsylvania Industrial Development Authority since 1956.

Mentioning the Pennsylvania Industrial Development Authority—or PIDA, as we call it—brings me to the second reason Pennsylvania has been growing faster than ever lately. That reason is financial capital.

Pennsylvania, of course, is a powerhouse of traditional, private financial sources—the third largest in the United States.

To this, we have added public and semi-public sources of capital which are second to none in the Nation.

Pennsylvania is the pioneer in 100-percent plant financing through the Pennsylvania Industrial Development Authority. We provide 2 percent second mortgage money for plant construction which is used in combination with loans from banks and funds raised by local industrial development groups—there are over 150 such groups in the State.

The best testimonial I know to the effectiveness of PIDA is the tremendous acceptance it has received from the business community. Since 1956, the Pennsylvania Industrial Development Authority has committed over 530 loans for projects with a total cost of more than $200 million. Companies like ITT, RCA, and Masonite have used PIDA, as well as many of our small growth businesses.

In a related program, we can now boast in Pennsylvania of three development credit corporations covering all parts of the State.

These development credit corporations are privately owned, State-encouraged instruments to provide capital where conventional lending would not be available.

They make over millions of dollars available in financing for working capital, for machinery, and for equipment. The funds are provided by Pennsylvania banks and other lending institutions and business and industry.

The third reason Pennsylvania's economy has been doing so well lately is our work force—its stability, skill and productivity, and trainability.

Pennsylvania was the first stronghold of American industry and therefore it very naturally became the first stronghold of labor organizations.

There may be some who still hold the old-fashioned idea that Pennsylvania is a difficult labor area and overunionized. The truth of the matter is this—today labor and management in Pennsylvania have achieved a hardheaded, harmonious understanding of the need for cooperation in the roles they play in production.

This awareness has proved itself again and again in day-to-day relations between Pennsylvania labor and management. And responsibility and fairness have created a good labor climate in Pennsylvania. For example—

Fewer total man-hours were lost through work stoppages last year in Pennsylvania, the Nation's third largest industrial State, than in any other of the top seven industrial States—fewer than in Michigan, Ohio, California, New York, Illinois, and New Jersey.

Work stoppages in Pennsylvania have declined steadily since 1959. No other major industrial State enjoys so enviable record.

And last year, Pennsylvania ranked 25th among the States (and well below the U.S. average) in percent of total working time lost due to labor disputes.

Also important when considering labor, are the three different training programs in use and our expanded technical school system. Over 25,000 workers have been trained or retrained since 1953, free of charge to employers, by these programs. Seventeen area technical schools are now in operation; 42 more are in the works.

The main point is—industrial workers of Pennsylvania are organized workers; but they have been born to the lathes, to the tools and dies and to the machines of production.

We have responsible labor. They do not abuse their collective strength—because they understand industrial production.

These are the workers that progressive industry management wants today—because they are the workers who set the productivity records for which Pennsylvania labor is well known.

The fourth reason that Pennsylvania is improving its economic posture is the improved tax climate and the useful Government services our taxes purchase.

One of the first things business wants to know about Government services is how heavy are the taxes needed to pay for them.

We're proud of the fact that in Pennsylvania we don't soak business.

Nor, on the other hand, do we offer business a free tax ride.

There are States with lower business taxes than Pennsylvania, but they are not States which are our industrial competitors. They are not States which can offer the services we offer.

In the top 11 industrial States, Pennsylvania ranked among the very lowest in total State and local taxes paid by business.

Since 1953, the share of State taxes paid directly by business in Pennsylvania has been reduced with bipartisan political support from over 46 percent of the total to under 25 percent this year.

Most recently, depreciation allowances for corporate net income tax on new and expanded plants was increased by 50 percent to 1½ times the Federal rate.

Research and development firms were extended the same exemptions previously enjoyed by manufacturing companies from corporate stock and franchise taxes.

Despite all of this, we have also managed to keep Pennsylvania competitive with comparable States in taxes paid by consumers and other individuals.

We have no State income or wage tax.

Our principal source of revenue is a sales tax, every cent of which is spent on education.

Because the sales tax does not apply on clothing, shoes, prescription medicine, or food purchased at a grocery store, Pennsylvanians pay less than residents of comparable States with a sales tax.

In comparing combined State and local taxes per capita, Pennsylvania ranks lower than New York, California, Illinois, and Michigan, as well as the U.S. average.

Finally, unemployment compensation. This is not technically a tax, but it represents a major cost of doing business in any State. For years, our unemployment compensation contained wasteful abuses. We called them loopholes. They drained $55

million a year from the unemployment compensation fund. At the same time, we charged new employers the highest rate—4 percent.

We decided that if Pennsylvania really meant business, reform of the unemployment compensation program was a must. To the credit of legislators, private citizens, and our administration, the reforms were enacted just a year ago.

As a result, the fund today is $263 million in the black in contrast to $92 million in the red 18 months ago. The rate for new companies is down to 2.7 percent, and the minimum rate was halved to 1 percent.

As I mentioned earlier, every cent of our State sales tax goes into education.

Without increasing taxes on business, we have been able to embark on a major revolution in education, with—higher State subsidies for local school districts; teachers' salaries raised; the largest college building program in our history; a statewide educational television network; a statewide system of community colleges and regional technical schools.

Without increasing taxes on business, we have launched or enlarged major programs:

To conserve and preserve the bounty and beauty of our land and water.

To aid our cities in renewal and rehabilitation, including the improvement of mass transportation within them.

And to bring help and comfort to those unfortunates who cannot do for themselves. (Incidentally, our relief rolls are now at the lowest point in a decade.)

We have given new emphasis, too, to programs of service from which business can expect to profit directly.

The office of the Pennsylvania representative in Washington, D.C., gives effective help to Pennsylvania firms which are seeking Federal contracts.

A newly created Governor's Science Advisory Council, made up of Pennsylvania experts in the fields of science, engineering, and education, has prepared a blueprint for the State's growth in science-oriented fields, and is available to counsel new industry on scientific personnel facilities, and advantageous locations in the State.

Our department of commerce has a new program to help Pennsylvania exporters get a bigger share of the foreign markets.

All in all, Pennsylvania has been making good on its pledge to return every tax dollar collected in the form of a dollar's worth of services.

That brings me to the fifth and final factor which has played a prominent role in Pennsylvania's economic renaissance.

I refer to the business climate.

In many ways, it is perhaps the most important factor.

The business climate of a State is really the reflection of the attitude of the people—and this attitude, in turn, affects the laws and their administration at every level of government. It can make the difference between a profitable, pleasant operation and a strife ridden, borderline existence.

The progress Pennsylvania has been making in improving its business climate is little short of phenomenal.

First of all, the fact that we are here today is evidence of the spirit that permeates our State—a feeling deep in the people of friendliness to industry.

The people of Pennsylvania are demonstrating most clearly that they, in truth, do understand that it is business and industry—not government—that creates jobs and prosperity.

As a vehicle to express this feeling and our citizens' belief in the free enterprise system and their welcome to the national and international business community, the "100,000 Pennsylvanians," which John Ryan told you a little about, was formed 2 years ago.

The organization is entirely financed and directed by private business, industry, and individuals.

This meeting today, as you know, is sponsored by those citizens of Pennsylvania. They are playing a major role as partners of our State government in moving Pennsylvania forward.

The good business climate that prevails in Pennsylvania, however, is not merely a matter of mood.

Even before I was inaugurated as Governor, I wanted to make it clear to the business community that it has a place in the councils of the government of Pennsylvania.

So, I asked 21 of our top business and industrial leaders to form a Council of Business and Industry which would have the task of looking at Pennsylvania and her government from a business viewpoint and making recommendations for improvements wherever possible.

After thorough deliberation, the council submitted thoughtful and realistic recommendations for making Pennsylvania a much better place to do business. Most of them have already been put into effect and others are on their way.

We want industry to know that they are not going to get the red carpet treatment only while we are urging them to locate in Pennsylvania, and the redtape treatment after they get there. To avoid this, one of the ideas suggested by the Council of Business and Industry has been particularly valuable. It is a unique arrangement for cutting redtape when business must deal with several departments or agencies of the State government. I don't believe any other State has anything quite like it.

We call it the Interdepartmental Clearing Council or "action board." Basically it is an action committee made up of policy-level representatives from every department of the government. It operates under the supervision of the Commerce Department.

The job of our Interdepartmental Clearing Council is to unsnarl the bureaucratic maze and see to it that industry gets quick answers and legitimate service.

The idea is working.

We have recorded dozens of examples where the council has made it easier to do business in Pennsylvania, and in some cases industries that would have left us have been saved.

It is our firm intention to see to it that it continues to be a pleasure to do business in Pennsylvania, by continually improving our business climate.

In geographical location, in availability of capital, in work force, in tax climate and in business climate, I honestly believe that you will find Pennsylvania hard to beat.

Canada and the United States have enjoyed a friendly and cooperative relationship which is probably unique in the history of this world.

While we both maintain our sovereignty and independence, sincere respect and trust have grown between us—and this is as it should be.

But we should not, either of us, take the other for granted.

We must continue to work hard at nourishing and furthering this mutually beneficial relationship.

Economic interchange provides one of the real and lasting ties that bind.

We hope that in our comparatively small way Pennsylvania can do its part in strengthening those ties.

I thank you tremendously for this opportunity to tell you our story. Secretary of Commerce Tabor and his staff will be following up to acquaint you further with the new opportunities in the new Pennsylvania.

It is the hope of all of us that you will think Pennsylvania when you think expansion to the South.

Thank you again.

Horton Salutes Polish Americans on Pulaski Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, Count Casimir Pulaski came to these shores to serve the cause of freedom by fighting in the American Continental Army commanded by Gen. George Washington. He received an appointment from the Continental Congress as one of Washington's cavalry commanders, and distinguished himself in many engagements with the enemy. While leading an attack to relieve the captured city of Savannah, Ga., he received the wounds from which he later died on October 11, 1779. It is the anniversary of the death from battle wounds of this great American patriot, and this great Pole, Casimir Pulaski, that we observe here in this Chamber.

He fought the Russian domination of Poland, and he fought the British domination of America. It is his memory and his achievement in these causes that we celebrate today on the 186th anniversary of his heroic death.

His military career in America was tragically short. In September of 1777, Pulaski served with Washington at the battle of Brandywine, and fought with great distinction. He commanded the cavalry during the winter of 1777 at Trenton, and later at Flemington. He served with General Wayne in scouting for supplies for the starving troops at Valley Forge.

In March of 1778, Pulaski was asked to organize an independent cavalry corps. He established headquarters at Baltimore from which he was sent to protect American supplies at Egg Harbor, N.J., where his legion was ambushed and defeated because of information given to the British by a deserter. Indian massacres in the Cherry Valley caused Pulaski to be sent to Minisink on the Delaware River. After 3 months there he was ordered to go to the support of General Lincoln in South Carolina.

He arrived at Charleston in May of 1779, and was defeated by the superior forces of General Provost. Joining General Lincoln and the French fleet in their attack on Savannah, he bravely charged the enemy lines at the head of his cavalry, and fell gravely wounded. He was removed to one of the ships of the fleet, the *Wasp*, whose surgeons were unable to help him, and he died on board.

His was a gallant death in the cause of his adopted country, and worthy of remembrance on this day by all Americans, whatever their descent may be. Polish Americans should take special pride in the fact that at the time of the birth of the American Republic a Pole was at the head of an heroic cavalry charge against the enemy of this new country dedicated to liberty. Since those days, Polish Americans have made many contributions to American struggles

against tyranny. In so doing they have followed the example set for them and for all Americans by the brave Pulaski.

Americans of Polish descent, like their great hero, Count Casimir Pulaski, have died in the defense of freedom while fighting in the Armed Forces of the United States. During the height of the fighting of World War II, President Roosevelt recognized the extent of the service and sacrifices made by Polish Americans when he told the Polish American Congress in Buffalo on May 28, 1944, that, "All of us are proud of the unsparing efforts of this group of Americans in our war effort, at the front, in our factories, and on our farms."

Some Polish American mothers had as many as 11 sons on active duty at the same time. It is estimated that from 900,000 to 1,000,000 Americans of Polish descent saw active duty in our Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force during the Second World War. Over a hundred Polish American priests served as chaplains. Whether they were on the battlefield or on the home front, Americans of Polish descent served the United States during the war with a full measure of devotion, just as they do today. Then, as now, they were true to the momory of Pulaski.

Mr. Speaker, throughout our land, by Presidential proclamation, and especially in my home State of New York, by gubernatorial proclamation, this day, October 11, is being observed as Pulaski Day. For their pertinence to my remarks and their further tribute to the memory of this great Polish patriot, I am pleased to include the text of President Johnson's and Governor Rockefeller's proclamations.

PROCLAMATION 3665—GENERAL PULASKI'S MEMORIAL DAY, 1965, BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Whereas Casimir Pulaski, Polish patriot and valiant defender of freedom, offered his services to the Continental Army during the American War for Independence; and

Whereas Congress acknowledged his brilliant military leadership at Brandywine by awarding him the rank of brigadier general and allowing him to form an independent corps of cavalry and light infantry which won acclaim as Pulaski's Legion; and

Whereas this year marks the 186th anniversary of his death from wounds received while leading a cavalry charge during the siege of Savannah, Ga.; and

Whereas it is proper that the American people continue to pay grateful tribute to General Pulaski for his heroic sacrifice in freedom's cause, and to the manifold and continuing contributions of Polish Americans in the defense and progress of this Nation;

Now, therefore, I, Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate Monday, October 11, 1965, as General Pulaski's Memorial Day; and I direct the appropriate Government officials to display the flag of the United States on all Government buildings on that day. I also invite the people of the United States to observe the day with appropriate ceremonies in honor of the memory of General Pulaski and the noble cause for which he gave his life.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this third day of August in the year of our Lord 1965, and of the Independence of the United States of America the 190th.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

By the President:

DEAN RUSK,
Secretary of State.

PROCLAMATION

October 11, 1965, will mark the 186th anniversary of the death of Count Casimir Pulaski, Brigadier General of the Continental Army. Wounded at the Battle of Savannah while leading a cavalry charge, this gallant leader of Poland's fight for independence gave his life in order that America might be free.

If General Pulaski were alive today he would see the Nation he helped to create grown to be the richest and most powerful country in the world. He would expect it to be a haven for those who seek liberty and a champion of those who are oppressed.

Today Poland, the land of General Pulaski's birth, his homeland for which he fought unsuccessfully as head of the Confederation of Bar, is once more under the domination of the foreign power whose shackles he had sought to remove. Pulaski's spirit is still alive in his people here and overseas. Poland was not lost in Pulaski's day. It is not lost today.

On this occasion therefore, in honoring the memory of one of Poland's most illustrious sons, we call upon all who love freedom to remember in their prayers and resolves the gallant people of Poland—still our allies in our efforts to preserve freedom wherever it is found in the world.

New Yorkers of Polish origin quite properly commemorate General Pulaski with parades and other appropriate festivities.

Now, therefore, I, Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of the State of New York, do hereby proclaim October 11, 1965, as Pulaski Day in New York State.

Given under my hand and the Privy Seal of the State at the Capitol in the City of Albany this 16th day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five.

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER.

By the Governor:

WILLIAM J. RONAN,
Secretary to the Governor.

Memorial Dedication to the Late B. Carroll Reece

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, it was an honor to be present yesterday, October 10, at the memorial dedicated to the late B. Carroll Reece who served the First District of Tennessee so faithfully for more than three decades.

First elected to the 67th Congress, Representative Reece served, except for two short periods, until his death on March 19, 1961. He is well remembered as a dedicated statesman and Republican who also served as National Republican Chairman during 1946–48.

I would like to share with my colleagues the excellent remarks of another outstanding Republican, JIMMY QUILLEN, who gave the dedication speech. Those of you who served in Congress with Mr. Reece will be especially interested in this fine tribute by our colleague, Mr. QUILLEN.

I am indeed honored to have the privilege of being here today and to have this opportunity of participating in the dedication of the B. Carroll Reece Memorial Museum and Archives, a lasting memorial to our beloved friend.

My feelings are so profound because I know that Carroll Reece would be especially pleased to have this building, which is named in his honor, located on the campus of East Tennessee State University and in the district that he loved so well. He was always interested in the growth of East Tennessee State College, as he knew it, and he would have been extremely proud to have known it as a university.

I know, too, that everyone who is here today shares the same pride as I do in the dedication of this living memorial.

It is not only a memorial to Carroll Reece—it is also a tribute to his loving wife and helpmate through all of his trials and tribulations, his successes and his glories, the Honorable Louise G. Reece, who is with us today. It is also a tribute to their lovely daughter, Louise, and their lovely grandchildren, who are also present.

A former university professor himself, Mr. Reece watched closely the developments in American education when he left the college classroom to serve his country and his district in the Halls of Congress. One of his strongest desires was that our educational system would instill in our people those virtues which build strong and noble characters. He insisted that "freedom was for strong men," and that each man must accept the "moral responsibility to be free."

Carroll Reece could well ask and expect the virtues he did of our people because he practiced them so well himself. For he was a man of great faith, of outstanding personal courage, both in war and in peace. He also was a man of great intellect and unquestionable integrity. He had a wonderful sense of humor and there was no bitterness ever in his heart toward those who did not agree with him. If there was ever a gentleman in the truest sense of the word, it was Carroll Reece. The charm of his manner, the warmth of his friendship, and his straightforward character inspired confidence and courage. He gave of himself without reserve and he was unafraid.

If we recall for a moment the inspiring story of his life, we will think first of that large but proud family from which he went forth into the world to become nationally, yes, even internationally known. His life exemplifies that a man from lowly beginnings can attain majestic heights.

One of 13 children, he pursued his education from Watauga Academy to Carson-Newman College, and then on to New York University for the study of law, and to the University of London for advanced study. When he completed his graduate studies, he returned to New York University as an assistant instructor. But his patriotism and loyalty to his country soon drew his path to the U.S. Army.

During World War I, Carroll Reece bravely fought on the front lines for 210 days. Rising from the rank of private to lieutenant, he was appointed to command the 3d Battalion of the 102d Regiment at the very moment in 1918 when the fighting was most intense. He performed so well, so bravely, and with so much soldierlike ability, that he was awarded an extraordinary number of decorations and citations.

Both France and the United States commended him for his "energy, initiative, and military ability of a high order." He was

awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, the Distinguished Service Medal, the Purple Heart, and many more. He was personally cited for his bravery by General Pershing and Marshal Petain.

When he returned to civilian life, he became the director of the School of Business Administration of New York University. Later he passed the Tennessee bar. He was also a successful banker and businessman.

But his greatest accomplishments will be those he made as he served our country and the people of the First District as a Member of Congress. His interests were the hopes and desires of his people, for whom he labored for over 40 years—as Congressman and as national chairman of his party. His success and his glory followed from the unselfish way in which he worked for others.

He entered the Congress as the youngest Member of either House, and throughout his long and noble career, he practiced the motto which he proudly displayed on the wall of his office, a motto to challenge us all in every endeavor of life—"Nothing is politically right which is morally wrong."

Mrs. Reece, after serving out the unexpired term of her husband, gave me the motto and I have it proudly hanging on my wall, as a remindful testimony.

One of Mr. Reece's greatest assets was the lovely and wonderful lady he married, Louise Goff, whose father and grandfather served in the U.S. Senate, and who was ever at his side as his stanchest supporter, his gracious hostess, and loving companion. Intensely interested in the political affairs of the Nation, she was for him a wise counselor and devoted wife.

Carroll Reece used to tell me about some of his heroes, the greatest of whom was Andrew Johnson, the 17th President of the United States. During Mr. Reece's last campaign, he told me he was writing a biography of President Andrew Johnson and that he had spent years researching the facts.

Mrs. Reece had this biography, "The Courageous Commoner," published in 1962, and it is truly one of the most interesting biographies of Johnson that I have ever read.

This month his second book, "Peace Through Law," is scheduled to be published.

Carroll Reece was a scholar and he loved the art of politics. But his greatest love was for the people of the first district; his greatest joy was in serving them. I remember when I rode around with Mr. Reece during many of his campaigns. He would point to the hills, or down into the valley, or to the distant mountains, and say: "My friend lives there." He would call his friend by name and tell how he had written him about a problem. Mr. Reece believed that if it was important enough for his friend to write him, it was important enough for him to try to help in every way that he could.

And he did help thousands and thousands of people, not only in the first district, but throughout the country as well.

He was not one to speak of the things he did for others. He did not have to; for the people spoke, and still speak, about the wonderful things that he did.

His love for his people was returned by them many times over. Their love and respect sustained him in his efforts to keep the Nation strong and free, and it led him to ever stand up for their interests, even to the very end. Early in 1961, when he was deathly ill, he left his hospital bed to go to the Capitol for a vote, because the well-being of his people was so important to him. Such devotion to others is rarely seen among us.

On his passing, his colleagues in the House said: "A sturdy oak has fallen," and such was our feeling when the news reached us here in the first district. Yet his memory lingers on in the hearts of all of us.

This museum will perpetuate this memory for generations yet to come. And this perpetuation will be the most fitting honor for B. Carroll Reece, for whatever memorials we dedicate, whatever monuments we erect, none will speak more eloquently than those he built himself in the hearts of men.

Richard Weber Shows Music Education Will Help Retarded

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I was very pleased to read an article in a recent issue of the Peoria Journal Star concerning the work of a former Peorian in the area of mental retardation. As a member of the HEW Appropriation Subcommittee, and knowing of the importance of research in this area, I certainly hope that more is done on Weber's program of musical education. Dick and I were fraternity brothers at Bradley University and I certainly wish him every success in his new method. Under unanimous consent, the article follows:

EX-PEORIAN'S PROGRAM OF MUSICAL EDUCATION FOR RETARDED WINS SUPPORT

(NOTE.—Richard Weber, a native Peorian who has two degrees from Bradley University, is something more than an ordinary student working on his doctorate at Columbia University. His revolutionary method for teaching music to severely handicapped children which has been reported in the past in the Journal Star, has turned into an important new field in which Weber, the student, is teaching many teachers.)

(By Robert Holton)

NEW YORK.—Richard Weber remembers it as a "pitifully crude" Christmas card. But he says it changed his life.

Weber was given the homemade card by a 15-year-old mentally retarded boy who admired his talents. He was a popular, young jazz pianist then.

"When that boy handed me the card, something inside me changed," Weber recalled. "I suddenly realized how self-centered my life was and I vowed to do something about it."

Today, far from the small Illinois town where he was handed the card before giving a Christmas recital in a mental institution, Weber has set into motion at Columbia University Teachers College a revolution in the education of severely mentally retarded children.

He devised a six-note method of instructing the mentally retarded in the playing of musical instruments, using letters on sheet music which correspond to letters pasted on the keys of a piano.

"We're 100 percent behind him," said Dr. Harry R. Wilson, chairman of the music education department of the teachers college. "This fellow well might completely revolutionize the whole concept of teaching such children."

Weber, 38, began work on his system while music director for the schools of Yate City, Ill. He had taken the post shortly after the Christmas card incident.

Now he is working on his doctorate in music at Columbia and conducts regular weekly music classes for mentally retarded children as part of his research for the degree.

Among his pupils is Peter Connolly, 21, a mentally retarded youngster who, up to several weeks ago, couldn't sit still at a piano, much less play a tune.

"Today, Peter walks up to the piano or takes his clarinet in hand and he plays such tunes as 'Jingle Bells,' 'Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star,' and many others," said the boy's widowed mother, Catherine Connolly.

"But it doesn't end there," she said. "Probably the biggest benefit for Peter is the fact that at long last he realizes he can do something. He feels needed and wanted among other people."

Nicolia Maranez has been bringing her retarded son, Scorpio, 7, to Weber's classes for a month.

"Scorpio is hyperactive," she said. "Until these lessons came along there was nothing that could hold his attention for over a few seconds."

"Now, he is much different," she added. "I don't say he is normal. He'll never be that with the brain damage he had at birth. But he's so much easier to manage and he gets a little something out of life now."

Scorpio was among about a dozen youngsters gathered recently for a Saturday afternoon class under Weber. About 10 teachers at the school stood around the room as Weber put the youngsters through their paces.

"You must realize," he said, "that up to now children like these were considered unteachable. They can't even clean themselves or talk much better than a mumble or grunt.

"Yet, with this method I have proved that they can learn if someone will give them learning in little doses such as I do with only six notes of music."

He acknowledged that although any of the youngsters could take a song they had never seen before, study it for a few seconds and then peck it out on the piano or on the clarinet, the same youngsters often can't add 2 and 2.

"Ask them what 2 and 2 is and they might say seven or eight," he said. "But they can learn to play a tune through association with symbols and letters."

In his music books, notes are identified with large letters—C-D-E-F-G-A—and the corresponding keys on the piano are marked with cutout letters.

Under this system, Weber said, even a blind child could learn to play simple tunes on a piano.

A bachelor, Weber spends a great deal of his time demonstrating his new system for education groups in New York and elsewhere throughout the Nation. He is financing his education with money he saved while employed as a teacher and musician.

"I'll go anywhere to demonstrate my system," he said. "I know now these people can be taught. I knew we can help make them useful and more independent."

When Peter Connally finished playing a tune on his clarinet, he tuned to Weber.

"You're my teacher," he said. "My nice teacher. I like you."

Pulaski Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, Pulaski Day is significant in the history of the United States and also in the history of civilization. Casimir Pulaski in his career both in his native Poland and as a general in the American Revolution, was a champion of freedom. He

fought for the independence and the importance of the individual as a necessary element in the building of a free society.

It was his devotion to liberty which prompted Pulaski to aid in the fight for American independence. It was in fighting an invasion of his homeland that Pulaski gained the military experience which so well served our country in the American Revolution.

Pulaski reflected the spirit of his ancestors and the tradition of liberty which had prevailed in Poland throughout the centuries, despite its domination politically by surrounding enemies. He was unwilling to submit to the yoke of Poland's oppressors.

Still in pursuit of a noble cause, Count Casimir Pulaski left his ill-fated country and came to America. He joined the army of George Washington in 1777. Distinguishing himself in the battle of Brandywine, he was made a brigadier general and chief of cavalry by Congress. He fought at Germantown and in the battles of the winter of 1777–78, sharing the hardships and near desperation of Washington's troops during severe conditions that tested to the utmost the endurance and the devotion of all who survived.

As brigadier general in the American Army, Pulaski raised the mixed corps which came to be known as Pulaski's legion, and with which he defended Charleston, S.C., in May 1779. That fall he was mortally wounded at Savannah, Ga., and died in the service of our country on October 11, of that year.

His gallant, distinguished, and honored part in our fight for independence which our country has continued to enjoy, it was a part in that greater and continuing fight for the freedom of all mankind.

On the 186th anniversary of his death, we honor this great patriot, both for his service to his native Poland and to the United States of America, the Nation for which he gave his life.

Turmoil in Indonesia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the aftermath of the revolt in Indonesia demonstrates the great complexity of trying to deal with nations in such political turmoil, especially when local Communists are a part of the turmoil.

President Sukarno has been one of the most persistent and acid critics of the United States and particularly of our interest in Asian affairs. While his policies have frequently been in harmony with Communist objectives, he has not seemed to be simply subject to the orders of either Moscow or Peiping.

His power has rested largely on a delicate balance between the Communist forces and the anti-Communist military forces. In the past, if one element seemed to gain in prominence, Sukarno would try to regain a balance by aiding the other side.

The attempted coup, about which facts are still sketchy, was originally supported by the Indonesian Communist Party—PKI. At least six top military commanders were brutally murdered, including the chief of staff of the army, Achmad Yani.

Sukarno disappeared for a brief time, but then announced that he was safe and in command. The military forces, despite the loss of some of their leadership, had put down the revolt. It would seem that Sukarno would be in their debt.

Yet, within a few days, he had a cabinet meeting, following which the Deputy Premier, Subandrio, a strong leftwinger himself, indicated to reporters that there was little rancor at the Communists who had supported the revolt.

To the contrary, the impression was conveyed that Sukarno was impatient with the army for cracking down on the Communists.

It was said that Sukarno sought foremost an atmosphere of calm, in which he would seek political solutions to the problems raised by the attempted revolution.

When asked if the murderers of the generals would be punished, the reply was that Sukarno "does not condone murders" but that "it is a political problem which he will deal with later on."

The question then arises as to whether this answer will satisfy the army officers whose colleagues were slain.

To most people, it is fantastic that a president would be making up to the forces which had supported an effort to overthrow him within 2 weeks of the event. The most obvious explanation is that Sukarno is trying to reestablish the balance which allowed him to remain in power.

Perhaps he was glad to see the army cut down, although recent reports had indicated it was the Communists who were gaining in power.

There have also been many reports about Sukarno's poor health, and some have indicated his health was so bad as to seriously affect his judgment.

The political disputes are heightened by the religious hostility of some to the Moslem dominance in the country, which sometimes is expressed as Communist loyalty.

The United States would have little reason to mourn the passing of Sukarno from power, but we are always led to wonder what might come in his place. It could even be worse. However, reports have come from Indonesia of crowds cheering the United States. It is gratifying to know that, in spite of mountebanks and dictators who seek to stir up their countrymen against us, and in spite of all our own errors, there always seems a residue of good will for us among the common people.

Facts of Michigan Cucumber Harvest Tragedy Revealed by Growers Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, a bevy of Johnny-come-latelies is now appearing on the scene with comments about the tragic experience of Michigan cucumber producers due to an inadequate domestic labor supply which Federal planners had mistakenly thought could take the place of the braceros who formerly harvested this crop. I do not know where these voices were early last spring when some of us were pleading with Labor Department officials in behalf of Michigan farmers.

In my opinion, the Department of Agriculture abandoned the farmers in this crisis, using the excuse that it lacked authority to determine the labor supply or recruit workers. There is no lack of authority for the Secretary of Agriculture to speak out in behalf of the American farmer in situations like this.

I have recently received from the Department of Agriculture one of the most wierd statements ever issued by a Government agency. I wrote the Secretary of Agriculture, who is supposed to be the farmers' advocate, relative to the widespread cucumber crop losses in the 10th District of Michigan. The Secretary passed my letter along to one of his assistants, Mr. George Mehren, who in a page-and-a-half letter said:

> Our general conclusion is that the 1965 season was quite successful.

Mr. Mehren's letter follows:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D.C., September 22, 1965.

Hon. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CEDERBERG: Thank you for your recent letter expressing your views on the Michigan farm labor situation and for conveying a petition on this matter from a number of Michigan pickle growers.

The Department of Agriculture, as you know, and as was reaffirmed by the Senate on Monday, September 13, does not have authority for determining the supply of labor available for any commodity in any area at any particular time. Neither can the USDA recruit or place workers, nor judge the wage and the working and living conditions which determine whether American citizens will respond to job offers. These matters are wholly the responsibility of the Department of Labor.

The Department of Agriculture has a clear duty to be aware of conditions in American agriculture and to seek to maintain a healthy rural economy. To this end, we have tried to keep informed as to the situation in the Michigan pickle industry, and we have conveyed all pertinent information to the Secretary of Labor. We have contacted growers, processors, workers, labor officials, and others interested in the industry. Our general conclusion is that the 1965 season was quite successful.

Domestic recruitment turned out record numbers of workers to harvest pickles. Many were unskilled high school youth needing considerable supervision. However, they soon shaped up and became pretty good help. A large portion of the high school youth stayed on until Labor Day. As a result, processors report that they have all the pickles that they want, and most have now shut down their factories. The Michigan pickle-harvesting season of 1965 will be over in another day or so.

This has not been an easy year for growers. Some were afraid that sufficient labor would not be available, and they reduced acreage. Some who had previously used braceros were not interested in shifting over to domestics and did not plant at all. Others tried to adjust to a different kind of labor, and, of course, there were problems. Much of the labor was unskilled and had to be taught. Workers required close supervision. Improperly supervised, some workers did not pick clean, and they were rough on vines. As a result, some acreage was not harvested as many times as it should have been. Losses, however, appear to have been minimal. Some processors contracted for small size pickles in areas other than Michigan and relied on Michigan growers to produce the larger sized pickles. This they did. Of course, this changed the size distribution of harvested pickles over that of previous years, but this was planned to aid the growers who had inexperienced help.

It is still too early to have statistics on acreage, production, and value of the 1965 pickle crop. The report carrying these data will be published on November 10. We fully expect that Michigan will still have a viable pickle industry and will be adjusted to a domestic labor force.

Sincerely,

GEORGE L. MEHREN,
Assistant Secretary.

I hope every Member of the House will read the reaction of a representative of the cucumber growers to the statement by the Department of Agriculture. Here it is:

MICHIGAN GROWERS ASSOCIATION,
Lakeview, Mich., October 1, 1965.

Congressman ELFORD A. CEDERBERG,
Rayburn Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CEDERBERG: Reference is made to your letter of September 25, 1965, concerning statements made by Mr. George L. Mehren, Assistant Secretary, Department of Agriculture, in his letter of September 22, 1965.

I quite agree with you that his statements are amazing, particularly his last sentence, third paragraph where he indicates "our general conclusion is that the 1965 season was quite successful" and I am sure you will be concerned to know that neither this writer nor (so far as we know) anyone else in this organization was ever contacted by any member of the Department of Agriculture during the 1965 season. However, may I suggest that this is not surprising since we have never been contacted by any member of the Department of Agriculture in the past years, concerning our labor needs. Your representative, Mr. Walter Nakkula, visited with us a few days ago and saw some 450 acres of pickles with hundreds of tons of fruit rotting in the fields for lack of pickers. State senator, Sander M. Levin, chairman of the Senate Labor Committee, Mrs. Levin, and Noel Stuckman, of the Michigan Farm Bureau, were also out a few days ago and observed the same conditions. I have still and motion pictures in color showing field after field of pickles yellowed and rotting on the vines and I am enclosing some of these photos. Please look on the back for the dates they were taken.

We note Secretary of Labor Wirtz indicates that there was an ample supply of labor available for Michigan pickle harvest and that no pickle operators in the State of Michigan were "eligible" for the use of foreign labor. We submit he was probably right at the beginning of the season but as the harvest progressed through August, labor began to drift into other activities and we began to gradually fall further and further behind in our picking until on September 1, we had approximately 200 people left of the original 700 we started out with.

This organization employed anything that could walk in the attempted harvest of our crop including some 200-plus students and we were holding our own until the last 20 to 25 days of the season. The local students and the children of the Texas Mexican people had to go back to school, thus we lost our Texas Mexicans at the same time we began to lose our local students. This is the very crux of the problem and we have tried to point it out in letter after letter and discussion after discussion with those concerned. Citizen labor cannot or will not stay through the season.

We note the Department of Labor suggests there were "thousands upon thousands" of A-team members anxious and willing to jump into the pickle harvest in Michigan. This may be so at the beginning of the season—along about July 15—the question is, Where was all this "anxious and willing" help when we so desperately needed them along about August 25? The answer is quite obvious—they were on their way back to school. Every association and every farmer in this State knew for an absolute certainty these A-teams would leave before the season was over. This organization did not use A-teams but we did employ the previously indicated 200-plus local students (actual count was 241) and were aided substantially in this effort by representatives of the Michigan Employment Service. We note Mr. Fred Mitchell, employment service director, Michigan Employment Security Commission, indicates there were some 460-plus A-team members employed in Michigan during the 1965 season. Although we didn't use any of these student A-teams, we submit this organization alone employed more than one-half of the number of students the rest of the State used in A-teams altogether.

Our production figures and costs are not yet completed and probably won't be until the last of October. As soon as we have them finalized we will be happy to send you a copy.

You may be interested in knowing your district is well aware of and does appreciate the almost lone stand you are taking on our behalf and we will be most happy to assist you in any way possible in the future.

Cordially yours,

CARL D. DAVENPORT,
Executive Secretary.

The House Committee on Rules and the House Committee on Education and Labor each have requests for an investigation of this situation. I hope a committee or subcommittee will be sent to Michigan for an on-the-spot inquiry, talking to the growers themselves.

Mrs. Helen Delich Bentley Recipient of Council Maritime Service Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, I have had occasion before to call to the attention of Members of this body the exceptional work being done by Helen Delich Bentley, maritime editor of the Baltimore Sun, in reporting and assessing activities of the maritime industry.

As was to be expected, her excellent writings have gained recognition far beyond the confines of the great port of Baltimore. On Sunday last Mrs. Bentley was honored by the Maritime Port Council of Greater New York Harbor at its annual dinner at the Americana Hotel where she was the recipient of the council's Maritime Service Award.

I am sure I speak for my associates of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee when I say that Mrs. Bentley is doing an enormous service to America's maritime industry, and to the entire Nation, by her accurate, knowledgeable reports of what the U.S. merchant marine is accomplishing, what our shipping means to the national economy and what irreparable damage could be done to that economy if the ill-conceived proposals that have been put forward lately by the maritime task force and others who fail to understand what a basic need there is for a virile shipping and shipbuilding industry adequate to serve American commerce as well as the defense need of our country in war or emergency.

First Monument to Unknown Confederate Soldiers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, of course, we are all proud of our congressional districts and the county in which we have lived all of our lives. I am from Obion County, Tenn., with Union City as the county seat. We have the distinction there of erecting the first monument in the Nation to the Unknown Confederate Soldiers.

The monument was dedicated nearly a century ago, some 4 years and 3 months after the War Between the States. It was rededicated last year in Union City. The ceremonial, arranged by Rebel C. Forrester, Jr., and Mrs. Robert W. Wood, was held on March 22, 1964, on a Sunday. The date was 2 days short of the 100th anniversary of Confederate Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest's recapture of Union City from the Federals.

An account of historical first monument to Confederate Unknown Dead was reprinted in the Union City, Tenn., Messenger of March 23, 1964. In part it reads:

> The cemetery was planned to accommodate the Confederate dead buried all over the county, and when it was finished, these bodies were disinterred and reburied there. * * * This (the first) dedication took place 4 years after the Civil War when purses were short but sentiment high.
>
> There are 31 graves in the cemetery, arranged in circular form around the monument, grouped into the four corners. * * * Each grave is marked by a small white headstone.

The date of the dedication of the memorial is definite, prior to any other group monument to Confederate dead. But the date of the erection, before the dedication, has not been established from the last account.

In the survey to find the first Confederate Monument to Unknowns, two organizations assisted, the U.S. Civil War Centennial Commission and the hundred odd Civil War Round Tables of the World. Dr. James I. Robertson, Jr., Executive Director of the U.S. Civil War Centennial Commission carried a request in the Newsletter for information. None of the State directors of centennial commissions reported a monument earlier than that in Union City.

I wrote to all the round tables, as well as the entire membership of the District of Columbia Civil War Round Table. Replies from several States did not reveal any earlier monument to unknown Confederates. The replies on the subject were from:

California: Lt. Col. Willard L. Jones, Sr., USA, retired, and Earl H. Study, APO San Francisco.

District of Columbia: Dr. J. Walter Coleman, staff historian, National Park Service; Senator SAM ERVIN, JR., of North Carolina; E. L. Forrester, the then Representative from Georgia; Victor Gondos, Jr., editor, Military Affairs; Herbert E. Kahler, chief, Division of History and Archeology, National Park Service; Capt. F. Kent Loomis, Acting Director of Naval History; Linda M. Miller, secretary of the Civil War Centennial Commission of the District; the then Representative Fred Schwengel of Iowa; and Gen. U. S. Grant III orally through Elden E. Billings of the Library of Congress.

Florida: Dana B. Johannes, Clearwater.

Maryland: Col. Charles J. Norman and John M. Hardy, Silver Spring.

Mississippi: Dr. William D. McLain, president of the University of Southern Mississippi and adjutant-in-chief of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, Hattiesburg.

North Carolina: John R(ebel) Peacock, High Point.

Ohio: John R. Hood, Jr., and Bob Younger, Dayton.

Pennsylvania: Kittridge A. Wing, superintendent of Gettysbury National Park.

Virginia: J. F. Featherston, sponsor of the Prison Civil War Round Table, Richmond; Charles E. Gage, Falls Church; Capt. O. A. Kneeland, USN, retired, Arlington; Rear Adm. Thomas L. Wattles, USN, retired, Alexandria; Claude S. Williams, Warrenton; and Francis S. Wilshin, superintendent of Manassas Battlefield Park.

West Virginia: Ralph W. Donnelly, Huntington.

The Tennessee Civil War Centennial, Stanley F. Horn, Sr., as chairman and Campbell H. Brown, executive director, issued a "Directory of War Monuments and Memorials in Tennessee." It carries a picture of the Obion County, Union City, monument with these overlines:

In Confederate cemetery. Inscription reads: "Unknown Confederate Dead."

"Erected through the efforts of the Union City and Obion County citizens.

"Dedicated October 21, 1869."

The Problem of Organized Dog and Cat Stealing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, every day that passes there seems to be more and more attention focused upon the vicious problem of dog and cat stealing all over the United States and their sale to various institutions to use them for experimentation and research.

In connection with this practice, there appeared an article in the Parade magazine of October 10, a Sunday supplement to many newspapers and, here in Washington, a part of the Washington Post, which covers this subject quite thoroughly in the space limit given to the author to comment on this problem.

Under unanimous consent granted to me, I would like to have this story inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I would also like to have, as part of my remarks, the text of my bill (H.R. 10743) included with this article so that the animal lovers across the Nation would be cognizant of the efforts we are taking in Congress to combat this evil.

The material follows:

ANIMAL LOVERS: BEWARE THE PET THIEVES

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Rustlers as vicious as any who ever roamed the Old West are preying on the Nation's pets. Organized dog- and catnaping rings are stealing animals all over the United States and selling them to hospitals and research institutions. They are making millions by bringing heartbreak to children and elderly and lonely people as well. These pet smugglers are also guilty of the most callous cruelty to animals imaginable.

A congressional committee recently heard one dog-and-cat farm in Pennsylvania, described as an animal "Dachau," as horrifying as the notorious Nazi gas-chamber camp. Investigators found 700 dogs jammed into a dozen 10-foot-square pens. One pen contained more than 70 dogs, so closely packed they couldn't even wag their tails for their rescuers. Some 400 cats were crammed into stacked chicken crates. Dead and diseased animals lay among the living.

Worse, pet rustling is subsidized indirectly by the taxpayers. That is why, in recent years, it has blossomed from a penny ante crime to its present astounding proportions. Originally, dogs and cats were stolen to be resold as pets or to be returned for the rewards. But the increasing use of animals in medical research has created a boom market, not only for strays but for any cats and dogs that can be delivered. Few questions are asked and fewer answered once a collar has been removed.

Last year laboratories and hospitals receiving Federal research grants spent between $30 million and $50 million on dogs and cats. More than 1.7 million dogs and 500,000 cats were sold to tax-supported institutions. One Federal agency alone, the Poolesville, Md., Animal Center of the National Institutes of Health, spends more than $100,000 a year on dogs and cats.

With such money in the market, supply is bound to meet the demand. Result—wholesale pet smuggling has been reported in most of the 50 States.

IN GOOD FAITH

Most persons do not dispute the need for animals in medical research. Immense benefits in human health have come from such experiments. When laboratories buy animals for research, they do so in good faith. Many suppliers are also reputable breeders and brokers.

Yet investigators believe the overwhelming majority of the dogs and cats that wind up in medical tests are strayed or stolen pets. Once snatched, they are quickly whisked out of the State to make tracing more difficult. To further confuse the trail, they may change hands a number of times. Most transactions are in cash with no meaningful bills of sale. Identifying tags are immediately removed and destroyed.

Ultimately, the animals wind up at pet auctions. Sometimes dogs and cats are sold by the head, more often by the pound. The going rate is about 10 cents a pound. Puppies and kittens fetch as little as 10 cents apiece.

The rustlers have become increasingly brazen as their profits have zoomed and their smuggling networks have become more elaborate. One mother in Arlington, Va., watched a dognaper get out of his truck, stride boldly into her yard, snatch a pet right out of her small son's arms, then beat it down the highway. Bravely, she gave chase in her car and so harried the dognaper that he finally pulled up and released the puppy.

But the owners of most stolen dogs and cats never see their pets again. A 77-year-old lady in Utah watched helplessly as a dognaper enticed her pet out of her yard. A wheelchair patient last month phoned the New York Humane Association to report the loss of her dog. "Is there nothing you can do?" she pleaded. Elaine Beck, a Columbus, Ohio, dog trainer, recently wrote to the U.S. Humane Society—"We in Columbus are having such a wave of dognaping we are almost desperate."

The rustlers have many ruses. If the coast seems clear, they may simply grab pets off the streets or out of yards. Female dogs are used to entice male dogs into wire cages. Meat scraps and dog candy are also used as bait. A Jacksonville, Fla., rustler painted his truck to look official, complete with the lettering "animal shelter" on the sides. Then, posing as a dogcatcher, he used phony pretexts to take pets from their owners.

Some dealers go from door to door pleading for pets to make needy children happy. No child will ever see these animals; they will die on the operating table if they don't die from starvation and cruelty before they get there. A New York high school teacher, who rustled pets as a profitable sideline, trained his 6-year-old daughter to beg for cats, saying her parents needed them to catch mice on their farm.

KENNEL GIMMICK

Other rustlers operate behind the front of kennelkeepers. They advertise, offering to board pets while their owners are away. The hapless owners, upon their return, are told with many regrets that their pet became unmanageable and escaped, or had to be destroyed as an act of mercy after contracting virulent distemper.

Many successful pet peddlers, with money to bribe, have persuaded keepers of dog pounds, animal shelters and even humane societies to sell them pets under the counter. One dog dealer, who tried to bribe Frank Whelan, superintendent of the Freeport, N.Y., animal shelter, claimed two other Long Island animal shelters were smuggling dogs to him. One had used the bribe money to pay for an addition to his house; the other to build a swimming pool.

But in Whelan, the dog dealer picked the wrong man. Not only was Whelan aware of the cruelty in the illegal pet traffic, but only a few days earlier, a collie from the shelter, Shep, had roused Whelan and his wife in time to pick up their 5-year-old son and escape from their burning apartment building. Shep led them to safety. Pretending

to go along with the dealer, Whelan helped to convict him on a charge of commercial bribery.

A veteran Connecticut State detective, who broke up a dognaping ring and recovered a number of stolen pets, declared tersely, "I've worked on every kind of larceny, but dognaping is about the meanest. It's tough for parents to tell a 4-year-old that his dog has been taken."

Can the vicious pet rustling racket, with all its animal and human cruelty, be curbed? And can this be done without depriving medical science of much-needed research animals? A current bill would require all dealers to be licensed and inspected for humane conditions. The Agriculture Department would also set standards for transportation, as it does for other livestock. Dealers would be required to house each animal for 5 days, which, coupled with strict provisions for recording the description and origin of each animal, would at least help owners to recover pets that have disappeared.

A dog is a man's best friend, but there are times when a dog needs a friend.

H.R. 10743

A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to regulate the transportation, sale, and handling of dogs, cats, and other animals intended to be used for purposes of research or experimentation, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order to protect the owners of dogs, cats, and other animals from theft of such pets and to prevent the sale or use of stolen dogs, cats, or other animals for purposes of research and experimentation, it is essential to regulate the transportation, purchase, sale, and handling of dogs, cats, and other animals by persons or organizations engaged in transporting, buying, or selling them for use in research or experimental purposes.

SEC. 2. As used in this Act—

(a) The term "person" includes any individual, partnership, association, or corporation;

(b) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Agriculture;

(c) The term "commerce" means commerce between any State, territory, or possession, or the District of Columbia or Puerto Rico, and any place outside thereof; or between points within the same State, territory, or possession, or the District of Columbia, but through any place outside thereof; or within any territory or possession or the District of Columbia.

(d) The term "dog" means any live dogs of the species Canis familiaris for use or intended to be used for research tests or experiments at research facilities.

(e) The term "cat" means any live domestic cat (Felis catus) for use or intended to be used for research, tests, or experiments at research facilities.

(f) The term "animal" means any vertebrate animal.

(g) The term "research facility" means any school, institution, organization, or person that uses or intends to use dogs, cats or other animals in research, tests, or experiments, and that (1) purchases or transports such animals or certain of such animals in commerce or (2) receive any funds from the United States or any agency or instrumentality thereof to finance its operations by means of grants, loans, or otherwise.

(h) The term "dealer" means any person who for compensation or profit delivers for transportation, transports, boards, buys or sells dogs, cats, or other animals in commerce for research purposes.

SEC. 3. It shall be unlawful for any research facility to purchase or transport dogs, cats, or other animals in commerce except from a dealer licensed in accordance with this Act.

SEC. 4. It shall be unlawful for any dealer to sell or offer to sell or to transport to any research facility any dog, cat, or other animal to buy, sell, offer to buy or sell, transport or offer for transportation in commerce or to another dealer under this Act any such animal, unless and until such dealer shall have obtained a license from the Secretary in accordance with such rules and regfulations as the Secretary may prescribe pursuant to this Act, and such license shall not have been suspended or revoked.

SEC. 5. The Secretary shall promulgate standards for the humane care of animals by dealers. The term "humane care" shall mean the type of care which a responsible and conscientious owner would ordinarily provide for an animal kept as a household pet to prevent the animal's suffering, sickness, injury, or other discomfort and shall include but not be limited to housing, feeding, watering, handling, sanitation, ventilation, shelter from extremes of weather and temperature, and separation by species, sex, and temperament both in the dealer's facility and in transportation. The sale, offer to buy or sell, transport or offer for transportation in commerce or to another dealer of any sick, injured, unweaned, or pregnant animal is expressly forbidden.

SEC. 6. All dogs and cats delivered for transportation, transported, purchased, or sold in commerce or to research facilities shall be identified by a photograph or by such other humane and painless manner as the Secretary may prescribe.

SEC. 7. Research facilities and dealers shall make and keep for a period of no less than two years such records with respect to their purchase, sale, transportation, and handling of dogs, cats, and other animals, as the Secretory may prescribe. Such records shall include a bill of sale for each animal and any collars, tags, or other identifying equipment which accompanied the animals at the time of their acquisition by the dealer. The bill of sale shall contain such information as shall be prescribed by the Secretary. Any bill of sale which is fraudulent or indicates larceny of any animal shall be grounds for prosecution and revocation of license called for in section 14 and for the penalty called for in section 12. Records made and kept by research facilities shall be open to inspection by representatives of the Secretary or to any police officer or agent of any legally constituted law enforcement agency.

SEC. 8. The Secretary shall take such action as he may deem appropriate to encourage the various States of the United States to adopt such laws and to take such action as will promote and effectuate the purposes of this Act and the Secretary is authorized to cooperate with the officials of the various States in effectuating the purposes of this Act and any State legislation on the same subject.

SEC. 9. No dealer shall sell or otherwise dispose of any dog, cat, or other animal within a period of five business days after the acquisition of such animals. Representatives of the Secretary, any police officer or agent of any legally constituted law enforcement agency shall assist any owner of any animal who has reason to believe the animal may be in the possession of a dealer in searching the dealer's premises, after obtaining the proper search warrant from the local authorities in whose jurisdiction the dealer's premises are located.

SEC. 10. Dogs, cats, and other animals shall not be offered for sale or sold in commerce or to a research facility at public auction or by weight; or purchased in commerce or by a research facility at public auction or by weight. No research facility shall purchase any animals except from a licensed dealer.

SEC. 11. The Secretary is authorized and directed to promulgate such rules, regulations and orders as he may deem necessary in order to require compliance with the standards for the humane care of animals called for in section 5 and all other purposes and provisions of this Act. Such rules, regulations, and orders shall be published within a reasonable time after enactment of this Act.

(a) Representatives of the Secretary shall inspect dealer's facilities no less than six times a year to determine whether the standards and other provisions of this Act are being complied with. The Secretary shall also require the regular inspection of transportation of animals by and from dealers to research facilities and may delegate that responsibility to law enforcement officers of the States or to agents of any legally constituted law enforcement agencies.

SEC. 12. Any person who violates any provision of this Act shall, on conviction thereof, be subject to imprisonment for not more than one year or a fine of not more than $10,000 and to the revocation of the license described in section 4 and shall not be eligible for another license under this Act. The penalty created by this section shall be recovered by civil action in the name of the United States in the circuit or district court within the district where the violation may have been committed or the person or corporation resides or carries on business; and it shall be the duty of the United States attorneys to prosecute all violations of this Act reported by the Secretary, or which come to their notice or knowledge by other means.

SEC. 13. When construing or enforcing the provisions of this Act, the act, omission, or failure of any individual acting for or employed by a research facility or a dealer within the scope of his employment or office shall be deemed the act, omission, or failure of such research facility or dealer as well as of such individual.

SEC. 14. If the Secretary has reason to believe that a dealer has violated any provision of this Act or the regulations promulgated thereunder, the Secretary shall suspend such dealer's license temporarily, and, after notice and opportunity for hearing, shall revoke such license if such violation is determined to have occurred. The Secretary shall also suspend temporarily the license of any dealer prosecuted for cruelty under the laws of any of the States for the prevention of cruelty to animals and in the event of a conviction under any of such laws of the States, the Secretary shall revoke the dealer's license.

SEC. 15. If any provisions of this Act or the application of any such provision to any person or circumstances, shall be held invalid, the remainder of this Act and the application of any such provision to persons or circumstances other than those as to which it is held invalid shall not be affected thereby.

SEC. 16. In order to finance the administration of this Act, the Secretary shall charge, assess, and cause to be collected appropriate fees for licenses issued to dealers. All such fees shall be deposited and covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

SEC. 17. EFFECTIVE DATE.—This Act shall take effect one hundred and twenty days after enactment.

New Wave of Inflationary Sentiment: Sooner or Later Something's Got To Give

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to insert my own remarks and include extraneous material I will insert

excerpts from a talk made by Robert M. Bleiberg, editor of Barron's Weekly, before the Commonwealth Club of California in San Francisco on September 24. The title of his address is "New Wave of Inflationary Sentiment; Sooner or Later Something's Got To Give." The excerpts follow:

[From the Commonwealth]

NEW WAVE OF INFLATIONARY SENTIMENT: SOONER OR LATER SOMETHING'S GOT TO GIVE

(By Robert Bleiberg)

Despite the United Nations, or perhaps because of it, the countries of the free world are now poles apart—only in the world of finance are they one. It's been said that politics stop at the water's edge while finance ripples on.

What happens anywhere abroad affects the value of U.S. stocks and bonds and all phases of the U.S. market.

There is an interplay of cause and effect in finance. Two companies, Pan American Sulfur and Gulf Sulfur, discovered and developed Mexican sulfur deposits, after 10 years of exploration.

Heretofore the sulfur market was in the exclusive hands of two American companies. Gulf and Pan American Sulfur then began to pour Mexican sulfur into the world market, lowering prices and breaking the monopoly held by the two American companies. They earned handsome rewards and Pan American in particular became a favorite of pension funds.

ALMOST OVERNIGHT

Almost overnight, the Government of Mexico imposed export restrictions on sulfur which drastically affected these companies. Their stocks lost fully one third of their value and American investors lost $50 million from this high-handed procedure.

CROP FAILURES AND GOLD

Copper legislation in Chile will have significant implications for Anaconda and Kennecott.

The Soviet Union has another of its "nonrecurrent" crop failures and the price of gold—and the price of gold stocks—temporarily decline.

Italy foolishly embarks on an opening to the left and certain stocks lose three-fourths of their value. Harold Wilson and the Labor Party come to power in Great Britain and American companies with large British interests discount the worst.

Over the years devaluation has had a very large impact indeed. A great many American firms lost money when the Canadian dollar was devalued.

SOCIALIST DECLINES ABROAD

Foreign subsidiaries of American companies, incidentally, do an estimated $35 to $40 billion business each year, and next year plan to invest $7½ billion on plant and equipment abroad, an all-time high.

The United States and the rest of the free world have come to a dangerous parting of the ways over monetary policy. Europe fears inflation more than deflation. France and Germany have seen inflation carried to its logical and disastrous end. They've done their inflationary bit, and they won't do it again on our account.

The depth of this feeling in Europe is seriously underestimated here.

Two European elections indicate some changes. In Norway, the Labor government which fought the Nazis is thrown out for the first time since World War II. In Germany, Erhard's majority is surprising to those who had been led to believe his socialist rivals were running neck and neck.

SITUATION ALWAYS "IN HAND"

Europe is no longer willing to finance the continuing deficit in the U.S. balance of payments. That in effect puts pressure on Washington which reluctantly has allowed interest rates to creep up over the past 18 months—against its own doctrinaire economists who believe interest rates at all times in the business cycles must be kept low.

Our Federal Reserve Board has hiked discount rates twice in response to financial developments abroad. Both times Washington assured the country that it had the situation in hand.

These emergency measures were not without results. Federal authorities put a painful squeeze on American banks and savings and loan associations. Such lenders now have to pay more for what they borrow without being able fully to recoup these additional costs by what they lend.

Despite unprecedented business activity, mortgage foreclosures and delinquencies have risen. A substantial Canadian loan company has recently gone bankrupt and many American lenders of the highest quality were caught with unsecured paper.

ONE-SHOT IMPROVEMENTS

Federal authorities have not succeeded in effecting any lasting improvement in our balance of payments. To be sure, the second quarter showed the first surplus in 6 or 7 years but—as the Government noted—improvement resulted from nonrecurring factors: the end of the dock strike and a "voluntary" one-shot repatriation of U.S. corporate funds abroad. It will be surprising if the fourth quarter does not show a substantial deficit again.

Now we have new inflationary pressures. Welfare spending programs will add $5 billion to the next fiscal year's budget. Improvement of our military posture in southeast Asia will require unknown but substantial exependitures. The result is a new wave of speculative sentiment on Wall Street.

IMPACT OF VIETNAM

Decisionmaking by corporate boards of directors and investment advisers will be affected by inflation sentiment. It will be in the realm of inventories and capital outlays that we will see the impact of Vietnam.

Sooner or later something's got to give, and it might be the value of our dollar at home. Now we have a 4 percent per year rise in inflation, even as measured by the notoriously lagging Consumer Price Index. It robs every saver of every penny earned and robs the wage earner of probably his annual wage increase.

Sooner or later it is bound to add to the troubles of the American dollar abroad, by no means cured in spite of a temporary improvement and in spite of the temporary respite which the British pound has gained as result of another $750 million bail-out just the other day.

A generation ago the United States learned it couldn't live in political isolation—sooner or later the powers in Washington must realize we can't live in financial isolation either."

ANSWER TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS FROM FLOOR

Question. How can one government support 70 others without becoming insolvent?

Answer. We're no longer solvent. In terms of our obligations, we could be thrown into insolvency at any time. Deficit in balance of payments doesn't reflect fundamentally foreign aid but interest rates. Could cut out foreign aid and still not solve problem.

Question. (Edwin D. Berl) Proposed international monetary fund lead to destructive world inflation?

Answer. In theory, yes—but if rest of free world is unwilling to finance U.S. deficit by holding dollars, it's hardly likely to do this in another way.

Question. Do you anticipate reevaluation of gold?

Answer. Might be inevitable but would be major disaster for free world. Unless U.S. policy changed, devaluation of dollar inevitable at some point. You cannot forever expand number of dollars in ratio to gold without affecting parity between them. Still some prospect of change, particularly because of European pressure.

Question. (Alton H. Walker) If silver in short supply why did we sell $14 million to France recently?

Answer. Don't know, but if France has silver certificates we'd have to. We're in another monetary box on silver. "Bad currency drives out good" and it will be interesting to see what happens to our new coinage.

Question. (S. Marshall Kempner) Why didn't France join "Group of Ten" recently?

Answer. Secretary of Treasury Fowler's recent trip not so successful. Three days after his return Britain's Bank of England announced it had run through the $750 million (U.S.) it had. France won't throw good money after bad. Consumer credit in London is still easier than in Paris, which can afford it better. The Bank of France knows this.

Question. (David Koenigsberg) Effect of interest equalization on U.S. investors?

Answer. They're deprived of right to invest money in most profitable way. Interest equalization now renewed for another 2 years, but interest rates abroad now higher so 15-percent tax no longer an effective barrier.

Question. General attitude of American business toward trade with Communist bloc?

Answer. American business has been guarded on this subject. Arms have been twisted, perhaps, for attendance at trade fairs and conferences. Business community is split but we've called it giving aid and comfort to the enemy.

Question. (Albert L. Baruch) Relationship of today with business conditions of 1929?

Answer. Martin of Federal Reserve Board saw similarities, but carefully pointed out differences. Similarities struck home: increase in time deposits; velocity of currency in circulation, of checking accounts, real estate market hit peak 3 years ago—and in 1926.

Russ Say Satellites Do Harm—Independence in Economy Plans Is Blamed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, James Sullivan, a member of the staff of the Chicago Tribune, formerly taught Soviet politics and economics at the University of Chicago and was a fellow at Harvard University's Russian Research Center. I call the attention of the Members to an article written by Mr. Sullivan which appeared in Sunday's Chicago Tribune:

RUSS SAY SATELLITES DO HARM—INDEPENDENCE IN ECONOMY PLANS IS BLAMED

(NOTE.—James Sullivan, a member of the Tribune staff, formerly taught Soviet politics and economics at the University of Chicago and was a fellow at Harvard University's Russian Research Center.)

(By James Sullivan)

The independent economic politics of East European Communist regimes have contributed to stagnation of the economy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, official Soviet publications disclose.

"The Socialist countries can no longer successfully develop their economies without perfecting the international Socialist division of labor and all other forms of economic collaboration and coordination," Kommunist, political and ideological journal of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, said in its ninth 1965 issue.

"Policies of autarchy within the socialist camp bring only negative results to the economy, science, and technology."

FAILED TO MEET TARGETS

Soviet economists discussing "the prospects for the economic development of the council of mutual economic aid (comecon)" in the third 1965 issue of Mezhdunarodnaia Zhizn' (International Life) complained that "developing a world system of socialism has proved to be a complicated and contradictory process."

"Each socialist country has its own currency, its own system of pricing, and its own statistics—creating difficulties in deepening economic collaboration," it says.

"Comecon as a whole and members of it failed to meet plan targets for economic growth since 1960 because of inadequate cooperation and coordination."

DETAILS OF PACTS SECRET

Mirovaia Ekonomika i Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniia (World Economics and International Relations) admitted in its eighth 1965 issue: "The beginning of the 1960's has been a unique period in the development of a number of Socialist countries. Weaknesses developed in the national economies not only because they were undergoing reconstruction and administrative changes, but also because they were not unified to omit duplication."

Despite the demands of the new Soviet leaders for coordination of the economic plans of the U.S.S.R. and of the East European satellites, Izvestia, official Soviet Government newspaper, recently disclosed that the latest meeting of the Comecon executive council had agreed only "to coordinate the development of the fuel and energy branches" of the Communist-run economies. Some minor agreements were disclosed on what heavy machinery should be produced by East Germany, Poland, and the Soviet Union to prevent waste of resources through duplication.

Neither Pravda, Soviet party newspaper, nor Izvestia disclosed details of agreements on the "international Socialist division of labor" between the U.S.S.R. and Rumania, the most independent policymaker in Comecon.

The reason is to be found in statistics published in Mezhdunarodnaia Zhizn No. 3, Mirovaia Ekonomika i Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniia No. 8; and Pravda, March 26.

The publications reported that the 1964 rate of economic growth in Rumania was 14.1 percent compared to only 7.1 percent in the U.S.S.R.; 6.7 percent in East Germany, and 4.1 percent in Czechoslovakia.

Relations With Canada

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago a group of Republican Members of the House issued a "white paper" on United States-Canadian relations. I was pleased to be a signer of the document, which stresses the need for greater mutual understanding between our nations, and makes a number of specific suggestions for implementation of policies to strengthen that understanding.

The reaction both in this country and in Canada has been gratifying. Last Saturday, October 9, the Lowell, Mass., Sun referred to the paper in an editorial which highlighted the most important message of the document; namely, that we must never take our northern neighbors for granted.

The Lawrence Eagle-Tribune, in an editorial which appeared on October 5 had made a similar point and commented that the proposals made by the group sound good and reasonable.

Under unanimous consent I include both editorials in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

CLOSER TIES

A group of House Republicans has issued a "white paper" calling for closer ties to Canada. Such a goal could hardly have any opposition in this country where there is a deeply ingrained attachment for the Canadian people.

There have been ups and downs in relations between the two countries. A low point came in 1963 because of friction over foreign affairs policies and hemispheric defense. The government of former Prime Minister Diefenbaker and his Conservative Party took a dim view of our actions against Cuba and our interests in Latin America through the Organization of American States. They balked at accepting our nuclear warheads for a common defense. The new Prime Minister, Lester Pearson, and his Liberal Party, with the help of a coalition, dissolved those differences within months and things got back on course through 1964.

Our troubles seem to be on both sides. Anyone who has traveled in some sections of Canada in the past cannot have failed to sense a resentment of the American tourist and his seeming well-being. Americans, for their part, have been slow in sensing the pride and independence of Canadians who want to make up their own minds about such matters as foreign policy and defense.

The legislators suggested a score of ways to improve relations through such things as freer trade and more frequent exchange of views between the President and the Prime Minister. It all should begin with taking Canadians on their merits and not for granted.

RELATIONS WITH CANADA

A movement by a group of liberal Republicans, of which Representative MORSE is a member, to develop closer relations between the United States and Canada, seems commendable.

These Congressmen think Americans take Canadians too much for granted and therefore do not give the attention that they should to effective cooperation between two great nations with one of earth's longest common borders.

Fault these Congressmen find with Americans is that they take Canadians too much for granted, that they do not think of Canada as a great independent nation but rather as a next-door neighbor who can always be depended on but whose friendship doesn't need cultivation. These Congressmen evidently see opportunities for mutually beneficial international action by the United States and Canada that Americans don't recognize.

So they propose that the United States recognize Canada's 100th birthday in 1967 as "the year of new awareness of Canada," that the United States institute a student exchange program with Canada, and that Washington establish a new office of Assistant Secretary of State for North American Affairs and set up a Canadian Affairs Subcommittee in the House.

All this sounds good and reasonable. The proposals can better be appraised, however, when Canadian reaction to them has been fully expressed and analyzed. They may look to Canadians like an attempt by their mighty neighbor to the south to increase influence in Canadian affairs to the detriment of Canadian independence.

Leif Erikson Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, official recognition of the magnificent achievement of Leif Erikson finally came last year when the President, acting under the authority of a joint resolution approved by Congress in the 2d session of the 88th Congress, proclaimed October 9, 1964, Leif Erikson Day. The terms of the resolution authorized the issuance of a similar proclamation each year, and therefore one was issued again for this year's Leif Erikson Day.

In the committee hearings that were held last year on the resolution, the evidence relating to Leif Erikson's discovery of the North American Continent was adduced by expert witnesses. Foremost among these was Dr. Helge Ingstad.

For years, Mr. Speaker, scholars have poured over the literary evidence that exists for the discoveries in America by the Norsemen. There have been areas of disagreement, especially concerning the year of Leif Erikson's landing on our continent and the location of that landing here. The location of Leif's Vinland has been fixed by scholarly authorities at various points, but there has been no dispute about that fact that Leif did land at least once on the American continent, and did spend some time here, probably staying over the winter, and returning to Greenland in the spring.

Now we have the corroboration of the recent announcement of the existence of a map of Vinland by two Yale University professors and of recent archeological investigations under the sponsorship of the National Georgraphic Society conducted in northern Newfoundland. On November 5, 1963, Dr. Helge Ingstad announced the discovery of the ruins of a Viking settlement predating Columbus' voyage to the New World by 500 years. His results were supported by experts of the National Geographic Society, the American Museum of Natural History, and the Smithsonian Institution.

Prior to excavating the site of L'Anse Aux Meadows, a small fishing village near the northern tip of Newfoundland, it was Dr. Ingstad's belief that Leif Erikson's "Vinland" was farther north than the alleged locations in Cape Cod, Mass., or in Rhode Island, places where wild grapes grow, the grapes and vines believe to have been referred to in the name "Vinland." Dr. Ingstad's belief was based on an old

map, and on the linguistic research of a distinguished Swedish professor who had asserted that the first syllable of "Vinland" might refer to grass rather than to wild grapes.

Mr. Speaker, the remains of the settlement which Dr. Ingstad found show that it was built like those which have been uncovered in Greenland. It was occupied for only a short time. The proof that the settlement was Viking in origin rests on carbon-dating evidence, together with the nature and details of the structures which Dr. Junius Bird, of the American Museum of Natural History, has said, "clearly cannot be attributed to either the Indians, Eskimos, or later European inhabitants of the area." He also stated his belief that "the settlement is of pre-Columbian Norse origin."

Dr. Henry B. Collins, an anthropologist of the Smithsonian, has stated:

> All of the evidence points to a Norse settlement, and there is no contrary evidence.

The primitive smithy and the deposits of bog iron found at the site also confirm the Viking origin of the settlement. Dr. Collins has pointed out that Eskimos and Indians, both prehistoric and modern, "had no knowledge of extracting iron from the bog deposits." The Vikings did. Collins said that later Europeans never used the technique, and that therefore the inference that the Norsemen had been there was strong indeed.

Mr. Speaker, the Vikings were unexcelled as seafarers. There can be no assertion that it was in any degree unlikely that they made the voyage from their Greenland colonies to the mainland of America because of any lack of seamanship. They often sailed directly over the open ocean from Greenland to Scandinavia, as did Leif Ericson on several occasions. This distance is greater than that from Greenland to New England, and the course covered from Greenland to Scandinavia is through one of the most turbulent bodies of water in the world, the northern reaches of the Atlantic.

Centuries later, the descendants of the Vikings crossed that same Atlantic to America. The contributions to the growth of the United States by the men and women of Scandinavia who came here as immigrants have been immense. Their descendants have continued that great tradition and even improved upon it, at the same time never forgetting how much their greater achievements owe to their forebears' sacrifices, iron will, determination of purpose, keenness of mind, moral fervor, and devotion to God, country, and family. In their achievements they have followed the precedent established for them by their first countryman, Leif Ericson.

I am proud, Mr. Speaker, to acknowledge that I joined with a majority of the Members of Congress who, aware of the great contributions made to our national life by Americans of Scandinavian descent, wished to honor the achievements of this distinguished group by officially observing Leif Ericson Day under the terms of the resolution for which they voted. A long and difficult legislative effort was required before the vote approving the resolution, but with the support of many thousands of Americans, those who were of Scandinavian descent, and those who were not, we won an eventual and deserved success.

Americans of Scandinavian descent, like their great hero, Leif Ericson, were men and women who made their way to the New World despite all hardships and dangers. They shared in the building of our Nation, and bequeathed their traditions to the Scandinavian Americans of the present day. On their own day, on Leif Ericson Day, I salute the industrious, thrifty, law-abiding, dependable, honest, intelligent, warmhearted, and progressive Scandinavian Americans.

Young Companies Versus Traditional Industry Practices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to an address by Mr. Michael Levy before the Continental Assurance seminar in Chicago this past month.

Mr. Levy, president of Standard Security Life Insurance Co., of New York, is not only one of the leading experts in his field, but was one of the first insurance executives to endorse and help fight for the passage of medicare.

I call this address, in excerpt form, to the attention of my colleagues for their reading:

> YOUNG COMPANIES VERSUS TRADITIONAL INDUSTRY PRACTICES—SHOULD AND CAN THE YOUNG LIFE COMPANY RESIST THE TEMPTATION TO CONFORM TO INDUSTRY KAINOPHOBIA?—A MORBID FEAR OF ANYTHING NEW
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> (Excerpt from speech delivered by Michael H. Levy, president, Standard Security Life Insurance Co., of New York, on Sept. 2, 1965, at a conference for young life insurance companies "Marketing—the Economics of Survival")

Recently somebody called me a "mug-wump" and I was irritated. To me, as to a lot of other people, that word meant a guy who sits on the fence, with his mug on one side of it and his wump on the other.

Now, not even one of my severest critics could ever claim that I am a fence sitter. All of my business career, I have been known as one who stood up and was counted—loudly and clearly—on just about any insurance issue that you can name.

Although the connotation is fence sitter, the dictionary meaning of mug-wump is, "any independent." So, I guess I am a mug-wump. But mug-wump or not, and in spite of my reputation, I am going to have to answer the question posed in the topic assigned to me by saying, "yes and no" and going even further, I am going to pose a number of questions of my own.

First of all, how do we define "traditional industry practices?" Are these practices, fact or fiction? Further, are they practices or ethics? And, is there any relationship between practices and ethics?

I don't imagine that I will run into too much argument if I define "traditional industry practices" as those business and ethical practices, utilized by most of the major companies dominating the industry, whose names are most familiar to the insurance-buying public.

If such a definition is accepted, then let us recognize that there can be no automatic antagonism against the ideal of what is necessary and desirable for a young company in the practices of the industry. Would we wish to disavow such aspects of industry tradition as the reputation that has been established for solidity and solvency? For fair treatment of policyholders? Of course not, because these are the very cornerstones upon which the building of any new company must take place if it is to prosper and thrive. As a matter of fact, the young company can prosper only because of the superb reputation of the industry. If this reputation were not as good as it is, insureds in general would not feel safe with a new company. We must, therefore, conclude that far from disavowing or attacking all traditions or practices of the industry, a young company must adhere to and preserve many of them as a basis upon which to develop.

On the other hand, there is another aspect to the traditions and practices of the industry. Like Janus, the life insurance insurance industry looks in opposite directions—and at the same time. One face looks on rather blankly and somnolently toward the outside world. This face of the industry fears the insecurity which may result from innovation and inventiveness. This is the kainophobic face of the industry which has allowed the share of the savings dollar, held by the insurance industry, to remain stagnant year after year as contrasted with the dynamic growth pattern of the more aggressive mutual fund organizaitons and the savings and loan societies. This is the face of the insurance industry which looks toward yesterday with apathetic wistfulness and fond remembrances, showing antagonism toward inventiveness and aggressiveness.

There are now some signs of restlessness in the somnolence of the insurance industry, but one really undesirable tradition lies in the fact that solidity and antiquity seem never to be separated. It is with this tradition that young companies must, of necessity, battle. If this conflict is resolved favorably, then the future tradition of the industry will be one of aggressiveness, imaginativeness and evolution toward better product and service to the customer plus the continuation of the present traditions of safety, solvency and security.

Let me pose another question. Is there any relationship between actual industry practices and traditional industry ethics? I leave you to answer that for yourselves.

What is the difference between "practices" and "ethics"? I believe that every knowledgeable man in the business recognizes the fact that a good many of today's practices are not wholly ethical. Of course, this applies not only in the insurance industry, but in countless other areas of American business enterprise, as well.

In other words, many things which are customarily done day after day in many industries are a long way from conforming with the dictionary definition of "the code of morals of a particular group, profession, etc." Or, to paraphrase Dorothy Parker's words of some years ago, "Part of many of today's commonly followed practices are either illegal or immoral—and for all I know, some of them may even be fattening as well."

What I am trying to say, gentlemen—and ladies—is that we don't really know what are these nebulous "traditional industry practices." What is the relationship between practices and ethics? Are financed policies sold to people willy-nilly, regardless of income or heed, an example of ethics? Are coupon policies and charter policies, sold with glossy visual sales aids that blithely

ignore the fact that the sale is one of life insurance and not a stock investment in a life company, an example of ethics? Are twisting, lack of coordination between life and health coverages, sales misrepresentations, illegal or improper extra compensation to agents, opposition to medicare, etc., examples of ethics? Or are they examples of traditional practices? Or—are they dirty phrases? The new companies did not create (and Heaven knows they did not contribute importantly to) the sales production of financed insurance. And certainly the younger companies cannot accept responsibility for the incredible lapse ratios resulting from improper sales in that area.

I was active in one trade association composed, by and large, of younger and generally smaller companies. Nearly all of these companies were espousing some form of coupon or charter policy. For a number of years, I listened to the hypocritical denunciations of anyone who had the temerity to question the selling techniques used by almost all salesmen of these policies. I listened, at various meetings, to presidents getting up and stating that they weren't concerned with anything other than making a sale—and they didn't care very much how that sale was made. How many of you have ever seen some of the literature turned out by companies specializing in so-called special contracts? I do not point the finger of accusation at anyone responsible for this kind of trash. But—all of us in the industry, large and small, matured and young, must assume some responsibility whenever the public is hoodwinked.

Is it not true that it has been the new life companies that have frequently forced new approaches, new products, new attractions for the buyer of insurance?

Should not every company, young and old, have an antimummification committee as does Standard Security Life? Should not every company be interested in only one thing—what they can do to make insurance better for the buyer? Preoccupation should not be with the benefits to the seller because it is a fact that, if you are selling a good product and rendering a good service, you will automatically make a lot of money. Assuming, of course, proper management and all that that denotes.

Talking about service—I personally believe that we have an obligation to our shareowners. Looking at the annual reports of the overwhelming majority of life companies, both young and old, I am appalled, and frequently disgusted, when I realize that the messages seem to be primarily a paen of self-praise by the top management group and, all too frequently, the emphasis seems to be, not on reporting information, but on glorification of the company so that its stock will show a better price on the market. I think it is about time that the young companies took the lead in a little integrity with their shareowners. Full disclosure of all of the facts, unglossed and unadorned.

Possibly this is wishful thinking but at least Standard Security has been following that procedure and will continue to do so as long as I direct its destinies.

What about selling tactics and procedures? Here again, I must refer to financed insurance and the special policies. The former has been pretty well destroyed by the 1964 Tax Act. But—many salesmen, representing some outstandingly well-reputed and well-established companies, are still selling financed insurance. Unfortunately, all too many of these sales are being sold improperly and to the wrong people. Are the companies underwriting this business completely unaware of what is going on? Possibly, but I doubt it.

This leads me into another of my favorite topics, one that I have also talked about at length and frequently. This is term insurance.

I know that many of the industry's so-called leaders profess to look with scorn on term insurance. And I am aware that commissions on term insurance are less than they are for the same amount of whole life (permanent) insurance. But I know also—and so do you—that there are a great many cases where term insurance is logical, beneficial and the proper financial answer to the younger man's insurance problems. Particularly is this true at a time when he is most in need of a sizable amount of insurance protection for his family—and usually at a time when he can least afford to pay heavy premiums.

So—isn't it a fact that much of the time the younger applicant is better served by term insurance than by any form of permanent insurance? Isn't it a fact, further, that the industry could do a much better job on conversion?

It is my conviction that the buyer of insurance should be given the greatest care and study as to how his actual needs can best be filled and at the lowest possible cost. I believe that therein lies a successful career for the field man and ultimate profits for the company. Let us cater to the buyer. Let us keep his best interests in mind at all times and let's, for Heaven's sake, not treat him as though he were merely a money bush, to be stripped as nearly bare as we can manage.

I have another strong belief—and it is one that I have expounded upon many occasions. I believe that it is all wrong—and a step toward disaster—for any life company, young or old, large or small, to permit (much less encourage) its agents to concentrate their efforts on sales which will yield the agent the highest commission, rather than selling the product which best suits the prospect of the moment.

There is something else that I believe the young life company should do—and all too few have done. This is the development of the total insurance or income protection concept, including both life and health protection. This provides not only a powerful, double-barreled weapon for use by the man in the field, but it also serves the best interests of that all-important individual, the buyer of our product.

As far as I am concerned, analyzing the techniques, the practices, and the philosophy of the established companies, I have come to the conclusion that most of them are primarily open-end investment trusts and secondarily insurance organizations. I am further convinced that the latter exists mainly to further the former. And this is one of the reasons for the emphasis upon the sale of "living insurance" and the ignoring of policyholder needs in the training and indoctrination of most new agents. An agent is not really taught to sell that which is best for each prospect. Every one in this room knows that usually the agent is taught to sell that which is easiest to sell, that which is most profitable to himself, and that which, inevitably, is most profitable to the company he represents. Can anyone really challenge this?

And this brings us to another "traditional industry practice." The recruitment and training of the field force—that amorphous and rather large body of men and women without whose endeavors all of us in this room would be without jobs.

Is there an easy solution to the career versus brokerage problem? Which path is better—general agency or branch office? And is there necessarily a conflict or discord in deciding what type of field force to develop?

The industry makes much ado about turnover among agents while, at the same time, figuratively thumping its chest about the wonderful training programs that it has been providing these agents. We know the futility of these programs—is this to be emulated?

The Institute of Life Insurance's advertising campaign with its theme of "consult your insurance agent. He is trained to help you," which appeared throughout the country, was a theme which met with great enthusiasm in producer circles, and it should have. However, one cannot help feeling that the theme promised much too much. One wonders if the average agent is adequately trained to help the public.

The type of training most companies give their new men can be best described as sales oriented—a program by veteran salesmen, in sales techniques, centered on sales product, and geared strictly for salesmen. Is this a good training program for salesmen? Perhaps. Is this the type of training for the development of a professional? Hardly.

What about the development of the management team? The well-established company promotes from within, like the U.S. Army. Sometimes men get pushed high up into the loftiest of positions by merely refusing to make any critical decision or enter into any controversial discussion.

While there are many brilliant and capable executives heading companies and major departments in many of the larger life companies, how many third, fourth and fifth raters occupy top slots? I ask you this—provide your own answer.

Now let us look at another aspect of our business—the real kainophobic aspect of fighting social progress. I remember, back in the thirties, the fight that the life insurance industry made against social security. Yet, as each one of you knows, social security has become the foundation upon which an incredible amount of insurance is sold. Many sales leads are based upon the coordination of life insurance with social security. How about the development of pension trusts and their coordination with social security?

Could we ever have sold so many hundreds of millions of dollars of premiums worth of pension business if there were no such thing as social security? One wonders then why the industry followed its usual kainophobic pattern and bitterly opposed medicare. Why didn't the industry take a positive approach, offering its assistance to the Federal Government in preparing the right kind of a program. No—instead the life insurance industry, through its major trade associations, lined up with the American Medical Association, identifying itself with one of the most reactionary and, may I add, kainophobic groups in America. Most of the doctors with whom I am personally acquainted are members of their various local and State societies and this means that they are, in some way, affiliated with the American Medical Association. It was the rare exception, with whom I spoke, who didn't feel most sympathetic toward the concept of medicare. And, interestingly enough, the ones who attacked medicare, were attacking something that didn't exist—socialized medicine. I see nothing of socialized medicine, as it exists in England and Canada, for example, in medicare. Do you?

But—it was easier for the insurance industry once again to be negative. A little constructive criticism backed by some positive and imaginative thinking would have served the industry and the country well. This is one traditional industry practice from which the young company should turn away—with great vigor.

As a matter of fact, it is this same stuffy attitude on the part of some of the giants—the attitude that "papa knows best"—the attitude that the company knows what is good and proper for the insurance prospect—that he should buy just what is offered to him, or else do without—that is one of the very big reasons for the recent surge of new life companies in this industry. It is an attitude that leaves the prospective buyer bewildered and confused, and which makes the conscientious agent unhappy and dissat-

isfied, in many cases. The new company, frequently, adopts a more progressive, a more flexible, a more enlightened outlook and attitude. It can, therefore, better serve the needs of the insurance buyer.

There is a great musical comedy on Broadway now called "Fiddler on the Roof." In this, a major portion of the plot is concerned with the fact that tradition is continually being broken by the young for progress. One wonders if the erosion of tradition as a result of actions taken by some of the younger companies isn't for the benefit of all concerned.

Now, I have been wandering around a bit to cover an enormous field. I could have started very early this morning and continued talking on this subject until late tonight. But let us revert back to my subtitle—"should and can the young life company resist."

As far as I am concerned, it should and it can, at least those practices which are kainophobic. But it certainly should not resist those which are beneficial.

Age, like distance, lends a double charm. The traditional, the established insurance company exploits this fact to its advantage. Through the machinations of well-established and expensive public relations machines, they have built an image of guaranteed protection, security, and affluence needless to say, some of this imagery works in reverse, since the public attitude seems to be that wealthy insurance companies should be cheated, like Uncle Sam with an income tax return, and this remains an accepted way of life.

A newly established company has to adopt some of this mantle of security and protection in order to gain public acceptance. But the question as to whether or not it can or should afford other traditional practices is another matter. Because of the gigantic resources at their command, the traditional company can gamble with experimentation, and unorthodoxy in its investments and administration procedures. It can even issue loss leader policies as a business developing technique.

But, without the enormous financial resources, without the reservoirs of manpower and without the time and funds for experimentation, the young company must establish its policy and its drive by setting a goal prior to its evolution. Without such direction, without that something special to attract a volume of business, a new company can be no more than an elephant's flea, and expect to be no more than a small, slow-growing image of the traditional or the usual stock shell, anticipating absorption by some parent. Without a new face, without something new to say, without that special direction, a new company can only be a pass-me-by.

Unless the new company has been established primarily for the sale of stock, rather than the proper selling of insurance, it must shake many of the traditions and concepts of the old in order to attain and create recognition with its own market. The policy contracts must be new and imaginative, the rates must be competitive, the claim policy must be fair and just, in order to find a receptive and ready audience. Because the new company represents innovation, because the new company represents the iconoclastic philosophy, the elephant will inevitably try to stamp on its flea. To accept the industry traditions and the industry pattern of operation does not necessarily mean survival for the new company, but probably its slow extinction.

In conclusion, we must recognize that—

Traditional industry practices might mean "practices" and might mean "ethics." Many of the practices, as well as most of the ethics, are sound and certainly should be followed by any company coming into the business. But some of the practices are at wide variance with the ethics or at least the ethics as they are expressed, either verbally or in writing by some of the spokesmen for our industry.

Should the young company president direct his company to follow along the well-trod path of the industry leaders? Yes, in certain aspects. But, just as positively "no" in many other aspects.

So, I end up with a yes and no in answer to the question posed as the subject, but with a belief that only a continuing dedication to the priciples of fair ethics, coupled with thorough knowledge and a progessive overall attitude will provide ultimate fulfillment of the promise of growth and lasting success. And, paraphrasing Dave Scott, as I see it, a young company's best chance for growth is to experiment, innovate and develop new policies and marketing methods.

American Free Enterprise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, recently Floyd M. Kalber, one of my constituents and veteran NBC news commentator, delivered an address which I believe merits the most thoughtful consideration by Members of this body.

Because the great free enterprise system, which has provided this Nation with the highest standard of living of any nation in this world, has been denegated in one manner or another by pseudoliberal critics and self-styled economic planners in recent years, the publication of Mr. Kalber's remarks at this time is particularly apropos. The moral fiber of the country demands freedom from government influences which to tend to destroy personal responsibility and individual incentive. Competition through the free enterprise system provides the kind of foundation upon which the strength of this Nation has been built.

I offer Mr. Kalber's statement for my colleagues' edification and, I trust, their serious thought:

In drafting the Constitution of the United States our forefathers broke with precedent. They threw aside the idea that government is established for the primary benefit of a privileged few.

They placed in a written constitution for the first time, the concept that the individual, without regard to status or class, is the primary concern of government.

Inherent in this idea of equality before the law is the concept of equality of opportunity. This we commonly refer to as free enterprise—the right of every individual to choose his trade or calling, his right to accumulate and own property, his right to engage in fair competition, and to succeed or fail in accordance with his skill, training, experience, incentive, and desire. This concept you often hear referred to as "a capitalist system," a term that many people do not understand and, to which many in ignorance or design, give a sinister meaning.

A capitalistic system is a free enterprise system, which is usually defined as an economy characterized by private or corporate ownership of capital goods, by investments that are determined by private decision, rather than by State control, and by prices, production, and distribution of goods that are determined mainly in a free and competitive market.

Such a system does not contemplate the placing of our future in an economic straitjacket. As a people, we do not want to live a drab existence which always results from a regulated, routine economy.

Under such a system we will never have a completely stabilized economy nor will we lack in exciting moments. Changes in our economic order are bound to occur. If they did not it would very likely result in fixed classes in our social order with the great mass of our people condemned to a state of peonage. Great wisdom was exercised by the drafters of the Constitution in devising a political system which would turn our struggling agricultural colonies into the greatest industrial Nation the world has ever known.

The keystone of our political system was certainly the principle of free enterprise. Competition has been the life of business and of the professions in this country. The theory that an individual shall be compensated in proportion to his energy, initiative, intelligence, ingenuity, and determination to get ahead is one of the main pillars of the American system. We grew to our greatest stature when free enterprise was unfettered and the incentive of our people was most free to assert itself.

Government has important functions to perform in such a system. The system must be circumscribed to some extent to protect the weak from the strong and the poor from the rich.

General rules of the game must be made and enforced to prevent monopolies, unfair practices, and other acts inconsistent with a free enterprise system. But, outside the field of general regulation for the common good, the individual must be left to his own devices and be permitted to operate as a free citizen in the field of his chosen occupation. Under such a system, the individual is given the opportunity to attain the things he most desires within the limits of his capabilities. He may desire to make money, to serve in the professions, or to hold public office. The choice is his to make. His success or failure is largely the result of his own efforts and abilities, or the want thereof.

Nationwide effort to achieve individual success accomplishes great things for all as a people. The rewards of free enterprise are worth having. Wealth, prominence, recognition, and influence are some of the rewards that spur individuals on and induce the maximum exercise of their talents. They are the stimulants that fire incentive and make America great.

It was under such a system that this country became the greatest producing country in the world.

But there are far too many people in this country today who feel that the rewards of intelligence and ignorance should be identical, that energy and lethergy are synonoyms when the prizes of private enterprise are being passed out, and that wealth, prominence, recognition, and influence are solely a matter of good fortune or the result of unethical conduct. Far too many people feel it is the function of Government to equalize by arbitrarily taking from those who have to pass out to those who have not. Pressure groups with great political strength have led Federal and State Governments into the field of public assistance as a public policy which has resulted in the undermining of our free enterprise system by destroying the moral fiber, personal responsibility, and individual incentive of many of our people. Something for nothing, usually based on a calculated vote return, has ever been the bane of a free enterprise system. It's effect on the ingenuity and incentive of the people is something less than exhilerating from the national viewpoint.

Our graduated income tax likewise depresses the incentive toward maximum production.

It stands to reason that when production reaches a point where additional profits are drained away by taxation the incentive to produce ebbs away at a corresponding rate. Lip service is given to the principles of free enterprise, especially by those in partisan political life. We talk much in support of free enterprise while we complacently permit it to be subject to improper restraint.

We have weighed down free enterprise in this country with a huge public debt, huge tax rates, domineering public controls, and a general destruction of economic freedom. We are hamstringing the whole concept of free enterprise—the very thing that made our country great.

We are prone to charge our lessened national productivity to partisan political considerations rather than to face up to the fact that it has been brought about by a departure from the fundamental principles of a free enterprise economy.

Prof. George S. Benson, of Harding College, has dramatically compared our system of free enterprise to the training of our youth on athletic fields as they prepare themselves for contests of skill.

The members of a track team, for example, practice form, seek endurance, and meticulously follow the advice of the coach. They work hard because they want to win.

In every sense contemplated by our Declaration of Independence, these youths are created equal. Each has an inalienable right to win the offered medal, if he can. But, as a matter of fact, only one can win it. And only one will. Competition, the spirit of contest, makes a good track meet. Competition inspires training, and training makes for development. If all men had been created equal physically, if every race had to end in a tie to be fair, there would be no training, no competition, no development.

The net result of competition is a better class of men, better teams, better classes, better schools, and a better developed nation.

Progress develops from the effort, not from the trophies and awards. It is the same in business, in the professions, or in whatever activity one may engage. Nationwide effort to achieve individual success is the basis of a nation's greatness.

The infringements upon our free enterprise system have dampened the incentive of our people toward maximum production. The ingenuity and energy of our people, if not restrained, will continue to make us the greatest of all industrial nations. But their ingenuity and energy are apt to be retarded in proportion to the extent of the improper regulations and controls that are imposed on our free enterprise system. We * * * in most cases * * * completely ignore the restraints being imposed on our free enterprise economy. In some cases they are brought about by the selfish demands of pressure groups who have, or claim to have, great political influence.

In some cases selfishness and greed are the motivating factors. Such violations of principle are not of recent vintage, however, they are ever present in a republic such as ours.

The maintenance of free enterprise is essential to the preservation of freedom in this country. Without it we shall drift into a controlled economy, a drab way of life for the masses from which there could be no escape.

The principle of free enterprise must be understood by the responsible citizen in order that it may be maintained in spirit as well as in form.

The spirit of free enterprise must be reenergized in order that the lagging incentive of our people may assert itself in full measure and thereby insure the maximum effort necessary to keep our country great.

James Madison once said, "in framing a government which is to be administered by men, over men, the greatest difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed and in the next place oblige it to control itself."

It could be said that in a republican form of government such as ours it is essential also that the people be obliged to restrain certain of their natural impulses if freedom is to be preserved in this country. It takes firm moral character to subvert personal interest to the national good. But with the decay of moral character in the affairs of government, comes the trends which, if unrestrained, will lead to the loss of our freedom.

Since the danger does not appear to be immediately present—complacency and indifference continue to abound in the land. Our reverence for constitutional principle is not what in formerly was. Old traditions are swept aside as the offspring of a provincial past. We have become a smug people who seem to feel that this generation has developed a new formula of government in which we can safely disregard all the knowledge and experience of the past. We seem to feel that the natural traits of people have changed in the present generation from what they have been in the past when, in fact, they are much the same as always.

But the smugness of our generation prohibits us from realizing that we must restrain the excesses of the majority as much as we ever did. It was the very purpose of our system of public education to make our citizenship responsible to the duties of citizenship in a country where the freedom of the individual was of primary concern.

Our people have risen to every emergency from without and beaten down those who would by force destroy our Government. They do not seem to realize that internal dangers to which they are complacent and indifferent are as dangerous to our system as attack from without.

Warnings are ignored as the extravagant utterances of partisan politics. Evidences of encroachment and usurpation are dismissed as an end that justifies the means. To arouse the people to the dangers permitted by their own apathy and distinterest is of tremendous importance. Those who undertake to do so are publicly attacked by the demagog and the misguided politician. Statesmanship is subjugated to the whims of those whose personal interest is in the immediate future and who care little about the end result of their preachments.

We cannot escape the fact that our lagging incentive is due largely to the restrictions imposed on the profit motive. Graduated income taxes, the general tax burden, the regulations by bureaucracy on free competition, price fixing, controls, and many other similar infringements upon free enterprise by Government are destroying the incentive of the people. Subsidies and promises of security are common methods of inducing people to forsake their incentive schemes that have been employed throughout the centuries with the same calamatous results.

A written constitution is in itself no guarantee of liberty but among a people who cherish liberty a constitution is a means to this end.

People are free only to the extend that their productive and creative activities are unimpeded. We are fast jettisoning the protective devices of free enterprise. The liberties we attempted to protect by the constitution as absolute and inalienable are no longer regarded as inherent rights but merely as permissive. Only by constant reminder of the erosion of our original values do we have a fighting chance in the struggle to retain our free enterprise system.

A creed written by Dean Alfange expresses in simple language the attitude of those who have confidence in not only their free enterprise system but in themselves. It reads:

"I do not choose to be a common man. It is my right to be an uncommon man if I wish. I seek opportunity not security. I do not wish to be a kept citizen humbled and dulled by having the state look after me. I want to take the calculated risk, to dream and to build, to fail and succeed. I refuse to barter incentive for dole. I prefer the challenges of life to guaranteed existence the thrills of fulfillment to the stale calm of utopia. I will not trade my freedom for beneficence or my dignity for a handout.

"I will never cower before any master or bend to any threat. It is my heritage to stand erect, proud, and unafraid, to act and think for myself, enjoy the fruits of my creation and face the world boldly and say this I have done. This is what it means to be an American."

Pulaski Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I am proud and happy to be able on this occasion of the 186th anniversary of the death of that great Polish American hero, Casimir Pulaski, to pay tribute to the great achievements in this country of Polish Americans.

The Polish contribution to American life extends back to the time of the earliest voyages of exploration. Poles have participated in every American conflict. They made notable contributions to the American revolutionary effort. At the time of the Civil War there were some 30,000 Poles in the United States. Of this number, 4,000 fought in the Union Army and 1,000 in the Army of the Confederate States. When President Lincoln made his appeal for volunteers, typical of those who responded was General Krzyzanowski, who distinguished himself at the Battles of Cross Keys, Bull Run, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg. He was appointed the first Governor of Alaska, served in Panama, and died in 1887; in 1938 his remains were transferred to the Arlington National Cemetery. Polish-Americans have fought in the Spanish War, both World Wars, and the Korean War. Their heroism is one of the great parts of the tradition of the Polish people in America.

Pulaski Day will be celebrated throughout the country to honor Casimir Pulaski, a man who was a patriot of Poland and the United States. He fought both Russian and British tyranny. The celebration of this hero's dedication and devotion to the cause of freedom will be fervently observed by Polish Americans across the land, and in those celebrations will be shown the talent for organization that is a characteristic attribute of Polish Americans.

The devotion to the United States and to its institutions felt by Polish Americans is in the tradition of the great Pulaski who came to these shores to serve the cause of freedom in General Washington's Continental Army.

The man whose heroism we celebrate today, was born at Podolia, Poland, on

March 4, 1748. As a young man, after acquiring military experience in the guard force of Duke Charles, of Courland, he joined his father, Count Joseph Pulaski, in active rebellion against King Stanislas Augustus. Pulaski's military exploits were heroic, and for a time were successful, but his forces were eventually defeated and scattered, and his family's estates were confiscated.

He fled to Turkey where he tried in vain to persuade the Turkish Government to attack the Russian enemy. He then went to Paris where he met the representatives of revolutionary America, Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane, who wrote to General Washington in Pulaski's behalf.

Arriving in Philadelphia in the spring of 1777, he joined the Continental Army as a volunteer and distinguished himself at the Battle of Brandywine. Four days after the battle, on September 19, he was appointed a brigadier general by the Continental Congress and given command of the cavalry. He next took part in the Battle of Germantown on October 4, 1777. He then resigned his command, and in a letter to Congress in March 1778, suggested the formation of an independent corps, a suggestion that General Washington approved.

After Pulaski's letter had been read on March 28, 1778, the Continental Congress passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That Count Pulaski retain his rank of brigadier in the Army of the United States, and that he raise and have the command of an independent corps to consist of 68 horse, and 200 foot, the horse to be armed with lances, and the foot equipped in the manner of light infantry; the corps to be raised in such way and composed of such men as General Washington shall think expedient and proper.

This corps, afterward known as Pulaski's Legion, was officered principally by foreigners serving enthusiastically in the American cause. It rendered important service in the southern campaigns of the Revolutionary War.

Pulaski arrived at Charleston in May of 1779, where he was defeated by the superior forces of General Provost. He then joined General Lincoln and the French fleet in their attack on Savannah, bravely charging the enemy lines at the head of his cavalry, and falling gravely wounded. He was removed to one of the ships of the fleet, the *Wasp*, where he died on October 11, 1779.

Thirsty San Benito Waits for San Luis Water

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, the October 2 issue of the California Farmer carries an excellent article regarding the San Luis unit of the Central Valley project which would be authorized with passage of my bill, H.R. 777. Though the article mentions only San Benito County, it should be pointed out that this project would provide irrigation and domestic water to the entire central coast region of California, including Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, and Monterey Counties.

The feasibility study has recently cleared all necessary channels, and it is my understanding that this project has been favorably recommended to President Johnson by the Department of the Interior. I am hopeful that this Congress will be considering my bill to authorize this much-needed project at the next session.

With this likelihood, some information regarding the project should be available to the entire House. The California Farmer article does an excellent job of summarizing the entire project, and I respectfully commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

The article follows:

THIRSTY SAN BENITO WAITS FOR SAN LUIS WATER

San Benito County growers have been concerned about their water supply for years. They still are, but the San Luis Unit of the Central Valley project holds hope for the future when a way to finance a distribution system is found.

California Farmer recently attended a meeting in Hollister where growers and interested county officials met with representatives of the Bureau of Reclamation. Purpose of the meeting was to exchange ideas on how growers on the west side of Pacheco Pass can utilize water from the San Luis Reservoir once the dam is completed.

Included in part of the overall plan, but for which no money has yet been appropriated, is a tunnel through Pacheco Pass and a series of conduits and canals to carry water to the Watsonville, Hollister, and San Jose areas. Efforts are now underway to get an appropriation for this phase of the project. With luck this should be accomplished within 2 years.

There still remains the problem of growers forming a water district to construct a distribution system to take the water from the main canal to a point where it will be utilized.

At the recent meeting growers were given an idea of the difference in cost of an open canal, a closed-line low-pressure pipe and a closed-line high-pressure system.

Bureau of Reclamation officials estimated an unlined open ditch at about $140 per acre; with lining, at about $250 per acre. A low-pressure pipe system would jump the cost to about $490 per acre and a full-pressure system would boost the figure to a low of $560 per acre to a top of more than $1,000 per acre, depending on how elaborate a system was designed.

The bureau informed growers that there is interest-free money available on a 40-year payback arrangement with the Government.

Growers were told that the price of water will be $20 per acre-foot at the west portal of the Pacheco tunnel. To this must be added a figure for overhead and maintenance of the distribution system, plus an assessment to pay off the district's indebtedness. It is hoped that final price to the grower-user will be under $20 per acre-foot.

Does San Benito County need additional water? Ten years ago growers irrigated 28,000 acres and they were overdrafting the water table by 7,000 acre-feet per year. Much has been done to improve the county's water situation. Hernandez Dam has been built and a county wide water district has been formed. Some 80 wells have been drilled and water economies have been developed.

Today the county has 40,000 acres under irrigation, and underground water levels continue to decline. The annual overdraft is now 9,000 acre-feet. With an adequate water supply, it is estimated 50,000 acres would be irrigated in the county.

In an extensive study conducted by the San Benito County staff of the Agricultural Extension Service it was discovered that the cost of pumping local ground water is increasing as the water levels drop.

There is a large variation in total water costs, depending on location within the county and types of crops grown. The range is from $3.84 to $39.96 per acre-foot, with 43 per cent of the wells in the range of $7.51 to $15.

The San Luis Reservoir is a joint Federal-State project. The Pacheco tunnel and the main distribution canals and conduits west of the pass would be Federal, and therefore, subjected to the antiquated 160-acre limitation.

San Luis will receive its water through canals from the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, 100 miles to the north. The unit will make available over a million acre-feet for irrigation each year. This water is scheduled to be available in 1967.

The dam will be 3½ miles long, 320 feet high and 2,435 feet thick at the base. It will hold 2.1 million acre-feet, cover 13,800 acres and be 310 feet deep and provide 65 miles of shoreline. The San Luis canal will be 103 miles long, 257 feet wide at the top, 110 feet wide at the bottom and 36 feet deep. It will carry 13,100 cubic feet per second and discharge 7,000 cubic feet per second into the California Aqueduct. Estimated total cost of the San Luis Unit is $481 million. The tab is being divided 55 percent State and 45 percent Federal.

Textile Courses Gain at Lowell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the industry which gave birth to the industrial revolution in the United States in the early years of the 19th century is thriving today with the technological advances of the 20th century.

The textile industry of Massachusetts is still providing an important source of jobs and economic activity. In large part this is due to the Lowell Technological Institute, an outstanding school which is leading the technological revolution in the textile field.

Yesterday, John J. McKone writing in the Boston Globe in his Merrimack Valley column discussed the role of Lowell Tech in providing the men and the talent needed to keep this important industry growing and progressing.

Under unanimous consent I include the article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

TEXTILE COURSES GAIN AT LOWELL

(By John J. McKone)

For 3 years enrollment in textile courses at Lowell Technological Institute has been slipping. Now comes an upward swing that may mark the beginning of a trend.

One reason may be that the valley's old standby industry itself is taking a new look, and the institute is meeting the demand for graduates with broader technological education.

The move relieves management jitters. Youth's snubbing of millman careers added to other industry problems. Even now in New England there are five or more openings for every bachelor of science in textiles.

Sought-for capabilities are needed to meet changes ahead. Leaders say cloth and fabric making is not an art or craft any longer. It is going scientific.

"The vocational aspect dealing with laboratory exposure," Prof. John J. McDonald says, "is giving way to more theory and fundamentals.

"Textiles today call for the college-trained man with technological background. Theory and fundamentals equip him to be more flexible in meeting the industry's new requirements, especially in engineering."

About 80 percent of the students at the college major in engineering.

Master degrees command starting salaries of $3,500 up. Bachelor of science in textiles is a ticket to jobs paying $7,200 to $7,500 that go to $10,000 in 5 years.

But sizable pay checks alone, one authority says, were not attracting the new crop of grads.

"They wanted to be accepted at the management level," he said. "This is coming about gradually and may account for greater popularity in the textile courses."

Lowell Tech plans to aid the industry by opening classes early in November to update technological personnel in mill plants. They are sponsored by New England's industry as a unit. Courses for degrees require 4 years. Scholarships are made available but are, in some cases, ineffective in furthering the interests of students because of limitations.

They apply mostly in junior or senior years. McDonald hopes some financial aid can be arranged for freshmen and sophomores.

Uncle Sam seeks special technological textile know-how for 30 members of the Army Quartermaster Command. They commute to Lowell for part-time classes in the graduate school.

Congressman F. BRADFORD MORSE is urging Governor Volpe to make Lowell Tech the recipient institution in the new Federal program to be launched under the State Technical Services Act. President Johnson signed the law a few days ago. It provides $60 million to make technical and scientific advances possible to American business.

Michigan City (Ind.) News-Dispatch Supports Project Head Start

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a thoughtful editorial from the September 30, 1965, issue of the Michigan City, Ind., News-Dispatch in support of Operation Head Start.

The editorial follows:

WHY HEAD START IS NEEDED

One of the antipoverty war's better programs is Project Head Start, the preschooling of children from deprived homes. One thought-provoking survey made in New York amply demonstrates the program's great need.

There, a Head Start worker tested many tots from impoverished (in more ways than one) homes in search of what needed remedying.

Question were simple, yet psychologically subtle and shockingly revealing.

What is a mother? To one child, "A mother hits me hard." Other replies caused the tester to report:

"Mother and father are, at best, people who work, at worst, they are people who punish. Never are they people who take care of you, read you stories, or kiss you good night.

A soldier is "not a defender of his country" but rather "a man who shoots you dead." A policeman is someone who "kills people, or puts you in jail."

As these young minds are bent, so grows the human personality * * * and we suspect that more than a few from so-called advantaged homes might offer test replies almost as shocking.

Congressman Annunzio's Remarks at Wreath-Laying Ceremony at Pulaski Statue, Washington, D.C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, our colleague and friend, Congressman FRANK ANNUNZIO, was asked to participate in a commemorative ceremony at the Gen. Casimir Pulaski statue in Washington today.

Each year, the Congress pays tribute to the great heroes of American history and this year is no exception to this honored tradition. Congressman ANNUNZIO spoke at the commemorative ceremony on Pennsylvania Avenue and paid tribute to Casimir Pulaski for his courage and his outstanding contribution to our American victory in the Revolutionary War.

General Pulaski inspired his men and his Nation and it is a pleasure to bring Congressman ANNUNZIO's remarks to the attention of my colleagues today, as we commemorate the death of one of America's noblest patriots.

Mr. Speaker, Congressman ANNUNZIO's remarks follow:

SPEECH BY CONGRESSMAN FRANK ANNUNZIO AT LAYING OF THE WREATH CEREMONIES AT GEN. CASIMIR PULASKI'S MONUMENT IN WASHINGTON, D.C. ON OCTOBER 11, 1965.

I want to express my deep appreciation to Charlie Burke and to all of you for inviting me to participate in this year's ceremony honoring the memory of the great patriot and brilliant military leader, Gen. Casimir Pulaski, who assisted the Americans in their fight for freedom during the Revolutionary War.

Casimir Pulaski was born in the Province of Podolia in 1748, and from his earliest childhood, demonstrated the qualities of organization and leadership which were manifested all his life. Before he reached the age of 20, he had organized a small group that fought valiantly to prevent the partition of Poland. However, his efforts were to no avail, and he barely managed to escape with his life.

In 1777, he met Benjamin Franklin in Paris, and Franklin was so favorably impressed, he gave Pulaski a letter of introduction to Gen. George Washington. It was Washington who suggested to the Continental Congress that young Pulaski be entrusted with the grave responsibility of reorganizing the American cavalry forces. This Pulaski accomplished with such skill that he was placed in command of all our cavalry forces, and proceeded to distinguish himself in every subsequent encounter with the enemy.

In the Seventh Congressional District of Illinois, which I have the honor to represent in the Congress, there exists a large Polish population. In fact the Poles comprise the largest single ethnic group in my district. I have lived among the Polish people, I have nieces and nephews who have Polish fathers, and I am proud of my close affiliation with the Polish people.

From this close association, I have come to know the Poles as a courageous people, as a dedicated people, as a patriotic people, as a religious people, and as a warm and loving people. Their courage in the face of tyranny has been demonstrated time and again over a span of centuries, their dedication to their principles has not faltered in the face of overwhelming odds, their patriotism has been manifested in their continuing struggle for a free Poland, and their devotion to their church and to their families is evident to us all.

All of these characteristics serve to make up an extraordinary people, and General Pulaski, as a descendant of the extraordinary Polish people, is a man to be remembered with pride and gratitude. In 1779, at the age of 31, Pulaski gave up his life on the battlefield while leading his famous cavalry legion in driving the British out of Savannah. He neither lived to see victory achieved on that battlefield, nor did he live to see America win her fight for independence, yet his valiant efforts were instrumental in establishing this wonderful country of ours which recognizes and upholds the inherent dignity of man and the fundamental rights of the individual.

I am proud to join you at this monument to commemorate the 186th anniversary of General Pulaski's supreme and inspiring sacrifice in the age-old struggle for freedom and liberty. Once again, thank you, for giving me the opportunity to join you in paying tribute to this great man.

Poem Dedicated to Astronauts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am pleased to include the lyrics of a song written by one of my constituents, Mr. Mickey Stoner, which is dedicated to the astronauts of the United States:

Hail to our country's astronauts,
Exploring heaven's starry dots;
To far off worlds, they blaze the way
And glorify the U.S.A.

Hail to our country's men in space
And question marks that they erase;
We know our space pioneers,
Shall never, never have any peers.

Off to a planet,
In a sea of mystery,
They blast off in a spacecraft and man it
On a mission of discovery.

Fame's bright crown will suit them,
They bring unknown light from stars;
With hand and heart we'll always salute them,
Astronauts of this great land of ours.

Pulaski Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD J. IRWIN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished Governor of Connecticut, the Honorable John Dempsey recently issued a proclamation declaring today, October 11, Pulaski Day, in honor of the Polish military hero who gave his life for the cause of American independence in the Revolutionary War.

All Americans of Polish descent can take justifiable pride in the heroic exploits of Gen. Casimir Pulaski. He saw the struggle for American independence as part of a struggle for mankind's freedom from tyranny and he did not hesitate to do something about it. His daring and his strength gave new life to the American Revolution at a critical stage, just as later immigrants from Poland, through their abilities and enterprise, gave new energy to a growing America.

It has often been said that no man can make a greater sacrifice than to give his life for his country. General Pulaski's sacrifice can be said to be even greater. He gave his life for this, his adopted country.

He started a proud tradition that has continued to this day of meaningful contributions by Polish Americans to the development of American institutions and the preservation of American freedom.

Therefore, it is only fitting that we honor his memory and, at the same time, pray that his ancestral homeland, Poland, which he loved so much, will be liberated from the oppressive hand of communism and be able, once again, to live in freedom.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD the following proclamation by Governor Dempsey:

A PROCLAMATION BY HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN DEMPSEY, GOVERNOR, STATE OF CONNECTICUT

Our Nation will ever be grateful to Gen. Casimir Pulaski, the Polish military hero who gave his life for the cause of American independence in the historic siege of Savannah on October 11, 1777.

A fearless champion of liberty in his native land before he generously offered his services to the struggling Colonies, General Pulaski, a brilliant strategist, brought strength and inspiration to the Colonial troops in their long battle to establish an independent nation.

The General Assembly of Connecticut, mindful of the esteem in which the name of General Pulaski is held, has directed that a day be set aside annually to honor the memory of this gallant officer. Accordingly, I hereby proclaim Monday, October 11, 1965, to be "Pulaski Day."

The observance of this day is an occasion for the expression of our sympathy and concern for the freedom-loving people of Poland, now subject to oppressive Iron Curtain rule, who look forward to the day when they will regain their rightful independence. It serves, also, to recognize the noteworthy contribution to progress made by the many citizens of Polish extraction who reside in Connecticut.

I urge that national and State flags be displayed on public and private buildings in Connecticut on Pulaski Day and that schools and civic organizations conduct appropriate memorial exercises.

Given under my hand and seal of the State at the capitol, in Hartford, this 25th day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and ninetieth.

JOHN DEMPSEY.

By his excellency's command:

ELLA T. GRASSO,
Secretary of State.

No Need To Raise Interest Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, last week the American Bankers Association at its annual convention passed a resolution which endorses higher interest rates as a measure of combating current inflationary pressures.

It would appear that the American Bankers Association is shadowboxing since this country is not in an inflationary period, but rather in the midst of one of the longest periods of peacetime prosperity. In light of this, it is inconceivable that anyone would want to rock the boat and at the present time a rise in interest rates would not counter the phantom inflation that the bankers dream about, but would rather force a recession. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post, on Saturday, October 9, brought this point home clearly in an editorial "Higher Interest Rates?" It points out in substance that "no change in the pattern of interest rates is required, and the Federal Reserve authorities would perform a public service if they would deflate the bankers expectations to the contrary by assuring them that no change in policy is now contemplated."

As Members of Congress dedicated to the belief that a portion of our economy should not suffer so that another segment may prosper, it is up to each one of us to make certain that interest rates are not raised solely to fight a fantasy inflation. I am including a copy of the Washington Post editorial at this point:

HIGHER INTEREST RATES?

Bankers are the only group of businessmen who can successfully invoke morality in urging a higher price for their product—credit. But the argument that higher interest rates are in the public interest is valid only when the economy is plagued by inflationary pressures. And while it would appear that bankers are somewhat more likely than other observers to detect evidences of inflationary pressure, this suggestion of a parochial bias should not preclude a respectful consideration of the resolutions passed by the American Bankers Association at its Chicago convention.

The ABA maintains that inflationary pressures must be countered by a somewhat more restrictive Federal Reserve policy which would permit interest rates to rise in response to "market forces." But the prescription is carefully tempered with the statement that: "There is no need to adopt extreme measures which would jeopardize the country's prosperity. What is needed is a flexible response to the present tempo of the economy."

The best reply to the ABA was made by Mr. Henry H. Fowler, the Secretary of the Treasury. He quoted a question put to him by President Johnson: "Why don't people stop, look, and listen, and count three before taking steps that would change the favorable mix of economic policy that has characterized this balanced expansion?" As the economy expands, there are likely to be upward price pressures in certain industries. But should the monetary authorities in an effort to counter them run the risk of bringing the economic expansion to a halt? The current Federal Reserve policy, although leaning toward the side of restraint, is providing the economy with a steadily growing money supply and should not now be changed.

Interest rates have risen moderately in response to a growing demand for bank accommodation. In some instances banks have raised their nominal rates on specific types of loans; in others real rates have been boosted by increasing the compensating balances that borrowers are required to maintain. Thus the "market forces" of which the bankers speak are at work. To add to them the restraining hand of the central bank would indeed push interest rates up to a much higher level. But such a move, by unduly restraining the growth of investment, would be self-defeating. No change in the pattern of interest rates is required, and the Federal Reserve authorities would perform a public service if they would deflate the bankers' expectations to the contrary by assuring them that no change in policy is now contemplated.

Pulaski Day, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, on October 11, 1965, we observe the 186th anniversary of the death of the gallant young Casimir Pulaski, who took his mortal wound in leading his troops in an attack upon the British at Savannah, Ga. Pulaski is a patriot justly remembered with affectionate admiration, both by Poland and by America, since he devoted his life, his fortune, and his outstanding military talents, first to the the service of his native Poland, and, after tragic defeat in that effort, to the service of the cause of liberty in America. He was consistently, through two glorious careers in his one short life of 31 years, a devoted soldier of liberty. Though he did not live to see the victory of the American cause for which he gave his life, he ranks high among the architects of that victory, and the battle in which he fell was one of the last efforts of the fading British power in America.

Pulaski is rightly remembered today as one of the shining heroes who came

voluntarily, from many nations in the old world, to aid the new birth of freedom on our continent. He is remembered, too, as a worthy representative of Poland, and one to whom Americans of Polish descent can look back with pride. Every American shares in the heritage of Pulaski's daring and devotion, and every American owes much to the military skill and organizing genius that Pulaski devoted to the cause of the American Revolution. America will live in glory as long as her people cherish the ideals for which the heroic Pole, Casimir Pulaski, lived and died.

Support for the Arts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson has reminded us that in this country the scientist usually gets the penthouse while the artist gets the basement.

Now the administration has taken steps to do for philosophers, scholars, and artists what Congress did for U.S. scientists 15 years ago.

The National Humanities and Arts Foundation will parallel the flourishing National Science Foundation.

The Milwaukee Journal pointed out recently:

> Most European nations, recognizing the arts as vast national assets of incalculable value, have long provided them stability and encouragement through direct grants and other forms of financial assistance.

This is a step in the right direction—to assure that respect and encouragement will be given those who provide the fundamental ideas and values upon which our society rests. The editorial, to which I referred, follows:

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal, Sept. 30, 1965]

UNITED STATES DECIDES TO SUBSIDIZE ARTS AND HUMANITIES

After an 18-month inquiry into the state of performing arts in America, a special Rockefeller Fund panel concluded early this year:

"While private support should remain dominant, the Federal Government should give strong support to the arts, including the performing arts, by appropriate recognition of their importance, by direct and indirect encouragement and by financial cooperation."

Congress obviously didn't need much convincing to reverse a traditional American attitude. It brushed aside old taboos against Government patronage and approved a most generous package of financial support of the arts. President Johnson signed the legislation Wednesday.

The measure, which received its initial impetus during the administration of the late President Kennedy, is designed to do for philosophers, scholars, and artists what Congress did for U.S. scientists 15 years ago. It establishes a national humanities and arts foundation to parallel the flourishing National Science Foundation. With about $20 million a year for the next 3 years to work with, the new foundation will play "angel" to nonprofit theater groups, hard pressed symphony orchestras, and art exhibitors. It will also assist budding playwrights, composers, painters, and others of their standing. In the humanities, it will concentrate on upgrading university curriculums and promoting learned studies in literature, history, philosophy, and kindred fields.

This sudden expression of Government concern for the arts reflects, in part, the growing complaint that Federal stress on science education and research has imperiled exploration and exposition of the fundamental ideas and values on which U.S. society rests. The Rockefeller study found, for example, that the arts are in trouble in this country, despite the apparent cultural boom of recent years.

Most European nations, recognizing the arts as vast national assets of incalculable value, have long provided them stability and encouragement through direct grants and other forms of financial assistance. In the United States, past moves in this direction invariably have met with wholesale indifference or stern opposition born of a fear that Government support would mean Government dictation.

Subsidy, however, may be less of a straitjacket than the box office. The marketplace exerts a kind of censorship that can be as rigid as any feared by opponents of subsidy.

The best protection against undue Government interference—admitting that the danger exists—is a community that recognizes it and is prepared to oppose it.

L.B.J.'s Practical Words

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, we know that achievement and responsibility go hand in hand. The artist for example learns that if one is true to himself, he then can be false to no man.

I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to a recent editorial in the Scranton, Pa., Times, which praises the practical words President Johnson spoke to those attending the White House Art Festival. As the editorial points out, his words apply in some measure to all of us, whether artists or not.

The article follows:

[From the Scranton (Pa.) Times, Sept. 24, 1965]

L.B.J.'S PRACTICAL WORDS

Achievement and responsibility go hand in hand, as President Johnson reminded those attending the White House Art Festival awhile back. His audience of men and women distinguished in the arts applauded. And if they wondered where their responsibilities lie the President also had something sensible to say about that.

"Your art is not a political weapon," he told them. "Yet much of what you do is profoundly political. For you seek out the common pleasures and visions and the terrors and cruelties of man's day on this planet. You help dissolve the barriers of hatred and ignorance which are the source of so much pain and danger. In this way you work for peace—not the peace which is simply the absence of war but the peace which liberates man to reach for the finest fulfillment of his spirit."

These are high-sounding words. But they are also practical words with a meaning that applies in some measure to all of us, whether artists or not.

Sugar Act Amendments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, the Sugar Act amendments bill is a terrible one. As written, the bill is obscure and confusing. Once understood—and I confess I have spent a lot of time trying to understand it, even partially—it appears to have almost nothing to recommend it.

In effect, the bill makes sure the American consumer will be forced to pay unnecessarily high prices for sugar, at a time of inflationary pressures and rising food costs.

According to figures I obtained yesterday from the Agriculture Department, the present world price for sugar is around $2.20 per 100 pounds. To this should be added 96 cents per 100-pound charge for duty and freight charges. This makes the operative world price of sugar delivered at American ports around $3.16 per 100 pounds or $63.20 per ton. The present American price—a price subsidized by Government legislation—is $6.85 per 100 pounds or $137 per ton. The per ton differential which the American consumer is forced to pay is $73.80.

In real terms, this means a lot, particularly to the American consumer. A housewife pays 11 cents for a pound of sugar in a store in Detroit but just across the river in Windsor, Canada, she pays only 8 cents. Canada does not go in for legislating high prices for the consumer.

As my distinguished colleague, PAUL FINDLEY, has pointed out, this legislation would impose a terrific burden on the U.S. taxpayer. With a $73.80 per ton price differential between world and subsidized domestic sugar prices, and assuming a 10-million-ton sugar consumption in America in 1966, this bill will cost the American taxpayers $738 million next year.

This bill will authorize the sugar program for 5 years. If prices average out at present levels, this means that the program will cost the American taxpayers nearly $3.7 billion.

The implications of this bill abroad are nearly as disturbing as they are at home. Supposedly, paying foreign producers a subsidized price for sugar brought into America is one way of improving living standards abroad. Proponents of this bill argue that the sugar quota is justified by the "trade, not aid" philosophy.

This may be so, and it may be that American money from sugar purchase finds its way into the pockets of those who really need it. But I doubt it. In foreign countries, most sugar refineries

and a substantial part of the land used for growing sugarcane are owned either by large corporations or very wealthy individuals. Some of these corporations are American-owned, which puts the U.S. Government in the uncomfortable position of subsidizing an American company, with a foreign aid justification. Regardless of American corporate involvement, sugar money does not really get down to the peasants; it stays in the hands of the rich, of the oligarchs, and of the big shots. Usually it then finds its way out of the country, into a numbered bank account in Switzerland. If this program really is foreign aid, I would like to see someone explain just how it aids those who really need it.

As presently written, this bill continues the American quota for Haiti at the same levels set in the past. If we assume a total American sugar consumption of 10 million tons, Haiti's quota under this bill would be 32,603 tons. At the $73.80 per ton price differential, this bill would subsidize the Haitian economy to the tune of $2,406,101.40.

Over $2 million subsidy to a dictatorship. Although not all this money may wind up in the tills of the Duvalier government, it certainly helps it out. Mr. Speaker, it seems curious to me that innocent American children, as they lick their artificially high-priced lollypops, may well be subsidizing the witch-doctor dictator of Haiti.

Mr. Speaker, all these things stem from the bill before us today. It was conceived in confusion, compiled in obscurity, and concocted by high-priced lobbyists. It will legislate high prices for the American consumer. It will subsidize the landlords abroad. It will divert money to Switzerland. But most of all, it will add yet another push to what I fear is a developing pattern of inflationary pressure in America. Food prices are up; this bill will insure they will stay up. I think the bill as drafted is entirely wrong, and I urge its defeat.

The Right To Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, this Congress has passed a voting rights bill which is a major step toward extending the franchise to those who have previously been unable to participate in the basic act of free government—the right to vote.

I am proud to have been in Congress when this milestone legislation was added to the fabric of our democracy.

There remains, however, a group of American citizens—8 million strong—who are flatly denied the right to vote in all but four States of the Union. Yet this group of citizens serves our country well throughout the world.

As Peace Corps volunteers they are bringing a new image of America—the image of a compassionate and friendly people—to other nations throughout the world not as fortunate as our own.

As volunteers in the war on poverty they are helping to eradicate the evils of poverty and want where they exist in this country.

They represent our Nation in international athletic competition, and in the field of the arts.

Perhaps most significant of all, they represent our national security in the rice paddies and jungles of Vietnam. Some have given the ultimate sacrifice.

I am of course talking about the young men and women of America between the ages of 18 and 21 who are not allowed to vote.

I am not one of those who bemoan the morals and manners of our young people. They are being asked to do more for our Nation than ever before in our history—and they are meeting the challenge of citizenship with maturity.

I firmly believe our young people between the ages of 18 and 21 deserve the right to vote and I am introducing a bill identical with that of my good friend Mr. WELTNER introduced last August which would accomplish this most desirable objective.

In these times, we cannot afford to be without the voice at the polls of a segment of our society that has served us honorably and well.

Pulaski Day Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, in marking the anniversary of the death of Polish-American hero, Gen. Casimir Pulaski, the Americans of Polish descent in Hartford, Conn., passed a resolution that I commend to the attention of the House:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE PULASKI DAY PARADE IN HARTFORD, CONN., ON OCTOBER 10, 1965

We Americans of Polish descent and we Poles of recent immigration, gathered on the occasion of the Pulaski Day celebrations held in Hartford, Conn., on October 10, 1965, hereby do proclaim:

1. Referring to Pope Paul's latest ardent plea for universal peace, we express our belief, that lasting peace can only be achieved if it will be based on freedom and justice for all men and for all nations. We demand, that in Poland and in other countries in Eastern and Central Europe, now enslaved under the imposed Communist rule and neocolonial Russian domination, free and unfettered elections be held under the supervision of the United Nations.

2. We demand, that Polish regained western territories, rebuilt after the last war destruction and exclusively inhabited by the Polish population, be formally recognized as an integral part of Poland and the present Odra-Nyssa line be ratified as the final boundary of Poland.

3. While aprpeciating, that peace should be the ultimate goal of mankind, we hold that freedom is more precious than peace. We, therefore, fully support President Johnson's firm stand against Communist aggression in South Vietnam, in defense of freedom in that part of the world.

4. We welcome the new immigration bill, which finally brings to an end the discrimination against certain nations, including the immigrants and refugees of Polish origin.

5. In view of the approaching celebrations of Poland's millennium, her 1,000 years of Christianity, we urge all Americans of Polish origin and all friends of the Polish cause to participate in those celebrations, commemorating Poland's contribution to Western civilizations, as an unflinching bastion of Christianity throughout the ages.

The America We Lost

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that all of my Republican colleagues have read the very excellent article—reprinted, in part, from the Saturday Evening Post of May 31, 1952—which appeared in the October 11, 1965 edition of the Republican Congressional Committee newsletter. The committee newsletter comments editorially that the message of the article, written by Dr. Mario A. Pei, is still timely today.

I commend this article to my Democratic colleagues, for I fear that it is they, more so than my Republican colleagues, who are responsible for the shift described by Dr. Pei.

The article follows:

THE AMERICA WE LOST—"FREEDOM FROM GOVERNMENT"

(NOTE.—Where is America heading? Dr. Mario A. Pei, who came to this country from Italy in 1908 as an immigrant and is now an associate professor of romance philology at Columbia University in New York, tries to answer that question in the following article. Originally published in the Saturday Evening Post of May 31, 1952, the article created considerable stir at the time. Its message is timely today. Excerpts are reprinted below.)

When I first came to America, 44 years ago, I learned a new meaning of the word "liberty"—freedom from government.

I did not learn a new meaning for "democracy." The European country from which I came, Italy, was at that time as "democratic" as America. It was a constitutional monarchy, with a parliament, free and frequent elections, lots of political parties and plenty of freedom of religion, speech, press, and assembly.

But my native country was government ridden. A vast bureaucracy held it in its countless tentacles. * * * You could not take a step without government intervention.

Many industries and businesses were government owned and government run—railroads, telegraphs, salt, and tobacco among them. No agreement, however trivial, was legal unless written on government-stamped paper. No business could be started or run without the official sanction of a hundred bureaucrats.

Young people did not dream of going into business for themselves; they dreamed of a modest but safe government job, where they would have tenure, security and a pitiful pension at the end of their plodding career.

There was grinding taxation to support the many government functions and the innumerable public servants. Everybody hated the government—not just the party in power, but the government itself. * * * Yet, I repeat, the country was democratically run, with all the trappings of a many-party system and all the freedoms of which we in America boast today.

America in those days made you open your lungs wide and inhale great gulps of freedom-laden air, for here was one additional freedom—freedom from government.

The Government was conspicuous by its very absence. There were no men in uniform, save occasional cops and firemen, no visible bureaucrats, no stifling restrictions, no Government monopolies. It was wonderful to get used to the American system: To learn that a contract was valid if written on the side of a house; that you could move not only from the city to the country but from State to State and never be asked what your business was or whether you had anything to declare; that you could open and conduct your own business, provided it was a legitimate one, without Government interference; that you could go from one end of the year to the other and never have contact with the National Government, save for the cheery postman who delivered your mail with a speed and efficiency unknown today; that there were no national taxes, save hidden excise and import duties that you did not even know you paid.

In that horse-and-buggy America, if you made an honest dollar, you could pocket it or spend it without having to figure what portion of it you "owed" the Government or what possible deductions you could allege against that Government's claims. You did not have to keep books and records of every bit of income and expenditure or run the risk of being called a liar and a cheat by someone in authority.

Above all, the national ideal was not the obscure security of a Government job, but the boundless opportunity that all Americans seemed to consider their birthright. Those same Americans loved their Government then. It was there to help, protect, and defend them, not to restrict, befuddle, and harass them. At the same time, they did not look to the Government for a livelihood or for special privileges and handouts. They were independent men in the full sense of the word.

Foreign-born citizens have been watching with alarm the gradual Europeanization of America over the past 20 years. They have seen the growth of the familiar European-style Government octopus, along with the vanishing of the American spirit of freedom and opportunity and its replacement by a breathless search for "security" that is doomed to defeat in advance in a world where nothing, not even life itself, is secure.

Far more than the nativeborn, they are in a position to make comparisons. They see that America is fast becoming a 19th-century model European country. They are asked to believe that this is progress. But they know from bitter experience that it just isn't so.

Food and Agricultural Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. DELBERT L. LATTA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LATTA].

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I am sorry to see that the conference report continues to discriminate against the producers of Soft Red Winter wheat. This conference report will permit wheat certificates on only 45 percent of their production, and it completely ignores the fact that 76 percent of the production of Soft Red Winter wheat is used domestically.

Resolution by Michigan House of Representatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a resolution of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan in tribute to Mr. Jack Van Coevering of Orchard Lake, Mich., for 34 years a distinguished outdoor and conservation editor of the Free Press, on his retirement.

I feel this well deserved tribute merits the attention of conservationists and interested citizens everywhere.

The contribution of Jack Van Coevering to conservation, preservation of natural beauty, elimination of water and air pollution, and the protection of fish, wildlife, timber, and the glories of nature merits the applause of all of his fellow men.

The resolution follows:

HOUSE RESOLUTION 202, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, STATE OF MICHIGAN

Whereas the retirement of Mr. Jack Van Coevering on July 1, 1965, after 34 years as outdoor and conservation editor of the Detroit Free Press, is a momentous event. He is a bred-in-the-bone conservation man, dedicated to progress in preserving and expanding natural resources for contemporaries' and posterity's use and enjoyment in a free land; and

Whereas Mr. Van Coevering served several years up to 1931 with the former Grand Rapids Herald following graduation from the University of Michigan. Known primarily as a newspaper writer of considerable merit in the field of recreation and conservation, he is also a skilled photographer, having produced several motion pictures on wildlife and lectured extensively in Michigan and other Midwestern States. At one time he had a weekly Detroit television program on outdoor events, which was later syndicated to out-State stations, and wrote many magazine articles, pamphlets, and books; and

Whereas a member and former president of both the Michigan Outdoor Writers Association and the Outdoor Writers Association of America, Mr. Van Coevering received many awards for his writing ability and dedicated service to conservation. In June 1965, he received the Founders Award of the Michigan Outdoor Writers Association and the Conservation Communicator of the Year Award of the Michigan United Conservation Clubs. Recognition of his militant crusading for preservation of natural resources and their beauty extends to more than mere reportage, his writing interprets the meaning of events in the field and their significance. It is most fortunate for the cause of conservation and sportsmanship that Mr. Van Coevering will continue this work as a freelance writer, photographer and lecturer, and even now he is in the Bahama Islands collecting information and making pictures—may he long continue the good works: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the house of representatives, That its members extend to Mr. Jack Van Coevering its highest encomium for his outstanding record for preserving God's handiwork of natural beauty and endorse his own fervent wish "that Michigan's hunters, fishermen, and outdoor enthusiasts will always be found on the side of those who are far-sighted and willing to sacrifice for the common good"; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this tribute be presented to Mr. Jack Van Coevering as an enduring testimony that the Michigan Legislature will ever follow his continuing career with interest and great good will.

NORMAN E. PHILLEO,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

World Order Conference Marking "International Cooperation Year" To Be Held in South Bend, Ind.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, a World Order Conference will be held in South Bend, Ind., in my congressional district, on October 16, 1965. This Conference will perform an important educational service in providing a forum for the discussion of international problems and the responsibility of private citizens to work for world peace and order.

Members of the planning committee for this Conference are widely representative of various community interests, such as business, education, government, law, news media, religious and civic organizations.

Among the distinguished speakers scheduled to address the conference are Dr. Arthur Larson, Director of the U.S. Information Agency under President Eisenhower, and now director of the Rule of Law Research Center at Duke University School of Law and Mr. Clark Eichelberger, executive director of the United Nations Association of America.

An informed and vocal citizenry is indispensible to discussions of public policy. A series of grassroots conferences, such as the one in South Bend, would make an important contribution to the dissemination of information and the exchange of ideas among our citizens. Such conferences provide for the diversity of expression which is the basic strength of our democratic society.

The program of the South Bend World Order Conference makes the following observations:

The purpose of this World Order Conference in this International Cooperation Year is: (1) To develop public awareness of major problems involved in dealing constructively with world conflicts and tensions; (2) to encourage individuals and groups to engage in responsible study and action on these prob-

lems; (3) to acquaint citizens of our Michiana community with resources and programs related to the establishment of world order.

To accomplish this purpose the Conference is structured around (a) present obstacles to world order; (b) progress made toward the achievement of world order; (c) the responsibility of individuals, institutions, and organizations in improving the climate for world order.

In accordance with this structure major addresses are scheduled on each of these areas: obstacles in the way of world order in 1965; the United Nations; an appraisal and some imperatives; the evolution of rising responsibility.

In both morning and afternoon sessions discussion groups will explore specific problem areas. In the afternoon, organizations with programs bearing on international problems and their solution will have opportunity to present such programs to the Conference.

It is not within the purview of the Conference to endorse a program or line of action on presently grave world crises nor to reach any decisions which might be formulated in resolutions.

Mr. Speaker, following is a list of distinguished citizens from the South Bend-Mishawaka community who are serving as sponsors of the World Order Conference:

SPONSORS—WORLD ORDER CONFERENCE, SOUTH BEND, IND., 1965

Hon Lloyd M. Allen, mayor, South Bend, Ind.

Mrs. Ann Augustine, secretary of Baha'i Local Spiritual Assembly.[1]

Mr. Kenneth Augustine, employment director, Urban League.

Mrs. John Barnett, chairman, Mayor's United Nations Committee.[1]

Mrs. Lester Bill.[1]

Rt. Rev. Jerome R. Bonk, dean, South Bend Deanery, Diocese of Fort Wayne-South Bend.

Hon. JOHN BRADEMAS, Member of Congress, Third District, Indiana.

Prof. Milton Burton, director, Radiation Laboratories, University of Notre Dame.[1]

Dr. Roland W. Chamblee, M.D., president, United Negro Council.

Mr. L. R. Chreist, Jr., president, South Bend Toy Manufacturing Co.

Mrs. Robert D. Clark, member, board of managers, Indiana Congress of Parents and Teachers.[1]

Mr. James F. Connaughton, president, Bell Inter-Continental Corp., Mishawaka, Ind.

Dr. Gordon Cook, M.D.[1]

Dr. Lauren Crane, department of market management, University of Notre Dame.[1]

Mr. Jerome Crowley, president, the O'Brien Corp., South Bend, Ind.

Mr. Warren A. Deahl, president, chamber of commerce.

Judge F. Kenneth Dempsey, St. Joseph County Superior Court No. 2.

Dr. Sherman Egan, M.D.[1]

Prof. Ernest Eliel, head, department of chemistry, University of Notre Dame.[1]

Mrs. Edith Boys Enos, editor, Mishawaka Enterprise.[1]

Dr. M. A. Fitzsimmons, editor, "Review of Politics."

Mr. Harold Geyer, Indiana Farm Bureau.

Mr. Paul D. Gilbert, president, "Gilbert's."

Sr. Mary Grace, CSC, president, St. Mary's College.

Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, CSC, president, University of Notre Dame.

Rev. Garry Hesser, associate minister, First Christian Church.[1]

Mr. William Hosinski, president, St. Joseph Co. Bar Association.

Dr. George Huys, superintendent, Penn-Harris-Madison School Corp.

Dr. Alex Jardine, superintendent, South Bend Community School Corp.

Dr. John J. Kennedy, head, department of government and international studies, University of Notre Dame.

Prof. Stephen Kertesz, chairman, Committee on International Relations, University of Notre Dame.

Mr. Edward Kutzleb, director of curriculum, South Bend School Corp.

Mrs. Clarence Lattimer.

Rev. J. Wilburn Lewallen, executive secretary, Northern District Church of the Brethren.

J. Allan MacLean, president, Dodge Manufacturing Co.

Mr. Tracy B. Madole, vice president, South Bend Range Corp.

Rev. Philip S. Moore, CSC, academic assistant to the president, University of Notre Dame.

Mr. Jack Morrow, vice president, Sippel Equipment Co., South Bend, Ind.

Rev. Clifford O. Nantz, executive secretary, Council of Churches, St. Joseph County.

Leo A. Newman.

Leonard Opperman, State senator.

Rev. Ray Pannabecker, president, Bethel College, Mishawaka, Ind.

Rev. Daniel Pell, pastor, St. Augustine Catholic Church.[1]

Mr. Benjamin Piser, attorney.[1]

Mr. Mendel Piser, president, Jewish Council.

Mr. Armando J. Porta, president, Associates Commercial Finance Co.

Most Rev. Leo A. Pursley, D.D., bishop of Diocese of Fort Wayne-South Bend.

Rev. John Reedy, CSW, editor, "Ave Maria."

Milton S. Ries, president, Ries Furniture Co.

Mr. Richard A. Rosenthal, president, St. Joseph Bank & Trust Co.

Rt. Rev. John S. Sabo, P. A. Vicar General, Diocese of Fort Wayne-South Bend.

Rev. Joseph A. Schneiders, pastor, First Unitarian Church, South Bend.[1]

Mr. Franklin D. Schurz, editor and publisher, South Bend Tribune.

Rabbi Albert M. Shulman, Temple Bethel.[1]

Dr. George Shuster, assistant to the president, University of Notre Dame.

Mr. Fred Steiner, United Christian Youth Council.

Rowland L. Sylvester, president, Sippel Equipment Co.[1]

Mr. Bernard J. Voll, chairman of the board, Sibley Machine & Foundry, South Bend.

A. Harold Weber, president, A. Harold Weber, Inc.

Mr. Dean West, moderator-elect, Church of the Brethren Annual Conference.

Prof. Lester M. Wolfson, director and assistant dean, South Bend-Mishawaka Campus of Indiana University.

St. Joseph County Building Trades Council.

United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers Association.

The University of Notre Dame.

Women's International League of Peace and Freedom.

St. Mary's College.

Board of Christian Social Concerns of Northwest Indiana Conference of Methodist Church.

[1] Denotes planning committee member.

Junior Achievement—Operation Free Enterprise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, Union County, N.J., which I am privileged to represent in the Congress, has among its many distinctions one of the finest, most effective junior achievement programs in the country. Each year, this remarkable program demonstrates again its great value—to young people, to the community, and to the American free enterprise system. Each year, it attracts hundreds of bright and interested young men and women of high school age, enlists the active cooperation of outstanding manufacturing concerns in the area, organizes dozens of student-operated junior achievement firms which produce and market successfully many useful and unique products, and instills in the young achievers themselves a lasting awareness of the demands, skills and satisfactions of practical achievement in business, industry and the professions.

The most significant aspect of junior achievement in general and the Union County program in particular, Mr. Speaker, is the fact that the youthful participants are themselves fully responsible for the operation of their own companies—from the basic concept, through the myriad problems of design, production, quality control, sales and management, all the way to the final balance sheet.

This is practical, do-it-yourself education of the most valuable kind—valuable alike to the individual and the society in our free system—and the results go far beyond the immediate experience. As a result, at least in part, of the incentive and understanding and satisfaction provided through junior achievement, achievers have made impressive records in college and in the careers which have followed. To the community, the JA program has meant more active and alert young citizens; to business and industry, it has been a source of new talents and skills and greater understanding of how free enterprise really works; and to the achiever himself, the program has brought a zest for competition, tempered by an understanding of the need to work together in a group endeavor, and confirmed in a new confidence in his ability to achieve.

I have followed the junior achievement program, Mr. Speaker, for many years especially in Union County. I have been deeply impressed by the generous cooperation provided by the parent companies and the executives who serve as JA advisers, by the community leaders who furnish invaluable guidance as members of the board of directors and

the North Jersey Advisory Council, and by the youngsters themselves who bring so much enthusiasm and energy and interest to the program.

As I have on past occasions, I am delighted to bring Union County's exceptional junior achievement program to the attention of our colleagues. For this purpose, I include as a part of my remarks an article from the Daily Journal of Elizabeth, brief statements by the presidents of three of our county's outstanding manufacturing firms, and a presentation prepared by Mr. J. Kenneth Roden, the dedicated and effective executive vice president of Junior Achievement of Union County, Inc., describing Operation Free Enterprise for 1965–66:

EMPLOYERS TELL OF ADMIRATION FOR FORMER JUNIOR ACHIEVERS

John J. Conlon, vice president of Phelps Dodge Copper Products Corp., said today that young men and women trained under the junior achievement program become prized employees of industry and business in this area.

He said employers "respect the desire of former Achievers to do a fair and honest day's work for a fair and honest day's pay. They admire their awareness of the necessity for high quality workmanship, while at the same time keeping production costs at a minimum and maintaining sales volume at a high level."

Mr. Conlon made the remarks in conjunction with the release of a survey of Achiever graduates. He is chairman of the organization's youth incentive and awards committee.

The survey noted that besides acceptance by employers, colleges look favorably upon applicants who have worked under the junior achievement program.

INTERNATIONAL IN SCOPE

Mr. Conlon described Union County Junior Achievement as a nonprofit organization encompassing positive, dynamic youth education through learn-by-doing. He noted it is international in scope.

During the past 15 years, more than 10,000 high school boys and girls in this area have participated in the junior achievement program under the sponsorship of business and industry. Many have gone on to win scholastic scholarships, cash awards, and prizes.

During this period, JA members have received trips to West Germany, Puerto Rico, Canada, California, Florida, and Illinois.

The junior firms are based on the profit motive. They form their own corporations, elect officers, and decide on a product to manufacture. Raw materials are purchased and the JA firm does its own manufacturing. The finished products range from night lights to fire extinguishers.

SALE OF STOCK

Junior Achievers finance their operations by selling stock to businessmen, teachers, families, and friends.

"They soon learn," said Mr. Conlon, "that unless they sell their product at a profit, they quickly will be losing money."

Each JA firm is assisted by a business sponsor. Those currently in the program in the Union County-Carteret area are: Air Reduction Sales Co.; American Cyanamid Co.; Bristol-Myers Products Division; Buick-Oldsmobile-Pontiac Assembly Division, General Motors Corp.; Burry Biscuit Division, the Quaker Oats Co.; California Oil Co.; E. I. du-Pont de Nemours & Co., Inc.; FMC Corp.; General Aniline & Film Corp.; Humble Oil & Refining Co.-Bayway Refinery; Humble Oil & Refining Co.-Linden Sales District; Hyatt Bearings Division, General Motors Corp.

International Business Machines Corp.; Lionel Corp.; Merck & Co.; New Jersey Bell Telephone Co.; Phelps Dodge Copper Products Corp.; Purolator Products; Quinn & Boden Co.; Radio Corporation of America; the Regina Corp.; Reichhold Chemicals; Schering Corp.; Simmons Co.; the Singer Co.; Weston Instruments, and White Laboratories.

STATEMENTS

George S. Dillon, president, Air Reduction Company, Inc.: "Through its practical, dynamic program junior achievement not only teaches our young people the mechanics of the free enterprise system, but also demonstrates the values and benefits that system holds for the individual American and the peoples of the free world. This effort deserves the wholehearted support of every citizen."

Donald P. Kircher, president, the Singer Co.: "Junior achievement is one of the most successful economic education programs operating in our country today. None is more important to business and industry than this learn-by-doing program wherein our boys and girls learn the values, workings, and benefits of the American free enterprise system."

Gavin K. MacBain, president, Bristol-Myers Co.: "I am firmly behind this important community relations and youth educational program. I sincerely believe that the junior achievement program provides our boys and girls with an outstanding opportunity to understand our system of business and to become better citizens and more enlightened members of the business and industrial community."

JUNIOR ACHIEVEMENT OF
UNION COUNTY, INC.,
Elizabeth N.J., October 4, 1965.

To: Junior Achievement Advisers.
From: J. Kenneth Roden, Executive Vice President.
Subject: Operation Free Enterprise.

There is a definite need for all of us who are associated with junior achievement to inspire our young people to rededicate themselves to the principles of free enterprise, and to effectively teach and demonstrate that our American free enterprise system is not just a system for carrying on business, but much more: The best system for promoting human progress while preserving individual freedom—a system which leads the world in industrial growth and high standards of living.

Nationwide surveys of high school students confirm the need for dynamic, positive programs to create better understanding of how business operates, its problems, its invaluable contributions to the American way of life.

"Operation Free Enterprise" will be a three-pronged youth incentive, economic education, and public relations project. It will commence in October 1965 and continue throughout the junior achievement program year. It will be climaxed with a week-long visit to Ireland in April 1966 by about 25 junior achievers and adult advisers from industry. There the junior achievers will have an opportunity to develop personal knowledge of the industrial, educational, scientific, and cultural growth resulting from Ireland's economic development program. They will return better prepared to assume their future responsibilities as voters, community leaders, employees, and managers in a world where international relationships are becoming increasingly more important.

The group will meet with American and Irish industrial and government officials here and abroad. Arrangements for these meetings are being worked out in cooperation with government agencies and the Irish Tourist Board.

Extensive press, radio, and television coverage, locally and in Ireland, will be planned throughout the 1965–66 program year, as well as during the visit to Ireland.

The itinerary and program for the visit to Ireland will be distributed at a later date.

WHY IRELAND?

Because we believe Ireland offers one of the best current case studies of free enterprise in action.

Today, a confident, dynamic spirit prevails there and Ireland is experiencing an economic miracle which is comparable, although on a smaller scale, to the economic miracle of West Germany witnessed firsthand by a junior achievement group which visited West Germany and Berlin in 1963 as part of the operation free enterprise project conducted in the 1962–63 program year.

In Ireland there will be visits to industrial installations, educational, cultural and religious centers. Arrangements will be made for the junior achievers to meet with Irish student groups and to be guests in the homes of industrialists and their families.

The most important phase of the visit in Ireland will be meetings with industrialists who will discuss with the group the results of Ireland's program for economic growth. Begun in 1958, this economic plan has resulted in a 7 percent per annum industrial expansion. The years 1964 through 1970 are viewed as a period dominated by the urgent need to adopt, reequip, extend and reorganize all sectors of the economy to ensure the greater strength and efficiency needed to prosper in an acutely competitive world. Tremendous importance is being placed on human factors and the individual's sense of personal dignity and patriotic duty. Recognizing that the creation of wealth depends on people and their attributes and attitudes, special attention is devoted to education and training to enable every individual to produce at his maximum capacity and to enjoy the rewards of his productivity.

OBJECTIVES OF OPERATION FREE ENTERPRISE

Operation free enterprise has been planned and developed by the board of directors of Junior Achievement of Union County to meet our present-day challenges. Its objectives are:

1. To provide junior achievers and advisers with a positive educational and incentive program designed to stimulate full understanding of the principles, benefits and rewards of the American free enterprise system.

Operation free enterprise will demonstrate that every individual—whether employee, manager, or community leader—must be ever aware that the vigor of the American free enterprise system depends upon a heritage that attaches prime importance to liberty, opportunity for the individual, and personal initiative. It will emphasize the responsibility of the individual to adequately prepare himself to carry his share of the load, and to discharge his responsibility to the best of his ability.

2. To give junior achievers actively engaged in owning and operating their own junior companies an opportunity to feel the pulsebeat of American industry and international trade, and to learn first-hand the economic facts of life in business at home and abroad.

Emphasis will be on the need for profits and a high level of individual productivity, without errors. The effect of business profits upon the everyday lives of young people, their families, the community, and the economy as a whole will be stressed.

Operation free enterprise will demonstrate that each individual's contribution, if prop-

erly utilized, will result in a profit to himself, to his employer, to the community, and to the Nation. It will further demonstrate that corporate profits are the lifeblood of business which assure continued growth, prosperity, and stability of the economy, all of which are more valuable and desirable than personal security through handout or a welfare state. It will show how corporate profits become job producers.

The experience of international travel by jet aircraft will demonstrate to the junior achievers how, under the free enterprise system, research and development in the transportation industry and aggressive promotion, have advanced international trade, travel, and communications and generally narrowed the world's horizons. Discussions with Irish industrialists and students, and visits to industries overseas, will further enhance the achievers' understanding of international trade and human relations.

3. To have successful American and Irish businessmen, experienced in the various stages of education and business advancement, convince the junior achievers of the dollars and cents value of a high school diploma and to demonstrate clearly the increased income and opportunities available to young people who obtain higher education or seek technical or other specialized training.

The project will demonstrate how profitable and essential continued education can be and how short-range thinking with emphasis on short-term income opportunities and the desire for maximum job security and benefits, without personal initiative and productivity, and responsible leadership fail to develop the full potential of the individual.

4. To maintain the high standards of performance, productivity, and prestige of the junior achievement program.

Special emphasis will be placed on stimulating superior performance at all levels of junior achievement activity, development of personal initiative, creative thinking, responsible leadership, good attendance, punctuality, and accuracy. Improved production techniques to reduce operating costs will be encouraged. Aggressive safety programs and a zero defect quality control program will be required. Sales incentive programs will be sponsored.

5. To demonstrate to junior achievers, parents, educators, and the community at large the degree of interest which local businessmen have in young people, and to give recognition to business and industrial sponsors and supporters of junior achievement for their unselfish efforts on behalf of young people.

This program will demonstrate to the community that local business and industrial organizations are good neighbors, willing to help prepare young people to accept responsibilities of business management and professional and community leadership.

There will be widespread publicity about operation free enterprise and opportunities for good employee and community relations will be initiated by junior achievement on behalf of its sponsors and other participants.

6. To give junior achievers an opportunity to become goodwill ambassadors and to enable them to feel firsthand the pulsebeat of international relations.

The junior achievers will develop a keener understanding of the importance of sincere cooperation in international relations in all areas: human relations, government, and particularly business and industry. They will be introduced to the industrial, educational, and cultural aspects of life in Ireland through visits and association with businessmen and their families, government officials, and educational groups.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

There will be extensive community participation in operation free enterprise. Every effort will be made to stimulate the entire community to rededicate themselves to the principles of free enterprise.

It is planned to have New Jersey's Governor and mayors of local communities proclaim 1 week of January as Operation Free Enterprise Week.

During this week there will be a joint free enterprise meeting of the Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, and other civic and professional groups. Speeches will be on the subject, "Free Enterprise, Its Workings, Values and Benefits."

Civic and professional groups will be asked to sponsor a junior achiever on the trip to Ireland.

NOMINATION AND SELECTION OF ACHIEVERS FOR THE AWARD TRIP

In March, outstanding junior achievers will be selected for the award trip scheduled for late April 1966.

Provided that the junior achievement company and its individual junior achiever members have met the standards set forth in the Performance Standards Bulletin dated October 4, 1965, the company will have the privilege of nominating a member for participation in the operation free enterprise award trip. Consideration should be given only to outstanding junior achievers based on performance in the following areas: Leadership, personal initiative and creative thinking, appearance and grooming, poise, ability to get along with young people and adults, originality of product, production and sales techniques and their successful application, attendance and punctuality, adherence to and proper execution of safety regulations, rating under zero defects quality control program, accuracy of company records, knowledge of junior achievement company operations, knowledge of sponsoring company's activities, knowledge and understanding of the values, workings and benefits to the individual of the free enterprise system knowledge of the culture, history and economic development of Ireland, future educational and employment plans of the junior achiever and degree to which plans are being implemented.

The degree of personal participation in bringing the junior achievement company into full participation in operation free enterprise should be an important factor in the selection of nominees. Bear in mind that the Junior Achievers who visit Ireland will be representatives of our industrial and educational community and will be guests of important businessmen and government and educational leaders abroad.

A nomination form will be provided by junior achievement with instructions for completion and the due date.

All nominees will be interviewed by a panel of junior achievement directors, members of the chamber of commerce, and other business and community leaders, at a time and place to be specified by junior achievement.

Selection of junior achievers who will participate in the award trip will be announced about 3 weeks in advance, when instructions will be issued for obtaining written permission from parents or guardians, passport, and health certificate requirements, and other pretrip details.

NEW JERSEY STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE FREE ENTERPRISE AWARD

To encourage and inspire our young people and their advisers to develop their capabilities to the highest possible degree, the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce will again present its free enterprise award to the sponsor of the outstanding junior achievement company.

The winning company will be selected by the chamber of commerce awards committee. The awards will be presented to the president or chief executive officer of the sponsoring company at the annual dinner of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce.

INCENTIVE PROGRAM COMMITTEE

The board of directors of Junior Achievement of Union County has delegated responsibility for the planning and execution of "Operation Free Enterprise" to Mr. J. Kenneth Roden, executive vice president. He will be responsible for liaison with the Irish Tourist Bureau, American and Irish Government officials and agencies, and other participating organizations.

The board of directors has named a committee to advise and assist Mr. Roden, who will also serve on the committee. Members of the incentive program committee are:

James D. Abeles, president, Purolator Products, Inc.

William M. Bristol III, president, Bristol-Myers Products Division.

William Brennan, president, New Jersey Chapter, Public Relations Society of America.

Harry P. Frank, publisher, the Daily Journal.

John J. Conlon, vice president, Phelps Dodge Copper Products Corp.

Hon. Richard R. O'Connor, O'Connor, Morss & O'Connor, general counsel for Junior Achievement of Union County, Inc.

J. Kenneth Roden, executive vice president, junior Achievement of Union County, Inc.

OPERATION FREE ENTERPRISE DAY IN NEW JERSEY SPONSORING INDUSTRIES

An Cperation Free Enterprise Day bulletin will be issued in January outlining a suggested program for Operation Free Enterprise Day in sponsoring industries.

Advisers should plan now to conduct a special program at the sponsoring company plant for outstanding members of their junior achievement company during the week the award winners are in Ireland.

PRIORITIES TO REALIZE FULL POTENTIAL OF OPERATION FREE ENTERPRISE

Our junior achievement companies must get off to a very good start this year with practical, top-quality products which will sell well. Attendance must continue at a very good rate. Operation Free Enterprise is designed to help you maintain this momentum of production and sales, and the enthusiastic participation of every junior achiever and adviser. It will help your junior achievement company meet and maintain our performance standards.

Start now to prepare for operation free enterprise: Review this bulletin carefully and announce Operation Free Enterprise to your junior achievement company members; tell your top management executives and your company publications editor about Operation Free Enterprise and review this bulletin with them in detail. Make sure they realize the potential for good employee and community relations through participation in this youth incentive and economic education project.

Remember: A successful Operation Free Enterprise program can help you earn the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce Free Enterprise Award for your company.

Dr. Manolo Reyes—"The Challenge to Laymen in Latin America"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, early last month I had the pleasure of bringing to our colleagues' attention the outstanding service being performed by a resident of Miami, Dr. Manolo Reyes. Dr. Reyes is a Cuban refugee who was a newsman in his homeland before coming to the United States.

In late September, Dr. Reyes addressed a group at Port St. Lucie, Fla. This speech, entitled "The Challenge to Laymen in Latin America," presents us with the stark reality that there are two distinct camps on the ideological battlefield in Latin American: on the one hand, there are those individuals dedicated to the principles of Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Good Neighbor" policy—their goal is "loving thy neighbor as thyself"; on the other side, there are those who are dedicated to the principles of Marxist-Leninism—their goal is to control nations and individuals through the use of terror and tyranny.

The choice offered by this dichotomy of approaches is limited; Latin America will be faced either with a violent revolution or a peaceful evolution. The key to the course which will be followed lies in the laymen of the area, but more particularly with the youth. The nations of the East are well aware of this fact and have geared their entire approach to these rebels without a cause, as Dr. Reyes so aptly calls them. If there is to be a peaceful evolution, we too must face up to this reality. The only way in which to achieve this goal is through proper education which will heal this social disadjustment of today.

The text of Dr. Reyes' address follows:

THE CHALLENGE TO LAYMEN IN LATIN AMERICA

In 1965, the laymen of the Americas are facing one of the greatest challenges of history: a better future for more than 200 million people.

In that struggle there are men of good faith devoting their lifetime to achieve a particular goal, that of loving thy neighbor as thyself. But there are also men, some of whom are outside this continent, trying to control not only individuals but whole nations through terror and tyranny.

Both kinds of men are in ideological battlefield. The first one teaches the "our Father" and tries in all acceptable ways to insure that our daily bread would become more of a daily reality than just a prayer.

The bad man only gives hopes—hopes which are never fulfilled. And in the meantime, with a small minority group, he takes hold of the nation and imposes himself through force.

The subject of this fight is the man of the Americas, who must necessarily possess adequate knowledge to decide by himself which is the way to follow. That is why the fundamental element of his success will be his education.

The layman must aim a large part of his efforts to the educational field to save the American Continent, because education is freedom. During this century, Spanish colonialism ended in the Western Hemisphere with Cuba's independence in 1902. At this time the countries of Latin America began to move toward ways of progress, far from the static and traditional patterns they had before.

The United States, ever since President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's government in 1933, began to increase its help and its relations with Latin America through the good neighbor policy started by President Roosevelt. Years later, this policy grew under the administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower with the people-to-people program.

And finally, President Lyndon B. Johnson's present administration, preceded by that of President John F. Kennedy, created and passed the Alliance for Progresss.

When Christopher Columbus discovered America, it took him 3½ months to cross the immense Atlantic Ocean. In this century of space conquest, Charles E. Lindbergh, the Lone Eagle, as he was called, crossed that same Atlantic Ocean for the first time in a plane in 33 hours. In this decade, Col. John Glenn crossed the Atlantic Ocean in open space, in only 15 minutes. And progress has not and will not stop there. The U.S. Federal Space Agency has just announced that an American astronaut will circle the world, walking through open space. Wait and see how long it will take that astronaut to walk over the Atlantic from outer space.

Latin America is living a splendorous rebirth that started in the thirties with the increase of the communications media. Also, the expansion of the news media for which there is no necessity to know how to read (radio-television) has opened a new world for many Latin American citizens. There were many citizens that were forced by circumstances to hear rarely from the outside world. They had only one narrow viewpoint of the small community in which they lived and of friends in that locality.

Also, the neglect of the most fortunate toward the less fortunate has consequently brought about the present alternative situation in which Latin America finds itself. That of a struggle within to attain a better future for a population that can demographically explode in 10 years. This alternative is: A violent revolution or a peaceful evolution. Men of evil support the violent, bloody revolution full of hatred and revenge. Men of good favor the second, that of a peaceful evolution, so that "our daily bread" may become a reality. But it takes the honest and fairly remunerated work of men who solidly maintain spiritual values over material values. Men who believe that the good ones have a living Christ in them, while the bad ones have a dead philosopher. And in the fight between the action of the violent revolution or the peaceful evolution, the laymen of the American Continent have to face a new character: The young Latin American rebel. A rebel, which we could call a rebel with out cause. The sons of evil know that this youth needs a cause to embrace. This is why, basing themselves in half-truths which are nothing but great lies, the bad men try to take advantage of the inexperience and youth of the Latin American youngsters. They try to create in them a wrong mystic with foreign pseudodoctrines, atheism and materialism, to throw them into violent public demonstrations. They want them to throw Mototov cocktails, and to change the buildings for education into quarters of subversive aggression, exchanging their books for bombs or machineguns to kill their brothers. Those who act like that forget that freedom was never born from hatred.

We know that laymen in Latin America have to face a series of problems which favor the work of the evil men. It is true that there are many illiterate persons in Latin America, that there is sickness and lack of medical resources. It is true that surrounding the principal Latin American cities where you can see progress in great and wonderful buildings, there are belts of slums, where many poor people live in extreme conditions * * * people who look at the cities without hope of being able to reach them in their lifetime. It is true that there is no relation in Latin America between the explosive growth of the population and the little economic development of each country. But it is no less true that all these facts cannot find an immediate solution from one day to the other, such as the violent revolution preached by the sons of evil.

The only way these wrongs can be overcome is through a peaceful evolution based on proper education which would tend to heal the social disadjustments of today.

Violent revolutions only help to increase the chaos, and Latin America needs a long period of peace to develop and make solid its political, educational, laboral, and economic institutions.

Above all, the economic aspect is very important, for when there is political restlessness and agitation in Latin America, for every $1 that is sent to help, $2 fly out of the country because of lack of confidence in the future.

I can affirm, without fear of contradiction, that the man of the Americas, from Patagonia to Alaska, has a big intangible reserve of kindness that God has endowed upon him as a natural gift since his birth. Regardless of whether one is born in the city, or in the mountains of the land of Juarez, or in the jungles bordering the Amazon, or in the interminable ridges of the Andes, or the immense Pampas, they all have a spiritual being which is manifested in their belief and faith in the Supreme Maker and a sublime kindness because of the immense love they profess to their fellow men. It is no less a certainty that because of its greatness, powerful positions, and because it was made in less than six centuries of existence, our continent is the target of those who would not and could not stand to see men and women living happy and free in the areas bordered by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

The final message in these words, and I am sorry for having abused your time, is a message of confraternity, of love, and of warning to all men of America to defend the liberty of all, the happiness of all, in the continent. Not, however, in a warlike or violent way, but in a spiritual way, idealistically. This is what forges the nations ahead and makes truly freemen. Fundamentally, we should concentrate our attention on God, ask Him for His Divine help, live in accordance with the normal designs of life and try not to go against the reality of the times. What we bring home has been earned with the sweat of our brow, with our own efforts, without taking from others what belongs to them.

Nations cannot exist and will always go the way of ruin and destruction when their foundations are built on false promises and false hopes. And people are formed, not by the governments, but by one and all of us citizens. That is the reason why the false promise, the bad hope, that which denies God, which does not mention God or attempts to omit Him, only brings misfortunes, sadness, and sufferings to all homes and all nations.

All the men of our continent should be alerted to eliminate from their minds the bad seed which is only instrumental to the destruction of one's soul. The United States has to help the man of the American continent to strengthen his firm belief in God, to strengthen his value of spiritualism so that friendship and comprehension increases in our land, and so that all that goes against God and His principles be defeated. It is

not hatred, it is not vengeance, it is not envy that can bring true justice. Justice is not written in the cruel and cold letters of the law of man. Justice is a sentiment, a spiritual feeling, and only those can understand it who are wholly convinced that we are all brothers under God.

Being an American "Square"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, the evening of October 8, I happened to see a portion of a nationally televised program known as the "Jimmy Dean Show" over one of the leading networks. Jimmy Dean, a country-western singer, closed his program with a short speech, in which he said some people would call him "square," perhaps, but he was "going to do a little flag-waving."

And he did. He sang a song, which I must agree some people today might have called "square." It was a patriotic song. It included the line:

What can I do for America, after all she's done for me?

I want to commend Jimmy Dean for singing this song and for daring to be "square" on nationwide television. The lines of the song reminded me of President Kennedy's famous words:

Ask not what your country can do for you. Ask what you can do for your country.

What a comparison between Jimmy Dean's short, sincere talk and his song and the federally sponsored program "It's What's Happening, Baby" that was aired some months ago. As I recall it, the message of that program was simply "ask what your country can do for you."

It is good to know that some young people in our country can still stand up and "wave the flag a little." If they wave it, we know they will save it, as many thousands of their fellow young Americans are doing today in Vietnam.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

SENATORS WITH RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON

OFFICE ADDRESS: Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey

Aiken, George D., *Vt*
Allott, Gordon, *Colo*
Anderson, Clinton P., *N. Mex.* — 6 Wesley Circle
Bartlett, E. L., *Alaska*
Bass, Ross, *Tenn*
Bayh, Birch E., *Ind*
Bennett, Wallace F., *Utah*
Bible, Alan, *Nev*
Boggs, J. Caleb, *Del*
Brewster, Daniel B., *Md* — 1327 33d St.
Burdick, Quentin N., *N. Dak.*
Byrd, Harry Flood, *Va* — The Shoreham
Byrd, Robert C., *W. Va*
Cannon, Howard W., *Nev*
Carlson, Frank, *Kans* — Sheraton-Park
Case, Clifford P., *N.J*
Church, Frank, *Idaho*
Clark, Joseph S., *Pa*
Cooper, John Sherman, *Ky*
Cotton, Norris, *N.H*
Curtis, Carl T., *Nebr*
Dirksen, Everett M., *Ill*
Dodd, Thomas J., *Conn*
Dominick, Peter H., *Colo*
Douglas, Paul H., *Ill*
Eastland, James O., *Miss* — 5101 Macomb St.
Ellender, Allen J., *La*
Ervin, Sam J., Jr., *N.C*
Fannin, Paul J., *Ariz*
Fong, Hiram L., *Hawaii* — 5519 Uppingham St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Fulbright, J. W., *Ark*
Gore, Albert, *Tenn*
Gruening, Ernest, *Alaska*
Harris, Fred R., *Okla*
Hart, Philip A., *Mich*
Hartke, Vance, *Ind*
Hayden, Carl, *Ariz*
Hickenlooper, Bourke B., *Iowa.* — 5511 Cedar Parkway, Chevy Chase, Md.
Hill, Lister, *Ala*
Holland, Spessard L., *Fla* — Sheraton-Park
Hruska, Roman L., *Nebr*
Inouye, Daniel K., *Hawaii*
Jackson, Henry M., *Wash*
Javits, Jacob K., *N.Y*
Jordan, B. Everett, *N.C*
Jordan, Len B., *Idaho*
Kennedy, Edward M., *Mass*
Kennedy, Robert F., *N.Y*
Kuchel, Thomas H., *Calif*
Lausche, Frank J., *Ohio*
Long, Edward V., *Mo*
Long, Russell B., *La*
McCarthy, Eugene J., *Minn.* — 5916 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md.
McClellan, John L., *Ark*
McGee, Gale W., *Wyo*
McGovern, George, *S. Dak*
McIntyre, Thomas J., *N.H*
McNamara, Pat, *Mich*
Magnuson, Warren G., *Wash.* — The Shoreham
Mansfield, Mike, *Mont*
Metcalf, Lee, *Mont* — 453 First St. SE.
Miller, Jack R., *Iowa* — 5417 Kirkwood Dr., Bethesda, Md.
Mondale, Walter F., *Minn*
Monroney, A. S. Mike, *Okla.*
Montoya, Joseph M., *N. Mex.*
Morse, Wayne, *Oreg* — 4000 Mass. Ave.
Morton, Thruston B., *Ky*
Moss, Frank E., *Utah*
Mundt, Karl E., *S. Dak* — 122 Schotts Court NE.
Murphy, George, *Calif*
Muskie, Edmund S., *Maine*
Nelson, Gaylord, *Wis*
Neuberger, Maurine B., *Oreg.*
Pastore, John O., *R.I*
Pearson, James B., *Kans*
Pell, Claiborne, *R.I* — 3425 Prospect St.
Prouty, Winston L., *Vt*
Proxmire, William, *Wis*
Randolph, Jennings, *W. Va* — 4608 Reservoir Rd.
Ribicoff, Abraham A., *Conn*
Robertson, A. Willis, *Va*
Russell, Donald S., *S.C*
Russell, Richard B., *Ga*
Saltonstall, Leverett, *Mass* — 2320 Tracy Pl.
Scott, Hugh, *Pa*
Simpson, Milward L., *Wyo*
Smathers, George A., *Fla*
Smith, Margaret Chase (Mrs.), *Maine.*
Sparkman, John, *Ala* — 4928 Indian Lane
Stennis, John, *Miss*
Symington, Stuart, *Mo*
Talmadge, Herman E., *Ga*
Thurmond, Strom, *S.C*
Tower, John G., *Tex*
Tydings, Joseph D., *Md*
Williams, Harrison A., Jr., *N.J.*
Williams, John J., *Del*
Yarborough, Ralph, *Tex*
Young, Milton R., *N. Dak* — Quebec House So.
Young, Stephen M., *Ohio*

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Secretary—Felton M. Johnston.
Sergeant at Arms—Joseph C. Duke.
Chief Clerk—Emery L. Frazier.
Secretary for the Majority—Francis R. Valeo.
Secretary for the Minority—J. Mark Trice.
Chaplain—Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D.

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Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences

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Committee on Agriculture and Forestry

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Committee on Banking and Currency

Messrs. Robertson (chairman), Sparkman, Douglas, Proxmire, Williams of New Jersey, Muskie, Long of Missouri, Mrs. Neuberger, Messrs. McIntyre, Mondale, Bennett, Tower, Thurmond, and Hickenlooper.

Committee on Commerce

Messrs. Magnuson (chairman), Pastore, Monroney, Lausche, Bartlett, Hartke, McGee, Hart, Cannon, Brewster, Mrs. Neuberger, Messrs. Bass, Cotton, Morton, Scott, Prouty, Pearson, and Dominick.

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Messrs. Bible (chairman), Morse, McIntyre, Kennedy of New York, Tydings, Prouty, and Dominick.

Committee on Finance

Messrs. Byrd of Virginia (chairman), Long of Louisiana, Smathers, Anderson, Douglas, Gore, Talmadge, McCarthy, Hartke, Fulbright, Ribicoff, Williams of Delaware, Carlson, Bennett, Curtis, Morton, and Dirksen.

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Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

Messrs. Jackson (chairman), Anderson, Bible, Church, Gruening, Moss, Burdick, Hayden, McGovern, Nelson, Metcalf, Kuchel, Allott, Jordan of Idaho, Simpson, and Fannin.

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Committee on Public Works

Messrs. McNamara (chairman), Randolph, Young of Ohio, Muskie, Gruening, Moss, Metcalf, Jordan of North Carolina, Inouye, Bayh, Montoya, Harris, Cooper, Fong, Boggs, Pearson, and Murphy.

Committee on Rules and Administration

Messrs. Jordan of North Carolina (chairman), Hayden, Cannon, Pell, Clark, Byrd of West Virginia, Curtis, Cooper, and Scott.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel Sheraton-Park, Washington, D.C.
Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 4852 Hutchins Pl.
Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut Ave.
Mr. Justice Harlan, of New York, 1677 31st St.
Mr. Justice Brennan, of New Jersey, 3037 Dumbarton Ave.
Mr. Justice Stewart, of Ohio, 5136 Palisade Lane.
Mr. Justice White, of Colorado, 2209 Hampshire Rd., McLean, Va.
——— ———.

OFFICERS OF THE SUPREME COURT

Clerk—John F. Davis, 4704 River Rd.
Deputy Clerk—Edmund P. Cullinan, 4623 Reservoir Rd.
Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 6004 Corbin Rd.
Reporter—Henry Putzel, Jr., 3703 33d St.
Librarian—Vacancy

UNITED STATES JUDICIAL CIRCUITS

JUSTICES ASSIGNED

TERRITORY EMBRACED

District of Columbia judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. District of Columbia.

First judicial circuit: ——— ——— ———. Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Puerto Rico, Rhode Island.

Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Harlan. Connecticut, New York, Vermont.

Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Brennan. Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virgin Islands.

Fourth judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia.

Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black. Alabama, Canal Zone, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas.

Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Stewart. Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee.

Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark. Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.

Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas. Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Guam, Hawaii.

Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, Wyoming.

Appendix

Cabrillo Day Speech

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, although we are at opposite poles politically, I am constrained to include as a portion of my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD a recent speech by California's Lt. Gov., Glenn M. Anderson. The subject matter was an annual Cabrillo Day Celebration in San Diego which was especially successful this year under the able leadership of Mr. Tom Ham:

SPEECH BY LT. GOV. GLENN M. ANDERSON AT THE 1965 CABRILLO FESTIVAL, POINT LOMA, SAN DIEGO, CALIF., SEPTEMBER 26, 1965

Today, in turning back the calendar 423 years to September of the year 1542—we have just witnessed the first contact of Europeans of the Old World with the Indians of San Diego. Juan Rodriquez Cabrillo, of Portuguese ancestry, a courageous leader of men whose landing in San Diego Bay and subsequent exploration of this area, lived one of the most significant and fascinating chapters in the history of this continent and particularly California.

It is a fact that his flagship, *San Salvador*, was designed and built by Cabrillo. It is a documented fact that San Diego was discovered from the sea, which has remained a major highway to California. The door to San Diego still is its magnificent closed port, San Diego's finest natural asset, sheltered as it is from the severe winds by the sweeping peninsula of Point Loma.

Cabrillo, and those who followed him searched for a mythical shortcut across the North American continent so that China could be readily reached without the long voyage around the Horn. Cabrillo was ordered to find the western terminus of this northwest passage, a route which would bring the European markets closer to the spices, cloth, jewels, and other exotic goods from the Far East.

Cabrillo did not find the northwest passage, nor did any of those who followed him; however, Californians of Portuguese ancestry can be rightfully proud of Cabrillo: shipbuilder, navigator, and explorer, for he first endowed all of California with a restless spirit of discovery and development, a spirit that is still the driving force behind the startling growth of the land we live in.

San Diego is on the horizon of new discoveries, and the sea is still its highway.

California seeks the establishment of new industries that can bring a high level of employment for all of our citizens. One of the answers to the pressing problems lies in the field of oceanic sciences, an industry whose future is as limitless as our Pacific Ocean.

Our ocean research began at Scripps Institute of Oceanography, a part of the University of California. From this research has come the foundation of the oceanic sciences, and for related industries appropriately located in the city of San Diego. Many of us feel that San Diego's future to a great extent, lies in this field of oceanic sciences with its exploration, production, and harvesting of the commodities of the same seas that brought Cabrillo to these shores.

Linda Wilson—Peace Corps Volunteer in Brazil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the Peace Corps Volunteer is an extremely well-edited publication which candidly describes the work of the Peace Corps. Brazil is one of those countries where the Peace Corps is making one of its most outstanding contributions to the world scene, and the September issue of the Peace Corps Volunteer is devoted to the work of the Peace Corps in Brazil. In this issue, Peace Corps Volunteer Linda Wilson, of Weiser, Idaho, has written an interesting article about some of her impressions of the town in which she works. I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed at this point in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN BEBEDOURO, THE EXPLOSION GOES UNHEARD

(By Linda Wilson)

(NOTE.—Linda Wilson (Weiser, Idaho) attended Mexico City College for 1 year, and did recreation work there with children. She received her B.A. in Latin American studies from George Washington University, Washington, D.C., in June 1964. She is working at the Bebedouro Health Post in Maceió.)

MACEIÓ, ALAGOAS.—For the world's demographic prophets, the population explosion is a horrendous thunder which portends the world's final, overcrowded exit. It's the sound of IBM machines ticking up the numbers of Mother Earth's inhabitants and spitting out the sums that bring us closer and closer to the hunger pangs of our Malthusian finish. Numbers and destiny—that's what the population explosion means for those who use the term so glibly. That's what it meant to me before I came to work in a little Brazilian slum called Bebedouro and heard its real sounds.

Before I came here the population explosion brought some pretty sober second thoughts, as I tried to imagine what it would be like to work in northeast Brazil, which has one of the world's highest growth rates in spite of high infant-mortality rate and low life expectancy. Judging by my American standards of life's value and considering the predictions of the population prophets, the figures sounded quite startling. But listening through the ears of Bebedouro's own inhabitants, the population explosion became an unheeded murmur. The frequency of birth and the inevitability of death have made Bebedouro a place where life holds no special premium.

Statistics and figures mean little to the Bebedoureans, many of whom can neither read nor write. The numbers and the predictions haven't even reached the ears of the very people whose habits of living and reproducing are causing all the problems.

One has to listen very carefully to hear the sounds of the population explosion as the people of Bebedouro hear them. They're simple sounds like the sounds of twilight when the scorching tropical sun dips low, and humanity spills out of the tiny shacks into the dusty streets. Bebedouro teems with wriggling, dancing, crying, dirty-nosed, barebottomed life, as the under-12 element of the population makes its presence heard. For the children the population explosion is the raucous pandemonium of their bulging classrooms and the piercing reprimands of their impatient, exasperated mothers. On the thresholds behind the crowded streets sit the children's parents, who smile their lazy smiles, shake their heads, and chat about the simple problems which are their lives' crises. To the adults the population explosion is a whining, hungry child, banging his fork against his empty plate or a neighbor complaining about the rising cost of beans and the lack of work. It's so much more racket, accepted as passively as the cry of another newborn baby or the jangling sound of violent insults puncturing the paper-thin walls, as the family next door quarrels over the way the month's final cruzeiros will be divided.

For the people of Bebedouro the population explosion isn't anything nearly as grandiose as a prediction of the world's future doom. It's just the clamorous uproar of life and the quiet reflection of how one will pull his growing family through this day and on to the next. Funny, isn't it? The population explosion is blasting its loudest right in Bebedouro; yet it seems that no one here has ever heard it.

GOP Excising a Malignancy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, a recent action by the executive committee of the Wisconsin Republican Party has been described as "one of the significant events of the year in Wisconsin politics."

This action was the repudiation of the John Birch Society.

An astute analysis of this action has been made by John Wyngaard, a veteran reporter of the Wisconsin political scene. His article, "GOP Excising a Malignancy," appeared recently in the Sheboygan, Wis., Press.

In the belief that Mr. Wyngaard's observations would be of value and interest

to my colleagues, I request unanimous consent to have his article reprinted in the RECORD:

THE WISCONSIN SCENE—GOP EXCISING A MALIGNANCY

(By John Wyngaard)

MADISON.—The absolute repudiation by the executive committee of the Wisconsin Republican Party of the John Birch Society, its methods and its purposes must rank as one of the significant events of the year in Wisconsin politics.

It must also rank as one of the perplexing developments, remembering that it came late, that there were elements within the Republican organization who were restive and worried about the Birch movement for several years, and some of the practicing politicians wearing the party's label had become increasingly concerned about the exploitation by the Democrats and other liberal elements of the semisecret organization.

To some degree, the Wisconsin committee's action was an echo of what has been happening in Washington lately, and especially the forceful recent condemnation of the Birch organization by Senator THRUSTON MORTON, of Kentucky, one of the major voices of the GOP in the country. But it was also, on the face of it, a mark of the decisive command of the Wisconsin party machinery that has been assumed by Ody Fish, the new State chairman, which in turn reflects the wishes and the attitudes of Gov. Warren P. Knowles as the Republican titular leader of the State GOP.

HOW AND WHY

It is not difficult to guess, moreover, that the decision of Fish and Knowles and doubtless others in the higher echelons of the party who were consulted in advance was not an easy one to take.

The Republican Party of Wisconsin at base is a conservative institution, at once the vehicle and the voice of that substantial slice of the adult population of the State that ends to the conservative approach to affairs in today's political alinement. The Republicans dare not risk offense to any substantial portion of the conservative community in Wisconsin, in a time of increasingly difficult competition with the Democrats for the rule of the State.

Why then this unqualified denunciation of the Birch Society, which probably contains a good number of members who are regular adherents of the GOP on election day? The provocation obviously was great.

The best explanation is that the men leading the party concluded that the danger of infiltration and subversion of their party, in a manner of speaking, had become greater than the risk of offending some individual voters of conservative inclinations. The peril of control by boring from within, and the destruction of the integrity of the party as a broad-based instrument for popular political action, had developed to the point where the leaders saw no alternative.

MYSTERY PERSISTS

From a sideline viewpoint, there has always been a mystery about the Birch organization.

This reporter's impression has been that the size and influence of its membership have been exaggerated by its critics, including the national press. It has been this correspondent's full-time occupation for many years to observe Wisconsin politics at close range. I doubt that I could name a dozen Birchers with reasonable certainty, out of political activists in my immediate acquaintance numbering a couple of thousands at least.

Thus I put the question recently to a Republican of some stature who was in part responsible for the action of the State party committee last week denouncing Robert Welch, the society founder, and all his works. How many would he suppose are paying dues to the Birch organization in Wisconsin? He guessed 5,000 at the outside. In a State which probably has up to 100,000 card-carrying Republicans that is a trivial figure. But the Republicans have concluded, as their liberal counterparts in the Progressive and Democratic Parties concluded in other circumstances in earlier times, that a malignancy must be excised before it spreads and becomes fatal.

Glass Industry of Morgantown, W. Va., Sponsors Month-Long Exhibition—Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor Keynote Speaker—Governor Smith Participates at Opening Ceremonies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, there are approximately 70 glass manufacturing firms in West Virginia. It is a well-known fact that glass produced in our State has adorned the tables of the White House and is widely prized for its striking design and high standards of workmanship.

Artistry in glassmaking is especially evident in the Morgantown area, where Seneca Glass Co., Beaumont Co., Davis-Lynch Glass Co., and Morgantown Glassware Guild have become household names. These firms are responsible members of the community. They have a combined business age of over 200 years, and have a total average payroll in excess of $200,000 per month. They are valued participants in the commercial expansion of the Appalachian region.

Sunday, October 10, 1965, the Morgantown glass industry opened a month-long exhibition at which they will display examples of the quality merchandise manufactured there. The exhibit is one of a series produced by the West Virginia Aviation Foundation, Inc., through the leadership of Walter L. Hart, to publicize aspects of the Morgantown economy, and is being held at the beautiful municipal airport terminal building.

Principal speaker at the opening ceremonies was the Secretary of the U.S. Department of Commerce, the Honorable John T. Connor. Also participating were: the Governor of West Virginia, Hon. Hulett C. Smith; U.S. Representative HARLEY O. STAGGERS, Democrat of West Virginia; Hon. John R. Goodwin, mayor of Morgantown; local Chamber of Commerce President Richard A. Raese; James Benson, vice president of Sterling Enterprises; J. Ray DePaulo, director of the West Virginia Department of Commerce; and Dr. Irvin Stewart, president-emeritus of West Virginia University. Master of ceremonies was Walter L. Hart, editor of the Morgantown Dominion-News and Aviation Foundation president.

Secretary Connor, whom I had the privilege of presenting to the audience, including listeners over two radio stations, brought an inspiring message, emphasizing West Virginia's leadership in focusing attention on the national problem of eliminating poverty. He pointed out that "West Virginia opened everyone's eyes to the necessity of doing something for communities all over the country, because economic distress was not an Appalachian problem, not a West Virginia problem, but a national problem."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the address of Secretary John Connor on this significant occasion be printed in the Appendix.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed.

REMARKS BY SECRETARY OF COMMERCE JOHN T. CONNOR PREPARED FOR DELIVERY AT THE "FABULOUS SHOWCASE" GLASS EXHIBITION, MORGANTOWN, W. VA., OCTOBER 10, 1965

One of the most fascinating qualities of the beautiful Morgantown glassware is that our impression of the glass changes as we see it in a different light, or look at it from a different point of view.

And I'm beginning to think that this characteristic is also true of the State of West Virginia.

Before I came to Washington to be Secretary of Commerce, I regarded myself as a reasonably well read person.

I tried to keep up with what was going on in the country and in the world.

My most vivid impression of West Virginia in those years was that West Virginia was a State plagued by severe economic distress, loss of industry, high unemployment, declining job opportunities, and worst of all, that an air of hopelessness hung over the towering mountains of this State.

The problems seemed almost to defy solution.

After I joined President Johnson's administration, I found out in the course of my duties that important things were happening in West Virginia.

I became closely acquainted with the dynamic work of Senator RANDOLPH and Congressman STAGGERS.

I learned more about the partnership being formed in the Appalachian Regional Commission between the Federal Government, West Virginia, and other States in this great area.

And I heard about the courageous efforts of your West Virginians.

I heard about the cooperation among business, labor, and local government here.

I heard about how you were working together among yourselves to make a greater conrtibution to the national prosperity and to share more fully in it, in order to provide a better life for your families and a brighter future for your children. And it was a heart-warming story that I heard.

Now, Ive come to see for myself.

I've met Governor Smith, and Mayor Goodwin, and other leading citizens of Morgantown and this State.

And, as though I'm watching the changing lights on the glassware made by your skilled workmen, I'm getting an impression of the true depth and reality of the minor miracle that is taking place in West Virginia.

I don't see the typical signs one would expect in a town or a State or a region that is in economic trouble.

What I see is a civic spirit that is almost fierce in its pride and determination to move ahead.

What I see is business and industry that is attuned to all the subtle crosscurrents in the economy today.

What I see is an educational community that is prospering in a friendly and fertile climate. And I certainly was most favorably impressed with the new facilities of West Virginia University that I saw for the first time today.

What I see are governmental and political leaders who are using their knowledge and skills to insure that West Virginia rides the crest of the wave of the future and not the trough of despair.

This is the story of West Virginia today, and it's a thrilling story of hope and determination that I'll carry away with me when I go back to Washington.

The whole essence of what I'm trying to say is symbolized in the high achievement of your Morgantown glassware.

Here is one of the oldest industrial skills known to man, surviving every social upheaval in history, surviving because it is based on man's creative imagination and his ability to shape the material world.

There will always be a market for imagination and hard work.

So one of your homemade crystal goblets carries not only beauty but also knowledge in the field of economics.

The Nation is indebted to West Virginia for this marriage of industry and art.

It graces the tables as well as adorning the prestige of this country.

But we are also indebted to West Virginia in another way, and you may have forgotten this other debt, so I'd like to acknowledge it today.

West Virginia is the State that woke the Nation up to the fact that we had a job to do.

West Virginia reminded us that the good times we thought we were enjoying just didn't exist in some parts of the country.

This came to our attention quite forcefully during President Kennedy's primary campaign here in 1960.

You people of the State of West Virginia may have thought that there was something unique about you and your problems.

You may have thought that there was some way in which you had failed.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

At a time when most of the economic indicators were practically going straight up, and when most people thought the country had never had it so good—100 areas in 28 States had an average unemployment rate of 13.6 percent.

Many hard-hit rural areas had incomes less than one-third of the national average.

This means that in these rural areas many families were subsisting on less than $1,900 per year.

There were 100 counties in the country where the average family income was 70 percent below the national average.

One out of every five American families lived in an area where economic opportunities were deficient.

One out of every four American counties could be identified as having serious economic problems.

All this was happening at a time when many people thought that economic distress was something that had disappeared after the great depression.

Well, Appalachia and West Virginia opened everyone's eyes to the necessity of doing something for communities all around the country, because economic distress was not an Appalachian problem, not a West Virginia problem, but a national problem.

So President Johnson determined that a nationwide program must be launched to help cure the economic ills of the distressed regions of the country.

When he sent the Economic Development Act to the Congress, he said:

"A growing nation cannot afford to waste its human and natural resources—too often neglected and unused in distressed areas.

"Nor can we afford to shut out large numbers of our fellow citizens from the fulfillment of hope which is shared by the rest of us.

"The millions of people living in those areas and regions of our Nation which have not shared fully in our general prosperity are in urgent need of help.

"Moreover, the distress or underdevelopment of any part of the country holds back the progress of the entire Nation."

The most important element in the Nation's program for attacking regional economic distress is the cooperative, partnership approach to the problem.

Today we live in a complex society.

Its needs are complex, and so are the pattern of interaction and cooperation among the groups making up the society.

The growing interdependence of these groups upon each other is greater than many realize and more crucial to our progress than many appreciate.

No one has expressed more forcefully than President Johnson that building a great American society depends upon the wholehearted cooperation of all its components—the National, State, and local governments, the business community, labor, the academic world, professional societies, and the other groupings of our people.

At a businessmen's luncheon in the White House last year, the President stated: "I believe that we are entering a new era of cooperation between Government and business and labor and the many groups which form this Nation. * * *

"It is an economy where the health of business benefits all the people.

"It is an economy where the prosperity of the people benefits the health of business.

"It is an economy where, in large measure, the fortunes of each are tied to the fortunes of all."

While the spirit of working together for mutual benefit has been a powerful force for progress since the beginning of our country, I think today there is a growing recognition that human society can attain true maturity and material well-being only when we all work hand-in-hand in its development.

The success of our society rests upon its pluralism—the fact that decisions are made and policies are set as close as possible to the source and by a great many people, rather than by monolithic government from above.

The system works as a coordinated whole through consensus and compromise, through checks and balances.

All of the vital forces in West Virginia life are represented here today.

You can take justifiable pride in what all of you have accomplished.

But more than that, you have set an example to the Nation, an example of what people can do—an example of courage and hope and determination.

This outstanding exhibit we view here today testifies to those qualities—and on behalf of our National Government, I salute you for your achievements as a people and as a State.

Columbus Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, today is Columbus Day. And on this occasion I am introducing legislation to designate Columbus Day a legal public holiday.

As of now, we have national holidays celebrating the independence of this country and the birthday of our first President. On May 30, we take pause in respectful memory of Americans fallen in battle, and on the 11th of November we take a holiday to acknowledge our veterans. It is strange, then, that the very discovery of this country is in no way acknowledged among our national holidays.

Mr. Speaker, more than four-fifths of our 50 States officially recognize Columbus Day. In my own State of New York, Columbus Day is an official holiday. The discovery of the New World is commemorated in 44 States and Puerto Rico. We ought to ratify in Federal law what is already the custom of so many localities.

A national holiday on Columbus Day, moreover, will acknowledge the enormous contribution made to this country by Americans of Italian descent—whose land of origin is that of Columbus.

A holiday to celebrate the courage and fortune of the discovery of this Nation is completely in fitting with our other national holidays, celebrating the great moments and forces of American history.

Columbus Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, October 12, 1492, is a day that all Americans, regardless of age, color, or creed, know and remember as the day the great Italian navigator, Christopher Columbus, discovered the New World.

In my own city of Chicago, Columbus Day is celebrated every year with a large parade on our main street, State Street, the greatest street in the world. This parade attracts 1 million people and is televised for 1½ hours with an estimated television audience of over 2 million people.

This is a gigantic patriotic parade with over 225 units from every branch of the U.S. military forces, bands, marchers, drum and bugle corps, and over 50 floats depicting every region of Italy. On these floats women will ride in the native costumes of the various regions of Italy, and it will be a truly beautiful and magnificent display. The costumes have been handmade by the women wearing them, and they have spent moinths designing, cutting, sewing and finshing the costumes which are accurate and authentic to the smallest detail.

This year the judges have picked Cathy and Frank Vitacco, 610 North Ridgeway, Chicago, a brother and sister team, as first prize winners for the best costume in the parade, and each will receive a $100 U.S. Savings Bond. Mrs. Frances Cokinis, 525 East Turner, Roselle, Ill., and Miss Teresa Tomasello, 2447 North Marshfield, Chicago, tied as second place winners and each will receive a $50 U.S. savings bond. The third prize winner is

Dr. Mary Ellen Batinich, 9215 South Troy, Chicago, who is giving her prize of $25 to sixteen children who participated in the costume contest but did not place as winners.

The prizes for the Columbus Day Parade costume contest have been donated by the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans, which represents over 700,000 Italo-Americas in the Chicago metropolitan area and which sponsors the Columbus Day Parade each year.

Miss Linda Terone, 8958 South Claremont Avenue, Chicago, an 18-year-old Marquette University freshman, has been chosen by the judges to reign as queen of the Columbus Day Parade and she will receive a 1-week, all-expenses-paid trip to Italy which has been donated by Alitalia Airlines.

The judges for the costume contest were Miss Maggie Daly, well-known columnist for Chicago's American, Mr. Maurice Fischer, assistant managing editor of the Chicago Daily News, and Mr. Adelmo Cacciotti, midwestern regional manager of Alitalia Airlines. The judges for the beauty contest included Miss Daly, Mr. Fischer, Mr. Cacciotti, and Dr. Mary Ellen Batinich, Principal of the John A. Walsh Elementary School in Chicago.

The 1965 parade will be led by Governor of Illinois, Otto Kerner, by mayor of Chicago, Richard J. Daley, by one of America's outstanding entertainers, Jimmy Durante, and by the Italian Consul General, Dr. Augusto Russo. Following the leaders in the line of march will be political dignitaries, civic leaders, and businessmen from the community.

The general chairman of the Columbus Day Parade this year is Mr. Fred Bartoli, president of the Red Top Cab Co. The cochairmen of the parade are Mr. Anthony Paterno, president of the Pacific Wine Co.; Mr. Frank Armanetti, president of Armanetti Liquors; Dr. Mario J. Rubinelli, Mr. Nello Ferrara, president of the Ferrara Candy Co., Mr. Martin Buccieri, insurance executive; Mr. Victor J. Failla, one of Chicago's outstanding labor leaders, and myself.

The other leaders of the Italian community who are participating in the parade are Vincent Ferrara, president of the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans; Rev. Armando Pierini, chaplain; Mr. Robert S. Tomaso, chairman, and Mrs. Serafina Ferrara and Mr. Joseph Fusco, cochairmen, of the finance and souvenir book committee; Mr. John G. Rovetto, chairman, and Mr. Joseph Rovetto, cochairman, of the floats committee; Mr. Victor A. Arrigo, chairman of the program and arrangements committee; Mr. Domenick DiFrisco, chairman of the publicity and queen contest committee; Mr. Frank Esposito, cochairman of the labor committee; Mr. Marco DeStefano, parade marshall; Mr. Anthony Bottalla, chairman, and Dr. James F. Greco, cochairman, of the bands and marchers committee; Mr. Frank Pitarro, chairman of the transportation committee; and Mr. Joseph DeSerto, chairman, and Mr. Arthur Pullano and Mr. Frank Aliotta, cochairmen, of the Italian Organizations Committee.

The other members of these committees are: Dr. Nicholas J. Bruno, Mr. Vincent F. Lucchese, Mr. Anthony Sorrentino, Mr. Peter Scalise, Mr. Vincent Lucania, Mr. N. R. Dispenza, Mr. M. R. Notaro, Mr. Peter Lavorata, Mr. Fred Mazzei, Mr. Umberto Mugnaini, Mr. Fred Parisi, Mr. Lawrence Spallitta, Dr. Joseph DeLeonardi, Dr. August F. Daro, Mr. Louis Farina, Mr. Horatio Tocco, Mr. Tom Baratta, Mr. Michael Epifanio, Mr. Jordan Canzone, Dr. Michael Abene, Mr. Jasper Campise, Mr. Dominic Dolce, and Mr. John Spatuzza.

The Columbus Day celebration will begin this morning with a solemn high mass at the Holy Name Cathedral at 9:30 a.m., followed by the kickoff of the parade at 12 noon at State and Wacker Streets, and then the wreath-laying ceremonies at 2:30 p.m. at the Columbus Monument in Grant Park. The day's festivities will come to a close at a cocktail party at the skyline room of the Sherman House in Chicago.

One of the highlights of the parade will be the presentation of a 9-foot, 14-ton bronze statue of Christopher Columbus to Mayor Daley. Depicting this event, a float will carry the statue and a large sign stating that Hon. FRANK ANNUNZIO, Congressman from the Seventh District of Illinois, welcomes Christopher Columbus to his new home in the seventh district. The presentation of this statue to Mayor Daley will mark the opening of a project to erect the statue in a plaza with a reflecting pool and fountains on the axis of West Polk Street in Chicago, located in my congressional district, to be known as Columbus Plaza.

It is a source of pride to know that Americans of all national origins will participate in our Columbus Day Parade, an annual patriotic event commemorating Columbus' discovery of America. The magnitude of this discovery is obvious to all of us. It opened the door to the future not only of our great country but the whole Western Hemisphere as well. It may even be interpreted as the greatest historical event of our times in view of the tremendous strides and the great advances that mankind has made since that eventful day—October 12, 1492. It is entirely fitting, then, that this day be celebrated as a national legal holiday. Toward that end, I have introduced in the Congress H.R. 1754 and I urge my colleagues to join in the early enactment of this legislation in order that our Federal Government may give this long overdue recognition to Christopher Columbus' great achievement, and may pay tribute to his faith, his vision, and his courage which made this achievement possible.

Panama Treaty Contains Seeds of Conflict

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, it has been gratifying to note an increasing number of informative articles in the mass news media since the Presidential announcement on September 24 concerning the current treaty negotiations with Panama. Many of these writings have been highly critical of the conduct of our Isthmian Canal policy, as illustrated by a recent news story in the St. Louis Globe Democrat.

In this connection, I would invite attention to my two addresses in the House of Representatives on April 1 and July 29, 1965, on the "Interoceanic Canal Problem: Inquiry or Cover Up?"

Members of the press and other authors seeking reliable information on this crucial matter are urged to read both of these statements of mine which are based on authoritative documentation.

The major portion of the indicated news story follows:

[From the St. Louis Globe Democrat]

PANAMA TREATY CONTAINS SEEDS OF CONFLICT

WASHINGTON.—In Panama, President Johnson is being lured by short-term success to court a more troubled future for the United States. His agreement to surrender de facto sovereignty in the Canal Zone in exchange for treaty authority to build a new sea level canal is a serious error of policy in this troubled world.

He faced a difficult problem. The precedent established by President Eisenhower in 1960 had rewarded anti-American violence in Panama and had discredited national elements pledged to mutual cooperation. The violence of January 1964 was the logical consequence of prior policy.

President Johnson also faced the problem of negotiating rights for construction of a new sea level canal. The United States had started a program of reducing the existing canal to sea level by deep dredging and by progressive dismantling of the existing locks. However, the new potential for excavating with atomic explosives a sea level canal through a remote area of Panama or Columbia challenged American resourcefulness and raised visions of historic accomplishments. What President could resist such a summons to fame?

Plans for a new canal had to face the obstacle of sovereignty. Under the doctrine which the United States supported in the Suez affair, any sovereign is free to denounce treaty obligations without being subjected to force by the other contracting parties. Therefore the treaty power, Panama or Columbia, could denounce the treaty as soon as a new canal is completed by the United States, and expel the United States from all rights and interest in the new canal. Or earlier, before the ink is dry on the treaty now proposed by President Johnson, Panama would have the legal right to denounce that treaty, expel the United States from Panama and grant to the Soviet Union the right to operate the present canal and to build the new canal.

Our legislators must not be misled by the assurances of the present Panamanian Government, however sincere these protestations may be. They must envision the actual consequences of the treaty submitted for approval. For this is and will remain a world in which small nations are incited by the Soviet Union to seize whatever wealth of the capitalist nations may come under their sovereign control. Any U.S. treaty controls of canal investment will be subjected to continuing, intensive agitation to send the Yanquis home.

The present Canal Zone enables the United States to protect the canal from rioting mobs without trespassing on the territory of Panama. When the scenes of January 1964 are repeated under the proposed treaty, U.S. troops will be forced to operate in the terri-

tory of Panama to protect the canal. If Panama refuses permission for such protective action, will the United States then violate Panamanian sovereignty or will it submit passively to sabotage of the canal? This will be a much more difficult decision than any which U.S. Presidents have faced under the present treaty.

A Panamanian Government which cannot maintain the respect of its people for the present treaty cannot maintain their respect for the successor treaty. In thinking to escape the small troubles which now beset him in Panama by surrendering important treaty rights, President Johnson is opening a Pandora's box of future troubles.

Seventeen Thousand Apples a Day Might Keep the Dole Away

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

SEVENTEEN THOUSAND APPLES A DAY MIGHT KEEP THE DOLE AWAY

(By Richard Corrigan, Washington Post)

Where in the Great Society can enough people be found to pick a billion Shenandoah apples? In the British West Indies.

It wasn't supposed to work out that way. Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz hoped that enough of the plentiful supply of unemployed Americans would sign up for the job. But after weeks of recruiting up and down the Eastern United States, the Labor Department has turned to the Caribbean. The Department has given the go-ahead for the importation of 700 West Indians into Virginia and 200 into West Virginia to pick apples.

Otherwise the apples would have been picked too late, if at all, the growers say. As a salesman for Senator HARRY F. BYRD's apple empire in Winchester, Va., put it, "An overripe apple is a pretty sorry thing—it's dry and it don't have much flavor."

Even the 700 might not be enough to help harvest a 10-million-bushel crop in the Frederick County (Winchester) area, according to a spokesman for the growers. At least 1,700 pickers are needed for the 10-week season, which began last week, and the growers wonder if the Government will find all the other 1,000 here at home. Last year 1,000 aliens were brought in.

The growers are trying to mobilize the 1,000 pickers from the Winchester area and from the area of the country generally south of Baltimore and east of Tennessee and Mississippi, including Kentucky, Florida, and the Carolinas. The pickers come by the busload, in crews and individually.

THE PARADOX

Since the job picture in adjoining Appalachia is supposed to be so bleak, why do the growers have to get so many pickers from other parts of the country and from the West Indies

Traditionally, a migrant worker has had to perform backbreaking work under atrocious conditions for a pitifull reward. But down in the cidery-sweet Shenandoah Valley, they say that's not the problem. Not this year, anyway.

No one denies that it's rough to stand on a 26-foot ladder in a hot, cold, or wet orchard with a 50-pound sack of apples slung around your neck for 10 hours a day. However, the Winchester growers provide a camp which, though no resort, is no worse than many an Army barracks. The going rate of payment is 15 cents a bushel, and for the first week all hands are guaranteed $1.15 an hour regardless of speed. After that, the slow ones are fired or lose the guaranteed $1.15. Growers say a first-rate picker can make $2.60 an hour. That's about 17 bushels an hour, and at about 100 apples per bushel, averages out at about one apple every 2 seconds in a 10-hour workday. Those who stay for the season get a bonus of 2 cents a bushel. Therefore, a man could make about $158 in a 6-day week—if he worked at top speed continuously.

Transportation to and from the camp is free; housing is free; meals cost $2.25 a day; doctors and nurses and ministers are on hand.

It's not a nice way to spend 10 weeks, especially since most men have to leave their families behind, but it is a way to make as much as $1,500, the growers say.

Presumably, Wirtz thought that a good many Americans would jump at the chance to earn the money. They didn't. Labor Department recruiters working in Appalachia—and in cities like Washington—tell the same story: the pickings are slim.

A QUESTION OF STATUS

Across the Nation, California is bringing in about 18,000 Mexicans to pick tomatoes; Maine, 4,500 Canadians to pick potatoes; other States, from Florida to Massachusetts, hundreds of West Indians to help harvest sugar and tobacco and other crops.

A Labor Department spokesman pointed out that last year, before Congress and Wirtz clamped down on the importation of braceros and other foreign hands to give Americans first crack at the jobs, a total of more than 200,000 workers were brought in, compared with this year's figure of some 27,000, allowed in under emergency provisions in the immigration law. And Washington State, the biggest applegrower of them all, uses no foreign labor.

But this does not answer the question of why West Virginia, for instance, which at the last count had 45,000 persons out of work, could not provide enough hands to pick its own apples.

The recruiters who have dug into the pockets of poverty have their own explanations:

In a status-conscious country, working in an orchard has no status at all;

In an increasingly urban country, picking offers no more money than the dole;

In an increasingly urban country, few will return to the fields under any circumstances;

In a civil rights conscious country, Negroes are increasingly averse to this kind of work.

JOBLESS COMPENSATION

Another obstacle is that some men drawing unemployment compensation fear that if they take a picking job they will be forced to take such a job again and again or lose their checks. As one Labor Department official explained it, an out-of-work mechanic can refuse a harvesting a job and still get his check—because harvesting is not his trade. But once he went into the orchards he not only would forfeit his check while there but might have to return to the orchards next season if he were out of work again.

Unemployment compensation officials here said cutoffs are decided on an individual basis, with factors such as age, trade, health, family and others considered, and that they would be inclined not to stop checks in such cases.

Also, if the picker is fired, or quits before the season ends, and cannot justify himself to his local unemployment compensation board, he may lose 5 to 10 weeks' compensation as a penalty. Thus, a man would think twice before going out to the orchards for a week or so.

"A lot of these people are getting enough surplus supplies and general welfare and so forth," said Charles Toan, executive secretary of the Frederick County Fruit Growers Association. "This is a horrible thing to say, but they had rather do it * * *."

(Operating on this theory, the Delaware County (Ind.) Welfare Department has ordered 150 mothers of dependent children to start work at the local canning factories or lose their checks.)

Tom Shocks, a Labor Department recruiter in Winchester, said "In Appalachia we had practically no takers." In some cases, he said, a man receiving unemployment compensation and other benefits would be "making more money than he would be working."

The Byrd company salesman said, "There are plenty of able-bodied men sitting around" right in Winchester—"and they sit there all day." Meanwhile, he said, the apples "do not hang on the trees forever."

On the other hand, there are those who say that if the growers would shell out more money—at least $2 an hour with no strings—they would have much less of a problem. Money talks in the labor market and the growers just are not talking loud enough, it is argued.

Ray Bozeman, a Department coordinator stationed in Chambersburg, Pa., said recruiters have combed Appalachia in search of pickers and have saturated it with TV, radio, and newspaper advertisements and handbills. They are getting some workers but not nearly enough.

"We have really concentrated our effort in this area, which is supposed to be the most poverty-stricken area in the United States," Bozeman said. "There's enough people, but there's just not enough people who want the jobs."

In his opinion, Bozeman said, "the welfare benefits are outweighing the (job) benefits." Benefits vary from State to State and sometimes include surplus food as well as money.

The recruiters noted that they generally do not hire men under 18 and that many potential pickers apparently are enrolling in the Job Corps or Government job-training programs. Others are taking temporary jobs in canning plants or waiting for jobs in their usual trade to open up.

In Washington, about 25 men have signed up for the picking season. Recruiters Stanley Peterson and Franklin Owens said that by the time men walk into their office they generally are ready to go to work in the orchards—but that few are walking in.

In the U.S. Employment Service headquarters, in the general labor office, Assistant Manager Elbert Greene said that when he suggested to some applicants that they might do farm work, "a couple of them cussed at me, and the others smiled and said, 'That's what I came up here to get away from.'"

Even Toan, the applegrowers' executive, concedes that the wandering life of a migrant worker is not a good one. But what is the answer, he asks, when "there is still a need to hand harvest a lot of these crops?"

A mechanical applepicker? Toan rattled off the names of several universities that are trying to develop one and said, "We would love to see it."

The Honorable Roy A. Taylor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HORACE R. KORNEGAY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, I recently was privileged to read a poem writ-

ten by a fellow Tar Heel in praise of one of our North Carolina colleagues.

Recognizing that this poem bespeaks the thoughts of many of us and particularly those of us who are fortunate enough to represent the State of North Carolina and realizing that many Members of this body would share the attitude of the author, I, under leave previously granted include the poem in the RECORD:

THE HONOCRABLE ROY A. TAYLOR

(By Ralph T. White, an independent Democratic Republican)

Here's to our Representative, ROY A. TAYLOR,
From the 'leventh District of North 'Carolinar':
Even tho his initials spell out the word RAT
And altho he's a dyed-in-the-wool Democrat,
It behooves us to give him what support we can
Even tho y'all just might be, a Republican.
Altho there were a few votes that he was denied
There is no one in Congress better qualified,
And no one more aware of the things that we need
Who consistently puts duty far above greed.
When Uncle Sam decided on a picnic fee
TAYLOR tried his best to keep picnic places free;
Family picnics aren't much fun at two-bits per head
But were it not for ROY, 'twould be four-bits instead.
He believes in helping others tho not thru dole
And it's 'cause of his efforts, we drive without toll;
As you drive 'long the parkway enjoying the view,
Think what was done to make this possible for you.
Whether relaxing, on a parkway overlook,
Or requesting, as I am, the current yearbook,
Whether living in a house, or in a trailer
Be thankful your Congressman is ROY A. TAYLOR.

The Real Alabama—Part LXXV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the textile industry in Alabama is one of the oldest. But by no means is it standing still. On the contrary, investment is flowing at a rapid rate, jobs and payrolls are growing while new methods and facilities are making their contribution to produce new products and new optimism for the future.

I include in my remarks the following discussion:

VIGOROUS ELDER STATESMAN

The passing of a man's life," says the Book of Job, "is as the flight of a weaver's shuttle." By such measure, the ancient art of spinning and weaving came upon the Alabama scene only a few shuttle flights ago. Even so, textiles, as an industry, is an elder statesman in manufacturing, which existed before Alabama became a State.

First was the Bell factory in northeast State Madison County, a cotton mill established in about 1815 and supplied by Indian women who picked seed from the cotton bolls by hand. Next, in the 1830's, was the Dog River plant at Mobile. First such enterprise of lasting consequence is 1844-founded Tallassee Mills, oldest continuous operating mill in the State.

After the peaks and valleys of ante bellum days, war and Reconstruction, the first three decades of this century brought textile ascendancy.

Today's spinning and weaving complex is the second largest manufacturing industry in the State, employs more than 36,000 at an annual payroll of $140 million. Its 80 plants consume almost 1 million bales of cotton a year, slightly more than last year's crop. Additionally, millions of pounds of other raw fibers are consumed annually.

Scores of other plants in the textile field, such as leaps-and-bounds Chemstrand Corp., at Decatur in the synthetics area, and soon to be Goodyear Tire & Rubber's textile facilities in the same city for processing nylon and polyester tire fabric, give tremendous boosts to the industry.

A business within itself is the apparel manufacturing network with its scores of plants distributed throughout the State. At 1964's end, this segment of textile enterprise provided jobs for 33,800 Alabamians, poured tens of millions into the State's economy.

In one of the Nation's more highly competitive areas, and despite the fact that cost of living indexes and wage rates continue to spiral, textiles today are offering their products at a cost below that of a decade ago.

Mechanization and automation, plus last year's return to a realistic one-price cotton system wherein domestic mills buy U.S. cotton at the same price foreign mills can purchase it, have been major factors in pricing.

Today's average textile mill investment per employee is $38,000. At the turn of the century, the investment was only $1,300. The industry now employs spinning equipment which runs 50 percent faster than it did 15 years ago; fiber preparation machinery 3½ times faster; yarn combers 40 percent faster; greater quality control and new looms weave twice as fast as older models.

Effective Alabama Textile Manufacturers Association sample surveyed toward last year's end, ticked off only five of several new plants and expansions of existing plants which call for an investment in excess of $25 million, new payrolls for 1,250.

These are but a part of the story of a modern, progressive and essential industry where investment is pyramided upon investment, jobs and payrolls grow.

While research pushes into space, textiles keep pace, continues with its contributions ranging from the cradle to the moon.

Strategy for Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, debate on the foreign aid authorization and appropriation bills this year has revealed a considerable feeling, particularly in the other body, that we should take a new look at foreign aid. I share these feelings. In my weekly newsletter of September 13, 1965, I described some of the things I felt were wrong with the program and stated:

I could say many good things about some parts of our foreign aid—in particular, the technical assistance and development loan programs—but these good things are becoming obscured by situations such as I have described above.

The Senate unsuccessfully sought this year to bring the current aid program to an end in 2 years—while making a thorough study of what we might do to establish a more satisfactory program. I shall support such steps in the future and vote against foreign aid if this is not done.

Last week the very perceptive and knowledgeable writer, Joseph Kraft, devoted a lengthy column to this subject. He describes the new conditions that confront the underdeveloped world and the import these conditions should have on our foreign aid program. He says:

Put all these factors together and there emerges an almost totally new aid program. It would largely scrap military assistance programs and political slush funds aimed to offset Soviet competition in aid. It would feature birth control programs, and agricultural aid administered by multilateral organizations working, at least tacitly, with the Soviet bloc, and aiming at social reforms.

I found Mr. Kraft's analysis and recommendations very useful, and I commend them to the attention of my colleagues. We shall be hearing more of these kinds of suggestions in the days to come.

The complete column follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Oct. 9, 1965]

STRATEGY FOR AID

(By Joseph Kraft)

A chorus of opinion has endorsed the recent plea of the World Bank for a rise in the flow of income from the rich countries of the North to the poor countries of the South. But one tiny little question abides. How?

Dramatic new departures from past practice ought not to be ruled out. It may be possible to lure truly large amounts of private capital by the device of giving companies generous tax concessions on investments in the less developed countries.

It may also be possible to work out international commodity agreements that would maintain stable prices for such staple products of the underdeveloped world as coffee, tea, cocoa, tin, and rubber. Profits might go to a fund for diversifying production in countries dependent upon a single product.

Still, both of those approaches require years of preparatory work. For the next few years, the main vehicle will have to be as it has been throughout the postwar world, foreign aid.

To some, the mere mention of that dreary topic seems a cry of despair. Aid, the London Economist asserted last week, "is on the defensive." But in fact there is a set of new conditions that offers the Johnson administration, if it is to be bold, a chance to mount a redesigned and increased aid program that could set the pace for a similar advance by all the developed countries.

The first new condition is the success of cheap contraceptive devices tried out in the past year. It is now possible to assert with confidence that aid, accompanied by a birth control program, can create genuine per capita increases in living standards, not merely a larger population living—or rather dying—at the same old level of misery.

A second new condition is the food crisis that threatens between now and the time when birth control measures can become widely applied. Feeding the predicted population growth over the next decade will require the full agricultural resources of the temperate zone countries, plus programs

for spreading to the underdeveloped world the technical revolution in agriculture. An interagency task force report recommending an all-out effort on the agricultural front has already reached the White House, and awaits approval by the President.

A third new condition is the demonstration that elaborate military aid programs, if not altogether useless, are distinctly outmoded. Pakistan, Turkey, Greece, the Middle East, and parts of Latin America afford evidence that such programs, apart from being an uneconomic use of resources, promote repressive regimes with little chance of achieving peaceful political stability.

A fourth new condition is the experience of competition with the Soviet bloc in the aid field. Large Russian and East European aid programs have been carried out in the Middle East and in parts of Africa, Latin America, and Asia without yielding Communist regimes. Far from having to establish showy projects or political slush funds to offset Soviet bloc blandishments, this country and other Western nations can now collaborate with confidence on long-range development programs set up on a multilateral basis and designed to foster lasting social reforms.

Put all of these factors together and there emerges an almost totally new aid program. It would largely scrap military assistance programs and political slush funds aimed to offset Soviet competition in aid. It would feature birth control programs, and agricultural aid administered by multilateral organizations working, at least tacitly, with the Soviet bloc, and aiming at social reforms.

But is there a congressional majority for such a program? Well, in Congress, too, there has been a transition. More and more, the congressional opposition to aid has come, not from the House, which tended to favor old-fashioned anti-Soviet programs featuring military assistance, but from the Senate.

For example, in 1962 and 1963 the House cut administration aid figures in committee and again on the floor. But last year, the administration figure was approved without cuts by a 35-vote majority. This year, with the new Congress, the majority for the administration aid figure was 96 votes.

In contrast, increasing doubts have been voiced by Senators, once known as supporters of the aid programs who have come to feel that the programs are too heavily military, and not strong enough in agriculture to do much good. This year, for example, amendments to cut military aid put forward by FRANK CHURCH, of Idaho, and WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon, failed of passage by eight votes and one vote, respectively. In large part because of military emphasis, Chairman J. W. FULBRIGHT of the Foreign Relations Committee, a former aid stalwart, did not even vote for final passage of the bill on Wednesday.

Given the changing majorities, in fact, the probability is not only that a redesigned program could pass Congress. The probability is that only a redesigned program can build the new majority that will be required if an aid program is to be sustained at all.

Columbus Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, each year at this time we testify to the high regard in which we hold our friends and neighbors of Italian descent. Columbus Day, when we honor the great navigator who discovered America, is the appropriate time for remembering the contributions that have been made to our way of life by Italian Americans.

Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of the New World, was first and foremost a sailor. He was born and reared in Italy's Genoa, one of Europe's oldest seafaring communities, and as a boy had made voyages in the Mediterranean where the world's greatest mariners were trained in ancient times and in his own days.

In Lisbon, Portugal, the center of European oceanic enterprise, Columbus worked as a chartmaker by the time he was 24, and shortly afterward, he sailed on a long voyage under the Portuguese flag. It was then that he conceived the idea for the great adventure that only a sailor could have planned and executed. That was to reach eastern Asia, the Indies, by sailing west.

It took him 10 years to find support for his idea, and of course, he never did succeed in it, because a continent stood in his way. This continent, which he discovered by accident, was named for a man who had had nothing to do with its discovery. Yet we are right in honoring Columbus for doing something that was unintended, because no other sailor had the knowledge, the persistence, and the dauntless courage to find land by sailing thousands upon thousands of miles into the vastness of the unknown and uncharted ocean. Columbus has been described by Adm. Samuel Eliot Morison, the eminent historian of U.S. naval operations in World War II, as "one of the greatest mariners, if not the greatest, of all time."

The countrymen of Columbus, the Italian Americans of the United States, have shown much the same intrepid courage as their great hero. At the end of the last century there were about 484,000 of them here seeking a better life than the one they had known in the disrupted agricultural economy of the Italian peninsula. By 1910, they numbered over 1,343,000.

In those days, many of them performed the hardest kind of labor. Yet it was not long before their children became doctors, teachers, lawyers, judges, legislators, and businessmen. As a group, Italian Americans, in a remarkably short number of years, in difficult times, and under severe handicaps, have come to take their place in the leadership of American society. An Italian discovered America, and Italian Americans help to lead it and to preserve its freedoms.

Why Does Elbie Jay Give a Dam?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, another of Mr. Arthur Hoppe's columns recently appearing in the San Francisco Chronicle will undoubtedly be interesting to readers of the RECORD who have expressed keen interest in Mr. Hoppe's satire. The article follows:

WHY DOES ELBIE JAY GIVE A DAM?

(By Art Hoppe)

Howdy there, folks, how y'll? Time for another tee-vee visit with the rootin'-tootin' Jay family, starring ol' Elbie Jay—a real fun-lovin' wrangler. Who loves to wrangle just for fun.

As we join up with ol' Elbie today he's let the Congressmen go home, them not having any laws left to pass. And he's taken his pretty wife, Birdie-Bird, on that long-promised family vacation to get a well-deserved rest. That's him, a-settin' on the porch of the Bide-a-Wee Lodge, relaxin' in the quiet solitude and chewin' on the brim of his 5-gallon hat.

ELBIE (pleading). Come, Birdie-Bird, let us reason together. Just one little ol' peek at the headlines?

BIRDIE-BIRD (firmly). Now, Elbie, you promised. You're going to have a complete rest. No newspapers, no phone calls and no politics whatsoever. It will make a new man out of you.

ELBIE (gloomily). The old one was doing alright. (He leaps to his feet and extends his hand as a fellow vacationer strolls past.) Howdy there, friend. Let's press the flesh.

VACATIONER. Again? But we've shaken hands 6 times already this morning.

ELBIE. I don't want to lose my calluses. (Whispering.) Say, you don't happen to have a little ol' public opinion poll on you, do you?

VACATIONER. I'm sorry, but as I told you before——

ELBIE (grabbing his sleeve). Well, tell me, do you approve or disapprove of the way I'm handling my job here at Bide-a-Wee Lodge?

VACATIONER (nervously). Oh, you're doing fine, fine.

ELBIE (letting him scurry away). Well, now, that makes 92 percent who approve, 2 percent undecided, and 6 percent who won't get no more room service until they see the light. Not bad, considerin' I've only been here 4 hours.

WAITER (puzzled). Here is your sasparilla, sir.

ELBIE. Thanks kindly, son, and here's a tip for you: vote my way if you want a nice new dam in your district.

WAITER (puzzled). Vote your way, sir?

ELBIE. Ask anyone, son. They'll tell you that when it comes to bargainin', ol' Elbie don't give a dam for nothing.

BIRDIE-BIRD. Now, Elbie, you promised. You said you'd do absolutely nothing but sit and relax.

ELBIE. And that's all I've done for 4 hours. Exceptin', of course, for reapportionin' the hotel rooms, integratin' the kitchen, sendin' that sassy desk clerk to Vee-yet-nam and takin' a little stroll across the swimmin' pool.

BIRDIE-BIRD. Now, Elbie, why don't you go commune with nature? Here's a handful of sugar cubes. You can try to make friends with the animals. And here's your stick in case you succeed.

ELBIE. No, it just wouldn't be the same. This place is just too fuddy-duddy quiet. Say. How'd you like to spend the rest of your vacation in a rip-snortin' spot with excitin' competitive sports, round-the-clock games of skill and chance, and a daily festival of fun-filled events?

BIRDIE-BIRD (clapping her hands). Oh, Elbie, are we going oute to Las Vegas?

ELBIE (happily). Nope. Back to Washington.

Well, tune in to our next episode, folks. And meantime, as you mosey down the trail of life, remember what Elbie's ol' granddaddy used to say: "Make sure the feller who's leading you lays aside his cares and burdens now and then. You need the rest."

Political Event Honoring Robert H. Finch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, on September 23, 1965, in Los Angeles, Calif., a highly unusual, and I understand enjoyable, political event took place in which Republican leaders from all over the State—and indeed the Nation—joined in honoring Robert H. Finch for his 20 years of service to the Republican Party.

The spirit that evening was one of party unity and camaradrie which I feel augers very well for the future of our GOP. It was also fitting and significant that so many people from all branches of our party joined together to honor one who has in so many ways contributed to Republican efforts.

Senator GEORGE MURPHY, whose brilliant and successful campaign Bob Finch directed, was honorary chairman for the evening, and the distinguished principal speaker was former Vice President Richard Nixon, whom Bob has devotedly served in years past.

Bob Finch's remarks concluding the dinner were, I believe, a good indication of his abilities and purpose and, I, under unanimous consent, include those remarks in the RECORD:

REMARKS OF BOB FINCH

As each of you can well imagine, this is a most thrilling and heartwarming evening for me—and for Carol and for the whole Finch family.

At the same time, I am the first to recognize that the true reason you are here tonight is not just to honor a party worker, but to evidence your faith in this party of ours and that Republicans are unified and are on the move. And, as I look around at this wonderful turnout of dedicated Republicans, I know that the national resurgence of our party will begin right here in California.

Indeed, I believe that the foundation for this forward move of Republicanism was built right here only last November with the great victory of Senator GEORGE MURPHY.

While it is in the context of Republican aspirations that I wish to speak briefly tonight, I know you will pardon a personal comment. It has been my privilege to know and work with almost every person in this room, and I appreciate your presence more than I can possibly convey. And I know you can understand particularly how grateful I am that Dick Nixon has journeyed here to speak as he did tonight. I cherish every one of the years when it was my privilege to serve so closely with one of the greatest political leaders of midcentury America. It is my confident belief that his character and competence are such that his greatest contributions to our national fortunes are yet to be made.

As to the junior Senator from California, I'm sure in view of the circumstances, not one begrudges his absence. I assured him today that if I made any small contribution to his campaign, the account was paid in full when the votes were counted on election night. And if I have any message from 20 years as a party worker, I would like to refer to it as MURPHY's law, which reads as follows: "Republicans—take not satisfaction from a fight well fought—take satisfaction from winning."

And now may I share, ever so briefly, a few basic thoughts about the Republican Party which come to mind tonight after two decades as a worker in the vineyard. Some are obvious, but at this moment when we stand on the threshold of new opportunity, they may bear repeating.

I have shared with you the good times and bad, our triumphs and defeats. And every instinct I have, every insight I may have gained from my apprenticeship tells me that next year will be a landmark in American political history. I believe that historians of the future will say that in 1966 the Republican Party reached its moment of truth. They may write that this great and honorable party, which once had saved the Union, failed its crucial test and declined to a permanent minority, fighting a rearguard action. But I believe they will record instead that in 1966 the Republicans turned the corner, achieved a broad unity of purpose, and recaptured the hearts of the American people.

It is easy to see the obstacles we face: the built-in power of incumbency, the harsh arithmetic of registration, and a 3-to-2 minority position. But look at our advantages: First of all, our philosophy which places us on the right side of the pivotal issues of domestic politics today: the status of the individual and his relationship to an ever-burgeoning mass state, the survival of our Federal system of government, and indeed the two-party system itself.

If we are to win, we must win with the youth and in the suburbs. By 1980 three out of four Americans will live or work in the massive suburban areas. And the political dialog of the next decade will be more and more concerned with the quality of life we will all lead in this environment. Now when you speak of quality, you speak of subjective and individual choice, taste, and alternatives. And if the mass state is to move into this area, we are indeed finished as a Republic.

The present leadership of the Democratic Party has chosen to propagate the historic lie that individuals are unfit to manage their own affairs, and must place their lives—which belong to God alone—in the hands of all-powerful government. We are the party of individualism, of personal freedom: we trust people to choose for themselves, and this is why we—not the Democrats—are truly the party of the people.

Where once the Republican Party saved the Union from the States, today it must undertake to save the States from increasing encroachment from Washington. If the historic role of the States in our Federal system is to be preserved, it can only be done by the Republican Party. Our opponents have abandoned this great issue to us, and left us with a very strong position. The people will not knowingly tolerate such radical tinkering with the basic structure of our Government, and I believe they will listen carefully on this point.

Perhaps above all else, over the years I have come to appreciate how fragile, yet how critical, this two-party system of ours is to the whole fabric of our unique way of life. For without this strong second party, there is no effective check on the power of Government, no alternative and without a free choice there can be no free government. We then become not citizens, but subjects.

Our party's strategic position in 1966 should, therefore, be a favorable one, because it can rest on the time-tested principles of a political philosophy which we all share, and which is more relevant and vital today than ever before. But we must fight on our own grounds, where we will surely win, and not again fall into the old Democratic trap of waging the contest on phony "issues" and "labels" of their choosing, which distract us and divide us.

To restore the Republican Party to its proper place, to preserve the two-party system, we must, of course, do many things. We must strengthen and improve the all-important role of the political volunteer. We must find a broader base for political fundraising. We must overhaul our techniques of organization, our machinery for getting out the vote. But most important, in my opinion, we must modernize our marketing tools so that we are no longer outsold in the marketplace of ideas.

In my opinion, this involves a total reevaluation of our approach to modern communication and communications media. Then we must go on the offensive—we must get our story across first, and we must keep repeating it in every forum and every medium which modern communications can provide.

We have seen the master of propaganda at work in the rose garden, in the East Room, on television, on radio, and in the press. We have seen his machine seize and hold the propaganda initiative 24 hours a day, relegating us to the futile role of trying to answer back, vainly hoping that the truth can somehow overtake the fable.

Bear constantly in mind that where we have any weakness, however slight, the opposition will seize upon it, exaggerate it—and sell it. Right at this moment we are the victims of a propaganda 10-strike by the Democrats, who have created discouragement even in our own ranks by labeling the Republican Party as the party of disunity. Certainly, we have our differences, and may it ever be thus. But the Democratic doublethink hides the fact that the most irreparable disunity exists among the Democrats—disunity on foreign policy, in the world and in this hemisphere; disunity on civil rights; disunity in the North, in the South, in the cities, and in the States; and most surely of all, disunity in California.

I believe that what we do in 1966 will affect the fortunes of the Republican Party and this Nation for generations to come. I believe with all my heart that 1966 can be a year of victory in California—and resurgence—creating a momentum which will startle and waken this Nation. Let us begin by nailing the Democratic talk of Republican disunity once and for all; let us talk about the things that unite us, not the things that divide us. Let us reject every label except the label of Republican, and let us sell our message by radio, by television, by the press and by word of mouth—in our meetings, in our daily associations and in the home. What we do and say in California will give hope and leadership to citizens throughout this Nation.

I well remember when I was organizing Young Republican Clubs on college campuses, there were many who said that the Republicans could not hope to win power in the foreseeable future. That was in 1945, and the very next year, 1946, we swept into control of Congress and captured several statehouses. That year, Dick Nixon first went to Congress. Now, 20 years later, there are again those who are pessimists, who see only the obstacles and overlook the cycle of history. In Shakespeare's phrase, "There is a tide in the affairs of men, which taken at the flood leads on to fortune." I believe there is today a gathering tide which can run in our favor, if we but make it so. "We must take the current when it serves, or lose our ventures."

We might take as our text these words from Lord Tennyson's "Ulysses":

"Come, my friends,
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world.
Tho' much is (fallen) much (endures);
and tho' we are not now that strength
which in old days,
Moved earth and heaven: that which we are,
we are:
Strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield."

So this, I believe, is our role as a party, and this, I hope, is what this evening is all about.

Again, my profound thanks to each of you.

The Merchant Marine Today Is the Achilles' Heel of Our Nation's Greatness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, one great problem facing the American merchant marine and the U.S. shipbuilding industry, as critics of the maritime task force report have pointed out, is the utter lack of experience and intimate knowledge of maritime operations on the part of many of those charged with developing policies in this complex field.

It is fashionable now, even in Defense circles, to decry the importance of American shipping as the logistic arm of the Navy in time of emergency. However, such derogatory statements do not emanate from the one branch of the military which has the direct contact with our commercial shipping in war—the Navy.

This point is driven home most clearly by an article in the October issue of the magazine Army, published by the Association of the U.S. Army. Written by Rear Adm. John D. Hayes, U.S. Navy, retired, now associated with the Naval Institute of Annapolis, the article makes a number of definite statements concerning the need for more, and more modern, shipping under the American flag that deserve attention on all levels of Government connected in any way with operations by sea in peace or war. Chosen at random, but very must to the point, are the following statements by Admiral Hayes:

How the war in Vietnam is to bring peace to that land, and where and when, all lies in the unforeseeable future. But two things seem certain; the heavy burden will fall on the land forces, and to help them bear it, humble merchant ships bring their many needs across 7,000 miles of ocean. Where are these ships to come from?

On July 13 the Military Sea Transport Service, through the Maritime Administration, notified American steamship lines that 54 cargo vessels were needed immediately to load backed-up cargo for Vietnam at the ports of Baltimore, Norfolk, New Orleans, Beaumont, and Savannah. Of these, 28 were to come from subsidized lines, the rest to be Victory types from the reserve fleet.

The number of ships in that call, certain to be the first of many, is about one-tenth of that of the present U.S.-flag dry-cargo fleet. The call came at a time when more than a hundred of these vessels were tied up on strike; and when the shortage of licensed officers, especially engineers, is acute.

These indications of the sad state of the U.S. shipping complex, on which combat operations in Vietnam must depend for support, should be of grave concern to the U.S. Army. This state of affairs is the more serious, because, as has been noted, it is largely unrecognized.

The stark fact is that we do not have now under our own flag the shipping necessary to carry on a major overseas campaign. A merchant marine has been described as a fourth arm of defense and a right arm of seapower. The U.S. Army may be the first to learn we really have no seapower despite a nuclear carrier and some Polaris submarines. Without the right arm we will have to depend on foreign shipping, and for this we will pay heavily. The heaviest payments, moreover, will come from loss of freedom of action. Already we dare not blockade North Vietnam ports for fear of straining relations with our maritime friends.

Much is heard these days about air movement of troops. Although combat airlift to Vietnam, at this writing, has been limited to one battalion, this form of military transport is bound to increase. But the giant jet aircraft that will do this work is a voracious consumer of fuel which must be transported to overseas terminals for the return flight. Airlift, instead of easing the shipping problem, will augment it in our most vulnerable area—the tanker fleet. The world supply of tankers now exceeds the demand, but there is virtually none of this type in the U.S. reserve fleet.

Support for 500,000 men in Korea, half of them Americans, required each day 20,000 tons of supplies and 125,000 barrels of petroleum products, or two fully loaded dry cargo ships and one tanker. This daily supply required 350 ships in the transpacific pipeline. Another 250 ships were needed in the western Pacific for troop movements and support from Japan.

Where are ships in such numbers to come from today? A few will be taken from the mothballed reserve fleet; a greater number will come from the only segment of the U.S. merchant marine in a fair state of health; the approximately 300 ships of the subsidized liner fleet engaged in foreign trade, of which only 120 have been built since World War II. When these vessels are withdrawn from their established routes, maritime nations like Great Britain, Norway and Greece will quickly move in to capture this last vestige of our export trade.

In addition to a want of ships, there is an even greater shortage of merchant seamen, especially licensed officers. Our peacetime marine has been declining at the rate of 10 percent a year but the supply of officers is declining even faster, more than 1,200 leaving the vocation each year with only 700 replacements from all sources.

The merchant marine today is the Achilles' heel of our Nation's greatness. Americans, however, are not a sea-minded people, and this fact of life does not disturb them. When they think of their merchant marine at all, it is with a feeling of annoyance at its apparently unsolvable problems. Our statesmen give evidence of not fully comprehending the Nation's need for seapower, and the naval profession has certainly not tried hard to make it understandable to them.

The American people must be awakened to the imminent peril that want of a fourth arm of defense poses to our national security and way of life.

Commemoration of Christopher Columbus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL J. KREBS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. KREBS. Mr. Speaker, on this day set aside for honoring Christopher Columbus an uproar comparable to a small-scale volcanic eruption has been recorded in my congressional district. Three days ago, discovery of a medieval map was publicized by Yale University in an unconvincing effort to credit someone other than Christopher Columbus with the earliest discovery of America. I submit that the disclosure is unconvincing because it served only to focus increased attention and fervor on today's ceremonies honoring the navigator who will continue to be recognized as America's discoverer long after any of his detractors, scholarly or otherwise, are forgotten.

I pick no quarrel with any non-Columbus claimants to the discovery of America, but I do take these few minutes to remind our House Members that Columbus undertook and completed at least four voyages to our great shores. Whether they were the first or not, let the quest for proof go on. But for today, I join my Columbus-admiring constituents in shouting, with proper dialect, "Viva Cristoforo Colombo."

What Kind of a Nut Is He?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, from time to time, citizens who are fed up with the general erosion of ideals and principles which made America the great Nation she is, express themselves through the written word, rebelling against these chippings at the cornerstone of democracy.

Such citizens are Mr. and Mrs. Russell R. Towers, of Vero Beach, Fla., in my congressional district.

Mr. and Mrs. Towers have been kind enough to bring to my attention a short message which shines brilliantly in its simplicity and its clarity.

This message should be made a part of the RECORD for the benefit of other concerned Americans.

I include the following from a fine newspaper in my congressional district, the Vero Beach, Fla., Press Journal, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

WHAT KIND OF A NUT IS HE?

He wants to run his own business.
He wants to select his own doctor.
He wants to make his own bargains.
He wants to buy his own insurance.
He wants to select his own reading matter.
He wants to provide for his own old age.
He wants to make his own contracts.
He wants to select his own charities.
He wants to educate his children as he wishes.
He wants to make his own investments.
He wants to select his own friends.
He wants to provide his own recreation.
He wants to compete freely in the marketplace.
He wants to grow by his own efforts.
He wants to profit from his own errors.
He wants to take part in the competition of ideas.
He wants to be a man of goodwill.

What kind of a nut is he? He's an American, that's what kind.

Aren't you glad you are, too? And don't you wonder why so many of our fellow-Americans are trying so hard to destroy the kind of life that has made us the aim and the envy of every other people on earth?

The question is: What kind of nuts are they?

How Soil and Water Conservation Affects My Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, recently one of the young men from the Seventh Iowa Congressional District was awarded first place in the regional soil conservation speech contest. This speech, entitled "How Soil and Water Conservation Affects My Future," reflects the creative thinking that is going on in the minds of our young people. I feel this presentation is worthy enough to call to the attention of my colleagues.

The speech follows:

HOW SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION AFFECTS MY FUTURE

(By Eddie Wiederstein)

And God said, "Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed and the fruit tree yielding fruit after its kind whose seed is in itself, upon the earth, and it was so." This was the beginning of agriculture and so, for countless ages, the destiny of man was tied to the soil.

When the pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock in 1620, the area which makes up the first 48 States had about 800,000 Indians and 1,904 million acres of land. In this Indian paradise, where the braves hunted, fished, and fought, they had a very precious possession—that was 2,400 acres of land for every man, woman, and child in the Indian tribes. At the beginning of the 18th century we had 5 million people and 400 acres of land per person. With our 190 million people today the area per person is only 10 acres, and 3 million people are being added every year. With our population growing the way it is, by the end of the century we will be down to an average of 5 acres per person. These population figures indicate that if our people are to continue to have three square meals a day, we will have to increase production at least 50 percent. Two ways to approach this problem are birth control—or produce more food.

The acre is a very elastic unit. Better farming and research are making it bigger every year. We have 62 million more people today than 35 years ago, and yet people eat better today from that same amount of cropland.

Dr. Browning of the Iowa State University stated recently that the use of water for agriculture, industry, and recreation will triple by the end of the century. If we, the people of America are to remain in a land of plenty, we must conserve our main resources—soil and water.

Have you stood on the bank of a stream after a heavy rain and noticed how the water is colored? It's dark because soil is mixed with the water. Since white men began cultivating Iowa soils, about 100 years ago, billions of tons of soil have been carried away by water. We live in a State that is primarily a farming State. Nearly three-fourths of the total area of Iowa is cultivated cropland. Much of Iowa's prosperity depends upon the production of good crops. This in turn depends upon the productivity of the soil. So soil conservation is important to all of us.

Water—Why is it so important that we conserve it for crop use? Water is as vital to crops as blood is to the human body. One of the main contributing factors for our high crop yields of the past several years has been the abundance of moisture in the subsoil and rain during the growing season. Moisture is the most important factor affecting crop yield. The moisture used to produce a crop may come from rain or from soil moisture stored from previous rains. Did you know it takes 5,000 gallons of water to produce one bushel of corn?

If you take a pail full of water and throw it out fast along the top of the ground, it will wash. But if you pour out the same amount of water slowly, it won't wash away the loose pieces of soil. That's why water that flows fast will wash or erode land more than water that flows slowly. The faster the water flows, the more soil it will take with it. Since the farmer can't do much about the weather, he can't control these factors. As someone said, "Everybody talks about the weather, but nobody does anything about it." There is nothing we can do to change the weather, but we can do a great deal about what rain does to our land.

Plant cover prevents erosion since it helps to stop and hold individual raindrops where they fall. Stopping a raindrop is like trying to catch a miniture bomb. The result of a drop of water falling on bare soil somewhat resembles the action of an exploding bomb. Each raindrop digs a small hole in the ground surface. The loosened soil can then be easily washed away. If the raindrop is to be held where it falls, it must be "dammed up" and stored. To store water on the soil surface, we can make a series of small dams by farming on the contour, strip farming, terracing, using sodded waterways, and farm ponds. These not only help hold the water where it is needed but help keep productive topsoil in place. Runoff water must be made to take a slow undestructive course if erosion is to be prevented. For each inch of topsoil lost the production of corn decreases about 5 bushels per acre. Nearly all erosion takes place when soil is unprotected by vegetation.

Fertility—Why should it be increased and maintained at a high level? Crops and leaching have removed many of the nutrients that were once available. As the general use of fertilizers has increased, so has our average crop yields.

Plant nutrients, like ingredients for a cake, must be in balance. When there is not enough of any one nutrient, crops will suffer. When a certain nutrient is needed, it must be added. Subsoil moisture and management ability should be considered in deciding the amount of fertilizers to apply after a reliable soil test has been taken.

Conservation doesn't cost, it pays. Corn yields average from 5 to 15 bushels per acre more on fields where sound conservation practices are carried out. But this does not mean that conservation farming is simple and easy. A farmer must make plans to fit his individual farm and farm operations. In planning, a farmer must try to do three things: Plan for wise use of all his land, plan to build up and hold productivity of his soil, and prevent soil and water loss. The Soil Conservation Service, Extension Service, and Vocational Agriculture Departments help farmers plan and apply soil conservation and good land management practices.

Conservation means not only higher yields and a better farm, but also greater income for farmers and businessmen, reduced flood damages, better hunting and fishing, and a more productive and beautiful country for us and for future generations. Conservation works for us, for our security, and for the future well-being of those who follow us.

We must decide whether we will be faithful stewards or unworthy servants.

Remember—America is our land. Our soil is our future. Once it is lost, the land, like freedom, can be regained only by bitter struggle.

Consider the future, plan well, then farm wisely.

We must not forget the past, great nations have flourished and then died, not because of their lack of military might, but because they wasted their heritage of rich fertile lands. My future and the Nation's future depends on a fertile and productive soil.

Rail Merger Decried

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM STEED

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, in a letter to the editor of the Washington Post, September 18, Edward Hart expressed thoughts with respect to pending giant mergers in our economy that are worthy of consideration.

The author is consultant to an antimerger group.

The text of his letter follows:

RAIL MERGER DECRIED

In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 9, under the heading "Giant Rail Merger Intelligently Opposed," Representative ALVIN O'KONSKI, Republican, of Wisconsin states in an introduction to a news article he placed in the RECORD that "such proposals (as the merger of the C. & O. with the Norfolk & Western) bring up the question whether the hierarchies of our big corporations are not doing more to socialize our economy than the Communists."

I heard the same idea propounded a quarter of a century ago by that remarkable old nabob Cyrus Eaton in his suite in New York's Biltmore Hotel during the Roosevelt-Willkie campaign.

Time has jaded in my mind the exact quotes, but I remember so well the thrust of Mr. Eaton's conversation and what he said is pertinent to the subject at hand—the merger of the N. & W. and the C. & O.—which comes so close on another proposed merger—the Pennsylvania with the New York Central.

The Cleveland banker said in effect that he supported Roosevelt because he could call less than 10 men on the phone and that these men controlled, although they did not own, more than $50 billion of America's assets, Mr. Eaton confided that he was no longer a young man and that the depression had cut him down to his last $30 or $40 million. He said that he had decided to devote the rest of his days to "educating" this powerful little group of men. He felt that they must show more public responsibility commensurate with their enormous economic power.

I recall clearly that he stated that if those men with such great financial and economic power in America did not learn what Roosevelt knew and what Representative O'KONSKI has so well expressed in the RECORD that it was but a short step from their control of these vast American assets to control by the state.

Mr. Eaton stated flatly that he did not want socialism and he did not think that Roosevelt did either. He added that Roosevelt had saved these men from socialism and yet they did not realize it. Today not only the C. & O. but also the B. & O. are under Mr. Eaton's suzerainty.

If we have but two rail systems—the Penn-Central and the N. & W.-C. & O.—operating in the heartland of America's industrial complex, I would remind those who

seek gigantic mergers such as I have mentioned of Mr. Eaton's remarks of long ago that it is but a short step from their position to state socialism.

EDWART HART.

Bulletin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a most gracious and felicitous letter from Rev. Bradford Gale, D.D., pastor of the United First Parish Church in Quincy, Mass., and close friend of Congressman PHILIP PHILBIN. Reverend Gale is one of the most respected and admired citizens of my district and I would like to commend him for his fine efforts in behalf of the members of his congregation and all with whom he comes in contact. I know my colleagues as well as the thousands of people reading the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will be interested in the activities of this historic church, the final resting place of former Presidents John Adams and John Quincy Adams, and am including the church bulletin for September and October 1965, as follows:

UNITED FIRST PARISH CHURCH IN QUINCY (UNITARIAN), GATHERED 1636

"A Modern Church With Deep Roots"

(BULLETIN FOR SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER 1965)

THE PULPIT—AN INVITATION TO WORSHIP

"Worship is the celebration of the worthful."

September 19: Sermon, "Why Are We So Anxious." Concerning the roots of anxiety in the contemporary world; and the fear of failure and what it does to us.

September 26: Sermon, "My Name Is Zak." What's in a name? In our name?

October 3: Sermon, "Continuing Monkey Trials." A time revisited.

October 10: Sermon, "The Last Adams." A tribute to the thought and writings of the forgotten Adams who was the last of the famous family to worship regularly in our meetinghouse short years ago. At the request of the Unitarian Fellowship in Falmouth, Dr. Gale will preach the same sermon there in the evening.

October 17: Sermon, "A Closer Look at Ecumenics." What is really happening in Rome? Does real ecumenicity mean the attainment of a reunited Christendom or the achievement of the Church Universal?

October 24: Sermon, "Why the Future of United Nations Is a Concern of Religion" Tribute in a significant year of anniversary.

October 31: All Souls Sermon, "Undiscovered Country." Communion Sunday. Science and the new metaphysics. Is all metaphysics pure sentimentality?

What's going on?

September 26, Sunday: Adults for Action will meet in the evening at the church.

October 6, Wednesday: Alliance Board and Fragment Society 10 a.m. at the church.

October 13, Wednesday: Evening alliance dinner and meeting. Mrs. Minot F. Inman will speak on "Doolittle Universalist Home for Aged." Illustrated.

October 19, Tuesday; Monthly meeting of the board of assessors 7:30 p.m.

October 20, Wednesday: Afternoon alliance coffee hour and meeting 1 p.m. and 1:45 p.m. Film entitled "The Swamplands" followed by talk on "Pollution" by Mrs. William E. Huyghe and "Bird Migration" by Mrs. Frederic N. Manley.

October 21: United Nations dinner and meeting 6:30 p.m. Joint meeting with League of Women Voters. Speaker: Louis Lyons of Harvard University and news commentator on channel 2. Subject: "International Cooperation."

October 28, Thursday: Historical Society dinner and meeting 6:30 p.m.

October 28, Thursday: Needlework ingathering with luncheon at 12:30 p.m.

Rummage sale

The Afternoon Alliance will hold their fall sale on October 7 from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. Helpers are needed on Wednesday the 6th as well as Thursday. For rummage pickup call the church office, 773-1290 or Mrs. Donald K. Mackay, 472-0017.

Annual all church fair

The annual all church fair will have a new look in 1965. At a planning meeting at the home of Miss Mary McCrillis it was decided to hold the fair on Saturday, December 4 from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. with a luncheon served at noon. On sale will be jewelry, Christmas novelties and gifts, household articles, food and candy, handcrafted articles, white elephant, knitted goods, and articles of interest to children. The committee hopes for 100 percent participation of the church members and will appreciate any offers of talents or time that may be given to make the fair a success. Entertainment for children will be provided. General chairmen are Mr. and Mrs. Clarence P. Cassidy.

Interchurch course, "Facts of Life and Love" for parents and teens

Our religious education department will be among those sponsoring a series of evening sessions for teens on "Facts of Life and Love" which is the basic text which will be available to parents as well as their youth.

September 29, Wednesday: At Quincy Point Church, preview for parents.

October 10, Sunday, 7 p.m.: Bethany Church, film and group discussion with four medical doctors on "The Physiological Aspects."

October 17, Sunday: Group discussion with social workers and counselors on "The Sociological and Psychological Aspects."

October 24, Sunday: Group discussions with ministers on "The Religious Aspects."

October 27, Wednesday: At Quincy Point Church. Appraisal of the course by parents and leaders.

Hospitality hosts

September 12: Mrs. William C. Edwards and Mrs. Harold R. Fratus.

September 19: Mr. and Mrs. C. Henry Johnson.

September 26: Mr. and Mrs. William W. Leavitt.

October 3: Mrs. Mildred F. Cosimini, Miss A. Louise Stetson.

October 10: Mrs. Richard C. Babson and son, John Babson.

October 17: Mr. and Mrs. Richard K. Patterson.

October 24: Mr. and Mrs. Clarence P. Cassidy.

October 31: Miss Olga Carlson and Miss Mary L. McCrillis.

Mrs. William C. Edwards and Mrs. Allen P. Miller will be hostesses for the social hour following the church service on October 3.

Throughout the month of September, the ushers will be: Harry W. Anderson, Robert A. Crown, William W. Leavitt, and Robert S. Leonard. For the month of October: Edwin L. Curtis, William C. Edwards, Jr., Arthur D. Meister and Thomas F. Wiggin, Jr. On October 24 Lewis N. Curtis will substitute for his son, Edwin L. Curtis. C. Willis Garey will be at the door.

Parish notes

We received word during the summer that the U.S. Department of the Interior, through its National Park Service, has decided to proceed to a formal consideration of this church for possible national recognition by the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings under its theme on architecture. This decision was reached as a result of the recent architectural report made by Mr. Wrenn of NPS currently assigned to the important renovation project at the Adams Mansion. Our church historian, Mr. William C. Edwards, was a considerable help to Mr. Wrenn in organizing the report.

Look for the multiple ad in all the Boston papers Saturday, September 18, on the church page, which will announce our church services along with those of more than 30 Unitarian-Universalist Churches of this area. This is a cooperative project of the Massachusetts Bay District.

We received during the summer a gift of $1,000 from the will of the late Mrs. Frank B. Kenney, who passed away April 11, 1965.

The impressive annual report of the city of Quincy just issued carries an imposing picture of the church belfry on the cover and a brief account of its rebuilding last spring. A total of 714 individuals of the community donated $27,650 to the project. The city report also includes an extensive account of the work of our church historian, who is also city historian, Mr. Edwards, for the Board of Managers of Historic Places. Copies of the city report will be found in the parish house for distribution.

October 12 is annual Open House Day at 25 Beacon Street, Boston, Denominational Headquarters. President Dana M. Greeley extends a cordial invitation to all to become acquainted with our national church leaders and the great work of our fellowship.

All local parishes are asked to give 11 percent of their operating budget to support denominational activity and extension. If we were to meet this obligation, our contribution would be $3,872. Many New England churches do meet this total share.

There is a strong possibility that we will be invited to cooperate with the new field education project of Tufts University for its graduate students in theology at Crane as a part of the university curriculum in training students for the liberal parish ministry. If this eventuates we will be assigned two first-year students in the graduate school of theology to work here in various activities of our parish life.

Dr. Gale will attend an interfaith seminar for clergy on Vietnam October 1 at Boston University; and he will address the annual Quincy Parent-Teachers Conference on Education at Atlantic Junior High School October 9 on "New Federal Money and Its Implications."

About 75 persons attended the simple Albert Schweitzer memorial service in the meetinghouse September 12. Mayor Amelio Della Chiesa and Pastor Hult of the Lutheran Church on the Rock, were the community speakers. Dr. Gale officiated.

The Library and Book Shop Committee plans a special display at the first fellowship hour October 3 after church. It will feature the latest Beacon Press publications.

Felicitations

Kenneth Grant Happel, of Weymouth, and Suzanne Eliot Sargent were united in marriage in the meetinghouse September 11, 1965.

Thomas Albert Keto, of Emerald, Wis., and Carla Jean Smith were united in marriage in the meetinghouse September 12, 1965.

Memorial flowers

September 12: Given in loving memory of Mr. George E. DeChene and Mr. Gilman O. Burrell by their wives, Mrs. George E. DeChene and Mrs. Gilman O. Burrell.

September 19: Given by Mrs. Eric C. Patch in loving memory of her husband, Mr. Eric C. Patch.

September 26: Given by the Florence Faxon Fund in memory of Mrs. Annie Faxon and Mr. Harold Faxon.

October 3: Given in memoriam by Mr. and Mrs. C. Henry Johnson and Miss Norma M. Johnson.

October 10: Given by Mr. and Mrs. Harry W. Anderson in loving memory of their parents.

October 17: Given by Mr. and Mrs. George H. Bonsall in memoriam.

October 24: Given by the Burgin family in loving memory of Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Burgin.

October 31: Given by Miss Charlotte Ratcliffe in loving memory of her parents.

Church school opens September 26

The prospectus of our parish school will be in your hands by the end of the week. We hope you will share it with friends and neighbors who may be looking for our kind of church school for their children. Mr. Florida leaves us in January so he and Virginia McDermott are codirecting the school for the first half year. Mrs. McDermott will become director when Mr. Florida leaves.

We need at least two more volunteer teachers.

Opening day schedule—September 26:

Reception to parents and pupils by the church school committee: 10 a.m.

Class orientation—preschool through high school: 10:30 a.m.

Religious education committee

Mrs. Russell Spalding, chairman; Mrs. Carol Cahill, Mrs. William Berchen, Mrs. Lawrence Guppy, Mrs. Richard Berger, Mrs. Edmund Bregoli, Mr. William C. Edwards, Jr., Mr. Robert Florida, ex-officio, Mrs. Joseph McDermott, ex-officio, Dr. Bradford E. Gale, ex-officio.

The charm of a star

(Star Island has done this to Unitarians for generations. Ginny McDermott was our delegate to the Religious Education Institute, and the following resulted from a group experience in creative worship Ginny led.)

"It was whole out there in time, for me;
"When the sun shadows were short.
"Even the rocks seemed really one
all around me
below me
above me.
"The low tided seaweed, one amorphous mass—
even the gull
on his spindly legs
feasting on clam.
"And the water hugging it all.
"And the water hugging it all.
"I climbed the rocks with determined gait
"Straining till I reached that one
my heart thought right.
"I paused, stood straight—
"Why am I here?
"I sat down on this granite throne and sat straight.
"Breathing, touching, smelling, hearing, viewing, and being
"Majesty of it all.
"And then I chuckled;
"For a moment it seemed as though
"I was the center of it all."

—*Virginia McDermott.*

FROM THE ANNUAL VERMONT SERMON "CAROLS IN THE SKY" (A MEDITATION)

"Flee as a bird to your mountain
For a bird of the air shall carry your voice,
And that which hath wings shall tell the matter."—Old Testament.

There is a seeing and a telling far beyond that of the mind with its preoccupation with the outwardly real and obvious. This has been the secret of religion through the ages—a dangerous secret. Out of bounds it is a kind of insanity, I suspect. But within the controls of mental discipline, verification, and a healthy skepticism, its extended insights are the jewels of the spirit. This is the wisdom that the poet and the mystic add to life. "How the seasons blend," writes Updike, "So seeming still, summer is fettered to a solar will—yet plans for nests are hatching when the northern nation looks white to men."

This is awareness far beyond philosophy. Even Henry Miller whom no one could ever accuse of being a sentimentalist, at least in the Victorian sense, can say, "I know that everything underneath this mess is marvelous. I'm sure of it. We're all trying to grind lenses. Someday the lens is going to be perfect. And then we're all going to see clearly what a staggering, wonderful, beautiful world this really is. The mind sees only what it is told. But when you have an inspiration, your mind takes a vacation, and you turn it over to an unknowable power that takes possession of you and things happen." Is this a grand sense, or nonsense and madness? Well, who can say? All we know is that we don't believe in God because we want rewards for a superficial kind of righteousness. We want to be righteous because we can't be happy any other way—God or not—and it's only then that we come to know Him. Vermont always intoxicates me with this kind of spiritual LSD. It gives me hallucinations. Yet when you "open up" in this sense, and become truly bold and honest, throw away all artificialities, and retaste the wild, exotic morn of nature, and look about you just for the pleasure of looking. Then you hear voices and read a language which was just "Greek" to you before.

No life is complete without moments like these. And this is the value of a worship experience like this which is our mountain in the heart of the busy city."—BEG.

ONE WAY OR ANOTHER

John Donne (1573): "God, who, when He could not get into me, by standing, and knocking, by His ordinary means of entering, by His word, His mercies, hath applied His judgments, and shaked the house, this body, with agues and palsies, and set this house on fire, with fevers and calentures, and frightened the master of the house, my soul, with heavy apprehensions, and so made entrance into me."

Clarence R. Skinner: "Religion is not necessarily good. It may be bigoted, superstitious, reactionary and even cruel. On the other hand it may be broad, rational, progressive and merciful. The latter kind is the world's most precious possession. The world is in desperate need of the right kind of religion. It is of the utmost importance that we help to create it."

Henry Miller: "The creative life is 'Ascension'—passing beyond oneself."

Adlai Stevenson: "What counts now is not just what we are against, but what we are for. Who leads us is less important than what leads us—what convictions, what courage, what faith—win or lose. A man doesn't save a century or a civilization, but a militant group wedded to a principle, can."

Henry Miller: "Knowledge without action leads to sterility. The great ones do not set up offices, charge fees, give lectures, or write books. To be sick, to be neurotic, is to ask for guarantees. We carry Heaven and Hell with us; we are the cosmogonic builders. We have choice—and all creation is our range. The most effective propaganda for truth is the force of personal example."

"The inherent potential in every man for good is consistent with the hard facts of psychology. The continuing failure of traditional penal methods is due to a negative philosophy of deterrence."

Let's Have Health Centers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I want to bring to the attention of my colleagues a very commendable editorial by the eminent columnist, Allan Keller, which appeared in the New York World-Telegram of October 11.

This legislation was introduced by Chairman OREN HARRIS of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on January 19, 1965. I was happy to support the legislation as a member of the committee as well as to vote for it on the floor of the House.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the editorial:

LET'S HAVE HEALTH CENTERS

(By Allan Keller)

At second glance, the pronouncement of the Harvard doctors decrying President Johnson's proposed centers for stroke, heart disease, and cancer is dangerously close to being the most callous statement I've read in a long time.

When I first saw the words they jolted me, but a layman is so conditioned to accepting the advice of medical men I let them lie doggo for a few days. But I found myself whirling them around in my brain at odd moments when not otherwise busy. They just don't sound right.

Just because a committee of old Crimson physicians says 72 percent of heart disease deaths, 55 percent of cancer deaths and 80 percent of stroke deaths occur after age 65 and that the L.B.J.-promoted centers would not measurably decrease the death rate is no reason to swallow their opinion.

I'd hate like the deuce to be lifted from an ambulance and put in a bed they were supervising. They'd probably put my age, medical infirmity, and perhaps my income through an IBM machine to see if it was worth while to operate.

To write off 28 percent of heart deaths, 45 percent of cancer deaths and 20 percent of stroke deaths is carrying statistics too far for my liking.

Of course, the real point here is that the United States is big enough and rich enough to have guns and butter, or medical centers for the young and old both. We've put through the laws for more social security which will give us a leg up on the cost of the new centers. What doesn't come from that source can come from Government sources now wasted on reckless projects and from private foundations now siphoning a considerable portion of their funds into zany programs abroad.

We are a very lucky nation. We don't have to say it's either the young or the old. It can be both and I don't want a bunch of doctors—no matter how able—to issue Schlessinger-type statements that papa knows best who is going to be helped and who isn't.

In a catastrophe, such as an explosion where hundreds are injured, physicians must decide instantaneously which victims can be saved and which are beyond succor. To spend time on the latter at the expense of the former would be foolish. But we don't have this sort of devil's choice with the L.B.J. centers.

"Postponement of premature death is the crucial matter," says the Harvard medical team. Of course it is. The life of a man in

his twenties or thirties is certainly worth more to society than that of one in his sixties or seventies.

Under medicare we'll have to pay for the care of those beyond 65 who can't afford it and many who can. That's bad enough, in one way, because it means a breakdown of family loyalties and responsibilities. But it is worse to think we are going to have so many old people who may be crippled and damaged by the three chief killers of our times who might—with more study and experimentation in the laboratories—be not only old but hale and hearty.

What a magnificent outlook it would be if, as a result of the work of these proposed centers, we would seldom hear old people pray to die. We all know there is no way to cheat the old fellow with the scythe forever, but I would hate to have it on my conscience that I sloughed off the rights of the aged in a country as rich and warm-hearted as ours.

Let us have new pediatric centers, new institutions for young mothers and all the other places where the young in years can be insured a better chance. But let us not return to the ways of the Indians and send our aged out into the desert with a sack of meal to die alone.

Labor Attorney Raps Martin King

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

SAY IT STRAIGHT—LABOR ATTORNEY RAPS MARTIN KING

(By Victor Lasky)

NEW YORK.—Louis Waldman, a leading labor attorney, has sharply criticized Dr. Martin Luther King for advocating civil disobedience as a means of combating "unjust laws." He charged that the civil rights leader's so-called nonviolent technique actually leads to violence by provoking violence.

Waldman, long a supporter of civil rights for Negroes, voiced his views in an article published in the New York State Bar Association Journal. The article was in response to a speech before New York lawyers in which Dr. King had outlined his program for civil disobedience as a means of achieving not only civil rights but to remedy all injustices.

Dr. King was asked whether he thought "there is a right to disobey an unjust law" in those places "where the Negroes actually have the right to vote." This was his answer:

"There may be a community where Negroes have the right to vote, but there are still unjust laws in that community. There may be unjust laws in a community where people in large numbers are voting, and I think wherever unjust laws exist people on the basis of consciences have a right to disobey the laws."

According to Louis Waldman: "If this philosophy were accepted and carried out by the 20 million American Negroes, it would be enough to disorganize our entire society and produce an intolerable chaos and a denial of individual liberty to every other American * * * the consequences of Dr. King's program, if allowed to continue, would be disastrous to our Nation."

Waldman concluded:

"Whether Dr. King knows it or not, or wills it or not, the policy of perpetual crisis, or provoking 'tensions,' as he calls it, and of civil disobedience, are disastrous to the Negro people themselves, to civil liberties and to constitutional government. Such a policy flies in the teeth of the very purpose of our Constitution, which is clearly stated in the preamble to be, among other things, to insure domestic tranquility.

"It is time that the organized bar is heard on this question. It is time that we tell Dr. King and his devotees that the rule of law will and must prevail, that violators of the law, however lofty their aims or position in society, are not above the law. Correction of injustices by intimidation, by extra-legal means, or inspired by fear of violence cannot longer be continued."

Consumers Get a Break

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. HATHAWAY

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, the excise tax cut is having the anticipated good effect on the Nation's economy.

A special report by the Council of Economic Advisers to President Johnson shows that American industry and business were fair with the public in handling of the excise tax cut which went into effect last July.

The Lewiston, Maine, Sun reports:

It is to the full credit of the major part of American industry that it chose to cooperate willingly and that the consumers were given a break.

Their editorial will be of general interest and I place it in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Lewiston (Maine) Sun, Sept. 27, 1965]

CONSUMERS GOT A BREAK

A special report by the Council of Economic Advisers to President Johnson shows that American industry and business, by and large, played fairly with the public in the handling of the excise tax cut which went into effect July 1.

The Council has conducted three special surveys of prices and the impact of the excise tax reduction since the latter went into effect. Its latest finding is that 90 percent of the $11.7 billion cut is being passed on to the consumers in the form of lower prices.

It is interesting to note the exceptions: Manufacturers of golfing equipment left the prices unchanged and three quarters of them pocketed the tax cut. Makers of phonograph records passed on about half of the cut. Makers of pens, automatic pencils, and matches did not pass on any of the tax cut to their customers.

Actually, the congressional act which sliced into excise taxes in order to stimulate the economy did not spell out the passing on of the cut in lowered prices. But the President made it clear from the start he had that in mind and expected industry to cooperate.

In a sense, industry had a moral obligation to let their customers benefit, but no legal requirement to do so. It is to the full credit of the major part of American industry that it chose to cooperate willingly and that the consumers were given a break.

The excise tax cut is having the anticipated good effect on the Nation's economy. That will encourage more action in the same direction in January, when Congress considers another portion of the President's program.

The 89th Congress: Building the Great Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNN E. STALBAUM

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an address by my Wisconsin colleague and very good friend, Representative CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, before the ninth annual Democratic Party Jefferson-Jackson-Kennedy Day dinner at Racine, Wis., on Sunday, October 10, 1965.

Congressman ZABLOCKI traced the legislative record of the 89th Congress in its first session and voiced praise for Wisconsin Democrats who gave their complete support and assistance to their representatives.

He told his audience that if the second session is as determined as the first, it will likely rank in history as this country's most productive and significant Congress of all times.

The full text of Representative ZABLOCKI's speech follows:

THE 89TH CONGRESS: BUILDING THE GREAT SOCIETY

(Speech of Hon. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI of Wisconsin, before the ninth annual Democratic Party Jefferson-Jackson-Kennedy Day dinner, Racine, Wis., October 10, 1965)

My friends, it is indeed a pleasure for me to be with you tonight, to celebrate together the origins of the great political party—the Democratic Party—to which we belong.

I want to thank Jim Arena, your Racine County chairman, for his kind invitation to me. It certainly is a privilege to be able to be among so many fine Democrats—and Democratic officeholders.

We all are aware of the outstanding job being done by Pat Lucey as the Lieutenant Governor of our State, and by Bronson La-Follette as attorney general. It is reassuring to all of us to know that men of their caliber are providing leadership for our party in this State.

Although at present an outlander holds the Wisconsin governorship, I am confident that there will be a Democrat sitting in the executive mansion in Madison before very long. And what is more, I think that Democrat is here with us tonight.

I also want to apprise all of you First District Democrats on the job your Congressman, LYNN STALBAUM, is doing in Washington.

Of course, that will come as no surprise to you, since you are aware of the outstanding achievements of LYNN as a Wisconsin State senator. You all know of his broad knowledge of governmental procedures, his expertise in matters of taxation and agriculture, and his leadership of the Democrats in Wisconsin's Legislature.

These amply earned him the opportunity to represent the people of this area in the Congress of the United States.

Although he has been in Washington a relatively short time, Congressman STALBAUM's abilities have become widely recognized in Congress and throughout the Federal Government. He has earned the reputation of being one of the hardest working Members of the House of Representatives.

He has gained the respect and admiration of his fellow members for his dedication to duty in his committee assignment on the House Agriculture Committee. LYNN is considered the top expert on dairy legislation. Just last Friday two of his proposals to aid the dairy industry—so important in our own State—were passed by Congress as amendments to the omnibus farm bill.

Just as we are proud of Congressman STALBAUM and our other Democratic officeholders, we can be proud of our party affiliation.

Our Democratic Party is the Nation's oldest; in fact, it was born almost at the same time as our revered Constitution. The Democratic Party is our Nation's largest—a truly national party, with representatives at all levels of government in every State of the Union.

But most important of all—the Democratic Party is the party of greatness. This greatness is exemplified in the two outstanding Democratic Presidents whom we honor in a special way today: Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson.

Jefferson, as we know, was the great political philosopher. His ideas shaped the democratic form of government which we enjoy today. The principles which he enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and his other writings even today provide an inspiration to those seeking freedom from tyranny.

Andrew Jackson, on the other hand, was a man of action. Through him, the democratic philosophy of Jefferson was brought to fruition. It was Jackson who fulfilled the promise of America, who insured the equality of all our citizens, regardless of wealth or class or occupation.

In our own time, we have seen a similar situation. In our late beloved and martyred President, John F. Kennedy, America had a modern Jefferson. President Kennedy had a vision for our Nation, just as Jefferson had in his time.

President Kennedy expressed his vision in his speeches and—most of all—in the far-sighted legislative programs he proposed. Cut down in the prime of life by the bullet of an assassin, John Kennedy—truly an outstanding world figure—never saw the fulfillment of many of his plans.

Although his loss was a tragic one for our Nation, we indeed are fortunate that his successor is a man of the stature of President Lyndon Baines Johnson.

President Johnson—like Andrew Jackson—is a man of action, a man who has brought to fruition the vision of his predecessor.

All of you may justly have a deep sense of satisfaction for the role you have played in the remarkable Democratic record which has been achieved since 1960.

Thanks to you—and thousands of other Democrats across our land—John Kennedy was elected against what often seemed overwhelming odds.

Thanks to you, President Johnson was elected in 1964 by the largest plurality in American history. Carried into office with him was the largest Democratic Congress since 1966.

The phenomenal record of accomplishment of this administration-congressional team is the first and major result of your support and assistance.

It is on that record that the Great Society is being built. In a sense, every bill we have passed in this 89th Congress has been another hammerblow shaping the dream of the Great Society into solid accomplishment.

Last November, the people of the United States—through their action at the ballot box—indicated their trust in President Johnson and the Democratic Party, and their belief in the Great Society platform and the principles on which it is based.

The time has come to look at the record—to examine how that pact between the American people and the Democratic Party has been fulfilled.

Without any exaggeration, the 89th Congress in its first session passed more far-reaching legislation than any other Congress in recent history.

If the second session proves as fruitful as the first—which appears likely—the 89th Congress may go down in history as the Nation's most productive and significant of all time.

Tonight I would like to review with you briefly some of the many important programs which have been enacted in the past few months.

These programs are aiding people in all walks and stages of life; the elderly, young people, workers, small businessmen, farmers, city dwellers, consumers, and others.

What have we done for older Americans?

The 89th Congress passed a medicare program which—to my mind—is one of the best, most comprehensive and most practical programs ever proposed in this area.

This legislation will aid the more than 19 million men and women in the United States who are over 65.

It will free the lives of these senior citizens from fears that ill health may rob them of the savings of a lifetime. It will help insure that no elderly person—no matter how poor—will languish, suffer, and die without needed medical care.

The same bill which established medicare also provided a 7-percent increase in social security benefits and expanded medical care programs for the blind, disabled and dependent children.

This Congress also enacted into law the Older Americans Act which establishes an Agency on Aging in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and promises to provide $17 million to assist public and private groups develop programs for the aged.

It should be a source of deep satisfaction to you, as it is to me, to know that your Congressman, LYNN STALBAUM, contributed much to both the Medicare and Older Americans Act passage.

This Congress also has enacted programs to assist our young people.

The youth of America is our best hope for a better world tomorrow and is our greatest natural resource. The Congress and the administration, recognizing this, worked together to pass a $1.3 billion elementary and secondary education act.

This program of Federal aid to education truly is historic. It marks a milestone in the progress of our Nation. Because of this new act, more than 5 million educationally deprived children from low-income families throughout the country will be helped.

What is more, all eligible schoolchildren are being assisted regardless of the kind of school—public or parochial—which they attend.

All of us are aware of the problem of our school dropouts. It is a very real, human problem. Almost 1 million young people quit school each year. Another 100,000 of our brightest high school graduates are prevented from attending college because of a lack of facilities and scholarship funds.

Today the dropouts have several programs working for them where they can direct their energies productively. Some 12,000 have enrolled in the Job Corps. Another 200,000 youngsters are participating in Neighborhood Youth Corps projects. And 80,000 more of these eager young citizens are finding new opportunities in the work-study programs.

In the field of higher education, Congress has expanded and improved existing programs designed to provide the university facilities and scholarships so necessary to the full education of our youth.

This Congress also has worked to assist the workingman—and here we are talking about 75 million Americans.

In August, the unemployment rate dropped to a nationwide 7-year low. Put in human terms, more people had jobs—more people knew the security and confidence of having steady work.

And still more jobs are being created. To help in this task the Economic Development Administration has been established. This new agency is charged with the responsibility of aiding the development of new jobs and new industries in economically distressed communities.

Another one-half million Americans will have the opportunity to be retrained in new and needed job skills through the extension and expansion of the Manpower Development and Training Act. More than three-fourths of those trained will find full-time work in their new specialty.

The businessman also has fared well. The monetary fiscal policies of the administration have sustained the longest peacetime economic expansion in history. The American economy is now in its 56th month of uninterrupted expansion.

The small businessman will benefit from two bills enacted this year which will provide $250 million in small business loans. This imposing amount will be broken down into many small—but important—sums to help individual small businessmen get ahead with their private enterprises.

Both the consumer and the retailer have benefited from the excise tax repeal accomplished by the 89th Congress. For the consumer the repeal has meant that he pays less for hundreds of items, including automobiles, luggage, gift items and telephone calls. For the retailer the repeal means less bookwork and more business.

And what about the people who live in our cities? There are 135 million of them now—70 percent of our population. In 50 years that number is expected to more than double to 320 million Americans living in urban areas.

This rapid growth of our cities is causing—and will continue to cause—serious problems in housing, education, transportation and family life.

One program to handle part of our urban difficulties was signed into law in August—the Omnibus Housing law. It provides an expanded housing program, including rent supplements for low income families, housing rehabilitation grants and public housing for the handicapped.

Another important step was the creation of a new Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development which will coordinate and administer nationwide Federal programs of physical improvement of our urban areas.

For the farmers there is the omnibus farm bill which will result in increased income for the individual American farmer and still lead to reduced Government costs in running the program. One provision of that bill should be of particular interest to all of you because it was sponsored by your Congressman, LYNN STALBAUM.

It provides that the Agriculture Department may buy dairy products on the open market for such Federal programs as the school lunch program and food for peace when surplus stocks are not sufficient to meet the demands. This amendment could be an important factor in providing adequate income to our dairy farmers.

The list of those who have benefited goes on and on. Our Negro citizens have benefited. Women have benefited. Indians, migrant workers, and immigrants have benefited.

The fact is—my fellow Democrats—that all Americans have benefited from the work of the 89th Congress.

I am proud and grateful—just as Congressman STALBAUM is proud and grateful—to have had the opportunity to serve in this historic 89th Congress.

This Congress has moved with speed on programs:

To improve our educational programs;

To fight poverty and its causes;

And to provide equal oportunity for all our citizens.

This Congress has taken steps:

To develop our natural resources to the benefit of all America;

To protect the natural beauty of this bright and fair land;

And to prevent the increase in crime.

Further, this Congress has worked:

To master the new frontier of space;

To assist the free people of the world attain peaceful progress;

And—most important—to keep our Nation's defense strong against potential aggressors.

That, my friends is the outstanding record of the 89th Congress and the Johnson administration in fulfilling the trust placed with them last November by the people of the United States.

This Democratic success is reflected in the sorry state of the Republican Party.

They have a candidate for mayor of New York who will not run as a Republican.

They have an excellent candidate for Governor of California—Senator KUCHEL—but he would not run at all, and what is more he criticizes his State party for Birchite influences.

They have only one active potential candidate for the Presidential office. His name is Richard Nixon. If you try hard, you may remember him.

Further, the Republicans can attack our party and our President only on peripheral issues. They cannot attack us on basic principles, because on those we Democrats and the great majority of Americans are agreed.

They cannot attack us on our legislation, because the measures enacted are needed and sound.

They cannot attack our success because it reflects the kind of dynamic and dedicated Congress which is in the highest and best tradition of our American system.

That success—our Democratic success—could not have been accomplished without your support. You are partners in the progress of this Nation.

The Democratic Party needs your help—the kind of help you are giving by being here tonight and by going out tomorrow to aid our cause in our State of Wisconsin, in this community, in your precinct.

Now is the time to move on. To continue our march toward the promise of America—the promise so clearly seen by Presidents Jefferson and Jackson, Roosevelt and Truman, Kennedy and Johnson.

Firm in the principles of our party's great heritage, and heartened by our contemporary success, let us—all together—continue to work for a stronger and a better America.

That CIA Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, my hometown daily newspaper, the Watertown, Wis., Daily Times, last week carried an editorial dealing with the CIA report that it was the target of the Russian CIA counterpart, the KGB. The Times is to be complimented for this editorial which admirably speaks for itself. Without further comment, I commend it to you for your consideration.

THAT CIA REPORT

Maybe it is true, as the Central Intelligence Agency complains in a report being circulated among a few Members of Congress, that the Soviet Union has mounted a propaganda campaign against the CIA and also the Federal Bureau of Investigation. One might go so far as to say that probably it is true. What could be more natural than for Moscow to try to damage U.S. intelligence agencies in every possible way?

Maybe it is true, indeed very likely it is true, that CIA intelligence has come up with the right dope—that the objective of this relentless campaign headed by the KGB, Russia's State Security Service, "is to achieve the destruction, breakup and neutralization of CIA." In the present world climate, with open hostility between our country and Russia the order of the day, it would be most surprising if the KGB were not thus engaged. Doubtless the CIA has a few counterirons in the fire.

Thus it strikes us that maybe something else is true. Maybe the Central Intelligence Agency's purpose in circulating this "secret" report—which has been so conveniently leaked to the press—is not solely to inform a few Members of Congress. Maybe the CIA also seeks to undermine and discredit Americans who have been so bold as to suggest that the CIA has on occasion behaved clumsily abroad and has played an unwarranted role in foreign policy manipulations. The Bay of Pigs fiasco and the recently disclosed effort to bribe a high Malaysian public official are only a couple of numerous cases in point.

Maybe it is true that the CIA is using this report, which in itself is quite plausible, to discourage creation of the joint congressional "watchdog" committee so often proposed. Perhaps the CIA has provided one more good reason for establishing just such a committee.

Workers for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the President has frequently said that the most important word in the English language is that five-letter word—peace.

Now that he has met with Pope Paul VI, the two of them have discussed ways and means for the nations to live together in peace—and not in war.

Their meeting occurred in New York on the same day that Pope Paul appeared before the United Nations to issue a plea for world peace.

I call the attention of my colleagues to a recent editorial in the Lebanon, Pa., News which praises the two "workers for peace."

This editorial is typical of the many that have appeared hailing the efforts of such dedicated men to seek peaceful solutions to mankind's problems.

Under unanimous consent I place it in the RECORD:

[From the Lebanon (Pa.) News, Sept. 24, 1965]

WORKERS FOR PEACE

Two of the world's most fervent disciples for peace will confer in New York on October 4. From this historic meeting between Pope Paul VI and President Lyndon B. Johnson it is hoped will evolve some measure of influence or a formula of sorts that will serve to cool the belligerent attitude prevalent in Asia, Europe, and Latin America.

The meeting between the President and the Roman Catholic leader will occur on the same day the Pontiff will appear before the United Nations to issue a plea for world peace.

Deeply concerned with the spreading clouds of war, President Johnson is determined to avoid another involvement in Asia, especially at close quarters with Communist China. Thus, he has said repeatedly, that the United Nations is the proper arena for adjudication of the India-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir. This is not a matter now for unilateral participation. The United States could get hurt in an attempt to mediate a dispute between two of its friends.

A United Nations success in these negotiations, plus the projected visit of Pope Paul, would serve to bolster the sagging influence of the global organization. It would definitely regain some of its former glory if it could convince Red China to keep out of the Kashmir conflict and let the "neighbors" settle their own argument.

Act of Faith

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, Cuba is not the paradise under communism that Fidel Castro promised, or else so many people would not want to seek freedom in this land.

The democracy of America was expressed for all to see when President Johnson announced that this country would offer sanctuary to refugees from that country.

But it was positive action based on faith. The action is being praised editorially by countless newspapers, such as the Chicago Sun-Times, which said the fact that so many Cubans want to leave their homeland "should not be lost on Latin America and other nations of the world." This editorial is extremely timely, and I insert it in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

CUBA: PARADISE LOST

Communist nations do not, as a rule, readily relinquish any of their subjects to the free world. East Berlin built the infamous Berlin wall to keep its citizens from fleeing to the West. Russia's restrictions on travel abroad by its citizens are well known. Fidel Castro's offer to allow Cubans to emigrate to the United States is, therefore, significant.

The Cuban economy has been going steadily downhill under communism. There is hunger in Cuba. The shortage of spare parts for industry and transportation is so great that much necessary industry is stand-

ing idle and public transporation is almost a forgotten relic of the past. Ernesto (Che) Guevara, Castro's onetime right-hand man and an avowed Communist, undertook to industrialize and diversify the Cuban economy. He failed. Guevara has now disappeared.

It is estimated that as many as 50,000 Cubans will apply for emigration to the United States. Castro may be trying to ease some of his economic burdens by getting rid of the sick, the aged, and the nonproductive. It may be that he hopes to infiltrate some subversives to create trouble among the U.S. minority groups. These are the burdens and risks the United States must accept as the advocate of freedom for all men everywhere.

Cuba is not the paradise under communism Castro and Russia promised. That is a lesson that should not be lost on Latin America and other nations of the world.

Columbus Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES M. HANLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, nearly five centuries ago, a man named Columbus stood on the shores of Portugal and looked westward onto the seas. From the way the winds blew across the ridge, from the seasonal steadiness of them and the direction, this man conjectured that there must be land beyond the winds. It was a wild thought, a bold dream, and yet this slim adventurer was willing to follow his convictions, a high gamble. If he followed his bold plan, he would face unknown hazards struggling with nature. That struggle was not the only struggle he would have to face. As it is with most men with unorthodox ideas, he would have to convince men that his theory was correct—that there would be land beyond rather than the vastness of an infinite ocean. Yet, on a perilous horizon, America took shape and was realized.

Today as we commemorate the founding of America by the young courageous adventurer, let us remember that there are numerous challenges unmet, but also that we are adventurers. New challenges demand new solutions. We have inherited from our ancestors the ability to adjust, to change and to meet whatever challenge arises, and we shall continue to do so. Even though, we as a nation have made progress in the fields of human relations and understanding, social reform, science and technology, we still must explore further and probe deeper into these areas.

Thus it is fitting that on this day, we pledge to embark on a journey with faith and sincerity examining our innermost selves. If the free world is to be saved from communism, if we are to have universal brotherhood, then we must have a standard of personal dignity and integrity to emulate. Let us set our compasses and link the old traditions with a new understanding. Let us set sail today and we too shall be Columbuses. We are searching for brotherhood—aboard the ship of understanding. If this ship is to survive, its foundation must be strong, must not crumble in the waves of human pride, the currents of tradition, the winds of strife and misunderstanding. Let us continue our heritage of boldness.

The True "Advancement of Colored People": How Is It To Be Accomplished?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that Mrs. Margaret Harris Amsler has made a real contribution to the question of the advancement of our colored people. Mrs. Amsler is one of the Baylor University's most distinguished professors. She is, in fact a vertiable child of the university, having been born and reared practically on the campus—her family home being the present Home Economics Building. Her parents, the late Judge and Mrs. Nat Harris, were both Baylor graduates. In her own words, she has been "intimately connected with Baylor for 50 years"—as faculty child, student, and teacher.

Mr. Amsler holds the A.B. and LL.B. degrees from Baylor and a master's from Wellesley College. She is a former representative to the Texas Legislature and is one of seven attorneys appointed by the legislature to revise the Texas statutes. She has served 15 years on the committee that revised the State corporation code and has been its chairman for the past 8 years. She was a member of the committee which sponsored a uniform commercial code for the State, which was adopted at the last session of the legislature. In 1961 she received the State Bar of Texas "Presidents' Award" for "most outstanding service to the legal profession."

She is a person well qualified by intellectual endowment, education, and experience to speak as a representative voice of Baylor University on a subject of vital importance to today's society.

Mrs. Amsler's article, "The True 'Advancement of Colored People'; How Is It To Be Accomplished?" as published in the Baylor Line, follows:

THE TRUE "ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE": HOW IS IT TO BE ACCOMPLISHED?

(By Margaret Harris Amsler, professor of law, Baylor School of Law)

(NOTE.—The author tackles the question with the understanding and concern of a Southerner; the sympathy and compassion of a woman; the wisdom and perception of a scholar; and the trenchancy and astuteness of a lawyer.)

As most of the Baylor family know, the university campus adjoins a Negro community, and those of us who have spent our lives here have enjoyed a close association, based upon mutual respect and affection, with our Negro neighbors. For this reason, it is difficult for us to regard the Negro as a cause; to us he is an individual. Nowadays, we and our Negro friends are having to reassure each other from time to time that our mutual regard continues and that we are not participating in the attempt to start a war between the races.

One of the things that disturbs us is that the leadership of the civil rights movement consistently low-rates the Negro. They completely ignore the tremendous advances which the Negro has made and is making in the South. They would have one believe that our 20th-century Negro is either an Uncle Tom or a Topsy. They never speak of the extent to which our Negro citizens have achieved self-development in this land of opportunity. Here, the Negro is advancing economically and there now exists a substantial and expanding middle class. Here, the Negro is entering and winning acceptance in the professions—teaching, medicine, and the law—on the basis of his individual qualifications and not because he is a Negro. Here, the Negro is recognizing his need to take advantage of every educational opportunity and Negro school attendance in the South is proportionately higher and longer than in the North. Viewers of the televised marches must have seen that the Negro marchers were well fed and well clothed. What the viewers could not see was that most of the Negroes were not marching because they know that definance of the law, noise, violence, and hatred will accomplish no useful purpose.

THE VICIOUS CIRCLE OF POVERTY, ILLITERACY, CRIME

With us, however, the fact remains that, as elsewhere in the world wherever there is a concentration of Negroes, they, as a whole, constitute the lowest economic group; they commit a disproportionate amount of crime; they account for a majority of our illiterates; they are the substantial beneficiaries of our welfare programs, public and private. With us, too, poverty, illiteracy, and crime produce and perpetuate each other in a truly vicious circle. I am sure that we can all agree that something must be done to break this chain of cause and effect. It seems to me that the basic disagreement is over the "how" it is to be done.

I submit that it will not be done by an alinement of our people into opposing camps of Negroes and whites. After the Black Muslims have battled the Ku Klux Klan; after the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has taken on the White Citizens Councils; after we have bandaged our wounded and buried our dead, the problem of poverty, illiteracy, and crime will remain, unsolved and untouched. But the divisive effects of these battles will destroy lines of communication and paralyze cooperation and leave us all worse off than we were.

Some of our white citizens seem to feel that the problem can be solved if they make a public confession that it is the guilt of the whites which is responsible for the situation and the air is filled with their cries of "mea culpa." This self-flagellation may serve some peculiar need of the flagellants, but it solves no problems.

MUTUAL ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY

The situation was one into which I was born, just as it is one into which the Negro was born. The Emancipation Proclamation abolished the institution of slavery, but it did not free the Negro and it did not release the whites. The chain of economic dependency continued to bind the Negro and the white together. The Negroes needed jobs and the white people needed their labor to work their farms. In these circumstances, the Negro did not need to be educated and he was not educated; the whites did not have to pay more than a bare subsistence wage and that was the most that was paid. And the pattern of illiteracy and poverty was set. But

history has weakened the chain of economic dependency. In our area, as farming became more and more mechanized, there were fewer jobs for the Negroes. Today, the tenant houses on farms where Negroes used to live stand vacant; the Negroes have moved to towns looking for a way to live. They have gone to Chicago, to New York, to Washington, D.C., and to Waco. To these cities they have brought their poverty and their illiteracy and have found no jobs. And, in these cities, slums spread, crimes increase, and the welfare rolls get longer and longer.

Further, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that many Negroes condemn themselves to hopelessness because of their sexual mores. Too many of them do not regard marriage as a prerequisite to the establishment of a family. Too many of our teenage Negro girls become mothers and begin to raise their children in homes without fathers. These homes are without mothers, too, since these untrained girls must find employment to support themselves and their children. Without adequate parental guidance, these children grow up to repeat the pattern. In a local school recently, out of 21 Negro girls in a graduating class, 9 had, as they express the situation, "gotten caught"; none of them had gotten married.

THE NEGRO MUST CHANGE MORAL ATTITUDES

It is not a solution to this problem, as has been proposed in some of our northern cities, that birth control information be furnished all mothers receiving welfare payments for dependent children. It is no solution to limit the number of children an unmarried mother can receive benefits for; we cannot provide food for a fifth child and permit the sixth one to starve. The Negro must himself change his too casual attitude toward procreation. If the NAACP could accomplish this change among the colored people, the advancement of colored people would be accelerated.

A SONG OF HATE

Some of our Negroes feel that massing together and marching in the streets will solve their problems. Even though these marches may be led by ministers and priests and rabbis, it is nevertheless true that "We Shall Overcome" is not a song of brotherly love and fellowship; it is a song of hate. These mass marchers may frighten our politicians into hasty and unwise legislation; but the basic problems remain. Some of our Negroes feel that they can become educated, employed, and self-respecting by staging lying-in or sitting-in demonstrations. It might be noted in passing that the legality of these demonstrations depends entirely on geography. In New York and in Washington, D.C., lie-ins and sit-ins are unceremoniously picked up and placed in the paddy wagon and hauled off to jail; in the South their rights are protected by armed marshals and militia.

Some Negro leaders claim that universal Negro suffrage is the solution to their problems and that the Negroes' right to vote is such a sacred right that it must not be abridged by any qualification of responsibility. At the risk of being branded as a blasphemer, may I suggest that such a right to vote will not solve the problem. In areas where Negroes are concentrated, their group constitutes a disproportionate burden on the local, State, and National taxing program; at present, and for the foreseeable future, Negroes are tax consumers to a greater degree than they are taxpayers. If, in local areas, the tax consumers elect the taxing authorities, the tax assessors, and the tax collectors, the taxpayers will be forced to move out, and we will end up with another Harlem or another Washington, D.C.

BLOCK VOTE IS NOT DEMOCRACY

In our area, where Negroes are free to vote without any literacy test, they vote as a block. In one of our local Negro precincts in the last election, the vote was 871 to 1. A voter who cannot read the ballot, cannot vote his independent conviction; he has to vote as someone tells him. And that someone is getting to vote many time more than the one-man, one-vote formula fixed by the U.S. Supreme Court. And this block vote is not cast for the best qualified candidate; it is cast for the candidate who promises "to put the jam on the lower shelf where the little man can reach it." It would seem that a literacy test to assure that the voter could read and understand his ballot is a minimal qualification. If, as has been charged, the test is unfairly administered, the attack should be waged in the courts against the unfair administration. It may be a propos to note that the Senate of the United States, in proposing the abolition of all literacy tests, has felt it necessary to include provisions for stiff penalties for the purchase of votes.

NO NATIVE CIVILIZATIONS

The Negro, in his native habitat, has never developed a civilization of his own; civilization has been thrust upon him by colonial conquests or he has been forcibly removed from his home and pushed into the middle of an alien culture. He has had little opportunity to develop a responsible self-government, not in the Congo, not in Ghana, not in Haiti, not anywhere. His best opportunity to participate in responsible self-government is in our country, but here he should participate as one of us, not as a member of an estranged group seeking special privileges. It is not the lot of the Negro to take and of the white to give; it is the lot of all of us to earn.

We are also disturbed by the call to anarchy issued by the civil rights leadership. We have believed that in this country we have a government of laws and that it is the duty of citizens to obey those laws. These laws, imperfect as they may be, are, under our system, subject to being changed in our courts and in our legislatures. If they can be changed in the streets, then we simply have no law. If every citizen is in truth free to determine what laws he will follow and is under the compulsion of his conscience to disobey laws which that convenient little organ tells him are unjust, then we have no legal system. Under our system, the rights of one man end at precisely the point where the rights of the other man begin. But when every man has the power to define his own rights, then no man has any rights.

Recognizing that Negroes constitute a large number of our unemployed, the Federal Government has adopted a program of equalizing job opportunities in Federal construction. Under this program a contractor is required to show that he is employing his established "quota" of Negroes on any Government job. It does not matter that there may be no Negroes qualified to perform the job. So, the contractor puts the required number of Negroes on his payroll, even though they are unable to do the job. It is one thing to say that a Negro is not to be employed solely because of race; it is another thing to say that he must be employed solely because of race. Compulsory inclusion because of race is as great an evil as compulsory exclusion because of race; compulsion destroys freedom for both the white and the black. And if he is given a job only because he is a Negro, when that job is over, he will be right back where he started—unemployed and untrained.

Many of our national labor leaders would accomplish more good for Negroes if they would give up marching in the streets with them and, instead, permit them to join the union and participate in its training programs.

VOCATIONAL AND SPECIAL TRAINING NEEDED

In short, there are no swift and simple solutions to the problem. The solution has to be found in education, and education is a slow and often painful process. As a people dedicated to education, we have the responsibility of providing educational opportunity to all our citizens. Equality of educational opportunity is not the same thing as equality of education. It is no opportunity to offer an education as an atomic scientist to a mind incapable of accepting the offer. Our school systems are faced with the need of providing different types of education to their differing students. We must add vocational and special training in increasing amounts to our traditional systems. These programs will cost money and we must be willing to spend what it costs; the failure to provide the necessary funds will be much more expensive. It is cheaper to teach a child than to rehabilitate a convict.

Not all of our children can be teachers or doctors or lawyers or ministers; some of them have to be mechanics and machine operators and waiters and clerks. Whatever their capacities, there should be an educational opportunity available to help them reach their capacities. And then, some way must be found to motivate our children to take advantage of their opportunities. This is a task to which our communities must address themselves, in our homes, in our schools, and in our churches.

We are here together, Negro, white and others; we must live together, we must work together; we must learn together. As Americans—and particularly, as Christians—we must live and work and learn in mutual respect and mutual regard for the rights and needs of each.

Thanks, Chris

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the October 12, 1965, issue of the Washington Daily News:

THANKS, CHRIS

Every year about this time, scholars and other mischiefmakers come up with new evidence that Christopher Columbus didn't really discover America.

Challenging the generally accepted account that Chris was an Italian who sailed for Spain's Queen Isabella and first sighted the New World on October 12, 1492, always makes news.

Over the years Spain, France, Portugal, and Corsica all have disputed Italy's claim on him as a native son. Some have contend he first sighted the New World on October 11—not October 12. A half-baked Russian historian charged a few years back that the New World had been so thoroughly discovered that Chris even had a map of the Antilles before he set sail.

Then there's Leif Erikson: Yale University this week came up with impressive new evidence—a map of Greenland drawn 52 years before Chris embarked—that the Viking sailor had visited the New World in the 11th century. Probably he did—and found Indians who had discovered America before him.

But Chris made four voyages to the New World, got other Europeans in the habit of doing so, and unquestionably started the chain of events that led to our being here in the United States of America.

So congratulations to Leif and all other earlier discoveries of America. But all honor and heartiest thanks are reserved for Chris on Columbus Day.

Big Man Keeps Moving, Praises Tennesseans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, one of the great experiences of democracy is the personal meeting of leadership from communities with leadership in Washington. Such a meeting occurred last week when a number of leaders from the upper Cumberland section of the great Fourth District of Tennessee met with President Johnson and other high Federal officials.

It was a unique and challenging experience for the members of the Upper Cumberland Development Association. And it was a rewarding experience, I am sure, for President Johnson and other officials of the Federal Establishment. As their Representative it was my great pleasure to accompany this fine group of citizens to the White House and participate in these ceremonies and to arrange for them briefings and opportunities for discussions with Federal officials in the Capitol.

The delegation greatly appreciated your kindness and thoughtfulness, Mr. Speaker, in stopping by to chat with them at the Capitol and giving them your informed views on domestic and foreign affairs.

In this connection, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial written by a distinguished editor and journalist, Mr. Coleman Harwell, publisher of the Putnam County Herald, Cookeville, Tenn., and a copy of the Capitol Comments, my newsletter on this subject, believing both of these to be of widespread interest to communities throughout the Nation.

The editorial and newsletter follow:

BIG MAN KEEPS MOVING, PRAISES TENNESSEANS

(By Coleman A. Harwell)

Lyndon B. Johnson has become in his time one of the legendary characters of American history.

When has the opportunity been given to a President of the United States to announce that he is going to have a serious operation under sedation at a certain time at a certain place?

And when has a President announced plans for: (1) His operation, and (2) the manner of his succession, temporary or permanent, according to the need?

More to the point—when has a President greeted a crowd of folks from the hill country in hearty manner, on the eve of such an operation, in a jampacked room with photographers and reporters falling over one another and with a presidential pet (in this case "Him," the Beagle hound) wandering rather aimlessly on his leash, with first one and then another of the President's "hill country" guests, patting the pooch and keeping him close on the presidential heels?

All this took place in the famous Cabinet Room of the White House, which you have probably seen on TV and in newsphotos, and which gives the impression in pictures of spaciousness around the big octagonal table.

Well, you would be surprised, as we were, to discover that it is a pretty small room for the purpose in the White House basement. That is, when you get 35 or so special guests standing on one side, and an equal number of reporters and photographers (some with 3 and 4 cameras about their necks and with complicated wires leading to numerous cameras) standing on the other side, the room is full.

HIGH ON ELLINGTON

That's the way it was Wednesday as the delegation from the Upper Cumberland Development Association gathered for their appointment with the President which had been arranged by former Gov. Buford Ellington and Representative JOE L. EVINS.

In case there was anyone who didn't know that Governor Ellington was one of the most important figures on the Washington scene, this occasion was sufficient to clarify the picture. And this was the case also with respect to Representative JOE L. EVINS.

We should note here, incidentally, that Senators ALBERT GORE and ROSS BASS are also major characters in the esteem of President Johnson, and their importance would have been impressed upon us had it not been for the fact that Senator GORE was back in Carthage for a cattle sale on his great farm in Smith County and that Senator BASS was presiding in the Senate, which gives you a pretty good idea of the fact that the Tennessee delegation is among the most important in Congress and that the President of the United States is no stranger to Tennessee—or, perhaps we should say, Tennessee is no stranger to him.

TENNESSEANS, TEXANS

It always seems to be the case—certainly it should be—that Texans are familiar with Tennessee and that there is no strangeness between us.

This is particularly true of Lyndon B. Johnson. His mentor in Congress was Sam Rayburn. In case you don't remember, L.B.J. does, that Sam Rayburn was a native of Roane County, Tenn., a fact which he recalled as he reminded us of the ties that bind the two States.

He said, "There is a saying that every schoolboy knows that there would not have been a Texas if there had not been a Tennessee."

We hope our youngsters know this and keep it in mind—not in terms of obligation of the people of Texas to those of Tennessee—but to remind us that all our people are closely knit together and that the welfare of one segment of the Nation depends upon that of the other parts of the country.

Speaking personally of President Johnson, we'd say that he never seemed in better form than when he greeted our group. Governor Ellington and Representative EVINS took him along the line of the Tennesseans and introduced him to each one of us. As we were from Representative EVINS' district, he took over the task and called our names.

As he neared the end, President Johnson said, "JOE, you'd better stop while you're ahead—you may forget the name of the next fellow."

To Representative EVINS' credit, he did not forget a single name!

LOOKS VIGOROUS

President Johnson looked vigorous.

We were standing 10 paces or so from him and as he spoke, he looked squarely in our direction two or three times. He has that amazing knack, you know, of giving everybody in the room the impression that he is looking straight at them. His eyes were clear and his glance steady. His voice was strong and calm.

Incidentally, if you'd never had occasion to hear L.B.J. talk directly to a small group, we hope you'll do so—it is a remarkable example of a man's ability to project himself to others.

There are people in public office who sound like they're making speeches even when they are talking to only one or two people. L.B.J. to the contrary, talks in a conversational tone, even to a roomful.

But, with his quiet self-assurance, he's a powerfully persuasive fellow. His size helps, no doubt, as his 6 foot, 5 inch towers over people who are big.

Typical of him, he had a jam-packed calendar all Wednesday though he was heading next day for the hospital. He keeps things buzzing where he is. Bill Moyers, his young press secretary, obviously fits his style because Moyers was on the go all the time we were there, bringing in messages, carrying a cartoon the President wanted to show us, telling the cameramen to stop making photos after L.B.J. had talked a few minutes.

The White House has terrific organization. You feel as you walk through the executive offices that everybody is on the job. This is one Government office where we are confident the coffee breaks are short, if any.

UCDA'S BIGGEST JOB

The Washington trip was not the first arranged by the UCDA, but it was by all odds the most important.

It underscored again the value of this group. It now has great momentum and we hope the able men who have had a hand in getting it under way will remain active in it and that others will join them.

They have shown what group action can accomplish. As one member commented, "A group from a single county could never have received this recognition."

Though the UCDA has done big things, we believe its greatest achievements lie ahead.

CRITICS AT IT AGAIN

Johnson's critics are having a field day about press management at the White House.

This is largely baloney.

For instance, they got excited about the fact that news of the UCDA visit was announced by the White House. There's nothing unusual about that.

We do feel the White House should have announced the visit several days, in advance, but with all that's going on there, this oversight can be understood.

Some of those yelping about news being managed at the White House are off base. The news is still right where it was for reporters to dig out. That's what reporters are for.

CAPITOL COMMENTS—CUMBERLAND GROUP MEETS WITH PRESIDENT, GETS BRIEFING ON PROGRAMS BY TOP U.S. OFFICIALS—HEARS SPEAKER MCCORMACK DISCUSS NATIONAL ISSUES

(By JOE L. EVINS, Member of Congress, Fourth District, Tennessee)

Certainly one of the highlights of this week in Washington was the visit to your Nation's Capital of a distinguished group of citizens from the Fourth District of Tennessee.

It was my pleasure to accompany this group from our area to the White House where President Johnson received them the day before he was to enter the hospital.

The President was most gracious and deeply appreciated the gratitude expressed by William Johnson, president of the association, for the Appalachian development program and its benefits to our area.

It was my pleasure to tell the President of the fine leadership and good work of the Upper Cumberland Association. Former Governor Buford Ellington, Director of Emergency Planning, had a major part in arranging the White House meeting and was also present.

Following the White House meeting, the group was our guests on Capitol Hill for a luncheon. At an afternoon meeting in the Capitol, top officials in a number of agencies briefed the leaders on Federal assistance programs available to communities.

During our afternoon meeting the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, came to the conference room, sat down and chatted with the group about the workings of the House, the President's program and his appraisal of foreign affairs and the world situation.

"This is an amazing Congress," he said, in response to one question. "In the Roosevelt days there were 12 to 15 million unemployed. There was a spontaneous public opinion in favor of legislation. Public opinion is the most potent factor in a democracy.

"Today we have a wonderful prosperity with some areas of adversity. Our Nation generally is very prosperous.

"But the personality of President Johnson has been able to penetrate to the people to arouse a response in support of the legislation. This is a great tribute to the President."

He said the world situation now could be compared to the period prior to World War II when Hitler moved through the Saar, Austria, and Czechoslovakia without serious challenge.

If this same course of appeasement were followed in South Vietnam, the Speaker said, it would "be an open invitation to communism to go ahead—to take the Phillipines, to take Malaysia. Appeasement is the road to war."

Those who appeared at our invitation to outline their programs for the group included:

Mr. John Sweeney, regional cochairman of Appalachian Regional Development Commission.

Mr. Milton Semer, General Counsel and Deputy Administrator of Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Mr. Richard Still, Acting Administrator of Community Facilities Administration.

Mr. Ross Davis, Acting Administrator of Small Business Administration.

Mr. Harold Williams, Deputy Administrator of Economic Development Administration, Department of Commerce, and others.

Specialists in specific program areas accompanied these officials. Following a general explanation of the specific programs, members of the delegation questioned the Federal officials about the programs available—with particular emphasis on grant programs for projects beneficial to our area.

Semer outlined four basic grant programs:

1. Grants under the Economic Development and Public Works Act for public facilities.

2. Grants under title VII of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 for water and sewer facilities.

3. Water and sewerage grants available from the Department of Agriculture.

4. Grants for sewage treatment facilities in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The group presented a rocking chair made in our area to Federal Cochairman John L. Sweeney of the Appalachian Regional Development Commission in appreciation of his services.

The association concluded its day with an informal Tennessee banquet. It is apparent that this group is dedicated and determined to work for greater progress in Tennessee. A spirit of cooperation prevailed and it is my belief that the meeting will result in continued progress in the great fourth district, in a closer working relationship between the various communities and the Federal Government, and in a greater understanding of the laws and programs of Congress.

An Admirable Campaign Against Animal Cruelty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, the gentleman from, New York [Mr. RESNICK], has won a place in the affections of every pet owner in America for his campaign against the nefarious practice of kidnapping household pets for illegal sale to medical laboratories. Under leave to extend I include in the RECORD the following story from the October 10 New York Daily News, and commend my colleague for his humane efforts:

DOGS' LIVES FOR SALE—THE HEARTLESS THEFT OF PETS SOLD TO LABS FOR MEDICAL RESEARCH IS A GROWING RACKET

(By Henry Lee)

Pretty soon now, the Feds, who broke up the kidnap gangs of the 1930's, may be riding again. This time, their quarry will be the dognap and cat-snatch gangs of the 1960's who enjoy a multimillion-dollar business in supplying animals to research laboratories and hospitals.

After analyzing lost-and-found newspaper columns in 45 States and making projections from them, the Humane Society of the United States somberly concludes that between 2 and 3 million pet cats and dogs vanish yearly.

Undoubtedly, some just go AWOL or take up with other women, but a substantial portion fall victim to the animalnapers, according to Oliver Evans, HSUS president.

Wholesale thefts are reported from most States, and dog-grabbing rings have been found in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Delaware.

RACKET FLOURISHES HERE

The racket flourishes particularly along the northeastern seaboard, Evans explains, because here is the country's largest concentration of laboratories—including about 60 research institutions and hospitals in the New York metropolitan area that are known to use animals.

To supply this northeast area, the snatchers prowl as far west as Missouri and south to Alabama, plucking their prey off suburban streets and country roads and out of backyards at night.

Often they play footsie with local dog wardens and, as HSUS sadly admits, they even bribe humane society employees. On one occasion, a Brooklyn dealer tried to get 14 dogs and a dozen cats from the shelter in Freeport, Long Island, through a $112 bribe.

The worker alerted his bosses, HSUS rolled, and the dealer was arrested and later convicted of commercial bribery. According to Frank J. McMahon, director of field services for HSUS, he admitted getting animals from any source for resale to Bellevue Hospital here, North Shore Hospital in Manhasset, Meadowbrook Hospital in East Meadow, both in Long Island, and out-of-State institutions.

Following an investigation by the Animal Welfare Association of Camden, N.J., all the public pound employees there were arrested on grand larceny charges. They were accused of having sold animals to commercial lab suppliers on the same day they were received at the pound, thus making it impossible for owners to reclaim lost or strayed pets.

Camden authorities asked HSUS to take over operation of the pound temporarily until new employees were trained and McMahon says:

"While attempting to clean up the premises—which, I might add, were in one of the most unsanitary conditions I have ever seen—dozens of dog tags and collars were found secreted in coffee cans, clothing lockers, drainage systems, and other hiding places.

"Camden police were able to trace many of these to owners who had no idea of what had happened to their pets."

The usual progression of this four-footed merchandise is from thief to "grassroot" dealer, a local who collects in a given area in any way he can. Often, he houses his stock in out-of-the-way barns where local cops won't bother him.

As quickly as possible, he sells the animals to a traveling middleman who goes through the country picking up animals for the big fellows. The middleman fills the purchase order of each lab—which under present conditions, is an invitation for dealers to steal family pets, according to Representative JOSEPH Y. RESNICK, Democrat, of New York.

RESNICK, who is drafting legislation to combat the growing scandal, says that with the dealers' highly developed distribution network, tracing the kidnapees becomes extremely difficult.

"The animals often change hands several times," he reports. "In this way, dealers throw potential pursuers off the track."

DOGS GO ON THE BLOCK

Probably, in their sad, cramped, and unsanitary travels, the poor shanghaied pooches will wind up on the dog auction blocks which are conducted in Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Alabama, and Tennessee, among other States. In this area, these sales are conducted one night weekly near Gilbertsville, Ephrata, and at least two other Pennsylvania towns within a 50-mile radius of Philadelphia.

At these flesh sales, where the going rate is about 30 cents per pound—with puppies bringing a dime apiece—the conditions often are shockingly cruel.

Despite the poundage rates, this is far from a penny ante business. For full-grown animals, the suppliers will get about $15 from the labs, and the kidnap syndicates of the pet underworld reap fortunes from their sordid criminal activity, RESNICK maintains. He cites one animal dealer who just last year enjoyed sales of more than $750,000.

And there's no doubt of its interstate character. Last year, HSUS received a report of a large tractor-trailer truck transporting dogs and cats stacked in crates. The truck, which carried Pennsylvania plates, bore the name of a man who had been convicted of cruelty to animals because of conditions on his farm, according to McMahon.

"The HSUS issued a special alert to all humane societies on the east coast with instructions not to interfere with the progress of the truck but to report its whereabouts to our national headquarters," McMahon said.

Within a month, the humane plainclothesmen said, the truck was seen at Cressona, Pa., with a full load of animals; at Walden, N.Y.; Parkersburg, W. Va.; Mansfield, Ohio; Smithfield, Charlotte and Raleigh, N.C., and Waterford, Conn.

In the "immense" animal market, RESNICK has found just one Federal agency, Poolesville Animal Center of the National Institutes of Health, which spends more than $100,000 on cats and dogs.

All told, hospital and research labs receiving Federal money last year expended between $30 and $50 million for more than 1,750,000 dogs and more than half a million cats—which works out to about 35,000 dogs and 10,000 cats weekly.

To RESNICK, the evidence is "overwhelming" that a "substantial percentage" of these victims of science are stolen pets, and Evans, HSUS president, goes even further. He says

the "alarming proportion" is "probably more than 50 percent."

The man who plans to do something about it is RESNICK, a freshman Congressman from up Ulster way. An Ellenville native and prosperous manufacturer there, he has built up Channel Master Co., maker of TV antennas, aluminum tubing, tape recorders, transistor radios and picture tubes, from nothing into a $45 million-a-year business.

Carefully, almost painfully, RESNICK stresses that he's not an anti-vivissectionist, that he fully supports the "legitimate need" for animals by the research labs and hospitals. But a personal experience a few months ago opened his eyes to the seamy side of animal research.

Late last June, a Pennsylvania dealer was arrested in Easton, Pa., for driving an overloaded small pickup truck and improperly transporting 18 dogs and 2 pregnant goats. When she read the story in the newspapers, Mr. Peter Lakavage suspected that one of the Dalmations described in the article was her own dog which had disappeared about a week earlier from her back porch in Slatington, Pa.

Humane officials alerted Deputy Attorney General Richard Kutz and Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK, Democrat, both of Pennsylvania. Then there were indications that the Dalmatian actually might be on a farm in the 28th District in New York, and CLARK's office brought RESNICK into the search.

But the dog wasn't there. Even before the hunt had gotten underway, the Dalmatian had been used in heart surgery at Montefiore Hospital here and incinerated. RESNICK, "shocked and horrified," began investigations which have resulted in H.R. 9743, a bill to clamp tight controls on animal dealers.

TAG THE DOG DEALER

Under the measure, the Secretary of Agriculture would license them, and research labs and hospitals could buy animals only from licensed suppliers. The Secretary also would set standards for proper handling, transportation and treatment of animals during the time they are in the dealers' possession.

Additionally, so tragedies like that of Mrs. Lakavage could not occur again, the dealers would have to hold animals for 5 days, thus giving owners a sporting chance to retrieve lost or strayed pets.

A possible long-range answer has already been launched here by Mount Sinai Hospital which, 6 months ago, started to breed its own experimental dogs and cats.

According to Dr. George Bjotvedt, the veterinarian, this program in "vertical acquisition" will need 2 years to really get going.

However, the Public Health Service or somebody will have to come up with added funds because instead of the average $15 paid to the animal dealers, such hospital-bred dogs will cost probably $65 to $90.

But something's got to be done, regardless of cost. As one of RESNICK's aids says darkly, "Where today, on the streets, do you see any more mutts or strays? They're all gone already." Come to think of it, he's right.

The Late Frank Hurbert O'Hara

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS E. MORGAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I was extremely sorry to learn of the passing of Dr. Frank Hurbert O'Hara, the distinguished brother of our dear friend and eminent colleague, BARRATT O'HARA of Illinois.

I have long been aware of the outstanding contribution to the American way of life of Professor O'Hara. He not only distinguished himself in academic life as one of the foremost university professors, but also became famous as a writer and dramatist. The dramatic world and academic life have both lost a truly gifted and great man, and I wish to extend my heartfelt sympathy to his brother and my personal friend and colleague, BARRATT O'HARA.

Pulaski Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, this week we observe the 186th anniversary of the death of a gallant fighter for freedom, Gen. Casimir Pulaski, the great Polish-American hero of the Revolutionary War period. He died on the field of battle during the siege of Savannah on October 11, 1779.

In appreciation of his services to the cause of American freedom and independence it has become customary to pay a well-deserved tribute to the memory of this gallant soldier who left his native Poland and came to the American Colonies to join in their struggle for a righteous cause. Pulaski participated in the battles of Germantown and Trenton, and also was with the main army at Valley Forge in the winter of 1777–78. He was only 31 years old when he lost his life at Savannah.

Freedom-loving Americans observe each year the anniversary day of the death of this brave patriot. We have named that day Pulaski Day and observe it in many parts of our country with appropriate ceremonies, as we acknowledge the debt we owe to him as one of the great fighters for the cause of American democracy.

Americans of Polish descent are justifiably proud of General Pulaski's role during our Revolutionary War period. He hated tyrany and fought against it, first in his native Poland which sought to free itself from the domination of Russia, and later with the American Colonies. To him, it was a struggle for mankind's freedom from tyranny and he gave his life for that struggle.

On this day when we honor the memory of General Pulaski, we also honor all Americans of Polish descent who helped in the development of America as a great Nation and fought in its wars for its freedom and security. They have contributed of their talents and their energy toward our cultural and religious life, our political institutions, and our economic growth. I salute them on this day and voice my fervent hope that General Pulaski's ancestral home, Poland, will soon be liberated and its people will once again live in freedom.

A Backward Step

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, patent law is a highly specialized field. The following editorial from Chemical & Engineering News expresses some views in regard to the recently passed Senate bill, S. 1758.

It is urgent that Members become fully informed of the particulars of this legislation before it is considered on the floor of the House.

A BACKWARD STEP—SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL QUALIFICATIONS ARE DESIRABLE IN PATENT LAW PRACTICE

The Senate took what seems a backward step recently in its passage of S. 1758, a bill intended to improve practice and procedures before Federal administrative agencies. It refused to grant a request to maintain the existing requirements of scientific and technical qualifications for patent attorneys or agents practicing before the Patent Office.

Our patent system is being fought over vigorously. The Patent Office is overloaded, and efforts are being made for redesign and streamlining. Now, in the face of a great wave of advancing technology and rising requirements for competence in dealing with such technology, the Senate has, in effect, declared that it sees no need for scientific and technical qualifications on the part of agents dealing with patent matters before the Patent Office.

Some of the Senate's presumed motivation is understandable. Administrative practices often can be improved by removing special conditions or restrictions. But in the matter of patents there is a substantial argument for maintaining the present requirements. Such an argument was presented before the Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure in an American Chemical Society statement signed by President Charles C. Price, and discussed with the subcommittee by Executive Secretary B. R. Stanerson. In essence, the society took the position that for optimum service to inventors, to the scientific public, and eventually to the general public, it is essential that those persons who are in the direct line of assisting inventors in their dealings with the Patent Office should be required to meet certain standards of technical training and competence in keeping with the technical nature of the subject matter of the patents. Such standards are presently in effect, but S. 1758, passed recently and now up for consideration by the House of Representatives, would allow any person who is a member in good standing of the bar of the highest court of any State, possession, territory, commonwealth, or the District of Columbia to represent others before any agency.

Supporters of S. 1758 as passed argue that where an attorney needs more technical background than he has, he can handle the situation by engaging a consultant competent in the field involved. This would mean that an inventor or applicant for a patent then retains two people instead of one.

Constant study and efforts to improve the usefulness of Federal agencies are desirable. But the various efforts should be synchronized. The recent Senate action toward dropping technical requirements for representation before the Patent Office certainly is not well timed in relation to the appointment of a Presidential commission directed to study the patent system and suggest im-

provement, but which is not expected to bring in a report until next fall. Furthermore, it seems badly out of step with the increasing technological complexity of society.

One and a Half Cheers for Indonesia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the State Department is remarkably silent on developments in Indonesia even to the extent of obtaining factual information of what is transpiring.

Needless to say, any development there would be for the better since Sukarno's flirtation with the Communist powers had in effect made his country the newest satellite of the Red imperial empire. The Chicago Tribune this morning carried a very timely and forthright editorial comment which I place in the RECORD at this point:

ONE AND A HALF CHEERS FOR INDONESIA

Washington seems to have decided that the confusing goings-on in Indonesia are neither too good to be true nor too true to be good. It sees both truth and goodness, and spokesmen for the administration are beginning to talk of new and dramatic diplomatic opportunities for the United States.

We must say it's refreshing to read of young Moslems burning down Communist Party headquarters, for a change, and shouting, "Long live America." In Jakarta, at least, there are revulsion and disillusionment over the bungled pro-Communist attempt at a coup, which was accompanied by the murder of six anti-Communist army leaders and the 6-year-old daughter of the anti-Communist defense minister, Abdul Haris Nasution.

Sukarno is still President, at least in name, but his pleas in behalf of the Communists go unheeded. Perhaps the army is letting him stay on, with his wings clipped, in order to provide the appearance of order and continuity. He is said to be in declining health, and the army has achieved its immediate purpose of forestalling what seems to have been a pro-Peiping effort to take over before the patient was even dead.

Things certainly look more encouraging than they did last month, when there was no one strong enough to talk back to Sukarno and the government was slipping steadily into the hands of the Communists.

But anticommunism is not always the same as pro-Americanism (after all, Nasser outlawed the Communist Party. We're told that some Indonesian army officers are pro-American; but spokesmen for the new regime have let it be known that Indonesia is still in the anti-imperialist camp and will continue to side with Red China and Pakistan against India.

We hope that the administration won't be in too great a rush to welcome Indonesia back into the fold with a new shower of foreign aid, which seems to be the only way Washington knows how to deal with dramatic opportunities. It should remind itself that years of foreign aid didn't make a friend of Sukarno, and that the withdrawal of our aid didn't deter the anti-Communists. We're already trying to prop up too many friends who love us only for our money. If the Indonesians want to be our friends, let them demonstrate it. If they don't, there's no point in committing ourselves to the support of another reluctant stepchild.

Milwaukee Journal Praises War on Poverty Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, an American who is out of a job or needs help does not want a handout. He just wants a helping hand.

The important thing about the administration's antipoverty program, as the Milwaukee Journal has recently pointed out, is that it is "not one of handouts and old-fashioned relief," but "an attempt to train and rehabilitate, to educate and give hope to Americans who have been unable to take a normal role in our society."

The newspaper said that Milwaukee had seen firsthand how Operation Head Start had reached into the homes of disadvantaged local residents and given young children some of the education and training and experience that are normal to average Americans.

In the long run, "to the extent the war on poverty works, it is a move toward economy," the newspaper said. I include the full text of the editorial hereafter:

STIRRING NEW HOPE

In doubling the antipoverty program and extending it for another year Congress has shown its determination to carry on the fight to make a decent life possible for millions of disadvantaged Americans.

The important thing about the program is that it is not one of handouts and old-fashioned relief. It is an attempt to train and rehabilitate, to educate and give hope to Americans who have been unable to take a normal role in our society.

Milwaukee saw firsthand this summer—and it is continuing—how Operation Head Start reached into the homes of disadvantaged local residents and gave young children some of the education and training and experience that are normal to average Americans. Young men and women, school dropouts and others, have been helped to jobs and given job training. Displaced workers are being retrained or given skills they never had to enable them to find secure places in the work force.

There have been charges of waste and inefficiencies and politics and, because of them, efforts to scrap the program. The administration admits imperfections. In such a new and gigantic program they are inevitable. As to politics, a certain amount of that is inevitable, too. Much has been on the local level. In many big cities political leaders don't want programs they don't control fully. The war on poverty in some cases is a threat to city hall. There is a struggle over who shall gain credit for its successes.

To the extent the war on poverty works it is a move toward economy in the long run. People enabled to make their own way will not need the welfare programs they now depend upon or would require inevitably in the future. Children and young men and women set on the right path now will not be lost to society when they reach the age when they should be self-sufficient.

The war on poverty is a concept of human preservation and reclamation in which every American should be proud to play a part, actively or as a taxpayer. Every person saved is a gain for our country and mankind. We are too great a nation, too rich and too full of opportunities, to allow any human being to go to waste through neglect.

Water and the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK E. EVANS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, pure water is as essential to life as the very air we breathe.

President Johnson recognizes the importance of adequate water, and desalting agreements with other countries have high priority.

The desalting agreement signed between our country and Mexico is aimed at speeding up the day when the world's oceans and brackish bays can be readily converted to potable water.

Efforts in this important field were hailed recently by the Washington Evening Star. I offer the editorial, which will be of general interest, for the RECORD:

WATER AND THE WORLD

The desalination agreement between our country and Mexico constitutes an important expansion of international cooperation aimed at speeding up the day when the world's salty oceans and brackish bays will be made readily convertible to potability at a cost economically competitive with natural fresh water. At the moment, except in regions where the importation of such water already costs more than desalting, that day seems remote, but there is reason to hope for breakthroughs that could make it dawn all of a sudden.

This hope is amply nourished by the remarkable progress that has been made over the past decade or so. In 1955, for example, our country's most advanced types of equipment could desalt water only at the prohibitive cost of about $5 per 1,000 gallons. But now, with new techniques and machinery, the job can be done for around $1 per 1,000. Although that figure is still to high for most areas of the United States and the world at large, experts are confident that it can be brought down, in due course, to approximately 35 or 40 cents, which is roughly the national average paid for natural fresh water by metered households. One reason for the confidence is the promise implicit in building big atomic-powered desalination plants that would produce electricity as a profitmaking byproduct.

It is with such a plant in mind that Mexico and the United States have agreed in principle to undertake an exhaustive joint economic and technological study to determine the cost and feasibility of building a power-producing reactor that would desalt great volumes of water to serve Mexican areas and portions of California and Arizona. Our country is engaged in similar collaboration, in varying degrees, with Egypt, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Israel, the Soviet Union, and other interested nations meeting here this week

for the First International Symposium on Water Desalination. This is a meeting that should help to intensify the international cooperative effort to cope with the world's ever-growing water problems.

These problems call for action, and they call for it now. They are moving toward an acute stage in many regions and they must be dealt with accordingly. This is the more true because of the sharply mounting demand for potable water—which is as essential to life and progress as the air we breath—in a world whose population is explosively multiplying.

California Job Corps: A Model of Community Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to provide another article from Ed Davis' Willows Daily Journal pointing up another example of the outstanding cooperation being given by the city of Willows and the Willows High School toward making the Alder Springs Job Corps Camp a truly productive national asset. The article follows:

[From the Willows Daily Journal, Oct. 7, 1965]

STEP IS PRAISED: HIGH SCHOOL TRAINS JOB CORPS YOUTHS

A new link was added to a growing chain of cooperation between the Willows High School and Alder Springs Job Corps camp as 21 corpsmen began an 18-week night course in fundamental auto maintenance this week.

Nick Neuburger is teaching the course, and plunged the youths directly into basic use of a basic tool—the micrometer for making precise measurements. Their concentration and comments indicated they were intensely interested.

Arrangements for the course, held each Tuesday from 8 to 10 p.m., were made by Erwin A. Decker, high school superintendent, with Job Corps Camp Director A. R. Groncki. Educational Director Stanley Lynch and Counsellor Clyde Wilson.

Tonight six corpsmen will attend adult typing class at the high school, and next Tuesday three to four will attend art class.

Lynch was high in his praise of the community in general and Decker in particular.

"This is a wonderful thing," he said. "It certainly indicates tremendous cooperation from the community, and a marvelous attitude.

"So far as I know the cooperation between Job Corps and community is unmatched anywhere else in the country.

"And Mr. Decker is really to be commended for his leadership in helping the corpsmen get education and training in skills."

Tom Rogers, resident counselor at the camp, is in direct charge of the 21 corpsmen attending auto maintenance classes.

The youths incide Robert Gomez, Donald Mason, Jerry Borders, Richard App, Jim McClurg, Joe Piko, Ken Belsar, Ed Gilbert, Dave Weatherly, Jim Gibson, Ernest Oliver, Allen Rickert, David Renschaert, Ernie Stoess, Daniel Merchant, Red Ellis, Gaston Amaro, Guillermo Ortega, Harold Nuhring, Tom McCoy and Clarence Soloman.

Leisure World Opens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, a new community, expressing a new concept in adult community living, has opened its doors in Montgomery County, Md. Rossmoor Leisure World, being constructed on 950 acres of beautiful Maryland countryside between Wheaton and Olney, will eventually attain a population of between 17,000 and 18,000 citizens, each 52 years of age or older.

Leisure World is a cooperative housing community, whose residents are entitled to free use of all community facilities for one monthly payment which will amortize their home mortgage, and pay insurance, taxes, and all other charges connected with the housing. The community facilities will include an 18-hole golf course, swimming pools, three clubhouses, riding stables, club rooms, hobby shops of all types, banquet facilities, class rooms, a ballroom, and transportation. The community will have a complete medical facility, staffed 24 hours a day with skilled medical personnel, ambulance service will be available to residents for 20 percent of the actual costs incurred, and drugs will be supplied on a cost basis.

This unique development will make valuable contributions to Montgomery County and all of Maryland. Its residents will be prudent, reliable individuals, who have already established themselves as respected citizens and can be expected to assume their full responsibilities as citizens of their new hometown.

When the Honorable J. Millard Tawes, Governor of the State of Maryland, dedicated this new community, he said:

I wish it were possible some day for me to live in Leisure World.

I bring to the attention of the Congress an article from the Bethesda-Chevy Chase Tribune of Friday, September 17, 1965, describing the dedication ceremonies and Leisure World:

[From the Bethesda-Chevy Chase (Md.) Tribune, Sept. 17, 1965]

GOVERNOR TAWES SAID: HE WOULD LIKE TO LIVE IN LEISURE WORLD

Gov. J. Millard Tawes formally dedicated the new $250 million Rossmoor Leisure World community last Thursday in a tree-studded setting with dignitaries participating from Washington, Baltimore, and Montgomery County.

Governor Tawes remarked as he toured the new community "I wish it were possible that someday I could live here."

This first of several Leisure World communities on the east coast eventually will consist of approximately 10,000 housing manors, with a population of 17,000 to 18,000 persons.

It is situated on 950 acres at a point 14 miles north of the White House and 30 miles west of Baltimore.

Governor Tawes recalled that the first bill he signed into law had established the Maryland State Commission on the Aging.

He said he is deeply aware of the senior citizen's desire to remain independent and self-sufficient, and that communities such as Leisure World go a long way toward providing an opportunity for such an adult way of life.

Ross W. Cortese, president of the Rossmoor Corp., introduced Governor Tawes, expressing thanks to the people of Maryland "for letting us share our pride in our work."

He said the State and the county would find in Leisure World "a proud new citizen-community, more than willing to assume its responsibilities and to become a good neighbor."

William G. Simon, president of the Leisure World Foundation, explained the Leisure World concept of community living, and emphasized some of the benefits to the surrounding area of the opening of the new community.

He said that more than $8 million had been spent to acquire land, to initiate construction, and to landscape and equip the community before its opening on September 9.

He said Rossmoor Corp. had employed more than 50 local subcontractors and suppliers, employing as many as 800 workers on the site at one time, and added that a complete staff of administrative personnel, medical experts, maintenance workers, security guards, and housekeeping and groundskeeping staffs would be permanently employed when the community is occupied.

"Leisure World, Md., will contribute an estimated $3.8 million a year in taxes, and at the same time this group of 17,000 prudent, responsible adult citizens will have no need for new schools, school bonds, teachers' salaries, police protection, or street maintenance," he said.

In the style of Leisure World communities already established in California, the new Maryland project will offer to its residents the free use of the 18-hole golf course, two swimming pools, three luxury clubhouses, riding stables, bus transportation, game and hobby shops, and participation in an 80-20 medical plan.

It is an all-electric Gold Medallion community.

Cooperative Month

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to point out that the Governor of the great State of Iowa, the Honorable Harold E. Hughes, has proclaimed the month of October "Cooperative Month" in Iowa. I would like to take this opportunity to compliment our electric cooperatives in our State who have done so much to bring a higher standard of living to our many farm families, and the families who inhabit our many small hamlets who obtain their livelihood from agricultural related businesses. This truly cooperative effort of providing low-cost power to these many families and businesses has truly played a very large role in bringing quality food products to the consumers of this Nation at very reasonable prices, and at the same time

made Iowa the wonderful place that it is to live. I would like to extend my very best wishes for many successes in the future to our Iowa electric cooperatives.

Dr. Edward C. Welsh: Space Salesman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, those of us directly connected with the space program and the space efforts of this country find that the most important job is to sell the program to the great majority of people in our country who feel that it is a worthless expenditure of taxpayer money.

One of the best salesmen I know in this regard, is Dr. Edward C. Welsh, Executive Secretary of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, and I am pleased to include herewith the text of his remarks made before the building products industry meeting on October 7, here in Washington, D.C.:

BUILDING PRODUCTS EXECUTIVES CONFERENCE

(Remarks by Dr. Edward C. Welsh, executive secretary, National Aeronautics and Space Council, Washington, D.C., Oct. 7, 1965)

It is a privilege to be among so many responsible officials from such an important segment of our economy—the building products industry. Although I am here to discuss a favorite subject of mine, I do plan to be brief. Then, if you have questions, and the schedule permits, I will try to answer them.

BUILDERS

I like to talk about the national space program to people who are interested in building, because the program is a dynamic building activity. Whether one looks at the actual construction of facilities, of rockets, of spacecraft, and of tracking stations, or whether one examines the output of new materials, the advances in electronics, and the creation of new productive processes, the space program is directly related to building. Moreover—and this I would emphasize—the space program will continue to be an expanding business. Space as a profession and as an enterprise has become a permanent and vital part of the institutional structure of this Nation.

OPTIMISM

Another feature of the space program which fits so well with your industry is that those engaged in it are not only pioneers but also they are optimists. It took the combination of the pioneer and the optimist to push forward the frontiers of this country as it expanded from a few coastal settlements to a great Nation of almost 200 million people. Progress in space also comes from moving forward with daring and confidence. I might add that those who fail to anticipate growth are not builders and do not belong either in your industry or in any part of the space program. The true builder builds to the limit of his technology, learns more at that level, and then builds some more. The result is technological and economic growth.

GROWTH

Those who look thoughtfully and carefully at the space program should be certain of one thing: it is still in its infancy. Much growth lies ahead. It has been only 8 years and 3 days since the very first spacecraft was put into orbit. To date, the United States has orbited about the earth some 320 payloads. Another 130 or so have been launched successfully by the U.S.S.R. In addition, the two countries together have put 23 spacecraft on the moon, or in orbit about the sun. I refer to the lunar shots and those which have gone past Venus and Mars. Just as a footnote to your understanding, it is worth stating that the Soviets have stressed the far-out space activities—the interplanetary probes, etc.—more than we have, while the United States has devoted a much greater proportion to its launches to near earth orbits. The fact that the Soviets have failed in so many of their deep space efforts has not discouraged them from pursuing such activity. I hasten to add, however, that the Soviets have been impressively successful in placing large weight into earth orbit even though we have surpassed them substantially in the number of spacecraft orbited.

NATIONAL

Our space program is truly national in operation as well as in policy. As for the latter, President Johnson has said, "It is national policy to maintain a viable national space program, not a separate program for NASA and another for Defense, and still another for each of several other agencies." As for the operation of the program, its national aspects are equally clear. For example, the Defense Department has developed may of the rockets for both its projects and NASA's projects. Also, the Defense Department has supplied all the astronauts for the Mercury projects and most of them for Gemini. Mercury is an excellent illustration of cooperation and coordination. It was a project in which we had NASA spacecraft placed into orbit by Air Force-developed boosters, launched from an interagency launch site, and manned by experienced pilots on detail from the armed services. In most respects, the coordination on the Gemini project is similar.

In the case of the most recently announced space project, the Manned Orbiting Laboratory, we again have an example of exchange of technology and experience by two operating agencies of the Government. In this instance, NASA's considerable success in manned space flight and in the development of spacecraft will assist the Air Force substantially. Such interagency cooperation should improve rather than impair the peaceful space image which this country has established. As President Johnson has said: "The United States does not have a division between peaceful and nonpeaceful objectives for space, but rather has space missions to help keep the peace and space missions to improve our ability to live well in peace."

In addition to creating confusion about our peaceful intent in space, some people have made attempts to drive wedges between such major Government units as the Defense Department and NASA. Some such divisive maneuvers have been due to a lack of information, while others have been motivated by a desire for publicity or for Machiavellian reasons. Whatever the motive, however, I am pleased to state that they have been largely unsuccessful. The cooperation between those two great agencies of Government has been improving steadily.

MANNED ORBITING LABORATORY

It is worth pausing at this time to challenge forthrightly those who have asserted or intimated that the MOL has something to do with a weapons race. We expect misrepresentations of that sort to come from unfriendly countries and sometimes even from ignorant domestic critics. However, in this instance, a few apparently well-intentioned publications and individuals have asserted that the MOL is a weapons carrier and a project contrary to our policy of peaceful progress in space.

I assert as positively as I can that this project is not a weapons system, is not a means by which aggressive actions can be perpetrated, and is no less peaceful in nature and purpose than the Mercury program, or the Gemini program, or the Apollo program.

ECONOMIC FEATURES

I would also like to take a few glances with you at some of the economic features of the national space program:

1. Astounding at it may seem to informed people such as yourselves, there are those who do not understand that every dime devoted to the space program is spent here on earth, not out on the moon, or on the planets. Here is where the employment is, where the incomes arise, and where the new technology enriches our whole economy.

2. Through the inventions of new products and construction of facilities, the program adds greatly to our gross national product. Resources devoted to developing space capabilities help create more resources for other purposes as well. As I pointed out, the way of space is the way of the pioneer and also the way of the builder. The space program's effect is that of adding to the total product rather than taking away from one productive activity to give to another. I would like to emphasize this last point because there is in this country a somewhat articulate minority which seems to believe that investment in the space program has the effect of depriving our young people of adequate educational facilities, our poor people of adequate housing and food, and our medical laboratories of adequate funds for pursuing their research. I do not expect to convince all such individuals that they are wrong in those beliefs, although I will continue to try. In so doing, I emphasize the creative nature of the space program. It is more than a redistribution of existing resources. It is the building of new, effective resources. If we examine the long and varied list of benefits which flow from our space endeavors, we note particularly that they give stimulus to our economy and to our technological growth. Properly managed, our space program can help significantly to pay for many of the other requirements of our Great Society and help to strengthen our national security at the same time.

3. The space program is a great stimulant to the private sector of our economy. While it is true that the program is of such a nature that it can be directed and financed only through your Federal Government, it is also true that most of the skills and the facilities and other resources employed in this program are from private enterprise, which rightly is motivated by private profit. I bring to your attention that more than 90 percent of all NASA's procurement dollars are spent on contracts with private organizations.

4. In 1960, just 5 years ago, the United States spent on all of its space activities (NASA, DOD, AEC, etc) $888 million. The 1965 investment was about $6.5 billion, or about 1 percent of our gross national product. That is a dollar increase of more than 600 percent over a 5-year period. I challenge any other major activity in this Nation or any other nation to match that growth figure. And, there is room for more.

5. The space program will have an increasingly important impact upon the demand for employees. It is the very nature of the program that the highly trained and highly skilled employees come into great demand while those who are unskilled will generally have to seek employment elsewhere. The program is of sufficient size, moreover, that such emphasis upon training is already stimulating the efforts of our young people to obtain more and

better education. Also, this emphasis on high quality of personnel combines with a necessary emphasis upon higher quality of product. There is no service station in outer space for a spacecraft to contact for minor repairs, for road maps, or for additional fuel. Shoddy work and incomplete training are distinct enemies of the space program and will remain such. The exacting demands of the space program will encourage improvements in earthbound activities as well, where failures may not be quite as crucial but they certainly are wasteful.

THE FUTURE

As builders, you are less interested in history, I am sure, than you are in what the future holds. I hesitate to forecast about our space activities because I am certain to understate rather than overstate what is to come. However, as I have done sometimes in the past, I will outline briefly a few general features of the space program for the future.

1. After we have made initial landings on the moon, we will, if conditions warrant, make many other trips to explore the various parts of the lunar surface and possibly to establish one or more bases there.

2. Not only will unmanned probes be sent throughout the solar system, but manned expeditions will visit the planets whenever that becomes scientifically promising and practicable.

3. We will develop a family of useful manned earth-orbiting stations, growing from relatively small orbiting laboratories to large multimanned permanent stations. Regular ferry service will transfer personnel and supplies to and from such spacecraft.

4. Global communications via satellites will become a fact in the very near future and will be followed by direct broadcast of both voice and TV by satellite to home receivers throughout large sections of the world.

5. Orbiting spacecraft will increase annually in numbers, in size, and in sophistication. Through such activity we will greatly increase our knowledge about the earth as well as about the heavens.

6. We can expect a marriage of the major features of both aeronautics and astronautics. In other words, lifting bodies and winged spacecraft with maneuverable reentry ability will be launched into near and distant space by means of recoverable and reusable launch vehicles. Drastic reduction in the mileage cost of space travel will result.

7. Spaceports for the coming and going of spacecraft will be built in a number of parts of this country as well as elsewhere.

8. Improved propulsion—faster, more powerful rockets using nuclear as well as chemical energy—will characterize space transportation. By that I mean planetary trips which today would take many months will be done in perhaps a week's time or less, while carrying substantial payloads of passengers, equipment, and supplies. And,

9. As competence in space increases—not only in this country but in many other countries throughout the world—we can expect to see greater economic progress and international cooperation. Then we can truly say that our space efforts have made major contributions to world peace.

In conclusion, I reemphasize my belief that the characteristics of the national space program accord neatly with the basic features of the great building products industry. I also reassert my confidence in the permanence and the future growth of our national space program, just as I believe in the multiple benefits which that program contributes to the taxpayers and to the private sector of our Nation.

Christopher Columbus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, it is appropriate that we pay tribute here in the Congress today to the glorious memory of Christopher Columbia, the discoverer of the New World. May I suggest it would be even more fitting if the Congress would enact the legislation introduced by me and many other Members to make Columbia Day a legal holiday. As the sponsor of H.R. 2025 in the 88th Congress and H.R. 831 in this Congress, I urge that the memory of Christopher Columbus be perpetuated by making the date of his discovery of the New World a legal public holiday. The fact that 38 States now celebrate Columbus Day as a legal State holiday and 7 other States mark the day by Governors' proclamation reflect the national consensus for full recognition for this memorable event.

As the son and grandson of immigrants whose land of origin was that of Columbus, I am most happy and gratified that on this Columbus Day our immigration policy has once again been made worthy of the spirit of the great explorer. In the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1965, we have removed the pettiness, the prejudice, the inequities from our selection process. We have brought our policy into conformance with our ideals by affirming that a man is to be judged and judged exclusively on his worth as a human being.

The same qualitative tests on the same basis will apply to all who seek the privilege of admission to America, the land that Columbus opened to colonization and to the spread of civilization.

As Columbus doubled the size of the known world and expanded the horizons of man's knowledge, so our country is engaged in a most laudable effort to give to every individual the opportunity to develop his full potential and to achieve his goal in life. The Italian navigator sailed Spanish ships by the use of Portugese charts. The polyglot nature of the discovery is mirrored in the varied origins of our population. The strength of our Nation has been built from many groups from many lands, and all groups in our society must be given the opportunity to play an equal role in our national life.

Today, as we face new worlds of space, new worlds of scientific discovery, new worlds of human relationships, it is most appropriate that we remember Columbus' virtues and spirit and hold them up to our youth for their admiration and emulation. I urge that we give Christopher Columbus the official and permanent national recognition that will be conferred by making the anniversary of his landing a national holiday.

U.S. Sovereignty Over Canal Zone and Panama Canal Must Be Preserved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, for nearly a decade I have been reading addresses by my most distinguished and scholarly colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD], on the interoceanic canal problem. His discourses, based upon careful documentation, have a ring of solidity seldom encountered. His many warnings of what would happen on the isthmus have not been heeded, his worst fears fulfilled, and predictions come true. Despite setbacks, he has continued his efforts for sane isthmian policies that have won the admiration of our citizens throughout the Nation.

As evidence of this support, there was published in the September 30, 1965, issue of the Providence, R.I., Journal an advertisement on the current treaty situation with Panama opposing the surrender of our sovereignty over the Canal Zone and Panama Canal.

The indicated advertisement follows:

[Published as an advertisement in the Providence Journal for Sept. 30, 1965]

THE PANAMA TREATY: A BRAZEN AND DANGEROUS PROPOSAL BY OUR ADMINISTRATION TO SURRENDER CONTROL OF THE PANAMA CANAL, A VITAL LINK BETWEEN OUR ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC COASTS

(By Robert B. Dresser)

According to press reports, President Johnson announced on September 24 that the United States and Panama have agreed to write a new treaty which "will effectively recognize Panama's sovereignty over the area of the present Canal Zone," and that the 1903 treaty will be abrogated.

Representative LEONOR SULLIVAN's statement, quoting from the Providence Journal of September 24:

"On Capitol Hill the announcement was described by Representative LEONOR SULLIVAN, Democrat, of Missouri, as 'the most terrible thing this country of ours has ever done.'"

And may I add, it is a most brazen proposal by our own Government to yield to the demands of our Communist enemies that we surrender property belonging to us and vital to our national safety.

Representative SULLIVAN is chairman of the House Merchant Marine Subcommittee on the Panama Canal.

STATEMENT THAT NEW CANAL IS NEEDED

The administration's statement that the present canal will not accommodate some of the very large ships of today, such as aircraft carriers, and that a new sea-level canal should be built, provides no excuse for the surrender of the present canal. If it is important that a new canal be built now, it is obvious that it would take some years to build it. Meanwhile, the control of the only link between the two oceans would be in foreign hands.

WHAT IS BEHIND OUR SURRENDER TO THE COMMUNISTS?

Right in our own backyard we have Castro's Cuba, and a similar takeover is on its

way in the Dominican Republic. And now we propose to surrender our own canal, which we built at great cost to ourselves.

As I remarked in an earlier article, "Who are these mysterious unnamed persons that, it is said, have been determining our foreign policy? Are they traitors, or are they just incompetent?"

One thing is clear, however, and that is that unless our course is changed disaster of the worst sort lies ahead of us.

EARLIER ARTICLE

On April 13, 1964, I published an article as an advertisement in the Providence Journal under the title, "The Panama Canal Issue."

I quote from it the following:

MY EARLIER ARTICLE

The recent Communist-inspired riots in Panama and the demand that the Canal be taken out of U.S. hands and either nationalized or placed under international control present a question of supreme importance to our country's future safety.

Under the 1903 treaty with Panama the United States has the complete and perpetual ownership of the Canal Zone, and the Republic of Panama has no more right to fly its flag, or to participate in keeping the peace, in the Canal Zone than it has in one of our 50 States.

And yet it is feared that our Government is about to surrender our rights to the Canal, either in one stroke or by gradual steps.

LET US EXAMINE THE RECORD

Congressman DANIEL J. FLOOD, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, an ardent patriot and an expert on all phases of the Panama question, has led the fight in Congress to preserve American sovereignty in the Canal Zone.

RADIO ADDRESS BY CONGRESSMAN FLOOD

Let me quote from a radio address by Congressman FLOOD delivered in the spring of 1960:

"Meanwhile, what had happened at Panama? Following the attempted November 3, 1959, invasion (under radical leadership, some of it communistic), the Government of the United States, instead of a stern warning against such future attempts, sent a diplomatic emissary to Panama to appease those stirring up the trouble.

"This emissary, with the approval of his superiors in the State Department, issued a public statement recognizing Panama as 'titular' sovereign over the Canal Zone and, according to Panamanian sources, agreed that the flag of Panama might be displayed in the Canal Zone to show such sovereignty.

"In addition, the President of the United States himself, shortly afterward, publicly expressed the belief that Panama should be allowed to fly her flag in the Canal Zone to show Panamanian 'titular sovereignty.'

"These declarations, made without the consent of either the Congress or the treatymaking power, reflect a credulity and naivete on the part of high U.S. officials that are simply unbelievable. The hoisting of the Panama flag would be the symbol of complete surrender and would be so hailed by Panama and universally interpreted.

WHO ARE THE TRAITORS?

"Many are demanding to know what are the influences in our Government that have permitted United States-Panama relations to degenerate to the degree they have.

"To them, I would add the question: 'What more could be accomplished by open, bold, and shameless treason than has been done at Panama through the processes of vacillation and appeasement?'

DISPLAYING THE PANAMA FLAG

"Returning now to the question of displaying the Panama flag over the Canal Zone to indicate what is loosely called 'titular sovereignty,' this is not a meaningless gesture of good will as some of our naive leaders would have us believe. The flag has but one meaning and that is sovereignty.

"For this reason, its display would be but the first step in the Panamanian program for eventual nationalization. The second step would be to secure its international recognition as evidence of full sovereignty. Then the way would be clear, in a legal sense, for the rest of their program through the most expedient means with the example of Suez before them."

ADDRESS OF CONGRESSMAN FLOOD IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JUNE 23, 1960

I quote also from an address by Congressman FLOOD delivered in the House of Representatives on June 23, 1960:

"Mr. Speaker, on many previous occasions I have addressed the House on the politically important question: Shall the sovereignty of the United States over the Canal Zone and Panama Canal be captured by communistic psychological warfare?

"Growing numbers of thoughtful people in the United States, Panama, and other countries, have become alarmed by our sustained failures at Panama. They are now asking: What are the infiltrations and influences in the Department of State, which ignoring treaty, statute, international usage, and the imperative need for preserving stability in the Canal Zone, seem set on creating precedents that could only lead to disaster and eventual loss of the Panama Canal? Moreover, Mr. Speaker, there is a growing need for the Congress to identify these influences and the individuals who implement them."

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S ORDER TO RAISE FLAG

On September 17, 1960, on the eve of Premier Khrushchev's arrival in this country, President Eisenhower ordered the flag of Panama to be flow with the flag of the United States in the Canal Zone. This action was taken after Congress had adjourned on September 1 and in disregard of a resolution passed by the House of Representatives on February 2, 1960, by the overwhelming vote of 381 to 12 that this should not be done.

The late Senator Styles Bridges, Republican, of New Hampshire, is quoted as having said that he was "surprised and deeply shocked" and that he saw "absolutely no valid reason" for the flag-flying order.

In the language of Congressman FLOOD in a statement issued September 21, 1960:

"It is a cowardly yielding on the part of the Executive to the pressure of mob rule in Panama comparable to hoisting the Soviet flag on U.S. territory. The ill-advised step, taken with the hope of placating Panamanian radicals, can only incite them to increase their demands.

"The Congress has been long aware of the fact that subversive influences are in control of important areas in our Department of State. It is the gradual growth and spread of this subversive influence that has alarmed the Congress.

"In this connection, we should recognize that an inexcusable policy of compromise and placation has made our Canal Zone the tinder box of the Caribbean. We are dealing with a Soviet-organized plan for conquest of the Caribbean, which has the Panama Canal as its key objective. Such conquest by the Soviet would be but a prelude to their intended conquest of the United States.

"The congressional inquiries into subversive activities in the Department of State, which are now underway, should be pressed with increased vigor to the end that these influences may be identified and corrective actions taken by the Congress to repudiate the President's ill-advised action of surrender."

TANSILL BOOKLET

The Committee on Pan American Policy, of which Harold Lord Varney is the president, has recently published an excellent booklet by the distinguished scholar and university professor, Dr. Charles Callan Tansill, entitled "The Panama Canal—It Must Remain American." (Copies may be obtained from the Committee on Pan American Policy, 60 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y., price 15 cents.) I quote from this booklet as follows:

STRATEGIC ADVANTAGES OF THE CANAL

"These strategic advantages of an Isthmian canal seem obvious and they are stressed in an article in the American Legion magazine (March 1957, pp. 40ff.) by Maurice Ries: 'The Panama Canal is our jugular vein, our lifeline. Cut it and the United States dies. Wrest it from our control and in matters of seaborne commerce and naval defense the U.S. east and west coasts again become, as once they were, months instead of days apart. Block it and our foreign commerce strangles.' "

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF CANAL ZONE

"The expulsion of the United States from the Panama Canal Zone has been an objective by the Communists ever since they took over the government of Russia in 1917. The slogan to 'Internationalize the Panama Canal' was first minted in Moscow, and has been actively implemented during several decades."

ACTION SUGGESTED FOR CONGRESS

"In order to save the Panama Canal from Soviet intrigue or from the folly of hyphenated Americans who get their inspiration from Moscow, it is imperative that some action be taken at once to show unmistakably the American attitude towards this important waterway. The way is pointed out by Representative DANIEL FLOOD, an ardent patriot and an expert on all phases of the Panama question. He warns that 'unless Congress spells out exactly what their Panama position is,' disaster lies ahead. Only 'with the passage of the Clarence Cannon Concurrent Resolution 105 (now before the 88th Congress) can we demonstrate our opposition to the piecemeal liquidation of the U.S. sovereignty in the Canal Zone.' This resolution demands that the American Government shall not in any manner 'surrender to any other government or authority its ownership and protection of the Panama Canal.' "

VARNEY LETTER

In a recent letter Harold Lord Varney, the very able and well-informed President of the Committee on Pan-American Policy, says:

"The fight to save the Panama Canal has now entered its most dangerous stage.

"President Johnson, under terrific pressure from the appeasers, has now announced that he is ready to 'discuss' anything with the Republic of Panama. This means that he will discuss the Treaty of 1903, which gives us sovereignty.

"Only the American people can stop another ghastly American surrender. Now is the moment when we must speak out. Washington must be alerted, during the negotiation period, by a giant flow of letters and telegrams."

LETTERS RECOMMENDED

Letters should be written as soon as possible to President Lyndon B. Johnson, White House, Washington, D.C.: Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.; your two Senators, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.; and your Representative, House Office Building, Washington, D.C., urging that the American Government shall not in any manner or to any extent whatsoever surrender its ownership, con-

trol, and protection of the Panama Canal and its rights in the Canal Zone.

The following is a copy of a letter I am writing to President Johnson:

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
White House, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: For the reasons set forth in the enclosed advertisement I most earnestly appeal to you and to the Members of the Congress to take such action as may be necessary to insure that the American Government shall not in any manner or to any extent whatsoever surrender its ownership, control, and protection of the Panama Canal and its rights in the Canal Zone, which as you know, are complete and perpetual under the 1903 treaty with Panama.

Respectfully yours,

ROBERT B. DRESSER.

NOTE.—A copy of this advertisement is enclosed in the letter, and a copy also is being sent to each Member of Congress.

While the Senators alone have the right to vote on the treaty, it is well to cover the Representatives as well. A large volume of letters is essential if the approval of the treaty is to be prevented.

GOP Needs John Birch Like Another Trunk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, one of the most distinquished newspapers serving my congressional district, the Pontiac Press, recently published an editorial concerning the repudiation of the John Birch Society by a number of leaders of the Republican Party.

I think this editorial is of interest and of importance to Democrats as well as Republicans, and is a clear, concise statement of the dangers we face from whose who would distort and pervert the principles upon which our Nation is based and upon which it will prosper and mature in the future.

My congratulations to the Pontiac Press for the public service it has performed and the continued dedication of this newspaper to the principle of freedom.

The article follows:

GOP NEEDS JOHN BIRCH LIKE ANOTHER TRUNK

The Republicans in the 1960's are suffering from the same kind of infection as did the Democrats in the 1930's—the infiltration by extremists who purportedly share the ideals of the party but who in actuality are working to destroy them.

The most basic of these ideals is the one called democracy, which has to do with the free and open interplay of competing ideas, majority rule tempered by a loyal opposition, compromise, fair play.

Democracy is a dirty word to the rightist John Birch Society, just as it is, in its true sense, to the Communists. The guiding principles of the Birch Society founder, Robert Welch, could have come directly from the lips of Lenin.

The John Birch Society is an authoritarian structure. Orders come directly from the top, with none of this nonsense about democratic discussion. Every member of the society acknowledges the right of the leader to oust him at any time without explanation.

The most fantastic and insidious thing about the Birch Society is that it does not hurt its ostensible enemy, the Communists, in the slightest. It does not even pay much attention to liberals. Its most bitter venom is directed against responsible and respected American conservatives.

Clearly, as Representative GERALD R. FORD, of Michigan, has said, "There is no place for it in the Republican Party"

Nor, it might be added, in any association of Americans.

American Host Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, we have on other occasions brought to the attention of the House a struggling but promising program in people-to-people relations, the American host program. This project was started 4 years ago by a teacher in my district who, as a serviceman, had substantial duty overseas in European countries. Out of that experience he came to be genuinely concerned over the poor and incorrect image so many otherwise ill-informed persons had of the average American and his family.

Tom Murphy, unlike most of us, determined to do something about this problem. With no financing except the second mortgage on his house and the proceeds from the sale of his equity in an automobile, this dedicated American began a program to make his country meaningful to the most influential class of people in Europe, the teachers.

This year, besides bringing his usual band of teachers to American host families, Tom brought also Mr. Frank Newell, a staff reporter for the London Times Educational Supplement. Mr. Newell's comments on the 1965 program and his assessment of its value are contained in an excellent article appearing in the London Times Educational Supplement of October 1, 1965. Under unanimous consent I include it below:

SEEING AMERICA FIRSTHAND

With the departure of the charter jet from Amsterdam, the first lap of this summer's American host program had begun. If anything had happened to the plane, either then or on its return from New York 5 weeks later (nothing did happen, of course—KLM took good care of that), Europe would have lost some 140 of its educationists (and one reporter).

That first lap ended after a few days in a hotel in downtown Manhattan, during which the party indulged their individual interests in New York, and got to know each other a little better. For most it was their first trip to the United States. Some opted for the galleries, some for breathtaking glimpses of the city's architecture and sense of space, some for the World's Fair, some for Greenwich Village or Harlem, many rose to the dizzying pinnacle of the Empire State Building.

The topics of the discussions over and after the meals taken in common at the hotel—breakfast and an evening meal—ranged from kindergarten method to university research (educationists share fully in the professional's addiction to talking shop). For the party covered almost the entire educational spectrum from teachers of 3- and 4-year-olds to university tutors and lecturers. For once there was opportunity to see—and discuss—education as the continuous process it is.

Then the party fanned out to their various host families, living with and getting to know whom was the main point of the whole exercise. The American host program was started from scratch (4 years ago—this summer was its 4th year of operation, and had its highest number of participants to date) by its director, Mr. Tom Murphy. In Europe during the war (as a serviceman) and again during the 50's, Mr. Murphy was appalled at the falseness of the generally accepted image of America (for which, incidentally, the pressman's penchant for bad rather than good news is doubtless in ample measure to blame), and conceived the idea of somehow getting ordinary Europeans to come and see for themselves just exactly what ordinary Americans were like and how they lived.

The AHP thus emerged, in the teeth of seemingly insuperable odds. In its earliest stages, Mr. Murphy would have been single-handed, if he had not enjoyed (as he still does) the fullest cooperation and support of his wife, Frances.

Why, it might be asked, did Mr. Murphy choose to bring over educationists to live with American families? His answer is that educationists (he is himself a teacher), through contact with their pupils and students, are in a position to pass on their first-hand experience and image of ordinary Americans and family life to the younger generation. He is not so much concerned with the favorableness or otherwise of that image (though, as an American, he naturally feels and indeed knows from experience that it can be favorable) as with the need for it to be a true image.

Mr. Murphy has a certain sense of urgency about all that, from which derive the Herculean efforts he and his wife have made to get the American host program launched. His concern with the truth of Europe's image of Americans (and of the American image of Europe, for the participants in the program take firsthand experience of Europe into American families) is not linked with ignorance of the need for ordinary people everywhere to have a true image of each other. It is simply what he conceives to be his own small but concrete contribution to international understanding.

The AHP is administered by a foundation—the American Host Foundation—which is an educational and nonprofitmaking body. Mr. Murphy is glad and deems himself privileged to have the moral support and cooperation of the American Government and its various embassies and consulates in Europe.[1] But the program's funds derive entirely from two nongovernmental sources: what the participants contribute, and money given by private individuals and firms. This summer, for example, besides

[1] The honorary board of directors of the American host program include Gen. James M. Gavin, former Ambassador to France; Mr. James Roosevelt, Member of Congress; Mr. HUGH SCOTT, Senator; Mr. Edward F. Cavanagh, Jr., deputy mayor of New York; Mr. RICHARD T. HANNA, Member of Congress; Mr. Jesse Unruh, speaker, California assembly.

sponsoring and financing a 2-week seminar on American culture and literature at Williams' College for a selected group of AHP participants from West Germany, Volkswagen gave $10,000 to the program.

The families with whom the participants stay have all volunteered to act as hosts, receive no monetary reward, and have all accepted to give their guest a private room and meals with the family, to show him local places of interest, to introduce him to friends and neighbors, and to treat him as they would any guest in their home.

The party of 140 this summer was made up of just under 60 participants from Britain, just over 60 from West Germany, 16 from the Netherlands, 2 from Belgium, and 1 from Spain. Roughly two-thirds were women, one-third men. During the 5 weeks in the United States they nearly all stayed with two different host families, in, according to their choice, the Northeast, the Midwest, or the Far West.

As an observer of the program, I was given the opportunity of staying with families in all three of these areas—two families in New Jersey (each of the two places here was at most half an hour by car from Times Square in Manhattan, yet each had wild squirrels and rabbits), one in Kansas City, Mo., one in Portland, Oreg., and one near Los Angeles. It was a curious and moving experience (one which was shared, I gathered on the return flight from New York, by virtually all of the participants) that even past youth one can still make firm friends, and do so quickly.

In 1966, as this summer, participants will be offered the choice of staying with host families in the Northeast, the Midwest, or the Far West of the United States. The cost to each participant will be respectively $440, $580, or $740. These amounts cover all expenses (lodging, food, transport, medical insurance) except personal spending, from the time the participant boards the plane in Europe until he or she leaves it on the return.

Next year, moreover, Mr. Murphy forecasts, the number of participants will be at least double that of this summer. The 1966 program will therefore consist of two groups. Group I will leave from Amsterdam on July 6, 1966, and fly directly to New York; after 3 days in New York and 4 weeks with host families, this group will leave New York and return to Amsterdam on August 7. Group II will leave Amsterdam on July 27, and fly to New York with a stop in London to pick up British teachers; after 3 days in New York and 4 weeks with host families, this group will leave New York on August 28, returning to Amsterdam with a stop in London for the convenience of British teachers.

Any teacher or school administrator (and their wife or husband) is eligible for the 1966 program. Participants are not expected to be fluent in English, but each must be able to make himself understood and to understand others, in English.

Educationists in Britain who wish to apply for the 1966 program should send a stamped addressed envelope to the AHP representatives in Britain, Mr. and Mrs. P. J. Osborn, 54 Linden Avenue, Darlington, County Durham. Those outside Britain should write direct to the American host program, Hotel Empire, Broadway at 63d Street, New York. The latest date for the receipt of applications is February 1, 1966.

Personal interviews will be arranged for applicants in a city near their home in February or March. Those accepted or not accepted will be notified within 10 days of the interview.

The AHP is a two-way, truly educational undertaking. No one is advised to apply to take part in it if they see it as merely a low-cost tourist jaunt. It was conceived as, and in fact has proved to be, a very great deal more than that.

Good Economics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 21, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, in this country, we have found that helping others to help themselves means good economics.

When President Johnson addressed the International Monetary meeting here recently, he had specific recommendations about what the rich nations can do "to lighten the burden of ignorance and illiteracy throughout the world."

The President said there are more than 700 million adults in the world who cannot read or write, and he suggested that the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank might expand and intensify their educational activities.

Along these lines, an editorial in the Washington Post praised the President's efforts "to lighten the burden" of the oppressed throughout the world.

To do so not only is humane; it also means good economics. I place the editorial to which I have referred in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 4, 1965]

"TO LIGHTEN THE BURDEN"

President Johnson's closing remarks to the representatives of 103 nations who gathered here for the meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank contained much more than the polite generalities in which statesmen are wont to indulge on such occasions. He had some specific recomendations about what the rich nations can do "to lighten the burden of ignorance and illiteracy throughout the world." And it is significant that he concluded by remarking that "every industrial country including the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union" has a role to play in the global attack on poverty.

After citing the disquieting fact that there are more than 700 million adults in the world who cannot read or write, the President suggested that the Bank and Fund might expand and intensify their educational activities. For more than a decade the World Bank has conducted an Economic Development Institute, an excellent school in this city whose alumni include many finance ministers and members of the technical elite in the underdeveloped countries. Last year the Monetary Fund established a similar school. Both institutes can do much to increase the flow of technically trained persons by expanding their programs, especially those conducted in the underdeveloped areas.

Only a few years ago, the announcement of economic assistance programs by the Soviet Union was a cause for consternation. Indeed, a not insignificant quantity of United States assistance was extended as a counter to Soviet offers. But even then it was obvious that Russia and her allies could make a valuable contribution to the economic development.

If political relationships continue to improve, it is conceivable that Russia and her allies might join in a consortium with the West to extend economic assistance to an underdeveloped area. But that is a possibility for the future.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 5, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to include my report to the people of the Seventh District of Alabama for October 11, 1965:

WASHINGTON REPORT: DO IT FOR LADYBIRD

(By Congressman JIM MARTIN, Seventh District, Alabama)

In one of the most ruthless displays of tyranny by the majority Congress was forced to stay in session for more than 12 hours last Thursday to pass the highway beautification bill. Riding roughshod over reasonable legislative procedure and acting on instructions from the White House to "do it for Ladybird," the Democrat majority passed a badly written bill which is going to cost the taxpayers millions in direct Federal spending and will also cause many States to lose millions of dollars in highway funds. Congress was kept in session continuously until 4 minutes to 1 o'clock in the morning in spite of the fact that the President and the First Lady had already invited them to a White House reception to honor the 89th Congress.

It is reported the President sent word that he would "rather they missed the party and give this gift to Ladybird." The heavy liberal majority gave in to this pressure and shouted down every attempt by the Republicans to improve what may prove to be one of the worst of many bad bills passed in this session under the same kind of pressure.

As usual, those who opposed the legislation, were accused by the majority of "being against beauty," or not caring about America. The fact is, the highway beautification bill is not a product carefully thought out by Congress, but is a bill created by the executive branch and rammed through Congress without adequate hearings, study, or debate.

The minority report from the Committee on Public Works, which I signed as a member of that committee, puts it this way:

"We support the concept of beautifying areas adjacent to highways, but we are opposed to the enactment of this bill in its present form, for three basic reasons:

"1. It is not the product of careful, independent congressional deliberation. Instead, it is a poorly thought out proposal which was brutally forced upon the Committee on Public Works by spokesmen for the administration who wielded the power and influence of the White House, to an extent which we have never before seen, to make certain that the bill is reported, and reported now, regardless of the consequences.

"2. The bill is replete with unworkable, unwise, and unfair provisions insisted upon by spokesmen for the administration who did not know and probably did not care about the many ramifications and adverse impacts of such provision.

"3. The bill will unjustly penalize States which, in good faith, may attempt to control outdoor advertising and junkyards under the bill, but are unable to do so within the short time allowed, because of constitutional or other impediments; it will have a destructive impact on small businesses, such as motels, hotels, restaurants, service stations, and the like, which depend upon patronage by the motoring public for survival, and it will deprive the motoring public of needed travel information."

UNWORKABLE, UNWISE, AND UNFAIR PROVISIONS

Briefly, here are some of the most objectionable provisions of the "Ladybird bill:" (1) Mandatory withholding of highway funds even when a State cannot comply with the beautification bill; (2) Broad and inconsistent powers given to the Secretary of Commerce which will give him the same kind of power over the States in the matter of highways that we have seen so unjustly exercised by Francis Keppel, Commissioner of Education, in the matter of schools; (3) Federal control of the use of land; (4) Gives the Secretary of Commerce power to determine the content of commercial advertising on highway signs; (5) Makes it possible to eliminate all outdoor advertising on certain highways, and this is not good for the traveling public or the Nation; (6) The bill makes it possible to force the removal of junkyards and highway signs, but no provision is made for payment of just compensation to the owners; (7) There is no prohibition against future junkyards; (8) It contains completely illogical provisions concerning landscaping on highways; (9) There is a complete lack of information as to the cost of the beautification programs. The bill authorizes the appropriation of $320 million for fiscal years 1966 and 1967, but no one knows and no estimate was given as to the long-range costs.

In spite of the brutal pressure methods to get this bill through, and in spite of the many bad provisions of the bill, in spite of its discrimination against the small businessman and the States, a majority of Democrats backed the leadership in Congress and knuckled under to the President and "did it for Ladybird."

STUDY MISSION TO VIETNAM AND FAR EAST

Within a few weeks I hope to leave on a study mission to see for myself what the situation is in Vietnam and other countries of Asia where communism is creating problems for the United States and the free world. This trip will be entirely at my own expense. I will report to you by newsletter and radio as often as possible while I am away and give you a complete and full report on my return. My regular weekly newsletter will be discontinued with the next issue until Congress reconvenes in January. During the time Congress is adjourned and I am in Asia, I hope we can get the names of all those who have requested the newsletter on the mailing list so that you will receive it regularly when I begin sending it out at the start of the 2d session of the 89th Congress. If you have not requested to be on the mailing list, send me your name and address now.

As you know this newsletter is not paid for through Government funds. I believe it is important in keeping you informed about your Government and what is going on in Washington. I want to take this opportunity to thank so many of you who have sent in voluntary contributions to help pay the cost of printing the newsletter.

The Late Frank Hurburt O'Hara

SPEECH

OF

HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, for myself and the Delaware delegation, I extend my deepest sympathy to our colleague, Congressman BARRATT O'HARA, upon the loss of his brother, Dr. Frank Hurburt O'Hara, who died in Phoenix, Ariz., on the night of October 8.

To know our colleague, BARRATT, and then to know how close was the relationship to his brother would be to realize the loss and sadness that has come over his life. The two brothers had so much in common. They were scholars, educators, journalists, students of the drama. The brothers were closely identified with the educational and cultural life of the great city of Chicago, where they resided for so many years. As the author of many books on the drama, as well as numerous magazine articles on this subject, Dr. Frank O'Hara had become well known in the universities through the Midwest.

Ralph Waldo Emerson once wrote that the true test of civilization is, not the census, nor the size of cities, nor the crops—no, but the kind of man the country turns out.

Mrs. McDowell joins me in prayer and in extending our heartfelt sympathy to Congressman O'HARA in this hour of grief.

Columbus Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, today we honor one of the world's greatest men and one of the world's greatest explorers. He has been called the great navigator, the discoverer, the first American, and admiral of the ocean sea.

Christopher Columbus was above all else a mariner. His childhood was spent in Italy's port of Genoa and as a boy he voyaged throughout the Mediterranean. He later found employment as a maker of charts in Lisbon, Portugal, a seaport that was in his days the very center of oceanic enterprise in Europe.

When Columbus came to Lisbon in 1476, the idea of sailing west to reach the Orient had reached about the same stage of development as the idea of a manned flight at the turn of the last century. It was considered theoretically possible, but also impossibly difficult in any practical sense. After long and heartbreaking efforts, the young Genoese obtained the support he needed to make the attempt.

He was sustained in his quest by his deep religious faith. The religious motivation of Columbus is clearly shown in the circumstances of his first landing in America, the event we celebrate today. According to the log kept on that first voyage, "All having rendered thanks to our Lord, kneeling on the ground, embracing it with tears of joy for the immeasurable mercy of having reached it, the Admiral rose and gave the island the name San Salvador—Holy Savior."

Italian-Americans have emulated the qualities of their great hero, Columbus. In honoring him today, we honor also all Americans of Italian descent. Their achievements in the United States have been magnificent, and in the great tradition of accomplishment established so long ago by Columbus. An Italian discovered America, and in it Italian-Americans have come to realize their dreams and aspirations for a life of hard-won success.

Columbus Day, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, it is important and necessary that we pause each year to commemorate one of the great moments in all of recorded history, the moment of discovery of the New World.

I have been privileged to serve in the House of Representatives since 1949, and this year, more so than in any previous year since my coming to Congress, I can truthfully say there is good reason to celebrate Columbus Day. For this year Congress at last has sent to the scrap heap an immigration program based on national origin quotas. In its place we have substituted a new law that reasserts America's democratic heritage and spirit of fair play.

No longer does our immigration policy attempt to perpetuate the fiction that the accident of birth in one country makes a man more or less acceptable for admission to this land of the free.

Christopher Columbus, it should be remembered, was the Father of Immigration. The towering achievement of the onetime weaver from Genoa did not end with discovery and exploration.

On his subsequent voyages, Columbus made the first attempts to colonize the lands he had discovered. He brought the Old World to the New World, here to begin a stirring new chapter in the exciting story of mankind.

And since the time of Columbus, year after year, the tired and the poor, the downtrodden and the oppressed, the lovers of liberty and the seekers of freedom have come.

With faith and hope and heart, they have come in search of dignity, equality, and opportunity—and with bare and bleeding hands they pushed the frontiers of freedom forward, and they helped to make America great.

As with Columbus before them, they found the way to the New World was long and trying, but still they came, your fathers and mine, braving the hazards and the perils on their arduous, difficult trek from countryside and mountainside, from city and hamlet, across the wide ocean to this land of promise.

They became intertwined in the fabric of their adopted land, and they enriched the tapestry of America's heritage. And their love and their loyalty helped this Nation grow strong and prosperous.

Today, as we probe the mysteries of outer space and seek to build a better, richer, fuller life for all people—in this country and throughout our shrinking world—it is well that we keep before us a mental picture of that indomitable sailor who refused to turn back.

Columbus Day should be a national holiday, a day to recall the Great Discoverer's indestructible faith, his penetrating vision, and the example he set in pressing onward, ever onward, in the face of staggering difficulty.

Columbus Day should be a national holiday when all of us dare to dream bold Columbus dreams and dedicate ourselves to the task of finding solutions to the challenging problems that beset us, that we may leave to our children, and to their children after them, a living legacy of liberty and light, of freedom and knowledge, peace and prosperity.

Columbus Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, today, October 12 ,we observe the 473d anniversary of the discovery of America by the intrepid Italian navigator Christopher Columbus. Nearly 5 centuries have have gone by since that historic event in human affairs which began a new era for all mankind, but most especially for us who live in the Western Hemisphere.

In the course of history, mankind has come to recognize Columbus as a great navigator, explorer, and dreamer, but also as a dedicated and religious man who by his exploits inspired countless generations to great deeds. I believe that much of our heritage of freedom and justice is due in large measure to the courage, the determination, and the ideals of Columbus.

It is to be regretted that to this day we have not yet given to Christopher Columbus the full recognition to which he is entitled. Both in the last Congress and also in the present Congress I have introduced bills to designate October 12 of each year as a legal holiday and that it be known as Columbus Day in recognition of the achievements of the great navigator. I also suggested that this day be observed as a day of rededication to the ideals of peace, justice and democracy which have helped make America the great Nation that it is today.

I believe the time has come to make Columbus Daw more meaningful, and for this reason I commend our fellow Americans of Italian origin for their efforts each year in observing this day in accordance with the ideals and dreams envisioned by Columbus. We join with them on this day in paying tribute to Columbus. We recall with pride and appreciation the magnificent contribution and the invaluable role of Italian-Americans in the growth of development of America. We salute them for their loyalty and their patriotism.

Cameron Voting Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, my fourth and final rollcall report on the 1st session of the 89th Congress closes the door on what is perhaps the most productive period in the history of the world's greatest legislative body. But we would be in error to evaluate our work simply in terms of productivity. How much we have done is not the measuring device which should be applied. It is the quality, not quantity, of what we have done that the people should and must judge us by.

As we stand on the threshold of adjournment few of us would look back and comment that we are completely satisfied or completely disappointed with Congress' record. I supported many measures which were adopted and I supported some which failed of enactment. Likewise, I opposed some which received approval and I opposed others which were successfully blocked. Each of us racked up similar legislative boxscores for this is the very essence of democratic lawmaking, and not one of us would have it any other way. In the legislative game those who hit a thousand are losers just as surely as those who bat zero. Call it consensus, compromise, accommodation, middle-of-the-road-ism, or what you will. I choose to simply call it good government.

In my judgment, adjournment is overdue. I think that perhaps we have done too much too fast. Before the second session convenes in January it behooves Congress to minutely assess its past actions so that it may carefully chart a future course. Continuing on a dead run at this year's legislative pace would be a disservice to the Nation. As the distinguished Senate majority leader recently pointed out, Congress has the duty and the authority to examine the effects of laws it has enacted with a view to correcting them, if necessary. When we return to this Chamber in 1966 we should spend the year viewing and correcting—if necessary. Hopefully, little correcting will be necessary.

Mr. Speaker, my rollcall report includes commentary on the following: repeal of section 14(b) of the National Labor Relations Act; the farm bill; immigration reform; the Automotive Products Trade Act; Republican obstructive tactics; establishing the National Foundation of the Arts and Humanities; post office employees and political patronage; the effort to unseat the Mississippi delegation; House Resolution 560 regarding Latin America; amendments to the Bank Company Holding Act; aid for rural water and sanitation facilities; home rule for the District of Columbia; the Federal pay bill; highway beautification; and the sugar bill.

ROLLCALL NOS. 208 AND 209—REPEAL OF 14(b)

Mr. Speaker, perhaps no issue of this session has aroused more emotional fervor both on and off Capitol Hill than the proposed repeal of section 14(b)—the so-called right-to-work provision—of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Opponents of repeal mounted a costly propaganda campaign designed to distort the issue and hide from the public the facts necessary to form a reasoned opinion on H.R. 77. To a large extent this powerful lobby was successful and the public should know exactly how it has been misled.

Few persons realize that the Taft-Hartley Act as originally proposed in 1947 by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, of which Senator Robert Taft was chairman, did not contain section 14(b). This section was first proposed in the House and the legislative record of its birth is so obscure that its conceivers cannot even be determined.

Senator Taft's view on the union shop—which right-to-work laws prohibit—is summed up in his statement of May 9, 1947:

> So I think it would be a mistake to go to the extreme of absolutely outlawing a contract which provides for a union shop, requiring all employees to join the union, if that arrangement meets with the approval of the employer and meets with the approval of a majority of the employees and is embodied in a written contract.

But, Mr. Speaker, State right-to-work laws, which are permitted by section 14(b), do absolutely outlaw the union shop. Repeal of 14(b) would therefore restore the Taft-Hartley Act to the form which was intended by Senator Taft, a man who was vitally concerned throughout his life with the protection of individual freedom.

As was Senator Taft, I am opposed to right-to-work laws because they deprive the working man of certain decisionmaking and bargaining powers which are his by right. By their very nature, these laws produce definite inequities in their application both among individual workers and among the 50 States. The repeal of 14(b), on the other hand, would not encroach upon the right of individuals to choose their conditions of employment. It would insure that right.

That 14(b) deprives employers and employees of decisionmaking is clear. The first consideration is one of semantics: a right-to-work law guarantees no one the right to work. A right-to-work law means a ban on the union shop within a State, a weapon which 19 States currently use to pirate industry and jobs from prosperous States like California by exploiting cheap labor and undermining the legitimate efforts of organized labor. I hasten to point out that the people of California, believing in the principal of free collective bargaining between employees and employers, went

to the polls in 1958 and overwhelmingly rejected a proposal to establish a right-to-work law in our State. The repeal of 14(b) will have no effect on existing California statutes or on relationships between management and labor.

I realize that many people who object to repeal of 14(b) are convinced that it would mean unrestricted compulsory union membership for all workers in any industry organized by a union. This is simply not so. It is the closed shop—not the union shop—which requires employers to hire applicants who are union members. The closed shop is now outlawed by the Taft-Hartley Act and it will continue to be outlawed even after 14(b) is repealed.

It is the union shop—not the closed shop—which right-to-work laws destroy. Assume, for example, that workers in a certain industry decide they want a union, that an election is held according to National Labor Relations Board regulations, that the election shows a majority of employees favoring the union shop, and that employer and employees subsequently reach a free and voluntary agreement in favor of a union shop. It would then seem completely unreasonable and undemocratic to deny them the right to do what the majority by legitimate means had elected to do. Yet this is exactly what right-to-work laws do—deny workers the right to have a union shop if they so desire.

The National Labor Relations Act does not require membership as such in a union as a condition of employment in a union shop. No one is required to take an oath or obligation to the union, to attend union meetings, to participate in picket lines, or to engage in other union activities. What is required as a condition of continued employment in a union shop is a tender of nominal dues and initiation fees that are not excessive or discriminatory. Thus each employee bears an equal part of the cost of the collective bargaining unit that the law says must represent him equally with other employees in seeking worker benefits. It is simply a case of requiring those who share in the benefits to also share in the responsibilities.

ROLLCALL NOS. 243–244—FARM BILL

Mr. Speaker, it has been said that nature seldom makes a fool. She merely furnishes the raw material for a do-it-yourself job. And a do-it-yourself job the House did with passage of this year's legislative monstrosity known as the farm bill, perhaps the most complex and costly package of poor proposals which any Secretary of Agriculture within memory has had the audacity to thrust upon the Congress.

I do not profess to be an expert on all the incredible provisions of the bill, and I doubt that anyone can claim to know all of its ins-and-outs. There are so many special interest subsidies for so many products grown, plus an abundant share for those not grown, that it is impossible to conclude that the overall public interest was considered when the package was glued together. Some solace can be had, however, in the knowledge that the original proposal's most odious section, the infamous bread tax, became unglued and fell by the legislative wayside before any votes were taken. And while this fantastic scheme to line the pockets of wealthy wheat growers by tapping the pockets of consumers was given up as a sacrifice for votes needed to effect passage, the entire bill was so impure that it could not be made pure even with elimination of its most objectionable feature.

What were the remaining impurities? A tome is required to spell them all out but I will attempt to hit the high—or more accurately, low—points in a few paragraphs. The farm bill calls for spending more than $18 billion over 4 years on programs that have failed in the past, are failing today and are doomed to fail tomorrow. As just one example, examine the feed grains program, started in 1961 as an emergency measure.

This year the Department of Agriculture is spending more than $1.5 billion for feed grains, not for growing or storing, but to prevent growing. Known as the land retirement program, it is billed as an effort to cut supply and bring it into balance with demand. The $1.5 billion retired 36 million acres. The taxpayers, in other words, rented the land from farmers so that they would not reap a harvest which would only add more feed grains to already overburdened and costly storage facilities. According to reliable crop reports, this year's feed grain production is going to hit the highest level in history. Why? Because price support levels are attractive enough to cause farmers to use more and more fertilizer and other scientific methods to boost the output of acres still under cultivation. This same boondoggle approach to solving problems of the farm economy is also used for cotton and wheat—and with the same disastrous results.

As has been pointed out by former Budget Director Kermit Gordon, about 80 percent of our assistance goes to the 1 million farmers whose average income exceeds $9,500. The other 20 percent of assistance is spread thinly among the remaining 2.5 million farmers.

Four years from now the Treasury will be $18 billion poorer, large corporate farming complexes will be almost that much richer, the small farmer and sharecropper will still be in the grip of poverty, and the country will still be in the grip of the vicious cycle that we call a farm program.

I could, and probably would, support a well-conceived farm bill which introduced a gradual phaseout of these uneconomic and costly subsidies, even if the plan was spread out over many years. It would be foolish to expect that we can get out of the mess we are in overnight. But we have to start crawling out of this almost bottomless pit sometime, instead of slipping deeper and deeper each year. Until the Congress creates a program aimed at taking us up instead of down I will continue to oppose.

ROLLCALL NOS. 248 AND 249—IMMIGRATION REFORM

Mr. Speaker, being a cosponsor of the immigration reform bill which abolishes the discriminatory national origins quota system I was elated that the measure received overwhelming approval by the Congress.

As I noted when I introduced the bill many months ago, it does much to restore our traditional attitude on a fundamental issue, an attitude which prevailed among countless generations of Americans who labored long and hard to make this country great. That attitude did not ask an immigrant from where he came or how he spelled his name. It was an attitude—a way of life—perhaps best summed up in these words with which we are all very familiar:

> Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.

And if it was found that an immigrant did—and could—indeed want to do something for his adopted country, he and his family were given an opportunity to carve for themselves a safe and secure place in the American community.

However, Mr. Speaker, 40 years ago this traditional attitude was amended when discrimination was written into law. It became official policy to welcome immigrants only if they came from the right country or were of the right nationality. Among those nationalities not considered right were Japanese, Polish, Spanish, Italian and Greek, to name just a few of many.

The measure which we have now approved erases discrimination from our immigration law and writes into a policy compatible with our historic traditions, a policy which is committed to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Bigots and extremists of the rightwing variety bitterly opposed passage of the bill and laid down a propaganda barrage designed to foster the false impression that the proposal would open the floodgates to hordes of undesirable aliens and spies and inundate the country with unemployables. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The overall annual immigration total is increased only slightly above its existing level of 158,361. The new limit would be 170,000 persons, an increase of only 11,639 souls in a country with a population nearing 200 million.

It is also important to note that future immigrants will be selected on a first come, first served basis with preference given to those with special skills and talents which will enrich the whole spectrum of our national life. No individual will be permitted into the country without a certificate from the Secretary of Labor guaranteeing that no American will be displaced from his job if entry is granted. Intending immigrants will also have to prove that they will not become public charges. Contrary to the allegations of its few but vocal opponents, the bill contains safeguards designed to prevent exactly what its critics claim it will promote.

I was disturbed that the bill was amended on the floor to include a provision which I fear will damage our relations with other nations of the Western Hemisphere. Under the so-called MacGregor amendment, the United States will, for the first time in 40 years, set a ceiling on the number of Mexicans and other Latin Americans who can emigrate

to this country. During this critical period in our relations with Latin American nations, I think it very unwise to create more ill will among peoples who already have grave questions about our basic attitude toward them.

During the past 40 years we have not placed barriers on Latin immigration to the United States and now is the wrong time to implement such a policy. Not only is it bad timing, but it is unnecessary. Over the past 10 years regular immigration from other countries in the hemisphere has averaged 110,000, a figure less than the ceiling of 115,000 which the MacGregor amendment imposes. And the ceiling does not include the spouses, children, and parents of persons who are American citizens. According to reliable estimates, this group could account for an additional 25,000 immigrants annually which in effect boosts the MacGregor figure to 140,000, or 30,000 more than the current immigration rate.

As I said, the amendment was ill-advised because of our delicate position in Latin America, a position made even more precarious by the incredible resolution which the House adopted on September 20, a matter which I will discuss later in this report.

ROLLCALL NO. 255—AUTOMOTIVE TRADE ACT

Mr. Speaker, during debate on the Automotive Products Trade Act proponents failed to give a satisfactory reply to the question: To what extent will this agreement result in exporting U.S. automobile parts manufacturing firms and the jobs of American workers to Canada?

Although an effort was made to mask H.R. 9042 as legislation designed to promote free trade and thereby strengthen the domestic economy, the facts contradicted the claim and I was constrained to vote against the bill.

It was less than 2 years ago that the Studebaker Corp. closed its automobile plant in South Bend and moved its operation to Canada. More than 7,000 American workers lost their jobs and Canadian employment increased by a similar figure. I predict that we will soon see Canadian plants, currently operating well below capacity, increase their production and sell on the American market cars which cannot be absorbed in Canada. There will be no U.S. duty on these automobiles and thus they will be sold here at prices substantially below what they are going for in Canada. This can hardly be called selling at the fair market value.

My record clearly indicates that I support free trade legislation and the gradual reduction of tariff barriers. But the act cannot be interpreted as a free trade agreement since only certain Canadian manufacturers and subsidiaries of American automobile firms are eligible for duty-free imports. It is discriminatory legislation designed to benefit America's auto giants—Ford, General Motors, Chrysler, and American Motors—at the expense of smaller independent auto parts producers. An automotive parts dealer in Canada, for example, will be able to import parts from the United States duty free—but only if he is dealing with one of the Big Four. Yet the small American parts dealer importing Canadian-made products will have to pay the regular tariff.

H.R. 9042 also violates our Government's established policy of liberal multilateral—not bilateral—trade relations based on the most-favored-nation principle. All countries which subscribe to the General Agreements on Tariff and Trade have a right to be accorded the same treatment as Canada.

I can still remember when Secretary of Defense Charles Wilson, formerly top executive at GM, said:

> What is good for General Motors is good for the United States.

I did not believe it then and I do not believe it now. The Automotive Products Trade Act is good for GM, but it is bad for the United States. The fact that the proposal is also good for Canada does nothing to mitigate its negative effect on our country's economy and its work force.

Get Well, Mr. President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the attention of the Nation is focused now on the Bethesda Naval Medical Center, Bethesda, Md., where the President is recovering from major surgery. We all hope that his progress will be swift, and that he will soon be back in the White House with full strength.

The Bethesda-Chevy Chase Tribune, published by my distinguished constituent, William Prescott Allen, last Friday noted that thousands of Marylanders have a unique opportunity to express their good wishes to the President each day, as they travel past the hospital on the Rockville Pike. The Tribune suggested that, for the duration of the President's stay, motorists passing the hospital in the daytime simply turn on their lights as an expression of "good luck."

The Tribune's editorial follows:

GET WELL, MR. PRESIDENT

The White House on Tuesday announced that President Lyndon B. Johnson would enter the Bethesda Naval Medical Center for removal of his gall bladder.

For the next 10 days or 2 weeks President Johnson will be a fellow Bethesdan. While we certainly welcome him, we regret the unfortunate circumstances which bring him here.

We know that the people of Montgomery County, regardless of political attraction, will want to wish the President a speedy recovery from his surgery.

We have a suggestion:

Thousands of cars travel the Rockville Pike in front of the Bethesda Naval Hospital every day. When we go by, for the duration of the President's stay there, we will turn on our lights in the daytime simply as a silent expression of "Good luck, Mr. President. Get well soon."

We hope our fellow motorists will follow suit.

"Amends"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, October 9, the Washington Post printed an editorial entitled "Amends." This editorial was prompted by the fact that during that week, the last case was processed and closed under the Evacuation Repayment Act of 1948. Under this act, we have tried to make reparation to the thousands of Japanese-Americans who hysteria and prejudice forced into relocation centers during the early 1940's.

The editorial notes that estimates by Mike Masaoka of the Japanese-American Citizens League indicate payment for property lost is at approximately 10 cents on the dollar of the 1941 value of that property.

We have recognized and acknowledged this sorry period of our history—and this act which was so damaging to the fabric of our democracy—it is well that we remain conscious of this event.

I am taking the liberty of including the full text of the Post editorial:

AMENDS

In the immediate aftermath of Pearl Harbor, there was a panicky demand on the west coast for a summary removal and confinement of all persons of Japenese ancestry. In part, the panic was fomented and fanned by narrow and selfish interests—by big landholders who saw a chance to acquire on the cheap the farms which Japanese-Americans had tended and developed with patient industry. Scare stories about espionage and sabotage were circulated recklessly as J. Edgar Hoover said plainly that there was no need of a mass roundup, the commanding general of the Army of the west coast ordered a mass evacuation of all Japanese-Americans to the interior of the country. A Jap's a Jap, said Gen John L. DeWitt; and no distinction was observed between citizens and noncitizens, between the loyal and the disloyal. For the duration of the war, these people were penned in relocation centers. For most, it meant a loss of property and savings as well as a loss of liberty.

The injustice done to the Japanese-Americans will remain forever a stain on American history. There is some comfort, however, in the general acknowledgment of this injustice and in the conscientious effort that has been made to provide restitution for the property losses suffered by the evacuated citizens. Seventy-five thousand of the 110,000 persons uprooted and incarcerated were Nisei—that is, citizens of the United States by virtue of birth in this land. For these victims of prejudice, Congress passed an Evacuation Repayment Act in 1948 under which some 26,500 claims have been processed and settled. The last case was closed this week.

Restitution or reparation of this sort is always, of course, pitifully inadequate. Mike Masaoka, director of the Japanese-American Citizens League, estimated that, in monetary terms, payments amounted to about 10 cents on the dollar based on a 1941 valuation of the property lost. And there is no way, obviously, to make amends for the loss of liberty and of dignity and of faith in American principles. The best that can be hoped for from this tragic story is an understanding

by Americans that it must never happen again—that men are never to be judged in categories or by the color of their skin or the slant of their eyes. Loyalty to the United States is loyalty to an ideal; and an indispensable part of that ideal is recognition of individual guilt and individual responsibility.

Military Implications of Space

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, many of the opponents of our large space budget attack it on the grounds that it is too costly an effort to be confined to civilian uses only, and they are not aware of the tremendous military effort encompassed in our space explorations.

Gen. B. A. Schriever, commander of the Air Force Systems Command, has made a number of speeches with reference to the military implications of space, the most recent of which was before the Governor's Conference on Oceanography and Astronautics held in Hawaii last week. It is with a great deal of pleasure that I include the text of General Schriever's remarks:

THE MILITARY IMPLICATIONS OF SPACE

(By Gen. B. A. Schriever)

It is a great pleasure to take part in this Conference on Oceanography and Astronautics. Hawaii is an appropriate place for such a meeting, because of the many important contributions this State has made and is making to both of these areas of research and exploration.

Hawaii's tracking stations serve as a vital link in missile and space development. The Kokee station here on Kauai, with its high accuracy C-band range tracking radar, has given the Air Force valuable support on the Titan III and other programs. We will continue to need this kind of support as we move forward in exploring the potential of space.

Both space and the oceans have fascinated mankind for centuries, but even today they remain largely unexplored regions. Only in recent years have we acquired the knowledge and techniques to begin the systematic exploration of the ocean depths and the vast expanse of space. At the same time, we have acquired the third element which is essential to such exploration. This element is motivation.

It is not enough to say that we must study the sea and sky "because they are there." Rather, we need to explore them because they can profoundly influence the lives of all of us. To take one obvious example, if the bottom of the sea or the surface of the moon should yield the mineral wealth that some scientists predict, the exploration of these regions could be justified in economic terms alone.

But there is an even more compelling reason—and that is the maintenance of our national security. Our programs of research, exploration, and investigation are a very practical way of providing insurance against technological surprise. The military importance of the sea has long been recognized, and surface navies have existed since classical times. Today the problems of antisubmarine warfare, or ASW, are an important factor in the growth of underwater research.

In the same way, considerations of national security must be taken into account when we look at space. Historically, the sea has provided a means of access to every continent. During this century the atmosphere has become a means of access to the most remote areas of the world, and today space can provide extremely rapid access to every spot on the globe.

In view of this fact, it would be wishful thinking of the worst kind to ignore the military potential of space. Rather, we must take the prudent actions which will insure that space will not be used successfully for aggression by any nation.

Our military efforts in space can be placed into three broad categories: first, the development of space systems to support military missions on earth; second, the development of defensive measures against possible enemy actions in space; and third the conduct of experimentation and of programs aimed at pushing technology forward.

To begin with the first category, we have successfully developed a number of space systems to fulfill a number of support functions. From our experience we are fully confident that missions such as communications, nuclear detonation detection, weather observation and navigation can be more reliably and effectively accomplished by satellites than by the use of earth-based systems alone.

Let me mention two examples of these unmanned satellite systems. One is the nuclear detection satellite program, which consists of experiments to gather knowedge of radiation backgrounds in far space and to define an operational nuclear detection system. Six Vela satellites are now functioning. They not only provide the necessary background radiation data and scientific information on solar phenomena, but also constitute an atmospheric test ban monitoring capability on an interim basis.

The success of these first six Vela satellites has enabled us to move the research and development program ahead by a year and thereby save money. In the last Vela launch the two basic satellites have significantly greater detection capability than the first four. The following two launches will employ completely redesigned spacecraft to investigate new concepts of nuclear detection. The last two launches planned in the program will use the Titan III-C booster with its greater payload capability.

A second example of unmanned space support systems is the use of communications satellites. A satellite system to satisfy military requirements for communications has now been authorized by the Department of Defense. An initial R. & D. system is planned for launch early next year. It will consist of up to 23 satellites circling the globe in random spacing at a height of about 21,000 statute miles. The satellites will be launched in clusters of eight from three Titan III-C boosters, and will then be positioned along an orbital path.

An advanced system is also planned, in which the expected life of each satellite would be increased from 1½ years to between 3 and 5 years.

Now let me turn to the second category I mentioned—defense against possible enemy actions in space. Just over a year ago the President announced the existence of operational U.S. antisatellite defense systems. They had been developed in less than 15 months after the Secretary of Defense had given the order for them. All steps necessary to provide an operational capability, such as training of launch and maintenance crews, ordering of spares, and compilation of operating and maintenance manuals, were undertaken concurrently with the research and development effort.

The third category—which is the advancement of space technology—is an area in which we are very active. Space offers a number of unique advantages such as extreme altitudes, very high speeds, nearly infinite flight duration, and highly predictable flight paths. We are naturally quite interested in making use of these characteristics to enhance our national security.

We have several major programs designed to do this. The latest to be approved is the Manned Orbiting Laboratory, or MOL, which was announced by the President just a few weeks ago. The primary experiments in the MOL program are designed to determine man's role in the space environment. There are many indications that man's unique abilities will make him indispensable for some space missions. MOL is a practical means of testing just what contributions man can make during an extended period in space.

The idea for such an experiment, of course, is not brand new. The Air Force first studied and proposed exploratory manned flight as early as 1957, and during the past year and a half the MOL concept has been studied in great detail. The initial questions and alternative technical considerations have been largely resolved. Maximum use will be made of hardware and subsystems from other space programs, which will minimize development risks and costs.

By contrast with other manned space flight programs, the MOL will offer considerably more room within the vehicle for flight crew operation. Much greater physical activity will be possible than in the Gemini and Apollo spacecraft—an important factor in maintaining the well-being of the crew during extended space flight. There will also be room for varied experiments.

The MOL will enable us to test and evaluate prototypes of space subsystems and components in actual orbital conditions. Failures can be observed as they occur; and on-the-spot analysis and corrective solutions can be applied. This will allow us to develop more reliable equipment in reduced time and at lesser cost.

Later this month, in preparation for MOL, our Aerospace Medical Division (AMD) at Brooks AFB, Tex., will begin the longest space cabin atmosphere experiment it has ever conducted. Four volunteer air crewmen will spend approximately 60 days in a space cabin simulator 30 feet long and 9 feet in diameter, where they will breathe an atmosphere of 70 percent oxygen and 30 percent helium. This is one of a continuing series of space cabin experiments.

The booster which is designed to place the MOL in orbit, the Titan III, is proceeding well on schedule. The several launches of the Titan III-A core vehicle and the launch of the complete Titan III-C vehicle have all been successful. The early availability of the Titan III-C permits the MOL program to proceed without costly delays.

The Titan III is the first booster that the Department of Defense has developed specifically for space applications. Since it uses storable propellants and solid strap-on motors, it is capable of remaining on the pad in a launch-ready status for up to 30 days and is able to respond almost immediately.

Looking beyond Titan III, we are interested in advanced launch vehicle concepts which offer more economical access to space. The Titan III is expected to reduce the present direct operating costs of more than $1,000 per pound in low earth orbit to something in the neighborhood of $500 per pound. New expendable boosters and reusable boosters show promise of reducing the cost to between $100 and $200 per pound.

We have underway several programs in propulsion technology, which is a key factor in developing advanced launch vehicles. One of these is a demonstration of very high chamber pressure cryogenic rocket engines. The performance of these engines is expected to allow a 50-percent increase in the

payloads for recoverable vehicles. These engines will also be capable of being throttled, an advantage which will provide future recoverable vehicles with a better maneuvering capability.

A second propulsion technology program—the supersonic combustion ramjet, or Scramjet—has exciting possibilities for application in both bridging recoverable boosters and hypersonic aircraft. Scramjet is a ramjet in which the flow is supersonic throughout. It thereby avoids the large energy losses which occur in a subsonic burning ramjet, in which the incoming air is slowed, burned, and then accelerated again. Consequently the Scramjet offers outstanding fuel economy, and shows real promise for operations within the sensible atmosphere to the edge of space.

One further aspect of the manned spaceflight program is the development of spacecraft capable of maneuvering during reentry. Flexibility of space operations can be improved by the use of reentry vehicles which can maneuver and land at any point within a certain area known as the vehicle's "footprint." As the size of the footprint is increased, a greater choice of alternate landing sites is possible. The use of lifting reentry vehicles would also allow horizontal landings on existing runways, much like today's aircraft.

The Air Force spacecraft technology and advanced reentry tests program—known for short as START—is an investigation of lifting bodies to provide such a capability. A forerunner to the START program was a radiation-cooled winged glider called Asset, which successfully completed its sixth and last hypersonic flight early this year.

The next phase will use the SV-5 lifting body reentry vehicle, which derives its lift from the fuselage. It has sufficient maneuverability to provide a reasonably large footprint and is provided with an ablative heat shield. Four hypersonic flight tests are planned for 1966 and 1967. The vehicles will be launched from Vandenberg Air Force Base, Calif., into a ballistic trajectory. They will reenter the atmosphere at orbital velocities and maneuver down to aircraft speeds.

I have given you some of the major highlights of Air Force space developments today and projected into the future. They make it clear that we have active programs in a number of areas which vitally affect our national security. Now let me put this effort into perspective by reminding you of three facts that are basic to the U.S. military space effort.

First, it is being conducted in response to existing and anticipated threats. The Communist hostility to our way of life is a well-known fact.. The long-term Soviet interest in space is equally well known. Their achievements have surprised us more than once. When we combine these facts with the fact of Soviet secrecy about their capabilities and intentions in space, it is clear that our space efforts must enable us to guard against being taken by surprise.

Second, military experiments and developments in space are a closely coordinated part of the national space effort. We work in continuing cooperation with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). Nearly 200 high-quality military people are assigned to NASA, and NASA people are in turn assigned to Department of Defense (DOD) space programs. We conduct joint research efforts in many areas and have a number of agreements for exchange of information.

Third, our military space efforts are only part of the total military task of deterring war and countering aggression on all levels. We are going to push ahead vigorously with the MOL program and related activities, but I can assure you that the Air Force has no interest in becoming a space force to the exclusion of everything else. As a matter of fact in my command, the Systems Command, we are now increasing our research and development efforts in the limited war area to meet more fully the challenges confronting us in Vietnam. We are also pursuing the development of a new large transport aircraft, the C-5A.

To sum up, our military efforts in space should be seen as part of our total national response to the military and technological challenges that confront us. They are a vital part of that response, and for this reason we must devote the same drive and dedication to our efforts in space that we devote to our efforts in other areas. Our Nation has the manpower and resources to fulfill its obligations both in space and on earth.

Thank you.

Armour Builds New Purification System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLOTTE T. REID

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the preservation of America's water resources is one of the most vital concerns to everyone in the country today. It presents a problem which Government alone cannot solve. It requires the participation of industry, conservation organizations, women's groups, universities, and professional bodies because of the magnitude of the problem. In this regard I am proud to say that a firm in my district has joined in this program, and I offer the following article which appeared in the October issue of Water in the News, a monthly newsletter distributed by the Soap & Detergent Association in the interest of improving our water resources:

ARMOUR BUILDS NEW PURIFICATION SYSTEM

Among the companies which share in the Nation's growing concern for clean water is the Armour Grocery Products Co. It recently marked the startup of the third phase of a four-stage sewage purification system at its Aurora, Ill., soap plant.

The Armour program includes construction of new treatment facilities and utilization of the most modern processing methods to treat the waste before it enters Aurora Sanitary District lines.

As an initial step, the area around the plant's external processing units was paved and trenched to collect any industrial materials and direct them into preskimming basins, which were constructed to contain and recover these materials.

The next step was the construction of four lagoons with a total holding capacity of over 2 million gallons of industrial water. The lagoons provide settling time for the discharged liquids. One lagoon is equipped to aerate its contents. The lagoons also control the flow of water into the district's sewage lines and avoid any surge of water being discharged into the municipal system.

Changes in the glycerine production equipment and process comprise the third step in the program.

The fourth improvement will be installation of an enlarged chemical precipitation facility, which should be ready this fall.

The Pacific Community

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, as one voice, one sometimes feels a rather lonely voice, I shall repeatedly request to be heard for the advancement of the U.S. interest in the Pacific community. True, the focus of attention in this area presently is wrapped in the garb of conflict and clouded with concern. Nonetheless we can ill afford to neglect constructive attention to our long-term positive interests. Call it Pollyanna if you wish but I entertain an optomistic appraisal for the future of the Pacific.

The flood tide of history has an economic and moral wave which will engulf and ultimately overflow the temporary barriers of political conflict and the materialistic advantage seekers who are now chief motivators in many areas of the Pacific. Our destiny is for discovery of roads around the new existing barriers and onward toward greater markets; larger areas where the benefits of the scientific age can be spread and enjoyed; wider realization of the rising expectations of the peoples of southeast Asia and those others who enjoy with us the common rim of the Pacific.

I urge all Members in general, and my colleagues from the West in particular, to join me in forging our country's policies to include increasing interest in and commitment to the development and dynamics of the Pacific. We need to so direct ourselves for the continued expansive prosperity of our country as a whole and for the ultimate realization of the destiny of the Pacific States particularly.

THE PACIFIC COMMUNITY

(By Congressman RICHARD T. HANNA)

We heard much in the first half of the sixth decade of the 20th century about the Atlantic community.

Indisputably, the principal objective of our foreign policy in the 20 years since the end of World War II has been the building of a transoceanic community encompassing the nations of the North Atlantic—a community based on the shared values that are rooted in Western Civilization, united in the common defense of the West against the Soviet Communist threat, prospering through a great exchange of goods and services, and dedicated to the peace, freedom and betterment of all men both within and without the Atlantic community. With the goal of Atlantic unity in mind, American policy toward Europe has reflected brilliance, imagination, and step-by-step coherence—the Marshall plan, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, American encouragement of European unity, and now the promotion in earnest of a grand new adventure in free trade characterized by the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 and the Kennedy round of talks to reduce tariffs currently being conducted in Geneva. The speeches of our statesmen have rung first with the promises and then with the achievements of the Atlantic community.

Clearly, our foreign policy has been first and foremost Atlantic oriented.

True, Atlantic unity has not been our only aim. We have actively sought to help further the growth of strong, independent, prosperous nations all around the globe. We have vigorously opposed aggression wherever we have found it—in Korea, in Lebanon, in Cuba, and now in Vietnam. Nevertheless, our primary concern has always been Europe and the building of an Atlantic community.

But the time has come for us to broaden our vision. Ours is a Nation whose shores are washed by not just one great ocean, but two. And to the west, in the free nations rimming the vast Pacific basin, firm foundations have been laid for another transoceanic community. In Japan and Korea, in Taiwan, the Philippines, and Hong Kong. In Thailand, Malaysia, Australia, and New Zealand. And, indeed, in the west coast and the Pacific Islands of our own United States of America. This, if you will, is the Pacific community. Conceived by geography, molded by history, it is a community newly wrought but well established.

The Atlantic provided a great highway to a new land for the adventurous, the destitute, the persecuted, the pernurious. They came from Europe seeking a new opportunity in America. Also across the Atlantic came the foundation stones of law and Western civilization upon which this Nation was built. Strong blood ties and a common culture have always bound us closely to Europe, and it is easy to see the natural affinity which we have with our Atlantic neighbors.

From the moment of the Pilgrims' landing, however, the American thrust has been westward—westward to the Oregon Territory, California, and the Pacific Ocean. In 1849, over a century ago, California joined the Union and this Nation became a potential member of a new community. The United States had reached the Pacific Ocean, and that ocean now linked our future to those of Asia, Australia, and New Zealand.

Across the Pacific we looked westward to an ancient people who boast a strange but very rich, very old culture and a proud heritage. Yet it was not our nature to shrink or withdraw from the strangeness of the oriental civilization nor to be unduly impressed by its age. Instead, we chose to go out and meet it, welcome it, join with it. In the war and the peace of modern times history has recorded that we have played a great and active role in the Pacific community. We have joined many times in efforts around the world with our western cousins in Australia and New Zealand. We opened Japan and Korea to trade and commerce. We called for the open door in China. We joined the Philippines in their break with Spain and intermingled our history with their own achievement of independence and democracy. Hawaii has joined our Union now, and we hold mandate power over many other island communities throughout the vast reaches of the Pacific.

History has bequeathed us a destiny in the Pacific community, and that destiny demands that we shall never relinquish our membership therein. For we learned long ago that the Pacific is not a barrier but a highway, a highway that can bring us the horror of war as it once did and as it may do again, or a highway that can bring us the treasures of trade and cultural exchange as it does today, and as we hope that it will always do. The Pacific does not separate us from Asia, Australia, and New Zealand; it binds us to them. Because of this, the troubles of Asia are our troubles, as the last quarter of a century of history has so tragically testified.

But the opportunities of our Pacific neighbors are also our opportunities. To this fact, also, both the past and the present provide abundant affirmation. Pacific nations last year purchased almost $4 billion worth of American exports.

A single Pacific nation, Japan, to whom we sold almost $2 billion worth of goods last year, has become this country's most important overseas trading partner, second only to our continental neighbor, Canada. A Pacific State, California, now leads the Nation in exports. And Pacific ports of the United States handle over 30 percent of this Nation's waterborne trade, yet the tremendous economic potential of the Pacific community has only begun to be realized.

Although its members represent divers phases of economic development from highly industrialized to less sophisticated developing societies, underlying that diversity of development is a common denominator of dynamic change and upward moving economic growth.

This is a community swept by a revolution of rising expectations. With that revolution have come high rates of economic growth, rising personal incomes and rapidly expanding trade. In all of the Pacific lands there is an atmosphere of progress, a feeling of forward motion and a burning desire to move up the ladder of economic development.

This is a community building at a furious pace—dams, roads, factories, skyscrapers, oil refineries, and schools. Construction is everywhere, and steel girders and bamboo scaffolding dominate the Pacific skyline from Sydney to Bangkok, from Hong Kong to Tokyo, from Taipei to Manila.

This is a community suddenly grown thirsty from knowledge, where illiteracy is fast becoming obsolete. Knowledge is power; knowledge is advancement, and the Pacific peoples know it.

This is a community of peoples working hard, working successfully to achieve a better life for themselves and their posterity.

Much has been said and written of Asian despair. We remain impressed by Asian improvement and Asian hope.

Within the Pacific community we are witnessing a truly exciting phenomenon—a chain of development is taking place, a chain of development that is providing the basic dynamics for the upward movement of the entire membership of the Pacific community including our own Nation. Already highly industrialized nations are reaching upward for even higher degrees of sophistication, higher outputs, higher standards of living. In turn, well-developed, prospering agricultural nations are moving vigorously and purposefully toward industrialization. Less developed nations are loosening the grip of a dead past, breaking the chains of tradition, and surging headlong into the 20th century. Throughout the Pacific community the thrilling idea is spreading and growing that there exists a better way to get things done, that there is a better life to be had.

Japan has already turned from light to heavy industry, from labor-intensive to capital-intensive methods of production. Taiwan and Hong Kong now successfully compete in markets for light industrial goods once reserved exclusively to Japan by technological default. Thailand and Malaysia are modernizing their agriculture, diversifying crop production, and building a light industrial base of their own. Korea is spiritedly striving to uplift both agriculture and industry. Australia is undertaking a thorough modernization of her economic complex at all levels, and New Zealand seeks to reduce dependence upon the grass economy that has made her the world's leading exporter of mutton and which has given her people one of the world's highest living standards.

The chain of development within the Pacific community offers vast opportunities to its members. A suggestion for a Pacific Common Market put forth this summer by Mitsui & Co. president, Tatsuzo Mizukami, indicates a recognition of that opportunity. "Is there any valid reason why we should not work to the end of oneness in our trading interest—a oneness of peace and better standards of living?" he asked at a meeting with representatives from Australia and New Zealand recently. He called for such a Common Market to include "other interested communities of the Pacific."

For America it means markets—expanding, profitable markets for our capital equipment, for our construction materials, for our mining equipment. It means markets for our hydraulic pumps, our irrigation equipment, and our farm machinery. It means markets for our foodstuffs, our heavy electric generators, our trucks, and jet airplanes, and on and on and on.

These markets exist not only in the future but the present as well. These nations are on the move, now. They hunger for the equipment and for the technical know-how that will get them where they want to go, now.

We can supply it to them. We need only summon the courage, imagination, and ingenuity that have been the traditional hallmarks of American entrepreneurship.

And this is only the beginning. As these nations develop, as high growth rates push them ever upward, as the personal incomes of their peoples rise, a potential market of 240 millions of people will open up for consumer goods, leisure goods, sporting goods, and tourism. This process has already begun, but this vast market for consumer goods remains yet to be effectively tapped.

The potential for Pacific commerce is great, the opportunities for America vast. But if the Pacific nations comprise a great community, thriving commerce is not that community's only promise. For the Pacific community is also a dynamic cultural entity wherein the best elements of two great civilizations meet and interact to enrich the cultural life of all Pacific peoples.

To the southwest, Australia and New Zealand carry on the best traditions of Western civilization.

To the west lies the rich diversity of east Asian civilization; for over a century its philosophy, art, architecture, and unique style of landscape gardening have profoundly and conspicuously influenced our tastes and enriched our own civilization.

Conversely, our civilization has had an impact upon east Asia so vast as to be inestimable.

As the Pacific community develops closer ties, increased contact will bring all of us greater understanding and a richer life. Strengthening the growing cultural bonds between the Pacific nations are 900,000 of our Nation's citizens who claim Asian ancestry and who have contributed enormously to their country and especially to my own State, California.

Plainly, the cultural, historical and commercial bonds of the Pacific community are strong and continually growing stronger: Japan, for instance, is moving to replace Great Britain as Australia's principal trading partner; New Zealand is looking more and more to Asia as a market for her food products and a source of her supplies; Korea and Japan are on the verge of ratifying a history-making series of treaties which will normalize their relations.

Underlying this solid, growing structure of a Pacific Community is the firm unity of purpose among its members to resist Communist subversion, the common desire to stabilize the dangerously delicate balance of power in the Far East, the fervent wish shared by all to establish and maintain peace.

The Pacific nations fully realize that a Communist threat to the peace and freedom of one of them threatens the peace and freedom of them all. They know that progress is the partner of peace and not of war. They know that you can't grow rice in a battlefield or feed hungry people with howitzers and bayonets.

Thus, although there is no Pacific NATO, the Pacific nations have fully recognized their common interest and regard to peace and security—that is why Australia and Korea have courageously contributed troops in Vietnam; that is why the Republic of China on Taiwan has offered to do the same; that is why the Philippines has sent engineers and medics to that country; that is why Japan and Thailand fully support our position there.

And we ourselves cannot forget, we must not forget, the lessons of 1941 and 1950, so painfully learned, that the security of the United States depends upon the security of the entire Pacific community, which in turn hinges upon the security of each of its members—the smallest as well as the greatest.

The Pacific community, then, exists as something far more than a mere fact of geography. For America today the Pacific community is vital strategically, important economically, enriching culturally. Yet, I firmly believe that in terms of its actual potential the surface has only been scratched. A great future lies in the Pacific, and to assure our part in its promise we must do our part.

We cannot begin too soon. The time has come for us to look to the Pacific, to focus our attention there, to encourage in every way the development of the Pacific community, to build in earnest and thereby to take our part in a great adventure.

I do not mean to detract in any way from the magnificent dream of the Atlantic community. Indeed our task there is unfinished and will demand our closest attention for some time to come. For although two decades of brilliant diplomatic and economic achievement have been wrought in the Atlantic, much remains yet to be done and we must not let up in our endeavor there.

But the task in the Pacific is equally urgent. Therefore, while we should not divert our attention from the Atlantic to concentrate only on the Pacific, we must expand our efforts to give equal time, equal effort, equal attention to the task of building, strengthening and bringing closer together the Pacific community. We must multiply the ties with our Pacific neighbors. We must strengthen the old bridges across the Pacific and build new ones—bridges of commerce, culture, and diplomacy; bridges of knowledge and understanding. Let us venture into the Pacific frontier with purpose and vision and without fear to search out the opportunities there both present and future.

Let us go forth to sell our goods in the markets of the Pacific not only for present profit but also to establish our claim to an expanding future. As I have already pointed out, the demand is heavy, the opportunities vast. American goods are sought after throughout the Pacific, highly prized for their excellent quality and advanced design.

But, in capturing Pacific markets we face two serious, closely related challenges: complacency on the one hand and competition on the other. The time once was when Pacific markets went to U.S. traders by default. The war left the American industrial complex unimpaired, while that of the rest of the world lay largely in ashes. Too, American businessmen received a healthy assist in selling to Asian markets from the U.S. AID program.

But this is all becoming less and less the case. Sharp competition has appeared on the Pacific scene, especially from West Germany and Japan. Their industries fully recovered from the war, these countries are vigorously seeking to establish markets for their industrial goods. They come armed with a variety of commercial weapons including highly sophisticated sales techniques, good service, and liberal credit. Meanwhile, the U.S. AID program in the Pacific is fast declining, and with it the advantage that it once gave to U.S. businessmen in establishing markets.

We should not decry the new competition. Rather, we should welcome it and go out to meet it by sharpening, strengthening, and diversifying our competitive tools. We must become sophisticated in the business of international trade. We must keep our commercial fingers on the pulse of Pacific markets, know the needs of the present and anticipate those of the future. We must be prepared to adapt our products to local Pacific needs, vigorously promote their sales, set up lines of effective service on a transpacific basis, and provide sound, but liberal and imaginative credit terms to our Pacific customers. These are the methods that will sell our products. This is the way in which we can reap the harvest of opportunity in the Pacific and sow the seeds for future, richer harvests.

Furthermore, let us make a conscious effort to widen and deepen the flow of cultural exchange within our Pacific community. It is discouraging to note that our official cultural exchange program with Europe has been at least five times greater than that for the nations of the Pacific. Far fewer Americans visit Asia than Europe. Far fewer Asians come to this country than do Europeans.

Let us rectify that imbalance. Granted that the distances are greater, the languages more difficult, and the cultures strange and alien. But the importance of the Pacific community with its millions of people to this Nation and our consequent need for first-hand information about this area demand greater efforts to increase contacts on all levels with our Pacific neighbors.

Let us therefore take positive steps to encourage a greater cultural exchange of persons, art and literature, both officially and unofficially, among the Pacific nations.

Let us stimulate the interchange of ideas among Pacific scholars, businessmen, professional men and, indeed, men and women of all occupations and all walks of life.

Let us encourage Pacific-wide cooperation in scientific endeavors concerning problems that affect the entire community—such as oceanography, communications and space, to name only a few.

Let us develop a greater flow of tourism in both directions so that the citizens of the Pacific community can better get to know and understand each other.

Increased contact with our Pacific neighbors will widen tremendously our cultural horizons and richen our lives. A greater interchange of persons and ideas will help us make the unfamiliar familar so that we may build on the firm supports of mutual understanding rather than falter on the rocks of ignorance.

Moreover, we must strive to inject new energy into our Pacific diplomacy.

Let us make it clear to our neighbors that America does not seek hegemony in the Pacific. Rather, we seek the establishment of a working partnership with the free nations of Asia and the Pacific Southwest to secure jointly our liberty, to work for our mutual prosperity, and to participate together in a great adventure of cultural enrichment.

A stronger Pacific community must be based upon mutual respect as well as mutual interest. Let us therefore respect the national integrity of our Pacific neighbors, some of whom are only now emerging as modern nations with a proud sense of their own identity. Let us applaud their achievements, help them with their obstacles, and treat them as partners to be consulted and not ignored. Let us also intensify our efforts to dissolve the small barriers that stand between us and the achievement of our great common objectives.

Among our most important diplomatic objectives in the Pacific must be that of bringing those nations into the Pacific community who lie within its confines but who do not now share its bounty or spirit as they should—Laos and Vietnam because they are now engaged in a fight for their lives against Communist aggression; Cambodia and Indonesia because for the time being they have misinterpreted history and believe that the future of the Western Pacific does not include the United States. Instead, they believe that the future lies with Red China, and they have acted accordingly.

These troubled southeast Asian nations are potentially very rich: their soils are fertile, their growing seasons long. They are generously endowed with natural resources. Their combined populations aggregate over 100 million people—100 million people who could contribute much to, and receive much from, the Pacific community. Let us then work diligently to bring these nations into the Pacific community that we and they might all be the richer and the safer for it.

To the end that the people of Laos and Vietnam may be freed from war and from the threat of future aggression, and to the end that Cambodia and Indonesia may see that they need not fear Communist China, Communist aggression in southeast Asia must be stopped once and for all and the situation stabilized.

At the same time, we must join with our Pacific neighbors to do what we can to help these southeast Asian nations lift themselves from stagnation and war into the chain of dynamic, peaceful development that characterizes the rest of the Pacific community.

This we can do by continuing our vigorous diplomatic efforts, by encouraging regional, self-help projects such as the Mekong River Basin development and by remaining in the forefront of those who advocate the creation of an Asian Development Bank which will encourage Asian nations to help themselves in a responsible way by providing them with the means and the credit to do it on a sound, businesslike banking basis.

Japan, Korea, Thailand, Taiwan, Malaysia, the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand are ready now to join in an Asian Development Bank with us. This will prove to be an important beginning in the creation of institutions through which we can join our mutual efforts for a better future in the Pacific basin. Later, others will be in a position to join when trouble subsides in Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia, when Indonesia sees the prosperity of peace and the gain in cooperation against the losses of belligerence. There will be room for all who come in friendship and good will, who are willing to pledge mutual respect and undertake mutual responsibilities.

For America the Pacific community is a complex and many-faceted challenge, but countless opportunities beckon. The promised returns for our toil are large with value, and the stakes are tremendous.

At stake is the growing trade which is fueling the vigorous growth of the Pacific nations.

At stake is the promise of a culturally richer world.

At stake is the very survival of the United States as a Pacific power and perhaps as a nation.

Clearly, the Pacific community is worthy of our efforts. We must meet the challenge in the Pacific in all of its aspects. We must claim our opportunities there.

The key to both challenge and opportunity ultimately lies in understanding and knowledge. We must therefore educate ourselves about the Pacific. We must learn about its nations and its peoples. We must extend the scope of our vision that we may see the Pacific as an integral whole, as a community of nations.

This we have long been able to do with Europe. When the term "Europe" is used, we have little trouble in grasping its meaning geographically, economically, politically, and militarily. We are able to visualize the broad developments now sweeping that continent. We are able to grasp the interrelationships between, say, military strategy, economic prosperity and political stability in Europe.

But in Asia, these interrelationships all too often elude us; there, we tend to compartmentalize our thinking, more often than not focusing on the bits and the pieces rather than on the whole. Compact and close, Europe is tangible and meaningful. Asia, however, is vast and mysterious. Unlike Europe, knowledge of its geography, its cluture, its peoples is not so familiar to most of us Americans.

Unfortunately, we tend usually to focus only on the crisis areas in Asia rather than on news of progress and development. In Europe, we are, of course, very much aware of Soviet and American confrontation, of the recurring crisis in Berlin, and of the deeper problem of German reunification which underlies it. But we are equally aware of the great progress that Europe has made in the past decade, whereas in Asia, as I have long pointed out, developments which are sweeping the rimlands of the Pacific, and which are equally as exciting and equally as significant for us as those in Europe, lie hidden behind news of war in Vietnam, confrontation in Malaysia, and tension in the Formosa Straits.

We have been unable to see the forest of Pacific progress for the trees of Pacific troubles.

Yet, as in Europe, so in Asia, and understanding of the stories of crisis on the one hand and those of dramatic progress on the other, are intimately related to one another. I think that in this regard many of those who protest our policy in Vietnam do so because they are unaware of the dramatic progress taking place in the rest of Asia, progress that has been achieved free from Communist interference, progress that depends very much for its continuance upon an Asia that is strong, peaceful, independent, and not subject to the uncertainties of Communist Chinese suzerainty.

Understanding of the whole Pacific is thus terribly important for the American people. It is the ground upon which our Pacific efforts and Pacific policies must be based. It is the foundation upon which the Pacific community must be built.

Let us, therefore, become Pacific minded as we have become Atlantic minded.

President Kennedy once asked us to think "intercontinentally" as Alexander Hamilton had once asked his contemporaries to think "continentally." We have long been able to think "Atlantically." Let us now learn to think "Pacifically."

Last of the Red Hot Pappas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, with the exception of our new Members this year, every Member of the House of Representatives knows and has admiration for a former colleague from Tennessee's Sixth District who left this body last year to seek another office in a statewide election.

All of us know that the first advice given a freshman in the Congress is to keep his mouth closed and his ears open. We also know our former colleague was a man of convention—up to a point. We also know that he was a man of conviction who would never hesitate to speak when he felt he had something to say that needed saying.

Though a freshman in another body at this time, our former colleague recently felt compelled to speak, and speak with logic, firmness, conviction, and speak the truth in debate which has seen the truth obscured by smoke from the fire of emotionalism.

In so doing our former colleague also showed he once again has no fear or is in no way reluctant to engage the lions of debate in debate. In this instance, I would have suspected beforehand that he was taking on too much too soon. But, as he so ably illustrated when last fall the voters of Tennessee dismissed the challenge of Mr. Howard Baker, Jr., to our former colleague, he seems to have a talent in dealing handily with this particular family.

Mr. Speaker, I have read this most interesting and timely colloquy and recommend it to the attention of my colleagues. However, I will not pronounce judgment though I very definitely have one. Rather, I would direct the attention of my colleagues to the column by Mr. John Herling which appeared in the October 7 edition of the Washington Daily News. It is not proper to judge ourselves and while I will not judge our former colleague, I will say I agree with Mr. Herling.

Mr. Speaker, the people of Tennessee are to be commended as they are to be counted fortunate in the wise decision they made at the polls in November of 1964.

Under unanimous consent I insert Mr. Herling's column in the RECORD at this point:

LAST OF THE RED HOT PAPPAS

(By John Herling)

You catch some of the best acts off Broadway in the U.S. Senate. It is in fact our national theater-in-the-square, featuring mainly the traditional rather than the experimental performing arts. But this does not exclude the unexpected, such as occurred the other day when Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, the minority leader, found himself eyeball to eyeball with Senator ROSS BASS, freshman Democrat from Tennessee. Mr. BASS not only did not blink, he came off bright eyed and bushy tailed.

The encounter was unplanned. Senator DIRKSEN had risen to launch his "attenuated discussion"—called by simpler people a filibuster against the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law. When Mr. DIRKSEN stands with legs apart, his voice a fluttering bass, his hair loosely curled, he is a figure of fun. Like Sophie Tucker, the last of the red hot mammas, his opening notes evoke memories of familiar tunes. Those who know his repertory, anticipate every melodious phrase. They start applauding—internally, of course. They can't clap hands in the Senate, but they do laugh.

Down on the floor, however, a Senator can talk back. Seldom, however, do even the seasoned legislators enter into such a rhetorical fray with Mr. DIRKSEN. Both a form of Senatorial courtesy and discretion inhibit even the older Members of the Senate. But when Senator DIRKSEN began to read off some editorials from Tennessee newspapers in support of "right-to-work" laws, down the aisle strode young Senator BASS, breaking smack into the Dirksen act.

When Mr. DIRKSEN swung an arm to make a point, Mr. BASS swung right back to counter the point. As Senator DIRKSEN in sweetly menacing tones sought to smother his younger colleague in a spray of rhetorical flowers, the darkly handsome Tennessean lobbed a bouquet right back at him.

Repeatedly, the Senator from Tennessee urged the minority leader to "take the emotionism away from the issue and stick to the technical changes" which the repeal would bring about.

"Why does the Senator want to repeal 14(b)?" asked Senator DIRKSEN.

"I will tell the Senator in very simple terms," replied Senator BASS. "If you ride the buggy, you ought to feed the mare." Since the union must bargain for all workers in a plant, then all those in the plant should pay dues, Senator BASS explained.

When Senator DIRKSEN complained that a union shop compels workers to pay dues which would go to cover "political items" Senator BASS exclaimed joyously, "Now we hit the bell, I wondered how long it would be before we punched the key that rang the bell."

"I never——" sputtered Senator DIRKSEN.

"This is the razor blade in the soup, is it not?" prodded Senator BASS.

On it went. Senator DIRKSEN set one scene, Senator BASS stole another. And the gallery awakened from its slumber in the world's greatest deliberative body. A new star was born.

Marine Serving in Vietnam Hits Pacifism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the San Diego Evening Tribune, Sept. 24, 1965]

MARINE SERVING IN VIETNAM HITS PACIFISM

EL CAJON.—A Marine fighting in Vietnam has questioned whether his unit is fighting so some can burn their draft cards and call returning marines killers.

John Fields is a Marine Corps private in Vietnam. He is the nephew of Warren MacQueen, assistant superintendent of Cajon Valley schools.

In a letter to his uncle written in late August, Fields wrote:

"I'm going to be truthful with you. I am worried about the many Vietcong patrols but something else worries me more."

CLOSE TO HIS HEART

"Something that is close to my heart and my home. That is, some of the 'American' people. In particular a group calling themselves 'pacifists.'

"I heard what happened to the battalion that landed in San Diego last week. They were met by a group of these 'pacifists' who carried signs saying 'killers go home,' 'killers go back,' etc.

"These are the things that make me and other servicemen ask 'what are we fighting for?' Are we here fighting and dying so that this group of 'Americans' can demonstrate and cause riots?

"So that other people can burn their draft cards?"

"IT HURTS US"

"It hurts us to hear about these things. Race riots also. Many men have been saved by a Negro.

"I really am at a loss for words when it comes to writing about this type of thing. When I get back I'll be able to tell you exactly how I feel."

Columbus Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, although some people at my alma mater would have you believe differently, Columbus did discover America 473 years ago today.

And it is on this occasion that we Americans share in the same spirit of adventure and achievement that brought Christopher Columbus from the port of Genoa to the shores of the New World.

Columbus showed great leadership in holding steadfast to his westward course each day in the face of uncertainties and doubts. For him there was no turning back—despite the threat of the unknown sea.

And it is this leadership and resolution that can provide a lesson and an inspiration for us in the nuclear age when our will and purpose is being constantly tested.

The spirit of Columbus has figured large in our history. Inspired by him, succeeding generations of Americans made their way over the seas to the New World to make a meaningful and lasting contribution to our national life. Americans of Italian descent have made significant contributions in music, art, literature, education, science, business, and labor—to name some areas that come to mind.

Therefore, it is only fitting that we join in the efforts of members and officers of Italian-American societies who are doing so much to honor the great explorer. Theirs is a great contribution to a meaningful day in the life of our Nation.

Dr. Frank Hurburt O'Hara, 1888–1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. DANIEL D. ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to extend my deepest sympathy to my good friend and colleague, Congressman BARRATT O'HARA, in the loss of his brother, Dr. Frank Hurburt O'Hara, last Friday, October 8. Although he had a full life he will be sorely missed and only time can lessen the grief sustained in BARRATT'S loss.

Dr. O'Hara was a noted educator and writer whose contributions to education and the literary world have not gone unnoticed. He will long be remembered for his teachings in 20th-century drama, play writing, and play production at the University of Chicago as he was considered one of the ablest and most creative teachers of drama in this country.

His thirst for knowledge was one of his greatest attributes and he made good use of his education by teaching others. He was a very special kind of teacher revered by his students for he excelled in creative thinking.

It is always difficult to accept the loss of such a good man for I am sure he had much more to contribute to the world. But let us not be overcome by the sorrow of his death but rejoice in the memory of his contribution in the art of drama. Were Judge Thomas and Mary Barratt O'Hara with us today they would be extremely proud of their son, Dr. Frank Hurburt O'Hara.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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Long, Russell B., *La*
McCarthy, Eugene J., *Minn.* — 5916 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md.
McClellan, John L., *Ark*
McGee, Gale W., *Wyo*
McGovern, George, *S. Dak*
McIntyre, Thomas J., *N.H*
McNamara, Pat, *Mich*
Magnuson, Warren G., *Wash.* — The Shoreham
Mansfield, Mike, *Mont*
Metcalf, Lee, *Mont* — 453 First St. SE.
Miller, Jack R., *Iowa* — 5417 Kirkwood Dr., Bethesda, Md.
Mondale, Walter F., *Minn*
Monroney, A. S. Mike, *Okla.*
Montoya, Joseph M., *N. Mex.*
Morse, Wayne, *Oreg* — 4000 Mass. Ave.
Morton, Thruston B., *Ky*
Moss, Frank E., *Utah*
Mundt, Karl E., *S. Dak* — 122 Schotts Court NE.
Murphy, George, *Calif*
Muskie, Edmund S., *Maine*
Nelson, Gaylord, *Wis*
Neuberger, Maurine B., *Oreg.*
Pastore, John O., *R.I*
Pearson, James B., *Kans*
Pell, Claiborne, *R.I* — 3425 Prospect St.
Prouty, Winston L., *Vt*
Proxmire, William, *Wis*
Randolph, Jennings, *W. Va* — 4608 Reservoir Rd.
Ribicoff, Abraham A., *Conn*
Robertson, A. Willis, *Va*
Russell, Donald S., *S.C*
Russell, Richard B., *Ga*
Saltonstall, Leverett, *Mass* — 2320 Tracy Pl.
Scott, Hugh, *Pa*
Simpson, Milward L., *Wyo*
Smathers, George A., *Fla*
Smith, Margaret Chase (Mrs.), *Maine.*
Sparkman, John, *Ala* — 4928 Indian Lane
Stennis, John, *Miss*
Symington, Stuart, *Mo*
Talmadge, Herman E., *Ga*
Thurmond, Strom, *S.C*
Tower, John G., *Tex*
Tydings, Joseph D., *Md*
Williams, Harrison A., Jr., *N.J.*
Williams, John J., *Del*
Yarborough, Ralph, *Tex*
Young, Milton R., *N. Dak* — Quebec House So.
Young, Stephen M., *Ohio*

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Sergeant at Arms—Joseph C. Duke.
Chief Clerk—Emery L. Frazier.
Secretary for the Majority—Francis R. Valeo.
Secretary for the Minority—J. Mark Trice.
Chaplain—Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D.

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Committee on Agriculture and Forestry

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Committee on Banking and Currency

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Committee on Commerce

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Committee on Finance

Messrs. Byrd of Virginia (chairman), Long of Louisiana, Smathers, Anderson, Douglas, Gore, Talmadge, McCarthy, Hartke, Fulbright, Ribicoff, Williams of Delaware, Carlson, Bennett, Curtis, Morton, and Dirksen.

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Committee on Government Operations

Messrs. McClellan (chairman), Jackson, Ervin, Gruening, Muskie, Ribicoff, Harris, Kennedy of New York, Metcalf, Montoya, Mundt, Curtis, Javits, and Simpson.

Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

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Committee on the Judiciary

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Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

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Messrs. McNamara (chairman), Randolph, Young of Ohio, Muskie, Gruening, Moss, Metcalf, Jordan of North Carolina, Inouye, Bayh, Montoya, Harris, Cooper, Fong, Boggs, Pearson, and Murphy.

Committee on Rules and Administration

Messrs. Jordan of North Carolina (chairman), Hayden, Cannon, Pell, Clark, Byrd of West Virginia, Curtis, Cooper, and Scott.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel Sheraton-Park, Washington, D.C.
Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 4852 Hutchins Pl.
Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut Ave.
Mr. Justice Harlan, of New York, 1677 31st St.
Mr. Justice Brennan, of New Jersey, 3037 Dumbarton Ave.
Mr. Justice Stewart, of Ohio, 5136 Palisade Lane.
Mr. Justice White, of Colorado, 2209 Hampshire Rd., McLean, Va.

——— ———.

OFFICERS OF THE SUPREME COURT

Clerk—John F. Davis, 4704 River Rd.
Deputy Clerk—Edmund P. Cullinan, 4823 Reservoir Rd.
Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 6004 Corbin Rd.
Reporter—Henry Putzel, Jr., 3703 33d St.
Librarian—Vacancy

UNITED STATES JUDICIAL CIRCUITS

JUSTICES ASSIGNED

TERRITORY EMBRACED

District of Columbia judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. District of Columbia.

First judicial circuit: ——— ——— ———. Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Puerto Rico, Rhode Island.

Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Harlan. Connecticut, New York, Vermont.

Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Brennan. Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virgin Islands.

Fourth judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia.

Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black. Alabama, Canal Zone, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas.

Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Stewart. Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee.

Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark. Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.

Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas. Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Guam, Hawaii.

Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, Wyoming.

Appendix

International Role Assigned Nasher

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EARLE CABELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, just recently one of my valued constituents, Mr. Raymond Nasher, was appointed to serve as executive director of the White House Conference on International Cooperation. Mr. Nasher is a Dallas builder and developer, and his choice as head of this White House Conference is certainly a wise one, since the Conference on International Cooperation demands the leadership and abilities of some of the best minds in the Nation in the private sector. I sincerely believe that Mr. Nasher will measure up to this challenge placed upon him.

Under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD a recent article which appeared in the Dallas Times-Herald entitled, "International Role Assigned Nasher":

INTERNATIONAL ROLE ASSIGNED NASHER

WASHINGTON.—Dallas Builder Raymond Nasher will serve as Executive Director of the White House Conference on International Cooperation, billed by the State Department as the major conference of its type.

In his role as Executive Director, Nasher will be "Mr. Conference," State Department officials said.

Scheduled in Washington November 29–December 1, the conference will bring together an estimated 1,500 experts from both the private and public sectors to explore 30 areas of international cooperation and make recommendations directly to President Johnson.

Topics to be covered at the Conference include arms control and disarmament, education, trade, urban development, space, national resources, human rights, business and industry, aviation, atomic energy, international law, science and technology and health, among others.

TASK FORCES

State Department officials said task forces embracing "some of the best minds in the Nation in the private sector" are working in tandem with Government officials in drafting preliminary reports for presentation to the Conference.

Nasher served as cochairman of one of the panels, on urban development. His cochairman was Robert Weaver, Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

State Department officials who have seen the committee draft termed it brilliant and said it influenced the selection of the Dallasite to serve as overall head of the White House Conference.

The task forces have been at work on specific areas of concern in international cooperation since March. Their reports will be forwarded to Conference participants next month so they may be studied before the Conference convenes.

WHERE WE STAND

At the Conference itself, panels will wrestle with individual topics for more than 2 days before preparing the final recommendations to President Johnson.

"This Conference is a program to get the experts in the Nation to take a close look and determine where we stand in the field of international cooperation," a State Department spokesman said. "They will try to determine where we are in need, where we need to improve, what might be missing and just what we can do."

The State Department said this would be "the first time people in the private sector have been able to make recommendations to the President without Government censorship."

Nasher is developer of the new North Park regional shopping center in Dallas.

From Nonparticipation to Participation—Arizona Medical Association Urged To Withdraw Opposition to Medicare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, some months ago there was considerable discussion in the press and elsewhere concerning a resolution of the Arizona Medical Association regarding so-called nonparticipation by Arizona doctors in the medicare program, if enacted.

Since that time the medicare program has been passed and signed by the President, and it is now law. I am happy to report today that, in the light of this development and perhaps as a result of further thought in the matter, the board of directors of the Arizona Medical Association has reversed its position and called upon the State association to rescind its previous action.

Mr. Speaker, I did not believe last May and I do not believe now that any significant number of doctors in Arizona or elsewhere would ever refuse to give care to patients just because their bills were being paid out of a Government insurance fund. Nevertheless, I believe it is fortunate that the board of directors of the Arizona Medical Association has taken this step to make clear that Arizona doctors will act responsibly in providing care for persons covered by medicare.

I have just received a copy of a letter sent to members of the State association by the secretary of the board of directors. Because of previous interest shown in this matter I should like to have my colleagues see this letter. Without objection I shall insert the letter at this point in the Appendix:

THE ARIZONA MEDICAL ASSOCIATION,
Scottsdale, Ariz., September 22, 1965.

Re Board of directors meeting September 19, 1965, resolution No. 10 "nonparticipation," adopted as amended March 1, 1965 by the association house of delegates.

To: All officers and board of trustees of the American Medical Association, all State medical associations, all members of the Arizona Medical Association, Inc.

Subject: Nonparticipation in Federal medical programs not for the public good.

DEAR DOCTOR: The house of delegates of the Arizona Medical Association, Inc., in regular meeting held Saturday, May 1, 1965, considered and adopted a resolution relating to nonparticipation in Federal programs providing medical care not for the public good. A copy of this resolution was forwarded to you under date of May 1, 1965.

Since the enactment by the 89th Congress of Public Law 89-97 (H.R. 6675), July 30, 1965, "An act to provide a hospital insurance program for the aged under the Social Security Act with a supplementary medical benefits program and an expanded program of medical assistance, to increase benefits under the old-age survivors, and disability insurance system, to improve the Federal-State public assistance programs, and for other purposes," an opportunity has been afforded to review its content both by members of this association and counsel, the following action was taken by the board of directors of this association in meeting held September 19, 1965, and is submitted for your information:

"That the board of directors of the Arizona Medical Association, Inc., recommended to the house of delegates that at its next meeting it rescind resolution No. 10 and substitute in its place a resolution that will make it clear that the Arizona Medical Association takes no stand whatever on the subject of 'nonparticipation' under medicare, and which resolution will be designed to give the greatest possible freedom, consistent with safety to the Arizona Medical Association, for each individual doctor to decide for himself what his activities will and will not be with respect to the medicare legislation and the attendant rules."

Cordially,

THE ARIZONA MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, INC.
CHARLES E. HENDERSON, M.D., *Secretary.*

White House Conference Hailed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL J. KREBS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. KREBS. Mr. Speaker, only good results can come from the White House Conference next month to explore means of fulfilling the extensive civil rights legislation enacted in the last 2 years.

This Nation now is set upon the sure course of rectifying past mistakes, in correcting the handicaps which the Negro has suffered over the last century. It

will require, in President Johnson's words:

National effort to insure that all Americans participate fully in the benefits and responsibilities of this most prosperous Nation.

In a recent editorial, the Newark Evening News declared that—

Negroes do not share in the opportunities for education, employment and decent housing to which their numbers and abilities entitle them. To this deficiency the Nation's best minds and ardent energies must be turned.

The editorial, which will be of much interest, is offered for the RECORD:

THE FURTHER NEED

A White House conference next month will explore means of fulfilling the extensive civil rights legislation enacted in the last 2 years.

This, of course, will be the difficult, but the only really meaningful, part of rectifying the handicaps which the Negro has suffered over the last century. It will require, in President Johnson's words, "a national effort to insure that all Americans participate fully in the benefits and responsibilities of this most prosperous Nation."

The need for implementation is evident. Negroes do not share in the opportunities for education, employment and decent housing to which their numbers and abilities entitle them. To this deficiency the Nation's best minds and ardent energies must be turned.

One other need—made all too evident by the lamentable Coleman case in Hayneville, Ala.—exists in the field of civil rights. That is the need for more adequately safeguarding the security of those who are trying to help Negroes attain their rights.

Twenty-six civil rights workers have suffered violent deaths in the South during the last 4 years. The number of persons convicted for these crimes can be counted on the fingers of one hand. In parts of the South the right to be tried by a jury of one's peers continues to be frightfully abused, for the benefit of the accused.

The belief is thereby strengthened that capital crimes connected with civil rights should be made Federal cases to be tried in Federal courts. At the very least, a change of venue should be made mandatory in cases of this kind.

Eminent lawyers and jurists will be participating in the White House conference on civil rights. This certainly is a problem worthy of their attention.

Council Blasts Masheter Attitude

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. GILLIGAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. GILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, the people of southeastern Hamilton County, Ohio, whom I have the privilege of representing, have been rebuffed on numerous occasions by the director of the Ohio State Department of Highways and the Governor in their efforts to obtain some reconsideration of the plan to construct a highway, I-275, along the 9-mile route instead of the 5-mile route.

The petitions these citizens have sent to the State officials are supported by officials of all the adjoining jurisdictions and by the City Council of Cincinnati. But even with this support, the director of the highway department and the Governor has stubbornly refused to so much as consider the alternative proposal seriously. As reported in the Mount Washington Press on September 16, 1965, the director of highways has "already decided where the road is going to go," and no additional petitions would be acknowledged.

Mr. Speaker, the most recent developments in the struggle of these citizens to obtain a full and fair hearing of their position is reported in the Mount Washington Press:

[From the Mount Washington (Ohio) Press, Sept. 16, 1965]

COUNCIL BLASTS MASHETER ATTITUDE

Cincinnati City Council has joined the Mount Washington merchants and the organizations, officials, and residents of Anderson Township in castigation of the attitudes of State Highway Director Pearl Masheter in regard to the route for the Circle Freeway.

Last week the Mount Washington Businessmen's Association, over the signature of its president, Vincent V. Alfieri, published a resolution asking for further consideration of the 9-mile route and abandonment of the State proposed 5-mile route.

Before the resolution had actually had time to reach Mr. Masheter, he made a public statement to the effect that, "I have already decided where the road is going to go."

Late last week, following this statement, Cincinnati Council passed the following resolution, upholding the city's neighbors:

"Whereas this council has previously requested the State highway department and Bureau of Public Roads to reconsider their decision to use the 5-mile route for I-275 on June 16, 1964; and

"Whereas there has been no change in the position of the department of highways, whose employees have been making a survey of the 5-mile route during 1965; and

"Whereas the cost of the 5-mile route is substantially higher than the 9-mile route; and

"Whereas 95 percent of the members of the Mount Washington Merchant Association as well as an overwhelming majority of the persons affected in the 9-mile area and the 5-mile area are firmly opposed to the 5-mile route; and

"Whereas the Mount Washington Merchants Association on August 25, 1965, presented a resolution to this council asking this council to consider the effect of the 5-mile route in diverting business from Cincinnati to Kentucky, and to consider urging the adoption of the alternate route, the 9-mile route; and

"Whereas this may be the last time this council will have the opportunity to join with the Mount Washington residents and merchants in this fight: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That this council renew its request to the State highway department and the Bureau of Public Roads to reconsider their decision to use the 5-mile route, and reaffirm its support of the 9-mile route, as requested by the citizens and merchants of Cincinnati, Anderson Township (Hamilton County), and Clermont County."

In a separate communication from City Councilman Thomas A. Luken, the councilman says, in part:

"State Highway Director Masheter used inconsistent figures in his statement of September 9, claiming that the 5-mile route is cheaper than the 9-mile route for the Circle Freeway through eastern Hamilton County.

"Highway department costs estimates, presented at the 1964 public hearing, indicated the costs of 5-mile route to be $24,725,000 while the 9-mile route would total $20,850,000, a savings of $4 million tax dollars. Further, the Vogt-Ivers (consulting engineers) report of 1962 also showed a savings of over $4 million in the 9-mile route.

"Mr. Masheter's statement that "I have already decided where the road is going to go" shows the contempt which his department holds for the opinion of all the governmental bodies of Hamilton County and Clermont County, and the complete disregard of the wishes of the people of southwestern Ohio. His reliance upon inaccurate figures indicates there is some undisclosed reason why the department of highways has not considered the various alternatives in an open manner.

"The fact is that Clermont County needs and wants the Circle Freeway for economic development which will benefit the whole area, while Anderson Township does not want the highway destroying one of the fastest growing residential communities in southwestern Ohio.

"We are also interested in saving $3 million of Ohio tax dollars, which would result from the adoption of the 9-mile route. We are also interested in some straight answers as to why the Governor will not listen to the various groups such as the citizens committee for the 9-Mile Circle Freeway route and the Mount Washington Merchants' Association."

Mr. Alfieri, president of the Mount Washington Business Men's Club, had a terse comment to make; he said of Mr. Masheter's statement, that it was "a Hitler way of doing things." He pointed out, however, that it was Mr. Masheter who made the statement that another petition would do no good, and that word from the Governor has not yet been received. He says, "After all, the people are not appealing to Masheter. The Governor is our elected official in the State capitol. We want him to come out with a statement. He has always left his talking to Masheter."

Mr. Speaker, in view of these events, I am particularly impressed with a statement by Mr. Rex M. Whitton, Federal Highway Administrator, regarding the criteria that should be assigned high priority in deciding a highway route:

ECONOMIC, ESTHETIC, EVEN SOCIAL FACTORS LOCATE HIGHWAYS

(By Rex M. Whitton, Federal Highway Administrator, U.S. Department of Commerce)

Selecting the best location or route for a new highway is one of the highway builder's most vexing problems, especially since best means different things to different people and since the meaning of best keeps changing.

Today, it means not only best from the standpoint of cost or even for the highway user, but best for all interests—social, economic, cultural, and esthetic—of the areas the highway serves.

In the early days, highways developed along animal paths or wagon trails. Animal traces and Indian paths preceded the pioneer routes of wagon and stagecoach crossing the plains.

And when, at the start of this century, efforts were launched to improve roads above a crude minimum, much of the work was undertaken on these existing roadbeds, partly because they were there, providing right-of-way, but also because they were demonstrated lines of enduring travel patterns.

In time, population growth and changes in population distribution, needs, and customs as well as new requirements of agriculture, industry, and commerce, made many existing travel patterns inadequate; and new highways had to be built to meet the demands of the changing society.

For many years selection of a highway route was a relatively uncomplicated task

for the competent engineer. He primarily had to pick the shortest line between two points consistent with the topography. He may not have had the help of photogrammetry, and sometimes he was frustrated because the shortest route involved too much excavating and hauling of earth—a costly procedure.

But once adequate equipment was developed, consideration could be given to other criteria, and roads could be built according to the cost-benefit ratio test, whereby the cost of building and operating a route was matched against user benefits.

The cost-benefit ratio was a paramount consideration for years, but ultimately it was recognized to have shortcomings, too, because it failed to take into account the effects highways have on the cultural, historical, economic, and esthetic values of a community.

The evolution of America from a tightly contained horse-and-buggy, rural society to a mobile, urban, vibrant nation on wheels changed the economic and social fabric of our country, and revolutionized road construction. Highways with more than functional excellence were demanded, and highway builders became increasingly aware, about 20 years ago, that if highways were to serve the people for whom they were built to the fullest extent, new approaches to the problem of route selection had to be made.

Roadbuilding was no longer a question of "getting the farmer out of the mud." It was a question of getting the Nation's ever-growing number of motor vehicles moving down highways between cities and within cities.

And it quickly became apparent that before a route selection could be made in any urban area, it was vital to know what its effect would be on various neighborhoods, school districts, parks, church parishes, and historical buildings. In rural areas, the impact on recreation, scenic sites, wildlife preserves, and the landscape in general had to be assessed.

Many State highway departments which plan, design, and build the Nation's highways, have been giving close scrutiny today to these factors, but some have not paid the attention they should. More and more are becoming aware, however, that the highway built only on utilitarian considerations doesn't necessarily serve the best interests of the public.

A new concern for the appearance of highways and the roadsides flanking them has been stimulated by President Johnson's highway beautification program. Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor has directed that the resources of the Federal aid highway program, administered by the U.S. Department of Commerce's Bureau of Public Roads, be utilized to implement the President's program, and that is now being done.

Federal legislation has created other safeguards against the possible abuse of human values by stipulations that Federal aid projects in urban areas can only be approved when they are based on a planning process that involves not only all types of transportation but also all aspects of community life.

The process must take into consideration the existing amenities and the future hopes and aspirations of each community—thereby acknowledging that highways are not built as entities in themselves but are only one facet of the total community environment.

The new emphasis on the social obligations of roads doesn't mean that highway costs, capacity, safety, and convenience are to be ignored.

The goal of a superbly engineered road to serve the Nation's transportation needs has never dimmed and, as a consequence, we have highways of an excellence found nowhere else in the world. The Nation's modern roads, such as those found on the Interstate Highway System, are already saving 3,500 lives a year, and when the 41,000-mile Interstate is completed, 8,000 persons who would die on conventional roads will be spared annually. At the same time, economic benefits to users of the system will total $11 billion a year through reduction in motor vehicle operating costs, time cost, and accident costs.

Emphasis now being given to "humanizing" highways does diminish our desire to give the highway user the safest and finest systems of roads obtainable for his tax dollar. But what it does do, is upgrade the dimension of social responsibility in highway building to where it becomes a vital element in route selection and construction.

As with many exercises of judgment, choosing the "best" routes fo rhighways, nevertheless, involves many difficult decisions. When, for example, a State highway department is confronted with the choice of routing an essential highway through a park or dislocating hundreds of families, it is not an easy decision. Or, if it is necessary to disturb a wildlife preserve to eliminate a dangerous stretch of highway, this, too, can be a problem.

Regardless of the course pursued, every possible effort must be made to keep the impact of a new road to a minimum. To lessen the temporary hardship to those who may be displaced, relocation assistance must be provided.

Before a highway touches a recreation area or a wildlife refuge, there must be consultation between State highway departments and other State agencies involved.

Many decisions face highway engineers who recognize the need to preserve and even tenhance human values. They are decisions which often require the collaboration of planner, architects, and sociologists. More and more, highway engineers are calling on the talents of other disciplines to help in resolving conflicts posed by the many interests that must be considered.

Highway construction has come a long way since the days when the transportation of people and goods was a road's sole function. There is no doubt that while they continue to serve that purpose, highway builders, exercising social responsibility, will construct roads which are esthetically attractive and a force for improving the social and economic health of the American people.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Whitton has voiced every argument we have used in the I-275 controversy—which arguments the State highway departments of Ohio and Kentucky have ignored.

Our Junior Senator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, the great majority of Wisconsin citizens are justly proud of our junior U.S. Senator GAYLORD NELSON.

An unusual tribute to Senator NELSON appeared in the October 11 issue of one of Wisconsin's leading newspapers, the Sheboygan Press. Under unanimous consent I include this editorial assessment, "Our Junior Senator," as part of my remarks in the RECORD:

OUR JUNIOR SENATOR

Political axioms demand that newcomers, serving their first term in the U.S. Senate, must keep relatively quiet, follow party directions quite closely and not expect to have too many legislative accomplishments to which they can point with pride. Our junior Senator, Senator GAYLORD NELSON, seems to be getting along nicely, but not according to the above stated rules of senatorial behavior.

No one knowing him would accuse our junior Senator of not being learned in political ways. He is only 49, but his 10 years in the State senate and his two terms as Governor of our State gave him good, solid political wisdom. But he was never one to forego his honest political convictions in the face of party opposition. His refusal a few weeks ago to vote for a hastily conceived and highly pressured multimillion-dollar defense appropriation without the usual Senate procedure is a case in point. His insistence on due and proper consideration even though President Johnson wanted immediate action came as no surprise to those who know him. His violent objections to letters he received from a couple of overenthusiastic labor leaders—he termed them an "insult to the intelligence and honor of the Congress"—evoked chuckles among his Wisconsin friends. The Senator is a friend of labor and a supporter of our action in Vietnam, but old colleagues and adversaries alike remember when he defied his own party in political convention and ultimately won support. He is politically wise and knowledgeable and he is courageous. No one should attempt to push him around.

How is he doing as a freshman in Washington? Well—we think. He can point, as he does with pardonable pride in his September newsletter, to significant pieces of legislation in process which he authored. He lists them as the national teachers' corps, a conservation work program, a wildlife service payments program and the St. Croix Scenic Riverway bill. We agree—it is an impressive list—one which underscores the Senator's ongoing political concerns. As a State senator and as a Governor, two of his major objectives were education and conservation. He won't accomplish all of these goals this session, but he is making a fine start.

"Senator NELSON," says his newsletter, "is finding this productive Congress a good one in which to write his own record of accomplishment." We agree. It is a good one for a junior Senator.

Dr. Frank Hurburt O'Hara

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join the other Members of this great body in expressing my sorrow to our colleague, Congressman BARRATT O'HARA, in the loss of his brother, Dr. Frank Hurburt O'Hara, who passed away on October 8, 1965.

Professor O'Hara, who served the English department of the University of Chicago for nearly three decades, made it evident that an author and teacher has many facets, and that among these, humility, understanding, and devotedness hold equal importance with dedication and ability. The field of education lost a greatly talented and humble man.

Mr. Speaker, I extend my deepest sympathy and condolences to my colleague BARRATT O'HARA in this hour of grief.

Hubert Horatio at the Bridge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, I think Arthur Hoppe has again, in his inimitable way, recorded a make-believe conversation between the President and the Vice President which is most interesting. His article follows:

HUBERT HORATIO AT THE BRIDGE

(By Arthur Hoppe)

"Now that everything's come out all right," said the kindly old philosopher, leaning back in his rocker, "everybody's praying for the President's speedy recovery—everybody from the littlest child in the land all the way up to Vice President HUBERT HORATIO Whatshisname."

"HUMPHREY?" I said.

"You got a keen memory, son," said the kindly old philosopher. "And I reckon nobody's praying harder than him."

It shows the trust and faith that exist between our two great leaders, I said.

"That it does," said the kindly old philosopher, dabbing at his kindly old eyes with a bandanna. "I hear tell it WAS a heart-moving scene last week when the President called for Mr. Whatshisname to break the news.

" 'HUBERT,' says the President grimly, 'you will be grieved to learn I got to undergo a serious operation. Therefore—stop rubbing your hands, HUBERT—I am going to let you run my country for a spell 'cause I got abiding faith in your ability and loyalty. Besides, I can't see no other way out of it.'

" 'You can count on me to hold the fort, Mr. President,' says HUBERT. 'Just you relax and get well. Even if it takes 6 months. Or 4 years. Don't fret. Even if worse comes to worse and the Good Lord in his infinite wisdom * * *.'

" 'HUBERT,' says the President, 'stop rubbing your hands.'

"So the President has his operation and he comes to looking up at this circle of worried faces. Naturally, he asks the question you'd expect at a dramatic moment like this: 'What's HUBERT done to my country?' he asks.

"All the doctors tell him now, now, everything's going to be just fine and dandy. All he has to do is go to bed and relax. So he goes to bed. And he relaxes just like any housewife, down with the flu, relaxes when somebody else is running her house.

" 'Hello, HUBERT?' he says into the telephone. 'How come you haven't called me up in the last 5 minutes? Course I trust you to run my country, HUBERT. I admire your judgment. By the by, did you find that list I left for you of 723 routine chores to do? Fine. Did you recollect to water the begonias? Good. And did you send word out to my Marines like I said? Fine. Now don't forget to take the dog and the reporters for a walk. I know you got lots to do, boy. And if any problems come up, you just give me a jingle. Meantime, I'll check back with you from time to time to give you the benefit of my wisdom and experience. Say about every 4 minutes?' "

"So like I say," said the Kindly Old Philosopher, "Nobody's praying harder for the President's speedy recovery than the Vice President."

"Do you think he'll recover fully?" I asked.

"Well," he said, shaking his kindly old head, "they can say what they will. But that's an awful thing to undergo at his age. It can destroy your zest and cut short your life span. Frankly I doubt he'll ever be the same again."

"The President?"

"Nope," said the Kindly Old Philosopher. "The Vice President."

New Influx of Cubans Faces Cool Reception From Many Miamians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the homework of Members of Congress is never done. For example, right now the influx of Cubans should be at the top of our assignment list.

Problems are already arising; people from my district are telling me of relatives without employment—of Cubans replacing American workers.

I call attention to a front page article in the October 12 issue of the Wall Street Journal which brings to light some of the perplexing problems facing not only Miami, but our entire Nation, in assimilating the incoming Cubans:

NEW INFLUX OF CUBANS FACES COOL RECEPTION FROM MANY MIAMIANS—NEGROES, CRAFT UNIONS FEAR LOSS OF JOBS TO REFUGEES; UNITED STATES PROMISES RELOCATION

(By Neil A. Maxwell)

MIAMI.—The Cuban refugees beginning to trickle in here under Castro's new open-exit policy are being greeted enthusiastically by most of the city's big Cuban colony. But businessmen, labor and civil rights leaders, and even a few of the Cubans already living in Miami are finding little to cheer about.

The worriers insist they have nothing against the refugees. It's just that they fear a new Cuban exodus, swelling the ranks of Cubans who have settled here after fleeing Castro, would play havoc with the local economy and could touch off serious racial conflicts.

"The Negroes plain don't like it—they are very much afraid that this is going to cost them jobs," says Dr. John O. Brown, a local officer of the Congress of Racial Equality. "This could really start something going."

Concern over the possibility of a Cuban-Negro clash is reflected in a meeting called for tonight by the community relations board, the official city-county race relations agency. "The meeting is already overdue—we were getting rumors of street-corner clashes over the weekend," says one official. "We're getting the law enforcement people and the Cuban and Negro leaders together to receive suggestions on how to relieve the pressure on the Negro community."

EXTENDING POVERTY

Another Negro leader, Donald Wheeler Jones, head of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, says: "The only way a lot of Negroes are keeping a roof over their heads now is catching breaks—waiting on street corners for somebody to give them a day's work. The Government says they are extending democracy by bringing the Cubans over—what they are doing is extending poverty right here."

Late last month Castro announced that any Cubans who didn't like his Communist ways could get out. This ended 3 years in which the only way most dissatisfied citizens could leave was to make a run for it in a small boat, always with the risk that the trip would end in a hail of machinegun fire from patrol craft. The total leaving dropped from a peak of 7,000 a month just before the United States-Soviet clash over missiles in Cuba in 1962 to about 1,200 a year since the gates were closed after that crisis.

Fearful of confusion should new waves of refugees pour into Florida aboard a fleet of small craft, the United States is trying to bring a semblance of order to the Cubans' flight. It is trying to limit initial entries to Cubans with relatives here. It also is seeking to line up satisfactory transportation, and Coast Guard craft stationed at key points, such as the mouth of the Miami River, are warning small boats not to go to Cuba to bring back refugees.

PACE OF ARRIVALS TO SOAR

Because of Washington's go-slow policy, only a handful of refugees, traveling on small boats that have put to sea in defiance of the Government's strictures, are slipping in so far. But the pace of arrivals is expected to soar as high as 5,000 a week when the official transportation arrangements are completed, and the number of Cubans who will ultimately disembark here during the new exodus may top 300,000, according to some estimates. (Cuba's total population is about 7.2 million.)

"The economy can't stand it," declares Paul Marks, chairman of Flagler Federal Savings & Loan Association. "We have finally digested the last influx we had, but we're certainly not ready for another one."

Roughly 250,000 Cubans have fled the island since Castro's takeover 6 years ago. Despite intensive efforts to relocate them in other parts of the United States, well over a third still live in Metropolitan Miami (Dade County), which now has a total population of 1,500,000.

Federal officials insist they will be able to relocate incoming Cubans fast enough to prevent a buildup here and say they are well aware of the mood of Miamians. "There's widespread feeling that 'we were hospitable once, but once is enough,' " a Federal spokesman says.

Despite the local antipathy, however, many of the new Cuban arrivals are certain to want to stay right here. They will feel at home and they will be far from eager to head north with winter weather approaching, Miamians maintain.

"My opinion is that resettlement won't prevent a substantial increase in the Cuban population here, because it hasn't in the past," says a church official who works with the refugees. "Even if they are coerced into moving, many will be back."

The Cubans' reluctance to leave Miami is easy to understand after a tour of Flagler Street or other sections where the atmosphere has become far more that of Havana than Miami. The Cubans have set themselves up in hundreds of bustling little businesses, ranging from cigarmaking to open-front coffeeshops. You can walk for blocks without hearing a word of anything but Spanish.

The city, which has 136,000 Negroes, takes pride in its race relations. There has never been a major race clash here. But the record was nearly spoiled a few weeks ago when a demonstration by a small band of extremist Negroes almost triggered a violent reaction in the Cuban colony. With a new tide of Cubans coming in, chances for a disastrous collision will multiply, many officials contend.

The recent close call came after Negroes picketed a store they claimed had discrimi-

nated against them in hiring in favor of Cubans. The Cubans took it as a protest against them, and it wasn't long before rumors were rampant that Negroes were massing for a march on the Cuban neighborhood. One broadcast by a local Spanish-language station said a trainload of Negroes was coming from Los Angeles to join the attack.

Worried officials asked stores displaying firearms in their windows to remove them and called a hurried meeting of the same Negro and Cuban leaders invited to tonight's meeting to calm inflamed passions. But the situation largely responsible for Negro-Cuban frictions—the sharp competition for lower-paying service jobs—remains unchanged and could obviously become even more of a problem as more Cubans flock here.

The Cubans also compete for craft jobs such as painting, union leaders say. "They get a bucket of paint and go around offering to paint houses for $50, when it should be a $200 job," says Edward Stephenson, head of the Dade County Federation of Labor. "We agree that the refugees ought to be let in—but not in here," he adds.

GARMENT TRADE COMPETITION

This morning the International Ladies Garment Workers Union is kicking off a recruiting campaign and using the Cuban influx as a wedge. "We're explaining to the ladies that if they don't join the union they might be replaced by these Cubans who are coming over and will work for less," says Robert Gladnick, business manager of local 415. Most of them understand the situation, since they are Cuban refugees themselves, Mr. Gladnick says. "They think it's awful for these people to come over here and try to get their jobs by undercutting them."

Mr. Gladnick claims a new flood of refugees would trigger a cutthroat battle for the 8,000 garment jobs in the area, nearly all of them held by Cubans. His reasoning: "Say we get 60,000 refugees the first year, and their rosy projection of relocating 50 percent of them turns out to be true. That leaves 30,000 here, half of them women, and say half of them are looking for jobs—that's 7,500. And where do they look—either for domestic or garment worker jobs. They're the natural places."

A refugee chambermaid flicking a dust rag in a hotel room says jobs are hard enough to get now without more women trying for them. "I have to work here and after I get through I sell baby clothes in a store," she says. "We don't need any more looking for jobs."

An influx of Cubans, most of them Catholics and many with large families, would also put an intolerable strain on school facilities, which are already overtaxed, local officials assert. "We just can't handle any increase," says Dade County Superintendent Joe Hall. "We don't have the classrooms, we don't have the teachers, and we don't have the money to get either one." Mr. Hall says there are currently about 15,600 Cuban refugee children in Dade County schools.

SEEKING FEDERAL HELP

While there's almost no agreement here on the best way to handle the new influx of Cubans, nearly everyone contends it will cost money and that the money should come from Federal, not local, sources. Mr. Hall, for example, says Federal funds are the only way to provide school facilities and teachers. Civil rights leaders say Negroes who lose their jobs to Cubans should be given special Federal welfare funds.

The reluctance to welcome more Cubans as residents is not limited to official circles or to Negroes. At a boatyard on the Miami River, a worker says: "Here we go again—they come in and live off welfare or take our jobs or both. Even on welfare they get to you—a citizen can't get but $30 to $40 a month and they get $100."

Under a special program, the Federal Government pays unemployed Cubans with families $100 a month. American citizens in Miami must have lived here 5 years to get county or State welfare aid. And in most instances the monthly checks are far under the amount of Federal payments to refugees.

A Prayer From Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, according to the newspapers we can expect to see in the coming weeks more student and faculty demonstrations against U.S. policies in Vietnam.

I know that most of the Members will join me in the wish that any person participating in these demonstrations would first undertake to inform himself as fully as possible regarding our objectives in Vietnam, and think very carefully of the significance of what he is doing.

In that connection I want to recommend the widest possible attention be given to the letter which follows. It was written by a marine in Vietnam and published in the Mobile Press Register newspaper for October 10, 1965. Cpl. Alfred L. Lang, Jr., of Mobile, Ala., is typical of the many fine young men who are fighting for our country and I thank him for putting his deep-felt thoughts into this letter.

MOBILE MARINE WRITES FROM VIETNAM FOXHOLE TO "10 PERCENT" DEMONSTRATING AGAINST U.S. POLICIES IN VIETNAM

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Cpl. Alfred L. Lang, Jr., a Mobile marine serving in Vietnam, recently wrote the Mobile Press Register the following letter. In it, Lang, a 1960 graduate of Central High School, vividly expresses his feelings on fighting the Vietcong, communism, demonstrations, and lack of news from the homefront.)

SOMEWHERE IN VIETNAM.—It is with deep concern that I write this letter. As I sit here in my foxhole—watching across the barbed wire fence I see a little boy about the age of my little brother or maybe the freckled-faced "tot" in your neighborhood. My thoughts drift toward the things and people I love so dear. The feeling of being a freeman. Freedom of speech, religion.

I also think of my family; Marie, the charming girl next door, and last but not least, the future Mickey Mantles, Ted Williams, and Hank Aarons.

Unlike the little kid in my neighborhood who doesn't wear any shoes simply because he took them off thinking he could run around the bases faster, this little kid doesn't wear any shoes because he has no shoes, or shirt for his back. It would take about as much leather as my brother's baseball glove to make this boy a pair of shoes. But unlike my little brother who was born with freedom, passed down to him from his forefathers, this little kid was born under communism. The voice of communism doesn't ask what it is our children need—it tells them what it wants.

You sit in your foxhole and you hear him say (in the best English he knows how), "Hey GI, Hey Joe, you are No. 1—Vietcong, him No. 10." You realize that this isn't one of the kids who believe that American fighting men will shoot all women and rape young girls. You wish you could say to this little kid, "Cheer up, fellow. It won't be long before good will overthrow evil and you will enjoy the same things the kids of America enjoy."

You can't speak his language, so give him a smile and a smile in any language means the same.

It is times like this that I hide my expression from my buddies and say, "Dear God, thank you for America and our way of life. Please give me strength physically and mentally to do my part for world peace."

NOT FOR GLORY

Sir, I would like for the people in America to know that we here in Vietnam are not fighting for glory but for world peace and to stamp out communism. Also this letter isn't intended for all civilians or college students but for the minority—here in the marines we call them the 10 percent.

There are four of us here from Alabama, two of whom are from Mobile. One is Sgt. James E. Waters, a graduate of Semmes High School. This man is without a doubt one of the best NCO's in the Marine Corps, the type of leader our country is noted for. The caliber of man you would be proud to follow into war; or maybe say, "Boy, am I glad he is on our side."

The other men are Pfc. Melvin Freeman, Cpl. Reno Morgan, and myself, Cpl. Alfred L. Lang, Jr.

These are just a few of our American fighting men here in Vietnam. Being stationed here, we don't get as much information as we would like to about Mobile. Therefore we all are sending you this money for a few copies, past or present, of the Press.

Perhaps I had better get back to the subject. It is for those college kids (and I call them kids because they act the part). I really don't blame them, for you see I was once a college student myself. Every month we had to have a fad too. If you really need a fad, try dirty sneakers, short skirts, or continental trousers. Or maybe you want to stick by the old fad. If such is the case try the sack dress, the hula hoop, or the doubled breasted suits. Leave the defense of our country and winning peace to the men who receive $65 a month and CARE packages.

WILL DO THE JOB

There is a job to be done here in Vietnam. Needless to say we will do it; we are American fighting men serving in the forces which guard our country and our way of life. We are prepared to give our life in its defense. I am sure that if you were busy preparing yourselves for the jobs of better lawyers, doctors, teachers, and scientists you would not have time for the foolish demonstrations and added curriculum activities.

How can we point to you and say, "These are our professional leaders of tomorrow. The hope of the Nation." You must remember that actions speak louder than words. Secondly, one picture of a demonstration such as yours tells what a thousand men could not. The voice of your actions says only one thing to the Communist, "We are behind you."

I am sure you, the 10 percent, will agree with me that there is no room in a science laboratory, fraternity, or sorority for an American fighting man and his rifle. By the same token, there is no need for your dollars and demonstrations as moral support to the Vietcong.

I think you, the minority, are afraid that one day the task of defending your fellow man will be a burden on your shoulder. You can rest assured that the Marine Corps won't draft you (the 10 percent). They want

the best. In short, I don't believe your soft tennis shoe feet, slow beating heart or pencil pushing hands could make the grade. It must be a terrible feeling to know you're not wanted by "John the Cong" or "John Doe, average American."

As I have said before, these statements are not intended for those who back the President's decision but the 10 percent, the uninformed. President Johnson is a good man. Otherwise the majority wouldn't have put him in the position of this great office so that the decision to defend our country would be his. Have you forgotten that we voted for him.

HUNTER AND HUNTED

Life here in Vietnam is a case of the hunter and the hunted. The enemy is smart, he is clever and also vicious. For he knows just as we do, he is fighting for an ideal which he believes is right.

He will always believe he is right until someone proves him wrong. I guess you might say (as my father used to say), "Whatever a man believes is right, fight for it. If he thinks he is wrong, admit it. This is the mark of a man." Nevertheless when all is said and done, good will always overpass evil.

My father also said "Good things come to those who wait." But how long must he wait.

I guess I should be man enough to realize that mine is not to ask how long, who or why. Mine is to do or die.

This is why when the word is passed "Marines, let us go," or "Get that sniper," you reply, "Aye, aye sir" and you are off.

You bring him back using one of the methods you have been taught—hand-to-hand combat, knife fighting, judo or karate.

Here in Vietnam you also learn the true meaning of the words "Devil Dogs" first applied by the Germans. You must be able to outshoot, gamble, and run the enemy, otherwise you will not outlive him. As maybe he is one who believes in the saying, "Run away and live to forget another day."

You, the minority, say we should pull out of here. What you are asking us to do is to say to the Communist, "We cannot take it when the game gets tough." What do we say to these parents whose sons have already died here? "Your sons did not die for a cause." Why don't you try telling them this. I do not think I would have the heart to.

The sooner you realize that there is a war going on here in Vietnam the better off it will be for all of those concerned. Communism spreads like a California forest fire. If we do not meet the Vietcong here, the next place we must encounter them will probably be in your home town.

How long ago was it that we can remember when Vietnam was not such a big thing? Now almost overnight hundreds of troopers have landed here.

Yes, there is a war going on here and with or without your 10 percent help we will win it.

We won the wars in the past and needless to say we will win this one. And if there is another one we will win it and maybe that war will be the last. Then we all can return home to our loved ones.

ABOUT MONEY

I understand—you, the 10 percent—are asking for money to support your cause and I consider it to be a Communist cause.

If you really need money, why don't you ask the mother whose son stepped on a land mine—not only was his body shattered but also his hopes and dreams of world peace.

Why don't you ask the father whose son was sniped by a sniper? Ask the marine who is stationed here on the land where the mail calls are many and letters are few for some. One day a letter may read, "Dear Bobby, I want you to know I will always love you but since you've been away I met John or Charles and * * *."

And last but not least why don't you ask the little girl who says to her 5- or 6-year-old playmate, "My daddy is in Vietnam. He is coming home tomorrow." For this little tot tomorrow was yesterday or a week ago.

I guess this is where faith as big as a mustard seed comes into life. It is a good thing for you that you are in America where you can practice your mild form of communism. I am sure that if you were here and met me and my squad on the jungle trail it would be a different story.

It would be like reading the best-seller-of-the-year book and getting to the back only to find the last page missing.

Finding the enemy is a tough job, a man's job. It may mean that you might have to stay awake night and day, walk 40 miles on two canteens of water in 107- to 130-degree weather with the humidity at 90 percent. Or maybe crawling into a 100- to 300-foot tunnel or cave looking for a Vietcong sniper and come face to face with the bomboa viper which is a poisonous snake the VC place in tunnels to strike a marine attempting to do his job.

But what are servicemen for if not to defend their country's honor and fight its battles?

As I carry my load for those who back President Johnson and also for the 10 percent (the uninformed) I will forever say the prayer that I was taught in boot camp:

"Dear God, through Thy Son, hear the prayers of a warrior's son.
Give my eyes a vision keen,
To see the things that must be seen,
A steady hand I ask of Thee,
The feel of wind or land or sea,
Let me not ever careless be of life, death, or liberty,
But the sake of quiet heart and strength will do my part,
To God, country, home, and camp,
Let me be faithful evermore."

This letter is intended for the minority and the uninformed. If you really want to help, try displaying pennants, buttons, and car stickers which read:

"Down with communism in Vietnam. Help stamp out communism."

"God bless our fearless fighting sons. Thumbs down for communism."

"Cheers for world peace."

Cpl. ALFRED L. LANG, Jr.

Congressman Ottinger Leads the Way on the Hudson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, one of our colleagues in the House of Representatives has emerged as a champion of conservation and scenic beauty by his vigorous and effective leadership in the battle to save the Hudson Riverway, Representative RICHARD L. OTTINGER introduced a bill to establish a National Scenic Riverway along the Hudson River in January and since that time has received the endorsement of many colleagues on both sides of the aisle. Thirty-eight Members of the House and three Senators have sponsored identical or similar bills.

I am proud to be one of the sponsors of this forward looking legislation which seeks to preserve the scenic beauty of the Hudson Riverway. Not only this, but other legislation which has for its purpose the conservation and preservation of our natural resources—the forests—the lakes and rivers—the shoreline—the wetlands and the habitat of fish and wildlife—the recreation areas of our land will all have my endorsement and support. Dispute in the Hudson Riverway arose when the Consolidated Edison Co. announced plans to build a hydroelectric plant at the face of Storm King Mountain at the northern end of the Hudson Highlands. Since that time Representative OTTINGER has led the fight to save this area from the destructive effects of this project. He has shown courage and boundless energy in his campaign to win support for this legislation and has been rewarded by the response of his colleagues.

The following article which appeared in the October 2 edition of the New Republic sets forth the reasons for the hope, which Congressman OTTINGER has awakened in his constituents:

WHO WILL SAVE THE HUDSON, AND HOW?

Last year residents of Westchester and Putnam Counties in New York for the first time in 20 years elected a Democrat, RICHARD OTTINGER, to sit in Congress and help save them from the ravages of their Governor. These two counties, extending 50 miles up the Hudson River from New York City, are usually faithfully Republican, but Nelson Rockefeller infuriated them by supporting Consolidated Edison Co. in its plan to build a large hydroelectric project on the face of Storm King Mountain, a big hill at the northern end of the Highlands of the Hudson. The Highlands are a charming stretch of untrammeled river gorge and the prospect of letting the electric power business in made people mad. And their fury reached a peak when the company revealed its plans for stringing transmission lines through the towns and villages down to the city limits. By putting the State behind this project, finally licensed by the Federal Power Commission, Rockefeller lifted conservation in Westchester to the position civil rights occupies in Mississippi.

OTTINGER opposed the Storm King project, and promised to fight in Congress to save the rest of the lower Hudson from spoilation. Subsequently, he sponsored a bill that would turn the river between the Highlands and New York City limits into a national scenic riverway. The Secretary of Interior would work closely with the State and local officials on a plan for protective zoning. The plan would take effect if 75 percent of the affected communities approved. If the State sought to override the localities the Interior Department would have both the authority and money to take "scenic easements" along the river banks. Land ownership would not be disturbed, but its use would be restricted to prevent industrialization. The owner would be reimbursed for his losses. Interior also would get authority to determine what Federal projects could be carried out within the riverway confines. In effect, this would mean that the electric power interests would have to plead before the Interior Department, and not the more sympathetic Federal Power Commission.

This must have been a particularly unpleasant business for Rockefeller, since his family always has been highly regarded among conservationists, and now the Government was being asked to make an example of

slothful administration in his home State with a gubernatorial election coming in 1966.

As a result of the Con Edison dispute, Rockefeller moved off on several different tacks to recover lost ground. For one thing he got the Democratic-controlled State legislature to pass an imaginative water pollution program. New laws stiffen enforcement procedure, and provide industry with tax incentives. This November voters will be asked to approve a $1 billion bond issue to finance 60 percent of the cost of municipal sewage treatment plants throughout the State. The localities would have to put up the other 40 percent. The Governor hopes to get the Federal Government to pay back half of the $1 billion over the next 20 years or so. But available Federal funds are insufficient at the moment, and rather than wait for passage of another law, Rockefeller took a gamble and "prefinanced" a Federal share so building could begin at once. This certainly is the boldest move by any State on water pollution, and the Governor has been praised all around for his plan. Recently he grudgingly agreed to a Federal pollution conference on the Hudson River, to take place this week which should lend added impetus to the pollution cleanup.

Rockefeller tried to offset the Ottinger proposal by getting the State legislature to create a Hudson River Valley Commission, which by next February is meant to come up with plans for preserving a corridor running the whole length of the river. But the State commission's authority is limited. It has no power to set aside land threatened by industrial development. Rather it hopes through persuasion to keep unwanted industries away. For instance, Central Hudson Gas & Electric Co. is planning to build a second hydroelectric project in the Hudson Highlands in the early 1970's, and the commission staff has vague hopes that by involving company officials in planning preparations, they may be persuaded to forget it.

Suspicions about the Governor's intentions along the Hudson increased recently when the State announced it would build an expressway down the east side of the river from Beacon to New York. Towns and villages set up a wail. OTTINGER got Stewart Udall to promise he would try to get Federal road funds withheld until Congress had a chance to deliberate on the Ottinger bill. In the midst of the furor, the State dropped its plans for a portion of the roadway.

It is unlikely that anything much will get done on the Hudson unless the State and Federal Governments are pulled together in a joint planning scheme. While the Governor talks nostalgically of State sovereignty, the Federal presence in the State is, of course, enormous. The Federal Power Commission has the final say in licensing hydroelectric projects. The Atomic Energy Commission controls the placing of nuclear powerplants. The bureau of roads must approve plans before Federal funds can be supplied to construct highways. The urban renewal people, Army Corps of Engineers, Agriculture and Interior Departments all have authority in various parts of the river valley.

If the Governor's pollution bond issue passes this November, that will give him something to talk about in next year's election. And if he can get Federal officials to assist his State commission in laying out and financing a plan for the Hudson River Valley, he will be in a position to take a good deal of credit for an idea originally put forward by OTTINGER. OTTINGER, of course, won't stand still for this. He too faces reelection, and wants credit for his own work. Udall, who speaks for the administration on the Hudson issue, has stood stoutly behind OTTINGER, and he has taken care to insure the Congressman's interests are protected in dealing with the Governor.

Both sides claim they have sought to iron out the political difficulties which lie in the way of bringing the Federal Government and the State together on the Hudson. OTTINGER says he has tried without success to coordinate his work with Rockefeller. Rockefeller says he put forward a scheme whereby concerned members of the Cabinet and the Governor of New Jersey could be brought together with himself in a Federal-interstate steering committee of the Hudson River Valley Commission. Rockefeller says he proposed his plan to both Udall and the President over lunch at the White House, that both men made approving remarks, which he took as a sign to go ahead. He then wrote letters of invitation to Cabinet members, in doing so referring to President Johnson's alleged approval.

A month later he received a letter from Udall rejecting the proposal. Instead Udall suggested the simplest way to accomplish the Governor's intended purpose would be for the State commission to work closely with the Federal Recreation Advisory Council—an interdepartmental group that includes most of the Cabinet members Rockefeller wants on his steering committee. Its staff is located in the Interior Department.

The Federal Government, Udall said, would need to look over various bills on the Hudson now pending, and that as negotiations progressed, it would be well to bring in their sponsors.

Rockefeller in turn rejected Udall's proposal, feeling evidently that it represented a move by OTTINGER and ROBERT KENNEDY to bring him to heel on their terms. (Mr. KENNEDY said he had never even heard of the steering committee proposal). The Governor sent a letter back asking that his plan be reconsidered.

Officials at the Interior Department are furious at what they regard as Rockefeller's crude attempt to make use of an offhand comment made by the President at a luncheon. And the administration probably now will proceed by ignoring the Governor and making its own study of the Hudson River, independent of his commission. Thus, there will be duplicate studies underway. At this childish pause the matter now rests.

Sally More Than HOPE Nurse—Diplomat, Educator, Too

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD D. CLANCY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. CLANCY. Mr. Speaker, an article in the October 2 issue of the Cincinnati Post & Times-Star points out how Project HOPE is instituting medical innovations in developing countries through its diversified land programs.

The account is based on the activities of North College Hill Nurse Sally Thompson in the West African nation of Guinea.

As the article explains, Project HOPE conducts several shore programs while medical education and treatment is performed aboard the great white ship.

These programs include vaccination of children for polio, diptheria, tetanus, and typhoid; educating nurses in shore hospitals; instructing hospital personnel in the use of modern hospital equipment and assisting in the distribution of nourishing milk.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the stirring account of this dedicated nurse and the magnificent medical staff of the SS *Hope* merits the attention of my colleagues and I ask that the article be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article follows:

SALLY MORE THAN HOPE NURSE—SHE'S DIPLOMAT, EDUCATOR, TOO

(By Ray Steffens)

Sally Thompson has served a year aboard the S.S. *Hope*, a hospital ship.

That puts her in select company.

She was one of 30 nurses selected for the *Hope's* recent trip to Guinea. And there's a long-waiting list of applicants.

Sally could sign up again in January when the ship goes to Nicaragua. But she's undecided.

The *Hope* is a private hospital ship operated by the People-to-People Foundation of Washington, D.C. It is a world symbol of U.S. medical knowledge and friendship.

It visits only those countries that seek its help in upgrading medical education and practices.

The *Hope*—and Sally—returned early this month from an 11-month visit to Guinea on the West Coast of Africa. The ship docked at Philadelphia and Sally returned to her home at 6839 Greismer Avenue in North College Hill.

"It's been an education," says Sally. "I learned a lot."

In dealing with the people of Guinea, Sally had to be a diplomat, good will ambassador, an educator, and a nurse. She recalls:

"Communist propaganda convinced these people that we wanted something from their country. They couldn't understand why anyone—especially Americans—would want to help them.

"We had to work that much harder to convince them that all we wanted to do was help them. It took a while but they finally accepted us."

Conakry, capital of Guinea, has fairly modern hospitals. But there still is a great need for upgrading medical practices, especially in the surrounding areas.

Sally spent most of her time ashore setting up clinics and administering to the sick at their homes.

Her biggest—and never-ending job—was to inoculate children against whooping cough, tetanus, diptheria, and polio.

"I don't know how many thousands of children I inoculated," says Sally, "but those kids were wonderful. Never a complaint."

It wasn't all smooth sailing for the *Hope* when its staff got down to business with its medical and health programs. There were obstacles.

For instance—all Guinea nurses are men. They live in a society where the women have no status. Thus they were reluctant to take instructions from American (female) nurses. Sally recalls:

"The Guinea nurses eventually got around to accepting our advice but they wouldn't admit that we ever taught them anything."

A Guinea nurse has a fairly good education but he refuses to perform simple tasks like changing the bed linen or washing the patient.

And unlike his American counterpart, a Guinea nurse can become a pharmacist, radiologist, or a lab technician without additional education.

The hospitals, too, presented problems. In some instances they had modern equipment but put it aside because it didn't work or because no one knew how to operate it.

"Part of our job was to educate hospital personnel in the use of modern equipment. It wasn't too hard to find someone aboard ship who was familiar with the various equipment and able to fix it."

Sally recalls one instance of an anesthetist in a hospital who reverted to obsolete

methods because some of his equipment didn't function.

"One of our nurses made some simple repairs and fixed the equipment."

Even their doctors sometimes ignored the obvious. In one case surgeons at one hospital used old catgut to sew incisions after an operation.

"The catgut was old and rotten and usually broke after surgery but the doctors were unperturbed. They resewed the incision each time with the same kind of catgut.

"No one seemed interested enough to investigate the problem until we found the trouble and suggested discarding the catgut."

Sally has a deep sense of devotion to the people of Guinea.

"It's hard to believe that we were in a country where practically no one ever tasted cow's milk or even saw a toy doll."

But the *Hope* was equipped with a "mechanical cow," which took powdered milk, distilled sea water, and butterfat and made milk and ice cream. Sally says:

"These people drink a form of yogurt made from goat's milk but they got their taste of our products when we distributed them to schools, hospitals, and other institutions.

"Toys? Most of these people never saw a toy or doll until we distributed them to children in our pediatrics ward. The children were afraid to handle the dolls at first but the beautiful clothing attracted their attention."

If a patient took a doll home it ended in an honored place in the house. No one was allowed to play with it.

Diet is a big problem in Guinea. Many children suffer from some form of malnutrition. It's not because there is no food but rather because of improper diets.

Hope's personnel utilized the food available and devised a diet to help overcome the problem.

In addition to malaria and tuberculosis, another serious health problem is ulcers. Even the children have them. They are due chiefly to an intestinal parasite.

"These were some of the things we encountered during our stay and I'm sure we did some good there," Sally says.

One unscheduled project concerns a school for deaf and retarded children—the first of its kind in Guinea.

One of the ship's staff found some hearing aids and this was the beginning of the school.

Sally is 27, and had been a public health nurse before she went to Guinea. She served at the Madisonville School.

She is a graduate of the School of Nursing at Mercy Hospital, Hamilton, and received a bachelor of science degree in nursing at the University of Cincinnati.

She's between jobs now but the S.S. *Hope* sails in January.

"I may be on that ship," she says.

Panama Partners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EARLE CABELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, we have what we call a good neighbor policy with Latin American nations, and this policy means that we will be good neighbors in deed as well as words.

For this reason, we have agreed to a new treaty governing operation of the Panama Canal. A recent editorial in the Dallas Times Herald said that the United States, in agreeing to the new treaty, "acted honorably and sensibly," and I agree.

The editorial points out:

The 1903 pact with Panama, despite its "in perpetuity" clause, is outdated and should be changed.

This editorial entitled "Panama Partners," seems typical of the hundreds that have appeared, praising this country for doing what was just and honorable. With permission granted I place it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

[From the Dallas (Tex.) Times Herald, Sept. 28, 1965]

PANAMA PARTNERS

In agreeing to a new treaty governing operation of the Panama Canal, the United States acted honorably and sensibly. The 1903 pact with Panama, despite its "in perpetuity" clause, is outdated and should be changed.

As much as anything else, the new treaty will recognize that nothing is forever. The present rights and wishes of a sovereign country with whom the United States must deal cannot be overlooked, notwithstanding previous commitments. Panamas rights to sovereignty over its land area and a fair share of canal revenue are being recognized, albeit belatedly, and groundwork for a much more satisfactory mutual arrangement between the two nations has been laid for the future—including a possible new canal.

The new treaty, all details of which have not been announced, settles amicably the dispute which created a crisis and bloody rioting less than 2 years ago. The United States did not bow to the intimidation of a street mob, as President Johnson said firmly at the time. But after the violence ended, this country entered into meaningful negotiations with Panama's Government, and the draft of a new treaty drawn.

In both old and new canal dealings, the United States and Panama will be partners, rather than landlord-and-tenant—a much more desirable relationship.

Calling Castro's Hand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson has called Fidel Castro's hand in dramatic fashion by saying that Cuban refugees can be assured of sanctuary on these shores.

The President, in what the Philadelphia Inquirer has termed "a masterful bit of timing," made the announcement at the foot of the Statue of Liberty during the signing ceremony for the new immigration bill. This bill eradicates unjust provisions in the law governing the admission of foreigners to this country.

The Inquirer editorially has praised the administration and this country for "calling Castro's hand," and I ask permission to insert the article in the RECORD.

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Oct. 5, 1965]

CALLING CASTRO'S HAND

Fidel Castro is addicted to the use of obscure phrases and vague offers. It often is unwise to judge what he means by what he says. When he offered last week to allow Cubans who want to come to the United States to do so, he might have been bluffing. All indications are that he was.

In any event, President Johnson has called Castro's hand in dramatic fashion by formally opening the doors of this country to prospective refugees from the Castro tyranny and assuring them sanctuary. The President, with a masterful bit of timing, made the announcement at the foot of the Statue of Liberty, during the signing ceremony for the new immigration bill which eradicates unjust provisions in the law governing the admission of foreigners to this country.

Castro, characteristically, is backing off. When it first became evident his offer was being taken seriously, he tried to wiggle out of the commitment by saying the U.S. Government would be required to exercise the initiative, through official diplomatic channels, to set the flow of Cuban refugees in motion. No doubt Fidel was chuckling in his beard, thinking this would end the matter because the United States does not have diplomatic relations with the Castro regime.

President Johnson surmounted the obstacles by ordering the U.S. State Department to proceed immediately with arrangements to start the movement of refugees out of Cuba—utilizing diplomatic channels open to Castro through the Swiss Government and the International Red Cross.

Castro, still trying to get off the hook, has raised objections to dealing with the Red Cross. He also is remaining deliberately noncommittal about which Cubans could come to the United States. He might hand-pick them.

Also unclear is the meaning of Castro's belated disclosure of a strange letter purported to have been written by Che Guevara at the time of his sudden disappearance last April. Guevara, who had been No. 2 man in the Castro hierarchy, has gone to an undisclosed destination for an unannounced purpose, the letter says.

Why Castro chose this particular time to announce the so-called Guevara letter is another mystery. Maybe he is hopeful it will serve as a diversionary tactic to draw attention away from his embarrassing predicament over refugees.

Georgia's New Archives and Records Building

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT G. STEPHENS, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, October 11, 1965, in Atlanta, a ceremony took place marking the formal dedication of Georgia's new and impressive $6½ million Archives and Records Building adjacent to Capitol Square.

Frequently a legislator can see no tangible results of his service. But, when one has had an experience as I did on October 11 in seeing and inspecting the

most up-to-date building of its kind in America and knowing that I had a part in its becoming a reality, it compensates for many of the hard days, misunderstandings and frustrations you sometimes have in public service.

In the 1958 session of the Georgia General Assembly, after being on a special committee for several years, I introduced a house resolution to construct a building for the purpose of storing valuable records of the State and restoring valuable records to usefulness. It was cosponsored in the house by Representatives George B. Brooks and Alpha A. Fowler, Jr., and in the senate by C. L. Moss and Mobley Howell. In the closing days of that session, by unanimous vote, the resolution was adopted authorizing the building and directing of the budget bureau to provide Secretary of State Ben W. Fortson, Jr., with funds necessary to carry out the purposes of this resolution. This became House Resolution No. 270–687c.

In order to assure that no slip occurs, members of the special Legislative Archgival Building Study Committee took the original resolution personally to the Governor, Marvin Griffin, and to the then Lieutenant Governor, S. Ernest Vandiver, for their signatures. In 1959, Ernest Vandiver became the Governor of Georgia and it was during his administration that the money to build the archives building was provided.

Thus, the aspirations of the late Mary Givens Bryan, State archivist, and Ben W. Fortson, Jr., secretary of state, under whom she worked, became marble and steel to serve the people of Georgia in future generations. Their unselfish ambitions inspired me and other members of the Georgia Legislature to work for this splendid project until it was accomplished.

It was truly a grand occasion for Geogia when Miss Carroll Hart, director of the department of archives and history, opened the ceremonies to dedicate this building to serve as the repository for Georgia's rich historical records.

This is a most important building. A German scholar, Ratsel, said that chronology and geography are the eyes of history. If this is so, then properly preserved archival records are the memory of history because without them the eyes would be of little use.

The addresses by former Governor Vandiver, Gov. Carl Sanders, and Deputy Archivist of the United States Robert Bahmer bespeak the importance of this eventful day, and I beg your indulgence to let me set them out in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so as to preserve them.

The addresses follow:

TEXT OF ADDRESS OF FORMER GOV. S. ERNEST VANDIVER

This is a proud day for Georgia. For, with the dedication of this magnificent edifice, we will be able for the first time to gather safely in one place the valuable and priceless documents which have accumulated since the day Georgia was granted the charter brought here today by Governor McNair's representatives.

Yet, I cannot help but feel pangs of sadness because the one person I wanted most to be here when this building was dedicated is no longer with us. Perhaps it was because she labored so long and so hard to guarantee Georgia a safekeeping place for her papers and records that Mary Givens Bryan departed this life before her dream came true.

So this fine building is as much a monument to her dedication to her job as she saw it, as it is to those who founded this department before her.

I shall never forget the day we broke ground on this spot a little over 3 years ago. Mrs. Bryan was so exuberant about getting started that she shoveled the dirt on me. The incident has always revered her in my memory.

And today, as we see this building raised up from the soil her shovel turned, we can be humbly grateful that God blessed Georgia so greatly by giving her within the same lifespan such great dreamers as Mrs. Bryan, the late B. E. Thrasher, Jr., and our revered and beloved secretary of state, Ben W. Fortson, Jr.

Ben has been dreaming of this building since he became secretary of state in 1946. And each time a Georgia county courthouse burned during his long and distinguished career, destroying the priceless county records they contained, it spurred him just a little bit more.

Forty-nine courthouses had burned by the time Ben and Mrs. Bryan got enough other Georgians interested in the need for a permanent records-keeping facility for Georgia. The destruction of the Douglas County courthouse just a few years ago gave some of the stimulus necessary to arouse the public and the general assembly.

A legislative Archival Building Study Committee began looking into the problem in 1957 under the chairmanship of now Congressman BOB STEPHENS. When they completed their report, I had to agree that they had presented a strong and winning case. The general assembly approved the building resolution as introduced by Congressman STEPHENS. It was cosponsored by the Archival Building Committee. With the help of the late and great State auditor, Ed Thrasher, we inaugurated the project in line with the recommendation of the Governor's Economy and Reorganization Commission.

Its construction was financed with funds provided by the State Office Building Authority, of which Mr. Thrasher was chairman.

But I know that Georgia's historians and archivists do not consider the money spent on this structure as a liability, but a credit. For if this building had existed 20 years ago, we could have saved thousands of irreplaceable records which are now in ashes.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that this is a records depository for all Georgia. Not only the records of Georgia's State government will be stored and microfilmed here, but this facility will likewise take care of records of Georgia's municipal and county governments as well.

It was with this purpose in mind that the entire building was planned and designed. Archives in at least 15 other States were inspected before this one was laid out on paper. Their best features—and many special ones adapted particularly to Georgia's needs—have been captured here in marble and steel to preserve for posterity, great papers of history.

Now, the historians, the archivists, the genealogical researchers—all of them will have a place to carry on their work in modern, comfortable, dustless surroundings, where records will be protected against further deterioration.

As a member of a Georgia family that has lived in the same county for more than 200 years, I revere history and I have the highest admiration for those who are interested in its preservation.

Thus, I dedicate this great building with pride and humility—honoring those who have made it possible—in tribute to the past bound up in the records it protects—and in the interest of future generations who will come here to learn of Georgia's rich and treasured heritage.

As a great industrialist said years ago, "the past is gone and static. Nothing we can do can change it. The future is before us and dynamic * * *."

So with this dedication, I do not seek to change the past, but preserve it—for that dynamic future of which I sincerely intend to be a part.

TEXT OF ADDRESS BY GOV. CARL E. SANDERS

I consider it an honor to participate in this dedication program. We are present at a truly significant moment in Georgia's history, a moment in which that history itself is honored.

A few moments ago I was privileged to accept, on behalf of the people of Georgia, one of the original copies of the Royal Charter of Georgia.

I am happy to pledge to you at this time that this charter will find a safe and long-lasting home here amid the other notable and priceless documents of our State's proud heritage.

We now have not only a structure as technically sound and protective as modern architecture can produce but also one whose beauty and style are as timeless as its Cherokee Georgia marble exterior.

This building, of course, will house all the official records and valuable documents both of State government and Georgia's counties and municipalities.

Naturally, I am glad to see all of this valuable material stored here near the center of governmental activity and I trust that it will remain safe here for all time to come.

You know, some of this historical material has already had a rather impressive tour of the country.

Back in the days of the Revolution—when the situation in Georgia didn't appear safe for its public officials—our first secretary of State, John Milton, fled with the archives to Charleston and finally to Baltimore, where they remained until the end of the war.

Then, too, these records followed Georgia's State capitol from Louisville to Milledgeville, and then to Atlanta.

I think these records and documents have found the finest possible resting place here, not simply because of the quality of these physical accommodations, but also because of those dedicated men and women who treasure our heritage, and who have sought to preserve it.

I especially want to commend here our fine State archivist, Miss Carroll Hart, to whom we are entrusting the priceless details of Georgia's history.

I want to commend, also, Secretary of State Ben W. Fortson, who was among the first to recognize the need for adequately housing the State's records.

And finally, I feel we all owe a debt of gratitude to Gov. Ernest Vandiver, under whose administration the money was made available for the erection of this $6.6 million building.

Our new archives and records building already has aroused interest all across the Nation, and has served as a massive testimony to Georgia's respect for its heritage.

This new building is symbolic of our approach—not only to the history that has already been written, but also to that which has yet to take place.

Through this building and through our State Department of Archives and History, we look both to the history of the past, as well as to the history of the future, which we are writing by our actions today.

It is with this approach in mind that I am concerned with the utilization of a professional historian whose task it would be to compile the pertinent documents and records of each administration into a complete history that might well be of value to schol-

ars, to other historians, and even to governmental officials of the future.

In too many instances, the detailed records of our continuing government have either been destroyed or lost, simply because no one chose to recognize their future historical value.

I am hopeful, therefore, that the story of Georgia government will be fully documented and preserved and that this tradition will be a permanent tradition.

We have here what I am sure is the most beautiful archives and records building in the entire country and I am confident that the priceless records we will be preserving will be of equal pride to all Georgians.

Thank you.

TEXT OF REMARKS OF DR. ROBERT H. BAHMER, DEPUTY ARCHIVIST OF THE UNITED STATES

This is an important day for every American archivist. We are here to dedicate a beautiful building that incorporates the finest in design, in facilities and in equipment for safeguarding the public documents—the archives of the State of Georgia—and for making these documents available for the use of the citizens of our Nation. Your building is a monument to the bold vision of a great State; it is a monument to the enlightened leadership of your Governor, your Secretary of State, your legislature, and to a host of distinguished and public-spirited citizens.

To all of these we archivists owe our thanks and our gratitude. But in a very special sense this building to us is a monument to the faith and the determination and foresight of one of the leaders of the American archival profession—Mary Givens Bryan.

It was my privilege to know and to work with Mary Bryan for 15 years; and all of you who knew her, I am sure, share with me the feeling that she was endowed, as few of us are, with attributes of character and personal qualities that set her above the ordinary. She was, in short, a great lady.

She was, moreover, a great archivist—a leader of her profession. She was proud of her profession—inordinately proud—and much that is good in the American archival profession today is owing to her persistent efforts.

During the years that Mary was dreaming of this building, campaigning for it, planning it, she was also active in strengthening her profession. For several years she was chairman of the Committee on State Archives of the Society of American Archivists. In 1960 she served as President of the Society. And in these positions she exerted a tremendous influence for good in encouraging the development of a nationwide network of State archival agencies—staffed by professional archivists, who take pride in their calling and feel a sense of responsibility for the preservation and proper use of the documentary heritage of their States.

Mary Bryan understood clearly the basic nature of the archivist's job. She knew that without the written record there could be no true history. She knew that in a democracy such as ours the written record of our governmental institutions must be preserved and made accessible on a basis of equality to students, scholars, and the general public. She rested her case, as we all do, on the belief that we are promoting the cause of democracy by advancing the knowledge of our past. As one of our colleagues has said:

"If the record is not accessible, the books that advance the frontiers of knowledge cannot be written. Without these books, teachers and students will be shackled with interpretations of our past that will soon be obsolete if not misleading. The record is the foundation. Unless this record and the right of access to it are protected in the fullest amplitude possible, the whole society suffers. Whatever affects the foundation affects not merely [the] vast and varied network of historical enterprise. It affects the national interest in the deepest moral and spiritual sense. For, as someone has well said, the historian is in a sense custodian of the public truth, and one of the glories of democracy is that it dares to face the truth about its past."

Mary Bryan taught and lived this philosophy. But she was also thoroughly convinced that an archives should not be a dull, dusty depository of dead documents. She believed that an archives must be a vital, vibrant institution dedicated to the public service in the full—service that catered to the interests and needs of all the people. This building was erected to implement that belief—it is designed for service.

Finally Mary Bryan, as all good archivists, looked to the future as well as the past. To some the impact of modern technology on the archivist's work is regarded with misgivings—to Mary the future was a challenge to be anticipated and met zestfully.

Exactly 5 years and 5 days ago in her presidential address to the Society of American Archivists in Boston, Mary Bryan reminded her fellow archivists that "We are living in an age when men's greatest ambitions are seemingly on the edge of fulfillment, when the stars toward which man has reached for untold centuries suddenly seem only an arm's length away." When I reread these words a few days ago I was struck by their appropriateness for this occasion. For Mary was taken from us just when her greatest ambition was on the edge of fulfillment and the completion of this building was only an arm's length away.

Her legacy is in good hands and inspired by her faith these hands will carry on. It is a great privilege to be with you on this day.

Financial and Technical Aid in the Study and Control of Jellyfish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. BYRNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, even though the following is written humorously about a very serious piece of legislation—H.R. 11475—recently introduced by my friend and colleague, EDWARD A. GARMATZ, of Maryland, I do believe that John McKelway's Rambler column from the Washington Evening Star of October 11 will enlighten the Members to the real importance of this proposed legislation.

The article follows:

THE RAMBLER

(By John McKelway)

Proof enough to get behind the recent proposal of Representative EDWARD A. GARMATZ, the distinguished Democrat from the fine city of Baltimore in the great State of Maryland.

He has introduced what is perhaps the most sensible piece of legislation since the repeal of prohibition. GARMATZ is out to get the jellyfish.

As he explains it: "The bill would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to cooperate with the States and give financial and technical aid to them in the study and control of jellyfish—commonly referred to as 'sea nettles'—and other such pests which adversely affect fish and shellfish, as well as water-based recreation."

(In other words, they sting voters indiscriminately.)

The Secretary, he said, would be authorized to conduct, either directly or by contract, or both, research into the sea nettle problem, to conduct studies on developing control measures, and, based on such studies on developing control measures, and, based on such studies to control or eliminate such pests in our coastal waters and tributaries.

Cost of the legislation would be on a 50–50 basis between the Federal Government and the States. The Government would put up some $10 million.

GARMATZ noted that jellyfish seem to be on the increase—not only in the Chesapeake Bay area but along the entire eastern seaboard.

And he also pointed out: "Were this simply a struggle of men against the jellyfish, a solution might be near at hand. Unfortunately, some experts suggest that the life cycle of the jellyfish is entwined with that of the oyster."

For it turns out that while there are more jellyfish there are fewer oysters—and the jellyfish, the hated jellyfish, might be responsible.

Now who could be against such a reasonable proposal?

Jellyfish, in the Ramber's opinion, are virtually worthless—around these parts, anyway. In Japan, 'tis said, people actually eat dried jellyfish and it is also rumored that jellyfish have been used by farmers as a fertilizer.

But here all they do is sting people. They ruin summer vacations or long-awaited weekends. They also eat harmless little fishes that otherwise might have lived to feed a family on Friday night.

Jellyfish, if you spend a whole afternoon catching them in a crab net and dumping them in a bushel basket so that a few people in the area can do a slow, careful breast stroke, also are capable of setting off an unmistakable odor. Jellyfish stink.

GARMATZ said it was his hope that hearings on the legislation could start early in the next session of Congress and that by summertime, when thousands of people are racing out of the water to get away from jellyfishes, the bill would be "well along its way to passage."

This is disappointing. If GARMATZ would just take the time to run down to the White House and have a chat with Lady Bird we could get the show on the road this week.

Why wait? The jellyfish won't.

Working for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, none of us can ever forget the deeply emotional appeal made in this country by Pope Paul for "no more war, war never again."

This is what we all want in this country—every mother and father who has seen a son go off to Vietnam, every American who has seen a brother, a husband, a

father or a sweetheart called to duty in a place like the Dominican Republic or southeast Asia.

We want peace, we pray for peace, and we work for peace. We sacrifice for peace, which means we pay the price of being strong. Ever since the day of George Washington, America has stood by the conviction that peace comes more readily by being strong than by being weak.

Along these lines, I call attention to a recent editorial in the Arizona Republic, and ask that it be published in the RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the Arizona Republic, Oct. 6, 1965]

THE POPE AND PEACE

The world's most powerful spiritual leader met its most powerful secular leader in New York Monday, and the result could be of tremendous importance to the cause of peace. No transcript has been made of the conversation between President Johnson and Pope Paul, but the President said they discussed many questions and concluded: "The entire world is indebted to his holiness (for) his trips across the waters to provide leadership in the world's quest for peace."

The trips have included one to Israel, which has been in a state of war with its Arab neighbors from the day it was born, and India, which now is fighting Pakistan while facing the possibility of an attack by China. But undoubtedly the trip to the U.N. and the United States was the most significant of the three. It gave the Pope the unique opportunity to speak to delegates from some 115 nations representing every shade of religious belief and including those that have no religious beliefs.

The President and the Pope, different as they may be in education and background, undoubtedly want peace on earth more than they want anything else. There also is reason to believe that they both know where the danger to peace lies; namely, behind the Bamboo and Iron Curtains.

In addressing himself to the problem of "those terrible arms, which modern science has given you," the Pope zeroed in on the greatest single problem which men must solve, the control of the power of the unlocked atom. No nation is more dedicated to such control than the United States; but no one knows better than the Pope that control will not come from an abdication of the American responsibility. "Peace on earth" is closer, not further, because President Johnson also realizes that fact.

The ringing appeal for "No more war, war never again," lay at the heart of the Pope's message. The heartfelt appeal may well be used by the organizers of a "Get out of Vietnam" campaign scheduled for the Nation's campuses October 15–16. But the Pope has never suggested the United States renege on its obligations to the government of South Vietnam. And only the most naive can believe that American withdrawal from Vietnam would do anything but put that country under the domination of Red China.

Exactly what Red China thinks of the United Nations has been proven these past few months by its action in forcing one satellite, Indonesia, to withdraw from the U.N. and another satellite, Cambodia, to withdraw from all participation in U.N. functions. Cambodia will retain its membership in the U.N., presumably to act as a listening post for Peiping.

The Pope and the President are together in pursuit of peace, and neither they nor the American people have the slightest illusion about achieving that desired state by failing to oppose the real opponents of peace; namely, the Communist bloc.

Heroic Houston Boys Awarded for Bravery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, in recent days, two fine youngsters in my district were given awards for bravery in saving the lives of two people at the risk of their own.

The two brave youngsters are Arthur McKinley Gaines III, age 10, of 4302 Roseneath, and Michael Cekosky, 14, of 8348 Wier Drive, in Houston. It is with great pleasure that I call to the attention of my colleagues in this House the unselfish acts of heroism by these fine lads.

LIFE-SAVING SCOUT WINS COMMENDATION

In a special court of honor held Sunday by Boy Scout Troop 242 of the W. L. Davis Division, Sam Houston Area Council, Arthur McKinley Gaines III of 4302 Roseneath, a member of the troop, received a certificate of merit from the National Boy Scouts' Court of Honor, Brunswick, N.J.

Arthur was given the certificate "in recognition of meritorious action in connection with the rescue of Kirby Jones of 2915 Southmore in October 1964 at a lake near Six Flags of Texas, Arlington.

Arthur, then a member of Cub Pack 886, and Kirby, who is still a member of the pack, were among a group of Houston Boy Scouts on an excursion to Six Flags. Kirby, who was on a boardwalk at the lakeside, slipped into the lake and began to flounder. Arthur jumped in and pulled him to safety.

The certificate was signed by Tom Watson, president of the Boy Scouts of America, and Joseph Bruton, Jr., chief scout executive of the National Boy Scouts of America, both men of Brunswick, N.J.

The award was presented by John A. Harris of 3015 Cleburne, chairman of the W. L. Davis Scout division's advancement committee.

Arthur is in the 5th grade at Reynolds School, 9601 Rosehaven, where his father is principal, and Kirby is in the 4th grade at Reynolds. Kirby's parents are Mr. and Mrs. K. S. Jones.

Troop 242 is sponsored by the Wheeler Avenue Baptist Church, 3826 Wheeler, where the court of honor was held Sunday, and Pack 886 is sponsored by Reynolds School.

Pluria Marshall of 3705 Sampson is scoutmaster of Troop 242 and Otis Perry of 3105 Arbor is cubmaster of Pack 886.

LEGION POST GIVES MEDAL TO CEKOSKY

Carrying out the policy of recognizing worthwhile action by American youngsters, American Legion Post 490 presented a sterling silver medal and a certificate of award to Michael Cekosky, 14, son of Mr. and Mrs. E. P. Cekosky of 8348 Wier Drive.

The honor was based on the youth's action in rescuing his aunt, Dr. Sue Peyrot of Sulphur, Okla., when she was caught in an undertow at Jamaica Beach, Galveston, last summer.

Member of Boy Scout Troop 933, Cekosky passed the lifesaving test at Camp Strake, near Conroe, in 1964 and used the knowledge he had learned in rescuing the Oklahoma doctor.

Presenting the award in Post 490 Hall, 11702 Galveston Road, was Clayton Mann of Wichita Falls, commander for the District of Texas.

Other officials present were Walter C. Lee, 5230 Kelling, district commander; R. W. Thompson, 8116 Bendell, district vice commander; Mrs. Anita Ferguson, 1712 Pasadena, Department of Texas president of the Ladies' Auxiliary; Ernie Davis, national membership consultant from the American Legion headquarters, Indianapolis, Ind.; Nat D. Gann, 1612 Second Street, Galena Park, Department of Texas vice commander; Louis W. Emerich, 13110 Halifax, past Department of Texas commander; Mrs. B. B. Hester, 424 Sunset Boulevard, Department of Texas vice president of the Ladies' Auxiliary, and Clyde R. Boyd of 10822 Stover, commander of Post 490.

Special guests at the meeting were members of Boy Scout Troop 933 and former Scoutmaster W. R. Bankston of 7946 Glenalta.

Not a Policymaker, a Disseminator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Leonard H. Marks, the distinguished lawyer and public servant appointed by President Johnson to be Director of the U.S. Information Agency is the subject of an interesting profile published in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, October 12. Under leave to extend my remarks I included it at this point in the RECORD:

USIA HEAD, PITTSBURGHER, EXPLAINS JOB: "NOT A POLICYMAKER, A DISSEMINATOR"

(By Herbert G. Stein)

A discerning visitor might easily conclude—correctly—that Leonard Harold Marks is quite close to President Johnson.

In his Washington office, for example, Marks has a color photo of the President on the wall. But it is not the stock photo that any Government clerk might have, that one of a standing, frowning President, one hand clutched to the back of a chair. Marks' photo is a smiling President Johnson, one hand casually putting a pencil into his shirt pocket.

Or another example: Marks could, if he chose, walk the two blocks from his office at 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

As it happens, Marks quite often makes that trip, in a large, black limousine with uniformed chauffeur, for as the new Director of the U.S. Information Agency (12,000 employees, $156 million budget) he has the right (not always accorded every USIA Director) to sit in on Cabinet and National Security Council meetings.

That two-block trip down Pennsylvania Avenue is not without meaning for a man who 35 years ago walked down Dinwiddie Street of Pittsburgh's hill district to Fifth Avenue High School, and who later often walked to the University of Pittsburgh and still later to its law school.

"I first met the President and Mrs. Johnson soon after I came to Washington; he was still a Congressman then," Marks was saying in an interview one recent morning in his Washington office (soft music on the elevators, thick red carpets on the floor, modern art on the walls).

He remembered that he had actually met Mrs. Johnson first.

"She just called the office one day and asked if we would represent her little radio station in Texas," he said.

At that time Marks' law firm specialized in radio and television clients in their cases before the Federal Communications Commission. FCC had been his first employer when he came to Washington in 1942, not long out of Pitt's law school.

Soon after the war, he entered private practice and his firm attracted quite a few prestigious clients (Robert Taft, William Knowland).

In politics, meanwhile, Marks had handled radio and television for John F. Kennedy in the 1960 campaign and he undertook a similar mission for President Johnson last year.

"I learned something about politics from my father," he said. His father, Samuel Marks, now deceased, was a constable from the Hill District and a minor official for Pittsburgh and Allegheny County.

"From the time I was 12 or 13 years old, I helped him pass out cards during election campaigns. Then I used to go down to the courthouse and watch him testify. That's where I got the idea to become a lawyer."

In high school, as now, Leonard Marks was brisk and to the point.

"He was always a good student," recalled one friend, Harry Kodinsky, now in public relations here. "It seemed to come easily to him. But he was no bookworm. We often went out on double dates, and we always had a good time."

Later at Pitt, where his grades were good enough to win him a Summa Cum Laude record, one of his side jobs was as campus stringer for the Post-Gazette and another was as campus reporter on a WWSW radio show from the Enright Theater.

"Dick Powell was the emcee on that show," Marks said. "I remember one week we interviewed Jean Harlow. I was so excited to be there, I couldn't say anything. I just stood there with my mouth open."

Today at age 49, Leonard Marks is less awed by the famous. He is a small, still brisk man, with black hair and a well-scrubbed, almost pinkish face, and he holds a position where Ambassadors come to see him.

On the morning he was interviewed Marks was in his office well before 8:30 a.m. At exactly 8:30 he stepped into an adjoining conference room to meet with his staff to find out how well America's story is being told around the world.

"Well, what's going on in Africa?" he said as the meeting opened, and the door closed with reporters on the outside.

At 9:30 a.m. that meeting ended, and his day continued: 9:30 a.m.—20 minutes for an interview ("I think that's enough time gentlemen"); at 10:30 a.m., a meeting with Larrie Norrie, public affairs officer in Austria; 11:15 a.m. a meeting with his Latin America staff.

At 1 p.m. he was off to the Chilean Embassy for a luncheon. At 3:30 p.m. he was back in his office to receive John Gronouski, former Postmaster General who was recently named Ambassador to Poland. At 4 p.m. his itinerary's final entry said: "Departure for a high-level Government conference."

Repeated inquiries to determine exactly how high a level that conference had been finally brought back the reply: "It cannot be further defined, but it was not a White House meeting."

If any conclusion can be drawn from a brief interview with Leonard Marks, just 1 month after he became USIA Director, it is that he will never get in trouble from loose talk. To questions about himself, he was amiable and brisk.. To questions touching USIA criticisms, Marks was brusk.

What about a Harper's magazine article charging USIA is retreating from a position as a hardnosed news agency and becoming more of a propaganda agency?

"That's not a simplified question that I can answer in a sentence. It would take another magazine article," Marks said. "I will say that I think that some of the assumptions of that article are erroneous."

Does USIA have a role in Government policymaking?

"We don't make policy," he said. "We disseminate it. We are the craftsmen. We provide the tools."

Marks made a point of noting that to find out what American policy is he has the right to sit in on meetings of the Cabinet and National Security Council, not a small right in that it only began a few years ago under his recent predecessor, the late Edward R. Murrow.

"Inside this agency, yes, I have been given complete freedom," Marks said. "I am the Director and I will make the policy."

How does he react when some foreign mob burns down a USIA library?

"I cannot explain it. Can anybody? I have always thought that it is a sacrilege to burn a library. Books are the most valuable tools a human being has, they are the storehouse of human knowledge. It has been expressed well, I think, that if these libraries had not been effective they would not have been attacked."

How well, in his view, has USIA done its job?

"Do not take my word for it. Let me show you something. Here is what former President Eisenhower just wrote for the Reader's Digest, 'The hard truth is that the information task abroad is so great the Federal Government must do it. We must spend whatever is necessary, a half billion, or even a billion dollars.' Remember our actual budget this year is $156 million."

When, a few minutes later, Marks closed off further questions by pleading a busy schedule, it was apparent that the session had not been quite what either the interviewer or the interviewee had expected.

Perhaps, in the end, to Americans traditionally suspicious of anything dealing with the word "propaganda," USIA cannot be described better than former Director Murrow once did: "Its job is to explain and defend American policy, and where possible, make it palatable."

Meanwhile Leonard Marks will be back home tomorrow to accept an honorary degree from Pitt. Along with his wife, Dorothy, his two sons, Stephen, 16, and Robert, 14, any of Marks' boyhood chums who may be in the audience will not be surprised to see him honored. It is no less than they would have predicted.

There in his Washington office, a present-day colleague gave another description. John Chancellor, the also-new head of USIA's best known activity, the Voice of America, listened to Marks describing his many jobs in high school.

"What he is telling you," said Chancellor, "is that he was always a macher." (It is from the Yiddish, meaning doer, mover, shaker.)

Colonialism Myths

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the false promises on which our foreign policy conduct is based are especially seen in the blind allegiance to the Communist attacks on colonialism. It is not surprising that an administration which follows the Communist line in describing colonialism is blind to the Soviet colonial practices in Eastern Europe.

The Polish-American, an independent publication serving Polish-American citizens in Chicago, Ill., contained a very timely and potent editorial on October 9 which I ask leave to place in the RECORD at this point as part of my remarks:

COLONIALISM MYTHS

The prevailing concept of postwar U.S.'s foreign policy has been that we must do everything we can to free backward peoples from their supervisors, from all forms of colonial control.

This concept has a basic appeal to Americans, who threw off colonial rule 200 years ago, because of its idealism and the tendency of Americans to equate their struggle in the 1870's with the condition of todays backward people.

The fallacies in the general American concept are, however, becoming obvious. In the first place, many of the backward people of the world have had no suitable background or tradition to understand democracy and self-rule. They are better off under a benevolent colonial administration in many cases.

The examples of Indonesia, and India and Pakistan, come to mind. Here one is dealing with the fate of almost 700 million people. Are the Indonesians better off, under the floundering economic tyranny of Sukarno than they were under Dutch guidance? Are the Indians and Pakistanis better off, or happier, fighting each other, than they were under British guidance?

The United States applied pressure, against both Britain and Holland, to free these millions from guidance—partly under the sting of Communist propaganda against colonialism. In fact, the Communists have made colonialism such a bad word no one defends any of its accomplishments these days—and it registered many among backward peoples.

Many of the world's peoples are not ready for immediate freedom. Immediate freedom makes them a threat to world stability and peace; it does not bring about higher living standards automatically and that it is not, therefore, morally defensible.

"Good Luck, Mr. President"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives an editorial which appeared Thursday, October 7 in the Davenport Times Democrat. It expresses a sentiment which we all shared as President Johnson prepared to enter the hospital for surgery, "Good Luck, Mr. President." We are all grateful for the good luck which President Johnson has had and are hopeful that his recovery continues at its present rapid rate.

The editorial follows:

"GOOD LUCK, MR. PRESIDENT"

As President Johnson prepares for the surgery which will remove his gallbladder, the reassurance from his physicians is that the risk is "very low indeed." Still the Nation cannot but feel some concern. Some-

thing of the inner feelings of innumerable Americans is reflected in the jumpy performance of the New York Stock Exchange.

An Associated Press dispatch described him as "a rather forlorn looking man seated all alone at the huge octagonal table in the White House Cabinet Room" as he concluded a day of suspense by announcing his projected operation to newsmen who had been alerted to an important disclosure.

This is as it must be. In that solitary role he was symbolic of anyone who approaches major surgery. However sympathetic others may be, they cannot share his experience with him.

They can feel a measure of his concern as the strong hand of the Chief Executive must unavoidably relax somewhat its grip on the Nation's controls. No one can foresee any emergency which would make this dangerous. A lull in the legislative drive is at hand.

Senator MANSFIELD, the Democratic majority leader of the Senate, has emphasized that he does not anticipate any occasion for major decision. The situation is made to order, though, for any international opponent, and particularly Red China, to test the mettle of the Nation by manufacturing a crisis.

A comparable set of circumstances in any of the Communist countries would produce wholly different developments. Here any executive secrecy is never more than partly successful. There, the surgery would be over and the chief of government back in action before the world knew about it.

It is in the American tradition, too, that President Johnson has arranged for Vice President HUMPHREY to act in his place as the occasion may require. Predecessors in the White House, Democratic and Republican, had similar arrangements.

While Mr. Johnson has not always honored HUMPHREY with the full role of an assistant, he has made it known that he regards him as fit, and that he is ready to depend upon him to officiate with a certain consensus of the Cabinet if the need arises.

Such an unbroken line of ultimate authority is imperative in a nuclear age.

As Americans everywhere find reassurance in such provision for the national welfare, they are moved to more personal sentiments.

With the members of the White House press corps, they join in a chorus: "Good luck, Mr. President."

"Hoosier," a Word With a History All Around It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, in 1966, Indiana, the Hoosier State, will celebrate its sesquicentennial.

The term "Hoosier" is one of the most distinctive of all State nicknames. On February 21, 1949, an article appeared in the Washington, Ind., Times-Herald, explaining its possible origins. Indiana's former Senator Homer Capehart inserted this intriguing story into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on February 22, 1949, and with the Hoosier sesquicentennial coming up next year, I believe the article is especially timely and worthy of reproduction:

"HOOSIER," A WORD WITH A HISTORY ALL AROUND IT

For 33 years, or ever since the Indiana centennial of 1916, historians, teachers, and research scholars have been delving into pioneer archives seeking the origin of the distinctive nickname: "Hoosier." It is a term of dignity and character, they conclude, and applies to anyone native to Indiana or who is a resident within the State's borders.

Specifically, the scholars have concluded the word Hoosier means: An important caller, and a dignified, self-reliant person.

But reports in the files of the Indiana Historical Society disclose there are three schools of thought concerning the manner in which the word might have been born, perhaps between 1810 to 1830, and got into common usage.

AN IMPORTANT CALLER

There are many claimants for "who's hyer?" said to have been hallooed by a cabin settler to a wayfarer on horseback, or vice versa, during territorial times. The traveler, according to a poem written in 1830 by John Finley, titled "The Hoosier Nest," proved to be an important caller and a fine gentleman. Novelists of Indiana's later golden age of literature, including Lew Wallace, of Ben Hur fame, and Booth Tarkington, liked the idea of "who's hyer?" becoming in time "Hoosier," and meaning important caller or friendly traveler.

The second school gives the word military dignity—from hussar.

It is said Colonel Lehmanowski, a Polish hussar of the Napoleonic wars, appeared so resplendent in his uniform of military braid and decorations during a sojourn across the new State of Indiana that he inspired coonskin-capped riflemen of the frontier militia to glorify themselves as hussars, which they pronounced "Hoosier." The scholars declare that in the war with Mexico and long after the Civil War all parade soldiers in Indiana were called Hoosiers.

The poet, James Whitcomb Riley, believed either of these legends could have been the true source of Indiana's nickname, but in his lyceum recitals he pointed out that much of Indiana's speech, quality talk, and slang stemmed from a southern immigration.

THE THIRD SCHOOL

The third school suspects this southern group of immigrants gave the word "Hoosier" to Indiana, and remarks that it was popularized by riverman Mike Fink from Pittsburgh. He was a man of invincible strength, who picked up the word "husher" and used it often while traveling up and down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.

"There is not another like myself in all this country. I'm a hoosher"; the keelboatman is said to have remarked with gusto.

"Hoosier" was Mike's pronunciation for "husher" meaning mighty man. Researchers found husher is out of the particular dialect of settlers in the Carolinas and Georgia, who hailed from Cumberland, England. "Husher" means big, important, large, able.

Tracing the word back to England the scholars found it was written "hoozer," and that Mike Fink, the skull cracker and braggart, used the word "hoosher" to proclaim he was the best man in a crowd. When challenged he promptly staged an eye-gouging hard knuckle fist fight. For years his strength, vocabulary, and use of firearms provided fabulous tales for rivermen and settlers throughout southern Indiana.

His skill and gusto gave the word "hoosher" real meaning as it became hoosier and denoted a unique individual of exceptional abilities, the historians declare.

FEW CHALLENGERS

Few dared to say that Mike wasn't a very remarkable fellow, nor did they argue about the prowess of his 100 boatmen. Most rivermen agreed that Mike was something they didn't want to get tangled up with, yet were his friends. Mike roared, boasted, fought, and raced up and down the length of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers from the close of the American Revolution to 1821. "Then," says an idolatrous historian, "to use the words of Mark Twain, he moved westward with the jug of empire."

Wandering ahead of the tide of settlers, Mike accompanied a fur-trading expedition up the Missouri River, and met his death at a lonely post near the Yellowstone in the winter of 1822–23.

Trial of Jack the Ripper

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, a travesty of justice occured recently in Hayneville, Ala.

It was no laughing matter but sometimes satire can do what all of the efforts of the law cannot accomplish.

With that in mind, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following column by Art Buchwald which appeared in the October 7, 1965, edition of the New York Herald Tribune:

THE TRIAL OF JACK THE RIPPER

(By Art Buchwald)

WASHINGTON.—After reading the accounts of the recent trial in Hayneville, Ala., where a jury found a socially prominent citizen "not guilty" of killing a civil rights seminary student, one wonders how Jack the Ripper would have fared if he had been a citizen of Alabama and had been caught and tried in Lowndes County.

It might have gone something like this:

First, the grand jury would indict him for manslaughter instead of murder on the grounds that, although he killed five women, it was done without malice.

Then the trial takes place. An all-white jury made up of friends of the Ripper family is selected, and the judge, who is Jack's uncle, warns the prosecution to be brief and refrain from calling too many witnesses.

The county prosecutor reluctantly charges that Jack killed five women by slitting their throats and spreading their innards about. The people in the courtroom chuckle and several of Jack's cousins wave to him. The prosecutor produces the knife as evidence and then rests his case.

The defense attorney for Jack does not deny the charges, which causes members of the KKK in the courtroom to applaud. But he maintains Jack was acting in self-defense.

He calls his first witness. "Did you see the defendant stab his first victim?"

"Yes, sir, I did. Rip was walking down the street late at night when this here woman pulls a switchblade on him, and he had no choice but to slash out at her first. It was quick thinking on his part, because that woman meant to do him harm."

The second witness, Zeke Ripper, is called.

"Zeke, 8 days after Rip defended himself, he ran into another woman on the street. What was her name?"

"Dark Annie Chapman."

"Would you repeat that again?"

"Dark Annie Chapman."

"What happened, Zeke?"

"Wal, Rip is just strolling along and suddenly Dark Annie comes up to him with a pistol in her hand like she's going to kill

him, so Jack pulls out his knife and slits her throat."

"Where's the pistol now, Zeke?"

"Some nigra rushed up and took it away 'fore the police came."

"Thank you, Zeke. Now, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, I'm not even going to call any witnesses in regards to the killings of 'Long Liz' Stride and Kate Edowes, because there is no need to. Jack saw both these women kissing nigras and he went up to them and told them to stop it and when they didn't Jack did what any Hayneville gentleman would do and stabbed them both in the abdomen.

"As for the killing of Black Mary Kelly, I'd like to call Jefferson Lingo Ripper. Jefferson, what happened, in your own words?"

"This here Black Mary, she comes up to Rip and she said something to him that I can't repeat here in court and poor Rip followed her to her room and cut her up. I've known Rip since he was a boy and he wouldn't hurt a fly, but that woman provoked him something awful."

Laughter from the court.

"Are these Black Mary's clothes?"

"Yes, sir."

"Ladies and gentlemen of the jury, I ask you, what kind of woman would wear clothes like this and bring shame and worldwide publicity to the good people of Lowndes County? No white man will be safe on the streets of Haynesville if you find Jack the Ripper guilty of defending himself. Put yourself in his place. Wouldn't you have done the same thing?"

The judge asks the jury to file out and decide a verdict.

The foreman says, "No need for that, judge. We find the defendant not guilty and we wish to take this opportunity to nominate Jack the Ripper for sheriff of this God-fearing community."

I Love America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, recently I was asked in a television interview what part religion plays in my life as a legislator. I responded that it is my firm conviction that there is a guiding hand directing our country and that this has had something to do with each of us who serve in the Congress whether we fully realize it or not, certainly in my life.

I know that each of you share with me the knowledge that religion and its influence has been an important factor in the life of our Nation. J. C. Choate, in an article published in the Delight, Ark., Gospel Light, entitled "I Love America" has something to say on this subject that I feel each of you will be interested in:

I love my country. I believe that it is one of the greatest countries in the world, if not the greatest. I believe this is true because of the influence that Christianity has had upon the people who live there.

I am proud to be an American. I am proud to say that I am from the United States. I know that we are not a perfect country, but the good points by far outnumber the bad ones.

I love my country even more after spending a few years in another land. I thought we had high prices, but I realize now that they were not so bad. It was easy to gripe about a lot of things, but I'll not be guilty of that again.

As an American, I am one of the most fortunate people on earth. Millions would give anything if they could stand in my shoes. While we may be despised by some, we are loved and respected by the majority.

The fact that I am an American is my passport to practically all of the world. I can use dollars and go almost anywhere I want to go, and buy just about anything my heart desires. I am at home in the majority of the countries with the English language, which is in every sense international.

I did not come to Pakistan to preach Americanism, but neither did I come to condemn my country before foreign people. I did not come to convert people to the American way of life, but neither do I want to be an "Ugly American." I am not ashamed of that which I love and to which I long to return.

I pray for my country, and often. I pray she will always be a country influenced by Christianity. I pray that she will always be a land of freedom and peace. I know that God has blessed us and will bless us more if we will only let Him.

Thank God, I am an American.

Columbus Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT B. DUNCAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. DUNCAN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, today, October 12, 1965, we as a Nation, celebrate "Columbus Day" to commemorate the discovery of America, by Christopher Columbus. His feat is no less significant though Leif Ericson may have preceded him. In some States the board of education has prepared a program for today based on the study of the poem "Columbus" by Joaquin Miller written in 1898. It has a specific message, particularly in this day when we are encouraging our youth to stay in school and inspiring our adults to have faith in the destiny of our country. Alfred Tennyson wrote:

This poem is the greatest poem in the English language expressing a nation's destiny.

Cincinnatus Hiner Miller—pen name Joaquin—was born in Indiana in 1841, moved to Oregon in 1851. With his parents and relatives he became closely related to the building and history of what was then the Oregon Territory. His life was varied, touching upon almost every epoch of American History from 1841 to 1913. The suppression of his newspaper by the Government was due to his opposition to the monetary system imposed upon the South after the Civil War. During his entire lifetime nothing could suppress that spirit that ever prompted him to defend the unfortunate.

After he achieved his fame and fortune in Europe, he returned to America to write in Boston and New York. Here in Washington, D.C., the Government preserves his cabin—now in Rock Creek Park—from which he traveled to report on the news and activities in Congress. He moved to California in the late 1880's and his estate there is now a memorial park to him.

There is a Joaquin Miller Chapel in the Oregon Caves in my district, and many of his relatives are citizens of Oregon and constituents of mine. Pherne Miller, a relative of Mr. Miller, is an employee of the Congress and a member of the Oregon State Society of Washington, D.C. She has been quite active in the annual presentation of the Cherry Blossom Festival.

It appears to me that this poem, "Columbus," written in 1898, has today a real and vital message for all of us and can be appropriately reproduced at this point:

Behind him lay the gray Azores,
  Behind the gates of Hercules;
Before him not the ghost of shores,
  Before him only shoreless seas,
The good mate said: "Now must we pray,
  For lo! The very stars are gone
Brave Adm'rl, speak; what shall I say?"
  "Why, say: 'Sail on! Sail on! and on!'"

"My men grow mutinous day by day;
  My men grow ghastly wan and weak."
The stout mate thought of home; a spray
  Of salt wave washed his swarthy cheek.
What shall I say, brave Adm'rl, say,
  If we sight naught but seas at dawn?"
"Why, you shall say, at break of day:
  'Sail on! Sail on! Sail on! and on!'"

They sailed and sailed, as winds might blow,
  Until at last the blanched mate said:
"Why, now not even God would know
  Should I and all my men fall dead.
These very winds forget their way,
  For God from these dread seas is gone.
Now speak, brave Adm'rl; speak and say"—
  He said: "Sail on! Sail on! and on!"

They sailed. They sailed. Then spake the mate:
  "The mad sea shows his teeth tonight;
He curls his lips, he lies in wait,
  With lifted teeth, as if to bite;
Brave Adm'rl, say but one good word;
  What shall we do when hope is gone?"
The words leapt like a leaping sword:
  "Sail on! Sail on! Sail on! and on!"

Then, pale and worn, he kept his deck,
  And peered through darkness. Ah, that night
Of all dark nights! And then a speck—
  A light! a light! a light! a light!
It grew, a starlit flag unfurled!
  It grew to be Time's burst of dawn.
He gained a world; he gave that world
  Its grandest lesson: "On, sail on!"

Dr. Frank Hurburt O'Hara

SPEECH

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to extend my condolences to our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Illinois, Representative BARRATT O'HARA, on the loss of his brother, Dr. Frank Hurburt O'Hara, who died last week in Phoenix. The O'Hara brothers have been an ornament to our national

life. It is indeed a rarity when two men born of the same seed make such magnificant contributions to their country as the two O'Hara brothers.

While BARRATT, the elder, has ably served his fellow citizens from Illinois, Frank has enriched our cultural life with his short stories, his drama productions, his literary criticisms and his creative teaching of literature at the University of Chicago.

Congressman O'HARA's loss is a bereavement for the country. I join my colleagues in expressing my sympathy for the country.

Wise Word on Campus "Rebels"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, respect for law and order should be properly emphasized in our educational institutions. The country was shocked at the tolerance with which Communist-infiltrated student demonstrations were greeted in the previous collegiant academic year.

More practical developments have been forthcoming this year, and the Chicago Daily News, in an editorial on Saturday, October 9, very effectively directs attention to this development.

The editorial follows:

WISE WORD ON CAMPUS "REBELS"

The smart alecks who demonstrated on the University of California campus for the freedom to display four-letter words got the back of the hand from a leading exponent of citizens' rights this weeks. The point made by Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach before the American Council on Education merits attention by students and adults alike.

Katzenbach said that when students demonstrate for something that is not worth demonstrating for, they degrade not only themselves, but also those good causes that justify demonstrations. He said specifically that the civil rights cause suffered an unfortunate ruboff from those Berkeley disorders.

The Attorney General, defending lawful demonstrations as a right guaranteed by the Constitution, warned also against demonstrations that become instruments of coercion. He said that when students lie down on the tracks in front of a troop train to protest Government policy on Vietnam, "protest changes from an essential ingredient to something alien to the liberal tradition." Protest, he said, should embody both a healthy resistance to conformity and a healthy respect for law—both concepts being foundation stones of our society.

Respect for law is, of course, essentially respect for the rights of others, and it has seemed to us that this latter was most spectacularly lacking in the student demonstrations in Berkeley. What may have started as a valid outlashing against undue restrictions upon the freedom of political advocacy on the campus degenerated into a reckless and largely pointless show of muscle on one side, and of confusion and weakness on the other.

The right of a student to mount a soapbox and orate on virtually any subject is defensible; the right to deny a fellow student's access to even a day of education is not. And the need to teach the ability to make qualitative distinctions that separate responsible protest from plain hellraising is a solemn obligation upon university administrations and faculties everywhere.

Before R.F.D.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, recently the Post Office Department gave permission to set up a rural free delivery museum at Westminster post office in Carroll County, Md. Carroll County enjoys the distinction of being the first county in the Nation to have rural free delivery.

Mr. Ernest V. Baugh, in an editorial in the Baltimore Sun, October 13, 1965, points out other "firsts" in the postal service of the United States which occurred in Maryland. Maryland established delivery service by act of its assembly in 1695, and its first postmaster under the postal service established by the Continental Congress was not a postmaster but a postmistress.

I am happy to include Mr. Baugh's footnote to history in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

BEFORE R.F.D.

Carroll County claims, and with justification, that it had the first countywide rural free delivery service in the country. There is some question, though, as to whether it began in 1896 or 1899. The former date has been accepted by the Carroll County Historical Society which is commemorating the 69th anniversary of the service. (Why the 69th year was chosen for the ceremonies instead of waiting for the 70th isn't quite clear.) The first 4 delivery routes in the county have now grown into a nationwide system of 31,299 routes, stretching 1,837,889 miles. The initial success in Carroll helped to spark that growth.

But if the start of the R.F.D. is observed, why not other events in Maryland's postal history? Take for example the one of 1695 when the provincial assembly authorized the first post route and John Perry was appointed to carry the mail?

There were no John F. Kennedy Memorial Highways in those days, just paths through the woods leading from one water-crossing to the next. But that didn't deter the assembly as to specifics. It ordered:

"That the route begin at Newton's Point upon the Wicomico River in Potomack and so proceed on to Allen's Mill, from Allen's Mill to Benedict Leonard Town, from Benedict Leonard Town over Patuxent to Mr. George Lingan's, from Mr. George Lingan's to Mr. Larkin's and so to South River and Annapolis. From thence to Kent and so to William Stadt and from thence to Daniel Toas's and so on to Adam Petersen's and from thence to New Castle and so directly to Philadelphia." True, the service didn't last long; making a round trip from the Potomac River area to Philadelphia eight times a year was a grueling job that could and soon did take the heart out of a man. But surely there is something here to commemorate on the 270th anniversary—Mr. Perry helped to lay the ground for the more than 580,000 employees in today's postal service.

Another episode: In 1775 the Continental Congress created the U.S. Postal Service, and Baltimore's first postmaster wasn't a postmaster but a postmistress, Mary K. Goddard, who is credited with being one of the most important figures in the development of the service. The passage of 190 years shouldn't keep that fact from emerging from the shadows for commemoration.

Indeed, the role Maryland has played in the history of the country's postal service goes back to the days when it was, in a sense, all R.F.D. There were not many communities and the population was scattered. Before the days of Mr. Perry, mail—even mail relating to public affairs—was forwarded from house to house. The speed of delivery depended on who was visiting whom and when. And it wasn't necessary to know instanter what was happening in Vietnam. It was horseback and ferry or sailboat and paths through the virgin woods. —E.V.B.

Urban Transportation Symposium

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, an International Symposium on Urban Transportation Planning will be held in Pittsburgh in February 1, 2, and 3, 1966—the first conference of its kind ever held. It is sponsored by the forward looking Urban Transportation Development Council of the Greater Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce. It will bring together the experts who understand the problem of urban transportation—one of the most difficult and most costly of the many problems resulting from the increasing urbanization of America. As the able chairman of the council, M. J. Stanley Purnell, told reporters in New York on Monday this week, the key to the solution of the problem of urban transportation is proper planning. Because of the importance of this meeting to Members of Congress who represent our major cities, I should like to include the text of Mr. Purnell's press conference remarks at this point in the RECORD:

TEXT OF REMARKS BY J. STANLEY PURNELL

My name is J. Stanley Purnell and I am the chairman of the Urban Transportation Development Council of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce. We have called this meeting today to announce the scheduling of the First International Symposium on Urban Transportation Planning. This meeting will be held in Pittsburgh at the Hilton Hotel on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, February 1, 2, and 3, 1966.

Let me give you some background information and let me explain why we feel it is important that such a meeting be held.

First of all, no such conference—covering the whole spectrum, are opposed to specialized segments, of urban transportation on even a regional, let alone on an international or global scale—has ever been held. But proper transportation planning and planning for the proper growth of our cities is truly an international problem. We hope and

expect to perform a badly needed service for all major cities by bringing together the experts who understand the problem and by providing a medium for the interchange of ideas and knowledge.

Throughout the United States, Canada, Mexico—and, in fact, throughout most of the world—our populations are moving from sparsely settled rural areas into complex and densely crowded urban regions. Only a generation or so ago, 80 percent of the people in this country lived in a rural-oriented economy. Within the present generation, we shall find the reverse to be true. By 1975 or 1980, 80 percent of our population will be living in the metropolitan regions of this country.

We are in the midst of the most revolutionary change in living habits that has taken place in history thus far. We must cope with this change.

Within the last 2 or 3 years, this problem of change has received increasing attention from sociologists, economists, politicians, city planners, and a score of other professions. We are beginning to recognize, to define, and to cope with this change in the pattern of living. But, unfortunately, we still have not found any real solutions.

By crowding 80 percent of our population into less than 5 percent of our land area, and whether we wish it to or not, it is happening—we are creating a Pandora's box of complex and expensive problems. A generation ago, I am sure, no one living in New York ever imagined that this center of world civilization—with rivers of fresh water running through it—would ever face the water shortage with which you are attempting to cope today.

Air and water pollution, garbage collection and disposal, police and fire protection, zoning and neighborhood integration, proper and adequate education—all are major problems common to metropolitan areas. But, the most difficult and probably the most costly of all these common problems is the establishment of adequate, safe, and rapid transportation within and between these urban regions.

There is no point in developing urban regions, planning esthetically attractive parks and recreation facilities, underwriting cultural stimulation or enforcing adequate housing laws if the people cannot get to the city, and from the city, to enjoy them. Comfortable, convenient, reasonable, rapid, and regular transportation to and from work and to and from the recreation facilities must be provided—or the city will throttle on traffic congestion.

There is not an urban region in this country today—and this includes Pittsburgh—or in any other nation that is not confronted with the major problem of a lack of coordinated transportation. In the past, too little attention has been given to this phase of population and urban growth.

City transportation and surrounding regional transportation are equally important. One without the other can provide no real or lasting solution. Successful regional development is totally dependent upon adequate transportation to and from the city.

The key to the solution of transportation problems is proper planning. Much of today's urban development is characterized by low density suburban growth—with scattered commercial and employment facilities. The unsatisfactory result of this type of suburban sprawl is the almost total dependence on highways for transportation. Adequate freeways and highways are certainly important and must be given every consideration. But with our automobile population exploding more rapidly than our human population, we just cannot build enough freeways fast enough. It is almost a cliché to state the obvious—to relate the experience of Los Angeles, for instance. However, the truth is that most urban freeways, designed to provide fast automobile traffic for 10 to 20 years in the future, become sluggish rivers of congestion at the peak commuting hours within the first year after they have been dedicated and opened to the public.

Inadequate or badly planned suburban development should not be guiding the construction of transportation facilities. This is putting the cart before the horse. Rather, the proper planning and construction of good transportation routes should be used as the major tool in guiding regional development.

Regional cities provide one answer to the problem. By concentrating regional growth in selected cities, the endless suburban and exurban crawl can be curbed—and requirements for transportation facilities can be greatly reduced.

Another possible solution is the establishment of a series of new towns. These can be set up around existing urban centers and linked to them by new and improved transportation facilities.

A third alternative is the creation of numerous smaller communities along major transportation corridors, making maximum use of expressways and rapid transit facilities. Such transportation corridors have proven to be quite successful in some areas.

However, any of these or other possible remedies requires a maximum of advance planning—the type of planning which presents a major challenge to many people in many lines of endeavor. City planners and others who may be directly responsible for transportation systems are not the only people who must face this challenge. Among the others are most certainly our engineers, industrial designers, inventors and scientists, architects and builders, banks and other financial institutions, and our legislators at all levels—from the town or city council, to the county, to the State, and on to the Federal Government. These should all play active roles in transportation programing and in planning for the new urban growth explosion.

Some cities and regions have progressed further than others in planning or in actually setting up adequate transportation systems. The Urban Transportation Development Council of the Chamber of Commerce of Greater Pittsburgh feels that all metropolitan regions, through their political and civic leaders as well as through their transportation authorities, can benefit from an interchange of ideas and information on this vital issue. This is why we feel it important to schedule our February symposium.

Many of the outstanding experts, including some of the best brains in the United States and other countries, will be brought together at this meeting. Federal, State, and city governments will be represented. Leaders from the industrial and academic worlds, technical and scientific authorities, financial and labor experts, will all be asked to contribute to the success of this conference on urban transportation planning.

While the program has not yet been finally determined, we shall give you each an outline showing the broad scope of the meeting and I can tell you some of the many subjects scheduled for discussion.

The systems approach to mass transportation will be covered in depth. Ways and means of persuading the public to pay for proper transportation will be explored. One session will be devoted to urban development versus urban transportation. "What's Ahead for the Commuter?" will be the subject of another speech or panel.

One meeting will take up the relatively new and complex subject of "Intergovernmental Relationships and Cooperation for Better Transit." We plan to have the mayors of four leading cities discuss the development and progress of their own transportation planning. The "corridor concept" will be described by a leading authority. Engineering and operating problems, financing of new facilities, and labor's concern with modern transportation are all on the agenda.

Advanced concepts—most of which are still on the drawing board—will be the subject of another panel. We hope to have a progress report on the success of the New Tokaido Line which went into operation just a year ago in Japan.

What I have outlined is by no means a complete or detailed rundown. However, I hope that it may provide some idea of the scope and importance of the symposium in Pittsburgh next February 1, 2, and 3.

We have with us today two other speakers who will comment on other aspects of the transportation problem. One of these is a consulting engineer who will describe how transportation within and between cities is becoming a truly worldwide problem. The other gentleman is an engineer and scientist who has investigated many of the new and even exotic solutions which have been proposed by various inventors. Many of these proposals, incidentally, are receiving serious consideration from all levels of government. When these gentlemen have finished their presentations, all three of us will be glad to try to answer any questions you may have.

Christopher Columbus: His Name Still Stands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I am sure we have all noted the announcement by Yale University that it has placed on exhibition a map showing the Western Hemisphere which scholars there believe was copied 50 years before Christopher Columbus set sail and which may be based on the travels of Leif Erikson.

This scholarly discovery is undoubtedly significant. And we can now expect a very active revival of the long controversy over who actually discovered our continent and who actually stepped first upon our shores. But whatever the final verdict of history, if one is reached, it will not diminish the epic importance of Columbus' voyage to the New World. For it was his valiant journey that actually opened up America to the countries across the ocean.

Mr. Speaker, two excellent editorials commenting on the significance of the map and the role of Columbus in our history appeared in the Newark Evening News and the Newark Star-Ledger of October 12 and, under unanimous consent, I include them in the RECORD:

[From the Newark Evening News, Oct. 12, 1965]

HIS NAME STANDS

Yale University chose today to place on exhibition "the most exciting cartographic discovery of the century." This is the "earliest known and indisputable" map of any part of the Americas, "so strikingly accurate that it may well have been derived from experience."

But the experience was not that of Christopher Columbus. The map is believed to have been copied, some 52 years before Co-

lumbus' famed voyage, from documents describing the journey of Leif Erikson, the Icelandic explorer, to a new land in the year 1000.

Assuming it to be as authentic as scholars believe after 8 years of tracing circumstances, wormholes and watermarks, the map is unlikely to disturb seriously Columbus' standing as the official discoverer of America. For this rating has stood for centuries in face of the well-known sagas of the 11th-century explorations.

The courage of these earlier voyagers does not detract from Columbus' persistence in the face of repeated rebuffs, the brave journey of the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta*, and the *Nina* across uncharted seas, and the fact that their mission led to the permanent settlement of the New World. In brief, the New World was opened 473 years ago today on October 12, 1492.

[From the Star-Ledger, Oct. 12, 1965]

A NEW DISCOVERY

A lot of waves have rolled up America's eastern shoreline since Christopher Columbus set out in 1492 to sail the ocean blue in quest of new, uncharted lands.

Similarly, there has been a lot of scholarly controversy over whether the Genoa sailor was the first to touch American soil, an expedition that was underwritten by a Spanish queen seeking new lands to enrich her empire.

And today, as the Nation celebrates another Columbus Day with appropriate pomp, parades and pageantry, a discordant note has been sounded by Yale University scholars. They have come up with documentary proof that Chris did not get here first, that he did not, after all, discover America.

It is doubtful that this astonishing news will cause any bugler in the numerous bugle and drum corps that will participate in today's numerous parades to hit a clinker, a sour note.

But it must be noted for historical archives a map has been found that was drawn in 1440, many years before Columbus had even the foggiest notion about a hemisphere beyond the horizon, showing that many Europeans knew America existed before the doughty navigator supplied physical proof.

While the scholarly discovery has documented credence, it is not expected to diminish the historical importance of Columbus' contribution, a feat of epoch proportions in the glowing era of discovery, as man sought to push back the horizons that concealed new lands, new people and new cultures.

Columbus made the America as we know it today possible, establishing the first substantial physical contact that opened up a new hemisphere for people across the ocean. This is the discoverer we have come to accept as a symbol of the early America, that strange, fertile and wonderful land that mixed intermittently hardship and hope.

Building Permits in Hawaii Rise by 42 Percent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, Hawaii continues to enjoy a healthy and vigorous economy. And there are indications that our record-breaking pace of development will continue indefinitely.

Present figures published in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin of September 3, 1965 indicate that the city and county building permits for the past 8 months are already 42 percent ahead of last year's level. Mr. Charles R. Wade, president of the Realty Mortgage Corp., says there may be nearly 5,000 single homes and 4,500 apartment units built this year.

As further evidence of our phenomenal building pace, Dunn & Bradstreet reports that for the first 7 months in 1965, Honolulu, the 43d largest city in the Nation, had the 6th largest value of building permits issued: The youngest of our 50 States is undergoing notable growth.

I am pleased to submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Honolulu Star-Bulletin story on Hawaii's record-breaking construction pace:

[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Sept. 3, 1965]

BUILDING PERMITS HERE RISE BY 42 PERCENT

Oahu construction is continuing its recordbreaking pace, with estimated value of city-county building permits for the past 8 months running 42 percent ahead of last year's level.

Indications are that there may be nearly 5,000 single family building permits for $63 million this year, topping all previous yearly totals, according to the Realty Mortgage Corp.

At the same rate, there may be 4,500 apartment units for a total of $45 million, said Charles R. Wade, president, in the Mortgage Newsletter.

Honolulu, 43d largest city in the Nation, had the 6th largest value of building permits issued in the first 7 months, according to the latest monthly report from Dun & Bradstreet.

The city was in fifth place at the end of June, but now ranks behind New York, Los Angeles, Houston, Chicago, and San Francisco (in that order).

"Honolulu's building permits for the first 7 months are way out ahead of the same period last year—40 percent ahead in single family houses, and a whopping 63 percent in multifamily units," Realty Mortgage reported.

The permits' estimated value was more than $140.5 million from January to August, compared with $98.7 million for the same period last year.

The Department of Buildings issued 1,408 permits last month for an estimated value of more than $19.4 million.

Projects included 392 homes, $6 million value; 10 apartment houses with 233 units, $3.1 million value; 4 school projects, $1.8 million value; 5 stores and mercantile buildings, $1.2 million value.

July totals were 1,751 permits with a value of $19.7 million.

Using Tear Gas in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 27, 1965

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the question of using tear gas in the support of American and Vietnamese military operations in Vietnam against the Vietcong now appears to have been largely resolved. The hue and cry from the leftist press is subsiding. Nevertheless, it is well to note editorial support continues to build up from responsible publications.

I submit for reprinting in the RECORD the statement from the New York Times entitled "Using Tear Gas in Vietnam" and a statement from the pen of Louis R. Stockstill which appeared in the October 9 issue of the Journal of the Armed Forces. Both deserve careful thought:

[From the New York Times, Sept. 11, 1965]

USING TEAR GAS IN VIETNAM

A Marine battalion commander in Vietnam is under investigation because he utilized nonlethal tear gas to clear a cave and tunnel system of suspected Vietcong, allegedly in violation of policy regulations established by the U.S. commander in Vietnam. It seems unlikely that the Marine colonel deliberately violated orders; if he did, disobedience cannot be defended.

But on the larger issue of whether or not tear gas should have been used, protests that have arisen since the incident are based at the very best upon a complete misconception. In this case the use of tear gas was obviously more humane than any other effective type of action. No war, of course, can be humane, but the Vietnam war presents especially peculiar and difficult problems in this respect.

This is because the guerrilla melts into and is part of the civilian environment. In nearly every village "spider traps," tunnels and caves provide protection not only for the civilian population but excellent firing positions and hiding places for Vietcong snipers.

One of the biggest problems American face in Vietnam—and one that will become bigger as the days go on—is the problem of routing the Vietcong out of these underground positions. The answer is clearly tear gas, a simple nonlethal, riot-control agency used by most of the police forces of the world.

If the Government prohibits the use of tear gas, it will thereby condemn to certain death or injury many more Americans and Vietnamese than the absolute necessities of war demand. Nonlethal riot-control gases can be far more humane and will cause far fewer casualties than many of the weapons now being used in Vietnam.

[From the Journal of the Armed Forces, Oct. 9, 1965]

LET'S GET TEAR GAS BACK INTO ACTION

(By Louis R. Stockstill)

A major, unresolved question relating to U.S. participation in the war in Vietnam is whether our unit commanders should be given blanket authority to use tear gas.

One way to answer the question and resolve the problem is to supply answers to some other basic questions.

Is use of the gas humane?

Is it a needed weapon?

Will it help bring the conflict to a speedier end?

Will it damage the U.S. image in the eyes of the world?

The comforting answer to the first question is "Yes." There can be no doubt in anyone's mind that use of the gas is humane. It neither cripples nor kills and it has no lingering ill effects. More importantly, it saves lives—not only of enemy troops who may someday have to help rebuild the war-torn country, but of innocent civilians, women and children.

The second question also can be answered affirmatively. When it is difficult to tell enemy from friend, and when civilians are herded into the enemy camp to act as a buffer against more violent forms of warfare, any humane weapon which can be substituted for the rifle, grenade, flame thrower,

etc., obviously is not only needed but required.

Whether use of tear gas will help bring the Vietnam conflict to a speedier conclusion is more difficult to answer. But, based on the efficacy of its use in quelling riots and other disturbances, it is obvious that the harmless gas destroys the desire and ability to fight. And that it does so almost as quickly, if not as permanently, as does a bullet. Furthermore, it enables our troops to do battle without the constant impediment posed by their genuine concern for the safety and well-being of innocent bystanders. Certainly use of the gas would win us more friends among the innocent and/or wavering survivors of those killed by lethal weapons. In this sense, it might well affect the war's duration.

It is necessary only to recall the bombardment of London by the Nazis during World War II to understand and appreciate how the will of a people stiffens when death is levied wholesale. Those who were and still are critical of our own use of the atomic bomb against Japan, should be the first to acknowledge the need for such innocuous instruments of warfare as tear gas.

As for any damage to our image resulting from expansion or unlimited use of this important weapon, it appears, as Chairman RICHARD RUSSELL, Democrat, of Georgia, of the Senate Armed Services Committee, frequently has opined, that the United States sometimes becomes overly preoccupied with this concern. Whatever damage might be anticipated could no doubt be countered with a carefully planned public relations program to inform and assure our friends around the globe that there are good reasons for our action, and that we are motivated by human kindness.

Our commander in Vietnam, Gen. William C. Westmoreland, reportedly has full authority, when and if he considers such action justified, to allow individual fighting units to use tear gas against the enemy. But this is not good enough. It means that unit commanders cannot order immmediate use of the gas when immediacy may spell the difference between success or failure. It also means that our military commander is saddled with the unfair responsibility of having to, in effect, set U.S. policy in the field. The Government should take full responsibility for the use of this weapon, should announce its determination in strong terms and should extend to the smallest unit in the field the authority to put the order into effect wherever and whenever needed.

Those who have complained about the practice could be persuaded that it is both humane and morally sound, provided the Government took a strong stand and went to work to sell the decision to the world.

No one would argue with the fact that it is better to shed a few tears than to meet with violent death.

Cameron Voting Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

ROLLCALL NOS. 258-293—21-DAY RULE

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, in my periodic rollcall reports I do not normally discuss House activity which occurred while I was attending to important business in my congressional district. But conscience does not permit me to observe without comment the irresponsible tactics which were employed by the Republican leadership in their ill-advised effort to prevent the House from working its will on September 13.

I cannot recall any other time during my tenure as a Member of this body when the opposition has displayed such flagrant contempt for the legislative process and the rules under which it functions. We have only to examine what took place on the floor of the House on September 13 to verify the validity of this observation.

Let us briefly review the record:

On opening day of the 89th Congress the House voted to reinstate the 21-day rule which permits its 435 members to determine whether any piece of legislation, approved by its standing committees, shall be brought to the floor for debate and vote—rather than have that legislation killed by failure of the Rules Committee to act upon it. In other words, the House decided that it would no longer tolerate tactics designed to keep it from working its legislative will. And it wrote that decision into the rules under which we operate.

On September 13, under the 21-day procedure, four rules were sought in the House which, if approved by majority vote, would permit consideration of four pieces of important legislation—The Equal Employment Opportunities Act of 1965, amendments to the Bank Company Act, establishment of a National Foundation of the Arts and Humanities, and the Federal Salary Adjustment Act of 1965.

On August 3 the Committee on Rules was asked to permit the Equal Employment Act to come to the floor. On June 21 a rule was requested on the Bank Holding bill. A rule was sought on July 14 for the Arts and Humanities legislation. On August 16 a rule was requested on the Federal pay bill. None of these rules was granted.

It is regrettable but very revealing that the chairman of the Rules Committee, responding to criticism from highly respected Members of the House, declared:

> Why should we be kicked around in this way by picking up all the garbage out of the Rules Committee in instances in which the 21 days have expired and dumping it on the floor of the House on one day?

Mr. Speaker, I would not presume to speak for other Members of the House, but I view it as a direct insult to the American people and their elected representatives when legislation which is reported from committee after many hours of public hearings and careful deliberation is referred to as "garbage."

With this appraisal of important bills it is no wonder that the House found it necessary to resurrect these measures from the legislative graveyard known as the Rules Committee.

It was because the House decided that the time had come to work its will, not on "garbage" but upon matters of vital concern to the American people, that the Republican leadership engaged in its disgraceful obstructive tactics on September 13.

A front page story in the Washington Post summed it up this way:

> When the House adjourned at 12:30 a.m., after a 12½-hour session and a recordbreaking 22 rollcalls, the only forward motion had been adoption of resolutions permitting Democratic leaders at some future date to call up for House action four bills stuck in its Rules Committee.
>
> Republicans—frustrated by their yearlong winless record, opposed to the 21-day rule and several of the bills, and irritated at being tossed such a big load of work on a Monday in mid-September—began a series of stalling tactics when the House met at noon.
>
> The coalition forced repeated quorum calls, demanded that the entire Journal of the previous day's session be read and insisted upon rollcall votes on such usually pro forma motions as "dispensing with further proceedings" under the quorum calls.

Mr. Speaker, it was a wise man who said: "As I grow older I pay less attention to what men say. I just watch what they do."

If my Republican colleagues are really sincere in their alleged desire to promote a vigorous two-party system in this country, they will do well to reflect upon what the wise man said.

ROLLCALL NO. 301—ARTS AND HUMANITIES

Mr. Speaker, having introduced a bill on the opening day of Congress calling for establishment of a National Humanities Foundation, I was elated that more than 100 Members subsequently joined in cosponsoring similar legislation. The fact that the President saw fit to include the measure as a part of the administration's specific legislative proposals was also a source of great satisfaction. The bill, however, cannot be interpreted as a partisan effort. It was President Eisenhower's Commission on National Goals which stated in a 1960 report:

> In the eyes of posterity, the success of the United States as a civilized society will be largely judged by the creative activities of its citizens in art, architecture, literature, music, and the sciences.

Most opposition to the bill focused on the old bugaboo with which we are all familiar: Federal aid means Federal control. Not only has this mothworn charge been refuted time and again by the facts, but it is interesting to note that in recent years it has rarely been leveled at programs designed to aid the sciences. Yet it was dragged out against the arts and humanities, despite the clear wording of section 4(c) of the bill:

> In the administration of this Act, no department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States shall exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the policy determination, personnel, or curriculum, or the administration or operation of any school or other non-Federal agency, institution, organization or association.

The Foundation receives additional independence through the provision permitting it to receive private donations and gifts. Thus the private sector gains a vested interest in insuring that the Government keeps its hands off the freedom of the individuals and institutions to be assisted.

Briefly put, the National Foundation of the Arts and Humanities is being established to develop and promote a broad national policy of support for the arts and humanities. The National Council on the Arts through its endowment will provide matching grants to groups and

individuals engaged in the creative and performing arts for the whole spectrum of artistic activity, including construction of necessary facilities. The National Council on the Humanities will provide nonmatching grants and loans for research, award fellowships and grants to institutions and individuals for training, support publication of scholarly works, provide for the exchange of information, and promote understanding and appreciation of the humanities.

Few Americans would quarrel with these goals and the means which the Congress had devised to achieve them.

ROLLCALL NO. 303—POST OFFICE EMPLOYEES

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 574 was a Republican effort to strike back blindly at the Post Office Department for its stupid and ill-advised effort to dispense patronage to Members of Congress who represent both political parties. I voted against the measure for one reason only: caught in the vicious political crossfire would be thousands of innocent victims whose only offense was that they happened to be postal employees during a period when some temporary jobs were being handed out as political plums.

Although he was very tardy, the Postmaster General, a few days before this resolution was brought to the floor, directed all postmasters to release the names of summer or temporary employees to anyone who asked, including newspapers. Thus, the information which the resolution sought to make public was already available to any interested party.

The information which would have been supplied under the blanket resolution would include the names of all persons employed by the Department from May until September. Publication of the names in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD would infer that all of those persons, thousands of them, were employed solely because some Congressmen got them the job. This was certainly not the case, yet the innocent would have suffered along with the guilty had the resolution carried.

If nothing else was gained from the resolution, I hope it taught the Post Office Department a needed lesson, a lesson which I as an individual Member of Congress unsuccessfully tried to impart this spring. When I received a call from the Department advising me that a certain number of summer jobs would be available in my district, and that I should submit names of persons to fill these jobs, I firmly stated that I found the offer offensive and wanted no part in such an odious operation. I also warned the Department to steer clear of my congressional district it it decided to implement its patronage program for if I learned of any hanky-panky the boom was going to fall.

I had occasion to drop it only once when a postmaster in my district inforced me that he had been forced to hire a person who had been recommended by a Member of Congress. That employee was on the job exactly 2 days before he was fired at my insistence. The word must have spread in a hurry because I received no further complaints from postmasters.

ROLLCALL NO. 307—MISSISSIPPI DELEGATION

Mr. Speaker, after the unsuccessful effort to unseat the Mississippi delegation, syndicated columnists Evans and Novak in a perceptive analysis of the issue summed up the feelings of many Congressmen who have championed civil rights: "I've never seen people so hard to say yes to." The reference was to members of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party which led the drive to unseat. The columnists explored many facets of this emotion-laden issue and I would be happy to provide a copy of the article to any constituent who requests one.

During debate on the resolution it was declared in support of unseating that every Member must face his moral responsibility to the great democratic processes of our Nation. It was said that once the "technical and legal points" were argued and assessed, there still remained an overriding consideration—the moral issue.

I was disturbed to see this argument put forth with such a casual dismissal of law. In my judgment, the primary moral issue facing every Member every day is his dedication to technical and legal points—the very guts of the great democratic process—as opposed to how he, as an individual, might feel about the rights and wrongs of any secondary moral issue, in this case the systematic disenfranchisement of Negroes which I personally abhor.

It was precisely this issue which prompted Congress earlier this year to produce the Voting Rights Act. We took our personal convictions on a moral issue and wrote them into the technical and legal points which are now a part of the great democratic process. Henceforth, in the area of voting rights, morality will no longer be a sometimes thing—as it was in the Mississippi challenge. Morality in voting practices is now an alltimes thing—not because every American agrees with the provisions of the Voting Rights Act, but because all Americans are morally bound to respect the law of the land.

I was concerned, however, with the poor manner in which the House Administration Committee, the Clerk of the House, and the Democratic leadership handled the Mississippi challenge. I question the need for the delays which took place, the need for limiting the hearings to 3 hours, and the unavailability of the hearing record to every Member who had to sit as a judge on the challenge. And I resent the secrecy which accompanied the hearings. It seemed to me there was a need for further investigation and amplification. Thus I supported the effort to recommit the resolution for further study and when this unrecorded vote failed to carry I voted to dismiss the challenge as it then stood. The issue developed into a standoff when the resolution was amended on the floor to delete the statement that the Mississippi Members were entitled to their seats.

As one of the Nation's leading newspapers noted editorially, the House action was clearly one of expediency:

> Ordinarily this would be an inexcusable course of action * * *. But the challengers had no valid claim to election. If the Mississippi seats had been declared vacant in these circumstances, the House would have acquired an obligation to vacate seats in other States which have systematically disenfranchised Negroes. Such drastic action could not reasonably be taken at a time when the whole picture of Negro voting in the South is undergoing revolutionary changes because of the new Voting Rights Act.

ROLLCALL NO. 310—LATIN AMERICA RESOLUTION

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 560 has been universally condemned, to put it mildly, and rightly so. Regrettably, only 51 of my colleagues in the House joined me in opposing the measure while 312 Members supported it. As one of this country's leading newspapers summed up the situation:

> Cry "communism," and the House of Representatives seemingly is ready to rush pell-mell over almost any cliff.

But not all of the blame for this foreign policy disaster should be heaped upon the House. The State Department must also stand accused of retreating from our country's long-standing treaty commitments to the nations of Latin America. I am still trying to get an acceptable answer from the Department on why it so blindly went along with a "sense of the House" resolution which suggests, authorizes and even importunes each sovereign state in the Western Hemisphere to violate its solemn obligations under the Rio Treaty and under the charter of the Organization of American States. The resolution does this by declaring that each nation—not only the United States, but each nation—is free, in the opinion of the House, to unilaterally interfere—including the use of armed force—in the domestic affairs of its neighbors if, in its sole discretion, it suspects there is too much subversive Communist activity in a neighboring state. In other words, the House has called for anarchy in this hemisphere. And I would only remind my colleagues that it is but a brief period before the soil of anarchy sprouts the weeds of communism.

The State Department's schizoid stance on a foreign policy position with such grave consequences cannot be completely erased by its action subsequent to the shock waves which hit Washington, although I am pleased to see the Department is moving to try and correct the damage which it helped wrought. As one perceptive newsman observed in writing a recent story on the subject:

> The State Department, having marched up the hill behind a controversial House resolution on Latin American intervention, marched down again yesterday by joining a Senate drive to counteract the House action.

But it is no credit to the administration or to the State Department that it was a Republican Senator who took the lead in trying to untie the knot which the House resolution put in our relations with our allies in Latin America.

Hopefully, the Senate will promptly adopt a resolution, and send it to the House for its concurrence, which conforms with the OAS position for action against Communist aggression. The Senate resolution should reaffirm that U.S. policy is unchanging in its support

of democratic social and economic reform in Latin America. It should emphasize that the United States believes in collective action as the best method for combating hemispheric crises. It should make clear beyond any doubt that this Nation respects the principles of nonintervention unless specifically requested to intervene as we were in the Dominican Republic.

Mr. Speaker, it always saddens me to see this legislative body take precipitous action, especially when this body erroneously but consistently refers to itself as "deliberative." Bringing up House Resolution 560 under suspension of the rules, a procedure which bars amendments on the floor, and then giving opponents of the measure only 8 minutes in which to state their objections can hardly be described as "deliberative."

Let us be blunt but truthful. The House was sold a package wrapped in red, white and blue—a package which turned out to be a can of worms. If a vote was taken today on the resolution I doubt that its sponsor could round up 52 supporters. We all have 20–20 vision when it comes to hindsight. Hopefully, the day will soon arrive when the cry of "communism" will not blur our legislative foresight, and 20–20 vision before we act will restrain each and every one of us from again rushing pell-mell over almost any cliff.

National Newspaper Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, National Newspaper Week is being celebrated in our country during this week, October 10–16, and I feel it is particularly commendable that the New London Journal in New London, Iowa, took this opportunity to rededicate their "efforts toward greater community progress and understanding through sound reporting and objective editorial interpretation."

As Members of Congress, we are, perhaps, even more aware of the important role played by the newspaper in our democracy, but I feel that the editorial which I am reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is deserving of the attention of every responsible citizen. The editorial follows:

NATIONAL NEWSPAPER WEEK

"Newspapers are the schoolmasters of the people. That endless book, the newspaper is our national glory."—Henry Ward Beecher.

Long before the spark for freedom was ignited at Concord and Lexington, the unique role of the press in maintaining and protecting the freedoms Americans now enjoy, was effectively demonstrated.

The first licensed newspaper appeared in 1704, but was heavily censored. A turning point in the fight for a free press in America came 30 years later with the famous trial of John Peter Zenger, publisher of the New York Weekly Journal, who was jailed for calling the colonial governor dishonest and oppressive. He was freed by a jury when he proved his accusations to be true, therefore not libelous.

Bit by bit, the right of the press to report and comment on public affairs was established and this principle was embodied in the first amendment of the new Federal Contitution.

Today newspapers remain constantly on the alert to protect the public's right to know—in police stations, in courtrooms, legislative bodies, city halls, and executive mansions.

Newspapers inform the community on the local civic, social, fraternal, spiritual activities, and strive for community betterment.

During National Newspaper Week, celebrated October 10–16, we rededicate our efforts toward greater community progress and understanding through sound reporting and objective editorial interpretation.

"The Three Levels of Meeting Problems"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year, the Vice President of the United States, the Honorable HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, received the degree of doctor of laws, honoris causa, from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. On that occasion the citation which accompanied the conferring of the degree read as follows:

HUBERT HORATIO HUMPHREY, Vice President of the United States of America; graduate of the University of Minnesota and the University of Louisiana; in the early part of your life, pharmacist in South Dakota; instructor in the arts of politics and science of administration at the Universities of Louisiana and Minnesota and Macalester College; civil servant with the WPA and the War Manpower Commission; mayor of the city of Minneapolis; member of the U.S. Senate from 1948 to 1964, the story of your life is the story of a characteristically American kind of growth and rare effectiveness. A man of humble origins, you have preserved refreshing humility, and the wonderful gift to enjoy people and to laugh with them. Nor have you sought to build your career of public service through empty smiles but rather through meaningful and keenly intelligent action. You combine, therefore, the gifts of the heart with those of the mind, spirit, and race, and each in its measure has made you what you are. Wherever life has led you, there you have brought and exemplified the virtues of deep concern and passionate conviction. Your concern has been for justice among peoples, and your conviction that American life should embody the enduring truths of biblical prophecy concerning the pursuit of economic justice and social peace among men. Wherever you have served your country and your fellow man, there you have brought and exemplified also the willingness to sacrifice and the courage to hope and work for better days, which are the foundation of our democratic life. Many, therefore, have rejoiced in your happy progress through life, and many have received the benefits of your ministry through politics. Indeed, you have taught us all that politics can be ennobling and even sanctifying through dedication to prophetic ideals. And, indeed, you are one of the spiritual statesmen of our time.

The faculties, board of directors, and board of overseers of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, desiring to make public their admiration for the example of public service and private integrity you have given to your countrymen and to the world, have voted unanimously that you should receive this degree, and I am accordingly authorized to confer upon you the degree of doctor of laws, honoris causa.

Mr. Speaker, in his remarks on receiving the honorary degree our distinguished Vice President referred liberally to the prophets of ancient Israel and said:

The prophets articulated the belief that, for an individual to "know" God, his own life must exemplify those qualities which God himself exemplifies—that as God is merciful, so must man be compassionate—that as God is just, so must man deal justly with his neighbors—that as God is slow to anger, so must man be tolerant of others.

At other points in his address, Vice President HUMPHREY, comparing the American and Hebraic traditions also said:

But the American tradition and the Hebraic tradition have always agreed, not only on the possibility of building a society which men might call great, but also on the social and ethical foundations on which that society must rest. To a remarkable degree, that similarity—that common vision—can be traced to the teachings of the prophets.

So we share much, your ancient faith and our young Nation. We share a belief in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man—a dedication to the supremacy of law—a moral commitment to social justice and equality of opportunity—a belief that mankind's best hope lies in education, and a knowledge that God's most precious gift is the gift of peace.

The Jewish Theological Seminary of America in a full page High Holy Day message in newspapers throughout the Nation on Sunday, October 3, 1965, in the spirit of that common heritage outlined a way of life in the family, our work, our city, our Nation, in the world. I commend it to my colleagues:

THE THREE LEVELS OF MEETING PROBLEMS—IN OURSELVES, OUR FAMILY, OUR WORK, OUR CITY, OUR NATION, OUR WORLD

What happens when we are sick? We turn to a doctor to cure what is wrong: to stop an infection or to repair an injury. It's the most familiar way to treat an illness—after it has occurred. This is the curative level.

There is another level of medicine. We now use vaccines to prevent polio; and science continues to find new ways to protect us from disease after disease. This is the preventive level.

There remains a third level in the care of our bodies. Medical science seeks not only to cure and prevent illness but also to perfect our health; to bring new strength and zest into our daily life through fullness of health. This is the perfective level. And wherever we turn, we find the same three levels of meeting any problem.

IN OUR FAMILY

What can we do when communication breaks down with those closest to us—when we talk at cross-purposes, or retreat into silence, with members of our own family?

At the curative level

Someone must take the first step to reestablish communication, saying in effect: "Let us try again. Let the past be past. We can start anew."

At the preventive level

We try to listen more patiently. We do not build up walls within our family with

harsh or unfeeling words. We discipline our ways of speech—and so keep communication flowing.

At the perfective level

We understand and enjoy those near to us for what they are—and can become. We then spontaneously find many things to do together, and to talk about. These, in turn, enlarge our family life, generating still more love and sharing within the home.

IN OUR WORK

What if we are frustrated or bored in our work?

At the curative level

What has gone wrong may be in us or in the job. We may be in the wrong place or even the wrong career. What is then required to fulfill our talents is the courage to change our place or our field of work.

At the preventive level

Our work can be necessary yet not absorbing; nor is it practical to change. But many wonderful people manage to achieve full lives, despite the commonplace demands of their daily tasks. For there are always meaningful opportunities for each of us to develop rich values and new interests outside the work.

At the perfective level

We find more in our work than just "making a living." Each day, we open doors to something new and better: in what we do, in our fellow workers, and in ourselves—exploring the endless paths of creativity wherever we are.

IN OUR CITY

When violence makes us fear to walk our streets and in our parks, what can we do?

At the curative level

Provide more policemen to guard our streets and parks.

At the preventive level

Be concerned, not only with the wrong, but the wrongdoer, seeking to help not merely to punish. Guide undirected young energies toward new horizons they cannot find alone.

At the perfective level

With our steadily increasing skills and resources, we can build a great city * * * where all our young can grow up in decent dwellings, schools and neighborhoods—so that young and old develop inner resources to enrich the community instead of attacking it.

IN OUR NATION

Democracy is an unfinished business in our land.

At the curative level

Pass laws to eliminate legal injustice and economic hopelessness, wherever these may remain in the United States.

At the preventive level

Recognize fully the interdependence of all groups in our society and all parts of our Nation; realizing that no one can be sure of his freedom, or of his livelihood, when others are restricted in theirs.

At the perfective level

Advance from adequacy to excellence in American life; setting still higher standards of achievement for ourselves, and in service to mankind.

IN OUR WORLD

The nations of the world continue to fear each other.

At the curative level

Deter force by force—in competing blocs of nations which divide the world.

At the preventive level

Create an enduring world order through world law, maintaining the peace through a world police.

At the perfective level

With the peoples of the world now living within sight and sound of each other, live as neighbors, everywhere on earth—working to increase together all that is good for the family of man.

Whoever we are—whether we find the problem in ourselves, in our family, in our work, in our city, in our Nation, or in our world—what we do about our problems is ultimately determined by our character.

And each of us is given the power: to shape his character, to train himself in good action, to choose between right and wrong, to raise himself and those around him to better levels of life, practicing the wisdom of Micah: "To do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly before your Lord." (Micah 6: 8.)

"Where there is no religion, there is no respect, where there is no respect, there is no religion." (Ethics of the Fathers, 3: 21.)

The above message of the Jewish Theological Seminary, now in its 80th year, was published through the generosity of 150 prominent Americans, who believe that is has so much meaning for all people, and accordingly were moved to sponsor its publication.

I salute Dr. Louis Findelstein, chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary; Vice Chancellors Max Arzt and Simon Greenberg; Dr. Bernard Mandelbaum, provost; and Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, chairman, board of overseers; and all the officers and directors, and through them congratulate all supporters for the outstanding contribution made by the seminary to the preservation of religious life in America.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Senate cleared highway beautification bill for White House and passed 41 bills on calendar call.

House passed sugar bill.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 25874–25889

Bills Introduced: Four bills and one resolution were introduced, as follows: S. 2640–2643; and S. Con. Res. 61. **Page 25875**

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows:

H.R. 10097, private bill (S. Rept. 865); and

H.R. 10369, granting congressional consent to the entry of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Vermont into a bus taxation proration compact, with amendments (S. Rept. 866). **Page 25874**

Calendar Call: On call of calendar, 41 bills were passed as follows, of which 35 were private:

Without amendment and cleared for President:

Copyrights: H.R. 2853, increasing fees charged for registration of copyrights and the cost of the yearly catalog;

Courts: H.R. 7707, authorizing appointment of crier-law clerks by district judges;

Tort claims: H.R. 5167, authorizing the administrative settlement of tort claims in foreign countries by the VA; and

Private bills: 29 private bills, H.R. 7888, 9521, 1311, 1319, 1409, 1644, 2005, 1836, 2285, 2557, 2757, 3288, 3515, 3669, 3770, 4078, 4137, 4194, 4203, 4464, 5554, 5457, 5904, 6229, 6235, 6819, 8350, 8457, and 9526.

With amendment, to be sent back to House:

Texas toll bridge: H.R. 10779, authorizing construction of a toll bridge across the Rio Grande near Pharr, Tex.; and

Fish: H.R. 23, to initiate a cooperative program with the States for the conservation of the Nation's anadromous fish.

Without amendment and cleared for House:

Private bills: Two private bills, S. 1520 and 2091.

With amendment and cleared for House:

Public information: S. 1160, to clarify and protect the right of the public to information; and

Private bills: Four private bills, S. 851, 1922, 1972, and 2112. **Pages 25861–25874**

Bill Placed on Calendar: H.R. 1092, private bill, was ordered to be placed on calendar. **Page 25906**

Adlai Stevenson Film: S. Con. Res. 61, to allow the viewing of USIA film "Adlai Stevenson the Ambassador" at the Auditorium Theater, Chicago, Ill., was submitted and adopted. **Page 25905–25906**

Ryukyu Islands: Senate cleared for President S.J. Res. 32, authorizing contributions to certain citizens of the Ryukyu Islands for death and injuries resulting from activities of U.S. Armed Forces, when it concurred in House amendments thereto. **Page 25906**

Highway Beautification: Senate concurred in House amendment to S. 2084, promoting more effective control of outdoor advertising signs and junkyards near Federal highways, clearing bill for President. Motion to reconsider this action was tabled. **Pages 25901–25905**

Continuing Appropriations: H.J. Res. 695, making continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1966 through October 23, was cleared for President when Senate passed the bill without amendment. **Page 25906**

Authority To Report: It was ordered that during Senate adjournment until noon Friday, October 15, Secretary of the Senate is authorized to receive messages from the House and from the President; all committees are authorized to file reports, including individual, minority, and supplemental views; and the Vice President or President pro tempore are authorized to sign bills and joint resolutions. **Page 25906**

Nominations: Four nominations to membership on U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, and one judicial nomination, were received. **Page 25916**

Program for Friday: Senate met at 11 a.m. and adjourned at 1:56 p.m. until noon Friday, October 15. Legislative program for Friday is undetermined. **Pages 25906, 25916**

Appendix

Panamanian Canal Stand Made Public

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the National Assembly of the Republic of Panama is now in session with its attention focused on the current diplomatic negotiations with the United States for new canal treaties as announced on September 24, 1965, in simultaneous statements by the Presidents of the United States and Panama.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding of the enormity of the radical Panamanian demands and the evident acquiescence of the Department of State therewith, I would emphasize that if and when the proposed treaties are formally ratified, Panama overnight will become the happy hunting ground of revolutionary communism and, sooner or later, the United States will be driven from the isthmus. Then what has happened in Cuba will follow as to both Panama and the canal.

Moreover, if the United States grants complete sovereignty over the Canal Zone to Panama, as is wholly claimed by that country, every activity—political, judicial, and administrative—will be yielded to Panama to do absolutely as it desires. Its great aim will be to extract from the operation of the canal the last penny possible for the financial benefit of Panama, with the interest of world shipping and the protection of the Western Hemisphere as secondary considerations. How, indeed, can two masters control wisely and objectively so great an enterprise? How can this vital artery continue to serve under two flags? History has shown that it cannot.

An Associated Press news story from Panama, in a Washington paper summarizing a progress report to the National Assembly by Diogenes de la Rosa, one of the Panamanian negotiators, and an earlier news story in an isthmian paper follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Oct. 8, 1965]

PANAMANIAN CANAL STAND MADE PUBLIC

PANAMA.—Diogenes de la Rosa, one of Panama's negotiators in the talks for a new canal treaty with the United States, made public details of Panama's demands for the first time last night.

Giving a progress report to the National Assembly, De la Rosa said the demands were presented January 25 in the Washington talks to replace the 1903 treaty which gives the United States control of the Canal Zone forever.

The negotiations started after anti-U.S. riots in January 1964 brought death to 21 Panamanians and 4 U.S. soldiers. President Johnson announced September 24 that the United States and Panama had agreed to scrap the 1903 treaty and write a new one giving Panama a share in the management and profits of the waterway.

Johnson said the new treaty would also "effectively recognize Panama's sovereignty over the area of the present Canal Zone."

De la Rosa said the Panamanian demands have been the basis of the discussions so far and were being given priority over talks for a new sea-level canal to replace the present lock-type waterway.

De la Rosa said Panama has demanded that the existing U.S. regime in the Canal Zone be abolished and that legislation and administration of justice be placed under Panamanian control, except for special matters connected with the canal.

Panama also asked that services in the zone be provided exclusively under Panamanian authority, except for services to ships, which it wants placed under joint administration with the United States.

Other demands included that the Canal Zone postal system use Panamanian stamps exclusively and that Spanish be declared the official language of the Canal Zone.

De la Rosa made no mention of U.S. counterproposals.

[From the Panama (R.P.), Star & Herald, Sept. 30, 1965]

PANAMA BUSINESSMEN CALL FOR UNITY BEHIND NEGOTIATIONS—ASSOCIATION LISTS NINE POINTS FOR NEW TREATY—BUSINESS EXECUTIVES GIVE VIEWS ON DECLARATION

The Panamanian Association of Business Executives yesterday called for "unalterable national unity" behind the negotiations for a new Panama Canal treaty, saying any talk tending to divide the country would only help the United States.

The association is composed of the country's leading businessmen.

In a pronouncement on the Robles-Johnson declaration, the association of business executives listed nine points it said will be included in the treaty under negotiation, as indicated by the joint declaration:

1. Abrogation of the 1903 treaty.
2. Effective recognition of Panama's sovereignty over the present Canal Zone.
3. Fixed date for the expiration of the new treaty or automatic expiration of the new treaty if the new sea-level canal is opened before the fixed date.
4. Return to Panama of lands, waters, islands, and existing facilities in the present Canal Zone.
5. Participation by Panama in the administration and operation of the canal.
6. Fixing of new tolls, taking into account Panama's contribution to the canal enterprise and the U.S. contribution and the interests of world commerce.
7. Participation by Panama in all benefits, direct and indirect, resulting from the existence of the canal in Panamanian territory.
8. Separate negotiation of an agreement on military bases and status of Armed Forces which, having the same date of expiration as the new canal treaty, will provide for the present U.S. military installations in the Canal Zone the same juridical and economic compensation treatment as is provided in countries such as Spain, France, and Turkey.
9. Simultaneous but separate negotiation of a sea-level canal treaty.

"From the foregoing," the association said, "it is evident that the attainments of abrogation, sovereignty, nonperpetuity, return of lands, and joint administration imply the elimination of the odious Canal Zone concept and the definite and permanent decolonization of that portion of the national territory."

The association added: "With the return of lands and facilities of the present Canal Zone, that territory will be open to the exercise of economic activities by Panamanians under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Panama. It is unnecessary to stress the possibilities which will open for our economic development in industry, agriculture, cattle raising, entrepot trade, transport, and service to transiting ships. This outlook permits visualizing, even now, the liquidation of the unemployment and poverty problem."

The association's statement cautioned, however, that the joint Presidential declaration does not constitute yet "the new treaty we Panamanians long for." But it pointed out that an official announcement, formally issued, constitutes a binding pledge, "particularly for the President of the United States of America, on whom are centered the watchful eyes not only of the Panamanian people and of the entire hemisphere, but of the whole underdeveloped world."

National School Lunch Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, the week of October 10–16 has been proclaimed by President Johnson as National School Lunch Week, and I feel it is appropriate that we in the House of Representatives pause and reflect for a few moments on the great importance of the school lunch program. President Johnson's purpose in designating a week as National School Lunch Week was "to increase public understanding and awareness of the significance of the national school lunch program to the child, to the home, to the farm, to industry and to the Nation."

The national school lunch program, which is now in its 19th year, provides over 18 million lunches per day to more than 70,000 schools participating in the program. The primary purpose of this program, which is operated by local school boards and local citizens, is to improve the health and education of schoolchildren through nutritionally adequate and educationally sound, nonprofit school food service programs.

The national school lunch program plays a very significant role in the total educational program of the school. Educators have long been cognizant of the fact that the learning process must take into account the whole child. Not just the child's mind, but the physical, as well

as mental, well-being of the student must be considered. It is difficult for a undernourished student to concentrate on his studies. In addition to contributing to the health of the student, well balanced and nutritious meals at lunch teach good eating habits.

The national school lunch program is becoming a major factor in the national economy and in local economies. Thousands of school food service operations are carried on outside the actual Federal program. On a national basis, school food services are one of the largest single consumers of surplus foods which have already been purchased by the Federal Government under price support programs. However, these federally supplied foods total less than 15 percent of the total used in schools each year. The remaining 85 percent is purchased locally and privately which benefits the local economy and contributes to the financial stability of the community.

Thus, it is obvious that the national school lunch program is an increasingly significant factor in our economy, and it is fitting that we take note of this importance during National School Lunch Week.

More Meat for Issue of One-Man Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. DUNCAN of Tenneseee. Mr. Speaker, it seems that the White House has decided to tighten its control of all news concerning our Government. The administration releases announcements when and how it pleases, giving less credit and less prestige to the agencies that actually do the work. I would like to place in the Appendix of the RECORD the following description of this policy as viewed by a newspaper in my district:

[From the Oak Ridger, Oak Ridge, Tenn., Sept. 20, 1965]

MORE MEAT FOR ISSUE OF ONE-MAN ADMINISTRATION

The White House is tightening its control on the release of information from Government agencies.

Associated Press reported from Washington Friday that the President's press officials have passed the word that says, in effect: Before you announce it, let us see it. We may want to make the splash ourselves.

The upshot is that more and more release of information is coming from the White House and less from the agencies themselves. And the consequences of this are considerable:

1. An announcement that must pass through a number of hands between source and voice loses considerable in the translation—is often watered down, distorted;

2. The more channels, the more delay—the longer the time gap between the origin of the information and its knowledge by the general public and thus the greater the risk that only the "in group" will know and be able to exploit;

3. A certain deleterious effect on the morale of lesser information officials who see their best efforts batted and battered on the way up through the ranks and, often, plagiarized by some higher officials;

4. The preoccupation of the White House with its own public relations image to the point that other more important White House staff concerns may get less attention and energy.

Another aspect of the Associated Press story seems important also. It is refreshing to see Washington correspondents letting us in on some of the inner workings of how the news is made and distributed. This account detailed a bit of hanky-panky that Presidential press secretaries since President Eisenhower's James Hagerty have been working. In the case of President Johnson, reporters call it the "Perdenales Press Servive," named for the river that flows through the President's Johnson City, Tex. place.

The gimmick is to hold back a lot of announcements, rather like a squirrel putting away nuts, just in advance of a presidential vacation. Then, bango, once the President and the press corps are settled at the spa, out come the releases one after the other. The reporters are kept hopping. The President is off fishing. But the public, seeing the news columns filled with appointments and policies by the dozens, gets the impression that all is busy, busy at the ranch. And it is, especially among the reporters who are kept hopping while the President drives around in his cream-colored Lincoln. No wonder they don't care for it.

It is significant that Associated Press is reporting and explaining this somewhat less than candid policy, and also detailing the White House trend to more and more control over the news flow. Too often the Washington press gives the impression that it is more interested in remaining on good terms with the top officials than in giving the real, hard news. It comes through down here sometimes that maybe they share more confidences with the big boys than they do with us.

This is especially so in the case of those so-called "off the record" and "background briefing" type news conferences from which we get those "it can be authoritatively reported" type stories—but no names.

President Eisenhower was frequently criticized by the Democrats for taking too little direct action himself, relying too much on the "team" approach. This new news policy is a further indication that President Johnson goes to the other extreme—that he insists entirely too much on doing things himself—the "one man government" issue. And it is an issue that might well be emphasized by the Republicans, for indeed it is one that is entirely legitimate and exceedingly important.

Capt. R. S. Oda Gets Decorations for Vietnam Acts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, there is hardly a day when feats of heroism in South Vietnam are not revealed. It is a testimony to our system of government that our fighting men are responding to the call to duty with such dedication. Occasionally, a soldier's dedication stands out above that of others. One such recent case is that of Air Force Capt. Richard Oda.

Captain Oda, a pilot with the 85th Air Transport Squadron, was cited for sustained aerial flight as a combat crewmember in the Republic of South Vietnam. He received the 4th, 5th, and 6th Oak Leaf Clusters to the Air Medal.

I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the article about Captain Oda which appeared in the September 30, 1965, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin:

CAPT. R. S. ODA GETS DECORATIONS FOR VIETNAM ACTS

Air Force Capt. Richard S. Oda, formerly of Honolulu, last week was decorated for his combat service this summer in South Vietnam.

Oda, a pilot with the 85th Air Transport Squadron, received the 4th, 5th, and 6th Oak Leaf Clusters to the Air Medal from Brig. Gen. Maurice F. Casey, at Travis Air Force Base in California.

Casey cited Oda for "distinguishing himself by meritorious achievement while participating in sustained aerial flight as a combat crewmember in the Republic of South Vietnam from April 20 to July 23, 1965."

Oda was 1 of 4 recently returned Vietnam combat officers decorated at the ceremony.

He is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Archie Oda, of Honolulu, and a graduate of Roosevelt High School, who also attended the University of Hawaii. He is married and has two children.

President's Advisory Staff on Scientific Information Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD, being aware of the need for the Federal Government to keep pace with rapid technological advances in data management and utilization systems, has proposed legislation to meet this need. The gentleman from Pennsylvania recently introduced a bill to establish a President's Advisory Staff on Scientific Information Management.

The measure would establish a means for providing the Federal Government with assistance necessary to fully utilize present and future capabilities for storage and availability of information. An editorial published in the Pittsburgh Press points out the need for such an advisory staff.

The article follows:

KNOWLEDGE EXPLOSION

Representative WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD, Pittsburgh Democrat, has proposed the formation of a Presidential advisory staff which could be of vital importance to the Nation in its efforts to keep pace with the rapid and profound changes in our civilization.

Mr. MOORHEAD has introduced a resolution which would establish a President's Advisory Staff on Scientific Information Management. Such a group is needed, he points out, because "the explosive growth and unprecedented change in our body of data and

knowledge have confounded past procedures for organizing knowledge critical in Government policy and decisionmaking.

The advisory staff would assist in developing scientific techniques for data management. Without such modern tools, our Government officials and lawmakers will soon become bogged down in a flood of knowledge which no human could digest.

The explosion of knowledge, science and technology in our time has placed an intolerable burden on Government leaders who must make important decisions, sometimes with incomplete or outdated information. It's simply impossible for a layman to become familiar with the specialized knowledge which will help to determine the future of our Nation.

An advisory staff would help to overcome this problem, however, by establishing techniques for providing large-scale storage, continued updating and timely retrieval of information.

The information gap between layman and specialist is especially apparent in scientific fields. Sciences are making advances beyond the understanding of almost everyone but reseachers.

It appears highly questionable that 20th century progress should be controlled by a relatively few scientists or specialists working in virtual obscurity. Improved techniques of scientific information management should help to keep this vital decisionmaking within the surveillance of elected and appointed officials responsible to the people.

A President's Advisory Staff on Scientific Information Management should also be useful in establishing priorities for Government financial aid to research.

Our lawmakers and Government officials cannot be expected to keep pace with all the progress in the expanding fields of knowledge. But Mr. MOORHEAD's proposal, if approved, would help to ease the burden by providing readily accessible information. His joint resolution (H.J. Res. 666) deserves the consideration of Congress.

Uruguay's Great Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD H. CALLAWAY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Speaker, a recent article from a national magazine gives a clear picture of the absurd lengths to which a government can go once it has been bitten by the welfare bug. This article needs little comment. It only needs to be read to warn us all that too much Great Society could some day turn America into one great big Uruguay.

[From the U.S. News & World Report, Sept. 27, 1965]

IF YOU WANT TO KNOW HOW FAR WELFARE CAN GO

(NOTE.—Tiny Uruguay provides a case history of where the scramble for welfare benefits can lead.

On paper, Uruguay is a workers' paradise. But workers are staging more and more strikes. Inflation is raging. The country's going broke.

James N. Wallace, of the staff of U.S. News & World Report, cabled this report on a welfare state running wild.)

MONTEVIDEO, URUGUAY.—This little welfare state is now rapidly going broke—a graphic example of what ever-expanding welfare can do to a country.

In an effort to stay afloat, Uruguay is scouring the United States and Europe for new loans to pay old debts. But many observers feel that such loans would only postpone, not prevent, the country's sinking into chaos and communism.

BEHIND THE TROUBLES

On paper, Uruguay is a workers' paradise. Its troubles stem from two roots:

One is a cradle-to-grave system of welfare benefits running far beyond the country's ability to pay and, some say, undermining the national will to work.

The second is a political system that is so democratic that it paralyzes the Government's ability either to make or to carry out a decision.

The story of Uruguay is the story of a welfare state run wild. Yet this is a nation with impressive, easily exploitable resources. Uruguay, covering an area about the size of North Dakota, is one huge, well-watered pasture. More than 98 percent of the land is economically usable, and the climate is excellent for agriculture.

There are 2.7 million Uruguayans, almost all of white European descent, highly literate and middle class. The increase in population is only 1.3 percent a year—lower than the U.S. rate.

Completely lacking in this South American country are the racial tensions, class conflicts, backwardness, and population explosion that plague so many parts of this continent and the world.

Even so, Uruguay is a country in deep difficulties—difficulties that are almost entirely of its own making. As such, it provides a case history for others of where the scramble for more and more welfare can lead.

RETIREMENT AT 37

Take retirement—one of the first and still most-extensive welfare benefits in Uruguay.

The country's basic age for retirement—at full pay—is 55, but most workers retire well before that. In so-called odious industries, such as glassmaking, workers can retire early—sometimes as early as age 37. In addition, it is possible for a man who started working in his teens at almost any job to retire at 45 on full pay.

PROFIT IN RETIRING

Actually, a man's take-home pay rises when he retires because he no longer pays the 20 percent payroll deduction that is supposed to finance welfare.

Another example of retirement benefits, Uruguayan style: A man over 40 who loses his job through no fault of his own retires immediately at full pay for life. Needless to say, almost no one ever loses a job through any fault of his own.

Things are even better for women. A woman who has worked 10 years and has a baby can retire at full pay even though she may be barely 30 years of age. Women working for the government retire at age 47.

On top of that, unemployment compensation is often hard to distinguish from retirement pay here. Unemployment benefits are equal to full pay and continue as long as a person is out of work. As an example of what this can mean, some workers in ports that have closed down still are paid fully and regularly even though they lost their jobs soon after World War II, with many in their 20's at the time.

In this welfare state, many retired persons have full-time jobs.

It's all right, for example, for a man drawing retirement pay to run a store so long as he hires someone else to "manage" it for him. Nobody checks very carefully, anyway, on whether pensioners or persons drawing unemployment benefits actually work at jobs. Officials responsible for checking will in many cases retire in a few years and do no want to spoil things for themselves.

A 4-HOUR DAY

Even before retirement, Uruguayans don't work too hard.

The official government workday is 6 hours, but few bureaucrats spend more than 4 hours a day in their offices. The pace is leisurely. A woman who recently went to work in a government agency was processing 20 sets of documents a day. She was sharply warned by her section chief that the acceptable number was five.

Hours are a little longer in private business, although a Montevideo banker estimates that the actual workweek averages only 30 hours. There are 44 legal holidays a year plus vacations.

Fringe benefits abound in Uruguay.

Many are quite usual for welfare states—maternity allowances, bonuses depending on family size, subsidized transportation. But some are not so usual. To illustrate: Every worker in the government-owned packing plant that supplies Montevideo's meat gets 4.4 pounds of free beef every day.

FREE COLLEGE EDUCATION

Then there is free education from first grade right through university. That includes graduate education in law and medicine.

Medical service is free to anybody not wanting to pay. Available is one of the biggest hospitals in Latin America.

The welfare-state idea here embraces widespread government ownership, dating back to early in this century.

All told, there are 22 government-run enterprises in the country, including the power and light company. All of these operate at a loss. One reason for the power company's deficit is that thousands of monthly electric bills can only be estimated because workers haven't got around to installing meters.

Other state enterprises are equally inefficient. The national airline has 9 airplanes—and 900 ground employees. The state fleet of buses has just had to have a special subsidy to keep going.

Among other things, the government loses money making cement, packing meat, operating hotels, refining petroleum, processing fish, running railways and selling insurance.

HUGE BUREAUCRACY

On top of everything in Uruguay is a bureaucracy that, for the size of the country, is one of the world's biggest.

More than 210,000 people—about 20 percent of the country's work force—are on the federal payroll. Another 140,000 work for state enterprises or provisional governments. Economists say that two out of every five persons in the working population are on a government payroll of some kind—as jobholders or major welfare beneficiaries.

The number of government workers rises with every election. The reason is that the political party in power floods federal offices and state enterprises with its followers before election. After the election, nobody is dismissed no matter who wins. Uruguay's constitution forbids dismissals. Naturally, the government runs deeply in the red. This year's deficit is expected to equal more than one-quarter of the total budget.

RAMPANT INFLATION

Deficits of this size help keep inflation spiraling. Since 1960, Montevideo's consumer price index has soared more than 300 percent. Living costs jumped 38 percent in 1964 and are rising even faster this year. In July alone the rise was 3.1 percent.

The country's currency has been devalued 3 times in 3 years, and a fourth devaluation is expected at any time. Officially, the exchange rate is now 24 pesos to the dollar, but on the free market it takes 60 pesos to buy 1.

Uruguay also suffers from what economists call "wage push" inflation.

It works this way: Most wages are set by three-man committees, including representatives of labor, management and the government. Labor habitually asks for a pay hike big enough to offset both past and "anticipated" inflation. The government representative, for political reasons and be-

cause of the country's paternalistic traditions, almost always votes with the labor man.

Under this system, "anticipated" inflation becomes guaranteed inflation.

A special new currency issue of $60 million in value was rushed through in July to head off a threatened strike of federal workers who hadn't been paid for 2 months. This takes care of salaries until November, then the same crisis must be faced again.

THE REAL DANGER

To many observers, the potentially disastrous element in Uruguay's welfare system is not its extent or current cost but its deadening effect on the country's willingness and ability to compete in the modern world.

Under this system, the lure of a government job or early retirement pulls workers away from the countryside where they would be most productive. The whole tax system puts the heaviest burdens on the agricultural and export sectors that create the country's wealth. Only about 1 percent of all workers pay an income tax.

One of the country's own studies of economic trends shows that Uruguay is in grave danger of losing its basic export markets if drastic changes are not made in the whole welfare system quickly.

Already, inefficiency and refusal to modernize are costing dearly.

COMPARED WITH OTHERS

Wool, the biggest foreign-exchange earner, brings in about $100 million a year. But internal inflation and more-efficient competitors abroad are undercutting wool exports. Uruguayan farmers get only 6.4 pounds of wool per sheep per year compared with 8.6 for Australian farmers and 9.9 for New Zealanders.

Meat, the second-biggest export, is in even worse shape. Uruguay has 8 million cattle. But its cattle industry requires 27 head of cattle to produce a ton of beef, compared with 17 in neighboring Argentina and 15 in the United States. Because of Uruguayan fondness for meat—consumption is more than 200 pounds per person annually—only a fourth of the beef output is available for export.

With domestic consumption of beef on the rise, there will be no beef to sell abroad by 1970 unless cattle production is increased quickly. So far, there is no sign of any drive to do so, either through pasture improvement or the use of artificial feeds.

As an agricultural nation, Uruguay must export more than it imports most years to pay its way. But only twice since the mid-1950's has there been an export surplus. Both were the result of market freaks, not trade success. And the long-range trend is toward even bigger trade deficits.

Constant strikes are sapping the country's economic vitality. Many result from long delays in paying workers in the deficit-ridden state-run enterprises. Others are Communist-inspired. But, increasingly, the strikes are a form of protest against an inept government.

What are Uruguay's chances of getting some reins on its welfare system and reviving its economy?

Not very bright, say people who know the country well, without some basic changes in political structures and habits.

NINE MEN AT THE TOP

Along with the welfare state, Uruguay is hamstrung by a form of government in which there is no real executive. Power is shared by a 9-man governing council divided between the two major political parties on a 6 to 3 basis. The Presidency, largely a ceremonial office, passes annually from one to another of four leaders in the major party.

The same party division exists, by law, in executive bodies of state enterprises and provincial governments. Dozens of agencies can veto one another's actions. In many cases, the government is responsible for debts of agencies but has no real control over their budgets.

Almost everybody in Uruguay seems to agree that basic changes are necessary. Even so, Uruguayans disagree, loudly and passionately, on just what should be changed. Any possible solution is going to cost somebody welfare benefits or political position—two so-far unthinkable moves in Uruguay.

Without some solutions—and quickly—the real beneficiaries of Uruguay's plight could be the Communists. Their party is not big, only about 10,000 members. But it is well organized, well financed and deeply entrenched in the country's life. Leaders of two-thirds of the labor unions are party members or sympathizers. Student groups are heavily infiltrated, as are State enterprises and federal agencies.

The Communist aim seems to be to raise such doubts about the competence of the government as to undermine it. Meanwhile, the Reds seem bent on avoiding violence or anything else that might threaten their status as a legal party.

"They aren't trying to push things over all at once," says a diplomat in Montevideo. "They're chipping away, a little at a time, getting things to crumble rather than crack. They think they can win here by default."

Uruguay today is a very sick welfare state. Some cures have been proposed, but the remedies so far suggested are about like prescribing aspirin for a cancer victim.

Leif Erikson Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, by Presidential proclamation last year, October 9 of each year has been selected as Leif Erikson Day in honor of that brave Viking.

Last Saturday, Leif Erikson Day was celebrated with impressive ceremonies held at the historic Mariners Museum in Newport News, Va. The Icelandic Ambassador, many Scandinavian officials, a score of Congressmen and other dignitaries along with the general public witnessed a beautiful ceremony performed under absolutely perfect weather conditions.

The success of this initial commemoration of Leif Erikson was due largely to the magnificent work of an informal committee which included from the Washingotn area: Mrs. Inga Rundvold, Mrs. Carl Hevener, Mr. Aage Nylen, and Adm. George Dufek and Mr. Kit Larson of the Tidewater area. Thanks also should be extended to the Office of the Vice President for its courteous cooperation and to the Scandinavian Airlines, the Union Bag Camp Paper Corp., the board of trustees of the Mariners Museum, and the Peninsula Chamber of Commerce for their willingness to actively participate in the event.

The main address was delivered by the Ambassador from Iceland, His Excellency Petur Thorsteinsson, who brilliantly, eloquently, and briefly told the story of the Viking's contribution to the world. I think many of my colleagues will be interested in his remarks and I ask unanimous consent that they be printed at this point in the RECORD:

REMARKS BY MR. PÉTUR THORSTEINSSON, AMBASSADOR OF ICELAND AT THE LEIF ERIKSON DAY CEREMONIES IN NEWPORT NEWS, VA., OCTOBER 9, 1965

May I first of all express my warmest thanks for being invited here to Newport News, to the world famous Mariners Museum—in order to celebrate the day of Leif Erikson—the great pioneer of the 10th and 11th centuries—who settled on the continent of North America on or around the year 1000.

In history books we learn about the exploits of the Vikings—the Scandinavians of the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries. We learn how they established a state in Russia, how they conquered England and Northern France and about their visits to the Mediterranean and to Constantinople.

But the great exploits of the Vikings on their western flank have until recently not been so generally known, although these achievements are of no less importance than the others. I have in mind their land discoveries and the famous literature created in one of the Norse settlements—Iceland.

Vikings, mainly Vikings from Norway, established in Iceland in the 10th century a Republic governed by a central parliament—the Althing—a parliament which is still functioning today, more than 1,000 years old. This was a republic of a remarkable civilization and culture where the sagas and Eddas were written in the 13th and 14th centuries, a republic which existed more than 300 years, until Iceland came under the rule of a foreign king in the 13th century.

Many of the settlers in Iceland were great and hardy seafarers who had been on voyages and viking expeditions. After settling in Iceland many of them continued their seafaring life and went on voyages to other countries.

The Icelanders soon became aware that lands were to be found west of Iceland. Around the year 985 a man called Erik Thorvaldsson the Red—a Norwegian who had settled in Iceland around the year 950, left Iceland on an expedition of discovery. He found a country which he called Greenland and took up his abode there. In calling the country Greenland he wanted to draw settlers by the attractive name. And he succeeded. The settlement in Greenland became quite numerous.

About the same time as Erik the Red discovered Greenland, others, when sailing west off Greenland, saw the coast of still another country. And around the year 1000 Leif Erikson, son of Erik the Red, set out to look for this land. He then discovered what he considered to be three countries that he called Helluland, which was most likely Baffinsland; Markland, which was most likely Labrador, and Vinland or Wineland farther south. Some people think that Wineland was in the region which is now Massachusetts. Others would place it farther north. We don't know whether vine was actually to be found in that place, or whether Leif Erikson was the same propagandist as his father, and gave the country this name in order to attract settlers.

These land discoveries were first written about in a German book published in the year 1070. But in the Icelandic literature of the 13th and 14th centuries these voyages are described in detail. And recent excavations of ruins of a Newfoundland village prove that people of Norse origin were living there at that time. And I understand further evidence of these land discoveries will be made known soon.

On the 1000-year anniversary of the Icelandic Parliament, in 1930, a statue of Leif

Erikson (by the sculptor, Sterling Calder) was donated to Iceland by the United States. On it was written "Leif Erikson, Son of Iceland, Discoverer of Wineland." It is a replica of that statue which you see here in the Mariner's Museum.

When time went on, communications with the Norse settlements on the North American Continent discontinued, and probably the Norsemen there became extinct. But later the bonds were tied anew. And people from the Nordic countries have settled in great numbers in the United States and Canada. And the Nordic countries are proud that millions of their sons and daughters now form a part of the population of the great democracies of North America, these great countries whose nations are known for their love of freedom and peace.

Between us are warm relations of cooperation and friendship.

I bring to you from my country best wishes for a happy future and prosperity.

May the exploits of Leif Erikson be a guiding light in pioneering for the future.

Thank you all very much.

Red Arms Said Hidden in Panama

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the Panama Canal has appeared frequently in recent news columns with respect to diplomatic negotiations now in progress between the United States and Panama. Though the significance of these negotiations is well understood on the isthmus, what is at stake is not yet generally comprehended in the United States.

Some of our newspapers are now coming to realize what is involved and are denouncing what is taking place. Already some of these statements from prominent daily papers have been inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and others will undoubtedly follow.

When the people of our country become fully aware of what the proposed treaties with Panama will bring about, my correspondence shows that they will be overwhelmingly and violently opposed to what is being attempted.

In this connection, recently published information in a west coast newspaper describes communistic revolutionary activities in Panama in preparation for a bloody takeover. Should the proposed treaties formulated by the Department of State be ratified, Panama will, indeed, become a Communist hunting ground and will go down the Red drain with Cuba.

The indicated west coast news story, which originated in Panama, follows:

[From the Anaheim (Calif.) Bulletin, Sept. 30, 1965]

RED ARMS SAID HIDDEN IN PANAMA

PANAMA CITY, PANAMA (Reuters).—Communists have arms hidden in Panama for future use, a former Cuban diplomat who had both hands blown off while engaged in sabotage for the Castro revolution in Cuba has declared.

Odon Alvarez de la Campa, 45, who was minister counselor of Cuba in Madrid until he joined anti-Castro exiles last spring, added that more than 200 Panamanians have been trained in Cuba for subversion in Panama as part of an overall plan to control all of Latin America.

Alvarez de la Campa said Madrid serves as the gateway to Latin America for agents seeking to infiltrate and capitalize on social conditions.

The ex-diplomat, here to attend the Confederation of the Congress of Labor said he believes Cuban leader Che Guevara, who has mysteriously disappeared for the last several months, is directing pro-Castro subversion in Latin America. He said he believed reports that Guevara was traveling clandestinely from country to country.

A Better Understanding of Conditions in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Lucian C. Warren, Washington correspondent for the Buffalo Courier-Express, Buffalo, N.Y., recently spent 3 weeks in Germany upon the invitation of the Federal Republic of Germany. He was there under the auspices of the Inter Nationes Visitor's program which extends to prominent citizens in various nations of the free world an opportunity to observe, at first hand, conditions in West Germany. This program corresponds to the Visitors From Abroad program in the United States, under which distinguished citizens from other nations are invited to tour our country.

The report by Mr. Warren, which is in several parts, reflects his own uncensored observations and were sent directly to his newspaper without being screened by German officials.

He visited eight major cities in Germany, and made several side trips into the countryside. He talked with leaders in the German political, business, and cultural fields. Among other activities, Mr. Warren attended six operas, one operetta, two plays, and three symphony concerts. He also had the opportunity to interview several U.S. Embassy and Consular officials in Berlin, Bonn, and Munich.

Mr. Warren is an outstanding reporter in our Nation's Capital for the past 20 years, a member of the Gridiron Club of Washington, and a former president of the National Press Club. I commend his report for a better understanding of conditions in Europe, and the Federal Republic of Germany is to be commended also for sponsoring such trips.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Mr. Warren's introductory column and the first part of the series which is currently appearing in the Buffalo Courier-Express:

[From the Buffalo Courier-Express, Oct. 8, 1965]

IN GERMANY—PHONES, PLUMBING AMONG HAZARDS ON FOREIGN TRIP

(By Lucian C. Warren)

FRANKFURT, GERMANY—The hazards faced by an American visiting Germany are not inconsiderable. After spending a week here, we have still failed to master the elemental workings of the electrical and phone systems, to say nothing of the plumbing.

Take hotel phones, for an example. They don't look very much different than the one-piece equipment we have back home. But every hotel has a different kind of equipment for dialing and usually the phone is returned to a position on its stand in vertical rather than horizontal fashion.

OOPS!

During our first experience with a hotel phone in Munich, we had managed to finish our conversation and in obedience to years of habit, placed the phone horizontally across the phone stand. This meant, of course, that we hadn't hung up at all and our light was still flashing at the hotel switchboard.

"Hallo, hallo," came a complaining voice from the mouthpiece. "Vat do you vish?"

Ve vished nothing more than to wind up our conversation, and we so informed the operator. She suggested then that we hang up the receiver.

SUDDEN REALIZATION

We explained to no avail that we had already hung up, but at about this point it suddenly dawned that the German and American electronic engineers have yet to standardize their apparatus and a little experimentation helped conclude the episode without further trouble.

We used soap, water and blades for shaving when we found our electric outfit would not work on 220 instead of 110 volts.

But we have yet to solve the plumbing problem. We were looking forward to a hot shower after our transatlantic flight, but turning up the hotel hot water faucet as high as it would go in Munich produced only lukewarm water.

BOILING PROBLEM

After a long, hot ride to Frankfurt from Nuremburg, we tried again for a hot shower at our hotel in Frankfurt. It was hot all right, and no amount of manipulation could temper the boiling quality of this hotel shower to a moderate degree.

Come to think of it, we have had a reasonable degree of success with finding the men's rooms after we had first surmounted the language problem and learned that "H" stands for Herren, or men, and "D" for Damen, or women. A variation is simply "WC" for water closet, and these kind appear to be available to either sex on a first-come, first-served basis.

SEARCH

In one little village, we had stopped en route from Baden-Baden to Stuttgart. Our German escort had wished to make a phone call and on our own we endeavored to find a men's room.

SURPRISE REPLY

After several blocks of walking we located a hotel and, considering this was a small community supposedly off the beaten path of the American tourist, tried out our German on the hotel clerk.

"Wohin toiletten fur herren?" we asked.

Without so much as a wiggle of his bushy-eyebrows, the hotel clerk without looking up replied:

"Take the first door to the left."

If the German electrical, phone and plumbing equipment could just become Americanized as the language of the hotel

clerks, a trip by the American tourist would become considerably less hazardous.

BEDDING

Hotel bedding cannot be considered in the hazardous class, but it is mighty uncomfortable by American standards. Instead of the hotel guest being allowed his choice of blankets at night, all hotels provide a fiendish combination of a top sheet enclosing a heavy quilt.

In the Indian summer climate in which we have been traveling, we have slept either too hot, or, if we toss the coverlet off, too cold. There is no middle ground.

CONCESSION

At one hotel in Hamburg heavily patronized by Americans, a concession had been made—an American-style blanket was provided in addition to the quilt-sheet coverlet. We substituted the blanket for the quilt inside the sheet and had our best night's sleep since arriving in Germany.

During the day the chambermaid made up the room in our absence and failed to get the hint. The blanket had been tossed aside and the sheet again enclosed the quilt atop the bed.

With due respect to other signs of considerate hospitality, we have, however, about become resigned to "sweating it out" at night for the balance of our trip.

[From the Buffalo Courier-Express, Oct. 10, 1965]

VISIT TO WEST GERMANY—MUNICH REVISES MODERATION PLEA

(By Lucian C. Warren)

MUNICH, GERMANY.—"Mass halten," German Chancellor Ludwig Erhard advised his people some months ago.

This translates as "Keep within bounds," and the general idea was the German people might well become a bit more temperate in their activities, thus avoiding both a bloated economy and the personal discomforts of the fat.

The slogan was taken seriously in northern Germany, but not in Munich.

DOUBLE MEANING

It seems that "Mass" not only means measure or "bounds," but also liter, and in association with another word, as "Masskrug," a tankard or mug.

It didn't take much stretching of the German language for the people of Munich to exclaim "Mass halten" and immediately grab a liter of beer at the Hofbrau, that famous multistory Munich beer hall.

"If the chancellor wants us to keep a liter in our hands," they cried, "it certainly is the patriotic thing to do." And they would joyously down the fluid and repeat the exercise to the extent of their capacity, which for most Munich people is considerable.

REBELLIOUS

The story illustrates not only the gemuetlich (good natured, jolly) qualities of the Bavarians, for whom Munich is the capital, but their tendency to have less respect for authority than their northern countrymen.

It was no accident that when Hitler waged his succesful campaign to bring down the Weimar government, he chose for his shenanigans the Munich area, where the people consider rebellion almost as much a way of life as in France.

To some extent the ghost of Hitler still stalks these streets. A persistent tourist can find the locale of the Beer Hall Putsch, the Alte Pinakothek art gallery built by Hitler, the restaurant at which he ate during his early days, and the street which his storm troopers marched down during his early attempt to gain power. Here Frau Goering, widow of the No. 2 Nazi, lives in quiet seclusion.

OBJECT LESSON

It is here also that the Munich city government, while seeing to it that virtually all of the city was rebuilt after the World War II bombing devastation, deliberately left unreconstructed the "Armis Et Litteris" war science museum. In front is a quaint statue of Otto von Wittelbach, a 12th century duke of Bavaria, attired in full-dress battle regalia.

The well-gutted building, serving as a backdrop for this military-minded Teutonic ancestor, appears to be a deliberate object lesson to the Munich people that war is no longer the noblest of the arts.

If there is any doubt in Bavarian minds as to the sins of the Hitler regime, they have a much more horrible reminder a few miles to the northwest, where the notorious Dachau concentration camp was located. While the rotting barracks were torn down, the "Kremetorium," with its evil gas chambers, is still there to see with all of its genocidal equipment intact.

MUSEUM

A reconstructed Dachau camp administration building has been made into a museum under the auspices of the Bavarian government. Its designers seem to have spared nothing in tracing the camp history. Blown-up documents and photographs, all well-lighted, depict in full the Hitlerian madness. For instance, one document is a letter from the medical researcher in charge, asking that he be allowed to transfer his experiments to the relative isolation of the Auschwitz concentration camp, because the screams of the Jewish victims at Dachau were causing unrest among nearby townspeople. The experiments, which he described in grisly detail, involved noting the effect of first freezing camp inmates, then placing them in boiling water.

The Dachau camp was not on the official itinerary for my visit to the Munich area, but my request was, nevertheless, courteously honored and a car provided for the trip.

POLITICAL RALLY

Perhaps it was appropriate that on the same day the government-provided car also carried me to a rousing political rally in the Bavarian Alps at which Franz Joseph Strauss, the prominent and controversial leader of the Bavarian wing of the Erhard-Adenauer Christian Democratic Party, was the principal speaker.

At one point, Strauss bewailed the fact that certain German university students are still berating their elders about the tortures at Dachau, but have little to say about Communist murders of attempted escapees from East Germany at the Berlin wall.

"We have to overcome our past by working objectively for our future," he thundered. His point seemed to be that it is no good dwelling morbidly on the past sins of Germany and much better to push hard for the wave of the future.

ECONOMIC GAINS

From another source in Bavaria—its Chamber of Commerce in Munich—it became clear that this section of Germany has already carved out for itself a pretty good future from an economic standpoint.

The Wirtschaftswunder (economic miracle) which has vaulted postwar Germany into the second largest economy in the world today has perhaps nowhere been so dramatic as in Bavaria. Formerly a predominantly agricultural area, Bavaria is now a hustling industrial German showcase, where the finishing and processing industries dominate the scene.

The manager of the Munich Chamber's Foreign Trade Department spouts glowing statistics on how some 22,000 fairly large firms and 58,000 smaller ones are producing goods in increasing quantities.

WORKERS NEEDED

The rapid industrial pace in Bavaria and elsewhere has created a shortage in workers, and the latest estimate of "vacancies" in the nation's economic system is 900,000. As the law of supply and demand operates as well here as elsewhere, wages are going up and certain inflationary tendencies are already forcing up prices so that living costs, in some areas, are higher than in the United States of America.

But does that worry the fun-loving Bavarians? To the contrary, as this visitor viewed the SRO sign at the Saturday night performance of Rigoletto by an Italian opera company, the Hofbrau Haus and packed eating places, the prosperous cut of Herr and Frau Schmitt's clothes, and the traffic jam of new cars in downtown Munich, it became clear that here "Mass halten" will continue to be observed in the strictly Bavarian way.

Congressman Pike Reports on 1st Session, 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OTIS G. PIKE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity for the 5th consecutive year to make this annual report to my constituents of the First Congressional District of New York on the activities of the Congress in general, and of their Congressman in particular, during the 1st session of the 89th Congress of the United States of America.

Never, ever will the cry be raised that this has been a do-nothing Congress. Its greatest detractors will have to admit that this Congress has done more this year than any Congress in the history of our Nation. There is a possibility that the cry will be raised that this has been a "do-too-much Congress", but in general I believe the people of our district will approve most of what this Congress has done.

First of all, what sort of district do we have? It remains probably the fastest growing area on the east coast of the United States of America. In the 1960 census the First Congressional District, which comprises all of Suffolk County except the towns of Huntington and Babylon, contained a population of 398,-254 people. By May of 1964 the Bureau of the Census had already certified to me that our district exceeded 500,000 people, and the latest estimate put out by the Long Island Lighting Co. a very reliable source—shows that our population now exceeds 550,000, so it is a very rapidly growing area.

It is an essentially prosperous area. We have survived remarkably well the cutback of defense employment at the Republic Aviation plant largely because of an equally great increase in defense employment at the Grumman Aircraft & Engineering Corp.. We remain far too much tied economically to the mercurial defense industries, and there are bound to be other crises in the future, particu-

larly in the case of those manufacturers who fail to diversify their production. As a district, however, we are widely and healthily diversified, ranging from large defense manufacturers to the farms of the east end of Long Island. Our recreation business continues to grow, and our potential for additional business in this field was never greater. We have rural, suburban, and relatively urban living. Our greatest problem continues to be that of planning for the future in such a manner that we can preserve the way of life which has made eastern Long Island so attractive that tens of thousands of people move in each year to take advantage of it.

The 89th Congress met on January 4, 1965, and its first vote—that of the election of the Speaker—showed the heavily Democratic makeup of the Congress resulting from the landslide by which President Johnson carried the country in November 1964. The vote was 289 for the Democratic candidate, Speaker McCormack; 139 for the new Republican minority leader, Gerald R. Ford. From that start on the first day of the session major bills have been considered in committee, debated on the floor, and passed at a rate never exceeded by any Congress.

The first major controversial issue of the year came on the new $840 million program of Federal aid to the Appalachian area, which was passed on March 3, 1965. During the same month a new program for Federal controls over the manufacture and sale of barbiturates and amphetamines was passed; a new Federal program of aid to elementary and secondary schools were passed; a new Administration on Aging within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was established, and a new program for the joint development of Federal and State governments of water resources was enacted.

April saw the extension of the Manpower Development and Training Act, and on April 8, after roughly 20 years of debate and controversy, the House of Representatives passed the bill providing hospital care for the elderly through the social security program, and a voluntary health insurance program by the lopsided vote of 313 to 115. The same bill also provided broadened coverage and increased payments for the recipients of social security. April also saw the passage of a constitutional amendment providing for succession in cases of Presidential disability and the passage of a Federal Water Pollution Control Act.

Throughout the year the most ominous note was the undercurrent of national concern over the war in Vietnam. In the early months of 1965 the situation was deteriorating on the military front, and the government at Saigon was increasingly shaky. Americans were confronted with a choice of letting that small nation, which had been fighting first the Japanese, then the French, and then the Vietcong for an entire generation, fall to the Communists, or to bolster it with vastly increased American aid on three fronts—military aid, economic aid, and American military manpower. The decision was made to increase American aid dramatically, and on May 5 the House of Representatives, by a vote of 408 to 7, passed a bill providing an additional $700 million for American military operations in southeast Asia. At this time, the situation in that area, while still dangerous and deadly, is substantially improved.

During the same month we passed our annual authorization bill for the procurement of aircraft, missiles and ships to the extent of over $15 billion, and authorized over $5 billion for the operations of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and $2½ billion for the operations of the Atomic Energy Commission. May was the month of large authorizations—in addition to the three above-mentioned we authorized over $3 billion for foreign aid for fiscal 1966, and almost $6 billion for the operations of the Department of Agriculture. May was also the month in which the House passed a bill providing for further construction of health research facilities, and for additional funds to the Public Health Service to carry on its programs of research, involving such diseases as cancer and heart.

In June a long-sought program reducing or eliminating Federal excise taxes on hundreds of items as common as ladies' cosmetics and handbags, watches, jewelry and luggage was happily passed by the House of Representatives. June also saw the creation of a new Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the passage of our largest appropriation bill of the year—$45 billion out of an annual budget of approximately $100 billion to operate the Department of Defense during fiscal 1966.

In June we also passed legislation extending the program previously administered by the Area Redevelopment Act, and passed the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, a highly controversial measure which for the first time included a program of Federal rent subsidies, which the New York Daily News, in a reference toward medicare, referred to as renticare.

Five days after the Fourth of July we passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, banning poll taxes in an effort to end the last discrimination against the right of any citizen to vote.

Feeling brave, we passed a bill requiring that cigarette packages be labeled to inform the uninformed that their contents might be hazardous to health; and listening to the outraged cries of the tobacco people, we postponed its effective date until July 1, 1969. We took note of the silver shortage by providing for new dimes and quarters to be made without silver, and we took note of the shortage of pay in our military by providing an average 10.6 percent pay increase for our men in uniform. We authorized almost $2 billion for an expanded antipoverty program, and toward the end of the month the House passed another controversial measure, voting to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

In August we authorized $3 billion of aid to the States for the Interstate Highway System, and a $3.25 billion program for public works in economically depressed areas. In the same month we passed an agriculture bill providing a 4-year program of price supports for wheat, cotton, wool, dairy and feed grains, and passed a major measure liberalizing the immigration laws of the United States of America.

Early in the year the majority leader in the Senate, Senator Mike Mansfield, of Montana, had predicted confidently but optimistically that Congress would be adjourned by Labor Day. Labor Day and the entire month of September, however, saw Congress still grinding out major legislation at a tremendous pace. During that month we extended for 3 years the program of Federal aid for training nurses and students in Public Health fields. We authorized the Secretary of Commerce to conduct a $90 million research project for high-speed ground transportation which may some day be of tremendous value to the bumper-to-bumper club on western Long Island's highways. We established a Water Pollution Control Administration and increased Federal aid for the construction of municipal sewage treatment plants. We passed our annual public works bill to the extent of $1,743,228,000 and passed a new measure giving to the Farmers Home Administration the authority to develop water supply and sewage disposal systems in rural areas. We went through agonies on the question of whether to grant home rule to the District of Columbia, and wound up passing a bill which said "maybe." We ended the month of September in another display of raw courage by voting to increase the compensation of all Federal employees, after first voting to eliminate Congressmen.

October found us still hard at it. We amended the Public Health Service Act in order to provide grants for the establishment of medical library services and facilities. We passed a bill providing for the beautification of highways constructed with Federal funds by eliminating billboards and screening or eliminating junkyards within certain distances of such highways. We will hopefully wind up the session in the near future after passing the act establishing quotas for the import of sugar into the United States.

It has been a fantastically busy year for Congress. We have had as of this date 367 rollcalls. Of these 193 were votes, and 174 simply quorums. I missed eight votes and nine quorum calls. While this constitutes a slippage in my attendance record, it is still substantially better than average, and I believe that the absences were justified. It has been a busy year for your Representative, also. Six out of eight missed votes and eight out of the nine missed quorum calls came in the month of June, when I was designated chairman of a four-man special subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee to visit the fighting areas in Vietnam. The two other missed votes came when Mrs. Pike was in the hospital, and the other missed quorum call came when the Advisory Committee for the Fire Island National Seashore was being sworn in.

The trip to Vietnam took us more than halfway around the world. We traveled

2,150 miles within Vietnam alone, visiting all of the major combat areas and American installations. On our return we filed a classified report which I like to think has been read by a few people. We must have done something right, for in August the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, the Honorable L. MENDEL RIVERS, assigned to me the responsibility of heading up a new subcommittee to investigate the adequacy of the air support which has been provided for our ground troops in Vietnam. This special subcommittee consists of nine Members of Congress, and has held hearings over the past month. We have heard witnesses ranging from the enlisted men who have served on the ground in Vietnam and who have called for air support, through the pilots who provided, through the military and Department of Defense planners who have been developing our tactics for the present and are developing our plans for the future, and we wound up with a four-star Air Force general who has overall responsibility for the Air Force in this important field. All of our hearings were held behind closed doors. I can only say that they were so interesting I wish I could discuss them.

The Special Investigating Subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee, of which I am the second ranking member, conducted several investigations and held several hearings this year—the most noteworthy of which involved the Aerospace Corp. of Los Angeles, Calif. Our report on the waste of taxpayers' money incurred by the practices of this corporation received national coverage including articles in both Time and Newsweek magazines and an editorial in the New York Times, and has already resulted in many changes in the operations of the corporation which will save the taxpayers hundreds of thousands of dollars. This Special Investigating Subcommittee has now been assigned the job of checking on the quantity and quality of our inventory stockpile of military goods at bases both within the United States and all around the world. This will involve a trip around the world some time during the period after Congress adjourns, and I will not pretend that this will be a duty unmixed with pleasure. I concede that I am looking forward to it.

During the Easter recess, I had the privilege of being designated as a representative of the U.S. Congress at a meeting of the Interparliamentary Union which was held in Dublin, Ireland, and Doris and I joined the representatives and the wives of the represenatives of the legislative bodies of some 70 different nations—both from the Western World and from the Communist world.

On the personal legislative front we were successful in having passed a bill to supplement last year's Fire Island National Seashore. The bill which I sponsored this year provided for the addition of the 611-acre William Floyd Estate to the Fire Island National Seashore. The owners of the estate had generously agreed to donate it to the Federal Government retaining a 25-year lease of the property and the bill authorizing this expansion of the Fire Island National Seashore was introduced on May 10, cleared subcommittee, full committee, House, Senate, and was signed by the President almost as soon as he came out of the ether on October 9.

The Federal Government's program of erosion control on the south shore of Long Island is proceeding on schedule. More than $5 million has been appropriated for this project. More than $6 million has been made available for the purchase of land on Fire Island and for the development of the National Seashore Park and dredging operations funded by the Fedral Government have been conducted on both the north and south shores of Long Island.

The above constitute the more newsworthy activities in which our office was engaged this year. The less newsworthy but perhaps more important activities of our office continued to be the handling of as many as 200 individual letters and phone calls each day from the more than half million residents of our district. My staff of five full-time secretaries and two part-time assistants was kept busy trying to help thousands of individuals whose problems ranged from the simple job of procuring a Government publication to the extremely complicated one of trying to cut through redtape in order to help get a serviceman home from overseas for a visit with a dying parent. We presently have 24 young men from the First Congressional District attending West Point, Annapolis, the Air Force Academy, and the Merchant Marine Academy, and we have already commenced the processing of approximately 100 applications from young men in our district who wish to compete for appointment to the academies next year.

In all of the daily cases involving problems of immigration, student loans, delayed mails, social security benefits, veterans' pensions, and income tax refunds, I have been greatly aided by and I am deeply indebted to a dedicated and hard-working staff whose ingenuity sometimes exceeds my own, and a wife and three children who have not only learned not to act surprised on those rare occasions when father comes home, but who have also become quite expert at keeping complicated telephone messages straight.

We have tried to keep in close touch with our district through weekly radio broadcasts over eight radio stations and a weekly newspaper column mailed to every newspaper in the district, and we are grateful to those radio stations which have broadcast our reports and to those newspapers which have printed the column as a public service. We have stopped worrying about those hardy few papers which even after 5 years find the prospect of carrying a weekly column by a Democratic Congressman too dangerously subversive to contemplate. Both broadcasts and columns will be discontinued when Congress adjourns.

While I have generally supported the program of President Johnson, there have been frequent occasions, such as the $840 million Appalachia bill, the $5.7 billion agriculture appropriation to finance farm subsidies, the $8.2 billion housing and rent subsidy program, the extension of the Area Redevelopment Agency, and the $3.25 billion program for expanding the Area Redevelopment and Emergency Public Works programs, when I felt that we had gone too far in new programs and voted "no."

A more complete voting record on the major issues of the 1st session of the 89th Congress follows:

Date	Issue	Vote
1965		
Jan. 4	Election of Speaker. (McCormack 289; Ford 139.)	McCormack.
Jan. 4	Direct Speaker to seat Mississippi Congressmen-elect. (Yea 276, nay 149.)	Nay.
Jan. 4	Adopt new House rules. (Yea 224, nay 202.)	Yea.
Jan. 26	Recommit supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1965 for Department of Agriculture, with instructions to report back with amendment prohibiting agricultural exports to United Arab Republic. (Yea 204, nay 177.)	Yea.
Feb. 9	Eliminate requirement Federal Reserve maintain gold certificate reserves of not less than 25 percent of deposits. (Yea 300, nay 82.)	Yea.
Feb. 17	Extend Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 1966–68. (Yea 302, nay 63.)	Yea.
Feb. 25	Authorize $370,000 for investigation expense, House Un-American Activities Committee. (Yea 360, nay 29.)	Yea.
Mar. 3	Authorize $840,000,000 to aid Appalachia. (Yea 257, nay 165.)	Nay.
Mar. 10	Establish Federal controls over manufacture and sale barbiturates and amphetamines. (Yea 402, nay 0.)	Yea.
Mar. 26	Improve educational quality Nation's elementary and secondary schools. (Yea 263, nay 153.)	Yea.
Mar. 31	Establish Administration on Aging in Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to help older persons through grants to States. (Yea 396, nay 1.)	Yea.
Mar. 31	Provide assistance to States to develop Federal-State water resources development programs. (Yea 383, nay 0.)	Yea.
Apr. 1	Extend Manpower Development and Eraining Act 2 more years. (Yea 395, nay 0.)	Yea.
Apr. 5	Provide for return of obscene mail matter through U.S. postal service. (Yea 360, nay 21.)	Yea.
Apr. 8	Provide hospital care for the aging under social security, and voluntary health insurance program. (Yea 313, nay 115.)	Yea.
Apr. 13	Amend constitution providing for succession in cases of Presidential disability. (Yea 368, nay 29.)	Yea.
Apr. 14	Authorize $50,000 to House Un-American Activities Committee for investigation of Ku Klux Klan. (Yea 313, nay 43.)	Yea.
Apr. 27	Authorize increase in U.S. quota in International Monetary Fund. (Yea 301, nay 88.)	Yea.
Apr. 28	Establish Federal Water Pollution Control Act to abate pollution and create municipal sewage treatment works. (Yea 396, nay 0.)	Yea.
May 3	Extend health service programs for migrant workers and communities. (Yea 347, nay 0.)	Yea.
May 4	Authorize assistance in initial cost of professional and technical personnel for community mental health centers. (Yea 389, nay 0.)	Yea.
May 5	Provide additional $700,000,000 for American military operations in southeast Asia. (Yea 408, Nay 7.)	Yea.
May 5	Authorize $15,303,400,000 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and ships for the military services. (Yea 396, nay 0.)	Yea.
May 6	Authorize $5,183,844,850 for National Aeronautics and Space Administration program. (Yea 389, nay 11.)	Yea.
May 10	Provide further construction of health research facilities and research funds to Public Health Service. (Yea 334, nay 4.)	Yea.
May 20	Authorize $2,555,521,000 for Atomic Energy Commission. (Yea 352, nay 1.)	Yea.
May 25	Authorize $3,367,670,000 for foreign aid in fiscal 1966. (Yea 249, nay 148.)	Yea.

Date	Issue	Vote
1965		
May 26	Appropriate $5,717,832,000 for Department of Agriculture. (Yea 354, nay 41.)	Nay.
June 1	Amend Federal Coal Mine Safety Act to provide further for prevention of accidents in coal mines. (Yea 336, nay 42.)	Yea.
June 2	Reduce Federal excise taxes over next 3 years, resulting in their elimination by 1969. (Yea 401, nay 0.)	Yea.
June 8	Extend Export Control Act to June 30, 1969. (Yea 388, nay 1.)	Yea.
June 9	Increase public debt limit to $328,000,000,000 through June 30, 1966. (Yea 229, nay 165.)	Yea.
June 9	Permit USIA to show film about President Kennedy through educational and commercial media. (Yea 311, nay 75.)	Yea.
June 23	Appropriate $45,188,244,000 to Department of Defense for fiscal 1966. (Yea 407, nay 0.)	Yea.
June 24	Extend Area Redevelopment Act for 2 months. (Yea 224, nay 167.)	Nay.
June 28	Provide rent supplements for moderate income family housing; extend urban renewal. (Yea 245, nay 169.)	Nay.
July 9	Voting Rights Act of 1965; ban on use of poll taxes. (Yea 333, nay 85.)	Yea.
July 13	Require cigarette packages be labeled hazardous to health. (Yea 286, nay 103.)	Yea.
July 14	Provide for minting of dimes and quarters without silver; half dollars 40 percent silver. (Yea 255, nay 151.)	Yea.
July 20	Provide average 10.6 percent pay increase for the military. (Yea 410, nay 0.)	Yea.
July 22	Authorize $1,900,000,000 for antipoverty program. (Yea 245, nay 158.)	Paired for.
July 26	Adopt open rule for floor consideration of sec. 14(b) of Taft-Hartley Act. (Yea 248, nay 171.)	Yea.
July 28	Repeal sec. 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act permitting State right-to-work laws. (Yea 221, nay 203.)	Yea.
Aug. 2	Authorize apportionment of $3,000,000,000 to States in fiscal 1967 for Interstate Highway System. (Yea 314, nay 11.)	Yea.
Aug. 2	Provide Federal support for training programs for local law enforcement personnel. (Yea 326, nay 0.)	Yea.
Aug. 3	Increase pensions for retired Federal employees and their survivors. (Yea 396, nay 0.)	Yea.
Aug. 4	Authorize U.S. agreement to changes in charters of International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Finance Corporation. (Yea 331, nay 54.)	Yea.
Aug. 5	Extend Interest Equalization Tax Extension Act of 1965 to July 31, 1967, and broaden coverage to include purchases by Americans of foreign bonds. (Yea 274, nay 97.)	Yea.
Aug. 10	Amend Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951 making it crime to knowingly destroy or mutilate draft card. (Yea 393, nay 1.)	Yea.
Aug. 12	Establish 5-year, $3,250,000,000 program of grants and loans for public works to aid economically depressed areas. (Yea 246, nay 138.)	Nay.
Aug. 16	Suspend duty on certain forms of nickel until July 1, 1967; authorize President to grant extension of duty-free treatment beyond that date. (Yea 298, nay 48.)	Yea.
Aug. 16	Establish Federal Boxing Commission with broad powers over professional boxing. (Yea 346, nay 4.)	Yea.
Aug. 19	Establish wheat, cotton, wool, dairy, and feed grain price supports. (Yea 221, nay 172.)	Nay.
Aug. 24	Recommit bill to appropriate $1,223,181,500 supplemental funds for manpower training, elementary and secondary education activities, recruitment of agricultural workers, heart disease, cancer, and stroke programs. (Yea 139, nay 263.)	Nay.
Aug. 25	Eliminate national origins quota system and set new general priorities for admission of immigrants to the United States. (Yea 318, nay 95.)	Yea.
Aug. 26	Authorize 5-year program of assistance to institutions of higher education and students in attendance. (Yea 368, nay 22.)	Yea.
Aug. 30	Authorize Federal aid to public elementary and secondary schools affected by major disaster. (Yea, 305, nay 37.)	Yea.
Aug. 31	Authorize President to remove tariff duties on Canadian automobiles and parts. (Yea 280, nay 113.)	Yea.
Sept. 1	Extend for 3 years Federal grants for construction of teaching facilities for training health personnel and loans for students in specified health fields. (Yea 340, nay 47.)	Yea.
Sept. 2	Authorize Secretary of Commerce to conduct $90,000,000 research project in high-speed ground transportation. (Yea 317, nay 24.)	Yea.
Sept. 7	Authorize $1,780,062,000 for construction at military bases at home and abroad. (Yea 347, nay 0.)	Yea.
Sept. 7	Raise compensation payments to veterans with service-connected disabilities. (Yea 348, nay 0.)	Yea.
Sept. 7	Authorize $1,500,000 for President's Commission on Law Enforcement. (Yea 339, nay 0.)	Yea.
Sept. 8	Appropriate $3,285,000,000 for foreign assistance and $716,453,000 for related programs. (Yea 239, nay 143.)	Yea.
Sept. 15	Recommit bill establishing a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. (Yea 128, nay 251.) (Latter passed by voice vote.)	Nay.
Sept. 17	Adopt resolution dismissing challenge to 1964 election by Mississippi Freedom Party. (Yea 228, nay 143.)	Yea.
Sept. 20	Authorize $10,000 life insurance program for members of armed services on active duty. (Yea 362, nay 0.)	Yea.
Sept. 20	Adopt resolution expressing sense of House that any 1 or more Western Hemisphere countries could take steps to forestall or combat Communist intervention in any American state in Western Hemisphere. (Yea 312, nay 52.)	Yea.
Sept. 21	Establish Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, increase grants for construction of municipal sewage treatment works. (Yea 381, nay 0.	Yea.
Sept. 22	Authorize construction, repair, preservation of rivers and harbors. (Yea 207, nay 185.)	Yea.
Sept. 23	Amend Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 by providing new program of $55,000,000 annually in grants to develop water supply and sewage disposal in rural areas. (Yea 326, nay 10.)	Yea.
Sept. 24	Control air pollution and authorize $92,500,000 from 1966–69 for research in disposal of solid wastes. (Yea 294, nay 4.)	Yea.
Sept. 27	Discharge Rules Committee from further consideration of home rule for the District of Columbia. (Yea 213, nay 183.)	Nay.
Sep. 29	Adopt Sisk substitute to home rule bill providing for election of a Charter Board and referendum by residents. (Yea 227, nay 174.)	Yea.
Sep. 30	Amend bill providing salary increase of Federal employees, to exclude pay increase to Members of Congress. (Yea 238, nay 140.)	Yea.
Sep. 30	Authorize salary increase for Federal employees. (Yea 370, nay 7.)	Yea.
Oct. 1	Amend conference report on foreign aid, to prohibit aid to nations involved in commerce with North Vietnam. (Yea 164, nay 174.)	Yea.
Oct. 1	Amend Public Health Service Act to provide grants for adequate medical library services and facilities. (Yea 296, nay 3.)	Yea.
Oct. 7	Highway Beautification Act of 1965. (Yea 245, nay 138.)	Yea.
Oct. 13	Establish sugar quotas for domestic and foreign producers. (Yea 246, nay 147.)	Nay.

Happy Birthday, Ike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, today we are happy to join all America in paying tribute to President Dwight D. Eisenhower on his 75th birthday. Our tribute to Ike is indeed genuine. Today Americans continue to turn to him for his wealth of knowledge, comprehension of our current problems, and advice—which is regularly sought by our current President.

General Eisenhower's policy of waging peace and prosperity with all its resulting success, can be easily seen by examining his 8 years as President of the United States.

In celebration of his birthday, all Americans should heed his timely warnings and halt the deterioration of our Nation's moral fiber. We can all learn from Ike's outstanding life in public service and dedication to the country he believes in and loves. Also, we can look forward to continued service from this American patriot and the opportunities of pledging ourselves to the high ideals for which he stands.

It's Cooperative Month

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, the month of October has been proclaimed as Cooperative Month by the Governors of nine Midwest States. In commemoration of this designation, I would like to bring to the attention of the Members of the House of Representatives an editorial which appeared in the Davenport, Iowa, Times Democrat on October 9, 1965. Guest editorialist, Dwain Swanson, manager of the Eldridge, Iowa Cooperative Co., gives an excellent description of the role of the farmers' cooperative organizations in the national economy. The editorial follows:

IT'S COOPERATIVE MONTH

Our guest editoralist today is Dwain Swanson, manager of the Eldridge Cooperative Co. October has been designed as Cooperative Month and he describes the part the farmers' cooperative organizations play in the national economy.

The month of October has been officially recognized as Cooperative Month by the Governors of nine Midwest States.

These Governors and many other officials have endorsed this proclamation because they have recognized the contribution cooperatives have made to our agriculture in America.

As a manager of a local farmers' cooperative organization, the Eldridge Cooperative Co., in Eldridge, it is a privilege for me to express my views on the importance of our rural farmer cooperatives today.

Many of these local farmer cooperatives were originally organized by a small group of dedicated farmers, because they wanted a business that was to serve their needs and interest first. They wanted ownership of a local business for grain markets, their farm supplies, such as feed, seed, fertilizer, and so forth, and to build their own facilities for servicing these needs.

These cooperatives have given the farmers large-scale marketing power for the products

they produce and also provide for efficient volume purchases of the supplies and services so necessary in farming today. Many farmers are members of more than one cooperative. Other cooperatives were organized for special needs, such as milk marketing and processing cooperatives and rural electric supply cooperatives.

Farmers have advanced intellectually by working together because many of the abilities which farmers and their families have today were not learned in school, but are the product of working with their neighbors in building these cooperatives.

They, as members of these cooperatives are completely reesponsible for electing qualified directors, who also must be farm producers, and the members must finance the business. They supply the needed money by buying a membership and buying and selling farm products and supplies at their cooperative.

Throughout the Midwest in many rural communities, a farmers cooperative company will be the largest business in town. Cooperatives are not only helping preserve our family farms but also many small towns by creating an aggressive business image as well as the financial contribution with taxes. Also; cooperatives, by law, return their yearly profits to the members in the form of dividends, which also add a great deal to our local community stability.

To cite an example of this, the members of the Eldridge Cooperative Co. received well over $1 million in dividends from the years 1936 through 1964. In every case, the savings or profits earned by a cooperative actually belong to the individual owner-customer themselves. In this way, the cooperative organization is a deeply rooted part of our American free enterprise system.

To further explain how a local cooperative operates, I will briefly explain the Eldridge Cooperative Co. organization.

This cooperative has been in business 56 years, and has a current membership of about 800. There are two classes of memberships, class A and B. The class A members are active farm producing members and are the only members with voting privileges and eligible to hold office as a director. Class B members are nonfarm producing members, and have no voting privileges, but share in the profits or dividends equally with class A members.

Dividends are earned according to the amount of business transacted during the fiscal year. Almost 95 percent of the annual business volume is done by members.

Its operations are directed by a board of nine directors, all local farmers. The company employs 20 full-time employees and some additional part-time help. Its primary business functions are, grain buying and selling, custom milling service, retail feed, seed, farm chemicals and fertilizers, lumber and hardware of all kinds.

I'm sure you will agree, that cooperatives benefit the entire community as well as its members. As they maintain this philosophy of "working together" they will remain strong and enduring and give the community well-rounded economic vigor.

Press and Public Are Partners in Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, one of the most distinguished newspapers serving my district, the Maryville-Alcoa Times, recently published an editorial concerning the press of this country and its relationship with the public.

I think this editorial is of interest and importance to all Members, regardless of political affiliation, and it is a clear, concise statement on this subject.

My congratulations to the Maryville-Alcoa Times, and the continual dedication of this newspaper to the principle of freedom.

The article follows:

[From the Maryville-Alcoa Times, Oct. 11, 1965]

PRESS AND PUBLIC ARE PARTNERS IN FREEDOM

One of the reasons why this country has been able to support a Government of one type for so long has been the fact that all attempts to muzzle the press of the Nation have failed. Our free society still operates because no government officials can achieve control of the press. The public's right to know has never been legally abridged.

It has been said by some public officials that the public does not need to know what they do but this is the same thing as saying that the public should not be permitted to learn what their elected officials are doing with public funds and authority. The need is there and no official has ever gone to court and won a decision which gives him authority to withhold information of public affairs from the press and, thus, the people.

Censorship of the news about the public's business has been tried at all levels of government but no self-appointed censor has ever been accepted by the taxpayers. When he attempts this, he is violating the trust of the people who elected him and who pay his salary.

This newspaper has been subject to some criticism in the past by public officials who felt that the newspaper simply published an event of public interest and concern simply to gain controversy. We have consistently rejected the idea that something should not be printed because it was controversial and because some public official did not want to take a controversial stand.

There is seldom an issue on which the public would not support a public official if the public could ascertain all the facts relating to the case. However, many officials, in an attempt to sell their side of the issue, fail to relate all the facts. The public, in finding many of these oversights as it is more likely to than not, arrives at a decision that he had something to hide and consequently will oppose the official who shades his published account.

This is National Newspaper Week and a time for all newsmen, ourselves included, to rededicate ourselves to the job of keeping the public's business public. Our readers this year are acknowledged partners in the guardian role in the ever-vigilant task of keeping our freedoms clear of all encroachments.

The Home News—A Great Newspaper

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 6, 1965

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, this week the newspapers of this Nation are observing National Newspaper Week.

Joining this celebration is the Home News, of New Brunswick, N.J.—a great newspaper.

Patricia Ferrara wrote an excellent article in the Sunday Home News of October 10, 1965, entitled "Johnson Pays Tribute to Newspapers—Partners in Freedom."

The remarkable history, growth and philosophy of the Home News is contained in the article and I would like to insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that my colleagues can also read and enjoy it.

The article follows:

JOHNSON PAYS TRIBUTE TO NEWSPAPERS—PARTNERS IN FREEDOM

(By Patricia Ferrara)

The Home News today joins thousands of daily and weekly newspapers throughout the country in the 1965 celebration of National Newspaper Week, which will continue through October 16.

The theme for the observance is "Newspapers and Readers—Partners in Freedom."

One of the major State observances will be a seminar under the sponsorship of Mutual Benefit Life Friday at the firm's home office in Newark.

EXPRESSING OPINION

One of the most important roles of a newspaper is the public service of expressing opinion and often influencing public opinion. Many persons do not know the difference between news and editorial comment. The real reason for editorial opinion is to make readers think so they can act intelligently on a basis of fact, judgment, and understanding.

The Home News, a Boyd family-owned enterprise since 1879, is the oldest such daily in New Jersey and one of the most venerable in this tradition in the United States. It continues steadfastly in the camp of independent journalism.

President Johnson this week paid tribute to the Nation's newspapers by citing the indispensible role of our free press in the everyday life of "our beloved Nation."

UP TO PEOPLE

He declared it was up to the people to safeguard "the freedom of our papers to inquire, to criticize, to express divergent views and to stand as sentinels for the public wherever the public's business is being transacted. If we fail to defend the freedom of our press, we neglect our own."

In a democracy, the newspaper, through the news pages as well as the editorial page, can act as the conscience of the community when evil forces threaten.

National Newspaper Week is a concentrated effort to explain the functions of a newspaper. To inform, to interpret, to entertain—this is the role of the American press. Its foundation is the first amendment's guarantee of freedom of the press.

STRONG LINK

American newspapers are a strong link in the chain of defense of our way of life, and the Home News is a vital part of this link. Its presses can turn out 46,000 48-page papers in an hour.

Circulation of the daily paper has risen through the years. from the time an Irish immigrant named Hugh Boyd achieved ownership from the founders who had started the newspaper 10 months before, on February 1, 1879. Circulation at that time was less than 400. Today it stands at over 50,000.

Boyd died in 1923 at the age of 79. The Home News Publishing Co., incorporated in 1908, next was headed by a son, William Butler Boyd. Another son, Arthur Hugh Boyd, was managing editor.

When William Butler Boyd died in 1933, a third son, Elmer Beattie Boyd, became publisher. He died 10 years ago at the age of 74.

Hugh N. Boyd, son of William Butler Boyd, became publisher of the newspaper and president of the publishing company upon the death of his uncle. His son, William M. Boyd, represents the fourth generation of the family. Mrs. Victor F. Ridder and Mrs. Edward Martin, mother and sister of the publisher, have been associated with the paper since 1933.

The original plant at Hiram and Dennis Streets, was superseded by a larger building at Church Street. Later the company built its modern, spacious present quarters at 123 How Lane.

Blue Key Honor Fraternity Address of Senator Richard B. Russell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT G. STEPHENS, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, I want to call to the attention of my colleagues the fine remarks made by Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL at the homecoming banquet of the Blue Key Honor Fraternity at the University of Georgia, in Athens, on Friday, October 3. The occasion was organized by Tucker Dorsey, general chairman of the banquet committee, and Franklin Freeman, president of Blue Key Honor Fraternity:

REMARKS OF SENATOR RICHARD B. RUSSELL, OF GEORGIA, BEFORE BLUE KEY HONOR FRATERNITY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA, ATHENS, OCTOBER 3, 1965

Athens in autumn must evoke moments of nostalgia for all of us who love the university and who look back upon our days here as among the happiest of our lives.

Even before the days of discotheques and the time when everyone is go-go or trying to get where the action is, life around the arch was not too hard to take. The Charleston of yesteryear may have given way to the frug and the watusi, but we still thrill at the toll of the chapel bell and at the rending of a Georgia yell. Isn't it pleasant to contemplate that this fall we have good reason to expect the chapel bell to be tolled much more often than it has in the last decade?

I can tell you as one Bulldog rooter that for the past three Saturdays the bell has been heard all the way to Washington—last Saturday in particular. There are, I am sure, quite a few public officials in Georgia tonight who are glad that Vince Dooly is not running for office.

As undergraduates, many of us indulged in Walter Mitty-like vignettes of the future in which we were the central figure in a triumphant return to the scene of our student pranks. Each of us might have a different definition of a triumphant return, but I assure you, it is highly pleasing to me to return tonight under the auspices of Blue Key, a fraternity that emphasizes service and progress.

Campus organizations come and go, leaders change, and forms of student activity are altered. But as long as I have known anything about Georgia, Blue Key's reputation and contributions have been outstanding. I am flattered by your invitation and honored by your award.

I have always held a deep and abiding interest for the university—my alma mater—and for all other institutions of higher learning throughout Georgia.

It is an article of my faith that the destiny of our beloved State—the hopes and dreams for a beckoning tomorrow—lie largely in the hands of our colleges and universities. For it is these citadels of learning that bear the challenging responsibility for molding and developing Georgia's greatest resource—our young men and women.

In looking back on my tenure as Governor of Georgia, I believe the most enduring accomplishment of my administration was the reorganization of the then autonomous State colleges into a unified university system under the board of regents. This reorganization laid the foundation for what I truly believe stands today as one of the foremost university systems in the Nation.

During my years in the Senate, I have continued to labor and to fight for the cause of higher education in Georgia. I am extremely proud of the Federal research projects and facilities that I have been able to help channel to this and other campuses over the State. These research efforts serve both to augment our existing academic assets and to open the doors to new opportunities to all our people.

I must say, however, that I share the feeling that has been expressed by Dr. Aderhold and others that the South has not participated to the extent it should in Federally financed university research. There are a number of reasons advanced to try to explain this, but none of them are satisfactory to me. I believe that it not only is right and just but in the national interest for the South to share fully and fairly in the research pie.

I can assure this audience—and I can assure those in Washington who determine the disposition of the research money—that I will overlook no opportunity to advance Georgia's interest in this regard as vigorously as I know how.

The session of Congress now drawing to a close undoubtedly will become famous—or perhaps infamous to some—for many acts of commission or omission. But I believe in the judgment of history the passage of the Higher Education Act will rank as the most significant college-aid legislation to come from Congress in the last century.

My vote for this bill gave me as much pride and satisfaction as any I have cast in a long time. The bill as passed by the Senate authorized almost 7,000 college scholarships for deserving Georgia students during the first year alone. The number undoubtedly will be increased in subsequent years. In addition, the bill would establish a new program to guarantee college loans to many other students.

The scholarships and the guaranteed loans this legislation provides will carry us further toward the objective of having a student's intellect and ability—not the income of his parents—become the test of college admission.

There are a number of other features of the bill that provide employment opportunities for students, improve library and other plant facilities, and create teaching fellowships to further postgraduate study. All told, Georgia stands to receive a minimum of $12 million the first year if the bill becomes law—which I believe it will.

Even without this most recent assist to college education, you have only to compare registration figures and to observe expanding classroom and dormitory facilities at Athens and elsewhere to know that in quantity, at least, much has been accomplished.

It is not an exaggeration to state that in the 1970's a bachelor's degree will be no more ddtinguishing than a high school diploma was in the 1930's. I would express a word of caution to those who might look upon a college education as merely a prerequisite to employment and a multiplier of lifetime earnings. For in filling jobs or in making promotions in the future, the choice for employers more and more will be among many college graduates, instead of between a college graduate and a high school graduate.

This brings me to one of the points I hope to make in these brief comments.

There is, of course, a fundamental difference between education and training. We need plenty of both; the price of our attempts to encourage young people to aspire to a college education may be the creation of a false impression that those who make their living in the trades or providing services are barred from a full, productive and happy life. Here, I think we might profit from a healthy dose of the pride that our friends in Europe feel in pursuing the same vocation their forefathers have followed for generations.

I believe there is a good deal more to education than spending 4 years in class and in having a good memory at examination time.

Discipline and training contribute to education, to be sure. But the essence of education in its true sense is the stimulation of creative mental activity—the kind that applies the experience of other civilizations in seeking new answers and novel solutions to today's complex problems. In a sense, the mark of a truly educated man should be as much an analytical attitude and an inquiring state of mind as a dexterity to apply a discipline uncritically.

The size of today's student bodies immensely complicates the problem of real teaching. My observations are those of only an interested layman, not a professional educator. But I fear we have not yet found the means for identifying, adequately recognizing, and paying those really skilled in teaching. Until we do, many of the most competent teachers will, for reasons of economic necessity, continue to be lost to research, consulting, publishing, administration, and other more remunerative pursuits.

Having dwelt for perhaps too long on weighty imponderables, may I turn for a moment to another consequence of mass higher education.

The traditional, and we hope, vanishing worry over whether the money is available to finance a college education is being succeeded by a concern over whether a person can gain admission to the college of his choice or, indeed, to any college.

Young students and their parents necessarily become preoccupied with grades, transcripts, aptitude results, and college board tests.

Even after admission academic pressures persist. I do not wish to be misunderstood on this point and I fear that my comments might easily be misconstrued, but I strongly feel that going to college should be fun and I earnestly hope that those of you enrolled here today may look back upon your undergraduate days with as much pleasure as graduates of earlier days.

I feel confident that this is true and I am equally confident that when you graduate you will have had the benefit of a much richer educational experience than has been afforded in the past.

Within the last year we have observed on many campuses defiance and demonstrations. The causes of this student anarchy have been attributed to many factors, including the loss of personal identification in large student bodies and a reaction to the academic pressures I mentioned earlier.

It is essential that students retain a status as human beings and not become a program card for a computer of the type we are warned not to fold, spindle, or mutilate. That, of course, is one of those objectives that it is easier to recognize than to achieve.

I am sure Bill Tate continues to have a few problems now and then, but I am extremely proud that there have been no reported insurrections in Athens. This is a tribute to the university officials, to the quality of our students, to the parents of

these students, and to such responsible campus organizations as Blue Key.

I thank you again for your invitation and for the pleasure of being with you tonight.

Rampart Dam, Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH J. RIVERS

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. RIVERS of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, during the course of the House proceeding on October 12, our colleague, the gentleman from Washington, Mr. TOM PELLY, expressed his opposition to the proposed Rampart Dam in Alaska. saying he has always believed "that one should not destroy something if the destruction is wanton and unnecessary." Though I agree with my distinguished colleague in opposing pointless destruction of anything, I strongly dissent from his characterization of Rampart Dam as a proposal for wanton destruction and as an unnecessary project.

I also disagree with Mr. PELLY that the time is right—as I will explain in a moment—for him to draw final conclusions regarding the Rampart project.

Although the gentleman is correct in saying that the Fish and Wildlife Service expressed its opposition to Rampart, he did not point out that the Fish and Wildlife Service proposed a program to mitigate any losses of fish and wildlife that might occur incident to the construction of Rampart. He also failed to point out that in 1963 the Department of Interior reported the fact that near Bureau of Reclamation projects there had developed an unexpected increase of wildlife.

Our colleague also failed to mention, in his overall evaluation of the Rampart project, that the Fish and Wildlife Service was alone in recommending against Rampart while the other agencies of the Department of Interior were strongly recommending construction. Upon the release of the Department of Interior's massive field study in February of this year the New York Times reported that the study concluded that there is a definite market in sight for the power that would be generated by the Rampart project, and noted:

> Although the study does not commit the Federal Government to any position on the dam, the overall analysis of the voluminous report is optimistic.

What is the Federal Government's position on Rampart Dam? We will know by the end of the year. At that time a special task force appointed by Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall will report its analysis and evaluation of the field study. It is for this reason that I think the time is not right for the gentleman from Washington or others to weigh the merits of the proposed Rampart project or to prejudge and condemn the project on the basis of emotional opposition.

Since the gentleman's evaluation is one sided, in that he cites only the report of the Fish and Wildlife Service, and premature, in that the Interior Department's evaluation of its massive field study is not yet completed, I am hopeful that my colleagues will not be prejudiced by his views, but will follow the doctrine of highest and best use when the time comes.

The New York Times reported that "the overall analysis of the Department of Interior's voluminous report is optimistic."

A Wyoming Steel Mill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, in the 98,000 square miles I represent—the State of Wyoming—America has one of its largest remaining bastions of untapped natural resources coupled with ample space for growth and development. This potential is further enhanced by the fact that Wyoming is serviced by the main arteries of all forms of transportation.

These economic facts added to the advantages of clear, fresh air and abundant pure water in America's great year-round recreation center make Wyoming particularly attractive in this era of overcentralization in already crowded metropolitan areas. Leaders of industry will do themselves, their shareholders, and their employees a favor by carefully investigating this opportunity.

A pet proposal of mine, which I am happy to advocate as a practical and economically sound project, is a modern steel mill.

In the southwestern quadrant of Wyoming, Columbia-Geneva division of the United States Steel maintains a mine and plant which ships Wyoming ores to a smelter in Colorado.

I therefore suggest, Mr. Speaker, that those corporations and individuals who are interested in the potential and growth of Wyoming—particularly United States Steel, Colorado Fuel & Iron, Union Pacific Railroad, Pacific Power & Light, leaders of private industry, public officials and citizens in Wyoming and out—should give close and careful consideration to this proposal.

My plan invisions the construction of the most modern possible steel mill by a new corporation in which each of the above-mentioned entities may own a proportionate share, may take a responsible seat on the directorship, contribute to the corporation management, and in this way give Wyoming its first steel-finishing plant and give impetus to its economic growth while taking advantage of its obvious potential.

A plant of this kind would truly be a cooperative effort where private industry and government could put forth their best efforts for the benefit of all concerned and engage in an adventure which would be both worthy in humanitarian terms and profitable to its owners while assuring the productive development of natural resources so prominent within the State of Wyoming.

Because Wyoming's mountains still contain an abundance of raw metals and of strategic materials to national defense—particularly to the fabrication of jet engines and to metals used in the space age program—it would appear to me that this program merits Government cooperation and I should think the Department of Defense would be particularly interested in such a plant. As evidence of public interest and support of my proposal, I include recent editorials of the Casper Star-Tribune and the Sheridan Press in the Appendix of the RECORD. I want to reemphasize my willingness to discuss this project with any interested parties at their convenience anywhere, at any time, to assure them of my interest.

The articles referred to follow:

[From the Casper (Wyo.) Star-Tribune, Oct. 8, 1965]

WHY NOT A MILL?

As Wyoming seeks further development of industry, the proposal for a steel mill in this State ought not to be regarded as visionary. The suggestion has been made by Representative TENO RONCALIO, of Wyoming.

RONCALIO notes that iron ore from Fremont and Platte Counties is taken out of State for final processing, and he suggests a steel mill somewhere in south-central Wyoming which could handle ore from both of these mines—that at Atlantic City and the one at Sunrise.

The Columbia-Geneva division of United States Steel has a beneficiating plant at the Atlantic City site, and Colorado Fuel & Iron Corp. operates a similar system at Sunrise. These beneficiating, or upgrading plants are important to the State's economy, getting rid of much of the dross before shipping out a higher grade of ore. The argument can be made that if it is practical to do this, why not go all the way and produce the finished product in Wyoming?

There are some difficulties in the way, not the least of which is the fact that the ore is being shipped to well-established plants. Such adverse factors must be considered, but there should be many favorable aspects also which can be marshaled in argument.

The economic wisdom of shipping out of the State anything which may be in the nature of excess material, that has no value in the final product, has for many years impressed a large segment of Wyoming residents as questionable. Sending wool in the grease to Boston mills is a case in point. The situation regarding the oil industry has been too widely discussed in the last year or two to require further comment here.

So long as the attitude persists that Wyoming is a province of industry, there can be only a feeling of frustration. Gradually, however, there has emerged a more positive attitude toward these problems. Congressman RONCALIO's proposal is deserving of the most serious study.

[From the Sheridan (Wyo.) Press, Sept. 20, 1965]

OUT OF THE MAZE

Out of the maze of political verbiage that always comes with party conventions, comes a proposal voiced by U.S. Representative TENO RONCALIO that ought not to be lost in the crowd.

At the Democratic convention held in Casper last week, RONCALIO pointed out the necessity for Wyoming to keep the profit from its natural resources in the State.

Noting that iron ore from Atlantic City in Fremont County and from the Sunrise mine in Platte County is taken several hundred miles to out-of-State mills, RONCALIO proposed that a steel plant be located in the south central area of Wyoming to handle the ore from both mines.

This idea has merit and ought to be investigated by the Congressman, and he ought to have the full cooperation of State government and all its resources.

It may not be immediately practical to establish such a plant, but for the future it may be quite practical. To make a study of the proposal now will certainly provide a map which will help in developing such an idea.

Columbus Day Flag Raising Ceremony

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES M. HANLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, last Tuesday, Columbus Day, John F. Nave, acting commander of the John Vendetti Post No. 1, Italian American War Veterans of the United States, Syracuse, N.Y., gave the following address. The address was delivered at the Columbus Day flag raising ceremony in Bennett Park in Syracuse, N.Y. I would like to insert this address in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that my colleagues may have the opportunity to profit from these remarks as I have:

On this Columbus Day morning of 1965 a few of us have gathered here in Bennett Park on the north side of the city of Syracuse to pay homage to the flag of our country in a flag raising ceremony. The flag will fly in front of the memorial on which is inscribed the names of about 5,000 Northside Syracusans who served honorably in World War II, some of whom gave their lives.

Very few people in the community know the park by its correct name. On Memorial Day, Veterans Day, and Fourth of July still fewer participate in the patriotic exercises commensurate with the occasions.

Our busy schedules in daily life more often than not make us forgetful that we need patriotic exercises, just as we do a certain amount of mental and physical exertion.

This flag raising ceremony on Columbus Day 1965 is to give us a twofold reminder: that we live and prosper in the greatest country on earth and that it was made possible by one of mankind's greatest feats, the discovery of the Western Hemisphere by Christopher Columbus 473 years ago.

In this year of 1965 we celebrated 189 years of freedom and independence as a sovereign nation. In all these years the flag has come to mean many things to many people. But here in front of the memorial in this small obscure and practically unknown park the roll call of honor of the names of veterans who served so gloriously and honorably in our country's war of two decades ago indicates that the red of our flag was deepened by their heroism, the white made more spotlessly pure, and the blue more glorified forever.

To others, the flag of our country stands for allegiance, loyalty and honor.

And to many others still—justice.

As many Americans so well know, October 12 (Columbus Day) is still not a legal Federal holiday, 473 years after the discovery of the Western Hemisphere and 189 years of the freedom and independence of our country.

Let us hope and pray that not too many more Columbus Days will come to pass before we can proudly raise our flag on another legal Federal holiday—October 12 of each year.

Christopher Columbus belongs to all Americans, and not just a selected few. Flag raising on Columbus Day—when it becomes a legal Federal holiday—will denote that a great justice has been finally accomplished.

To this end we must dedicate ourselves.

And so this flag raising ceremony we give in honor of three great things: God, country, and the discovery of America, and the men and women who have helped to preserve them.

We cannot end on a higher note.

Culver Salutes Collins Radio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, we in the Second District of Iowa are extremely proud of the achievements of the Collins Radio Co. In the space field, for example, Collins has participated as the principal communications supplier for all manned space programs to date, and, in fact, every American voice which we have heard transmitted from our space vehicles has been on Collins equipment.

Of perhaps equal significance to the American people, however, are the recently announced figures indicating the remarkable success of the company's cost reduction program. The serious efforts devoted to this objective throughout the entire organization have resulted in a net cost reduction of over $10 million in fiscal year 1965, nearly double the figure for fiscal year 1964.

Beyond the managerial capability and operational efficiency which this substantial reduction clearly illustrates, the figure most importantly represents a similar cost savings to the company's governmental and commercial customers. As a tribute to these outstanding efforts, the Collins program has been cited for particular recognition by James E. Webb, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and the company has received the personal commendation of President Lyndon Johnson.

The success of these endeavors is dependent upon both the initiative and leadership of management and the interest and full participation of all the firm's employees. This aggressive program and its proud results are one more notable reason why Collins Radio has risen to a position of leadership in the electronics industry.

I am extremely pleased to call these worthy accomplishments to the attention of my colleagues, and I know they join with me in support of these continued efforts by the Collins Radio Co. to promote greater efficiency and economy in production, to insure maximum value to its customers, and to contribute positively to our Nation's industrial strength.

Panama Canal Treaty Situation: Drive the United States Off the Isthmus?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in my statement to the press on September 27, 1965, about the current treaty negotiations with the Republic of Panama, which was published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 30, I stressed that under these treaties all civil activities of our Government in the U.S. Canal Zone would be scrapped; and laws made by the U.S. Congress would be suspended at any time by Panama.

The U.S. governmental functions that would be taken over by Panama would include the courts, police and fire departments, schools, roads, and public utilities, all of which are indispensable for the efficient maintenance and operation of the canal. Imagine, Mr. Speaker, U.S. citizens employed on the canal enterprise being forced to put up with any system of laws administered under Panamanian courts. They most positively would not and the attempt to do so could only result in them leaving the isthmus in droves, and all this because of policies of supine surrender to radical demands when there should have been fortitude. To many who have not studied the canal situation as I have done over a long period of years, some of my statements probably seemed grossly exaggerated or too fantastic to be true. Actually, my views have been conservative, for the movement to drive the United States off the isthmus is already underway.

In order that the people of our country and the Congress may know what is now transpiring on the isthmus, as revealed in the Spanish language news media of Panama, I quote translations of recent excerpts from isthmian newspapers and other sources:

Panama City Radio Mia, September 25: Commentator Luis Restrepo says in regard to the joint Robles-Johnson announcement that this is not a moment for euphoria and Panama must remember the issue of the flags. "We made the same mistake because we believed that the word of President Eisenhower, when he ordered the hoisting of the Panamanian flag, meant our sovereignty was going to be recognized as a fact." He says that the result of President Eisenhower's order was the January 9 riots. The United States can do what it wants because it has the power, the bayonets, the tanks, the soldiers, and the machineguns. "It is only logical that in order for Panamanian sovereignty to be effective, the Canal Zone territory must be incorporated into the geography of the Republic. There will be no Canal Zone, no courts, no police, no different laws in the Canal Zone. This is how sovereignty works. When we have effective sovereignty, we will extend the city, will construct in, and absorb, Ancon, Balboa, all those areas. That is what we think the President has meant to say."

Restrepo also comes out against military bases on Panamanian soil. He calls them a symbol of the "imposition of another government in our territory. If the Panama

Canal must be defended, we Panamanians should be defending the canal because this belongs to the Panamanians regardless of who built it."

Panama RPC Circuit, September 25: Jorge Carrasco comments that the abrogation of the 1903 treaty and the negotiation of a new one to replace it should satisfy the Panamanian youth, particularly the students who shared in the sacrifices. He says Panamanians cannot conceive of a new sea level canal without a new treaty doing away with the shame and injustice of the 1903 treaty.

Panama City Aeropuerto, September 25: This station says that if there is to be a new treaty it is obvious that the 1903 treaty must be abrogated. "As for sovereignty, how is Panamanian sovereignty to operate? Will the U.S. courts of justice be eliminated? Will the U.S. military direction be eliminated or will the defense of the canal be of an international type?" The commentator feels that the Panamanian people are not represented in the negotiations and that the negotiations are progressing too slowly.

Panama City Radio Aeropuerto, September 27: This station comments that the man in the street does not understand the language used in the joint agreement (between Panama and the United States). Panamanians, however, do not forget the U.S. House of Representives' resolution patronizing Teddy Roosevelt's big stick policy by trying to justify an invasion of any Latin American country whenever it is felt that such action is called for or when U.S. interests are threatened. The commentator wonders why the Panama National Assembly has not issued a statement in regard to this resolution.

Panama City Televisora Nacional, September 27: In commenting on the joint Robles-Johnson announcement of treaty negotation progress, this station says that "Panama is now at the same point where the founders of the Republic were but with the advantage on her side of 62 years of hard and cruel experiences which have shown us that the Panamanian interpretation of an agreement is not always accepted by the United States.

La Hora, September 28, in the news columns: Under the heading "Historical Responsibility—Arnulfo Arias Calls for a United Front," a front-page story says the Panameñista Party issued a manifesto strongly censuring the joint statements on progress of negotiations for a new Canal treaty between the United States and Panama. Never before had the Panamefiismo called for a united front. The Panameñista manifesto says an endeavor is being made "to deceive the people with a new treaty that is provisional and transitory." The January 9, 10, and 11, 1964, riots are termed a slap in the face by the Panama people against the inept and incapable governing classes. The Panamefiista manifesto says: "In the international agreements it is necessary to speak clearly and to place the cards on the table. The patriotic feeling of the Panamanian have been insulted and once more legitimate aspirations have been smashed without further thinking and with preconceived designs." The complete manifesto appears on page 2.

Columnists: Thelma King says that the joint Johnson-Robles declaration is a typical case of how the U.S. Government operates. The U.S. intelligence service advised the U.S. Government that there might be danger of riots like the ones in January 1964 if the negotiations matter was to be submitted to the Panama National Assembly in October. As a result, the joint ctatement was born. She asks why the joint statement, after saying the 1903 treaty will be abolished, said that the sovereignty of the Republic of Panama will be effectively recognized. If Panama's sovereignty in the Canal Zone is effective, how could the United States intervene to guarantee the rights of the Canal Zone?

Critica, September 28, in the news columns: "The New Treaty Bunau-Varilla Style, Says Arnulfo," are the headlines on the front page announcing a paid advertisement, put out by the Panamenista Party, on page 11 in which the political party headed by Arnulfo Arias criticizes the points of agreement announced jointly by the Presidents of Panama and the United States. Subheads say: "Robles-Johnson statements an insult to the citizens; state of alert to hinder the treachery already started on its evil march."

El Dia, September 28, in the news columns: "Two Hundred Panamanians Trained in Red Cuba," says the top of front page headlines, with the numerals in heavily red-inked type. The report, also carried in the morning English-language newspaper, is based on a news conference held by Odon Alvarez de la Campa, who until March of this year was minister counselor of Castro's embassy in Madrid, Spain.

A Nontobacco Cigarette

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL J. KREBS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. KREBS. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Samuel Klein is an active civic leader and pharmacist from my congressional district. One of his most recent writings pertains to the continuing search for an improved cigarette product. The following article is a preliminary report by this research pharmacist and medical chemist in his concentrated study on a promising process to remove tobacco and nicotine from cigarettes. I make this preliminary study available because of the interest that has been demonstrated on this topic, and because of the widespread concern for a helpful solution to problems posed by more conventional types of smoking.

A NON-TOBACCO CIGARETTE

(By Samuel Klein, Ph. G., D.S.)

(NOTE.—This is a preliminary report on a promising process to remove tobacco and nicotine from cigarettes by New Jersey's most tireless research pharmacist, and medical chemist. A member of the World Medical Association, affiliate of the American Medical Association and fellow of the American Institute of Chemists and American Association of Advanced Science, he resides at 353 Hawthorne Avenue, Newark.)

Since the published report of the advisory committee to the Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service dealing with smoking and health there has been accelerated research going on to produce a suitable cigarette made from a smoking leaf other than tobacco.

Tobacco smoking products contain nicotine, arsenic, coumarin, glycerin, glycols, nitrates plus other deleterious ingredients either naturally inherent in the tobacco leaf or included as additives for a variety of reasons; e.g., coumarin as a flavoring agent (now banned in foods by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration), glycerin and glycols as humectants which on burning create the strong irritant, acrolein, and nitrates to enhance the burning qualities of tobacco with the resultant evolved noxious gases. It has been established by countless researchers that the use of tobacco, most especially in cigarettes, and its contained nicotine is most harmful and forbidden to the many millions of people with cardiovascular conditions and for other numerous health reasons must not be used by them.

This report deals with a smoking product in cigarette form free of nicotine, arsenic, coumarin, glycerin, glycols and nitrates.

The basic material is a specific species of nontoxic leaf obtained from either of the following botanical families: Boraginaceae, Labiatae, Compositae, made by a trade-secret process using processing materials, which the author created himself and is not available commercially.

The leaves were grown in a greenhouse botanical garden and when fully grown were harvested and dried brown at a temperature not higher than 300° F. The leaves were then humidified with water to 15 percent moisture content and shredded on a (tobacco) shredding machine.

To the shredded leaves was added a nonglycerin, nonglycol type humectant, created by the author and not available commercially, plus simulated "tobacco" flavoring, also created by the author. The flavored leaves were bulked down for 48 hours and were then run on a commercial cigarette making machine. Cigarettes so made had excellent burning qualities, with a gray-white ash and agreeable aroma and taste.

Specially processed leafy materials from and botanical families Boraginaceae, Labiatae and Compositae plus humectants plus flavor additives will produce a smoking product for use by all forbidden to smoke nicotine containing products.

An Authentic American Tragedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, national attention was recently focused on Hayneville, Ala., and the trial which took place there. An editorial recently appeared in the Fort Madison, Iowa Democrat entitled, "An Authentic American Tragedy," which comments on the proceedings at that trial and the principle of equality before the law, a principle which all Americans cherish. I would like to include this editorial at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The editorial follows:

AN AUTHENTIC AMERICAN TRAGEDY

In the classical definition, a tragedy is a story in which human begins act out a hopeless drama against the background of an inexorable and inevitable fate.

The trial in Hayneville, Ala., fits this category. Even though a farce through and through, it was basically a tragedy. Its outcome, like that of all other similar trials in the South, was a foregone conclusion.

It does not really matter whether the man accused of killing a civil rights worker was guilty of murder or not. It does not matter that the charge was arbitrarily reduced to manslaughter, nor that the prosecution was not permitted time to produce its key witness.

The verdict would have been the same in any event.

What matters is that there may be more such cases in the future, and that the rest of the Nation outside the South will no more expect justice in them than it has learned to expect it in the past.

It would be useless for others to condemn those involved in the Hayneville trial for betraying one of the fundamental principles on which the strength and integrity of America depends—that of equality before the

law. Caught as they are in their inherited prejudices, it is obvious that they are entirely ignorant of the meaning of this principle.

By their verdict they have condemned themselves.

However, one thing becomes clear. Little taste as some of us may have for Federal intervention, we must accept it to enforce the rights of all Amrican citizens when local processes fail. The right of defendants to secure transfers of their trials away from communities where prejudice against them is obviously great has long been accepted by our courts. A similar right must be established for plaintiffs and prosecutors to have trials transferred from communities where overwhelming prejudice exists for defendants.

Awards Received by Senator Clinton P. Anderson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce to my colleagues that the senior Senator of New Mexico, CLINTON P. ANDERSON, will be honored by the people of our State at a banquet on his 70th birthday on Saturday, October 23, 1965, at Las Cruces, N. Mex. That afternoon, New Mexico State University will dedicate its new physical science laboratory as a Clinton P. Anderson Hall.

Many Members of this House have served with Senator ANDERSON during his long and distinguished career as a Member of the House of Representatives, a Cabinet official, and a U.S. Senator. Those of you who would like to extend personal congratulations to the Senator on his 70th birthday may address communications to State Senator Jim Patton, of the Mesilla Valley Chamber of Commerce, Post Office Box 996, Las Cruces, N. Mex., for presentation to him.

AWARDS RECEIVED BY SENATOR CLINTON P. ANDERSON

HONORARY DEGREES

L.H.D., Wakota Wesleyan University, 1933.

Doctor of Agriculture, New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, 1946.

LL.D., University of Michigan.

LL.D., St. Lawrence University, Canton, N.Y.

LL.D., Missouri Valley College, Marshall, Mo., 1949.

LL.D., University of Alaska, 1965.

December 1955: American Farm Bureau's 1955 award for distinguished and meritorious service in the interest of organized agriculture.

June 26, 1956: "Orden Nacional de Merito Carlos Manuel de Cespedes" conferred by the Government of Cuba (held in custody by the Department of State).

April 4, 1960: Boys' Clubs of America Golden Man and Boy Award, "in recognition of his demonstrated interest and untiring efforts on behalf of the youth of the Nation."

May 19, 1962: Public Service Award by the Community Services Committee of the New York City Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, "for his lifelong dedication to public service and humanitarian ideals * * *."

March 20, 1963: Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association, "in recognition of long and distinguished service to agriculture and the Nation."

March 22, 1963: One of 50 to receive Distinguished Alumni Award of Pi Kappa Delta.

May 14, 1963: American Feed Manufacturers Association—Secretary of Agriculture, 1945–48, "testimonial in recognition and appreciation of his outstanding and devoted services as an active and dedicated leader of the U.S. Department of Agriculture * * *."

May 20, 1963: A National Conservation award, "in appreciation of his dynamic leadership and vigorous participation in the conservation of America's natural heritage" by the American Conservation Association, American Forestry Association, Izaak Walton League of America, National Audubon Society, National Parks Association, National Wildlife Federation, North American Wildlife Foundation, Sierra Club, Sport Fishing Institute, the Conservation Foundation, the Wilderness Society, and the Wildlife Management Institute.

June 22, 1963: Hall of Fame, Historical Society of New Mexico.

September 6, 1963: Congressional Distinguished Service Award, 87th Congress, "versatile of intellect, progressive committee chairman, and a dedicated public servant who for more than a quarter of a century has been building for those who will follow." American Political Science Association.

October 4, 1963: Dakota Wesleyan University "Alumnus of the year" for his service as "Senator, statesman, humanitarian."

February 25, 1964: New Mexico Medal, University of New Mexico, given "only to those persons whose contributions to society are recognized at the national and international level, for long periods of service marked by continuing national respect."

February 26, 1964: Brotherhood Award, National Conference of Christians and Jews.

May 13, 1964: Frances K. Hutchinson medal, awarded by the Garden Clubs of America for service in conservation.

August 2, 1965: Aime J. Forand Award, "in recognition of his effective leadership and support for congressional enactment of social security financed hospital care for aged", National Council of Senior Citizens.

September 7, 1965: Distinguished Service Award for his leadership in conservation, American Forestry Association.

Future events which have been announced but have not taken place as yet

October 23, 1965: Dedication of Clinton P. Anderson Hall, New Mexico State University.

November 10, 1965: "Tribute of New Mexico's Outstanding Citizen", ACF Management Club, Albuquerque, N. Mex.

Upper Michigan—Part VI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAYMOND F. CLEVENGER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. CLEVENGER. Mr. Speaker, Upper Michigan, last week, was proud to welcome home the men of the K. I. Sawyer Air Force Base's 62d Fighter-Interceptor Squadron. The squadron returned to its base near Marquette, in Michigan's Upper Peninsula, with top honors in U.S. Air Force worldwide competition.

Individual skill, daring, dedication to duty and peerless leadership were, undoubtedly, the major factors in making this fighter-interceptor squadron the best in its category. But I cannot help but wonder if the pure air and stimulating scenery of Upper Michigan's forests and Lake Superior may not have given these men the added molecule of incentive and determination that was needed to outperform the thousands of other fine men in the U.S. Air Force.

The following article from the October 11, 1965, Marquette Mining Journal tells the story:

SAWYER SQUADRON WINS TOP HONORS IN AIR FORCE WORLDWIDE TOURNEY

K. I. Sawyer Air Force Base's 62d Fighter-Interceptor Squadron won top honors in the F-101 Voodoos team and crew categories of the U.S. Air Force's Worldwide Fighter-Interceptor Weapons Meet conducted last week at Tyndall Air Force Base, Fla.

A reception for the winning groups from Sawyer Base was being held at the base this afternoon. The victorious 62d crews returned to Sawyer from Tyndall during the weekend.

Sawyer's squadron won 9,698 points to capture first place in the team standings. It also won the F-101 first place in individual standings.

Other winners in the team category for F-101 Voodoos: Second place, 13th Fighter Interceptor Squadron, Glasgow Air Force Base, Mont., 9,083 points; third, 84th Fighter Interceptor Sqadron, Hamilton Air Force Base, Calif., 8,483 points; fourth, 445th Fighter Interceptor Squadron, Wurtsmith Air Force Base, Oscoda, Mich., 8,045 points, and 425th Fighter Interceptor Squadron, RCAF STN, Canada, 8,305 points.

WINNING CREWS

Winning crews and the points they compiled for the 62d Fighter-Interceptor Squadron at Sawyer in the F-101 categroy were as follows:

Col. A. E. Waage and Maj. K. DeFrancesco, 2,025 points; Maj. W. W. Locke, Jr., and Capt. W. E. Abbey, 1,875 points; Capts. P. L. Gravin and J. H. Lien, 2,000 points, and Capts. D. E. Lebby and L. R. Livingston, 2,425 points.

Among other State U.S. Air Force base winners was the 71st Fighter Interceptor Squadron of F-106 Delta Darts from Selfridge Air Force Base, Mount Clemens, which took third place with 1,337 points in the enlisted crews missile and rocket loading procedures.

EUROPE-BASED UNIT WINS

TYNDALL AIR FORCE BASE, FLA.—Two precedents were set by the 32d Fighter Interceptor Squadron from Camp New Amsterdam, the Netherlands, as it captured first place in the F-102 category of the 1965 worldwide William Tell fighter interceptor meet here.

For the first time in history, a team representing the U.S. Air Forces in Europe won first place in its category. It also marked the first time that foreign aircraft controllers directed a team to victory.

The U.S. Air Forces in Europe representative took first place in a photo finish race against the 59th Fighter Interceptor Squadron from Goose Bay, Labrador. The winners finished with a total score of 9,782 of a possible 11,000 points with the 59th only 642 points behind.

A team of five Royal Netherlands Air Force ground control intercept (GCI) personnel directed aircraft of the 32d to their targets in the 8-day event. This was only the second time in the history of William Tell that a U.S. Air Force participant has utilized foreign controllers. A team of Japanese controllers supported the Pacific Air Force's 4th Fighter Interceptor Squadron in 1963.

The Netherlands-based team used its own aircraft during the competition. This was another first for the 32d, for in previous years, overseas entries have always borrowed aircraft from another base in the States for use at this meet.

"TOP ARCHER" HONOR

TYNDALL AIR FORCE BASE, FLA.—Capt. Jerry McMichael of the 326th Fighter Interceptor Squadron, Richards-Gebaur Air Force Base, Mo., has earned the mythical title of "top archer" in William Tell–1965 here.

McMichael is the only pilot to fire a perfect score in this year's U.S. Air Force worldwide fighter interceptor weapons meet.

An F–102 Delta Dagger pilot, McMichael amassed 2,300 points with two Q–2C Firebee drone "kills," a successful intercept on a B–57 bomber simulating an attack on the United States and a perfect low altitude run against a tow target being pulled at nearly the speed of sound.

An 11-year Air Force veteran, McMichael is a native of Biloxi, Miss.

Tried by His Peers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[Editorial From the Washington Daily News, Oct. 5, 1965]

TRIED BY HIS PEERS

"It's the price," said Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, "that we pay for the jury system."

He was commenting on the trial of Deputy Sheriff Thomas Coleman, who was acquitted after he had gunned a white civil rights demonstrator to death and critically wounded a white priest (who still may die) in Hayneville, Ala.

It is a high price to pay, indeed.

Need it always be paid?

Is justice served in the best way possible if, for instance, a lyncher is freed by a sworn jury of 12 other like-minded lynchers, simply because they reflect the lynch mood of a community and agree with what he did?

In the age of space travel and instantaneous communication, can't we do better than that? Must the country sit complacent when courtroom behavior becomes an absolute travesty of justice?

The question, obviously, can't be ignored, particularly in these troubled days. Granted, the administration of human justice will always fall short of perfection, but that is no reason not to try to improve it.

Clearly there is no single, simple solution. However, as a starter, we'd like to see a Federal law making murder a Federal crime, just as is kidnaping.

Kidnaping becomes a Federal crime when a State line is crossed by the perpetrators.

Why couldn't murder become a Federal crime when, in its commission, other Federal laws, such as those protecting the civil rights under the Constitution, are involved? It seems to us this would be comparatively easy legislation for Congress to write.

This would, at least, have the effect of having such trials heard by a Federal court.

Granted there have been some recent obvious miscarriages of justice even in Federal jury trials. But at least such a law would have the effect of placing such cases before judges who can be presumed to have a greater respect for the responsibilities of their office, and who do not necessarily share the benighted and bloodthirsty bigotry of the accused's "peers."

Bress Deal Backfires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I would call the attention of the House to a story in the Des Moines Register of October 14, 1965, and another story in the Washington Daily News of October 14, 1965, dealing with the nomination of David G. Bress as U.S. attorney in the District of Columbia.

I hope the Senate takes a good long look at this nomination, and refuses to consider it until there is a full investigation of all of the details of the role of the Newmyer and Bress law firm in connection with the Melvin A. Viner estate. It is time that there be a stop to appointments that raise such serious questions on either ability or suitability as are raised by the Francis X. Morrissey nomination to the Federal bench and the Bress nomination as the chief prosecuting officer in the District of Columbia.

In the first place, Bress, as a former lawyer for Bobby Baker's Serv-U vending firm should not be appointed at this time.

Now, the stories on the handling of the Melvin Viner estate raise some other serious questions. There seems no doubt that someone in the Bress law firm fabricated some phoney stock certificates in January 1955—a few weeks after the death of Melvin Viner.

These stock certificates were purported to be the original stock certificates signed in 1950 or 1951 when Melvin Viner was alive, but signed by his two brothers, Robert and Leonard Viner.

According to depositions on file in the U.S. district court, the two Viner brothers—Leonard and Robert—in February 1956, testified under oath that they had signed these questionable stock certificates in 1950 or 1951 or on about the dates listed on the certificates.

Later, they admitted that the first testimony was wrong and that the stock certificates were in fact signed in January 1955, after the death of Melvin Viner.

It seems significant that David G. Bress also made a deposition that same day and in that same circumstance in which he was identified as the secretary for the Arcade Sunshine Laundry, owned by the Viners, as well as being lawyer for the estate. He was present when the Viner brothers gave inaccurate testimony about the origin of the stock.

The fabrication of this stock and other actions by the brothers could have had the result that the widow's share of the estate was sharply cut. Fortunately, her attorney did some fancy detective work and proved that the stock had been fabricated in 1955.

In the light of all of the deception by someone in the Newmyer & Bress law firm, it is important that the Senate have the full facts developed before any action is taken on the Bress nomination. Every person with any knowledge of this questionable fabrication of stock certificates should be put under oath and the responsibility pinned on the culprit. If David Bress had nothing to do with it, let us bring out all the facts and point the finger at the man who did.

If David Bress had anything to do with this fabrication of these new stock certificates without notifying the widow or her attorney, then David Bress should be subjected to the toughest cross-examination on his actions before being permitted to become the chief prosecuting official in the Nation's Capital.

The articles follow:

[From the Des Moines Register, Oct. 14, 1965]

(By Clark R. Mollenhoff)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—A Senate Judiciary Subcommittee has taken secret testimony from three Washington lawyers in connection with the handling of a million-dollar estate by the law firm of David G. Bress, President Johnson's nominee for U.S. attorney in the District of Columbia.

It was learned Wednesday that the questioning by the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee centered on misrepresentations on the handling and production of stock certificates that represented the bulk of the estate of the late Melvin A. Viner, former president of Arcade Sunshine Laundry Co.

The so-called "N series" stock certificates in Arcade Sunshine in question were initially represented as having been produced and signed by two brothers, Robert and Leonard Viner, in 1950 when Melvin A. Viner was alive.

Attorney Bruce Sundlun, lawyer for the widow, Mrs. Jeanne S. Viner, later obtained proof that the stock certificates were not in existence in 1950, but were in fact purchased by the Newmyer & Bress law firm in January 1955—a few weeks after the death of Melvin Viner.

The Judiciary Subcommittee headed by Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND, Democrat, of Mississippi, questioned Sundlun, and two former partners of Bress, Alvin Newmyer and Albert Philipson, in an effort to determine if Bress had any responsibility in connection with the production and use of the "N series" stock certificates.

Bress, a senior partner in the law firm, had served as secretary to the Sunshine Arcade Co. for years and had testified in 1956 in connection with the estate matter that the Viners kept the stock records and the corporate books in the Newmyer & Bress law office.

In addition, the Newmyer & Bress law firm represented the brothers, Leonard and Robert Viner, in the estate. It was David G. Bress whose name was signed to most of the papers filed for Leonard and Robert Viner from January 8, 1955, thorugh the first 6 months. After that Bress appeared in the case periodically, with Newmyer and Philipson handling various details.

Initially, the Newmyer & Bress law firm represented the widow, Mrs. Viner, but in mid-February 1955, she became dissatisfied with the way the estate was being handled. Although her husband had been an owner of one-third of the $3 million firm, it appeared under a management agreement that she might be left with the income from only

one-third of one-half of the $180,000 book value of the stock.

She hired Sundlun, a former assistant U.S. attorney in Washington, D.C., and he entered the case contending that it was a conflict of interest for Robert and Leonard Viner to be handling the estate as executors.

Sundlun contended that if the so-called management agreement by the brothers was used, it would force the widow to sell her stock for $30,000 and would force her to live on the income from that amount which would have been about $1,200 to $2,000 maximum.

The stock certificates of the so-called "N series" was produced by the brothers, and this stock carried some reference to the management agreement which made it doubtful if the widow would be able to enforce a right to a settlement that was any better than the $30,000.

The widow and Sundlun noted that there seemed to be some difference in the stock in the so-called "N series" and some earlier stock. Sundlun noted that stock certificates purported to have been signed in 1950 when Melvin Viner was alive, were signed by Robert Viner and Leonard Viner. This was unusual, for Melvin Viner, the oldest brother, was usually one of those signing the certificates.

Sundlun went to Chicago to the Goes Lithographing Co., the firm identified as having produced the form 509 blanks that were used on the N series stock certificates. Sundlun inquired as to whether there would be any difference in the 509 blanks printed and available in 1950, and those that would have been available in early 1955.

Charles Goes III, of the Goes Co. said he thought the 509 forms of 1950 would be the same as in 1955. However, after some further thought, Goes contacted Sundlun and informed him that the firm had obtained some new printing equipment about a year or so earlier, and that this would make it possible to distinguish between the forms 509 printed in 1950 and those available later.

Then Sundlun went to a Washington outlet for Goes printed forms and learned that the Newmyer & Bress law firm had purchased 100 of these forms in January 1955—only a few weeks after the death of Melvin Viner. It appeared these were the forms that had been used to produce the so-called N series stock certificates.

The Melvin A. Viner estate matter and collateral law suits had been pending for more than a year when Sundlun requested a deposition from David G. Bress, as secretary for Arcade Sunshine, Leonard Viner, and Robert Viner.

On February 8, 1956, Bress testified as to his role as secretary of the Arcade Sunshine Co., relative to the custody of the stock books and corporate records, and his general familiarity with Melvin Viner's financial affairs.

Then with Bress present Leonard Viner and Robert Viner were questioned on the stock certificates. Leonard Viner and Robert Viner testified under oath that they had signed the so-called "N series" stock certificates in 1950 at a time when Melvin Viner was alive. Sundlun went over the stock signing several times to make certain what their testimony was with regard to the time and circumstances under which the stock "N series" certificates were signed.

Later, Sundlun revealed to the Viners, Bress, Newmyer, and Philipson that he had evidence that the "N series" stock certificates could not have been signed until some time in January 1955.

Then, Sundlun filed an affidavit from Wayne Birdsell, the court reporter who had taken the deposition, that the Viners tried to get him to change their testimony without notifying Sundlun or other lawyers for the widow.

The Viners then went into court with an effort to change their testimony to show that they had not intended to state that they had signed the certificates in 1950, but had only wanted to indicate that they had fabricated new certificates to replace certificates signed in 1950 and later lost.

Sundlun, as counsel for the widow, opposed their efforts to change their testimony until he had obtained an agreement to declare the so-called "management contract" as void.

The final settlement Sundlun obtained for the widow and two children after running down the evidence on the stock deal was a full share of the estate that he estimated to be worth about $1,300,000 to $1,500,000.

Within a few weeks after the final settlement on December 28, 1956, Sundlun went to the office of the then U.S. Attorney Oliver Gasch and related the story of his investigation of the stock certificates. He told his story to Edward Troxell, then the first assistant U.S. attorney, and John Conliff, who then headed the criminal division.

No action was taken by the U.S. attorney's office. It was explained by the U.S. attorney that it did not appear there was any criminal actiton "because Sundlun's Dick Tracy detective work had frustrated any possible fraud."

There was no loss to the widow, and there was no one pushing it after that first visit by Sundlun, Conliff told the Register.

Bress had furnished an affidavit to the Senate Judiciary Committee in which he contends that he had no responsibility in connection with the decision to produce the new "N series" stock certificates to replace the certificates that it was alleged were lost.

Newmyer told the Register Wednesday that he had nothing to do with the decision to produce the new stock certificates in January 1955. He said that Philipson, a junior member of the Newmyer & Bress law firm, made all the arrangements and purchased the stock certificates. The new "N series" stock certificates were actually typed and handled in the Newmyer & Bress law office, he said.

Newmyer said he saw nothing wrong with the transaction "because Philipson was only making new certificates to replace old stock certificates that were lost."

Philipson said he had told his story to the Judiciary Committee in a closed session, and didn't feel that he should discuss it.

"I won't discuss it, except to say there was nothing wrong and nothing improper done by me or by anyone else as far as I know," Philipson said.

"I'm not being appointed to any office, and I don't know why I should have to answer any questions," Philipson said.

It was a request by Senator JOHN J. WILLIAMS, Republican, of Delaware, that caused the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee to go into an unusual secret hearing on the Bress nomination despite the fact that the nomination has actually been reported out to the Senate a week ago.

Senator WILLIAMS initially raised no question of impropriety about Bress, but stated that he felt it was unwise for the Johnson administration to appoint a former lawyer for Bobby Baker's vending corporation as the U.S. Attorney in the District of Columbia.

The Delaware Republican had pointed out that if confirmed, Bress will be the chief prosecuting officer in the jurisdiction where a Federal grand jury is now engaged in a major investigation of Baker. He questioned whether this would be a proper role for Bress, even if the Justice Department sends its own attorneys into the case and does not let Bress handle the Baker investigation or any prosecutions that follow.

Senator WILLIAMS has made no charge of impropriety on the Viner estate matter, but has simply cautioned that it should be examined with great care before the Senate acts on the Bress nomination.

[From the Washington Daily News, Oct. 14, 1965]

THREE LAWYERS TESTIFY—HILL UNIT MEETS SECRETLY ON BRESS

(By Julian Morrison)

A Senate Judiciary Subcommittee met secretly Tuesday to question three lawyers who were involved with U.S. Attorney nominee David G. Bress 10 years ago in a controversial case involving a widow's stock holdings, it was learned today.

The meeting is considered unusual because it took place after Mr. Bress' nomination had been approved by the full Judiciary Committee and sent to the Senate for a vote, which is expected tomorrow.

QUIZ

The appointment already had been questioned by Senator JOHN J. WILLIAMS, Republican, of Delaware, who cited Mr. Bress' role as attorney for the former Senate Majority Secretary Bobby Baker's Serv-U vending company.

Baker is under investigation by a Federal grand jury here which is looking into his far-reaching "outside" business dealings while he was a Senate employee.

The Tuesday meeting of the Judiciary Subcommittee heard testimony from Bruce Sundlun, Alvin Newmeyer, and Albert Philipson. Mr. Bress also attended the meeting.

The three lawyers took part, with Mr. Bress, in a bitterly contested estate suit in the midfifties involving the owners of the Arcade-Sunshine Laundry Co. and the widow of their brother.

The two surviving owners, Robert Viner and his brother, Leonard, contended that their dead brother, Melvin, had contracted with the company that all of his stock was to be purchased upon his death by the firm—and only the firm—at half its book value.

His widow, however, contested this, and a law suit resulted, with Mr. Bress, who was then secretary for the laundry firm, in the role of attorney for it.

Records in the U.S. district court here show that the original stock certificates, which contained no mention of the provision that they must be transferred only to the company, were replaced under controversial circumstances, with new certificates citing the transfer agreement.

It is understood that the Judiciary Subcommittee's interest in the suit was to determine the role, if any, of Mr. Bress in the stock certificate conversion.

Education and the Challenge of the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday of this week, October 12, 1965, a convocation on higher learning was held at Hendrix College, one of the Nation's most outstanding educational institutions at Conway, Ark. Several of our State's most outstanding academic leaders were honored for their inspired leadership for the significant progress we have made in our State in the field of higher education.

On this auspicious occasion especially honoring several college presidents of institutions of higher education in Arkansas, Brig. Gen. David Sarnoff gave an inspiring and masterful address on the subject, "Education and the Challenge of the Future."

As one of our most renowned citizens and a pioneer in the communications industry General Sarnoff has been designated as "father of American television" by the Television Broadcasters Association.

His contributions to the life and welfare of our people are immeasurable. We are today enjoying a standard of living due in a measure to his vision and farsightedness.

In addition to his scientific and industrial contributions to our Nation and the world, and other achievements of great importance to our social and economic life he has contributed to the educational progress beyond description through various and sundry means including RCS Industries, Inc. As one of our great leaders in the field of higher learning his marvelous address at this special convocation was not only inspiring but of significant importance.

As Dr. Marshall T. Steel, president of Hendrix College said:

It is imperative that we face the future with large plans for the development of our finest resources—the young people of Arkansas.

In that it was on this vein that General Sarnoff spoke on this occasion and which emphasized "that a deep and basic unity exists between our religious ideals and our technological aspirations."

I ask unanimous consent that his stirring and challenging address may be included with these remarks in the RECORD.

EDUCATION AND THE CHALLENGE OF THE FUTURE

It is a unique distinction to receive from Governor Faubus the title of "Arkansas Traveler" and to accept with it the credentials of honorary citizenship in your great State.

My earliest acquaintance with the term goes back to Bob Burns and his broadcasts over the NBC radio network 30 years ago. His tall tales and his formidable bazooka tapped a rich lode of regional humor to make the words "Arkansas Traveler" a synonym for wit and warmth for an entire generation of Americans.

Nevertheless, there is little resemblance between the Arkansas of his Ozark anecdotes and the Arkansas of reality. The true story of your dynamic State is one of great industrial progress, of vigorous economic growth and of increasing participation in the political affairs of our times. Indeed, Arkansas is fortunate to be represented by men of the caliber of Congressman WILBUR MILLS, Congressman OREN HARRIS, Senator WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, and Senator JOHN MCCLELLAN. These distinguished statesmen speak with authority and prestige in the highest councils of our Nation.

This convocation at Hendrix College, honoring the presidents of seven Arkansas institutions of higher learning is, in the broadest sense, symbolic of the search for learning that has illuminated the pages of Arkansas history from the era of the log cabin school to the present time. The circumstances of education have changed with the years but the desire to acquire knowledge has not. It finds its expression today in Arkansas energetic participation in the massive national effort to raise the educational level of all our citizens.

One of the most astute observers of the American scene, Alexis de Tocqueville, said over a century ago that the health of a democratic society could be gaged by the quality of functions performed by its citizens. I was impressed to learn recently that 45 separate legislative acts intended to improve education at all levels were adopted this past year alone by your general assembly. In percentage of increase in current expenditures for each school child over a 10-year period, Arkansas now ranks first in the Nation.

EDUCATION AND A CHANGING WORLD

Nevertheless, neither this commonwealth nor its sister States in the Union can rest on their educational laurels. We face a world of revolutionary technological, economic, and social change. We must utilize our resources—National, State, and local—with increasing effectiveness in the task of training an entire new generation of young people to understand this revolution, to cope with it, and to master it.

The junior Senator from Arkansas has already played a vital and imaginative role in shaping the course of this revolution, which is international in scope, through the Fulbright exchange program. Under his sponsorship, approximately 100,000 American and foreign students have studied in each other's countries since 1949, preparing for the radically different world they will inherit—a world as different from today as our world is from the era of the keelboats and covered wagons that brought your forebears into this State.

It took many thousands of years for mankind to progress into the industrial era, which began less than two centuries ago. In the brief moment of history since then, change has come with headlong speed and in progressively shorter intervals of time. The electric, the electronic and the air age began at the turn of this century. Only 23 years ago, the atomic age was born; today, we are in the 8th year of the space age.

We have begun to draw power directly from the sun and from the fission of atomic particles. We purify the waters of the ocean to irrigate our land. Man has become a traveler through space, circling the globe at speeds of more than 17,000 miles per hour. In the next decade, he may become a lunar commuter and a few years later perhaps he will have landed on Mars.

Today, we communicate among continents by satellite, and within the next 10 years nuclear-powered satellites will be able to transmit radio and television programs in color, directly to receivers in homes anywhere on earth.

Synthetic substances will supplement and in some instances supplant the resources of the earth. Technology will take over the tilling of the soil and will uncover new sources of food—in the oceans and in the promising developments of chemistry.

Many of the careers that our children will pursue in their productive years as yet have neither a name nor a classification. In short, their world will call for mastery of a vast new body of skills, aptitudes, and knowledge.

EDUCATION AND WORLD LEADERSHIP

Clemenceau once remarked that war was too important a matter to be left to the generals. In the scale of today's values and tomorrow's, the responsibilities for education are too important to be left only to the educators. We will move much more rapidly toward the solution of our educational problems when there is general recognition of the fact that they are equally the concern and the responsibility of every citizen. Time has merely underscored the validity of the words uttered by a Greek philosopher more than 2,000 years ago when he said that the foundation of every state is the education of its youth.

Never has America had more urgent need to build on that foundation than today. In a very fundamental sense, the contest for leadership in the world of the future will be decided in the classroom in the years immediately ahead.

Today, Soviet Russia has approximately the same number of scientists and engineers as we do, but it is graduating up to three times as many engineers. For every engineer, there are plans to train three or four technicians. By 1970 Russia proposed to build 23 new institutions of higher education, of which 19 will be devoted to science and technology. In the heart of Siberia, construction is being completed on an entire city to be devoted exclusively to science and technology. The Soviet word to foreigners interested in educational progress is: "Come back in a few years."

Today, the menace from Red China is largely political and psychological, but what will it be a decade or two from now?

China has a tradition of hard work and creativity going back thousands of years. Despite the cruelest despotism in history, these qualities continue to survive. In recent years China has managed to graduate over a million students from colleges and universities. Forty percent of them were specialists in engineering and the physical sciences. They form a significant reservoir for the support of ideological revolutions and potential wars.

Against communism's educational growth, the United States can muster impressive statistics of its own. Today, some 54 million young Americans—approximately 1 out of every 4 members of the population—attend school, from kindergarten to college. In fiscal terms education has become America's second largest growth industry, surpassed only by the budget for national defense. In a few years, unless the world erupts in renewed hostility, education will probably rank first in growth and importance to the taxpayer.

If we consider knowledge as the sum of all information that is produced and communicated, and all the services that contribute to this process, the United States is spending almost as much as the rest of the world combined. By the same yardstick, our knowledge industry is growing twice as fast as the economy itself, and by 1985 it may approach half of the gross national product.

Yet despite this great growth in quantity, there still remain serious deficiencies in the quality and in the direction of the total learning effort. Perhaps the most critical of these are in those educational disciplines on which our national survival depends.

SHORTCOMINGS IN OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

We will soon need twice as many trained scientists and engineers as we have today in order to keep the economy on its upward course and to safeguard our Nation's security. Their interest and early preparation must begin at the secondary and even the primary grades. Yet the statistics on new teachers entering high school, for example, reveal that full specializations in biology, chemistry, and physics rank among the four lowest in all fields of instruction.

To use one specific State as an illustration, only three teachers were prepared in physics in the last 6 years. In another State, only five were trained in physics for each of 3 years. In a third State, among last year's graduates from 50 colleges, only three prepared themselves to teach physics. With examples such as these, it is not too difficult to visualize why a majority of the graduates of our American high schools and colleges have never even studied the subject of physics, which is so basic to our national security in a technological age.

This shortcoming at the teaching level is compounded, of course, by the reluctance of many students to tackle scientific careers in view of the growing complexity of the subject matter. In 1743, when Benjamin Franklin founded the Junto, a club for men of scientific inclinations, its members could be expected to know pretty much all there was to know about nature and science in their day. Only a generation ago, a man could be educated with a reasonable assurance that his training would last him a lifetime.

Today, a new communication concerning chemistry is published somewhere in the world every minute, a report on physics every 3 minutes; and a report on medicine, biology, and electronics every 5 minutes. A chemical expert has said that if a man started at the first of the year to read everything new in chemistry as it was published, by the end of the year he would still be 10 years behind.

In general, changes in technology are coming so swiftly that a graduate in physical science or engineering faces the probability that more than half of his present knowledge will be obsolete within a decade. As for the man who graduated 10 years ago, unless he chose to spend 10 percent of his time acquiring new knowledge, he could not hope to compete successfully with the newcomers.

Children now entering the first grade can expect their vocations to change three times during their working careers, regardless of the occupation they choose. There will no longer be any such thing as a finishing school. More and more the concept of continuous education will extend beyond the technical disciplines to encompass the generalized occupations.

HOW SCIENCE CAN REVOLUTIONIZE EDUCATION

Fortunately, the same science which creates change is also creating the means of educating ourselves to prepare for it. Through imaginative new uses of the electron, we are undergoing a revolution in educational technology that is as far-reaching as the revolutions in the technology of the atom and the living cell.

New electronic systems and devices that store, reproduce, and transmit knowledge in virtually any form desired are making it possible to reach every youngster and adult, and to offer them learning opportunities that otherwise would be impossible. Our smallest schools in the most isolated communities now have the potential of raising themselves to an educational level comparable to the larger and wealthier schools. Before long, current instruction on a vast range of subjects will be made available literally at the touch of a button.

Educational television has opened classrooms of the air to more than 10 million of our students, from the lowest to the highest levels of learning, and it is an encouraging sign for the future that Arkansas has joined the States utilizing this type of service. At the adult level, educational broadcasting is telecasting to doctors, lawyers, and teachers to update their knowledge. Two-way radio networks, which eventually will include sight as well as sound, make it possible for students and teachers separated by distances of hundreds of miles to carry on conversations, to ask questions, and to receive prompt answers.

Through electronics, we now have the means of transmitting handwriting and photographs over ordinary telephone wires. As a teacher writes out an equation or translates a sentence on an electronic device, the writing immediately appears on a display screen in classrooms hundreds of miles away, and the teacher's voice can be heard simultaneously.

Electronics has applied its talents not only to mass education over great distances, but also to individual instruction. A teacher can now operate a desk console which feeds as many as 10 taped lessons to individual students sitting in separate booths; different lessons can be communicated to different groups of students, or the same lesson can be given to the entire class.

Even the computer is putting on a cap and gown by giving prepared lessons to individual students, analyzing their learning difficulties and mistakes, evaluating their progress, and making certain that the student understands one lesson before proceeding to the next.

In all this, the systems and techniques are not as important as the accomplishments they make possible. With instructors who possess specialized kinds of knowledge appearing before the television camera instead of lecturing to a small class, we have the opportunity of bringing the latest kinds of information to the largest student audiences.

With the help of technology, we are making it possible for pupils to advance at their own pace. While we will need many more classroom teachers in the future, they will be relieved of many routine and repetitive functions, free to carry out more personal supervision and counseling. Through electronics, we are facilitating the job of the teacher and widening the windows of learning beyond the four walls of the classroom to encompass the world in which all of us live and work.

The results, in many cases, have been dramatic. With the assistance of electronics teaching devices, eighth-grade algebra courses have been completed in 6 months, and it has been found possible to reduce the length of university courses to one-third and even one-quarter of their former time. Moreover, students taught with the assistance of these instruments have shown a higher average retention level 1 and 2 years after completing their courses than those who were taught by traditional means.

As electronics continues to demolish the barriers of distance, videotaped lectures and demonstrations will become commonplace among colleges and universities, each offering the other its specialized capabilities. Private organizations with advanced research facilities, such as A.T. & T., GE, IBM, and RCA might also contribute their specialists on the frontiers of science for special lectures and demonstrations. At the post-university adult level, much of the learning can be done at home, by television and compact desk instruments for receiving information from computers.

There will be a steady exchange of rare and specialized materials among college libraries, taking place by teletype and facsimile. If desired information is not readily at hand, the student or instructor will dial the same telephone-type device that will be in most homes and instantly receive the answer from a computer center. These may be located anywhere in the world, linked in a vast communications network through satellites in space. Through techniques now in advanced development, the information may arrive as a spoken response, in printed form, or as a photographic reproduction. If it comes in a foreign language, the computer will automatically translate it.

When nuclear-powered satellites can transmit television directly to any receiver on earth, our sources of learning will become universal. It is possible to foresee college level courses delivered by a single teacher directly to every campus in the world. Lectures and demonstrations in oceanography originating from a moving ice pack in the Arctic or from the ocean floor could be similarly disseminated.

THE ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY FOR EDUCATION

However, even if these promising developments offer the prospect of converting the world into one huge campus, the basic elements of educational growth still reside with local school systems, civic groups and legislative bodies. As Americans, we share common interests and loyalties, but we also have vast regional diversities, objectives, and needs. It is part of our national heritage to seek for solutions in the wellsprings of our own strength.

The Federal Government has responded to the educational challenge at many levels and with increasing means, but this does not mean that the States or the localities can abdicate their responsibilities. As we strive to meet the needs of the Nation in a new and changing world, there is still an enormous amount of unfinished business on hand.

Vast backwaters of educational poverty still exist in America—from the slums of our great cities to the remote hills of Appalachia. Despite our immense educational effort, 3 out of 10 young Americans this year will not finish high school. Only 4 out of 10 will continue their educations beyond the 12th grade. A very large percentage of America's coming adult population will enter the space age insufficiently equipped to take a useful place in it. Several million will become our unemployables—the drop-outs from tomorrow's world.

At this critical stage in history, with our world leadership under heavy challenge, the skills of our people remain the greatest single source of our Nation's strength. If we are to fulfill our global destiny we cannot afford to squander the talent of a single individual through lack of educational opportunity.

This, of course, applies to the humanist as well as to the scientist or technician. We must continue to strengthen our knowledge of the humanities—history, the arts, literature, and philosophy—for these elements still form the basis of our culture and our civilization.

In addition to engineers, the world of tomorrow will also need men and women with deep roots in our moral and spiritual heritage. "It is not brains that matter most," Dostoevski once wrote, "but that which guides them—the character, the heart, the generous qualities."

Surely, it was never the Creator's design that humanity be subordinated to the machine. We cannot program a machine to know good or evil, or to be responsible for the social implications of its performance.

In the midst of vast changes imposed by technology, the student will find that one element remains unchanged—the spiritual and moral inheritance given to him by his family, his church, and his college. This is what gives purpose and meaning to his endeavors.

One of the principal lessons I have learned over the years is that a deep and basic unity exists between our religious ideals and our technological aspirations. One represents man's endless search across all the years of recorded time for the spiritual verities. The other symbolizes his quest for other truths—the physical verities of the universe. I see no incompatibility between them.

Today, the colleges and universities represented here and the public school systems throughout the State, are just as important to your State as the plow and the ax were to the Arkansas of more than a century ago. They are the means of clearing the way to the future. They merit the unstinting support of every citizen and every civic-minded organization.

Edmund Burke, one of England's greatest statesmen, spoke with prophetic wisdom when he said: "The public interest requires doing today the things that men of intelligence and good will would wish, 5 or 10 years hence, had been done."

It has been a great privilege for me to come here and to see what men of intelligence and good will are accomplishing to prepare Arkansas for the challenges of tomorrow. I wish you good luck and Godspeed as you continue to open new trails of progress through learning.

Pittsburgh Urban League On-the-Job Training Project an Overwhelming Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the Urban League of Pittsburgh was one of the first private agencies to receive a grant from the U.S. Department of Labor to conduct an on-the-job training project. I have received a very impressive October 1, 1965, report on this project which I think merits the attention of Members of the Congress. As the report points out it is a story of success in helping the disadvantaged. It provides hope that continued concern and active interest on the part of the Government, private agencies, the business and industrial community and the public at large, working together, can provide opportunities that will help insure for a larger part of our citizenry the opportunity and skill to become productive members of society. Because I think the experience gained from this project in Pittsburgh may prove helpful in other parts of the Nation, and under leave to extend my remarks, I include a portion of the report at this point in the RECORD:

PITTSBURGH URBAN LEAGUE ON-THE JOB TRAINING PROJECT

One of the problems we faced early was the need to have an on-going registration for our skills bank. The present skills bank file provided a base of referrable applicants. Subsequent skills bank registrations for on-the-job training hopefuls were held in various Pittsburgh communities supplementing the existing applications on file. Successful placements served to stimulate others to register in the on-the-job training file. All applicants were individually interviewed, pretested with some form of aptitude, dexterity and/or comprehensive examinations. Forms of the Wonderlic, Otis, and Minnesota Clerical were used in the pretesting examination. As a result of this procedure a minimum of two and a maximum of three applicants were referred to an employer for selective consideration.

CONTRACTOR-TRAINEE COUNSELING

One of the successes of our program has been the identity established between the on-the-job training staff person, the employer, and the trainee. The staff representative developed the on-the-job training situation and then recruited, screened, pretested, and referred qualified applicants. His scheduled periodic counseling sessions with the employer and the trainee, during the training period, further solidified this relationship. Upon termination of the contract the same staff representative did a follow-up on the status of the employee at that time and in addition to all this made periodic unscheduled visits to the job situation to evaluate the former trainee's further progress. This complete service, extensive and time consuming, proved successful because an identity was made, a triangular relationship established between the employer, the trainee, and the on-the-job training staff person. At no point in the operation were substitutions in contacts made.

TRAINING AND PLACEMENT

The length of training and amount of subsidy was based on the nature of the job and complexity of the work situation, possibility of advancement through the future, and the salability of the skill to be acquired. We tried, however, to be consistent in like-training situations. The need for an on-the-job training program is evident in the fact that a majority of placements have been individuals who are broadly considered hard-to-place unemployed.

Our emphasis has been on placing people in training positions that lead to permanent jobs at the training site. We placed people in training in the folowing jobs: florist designer, meatcutter, keypunch operator, stenographer, machinist, upholsterer, warehouseman, laboratory technician, bookkeeper, clerk-typist, floor tiler, auto body repairman, and programer. Twenty-three of these are apprenticeable jobs and we experienced no difficulty in securing the agreement of the employer and labor union to place the trainee in the apprenticeship program as soon as he completes his preapprentice training. In some of these areas it marked the first time that Negroes were admitted to apprentice programs.

	Number of trainees
Weekly earnings of applicants before on-the-job training:	
$0 to $15	61
$16 to $30	10
$31 to $45	13
$46 to $60	18
$61 to $90	2
Total	104
Weekly earnings of applicants after on-the-job training:	
$40 to $65	75
$66 to $85	21
$86 to $105	7
$106 and over	1
Total	104
Pretraining ocupational status:	
No work history	28
Laborers, porters, and domestics	34
Clerical	14
Ex-servicemen	5
Semiskilled	2
Welfare recipients	21
Total	104
Classification of trainee placements:	
A. Hard to place unemployed:	
Total	72
1. Heads of household with consistent work history	8
2. Heads of household with inconsistent work history	30
3. Single persons (other than heads of households)	23
4. Recent high school graduates	8
5. Physically handicapped	3
B. Disadvantaged youth:	
Total	25
1. Recent high school graduates	9
2. Recent high school dropouts	6
3. Parolees	3
4. Heads of household with inconsistent work history	7
C. Skill improvement:	
Total	7
1. Heads of household with consistent work history	2
2. Single persons (other than heads of households)	5
Total	104

Average weekly earnings of applicants before on-the-job training	$18
Average weekly earnings of applicants after on-the-job training	62
Average annual earnings of applicants prior to on-the-job training	936
Average annual earnings of applicants after on-the-job training	3,224

CONCLUSION

The Urban League of Pittsburgh considers the project to have been an overwhelming success. It is obvious to us that this effort has only scratched the surface and that our community is receptive to this kind of program.

Our project staff has encountered few obstacles in the program from the business and industrial community or from the minority community it was designed to serve. It is our considered opinion that such a project offers the means to making the disadvantaged productive members of society in a relatively short space of time and at a moderate training cost.

Schools Can Help Cure Riot Causes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Max Rafferty, California Superintendent of Public Instruction, writing in the October 10 edition of the Salt Lake Tribune, published in Salt Lake City, Utah, reports on a conversation he had with a leading Negro educator as to what can and should be done to prevent riots similar to the one that recently shattered the Watts area of Los Angeles.

Dr. Rafferty then adds some pointed advice of his own with which I, as a former high school teacher, could not agree more wholeheartedly.

Dr. Rafferty's article follows:

HERE'S HOW SCHOOLS CAN HELP CURE RIOT CAUSES

(By Dr. Max Rafferty, California Superintendent of Public Instruction)

Shortly after last August's bloody rioting in Los Angeles, I asked a leading Negro educator what the schools could do to help prevent similar outbreaks in different places. His answer was illuminating enough to pass on to you in 6 parts:

First, do whatever is necessary to get your finest, most inspirational teachers into the slum schools where they are most needed. If this means educational "flight pay," so be it.

Second, hunt up the best qualified educators you can find who are themselves members of minority races, and put them into some of your school district's top administrative and supervisory positions.

SPEND SOME TIME

Third, tell them to get into the slum areas and spend some time there, instead of just driving through once in a while in the district limousine. Have them hold meetings with parents and visit classes, and set up priority listings of local problems and work out ways to solve them.

Fourth, see that each classroom teacher has enough time incentive and protection to get out of his classroom every so often and into the homes of his pupils. This

may be a traumatic experience for some of us, but we teachers have never been known as namby-pamby milksops.

In the old days, we followed the first Conestoga wagons westward, long rifle and McGuffey reader in the same saddlebag, fighting big, rawboned boys bare-knuckled for the right to teach them Latin conjugations, trading grammar for grain, Chaucer for chickens, arithmetic for apple cider.

WE HAD BETTER

What we did once, by thunder, we can do again, and we had better, because nobody else will.

Fifth, forget birdcage building and bookcase construction in the high school shop classes and teach these bewildered youngsters vocational English, vocational mathematics, vocational spelling—yes, and even vocational filling out of job application forms.

Above all, teach them the old, old truth that when you finally get a job you show up on time with a decent haircut, a shave, clothes that don't make you look like a delegate to a Hell's Angels convention and a willingness to keep your mouth shut and your nose to the grindstone for 8 hours every day.

GIVE KIDS IDENTITY

Sixth, try to make these kids feel a sense of belongingness, of community identity. The Watts riot were conducted largely by teenagers and they had no more feeling of identification with their Nation, their State, their city or even their own neighborhood than my cat. They were rootless, motiveless and hence shameless. Surely, the schools can give them some roots, motives and pride.

As he left my office, my Negro friend looked back over his shoulder.

"And don't forget," he said gently, "that about 25 percent of those rioters could neither read nor write."

In the greatest city of the West, this is an infernal disgrace. Oh, I know the reasons given—the great flooding in of illiterates from the Deep South, the lack of funds, the shortage of qualified teachers and all the other excuses.

MUST BE DONE

But somehow these vast cities like Los Angeles, Chicago and New York are going to have to get these people to read.

This is the first and great prerequisite to everything else.

Even if we have to postpone "social studies" and "language arts" and "sharing with the peer group," and teach reading to these mute and frustrated kids every living minute they're in school until they get it, then that's what should be done.

One pious hope in concluding. Let's teach them to read—not to try to recognize thousands of words by their "configurations" and "contours."

Solution for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, often times wonderful pearls of wisdom come from normally unnoticed sources, and I therefore insert in the RECORD and direct the Members' attention to an editorial which appeared in the Tri-City Advertiser, a community paper serving Dolton, Riverdale, and South Holland, Ill., in its issue of Thursday, October 7:

SOLUTION FOR PEACE

You need not be reminded that the world is in a chaotic state of fear, frustration, worry and despair.

The war in Vietnam and conflict of thinking and action in other sections increases with each passing day.

Many are asking why this Nation must assume the entire burden, with few exceptions, of the protecting of the rest of the world. Why cannot other nations contribute men and funds and supplies and spread the burden of defense to include the rest of the world—if the rest of the world sees the danger as we have been lead to see it? These are the vital issues.

Yet with stories coming out from the Far East of the miserable plight of the refugees and the youngsters one would have to be hard hearted to deny a measure of protection and relief. Stories just out on TV indicate that the refugee and orphan problems are assuming unheard-of proportions, and that already men are at work to relieve the miserable plight of these poor unfortunate children.

One would find it difficult to attempt to assess the reasons for all the mental and physical conflict now going on. Those who govern our Nation and others are in a position to know more of the details of the situation than we are. Regardless of what one may think of the method of approach to the solution of the conflict most will agree that men are doing what they think best for them to do for the good of mankind.

We have, for centuries, been trying statesmanship, guns, bombs and other paraphernalia of war seemingly without success for the passing of time makes clear all this has been futile.

Therefore, most of us will agree that the visit of Pope Paul to our country augurs well for here is what most men, regardless of their faith, see as a sincere and genuine effort to set in motion such counterforces as are necessary for the welfare of mankind.

We were especially pleased to note the pronoucement that spiritual effort alone will aid in the cessation of the present conflict.

Certainly this may well mean a giant step forward in a united effort to still the waves of error in the thinking of all of us.

We've tried everything else. We agree a gigantic spiritual uprising is sure to be profound in its impact on the world.

Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the predictions of disaster and failure of our policy in Vietnam by beatniks and misguided peace demonstrators has not materialized. The teach-ins and howlers led some Americans to believe that resistance to Communist aggression in South Vietnam would collapse during the monsoon season. With the ending of the monsoons, our position in South Vietnam and our prestige throughout southeast Asia is immeasurably stronger.

The following article by William S. White appeared in the Washington Post Wednesday, October 13. I commend this timely and excellent article to the attention of the Congress and to the people of our country:

VIETNAM SUPPORT: CRITICS FINALLY STILLED

(By William S. White)

For the first time, it can be said with confidence that the long attack upon the American policy of resisting Communist aggression in Vietnam by candid military force is clearly failing, both in this country and in Europe.

The new isolationism of the sixties—an isolationism expressed in recommendations that in one way or another we should abandon the South Vietnamese and cut and run from Asia under elegant rhetoric protesting that we were not running at all—is dying at last.

Its death at home—and a slow death it has been through 2 years of almost constant biting at American purposes—is manifest, both in what is now happening and in what is now not happening. The shrill outcries formerly heard so often from a Democratic fringe in the Senate are heard no longer, except here and there and in very minor key.

The hostile student teach-ins are not altogether a thing of the past. But apart from the fact that proresistance teach-ins are now also being organized—for example, one to be held in Washington on October 16—these academic fevers were never more than a nuisance. And they never reflected in the least way any substantial opinion in this country, any more than the little band of complaining Democratic Senators ever represented anything more than a fragment of Congress.

The mischief of the teach-ins and of the clamors of the Senate splinter was that they warmed our critics abroad, particularly in Britain, with a suggestion of togetherness—the wonderful notion that the true intellectuals in the United States at all events were not standing with a line of resistance to Communist imperialism to which three American Presidents had successively given their word.

This implication that the real brains here were against the war of resistance was, of course, always absurd. Far the greater proportion of the intellectual community was always in support of this Government. Still, it was never so strident, so skilled at self-publicity. So it was the opposition that was largely heard in Europe.

Yet, as the Johnson administration on this issue has steadily enlarged its backing at home—and spectacularly so in recent weeks, as the Harris poll has just confirmed—so has our position improved in that focal point of important foreign criticism which is England.

Indeed, the Labor Government of Harold Wilson has now become the most useful of all our associates in beating back the mixed international group—of mere beatniks, of honest semipacifists, of decent ultraliberals enchanted with the delusion that it is always possible to halt Communist incursions by mere negotiation—that had so long given the U.S. Government so much trouble.

The magnitude of Wilson's achievement at the recent Labor Party convention at Blackpool in England in destroying their case has not been appreciated here. This erstwhile ban-the-bomber, this man who was once the very secular pope of the neutralist-minded men of the West, has done more than grow in stature as a Prime Minister when at last he had to confront headon the hard realities of this world. He has become a strong and courageous party leader as well.

For at Blackpool Wilson proved to even the most skeptical, point by point, historical fact by historical fact, that those who refuse an honorable peace in Vietnam are not bad old Yankees but rather Communists—and

mainly Chinese Communists at that. When he had done, the howlers had no case left.

His Foreign Minister, Michael Stewart, in his current visit here has in a quieter way done much the same thing. Neither publicly nor privately has Stewart given the smallest comfort to those Americans who had hoped to elicit from him some kind of sniping at some point of the policy in Vietnam.

A conservative government in London could not have been so helpful. For British conservatives, like American conservatives, are suspect from the word go on any rationally hardline enterprise whatever. When authentic very liberals like Wilson and Stewart stand with us nobody can possibly accuse them of professional Communist baiting. Anglo-American politics works in illogical ways, sometimes, its wonders to perform.

Citizens Spearhead Peralta Bond Effort

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, California is indeed fortunate to have an advanced program providing an extensive opportunity for young people to pursue junior college and State college courses at conveniently located institutions provided by public funds.

The backbone of this higher educational system is the junior college, because at this level students who are interested in obtaining a bachelor's degree or higher are given an opportunity to do so very close to home. For those students who are not desirous of a 4-year college education, but want to perfect their technical acumen, the junior colleges are invaluable.

The ways and means of making the junior colleges possible are through bond elections. This is a basic community activity and in my congressional district, there is a citizens group working very hard now to push for a successful $47 million bond issue election on October 19 to give Alameda County another junior college.

I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article from the Times-Star of Alameda, Calif., September 25, 1965, which highlights the current endeavors:

CITIZENS SPEARHEAD PERALTA BOND EFFORT

Subcommittees of the Alameda unit of Citizens for the Peralta Colleges are hard at work generating support here for the forthcoming $47 million bond issue.

The bonds, to be presented to voters in the six-city junior college district October 19, will bring a college campus to Alameda if the bond issue is approved.

The 20-member precinct subcommittee, headed by Howard Brownson, is currently circulating petitions locally asking residents to back the bond issue.

The precinct subcommittee is also conducting a "get out the vote" drive for the approaching election.

WORKERS

Working with Brownson are Lowell Mell, Earl Hamlin, Mrs. Catherine Jones, C. W. Moore, Mrs. David Denyvan, Robert Winne, James Bryan, Mrs. Donna Buck, Mrs. M. E. Walser, Mrs. Kathleen Gibbs, John Towata, Sam Tasoulas, Bob Kreitz, Mrs. Don Johnson, Mrs. Pat Calkins, Rabbi Gunther Gates, Alvin Kidder, and the Key Clubs from both Alameda and Encinal High Schools.

The endorsement subcommittee, headed by Norman Jachens, includes the Reverend Wilfred Hodgkin, Reva Jackson, Eric Essex, and Roger Hooper.

FINANCE

The finance subcommittee is under the chairmanship of Russell Spillman, president of the Alameda First National Bank, and has as its members Arthur Strehlow, Lester Johnson, Donald Lum, and Melvin Schwartz.

All financial contributions to the bond election may be sent to Spillman at the bank and made out to the Citizens for the Peralta Colleges, Alameda unit.

Cochairmen of the Alameda unit are Mrs. Verla Smith and Roy Kayser.

New Spirit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, we in America are not and have never been prisoners of the past.

We say all habits—and patterns of thought—should be suspect. We are willing to change, and not bury our head in the sand when change is due.

Now, because we were willing to face the future, negotiations for a new treaty governing the operation of the Panama Canal are proceeding smoothly.

The Fall River, Mass., Herald-News has said:

The harmony of the discussions up to date is one of the most encouraging developments in recent years in Pan-American relations.

The editorial will be of general interest, and I offer it for the RECORD at this time:

NEW SPIRIT

Negotiations for a new treaty governing the operation of the Panama Canal are proceeding smoothly. Although the final draft of the treaty may not be ready for some time, a progress report has now been published by both President Johnson and President Marco A. Robles of Panama. The harmony of the discussions up to date is one of the most encouraging developments in recent years in Pan-American relations. Considering the open and violent hostility to this country in Panama just a few years ago, the present amicable negotiations reflect a new spirit there and here.

The present Panama Canal itself will soon be obsolete. A commission here is trying to determine the best site for a new sea level waterway to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The new canal, which will not employ locks, may be located elsewhere in Panama, or it may be in Colombia, but there is no doubt that it will only be built with the full agreement and cooperation of the country chosen. This, too, reflects the vast change in the attitude of the United States toward Latin America since the time of Theodore Roosevelt.

Too often it is assumed that we are prisoners of the past, and that patterns of thought and behavior accepted in other generations are not susceptible to change. The gradual evolution that has been taking place in our attitude toward Latin America and its attitude toward us is proof of the reverse. There is reason to hope that, unless our pace is too slow considering the desperate state of affairs in many South American countries, we may yet achieve a workable and harmonious relationship.

H.R. 7315

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, curators and directors of museums throughout the United States, and there are more than 5,000 museums in our cities and towns, are watching anxiously during these closing days of the session for action on H.R. 7315, a bill that would authorize the Smithsonian Institution to undertake a program of research, training and publications which would improve and strengthen their institutions.

Known as the National Museum Act of 1965, an identical bill already has passed the Senate without opposition.

I am told that a number of Members of Congress are receiving telephone calls and telegrams regarding the bill from people back home who are interested in or supporting local museums. These expressions of support for H.R. 7315 are the outgrowth of recent conferences under the direction of the American Association of Museums. Resolutions supporting H.R. 7315 have been adopted by representatives of the following States at their regional museum conferences: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Ohio, Wisconsin, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, Idaho, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Washington, Oregon, Nevada, California, Hawaii, and Alaska.

For the convenience of many Members who are receiving these messages, I include the text of the bill at the end of these remarks:

H.R. 7315

A bill relating to the National Museum of the Smithsonian Institution

Whereas the museums of the Nation constitute cultural and educational institutions of great importance to the Nation's progress; and

Whereas national recognition is necessary to insure that museum resources for preserving and interpreting the Nation's heritage may be more fully utilized in the enrichment of public life in the individual community: Now, therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "National Museum Act of 1965".

SEC. 2. The Director of the National Museum under the direction of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution shall—

(1) cooperate with museums and their professional organizations in a continuing study of museum problems and opportunities, both in the United States and abroad;

(2) prepare and carry out programs for training career employees in museum practices in cooperation with museums and their professional organizations, wheresoever these may best be conducted;

(3) prepare and distribute significant museum publications;

(4) perform research on, and otherwise contribute to, the development of museum techniques;

(5) cooperate with departments and agencies of the Government of the United States operating, assisting, or otherwise concerned with museums; and

(6) shall report annually to the Congress on progress in these activities.

SEC. 3. The first paragraph under the heading "National Museum" contained in the Act of July 7, 1884 (23 Stat. 214; 20 U.S.C. 65), is amended by deleting the following sentence: "And the Director of the National Museum is hereby directed to report annually to the Congress the progress of the museum during the year and its present condition.".

Business Should Develop Flying Peace Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, in order to bring a topic of importance to the attention of the Members of this body, I would like to take the liberty of inserting into the RECORD the remarks I recently made to the convention in Los Angeles of the National Business Aviation Association. The subject of my speech—a private, flying peace corps—is a topic that should interest all those who are concerned with strengthening America's position in the emerging nations of the world.

Hopefully, our way of life can become a model for the developing countries. But, we must be able to demonstrate the American way to foreign peoples. And what better way is there to accomplish this goal than to have the citizens of another country meet with private individuals from the United States on a person-to-person basis?

I can think of no more effective method—and to support my beliefs I have long been advocating a greater effort to implement this policy. One important way to do so is to interest the Nation's flying businessmen in such a concept. If those qualified pilots who serve in America's overseas businesses will support and assist the private Peace Corps theory, the increased mobility through flying will greatly enhance the effectiveness of the private citizens' groups that are already serving our Nation in foreign countries and perhaps attract more groups and businesses into the field.

I am frank to say that I was very pleased with the reception my speech received from such a knowledgeable group of business aviation leaders and felt that I should bring my remarks to the attention of interested Members:

BUSINESS SHOULD DEVELOP FLYING PEACE CORPS

(By Congressman DON H. CLAUSEN, before the National Business Aviation Association, Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles, October 12, 1965).

The invitation to address this great aviation organization here in my home State of California is indeed very much appreciated. When Bill Lawton called, my first question was, "What phase of aviation do you want me to discuss?" Bill replied, "DON, just tell 'em what's on your mind and how Congress looks at business aviation. But don't speak for more than 20 to 25 minutes." That's like putting a muzzle on a bulldog. As you all know too well, a Congressman is just "gettin' airborne" in that length of time.

First of all, I would like to take a moment to recognize the splendid safety record of business aviation. As a former fixed base operator, I know the value of training, discipline and professionalism in aviation. Business flying success stems from the application of these points to aircraft operations.

It is for these reasons that Maj. Gen. Joe Caldera, Flight Safety Foundation president, wrote recently, "A careful analysis of general aviation accident statistics has resulted in a startling conclusion—business aviation pilots are 900 times safer than the average private pilot. This fact is supported by figures which show private pilots are averaging 39 accidents per 100,000 flying hours, while business aviation pilots average less than 0.04 accidents per 100,000 hours of flying." We, in the Congress, salute you for this extraordinary display of professionalism in our beloved art of flying.

While I plan to comment further on what the Congress sees in business aviation, I think it might be appropriate at this time to suggest that you in business aviation would be well advised to take a good look at the Congress. For years, many of you have approached Capitol Hill in support of, or in opposition to, pending legislation affecting aviation. You probably spent hours "indoctrinating" and, in some cases, "brainwashing" a Congressman who had never flown.

If you think that situation still exists—you're in for a real surprise. One of the most refreshing facts of political life in Washington is the growing number of Congressmen and Senators who are flyers and are familiar with all phases of civil aviation. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, BO CALLAWAY, PETE DOMINICK, DICK ICHORD, BOB STAFFORD, JOHN DAVIS, BOB DUNCAN, MO UDALL, HOWARD CANNON, HASTINGS KEITH, TENO RONCALIO, AL QUIE, BURT TALCOTT, JIM BROYHILL, DON RUMSFELD, LUD ASHLEY, and myself—are but a few of our flying Congressmen. The Congressional Flying Club was formed to further extend the realm of flight to Congressmen and their staff personnel.

Recognition of this new element reached its climax during the flight service station crisis, when the general aviation community appeared in Washington to oppose the FAA directive to close 42 stations. As Bill Lawton said, "We didn't have to explain the problem—we found Congressmen who understood the situation as well as we did. This was a real breath of fresh air." Of course, you realize this can be a two-edged sword. There will be no room for camouflage or smoke screens as you approach the Congress in the future with your requests.

We all agree that aviation will benefit greatly with this improved understanding; I further believe that general aviation will receive a more balanced recognition because all of these Congressmen are active participants in the general aviation category.

In discusing aviation problems with the FAA, it becomes increasingly apparent that they appreciate the opportunity to present their objectives and programs to an informed Congress. Dave Thomas, the head of civil aviation, is highly regarded and respected by all of us privileged to work with him. His recent letter to Chairman OREN HARRIS, of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committe, advising that "extensive consolidations of flight service stations would not be undertaken at this time," was very well received.

Bob Reynolds, the very capable, genial judge from Texas (who succeeded Bill Schulte as head of General Aviation), and I have spent many hours discusing the navigation and communications requirements of business and general aviation throughout the country.

With business taking to the air to stay competitive, it becomes increasingly mandatory that we in Government provide the latest in Nav-aids to increase safety and additionally to improve the schedule reliability for all airway users. For a long time I have argued for more flexible criteria in the establishment of navigation and communications facilities. I feel strongly that we need to increase the number of terminal VOR's, ILS's, and direction finders, in addition to the "educated-eye-balls" of the qualified flight service station operator.

Just prior to his leaving the FAA, Jeeb Halaby (for whom I have the highest regard) and I were having one of our frequent discussions relating to all phases of aviation. On this occasion, we were concentrating on the Nation's Capital and the increased traffic at Dulles and Friendship, but more specifically, the increased commuter and general aviation traffic at National Airport. I offered two suggestions to Jeeb: (1) activate Bolling Field for general aviation, at least until such time as a permanent general aviation access could be provided; (2) consider building new general aviation airstrips at carefully selected sites contiguous to the circumferential highway (beltway) that encircles Washington, D.C.

With this integrated transportation complex contemplated for the Nation's Capital, I would hope we can look forward to an extension of this concept throughout the country, particularly in communities located near our great Interstate Highway System. Close coordination in land-use planning between the FAA, the Bureau of Public Roads, the State Division of Highways, and local airport sponsors could save substantial sums of money and greatly improve the business aviation access to communities.

With the maximum in Nav and landing aids, we can expect a more reliable completion of schedule for business aviation and the very obvious expansion of business. The broad flexibility, utility, and diversification of business aircraft, with the steady growth in turbo-powered and pure jet, suggests no limit to the growth potential.

The American population, and certainly American business, is more flexible and mobile than at any time in the history of civilization. Those who fail to understand business aviation do not realize that productivity increase is essential to business growth. Transportation and communication for modern business is essential to achieve this productivity.

Our expanding aviation industry is not without competition from abroad. Our electronics and other supporting industries also reflect international competition. This competition, combined with the high productivity of all American business, means aviation is playing an increasingly significant role in our balance of trade.

Before discussing the international benefits of general aviation, I would like to touch briefly on its relation to my favorite subject—aviation education.

As we look to the future, aviation education is the key to our success. The rapidly changing international situation will re-

quire a maximum acceptance and implementation of creative ideas, as we adopt the inevitable changes in our foreign policy—policies that will reflect the more trade, less aid philosophy.

Our young people must be prepared to participate in the diversified use of aircraft contemplated for the future—from rotary wing and slow-flight utility aircraft to supersonic and space vehicles. The opportunities are unlimited.

One need only read the daily newspapers or listen to television to determine the rapidly expanding demands for an aviation-oriented population. The domestic use of commercial and general aviation type aircraft, agricultural planes, all phases of military aviation, the supersonic, the newly created airmobile divisions in Vietnam to combat the guerilla warfare techniques of the elusive Vietcong, the latest in space vehicle developments and interplanetary explorations—dramatically point to a maximum American commitment, as we seek advancement of our aviation and space technology.

For many years, I have advocated the inclusion of aviation education and flight training as part of our vocational education programs in the schools of America. In my hometown of Crescent City, Calif., working with educators, we established such a program over 15 years ago. We saw what could be done to motivate young men and women to improve their education, as well as pursue a career in aviation or supplement other careers with the mobility of aviation.

I am of the view that a broader exposure to aviation education at the earliest possible age would pay great dividends in later years. Your elected representatives in Government are dependent upon an informed public opinion for direction. Many of the aviation advances we seek will not be forthcoming unless John Q. Citizen is aviation oriented.

In addition to textbooks, I would like to see an inexpensive flight simulator developed for placement and use in the grade school classrooms of the country. A more sophisticated simulator could be made available to the high school and college level student. For those students that demonstrate an average-to-above aptitude, the next step would be flight training in aircraft or gliders.

With the increasing demands and opportunities for aviation-oriented men and women, it seems only logical that this foundation in aviation education would serve many purposes in our rapidly changing domestic and international society.

If your great organization (NBAA) feels inclined to endorse this program, we would welcome any suggestions or assistance to put it into practice.

Returning now to the international benefits of business aviation—frankly, I feel that aviation can and will open up new countries just as canals, railroads, and highways opened our Nation to the development of commerce. Many emerging nations will go directly from the oxcart to the turbine and jet age. Those businessmen who understand the utilitarian value of aviation will undoubtedly do better in the newer nations than the earthbound entrepreneurs.

However, just as I stressed the great importance of providing adequate communications and navigation aids here in the States, it will become increasingly important to have similar aids throughout the Western Hemisphere and, ultimately, the entire world.

I am sure that many of you in this room are familiar with the expanding international role of American business. Few people, however, realize the extent of the technical cooperation and other aid rendered to foreign nations by private organizations. For decades, American business concerns have been helping less developed countries advance economically. Housing has been provided, disease controlled, local people trained to use modern machinery, and other steps taken to permit increased industrialization. Most of this activity has occurred without fanfare or publicity.

Essentially, there are four groups from which private foreign aid programs may spring: (1) private investment, (2) foundations, (3) religious groups, and (4) voluntary agencies. Many organizations within these groups have been quietly carrying on the type of activity proposed for our much-publicized Peace Corps.

This brings us to the challenge of our time—a challenge that you in the business aircraft community are best equipped to accept. The world needs an expansion of the Private Flying Peace Corps concept. In 1963, during the Peace Corps debate, I said—and I quote: "In addition to current programs, I want to recommend vigorously that the leaders of our private enterprise system recognize a new responsibility of providing for our security. They must take the lead in projecting an ideological offensive truly representative of our private enterprise system—it is they who are the most qualified to lead."

In September of this year, Roger Blough, chairman of the board of United States Steel, was quoted in a headline, "Blough Urges Business To Head Peace Quest." He told a conference of international industrial leaders that mutual economic interest could be the most effective bond for peace. The cornerstone of such a bond, he said, would be the multination corporations that have extended their operations and their plants beyond their home borders.

Gentlemen, who is better equipped to formulate and expand the private flying peace corps concept? This is the challenge that you must accept. Again, it is you who are the most qualified to lead.

In George Haddaway's June issue of Flight magazine, he carried a magnificent article, "Miracle in the Desert," which told of how Sister Therese, the flying nun, and Brother Mike Stimac of the United Missionary Air Training and Transport operation in Kenya, were carrying out medical missionary work in one of the world's most remote and neglected areas. Since 1955, I have been privileged to work with, on a limited basis, the Seventh-day Adventist International Missionary program. Currently, they are expanding their aviation operations throughout the world. Their flight training center at Pacific Union College in my district not only trains medical missionaries to fly, but will ultimately develop "flying teams" of dedicated missionary volunteers equipped to assist their foreign brethren in the fields of agriculture, medicine, education, theology, et cetera. This, again, can be appropriately identified as a flying private peace corps. There are many other programs established by other denominations, carrying out this concept without fanfare and publicity.

Many in this room, I am sure, share my concern for the problems throughout the world. With each passing day, a new crisis unfolds. While we evaluate our overall foreign policy, I can only conclude that the foreign policy of the future must include a declaration of national policy to "win the cold war" and a program to carry us to victory. I am firmly convinced that we must develop an effective economic, technological, and psychological offense—in addition to the maintenance of a superior military defense posture.

We shudder at the thought of a nuclear war in terms of human and economic waste. The avoidance of a nuclear showdown requires us to seek other ways in which to prevail in the face of communism. To paraphrase the expert on communism, Clausewitz, "A cold war is but an extension of a hot war by other means." Therefore, we, too, must develop "other means," which take a variety of forms, to counter this new threat to our security.

When they say, "Which way America?" I am convinced the business aviation community will provide the leadership in developing these "other means" that put to use the most advanced tools available in the fields of communication and transportation.

You in business aviation are uniquely qualified to lead this airborne peace offensive.

As flyers, we can expedite the export of American knowledge and know-how by simply demonstrating to others throughout the world that which we have applied successfully at home. As Americans, we can help other Nations provide opportunities based on freedom, dignity, and justice for all mankind.

Let's put "wings on Americanism."

The Economic Race

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in all the debate over political complications of foreign affairs, it is well for us to recognize that the basic strength of the United States lies in our free enterprise economic muscle. A very appropriate commentary on the superior U.S. economic strength appeared in the Chicago Daily News of October 11, and I insert it in the RECORD as part of my remarks:

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Daily News, Oct. 11, 1965]

THE ECONOMIC RACE

The U.S. State Department reports that the Soviet economy is falling further behind the American economy. This is quite a different story from the one that comparative rates of economic growth told a few years ago.

During 1950–60 the Soviet gross national product grew 6.8 percent annually while the U.S. GNP grew only 3.3 percent. Had such a differential continued, the Soviet economy would have caught up with the American economy some time in the 1980's. But their rate went down and our rate went up, and during the past 5 years the U.S. economy pulled ahead by another $60 billion, the State Department reports.

The 1965 figures don't tell the end of the story any more than the 1960 figures did or than the 1980 figures will. For one thing, there is a difference between GNP and military power. The State Department cautioned that the Soviet economy has concentrated heavily on military and space programs and "worldwide activities of serious consequences to U.S. security interests."

Another reason for caution is that the Soviet Government is now turning realistic attention to removing three of the impediments to its economic growth that the U.S. State Department listed—agriculture failures, difficulty in adopting new technology and a declining rate of investment in industrial plants.

Last month Premier Alexei Kosygin laid before the Communist Party central committee a series of drastic economic reforms. The Central Government will give the managers of individual enterprises, including farmers, broad goals and considerable freedom to meet them. They will be expected

to use profits above a set return to the Government so as to provide incentives and increase investments.

In brief, the Government is adjusting its theories to realities and the people are being given private initiative and personal motivations. The Soviet economy may be a more formidable competitor in the future than it has been in the past.

Looking ahead, the U.S. State Department projects a continuing growth of the American economy at a yearly rate of 4 percent. This is a compromise figure between reputable estimates that range between 3.3 and 4.9 percent.

The 4-percent target for the American economy is realistic but its achievement will by no means be automatic. American economic expansion during the coming decade will depend on the growth rate in the factors of production (labor, land, capital, education and technology), the efficiency of their utilization of the efficient use of manpower. These all have two properties in common. First, they can grow only at the expense of sacrificing present consumption or leisure for future potentiality. Second, they will require responsibility and cooperation by government, business and labor.

Premier Kosygin told the Soviet people that the new system will mean more defense, a higher standard of living, a shorter workday, higher pay, lower taxes, pensions, bonuses and better working and living conditions. This sounds very much like President Johnson's formula for the Great Society.

The hard facts of economic life, which know no nationality or ideology, say that there can't be more of everything for everybody unless it is earned. Victory in the race of economic growth will go to those who work in the light of this truth.

Constitution Day Address at Louisville, Ohio, by Prof. H. H. Walker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the highlight of the annual Constitution Day celebration at Louisville, Ohio, officially known as Ohio's Constitution Town, was an excellent address by Prof. H. H. Walker, of Malone College, in nearby Canton. I am certain it will be of interest to Members:

CONSTITUTION DAY ADDRESS AT LOUISVILLE, OHIO

(By Harold H. Walker)

I did not come here tonight to recite for you constitutional biography as thrilling as it is to recount. One might well address oneself to such constitutional characteristics as its birth from necessity, talented cast, confrontation of issues or unfoldment by compromise. But instead, I want to talk to you about a concept I choose to call emergent freedom. Each century of the American venture has had a major movement toward enlarging or emerging freedom. In the 17th century we had the heroic struggle of the founding movement as a new cradle for freedom was sought by those who cherished it far above the security afforded by the monarchs of their homeland. In the 18th century the cause of freedom was emerging still more strongly in the hearts of colonists and further realization demanded a break from European imperialism. Great accomplishment though this was, it was not the highest summit for freedom as the 19th century witnessed a most critical movement involving the young nation in a civil war to bring about the abolition of slavery. I submit to you, ladies and gentlemen, that the 20th century, like the three preceding it, also has its opportunity to contribute to the emergence of freedom through realization of human rights.

Every century has had its handwringers, blue breathers and gravediggers; and friends, they are better organized and more visible now than ever before—but not any different. I ask you to reject the thesis that America has had it; that it is about all over, that we are in the dusk of America's day. The thesis I would like for you to accept tonight is that America can and will bring forward the emerging freedom of this country in a movement comparable to those great advances of the founding, the Revolution, the Civil War, portrayed in the immediate three centuries past. I see this possibility as a product of three factors: our Christian heritage, our classic Constitution, our dynamic struggle for individuality, which is guarded so zealously by our Constitution. Time does not permit me to dwell in depth or number on the emerging freedoms I see possible in our time, but allow me to mention a few. Freedom from ignorance. Our educational machinery is greater, more available and more efficient than at any time in our history. It is also greater than any nation on earth. We are now learning enough about learning if you please, to know that no normal man need be ignorant and we are moving significantly in this direction of freeing Americans from the shackles of ignorance.

Second, I suggest that we can and will move toward freedom from what I choose to call petty particularism. The time is brightly dawning, when religiously we shall not criticize each other or divide ourselves over such petty particulars as whether or not it is acceptable to sing praise to God with or without accompaniment. Ethnically we are divesting ourselves of such concepts and labels as "wop," "kike," "spick," and so forth. Racially we shall come to know that human dignity is not caused by color.

Third, I ask you to think what is happening in the area of endeavor to free us from physical pain. I am sure these great advances need no amplification here. Last I want to point out the emergence of freedom from binding labor. Think of the burden which is being lifted from man's back. I have faith that this freedom when realized will launch this Nation into a new era wherein man shall be released from toil and be free to create, appreciate in its fullest sense, and recreate.

I do not believe that it can be denied that America is converging upward. That is we are progressing in the elimination of the very poor, the very ignorant, the very unhealthy, and the very mistreated. I believe the 20th century can go down as that great time when America carried forth its heritage of emergent freedom in a surge of new strength, based fundamentally on man's right to be regarded as an individual—free from the debilitating labels of groups whose existence has been forged by emphasis of differences which were never sanctioned by God's law—the brotherhood of man. Friends and neighbors, while I believe the contribution of this century can and will be one of greatness—let me assure you that it can be achieved only with the sacrifice, consistence, and persistence which characterized the great men and women who have given birth to and nurtured the American dream. In closing may I quickly suggest three ways in which each of us can help. First by future orientation. Let's look ahead with openess and anticipation of contributing to this time and the future—rather than precluding that it never could be like the good old days. Ours is the challenge and opportunity of good new days.

Second, let's talk America up. I believe that this Constitution Day celebration is a powerful idea. Think of this as an example of talking America up. Think of what this seed so carefully planted and nurtured by the pioneering spirit of Louisville, Ohio, can become. In only 13 years it has already gained State and National recognition. I can envision the time when Constitution Day will be a national holiday. Yes, let's avail ourselves of every opportunity to talk America up.

And third, let's be informed so that we know what we are talking about. We should be students of our heritage, advocates of emerging freedom, and builders of tomorrow. In conclusion let me emphasize again that we are now in a time when the torch of freedom, lighted by our forefathers, made brighter by generations of brave people, must again be fueled by a people committed to extending freedom. This is our time. It is our opportunity, our privilege, and our responsibility to lift the torch of freedom higher and higher and higher, so that its glow encompasses a widening circle of our people and shines as a beacon to mankind everywhere.

Vietnam Critics Go Out of Style

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, as William S. White points out in the following column we have been through "2 years of almost constant biting at American purposes" and the tide of publicity is finally beginning to turn and now reflects what has been true all along. The majority of the American people has always supported the administration in its determination to resist Communist aggresion in southeast Asia and they continue to do so.

Mr. White's article follows:

VIETNAM CRITICS GO OUT OF STYLE

(By William S. White)

WASHINGTON.—For the first time it can be said with confidence that the long attack upon the American policy of resisting Communist aggression in Vietnam by candid military force is clearly failing, both in this country and in Europe.

The new isolationism of the sixties—an isolationism expressed in recommendations that in one way or another we should abandon the South Vietnamese and cut and run from Asia under elegant rhetoric, protesting that we were not running at all—is dying at last.

Its death at home—and a slow death it has been through 2 years of almost constant biting at American purposes—is manifest, both in what is now happening and in what is now not happening. The shrill outcries formerly heard so often from a Democratic fringe in the Senate are heard no longer, except here and there and in very minor key.

The hostile student teach-ins are not altogether a thing of the past. But apart from the fact that proresistance teach-ins are now also being organized these academic fevers were never more than a nuisance. And they never reflected any substantial opinion in this country, anymore than the little band of complaining Democratic Sen-

ators ever represented anything more than a fragment of Congress.

The mischief of the teach-ins and of the clamors of the Senate splinter was that they warmed our critics abroad, particularly in Britain, with a suggestion of togetherness.

This implication that the real brains here were against the war of resistance was, of course, always absurd. Far the greater proportion of the intellectual community was always in support of this Government. Still, it was never so strident, so skilled at self-publicity. So it was the opposition that was largely heard in Europe.

Yet, as the Johnson administration on this issue has steadily enlarged its backing at home—and spectacularly so in recent weeks, as the Harris Poll has just confirmed—so has our position improved in that focal point of important foreign criticism which is England.

Indeed, the Labor Government of Harold Wilson has now become the most useful of all our associates in beating back the mixed international group—of mere beatniks, of honest semipacifists, of decent ultraliberals enchanted with the delusion that it always is possible to halt Communist incursions by mere negotiations—that had so long given the U.S. Government so much trouble.

The magnitude of Mr. Wilson's achievement at the recent Labor Party convention at Blackpool in destroying their case has not been appreciated here.

For at Blackpool Mr. Wilson proved point by point that those who refuse an honorable peace in Vietnam are not bad old Yankees but rather Communists—and mainly Chinese Communists at that. When he had done, the howlers had no case left.

A Conservative Government in London could not have been so helpful. For British conservatives, like American conservatives, are suspects from the word go on any rationally hardline enterprise whatever. When authentic very-liberals stand with us, nobody can possibly accuse them of professional Communist baiting. Anglo-American politics works in illogical ways, sometimes, its wonders to perform.

Conflict of Interests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post in a splendid editorial this morning supported the position of our colleague, the Honorable JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, in his opposition to newsmen being employed by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

I commend the Post for this fine editorial and for its strong position against "working newspapermen" being employed at the same time by Government agencies. I recommend to all Federal Government officials and to the Congress a careful reading of this fine editorial which follows:

CLEAR CONFLICT OF INTEREST

Employment of working newspapermen by the Office of Economic Opportunity has been criticized and rightly criticized by Representative JOHN BELL WILLIAMS of Mississippi. The press undertakes to give readers an outside, objective, and independent report on the operations of Government. It cannot do that with reporters and editors who are employed by Government. The conflict of interest is self-evident, unavoidable, and inescapable.

The Office of Economic Oportunity, when it hired newspaper reporters, may have been motivated only by the desire to get competent people. Whatever its motives, it is simply unarguable that such an employment policy by government generally would soon deprive citizens of any view of the Government except one obtained by those on the Government's payroll. And, it would be a sinister thing indeed if the policy of a Government agency so inclined to the employment of journalists as to suggest that the hiring policies were intended to corrupt the press. The main point is, however, that whether or not the intent is bad, Government should not employ journalists and risk the imputation of improper efforts to influence the press; and newspapermen should not work for the Government and risk the charge that their views are prejudiced.

The reputation of the newspapers for fairness, impartiality, and objectively is a thing of value in our society and neither Government officials nor newspapermen ought to put that reputation in jeopardy. The Government should dismiss any working newspaperman on its payrolls; the reporters and editors who have accepted that employment, thoughtlessly, ought to resign. The best thing a newspaperman can do far his country is to write honestly about Government operations. And the best thing a Government agency can do for a newspaperman is to leave him free to persevere in that high purpose.

Declining Respect for Law in the United States Is Decried

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD an editorial from the October 14 edition of Stars and Stripes, published weekly by the National Tribune Corp., in which declining respect for law in the United States is decried. I also include remarks by former President Dwight D. Eisenhower on the same subject, reported in the Wall Street Journal of October 14.

If I may be permitted to do so, Mr. Speaker, I would like to add my voice to the above-mentioned in condemning the abhorent practices mentioned.

The editorial and news item follow:

[From the Stars and Stripes, Oct. 14, 1965]

RESPECT FOR LAW DECLINING

Why television producers furnish a forum for draft dodgers and those who are belittling the military action of the United States in Vietnam is beyond the comprehension of most loyal and patriotic Americans.

Just this week a television program devoted considerable time to a folk singer who derided the military draft and another young man who advised those in his audience of draft age of ways and means to avoid being taken into the service. Astonishing still was the enthusiastic reception received by these misguided and unpatriotic youths.

No longer do those who sponsor certain changes in America give due respect to law and order. If they deem a law to be a bad one, then they proceed to take direct action in not obeying it. This has been one of the tragic developments in the civil rights movement. It is now apparently spreading to those who oppose the participation of the United States in Vietnam and Santo Domingo.

One may surmise why spokesmen for patriotic and veterans organizations which usually present a solid front against those who would demean the sanctity of existing laws are not given an opportunity to appear in rebuttal on television programs throughout the country.

In this manner they could furnish assurance to the American people that there remains a huge majority of law-abiding citizens who look with disfavor and disgust upon the contemptible antics of those who are furnishing ammunition and propaganda to those nations which seek to destroy us.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Oct. 14, 1965]

* * * * *

Eisenhower is worried that "some kind of moral deterioration" has set in among Americans. The former President, talking with newsmen on the eve of his 75th birthday, cited efforts to evade the draft and signs of diminishing respect for law and order as indication of this deterioration.

World Food

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, the following article on food and population from the Economist is interesting in view of our recent farm and foreign aid legislation.

It is necessary, I believe, that Europe, the United States and other nations begin to put greater emphasis on agricultural assistance to the underfed parts of the world.

[From the Economist, Sept. 15, 1965]

WORLD FOOD—THE MALTHUSIAN DECADE

The world gets hungrier. Four years ago, on the best estimates, about half the people in the world suffered some degree of hunger or malnutrition, or both; between 10 and 15 percent of its 3,300 million inhabitants—at least 330 million people—were badly undernourished. Since then the situation has worsened. By 1959, world food production per person was about 10 percent above its level before the Second World War; since then it has stagnated, and each of the developing regions has lost some of its earlier gains. In Latin America, food output per person is less than it was before the war.

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations now believes that there will be no cure without some real incentives to farmers in developing countries to increase their production. This means guaranteeing more stable returns, organizing marketing and credit facilities in such a way that they do not remain always at the mercy of landlords and inefficient middlemen. The FAO firmly believes that substantial progress in feeding the world's hungry must wait until developing countries' governments (most of them with only a few years' experience of independence behind them) make a better job of tackling social and political problems that the rich countries often shirk.

This does not mean that aid-giving developed countries should sit back fatalis-

tically and wait for the poor to help themselves. Industrialization, which needs foreign aid, creates a new demand for farm products and helps the farmer progress from peasant to entrepreneur. Any schemes for agricultural improvement will create an additional need for foreign exchange, and will be strangled at birth unless aid is forthcoming. But the aid-givers could give a greater part of their help in ways that stimulate agricultural reform without appearing to be an undue interference in the recipient's internal affairs. The FAO in its latest report suggests that more aid should be given for general schemes of agricultural development, rather than for big projects like irrigation dams.

UNTAD (the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) may also help agricultural reform if it can generate a new breed of international commodity agreements that force primary producers to control production of surplus commodities. Were there a genuine prospect of output limitation by the producers, importing countries might more easily agree to finance the support of the international market. The international coffee agreement has begun to move hopefully in this direction with the aid of the World Bank, although the political difficulties of controlling coffee production in a country like Brazil are enormous.

Also in the air are the schemes, mostly of French or European Common Market origin, for using planned surpluses of foodstuffs grown in the rich countries in a purposeful way to aid development in the poor. The FAO commented that, though the idea is controversial, a choice does not exist between avoiding, or deliberately planning for a surplus, but only between whether a surplus willy-nilly is planned or unplanned. "From that point of view, planned food aid may be preferable." This at least may be some consolation for the hungry, but one must remember they cannot eat words. Only the rich can.

Castro's Latest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the magnanimous offer by President Johnson to admit refugees from Castro's regime is in keeping with the spirit of American concern for oppressed people everywhere. This action is a concrete example of our Nation at its best, offering itself as a haven for those persons who desire true freedom and relief from tyranny.

I think that the following editorial from the Newark (N.J.) Evening News is a fair representation of the praise and support elicited from many private citizens and newspapers throughout the country. I respectfully submit it for the RECORD:

CASTRO'S LATEST

President Johnson acted in the interest of humanitarianism in offering refuge to Cubans wanting to come to this country. He could have done no less.

The motive behind Fidel Castro's sudden decision to open the gates remains unclear. Whatever it may be, he cannot escape the obvious admission of failure which the departure of those voluntarily leaving the land of their birth would represent.

Efforts will be made in Washington to pace the flow by limiting the number of refugees to 5,000 a month. If this influx were to continue, Cubans could account for half of the 120,000 immigrants from the Western Hemisphere who would be permitted to enter the United States under the newly enacted legislation.

Even though this could impose a barrier to prospective citizens from friendly hemispheric nations, the desire to maintain the United States as a haven for the oppressed should be transcendent. Safeguards must be employed, however, to prevent Castro from undertaking a wholesale eviction of unemployables and others burdening the Cuban economy.

The International Red Cross would be the ideal intermediary to assure that humanitarian considerations prevail. Castro's refusal to deal with the Red Cross or some equally disinterested third party would be a sure sign of bad faith and a signal to call the whole thing off.

A Trip Behind the Iron Curtain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, I always seek out new information from those who travel behind the Iron Curtain, in those countries in the Commonwealth of Russia and those nations within the scope of the Subcommittee on Europe.

The article which I insert in the RECORD today is by William J. Farrell, a college classmate of my late husband at Columbia College, New York. Mr. Farrell was a stockbroker in New York City until the stock market crashed in 1928, whereupon he left for the west coast and became associated with banking interests in California. During these years he served his country in both major encounters, World War I and World War II. Now retired, Bill Farrell is devoting his time and energies to travel and writing.

His most recent trip was made to the Balkan countries. Although an upcoming article on this recent trip is not yet completed, I have gathered various pieces of information concerning freedom of religion in these Iron Curtain countries, from correspondence with him.

The principal, personal contacts he made were with guides and a few hotel clerks, most of whom were young boys and girls—university students on summer vacations. They were obviously well schooled in what they were to answer to questions about religion. They claimed freedom of religion existed but stated that religion was practiced mostly by older people. He was told that young people were not interested in religion because they were much too occupied with other activities and had no need for it.

He then asked a few of these young people if church attendance would hinder their advancement in the party. Most denied this vigorously. However, he reached a very few who replied guardedly that the practice of any religion would not be of any help to them in advancing their positions.

Upon visiting two services on a Sunday in the heart of Bucharest, he found 16 people attending a Roman Catholic Mass in St. Joseph's Cathedral at noon and nearby, 20 people attending an Orthodox service.

Obviously and regrettably, freedom of religion is a freedom not easily enjoyed but rather guardedly practiced, if practiced at all.

Now, in order to share with my colleagues, the wealth of observations contained in William Farrell's excellent account of his 1964 trip, I present his article, "A Trip Behind the Iron Curtain":

A TRIP BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

(By William Farrell, retired staff member)

JUNE 30, 1964.—The magic date had finally arrived. This meant retirement and enough time to make a trip I had been working over in my mind for almost 2 years.

The nucleus of my plan was to join a group in Moscow which would continue an additional 3,000 miles into central Asia. We would visit such legendary cities as Alma Ata, Tashkent, Bukhara, Samarkand, and Dushanbe (called Stalinabad before Stalin's fall from favor). Literally dozens of interesting sights are to be seen in these cities, all of which bear the impressive marks of their antiquity.

Earlier stops on my itinerary—the World's Fair, a tour of southern Ireland (after a flight from New York to Dublin), and another tour of the Shakespeare country in England—were incidental. So were the stops on the return from central Asia at Copenhagen, Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Paris, and up and down the Rhine. My focal point was the Russian trip.

Central Asia is truly a storied land. Its beginnings predate written history. Alexander the Great captured Samarkand in the 4th century B.C., to be followed around the 13th century by Genghis Khan and Tamerlane.

Each city I intended to visit was an important link in the ancient "silk road" extending from China to southeastern Europe. The whole area, at present made up of some half-dozen Soviet republics, lies about 2,500 to 3,000 miles southeast of Moscow, east of the Caspian Sea (south of Siberia), and directly north of Afghanistan. When we were at Alma Ata, during a trip through the mountains, we were assured that we were only 35 miles from the border of Red China—Sinkiang Province, to be exact. The great barriers of the Hindu Kush Mountains and the Pamirs lie to the south. Until the advent of the jet, travelers had described this as one of the most inacessible spots on earth.

Prior inquiries, about the area, brought suggestions that September would be the most pleasant month as far as weather conditions were concerned and this proved to be the case. I found that midsummer temperature in Tashkent, Bukhara and Samarkand sometimes reach a high of 120° F.

September 1 found me, on schedule, at London Central Airport as the PA system droned out the familiar, "Your attention please—Aeroflot flight No. 032 nonstop to Moscow, now loading at gate No. 4—all aboard please." I hope I never lose the thrill I get when the flight being called is my flight—and this was something special.

Aeroflot is the airline that operates all nonmilitary flights for Russia, both domestic and foreign. My plane was a TU-104, called a Tupolev. It flies at 500 to 550 m.p.h. and is approximately the Russian version of our 707 or DC-8, seating 70 to 100 persons. Close examination of the interior revealed that our planes are more luxuriously furnished, but the noise from the jets did not seem remarkably greater—at least as I recall it.

Three hours and forty-five minutes later we landed at Moscow airport. There I joined tour No. 50, made up of 23 other people who would be my traveling companions for the next 17 days. Ours was an English-speaking tour. England, Scotland, Canada, United States, and Italy (a young couple) were represented. A young Russian girl, about 25 years old, named Nina introduced herself as our Intourist guide. She would remain with us to handle all details of our trip until we returned to Moscow on September 17. Intourist, by the way, is a government bureau which supervises all travel and hotel accommodations within Russia. At each city visited, we were to be joined by a local guide to explain sights of interest.

Immigration officials scrutinized our passports and special visas very carefully; however, the customs section didn't even ask us to unlock our luggage. They did require us to list carefully all foreign currencies and any gold or silver jewelry. We found that shutterbugs could have themselves a "ball." Picturetaking was completely unrestricted, except at airports, railway stations, and military installations.

As we drove toward Moscow from the airport, we noticed the great number of four-, six-, and eight-story apartment buildings. This is a partial answer to one of their most pressing problems—housing. This same situation prevailed in all the central Asian cities visited—new apartments and business buildings—everywhere new construction. The long booms and control cabs of the construction cranes were silhouetted against the sky, much as palm trees dot the Los Angeles skyline.

The main streets of Moscow are notably wide, in most cases accommodating 12 traffic lanes, with a broad center dividing strip which was usually planted with flowers. We also noticed that these streets were kept spotlessly clean. Apparently there are no litterbugs in Moscow. As yet, ordinary traffic is not heavy enough to tax these facilities, but passenger buses by the hundreds ply the streets in all directions.

Our hotel was the Ukraine, built 6 or 7 years ago. With two 12-story wings and a central tower of 27 stories, it contains 1,100 rooms and covers an entire city block. The Russians refer facetiously to its style of architecture as "post-Stalin." The lobby of the Ukraine (and this may be said generally of all the hotels where we stayed) was huge, plain, dull, and poorly lighted.

In the guest rooms, the plumbing was strictly antique. I still wonder where they managed to dig up such a collection of curiosities. In some hotels the wash basin would be in one room or small compartment, the shower or tub in another, and the toilet in a third. I always enjoy a good game of hide and seek, but not when I'm looking for the bathroom. However, I admit that all our rooms were clean and comfortable, if you forget the plumbing. To sum up on hotels, they would be about fourth class in this country. If you are the finicky type, you'd better stay home. Room service, for instance, doesn't exist.

In each hotel, we were assigned the same tables for the duration of our stay, and the same waitresses served us throughout. The tables were always set with baskets of assorted fruit and four or five large bottles of mineral water, orangeade, or fruit juices. Tap water was not potable. There were no menus and no tips. Breakfast was a variation of cereals, eggs, ham, bacon, toast—the usual. However, one morning I didn't recognize the first offering on my plate; it was a smoked sturgeon. I ate it and liked it, although it was a radical departure from my ordinary breakfast routine. The following morning it started with a plate-filling slab of cheese surmounted by four generous slices of salami. Chalk up another radical departure.

In Moscow we were served generous portions of caviar at dinner three nights. Each meal also brought a large plate of sliced white bread and black bread. After one sample everyone ate the black bread. It was delicious. It was not quite as heavy as pumpernickel and always ovenfresh. Although lunch was usually built around a hearty, space-filling soup, the dinner menu was varied. It might be beef, veal, lamb, or other meats prepared in conventional ways, or perhaps a shashlik at which the central Asians excel. Boned roast chicken was also a frequent favorite. In addition to these standbys, various vegetables were served along with potatoes or rice. Desserts were much the same as ours, but ice cream always was our favorite. It was excellent. These backward people haven't yet discovered that ice cream can be made without cream.

Five days of sightseeing in Moscow pretty well covered the conventional sights. We saw the Kremlin—twice from the inside—and the metro (subway) with its marble platforms, arches, decorative statues, murals done in mosaics, and paintings. We also saw many museums, cathedrals, the university, and the Exposition of Soviet Economic Achievement—a collection of beautiful buildings, somewhat reminiscent of the New York World's Fair. Each industry and republic has its own building for exhibiting its products.

On September 6 we left Moscow for Alma Ata, arriving there 5 hours and 20 minutes later. When Russia took over the central Asian cities, they followed a general policy of preserving the native quarter of the city, which is composed mostly of mud huts. They built their own new buildings a short distance away. So, it is still possible to observe life, in these ancient quarters, very much as it has existed for many thousands of years. Some of the mud huts are gradually being replaced by modern construction, but a large portion will always be preserved for tourist appeal.

Alma Ata and Dushanbe do not contain any distinguished landmarks. Tashkent is a city of over a million population, located in the center of a large cotton-producing area. One of the largest cotton mills in the world is located here. A small percentage of the people still wear attractive and colorful native costumes.

We were getting toward the end of our journey with visits to Bukhara and Samarkand, the ancient Marcanda. Bukhara is known best for the rugs bearing that name.

Actually, the rugs are made elsewhere, but the principal market is Bukhara. Until 1920, the Emir ruled with a cruel and an absolute hand. Sometimes criminals were thrown into the bug pits to be slowly devoured. Prominent on the skyline is the tall and beautifully proportioned Kalyan Minaret. Condemned men were taken to the top of this tower, known as the Tower of Death, and pushed off, falling to their deaths on the stone flags 130 feet below. Here we also saw the Timor Tower, Job's Well, and many other impressive structures. Our last stop in Bukhara was a mosque where we were permitted to enter during a religious service. The worshippers prostrated themselves on their prayer rugs, which they had spread in the open air in the tree-covered courtyard on the mosque. Here again the feeling of remoteness from the world and the vast distances from "regular" civilization possessed us. When you get so deep in the far places that the Mohammedans turn southwest to face Mecca, you know your're more than 45 minutes from Broadway.

Samarkand offers a wealth of interesting places. Among them is the Observatory of Ulug-Beg, the astronomer. His records, compared with present-day findings, show an amazing accuracy. The Gur Emir, or Tomb of Tamerlane, is located here. Tamerlane's sarcophagus is made of a mineral called nephrite and is said to be the largest single piece of this material ever known. For his epitaph, he chose to have inscribed, "Were I alive today, mankind would tremble." The Shah I Zind is a long stairway, flanked on both sides by a succession of the beautiful tombs of Tamerlane's family. These are probably the best preserved of the various groups.

Registan Square is formed by a collection of mosques and madrasahs or schools. Its impressive blue and blue-green tile domes had fallen into disrepair, but one, which had been expertly restored recently, offers the hope that the entire group may soon receive like treatment. Lord Curzon, visiting in 1888, spoke of it as "the noblest public square in the world," superior even to St. Mark's Square in Venice.

Dushanbe was the last stop on our tour. The hotel dining room was "undergoing repairs," so we ate at a large restaurant opposite the hotel and across the main public square. It must be the largest public square in all Asia. On our last night in Dushanbe, Intourist gave up a farewell dinner, featuring much caviar and champagne. The next day a 6-hour, nonstop trip in an IL-18 returned us to Moscow and the National Hotel—reputedly the best in Moscow. At least the National and Metropole, products of the turn of the century, are highly recommended by old Moscow hands. I think they are right.

The next morning, September 17, the group broke up and each member enplaned for his separate destination. Two of us left Moscow early on our SAS flight to Copenhagen.

On our departure, as on our arrival, customs showed no curiosity about our luggage. However, the same immigration official, who had scrutinized our travel documents so closely on arrival, was again on duty at the clearance desk to repeat the process in great detail. When our passports were returned, we noted that the special visa, which had been carefully stapled to that document, had been as carefully removed.

We walked downstairs to the loading level and were about to start up the plane's gangway when a voice at my elbow asked for my passport. It was our old friend again, but this time he was accompanied by a pretty blond girl, who joined in the inspection. They went through the whole ceremony again, just as seriously and carefully as he had done it not much over a minute before. He finally returned the passport and indicated that I was free to board. Obviously, no one is going to switch passports in the brief interval between the desk and the plane, and get off scot free from behind the Iron Curtain—not, at least, while "Ivan Horatius" is guarding the bridge.

Arriving at Copenhagen Airport, we carefully sought out a customs or immigration officer. There was none to be found. We made inquiries. Still no officials. There was nothing to do but call a cab and go to the hotel. Needless to say, I felt neglected.

Water Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLETON J. KING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. KING of New York. Mr. Speaker, we all want pure air and water. We welcome, applaud, and support the efforts of the Congress and the various States in passing legislation to correct the pollution problem.

We must, however, in my opinion, go slow, less we drive out of business small industries along our rivers which have for years sustained the economy of their particular areas. The Federal Government as well as the State government should and will help. Industry has its side of the story and should be heard.

Recently, Mr. L. P. Thompson, vice president for production of the Warrensburg Board & Paper Corp., in my district, wrote a letter to the editor of the Glens Falls Post Star on the subject of water pollution, expressing grave concern about the "pure water program." I think it might be well for all of my colleagues to read Mr. Thompson's thought-provoking letter, which follows:

WATER POLLUTION

CHESTERTOWN, N.Y.,
June 12, 1965.

To the EDITOR OF THE POST-STAR:

During the past several months stream pollution has been the target of bitter, slanted and nonfactual attacks by the press and assorted bureaucrats. Many persons have read articles in the New York Times about population equivalents in referring to paper mill waste. The New York Daily News carried a series of articles on stream conditions near a small, 100-year-old mill in downstate New York. In the best tradition of yellow journalism these articles contained half-truths, omitted pertinent facts which might have cast a better light on the situation and pictured an operation which in no way is indicative of the paper industry as a whole. The Glens Falls Times carried articles by a sensation-seeking Albany reporter which were loaded with dynamite terms. They represented only one side of a story and contained nothing of a constructive nature. There are two sides to a coin.

Water engineering is a complex and highly technical science little understood by the general public. By the use of catch phrases, out of context quotations, and Government press releases containing erroneous information, a false picture of actual conditions has been conveyed to a trusting public. Certainly that public is entitled to any pertinent information that would allow them to better evaluate conditions and the remedial actions which will be necessary.

ALL LIKE IT CLEAN

We would all like to have our State waters free from sewage, insecticides, and unsightly debris but there is a practical limit to which any improvement program can be carried and still maintain a balance between area economics and purely aesthetic values, i.e.: Between jobs and clean waters. Much has been done and there is much to do but the Great Society's pure water utopia will be approached only when man, the contaminator, ceases to live along the river banks.

Pure water, that which has not been contaminated for a specific use, does not exist in a natural state. It may be found on the laboratory shelf or the battery water bottle and it is excellent fuel for the propoganda mills. Industries which depend heavily on water have known for years that it was only a matter of time before Government would inject itself into the picture. It was obvious that this would be a fertile field for the expansion of bureaucratic controls and agency dynastics. For this reason and because of a keen sense of civic responsibility, the major water users have spent millions of dollars in research and waste disposal treatment. Unfortunately they reverse the Government pattern; their achievements have been outstanding and their publicity inadequate.

What are some of the accomplishments of industry in the stream pollution field? Since I have spent over 30 years in the paper industry I will confine myself to its efforts although oil and chemical industries have been equally active:

1. During the past 20 years the paper industry has spent over $200 million in research and waste control equipment. This money came from profits and not from the taxpayer's pocket. It would take over a billion dollars to replace the treatment facilities industry has already placed in service.

2. Due to its water conservation program and improved operating techniques the industry, while doubling its production, has cut its water consumption per unit in half and decreased its effluent waste load by 50 percent.

3. Aside from conventional systems of purification the industry has developed several unique methods of waste disposal: pumping into brine pockets thousands of feet below the surface, using mill waste as an irrigating and fertilizing medium for crops such as alfalfa, or finding uses for products which formerly were part of effluent waste.

If Government, one of the biggest contaminators, had been as alert and contributed a proportionate share to the program we would not be confronted with some of the problems which face us today.

What are some of the things that the public should know about the water and waste disposal problems of today? They should know that:

1. The majority of industrial wastes and paper mill waste in particular, are not polluted and germ laden but are mostly organic debris which is admittedly unsightly and which industry would like to prevent in its own economic interest.

2. Reliable surveys indicate that water potential of the Northeast will only be half employed in the next 35 years.

3. Water is used, not consumed. No matter how polluted and misused it may be, it is eventually purified, if not by man, then by nature and returns to the earth in a never-ending cycle.

4. The desalting of water is not something to look forward to; it is here. Plants capable of desalting a million gallons a day will be producing fresh water at about 65 cents per 1,000 gallons in 1967. This will also be the cost of producing water by conventional means at that time.

A large Western utility company has offered to build plants to produce desalted water at 30 cents per 1,000 gallons by 1970.

Since the pollution program offers a terrific opportunity for boondoggling there is already evidence of a gathering 'round the pork barrel: The people of St. Louis were asked to vote on a million dollar water purification program. They approved it by a landslide, 5 to 1, margin only to find out the money was to be used to clean up a section of the Mississippi miles below St. Louis.

Secretary of Interior Udall, who is extremely anxious to increase the size and power of his dynasty, offered a typical example of the type of political chicanery we can expect: In a Boston speech last November Mr. Udall deleted part of a prepared text regarding the pollution of the Allagash River by industry. The deletion was made because Mr. Udall knew the information was false but the uncorrected text was released to the press. Newspapers, outdoor magazines and conservation groups immediately picked up the erroneous information and blasted industry with both barrels. The Department of Interior refused to make a public retraction and only after several weeks "apologized" in a few trade publications. How high handed can they get?

We are for charity, motherhood and a water improvement program but we are concerned about the implementation of the program and the controls that should be put on it to keep it from being exploited by those with the radar proof license plates.

Let's see both sides of the coin.

L. P. THOMPSON.

The Story of the Fall Colors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, now that the annual fall glory has spread over the hills of New Hampshire I thought Members would be interested in the following report on the process by which the foliage changes its colors from summer green to the red and golden opulence of fall. Fred E. Beane, farm editor of the Manchester Union-Leader reports an interview with Dan Monahan, the Belknap County forester. Dan is the son of former State Senator Robert Monahan who is the Dartmouth College forester and an intimate friend of mine and former colleague in the New Hampshire Senate. Both men well understand the intricate and wonderful processes of nature. Some day, in the utopian future probably, I hope it will be possible for Congress to adjourn in time for my colleagues from other parts of the country to come up to the Granite State at this time of year and see nature's spectacular farewell to summer. In the meantime, I am happy to offer this interesting article for the RECORD:

[From the Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader, Oct. 7, 1965]

MONAHAN TELLS STORY OF COLOR

(By Fred E. Beane)

LACONIA.—Dan Monahan, Belknap County forester says leaves turned color in autumn, when celestial hunters had slain the Great Bear, according to an old legend of the American Indian. It was told that the bear's blood, dripping on the forest, changed some trees to red, and the fat that spattered, as the hunters cooked the meat, changed other trees to yellow.

People, today, too frequently take the autumn foliage for granted, he says, and their knowledge is not much of an improvement on the old Indian legend. Now that the colorful foliage of the countryside is quite an attraction, it seems an opportune time to look in his seeming mystery.

NOT FROST

Let us consider why leaves change their color, from the viewpoint of an intrigued person, Monahan suggests. Jack Frost is not responsible for autumn foliage. Cooler tem-

peratures, and changes in the sunlight contribute to causing a chemical reaction, that is responsible for this phenomenon.

The small, green bodies, composed of chlorophyll, that manufacture the food and give the leaf its color, dissipate, allowing other substances to influence the color of the leaf.

A yellow pigment often assumes dominance, producing the yellows that are so abundant. It often happens that a considerable amount of sugar remains in the leaves, which combines with various substances and produces a myriad of reds.

Bright, sunny days and cool nights tend to accentuate vivid colors, where an overcast weather produces the yellows and browns. Soil environment and tree condition influence the colors, that are controlled by the genetic makeup of the tree.

Tree color reveals much to the trained eye, and with a little practice, one can soon learn to distinguish various tree species by their autumn foliage.

For example, red or swamp maple turns to a dazzling crimson, while the sugar maples turn variations of orange. Yellows are displayed by the birches, poplars, beech, and others.

Nature is responsible for much that is an integral part of our heritage, and offers fascination to those who are intrigued * * * certainly our autumn foliage is no exception, Monahan, is sure.

U.S. Frigate "Constellation"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, on September 29, I introduced H.R. 11329. My bill would make a national shrine of the U.S. frigate *Constellation*, now berthed in Baltimore Harbor. This ship served the Navy with distinction from its launching in 1797 until the end of the Civil War. It has the longest record of total service of any U.S. warship. In 1953 it was rescued from oblivion by a group of Baltimore citizens who began its restoration. In view of the *Constellation*'s great record of service, and the unique place it holds in the history of the U.S. Navy, I believe that the U.S. Government should complete their work by officially making the ship a national shrine. I am proud to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the long proud history of this U.S. frigate, made and launched in Baltimore:

U.S. FRIGATE "CONSTELLATION"

At the close of the Revolutionary War in 1782 our new Nation disbanded its Armed Forces, and America enjoyed a growing prosperity based on foreign trade. Our merchant ships carried the flag of the United States across the seven seas, but without men of war to protect them they were defenseless. The corsairs of the Barbary States of north Africa began to attack our ships and hold American seamen for ransom. By 1794 over 100 American sailors had been held in prisons of the Barbary States. In 1794 Congress passed a bill authorizing the construction of six frigates to protect American rights and property, and President George Washington signed it into law.

Work on the six frigates began but only three were finished in time to see immediate action. They were: *Constellation* of 36 guns and *United States* of 44 guns each. *Constellation* was built by David Stodder in Baltimore, Md., and launched September 7, 1797. She sailed June 26, 1798, the first to put to sea of the original three ships built for the U.S. Navy.

By the time *Constellation* was on the high seas a peace treaty had been signed with the Barbary States. However, French privateers and men-of-war were now attacking our ships, particularly in the West Indies. Capt. Thomas Truxtun, who had commanded several American ships during the Revolution was given command of *Constellation* and ordered to the Caribbean. Truxtun was a hard driving but fair and highly capable officer. He put his new ship in fighting trim and drilled his crew until they were an efficient fighting team. When the ship arrived on station in January 1799 they were ready and eager to meet the enemy.

At noon on February 9, 1799, a sail was sighted off the island of Nevis, and *Constellation* closed, with crew at battle stations. The ship was the Frigate *L'Insurgente*, one of the finest and fastest of the French fleet. In just over 1 hour from the time of the first broadside, *Constellation* had battered her opponent into helpless surrender. This was the first important U.S. Navy victory over an enemy man-of-war on the high seas. Captain Truxtun and *Constellation* were toasted from one end of the land to the other. This decisive victory raised the morale of the American people and gave them a new sense of pride and purpose.

In February 1800, 1 year after the victory over *L'Insurgente*, *Constellation*, and Truxtun won America's second great naval victory. This battle also took place in the West Indies against a larger ship of the French Fleet, *La Vengeance*. The savage battle raged for some 5 hours, with *Constellation*, now mounting 38 guns, matching and outshooting the 52 guns of *La Vengeance*. The French ship finally escaped into the night, brutally beaten and barely afloat.

Constellation's victories over *L'Insurgente* and *La Vengeance* served notice to the world that the United States would defend her honor and freedom at all costs. Earlier, on June 18, 1798, just 8 days before *Constellation* had put to sea for the first time, Congressman Harper had proposed his now famous toast, "Millions for defense—not 1 cent for tribute." *Constellation* had given meaning and substance to those words.

While the victories of Truxtun and *Constellation* were most important, yet together they made another, even greater, contribution to the infant U.S. Navy. This was the system of conduct, discipline, gunnery, signals, and naval operations put into effect by Truxtun while in command of *Constellation*. His system set a pattern of success and efficiency that is the basis of U.S. naval procedure to this day. Some measure of Truxtun's true stature as a naval genius may be understood by the fact that a majority of the officers who achieved distinction in the U.S. Navy for the next 30 years had served under Truxtun, many of them on *Constellation*.

By 1800, Truxtun had left his beloved ship, but Truxtun discipline and Truxtun tradition had started *Constellation* on one of the great sagas of the sea. A part of that saga was the legendary speed of *Constellation* which earned her the name "Yankee Race Horse." Truxtun attributed much of this great speed to Stodder's design which introduced the sharp bow lines into warship architecture. These lines were later to be one of the distinguishing characteristics of the famous Baltimore Clippers.

Alexander Murray of Chestertown, Md., succeeded Truxtun in command of *Constellation*. Captain Murray sailed to the Mediterranean in the spring of 1802, joining the American squadron in a war which sought to eliminate depredations on American American merchant ships and seamen by warships of the Barbary States. *Constellation* assisted in the blockade of Tripoli, where she sank two gunboats and put an Arab cavalry contingent to rout, protected American merchant shipping from Barbary cruisers throughout the Mediterranean, and evacuated Marines and diplomats from Derne at the conclusion of the victorious and remarkable fleet-shore operations which culminated in peace terms with all the Barbary powers by August 1805.

Returning home in November 1805, *Constellation* was in ordinary at Washington until the outbreak of the War of 1812, at which time she was dispatched to Hampton Roads, Va. There, blockaded by an imposing British Fleet, *Constellation* stationed herself between the enemy and an American fort on Craney Island, where she thwarted every British attempt to destroy her and the fort. Her armed boats twice detected and spread the alarm to foil British Fleet boat expeditions; and, on June 22, 1813, her batteries, together with gunfire from Craney Island, sank three British Fleet boats. Of the 700-man invasion force, 90 were killed or wounded and 43 others taken prisoner before the British turned back.

The Treaty of Ghent was ratified in December 1814, bringing our second war with England to a close as *Constellation* faced renewal of naval action against the Barbary States, which had taken advantage of the conflict to renew piratical attacks against American shipping. In the Mediterranean squadron of Stephen Decatur she joined four other ships in the capture of the 48-gun Algerian frigate *Mashuda* in June 1815, then took part in demonstrations of U.S. Navy strength which enabled Decatur to extract treaties of peace with Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. *Constellation* remained to enforce these treaties until late 1817.

Constellation protected the rights of American seamen off South America from 1819–1821, and was instrumental in establishing the favorable trade relations in that quarter before entering the Pacific to guard American merchantmen from beligerents during the revolt of Peru against Spanish rule. After helping drive the last of the pirates from the Caribbean Sea in 1825–26, she carried our new ministers to England and France in 1831. *Constellation* then joined the Mediterranean squadron for nearly 4 years duty that included the enforcement of indemnity payments for pervious depredation against merchantmen by piratical ships of Naples. In October 1835 she sailed for the Gulf of Mexico to assist in crushing the Seminole Indian uprising in Florida, landing shore parties to relieve Army garrisons and sending her boats on amphibious expeditions. She then cruised with the West Indian squadron until 1838, serving much of this time as flagship of Commodore Alexander J. Dallas.

The decade of the 1840's saw *Constellation* circumnavigate the globe. Sailing from Boston on December 9, 1840, she proceeded to Rio de Janeiro to serve on Brazil Station until February 1841, when she became flagship to Commodore Lawrence Kearney appointed to command the East Indian Squadron. Already a revered symbol of American naval greatness, *Consellation* now added bright new laurels. She left Rio on March 8 for her new station where she watched over American interests during the Opium War and maintained great vigilance and activity along the Malayan and China coasts as far as the Philippines, to prevent the smuggling of opium by ships under the U.S. maritime flag. As flagship of the East Indian Squadron, *Constellation* became the first U.S. ship-of-war to enter the inland waters of China on April 13, 1842, when she passed both bars of the Canton River and anchored at Whampoa among the merchant ships.

Learning of a commercial treaty between China and Great Britain, Commodore Kearny, with great diplomatic skill, urged upon the Chinese Government the granting of equal privileges to American citizens. His success in *Constellation* opened Chinese ports to American shipping and led to our first commercial treaty with China in 1845.

The team of Kearny and *Constellation* wrote another significant chapter of American history while returning home through Pacific waters. Leaving China on May 22, 1843, they arrived at Oahu on July 6 to learn that King Kamehameha III had made a provisional cession of the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands to the Captain of the British warship H.M.S. Caryfoot. A strong protest by Commodore Kearny to the King and subsequent British disavowal of the impeading annexation restored the Hawaiian Islands to native rule. (A little more than a century later these Islands became the 50th State of the Union and *Constellation* was still afloat to welcome the event. The Islands had been annexed by the United States on July 7, 1898, and established as a territory on June 14, 1900) *Constellation* embarked Commodore T. ap Catesby Jones at Valpariso, thence by way of Callao, the Straights of Magellan and Rio de Janeiro to Norfolk, where she terminated her world cruise on April 30, 1844. She had been absent from the United States 3 years, 4 months, and 22 days and had sailed, by log, 58,000 miles in 492 days at sea.

Cameron Voting Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

ROLLCALL NO. 320—BANK HOLDING ACT

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, there was scant controversy on the aim of H.R. 7371 as reported by the Committee on Banking and Currency. It was clearly and carefully designed to plug a loophole in the 1956 Bank Holding Company Act which permits the Du Pont Estate in Florida to control 31 banks with deposits of more than $600 million, as well as a number of nonbanking businesses, including the Florida East Coast Railway, the St. Joe Paper Mill Co., and various real estate interests. Like other large holding companies already regulated under the 1956 act, Du Pont would have to choose to divest itself either of its bank or nonbank holdings. The Congress has long decreed that it is a sound principle that banking and nonbanking activities should be kept apart to avoid conflict of interest, and I subscribe to that principle.

But I also subscribe to the principle that Congress should not act on the spur of the moment and enact sweeping legislation which could adversely affect large segments of the business community, without first giving the business community an opportunity to present its views before congressional committees. This is the principle which was at issue on the only recorded vote on H.R. 7371. I supported that principle and I regret that I was not joined by a majority of the House.

I think this body was ill-advised in adopting the Bennett amendment and thereby bringing under the act some 340 holding companies which were never given their day in congressional court, as it were. And when I speak of 140 holding companies I am speaking of thousands of stockholders who believe in our free enterprise system, citizens who were denied the opportunity to state fully and fairly their case for exemption. In my judgment this principle is no less important than the principle that banking and nonbanking interests should be separate andd istinct. It is for this reason that I opposed Mr. BENNETT's sweeping amendment.

ROLLCALL NO. 322, RURAL WATER AND SANITATION

Mr. Speaker, no one can quarrel with the objectives of legislation designed to provide Federal loans for the improvement of rural water supplies and waste disposal systems. I was constrained to vote against H.R. 10232, however, because in my opinion we already have many programs operating which accomplish the same purposes set forth in the bill. This measure is clearly a duplication of effort, another addition to what is rapidly becoming a bureaucratic hodgepodge of agencies all doing the same thing. There is a serious question as to whether the sewage provisions of the bill do not overlap the authority of the Community Facilities Administration. And the 1965 Housing Act authorizes grants for water facilities in communities of any size. This would certainly include rural communities.

It seems to me that the House, in adjournment-fever haste, feels it must legislate in every single area so that it can hold up its record and say, "See, there is something in here for you, too. And if you do not believe it just look at the title of this bill which we have passed." The fact that we should legislate by content, not title, seems to matter little when we are gathering material for postsession speeches to the folks back home. Being 1 Member of only 10 who voted against the bill, my vote was obviously merely an expression of discontent with this type of lawmaking.

ROLLCALL NOS. 336 AND 339, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA HOME RULE

Mr. Speaker, it would do little good to recount here the series of events and the intricate political and parliamentary maneuvering which led to defeat of a meaningful home rule bill for the District of Columbia. Suffice it to say that the House was denied a chance to vote on a good piece of legislation, H.R. 11218, the compromise version of Congressman MULTER's original proposal, H.R. 4644. We have to settle for registering our position on the Sisk bill, a weak measure which I predict in the long run will do little or nothing to bring the citizens of Washington closer to self-government. I grudgingly supported the Sisk amendment after earlier having voted against it simply because it was, however weak, the best that could be obtained at that time.

The Sisk proposal would permit the citizens of Washington to hold a referendum to see if they want home rule, as if there were any question about the matter. This referendum would include the election of a board to draw up a city charter to be submitted to the voters for approval at another referendum. The rub is that this electoral decision would be subject to congressional veto, the same type veto which the Congress now holds over all affairs in the District of Columbia. This can hardly be termed self-rule.

On the other hand, H.R. 11218, the bipartisan bill, was truly in harmony with the American concept of self-government. It would have established a home rule formula which would automatically go into effect if approved by the voters. It would have permitted nonpartisan elections for a mayor, city council, board of education and a nonvoting delegate to the House. Because so much of the taxable property in the District is owned by the Federal Government, the bill also provided for annual congressional approval and appropriation of the tax assessments. This indirect taxing of Federal property is exactly the same principle that applies to the impacted school funds that are received by nearly every school district in the 25th Congressional District each year—an in-lieu payment on nontaxable Federal property.

The local government structure which would have been established by this bill can in no way be described as radical—unless we are to apply the term to every city government from Maine to California. Yet opponents of home rule declared that it was extreme, that self-government was unnecessary because Washingtonians could look to a generous and paternalistic Congress to shower favors upon them. Ironically, it was the ultraconservatives who parroted this theme the loudest. In doing so they showed a complete lack of understanding of man's whole political history: no matter how benevolent an autocratic society—be it left, center or right on the political spectrum—the people prefer democratic self-rule.

During a 70-year period in the 1800's when the United States was still basking in the newness of independence—a period which included the administrations of Presidents Jefferson and Madison—the citizens of Washington had self-government. The Senate has voted on six different occasions for a return to this cherished principle. The House has yet to do so and I am deeply disappointed that during this session it passed up an excellent opportunity to correct a grievous wrong.

ROLLCALL NOS. 342 AND 343, FEDERAL SALARY ACT

Mr. Speaker, House passage of the Federal employees pay bill was a follow-through on a commitment which Congress made in 1962 when it embraced the principle of comparability—Government employees should receive pay comparable to that of private industry for the same type of work. Concerned that too many well-trained and experienced Federal workers were leaving Government because they were unable to support their families on the poor pay, we sought to stem the flow by promising 1.7 million of our fellow Americans a fair shake from the paymaster. This we have tried to do in H.R. 10281, and although we did not quite deliver all that was promised and due we made a big leap forward.

But we must remember that the job is not yet finished. The lower levels on the Government pay scale, who comprise a high percentage of the total, will receive a wage boost sufficient to bring them up only to the Bureau of Labor Statistics index for February–March 1964. This means that they are still more than a year behind comparability. We are granting a 4-percent increase when the market dictates that 7 percent is needed to achieve comparability. The middle and upper levels are lagging about 3 years behind the private sector.

Importantly, however, the bill incorporates an automatic feature which will be triggered in October 1966, 1 year after the effective date of the House-approved 4-percent raise. This feature is based on a two-part formula: a cost-of-living adjustment computed on the basis of comparability with private enterprise for 1 year, and an increase at each salary level equal to one-half the amount by which Federal pay now lags behind comparable civilian pay. It is impossible to predict exactly what next year's pay boost will be, but we are assured that there will be an across-the-board raise.

Another important provision of the bill deals with overtime and holiday pay for postal employees, perhaps the most dedicated and hardest working single group in our Government's ranks. Thousands of postal substitutes are working 70 and 80 hours a week at straight time pay. We are long overdue in cutting out this reactionary practice and I am hopeful the Senate will accept our proposal to guarantee all postal field service employees time and one-half for work officially ordered in excess of 8 hours a day or 40 hours a week. The House bill also decrees that employees who work on legal Federal holidays will receive double time, with double time and one-half for Christmas Day. Other sections of the bill provide increased allowances for uniforms, a system of severance pay, and relocation expenses for postal workers displaced by the ZIP code and sectional center system.

Just one word, Mr. Speaker, about the recommittal motion which killed the proposed legislative machinery that would resolve forevermore the question of salaries for Cabinet officers, Members of Congress, Federal judges, and other Federal executives.

As Congressmen we are the only persons in the Federal Government who are called upon to set their own salaries. Over the years too many in this body have failed to take a stand on the matter, not because they doubted a salary increase was justified, but because they feared reprisals at the polls. A majority of the Members finally screwed up enough courage in the last Congress to substantially increase salaries in the legislative, executive, and judicial branches. It was the first time in 9 years that Congress had the guts to do so, and it was precisely because raises were so long overdue that they were so substantial.

Nevertheless, this year we had an excellent chance to break the shackles which bind us to the archaic and embarrassing practice of establishing our own pay. This would have been easily accomplished by tying any future raises to the whole Federal salary structure: when comparability raises were provided to civil service employees all along the line a proportionate increase would also be granted to members of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches. It was a simple solution to Congress historic problem.

ROLLCALL NOS. 356 AND 357, HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION

Control the signs and hide the junk,
It's all we ask or seek.
Behind yon hill the sun has sunk,
We hardly had a peek.

Mr. Speaker, my poetic effort is meant to counter allegations by opponents of the Highway Beautification Act to the effect that the only person interested in its passage was the First Lady. I would merely remind those who hold this view that the vast majority of motoring Americans consider the principle of controlling billboards and junkyards along our major highways a very worthwhile one. It was President Eisenhower, not Lady Bird Johnson, who in 1957 and 1958 submitted to Congress specific recommendations for billboard control, recommendations which were much more stringent than those enacted by the National Legislature.

It is only the unfortunate blind who have traveled this wide and wonderful country who have not been appalled at the garish clutter of signs which sock the eye from every direction, obliterating the scenic wonders which the Creator made for all men to enjoy. While billboard entrepreneurs have an economic right to hawk their wares, I also believe that the motoring citizen whose tax money has been invested for him in a vast network of Federal highways has a right to some relief from the hucksters of the road. We have long regulated airwave frequencies so that the amateur radio operator down the street does not interfere with our favorite television viewing. The Nation's highways, like its airways, are public property and it was time Congress decided that the motorist is also entitled to some degree of scenic viewing.

The Highway Beautification Act gives full consideration to enhancing our highways, while properly balancing this factor with legitimate business and industrial operations adjacent to these highways. Examination of the act's provisions attests to the equitable balance which was achieved: on-premise advertising is fully authorized and not subject to Federal regulation, as is outdoor advertising in commercial and industrial areas, either zoned or unzoned. With these exceptions, billboards will be excluded within 660 feet of the edge of the right-of-way along interstate and primary systems.

The exercise of zoning authority is left entirely with the States and local governments. Existing signs which are in control areas will not have to be removed for 5 years, and just compensation will be paid to sign owners and to property owners on which the sign is located. Motels, restaurants, service stations and other businesses catering to the motoring public will be assisted by official signs at appropriate places giving specific information, including names and brands, of interest to the traveler.

Public hearings will be held in each State before specific rules and regulations are promulgated, and before the Secretary can cut a State's apportionment of highway funds by 10 percent for failure to control billboards and junkyards an opportunity for a hearing will also have to be granted. If the decision is adverse to the State it can receive full judicial review in Federal court.

Control the signs and hide the junk,
It's all we ask or seek.
Behind yon hill the sun has sunk,
We hardly had a peek.

With enactment of the Highway Beautification Act it should not be very long before American motorists get more than a peek.

ROLLCALL NOS. 363 AND 367, SUGAR ACT

Mr. Speaker, take almost any derogatory adjective in the dictionary, apply it to H.R. 11135, and you have my definition of the sugar bill—a measure that will cost American consumers at least $2 billion over the next 5 years. Paying through the nose would be an understatement of fact. Not only will consumer dollars be used to pay a high subsidy to foreign sugar producers, but this economic felony will be compounded when the subsidies jack up the price of sugar at the grocery store.

I suspect the average housewife is unaware that sugar is one of the most rigidly controlled commodities on the kitchen shelf. H.R. 11135 specifies the exact sugar tonnage which can be produced and marketed by domestic growers, and it fixes the number of tons that foreign countries can ship to the United States. When the foreign sugar arrives at U.S. ports, the producers receive a large subsidy. To determine the amount we have only to know that the average world price for raw sugar last month was 1.8 cents a pound, and that foreign sugar producers were paid 6.85 cents per pound for raw sugar delivered to New York. This means that the American consumer is now forking over to foreign producers a bonus of about $100 for every ton of sugar which they deliver to the United States. No wonder, then, that this year 29 foreign countries hired high-priced lobbyists in an effort to get a sugar quota assigned to them or to get their present quotas increased.

Supporters of the sugar bill tried to strengthen their arguments with the nonsense that it was a form of foreign aid. This is utterly ridiculous. Foreign aid is designed to benefit the people, not multimillionaire plantation owners, large corporations, and foreign dictators. In the Dominican Republic the tyrant Trujillo amassed a personal fortune of $800 million with profits from his sugar quotas. "Papa Doc" Duvalier is doing the same thing today in Haiti. In fact, very few of the countries on the quota list qualify for aid under our foreign assistance criteria. In the Bahamas, for instance, Owen-Illinois, which has a plant in my congressional district, would be the sole beneficiary of a $1 million annual subsidy for 5 years. This company has never produced sugar but now wants to go into the sugar business in a land

where sugar has never been grown. Their lobbyist succeeded in securing a 10,000-ton special quota for Owen-Illinois.

Arguments that American consumers would be without sugar if the bill failed to pass were also without foundation in fact. Under existing legislation the current quotas would continue to apply if the House had voted down the proposal. With the defeat of H.R. 11135, we could then have come up with a bill which would have permitted domestic sugar producers to expand their output with no ties to foreign quotas.

A Significant Vote in the U.N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is necessary for us to consistently remind the State Department that the greatest abuses of colonialism today are found in the Communist colonial practices of the Soviet Union and Red China. I regret that Ambassador Goldberg did not use the opportunity during the recent U.N. debate on Rhodesia to emphasize that the only major colonial powers were the two Communist dictatorships, the U.S.S.R. and Red China. However, columnist David Lawrence, writing in yesterday's Evening Star, directs our attention to this question, and I insert his column in the RECORD at this point as part of my remarks:

A SIGNIFICANT VOTE IN THE U.N.

(By David Lawrence)

An event of tremendous significance has just occurred in the United Nations. By a vote of 107 to 2, the General Assembly has called on Britain to refuse to accept a declaration of independence by Rhodesia, because the latter's present government will not grant a majority of the inhabitants self-rule but will continue to give a white minority the preponderant power.

While there is a widespread feeling that the black man in Africa should have his rights, the incident raises the question of why the same principle shouldn't be applied to the people of other countries where a white majority have been and still are being denied the right to rule themselves.

Thus, for example, the populations of Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia are overwhelmingly white, but their independence is impaired by an outside power which holds them in subjugation under "Communist colonialism."

The fact that the General Assembly of the United Nations now is insisting on self-government for different nations throughout the world which have been ruled by outside powers is an encouraging sign. The captive nations in Eastern Europe, however, have never had the benefit of a United Nations resolution declaring that they should enjoy independence and be allowed to develop autonomously without interference from other governments. Certainly the United Nations has never advocated the use of "all possible force" to deal with this problem, as it has just recommended with respect to Rhodesia.

In the case of the satellite countries in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union supposedly gave independence to this bloc of nations but nevertheless has managed to retain control through the apparatus of the Communist Party and often with military forces. The Russians try to spread the impression every now and then that these Eastern European countries are independent and can make trade arrangements with other parts of the world. But the fact remains that they do not really have self-government.

So any pronouncement by the United Nations today with respect to the right of self-government for the people of Rhodesia, the majority of whom happen to be black, could be taken to mean that the world's biggest international organization may soon express itself in favor of the principle of self-government for white people who have come under the yoke of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe.

It is significant that the United States voted for the resolution to hold up the grant of independence to Rhodesia by Britain, and in a friendly understanding with the British Foreign Office has undertaken to work in harmony with the authorities there. Pressure is to be brought to bear on the Rhodesian whites to prevent them from becoming independent under a government which, it is argued, wouldn't reflect the will of the majority of the people. There are nearly 4 million tribesmen, mostly uneducated, and 250,000 whites possessing skills of various kinds.

The State Department here has indicated it will participate in economic sanctions whereby trade would be cut off and aid of various kinds would be interrupted if the Rhodesian leaders insist upon separating themselves from the British and going it alone.

But, it will be asked, just why shouldn't Britain and other countries be willing to apply the same formula to Red China? For the Peiping regime has undertaken to prevent a majority of the people in South Vietnam from maintaining their independence?

The United Nations has, in effect, approved all measures of economic or military force that may be necessary to insure the independence of Rhodesia under a government chosen by a majority of its people. This gives hope that in the future perhaps the same concern will be felt and similar measures adopted to insure the right of the majority of the people of Vietnam to govern themselves without interference by a minority aided by Red China or the Soviet Union or any other country. Some day, too, perhaps the peoples of Eastern Europe will be helped by the United Nations to regain the independence they once enjoyed.

Reporter Everett Allen Cited for Coverage of Cuban Freedom Movement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the mounting exodus from Castro's Cuba is a dramatic reminder that Cuban men and women are willing to risk their lives and give up lifelong homes for exile and uncertainty to find freedom.

It should remind us too that their sons, brothers, and husbands have suffered imprisonment and death in the fight to free their island home of Communist tyranny. The fight continues.

Sunday night, in New York City, two major free Cuban organizations in this country reaffirmed their determination to see Cuba returned to the family of free nations. In so doing, they paid special tribute to several American journalists for their help in exposing Castroism and bringing the story of the free-Cuba movement to the American people.

I am proud to note that special tribute was paid a resident of my congressional district, Everett S. Allen, a staff writer for the Standard-Times of New Bedford, Mass., who has written penetrating articles on the Cuban situation since 1959.

Everett Allen and the newspaper for which he has written many prize-winning articles, the Standard-Times, very early saw the menace of Castroism. Allen characterized Fidel Alegandro Castro Ruz as a "pistol-toting drunkard," and termed him a "power-hungry despot." The Standard-Times was one of the first, if not the first major American newspaper to explode the Castro myth and expose him as a dangerous pro-Communist despot. In 1959, when the American Society of Newspaper Editors invited Castro to be their principal speaker at an annual meeting, the editor of the Standard-Times urged that the invitation be withdrawn. When it was not, he refused to attend the meeting and continued to warn his readers of the true character of Castro—this at a time when most other newspapers were writing of Fidel as a colorful liberator of the Cuban people.

In 1962, Mr. Allen wrote a major four-part series on Castro, a series 4 months in the preparation and one which was based in large part on exclusive interviews and correspondence.

Accepting his award in New York last Sunday, and a similar tribute in behalf of former U.S. Ambassador to Cuba Arthur Gardner, Mr. Allen told the Cuban patriots they must have patience in addition to their courage—"patience deriving from the knowledge that we in North America who believe Cuban liberty is of the greatest fundamental importance to all mankind will stand with you for as long as history requires."

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the account of this award ceremony, as a reminder to all of us that the passage of time has done nothing to diminish the cause of a free Cuba, or to lessen the danger to the Western Hemisphere from this Communist camp in the Caribbean:

STANDARD-TIMES WRITER HONORED—CUBA EXILES VOW TO CONTINUE FIGHT

NEW YORK, October 11.—Several hundred anti-Castro Cuban exiles, representatives of two major free-Cuba organizations in the United States, reaffirmed their determination to "continue the fight until our beloved country is free again" at a 3-hour public rally here yesterday.

A highlight of the event, coinciding with the start of National Newspaper Week, was the awarding to nine American daily newspapers, four Spanish-language publications, and three U.S. magazines of "diplomas of honor" for coverage "in defense of the brave and valiant men and women who struggle to free Cuba from the tyranny of Communism and to reincorporate our republic in the family of free nations of the American Continent."

In addition to Everett S. Allen, staff writer of the New Bedford, Mass., Standard-Times, who was cited, other publications represented by the awards included the New York Daily News, New York Herald Tribune, New York World Telegram-Sun, Miami Herald, Newsday, the Miami Daily News, Washington Star, Reader's Digest, Time, and Life.

Other individuals accepting the awards included Marguerite Higgins, whose column appears on the Standard-Times editorial page, and Ben I. Meyer, Washington bureau chief of the Associated Press.

In accepting his award, Mr. Allen, also representing former U.S. Ambassador to Cuba, Arthur Gardner of Washington, who was unable to attend, assured the audience, "You have the courage; you must have the patience required, patience deriving from the knowledge that we in North America who believe Cuban liberty is of the greatest fundamental importance to all mankind will stand with you for as long as history requires."

The sponsoring organizations, Free Cuba Patriotic Movement and the Christian Democrat Movement of Cuba, concluded the affair by calling on the United States to charter a vessel to be named "Freedom Ship, to bring over from the Red inferno that is Cuba today, those seeking freedom, to be reunited (in the United States) with their families."

Senate-House Conference on the Public Works Appropriation Bill Fails To Include $300,000 for Fremont Dam of the Lower Teton Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, Idaho has fared well in the public works appropriation bill for 1966 as agreed to in conference between the House and Senate, and which passed the House today. Included was $11,844,000 for five important projects in my State, four of which are in the Second Congressional District. These projects, and the amounts appropriated for them, are: Dworshak—Bruces Eddy—Reservoir, $11 million; Portneuf River and Marsh Creek, $400,000; Ririe Reservoir, $300,000; Heise-Roberts extension, $100,000; and Blackfoot Reservoir, $44,000. Funds for the Ririe and Blackfoot Reservoirs are for planning, while the rest are for construction.

However, Mr. Speaker, I must say I was naturally disappointed that the Senate-House conference on the public works appropriation bill, in its wisdom, did not include the $300,000 provided in the Senate version of the bill for the Fremont Dam of the lower Teton project. It is a good project, and one I believe to be of vital necessity to the residents of the area.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure Members of the House are aware of the great rampart of mountains—sometimes called the American Alps—which lie south of Yellowstone National Park, and along the Idaho-Wyoming border. These towering peaks of glacier-filled crevices, and of breathtaking beauty, are called the Tetons and form a major part of Teton National Park.

It was in the shadow of the rising sun under this majestic vertebrae of Mother Earth that I was born and reared.

Flowing out of these high places are crystal clear but swift and turbulent streams. Coursing through deep canyons the waters from the fast-melting snow in the spring emerge and flow out upon the broad, flat valleys below, inundating everything in their path. Later in the year, as the heat of summer reaches its peak, the snowpack recedes to a point where little melting occurs, and the streams slow to a trickle. Thirsty crops are too frequently left to wither in a land of little rain. These conditions have worsened as times have changed and as the area has become more highly developed.

Lands that can provide abundant yield year after year remain irregular and unpredictable and economic conditions have worsened for some 30 years.

The proposed Teton Dam is primarily and initially designed to provide supplementary water and to control spring flooding.

In House Report No. 1715, 88th Congress, 2d session, accompanying H.R. 2337, a bill to authorize this dam we find:

This is a multipurpose development designed to make maximum use of the available water resources in the area. The construction and operation of this proposed project would provide irrigation service to 151,400 acres of irrigable land. About 114,400 acres are in a highly successful irrigated agricultural area and would receive a supplemental water supply. The other 37,000 acres which are presently dryland farmed would receive a full water supply. The project would also provide substantial flood protection to a highly developed area in the Upper Snake River Basin, which has suffered severe damage from floods in recent years; make available about 75 million kilowatt-hours of electric energy annually for project pumping and for disposal through the Federal Columbia River power system; and, in addition, would provide new recreational opportunities in the area.

For the past 30 years, water users as well as businessmen in the Fremont-Madison Irrigation District, an area which is subject to both drought and floods, have been urging the construction of a dam and reservoir on the Teton River. At the present time, there are only two small reservoirs for water storage in the area, and the water which is impounded is subject to prior downstream rights. The canals which serve the Fremont-Madison Irrigation District lose their natural flow early in the irrigation season resulting in late season water shortages. A supplemental water supply for the existing irrigated land in the district is the greatest need in the area. This area is completely dependent upon agriculture, and the frequent crop losses due to drought conditions have a serious adverse impact which is felt not only by the local economy but throughout the entire State.

The new land which would be brought into irrigated production would be a great asset to this area, strengthening and firming up the economy and providing for diversified crops on lands presently devoted to dryland grains.

This same area, for which firm water supply is so badly needed, is also subject to serious flooding. Floods and drought conditions in the same year are not uncommon. The spring floods in many years cause inundation of farmlands, homes, and areas of improvements, as well as threaten the life and health of humans and livestock. Substantial economic losses have occurred. The seriousness of an alternate drought and flood cycle was vividly illustrated in 1961 and 1962. During the summer of 1961, Fremont and Madison Counties were declared a drought emergency area. In February 1962 extremely high runoff caused record floods in Henry's Fork and Teton River valleys and the Snake River plain. Thus, within 6 months, the same area was declared a drought area and a flood disaster area. Destructive floods occurred in the area just a few weeks before the committee held hearings on this legislation in June. The committee was impressed with the extent of damage indicated by photographs furnished during the hearings. A large percentage of the floodflows that have been so damaging are contributed by the Teton River, and storage space in the proposed Fremont Reservoir would provide substantial protection against future floods.

Electric energy that would be made available would be an additional valuable asset that is needed to meet the ever-expanding power requirements.

At the present time, recreation facilities in the area are taxed to the limit. The recreational opportunities that would be made available by construction of this project in the form of boating, camping, fishing, etc., would help meet the increased demand.

Mr. Speaker, support of this project has been completely bipartisan. The first bill on it was introduced by the late Senator Henry Dworshak in the 87th Congress. It was later reintroduced and cosponsored by Senators FRANK CHURCH and LEN B. JORDAN in the 88th Congress on the Senate side, and by my predecessor, Representative Ralph Harding, on the House side. It currently has the wholehearted support of the entire Idaho congressional delegation.

Twice the Idaho State Legislature has memorialized the Congress in its support. Following is the text of Senate Joint Memorial No. 5, Idaho State Legislature, 38th session, in such support:

SENATE JOINT MEMORIAL NO. 5

Joint memorial to the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, and the Honorable President of the United States

We, your memorialists, the members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the Legislature of the State of Idaho, assembled in the 38th session thereof, do respectfully represent that:

Whereas the 88th Congress of the United States of America, by an act approved September 7, 1964, entitled Teton Basin Reclamation Project, Idaho, and known as Public Law 88-583, 78 Stat. 925, authorized to be appropriated for the construction of the Fremont Dam and other facilities of the lower division of the Teton Basin Federal reclamation project the sum of $52 million plus or minus justifiable amounts for ordinary fluctuations in construction costs and for operation and maintenance costs; and

Whereas said project received the overwhelming support of Congress and all persons in the affected areas, of both political faiths, as being necessary and within the public interest to arrest the flooding waters of the Teton River and its tributaries by the construction of a dam and reservoir to use the impounded water, most of which in high runoff periods in the past has gone rushing down through the lower valleys eroding valuable farmlands and damaging and destroying homes and other properties; for the irrigation of arid and semiarid lands, the development of river power opportunities, the providing for recreation facilities, and the

conservation of fish and wildlife: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the 38th session of the Legislature of the State of Idaho, now in session (the senate and house of representatives concurring), That the Congress and its respective committees and subcommittees and the President of the United States in this session of Congress be respectfully petitioned to give the very earliest consideration, approval, and authorization to the making of the appropriation of the funds necessary to commence construction of the Fremont Dam, reservoir, and other facilities of the Teton Basin reclamation project, Idado; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state of the State of Idaho be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to immediately forward certified copies of this memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives and the President of the United States of America, and to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State.

This senate joint memorial was adopted by the senate on the 28th day of January 1965.

W. E. DREVLOW,
President of the Senate.

This senate joint memorial was adopted by the house of representatives on the 1st day of February 1965.

PETE T. CENARRUSA,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

I hereby certify that the within Senate Joint Memorial No. 5 originated in the senate during the 38th session of the Legislature of the State of Idaho.

ARTHUR WILSON,
Secretary of the Senate.

There is no controversy over this project within the State of Idaho. It has won wide public acceptance, both among those who would use the water made available by it, and among nonusers. Following is the text of a resolution adopted at the annual meeting of Water District No. 36, Idaho Falls, on March 1, 1965, in support of the Fremont Dam.

Whereas, the 88th Congress of the United States of America approved and passed September 7, 1964, an act entitled "Teton Basin Reclamation Project, Idaho" and known as Public Law 88-583; 78 Stat. 925, and

Whereas, funds were not appropriated at that time for the construction of the project, and

Whereas, said project has received the overwhelming support of Congress and all persons in the affected areas, of both political parties, as being necessary and within the public interest: Now therefore, be it

Resolved by the waterusers of Water District No. 36 at their annual meeting in Idaho Falls, Idaho, on March 1, 1965, That the Congress of the United States in this session, make the necessary appropriation of funds for the early construction of the Fremont Dam, reservoir and other facilities of the Teton Basin reclamation project, Idaho: be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of this meeting be, and he is hereby authorized and directed to immediately forward certified copies of this resolution to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State.

I have pointed up the fact that this project has had complete bipartisan support. I would also like to point up the fact that the Department of the Interior repeatedly has stated that politics has no place in its consideration of projects—that projects are approved or disapproved solely on their merits.

As an example of this approach by the Department, I include at this point a copy of a letter I received some time ago from Commissioner Floyd E. Dominy, Bureau of Reclamation.

U.S. DEPARTMENT,
OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF RECLAMATION,
Washington, D.C., May 11, 1965.

Hon. GEORGE V. HANSEN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HANSEN: In your letter of April 26, 1965, you presented several questions regarding the Teton Basin project and asked that we furnish you the answers.

The questions and answers are as follows:

1. "Is there a need for this project to be started at an early date?"

A highly successful diversified agriculture has developed in the existing Fremont-Madison Irrigation District. The primary cash crop is potatoes which are grown in rotation with hay, feed grains, and pasture to support an extensive livestock industry. However, the area is subject to annual shortages of irrigation water in the late summer months which restricts crop production. Occasionally the shortages are very severe. The area also is frequently flooded by spring runoff which causes severe flood damage to land and improvements both in the project area and in the highly developed upper Snake River area immediately downstream. The seriousness of this alternating flooding and drought is illustrated by the fact that in the summer of 1961 the project area was declared a drought disaster area. During the following February the extremely high runoff caused severe flooding in the valley and the Snake River plain which resulted in the area being declared a flood disaster area. Multipurpose storage is urgently needed to control the damaging floodflows and conserve the water for irrigation purposes.

2. "If funds were available, how soon could advance planning be started?"

Advance planning could be started within about 2 weeks after funds became available for that purpose.

3. "Could an engineering field study of the area be started within 90 days?"

Yes. See answer to question 2.

4. "Could access roads, test well drilling, and hydrological land surveys be started without delay?"

The first priority of advance planning is the hydrologic studies and the ground water exploration including a test and observation well drilling program. This work could be started without delay. The next priority is the foundation drilling at the damsite. This work could be undertaken as soon as contractual arrangements could be completed for the drilling. The present roads are adequate for access for advance planning purposes with a minimum amount of repair and improvement. Additional access roads would be required for construction purposes but this would be done as part of the construction program.

5. "Would it be feasible to begin appraisal rights-of-way acquisition?"

Rights-of-way appraisal is not a critical or major item, and in an orderly sequence of work would be delayed until late in the first year or early in the second year of advance planning.

6. "Are the local irrigators willing to assume the repayment costs?"

The Lower Teton Division is to be constructed in two stages. The initial stage will consist of Fremont Dam, reservoir, and powerplant, together with the facilities to provide a supplemental water supply for the land now being irrigated in the Fremont-Madison Irrigation District. The second stage will consist of facilities to develop irrigation on 37,000 acres now being dryfarmed in the Rexburg Bench area. The second stage will require further study and water exchange arrangements to firm up the water supply. Construction of those facilities is to be deferred until the details have been worked out and a feasibility report has been submitted to the Congress.

Discussions with the water users of the initial stage regarding details of the repayment arrangement have not been initiated pending the availability of advance planning funds. However, the water users participated in the congressional hearings and strongly supported early authorization and construction of the project. No difficulty is anticipated in completing the necessary repayment arrangements for the initial stage.

7. "Are there any disagreements in Idaho concerning the project?"

There are no disagreements in Idaho concerning the construction of the initial stage.

8. "Is there controversy between the State of Idaho and the State of Wyoming on this project?"

There is no controversy between the States of Idaho and Wyoming.

9. "Are the farmers in the area prepared to negotiate on a contract repayment schedule?"

The farmers in the Fremont-Madison Irrigation District are strongly supporting early start of construction, and as indicated in answer to question 6, no difficulty is anticipated in obtaining a satisfactory irrigation repayment contract.

10. "Has the first phase of contract negotiations been worked out with the local irrigation districts?"

As indicated in answer to question 6, discussions with the prospective water users regarding the details of the repayment contract have not been initiated although the plan of development and the requirements for repayment under reclamation law have been discussed with them on a number of occasions.

11. "How much money do you estimate would be required to begin advance planning?"

Funds in the amount of $300,000 would be used during the initial year for advance planning studies. The funds would be used for foundation exploration, field surveys, ground water exploration including a test and observation well drilling program, hydrologic and land classification studies, right-of-way appraisals, and contract negotiations.

12. "Could you use as little as $50,000 to start work with the water users to prepare for contract negotiations?"

As little as $50,000 could be used the first year, although the work that could be accomplished with that amount would be limited and start of construction of necessity would be delayed.

Your interest in the Teton Basin project is appreciated. If we can be of further assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

FLOYD E. DOMINY,
Commissioner.

I would like to emphasize, Mr. Speaker, Commissioner Dominy's answer to the first question I had asked—particularly the sentences which read:

The seriousness of this alternating flooding and drought is illustrated by the fact that in the summer of 1961 the project area was declared a drought disaster area. During the following February the extremely high runoff caused severe flooding in the valley and the Snake River plain which resulted in the area being declared a flood disaster area.

This point is further emphasized by the statement, contained in House Report No. 1715 that: "Thus, within 6 months, the same area was declared a drought area and a flood disaster area."

In recent testimony before the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Mr. Kenneth Holum, Assistant Sec-

retary for Water and Power, Department of the Interior, stated that cost-benefit ratio is not the only index upon which the Department bases its recommendations. He said in part:

It is an important index, but it is not the only index that ought to be considered.

Other factors, Mr. Speaker, surely should be the economic condition of the project area and the effect an immediate or a delayed start would have upon it. The recurring floods and droughts have had severe adverse effect on the economy of the area—to the extent that it has, in the past, been forced to call upon the Federal Government for aid under various Federal programs in addition to the relief frequently sought as a disaster area.

Mr. Speaker, this project has been divided into two parts because of the urgency of the initial phase. Secretary Holum, in a letter to the Honorable WAYNE N. ASPINALL, chairman, House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, dated March 11, 1964, stated:

Problems associated with negotiating exchanges to firm up the water supply for irrigation of Rexburg Bench lands and adjusting operations to accommodate that development may take some time to solve, and they should not be allowed to impede developments for which there is an immediate present need.

All of the above, Mr. Speaker, I believe makes an extremely strong case for an early construction start on the Fremont Dam. It is wanted, it is needed, and it will easily pay for itself in 50 years.

VA Contact Representative Needed in New London, Conn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert into the RECORD the text of a letter and a resolution which I received recently from the Veterans Council of the New London Area, in my district. The council is comprised of representatives of the major veterans organizations, all of whom have signed the resolution. Other veterans groups, not affiliated with the council, likewise signed the resolution. This indicates the unanimity of support for the proposal contained therein.

The resolution calls upon the Veterans' Administration "to assign a contact representative to New London, Conn., on a one-day-a-week basis" to assist veterans residing in the area. It is estimated that at the present time there are about 60,000 veterans residing in New London County. Formerly, the VA had an office in New London, but it was closed down at the end of 1961.

In all of Connecticut there are now only five VA contact representatives: three in the VA regional office in Hartford, one at the veterans hospital in Newington, and one at the VA hospital in West Haven. There is no contact representative in eastern Connecticut, so that veterans in that area in need of advice or assistance must take a day off to travel to the western part of the state to contact a VA representative.

Mr. Speaker, all of our World War I veterans are now in advanced years, and most of our World War II veterans are now in their forties, fifties and even older. For those in poor health it is not easy to make the trip to see their VA representative, while those still working are reluctant to lose a day's work. I therefore strongly support the proposal that the VA assign a representtaive to New London to aid the veterans of eastern Connecticut with their problems. I feel that it is not too much to ask for the services of one man to provide assistance to 60,000 veterans.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the letter and the resolution of the Veterans Council of the New London Area which reads as follows:

VETERANS COUNCIL OF THE
NEW LONDON AREA,
New London, Conn., October 4, 1965.

Hon. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE,
Member of Congress, House of Representatives Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ST. ONGE: This council wishes to petition your office via the attached resolution, passed on September 30, 1965, to help the veterans of New London County to obtain more direct service from the Veterans' Administration.

The total number of contact representatives of the VA in the whole State of Connecticut are only five: three located in the regional office in Hartford, one in Newington veterans hospital, and one in West Haven VA Hospital. It is apparent that additional VA contact representatives are needed because those already on the job cannot handle the workload, and they are already spread too thin.

In effect the only readily available contact service is at the VA regional office, Hartford, Conn. It is apparent that the veterans in New London County are at a great disadvantage and suffer the lack of service for VA actions because of the distance and expense involved, and the necessity in many cases to have to take a full day off from work to go to Hartford for something that could be easily handled in a matter of minutes in New London by trained help. There are questions in their minds and forms to be completed which they cannot handle themselves.

Other veterans organizations in New London County have requested copies of this resolution and, most likely, will write you direct.

Your cooperation in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Please feel free to contact me at any time, the phone numbers, etc., are enclosed.

Most sincerely,

LAWRENCE E. HARTLEY,
Council Chairman.

RESOLUTION

Whereas there are an estimated 60,000 veterans plus active duty veterans residing in New London County, and

Whereas the Veterans' Administration contact office formerly located in the city of New London which had a minimum of 25 contacts a day has been closed since December 31, 1961, and

Whereas there is expected to be an increase in the number of veterans with problems, especially due to the advancing age of the veteran population, and

Whereas it is apparent that veterans in New London County do not have available access to information or assistance in their area with regard to their status as veterans: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Veterans Council of the New London Area and other unaffiliated veterans organizations in the area who have signed below by their duty authorized representatives, That U.S. Representative WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE of the Second Congressional District is hereby requested to use his good offices to prevail upon the Veterans' Administration to assign a contact representative to New London, Conn., on a 1 day a week basis to advise and assist veterans residing in New London County.

Said resolution was adopted by the Veterans Council of the New London Area at a meeting held on September 30, 1965.

LAWRENCE E. HARTLEY,
Chairman.

JOHN FIPPS,
Secretary.

Attest:

Member organizations

American Legion, John Coleman Prince Post No. 9, New London, Conn.

Jewish War Veterans Post 160, New London, Conn.

Marine Corps League, William A. Donahue Detachment, New London, Conn.

Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Murphy-Rathbun Post No. 189, New London, Conn.

Waterford Post No. 6573, Waterford, Conn.

Veterans of World War I, Thames Valley Barracks No. 519, New London, Conn.

American Legion, Waterford Post No. 161, Waterford, Conn.

Polish American Veterans and Auxiliary Club, New London, Conn.

Attest:

Nonmember organizations

Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Hugo A. Simonelli Post No. 3263, Mystic, Conn.

Kari-Hill Post No. 5849, VFW, East Lyme, Conn.

Turner-Tinker Post No. 128, American Legion, East Lyme, Conn.

Veterans of World War I, Fort Griswold Barracks No. 562, Groton, Conn.

Mary Lushene Charnowski Elected State President of American Jugoslav Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, the growth of the United States is indeed in part indebted to the great work force of Slavs on Minnesota's iron range. The American Jugoslav Association is largely responsible for keeping up some of the rich traditions long associated with the Yugoslavs. At the 41st annual convention of the association in Ely, one of the most active, popular, and loyal members, Mary Lushene Charnowski was elected the State president. The highlights of this convention appeared in the Tribune-Press of September 28 and I respectfully request that the account be reprinted:

[From the Chisholm (Minn.) Tribune-Press, Sept. 28, 1965]

MARY LUSHENE CHARNOWSKI ELECTED STATE PRESIDENT

Lt. Governor Sandy Keith, in his address before delegates and friends at the 41st annual State convention of the American Jugoslav Association in Ely, emphasized that our Nation must demand, through education, and technical training, better and better people as the watchmen on the walls of world freedom.

The State official urged the Yugoslavs to hold on to their culture and heritage and to take pride in passing it on to their children. The history of the Slavs on the range and in Minnesota is a unique one, punctuated with their diligence in digging out the iron ore that built the cities, the bridges, the tanks, the skyscrapers that are the ramparts of this Nation.

Delegates from the entire iron range convened during the late morning and afternoon hours to work on a number of key resolutions which were adopted by the entire convention.

Among the resolutions were the following:

1. Request for the appointment of a nine-member tax commission to serve 3-year terms, named by the Governor on an economic and geographic basis, whose function it shall be to set forth taxation policies which the tax commissioner is to carry out. This would place the authority in the commission rather than one individual.

2. A resolution urging concerted continued action to eliminate the pollution of our air and waters.

3. Because of the gross inequities that have resulted from recent reappraisals of Iron Range value was grossly misjudged by appraisal teams appointed by the State tax commissioner be it resolved that the Governor and the State legislature be directed to investigate these grossly unfair appraisals and subsequent assessments with a view to new legislation that will demand honest and fair appraisal on current market values.

4. Be it resolved that the association urge the legislature to continue their efforts to repeal the old age lien law, a law that is conflicting, outdated and very unfair.

5. Be it resolved that this association set up the machinery for the publication of a history of the Slavs, their cultures, traditions and contributions over the past hundred years to the State of Minnesota and to the Nation.

6. Be it resolved that the Government and associated agencies continue their work in the expansion, extension and improvement of the Medicare program.

7. Resolved that appropriations be made to make necessary improvements of much travelled highways across the Iron Range in order that workers can travel quickly and safely.

8. Urge the establishment of more day care centers on the Iron Range for the mentally retarded; the increase of appropriations for day care centers and the enactment of a transportation law that will provide for the transportation of trainable and nontrainable retarded children to and from the centers.

9. The association went on record abiding by the State law regarding the time change, and urged the Federal Government to establish a uniform time zone across the Nation thus eliminating the confusion which exists at this time particularly in the State of Minnesota.

The annual election of officers was held and Mrs. Ed (Mary Lushene) Charnowski of Eveleth was elected president.

Retiring president Judge John Somrock of Ely is automatically a member of the executive board and also was made cochairman of the annual Yugoslav picnic.

Mrs. Anna Krall of Eveleth was named first vice president. Mrs. Jennie Zobitz of Chisholm was namend second vice. Mrs. William Brank of Virginia was reelected secretary; and John R. Gornick of Chisholm was reelected association treasurer.

The trustees are Frank Stukel, Ed Petek and Stan Kunstel of Ely; Mrs. Mary Lenich and Mrs. Mary Ritmanich, both of Eveleth.

The convention will again be held in Ely next year.

Edward Petek was the toastmaster at the banquet. Community singing was led by Miss Mary Hutar, and piano accompanist was Mrs. Charles Merhar.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

House passed supplemental appropriation bill and adopted conference report on public works appropriation bill.

Senate

Chamber Action

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held Friday, October 15, at noon.

Committee Meetings

(*Committees not listed did not meet*)

APPROPRIATIONS—SUPPLEMENTAL AGRICULTURE

Committee on Appropriations: Subcommittee held hearings on fiscal 1966 supplemental budget estimates for the Department of Agriculture, with testimony from Gladwin E. Young, Associate Administrator, Soil Conservation Service; Howard Bertsch, Administrator, Farmers Home Administration; S. R. Smith, Administrator, Consumer and Marketing Service; and Charles Grant, Office of Budget and Finance, all of the Department of Agriculture.

APPROPRIATIONS—SUPPLEMENTAL INDEPENDENT OFFICES

Committee on Appropriations: Subcommittee held hearings on fiscal 1966 supplemental budget estimates for independent offices, with testimony in behalf of funds for their respective agencies from Edward J. Driscoll, Executive Director, Civil Aeronautics Board; and Robert C. Weaver, Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Administration.

APPROPRIATIONS—SUPPLEMENTAL

Committee on Appropriations: Subcommittee held hearings on proposed fiscal 1966 supplemental budget estimates for the Office of Economic Opportunity, with testimony from R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., Director.

SUGAR

Committee on Finance: Committee held hearings on H.R. 11135, proposed Sugar Act Amendments of 1965, with testimony from John Schnittker, Under Secretary of Agriculture; Thomas C. Mann, Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs; and Frank A. Kemp, in behalf of all segments of the domestic sugar-producing and sugar-refining industries.

Hearings continue tomorrow, at the conclusion of which committee will meet for the executive consideration of this bill.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES' PAY

Committee on Post Office and Civil Service: Committee met in executive session to consider H.R. 10281, proposed Government Employees' Salary Comparability Act of 1965, but did not conclude action thereon, and will meet again tomorrow.

House of Representatives

Chamber Action

Bills Introduced: 17 public bills, H.R. 11598–11614; 10 private bills, H.R. 11615–11624; and 66 resolutions, H.J. Res. 700–762, and H. Res. 607–609, were introduced.

Pages 26096–26098

Bills Reported: Reports were filed as follows:

Correction—In the DIGEST of October 13 House Report 1163 was incorrectly shown as the conference report on H.R. 9022, providing Federal assistance for school construction in areas affected by major disasters; actually it was the conference report on H.R. 9220, fiscal 1966 appropriations for public works.

Twentieth report of the Committee on Government Operations entitled "Review of Market Promotion Activity of Foreign Agricultural Service" (H. Rept. 1165);

S. 1004, making title III of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act directly applicable to procurement of property and nonpersonal services by executive agencies (H. Rept. 1166); and

Appendix

Increasing Coal Exports and Coal Production Efficiency Helpful to Economic Growth and Our Balance of Payments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 15, 1965

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, it is appropriate that attention be invited periodically to the vital role of the coal industry in service to the national interest at home and abroad.

On October 3 at Huntington, W. Va., I had the privilege of hearing a discussion of the exciting potentials for coal exports by DeWitt Snyder, president of the Coal Exporters' Association. His speech was given to a group then beginning a 3-day tour of key coal mining, transport, and consuming centers of West Virginia, Ohio, and Kentucky.

The tour, conducted by the National Coal Policy Conference, included 62 representatives from leading newspapers and trade magazines, from Government agencies, and from eight foreign countries which are large purchasers of U.S. coal—Argentina, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and West Germany.

Mr. Snyder predicted that overseas shipments of coal—not including Canada—should double to 70 million tons during the next decade.

His prediction agreed with comments on the present firm export market by Secretary of Interior Udall the previous week. The Secretary declared that, primarily because of the industry's "phenomenal achievements in production efficiency," American coal has gained acceptance in foreign energy markets as a reliable source of fuel. Secretary Udall also said that recent studies indicated the possibility of increasing total exports to as much as 80 million tons or more annually.

What this means to the national interest is clearly shown by the fact that current exports of 51 million tons of coal annually—including 16 million tons to Canada—are contributing $500 million in credits to help correct our country's adverse balance of payments.

Also, whenever American coal goes abroad to supply fuel for the steel and energy needs of free countries it is strengthening their abilities to work with with us in the drive for world peace.

Coal is prepared to carry out the task of doubling exports, Mr. Snyder stated, reassuring the travelers that there is a definite supply of high-quality coal reserves to meet all anticipated demands. But he cautioned that the industry must have a sustained market to finance development of the reserves. There are in existence between our coal exporters and users abroad a number of 10-year contracts—compared to the usual 3-year argeements in the oil industry. To enable fulfillment of export potentials, I hope overseas countries will be encouraged to agree to more of these long-term contracts.

As evidence of our Government's current interest in helping the coal export program, I invite attention to the Omnibus Rivers and Harbors Act of 1965 which will provide for deepening and widening channels of the James River to Hampton Roads, and to improve the harbors at Norfolk and Newport News, Va. When completed at a cost approximating $46 million, this improvement will allow larger ships and coal-hauling vessels to navigate the estuary. This could result in increasing coal exportation from Hampton Roads ports by as much as 8 to 10 million tons per year.

Coal's opportunity abroad is not an accident. It is the result of meeting two serious challenges which threatened the industry's domestic growth during the early 1940's and 1950's. In Wheeling, W. Va., during the NCPC tour, John Corcoran, executive vice president of the Consolidation Coal Co., defined these challenges as follows:

> First, because of its years of labor strife, the coal industry was not regarded with any great favor as a stable, reliable source of fuel. Secondly, the utility market was particularly sensitive to price increases and, if coal was to reach its full potential, it had to demonstrate its ability to meet the competition of other fuels in spite of continually increasing costs of production.

As proof of meeting the price challenge, Mr. Corcoran pointed to the fact that the mine price of coal is now about 10 percent less than 15 years ago, even though miners' wages and the costs of supplies have increased 70 percent, and the cost of equipment is up 90 percent.

Labor peace has been achieved, he said, through a unique combination of cooperative effort between the coal producing companies, the United Mine Workers of America, the coal-carrying railroads, electric utilities, and coal equipment manufacturers.

Many individuals and organizations can claim credit for this improvement, including the National Coal Policy Conference which represents this industrial complex.

Thus, the coal industry has placed itself in an excellent position to seek new areas of achievement, both in this country and overseas. In addition to the anticipated doubling of exports, the industry also expects to double its electric utility tonnage to 500 million tons during the next 15 years.

The coal industry recognizes that the U.S. Government demonstrates very real interest in its domestic and export programs. There should be continuing alertness to future opportunities for extending this interest, both in the executive and legislative branches, so that there will be a true partnership with this industry in the interest of national economic growth and improvements in the balance-of-payments status.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD with these remarks the significant and informative Wheeling speech by Mr. Corcoran to the NCPC coal tour group.

There being no objection, the speech WAS ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY JOHN CORCORAN, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, CONSOLIDATION COAL CO., ENTITLED "A COAL OPERATOR LOOKS AT HIS INDUSTRY," WHEELING, W. VA., OCTOBER 4, 1965

I have selected as a title for the remarks I intend to make this evening, "A Coal Operator Looks at His Industry," not only because I hope it may be of interest to you, but also because I believe it is worthwhile for those of us in the industry to periodically review where we have been, where we now are, and where we may hope to go.

When one looks at the coal industry's history prior to 1950, he sees a long period of strife and turmoil. During this period, management and the union were constantly airing their differences in public. Strike followed strike, and more often than not, periods of peace came about only as a result of Government intervention. On another front, the coal industry and the railroads battled each other with equal vigor, and scarcely a day went by that a new rate proceeding wasn't being argued before the Interstate Commerce Commission.

And while all of this strife was in progress, the coal industry was rapidly losing some of its primary markets to other fuels. In 1945 the coal industry produced 578 million tons, and of this total, 125 million tons were sold as railroad fuel and another 125 million tons were consumed in the domestic heating market. Within a few short years both of these consumers switched to other fuels and, as a result, about 43 percent of our entire market suddenly disappeared. I mention this fact, not with any desire to solicit sympathy for our misfortunes, but simply to serve as rather concrete evidence of the fact that an industry that can successfully survive the impact of losing almost half of its market outlets possesses a degree of vitality that gives it some hope of resolving its present and future problems.

The chaotic conditions of the 1940's and early 1950's brought home to many the realization that if the coal industry was to survive at all, a new era of understanding and accomplishment had to be achieved, including the finding of new markets and the expansion of existing ones.

One existing market seemed to offer particular hope—the rapidly growing electric utility market. In 1945 the electric utilities consumed 71 million tons of coal and by 1950 this amount had grown to 88 million tons. But two factors stood in the way of further expansion. First, because of its years

of labor strife, the coal industry was not regarded with any great favor as a stable, reliable source of fuel. Secondly, the utility market was particularly sensitive to price increases, and if coal was to reach its full potential, it had to demonstrate its ability to meet the competition of other fuels in spite of continually increasing costs of production.

Meeting both of these obstacles proved a real challenge to the industry. On the matter of price stability, the achievement was quite significant. In the period 1950–64, miners' wages rose 70 percent, mine supplies went up about the same amount, the cost of capital equipment climbed 90 percent, and yet, during the same period, in spite of these substantial cost increases, the price of coal at the mine declined about 10 percent.

During this same period the industry's image as an aggressive, dependable corporate citizen began to improve. Many individuals and organizations can claim credit for this improvement. Among them is the National Coal Policy Conference—the organization under whose auspices we are meeting here tonight. As you know, it is composed of coal companies, the United Mine Workers of America, the coal carrying railroads, electric utility companies, and coal equipment manufacturers. It is an organization unique in the annals of American business. It is the first successful effort to bring together in one group all those whose welfare is geared to a particular commodity, where each segment recognizes that its own individual success depends on the welfare of the entire group, and where each may benefit in relation to his contribution to the common effort.

The results of meeting these obstacles is already apparent. In 1965 the coal industry will produce 500 million tons, the first year since 1956 that this level has been reached. Of this total about 240 to 250 million tons will be sold in the utility market, a remarkable increase from the 71 million tons of utility coal produced in 1945. Admittedly, much of this growth is due to the fact that electric power generation has doubled every 10 years since 1920. But of equal importance is the fact that the coal industry put itself in a position to share in this growth by demonstrating that it could be counted upon as a dependable source of energy, and by its remarkable record of reducing both mine prices and delivered prices in the face of constantly increasing costs.

All segments of the industry have shared in this accomplishment. The Mine Workers Union made its contribution by accepting the need for installing and utilizing mechanized machinery in the mines. Its leaders accepted the philosophy that if employment in the mines was to continue and wages were to keep pace wtih the rest of the economy, costs must be kept down, else coal would be driven from the market and no employees would be needed. Coal producers and equipment manufacturers made their contribution by investing vast sums of money in developing and installing modern, cost reducing equipment. The utilities made their contribution through the development of new methods of handling and burning coal more efficiently. The railroads made their contribution by developing new methods of transporting coal in large volumes, thereby producing significant cost savings.

And, now, what of the future? Admittedly, coal's one great growing market is still the utility industry. According to the National Power Survey, by 1980 the United States will require 2.8 trillion kilowatt hours of electricity, or slightly more than three times the amount generated in 1960. The projected fuel requirements needed to generate the 1980 power estimates are equivalent to 900 million tons of coal per year, and it is our expectation that 500 million tons of this fuel will, in fact, be coal.

In offering these projections, I have not overlooked, nor do I wish to minimize the impact atomic power is having, and will continue to have in the energy market. I am well aware of the fact that nuclear power is already a formidable competitor, and that cost of power generated by the atom is showing a steady decline. The best information available to us would indicate that nuclear plants now being designed will probably generate electricity at a cost that will be comparable to electricity produced from coal delivered at the plant site for 23 cents per million B.t.u.'s. However, one fact that is frequently overlooked is that the demonstrated reliability of this figure will not be realized until the early or mid 1970's. I cite this fact, not with any idea of minimizing the tremendous potential of nuclear power, but simply to demonstrate as accurately as possible the actual economics of atomic power competition in the next decade.

In appraising the competitive costs of atomic power and their implications for coal, it should be realized that the production of nuclear power is subsidized to a certain extent by the U.S. Government. Admittedly, some of the subsidy provisions, such as the public financing of fuel cores and the Government buy-back of plutonium, are on their way out and should completely disappear by the early 1970's. But others, such as the insurance subsidy contained in the Price-Anderson Act, still remain. At the present time a utility can purchase only $60 million of liability insurance from private insurance companies. The Price-Anderson Act provides that the utility can purchase additional insurance up to a total of $500 million from the Government at a nominal cost, and it then provides that no further liability can be imposed upon the utility company. The atomic experts assure us that nuclear power plants are quite safe. I am quite willing to accept this assurance; I am quite willing to assume that a nuclear plant is as safe as one powered by conventional fuels; but if all this be true, then certainly the continuation of this insurance subsidy and limitation of liability can no longer be justified. Once nuclear power has reached the stage—as it now has—where it is accepted by the utilities as being commercially and economically competitive, it should no longer qualify for any Government subsidy, and it should be required to compete, as we are, solely on the basis of one's ability to make a contribution to the national economy.

In the meantime the coal industry has also made significant strides in the direction of lower fuel costs. In 1958 the price of coal delivered to the east coast utilities was 39 cents per million B.t.u.'s. Today the equivalent price is about 26 to 27 cents. In the past coal delivered into the Michigan area for about 29 to 30 cents per million B.t.u.'s. Soon we can expect volume shipments of utility coal to reach this market at a 24-cent level.

The part played by our railroad associates in achieving these results deserves special mention. To fully appreciate the role transportation plays in this picture, one must understand the nature of our competition. Except for experimental units, atomic plants now under consideration are large units, and so, if coal is to compete, it, too, must gear itself to supply large units. Of equal significance is the obvious fact that an atomic plant, once constructed, will forever remain an atomic plant. It cannot convert to another fuel in the manner that earlier generating stations could switch from oil to gas or from gas or oil to coal. Thus it is no longer a case of having the opportunity of meeting one's competition on a year-to-year basis and even regaining a plant previously lost to another fuel. Today we get one, and only one, chance to compete, and if we fail in that effort we are excluded forever.

A typical new generating unit being designed by a utility today would likely have a capacity of no less than 600,000 kilowatts. Such a plant, if fueled by coal, would consume about 1.5 million tons per year. In the preatomic days a utility would feel quite secure in buying coal for such a plant from a dozen or more suppliers, negotiating each year for what it needed. But today it must make an initial decision whether to build a nuclear or a fossil fuel plant; accordingly, it must know now what its coal costs will be for the useful life of the plant; it must know now that it has a guaranteed supply of coal for the life of the plant. Immediately it is apparent that the only coal company that can even hope to compete is one that has assured reserves of 40–60 million tons of coal that it can dedicate to this one plant.

To achieve a delivered price that will make coal competitive with nuclear power, both the coal producer and the affected railroad must do everything possible to minimize their costs. For the railroad, this means that it must obtain the maximum car and power utilization; it must insist on fast loading and unloading; and it must eliminate frill services such as weighing, blending, and switching. Only by effecting all such cost savings can the railroad publish the low rate necessary to meet the delivered price target. In a number of cases these new rates require us to load 10,000-ton trains in as little as 4 hours, and to move our coal on what is literally a passenger train schedule.

Admittedly a mine with a relatively small daily production cannot meet the volume requirements and the stringent conditions required by these new rates and buying practices. In accepting this fact, however, it should be made quite clear that the competition we are now talking about is not between large coal operators and smaller ones. The competition is between coal and atomic power, and if the coal companies that can perform under these stringent conditions are not successful in making contracts to fuel these new plants, then atomic power will. And if atomic power prevails, these plants will be lost forever to coal, and the traffic lost forever to the railroads. But if the present rate policies and operating practices can be continued—and indeed improved—I am confident that the coal industry and the railroads can look forward to a continued growth in the utility market.

It was not many years ago that we believed that if coal freight rates were as low as 1-cent per ton mile, we would have reached a significant milestone. Today coal is moving under rates that return only 5-cent per ton mile. I can well recall when we were satisfied to have a coal car reach a market 400 miles distant and return to the mines in 2 weeks, and to cover about 20,000 to 25,000 miles per year. Today we have rates in effect that call for a 400-mile market to be served in 48 hours, and the cars to travel some 120,000 miles per year. We commend our railroad associates in NCPC for their farsighted approach to this problem, and we applaud the ICC for its wisdom in encouraging the railroads to pursue this enlightened policy.

In emphasizing our efforts to further develop the electric utility market, I do not intend to minimize two of our important outlets—the metallurgical and export markets. The demand for metallurgical coal should increase over the next decade, as the growth in steel output more than offsets the declining amount of coal needed to produce a ton of steel. Exports too are on the rise, and as foreign energy requirements continue to increase, low cost American coal can be expected to share in this growth.

Several other developments bode well for coal's future. For a number of years Consolidation Coal Co. has been doing extensive research on converting coal to gasoline and

other liquid fuels. We now have a contract with the Office of Coal Research to continue and accelerate research on this project. At the present time we are about to construct a $3.5 million pilot plant on a nearby site to test our process. It is our hope that the results of this extensive program will demonstrate that gasoline can be produced from coal at a cost competitive with gasoline refined from petroleum.

The significance of this development is most encouraging. The present consumption of liquid petroleum products as fuel in the United States is about 11 million barrels per day, of which half is gasoline. By 1980 the total daily consumption should rise to 17 million barrels. If coal can capture only 10 percent of the gasoline market by 1980, it will result in a new coal market of 175 million tons per year.

Another important research project is the development of pipeline quality gas from coal. Here again we know that such gas can be made from coal; our primary efforts are to find and design a process that will be economically competitive with natural gas. Progress in this field is not as far advanced as in the area of liquids from coal, but we are confident an economical process will be developed.

Here again a vast market potential exists. Today the United States consumes about 15 trillion cubic feet of gas per year, the equivalent of 600 million tons of coal. With the steadily depleting natural gas reserves, it is not unreasonable to expect that coal could, in the next several decades, be supplying a significant part of this growing market that could reach 26 trillion cubic feet by 1980.

I have said a great deal about our hopes, our plans, and our efforts to strengthen our industry. I have said very little about our problems other than those directly related to market competition. This is not because we don't have any such problems or that we are not aware of them. We have them, we are aware of them, but have every hope of solving them. In our company we have an expression with which we welcome newcomers to our staff. We tell them—not entirely in jest—that as new problems arise either they or their successors will find the answers. And so as this coal operator closes this look at his industry he does so with cautious optimism and with confidence in the future, for I am sure that either we or our successors will find the answers.

Johnson Administration Favors Building Ships in Foreign Yards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the last appropriation bill has passed the House and adjournment is at hand. In the language and provisions of these bills, the Representatives of the people, as provided in the Constitution, have worked their will and have specified how and where the taxpayers' money will be spent.

However, the bureaucrats in the agencies and departments of Government have ways of thwarting the will of Congress. One of these is to withhold information until Congress is not in session and then, without legislative provisions to the contrary, the executive branch can do what it wants.

As an example, today—the very day after the House acted on its final appropriation bill—the word is out—the Department of Defense is firming up its plan to award a $150 million procurement order to England for naval support-type vessels. According to the Associated Press, a program has been approved by the Johnson administration for initial procurement from British shipyards of $46 million, including four seagoing minesweepers costing $19 million and five tugs to cost $8.2 million. Later, a contract will be let for 12 merchant-type ships, for cargo transport.

Mr. Speaker, it is beyond me why the administration favors building ships abroad when we know our shipyards and skilled workers are needed for national security.

Yet, it is apparent that a policy is being followed to reduce U.S. shipyards to a mere nucleus. Only the other day, a Department of Commerce official came up with a recommendation to cut our domestic shipbuilding program and eliminate 20,000 jobs.

In the Puget Sound area in the State of Washington, we have one Government yard at Bremerton that has demonstrated its ability to compete costwise with any other shipyard in the country and meet time schedules with the highest quality of work. Filler jobs of the type being contracted to England are absolutely essential to this Bremerton yard, if costs are to be held down and a balanced workload maintained.

As for private shipyards, in Seattle—not to mention smaller yards in other communities in the area—we have demonstrated on a competitive basis that we can obtain naval contracts and in this connection, recently, large sums have been invested in increased facilities. In the Seattle-Bremerton area, the finest ships in the world are built.

Previously, Mr. Speaker, I protested secret negotiations with the British to build ships abroad. Now that Congress has appropriated the money and is going home, the word is let out.

Mr. Speaker, America's shipyards and her great pool of skilled workers have always built the finest ships in the world. What justification is there to depend on foreign countries for naval and commercial needs? How much money do we save when American workmen must draw unemployment benefits?

As I did before, I protest this unwise and unnecessary policy of closing down 18 shipyards in the United States, throwing Americans out of work, and giving the work to England—which already has a stepped-up shipbuilding program of her own.

Sioux Falls, S. Dak., City With an Atomic Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE McGOVERN

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 15, 1965

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, Sioux Falls, the largest city in my home State of South Dakota, has enjoyed continuing growth and progress for many years.

The current issue of the United Association Journal, monthly publication of the United Association of Journeymen & Apprentices of the Plumbing & Pipe Fitting Industry, contains two interesting articles on the history and development of Sioux Falls. The articles point up the strides made by the active business and civic leaders and the optimistic future that lies ahead.

I ask unanimous consent that these two articles be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SIOUX FALLS, S. DAK.: A CITY OF VARIED ATTRACTIONS, SIOUX FALLS IS PROUD OF ITS HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

Sioux Falls, a growing metropolis of 72,000, lies in the southeast corner of South Dakota at an altitude of 1,422 feet. The city is situated on the banks of the Big Sioux River, which forms a natural falls from which the city derives its name. The Sioux Indians called the river "Wakpa-Ipaktan," which means "winding," as the river forms a huge "S" on her way to the Missouri.

The largest city in the State had its beginning in 1856; however, its history actually begins at the birth of the 19th century.

The area that is now Sioux Falls became a part of the United States in 1803, when President James Monroe purchased the Louisiana Territory from France for $15 million. The northwest portion of this territory was further developed and explored, first by the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1804, and then by the many fur traders and trappers who navigated the subsidiary rivers and streams of the Missouri in search of fur-bearing animals. The year 1808 marked the establishment of the Missouri Fur Co. This company, and other settlements, were the forerunners of the growth of the present State of South Dakota and city of Sioux Falls. At the time, the midwest territory was infested with hostile Indian tribes.

The first man to talk terms with the various tribes was Joseph Nicolas Nicollet, a French-Canadian from Quebec, Canada. He was the first white man to record any information about the falls. On his return to Quebec in 1839, he reported on the "picturesque and beautiful falls of the "Te-han-kasan-data," or "thick wooded river." During the summer of 1856, Nicollet's report reached the hands of Dr. George M. Staples, of Dubuque, Iowa. It was this report that prompted Dr. Staples to organize the Western Town Co.

Members of this company hired Ezra Millard of Sioux City, Iowa, to locate the falls and claim 320 acres for them. Millard claimed the southwest quarter of section 9, and the northwest quarter of section 16, in township 101, range 49, in 1856.

The present boundaries of the first land secured include most of the present downtown business section of Sioux Falls. David M. Mills and Ezra Millard built a log cabin 10 by 12 feet above the falls, and returned to Sioux City for the winter.

In 1856–57, the Dakota Land Co. of St. Paul, Minn., secured a townsite south of the Western Town Co.'s site, in the name of the Minnesota Territorial Legislature. They built a log house near the spot where the Rock Island Railway now stands. Although representing rival groups, the two communities worked together with one purpose in mind—to establish a city and develop a prairie wilderness for future settlers. Therefore, the Indian term "Kocotah," meaning "friendly," applied to the members of the group of settlers.

In August of 1857, the Western Town Co. sent another group from Sioux City. Ten men brought a sawmill, tools for building, and a large supply of provisions, and each of them selected a claim for himself. These men built a sawmill, a stone house and a store on what is now Phillips Avenue, and were the first men to stay in Sioux Falls that winter.

The first white woman to establish residence in the Sioux Falls area was a Mrs. Goodman. She and her husband were among the settlers who arrived in the spring of 1858. Soon afterwards, came Charles White with his wife and daughter. With the rumors of Indian uprisings, the residents constructed Fort Sod. Mrs. White and her daughter did not remain. The record states that "35 men and 1 woman" held the Fort during the acute state of hostilities. Mrs. Goodman made a large flag out of old flannel shirts, and "the Stars and Stripes proudly waved over the old Fort." The record states, "We are on a military footing, having organized into a company with sentries and scouting parties on duty day and night." The defenders held the Fort until the Indians again quieted. The Indian scare caused many of the settlers to move back to Sioux City, which materially reduced the population of Sioux Falls.

In April 1862, Company A, Dakota Cavalry, was stationed at the Falls. In August of the same year, there was a great Indian uprising on the Minnesota frontier, and many Minnesota settlers lost their lives. In August, two men were killed a mile north of Sioux Falls, and a party of Indians appeared on the bluffs the following day but did not attack. The soldiers and settlers were ordered to move to Yankton, S. Dak. The entire population immediately gathered up what property they could carry and abandoned their homes. The Indians then entered the settlement and destroyed all property and set fire to the buildings.

For 3 years, Sioux Falls was a deserted townsite. In May of 1865, a military post, Fort Dakota, was established on what is now Phillips Avenue. In 1868, Minnehaha County was reorganized, and Sioux Falls again reached a population equal to that of 11 years before. In the fall of 1873, a census showed 593 inhabitants.

In 1869, a great number of settlers came to the city and engaged in business. As the Indians became less hostile, the military post was moved 65 miles north of Sioux Falls. The first public school was opened in 1874, with one teacher presiding. During the year 1870, the women of the settlement had established the Pioneer Union Sunday School, and it was during this year that social matters began to have a standing in the community.

The Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha Railroad brought the first train to Minnehaha County amid a wild demonstration in 1878. The Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad reached Sioux Falls in 1879, and the Rock Island Line was completed to Sioux Falls in 1886.

With the disappearance of frontier ways, Sioux Falls began to be well governed and policed. The advancement of the city has never been spasmodic. Since 1876, the development has been continuous and steady, keeping pace with that of the rich farmland of the surrounding region.

At the beginning of World War II, Sioux Falls had a population of about 42,000. The U.S. Army established a base at the airport north of the city, and this touched off the population surge which has continued to the present day. Many of the men stationed at the base returned to make Sioux Falls their home.

One of the best yardsticks of the worth of a city is its school system. School facilities in Sioux Falls are exceptional, ranging from kindergarten through the college level, and including a theological seminary. Schools, both public and private, build solid citizens, and the youngsters of Sioux Falls are indeed fortunate in being able to attend classes in the many fine new buildings, and to be taught by the capable staff of teachers.

The churches in Sioux Falls have many faces. Some of them are crisp and modern in design, and others have the sedate solemnity of age. But new or old, they serve the congregations which make this city of faithful and regular worshippers. There are 34 denominations in Sioux Falls, and a warm welcome awaits the visitor at the more than 70 churches.

Sioux Falls prides itself in its many recreational facilities and activities. There are 20 free parks with supervised summer recreational programs. Two free outdoor swimming pools may be unique in the United States. The invigorating sport of ice skating may be enjoyed at the 13 different free skating rinks, which include warming houses and supervision.

Providing other funtime facilities are three private country clubs and golf courses, and a 27-hole municipal golf course. Tennis enthusiasts can pursue their favorite game at 18 public tennis courts scattered throughout the city.

For those who prefer their sports from a spectator's point of view, Sioux Falls has Howard Wood Field, where 10,000 fans can be seated to watch their favorite high school and college games played. This beautiful stadium has also been the site of the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics national track and field meet for the past 7 consecutive years, and many Olympic champions have participated in these major events held in Sioux Falls.

Standing as a worthy neighbor to Howard Wood Field is the new Sioux Falls arena. This showplace is the site of high school and college basketball games, ice shows, meetings, dances, social functions and many other civic events, and has a seating capacity of 10,000.

Not to be overlooked in the sports category is the pheasant hunting. South Dakota is famous as the pheasant capital of the world, and Sioux Falls is the gateway to the fabulous hunting lands. Each year, thousands of hunters from all over the United States converge upon the area to enjoy the hunting.

The Great Plains Zoo in Sioux Falls delights people from a wide area. The animals, fowl and reptiles displayed are all housed in surroundings as near as to their own natural habitat as possible. The zoo has been a community project, with many Sioux Falls residents donating time, money and effort to make it a true representation of animal life as it was on the pioneer prairies.

Nor has Sioux Falls ignored culture. Rounding out the life of the city are a community playhouse, a symphony orchestra and a concert series. The community playhouse and the Sioux Falls Augustana College symphony provides a cultural outlet to both participants and audiences. The Sioux Falls Civic Music Association brings outstanding artists to the city for concert performances. The Sioux Valley Hospital Auxiliary presents full-fledged musicals each year.

The civic fine arts center maintains a full-time director and features exhibits of various works of art, plus a series of art lectures. Classes are available in painting, drawing and sculpturing.

The medical needs of the Sioux Falls populace are served by three major hospitals and a wide variety of medical clinics. Sioux Falls also has a crippled children's hospital and school and is the home of the South Dakota School for the Deaf. The Minnehaha County Guidance Center, located in the city, provides full time professional help for those with emotional problems, and complete X-ray service is available at the Sioux Falls X-ray center.

Sioux Falls is a thriving financial community, and has six banks with offices in nine locations to serve the financial needs of the area. Three savings and loans associations also serve the community.

From the rich farmlands surrounding Sioux Falls comes the economic lifeblood of the region. The farmers of the area are rugged in spirit and full of plans for the future. They have been instrumental in making the Sioux Falls stockyards the ninth largest public livestock market in the United States.

These are but a few of the accomplishments and qualities which make Sioux Falls an outstanding city in which to live and to earn a living. Our new atomic energy powerplant and high altitude ballon research company are among the many industries which have helped make Sioux Falls a major retail center.

The Sioux Falls of today is a growing and progressive city rapidly approaching a population of 75,000 citizens. Sioux Falls indeed has a proud and rich history and an optimistic and forward looking future.

SIOUX FALLS—CITY WITH AN ATOMIC FUTURE

In describing and anticipating the future of the city of Sioux Falls, it is difficult to focus on any one particular category of industry or activity that spells out in very tangible means just exactly where the city is going. With this in mind, the Sioux Falls Chamber of Commerce uses a number of slogans or themes when they describe the city as it is today and as it is anticipated to be tomorrow.

The first theme is "Sioux Falls—City With an Atomic Future." This thought revolves around the impressive new Pathfinder atomic energy powerplant which recently started a fissionable process for the production of power. This is the first all-nuclear powerplant in America, and the city of Sioux Falls anticipates a great future from the byproducts of the reactor part of the atomic plant. These byproducts are used in the fields of industry, agriculture, and medicine, and it is expected that we will see a very favorable expansion of these facets within our city.

This theme also tells about the entire industrial complex of Sioux Falls. There are 169 manufacturing, processing or fabricating firms in our city. Sioux Falls manufactures everything from caskets to cold remedies and livestock feed to human food. John Morrell & Co., the largest employer in the city, maintains an annual payroll of 3,500 persons.

The Joe Foss Field Industrial Park, named after the World War II Congressional Medal of Honor winner, former Governor of South Dakota, and present American League football commissioner, is a plant industrial district providing a very good and desirable neighborhood for industries locating in the town. At the present time, 55 firms are established in the industrial park area.

The next theme used is "Sioux Falls—High Altitude Balloon Capital of the World." This phrase alludes to the work presently being carried out by Raven Industries in Sioux Falls, one of our newest space age firms. This company holds the world record for having manufactured the largest balloon, and conducting the highest unmanned balloon flight. There have been more balloon flights made out of Sioux Falls in the past 2 years than from any other point in America, and Raven Industries is the only company that has been able to manufacture a workable hot air balloon that has a great future in space, defense, and sporting activities as well.

This firm, with headquarters in Sioux Falls, also maintains space tracking stations for

the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in Texas and parts of Canada. They also have recently completed a special survey and study for the Federal Government on the nation of India. They have a very elaborate research section and they are constantly developing new ideas and new techniques for use in high altitude work, missiles, space and defense activities.

The next descriptive phrase used in talking about Sioux Falls is "Sioux Falls—Crossroads of America." This refers to the city's location on the Interstate Highway System at the intersection of Interstate Highways 29 and 90. Also, this exemplifies the fact that Sioux Falls is located almost in the exact geographical center of North America.

The largest dollar volume industry in Sioux Falls, is in wholesaling and distribution. The new interstate highway system will help that segment of the city's economy grow to an even greater degree.

The interstate highway system also puts Sioux Falls on the main line of America for tourists crossing our country. Last year, 3 million tourists went through Sioux Falls on their way to the beautiful Black Hills of South Dakota and points west. This tourist trade brought an estimated $130 million to the State of South Dakota.

Our "Crossroads" theme also alludes to the competent air service in the city. Four major airlines serve the metropolis with 33 flights daily. This airline service exceeds that of many towns much larger than the present 72,000 population.

The next theme used in graphically describing the progress Sioux Falls has enjoyed is the theme "Sioux Falls Is Growing Places." In elaborating on this statement, a survey was made of growth statistics and economic indicators for the past 25 years, or from the year 1940 through the year 1965.

A sample look at the growth and progress the town has enjoyed during that time: population has increased 60 percent; bank clearings have increased 700 percent; building permit valuations have increased 800 percent; wholesale sales have increased 800 percent and postal receipts have increased 250 percent. Another reflection of growth is the fact that Sioux Falls, with its present population of 72,000 within the city limits and 85,000 in its metropolitan area, is the largest city in the 5 States comprising South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, and Idaho.

The last theme developed in describing the city is, "Sioux Falls—Heart of the Great Sioux Empire." This means that Sioux Falls is the marketing center of a large and important agricultural area of over a quarter of a million people. Sioux Falls has the ninth largest public stockyards and the fourth largest meatpacking firm in all America.

Sioux Falls is the retail trading center of this area called the great Sioux empire, and continued growth is anticipated in the retail areas as they grow and expand to provide more goods and services for the population surrounding our city.

Sioux Falls is also a sports attractions town, with the State basketball tournaments, ice shows, national track meets, and other entertainment events which tour the Middle West.

The residents look forward to continued work on the Interstate Highway System, to strengthen even more the city's position as the crossroads of America. Jet air service will be inaugurated in the very near future to improve air travel facilities. A new $350 million post office is moving ahead to a rapid completion. Two general hospitals and the Veterans' Administration hospital are proceeding with huge expansion plans. Great Plains Zoo has a definite plan for growth and expansion in the future.

In conclusion, it might be said that Sioux Falls is a city with a proud past and a fantastic future.

Water Management—Progress and Promise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently the American paper industry published a special supplement in the Sunday New York Times. This 56-page supplement, the longest ever published by the Times, is an excellent account of the history and daily activities of one of this country's most vital industries.

I was particularly interested in one article that tells how the industry itself—both a supplier and a user of great quantities of water—polices itself in matters of water pollution. This is an excellent example of an American industry recognizing its own responsibility to preserve and protect our great natural heritage.

The article follows:

WATER MANAGEMENT—PROGRESS AND PROMISE—BOTH A SUPPLIER AND A USER OF ENORMOUS QUANTITIES OF WATER, THE PAPER INDUSTRY CONTINUES TO ACCELERATE ITS RESEARCH ACTIVITIES AS IT SEEKS TO CONTROL ITS ORGANIC WASTES

The paper industry, perhaps more than any other industry, is dependent upon large quantities of water for the production of its many products. Because of this, the industry has been acutely aware of the need for water quality and is today grappling more forcefully than ever with one of the greatest problems it has encountered in its long history: that of eliminating—or, at least, controlling—the wastes from the effluents produced in the manufacture of pulp, paper, and paperboard.

This is a problem involving mill managements of every paper company in the Nation, a problem affecting all segments of our society. And because of industry efforts today and in the past, considerable progress has been made in the field of water conservation and stream improvement.

Everyone contributes to the pollution problem: industry and Government, shipping, utilities, farmers, even every American family that uses our highways and waterways.

Pollution has been around for a long time. It was present in its natural form (as rotting vegetation) when the first settlers arrived in this land. They built on or near the sources of water and discarded their wastes into the streams and rivers without a care because the streams could easily assimilate the wastes. Even as the population of the land multiplied and towns and cities and industries sprang up along the rivers and streams, our waterways continued to digest the growing wastes of a new Nation. Civilized man, industrialized man, failed to recognize that even nature was limited in what it could do.

The rude awakening came some 20 years ago, when burgeoning suburban communities and new industrial complexes realized they were overloading the rivers and streams and killing plant and aquatic life with wastes. Finally, an aroused public clamored for strict controls and Congress passed legislation to halt the abuses.

Seventeen years ago, a Federal Water Pollution Control Act was passed, providing financial and technical assistance for the construction of water facilities for municipalities and making research grants available. Many States created their own commissions, or joined with other States to form interstate agencies and compacts. Industry on an individual basis moved ahead to study the nature of its industrial wastes and worked closely with local and State authorities on the processing and control of waste materials, with much being accomplished over the years.

Some basic research revealed that the amount of water needed by the Nation was impressive. Every day 300 to 350 billion gallons of water is used by the homeowner, industry, utilities and the farmer. Of this amount, some 48 percent is used by the manufacturing industries and the utilities. These 145–170 billion gallons of water are utilized in two distinct ways—a nonconsuming use, and a consuming use. The first method means that the water is used in the manufacturing process but is returned to the source; the second indicates that the water is used or dissipated away. Currently, 98 percent of industry's utilization of water is nonconsuming. Only 2 percent is unrecoverable.

Paper industry concern reaches back almost 44 years to 1922 when an association established a committee to collect data on research activities of the industry and other organizations.

In 1939 the Sulphite Pulp Manufacturers' Research League was formed and charged with the responsibility of improving stream conditions. Its first year's budget was $18,000; today it is more than 10 times that. Just a few years later—in 1943—the pulp and paper industry created the National Council for Stream Improvement, on organization that was nationwide in scope. With headquarters in New York and five regional groups located throughout the country, the council carries out basic research seeking solutions to the industry's waste problems and makes these findings available to members for introduction in their mills. A staff of 22 NCSI engineers are engaged in this activity. And numerous research projects have been carried out with some 21 colleges, universities and other nationally recognized research institutions.

During the past 20 years the industry has made substantial headway in reclaiming fibers and other solids and, equally important, considerable progress in maintaining oxygen supply in streams serving the industry. Additionally, great strides have been made in the conservation of water through the development of new techniques.

In the area of fiber reclamation, losses have been reduced from 5 percent to 2 percent (a saving of 1 million tons of fiber a year) through the introduction of fiber recovery systems which allow the water to be recycled into the papermaking process. Other solids are recovered by using a variety of techniques including sedimentation, flotation and filtration.

The annual natural runoff of water from industry woodlands into the Nation's streams is six times the the amount used in the annual production of paper and paperboard products.

A major effort has been conducted to replenish the water with oxygen that is dissipated during its use in the mill. Several methods are currently in use, such as aeration basins, artificial weirs, surface aeration equipment, activated sludge plants and trickling filter installations, all of which allow time for bacteria to consume the oxygen-using substances. The total organic pollution load from the average ton of pulp and paper produced by the industry, as measured by biochemical oxygen demand (BOD) has been reduced by 65 percent, even though the industry's tonnage has more than doubled over a 20-year period.

Great emphasis has been placed on conserving water. Industry water use per ton over a 30-year period has decreased by almost 66 percent. In 1935, 100,000 gallons were needed to make a ton of paper; today,

an average of 35,000 gallons is used. And in many mills, the average gallon of water is used more than three times.

Despite this progress, there are problems facing the industry, problems which must be understood by all interested in pollution control and abatement. For example, a particularly acute situation can arise when a community, faced with a pollution problem, demands that it be eliminated. The public desires clean water in its streams; yet it also needs adequate employment in the community. Mill management is faced with the reality that the mill may not be able to afford the investment necessary to provide complete water treatment facilities, and must therefore consider the alternative—closing the facility. Problems such as these demand foresight and cooperation by all parties involved.

These are problems, of course, which relate to existing manufacturing facilities. In designing a new mill, companies make every effort to take water and effluent problems into consideration to insure an acceptable profitability on their capital investment. They determine not only the supply of water but also the assimilative capacity of the stream involved. They agree to state standards and regulations and obtain the State's permission to use the stream. The type of in-plant equipment necessary and the type of external waste treatment is determined. The cost of such waste treatment equipment, plant and land will determine the capital investment necessary.

Pulp and paper mills fully accept the responsibility that is theirs to help clean up the streams and rivers of the land. But, they should not be expected to proceed at a pace and at a cost that would cripple one of the country's largest industries.

As a paper company executive declared recently before a special congressional subcommittee on air and water pollution, "The industry will continue to carry out its water pollution abatement efforts to the fullest extent consistent with the needs of our society and within our economic capabilities."

Current Economic Inequities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 15, 1965

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, there is hardly anything more important to the future welfare of our country than the subject of economics and money. It is my firm opinion that if the American people better understood the basic definition of economic money, we should not be so reckless with the fate of our Nation.

The matter goes much deeper than the acceptance by the people of well-intentioned Government spending programs. The people of America are a very generous people, and we really do want to help other peoples in foreign lands, and we really do want to help those of our own who honestly and actually need that help. I have no quarrel with Government aid when there is a need and when it is for a purpose, the authority for which was delegated to the General Government in the Constitution. But I do object to helping someone who does not need help, and I most strongly object to that sort of unkind help when it tends to make the Nation as a whole just as needy as the people who receive the financial assistance.

There are hundreds of millions of people in other lands who are literally living in poverty as we see it, but there simply is not enough economic wealth in all of America to feed, clothe, and house the planet earth. That is one extreme that is logically put out of mind quickly.

I have in mind today the other extreme, which is that of dispensing billions and billions of so-called money to the alleged needy here at home, not only for food, clothing, and shelter, but for many uneconomic services as well.

William D. Pardridge, an economist presently engaged in writing, has called our economic system, the handout economy. He claims that we are fast heading for the true welfare state, and that we are using our national economic profit as fuel to reach that social condition where big government takes care of everything for everybody, including their minds.

Mr. Pardridge's objection, one which is shared by many of us, is that we are eating our economic seed corn in order to maintain a dizzy illusion of economic prosperity. Money, he says, is like a warehouse receipt. His worry is that the Government has printed and is printing warehouse receipts without putting anything in the warehouse.

There are many tricky ways to manufacture the warehouse receipts we call money, but there is only one way to fill the warehouse—and that one way is by individual work that creates national economic production measured in real goods and needed services, instead of by the standard practice of inflated, artificial dollars.

The Federal Government is not the only factory that feeds the fire of inflation. Consumer credit operators and bank loans of a wishful nature constantly increase the so-called money both in circulation and in paper checking accounts.

We all know, but do not want to consider the economic consequences of inflation. In both the public and private sectors of our economy we are going full speed ahead into a monetary shambles.

Far too many American taxpayers think the only cost of the handout economy is a slightly reduced pay envelope. These generous men and women seem to think this is the only cost, primarily because they do not understand the economic nature of plain money. I am convinced we would be in a much healthier state of economic affairs if these taxpayers really understood the legerdemain—and that is what it is—of the public and private misuse of money for immediate political and altruistic ends.

William D. Partridge is on a second career in life, one in which the logic of economics has become the controlling force in any public service he may have to offer. He deplores the dilettante mind when it affects the national well-being by exercising high authority in fundamental academic and governmental programs. So that he himself understands the rigorous discipline of economics, he is actively seeking the earned Ph. D. in this field at the University of Chicago. Presently, he is on leave while writing a series of articles dealing with economics.

Mr. Pardridge expects to resume his formal student classification next spring when he finishes the 50th newspaper article in a series called "Economic Inequities." These 50 articles, one for each State in the Union, will form the basis for a book, entitled "Economic Inequities." The book is not intended for his own personal profit. It is to be Mr. Pardridge's contribution to sound economic understanding for the people of America, the people who pay the taxes, fight the wars, and work for a living.

The State, of Columia, S.C., published one of the articles in this series by Mr. Pardridge, and I urge all Members of the Senate to read it.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article by William D. Pardridge, entitled "Current Economic Inequities," from the Wednesday, October 13, 1965, edition of the State, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CURRENT ECONOMIC INEQUITIES—MORE MONEY, BUT MUCH OF IT IS PAPER

(By William D. Pardridge)

A funny thing happened to the American economy on the way to the poorhouse.

Despite all Government bulletins to the contrary, the people learned that money actually is made of paper. And that gold is best used for ornaments and to fix one's choppers.

The dilettante economists and featherbedding bureaucrats who infested Washington never did learn this, but they were finally smoked out and sent on their way. Some of the more glib ones got jobs at the United Nations.

Adam Smith pointed out 200 years ago that neither gold nor paper money makes a nation rich.

But people stopped reading his basic book soon after the United States entered what is known as the "handout economy." Adam Smith became a subversive character, and he was attacked by the President's Council of Economic Advisers as being a front man for all those boobs who still worked for a living.

Money, you see, is nothing but a warehouse receipt for goods in existence or services available. Money is simply claim on the economic wealth of the Nation where that money is used to facilitate trading.

No matter how much money or gold there is, there's no wealth if there's nothing in the warehouse.

Well, if some money is manufactured at the mint, or if it is created out of nothing, and this money is then handed to you, what have you received?

You have an artificial increase in total waehouse receipts without an increase in the economic real wealth that's in the retail store, the warehouse, or the general economy.

Real goods and available services must equal in value the money in circulation.

If the Government artifically manufactures more money for the handout economy or welfare state, and you yourself don't get any of it, then you are the loser.

Your lazy neighbor uses the new money to decrease your own expectations of real goods by raising the prices of the goods you earn but he steals.

When the Government or any other source creates more money—or credit, which is the same thing—then the country moves to a paper or handout economy instead of a system based on economic balances.

Now, the welfare state or handout economy emphasizes services instead of real goods.

But just try to live for a few days on services without real goods. Try eating a clean shirt instead of a loaf of bread.

Legitimate service workers—like gas station attendants, bus drivers, TV repairmen—are paid with warehouse receipts that somewhere along the line were earned by workers who themselves were paid because they actually added stuff to the economy.

Some service workers—like poverty program nabobs, smart jokers who live professionally on unemployment compensation, and like second-generation dolesters—are folk who are paid with warehouse receipts that never saw a warehouse.

The big, nice Government prints these warehouse receipts, and the people who get them live in a trance. Eventually, those living in a trance far outnumber those living in the real world.

Money is everywhere.

And so are empty warehouses.

This is the phony welfare state, built on worthless, misunderstood paper money.

This is the handout economy, built on a shotgun wedding of social altruism and political ambition.

Good intentions are all around, but intended results are zero, and P. T. Barnum is turning over in his grave.

As well he should be.

The Rights of Public Servants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, I call the attention of my colleagues to the following editorial recently presented on "Standpoint" by the editorial director of television station WBBM, Carter Davidson. In view of strikes and the threat of strikes by public employees in many areas, I believe this editorial will be of great interest.

If your house burned down some night because our firemen were on strike you would be outraged, to say the least. It's not likely to happen—but it is being talked about. Farfetched and monstrous as it sounds, the example points up a problem that is growing, and growing more serious: The threat of strikes by public employees.

In recent days the word "strike" became more than a word, it came close to reality when Chicago schoolteachers sought higher salaries. Now the Cook County Public Aid Department has received warning of a walkout by a new organization of public aid employees who say they are sorely underpaid. There are even some few policemen and firemen who talk of the strike as an ultimate weapon—even though the law of Illinois specifically prohibits it.

The problem reaches far beyond the groups we have mentioned. The Illinois Taxpayers Federation reports that one out of every seven wage earners is a public employee at some level of government—local, State, or Federal. So what happens when that one out of every seven finds his income is falling behind that of his neighbors? He can't storm into the boss' office and demand a raise because his pay scale is fixed by the government. So the public employee organizes his fellow workers and they start talking in terms of strikes.

The word "strike" is a harsh word that grates our sensitivities, especially when the word is used by people we pay to perform services for us. The thought of a public employee strike rankles most people, a fact borne out by viewers of WBBM-TV last week in a Feedback viewer survey. The poll showed that in the case of teachers demanding higher pay, 3 out of 4 viewers supported the teachers' demands. But on the question of striking to enforce the demand, only half of our viewers went along with the idea. As to whether policemen and firemen should be allowed to strike, the survey showed viewers were stanchly 3 to 1 against. A resounding "No" was registered when we asked if teachers should strike in support of other unions; 84 percent of those replying to the survey turned thumbs down on that notion.

But the case against public employee strikes is stronger than public opinion. The Illinois Supreme Court ruled last May that 13 downstate school janitors could not legally walk off the job. The jurists said: "So far as we can ascertain, it is a universal view that there is no inherent right in municipal employees to strike against their government whether Federal, State, or a political subdivision thereof, and that a strike of municipal employees is illegal."

We, in no way question the basic right to strike. But we stop short at the right of any group to willfully disrupt government. At the same time, we support the rights of public employees to state their cases when they have a case.

The answer is a strong and sound collective bargaining law for all levels of public employment. Governor Kerner has said he will support such a law, but in the same breath he insisted that any such legislation contain a no-strike provision. We support that view.

But to give public employees their due, we think they, labor leaders and legislators, should start right now to blueprint a bill that will give public service a meaningful voice—a voice that can be heard without recourse to strikes. To deny public employees the right to be heard is to deny them first-class citizenship.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

Ambassador Arthur Goldberg Scores Triumph at United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include the following article by staff writer Ted Morello in the New York World Telegram of October 12, 1965:

GOLDBERG'S SKILLS WIN U.N. PLAUDITS

(By Ted Morello)

Arthur J. Goldberg, a diplomatic tenderfoot when he came to the United Nations, has won his spurs at the East River rodeo.

Old-hand diplomats, many of whom were openly skeptical about him less than 3 months ago, now rate him as one of us.

When President Johnson nominated him as America's permanent representative to the U.N. on July 20, puzzled delegates asked one another:

"Who is this Arthur Goldberg, anyway?"

A week later, when the former Supreme Court Justice and Secretary of Labor presented his credentials to Secretary General U Thant, many protested:

"But he has no diplomatic experience."

HIGHLY COMPETENT

Today, as the 20th General Assembly prepares to get down to bargaining on its lengthy agenda, all but a few agree that the United States has a highly competent leader in Goldberg.

Their evaluation is based in part on his performance as Security Council President during September and partly on the heavy schedule of diplomatic and social contacts to which he has exposed himself.

The admiration cuts across geographical and ideological lines to include America's allies, neutralists, and Communists. Even a member of the Arab bloc, which reacted suspiciously to Goldberg's appointment, conceded today:

"He has shown no signs of injecting Zionism into the U.N."

The Moslem diplomat added that Goldberg is "accessible, mixes well, and is a pleasure to talk to."

MAN THAT'S NEEDED

A delegate from Communist Rumania called the American Ambassador "the kind of man this organization needs in these troubled times."

Ambassador Zenon Rossides, of Cyprus, himself a former judge, said:

"His judicial background helps him to judge each case on its merits and compensates for any lack of diplomatic experience. I think he will have a favorable impact on this session."

Agreeing that Goldberg's primarily domestic background hasn't hurt him, a Scandinavian envoy called him "extremely competent," and added: "We are very enthusiastic about him."

An ambassador from Africa said Goldberg "has a good grasp of international affairs and a capable team behind him at the U.S. mission."

Numerous delegates credited Goldberg, then Security Council president, with the leading role in negotiating the India-Pakistan cease-fire resolutions under difficult circumstances. Said a Latin American delegate:

"A lesser man could never have reconciled the divergent views of the Council members.

ASIAN COMPLAINT

But a pro-Pakistan Asian diplomat complained that Goldberg fumbled the India-Pakistan issue.

"We are disappointed that he, as an advocate of the rule of international law, did not exert pressure to condemn the Indian aggression," he complained.

One point mentioned often in Goldberg's favor was his understanding of U.N. issues. As a European envoy put it:

"He does his homework. He studies the briefs—and that is very important."

While delegates were reluctant to compare Goldberg and his predecessor, the late Adlai E. Stevenson, one commented:

"Goldberg is more practical. He has his feet on the ground."

OUTSTANDING ASSET

Almost without exception, delegates agreed that the American representative's personality is an outstanding asset. He was variously described as "warm" and "accessible." A Communist envoy remarked that his delegation has "the friendliest social relations with the Ambassador."

Ambassador Mehdi Vakil, of Iran, who has played host to both Goldberg and his wife, Dorothy, commented:

"Mrs. Goldberg is one of the Ambassador's greatest diplomatic assets. She likes people."

Only Soviet Ambassador Nikolai T. Fedorenko refused to give an opinion about Goldberg. Said Fedorenko:

"Please. It is not ethical for me to evaluate a colleague. It is not even polite."

Congressman Wright Patman Speaks at Veterans of World War I and Senior Citizens Day Celebration at Texas State Fair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Congressman WRIGHT PATMAN, Representative of the First Congressional District of Texas, has distinguished himself as a friend of the veteran in his service for 19 consecutive terms in the House of Representatives. As the author of the bonus bill for the veterans of World War I, and in his long service he has continued a long fight for the welfare of our veterans and the senior citizens of this Nation.

It is only fitting that this great Congressman was chosen to speak at the State Fair of Texas on the Veterans of World War I and Senior Citizens Day celebration, as he has been a constant supporter of adequate legislation for these groups.

Congressman PATMAN was the first Congressman to introduce the World War II GI bill of rights in the House and he was the author of the Veterans Emergency Housing Act of 1946. Now, Congressman PATMAN is a leading supporter for the cold war GI bill which is now pending in the House after passing the Senate earlier this session. Congressman PATMAN is an outstanding, devoted Congressman who has brought great benefits to the people of Texas and this Nation in his 36 years as a Congressman.

I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to the State Fair of Texas which is held this year from October 9 through October 24. This annual fair is the largest single celebration in Texas and leads the Nation in annual attendance at State fairs. Founded in 1886, the fair occupies more than 200 acres of ground in Dallas, Tex., and has outstanding historical, educational, and amusement facilities which are attended by more than 2½ million people each year.

I invite all of my colleagues to come to visit this outstanding exhibit in my home State and view its remarkable exhibition.

I ask unanimous consent that the speech which Congressman PATMAN delivered at the State Fair of Texas be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE WRIGHT PATMAN TO VETERANS OF WORLD WAR I AND SENIOR CITIZENS DAY CELEBRATION, TEXAS STATE FAIR, DALLAS, TEX., OCTOBER 13, 1965

It is fitting that the State Fair of Texas set aside a day to honor World War I veterans and senior citizens.

Texas has always contributed heavily to the Nation's Armed Forces. In World War I, some of the finest fighting units were dominated by personnel from the Lone Statr State.

Today, the State of Texas has more than 1 million veterans of all wars living within its borders. At least 91,000 are veterans of World War I. When the Nation called, Texans have been ready.

I am happy to see so many of my old comrades out here at the State fair today. You are justifiably proud of your contributions at a time of maximum peril and maximum need for your country. Many of you and your families paid a heavy price, but the world survived because of the sacrifices of you and your fellow countrymen.

All of us who fought in World War I thought we were engaged in a war to end war. Unfortunately, this was not the case. Since that time we have seen World War II, the Korean conflict, and many other smaller

engagements involving American servicemen throughout the world.

Most of this century, we have been in war or on the verge of war.

Today, American fighting men once again are scattered around the globe. In Vietnam, thousands of U.S. soldiers and marines are engaged in combat. Many are dying and many are being wounded. It is a tough, bloody, hard war.

None of us in Congress and no one in the Johnson administration wants to see these casualty lists grow. Certainly we are not in this war by choice. But, do we really have any choice?

We have a solemn commitment in South Vietnam and I believe the great majority of this country wants us to keep that commitment. As veterans of a world war, you know well the folly of weakness, retreat, or surrender. If we abandon South Vietnam, what is next? Where do we draw the line?

President Johnson's resolute stand in Vietnam, has, I believe, strengthened the chances for a meaningful peace around the world. His firm position has let the Communist world know that he means business. It has lessened the chances of miscalculation.

At the same time that the President has taken concrete military action, he has consistently held out the offer to negotiate. But the Communists do not want peace, they want domination of all of southeast Asia.

Let me assure you that President Johnson is a man of peace. As a decorated veteran of World War II, President Johnson knows the heartbreak and destruction of war firsthand. His efforts in the foreign field are directed toward preventing a catastrophic third world war. I sincerely hope that you veterans, as individuals and through your organizations, will support the President's efforts in the foreign relations field and give support to his moves for meaningful and lasting world peace.

Until we do have lasting understandings, we must face the prospect of many American young men serving in the country's Armed Forces. The Vietnam war already has required large numbers and the needs seem certain to mount in coming months. I hope that the country will see that this new group of veterans receives benefits comparable to those accorded men who served in some of our most recent conflicts. Today's military man, it must be said truthfully, serves under conditions much better than those which you experienced in the First World War. Many of you served throughout World War I for just about $1 a day. And out of that dollar came allotments, insurance, and incidental expenses.

All of you know the tremendous opposition we faced after the war when we attempted to adjust this situation. That was the famous fight for adjusted service certificates, which eventually became known under the popular title of "soldier's bonus."

I sincerely hope that our current crop of veterans will not have to go through such a fight for the benefits they have rightfully earned. But, frankly, I am very proud of the fight that I made for this World War I soldier's bonus. As you know—and some of you fought right along beside me in this battle—we had to overcome the big banker's friend, Andrew Mellon, and the vetoes of two Presidents before we got justice on this issue.

Today, I fear too few people remember the machinations of the Secretary of the Treasury, Andrew Mellon, and the banks and their near success in turning the soldier's bonus into a banker's bonus. Mellon falsified the state of the U.S. Treasury to lead the country to believe that it could not pay the face value of these adjusted service certificates. Convincing the country that it faced a Treasury deficit, Mellon gained approval of a plan to make the certificates payable in 1945. In the meantime, under the Mellon plan, you veterans could borrow small sums on the certificates from banks. On the average certificate's face value of $1,000, this meant that the veteran could borrow maybe as much as $250 from banks at interest rates ranging from 6 to 10 percent. By the time the certificates would have become payable in 1945, their value would have been eaten up by interest charges.

When I first took the oath of office as Congressman from the First District of Texas in 1929, I moved to correct this situation and introduced legislation to make these certificates payable at face value. I remember that many of you came to Washington in support of this legislation. I recall that cold January in 1931 when thousands of veterans marched up Pensylvania Avenue to the Capitol steps and presented me with petitions circulated in every congressional district of the country. I immediately circulated these to the Congressmen and Senators on Capitol Hill and I am convinced this did much to help pass the legislation.

Originally, of course, we had to take a compromise plan, which gave the veterans a 50-percent loan on their certificates. But, finally, in 1936, we gained final victory and some 3 million veterans started receiving more than $2 billion in payments for their Adjusted Service Certificates. This not only helped provide equity to the veterans who had fought for their country in World War I, but it gave a big and much-needed boost to the general economy.

Mellon and his big banker friends were really the obstacles to this legislation. Actually, the big bankers don't change much. If you will notice, they still oppose just about every piece of worthwhile legislation for the people. But they are not at all timid about coming to Congress and asking for favors for their banks, particularly the big banks. As many of you remember, on January 6, 1932, I rose on the floor of the House of Representatives and asked that Secretary of the Treasury Mellon be impeached. I charged that he unlawfully refunded, as Secretary of the Treasury, billions of dollars in income tax payments to himself and to Mellon Companies. I also charged that he owned bank stock in violation of the Code of Laws of the United States. My resolution also contained the charge that Mellon was engaged in the manufacture and sale of distilled whiskey in violation of the law at a time when the Secretary of the Treasury was charged with the enforcement of the prohibition statutes. While we were still holding hearings on the impeachment, Mellon resigned as Secretary and President Hoover hurriedly sent him out of the country as Ambassador to Great Britain. I am convinced that the impeachment would have been upheld if Mellon had remained in the country to face the charges.

Since that struggle with Mellon and the bankers on the bonus bill, veterans' legislation has come easier. I am proud of the fact that I was the first Congressman to introduce the World War II veterans' benefit bill which became the GI bill of rights. I was also happy to author the Veterans' Emergency Housing Act of 1946 which expedited the production and allocation of material for housing purposes in the immediate postwar era. As you recall, in 1944, when we enacted the Servicemans' Readjustment Act, we provided for a program of 100 percent guaranteed home loans for war-time veterans. That act resulted in more than 6 million home loans to war-time veterans and has been a major source of financing with the growth of our housing industry.

But today there are nearly 2½ million peacetime veterans for whom no special housing terms are available, as well as some 13 million war veterans who have not used their GI housing privileges. A large proportion of these veterans still need better homes.

These represent a large segment of our younger population who have devoted part of their younger life to serving the defense of their country. And today, even peacetime service is, as we all know, vital to the maintenance of our national defense and the peace of the world.

The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1964 gives special consideration to the needs of these younger people when they reenter the peacetime world to build careers and establish homes. It makes available to all veterans, except those who have already obtained GI home loans, 100 percent FHA-insured home loans on homes valued up to $15,000, with a 10-percent downpayment on the value of the home between $15,000 and $20,000, and a 15-percent downpayment on the portion of the value in excess of $20,000—up to $30,000.

This will open the way to good homes for a large number of veterans early in their peacetime life, without the need for waiting to save up substantial downpayments. It will add measurably to the volume of new housing that is built for the people's needs.

Housing, of course, is but one segment of the programs for veterans. With our increasing commitment in Vietnam, I think it is important that the Congress review the various programs and make certain that this new group of veterans is not left out in the cold.

My Texas colleague over in the Senate, RALPH YARBOROUGH, has led a commendable fight to extend the GI bill of rights to the cold war veterans. I believe this is good legislation and I hope the Congress will see fit to act favorably on it in the near future.

Veteran's legislation is good business for the entire country. First and foremost, is the fact that it does compensate the individual veteran for the years that he loses from his education and his field of work. While we have made some adjustments in pay scales, it is still a fact that most servicemen suffer a substantial financial loss while they are in the Armed Forces. This, of course, is in addition to the disruption of their lives and the obvious hazards which such service involves.

Completely aside from the individual veteran, the soldier's bonus, the GI bill of rights, the housing program, and other similar measures have meant much to the general economy. These programs have put billions of dollars into the economy at the consumers' level. The educational programs under the GI bill of rights have enriched the country greatly. Thousands of Texans have gone to college under this program. Today, these college-educated veterans' earning power has been increased many times. As a result, the additional income taxes which they pay have already more than paid for the program.

This is true of the other veterans programs. All of them are repaying the country many times over.

However, the stimulation which these programs provide the economy can be lost if we all do not keep a careful watch on other areas. I am particularly concerned about the monetary policies and their effect on the availability of money and credit. If we allow runaway interest rates, then programs such as these measures for veterans can be, in effect, wiped out or vetoed.

Of course, our monetary policies have a tremendous effect on everyone. That is why the conduct of the banking industry is of such importance to every citizen of this country.

As chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, I am deeply concerned about the slipshod manner in which so much of this industry is supervised. Frankly, I believe there is great laxity in the so-called bank supervisory agencies. I do not think these agencies are doing their job of protecting the public. I include in this, the Federal Reserve Board, the Federal Deposit

Insurance Corporation, and the Comptroller of the Currency.

When I talk about the banks, I do not mean to indict every bank and every banker. I firmly support the idea that banks must make a profit in our system. I recognize that there are many, many good banks and conscientious bank executives. But these facts do not alter my concern over the domination of the banking industry by a handful of huge banks. These big banks actually work to the detriment of other financial institutions as well as the rest of the economy.

The whole country, I believe, is appalled by the revelations of infiltration of banks by criminal elements. This infiltration is extremely serious for bank depositors, stockholders, FDIC insurance, and the general public. As you know, our Domestic Finance Subcommittee investigated this area earlier this year. This included a look at the Crown Savings Bank of Newport News, Va., which was closed a year ago. Our investigation showed clearly that over $2 million of this bank's funds were used to finance and facilitate loan sharking, gambling, numbers rackets, fraudulent money order sales, and passing of forged securities. This activity was carried on all down the east coast from New York to Georgia.

This bank's situation is serious enough in itself, but such activities apparently exist in some other banks. During his appearance before our committee, Chairman K. A. Randall, of the FDIC, admitted that at the present time, FDIC has 199 banks on its problem list with aggregate deposits of $1.829 billion.

I am also appalled by the apparent cooperation of many banks with loan-shark operations. In investigating the Federal Services Finance Corporation—a loan operation specializing in fast-shuffle deals with military personnel—we discovered that nearly 100 commercial banks had been providing this finance company with substantial lines of credit.

Now these things must be stopped and the Federal banking agencies simply are not doing the job. I do not accuse these officials with wrong-doing or impugn their motives. But, I do say that the decisions of these agencies invariably carry the appearance of a rubberstamp for the positions of the banks. Seldom is the public interest taken into consideration.

The Congress should move now to bring reform to the banking agencies and to include safeguards for the public. First, I think all of these agencies should come to Congress for appropriations annually. This provides an annual review of their activity—or lack of activity. Under present conditions, all three are financed outside of the public domain. The FDIC and the Comptroller of the Currency are financed by funds provided by the banks they supervise. This is like having the television networks finance the Federal Communications Commission or the airlines, the Federal Aviation Agency. This is terrible public policy and the Congress should correct this now. Every taint of banker domination should be removed from these agencies.

Now the Federal Reserve Board, of course, claims to be independent of everyone, the public, the Congress, and the President. They get their funds through interest from Government bonds they hold. They are not audited by any Government agency and they do not have to come to Congress for a dime.

Just how bad this situation has become is plainly illustrated by some recent hearings by the Banking and Currency Committee. The committee had been holding hearings on H.R. 7601, providing for cancellation of $30 billion of U.S. bonds held by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York for the Federal Open Market Committee. The total open market portfolio is now $38.5 billion, on which the taxpayers are required to pay almost $1.5 billion a year in interest.

In his testimony at the hearing, William McChesney Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, admitted that the Federal Reserve had paid for these bonds once with the money and credit of the United States and that they would have to be paid again when due. This is similar to a situation where a houseowner paid off his mortgage and was then required to continue paying interest on it, and then pay it off again when the maturity date comes around. It would be illegal and absurd in the case of an individual, but that is exactly what the Government is required to do under our present banking structure.

William McChesney Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve, is openly defiant about his ability to ignore public policy. He recently told me in a Joint Economic Committee hearing that "the Federal Reserve Board has the authority to act independently of the President" even "despite the President."

Of course, the problem of the Federal Reserve System is of much greater magnitude than the other two agencies. The Federal Reserve, through its Open Market Committee determines the Nation's supply of money and the interest rates. It has, in effect, near life and death control over economic policy.

In recent months, the Federal Reserve Board, led by its Chairman, has been tightening up on the supply of money, and forcing interest rates up.

The Federal Reserve Board's efforts to reconstruct their tight money line flies in the face of repeated statements by this administration in favor of plentiful credit at reasonable interest. Mr. Martin chooses to ignore these policies.

Once again, we have a prime example of the folly of allowing our monetary policy to be controlled largely by the bankers in disregard of a public policy as enunciated by the President and the Congress.

Through the years, tight money and rising interest rates have cost the American consumer billions of dollars. Tight money and high interest rates serve no useful public purpose. They have been a serious drag on the growth of the country, an out-and-out waste.

For an 11-year period from 1953 to 1963 inclusive, rising interest rates imposed an excess interest cost of $15.7 billion upon the Federal budget; $2.3 billion upon States and localities; and $32.1 billion upon all private borrowers. And the figures keep on growing.

Tight money hurts every housewife who buys a washing machine, every farmer who buys a tractor, every homeowner. Every taxpayer has paid his share of the rising interest costs on the national debt.

So long as the Federal Reserve System remains under banker domination and beyond the reach of executive and legislative control, our welfare is imperiled. In my view, the most important economic and governmental problem facing the Nation today is the need for immediate rehabilitation of the Federal Reserve System, so that it is again subject to the will of the people, acting through their elected representatives.

If the big bankers are able to have their way they will continue to encourage monetary policies that will produce larger and larger public debt and higher and higher interest rates. If they have their way, our national debt will be $600 billion in 15 years, which, at a 6-percent rate of interest, will cost the taxpayers $36 billion a year. This would mean that so much of Federal revenues would be required for debt-carrying charges that insufficient funds, if any at all, would be available for veteran's programs, social welfare, housing, community health, and the many other services needed by our people.

Monetary policy is the public's business and it should not be controlled absolutely by a handful of bureaucrats operating independently of everyone but the big bankers.

You veterans of World War I got a real sampling of the bankers' attitudes when they opposed payment of your Adjusted Service Certificates. You won that fight over great odds.

Now, today, I would like to call on you to lead another fight to gain a permanent reform of our monetary system so that it is responsive to the will and the needs of the people. If we do not gain this reform, then many of our past victories in behalf of the American veteran will be wasted.

The Stupidity of Intelligence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, because of the demonstrations this past weekend against the war in Vietnam, it is important to bring James Reston's column in Sunday's New York Times to the attention of my colleagues.

As I have said on many occasions, I will continue to support the President in his efforts to obtain a negotiated settlement and to convince the North Vietnamese that the United States will not abandon South Vietnam. As Mr. Reston points out, these student pickets are frustrating their objective of an end to the fighting in Vietnam. They are confusing Hanoi, and, thus, are not promoting peace but postponing it.

Mr. Reston's column follows:

WASHINGTON: THE STUPIDITY OF INTELLIGENCE

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, October 16.—It is not easy, but let us assume that all the student demonstrators against the war in Vietnam are everything they say they are: sincerely for an honorable peace; troubled by the bombing of the civil population of both North and South Vietnam; genuinely afraid that we may be trapped into a hopeless war with China; and worried about the power of the President and the Pentagon and the pugnacious bawling patriotism of many influential men in the Congress.

A case can be made for it. In a world of accidents and nuclear weapons and damn fools, even a dreaming pacifist has to be answered. And men who want peace, defy the Government, and demonstrate for the support of the Congress, are not only within their rights but must be heard.

THE PARADOX

The trouble is that they are inadvertently working against all the things they want, and creating all the things they fear the most. They are not promoting peace but postponing it. They are not persuading the President or the Congress to end the war, but deceiving Ho Chi-Minh and General Giap into prolonging it. They are not proving the superior wisdom of the university community but unfortunately bringing it into serious question.

When President Johnson was stubbornly refusing to define his war aims in Vietnam, and rejecting all thought of a negotiated settlement, the student objectors had a point, and many of us here in the Washington press corps and the Washington political community supported them, but they are now

out of date. They are making news, but they are not making sense.

HEART OF THE PROBLEM

The problem of peace now lies not in Washington but in Hanoi, and probably the most reliable source of information in the Western World about what is going on there is the Canadian representative on the Vietnam International Control Commission, Blair Seaborn.

He flies regularly to the North Vietnamese capital with the Polish and Indian members of that commission, and he is personally in favor of an honorable negotiated peace in Vietnam. He is a cultivated man and a professional diplomat. He knows all the mistakes we have made, probably in more detail than all the professors in all the teach-ins in all the universities of this country. What he finds in Hanoi, however, is a total misconception of American policy, and, particularly, a powerful conviction among Communist officials there that the antiwar demonstrations and editorials in the United States will force the American Government to give up the fight.

Not even the conscientious objectors on the picket lines in this country really believe that they have the power or the support to bring about any such result, but Hanoi apparently believes it and for an interesting reason.

Ho Chi Minh and the other Communist leaders in Hanoi remember that they defeated the French in Vietnam between 1950 and 1953 at least partly because of opposition to the Vietnam war inside France. The Communists won the propaganda battle in Paris before they won the military battle at Dienbienphu.

COUNTING ON PROTEST

Now they think they see the same surge of protest working against the Government in Washington, no matter what Mr. Seaborn says to the contrary. They have not been able to challenge American air, naval or even ground power effectively since midsummer in South Vietnam, but they apparently still have the hope that the demonstrations against the Johnson administration in the United States will in the end give them the victory they cannot achieve on the battlefield.

So the Communists reject the negotiations the demonstrators in the United States want. They reject the negotiations the American Government has offered, and the demonstrators are protesting, not against the nation that is continuing the war but against their own country that is offering to make peace.

Not surprisingly, this is creating an ugly situation here in Washington. Instead of winning allies in the Congress to change the Johnson policy, the demonstrators are encouraging the very war psychology they denounce.

WRONG OBJECTIVES

Senator STENNIS, of Mississippi, chairman of the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee, is now demanding that the administration pull up the antidraft movement "by the roots and grind it to bits."

Honest conscientious objectors are being confused with unconscientious objectors, hangers-on, intellectual graduate school draft-dodgers, and rent-a-crown boobs who will demonstrate for or against anything. And the universities and the Government's policy are being hurt in the process.

So there are now all kinds of investigations going on or being planned to find out who and what are behind all these demonstrations on the campuses. It is a paradoxical situation, for it is working not for intelligent objective analysis of the problem, which the university community of the Nation is supposed to represent, not for peace, which the demonstrators are demanding, but in both cases for precisely the opposite.

Impressions of U.S.S.R. and Four Satellite Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, recently Mr. R. S. Chaffer of 85 Second Street, San Francisco, wrote me the following letter, together with a summary of his impressions of Russia and the four satellite countries. I think his findings are very interesting and I know they will be of interest to the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Both his letter and impressions follow:

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,
October 12, 1965.

Hon. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: My wife and I have just returned from a trip to Russia and the four satellite countries—East Germany, Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia.

Attached is a summary of our impressions. We were unable to talk to any of the people in their own language because we do not speak their language. Our conversations were limited to talking to local guides, "Intourist" conductors, hotel desk, and store personnel who spoke English. But we could see how people live, see how they dress, and observe facial expressions. It was an educational trip, but we do not care to go again.

My purpose in writing is to convey to you my firm belief that our Nation is gradually going down the socialist trail by one law after another and by one "government grab" after another. This leads but to one final result—an economy run by government such as the Soviet bloc people want to escape and which their government now recognizes does not get cooperation of the people.

By some means we must make the rank and file of our population who voted for this administration realize that you can't get something for nothing and you can't continue the give away programs without eventually giving away all our substance, our strength and our freedom.

I urge you, sir, to speak out in this regard.

Yours truly,

R. S. CHAFFER.

IMPRESSIONS OF U.S.S.R. AND FOUR SATELLITE COUNTRIES BASED ON A 23-DAY BUS TOUR DURING SEPTEMBER 1965

Main highways are two lane like our country roads except near Moscow. An average highway scene within one-half mile is three trucks, one bus, two teams of horses, several people walking—maybe one car every half hour. You see a gas station about every 50 miles with a line of trucks waiting for service.

All property is owned by the state or collectives.

Stores have plenty of supplies but few clerks who are in no hurry to serve you; so people que up in line for service.

No religious freedom in U.S.S.R. but in the satellites there is.

Women have to work—children are cared for in state schools or day homes. Men and women work side by side—in field, driving trucks, splicing cable, laying brick, sweeping streets, working on heavy construction.

Each country puts a "state intourist" guide on each visiting bus. Our five intourist guides were nervous, all chewed their nails till they bled, all were noncommittal about any strategic building or plant or construction job.

The Russian microwave towers are tubes about 6 feet in diameter, 100 feet high, with guy wires.

In Russia we made "bush" rest stops in lieu of using stinky sheds called toilets with no plumbing facilities. Men to the left, women to the right and find a bush to get behind.

Extensive war damage and poor housing have caused the building of thousands of apartment houses in the U.S.S.R. and satellite countries and thousands more are under construction—10 story—40 to 120 apartments—500 new apartments ready to occupy each day in Moscow. Millions of people are employed on this project.

When they say "the Kremlin" its like saying "the White House." The Kremlin is a bunch of large buildings within a 40-foot wall—a 1,000-year-old fort on a slight rise and Moscow is built around it.

Hotels would rate third-class here—clean linen, dirty floors, toilets and plumbing constantly drip, meals very heavy consisting of borsch, french fries, black bread, fried steak or breaded meat, thick gravy, lemonade which we called "Lenin-ade," beer, tea, or coffee, ice cream or pastry.

U.S.S.R. is huge—it has 11 time zones—all land is in use, either farms, forests or reforestration—could drop Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys between the Polish-Russian border and Moscow and hardly see them.

There is much farm machinery, many powerplants, factories, processing plants, railroad yards, trucks and tractors. The U.S.S.R. looks strong.

From the appearance of buildings, roads, hotel rooms, Moscow streets, etc., it is evident that maintenance is poor, people don't care—they just put in their time.

From this I have some impressions:

1. Historically the farmers and uneducated workers had nothing—now they are better off—they each have 1 acre of land which they can farm and make what they can—in addition to their regular job. And there is an education program for the children. They have many large universities and technical schools. Education is a large factor in current trends away from strict government control.

2. The former educated people, shop owners, plant owners, business managers and aristocrats have lost their property and assets through state confiscation. They have been reduced to workers in order to live. This large capable group has no incentive to produce or improve for these reasons. I believe this group is also helping force the state to swing away from strict controls in central government and to grant more freedoms and the use of some capitalistic principles.

3. The state and its present ruling class have supplanted the previous owners, aristocracy and managers. The highest wage to a few individuals is $500 per month, but they can supplement this by subsidizing rent, food, summer villas, etc.—they can't amass a fortune. Our Russian intourist guide was with us 11 days. He is a Moscow University graduate doing part-time graduate work. He speaks fluent English, French, and German besides several Russian dialects. His full-time pay as guide is 110 rubles ($122.10) per month. I believe this setup is also a factor in changes taking place.

4. Equal employment in Russia means the opportunity and requirement for women to work beside their men to dig potatoes and beets, swing the scythe, pitch hay, drive trucks, splice cables, sweep streets and gutters, work on heavy construction job.

5. Medicare in Russia means that if you are sick you must first find a dispensary and hope there is a doctor on duty. He will not know you or have a case history. He may be able to see you in the dingy quarters these places occupy. The nurses I saw in

dispensaries and near hospitals had soiled, dirty uniforms and shoes.

6. Democracy means the confiscation of your property, stand in line to buy food and commodities, the opportunity to walk because you have no other means of personal transportation, your children will be attended in state schools so your wife can work so you will have enough to keep body and soul together, living space is limited to what the state says you need.

7. These conditions could come here under an all-wise, power-seeking administration which keeps up the trend toward increased Federal power and decreased incentives through "give away" programs. We are a long way down the Socialist road. We had better take stock of our peril and change direction while we can.

8. I believe the U.S.S.R. is on the way up and we are on the way down to conditions which they are trying to escape.

R. S. CHAFFER.

The Panama Canal Giveaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the Joplin, Mo., Globe of September 27 carried an excellent editorial on "The Panama Canal Giveaway."

I hope the Senate, where all such treaties must be confirmed, will give the proposed treaty long and careful consideration.

In my opinion, it would be a grave mistake for the United States to make the concessions offered by the administration, inasmuch as there is not now, nor has there even been the least question of our sovereignty there in the "zone"; and particularly due to the possible adverse effect on other existing treaties in the Western Hemisphere.

The editorial follows:

THE PANAMA CANAL GIVEAWAY

President Johnson's announcement of an agreement to give up U.S. sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone outrages the honor and dignity of this country, violates a public trust, and ought to be summarily repudiated by the Senate when it comes up for treaty ratification. It is not a negotiated settlement of our dispute with Panama; it is an ignominious surrender, further damaging to U.S. prestige in Latin America and abroad, and weakening our hemispheric defenses.

Our people are quick to forget. But they ought not to forget in this instance. President Johnson waited 20 months after the unprovoked political and Communist-inspired attack on our sovereign Panama zone, which cost the lives of four American soldiers, to announce this proposed giveaway. He proposes not only to give the Panamanian Government sovereignty over the zone, but to set up a joint Panama Canal operation and pay Panama a higher tribute in proceeds from operations. As if to compound the injury, he hints at another treaty for U.S. construction of a larger and more costly sea-level canal through Panama.

We said in this column at the time of the Panama riots of January 1964, that the Panama Canal was not negotiable. It still isn't. We acquired it through purchase treaty in 1903, even creating and supporting the independent country of Panama in the process, and sharing proceeds from the canal ever since. It was an honorable transaction beneficial to the economy and the defenses of the whole hemisphere. Where is the justification for scrapping it now, other than to submit to blackmail

In the interest of our own national defenses and the cause of freedom in opposing communism around the world, it may be that a new and larger canal through Central America to the Pacific should be built to accommodate larger ships. But surely not through Panama in the light of that country's betrayal of its solemn treaty.

Meanwhile, for our own security and self-interest, it is our duty and should be a presidential responsibility that we maintain absolute sovereignty over the present Panama Canal. The weight of U.S. public opinion should be brought to bear to block this dangerous deal.

Drinking and Flying Are Deadly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, a recent article published in the Sunday supplement, Parade, is deserving of the attention of my colleagues in the Congress and the American people generally.

The increasing number of accidents attributed directly to drinking while flying is alarming and to me inexcusable. Having enjoyed a very extensive background in aviation as a professional pilot, flight instructor, fixed-base operator and CAA pilot examiner, I have for years lived by a self-imposed rule of not flying while under the influence of any form of alcohol.

With the rapid decline in reflexes, the development of a false sense of courage and the subsequent disaster as a result of alcoholic beverage consumption, the FAA and the aviation community must work cooperatively to reverse and eliminate this dangerous trend.

I wholeheartedly endorse the recently imposed FAA regulation to restrict the consumption of alcohol at least 8 hours prior to flight time. We have a major responsibility, as aviation leaders, to avoid the mixture of gasoline and alcohol. The future safety of our aviation traveling public demands this adherence to responsibility in aviation. A responsible pilot is still the most important "instrument in the cockpit."

DRUNKEN FLYERS—IS ALCOHOL THE HIDDEN CULPRIT IN PRIVATE PLANE CRASHES?

(By Fred Blumenthal)

At Johnson, Kans., this past spring a 43-year-old private pilot with over 12,000 hours of flying time attempted a night landing at an unlighted airport. He didn't make it, crashed, and was killed.

A few days later at Tacoma, Wash., a 35-year-old inexperienced pilot was trying to impress two passengers with his aerial derring-do. He swooped low over a house and smacked into a tree. All three were killed.

A month later at Robert Lee, Tex., a 48-year-old businessman with over 3,000 hours of flying time was doing wobbly wing nip-ups in a shallow valley when a nearby hill loomed up in his way. He was killed.

The aircraft in all three cases were functioning perfectly. Weather was fine. But in each case autopsies showed another malfunction. Civil Aeronautics Board reports said the pilots had been drinking either while in the air or just before leaving the ground.

These accidents point up what several Government aviation officials brand a growing menace in the sky—the drinking private pilot. And these officials aren't exactly sure what to do about him.

Although drinking private pilots are a problem as old as powered flight, the danger is greater today because of increasingly complex air traffic patterns. Many of the approximately 100,000 light private planes in the United States today fly on or near commercial air lanes and over congested areas. Under the circumstances a cocktail-consuming cuckoo in the cockpit can be deadly, not only to himself but to others.

According to the Federal Aviation Agency, 436 private pilots were killed last year in light airplane accidents. Forty-four percent of this number—or 193—were submitted to post mortem examinations. The autopsies showed 78—or 40 percent of the sample—had been drinking either shortly before or during the fatal flights. Not all were drunk, of course, but 8 of the 78 had in their blood a level of alcohol sufficient to indicate what the FAA termed "an advanced state of drunkenness."

Government aviation officials point out that pilot drinking in no way involves either airline or business flying. Airlines and operators of business aircraft forbid pilot drinking at least 24 hours before a flight. Infractions call for immediate dismissal. There is no known case of an airliner or business aircraft crashing because of pilot drinking.

But this record applies to large, multi-engine planes. What the FAA is unhappy about are drinking pilots of small private aircraft. However, the Aircraft Owners and Pilots Association (AOPA), a large organization of private pilots, refutes what it terms the FAA's scare statistics. AOPA admits a few of its over 115,000 members have at times been known to operate their aircraft in a condition other than cold sobriety. But the organization contends that when you look at all private plane accidents, alcohol was involved in fewer than six-tenths of 1 percent. Jerome Lederer, director of the Flight Safety Foundation, emphasizes, however, "Even one pilot reacting to the effects of alcohol is one too many."

FATAL COMBINATION

Dr. Sheldon Freud, research psychologist with the FAA's Office of Aviation Medicine, says few people realize that as bad as drinking and driving is, drinking and flying is even worse.

"One drink in the air can produce the effect of four consumed at ground level," Dr. Freud says.

Aviation officials say that while "one drink" will not necessarily cause an accident, it can set in motion a chain of potentially fatal reactions.

For instance they tell the story of a free-booting cropduster who once spent a boozy afternoon with two pals and a friendly girl. At the height of the party the pilot suggested they go for a spin. It seemed like a fine idea, even though, as one of them later admitted, the pilot was "too drunk to drive the car." At the field the girl perched herself on a ledge behind the pilot and the two buddies sat out on the wings. The plane staggered about 200 feet off the ground before the pilot suddenly thought better of the idea. But when he banked to land, the added weight of his passengers proved too much and the plane nosed in. Miraculously, no one was killed or even injured.

In another case a pilot radioed a Tucson flight station that he was lost because his flight instruments weren't working. Another pilot aloft in the area heard the call for help and, using radar, located the stricken pilot and guided him safely to an airfield. The lost birdman required three approaches to set his aircraft down in one piece. But then he was unable to park it. Airport personnel found his instruments worked perfectly when they were turned on. A deputy sheriff hauled the pilot away on a common drunk charge.

In the hope of eliminating this sort of aerial knuckleheadedness, the FAA is circulating a proposed rule making it illegal for private pilots to drink during a flight or for 8 hours before. Present regulations say simply that no one may act as an aircraft crew member while under the influence of alcohol. But this refers to drunkenness; it forbids the effect, not the cause. The FAA wants to fill this regulatory gap.

By proposing a strong ruling on what boils down to a citizen's private business, the FAA finds itself in a touchy position. It doesn't in any way want to imply that private pilots are irresponsible. Yet the Agency feels that the number of deaths makes mandatory some sort of immediate action.

Aviation officials admit any such regulation may prove difficult to enforce. Who will admit he has been drinking 8 hours before takeoff, or that he drinks in the air? What's more, who's to say he is lying? At what point does private prerogative public responsibility?

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

The FAA frankly doesn't have answers to these and other equally complex questions relating to the same subject. But it feels some regulations are required. This is why it has asked interested persons to make their suggestions known. Ideas can be addressed to Gen. William McKee, Administrator, Federal Aviation Agency, 800 Independence Avenue SW., Washington, D.C., 20553.

"At present our approach is to make the combination of drinking and flying against the law, just as it is with drinking and driving," says FAA's Dr. Freud. "Such a regulation will be followed by an intensive education program based on thorough research along the lines of the data we are now accumulating."

Intensive education program or not, keeping boozers out of the blue may come down to the sentiments wryly expressed by former Federal Air Surgeon Dr. M. Samuel White.

"The private pilot," said Dr. White, "must steel himself to the fact drinking and flying are deadly."

Two and a Half Billion Dollars Gambled on Foreign Lotteries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, for the past few weeks, I have brought to the attention of the Members of this Congress a report on gross receipts and net incomes from government-run lotteries around the world. These nations have wisely discovered that lotteries can make gambling moneys work for rather than against the people. In all of these countries, the gambling spirit of its people is legally recognized and capitalized on by its governments.

Unfortunately, we, in the United States, stand virtually alone among the nations of the world in our hypocrisy in refusing to recognize and accept the wisdom and advantages of a national lottery.

Mr. Speaker, it is difficult for our taxpayers to understand our Government's sanctimonious attitude about gambling when we know that gambling in this country is a $100 billion a year tax-free monopoly which is and continues to be the chief source of revenue to the underworld crime syndicates.

If we had a Government-run lottery, like our Latin American, European, and Asian allies do with near unanimity, we would satisfy the American thirst to gamble while at the same time making the flow of billions of dollars now siphoned off by the underworld work instead for public welfare. I think we could expect an American lottery to bring in gross receipts of $10 billion or so, with commensurate profits.

In 1964, the 84 foreign countries, listed below, took in gross receipts of almost $2½ billion from its legally operated government lotteries. The total income to the governments came to over $850 million which was used for hospitals, schools, housing, welfare, charity, science, medicare, public developments, and other worthwhile projects.

Mr. Speaker, is it not time that we showed similar wisdom and courage in this country? Is it not time that we remove the blinders and recognized the obvious—that the urge to gamble is a universal human trait that should be regulated and controlled for our own welfare and benefit?

Why cannot we profit from the lucrative experience of these 84 foreign countries? I am waiting for us to have the guts to face up to the fiscal facts of life and capitalize on the normal gambling spirit of our American people. I think we ought to profit nationally from the example of the State of New Hampshire, which has already started to enjoy the fiscal advantages of a government-run lottery.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to list below the 84 foreign countries which recognize and accept the fact that gambling is a fact of life and should be made to work for the public good rather than against it:

Country	Gross receipts	Net income	Purpose used
1. Argentina	$37,712,000	$17,164,000	Public works and medical programs.
2. Australia	99,575,000	29,923,000	Hospitals, welfare, and Sydney Opera House.
3. Austria	20,600,000	7,100,000	General purposes.
4. Belgium	21,400,000	7,820,000	Social welfare programs.
5. Bolivia [1]	789,355	347,146	Red Cross, public health, and welfare.
6. Brazil	30,604,000	1,803,000	Public service projects, schools, hospitals, and housing.
7. British Honduras	3,500,000	90,000	Charities.
8. Bulgaria [2]			
9. Burma	5,235,000	2,094,000	Central Treasury.
10. Cambodia	27,400,000	20,200,000	National budget.
11. Cameroon	272,000	126,000	Schools, hospitals.
12. Ceylon	1,393,000	610,000	Economic development.
13. Chile	13,500,000	2,407,000	Colleges, public health, and hospitals.
14. Colombia	40,000,000	4,000,000	Homes for the poor and aged, and charity.
15. Costa Rica	11,056,000	3,602,000	Hospitals and mental institutions.
16. Cyprus	1,190,000	620,000	Development.
17. Czechoslovakia	4,436,000	1,919,000	Hospitals, sports, and culture.
18. Denmark	8,235,000	617,000	General fund.
19. Dominican Republic [3]	12,258,000	2,589,587	Social betterment and public works.
20. Ecuador	4,282,000	1,307,000	Social assistance hospitals.
21. El Salvador	23,020,000	3,500,000	Welfare services.
22. England [4]	245,000,000	143,000,000	Central government expenses.
23. Ethiopia	1,440,000	202,000	Welfare purposes.
24. Finland	6,311,000	2,165,000	Science and fine arts, opera.
25. France	129,000,000	44,000,000	General purposes.
26. Gabon	50,000	25,000	Red Cross, youth.
27. Germany	548,000,000	182,000,000	Youth, sports activities and health.
28. Ghana	3,000,000	1,500,000	General fund.
29. Gibraltar	$1,967,000	$450,000	General revenue and social services.
30. Greece	31,618,000	7,007,000	Welfare agencies.
31. Guatemala	2,486,000	613,000	National theater, arts, and culture.
32. Haiti	2,416,000	1,039,000	Education, social welfare, and assistance.
33. Honduras	19,869,000	2,109,000	Schools, hospitals, and health centers.
34. Hong Kong	1,750,000	700,000	Social welfare.
35. Hungary	48,500,000	19,700,000	General revenue.
36. Iceland [5]	960,000	310,000	Housing for elderly and research.
37. India [6]	5,400,000	4,200,000	General revenue.
38. Indonesia	750,000	450,000	Hospitals, students, and orphanages.
39. Iran	19,100,000	8,950,000	Hospitals and schools.
40. Iraq	956,000	460,000	Hospitals, welfare.
41. Ireland	43,460,000	10,580,000	Hospitals.
42. Israel	26,700,000	8,000,000	Hospitals and schools.
43. Italy [7]	97,450,000	52,565,000	Hospitals, orphanages, and education.
44. Jamaica	714,000	103,000	Hospitals.
45. Japan	14,014,000	5,183,000	Public works, schools, and hospitals.
46. Jordan [8]	54,000	3,000	Hospitals, junior clubs.
47. Laos [9]			
48. Lebanon	4,300,000	1,100,000	Schools and development.
49. Libya	1,200,000	370,000	Poor.
50. Luxembourg [10]	1,562,300	624,920	Charity, welfare, and medicare.
51. Malaysia	16,530,000	4,000,000	Rural development program.
52. Malta	1,271,000	193,000	General purposes.
53. Mexico [11]	60,000,000	11,200,000	Health and welfare.
54. Morocco	2,410,000	600,000	Treasury.
55. Netherlands	10,228,000	1,000,000	General revenue.
56. New Zealand	11,025,000	2,690,000	Aged, welfare, research, medicine.
57. Nicaragua	5,078,000	858,000	Hospitals and social programs.

Footnotes at end of table.

Country	Gross receipts	Net income	Purpose used
58. Nigeria	$303,000	$128,000	Medical services and development programs.
59. Norway	18,900,000	5,860,000	General funds.
60. Panama	47,171,000	8,089,000	Hospitals and public assistance.
61. Pakistan [12]	7,289,909	6,404,031	General development projects.
62. Paraguay	748,000	158,000	Child care and public health.
63. Peru	4,000,000	672,000	Hospital and medical care.
64. Philippines	14,000,000	6,000,000	Hospitals, Red Cross, Boy and Girl Scouts.
65. Poland	3,932,000	933,143	Housing and culture.
66. Portugal	21,347,000	6,998,000	Public assistance.
67. Puerto Rico	60,000,000	11,989,000	Public improvements.
68. Republic of China	5,850,000	2,633,000	General purposes.
69. Republic of Congo	8,000	888	
70. Rumania [13]			50 percent of income used for sports.
71. Russia [14]	113,220,000	56,610,000	Unknown.
72. Sierra Leone	676,000	219,000	Development programs.
73. Southern Rhodesia	$4,880,000	$745,000	
74. Spain	164,900,000	50,000,000	Red Cross and general budget.
75. Sweden	61,084,000	33,978,000	Culture and artistic purposes.
76. Switzerland	11,000,000	3,000,000	Public building and transportation.
77. Syria	1,250,000	450,000	Damascus International Fair.
78. Thailand	38,460,000	10,384,000	General revenue.
79. Turkey	9,400,000	4,300,000	General treasury.
80. Uganda [15]	714,000	678,000	5-year plan.
81. Uruguay	14,924,000	4,952,000	General purposes.
82. Venezuela	18,524,000	1,665,000	Social welfare.
83. Vietnam	26,000,000	9,000,000	Housing and agriculture centers.
84. Yugoslavia	10,189,000	1,509,000	Veterans, deaf, and blind, Red Cross.
Total	2,264,596,000	850,305,000	

[1] Bolivia: 1963 figures only available.
[2] Bulgaria: Figures not available.
[3] Dominican Republic: 1963 figures only available.
[4] England: Premium bond savings lottery.
[5] Iceland: 1963 figures only available.
[6] India: Price bond lottery.
[7] Italy: 1963 figures only available.
[8] Jordan: 1963 figures only available.
[9] Laos: Laotian lottery interrupted by coup d'etat.
[10] Luxembourg: 1963 figures only available.
[11] Mexico: 1963 figures only available.
[12] Pakistan: Prize bond lottery, 1963 figures.
[13] Rumania: Figures not available.
[14] Russia: 1963 figures only available.
[15] Uganda: Prize bond lottery.

Remarks on Dedicating the John F. Kennedy School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to be the main speaker at the formal dedication exercises of the newly constructed John F. Kennedy School in Canton, Mass.

I wish to include here my remarks on that occasion, as well as a copy of the program.

Special mention should be made of Mrs. Virginia Chase Earle, resident of Sharon, Mass., who so beautifully executed the portrait of our late and beloved President, John F. Kennedy, which was unveiled at the dedication.

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE JAMES A. BURKE ON DEDICATING THE JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL

Today you of the forward looking community of Canton have done me the great honor of asking me to participate in the dedication of a living monument to the memory of a great American and a great President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

Yes, I say a living monument, because that is really what this fine new school, the John F. Kennedy School, is. For, by honoring this educational institution with his name, the John F. Kennedy School becomes a true and living tribute to a man who valued, perhaps above all, the spirit of learning and the hope of education.

In fact, of all the moving things we might say about education in dedicating the John F. Kennedy School this afternoon, probably none could be more meaningful than those said on the subject of learning by John Kennedy himself. For, his words, as well as his ideas, about education were deeply eloquent.

At this time I think it is particularly appropriate to share some of his thoughts about learning with you. In his education message to Congress in 1963 he said, and I quote:

"Education is the keystone in the arch of freedom and progress. Nothing has contributed more to the enlargement of this Nation's strength and opportunities than our traditional system of free, universal elementary and secondary education, coupled with widespread availability of college education."

In the years since these words were spoken, we in the Congress as all Americans, have continued to be inspired by President Kennedy's deep commitment to education. And we, as you in Canton who built this new elementary school, have been stimulated to work hard to strengthen and improve American learning.

Our efforts on behalf of the education of America's children and youth may not at first seem as concrete and immediate as the building of this impressive school before us. But, I think that if you look with me just a little further at what we in your National Government have done recently, you will see that these accomplishments also promise to do a great deal for American education and to help schools like the John F. Kennedy School all over the country.

What I am talking about is the major achievement your Congress won this year when it passed a massive new program to help American elementary and secondary learning, the well-publicized Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

This well-thought out and carefully planned education legislation is something that John Kennedy would have been proud of. I know that we in Congress who passed it, certainly are; for, it promises to strengthen our elementary and secondary education in a number of critical areas of educational concern today.

Consider, for instance, the approximate $1 billion that is to go for the first year of operation for the education of the children of our poor. As you all know, we are working very hard at the national level to find ways to help our disadvantaged youth to break the desperate cycle of poverty and deprivation in which so many of them seem so hopelessly caught, as their fathers before them have been. We think that education is one of the key answers to breaking this cycle. So it is, that we have granted these generous funds to help school districts all over the country give educationally underprivileged pupils the special education and educational services they need if they are to truly conquer their serious socioeconomic and cultural barriers to learning.

It may interest you to know that Massachusetts alone is due to receive approximately $16,705,086 for this purpose for the first year of the program's operation. There is no doubt that these funds will help our heavily burdened local school districts to give our State's disadvantaged pupils the extra help they need to become successes in life.

The education of more advantaged students, such as probably many of the fortunate children who will go to John F. Kennedy School, will also benefit substantially from the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. For other parts of the act grant funds to improve the educational quality in all schools, regardless to the economic level of their students.

Money will be given to help grade schools and high schools improve their schools' library resources and to acquire textbooks and other instructional materials. This means, for instance, that your children in John F. Kennedy School may have more up-to-date textbooks, fine audiovisual equipment, or have access to an enriched school library in coming years.

Then funds are to be given to help schools establish supplementary educational centers and services such as special instruction in the arts and sciences and in advanced academic courses, guidance and counseling services, remedial instruction, and other such things—all of which are found in our very best schools. This might mean that at John F. Kennedy School your children will benefit from an expanded guidance program or others of these services—and thereby have richer educational opportunities than they might otherwise.

Finally, generous support is granted in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to further educational research in America and to strengthen our State departments of education so they can improve their services to our local schools. Both these sources of help will mean that America's boys and girls will have available to them an increasingly higher quality education.

I think now, that even with this brief description, you can see how your Federal Government is working hand in hand with local and State agencies to bolster American education. Your hard work has resulted in the building of an excellent new learning laboratory—the John F. Kennedy School. And our work, we hope, has resulted in an educational aid program and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, that will help make the education that your children receive at this school—and in schools all over the country—the best that our great Nation has to offer.

In closing, I would urge that you continue your magnificent and energetic efforts on behalf of education in Canton, because this beautiful structure does represent the concern of the citizens of Canton and its civil

officials for the mental and physical development of our youth as well as the sacrifice, labor, and love parents devoted to the welfare of their children. For as much support as we, your Federal Government, may give, we never lose sight of the fact that the heart of the progress of American education rests with you in local communities all over the country. With your spirit of dedication to fostering learning in your community there will be no doubt that the John F. Kennedy School will grow into the excellent elementary school for which it has the potential.

Then will the inspiration of John F. Kennedy be fulfilled, and generations of your children will meet the world as the wisely intelligent and well-educated citizens that we would have wanted—and we all earnestly desire them to be.

DEDICATION EXERCISES OF THE JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL, AT CANTON, MASS., SUNDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1965

("For God and for Country")

THE COMMITTEE MEMBERS WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED EFFORT, TALENT, AND UNLIMITED TIME IN MAKING THIS SCHOOL A REALITY

Frederick J. McCabe, chairman; William H. Galvin, secretary; Charles T. Brooks, William A. Flanagan, Daniel T. Galvin, Duncan J. Gillis, Jr., Robert P. Holland, Edward J. Lynch, M. Ruth Ruane, Leo J. Thornton, MacLaren H. MacGregor, John F. Morgan, Leonard P. Graham, Frank Davenport.

THE BOARD OF SELECTMEN

William A. Flanagan, chairman; Harold J. Fitzgerald, secretary; Leonard P. Graham, member.

THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE

Daniel T. Galvin, chairman; Margaret Brayton, Ph. D., secretary; Albert D'Attanasio, Thomas J. Lane, Edward J. Lynch, William H. Kelleher, John F. Morgan, Leonard F. O'Brien, M. Ruth Ruane.

PERMANENT SCHOOL BUILDING COMMITTEE, CANTON, MASS.

William H. Galvin, Daniel T. Galvin, M. Ruth Ruane, Frederick J. McCabe, William A. Flanagan.

Edward J. Lynch, Walter R. Hearn, Ake Goransson, Leo J. Thornton, Charles T. Brooks, Duncan J. Gillis, Jr.

Due to unavoidable absence the picture of vice chairman Robert P. Holland is not shown.

PRESENTATION BY THE PERMANENT SCHOOL BUILDING COMMITTEE OF THE JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL TO THE TOWN OF CANTON, OCTOBER 17, 1965

Bandology: Ostering; the Canton bands, John J. Judge, leader.

Greetings: Frederick J. McCabe.

Unfurling the Stars and Stripes: Color Guards, American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars; Cmdr. Gus Brown and Cmdr. Ralph O'Neill, Alan Powell, C.H.S., 1966; Noel Bosanquet, C.H.S., 1966.

Invocation: Rev. William A. Morgan, St. John's Church.

Address: Hon. William A. Flanagn, chairman, board of selectmen.

Carnival for Trumpets: Kin yon.

Introduction of invited and distinguished guests.

Finale from water music: Handel.

Prayer for the Nation: Rabbi Howard K. Kummer, Temple Beth Abraham.

Introduction: Members of the school building and school committees.

Address: Daniel T. Galvin, chairman, school committee.

Patriotic fantasy: Cohan.

Prayer for children: Rev. Douglas M. MacIntosh, United Church of Christ.

Oration: Congressman JAMES A. BURKE.

Unveiling: Portrait of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, painted by Virginia Chase Earle of Sharon.

New Colonial: Hall.

Announcements.

Benediction: Rev. Thomas Eifert, St. James Lutheran Church.

Chester: Billings, Charles T. Brooks, presiding.

Color Guards: Edward J. Beatty Post 24 American Legion, Canton Post 3163 Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Music: Canton High School Band—Canton American Legion Band (footnote to American History) William Billings, author of the music to which the Continental troops marched and sang in the American War for Independence was a native of our town and is recognized as the first American composer. The signer, Roger Sherman; the artisan, Revere; the engineer, Gridley; and the tunesmith, Billings—Canton citizens who played a significant role in the birth of our Nation.

Refreshments: Mrs. Marie Holland, dietitian, the cafeteria ladies and the parent teachers association.

THE FACULTY

Alice Lindner, room 1, special class.
Joan Sullivan, room 2, special class.
Cynthia Cornish, room 3, grade 1.
Virginia McGagh, room 4, grade 1.
Ann Resca, room 5, grade 2.
Marie Reilly, room 6, grade 1.
Helen Martis, room 7, grade 2.
Lorraine Reneghan, room 8, grade 2.
Marilyn Scipione, room 9, grade 3.
Patricia Neumann, room 10, grade 3.
Marion Feeney, room 11, grade 3.
Ann O'Malley, room 12, grade 4.
Marjorie Bennett, room 13, grade 4.
Elaine Patsos, room 14, grade 4.
James Lynch, room 16, grade 5.
Jean Sturdy, room 17, grade 5.
Paul Merchant, room 18, grade 5.
Ann Cameron, room 19, grade 5.
Ann Turnbull, room 20, grade 5.
Brenda Herman, room 21, grade 6.
John Coakley, room 22, grade 6.
Edwina Cahill, room 23, grade 6.
Joan Biberthaler, room 24, grade 6.
Marilyn Pinkham, room 25, grade 6.

HEALTH OFFICE

Nelson D. Batchelder, M.D., Mildred M. Gillis, R.N.

THE INDIVIDUALS WHO PLANNED AND BUILT THE SCHOOL

Architects: Thomas F. McDonough, F.A.I.A. (Deceased). Ake G. Goransson, A.I.A. associate of Kilham, Hopkins, Greeley and Brodie.

General Contractor: James S. Kelliher, Inc. of Quincy.

Clerk of the work: Walter R. Hearn of Randolph.

Description

The first floor area is 34,670 square feet and the second floor is 21,075 square feet for a total area of 55,745 square feet.

Construction

Concrete foundations, concrete first floor on compacted gravel. Outside walls are 12-inch-thick masonry; 4-inch face brick or limestone facing and 8-inch thick cinderblock walls. Inside partitions are made of cinderblocks. Glazed structural facing tiles are used in all corridors, stair halls, toilets, kitchen areas. The second floor is concrete beams and slab construction. Walls on the second floors are similar to first-floor walls. Roofs are constructed of steel joists and light-weight concrete over metal roof decking. Roofs are covered with built-up roofing with pitch to roof drains.

Floors in general are asphalt tile in corridors and classrooms, terrazzo in all toilet areas, and wood in activities rooms and cafetorium platform. Walls are painted cinderblocks or exposed glazed structural facing tiles in classrooms and corridors and wood finish in lobby, activities room walls have a padded dado. Cafetorium has 15 folding in-wall tables and benches. Ceilings in general are made of acoustical plaster on metal lath or hard smooth plaster in storage areas, kitchen areas. The ceiling in the activities room is exposed steel joints.

A typical classroom has a 32-foot-long by 4-foot-high chalkboard, about 15-foot-long tackboard, 11-foot-long counter with sink, 16-foot to 23-foot cupboard space along windows, freestanding teachers' storage and closet and one L-shaped wardrobe unit.

All equipment in kitchen is stainless steel.

Building is heated by hot water radiators, unit heaters, unit ventilators and convectors. Boilers are oil fired. Complete air exchanges are provided as required by the department of public safety. Electric light in general is by fluorescent type lighting fixtures. Fire alarm, sound system and TV systems are provided.

Large outside paved play areas and parking areas are provided. One little league size and one Babe Ruth size baseball field, two enclosed tennis courts and two outside practice basketball courts are included.

First floor contains

Nine regular classrooms, two special classrooms, kitchen area, cafetorium—cafeteria-auditorium—auditorium platform, administration area—health, principal, general office—conference room, library areas, activities room, teachers' room, boiler room electric room, lobby, coat room, corridors, stairhalls, storage rooms, custodians service areas, covered canopies, toilet facilities.

Second floor contains

Thirteen regular classrooms, one remedial reading classroom, toilet facilities, storage areas, custodian service areas, corridors, stairhalls, and so forth.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In the name of Canton, the permanent school building committee expresses its sincere appreciation to all who have so generously aided it in accomplishing its work.

FREDERICK J. MCCABE,
Chairman.

New York Times States Congress Meets the Test

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, it was a pleasure to read the New York Times editorial today. I am sure most of the Members in this House will agree with every word. It reads as follows:

CONGRESS MEETS THE TEST

The 89th Congress, nearing the end of its first session, has been the best Congress since World War II.

For two decades Congress has been the object of severe but justified public criticism for its failure to face up to the needs of a highly urbanized national society undergoing swift economic and technological change, strained by the challenge of educating, housing, and transporting a rapidly growing population and beset by the complexities of admitting its Negro minority to full citizenship.

The country's needs called for imagination, flexibility, compassion; for vastly increased Federal spending for schools, hospitals, low-income housing, and special programs for the most impoverished and disadvantaged. But Congress, stalemated by a conservative bipartisan coalition drawing its strength from rural and small-town con-

stituencies and looking backward to a different America, was long unresponsive. Its fussy rules and rigid seniority system helped inhibit action.

The Congress elected a year ago broke the mold. A new majority coalition of Democrats and liberal Republicans has emerged. The seniority system remained, but the House rules were modified in a modest way that helped ease the flow of legislation to the floor. Rather than making a virtue out of sulky obstinacy, this Congress has cooperated with the executive branch to shape a constructive program.

The great measures were approved relatively early in the session. The law making the right to vote effective for southern Negroes, the law bringing Federal financial aid to the elementary and secondary schools, and the law adding the protection of medicare to the social security system were historic gains.

But Congress did much more. It submitted to the States a constitutional amendment providing for an orderly succession to the Presidency. It passed a program of rent subsidies that may provide a useful approach to the stubborn problem of good housing for low-income families, but it is now endangered by House action to cut off funds. A cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development was finally established.

The war on poverty, still in its early stages, received a vote of confidence in the form of an increased appropriation. In addition to medicare, much was accomplished for the Nation's health, including the establishment of regional medical centers, funds for staffing community mental-health centers and training more teachers for the mentally retarded. Congress approved a pilot project to rejuvenate railroad passenger service. The reform of the immigration law and a pioneering program of Federal aid for the arts were other high points.

The Congress had a few black marks on its record, such as the defeat in the House of the home rule bill for the District of Columbia and the weakening of the bill to regulate highway billboards. The proposal to regulate the shocking trade in guns made little progress. Many conservation measures are needed; and control of water pollution, for example, is going to require a more aggressive and much more amply financed program despite the passage of this year's bill.

Yet these failings and unfinished tasks do not destroy the general excellence and comprehensiveness of this session's record. At last the decks have been cleared of numerous old problems and old quarrels. At last the Nation has had the benefit of the work of a modern-minded Congress that addressed itself to the needs of a complicated industrial society entering the last third of the 20th century.

President Sets Tone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, for continued growth, there must be, in both spirit and practice, a close relationship of voluntary cooperation between American businessmen and Federal officials to keep the dollar sound and the economy strong.

This was in essence what the Philadelphia Inquirer stated in a recent editorial, which praised the success of the International Monetary Conference in Washington.

The President, in addressing the delegates, "set the proper tone and was appropriately firm" the newspaper reported. It also said:

America is moving forward to an era of increased strength and prestige and respect in the worldwide arena of commerce and finance.

I ask that the editorial which I have mentioned be inserted in the RECORD:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Oct. 4, 1965]

COOPERATION BY BUSINESS WILL HELP

America is moving forward to an era of increased strength and prestige and respect in the worldwide arena of commerce and finance. This, we believe, is a fair appraisal of events and decisions of the past week at the International Monetary Conference in Washington attended by representatives of more than a hundred countries.

To continue in the direction of progress in the months and years ahead is going to require, in both spirit and in practice, a close relationship of voluntary cooperation between American businessmen and Federal officials to keep the dollar sound and the economy strong, at home and abroad.

It is our earnest hope that the cooperative climate will be maintained and improved through mutual consultation and understanding among leaders of Government and private enterprise. This country stands on the threshold of enormous opportunity as international trade heads for new horizons undreamed of a few decades ago.

President Johnson, in his address to delegates at the Monetary Conference, set the proper tone and was appropriately firm in discussing U.S. balance-of-payments problems. "I want to be very clear about this," he said. "We must, in our own interest and in the interest of those who rely on the dollar as a reserve currency, maintain our payments in equilibrium. This we will do."

Praiseworthy accomplishment has been made in the drive to resolve U.S. balance-of-payments troubles. This effort has won acclaim and confidence in foreign capitals. But more must be done. The campaign to promote U.S. exports should be extended and intensified. Especially important is the need for a greater degree of compliance by private business and industry to the Government's request for voluntary self-restraint in the matter of sending investment dollars abroad.

The United States has been successful, at the Washington Conference, in giving impetus to studies that should produce a more modern and effective international monetary system capable of accommodating vastly increased volumes of world trade. Discussions in this field must be conducted among governments but American businessmen can give valuable assistance by supporting actively this country's policies aimed at keeping the dollar strong—which, in turn, will add to U.S. strength in negotiations on international monetary reform.

Roosevelt's Opening Address at United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it was with deep regret and a sense of personal loss that his colleagues and friends in the House learned of the resignation of the distinguished gentleman from California, Mr. Roosevelt, as a Member of this body. As a delegate to the 20th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations it has been my privilege and pleasure to work with Ambassador Roosevelt in his new field of public service, into which he has thrown the full weight of his powerful intellect and tireless industry.

By unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include the address of Ambassador James Roosevelt in general debate in Committee II of the United Nations:

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR JAMES ROOSEVELT, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE, COMMITTEE II, IN GENERAL DEBATE, OCTOBER 15, 1965

Mr. Chairman, you will forgive, I am sure, a personal note at the outset of my remarks. But I cannot begin what is, in fact, my first formal statement in these halls without remembering the years when my father, as President of the United States, envisioned the founding of this meeting place of all men and worked with deep dedication to lay its groundwork.

The United Nations, of course, was not the dream of any one man. It was the dream of many men in many countries.

But if any man anywhere believed in that dream, it was my father. It was the vision, as I have much reason to recall, which stirred the last days of his life.

I recall, too, the years after his death when his belief that the peace could be built securely only in a world free from fear and free from want was given new vigor by my mother. She shared his dream and she devoted the remainder of her life to carrying forward his hopes for world order.

But I know that each of us equally has reason for pride in the heritage he brings here, and when we point to it we do so less because of sentiment than because of what a wise poet once wrote:

"What from your father's heritage is lent, earn it anew to really possess it."

In earning it, however, we dare not stop with the past. We have a future to earn in this Committee and it is nothing less than the betterment of man's life in larger freedom.

How we go about it will determine not only the inheritance we, in our turn, will bequeath to future generations, but the very existence of those generations.

The past has shown that the peace we seek will not be achieved by the resolution of political issues alone. Solve them and leave the world economically ill and we beckon the holocaust we are pledged to avoid.

* * * * *

Five years ago we raised our sights and launched a United Nations Decade of Development. It was a concept filled with the hope of a new and dynamic beginning to the urgent work that is the heart of this Committee's agenda.

We are now past the midpoint of that decade and I want to say in all candor that we share the impatience of other Committee members that more development progress has not been made.

World economic growth in terms of per capita income has been uneven, and taken as a whole, disappointing. While industrial countries have grown rapidly, others have grown slowly. The income gap has thus widened rather than narrowed as we had hoped. Population increase has eaten deeply into gains in productivity.

There are other disappointments. Developed countries are often looked at with suspicion and envy by the less developed. Wealthy nations, in turn, sometimes regard

developing nations as wanting something for nothing.

These are biases and prejudices and misunderstandings. Our work here can help to overcome them.

We in the United States are convinced that the effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument of social and economic development can be greatly improved.

As a newcomer to this assembly, I am overwhelmed by the number of separate agencies and bodies working in the same area, by the overlapping of tasks and duplication of effort. I have become aware, however, that my bewilderment at these administrative overlaps is shared by my colleagues with longer experience in the work of the United Nations.

In our fast changing world, every organization and every Government structure must constantly renew itself and reexamine its basic structure. I am happy to say that we are doing this at the United Nations in a continuing effort to keep our organization functioning with maximum efficiency and geared to the needs of the times.

* * * * *

My Government has also asked me to say that there is another issue which does not appear on our agenda but which is bound to be woven into the consideration of the items I have cited. It is the problem of how to strengthen those parts of the United Nations Secretariat which are expected to carry out our decisions in the economic and social fields.

All our operations in these fields depend on a strong and well articulated secretariat. As time goes on, we trust that with he help of the Secretary General and such bodies as the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, measures will be initiated which will give our Secretariat the form and the resources which it needs to discharge its heavy responsibilities.

It is because we are so deeply concerned with continuing the constant improvement of the United Nations system that we also welcome the United Nations Institute for Training and Research established last spring under the able direction of Gabriel D'Arboussier of Senegal.

The Institute can help the United Nations become more effective in both peacekeeping and development. Today I am pleased to announce that my Government is pledging $300,000 for the operation of the Institute during the current year. We shall consider further contributions in the light of the Institute's progress.

In addition, we shall contribute the sum of $100,000 to help provide for Adlai E. Stevenson fellowships during the year beginning September 1966. These would be provided to 8 or 10 outstanding persons.

The purpose for which these fellowships is intended, as we all know, was close to the heart of the late Adlai E. Stevenson, who gave so much of his life, and perhaps life itself, to the furtherance of international cooperation through the United Nations.

* * * * *

The United States is heavily committed to this proposition. In keeping with it, I have the privilege now of outlining to this Committee some suggestions that we believe will help us attain the common end we all seek.

Here are our proposals, and the order in which I present them is not to be construed as indicating an order of priority.

First, world food production will have to triple in the next 35 years to provide every human being with an adequate level of nutrition. Not only are sharp increases in food production needed, but the increases must be selective so as to assure adequate nutritional standards, particularly for young children.

Over one-half of all the deaths in the underdeveloped countries this year will be the deaths of children of preschool age. In some of the underdeveloped countries, a mother must have five children to assure that one of them will reach the age of 15. Of those who survive, malnutrition causes a high percentage of mental and physical retardation.

This is a heartbreaking situation, an intolerable situation, and it simply cannot be allowed to continue.

Producing the food that is needed is a formidable but not an impossible task. Agricultural yields can be vastly increased, by mechanization, by the use of fertilizers and the means to produce them, by land reforms and extension services, and by educating and stimulating the initiative of the individual farmer. All these are tasks in which the FAO and, indeed, the United Nations itself are playing a major role and must play an even greater one.

At the last session of the Economic and Social Council, a near unanimous endorsement was achieved to put the experimental world food program on a continuing basis with an enlarged target of $275 million in commodities, cash, and services over a 3-year period. We trust that this Assembly will follow suit. The United States is prepared to contribute up to 50 percent of the required commodities and up to 40 percent of the needed cash and services.

In addition, the United States, of course, intends to continue its food-for-peace program.

Second, we must all do more to accelerate industrial growth in the developing countries. This Assembly will be giving renewed and purposeful attention to this problem.

No modern society can grow without an industrial establishment. This includes countries whose future prosperity rests on the development of an essentially agricultural economy due to climate, soil, and other available resources. My Government supports strongly sustained and substantially increased assistance to the developing countries in their drive for industrialization.

Many, indeed a majority, of the member states of the United Nations have repeatedly urged the establishment of a specailized agency for industrialization to provide the necessary international assistance. Again, we recognize the need for such assistance. We are convinced, however, that the proposal to create a new specialized agency represents an over-simplified solution which would actually result in serious delays in the provision of needed assistance. To assist member countries with the process of industrialization requires the knowledge and resources of many of the already existing United Nations organizations.

For these reasons, we strongly favor and will support a strengthening of the already established and trusted instruments within the United Nations family of organizations. In particular, we favor reinforcing the Center for Industrial Development by making available to it the necessary resources, human and financial, and the necessary powers to tackle with renewed vigor the job to be done.

Third, expanding the supply of useable water is a major problem for all the world. The desalting of water is a program particularly appropriate for initiatives from developed countries because of the high costs involved.

The United States has launched a new 5-year $200 million program of research and development to lower the cost of desalted water.

Last week we were hosts in Washington to the First International Symposium on Water Desalination. The exchange of technical information between the scientists of 63 nations and 1,500 delegates should promote substantially our objectives in this field. The International Symposium, of course, followed the successful meeting held under the auspices of the United Nations a week earlier.

Last week President Johnson also announced the beginning of a dramatic additional program for the solution of the earth's water shortage. He will present to the next session of the U.S. Congress a plan for constructing practical prototype plants to make the fullest use of technological discoveries already made.

These discoveries promise plants capable of producing up to 10 million gallons of fresh water a day by 1968 and 100 million gallons a day by 1970.

My country, I would like to add is gratifield at the progress made possible by all the nations which have joined us in cooperative programs.

We, therefore, reaffirm our support of ECOSOC resolution 1069 (XXXIX) which requested the Secretary General to intensify the role of the Secretariat as a clearinghouse for the exchange of information in this field and a focal point for cooperation.

Fourth, continuing action is needed to limit population growth. There is no question but that such action will have a major impact on our efforts to banish hunger and to speed development. The basic principle here, we believe, is freedom of choice—each nation must have the right to decide its own population policy just as each family must be free to decide its own size.

To make such a choice meaningful, however, each individual must be given the knowledge of possible alternatives and the opportunity to make his choice effective according to his own conscience. We strongly support the program whereby United Nations agencies provide such aid to any country requesting it.

Fifth, we propose an extension of World Health Organization programs designed to eradicate communicable diseases. These diseases bear heavily on the developing countries. They are a major obstacle to their economic and social development. I propose that there be added to the ongoing campaigns for the eradication of malaria and smallpox a comprehensive plan for the elimination of cholera.

We have already learned to cure this horrible disease. Recent medical research now makes it possible to save the lives of over 99 percent of patients with uncomplicated acute cholera. We are now close to developing a fully effective, protective vaccine. Continued and increased attention must, of course, also be given to maintaining pure water supplies.

Sixth, there is a need to insure that trade policy complements our many efforts to further the economic and social advancement of the developing countries.

* * * * *

The United States, as the world's largest market for the products of developing countries as well as the world's largest exporter to these developing countries, will continue actively seeking to increase the foreign exchange earnings of developing countries and expanding world trade generally. These twin objectives, I am convinced, are both indispensable and attainable.

Seventh, we are ready to continue a further expansion of multilateral efforts through existing agencies to supply both capital and technical assistance for development because we are convinced that in many areas the multilateral approach has significant advantages over a purely bilateral approach.

We must, of course, be assured that there will be sound administration and that there will be appropriate contribution from others.

Following the successful example of multinational cooperation in allocating aid under the Marshall plan, the United States has worked actively to create new multilateral channels through which not only its own resources but also those of other free world countries now flow to the developing world.

U.S. aid programs, once conducted on a primarily bilateral basis, today are to a large extent carried out within a multilateral

framework of organization under a variety of arrangements for differing situations and specific purposes.

Increasingly, the United States uses multilateral coordination devices for bilateral assistance, such as working through the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, through the international consortia for India, Pakistan, and Turkey, and through existing consultative groups for Nigeria, Thailand, and Colombia, and proposed for other countries.

We made a further major step in this direction in May when President Johnson pledged $1 billion for the development of southeast Asia. In fact, altogether in the next fiscal year 1966, 85 percent of U.S. development loans in Asia and Africa will be committed through international coordinating arrangements, and the entire assistance program for Latin American will be extended through the Alliance for Progress.

The United States continues to be a major supporter of multinational development banks such as the World Bank, the International Development Association, and the Inter-American Development Bank.

Recently the United States agreed to contribute $750 million over a 3-year period to the Inter-American Development Bank's fund for special operations.

My Government also welcomes the Regional Development Bank in Africa and continues our offer to support and help finance projects adopted by it. We are cooperating in the creation of the proposed Asian Development Bank, and are prepared to contribute to its capital but I want to emphasize that this is an Asian Development Bank in every sense of the word.

Our aim everywhere, is cooperation with other nations, not confrontation—building peace, not conflict. We want to use our energy, our talents and our strength along with other nations, not against them. And we are ready to back our words with deeds anywhere in the world where it is feasible.

But if lasting development progress is to be made, not the least of our efforts must be in the area of man's knowledge.

In his recent remarks at the bicentennial celebration of the Smithsonian Institution, President Johnson stressed the need for a much greater investment in education and training. He urged assistance to the educational efforts of the developing nations and regions.

* * * * *

Mr. Chairman, I have been talking about very specific items presently under active consideration. May I now turn for a moment to an area in which I ask you to join me in the exercise of some imagination. You will forgive me if I say that I come from a long line of innovators who were not afraid to dream.

Whatever benefits mankind, is the proper business of this organization which, in the past, has demonstrated not only willingness, but great ability to enter previously uncharted paths.

I dream, therefore, of the day when this Committee will discuss the economic consequences of exploration in areas where man has only begun to probe—under the sea.

I dream of it because the economic consequences will have an important, if not revolutionary, impact upon our procedures and plans for the economic well-being of our planet.

Discoveries in outer space are now but a matter of time, and to the credit of this organization, we have a precedent in our resolutions vesting in mankind the benefits to be derived.

But a new world is already being discovered without even leaving earth, and what are we doing about it? I am sure the members of this committee have been reading about the Sealab experiments being conducted by the U.S. Navy in the waters of the Pacific off the coast of California.

These experiments, in which men have lived underwater for as much as a month, are designed to explore and eventually to exploit the oceans' unknown store of food, oil, and mineral resources.

Nor are we in America the only ones to be conducting such experiments. Other nations have also made remarkable progress in this area.

Just as we believe that the assets which may accrue to man from his exploration of outer space should be shared universally so we believe that what he finds beneath the sea may be used for international benefit without infringing on the sovereign rights of nations.

The supply of marine life, not to mention mineral deposits, deep in the ocean and even near the surface is virtually endless. Learning to use it to feed the hungry, clothe the naked and even warm the cold could simplify if not solve many of the problems that now concern us, and, I would emphasize, may well provide a source of international capital.

It is not too early for this Committee to start dreaming and thinking exciting thoughts about the role the U.N. can take. In saying this, I am not unaware that this organization has already demonstrated a sensitivity to the fact that no one nation can hope to atack the many problems posed by the ocean, and that a large enough attack can be launched only if all the nations cooperate.

I refer, of course, to the three programs undertaken by UNESCO and its Intergovernmental Oceonographic Commission. The third program, incidentally, has only recently started in the western Pacific where 27 ships from seven countries—China, Korea, Japan, the Philippines, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States—are already participating in the initial phases of the project.

Together with the first two—in the Indian Ocean and the tropical Atlantic—these are vivid proof of the imagination and vision of the membership.

* * * * *

For the first time in history as we know it, man has within his reach the attainment of a decent life for all. The achievement of transforming our earthly society with all its pain and hunger into one of dignity and sufficiency will be, perhaps, the most lasting and significant contribution to international law and order that this United Nations can make.

Almost 25 years ago an American President told his nation that in future days we look forward to a world that will be free from want—"which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world."

I can only add, in President Johnson's words: "For all existence most men have lived in poverty threatened by hunger. But we dream of a world where all are fed and charged with hope. And we will help make it so."

Let's Cut Out Meddling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL C. JONES

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I have obtained unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix a letter from a constituent, Mr. Herbert L. Prange, of Caruthersville, Mo., together with an editorial which appeared in a recent issue of the Memphis, Tenn., Commercial Appeal, because I think both the letter and the editorial are representative of the thinking and, I might add, the disgust of the people of the area I am privileged to represent.

Just imagine, Mr. Speaker, the confusion that would be created in the mind of an immature youngster, or most adults for that matter, if he was faced with the problem of answering the question: "Which is worse: First, spitting on the Bible; or, second, spitting on the American flag?"

Or how would you, Mr. Speaker, answer the question, "Which is more important: First, taking the oath of allegiance to the United States; or, second, joining a church?"

With all of the screwballs that we have permitted to influence the so-called education of our children, running at large, prying into the intimate and personal lives of our children, I think it is time that this Congress give some attention to returning to the basic fundamentals of education, including the three R's, and having some respect for the sanctity of the home. While you may or may not agree with the methods provided in the bill introduced by our colleague, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK], I think we would all profit by at least reflecting on some of the issues raised by this proposed bill, H.R. 3912. It might be enlightening to most of my colleagues, just as it was to me, to read some of the questionnaires which are being used. In my opinion, the persons who concocted these questions are far more in need of psychiatric treatment than are the immature students upon whom they are practicing.

Following is the letter from Mr. Prange and the editorial from the Commercial Appeal:

CARUTHERSVILLE, MO.

Hon. PAUL JONES,
Representative, House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Enclosed is a photocopy of an article that was on the editorial page of the Memphis Commercial Appeal, October 11, 1965.

I call this article to your attention, as I think you would want to know what is going on, "on the home front." I think this type of Federal Government "invasion" of the home is very disgusting, to say the least.

I sincerely feel that to say some of these questions are "silly," is to put it mildly.

Why should any child be asked the question about spitting on the Bible or American flag?

I have always believed that I could be a loyal American citizen, and still have religious freedom of thought and worship. I believe that any American can be loyal to his country and true to his God. I served my country in World War II in the Armed Forces, and I teach Sunday school, I see no conflict in doing so.

Why should some "nut" in the Federal Government's Office of Education suggest that there is a choice for our children of spitting on the American flag or the Bible? Is someone trying to cause doubt in the mind's of children regarding loyalty to God or country? Is someone trying to pit children against parents? Church against loyalty to our country?

As the American general said to the Germans in War II "Nuts," so I would instruct my boys to say "nuts" to any such questions.

Mr. JONES, I know that you have a full-time, hard job, I write only to let you know that I protest such type of Federal policy by any department of the Government. I thank you for the kind consideration you have given me.

Respectfully,

HERBERT L. PRANGE.

PICKING PUPIL'S MINDS

We are in complete accord with City School Superintendent E. C. Stimbert and his school principals in their decision to take a long and disapproving look at some of the student testing programs proposed by the Federal Government's Office of Education.

The lengthy questionnaires for students are so far on the personal side as to be virtually an invasion of privacy. If ever there was a "big brother is watching you" they are it.

Memphis school officials went along with the Office of Education's request for information from the superintendent, and with furnishing a report from a cross-section of principals. But when it came to subjecting the students, ill-adjusted or normal alike, to the testing program, they balked.

Here are some of the yes-or-no questions (the full list would have taken a whole day to answer):

"My father is a tyrant."

"I feel there's a barrier between me and my parents."

"My parents play favorites."

"I am ashamed of my father's job."

"I am ashamed of my parents' dress and manners."

"My parents avoid discussing sex with me."

"I think about sex a good deal of the time."

"I'm confused in my religious beliefs."

"I'm bothered by thoughts of heaven and hell."

"Is there a conflict between the Bible and my school subjects?"

"I'm losing faith in religion."

"Is it wrong to deny the existence of God?"

These questions are contained in the Youth Inventory, published by the Science Research Associates, one of the numerous testing services available to our high schools. Obviously, nonacademic tests of this type should be given only with parental consent. Representative JOHN M. ASHBROOK, Democrat, of Ohio, has taken a congressional step in this direction by introducing a House resolution.

He says that a school would be in serious trouble if it would undress young students for examination or inoculate them with some serum without parental permission. "Yet virtually the same thing is being done all of the time through these brain-picking tests which literally undress young people and interfere in private areas which would better be left alone by schools."

Many tests call for difficult or impossible answers—in some cases pitting loyalties of religion, home, and parent against each other. One "moral value" inventory exam furnishes examples:

"Which is worse: (1) spitting on the Bible; (2) Spitting on the American flag?"

"Which is more important: (1) taking the oath of allegiance to the United States; (2) joining a church?"

"Which of the following men contributed more to the progress of mankind: (1) St. Paul (in the Bible); Abraham Lincoln?"

Representative ASHBROOK introduced his resolution in the belief that parents are primarily responsible for the upbringing of their children and that schools are partners in that sphere along with the church and home, and not preeminent. We subscribe to this sound belief.

Tribute to the Late Oscar A. Eklund, of the Veterans' Administration, a Native of Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Oscar A. Eklund, a native of Wisconsin, who served his country in our Armed Forces and later in the construction of veterans hospitals, is being buried today in Arlington Cemetery.

When Oscar Eklund died on October 12, the Government of these United States, and the Veterans' Administration in particular, lost a most capable and respected man. Mr. Eklund was well liked by all with whom he came in contact and I doubt if he had an enemy in the world. He was firm but fair in his dealings with contractors and insisted that the Government receive a workmanlike job on the Veterans' Administration hospital construction projects he supervised. His loss will be keenly felt by the Veterans' Administration Office of Construction, as well as by his many personal friends. Among those who will miss him are his pets, and the racoons, birds, and other wildlife he used to feed around his house in nearby Maryland.

Mr. Eklund was extremely fond of fishing. He was incapacitated by a heart attack about 10 weeks ago and after 4 weeks in the hospital seemed to be making a satisfactory recovery and was anxious to return to work. However, his physician thought that he should wait a little longer before assuming the heavy responsibilities of his position, in which he supervised the construction of half of the new veterans hospitals being constructed throughout the country. Mr. Eklund went to Nags Head, N.C., to indulge in his favorite sport and, apparently, dropped dead while fishing on a causeway over the water near Nags Head.

Mr. Eklund was born in Tomahawk, Wis., March 8, 1899. He graduated from the public schools there and then attended the University of Wisconsin Engineering School. He served as an enlisted man with the Infantry during World War I and received an honorable discharge December 15, 1918. From then until 1922, he was associated with his father in the family business of general contracting. He served as construction foreman and superintendent for Seims Helmars & Schaffner, general contractors for St. Paul, Minn., on heavy construction work of dams and powerhouses in the Wisconsin-Minnesota area.

In 1926, he moved to Washington, D.C., and was a construction foreman for various general contractors erecting office buildings and other large structures. He accepted the position of general superintendent for the Sears Roebuck Home Construction Division, remaining there until 1932, when he entered into partnership with James Doyle. The firm of Doyle & Eklund handled all types of building construction, conducted a real estate department, engaged in rental and financing of property. In 1942, he entered the U.S. Government as project engineer and contracting officer with the Federal Public Housing Authority. During this period, he was responsible for the construction of housing projects in Quantico, Va.; Middle River, Md.; Beltsville, Md.; Oceanside, Calif.; and Fallbrook, Calif.

On January 8, 1946, he transferred to the Veterans' Administration where he conducted studies for the acquisition of real estate properties to serve as sites for Veterans' Administration hospitals, regional offices, and so forth. In May 1950, Mr. Eklund was assigned to the construction service of the Veterans' Administration where he served as personal liaison between central office and the various projects in the field. In this capacity, he was responsible for aiding and guiding the resident engineers in the construction of projects totaling $25 million.

From April of 1954 to the end of 1956, he served as the engineer member of the Veterans' Administration Contract Appeals Board, which acts on appeals from contractors arising out of their contracts for the construction of Veterans' Administration hospitals.

In early 1957, he transferred to construction service, where he served as chief of one of the two project management divisions until his death. In this capacity, he was responsible for the management of construction contracts which, at times, totaled approximately $100 million.

Fittingly enough, the largest of the construction projects of which Mr. Eklund had overall charge was the new 1,264-bed Veterans' Administration hospital at Wood, in his and my own State of Wisconsin. This magnificent and completely air conditioned new hospital costing over $28 million, was virtually complete at the time of Mr. Eklund's death. Typical of other large projects constructed under Mr. Eklund's general supervision are the 800-bed, $15 million Veterans' Administration hospital at Cleveland, Ohio, which was completed a year or so ago, and the 480-bed, $10 million Veterans' Administration hospital now under construction at Gainesville, Fla.

Mr. Eklund was highly regarded by all in the Veterans' Administration office of construction and successfully completed many difficult assignments. It will be a long time before anyone else can amass the experience and develop the ability which Mr. Eklund had. Truly, our Nation has lost one of her most capable and dedicated public servants.

Mistake in Panama

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLOTTE T. REID

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on September 24, President Johnson an-

nounced that the United States and Panama had agreed to provisions of a new Panama Canal treaty; and in the coming months this proposed new treaty will be receiving careful consideration by the Congress—and particularly by the Senate which has jurisdiction over the ratification of all treaties. In this regard, I would call the attention of my colleagues to the following excellent article written by Jim Sedgwick and appearing in the Daily News-Tribune of LaSalle, Ill., on October 4, 1965:

MISTAKE IN PANAMA

(By Jim Sedgwick)

President Johnson's announcement of plans to give Panama a share in control of the Panama Canal was a giant mistake. I only hope he has an ace up his sleeve.

For years now, the Panamanian Government has been trying to shove us aside and take over the Panama Canal by rewriting the 1903 treaty which gave us control over the Canal Zone in perpetuity.

As one who has lived in the Canal Zone, I believe relinquishment of Canal Zone control will benefit the Panamanian people. That is, unless we attach a few strings.

I'm not alone in this belief. Gen. Robert E. Wood, one of the few surviving builders of the canal, commenting on President Johnson's decision to relinquish U.S. sovereignty over the zone said it is "A terrible mistake" that will undermine the Nation's position in Latin America.

General Wood also said the move could jeopardize national defense by placing a vital transportation link under the control of another government.

"What I really think of it (Johnson's decision) is unprintable," he said. "The only hope I can see in this thing is that the Johnson administration doesn't tell what it is going to give Panama.

"If Panama only gets some little control over local matters, it might be all right, but if the plan is to set up a joint participation in control of the canal between the United States and Panama, it would be terrible."

The 61-year-old treaty gave the United States "all rights, power, and authority" over the 33-square-mile Canal Zone "in perpetuity."

Joint United States and Panamanian administration is called for in the new treaty, according to President Johnson's announcement.

In January 1964, General Wood warned that any arbitration of U.S. treaty rights in the Canal Zone would finish the United States in Latin America. This comment came during anti-American rioting in Panama over resentment of U.S. control of the canal.

Giving Panama partial control over the canal will do nothing toward feeding the ill-fed, or caring for those living in squalor in Panama.

President Johnson, apparently, feels our newest concessions will appease the anti-American agitators.

On the contrary, the agitators are sure to find other excuses to heckle the United States. They always have.

Hindsight is always better than foresight, but if the United States had looked to the crying needs of the Panamanian people earlier, we probably would be better off in Latin America. Giving the Panama Government the canal will not improve sanitation, education, housing, roads, or employment opportunities in the Republic.

The Panama Canal is fast becoming obsolete. It is no longer big enough to handle modern shipping.

In 1910 when the canal was first opened to traffic, it handled an average of five ships per day. It now handles 30 a day.

By 1980, it is estimated, interocean travel will exceed the canal's capabilities. Ships will be required to wait their turn to transit the canal and this will be costly to owners and ultimately to consumers.

The canal's locks measure 1,000 feet in length and 110 feet in width, too small for modern aircraft carriers, supertankers, and passenger liners.

These facts are of vital concern to the United States since 70 percent of the cargo tonnage transiting the Panama Canal involves goods originating in, or destined for the United States.

I remember a trip through the canal in 1953 aboard the carrier, U.S.S. *Ticonderoga*. Going through the second set of locks at Pedro Miguel, the *Ti's* gun tubs scraped the lock walls, knocking off large chunks of concrete.

Major maintenance projects in recent years have kept the canal in business, but have not updated it.

A 4-year engineering study has been undertaken by the United States to locate a route for a sea-level canal. Several sites in Panama, Nicaragua, Mexico, and Colombia have been proposed.

The United States is pushing for a sea-level route in Panama which without the engineering studies seems most logical.

I have seen drawings for a sea-level canal across Nicaragua which looked quite good at the time, but I reserve my judgment until studies are complete.

Remarks to Alumni and Parents: Drury College Homecoming, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, Drury College, located "high up in the crest of the Ozarks," is one of the oldest coeducational private schools west of the Mississippi River; founded by a donor of the same name from Massachusetts, it has been foremost in the undergraduate education of those pursuing the basic arts and liberal sciences since 1875, first an academy and later a 4-year college which now gives advanced degrees in both education and business.

It is my privilege to serve as a member of the Board of Trustees in this thriving and growing college which aspires only to be large enough to serve, but small enough to counsel the individual.

The college has seen few but excellent presidents, and few but scholarly academic deans in its long career. The last dean before the current one—Dr. Frank Clippinger, Ph. D.—wrote a stellar history and episode, but the new one, Dr. John Gould, addressed the returning alums last Saturday in classroom assembled. Mrs. Hall and I felt that his remarks were most appropriate and beautifully delivered, as he comes to the "40 acres of Christain atmosphere," from the University of California at Los Angeles. In this day of the Congress backing and stimulating the arts and humanities to say naught of the Higher Educational Facilities Act, I think it is particularly refreshing and appropriate. Certainly the quotations are more rewarding, and Dr. Gould had the unique ability of expanding on these syllabus like remarks in true professoral style to carry a poignant message beautifully to all who listened.

His remarks follow:

REMARKS TO ALUMNI AND PARENTS: HOMECOMING, 1965

"Grow old along with me. The best is yet to be." Browning was speaking as the 12th century scholar Abenezra, who wrote a treatise on immortality.

There is a kind of immortality possible to mankind through what Goethe called "the chain of the generations."

There is also a kind of immortality possible to institutions like Drury.

Our major concern is to be a truly exciting place in which to learn how to make the most of life.

Responsibilities gravitate to the person who can shoulder them; power flows to the man who knows how, said Elbert Hubbard.

The error of youth is to believe that intelligence is a substitute for experience, while the error of age is to believe that experience is a substitute for intelligence.

There seems to be general agreement that Drury College should remain a liberal arts—a liberating arts—college.

The liberating arts are not the licensing arts. As Robert Frost says, "You have freedom when you're easy in your harness."

And Confucius says, "The father who does not teach his son his duties is equally guilty with the son who neglects them."

Our aim is to make the Drury student of today a person who is well informed, intellectually self-reliant, self-disciplined, imbued with Christian ethical and moral values.

Breadth, depth, imagination, and moral fiber are the marks of the well-educated Drury student.

He thinks straight; solves problems; makes and defends decisions; expects to work hard; and looks not only to his own welfare but to that of everyone he knows or meets.

And withal, he is modest. He remembers the advice of Lord Chesterfield to his son: "Be wiser than other people if you can, but do not tell them so."

Today in higher education is the most challenging day of all history. It is a time of ferment and new departures.

An old German proverb says, "They love the old who do not know the new."

We have some new ideas, we think, that we will be developing in the weeks and months ahead.

We do not intend, however, to remember the Biblical warning, "Remove not the ancient landmarks which your fathers laid."

Our new ventures will take the shape of considerable crossing of the old disciplinary lines; that is, the boundaries of the old subject matter categories.

Instead of teaching problems of urban congestion in the sociology classroom from a sociological viewpoint only, we will attempt to bring physics and chemistry into the picture on the problem of smog and disposal of wastes; bring political science into the picture on the problem of overcoming apathy to public health measures; bring literature to bear on the anguish of the soul caught up in the city's cold indifference, bring painting and music to bear on the interpretation of life in the metropolis.

Somehow into our classrooms we must convey as much as we can of the real thing—bring the red and gold of the Metropolitan Opera House into the classroom, conjure up visions of the bustle of Wall Street and Broadway at 5 p.m. with the thousands of individuals pouring out of offices at the end of their workday and into the subways to become part of the faceless and lonely crowd

en route to either individuality in one's own family or togetherness in the social groups, visit the Washington Market at 3 a.m. to see the vegetables unloaded from the trucks, see "My Fair Lady" sitting among the lettuce leaves at Covent Garden, a stone's throw from the law courts and the pungent smell of newsprint on Fleet Street in London.

Colloquim.

Independent study.

This will all require work, hard work, from students and faculty alike.

But as George Bernard Shaw wisely observed, a perpetual holiday is a good working definition of hell.

Napoleon is credited with having said, there are two ways of moving men—interest and fear.

At Drury we choose interest. We hope that is what you will find in the remainder of our program for the day.

We welcome you once again and wish you a very happy homecoming.

Congress Meets the Test

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, there has been much written about the achievements of the 89th Congress, and when you look at the record there can be no doubt that these words of praise are justified. The accomplishments of the 89th have also achieved another gain—they have effectively rebutted the critics who said Congress was outmoded, could not meet the needs of an increasingly urban society, was slow-moving and bogged down in its own rules and traditions of seniority, and so on.

More than anything else, the 1st session of the 89th has shattered these myths. It showed that Congress is not ruled by a coalition of southern Democrats and conservative Republicans and can respond to the needs of the Nation. Just look at the legislative landmarks that came out of this session in education, in medical care for the aged, in voting rights for the Negro, in reform of the immigration laws, to name a few accomplishments among many.

This is precisely the same point the following editorial in today's New York Times makes, and, therefore, I would like to call it to the attention of my colleagues:

CONGRESS MEETS THE TEST

The 89th Congress, nearing the end of its first session, has been the best Congress since World War II.

For two decades Congress has been the object of severe but justified public criticism for its failure to face up to the needs of a highly urbanized national society undergoing swife economic and technological change, strained by the challenge of educating, housing and transporting a rapidly growing population, and beset by the complexities of admitting its Negro minority to full citizenship.

The country's needs called for imagination, flexibility, compassion; for vastly increased Federal spending for schools, hospitals, low-income housing, and special programs for the most impoverished and disadvantaged. But Congress, stalemated by a conservative bipartisan coalition drawing its strength from rural and small-town constituencies and looking backward to a different America, was long unresponsive. Its fussy rules and rigid seniority system helped inhibit action.

The Congress elected a year ago broke the mold. A new majority coalition of Democrats and liberal Republicans has emerged. The seniority system remained, but the House rules were modified in a modest way that helped ease the flow of legislation to the floor. Rather than making a virtue out of sulky obstinacy, this Congress has cooperated with the executive branch to shape a constructive program.

The great measures were approved relatively early in the session. The law making the right to vote effective for southern Negroes, the law bringing Federal financial aid to the elementary and secondary schools, and the law adding the protection of medicare to the social security system were historic gains.

But Congress did much more. It submitted to the States a constitutional amendment providing for an orderly succession to the Presidency. It passed a program of rent subsidies that may provide a useful approach to the stubborn problem of good housing for low-income families, but it is now endangered by House action to cut off funds. A Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development was finally established.

The war on poverty, still in its early stages, received a vote of confidence in the form of an increased appropriation. In addition to medicare, much was accomplished for the Nation's health, including the establishment of regional medical centers, funds for staffing community mental-health centers and training more teachers for the mentally retarded. Congress approved a pilot project to rejuvenate railroad passenger service. The reform of the immigration law and a pioneering program of Federal aid for the arts were other high points.

The Congress had a few black marks on its record, such as the defeat in the House of the home rule bill for the District of Columbia and the weakening of the bill to regulate highway billboards. The proposal to regulate the shocking trade in guns made little progress. Many conservation measures are needed; and control of water pollution, for example, is going to require a more aggressive and much more amply financed program despite the passage of this year's bill.

Yet these failings and unfinished tasks do not destroy the general excellence and comprehensiveness of this session's record. At last the decks have been cleared of numerous old problems and old quarrels. At last the Nation has had the benefit of the work of a modern-minded Congress that addressed itself to the needs of a complicated industrial society entering the last third of the 20th century.

Regional Plan for Bridges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from a recent edition of the New York Times raises many of the questions I share about the proposal to build a bridge across Long Island Sound from Oyster Bay, in my own Nassau County, to Rye, in Westchester. I am steadfastly opposed to construction of the bridge at this site. I believe two bridges are necessary, but farther out on the island where commerce and industry, as well as vacationers, will benefit from these new links to the New England States.

The article follows:

REGIONAL PLAN FOR BRIDGES

The desirability of building a new bridge across Long Island Sound as proposed by Robert Moses cannot be judged in isolation; it must be put into context with the total needs of a metropolitan area that must accommodate an additional 5 million residents in the next 20 years.

Is the expenditure of $140 million for the bridge the wisest and most prudent investments in transportation facilities the metropolitan community can make at this time? Even though Mr. Moses predicts that the bridge will be self-liquidating, some experts are convinced that this huge sum could be put to better use elsewhere. They grant the bridge a low priority.

Is the location selected by Mr. Moses' engineers, between Rye and Oyster Bay, the best one? There is substantial dissent on the part of well-informed observers. The greatest growth on Long Island in the future is likely to be in Suffolk County. There is more open land for development in nearby Connecticut than in Westchester. A crossing farther east might be more useful to this development and at the same time promote the decentralization of the area so strongly urged by the regional plan and other students of the problem.

As Mr. Moses acknowledges, in selecting the site for a sound crossing we are helping to determine the future. The Tri-State Transportation Commission is now established by law as the official regional transportation planning agency. Despite that fact, the bridge proposal has not yet formally been submitted to it. That should be done without more delay. To deal with it on a piecemeal basis would be disastrous.

U.S.-Flag Lines Adrift

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Representative JOHN M. MURPHY, of New York, at the annual convention of the Association of Water Transportation Accounting Officials at Hershey, Pa., on October 15, 1965. It is the good fortune of the Congress to have among the New York delegation one like Representative MURPHY who brings to his assignment on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee a fulsome background and experience in the shipping problems of New York and the country and who has been most diligent in the discharge of his duties.

REMARKS OF HON. JOHN M. MURPHY, DEMOCRAT, OF NEW YORK, AT THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE ASSOCIATION OF WATER TRANSPORTATION ACCOUNTING OFFICIALS AT HERSHEY, PA., ON OCT. 15, 1965

Ladies and gentlemen, I am indeed happy to be with you here today. You couldn't have chosen a more delightful place to hold your annual convention. In fact, this community and the surrounding countryside are

so attractive and pleasant that it is somewhat difficult to bring one's self down to the serious business of discussing our drifting maritime policy.

At the time I commenced preparation of these remarks, rumors were circulating that the interagency maritime task force on maritime policy, under the chairmanship of the Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation, was about to release a new shipping program which would introduce drastic changes to all existing policy and authority. Soon the press carried stories which seemed to confirm the rumors. Then came official denials. Then came reproduction in the New York Journal of Commerce on September 28 of the full text of the alleged position paper of the task force. Then more official denials. And finally, on October 7, the rumors and the stories were confirmed with the official release and presentation to the Maritime Advisory Committee of a document, entitled "The Merchant Marine in National Defense and Trade: A Policy and a Program."

Release of the long-awaited policy and program, however, did little, if anything, to clarify the picture.

In a reportedly stormy session, the Maritime Advisory Committee, composed of a cross section of all elements of our maritime industry in both labor and management, unanimously adopted a resolution not to accept the task force report, on the grounds that it was contrary to the existing statement of policy contained in the Merchant Marine Act of 1936; contrary to the directive of the President establishing the Maritime Advisory Committee; contrary to the policy adopted by the Committee; and contrary to the statements made by the Secretary of Commerce last May.

Most interesting was the fact that even before the Under Secretary of Commerce started to explain the report, the Secretary of Labor, a member of the task force, announced his disagreement with much of the contents of the report. With this background it will most certainly be interesting to review the President's transportation message to the Congress early next year.

Knowing the interest and involvement which all of you have with regard to the American merchant marine and our shipping policies, I am sure you are familiar with press accounts of the proposed new policy and program.

Among other things, radical changes are proposed in this construction and operating subsidy systems, relating the amounts of merchant marine subsidies solely to national emergency needs for military and urgent civilian shipping. The task force states that adequate Government aid would be provided to insure these national emergency needs but "aid systems would be restructured and funds reprogramed to obtain the maximum capacity per dollar input." In simpler terms, the objective is "more bang for the buck"—and fewer bucks. It is conservatively estimated that by 1975 the gross national product could exceed $880 billion and by 1985 could reach $1¼ trillion. By the clever use of mirrors, the report attempts to show that by 1985 with an annual Federal outlay of approximately $387 million—$29 million less than under present conditions—we can have a merchant marine carrying double the present volume of U.S. foreign commerce. To do this it is proposed that—

Construction and operating subsidy aid would be made available to the bulk carrier segment of the industry.

Cargo preference in all its aspects would be phased out—ultimately eliminated.

Seagoing employment would be reduced by as much as 20,000 jobs, to a level somewhat more than one-half of the present 47,000 jobs.

Passenger shipping would be phased out over the next 10 years or so.

Commercial shipbuilding would be supported up to about the present level upon the joint determination of the Secretaries of Defense and Commerce as to shipbuilding capacity required to meet national security needs. Beyond that, any operator in the offshore bulk or liner trades may build abroad and still be eligible for operating subsidy. Domestic operators may also build abroad without loss of any coastwise privileges.

Operating differential subsidy should be paid on an incentive basis calculated on a percentage of gross revenues, except that no operating differential subsidy will be paid to liners with regard to Government-sponsored cargoes.

The trade route system would be either eliminated or vastly modified.

Though the report contains many fine words to assure the belief that the proposal will lead to less Government participation and interference in shipping than at present, the fine print shows that the heavy hand of big brother will be felt at every turn. There seem to be numerous situations in which Government aid can be summarily reduced or withdrawn. For example, it states the MARAD "Should have authority to decide whether a subsidized operator's participation in a conference, pool and or other agreement inimical to the objection of the subsidy, to require the operator to withdraw from such agreements or lose subsidy."

The report is one big package of controversy and seems to have been prepared in total ignorance or disregard of existing policies and statutory authority. As one shipping official put it—some of the suggestions seem to be in the nature of "burning the house down to get at a leaky roof". I am told that the report was prepared with virtually no consultation or advice from practical shipping people.

I, for one, am glad to see this report brought into the open. Whether one agrees with it or not, it clearly delineates certain areas in which our maritime policy needs reaffirmation or strengthening. By having been formally presented by the Task Force, it defines issues more clearly than the various preceding studies that have come forth with frequency in the postwar years. Now we have something we can sink our teeth into.

Because of the official status of the report, the Congress has a clear and immediate responsibility to review and analyze it in the greatest detail. I anticipate that congressional committee staffs will initiate such analysis during the remaining months of this session and that congressional scrutiny through comprehensive hearings will begin early in the next session. We should, and I feel sure that we will, give the authors of the proposed changed program and policy every opportunity to explain and justify the details of their recommendations.

By the same token, it behooves all segments of our maritime industry to apply their own careful and objective scrutiny to every word in this report so that we in Congress may have the benefit of your views.

While I must confess that the full text of the report has not been available long enough for me to have studied it in fine detail, I can readily see where adoption of some of the recommendations will require the particular attention of you gentlemen in the accounting field. It looks as if there would be a greatly increased proliferation of accounts due to the differing treatments that would be given to the subsidization or nonsubsidization of various types of cargo. As another example, the problem of determining parity for bulk carriers on a worldwide basis will certainly present a challenge.

Before closing, I want to take this opportunity to announce that I intend to join with others who have already done so to introduce legislation which would return the guidance and administration of our maritime policy to independent status. Events over the past 4 years have convinced me that a maritime administration buried deep in the realm of a large department devoted primarily to other things has not been satisfactory. Nor has the creation of a variety of special non-Government advisory committees and interdepartmental committees and task forces permitted the development and exercise of responsible leadership by the agency created for that purpose.

The Policeman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a brief article by Dr. J. R. Lechner, executive director of Americanism Educational League of Inglewood, Calif.:

THE POLICEMAN

At first glance, the policeman is some sort of bogyman conjured up from the subconscious mind, befuddled and distorted by a personal fear of retribution, or by an endless array of false concepts, arising from news stories of police brutality and hearsay, all rolled into a fearsome image.

Too often, the policeman is a scapegoat for our own sense of guilt, whether imaginary or based on some infraction of the law for which we were apprehended or which escaped detection. The infraction does not have to be a serious one—merely overparking or accidentally going through a red light. Who has not shuddered at the thought of a policeman lurking behind a signboard, ready to catch us by surprise for some minor infraction of the law?

Or the policeman may be the symbol of a discipline which we reject as individualists who, too often, consider our own "rights" as supreme, disregarding the equal rights of others which may conflict with ours. As such, the policeman becomes an adversary of serious proportions, and must be avoided. All other characteristics of the policeman are obliterated to magnify this fantasy of a personal enemy.

As a matter of fact, the policeman enjoys a status in our society far more significant than the superficial caricature which casts him in the role of a brute, which a few deserve among the vast army of law-enforcement officers. For these, we hold no brief. They miss the responsibility of their high calling and reflect discredit on their profession.

The policeman symbolizes the stability of our modern free society—he is law and order. Without him, society would quickly degenerate into anarchy and terrorism, because liberty can only be maintained by discipline. It is the nature of the mob to panic under an unbridled freedom.

It is the policeman we seek when we are threatened with assault on our city streets, and it is the policeman who will restrain the criminal and place him under arrest.

The woman who is robbed of her purse containing small treasures, which mean so much to her, looks frantically for the policeman to recover her belongings.

It is the policeman who is eagerly sought and who rushes to the citizen who slipped and fell on the slick pavement downtown, and was painfully hurt. Most people pass

him by, or stand around out of curiosity and in ignorance of what to do.

It is the policeman who is called in desperation by an anxious husband whose wife is about to deliver a baby, and who was unable to locate her doctor. And the young policeman, not yet a father himself, may help deliver the child in the police car which is speeding toward general hospital.

A 4-year-old wanders from his bedroom during the midnight hours to toddle up the darkened street, unaware of his identity or his destination. It is the policeman who feeds him a bit of ice cream and jounces him up and down on his knee, sitting at his desk near the telephone awaiting the inevitable voice of a frantic mother who just missed her adventuresome offspring. No father could have treated the runaway with more tenderness than the 230-pound former football player, now the guardian of all the children in his precinct.

It is the policeman who often applies mouth-to-mouth breathing, to restore the heartbeat of a drowning youth, or a stranger about to strangle; and he asks questions later. For the moment, he may be the angel of life for a stricken citizen.

The policeman's sworn duty is to protect the innocent and to apprehend the criminal. In doing so, he often faces extreme danger. He will practice amazing restraint under duress. He will stand there as a buffer between innocent bystanders and organized hoodlums who hurl bottles, sticks, and stones at him. The policeman will not use his weapon unless it is essential to protect life and property. The miracle of the Los Angeles riots was in the restraint exercised by the outnumbered police, who were the targets for abuse, assault, and sniping.

During 1964, 57 policemen were killed in service to their respective communities above and beyond the line of duty, and 7,738 were injured in assaults committed against them. The policeman is the trained and dedicated soldier on the battlefield of the ever-unfolding drama of daily life, fighting on the side of the men, women, and children of the community who cannot defend themselves against a criminal with a sick mind, or against organized hoodlums and gangsters.

It is the policeman who symbolizes law and order, safety and peace in 10,000 American cities and hamlets. Without him, our citizens would live in anarchy and in terror. And it is precisly this function as the protector of life and property which makes the policeman the special target of vilification, abuse, and libel by every leftwing crackpot and Communist stooge in the Nation. It is a well-disciplined, loyal, and independent police force, locally controlled and locally autonomous, which represents our most effective bulwark against insurrection and revolution.

Remarks by Deputy Secretary of Defense Cyrus R. Vance at the Annual Dinner of the National Security Industrial Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, during the past weekend, rallies have been held in many parts of the country and world protesting U.S. involvement in Vietnam. While I firmly believe in the right of every individual to participate in such protests, I am convinced that, were each one of us to judiciously compare the position of those protesting with the clear and trenchant logic of the Deputy Secretary of Defense Cyrus R. Vance when he spoke at the annual dinner of the National Security Industrial Association in Washington, D.C., on October 7, 1965, we would be compelled to conclude that the United States is pursuing a measured and reasonable policy in Vietnam.

Because I consider the words of our Deputy Secretary of Defense as being a realistic and eloquent statement on this issue, I commend them to the attention of my colleagues:

REMARKS BY DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE CYRUS R. VANCE, AT THE ANNUAL DINNER OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION, SHERATON-PARK HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1965

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, I am honored to be here, and to participate in your 22d annual dinner.

I deeply appreciate this opportunity to speak before a group so concerned as you are with the security of our country, and so directly involved with the preservation of its strength and freedom.

Exactly 5 weeks ago tonight—in a distant country—a political document appeared.

It was written by the Defense Minister of the most populous nation on earth.

It was written by Lin Piao, the Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party—Vice Premier of Red China, and the Minister of National Defense.

Ostensibly, it is an article commemorating the 20th anniversary of the defeat of Japan in World War II. But that was merely a convenient occasion for its publication. For it is no ordinary commemorative article.

I want to talk to you about that document tonight. For it tells us not only what Peiping's intentions are in Asia—not only what Peiping's intentions are in Vietnam—not only what Peiping's intentions are toward the United States—but what Peiping's plans are for the whole expansion of world communism.

The document begins with a lengthy analysis of the Communist revolution in China.

Lin Piao states bluntly:

"It was on the basis of the lessons derived from the people's wars in China that Comrade Mao Tse-tung, using the simplest and most vivid language, advanced the famous thesis that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. He clearly pointed out: The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war is the central task and highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries."

Lin Piao then goes on to note that the Chinese Communist revolution differed from the Russian revolution in one essential respect. The Russian revolution, he says, "began with armed uprisings in the cities, and then spread to the countryside; while the Chinese revolution won nationwide victory through the encirclement of the cities from the rural areas, and the final capture of the cities."

Now, he comes to his central point. The rural areas of the world today, he asserts, are Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The cities of the world are North America, and Western Europe.

Just as communism in China, says Lin Piao, succeeded by capturing the countryside; and then encircling and defeating the cities; so the global Communist movement will ultimately succeed first by capturing Asia, Africa, and Latin America—thereby encircling North America and Western Europe—and then by finally and decisively defeating the United States and its Western allies.

Win Asia, Africa, and Latin America through wars of national liberation, says Lin Piao, and the United States and its Western allies will be surrounded, will be encircled, will be overwhelmed.

And where is all this to begin? he asks.

It has already begun, he replies. And the place in which it has begun is Vietnam.

Vietnam, says Lin Piao, is now the focus of the revolutionary movement against the United States. No matter what action America may take in Vietnam, he adds, the Communist Chinese determination is unshakable to drive the United States out.

But, ladies and gentlemen, it is not Peiping that is fighting in Vietnam; it is Hanoi. Mao is not risking his own troops to achieve his ends. Rather, Hanoi is being used to attempt to prove the validity of his thesis.

For the whole point of Mao's doctrine is that Hanoi and the Vietcong should fight on; that they should reject any offers of reasonable settlement or negotiation; that they should be prepared to wage a prolonged and dirty war—whatever its cost in North Vietnamese blood; whatever its cost in North Vietnamese well-being.

Hanoi might well ponder whether its future is best secured by fully submerging its own separate interest to Peiping. The North Vietnamese people deserve a better future than that.

Meanwhile, the leaders in Hanoi—much to Peiping's pleasure—continue to make a reasonable settlement impossible. They continue their aggression in the south. They continue to infiltrate soldiers, equipment, and supplies across the border. They continue to employ the twin pressures of temptation and terrorism—tempting the peasants to renounce their loyalty to their village leaders in return for hollow promises; and terrorizing them if they refuse.

Ladies and gentlemen, there could be no clearer justification of why we are standing firm in our resolve to help defend the 14 million people of South Vietnam, against Communist aggression and subversion from the north.

What is the U.S. policy there?

Our policy is simple and straightforward. It is not complicated by any doctrinaire theories of world domination.

First, we are determined to keep our commitment to the people of South Vietnam. We are going to continue to assist the South Vietnamese to resist aggression. We are going to continue to make it clear to Hanoi and to Peiping that terrorism, murder, subversion, and infiltration from the north cannot—and will not—succeed.

As President Johnson has pointed out:

"We are * * * there to strengthen world order. Around the globe from Berlin to Thailand are people whose well-being rests in part on the belief that they can count on us if they are attacked. To leave Vietnam to its fate would shake the confidence of all these people in the value of an American commitment and in the value of America's word. The result would be increased unrest and instability, and even wider war."

Second, we are committed to help create a better life for the people of South Vietnam. We are engaged in a major program of economic and social development there, and we want to see it extended to the whole south Asia region, including North Vietnam.

Everything that we do in Vietnam is governed by those simple reasons for being there.

Our goal is a peaceful settlement. We are ready—now—to go to the negotiating table. We lay down no preconditions for such discussions. We seek a cessation of aggression by North Vietnam. We seek a just peace—

and we have made that offer clear on many occasions. We seek the withdrawal of all foreign forces—including our own—from South Vietnam once peace has been restored. And we seek a peace that guarantees freedom of choice for the South Vietnamese people.

Our purpose is firm; our patience is long; and our perseverance is unshakable.

But, as both Hanoi and Peiping have pointed out, the issue is larger than merely Vietnam.

General Giap, the North Vietnamese strategist who defeated the French at Dienbienphu, has put the matter candidly: "South Vietnam is the model of the national liberation movement of our time * * * If the special warfare that the U.S. imperialists are testing in South Vietnam is overcome, then it can be defeated anywhere in the world."

And—as we have seen—Lin Piao describes the struggle in Vietnam as merely the curtain-raiser in the whole global drama of Communist expansionism.

The issue, then, in Vietnam, important as it is, is not the only task facing the United States and its partners in freedom around the world.

It is an essential task. But it is not the total task.

The total task of free men on this planet is to preserve and nurture freedom everywhere that it is growing.

Lin Piao sees a major crisis in human society in the second half of the 20th century; he sees it taking place on the perimeter of the industrialized world—in Asia, in Africa, and in Latin America.

I think we can agree with him on that.

Let us examine why.

We can begin by reminding ourselves that the Communist mind is a curious combination of ideological rigidity—and tactical suppleness.

The Communist mind is, at one and the same time, philosophically closed—and pragmatically open.

In the past half century we have witnessed an imaginative display of aggressive Communist tactics.

The goal has always been the same: political domination. But the path to that goal has often switched direction.

In our own lifetime, Communist tactics have ranged through a broad and brutal spectrum; everything from outright occupation by the Red Army in Eastern Europe—through conventional aggression in Korea—to the guerrilla operations in Greece, Malaya, the Philippines, and now in Vietnam.

Communist tactics have sometimes fomented revolutions, and at other times have captured those initiated by others.

Communist tactics have learned to be as much at home with legal means, as with illegal means; with sophisticated societies, as with primitive ones; with rightist dictators, as with leftist demagogs.

Thus, if one surveys the total Communist movement of the past half century, one cannot fail to be struck with a profound bit of irony; that the Communists in their ultimate view of history are almost insufferably dogmatic and doctrinaire. But in their efforts to manipulate that history, they are almost incredibly pragmatic and practical.

What, then, is our answer to the Communist manifesto of Mao Tse-tung, as written by Lin Piao?

First, our answer is that we agree that the "focus" of the challenge lies, at the moment, in Vietnam.

But the Government of Vietnam and the United States will not be defeated by Communist aggression from the North. We will continue our support of the people of South Vietnam until a just and reasonable settlement is reached—whether by agreement at a conference table or by a cessation of the aggression, as in Malaysia, the Philippines, and Greece.

Second, we agree with Mao that the lands arching across the southern half of the globe—Asia, Africa, and Latin America—are to play a decisive role in the future of humanity.

But we disagree that their role is to be the hapless victims of Communist externally directed so-called wars of national liberation. On the contrary, we believe that these nations desire to remain fully and freely themselves—uncoerced by subversion stage-managed and supplied from without. We believe that these nations desire, with wisdom and dignity, to seek their own national progress in their own national way. And we stand ready to assist them to do precisely that.

Third, we agree that Mao's clear intent is that his brand of communism should eventually surround, encircle, and finally cut off and defeat western Europe and the United States.

But we disagree that that is going to happen. Our defenses are strong, and we remain alert and ready for whatever the future may bring. But more important is the fact that the free nations of the world offer a better future for the individual, and a peaceful path to that future.

Finally, we agree with Mao that just as there are cities and countryside within nations, so the world at large—in its current uneven rate of technological advance—can be viewed as a series of industrialized centers, surrounded by a less-developed countryside.

But we disagree that the historical process suggests that the global countryside will storm these centers, and put them to the torch of Communist insurgency.

On the contrary, we believe that the historical process will be precisely the reverse; that the industrialized centers—the fortunate nations of the world—will increasingly seek to bring to the countryside—to the poorer nations of the world—the very assistance and skill that will help these nations to close the poverty-gap. And the rich nations will do this by measures that will share talents and resources—by measures that will increase the self-confidence and self-reliance of the poorer nations to achieve their own self-sustaining political and economic growth.

In the United States we issue no global manifestos.

But we do indulge in one dream. We do entertain one grand vision. We do look to one great goal.

We are dedicated to continuing the dialog with the rest of the world that began in an obscure hall in Philadelphia on July 4, 1776.

The men in that hall were revolutionaries.

The men in that hall did not believe that true political power can grow out of the barrel of a gun. They believed that true political power can grow only out of the people themselves—for that is precisely where it is: within each individual human being.

Those men did not rant about class struggle. They said bluntly that all men are created equal.

Those men did not theorize about a dictatorship of the proletariat. They proposed something far more explosive than that. They declared that all men had an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Those men in 1776 fused, primed, and set off a political explosion that has had more ultimate effect on society than all the dictators of history rolled into one.

The fires of that revolution still burn in this country; and the sparks of that revolution still fly, igniting the tinder of human aspiration all over this globe.

One of the greatest challenges to this generation of Americans is to refine the formulas for creating the driving sparks; for cultivating the leadership talent; for unleashing and organizing the earth's bountiful natural resources; for breaking down the out-of-date barriers to progress, throughout the world. We have an enormous challenge to perfect the formulas to do all of these things to permit what Lin Piao calls the countryside to find their way up the rocky path.

We must meet that challenge.

We must offer the more durable stuff of true, creative revolution.

Lin Piao's statement of Communist China's goals for the world is 18,000 words long.

President Johnson has summed up our goals for the world in three simple sentences:

Our own freedom and growth have never been the final goal of the American dream. We were never meant to be an oasis of liberty and abundance in a worldwide desert of disappointed dreams. Our Nation was created to help strike away the chains of ignorance and misery and tyranny wherever they keep man less than God means him to be.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is for you and me—and all of us on this small, whirling planet—to insure that this forecast will prevail.

Probing the Klan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, it is welcome news that tomorrow the House Committee on Un-American Activities will begin public hearings on the Ku Klux Klan. Communism is not the only threat to our form of democratic government, and it is high time to remove the shroud of secrecy which has surrounded the activities of this infamous organization.

The latest example of Klan influence is the jailing in Crawfordville, Ga., of a Negro civil rights photographer, Mr. Brig Cabe of Bloomfield, N.J., on a charge of possession of fireworks. He was held for 2 days on a $500 bond until his release was ordered by a Federal court. Yet the Ku Klux Klan member who was charged with assault on Mr. Cabe was immediately released on $100 bail. It is shocking to see the victim of an unprovoked assault such as this treated more as a criminal than the man who assaulted him. A fine editorial in today's Newark Evening News discusses the importance of this investigation to determine the harm done the Nation by the Ku Klux Klan, and under unanimous consent, I place it in the RECORD at this point.

[From the Newark Evening News, Oct. 18, 1965]

PROBING THE KLAN

The House Un-American Activities Committee is scheduled to begin public hearings this week in its investigation of the Ku Klux Klan. President Johnson called for the inquiry in a televised address last March after the slaying in Alabama of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo of Detroit, a civil rights worker.

Legislation to bring the Klan at last under effective control of law will depend on the committee's findings. Congressional action against the organization, which Mr. Johnson called the "hooded society of bigots," may have a better chance in 1965 than it had in 1924 when the efforts of Senator Oscar W.

Underwood, of Alabama, ended with the Klan hounding him out of politics.

Current chairman of the House Investigating Committee is also a southerner, Representative EDWIN E. WILLIS of Louisiana who says the Klan is "incompatible with Americanism."

If the Klan is to be outlawed, it is appropriate that the move be led by a southern legislator who has first-hand knowledge of the injury the Klan has done to the Nation, particularly the South.

FPC Disavows Intention To Regulate Retail Electric Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, there recently appeared in Drew Pearson's column a report that the FPC is planning to regulate retail rates of electric power companies, which are, of course, now within the sphere of state regulatory agencies. When I saw that report, I promptly contacted the FPC to ascertain whether the report was true.

The Commission disavows any such intention. It appears that the misunderstanding as to the Commission's position resulted from a request by the Office of Emergency Planning that FPC assist OEP in developing a rate stabilization program in the event of a serious national defense emergency—such as nuclear war. The Commission, however, told OEP that any plan for regulating retail electric rates during such an emergency should be coordinated with the various state regulatory agencies, and, that the FPC's role would be limited to the wholesale rate sphere in which the FPC has, of course, considerable experience.

In order to eliminate further misunderstanding, the Acting Chairman of the Commission has restated FPC's position in a letter he recently sent to the National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners, and to the head of each State regulatory commission. The Acting Chairman's letter, and the attachment thereto, will be of interest to the Congress. Therefore, I include them at this point in the RECORD.

AUGUST 5, 1965.

Hon. WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
Chairman, Committee on Commerce,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: You have asked me to explain a draft agreement prepared by the Office of Emergency Planning for joint action with the Federal Power Commission which has been represented to you as contemplating an extension of FPC activities into the retail electric rate sphere, now the exclusive province of the State regulatory agencies. I can assure you that the Commission contemplates no such expansion. On the contrary, we did not agree to the draft contract proposed by OEP and informed it that we could best assist OEP in executing its retail rate program by bringing it in touch with State commission personnel.

The draft in question was prepared by the OEP staff as a suggested contribution by the FPC to the stabilization program in the event of a serious national defense emergency (such as a nuclear war situation). After submission of the OEP draft, the Commission staff met with OEP representatives on June 18, 1965, and explained to them the myriad of retail rates in effect throughout the country and the need for planning any stabilization program for retail electric rates in conjunction with local regulatory bodies. While FPC is ready to contribute our experience in the wholesale rate sphere to the national emergency effort, as I have stated, we made clear that any plan for regulating retail rates in an emergency should be coordinated with the State commissions.

The Federal Power Commission has at no time sought to extend its peacetime responsibilities to the regulation of electric retail rates. We have of course indicated our readiness to contribute our experience to emergency planning and we assume that when State and local bodies are asked to do the same they will respond in a similarly affirmative manner.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH C. SWIDLER,
Chairman.

FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., October 14, 1965.

Hon. JAMES A. LUNDY,
President, National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We write to correct recent suggestions that the Federal Power Commission seeks to supplant the retail rate responsibilities of the State commissions. We have no such intention. The misunderstanding grows out of requests by the Office of Emergency Planning for FPC assistance in developing a rate stabilization program in the event of a national holocaust.

The circumstances of our discussions with the Office of Emergency Planning were set forth in the Commission's letter of August 5, 1965, to Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON, the chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee. A copy of that letter is enclosed for your information.

As the letter makes clear, the Commission suggested to OEP that any plan for regulating retail rates in a wartime emergency should be coordinated with the State commissions.

The Federal Power Commission has at no time sought to extend its peacetime responsibilities to the regulation of retail rates. We have of course, indicated our readiness to contribute the Commission's experience to emergency planning and we assume that when State and local bodies are asked to do the same they will respond in a similarly affirmative manner.

Sincerely,

DAVID S. BLACK,
Acting Chairman.

Dangers of the Consular Treaty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last Wednesday I inserted an article by Columnist Harry E. Dembkowski of the Polish American in the RECORD because I felt his comments on the dangers of the proposed consular convention with the Soviet Union should be brought to the attention of the Members. Mr. Dembkowski has written another article on this subject, and I insert it in the RECORD as well:

DANGERS OF THE CONSULAR TREATY

(By Harry E. Dembkowski)

In keeping with its practice of steamrolling legislation through Congress, it would not be surprising, come next year, to witness an attempt by the Johnson Administration to force the Senate's ratification of the consular treaty without adequate discussion or debate—or without adequate national discussion and debate. Before that time, therefore, it is important that the treaty's provisions—and dangers—be made known to all concerned.

Last week we explored the background of the consular treaty. Today we will discuss some of the many reasons why the treaty, although proposed in the name of "peaceful coexistence," is undesirable and, in fact, poses a threat to the Nation.

The most serious flaw in the treaty—and the major source of controversy—is that it goes far beyond established precedence and makes an unjustifiable concession to the Soviet Union. It grants diplomatic immunity to the Soviet consulate employees that would be stationed in this country (and to the Americans stationed in Russia) thereby exempting them from arrest and prosecution of whatever crimes—including espionage—they might commit. This is a right which no other nation, not even our allies—has been granted. (Heretofore only embassy and United Nations' employees have enjoyed diplomatic immunity).

The danger involved is obvious when one remembers that the Soviet Union employs even its diplomats for purposes of subversion and espionage. For example: 21 Soviet citizens have been discovered using their positions at the U.N. for espionage purposes, and 12 Soviet citizens employed in the Soviet Embassy in Washington have been exposed as intelligence agents and expelled from the country.

It is argued that this unusual concession is being offered to the Soviets because Moscow has conceded heavily on the question of American citizens who are detained in Russia. According to Russia's criminal code a person can be held incommunicado during an investigation for as long as 9 months. Now, according to the treaty, U.S. authorities are to be notified of the arrest of Americans within 3 days and be given access to them within 4.

But this Soviet "concession" should have been demanded long ago on a reciprocal basis since the United States has always accorded visiting Soviet nationals the benefit to our democratic criminal code (the right to consult an attorney when arrested, etc.) and, moreover, this matter is irrelevant to the consular question.

It is also argued that the U.S. Embassy in Moscow is inadequate to meet all the responsibilities of protection and representation for visiting Americans and that consulates are therefore needed in various parts of that vast land.

But consulates can perform their proper functions without the cloak of diplomatic immunity for its employees, as is the case in those many countries where the United States maintains consulates.

There are further aspects to the matter. If Russia is granted diplomatic immunity other nations will demand and rightly so, that their consular staffs also be accorded that privilege. When it is remembered that some Communist countries already maintain consulates here and would therefore benefit if the United States relinquished criminal jurisdiction over all consular officials, the implications grow even darker.

This treaty is like Pandora's box. Once opened, it may prove impossible to close.

Aside from the question of diplomatic immunity the treaty contains other pitfalls. If the United States opens a consulate in any of the Soviet "Union Republics" of Estonia, Latvia, or Lithuania, this would amount as Congressman DERWINSKI has pointed out, to a de facto recognition of Russia's incorporation of those Baltic countries, thus violating our long-standing refusal to grant recognition to that blatant act of imperialism.

And if the United States opens any consulates in the Ukraine or Byelorussia—both of these states have voting rights in the United Nations—we will be serving the ends of the Kremlin by recognizing its supremacy over the Soviet Union's non-Russian nationalities.

A further threat is that Soviet consulates in this country could—and would—be used for purposes of blackmail, intimidation and extortion of Americans who have relatives living in the Soviet bloc. The consulates could also be used as staging grounds for the disruption of anti-Soviet and anti-Communist organizations.

It should be obvious by now that the consular treaty is undesirable and dangerous. Come next year, we should carefully observe which Senators vote for it. And come next fall when election time approaches, it might be wise to retire a goodly number of them.

Great Strides in Education Expansion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, I place in the RECORD a statement by President Nyerere of the Republic of Tanzania. Education is extremely important to the future of the newly developing nations of Africa and this statement shows that the African leaders are very much aware of the need of improving the educational system of their land.

The statement follows:

GREAT STRIDES IN EDUCATION EXPANSION

We have made very great strides in education expansion in recent years. The number of children in primary schools has increased considerably and is continuing to increase. Yet the greatest emphasis since self-government has been on the expansion of secondary school facilities and on the provisions of places at universities and technical colleges. The results have been very good; since 1960 the number of pupils entering secondary schools has more than doubled and the number entering higher school certificate courses has been increased four times. This year we shall have more science graduates for the higher school certificate from a single school, Mkwawa High School, than we had from the whole of Tanzania in 1963.

WORTH REPEATING

These, and other figures illustrating our progress, have been quoted before but I think they are worth repeating. They represent a great effort by the whole nation, and, of course, particularly by those who work in the education field.

The people of this country have encouraged the Government to devote a very large part of their resources to education, and they have demonstrated again and again their willingness to make the financial sacrifices necessary. But development of this magnitude does not only call for money. It calls for devoted and skilled men and women, both as organizers, administrators, and particularly as teachers.

The whole of TANU and the Government is responsible for the decision to devote such a large proportion of our resources to the secondary school sector, but I want to use this occasion to pay a special tribute to the Minister for Education, Mr. Solomon Eliufoo, for the way he has taken charge of this responsibility and implemented the broad policy decisions. Together with his staff at the Ministry of Education he has done a magnificent job in completely reorganizing our educational system since independence, integrating it, creating a unified teaching service, devising a syllabus more in tune with the conditions in an independent republic and, at the same time, bringing into being this great expansion of facilities.

NATIONAL ABILITY

In order to achieve all this, however, we have had to outrun our national ability to provide teachers. The small number of Tanzanians who have stayed manfully at their teaching posts despite other attractions have been carrying a very heavy load for the future of our country. I hope that all of us are conscious of our debt to them.

At the same time it has been necessary for us to use large numbers of teachers from other countries. Without this help none of the expansion we are so proud of would have been possible. At the university college, at the technical college, at all our secondary schools and even primary schools, our progress has been made possible because of teachers from countries abroad—particularly, in point of numbers, from Britain and America. We are grateful to these teachers for their help, and we hope that many of them will stay with us for a long time to come.

But it would be absurd for us to continue to rely on expatriate teachers to man our educational system. It is one thing to receive help in overcoming the inheritance of educational neglect; it would be another thing to imagine that this help excuses us from taking steps to fulfill our own teaching needs in the future. We must educate and train our own teachers at all levels as rapidly as possible. The teachers college we are opening today is one of the steps which are being taken to achieve that aim. It is not the only one. As you know, major new building works are in preparation at Morogoro, Marangu, Mpwapwa, and Butimba, as well as smaller expansion schemes at other more junior teachers colleges. All these developments are urgently needed and we are especially appreciative of the help which countries abroad are giving us in this field. By helping to make it possible for us to train our own teachers, donor countries are helping us to achieve our major aim of eventually standing on our own feet.

In the case of this college here at Dar es Salaam it is America to whom we are indebted, and I welcome this opportunity to express our appreciation. It is because of an AID loan of £338,000 that I am able to open this building today, and this is a loan which carries only nominal interest rates and has a long repayment period. Because of this loan we now have 142 students at the college here, and next year we expect to be able to accommodate 280 students. The buildings are very attractive and also well designed for the work which will be done in them. The architects, Messrs. French and Hastings, and the builders, Messrs. V. M. Chavada, Ltd., are to be congratulated on their work, as are all the other people in the Ministry and among the staff of this college who have contributed ideas and supervision.

Finally on this subject, I would like to pay tribute to Mr. Organ and his colleagues whose work on the landscaping and gardens has insured that even at this early stage the college campus is attractive. I hope that everyone will cooperate to maintain and improve still further this high standard.

Buildings by themselves, however, are not very much use. This college is already able to make a contribution to our teaching requirements because since September 1962 we have had the services of specialists from Kent State University, U.S.A., in the planning and teaching at the college. It is this help which has made it possible for the college to expand from 25 students in 1959 to the present number. In addition these expert visitors have contributed very much to improving the quality of the training given to teachers both here and elsewhere in Tanzania.

REPLACEMENTS

I am told that the Kent State University team is now gradually returning home. They are doing so because at the same time as they were working here their colleagues in their home college were training Tanzanians in the skills necessary—and these Tanzanians are now beginning to return home. By this time next year, therefore the Tanzanian counterparts of the experts we have been using will have entirely replaced the Kent State University personnel. Let me use this opportunity to say how much we appreciate this planned and organized scheme of training, and also that we hope the individuals who have been staying with us will not completely sever their connections with Tanzania. I would add that, on their return to America, we also hope they will be able to spread understanding of what we are trying to do in Tanzania.

The facilities in both staff and equipment which have been available at this college have made it natural that this should be the center for advanced teacher training work, and for the introduction of new courses. Not only do we have a large number of people here being trained as grade A teachers—that is those who have obtained school certificates—but we have also introduced here the first course for education officers grade III. Only 17 students instead of the 40 we were hoping for have come forward to take this first course for ex higher school certificate teacher training; but I am sure this number will increase rapidly as secondary school students realize that after the higher school certificate they can enter a course for training in secondary school teaching up to form IV without obtaining a degree.

I certainly hope this is the case. In my experience few things are more personally rewarding than opening the minds of future citizens of our country so that they may learn to appreciate and develop their own potentialities for service. Good teaching is hard work. Let those who doubt this try to become an effective teacher. But it is also a very honorable profession and its members richly deserve their high status in our society. I hope that Tanzania will continue to accord to its teachers the very highest respect. A nation which fails to do this is like a family in which no respect is shown to the parents, an attitude which is clearly incompatible with our traditional society, and with the socialist society we are now building.

In return for this respect, and indeed to earn it, what is it that the teachers of Tanzania have to do? They have to transfer to the children of this country certain skills and certain basic facts about our country and the world. Equally important, they have to encourage their pupils to develop a pride in themselves and their nation on the basis of those ethical principles which underlie all religions and upon which our state is based. But, in addition to all these things, they teachers of Tanzania have to prepare their pupils to live in a rapidly changing world where Tanzania will take its place as part of a developing continent. It is no use the teachers giving to their pupils

the answers to the existing problems of our nation. By the time the pupils are adults the problems will have changed. Instead they have to develop among their pupils a "problem-solving capacity"—an ability to think, to reason, and to analyze the skills and the information they have acquired, and thus create new ideas and new solutions to new problems.

Work of this nature requires from the students of this college a high degree of application in their work; a high degree of confidence in themselves, and also a desire for service. They are being asked to inculcate attitudes of service and attitudes of inquiry into the minds of the young. They will only be able to do this if they adopt such attitudes themselves and if their character is above reproach.

ACTIONS NEEDED

While you students are here at this new college you will have to show by your actions that you realize you are being given an opportunity to train in the most modern and the best-equipped teachers' college in the country. You must look after the facilities you have been given so that those who come after you will also be able to benefit from them. You must also be ready when necessary to assist in the manual work of sweeping and cleaning, and in maintaining the grounds of the college. You must recognize that the highest standards will be demanded from you in your work. Idleness or indifference would be inappropriate at this place, and I am sure that none of you will make it necessary for the principal to carry out his duty of severe disciplinary action against anyone who indulges in these two habits. In fact, we expect students at the Dar es Salaam Teachers' College to develop a sense of professional pride which influences your behavior and your whole attitude to work. I consider it essential, for example, that some of your allowance should be spent on the purchase of those items of equipment which a good teacher must always have by him—such things as reference books, mathematical instruments, and the scissors, selotape, and other things needed for visual aids. You should not expect government to provide such tools for you in addition to your allowances; and when you leave this college you should possess, as your own, the things which every teacher needs if his work is to be done properly wherever he is.

PROBATION PERIOD

When students from this and other colleges have graduated they have a 2-year probationary period before being confirmed in the unified teaching service. This period will be a testing one during which young teachers may be challenged to the full. In particular they may be appointed to any school in the country, wherever the need is greatest. I am sure that the graduates of Dar es Salaam Teachers' College will not flinch from this duty.

Indeed I believe that some—and I hope many—of the students here will go further and volunteer to serve their probation as members of the national service. If they do so, they will receive the normal 3-month national service training, and then, as service men and women, they will teach wherever they are required, under the normal inspection conditions, thus completing the practical aspects of their training as usual.

Your Excellencies, I have spoken for longer than I intended and still not said all the things there are to say. I can only mention in passing the Swahili workshop, which will take place here shortly, despite my very great personal interest in improving the teaching of our national language. And I have not mentioned either our financial needs for phase II of the building program here, which will call for another £127,000. But perhaps it is better that we concentrate today on expressing our appreciation of the loan we already have and on rejoicing in the fine buildings before us.

[From the East Africa Nationalist, July 26, 1965]

THE NATION'S TEACHERS

In her fight against ignorance the United Republic of Tanzania has made great strides, and the opening of the Teachers' College at Chang'ombe by President Nyerere last Saturday underscores this achievement.

Students who are, and will be, privileged to attend this college will receive training in the most modern methods of the science of education by a band of devoted tutors, indigenous and expatriate. The country has a wise foresight of their Government and the generosity of Americans to thank for this very modern college.

The eradication of ignorance is only one front, and members of the teaching profession the vanguard, in the war against backwardness; for a nation of ignorant men and women cannot wage a successful war against disease, nor that against poverty; teachers therefore play a very key role in the overall plans of our development, and they deserve the highest respect of the nation, as rightly pointed out by the President. All our schemes to raise our people's standard of living will literally come to nought if we do not strengthen our teaching manpower. All manner of skilled personnel—planners, economists, engineers, doctors, lawyers—must in the first instance depend, for preparation for their skills, on teachers. It is therefore fitting that expansion of training facilities is provided for in the 5-year development plan.

The ordinary man or woman could be forgiven for not knowing exactly what a teacher goes through, what responsibilities he carries and how public his failure can be if he does not deliver the goods. But the Government does, and does so in no uncertain manner, for the cabinet is graced by the presence of some ex-teachers. That perhaps explains the emphasis correctly placed on the production of more and better teachers.

At a time when we were fighting colonialism it was necessary that we mobilize all our forces irrespective of our training; for some time after we had won our independence it was equally inevitable that in adjusting the administration some teachers should move into more lucrative jobs in the higher echelons of the civil service; but this was no more than a necessary evil; it was a severe drain on the teaching profession. It is therefore proper that the Government should now make good that loss.

Government should at this stage try to attract none but the best brains into the training colleges. Time there was when anyone was good enough to be a teacher, with the result that not only was the profession diluted, but a psychological situation was created whereby the teaching profession was a pis aller. This was most unfortunate because it meant that the best brains went elsewhere, and only when students failed to qualify for entry into other professions did they go in for teaching.

In the new and sovereign Tanzania this need not be so because our own people decide which are the priorities in our development plans. It will be a long time before we can produce our economists and engineers by pressing a button, and until we reach that happy state we shall still need teachers. And whereas the respect accorded to teachers last Saturady is not grudged, we suggest respectfully that Government would do well to adjust the discrepancy in material reward between teachers and other professional personnel of camparable standing.

The Key for Good Diving

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, with the first concrete signs that adjournment is in sight, many of our number are casting about for a place to take a well-earned vacation. For those who have not yet decided where they would like to spend this time, I offer a suggestion: consider Key West, Fla.

Key West, the southernmost point on the continental United States, offers a diversity of activities—there is something for everyone to do, see, and enjoy. For the fisherman there are abundant supplies of sailfish, marlin, dolphin, barracuda, bonito, and others in the immediate vicinity. For the skindiver there are innumerable old shipwrecks to explore in waters that abound with living coral and over 600 species of tropical fish. For the nonsportsman or the individual just looking for a rest, there is the city of Key West with its Old World charm and excitement.

In the October issue of Skin Diver magazine, Mr. Don Groves has written a delightful article on the Florida Keys in general and Key West in particular. In the article, entitled "The Key for Good Diving," Mr. Groves has fully captured the activities available to all. For those who seek an adventure-filled adjournment, I recommend this article and further recommend that they consider gracing the fair city of Key West with their presence.

The article follows:

THE KEY FOR GOOD DIVING

(By Don Groves)

Want to dive in this country's clearest and warmest waters? Care to swim in water that literally abounds with the remnants of old shipwrecks, living coral, and more than 600 species of tropical fish? Looking for an interesting old world atmosphere combined in a thriving modern city where you can live cheaply and comfortably and still be located less than a day's small boat distance from 12 ocean reefs? Perhaps you may be seeking the type of reefs where the depth of water is shallow enough to permit standing but where it also drops off to any depth one may desire?

If by any chance these are just a few of the characteristics you would somehow like to have incorporated in your favorite "swimming hole"—then "go southernmost"—young man. Go to the very southernmost tip of the United States that is—to Key West, Fla. There you will happily discover the greatest all-around spot in this hemisphere for the skindiver. Moreover, you will also find the finest and biggest little city on an island anywhere.

Sunny, picturesque Key West, located only 90 miles from Havana, Cuba, uniquely retains its nicely blended mixture of tranquil Cuban, West Indian, and Bahamian lore right in the midst of an influx of tourists, artists, writers, as well as an important (21,000 man) U.S. naval installation.

Rich in its colorful history, this little city has the ability of recreating for the properly

attuned visitor more of the historic past than perhaps any city of our country.

It was here that John James Audubon painted his famous Florida Key birds; here, Lt. Robert E. Peary, subsequent discoverer of the North Pole, helped rebuild a naval wharf; here, Ernest Hemingway wrote his most famous works ("Winner Take Nothing," "Green Hills of Africa," "To Have and Have Not," "Snows of Kilamanjaro," and "For Whom the Bell Tolls"); here, Jose Marti worked and inspired many to the cause of Cuban liberty, and here untold others—heads of state, poets, playwrights, artists, and yes—skindivers have walked its jasmine-scented streets bearing names such as Grunt Bone Alley, Poorhouse Lane, Truman, Eisenhower, Roosevelt, and Whitehead.

Some of these same skindivers, incidentally, were in Key West in the first place to receive training at the U.S. naval underwater swimmers school. This activity was founded in 1954 to train naval personnel in the use of scuba. Scuba training at this ideal location of Key West is a primary mission of the school which takes pride in the quality of its training and in the diving competence of its graduates. In addition to training basic divers the school also provides the same scuba indoctrination to UDT frogmen trainees and explosive ordnance disposal students who are selected for training not only from the Navy but also from the Marine Corps, Army, Air Force, special forces, Coast Guard and certain civilian organizations.

Speaking of civilians brings up the fact that Key West might easily be referred to as the fishing capital of the world. At least this is the opinion of the countless happy spear and tackle fishermen who have visited and fished in Key West.

At Key West many charter boats troll offshore daily for such gamefish as sailfish, marlin, wahoo, tuna, dolphin, kingfish, amberjack, barracuda, bonito and many others. (Fees for such charters usually range from $60 to $70 per day with all bait and tackle furnished.)

Smaller light-tackle boats fish the protected waters of the outer islands, reefs, and bays for bonefish, tarpon, permit, barracuda, trout, jacks, ladyfish, mackerel and others (at $50 per day, also with all bait and tackle furnished.)

Party boats capable of carrying up to 50 persons are available for bottom fishing around shoals, wrecks, and reefs, where a great variety of species are caught, including big jewfish, sharks, grouper, snapper, jacks and others. The fee is $6.25 per person, including bait and handline. Rod and reel may be rented for $1. The party boats leave Garrison Bight daily at 10 a.m. and return around 4:30 p.m.

Ed Ciesinski is the only Key West captain who operates his own diesel twin cruiser charter boat, *Swimfin II*, both for fishing and skindiving excursions. Ed, a nationally known skindiver of over 33 years experience and the country's first skindiving guide, is probably the man most familiar with the coral reef formations and the underwater topography around Key West. Commenting and describing the skindiving possibilities in the area, Ciesinski says, "if there is a better place for the skindiver anywhere—I sure don't know about it and I've been around in this game now for over 30 years."

"Actually within the close vicinity of Key West there are 12 reefs on the edge of the gulf stream. These are shallow enough to stand on them and they drop off into the blue to just about any depth you care to dive. Moreover, on the reefs are three small sand islands which are ideal for beach combing and shore-bound skindiving. On one island there is a 109-foot lighthouse where a topside view can be photographed of the surrounding reefs in clear and colorful water.

"The most beautiful fish and coral are found in shallow depths from 1 foot to 10 feet. The clearness of the water around our reefs allows one to see, under ordinary conditions, to depths of 40 feet, under ideal conditions, over 70 feet. Remnants of old wrecks encrusted in coral may be seen on the reefs, including granite ballast rocks from old-sailing vessels. If possible to have choice of seasons for diving, spring and summer months are ideal.

"At Dry Tortugas, a 100-square-mile national park, is the last salt water virgin territory left in the United States for the skindiver.

"Locally there are over 600 species of tropical fish, among the most abundant fishing grounds found in the country. Spearfishing 1 mile away from Highway U.S. 1 is allowed in the lower half of Monroe County, from Greyhound Key to Key West. Aboard my boat, the *Swim Fin II*, conservation is practiced under sportsman's rules. It's possible for experienced divers to spear fish such as jewfish (sea bass) from 50 pounds to several hundred pounds each, generally in the spring and summer months."

Asking a diving charter boat captain like Ed or a knowledgeable diver like "Captain Red" Heironimus, who owns Captain Red's Sportsman's Shop in Key West, to divulge their favorite diving sports where water is usually clear when other water is not, is about like asking the president of an industrial company to release all the proprietary manufacturing details of some unique product that his company makes. Such things just aren't done as you well know. Every diver has a favorite spot that he wants to keep to himself or to a select few.

However, around Key West while, of course, some locations are better than others, the problem of knowing or easily finding out by trial where to swim is not too difficult to solve. Perhaps a few of the somewhat choicer diving spots around Key West might be listed as follows:

Sand Key Light (7½ miles southwest of Key West): Especially good spot for underwater photography.

Marquesas: Located about 25 miles west of Key West, these inlands offer an excellent base for all skindiving activities.

American Shoals: A reef some 8 miles from Sugar Loaf Channel.

Looe Key: A sunken coral reef which lies some 5 miles south of Big Pine Key on the Atlantic side. This key was named for an English ship which ran aground in 1744 with another ship in tow. Skindivers can still bring up cannon balls and other mementos of the two ships. Terrific spot for coral and lobster and underwater photography.

Boca Chica Beach: Near Boca Chica Naval Air Station.

Western Dry Rocks: 8½ miles southwest of Key West.

Eastern Dry Rocks: 7 miles south-southwest of Key West. Especially good place for live shell specimens.

Boca Grande Key: This area includes a number of wrecks including a World War II destroyer.

Dry Tortugas: About 70 miles west of Key West. U.S. national park area—no spearfishing on any of the five reefs in the area. Great underwater visibility.

Western Sambo: 9 miles southeast of Key West. Lots of live coral and shells around the 1-mile long reef.

Now at this point if you have your mask, snorkel, fins and other belongings packed and are about to take off for Key West, let it be said that the average visitor to Key West (population 55,000) can best select his own lodgings, restaurants and places of diversions right there on the site. In this way he can best suit his own pocketbook and other requirements. From my own experience when I go there—I go to do some good serious diving, fishing, and relaxing. I let my beard grow—wear bermudas and a T shirt—and in general let the wonderful warm sun and water take over. "Mom" and "Pop" Casellas, who own a modest apartment building, the Casablanca Apartments, on South Duval Street, see to it that the very reasonably priced apartment they rent my wife and I is kept clean and neat and that we are not bothered by anyone or anything. Find a place like that (and there are several) and then go to it for a vacation of good diving and relaxing that will bring you back time after time to Key West, the greatest all around spot in this hemisphere for the skindivers.

The John Birch Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, in the last several weeks, you may have noticed that every national leader in the Republican Party has denounced and repudiated the John Birch Society.

I am sure that most people know what my own views on the extremist John Birch Society are. But because we have, in Kansas, a substantial number of acknowledged members of the Birch Society, plus a large number of people who think and talk and act like Birch Society members, I want to make my own position crystal clear.

My position is that those people have no place in the Republican Party. For that matter, they have no place in Kansas politics, and no place in American politics. They have no program for the Republican Party, they have no program for Kansas, and they have no program for the United States of America. Their major program is fear and hate.

Now, some people have said they know some good people who are members of the Birch Society. Good people? If they are good people, they had better get as far away from the Birch Society and from extremists who think and talk and act like Birchers, as they can. The Birch Society stands for the proposition that Dwight Eisenhower was an agent of the Communist conspiracy; that John Foster Dulles was a Communist involved in treason against America; that America today is 60 to 80 percent Communist controlled and influenced, and they are still putting out the same kinds of stuff. For example, these people—these Birch members and people who act like Birchers—are now helping to foist on the public the book, "None Dare Call It Treason." This is an extremist Birch-type warning of an imminent Communist takeover in the United States, and it ends up by urging its readers to join the Birch Society.

To sum up, because of the substantial Birch membership and Birch-type activity in Kansas, I want to make my position crystal clear. There is no place in the Republican Party either for Birch Society members or for people who act like Birchers. There is no place for these people anywhere in Kansas poli-

tics or in American politics. These people have no program for the Republican Party, no program for Kansas, and no program for the United States of America. Their major program is hate and fear; and I, for one, will always be glad to stand up and be counted against hate and fear.

On the Brighter Side

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, with all of the discouraging news that is current in the world, it serves as a tonic and elixir to devote a little time to the brighter side.

With these words, the Sheboygan, Wis., Press editorially commented, October 16, on the continued expansion of U.S. economy.

I commend this thoughtful expression to my colleagues and request that the editorial be printed in the RECORD:

ON THE BRIGHTER SIDE

With all of the discouraging news that is current in the world, it serves as a tonic and elixir to devote a little time to the brighter side. Here we refer to the economy which is swinging into its 54th month of expansion. These 4½ productive years have been unique in that the expansion period has been almost uninterrupted and almost noninflationary. Never before in U.S. economic history has the country prospered for so long without general price increases.

A United Nations report issued in Geneva, September 30, identifies the United States as the world's most dynamic economic power—replacing Europe—in 1964. The reports predicted that the trend would continue this year, with the United States acting as prime mover of world trade growth. The U.N. Economic Commission for Europe Report said the increase in world production and world trade last year was "as great as in any year during the past two decades, not excepting the period of postwar recovery."

Gardner Ackley, chairman of the U.S. Council of Economic Advisers, on October 4 told a San Francisco group that the growth pace of Soviet Russia's national output has fallen one-third during the past 5 years, while the U.S. rate has picked up by the same amount. The "absolute gap" between the rival economies has widened by a whopping $60 billion during that period. In a look ahead to 1970, Ackley, President Johnson's top economist, said that the gap will increase by another $60 billion in favor of the United States if present growth trends hold up.

A less formal, but nonetheless accurate, indicator can be found in the "Help Wanted" section of the classified advertising pages in most any newspaper. Here at the Press, we are running more such advertisements than ever before, as area industries find their employment offices in stiffer competition than their sales departments.

We recall a threat by one Nikita Khrushchev to "bury you," predicting that Soviet production would outstrip that of the United States in 1970. Americans cooly interpreted the threat as a challenge to economic war. Their confidence appears to have been well justified.

Continuation From Thursday—"Constellation"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, from 1845 to 1852 *Constellation* was in ordinary at Norfolk, Va. From 1853 to 1855, the ship was rebuilt, an operation which included the addition of 12 feet to her length and changed her rate to a 22-gun sloop of war.

She left Norfolk in August 1855 to serve with the Mediterranean Squadron and returned in June 1858, having logged 29,227 miles. After guarding American merchantmen from unlawful search in waters off Cuba, she was decommissioned in August 1858.

The split between North and South widened until a clash seemed inevitable. One of the main issues was the abolition of slavery. It was this issue that brought *Constellation* into the conflict.

Placed back in service in June 1859, she became flagship of the African Squadron to assist in breaking up the slave trade. In the following three years she made prizes of three slave ships and liberated nearly a thousand slaves, who were transported to freedom in Monrovia. The Civil War brought her home in September 1861, but she was soon dispatched to the Mediterranean, where she watched over Union merchant ships, guarding them from possible attack by Confederate cruisers and helping in the blockade of Raphael Semme's Confederate raider *Sumter* at Gibraltar. She returned to Hampton Roads by way of the Gulf Coast Blockading Squadron in May 1864, then began a new career as receiving and training ship, taking time out now and again for special missions.

The Civil War ended the era of billowing canvas and wooden ships as the steamship came into its own. The thrilling sight of a cloud of canvas skimming the horizon became just a memory as more and more wooden hulks of once proud ships were permitted to rot on the beach. These is no place for sentiment in naval records, but it must have been great respect and admiration that saved *Constellation* from the fate of other sailing ships of the time.

In 1871, the Navy returned the old veteran to active duty as a training ship at the Naval Academy. During the peaceful, happy years of her duty at Annapolis many of America's future admirals trained on her ancient decks. Twenty years passed on training duty before *Constellation* resumed her diplomatic mission. Most important during this period was the part she played in transporting food to the starving people of Ireland during the terrible famine of 1880. Thus to millions of people, both at home and abroad, the U.S. frigate *Constellation* had come to represent the United States of America in war and peace.

In 1894, *Constellation* went to Newport, R.I., on training duty once again. In 1914, she returned to Baltimore, to take part in the Star-Spangled Banner Centennial Celebration and, in 1926, cruised to Philadelphia to attend the Sesquicentennial Celebration of American Independence.

In the dark days of 1940, the memory of *Constellation's* glory was dimmed by the clouds of war in Europe. She lay berthed at Newport, neglected and almost forgotten. In those crucial early days of World War II, German submarines roamed the Atlantic in wolf packs like the Barbary Pirates of old. One of the men who knew and loved *Constellation* recalled that the American Navy's record of freedom and valor on the high seas started with this great ship. Perhaps the American people could again draw on those same resources of determination and bravery in this new hour of trial. That man, who remembered was President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces. In a dramatic revival of naval tradition, President Roosevelt ordered the 143-year-old ship *Constellation* back into commission as flagship of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet.

The record of America's grand old champion of freedom is astounding. No other ship has amassed such a continuous record of participation in so many historic and significant events over so great a period of time. Even in its present condition, this historic old ship inspires every visitor with the majesty and meaning of our past. Future generations will draw the same sense of strength, dignity and determination from the *Constellation* as did our forefathers. As an official national historic shrine, the U.S. frigate *Constellation* is an eloquent symbol of American liberty.

She must be preserved.

IN THE NAME OF FREEDOM—RESTORATION PROGRAM

In 1953, it appeared that the U.S. frigate *Constellation*, then berthed in Boston, would be completely destroyed by the cumulative ravages of time coupled with a lack of Federal funds to preserve the old ship.

The members of the Star-Spangled Banner Flag House Association of Baltimore, a patriotic, nonprofit organization, determined to protect and preserve this invaluable relic of the fight for freedom on the high seas. The Flag House Association secured title to the ship from the U.S. Navy; then these patriotic citizens, by immediate and vigorous action, brought *Constellation* home to Baltimore in 1955.

The Flag House Association then took the second step in the plan to preserve *Constellation* for future generations. This was the establishment of the *Constellation* restoration committee for the purpose of planning the restoration and raising the necessary funds.

From 1955 to the present, funds have been raised principally through the sale of souvenir coins and outright gifts.

These limited funds have been used for general care, hull maintenance and essential interior repairs. The current national fund raising campaign is expected to provide the funds required to complete the ship.

This final restoration effort will be undertaken in six stages.

First, primary hull repairs; second, secondary hull repairs; third, masts, spars, riggins; fourth, interior restoration; fifth, fittings and detail, and sixth, dock facilities.

Complete restoration will allow the U.S. frigate *Constellation* to travel to various ports in the United States and thus be made accessible to thousands of American schoolchildren. This grand old champion will then complete her final and greatest mission—bringing the true meaning of the American heritage of freedom to the people she has served so long and so well.

U.S. FRIGATE "CONSTELLATION"

The first warship built for the U.S. Navy to get to sea.

The first ship of the U.S. Navy to defeat an enemy man-of-war on the high seas.

The first American warship to enter the inland waters of China.

The first U.S. Navy signal book, prepared by Captain Truxtun, was used on board *Constellation*.

The longest record of total service of any U.S. warship.

The only major American warship still in existence that saw action in the Civil War.

The only sailing ship in U.S. history to ever serve as flagship of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet.

The first U.S. Navy regulations, written by Captain Truxtun for *Constellation*, are the basis of present day naval regulations.

The U.S. frigate *Constellation* is the oldest ship in the world continuously afloat.

Chester W. Nimitz, fleet admiral, U.S. Navy, national chairman, *Constellation* Restoration Committee:

The U.S. frigate *Constellation* is perhaps the most important link that the U.S. Navy and the American people have with our early historic efforts to preserve our liberty. Your help is needed now to restore this great defender of freedom to her rightful position as a proud symbol of American determination to preserve justice and maintain independence. It is important to restore *Constellation* so that future generations of Americans may be inspired to the same great deeds of valor and bravery as those men who served and died on her decks.

Arleigh A. Burke, admiral U.S. Navy, retired, national vice chairman, *Constellation* Restoration Committee:

President Franklin D. Roosevelt once called the U.S. frigate *Constellation* "a ship of destiny." That this great ship has accomplished so much and survived so long does seem a miracle. Part of the greatness of this magnificent old man-of-war may lie in the fact that her accomplishments in peace equal those of war. Her diplomatic missions and peacetime activity in the protection of the people of Hawaii, relieving the famine stricken in Ireland and ceaseless vigilance on the high seas are reasons enough for restoration. Every American can feel proud of this opportunity to help restore the U.S. frigate *Constellation*, America's "ship of destiny."

Mobocracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently the Washington Evening Star carried an editorial about my address to the National Fraternal Congress of America which provided me considerable personal satisfaction.

While I am very grateful to the Star for its commendation of my remarks, I am even more inspired by the fact that the press is taking an ever-increasing voice in denouncing the rule of mob violence.

Since the Star editorial appeared, I have had a very large number of requests for the text of my address to the National Fraternal Congress. With the permission of the House, I am taking this opportunity to include both the Star editorial and the text of my remarks which I hope my colleagues will find of interest.

Mr. Speaker, the editorial and address follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Oct. 7, 1965]

RULE BY THE MOB

Representative PUCINSKI is an authentic liberal, a man whose credentials in this respect are not open to challenge. So it is of more than passing interest that he should speak out in such vigorous fashion against the mob in this country.

The Chicago Democrat's views were set forth in a talk to the National Fraternal Congress of America. And as one who has observed mob action in his own city, he is in a position to know what he is talking about.

Recalling Abraham Lincoln's warning that the real threat to our freedom will come not from abroad, but from within our own country, PUCINSKI said: "The alarming growth and tendency in our Nation today toward what many of us call 'mobocracy'—government by mob rule—should be of deep concern to all Americans. It is a growing tragedy that in our Nation governed by the most complicated system ever devised by man, there are those who turn to mob rule because they seek expediency based on impatience and a desire to resolve all matters hastily, without concern for the percent of gains."

Some 90 percent of the gains in the civil rights struggle during the past two decades, he said, have been made through the orderly processes of legislation and judicial review. And "we have a right to question whether the great harm done to America * * * justifies mob rule and violence for the remaining 10 percent of gains."

The Congressman said he was moved to speak out because of spreading violence, and especially after the riots in Los Angeles. But he was not aiming at any single riot. His comments were directed to mob action in the North, South, East, and West; to violence on college campuses as well as in the streets.

What is urgently required, in his opinion, is respect by all citizens for law and orderly procedures. And he suggested that if this is not forthcoming our own society will go the way of other great civilizations which have fallen to mob rule.

These are things that very much need saying, and especially by men whose records in both public and private life are such that their motives cannot be impugned.

MOBOCRACY—AMERICA'S MOST SERIOUS THREAT TO DEMOCRACY

Gentlemen, in the 355 years since we decided to settle this unbelievably abundant continent, we have found comfort and strength in the fraternal concept of individuals uniting for the greater stability and progress of the United States.

By channeling constructive individual efforts to achieve common goals—whether it be debating a school bond issue, helping a bewildered immigrant understand that he, personally, could enrich America's cultural heritage, or raising money for an urgently needed church or hospital—our fraternal organizations remain one of our greatest triumphs.

Our freedom has been expanded, protected, and preserved in large measure by the men and women who have recognized their responsibilities to their country.

In many communities throughout America today, however, this concept is undergoing a subtle change. Rather than the old principle of rolling up your sleeves and plunging into a project with all your heart, today we find increasing numbers of people who permit themselves to be led, to be manipulated, to be virtually enslaved by those who preach the ancient, uncompromising doctrine of mob rule to achieve the ends which they proclaim worthwhile.

In reviewing today how well we have protected democracy, let us pause to remember the words of Abraham Lincoln, spoken 127 years ago in Springfield, Ill., when he said that danger to America will never come from without and he warned that if our freedom is ever to be destroyed, the destruction will spring from among us. Lincoln said:

"At what point shall we expect the approach of danger? By what means shall we fortify against it? Shall we expect some transatlantic military giant to step the ocean and crush us at a blow? Never. All the armies in Europe, Asia, and Africa combined could not by force take a drink from the Ohio or make a track on the Blue Ridge in a trial of a thousand years.

"At what point then is the approach of danger to be expected? I answer that if it ever reaches it must spring from amongst us. It cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we ourselves must be the authors and the finishers.

"As a nation of freemen, we must live through all times or die by suicide.

"Let reverence for the law be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap. Let it be taught in the schools, in the seminaries, and in the colleges. Let it be written in primers, in spelling books, and almanacs. Let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice; and, in short, let it become the political religion of the Nation, and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay, of all sexes and tongues, and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly at its altars."

These words are as alive today as they were in 1838 when this Nation was threatened with destruction from within.

The alarming growth and tendency in our Nation today toward what many of us call mobocracy—government by mob rule—should be of deep concern to all Americans. It is a growing tragedy that in our Nation, governed by the most complicated system ever devised by man, there are those who turn to mob rule because they seek expediency based on impatience and a desire to resolve all matters hastily, without concern for the rights of others.

We are living in an era that tests the very strength and courage of our Republic. We need from our people today a depth of understanding unparalleled in the history of this Nation. We have had too many examples in recent years of mobocracy—the most morbid enemy of constitutional government.

Too often we associate mob rule and demonstrations with race conflicts and disturbances. It should be of deep concern to all of us that the mania for taking the law into their own hands is spreading today into many areas which have nothing to do with racial disturbances. The increasing violence of demonstrations on college campuses is but one example of mob rule.

Nowadays, the prevailing principle appears to be action, not thought. If one doesn't pick up a sign, or obstruct a roadway or lead a march for peace, or for war, for a soft policy, for a hard-line policy, one is somehow un-American and uninvolved in the great issues of the day. To be law abiding is to be lackluster, by today's standards.

It can be clearly shown that even in the civil rights struggle, 90 percent of all the gains made in this country within the last two decades have been made through the orderly processes of legislation and judicial review. We have a right to question whether the great harm being done to America and its image abroad justifies mob rule and violence for the remaining 10 percent of gains.

It was the ancient Locrians who first gave meaning to freedom of speech, but at a price that most of us would not want to pay today.

Under their system, any citizen could speak out on any subject in the village square provided, however, that a noose was first placed around his neck and if the crowd did not agree with what he said, he was promptly hanged.

I hope the day will never come when the American people will be compelled to march in single cadence like the people behind the Iron Curtain or the Bamboo Curtain in Red China. I hope the day will never come when the people of this country will not be permitted to exercise their right to be different; to exercise their right to disagree.

But I also hope the day will never come when the impatience with the seemingly slow-moving pace of our democratic process will overwhelm the people, and they will try to find more expedient ways of giving meaning to their views by mob rule or other violent changes.

I have faith in our Constitution. I have faith in the democratic processes of this Nation. I have faith that the American people will take the trouble to learn the complex structure of the world situation today, and then with dignity and order manifest their views to their respective representatives. Great civilizations have fallen to mob rule. God grant that our land shall never meet this fate.

By individual and collective self-discipline and an acceptance of the responsibilities which are an intrinsic part of true liberty, we give living meaning to a social order which we hope ultimately will inspire the entire world.

When the day comes when we convince our neighbors on this small planet that we mean what we say and we practice what we preach, war will no longer be accepted as inevitable among men and nations.

We cannot, no matter how noble our declarations, expect men less blessed with the God-given resources we Americans have in such abundance, to resolve their problems without resorting to violence, if in our own Nation the principles of respect for the freedom and integrity of others is tested daily through unruly demonstrations and examples of mob violence and personal injustice.

Know it well—we Americans are being judged daily as a people and a Nation by every civilization on earth. There is no area of this world which is not keenly interested in our ability to make democracy work within our own borders. Our responsibility to one another and to the goal of universal peace is inescapable.

There will be no peace—be it in India, Pakistan, Africa, Asia, or Latin America—when we are observed flouting respect for the law and the rights of others. Indeed, it is time we renewed our pledge to be our brother's keeper.

No amount of social legislation, of concern with eradicating poverty as an inevitable condition of existence for certain of our countrymen, will blot out the effects of one example of violence and terror to achieve a stated goal, regardless of the goal.

The price for participating in the settling and civilizing of America is hard work—and the reward is self-respect and a free human soul.

By expanding the goals of human achievement, let us build in the United States a lasting monument to the collective spirit of man.

We have every tool, every resource available to us. The most important ingredient, the mortar with which to bind our ideals into a unified whole, is individual responsibility. As Jean Jacques Rousseau said almost two centuries ago: "Where is the man who owes nothing to the land in which he lives? Whatever the land may be, he owes to it the most precious thing possessed by man—the morality of his actions and the love of virtue."

Water Development Is Investment in Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 20, 1965

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, when President Johnson recently signed the bill authorizing the Auburn Dam-Folsom South Canal project in California he spoke some wise words on the value of such multiple-purpose projects. An editorial in the October 11, 1965, Sacramento Bee points up the President's views.

The editorial follows:

WATER DEVELOPMENT IS INVESTMENT IN FUTURE

President Lyndon B. Johnson clearly enunciated the value of planning and building water conservation projects when he spoke on the occasion of the signing of the bill authorizing construction of the $428 million Auburn Dam-Folsom South Canal unit of the Central Valleys project.

The President declared:

"I have never seen a dollar invested anywhere in this Nation in water conservation, in multiple-use projects, that in a period of even a decade didn't prove that it was good investment and would pay very high returns."

Johnson said the Auburn-Folsom project is a modern answer to an age-old problem of combating floods and conserving wasted water for use in dry periods. He pointed out that had the big Auburn Dam been in existence last year when the American River reached historic peaks in flow, enough water to serve the city of Sacramento for more than 5 years could have been saved.

In the 12 months preceding the signing of the Auburn Dam bill, flood damages in the United States amounted to $1.25 billion. But this was just part of the economic story. For instance, the waste of water because of a lack of conservation works was almost incalculable. In northern California alone, enough water to meet the domestic and municipal and industrial demands of the entire Nation for a whole year poured unused into the ocean.

This kind of waste, Johnson emphasized, is unnecessary because the Nation has the capability to prevent disasters and conserve water for beneficial uses.

Thus it is that the Auburn-Folsom project will not be the last such development undertaken my the Federal Government. Even now the planners are outlining additional water ventures which must be authorized if the demands of population growth and increased use of water are to be met wisely on the basis of sound investment in the future.

Keep Klan Out of Illinois

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, it has been revealed in the State of Illinois that the Ku Klux Klan intends to establish itself as an active organization. I can think of very few organizations which would be more harmful to the interests of all Illinois citizens.

I understand that the Klan, organized recently in southern Wisconsin, has already initiated a program of recruiting members in northern Illinois. I do not fear that the Klan will sway many Illinois residents, for there are few so gullible or fearful who would be convinced by the Klan's faulty logic and its bigoted appeal.

I submit the following editorial comment from the Chicago Daily News:

[From the Chicago Daily News, Oct. 18, 1965]

KEEP KLAN OUT OF ILLINOIS

The Daily News' Philip J. O'Connor reports in a current series a drive by the Ku Klux Klan to set up shop in Illinois and adjacent States. There is nothing to prevent anyone with the $15 initiation fee from joining this century-old organization, provided, of course, that he doesn't happen to be a Negro, Catholic, Jew, "foreigner," or "radical"—groups that the Klan historically despises. But it can be hoped that the eligibles who are approached by the Klan recruiters will give some thought to the kind of club they're joining.

We raise this warning because the unpleasant fact is that Illinois, like any other State, possesses a small population fringe that is perennially ripe for plucking by the professional hatemongers. These are, of

course, either the grossly uninformed (and/or uninformable), or those with minds diseased with fear of "they."

"They" can be almost anybody different from themselves. "They" can be people of different pigmentation, different places of origin, different religion, different habits. The common trait invariably ascribed to "they" is a stealthy bid to "take over."

For the benefit of these gullible or fearful ones, it needs to be recalled that the Klan from the outset had as its mission the terrorization of former slaves to deny them the right to vote; that its method was and remains the device of ganging up on the unsuspecting and defenseless; that its record is studded with torture and kidnap and murder; that its members this year have systematically and enthusiastically embellished that record.

But essentially what should be remembered is that the Klan, in its hysterical fear, undertakes to supplant the regular agencies of law and order and to serve as judge, jury, and executioner of those it condemns. If the Klan and the Klan philosophy ever were to prevail, that moment would mark the end of the American system and the American way of life.

In short, there is more involved in this resurgence than fun and games, and we share the dim view taken of the matter by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the other agencies bearing the responsibility for protecting America and its freedoms.

Christopher Columbus Kraft

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Parade magazine, Sunday supplement to newspapers all over the country carried an article in their October 17 edition on my good friend Chris Kraft, the man behind the orbiting astronauts of our manned space program.

Chris is a good example of the type of people we have in our program and consequently one of the reasons for our many successes.

The article follows:

SPACE PROGRAM'S CHRIS KRAFT: HE STANDS OUT IN A FIELD OF STARS

(By Fred Blumenthal)

HOUSTON, TEX.—When our Gemini VI spacecraft attempts soon to link up with an unmanned rocket circling the earth at 17,000 miles an hour, two more astronauts will join the others who've gained worldwide fame. Yet sitting in relative obscurity making the life-or-death decisions in a control room here will be the same man who has directed our orbital flights since the days when we were sending up chimpanzees.

We've successfully sent many astronauts into space: Glenn, Carpenter, Schirra, Cooper, Grissom, Young, McDivitt, Conrad. But the awesome job of ground control has been left to the unique talents of Christopher Columbus Kraft.

Others may get the headlines and the ticker-tape parades; he gets the responsibility.

At 41, the salty, blunt-spoken, quick-thinking Kraft is top man in a far-out field of human knowledge and adventure that was still in the science-fiction stage as recently as his high school days in Hampton, Va. As director of the U.S. manned space flight program, he commands the ground control teams of scientists and technicians that direct our orbiting spacecraft from lift-off to splashdown.

Yet, although he is charged with a job with such worldwide ramifications, Kraft could pass unnoticed even here where the NASA Manned Spacecraft Center is headquartered. Conservative in dress, he is medium good-looking, of medium height and build, with blue eyes and just-beginning-to-thin brown hair; he looks exactly like a modestly successful young business executive. He might well be described as "Mr. Average."

The truth is that Chris Kraft possesses one of the keenest intellects in the entire space program, which is chock full of brilliant scientists, engineers, mathematicians, and assorted specialists in the enormous spectrum of space disciplines. He stands out in a field of stars.

Interestingly, Kraft is neither pilot, mathematician, scientist nor specialist in electronics or celestial mechancis. He holds a degree in aeronautical engineering from Virginia Polytechnic Institute, and for 13 years he was a flight director in the aeronautical test program at Langley AFB research center. He himself compares his job to that of a symphony conductor—"I can't play all the instruments, but I do know how I want the total effort to sound, and what to do about it if it doesn't sound right." But associates say his special gift is his ability to absorb—in a business where the margin for error is measured in micromillimeters and microseconds—the most complex technical information, analyze it and render a decision.

NO NONSENSE

The men around him regard him with awe, but there is no easygoing familiarity such as the astronauts enjoy among themselves. A no-nonsense perfectionist, Kraft demands superior performance from his subordinates as well as himself and can be brutally frank in criticizing failure. Moreover, when he gives an order, he expects it to be obeyed.

Thus, when Astronaut Edward White took his celebrated walk into space during the Gemini IV mission last summer, he enjoyed it so much that he was reluctant to return to the spaceship. Up from the Houston headquarters went a peremptory order in a familiar businesslike voice. "Tell him to get back in," Pilot James McDivitt was instructed. White got back in.

Similarly, during the second U.S. orbital flight, Astronaut Carpenter was found to be using too much fuel in his first pass around the earth. Kraft snapped an order to the capsule communicator in voice contact with Carpenter's ship: "Tell him to go easy on the fuel or I'll pull him down early." There was no need to repeat the order.

At home, Kraft is equally plainspoken. "Don't ask Chris a question unless you want a straight answer," says his attractive wife, Betty Anne. "If I ask him how he likes a new dress I've bought, he tells me. And it's not always what I want to hear."

Chris and Betty Anne were high school sweethearts back in Hampton, Va., and Betty Anne recalls that on her first date she made him produce his driver's license to prove that he really was named Christopher Columbus. He inherited the name from his father, who was born while the United States was celebrating the 400th anniversary of the discovery of the New World. Betty Anne concluded that two Christopher Columbuses in the family were enough. Their 13-year-old son is named Gordon. But she relented slightly when their daughter came along. Now 10, she is called Kristi-Anne.

Rare social evenings give Kraft an outlet for one of his lesser-known talents. He likes to work with his hands, and the surest way for a guest to please him is to to ask for a complicated cocktail that has to be "built" from a wide variety of ingredients. "He doesn't mix a drink," Betty Anne says, "he manufactures it."

Kraft has little time for other handiwork, however. He once set out to be an amateur carpenter, built a workbench in the basement, but a flight interrupted and he got no further. He still plays golf—he shoots consistently in the low 80's—and goes to an occasional ball game with young Gordon. Otherwise, he is a full-time man of space.

He also gives a good deal of thought to the subject. He and his team, for example, have given much thought to the possibility of a space tragedy. He has discussed it personally with the astronauts before each flight. Characteristically, he has laid it on the line. "If one of you becomes incapacitated—or worse—up there," he has told them, "I don't want the able man to be a big hero and stay up there with his buddy." Asked what we would do if an accident killed both crew members, he replies. "We've thought hard about that. Don't know the answer. If it ever does come to that, I guess you'd just have to try to live with it."

PROGRAM IN DANGER

Feeling that way, Kraft also resents the enormous publicity each space shot receives, particularly the moment-by-moment coverage. If, ultimately, there were an accident, he feels it would be of such momentous proportions that there would be great public outcry, a rash of investigations, and possibly the whole space program would be crippled.

What makes Chris Kraft uniquely valuable to the multibillion-dollar project that aims at landing man on the moon by 1970 is not training or scientific knowledge, but the rare quality of command and the even rarer quality of decision in an area where man has never before ventured.

How did he arrive at this position of command-decision in a field dominated by men of vastly greater scientific knowledge?

Chris Kraft himself offers a modest answer: "I was in the right place at the right time, I was just lucky."

If, so, the astronauts whose lives ride on his decisions, must reckon themselves lucky too.

Jack Valenti

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, on October 18 the distinguished columnist William S. White wrote a splendid article on Special Assistant to the President Jack Valenti which appeared in newspapers throughout the country, including the fine newspaper in my home city, the Newark Evening News. I am delighted that a journalist of Mr. White's high caliber has devoted time to the fair and objective analysis which Mr. Valenti's work as a Presidential aid deserves.

Jack Valenti serves President Johnson tirelessly, quietly and with superb effectiveness. He seeks no praise or credit for the multitude of tasks he undertakes so competently. Yet despite the heavy burden of his White House work, I know from personal experience of his unfailing kindness and effort whenever he is

called upon for assistance or advise. I most heartily concur in Mr. White's tribute to "that extraordinarily able man of all work who is Jack Valenti." Under unanimous consent, I place the article by William S. White in the RECORD at this point:

VICTIM OF HOSTILE CLICHES: VALENTI DOES COMPETENT JOB IN THANKLESS POST

(By William S. White)

An accumulation of 2 years of fatigue from what is surely the most brutally demanding job in the world is not only delaying—though not really threatening—the complete recovery of President Johnson from his surgical operation.

It is also adding to the already heavy burdens borne by the President's staff people—and to none more than to that extraordinarily able man of all work who is Jack Valenti.

Some men are said to be accident prone; continuously they suffer the small, tiresome mishaps of life. Valenti might be said to be stereotype-ridden, to be pursued by hostile cliches. Though nobody is closer to the President or more nearly indispensable to him, Jack Valenti seems fated to be constantly brushed off with the adjective that patronizes.

His admiration for and devotion to the President are quite open; ergo, he must therefore be servile—a kind of "valet."

He is short and compact; ergo, he's described as "little" or "swarthy," and his natural kindliness and courtesy are put down as mere efforts by one J. Valenti to ingratiate himself.

He was in prior life an advertising man; ergo, it follows that he must be an insensitive huckster. The fact that he is nothing of the kind but rather is a skillful and perceptive writer and editor of much White House prose—indeed, the ultimate editor short of the President himself—is not mentioned.

His undergraduate degree was awarded by the University of Houston, which tragically has no hallowed halls, no hanging ivy; hence it follows that he is not really and truly an honest-to-God intellectual. The fact that he made up for his disastrous failure to attend the right college by earning a master's degree at good old Harvard itself is not mentioned.

Indeed the story of Jack Valenti would form an excellent case study chapter in any inquest upon one of the phenomena of current politics. This is the power of snobbery within the Democratic Party—precisely the kind of snobbery, by the way, so long directed from within against both President Truman and Johnson.

The self-consciously in people make a profession of screeching against the evils of discrimination, but apply the most juvenile prejudices in their estimates of other men. Among them Valenti is out, for reasons so puerile as to stagger the adult mind.

He does not worry about his social standing, nor read the Washington women's pages with religious attention. He does not rush around to the precious little parties, where cocktails are sipped in cadence with little digs at other people of the in set.

He does not solemnly blink his eyes and clutch his forehead to prove his agonized concern for social justice and the other abstractions about which the ins talk—and talk, and talk. He only practices social justice. He does not prove his independence by clever bites at his associates and superiors.

He is no drawing room card, maybe because he has too much work to do. He has the regrettable simplicity of the really competent man who needs no megaphone to establish his competence. He is only the little man who is always there, always in there pitching for a President for whom he is glad to work and for a country he is glad to serve in peace as once he served it in war.

What is annoying and significant about the attitudes taken toward men like Valenti is not the plain injustice to persons involved. Of course, it is all essentially quite absurd. But is also damaging to the interests of the country. For the country has simply got to have good, steady men in the White House palace guard—in anybody's White House and not just Johnson's White House. And the sort of high school sorority snipping at the good ones that goes on around here is a very bad thing.

None of these fellows is entitled to sticky sympathy or understanding; it is quite true that nobody forces them to serve in the White House. But this is not to say that they are not entitled to be judged upon the standards of mature men and women. They don't need to be petted and cosseted; they do need to be given a reasonably fair shake.

Is School Fund Ax Only for Others?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as we close this session of Congress, one of the unresolved issues is the autocratic action by U.S. Education Commissioner Francis Keppel in his attempt to interfere with the administration of the Chicago public school system.

Reporter Charles Nicodemus of the Chicago Daily News, a keen observer of the Washington scene, produced a very appropriate and penetrating article on this issue in the October 8 edition of that newspaper:

IS SCHOOL FUND AX ONLY FOR OTHERS?

(By Charles Nicodemus)

WASHINGTON.—The necessity for constant attention to that old saw about the equality of sauces for geese and ganders has rarely been better demonstrated than in the recent flap over $30 million in Federal school aid for Chicago.

That incident carries a lesson that should be long remembered by every lawmaker in Washington, and not just by the Chicago Congressmen who attacked the "temporary" deferral of the funds.

The lesson is best illustrated by two questions put to one Congressman who was claiming that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Office of Education had no authority under law to freeze the funds:

"Why are you guys bleating now" I asked.

"Where were you last June when the Office of Education was doing the same thing, briefly, with some quarter million dollars earmarked for Boston—when they had no more apparent authority than they do now?

"And where were you when the OE began holding up payment of Federal funds—on programs both new and old—to Southern school districts declining to start desegregation, even though their authority there, too, was hazy?"

Here's the answer given by Representative ROMAN PUCINSKI, Democrat, of Illinois, who led the attack on U.S. Education Commissioner Francis Keppel for the Chicago deferment:

"I represent Chicago—not Boston or the South. I had enough on my mind then, without taking on their problems, too." (In other words, his ox wasn't being gored.)

Besides, he said, he wasn't too familiar with how the deferrals had worked in Boston or the South.

He should have looked more closely. For the North is now being cooked in the same sauce with which the Office of Education has been basting the South.

The big difference, of course, is that northerners don't like to see our own fat fried, but most of us—including congressional liberals like PUCINSKI—applaud the Office of Education for acting immediately against Southern school districts that refuse to file desegregation plans in compliance with the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

That law and the HEW's accompanying regulations permit the outright cutoff of Federal funds to districts practicing segregation—but only after specific, extended procedures have been followed.

They involve negotiations toward voluntary compliance, investigation, hearings, recommendations by Keppel, notification to Congress, final action by HEW, and—if requested—judicial review.

Nowhere have HEW officials been able to show any clearly written authority, in either the pertinent laws or the regulations, permitting the deferral or suspension of funds before the final cutoff is made.

What the Office of Education has done, however, is to decide that "common sense" and the "implications" of the law give Keppel the right to "defer" payments to communities where segregation is obvious or strongly suspected.

The law also states specifically that any cutoff of a local agency's funds shall hit only those federally supported programs in which segregation is practiced.

Yet the Office of Education has moved, in both North and South, to obtain across-the-board cutoffs of all new or old programs by simply interpreting the word "program" to mean the entire educational program—a questionable reading of the law.

Nobody cried "foul" when the law was bent in this and other fashions, in its application to blatant segregation in the South.

But now, when these same principles are extended to the more subtle but equally insidious segregation in the North, the cry of "foul" is heard.

A Better Understanding of Conditions in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include continuing parts of a report by Mr. Lucian C. Warren, Washington correspondent for the Buffalo Courier-Express, Buffalo, N.Y. Mr. Warren toured the Federal Republic of Germany recently upon the invitation of its Government.

Parts II, III, and IV follow:

[From the Buffalo Courier-Express, Oct. 11, 1965]

VISIT TO WEST GERMANY—II: TOURISM FALLING AT BADEN-BADEN

(By Lucian C. Warren)

BADEN-BADEN, GERMANY.—"I want to be alone," oldtime movie star Greta Garbo said

many times and in many places, including this posh resort town.

So she was let alone by the Baden-Badians on a recent visit. As a matter of fact the local burghers, most of them, didn't even know she had been here until she had gone.

The visitors also failed to recognize her, possibly because of a preoccupation with any one or more of the things for which Baden-Baden is famous—its casino, its baths, and its wine.

OLD CASINO

In the good old days the crown heads of Europe came to gamble away their dukedoms and duchies at the Baden-Baden casino. It has been in existence for more than 200 years and fell into relative disrepute only during the Hitler era mainly because Der Fuehrer preferred to gamble on war rather than at the gaming table. He visited Baden-Baden only once.

Marlene Dietrich called the Baden-Baden casino the "most beautiful one in the whole world," or so the promotional literature reads. If she did, it is possibly because she was fortunate at the games of chance.

On that basis, we think it's pretty darn beautiful, too. In one half-hour at the roulette wheel, we picked up the difference between 70 and 700 marks—a profit of $7.50 approximately—and left immediately.

COCKTAIL

The only disagreeable thing we encountered at Baden-Baden was its "hot water cocktail." The first thing that came to our attention at the Friedrichsbad, the Baden-Baden emporium for "thermal baths," was a glorified spigot spouting naturally hot mineral water from deep wells.

Our guide said the hot water cocktail was on the house, so to speak, and we partook. Too late we noticed that the guide wasn't interested in a glass himself. Our stomachs growled its protest for an hour after.

Most of our time in this beautiful resort area was spent in being plied with statistics and wine. A long talk with Friedrich Engers, publicity director for Baden-Baden, produced the information that the number of overnight or longer visitors to the resort reached a peak in 1960 of 78,367 persons. The number dropped to 72,634 last year.

WINE

Some 17,352 American guests were here in 1964, but the number appears to be dwindling somewhat over the years and Lyndon Baines Johnson is not a very popular man here because of his suggestions to see America first.

This is great wine country. There are some hardy Americans who have sought to become a walking Baedaker of this wine country, sampling the various vintages as they progressed from point to point. Trouble was, the walking became a bit unsteady as the sampling continued and no one was able to go the whole route.

LIMIT

Your correspondent limited his sampling to washing down some delicious Baden-Baden brook trout at lunch with some carefully selected white wine.

The glow lasted through the beautiful Schwarzwald (Black Forest) to Stuttgart. It only wore off at the Stuttgart factory of Daimler-Benz, where we fleetingly toyed with the idea of ordering a luxury model of a Mercedes-Benz, in which the only nonautomatic feature was an ash tray. It was a rude jolt to discover that the price in American money was $20,000 and we hastily decided that L.B.J. would never, never approve of that.

[From the Buffalo Courier-Express, Oct. 12, 1965]

VISIT TO GERMANY—III: NUREMBERG SILENT ABOUT RECENT PAST

(By Lucian C. Warren)

NUREMBERG, GERMANY.—Erhard Funk, the vice director of the tourist office of Nuremberg, was accommodating. He gave elaborate brochures and statistics to this American visitor, and was adept at talking about the city of 900 years ago and the one today.

But both the brochures and Funk are not unstrangely reticent about what happened in Nuremberg's immediate past. The world will not soon forget that Adolph Hitler staged his huge Nazi Party rallies here—and that later here Nazi war leaders were tried.

Accompanied by an escort from Inter Nationes, the agency which is handling our visit, this visitor sought to see some of the landmarks involved in recent history. The quest was successful, but not without some difficulties.

PLACE OF JUSTICE

A taxi took us to the Landes Gericht, meaning place of justice, a large building now shared by U.S. Army officials and those of Bavarian courts of justice.

The U.S. Army guard referred us to a nearby guard for the Bavarian courts after we had requested to see the courtroom in which the Nazi war leaders were tried.

The German guard referred us back to the American guard.

"But the German guard has the key to that courtroom," said the American guard. "I am sorry for this inconvenience, but I can give you no help."

GETS ACTION

A phone call to the German guard's superior finally produced some action and Herr Blechschmidt finally showed up to be our guide.

En route to the courtroom, we asked if it was possible to see where the convicted Nazi war leaders were shot. By standing on tiptoe we were able to see a small building in a courtyard. We were told it was impossible to get any closer.

We were then led to Schwurgerichts Sitzungssaal, the German name for courtroom.

FURNISHINGS CHANGE

Herr Blechschmidt informed us that the furnishings had been changed since the famous trial. He described the seating arrangements of the international tribunal, including the U.S. judge, Francis Biddle, the prosecution, including Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson and visitors.

Herr Blechschmidt also presented a scrapbook of photographs showing trial scenes. But his manner throughout, while not surly, was that of a bored functionary who obviously thought that the American visitor was showing much too morbid a curiosity about this painful episode in German history. He reluctantly acceded to directing us to a nearby building where the Nazi war leaders were jailed during the trial.

INSIDE EXAMINED

But examination of the inside, including the room where Goering cheated his captors by swallowing a pellet of deadly poison, was not possible without written permission from top Bavarian government officials in Munich. This was understandable as the prison is still used for Bavaria's prisoners, just as trials are still being held in the courtroom we visited.

The inspection of the Nuremburg stadium where Nazi rallies were held proved to be a much easier process. For a small football field at one end of the stadium is used by U.S. Army personnel.

A taxi driver guided us in the stadium. Weeds now grow on the field where the Nazi military used to parade and many of the stands where the party faithful shouted themselves hoarse are covered by grass and weeds.

ONE END INTACT

But that end of the stadium where Hitler harangued the party faithful is remarkably intact. Flanking the podium are the huge urns from which billowed the fiery torches by which the Nazis dramatized their proceedings. Still visible are the iron fixtures, now rusty, which held the lavish carpets on which the Nazi leaders trod to reach the podium.

Nearby is the huge "Hall of Congress" which Hitler ordered built for yearly meetings of the Nazi Party. Only three-fourths finished, the building looks like some ancient Roman building suffering from the ravages of time.

Do the people of Nuremberg ever think about their unusual place in the history of Nazi Germany? A beer hall proprietor told us the Nazis were "bad politics" but "good for business" and recalled that some 700,000 persons crowded into the city during the big Nazi rallies.

[From the Buffalo Courier-Express]

VISIT TO WEST GERMANY—IV: FRANKFURT MAKES DIFFERENT HOT DOG

(By Lucian C. Warren)

FRANKFURT, GERMANY.—Your correspondent had only a few hours in this important industrial city, hence can offer only a few general impressions ranging from hot dogs to beer to automobiles.

We proceeded on the assumption that the thing for which Frankfurt is most famous is the frankfurter, and if you think that's just another wiener or hot dog, how could you be so schmalzy?

GLORIFIED

The frankfurter is a glorified weiner, glorified by years of research into making what in America is known as the hot dog a more alluring species of meat. This is done by a process of seasoning highly the main ingredients of beef and pork sausage.

A student at the local university, who was our guide for the day, said as far as she was concerned they could throw all the frankfurters into the Main River, the meandering stream that runs through the center of this city. She said she would take a less season weiner any day over a frankfurter.

FANCY TOWER

The most important liquid product in this town is Henninger beer, which is consumed in great quantities by the German people with some left over to export to America.

Instead of buying prime sports time on television, the Henninger management has invested some of its promotion money in a fancy "Henninger-Turm" (for Henninger Tower), which has a rotating restaurant 328 feet above the city. The tower was built about 4 years ago on the idea borrowed perhaps from the Seattle World's Fair.

ROTATION SLOWED

The tower is next door to the brewery, and its operators slipped on only one thing. The rotating restaurant made a complete cycle every half hour, and this proved to be so fast that some customers became sick.

So the rotation was slowed to a complete whirl in three-quarters of an hour, and if personal testimony is worth anything we weren't the slightest bit squeamish as we consumed a typical German lunch 328 feet above the city.

AUTO SHOW

Frankfurt is currently mighty proud of its 42d international automobile show. In 1963, it attracted on a single day as many as 521,000 persons, but the managers are hopeful this record will not be repeated this year because the problem of viewing the merchandise under such crowded conditions is immense.

We spent a little time with the Ford and General Motors people at the fair and gather that their business is quite good in Germany, especially with their German-made vehicles.

VOLKSWAGEN LEADS

One Ford man said that its German-made Taunus auto, of which 2,200 are manufactured daily at Cologne, shares 20 percent of the German market annually for private automobiles. The GM German-made prod-

uct, the Opel, shares another 20 percent, he said, but with both trailing the Volkswagen's 35 percent. The balance is divided among other manufacturers, none with as large a share as the big three.

PRESTIGE VALUE

Despite the fact that U.S.-made standard-size automobiles are generally too large and expensive to be popular with the masses, they have a certain snob appeal for well-to-do Germans. Some 1,500 Ford Mustangs were sold in Germany during the first 6 months of 1965, and considering they cost the Germans about $5,000 apiece, this demonstrates that, as in America, a foreign car has prestige value among the local citizenry.

General Motors is doing well in sales here of Cadillacs, Chevrolets, Olds and Pontiacs, some of which are assembled at Antwerp, Belgium, from parts manufactured in America. GM claims 56 percent of the U.S.-made foreign cars bought in Germany, with Ford, American Motors and Chrysler trailing in that order.

TRAFFIC PROBLEM

So many automobiles are being sold in this prosperous nation that the traffic is becoming a severe headache. Although the German autobahns are as good as America's interstate highways, they are not proportionately as numerous, nor has much been done to provide expressways into metropolitan centers.

It is small wonder, then, that the German passenger train business is still excellent and that many Germans still prefer to use trains for any trip over a few miles. On our extended tour in this country, we took both forms of transportation and found railroad travel usually less frustrating and more enjoyable than auto travel.

People-to-People Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to point out to my colleagues and to the people of the Nation the fine record of progress achieved by Riverside, Calif., in improving international good will.

The city of Riverside, Calif., by its enthusiastic participation in the people-to-people program has done a great deal to improve international good will.

The United Nations has reported that no other city of the same size has attempted to carry out such an ambitious program.

Riverside has adopted as its sister city, Sendai, Japan. A Sendai lobby will soon be dedicated in the city library. Riverside was the second oldest city to affiliate with Japan in 1957 and is now the oldest.

The friendship of Riverside and Japan dates back over 60 years when Frank Miller was awarded the Third Degree of the Rising Sun by the Emperor for his work with the Japanese people. This bond of friendship was renewed in 1949 when the Riverside National Guard was sent to Sendai. The Riverside Chapter of the American Association of University Women established a scholarship project to educate Japanese girls in the Tohoku University in Sendai and thus prepare them for leadership in their own community. This started in 1951 and the money is raised by local women's clubs and thus far $7,000 has been sent to Sendai and 64 girls have graduated and have influential careers in such fields as medicine, law, science, teaching, and research.

When the people-to-people program was started in 1956, Riverside had already been practicing the principles of the program for 5 years.

Besides the scholarship program, Riverside has also started a fine program for the handicapped. The first exchange is with the Braille Club in Riverside and the Institute for the Blind in Sendai. A crippled children program is now being organized and the next will be for the retarded child. A newspaper reporter exchange has just been completed and was most successful. This is the second time the reporter exchange program has been successfully completed.

So, as you can see, Mr. Speaker, the people of Riverside are doing an outstanding job in spreading international good will, hospitality and friendship. So far this year, the people of Riverside have entertained over 90 visitors for 17 countries.

I hope that other cities across the land follow the example of the people of Riverside, Calif. It would certainly help to increase international friendship.

I place in the RECORD at this point some articles from the Press-Enterprise of Riverside, Calif., which show the people-to-people program in action:

DR. ALLISON TRAINS, OVERSEES, ADVISES

(By Maryan Foster)

If there is any truth to the old adage that goes "You can take the boy away from the farm, but you can't take the farm away from the boy," Dr. Lowell E. Allison is a shining example.

Born on a farm in Ohio, the soil scientist has always been concerned about the earth and its crops and problems in one way or another, except for one 18-month period during World War II. He graduated from Purdue University with a B.A., did graduate work at the University of Illinois, where he was a research assistant in agronomy for 6 years, taught (as an assistant professor) soil science at Purdue before returning to U. of I. for his doctorate. He has been employed at Riverside's U.S. Salinity Laboratory, a branch of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, since 1944.

"At first I was involved only in soil chemistry research here at the lab," Dr. Allison said, "but when Dr. Alvin Ayers was sent first to Rome and then to India on assignment I took over his job as soil scientist. My primary functions are dealing with visitors (they may stay for a day or 3½ months), supervising training of students, acting as technical consultant, and supporting AID (Assistance for International Development) missions. This is referred to as 'technical backstopping.' We average about 150 visitors each year."

The scientists who study at the Salinity Lab are all foreigners who may have gotten here through a number of methods: FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, based in Rome), AID, Rockefeller or Ford Foundation grants, through their own government's guarantee (in which case his own government finances his study), or by private financing.

In the early days of this training program newly developing countries were those most concerned with the "intensive" program at the Lab, but since its inception in 1953 there have been 120 participants from 40 different foreign countries, all of them with arid land problems. The "intensive" study is labeled in that way to denote a 12-week course for graduate-level scientists that includes many phases of soil research in one program. There have been as many as six persons taking the course at one time, five can be accommodated, but as Dr. Allison said, "Four, such as the group we have here now, makes for better working conditions. We do not have to step on one another."

The four men referred to by Dr. Allison are Dr. Tarak Das Biswas, New Delhi, India; Dr. Werner Kramer, Gottingen, Germany; Hakim Wanis Tawdros, Beni-Swef, Egypt, and Sung-ho Lai, Taiwan.

Dr. Biswas is sponsored by FAO; Dr. Kramer by the German Research Society (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft), Mr. Tawdros by FAO and Mr. Lai holds an East-West scholarship at University of Hawaii which allows him 3½ months' study on the mainland.

"The problem these scientists have in common," Dr. Allison stated, "is that they all come from countries that must have increased food production. Most of them must deal with arid soil. Our program at the Lab was instituted because it was found to be a better way to deal with these countries than sending our scientists to them. We have the lab equipment and the men bring with them soil samples that illustrate the problems they need to overcome. When they have completed the course they must write an evaluation on 'Interpretations of Soil Data and Recommendations for Improvement.'"

Other staff members at the Lab are project leaders who lecture on soil physics, soil and water chemistry, plant physiology, and engineering (phases of drainage and reclamation) Jack Goertzen is the Lab instructor who works continuously with the foreign scientists. His job he describes as being "part housemother and part coffeemaker."

When the USDA and its International Agricultural Development Service greets these visitors to this country they are asked to take particular notice of:

"The family is the basis of our society." The coming of entire families to early North America established a way of life unique among colonial countries. Men and women jointly braved the dangers and suffered hardships. The family practicing the religious faith of its choice, continues as the foundation of our society.

"There is dignity in work." During its long colonial and pioneer period, our country was sparsely settled and the people had to do everything for themselves. This developed self-reliance and a lasting respect for even the most menial work.

"Public education is for all." Our public education system has practically eliminated illiteracy. In publicly supported schools, universities and adult education programs, our people continue to receive technical and practical training.

"Group action stimulates community progress." Americans working together in small groups and communities form the basis for public action. Voluntary participation is a cherished right and responsibility.

"Individuals help make laws and observe them." The majority of our citizens recognize and respect the rights of others. We believe in, and are governed by laws, which all citizens help make, as provided for in our Constitution.

"Development requires more than natural resources." American development reflects the interaction of abundant natural resources, energetic people, a variety of effective public and private institutions, and the

practice of a free enterprise system centered on the dignity and supreme value of the human individual.

"Leadership is everyone's responsibility." A basic responsibility of American citizenship is acceptance of personal leadership in private and public activities.

The people with whom you work in this country will help you understand these seven points; feel free to discuss them with each of our citizens.

Just as we hope you will observe our way of life, we also would like you to tell us about your country and its people. Best wishes for success in reaching the objectives of your program.

Three of the four men now at the Salinity Lab until September 3 are married and two brought their wives with them. What have they learned about the United States and it people since they arrived?

"My wife and I bought a car and drove crosscountry from New York," Dr. Kramer related. "We made it in 5½ days with stopovers at particular places of interest. We now drive around weekends, we have friends at La Crescenta and have been there twice. Forest Lawn and its beautiful pictures intrigued us, we've been to Palm Springs and will go to Disneyland and Marineland before we leave. Our landlord has had us to barbecues and also took us to our first baseball games in Los Angeles to watch the Dodgers play. The game was explained to me, but I'm still not sure of the rules.

"Many of the places we have seen, or will see, are known to us in Germany, but now we are seeing them for ourselves. My wife has said she is so acclimated in Riverside now she could stay here forever.

"We hope to stay here 4 weeks after this course is completed so that I can work with some soil scientists in the West that have worked with my chief at home. I have written by government for permission and we are hopeful that it will be granted. My work would profit from further study in the United States."

Dr. Kramer, who has been playing tennis and has just taken up horseback riding, said he has been "quick to make contacts here." He admits that his approach sometimes takes courage, but "he just goes ahead."

Sung-ho Lai will return to his studies at East-West Center in Hawaii when he is through here, but hopes to take a trip to the east coast first. This is his first trip to the mainland and he has been completely enthralled by its topography.

"When we took off from Hawaii there was nothing to see but water," he said. "We landed at Seattle, flew down to Portland, San Francisco, and then to Los Angeles. On leaving Seattle we flew over the mountains, some of them were still snow-covered and the Columbia River winding its way around the mountains was beautiful and hard to believe."

Mr. Lai is a seventh-generation Chinese born in Taiwan. When he goes back to his homeland he hopes to work in a research institute or possibly at the National University of Taiwan, his alma mater. Prior to coming to Hawaii he was a research assistant at the university.

Dr. Biswas, a married man with a wife and four children in New Delhi, says he "will return to his old job in September, but with new knowledge."

Family life in the United States he has found not greatly different from his own in India. What has impressed him most here is "the informality and helpfulness of Americans."

Home for the Hakim Wanis Tawdros family is the Sids Agricultural Research Station, Beni-Swef, Egypt. His wife and one of his two children, a daughter, 5, accompanied him here. He came to the United States last September to study at New Mexico University in an academic course in agriculture with special emphasis on irrigation and drainage problems as related to the growing of cotton.

"My family and I are enjoying our stay in the United States," Mr. Tawdros said. "We have especially liked going to the beach. At home the nearest large body of water is the Mediterranean Sea and it's 250 miles away. We haven't seen much of California yet but hope to before we leave. I have asked my government for permission to stay on in the States for another year."

Has the difference in food been a problem to the Egyptians?

"Not at all," Mr. Tawdros said. "My wife does the cooking and all essentials for an Egyptian meal are available right here."

RIVERSIDE CITED FOR SISTER CITY PROGRAM

The sister city program of Riverside has been cited as "the best overall program" in the 75,000 to 150,000 population category by judges in the 1965 Town Affiliation Awards competition conducted by the National League of Cities and the People-to-People Civic Committee.

The Riverside program won an award of $350 and two plaques—one for Riverside and one for presentation to its sister city, Sendai, Japan.

The sister city activities were judged in two categories—single projects and yearlong programs.

"The entries in this year's competition reflected a continuing high level of excellence in the conduct of citizens diplomacy by our many sister city groups," said Mark Bortman, chairman of the People-to-People Civic Committee, which helps to guide the work of sister city groups. "Every presentation supported our belief in the great value of direct, friendly, personal communications between Americans and peoples of other lands."

Judges for the 1965 competition were George V. Allen, former Director of the U.S. Information Agency and U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia and Greece, and now president of the Tobacco Institute; Ambassador Jack K. McFall, former Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations and U.S. Ambassador to Finland; and Andrew Berding, Director of the Washington International Center and former Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs.

The awards, sponsored by the Reader's Digest Foundation, will be presented at a dinner in Portland, Oreg., at the Western Regional Town Affiliation Conference scheduled for August 29–31, 1965.

SENDAI COULD USE AN EXCHANGE STREET PAVING CREW

(By George Ringwald)

SENDAI.—The sister cities of Riverside, Calif., and Sendai, Japan, have exchanged visits of mayors, newspaper reporters and college professors, but perhaps what would be most appreciated in Sendai these days is a good-sized street paving crew.

Tsuto Komabayashi, who is the head of Sendai's city street department, would undoubtedly appreciate it. He probably wouldn't object, either, if some money were sent along to bolster his budget.

Two words I have heard used to describe Sendai streets by Japanese friends are "gomippoi" and "gatagatasuru"—dusty and bumpy, respectively. In the rainy season, which is upon us here in Sendai now, you can add a third—"doronko," or muddy.

For the older streets of Sendai, there is still a fourth descriptive adjective—narrow.

Consider that such a modern street as Aoba Dori—built after World War II, during which American bombing raids wiped out a large part of old downtown Sendai—is probably wider than any modern boulevard we know in southern California, and then consider that the average width of Sendai streets is 5.70 meters, or a little over 18 feet—and you have some idea of how narrow many of the streets must be.

The problem of roads in Sendai, as in most Japanese cities, is history.

What serve as roads for trucks and buses and automobiles today were laid out hundreds of years ago as streets for cart and pedestrian traffic.

Sendai—at about the time (in 1607) when Capt. John Smith and 105 cavaliers settled in Jamestown—Sendai then was already a city of more than 18,000 homes and about 52,000 people.

But it didn't become a city of modern vehicular traffic until after World War II. Before the war, Japan was building battleships instead of highways. So highways in Japan today are mostly at about the stage they were in the 1930's in the United States.

And it is history that one sees in the older sections of Sendai today, where houses and shops are built right up to the street curb—where a curb exists; where the streets are narrow, and unpaved, and without sidewalks.

There are in all 769 kilometers of street in Sendai (about 477 miles).

About 28 percent of these streets are paved today. Eight years ago or so, only 6 percent of Sendai's streets were paved, so there is obviously progress.

But it is hard catching up.

One of the problems mentioned by Komabayashi San is that heavy trucks and increased traffic generally came into use in Japan before there were roads to cope with them.

In the past year, traffic in Sendai increased by 40 percent, but Komabayashi's budget for road paving remained at about the same 100,000,000 yen (about $277,000) that it has for the past 5 years.

So Komabayashi San has had to spread the road paving thin—in some places, to accomplish more rapid paving of some kind, a one-inch coating of asphalt is used, which is admittedly subject to rapid deterioration, but the city theory is that it is better than nothing.

The city is also working to build new roads and to widen existing ones, and the latter project is particularly troublesome because of the densely built-up community.

The city government today is acquiring street rights of way in these areas both by buying the property from the citizens, and by taking over the property and giving the owner new land in another area in exchange.

But it all takes time—and money—and the people—judging by the complaints that come to city hall in Sendai and by newspaper and radio-television editorial pressure—are not always so patient.

"AVERAGE AMERICAN": NEITHER MISSIONARY NOR DIPLOMAT

(By Maryan Foster)

"People from the United States cannot all be classified as either missionaries or embassy personnel, but that is a lesson that we Africans only learn after coming to the United States," said three representatives of newly independent Zambia, Nigeria, and Kenya.

"I had met what you term 'average Americans' only occasionally in our shops," reported John Hugh Zemba of Chilanga, Zambia. "Most of my previous contacts had been strictly with missionaries and diplomats. It is nice to be able to talk with others as we did at the Halverson home Tuesday evening. That is how we really get to know you. (Riverside's International Relations Council and Riverside Folk Song Society were cosponsors of the potluck affair Mr. Zemba refers to).

The United States should consider sending groups such as the one who entertained us there to our country, our people could

learn a great deal more about actual everyday life in the United States from them.

"And some of them even knew where Zambia is, young as we are as an independent nation with a new name."

Mr. Zemba is one of a group of soil scientists touring the United States under our Agency for International Development (AID) program. The men, who number about 25 and represent seven African and Asian countries, were on tour with Prof. Robert Walker of the University of Illinois as their leader. While in Riverside (they leave tomorrow for Brookings, S. Dak.) the scientists have been studying at the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Soil Salinity Laboratory headed by Dr. L. E. Allison.

Zambia, before its independence from Great Britain last October, was formerly called Northern Rhodesia and was a British protectorate. Dr. Kenneth Kaunda heads the small nation which is striving hard to become really "independent" of its former reliance on its partners Rhodesia and Malawi.

"One of our primary concerns is to become independent agriculturally. Formerly we relied a great deal on our two neighbors for our foodstuffs, now we must take steps to raise our own as much as is possible. Our economy was, and is, geared 90 percent to our copper output," Mr. Zemba said.

"It is my job as technical officer (research) for the Zambian Ministry of Agriculture to research into problems of soil fertility of our land.

Mr. Zemba, who received his B. Sc. from Rhodes College, is married to a teacher. On woman's role in his country he said:

"Zambia has two women in its Parliament and one who is a minister in the Government. Before our independence a woman's role was decided strictly along color lines and they lagged behind the men. If they were well educated then they were mostly British, but now our Zambian women are rising to the top as far as their educations will allow. All educated women have helped all they could since last year. They work in civil service right along with men and compete with them for vacant positions.

"Manpower shortage is one of our problems and we need all the help we can get, be it male or female. The British still hold some government seats, but this is good. We do not discriminate in Zambia because of the color of one's skin."

Laud Bright Okoli of Umuahia, eastern Nigeria, received his B.S. in agriculture from the University of Ibadan and as an agronomist for his Government is primarily concerned with the same problems as Mr. Zemba: How to get more production from the land. He has been attending classes at the University of Arizona prior to joining his touring fellow scientists. Rice research is his chief project. Here under the AID program he will stay as long in the United States as the Government allows and then return to his homeland and, he hopes, rice research.

Of his fellow students in the graduate school at the University of Arizona, he commented: "As a rule I think American students are more serious than we are in eastern Nigeria, even the girls.

"And speaking of girls, U.S. girls, I especially admire their relationship with men. It's marvelous to find the sort of competition that exists between them. Our country is divided into two sections, based on religion. In the north there are the Moslems and their attitudes toward women are well enough known; in the south the people are Christians and women are allowed all freedoms.

"Another difference I have found in the social structure between Nigeria and the United States is that there are no 'extended families.' We have them and are very proud of the system. By 'extended family' I mean that grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, all live closely together. The father of each unit is the head of his own group, but the oldest male is the absolute head. We still have tribes in Nigeria, each with the same social status. My own is the Ibo, which was the first language I spoke.

"We know that to have one head of family is good and we can turn to him when guidance is needed. I have done this in the past and will do so when I decide to marry. Some families have grown more lenient in this respect, but many others have not."

Americans, he found, project a better image than he had expected, but he also thought we should export more "real Americans" so that new nations will know the "truth."

Caleb Obiero Othieno of Western Kenya will have been in the United States 5 years in September, and is a student at Cal Poly in San Luis Obispo. In the United States on his own, and paying his own expenses until AID started sponsoring him 1½ years ago, he also attended Imperial Valley Junior College and knows the United States and its people more intimately than his traveling companions. He will continue the tour with them, ending at the University of Illinois in September. His future then will be decided by his government's wishes.

"I am homesick and have been many times in the past 5 years, but if my government's plans for me require more education I will stay on. My future lies in working for Kenya and the betterment of its farming methods.

"Since it was necessary for me to earn my own way while in the United States. I have learned many things and done some jobs that I would not have done otherwise. I have been a library assistant at IVJC, served one summer as a rodman for an irrigation company doing ditch lining and spent one summer in a tomato packing shed. Generally people in this country have been very kind to me, I can only think of one time when I was discriminated against because of my color.

"I was looking for an apartment near my college and made inquiry at a house that bore a 'vacancy' sign. When the landlady saw me she immediately said she had no room and should have removed the sign sooner. As I was leaving, a white classmate of mine and his young wife were asking to see the apartment and ended up renting it. They admitted to me later that I was denied the place because I was Negro. Other than that one small incident, I have had no problems.

"There is no discrimination in Kenya. The Government specifically emphasizes that. There are still British in government in Kenya. They control commercial farming and all industry. The present Minister of Agriculture is British but is giving up his citizenship to become Kenyan. The present Government (under Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta) encourages the active participation of the British, his successor may not."

What is the role of women in Kenya?

"Before independence women were not allowed any freedom at all. Now their worth is realized and they actively compete with men. In the past, lack of education held women back; today, they are educated along with men.

Paul W. Kinsel, Man of Varied Talents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, an outstanding example of quiet concern for his fellow men is found in Paul W. Kinsel, who was named director of the United Brethren Service Center in New Windsor, Md., last July. The Carroll County Times has published the long record of constructive service given by Mr. Kinsel to all those who had need of his aid. I am proud to insert this story in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

PAUL W. KINSEL, MAN OF VARIED TALENTS

Paul W. Kinsel, named director of the Brethren Service Center in New Windsor last July, is a man of varied talents.

In addition to having full responsibility for coordinating the staff and programs at the center, he is in charge of material aid, processing, interchurch medical assistance, cutgarment operation, international gift shop, refugee resettlement, immigration matters, and exchange programs, conferences, and retreats.

As director of the exchange programs for the Church of the Brethren, he serves as denominational director in the International Christian Youth Exchange, and carries full responsibility for the Polish Agricultural Exchange, the Yugoslav Nurse Exchange and others in the process of development.

SON OF DEACON

The son of a deacon, Mr. Kinsel was born near Brookville, Ohio. He was educated in Brookville public schools and received his B.A. degree in history and education at Manchester College in 1932. He received his M.A. degree in history at Ohio State University in 1935, and his Bachelor of Divinity degree in 1946 from Bethany Theological Seminary.

CALLED TO MINISTRY

Mr. Kinsel was called to the ministry in 1932 and was ordained to the eldership in 1940. He had been baptized in the Church of the Brethren in 1920 and was called and licensed to the ministry by the Brookville church in 1931.

For 12 years (1932-44) he was a teacher in the Brookville High School. From 1946 to 1950 he was pastor of the Frederick Church of the Brethren.

In 1950, he was called to the pastorate of the Trotwood (Ohio) Church of the Brethren, where he remained until his appointment to the New Windsor post.

NUMEROUS COMMITTEES

Mr. Kinsel's work with committees and conferences of the church are too numerous to mention all of them but some of the more important assignments include:

Served three times as moderator of the district of southern Ohio and once for the district of eastern Maryland.

He was annual conference reader at Champaign, Ill., in 1960; member of the Central Conference Committee, 1960-62; director of San Jose Annual Conference, 1951; member of annual conference committee 1948-51; member of General Board of Christian Education, 1939-44; helped organize Brethren Service Committee; member of general brotherhood board, and assigned to Brethren Service Commission, 1948-53; chairman of the Protestant Committee on Scouting, Dayton, Ohio, 1960-65. He was a charter member of the Trotwood (Ohio) Kiwanis Club.

Mr. Kinsel is married to the former Naomi Erbaugh, a minister's daughter of New Lebanon, Ohio. The couple has two daughters and a son.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

No Love for the Dole

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the Scranton administration in my Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is developing an excellent record in the field of public welfare programs. In an informative report on these programs, the London Economist points out that "Pennsylvania is one of the few big States to have reversed the long climb in the number of people receiving assistance" while simultaneously increasing its annual welfare budgets. Under the dynamic leadership of its secretary, the Honorable Arlin M. Adams, Pennsylvania's Department of Public Welfare is developing and administering compassionate yet efficient welfare programs. I ask unanimous consent that the London Economist article to which I have referred be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NO LOVE FOR THE DOLE

If Mr. Scranton, the Republican Governor of Pennsylvania, joins the presidential race in 1968, one of the achievements to which he will be able to point with pride is his unusual success in reducing the State's welfare rolls. Pennsylvania is one of the few big States to have reversed the long climb in the number of people receiving assistance. It cut the total by 3.5 percent to 432,000 during fiscal 1964 and much more steeply to fewer than 400,000, in the fiscal year which ended last June 30. Under the youthful Philadelphia lawyer, Mr. Arlin Adams, whom the Governor chose to head the welfare department, the State has adopted a rather un-Republican way of bringing this about—increased spending. The welfare budget in the fiscal year which has just ended was around $275 million, some $12 million higher than in the previous year.

Mr. Adams believes that more spending on each case is precisely what is needed to repair the difficulties into which these people have fallen and to get them back more rapidly into the mainstream of life. Hence, while many welfare officials in other States are devoting their energies to fretting about extravagance, Mr. Adams is using his considerable talent to search for jobs for people who are on relief and making special studies to determine why they cannot get work. As a result, the State has found jobs for 5,200 people who were receiving assistance. When the members of their families are included, this has taken 21,000 people off the dole.

In part, this success reflects a new alertness on the part of the State's employment service offices, which are beginning to work more closely with the welfare department. The State is also giving more attention to individual needs—even to the extent of paying for transport to a job. It has broadened State-run training courses to provide instruction in some of the less-skilled trades which are within the capacity of the typical person receiving assistance. Furthermore the State is using such people in jobs within the welfare system—like the three dozen men who have been given work as orderlies in State mental hospitals. The State is also increasing its staff of social workers and giving some of them as few as 25 cases to handle instead of the usual hundred or so. This allows them to concentrate on the most difficult problems.

Mr. Adams is now proposing to launch a broad attack on illiteracy among the unemployed, starting in Philadelphia with a program to be called Operation Alphabet. (Typical of the new spirit of the department, it may be advertised with the snappy slogan, "The family that reads together, feeds together"). Officially, only 2 percent of Pennsylvania's population is classed as illiterate, but this estimate is based on records of school attendance. Welfare officials find that many people on assistance who have had several years of formal schooling are still unable to read or write; this is a major obstacle to getting a job.

To combat the lack of interest which such schemes have encountered in other States, the department means to hold the reading classes in local churches and meeting halls rather than in schools. It plans to pay 1 out of every 15 people attending the courses to see to it that the rest of the group turns up at classes. Others will act as babysitters. Finally, those attending will receive a special $40-a-month expense allowance—really an incentive payment since their expenses will be next to nothing. This is quite a sum to a family living on about $175 a month in assistance.

Saxon Criticizes New York State for Curbing Banking Growth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, on October 15, 1965, the Board of Directors of the Liberty National Bank & Trust Co., Buffalo, N.Y., and other eminent citizens honored James J. Saxon, U.S. Comptroller of the Currency, at a reception and dinner at the Buffalo Club.

Mr. E. Perry Spink, president of the Liberty National Bank & Trust Co., introduced Mr. Saxon and stated:

We are privileged to have the opportunity to recognize and commend James J. Saxon for his courageous, realistic, and untiring leadership towards accomplishing the basic purposes for which commercial banks are chartered—namely, the growth and development of a vigorous banking system that contributes to the betterment of the economy and the well-being of all people.

The toastmaster for the evening was Mr. Vincent M. Gaughan, prominent attorney and close associate of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey and our late President, John F. Kennedy.

I wish to include the following article which appeared in the October 16, 1965, issue of the Buffalo Evening News, relative to Mr. Saxon's visit:

SAXON CRITICIZES NEW YORK STATE FOR CURBING BANKING GROWTH—TELLS GROUP HERE CALIFORNIA'S GREAT EXPANSION HAS BEEN AIDED BY FREER SYSTEM THERE

Restrictions that limit the growth of banking in New York State seem "hard to justify in view of the fact that New York State is the major financial center of the Western World," James J. Saxon, U.S. Comptroller of the Currency, said in Buffalo today.

Banks in New York State are limited to operating in only one of any of the nine separate banking districts in which they are headquartered. By contrast, banks in California are free to operate all over the State.

"To those of us who have studied this," said Mr. Saxon, "the most efficient banking service and the most competitive banking is provided in States like California which allow statewide branching.

"The great growth of California has been financed by its full-branch banking system."

FAVORS LEGISLATIVE ACTION

The U.S. Comptroller said legislative action in New York State permitting more flexible branching privileges probably "would have an impact" in bringing about more liberal banking regulations in other States.

Mr. Saxon is one of the liveliest and most controversial comptrollers the country has ever had. His principal job is supervising the country's national banks. He was in Buffalo today to talk about the bank-merger problem at the fall meeting of the New York State Bar Association's Banking, Corporation, and Business Law Section in the Statler Hilton.

He said it appears that legislation in the House of Representatives aimed at providing bankers some guidelines on whether a merger is or isn't legal is dead in this session of Congress.

The legislation he spoke of is the Ashley bill, which is bottled up in the House Banking Committee.

COVERS DIVERSE TOPICS

"This is the most important thing to the banking industry today. The Senate made a genuine and constructive effort to find a solution in this session of Congress. In the House, we have what amounts to a similar effort being aborted."

In a interview before his speech to the lawyers, Mr. Saxon roamed over a wide area of banking matters, including mergers, branch-banking, holding companies, and national banks versus State-chartered banks.

He made it clear that he favors growth of banking through branch banking where branch-banking regulations are flexible. Where they aren't, he finds the bank holding company an especially useful mechanism for bringing about expansion of banking.

PRAISES MARINE MIDLAND

He described the Marine Midland Corp., of Buffalo, the only big holding company in the State, as "an extremely well-managed operation."

"But we feel that additional competition for Marine is necessary and I think Baldwin Maull (president of Marine Midland) would be the first to say so," he added.

Mr. Saxon noted that several other holding company operations recently have been proposed in New York State and that he would hope that Chase Manhattan in New York gets into the holding-company business too. (Chase a few days ago announced it was discontinuing efforts to join with the Liberty in Buffalo and banks in Rochester and Syracuse in setting up a new holding company.)

NATIONAL SYSTEM GROWS

The holding company once proposed by the Morgan Guaranty in New York and the Manufacturers & Traders Trust Co. in Buffalo and which was disallowed by the Federal Reserve "would have been a healthful thing," Mr. Saxon said.

"It was a beautiful thing on paper but it had little chance of approval from its outset," he continued. "Something more modest as a start would have had a better chance of approval."

Although the national banking system has been growing under Mr. Saxon's regime as Comptroller (90 to 100 State banks have converted to national banks), Mr. Saxon said he is in favor of a system in which there is room for both.

TO BE DINNER GUEST

"A dual banking system, with State and national banks, is fundamental and historical," he said. "It allows a bank a freedom of choice and acts as a restraint on excesses that may develop."

Wirtz Wonder Won't Work—One Year Is Enough

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, on December 31, 1964, the Democratic administration allowed Public Law 78, the bracero labor law, to expire. Repeated efforts by Republican Members of Congress, familiar with the complex problems of harvesting crops, to get the administration to enact a new bracero bill failed to get any support from Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz. Lack of any definitive farm labor program caused a great deal of difficulty for thousands of American farmers who depended on foreign labor to harvest many crops.

I need not recite the grave problems which have risen since the bracero law expired, nor is it necessary to recount the futile and ill-advised makeshift programs pursued by the Department of Labor in an effort to remedy the original mistake. The crop losses and increased costs to the American housewife have run into millions of dollars. The dollar losses and frustration suffered by farmers in the West and in other areas where Mexican laborers were formerly used to harvest crops are incalculable.

Mr. President, it is a foregone conclusion that we can ill afford another disastrous year such as we have just experienced. It is clearly evident that Secretary Wirtz' "wonder program" just will not work and our American farmers deserve better treatment. They must be assured of an adequate labor supply and should be fully informed in advance as to the number of competent workers who will be available to harvest agricultural products. The editors of the Farm Journal in the November 1965 issue have summarized this problem most cogently in an editorial entitled "One Year Is Enough." I ask unanimous consent that it be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ONE YEAR IS ENOUGH

All summer Farm Journal has been reporting the farm labor crisis brought on by Secretary Wirtz. While the fruit and truck farmers were the ones hit, farmers everywhere can well take note. Not only can they see how a Government bureaucrat can crack down. They can again see how union labor, not farmers, calls the shots for this administration when there's any issue between them.

In some editions this month we print an unusual report from one of our editors who went to pick apples with the unemployed. He chose West Virginia, a well-advertised poverty area in Appalachia.

He reports that once more, while Secretary Wirtz was watching the situation closely, his recruiting teams had dredged up a motley lot of unemployables and foisted them off on farmers who had a crop to get in.

The Secretary has played a game of "brinkmanship" with farmers all year. He'd bring in foreign help, he said, "if needed." To qualify for any, if it came, farmers had to transport men hundreds of miles who had no intention of working. They had to take kids from a Youth Harvest Corps, which with a few notable exceptions (one reported in Farm Journal) was a fiasco both for farmers and the kids. Farmers didn't know whether to plant a crop, then didn't know whether they could harvest it. They and their bankers sweat it out all summer.

Meanwhile Secretary Wirtz set minimum wages—something Congress is supposed to do. He established criteria. A farmer out of criteria was out of luck for getting real labor from Mexico or Jamaica later "if," as the Secretary coyly put it, they were "needed."

Eventually the Secretary grudgingly let in some, though not enough, of the foreigners farmers had known all along they had to have. These men want to work. They know how to harvest vegetables and fruit. With them on hand a farmer can sleep nights. He knows they'll be there next morning, fit and willing to work.

By the time a limited number of Mexicans and Jamaicans arrived, farmers, processors and all their work force, labor, Mexicans and Jamaicans had all lost money. Some of the vegetable growing and packing industries had moved to Mexico. Consumers will pay more for food all winter. American labor gained nothing. In fact it lost, for farmers in California boosted their use of mechanical tomato-picking machines from 90 last year to 262 this year. Next year there could well be 500. In fact, thanks to machines, these growers may not have a labor problem next year. Each replaces about 40 workers. In other words everybody lost.

Let's hope the lesson has been learned by Congress, by the public, by some well-intentioned church groups, and even by Secretary Wirtz. Next year let's tell farmers in the spring what labor—real labor—they can get. For sure, not maybe. Let's set up a limited youth corps but only for farmers who want it. Let's realize that farmers are running a business, not a welfare agency. A better answer will have to be found for the truly pitiable dregs of society. It starts early, in the home, school, and church. For adult ne'er-do-wells it can't be found on the farm.

The Right To Sneer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. OLIVA HUOT

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. HUOT. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial comment, I believe, reflects the attitude and mood of a great many Americans against those who frantically sneer at the administration's effort to end human misery in our country.

This editorial is the product of the Newport Argus-Champion, Newport, N.H., and reprinted in the Portsmouth Herald on October 2.

This composition recognizes the existence of poverty and recognizes that President Johnson's program attacks this nationwide problem at the beginning before the seeds of poverty has the chance to grow.

Mr. Speaker, with permission granted I place this editorial in the RECORD:

THE RIGHT TO SNEER

Some of our Granite State politicians and observers of the public scene have developed a knee-jerk reaction to the terms, "Great Society" and "War on Poverty." Whenever they use the terms up comes a conditioned reflex and they add, "whatever that is?"

This is a little sad. Some listeners—or readers—could interpret that reflex as evidence that the politician or observer really believes there is no such thing as poverty, or if there is, there is nothing that can be done about it.

Maybe the war on poverty will result in a catastrophic defeat. Maybe we'll never achieve the Great Society. But it's better to have tried and failed than never to have tried at all.

And even if we don't stamp out poverty entirely, the way we're waging the war on poverty will at least reduce it.

Those politicians and observers evidently have failed to understand the basically different approach in the 1965 attack on poverty from that of 1933.

In the great depression we thought the best way to attack poverty was to create job opportunities, with vast public works projects, public buildings, highways, reforestation, dams, sewers, hospitals, auditoriums, national parks, harbors, histories, are projects, most of which were built, made payrolls possible, and are being enjoyed today.

There was no time then, as there is now, to attack poverty at its roots. There was little or no work for those who wanted work and had the training, skills, and experience to perform it. We had to make jobs and do it fast.

Today's war on poverty is attacking poverty where it starts. We are recognizing that America's great system of free public education is the most important ingredient in her enormous economic growth and power. So our 1965 war on poverty is geared to wipe out inherited poverty, by making sure that each child has a real educational opportunity, and by helping those who missed out on education to make up the deficiency.

The new war on poverty is aimed to inspire us all with the will to work and the ability to perform useful work.

Whether it be Head Start, the Job Corps, Volunteers in Service to America, or the other valuable programs, they are all aimed at helping the individual help himself, not at being a mere dole.

This kind of battle takes longer. The fruit of the Head Start program won't begin to ripen for 15 or more years.

The Job Corps, however, is beginning to bear fruit already as hundreds of young men who only a year ago had nothing to do but hang around the street-corner, and little hope of anything else, go to work each day in technical, complicated jobs for which they have been especially trained.

They are happy. They are earning their own way. They are helping produce the wealth of America.

Let those who must sneer "Whatever that is?" either try to convince the people that there is no such thing as poverty, or come forth with a better program.

Then they will have earned the right to sneer.—Newport Argus-Champion.

The Beat-the-Draft Move

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD the attached editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer, entitled "The Beat-the-Draft Move."

I also insert an article by Mayor James H. J. Tate, of Philadelphia, "Vietnam War Demonstrators 'Screwballs' ":

THE BEAT-THE-DRAFT MOVE

One of the most sickening features of the antiwar demonstrations which defaced the weekend in many American cities was the background of an undoubtedly Communist-exploited beat-the-draft movement.

Taking a conspicuous part in the protest marches and meetings were a number of college students and other young men who are mainly concerned with saving their skins. They will do anything to keep out of the service, and they mask their cowardice by pretending a deep devotion to the cause of peace.

For those who are doing their fighting for them in Vietnam, these gutless characters have only insults and contempt—just as they are contemptuous of such concepts as loyalty, love of country and, in many cases, apparently, personal hygiene.

They are being abetted in their retreat from duty by organized groups which furnish detailed instructions on how to beat and defeat the draft. Advice is given on such things as faking homosexuality and physical and mental ailments, arriving at Selective Service headquarters drunk or under the influence of drugs, and bribing doctors for disability certificates.

One of the favorite signals of defiance is the tearing up, or burning, of draft cards, a particularly immature bit of exhibitionism that featured one of the weekend rallies. A 22-year-old, former college student who set fire to his card, David J. Miller, of Syracuse, has been arrested and held in bail for violation of Federal law. There are possible penalties of 5 years in prison and a $10,000 fine. Before a number of imitators make another goldfish-swallowing performance out of this particular act of contempt, the Government should give Mr. Miller what he is apparently asking for: a cell.

Declaring that Communists are involved in it, Attorney General Katzenbach has launched an investigation into the beat-the-draft movement. Urging or abetting draft evasion is a Federal crime, and the penalties provided by the statute should be invoked.

Beyond that is the need for an overhauling of the draft deferment system, which permits so many able-bodied, and otherwise eligible, males to escape military service. When a youth can gain deferment because he displays a bump on his knee sustained in riding a surfboard; when the 4-F category is jammed with students staying in school only to escape the draft; when there are many other escape vents, then the system needs revision.

There must be tens of thousands of 4-F's and other deferred individuals who can be put to rear-line duty in the Armed Services. If found unfit for combat, they can relieve others for service at the front. Those picket-line commandos, who play the Communist game by deriding our fighting men in Vietnam, should get a firmly beckoning finger from their draft boards.

TATE CALLS VIETNAM WAR DEMONSTRATORS "SCREWBALLS"

Mayor James H. J. Tate on Monday said the demonstrators against U.S. policy in Vietnam were "screwballs—and you can put that in quotes."

Tate said the demonstrations at city hall during the weekend were "a retreat from reason."

He said at a news conference he agreed with Dr. Gaylord P. Harnwell, president of the University of Pennsylvania, who had spoken of campus demonstrators as being in the "alphabet stage."

"They're too old to play with blocks," Tate said.

At the same time, the mayor said the demonstrators had a right to assemble at city hall.

Asked if the area would be declared off-limits to future demonstrations, Tate said, "They have a right to be there if they behave themselves.

"But they do tax the police department," he said.

On other subjects, the mayor:

Asserted Republican campaign in the upcoming municipal election has collapsed.

Announced preliminary approval has been given for the acquisition of more than $1.7 million worth of land for recreational purposes within the city.

Congratulated the chamber of commerce for joining the drive to put sanity in the State liquor laws.

Last week, Tate had given the Republicans a chance at winning the November 2 election, at which voters will choose a district attorney and city controller.

Declaring that the GOP campaign had collapsed, Tate said, "The chance the Republicans had is disappearing. The Democratic workers are working hard."

Tate said he did not "deal in figures" but added he estimated a voter turnout totaling more than 400,000 would be needed for a Democratic victory.

In announcing approval of the recreational sites, Tate said the State would pay $826,700 under the Project 70 program and the Federal Government would contribute $306,250 through the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

The city's share will be $615,650, Tate said. The formula calls for 50 percent of the costs to be provided by the State, 30 percent by Washington and 20 percent by the city.

Among the sites is the Schuylkill River Park, 25th and Delancey Streets, portion of the proposed 23-acre riverfront esplanade, at a cost of $563,000.

The mayor praised the chamber of commerce for forming an action committee to spur changes in the State's liquor laws and enforcement procedures.

Tate said the laws should be changed to prevent taproom operators from "hiding behind a corporate veil" that conceals the actual ownership of the establishments.

The mayor also reiterated his stand against the $10-a-day "compromise" allowed in lieu of suspensions for liquor law violators.

A Nuclear Powered American Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, at the recent southern Governors' conference at Sea Island, Ga., Gov. Paul B. Johnson of Mississippi secured approval of a resolution favoring a "fully automated nuclear powered merchant ship program."

Governor Johnson has proven himself a forward-looking executive, keenly interested in the industrial growth of our State through the famous balance agriculture with industry program and also through a new emphasis on research and development, on marketing our State's products, and on vocational training to fill today's manpower needs.

At Sea Island he suggested that it is time for the United States to recapture its position as a maritime power and that nuclear powered merchant ships offer an opportunity for the U.S. merchant marine to retrieve much of its lost maritime trade.

At a time when some are calling for an abandonment of present maritime programs, when some are suggesting contracting with foreign yards for the construction of merchant ships, when our maritime program is admittedly lagging and needs reappraisal and revitalization, the resolution offered by Governor Johnson and adopted by the southern Governors' conference on September 15, 1965, merits serious consideration.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the resolution, as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. III—NUCLEAR POWERED VESSELS FOR THE U.S. MERCHANT MARINE

Whereas there has been a marked lack of progress in integrating nuclear power technology with fully automated merchant ships as an integral part of the modernization of this Nation's merchant fleet; and

Whereas responsible maritime authorities have pursued various studies, which conclusively substantiate the economic and technical feasibility of operating large, high-speed, long-range nuclear vessels; and

Whereas the operation of such nuclear vessels could be the means through which the U.S. merchant marine could retrieve a portion of its previous dominance of maritime trade and overcome a number of logistic problems associated with world trade: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the southern Governors' conference, acting in the national interest, support a fully automated nuclear powered merchant ship program, and urge that the

President of the United States and the Members of the Congress of the United States take such official action as is deemed necessary to adapt nuclear technology to future merchant fleet construction; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be furnished the President of the United States, the chairman and members of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, the chairman and members of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the U.S. Senate, and the Chairman and members of the Federal Maritime Commission.

Our own Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee under the able leadership of our colleague, Chairman HERBERT BONNER, has attested to the feasibility of Governor Johnson's suggestion.

Only last week the very capable chief counsel of the committee, John M. Drewry, gave expression to this at the 1965 Propeller Club National Convention and Merchant Marine Conference at Galveston, Tex. Taking part in a panel discussion, Mr. Drewry made the following remarks:

THE FEASIBILITY OF NUCLEAR POWER FOR MERCHANT SHIPS

I greatly appreciate the honor of being invited to participate in this panel discussion on the feasibility of nuclear power for merchant ships.

For well over 10 years this subject has been close to my heart and a matter of great personal interest to my chairman, HERBERT BONNER, and to the Merchant Marine Committee as a whole.

In the spring of 1955, with the lessons of the Korean war still fresh in mind and the problems of initiating a long-range merchant marine replacement program under active consideration, Mr. BONNER introduced legislation to authorize the construction of a prototype nuclear-powered merchant ship.

Other current proposals to build an atomic-powered merchant ship envisaged a hurried-up public relations program involving the use of an existing hull with the insertion of a nuclear reactor of existing design. The ship would have been a floating showcase of nuclear devices demonstrating peaceful uses of atomic energy in other than maritime fields. Such proposals gave no thought to the advancement or modernization of the American merchant marine.

But, as Mr. BONNER reviewed the background of the legislation at the launching of the N.S. *Savannah* in July of 1959, he said: "* * * those of us responsible for the maintenance and development of an adequate American merchant marine under our national policy urged that we take the idea a step further and build a brandnew vessel, especially designed in both hull and machinery, to secure the maximum advantage from this promising new source of power and from which we could learn how to build and operate efficient, working ships for the merchant marine of the future."

Speaking only from the standpoint of the House Merchant Marine Committee, the record will show that interest and belief in the feasibility of nuclear power in merchant ships has continued through all of the intervening years.

The *Savannah* legislation of 1955 anticipated the theme of this convention: "Setting a Course for the Future." Our committee files are replete with copies of correspondence and speeches by Chairman BONNER inquiring about the status of the program and urging greater progress.

One week after the launching of the *Savannah* in July of 1959, Congressman GARMATZ introduced a bill to authorize aid in the development, construction and operation of privately owned nuclear powered merchant ships.

Looking backward, it appears that we were very forward in our thinking that the *Savannah* legislation could scarcely have been more timely in relation to the long-range program for the replacement of the liner vessels built under the 1936 act and the wartime shipbuilding program.

The replacement program of some 300 subsidized ships has now been underway for about 7 years. I believe approximately 100 new ships have been completed and are in service. Another 60 to 70-odd are under construction or under contract at present—thus reducing the number of ships to which atomic power may be applied in the reasonable future.

There is still time but it is running out rapidly.

Congress should not be expected to form engineering judgments as to which type of nuclear reactor is best suited for merchant ship adaptation. But we are not insensitive to the representations made to us from many respectable sources that nuclear technology has advanced tremendously in recent years—that the *Savannah* after extensive testing has proved the energy of the atom as a practical power source for the merchant marine—and that American industry is ready, able and willing to proceed on fixed price contracts for nuclear installations in merchant ships.

From the very beginning, when the experts were relative amateurs, it was recognized that nuclear power would not provide a complete panacea for all the technological and other problems of a balanced American merchant fleet. On the contrary, it was widely understood and agreed that in the transition from the largely experimental *Savannah* to a fully efficient and competitive merchant ship there should be several steps in applying nuclear power, in those cases where it made the most sense at a given time. For example, the promise of commercially economic power plants has always seemed to be the greatest to those American lines engaged in very long sea trade routes, or to those operators running tankers and ore carriers, where time spent in port is at a minimum.

Yet with time slipping away the Maritime Administration has been within the past year, and may still be, conducting trade route studies to determine what has already been conceded.

It is all reminescent of the pioneering efforts of this country in the development of the steamship. We made our point and then left it to others to capitalize on what we had developed—in short, the story of the old SS *Savannah*.

One of the most frustrating things about the attitude of the Government in recent years toward new developments in merchant ship concepts is the feeling that anything that has been reasonably proven must therefore be unsound. If a newer idea comes along, then anything previously under study must be abandoned while the newcomer is studied. The previously favored proposal thus seems to acquire a degree of theoretical obsolescence when the still newer and untried idea is advanced. Evidence of probable effectiveness seems to ring the death knell over new concepts before they have had a chance to be put into practical effect by construction and operation of prototypes.

This is where we seem to be with regard to adaptation of nuclear power to merchant ships. Contrary to the subject of this panel discussion, I believe the feasibility of nuclear power for merchant ships has been proven.

In March of this year the Atomic Industrial Forum conducted an informal seminar on nuclear merchant ships. Participants came from the entire spectrum of Congress, the executive, shipping, manufacturing industry and scientific institutions. The great weight of all comments was to "Get on with the job." Yet one attitude expressed by a high Government representative was that there seemed to be at that time a real possibility of producing only 12 nuclear-powered merchant ships.

That's no deterrent.

I say, "Great. Let's go for the 12."

Let's spread the contracts so we can try more than one or two of the reactor types now being offered on a fixed contract basis.

Let's try several different hull configurations, speeds, cargo handling equipment, etc., in an effort to test various systems in actual operation.

We are dreaming if we think we can forever sit over drawing boards and cost-effectiveness tabulations—always stopping short of putting into practice that which shows promise, to move on to even more untried concepts.

We have a maritime policy—a fairly definite one. With leadership it can be effective.

In the act of 1936 the leadership was provided by specific statutory direction and specific formulas to boost up an ailing liner service. It has done so with great effectiveness.

In all other areas—tankers, tramps, passenger ships, domestic ships—the objectives and guidelines were laid out for the administering agency to follow and develop as and when the need arose.

Now with the great advances of our technology there are new ways to strengthen our sea power posture. Nuclear power is one of them—it is ready for adaptation to great potential advantage. Let's not be timid about moving ahead in this field because of the seductiveness of the virginal glamour of appealing, but untested concepts, such as surface effects ships and cargo carrying submarines.

Technology, the manufacturing industry, the shipping industry and the Congress are ready to move toward a nuclear merchant marine.

All we need is support from the Executive to give us an unbeatable team.

And this can be done now without waiting for more studies, more committees and more task forces to invent and produce sweeping new policies and programs, alleged to solve all problems in one dramatic gesture.

Frank S. Sowa's 50 Years of Service to Community and Humanity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in 1915 Frank S. Sowa began teaching naturalization classes and for half a century he has been a vital force in helping men and women to prepare for and enter into the richness of American citizenship. It was timely and fitting that a great banquet honoring his 50 years of unselfish service to his fellow man, his community, and his church should have been held at Steve's Hall, 13200 South Baltimore Avenue, Chicago, at the time when we in the Congress were putting the finishing touches on the new immigration and naturalization law. Our country owes much to men and women

like Professor and Mrs. Sowa, who during the many long years have kept lighted the lamps of our democracy.

On display at this memorable testimonial dinner was a scrapbook 1 foot thick with clippings on the countless accomplishments of this remarkable man in civic, social, religious, educational, naturalization, and philanthropic work.

Mr. Speaker, I think it will be of interest to my colleagues and certainly of inspirational value to know how completely their fellow Americans residing in the district I have the honor to represent respect and do honor to one who has served them in the spirit of self-abrogation, and for the betterment of all in the community.

Professor Sowa resides with his wife at 13412 South Brandon Avenue, Chicago. They have two daughters, Frances G., an assistant State's attorney for Cook County, and Bernadine P., secretary in the county treasurer's office.

The day of the banquet the Sowa family, parents and daughters, attended the noon mass at St. Florian's Church, where the Reverend Father Chester Konsowski, who performed the marriage 29 years ago, is still active in the ministry of the parish.

Mrs. Catherine Dienes, director of the Polish National Alliance of America, was the mistress of ceremonies. Turning to the guest of honor at one time she asked:

> Is there anything needed for the community and humanity that you did not attend to?

Then added:

> In all my life I have not yet met your equal.

Father Kuntz of St. Florian's Parish of Hegewisch delivered the invocation and speakers included State Senator Daniel Dougherty, Representative Henry Lenard, Alderman Lupo, Mayor Blackburn of Burnham, and James Panagas, president of the Hegewisch Chamber of Commerce. Messages were received from President and Mrs. Johnson, Governor Kerner, Mayor Daley, Senator DOUGLAS, Judge Augustine Bowe, Dr. Shephn Lisowski, secretary of the Polish-American Organization of Illinois, Frank A. Drilling, grand knight of General Pulaski Council, Knights of Columbus, Francis J. Kapera, commander of the Polish Legion of American Veterans in Illinois, and many others.

Accordionist Walter Lenckos and Drummer Gene Bokowy furnished excellent music.

Prof. Frank S. Sowa attended Henry Clay School, St. Florian's Elementary School of Hegewisch, St. Victor's College, and Chicago Law School. He holds the degrees of bachelor of law, master of law, doctor of civil law, and doctor of international law.

On August 1, 1933, when Mr. Sowa was appointed registrar of the seminar department, Dr. Amabel A. Anderson, president of the board of Chicago Law School, appointed Mr. Sowa as an instructor to teach the following: radio law, movie law, automobile law, aviation law, patent and copyright law, the development of Roman and Hebrew law, insurance law, international law, traffic law, and other extremely interesting and instructive subjects as indicated on page 17 of the Chicago Law School Bulletin, graduate classes, 1933–34, 14 East Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill. He accepted and conducted classes.

He still retains the letter dated June 3, 1915, from Flora V. Renaud, principal of Henry Clay Elementary School, acknowledging the fact that Mr. Sowa had opened classes on June 2, 1915, as per the request of the president of the Chicago Board of Education, Jacob Lorb, and the superintendent of schools, John D. Shoop, and was teaching the elder people and the parents of the school children, reading, writing, and language. He continued to teach these classes during the evening until June 2, 1925. He also has a copy of a letter written by him on July 22, 1919, reporting to the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization on the completion of the first evening classes started by request of the Bureau on December 2, 1918. From that date on, Mr. Sowa has taught naturalization in many places, including the Chicago Law School.

Mr. Sowa currently is: President, Federation of Lodges of Hegewisch and Calumet Regions; chairman, Hegewisch Committee, Council 34, Polish National Alliance; teacher of reading, writing, naturalization for over 55 years, and presently chairman, swimming pool committee, Hegewisch Chamber of Commerce; chairman, library committee, Hegewisch Chamber of Commerce; chairman, education committee, Hegewisch Chamber of Commerce; chairman, welfare and industrial committee of Hegewisch Chamber of Commerce; chairman, Wolf Lake Committee, Hegewisch Chamber of Commerce; deputy in the claim department of Cook County Treasurer's Office; chairman, executive committee, Club Limanowa; alternate director of Chicago Polish Home Association; president, Sowa Realty Co.; fire insurance broker; real estate broker; member, St. Adalbert Lodge, No. 272, Polish Roman Catholic Union; member, Sons of Liberty Lodge, No. 624, Polish National Alliance; member, General Pulaski Council, No. 3323, Knights of Columbus; chairman, conference for recreation center.

His past services include: President and treasurer, South Suburban Currency Exchange, Inc.; president, Hegewisch Chamber of Commerce; president, Calumet Airport Association; manager, Wood Cabinet Shop and Invalid Chair Department, Betz Co. of Hammond, Ind.; chairman, Draft Board 93, Second World War; secretary to Master Mechanic Lake, Pressed Steel Car Co. in charge of 11 departments, First World War; coremaker, Pressed Steel Car Co., 1917; minute clerk to judge in chancery law, jury and nonjury cases of superior court for over 25 years; registrar, seminar department, Chicago Law School; member, Chicago Airport Commission; member, South Side Traffic Commission; adjuster, St. Florian Building & Loan Association, 1928; assistant treasurer, Illinois Savings & Loan Association; chairman, Hegewisch Recreation Committee, 1938, by mayoral appointment; adjuster, Peden, Kahn & Murphy law firm; Hegewisch chairman, Red Cross, three times; subchairman, executive committee, Century of Progress World's Fair, 1933; assistant to chief clerk, psychopathic hospital; water tester, 79th Street water filtration plant.

What he has accomplished: Mr. Sowa has spearheaded or been connected with, as chairman or member of the committee, which accomplished the following improvements: Mann Park fieldhouse, 1934; Chicago Vocational School; all South Chicago high schools; opening of streets of South Chicago, 87th, 100th, 103d, et cetera, Streets; lecturer and promoter, Calumet Harbor; obtained South Chicago library, with Mrs. Mary Campbell of the South Chicago Committee Center.

Obtained Hedgewisch branch of Chicago public library; extended buses to 130th Street and Exchange; obtained street lights for Avalon Trails; Wolf Lake Beach established through contributions of the members of the Hegewisch Chamber of Commerce; Liberty ship construction at 130th Street bridge and Calumet River; saved Wolf Lake; Hegewisch streets repaved at no cost to taxpayers; also cement sidewalks, no charge to public (1931); obtained 600 jobs on WPA for Hegewisch residents; lights and ice-skating shelter in Mann Park; and hundreds of other improvements throughout the Calumet district.

Mr. Speaker, this is the man and this the partial story of his accomplishments. I repeat what I said at the beginning of these remarks: Our country owes much to such men as Frank S. Sowa.

Being a Good Neighbor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. OLIVA HUOT

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. HUOT. Mr. Speaker, it may be that Americans know more about Hong Kong than Bolivia, or more about Taiwan than Chile—or even our very close neighbor, Honduras.

Yet, what is more important than getting along with our neighbors? North Americans and South Americans and Latin Americans—by any name we are, after all, Americans.

It goes without saying that we have acted in the past like a crude giant in some of our Latin American dealings, such as the old treaty with Panama.

Editorials in newspapers across the country have praised the action taken by President Johnson in getting rid of the 1903 treaty.

"An important step in the right direction" is what an editorial in the Claremont, N.H., Eagle called the new agreement with Panama. This editorial, from the New York Times News Service, is of much interest, and I offer it for the RECORD:

GIANT STEP IN PANAMA

The Johnson administration has shown statesmanship in its agreement with Pana-

ma over the future control and operation of the Panama Canal. In announcing the settlement of this festering dispute before all the details have been agreed on, President Johnson is obviously hoping to repair the damage done by hasty and thoughtless American gestures in Latin America.

The recent resolution by the House of Representatives favoring unilateral intervention, as well as previous administration actions, gave some substance to the notion, already well entrenched in Latin America, that the United States is a crude giant bent on throwing its weight around. The new agreement with Panama gives the entirely different impression of a giant acting with maturity and responsibility in its relation with smaller and weaker neighbors.

President Johnson has taken the initiative by getting rid of the 1903 treaty, that relic of dollar diplomacy that had been poisoning relations, and will recognize Panamanian sovereignty in the Canal Zone. This elimination of the fundamental cause of trouble is the only sensible solution—for Panama and the United States.

Even though the canal is no longer the vital link it once was, the decision will be beneficial to Panama's economy without harming American security. At the same time, the administration of the canal will provide extremely useful experience for the eventual operation of a new sea-level waterway equipped to meet modern requirements.

When tensions were running high between the United States and Panama, President Johnson expressed interest in building a new canal elsewhere. But now Panama is assured of being considered the logical and preferred site, and if the arrangements for operating the present canal work, the way will be open for a new era of peaceful and profitable cooperation.

In dealing with Panama, the President revealed a restraint and a delicacy that were lacking earlier, when both sides allowed emotions to prevail. The new agreement marks an awareness of foreign feelings, and a desire to respect them, that can be applied in coping with other cases of inflammatory nationalism.

It will take time to heal all the wounds that have marred Panamania-American relations. It will take even longer to erase the Latin American image of the United States as a willful giant. But the United States must make the effort. Its agreement with Panama represents an important step in the right direction.

Dr. Guthrie To Receive Award for PKU Test

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, we in western New York are very proud of the great contributions members of our medical profession have made over the years.

I am pleased to include the following article which appeared in the October 18, 1965, issue of the Buffalo Courier-Express, Buffalo, N.Y., concerning one of our outstanding residents, Dr. Robert Guthrie, who received the 1965 Kimble Methodology Award:

DR. GUTHRIE TO RECEIVE AWARD FOR PKU TEST—$2,500 AND PLAQUE

CHICAGO.—Dr. Robert Guthrie, research associate professor of the department of pediatrics at the School of Medicine, State University of New York and Children's Hospital, Buffalo, N.Y., today will receive the 1965 Kimble Methodology Award for his work in developing a new test method which will help prevent mental retardation in children caused by an inherited biochemical defect. He will receive $2,500 and a sterling silver plaque at an awards ceremony at the Pick Congress Hotel.

The doctor has developed a simple and economical way of detecting an inherited metabolic defect called phenylketonuria, or PKU. This disease can produce mental retardation in infants if it is not discovered and treated during the first 12 weeks of life.

Phenylketonuria is caused by an inborn defect that prevents the proper assimilation in the body of one of the components of all proteins, called phenylalanine.

When the concentration of phenylalanine in the blood rises past a certain point, it retards normal mental development. If the condition is known, it can be treated by a therapeutic diet with a restricted amount of phenylalanine and mental impairment thus can be prevented.

RECOGNITION FOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Dr. Guthrie is the 14th winner of the award made annually by the Conference of State and Provincial Public Health Laboratories to give public and financial recognition for outstanding contributions to the development of new and better procedures in the field of public health. Sponsor of the award is Owens-Illinois, Inc., maker of Kimble products.

Dr. Guthrie's test method permits quick, low-cost screening of large numbers of infants in the hospital nursery for the disease. The significance of the new method, Dr. Guthrie said, is that other current methods, while still valid, are too complex and often carried out either too early or too late in an infant's life to prevent mental damage.

He said that in some cases, babies are released from hospitals too early for tests to be conducted at the proper time—7 days after birth or before 3 months have elapsed. This, he noted, is the crucial period of treatment.

The method allows a nurse in the hospital or the home to collect a sample of blood dried on paper which can then be easily mailed or delivered to a central laboratory for testing. This is one of the features of the method, he noted, that makes it so practical and superior to other systems. The new method can thus, he continued, increase substantially the number of detections of PKU.

The test utilizes a convenient bacterial culture medium (agar diffusion microbial test) for measuring the concentration of phenylalanine in the blood. Small paper discs, punched from a dried blood spot with an ordinary paper punch, are placed upon the surface of the solid agar medium. After incubation overnight, data on the phenylalanine level in the blood are obtained by visual observation of the culture.

He was assisted in his work on phenylketonuria by Mrs. Ada Susi, laboratory research assistant at the School of Medicine, in Buffalo. Grants from the National Association for Retarded Children, U.S. Public Health Service and the Children's Bureau aided his work.

The test is now required by law in 15 States and legislation requiring similar tests is pending in other States.

Dr. Guthrie has been at the State University of New York for 7 years. Prior to 1958, he served as principal cancer research scientist at the Roswell Park Memorial Institute, Buffalo, professor and chairman of the bacteriology and immunology department at the University of Kansas and as a staff member of the Sloan-Kettering Institute of Health, Bethesda, Md.

Dr. Guthrie lives in Buffalo with his wife and six children.

Foreign Ships Seem Winners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, in the Baltimore Sun of October 18, Helen Delich Bentley had an article on the U.S. merchant marine. In this article she deplored the fact that crews of foreign-flag ships of so-called friendly nations have refused to transport supplies to our American troops in South Vietnam. These crews are British, Japanese, Greek, and Mexican.

She further deplores the fact that our Maritime Administration is granting permission to American-flag operators to charter foreign-flag vessels to supplement their own inadequate American-flag fleets. Two of these ships fly the very flags of the countries whose crews refuse to support us in our conflict in Vietnam—British and Greek.

Mrs. Bentley also calls attention to the fact that the time charter prices on foreign-flag ships have risen 250 percent since last December.

This, Mr. Speaker, does not make any sense to me. With hundreds of American ships in our own laid-up fleets, why do we charter foreign-flag vessels, especially from countries supporting our adversary? Why do we not reactivate more of our own laid-up fleet vessels, man them with American crews, and have ships that we can control and that will support us in our efforts to preserve the perimeters of democracy?

Under permission and privilege, Mr. Speaker, I insert Mrs. Bentley's article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

AROUND THE WATERFRONT—FOREIGN SHIPS SEEM WINNERS

(By Helen Delich Bentley)

WASHINGTON.—Irony, stupidity, or sabotage? One or more of these words could be used of this country's merchant marine picture and what is taking place so quietly behind the scenes. The picture is a big one, so we will try to paint some of it scene by scene.

Foreign-flag ships and foreign crews on several occasions in recent weeks have refused to transport American military supplies to our Armed Forces in Vietnam. A British-flag vessel, manned by Indian nationals, now is sitting in Kobe, Japan, while the Department of Defense decides what to do since that crew refused to continue the voyage to the war zone.

LATELY TO CUBA

The freighter, the *London Craftsman*, belongs to the Mavroleon interests which supplied many ships to serve Cuba until recently when Basil Mavroleon signed an agreement with the Department of State that he would draw his ships out of Cuba as fast as pos-

sible provided they then could pick up cargoes in the United States.

The incident concerning the British *London Craftsman* was made public last Thursday.

On Friday, the Maritime Administration announced that it had granted permission for an American-flag subsidized steamship company to charter a 22-year-old American-built Liberty ship, now owned by British interests, to sail on the regular commercial trade route of Moore-McCormack Lines because Mooremac had so many of its ships involved in Vietnam movements.

FARRELL ASKS TO CHARTER

Since Friday it also is known that another American-flag subsidizing company, Farrell Lines, has asked permission to charter a Greek-flag vessel from Australia to the United States next month.

There are indications that the Maritime Administration intends to grant more waivers for foreign ships to enter and serve on the American trade routes.

Is it the thinking in Washington that since the foreign ships will not serve U.S. troops in Vietnam, U.S. ships will be kept on that run and the foreigners will be placated by giving them business on regular commercial routes or to peaceful areas?

MEXICAN SHIP CARED FOR

When the Mexican vessel *El Mejicano* began the rejections of Vietnam cargo, after having a full load aboard in Long Beach, Calif., the U.S. Military Sea Transportation Service gave it a cargo for Okinawa. The loss of money for the double loading and discharging, the time lost to get the supplies to the men on the war front, made no difference. Keep the Mexicans happy.

Then two Greek crews used the same tactics on the west coast.

Many British and Greek ships are supplying the Vietcong, are going into North Vietnam every day without any protest.

But help the Americans? No. The Americans will help them though.

LESS TIGHT IN KOREAN NEED

Even in the Korean conflict when some 600 to 800 American-flag ships were serving the American troops there, no American-flag subsidized company had to resort to a foreign flag for its regular commercial service.

Of course, one might say there were not so many foreign ships available at that time. And the American-flag fleet had not been trimmed back to the bare bones. Breaking ships out of the reserve fleet was considered routine and no major problem then.

Of course, the fact that the time-charter price on foreign ships has risen 250 percent since last December does not seem to faze those in charge in Washington.

UNITED STATES RATES ARE DIFFERENT

They seem to feel it great that the foreigners should make so much more from Uncle Sam. But a U.S. vessel finds it different if it tries to increase its rate.

The increases that have been cautiously granted by MSTS to the U.S. ships thus far will compensate for the boosts in labor costs reached in recent contract negotiations, but no more. Why let an American operator make anything extra that might enable him to build up an equity and prepare for a more modern vessel?

Certainly there still are—but not for much longer—ships in our reserve fleets which are as good as the British-flag which is to load for Mooremac's South American run next week.

SHIPS STILL IN RESERVE FLEETS

If active American ships are in such demand that they have reached the saturation point, why not look to the reserve fleets and take more of them out?

Of course, we know that what is happening fits in with the philosophy of some in Washington today.

It was shocking to many when Captain Ira Dye, whose parent title is Chief of Planning for the Maritime Administration, stated at a recent press conference that after all of the 500 or so freighters of the American merchant marine are assigned to war or military duty, then the commercial economy of this country will depend on foreign-flag ships.

DYE AND FOREIGN RATES

Captain Dye, who is on loan from the Navy, also intimated that if the commercial industry had to pay more in freight rates to the foreigners—who are notorious for soaking the Americans when they can—so what?

He as much as said that the situation today would prevent any sharp increases in foreign rates. Perhaps the increase from $33,000 to $75,000 in a monthly time charter rate is nothing and the Americans should be happy about being "taken."

Captain Dye emphasized that the present Vietnam war was being carried on in a manner of business as usual as far as the merchant marine was concerned.

These thoughts of Dye's were echoed in Norfolk this week at another press conference of Nicholas Johnson, Maritime Administrator. "Business as usual," he also said.

But in both instances, the impression was given that there were enough active American-flag ships to conduct whatever had to be done now for industry and for Vietnam. After all Vietnam is only a little brush fire off somewhere and shouldn't give concern about the movements of cargo or ships.

If a few extra ships are needed to supplement the American vessels engaged in transporting the military goods and the commercial cargoes, why not pull a few more out of the reserve fleet and put American crewmen on them? Let Americans benefit if anybody is to benefit.

The real inadequacies of our merchant marine are cropping up here and there, but no one will admit them. Washington is trying to hide them under Washington red tape.

It would be well for all of those entrusted with this important arm of this country's defenses to go over the importance of "seapower," which includes the merchant marine, with Vice Adm. John S. McCain, Jr., commander of the Eastern Sea Frontier.

Those attending the convention of the American Association of Port Authorities in Norfolk last week were fortunate to hear the old master, a long-time submariner, describe what this country truly has facing her on the sea—not in space.

STORY NOT UNDERSTOOD

He concluded his presentation with, "This story is not understood in these United States."

Unfortunately he is right, and those with the power appear to be those who seem least able to understand it. They are going blithely on their way of cutting back to provide a basic merchant fleet, because they claim that everything in the future will be airborne. But the old warhorses think differently.

To them the expenditure of $2 billion for one type of aircraft which will have a total lift capacity of 50 tons while worrying about $300 million for 3,900,000 tons of ships is rather ridiculous.

But then we can always depend on the foreigners.

An Inside View of the War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, a participant in one of the many war on poverty projects has prepared what he calls "A Summary Affidavit: An Inside View of the War on Poverty."

He is Bruce Shawver Glenn of Sigourney, Iowa. From June 21, 1965, to July 30, 1965, Mr. Glenn participated in an institute set up as a part of the war on poverty at California State College in Los Angeles. His concluding statement reads as follows:

If the United States of America as it was conceived and constituted is to survive the war on poverty, all freedom-loving citizens of whatever race, color, or creed must unite in opposition to it.

The review of Mr. Glenn's experience deserves the widest possible distribution, and I commend his remarks to the attention of my colleagues:

I, Bruce Shawver Glenn, was employed by the Los Angeles city schools from September 15, 1964, through June 18, 1965, at John Muir Junior High School which is located at 5929 South Vermont Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif. The area served by the school is considered "adjacent to a poverty pocket."

PART 1

In midspring 1965, an official of the Federal antipoverty program in the area served by John Muir Junior High School, spoke at a regular faculty meeting of the school. His two major points were:

(a) We teachers should be more creative and come up with some ways to spend the money which had been appropriated for the war on poverty. He explained the applications for funds had been very slow going into Washington and that "almost anything" would be approved that was "imaginative" and appeared to meet a specific need.

(b) That we—all Americans—were going to have to change our way of thinking a great deal to accept the idea of men never working in their entire lifetimes, but living from cradle to grave on Federal welfare. Those of us "fortunate" enough to have jobs would, through taxes, support those so "unfortunate" as to be permanently unemployed (see pt. 2(e)1).

PART 2

For teachers in areas of Los Angeles designated poverty pockets, and those adjacent to such pockets, a National Defense Education Act institute was set up as a part of the war on poverty at California State College at Los Angeles from June 21, 1965 through July 30, 1965. Limited to 60 teachers—recommended by their principals as in the top 10 percent of his teaching staff—at a stipend of $450, nontaxable, for the 6 weeks, the institute cost a total of $60,000.

The purpose of the institute was to (1) aid teachers of disadvantaged youth and to (2) give them an inside view of the war on poverty. I was selected as a participant.

(a) Only three books were listed as required reading for the institute; one was especially singled out. That book was "The Other America" by Michael Harrington. This is the book that inspired the war on poverty.

1. "The Other America" is totally undocumented as to the specific sources of its information and statistics.

2. Woody Guthrie, who is credited with words to a song which appears in "The Other America," has been identified as a Communist by a special committee of the 77th Congress.

3. Harrington is a self-admitted Socialist who replied in answer to a question put to him by me when he appeared at Central College that he was "to the left of Norman Thomas."

4. Harrington has worked on a national effort for some years to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and is a member of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee which is headed by Frank Wilkinson, of Los Angeles, Calif., who has been identified as a Communist.

(b) We were given bibliographies of books which contained:

1. "Freedom Road" by Howard Fast, an identified Communist.

2. "The Souls of Black Folk;" "Black Folk, Then and Now;" "Black Reconstruction;" and "Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States" by W. E. B. DuBois, a self-admitted Communist.

3. "Wall Between" by Anne Braden, an identified Communist whose husband is the longtime organizer for the Communist Party in Kentucky.

4. "American Negro Slave Revolts;" and "Documentary History of the Negro in the United States" by Herbert Aptheker, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party U.S.A. and its chief theoretician.

(c) On June 30, 1965, we visited the headquarters of the neighborhood adult participation project—a "community action project" of the war on poverty—at Wrigley Field to hear an address by the project director.

1. As outlined by the project director, the neighborhood adult participation project with its "offices," "outposts," "storefronts," "substations," "neighborhood assemblies," and "blockworkers" sounded all too much like the civilian spy networks of Nazi Germany or Soviet Russia. I have studied, in depth, the governmental apparatus of these systems at both the undergraduate and graduate levels.

2. The project director said that "all traditional channels of welfare" had to be either changed or discarded (see pt. 2, G at 1).

3. The project director stated that funds for an additional 1,400 jobs were to be requested in September, only 6 months after the program began.

(d) A taped speech by the same Michael Harrington mentioned above was played on July 14, 1965. No discussion was allowed at the end of the tape.

1. Harrington stated—the speech had been made in March at the University of Southern California—that the "frontline of the war on poverty is in Selma."

2. Harrington referred sneeringly to the States as "historical accidents." (See pt. 2, G.)

3. Harrington stated that the only question that should be of concern was "how" we were going to be "socialized" or "collectivized" (see pt. 2, E).

(e) Earlier, on June 24, 1965, a member of the staff of the institute stated in a seminar discussion that we were facing total societal change (see pt. 1, B).

1. A part of this total societal change, said the staff member, had already been outlined by Harrington and the Center for Democratic Study. Specifically, the proposals would put one-third of the Nation on Federal welfare (see pt. 1, B).

(f) Later, on July 16, 1965, the same member of the staff stated that "our sovereignty as free individuals must be lessened" and that "freedom of action must be curtailed to aid those on the low end," i.e., in poverty (see pt. 2, D at 3).

(g) On Tuesday, July 13, 1965, at a luncheon at the Jewish Community Center, located at 590 Vermont Avenue, an officer in the department of urban affairs of the Los Angeles City Schools and one of the official school representatives on the Los Angeles antipoverty board confided in us that the reason for all the hassle over the distribution of "poverty funds" all over the United States was that the war on poverty was the "deathblow to the States," which would soon be reduced to "administrative districts." He went on to say that State legislatures and even the State Governors would soon be of little importance.

1. An antipoverty planning director for the south area (Compton) spoke to the desirability of "replacing" most, if not all, existing welfare agencies—both public and private—with "community-oriented and managed agencies" financed exclusively by the Federal Government (see pt. 2, C at 2).

(h) On June 30, 1965, we were told by a member of the teaching staff of the institute how those who oppose this "total societal change" and who wish to reinforce traditional values should be dealt with.

1. Relying mainly upon works by George D. Spindler, the staff member stated that "cultural therapy" was needed by reffirmative traditionalists so that they could adjust to our changing society. A reaffirmative traditionalist is described as being individualistic, practicing strict morality, believing in hard work and stressing the value of education.

2. In detail, "cultural therapy" is designed to "strip an individual's defenses"; "expose him to public view"; and "getting the individual to a state of not knowing whether he is coming or going." Then, reorientation can begin (see Edward Hunter's book on brainwashing for a startling comparison).

PART 3

For 4 weeks I was an observer at a summer opportunity center at Charles Drew Junior High School, Manchester Boulevard at Compton Boulevard. (This area 3 weeks later was at the core of the Los Angeles riots.) I was at the school twice a week from July 6, through 29, 1965.

(a) The entire citywide summer opportunity center program was put together in only a very few weeks. Teachers were employed to teach subjects for which they lacked qualification; i.e., a mathematics teacher without any college training in dramatics teaching a drama class. Students were not required to attend regularly after they had enrolled, though, it was encouraged. This entire program was financed under the war on poverty.

1. Young female students would attend classes wearing only a halter and very low-cut hipslingers.

2. Many of the students—male and female—would arrive at the school drunk. This was at 8:30 in the morning.

3. Obscene language, threats, and fights were the rule not the exception.

I hereby attest that this document in every detail and essential is accurate and I will so swear, if called upon to do so, under oath.

BRUCE SHAWVER GLENN.

P.S.—It should be held firmly in mind that all the quotations contained in part 1, and part 2, are from persons who are proponents of the war on poverty. None of their remarks were intended to be critical of the Federal antipoverty program. Also, it cannot be emphasized strongly enough that the war on poverty is a federally enacted program, operating on Federal tax moneys, under direct Federal control. It is a local program only in the sense that local people may become a part of it. Thus what is related in this affidavit holds true regardless of whether you are speaking about the effect of the program in California or Iowa, Maine or Texas. If the United States of America as it was conceived and constituted is to survive the war on poverty all freedom-loving citizens of whatever race, color or creed must unite in opposition to it.

Ambassador Williams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Daily News, on October 14, printed an editorial entitled "A Good Man for a Delicate Job."

This editorial deals with the appointment of Franklin H. Williams by President Johnson to the post of U.S. Ambassador to Ghana.

Franklin Williams is a close personal friend and I share the News' delight at his appointment.

Franklin Williams has an outstanding record of service as assistant attorney general of the State of California, with the Peace Corps, and as U.S. representative to the U.N. Economic and Social Council. He brings this understanding and experience to his new position.

The full text of the editorial follows:

GOOD MAN FOR A DELICATE JOB

President Johnson has made another fine choice in his appointment of Franklin H. Williams to be U.S. Ambassador to Ghana.

There was considerable concern when Mr. Williams was pushed out of his post as U.S. representative on the United Nations Economic and Social Council to make a place for Representative James Roosevelt. It was feared Mr. Williams' talents were being sacrificed to bolster the career of a man whose chief qualifications were sentimental and political.

Mr. Williams had only 1 year at Ecosoc, but in that time he considerably brightened America's image in the eyes of underdeveloped nations. He was particularly successful with the emerging nations of Africa, where the social and economic problems are so great and the need to avoid commitment in the East-West conflict is so poignant.

Mr. Williams, with a guileless refusal to be dogmatic, was able to convince representatives of the emerging nations that the United States could deal with them sympathetically while respecting their dignity and independence. He did this without compromising U.S. interests.

Although it is only incidental to his new job, the fact that Mr. Williams and Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah were fellow students at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania should provide our new Ambassador and this very complex and influential African leader a splendid basis for friendship and understanding.

Most important, Mr. Williams is a first-rate intelligence and a highly skilled and resourceful diplomat. He is just the sort of person we need in one of the most sensitive and difficult posts in the world today.

Teamsters Boost Proposal To Educate Cold War Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend Mr. Sidney Zagri, legislative counsel for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, who testified before our Committee on Veterans' Affairs, in support of legislation to educate cold war veterans.

I wish to include the following article which appeared in the October issue of the International Teamster, relative to Mr. Zagri's testimony:

TEAMSTERS BOOST PROPOSAL TO EDUCATE COLD WAR VETERANS

A plan to assist young veterans of military life in adjusting to the economy of civilian life was supported by the Teamsters Union in testimony on the proposed cold war GI bill.

Sidney Zagri, legislative counsel for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, testified before the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs regarding the measure which he called "a realistic approach to the transition of the cold war GI to becoming a useful citizen in peace as well as in war."

The bill would give educational grants to service veterans. It also would enable them to obtain home and farm Government loans.

Zagri said the Teamsters Union supported the proposed legislation and suggested liberalization of the duration and amount of benefits that might be made available to ex-servicemen of the cold war period.

Zagri added:

"We reject the suggestion that cold war GI benefits be restricted to those young men serving in 'areas of hostilities'. Manning the PX in Saigon is less dangerous than being a parachute instructor in Fort Benning, Ga. It is a matter of luck where a man's service time is spent—he can be sent anywhere."

NECESSARY MEASURE

Zagri said the Teamsters Union position was that the proposed bill is a necessary measure because:

Military service is inequitably distributed and falls largely on the sons of working class people.

Young working class boys entering military service generally gain no transferable civilian skills during their period of military duty.

Young veterans emerge into a civilian society in a state of technological, economic, and social revolution which demands a higher degree of education and skill for regular employment than the young veterans possess.

Young veterans have lost from 2 to 3 years of their most educable years in military service.

The handicaps of young veterans in the labor market are emphasized by their dramatic unemployment rate of about 50 percent.

The bill would encourage young veterans to equip themselves to live as Americans should—free, independent, productive, and self-supporting.

Zagri concluded:

"It is in the interest of fair play to both the cold war GI, and the national economy that this bill be passed. Some veteran sons of our members and the veteran sons of other less affluent workers are standing idle and confused at this time of dwindling job opportunities.

"This bill offers a lifeline to the more energetic of these young people. If they grasp it, they can save themselves from lives of economic dependency. That is in the interest of us all."

The Production of Oil and Gas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY ROBERTS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, my purpose is to speak some words of wise counsel to those who have been misled about an important business activity in my district—the production of oil and gas. What I have to say will not be expressed from the narrow, selfish viewpoint of local interest. My words are directed to the national interest. My hope is to wake up all Americans and alert them to mistakes that are being made in attitudes and policies affecting the petroleum industry.

Let us put this industry in perspective first of all. Let us take note of the fact that oil and gas now supply about three-quarters of all this Nation's energy. Therefore, if mistakes are being made in policies and attitudes relating to the oil- and gas-producing industries, those mistakes jeopardize the well-being of our entire society. Those mistakes directly threaten people in the consuming States—people who do not produce a drop of oil but who depend upon petroleum for their industry, their jobs, their transportation, their heat.

These are the people who are being told that their interests are served when this country opens the floodgates and lets cheap foreign oil pour in. They have even been told by some high-powered bureaucrat that the conservation policies of States like my own are entirely misguided and self-serving. The word—from these overnight experts—is that we should abandon all stripper wells, forget about secondary recovery projects, drop the prorationing program, throw the domestic producing industry to the dogs, and place our dependence on that cheap foreign oil.

Now I want to ask a question that seems never to have occurred to these high-talking experts. I want to ask: If we follow their advice, if we let ourselves become completely dependent upon foreign sources for the bulk of our petroleum supplies, if we reduce our domestic producing industry to a decaying skeleton—will foreign oil remain cheap?

Can we count on that? Can we count on those who control these overseas supplies—and I mean those foreign governments who own that oil—to play the game our way? Can we depend on them not to take advantage of the situation if we let our own domestic petroleum industry decay and have to rely completely on these foreign sources for all the oil we need just to keep our industrial society going? Are we sure these people will not increase the price of their oil once they do not have a domestic producing industry to compete with?

This is a question that really has to be explored. But you will never hear it touched on by those who favor the present tide of foreign oil imports—much less by those who think this tide should be allowed to rise even higher. They like to talk about cheap foreign oil. They are less fond of discussing the dependability of those supply sources, or the stability of the governments that control these foreign reserves. The Suez crisis is a chapter they would like to tear out of the history books.

Yes, these are questions that some people would like to forget because these are questions that conflict with the policies these same people are trying to sell to the American people. And that is all the more reason why these questions should be forcefully brought before these same Americans who are being lulled into complacency by talk of cheap foreign oil.

It would not be cheap if America got into a war and had its foreign oil supplies cut off—after its own once vigorous domestic industry had been tossed on the scrap heap. It would not be cheap if the situation in Vietnam should escalate into another Korea and meanwhile our domestic producing industry was allowed to decline so that we had to depend on the loyalty and good will of other nations for the oil we need to fuel our own military machine. True, most of the governments of countries with this cheap foreign oil are friendly now, but have not we seen enough examples of how former allies can turn their faces against us? Remember, China once ranked high on the list of our most steadfast friends. Cuba was also once a dependable ally. Indonesia may owe its very existence as a nation to the good offices of the United States. But where do these countries stand today? How far can we depend on them or any other foreign friends?

Today we have a domestic petroleum industry that makes us independent of any foreign source for the oil and gas we need for normal requirements or a sudden emergency. This is a national blessing. It has been one of the roots of America's economic supremacy. It was a major factor behind the Allied victory in World War II.

I hope many other voices will join mine in sounding the alarm. For I would dread a day when Americans had to go begging to buy at any price the oil our country needs to keep its planes in the air, its cars on the road, its families from freezing.

It is not just our money we could lose, it is our freedom, it is our security, it is our chance to keep going forward industrially. We cannot—we dare not—sell our domestic petroleum industry down the river for the sake of bringing in a deluge of cheap oil.

This is the land of free speech. It should be the land of frank speech also. The American people deserve the whole truth, and they most certainly deserve

this in connection with a matter as important to them as their petroleum resources.

Are they getting that whole truth now? I submit that they are not. They are not getting it about foreign oil imports. They are not getting it about the condition of the domestic petroleum industry. They are not getting it about percentage depletion. They are not getting it about natural gas regulation.

I, for one, am more than a little weary of these jokes about the rich Texas oilmen. How about a new kind of joke—a joke that is based on what is really going on in the oil country of Texas these days—a joke about the downward trend of crude oil prices, a joke about the number of independent producers who are selling out in despair, a joke about the idle rigs and idle workers, a joke about an industry that is having its own private depression.

Maybe that does not strike anyone as good material for a joke. I agree. The folks in my district do not think it is very funny either. But they are also not amused at the misleading information that is going around the country about them.

They do not enjoy hearing people say the oil producer takes advantage of a tax loophole when he deducts for percentage depletion on his income tax.

It is time the American people got the real lowdown on percentage depletion. I mean the real lowdown. It is time they were informed that this is no tax loophole at all, but a tax deduction clearly and deliberately specified in a law duly enacted by both Houses of Congress. It is also time the American people were told this is not a special oil depletion allowance. That is another false claim that really ought to be exploded. The percentage depletion provision applies to practically every extractive industry in the United States. It is no oil depletion allowance. It is a mineral depletion allowance. And those who really want the American people to have the full facts should bring that out.

How unfair that while the domestic producing industry is practically being drowned by a flood of foreign imports some people should try to undermine it further by giving the public a totally false and misleading picture of percentage depletion. Perhaps they do not agree with that tax provision. It is their right to disagree. No one disputes that. But I do heartily dispute their right to misrepresent the facts. I challenge their right to try to deceive the American people by giving out half-truths and distortions and propagandistic accounts of the percentage depletion law.

The fact is—this tax provision has served America as well and successfully as any part of our Tax Code. It made possible the growth of the domestic petroleum industry that played such a decisive part in the victory of World War II, that has kept us strong enough to avert world war III, that makes our country without a rival in the world for progress, prosperity, and living standards.

These are facts about percentage depletion that the American people are rarely told. Yet these are the very facts the people most urgently need to know if they are to pass intelligent judgment on this tax provision.

As for natural gas regulation—it provides one of the most alarming examples I know of the public's interest being beclouded by misunderstanding and misconceptions. The people in the nonproducing States have been told a great deal about gas regulation. They have not been adequately informed of the essential facts.

How many of these people know—for instance—that natural gas producers are today being regulated under a law that was written to regulate interstate pipelines, a law that Congress never intended to apply to gas producers? How many Americans—if they knew the facts—would feel that it makes sense to regulate one business under a law that was written for an entirely different form of enterprise?

They have not been told the facts because if they were told those facts they would form a quite different opinion from the one advocates of present natural gas regulation want them to form. Americans are a practical people. They like laws to make sense.

They have heard a lot of praise of the recent Permian Basin decision. But again the full impact and the potential consequences of that decision have not been brought out to people in the nonproducing States. Have the interests of consumers really been served by a decision that can only aggravate the sharp downward trend in the ratio of gas reserves to gas production? The advocates of gas regulation in its present form brush these reserve ratio statistics off as meaningless—insignificant. Perhaps they prefer to wait until the gas supply situation reaches the same critical stage that the water supply situation has reached in some Eastern States. Then—when the emergency is acute—then the people will have to be told the facts. But meanwhile, the theory seems to be, let them be lulled with comforting illusions about the effect of the Permian Basin decision.

Those who really have the best interests of the American people at heart believe those people are entitled to the truth about the natural gas situation. We believe they should have that truth now—today—and not at some future time when a full scale crisis in gas supply forces the facts out into the open.

If the issue were put before them frankly, the American people would see the folly of an arbitrary new gas-old gas pricing system that disregards production realities for the sake of bureaucratic convenience.

The people would see the injustice of a 2½-year moratorium on natural gas price increases in the Permian Basin, when there is no similar moratorium on cost increases for the natural gas producer.

And if they had the full story forthrightly put before them—without flimflam or distortion—the people would see this fact: A decade after the Supreme Court decision that made gas producers subject to Federal control, the FPC is no closer to finding the answer to the problem the Court handed it. The FPC is caught in a spider's web of regulatory confusion, and the harder it struggles to find a way out the more hopelessly it becomes entangled. The obvious answer today is action by Congress to revise the regulations dealing with natural gas producers, and free them from regulation under a law that was never meant to apply to them.

This is one answer that would free gas producers from unworkable regulation, and that would free gas consumers from the threat of curtailed supply now hanging over their heads due to the discouraging effects of present regulation on the search for new gas reserves.

The domestic petroleum industry has its problems all right. But there is nothing wrong with this industry that good judgment and commonsense cannot cure. The big problem of this industry has been the refusal of some to look at the facts squarely. The industry has been the victim of policies based on daydreams and delusions whereas here—if anywhere—the course of recommendations should follow the ground of hard fact.

I intend to do my part—and hope that others will join me—in insisting that the American people be given the whole story, the full facts—even when those facts do not conform with the theories and wishes of some in positions of influence.

You can fool the people some of the time, but sooner or later the facts catch up with the deception. And it would be a far more popular course, over the long haul, to give the people the full, honest story now than to have them ask later—in tones of bitter recrimination: "Why did you not tell us?"

Let us tell them now. Let us tell them about the hitch in that supposedly bargain-basement foreign oil. Let us tell them what they would really lose if the domestic petroleum industry continued in its present decline. Let us tell them the other side—the side they rarely hear—about the origin and purpose of percentage depletion. Let us take them into our confidence about the great gas bungle—so they will see the urgent need for remedial legislation.

Let us play fair with the American people, so they will have the information they should have to support realistic and enlightened petroleum policies. And let us do it now.

The U.S. Balance of Payments—Problems and Remedies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure recently to visit with a very good friend, Ben Regan, who is a New York investment banker, and knowledgeable in the field of governmental and in-

ternational finance. Naturally, our discussion centered on our economic situation today and our domestic fiscal policies. While we may be enjoying a high level of economic productivity, there is more reason for concern than for comfort.

In substantiation of this Mr. Regan emphasized the gravity of the outflow of gold problem. He sent me a study made of this matter by Mr. C. Austin Barker, head of the Institutional Research Department of the firm of Hornblower & Weeks-Hemphill, Noyes, with which Mr. Regan is associated.

This is a matter of such importance and the study of Mr. Barker of such excellence, as well as timeliness, that I should like to have it inserted in the RECORD as a part of these remarks. It is entitled "The U.S. Balance of Payments—Problems and Remedies."

The article follows:

[From Financial Analysts Journal, September–October 1965]

THE U.S. BALANCE OF PAYMENTS—PROBLEMS AND REMEDIES

(By C. Austin Barker, C.F.A.)

(NOTE.—C. Austin Barker, C.F.A., is a general partner in the firm of Hornblower & Weeks-Hemphill, Noyes in charge of the firm's institutional research program. He is also the firm's economist and its public utility specialist. A graduate of Stanford University, Mr. Barker attended the graduate schools of Columbia University and New York University, receiving his M.B.A. from the latter in 1939. His analyses have appeared in numerous professional journals.)

The U.S. international balance-of-payments deficit gained Government recognition early in 1965 as one of the Nation's most vital economic problems. Today the international flow of funds affects more than ever before our domestic, economic and political policies. The actual or potential impact on earnings of thousands of American industrial corporations and banks cannot be ignored by the security analyst in his investment appraisals.

Deficits occur when the United States spends, lends, and gives away abroad more cash than it receives from abroad. The deficit must be paid for in gold or I O U's; that is, usually short-term debt owed to foreign individuals, foreign commercial banks and other foreign corporations, foreign central banks and IMF. The deficit of $2.8 billion in 1964 occurred despite an $8.5 billion surplus of receipts from goods and services exported, over imports of goods and services. The deficit has been persistent since 1949, in every year except 1957. During this period, U.S. Treasury gold has declined from $24.4 billion to $15.4 billion at year end 1964.

Statutory requirements at that time called for enough gold to be held in reserve to "cover" or back up at least 25 percent of all Federal Reserve notes and commercial bank and certain other cash deposits in the Federal Reserve System. This reserve requirement totaled about $13.6 billion of gold, out of a treasury stock which had shrunk to $15.2 billion early in 1965. Therefore, only $1.6 billion of so-called free gold was available to meet foreign claims whenever gold would be called for in payment of liquid dollar assets. This restriction is alterable only by an act of Congress or, under certain emergency circumstances, by the U.S. Treasury for brief periods. For 15 years until 1957 such free gold totaled about $10 billion, but since then it has been sold steadily to other countries to settle part of our payments deficits.

The other part of financing our payments deficits is primarily through short-term liabilities. Foreign short-term claims on dollars and/or gold have risen steadily over the years. At yearend 1964 they totaled $28.8 billion. Their composition is shown by holder and by type of asset in the table below.

TABLE 1.—*Liquid U.S. dollar liabilities (at Dec. 31, 1964, in billions of dollars)*

By holder:	
Private	$10.6
Foreign central banks and governments	13.2
Foreign international institutions (IMF and World Bank, etc.)	5.0
Total short-term	28.8
By type of asset:	
Deposits	13.5
U.S. Treasury bills and certificates	12.1
Other short-term	3.1
Payable in foreign currencies	0.1
Total short-term	28.8

From time to time administration officials have promised that the deficit would be reduced or eliminated as periodic fears of devaluation brought about speculative purchases of gold on the London market. Because of the decline in the "free gold," the U.S. Treasury and Federal Reserve Board at times have allayed the uneasiness of foreign creditors by stating that the U.S. Treasury could pay out gold from the reserve stock in an emergency.

A turn for the worse occurred in the U.S. balance of payments in the last quarter of 1964 when the adverse balance expanded to an annual rate of nearly $6 billion which was far worse than had been expected, even though partly due to a rise of $2.6 billion in the annual rate of capital outflow due to temporary factors.

The "outer perimeter"; i.e., the "free gold" available to finance payments deficits, was almost breached by its reduction to $1.6 billion, and the inner perimeter; i.e., the stockpile of the gold reserve "cover" itself was endangered. The ratio of gold reserves to deposit and Federal Reserve note liabilities had declined from 90 percent in 1940 to about 50 percent in 1950 and since 1957 had declined every year to the current level below 28 percent which was dangerously close to the 25-percent statutory reserve requirement.

GOLD COVER REMOVAL

Early in 1965 the administration proposed a new palliative, the removal of the 25-percent gold cover requirement on cash deposits of commercial banks in the Federal Reserve System. Congress passed the law, and the President signed the legislation on March 4, 1965. Based upon approximately $19 billion in commercial bank (and miscellaneous) deposits in the Federal Reserve System, this "freed up" $4.7 billion of the gold reserve by making it available to foreign central banks and foreign investors and speculators.

By way of review, in the U.S. monetary system the cash reserves deposited by commercial banks with the Federal Reserve System were considered a backing for their customers' deposits. Another 25-percent reserve of gold was earmarked to back the Federal Reserve notes of the 12 Federal Reserve banks These notes constitute the Nation's paper currency. Several non-Government spokesmen also had urged the reduction or outright elimination of the 25-percent gold backing requirement on the theory that a currency could operate without a gold base. Others urged this action as an expedient because the gold ratio had fallen dangerously close to the 25-percent limit due to (1) outflow of gold to foreigners and (2) expansion of our domestic money supply through the use of Federal credit to help expand the economy.

During the past 12 months, the Federal Reserve bank has pumped $4.74 billion of its credit into the banking system. The multiplier effect creates about 7 times this amount in demand deposits or as high as 25 times in time and savings deposits. It is the injection of Federal Reserve credit that has enabled commercial bank credit to increase by about $20 billion a year for the past 3 years. Moreover, more credit has been created at the 4-percent discount rate than at the former 3½-percent discount rate, and more credit was created at the 3½-discount rate than at the former 3 percent rate. To be effective in a payments deficit situation, it is clear that the interest rate remedy cannot function propertly if corollary credit restrictions are not applied. The British Labor Government learned this lesson the hard way in late 1964.

Relatively few persons advocated the outright abandonment of gold as a backing for our currency and deposits. It was considered more of an expedient than a cure. Reserves of this nature are aimed to help prevent inflation by serving as a discipline or check at certain points on the excessive rate of growth of the money supply. A brake on the Federal Reserve power to create new money and easy credit helps to protect the purchasing power of savings deposits, life insurance, and bonds. However, in view of the high gold reserve ratio which prevailed ever since the price of gold (and its value to the United States in the stockpile) was increased in 1933–34, it was not until the ratio recently dwindled to below 28 percent that it began to have an effect on the decisions of the Federal Reserve System to add to the domestic money supply. Heretofore, the decisions of the Federal Reserve Board on how much to expand money supply had not been influenced by the 25 percent gold reserve requirement because the ratio was not in danger. It is ironic that when the gold backing was threatened, Congress passed a law eliminating part of the gold cover just when gold's disciplinary power was most needed to direct congressional attention to the real cause of the gold drain, i.e., the U.S. payments deficit and the excessive Federal Reserve credit in the banking system.

Newspaper headlines stated that Europeans were pleased with the legislation to reduce this part of the gold cover which would enable them to buy $4.7 billion more of our gold at $35 an ounce. The congressional action to release this gold was even more of an anomaly when one considers that if defense of the U.S. dollar's integrity were at stake, the U.S. Treasury could have dipped into the gold reserve for temporarily recurring periods under the provisions of existing law. However, such action would have meant that immediate, effective, and sound corrective measures would have to be made by the Government to remedy the payments deficit because only $1.6 billion of "free gold" remained.

Prior to this critical juncture, it seems incredible that the Federal Reserve bank did not simply cut the percentage cash reserve requirements of banks on their demand and time deposits to automatically reduce the gold requirements to free up a predetermined amount of gold—and then sell Government bonds to absorb the bank credit released thereby. Eleven changes (mostly downward) had been made in these various cash reserve requirements during the past 8 years. This simple, internal routine might have avoided the tremendous publicity and international repercussions of the legislative hearings leading up to the outright removal of the 25 percent gold cover on cash deposits of commercial banks in the System.

During the discussions early in 1965 neither the administration nor Congress argued that the U.S. Treasury gold stock of $15.2 billion versus the free world stock of $25 billion of gold was a sufficient bulwark to support the dollar. In the years 1941 to 1958 the U.S. gold stock was comfortably above $20 billion and the U.S. dollar was unchallenged. The U.S. international trade

responsibilities relative to European trade activities indicate that the U.S. Treasury today has barely enough gold to maintain its international sovereignty as a leading world financial power, and its gold stock is being drained out rapidly to certain European countries.

IMPACT OF GOLD COVER REMOVAL

Those who sought to reduce the 25-percent gold reserve or eliminate it completely did so in the hope that by making all of the reserve gold available to meet payments deficits, a run on gold by foreigners and a forced embargo or devaluation of the U.S. dollar might be avoided. The assumption was that this would give the United States time to get its international payments in balance before all the gold was gone.

Others felt that abandonment of the gold reserve would permit the administration to continue its easy money and deficit spending policy, and the gold could be used to pay off obligations abroad caused by such spending policies. Their view was that gold is simply a nest egg to be used up on a rainy day and thus to postpone the search for solutions. Since a real crisis had not been reached until recently, no attempt was made in earlier years to educate the electorate on this score. Now the public may well have been given a false sense of security by a partial removal of the cover and may remain apathetic to the issue.

To untie our credit expansion from the disciplinary influence of gold limitations was a decision of tremendous import, economically and politically. In the long run this might even weaken the independence of the Federal Reserve System in its responsibility to safeguard the integrity of the dollar and its decisive power on how much to expand bank credit to stimulate economic growth at appropriate intervals. Also, some basic control over the amount of currency issued should be kept as long as foreigners can redeem our dollars in gold (even though U.S. citizens cannot redeem). The 25-percent gold cover for Federal Reserve notes (still in force) was designed to avoid impairment of our currency by the over-issuance of paper money. We have seen the collapse or impairment of paper currencies in many nations in our generation. Let us hope that the drain on gold ceases before the $4.8 billion of "free gold" protecting this cover disappears.

For Americans to wonder today whether we have enough gold for the backing of our international obligations would be more constructive toward preserving the integrity of the dollar than to have them wonder about this matter after the gold cover is completely removed and our gold finally depleted. We should not assume that our basic payments deficit will be permanently solved by temporary measures just because it is socially painful to face the problem. Fundamentally, the persistent payments deficits are what underlie the widespread financial nervousness over the dollar.

VOLUNTARY PROGRAM

In January our published report, "Payments Deficit and Gold Cover Removal," deplored the threatened removal of any or all of the gold cover on the grounds that under this pressure "the action might intensify the uncertainty about the dollar and bring about a further drain on our gold." In the first 6 months of this year a total of $1.45 billion of gold has been drained out. This compares with a $50 million outflow for the same period a year ago and $125 million for all of calendar year 1964. The decline brought our Nation's gold stock to $13.9 billion, the lowest level since October 1938.

This decline of $1.45 billion in U.S. gold stock for the first 6 months followed January estimates of U.S. Government officials that "the dominant prospect is for a net loss of at least $500 million this year * * *," but emphasized that "even such a sizable loss could be easily accommodated if all goes well on the unsettled international monetary front." It was their fear of such a sizable loss, among other things, that led to the removal of the gold cover for bank cash deposits with the Federal Reserve and the President's voluntary program of February 1965.

This gold loss has occurred despite the (largely voluntary) program of the administration which was initiated in February to reduce financial outflows. Under this program the President invoked the Gore amendment to broaden the interest equalization tax to cover bank loans of 1 year or more. The interest equalization tax on foreign securities was extended to July 31, 1967, and American business corporations with foreign subsidiaries were asked to seek an improvement of about 15 to 20 percent in enlarging their payments surplus or reducing their payments deficit, individually. The Department of Commerce reviews their activities in this area. Banks were asked to voluntarily restrict investments abroad by holding outstanding credits (including export credits) to foreigners during 1965 to a level not over 5 percent above the amounts outstanding at the end of 1964. The Federal Reserve System, in cooperation with the U.S. Treasury, is overseeing this program. Legislation also was passed more recently to restrict the duty-free imports by American tourists to $100 (retail value) on each trip abroad.

These measures were adopted in lieu of the classical remedy for a payments deficit; higher interest rates, a balanced national budget and reduction of Government expenses abroad (e.g., foreign aid).

The cooperation of banks and corporations with foreign subsidiaries led by their industry committees brought about a balance-of-payments equilibrium (or possibly a small surplus) in the second quarter of 1965, the first since 1957. Business corporations voluntarily drew down their cash assets abroad and reduced flows to foreign affiliates and bank lending was greatly moderated. But the use of exogenous variables, i.e., policies designed to affect the flow of funds by other than the classical mechanisms, and to consider them equivalent, can be misleading. Their temporary success does not remove the need for real adjustment.

Despite the payments "surplus" brought about by such drastic means, the basic balance-of-payments problem cannot be solved permanently in this fashion without slowing, or possibly even halting, progressive growth from the international financial and trading activities of U.S. banks and business concerns.

OTHER PALLIATIVES

Over the past several years a number of other stop-gap innovations has been devised by U.S. Treasury and other officials to defend the "outer perimeters" of our monetary system. For example, in the fall of 1961, the Treasury and European banks joined to form a managed gold pool to keep gold speculators from running up the price of gold by purchases on the London gold market.

In December 1961, the United States and nine other major nations of the free world negotiated a "standby" plan for support of the dollar to supplement the International Monetary Fund and assure U.S. use of its drawing rights. Subject to close restrictions, the committed resources of the group are available to any member whose currency comes unde rspeculative attack. Also, in 1961, two nations revalued their currencies upward with U.S. blessing. The value of the German mark and the Dutch guilder were increased 5 percent in terms of U.S. dollars, but both countries have continued to increase their gold and dollar reserves.

Since early 1962, the Federal Reserve, in a series of negotiated currency "swap" arrangements with central banks of 12 countries, has acquired a $2.35 billion line of credit in foreign paper currency swap agreements. This operation requires intricate international financial cooperation.

A swap constitutes the reciprocal credit facility under which the central bank agrees to exchange on request its own currency for the currency of the other party up to a maximum amount over a limited period of time, such as 3 months or 6 months. Swaps are renewable upon agreement. They have been made with the banks of Canada, France, England, Belgium, Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany, and Japan. During speculative periods they have helped defend not only the dollar but the other currencies as well and are primarily useful in defending currency parities against essentially reversible flows of speculative funds which reduce the need of purchases of gold from the United States or the sale thereto.

During 1962, the Treasury began working out special arrangements with foreign governments to sell them U.S. bonds denominated in the foreign governments' own currencies. This in effect gives foreign holders a hedge against dollar devaluations. The Treasury hopes to finance a substantial part of the balance-of-payments deficits with such bond sales. Early in the year the Treasury issued 3 months' certificates to several nations denominated in their currencies. Later it negotiated to refund them into medium-term bonds. In some cases the latter carry a conversion privilege into short-term certificates in case of a financial emergency where foreign nations might want gold or dollars. These so-called "Roosa" bonds totaled $1.1 billion at yearend 1964. There is some feeling among foreigners that we are trying to substitute such debt in lieu of convertibility of the dollar into gold regarding settlement of our payments deficit.

The administration also has urged foreign governments to pay in advance debts owed the U.S. Government. The French have prepaid hundreds of millions of dollars of U.S. loans, and several other governments are believed to have prepaid lesser amounts at our request. Acceleration of payments by West Germany on military purchases here also have been arranged to help the U.S. payments deficit.

The ordering home of servicemen's wives and the policy of discouraging American tourist travel abroad by a reduction 2 years ago of the $500 duty-free exemption to $100 (wholesale) on goods brought home by Americans have been widely publicized. However, expenditures for foreign travel in 1965 by U.S. residents still are expected to exceed U.S. receipts from foreign travelers by about $1.8 billion, a substantial increase over 1964.

In addition, the administration has been requiring more of foreign aid and military aid money to be spent in the United States and recently has obtained standby arrangements to draw on the International Monetary Fund. Drawings are repayable in 3 years with a 2-year extension available and are subject to a one-half of 1 percent service charge.

In July 1965, the U.S. Treasury announced it had drawn $300 million (its first such drawing) from the International Monetary Fund to "refund" short-term swap "debt" to four foreign countries into a 3- to 5-year obligation to the IMF. It was done to help protect gold stock.

Most of the so-called outer perimeter defenses can be useful as stopgaps only if used to meet temporary swings from surplus to deficits in the balance of payments. Continuing payments deficits, however, require more permanent medicine. Until the second quarter of 1965, we have not had a payments surplus since 1957, despite a strong surplus of exports of goods and services over imports.

TAX ON FOREIGN SECURITIES

Because of the continued gold outflow and sharply increasing deficit trends, the administration in 1963 prepared still another perimeter-type defense, a tax on Americans' purchases of foreign securities (bonds or stocks) owned by foreigners. The law excluded new Canadian securities from the tax (Canada is by far the largest long-term borrower in the American market). Called an interest equalization tax because of a table of reduced tax rates for short-term bonds included in the bill, it has been likened, technically, to an export tax or embargo. The tax ranges up to 15 percent on American purchases of long-term foreign securities from foreign owners, equivalent to a rise of about 1 percent in interest rates.

Foreign borrowings from American banks were exempted. Also exempted were securities of underdeveloped nations. There is a danger that with increased competition for capital in foreign markets, the sounder type of borrower ultimately will drive the poorer credit risk to seek American capital regardless of the interest rate premium.

The tax on foreign securities was considered temporary, but in view of the persistent payments deficits and managed low interest rates in the United States, the exemptions began to defeat the purpose of the law and led to administration requests for further Federal controls, as the writer commented that it might in a September 1963 article entitled "Our Golden Nest Egg?". In view of continued deficits, the President invoked the Gore amendment (imposing the tax on bank loans over 1 year) and his voluntary program on capital flows, and, as mentioned, Congress removed the gold cover on bank deposits in the Federal Reserve in February 1965.

NEOMERCANTILISM?

Other nations, too, are imposing restrictions on the free flow of capital and trade. England's recent tax on the value of imported manufactured goods has been protested by several nations. Indirect levies, rebated to exporters but applied to incoming merchandise, are used by a number of countries. All of these measures clash with the goals of modern free trade, the unfettered movement of goods, capital, and people across international borders. Ironically, this period where we give lipservice to free trade may someday be termed by historians as the "neomercantilist" period of the 20th century. Probably not since the days of Colbert, French Finance Minister of Louis XIV in the 17th century, have governments not at war resorted to so many expedients to affect payments balances.

Paradoxically, whereas Colbert's aim was to develop a payments surplus and receive gold for it to strengthen the empire, U.S. restrictions have failed thus far to halt the gold outflow let alone to create a surplus, which was the mercantilist's justification even if it meant tariff warfare (Dutch War). The discreditation of mercantilism with its economic and political evils led to the development toward international free trade which accelerated the progress of the great industrial revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries.

Private traders and investors are discouraged by threats of trade and exchange controls and restrictions. This was the lesson taught by Adam Smith, apostle of free trade. Will the 20th century unwittingly revert to 17th century policies and reverse the trend to world free trade after 2 centuries? Current laws and guidelines on capital flows bing to mind the mercantilist's navigation laws. Favorable results were attributed to the laws. Unfavorable results brought forth arguments for a stiffening of the legislation. Must we learn all over again?

FOREIGN AID

Last year the United States appropriated $3.3 billion on foreign aid. The current request to Congress was for $3.4 billion, slightly above last year and higher than 3 other years in the past decade. It is estimated that there is perhaps another $10 billion of aid funds appropriated by Congress and not yet spent. Twenty-some Federal departments and agencies are dedicated to continue aid to about 100 underdeveloped countries. The electorate appears to have given the administration a mandate for more of the same. Recently the President suggested a new $1 billion aid contribution to southeast Asia.

Some administration spokesmen have dedefended foreign aid on the ground that for every dollar spent abroad we get back varying amounts of from 50 cents in goods purchased from the United States to as high as 80 or 90 cents, when including aid loan returns. The actual figure is problematical. Its maintenance requires continuous pressure on aid recipients to "buy American" and tends to be a political irritant although it is done to avoid a worse drain on the U.S. economy through the international payments deficit. But to give away a dollar of an American's taxes to get back, say, 80 cents in sales to foreigners (having a net return of about 3½ cents to an American manufacturer) is not a healthy way to expand foreign trade. Such action only distorts the true picture of world trade. Moreover, recipients may use their aid or credit dollars to purchase American goods, but then may use other U.S. dollars they may have to buy elsewhere. Nevertheless, the United States seems committed to this policy which increases the payments deficit. Other countries should be willing to take over a greater share of the assistance of needy countries.

FOREIGN TRADE

The free world "developed" nations keep chipping away at our trade surplus if only in self defense for, in general, our surplus is their deficit and nations strive to approach an equilibrium in such trade. Some nations do not like our "extraction" of a surplus from their people to spend on a U.S. policy of foreign aid to underdeveloped nations. They do not attach the same importance to foreign aid as our policies indicate we do.

The simplest measure to deal with payments deficits is to discourage imports. This seems to be getting fashionable again—witness Great Britain's recent tax on imports. American exporters undoubtedly will be hurt in 1965 by England's 10 percent surcharge on our merchandise shipments. The Kennedy round of tariff negotiations was handicapped from the start by annual displacements of American exports in the setting up of EEC. It is not the U.S. policy to retaliate against the protectionist European Common Market. Yet our negotiations for progressive tariff reductions are handicapped by our existing strong surplus in trade (a record surplus of $6.7 billion in 1964) and Europe especially discriminates against our agriculture where we have a comparative advantage. We have an important export stake in the Common Market, now faltering from internal conflicts and a boycott. Our own Nation, too, has introduced restrictions on capital movements and is considering others.

There also is a general reliance in the U.S. on European wage inflation to improve our relative position in trade, but such reliance is more likely to lead to slack domestic policies regarding restraint on wages. We now have a tight labor market in the United States, measured by the low rate of unemployment of married male production workers. Europeans are fighting inflation by tightening their interest rates (Germany is the most recent one to increase rates—3½ percent from 3 percent), while we attempt to reduce a questionable overall unemployment ratio with an easy money-deficit budget policy.

The administration's income tax cut for corporations was a step in the right direction, for it acts to moderate production cost which aids exports. With costs on products reduced at home, people buy more at home which reduces imports. However, the increase in interest rates abroad, higher tariffs, tax rebates, and the stimulation of demand from the U.S. individual income tax cut which induces more imports, tend to reduce the tax cut benefit. Our very prosperity in 1965 can have an adverse affect, for we tend to import more goods in prosperous times. A combination of the above factors, plus the impact of shipping strikes, may well reduce our merchandise trade surplus by $1 billion in 1965.

MILITARY AID

No decision is expected on deficits caused by military spending abroad. We have undertaken to defend Western Europe and other parts of the free world against communism, and the price is great. Yet many nations do not fulfill their modest commitments to NATO and some others have no resources for defense except manpower. Efforts are being made to cut out waste, but the decision on basic expenditures needed for defense of the free world must remain a military matter. In view of the militant worldwide activities of communism, a marked increase in military outlays seems probable in the near term. In May the President asked for an additional $700 million for defense of Vietnam and in July ordered 50,000 more troops to that area and doubled the U.S. draft calls; announcing plans to ask Congress for an addition to the defense appropriation bill. The latter could add another $1 to $2 billion in defense spending. Additional step-up in Vietnam would require more billions. All history shows that a leading world power has a great responsibility in maintaining a peaceful world marketplace for free trade among nations. War paralyzes free trade. Thus there appears to be no lessening in the need for outer perimeter military defense, except for possible savings in the European area expenditures where free nations have been strengthened. It is imperative, therefore, that we protect our gold reserves which are vital to help finance military defense overseas.

TOURISM

In the past 2 years Americans abroad spent about $1.6 billion a year more than foreign visitors spent on U.S. soil. Last year, for example, American visitors spent $2.8 billion abroad and foreign visitors to America spent $1.2 billion leaving a net deficit of $1.6 billion. In 1965 the tourist gap is expected to increase to $1.8 billion. A large proportion of tourist expenses becomes a vital source of economic strength to many smaller countries and to our own air transport and shipping industries. While the tourist gap is a substantial part of our payments deficit, it is not likely that Americans would be amenable to being made second-class citizens by taxes or restrictions on travel abroad. Moreover, cultural advance of its citizens is considered a goal of the Great Society.

If we put more restrictions on our American citizens, foreign countries might simply increase restrictions on their citizens and the net result might not affect the gap. Restrictions on tourists' imports also invite retaliations by other nations. The ill will caused by such an economic blow to many smaller countries now dependent upon tourism would be of great concern to the free world and injure international trading markets.

Steps taken by the State Department and private organizations to encourage a lessening of restrictions by foreign nations or their citizens' travel to the United States are progressing but are not expected to reduce the tourist gap significantly. Also, in July, Congress passed a law reducing the duty-free exemption of American tourists from $100 wholesale to $100 retail value of the goods brought home to cut about $60 million from the expected $1.8 billion tourist gap. A more

effective source of reduction could be found in the so-called U.S. "foreign counterpart funds" of which the United States owns about $2.9 billion. These are local currencies paid to the United States, which by treaty must be spent in the countries which purchased our products, such as wheat. More effort in renegotiating treaties to allow American tourists to purchase such currencies and spend them in the appropriate countries could bring about a substantial reduction in the "tourist gap."

BUSINESS CAPITAL FLOWS

The massive voluntary drive to reduce American business corporations' export of funds to their foreign subsidiaries and the tax on purchases of foreign industries' securities for acquisitions or for portfolio use, palliatives thought indispensible, are not fundamental or classical remedies for a payments deficit. To maintain the trade leadership in international markets we need enough surplus in trade goods and services to provide for such long-term capital outflows. These investments in time add support to our payments position through the generation of dividends, interest and capital gains to Americans. If and when in future years the trade surplus declines, as it well might, the return on investments abroad could become a vital force in maintaining our payments equilibrium. U.S. private investments in other countries total around $70 billion and the earnings, estimated at more than $6 billion last year, in part, come back to the United States in dividends. Thus we already have exported the goose (American business abroad). Restrictions on further investments abroad will pluck, if not kill, the goose before it lays the golden eggs (dividends) by jeopardizing the future earnings that such foreign investments would produce. Private direct investments alone made in 1964 were $2.4 billion, and income from existing direct investment abroad totaled $3.7 billion. Contrary to popular understanding, annual income from direct, private investment abroad has been substantially greater than net new private capital outflows for a substantial period. Except for merchandise exports, such income is the largest plus item in the U.S. balance of payments. Moreover, the foreign subsidiaries of U.S. concerns are estimated to use about $5 billion a year in U.S. exports which is almost one-quarter of our total exports—an important contribution to reducing payments deficits.

The current "voluntry program" to restrict bank loans to foreign businessmen is another palliative. Many U.S. exports are financed by bank loans—a short-term capital outflow. Yet an equal flow-back occurs when the loans are paid off, and the interest income is a net gain to the United States. The limitation of loans can damage our export trade which would cut into the major strength of our payments position and reduce production in domestic plants. Importers tend to buy where the credit is.

REMEDIES OR MORE "CONTAINMENT"?

Cut in foreign aid, attempts to reduce restrictions by foreign countries on their own citizens' direct and portfolio investments in the United States hard-shelled negotiations for removal of relatively high tariffs, quotas, import licenses and export subsidies of other countries during GATT meetings, an increase in U.S. interest rates and a cooperative program by U.S. Government, labor and business to moderate production costs at home could make the payments problem yield quickly once the decision was made.

Yet the classical medicines of increase in interest rates and other monetary as well as fiscal restrictions to cure payments deficits are not in favor in America for reasons earlier mentioned. J. M. Keynes, in "The Balance of Payments of the United States," wrote, "And if we reject the (classical) medicine from our systems altogether, we may just drift on from expedient to expedient and never get really fit again." This appears to be the case in the United States.

Inertia and ideological prejudice against fiscal discipline, together with an apathetic public uninformed on such matters, seem to present a block on fundamental, remedial action regarding the payments deficit. For example, bankers who urge higher interest rates for balance-of-payments reasons have been accused of being interested for other reasons. Yet bankers have cooperated as fully in lowering interest rates in recessions to stimulate recovery and increase jobs as they have cooperated in boom times to raise interest rates to prevent inflation. Basically, the interest rate, in conjunction with the restriction of excessive credit, is one of the classical remedies and must be part of a pattern of the payments equilibrium if policies are to be effective over the long term.

WHAT COURSE?

One of the inner perimeters of our monetary system was breached by congressional action in February to remove the gold cover on cash deposits of commercial banks and "free up" $4.7 billion of gold. The gold cover removal extended the period over which the United States is able to sell gold to foreigners at $35 an ounce and governmental officials gave notice that they intend to stand behind the dollar until our gold is gone (or almost gone). However, this will not solve our gold outflow. By exercising their right to buy gold from the U.S. Treasury, the European central banks and individuals could force devaluation or suspension of gold payments. Maintenance of gold-dollar convertibility at $35 an ounce is now an announced policy of the U.S. Treasury, the administration, and the Federal Reserve System. Europeans, therefore, can continue to buy gold to settle our payments deficits when they occur or convert our short-term liabilities to them to gold.

If the remaining gold cover (the 25-percent reserve to cover Federal Reserve notes) were removed from our monetary system, it would free up an additional $9.1 billion of gold. By simple mathematics one can assume, say, a $2 billion a year sale of gold to foreigners to help settle annual payments deficits or convert their other claims to gold. Our free gold of $4.8 billion plus reserve gold of $9.1 billion totals $13.9 billion. Thus, again by arithmetic, we could continue with modest international payments deficits for nearly 7 years (assuming no run on gold in the meantime). The apathetic public then might arise and demand that something be done.

However, once both inner perimeters of the gold cover were breached the effect of such an action on confidence is not a matter that can be measured in length. First, foreign individuals might ask for gold as a hedge against a future devaluation of the dollar (and a rise in the price of gold). Foreign individuals alone had $10.6 billion in claims against the dollar at year end 1964; foreign central banks and governments owned $13.2 billion, and total short-term foreign claims were $28.8 billion (table 1). It is interesting to note that the decline of approximately $1½ billion in gold during the first 6 months of 1965 was accompanied by an overall $1 billion decline (through April) in short-term liabilities to foreigners. This was the first annual decline in such liabilities since 1949. As of April 1965 (latest date), the U.S. dollar liabilities held by foreign central banks and governments had declined to $12 billion, a drop of $1.2 billion. How long will foreigners accept interest on their dollar holdings to forego the speculative possibility of a capital gain on the gold holdings a (forced) conversion might bring?

IMMEDIATE REMEDIES AND ASSISTANCE PLAN FOR AMERICAN GOLD MINERS

It is believed that a drastic cut in foreign aid, a rise in interest rates, together with correlated monetary restrictions, wage-price stability, and a gold production and exploration subsidy to American gold miners would restore the confidence to the international financial world (that we meant to support the dollar), which the removal under pressure of the 25-percent gold cover on cash deposits of commercial banks appears to have lost. Moreover, the gold subsidy to American miners could bring benefits to the Nation from increased gold exploration and production as envisaged from devaluation, without the disruptive effect that has accompanied the latter action in the past. Based upon recent trends, it seems obvious that unless special aid of some sort is provided for American gold miners, the supply from U.S. gold mines will practically come to an end in a relatively short time.

At present the U.S. gold stock totals $13.9 billion. Stock of all other foreign countries and the IMF (excluding Russia) totals about $29 billion and has risen about as rapidly as our supply has been shrinking. Russia is estimated to hold from $2 to $10 billion in gold and some exprets estimate it to be the world's second largest producer. Much of Russia's gold production is in Siberia which has geologies similar to Alaska. In 1964 the Russians announced a new program for increased gold production. The amazing and costly new methods for land and offshore drilling developed by American oil companies for year-round exploring in the ice-covered Alaskan wilderness might well be adapted to Alaskan gold exploration. In recent years American oil companies have spent about $400 million exploring for oil in Alaska under existing exploration incentives. But present incentives are not adequate for gold mining at a fixed price of $35 an ounce. Other metal prices have risen sharply in recent years.

There are igneous rocks in Alaska where gold may be found, as in Siberia, and at least one new electronic device is available for detecting gold. The oil companies are drilling in the sedimentary (oil formation) rocks in Alaska. In Siberia the Soviet Government is believed to be working about 70 large gold fields in their far north project. Swiss experts believe these mines are running 24 hours a day and may be producing gold at nearly the South African rate while U.S. mines are being crippled by the many years of rising costs of labor, materials, and milling, common to other mineral industries, but gold's price has been frozen for about 30 years by law. In the Klondike rush, gold brought tens of thousands of men to Alaska. The speculative promise of a great new strike is exciting. The Homestake mine, for example, over its long life has produced around 26,700,000 ounces of gold valued at $935 million at the current price of gold. Surely the Great Society should include pioneering for the young as well as security for its senior citizens.

Average monthly employment in Alaskan gold mining today is about 200 men. More generous exploration assistance and a gold production cost subsidy might well recreate a real gold mining boom in our largest State and provide new jobs. Placer and tunnel and shaft mining in the Western States also could revive if prices over cost would offer American gold miners a chance for profit.

Purchases of supplies by the gold mining industry could spur the growth of industrial activity in many areas of our economy. Unemployment is relatively heavy among American miners in the various coal, gold, copper, lead, and uranium mining industries. Activity in new gold mines plus reopening of old mines could create thousands of jobs for those unemployed whose skills are limited to

mining. Canada has subsidized its gold mines successfully for years and is the second largest free world gold producer.

Moreover, a subsidy to American gold miners, coupled with the other remedies suggested, should see a sizable volume of gold dishoarding by foreign individuals, thus increasing the supplies available for official monetary use. The United States, once the world's leading producer, is now a very poor fourth. It produced a paltry $51 million of gold in 1964.

Last year's world gold output rose about 4 percent to approximately 40 million ounces, equivalent to $1.4 billion (excluding production of Russia, mainland China, North Korea, etc., and also excluding $330 million of Russian gold export), but much of this is being absorbed by private hoarding in view of the uncertainties of the dollar and other currencies, and wars. Therefore, many monetary authorities and economists feel that the growth rate of gold is not rapid enough to sustain the international liquidity needed for growing international trade.

GOLD AND NEW INTERNATIONAL MONETARY PLANS

One of the most talked about international monetary "reform" plans has a gold base (the Triffin plan). This plan would recharter the IMF as an international central bank to do for other central banks what they now do for commercial banks and expand or contract credit internationally. To prevent excessive credit, its author has suggested limiting its net lending over any 12-month period to a total amount that would, "together with current increases in the world stock of monetary gold, increase total world reserves by, let us say, 3 to 5 percent a year." [1]

Perhaps the South African gold production gain, which contributed to the 4 percent world gain in 1964, might not continue for a long period, but U.S. production increases conceivably could add substantially to the growth rate of world gold output under the gold mining program outlined above. Gold growth could well supply sound liquidity for a growing international trade under the present monetary system if a similar criterion to avoid excessive credit were adopted. Further, such adoption should restore confidence and add immediately to gold supply by causing gold dishoarding. This could be done without the need for the tremendous and complicated operation of a new international money agency, run by politico-monetary experts as a sort of "benevolent dictatorship." It would be a gamble to experiment with some new, theoretical world fund plan just when Russia appears to be getting ready to try to make the ruble, backed by gold, a reserve currency for the Communist bloc. If Russia is able to do this and the free world experiment fails, the Soviets might be in a position to pick up the pieces and emerge as a new power in international finance to our detriment. It would be far better to spend our efforts to make the existing system work more effectively. The corrective tools are known and available.

When one isolates and dissects the hidden assumptions in all the new exchange reserve plans, or other revolutionary proposals, at best they might only delay the day of reckoning of excessive credit. They offer no magic cure for the desire of nations to live beyond their income. On the other hand, "reform" plans without a gold discipline base which could result in fluctuating exchange rates would create a risk for each international transaction and would inhibit world trade. Therefore, they cannot make a serious contribution to the basic problem. However, monetary conferences, such as the world conference now being sought by U.S. Treasury Secretary Fowler, have a utility and should be continued because conclusions as to limitations of credit needed for proposed exchange reserve plans might be applied to our present system which would then enable the latter to fulfill its proper function.

Therefore, it is imperative that a growing gold supply be continued at some reasonable growth rate in relation to world trade for our existing system, not as money but as a "growth auxiliary" to the international monetary system and to help settle balance of payments deficits.

GOLD PRODUCTION AND EXPLORATION INCENTIVES

There are powers and precedents for either a domestic price increase of gold for industrial use or for subsidies through bonus or premium payments of various kinds on American gold production. With regard to the first, a bill (S. 1273) introduced in Congress in 1963 provided for the Secretary of the Interior annually to determine what price (up to $105 per troy ounce) should be paid domestic producers to stimulate maximum production of gold from mines in the United States and for establishment of an agency in the Interior Department to buy gold at the stipulated price and sell for nonmonetary use at such price—any excess gold to be transferred to the U.S. Treasury at $35 an ounce. It is believed that the Secretary of the Interior has full authority to establish the organization needed to administer such functions.

A precedent already exists for encouraging gold exploration as it is one of the various metals and minerals for which the Government provides some financial assistance in exploration. At a price of $35 an ounce, the mining and milling costs of gold production prohibit any significant exploration and cannot induce the new wave of exploration contemplated here. Something more like the original stimulation to uranium production would be in order. From nothing, the Nation's uranium supply reached vast stockpile proportions in just a few years, a crash program unequalled in modern mining history. Unlike uranium, a gold stockpile can be used to settle our international balance of payments deficits and our present gold stockpile is running out. Also, unlike wheat and other subsidized farm commodities whose huge surplus storage problems are a burden on the taxpayer, the storage of additional gold would present no problem. In view of the recent outflow to foreigners, Fort Knox should have excess capacity for storage of American mined gold.

The Treasury Department has opposed S. 1273 on the grounds that it would give rise to a two-price system for gold which would be a threat to the value of the dollar in the international market, or be regarded as evidence of an intent to devalue the dollar. However, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, for example, maintains two-price systems for a number of farm commodities. In the case of wheat, there is the domestic free market price (varies), its subsidy price, and also a world wheat agreement price. Moreover, the administration in effect recently set a two price gold system for other nations in the so-called gold pool by the elimination of America's customary handling charges.

Since 1934, the U.S. world dollar has had a double currency standard, another two price system in a very practical sense, because foreigners can exchange paper dollars for gold. These dollars held by foreigners have a hedge value which the currency of American citizens does not have because since 1934 Americans must deal only in paper currency dollars. If devaluation were to occur, this two-price dollar system would become painfuly apparent to U.S. citizens, to their financial loss. Such second class world citizenship for Americans is unwarranted in a world of interconvertibility for most other free world citizens. The proposed two-price system for gold would be more equitable for Americans and more consistent with the existing two-price systems of the U.S. dollar.

If a domestic gold production crash program were begun, it is the writer's opinion that if it were part of the overall program of orthodox medicine outlined herein, it would help to reduce hoarding, help offset the gold outflow, and restore confidence in the dollar as part of a larger, determined program of the U.S. Government to eliminate the Nation's balance-of-payments difficulties.

For a practical solution, it is necessary to plan and operate under the existing limitations and disciplines of our present monetary system. Interconvertibility between gold and dollars at the fixed price of $35, the basis of the free world's monetary system, would be destroyed if we ran out of gold. The President has pledged against voluntary devaluation: However, our gold outflow now is so persistent as to be considered by many investors to represent a potential national emergency which might force devaluation of the dollar, with damage to our currency and other currencies and with no resultant early solution thereafter.

Objectionable as are subsidies or their continuance where there is no further need, the present emergency calls for concerted action at once on several fronts. Increased production of American gold is simply one of several constructive aids that should not be overlooked to help retain the monetary sovereignty of the United States and to maintain its financial leadership in the international markets of the free world.

These are matters to be given serious consideration, for when gold is gone, who will be our friends? In the British payments crisis last year the United States put up the major share ($1 billion) of credit. Who will bail us out if we reach a crisis stage with little or no gold—and what onerous terms would be imposed in return by other nations to pressure us into "discipline" in our national policies at home and abroad? Even more important, what limitations would this condition impose upon our military policies in defense of the free world? Can we fight effectively abroad without external resources to pay first?

WHY GOLD?

For over 2,000 years men have accepted gold as a "medium of exchange" for other goods and services. As expansion of business and trade required the use of paper money, governments used gold (or silver) to back their currencies. The United States is the only nation that operates on a gold exchange standard (since the Genoa Convention in 1922),[2] but other nations hold gold as well as dollars in official reserves and, moreover, have free gold markets in which gold demand and supply and resultant gold prices record the trusts or fears of people concerning paper currencies and inflation.

Per Jacobsson stated his views on the function of gold before the American Philosophical Society in 1961 as follows:

"In the first place, the alinement of currencies to gold gives a certain stability to the world's monetary system which cannot be ignored * * *. Gold cannot be arbitrarily created as credit can, and, from the point of view of stability, the guarantee given by gold is therefore felt to be superior to that of credit as a means of payment.

"Secondly, when international liabilities are settled in gold, this is a definite and final settlement, leaving no credit nexus as is the case when settlement is made in other ways. Gold payments are less complicated, and this is an advantage.

[1] Robert Triffin, "Gold and the Dollar Crisis," revised ed., New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961.

[2] Since 1934, the United States has been on a limited gold bullion standard, internationally.

"Thirdly, in the world in which we live with so many beliefs and, I must admit, prejudices inherited from past generations, the possession of gold inspires confidence in a way that the possession of no other monetary asset can. Given human beings as they are, they need "props" for their confidence to be sustained, and gold still proves useful in this respect.

"Fourthly, the use of gold as the well-nigh universal basis of money may not by itself give cohesion to the world's monetary system but it greatly facilitates the task and it would not be easy to establish the same degree of cohesion in any other way.

"And fifthly, the current output, insofar as it becomes available for monetary purposes, gives a certain impetus to financial expansion and an increase in international liquidity—which is helpful, as far as it goes."

These are some of the reasons why gold is deemed a vital auxiliary to the world monetary system. Its very nature and history in connection with human behavior give gold a disciplinary power over excess spending inclinations of governments. Its function often is attacked by monetary theorists and administrators of deficit nations and praised by classical economists, as well as by financial administrators of nations without deficits.

The Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia has summed up the answer to "Why Gold?" succinctly: "In theory the world could do without gold—provided all nations were equally willing to accept something else in payment of debts owed to them. But as it stands today, gold is the only money completely acceptable everywhere * * *. The American dollar is acceptable in many countries and itself ranks as the second-best international money. Part of this ranking of course, is based on the fact the dollar easily can be changed into gold." [3]

It is extremely doubtful if any government can long maintain a key currency which would be acceptable worldwide as a medium of exchange if it were not convertible into something as tangible, movable, storable and valuable as gold. In any "reformed" world monetary system gold should continue to have top priority for settling payments deficits. The various proposed world banks or funds could expand the international money supply easily enough, but without the discipline of gold, the world organization itself would have to enforce disciplinary action against governments which allowed their fiscal and monetary affairs to deteriorate. How many nations would give such powers to an international organization and thus lose sovereignty?

DID THE GOLD STANDARD CAUSE THE GREAT DEPRESSION?

A gold cover or gold reserve requirement in a monetary system is like a fever thermometer. The fact that its action indicates a monetary illness does not mean that the thermometer caused the patient's death. The traditional, full gold standard provides automatic discipline. The gold exchange standard, which we have had following the Genoa Convention in 1922,[4] is less automatic because when a key currency nation has a balance-of-payments deficit, the gold exchange standard does not at once force the nation to export gold with consequent corrective, deflationary results. Instead, a gold exchange standard may build up dollars in monetary reserves abroad by expansion of credit which may go on for a long period without cutting its own gold to a danger point. This export of funds adds to currency reserves of receiving countries and (until the flow is fully accompanied by equal gold flow) adds to the credit potential of the fund exporting country, too. As long as no one asks for gold settlement, the inflation pyramid grows.

It was the collapse in 1929 of the overexpanded monetary system and unsound banking credit, permitting excessive real estate and stock market speculation, that brought on the great depression of the 1930's. A full gold standard would have prevented these excesses by its automaticity.

Since the gold exchange standard is imperfect because of its "credit loophole" and delayed warning action, it does not follow that we should blame it for our own credit excesses. The classical mechanisms are available for thoughtful men to apply, namely, appropriately timed increases in interest rates to reverse flows of funds, tightening of credit by the monetary authorities, the cutting of expenses abroad and a balancing of the domestic budget in boom times. Surely with all the fiscal and monetary controls and know-how of our "modern economy," the administration and Congress can correct excesses without causing a great depression. Other administrations have accomplished several such corrections with only moderate "adjustment" recessions since World War II.

No new "reformed" world monetary system can for long absorb credit excesses. It can only postpone the day of reckoning. Until human (and political) nature changes, the desire to "eat our cake and have it, too," requires the credit discipline of some form of gold reserve. The "neutrality" of gold warns us of the need for preventive self-restraints. It is not the fault of the warning device if we fail to heed it. We should not rewrite the history of the 1930's, but profit thereby. It is believed that our gold exchange standard has finally given us a warning and the corrective tools are at hand.

DEVALUATION?

The policy to guarantee payment in gold at a fixed price of $35 an ounce is in irreconcilable conflict with the policy of over-easy credit and payments deficits. The latter causes accumulation of dollars in the hands of foreign banks and individuals and the former makes for continued purchasing pressure against our limited gold supply. Britain has had the same irreconcilable policies, but in her case the crisis arrived, as evidenced by several runs on the pound when other nations came to her aid with massive credits.

If one believes that the payments deficits will persist and that no permanent effective reduction in the payments deficit is on the horizon (which hopefully is not the case), it would be better to declare an embargo now on gold to prevent extreme speculation and then to devalue while the United States still holds $13.9 billion of gold, which is a fairly representative amount in relation to our international trade activity, and while the distribution of gold stock among nations still shows an equitable share in U.S. hands. For example, a doubling of the gold price would give a value of $27.8 billion to our present Treasury gold stock. The United States could then pay off all the $12 billion of short term dollar claims of foreign central banks and still have $15.8 billion in gold, of which $6.7 billion is "free gold," versus our present position today of $4.5 billion in free gold. Devaluation (multilateral) would not cure the deficit, but at least it would occur when the United States was in a position to adopt fiscal and monetary policies needed to make the devaluation effective and give us the public will to carry out the policies needed to balance the payments deficit on a more permanent basis.

Some of the talk of devaluation seems related to a hope of higher stock prices. Experience does not indicate this result. After going off the gold standard temporarily in 1933, on January 31, 1934, the New Deal administration proclaimed a change in the price of gold from $20.67 to $35 an ounce, officially devaluing the dollar. The Dow Jones industrial stock average which had been struggling upward from the market crash of 1929–1932 reached a high in February 1934, and did not attain the same level again until April 1935. The rail and utility averages returned to their February 1934 highs about 2 years later.

A gradual devaluation of the dollar has been going on internally for years as measured by consumer and wholesale price indexes. Today the available U.S. powers of monetary and fiscal restraint, which could be used as a remedial action against inflation, are far greater than during the New Deal period.

ENGLAND—POUNDS AND DOLLARS

The British overseas trade deficit rose to an average of $112 million a month during the second quarter of 1965. Public expenditures were rising and practically all of Britain's reserves represented borrowed money as of this writing. The pound came under heavy pressure by overseas creditors in the foreign-exchange market after the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on July 15, told the House of Commons that no further economic measures were being contemplated. Many foreign central bankers then wanted further steps taken that would eliminate Britain's payments deficit ($2.18 billion for all of 1964) and eventually repay some of the money which Britain owed to the IMF. The Labor government immediately adopted a third wave of measures to strengthen the pound after this pressure.

The fall months are a heavy import period for England and it is hoped that the new austerity plan will work better than the Government's earlier efforts to halt the drain on gold. Since the dollar and the pound together are the main reserve currencies, the United States again may continue to aid England if a sterling crisis develops in the fall. England's payments position is weak, primarily due to overinflated home demand, certain industrial inefficiencies, management and union attitudes and Government spending. The Government's announcement of new deflationary moves strengthened the pound temporarily in late July and sterling advanced in the foreign exchange market, but the first week in August brought renewed weakness after the Bank of England disclosed further heavy losses in July.

However, the pound and the dollar are so interrelated that efforts on our part to strengthen our payments deficit injure Britain's payments account and vice versa. Therefore it will require complicated coordination of the intricacies and conflicts in each country's plans in order to insure a "compound" solution of the currency problems of both nations. The sterling bloc is rocked not only by payments problems in England itself but by similar problems in some of the older as well as newly formed autonomous monetary systems within the sterling area. For example, the price of wool is down in Australia, and South Africa and Ireland are having payments problems. However, lower commodity prices help to reduce England's import bill.

Britain's first line of reserves are worth over $2.6 billion, of which $2.4 billion come from the two IMF loans which were made last December and last May. Her second line of reserves can presently be estimated at about $1.6 billion, of which over $1.2 billion is derived from the Government's portfolio of dollar securities, and the balance made up of a credit of $250 million from the U.S. Export-Import Bank and further "swap" facilities that might be arranged with the Federal Reserve System.

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[3] Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, "Gold," series for economic education, September 1963.

[4] R. G. Hawtrey, "Monetary Reconstruction," Longmans, Green & Co. (London) 1923, for details on resolutions.

To look at the problem with "rational hope," the planned cutbacks in Government spending at home and abroad and the reduction in private investment abroad, plus other deflationary measures should reduce Britain's deficit in 1965 to around half the 1964 level, with hopes for eliminating it in 1966. The United Kingdom business cycle has peaked out and weak spots are developing in motors, construction, et cetera. It was only in May that Britain obtained the second IMF loan, and both the new program and the recent date (and size) of her borrowing appear to make an early voluntary devaluation unlikely. Chances still are that the present defense will be sufficient to hold the parity and the recent improvement in the prospects of the Tories to come to power may have an important part to play in coming events. Any present real danger to the pound would probably be from a forced, involuntary devaluation brought on by a continuation of speculative attacks. This situation is so delicate that a casual remark from an overseas banker or foreign government official of an important country can cost the Nation millions in losses, and thus the pound's future might very well be decided by psychological factors.

STRENGTH OR WEAKNESS

There may be no immediate crisis in the United States (at this writing in the first week of August), but it is well to ask if we are attacking our payments problems from strength or from weakness. If our payments deficits are expected to persist and the classical mechanisms are not to be prescribed by Federal authorities, it would appear to be from weakness and devaluation ultimately might be forced upon us.

Indeed, the U.S. balance of payments flows with its related intricate problems today is "the tail that wags the dog" of our domestic economy. The accuracy of projections or estimates of the business outlook and of stock prices in the security analyst's appraisal is greatly dependent upon the official policies adopted to meet these problems. There are over 600 important American industrial corporations and over 100 banks of various sizes which have a substantial earnings stake abroad, not to mention the impact of international flows on our entire domestic industry. The administration could deal with the problems once it determined to adopt classical mechanisms for a cure. The question is, Will it depart from the comfortable but ineffective course of "control palliatives" and take such action? What will be the paradigm of the future?

Chicago No Water Stealer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently 11 House Representatives prepared a 28-page white paper report which attempted to help improve the problems in Canadian-American relations.

In this white paper, the group stated, among other things, that Lake Michigan be considered boundary waters.

Diversion of Lake Michigan water by Chicago to flush sewage into the Mississippi River system lowers the water level of the other Great Lakes, thus, directly, effecting the boundry waters of Canadian as well as U.S. interests.

The 11 Members of the House could never be further from the facts in drawing this entirely specious conclusion. We in Chicago have heard this argument over and over by Members representing other Great Lakes areas.

I should like to call to the attention of the authors of this report, an editorial which appeared in the Chicago Sun-Times titled, "Chicago No Water Stealer," and also, an excellent article by the science editor of the Chicago Sun-Times, Mr. Richard Lewis. Mr. Lewis' article "Lake-Level Myth Down the Drain," puts to rest the misconception about Chicago's role in effecting lake levels.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that a fair and impartial reading of Mr. Lewis' article will convince our well-meaning colleagues how wrong they are in trying to blame Chicago for the fluctuating level of the Great Lakes.

I believe our colleagues have made a significant contribution in their white paper by presenting a series of suggestions which I think are a commendable form for improving Canadian-American relations. But, I suggest, Mr. Speaker, that in that portion of their report dealing with Chicago and its relationship to the levels of the Great Lakes, our colleagues have sadly missed their mark.

The editorial and Mr. Lewis' article follow:

CHICAGO NO WATER STEALER

It is true that there is "appalling ignorance" about Canada in the United States as noted in a report by 11 Republican Members of Congress.

To dispel the ignorance and improve relations between the two countries, the Congressmen make a number of salutary suggestions. American businesses in Canada should encourage Canadian investment in U.S. subsidiaries and more Canadian managerial talent should be used. There should be freer trade, unlimited immigration, and a greater exchange of students.

But just as there is appalling ignorance in the United States about Canada there is also appalling ignorance about another matter involving Chicago brought up by the Congressmen. They recommended that Lake Michigan come under joint international jurisdiction. They argued that Chicago's diversion of lake water for sewage disposal "lowers the water level of the other Great Lakes."

We suggest the Congressmen read the scientific report by Sun-Times man, Richard Lewis, in Sunday's Sun-Times. In it he called the diversion a drop in the bucket. Lake levels are affected largely by rain and geological considerations. When diversion in and out of Lake Michigan and Lake Huron are balanced there is a net increase of half an inch.

Chicago has good relations with Canada. It should not be called a water stealer.

LAKE-LEVEL MYTH DOWN THE DRAIN

(By Richard Lewis)

Recent studies of Great Lakes water levels have exploded the notion that they are significantly affected by Chicago's diversion of Lake Michigan into the Illinois-Mississippi Rivers and Gulf of Mexico.

For that reason, claims by other Great Lakes States and Canada that diversion lowers levels enough to reduce loads that ships can carry on the lakes and electric power production have become increasingly tenuous.

Such claims are involved in a half century of litigation in Federal courts and the U.S. Supreme Court. In the pending case, other Lake States want Chicago to return to Lake Michigan the 3,200 cubic feet of water a second the sanitary district now flushes down the Illinois waterway for sanitation and navigation purposes.

From a modern engineering and meteorological point of view, this is a drop in the bucket.

Studies by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and meteorologists show a variety of natural and manmade effects influencing lake levels far more than Chicago's diversion.

The principal one is precipitation—rain and snow—on the lakes and the land which forms their watershed.

Curiously, the land area from which precipitation drains to the lakes is relatively small, compared to the vast watersheds of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. Because of this, it takes a great deal of rain falling directly into the basin to maintain lake levels.

When it rains in Chicago and North Shore suburbs, for example, only a fraction of the rain drains into Lake Michigan. Runoff that finds its way into Chicago sewers empties into the Illinois waterway and ultimately flows into the Gulf of Mexico.

In addition, the drainage west of Ridge Avenue and Green Bay Road flows naturally into the Mississippi watershed, not into the lake.

Next to the icecaps on Antarctica and Greenland, the Great Lakes contain the largest supply of fresh water on the planet. The water surface is 95,000 square miles in a basin of 295,000 square miles, gouged out of ancient sedimentary rocks by the last ice age.

Much of the land surface in the basin consists of glacial gravel and sand. Water is held by this porous mixture and may not reach the lake system for months or years.

Ivan W. Brunk, supervising public service meteorologist for the U.S. Weather Bureau here, has pointed out that there is a time-lag in the flow of precipitation into the lakes on this account. Some of it may take several years to move through the subsoil into the lakes and runoff from rainfall in 1 year may not reach the lakes until the next.

Despite exacting studies, like Brunk's which show the relationship of rainfall to lake levels, no one has been able to demonstrate cycles of high and low water.

There are seasonal fluctuations, with the lakes tending to be higher in early summer and lower in winter. But no long-term ones have been detected despite popular notions there are 7- and 11-year cycles, according to John E. Hanna, chief of publications for the Corps of Engineers' authoritative Lake Survey at Detroit.

The lack of lake-level trends is not remarkable in view of the fact that lake-level records have been kept only since 1860. Because of the apparently random fluctuations, levels cannot be predicted over the long term any more readily than the weather.

However, one trend has appeared in another of the natural forces affecting the lakes, the force called isostasy. That is the mattresslike tendency of the earth's crust to bounce back to its original shape when depressed by a heavy load, such as a sheet of thick ice.

The entire Great Lakes Basin still is bouncing back from being pressed down for many thousands of years by the great Wisconsin ice sheet which retreated out of the basin about 11,000 years ago.

At the present time, the land is rising more rapidly in the northeast of the basin than in the southwest, where Chicago is located. This causes the water level to fall in comparison to the land in the northeast and appear to rise in the southwest. The

effect can be demonstrated by tilting a dishpan full of water.

The effect of this tilting of the earth's crust in this region has been measured by American and Canadian experts. On Georgian Bay, north of the St. Clair River, the water level is falling 10 inches a century with respect to the land, because the land is rising.

Around Chicago, the water level is rising with respect to the land at the rate of about 6 inches a century. While this effect is masked by lake level fluctuations, it ultimately will change present shorelines.

Brunk has pointed out that a major factor in the levels of Lake Michigan and Lake Huron is their rate of outflow through the St. Clair and Detroit Rivers into Lake Erie. This is affected by depth of the channel.

All five Great Lakes flow toward the sea. Lake Superior at 600.4 feet above sea level has its outflow via the St. Marys River into Lake Michigan-Huron at 578.8 feet. Hydraulically, engineers consider Lakes Michigan and Huron one lake because their broad connection through the Straits of Mackinac keeps their levels the same.

From the Michigan-Huron system, water flows through the St. Clair River, Lake St. Clair and the Detroit River into Lake Erie at 570.4 feet elevation.

From there, the flow is through the spectacular Niagara River and over Niagara Falls, through the gorge and into Lake Ontario at 244.8 feet. And from there the outflow is to the mighty St. Lawrence River descending to the sea.

Lake levels are determined by their elevation above sea level, as measured at a land spit on the Gulf of St. Lawrence called Father Point. It is just about where the continental shelf begins a gradual slope into the Atlantic Ocean.

Once the flow of lake water across a third of the continent is visualized, it is easy to see how the depth of an outflow channel could affect lake level. The deeper the channel the greater the flow.

Brunk proposes that natural and artificial deepening or "downcutting" of the 84-mile St. Clair-Detroit Rivers channel into Lake Erie has lowered the Lakes Michigan-Huron level at least 18 inches in 68 years.

This is the prinicpal reason the Michigan-Huron level has not in this century reached the peaks it did in the 19th century, according to the meteorologist.

The highest levels in the last century came during the decade of the 1880's, in the 10-year period which ended in 1887, when the water surface averaged 580.5 feet above sea level.

In the decade when the lake reached a peak level so far in this century—the 10 years ended in 1955—it was 1.61 feet lower than 68 years ago.

During this span, Brunk calculated that isostatic rise of the land from relief of the glacial ice load reversed the downcutting of the channel by .08 inches.

Part of the downcutting was artifical. The St. Clair and Detroit Rivers were dredged to make them navigable between 1885 and 1897 and after 1909 a good deal of commercial sand and gravel was scooped out of the channel.

In addition to the 18-inch drop in 68 years, the Michigan-Huron level has been lowered about 3.12 inches by dredging the St. Clair River since 1955 to assure a channel 27 feet deep.

The sum of these channel changes which, of course, increase the rate of Michigan-Huron flow into Lake Erie has been to reduce the level of the double lake by more than 21 inches since the 1880's.

While the drop does not hinder power projects downstream on the Niagara River, it affects lake freighters bound for Milwaukee, Chicago, and Calumet ports by reducing their draft and hence the amount of cargo they can carry during low-water seasons.

By comparison, Chicago's diversion of 3,200 cubic feet of water a second has lowered Michigan-Huron about 2.75 inches and Lake Erie 1.6 inches, according to the lake survey. It has had less effect on Michigan-Huron than the dredging of the St. Clair River.

Moreover, Chicago's diversion is more than compensated for by the channeling of water from the Hudson Bay watershed into Lake Superior which has raised the Michigan-Huron lake level 4.5 inches.

This would give Lakes Michigan-Huron a net increase of 1.75 inches if it were not for the fact that the Welland Canal which increases the flow of water out of Lake Erie also affects Michigan-Huron. The effect is to lower the double lake about 1.25 inches.

Thus, when all the diversion, in and out, is balanced, Michigan-Huron shows a net increase of a half inch.

If there was doubt about the effect of rainfall on lake levels, it should have been dispelled this year. The rains came and the level of Lakes Michigan-Huron went up.

At the end of August, the lake which had dropped to an all-time low last year, reached 576.8 feet. This level is called low water datum by Army engineers. It is a baseline from which the ups and downs of all the Great Lakes are computed.

The level this August was a good 10 inches above that of a year ago. Still, it was a foot below the 10-year average.

The lake survey expected a fall of 1 inch in September, but with heavy rains this month the seasonal drop may be reversed.

In spite of the evidence that natural forces affect the lake level much more significantly than diversion, the effect of litigation over diversion has been to retard the piping of lake water to communities beyond the Chicago area.

But as the population of northern Illinois rises and ground water supplies become less and less adequate, more communities will be compelled to turn to the lake for water.

Historically, the relationship between the lake level and rainfall is illustrated dramatically by the Chicago fire of October 8 and 9, 1871. Records of the newly established Weather Bureau were destroyed, but the journal of the Bureau in that year observed that the fire followed a prolonged drought.

Between the summer of 1871 and the spring of 1872, the lake level dropped 2½ feet—the largest fall ever recorded.

Electrical and Mechanical Office Equipment

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to have the RECORD show, if possible, if there are any proposals pending to increase the aggregate amount which may be expended for the equipment involved?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PELLY. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I believe I might throw some light on that question. I do not know of any pending legislation or resolutions for that purpose. Actually, the necessity for that has been lessened due to the fact that some weeks ago the House adopted a resolution authorizing the purchase of an automatic typewriter which would not come out of the electrical equipment fund.

So, Mr. Speaker, I would say that as far as the chairman of that particular subcommittee is concerned, there would certainly be no necessity for any increase in it.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, would the gentleman indicate as to whether or not there is any authority to use this type of equipment in our district offices?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, there is no additional authority granted through the adoption of this resolution.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, as I understand it there are certain districts where the GSA has a pool and it is possible for Members of Congress to obtain typewriters and other equipment; whereas, in other areas that is not the case.

I believe, perhaps, the committee might well consider this question as to whether some of the Members are unable to obtain sufficient equipment for their needs.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation and I thank the gentleman from Missouri.

Sugar Lobby Smell Not Sweet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, before this session of Congress ends we will undoubtedly have before us again—in the form of a conference report—the infamous sugar bill.

At last reports, the Senate had wisely knocked out of the bill, as approved by the House, some of the quotas to certain foreign countries and reduced the life of the legislation from 5 to 2 years.

Thus far there is no indication that the other body will do anything worthwhile concerning the activities of the sugar lobbyists, who have been feathering their nests. In this connection I submit for printing in the RECORD the following editorial from the Washington Sunday Star of October 17, 1965:

THIS SUGAR LOBBY SMELL IS NOT SWEET

Representative HALL, Missouri Republican, says the handling of the sugar bill in the House "reeks not from the 'sweet smell of sugar' but from the 'rank odor of payola.'" Perhaps Mr. HALL overstates his case. There has been no evidence that any Congressman pocketed "payola" in the accepted meaning of that word.

Another Member of the House, Representative PELLY, Washington Republican, summed up the matter more accurately when he told his colleagues: "This sort of business has all the earmarks of influence peddling—if not worse—and I intend to vote for the amendment to stop it."

The amendment was sponsored by Representative FINDLEY, Republican of Illinois. It was simple and to the point. Under its terms any foreign country which hired lobbyists to press its claim for a sugar quota would be barred from our domestic market. It was

defeated, 114 to 93. Thus, unless the Senate does a clean-up job, which is unlikely, the sugar lobbyists will be swarming around the House for at least another 5 years, creating the impression that they control U.S. policy in this delicate area.

No one says that all lobbying is bad or that all lobbyists should be banned. Quite the contrary. Many lobbyists representing American interests render services that are useful and possibly even necessary to the successful functioning of Congress. This general subject is treated at some length in an article by Arthur Edson.

But what useful service can be credited to the ubiquitous sugar lobbyists? Throughout the House debate FINDLEY and his backers tried in vain to find out. This is hardly surprising. Most of these lobbyists know little or nothing about the complex business of fixing sugar quotas. Furthermore, all the information needed by the House was readily available from sources within the administration. The lobbyists were nothing more than a collection of handsomely paid, but influential, fifth wheels.

It may seem surprising that most of the House Members are so indifferent, so insensitive, in this matter. If HALL or PELLY or both are right, the House has the makings of a potential Bobby Baker case on its hands. But the Members, or a majority of them, give every indication that they couldn't care less.

Actually, this is not as surprising as it seems. For the sugar bill over the years has been in the private domain of Chairman COOLEY of the House Agriculture Committee. It is his baby, and the hands-off notice is generally respected. Furthermore, the rank-and-file of the House Members are not greatly interested. No doubt Chairman COOLEY and a few members of his committee are fully conversant with the provisions of the measure. But the Members, by and large, are not, and the Senate at this late hour in the session will have little opportunity or incliniation for a serious study of the bill.

Some of the results of this leave-it-to-Cooley attitude are remarkable, to say the least.

Let's take the case of Argentina and Venezuela. Argentina's agricultural counselor, Enreque Gaston Valente, said his country "thinks it is entitled to a quota without the Government having to pay anyone." Venezuela thought otherwise. It retained Charles Patrick Clark, attorney and one of this town's more successful lobbyists, at $50,000 a year for 2½ years. The result: Venezuela's quota under the Johnson administration bill, 2,676 tons, was raised by the Cooley committee to 30,809 tons. Argentina was scheduled for a quota of some 63,000 tons. The committee cut it back to 21,500 tons. No need for the Argentine Government to pay anyone?

Some other oddities: Thailand, which had never had a sugar quota, was thoughtful enough to hire as a lobbyist one of COOLEY's former colleagues on the House committee. The Thais were awarded about 20,000 tons. Seven other newcomers to this country's sugar bowl were granted quotas. And (can you believe it?) each had the foresight to hire a lobbyist.

As already indicated, the useful nature of the services rendered by these lobbyists are as mysterious as the criteria used by the committee to determine which country gets how much. But there is nothing mysterious about some of the other activities of the lobbyists. Oscar Chapman, former Secretary of the Interior, was chairman last year of a Johnson-for-President fundraising enterprise. Clark has been a generous contributor to Democratic campaign funds. Donald Dawson, a former Truman aid, was also active in the Johnson campaign. And so on. These men may not know much about the sugar business, but they know their way around town.

Chairman COOLEY is a bit sensitive about the activity and the take of the lobbyists. At a hearing last August, FINDLEY wanted to ask some questions about compensation of Lobbyist Ganson Purcell. FINDLEY was cut off by the chairman. COOLEY said it is "none of your business and none of my business what his terms of employment as a lawyer are. He fixes his own fee and his own arrangements."

The chairman, we think, is egregiously mistaken. Knowledge respecting the fees of lobbyists ought to be the business of every Member of Congress. And, most emphatically, it ought to be the business of the American people who, in the long run, pick up the tab.

Tribute to Teens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, too often the youth of today are characterized as irresponsible, lazy, or disdainful of the needs of others. Unfortunately, the misdeeds of a few sometimes overshadow the activities of the majority of our Nation's young people.

An example of the attitude of the majority of America's youth occurred recently in Macomb County, Mich., located in the congressional district which I am privileged to represent.

An article, which appeared in the October 13 edition of the Macomb Daily under the headline, "Tribute to Teens," describes the activities of a group of youngsters who, unselfishly, devoted more than 3,000 hours of their time during the summer months to work in local hospitals and other facilities.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include the Macomb Daily article, which was written by Assistant City Editor Bud Sloan, in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The article follows:

TRIBUTE TO TEENS—MACOMB YOUNGSTERS COMFORT THE SICK AND INFIRM

(By Bud Sloan)

They seem like average teenagers.

And they are, except—

They have an unusual capacity for compassion.

"They" are the 300 volunteers who work under the direction of the Macomb County Red Cross High School Council and Tuesday night they were publicly honored for their humanitarian work.

For the joy and pleasure they bring to crippled children, retarded children, and those whiling away idle hours in hospitals, the volunteers were given a plaque in recognition of the many hours they have spent bringing cheer and hope to the unfortunate.

In presenting the 1964–65 youth group achievement award—given annually to an outstanding youth organization by Parent's magazine—Roseville Mayor Arthur S. C. Waterman offered the gratitude of the sick and the infirm.

"I am heartened to find so many of our young people in the county willing to give of their time in constructive service to the community," Waterman said.

He recalled the amazing record of the volunteers in the past year.

"During the summer months, the volunteers gave over 3,000 hours of service in six nursing homes, St. Joseph Hospital in Mount Clemens, Mount Clemens General Hospital, Macomb County Health Clinic, Red Cross Bloodmobiles, and general work at the Red Cross chapter headquarters," Waterman said.

Apart from the hospital work, volunteers gave parties for crippled children, blind children, and retarded children.

Mark Golemboiwski, 15, of 38701 Westchester, Sterling township, who was installed as president of the council Tuesday night, summed it up:

"Most of the youngsters we try to cheer up don't get around very much.

"Hardly anyone comes in contact with them except their immediate family.

"If we can bring a little cheer into their lives we feel we are amply rewarded."

Deborah Niemer, 16, of 29943 Hughes, St. Clair Shores, who took office as corresponding secretary of the council, spoke of the many visits by volunteers to hospitals and nursing homes.

"It is so heartwarming to see the eyes of a patient light up when we stop in for a visit," said Miss Niemer.

"Often they will ask us to read for them or write a letter.

"Many are lonely and the friendship we offer seems to be priceless to them."

Taking office with Golemboiwski and Miss Niemer at the meeting were: James Scott, Mount Clemens High School, vice president; Claudia Smith, Lakeview High School, St. Clair Shores, recording secretary; Janet Zieminski, Warren Woods High School, historian, and Gary Glasen, Eppler Junior High School, Utica, sergeant at arms.

And as the excitement of the presentation and the installation of officers died away in the Red Cross Chapter at 17955 Eleven Mile Road, Roseville, Mrs. Cecil Fansler, director of Red Cross youth in the county, looked fondly at the youngsters.

"Truly," she said, "they are their brother's keepers."

Moscow, Peiping, and Hanoi Back Demonstrators

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 23, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, if there is any doubt about the Communist world conspiracy being involved in the peace demonstrations, teach-ins, and draft card burnings in the United States we should read the following which appeared from news dispatches in the Washington Post this morning:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 19, 1965]

MOSCOW AND PEIPING HAIL DEMONSTRATIONS

Newspapers in the Soviet Union and Communist China yesterday praised Americans who took part in weekend demonstrations against U.S. participation in the Vietnam war.

"Americans Ashamed of America," was the headline in the Soviet Government newspaper Izvestia last night over long stories about the demonstrations.

"Washington is alarmed," Izvestia declared, then went into a discussion of investigations planned by the Attorney General's Office into

activities of draft evaders and demonstrators. "The purpose of the new witch hunting is to frighten opponents of the war in Vietnam," Izvestia said.

In Peiping, the official People's Daily said "panic-stricken U.S. authorities used large numbers of policemen, FBI agents, and hired hooligans to obstruct and sabotage" the demonstrations. It also quoted an article in the North Vietnamese newspaper Nhan Dan, paying warm tribute to the American demonstrators.

As always, the newspaper distinguished between the peace-loving American people and their rulers, who are called warmongers who are bloodthirsty by nature.

Tree Capital of the South, Taylor County, Fla.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, I take great pleasure in announcing to the Congress of the United States, a proclamation by the Honorable Haydon Burns, Governor of Florida, proclaiming Taylor County, Fla., as the "Tree Capital of the South."

Mr. Speaker, we are all aware of the tremendous importance of timber and its related industries to the economy of this Nation, in fact it is one of the five major industries of the United States.

It is hard to visualize, as we see an individual tree, that this one item is a basic cornerstone of the economy of this Nation. The landowner is the first in a long line of Americans who derive all or part of their incomes from timber.

The multitude of wood products and lumber runs into the thousands.

It is therefore with justifiable pride that I join with Governor Burns in asserting our claim that Taylor County, an area which I am privileged to represent in the Congress, is the "Tree Capital of the South."

This afternoon on the steps of the capitol of Florida, Governor Burns took a branding iron to affix his signature to a proclamation which had been inscribed on a huge cross section of a cypress tree. It reads:

Whereas official forest statistics prove Taylor County, Fla., throughout history has been a world leader in tree production, and now leads the South in wood harvested and leads the South in reforestation, I hereby proclaim Taylor County, Fla., the Tree Capital of the South.

This is no idle boast.

As far back as the 1700's, Taylor County began harvesting its vast acreages of virgin timber. Through the years this harvesting accelerated, as Taylor County is situated in the heartland of America's virgin timber.

Harvesting hit a peak in the early part of this century with the construction of the largest cypress sawmill in the world, the Burton Swartz Co., still in operation as the Lee-Tidewater Cypress Co., and the huge Brooks-Scanlon sawmill, which was to become the largest sawmill ever to operate east of the Mississippi.

The sawmill town of Carbur sprang up, and was the largest sawmill town in the world.

When these early timber companies cut out the virgin forests, many believed Taylor County would dwindle away, but forward thinking men began reforestation even as the last vestiges of the virgin stands were cut away. Their efforts have borne fruit.

Our area is noted for its rapid rate of growth of timber and just over a decade ago, Buckeye Cellulose Corp. established its huge plant near Perry, and today after five major expansions, is one of the three largest dissolving pulp producers in America.

Lee-Tidewater Cypress Co. is today expanding into a completely new plant, and employs hundreds of people.

Cooperation between the pulp and timber industry has brought a resurgence of the lumber industry in the county, and today five major mills are operating there.

Taylor County has nearly a billion board feet of standing timber and wood harvesting in the county last year exceeded 340,000 cords of wood. Looking to the future, Taylor County has been the leading tree planting county in our State, having planted over 87 million seedlings since 1928, with thousands of acres reforested with direct seeding.

This past year alone, Taylor County planted 6½ million seedlings.

Taylor County has more tree farm acreage than any other county in the State, in fact one of every 12 tree farm acres in Florida is located in Taylor County.

This is the basis for our claim.

Each year, Perry is the site for a great pine tree festival which pays tribute to the second largest industry in our State—timber—producing a billion dollars in income annually.

I take pride in being able to present just a portion of the story of Taylor County to the Congress. Men looking to the future, where we will need an ever increasing amount of wood for a growing Nation, are scientifically conserving this priceless natural resource in the Taylor County area.

I pay tribute to them and salute the people of Perry and Taylor County, and join with them in making claim to the title that Taylor County is truly the "Tree Capital of the South."

Sharing Federal Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday, I introduced legislation calling for the distribution of certain Federal tax revenues to the States for distribution to communities for health, education, and welfare projects.

It seems to me that this approach is crucial if we are to preserve the integrity of local government, which is already struggling with a narrow tax base and increasing needs. An additional source of funds would ease high property taxes which in the long run tend to weaken the competitive position of States and communities in the national economy.

One of the voices raised in support of the tax sharing idea has been that of the Lowell, Mass., Sun. In an editorial which appeared on Thursday, October 14, the Sun pointed out its early support for such a proposal and its continued determination to press for a system that would enable our local communities and State governments to respond to the demands of a growing population.

Under unanimous consent I include the editorial in the RECORD:

SHARING FEDERAL TAXES

More than a year ago, this newspaper was one of the first voices in the country to propose the idea of distributing part of the Federal Government's income tax revenues to the States and the cities.

Our reasoning was simple. Federal revenues are rising steadily as the economy expands, while State and municipal treasuries are everywhere approaching bankruptcy.

Many of the major needs of 20th-century America are local: better schools, better police protection, better sewerage, welfare programs and so on. Although there is a patchwork of Federal programs available to help State and local communities meet these needs, the red tape can get so complex that most municipalities are left in the cold.

Besides, we would rather see local governments handle these problems by themselves than have to be fed and led by Washington. But because real estate taxes and sale taxes have reached their saturation point almost everywhere in the country, there is nowhere the States and cities can go to get more money except to the Federal Government.

Sharing in Federal income tax revenues would also give cities a fairer break in relation to towns. Cities such as Lowell have high tax rates because there are so many urban services to provide. Towns have lower tax rates because there is less need for police protection, incinerators, sewage treatment plants, and so on. The result is that industry locates in the towns, lowering their tax rates even more; while at the same time industry leaves the cities, raising the real estate levies on the city homeowner.

The notion of Federal tax distribution was officially proposed to President Johnson late last year by Dr. Walter Heller, former White House economic adviser. But the plan languished because organized labor was opposed to it and because President Johnson was irked at Heller for leaking the idea to the press.

After many months of hibernation, the plan was picked up again not by the Democratice administration, but by Republican Governors and now, by Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, of New York, also a Republican.

JAVITS this week introduced a bill that would establish a $2.5 billion annual trust fund which the U.S. Treasury would distribute to the States, which could use their allotments for programs involving health, education and welfare.

The Javits proposal is not perfect, but it is a big step in the right direction. We hope Congress gives it very careful scrutiny, and that a workable program of tax sharing is enacted very soon.

New York's Mayoral Drama Nearing Climax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 18, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following column by William S. White which appeared in the October 15, 1965, edition of the New York Journal-American:

MAYORAL DRAMA NEARING CLIMAX

(By William S. White)

WASHINGTON.—The big political melodrama of the year under the big tent of New York City is approaching its climax in October instead of November.

The race for mayor between Abraham Beame, the Democrat, and Representative JOHN LINDSAY, the un-Republican Republican running with the shrill blessing of the Liberal Party, fell into the doldrums during the newspaper strike. The bulk of the press was blacked out by a walkout that was harmful to labor's reputation for responsibility and even more harmful to the public interest. Perforce largely blacked out as well was the campaign itself.

Now that the major papers are back in publication this very circumstance has, by the power of contrast, thrust the campaign into a higher tempo than ordinarily could have been expected until the very end of October. An unseasonal period of undue quietude has been succeeded by an unseasonal period of feverish activity.

As the contest is now fully resumed, its true implications are coming through. For this is no longer in any real sense a struggle between two parties for public office. It is in fact a confrontation between the party system of government as the country has generally known it and a raging no-party ultraliberalism which sees in Mr. LINDSAY a knight upon the whitest of white horses, a slayer of the dragon of bossism.

And bossism in New York has come to mean the leadership of the fellow one doesn't like. Mr. Beame is the beneficiary of the bosses precisely in the sense that, say, John F. Kennedy was in 1960. In truth, the same bosses are involved. This circumstance was not held to invalidate Mr. Kennedy, nor yet to ennoble his 1960 opponent, Richard Nixon. But this time it is put forward as the barrier of righteousness to the unfortunate Mr. Beame.

What happens to Mr. Beame is not, however, the point of this column. Nor does this columnist have the faintest notion whether he ought or ought not to be elected. The point is that the campaign in New York is being conducted only nominally on measurable issues related to municipal government. It is, on Mr. LINDSAY's side, a howlingly ideological crusade, a kind of evangelical holy war, in which nobody with him is quite a Republican or quite a Democrat but in which most everybody with him is so very liberal that it hurts.

The real heart of the Lindsay campaign is in the Liberal Party, a rump movement essentially of old defectors from the Democratic who long ago found it, however liberal by any definition outside New York, far too conservative for them. Across the street, the ultraconservative Republicans are rallying to William F. Buckley, Jr., the candidate of the Conservative Party.

Buckley is now bringing fear and pain to the Lindsay forces, as can be seen in Mr. LINDSAY's increasingly vehement denunciations of this borer from within. The Beame fellows are more philosophic about their own troubles with the Liberal Party. They have lived with their borers from within for a long time.

This, then, is the madly mixed scene in New York. If the election were today, Mr. Beame would win. What might happen between now and November is anybody's guess.

Democracy for Export

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call attention to a highly interesting article "Democracy for Export" by Ted Hall that appeared in the Bergen Record on Tuesday, September 28, 1965, and the Morning Call on Thursday, September 30, 1965.

Mr. Hall describes a most worthwhile organization, labor's peace corps and development program, that is committed to a practical demonstration of brotherly love and group cooperation. Under the dynamic leadership of the founder, Jerry Leopaldi, the members put their hands and hearts together to help the less fortunate of other countries help themselves. Mr. Leopaldi, a workingman, is no visionary but a can-do organizer of useful projects such as the Honduras Mission sketched in Mr. Hall's article.

The Messrs. Leopaldi, Comprelli, and Franza and their associates reflect the best attributes of America and set an example worthy of emulation by all their fellow citizens.

Mr. Hall's article follows:

DEMOCRACY FOR EXPORT

(By Ted Hall)

Ask for carpenter Sal Comprelli around International Telephone & Telegraph Co.'s Federal Laboratories in Clifton these days, and they'll tell you he's off in Honduras building houses for the natives. The same goes for Nunzio Franza, a mason at the Schrader Valve Co., in Brooklyn.

They are the first skilled workmen to be sent out by Labor's Peace Corps, an imaginative program sponsored by the International Union of Electrical Workers and supported by the auto, steel, rubber, carpenters', and painters' unions. It is also supported by two elderly sisters in Arizona and a Brooklyn man named Robert Bonsignore, all strangers to the Corp's founder and director, Jerry Leopaldi, who finds their generosity both puzzling and pleasing.

TOO VISIONARY?

Jerry Leopaldi is president of the 1,500-member Local No. 447 of the Electrical Workers at Federal Laboratories. He has been president of the local for 14 of his 38 years, and was reelected this year by a 3-to-1 vote despite a long and less than fruitful strike.

He has been criticized by constituents as being too visionary for a union president. He neither denies nor argues the charge. "That 3-to-1 margin is answer enough," he says.

The idea for Labor's Peace Corps was generated by a Maryknoll missionary priest's lecture to the Holy Name Society of Our Lady of the Lake Church in Verona 5 years ago. Disturbed by the missionary's description of poverty in Chile, Leopaldi invited him to his home to continue the discussion, and the two talked far into the night.

WHAT CAN ONE MAN DO?

"I knew I had to do something about this poverty," Leopoldi says. "I realized I had spent too much of my life shutting it out, not knowing what to do about it."

His talk with Rev. Frederick Hegarty that night convinced him there was a way he could help. There was a need for practical, experienced craftsmen to show impoverished people in other countries how to do things better with the tools at hand. And in countries being cultivated by Communism, the priest said, there was a need for mature American workingmen to show by example the other side of the "Ugly American" coin.

ON THEIR OWN

Leopaldi saw it as a mission for his union. Milton Weihrauch, district president of the Electrical Workers, liked the idea.

In the original concept the Labor Peace Corps was to work through the existing Federal Peace Corps. The reluctance of Peace Corps officials to seek congressional revision of the established 2-year enrollment requirement doomed this possibility. "We realized that we'd have to go it alone," Leopaldi explains.

Leopaldi became a missionary in his own right. He spoke wherever people were gathered. His message was that there were two strong reasons for helping fight poverty in faraway lands: first, a moral obligation not to let our neighbors live in misery; second, an emergent need to counteract Communist activity in impoverished countries.

Two years ago Labor's Peace Corps was incorporated. In February 1964 it undertook its first project—helping the people of Sergipi, an impoverished village in northeast Brazil, set up a cooperative pig farm. Next it put up funds for seven trade unionists from seven Latin American countries to travel and lecture within their own countries after attending a seminar at the University of Puerto Rico.

Labor's Peace Corps, by now working closely with CARE and the Alliance for Progress in Latin America, had money and experience enough to undertake sending American workmen into the field. There was need for a carpenter and a mason to help the people of San Pedro Sula, Honduras, build new houses from material supplied by CARE. That's when Sal Comprelli the carpenter and Nunzio Franza the mason stepped forward.

TEACHING THE HANDS

Leopaldi said there'd been some kidding around the shop about this being a joyride and he wanted to dispel that notion. He said neither man will be able to drink the water at San Pedro Sula, it is that contaminated, and they'd even have to keep their mouth shut while taking a shower—if they could find a shower. "It will be hard work for Sal and Nunzio every day they're there," he continued. "But I know that when their 4 weeks is up the people there will have a better idea of what Americans are like."

Then Jerry Leopaldi drove them to Newark Airport. Twelve hours later, about the time their fellow workers were punching in at Federal Laboratory, in Clinton, and the Schrader Valve Co., in Brooklyn, Sal Comparelli and Nunzio Franza were stepping off the plane at Tegucigalpa, Honduras, to show people how to build houses in a place where Americans can't drink the water, even in the shower.

Boston Patriots Tribute to Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. BATES

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, as you personally are aware, the Boston Patriots Football Club on Sunday, October 17, honored the members of the New England delegation in Congress on the occasion of the Boston Patriots-San Diego Chargers game. Sharing this honor with us was Joe Foss, American Football League commissioner, who received the Congressional Medal of Honor for his World War II heroism.

The significance of the occasion was recorded in a message from William H. Sullivan, Jr., president and founder of the Patriots, appearing in the day's printed program, which also carried pictures of all the New England Senators and Congressmen. Among other things, Bill Sullivan expressed the pride we all share that our section of the country in recent years has provided two leaders of this House of Representatives, both from Massachusetts—our present illustrious Speaker, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, and our distinguished former Speaker, the Honorable JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

I believe that all Members of the House will appreciate reading what the Patriots' Bill Sullivan stated, as follows:

A MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT AND FOUNDER OF THE PATRIOTS

At the turn of the century the Members of the Congress were concerned mostly with the well-being of their own constituents and with the welfare of the Nation. Yet, in the past six decades the activities of the entire world have become the concern of the Congress. Too often the role of the Congress is underestimated in assessing the progress of the entire universe. Yet thinking people everywhere recognize this great body as something singularly American.

Today it is our privilege to welcome Congressmen from all over New England, and to salute them for their great contributions to a prosperity unparalleled in our lifetime and for the worldwide respect which their actions have engendered toward our Nation. This section of the country has produced in recent years two great Speakers. JOSEPH MARTIN, JR., once observed about the Congress:

"In this forum is worked the will of the people, a forum that we must ever strengthen—never weaken. Here lies the true citadel of the Republic."

Thomas Jefferson had earlier commented:

"Congress is the great commanding theater of this Nation and the threshold to whatever department or office a man is qualified to enter."

South Boston, fabled in song and poetry, has produced many great citizens including JOHN MCCORMACK who has served to give a deep significance and a ringing validity to Jefferson's observations.

The highest award within the jurisdiction of the Congress, the Congressional Medal of Honor, was presented to Commissioner Joe Foss of the American Football League for his fantastic achievements in World War II. So today it is our privilege to pay tribute to the Members of Congress, and one of those whom they have seen fit to honor, our commissioner, Joe Foss.

One of the privileges of association with the American Football League has come in the opportunity it has afforded us to welcome the congressional leaders to our community and to let them know that their continuing devotion to the Nation and to the world does not go unnoticed in this area—the birthplace of liberty.

Sincerely,

BILL SULLIVAN.

All American Job Corps in the West: Part V

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, in an all American way the city of Willows, Calif., continues to provide the local Job Corps with the extra something in leadership and inspiration that the Federal budget in dollars alone will never satisfy. Ed Davis chronicles the events in the Willows Daily Journal as follows:

[From the Willows (Calif.) Daily Journal, Oct. 14, 1965]

JOB CORPS AIM IS USEFULNESS

Like most significant steps forward in the history of mankind and of the United States, the Job Corps has its detractors.

They are just as convinced that the concept is all wrong as pehraps their forebears were convinced that the women's vote, regulation of monopolies, and income taxes were all wrong.

The Job Corps, they contend, is too expensive; indeed, it's a waste of money because a person determines his own fate.

They are inclined to forget that environment does, indeed, influence a youth and often makes the difference between useless and useful adulthood.

They are inclined to ignore the alternatives to programs such as the Job Corps—idle, unproductive adults on relief, or in jail, at an expense to taxpayers, when they could be paying their own way.

They are inclined to overlook the basic tenet of Christianity: that man be his brother's keeper.

Perhaps if many of them could spend a day at the Alder Springs Job Corps camp observing the overwhelming majority of the youths, they would change their views—if they could see the intense concentration on books and classework, the eargerness to learn, the desire to be applauded for a job well done.

A Purdue University student, in an interview published on page 1 today, gives a discerning and inspiring account of his experience as a summer supervisor and counselor at Alder Springs. He speaks of the corpsmen's driving thirst for education, and of their rapid learning in spite of their lack of opportunity for education.

He estimates that about 90 percent of them can be helped by the Job Corps program.

The firsthand, objective acount by 22-year-old Charles P. Poore should go a long way toward putting the Job Corps in its proper perspective—as by no means a waste of money but, on the contrary, as an inspiring and very hopeful attempt to replace lack of opportuinty with opportuinty, irresponsibility with responsibility, lack of self-respect with human dignity.

PURDUE MAN CITES JOB CORPS BENEFITS

LAFAYETTE, IND.—A Purdue University student is telling his classmates here how he really had his eyes opened about education during the summer 40 miles west of Willows.

Charles P. Poore, a 22-year-old senior in forestry from Indianapolis, says the 6 weeks he spent at the Federal Job Corps camp at Alder Springs taught him that there is just "no substitute for a good education."

Poore, Fred Hansford, University of Mississippi student, and Dick Bertoncini, Chico State College student, were working for the U.S. Forest Service when the Alder Springs camp put out a call for emergency help for supervisors.

Hal Ward, head ranger of the Willows district, loaned them to Job Corps Center Director Al Groncki, and they found in 6 weeks that:

Even the most wayward youths at the camp want an education;

Most of them will be in jail in 10 years if they don't get it;

The Job Corps is a good effort to rehabilitate these young men;

The city of Willows is a good host to the boys and helps their desire to excel.

"I've never before met a person who couldn't read a newspaper or write a letter," Poore says. "I just didn't realize how important an education was or how adversely it can affect those who don't have it."

For 6 weeks the three students lived with the 150 Job Corps youths, supervised sports and helped encourage them.

"The camp was set up to bring their education to the eighth grade level so they could be sent to another center to learn a skill. The boys worked one day at forest service duties and spent the next day at study and classwork," he says.

Two events especially pleased Poore and convinced him that although all the boys in the camp were dropouts from schols, all is not lost for them.

A driving thirst for education became apparent among about 25 percent of the boys who voluntarily spent evenings with Poore trying to learn math. His classes, held informally, were conducted after the boys had completed their work or their regular study days.

Poore also drew on his Purdue Air Force ROTC training and organized a group of about 15 into a drill team.

"At first, the other boys hooted and poked fun as the boys drilled, but soon at least 15 others joined the drill team," he relates.

The math class took up rather advanced forms for boys with their backgrounds, Poore says, "but they learned fast in spite of their lack of opportunity for educations."

"They wondered why they had to learn such basic things as multiplication tables, and reading and writing. One boy couldn't understand why he just couldn't go to the electronics school, as he had volunteered for rather than to this camp to get a basic education.

"The drill team provided a discipline these boys wanted and needed. They crave someone telling them what to do; they don't like to make decisions themselves and they respect a man who can lead them.

"The drill team drilled about 1 hour daily and soon was formed into a color guard and took the flag down at night."

It is apparent Poore has a soft spot in his heart for the Job Corps boys. On one hand he has to admit their morale and outlook on life are low, but on the other hand he is quick to praise their desire to excell.

"These guys came here with no place to go; many would have been in jail in 10 years. They have to settle every problem with physical means. But about 90 percent of them can be helped by the Job Corps program. They want to be treated as human beings; they are very happy with a little recognition, some attention, a little money and freedom to make their own choices.

"They don't need a lot of these things, but just a little. It's surprising what a little medal means to them, or a person who takes an interest in them personally," Poore observes.

But they don't know right from wrong, he believes. They think "if it's right for me, it's right, and what do I care about tomorrow, I might be dead."

He said he especially noted that only about 10 percent of the boys had any religious conviction and these were always the boys with higher values. They were patriotic to the United States, though Poore doesn't feel it is a deep-seated patriotism. Just because everyone else seems to be patriotic, they are also, he believes.

The boys were mostly from urban areas and didn't like to be in the forest. If they wandered away from camp or were among the 25 percent quitters they probably would become lost, he says.

One boy couldn't understand that the directions remained constant no matter where a person stood.

But they want to learn if it is patiently explained that education can be used and will help them. Most have the capability to learn fast, Poore says.

"There are some who came to the Job Corps for a free ride," he admits. One lad came to get about $400 free dental work, another came as an agitator. But most were at the end of their roads, and it seemed like a good thing to make something of themselves.

The experiences have helped Poore change some of his own thinking. He plans to get an extension from the Air Force to delay the 5-year service he is committed to when he graduates in January. He will get another degree from Purdue—probably in a biological area. Then after his 5 years Air Force service, he says he'll decide whether the Air Force will be a career, or whether he'll be a teacher. His fiance, Sue Rider, a teacher in Marion, will help him decide.

At some time in his life, Poore thinks teaching will be his occupation. "I can't explain the feeling I got when I could see how much good education can do, how even in 1 hour a boy could be so happy when he understood what a fraction was."

WILLOWS IS ALREADY "ALL-AMERICAN" CITY

Whether or not Willows wins an "All-American City" award for painting downtown buildings, constructing a civic center or expanding its sewer system, only the future can say.

One conclusion, however, seems self-evident: So far as its help to underprivileged youths is concerned—its relationship with the Alder Springs Job Corps camp—Willows is an All-American city.

Before the first youths arrived last March, a Willows civic advisory committee had been established. Its sole aim was to try and cement relationships between the camp and the community for the benefit of both.

From that beginning, here have been some of the activities in the intervening 6 months—many of them inspired by individual citizens.

Willows has:

Welcomed the first group of corpsmen to arrive with the high school band, song leaders, and other residents;

Attended the camp's dedication in droves;

Taken youths from the camp into their homes;

Invited the camp's softball team to play city league teams;

Stocked the camp library with appropriate magazines and books;

Taken corpsmen on privately piloted flights to inspect their environment from the air;

Arranged for the youths to see Giants' games in Candlestick Park;

Established a special auto maintenance course at the high school for 21 corpsmen and welcomed additional corpsmen into adult art and typing classes;

Been friendly and courteous.

Is it any wonder that Western Regional Job Corps Director Mike O'Callaghan, in a letter to Congressman ROBERT L. LEGGETT, praised the community for its "positive, progressive attitude," which, he said, "not only has assisted the success of the program in Willows but has served as a pattern for the West."

Is it any wonder that the camp's educational director, Stanley Lynch, commented on High School Superintendent Erwin A. Decker's arrangement for providing classroom instruction for exceptional corpsmen:

"This is a wonderful thing. It certainly indicates tremendous cooperation from the community and a marvelous attitude.

"So far as I know the cooperation between Job Corps and community is unmatched anywhere else in the country."

Every resident of the community and of the area can be justifiably proud.—E.F.D.

On Being Negro in the Ivy League

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, 2 years ago there appeared in the pages of Esquire a most interesting debate on the place of the Negro in the Ivy League. One youthful Harvard product argued from his own experience that only in the Ivy League, with its liberal atmosphere and good manners, could the Negro undergraduate completely realize his social potential. A recent Yaleman, on the other hand, wrote he was simultaneously lionized and patronized to such an extent that finally he withdrew from college. Here is Princeton's contribution to the debate, written with dignity and integrity, a perceptive analysis of one aspect of this question. The writer graduated with honors and hopes to study for a Ph. D. in American history and a career in college teaching:

ON BEING NEGRO IN THE IVY LEAGUE

The other day a southern friend of mine accused me of being just as prejudiced as any southerner. He contended that my entire outlook toward life and other people was conditioned by being a Negro. My entire conversation was permeated with being a Negro, he claimed. This sense of "Negroness" is the foremost emotional concern, reaction, element, in a Negro's life. This is partly because he has made it so, and largely because white society has made it so. This is a difficult and somewhat different problem for me because I learned, as a youngster living on Army bases, to live with this element of my nature as a very inconsequential part. It had no real relevance to my daily life.

As an example, a couple of years ago, I was talking with an older Negro man, a steward at my father's officers' club, who asked me how I enjoyed my sex life with all the white girls living near me. I told him there wasn't any. He couldn't believe it. He went on to explain how a white girl, given the chance, always goes for a Negro man because * * *. I told him in disgust that he had a complex or something and walked away. He looked after me in surprise and called, "Don't we all?" I didn't think so then, but now I'm not so sure it may not be something that comes with age and experience. I can try to fight becoming a Negro first and a man second because I haven't grown up with this preconceived view of "white society" overpowering all other emotions, but it is difficult.

I find at Princeton the identification in the minds of others that I am not just an individual of another color, but a Negro. This is what I object to. In that assumption, my right to be a man, achieve a man's goals and fail as men will fail is denied me. It is the sudden realization—more painful and difficult to cope with in my case because it was sudden—that I can never be a famous American, or even a famous American who is a Negro, but only a great Negro American. It doesn't mean a damn thing to me. The feeling it leaves me with is difficult, or perhaps, impossible to express. There is a special loneliness in this feeling for one who finds that most of his friends are white, because no matter how little difference color may make in my individual relationships with them, at this point our two worlds are irrevocably separated. It means that I can achieve as much as they do or fail as badly, but in the end will any of our peers be able to evaluate me as they did my friends? This is the true meaning of a denial of manhood—the inability to be a plain individual which destroys so many young people's usefulness to themselves and their society.

I think the Negro problem in America stems from the fact that American society is permeated with racism. At Princeton this is as true as everywhere else. But it is not the Southern intolerance that bothers me, for most Southerners who don't want t be around me can certainly avoid it. It is the other part of the undergraduate body and the faculty (white liberals might be their title) who never let Negro undergraduates like myself forget that, whatever our personal relationships, we are Negroes at Princeton—symbols of our race's great move forward. The detachment which I had managed to maintain by always thinking of myself as an individual had enabled me to remain fairly objective and rational about our society. After 2 years at Princeton in the company of those who see me as a Negro, not in any derogatory sense, but as my race's representative to the class of 1965, by outlook has changed for the worse. This is partly their fault and partly a result of my own weakness of character in being unable to resist these pressures. My chief concern in choosing a career has become how I can escape this force—what all parts of society think my role should be: if I'm stupid I should be just another janitor or, more likely, unemployed janitor; if I'm smart I should be just another Negro leader. Use your own values, what dull depressing prospects those are. This is why there is probably a little desire among all Negroes, once in a while, to be separate. The urge to escape these suffocating alternatives exists in everyone.

All Negroes are apart from white society in America because white society has refused to see them as other men with a darker coloring; even most Princeton liberals still see only what to them is a Negro. It is the identification in the minds of white Americans of the Negro as someone different just because he is a Negro (whether this identification leads to special consideration and respect or overt hostility) that I hate. What Princeton undergraduates are trying to do to me is wrong for themselves and for me. If I accept their treatment—if I let them make me a Negro—then I won't have to work twice as hard to get as much. I can get what I want and scream racism, bigotry when I

want more. Do you realize how temptingly easy this can be when things don't go the way I'd like? To me this is where the Negro movement fails. Where does it leave the individual? What room is there for individual integrity and ability when, as some more extreme groups demand, 15 percent of everything should be done by Negroes and I happen to be part of that 15 percent? The whole attitude toward the Negro in this country has forced Negroes to turn to this type of solution. The behavior I've described exhibited by many of my fellow undergraduates is part of that attitude. It really does nothing to bring an ultimate solution to the race problem, i.e., incorporation of the individual Negro into American society.

I'm tired of the role forced upon me which I have for 2 years passively accepted. I deny that I should be considered as filling a particular slot in the undergraduate body. I'm not Princeton's educated Negro of 1965. My fellow Negro undergraduates and myself are not the Negro's spokesmen in the university. It is the white liberals condescension that makes life far more racially oriented for me than any southern bigot in the university. Once, just once, I'd like to be invited to dinner here at Princeton without the topic of conversation of my liberal hosts being the race problem. I'd like to ask two questions of white Americans, especially those here at Princeton. Do you really want a Negro to share your society? And if you do, why can't you let me share it instead of treating me as some honored representative of an alien group?

Valenti's Service—Brushed Off Too Long

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege for me to call to the attention of my distinguished colleagues an article written by William S. White on Monday, October 18, in the Washington Post with reference to an outstanding public servant, Presidential Assistant Jack Valenti.

Mr. Valenti has rendered to the people of America an extraordinary service in his position as Special Assistant to the President. He has worked quietly, diligently, and competently. He has always been in there pitching when the President needed him. The President himself indicated his high regard for his aid when he said recently:

You may have anybody you want on your side if I can have Valenti on my side.

No greater tribute could have been paid by the President of the United States to Jack Valenti. Those who really know Mr. Valenti know him to be one of our most dependable and dedicated public servants.

Mr. Valenti is performing an invaluable service to our President, and by so doing is performing an invaluable service to the best interests of America.

I commend Mr. White for setting the record straight. The article follows:

VALENTI'S SERVICE—BRUSHED OFF TOO LONG

(By William S. White)

An accumulation of 2 years of fatigue from what is surely the most brutally demanding job in the world is not only delaying—though not really threatening—the complete recovery of President Johnson from his surgical operation.

It is also adding to the already heavy burdens borne by the President's staff people—and to none more than to that extraordinarily able man of all work who is Jack Valenti.

Some men are said to be accident-prone; continuously they suffer the small, tiresome mishaps of life. Valenti might be said to by stereotype ridden, to be pursued by hostile cliches. Though nobody is closer to the President or more nearly indispensable to him, Jack Valenti seems fated to be constantly brushed off with the abjective that patronizes.

His admiration for and devotion to the President are quite open; ergo, he must therefore be servile—a kind of "valet."

He is short and compact; ergo, he's described as "little" or "swarthy," and his natural kindliness and courtesy are put down as mere efforts by one J. Valenti to ingratiate himself.

He was in prior life an advertising man; ergo, it follows that he must be an insensitive huckster. The fact that he is nothing of the kind but rather is a skillful and perceptive writer and editor of much White House prose—indeed, the ultimate editor short of the President himself—is not mentioned.

His undergraduate degree was awarded by the University of Houston, which tragically has no hallowed halls, no hanging ivy; hence it follows that he is not really and truly an honest-to-God intellectual. The fact that he made up for his disastrous failure to attend the right college by earning a master's degree at good old Harvard itself is not mentioned.

Indeed the story of Jack Valenti would form an excellent case-study chapter in any inquest upon one of the phenomena of current politics. This is the power of snobbery within the Democratic Party—precisely the kind of snobbery, by the way, so long directed from within against both Presidents Truman and Johnson.

The self-consciously "in" people make a profession of screeching against the evils of "discrimination," but apply the most juvenile prejudices in their estimates of other men. Among them Valenti is "out," for reasons so puerile as to stagger the adult mind.

He does not worry about his social standing, nor read the Washington women's pages with religious attention. He does not rush around to the precious little parties, where cocktails are sipped in cadence with little digs at other people of the "in set."

He does not solemnly blink his eyes and clutch his forehead to prove his agonized concern for social justice and the other abstractions about which the "ins" talk—and talk and talk. He only practices social justice. He does not prove his independence by clever bites at his associates and superiors.

He is no drawing room card, maybe because he has too much work to do. He has the regrettable simplicity of the really competent man who needs no megaphone to establish his competence. He is only the "little man" who is always there, always in there pitching for a President for whom he is glad to work.

What is annoying and significant about the attitudes taken toward men like Valenti is not the plain injustice to persons involved. Of course, it is all essentially quite absurd. But is also damaging to the interests of the country. For the country has simply got to have good, steady men in the White House palace guard—in anybody's White House and not just Johnson's White House. And the sort of high school sorority sniping at the good ones that goes on around here is a very bad thing.

None of these fellows is entitled to sticky sympathy or understanding; it is quite true that nobody forces them to serve in the White House. But this is not to say that they are not entitled to be judged upon the standards of mature men and women. They don't need to be petted and cosseted; they do need to be given a reasonably fair shake.

Lincoln Park Project I Urban Renewal Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, on September 22, 1965, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. WIDNALL] had occasion to address himself to the urban renewal project in the city of Chicago known as Lincoln Park project I urban renewal plan. One would gain from his remarks that the project was forced through against the wishes of the residents and without adequate consideration.

In order that the RECORD may be clear and correct, I am attaching as a part of my remarks the letter dated October 13, 1965, of Mr. Lewis W. Hill, commissioner of the department of urban renewal of the city of Chicago, which with its enclosures relates the facts leading to the designation and approval of Lincoln Park project I urban renewal plan.

The letter and enclosures follow:

CITY OF CHICAGO,
DEPARTMENT OF URBAN RENEWAL,
Chicago, Ill.

Hon. SIDNEY R. YATES,
House of Representatives, Congress of the United States, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN YATES: Enclosed with this letter are 13 statements made in support of the Lincoln Park Project I urban renewal plan at the public hearing conducted by the Chicago City Council Committee on Planning and Housing on July 6, 1965.

Six of these 13 statements were made on behalf of established community organizations which have been working for years toward the improvement of the Lincoln Park community. It should be noted, by contrast, that the letters presented by Congressman WIDNALL, were, for the most part, from individuals who feel that they will be personally injured by the Project I plan, or from organizations which have only recently come into existence, specifically to oppose some aspect of the Lincoln Park urban renewal program.

Recurrent in the statement of Congressman WIDNALL and the letters he presented on September 22, 1965, is the theme that the urban renewal plan for Lincoln Park Project I was "railroaded" through and that opponents to all or part of the plan were not given proper consideration. This opinion takes no cognizance of the history of urban renewal planning in Lincoln Park. From the beginning, planning in Lincoln Park has been a joint effort involving the community, the department of urban renewal, and other city departments and agencies. There are seven organized neighborhood associations in Lincoln Park, organized in the years between 1948 and 1962, which represent all segments of the community. Membership in these associations is comprised of residents, property

owners, business and professional men, and institutional representatives. These associations are affiliated with the Lincoln Park Conservation Association, a recognized not-for-profit community organization with a paid professional staff, which was created in 1954 to serve the common interests of the entire Lincoln Park community. All 7 neighborhood associations and the Lincoln Park Conservation Association have been extremely active in all phases of planning, as has the Lincoln Park Conservation Community Council, a group of 11 members appointed under State law to act officially for the community on urban renewal matters.

The department of urban renewal has met with any group or organization which expressed an interest in any aspect of the urban renewal program or neighborhood development generally. These meetings have ranged from block groups to public hearings attended by as many as 1,500 persons. Prior to the approval of the Lincoln Park general neighborhood renewal plan by the city council in June 1962, the staff of the department of urban renewal attended and participated in over 70 meetings of all varieties. They participated in over 100 meetings between June of 1962 and the initial presentation of the preliminary proposals for Project I on February 18, 1964, and since this initial presentation have participated in an additional 180 meetings at which all aspects of the plan have been discussed. A breakdown of these meetings indicates that approximately 28 percent were held with communitywide groups such as the Lincoln Park Conservation Association and the Conservation Community Council, 41 percent with the seven neighborhood associations, 10 percent with institutional groups and representatives, 6 percent with other public agencies, and 15 percent with miscellaneous groups of various sorts. The staff of the department has also handled a voluminous correspondence with interested groups and individuals and has answered thousands of individual inquiries at the Lincoln Park site office opened and staffed by the department of urban renewal since May 1964.

Prior to the submittal of the Project I plans for Federal review late in 1964, all seven neighborhood associations, the Lincoln Park Conservation Association and the Conservation Community Council had given their general approval to the proposals. Since preliminary Federal approval on June 9, 1965, and prior to city council approval on July 7, 1965, the community organizations reaffirmed their previous approval and the Conservation Community Council voted formal final approval.

All the proposals being so strenuously opposed at the present time (the community park, the closing of Ogden and Lincoln Avenues to through traffic, the widening of North Avenue) were contained in the Lincoln Park general neighborhood renewal plan finally approved in 1962. While it is perfectly understandable that individuals, businesses, and groups would be opposed to plans which affect them adversely, it is equally understandable that groups who had been working on these plans for years would be impatient with rehashing of old decisions which had been so laboriously hammered out in the past. People who are presently opposed for the most part took little or no part in these earlier discussions when basic policy decisions were made. While it is true that many of their criticisms of the Project I plans have been rejected, it is not true that they were not considered. As stated in many of the letters presented by Congressman WIDNALL, there have been numerous opportunities for opponents to the plans to be heard, and most of the people now writing Congressman WIDNALL have taken full advantage of these opportunities.

The criticism is also made that the Lincoln Park Conservation Community Council, who officially acted on behalf of the community in regard to the Lincoln Park project I urban renewal plan, was not representative of the community in that the members did not reside in the project I area, and that businessmen and the Lincoln Park Chamber of Commerce were not represented on the council. While membership on this council has varied somewhat from time to time, at the time the council voted final approval of the project I plan, 4 of the 11 members lived in the first project area and the remaining 7 members lived in the adjoining Lincoln Park conservation area. Most of the council members are property owners and all of them are men who have long been active in local community affairs. Three of the council members have businesses in the Lincoln Park community, and all three of these men are members of the Lincoln Park Chamber of Commerce. It is interesting to note that the one council member who opposed the plan took the occasion of the final vote to state that, in his opinion, the council members he was opposing were, without exception, men acting sincerely in what they felt to be the best interests of the community.

Another criticism generally expressed is that the Lincoln Park project I plans include excessive clearance and that proper consideration has not been given to additional rehabilitation. Without exception, however, everyone concerned with developing plans for Lincoln Park has worked from the major objective of limiting clearance to the absolute minimum while still freeing the community from concentrations of blighted and dilapidated structures presently acting as a deterrent to private development and rehabilitation, and providing needed new community facilities. As planning has proceeded from preliminary studies, to the general neighborhood renewal plan, to the plans for project I, there has been a constant refinement and reevaluation of areas specified for clearance.

Comparison of tentative clearance areas contained in the Lincoln Park general neighborhood renewal plan and clearance areas specified in plans for Lincoln Park project I show that where owners have gone ahead to make improvements to their properties and not merely promised future improvements, these properties have been dropped from clearance as more detailed plans have been developed. Examples of this are the areas immediately to the north and east of the LaSalle Elementary School, a large area in the block bounded by Eugenie, Wells, North Avenue and North Park Avenue, Cleveland Avenue between Eugenie and North Avenue, and other scattered locations. On the other hand, where areas continued to deteriorate in the period between the general neighborhood renewal plan and the project I plan, additional clearance has been proposed. Areas on Clark, Halsted, and Larrabee Streets are examples.

In developing plans for Lincoln Park, ideal planning solutions have been tempered by considerations of limiting clearance wherever possible. A great need presently exists for additional community recreation space and Park District standards indicate that to ideally serve the recreational needs of a community of 72,000 persons (the total Lincoln Park conservation area of which project I comprises approximately one-fourth) two 35-acre parks would be required. Since it was recognized that two parks of this size would be prohibitive in terms of the number of basically sound structures that would have to be acquired, the dislocation of families involved, and the monetary cost involved in acquisition, the new park area proposed has been reduced to one park just under 15 acres in size, located adjacent to the Waller High School complex in the approximate center of the conservation area. The project I boundaries were extended to include this site so that the recreational facilities designed to serve the entire community would be available as early as possible. This particular site was selected on the basis of its central location in the community, its proximity to Waller High School with the resultant benefits of shares facilities, and the fact that in the area selected only 40 of the 142 structures required for clearance would not otherwise warrant clearance as blighting influences or substandard structures.

Many of the people opposing some proposals for clearance, particularly on Larrabee Street, do not take into account the future of the community as a whole. A number of opponents to clearance on Larrabee who want to stay and rehabilitate their properties are owners of taverns or heavy commercial enterprises which even if improved would by their continued existence in their present location be harmful to the future development and rehabilitation of the surrounding residential areas. The most striking example is the Krema Trucking Co., whose attorney, Mr. Harold T. Halfpenny, has corresponded regularly with Congressman WIDNALL.

The Krema Trucking Co., property is specified for clearance as a blighting influence because of incompatible land use. The property consists of a one- and two-story brick structure used for a loading dock and truck storage, a two-story brick office and garage structure, and a large open lot used for truck and trailer storage. While the property has a combined frontage of 423 feet along the east side of Larrabee Street the entrance to both the truck storage lot and the loading dock are off Menomonee Street.

A use of this type is totally inappropriate in proximity to residential uses. The special problems related to this type of use were recognized in the Chicago Zoning Ordinance of 1957, as amended, which restricted such uses to special motor freight terminal districts. Krema has continued to operate as a legal nonconforming use only because its location on this site predated the zoning ordinances. Because of its location, large trailer trucks make use of adjoining residential streets and alleys as well as Larrabee Street, which in itself in present design is not adequate to handle heavy traffic of this type. Area residents have voiced continual objections to the noise, dirt, and traffic congestion created, as well as concern for the safety of small neighborhood children. The operation of this trucking facility is detrimental to the present neighborhood, which is a mixture of residential and retail commercial uses. Its continued operation at this location would be even more detrimental to the proposed redevelopment of the adjacent area for strictly residential purposes.

It is impossible in a letter to answer all criticisms which have been made. We recognize that no urban renewal plan is perfect, and that it is not possibe to undertake a program of this magnitude without adversely affecting some members of the community. We are certain, however, that the opposition to the project, however vocal, is in the distinct minority. The urban renewal plan for Lincoln Park Project I, as approved by the Lincoln Park Conservation Community Council and the Chicago City Council, and now awaiting final Federal approval, represents the efforts and the thinking of the vast majority of community residents and is, in their opinion, in the best interests of the community as a whole.

Sincerely,

LEWIS W. HILL, *Commissioner*.

Mr. MAYER. My name is Lyle Mayer and I am chairman of the Lincoln Park Conservation Community Council and I appear before you today on behalf of this organization.

Mr. Chairman and members of the planning and housing committee, in May of 1962, the Lincoln Park Conservation Community Council approved the Lincoln Park general neighborhood renewal plan and the bound-

aries for project 1. Two years later, in May 1964, the conservation community council approved the preliminary plan for project 1, but only after the following steps were taken:

1. A presentation of the proposed preliminary plan for project 1 to the community at a program sponsored jointly by the department of urban renewal, Lincoln Park Conservation Association and the conservation community council, which was attended by over 1,000 people;

2. Many discussions of the proposal with individuals and organizations within the community, by both the department of urban renewal and conservation community council members;

3. A series of three public hearings, by the conservation community council, each held in a different part of the project area, on three successive evenings, and at which a total of 90 statements were presented orally or in writing to the council.

Also, before the plan was approved, a series of 19 modifications were required by the conservation community council on the basis of suggestions from the community and from the council itself.

The plan for project 1 in its final form, as preliminarily approved by the Federal Government, was submitted by the department of urban renewal to the conservation community council at their regular monthly meeting on June 15, 1965.

A special meeting was convened June 21, 1965, for the purpose of considering the plan as submitted. On this occasion, the council voted to permit statements by individual citizens and representatives of groups, notwithstanding the fact that there had been so much testimony collected at the hearings referred to earlier, and from a constant stream of correspondence from the community, in the interim. Fifteen people came forward to be heard; nine written statements were also delivered to the council.

At the conclusion of this supplementary hearing, a resolution to approve the urban renewal plan for Lincoln Park Project I was introduced and seconded. After statements by several council members, and some discussion, the resolution was voted by rollcall. It passed by a vote of eight for, with one against, and two members absent.

The council has been keenly aware that any action it might take would certainly cause inconvenience—or much more—to some local people. However, the majority of the members of the council have indicated by their votes that they believe the interests of the community as a whole, and the greatest number of its citizens, will best be served through a program of organized renewal, such as is embodied in the first project.

Many of the messages and statements to the council have urged early approval and implementation of the project. We pass this along to you today with our recommendation for approval of project I of the Lincoln Park general neighborhood renewal plan by your committee, and by the city council.

Gentlemen, if I may, I have a slight quirk of my own participation in this which has not been without certain rewards.

There was a small but highly vocal minority and apparently active minority, which generated strangulators and smoke bombs and the latest charming incident was rotten fish deposited on my front porch.

I just pass this on.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will next call on Dr. Marvin A. Rosner, president of the Lincoln Park Conservation Association.

Dr. ROSNER. I am Dr. Marvin A. Rosner, president of the Lincoln Park Conservation Association and I am speaking on behalf of that organization.

The Lincoln Park Conservation Association is an independent citizens' organization of residents, businessmen, and institutional representatives who have been working for the conservation of the Lincoln Park community since 1954. For more than 10 years Lincoln Park Conservation Association has been working with the city on a renewal program for the area. At last we stand on the threshhold of the execution of that program.

After the detailed plan for project I of the Lincoln Park general neighborhood renewal plan was presented by the department of urban renewal in February 1964, Lincoln Park Conservation Association, upon the vote of its membership, submitted more than 30 comments and recommendations to the conservation community council and to the department of urban renewal.

We were pleased to note that nearly all of them were adopted fully or in large part and that, where necessary, the plan was modified accordingly.

Since that time the only substantive change that has been made is in the plan for the reuse of Ogden Avenue on the basis of recommendations of the Sasaki, Dawson, Demay Associations.

These recommendations took into account objections the Lincoln Park Conservation Association had to the original department of urban renewal proposals for Ogden, and we agreed some months ago to support the new proposals.

We therefore wish to inform you of our support for the plan and we strongly urge you to approve it without delay so that it may be adopted by the full council and returned to Washington for final action by the Urban Renewal Administration.

Further delay can only accelerate the present rapid date of property deterioration in the areas marked for clearance.

Since no plan is better than its execution, we also wish to ask your help in seeing that certain policies and projects are carrried out:

1. One of the key factors, not only for project 1 but for the entire Lincoln Park renewal plan, is the redevelopment of the area around Waller High School.

During school hours the Community Park north of Waller will serve the 5,000 high school and junior high school children who presently have virtually no outdoor physical education program because of the lack of facilities.

After school, on weekends, and all summer the park will serve the general community which has almost no other public recreation space except for Lincoln Park itself. This is a splendid place, but we share it with the entire Chicago metropolitan population; its open spaces are constantly being encroached on for specialized facilities; and in any case, it is too far away for smaller children in the western part of our community.

We truly regret that the owners of a number of buildings will have to sell them, and we wish to help them relocate within the community if they so desire, but we reluctantly conclude that their interest must be subordinated to the tens of thousands of children and adults who will use the park for generations to come.

Equally important—probably even crucial—for the success of the renewal plan is the rapid development of the land across from Waller and south of the Arnold Upper Grade Center for a modest expansion of Waller, so that the present sized student body can properly be accommodated there.

This project—which can be accomplished without clearing a single home—is part of a comprehensive plan for north side high schools prepared by top representatives of the department of urban renewal, department of city planning and Chicago Plan Commission, commission on human relations, and the board of education itself.

Such a plan is supported by a strong majority of the members of the school board, but opposed by the general superintendent of schools. His plan, which is simply to build a new school northwest of Lincoln Park, would almost certainly segregate Waller, de facto, and probably prevent the renewal plan from succeeding.

We, therefore, urge the committee and the city council to make clear their intention to see that the city does not become further segregated through the actions of public officials and public bodies.

2. We recommend, as we have in the past, that demolition and new construction be phased in such a way as to reduce to an absolute minimum the number of people who are displaced from one home in the community before another is ready for them. This is particularly important in the case of the elderly and local businesses.

3. We likewise repeat our recommendation that the department of urban renewal revise its normal way of doing things and be prepared to sell land for redevelopment by individual residents or small groups of them with a system developed to give priority in the purchase of such land to displaced people.

If these policies are not adopted, we fear that many displaced residents will not be relocated in the area and that Lincoln Park will have the "project look" which has disfigured many other renewal areas.

Finally we pledge to continue, in cooperation with our seven affiliated neighborhood associations and all other community organizations, agencies, institutions, and interested individuals, to serve as the focal point for citizen participation in the execution of project I.

In addition to the points we have just made, we will be especially concerned about the relocation process as it affects our neighbors and the type and quality of the redevelopment. We will be cooperative wherever cooperation is humanly possible; we will be determined wherever we disagree with what is proposed—and will endeavor not simply to disagree but to offer better solutions; but in either case, we will be interested and energetic because Lincoln Park is our community and we intend it be the finest place of its kind in the country.

Thank you.

Chairman ZELEZINSKI. Thank you, doctor.

Mr. CHIKARAISHI. My name is Ben Chikaraishi and I am here representing the Midwest Buddhist Church.

We relocated here in 1949 and have been deeply grateful to our neighbors, people of the old town and to Chicago for giving us the opportunity to participate.

Since the beginning of the plan for project No. 1, we have met many times with the agencies and the committees that have been set up for this project inquiring about the possibility of the inclusion of our Buddhist temple in the plans for their urban renewal project No. 1, and as of now, we have been given a certain amount of assurance that there is a good possibility of this.

When this project is approved, we would like to build a new Buddhist temple which is sorely needed for our growing membership.

Also, we feel that it is something necessary for the many people in Chicago who are interested in Buddhism as a religion, as a way of life and also as a philosophy.

We would like to build an edifice which will combine the good points of the Far Eastern architecture and the functional modern dynamic contemporary architecture. The plans have already been drawn up, devised and the temple will be built by the firm of Shaw, Metz, & Associates.

Now, they have given us assurance that the temple itself will not be a watered-down copy of some of the watered-down Buddhist temples in the Far East, but will be a dynamic modern structure that will add and be in spirit with the city of Chicago.

We feel that this will add color to the old town, and also we hope in the future years that it may become one of the showplaces here in the city.

We are planning not only a temple with its usual facilities, such as the chapel and the Sunday school rooms, the Scout room, the youth room as such, but also we would like to build a cultural wing onto this temple where we may be able to display some of the fine arts of the Chinese and also at the same time we would like to show demonstrations and give lessons in some of the arts of the Japanese, such as Oregami, doll-making and the tea ceremony and others that may prove of interest.

Also we would like to include, or we will include in our plans, a Buddhist library, though modest in size, we feel that it will serve a purpose and not only be a lending library, but will be used as a reference library and beyond this, we also would like to have the various social rooms, meeting and conference rooms which will be available for the public's use.

Naturally, our temple will not compare in size and scope with many of the cultural and religious institutions throughout the city, because of our very small membership, and because of limited finances; however, to us, this is and will be a dream come true, a dream that we have set aside in the corners of our minds for all of these years, but something we feel that could be a reality, and if it should become a reality, we will have one of the two largest temples in the United States and by far the largest outside of the State of California.

We think that it will be a unique type of structure that will be an asset to our neighborhood.

So we, as an organization, within the scope of project 1, we definitely do wish to support this project 1 and hope that we will be able to be given this opportunity to share in the progress in the city of Chicago.

Thank you.

Alderman WIGODA. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman ZELEZINSKI. Alderman Wigoda.

Alderman WIGODA. Is this the building that you plan depicted in this picture?

Mr. CHIKARAISHI. Yes; that's the picture taken from a model that was built.

Alderman WIGODA. I think it is very exciting, and we will join with the commissioner in hoping that this comes true.

Would you want these pictures back?

Mr. CHIKARAISHI. Yes; thank you very much.

Mr. DOWDNEY. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, there are many organizations, many agencies, many groups, many people concerned with project 1.

One of the most important is the small homeowner who has spent weekends, vacation time, long spare hours in fixing up the home.

Neighbors get together to fix a fence, paint or any number of a hundred things in bringing a 70-year-old building up to current standards and that can make for a lot of problems.

These small homeowners are doing a wonderful job in bringing the homes up to the standards we all want Lincoln Park to be.

The successful completion of 10 years of effort on the part of all of the small homeowners and the wonderful help and support of the urban renewal and the Lincoln Park Conservation Association will bring the kind of homes we want, and the way we want to live.

Thank you.

Mr. GALLER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, my name is Howard Galler and I represent a group of 16 businessmen within the Lincoln Park area primarily in project 1 along North Avenue.

It is our belief that the objective plan will not only be an improvement to the community but an asset to our individual businesses.

We had hoped to assist in the future development of adequate shopping and service centers.

It is our belief that this will be definitely an asset to the community; however, we do feel that funds are presently allocated, not sufficient funds are presently allocated for urban renewal.

Thank you.

Mr. BLAUKE. My name is Pierre Blauke, and I am a resident of Old Town Triangle, residing at 1810 North Orleans Street.

I have been asked to make a statement on behalf of the Old Town Triangle Association with respect to Project I.

The Old Town Triangle Association was founded 17 years ago for the primary purpose of conserving and upgrading our community. Its membership is comprised of residents, both tenant and property owners, and of local merchants.

We have worked for passage of good urban renewal legislation together with neighboring community groups and with the Lincoln Park Conservation Association.

The detailed plan for Project I represents the cooperative efforts of city agencies and ourselves to date.

We urge your approval of this plan now, in order that after final action in Washington, it can provide the legal basis for controlling the speculation in property which threatens to undermine the work already accomplished.

The success of this plan will depend on the quality of its execution. Of particular interest to our community is the unique opportunity represented by Ogden Avenue. Here, on existing open space, is the chance to build for both merchants and residents, before they must be relocated. An orderly transition which retains the people now living in the community will, indeed, be a milestone in urban renewal.

We will suggest alternatives where specific proposals run counter to the wishes of the community. A case in point is our opposition to high-rise structures which would divide the neighborhood.

We know that the health of a residential community depends on the nature of its schools. Therefore, we will be watchful that school plans for the area are consistent with our high hopes and expenditures.

Finally, we realize that renewal means little if not coupled with continually improved municipal services and we will cooperate toward this end.

Thank you.

Father MUNSTER. Mr. Chairman and fellow councilmen, I am Thomas P. Munster, C.M., president of the Sheffield Neighborhood Association, one of the seven affiliates of the Lincoln Park Conservation Association.

As president of the association, I am here to express Sheffield's views about the detailed plan for project I of the Lincoln Park general neighborhood renewal plan as proposed by the department of urban renewal.

When the plan was originally submitted by the department of urban renewal, we supported it and we support it now. We urge you to approve it without delay so that it may be adopted by the full city council and returned to Washington promptly for final, and hopefully quick, action by the Urban Renewal Administration.

As the plan is executed, we are confident the department of urban renewal will be conscious of, and work for, the best interests of the entire Lincoln Park conservation area and its residents.

Thank you.

Mrs. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, this is a statement from our organization.

Lincoln Central Association represents that part of Lincoln Park bounded by North, Ogden and Lincoln Avenues and Halsted Street. We have been organized for over 6 years and our paid membership represents approximately 450 residents.

We are fraternally associated with Lincoln Park Conservation Association and we endorse the statement they present to you today.

We ask your favorable vote on the plan for Project I of the Lincoln Park general neighborhood renewal plan, which is before you today, for the following reasons:

This plan has been fully debated, amended and approved by our organization, and the other neighborhood organizations, and now represents the consensus of the major segments of the Lincoln Park community.

We can certainly say that this plan bears the stamp of grassroots participation in its development. As it now stands, it incorporates the major proposals our organization has advocated, namely: scattered public housing for the elderly and low income families, sites set aside for middle income housing, the moving of sound residential buildings to cleared areas where feasible, the conservation of many homes through spot clearance rather than total clearance, park and playground areas, and the reuse of Ogden Avenue with low rise residential and beautifying treatment.

This has been possible because of the broad character of the various neighborhood organizations and the hard work and capabilities of their planning committees and because of our insistence on our program, particularly in the case of Ogden Avenue.

We also want to acknowledge the department of urban renewal's sensitivity to our desires and the willingness of their staff to meet with us at every level, whether at large public meetings or small block or committee meetings.

Of prime importance to us is that this plan can greatly contribute to achieving what our organization, through membership approval, feels is an ideal community, that is, "one which develops in an orderly way as a heterogenous community and invites to its environs responsible citizens of all social, religious, economic, and racial backgrounds."

Our Lincoln Central area now comprises all of these various elements. However, a ghetto pattern of housing for Negroes has been developing, and while there is some scattering of Spanish-speaking people over the entire community, they are also being increasingly concentrated in deteriorated buildings. This trend has now become the dominant one on Larrabee Street.

At the same time we have another trend, of a much more hopeful character in relation to the kind of community we want. In each of seven separate blocks in Lincoln Central, previously all white, we now have one Negro family residing. To our knowledge, no white family moved away because of this, certainly no property values went down, and we had no demonstrations against these move-ins. On the contrary, we had many gestures of good neighborly relations.

While this is a most modest beginning, we feel it is significant in demonstrating that orderly integration can take place. Your approval today of this plan can greatly advance this trend. Because with the plan, Federal funds will be coming into the area with "no discrimination" provisions attached.

These provisions must be rigidly adhered to, with no tongue-in-cheek type of enforcement. The result will be not less, but more housing for minority groups—not slums, but good houses—not through the extension of the ghetto, but on an integrated basis.

Next, we want to emphasize the importance of the proposed park near Waller High School. This is not simply a question of another park in Chicago. It goes to the very roots of the character of our community.

If we are to attract families to our area, and we certainly need the stability they bring, then we must have good schools. Waller High School must be expanded, up-

graded, and given adequate recreational activity space.

We heartily concur with Lincoln Park conservation in opposing Superintendent Willis' answer to our overcrowded condition at Waller. His answer is to build a new high school northwest of Lincoln Park.

This would result in a segregated Waller High School and undermine the total program we are now working so hard to achieve.

Since our particular area sustains the largest amount of residential clearance under this plan, we want to say that we are deeply concerned with the relocation problems it will bring. While this will be an administrative process under the Department of Urban Renewal, we would like here to reiterate our position that new construction on already vacant land be commenced as soon as possible.

In this connection, we refer to Ogden Avenue since it needs only a minimum of clearance to be ready for redevelopment. Rapid redevelopment of Ogden could give an immediate facelifting to the entire area and provide housing and new shopping center locations to residents and merchants without displacing them outside the community.

We also urge that the administration of relocation be carried out with minimum hardship to those involved and with the aim of retaining as many of our present residents and merchants as is possible. We pledge our organization's cooperation to this end.

While the overwhelming majority in our area support this plan, there has been some opposition expressed, particularly by certain trucking interests and tavern operators. This is understandable since these businesses are in conflict with an improved residential community.

And while we are very sympathetic with the problems of those who will be displaced by clearance for the park, we still feel that this is necessary for the upgrading of our whole Lincoln Park area.

Further, were we not to have the plan, these areas would shortly be engulfed by the spread of blight.

This brings us to our last and most urgent appeal. We ask that no further time be lost and that you act favorably on this plan today.

It has now been 3 years since we appeared before you to support the approval of the general neighborhood renewal plan for Lincoln Park. What has happened in these 3 years?

Upgrading in many areas has progressed at an increased rate. On the other hand, in some of those areas marked for clearance, further deterioration set in immediately, so that we are now faced with a most serious situation.

This blight is expressed in absentee landlordism, overcrowding, vice, and accumulation of filth and loose garbage. Rats run in the streets and alleys. It is not only unsafe to go out at night, but robberies and assaults are frequent in the daytime.

While Larrabee Street is the main center of this deterioration in project I, the same tendencies are developing in other clearance areas outside project I. These conditions are having a damaging effect on the surrounding areas as well, demoralizing the people and discouraging improvement.

One of the principal reasons for this condition is the long period of time elapsing between the adoption of the general neighborhood renewal plan and the execution of its projects.

In these 3 years we have suffered interminable delays, including months and months and months of "waiting for word from Washington."

People who have wanted to stay in the community can't hold out. Good merchants and businessmen are leaving our area because they are small businessmen and cannot withstand long periods of declining income. Speculation has thus been encouraged. Actually, we are now at a crisis stage.

If the approval of this plan would be stalled through the summer months by the failure of the city council to act now, the good work of the neighborhood organizations would be undermined.

The people who have spent long hours and hard-earned money to upgrade their homes would see the fruits of their labor in jeopardy. We cannot afford to have this happen. Let us now go full speed ahead.

We commend the city council for its quick action in calling this hearing and look forward to your approval of this plan today, and that of the full city council tomorrow.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will recognize Mr. Walter R. McConner, of 1011 North Orleans Street, representing the interagency committee on neighborhood problems.

Mr. McConner.

Mr. MCCONNER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, my name is Walter McConner and I am the chairman of the interagency committee on neighborhood problems, which is composed of some 80 agencies, both public and private, in the Near North and Lincoln Park communities, agencies meeting regularly to identify needs and concerns in an attempt to eliminate problems with which we are faced in our work with people.

Many of our members are located in the Lincoln Park community and we actively support their goals and objectives in the struggle against blight and deterioration.

The interagency committee endorses our members' efforts in their appeal to the planning and housing committee of the city council to support the plan submitted by the department of urban renewal.

Much work has gone into the preservation of the neighborhood. The plans represent many hours of work by citizens concerned with their neighborhood. They have now reached a plateau, and if continued advances are to be made in the preservation of their neighborhood, more assistance will be needed.

The plan will bring to the community a variety of new housing in the form of single homes, townhouses, and garden apartments, as well as public housing for both the elderly and those with moderate incomes, as opposed to higher priced facilities both for rent and purchase.

The plan also serves as a guide to other communities that may be interested in conservation, for it illustrates what can be achieved when citizens and public agencies work constantly and constructively together.

It is recognized that there will be problems in relocation and interpretation to the total community, and our committee is prepared to assist in any way possible to aid in the full realization of this program.

The interagency committee pledges its support and endorses the plan for the Lincoln Park community as submitted by the department of urban renewal.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, my name is Amos Brown, and I am president of the Mid-North Association and I will give you this statement.

The members of the Mid-North Association at their June meeting voted overwhelmingly in favor of project I of the general neighborhood renewal plan. Therefore, we urge this committee of the city council to approve it, so that it may be confirmed promptly and sent to Washington for final approval.

There are certain matters which apply to our area that should be mentioned in this connection.

Specifically, we are in favor of the project to provide housing for the elderly on Clark Street at Webster Avenue, as well as low-density public housing at other sites in the Lincoln Park area.

We favor closing Ogden Avenue in accordance with the plan of Sasaki, Dawson and DeMay. We urge that commercial and dwelling units contemplated in that plan be erected prior to any clearance on Larrabee and other contiguous sites in order to provide space for those who may have to be relocated.

We are concerned for those people in our area who may have to move because of project I and we believe they should be given priority in any public housing if they qualify, and in respect to displaced property owners not qualifying for public housing, we believe that cleared land should be made available to them also on a priority basis.

We favor a policy of selling cleared tracts of land in small parcels to individuals or small groups, rather than large tracts to large developers.

We believe that where a choice is practical between demolition and rehabilitation, older buildings in our area should be rehabilitated rather than torn down. There are a number of such structures within the midnorth boundaries. Further, we believe that new buildings should be kept to a maximum of four stories.

We are in favor of the principles embodied in the comprehensive school plan for the north side which Dr. Rosner has already brought to your attention and we hope to have our voice heard in regard to the details of that plan.

We take this position not only to increase the educational standards of the children involved, but because we believe in proper integration of all minority groups into our community.

We are concerned about the planned clearance of a number of buildings and the designation of a large plot of land for sale to the Augustana Hospital. This institution has not yet presented any definite plan, although we understand that one such is now in the making. We await its completion in order to clarify that situation.

In addition, we believe that parking facilities for Augustana Hospital and Grant Hospital, as well, should require either below ground parking or enclosed structures above ground, or a combination of both.

At the risk of being accused of me-too-ism, I will repeat the statement that Dr. Rosner made:

"We will cooperate where cooperation is humanly possible. We will be determined whenever we disagree, and will endeavor to find a better solution."

We will be interested and energetic because Lincoln Park is in our community, and we intend it to be the finest place of its kind in the country.

I thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lebold.

Mr. LEBOLD. My name is Donald A. Lebold, and I reside at 523 West Dickens Avenue.

I represent, or I am a member of Lincoln Central Association.

I am cochairman of their planning committee.

I own my own townhouse, one of eight townhouses at the corner of Mohawk and Dickens, called Pickwick Village.

This project was put together by a group of investors. At the origin of the project, Arthur Rubloff & Co. was the exclusive sales agent. They, however, had no money in the deal, and they are no longer exclusive sales agents for this townhouse project.

I have come here today to tell you of my faith in this neighborhood and my faith extends to putting money in and getting investors' money to put up this new housing of a low-rise character in the spirit of this neighborhood, to continue the original character of the neighborhood.

I recognize that one of the things that attracts people to this neighborhood is the fact that it is a low-rise neighborhood, a low-rise type of neighborhood, without high rises.

I think that if this plan and subsequent plans go through, it will encourage private developers to come in and private people to come in and build housing of this nature, and keep the character of the neighborhood and improve the housing for the city of Chicago.

Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will now recognize Carlos Caribe Ruiz, 1606 North Larrabee Ave., representing the Puerto Rican Congress of Chicago.

Mr. RUIZ. My name is Carlos Caribe Ruiz and I am the director and president of the Puerto Rican Congress of Chicago.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, we have been in this area approximately for about 12 years.

Our organization houses—our club house houses the entire first and second floors and offices and basement at 1606 North Larrabee.

This is, of course, one of the buildings scheduled for clearance.

The Puerto Rican in the Lincoln Park area, and I and the directors and the officers of the Puerto Rican Congress, would like you to—or would like it to be known that we are very much in favor of this project of the Lincoln Park project No. 1.

We want you to know that we feel that this is a very intelligent program; that the commissioner, John Duba and everybody concerned, has brought up, together with us in the neighborhood, this fine plan, and we feel that this will be very good and very great for the area.

We, as Puerto Ricans, we know that we are going to suffer in this area because we have to be relocated.

There are plenty of us in this particular area. There are plenty of small businessmen in this particular area.

We have about everything in here; barber shops, restaurants, grills, grocery stores. We have everything in here.

There are three or four organizations in the area which we needed to organize to get our people in that particular area away from bars and away from misbehaving.

There was a need that we thought that we had to start in order to keep them away from trouble.

We succeeded and most of these clubs in which they hold social meetings and gatherings, have become sort of like a paradise for them. They come very often to our places from many parts of the area.

Now, they will miss, and they are probably going to be surprised when they come back and see an entirely different look in the area.

I hope that the committee will think seriously about the consideration of our people which are mostly large families, individuals, and especially of the small businessman.

We know that we have added something in our own small way and we hope that we will be considered.

We would like to come back to the neighborhood. We like it and we would like to be a part of it.

I would like to point, perhaps, to a little instance that should be considered in the clearance of the project.

With respect to the Carl Sandburg project, there were many of us in there and in fact there was at least about 8,000 or 9,000 Puerto Ricans living in there, and we were never able to come back, because of the high rentals and other obstacles which would not permit us to come back.

Now, we still went for it, because we feel that it was badly needed and it is a very, very beautiful looking project, and we are proud when we pass by and we say; "We used to live there in our roominghouses."

We hope that that area which is going to be very beautiful, and which I myself would like to be a part of, would like to come back and stay there again.

We hope that you approve it because we feel that this is really great for the area, and we are all for it 100 percent.

We also hope that you will consider that we would like to come back and be part of it.

Thank you very much.

Alderman WIGODA. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman ZELEZINSKI. Alderman Wigoda.

Alderman WIGODA. You made a very fine statement, Mr. Ruiz.

Has your organization contacted the Commissioner's office with respect to working out some kind of program where you can be relocated in this area?

Mr. RUIZ. Well, I would be very glad to assist the Department in anything that could be humanly possible.

I would be at their disposal together with the officers of the Lincoln Park area.

We have been working with the Lincoln Park conservation area, with the different organizations in the area and they could be sure that they will have my cooperation and the organization's cooperation on anything that we could be of help on.

Alderman WIGODA. Mr. Hill has said that they have intentions to do this, and I think that you can work it out.

Mr. RUIZ. Like I said, I would be very glad to, if I am contacted, to help on anything.

I would be very glad to talk to them about anything that I can be of help on.

Thank you, very much.

Chairman ZELEZINSKI. Thank you, sir.

Monsignor EGAN. My name is Very Rev. Msgr. John J. Egan. I am the director of the Office of Urban Affairs of the Archdiocese of Chicago. I come here this morning to support the Lincoln Park urban renewal program and to recommend its approval by this committee.

The urban renewal program in Lincoln Park proves that the people charged with the responsibility for these programs are working to use and willing to use every tool available to make this program successful, which means that it will benefit by and large the entire community of Lincoln Park. They have also developed a program of which the entire city can be proud and from which it will benefit.

There are few communities in the city of Chicago more important than Lincoln Park; its vast resources of people and institutions are well known to you. This community, through the volunteer efforts expressed in the Lincoln Park Conservation Association has for many years tried to preserve and enhance the quality of this community.

However, because it is an aging community, it is faced with the problem of trying to solve some of the most complex issues and problems of urban life today. The leaders of this community realized many years ago that they could not do this alone.

They, therefore, have worked extremely hard in recent years to develop a comprehensive plan and development program for their area which will aid in the prevention of further deterioration of the community and will restore to it a new life for the future.

I have studied the Lincoln Park plan thoroughly and feel that it incorporates some of the best thinking and planning that can be found any place in the United States in urban renewal programs. The staff of the urban renewal department of the city of Chicago has gone to great pains to communicate with the community and to plan with the people involved along every step of the way.

However, just as the growing deterioration of this neighborhood will mean great suffering for a large number of people, both in human and financial terms, so too, the redevelopment of the community will inevitably bring about some dislocation of human life and much inconvenience and perhaps financial loss for many people.

While this is inevitable it is also unavoidable. Therefore, it would be well for this committee to keep careful watch over the development of this plan to be certain that the relocation program is carried out with the greatest consideration, particularly for the aged; and that the redevelopment plans are not so altered in the years ahead that the excellent social goals now marked out in the plan will not be achieved.

It is my opinion that while all care and consideration be given to the people and property owners involved, it would be well that no further time be wasted in bringing this plan to execution, so that we may move on to the other areas of the Lincoln Park community, particularly in the southwest section where rehabilitation and redevelopment are urgently needed. There has already been too much delay.

I trust that you will approve this plan, so that it can be devoloped as quickly as possible.

Thank you.

Chairman ZELEZINSKI. Thank you, Monsignor Egan.

Alderman DESPRES. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman ZELEZINSKI. Alderman Despres.

Alderman DESPRES. You spoke glowingly of this plan.

Do you feel that that plan represents an advance over some of the community plans which we have had in urban renewal heretofore?

Monsignor EGAN. I certainly do.

I would say on many counts, and two in particular, I believe that the kind of communication which has existed over the last several years between the department of urban renewal and the various multitude of groups, and excellent groups in this area, marks, I think not only an intelligent but a very humane development of a program.

I think the people of this community, more perhaps than any community in the United States, had an opportunity to express their thoughts, misgivings, ideas, suggestions, and plans.

Second, I feel, because of this kind of study, this plan now incorporates an overall development which, as some plans in the past have done, will not benefit just the wealthy, but will look at the total community, all the people, the institutions, the businesses, the various range of ethnic and economic groupings in this particular area.

Lincoln Park is, as everybody in this room knows, really one of the finest communities in our city.

I believe that this kind of a program, looking into all details of life and trying to plan for them so as to incorporate a diversified community, where all the age groups and the economic groups can be cared for, is an excellent thing. I believe this will all be incorporated in this community and I believe that the department of urban renewal planning with the people in the area have learned from what might be called past mistakes.

I feel that they have corrected them in this particular program and I agree it augurs well for planning and urban renewal in our city.

Alderman DESPRES. Thank you.

Chicago Businessman Reports on Cyprus Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been called to an excellent

report prepared by a Chicago businessman on the question of Cyprus based on his own personal observations during a visit to this troubled island.

The Chicago businessman is Mr. Basil Portocalis, who was kind enough to prepare his views for the information of the Justice for Cyprus Committee of Greater Chicago.

Mr. Ernest J. Vardalas, executive secretary of the Justice for Cyprus Committee, prepared a report of Mr. Portocalis' visit to Cyprus and I, today, include this report in the RECORD.

The question of Cyprus must remain in the forum of public discussion and to that extent Mr. Vardalas has performed a most significant service by preparing this first hand report on the present situation in Cyrus.

Mr. Vardalas' report follows:

CHICAGO BUSINESSMAN REPORTS ON CYPRUS SITUATION

(By Ernest J. Vardalas)

"The people of Cyprus today are leading a double life. On one hand they are working harder than ever to forge ahead economically, confident that a political solution would soon be forthcoming. And on the other hand they are constantly training in the art of defending their homes and land against the day, which they hope will never come, when they might be forced to fight another foreign intruder," so stated Mr. Basil Portocalis, Chicago businessman of 836 West Lill, to the executive board members of the Justice for Cyprus Committee of Greater Chicago recently.

Mr. Portocalis, himself an executive board member, has just returned from a combined vacation and factfinding tour for the committee to Greece, Cyprus, and Istanbul, Turkey.

During his 2-hour interview with Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus, Mr. Portocalis presented His Beatitude with a personal letter from the chairman of the Justice for Cyprus Committee, Mr. Charles Chiakulas, and also an album depicting in words and pictures the work of the committee on behalf of justice and self-determination for the people of Cyprus.

Archbishop Makarios expressed his appreciation for the work of the committee and stated that, although most of the American press has been unfavorable to him, nevertheless he has great affection for the American people and is gratified with the constant efforts of the United States to find a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem.

(NOTE.—Archbishop Makarios lived and studied in the United States for many years before returning to his native Cyprus to assume the spiritual as well as temporal leadership of his people.)

One point that Archbishop Makarios raised was the fact that American State Department officials have stipulated to him that: "Any solution of the Cyprus issue satisfying Turkey will be acceptable to the United States."

An intelligent person might well ask: "Why doesn't the State Department support a solution that would be satisfactory to the subjects most concerned, the people of Cyprus and not to any outsiders," the President of Cyprus added.

"Archbishop Makarios believes that the political solution to the Cyprus problem will be solved gradually within Cyprus and that both Greek and Turkish Cypriots will be living in brotherhood again proud of their homeland." Mr. Portocalis continued and added: "The President of Cyprus hopes to come to New York this month and be able to address the General Assembly of the United Nations, where the Cyprus question is still pending on the agenda for consideration by this world body."

"Archbishop Makarios views the Cyprus issue," Mr. Portocalis states, "as a case of endurance and every effort is being made to bring about economic prosperity on the island, using the political hardship as a stimulus toward economic development."

Mr. Portocalis also had an opportunity to meet with a Turkish Cypriot leader, Dr. Ihsan Ali of Paphos, being invited to Dr. Ali's house for lunch.

Mr. Portocalis conversing fluently in Turkish (he was born and raised in Istanbul, Turkey) was told by the Turkish Cypriot leader that less than 10 percent of the Turk Cypriots have taken up arms against the duly constituted government of Archbishop Makarios and most of those have been forced to bear arms by the Turkish terrorists who were smuggled into Cyprus from Turkey in order to create communal warfare and thus give Turkey a pretext to invade the island to protect the Turkish minority and annex part of the island.

(Some of the U.N. peacekeeping troops in Cyprus supply the Turk terrorists with arms.)

Dr. Ihsan Ali, a long-time friend of Archbishop Makarios, disclosed to Mr. Portocalis that he has repeatedly called upon the Turkish Government in Ankara to withdraw the Turkish terrorists from Cyprus and permit the Turks on the island to settle their differences and live in brotherhood with their Greek friends and neighbors just as they have done for hundreds of years before.

The Turkish leader complained that many American newsmen who interviewed him before never bothered to tell their readers, here in America, the truth about the Turkish minority in Cyprus and their yearning to live at peace with the Greeks, without outside interference.

Other government officials told Mr. Portocalis that everyday more and more Turkish Cypriots are fleeing the Turkish-held terrorist areas and are returning to their homes and villages under the Cyprus Government free-held territory, without malice or recrimination for returning from the Government of Cyprus.

Mr. Portocalis saw and talked with Turkish Cypriot workers and shopkeepers working and carrying on business side by side with Greek Cypriots in peace and harmony.

It is paradoxical that the Turkish Government in Ankara, who surrendered all legal rights to Cyprus in 1924 and had never shown any sympathy or inclination toward the welfare of the Turkish Cypriots in the past, are now using them as pawns to further their territorial ambitions in Cyprus.

The Turkish Cypriots are much more advanced politically, economically, and socially than the mainland Turks who live under primitive conditions, and this is so because both communities of the island benefited by an enlightened, efficient, and democratic Greek administration.

As for the Communist issue, which many State Department officials have raised in their talks with Cypriot leaders, Archbishop Makarios reassured Mr. Portocalis, as he has done with all American officials and the press, that there is no threat of communism spreading on the island and the allegation made by Turkey that Cyprus may become another Cuba is ficticious and absurd because his beatitude stated explicitly that the Greeks, who first developed democracy, and the rugged individualists that they have always been, will never succumb to any totalitarian ideologies, but shall always be counted upon to fight for the ideals of Western democracy.

Mr. Portocalis spent 2 weeks in his native Istanbul, Turkey, where he had the privilege of being received in audience by the Ecumenical Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church.

The Ecumenical Patriarch revealed how the Turkish Government is placing restrictions in the Patriarchate's religious and administrative functions by closing its schools, orphanages, and most of its churches expelling priests, orphans, and the elderly, alleging them to be "dangerous" to the Turkish State.

His Holiness also disclosed that Turkey is attempting to force the removal of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of the Greek Orthodox Church which has been established in Constantinople for over 1,500 years.

Mr. Portocalis learned that, not content with expelling Greek Orthodox nationals, the Turks are now turning to expelling Roman Catholics, Armenians, and Jews. (Sun-Times, September 1965.)

Mr. Portocalis, himself, is a refugee from Turkish persecution, coming to the United States 9 years ago.

Before returning to the States, Mr. Portocalis visited the province of Thrace in northern Greece where a Turkish minority of over 100,000 lives in peace, liberty, and harmony side by side with the Greek majority under the enlightened and democratic Government of Greece, which stands out in stark contrast to the persecution and expulsion of Turkish minorities by the military dictatorship of the Ankara Government.

Lithuanian Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the Sixth Congressional District of Pennsylvania, which I represent, was honored recently by a visit from the Honorable Joseph Kajeckas, Charge d'Affairs, a.i. of Lithuania, on the occasion of Lithuanian Day, August 15, 1965.

Mr. Kajeckas made a very informative and interesting address at Lakewood Park, in Schuylkill County, near Mahanoy City.

I enclose with my remarks, Mr. Speaker, the translated excerpts from the address delivered at Lakewood by Mr. Kajeckas, which follows:

(Translated excerpts from a speech delivered by Joseph Kapeckas, Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of Lithuania, on the occasion of Lithuanian Day at Lakewood, Pa., Aug. 15, 1965)

It is a pleasure to be here with you on Lithuanian Day in Lakewood. This day is a traditional feast for all the Lithuanians of this region, and it is a feast that has been handed down to you by your parents. It is a special pleasure for me to be able to greet one of your most dedicated friends, Father Chesna. He has been in Mahanoy City among you for 45 years, and this year marks the golden anniversary of his priesthood. This year's Lithuanian Day thus constitutes a special occasion for him and for us.

Your observance this year is all the more meaningful at a time when Lithuania is undergoing a dark night in its history, for the struggle to preserve our national identity, to redeem our country's sufferings, sacrifices and hardships is not only the struggle of those who exalt our country's heritage in scholarship, art, and organizational activities. Truly meaningful patriotism is as well the lot of common, unknown people.

In other words, every Lithuanian is the treasure of his nation. As such, he has ob-

ligations—obligations which change according to time and place. In the present day, it is the Lithuanian exile and every person of Lithuanian birth who is principally responsible for carrying on the present-day struggle to regain the rightful status of his nation. He does not begrudge his heart, his efforts, his funds for Lithuanian freedom. These sacrifices of his form an invisible bond with all the sufferings that have been undergone by his own countrymen behind the Iron Curtain during these dark years when evil has so racked the spirits of freedom-loving peoples who have been deprived of freedom and independence. And the Lithuanian exile's own countrymen behind the Iron Curtain have been strengthened in their own will to resist Communist domination by the knowledge that their brothers who enjoy freedom are not content with it unless they can share it with their own people and with all freedom-loving peoples.

In view of the nefarious record of the Soviet Union—a record of broken treaties, deportations, and genocide—it is astounding how clumsily and absurdly the leaders of the Kremlin are trying, even this year, to justify Soviet aggression in the Baltic States. In fact, the efforts of the Soviet leaders to refute the free world's condemnation of the Soviet tyranny in the Baltic States is yet a further indication to the captive peoples of the Baltic States that, far from having been forgotten by the free world, they are very much remembered if the Soviet leaders are so intent on such refutations of Western opinion.

On this day when we are all gathered here in Lakewood to enjoy each other's company, when we have gathered here with full hearts to love Lithuania and things Lithuanian, we are all the more confident that the day will inevitably dawn when our hopes for Lithuania will become reality—a day when the pride of our fathers in the greatness of their nation will become the heritage of future generations of our countrymen.

The Man Who "Budged" Castle & Cooke

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, America's history is abundant with the stories of men and women who have attained the pinnacle of success in their professions. The story of America would not be complete without the stories of these men and women who have by their achievements contributed to America's greatness. Similarly, the State of Hawaii owes its greatness to people who have by their personal successes contributed to its economic and social growth.

An outstanding example of individuals who have given Hawaii's economy the stature it has today is Alexander Grow Budge. As president of Castle & Cooke, Mr. Budge guided the family-owned enterprise to its present position as Hawaii's largest public held corporation with worldwide interests.

A native of North Dakota, Mr. Budge first went to Hawaii as an engineer with Charles A. Moore & Co., of San Francisco, with supplied boilers to Hawaii's sugar plantations. He joined Castle & Cooke in 1920 and became not only its youngest president, but also its first nonfamily-related president. As president, he has encountered many crises which affected not only his company, but the economic structure of all of Hawaii as well. One of these crises occurred in 1932, when the great depression closed down the sugar market. Another crisis occurred in 1934, when the Jones-Costigan Act left Hawaii out of the domestic market and treated it as a foreign producer. How he met these crises was related to Mr. Shurei Hirozawa, business and labor editor of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, who interviewed Mr. Budge on the occasion of his 45th year of association with Castle & Cooke.

I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the exemplifying article about Alexander Grow Budge which appeared in the October 5, 1965, issue of the Honlulu Star-Bulletin:

THE MAN WHO "BUDGED" CASTLE & COOKE

(By Shurei Hirozawa)

If any one man is to get credit for the successful transition of Castle & Cooke from the family-owned enterprise to today's modern public-held corporation with worldwide activities, he is Alexander Grow Budge.

Still active at 73, Budge observed his 45th anniversary of his association with the company last Friday.

He is chairman of the board of Hawaii's largest corporation, which is on the threshold of greater things under leaders Budge has developed.

Budge had just turned 44 when he was elected president in December 1935. He was the youngest to hold that position and the first who was not related to the families that owned the firm.

In 24 years as president, Budge has beefed up management with promising young talent.

NEW MEN WITH FRESH OUTLOOKS

In his farsighted vision of a new Hawaii, he expected rising mainland competition, and decided the company needed new men with fresh outlooks who were attuned to Mainland business methods.

His policy became a search for men "who are different from myself in experience and temperament."

Discussing this aspect of his career the other day, Budge said he had always felt that "if there are enough good people under you, there would be no worry where the top people go."

There were some arguments with directors, who felt Budge was taking on too many people, he recalled.

As one close associate said, Budge hired people if he saw talent in them even though they were not needed immediately.

But it was this reservoir of talent that supplied men such as Randolph Sevier, Duncan McBryde, and others to Matson, Boyd MacNaughton to Dole (later to C. Brewer), many others to other subsidiaries, and Malcolm MacNaughton as his successor.

Graduating from Stanford University in 1912 with a mechanical engineering degree, Budge joined Charles A. Moore & Co. in San Francisco, which represented Babcock & Wilcox, maker of many of the boilers on Hawaii's plantations.

On 36 hours notice one day in May 1916, he was sent to Hawaii to open an office. He had never given a thought to Hawaii until then.

Arriving on the old Manoa, he was given office space in the upstairs loft of the old Castle & Cooke building on the mauka-waikiki corner of Fort and Merchant Streets.

He joined the Army in Hawaii and when the United States entered World War I, he found his way to France.

After the war, several machinery manufacturers sent him to the Philippines in the fall of 1919 to report on developments of boiler installations in that country.

Upon his return he decided to settle down in San Francisco. But he was sent to Honolulu in August 1920, on a rush job at Oahu Sugar Co. This is when Budge was offered a job at Castle & Cooks.

JOINED FIRM IN 1920

He started work October 1, 1920, and soon after plans were made for a new office building, which was to be a monument to the founders of the company, and to last for a long time.

"But it's been only 41 years since we first occupied it, and now it is to be torn down any day," he said with some nostalgia.

Budge had been responsible for the building during the construction stage. He was the liaison between management and the contractor, architect and engineer "because I was the closest thing they had to an engineer."

In those days, Castle & Cooke was a part-owner of Matson Navigation Co., and also its agents in Hawaii.

Matson became one of Budge's areas of responsibility and for this reason, the Royal Hawaiian Hotel also came under his scrutiny during construction.

He recalled that the opening was to coincide with the arrival of Matson's brandnew passenger liner, *Malolo*, but both were delayed.

Foundation trouble delayed the hotel opening until February 1, 1927, and the *Malolo* didn't arrive on her maiden voyage until November, because of a fire on its trail run.

In this capacity, Budge was one of the early leaders of Hawaii's tourist industry.

During his 24-year stewardship at Castle & Cooke—the longest of any president—Budge recalls two crises that came close to topping the island sugar and pineapple industries.

Pineapple had a ready market up to 1930, but the great depression dried up the market and the industry was in trouble by 1932.

Castle & Cooke had a large interest in Hawaiian Pineapple Co. (now Dole Co.) and it invested more than a million dollars at this time to save the world's largest pineapple processor.

This injection of capital perked up Dole, but trouble began brewing in sugar.

In 1934, the Jones-Costigan Act was passed. It amended the Agricultural Adjustment Act to include cane and beet sugar, but Hawaii was left out of the domestic group and treated as foreign producer.

The fight for equality took Budge to Washington, D.C., over the next 4 years, and in 1937—as president of Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association—he spent 7 months in the Nation's Capital.

He recalls the sticky summer days in the Halls of Congress without air conditioning. But the long vigil and lobbying paid off in the Sugar Act of 1937, which established domestic quotas for cane and beet sugar and included Hawaii.

NORTH DAKOTA NATIVE

Budge was born in Grand Forks, N. Dak., December 4, 1891. He went to public schools there and entered the University of North Dakota, also in Grand Forks.

He transferred to Stanford University after his freshman year.

Budges rise at Castle & Cooke was rapid, as his talent was recognized early by Edward D. Tenney, president at that time.

From assistant secretary in 1920, he became secretary and director in 1924. In 1930, he was elected vice-president and remained secretary. On January 1, 1936, he became president.

Budge is married to the former Ruth Whithed, and they have three sons and a daughter, all living on the mainland.

He has been a devoted father, but has had time for his own interests. He used to enjoy tennis and golf at one time, but the hobbies that remain are hunting and fishing.

He hasn't missed many duck-hunting seasons on the mainland, even in the days that traveling took much longer than today.

He recalls telling Tenney one day in May that he was going to the mainland. "My God, is the duck-hunting season open again?" Tenney asked. Even at 73, Budge is trying to get away by October 23, when the duck-hunting season opens.

ROLE AS BOARD CHAIRMAN

When Budge decided to give up the presidency at the end of 1959 and become board chairman, he hung on as chief executive officer for another 2½ years.

In many companies, this kind of situation could become awkward after a while.

But at Castel & Cooke, he sits as a friendly counselor and his help is greatly appreciated, Malcolm MacNaughton and William M. Bush, senior vice president, said.

He doesn't hesitate to express his opinion, but waits until it is sought, and then does it in the most tactful manner, they said.

Over the years, Budge has taken a personal interest in the people at Castle & Cooke.

"He hardly ever loses his temper," one associate said. "And he is tolerant of other people—this is a strong point with him.

"He is basically a shy man, but is a good listener, and is thinking all the time.

"He has been wonderful for Castle & Cooke."

C. & C. DEMOLITION MAY START IN DECEMBER

Oceanic Properties hopeful of setting a firm date within 30 days for demolition of the Castle & Cooke block, upon which will rise the $20 million financial plaza of the Pacific.

When the architects' preliminary plans are completed and the contractors' cost estimate fall within the budget of the project, demolition can begin, William Curlett, project director, said today.

"Then while the final plans are being drwn up, demolition can proceed, and this will save us time," Curlett said.

"We hope we can start demolition in December."

National Dollar Store and several other firms have moved out of the block, and Territorial and American Savings & Loan Associations will move as soon as their temporary quarters are ready.

Castle & Cooke will move out later in the year.

Demonstrators and the Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, of the abundant comment in reference to the Vietnam protest demonstrators, I find this editorial from the Washington Post, October 19, 1965, the most responsible, reasoned, and rational.

The editorial follows:

DEMONSTRATORS AND THE LAW

The Department of Justice is properly interested in and concerned about the possibility of a Communist conspiracy to obstruct the operation of the draft law. It ought to conduct an appropriate investigation, make arrests where warranted and institute prosecutions where required. The law is quite clear on the responsibilities of registered citizens, and burning draft cards and illegally avoiding service is not an acceptable way of expressing disagreement with Government policy.

What it ought not to do is to confuse illegal defiance and perfectly lawful demonstration. Nor should it use the fact that many of the weekend marchers against the war in Vietnam are known Communists to discredit the marchers who simply differ with Government policies, without being disloyal to their country. Surely the overwhelming number of the demonstrators were not Communists and many probably writhed at their association with Communists in the demonstrations. The coercive power of Government law-enforcement agencies must not be used to inhibit disagreement and dissent when the expression of that dissent is limited to perfectly lawful means.

As a practical matter, the Government should be careful to avoid giving the demonstrations the attention that ought to be reserved for major threats to national unity. Demonstrations as large as those held over the weekend could be mobilized to protest the manufacture of straight pins on almost any pleasant autumn day. The dissent in the country is relatively minor; but the Government risks exaggerating its significance by reacting too strongly.

After a long and searching examination of the courses available in South Vietnam, the overwhelming majority of the American people have come to the conclusion that there is no acceptable alternative to the policy the Government is pursuing. That majority is bound to be impatient with critics of that policy whose credentials like those of the Communists, will not stand examination. It is likely to resent and prone to over-react to extremists who imply that their own country is indifferent to considerations of humanity. But whatever the majority's resentment, it must tolerate criticism from those who, in good faith, have a different point of view.

This toleration will be misconstrued in North Vietnam. The officials of the National Liberation Front may misinterpret the open expression of opposition as a sign of weakness and division in this country. It is, on the contrary, a sign of strength and unity in the country. The National Liberation Front must be made to see that. Perhaps the best way to make this understood would be more manifestations of public support for the Government's policy that would show how united the people of this country are behind the Government's determination to defend the people of South Vietnam against conquest from the North. It is a better alternative than any sort of repression of lawful and orderly dissent.

Pacific Northwest's Supplier of Coins Reveals His Method

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COMPTON I. WHITE, JR.

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, a young man with a head for business has done more than anyone to alleviate the coin shortage in the Pacific Northwest. Ron Douglas, a 19-year-old University of Idaho student, has revealed his master plan for helping the commerce of the area, and he has revealed much more. This teenage entrepreneur exemplified a promising generation of young people in our Nation. I commend to my colleagues the story of Mr. Douglas' enterprises as reported so well in the October 9 edition of the Daily Idahonian, published in Moscow, Idaho:

LOCAL ENTREPRENEUR: MONEY CHANGER BIG BUSINESS

(By Kathi Chapman)

About a month ago the Daily Idahonian ran a story on the sudden influx of Canadian coins into business channels as a stopgap to the shortage of American change.

Today the Idahonian ran down the source. He's Ronald Douglas, a 19-year-old Spokane entrepreneur who is a sophomore at University of Idaho majoring in marketing and a member of Lambda Chi Alpha fraternity.

The way Ron operates he should be able to conduct the course and teach the professors.

Since midsummer he's been shipping in Canadian coins and selling them (at par) to banks and stores throughout the Inland Empire at the rate of $10,000 to $50,000 a week.

At one clatter he sold a bank in Yakima $30,000 worth of Canadian dimes, quarters and half dollars.

But this coin importing is just a sideline for Ron.

Around the middle of August Douglas told the Idahonian today, he noticed that Spokane had begun using Canadian coins interchangeably with American coins. He called a friend in Toronto, who began shipping Canadian coins to Douglas by air freight.

Douglas asked a number of banks if they needed change and if they would be willing to take Canadian coins. Most of them said yes. Douglas was then in business.

"Actually, this is just a sideline from my normal coin business," Douglas explained. He is the owner of Ron Douglas Coins, a retail store buying and selling rare coins in Spokane.

Douglas, 19, became interested first in stamps, when in the sixth grade. He discovered in the eight grade that he could sell stamps for a profit.

When he was a junior he found there would be even more profit in selling rare coins.

To get customers for his business he advertised in national trade journals. "I started out on a small scale, and it gradually grew until this summer I had nine full-time employees and an overhead of $7,000 a month. My advertising costs ranged around $2,000 a month."

During the summer Douglas ordered anywhere from $10,000 to $50,000 in Canadian coins a week from his friend in Toronto (also a rare coin dealer) depending on the demand. "One bank in Yakima took $30,000 in one load," he said.

In Moscow, Douglas sold over $10,000 worth of Canadian coins to a bank. Other businesses in Moscow which have called on Douglas to get coins for them to help their shortage include the Student Union Building, the bookstore, and the university business office.

This is how it works: Douglas contacts his Toronto friend and tells him how many coins and in what denominations he will need, his friend buys the coins at the Canadian exchange rate (or 7½ percent discount for American money).

"It's not all profit for me," Douglas says. "Three percent goes to my friend in Toronto, one-half percent goes for air freight costs, and I get 3 percent."

Douglas supplies approximately 100 businesses and banks all over the Inland Empire. Coeur d'Alene, Post Falls, Kellogg, Wallace, Kooskia, Orofino, Yakima, Colfax, Sandpoint, Pullman, Moscow, and the Spokane metropolitan area.

Contacts other than advertising for his rare coin business include two teletype machines through which he can send and receive messages to dealers over the country.

Since school started Douglas has cut down on his business. He now employs three workers and his overhead is "only about $3,000 a month," he says. However, he still must make a trip to Spokane to check on his business about twice a week.

"Right now I'm mainly concerned about getting my education," said the marketing major. He added: "I have no plans for a coin business after graduation."

His parents are Mr. and Mrs. S. O. Douglas of South 2506 Sunrise Road.

His family is used to his business operations now. "They just grin and bear it now," he said.

"They're used to long-distance phone calls from all over the country at all hours, and me working 14 hours a day and not being home except to eat and sleep.

"My family has put up with me all the way. They've all become quite interested in the business. I've got them collecting and investing in coins now, and my brother Dennis (a senior in high school) works for me, wrapping packages to be shipped, etc., after school."

Why Federal Registrars?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 30, 1965

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I wonder just what Attorney General Katzenbach's real purpose is in sending Federal registrars into the Southern States? I know that his stated purpose, and the purpose designated in the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is that Federal registrars will be sent into counties where local registrars have discriminated or refuse to register citizens because of their color.

But the Attorney General must have some other purpose in mind when he sends Federal registrars into a county like Montgomery County, Ala. The Montgomery registrars were not discriminating, they were faithfully following the instructions of the Court, they were registering Negroes, yet Attorney General Katzenbach's Federal registrars were sent in anyway.

It seems to me the time may soon come when it will be necessary for Congress to investigate some of the strange orders coming out of the Justice Department, orders which even cause conflict with Federal judges administering the same laws. Or has the time come in America when the head of the Justice Department is a law unto himself? I believe we should take a closer look at the administration of justice under this man.

The following article from the Birmingham News of October 13 deals with Federal men being sent into Montgomery County in spite of the fact that Negroes are being registered:

MONTGOMERY REGISTRARS FAITHFULLY SIGNED UP NEGROES, YET FEDERAL MEN SENT IN

(By Tom Johnson)

It is too bad that national attention has not been drawn to the rap that has been hung on Montgomery County by the U.S. Justice Department. Here is a county that has faithfully, and to the satisfaction of a Federal court, registered every qualified Negro who presented himself. And yet last week, Federal voting examiners were sent to Montgomery to take charge of the registration procedures.

No rational motive for the action has been shown, probably because there is none. Some of the people who have worked most effectively for good race relations suspect that it is a cynical gesture. Montgomery is the capital; it is where the legislature and Gov. George Wallace sit. A rock heaved at Montgomery would have names and symbols all over it.

What is most peculiar about the case and will command national attention in time is that the issue is primarily between the Justice Department and U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., a tall, tough jurist who, in other times, would have looked at home with a star on his shirt and a big iron on his hip.

Since November 1962, Judge Johnson has been, in effect, the supreme voting registrar of Montgomery County. That was when he slapped an injunction on the Montgomery County Board of Registrars, commanded it to desist from a long history of voter discrimination, and directed that the board keep him posted with monthly reports.

In the 3 years that have passed since the injunction was issued, the registrars have put about 7,500 new Negro voters on the books, bringing the total to 11,000. They have conscientiously and a little fearfully abided by the terms of the injunction, which is still in effect, lest they be yanked back into the severe presence of Judge Johnson.

By his actions, Johnson has proclaimed his satisfaction with the performance of the board, most notably last December when the Justice Department requested that Johnson appoint Federal referees to take over registration. Johnson refused to do so, thus keeping the board and its activities under his supervision.

Now the Justice Department has directly encroached upon Johnson's jurisdiction and has, in effect, snatched away his exclusive authority over voter registration. A collision is imminent.

In the operating rules he handed down to the county registrars, Johnson held that the ability to read and write is a reasonable qualification to require of voters. Since then, the Voting Rights Act has become law, and the Justice Department is operating under the assumption that it abolishes the literacy qualification. This point of conflict may bring on a portentous case.

Montgormery County Solicitor Dave Crosland, who is attorney for the board of registrars, marched down to the Federal Building Friday and dropped a petition on the clerk's desk. It documents the accomplishments of the board and requests that Judge Johnson require the Federal examiners to operate under the same rules as the county registrars—that is; principally, that they not register anyone who cannot read and write.

Crosland argues that the Voting Rights Act did not abolish the literacy requirement but made it unlawful for registrars to require a voter applicant to "demonstrate" his literacy. Since the Montgomery board determines by oral questioning whether a person can read and write, Crosland asserts that this is not a demonstration, and no devices or tests are used.

Officially, the only justification for the move against Montgomery County was published in the Federal Register. Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach said that in his judgment the appointment of Federal examiners was necessary. That was the entire justification—his judgment.

The case gets stranger when it is remembered that only 4 months ago, Assistant Attorney General John Doar wrote to a Montgomery civil rights leader that "on the whole the Montgomery board has been doing very well."

In Montgomery, Judge Johnson is known as a man who is not to be trifled with. No bums sleep in his courtroom. The reporter who sneaks a look at a newspaper during a tedious proceeding is tapped on the shoulder by a marshal. You don't nod, you don't read, you don't look bored. You look interested. If you're a lawyer, you wear a look that seems to keep saying: "Judge, I'm not going to do anything to get you riled up."

Now Judge Johnson has been asked to say who is in charge of voting in Montgomery County. Is it he, with one set of rules, or the Justice Department, with another? The board of registrars cannot now abide by Judge Johnson's orders without running afoul of the Justice Department.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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Abernethy, Thomas G., *Miss.* — 6278 29th St.
Adair, E. Ross, *Ind* — 4000 Mass. Ave.
Adams, Brock, *Wash*
Addabbo, Joseph P., *N.Y*
Albert, Carl, *Okla* — 4614 Reno Rd.
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Dickinson, William L., *Ala*
Diggs, Charles C., Jr., *Mich*
Dingell, John D., *Mich*
Dole, Robert, *Kans* — 6136 Beachway Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Donohue, Harold D., *Mass*
Dorn, W. J. Bryan, *S.C* — 2030 Laburnum St., McLean, Va.
Dow, John G., *N.Y*
Dowdy, John, *Tex*
Downing, Thomas N., *Va*
Dulski, Thaddeus J., *N.Y* — 1705 Longworth House Office Building
Duncan, John J., *Tenn*
Duncan, Robert B., *Oreg* — 914 Lakeview Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Dwyer, Florence P. (Mrs.), *N.J.*
Dyal, Ken W., *Calif*
Edmondson, Ed, *Okla*
Edwards, Don, *Calif*
Edwards, Edwin W., *La*
Edwards, Jack, *Ala*
Ellsworth, Robert F., *Kans*
Erlenborn, John N., *Ill*
Evans, Frank E., *Colo*
Everett, Robert A., *Tenn*
Evins, Joe L., *Tenn* — 5044 Klingle St.
Fallon, George H., *Md*
Farbstein, Leonard, *N.Y*
Farnsley, Charles P., *Ky*
Farnum, Billie S., *Mich*
Fascell, Dante B., *Fla*
Feighan, Michael A., *Ohio*
Findley, Paul, *Ill*
Fino, Paul A., *N.Y*
Fisher, O. C., *Tex* — Calvert-Woodley
Flood, Daniel J., *Pa* — The Congressional
Flynt, John J., Jr., *Ga*
Fogarty, John E., *R.I* — 1235 New House Office Building
Foley, Thomas S., *Wash*
Ford, Gerald R., *Mich* — 514 Crown View Dr., Alexandria, Va.
Ford, William D., *Mich*
Fountain, L. H., *N.C* — The Westchester
Fraser, Donald M., *Minn*
Frelinghuysen, Peter H. B., *N.J.* — 3014 N St.
Friedel, Samuel N., *Md*
Fulton, James G., *Pa*
Fulton, Richard, *Tenn*
Fuqua, Don, *Fla*
Gallagher, Cornelius E., *N.J.*
Garmatz, Edward A., *Md*
Gathings, E. C., *Ark*
Gettys, Tom S., *S.C*
Giaimo, Robert N., *Conn*
Gibbons, Sam, *Fla*
Gilbert, Jacob H., *N.Y*
Gilligan, John J., *Ohio*
Gonzalez, Henry B., *Tex* — 200 C St. SE.
Goodell, Charles E., *N.Y* — 3842 Macomb St.
Grabowski, Bernard F., *Conn.*
Gray, Kenneth J., *Ill*
Green, Edith (Mrs.), *Oreg*
Green, William J., *Pa*
Greigg, Stanley L., *Iowa* — 301 G St. SW.
Grider, George W., *Tenn* — 119 7th St. SE.
Griffin, Robert P., *Mich*
Griffiths, Martha W. (Mrs.), *Mich.*
Gross, H. R., *Iowa*
Grover, James R., Jr., *N.Y*
Gubser, Charles S., *Calif*
Gurney, Edward J., *Fla*
Hagan, G. Elliott, *Ga*
Hagen, Harlan, *Calif*
Haley, James A., *Fla*
Hall, Durward G., *Mo*
Halleck, Charles A., *Ind* — 4926 Upton St.
Halpern, Seymour, *N.Y*
Hamilton, Lee H., *Ind*
Hanley, James M., *N.Y*
Hanna, Richard T., *Calif*
Hansen, George, *Idaho*
Hansen, John R., *Iowa* — 800 4th St. SW., Apt. S-701
Hansen, Julia Butler (Mrs.), *Wash.*
Hardy, Porter, Jr., *Va*
Harris, Oren, *Ark* — 1627 Myrtle St.
Harsha, William H., *Ohio*
Harvey, James, *Mich*
Harvey, Ralph, *Ind*
Hathaway, William D., *Maine.*
Hawkins, Augustus F., *Calif.*
Hays, Wayne L., *Ohio* — 3424 Barger Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Hébert, F. Edward, *La* — 26 Cockrell St., Alexandria, Va.
Hechler, Ken, *W. Va*
Helstoski, Henry, *N.J*
Henderson, David N., *N.C*
Herlong, A. S., Jr., *Fla*
Hicks, Floyd V., *Wash*
Holifield, Chet, *Calif*
Holland, Elmer J., *Pa*
Horton, Frank J., *N.Y*
Hosmer, Craig, *Calif*
Howard, James J., *N.J*
Hull, W. R., Jr., *Mo*
Hungate, William L., *Mo*
Huot, J. Oliva, *N.H*
Hutchinson, Edward, *Mich*
Ichord, Richard (Dick), *Mo.*
Irwin, Donald J., *Conn*
Jacobs, Andrew, Jr., *Ind*
Jarman, John, *Okla*
Jennings, W. Pat, *Va*
Joelson, Charles S., *N.J*
Johnson, Albert W., *Pa*
Johnson, Harold T., *Calif*
Johnson, Jed, Jr., *Okla*
Jonas, Charles Raper, *N.C*
Jones, Paul C., *Mo* — 1111 Army-Navy Dr., Arlington, Va.
Jones, Robert E., *Ala*
Karsten, Frank M., *Mo*
Karth, Joseph E., *Minn*
Kastenmeier, Robert W., *Wis.*
Kee, James, *W. Va* — 5441 16th Ave., Hyattsville, Md.
Keith, Hastings, *Mass* — 5906 Harwick Rd.,
Kelly, Edna F. (Mrs.), *N.Y*
Keogh, Eugene J., *N.Y* — The Mayflower
King, Carleton J., *N.Y*
King, Cecil R., *Calif*
King, David S., *Utah*
Kirwan, Michael J., *Ohio*
Kluczynski, John C., *Ill*
Kornegay, Horace R., *N.C*
Krebs, Paul J., *N.J*
Kunkel, John C., *Pa*
Laird, Melvin R., *Wis*
Landrum, Phil M., *Ga*
Langen, Odin, *Minn*
Latta, Delbert L., *Ohio*
Leggett, Robert L., *Calif*
Lennon, Alton, *N.C*
Lindsay, John V., *N.Y*

Appendix

Gasoline From Wyoming Coal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, this morning's Wall Street Journal carries an excellent article dealing with the growing number of deals and merger feelers of various oil companies increasing their holdings in coalfields as the processes are advanced of cheap automobile gasoline from coal. Because my State of Wyoming has been in economic doldrums ever since its mining was virtually halted 15 years ago, I believe this article is of special interest to all who are concerned with Wyoming's economy.

Wyoming is one of the ranking States of America in coal reserves and is one of the few States that has been bypassed by the prosperity enjoyed by so many of these United States. I am pleased to submit herewith the article written by Mr. Herbert G. Lawson, staff reporter of the Wall Street Journal. I hope no oil company is granted a lease, regardless of bid, if its intention is to hold these coalfields and to deny their development while oil and other forms of energy continue to fill the market requirements.

The article follows:

PITTSBURGH.—Within the next few years, the tiger in your tank could be made from coal.

The prospect of cheap automobile-grade gasoline from coal, long a dream of coal executives and energy planners, suddenly seems within reach. The techniques for squeezing out coal's hydrocarbons to make gasoline are well known, but only recently have scientists and engineers achieved breakthroughs in cost reduction.

The process, if successful, could have many far-reaching effects. Among them:

A spate of inter-industry mergers and acquisitions. Such a rush already has started, with several oil companies purchasing coal lands and coal companies. Only last week, Continental Oil Co. announced agreement in principle on a plan to buy Consolidation Coal Co. in a $600 million deal. Consol is a leader in coal-to-gasoline research.

New life for the fading coal industry and for the chronically depressed coal-mining areas of Appalachia. "If coal can capture only 10 percent of the gasoline market by 1980, it will result in a new coal market of 175 million tons a year," says John Corcoran, executive vice president of Consol. That total, more than a third of all coal produced in the United States last year, would provide an additional 40,000 jobs in the coal industry, based on current productivity.

Keener competition for the motorist's fuel dollar, a factor tending to keep gasoline prices from rising.

And a lessening of worries about possible exhaustion of U.S. oil and natural gas reserves. Such reserves could be used up in the foreseeable future, particularly if the United States were cut off from foreign supplies, some experts say. But coal is by far the Nation's biggest reservoir of fossil fuel, with current supplies estimated at about 2,000 times the total energy consumption in the United States in 1960.

"LAB WORK LOOKS GOOD"

There's many a slip, of course, between research calculations and production realities. Some coal operators and many oilmen are reserving judgment about coal-derived gasoline, particularly while research continues on alternative methods such as producing oil from shale rock or tar sands. "They'll have to run the coal-from-gasoline pilot plant quite awhile before we know anything for sure," says a top executive at one of Consol's competitors. But he adds, "The laboratory work looks good."

The pilot plant he refers to isn't even built yet. Ground is just being broken for the $3.8 million facility in Cresap, W. Va. The Government will put up the money, and Consol will operate it and act as Uncle Sam's chief research partner. The site is not far from Consol's big Ireland Mine.

By 1968 or 1969, the pilot plant should settle a cost question with major impact for the energy business and the consuming public: Can coal-derived gasoline be made as cheaply as the petroleum-based product? Consol and the U.S. Office of Coal Research are betting it can. Already, extensive research indicates 100-octane gasoline can be made from coal at a refinery cost of 11 cents a gallon, a price competitive with present gasoline at certain inland locations, the Government says.

Oil men say an 11-cent refinery cost would be highly competitive. At present, 100-octane gasoline is selling for 12½ cents at gulf refineries and 13 cents or more inland. Last year typical refinery prices ranged from 12 cents to 14 cents a gallon for high-octane gasoline. "If the coal people can produce it for 11 cents, they would have ample profit of 2 cents a gallon right now," says one oil company spokesman.

Current cost projections for the coal-to-gasoline process help explain the intense interest of major oil producers in coal. Continental Oil, however, insists that far more than Consol's gasoline process lured the oil producer into the deal. The big oil company ($1.4 billion in sales in 1964) says it weighed "the attractive long-term prospects" of coal, particularly in electrical generation, and decided that Consol's coal reserves "will strengthen the basic energy raw material position of (the company)." Consol tops all other coal producers in profit, assets and reserves.

MOVES BY OTHER PRODUCERS

Nevertheless, sources close to both companies insist that Consol's big edge over other coal producers in coal-to-gasoline research was one factor in the agreement. Consol has pioneered such research in this country since the early 1950's.

Other oil producers are quietly picking up coal properties or putting out merger feelers to coal producers. Their motives aren't always clear, but top coal officials are convinced that the recent upsurge in research on new ways to use coal for energy is a major factor. Scientists not only are reporting successes in converting coal to gasoline but also are developing new forms of ashless coal that someday may power gas turbines in locomotives. They're also working hard on projects to produce coal gas that would compete with natural gas and exploring diesel fuel and other products that may be economically produced from coal.

Gulf Oil Corp. moved deeply into the coal business when it acquired Spencer Chemical Co. of Kansas City, Mo., in 1963. One Spencer asset was a subsidiary, Pittsburgh & Midway Coal Mining Co., 10th biggest coal producer last year and a leading researcher in new coal processes. Kerr-McGee Oil Industries, Inc., Oklahoma City, has acquired leases and prospecting permits to 44,000 acres of coal land in the West in recent years; reserves are estimated at more than 660 million tons. "Coal now is playing a revitalized role as an energy source in the United States" Kerr-McGee says.

Other big oil companies, while claiming they aren't interested right now in coal lands, are keeping their foot in the door in other ways. Standard Oil Co. (Ohio) shared costs of a $10 million research program with Consol that led to major advances in coal-to-gasoline technology. They ended their partnership in 1962, but Sohio retains the right to join commercial production projects growing out of the research under certain conditions, a spokesman says.

Atlantic Refining Co., Philadelphia, is working under a Federal contract to develop its own process to turn coal into gasoline. It has a Philadelphia pilot plant where a coal-and-fuel-oil mixture is fed into a coking oven; volatile parts of the coal are removed and condensed to form a base for gasoline and other liquid fuels. The residue can be burned in coal-fire steam boilers to generate electricity.

UNPUBLICIZED BUYING

A Shell Oil Co. spokesman says, "We're continuing to keep ourselves intelligently informed on the coal-to-gasoline research, looking to the future when we may have to get hydrocarbon fuels from solids." Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey) says such coal technology "has been of some continuing interest here." Jersey Standard's first experiments with coal-derived gasoline date back to 1927.

The interest of oil producers in coal and its new technology is keener than many oil companies care to admit publicly. A top executive of one of the bigger coal companies says, "There is quite a bit of unpublicized oil company buying of coal lands. A lot of coal producers have been receiving merger feelers from the oil industry, including ourselves." He adds that Continental's purchase of Consol "is just the beginning" of oil-coal mergers. Buying of coal lands can be done quietly because of the diversity of the industry. More than 3,000 companies, many privately held, mine coal.

The coal operators are reticent, too, about disclosing the extent of their own research. But one coal executive concedes, "Our company is doing some of the same research Consol is doing and we're paying for it ourselves. It isn't a question of whether we can make gasoline from coal, it's a question of which method and when."

FAILURE IN THE FIFTIES

Once before, in the early 1950's, the dream of gasoline from coal dazzled—and then disappointed—coal men. Korean war demand for gasoline and especially for byproduct chemicals of gasoline making, such as ben-

zene, stimulated Federal interest in the then-new coal process. But the gasoline was far too expensive. Meanwhile, severe profit troubles forced the industry to curtail its research and the project languished.

But the 1960's brought a resurgence of interest. Consol and Sohio found new ways to refine the process and lower costs. The Government stepped in with its new Office of Coal Research and offered financing. In late 1962 Ralph M. Parsons Co., a Los Angeles engineering concern, completed a feasibility study for the Government. It found that gasoline could be produced from coal at a refinery cost of 13.6 cents a gallon.

The race was on to translate such studies into operating plants that could demonstrate the accuracy of theoretical cost calculations. Further improvements in Consol's process led to a Government announcement this spring that the gasoline could be produced for 11 cents a gallon. George Fumich, OCR director, predicted that a coal plant using 10,000 tons a day could turn out 10.3 million barrels of gasoline yearly, selling it at a price that could pay off all plant costs over the years and yield an 8.4 percent annual profit.

CONSOL'S PROCESS

The 11-cent figure is striking because it is less than half the cost of any previous gasoline produced from coal. An OCR official says the Consol process works with lower temperatures and pressures than previous processes. A Consol researcher says the process ideally will divide a lump of coal into two-thirds liquid for gasoline and one-third solid residue suitable for steam boiler fuel for utilities.

Coal, like crude petroleum, contains compounds of hydrogen and carbon called hydrocarbons. But coal is a relatively poor hydrocarbon source. The Consol process enriches it by adding hydrogen. In this process, coal is first dissolved in a solvent, then filtered to obtain an extract that is free of ash and that is liquid when heated. Hydrogen, a big cost factor, is added at this stage and the result is a refinery "feed-stock" similar to petroleum. This can then be fed into a conventional gasoline refinery.

Thus far experimental work has been done only on a high-grade coal from the Pittsburgh area. But an OCR official speculates that much cheaper low-grade coal called lignite might also work and reduce costs.

The Consol pilot plant is due to be completed late next year. "It will take at least 2 more years to get results from the plant," says Eric Reichl, Consol vice president in charge of research. The OCR official figures that "by about 1970" gasoline from coal may be commercially available if the pilot plant is successful. Under terms of the Government contract with Consol, the technology will be made available to the public and Consol's patents licensed to anyone for a reasonable fee.

GULF OIL'S PROJECT

Gulf Oil's Pittsburgh & Midway coal subsidiary is quietly pursuing a related research path with some success. It has a small pilot plant turning out about 50 pounds an hour of an intriguing product called "de-ashed" coal. This is coal from which nearly all the ash and most of the sulphur are removed by a solvent and filtering process.

This de-ashed coal "can be melted to form a liquid," says A. E. Lamm, Pittsburgh & Midway president. "We may be able to successfully blend some percentage of the de-ashed product with diesel oil. This could result in a substantial decrease in the cost of diesel-type fuels and represent a large volume of new coal production."

De-ashed coal also might be a cheap fuel for gas turbine engines. Ordinary coal erodes the turbine blades and thus isn't practical; but the new high-energy coal doesn't. One possibility, says Mr. Lamm, is that coal might win back its long-lost locomotive business. Preliminary studies indicate the new coal product "can be sold at prices that will be competitive with residual oil for gas turbine use, at least in many areas of the country," he claims.

Why Don't Birchers Admit Affiliation?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, in an excellent letter to the editor appearing in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of October 4, G. Harold Blaxter asked why members of the John Birch Society apparently are unwilling to stand up and be counted. I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Blaxter's letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter to the editor was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY DON'T BIRCHERS ADMIT AFFILIATION?

I read with some cynicism the pseudonymous letter from "I'm Not a Bircher" Hispanicus in The People Speak (September 28). There has been a premeditated blizzard of letters to the editor lately which proudly proclaim that the writer is absolutely not a member of the JBS but then praise it in the most extravagant terms.

The warm and vocal dedication to JBS ideals demonstrated by these tireless correspondents makes a strange contrast to the complete silence on the part of any admitted members of the society. Those few local Birchers who are willing to be identified as such (you can count them on your fingers) boast that the society's membership is increasing by leaps and bounds. Well, where are all these members? Surely a few dozen of them should have enough pride of accomplishment to write letters, over their own signatures, defending the activities of their beloved organization.

Why do they hide behind pseudonyms? Why do they have their letters written over the signatures of stooges (what shall we call them, "Birchsymps"?), when with just a little guts they could have the thrill of seeing their own real names in print?

The whole John Birch Society operation with its elaborately devious structure or front organizations (CLASP, TACT, Let Freedom Ring, etc.); with its carefully coached letter-writing stooges; and with its unreasonable emphasis on secrecy, pseudonyms and anonymous political infighting has a thoroughly nasty air about it.

If the Birchers are the red-blooded, four-square, Americans that they claim to be, why don't they dump the phony front groups, sign their own names to their letters, and open up an office where citizens could walk in off the street and sit down and read the constitution and bylaws of their organization? If they are so proud of their ever-increasing membership, why don't they publish a list of their members as does practically every respectable club, fraternal, or social organization? If they are so super-patriotic, why don't they wear a lapel pin to identify themselves—the way American Legionnaires do?

G. HAROLD BLAXTER.

PITTSBURGH.

P.S.: I am not a member of the Communist Party. Also I am not a member of the PTA, the CIA, the CIO, the ADA, the AFL, the ADL, or the YMCA; nor am I associated with B'nai B'rith or the Peace Corps.

Our Fragmented Domestic Operations Need a Rand Corp. Just as Much as the Satisfied Air Force

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, since the New Deal administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, our Nation has been committed to domestic programs to improve the education, housing, health, and general standard of living for every individual and the country as a whole. In the October 3, 1965, issue of the Washington Post, Amitai Etzioni, who is a member of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford, Calif., criticized our approach to these problems.

We have all experienced the confusion and frustration of trying to get a solution to a problem through the maze of bureaus and departments handling our social legislation. Etzioni suggests that we view our social problems as scientifically as we do our weapons systems. The complex interrelationship of social issues suggests a domestic "think factory" similar to the Rand Corp., to coordinate our efforts. I would like to insert this article in the RECORD and I commend it to my colleagues' attention.

OUR FRAGMENTED DOMESTIC OPERATIONS NEED A RAND CORP. JUST AS MUCH AS THE SATISFIED AIR FORCE

(By Amitai Etzioni)

NOTE.—Etzioni is a member of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford, Calif.)

President Johnson's domestic program is more favorably regarded than his foreign policy, but getting Congress to pass bills is not equivalent to domestic success. Passing a bill does not assure Federal action, and, Federal action, even if taken, may not yield the expected results.

Thus Congress could pass another civil rights bill but desegregation remain token; antipoverty funds might be tripled but poverty not significantly decline; a Department for Urban Affairs may be instituted but not achieve a substantial reduction in air pollution, drought effects or traffic jams.

One significant element still largely lacking on the domestic front is comprehensive strategic thought, without which key levers cannot be located and new resources effectively used.

PIECEMEAL INEFFICIENCY

Many of the problems that the Nation has decided to attack under Mr. Johnson's leadership are what social scientists refer to as the "system" type. Such problems have deep roots, are widespread throughout the society and cannot be handled conveniently by taking them one at a time with a dozen agencies each trying to trim its branch of the societal tree.

Example: many of the poor to be helped by the antipoverty drive are Negroes. What is less often stressed is that the other major group of poor people are diehard segregationist. The more effective the amelioration of their poverty, the less violent desegration is likely to be.

Most other domestic problems are of a similarly intricate "system" nature in which

affairs handled in one sector of the society are affected by and affect matters in other sectors. It is a commonplace among students of American government that the Federl approach to national problems is just the opposite of a system approach: each Federal agency focuses on one or a few aspects of a total problem.

While Federal coordination on the domestic front might be increased to a degree, as has been done in the defense area, we must assume, at least for the short run, that it will remain more or less low, as it is now. A score of agencies will each continue to reform its slice of America, jealously guarding its empire from encroachment and exposure by the others.

One major way to provide the system approach is to include at the level of policy what cannot be provided at the level of executive action. What is needed is more studies of the Nation as one combination of societal forces and processes, all interacting with each other, all affecting each other.

This is not a question of one more research job: many Federal agencies have research and development divisions and all have some form of intellectual input in the form of expert advice, consultants or advisory boards. The problem is that this thought input itself is fragmented along the same lines as the agencies.

Relatively little investment is made in studying the way things hang together, the changes in one section that hinder or assist those in others. On the domestic front, we still study each weapon rather than entire weapons systems.

UNFRUITFUL CONFERENCES

The conditions under which the system approach thrives can be specified. They are rarely satisfied by a White House conference in which a large number of eminent men are flown to Washington for 3 days of discussion. Nor can such an approach be fruitfully developed by White House advisory comittees whose members have scores of other assignments.

And whatever the value of such reports, they rarely have a "system" quality. Needed is a much more continuous, professional, systematic effort. The Air Force provides a good example.

I do not favor either the general posture or the specifics of the strategy the Air Force "think factroy" (the Rand Corp.) turns out, but I greatly respect the systematic way it goes about it. The Air Force has retained for more than 10 years a sizable professional staff drawn from a large variety of disciplines. These researchers are paid comparatively high salaries, which is necessary to compete with rising academic salaries and to retain the same personnel over long periods. The Air Force gave this "think" corporation considerable autonomy and put it 3,000 miles from Washington and its daily political life.

REPORT TO PRESIDENT

What seems to be needed is a similar institute for domestic problems. The ratio of social to natural scientists would have to be much higher than in the Rand Corp. and the domestic Rand might well report to the White House rather than to any one Federal agency.

This group would study questions that cut across the responsibilities of any one Federal agency and examine the effects that programs planned by one agency could have on those of another. It would also ask, using the tools of modern social science, what will be the cumulative effect on our society of increased population, migration to cities, automation, mass education, etc., not independently for each process, as if the others do not exist, but as they work on each other.

These relationships are now occasionally explored in a "system" fashion by nonprofessionals or as a rush job by not fully qualified research organizations, often with a partisan or commercial bias. It seems worth the $2 million or so that it would cost to find out what could be achieved if a team of the best social scientists the Nation can recruit were put on the job on a full time, fully professional basis.

Domestic policy deserves the same systematic strategic thought that our military policy has.

Extremism and Our Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I have long raised my voice against extremists of both the left and the right. A careful and thoughtful analysis of what extremism means was made in a speech recently given by Dr. Mary Anne Raywid, associate professor of education and chairman of educational foundations at Hofstra University on Long Island, N.Y. I ask unanimous consent that excerpts of her speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXTREMISM AND OUR SCHOOLS

(By Mary Anne Raywid, associate professor of education, Hofstra University, Nassau County, N.Y.)

I would like to open my remarks here tonight with a comment from Abraham Lincoln, on military action connected with the Civil War.

"The shepherd," Lincoln said, "drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as a liberator—while the wolf denounces him for the same act as a destroyer of liberty, especially as the sheep was a black one." In explaining the situation, President Lincoln added, "Plainly, the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word 'liberty'; and precisely the same difference prevails today among us human creatures * * * and all professing to love liberty."

I think it is safe to add that this difference continues to prevail "among us human creatures." As a result, I would not venture to say whether I stand here in the role of the shepherd or the wolf—though it is my own desire, of course, to line up with the "forces of good."

I have been asked to talk to you about "Extremism and Our Schools"—a fairly broad topic, covering a range of positions from one end to the other. One can argue the proper definition of extremism. But fortunately for us tonight we don't have to frame a definition. For disparate local interests have recently agreed on one—that offered in the PTA's new pamphlet on "Extremist Groups." So in the hope that such agreement from fairly opposed factions may serve as a beginning, let us look at the PTA's definition of extremism. Actually, I just want to point to one striking feature of these seven statements.

At least six are procedural. They are concerned, in other words, not so much with the extremist's beliefs or commitments, as with the tactics and methods he employs to further those beliefs. An extremist is one who tries by various means to prevent the expression of views counter to his own—either orally, at a meeting such as this one, or via the purging of school or public libraries, or by means of attempts to coerce schools to adopt particular books and other materials and to repress others. The extremist is one who resorts to coercion in pushing his own position, and is willing to indulge in "irresponsible, venomous, and near-libelous attacks on individuals, institutions, and organizations." He labels views counter to his own—and those who advocate them—as "disloyal."

* * * * *

There is an explanation as to why extremists employ these procedures. They believe, says the PTA, "in rule by their own minority." As a result, they are unwilling to permit the majority to rule, and indeed, recognize no obligation to do so.

I would like to suggest that herein lies the real threat of the extremist. This is the major danger he poses, quite irrespective of what his specific beliefs may be, and the sort of society he would set up if given the chance. For whatever that society might be, it could not, by definition, be a democracy or a republic. The reason is that our political system assumes at least these two things: first, the continuance—even the desirability—of disagreement and conflict; but second, conflict carried on according to ground rules about which there is agreement, not disagreement. This is one way our political system attempts to provide for both unity and diversity. But without any unity—in the absence, that is, of agreement as to the rules for carrying on the debate—either or both of two things is bound to occur. * * * Either anarchy and chaos prevail, and/or a strong man steps in to take over. This is what happened in Germany and it has happened repeatedly in history, for it is in the nature of the case. It is true whether we are talking about governments and societies, or whether we are talking about schools and school districts.

Now I have been trying to show the logical necessity for a set of ground rules to which all factions in a debate agree, and by which all will abide. But actually, perhaps the abstract logical case need not be made here at all, because you have been living through the effects of the disintegration of such rules. Until the last several years, Levittown has been the Long Island focus of national attention, in discussions of school and community dissension. Hicksville is now proving a powerful contender for this honor. And when the conduct of school affairs has deteriorated to the point it seems to have reached here, the renown is understandable and deserved. What is far less understandable is a community's willingness to let this happen. For in the long run, the real victims of the kind of conflict that is going on here are not, of course, the school personnel, or the board members, or the citizens who devote so much time and energy to committees, leagues, etc. The real victims are, of course, your own children. And no matter what kind of education you want for them, or what kind of people you want them to grow up to be, you are well on the way to making any effective educational program impossible.

I know that you disagree among yourselves as to educational policy and practice. And moreover, such disagreement is desirable, rather than to be avoided. Democracy depends, and progress in virtually all of its institutions hinges, on the conflict of ideas. But in any system that not only tolerates but encourages conflict, the manner in which the struggle is carried on is crucial. And that is why I have been trying to stress the importance of the procedural requirements of democracy—the necessity for ground rules governing how the debate is to proceed. For as long as you have school officials publicly accused of "abysmal ignorance," and far worse, how can you expect the institution

they staff to function with any effectiveness at all?

Now what does all this suggest? I would like to propose here tonight a new organization for Hicksville * * * and not just for Hicksville, incidentally. The organization I am suggesting would be islandwide * * * and * * * would seek membership from individuals in various * * * communities.

The purpose of such an organization would be simply to block extremist efforts to control schools—which, let me remind you, is something that two diametrically opposed factions here in Hicksville have already agreed to condemn. This organization would not be interested in pushing any specific position on education. It would be concerned with bettering education only in that rival views cannot even be rationally considered and argued, until order—which you certainly do not have in Hicksville—has been restored. So it is entirely unnecessary that members of the organization I am proposing agree about educational policy. The agreement that would bind the organization together is a commitment to democratic procedure—an agreement as to the ground rules for discussing education, or, for that matter, for considering any and all public issues.

Here are advantages I see for such an organization. First—and of most immediate concern to you and your children—short of a real change in the climate in which school affairs have to be conducted in Hicksville, I see absolutely no hope whatsoever for improvement. I think you are likely to put in a number of more years amid the same kind of dissension and suspicion and mistrust you have been living with. And let me remind you: under these conditions, nobody wins. I am sure that no educational faction in Hicksville is satisfied that it has obtained the educational situation it desires. Given such dissension, there are no real winners—there are only the chronic losers: namely, your children—and through them, all of us. On the other hand, suppose it were possible to eliminate the dissension by besting the extremists who introduce and nourish it. A group with sufficient strength and influence could put an end to extremist tactics; it could obtain conformance to the ground rules necessary to restoring order—which then and only then might permit us to rationally consider the real issues about education.

For the altruists among you, the organization I am recommending would also offer an opportunity to be of service to other people, in other Long Island communities. For one of the most striking things about extremist efforts to control schools is the similarity of events in one community after another. Virtually the same pattern gets repeated over and over again, all over the country. * * * For remember that a cycle very, very similar to the one you are now in the middle of, began some years earlier in Levittown. And there are a number of other communities on Long Island at various stages in what is probably just about the identical same cycle. * * * This is no mere coincidence. There can be little doubt that the extremists who are putting the cycles in motion are organized on a wide geographic basis. And it is a rule of politics as well as of military strategy that the successful faction must command and deploy forces at a scope commensurate with that of its opposition.

In short, the advantages associated with the organization I am recommending add up to this: it would offer more hope than any alternative measure has yet provided anywhere in the country, to school systems under extremist attack. But as with any proposal, the idea has disadvantages too * * *. Anybody who agreed to be active in the organization I am proposing could, to that extent, be called upon to submerge other things in which he believed. For this, after all, is what a strong commitment to procedural democracy involves. It requires that when a President we don't like gets elected, we desist from trying to start a revolution. Less dramatically * * * a commitment to the procedural aspects of democracy requires that when a school board majority we don't like gets elected, we permit the board to function. We do not, in other words, resort to the tactics of the extremist—even though these might prove effective—when elections and other decisions don't go our way. Committed membership in the organization I am proposing means that procedural considerations—the rules of the game—must come first in any educational discussion.

* * * * *

Membership could also involve you in some unpopular causes, and in some you do not sympathize with. For this is the fate of all who want to preserve procedures. The Fair Campaign Practices Committee * * * has doubtless found itself in the position of having to criticize candidates whom members individually back—and conversely, they have probably had to uphold candidates whom they, as individuals, deplore. Similarly, the American Civil Liberties Union has stated positions favorable to the Ku Klu Klan and the John Birch Society—neither of which are outfits that would appear to hold particular appeal to individual ACLU members. The only compensation for the kind of disadvantage I have been outlining—that of speaking in behalf of a cause you do not share—is that democracy requires it. For look at the alternative: either we commit ourselves to procedures for reaching decisions, or we commit ourselves to specific views and decisions—irrespective of the wishes of others, and even if those others constitute a majority. This second alternative can never hold sway in a democracy. When and if it does, democracy is at an end.

Now at this point I want to clear up a question that may have occurred to some of you. Up until now, I have talked about "extremists" and, although I have not said so specifically, most of what I have had to say has pertained primarily to political extremists. But if we are primarily concerned with education and not politics * * * then why the strong intrusion of politics? Actually, a good part of what I have been trying to say constitutes an answer to this. But I want to make it completely explicit. When we talk about extremists attempting to control public education, with very few exceptions it is the political extremist who is involved. His primary interests seem to lie largely in realizing a political program, rather than an educational one. Now in one sense, there is nothing ulterior or nefarious about this. For in most cases, our views about what society should be like—color and determine our views about what education should be like. And this is simply another way of saying that our political beliefs determine our educational beliefs.

But there is another sense in which the primacy of political motives in educational discussions is completely insidious. When an individual or organization seeks to control education to the purpose of indoctrinating its own political position, this is certainly cause for alarm. For the attempt here is not to win in any open contest of vying ideas—but to so manipulate and control the information and outlook of tomorrow's electorate that the conflict of ideas so vital to democracy becomes impossible. By virtue of the way they are run, as well as their concern with the young, schools are, after all, the most sensitive agency in the community. And the extremist's willingness to violate all the rules in controlling this agency and the children it serves, represents as clearly as anything else, his wholehearted contempt for democracy and majority rule. But this attempt to control the future by manipulating its voters not only shows the reason for the extremist's interest in education—it also illustrates how his distorted political views determine and explain his equally distorted educational views. For to the extremist, the end justifies the means. The desire to realize his own political program today justifies the tactics we listed earlier. His desire to guarantee his political program over the long run justifies his manipulation of the decisionmakers of tomorrow. Hence, the relationship between the political view and the educational view. The two are inseparable. And this is the reason why a discussion of "extremist" efforts regarding education has to be, in considerable part, a discussion of political beliefs.

Educational decisions are made and carried out in the political arena. This is necessarily the case, since schools are a public institution. It means that political strategy and techniques are important to success in school board elections and bond issues and other referenda. It would be the virtue of the organization I am proposing tonight, that it could effectively employ these strategies and techniques over a broad geographic area—and, hopefully, with more strength and power and expertise than individual factions in separate communities could bring to bear. The purpose would not be to elect specific factions or back particular programs in a given community—but to bring to bear all the legitimate political power that can be mustered, to force the extremists either to conform to the requirements of democratic procedure or to get out of local educational affairs. This is a matter of marshaling public opinion.

* * * * *

The model for this new organization might well be an expanded Fair Campaign Practices Committee. This is a national nonpartisan organization whose standards for fair campaign practices have been accepted by both major parties.

* * * * *

Now I am proposing that this new organization might well be an expanded version of a Fair Campaign Practices Committee (which has worked successfully at the local level too, incidentally). The reason for the expansion is that the problem we are trying to solve is not limited to campaign conduct. It pertains also to the conduct of school board members, once elected, and to the conduct of what should be the "loyal opposition" between elections. Although this proposal may sound somewhat idealistic to some of you, I do not believe it is overly so at all. The need for such a group on Long Island is abundantly and painfully clear. And what is more, past events in many local communities have made it so to a number of people. These people alone would provide a healthy nucleus for the new organization.

In the interests of blocking the extremist's efforts with respect to schools, I would suggest that this new organization perform several functions. First, it should be concerned with the development and promulgation of codes of conduct for campaigns and for the times in between. In this regard, you have a good start with the already accepted PTA definition, and the Fair Campaign Practices Committee's materials should be of help, too. Second, this organization ought to be willing to investigate individual cases and issue judgments as to whether violations of the code are involved. Sometimes this is easy and obvous. At other times—and your history in Hicksville makes this plain—the question may be difficult and complex. Unless you can assume unbiased newspaper reporting—and * * * that * * * may be overly optimistic—then even a public willing to dig for the truth needs help.

I also see a third major function for this organization. One of the reasons why extremists can generate and manufacture so

much difficulty is that large segments of the public are not sufficiently informed. Hence, I see an important informational or educational task for this new organization. The job related to extremism might well be an expansion of just the sort of thing I tried to do in the earlier part of this talk: to show just what makes an extremist and why he represents a threat. It is not mainly what he advocates, whether he wants to do away with the income tax or bomb Moscow, or whatever. It is the means or procedures he advocates and applies in trying to realize his program, irrespective of the majority's desires and decisions.

The second part of the informational task—about education itself—is somewhat broader. I think that a series of meetings might well be devoted to how public schools are organized and run, where decisions are made, and the roles of school boards, administrators, and teachers in educational decisionmaking. Other topics might well include educational aims and the way these are served by the schools at various levels and in various programs. It would be my hope that monthly meetings and topics would be announced annually and in advance, each to be held within a different community represented in the organization's membership. I have proposed what I believe is a workable program, but it is also, in some respects, an ambitious one. It needs to be, I think, for the task is large; and it deserves to be, because the stakes are high. I would urge you—whose presence here tonight testifies to your concern—to join in the job. And in testimony to its importance and difficulty, I would like to close with a quotation from a thoughtful man I read regularly but do not always agree with. He is James Kilpatrick, who writes the column "A Conservative View." Recently, he said the following:

"Believing in freedom—really believing in freedom—is a terribly difficult task. It demands the faith of saints. And to live consistently by the canons of freedom is as hard to live by as the canons of Christianity. Not many of us make it * * *."

Mr. Kilpatrick is right. And what I have been trying to do is to issue an invitation—or more accurately, an appeal—to try to make it. Because it is right, and because it is necessary.

Let Us Rededicate Ourselves To Support for the "Man in Blue"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT E. SWEENEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. SWEENEY. Mr. Speaker, I should like to comment upon the growing national problem of reinstating respect for authority in this land of the free and the home of the brave.

Article after article, speaker after speaker, have moralized with great accuracy that we live in an age of changing values in which our respect for law and civil authority is rapidly decaying.

Many point to the fact that the basic unit of our society, the home, has undergone great change in the recent decades, and that the exercise of parental discipline and the acceptance of parental authority within the home is no longer commonplace, but rather exceptional to find.

In a fast moving era such as ours, wherein technological advances are being reported daily, we seem to have been swept up in a constant emphasis on materialism; and spiritual values seem to be on the wane. Education as formerly understood seems hard pressed to encourage elementary discipline and unable to instill in young minds the simple concepts of "mine and thine."

Authorities in the field of law enforcement have repeatedly pointed out that policemen, teachers, and parents no longer get the respect that they did in days of their youth; and it seems that these authorities are somewhat restricted by our ever-changing laws and concepts of legal enforcement which teach to punish the kids of today would be to in someway psychologically scar them.

Parental responsibility in a growing America concerned with life in suburbia and the three-car, three-television era, is on the obvious decline. Early in life, the child is physically, psychologically, spiritually, and practically on his own. He affiliates on the street corners of America with those of his age and generation who also are products of a discipline-starved homelife and who in those formative teen years are psychologically unequipped to face the problems of the age in which he lives.

Those of us in Government who deal daily with crime statistics react with shock over such things as demonstrations, rioting, street crimes, lawlessness, disrespect for the law, and the ever-increasing army of maladjusted misfits that pock our society. Today, more than ever before, men in Government are taking a close look at the growing problem of disrespect for law in present day America.

This is a problem that cannot be swept under the rug or excused away. The simple truth is that when the family and the neighborhood fail in the rearing of law-abiding citizens, then we must face the terribly obnoxious thought that possibly the future raising of our children ought to be also undertaken by Federal authorities.

I think it is about time that we call a spade a spade and rally to the rescue of the police of America who are constantly being cast in the role of villains and who are being badgered without interruption by the charge of brutality.

Let us put an end to the disgusting tendency that exists in every city of the land and let us identify those groups which seem to be busy in the "blame the blue" campaign. Let us ask ourselves whether or not certain changes of attitudes have occurred in neighborhoods and communities, which formerly frowned on criminals, and which today paint them as poor, misguided persons not deserving of punishment.

Mr. Speaker, one of the most spectacular oddities of our day and age is the sight of policemen protecting persons engaged in illegal demonstrations which actually break down public faith and confidence in the law and the officers who enforce it.

As Congressman at Large for the State of Ohio, I was most delighted to learn of a citizen's group recently formed in Cleveland, Ohio, which is conducting a concerted effort to facilitate a better understanding and connection between citizens and their police. This police-citizens relations committee is engaged in a very worthwhile service, and is effectively participating in the war on lawlessness, and encouraging better law enforcement in the areas where the crime rate seems ever mounting.

Studies and surveys indicate that America has been altogether too passive in the battle against crime, and that we must have greater citizen participation in the war against criminals. This war against crime is being waged in every city in the Nation.

The simple reality of our times is that our streets are not safe, that there are reasons to believe that crimes of violence are on the increase in all areas and that much more must be done nationally to protect the lives and property of our citizenry.

Up until now, the "man in blue" has fought a losing battle without much thanks and certainly without very little governmental or citizen support. Once the "man in blue" undertakes an arrest, it seems he subjects himself to possible suit for false arrest when the defense, through some legal technicality, secures the reduction or dismissal of the original violation.

The "man in blue" is indeed expert in his field and can guide us to understand such things as court leniency, abuses of probation and parole, suspended sentences, and special privileges which he encounters daily in the courts of our land and in his contacts with the public and private rehabilitation services which are adjuncts of them.

We can hardly expect respect for law unless we can demonstrate America's urgency that the laws of the land be enforced to the fullest extent. Society, in my judgment, must, without question, demonstrate its unwillingness to coddle criminals, but to deal with them both fairly and sternly at the same time.

The modern oddity is the lack of any militant group to further the obligations of an American citizen. The Citizens' Committee for an Adequate Cleveland Community Action program is the first organization I have noted which had dedicated itself to this purpose and is doing something effective to curb mob violence and gang rule.

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that all America—north, south, east, and west—white and blue collar alike; young, middle aged, and senior citizens of all faiths and creeds and races—must draw this Nation together as one group to rededicate itself with a sense of moral and legal obligation. This Nation must react in unity against those bleeding hearts who have so mysteriously captivated our interests and have so effectively undermined sensible law enforcement.

There was a day in this land when boy and girl, with jump rope in hand, regarded the "man in blue" as a loyal and trusted friend. There was a day not too long gone when the parental support for education and discipline was a marvel to behold. There was a day in which the entire community developed a conscience

against criminal behavior without finding psychological or social excuses for it; and Mr. Speaker, there shall again come a day in which America will once more appreciate the contribution of the "man in blue," who daily puts his life on the line for his community at low-level pay and receives in return, high-level abuse.

The role of the rank and file policeman as the balance wall of our society must somehow be reinstated. Judges, prosecutors, and district attorneys must pledge a more cooperative effort and forge a closer alliance with the "man in blue," who stands in the courtrooms of America in the enforcement of laws and ordinances.

In short, Mr. Speaker, America must wake up and adopt a different attitude toward discipline. The leaders of our Government on all levels and the leaders of our churches as well, must renew themselves with respect to law and order and their love for it. The father and mother in the home must not just tolerate law and its enforcement as it applies to those beyond their home, but must foster and apply it within the family to learn to adopt a zest for it, for the law is available and ready in the protection of the rights of us all, the poor and the rich, the intelligent and the misguided, the privileged and the deprived, the deserving and the undeserving, the very existence of the stability of our society depends upon our love of the law and our willingness to support police efforts to enforce it.

Back in 1880, the immortal Gilbert and Sullivan wrote an operetta which contained a line stating, "The policeman's lot is not a happy one."

Indeed, this has unique application in our time, but I might suggest, Mr. Speaker, that it would be of great consequence to the "men in blue" in this Nation for them to know that they enjoy broad public interest in these trying and difficult days.

An so on the way home tonight, Mr. Speaker, I intend to give the policeman on the corner a friendly smile and a word of encouragement for the tremendous job that he is doing in every corner of the land in the protection of our lives and property.

Minimum Wage for Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the pronouncement on minimum wage by the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor, at a joint meeting of the executive council and members of the executive boards of the affiliated locals of the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor, held on August 8, 1965.

There being no objection, the pronouncement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRONOUNCEMENT OVER MINIMUM WAGE

In 1938, while Santiago Iglesias Pantin was serving the post of Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico in Washington, the U.S. Congress adopted the National Labor Standards Act also known as the wage and hour and public contracts law. The first endorsement to said just and reasonable law which was extended to Puerto Rico without any discrimination, was cabled by brother Nicolás Nogueras Rivera on behalf of the working people of the island. The law fixed a minimum wage of 25 cents per hour and a gradual annual increase of 5 cents until it would reach a minimum of 40 cents an hour. Santiago Iglesias Pantín and the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor were blamed for the approval of such legislative measure.

In 1940, the reactionary forces with the strong help of the indifference and lack of interest of great sectors of workers, but with the tenacious opposition of the Free Federation, the wage and hour and public contracts law was amended to permit the appointing of Industry Committees empowered to recommend wage rates inferior to those established by the Federal statute. So there was consecrated in 1940 one of the most great legislative injustices against the homes of the working people of the island.

With the sacrifices known by history and the extraordinary efforts of the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor, a tremendous campaign was launched both in Puerto Rico and in Washington to achieve the increase in the minimum wage for employees in the industries covered by the Federal law and to improve the wage rates of the employees in the sugar cane fields through the reasonable and just wages decrees of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

And while the Puerto Free Federation of Labor achieved important improvements in the wage rates through collective bargaining agreements notwithstanding the aggressions of powerful combined forces against the toiling masses it continued consequently and consistently its task directed to modify or amend the local and Federal minimum wage laws. Against those powerful forces, enemies of the minimum wages and of our federation, we succeeded in getting a minimum hourly rate of 75 cents; later on the $1 hourly minimum and the minimum wage of $1.25 an hour. We succeeded although not in an entirely satisfactory way the minimum wage rates of the agricultural workers which still are starvation wages and antisocial ones.

Responding to the constant pressure of our federation, the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico adopted in 1956 law No. 96 known as the Minimum Wage Law of Puerto Rico after having attempted to approve legislation without fixing any minimum wage rates and empowering the Minimum Wage Board of Puerto Rico with the sole right of approving minimum wage rates for the employees of Puerto Rico through special industry committees in which labor had and has been in a minority position. But the legislative assembly adopted the minimum wage law to which we gave our backing but expressing the dissatisfaction of labor because of the inadequate and antisocial wages fixed. The U.S. Congress amended the wage and hour and public contracts law fixing a minimum wage of $1.25 an hour but with discriminatory dispositions to the workers of Puerto Rico, a sector of which has lately received the benefits of said law. The powerful combined forces again defeated the objectives of social justices of the toiling masses. Notwithstanding, the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor, got collective bargaining agreements with minimum wages superior, in many cases, to those fixed by local and Federal governments.

The Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor, in line with its norms, and its principles of human justice, and in accord with its ideals and doctrines, has continued its uninterrupted and tenacious endeavor to convince the U.S. Congress to do complete justice to the Puerto Rican workers, loyal Americans, that work in agriculture, in the factories, in commerce and industries in general leveling the wages of Puerto Rican workers with those fixed to their fellow American citizens in the mainland. But the same powerful combined forces, in perennial chasing, move quietly to Washington, one by one, to fight against the justice of a decent wage for which the working people wait so impatiently.

Before U.S. Congress there is legislation to raise the minimum wage for farmworkers to $1 an hour and to $1.25 an hour. Originally our agricultural workers were left out of the proposed legislation and our federation, in line with its principles and ideals has been demanding the correction of the tremendous error and there have been expressions of Congressmen to the effect of amending the error. Before the U.S. Congress there is pending legislation having the favorable attitude of same to modify the minimum wage increasing it to $1.75 an hour an hour and including Puerto Rico and extending its coverage to the hotels, restaurants and bars employees, to farmworkers, and to the other sectors already covered by law. Very quietly, the combined reactionary forces which usually express their love toward American institutions and love so much Puerto Rico, have been moving as always, to stop the wage legislative justice in Washington, opposing the approval of higher minimum wages and trying to intimidate with the ghost of the shutdown of a number of factories.

The Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor, through its president, brother Nicolas Nogueras Rivera, and responding to resolutions adopted by the executive council and conventions, has been addressing to the U.S. Congress urging the elimination of discrimination maintained in the National Labor Standards Act and asking that wages in the law applicable to continental Americans be extended to Puerto Rico in equal footing inasmuch Puerto Rican workers are American citizens.

Considering that the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor should invariably continue its consistent struggle so that justice be made to labor and inasmuch there is pending before U.S. Congress legislation toward increasing the wages, this joined meeting of the executive council and members of the executive boards of affiliated locals should resolve, as it is hereby resolved to adopt this pronouncement with the following dispositions:

1. To warmly endorse all the activities and initiative taken and developed by the president of the Puerto Free Federation of Labor, brother Nicolas Nogueras Rivera, before U.S. Congress and on behalf of our federation in relation with minimum wage legislation and working conditions and advocating the application to Puerto Rico without discrimination, of the wage and hour and public contracts law including farm labor, hotel, restaurant and bar employees, and other workers.

2. To urge as it is urged, from all affiliated locals and from labor in general to send messages to the House and Senate of the United States; to the House Committee on Education and Labor; to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare; to President Lyndon B. Johnson; to the Secretary of Labor, Willard W. Wirtz; to the Governor and the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico, to the Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico in Washington, urging the approval of congressional measures on mini-

mum wages demanding their applicability without any discrimination to Puerto Rico including labor conditions.

3. To call, as it is recommended to be called as soon as possible, another Puerto Rican Labor Minimum Wage Congress under the auspices of the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor in the city and date selected by the president of our institution.

This is to certify that the preinsert pronouncement was unanimously adopted by the joined meeting of the executive council of the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor and members of the executive boards of the affiliated locals held on Sunday, August the 8th of 1965 at the meeting of the Top of the First, First Federal Savings Building in Santurce, Puerto Rico.

Given this 5th day of October 1965 at the central office of the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor in the First Federal Savings Building; 4th floor, offices 414–415, in Santurce, Puerto Rico, and having stamped the official seal of our Federation.

By the Executive Board:

NICOLAS NOGUERAS RIVERA,
President.

IRENE TORRES RESTO,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Medical Committee for Human Rights Distorts Facts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 29, at page A5513 there appeared a statement by the Medical Committee for Human Rights relative to health services available in the State of Mississippi, and the challenge to the Mississippi delegation in Congress.

The Medical Committee for Human Rights has demonstrated no positive interest in the health needs of the Nation; instead, it is a militant civil rights organization engaged in political activities.

The statement perverted statistical data by attempting to prove that whites in Mississippi have better access to public health facilities than Negroes. For example, the following is quoted from the statement:

> In 1963 the maternal death rate for the white population was 3.4 while that of the Negro population was 11.5, a threefold difference.

Let us look at New York. The maternal death rate for 1961–63 in New York for whites was 3.2 and for Negroes it was 13.2, a fourfold difference. The Medical Committee for Human Rights should stay at home in New York and look after its health needs rather than go to Mississippi and look after political affairs there.

Mr. Speaker, the statement contained so many misstatements of fact that I asked Dr. A. L. Gray, executive director of the Mississippi State Board of Health for his comments on the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD insertion. To set the record straight, under unanimous consent, I include Dr. Gray's letter at this point in the RECORD:

MISSISSIPPI STATE BOARD OF HEALTH,
Jackson, Miss., October 8, 1965.

Hon. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS,
Member of Congress,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WILLIAMS: This is in reply to your letter of September 30, relating to the Medical Committee for Human Rights in Mississippi. During the summer of 1964, we had several physicians from New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, and some from Northern States, visit in Mississippi in connection with the so-called Medical Committee for Human Rights. The first one who came to my office was from New York City, and his assignment was to determine in a 3-day visit the medical and health needs of the Negro population in the entire State of Mississippi. I suggested to him that I had been reevaluating the medical and health needs of all of the population of Mississippi from time to time since 1930. I suggested to this gentleman that I felt that he would find very little of relative value in a 3-day tour of the State. Later in the discussion he said that he would send the State board of health $200,000 to $300,000 to aid in the Negro health program if they could put a consultant on our staff. I asked him where the money was coming from. He remarked that it was coming from foundations and the National Council of Churches. I asked him what percentage was coming from the National Council of Churches, and he stated about 90 percent. I immediately stated that although we needed more money, we would not accept it with such strings on it as requiring a consultant on our staff from the human rights committee.

A few days later two more physicians from up East came to my office, stating they were spending 3 or 4 days in the State to determine whether the COFO workers in the State at that time who were mostly sophomores from various universities in the East, the North, and the West knew how and were able to get medical service for themselves if they needed it. I suggested that if a college sophomore did not know how to get medical service, it was doubtful that such student was college material.

Of course, this attitude was an unfounded assumption on the part of this committee that the physicians of Mississippi would fail to render medical service to anyone regardless of what his activity was, and I told them the physicians in Mississippi were as ethical as they were anywhere and probably more so than in many places. This same committee sent out a letter to the physicians in Mississippi beseeching them to live up to the Hippocratic oath and render medical service to these students if they were called on to do so. This, of course, alarmed and irritated Mississippi physicians because it implied that the committee had suspicion that people from out of the State would be treated differently from those within the State.

Two physicians and two nurses came into Clarksdale in an ambulance-type vehicle loaded with medical supplies. One of the physicians, after looking around for 2 days and finding a modern hospital accepting Negroes as well as whites and a modern, very active health department rendering much more service to Negroes than to whites, returned home stating that their services were not needed in the area.

Others have visited in different areas of the State, but I know of no clinic service they have rendered, because they could not render medical service without a license, and none of them to my knowledge have been licensed in Mississippi.

I should point out that about 65 to 70 percent of the total public health service rendered in Mississippi is rendered to the Negro population where they have more problems in some situations than do whites. They have been rendered exactly the same type service in the health departments as have whites. Keep in mind that only about 42 percent of the population in Mississippi now is Negro and 58 percent white. Nevertheless, we rendered a much greater percentage of services to the Negroes than to the whites.

In 1930 when I began working as a health officer in Mississippi, there were 90,000 cases of malaria in the State a year resulting in 500 deaths in Negroes and whites. Since 1952, there has not been a single case of malaria in Mississippi. This lifted a terrific economic burden from Mississippi in general.

From 1940 to 1942, 28 percent of the Negro males who were eligible for draft had syphilis. Through the intensive efforts of the health departments with support from physicians, the amount of syphilis in the State was drastically reduced, and most of that effort went to the Negro population where the problem was much greater than in the whites. This is another serious economic burden that was lifted from Mississippi, primarily benefiting the Negro population.

Since there is more tuberculosis among the Negro population per 100,000 than in the whites, we spend proportionately much more time and money in dealing with tuberculosis in casefinding, diagnosis, and treatment in the Negro population than in the white.

We have had for many years a very active statewide immunization program directed at those age groups, regardless of race, with greater risk of the various diseases. These immunizations have been free for everyone, and those who failed to get them, it was their own fault rather than that of the health department.

There are now four schools of nursing accepting Negro students. They include the university medical center and St. Dominics Hospital in Jackson, Mercy Hospital in Vicksburg, and the Mississippi Valley State College at Itta Bena which gives 2 years of nursing training in association with a hospital where the last year of training is received. One hospital made quite a drive to get applications for nurse training and received 15 applications from Negro girls. They took the qualifying examination just as the white applicants did, and the papers were graded exactly the same. One of the 15 Negro applicants qualified and is a student there now. Several junior colleges are cooperating with hospitals in a nurse training program, and I am sure would accept qualified Negro nurse applicants.

There are 53 Negro doctors in Mississippi, and I believe this ratio to white doctors is about the same in Mississippi as it is in the Nation. Since 1946, the State of Mississippi has had a loan program to loan medical students up to $5,000 for medical training in recognized universities and colleges. This money was handled by the State medical education board of which your writer is an ex officio member. Loans have been made to Negro students as qualified and needy students applied. Although they did not attend the University of Mississippi School of Medicine, they could attend the medical school of their choice in the Nation. Through this method, 65 Negro students have been given medical training with the obligation that they return to practice in a place approved by the medical education board. Of the 65, 2 failed; 6 are still in school; and 57 have graduated and been licensed. This board has the policy (under law) of having their indebtedness to the State wiped out by practicing in a town of 5,000 or less, approved by the board, for 5 years. In applying this policy, the board routinely favored the Negro physicians, because they realized that it was necessary for them to practice in the larger cities in order to make a living, whereas we adhered to the principle of only permitting practice in a town of 5,000 or less by the

white students. Unfortunately, many of the white and a large percentage of the Negro loan recipients have broken their contracts with the medical education board, and they are scattered all over the United States. Most of the Negro doctors in Mississippi are good doctors just as most of the white doctors are. It is a fact that a large number of the Negroes who need medical care do not want to go to Negro doctors and insist on service from white physicians, and the white physicians serve them just as they do white people.

It is worthy of note that in the report of the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics as of December 31, 1963, in a publication "Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs," that of all known narcotic addicts in the United States, 23,470 or 48.3 percent are in New York. Of all the known addicts in the United States, 53.9 percent or 26,139 are Negroes. This should be related to the fact that the 1960 census of the United States shows 158,831,732 whites and 20,491,443 nonwhites.

I enclose three tables which show significant information. Exhibit A bears attention, showing maternal death rates in 1961–63 in different States. Mississippi's maternal death rate per 100,000 live births was 131.9; Alabama's, 155.3; New York's, 131.5; South Carolina's, 131.2; Utah's, 158.2; and West Virginia's, 165.8.

Exhibit B demonstrates a marked improvement in hospital deliveries in the nonwhites in Mississippi since 1940, the percentage of hospital deliveries of nonwhites having reached 56.1 in 1964.

It might be well to point out that in 1964 there was a total of 56,650 births in Mississippi; of these, 25,942 were white and 30,708 nonwhite. Of the total births in the State, 8,500 were illegitimate, 8,000 nonwhite and 500 white. Illegitimate births have constantly increased among the Negro population. These illegitimate births are basic factors in infant mortality, maternal mortality and the events in health following delivery. Exhibit C points up some comparisons by States in 1963 as to the ratio of illegitimate births by color. Please note that the ratio of nonwhite to the total is 264 in Mississippi, 320.9 in Missouri, 285.9 for the District of Columbia, 318 in Delaware, 282.1 in Alabama, 280.5 in South Carolina, 328.8 in Tennessee, and 342.8 in West Virginia.

I could point out many, many relative differences in a large number of facets of health and medical care from State to State. It is hardly logical to make wild claims in regard to a given State with reference to a specific and isolated situation in medical and health care. The whole picture should be looked at.

Sincerely,

A. L. GRAY, M.D.

Enclosures.

EXHIBIT A

Infant death rate, 1963, maternal death rate, 1961–63

	Infant deaths [1]			Maternal deaths [2]		
	White	Nonwhite	Ratio [3]	White	Nonwhite	Ratio [3]
United States	22.2	41.5	1.9	24.2	98.1	4.0
Alabama	24.5	45.3	1.8	27.1	155.3	5.7
Alaska	24.8	46.7	1.9	19.5	133.9	6.9
Arizona	23.3	56.2	2.4	24.5	111.2	4.5
Arkansas	23.4	41.4	1.8	24.9	108.5	4.4
California	21.5	28.3	1.3	22.8	70.6	3.1
Colorado	25.6	34.0	1.3	25.6	37.3	1.4
Connecticut	21.0	41.0	2.0	21.2	51.9	2.4
Delaware	20.3	41.2	2.0	21.6	71.8	3.3
District of Columbia	25.4	36.1	1.4	5.7	88.4	15.5
Florida	22.6	42.7	1.9	21.2	102.7	4.8
Georgia	23.0	45.8	2.0	28.0	89.3	3.2
Hawaii	20.7	23.3	1.1	24.4	18.9	.8
Idaho	22.4	43.4	1.9	31.7		
Illinois	20.9	38.7	1.8	21.5	60.3	2.8
Indiana	21.9	39.5	1.8	24.6	111.1	4.5
Iowa	20.4	33.7	1.6	17.3		
Kansas	21.3	37.8	1.8	21.5	104.7	4.9
Kentucky	26.3	44.4	1.7	36.1	138.9	3.8
Louisiana	20.6	45.5	2.2	21.4	73.5	3.4
Maine	24.1	24.6	1.0	20.7	112.6	5.4
Maryland	21.6	39.8	1.8	18.3	75.7	4.1
Massachusetts	20.2	29.6	1.5	17.2	71.7	4.2
Michigan	21.5	36.9	1.7	25.7	120.9	4.7
Minnesota	20.6	29.1	1.4	11.0	20.2	1.8
Mississippi	22.9	57.6	2.5	29.3	131.9	4.5
Missouri	21.4	41.0	1.9	29.3	66.3	2.3
Montana	22.3	46.6	2.1	13.0	103.6	8.0
Nebraska	20.6	40.5	2.0	17.6	81.9	4.6
Nevada	28.3	46.1	1.6	13.0	97.3	7.5
New Hampshire	22.6	27.3	1.2	33.6		
New Jersey						
New Mexico	28.2	46.6	1.6	48.3	77.7	1.6
New York	21.2	39.4	1.8	32.0	131.5	4.1
New York City	21.6	39.2	1.8	(4)	(4)	(4)
North Carolina	22.2	50.8	2.3	22.1	112.6	5.1
North Dakota	23.8	43.3	1.8	24.2	97.6	4.0
Ohio	21.6	36.9	1.7	19.8	64.0	3.2
Oklahoma	22.3	35.5	1.6	23.7	92.5	3.9
Oregon	21.4	21.3	1.0	16.1	105.9	6.6
Pennsylvania	21.4	41.3	1.9	19.3	99.6	5.2
Rhode Island	22.5	54.7	2.4	9.5	88.6	9.3
South Carolina	22.4	48.1	2.1	18.4	131.2	7.1
South Dakota	22.7	46.6	2.0	21.1	72.6	3.4
Tennessee	23.5	44.2	1.9	31.1	93.2	3.0
Texas	25.5	39.3	1.5	35.2	105.2	3.0
Utah	18.2	34.4	1.9	21.1	158.2	7.5
Vermont	24.7			14.6		
Virginia	24.1	45.0	1.9	25.1	105.6	4.2
Washington	20.9	39.6	1.9	17.3	35.2	2.0
West Virginia	25.6	36.6	1.4	44.1	165.8	3.8
Wisconisn	21.8	33.7	1.5	23.8	77.7	3.3
Wyoming	27.7	47.9	1.7	21.5	110.9	5.2

[1] Per 1,000 live births.
[2] Per 100,000 live births.
[3] Ratio of nonwhite to white.
[4] Not available.

EXHIBIT B

Percentage of births by type of attendant, residence data, Mississippi, 1940–64

Year	White			Nonwhite		
	Physician in hospital	Physician in home	Midwife and other	Physician in hospital	Physician in home	Midwife and other
1940	27.1	65.4	7.5	3.9	13.2	82.8
1941	32.2	61.6	6.2	4.2	13.9	81.8
1942	39.9	54.9	5.1	4.0	15.5	80.4
1943	52.2	43.6	4.2	4.6	18.3	77.1
1944	60.5	35.8	3.7	6.6	20.2	73.2
1945	63.3	33.2	3.5	8.1	20.4	71.4
1946	69.8	27.5	2.7	9.5	20.5	70.0
1947	73.8	23.9	2.3	11.0	20.9	68.1
1948	77.9	19.6	2.4	13.6	20.6	65.8
1949	80.1	17.7	2.2	16.6	20.6	62.8
1950	83.3	14.6	2.1	18.9	18.8	62.3
1951	88.0	10.2	1.8	22.7	17.3	60.0
1952	91.5	7.1	1.3	26.5	17.4	56.1
1953	93.3	5.5	1.2	30.5	16.0	53.5
1954	94.4	4.6	1.1	33.0	14.7	52.3
1955	96.0	3.1	.9	36.4	11.9	51.7
1956	97.2	2.1	.7	41.0	10.0	49.0
1957	98.0	1.5	.6	44.8	8.4	46.8
1958	98.6	.9	.5	47.0	6.3	46.7
1959	98.9	.7	.4	49.1	5.9	45.0
1960	99.0	.5	.5	51.3	4.8	43.9
1961	99.2	.3	.4	51.0	4.4	44.6
1962	99.3	.3	.4	52.9	4.2	42.8
1963	99.3	.3	.3	53.4	3.7	42.9
1964	99.4	.2	.3	56.1	3.4	40.5

In the last 25 years, hospital births of nonwhites have increased from approximately 4 percent of the total to 56 percent, a thirteenfold increase. At the same time, midwife deliveries have been cut in half.

There is still a discrepancy between whites and nonwhites but the difference has narrowed a great deal in this 25-year period. In 1940, 27 percent of the whites were delivered in hospitals in contrast to 4 percent of the nonwhites, but in 1964 the proportions were 99 and 56.

EXHIBIT C

Ratio of illegitimate live births, by color: 35 reporting States, 1963

Area	Total	White	Nonwhite
Total [1]	67.2	30.4	251.2
Alabama	117.4	20.3	282.1
Alaska	48.5	14.6	119.1
Delaware	91.6	34.0	318.2
District of Columbia [2]	238.7	118.6	285.9
Florida	102.8	37.4	285.1
Hawaii	66.5	54.6	71.8
Illinois	70.8	28.4	279.0
Indiana	49.0	32.0	233.5
Iowa	29.5	26.8	182.5
Kansas	37.1	25.2	198.2
Kentucky	56.7	35.0	287.7
Louisiana	102.5	21.6	226.0
Maine	35.2	35.0	[3] 56.3
Michigan	49.8	30.5	205.3
Minnesota	38.2	33.8	243.8
Mississippi	147.5	15.6	264.0
Missouri	68.8	27.7	320.9
Nevada	49.5	31.1	195.9
New Jersey	49.3	------	------
North Carolina	99.5	26.9	258.5
North Dakota	27.9	22.8	137.3
Ohio	54.3	32.1	240.8
Oregon	46.9	43.2	150.8
Pennsylvania	54.2	30.5	241.5
Rhode Island	32.8	26.1	180.7
South Carolina	129.7	24.2	280.5
South Dakota [4]	6.9	5.2	25.4
Tennessee	96.8	32.0	328.8
Texas	58.4	29.5	221.2
Utah	17.2	15.7	71.9
Virginia	84.3	29.7	252.6
Washington	43.4	38.0	123.8
West Virginia	69.6	56.0	342.8
Wisconsin	35.4	27.5	238.8
Wyoming	29.9	24.0	178.1

[1] Totals by color exclude data for residents of New Jersey.
[2] Figures include an unknown number of illegitimate births erroneously allocated to this area due to incomplete residence reporting.
[3] Ratio based on frequency of less than 20.
[4] Figures exclude an unknown number of illegitimate births due to erroneous filing of a substitute record which did not include the item on legitimacy status.

Birchers Disowned

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, our able and esteemed colleague from Kentucky Senator THRUSTON B. MORTON, on October 1 issued a statement in which he deplored efforts by the John Birch Society to infiltrate the Republican Party, and expressed the opinion that the Republican Party has no room "for a clandestine organization engaged in character assassination." I ask unanimous consent that Senator MORTON's statement together with an editorial from the Pittsburgh Post Gazette of October 4, 1965, commenting on Senator MORTON's statement be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The American Political Science Association met recently in Washington. I had the high privilege of addressing a subcommittee of this group. It was the customary format—brief remarks followed by questions.

One of the first questions was aptly and sharply put: "What are you Republicans going to do about the John Birch Society?" I said, "Ignore them."

Now I have changed my tune. I have always agreed with my friend, Barry Goldwater, that there are probably more Democrats than Republicans in the John Birch Society.

As a partisan Republican, I am concerned by the fact that the John Birch Society has picked my party—the Republican Party—as the vehicle to promulgate its monolithic philosophy. In so doing, this group seems more dedicated to the defeat of Republicans than Democrats. As an American, I am convinced that the activities of the society will weaken and endanger representative government.

There are three organizations in this country which give me grave doubts as a citizen: the Communist Party, the Ku Klux Klan, and the John Birch Society. Although their goals differ, they have one thing in common, and that is secrecy. I am sure that Mr. J. Edgar Hoover has a fairly substantial list of the members of these organizations. Actually, if my life depended on it, I couldn't name 10 people in any one of these organizations. Secret fraternities or societies prevail in many of our colleges. This doesn't disturb me. On the other hand, when a politically activist group operates under the cloak of secrecy, I am disturbed.

The articulate conservative columnist, William Buckley, with whom I frequently disagree, performs a great service for the country by adding brilliantly to the political dialogue. And he signs his columns, making no attempt at clandestine persuasion. My Republican colleagues in the Senate represent many degrees of political thought. Their various views all go into the fabric of representative government. They, too, express themselves openly—open to examination and question. They, like Buckley, do not hide things in the realm of public life.

I served for 4 years in the House of Representatives with the late Vito Marcantonio. He was first elected to Congress as a Republican in 1934. He was defeated in 1936. He was again elected to Congress running under the American Laborite ticket in 1938 and served continuously until 1950. He certainly was the voice of Moscow in the Congress of the United States. During the 1940's, the Communist Party tried to infiltrate the great Democratic Party. They didn't do it. By 1950 the country had enough of Marcantonio. The Liberal Party, the Democratic Party, and the Republican Party al nominated Mr. James George Donovan as his opponent. This was the end of Marcantonio. I think that President Truman had something to do with that operation, and we all bless him for it.

What really concerns me is that a secret society should threaten and attempt to destroy one of our two great political parties. The Birchites label the late John Foster Dulles and Dr. Milton Eisenhower as Communists. They label Gen. Dwight Eisenhower as a Communist sympathizer. They imply that Barry Goldwater is a Socialist. In my book, these men are great Americans. I don't think that we have any room in the Republican Party for a clandestine organization engaged in character assassination.

I have been asked what proof I have in connection with infiltration by the John Birch Society of the Republican Party. Having to deal with a tightly controlled, secret organization, it is difficult to develop a documentation. I do know that in Harris County, Tex., Republicans had to make a tough fight to keep the Birchites from taking over. I know that Governor Romney of Michigan and Governor Evans of Washington, faced similar situation. I do know that a Californian moved to South Dakota and is trying to defeat KARL MUNDT in the Republican primary.

If representative government is to prevail, it must prevail in the open. Secret societies motivated by hatred, distrust, selfishness and character assassination will never build a positive and dynamic society.

BIRCHERS DISOWNED

Republican leaders in the past few days have performed a service in saying they want no political alliance with the John Birch Society.

The society's image of respectability has been considerably downgraded by recent denunciations of it by Senate Republican leader EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, House Republican leader GERALD R. FORD, Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee Chairman THRUSTON B. MORTON, and Gov. William Scranton, of Pennsylvania. When so many highly placed leaders of Republicanism are prepared to disown the Birchers, then conservatively oriented citizens should begin to appreciate why these extremists are unworthy of support.

The John Birch Society is objectionable not so much because of its views, which are bad enough, as because of its tactics. As Senator MORTON suggested, it is comparable in many ways to the Ku Klux Klan and the Communist Party. It operates largely in secret. Its organizational structure is rigidly authoritarian. It functions through front groups. It seeks to infiltrate unrelated organizations and take them over for its own purposes. It uses vicious smear methods against its opponents.

If the John Birch Society really wants to be a respectable political organization, let it come out in the open and put up its own candidates and its own platform clearly identified with its own name. Such an open campaign would show whether citizens are ready to accept the shoddy slogans the Birchers are trying to peddle as political realities.

Clean Streams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN N. ERLENBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, in northeastern Illinois, an area that is rapidly changing from rural to suburban and even urban character, there are still good people who believe in the conservation of some of our precious resources. Among these are members of the Du Page County Clean Streams Committee, which is sponsored by the Salt Creek Chapter of the Izaak Walton League. The Chicago Tribune has done an excellent job of publicizing their work and the work of others in the conservation of water.

I submit herewith one of the Tribune's recent stories as an extension of my remarks:

FEAR UNITED STATES MAY RUN SHORT OF WATER NEEDS—RISING DEMANDS, POLLUTION CITED

(By Bem Price)

WASHINGTON.—Presumably there is as much water on earth today as there ever has been. It is not the total amount that concerns man, however; it is the quality and availability for human use.

Herein lies the crux of the Nation's water problem:

The supply of good water is so limited that within 35 years demand will outstrip supply by 350 billion gallons a day.

The water in the 90 major river basins is being polluted by municipal, industrial, and agricultural wastes.

Improving water quality of 16 of these streams has cost nearly $3.1 billion since work began in 1957.

INTENDED USE A FACTOR

Pollution is a variable, depending for definition upon the intended use of the water. That complicates matters.

For domestic use water must be clear; it must be free of disease organisms, bad waste, and odor. It must not have a dissolved mineral content greater than 500 parts per million, according to U.S. Public Health Service standards.

Water for agriculture is judged on the basis of mineral content, particularly sodium. This element will turn good soil into compacted gumbo.

FISH POSE A PROBLEM

Water for fish propagation must have little industrial and municipal wastes. It must sustain plant food for the small organisms that the fish eat. It must have a minimum dissolved oxygen content of 4 percent.

Municipalities threaten these water standards by dumping raw sewage into lakes, rivers, and streams, but industry also is a major pollution offender.

REPORT CITES PROBLEM

A staff report by a special subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Public Works cited the industrial problem. If waste treatment continued at the present level, the report said, in 1970 industrial wastes discharged would equal the raw sewage that could be discharged by the entire population.

The subcommittee staff estimated that industry must build 6,000 waste treatment plants, beginning now.

The subcommittee reported there are 7,939 municipalities with waste treatment plants—many obsolescent—which serve 102 million people. There are 6,141 municipalities with waste treatment projects underway. These will cost $3.1 billion.

The Public Health Service is processing 1,400 applications for Federal assistance in building treatment plants which will cost $879 million. Cleaning up the Nation's waters may cost as much as $40 billion.

FASTER ACTION SOUGHT

The Health Service contends that cities are not moving fast enough.

The Service has $100 million a year for loans to communities for waste treatment plant construction. The law limits loans to 30 percent of the estimated cost, to a maximum cost of $600,000. This virtually excludes the larger cities.

Industry creates a special problem because of a dearth of facts. The Health Service says it has no idea how to clean the Nation's waters unless industry tells what is being put into them.

Richard S. Greene, Chief of the Health Service Basic Data Branch, says that many industrialists have refused to provide such information.

"No industry makes a profit from treating wastes," he says, "unless it figures the cost of lawsuits is going to be higher than the cost of installing treatment facilities."

WATER USE INCREASING

The Nation uses about 360 billion gallons of water a day. The Senate Public Works Subcommittee estimates this use will be 515 billion gallons within 15 years and a trillion gallons in 35.

"The most the Nation can ever hope to achieve as a result of engineering works is about 650 billion gallons a day," the subcommittee says.

Thus, by the year 2000, there would be a deficit of about 350 billion gallons a day in the dependable supply. The committee said this means that the Nation must reuse available waters. That is the reason for the concern with pollution.

Any polluted water can be made reusable—at a price.

SCIENCE FACES PROBLEM

Reuse means that scientists must learn much more about water. There is, for example, no infallible test for detecting the presence of waterborne viruses, such as hepatitis. Water reuse will increase the need for such a test.

Leland J. McCabe, of the Robert A. Taft Sanitary Engineering Center, Cincinnati, has found that the cancer and heart disease death rate is higher when minerals in water decrease. Should mineral salts be added? If so, to what extent?

The pollution problem is one of degree. What is a tolerable limit of pollution on each stream? The answer depends on how the water will be used. This means that every major stream must be studied separately with the end use of the water in mind.

The Senate subcommittee said, "Water pollution is no longer a local affair."

However, Congress said in passing the Water Pollution Control Act of 1961 that the States have primary responsibilities in controlling pollution.

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare merely "cooperates" with the States in such control unless he determines that a clear danger to health exists.

CAN GO TO COURT

He can, in theory, go to court and force a cleanup. But in 34 hearings on pollution since January 1957, the Secretary has never done this. These hearings involved 24 States, 2 interstate agencies, 470 industrial establishments, and 450 communities in voluntary agreements to clean streams.

But, at least, a start has been made. Thirty-five States now have water quality control boards.

Mansfield's Warning to Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, it is most interesting to note, according to the report by Doris Fleeson, columnist for the Washington Star, that the majority leader in the Senate apparently realizes now the looseness with which many of the administration's bills have been forced through the Congress. A similar view was expressed by Senator RIBICOFF in a television interview on the "Today" program over NBC this morning. Doris Fleeson's article follows:

MANSFIELD'S WARNING TO JOHNSON

(By Doris Fleeson)

In a thoughtful speech to the final Democratic caucus of the session, Majority Leader MIKE MANSFIELD of Montana issued a warning to President Johnson and a summons to the Senate.

The warning in brief was that the scope of achievements in the list 8 or 9 months makes any repetition of significant legislation next year not only unlikely but in MANSFIELD's judgment undesirable.

The summons called on every committee of the Senate next year to assume the task of overseeing the many new Federal approaches to the Nation's problems. MANSFIELD began it with the candid admission that the new legislation had "a number of gaps and any number of rough edges, overextensions and overlaps."

These shortcomings, he insited, should be caught before they become solidified by repetition into the administrative practices of the departments and agencies. He said he would expect the cooperation of the administration but his emphasis was on the need for legislative initative.

The extreme docility of Congress this year has been its most striking feature. Members growled about White House pressure, badly drafted programs and rising expenditures but took little action to translate their criticism into roadblocks.

MANSFIELD is reminding them in a nice way that they did enact the legislation, knowing its faults, and that they have the power to apply remedies to the troubles that are now bound to show up. The amount of oversight exercised by Congress this year has been minimal.

In the prevailing atmosphere of silence and conformity, Senators criticized one of their most distinguished colleagues for expressing his dissent from the policy of the United States in the Dominican Republic crisis. It is the job of Chairman J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, of Arkansas, and members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to ascertain and weigh what goes on in that field.

His committee held hearings but it became apparent to the chairman that as a committee it was not ready to voice public doubts. His were deeply felt and he spoke them. Other Senators did not stop at disagreement with him, they questioned his right to speak.

Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH, author of a famous declaration of conscience in the McCarthy era, brooded on this state of affairs and then spoke her mind for the record. She defended FULBRIGHT's right to express his dissent and said she admired him for refusing to become "a mental mute" for fear of majority criticism.

The Maine Republican added her own decided disagreement with what FULBRIGHT said and praised the President for acting "courageously, wisely and prudently."

In suggesting plans to stress legislative oversight next January, MANSFIELD recalled that the President said he did not expect Congress to enact much substantive legislation next year. He has made his own opinion plain that it would be a favor to Johnson and to all Members up for reelection next year if the present volume is reread and indicated corrections are made.

Appendix

The Faith of Freemen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, last evening I was fortunate in being invited to attend a dinner given by the sovereign grand commander, the Supreme Council 33d degree, Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Southern Jurisdiction, at which J. Edgar Hoover, 33d degree, was presented the Grand Cross of Honor. In response, Mr. Hoover gave the principal address which, in my opinion, is one of the finest addresses I have had the privilege of listening to on the subject of national security. It should be given the widest possible circulation.

The entire address follows:

THE FAITH OF FREEMEN

(Remarks of J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, before the Supreme Council, 33d degree of the Ancient and Acepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Southern Jurisdiction, USA, in Washington, D.C., October 19, 1965)

This is the proudest moment of my 45 years' membership in the Masonic Order. To receive the Grand Cross of the Scottish Rite is an honor which I shall cherish always. This award is made all the more meaningful by the high respect which Freemasonry commands in the minds of all who have felt its wholesome influence and observed its good works.

The strong virtues of the Masonic movement are indelibly etched in every chapter of our Nation's history. Masons helped to carve our country's early settlements out of a hostile wilderness that was Colonial America. They added vital fuel to the fires of freedom which burned so intensely from Boston to Savannah some two centuries ago. They stood prominent among the bold colonists who affixed their signatures to the Declaration of Independence in 1776 and, 11 years later, to the Constitution of the United States.

George Washington, the father or our country, was a Master Mason—a statesman of greatest courage and dedication who envisioned America as a land where men of all creeds might live together and worship together in freedom under God.

The brave patriots who served under General Washington at Valley Forge—and their latter-day counterparts at San Juan Hill, Belleau Wood, Corregidor, the Yalu Valley—made grave sacrifices that liberty and justice might prevail. They fought then—as Americans stand prepared to fight today—to uphold a cause which draws its greatest strength from an abiding faith in man's ability to guide his own destiny with the help of God.

Today, our priceless heritage of freedom is under relentless attack both at home and abroad. In the jungles and rice fields of southeast Asia, Americans in uniform maintain a constant vigil against the Communist hordes of a modern-day Genghis Khan to whom no commodity is cheaper than human life.

In Europe and the Near East, our country's patience and determination are constantly strained by the taunts and provocations of Iron Curtain slave masters who talk of peace while clandestinely plotting to spread their godless creed of utopia-in-chains.

Throughout Central and South America, we have had to erect guard posts of freedom against the sinister efforts of Communist henchmen to spread the malignant cancer of Marxism across the Western Hemisphere. Not only have we seen the results of their treachery in Cuba, but the Dominican Republic could be a Marxist satellite today were it not for the fast action taken by a courageous President and alert Americans to thwart a Communist takeover there earlier this year.

Communism is a vast international conspiracy which today dominates one-third of the earth's people. Here, in our own country, that conspiracy is represented by the Communist Party, USA, a bold and defiant band of anti-American turncoats whose operations are directed and controlled by the Kremlin in Moscow.

The Communists profess to be a legitimate political organization. This is not so. Actually, the party constitutes a foreign outpost on America's shores. Its members—knowingly, deliberately and willingly—are active tools of the Soviet Union.

Witness, for example, the programs which occupy the primary attention of Communist Party members in this country: withdrawal of American support from South Vietnam; noninterference with Communist terrorists in Santo Domingo; appeasement in all dealings with members of the Marxist world.

The Communists speak of peace, but peace at an exorbitant and heart-rending price—submission to Communist domination. From 50 years of dealings with the Stalins, the Khrushchevs, the Brezhnevs, the Castros, the Mao Tse-tungs, this bitter lesson has been learned by the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

Yet, in country after country, there still remain the legions of uninformed, misinformed and politically naive who are the noncommunist dupes and fellow travelers whom the Communists rely upon to carry forward their programs for world domination.

We find these dupes in shocking abundance here in our own United States where Gus Hall, the Moscow-trained General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, boasted to newsmen last fall that there are approximately 100,000 Americans within the party's influence. About 10 percent of them, he said, are dues-paying members. The remainder he described as close sympathizers.

These sympathizers include growing numbers of young people—because the major target of Communist propaganda and exploitation in the United States today is the Nation's youth.

Standing in the forefront of the Communist campaign to confuse the minds, distort the thinking, and win the support of our young people is the DuBois Clubs of America—an illegitimate spawn conceived by the Communist Party and nurtured by a trusted band of youthful adherents to the cause of world Marxism.

Leaders of the DuBois Clubs of America were prominent among the Communists who attended a special youth leadership school sponsored by the party last June to prepare for a stepped-up campaign of recruitment and agitation among youth. Already, this fall, there are signs that these training sessions have begun to bear fruit—in the form of defiant protests against law and authority.

Today, as never before, the Communists are confident of their ability to win recruits among this country's youth. That is why the party has placed such intense emphasis upon its campus speech program—a program that has seen skilled hucksters of atheism and treason appear at scores of colleges and universities from New York to California, without objection by the authorities of those institutions of higher learning and often with positive encouragement by members of the faculties of such universities.

What do these party spokesmen have to says to our young people? In the State of Washington, one Communist speaker loudly condemned the United States for its actions in helping to defend the cause of freedom in the Far East. He charged his audience that it was their duty to demand immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam.

In Missouri, another party functionary told a group of students that the United States is the "most hated country" in the world.

And in Rhode Island, a third Communist explained that the wall of Berlin had been built to hold back undesirables from the West who were infiltrating East Germany.

The Communist movement, Communist regimes, and those who knowingly support them are really ultrareactionary. They are the worst enemies of freedom and social justice.

Our university professors and students would serve their country and professions with fruitful distinction if they were to study this historic development and become not only academic but dynamic fighters against the Communist drive to dominate the world and impose on mankind the Soviet system of tyranny.

It is one of the glaring contradictions of our day that the same Communist spokesmen who are so glib-tongued in their appearances before groups of college students immediately lose their voices when placed under oath in a court of law or before a committee of Congress. They always take refuge behind the fifth amendment. Our moral atmosphere would be better if they knew as much about the Ten Commandments as they do about the fifth amendment.

Communists refuse to testify at any proceeding where they are subject to fines and imprisonment for deliberate lies and distortions. In the dark world of communism, there is no room for truth, just as there is no place for freedom and decency and God.

In their campaign to weaken and destroy the cause of democracy, the Communists actually are receiving invaluable aid from far too many intended victims.

I refer to the pseudoliberals of the extreme left, as well as the misguided zealots of the ultraright—modern-day Don Quixotes who mistakenly fight the transparent shadows of imaginary enemies rather than meet the challenge of the real and awesome problems confronting our beloved United States.

I refer to the Ku Klux Klan and other hatemongers, regardless of their color or creed, who practice a doctrine of intolerance, bigotry, and intimidation toward their fellow man.

I refer to the unkempt characters of pliable minds and persuasion who eagerly attach themselves to any "cause" which runs counter to convention—and to the morally corrupt opportunists who flagrantly exploit their naive enthusiasm and credulity for self-serving purposes.

I refer also to the highly vocal rabble rousers of dubious stability and motivation who encourage defiance of the law by counseling cynicism and disrespect toward family, law and order, and all forms of authority.

"Civil disobedience," a seditious slogan of gross irresponsibility, has captured the imagination of citizens who are morally, mentally, and emotionally immature. It has been spread at street corner rallies by those who would use it as an avenue to personal power and prestige. And it has been spread in the false guise of academic freedom in the halls of public and private institutions that have permitted emotional, and often obscene, harangues against morality and reason. What they really seek is license—not freedom.

I am greatly concerned that certain racial leaders are doing the civil rights movement a great disservice by suggesting that citizens need only obey the laws with which they agree. Such an attitude breeds disrespect for the law and even civil disorder and rioting. The citizen has no latitude as to what laws he must obey. If he feels a law is wrong or unjust, he has recourse to established constitutional procedures to have it changed through his legally elected representatives.

It is reprehensible for any person to select those laws he will obey and those he will ignore. Such defiance is a form of anarchy. It is shameful and disgraceful for persons in high authority to condone or urge the breaking of established laws.

I have also become increasingly concerned about the influence wielded upon the impressionable minds of our youth by some so-called educators—such as the college professor who reportedly urged a group of students at the University of California to burn their draft cards, refuse to pay income taxes and, if necessary, go to jail for their actions.

Civil disobedience is not, and must not become, an accepted norm of behavior in a society of freemen. It leads to anarchy—and preempts all possibility of rational discussion or appeal.

No longer can respectable citizens complacently stand by while celebrity status is accorded those sick minds and corrupt souls who tamper with and ridicule our orderly processes of government under law.

We must choose between law and anarchy; freedom and chaos.

Is America as a nation being swept by an epidemic of spiritual malnutrition? I fervently hope not; but the danger signs are all too clear. I fear that the public may be coming to accept widespread lawlessness as an unavoidable adjunct to our way of life.

What has happened to the civic pride, the righteous indignation, of otherwise respectable citizens who turn their backs on helpless victims of beatings, robberies and sex crimes? The incredibility indifferent attitude of these people is exacting a heavy toll. It has helped to turn the streets and parks of many cities into virtual jungles of fear—where, according to a recent survey, nearly one-half of the residents are afraid to walk alone at night.

Despite the continuing efforts of some self-professed experts to minimize the crime problem, the undeniable fact remains that crime is increasing—in both numbers and intensity—at an alarming rate. It is growing six times as fast as our expanding population.

Last year, more than 2,600,000 serious offenses were reported to law enforcement agencies throughout the United States. This is the largest total on record. It means that more Americans felt the ravages of crime last year than ever before.

Today, the onslaught continues—with five serious offenses being recorded every minute—there is a vicious crime of violence—a murder, forcible rape or assault to kill—every 2½ minutes; a robbery each 5 minutes; a burglary every 28 seconds; and 52 automobiles are stolen every hour.

These figures are based on facts—unlike the illogical and inane criticism which has been voiced by that peculiar clique of sociologists and criminologists who are apparently suffering armchair fatigue. These impractical theorists who attempt to define away our crime problem should step from their paper castles into the world of reality.

No one is more keenly aware of, or more deeply concerned with, the ravages of crime than the President of the United States. Last month, in signing the Law Enforcement Assistance Act—a bill designed to help strengthen the delicate machinery of justice in this country—he declared, "The control of crime is a major target of this administration."

The President has appointed a special Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice to look into and seek answers for the problems of crime control. He has the support of every responsible law enforcement official in this vital undertaking.

There is an urgent need today for realistic thought and realistic action in meeting the challenge of crime and immorality. This is especially true in the critical area of youthful criminality—where society has too long been asked to endure gross abuses of public and private trust by shallow-minded juvenile authorities.

The true meaning and intent of our great national holidays have been defiled by bands of defiant youths such as the arrogant young hoodlums who turned the Fourth of July this year into a nightmare of terror and destruction at resort communities in Ohio, Missouri, Iowa, and New York. Reports that participants in these orgies of lawlessness were being released after payment of small fines caused one great newspaper to observe, "About all that such slaps on the wrist will do is bring them out in force against next year. What they need, and what they ought to get, is 6 months at hard labor."

Whenever dangerous young hoodlums are encouraged to develop an attitude of "I can get away with anything—I'm a juvenile," society suffers and justice becomes a meaningless expression. Parental neglect, excessive weakness, categorical leniency, destroy respect for the law and for those charged with its enforcement.

In complaining last year of what it termed "turnstile justice," a major newspaper in New York demanded, "It's time that the public was told just why so many young criminals and terrorists are passed through this turnstile and sent back to the streets to kill, rape, rob, and assault the innocent."

Exaggerated charges? Not in the least. From 1960 through 1964, no less than 225 police officers were killed in line of duty. Nearly one-third of the hoodlums arrested in connection with these murders were on parole or probation when the killings occurred.

The lives of six of these officers were claimed by criminals who had been paroled for a prior murder. Eleven lives were taken by offenders who had been paroled after confinement for felonious assault; and 32 of these officers were killed by paroled robbers.

We recently completed an examination of the records of nearly 93,000 criminals who were arrested in 1963 and 1964. This disclosed that 76 percent—more than three-quarters—had been arrested on at least one previous occasion. Over one-half of them had received lenient treatment, including parole, probation, and suspended sentences, at some point in their criminal careers—and these criminals recorded an average of more than three additional arrests after their first encounter with the school of soft justice and official leniency.

Forty-one years ago, an experienced attorney and jurist in New York issued the strong warning: "It is not the criminals, actual or potential, that need a neuropathic hospital. It is the people who slobber over them in an effort to find excuses for their crime. The demand of the hour in America, above all other countries, is for jurors with conscience, judges with courage, and prisons which are neither country clubs nor health resorts."

The same demands of the hour continue to exist today. Tragically, the atmosphere of many courtrooms is still polluted by some jurors who deliberately close their minds to the evidence before them. Too many of our judges seek out technicalities rather than guilt or innocence. A trial should truly represent an enlightened search for truth so that deception, surprise, technicalities, and delay will be obliterated. The jousting in legal mumbo-jumbo resorted to by too many of our judges makes a farce of our judicial system.

But even if he should be convicted, the criminal knows that regardless of his past record there is steadily increasing hope for a suspended or a probationary sentence or an early release on parole.

The decent people in all sections of the country—East, West, North, and South—have suffered too long at the hands of terrorists set free with little more than a pretext of impartial consideration of their guilt.

They have tired of the street brawl tactics displayed by those lawyers—criminal who employ any means the courts will tolerate to defeat the interests of justice.

They are losing patience with systems of parole and probation that are little more than conveyor belts from our prisons and court chambers back to the underworld.

And they have become nauseated by the irresponsible actions of other "sometime" Americans such as those fair-weather patriots who eagerly grasp every right and privilege which our country guarantees its inhabitants—while ignoring the duties and obligations that citizenship necessarily entails.

Those who seek equal rights under the law should be taught to assume equal responsibility before the law. Certainly, civil rights and individual dignity have their vital place in life, but what about the common good and the law and order that preserve us all from lapsing back into the jungle?

We must have a world ruled by law. I am not one of those who believe in adding a great many more laws. The crux of the problem is that we do not observe the laws we already have; nor is the spirit of these laws interpreted by our courts to give equal justice to the criminal and to law-abiding citizens who are the victims of the savagery perpetrated on our streets and highways.

During my early years, a strong and lasting impression was made on my life by a schoolteacher who told our class one day that, in order to receive passing grades and qualify for graduation, each of us would have to master the "three R's" of reading, writing and arithmetic. "But," she continued, "I hope you learn far more than that in my classroom because, in order to achieve true happiness and success in life, you will have

to master an additional set of 'R's,' the 'three R's' of Americanism—reason, respect, and responsibility."

Then she added, "You will also find that there is a fourth R which is sacred to America. It is religion."

Today, there is a most urgent need for Americans to rededicate themselves to the strong moral principles upon which our Nation was founded.

As Ralph Waldo Emerson said, "The true test of civilization is not the census, nor the size of cities, nor the crops—no, but the kind of man the country turns out."

Faith dominated the atmosphere at Independence Hall in Philadelphia where the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were framed.

Faith is our mainstay in the ideological struggle now raging between the camps of godless communism and human freedom.

And faith remains our strongest bulwark against the criminal and subversive enemies who would destroy our priceless heritage of liberty and justice for all. But faith without work will be of no avail—there must be unity of purpose.

America will continue to progress in dignity and freedom so long as our people cherish liberty and justice and truth and honor God.

Faith in God. That is the fortress of free men.

Trumbull Airman Saves United States $99,900

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, a recent issue of the Bridgeport Post, carried a story on the remarkable invention of a Trumbull, Conn., airman and his civilian coworker who saved the United States nearly $100,000 through their initiative and ingenuity. The outstanding achievement of this youth in uniform is in refreshing contrast to the recent misguided demonstrations of certain U.S. students against the established foreign policy of our Nation, and I am sure that it will be of interest to all of the Members of this House:

ENDS 4 YEARS OF SERVICE WITH PRAISE—TRUMBULL AIRMAN'S $100 INVENTION SAVES UNITED STATES $99,900

A Trumbull airman and a civilian coworker saved the U.S. Air Force $99,900 by building (for $100) a device an electronics firm wanted $100,000 to make.

Airman 1C John A. Eiby, of 147 Church Hill Road, and his partner did the job in 2 months, 4 months faster than the electronics firm said it would take to develop the gadget to help track space vehicles reentering the earth's atmosphere.

Airman Eiby is the son of Lauritz C. Eiby, district commercial manager for the Southern New England Telephone company, and Mrs. Eiby. He is a graduate of Bassick High School and has an associate degree from Wentworth Institute in Boston.

He served in the Air Force 4 years until his discharge yesterday.

He is due home on Tuesday and he and his wife, the former Barbara Corwell of Trumbull, will make their home in this area.

The Associated Press reported from Dayton, Ohio, that the civilian, Percy Branscom, won a $1,000 suggestion award. An Air Force spokesman said the $1,000 bonus was based on a saving of $99,900.

Servicemen aren't eligible for such bonuses. Eiby was named "Airman of the Month" at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Dayton. That got him a 3-day pass and $45.

Eiby isn't quitting the Air Force because he didn't get a bonus.

He wants to return to school to complete an engineering degree—he has 2 years of college already—and start a career in civilian electronics. He already has an engineering job with a Connecticut firm.

Eiby spent 3 years here as an engineering and scientific aide, military terminology for sort of an electronics mechanic.

Eiby said he and Branscom, a civilian specialist in camera and electronic systems, worked together to develop the target designator system used in an airplane which tracks re-entering space vehicles so other instruments can measure the heat they give off.

They started, he said, with the "idea we're going to save Uncle Sam some money." But he said they didn't know at the time a company had bid $100,000 to do the job.

Eiby and Branscom got permission to try their idea primarily because the Aeronautical Systems Division here wanted the device sooner than the civilian company said it could do the job.

They were told, "If you can prove you can do it, go ahead," Eiby recalled. They built a working model in a few days and got permission to continue development.

Their device spotlights a blip on a radar-type screen. The problem had been, Eiby said, that the tracking equipment would lock onto a blip, but the operator couldn't tell whether it had fixed on the re-entering vehicle or some other object.

Their gadget puts an electronic circle around the blip the equipment locks on. If it's locked onto the wrong object, the operator punches a button and the equipment changes to another object. It has worked well in various missions, he said.

Eiby has been with the tracking project since it started. But, he said, "I've never really operated this modification we put on."

Firearms Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, again this year, committees in both the Senate and the House of Representatives considered so-called antigun legislation to place restrictions on the sale of firearms. And again this year, at last, these proposals generated a great deal of public opposition. In my office alone, more than 7,000 letters and postcards were received, most of them asking that this legislation be defeated.

Mr. President, supporters of this legislation assume that the requirement of legal notification will successfully keep firearms from the hands of those intending to use them for illegal purposes. Clearly, this is a worthy goal, and the abuses of this goal are grave indeed. Opponents, however, question whether those who seek firearms with the intent of violating the law will nevertheless honor a law which requires the notification of purchase. They argue that antigun legislation, if enacted, will have its impact only on those sportsmen and other law-abiding citizens who seek firearms for recreational and other legal purposes.

To shed some light on this question, I asked the Department of Defense, earlier this year, to prepare a compilation of firearms stolen from Active and Reserve installations of the U.S. Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force for each of the years, 1954 through 1964. Certainly, there are no more stringent regulations covering the control of firearms than those put into effect by the military and, for this reason, I thought this information would be particularly helpful.

Because of the extensive research required, this report could not be obtained in time to be made a part of the record for hearings conducted in this session by the Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency. Nevertheless, I feel that this information should be brought to the attention of Congress and therefore, I ask that the report I have received, together with the covering letter from the Department of Defense explaining the method of research, be made a part of this RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, D.C., August 3, 1965.

Hon. HUGH SCOTT,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR SCOTT: As the Director of Legislative Liaison advised you in his letter of July 30, 1965, the military services, at the request of this Office have been endeavoring to obtain and collate the information requested in your letter of July 21, 1965, concerning thefts of firearms at military installations.

Pursuant to your request, every possible effort was made by the military services to be responsive. Unfortunately, the Departments of the Army and the Air Force were unsuccessful in retrieving data back to 1954. The Army records for the years 1954 through 1957 have been destroyed in accordance with prescribed Army regulations. In the case of the Air Force, their policy is to maintain records of this type for a 2-year period only; therefore, they have no data prior to 1963.

Despite these Army and Air Force limitations on retention of files, an effort has been made to reconstruct past records. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Air Force Office of Special Investigation, and other internal sources, were requested to review their records and determine whether they could reconstruct from available records and previously submitted reports the information desired. No information not already available to the Army or Air Force was developed. Such data as we have been able to obtain through these exhaustive efforts are set forth in the enclosure.

In your review of the statistics contained in this enclosure, it should be borne in mind that the data includes firearm losses that have occurred at all active military installations within the continental United States and overseas, and at all military Reserves and National Guard installations.

I am sure you can appreciate that many of the firearms reported lost are subsequently recovered. As an example, the Army recovered from their total losses from 1958 through 1964, the following:

	Reported lost	Recovered	Percent recovered
Pistols	1,185	413	35
Rifles	2,100	866	41
Submachineguns	72	[1] 30	42
Machineguns	29	[2] 11	38

[1] Excludes 32 recovered from losses reported prior to 1958.

[2] Excludes 29 recovered from losses reported prior to 1958.

Although we do not have the recovery results from the other military services, it may be assumed that their experience is at about the same rate of recovery, inasmuch as all the military services follow the same basic investigative procedures.

It is regretted that more detailed and complete data are not available.

Sincerely,

PAUL H. RILEY,
Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Materiel Requirements).

Firearms lost as a result of robberies, burglaries, and other thefts at military Active and Reserve installations in CONUS and overseas

	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	Grand total
Pistols:												
Navy	70	197	36	72	82	54	37	21	44	47	27	687
Marines	184	299	162	132	159	184	222	241	165	126	133	2,007
Army [1]					95	183	165	190	165	249	118	1,166
Air Force										244	213	457
Total	254	496	198	204	336	421	424	452	374	666	491	4,316
Rifles:												
Navy	10	273	16	19	19	74	32	54	2	3	4	506
Marines	254	339	188	145	194	180	159	245	208	162	214	2,288
Army [1]					435	233	251	350	309	404	127	2,109
Air Force										180	217	397
Total	264	612	204	164	648	487	442	649	519	749	562	5,300
Submachineguns:												
Navy	1	12	4	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	20
Marines	0	1	4	2	2	2	4	9	6	10	3	43
Army [1]					23	10	4	7	6	18	4	72
Air Force										6	0	6
Total	1	13	8	2	25	13	8	16	13	34	8	141
Machineguns:												
Navy												
Marines	2	6	9	1	3	1	0	0	1	2	0	25
Army [1]					1	8	0	6	6	8	0	29
Air Force										1	0	1
Total	2	6	9	1	4	9	0	6	7	11	0	55
Shotguns:												
Navy	2	13	22	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	42
Marines	2	3	6	3	12	6	9	8	7	12	9	77
Army [1]					3	0	2	20	0	0	1	26
Air Force										75	11	86
Total	4	16	28	3	19	6	11	28	7	87	22	231
Grand total	525	1,143	447	374	1,032	936	885	1,151	920	1,547	1,083	10,043

[1] As of August 1964.

Congressman McCarthy Reports on 1st Session, 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to make a report to the men and women I represent in the 39th Congressional District of New York. It covers the activities of the Congress in general, and of their Congressman in particular, during the 1st session of the 89th Congress of the United States of America.

It could be that I see the accomplishments of this session of Congress through prisms made out of my own special interests, but it seems to me that its most notable advances have been in the fields of conservation and education.

CONSERVATION

From the beginning, we have been a people of the out-of-doors. The Bible told us: "Speak to the earth and it shall teach thee."

It was Gifford Pinchot who emphasized that the cause of conservation would eventually fail unless every generation of Americans made a conservation commitment to the future.

This Congress has written a notable record of conservation: It has acted to control the waste products of an age of effluence, to clean the air we breathe, the water we drink, to preserve our soil and wildlife, to rescue our cities from decay, to provide more parks and open spaces.

It passed the highway beauty bill which will enable the Nation to closet the skeletons of discarded cars which today litter our countryside, to control the proliferating signs which block the view of our fields, streams, lakes and hills, to landscape our highways and enhance their scenic beauty.

More and more, we are becoming an urban Nation. But far too many city dwellers have been denied the chance to know the birthright of their forbears. We must act to preserve what we now have. Otherwise, many of our children will be denied the enriching contact with nature such has been so much a part of our past and is so necessary to the human spirit. In being cut off from nature lies the danger of man's isolation from his fellowmen and from his Creator. We are the creatures of our environment. If it becomes sordid, the dignity of the human spirit and the deepest of our values become imperiled.

As automation takes more and more of the jobs of men, we are going to find the workweek further reduced. And we are going to find people wondering what they should do. We should make it possible for them to get in their cars, escape from the cities, and see green grass and the other rich resources of our land.

Our highways should have open windows so that Americans can see and enjoy their land.

Passage of the highway beauty bill signified more than the preservation and restoration of scenic areas we know and love. It accented our determination to elevate the quality of the American environment.

EDUCATION

While this Congress made great strides in the conservation and development of the Nation's natural resources, it moved boldly ahead to develop our most precious resource, our children.

The importance of education today in the United States is illustrated by the fact that this fall 25 percent of the entire population of the United States is

in school. Just think, one quarter of the American people are now in school.

The twin thrusts of modern technology and automation have made an education an absolute essential to upward progress and gainful employment in our society. Recognizing this, the 89th Congress moved dramatically to accelerate our commitment to education by:

Passing the Nation's first general Federal assistance to primary and secondary schools.

Providing the first Federal college scholarships program and authorizing an expanded 5-year program to assist colleges and universities.

Creating a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities to foster progress in art, music, films, and the theater.

Extending and expanding the manpower training program to assist the unemployed to learn new skills to qualify them for jobs.

Developing a new program to provide Federal loan insurance to high school graduates to help finance their tuition at business, trade, technical and other vocational schools.

Other significant legislation was passed by this Congress in these areas:

MEDICINE

Medical care and social security amendments: Provides hospitalization, surgical, and nursing home care for persons 65 years and older, financed through the social security system; increases social security benefits as of last January 1.

Regional medical centers: Authorizes a 3-year program of Federal grants to plan and develop a series of regional medical programs to fight heart disease, cancer and stroke.

Health professions education: Extends and expands program of construction grants to medical, dental and other similar educational institutions; establishes new program of scholarship grants for needy students, increases student loan program.

Mental health services: Provides for initial staffing grants for personnel serving in community mental health centers.

MILITARY AND FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Military pay increase: Provides an average 10.4 percent pay increase for some 4.2 million uniformed personnel of the Armed Forces, effective September 1, 1965—2.7 million on active duty, 1 million reservists, 500,000 retired.

Retired Government employees: Provides for cost-of-living increases in annuities to retired employees of Federal Government.

Post Office employees: Salary increases and overtime allowances for postal and other Federal employees.

TAX CUT

Excise tax reduction: Provides excise tax cuts totaling $4.7 billion on various consumer items such as appliances, telephone service, autos, and so forth; eliminates most Federal excises by 1969.

RAPID TRANSIT

High-speed rapid transit: Authorizes 3-year program of reasearch and demonstration projects for development of high-speed intercity railroad transportation.

IMMIGRATION REFORM

Immigration Act amendments: Abolishes "national origins" quota system over 3-year period; establishes a 170,000 annual limit on immigrants, special preferences given to relatives of American citizens.

WAR ON POVERTY

Economic opportunity program: Increases authorization for antipoverty program with the accent on education, makes other improvements in the operation of various parts of the war on poverty.

MODERNIZING CONGRESS

Rules and reorganization: The 89th amended the rules of the House to expedite consideration of legislation and created a joint committee to study the organization and operation of Congress and to make recommendations to improve and streamline the work of Congress.

PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION

Presidential continuity: Adopted proposed amendment to the Constitution to establish procedure to permit Vice President to become Acting President if the President is unable to perform his duties; provides for filling the vacancy of the office of Vice President.

SUBURBAN GROWTH

New water and sewer lines: Set up a new program to provide Federal funds to cover 50 percent of the cost of new sewer and waterlines.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Voting rights: Strengthens machinery for guaranteeing right to vote to all citizens by prohibiting literacy tests; provides for Federal registrars in States where less than 50 percent of potential voters are registered or voted.

Other important new laws were written to assist farmers and older Americans, to fight juvenile delinquency and reduce the illegal use of dangerous drugs.

While I generally supported President Johnson there were frequent occasions when I opposed measures advanced by the administration and/or the leadership in Congress. Among them: The controversial sugar bill; unfair business competition created by the Area Redevelopment Administration; excessive Agriculture appropriations; rent supplements, and foreign aid to nations shipping to North Vietnam.

VIETNAM

Withdrawal from Vietnam is unthinkable. Three administrations have pledged their support to South Vietnam. The people of South Vietnam have staked their lives on our solemn commitment to them.

We should continue to make clear to North Vietnam, Communist China, and the Soviet Union that we are interested in dicussions leading to an honorable settlement of the conflict. We should pursue peace with the same intensity as our efforts in the military field.

Until North Vietnam and Vietcong become convinced that a Communist military victory is impossible, we will continue to aid South Vietnam. The aggressor need only stop his aggression and accept our often expressed offer for honorable negotiations toward a just and fair settlement.

The National Liberation Front, for many months, has been counting on public opinion in the United States to accomplish what it has been unable to achieve by armed force. If it is misled into believing that we will falter, it is likely to hold out in the mistaken notion that it can achieve victory through U.S. withdrawal. Nothing could be further from the truth. The fastest course to peace is through U.S. strength and firmness.

WATER POLLUTION

The main thrust of my activities here has been directed toward the restoration of western New York's greatest natural resource—Lake Erie.

I have taken these steps to accomplish this:

Cosponsored the Clean Water Act of 1965 which provides for an eccelerated attack on water pollution.

Successfully amended the bill to channel an extra $100,000,000 into the effort—mainly in large States like New York.

At the request of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY and me, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare held a Water Pollution Abatement Conference out of which emerged a firm plan for ending the pollution of the lake by January 1, 1969.

Introduced a bill to give tax incentives to industries that must install expensive pollution abatement equipment.

Introduced legislation calling for the drafting of a joint United States-Canadian plan to divert Hudson Bay-bound rivers into the Great Lakes to flush out pollutants, raise and control lake levels and provide for the increased water needs of New York City, Chicago, and cities in Ohio.

HIGHLIGHT

For me the highlight of the 89th's first session came on Saturday, October 2, when President Johnson signed the Clean Water Act of 1965 in the White House. My 6-year-old son, Barry, and I were present and received pens the President used to sign this important bill.

CONTRACTS AND PROJECTS

During the 1st session of the 89th Congress, I was able to assist a number of our communities and industries in Erie County.

Here are some of the locally initiated, federally aided or financed projects:

Clarence: Main Street site selected for new post office.

Marilla: Post Office Department studying possibility of creating a central post office.

Alden: Site selected for new post office; $32,194 aid to schools under new Elementary and Secondary Federal School Act.

Orchard Park: Planning started on obtaining 50 percent funds for new sewer lines.

Evans: Corps of Engineers survey of Big Sister Creek flood control project; $42,000 planning advance for new water facilities.

Brant: Corps of Engineers nearing completion of Cattauraugus Creek flood control planning.

Hamburg: $75,000 grant for Federal share of new library; $97,822 grant for

Downtown Village urban renewal project. Frontier Central, $65,070 school aid.

Lackawanna: $161,400 for new pump station and interceptor sewers; $1,037,-104 for Smokes Creek flood control.

Lancaster: Conditional approval of $1,200,000 grant for downtown urban renewal project. Lancaster schools, $58,-125; Depew: $27,514 school aid.

Amherst: $7,900,000 Minuteman contract for Sylvania electric products; Erie County Technical Institute $6,210 and Rosary Hill College $4,276 for work-study programs to permit students with limited means to continue education. Amherst Central High $31,240; Amherst District 13, $19,090; Amherst 18, $19,378; Sweet Home, $46,341, school aid.

West Seneca: West Seneca Central, $60,071 school aid.

Newstead: Akron schools, $35,540, school aid.

North Collins: $8,000 Project Head Start grant.

Boston: Post Office Department exploring possibility of establishing a central post office for entire town.

Cheektowaga: $54,000 planning advane to stop flooding; $38,200 for study of new storm sewers; $200,000 for Army helicopter station keeping system, and $1.1 million for Navy helicopter telemetry systems, both to Sierra Research Corp.; $111,962 to Birdair Structures, Inc., for air-supported structures, $5,430 to Villa Marie College for work-study program; $1.3 million contract for Cornell Aeronautical Laboratory to continue work on the Nike-X missile defense system. Cheektowaga Central, $32,465; Sloan, $50,173; Maryvale, $64,476; Cleveland Hill, $47,774, school aid.

Buffalo: State University of Buffalo, $105,640 for work-study program; $24,-166 for graduate training in family and child welfare; $75,000 study of means to keep shipping lanes ice free; $824,000 modernization of the U.S. courthouse; $350,000 Buffalo Harbor operation and maintenance; $94,200 manpower retraining grant; and Fleet of America, $291,393 Defense supply contract for fabrication of bins, cabinets, and lockers.

KEEPING IN TOUCH

I have kept in touch with the people I represent through frequent trips home to the Niagara frontier, through attention to my mail and careful reading of all Erie County daily and weekly newspapers. In turn, I have endeavored to keep the citizens of western New York informed of my activities in their behalf through visits throughout the 39th district. And I want to thank the press, radio, and TV for the superb job they have done in reporting on my activities. Both the daily and weekly press, the radio and television stations in Erie County do an excellent job in reporting on the activities of the Members of Congress from western New York.

THE ECONOMY

I think the Johnson administration has done a generally outstanding job in its management of the Nation's fiscal and monetary affairs. The U.S. business boom is in its 56th month of unlimited expansion. The Nation's output of goods and services in the third quarter of this year rose $11 billion to an annual rate of $676.9 billion, mainly on the strength of a $7.8 billion increase in consumer spending spured by the recent excise tax cut.

Reflecting this national prosperity, the Niagara frontier is experiencing a period of healthy economic growth. Unemployment has dropped sharply and the average weekly earnings of western New York production workers climbed to $126—sharply higher than the national average of $103.

CONCLUSION

Mr. Speaker, even though I see it several times daily I never fail to be moved by the sight of the gleaming white U.S. Capitol Building and its majestic dome. A glimpse of it summons up in my mind a flashing panorama of patriots engaged in purposeful and important activity on behalf of the country we all love. It is a very high honor to serve in the Congress of the United States. It has been a source of deep satisfaction and worthwhile meaning for me to be a Member of the 1st session of the 89th Congress of the United States of America.

These memorable words of Daniel Webster, etched in stone above your chair, Mr. Speaker, sum up my thoughts:

Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests and see whether we also in our day and generation may not perform something worthy to be remembered.

Enrico Fermi Post No. 1266, American Legion, Passes Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, on July 15, 1965, the members of the Enrico Fermi Post No. 1266 of the American Legion in Chicago, Ill., adopted a resolution on law and order and the preservation of inherent rights.

At the request of Ramon D. Schaeffer, commander of the Enrico Fermi Post No. 1266, I am inserting the resolution into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION ON LAW AND ORDER AND THE PRESERVATION OF INHERENT RIGHTS PRESENTED BY THE ENRICO FERMI POST NO. 1266

Whereas the preamble to the constitution of the American Legion prescribes for God and country, we associate ourselves together for the following purposes and then satisfies further the purposes; and

Whereas among others, one of those purposes is to maintain law and order; and

Whereas the Enrico Fermi Post of the American Legion reiterates the American Legion's purposes in advocating and objecting to lawless groups, individuals who violate the laws of the State of Illinois, the city of Chicago, and the United States of America and has demanded that law and order prevail; and

Whereas the American Legion further recognizes that, in the judicial due process, individuals in official capacities disregard the inherent rights of individuals; and

Whereas the Enrico Fermi Post No. 1266 deplores the judicial tactics, trickery, and any and all other means which violate the individual rights guaranteed by the Constitution: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the members of the Enrico Fermi Post No. 1266 of the Fifth District, First Division, Department of Illinois, do hereby urge, through its membership and the entire citizenry of each congressional area, that their respective Representatives in the Congress of the United States be urged to take notice and to enact legislation protecting the rights of individuals to the fullest extent that the law may provide, thereby circumventing the judicial trickery whch has become an interloper replacing the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States of America to all citizens.

This resolution was passed on the 15th day of July 1965.

RAMON D. SCHAFFER,
Post Commander.
JOSEPH F. CONFORT,
Post Adjutant.

Patman Praises National Association of Retail Druggists Warning Them To Protect the Interest of the Small Businessman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, my longtime and trusted colleague, the gentleman from Texas, the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, addressed the National Association of Retail Druggists recently, praising them as a public-minded trade association representing 40,000 small business drugstore operators.

The gentleman from Texas, who is chairman of our Banking and Currency Committee, on which I proudly serve, is and has been—and will continue to be—one of the great champions of the small businessman. His many years of difficult, lonesome, yet persistent advocacy for what President Roosevelt called the "forgotten man" is a testament to his strength and character as a true public servant of all the people. A foe of monopoly and economic concentration, be it in banks or industry, and his forthright advocacy of effective antitrust laws, WRIGHT PATMAN stands as one of the great Members of this body.

The statement of the gentleman from Texas, following my remarks, is a fine outline of his philosophy. He warns small business to beware of the growing concentrations in industry, reporting to them on the attempt and pressures of the big bankers to exempt bank mergers from the antitrust laws.

Much has been made, Mr. Speaker, of our chairman's so-called filibuster effort to kill this bank merger bill. But I, for one, am grateful for the careful study that the hearings have brought to this complicated subject. These hearings were definitely needed, and I have profited greatly from them.

Mr. Speaker, I include Chairman PATMAN's statement in the RECORD following my remarks:

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE WRIGHT PATMAN, REPRESENTATIVE, FIRST DISTRICT, STATE OF TEXAS TO THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RETAIL DRUGGISTS, OCTOBER 14, 1965

I am delighted to address this great gathering of small businessmen. The National Association of Retail Druggists is, in my opinion, one of the really public-minded trade associations.

This organization is unique in that all of its 40,000 members are small businessmen, representing enterprises which are part of the heart and the strength of America.

I understand that the large chain-type drugstore operators are not eligible for membership in your organization. This is strictly a small businessman's organization.

I congratulate the NARD for its fine work in many areas. I know that a number of good laws in the States and in the Congress would not be on the books if it were not for the hard work of your national organization.

Of course, I am always pleased to be on the same platform with Willard B. Simmons, your executive secretary. As many of you know, Willard is my neighbor in Texarkana, Tex. Willard is one of our outstanding citizens and leaders in that part of the country, and I know he is doing an excellent job for NARD. I can tell you that he has a fine reputation with the Congress.

I am accused of being a champion of the small businessman—sometimes in praise, and other times in derisive terms. I am also accused of being a bitter foe of monopoly and economic concentration. I am accused of being a foe of high interest and a supporter of the idea that the people ought to control their own money system. I plead guilty to all of these accusations.

Admittedly, my positions on these issues evoke a variety of comment and opinion. There are powerful voices in this country who hold that WRIGHT PATMAN's theories in favor of small business and against monopoly are outdated. Certainly there are vocal and strong interests who deride WRIGHT PATMAN's ideas that the consumer should not pay unnecessarily high and burdensome premiums for the use of money. These same interests promulgate the theory that WRIGHT PATMAN's ideas on the monetary system are all wrong and that the system should belong to the bankers and only to the bankers.

My opponents in these areas are indeed loud and powerful. I give them every right to their opinions, even those that come in the form of blatant self-interest appeals.

But I tell you here today that a system which provides for the survival of the small businessman is not outdated. I say to you that the dangers of monopoly and overconcentration of economic power are becoming greater, not lesser, dangers to the American competitive system.

This is why I WAS so happy to accept this invitation to address the 69th Annual Convention of the National Association of Retail Druggists. You people understand the dangers of monopoly and unrestricted concentration of economic forces. Your businesses came into being and survived because of the success in curbing the big trusts and chain-store monopolies. Today, the Sherman Act, the Clayton Act, and the Robinson-Patman Act have as much meaning to your businesses as the day these laws were enacted.

I am deeply concerned about the growing apathy about all of these laws which have meant so much in keeping the American economy on an even keel and in protecting the legitimate rights of the small businessman. Many of these laws are today under attack. Many of these attacks are subtle, behind-the-scenes efforts to erode sections of the antimonopoly, antitrust statutes. Some publications and editorial writers have spread the idea that all is well and that the move toward concentration of economic power has been forever stopped.

This simply is not true. Pick up any newspaper and turn to the financial page. I will be surprised if you do not find two or three stories in every edition about some merger or consolidation. Corporate mergers are increasing by alarming rates in this country. Last year alone, there were 1,800 such mergers in manuafacturing industries. And let me give you this startling figure—between 1950 and 1962, the 100 largest manufacturing corporations increased their share of the total assets of this industry from 38.6 to 45 percent. Now there are an estimated 165,000 different manufacturing corporations. One hundred of this number have almost 50 percent of the assets. The other half is divided by the remaining 164,900 manufacturing corporations.

The real danger of concentration of economic power is often lost in a mass of figures and legal technicalities. It is much more than that. It is a threat to every citizen of this country. Without question, it is a threat to the type of businesses which you people operate.

As the former head of the Justice Department's Antitrust Division, Bill Orrick, said, "Concentration of economic power has always been regarded as a threat to our most important social and political institutions." And Mr. Orrick also made this significant comment while he was in office: "Perhaps most important of all, Congress' dedication to antitrust goals as a means of preserving our way of life has always rested on its recognition that concentration of industrial power may lead to the police state. Can anyone doubt that the prewar experiences of Germany, Japan, and Italy have proven the wisdom of this Nation's concern over concentration of economic power?"

The big corporations which dominate many fields are becoming more and more defiant about the antitrust laws. Their attacks on the validity of these laws are becoming more widespread and vicious. They have mounted a campaign, I believe, to destroy or at least hamstring most of these laws. Only recently, some grocery chains argued in an antitrust case in this manner: "The antitrust officials are thinking nostalgically of a bygone age of 'Mom and Pop' corner groceries." Yes, many corporations are proceeding on the theory that the day of the small businessman is limited. I hope they are wrong. For the sake of the country they must be wrong. You and your organizations must prove them wrong. The small business is not something out of the horse-and-buggy era. It belongs to 20th Century America and it must continue.

Just after World War II, when I was chairman of the House Small Business Committee, I named the late Estes Kefauver chairman of a Special Subcommittee on Monopoly. Mr. Kefauver turned out one of the finest reports ever produced in the House. I think this section bears rereading today:

"Concentration is the very antithesis of the free enterprise system. It is a fundamental principle in America that the public interest is best served by the maintenance of competition and the prevention of the evils of monopoly.

"Economic concentration leads inevitably to the elimination of small business, the disappearance of competition, the fixing of prices, the restriction of production, and the creation of unemployment. It causes an uneconomic allocation of productive resources and prevents the full utilization of productive capacity. It obstructs adjustment to economic change and contributes to general industrial instability. Concentration blocks the possibility of improving the standard of living by failing fully to develop technological innovations. It attempts to control and limit technical experimentation and to withhold the benefits of increased production from workers and consumers, thus aggravating inequalities in the distribution of income. Finally, concentration of political power, with the result that small groups of powerful interests control the State and National political life. Industrial concentration thus inevitably comes to be paralleled by the concentration of political power in the hands of a small but powerful minority.

"Symptomatic of these evils of concentration are examples of the inflexibility of prices in concentrated industries, the deliberate deterioration of quality standards, and the withholding of technological advances from public use."

Nowhere is the growth of concentration more apparent than in the banking industry. And without question, concentration and monopoly in banking breeds concentration and monopoly in other industries. Concentration is extremely high in banking today and is becoming more so. In the Nation as a whole, the 100 largest banks control almost half of the total commercial banks' assets and deposits; 10 banks out of a total 14,000 account for nearly 25 percent of the demand deposits in the country.

Since 1950, there have been more than 2,200 merger of banks. New York City has been the center of an almost fantastic wave of mergers. In the Nation's biggest city, the concentration has reached the point where five banks account for more than 70 percent of the bank business. New York City is the Nation's largest financial center and the mergers in that city have wide repercussions throughout the country. Through interlocking directors these giant merged banks control many industries. I am convinced that concentration in banking triggers rapid concentration in industry. President Wilson recognized this point when he wrote in the "New Freedom":

"A great industrial nation is controlled by its system of credit. Our system of credit is privately concentrated. The growth of the Nation, therefore, and all our activities are in the hands of a few men who, even if their action be honest and intended for the public interest, are necessarily concentrated upon the great undertakings in which their own money is involved and who necessarily, by the very reason of their own limitations, chill and check and destroy genuine economic freedom. This is the greatest question of all, and to this statesmen must address themselves with an earnest determination to serve the long future and the true liberties of men."

Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, with whom I serve on the Joint Economic Committee, is a learned and highly respected economist. Recently, he had this to say on this relation between banking and other industries:

"Now, I have talked with a great many people in Great Britain and a few in Canada, and their almost unanimous opinion is that the concentration of banking led to a concentration of industry; that huge funds were accumulated, and the natural tendency of an investment official in a bank is to lend it out in large sums, too. It is easier to do."

Senator DOUGLAS is so right. The big bank, as the Senator notes, invariably prefers to deal with the big customer. In other words, big business. The loan officers of Morgan Guaranty Trust or Chase Manhattan National Bank would probably refuse to even consider a loan for a small independent drugstore operator. I am sure that they would much rather deal with a multimillion-dollar chain store enterprise. So, as sources of credit are eliminated through these mergers, your supply of credit dwindles. Small business is protected by a system that provides a multiplicity of financial institutions,

among which there is a high degree of competition.

It is almost unbelievable that the Congress now has before it legislation which would grease the way to more and bigger mergers in banking. Undoubtedly, many of you have heard about these so-called bank merger bills, which the American Bankers Association has been attempting to ram through Congress this session. These measures are now pending before the Banking and Currency Committee, of which I am chairman.

Earlier this year, a bill, S. 1698, was passed by the Senate on a voice vote after one of the briefest hearings of this session. We now have a variety of measures under consideration in the Banking and Currency Committee. One of the more extreme measures is being promoted by the 11 Republicans on the committee, and, THOMAS L. ASHLEY, a Democrat from Toledo, Ohio. This bill, would, for all practical purposes, eliminate the application of the antitrust laws to any future bank mergers. It would also exempt three banks which are under current prosecution for antitrust violations.

In one case, the Supreme Court has already decided that the banks violated the law. In another case which would be excused, the U.S. district court has entered a final decision against the bank. In addition, the other 2,200 bank mergers which have taken place since 1950 would be forever exempted from the antitrust laws.

The pressure to pass a bank merger bill in 1965 has been some of the heaviest in the history of the U.S. Congress. The American Bankers Association and the big banks most affected by this legislation have pulled out all of the stops to gain this extreme, favored treatment from the Congress. These bills are blatant, private legislation for the benefit of a powerful and special few.

I am personally convinced that Manufacturers-Hanover Trust Co. of New York, the Nation's fourth largest bank, is the number one ringleader in this pressure campaign. In June of 1963, the Supreme Court ruled in the Philadelphia National Bank case that the antitrust laws did apply to the banking industry, despite the Bank Merger Act of 1960. This decision removed all doubt about the antitrust application to banks, if indeed any doubt existed.

It is interesting that the banking industry did not come to Congress after the Supreme Court decision and ask for special exemption from the antitrust laws. No, it was not until April of this year that the banking industry sought to have a bill introduced. It is significant that the introduction of the bank merger bill came less than 1 month after the U.S. district court decision in New York holding Manufacturers-Hanover in violation of the law.

When they stepped on the toes of the Nation's fourth largest bank, the roar from Wall Street was heard in every congressional district.

The lawyers for Manufacturers-Hanover obviously thought the Congress would bail them out. They did not even bother to file a motion for rehearing or appeal from the district court ruling. Instead, they came to Congress seeking special privileges in the form of the bank merger bill.

These bank merger bills are bills for the big banks. Not once in 6 weeks of hearings, did I hear a witness explain how the bank merger bill would serve the public interest. It is antipublic interest and the banking industry knows this only too well. I hope that Congress realizes this before it is too late.

Frankly, S. 1698 and the Ashley bill and other similar measures place us at a crossroads in the efforts to control concentration in the banking industry. The proponents of this legislation encase it in nice-sounding legal and technical language. But it is an attack on the antitrust laws of the Nation. It is a departure from the longstanding principle that competition is essential to the American economic system. It is a departure from the idea that monopoly and concentration and elimination of competition are the enemies of the consumer and small businessmen.

This attack on the antitrust laws comes in the Nation's most vulnerable economic area—banking, money, and credit. If this succeeds in the banking industry, then I predict that the opponents of the antitrust laws will move quickly in other areas of the economy. How will the Congress refuse exemptions to the big steel companies if it grants favors to the banking industry? How will the Congress turn away antitrust exemptions for the automobile manufacturers if Manufacturers-Hanover and other large banks are to receive this privilege? And can the Congress turn down exemptions for the chain drugstores and big drug manufacturers if the banks win this battle against the antitrust laws?

I cannot overemphasize my concern about what may well be the beginning of the end for major sections of our antitrust laws.

My concern about the banking industry, of course, goes beyond the question of antitrust. I am appalled by the failure of the so-called supervisory agencies to provide any kind of meaningful control over the activities of this industry.

Frankly, I believe there is great laxity in these agencies. I do not think they are doing their job of protecting the public. I include in this, the Federal Reserve Board, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and the Comptroller of the Currency.

When I talk about the banks, I do not mean to indict every bank and every banker. I firmly support the idea that banks must make a profit in our system. I recognize that there are many, many good banks and conscientious bank executives. But these facts do not alter my concern over the domination of the banking industry by a handful of huge banks. These big banks actually work to the detriment of other financial institutions as well as the rest of the economy.

The whole country, I believe, is appalled by the revelations of infiltration of banks by criminal elements. This infiltration is extremely serious for bank depositors, stockholders, FDIC insurance, and the general public. As you know, our Domestic Finance Subcommittee investigated this area earlier this year. This included a look at the Crown Savings Bank of Newport News, Va., which was closed a year ago. Our investigation showed clearly that over $2 million of this bank's funds were used to finance and facilitate loan-sharking, gambling, numbers rackets, fraudulent money order sales, and passing of forged securities. This activity was carried on all down the east coast from New York to Georgia.

This bank's situation is serious enough in itself, but such activities apparently exist in some other banks. During his appearance before our committee, Chairman K. A. Randall of the FDIC admitted that at the present time, FDIC has 199 banks on its problem list with aggregate deposits of $1.829 billion.

I am also appalled by the apparent cooperation of many banks with loan shark operations. In investigating the Federal Services Finance Corp.—a loan operation specializing in fast shuffle deals with military personnel—we discovered that nearly 100 commercial banks had been providing this finance company with substantial lines of credit.

Now these things must be stopped and the Federal banking agencies simply are not doing the job. I do not accuse these officials with wrongdoing or impugn their motives. But, I do say that the decisions of these agencies invariably carry the appearance of a rubberstamp for the positions of the banks. Seldom is the public interest taken into consideration.

The Congress should move now to bring reform to the banking agencies and to include safeguards for the public. First, I think all of these agencies should come to Congress for appropriations annually. This provides an annual review of their activity—or lack of activity. Under present conditions, all three are financed outside of the public domain. The FDIC and the Comptroller of the Currency are financed by funds provided by the banks they supervise. This is like having the television networks finance the Federal Communications Commission or the drug manufacturers, the Federal Trade Commission. This is terrible public policy and the Congress should correct this now. Every taint of banker domination should be removed from these agencies.

Now the Federal Reserve Board, of course, claims to be independent of everyone, the public, the Congress, and the President. They get their funds through interest from Government bonds they hold. They are not audited by any Government agency and they do not have to come to Congress for a dime.

Just how bad this situation has become is plainly illustrated by some recent hearings by the Banking and Currency Committee. The committee had been holding hearings on H.R. 7601, providing for cancellation of $30 billion of U.S. bonds held by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York for the Federal Open Market Committee. The total open market portfolio is now $40 billion, on which the taxpayers are required to pay almost $1.6 billion a year in interest.

In his testimony at the hearing, William McChesney Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, admitted that the Federal Reserve had paid for these bonds once with the money and credit of the United States and that they would have to be paid again when due. This is similar to a situation where a houseowner paid off his mortgage and was then required to continue paying interest on it, and then pay it off again when the maturity date comes around. It would be illegal and absurd in the case of an individual, but that is exactly what the Goevrnment is required to do under our present banking structure.

Martin is openly defiant about his ability to ignore public policy. He recently told me in a Joint Economic Committee hearing that, "The Federal Reserve Board has the authority to act independently of the President" even "despite the President."

Of course, the problem of the Federal Reserve System is of much greater magnitude than the other two agencies. The Federal Reserve, through its Open Market Committee, determines the Nation's supply of money and the interest rates. It has, in effect, near life and death control over economic policy.

In recent months, the Federal Reserve Board, led by its Chairman, has been tightening up on the supply of money, and forcing interest rates up.

The Federal Reserve Board's efforts to reconstruct their tight money line flies in the face of repeated statements by this administration in favor of plentiful credit at reasonable interest. Mr. Martin chooses to ignore these policies.

Once again, we have a prime example of the folly of allowing our monetary policy to be controlled largely by the bankers in disregard of a public policy as enunciated by the President and the Congress.

Through the years, tight money and rising interest rates have cost the American consumer billions o fdollars. Tight money and high interest rates serve no useful public purpose. They have been a serious drag on the growth of the country, an out and out waste.

For an 11-year period from 1953 to 1963, inclusive, rising interest rates imposed an excess interest cost of $15.7 billion upon the Federal budget; $2.3 billion upon States and localities; and $32.1 billion upon all private borrowers. And the figures keep on growing.

Tight money hurts every housewife who buys a washing machine, every farmer who buys a tractor, every homeowner, every small businessman. Every taxpayer has paid his share of the rising interest costs on the national debt. And when the consumer's dollar is siphoned off in this manner, he can't spend in your stores.

Tight money and high interest strikes at the jugular vein of small business. You, the independent drugstore operator, are one of the first victims. Two years ago, the Small Business Administration put out a bulletin which noted:

"When money is tight, discrimination against small firms in the bank-loan market may take two forms. Banks may reduce the flow of loanable funds to small firms in order to maintain or expand the flow to larger firms. Or they may raise interest rates proportionately more on small-business than on large-business loans."

That bulletin went on to say:

"On long-term loans to the textiles, leather, and apparel industries, interest rates charged to small firms more than doubled in the 1955–57 period, while rates to the larger firms increased only moderately."

It is obvious that the small businessman is the one who suffers first and hardest in a period of high interest and tight money.

So long as the Federal Reserve System remains under banker domination and beyond the reach of executive and legislative control, our welfare is imperiled. In my view, the most important economic and governmental problem facing the Nation today is the need for immediate rehabilitation of the Federal Reserve System, so that it is again subject to the will of the people, acting through their elected representatives.

If the big bankers are able to have their way they will continue to encourage monetary policies that will produce larger and larger public debt and higher and higher interest rates. If they have their way, our national debt will be $600 billion in 15 years, which at a 6-percent rate of interest, will cost the taxpayers $36 billion a year. This would mean that so much of Federal revenues would be required for debt-carrying charges that insufficient funds, if any at all, would be available for veterans' programs, social welfare, housing, community health, and the many other services needed by our people.

Monetary policy is the public's business and it should not be controlled absolutely by a handful of bureaucrats operating independently of everyone but the big bankers.

As operators of important businesses in your communities, you are part of the leadership of this country. I hope that you will take a firm stand in favor of continuing vigorous prosecution of our antitrust laws in all areas of the economy. I hope also that you will lend your leadership to helping bring about reform of our monetary policies. This is an area that affects you directly and I hope you will not let these policies be turned against you through default.

Governor Hughes Guarantees the Secrecy of the Ballot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS C. McGRATH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. Speaker, the State of New Jersey is one of the few States in which statewide elections are being held this year. There has been some concern noted by individual voters in New Jersey about the secrecy of their ballots.

Gov. Richard J. Hughes has pledged to personally stand behind the secrecy of the ballot guaranteed to every American voter by the stautes of the State of New Jersey and inherent in the Constitution of the United States.

I have urged every registered voter in New Jersey's Second District to exercise his responsibility to vote for the candidates of his choice and, thus, have his voice in selecting those who govern.

I am sure that the Governor's pledge will be fulfilled and that the secrecy of the polling booth will be rigidly maintained. No voter in New Jersey need fear consequences or reprisal for voting as his conscience directs on November 2.

Captive Nations' Elections Urged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an article which appeared in the Buffalo Evening News, Buffalo, N.Y., on October 6, 1965, commenting on a recent speech made by Mr. Walter V. Chopyk, of Buffalo, before the Italy Teachers Association at Braidi, Italy.

Mr. Chopyk is a founder and present public relations director of the United Anti-Communist Committee of Western New York, a cooperating organization with the American Security Council. He was educated at the University of Buffalo and Haverford College, and possesses a working knowledge of three central and Eastern—Slavic—European languages.

As an agent of the U.S. Department of Justice, Mr. Chopyk served with distinction in security posts in the United States and Canada. In 1955, under the sponsorship of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, he attended the "big four" Geneva, Switzerland, summit conference, where he represented five newspapers and Radio Canada's Ukraine section, and dicerted a press conference in which representatives of 20 captive nations from behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains participated with the free world press. The press conference was highlighted by denunciations of the policies of slavery and genocide carried on by the Soviets, and by pleas to the free world summit leaders in attendance to demand that the Kremlinologists release from bondage 1 billion peoples in the "prison house of nations"—the U.S.S.R.

Mr. Chopyk spent over 25 years researching into the Soviet conspiracy, and has presented over 300 lectures to universities, colleges, high schools, service clubs, military as well as security agencies, and veterans organizations throughout the United States. He has received citations for his "Americanism Activities" from the Veterans of Foreign Wars, junior chamber of commerce, and the Sons of American Revolution.

The newspaper article follows:

CAPTIVE NATIONS' ELECTIONS URGED

BRAIDI, ITALY, October 6.—A Buffalo fighter against communism suggested today that 25 captive nations dominated by the Soviet Union be permitted to hold elections under United Nations supervision.

Walter V. Chopyk, speaking before a meeting of the Italy Teachers Association, said that "now, when the Soviet Union is so hard-pressed economically, now is the free world's time to bargain for free elections in the circle of long-suffering captive nations."

Mr. Chopyk, founder of the Western New York Anti-Communist Committee, said elections are possible under the U.N.

"What do you think would happen," Mr. Chopyk asked, "if free election privileges were permitted the now enslaved nations?

"Of course, 99 or even 100 percent of them would choose freedom, liberty, and the hard work of reestablishing their old, still recognized, and respected republics."

Mr. Chopyk appeared to imply that United States and Canadian sales of wheat to the Soviet Union could be a lever to persuade Soviet leaders to negotiate, through the U.N., on elections in the captive countries. But he criticized the wheat deals, saying Russia may be using wheat to make "industrial or missile-type alcohol."

"The Soviet Union," he said, "could sustain itself with food, were it not for the fact that most of its capital is devoted to producing new war equipment."

Mr. Chopyk appealed to Italy's teachers to "create an active force of thinking young people marching for God in the service of their fellow men and women now within the captive nations."

He sent a copy of his speech to Pope Paul VI.

Our Social Security Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, I wish to congratulate the Public Information Section of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration, upon the publication of a small pamphlet entitled, "Social Security Amendments, 1965—A Brief Explanation."

Because our work this year was of great importance historically and to every citizen of the State of Wyoming, I am pleased to help make possible a distribution of this document. It is important enough to make a distribution to my constituents under "postal patron law."

Mr. Speaker, I also want to take this opportunity on the eve of adjournment to report the estimated benefits to Wyoming of this needed legislation which I was happy to support, and to vote for.

The 1965 amendments to the Social Security Act will add $5 million in benefit payments during calendar year 1966 to residents of Wyoming, bringing the total payments under the newly enlarged program to $32 million in Wyoming in 1966. In calendar year 1967, additional payments resulting from the amend-

ments will amount to $9 million and total payments will rise to $38 million.

An estimated 2,000 residents of Wyoming who could not receive monthly benefits under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program as in effect before the 1965 amendments will be able to receive monthly benefits immediately under the program as amended. Additional OASDI benefit payments resulting from the amendments to persons living in Wyoming are estimated at $4 million in calendar year 1966 and $4 million in calendar year 1967. Total benefit payments in calendar years 1966 and 1967 under the OASDI program as modified by the 1965 amendments are estimated to be $31 million and $33 million respectively.

About 30,000 persons aged 65 and over residing in Wyoming will be eligible for hospital insurance protection under the basic plan on the effective date, July 1, 1966. Hospital insurance benefit payments under the plan will be about $1 million in July–December 1966 and $3 million in calendar year 1967, the first calendar year of operation.

Benefit payments under the voluntary supplementary medical insurance benefits plan will be about $500,000 in July–December 1966 and $2 million in calendar year 1967.

Because of the obvious and potential benefit to be derived under this act, I consider it my duty to supply the people of Wyoming with this and other information which would help them take full advantage of the new program.

Against Fluoridation of Public Water Supplies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH J. RIVERS

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. RIVERS of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, the battle by many citizens to prevent fluoridation of public water supplies continues to be bitterly waged. Supporting this questionable practice of mass medication is the American Medical Association and the American Dental Association, aided and abetted by the U.S. Public Health Service which, several years ago, embarked upon a program of active promotion of this highly controversial use of public water supplies. Without resolving the heated scientific arguments involved, it seems to me that the U.S. Public Health Service, usually well respected throughout our land, should cease and desist in taking sides between our citizens in this regard and spending taxpayers dollars in so doing.

In regard to the current campaign in Detroit on the subject of fluoridation, my constituent, Wini Silko, of Ketchikan, Alaska, who is a very active antifluoridationist, has sent me a memorandum, critical of the actions of the Detroit District Dental Society, a component of the American Dental Association, and a copy of a letter from that society to its members, under date of May 13, 1965. In the order stated those documents read as follows:

MEMORANDUM

During fluoridation elections, thoughtful citizens express astonishment at the vast sums of money poured into a campaign by promoters. Where, they wonder, does the financing come from.

The enclosed "assessment" letter to all Detroit District Dental Society members reveals one source of political funds. It also reveals the totalitarian methods used to promote artificial fluoridation. Please note that "failure of a member to pay shall make mandatory the termination of his membership."

Assuming that the Detroit District Dental Society is a tax-exempt organization, members are further required to participate in an illegal practice, because Federal laws prohibit tax-exempt organizations from engaging in political campaigns—in this case the defeat of the fluoridation charter amendment on November 2, 1965.

The Detroit Dental Society's demand for political funds contains several interesting details. Those who oppose artificial fluoridation are labeled as being "oddly motivated people." The Detroit society thereby identifies the majority of U.S. citizens as being oddly motivated because universally, in fact, when permitted to vote on the scheme, citizens reject fluoridation at the polls. For example, recently Duluth, Minn., voters rejected it by a better than 2 to 1 margin. That's quite a group of "oddly motivated people."

In its assessment demand, the Detroit society urgently warns that their "professional prestige and acceptance is being challenged." This is possibly the overriding reason for the continuing promotion of artificial fluoridation. It is not easy to admit, surely, that the advocacy of fluoridation is one of the greatest mistakes ever made and that the ADA and its affiliated groups are chiefly responsible for the tragedy.

DETROIT DISTRICT DENTAL SOCIETY, COMPONENT OF THE AMERICAN DENTAL ASSOCIATION

(Official notice to Detroit District Dental Society members)

DEAR DOCTOR: Enclosed is a statement of $20 for the recently enacted fluoridation assessment. This action was unanimously recommended by the executive council and approved by our members present and voting at a special meeting held for this purpose. We felt this action was necessary and expected of us by the general public to help defeat the antifluoridation charter amendment forced on the city of Detroit by the antifluoridationists.

There is no question that fluoridation is safe and effective. Yet a small vocal and highly active group of oddly motivated people are attempting to portray us as incompetent public poisoners. Of course, they project themselves as protectors of an unsuspecting public. So you see, there is more at stake in this vote than improvement of the dental health of our community. Our professional prestige and acceptance is being challenged.

We will be needing more from you than your money. We need your active help. You can help by discussing the issue with your patients during the upcoming months and urge them to vote no on the fluoridation amendment when it appears on the ballot Tuesday, November 2, 1965.

We urge you to write your check to the Detroit District Dental Society as soon as possible. Our constitution and bylaws requires that assessments be paid within 120 days (4 months) of this notification.

We thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

DETROIT DISTRICT DENTAL SOCIETY,
HENRY J. HERPEL, *D.D.S., President.*

May 13, 1965.

Supplemental Appropriation Bill, 1966

SPEECH

OF

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 11588) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes.

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Chairman, even at the risk of beating a horse that may already be dead, I would like to say just a few more words about the summer employment program indulged in by the Post Office Department this year.

The subject is covered, in some detail, in the report on this supplemental appropriation bill—as you will note if you will turn to page 51 thereof—and while the committee has indicated its less-than-total pleasure with the manner in which this particular operation was carried out, I would have to say that, all in all, the Department has gotten off the spot on this pretty easily.

Let us take a look at what happened. As you will find out from the hearings—if you are interested enough to look—there has always been a summertime employment program by the Post Office Department. Last year—1964, that is—the Department hired some 1,500 temporary summer employees, many, if not most of whom, were students. And this was about par for a normal summer.

This year, however, when a directive came down from the White House to the effect that it was the President's desire to find summer employment for as many young people aged 16 through 21 as possible, the Department managed to find and to hire some 8,600 summertime employees, which is surely a remarkable increase in just 1 year.

Sort of as an afterthought, word was finally sent out by the Postmaster General that these hundreds of new employees were supposed to be deserving youngsters who needed jobs or—to quote from a more specific departmental memorandum—were to come from the ranks of "economically and educationally disadvantaged youth."

But it would appear, Mr. Chairman, that there was never any real effort on the part of the Department, or those responsible for this program, to properly screen the many hundreds of job applicants who were dredged up, some 3,400 of which evidently came through recommendations submitted by those more fortunate Members of Congress who were permitted to get in on the act.

As all of us well know, a veil of secrecy has since been drawn around this whole affair, and I do not suppose it would do

any good to again try to pierce that veil although the mere fact that it was put there indicates, at least to me and perhaps to you, that the Department, in the end, was not as proud, actually, of this program as the outgoing Postmaster General and others who have come to his defense would have you believe.

It may be easy for the Vice President to say, as he was reported having said in an article in the Baltimore Sun on September 19, that he was "unimpressed" by Republican complaints that some of the youngsters who got these jobs came from well-to-do families because, in the words of the Vice President, a summer job can be a valuable experience for any youngster, provided he earns his pay and is not a shirker. And so it can.

But it is not so easy to shrug off such criticism as this on September 9 from the editor of the Evening Star—here in Washington—to the effect that:

The Post Office Department has flagrantly undercut a portion of the antipoverty program which had a great deal of merit, and its explanation, issued a few days ago, to the effect that it had misinterpreted the President's desire simply doesn't hold water.

Now, I am not suggesting that these youngsters did not earn their pay from the Post Office Department this past summer—probably most of them did—and undoubtedly many of them were helped through the summer months and even, perhaps, a few of them were thus encouraged to go back to school this fall.

But the point is, Mr. Chairman, that the mail service—for whatever variety of reasons—is not the service it ought to be. Each of us gets enough letters from irate constituents every week complaining about the mail service to convince us of that fact. And I, personally, just don't think that service was improved very much by this kind of a crash program to bring in hundreds of untrained, unscreened, temporary summer employees—probably far more than were actually needed or could properly be used—just because somebody, somewhere, saw in this the opportunity to spread around a little patronage where it might do some doubtful good.

The outgoing Postmaster General said he could not tell us exactly what kind of a program his successor might run along these lines next summer. Whatever it is, I would hope that the new Postmaster General—when we get him—will have profited by this year's experience, and will not repeat it.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBISON. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. QUIE. I am glad the gentleman brought this up, because I find that the statement of the Postmaster General in the report is not too accurate. It says that the Postmaster General testified that the program had no relation to the antipoverty program. It is true that antipoverty funds were not used.

However, I might quote from a newspaper account in the Minneapolis Tribune on June 16 which quotes the Vice President as saying, "The primary emphasis should be on hiring disadvantaged youth."

The President when he announced this program said:

These opportunities will be given so far as practical to boys and girls because of economic and educational disadvantages.

Now the emphasis as laid out in the press that everybody read about is that these were to be poor kids who would not go on to school unless they received a summer job. I had information from people working in the post office in Milwaukee, Wis., that they were dropped from the payroll. Widows, who were temporary employees and who had children who were trying to go on to college, lost their post office jobs and were replaced by summer youth. It seems to me this is inconsistent with the purposes of the program. The President announced the program as an adjunct to the poverty program and it is hardly fulfilling his proposals when poor widows are fired and the children of wealthy politicians are hired. I think the most important thing now is not the fact that there might be this same kind of hiring next year because the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, Mr. Macy, indicated he is not going to let this happen again, after issuing the cease and desist order in July.

You can see by the announcement of Christmas hiring that they are going to use the merit basis for hiring then. But the most important thing is secrecy in Government where the Postmaster General refused to submit the names of summer employees to the Members of Congress as to whom they were hiring in the Post Office Department and where the House itself by a vote of 186 to 180 refused to ask him to submit these names. Now some of us have had to use a long drawn out process trying to secure these names from the local post offices and the regional offices themselves and some Members are running into difficulty there trying to secure the names as quickly as they would like. We have five regional offices reports now. It will take some time before they convey all the information. I think this kind of secrecy in Government makes the entire country suspicious of the hiring of the Post Office Department when it refuses to divulge these names and this House has been a party to this abuse of the people's right to know.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBISON. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. POOL. I would like to ask the gentleman this question. Did the gentleman go to any of these post offices to see these boys working?

Mr. ROBISON. No, I did not happen to have any boys to visit.

Mr. POOL. Well I did, and I will tell you one thing. Those boys did a tremendous job. They picked up those sacks of mail and kept moving around for 8 or 10 hours a day. They did a lot of manual work there. It is good for these boys. They are young fellows who did a good job and I want to take up for them a little bit. I was enough interested to go there and see what was being done. I would suggest that the gentleman should have done what I did before making this speech about these boys who did a good job and I am going to stand up and defend them.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBISON. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. I wonder how heavy the sacks were that the girls carried around who were working at these jobs this summer? Could the gentleman give us a report on that? I want to commend the gentlemen from New York for discussing this subject, which badly needs some light thrown on it. I would point out in the State of Iowa we have had an unusual experience with this make-work program. One Iowa post office put on some of these employees. The local daily newspaper ascertained and printed the names despite the curtain of secrecy raised by the Post Office Department. The St. Louis regional office of the Post Office Department promptly sent an inspector to Iowa to find out how the newspaper had obtained the names of the employees. It has taken much time and effort to pierce the wall of secrecy that was thrown up to protect the hiring of sons and daughters and other members of the families of Members of Congress as well as other Government officials.

That is why the veil of secrecy went on and was kept on to the extent of trying to persecute those who sought to know what was going on in their government.

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. QUIE. The Post Office Department brought this on themselves. If they had merely submitted the list of names and let the Members of the Congress and the press find out who they were, this would not have flared up. We are not criticizing these boys and the job they did. We are not criticizing disadvantaged youth. The Post Office used patronage to fill summer jobs, wealthy politician's sons received them but, so far as I could find out, the Post Office Department was the only Department to use patronage. They then cloaked the whole thing in a veil of secrecy so that no one would know what the Post Office Department was doing with the money of the taxpayers whom we represent.

Mr. ROBISON. The gentleman is exactly correct. I thank him for his contribution.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

Both Houses cleared supplemental appropriations for White House.

Senate cleared numerous bills for White House, including agriculture appropriations.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 27039–27112

Bills Introduced: 13 bills and 3 resolutions were introduced, as follows: S. 2688–2700; S.J. Res. 121, and S. Con. Res. 66–67. Page 26931

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows:

S. 2614, to provide for participation in the Statewide Exposition to be held in Alaska during 1967 (S. Rept. 928)—reported on October 20;

H.R. 4421, to authorize conveyance of certain land to the city of Cheyenne, Wyo. (S. Rept. 929);

H.J. Res. 641, authorizing Father Flanagan's Boys' Home to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs (S. Rept. 930); and

S. Con. Res. 65, to authorize printing as a Senate document of a study entitled "The Anti-Vietnam Agitation and the Teach-In Movement," prepared for use of Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, with amendment (S. Rept. 931). Pages 26930–26931

Sundry Bills Passed: The following sundry bills were taken from calendar and passed in the manner indicated:

Without amendment and cleared for President:

House Members' office equipment: H.R. 11267, to remove certain limitations relating to electrical and mechanical office equipment for Members, officers, and committees of the House of Representatives;

Terry Lake Dam: H.R. 7475, to name the authorized lock and dam No. 6 on the Arkansas River in Arkansas and the lake created thereby for David D. Terry;

Flag in Lexington, Mass.: H.R. 5493, authorizing the U.S. flag to be flown 24 hours each day at Lexington, Mass.;

Water conservation: H.J. Res. 671, authorizing President to proclaim the month of November as Water Conservation Month;

Hurricane damage: H.R. 11539, to provide assistance to States of Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi for the reconstruction of areas damaged by the recent hurricane (motion to reconsider tabled);

California recreation area: H.R. 797, to establish the Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area in California (motion to reconsider tabled); and

Private bill: One private bill, H.R. 8353; and

Boys' Home: H.J. Res. 641, authorizing Father Flanagan's Boys' Home to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs.

With amendment, to be sent back to House:

Bridge: H.R. 5026, to authorize the Burt County Bridge Commission, Nebraska, to refund the outstanding revenue bonds of the commission heretofore issued to finance the cost of the construction of a bridge.

Without amendment and cleared for House:

Watershed protection: S. 2679, respecting maximum flood detention capacity of watershed project structures; and

Wind River: S.J. Res. 9, to cancel unpaid reimbursable construction costs of the Wind River irrigation project, Wyoming, chargeable against certain non-Indian lands (after discharge of Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs from further consideration; S.J. Res. 33, similar bill, indefinitely postponed).

Resolutions adopted without amendment:

Committee investigation: S. Res. 154, providing additional $20,000 to Committee on the Judiciary for investigation of juvenile delinquency;

Printing: S. Con. Res. 62, to provide for printing of additional copies of hearings on S. 9, cold war GI education bill (89th Cong., 1st sess.); and

Printing: S. Con. Res. 63, providing for printing of additional copies of hearings on antitrust and monopoly.

Resolution adopted with amendment:

Crusade for Safety: H. Con. Res. 448, requesting the President to proclaim November 26, 1965, as Crusade for Safety Day; and

Printing: S. Con. Res. 65, to authorize printing as a Senate document of a study entitled "The Anti-Vietnam Agitation and the Teach-In Movement," prepared for use of Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary.

Pages 26943–26947, 26953–26956, 26962–26968, 27023

Appendix

What About Dickey-Lincoln?

SPEECH

OF

HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, my vote today against accepting the Senate-House conference report on the omnibus public works bill is a matter of political conscience and personal integrity.

Earlier this month, I successfully joined together with a majority of the Members of the House to remove from the public works bill the Dickey-Lincoln School power project on the St. John River in Maine. I did so because this $300 million project was challenged on the grounds that it had not been approved by the Corps of Engineers, Bureau of the Budget, and private power alternatives had not been thoroughly studied. Now the Senate-House conference has restored the Dickey-Lincoln project to the public works bill.

Under the parliamentary procedure of the House I am unable to vote specifically against the Dickey-Lincoln project and we are unable to vote to recommit the entire bill to committee for further study. Therefore, though I support the vast majority of the projects in the omnibus public works bill, I want to reaffirm my stand against the Dickey-Lincoln School power project. Earlier I gave the following reasons for my original vote and I have seen no evidence in the meantime to change that vote. Let me restate them now.

First. No public hearings were held on the Dickey-Lincoln power project in the Senate in 1965.

Second. As a separate project, the Dickey-Lincoln project has never been approved by the Corps of Engineers, and only belatedly by the Bureau of the Budget.

Third. The electric companies of the region have offered a tangible, practical, effective alternative to this project without the support of Federal funds. The New England utilities supplied much information regarding this project to the House Public Works Committee.

Fourth. This project, by the expenditure of $300 million of the taxpayers' money in direct competition with private investors would jeopardize the development of the atomic industry in New England where there are three nuclear powerplants in operation or under construction in Connecticut and Massachusetts.

Fifth. This is virtually a pure power project with less than 5 percent for recreation and flood control for a region that has no power shortage.

With all this in mind does it seem unreasonable to await further study by the Corps of Engineers before we examine alternative methods to this project that will cost the American taxpayer more than $300 million. I believe that my vote against the Dickey-Lincoln School power project is in the best interests of the citizens of Connecticut.

Nationwide Skill Shortage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, an article in the Wall Street Journal of October 21 dramatically describes the scope of the serious national shortage of skilled manpower.

This shortage refutes the theory that there is excessive unemployment in this country. It supports those who say that our unemployment rate distorts and misrepresents the true amount of real unemployment in our society. It buttresses my contention that our largest manpower problem is not one of a lack of jobs, but a lack of skills.

The Human Investment Act of 1965, which now has the sponsorship of 21 Members of the Senate and 81 Members of the House, is an approach toward meeting this very serious problem of skill shortage. The act provides a tax credit, analogous to the investment tax credit of the Revenue Act of 1962 for investment in human capital.

Private business, the Nation's largest job trainer, best knows the job skills which it needs and will need, and best knows the most efficient ways to train men for these skills. We believe that private business should be encouraged to expand and intensify its job training programs through the tax credit device provided in the Human Investment Act.

The article referred to follows:

CORPORATE MANHUNT—MANPOWER PINCH SPURS PIRATING, INCREASES COSTS, HURTS EFFICIENCY—BUILDERS BID UP PAY SCALES; MATSON'S SHIPS SAIL LATE; JOB-HOPPING RISES GREATLY—SEARS TURNS TO DIRECT MAIL

Early this year SKF Industries, Inc., Philadelphia bearings maker, had good luck recruiting workers from factories preparing to cut output. It picked 27, mostly machine-tool operators, from Vertol division of Boeing Co., and from the Government's Frankford Arsenal.

But since then, SKF's manpower pinch has grown worse. It now is looking for 50 tool operators—and it can no longer get them from defense plants. Quite the contrary; since the Vietnam buildup began, helicoptermaking Vertol and the Frankford Arsenal have lured back many of the men SKF had spirited away.

SKF's plight is shared to some degree by scores of companies queried coast to coast by the Wall Street Journal. Even last year, many began to feel a shortage of skilled workers. Now, with the Nation's biggest boom in its 56th month, their manpower needs have grown much greater—and more varied. One sample: Douglas Aircraft Co. is looking for 850 salaried employees, against 135 a year ago, and for 1,700 hourly workers, against 230 a year ago.

UNEMPLOYMENT DOWN

Meanwhile, the pool of unemployed workers has shrunk drastically. Unemployment in mid-September dropped to an 8-year low of 4.4 percent of the labor force. The jobless rate among married males—the family breadwinners who generally are the most experienced and reliable workers—matched the record low of 2.2 percent set in March 1957.

The result: A really tight manpower pinch that is beginning to delay many business operations, push up costs, and prod many employers into increasingly offbeat efforts to find workers ranging from computer programers to trash collectors.

As might be expected, the shortage is especially severe in operations that must be expanded rapidly to handle the Vietnam buildup. The Pacific Area Military Sea Transportation Service, which employs 3,900 civilians, is looking for another 1,600 to man five ships just taken out of mothballs for the run to Vietnam, and to fill supporting paper pusher jobs ashore. Unable to get them through normal civil service channels, MSTS has begun advertising for them in newspapers in 24 States, reaching as far east as Illinois.

But the shortage is hardly confined to defense-related fields. Chas. Pfizer & Co., big New York drug maker, has 30 percent more job vacancies than a year earlier. It is looking especially hard for scientists, patent attorneys, designers, and draftsmen, and most of all computer personnel.

Amana Refrigeration, Inc., an Amana, Iowa, subsidiary of Raytheon Co., would expand its work force 30 percent if it could. It now employs 1,000 workers but is looking for 300 more.

NO PORTERS

And in Nashville, Dick Hall, manager of the Hermitage Hotel, complains that "we now for the first time in history have no porter in the barber shop and none in the rest room." He can't find dishwashers, either.

Moreover, many employers complain, when workers can be found, they often don't stay. Other employers hire them away almost immediately.

"People we hire seem to have their eggs in more than one basket," says George Hastings, industrial relations director at Aladdin Industries, Inc., Nashville maker of vacuum bottles, lunch kits, and kerosene lamps. "They may have applications in elsewhere; they get a better opportunity and leave. We hire many and they don't even show up for work."

Such pirating of employees afflicts both those hiring the most skilled and the most unskilled workers. In Detroit the shortage of skilled construction workers is so bad "that I'd like to get out of this business," says Mel Volin, secretary-treasurer of Coral Stone Construction Co., a home remodeling firm. "We just lost a couple of carpenters for $7 an hour. We were paying $6.50. You really can't get men. We just keep stealing them from each other."

In the same city, but on a lower skill level, Palace Quality Laundry & Dry Cleaners "must have hired 500 people to fill 50 positions this year," complains Richard Boonstra, plant supervisor. "If a man's here 2 weeks we start wondering what's wrong with him."

The laundry, Mr. Boonstra explains, pays only $1.50 an hour, and keeps losing employees to auto plants that pay $2.80 an hour. A short time ago, he relates, one of the laundry workers "came out very honestly and said, 'One more day of this and I'll be over at an auto plant.' I asked how come, and he explained that before working in the laundry he was a nonexperienced man. After 2 weeks in the laundry he felt he could say, 'I've got experience.' And he was right. They hired him."

One effect of this competition for workers is to push up business costs. In Columbia, S.C., where military construction at Fort Jackson has greatly tightened the market for building workers, contractors have bid up wages considerably above already high union scales. One contractor says electricians in the area now get $4 an hour, against a union scale of $3.72 to $3.85. Bricklayers draw $3.70, against a union scale of $3.50, he says, and pipefitters get $3.88 against a union scale of $3.80.

The labor shortage is great enough to delay operations in some industries. West coast longshoremen for the past 2 months have been working an average of 50 hours a week to handle a huge increase in Vietnam-bound cargo, coming on top of heavy civilian shipments, says Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

But the longshoremen appear to be falling behind handling some civilian cargo. Matson Navigation Co. used to figure on an "in-port turnaround time" of about 12 hours for its ships. But now in-port time is averaging 2 to 3 days, says a spokesman. He calls the delays "substantial and costly."

MORE SCRAP

In some businsses, the quality of work is slipping, too. "There just are not enough foremen to keep watch on all the skilled and unskilled workers," complains C. H. Rieman, president of Gardner-Denver Co., Quincy, Ill., maker of construction and well-drilling equipment. So, he says, "the scrap and rework trend on parts has gone up noticeably."

Some other effects of the shortage, though significant, are harder to measure. William M. Scranton, president of Miniature Precision Bearings, Inc., Keene, N.H., ticks off a whole series of extra costs brought on by his company's inability to find as many technicians, engineers, and skilled machine operators as it needs.

First, says Mr. Scranton, the shortage means more advertising for help. It also involves "a fairly high-cost training program because you are training many people who have had no training in any skilled line." Then it puts a heavy overtime burden on present employees, who in some departments are working 50 hours a week, and forces some supervisors who should be directing work to pitch in on the production line themselves at time. Finally, he says, "it means you cannot produce enough to meet the demand, and therefore you lose some business, because you cannot meet the delivery time the customer wants."

To round up more workers, companies are trying every known stratagem and inventing some. Nearly all are intensifying recruiting and stepping up training programs.

Standard Oil Co. (Ohio) has increased its college recruiting staff from three to five, and will add two more by year's end. They will visit 64 campuses this school year, and also the Army's technical center in Edgewood, Md., where they will try to line up technical people nearing discharge. Sohio further is budgeting for five times as much help-wanted advertising in 1966 as this year.

General Electric Co.'s jet engine department near Cincinnati is advertising for hourly workers in communities up to 200 miles away. It must expand employment by 800 to work on a new $85 million Air Force contract. It has sent recruiters much farther to find engineers—to New York, Los Angeles, and Florida, among other places.

Chrysler Corp., which is short about 200 to 300 tool and die workers, electricians, pipefitters, and similarly skilled craftsmen, has almost doubled the number of apprentices being trained for such jobs in the past year. It also has inaugurated several retraining programs outside the plant for such jobs as mechanics.

Many companies are moving to make jobs more attractive and convenient. Admiral Corp., seeking 300 workers for its TV set factory in Harvard, Ill., a farming community, has begun running its own bus service to nearby towns.

Sunshine Mining Co. is considering air conditioning the shafts of its silver mines in the Coeur d'Alene area of Idaho, in hopes of drawing about 50 workers from nearby lumber camps; it employs about 100 miners there now. "It would be expensive, but well worth it," says Thomas F. McManus, president. "Who can blame a miner for not wanting to work in a 100° mine?"

Among the less conventional approaches, Sears, Roebuck & Co. resorted to direct-mail advertising recently to staff a new store in north Dallas. It blanketed houses in the area with help-wanted pleas addressed to "occupant."

In New York, American Machine & Foundry Co. has offered to buy savings bonds for employees who bring in other skilled workers. But so far this has "not generated any significant amount of new talent," says George Patterson, vice president.

MIXED OPINIONS ON WOMEN

Some other attempts to break the manpower bottleneck have had only mixed results, too. On the plus side, John Stefanik, Cleveland operator of a Sohio service station, is pleased with his experiment in hiring three housewives to pump gas, check oil, and wash windshields. The men left in the labor pool for such jobs "aren't worth hiring," he says. Some he did hire "made serious mistakes, wouldn't try to learn the job, and insulted customers." In contrast, the lady "gas jockeys" have worked with such enthusiasm that he's now trying to hire three more.

But Littelfuse, Inc., a Chicago area maker of circuit and control devices, finds hiring women for jobs usually held by men only increases turnover. Many wives, says a company official, work only to make a specified amount of money. "Once she gets that living room furniture, she's as likely as not to lay off work until she needs something else."

Atlanta's sanitation department had a rather disconcerting experience when it tried using city prisoners to collect garbage. It borrowed 50 to 60 short-term prisoners from the city prison farm to catch up on trash collections. However, about a dozen, when turned loose on the street without gun-toting guards, simply disappeared. The use of prisoners for such work has been discontinued.

There are a few exceptions to this picture of a worsening labor shortage. Steel employment has dropped 5 to 10 percent since a labor settlement in early September brought buying cutbacks by customers liquidating strike-hedge inventories. This has erased a manpower shortage, not only in the mills themselves, but among neighboring metalworking concerns.

Youngstown Steel Door Co., a maker of railroad equipment, was reduced to hiring high school dropouts earlier this year, as the city's steel plants hired away its regular workers to keep their furnaces running full blast. Now, however, some of the men who had left to take jobs in the mills are returning, and "we have very few openings," says a personnel man. Even so, the company has some problems, he concedes: "Absenteeism is up" among employees of departments that have been working 6- and 7-day weeks during the past few months.

Also, some employment agencies take issues with companies that complain they're scraping the bottom of the barrel to get workers.

"Chicago is down to nothing but unemployables," asserts M. A. Donlan, vice president of Amphenol Corp., an electronics concern. But the Illinois State Employment Service says the picture would be a lot better if employers weren't so choosy; many companies, it says, demand high school diplomas for common laborers and won't hire skilled workers if they're over 45. Though Illinois employers scream as loudly as any about an engineer shortage, a spokesman for the service says "if you can place an engineer over 45, you've really accomplished something."

Letter From Serviceman Supports U.S. Position in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the demonstrations which are occurring in the United States by so-called students in opposition to the military and diplomatic policy of the United States in southeast Asia is a shocking example of the general disrespect of law and order and lack of patriotism prevalent today. While the misguided young people engaged in embarrassing their country and in giving aid and comfort to our Communist enemies are but a small segment of American youth, their conduct, nevertheless, should be examined very carefully by everyone concerned over the future of America.

I was very pleased on October 20 to receive a letter from one of my young constituents who is stationed with the Air Force in Germany. The sentiment expressed in his letter is in striking contrast with what is occurring among some of our young people in the United States.

My young constituent is A3c. Julian H. Yelton, Jr., the son of Mr. and Mrs. Horace Yelton of Forest City, N.C. The love of country and devotion to duty expressed in his letter deserve the very highest of commendation. I believe my colleagues in the House will find his letter to be most interesting and I insert it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

OCTOBER 18, 1965.

Mr. WHITENER: I want to write this letter to say that I back the United States in what we are doing in Vietnam. I am in the Air Force stationed at Bitburg Airbase, Germany. I think I can speak for just about everybody on this base in saying we are behind the

United States 100 percent. I have been reading about the marches that are going on in the States and I can't believe that the young people could be so afraid or just scared to go and fight and help defend our Nation. I am very proud that I am an American and have the opportunity to help defend what our fathers and their fathers before them fought to give us. To me what the young people at home are doing is not American. What they are doing is not looking good for us in other countries. I just wish I could talk to the President and tell him how I feel. But you being the Congressman from my home, Forest City, you are as close to the President as I will ever come. The men who are in Vietnam know why they are there and if the people who yell "U.S.A. out of Vietnam" had someone over there I don't think they would be feeling like they do. I know, if I could go I would and I know that Mother and Daddy would back me all the way.

Well, I have not said too much other than I believe in the cause and as a voter I want you to know that I am with the administration and Congress and the Senate in whatever they do over there. If you get to see President Johnson sometime soon, please tell him how I feel and wish him a quick recovery, too.

I would like to wish you and your family a very merry Christmas from myself and my family, Mr. and Mrs. Horace Yelton.

Yours truly,

A3c. JULIAN H. YELTON, Jr.

AF24991238, 36th A. & E. Squadron, Box 3249, APO 09132, New York.

General Greene Sets Record Straight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL B. DAGUE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, I think I voice the rising indignation of every patriotic citizen when I denounce the antics of this pacifistic fringe who would have us terminate our operations in Vietnam in the face of communistic aggression. I hail from a district in which a lot of sincere pacifists reside—honest members of Dutch and Quaker communities who oppose war as a matter of conscience. What we are seeing here, however, is nothing more nor less than a communistically motivated plan to embarrass our Government and at the very time when we are apparently winning.

As a close personal friend and ardent admirer of the Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps, I have had pride and satisfaction in the statement attributed to General Greene, as it appears in this morning's issue of the Philadelphia Inquirer. To say that I agree with every word General Greene has said doesn't half express it—I applaud and endorse his entire philosophy. And when he points out that withdrawal from Vietnam at this time will surely find us confronted by militant communism on other fronts, he is simply enunciating a realistic military and diplomatic evaluation.

The article relating to General Greene's statement is included with and made a part of these remarks:

No. 1 MARINE'S CHALLENGE—"CROSS THE ROAD, LIFT YOUR BROTHER"

WASHINGTON, October 20.—The Nation's No. 1 marine on Wednesday challenged those who demonstrate against U.S. policy in Vietnam to prove their sincerity by volunteering for civilian humanitarian programs in southeast Asia.

"Let them prove themselves as Good Samaritans by crossing the road to lift up their brothers, to tend the sick, to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to shelter the homeless," said Gen. Wallace M. Greene, Jr., the Marine Corps Commandant.

"Let them do this first, rather then pass by on the other side of the street, with a placard on their shoulder, a song on their lips, and hypocrisy in their hearts."

Greene discussed the recent wave of demonstrations—"the modern version of youthful protests," he called them—in a speech before the Defense Supply Association's national convention.

Describing the demonstrtaions as "this ranting and this raving," Greene said:

"This youthful action is to be expected, and while it must be kept within bounds, it also must be endured, whether we like it or not."

The Marine chief said a handful of hardcore Communist card carriers among the student demonstrators "is well known to the authorities."

He predicted that any effort by "this lunatic and dangerous fringe to create a real fire among the majority of our young people is bound to fail."

Greene indicated he was concerned about the lack of understanding of U.S. policy among some people.

He said he has been telling the doubters he meets that if the United States pulls out of Vietnam, it will be only a matter of months, or a year or so, before "we are going to have to go back in somewhere else, perhaps in southeast Asia, or at home on our front doorstep."

Young Republicans Denounce Protest Marches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN N. ERLENBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, our country has seen in recent weeks many misguided young people marching in protest against American policy in Vietnam. The Young Republicans in Du Page County, which is in my district, have adopted a statement of their attitude toward these protests. I subscribe to their sentiments and present a news story about their actions which appeared in local papers:

YOUNG REPUBLICANS DENOUNCE PROTEST MARCHES ON VIETNAM

Protest marches against America's participation in Vietnam drew fire from the Du Page County Young Republican Club, according to Don Yde, president.

A strongly worded consensus censuring the protest demonstrations as "immature, irresponsible antics of those who deny the obligations of our Republic while demanding its freedoms" has been adopted by the Du Page Young Republican county officers.

The statement, presented by Yde, praises the "young Americans who unhesitatingly accept the opportunity to meet the challenge of Communist dictatorship and despotism, and who represent the United States and the free world in Vietnam."

In an accompanying statement, Yde charged, "The misguided men, women and youngsters who protest our country's role in southeast Asia are actually asking the United States to flee from its moral obligation to help these people maintain an independent nation."

The Young Republican leader added, "The United States is filling the most difficult role possible. We are not allowing our mighty arsenal to be tempted to total conquest of the invader because then we, too, would become aggressors.

"What we are doing is emphasizing to the world the United States is a friend to freedom everywhere on the globe. And we aid others without asking a quarter-inch of territory in return."

Yde stated that the rash of protest marches last weekend prompted his board to take action.

"This is a nonpartisan issue. It is an American issue. And the Du Page County Young Republicans censure those who would thrive on the fruits of freedom but reject their accompanying role of responsibility for the protection and promotion of freedom," Yde concluded.

The Du Page Young Republican Board is the county governing body for eight individual clubs located in Naperville, Hinsdale, Wheaton, Glen Ellyn, Lombard, Elmhurst, Bloomingdale, and Addison Townships. These clubs have a combined membership of 1,000, making Du Page the largest Young Republican Club in the State.

Yde, who was named president of the county organization earlier this month, lives in Addison where he serves as president of the local Young Republican Club.

Other county officers are; Vice chairman, Dow Nichol, Glen Ellyn; vice chairwoman, Judy Philip, Villa Park; treasurer, Floyd Sanford, Roselle; recording secretary, Susy Babinec, Wheaton; corresponding secretary, Glenda Jindrich, Clarendon Hills; general counsel, Bill Ives, Hinsdale; and sergeant at arms, Bill Koenecke, Lombard.

Presidents of local clubs are James Paccione, Naperville; Ernie Ross, Hinsdale; Jack Waghorne, Bloomingdale; Will Landruth, Wheaton; Ed Burdis, Glen Ellyn; Al Rottman, Lombard; and Lee E. Daniels, Elmhurst.

Come to Tennessee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, the high stately mountains of the pioneer country of east Tennessee, the bluegrass and walking horse region of middle Tennessee, and the cotton flatlands and riverboats of west Tennessee all contribute to make Tennessee the most beautiful and interesting State in our Nation.

I would like to invite all my colleagues to come to exciting and picturesque Tennessee during the adjournment period. You and your family will be met with the finest hospitality, the best facilities for recreation and pleasure, and spectacular beauty of the Volunteer State.

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

First session of Eighty-ninth Congress adjourned sine die.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 27115–27140

Bills Introduced: 31 bills and 11 resolutions were introduced, as follows: S. 2701–2731; S.J. Res. 122; and S. Res. 155–164. **Pages 27117–27118**

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows:

H.R. 10878, private bill (S. Rept. 932);

H. Con. Res. 509, providing for printing of additional copies of hearings on crime in D.C. (S. Rept. 933);

H. Con. Res. 512, providing for printing of additional copies of hearings on D.C. home rule (S. Rept. 934);

H. Con. Res. 513, providing for printing of additional copies of hearings on "Lower Colorado River Basin Project," 89th Congress, 1st session (S. Rept. 935);

H. Con. Res. 519, providing for printing of additional copies of hearings on H.R. 2580, proposing various amendments to the immigration and nationality laws (S. Rept. 936);

H.R. 30, providing for U.S. participation in the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center in Dade County, Fla., without recommendation, and with amendments and minority views (S. Rept. 937); and

H.R. 4845, to provide for the economic and efficient acquisition and use of automatic data processing equipment by Federal departments and agencies (S. Rept. 938). **Page 27117**

Measures Referred: Numerous House-passed bills and House-passed resolutions were referred to appropriate committees. **Page 27162**

Authority To Report: Committee on Government Operations was authorized to file reports during congressional adjournment and that its report on Interagency Drug Coordination be printed as a Senate document. **Page 27136**

Private Bill: Senate agreed to House amendment with an amendment to S. 619, private bill. **Page 27139**

Secretary of the Senate: Emery L. Frazier, of Kentucky, was administered oath of office as Secretary of the Senate to become effective January 1, 1966. **Page 27163**

In connection with this matter, Senate adopted three resolutions, as follows:

S. Res. 156, notifying House of election of Emery L. Frazier, of Kentucky, to be Secretary of the Senate, effective January 1, 1966;

S. Res. 157, notifying President of election of Emery L. Frazier, of Kentucky, to be Secretary of the Senate, effective January 1, 1966; and

S. Res. 158, authorizing the printing as a Senate document of a compilation of tributes delivered in Congress on the occasion of the retirement of Secretary of the Senate Felton M. Johnston, of Mississippi. **Page 27163**

Federal Employees' Pay: Senate passed, by unanimous vote of 67 yeas, H.R. 10281, proposed Government Employees Salary Comparability Act of 1965, after adopting committee amendments en bloc, including two of a technical clarifying nature offered on the floor by Senator Monroney. **Pages 27165–27176**

Alaska Exposition: Senate passed with amendments S. 2614, to provide for participation in the Statewide Exposition to be held in Alaska during 1967, after adopting committee amendments en bloc, which were then considered as original text for purpose of further amendment, and Williams (Delaware) amendment to reduce authorization for project from $4 million to $3 million. Motion to reconsider passage of this bill was tabled. **Pages 27184–27190**

Coast Guard: S. 2471, to amend in several regards the laws relating to the administration of the Coast Guard, was passed with committee amendments. **Pages 27181–27183**

Printing: Senate concurred in House amendment to Senate amendment to S. Con. Res. 65, to authorize printing as a Senate document of a study entitled "The Anti-Vietnam Agitation and the Teach-In Movement," prepared for use of Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. This completed legislative action on the resolution. **Page 27221**

It was ordered that report of the majority on activities and accomplishments of the 1st session of the 89th Congress be printed as a Senate document. **Page 27221**

89th Congress Summary: It was ordered that reports on behalf of the minority respecting laws and treaties of general interest, activities of the 1st session of the 89th

Appendix

Good Emerges From Tragedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, a few months ago I put into the RECORD some excerpts as well as some personal observations on the one book in our time that tells the story of our agricultural follies more than any other I have read to date.

I suggested then that all Members, all of whom had already received a copy of the book, "Our Margin of Life," by Eugene Poirot, of Golden City, Mo., should take the time to read this important book.

I again urge Members to take the time during our recess to become acquainted with some pertinent facts of life.

I am attaching, hereto, an article by Leonard Hall, of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, giving a little more emphasis to the importance of the Poirot story.

We struggle every year with wheat, cotton, sugar, peanuts, and other farm products and the problems of the farmers, the processors, and the consumers.

We spend billions of dollars rehashing the same old cures under new names and changing formulas. We do all this because we operate in a vacuum, one caused by the unwillingness of the career desk farmers in the Department to even look at a new idea.

Poirot may be completely wrong but certainly his ideas are worth looking into.

Luck, bad or good, has more to do with the success of our surplus control programs; our export policies would kill any weaker nation in 3 years, it will take a little longer to knock us off our pedestal of smug self-assurance.

Of course, luck is now moving in our direction with drought, windstorms, heat, and about everything that could help to ruin the wheat crops in Australia, Russia, and other world producers. With this hard luck for them comes good luck to the career cocktail farmers since it will create a depleted world supply and give our exports a big push upward, perhaps even to the point of emptying our once full granaries.

Will the elements get the credit? Not on your political life they will not. The bigtime thinkers will take all the credit and point to their successful wheat program and those of us who voted against their warmed-over failures will be swamped by the rush to get to the teller in support of a program that is based upon doubletalk and prayers for bad weather.

However, this is away from my theme. What I really want is for the Members to read the story of the sharpskin hawk, the great horned owl, and the prairie moon, the story of our margin of life and the fast disappearing surplus of margin for tomorrow's children.

Read Leonard Hall's story of the Dust Bowl tragedy and the Margin of Life masterpiece by Gene Poirot and then look at our farm programs.

At least when we vote for farm programs after reading and studying a little in depth, our votes will reflect a more learned position as a group than what we have shown in the past.

REMEMBER DUST BOWL?—GOOD EMERGES FROM TRAGEDY

(By Leonard Hall)

POSSUM TROT, CALEDONIA, MO.—Time flies and human memory is short. Mention the Dust Bowl today, and half your listeners will never have heard of it. Half the rest will connect it vaguely with football. Rose Bowl, Orange Bowl, Sugar Bowl, Dust Bowl—now where do they play that one?

Lest we forget, the Dust Bowl was a national disaster which swept across a half-million square miles of the Great Plains, from Kansas to the Rockies and Texas to Canada, in the 1930's it was disaster compounded of drought plus two generations of bad farming in a land of little rain. Crops shriveled and cattle died and dust piled deep over homesteads. Planes climbed to 20,000 feet seeking dust-free air. Dust from Kansas farms covered the decks of ships far out in the Atlantic and turned noonday into night in seaboard cities.

The Dust Bowl blended with the great depression to create tragedy. Yet out of it, one good emerged. This was the soil conservation movement—born of disaster but today sweeping America to embrace all natural resources. This does not mean these resources are safe against exploitation. But it does mean that many are awake to this problem and its meaning for future generations.

Times of stress often produce men to meet them and the Dust Bowl was no exception. Hugh Bennett, creator of the Soil Conservation Service, comes first for his revolutionary concept that "all land has specific capabilities for production. We must determine these, then treat the land according to its needs, and then use it according to its capability." Thus some land is suited to growing corn if we maintain its fertility and organic levels. Some land needs terraces to hold it against erosion. Some must be kept in grass lest we turn it into desert and a new Dust Bowl. Bennett's concept of land use was a historic step in agriculture, although still not universally followed.

This new concern for the land, sparked by the Dust Bowl, brought forth a bright new galaxy of leaders. Paul Sears wrote his classic "Deserts on the March." Chester Davis of St. Louis, proved that bankers can finance conservation. Osborn wrote "Our Plundered Planet." Albrecht of Missouri pioneered advances in soil science and nutrition. Ed Graham patterned the future in "Natural Principles of Land Use." Bill Vogt in "Road to Survival," turned the spotlight on man and his environment—and on the coming impact of population on resources. Bromfield literally abandoned the novel to become the inspired salesman of the movement. Ira Gabrielson brought wildlife into the conservation picture.

A great satisfaction of having participated in all this has been the opportunity to know these men and many more. Back in the 1940's we met a Missourian who farmed 1,800 acres out on our southwest prairie. He was Eugene Poriot of Golden City, whose forebears had built farm machinery in Belleville. But the land called to Gene and he majored in soil science and chemistry at Illinois and set out to farm. The record he established is a proud one.

The land Poirot took over was no 100-bushel Corn Belt land—but badly worn bluestem prairie that had lost much of its fertility to the plow. He built it back; built a fine life for his family while doing it; became fast friends with Bill Albrecht at our College of Agriculture; was made a Master Farmer of America and a Master Conservationist of Missouri, among many honors. Now out of his experience and his association with Dr. Albrecht, Gene has written a book, "Our Margin of Life." Both men appear in it; Poirot a scientist and a poet as well as a farmer—and Albrecht a philosopher and economist as well as a scientist and teacher.

"Come walk with me in my virgin bluestem prairie, on this night in May," the book begins. "Listen while in silence it reveals the history of the past. Learn, since it teaches the lesson of survival. Take hope from the beauty of its flowers. Renew your faith from the murmur of its creatures."

Thus Poirot speaks to the summer moon, converses with the sharpsbill hawk, talks of the great horned owl in the elm beside Coon Creek—to tell what is in essence a magnificently simple story. This is that there can be no survival for mankind—no "Margin of Life," to use the book's title—unless we follow nature's most basic and immutable law. This is the "law of return" which decrees that we must put back into the soil in some form every element we take from it in the crops we raise and ship away and in the bad farming techniques which cause erosion by wind and water.

Instead of doing this, reports the author, we have in the past 12 years alone, increased our agricultural production tremendously—but have used three times as much plant food in doing this as we have returned in fertilizers of all kinds. We have at the same time suffered a 10-percent loss in farm income which has brought poverty to 40 percent of farm families. Worst of all, we are literally subsidizing this destruction with a farm program that pays farmers to wear out their land raising greater and greater quantities of soil-destroying crops that nobody needs or can afford to buy and use.

Poirot proposes a new kind of farm plan which eliminates subsidies for surplus crops, but helps farmers who grow soil-building crops. The plan is not new and it is sound. It would bring American agriculture into balance, cut the cost of the farm program; save our land and create a decent prosperity for farmers. It faces only one problem: how to sell it to self-seeking politicians who today control the farm program.

The Softness and Weakness in Our Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NORRIS COTTON

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter I received recently from Mr. and Mrs. G. Ernest Mills, Jr., of Hampton, N.H., who I am proud to say are constituents of mine.

The thoughtful and very excellent summary of Government, as we know it under the Great Society, contained in this letter is worthy of careful reading by all our citizens. Their observations point accurately to a softness and weakness which seem to pervade our whole society. Benevolence from above, with all its bureaucratic pitfalls, is hardly an enduring substitute for individual initiative. As Mr. and Mrs. Mills put it so well, "there must be a better way to help the deserving."

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HAMPTON, N.H.,
August 9, 1965.

Senator NORRIS COTTON,
U.S. Senate,
Washintgon, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR COTTON: My husband and I received your latest report today. We look forward to reading your reports, and are usually in agreement with you. Although we have a very low income (classified as poverty stricken by the Federal Government), we have no desire to freeload off the Government and are striving continually for a better way of life by using our own initiative.

It is the tendency for most people to take the easiest way, and with the Government handing out Christmas presents year around, it is becoming increasingly easier to live without working. In fact, individuals, communities, cities, and States are beginning to expect the Government to pay for the major part of anything: retirement, health insurance, redevelopment, and highways, etc.; they even expect the Government to plan everything for the future, and meanwhile they are grabbing every fistful they can for every project conceivable (whether needed or not). They're so afraid they won't get their full share. We believe that Government control is getting out of hand, that individual citizens are becoming weaker, and that, as a result, our Nation is weakening.

This Great Society might really be great for the politically favored who are getting the well-paid administrative jobs in all the newly formed bureaus, but it doesn't seem to do much good for the people for whom it was intended to benefit. When projects are done on a Federal level, they seem to incur a great deal of bureaucratic expense and, by the time the funds reach the citizens, they are almost all spent. There must be a better way to help the deserving.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. G. ERNEST MILLS, Jr.

A Better Understanding of Conditions in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include continuing parts of a report by Mr. Lucian C. Warren, a Washington correspondent for the Buffalo Courier-Express, Buffalo, N.Y. Mr. Warren returned recently from a 3-week tour of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Parts V, VI, and VII follow:

VISIT TO WEST GERMANY—V: SALZGITTER STEEL COMPLEX THRIVES

(By Lucian C. Warren)

SALZGITTER, Germany.—The trademark of the Salzgitter AG (Company) looks like a baby's teething ring, but world industry has come to look on this manufacturing firm as a mighty big baby with plenty of bite.

Officials of the firm explain that the rectangular black foundation of the trademark is a symbol of coal and represents the firm's mining operation, involving coal, iron ore, and oil.

The black bar in the middle is a symbol of a steel bar, and steel is one of SAG's principal products.

SUBSIDIARIES

The circle part of the trademark represents the processing industry and some of Salzgitter's more than 50 subsidiaries go in big for retail products, including buses and trucks.

Nerve center for this big combine, whose sales make it about the 31st largest manufacturing firm in the world, is in the town of Salzgitter, east of Hanover, Germany, and a few miles west of the Iron Curtain.

Its location is due to nearby deposits of iron ore. Although the ferrous content of this ore is relatively low, only up to about 33 percent, German ingenuity has steadily lessened this economic handicap. By special processing, refined over the years the amount of coke needed in 1 ton of steel produced with Salzgitter iron ore was reduced from 3,600 pounds in 1939 to 840 pounds today.

BOMBS MISS

So a big industry began building up before the war, and oddly enough the bombs dropped by the Allies missed most of the steelworks here.

But what the bombs failed to do, the British, who occupied this zone after the war, promptly set out to do and succeeded. Until 1949, it was British policy to send to England all the steel producing facilities they could transport from Germany and then destroy the rest.

Salzgitter's steel industry was razed, but when the British withdrew and German industrial reconstruction began, this area began to grow.

HANDICAPS

After overcoming the British-administered setback, Salzgitter ran into a strictly German handicap. The combine is owned by the Federal Republic of Germany and the federal government does not always shell out the deutsche marks in the ratio that Salzgitter's managers think necessary for expansion. Only recently, for instance, it borrowed a cool 95 million marks (about $24 million) from private sources to remedy its undercapitalization.

An inspection trip through its steelworks produced evidence that Salzgitter is utilizing all the latest steel producing devices, including oxygen-blowing procedures licensed from American firms.

CONCENTRATION

Perhaps its greatest genius is concentrating such a big slice of industrial processes in one small area. The steel producing plant is next door to the iron ore mines, and a bus and truck assembly plant is a stone's throw from the steel plant.

Salzgitter sells all over the world, including America, but the firm's sales manager says the Americans are playing it a bit rough these days demanding all kinds of proof that the firm does not sell its products in America under cost, thus violating antidumping legislation.

LOWER WAGES

It can well be understood how U.S. steel factories feel hurt when the average wage for the steelworker in this area is only about $65 a week, considerably less than American factories have to pay their production workers.

Even despite these difficulties, Salzgitter sells about $10 million worth of products each year to the United States, but feels it is somewhat of a two-way street because it imports about $6 million worth of parts and raw materials needed from the United States.

VISIT TO GERMANY—VI: HANDLING OF CARGO HERE CALLED POOR

(By Lucian C. Warren)

HAMBURG, Germany.—A German ship line executive said that one reason Buffalo is being largely bypassed in European-Great Lakes ocean commerce is poor cargo handling in the Queen City port.

"The port of Buffalo has missed the boat in some respects," according to Harald Weissleder, manager of the Leo Adams firm in Hamburg, a partner in the operations of the Hamburg-Chicago Steamship Line. "The port facilities are not as advantageous as in other lake ports, particularly in the speed and care in handling cargo."

Furthermore, he added, the experience of his and other lines is that labor costs are considerably higher in Buffalo than in other Great Lakes ports.

In the past, Weissleder maintained, stevedoring work performed at the port of Buffalo was "performed very slowly and very carelessly. Sometimes the cargo damage has been enormous."

IMPROVEMENTS

The poor quality of cargo handling was most noticeable in Buffalo in the first few years since the St. Lawrence Seaway opened in 1959, he says. He gave credit to the Niagara Frontier Port Authority for improving the terminal facilities at the port in the last few years, but he said he thought there is still room for much improvement in the stevedoring operations.

Weissleder will grant that economics also enters into the picture of Buffalo's port usage by European ships. Since the seaway opened, there has just not been sufficiently high demand in Buffalo for European products or vice versa to make a regular schedule for the foreign freighters to stop there.

This is contrary to the preseaway era when the smaller European ships, limited to the 14-foot draft of the all-Canadian canal bypassing the St. Lawrence Rapids, made regular stops at the Queen City.

SCHEDULED

"But so far as I know no ships from Western Europe now make regular stops at Buffalo," he said. "When a line gets a contract to deliver goods to Buffalo, then a special stop is scheduled and the line advertises in trade publications that the stop will be made and often gets additional business."

The following table, prepared from statistics supplied by the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce, shows the infrequency of

Hamburg freighter stops at Buffalo as compared with sister Great Lakes ports (figures for 1964 not yet available):

	1963		1962	
	Number of vessels	Net registered tons	Number of vessels	Net registered tons
WESTBOUND				
From Hamburg to—				
Buffalo	3	7,762	12	33,600
Chicago	159	364,599	163	342,358
Cleveland	119	267,664	108	220,231
Detroit	130	285,372	130	251,648
Milwaukee	104	245,775	107	200,504
Toledo	89	225,153	66	151,932
EASTBOUND				
To Hamburg from—				
Buffalo	7	13,665	18	37,248
Chicago	145	319,592	151	304,030
Cleveland	69	159,519	61	139,375
Detroit	87	199,189	71	149,484
Milwaukee	74	176,786	76	150,076
Toledo	44	113,430	48	103,629

NAVIGATION

In 1965, Weissleder's Hamburg-Chicago line has had one of its freighters, the *Zosma*, make a midsummer stop at Buffalo to drop off 2,000 tons of iron and steel products plus some general cargo. Over the last several years, the Hamburg-Chicago line has had on an average of one to three Buffalo stops during the navigation season.

One of the interesting byproducts of Buffalo's reputation as a poor cargo handling port was an effort by Mediterranean-to-Great Lakes shippers to add a surcharge for port handling at Buffalo. The State of New York and the port of Buffalo fought the surcharge with the Federal Maritime Commission and won, and the surcharge was eliminated.

But Weissleder said it was a Pyrrhic victory because most Mediterranean shippers now refuse to make any stops in Buffalo.

SIMPLIFIED

The problem of West European shippers in terminal handling costs in Great Lakes ports has been simplified this year, Weissleder said, by a new system by which the rates cover only port-to-port handling charges, including unloading from ship to port shed, but not those of transferring from shed to truck or railroad car.

U.S. iron and steel importers are fighting the new system in the Federal Maritime Commission, but Weissleder said he thought they will lose. As a result of the new system, Europe's shipping lines have been able to keep rates the same, despite rising costs.

Looking at the Great Lakes-West European ocean commerce in general, the German shipping executive is happy with rising tonnages each year. He said the St. Lawrence Seaway is handling ships smoothly and efficiently as in the Welland Canal, with the beginning and the end of each navigation season the only times when there's a shipping traffic congestion problem.

GOOD SERVICE

Weissleder offered no comfort to promoters of the All-American Canal connecting Lakes Erie and Buffalo through the Niagara Frontier. He said the Welland Canal facilities under the improvement program of the Canadian Government is providing good service to shippers. He foresaw no need for the other canal and doubts even that its construction would aid the port of Buffalo in enticing more frequent stops by ocean vessels. The difference in time between transit via the Welland or the proposed All-American Canal would be negligible, he said.

His main hope for the port of Buffalo is an improvement in the quality of stevedoring and an expansion in Buffalo-European trade.

"We'll be happy to stop in Buffalo as frequently as the demand warrants," he added.

VISIT TO WEST GERMANY—VII: ECONOMIC MIRACLE SEEN IN BEETLE

(By Lucian C. Warren)

WOLFSBURG, GERMANY.—In all of West Germany, there is no more striking example of the Wirtschaftswunder, the economic miracle by which a war-ravaged nation has become tremendously prosperous, than the Volkswagen success story.

The Volkswagen "Beetle" is produced here. This is the small auto that has tickled the fancy of the world. It is the car which has been manufactured in the greatest quantity since Henry Ford's Model T.

Ford produced 15 million Tin Lizzies, and the 8 millionth Volkswagen Beetle already is on the road and they are coming off the production line at the rate of 6,000 a day, one for every 10 seconds of the two-shift working day here.

OUT OF RUBBLE

A half-day at the Volkswagen plant at Wolfsburg, the largest in the world for assembling passenger autos under one roof, left this nonmechanically minded observer in a benumbed state.

Credit for this amazing amalgam of a designing genius in the small car field and a production-sales organization that has even taught the Americans a thing or two goes to two men, each with the title of "professor."

Prof. Ferdinand Porsche dreamed about a people's car for years, finally got a go-ahead from Hitler to build it. Then the war came along and his Volkswagen plant made war materials instead—or did until Allied bombing reduced it to rubble. But in 1948, the victors allowed Porsche and a General Motors-trained engineer by the name of Prof. Heinz Nordhoff to transform the rubble into this most modern of plants, and the Volkswagen saga was begun.

TWO LAKE PORTS

Although the Germans run it, they are the the first to admit that they borrowed heavily on American techniques, machinery, and raw materials. They explain that they buy sealed-beam headlights and coal from West Virginia, giant metal presses from Great Lakes industry, and machine tools from New England, all to the tune of $75-million in recent years.

Volkswagen ships that ply the Atlantic, including many that find their way down the St. Lawrence River to Great Lakes ports, carry many thousands of the little Volkswagen Beetles. On the return trips, the decks for the small cars fold aside and the ship usually is loaded with bulk cargo, coal, or grain.

It is one of the Buffalo port's misfortunes that, as yet, the little Volkswagen is not shipped direct to the Queen City. Chicago and Toledo are the car's two ports of entry for the lakes, and vehicles for Buffalo and the Upstate New York area are generally trucked from Port Newark, N.J.

MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING

During 1964, some 18,453 Volkswagen vehicles were handled through Chicago and 25,261 through Toledo, and it's a pity that the Port of Buffalo can't get some of this business.

Some 350,000 Volkswagon Beetles are sold yearly in America, and they are by far the biggest selling foreign car in America. The Volkswagen people here like to think they aren't hurting domestic sales of American motorcar manufacturers because they are satisfying the desires of some Americans for small cars. The idea, at least from the standpoint of the Volkswagen people, is to let the Americans sell their larger cars in Europe in return for the favor of Volkswagen dominating the imported small-car market in the United States.

Americans do sell many cars in Europe, mostly through their European plants, but their "shunning" of the small-car market in the United States is probably not entirely altruistic. A trip through the Volkswagen plant in Wolfsburg is sufficient to convince this observer that the Germans have built a better mousetrap in the small-car field and Americans have wisely decided not to compete.

Vietnam Demonstration on Tennessee Campus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, in the past few weeks, we have seen some demonstrations on the college campuses of this Nation that have certainly been disgraceful.

We in Tennessee are certainly proud of our colleges and our institutions of higher learning, and furthermore, we were certainly proud of the students at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville when they paused for 15 minutes during a schoolday to conduct a patriotic rally in support of the U.S. policies in Vietnam.

There appeared an excellent editorial in the Jackson Sun which is an outstanding newspaper, not only in Tennessee but the Nation as well, relative to this fine demonstration by the students at the University of Tennessee. The editorial is so outstanding that I thought it should be brought to the attention of the Congress.

Furthermore, a former member of our press corps here in the Congress, L. G. Laycook, who was associated with the Nashville Tennessean, who has since gone back to Jackson to be associated with his family's firm, the Laycook Printing Co., was pinch hitting as an editorial writer and wrote this editorial:

The editorial follows:

VIETNAM DEMONSTRATION ON TENNESSEE CAMPUS

While the wave of anti-Vietnam demonstrations continues to sweep across college campuses and into the streets of many cities throughout the Nation, Tennesseans can be proud of an incident that took place on the campus of the University of Tennessee at Knoxville, last week. On Thursday, about 700 U-T students paused for 15 minutes during the schoolday to conduct a patriotic rally in support of U.S. policies in Vietnam.

This was in the true tradition of the Volunteer State and it came at a most appropriate time when leftwing radicals seem to be taking over the campuses of many of our institutions of higher learning across the country.

We hope the example set by undergraduates on the U-T campus will spread to other colleges and universities throughout the United States. There were indications over the weekend that such will be the case. For the first time in a long series of anti-Vietnam demonstrations, participants were met by counterdemonstrators in both the East and Far West.

These demonstrations against U.S. policy in Vietnam cannot be taken lightly. They have become a serious matter and can no longer be dismissed as mere mischiefmaking on the part of a few fuzzy-thinking college students.

As State Department Press Officer Robert J. McCloskey said Saturday, the protest demonstrations could be misinterpreted overseas as a sign of wide opposition to administration policies though such is not the case.

Actually, Mr. McCloskey said, "the vast majority of Americans have indicated their strong support of U.S. policy. The protestors are an infinitesimal fraction of the American people."

It is significant that on the eve of last week's organized anti-Vietnam protests, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee published a document reporting a substantial Communist infiltration into the so-called teach-in movement against U.S. policies in the Far East. The subcommittee document reported that "control of the anti-Vietnam movement has clearly passed from the hands of the moderate elements who may have controlled it, at one time, into the hands of the Communists and extremist elements who are openly sympathetic to the Vietcong and openly hostile to the United States, and who call for massive civil disobedience, including the burning of draft cards and the stopping of troop trains."

The subcommittee report is a scorching indictment of these disgraceful and seditious demonstrations. We hope the report will be publicized on college and university campuses throughout the United States as well as overseas.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover warned last spring that the Communist Party in the United States has launched a recruitment drive designed to spread the ideals and objectives of a Communist society among the Nation's youth. The party, he said, is operating through fronts much as it did in the 1930's.

In testimony before a House Appropriations Subcommittee, Mr. Hoover called attention to the increasing number of speaking engagements on college campuses by known Communist leaders. One of the purposes of these engagements, the FBI chief said, is "to project the image that the party is a legitimate political party."

Red leaders in the United States, Mr. Hoover warned, are trying "to gain increased acceptance and respectability for the party; to generate an atmosphere of good will and understanding; and to spread Communist propaganda."

Over the past 3 years, Mr. Hoover said, Communist Party spokesmen have averaged 50 campus appearances each year. Some of the student audiences ranged in size from a few hundred to as many as 4,000.

Fortunately, the overwhelming majority of students on our college campuses can expose themselves with impunity to Communist campus chicanery. However, youth organizations dominated and controlled by Communist elements definitely have made headway on some U.S. campuses under the guise of promoters of peace and disarmament. Far too many naive and gullible students have been victimized by these groups.

Salem Baptist Church 80th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on October 10, 1965, Salem Baptist Church of Chicago, Ill., celebrated its 80th anniversary. I believe it will be of interest not only to my colleagues but to the Nation to know the inspirational value and history of Salem Baptist Church.

Salem Baptist Church was organized as the Swedish Baptist Church of Englewood 80 years ago. When the Swedish language ceased to be used in the public services, the name was changed to Emerald Avenue Baptist Church in 1941, and to Salem Baptist Church in 1954. It is the sixth Baptist church of Swedish origin in what is now the city of Chicago.

The story of Salem really begins with the adventures of two carpenters, John Ost and Louis Johnson, members of the Third Baptist Church in South Chicago. One day they walked from South Chicago to Englewood in search of work. They prayed earnestly that God would guide them, and they were not disappointed, for they found both employment and shelter for themselves and their families. This was 3 years before any religious work had begun in this vicinity. These two carpenters felt that there was need of a Sunday school and a church in this locality and prayed that God would open the way.

It is very difficult to write a history and leave out the names of men and women who have given many years of devoted service to Salem Baptist Church and its organizations. There are those who are now working in the Sunday school with children, whose grandparents were in their classes years ago. Others are giving much of themselves as leaders of youth organizations. But if we began to mention names, we are sure we would miss some, so we will leave it with God who will satisfactorily reward every good and faithful servant.

I take pride in being able to present even a portion of the history of Salem Baptist Church to this great body.

I pay tribute to your spirit of dedication to fostering Christianity and learning in your community. The inspiration of Salem Baptist Church will be fulfilled and generations of our children will meet the world as the wisely intelligent, God-loving, and well-educated American citizens that we would have wanted—and we all earnestly desire them to be.

A Treasure of Could-Be Beauty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, with the recent attention and efforts that have been directed toward the beautification of our Nation and the purification of its rivers, I should like to call the Members' attention to an eloquent expression of local purpose in my State of Connecticut, a State whose interest in natural beauty and whose fund of natural assets are unsurpassed in the Nation. An editorial appearing in the Waterbury American emphasizes our pride in our natural assets and the determination that we and all Americans must have to take the necessary steps to restore them to their wonted natural excellence.

A TREASURE OF COULD-BE BEAUTY

If you haven't ridden the new highway through the Naugatuck Valley, from Derby to Torrington, this is a wonderful time to do so. Pick the next clear October morning and make an early start. We guarantee that the autumn foliage will give your soul a lift. We guarantee that (where nature is still in charge) you will be fascinated with the new views of a beautiful valley that are available from the splendid modern roads that run high over the river. The rock walls are spectacular and the misty vistas down the twisting, bright-colored ravine will remind you, again, that this is essentially a place of profound beauty, a place that we can be proud to claim as "our part of the country."

But it is also a river valley which could be made a great deal more attractive than it is; and we hope that the time has now arrived when the rehabilitation and beautification of the Naugatuck Valley can become as much a part of our regional development as the construction of the magnificent highways that are being completed here.

The highways that run along the valley provide a great many newcomer autoists their first impressions of Waterbury and the other communities of this river route. Waterbury and its partner towns should get to work and tidy up these approaches—so that the first impressions will be good ones.

We ought to make sure that the people who travel our valley do not have to look at trash-strewn areas in back of factories. We ought to make a census of all the eyesores—and clean them up as fast as possible, starting with the worst ones first. We ought to explore all the possibilities of State and Federal aid for projects to beautify the areas adjacent to Route 8.

Nor is it too much to suggest that redevelopment and renewal plans should incorporate the idea of freshening up the premises along this route. The buildings and the uses to which adjacent land is put are the community's front yard. What the passer-by sees along the valley may tell him most of what he will ever know about the cities and towns here. There are places in this "front yard" that make us look like a race of dump pickers. Some of these "front yard" aspects imply that we have a low opinion of ourselves, indeed.

Most important of all, however, there is the need to eliminate the pollution of the river—a matter which we hope will get a great deal of attention from Governor Dempsey's newly formed Clean Water Task Force, which has been organized to present a statewide antipollution program to the 1967 legislature.

In the upper sections of the Naugatuck Valley, the worst pollution now comes from industrial wastes. But they contribute to the problem of raw sewage pollution in the lower part of the valley. Chemical contamination prevents the biological purification process which would normally occur.

The restoration of a clean and beautiful watercourse in the lovely valley that is ours should be one of the major public aims in this region. It ought to be a prime objective of all the local organizations which have anything to do with nature and conservation. It ought to be a major item on the action agendas of both political parties.

"Clean Up the Naugatuck River" ought to be a year-round determination here. There ought to be a Naugatuck Valley restoration program supported in the most active way possible by every individual, voluntary group, industrial organization, civic club, and professional association. If there are any who doubt the possibilities, we are sure a trip along the new Route 8 will do much to persuade them. Without much more than a sustained effort at good housekeeping here, we could make our valley one of the Nation's most beautiful showplaces. It would be the best way in the world to tell each visitor what kind of people we are, what we believe in, and how we like to live.

For a Real United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD a thoughtful and constructive statement by Mr. Harold L. Mack of Carmel, Calif., in which he suggests the creation of a "council of agreement" in the United Nations organization.

Mr. Mack's idea is explained in his statement which follows below. It is very valuable for its highlighting the often-neglected fact of the common needs of men throughout the world who are now divided by political and ideological boundaries. In this era, with conflict so often prevalent in our thoughts, it is both good and necessary to remind ourselves of this basic fact.

The statement follows:

FOR A REAL UNITED NATIONS

A new Ambassador to the United Nations has just been appointed by the President, but regardless of Justice Goldberg's great ability and high ideals, I doubt if he will be able to bring the United Nations a fulfillment of the purposes for which it was organized.

The U.N. had better be renamed the dis-United Nations inasmuch as all the delegates spend most of their efforts in vituperative criticism, bickering and provocative speeches, all calculated to create discord rather than understanding. A vital change is needed if the U.N. is to come closer to fulfilling the high purposes for which it was organized.

To accomplish this, it would appear wise that in addition to the two main governing bodies, namely the General Assembly and the Security Council, a new governing body be organized to be called "The Council of Agreement." This council would consist of delegates from the countries composing the Security Council, including Red China, whose avowed purpose would be the studying and publicizing the many points of similarity and agreement which today exist in all countries, regardless of their political or religious philosophies.

The delegates would focus their attention on the humanities and they would soon discover that the simple people who make up the largest portion of every country in the world are basically alike. They would learn that the hopes and desires of all people are for peace, happiness, knowledge, health, love and food—that all have a deep desire to enjoy the many blessings the Creator has endowed us with, and that it is only man and his hatreds and greed that has brought suffering to the world.

They would examine the goals and methods being used by the various leaders toward fulfilling these desires, and would see that some were obvious failures while others were successful.

The delegates would find so many points of similarity among the desires of the great majority of the people of every race, that their findings and reports to the General Assembly couldn't help but wipe out and make ridiculous the illogical political disagreements, the name calling and the selfish nationalism the other delegates are constantly indulging in.

If Ambassador Goldberg really wants to accomplish his stated high purposes, he must be brave enough to turn his back on the present methods being employed and spend his proven talents in organizing the "council of agreement" and by so doing, bring back to the United Nations the chance to fulfill the purposes for which this most important body was originally created.

Yours very truly,

HAROLD L. MACK.

CARMEL, CALIF.

The Relationship of Subsidies to Maritime Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, because of the great congressional interest in recent maritime developments, I would like to direct the attention of my colleagues to the remarks of Mr. W. Tilford Smith, executive vice president of the Newport News Shipbuiding & Dry Dock Co., Newport News, Va., which was delivered at the Propeller Club Convention in Galveston, Tex., October 14, 1965.

Mr. Smith reveals that the Government's appropriations for subsidized merchant ship construction—the present annual level of approximately $100 million—is returned to the Federal Treasury virtually dollar for dollar in the form of Federal tax revenues.

Mr. Smith makes an excellent case for the continuation of certain Government subsidies and I believe my colleagues will be interested in his statement.

Under unanimous consent, I include his remarks herewith in the RECORD:

PANEL DISCUSSION—"THE RELATIONSHIP OF SUBSIDIES TO MARITIME PROGRESS"

(Remarks by W. Tilford Smith, executive vice president, Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co., at the American merchant marine conference, Propeller Club of the United States, Galveston, Tex.)

Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, it is a privilege to be with this group of shipping and shipbuilding associates and such distinguished panel members.

At the outset, let me assure you that I strongly support the proposition that economies in Government should be a constant goal. Every dollar extracted from us hard-pressed taxpayers must be expended wisely. As the cost of Government increases, all needless expenditures should be eliminated. And I would include subsidies of many types in these expenditures.

However, it seems to me that the word "subsidy" must be properly understood. It is hardly a new term. Throughout history, kings and heads of government have used funds from state treasuries to aid activities deemed important to the survival of their reign. Today subsidies are chiefly granted by governments to assist in the establishment or support of enterprises deemed advantageous to the public or important to the public good. In years past, this assistance was sometimes called subvention or bounties, and it has only been in recent times that the word "subsidy"—no matter how important or worthy its purposes might be—has fallen into disreput. No doubt, a part of the stigma is deserved, and it is unfortunate that all meritorious subsidies are often included under the same umbrella with the bad.

There has been an inclination on the part of some—in positions of authority—to criticize and downgrade maritime subsidies. They appear to ask themselves—how can we get rid of these subsidies?

The same people have promoted the highly improbable idea that perhaps the United States can get by without a merchant marine or without our own shipyards. They seem to be saying, get rid of maritime subsidies, and we will be budgetary heroes—we will have saved less than three-tenths of 1 percent of the national budget.

It is in this area of three-tenths of 1 percent that all of the recent dialog with respect to maritime subsidies has taken place. Roughly, 8 percent of the Federal budget last year, or $8 billion, represented payments of subsidies of all types. Farm support programs totaled $5.6 billion, or 5 percent of the national budget, or 70 percent of all subsidies. Payments for merchant ship construction totaled $80 million, or 1 percent of all subsidies. These are figures of the Joint Congressional Economic Committee.

Let's turn to another subsidized facet which surpasses many times over the three-tenths of 1 percent Federal payments for maritime purposes. I refer to our space program.

It is never stated that our space programs are totally subsidized by the Federal Treasury. It is rarely pointed out that the annual cost of these programs is in the neighborhood of $5 billion—or approximately 5 percent of the national budget.

Since 1957, $30 billion has been expended for our space activities. To support our national goals in space, it is predicted that another $60 billion will be spent during the next 9 years. Justification for these tremendous expenditures is on the basis of national prestige and national security. A space official has told the Congress: "You can't put a price tag on either national prestige or national security." But he failed to add that you cannot have either of these without control of the seas.

There is no talk of obtaining foreign-built space vehicles and orbital laboratories. It is recognized that the cultivation and growth of the necessary technologies must take place in this country, under our supervision, in our facilities, and with our technicians and our labor force.

Not so today, with respect to merchant ship construction. Those who administer the three-tenths of 1 percent appear to have an absolute disregard for the positive evidences that the Soviet Union is outbuilding us by a ratio of 4 to 1, and that the Communists could soon control the sea lanes of the world, knowing full well that no world power has ever remained great that has not had control of the seas. Our administration seems to have little interest in winning the race with the Russians on the oceans, and appear to be satisfied with the idea of turning over our shipbuilding contracts to foreign shipyards.

The fact that every other leading maritime nation of the world is taking steps to stimulate and support their own shipyards in their own self-interest, through increased governmental assistance and greater subsidies, is lost or not considered by some of our people. The fact that many workers would lose their jobs is perhaps rationalized by them on the ground that they will be taken care of by means of subsidies for poverty, rent, retraining, and so on—a point which will be obscured while they are being acclaimed as budgetary heroes for saving three-tenths of 1 percent.

According to the latest figures of the Maritime Administration, contracts involving subsidies for the construction of 134 ships have been awarded to U.S. shipyards since the vessel replacement program began in 1958. These have involved an average annual expenditure of public funds approximating $88 million, or about $5 million per ship. Our company has participated in this program and continues to regard it as a market potential.

The specific policy of subsidizing the construction of ships in American shipyards, in effect since the passage of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, has been justified on the basis of the need for a shipbuilding capability in time of national emergency. The benefits to the country as a whole of maintaining this capability have been regarded, until recently, as sufficient to justify the outlays for the program, which have been running approximately $100 million annually. This proposition is currently being questioned.

It is practically impossible to quantify the national defense benefits that accrue to the country as a result of the construction-differential subsidy program, and little if any work has been done to publicize its net cost to the Government. Most observers simply consider the initial outlays as the appropriate cost of the subsidy without considering its overall impact on the economy, at least beyond the fact that it helps to employ some 7,600 persons (according to MarAd officials) or 14,700 (according to the interagency maritime task force) directly in the shipbuilding industry.

This relatively shortsighted view concerns only "the top of the iceberg." "How much income does the maritime subsidy generate, and how many persons are employed as a result of it?" Precise answers to these questions rather than vague generalities, are needed to estimate the magnitude of the funds that flow back to the Government through tax revenues and to assess better the net cost of the subsidy.

With the aid of qualified academic personnel, we have had an investigation and analysis made of the "Impact and net cost of the construction-differential subsidy" to the Government.

Besides being one of two subsidies of the Federal Government specifically designated as subsidies in the enabling legislation (the other one is the operating-differential subsidy), the construction-differential subsidy is also one of the few, if not the only, subsidy that requires a matching expenditure on the part of private business concerns. With the subsidy, U.S. shipping operators are encouraged to spend in this country the funds they have allocated for replacing and expanding their fleets. Without the subsidy the operators would be spending their funds for foreign-built ships, creating employment and generating additional income not in the United States, but in other countries.

It is our finding that construction-differential subsidy payments at their present level of $100 million annually, result in an increase in income in the U.S. economy of about $600 million, supporting employment for some 80,000 persons. Because of this added income and business activity, Federal tax revenues are higher by almost $100 million, which means the net cost of the subsidy is virtually zero. This result is obtained because the construction-differential subsidy, unlike most other Government subsidies as aforesaid, requires a direct and matching contribution to the spending stream on the part of private business firms (ship operators).

In measuring the magnitude of the impact of the construction-differential subsidy program on the economy, a ship recently built under the program was used in the study and an estimate made of the money flows resulting therefrom in the workings of the economy. As a check on these findings, the more conventional, more generalized multiplier-type analysis was used with an example ship costing in round numbers $10 million to build in this country and for which a construction subsidy of about 50 percent or $5 million, was provided. This $5 milion subsidy leads to a direct first round increase in spending of $10 million, which includes the investment by the shipping company. The spending process is a continuous one, from an autonomous increase in spending there will result in infinite number of rounds of spending (each normally diminishing in magnitude) as money flows from businesses to consumers (in the form of wages, salaries, rent, interest, and profits) and from consumers to businesses (in the form of purchases of goods and services).

From these studies, it is possible to estimate the impact that this $10 million added in the U.S. economy would have on spending, savings, and taxes. On the first round alone, new spending in the consumer classification would amount to about $6.7 million, new savings would be generated, additional State and local tax revenues would accrue, and Federal tax revenues of about $1.6 million would be generated. The $6.7 million spent for consumer goods and services in the first round then becomes added income in the economy in the second round of spending. From this round-by-round pattern of spending it can be determined that after 10 rounds, income in the economy will have been increased by more than $30 million and Federal tax revenues by about $4.9 million.

Thus, money that would be spent abroad for vessels built in foreign shipyards, as has been proposed, is retained in the United States, where it works, in accordance with the accepted multiplier principle, to generate additional income and employment in our economy. In addition, the subsidy helps to maintain a domestic ship construction and repair capability for use in times of national emergency and furthermore serves to relieve substantial pressure on the U.S. balance of international payments.

If the construction-differential subsidy program were to be expanded to involve new spending of an additional $100 million annually, it would generate additional income in the U.S. economy of over $600 million, with new savings, increased State and local tax revenues, and added Federal tax revenues of over $900 million. Employment would be provided for some additional 80,000 workers. And of course, the balance-of-payments position of the country would be benefited by some additional $100 million—the funds that U.S. shipping companies would need in order to have ships built abroad.

Thus we answer the question: At what cost is the Government obtaining these benefits? Presently, the annual outlay for the subsidy is about $100 million. But this does not represent the net cost. To obtain an estimate of the net cost involved, it is necessary to deduct from the original outlay the taxes that flow back into the Federal Treasury as a result of the increased business activity. Our analysis indicates that some 99 percent of the original outlay is recaptured through increased Federal tax revenues; hence, the net cost of the subsidy is only about $1 million. And if the secondary effects of increased investments that will undoubtedly be induced by the higher level of consumer spending were to be taken into account, the net cast would probably be reduced to zero.

So we pose the alternatives: Shall national policy be one which removes jobs from our economy? Reduces gross national product? Increases expenditures for poverty and retraining? Adversely affects balance of payments? Or shall national policy be one to maintain and expand our industry—increase the availability of jobs—increase gross national product—and improve our control of our commerce, all at no cost on the U.S. Treasury's balance sheet.

Hospital Ship "Repose" To Be Recommissioned

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, the entire Nation is grateful to all of the armed services for the wonderful medical attention they are giving to our wounded in all of our conflicts that we are now and have been engaged in, and also for the outstanding accomplishments of the Navy under the direction of Adm. R. B. Brown, the Surgeon General.

Admiral Brown is recommissioning the hospital ship *Repose*. Since 1957 the fleet has been without the services of an operating hospital ship and they have lacked the capability of a complete hospital that can be underway to another station within a matter of hours. When the *Repose* arrives in Vietnam waters she will provide the forces with the finest and most advanced medical and dental treatment. She has a 750-bed hospital complete with the latest in surgical and medical facilities and equipment; all patient and berthing spaces are air-conditioned; the mess hall will have the appearance of a modern dining room.

The *Repose* has a helipad that can receive the heavier craft now being used in Vietnam. And, when inclement weather precludes the use of helicopters, patients can board by gangways. Litters can be brought aboard by electrically driven hoists either dockside or at anchor.

The *Repose* will have facilities for open heart surgery. The feasibility and importance of repairing damaged blood vessels in the arms and legs in forward medical facilities was definitely established during the Korean war. They believe it should now be determined whether a frontline capability to artificially support the circulation of the patient and do direct surgery on the heart—and large vessels connected to it—is also important.

As yet the Navy has not used frozen blood in Vietnam, but they will have this capability aboard the *Repose* and at the 400-bed station hospital now under construction at DaNang. This is an additional means of meeting peak requirements; it is a supplement not a replacement for the effective whole blood program that has been and is the responsibility of the Army Medical Laboratory in Japan. Frozen blood can be stored for an indefinite period of time and reconstituted, ready for use, within a matter of minutes.

The *Repose* and the DaNang hospital will provide definitive treatment to many of our patients who now require emergency air evacuation to rear area hospitals.

The *Repose* will afford an interesting opportunity for the staff to participate in the civic action program. When the workload permits, the doctors, nurses, and corpsmen will be able to go ashore, into the villages, to help the local people solve their medical problems. When it

can be done without interfering with their primary mission—care and treatment of the sick and injured members of the Armed Forces—they will make the *Repose* facilities available for training selected Vietnamese doctors and nurses. This program is winning for us many new and valuable friends. It is also a professionally rewarding outlet for their medical department personnel. Naval medical personnel are already participating in civic action programs with AID, USOM, at the station hospitals in Saigon and with the Marines.

Admiral Brown has a personal interest in the *Repose* as he was her chief of surgery in Korea in 1950 and 1951. Admiral Brown is doing such an outstanding job, along with his staff and his fellow workers, that I thought it should be brought to the attention of the Congress.

Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, two pertinent editorials appeared in the Chicago Daily News that were not directly related but when studied together tell an effective story of the domestic and external complications facing the United States as a result of Communist aggression. Recognizing the very effective message in these editorials, I ask leave to insert them in the RECORD as part of my remarks.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Daily News, Oct. 12, 1965]

DEFENDING FREEDOM IS NO "SIN"

One wonders why Prof. Staughton Lynd of Yale University had to journey to Toronto to characterize U.S. participation in Vietnam as a historical "sin" comparable to Mussolini's rape of Ethiopia. Such an intemperate, roundhouse castigation might be understandable at some shirt sleeve New Haven bull session; to make the charge at an international teach-in displayed something less than the vocal decorum one expects from well-placed professors of sociology.

The word "sin" implies evil motives. Benito Mussolini's unprovoked attack on virtually defenseless Ethiopia, launched mainly to provide his warriors with target practice and to distract the Italian people from the seaminess of their domestic life, could properly be called sinful.

But it takes a degree of self-hypnosis, we think, for a social scientist to persuade himself that the United States is in Vietnam either for the sport of it or for purposes of imperialistic conquest. Neither President Eisenhower nor President Kennedy nor President Johnson nor any material fraction of the American people ever regarded the Vietnam war as other than a miserable necessity—a place where freedom had to be defended if freedom was to have a chance of surviving in the Far East. If conquest had been our objective in the Orient it could have been achieved at far less price and greater profit among the pieces of real estate that the United States dominated at the end of World War II, then restored to their owners.

Many criticisms can be leveled at the U.S. conduct of the Vietnam war and rationally argued—including whether in hindsight it would not have been smarter not to get involved there in the first place. But it is a shabby service to the character of the American people and their leaders—and a signal service to the propaganda purposes of the Peiping predators—to ascribe base motives to this effort to frustrate the Communist design of world domination.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Daily News, Oct. 16, 1965]

FREEDOM AND ITS PRICE

During this month Illinois is sending 2,300 of its finest young men into the armed services to help meet the stepped-up needs in Vietnam. Next month the number will rise to nearly 2,800, and in December some 3,300 will go. Meanwhile, families throughout the State and the Nation are receiving messages like the one that came. Thursday to the parents of young William R. Romano of Lombard. Bill left high school in his senior year to joi up. He shipped out last month as a paratrooper. This week he was killed in action. With the casualty lists mounting, the supply of 19-year-olds drying up, and young married men next on the list, the war is getting closer to home, for all of us.

So there is built-in appeal for the nationwide demonstration taking place yesterday and today, urging an end of the war in Vietnam. There are doubtless Communists mixed up in these demonstrations, for the movement coincides with Communist, and especially Chinese Communist, objectives. But it seems likely that, as usual, the Reds comprise only a sprinkling of the demonstrators, the great majority of whom are simply persuaded that the United States has no vital business fighting that far-off war.

These, we should think, are mainly people who let their hearts, rather than their minds, dominate their thinking. For history and commonsense surely suggest that, while no final solutions will be reached in Vietnam (they have never been reached in any war in history), turning one's back on the problem is a far more perilous alternative.

Secretary of State Rusk did well Thursday to recall the firm, proclaimed intentions of the major adversary in the Far East, and his comparison between the Red Chinese blueprint and Hitler's "Mein Kampf" was not overdrawn.

The Peiping leaders have publicly stated their program to annihilate the strongholds of freedom around the globe, and by stealth and main force to conquer the world. China's plans include conquest by subversion in Africa and Latin America, but to argue from this that Vietnam is the wrong war at the wrong time is nonsense.

"The prospects of peace," said Rusk, "are not served by any action or any words which may encourage Peiping to think that it is on the right track—that it can reap rewards by adhering to its strategy of violence." Whether the door Red China is trying to open by that policy would lead to membership in the United Nations or the conversion of all Asia to a Red empire, Rusk's point is unarguable.

Ten Years of Theater for Youth in Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, because we are all cognizant of the dangers of "too much time" on the hands of our youth, we have been pursuing different avenues in which to encourage the development of desirable leisure-time interests. Perhaps one of the least developed areas of leisure-time activities is in the field of dramatics. Children and young people have an innate affinity toward the drama and we have not fully nurtured this potential. It is therefore gratifying to see the growth of organizations such as Hawaii's "Honolulu Theater for Youth," which has had as its primary purpose the development of such interests in the theater.

The organization started with only one experimental play in 1955. In its 1964–65 season it produced eight plays. Besides exposing the excitement of the live theater to thousands of island children who would never otherwise have had such an opportunity, the Honolulu theater is unique in that it carries on a cooperative program with the department of public instruction. Under this program, a certain number of plays are produced as a means for enrichment in the language arts and social studies curriculum.

The Honolulu Theater for Youth is an outstanding example of an organization which could be greatly benefited by H.R. 9460, establishing the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities, of which I was a cosponsor.

I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, excerpts from a booklet published by the Honolulu Theater for Youth which reviews the organization's growth and activities since its modest beginning 10 years ago:

TEN YEARS OF THEATER FOR YOUTH IN HAWAII

Theater for the children of Honolulu—and the State of Hawaii—was 10 years old in the summer of 1965. The decade from 1955 saw the program grow from an experimental presentation of one play to a year-round schedule of eight productions. The 1955 play had 4 performances seen by 1,700 persons. The 8 productions of the 1964–65 season played to 66,100 people during 98 performances in Honolulu and on the islands of Maui and Kauai.

Honolulu Theater for Youth was founded, in fact if not in name, by the few people with a dream who staged "Jack and the Beanstalk" in 1955. The theater grew to demand the talents, the hard work and the determination of many people—and in the process of growth received the acceptance of thousands of people in the community and, increasingly, the entire State.

The beginners worked with a dream and a challenge. Their dream was to bring the excitement of theater to the children of the island territory who had had the barest glimpses of the great tradition of theater. Their challenge was to make their plays so exciting, so full of wonder, so beautiful, so good, that the children would come to the theater because it was fun—not because they were supposed to.

They did not lack for inspiration. An early and continuing counselor was Dr. Earle Ernst, chairman of the department of drama and theater at the University of Hawaii, who had long decried the lack of theater experience for Hawaii's children. In the 1965 anniversary year, Dr. Ernst stated his belief that the beginners he had helped had done a good job, that "Honolulu Theater for Youth is doing successful pioneer work" in opening the curtain on the great world of theater.

It took a while for the dream to catch on. After the recreation department of the city and county of Honolulu sponsored the first play the Honolulu Community Theater took the beginners under its wing and for 3 years following they gave one or two productions annually.

In 1959, the three organizations already involved, plus the Honolulu Junior League, agreed to sponsor the incorporation of a new community-operated, nonprofit theater group, the Honolulu Theater for Youth. With organization and first year's budget, provided by a Honolulu business firm, HTY hired a full-time director and got into the business of producing plays on a year-round basis.

Then the children began coming to the box office window in increasing numbers and the beginners found themselves with not only a challenge but a reputation. The reputation for good theater grew with each season, held together over the inevitable ragged spots and at the end of the first decade is Honolulu Theater for Youth's richest possession.

After incorporating, Honolulu Theater for Youth worked out a cooperative program with the department of public instruction for enrichment of the public school curriculum with live theater. This program continues under the present department of education and is believed unique in the Nation.

Four plays produced during the school year are related to the language arts or social studies of a particular grade. Educational material is prepared by the Youth Theater Staff for use by the teachers. Children from all Oahu public schools attend the weekday school performances by classes and pay a small admission fee. Invitations have recently been extended to private schools on a limited basis.

Summer school students, public and private, are invited to attend the annual July production. Weekend performances of every play are given for the public. In 1962, the first play was toured to a neighbor island, Maui. The Maui tour became an annual event. Kauai was added to the itinerary in 1965. In the 1965–66 season, a legislative grant will help the Youth Theater finally plan a truly statewide program.

Due to a lack of good scripts for children's productions, HTY began an annual playwriting competition in 1960 which has produced three prize-winning plays, each awarded $500 and presented by the Theater.

In 1963, the Youth Theater assumed a recreation department-sponsored program and now offers the Junior Theater Workshop each summer as a creative activity for young people aged 7 to 16. In 1965, HTY trustees underwrote the start of "Theater Buffs," an interest group for young adults.

HTY has a professional staff of six: an executive director, a full-time artistic director and costume designer, part-time technical man, half-time office manager, and part-time public relations director. The Junior Theater Workshop has six part-time summer staff members. Except for two salaries, the Youth Theater is self sustaining from box office receipts and workshop tuitions. Executive Director Mrs. Gerald R. Corbett is also the director of dramatic activities for the department of parks and recreation of the city and county of Honolulu, her Youth Theater work representing the interest of the city-county government in children's theater. The salary of the full-time costumer is underwritten by grants from eleemosynary trusts and foundations.

A continuing interest is the development of locally trained people into competent and professional directors, actors, playwrights, technicians. Two directors and all four guest directors came from the University of Hawaii's graduate program in drama and theater. All received good notices and local reviewers considered one director the city's "best theater man." As the theater begins its 11th year of operation there is general feeling among staff and trustees that a permanent theater home must be acquired before the group can logically extend either the present schedule of plays or the related activities.

Honolulu Theater for Youth (HTY) has never had a real home and in 1965 has operations scattered throughout the city. HTY uses the backstage area of the University of Hawaii's old theater building for costume construction and storage, set construction and rehearsal. The business office is in recreation department headquarters, the executive director's office is in still another location and each of the season's six plays is given at whatever community or school theater is available at the scheduled time.

The many areas of operation, if not illustrative of sound business practice, do illustrate the cooperation HTY receives from educational and recreational leaders of the community.

Several proposals have been advanced for the acquiring of a permanent home. The obvious plan for a public subscription drive has not been pursued, in part out of deference to long-range plans of the Honolulu Community Theater (HCT) to raise funds for a new or remodeled theater building of its own.

There was considered a proposal to reunite with the HCT, an early sponsor, and to cooperatively remodel the community theater's existing building. This plan was rejected by youth theater trustees who feared that the HTY's educational aspect would suffer if it were to give up its autonomy.

A continuing consideration emphasizes the educational program. This is an eventual connection with the Department of Drama and Theater at the University of Hawaii, wherein the youth theater would become the lab for a new course in children's theater and the director a member of the university faculty. However, in 1965 there is definite opinion favoring HTY's remaining a separate and self-supporting theater group, with continuing effort to obtain a permanent home.

Believing that a well-equipped theater building serving the young people of Honolulu and the State would return to the community in worth many times its cost in dollars, the youth theater has sought State funds.

The first State legislature appropriated $600,000 in its 1961 general session for the construction of a theater for children on public park land and, when this item was vetoed by the Governor, appropriated $75,000 for planning in its 1962 budget session. This second amount lapsed for want of support from the city-county government.

The recent passage of a bill appropriating money to underwrite the Neighbor Island tour program is indicative of State legislators' continuing interest and confidence in the Youth Theater.

Until a decision is reached about a home, several programs are marking time, including efforts to reach a larger audience. Scheduling difficulties make the present audience figures represent nearly top capacity, especially on Oahu. With longer and more flexible playing schedules the theater could include more private schools in its September to April program. This could mean a substantial increase in attendance, because private students make up 20 percent of Oahu's total school population. Tours to the neighboring islands of Hawaii, Maui, Kauai Molokai, and Lanai could be arranged more conveniently. At present, tours must fit into the tight Oahu schedule.

More time and, particularly, money could be put into each production if the theater were operating in one place. Money now spent on the miscellaneous costs of moving around could go with greater effect for sets, costume materials, royalty scripts, technical equipment, salaries.

There are, too, the intangibles. A theater building, by giving drama for young people a place in the community would give it added stature and eventually a broader base of support and audience loyalty.

But with or without a theater home, Honolulu Theater for Youth is committed to a continuing program of good drama for young people, summed up in the following statement of the executive director: "Carefully programed and tastefully produced, good drama can develop appreciation of beauty in color and design, sound and light, can stir the imagination, can awaken interest in good literature and thoughtful communication.

"The importance of the children for whom our plays are designed is uppermost in our minds. Our main objective is entertaining and educating with a view to developing a future audience of discerning theatergoers.

"For we believe that drama is vividly important to all of us, offering not only a reflection of other times and other places, but illumination of our own times and our own lives.

"We are starting on the second 10 years of the life of HTY, years in which our reward will be seeing results of these efforts to enrich the lives of our children."

Commissioner Giordano Gives Facts About Narcotics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM STEED

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, one of the foremost authorities on the narcotics problem, Commissioner Henry L. Giordano, gave a significant presentation of the subject a few days ago when he addressed the International Narcotic Enforcement Officers Association at Miami Beach, Fla.

His speech is one which deserves general readership and attention, and I am therefore entering its text herewith in full:

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, members of the International Narcotic Enforcement Officers Association, on July 23, 1965, the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, announced the appointment of a 19-man National Crime Commission to guide this Nation in its war against the alarming increase in crime. Only a few days before he had appointed a Special Crime Commission for the District of Columbia and named as its chairman, Mr. Herbert J. Miller, Jr., who, until recently, had been the Assistant Attorney General of the United States. Many of you will probably remember his outstanding presentation at our meeting in San Francisco last year.

Both Commissions have already held preliminary meetings to map out their plans and areas of close study and it appears clear from the news stories that the whole subject of narcotc addiction, and drug abuse in general, will be one of the major targets of their probe in depth. For this reason, I believe that our conference here in this wonderful setting of Miami Beach, has taken on a special significance—for among us today are probably the most outstanding experts in narcotic law enforcement and re-

lated professions in the world. Nor can we forget the international conclave of law enforcement which follows. I refer, of course, to the annual conference of the International Associations of Chiefs of Police. The problem of narcotics and drug abuse and the illicit traffic in same will undoubtedly receive more attention than ever before in the discussions and presentations scheduled by that organization.

The situation then, as I see it, is unique. We have a problem and we recognize it—what is even more important, we have an aroused public opinion and firm determination on the part of the administration to find the solutions to that problem as one of the important facets of war on crime in general. It only remains then for each of us, as individuals and as representatives of hundreds of separate agencies, to insure that all the facts surrounding the problem are brought into the open—and no one person nor any one group, no matter how vocal or influential they seem to be, will be able to stampede this country into the blind acceptance of "magic panaceas" and unproven theories or alien philosophies. This is not the time for the headlining of premature claims for scientific breakthrough in the treatment of drug addicts. It is not the time for the abandonment of the admittedly difficult but progressively successful programs of narcotic law enforcement in exchange for the grossly misunderstood and potentially disastrous "give away" or "maintenance" programs which even some of our notable public figures have found appealing in the wild scramble for favor from the electorate—nor is it the time for narcotic law enforcement to pull itself into a protective shell of silence with the vain hope that somehow, all the opposing forces will suddenly move on to more fruitful areas of assault, in the vain hope that we may be once again permitted to go about our business of reducing the availability of illegal drugs and putting the traffickers behind bars.

We have an obligation—a solemn obligation in my opinion, to see to it that all the cards are laid out on the table in this crucial game. If we don't, we will only have ourselves to blame—because the men who have been selected by the President to come up with the answers will have to rely on the facts presented to them in making their final determination. I believe that we have the information they need—not all of it, certainly—but much of it. I believe, too, that the thousands of years of experience in narcotics represented at this gathering and in law enforcement in general, cannot and must not be permitted to go unheard during this most crucial period. We owe this much to ourselves and to society as a whole. At the same time, it is equally imperative that narcotic law enforcement present a united front lest we give the impression to society that our views are as many and varied as our members. Frankly, I am convinced that, where the fundamentals are at issue experienced narcotic law enforcement officers, no matter where their jurisdiction is located, would be in complete agreement.

I would ask, therefore, that we take another look at some of the false propaganda which so frequently turns up in the press and other news media, and on TV and radio—often in the very subtle form of dialog in dramatic presentations dealing with doctors, nurses, lawyers, etc. I am sure that you are all familiar with the programs I have in mind—where a "courageous and dedicated" defense counsel will argue his client's case on the basis of an emotional and impressive attack against the law itself—using with neat skill all the usual falsehoods and completely unsupported statistics. You all know the stock statements—you have probably heard them many times before—phrases such as "society has made a criminal out of a poor sick person by making him turn to the underworld for his medicine"—"give away drugs and you will take away the profit motive"—"addicts are usually poor harmless people who never resort to violence—but harm only themselves."

And how does the courageous prosecutor answer the budding Clarence Darrows—generally, he makes a rather ineffective argument that the law is the law and must be upheld—that the evidence in the case against the addict speaks for itself—then the scene quickly switches to a private conference in the judge's chamber where the prosecutor and the judge agree privately with the defense counsel that really the law should be changed—it is a bad, ineffective law which has proven a failure—drug addiction is everywhere on the increase—and on and on and on—ad nauseum. Once in a while, the cast of characters changes to the young resident physician defying the law and the hospital board to maintain some blond beatnik who might otherwise have to take a bath and go to work. The dialog is the same—everyone is sick—from the addict up through the staff to the self-seeking and financially conscious head of the medical staff—everyone; that is, except the courageous young genius just out of the medical school who feels that he can accomplish anything so long as his patient is comfortable and no one—no one, that is—dares to tell him what he can or cannot do—the law, his own profession, or anyone else. He alone is to judge what is or is not good for his beautiful young addict.

Gentlemen, in 1 week alone, no less than three such presentations appeared on the national networks and were probably viewed by anywhere from 20 to 40 million people across the Nation—from teenagers up to nursing home patients. And what is the ultimate effect of this nonsense—what is the end result of this constant hammering away by a few uniformed script writers? In my opinion, they have succeeded in convincing an alarming percentage of the public that everything is just the way they say it is—narcotic addicts are increasing like flies—that England, through its infinite wisdom, has managed to escape the ravages of addiction—and, in general, that we in law enforcement are at the root of most of the Ntaion's problems relating to crime and addiction.

Somehow, someway, we in narcotics enforcement have to come up with the ways and means of overcoming the deluge of false and misleading propaganda reaching the public on this whole subject of narcotics. We have to find a solution, and quickly, before this false propaganda becomes so deeply rooted that it takes on the authenticity of Biblical quotations or the fundamentals of McGuffey's reader.

The project is challenging, I admit, but it is one which I believe this organization must give highest priority. We must tell the story just as dramatically, but factually— just as simply, but factually, and just as convincingly, yet factually—but where do we begin?

Might we not start off by giving society as a whole a true-to-life image of John Q. Addict? Let us, for example, never pass up an opportunity to tell the public that eight independent studies in the last 15 years by such diverse agencies as departments of health, probation offices, and college research groups have established beyond any doubt that 75 percent of the addicts in this country have had prior criminal records before their addiction and that those who conducted the studies, who have had access to juvenile records, have revealed preaddiction criminality approaching the 90 percent figure. So it is generally the criminal who turns to addiction rather than the addict who turns to crime. Any intelligent layman who becomes convinced of this fact—and it is as true as we are in Miami today—will see no solution to a crime problem by providing free drugs to criminal drug addicts. How can they be expected to live useful, productive lives on narcotics when their lives were enmeshed in crime before they became addicted?

Might we not also call a lie to the oft-repeated statement by armchair sociologists that it is the pushers who go about the country enticing youngsters to try narcotics in order to capture them as heroin customers for the rest of their lives? You, as experienced narcotic enforcement officers, laugh at this nonsense—but the general public eats it up—they really believe this to be true—especially when a committee on drug addiction of a highly respected medical group says it is so. God save us from the "experts" who are cropping up among us. Nevertheless, we must convince the public that it is not the pusher who spreads addiction—but it is the addict himself. Whatever the underlying physiological, sociological or environmental factors that produce an addiction-prone personality, there is only one basic triggering cause for drug addiction, and that is the association of the addict with the nonaddict. We have recorded over 55,000 active narcotic addicts as of December 31, 1964—and when you examine their statements as to the cause of their addiction you will find the reason given as "association," "association, friends, curiosity." Thus it is the addict, as we in narcotic enforcement know, who breeds addicts. If the addict is diseased, as some would have you believe, then he has contracted a contagious disease and is more than willing to pass it on to his own circle of friends so that they too might share in the misery of his own degradation. Yet, as true as this fact of life is, we still find scores of influential persons and groups, from legislators to educators, from scientists to sociologists, who suggest—even urge—that the local, State and Federal governments abandon the present programs of tight controls and strict enforcement—replacing them instead with free maintenance clinics or "filling stations"—or accomplishing the same end by the thinly disguised program of medical treatment where the term treatment is conveniently interpreted to mean the unending maintenance of addicts on narcotic drugs for the remainder of their lives. Gentlemen, I have long tried to avoid giving an impression that I am an alarmist. I am not one and I shall continue to avoid this pitfall—but when I read a newspaper account of a prominent candidate for high public office in New York City who tells the voters that he has searched his soul for a solution to the drug problem and is finally convinced that the only answer lies in giving away drugs, then I feel I have—and you have—good reason for concern.

When I read in a widely distributed weekly magazine the statements attributed to a prominent woman physician allegedly engaged in scientific research on drug addiction that "junkies are fascinating people"—"I like them," she says, "because they are not stereotyped"—I again feel I have good reason to be concerned, as do you.

The well-known columnist, Jenkins Lloyd Jones, recently took a long overdue swipe at this warped concept. He wrote that "the dignified term, 'subculture' is being heard more often to describe child deserters, muggers, and hop heads." Narcotic addicts are no longer unreliable bums who won't keep appointments with those trying to help them. Instead, as one clergyman attached to an east Harlem parish put it grandly, "they have appointments in their own culture that take precedence over appointments in the square culture."

Mr. Jones concludes his brief but effectively cutting commentary on our times and morals with the thought that "maybe the idea is that if we all get into the gutter no one will look down on anyone."

I venture to say that if everyone in this room today were to seize upon every opportunity to educate the public in the realities of drug addiction we could, in a very short time, repair much of the damage that has been done by these inexperienced and oft-times irresponsible spokesmen for the philosophy of appeasement. When our local radio or TV station—or our PTA arranges a panel discussion on narcotics we should demand that the views of narcotic enforcement be heard—and equally important, we should urge them to select a properly weighed diversity of opinion rather than the one-sided and obviously biased panel we so often encounter. There is no earthly reason either why we in enforcement should ever run scared when we find ourselves pitted against a member of the judiciary or some law school professor with opposing views, for no matter how articulate they may be or how clever their presentations, we have the advantage of an overwhelming abundance of facts—facts which can be presented in a quiet, methodical, and convincing manner. When a panelist extols the virtues of the so-called "British system" we can counter with the fact, as reported by the British Medical Association, that the number of nonmedical addicts in England increased 100 percent during the period from 1958 to 1962—that England's per capita consumption of narcotic drugs as reported to the United Nations is twice that of the United States—that their Parliament is alarmed to the extent that some members are clamoring for tighter narcotic controls over the medical profession. We might also remind them of the recent and tragic death of Joshua MacMillan, grandson of the former Prime Minister, who died of an overdose of heroin at Oxford. We might even pass along the severe criticism of the English courts directed against a well-known lady doctor whose young addict patient died of an overdose, while the good doctor traveled about the world, shouting the wonders and miracles of her "maintenance therapy."

When the panelist turns his attack on the failures of law enforcement to arrest and convict the big shots in the narcotic racket we can counter with the fact that Vito Genovese and 200 top mafiosi have been jailed in the past 6 or 7 years for narcotic violations—that the heroin supply has been so drastically reduced that the average addict can no longer find sufficient drugs to meet his habit—that the addicts being treated at the various institutions across the country seldom display withdrawal symptoms more serious than a running nose—and we can put the frosting on the cake by informing them in no uncertain terms that for the last 5 months there has been an unprecedented shortage of heroin in the illicit market—with some heroin wholesalers offering from $25,000 to $35,000 per kilogram. This is what narcotic law enforcement has been able to accomplish—in spite of the many difficulties encountered along the way. We can suggest, rather effectively I submit, that it would be nothing less than absolute folly to replace the very limited and unreliable underworld supply of narcotic drugs with high-potency and virtually free drugs from the proposed "clinics" with the taxpayer footing the bill. What can we possibly gain by this immoral exchange? I, for one, find the suggestion nothing less than revolting—something which is unworthy of a great nation such as ours. To say that there is no other solution is appeasement, pure and simple. Let's make this a telling point in all our discussions.

Incidentally, while we are on the subject of legalizing drugs and the permissive approach in general, we might also take a look at the alarming increase in the use of marihuana and dangerous drugs at the colleges and universities across the Nation. Here again we find the same attitude prevailing among certain student groups, and even among some of the faculty for that matter, that there is really nothing wrong with the use of marihuana, LSD, or barbiturates. Yet we know that far too often the end result of this type of thinking is tragic.

Finally, gentlemen, I should like to dwell for a moment on the subject of medical research for an effective solution to narcotic drug addiction. This is an avenue which must be explored at great length and one which I believe offers great promise in the future. We in the Bureau of Narcotics have long advocated research programs as many of the Nation's top medical experts can attest—but at the same time, we have raised our voice in urging caution against the uncontrolled and improperly supervised programs—those directed by inexperienced and sometimes irresponsible men of medicine. Bona fide research is welcomed—but hastily conceived, poorly planned, and inadequately staffed research is something else. Most of the great scientists of history have elected to conduct their experiments in the quiet atmosphere of true scientific study—working day in and day out—carefully documenting their failures as well as their successes. Not until they have finally reached their long-sought goals, with their findings adequately verified—have they felt justified in heralding their discoveries to the world. I predict that when science does make the breakthrough in search for a lasting cure for drug addiction, it will be made by men such as these who sought the answers, not personal aggrandizement.

But today, gentlemen, are we seeing the radical departure from this long-established precedence? Today, we find narcotic research programs being hailed across the Nation as unqualified successes—when in fact, they are still in the embryonic stage. We find the researchers themselves vying with one another for the spotlight of public acclaim and recognition—yet their projects have been underway scarcely more than a year. I would ask, what manner of medical research is this? More appropriately, one might ask—what are they seeking?—a solution or an excuse?—an excuse to carry out a program or a philosophy which they were convinced was right even before they examined their first addict.

These are the challenges we face—and this is where our responsibilities will lie. It only remains then for us to meet the challenges and accept the responsibilities. Let other groups or other countries seek the role of the appeasers—I am convinced they will someday learn that it is no more applicable to the war on narcotic addiction than it is in international politics.

Lowering the School Age for American Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to address the National Education Association in Chicago on Sunday, October 17, and I took the opportunity to suggest a seven-point program through which I believe the cause of American education may be considerably advanced.

It is my firm belief that our Nation must not stop with the considerable progress which has already been achieved in education in the last few years. Because of the urgent demands being made upon our system of education by the rapidly expanding population, we must revise our traditional ways of thinking and give serious thought to investigating new paths.

We have no more urgent domestic problem before us and I believe it is incumbent upon all Americans to turn their attention to increasing and stimulating educational opportunities for the Nation's children.

In the words of a great American of a century ago:

It was in making education not only common to all, but in some sense compulsory on all, that the destiny of the free Republics of America was practically settled.

Mr. Speaker, my remarks follow:

REMARKS OF U.S. REPRESENTATIVE ROMAN C. PUCINSKI TO NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, CHICAGO, ILL., OCTOBER 17, 1965

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I am sure that when the program chairman assigned tonight's title to me as a guideline for my remarks to this distinguished audience, he did not anticipate the celebrated "Keppel affair" in the city of Chicago which involved the withholding of some $30 million of Federal aid to education from this city.

And I hasten to add that until the Keppel affair, I was somewhat hard pressed to crystallize my own thinking for tonight's remarks.

The paramount question which arises from this dispute is what role is the Federal Government to assume in providing such aid?

There can be no question that the Federal Government must come to the assistance of the hard-pressed local communities if we are to meet the challenges of our mid-20th century education needs. Those who argue against Federal aid to education programs on the grounds that Federal aid means Federal control are missing the mark.

Federal aid will mean Federal control only if local communities forfeit their responsibility of unyielding vigilance to insure that the Federal Government is, at best, only a partner in the educational venture, but never its master.

This organization, the National Education Association, must share in the responsibility of such vigilance. This organization has been in the forefront in support of the various programs enacted by Congress, but with this support comes a responsibility which is awesome indeed.

You, as educators, must continue to pave the way toward a strong partnership between the Federal Government and local communities in the educational venture. Yet your voice was conspicuous by its silence in failing to join in a strong repudiation of the so-called Keppel affair here in Chicago and its nationwide implications.

We in the Congress have charted a new course in Federal aid to education; a course long overdue and one which holds our great promise for millions of American children attending public schools. We charted this course with a solemn pledge to the American people that Federal aid would not mean Federal control of the educational institution.

This pledge was made by the Members of Congress and reaffirmed by the President himself when signing the Elementary and Secondary Education Act into law.

Yet, literally before the ink was dry, the Office of Education, in a completely arbitrary and capricious manner, cut off the funds to Chicago's school on a vague charge that there was a possible violation of title VI of the Civil Rights Act.

Now, mark carefully what I am saying: No one questions the right of the Federal Government to cut off funds for any pro-

gram in which the evils of discrimination deny recipients complete equality.

The majority of Congress clearly stated in title VI of the Civil Rights Act that "No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."

I unequivocally support this doctrine.

But this was not the issue in the dispute with the Office of Education. Indeed, if the Chicago school system violated the provisions of title VI of the Civil Rights Act, this city's funds should be withheld as they would be in any other city guilty of a similar offense.

In title VI, however, the Congress very carefully laid down the procedures to be followed by the Federal Government in cutting off funds for violations of the Civil Rights concept. The Congress went to great pains to spell out these detailed procedures specifically to preclude the very kind of arbitrary action taken against Chicago.

The issue, then, is whether or not steps provided by Congress for such a denial of funds will be carried out by the Office of Education or whether these steps can be completely ignored and funds cut off without informing the community of the specific nature of the complaint.

I believe Commissioner Keppel is to be congratulated for reversing this decision. It takes a great man to admit a mistake. More important, by reversing his Department's position and releasing the funds—at least until such time as an investigation is completed—Commissioner Keppel has reaffirmed President Johnson's solemn pledge that Federal aid will not mean Federal control.

It is perhaps fortunate that the Keppel affair occurred. It is my hope that this incident will help clear the air and reassure the Federal bureaucracy that both the Congress and the President were not engaging in mere lipservice to the cause of community responsibility for these programs.

This dispute graphically demonstrated to local communities that while they should be encouraged to accept Federal assistance, they must be ever ready to oppose with all of their vigor, Federal control.

I believe this partnership between the Federal Government and local government is absolutely necessary if our youngsters are to obtain the education they need in today's world. It has been said that human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe. It is my hope that those who have opposed Federal aid will now join with us in perfecting the machinery of implementation of that aid to insure that Federal aid does not mean concomitant Federal control.

The job ahead of us is monumental. In order to meet the requirements of title VI, we must face up to the fact that we cannot continue to give millions of youngsters in minority groups a second-class education. As chairman of a task force now studying the school system in Washington, D.C., I can tell you that there are those in the education community who too often fail to meet the needs of these minority groups on the completely specious and indefensible theory that because their home environment is bad; because their study habits are bad; and because they are culturally deprived, we ought just to tolerate them until they reach the age of 16 and then push them out of our educational complex.

I say this attitude is completely indefensible because in this great day of economic opportunity, no youngster—black, yellow, or white—should be denied an opportunity to develop his talents to the full. We need each of these children and we need them as productive Americans.

I am mindful of the extent to which this problem is complicated by de facto segregation and I should like to suggest some steps to improve this situation in peripheral areas of America's urban communities.

You cannot have an integrated school without white students and nonwhite students. The fact of the matter is that in city after city, including Washington, areas may shift virtually overnight from a segregated, all-white community, to a segregated, nonwhite community.

It is an indisputable fact of our time, rightly or wrongly, that a vast segment of our white population fears that integration means a reduction in educational standards in the local schools. Tragically, in too many instances, this fear is founded on facts.

I have proposed to Commissioner Keppel that he lead the way in suggesting to school administrators that some of the Federal funds available for education programs be used to develop highly motivated educational task forces that could be sent into schools about to be integrated.

Such task forces would include extra teachers, special teachers, counselors, and all the other instruments that we need to maintain the high standards of quality in an educational institution, so that parents who too often flee a neighborhood the moment they hear the word "integration" would have their fears alleviated and be assured that there will not be any reduction in the quality of education in the local schools.

On the contrary, they would be reassured that the quality of education actually would be upgraded.

The greatest problems we must overcome in these changing communities are failure to understand facts and panic. I submit that the schools can become the catalyst for holding together a changing community and this can be done by strongly reassuring the residents of a community that educational opportunity will remain at the highest standard.

We have funds for such programs now. It is my hope that local schools administrators will not delay in organizing these educational task forces to supplement improvements in educational methods otherwise provided for in titles I, II, and III of the Aid to Education Act.

Assuring neighborhoods of continuity in educational progress is not enough, however. It is my hope that the Federal Housing Administration will make loan insurance available to these changing areas, particularly to young families—both white and nonwhite—who want to replace the normal attrition rate in a changing community.

I know of nothing that changes an integrating community faster than the failure of conventional lending institutions to make money available for mortgages. In our country about 20 percent of our population moves every 12 months for various reasons. Net all moving in changing areas is caused by a fear of integration. People die; they retire and move in with their children or to new neighborhoods; they move because of changing jobs.

There are many reasons why they move and many of them have nothing whatever to do with fear of integration. A problem, however, frequently arises when new families try to move into homes being vacated by old families in a changing community.

I believe the time has come when the Federal Housing Administration—through its mortgage insurance program—must provide sources of financing for home purchases in these changing communities.

There are thousands upon thousands of young white couples that have no objection to buying a home in an integrated community, but cannot do so because of the freeze put on mortgages by conventional lenders.

There are thousands upon thousands of young nonwhite couples who want to purchase a home in a changing community and maintain the property in its traditional high standards—perhaps improve it. They, too, are victims of a financing ban and too often must enlist the help of several families in order to pool their resources for housing originally intended for single-family residence.

As educators, you must take a more than passing interest in this problem. The great breakthroughs in understanding must first come in these peripheral areas. When it can be shown that capacity for intelligence is not measured by the color of one's skin or his religious beliefs or his ethnic background, we will have taken a giant stride forward in the history of civilization. We need your voices, your talents constantly reminding us of our potential for growth.

So much for the changing areas. We also must ask ourselves what more can the Federal Government do in the low-income areas of our country—usually the nonwhite areas of our large cities—which for years have been sadly neglected in the educational process for lack of sufficient motivation.

We have already appropriated a $1.5 billion Federal program of aid to low-income groups. This tremendous effort from the Federal Government will make an impressive contribution, in my judgment, toward upgrading the quality of education in these low-income community schools.

Title I of the Federal Aid to Education Act provides great promise for children who heretofore have been denied the tools with which to overcome the shortcomings in learning capacities with which they may be afflicted.

I am proud to have played a role—a key role—in the formulation of this program of Federal aid to low-income communities. I might add here that some of you who were in Washington during the great debate on this bill recall how hard the Office of Education protested my amendment to have title I apply not only to youngsters of families with an average income under $2,000, but also to all youngsters receiving some form of public assistance.

I am happy to tell you that we carried the amendment despite great objections from the Office of Education, and, as a result, the State of Illinois, as an example, will receive $61 million of Federal aid under title I, instead of the $31 million proposed under the original bill.

In order to do an even better job in these low-income communities, I believe we should enact as quickly as possible a proposal I submitted to provide an additional 2 months' salary to local school districts to pay teachers who will devote the summer months to teaching in schools receiving title I assistance.

It is a tragedy of our time that those youngsters most desperately in need of expert educational guidance are daily forced to receive their education, in too many instances, from the least experienced teacher.

You and I know that because of the seniority system the best teachers, the most experienced teachers, and those highest on the seniority ladder, too often avoid accepting assignments in these poverty areas.

You and I also know that those teachers with advanced degrees, for perfectly obvious reasons, often transfer into those school areas with the highest scholastic standards.

I have proposed that as an inducement to our more experienced and better-trained teachers, we pay them a full 12-month salary instead of the present 10-month salary. It is my firm conviction that by providing a 12-month salary base in these areas, we would attract more men into the teaching profession, for we know that the male teacher is extremely important in these low-income areas where often the teacher in the classroom provides the male symbol which is lacking in the broken home.

A school administrator, under my proposal, could if he wished, use part of this additional Federal money to provide teachers in poverty areas with up to a 1-month paid vacation as an added inducement to bring these highly qualified teachers to these areas of special need.

I believe this and existing programs would go a long way in helping upgrade the educational standards and help motivate youngsters in those low-income areas.

I have also proposed that under the poverty program, we make funds available to the schools to set up a Classroom Aid Corps—not to be confused with the President's National Teacher Corps—which would permit school administrators to hire retired, qualified older people—perhaps even including retired teachers—and possibly college students seeking part-time employment as Classroom Aids.

These people would relieve teachers of such tasks as monitoring lunchrooms and assembly halls and much of the clerical work that is of an impersonal nature. Classroom aids could also be used to maintain normal order in the classroom, to enable the individual teacher to provide individual assistance to his or her students.

I believe that one of the great tragedies of America is that we have burdened our teachers with so many extra-curricular obligations and paperwork that less and less are they able to devote their time to that profession in which they excel—the instruction of our children.

It would be my hope that the Classroom Aid Corps would be used in all American communities, wherever needed, and not be limited solely to low-income areas.

We must be careful in this great venture in education against becoming so obsessed with the problems of the poor that we ignore the problems of the rest of America's educational communities.

I hope that under title III we will develop the special educational centers as quickly as possible so that all the youngsters of a given community—whether attending public or private schools—could receive the compensatory education which they need at these centers.

I believe these special educational centers can constitute one of the most significant academic achievements in the history of this country. These centers can be of significant value to the so-called late bloomers who too often get lost in the shuffle of track systems and other ability groupings.

Finally, we who are charged with the responsibility of recognizing the educational needs of America's children cannot ignore the profound contribution which our private school system makes to this education process.

Title III permits experiments in shared-time proposals which I believe hold out great promise for building a bridge—a constitutional bridge—between the public schools and the private schools.

It has also been my hope that parents who choose to send their youngsters to a church-related school should be permitted, through the tuition paid toward the maintenance of that private system, a tax credit just as they would for any other religious contribution.

I trust that my remarks here this evening will be able to stimulate further discussion on this urgent problem of meeting our greatest educational needs. In closing, let me submit for you here this evening a concept which I think is long overdue and, frankly, inevitable.

After serving on the House Education Committee for the past 7 years and participating in exhaustive and intensely rewarding studies, I have come to the conclusion that the time has come when we must abandon the completely arbitrary concept that children should enter kindergarten at the age of 5 and first grade at the age of 6.

The only way that I believe we can solve the dropout problem is to start in earliest childhood to capture the imagination of these children and interest them in the learning process. I submit for your consideration my proposal that we enter youngsters in our kindergartens at the age of 3 and have them commence their first grade experience at the age of 4.

Every youngster in this country would thus complete his high school education at the age of 16. He would then decide whether they wanted to go into vocational training programs for the next 2 years or go on to college.

One of the most successful programs this past summer in the war on poverty has been Operation Head Start. We appropriated vast sums of money to sustain the theory that too often it is too late to reorient a child by the time he or she enters first grade. If this is true for children in poverty areas, why isn't it also true in every community in America?

I feel very strongly that we would be developing a much more alert and better prepared generation of youngsters if we started them in their formal school experience earlier than we do now.

The Federal Government is concerned with the problem of expanding the educational opportunities of every child in America. We are committed to this program and we need and urgently require the help of State and local governments, and knowledgeable educators, to implement our ideas into flexible, workable programs. Yet, the local communities in America must remain alert to the fact that there are those in Washington who think they can do the job better. It is up to you to see to it that this program remains out of the hands of the bureaucrats and in the hands of people who are best able to determine their community's needs in the area of education. You, more than anyone, know best what Dr. Conant meant when he said:

"The primary concern of American education today is not the development of the appreciation of the 'good life' * * *. Our purpose is to cultivate in the largest possible number of our future citizens an appreciation of both the responsibilities and the benefits which come to them because they are Americans and are free."

Food Is a Bargain Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, we Americans can take pride and comfort in the fact that we are enjoying a higher standard of eating today than at any time in history. I would like to pay tribute to the efficiency of our agricultural producers and the food industry who have made it possible for this week to be designated as "Food Is a Bargain Week." The great advantages we enjoy as consumers here in America are strikingly pointed out in the following editorial which appeared in the October 18, 1965, issue of the Davenport Times-Democrat:

IN THE UNITED STATES, FOOD IS A BARGAIN

Next week, October 18 to 23, will be observed as Food Is a Bargain Week by the U.S. food industry.

Four basic points will be emphasized during this week:

1. Americans enjoy a higher standard of eating than at any time in history. They get more nutrition, greater variety, more abundance, better quality, more time saving convenience and better taste in today's food products. In addition, they can buy their food for a smaller share of their income than ever before. According to U.S. Government figures, the American consumer today spends less than 19 cent of each after-tax dollar for food compared with 26 cents 15 years ago.

2. While U.S. consumers spend less than 19 cent of their after-tax income for food, in England, consumers must spend 29 percent; in France, 31 percent; in Italy, 45 percent; in Russia, 53 percent.

3. Today's U.S. factory worker earns the cost of his monthly grocery basket in less than 37 hours. Fifteen years ago it took him 60 hours.

4. Each U.S. farmworker today produces enough food for 32 people. Fifteen years ago, he produced enough for only 14 people.

Food has been an important factor in holding down the cost of living. Food prices at the supermarket during the past decade have risen much more slowly—only two-thirds as much as the nonfood part of the Government's cost of living index; and even at a slower pace when compared to wage rates, as is clearly indicated in the fewer number of hours of work it takes the factory worker to earn his monthly grocery basket.

While consumers have been spending a declining share of their income for food, food manufacturers have invested more than $1 billion annually in new plants and equipment to increase efficiency and keep unit costs down. They also invest more than $130 million a year in research developing new and improved products, with the result that two-thirds of the 8,000 items now on supermarket shelves are new or improved as compared with 10 years ago.

In the next 10 years, two-thirds of the grocery shelf items will either be ones which do not exist today or improved versions of present products.

Hospital's History of Helpful Service Extends Over 90-Year Period

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday, October 16, I was privileged to attend the dedication of the new Hamblet Building at Lawrence General Hospital in Lawrence, Mass. The new facility was made possible through the generosity of George W. Hamblet, and the Hamblet family was represented by his daughter Katherine G. Hamblet at the dedication. The new building will include an up-to-date surgical wing and additional patient and administrative facilities.

This third new major construction at the hospital since World War II is evidence of the increasing ability of Law-

rence General to meet the hospital needs of the Greater Lawrence area.

In large measure, the hospital's growth is due to the determination and energy of its board chairman, Dean K. Webster, Jr., its administrator, R. Ashton Smith, its financial coordinator, Arthur Sweeney, and its first vice president, Clare Brooks.

In a special supplement which appeared in the Lawrence Eagle-Tribune on Saturday, the history and growth of the hospital was outlined. I ask unanimous consent to include this summary in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

HOSPITAL'S HISTORY OF HELPFUL SERVICE EXTENDS OVER A 90-YEAR PERIOD

For nearly a century Lawrence General Hospital and the community that constitutes Greater Lawrence have been growing together.

Lawrence itself in 1875 was a thriving textile center, although its population numbered only about 33,000 and carts drawn by oxen were familiar sights on its unpaved streets. The surrounding villages of Andover, North Andover, Methuen, and Salem, N.H., were typical rural communities of that time and farming was the principal "industry."

It was on an October day in 1875 that a group of women of the various churches in Lawrence, imbued with the thought of conducting "hospital work in some form" organized "The Ladies Union Charitable Society."

The purpose of the society, the women agreed, was "for the care of children of working women and general hospital (work) for the needy." A building at the corner of Appleton and Methuen Streets was purchased for the organization's use.

SERVING ALL PEOPLE

The earliest annual reports of the society show a philosophy that has existed within this hospital to the present day—the desire to serve all peoples, without regard to race, creed, or color.

In little more than a year from its opening, the day nursery phase of the society's activities was separated from the hospital, and the latter was named the "Lawrence General Hospital."

Shortly after the turn of the century—in 1903—one of the city's illustrious leaders, William A. Russell, a former mayor, realizing the need for a larger hospital, donated his Prospect Street residence, which was remodeled and became this hospital's quarters.

For more than 60 years, the Russell building has been an important part of this institution's physical plant. Over the years there have been further additions as the ever-growing need for more hospital accommodations and facilities increased.

To the honored name of Russell have been added those of Miss Frances Lamprey, Abbot Stevens, and now that of George W. Hamblet. Their benefactions and their great interest in this hospital during their lifetimes are perpetuated in the structure they helped to make possible—the Russell building, the Lamprey building, the Stevens building, the Hamblet building.

THE LAMPREY BUILDING

The first of the latter three, the Lamprey building, was dedicated in 1942, initiating from the Frances K. Lamprey legacy. In the Lawrence General Hospital of today, the Lamprey building houses 60 beds for medical and surgical inpatients, 23 beds for maternity patients, 30 bassinets for newborn, a 9-bed intensive care unit, medical library, and a complete department of radiology, including diagnostic and therapeutic services.

THE STEVENS BUILDING

In 1958 came the dedication of the Stevens building. Toward the construction of this wing, a $1,200,000 fund had been raised under the leadership of the late Abbot Stevens whose interest, and that of the Stevens family, in this hospital has indeed been inspiring. As a very important unit of Lawrence General Hospital, the Stevens building contains 20 beds for medical and surgical inpatients, a modern department of pathology, with all the attendant laboratories, a 23-bed pediatric department, the Kurth Medical Auditorium, a devotional room, the headquarters of the volunteers, the emergency department, the clinics, and the department of physical medicine.

THE HAMBLET BUILDING

The Hamblet building now being dedicated is fully described in other sections of this newspaper supplement. The beautiful building stands as a fitting memorial to a man whose great benefactions to this institution and to many others will long be remembered.

In the extent of its physical facilities and equipment, as well as in the scope of its services, Lawrence General Hospital has grown in keeping with the advances in medical science and the development of the communities that now constitute Greater Lawrence and whose residents look to this hospital for treatment and care.

In the future, as in the past, it seems certain that the hospital and the community will maintain their fine relationship and continue "growing together."

Summary of the Southwestern Regional Planning Agency, Connecticut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, Fairfield County, Conn., and the New York area, unlike many other metropolitan regions, do not have to be sold on the advantages of leaving the car behind and taking the train to work. We are sold. We do not relish the crowded expressways, the exhaust fumes filling the air, and the traffic jams. We in Fairfield County know that rail service is the best way to get safely, quickly, and efficiently into and out of New York City. Our problem is that the New Haven Railroad is no longer interested in carrying passengers. Its employees are demoralized, its aging equipment is barely being maintained, and its trustees are primarily obliged to conserve the assets of the railroad.

The Southwestern Regional Planning Agency of Connecticut, which consists of Darien, Greenwich, New Canaan, Norwalk, Stamford, Weston, Westport, and Wilton, recently surveyed the commuters and found that if commuter rail service were abandoned there could be a potential loss of approximately 4,700 families or about 16,000 persons. These 4,700 families represent approximately $26 million in annual retail sales and own approximately $200 million in real estate. They also provide employment for numerous local residents.

I am taking this opportunity to include in the RECORD the summary of the Southwestern Regional Planning Agency's findings, which I hope my colleagues will find of interest.

Mr. Speaker, the summary follows:

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Approximately 13,500 residents of the South Western Planning Region commute daily to work in New York City on the New Haven Railroad. Although these commuters only amount to 15 percent of the resident labor force of the region, they constitute a strategic segment of the region's population.

In a sense they are an export industry, to the extent that they bring outside capital into the region. Furthermore, their expenditures provide employment in local retail trade, personal services, and government, and their taxes contribute substantially to the high level of municipal services in the region.

The economic importance of this group of residents is indicated by their high earnings, which average $19,000 per year, and the high value of their homes, which over 50 percent of the commuters surveyed estimate at $40,000 and more. Their high earnings create large buying power, and it has been estimated that these commuters spend over $150 million annually on goods, services and homes in the region.

Manhattan is the labor market for the highly specialized professional and technical skills of the commuters from the South Western Planning Region. So far, the New Haven Railroad has made it possible for them to assert their preference in housing, that is, the spacious house in a suburban environment which offers recreational facilities, a high level of municipal service, neighborhood amenities, quality schools, and accessibility to shopping, friends and employment.

Ninety-three percent of the residents of the South Western Planning Region who work in Manhattan use the commuter railroad for getting to and from work. This high degree of patronage by these commuters is attributable to the fact that they have no reasonable alternative for getting from their homes to their places of work.

Since his vital linkage between the commuters' homes and places of work might be eliminated, the South Western Regional Planning Agency undertook a survey of the commuters from the region to Manhattan to elicit their plans for meeting such an eventuality, and to assess the potential consequences of discontinuance of railroad commuter service.

Asked how they would respond if the New Haven Railroad discontinued all passenger service, their answers were as follows (in order of feasibility):

Would continue to commute to New York City by other means, 67.7 percent; would move home, 35 percent; would change employment or move business closer to home, 13.3 percent.

The responses add up to more than 100 percent because of multiple answers such as drive to White Plains and take the New York Central Railroad from there, or commute by car until able to move.

It is recognized that there is a difference between a spontaneous response when one is faced with an eventuality which so far seems unlikely and has not been the subject of much reflection, and a hard decision determined by the reality of a changed situation. The following tentative conclusions can, however, be drawn:

Diversion of railroad commuters to the automobile from this region alone would require addition of at least two lanes in each direction to the expressways leading into New York, at prohibitive cost.

Diversion of railroad commuters to buses would most likely require additional lanes preempted for buses alone.

Diversion to automobile and to bus would require additional bus terminals and at least 1 million square feet of parking space in mid-Manhattan, in an area where space is scarce and costly.

Commuting from the South Western Planning Region to Manhattan by bus or automobile instead of by railroad would prove to be longer, costlier, arduous, and probably unacceptable to most of the commuters. The same would hold true for the other alternative of driving to either White Plains or the Bronx and continuing from there by the New York Central Railroad or subway, respectively. The result would be to make the region less attractive as a residential area for this type of resident.

Thirty-five percent of the commuters surveyed indicated that they would move out of the region if railroad commuter service were to be abandoned. This could mean a potential loss to the region of 4,700 commuters, or approximately 16,000 population. These 4,700 families represent approximately $26 million in annual retail sales and own approximately $200 million worth of real estate. They also provide employment for numerous local residents.

If the commuters change their means of transportation to work, the added burden on alternative transportation facilities, many of which are now being used to capacity during rush hours, would require astronomical capital investments for expanded facilities. If they move out of the region it could have serious impact on the region's real estate market, tax base, employment, and retail sales. Regardless of the choice they make, the consequences would be disruptive to the commuters and to the South Western Planning Region by upsetting the present equilibrium between transportation facilities and land uses.

Public transportation is by far the most efficient way of serving transportation demand with highly concentrated origins or destinations of trips, and for residents of areas such as the South Western Planning Region the private automobile is a costly, inefficient, and unacceptable substitute for mass transportation. In full recognition of this, many metropolitan areas are now in various stages of improving and supplementing their public transportation facilities, rather than cutting them back.

In view of the potential consequences of discontinuance of railroad commuter service for the South Western Planning Region, maintenance and improvement of this service is in the public interest of this region.

Political Imprint on Youth Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, thanks to initial probing and airing by Harvey Phelps, editor of the Democrat, a weekly newspaper in Carlinville, Ill., the unfortunate imprint of politics in the operation of the Neighborhood Youth Corps came to public attention.

The most recent review of the way this aspect of the antipoverty program was used as a political grab bag appeared in the October 12 issue of the Wall Street Journal, as follows:

POLITICAL IMPRINT ON YOUTH CORPS

(By Jerry Landauer)

CARLINVILLE, ILL.—When Sargent Shriver's antipoverty program descended on southern Illinois one Friday afternoon, certain townsfolk in Macoupin County could hardly contain their joy. "I thought it was too good to be true for a thing like that just to drop in on us," recalls Walter Vesper, a Democratic ward leader who makes his living checking eggs and produce for the State department of agriculture.

In Staunton, Mr. Vesper and several more Democratic colleagues unhesitatingly enlisted as local lieutenants in the national antipoverty crusade. With an efficiency that big-city machines might envy, the small-town politicians worked the phones that weekend. By 9 o'clock Monday morning more than a score of young men and women aged 16 to 21 were lined up outside the city clerk's office and by late afternoon close to 40 had signed up for the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

"Not one Republican family around here knew anything about it until after the kids were enrolled," says Roy France, former mayor and voluntary supervisor of the Staunton NYC project, who later quit in disgust. "I'd say probably not more than five kids were really poor. While the wealthy kids were working, many who didn't have decent clothes to go to town in came to me crying. It was a rotten, corrupt political deal."

Here at the county seat, the joy generated by the NYC matched the cheers it received in Staunton. Skipping church on Sunday, Carlinville's five Democratic precinct leaders gathered around the council table in city hall to deliberate. In meetings convened for 10 a.m., 2 p.m., 5:30 p.m., and 8 p.m., the leaders lined up enrollees. "By Sunday night we had 27 boys and 10 girls," Mayor Howard Heinz recalls.

Lanky Mayor Heinz, a furniture dealer, hadn't even been aware that Macoupin County would participate in the Youth Corps part of the poverty program until an emissary appeared in his store at 5 p.m. the previous Friday to tell him. "It was a purely Federal expenditure going down the hatch anyway, so I took it," the mayor explains.

"The kids were supposed to start work Monday morning. I asked, 'How can we organize this thing so fast?' and this fellow said not to worry. That had been taken care of, he told me." Next day Carlinville's Democratic chief called to suggest the Sunday meetings.

GUIDELINES NOT CONSULTED

But though Carlinville's Democrats organized the Corps without help from county or State welfare agencies (the county public aid director wasn't even asked to provide a list of potential enrollees) and without consulting Washington's selection guidelines, the youth project rolled along fairly well for a time.

The youngsters helped stack books at the library, supervised children in the park, cleaned up parts of the city cemetery, pulled grass from sidewalk cracks, and cut away underbrush near the lake. They were paid $40 for a 32-hour week.

Some problems did crop up. One boy who terrorized other brush cutters with a machete-like knife had to be removed for psychiatric examination, John Dun, veteran Democratic leader of the third ward, tried to fire a second boy whose parents he believed might be Republicans.

Nonetheless, many townsfolk say that, to some extent, at least, Washington's goal of providing useful work experience for needy kids was met. Naturally Democratic politicians lead what chorus of praise is heard for the Corps' accomplishments.

"These kids did things that have never been done in this town before," asserts Robert (Sonny) Albertine, one of the five precinct leaders who attended the Sunday selection sessions. Mr. Albertine, who draws $748 monthly as chief plumber at the statehouse in Springfield, a post to which he was appointed by the secretary of state, particularly resents complaints that his 17-year-old stepson was among the youths who found work in the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

"He comes from a broken home, don't he?" Sonny demands. "Believe me, that kid came home from work with blisters on his hands. Anyway, to the victors goes the spoils, you know what I mean?"

A VOLLEY OF PROTEST LETTERS

The appearance of the stepson's name on the list of recruits published by one of the town's two weekly newspapers was among the events that inflamed the critics. Others wondered how a girl member of the Corps could afford to drive to her playground supervisor job in a sporty red convertible (a gift from her grandfather). Charles F. Wolf, a bacteriologist, began firing off a volley of protest letters to Washington; there, the Labor Department operates the NYC under Sargent Shriver's generalship.

Mr. Wolf's complaints drew a rather prompt response. Sargent Shriver's headquarters dispatched an inspector, and within a few days 83 corpsmen in the county were dropped as ineligible. But that still left Macoupin holding 186 of the 900 jobs filled in all Illinois beyond Chicago. "We didn't fool around down here," brags County Democratic Leader Edgar Fuess, recalling that of the first 600 jobs Macoupin hogged half. Mr. Fuess is on the State payroll as a truck weight checker.

Spokesmen for the Illinois Farmers Union, the statewide project sponsor, say politics infiltrated the Youth Corps as a byproduct of well-intentioned haste to get it going. "The thing did get away from us," concedes Ray Watson, Farmers Union president. "But as soon as we found something wrong we got cracking."

Critics, however, pointing to the Farmers Union's close ties with Illinois Democrats, question the wisdom of delegating responsibility for any part of the antipoverty program to organizations which are necessarily involved in local or State politics.

Democratic Boss Fuess, for example, is a Farmers Union member. He readily concedes that the group's county president asked him to help organize the Youth Corps. "Naturally I helped all I could."

Right now the local Democrats are waiting hopefully for more Federal money to finance a followup project of part-time work for youngsters who otherwise couldn't stay in school. Few politicos who greeted the Youth Corps with sign-up pencils poised seem chastened.

"There was only one mistake in the whole business," concludes Carlinville's Sonny Albertine, "that was when Washington paid attention to a bunch of gripers."

The Sky Is Not the Limit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, on last Saturday, October 16, the 18th Annual Nash County Harvest Festival was held in my hometown of Nashville, N.C. Nashville is a small town of about 1,500 people. It is the county seat of Nash County which has a population of more than 60,000 people. An estimated crowd of about 12,000 people attended the festival. We had a very fine parade and more than 30 "beauty queens." Hon. Ernest W. Brackett, Assistant Deputy Associate Administrator of the National

Aeronautics and Space Administration delivered the principal address.

Mr. Brackett's address, entitled "The Sky Is Not the Limit," was very enlightening and thought provoking. The address was delivered in fine fashion and the audience was intensely interested. In my opinion it should be preserved for posterity and, therefore, I am submitting it for the RECORD in the hope that those who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will take time to read this splendid address:

THE SKY IS NOT THE LIMIT

(By Ernest W. Brackett, National Aeronautics and Space Administration)

On the wall of the office in which I used to work was a facsimile copy of the first airplane contract made by the U.S. Government. It called for the delivery of one heavier-than-air flying machine, capable of flying 40 miles an hour. It had to be so constructed that it could be taken apart, transported in Army wagons and reassembled within an hour. The price was $25,000 and the contract was signed by the Wright brothers. Someone had written on the white margin of this picture copy: "From little acorns."

We are in the acorn stage of space exploration and not a great deal further relatively than the Wright brothers were when they flew the first airplane here in North Carolina. But we are making rapid progress.

Seven years ago this month, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, now familiarly known as NASA, became a Government agency by act of Congress. One part of the Space Act provided that: "It is the policy of the United States that activities in space should be devoted to peaceful purposes for the benefit of all mankind."

But our country's space program is not just NASA's—it's a national program shared by at least 12 Government agencies and departments including the Army, Navy, Air Force, the National Science Foundation, Atomic Energy Commission, and others. NASA's main function is to make scientific investigations, such as the taking of pictures of Mars by the Mariner spacecraft, to develop instruments for use in space, and then for other departments to use them in operational systems.

For instance, the Weather Bureau will take weather satellites developed by NASA and use them to make weather predictions. Many of the things developed by NASA will have military application and significance just as the airplane developed by the Wright brothers had bomber and fighter versions.

One of NASA's programs is now completed—the Mercury program. I don't believe we will ever forget the excitement waiting for the takeoff of John Glenn, or the thrill of knowing he was safely back. The prestige of our country went up to a new high and the psychological effect on the world perhaps exceeded the scientific value of the flight.

The Gemini program of carrying two men into space is of present interest. One of the purposes of this program is to have our astronauts gain experience in what it is like and what it does to them physically to be in space for days at a time; to learn how to control and maneuver a spacecraft; how to leave the spacecraft and "walk in space" as Ed White did for 22 minutes; and how to meet up and join together a separate spacecraft. All this is needed before they go on their flight to the moon.

When the Mercury program was over, astronauts had had 55 hours of experience in space; before they start for the moon, they will have had over 2,000 hours. The 8-day flight of Cooper and Conrad showed that men can stand a weightless environment with very little detrimental effect on their health.

Within a very short time, Walter Shirra and Thomas Stafford will embark on another Gemini flight and they will try something new. They will attempt to seek out a separately launched, unmanned target vehicle and join it with their spacecraft. This meeting is called "rendezvous" and the joining together of the two vehicles is termed "docking."

Next year, the Gemini VII flight will last up to 14 days. During this time, one of the astronauts will leave the cabin and float alongside it while it orbits the earth at least once. One orbit takes about 95 minutes and it travels at 17,000 miles an hour. The astronauts will also practice the rendezvous and docking technique on this flight.

The program following Gemini is Apollo, which will culminate in three astronauts traveling to and returning from the moon.

The first Apollo flights will start in 1966 with an unmanned flight to test the Apollo space vehicle. In 1967, there will be an Apollo flight to carry three men which will orbit the earth. Later that year, there will be unmanned flights which will test the Saturn V, which is the launch vehicle to be used in boosting the Apollo capsule to the moon. A launch vehicle, such as the Saturn, is the booster which propels a spacecraft or satellite into space and a spacecraft is a payload vehicle which carries astronauts or scientific instruments into space.

Someday, probably late in 1969, it is planned that three American astronauts will climb into the Apollo spacecraft at Cape Kennedy and start on their journey to and return from the moon.

The Saturn V launch vehicle will consist of three stages, each of which will, in turn, carry the Apollo spacecraft for a distance, then separate and fall away. The Saturn will be 33 feet in diameter and stand 364 feet high, which is longer than a football field and 50 feet taller than the Statue of Liberty. It will be completely assembled in the world's largest building, now being constructed at Cape Kennedy, which will be 524 feet high and will have an interior larger than the Pentagon. The door through which it will be moved will be 41 stories high. The Saturn will weigh, when assembled, 6 million pounds and will be moved to the launch pad in an erect position for 2 miles on a vehicle known as the crawler, something like a huge earthmover.

When NASA came into being 7 years ago this month, it was recognized that it would take engines of far greater power than this country had yet developed to place heavy payloads in space, so our first big contract was for the development of such an engine, now known as the F-1. The F-1 engine will have a million and a half pounds of thrust. An automobile man told me a while back that a million and a half pounds of thrust in horsepower was the equivalent of 300,000 of his company's compact model cars going down the road at 60 miles an hour. There will be 5 of these F-1 engines in the first stage of the Saturn V.

The first-stage engines will burn 4,400,000 pounds of fuel in 150 seconds, about 900 tons a minutes. The second stage, with a different type of engine, will burn 450 tons of fuel in less than 7 minutes, and a third stage 115 tons in just over 7 minutes.

When the Apollo nears the moon, two of the Astronauts will climb into the section known as the lunar excursion module, termed LEM, and descend to the surface of the moon, leaving the third Astronaut in the section of the Apollo spacecraft called the command module, which will orbit the moon while the other two Astronauts land on the moon's surface. They will leave their capsule and make a brief exploration of the moon's surface in the vicinity where they land.

Then they will climb back into their landing capsule, take off from the moon by firing a rocket engine, and rendezvous with the third Astronaut. They will then dock or join with the Apollo command module or section, climb back in, and start on the return trip to earth, traveling at 25,000 miles an hour. They will probably land in the Pacific Ocean near Hawaii. The whole trip will take about 7 days and the Astronauts will travel about half a million miles. You can see why this next flight of Gemini, when the technique of rendezvous and docking will be tried for the first time, is so important for the lunar flight.

What the surface of the moon is like, and what the Astronauts will encounter there, is not definitely known. There is one theory that the surface of the moon is something like a heavy dust and anything landing on it will sink. The Ranger, which took over 6,000 pictures of the moon last spring just before it crash-landed on the moon, told us some things but not all which need to be known. In order to learn more about the actual surface and conditions on the moon, a spacecraft named Surveyor will be sent to the moon which will make a soft landing and send back television pictures and information about what the surface of the moon is like. The Russians tried such a device 2 weeks ago but it apparently failed in its main purpose.

It makes me think of the story of the pessimist who said: "Why go to the moon? There is nothing there." The scientist replied: "But we want to find out just what kind of stuff that nothing is."

Now, the Apollo program is not just to send men to the moon and return them to earth. It is a program to give this country a competence to perform many space explorations. The large engines being developed, the Saturn launch vehicle, the Apollo capsule, the buildings in which it will be assembled, and all the other facilities will be available for many more uses. Sending men to the moon is just the first major program using these things which this country must develop and have available if it is to be the world leader in space exploration. What programs will follow will depend on many things we can't predict today. It may mean detailed exploration of the moon and perhaps having outposts there similar to those we have had in the Antarctic. It may be the first step in exploration of Mars and other planets.

While the programs carrying men into space attract the most attention, there are other NASA activities that are of more immediate practical importance and which affect you and me today. One of these is communications satellites.

Last month, Senator JORDAN spoke at the opening of the International Exposition of American Textile Machinery Association by way of the Relay communictaion satellite. This month, the visit of Pope Paul VI was seen on television by an estimated 300 million people, mostly in Europe, by means of the Early Bird satellite operated on a commercial basis by the Comsat Corp. This satellite, originally called the Syncom, was developed by NASA and is known as a high-altitude satellite. It is placed in orbit at an altitude of 23,500 miles. Because it is so high, it travels in orbit about the same time the earth turns and so it appears to be stationary at a point above the earth.

We have all seen Echo, which is known as a passive satellite because it has no mechanism for transmission, but pictures are reflected off its surface and are received at distant points. The Syncom type satellite provides 240 high-quality voice channels for trans-Atlantic use, which is about two-thirds of the present cable capacity. Eventually, developments will make it possible for a ground station to send messages and programs simultaneously to several receiving stations and to select the stations which will receive the programs. We will be able to receive television programs directly in our homes broadcast from Paris and London and to talk by telephone with Bombay and Tokyo, probably at reduced rates. Think of

what it will mean to people in other countries to see on television our American way of life, such as this festival.

Another immediate practical benefit of NASA's program is the use of satellites to predict the weather. Weather prediction in the past has been based on the accumulation of bits of weather information from points throughout the world and, while there were thousands of these points, they only covered about 20 percent of the earth's surface. By having weather satellites sending down pictures of clouds and other information from above the earth, a much fuller coverage is possible and much more accurate predictions can be made.

So far, there have been 10 Tiros weather satellites launched. There are three stations in his country receiving weather information every day which is sent to the Weather Bureau and is being used in its predictions.

Tiros VIII carried a new automatic picture transmission system. By means of a relatively inexpensive ground station costing about $30,000, several countries throughout the world are receiving weather information for their areas as this weather satellite passes over, and the world will come to understand that America is doing something for the good of all mankind, as Congress provided.

When weather observers saw from pictures taken by Tiros that Hurricane Betsy had an eye about double the usual size of a hurricane, it put out additional storm warnings and this probably saved many lives.

Some time ago, the Weather Bureau prepared some estimates of potential savings if it became able to predict the weather just 5 days in advance: $2.5 billion in agriculture; $100 million in surface transportation; $75 million in retail marketing; $45 million in the lumber industry.

There are those who say the savings by weather satellites will go far toward offsetting the costs of the entire space program.

Now, why should this country have a space program? First, if we are to be the leading nation in the world, we must lead in space activities for the defense of our country and for its prestige. Then, there is the scientific knowledge which will be gained, and knowledge for knowledge's sake is important. Men, and particularly Americans, have an inherent urge to explore. And then there are the practical, economic benefits which will be derived from the space program.

When Lewis and Clark made their historic exploration of the West, they discovered many things, some of which were of scientific worth and others of economic value. They discovered what is now Yellowstone National Park with its geysers. They also discovered the Columbia River with its power potential. And so, settlement of the West proceeded with its vast effect on our country's economy.

Now, where does American industry fit into the picture? The Congress appropriated $5,175 million for NASA's program this year. Of that total amount, over 90 percent will be spent by contracts, almost all with industry, some of which will come to this State. It is estimated there are over 20,000 companies now working on things for the space programs and 250,000 people are employed in work for the Apollo program.

This work has spread out all over this country. Statistics show that companies which receive prime contracts spend about half the dollars on such contracts with other companies on subcontracts and purchase of supplies. Some of these are first-tier subcontractors and some go down to third- and fourth-tier subcontracts. The McDonnell Aircraft Corp., which developed the Gemini capsule, told me last month that they had over 4,800 subcontractors and suppliers of all tiers.

A report that NASA receives from its first- and second-tier subcontractors showed that last year 12 major contractors placed approximately 7,000 subcontract actions of $10,000 or more with over 1,600 different companies. The 12 prime contractors were located in 9 States; the subcontractors in 43 States. Seventy-five percent of these subcontractors were small business companies.

Colleges and universities are doing a great deal of the basic research for the space program, which is so necessary before practical application can be made to advance the state of the art in many fields, such as new materials which will stand intense heat and cold. The colleges of this State are playing a leading role in space research. NASA has 43 contracts with these institutions right now. North Carolina has combined a bank of brains merging the University of North Carolina, Duke, and North Carolina State into what is called the Research Triangle, which is doing advanced research in many fields.

There is another area which is growing, and will continue to grow, in importance to commercial industry, and which will mean better things that you and I will use in our everyday life. It is in new and improved products which are the fallout benefits from space research and development.

Time magazine had an article in its September 24 issue entitled, "Space Magic in the Marketplace," which gave examples of things which are new or improvements in present items now in use resulting from the space program. A new sealant developed for sealing seams in spacecraft will be used in caulking bathroom tiles. Three companies have been licensed to produce a new alkali silicant paint developed at a NASA research laboratory to resist weather. A heat-resistant material, prolytic graphite, used on nosecones to resist the tremendous heat generated when a space capsule reenters the earth's atmosphere, will be used to coat the inside of tobacco pipes. A fuel cell developed to generate electricity for space vehicles by converting hydrogen and oxygen into electricity can be used for tractors, golf carts, and spot welders. A NASA contractor recently invented a tool which is used to drill holes in plexiglass without shattering it which has been a problem in the past. Some time ago, I heard President Johnson say that, for every 5 cents of the taxpayers' money invested in the space program, there will be a 10-cent return.

There are thousands of bits of scientific knowledge, such as new methods of soldering or new materials, generated under the NASA program which are of value to industry. In order that companies may find out about these and put them to use to improve their commercial products, NASA has instituted a technical utilization program. These scientific reports are placed on computer tape and sent to regional dissemination centers, one of which is located at the North Carolina Science and Technology Research Center. A company may indicate to a center the type of items in which it is interested. The cetner then runs the computer tape, selects the reports available on those subjects, and sends them to the company.

No one knows where the space program will lead. Look what happened when Columbus set sail to find a shorter route to India. Wilbur Wright once said:

"It is not necessary to look far into the future; we see enough already to be certain it will be magnificent."

When we look back on the 15th century and consider the most important events of that time, it isn't the wars between France and England, or the design of a new type of sailing vessel, but it is the explorations of Columbus that are of overriding importance. And I predict that 500 years from now, when people look back on our century, it won't be the world wars, or the advent of atomic power, that they will consider the most important events, but it will be the beginning of space exploration.

They will say that it was here the United States assumed dominance and became the world's leading nation.

Address by Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach to the Banquet Honoring the 85th Anniversary of the Polish National Alliance in Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday a huge gathering of Chicagoans who assembled to honor the Polish National Alliance on its 85th anniversary had the distinguished privilege of hearing Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach join in the tribute.

Attorney General Katzenbach's address was received with a tremendous ovation; and I should like to share his remarks with my colleagues today.

I believe Mr. Katzenbach's inspiring message belongs among the great speeches of our time. It is for this reason that I am including it into the RECORD today.

Mr. Katzenbach's remarks follow:

ADDRESS BY ATTORNEY GENERAL NICHOLAS DEB. KATZENBACH BEFORE THE POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE, 85TH ANNIVERSARY DINNER, HOTEL SHERMAN, CHICAGO, SUNDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1965

President Rozmarek, Governor Kerner, Mayor Daley, ladies and gentlemen, it is always a pleasure for me to come to Chicago for any reason. As you may know, I taught here for 4 years before going to Washington and returning here is very much like coming home.

But it is a particular pleasure to come to Chicago to address such a distinguished and resourceful organization. I say resourceful because who else but a Polish group could bring together in such good spirit Governor Kerner, a Bohemian; Mayor Daley, a Hibernian; and myself, a Bavarian.

Our attention has been drawn in recent weeks by the end of a remarkable baseball season. The win streaks, the clutch pitching, and the close finishes in both the regular season and in the World Series have heightened our taste for statistics, records, and box scores.

While not much of this appetite could relate to the Washington Senators, it does, however, most certainly apply to the Congressmen and Senators still at work in Washington—and to President Johnson, who has in the past year put himself in the record book as the man with the highest batting average in the history of legislation.

At least that is the way President Johnson's accomplishments are often presented—on what the columnists call his box score of major legislation. One count of legislation shows that he has secured 38 priority items on his legislative agenda. Another count, of general legislation urged by the administration, shows that the President's record in the win column is 101 new laws.

Such a statistical approach to the legislative program is certainly justified. These victories include old measures, which had been sought repeatedly and unsuccessfully,

and include creative, even startling new measures.

They include bills on which he mustered overwhelming majorities; they also include very close votes on which he has shown the fruit of legislative skills honed for 30 years. In the baseball metaphor, he has thus broken records both for home runs and for clutch hitting.

Nevertheless, without any disrespect for the sport, this isn't baseball. The significance of President Johnson's performance is not so much that it demonstrates his mastery of the art of government. The significance, rather, is the content of all those bills—content that will mark the 1st session of the 89th Congress as the most important legislative session in our history.

I would be happy to have that taken as a plug for three distinguished Democratic Congressmen—JOHN KLUCZYNSKI, DAN ROSTENKOWSKI, and ROMAN PUCINSKI.

What the legislation of the 89th Congress will mean to the lives and future of American citizens will be remembered long after the scorecard is gone. It is on such ground, of substance rather than technique, that the President and our generation will be gaged by history.

Think of medicare, a measure that will often mean the difference between fear and assurance—indeed, the difference between life and death to 19 million Americans, a 10th of our population, not to mention the millions more young people relieved by medicare of unpredictable burdens they could not bear.

Perhaps no measure could have more sweeping impact on our personal security, yet perhaps no measure has been more effectively obscured by the language of legislative gamesmanship. Too often our attention has been diverted by strategy rather than substance.

Similarly, are we thinking too little of the impact of other major bills. This year's Housing Act is another example. Federally supported public housing projects need no longer look or feel like fortresses. The public housing of the future, under legislation the President signed in August, will be scattered in smaller, less visible units.

Through the innovation of direct rent supplements, public housing will not need to herd its tenants, like victims, into ghettos of despair, but will offer a more flexible support, sufficient to bring our needy back into society.

A triumph in legislation: yes; but much more important, for you and me, a bold step toward restoring the vital social and economic diversity of our city neighborhoods.

On the subject of the President's highway beautification bill, what we still hear most about is the bout with the lobbyists and the President's predawn victory. In future years, however, we will discover its real meaning when we notice that the commercials will be taken out of driving.

In the same way, the headlines concerning the National Arts Foundation so far have focused on the absence of celebrated figures from a White House ceremony. But it is not that minor tempest which is important. The significance of the creation of this foundation will be better documented when a talented boy receives a grant to develop his musical gift; when we recognize this as the historic moment when, for the first time, the United States committed public support to the creative quality of our society.

Within my own area of responsibility, also, Congress has enacted legislation of far-reaching importance. I am particularly proud of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which honors a principle that was first established in this country—even before the landing of the Pilgrims—by Poles.

The "gentlemen adventurers" and fortune seekers who had come with Capt. John Smith from England to Jamestown, Va., were no match for the rugged job of clearing the land and building a colony out of the wilderness. The reinforcements that Smith desperately sought from his backers in England—the handful to whom Smith later gave credit for saving the colony—were not Englishmen at all. Their names were Lowicki, Stefanski, Mata, Bogdan, Zrenica, and Sadowski.

A few years after their arrival when Virginia's Governor authorized the election of the first legislative body in America, he declared that only natives of England would vote. The same handful of Polish artisans dropped their tools and declared indignantly, "No vote, no work."

The first strike in the New World successfully established the principle of full suffrage. The records of the Virginia colony note that "upon some dispute of the Polonians, it was agreed that they shall be enfranchised and made as free as any inhabitant whatsoever." As far as I know, no Polish American's right to vote was ever challenged on the grounds of nationality after the year 1619.

Some 251 years later and some 95 years ago, the 15th amendment to the Constitution established that America's Negroes should not be denied this same right to vote. Yet even after the 15th amendment, and after the civil rights legislation of 1957, 1960, and 1964—two-thirds—or 2.2 million—of the Negroes of voting age in the South were not registered.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 makes into law our promise that they can register and vote freely.

Under the act we have sued to abolish all poll taxes—an irrelevant and discriminatory requirement that one buy an American birthright. More important, the Voting Rights Act has suspended literacy and character tests where they were used as devices of discrimination, and we have sent Federal examiners so far to 20 counties where officials have not obeyed the law.

In the future, as in the past, where local authorities refuse to meet their responsibilities under the act, we shall meet ours.

The Voting Rights Act is one of many new expressions by the 89th Congress of our belief that the test of a democratic society's vitality is not the prosperity it offers to most of its citizens, but the promise it offers to all.

Also within my area of responsibility, we have begun to develop effective and creative weapons against crime. In addition to the commission now at work evaluating the workings of our entire administration of criminal justice, Congress has enacted several warmly promising anticrime programs.

Just 3 weeks ago, President Johnson signed into law the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, which opens a new avenue of Federal leadership and assistance to embattled local police, courts, and correctional officials.

And the new Prisoner Rehabilitation Act, designed to help make productive citizens rather than repeaters out of Federal inmates, goes into effect tomorrow when the first prisoner will be released from full-time custody in order to work at an outside job—thus gaining work skills, self-respect, and social confidence.

As the President observed recently:

"We labor for that day when every man can satisfy his basic needs and those of his family; when every child has a chance to develop his mind and enlarge his spirit to the limits of his being; when the slow killers—want, ignorance, and prejudice—are finally contained. But if we reach that day and still walk in terror through the public streets, our labors will have been futile. The control of crime is a major target of this administration."

Whatever the importance of all these measures, however, none is more fundamental and none is more significant than those President Johnson and this Congress have made in the direction of improving the level of education in America.

Your own dedication to the goals of education—expressed in your generous support of Alliance College and in your guardianship of a proud cultural tradition—set an example for the Nation. Yet clearly the energy of private institutions like Alliance College and hundreds of our older universities, and even the resources of our locally supported schools, have not been enough.

Education until very recently has been a step-child of the richest Nation in the world. Booming American communities have blithely ignored the irony, as President Kennedy defined it, of "paying those to whom they entrust the minds of their children a smaller wage than is paid to those to whom they entrust their plumbing."

A principal factor in all our domestic problems, whether uemployment or racial unrest or crime or poverty, is the deficiency of our educational system. None of our problems can be separated from education; indeed, perhaps all of them can be solved, in part at least, through education.

Last week, Gardner Ackley, the Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, reported on economic studies which show that the largest single factor in our past growth in labor productivity was not the increase in invested capital per worker; it was not improved technology. It was the improved educational level of our labor force. At the same time, the penalty for lack of education becomes steadily more severe.

Our present unemployment figure is low, yet there are still some 4 million Americans seeking employment and unable to find it. As our society becomes more complex, their search becomes harder—unless we act militantly and promptly to improve the level of education—offered in our cities and towns.

A recent business survey disclosed that many companies now will not hire persons even for assembly line jobs unless they have high school diplomas. The companies are willing to pay more, but they want better workers.

The rate of unemployment among those who have graduated from college is 1.4 percent. The unemployment rate among those who did not finish high school is six times higher—8.1 percent.

At present, automation is eliminating more than 4,000 jobs a day—precisely the kind of jobs which unskilled or semiskilled people can fill. Approximately 10 percent of the work force today is employed in unskilled jobs. By 1970, the figure will be down tq 5 percent.

In short, a more direct relationship between education and unemployment exists in modern America than ever before. A very real cycle of ignorance and poverty is at work throughout our country.

The education acts which the 89th Congress is enacting can help break this cycle. The use in poorer districts of supplementary Federal funds from the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the availability of banks of new teaching tools, and the enthusiasm of roving National Teacher Corpsmen through the Higher Education Act can help us to make all our schools superior.

There is one further legislative accomplishment I would like to talk about tonight—one which has particular relevance to this organization—the administration's Immigration Reform Act.

The bill President Johnson signed 2 weeks ago in the wind and sunshine at the foot of the Statue of Liberty is not the most radical legislation this Congress has passed. It will not greatly increase the number of immigrants to America. But it will affirm in law what we believe in spirit: that this country

judges men individually on their merits, not on their religion, color, or national origin; that this country was built by men and women from all the nations of the world and that we still value that truth for the future; that we are interested in the spirit in which men and women come here, not in the identity of the country they come from.

For 40 years, we knew that the national origins system was cruel in practice and wrong in spirit. Now at last, we have abolished its unworthy proclamation—that individual worth could somehow be established by quotas; that the contribution Polish immigrants could make to this country could somehow be specified mechanically at 6,488 persons each year.

To the members of the Polish National Alliance, we all owe a debt of gratitude, not only for the very practical support that you rallied on behalf of the Immigration Act in Congress this year, but even more for your faith, through many reversals, that America would finally repudiate a policy that denied our history and our ideals.

You have confronted and prevailed over the prejudice that brands and deprives a man on the basis of his name, or his origin, or his color. At the same time, this organization evidences the richness of diversity in our population.

You have shown that this society can be tolerant and open without being homogenized. You have shown that this country's valid differences of culture and identity need not be nursed by hate or walled around by artificial barriers.

The same hostility to such artificial barriers that inspired the Immigration Act also impelled passage of the Voting Rights Act and is at work in every part of President Johnson's program.

You have won a place of leadership in the fight against those barriers, and I know that you will not relinquish that place as long as the fight goes on.

Message of Thanks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, there are occasions when constituents present views so widely applicable to the endeavors of this body that it is a pleasure to give them as wide an audience as possible. In this instance, I happen to be the recipient of a message of gratitude which I feel obliged to share with my colleagues who supported the social security legislation enacted in the present session. I believe that the poignant, yet heart-warming attitude expressed by the writer is representative of the feelings of many others.

Following is the communication from Mr. Ross, the contents of which I am sure will be appreciated:

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Hon. EDWARD R. ROYBAL,
Cannon Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Have just received social security check in the amount of $52 representing monthly increase since January and am delighted beyond ability to express my gratitude. It could not have arrived at a more opportune moment as it will help pay the hospital bill, very recently incurred.

How and to whom does one say "Thank you" to a Government whose President and Congress who, in the face of resolving problems threatening our peace and welfare, still find time to enact legislation providing care and protection for those no longer able to fend for themselves?

Though realizing the impossibility of expressing my gratitude to all the humanitarians involved, I, nevertheless, simply had to tell someone and since I know you, and your interest in it, decided to advise you of my feeling in the hope that, in your daily contact with others who made this possible, you might perform this service for me.

It is action like this that makes me proud to be an American, exerting every effort to be worthy of it.

Best wishes to you from a grateful constituent,

FRANK ROSS.

Dilution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 12, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the protracted drought in the Northeast area of our country this year has stimulated increased interest in the development of new sources of water. One of the most fruitful approaches to this problem, of course, is in the area of desalination. Despite the enormous efforts on the part of the Federal Government and individual scientists, the production of economical desalted water has thus far eluded our grasp.

A gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Edmund A. J. Mroz, has been working on this problem and recommends "dilution" as the key to this process.

Because I know that many people around the country are working on this problem, I would like to bring Mr. Mroz' comments on his approach to the attention of my colleagues by inserting a description of the process and the patent he has recently received in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

THE PROBLEM, SCALE; THE CAUSE, REVERSE SOLUBILITY; THE SOLUTION, DILUTION

There would be no scaling problem in the conversion of sea and brackish waters if calcium carbonate (limestone), magnesium hydroxide (milk of magnesia) and calcium sulfate (gypsum or plaster of paris) behaved like the generally preponderant sodium chloride (common table salt).

Simply raising the temperature long ago would then have dissolved the scaling problem. Raising the temperature instead triggers the scaling problem. A very few nonconformist substances obstinately misbehave by becoming less, rather than more soluble when the temperature is raised.

An attack directed at the very core of the scaling problem gained the realization that a diluted solution of such nonconformist substances will safely withstand subjection to higher temperatures than an undiluted solution.

"Heat Treating of Liquors Containing Dissolved Solids Whose Solubility Decreases at Increasing Temperature" is the subject of U.S. patent No. 3,207,676 issued on September 21, 1965, to Edmund A. J. Mroz, a chemical engineer of Stoneham, Mass.

The identical subject matter is also covered in the following foreign patents:

Canada, patent No. 698,806; Italy, patent No. 683,208; France, patent No. 1,371,159; Great Britain, patent No. 957,120; Israel, patent No. R61/3030; Spain, patent No. patent No. R61/3030; Spain, patent No. 273,347.

Yet other foreign patents are imminent.

The Government of the United States of America is certainly to be commended for having taken the initiative in water desalination for the good of all mankind. Creative thinking was stimulated by the seemingly insuperable sealing problem which had been exposed, particularly in sea water conversion.

The lesson which the dilution concept teaches is even more fundamental than the mere alleviation of the scaling problem. Logic decrees that the least refractory waters available be converted to fresh water.

Earth's ocean sink has accumulated 35,000 parts per million (ppm) total dissolved solids since the beginning of time. Of this, refractory calcium sulfate alone accounts for more than 1,200 ppm.

By contrast, Los Angeles, Calif., discharges into the Pacific Ocean nearly half a billion gallons of waste water which is far better than 99 44/100th percent pure fresh water. In 1960 Los Angels' hyperion effluent at no time reached 900 ppm total dissolved solids.

Classical multiple effect evaporation, as illustrated in U.S. Patent No. 3,122,487 of February 25, 1964, "Evaporating Apparatus and Process," also granted Edmund A. J. Mroz, of Stoneham, Mass., will exploit the substantially higher temperatures practicable with waste waters across a greater number of economic effects. Each additional effect thus made economic represents another reuse of input heat.

The combination of these two inventions makes practicable an economic scavanging of more than 10 percent additional heating value from fossil fuels. Moisture of combustion contributes both heat and dilution.

A consequence of such scavenging of heating values is that, when flue gases are brought to ambient temperatures, they may be scrubbed with conventional aqueous reagents to yield economic chemical byproducts, even from deleterious constituents which would otherwise pollute the atmosphere.

Stream pollution, too, is eliminated when evaporator concentrate is made to provide advantageous dilution according to the teachings of the newer patent.

The use of aircraft-type gas turbine engines, even with continuous afterburning, to raise impure waters to the higher pressures and temperatures thus made practicable transcends disciplines of engineering. Here is an up-to-the-decade version of heating swords into plowshares.

Perhaps comparably simple solutions might be found for the other problems facing mankind.

"Per Aspera Ad Astra."

WIBR and WJBO Radio Stations in Baton Rouge Render Excellent Service During Hurricane Betsy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. MORRISON

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend two radio sta-

tions, WIBR and WJBO in Baton Rouge, for the fine service they performed for the community during Hurricane Betsy. Both WIBR and WJBO personnel remained on duty for 48 hours to provide essential communication services. WIBR broadcast constantly through the emergency with the exception of 1 hour and 10 minutes after the station lost a tower. WJBO was off the air for only 1 minute during which transmitter repairs were being made.

Both of these stations maintained close contact with the weather bureau and civil defense officials. The staffs of these stations certainly deserve a wholehearted vote of thanks for the yeoman work they did during this horrible disaster. Their accomplishment is certainly in the highest tradition of radio broadcasting, and I am sure that the people of the city of Baton Rouge and surrounding areas are deeply grateful for and proud of WIBR and WJBO for their fine work.

The following two letters to WIBR are but samples of the many expressions of gratitude by both stations:

BATON ROUGE, LA.,
September 12, 1965.

WIBR RADIO STATION,
Baton Rouge, La.

GENTLEMEN: You are to be commended greatly for your coverage of Hurricane Betsy. We stayed up all night Thursday, and you can never imagine how much you relieved the tense situation by letting us know what was happening. This was done in such a wonderful way, for you did it without alarming the people.

We, the School Sisters of Notre Dame, along with all the citizens of Baton Rouge, wish to thank you so much for this wonderful coverage you gave to the hurricane catastrophe. May God bless you abundantly.

Very gratefully yours,
SCHOOL SISTERS OF NOTRE DAME,
ST. ANTHONY'S SCHOOL.

THE LSU ALUMNI FEDERATION,
Baton Rouge, La., September 13, 1965.

Mr. BOB EARLE,
Radio Station WIBR,
Baton Rouge, La.

DEAR BOB: As volunteer chairman of public information for the Baton Rouge Red Cross, I want to express my appreciation to you, Jim, Scotty, and the entire WIBR staff for your cooperation and assistance to the Red Cross during Hurricane Betsy.

Although our emergency operations are easing off, disaster relief work will continue for some time and additional information will be provided you from time to time by our professional Red Cross workers.

Should you need additional information, you may call the professional staff at the Baton Rouge Red Cross chapter headquarters, or—if you wish—you may contact me here at my normal place of employment.

Thanks again and best regards.

DAN BIVINS,
Assistant Director, Alumni Affairs.

German-American Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, on October 6, 1683, the first all German settlement was established at Germantown, Pa., when Franz Daniel Pastorius landed on the shores of the New World after crossing the Atlantic with a group of 13 families. This date, October 6, has been designated as German-American Day, and this year commemorated the 282d anniversary of this first German settlement in America.

In keeping with this recent occasion, I would like to reflect on the contributions which those of German ancestry have made to our great Nation. I feel that the contribution of those of German nationality to the melting pot out of which our country was formed has been very significant to the development, growth, and strength of the United States.

The Germans, like many of the early immigrants who colonized our Nation, came to this country to escape the religious persecution and economic hardships which they faced in Europe and were, thus, outspoken in their advocacy of religious and human freedoms and industrious contributors to the economic strength of their communities. The German settlers in Pennsylvania drew up the first protest ever voiced against Negro slavery in America. The many skilled workmen in this group of German settlers made a distinctive contribution to the industrial growth of the colony of Pennsylvania.

Throughout the history of the United States, the Germans have continued to make significant contributions in every area of accomplishment. We need only mention a few names to realize how important the Germans have been to the molding and growth of our great Nation. Some distinguished German settlers were Jacob Leisler, Governor of New York, who called together the first Congress in America; Carl Schurz, who was an active leader in the abolition movement and also in the field of civil service reforms; Peter Zenger, who founded the first independent political newspaper in New York. And in recent history we might mention Albert Einstein, Wernher von Braun, Joseph Pulitzer, H. L. Mencken, Walter Lippmann, the Vanderbilt and Rockefeller families, and many others too numerous to list.

On German-American Day, I am sure that the many citizens in our Nation of German ancestry shared my pride in their rich heritage and the historic role played by those of German descent in American history. I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to all of these outstanding Americans today.

Too Logical

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL FINDLEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents is Dr. Robert P. Ludlum, president of Blackburn College in Carlinville, Ill.

Under the work-study program which is a unique feature of this fine college, much of the construction work is done by students. The college recently completed a new men's dormitory, but built it without sidewalks. Explaining why, Dr. Ludlum said:

> We'll see where the students walk and then install them. No sense having a walk if no one will use it.

This resulted in the following comment by the Arizona Republic of Phoenix, Ariz.:

TOO LOGICAL

> As our candidate for the position of "man most likely to die of frustration in the Great Society," we would like to nominate Robert P. Ludlum, president of Blackburn College at Carlinville, Ill.
>
> President Ludlum, in explaining why a new men's dormitory was built without sidewalks, said: "We'll see where the students walk, and then build some."
>
> What could be a bigger drag in Washington these days than a man like this—one who refuses to spend money for a project until he is sure where, and how and to what extent, the need exists?

Alan Robert of Donaldsonville, La., Receives Distinguished Award From Dixie Electric Cooperative of Baton Rouge, La.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES H. MORRISON
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker, recently I had the pleasure of meeting in my office a fine young man, Alan Robert, from Donaldsonville, La. Alan had just won a trip to Washington as a result of placing second in a statewide 4-H public speaking contest in which he was competing against a large number of older, more experienced speakers. He spoke on the subject of rural electric cooperatives and showed such a fine grasp of the topic that the Dixie Electric Cooperative of my district sent him to Washington as a well-deserved reward for a job well done.

I feel that Alan is an excellent example of the fine, intelligent youth of the Sixth District. I would like to offer my sincerest congratulations to him and my best wishes for a bright and successful future.

The following article on Alan's accomplishment appeared in the September issue of Rural Louisiana, a publication of the Association of Louisiana Electric Cooperatives:

A 14-YEAR-OLD YOUTH SPEAKS UP FOR RURAL ELECTRIC CO-OPS

> Ask many city born and reared 14-year-old youngsters today what they think about rural electric cooperatives and the response probably will be "What's that?"
>
> But don't go ask 14-year-old Alan Robert of Donaldsonville about the rural electric cooperatives and not expect a detailed answer.
>
> For this youngster recently stepped up in front of a big audience in the speech division of the annual LSU 4-H summer short course session and shook up quite a few

listeners with his speech on "How Rural Electric Co-ops Aid Free Enterprise."

Only a few weeks before he had been asked by Bob Drude, assistant county agent of Ascension Parish, and Vincent Noto a member of the Dixie Electric Co-op, if he would make his speech at LSU about the rural electric co-ops.

"I didn't know much about the subject," Alan recalled, "but they got me interested in it, and Mabry Caddis at Dixie Electric got me a lot of facts and figures about the program, and I was off and running.

"I not only enjoyed making the speech, but I'm glad I chose to speak about the rural electric cooperative program. I knew that if I chose an interesting subject it increased my chances of making a good speech, and after a little digging to get the facts, I got plenty enthused about it.

"I don't think many in the audience knew much about the rural electrics, but I think they do now."

The judges apparently were well satisfied that Alan knew what he was talking about also, for they awarded him second place among the 100 or so speechmakers.

First place went to a 19-year-old LSU freshman, who had studied speech throughout high school.

Alan has just completed his first year of speech at Ascension Catholic High in Donaldsonville, and was a member of the school's debate team for the first time.

He remembers making his first speech when he was in the fifth grade in a parish-wide 4-H speech contest.

"All I can remember about that year in 4-H work, though, is winning first place in the beef cattle division. I guess I was too young to take speechmaking seriously," he recalled.

The hardest thing for him in making a speech is not in facing the audience, or enunciation or gestures. Even at his age, he's fast becoming a master at these things.

"The hardest thing for me is to assemble all the facts and figures together on one particular subject, and then form clear, concise ideas about them. If I don't have a good idea about what I'm going to speak on, I can't expect my audience to be attentive."

He also believes that sprinkling jokes throughout a speech is an attention-gimmick that is all too often overworked.

"You can tell a good joke, and that's what your audience will remember most," he explained. "But in some speeches, jokes are appropriate at the right time."

He wasn't joking anywhere, however, when he made his speech about the rural electrification program. He told his audience of a program born through necessity, of people doing something for themselves when others refused to help, of a program that now is a "yardstick of cost" for the major power companies, and of a program he was proud to be speaking about.

"I was born in Donaldsonville," he pointed out, "and we always had electricity. It's hard to imagine people living anywhere without the many benefits of electricity. The irony of it all is that it took us so long to supply the rural homes with electricity. But basically, it was done because people got tired of being told they couldn't afford it anyway and they went out and formed their own electric cooperative."

Alan also took a swat at monopolies in his speech, saying that "Congress has always been opposed to monopolies which end competition and destroy small businesses * * * the funny thing is that the public simply overlooks this (electric industry) monopoly * * * if a homeowner is dissatisfied with the (electrical) service, prices, or what have you, there is nothing they can do about it."

He explained that the co-ops, by their very existence, act as a yardstick in determining what the true cost of electricity should be.

Alan also pointed out that the electric co-ops are now trying to build their own generation and transmission (G. & T.) facilities because the co-ops want to "further aid free enterprise by the yardstick method."

He explained that since the co-ops now have no alternative but to buy their power wholesale from the power companies, they are "kept in line" by being forced to raise their rates whenever the power companies raise the cost of wholesale power.

Although the electric cooperatives are million-dollar consumers of the power companies, Alan pointed out that the power companies apparently want to get rid of the co-ops, for "they fear the competition."

His speech brought about a big round of applause at the conclusion, and Alan himself thought he had done a pretty good job.

"At least it was a lot better than when I delivered it in the qualifying round," he recalled. "I hiccoughed a few times then and I didn't think I was going to qualify for the finals."

Alan isn't the fireball type of speaker. Instead he uses dramatic pauses and gestures to help get his message across. He definitely has a few ideas of his own about speechmaking.

"Billy Graham, for example, appears to have big, attentive audiences, but personally I think he shouts too much. His gestures though, are timed perfectly.

"One of the best speakers in Louisiana, I believe, is Theo Cangelosi, a Baton Rouge attorney. He's very quiet, but is deliberate in his movements, and he gets his point across very effectively without yelling in your ear."

The son of Mr. and Mrs. Glen Robert, of Route 2, Post Office Box 213A, Donaldsonville, Alan is the eldest of their four children (Glena 11, Roy 7, and Randy 3). Only 5 feet 2 inches and weighing 115 pounds, he participates in his school's athletic programs, especially baseball and football.

He's also proving at an early age that he should very ably fulfill his ambition to be a good lawyer someday. For he already has learned not to speak without thinking, and getting the facts.

He also has acquired the ability to look his audience straight in the eye and to sharpen his senses to decipher between facts and something somebody made up.

He also admits that he'd rather debate against members of his own sex. "Girls usually talk too fast and are harder to understand. In debating you've got to listen closely and understand what has been said in order to get facts that can be refuted. But girls are all right for other things."

Address by Dr. Walter H. Campbell, President of Lions International

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, in the Holy Bible we find the question asked, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Fortunately, there are many good people and organizations that can respond with an affirmative "yes."

In 1917, Lions International was founded. It is an international association of just under 20,000 local clubs of approximately 700,000 business and professional men in more than 118 countries. These very fine and worthwhile groups are dedicated to high ideals, provide community service, and promote better international relations.

Among the orgainzation's many activities are the fostering of better citizenship and patriotism, civic improvement, education, sight conservation, and work for the blind. It is the world's largest service organization living up to its motto, "We serve."

On September 24, 1965, Dr. Walter H. Campbell, president of Lions International and a native of Cannon County, Tenn., delivered a most stirring and inspiring address during the international convention of Lions International held in the Nation's Capital.

It was my privilege to have been present on that occasion, and I was so impressed with his remarks that I ask permission that President Campbell's address be reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD. I commend the address of President Campbell to my colleagues and to others.

REMARKS OF DR. WALTER H. CAMPBELL, PRESIDENT OF LIONS INTERNATIONAL, BEFORE THE LIONS INTERNATIONAL BANQUET HONORING THE LIONS INTERNATIONAL FAMILY, SPONSORED BY THE LIONS OF MULTIPLE DISTRICT 22, SEPTEMBER 24, 1965

Toastmaster Roe, His Excellency, The Ambassador of Canada, C. S. A., Richie, honorable Members of Congress, executive officers, directors, past international presidents, past international directors, administrative officers, district governors, past district governors, district and club officers, other guests, charming ladies, and fellow Lions, on behalf of the international family, coming from many distant and enchanting lands, bringing with them the true spirit of world Lionism, I should like to thank you of Multiple District 22 for your hospitality which you have so graciously and generously extended to each member of the International Family during the entire board meeting and most especially for this brilliant evening when we are your guests.

Washington was chosen for this 1965 fall board meeting with discriminate care. Each member of the board and his lady has looked forward to this event with much anticipation. Your area has great charm and attraction throughout the world.

Washington is more than a city specializing in the processes of government. Like the great white dome of the Capitol, it is an ideal or vision, standing as a symbol of the very heart of representative government. It is a visual point of reference for American freedom and opportunity. It is physical proof, beautifully etched in metal and stone, of the willingness and ability of all the people to join in the adventures—and infrequently heartaches—as well as the satisfaction of governing themselves.

Thus, our honored guests—almost all Lions—play their vital role in the march toward the gray dawn of tomorrow's world on a stage of history as intriguing as a fantasy yet as real as life itself.

On behalf of the Lions and their ladies here assembled, I should like to repeat to you who are in Government our sincere welcome. We are conscious of your heavy schedules and the demands that are constantly yours. So, welcome to the international banquet sponsored by the Lions of Multiple District 22 honoring the International Family of the Lions of the world.

High above the Halls of Congress where our distinguished guests toil, the Statue

of Freedom that crowns the dome of the Capitol represents the ultimate in American idealism. Inscribed on the base of this Statue of Freedom and taken from the great seal of the United States is "E Pluribus Unum"—"Out of Many One."

Such symbolism pervades our National Capital. It is inherent in the dignity and thinking of the American wherever he may be. And so, Washington is, in the words of Abraham Lincoln: "The mystic chords of memory" shared by all who come and experience and raise their eyes to see.

Yesterday afternoon, President Johnson greatly honored your international board by having us as his guests in the Rose Garden of the White House. He extended his hospitality in a most democratic manner and made a most challenging speech for us to receive and take home for future reference. He began his remarks by telling us that he sometimes told his assistants that if we are going to get our work done we need "a tiger in our tank." He went on to state that the assistants told him that they had something better than "a tiger in our tank," they had a hundred Lions in the Rose Garden. He further complimented us by asserting that "There is more truth than humor in that remark. You and your fellow Lions and members of all of our great service organizations are helping to do the work that must be done to strengthen our land—to strengthen all lands—and to help us secure peace in the entire world."

Each member of our board instantly recognized the President's words as the most vital challenge of our day. Without a peaceful world, no progress can be made toward the goals long ago established by the founders of Lions International. When one ponders the dimensions of the Lions Club objects:

To promote the theory and practice of the principles of good government and good citizenship.

To take an active interest in the civic, social, and moral welfare of the community.

To unite the members in the bonds of friendship, good fellowship, and mutual understanding.

To provide a forum for the full and free discussion of all matters of public interest, partisan politics and sectarian religion alone excepted.

To encourage efficiency and promote high ethical standards in business and professions; provided that no club shall hold out as one of its objects financial benefits to its members.

One must be instantly impressed with the fact that our organization, perhaps as few organizations in the entire history of civilized man, has caught in the written basic concepts of Lions International the ultimate that it will take to bring about a peaceful world. Unless we are willing to work at community level on these basic concepts of community living, a world order in which each individual can have his fair share of the good life will escape us.

The average man in his life is torn between two great entirely opposite forces. On the one hand, something within bids him to shun and even escape the world and its trials about him. It bids him to live in the peace and solitude and the confinement of self-service and self-interest directing everything in life toward a focus of self. Another and more engulfing force bids him to get out into the world and make its trials and its tribulations, its joys and its sorrows his own. This stronger force bids him to spend his life in service to mankind. History is concise in its pronouncements on this matter. All the religious, political, and worthy economic theories are born in this area of man's idealism. The wise men of old were of one mind on this subject; i.e., we are called out of this world only to be sent back into it to serve others.

One of the most profound stories, often told because of its aptness to life's attitudes, confirms the superiority of service to others and its importance in forming one's outlook on life and emotional well-being. It relates the responses of the several workers questioned by a visitor to a site where a cathedral was being constructed. The visitor asked the first worker, "What are you doing?" To which the worker replied, "I am laying brick." The visitor then asked a second worker, "What are you doing?" To which he replied, "I am carrying a pail of water." A third worker was asked the very same question and he replied, "I am mixing cement." Finally, when the question was asked of a fourth worker, his reply made all the difference in the world. He replied simply "I am helping to build a cathedral."

Immediately, we are struck with the power of a conviction. This worker belonged to the second great force of men of the world. He was willing to view his everyday routine as something more than punching a timeclock and getting paid every weekend. He attached himself to the ultimate objective of the combined efforts of all of those involved in the job at hand. He was serving a cause.

The first three of the workers questioned belonged to a large classification of humanity those who are willing to withdraw, play it safe, take the small view of what they are doing and live apart from involvement. They were following the ancient plodders who live as far away from the dynamics of the world as possible, who say with a recent musical "Stop the world, I want to get off." This is withdrawal and it is accepting defeat before it ever comes.

Look now at the answer of the fourth man, its implications, its worthiness in a world such as ours today. This is the answer that is daily being given by countless men and women who are willing to drive themselves into the street of life. There they must by choice face up to the trivialities and complaints, the rebellion and wickedness, pain and happiness, the counterfeit and genuine.

When one fails to respond to the realities of his opportunities, he withdraws from the world, whether he be out of the pages of fantasy or a social or economical royalist, the results are the same. This withdrawal results in rejection of leadership and denial of responsibility causing all mankind to suffer. Where there is no local or world idealism and vision, communities suffer; where there is no concern for others, people flounder and become moral beggers and paupers and the world suffers.

Another attitude which often finds expression is—what can one man do? What difference does no little life make?

The answer to these questions would seem to lie in the overwhelming evidence that everything that gets done in this world is accomplished through the efforts of an individual.

Pitted against a worldwide problem, one man or one woman often tends to consider the task for him hopeless and impossible. Lions clubs composed of individuals for 49 years have shown the world that men banded together can prove to be a tremendous force for good. Lions International did not just accidentally become the world's largest service organization. There were basic factors in the formation of our organization which made it possible for us to become the world's largest in our field.

Lions International is an association of Lions clubs, just under 20,000 of them today; tomorrow there will be more, many more. That is the way in which we are being accepted in community after community around the world.

The basic reason for this phenomenal growth for so many years is the service rendered by the individual club to its community. Since 1917 the story of the growth of Lions International has been a thrilling one. From its place of origin Lions International has quickly journeyed across prairies, across mountains, across oceans to all the continents of the world. The basic reason for this kaleidoscopic surge forward has been community service pyramided to worldwide proportions which we call world objectives. These were the hopes and visions which stimulated our founder Melvin Jones to conceive Lions International. From the very beginning we have been international in our orientation. Our phenomenal growth bears vivid testimony to the dimensions of this vision.

Recently in Los Angeles, I said, "The world of tomorrow will need a Lions International adapted to new conditions. The fundamentals that have brought us to where we are today should be observed and strengthened and yet we must keep looking ahead. The world we serve is not the same from day to day. We must change with it. For the organization which does not adjust to changing conditions, like the dinosaurs, will go out of existence."

Thus, on a worldwide scope, we must strengthen our unity, deepen our harmony and lead in the stimulation of each member of each Lions Club to an increased dedication to serve mankind. Our motto, "We serve," must become such a force in our lives that the entire world will respond in a universal spirit of good will. Such is the undeniable fact today. Ours is a great responsibility in the building of the international bridge of understanding which must be built with honor, decency, love and compassion. These are basic in our people to people understanding.

Such projects as our student exchange program which is being expanded every year and is giving the youth of many lands an opportunity to visit and understand, firsthand, by living in a Lions home of a host country, how others live. Fear and ignorance are two of the world's greatest obstacles and this type of project is breaking down the barriers created by both of these human emotional scourges.

The Lions of Japan have followed the leadership of (Lion) Dr. Matsuki Miyazali, one of the world's foremost authorities on leprosy, in supplying, through the Lions of India, a leprosorium dedicated to research, prevention, and treatment of this dreaded disease which has plagued humanity since ancient times. This project has been so well accepted in India that it has caused a non-Lion to donate 400 acres of land for the purpose of building a complete physical plant dedicated to the eventual eradication of this age-old plunderer of man's physical well-being.

In the Fiji Islands, the largest city is Suva population 40,000. Some 3 years ago a Lions Club was organized. Since then, this club of some 35 members has performed the following projects: Established an oxygen bank for hospitals, constructed an orphange, supplied the St. John ambulance brigade three ambulances with two more to be delivered soon. These ambulances are manned by some 40 men who work without pay and have been doing this for up to 15 years. The ambulances are equipped with all kinds of first aid supplies so that they may go to the homes and render this type of service in keeping with the local customs and needs. When I was there last month, they had a kickoff theater night in which the citizens participated which initiated the construction of a school plus a hospital for crippled children. In addition to these major projects, eye cases of all types were serviced, the poor and the

aged were given comfort and they were dreaming of a complete program for all types of youth activities.

These are only two club projects. However, their counterparts in the 132 areas where there are Lions Clubs are as spectacular. As the world of need learns of the efficiency of Lions International our opportunities and challenges are increasing. Lions International is synonymous with service, either community or worldwide. Fulfillment of this objective in the highest possible manner has added luster and significance to the opportunity of being a Lion. Our growth and expansion pattern has been predicated on quality service. In our case we cannot give and we cannot have too much of a good thing. Let us continue to put more men, more clubs, more countries into Lionism; let us put more Lionism into men.

Our projects and their aims may be large and the area of service may be immense, still, it must be kept constantly in mind that the unit of structure of Lions International is the individual Lion. We must think of the individual rather than some great anonymous group lest we lose the personality of our world order.

Many years ago in Peru, South America, high in the Andes Mountains lived a little boy who became obsessed with the idea of building a beautiful cathedral in his little village. All of his days were spent in meditation, contemplating the beautiful structure which would come from his dream. Years passed. He became an old man, always dreaming, always talking of the cathedral which he wanted built. The people of the village, sensing the fact that his days were numbered, decided to undertake the initiation of his dream. Everybody in the community had a hand in the construction; every citizen was proud and happy that the construction was almost finished. Intentionally no provision was made for lighting the interior of the building. Soon the day of dedication was at hand. The people were apprised of the fact that it would be the twilight hour and that the timing of the program was to be followed to the letter. They came up the paths, across fields, out of the forests, down the streams. As they approached this place of worship each came bearing a single lighted candle. As they entered the cathedral each candle added its glow. By the time the services of dedication began, the crowded church was ablaze with light and glory from the individual candles. Thus, it is with Lionism around the world.

The individual light from each Lion's candle of service multiplied by over three-quarters of a million Lion members encircling the globe becomes a glorious beacon lighting the way to a world of communities as "one world" where man can truly live and enjoy the advantages so abundantly supplied for his use.

Today, Lions International is an organization limited only by the ambitions, energy, and courage of those who believe in and work for its ideals and objectives.

As we envision a world of Lions marching in the vanguard of progress toward the dawn of hope for tomorrow, may our devotion to our ideals be strengthened.

Crisis after crisis will continue to try the hearts and minds of the forces of peace and decency and we can only hope that so long as our mountain shall stand, so long as our rivers shall roll on to the sea, so long as God's sunlight shall shine on a fertile loam, Lions International shall stand as a beacon of hope for a world of peace.

For 49 years we have encouraged the world to work for and to live for a better world.

This is our ultimate goal and so may it remain until time itself shall fold its canopy for the last sleep of the world.

The Poor Amidst Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently Time magazine devoted its weekly Time essay to the perplexing problem of America's poor amidst prosperity.

The Time essay on this subject is one of the finest treatments that I have seen on this entire subject, which today constitutes one of our serious dilemmas.

I am taking the privilege of including this essay in the RECORD today and should like to point out that since Time has begun this weekly essay series in its publication, these excellent treatises have become one of the most valuable and outstanding additions to America's world of letters.

I believe the editors of Time deserve the highest commendation. My only regret is that Time does not identify the authors of these fantastically well done essays so that these very gifted people could become identified with this era of American letters.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that some of the finest writing to be found in this country today can be found in the weekly Time essay.

Time has taken on a new height of respect and dignity by making this weekly feature available to its readers.

The essay on the poor amidst prosperity follows:

TIME ESSAY—THE POOR AMIDST PROSPERITY

Employment in the United States stands at a record 75 million, and unemployment is down to an 8-year low. A rising stock market attests to the seemingly invincible health of the economy; the Nation shoulders the costs of foreign war and foreign aid without strain; the big metropolises revel in the autumnal excitement of the new movies, the fall fashions, the opera, the art galleries, a thousand assorted a go-gos. And amidst such affluence the U.S. Government plugs away at its war on poverty; last week Congress passed a second-year appropriation of $1.78 billion, which is more than twice what it provided for the first year.

Poverty? Americans with bloated bellies? People living under bridges? Beggars in the street? Children dying for lack of doctoring? Of course not. Nonetheless, the United States has its angry, frustrated poor. People who do not suffer poverty tend to think of it in absolute, merely materialist terms of Dickensian squalor. In fact, poverty has to be measured relative to the rising standard of living, the tenderer social conscience, the national capacity for creating wealth. Poverty is the condition—and the awareness—of being left behind while, economically, everyone else is marching forward.

The reality of the new poverty lies in its contrast to U.S. affluence, and it is heightened by the constant, often self-congratulatory talk about that affluence. It is the poverty of the Harlem woman who says, "I'm tired of 49-cent meat; I want some 89-cent meat just once." It is the poverty of people who have a refrigerator, assert their right to own a TV set, may genuinely need a car, should visit a dentist. Even if this poverty is not like any earlier poverty or the poverty of much of the rest of the world, it is worth declaring a war on.

The war is being conducted with the same passion that the United States brings to its successive crusades against disease and, on occasion, to its foreign policy. The bureaucratic warriors are joined (and sometimes fought) by a whole new group of ideologues of poverty, notably including Michael Harrington, who discovered the new poverty in his 1963 book, "The Other America," and Sociologist Saul Alinsky, a tireless agitator and polemicist who travels from city to city advising the poor on how to organize for uplift. Underlying the antipoverty campaign is the uniquely American belief—surprisingly often correct—that evangelism, money and organization can lick just about anything, including conditions that the world has always considered inevitable.

"PAUPERS ARE EVERYWHERE"

Praising the Lord and passing the alms, man has fought poverty for more than 5,000 years—but until recently without any real expectation that the fight could ever be won. Hinduism and Buddhism encouraged almsgiving but reconciled themselves to poverty by suggesting that it is a requisite for man's prime goal: the enrichment of spirit instead of body. The Hebrews equated poverty with suffering, extolled charity as one of the greatest virtues, and declared, in Proverbs, that "He who mocks the poor insults his Maker." Christ's most famous pronouncement on the problem—"For you always have the poor with you"—is usually quoted out of context and does not necessarily imply that poverty is inevitable. St. Thomas Aquinas concluded that natural law gives every man the right to enough of the world's resources to lead a decent life. Nevertheless, the traditional Christian attitude equates poverty with saintliness, deeply distrusts money and proclaims, "Blessed are you poor."

Going a step beyond charity, the 12th century Spanish-Jewish philosopher, Maimonides, urged the well-to-do to "assist the reduced fellow by teaching him a trade or putting him in the way of business so that he may earn an honest livelihood." Queen Elizabeth I came to believe that care of the poor is not the duty of just the rich or the church but also of the state. "Paupers are everywhere," she cried after a tour of England, and her Parliament sped up passage of its poor relief acts. Just about then, Calvin declared that idleness was the real sin—which in the United States developed into the Puritan ethic that virtuous people are bound to prosper and the slothful will earn the bitter reward of poverty. Less than a century ago, Henry Ward Beecher thundered: "No man in this land suffers from poverty unless it be more than his fault—unless it be his sin."

Such was the dominant belief until recently in the nation of free enterprise, rugged individualism and the Homestead Act. Only when the frontier was gone did city, State and eventually Federal relief become a principal weapon against poverty. The force that most fundamentally changed the nature of poverty was the machine. In the short run, the industrial revolution only caused bigger and worse poverty by creating a new pauperized proletariat; in the long run, it lent reality to the utopian dream of universal abundance by almost infinitely multiplying the once strictly limited productive capacity of human hands and brains. In the United States and in most of the contemporary West, the fruits of the industrial revolution brought about a momentous change: the poor turned from a majority into a minority.

LIFE ON BREAD, RICE, BEANS AND PEAS

As a working definition of poverty, the U.S. Government sets a minimum income sufficient for an urban family of four, based

on $2.80 a day for food, with an added factor for rent and services. It adds up to $3,100 a year, or $2,200 for farm families who grow their own food.

Thus arbitrarily defined, the U.S. poor number a depressing 34.1 million. They are mostly children (15 million) and old people (5.3 million). Half of the poor families are in the South. Poverty afflicts 40 percent of the Nation's nonwhites, 40 percent of its farmers, 50 percent of the families headed by divorced, widowed or abandoned women. The fifth of the Nation at the bottom gets only 4.7 percent of the country's personal income, while the fifth at the top gets 45.5 percent.

Compared with the 19th century poor so bitingly described in literature—Zola's Geraise "was quite willing to dispute with a dog for a bone"—the American poor are well off. They would be considered rich by most Red Chinese, whose per capita annual income averages $70. In southern Italy and Sicily, thousands of nullatenenti (have-nots) live in caves or open trenches. Poverty is too soft a word to describe the puffed stomachs that are common sights in India, Africa and Brazil's northeast. On the other hand, Scandinavia knows nothing like American slums, and Soviet Russia can claim to have abolished the crasser forms of poverty—but only by imposing on the whole nation a way of life that most Americans today would equate with privation.

As late as the depression, Americans starved. "In the wet hay of leaking barns," wrote John Steinbeck, "old people curled up in corners and died that way, so that the coroners could not straighten them." About 2,000 Americans still die yearly from diseases of malnutrition, and many of the poor are poorly fed. The official U.S. poverty definition is based on the Department of Agriculture's "economy" food plan ("essentially for emergency use"): large helpings of bread, rice, dried beans and peas, cereals, rare servings of meat, no out-of-season or convenience foods.

Hooverville shanties went out with the 1930's, and Government-subsidized apartments are climbing skyward in the slums, but most of the poor continue to suffer mean and overcrowded shelter. The 1960 census listed 15.6 million of the Nation's 58 million houses and apartments as substandard—including 3 million shacks and tenements and 8,300,000 "deteriorating houses," where the poor often pay a higher rental per square foot than the middle classes do. Health is also a poverty problem. The poor suffer mental illness at a sinister rate, triple that of the middle and upper classes, according to an investigation in New Haven, Conn. Mostly because of its poor, the United States has a lower life-expectancy rate than Holland, Sweden, Israel and Great Britain.

John Kennedy spoke of "patches of poverty"—and indeed, the poor tend to be concentrated. In Chicago the poor are the winos of skid row, the aged pensioners and beatniks of West Madison Street and the hillbillies of the "uptown area," a middle-class neighborhood only a decade ago. Virtually every city has its Negro slums: Detroit's Brewster, Chicago's West Garfield Park, Las Vegas' West Side and Los Angeles' now notorious Watts. The rural poor cluster in the picturesque Appalachians and the Ozarks, on the Louisiana-Texas coastal plain, in the southern Piedmont and the Upper Great Lakes areas where the land is as beaten as the people.

Thus, stuck away in the country hollows, in old villages around which suburbs have grown, in city slums that look like grey blurs from expressways and fast commuter trains, the poor are scarcely visible. Society sees them mostly through the tabloid stories that reflect their roaring crime rate. For, as Henry Fielding put it 200 years ago, "the sufferings of the poor are less known than their misdeeds."

THE MIND-SET OF HOPELESSNESS

Invisible or not, the poor are real. Fifteen of them live in two rooms in one Atlanta building, where they cannot even make love in private. "I ain't got no stove in the basement and I ain't got no stove in the kitchen," says a Harlem woman who lives in a building jammed with whores, rats and babies. "I ain't got no paint and I ain't got no windows and I ain't got no providements. I keep the place clean just so the doctor can come in, and some day the undertaker. What's a poor person? A poor person is when you see me."

Poverty is the Greene County, N.C., Negro worker, whose annual income averages $213. Poverty is the Georgia woman who cannot fill out a job application because she does not know the meaning of "spouse" or "maiden name." Poverty is the laid-off Colorado miner who does not move to a richer job market because he cannot sell his house and is afraid to lose his seniority or pension. It is the Detroit construction hand who has not worked since most of the big building jobs moved to the suburbs, because he is too illiterate to get a driver's license and the buses do not go out that far.

The U.S. economy has enabled millions to climb up from poverty, and plenty of people defined as poor by the Government do not think of themselves that way. Says a Houston cleaning woman: "I've got three kids at home, and I raised them on less than $2,000 a year, and I'm proud of it. You ain't poor until your spirit goes, and I think it goes if you keep on taking handouts." One impoverished ex-miner in Pennsylvania had a freezer loaded with vegetables from his backyard garden—and a shotgun in the kitchen to pepper the pants of any welfare worker who wants to check up on just how much he possesses.

Yet millions of others lack this kind of spunk—which stirs politicians and scholars to explanations. Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF argues that the poor "fared badly in the lotteries of parenthood, skin pigmentation and birthplace." Author Harrington speaks of the "thickness" of poverty—the dead ambitions that make for apathy, immobility, unaspiring hopelessness. One Government study by phychiatrists found that many of the poor are "rigid, suspicious, have a fatalistic outlook. They do not plan ahead. They are prone to depression, futility, lack of friendliness and trust in others." In the burned-out mining towns of Appalachia, ninth-generation Anglo-Saxon American men cluster around TV sets that blare from the grim, grimy, tar-paper shacks. "They're not much interested in what's on the screen," says John D. Rockefeller IV, a 28-year-old poverty worker in West Virginia, "but it gives them something to watch and pass the long hours of the day."

In a civilization where a family can be termed poor even if it is adequately clothed and fed, most philosophers tend to agree with Theologian Reinhold Niebuhr's contention that "poverty is not purely economic, but cultural. There is spiritual, social and moral deprivation." UCLA Chancelor Franklin Murphy sees poverty in the lack of "the intangibles—opportunity and the experience of beauty."

Undoubtedly, the best way out of that kind of depression is education. In the land where the dream of almost every immigrant family has been to school its children for a better life, where Economist John Kenneth Galbraith remarks that he has never met a truly educated person who was impoverished, the U.S. President's 1964 economic report declares that "poverty and ignorance go hand in hand." Two-thirds of America's poor families are headed by people with no more than a grade school education. But to expand education without expanding jobs would be to create bitterness, argues Economist Leon Keyserling, who believes that the surest cure for poverty is to speed the economy's growth.

WHAT TO DO WITHOUT THE POOR?

The Government is battering at poverty from all sides: the aid-to-education bill, the rent subsidy housing bill, medicare, civil rights, social security step-ups and further tax cuts to stimulate economic expansion. More specifically, under Sargent Shriver and his Office of Economic Opportunity, the Government in the past year has started the war on poverty for which last week's appropriation provides funds. In it are nine programs of job training, relief, experiment and redirection of existing welfare. It aims to prove that poverty, more than being just relieved, can be cured in a free, rich nation. Taking a tip from Maimonides, the United States hopes not merely to balm the distress of the poor but to reshape their skills, attitudes and even their personalities.

The programs range from Head Start preschool courses and job-training camps for high school dropouts to low-interest (4½ percent) loans for dirt-poor farmers and vocational courses for slum adults. The Community Action program, the boldest idea, is mobilizing the poor themselves, organizing people of rundown neighborhoods to run their own child-care centers and basic education courses, and to conduct self-help drives to improve housing and sanitation.

The Federal effort has touched off many fights between militant slum leaders and city and State politicians, who fear that if the poor people or their clergymen get control of the poverty millions, they will have excessive powers of patronage. The new money bill gave Governors a partial veto over Shriver's projects. Inevitably, there have been charges of graft, waste and, above all, naivete. The battling bogged down the poverty programs in Chicago, Denver and—most explosively—Los Angeles. On the brighter side, there is harmony and noticeable progress in New York City, Detroit, Pittsburgh, West Virginia, and several other poverty targets. In Atlanta $36,000 invested in a pilot antipoverty program produced jobs for 272 unemployed—who now have a payroll of $744,000. Says the local antipoverty chief, Boisfeuillet Jones: "If this isn't good business, I don't what is."

If the poverty program everywhere could get returns at Jones' rate, it would be a stunning achievement. Swedish Economist Gunner Myrdal contends that the American poor are the greatest underdeveloped market in the world. Psychiatrist Leonard Duhl, planning chief of the National Institute of Mental Health, looks forward to the poor learning "the value of books and good music and even wine."

Euphorically, some people are even beginning to wonder what society might be like without the poor. Would they be missed? After all, the poor provide often beneficial political ferment and a useful troubling of the sluggish conscience. The ancient prophets, and a great many modern ones, were kept in business largely by the poor. In his new book, "The Accidental Century," Michael Harrington speculates that "there could be a new, unimpoverished political equivalent of the poor," composed of middle-class people threatened in their jobs by automation and cybernation.

In the sense that men will always form a spectrum from the richest on down, sociologists will never be able to say that any nation is free of poverty. Some future U.S. President may deplore "one-third of a nation ill-wined, ill-minked and ill-mansioned," for the minimum living standards that define poverty are certain to go on rising. But that rise is what constitutes victory in a war on poverty.

Light Up Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, last week I wrote the Seattle Junior Chamber of Commerce giving my support for their "Light Up Day" which was observed on October 17, 1965, to show their full support of the policies of the U.S. Government with respect to dealing with Communist aggression in southeast Asia.

In today's mail, Mr. Speaker, I received a copy of a letter addressed to President Johnson from the Seattle Junior Chamber of Commerce reporting on the success of its "Light Up Day." This letter is an outstanding show of support of our Government's policies in southeast Asia. I know this letter will be of interest to all Members of the House, and indeed all Americans, therefore, I wish to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of this letter:

OCTOBER 19, 1965.

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
President of the United States,
National Naval Medical Center,
Bethesda, Md.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: This past weekend witnessed demonstrations by thousands of people who oppose U.S. intervention in South Vietnam. They received wide coverage through the communications media in our country and around the world.

You were advised some weeks ago by our U.S. Jaycee president, James Skidmore, that Jaycees numbering over 265,000 men under the age of 36 throughout the United States support the actions of our country under your leadership; to force the issue in South Vietnam, and attempt to establish an honorable peace and the democratic process for that country. Jaycees of 10 clubs in Seattle, Shoreline and Vashon, Wash., also support the current position of the United States on that issue, and we did something about it.

We advise you at this time that there were over 70,000 people in the metropolitan Seattle area that demonstrated on Sunday, October 17, 1965, in support of U.S. action in South Vietnam. The demonstration was quiet and orderly, but left everyone with a bond of strength and determination as they drove the streets of this area on that memorable day.

Under the leadership of Jaycees, Sunday, October 17, 1965, was declared "Light Up Day," chairmaned by Skip Edmundson, Shoreline Jaycees, in honor of our fighting forces in South Vietnam. I had an opportunity to observe first hand the effect of our campaign, the headlights that were lit all day on moving automobiles, and I report to you that the campaign was successful.

I read today that a march has been announced for November 27, 1965, by the protesters which will take place in Washington, D.C. I suggest that the people of our Nation might be effectively mobilized for a national "light up" campaign for Thanksgiving, November 25, 1965, or the following Sunday, November 28, 1965.

The people of this Nation support you and our Congress in this time of conflict. That support was dramatically illustrated last Sunday in Seattle. We send our prayers for your continued recovery and strength for difficult decisions in the days ahead.

Yours very truly,

SEATTLE JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
ERIC P. VAN, *President.*

Nun To Christen Ship Named for Heroic Brother

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 14, 1965

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, today in Bay City, Mich., the U.S. Navy launches the destroyer escort U.S.S. *O'Callahan* honoring the late Reverend Joseph Timothy O'Callahan, S.J., hero-priest whose gallantry in World War II earned him the Congressional Medal of Honor.

The U.S.S. *O'Callahan* is the first American naval vessel named for a priest and for the first time in American history the christening ceremony will be performed by a nun, Sister Rose Marie, O.P., Father O'Callahan's sister.

Also in attendance will be Father O'Callahan's three brothers and another sister. They are Mrs. Rose O'Brien, a nurse at Cambridge City Hospital; Attorney John T. O'Callahan, of Cambridge; Edward J. O'Callahan, of Brookline, dean of Wyndham School, Boston; and Cornelius J. O'Callahan, of Philadelphia.

Heading a distinguished group of neighbors and friends will be the Honorable Edward A. Crane, mayor of the city of Cambridge.

On Thursday, October 14, the Cambridge Chronicle carried a most interesting news item on today's affair and it is both a privilege and a pleasure for me to insert that article at this point in the RECORD.

LOCAL NUN TO CHRISTEN SHIP NAMED FOR HEROIC BROTHER

A Cambridge-born nun, Sister Rose Marie, of the Maryknoll Sisters, will make history next Wednesday.

She will christen at the Defoe Ship Building Co. in Bay City, Mich., the destroyer escort U.S.S. *O'Callahan*, named for her brother, the late Reverend Joseph T. O'Callahan, S.J., World War II Navy chaplain and holder of the Congressional Medal of Honor.

It will be the first time a Navy ship has been christened by a nun.

ST. MARY'S GRADUATES

Sister Rose Marie (Alice M. O'Callahan) will be flown to Michigan from the Maryknoll College in Quezon City, Philippine Islands. Both she and her late brother received their early education at St. Mary's School here.

She has designated her sister, Mrs. Rose O'Brien, of 9 Leonard Avenue, a nurse at Cambridge City Hospital, as matron of honor at the exercises. During the ceremony, Sister Rose will present two gifts to the ship: a portrait of her brother for the wardroom, and a copy of his book, "I Was Chaplain on the *Franklin*," for the ship's library.

The Very Reverend Raymond J. Swords, president, College of the Holy Cross at Worcester, has accepted an invitation from the Secretary of the Navy to be the principal speaker.

HEROIC DEEDS

Father O'Callahan, who died in March 1964, is the only Navy chaplain to be awarded the Nation's highest decoration. President Harry S. Truman presented the Medal of Honor to Father O'Callahan for heroic actions while aboard the heavily damaged aircraft carrier U.S.S. *Franklin* in March 1945 off Kobe, Japan.

Despite his own wounds, Father O'Callahan ministered to the dying and wounded while in the midst of violently exploding bombs, shells, rockets, and other armament on the exposed flight deck. During incessant ship explosions, he led firefighters across the slanting deck and directed the jettisoning of live ammunition. He personally recruited and led sailors into one of the main ammunition magazines and prevented it from exploding by flooding the compartment.

The Jesuit priest wrote of his *Franklin* experiences in the best seller, "I Was Chaplain on the *Franklin*."

After the war, Father O'Callahan returned to the College of the Holy Cross where he headed the mathematics department. He died March 18, 1964, and is buried on the college campus.

PRISONER OF JAPANESE

Sister Rose Marie, O.P., who will represent the O'Callahan family at the launching ceremony, has worked most of her years in the Philippines. During World War II, she was held in various Japanese internment camps. She now heads the Maryknoll College Literature and Arts Division.

She will be accompanied to the launching by Sister Robert Marie, her superior in the Philippines.

Among the many dignitaries attending the affair will be Rear Adm. Howard A. Yeager, commandant, 9th Naval District; Rear Adm. Nathan Sonenshein, Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Ships for design, shipbuilding, and fleet maintenance, who will participate in the ceremony; and a contingent of citizens from Cambridge, headed by Mayor Edward A. Crane.

O'CALLAHAN FAMILY

Captain O'Callahan is survived by his mother, Mrs. Alice Casey O'Callahan, who is now living in a Worcester nursing home. Besides Sister Rose Marie and Mrs. O'Brien, members of the hero's family who will attend the launching include three brothers: John T. O'Callahan, a lawyer and onetime candidate for the school committee here; Edward J. O'Callahan, dean of Wyndham School, Boston; and Cornelius J. O'Callahan, a Philadelphia welding supplies manufacturer.

The 3,400-ton U.S.S. *O'Callahan* is the third ship of its class to be launched at Bay City this year. On final commissioning, the destroyer escort will be capable of accomplishing antisubmarine warfare. She will carry the fleet's most modern antisubmarine detection equipment and weapons.

Connecticut Tribute to Samuel F. Pryor, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, it is always a pleasure to take note of honors for Samuel F. Pryor, Jr., of Greenwich, Conn., whose distinguished achievements in 25 years of service with Pan American World Airways are as numerous as his many friends.

Mr. Pryor, who is retiring after 25 years with Pan Am, has served his country and his community well. He has given generously of his time to many civic, charitable, and fraternal organizations.

Therefore, I am delighted to insert in the RECORD the following official statement by Gov. John Dempsey:

CONNECTICUT TRIBUTE TO SAMUEL F. PRYOR, JR., OCTOBER 12, 1965

Samuel F. Pryor, Jr., of Greenwich, one of Connecticut's most distinguished citizens, is known throughout the world both for his prominence in the aviation industry and for great humanitarian service to his fellowmen.

Now that he is retiring after many years of outstanding service as an official of Pan American World Airways, it is fitting that we accord due recognition to Sam Pryor and pay him the tribute he so justly deserves.

Men and women in all walks of life, in cities in virtually all the countries of the world, know Sam Pryor as a leading citizen of the State of Connecticut.

In two wars in which our Nation has been involved, fighting for the preservation of our way of life and for the principles of freedom and justice, Sam Pryor has rendered conspicuous and highly important service.

Beyond all this, moreover, Sam Pryor has been a real friend to countless numbers of people. Appeals for assistance in any cause benefiting mankind always have received from him a ready response.

For all of these reasons, and because he is a man in whom we of Connecticut take much pride, we salute Samuel F. Pryor, Jr., both as a great citizen of our State and as a truly great American.

JOHN DEMPSEY,
Governor.

Everybody in the Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Columnist Lucius Beebe, in his article published in the San Francisco Chronicle, on October 19, gives a very vivid description of the "Great Society," in which he emphasizes the ultimate result of such a society as now contemplated by the administration. His column follows:

EVERYBODY IN THE CLUB

(By Lucius Beebe)

When the American scheme of things, already factually bankrupted by a long succession of giveaway administrations and now steering a collision course with absolute collapse, achieves the end for which its politicians have headed it: a society of consumers with no producers and no incentive to produce, the startling thing will, to the historical perception, be the equanimity and good cheer with which a once great people approached their own dissolution.

Other civilizations have gone down, most of them fighting. But it took the Roman Empire a full thousand years to be liquidated and even the British Empire, wantonly destroyed within the memory of living generations, didn't liquidate itself without an argument.

The United States is going down the drain of history with complete equanimity and in a plethora of idiot slogans. Some of them like the so-called free speech issue and civil rights are so abundantly meaningless since the goals and aims they envisioned were already in universal practice and availability as to be merely patently spurious. But "the Great Society," which if it is only fractionally achieved will spell the social and economic end of the United States as a component of organized world power, is fraught with persuasive mendacity.

The basic philosophy of President Johnson's ideal is, of course, the purchase for material considerations of the perpetuity in office of the Democratic looters of the American economy. Its belief is that abundant and rich rewards of every sort, not merely the opportunity for their achievement, should be made available to absolutely everybody with no regard for his own investment of labor, intelligence or responsibility.

In other words everybody is going to be a member of the country club set without the troublesome bother of lifting a finger to deserve it. This is what President Johnson means by the Great Society. Just who, in this benevolent scheme of immortality for the Democratic Party, is going to produce the material abundance on which the vision is predicated doesn't bother the Presidential mentality. A single monolithic electorate of 200 million voters all supporting the straight Democratic ticket on the basis of the cash favors of the administration is all that concerns the planners in Washington. Having already destroyed the value of money, they now propose the destruction of competition and a scheme of economic and social rewards that has hitherto been based on the individual investment of work and intelligence.

The peculiar ambivalence of the Presidential aims is apparent when you consider that, on the one hand the administration makes a valiant pretense of creating jobs for everybody while on the other hand promising that, job or no job, everybody is going to belong to the country club and have five cars in the garage. Why then a job at all?

That the intelligence of the American people has been so eroded with soft lving and political blandishments as to seriously accept such a scheme of things as not only possible but actually desirable is not a flattering commentary on the collective American mind. Most of us are available to flattery and large numbers of people are available to systematic delusions and the grand scale of mendacity made possible by contemporary government and communications, but to accept without batting an eye the proposition that the machinery of society is going to continue indefinitely with everybody a consumer and nobody on the producing end is not rational.

In actual fact it contributes materially to the theory in some circles that entire nations can become mentally unbalanced, usually advanced to explain the conduct of Nazi Germany.

Nothing in history suggests that something for nothing is a workable social or economic hypothesis. The erosion of competition and destruction of a system of rewards is almost immediately fatal to the society that embraces such quackery.

Even the Russians are daily becoming more aware of the circumstance, having learned it the hard way. For some decades Communist Russia tried living on slogans, even as President Johnson would have us all do.

It was found not to be a satisfactory diet.

Mapping the Ocean Floor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the fine public information offices—and the very talented people who work in them—are one of the Navy's greatest assets. Navy information officers are dedicated men who work quietly, modestly, and efficiently, making every effort to draw attention to what they are publicizing and yet skillfully avoiding the temptation to draw themselves into the spotlight.

One outstanding example of such a topnotch operation is the Naval Oceanographic Office Public Information Section. Its Deputy Director, Bob Niblock, is a good writer and an outstanding public information man.

Following is one of many instances of the very fine job the public information section is doing for the Naval Oceanographic Office. I am proud to include in the RECORD this very interesting article written by Bob Niblock about the exciting work the Navy is doing in mapping the ocean floor.

Chartmaking of the three-dimensional ocean is a very important part of the modern Navy's role. For without an understanding of its operating environment the Navy would be at a great loss.

The article follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Oct. 17, 1965]

NAVY IS MAPPING THE OCEAN FLOOR

An accelerated U.S. Navy effort to learn more about the ocean environment in which its ships and submarines operate has been a prime moving force for some exciting new programs of research and exploration in recent years.

Research ships now operate in all parts of the world gathering information for a three-dimensional picture of the ocean. Vehicles to explore the greatest depths are being designed and built and successful experiments point to the day when men may live and work in the sea for extended periods.

Based on the current growth rate, oceanography—the science of the seas—is a career of the future.

An organization which has undergone major changes because of the current push is the U.S. Naval Oceanographic Office (formerly the U.S. Naval Hydrographic Office) at Suitland, Md.

Commanded by aptly named Rear Adm. Odale D. Waters, its once modest program has sprouted into a three-department undertaking involving more than 700 men and women.

Oceanographers from the Suitland office range the globe studying everything from the drift of Arctic ice floes to the temperature variation and distribution of Gulf Stream sealife. All programs are directed primarily toward bettering the defense capability of the U.S. Navy. But they also assist dozens of nonmilitary activities, from deep-sea fishing to long-range weather forecasting.

Many of the Oceanographic Office's projects have a distinctly pioneering flavor. Like the one carried out in a deep section of the Atlantic near Nassau, known as the Tongue of the Ocean.

There the Navy's Bureau of Ships is developing a facility called the Atlantic Underwater Test and Evaluation Center. When completed, it will provide a deep ocean test range for submarines, surface ships and their weapons systems. The Oceanographic Office was asked to draw a picture of this 3,000-square-mile ocean test tank.

In researching the area, a two-man submarine was used to survey the steep limestone cliff which surrounds Andros Island, largest of the Bahama Islands, and extends underwater for more than 600 feet.

A four-man team of divers and scientists was sent from the Oceanographic Office. Washington Oceanographer Roswell F. Busby headed the group which included Chester Bright, of La Plata, Md., a veteran

Navy diver and underwater photographer, Oceanographer Gilbert Ruggles, of Oxon Hill, Md., and Scientific Technician Andres Pruna, of Suitland, Md., who was a leader of the Cuban underwater demolition team during the Bay of Pigs operation. A skilled artist, he produced detailed sketches of the reef after dives in the *Cubmarine*.

During descents in the 22-foot vessel, Busby could look through any of 17 plexiglass portholes as he made his scientific observations on a portable tape recorder. There was voice communication between the sub and surface tending vessel and at one point during the hour-long first dive Busby described coral formations looking like "bouquets of telephone poles."

Bright made the second dive. Using movie and still cameras, he made his photo documentation as the sub cruised downward along the cliff. On each dive, they descended to 600 feet.

High winds and rough seas canceled out 3 days of operations, but in nine dives the team covered most of the critical sites in the AUTEC area.

They returned with valuable data, photographs and sketches, which are now being used to draw up plans for cable laying operations.

There were other bonuses from the undertaking, according to Busby. Although their mission was applied research, the team saw and photographed an underwater formation which had been theorized but seldom seen.

On the face of the escarpment about 200 feet underwater, they discovered a shelf cut into the coral which helped to document the fact that the levels of the sea were much lower at one time, since this kind of shelf is most likely to have been cut by intertidal erosion centuries before.

In addition, said Busby, "we learned a lot about working with small, deep-diving research submarines and about their potential as a useful research and survey tool."

The 50th Anniversary—U.S. Marine Corps Reserve

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, August 29, 1966, will mark the 50th anniversary of the formal establishment of the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve. Yesterday I introduced a bill calling on the Postmaster General to issue a stamp at the appropriate time next year to commemorate this highly significant event in the history of a great organization—an event which is equally great and significant in the history of the United States and in the struggle of all free people to defend freedom with life's blood or with life itself if need be.

The U.S. Marine Corps has written on the pages of history of this Nation feats of dedication and heroism unsurpassed in the annals of man—and the citizen-marine has shed his blood and offered up his life side by side with the regulars on every beachhead and in every battle from Chateau Thierry to Iwo Jima to Vietnam. Today, more than at any other time in its history, the Marine Corps Reserve stands equipped, trained, and ready to answer the call of its country to defend once again that freedom which has been won by so costly a sacrifice.

In 1916, at the urging of the then Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels and the Commandant of the Marine Corps, Maj. Gen. Commandant George Barnett, the Congress passed "An act making appropriations for naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes." One of the other purposes was to set forth provisions regarding a Marine Corps Reserve. President Woodrow Wilson signed the act into law on August 29, 1916, and Secretary Daniels promptly issued Navy Department General Order No. 131 on August 31, 1916, which contained the following statement:

> A U.S. Marine Corps Reserve to be a constituent part of the Marine Corps and in addition to the authorized strength thereof, is hereby established.

The first official strength report of the Marine Corps Reserve shows only 3 officers and 32 enlisted men as of April 1, 1917. From that small beginning, however, the reserve grew to 6,467 in World War I and to a peak strength of 357,417 during World War II. At the present time, the Marine Corps Reserve numbers 141,000, of which 7,000 are now on active duty, 100,190 are in Ready Reserve, and the remaining 33,810 are in Standby Reserve or retired.

The Marine Corps has always claimed the proud distinction of being ready to fight for its country whenever and wherever needed, and the Reserve has stood ready to back up that claim, and it continues to do so today. I think it is entirely fitting that we should honor such an organization.

Two Hundred Panamanians Trained in Cuba for Isthmian Subversion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in a number of addresses before this body, I have described the Panama Canal as a key target for communistic revolutionary conquest and vigorously opposed the employment of alien Panamanians in security positions, especially on the Canal Zone police force.

Recent information from the isthmus is that more than 200 Panamanians have been trained in Red Cuba in preparation for aggressive subversive activities against Latin America.

In order that the Congress and the people of our country may be informed on this matter, I quote a news story from a well-known and respected isthmian newspaper:

[From the Panama (R.P.) Star & Herald, Sept. 28, 1965]

TWO HUNDRED TRAINED IN CUBA FOR SUBVERSION HERE—EXILE TELLS OF PLANS

More than 200 Panamanians have been trained in subversion in Communist Cuba in preparation for their part in Panama of an overall Communist aggression plan against Latin America, a handless former diplomat of the Castro regime said in a news conference yesterday.

He is Odon Alvarez de la Campa, 45, who until March of this year was minister counselor of Castro's embassy in Madrid, Spain. He has joined the anti-Castro movement in exile. He lost both hands while engaged in sabotage work for Castro's underground army in the fight against the Batista regime.

Prior to being assigned to Madrid, he had served as deputy chief of the Castro police.

Alvarez de la Campa said he learned of the Cuban plan of aggression against the Latin American nations at a meeting he attended in Paris in January of 1965. This meeting, held in the Cuban Embassy in Paris, was presided by Ernesto (Che) Guevara, the third-ranking man in the Cuban Communist hierarchy.

Students from all Latin American countries who had attended a Communist congress in Warsaw, Poland, attended the meeting, Alvarez de la Campa declared.

Guevara, the former diplomat said, told the students of the decisions reached at a congress of Latin American Communist Parties held in Havana in November 1964, and urged them to return quickly to their countries in order to intensify the subversion plans. Guevara, according to Alvarez de la Campa, was concerned by the failure of pro-Castro guerrillas to stop elections in Venezuela and to take over in Brazil, then governed by Joao Goulart.

"I have been inside the training camp in Cuba," Alverez de la Campa said. "Not only are the latest weapons employed there, but the most modern tactics of subversion are taught. There are not only Cuban but Chinese, Russian, and Vietnamese instructors."

Alverez de la Campa said that because of his familiarity with the pattern of Communist infiltration from Cuba, he is certain that arms have been cached already in Panama for future use.

He said Castro agents move in Europe through Prague, Paris, and Madrid and that the Spanish capital serves as the gateway to Latin America for agents assigned to the Western Hemisphere.

In Latin America, Alvarez de la Campa added, the vital centers of Communist traffic are Mexico City, Montevideo, Uruguay, and Santiago, Chile. In these cities, he reported, false travel documentation is provided for Communist agents.

He said agents trained in Cuba infiltrate government, labor, and student organizations and their strategy is to capitalize on social conditions in each country in order to carry out propaganda, agitation, and terrorism, and bring about armed conflict.

Cuba's campaign of penetration and subversion in Latin American countries has been intensified in recent months, according to Alvarez de la Campa. He said events in Peru, Guatemala, Venezuela and other countries should not be regarded as isolated outbreaks, but as part of an overall hemisphere campaign.

This subversion, he declared, is aided by both Russia and Communist China. The ideological split between the two Red giants has not been carried into Cuba, he explained, and the Castro regime receives economic and military aid from both Communist powers.

Alvarez de la Campa said he believes Guevara, whose disappearance from the pub-

lic limelight in Cuba has led to widespread speculation, is actively directing the subversion campaign in Latin America and has been traveling from one hemisphere country to another.

A former secretary general of the Bank Employees Union of Havana, Alvarez de la Campa came to Panama at the invitation of the Labor Confederation to attend a congress held Sunday. He called on President Marco A. Robles yesterday to present him with a certificate of recognition from the Cuban Democratic Revolutionary Labor Front.

He plans to leave for Central America soon.

Anarchy—A Major Threat Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, Albert Schlossberg, National Editor of the Jewish Veteran, in an editorial in the September 1965 issue gave a well-reasoned analysis of the law and order issue facing this Nation today.

With the automatic cry of police brutality being used by many lawless elements to cover their activities, articles such as written by Mr. Schlossberg are most welcome.

The article follows:

ANARCHY—A MAJOR THREAT TODAY?

(By Albert Schlossberg)

America has been especially blessed, for the framers of the Constitution saw to it that we would have a strong framework of rules and regulations to bind us together as an intelligent society. Deep-rooted in that Constitution has been an ever-present, firm respect for law and order.

Of late I have heard murmurs, from many sources, that perhaps this traditional American philosophy is outmoded. Manifestations of the conundrum have cropped up in scattered sections of the United States, and in some quarters we have heard "We'll only obey the laws that we agree with."

Is this the first chink in the dike that has kept America immune from any threat of anarchy? Let's explore the issue, without taking sides and see where our investigation leads us.

From a neutral vantage point I'd like to examine one facet of our society that seems to be in danger of an imminent breakdown, the relationship of the citizen, you and me, to the people charged with the duty to protect us, the police departments, local and State. The catalyst in this instance seems to be a catch-phrase, often loosely used, "police brutality."

Well, what about "police brutality"? What happens in your mind when you hear those two words? Do you think of Hitler's storm troopers? Stalin's O.G.P.U. or Bull Connor's "special deputies"?

When is a police officer "brutal"? Just how far can the representative of the law go in the pursuit of his duties? The training manuals of almost all police departments in the United States contain instruction indicating that the officers are authorize to use "reasonably necessary" force when making an arrest. The policeman is warned that it is not his duty to "punish" a suspect by using unnecessary force. It is made clear to the law enforcement personnel that under the American system a suspect is considered innocent until proven guilty to the satisfaction of a judge or jury.

Perhaps you saw the same TV news broadcast that I did the other evening. A reporter was interviewing a young man who had been injured while participating in a demonstration in a northern city. The young man explained how he had been injured and then concluded by stating, in response to a query, that the participants in the demonstration had been "instructed to chant 'police brutality' if a police officer attempted to place them in custody."

Let's not delude ourselves; of course, if we examine the record we will find that among the nearly 200,000 policemen in the United States there certainly are some who are brutal and we will also find, it seems to me, a sadist or two who get their kicks out of beating up on a prisoner. However, you will also find many dedicated individuals doing an often thankless job that you or I would refuse to accept. By and large the cop on the beat or in the patrol car is no different from a cross section of any profession, or selected group in our modern-day society—some good, some bad, some mediocre, and mostly average citizens.

The policeman's lot is not an easy one. In the United States, in 1964, 18,000 policemen were assaulted in line of duty. Of the 18,000, 57 were murdered and nearly 8,000 received serious injuries.

Several communities seem to be on the right track in their search for an answer to the charge of police brutality. Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles, Chicago, Dallas, and Washington, D.C., to name a few, have standard procedures set up to handle investigation of any charges of brutality that may be made against the members of their departments. Philadelphia has adopted a policy of an "all civilian" review board, while others believe that the best approach to the problem is through an "all police" board or a combination of the two, a "civilian-police" committee. Each of the plans has some merit, and as a result of their diligent search for the right way progress is being made.

Washington, D.C., has a method of handling complaints of police brutality that, at this distance, looks pretty good. In the vernacular, it is "put up or shut up." Translated into more acceptable language it simply means that if you have a legitimate complaint against a police officer and wish to press the charge you must file a sworn affidavit. In 1964, as a result of this policy, 11 complaints were filed with the review board. Of the 11 officers charged, the complaint against 2 was dropped before it reached the board, 2 policemen were found innocent and 7 were found guilty. No whitewash there, according to those statistics, at least.

Until the millenium is reached and the world becomes completely civilized we need police to protect us from ourselves, and from each other. It is a thankless, nasty job at best, usually underpaid and often maligned by disgruntled citizens who have a personal "beef" against an individual officer.

Under conditions such as these, the police deserve all of the support that we can give them. We must recognize their shortcomings, hold them responsible for their actions, but make them aware of the fact that we, the civilians, will guard their right to the same principle that we cherish, to be considered innocent until proven guilty.

Statement on Behalf of Bernard L. Boutin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. OLIVA HUOT

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HUOT. Mr. Speaker, 2 weeks ago President Johnson nominated Mr. Bernard L. Boutin to become the Deputy Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, an extremely important and sensitive post in the war on poverty. The strongest testimony to Mr. Boutin's qualifications is the fact that the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee did not require hearings before approving his nomination. For this reason, I was unable to testify on behalf of my longtime friend. I therefore place in the RECORD, the statement I had prepared on his behalf:

Mr. Chairman, my name is J. OLIVA HUOT, Congressman from the 1st Congressional District of New Hampshire.

It is a distinct privilege and honor for me to appear before the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee in support of the nomination of my long-time friend, Bernard L. Boutin, as Deputy Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

When I served on the school board in the city of Laconia, N.H., Bernard Boutin was the mayor. This gave me an excellent opportunity to observe closely the outstanding administrative ability and selfless devotion to public service that are the hallmarks of this man.

From the mayor of Laconia, Bernard Boutin was picked by the late President John F. Kennedy to become the Administrator of the General Services Administration. This was a remarkable jump—from mayor of a city of 15,000 to management of a billion-dollar agency. Yet, I have heard nothing but praise and admiration for the job he did—both from those who served under him and those who were affected by the activities of GSA.

More recently, as executive vice president of the National Association of Home Builders, his guidance and leadership significantly contributed to the passage of the housing bill of 1965 and the bill to establish the Department of Housing and Urban Affairs.

Bernard Boutin is unquestionably qualified for this job. He is also unquestionably devoted to service of his country and particularly aware and sensitive to the acute human problems with which he will be dealing.

The people of New Hampshire are justifiably proud of Bernard Boutin. I am proud of him and I know that as Deputy Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity the entire country will be equally proud.

I urge speedy confirmation of this outstanding appointment.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

First session of Eighty-ninth Congress adjourned sine die.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 27115–27140, 27364

Bills Introduced: 31 bills and 11 resolutions were introduced, as follows: S. 2701–2731; S.J. Res. 122; and S. Res. 155–164. **Pages 27117–27118, 27347–27348**

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows:

H.R. 10878, private bill (S. Rept. 932);

H. Con. Res. 509, providing for printing of additional copies of hearings on crime in D.C. (S. Rept. 933);

H. Con. Res. 512, providing for printing of additional copies of hearings on D.C. home rule (S. Rept. 934);

H. Con. Res. 513, providing for printing of additional copies of hearings on "Lower Colorado River Basin Project," 89th Congress, 1st session (S. Rept. 935);

H. Con. Res. 519, providing for printing of additional copies of hearings on H.R. 2580, proposing various amendments to the immigration and nationality laws (S. Rept. 936);

H.R. 30, providing for U.S. participation in the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center in Dade County, Fla., without recommendation, and with amendments and minority views (S. Rept. 937); and

H.R. 4845, to provide for the economic and efficient acquisition and use of automatic data processing equipment by Federal departments and agencies (S. Rept. 938). **Pages 27117, 27347**

Measures Referred: Numerous House-passed bills and House-passed resolutions were referred to appropriate committees. **Page 27162**

Authority To Report: Committee on Government Operations was authorized to file reports during congressional adjournment and that its report on Interagency Drug Coordination be printed as a Senate document. **Page 27136**

Private Bill: Senate agreed to House amendment with an amendment to S. 619, private bill. **Page 27139**

Secretary of the Senate: Emery L. Frazier, of Kentucky, was administered oath of office as Secretary of the Senate to become effective January 1, 1966. **Page 27163**

In connection with this matter, Senate adopted three resolutions, as follows:

S. Res. 156, notifying House of election of Emery L. Frazier, of Kentucky, to be Secretary of the Senate, effective January 1, 1966;

S. Res. 157, notifying President of election of Emery L. Frazier, of Kentucky, to be Secretary of the Senate, effective January 1, 1966; and

S. Res. 158, authorizing the printing as a Senate document of a compilation of tributes delivered in Congress on the occasion of the retirement of Secretary of the Senate Felton M. Johnston, of Mississippi. **Page 27163**

Federal Employees' Pay: Senate passed, by unanimous vote of 67 yeas, H.R. 10281, proposed Government Employees Salary Comparability Act of 1965, after adopting committee amendments en bloc, including two of a technical clarifying nature offered on the floor by Senator Monroney. **Pages 27165–27176**

Alaska Exposition: Senate passed with amendments S. 2614, to provide for participation in the Statewide Exposition to be held in Alaska during 1967, after adopting committee amendments en bloc, which were then considered as original text for purpose of further amendment, and Williams (Delaware) amendment to reduce authorization for project from $4 million to $3 million. Motion to reconsider passage of this bill was tabled. **Pages 27184–27190**

Coast Guard: S. 2471, to amend in several regards the laws relating to the administration of the Coast Guard, was passed with committee amendments. **Pages 27181–27183**

Printing: Senate concurred in House amendment to Senate amendment to S. Con. Res. 65, to authorize printing as a Senate document of a study entitled "The Anti-Vietnam Agitation and the Teach-In Movement," prepared for use of Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. This completed legislative action on the resolution. **Page 27221**

It was ordered that report of the majority on activities and accomplishments of the 1st session of the 89th Congress be printed as a Senate document. **Page 27221**

89th Congress Summary: It was ordered that reports on behalf of the minority respecting laws and treaties of general interest, activities of the 1st session of the 89th

THE UNIVERSITY
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Appendix

(Continued from Part 2)

NOTICE

The last issue of the daily Congressional Record for the first session of the Eighty-ninth Congress will be published not later than Monday, November 15, 1965. It is requested that copy and proofs of speeches withheld for revision, or extensions of remarks as authorized by either House, be submitted to the Government Printing Office or to the Congressional Record Clerk, Room H-112, Capitol, before that date.

By order of the Joint Committee on Printing.

CARL HAYDEN, Chairman.

Damaging Effects of Television

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. George F. Hanowell, of Arlington, Va., has written me on a subject I know will be of interest to all of you. Many distinguished Americans have expressed concern about the content of some of our television programs, particularly as they may affect children in the audience. Mrs. Hanowell has struck a sensitive cord and I commend her letter to you as an example of sincere concern on the part of an American citizen. She was a descendant of Patrick Henry and was a founder of the National Council for Youth. She was the council's president until the untimely death of her husband prevented her from taking such an active part.

Mrs. Hanowell's letter follows:

It is a disgrace to me and many others if an atheist can go before Congress and demand that the reading of God's Holy Word be taken out of our schools, when our great land America, was founded by His Holy Word.

I as an American, Christian, DAR Colonial Dames, Daughters of Confederacy, which my forefathers fought and died for, can certainly go before Congress and demand that something be done about these murder and horror stories on TV that they not be allowed until 9 p.m. when younger children are in bed, or should be. I was a witness a few days ago to five little children sitting on the floor close to a colored TV. The program comes on at 8:30 p.m. and the children were rigid with tension watching two men trying to kill a woman, blood on her face and neck. All children are potential leaders—they will lead one way or another. What kind of leaders will they make for tomorrow, with emotions strained in earlier years? I cannot, as an American, stand by not voicing my opinion. I truly hope the reading of God's Holy Word, the Bible, will also be again opened in our schools, for some children never hear the word of God except in school. It seems evil is being struck at the very foundation of our American homes, our children whom some day will be our leaders.

Electronic Computer Provides Valuable Service for Post Office and Civil Service Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. MORRISON

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker, I rise to express my appreciation and the appreciation of my staff to the Rich Electronic Computer Center at Georgia Institute of Technology. I want to thank in particular Mr. W. Thomas Wall and Mr. Bud Pass.

Several weeks ago this House passed and sent to the Senate the Federal pay raise bill of 1965. The object of this legislation is to render the Federal pay schedule comparable to that paid by the private sector of the American economy. In the preparation of this legislation, the staff of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee had the task of calculating the new pay scale to reflect a raise of a given percentage increase. There are nearly 500 separate items on each pay raise bill. This is a long, unpleasant job. At times one can find up to eight staff members busy with hand calculators when a new calculation of the scale has to be made in a hurry.

During the early hearings, I delegated to my staff the job of checking the accuracy of H.R. 10147. The task fell to my summer intern, Raymond Pierce. He did not like the idea of working an adding machine that much. He figured that it would be much better to calculate anew the pay scale then to take samples from here and there. He therefore enlisted the aid of some friends at the Rich Electronic Computer Center at Georgia Tech, his college. When the situation was explained, Mr. W. Thomas Wall and Mr. Bud Pass volunteered to run the pay scale through the Burroughs 5500 computer.

Both Mr. Wall and Mr. Pass are student programmers employed at the Rich Electronic Computer Center branch of the Hinman Research Institute. The Hinman Research Institute is the development arm of Georgia Institute of Technology. Mr. Wall is a physics major from East Point, Ga., while Mr. Pass is

a mathematics major from that section of Atlanta which is in De Kalb County, Ga.

My intern prepared the programs and the data and then sent it to Atlanta. Mr. Wall and Mr. Pass obtained authorization for computer time from Mr. Alton P. Jensen, research engineer. Later Mr. Walter S. Fleming, Jr., research assistant, aproved more time for further study of the pay scales. Mr. Winston R. Howell arranged for the data to be key punched and Mr. William Bezaire, head of operations and maintenance, expedited the key punching. Credit must be given to those unsung key-punch operators who deciphered the data and placed it on IBM cards. Without the key-punch operators, there would be almost no electronic data processing done in the Nation.

The programs were then placed on the Burroughs 5500. Unfortunately for Mr. Wall, the programs sent down demonstrated that my intern had not yet mastered the art of programing. Mr. Wall spent one full night debugging the program, working the computer, and checking the data. This is far beyond the call of duty. The first program calculated a 4.5-percent increase. The second program compared the scale given by H.R. 10174 to that which the computer figured and compared the difference. A few days later, H.R. 10174 was replaced by H.R. 10281.

A few weeks later a third program was run. This program figured 40 separate percent increases for the entire pay scale. This meant the computer did 40 times the task it took the committee staff many hours to complete. The Burroughs 5500 did the entire task in several hundred seconds. I doubt that the committee staff could comfortably do the job in a month. Consider the toil saved. This is the fantastic capacity of modern electronic data processing machinery.

I want to emphasize that these programs were done as a courtesy to the House of Representatives. No compensation was asked; just private citizens giving a helping hand to their National Government.

Again I want to thank the entire staff of the Rich Electronic Computer Center. I want to thank Mr. A. P. Jensen, Mr. Winston R. Howell, Mr. Walter Fleming, and Mr. Bezaire. I want to especially thank Mr. W. Thomas Wall and Mr. Bud Pass, both of whom spent so much time on the project. Their manipulation of data helped H.R. 10281 more closely adhere to the intention of Congress.

L.B.J. Is Gaining in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 29, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently the distinguished American journalist, Roscoe Drummond, wrote an excellent article for the Chicago Sun Times which indicates the degree to which President Johnson's popularity is increasing in Europe.

I believe Mr. Drummond's views are particularly significant at this time when the President's foreign policy is under attack from various demonstrators in this country. It is ironic that these misled and misguided American youngsters, who have been demonstrating in the streets against Vietnam, have failed to realize the widespread support President Johnson has earned throughout the free world.

It would be my hope that assurances from distinguished observers such as Mr. Drummond would have an impact on these demonstrators and make them realize what a great disservice they are bringing to America.

Mr. Drummond's excellent article follows:

L.B.J. IS GAINING IN EUROPE

(By Roscoe Drummond)

LONDON.—Throughout most of Western Europe, confidence in and support for U.S. policy are higher than at any time since President John F. Kennedy's masterly handling of the Cuban missile crisis.

In the wake of this Soviet-United States confrontation in 1962, American prestige soared among all the Atlantic allies. European statesmen saw this as J.F.K.'s crucial test and when he handled it decisively, carefully, and successfully—without war—all Europe breathed a tremendous sigh of relief.

They have not had the same confidence in President Johnson. But they are beginning to get it. There are two reasons for this:

1. Mr. Johnson is disproving the premature cliche, that while he was deft and resourceful in domestic affairs, he was clumsy and heavy-handed in foreign affairs.

2. Several events over which the President had no direct control are taking shape in such a way as to show the validity of the course Mr. Johnson has been following and are improving the image of the United States in Europe.

President Johnson's initiatives in five areas of foreign policy are winning him wider respect over here:

His tactful even-handedness in the India-Pakistan war and his subordinating of his own role to that of the United Nations.

His creative proposal to join with the Soviets in destroying a substantial number of atomic bombs.

His patient negotiations of a new treaty with Panama granting Panamanian sovereignty over the Canal Zone.

His evident eagerness to remove U.S. marines from the Dominican Republic as soon as a stable regime emerges.

His measured use of power to defend South Vietnam without bringing Red China into the conflict.

This pattern of U.S. policy has just brought cordial words from the London Sunday Telegraph, which especially praises the President for giving the U.N. a full chance to mediate the India-Pakistan war without Communist-wrecking tactics.

"The Americans have won," the Telegraph said, "by suppressing favoritism toward Pakistan, by fingering instead of rattling the saber against China, by using economic and financial pressure discreetly, and by working with the Russians through the United Nations."

The President's handling of foreign affairs, as seen in Western Europe, has also had some unearned dividends.

Mr. Johnson could not have foreseen that his repeated offer of a peaceful settlement in Vietnam would bring such bald disdain from Red China as to make Washington seem downright pacifist compared to Peiping. It is now increasingly evident that it is not the United States that is blocking the way to the conference table.

The President's willingness to pursue a "parallel policy" with Moscow in the India-Pakistan battle is warmly welcomed here.

Even our resistance to Red China's admission to the U.N. is more sympathetically understood because of Peiping's aggressive resort to military threats.

Europeans are feeling better about L.B.J. than they ever thought they would.

Our Most Neglected Mental Health Problem: Emotionally Disturbed Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BILLIE S. FARNUM

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech delivered by Mr. Mike Gorman, of Washington, D.C., under date of October 16, 1965, before the first annual New York Congress for Mental Health. The subject matter was "Our Most Neglected Mental Health Problem: Emotionally Disturbed Children." And an article which appeared in the Parade section of the Washington, D.C., Post newspaper under date of October 17, 1965, entitled "Shame of the Nation—Snakepits for Our Mentally Ill Children."

May I urge my colleagues to read this most pressing problem which our Nation is facing today.

The speech and article follow:

"OUR MOST NEGLECTED MENTAL HEALTH PROBLEM: EMOTIONALLY DISTURBED CHILDREN"—KEYNOTE SPEECH TO FIRST ANNUAL NEW YORK CONGRESS FOR MENTAL HEALTH

(By Mike Gorman, executive director, National Committee Against Mental Illness, fellow, American Psychiatric Association (honorary fellow, American Public Health Association)

Last year, the American Psychiatric Association and a number of organizations in the field of child psychiatry sponsored two conferences on planning mental health services for children in the new community mental health center program. As a prelude to their recommendations, they released what they regarded as the most reliable current data on the size and nature of the problem.

There is a seeming national consensus that there are about 4 million children under the age of 14 who are in need of some kind of psychiatric intervention because of emotional difficulties. Of this number, anywhere from a half million to a million children are so seriously disturbed that they require immediate psychiatric help.

Very few of these children are getting the treatment which they need. Although close to 300,000 children were seen in outpatient psychiatric clinics in 1963, in most cases the "treatment" consisted of one or two diagnostic interviews followed by the admission that there were no facilities in the particular area for prolonged treatment.

We have some rather sketchy data which indicate that about 14,000 of these children are confined in State mental institutions. We also know, on the basis of a trend which

has been developing over the past 5 years, that by 1970 the number of children aged 10 to 14 hospitalized in these institutions will have doubled.

But those of us who visit a number of State hospitals each year are convinced that these estimates do not reflect the full extent of hospitalization for childhood mental illness. Furthermore, applications to the National Institute of Mental Health for hospital improvement grants over and over again include detailed presentations which document the point that an amazingly high percentage of their long-term residents were first admitted as children or adolescents.

For example, an analysis of a 5,000-bed State hospital at Tuscaloosa, Ala., reveals that more than half of the male schizophrenic group who have been in that hospital 20 years or more were first admitted between the ages of 14 and 29. The Alabama report estimates that one in every four young patients "can anticipate being permanently hospitalized for the next 50 years of their lives."

It is my contention that the increasing flood of these young children in the hospitals is not being reflected in existing national data.

If time permitted, I could cite a wearying array of material on the alarming rise in the number of children hospitalized in New York's massive mental institutions—material gained in visits to these institutions over the past 20 years, and additional data gained over the last 4 years as a member of the National Mental Health Advisory Council reviewing hospital improvement applications from this State.

For example, the children's unit at Rockland State Hospital—the second one in the country started in a State institution—was once of manageable size and compassionate proportions. On my last visit to it—approximately 4 years ago—I was completely discouraged by the overcrowding and the lack of trained staff. Today, there are 700 children under age of 16 at Rockland State—10 percent of the entire hospital population—and plans have already been completed for an additional 400-bed unit at that hospital to handle the rising tide of disturbed children being admitted annually. At Kings Park State Hospital out on Long Island, there are 360 children aged 5 to 15 residing in separate treatment units, and another 132 children between the ages of 16 and 18 who are jammed into adult wards because there is no program for them elsewhere. And so on, and on.

On innumerable previous appearances befor legislative committees in New York State, I have inveighed against the building psychosis which seems to obsess all who have any responsibility for the running of the hospital system. More than a century ago, New York was alone among the States in violating the 200-bed ceiling for mental hospitals adopted by the Association of American Medical Superintendents, and you have been adding to your psychiatric real estate at a fantastic pace ever since.

In 1956, in a talk which I delivered in Syracuse to the first annual conference of the New York Community Mental Health Boards—I haven't been invited back since—I accused my native State of being "freighted down with an excess baggage of outmoded concepts concerning the time and place for psychiatric treatment. There is a really desperate need for flexibility and imaginative experimentation in the handling of children who are mentally ill. Sending an emotionally ill child off to a children's unit in a State mental hospital, or even to a full-time private residential treatment center, is frequently the first step in the abandonment of that child. He is frequently cut off from the strength and warmth of his family, his community, and the children among whom he lives."

Two years later, after an 11-day tour of mental hospitals both upstate and downstate, I reported some of my findings to the annual convention of the League School for Seriously Disturbed Children here in this very hotel:

"Where are some of these troubled children?" I asked the audience. "Scores upon scores of them are in your State mental hospitals, crowded on wards with 80 to 100 very sick adults. To any of you who have any illusions about the type of 'treatment' given children in these Gothic institutions, I respectfully suggest that you talk to some of the children in these hospitals. I have, and it is a very bitter experience."

I cannot truthfully claim any success then in breaking through the walls of official and public apathy. The real estate boys up in Albany were busy spending Tom Dewey's final legacy—a $350 million bond issue passed in 1954 designed to add thousands and thousands of additional beds to the existing psychiatric real estate.

The situation is a little different today. You now have a mental hygiene facilities improvement fund created by the 1963 legislature. This real estate agency has at its disposal $500 million borrowed from the State housing fund at a considerable rate of interest. More than a year ago, the leadership in Albany announced that it intended to add an additional 30,000 beds to a system which already has more brick and mortar per 100,000 people than any State in the country—twice as much, for example, as California, which refuses to build any more custodial beds. Under public pressure, there has been some modification of this building orgy, but the situation still bears careful watching.

This passion for building—combined with severe shortages of psychiatric personnel—has caused lifted eyebrows among many of the leaders of the psychiatric profession. As one of America's most renowned psychiatrists put it recently:

"They must have discovered a new therapy in New York State. The mental patient walks into a building and stands there. There is little or no staff because of personnel shortages. But the patient goes into the empty building every day for an hour and, after a few weeks, comes out cured."

But there is room for hope. Listen my children and you shall hear—of the whirlwind tour of a man without fear. Even in the far country west of the mighty Hudson, we have heard of the forced march of Senator KENNEDY through Willowbrook and Rome. Unseemly cracks are being exposed in the Victorian real estate and, if this trend accelerates, we citizens may have a real voice in deciding just when and where we want our loved ones treated.

I have a respectful suggestion for those of you interested in planning a constellation of children's services tailored to the individual needs of the child rather than to the mammoth appetite of the building contractors—go to the "backward" State of Michigan which is located in the unsophisticated heartland of America and has less than half the population of the Empire State. I spent a day just a few weeks ago touring its facilities for children, and I came away increasingly bitter at the contrasting picture here in this State.

Hawthorn Center—entirely State-supported—was opened in 1956. It is 20 minutes from downtown Detroit on a wooded 25-acre spread. It handles approximately 80 children on an in-patient basis. They are housed in gaily furnished cottages—the walls are decorated with fascinating paintings done by the children. There are individual rooms for those who need them; the rest are housed in rooms containing either two or three beds. The top floor of each cottage boasts a massive living-recreation room dominated by a floor to ceiling stone fireplace. For the general use of the children, there is a big swimming pool, gymnasium, library, recreational patios, etc.

The day school—presently housed in one of the cottages—will soon move into a beautiful new building. It will be able to handle about 100 children who will be transported daily to and from the school. It has the latest in teaching equipment, including a modern science building. Furthermore, the new school will initiate a pioneer program for children of nursery school age.

But the key to the entire Hawthorn program is personnel—reams of professional and subprofessional people, and all of them able to converse in English. There are 13 full-time child psychiatrists, all of them certified or board-eligible. In addition, there are 12 psychiatric residents, plus countless social workers, psychologists, research associates, etc. There are 25 specially trained teachers or student-teachers of the emotionally disturbed—Michigan was the first State in the Nation to develop a special certification program for teachers of emotionally disturbed children.

It costs money to run this kind of a program—about $2 million a year in State taxes. Expensive? Compared to New York's grandiose $500 million building program, it's a drop in the bucket.

Hawthorn Center is not the solitary jewel in a shoddy crown—it is merely one gem among many in the Michigan program.

The Lafayette Clinic in downtown Detroit—entirely State-supported and one of the finest psychiatric facilities in the Nation—has a superb unit caring for 45 children.

It has a staff of eight full-time and seven part-time child psychiatrists. In the very near future, it will open two halfway houses especially designed to bridge the gap between residential treatment and return to school and home. At the University of Michigan, the Children's Psychiatric Hospital—opened two decades ago—has a unit caring for 54 children staffed by 12 full-time and 3 part-time psychiatrists.

In addition, Michigan is currently embarked on a program to build small residential units at each of its State hospitals with close ties to the surrounding communities through the use of additional day-care centers at the hospitals. I talked to State mental health officials in Michigan, and they assured me of their determination to hold each of these units down to less than 100 children—thus avoiding the dehumanization which has taken place here and in other States.

Over and above being a pioneer in university programs for the training of teachers of the emotionally disturbed, Michigan reimburses all school districts which establish special classes for these children.

In addition to the State mental hospitals across the country, there are a handful of residential treatment centers which care for about 2,500 children a year. In 15 of our States there are no such facilities, either public or private; in 34 of our States, there are no public units to care for children from low- and middle-income groups.

To sum up, it is an undeniable fact that there is not a single community in this country which provides an acceptable standard of services for its mentally ill children running the spectrum from early therapeutic intervention to social restoration in the home, the school, and in the community.

Furthermore, practically no community in this country has reliable data on the number of emotionally impaired children. Deeply aware of this deficiency, the National Mental Health Advisory Council has awarded several grants recently to organizations competent to survey the extent of the problem. From my point of view, the key grant was awarded to Dr. Thomas Langner and his associates at the New York University Medical Center for

a 3-year sampling study in Manhattan of the extent of psychatric impairment among urban children. The survey got underway last month, and we are confident it will turn up the statistical raw material which is a necessary prerequisite to intelligent planning.

As a nation, we now have a precious opportunity to create a new pattern of appropriate services for these disturbed children. Every State in the country is now engaged in completing plans for new community mental health services; it is incumbent upon all of us to insist that services for children be an intergral and major segment of these new community mental health centers.

I have received the final version of the New York master plan—all seven volumes of it—and I cannot resist the observation that you again lead the rest of the country in compulsive gigantism.

However, I must admit in all fairness that the underlying thrust of the report is sound—thanks to a revolt of the citizen planners, culminating in the battle of Saratoga Springs this past July, against another Albany-dictated master real estate plan.

Essentially, the citizen plan proposes the creation of 150 community mental health centers covering all parts of the State by 1975. But again a word of caution: a shiny new center building will not cure one child, even by osmosis. The critical need is the training of professional and nonprofessional workers in sufficient numbers to reach these children in a direct, meaningful way. I have grown weary of submitting master plans for training to the hierarchy in Albany. This is a job the reinvigorated New York State Association for Mental Health and the allied organizations represented at this historic Congress must tackle; if you do not, the whole community center concept will be buried in architects' blueprints, bricks, mortar and the like.

I would like to underscore the hope that those of you who are designing these new services divest yourselves of any rigid notions as to what constitutes the proper facility for an emotionally disturbed child. Beyond an agreement with a position enunciated in a recent article in the American Journal of Psychiatry that hospitalization in most State mental institutions adversely affects the child because "he promptly loses the right to be a child," I would plead for a wide variety of services suited to the individual needs of each child and to the capabilities of each community.

There is a real danger, for instance, that we will overemphasize the need for residential treatment centers for children, thereby losing sight of the vast majority of disturbed children who do not need such 24-hour hospitalization. In this country, we tend to overemphasize hospitalization as the only way of handling a child who does not conform to the fierce and often conflicting demands of present day living. Psychiatric leaders in many other countries have been quite critical of our inability to handle these children in other ways than by total confinement. We do ourselves a great disservice when we push many of these mildly disturbed children out of the community and into a faceless institution.

You do it here in New York, and I have been an eyewitness to it. Five years ago, I rode a bus taking a group of children from the psychiatric wards at Bellevue—where they had been mixed in with the sickest of adult psychotics—to long-term confinement on the overcrowded wards at Rockland State, and I still shudder when I think of the heartlessness and callous extrusion involved in both the Bellevue and Rockland experiences.

Most of you here today are probably not familiar with "A Study of Children Referred for Residential Treatment in New York State," a report made in 1959 by the distinguished child psychiatrist Donald Bloch and his associates to the New York State Interdepartmental Health Resources Board. It is the most incisive description, in all the mountainous child psychiatric literature, of the almost hysterical American urge to shove the troubled child out of the community and into any kind of residential facility, however unseemly. Here is what the Bloch report had to say about what it castigated as "the inexorable trend toward the institutionalization of these children":

"Communities principally look to residential treatment for a solution to the problem of the child who needs placement. In this view of the matter, treatment is a secondary issue. In our study, although less than one-quarter of the children referred to residential treatment centers were admitted, well over 90 percent were ultimately placed in some kind of institution. For these children, the situation had passed a critical point. The forces pushing the child out of the community, the degree of illness, the deterioration of the family, the pathogenic factors in the environment, had overwhelmed the capacity of the community to keep the child living in it.

"Second, we were impressed throughout the study with the terrible cost levied by the lack of an overall, unified consistent plan for providing service to the seriously disturbed child. For the child with relatively minor difficulties, a single service may suffice to correct the problem. The children being considered here have all areas of their lives riddled with pathology and almost always need multiple services which are coordinated with each other. In general, services to these children are provided in discrete packages; agencies are overspecialized and separated from each other by a referral barrier that is often resistive and sometimes impervious. School refers to court, court to clinic, clinic to placement agency, and so on. Once admitted to the hospital or treatment center, it is difficult or impossible to have the child accepted by an outpatient community agency. Integrated programs of service at the clinical level are literally unheard of."

Dr. Bloch has continued his studies in the handling of disturbed children in New York State, and I have been informed by project officers at the National Institute of Mental Health that his current findings serve to underscore, in greater depth, the original findings he transmitted to State officials 6 years ago.

We need a more flexible, less doctrinaire approach to the whole problem of the disturbed child. It isn't all just black or white—successful adjustment or an institution several hundred miles away. It is in the intermediate areas where we can do the most effective job for the majority of these children—in the schools, in the mental health clinics, the day care centers, the courts, and so on. By developing the screening and treatment potential of these familiar agencies, we don't run away from the problem—we face it and we bring many untapped human resources to it.

I am particularly concerned with the enormous untapped potential of the schools in handling emotionally disturbed children. The Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health, which was unable to devote sufficient attention to the problems of childhood mental illness because of a shortage of funds, did issue a monograph titled "The Role of the Schools in Mental Health." It is quite an important document, laying the greatest emphasis upon the therapeutic role of the schools because of their central position in the child's life. In the study itself, there are key sections devoted to skilled nursery education, the spotting of difficulties in kindergarten, the need for immediate intervention when basic learning difficulties become apparent.

To those of us who suggest these new approaches in settings other than rigidly psychiatric ones, there is the usual retort that we can never train enough psychiatric manpower to do this kind of job. I agree. It is sheer folly to think that we can ever train enough personnel to give individual psychotherapy to every disturbed child. It would not only be inadvisable to do so in terms of available manpower, but I submit that it would be totally unwise.

As the joint commission report noted, we must add to the skills of those who deal most directly and continually with the child.

For the past 4 years, an experiment has been going on in Tennessee and North Carolina in which selected teachers are being taught psychiatric skills and then used as teacher-counselors in specialized schools for disturbed children. This experiment follows the pattern of the French experience in which more than 3,000 of these teacher-counselors play a key role in working with emotionally disturbed children in that country. Called Project Re-Ed, the philosophy of its originator is stated very forcefully in a recent description of the first 4 years of the experiment:

"The problem of providing for emotionally disturbed children is a critical one requiring bold measures. Society will not continue to tolerate the assignment of disturbed children to detention homes, to hospitals for adults, or to institutions for the mentally deficient. * * * The United States does not have and will not be able to train a sufficient number of social workers, psychiatrists, psychologists, and nurses to staff residential psychiatric facilities for children along traditional lines. It will not be possible in the foreseeable future, with manpower shortages becoming increasingly more acute, to solve the problem of the emotionally disturbed child by adhering to limited patterns. * * * For effective work with children, the worker's personal attributes weigh more heavily than his professional knowledge and technical skills. Re-Ed represents an explicit break with the predominant philosophy of developing professional people in our society, a philosophy that minimizes individual differences and relies most heavily on extensive and expensive periods of training to assure competence."

While it is too early to make definitive comments on the success of these experiments, there is every indication that it is preventing the institutionalization of many children. The average stay of pupils at the specialized schools in Tennessee and North Carolina is about 4 months; the close and continuing liaison between the specialized schools and the regular school systems in the area provides a natural transition back to full-time schooling when it is deemed advisable.

In order to work more effectively with children in the schools, we need many more teachers specially trained to work with those who are emotionally disturbed. The U.S. Office of Education recently estimated that we need approximately 100,000 of these specialized teachers right now to staff classes of not more than 10 children each for the more than one million children it estimates need these individual psychological and educational services. How many do we have now? The best estimate I could get out of the Office of Education was less than three thousand.

I am therefore delighted to report to you that the mental health center staffing legislation which passed the Congress this year also included a tremendous boost in programs for training teachers of the handicapped. Over the next 4 years, $120 million is authorized for this purpose and, since the greatest need is for teachers of the emotionally disturbed as pointed out in the Senate report on the legislation, I am confident that for the first time in our history we will begin to close the gap between the supply and the insistent demand.

The aforementioned legislation also includes $41 million over the next 4 years in support of research and demonstration projects designed to produce more effective methods of teaching and reeducating the handicapped, with a new proviso allowing Federal support for the construction of such experimental facilities.

We can therefore look forward in the coming years to a number of new approaches as fruitful in originality as the George Peabody College experiment in Tennessee and North Carolina.

There are so many who could help. For example, as the joint commission report notes, there are 6,000 pediatricians in this country but the great majority of them lack sufficient psychiatric orientation to capitalize on their professional potential.

We have just begun to scratch this great potential of people who can help people. In Washington, D.C., we are using mothers whose own children have completed their education. They are given a year's training in psychiatric concepts and then work on the psychiatric service at Children's Hospitals.

In many cities in the country, trained youth workers are going into neighborhoods where trouble exists and applying their knowledge and affection to those children who are in revolt against the "norms" of modern society. As the noted psychiatrist Dr. Kenneth Appel has pointed out, there is a deep and tragic irony in the fact that millions of Americans—unemployed, retired, or otherwise rendered unproductive by society—seek a meaningful role in life, while millions of our children, our mental patients and others sunk in despair seek a helping hand. Dr. Appel pleads for a linkage between this great untapped human potential and the vast needs of the troubled and submerged in our democracy. Automation may eventually provide most of the material wants of our society, but it cannot ever replace the hand-to-hand and heart-to-heart relationship which is at the core of the helping services.

During this past summer's experience with Project Head Start—which reached more than 600,000 children under the age of 6—thousands of adults and children served as volunteers. As this program resumes this fall and winter, the goal is to reach down to children 3 years of age and to expand voluntary and community participation.

The first several thousand trainees of VISTA—Volunteers in Service to America—are now serving in all regions of the country. A sizable percentage of these dedicated people have chosen to work in the mental health field and, having addressed several groups of VISTA trainees, I can assure you they will make wonderful workers in the vineyard of childhood mental illness.

There have been exciting developments in other areas of childhood mental illness which have highlighted the necessity for a comprehensive survey of existing needs and the selection of a set of priorities for the next decade and beyond.

The first incisive plea for such a national survey came in a resolution adopted by both the American Phychiatric Association and the American Academy of Child Psychiatry as a direct result of a 1963 conference on training needs in the field of child psychiatry. Noting that the survey of adult mental illness by the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health had led to a long-needed overview of the problem which resulted in positive recommendations and subsequent legislation, the conference adopted the following resolution:

"In sum, it was the consensus of the conference that what the joint commission had done by way of presenting the Nation with a program to combat mental illness as a whole should not be done in comparable manner and style for the problem of childhood mental illness. The conference members recognized and accepted their obligation to inform the public of the needs of children and registered their opinion that a national survey should be conducted under the leadership of representatives of the entire spectrum of child-care professions in the field of mental illness and health. They pledged to work for the launching of such a study, looking to the formulation of a national program to combat childhood mental illness and to secure the wherewithal to carry out such a plan."

At the March 1965 meeting of the National Mental Health Advisory Council, the membership of that Council voted unanimously to request the National Institute of Mental Health to explore with all national organizations interested in the emotional health of children the possibility of a joint commission survey comparable in depth and scope to the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health Study.

I am happy to report that several exploratory meetings have been held, and that a Joint Commission on Mental Health Services for Children has been incorporated.

Legislation to provide $1 million over a 2-year period in Federal support for this survey was passed in the present session of Congress, and it is hoped that the Commission can get going with its very vital work within the very near future.

The quest for a national blueprint of mental health services for children is of vital importance, but it is no substitute for continued efforts at the State and local level to meet the immediate and pressing emotional problems of so many of our children.

I am reminded of the statement made several decades ago by Katharine F. Lenroot, one of the great architects of the U.S. Children's Bureau:

"We are prodigal in our dreams for children, but often miserly in our deeds. And that, I suspect, traces back frequently to an elementary difficulty all of us have at times in knowing how to get from where we are to where we want to go."

We must now move boldly at the local, State and National level in identifying a broad set of objectives which will get us "from where we are to where we want to go."

I am confident that the Joint Commission on Mental Health Services for Children is the appropriate vehicle for this long delayed journey into the future, and I know that all of you here today will work with us in other parts of the country to see that it fulfills its terribly important mission.

SHAME OF THE NATIONAL SNAKEPITS FOR OUR MENTALLY ILL CHILDREN

How are children treated in American mental hospitals today? This is the depressing picture:

In Tennessee, a 9-year-old girl is confined to a dreary, cell-like room where she butts and bangs her head against the springs of a metal cot.

In Ohio, an 11-year-old girl is kept in her ward 5 weeks without even so much as a chance to go outside.

In New Jersey, retarded youngsters are tied spread-eagle to their beds during rest periods.

In West Virginia, a 14-year-old girl lives amid psychotic adults who, in her words, "scream and moan and cry at night and try to climb the walls."

Above all, with few exceptions, everywhere and in every State, sick children are given little or no treatment, no therapy, no attention and almost no hope. Though no less dramatic, the lack of program for child patients, for whom there should be hope, is the most scandalous aspect of all.

These shocking and saddening facts are the result of a lengthy Parade investigation into the plight of mentally ill children. For nearly a year reporters have traveled to all parts of the United States to see how we care for this unfortunate and neglected minority. They have visited mental hospitals (sometimes unannounced), talked to doctors, psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, ward attendants, mental health officials, judges, parents, and children themselves. And what they found in most places was a shameful, incredible mess.

"No matter how bad you say it is in your article," one psychiatrist told Parade, "it won't be as bad as it really is." But what Parade found was bad enough. Hundreds upon hundreds of children are confined in foul snakepits that smack of the 17th century pesthouse—even, in one case, complete to the shackles. Many of them are thrown in with adult patients to live out their lives in depravity and hopelessness. Almost none are getting the benefits—any benefits—of this age of supposed psychiatric enlightenment.

Thus, in Greystone Park Hospital, N.J., Parade found a boy 5 years old, dressed in dirty T-shirt and soiled shorts, sitting out a sunny afternoon in a dank ward while three attendants busily ignored him. Cheerful Hank listened to voices and laughter drifting in through the window, but explained that he could not go out among the grass and trees because he had been out that morning. Tomorrow, however, he would spend one of his two mornings a week in the hospital play school. Does he ever receive any therapy? Parade asked an attendant. The attendant merely shrugged.

The situation is so bad, in fact, that no one even knows the extent of it. According to the National Association for Mental Health, a half-million children in this country are in need of some kind of psychiatric care. Only 5,000 are in State hospitals, and of these fewer than 1,000 are getting proper treatment, says NAMH.

WHERE DO THEY BELONG?

Moreover, the problem is not limited to State hospitals. Parade's investigation disclosed that hundreds of children are in correctional institutions who ought to be in hospitals; hundreds more are in hospitals and ought to be in correctional schools. There are not more than 200 residential treatment and day-care centers for children in the United States, and even these are improperly used. They are understaffed, underfinanced, and cluttered with children who don't belong there.

Tragically, almost everyone agreed such conditions need not exist. As a few pioneering institutions—notably in Tennessee, Michigan, Colorado, and California—have already proved, pediatrics, education, and psychiatry now have within their power the ability to aid most of these children.

Unfortunately, this is not being done. The way is blocked by monumental apathy and staggering indifference. Furthermore, the problem is so newly recognized and so unbelievable to many people that programs have not had a chance to get organized. Pinchpenny legislatures frequently prefer to pour more money into pet pork barrel projects rather than into financing treatment programs for young people—although in the long run a child who is not cared for in the early stages of illness may cost the taxpayers hundreds of thousands of dollars in his lifetime. Nor are the hospitals themselves blameless. While it is true that they are short of money and personnel, it is also true that this frequently serves as an alibi for not trying to do more with what they have.

In the overwhelming majority of hospitals today, children are thrown in with adults. But equally distressing is what happens in the special children's units theoretically established to cope with this problem. Often they are grim, grimy, redolent of institutional smell and institutional paint. And even when they are cheerful and pleasant, they are often inadequate in scope and program.

Some limit themselves to children of one sex, with one particular disorder or of a certain age, shutting out all others from treatment or program. In others, children of all ages, shapes, sizes, and afflictions are lumped together. In some hospitals there are tots, teenagers, violent cases, withdrawn children, retarded, epileptic, brain damaged, and wild psychotic sharing a ward—and none of them receiving any therapy.

Even more tragic, already limited facilities and staff are often taken up by children who are not mentally ill but have behavior problems or personality disturbances—children who have been dumped in the hospitals by parents, schools, community agencies, and courts because there seems nothing else to do with them. "We get a lot of kids who really aren't sick enough to be hospitalized," an official of Colorado State Hospital at Pueblo told Parade. "And we're tired of being a dumping ground." By his estimate more than half of hospitalized children fall into this category.

Typical of them is 11-year-old Billy, whom Parade talked to Huntington (W. Va.) State hospital. According to Superintendent Gaston P. deLemos, Billy is not even seriously disturbed. But he comes from a sordid family background, and he has a record of petty thievery, setting fires, and breaking into stores, so by court order he went to Huntington State. "He should be in a nice foster home somewhere," says the nurse on Billy's ward. "Therapeutically we're not doing anything for him." Adds Dr. deLemos: "All his life Billy will have the stigma of having been in a mental hospital."

NO PROGRAM FOR RETARDED

Equally pathetic are the large numbers of retarded and brain-damaged children lodged in mental hospitals. Their affliction is not one of disturbance but of failure to develop (although some are both retarded and disturbed), and they should be in special schools where they could be educated to their proper potential. "We have no program for these poor little things," says Dr. Nancy Durant, a psychiatrist and director of the children's unit at New Jersey's Marlboro State Hospital. "We're just giving them housekeeping care and allowing them to regress."

Still a third tragic group in mental hospitals are the so-called chronic or severely disturbed children allegedly "too sick to be helped." Hospitals generally make only minimal attempts to treat them, concentrating what meager facilities are available on children more amenable to treatment. Instead the "too sick" children are filed and forgotten in the back wards of the hospital. Yet many authorities believe that most of these hopeless cases could indeed be helped, if not completely cured.

"Saying that any child or group of children are hopeless will guarantee they'll be hopeless," says Dr. Leon M. Eisenberg, professor of child psychiatry at Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore. Dr. Lauretta Bender, of New York, a leading specialist in treating autistic children and childhood schizophrenics, says, "There have been many childhood schizophrenics and autistic children who have been treated and recovered and become useful, functioning people."

Even when the children are not hopeless, administrators often are more inclined to run a "tight ship" than pay attention to the welfare of their young patients.

In Chicago State Hospital, for instance, one ward houses 218 male patients, 16 of them young boys. Until 3:30 each afternoon most of these youngsters attend school. But after that there is nothing for them to do but sit. So by 6 or 6:30 they are bundled off to bed. At bedtime the staff on duty numbers two, sometimes only one. If a child needed attention, he would have no one to turn to.

If staff members had time for the children, it might make up for other deficiencies. "In every form of treatment the big thing is attention," says Dr. Donald Bourg, director of the Children's Division of Colorado's Fort Logan Mental Health Center. But, authorities readily admit, children in State mental hospitals—particularly those who are quiet and give no one any trouble—rarely get any attention.

For those who do act out, the attention they get is apt to be in the form of restraint, seclusion—or, usually, tranquilizers. The hospitals explain that "shortage of staff" makes it necessary to tie up and pacify young patients. And often this is absolutely true. In one Illinois hospital, where Parade found an 8-year-old boy tied to a chair, there were exactly 2 attendants to watch over 28 small children, several of whom were violently psychotic.

LACK OF FUNDS AND PERSONNEL

In some cases, hospitals have staff, programs, and attention on paper, but lack of funds or trained personnel keep them from being put into effect.

Sagamore Hills Children's Psychiatric Hospital near Cleveland is a modern, $2¼ million facility opened in 1961. It was designed to handle 92 patients with a staff of 6 psychiatrists, 8 psychologists and 13 social service caseworkers. It has a 12-room school, a gym, a swimming pool, an auditorium, and ample playground areas. The operating budget was supposed to be $1 million a year. But the hospital has never been full, it has only two psychiatrists (who double in brass as administrators), three part-time psychologists, and five part-time caseworkers. It has never been allocated more than $700,000. As a result Sagamore's great promise largely remains a dream.

And the shortages inside the hospital are compounded by shortages outside. Many kids stay in institutions because there is no place else to put them. In a grim ward in Central State Hospital, Indianapolis, Ind., Parade found a girl suffering from sickle cell anemia who had been there 3 years after she was pronounced cured of her psychiatric symptoms. But her home situation was bad and she could not be returned to it, and no other institution or agency would accept her because of the anemia.

"For 3 years now," her doctor says, "she has had to live with sick kids—really sick kids—although she no longer has any mental problems. She can't work or support herself because of the anemia. We can't just send her home. So tell me, what can I do?"

Why, in a civilized nation, do we allow children to be handled in such barbarous and neglectful ways? Aside from the obvious reasons of apathy, indifference, neglect, another major reason is that the problem has crept up on us so suddenly. Even within the field of psychiatry itself, child psychiatry was not recognized as a specialty until 1959. A few years ago the Federal Government sponsored a Joint Commission on Mental Health; its report barely mentioned children. Not a single child psychiatrist was on the study board. The NAMH says that even today 21 States have no public facilities for children at all.

IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION

Yet in certain places pioneering institutions are confronting the problem of how to provide good treatment for mentally ill children, and with excellent results. Hawthorn Center in Northville, Mich., perhaps the best children's psychiatric hospital in the country, has adequate numbers of top-trained staff in a modern facility that looks and operates like a boarding school. It offers not only inpatient treatment, but consultative services to children and their families and a 5-day-a-week day care program for children not sick enough to be hospitalized. It also operates as a training and research headquarters. Other fine programs are at Colorado's Fort Logan Mental Health Center and one for younger children at California's Camarillo State Hospital. A few other good programs on a smaller scale exist in places like New Jersey.

Perhaps the most exciting of all is the remarkable Project Re-Ed residential treatment program in Cumberland House Elementary School, Nashville, which operates on the theory that education can be used in lieu of conventional psychotherapy in treating many emotionally disturbed children. Children aged 6 to 12 are under the full round-the-clock supervision of skilled "teacher-counselors" in a program that provides both education and behavior improvement 16 hours a day. Psychiatrists, psychologists and social workers are only called in on a consultative basis. One of the merits of the "Re-Ed" concept is that it helps avoid the problem of training enough psychiatric staff. Its proponents also believe that "Re-Ed" principles can be used effectively in mental hospitals and correctional schools.

Although Project Re-Ed has been in operation only 2 years, Principal Charles McDonald says "an exceedingly large percentage" of children are now "integrated successfully back into the community."

Obviously one answer to the problem of mentally ill children is more Project Re-Eds, Hawthorn Centers and better community facilities and programs generally. But authorities agree that even within the present framework, certain steps could be taken to improve the care of hospitalized mentally ill children. And they think these steps should be taken right now:

1. No children should be kept in wards with adults—ever. If no separate children's facility is available, patient population should be rearranged to provide at least some sort of separate—and cheerful—living quarters and treatment and classroom areas.

2. Treatment programs stressing full education and vocational training should be established. These programs should provide individual attention—which means adequate staffing is necessary. Staffs should include both trained professionals and people whose primary qualification is simply that they love children. As Dr. M. T. Faruki, superintendent of Ohio's Dayton State Hospital, says: "I'd use a plumber if he were good with children."

3. Hospitals should explore all possibilities of using cottage homes, halfway houses and other group and foster care setups. The overall philosophy should be "the less hospitalization the better."

4. Above all, hospitals should abandon the notion that nothing can be done for certain children and set as a goal meaningful programs that will really try to assist every child and to give him and his family hope for the future.

Obviously, to improve the care of mentally ill children is going to cost money. Hospitals are expensive to improve, expensive to build and good staffs must be recruited and paid. What is needed is massive public support.

How can you help? You should investigate facilities and programs for mentally ill children in your community. If none exist, try to get one started. Watchdog to make sure it has adequate funds, adequate staff. Organize a group that will support the operation. Volunteer to visit children and to help them—remember that what will assist them most is attention.

"It is possible to help mentally ill children," says Michael Freelund, director of the Childhood Mental Illness Service of the National Association for Mental Health. "The only question is whether the public cares enough to press for adequate services for them."

The Chicago Fiasco

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the indefensible invasion by Federal bureaucrats in the administration of the Chicago School District through the vehicle of financial coercion has had nationwide repercussions. The widely read "Inside Report" of columnists Evans and Novak touched on this subject in an article in Monday's Washington Post, and I feel it merits the attention of all Members concerned with the developing threat of Federal dictation of education:

THE CHICAGO FIASCO

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

When the Federal Government's partial cutoff of funds to the Chicago school system detonated a political storm, President Johnson's immediate reflex was to reach for the telephone and dial Mayor Richard J. Daley.

This fact—that the telephone call went from President to mayor and not the other way around—made it clear that the White House isn't about to let some Federal agency cut off Federal funds for Chicago or any other big northern city. Beyond that, moreover, the phone call showed that Lyndon B. Johnson is no more eager to fight city hall than Franklin D. Roosevelt or John F. Kennedy.

This contrasts sharply with the nonpolitical attitude of high-ranking officials in the Health, Education, and Welfare Department and the antipoverty office who sympathize with the militants in their battles against city hall and the power structure. The fiasco over the Chicago fund cutoff revealed the sharply opposing positions of the White House and the Federal bureaucracy.

Specifically at issue in Chicago was the serious problem of de facto school segregation—segregation caused not by law but by racially segregated school districts.

Benjamin Willis, the intransigent bricks-and-mortar Chicago school superintendent, has become a hero to Chicago whites simply by refusing to make concessions to the Negroes. No great crusader for the Negro anyway, Mayor Daley has treated the politically popular Willis with kid gloves.

But HEW officials in Washington were not so close to Daley as to a Negro militant named Albert A. Raby (who has been building an insurgent political organization on Chicago's South Side to oppose the Daley machine). And Raby has been pestering HEW to cut off school funds to Chicago under the new law barring aid to segregated school districts.

The climax came when an HEW request for information about de facto segregation was treated by Willis in typically curt fashion. Reaching untypically, HEW shot from the hip and temporarily deferred $30 million in Federal aid for Chicago schools. In making that snap decision, HEW's top policymakers displayed an interesting ignorance of political realities.

The White House was not consulted. Illinois' Congressmen and Senators were not consulted. And as Daley tartly remarked in one conversation with HEW officials, the mayor of Chicago was not consulted.

What galled the White House was HEW's timing in its Chicago caper. HEW apparently did not know that Daley keeps Chicago's congressional delegation on a short leash (to be pulled up short whenever desired) or that its votes were vital for session-end legislation (particularly Lady Bird Johnson's highway beautification bill).

But what HEW doesn't know about congressional politics, Senate Republican Leader EVERETT DIRKSEN, of Illinois, does. A master strategist, DIRKSEN is always eager to drop a line in troubled Democratic waters. He was on the long distance telephone cooing commiseration to Daley over his indignities at just about the same time that the President made his call.

Moreover, the White House was upset by the fact that HEW was operating on the advice of insurgent Raby instead of organizationman Daley. The word has since been passed to HEW that Richard J. Daley was, is, and always will be the President's man in Chicago.

Although the funds were quickly freed at White House order, serious damage has been done. Willis is more than ever a white folk hero and will be harder than ever to get rid of. The prestige of U.S. Education Commissioner Francis Keppel, who has done exceedingly well in a tough job, has been seriously undermined. And the complexities of de facto segregation once again have been obscured by a noisy political power struggle.

Worst of all, top Federal policymakers predict the same fiasco will be repeated in other cities until the bureaucrats realize that President Johnson's program is not the slightest bit revolutionary. If the Great Society is going to be made, it will be with the cooperation of the Daleys—not against them. This much is clear from the fiasco in Chicago.

Congressman John E. Fogarty Honored by Dedication of Fourth Institution in His Name

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, our esteemed and distinguished colleague from Rhode Island, Congressman JOHN E. FOGARTY, has again been honored by the officials of his State in having the John E. Fogarty School in Foster, R.I., named for him.

This brings to four the number of health and educational facilities that have been dedicated in Mr. FOGARTY's name in the State of Rhode Island. The others are: The John E. Fogarty Occupational Training Center for the Mentally Retarded; the John E. Fogarty Medical and Rehabilitation Unit at the Joseph H. Ladd School for the Mentally Retarded; and the John E. Fogarty Health Science Building at the University of Rhode Island Colleges of Pharmacy and Nursing.

Under leave to extend my remarks I should like to include the address made by Mr. FOGARTY on October 3, 1965, at the dedication of this latest institute bearing his name:

GOVERNMENT, PUBLIC SCHOOLS, AND PROGRESS

(Remarks by Hon. JOHN E. FOGARTY, of Rhode Island, at the dedication of the John E. Fogarty School, October 3, 1965).

The chance to be with all of you here today makes me both grateful and humble.

This school today being dedicated is an example that this Nation and the people of this State can heed the Biblical admonition of turning swords into plowshares, for it is on a Nike missile site that this building now stands.

I am grateful for the honor of having this school named after me. This gratitude is accompanied by a deep sense of humility since this school embodies a tribute to two forces: the cooperation of political parties on behalf of education in the Congress and also the American public school system.

A true bipartisanship has made American education the cornerstone of democracy. We must always remember that it was the late Senator Robert Taft of Ohio—Mr. Republican—who introduced and supported and fought for the first measures providing for general Federal aid to education.

Education knows no party. And, in line with this, I am glad to see that there have been no serious questions raised today about naming a school after a living legislator. The cooperation of both of our political parties has made it possible for this country to advance into a position of world leadership.

But, today, let us recall that it has not always been thus.

In 1640, when our country was quite young and untested, here in the State of Rhode Island, Newport established a public school, setting aside 100 acres for a house and lot for the schoolmaster.

Now this State has close to 152,000 public elementary and secondary school students.

From a meager start in 1640, it is clear that State and school departments like the Foster school department have continued to grow and advance and progress in education.

And this is right. The future of Rhode Island and this country—a future filled with fantastic opportunities which will be won or lost in our classrooms—is based on our schools and our educational system.

In dedicating this school here today, we add another tool in the struggle of this State. This struggle is to provide not an adequate educational system, not simply a good educational system, but an educational system that will permit the maximum development of the talents of every American boy and girl. This is not the only tool, for we also need good teachers, good textbooks, and students willing to learn, but it is an important tool.

The goal of providing for an educational system to keep us in the vanguard of world leadership is a goal to which, as a Member of Congress, I have long since pledged myself. Today, I repeat that pledge.

I want to first talk to you about the role of the Federal Government in strenthening our Nation's public school systems. This role is expanding and growing and changing to meet the pressing needs of our local and State education systems whether they are in this school department or in the State of Rhode Island or to the west in Wisconsin or Alaska or even Hawaii.

Second, I want to give you some idea of the education legislation that Congress and the current administration have enacted to help all of our young people. President Kennedy considered education the keystone in the arch of freedom and progress. During his short term, he worked to strengthen that arch by opening the doors for our youth to the richest treasures of our open society: the doors of the power of knowledge.

Well, this Congress has opened these doors further with the enactment of far-reaching proposals to help education in this country change to meet the demands of the time.

Finally, I want to take time to give you a brief glimpse of the educational problems of the future and the reasons why all of us should be concerned with these problems.

All of these problems are brought about by change. This country is not now static and never was. We have to adapt to meet

these changes but—at the same time—we must be concerned that we hold fast to basic concepts of education while discarding outmoded practices. We have to be concerned that we have quality as well as quantity in education. We have to be concerned, finally, not only because this country needs all the talent and all the skills of our young people in the competitive cold war against a foreign ideology but because it is correct to give our children a sound start along the path of life.

The pressure for education in this country can be seen each day in the national mass of birth statistics. These figures represent—and we should always remember this—human beings. In each child who is born in the United States today, no matter what the circumstances of the home or whom the parents are, the potentiality of the human race is born again. And in each who is born, our terrific responsibility toward human life is renewed, a responsibility toward the idea of human goodness and of God.

The role of our public school systems in maintaining education for our children is being supported by our Federal Government. This is the first point I want to discuss today.

No one in this State or this country needs mystic powers to see that we need the Federal funds to improve education. This school—and others like it—represents a great sacrifice to the people who have taxed themselves heavily at the local level. But the concern of all of us should be a clear recognition that Federal aid to education does not necessarily mean control of education. Let me stress some of the aspects of this aid as it is related to the national problems of our public schools.

When this Nation fights poverty and unemployment, we need the public schools as one of our principal weapons.

When this Nation helps to provide for our national defense effort, we need the public schools.

When this Nation helps the people—striving as we are to open the gates to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for all of our citizens—we again call on the public schools.

This is no easy task for each one of these educational roles of the public school in our society is important. Out of this diversity of goals must come a strong system of education in every hamlet and town and village and city in this country.

To support this massive chore, this Congress and this administration have passed the far-reaching Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

This billion-dollar bill has a potential that will set us along the way of combating the destructive forces of poverty through education. The main components of this legislation are as strong and forthright as the effects we hope it will produce. First, here in Rhode Island and in other States it will help more than 5 million educationally deprived children; second, it will give to our children more than 30 million new books; third, it will provide badly needed supplementary services in our grade and high schools; fourth, it will help research and, finally, it will more than quadruple Federal assistance to our State educational agencies which are really the cornerstone in local educational efforts.

This measure will affect all of the 48 million children in our Nation's elementary and secondary schools. Here in Rhode Island alone, the educational effort will touch and affect and help each of the children in the schools of this State.

This legislation also alters quite substantially the role the Federal Government plays in supporting lower education. In 1964–65 the Government contributed approximately 4 percent to the cost of public elementary and secondary education. With the passage of this act, the Federal contribution will jump to almost 10 percent in 1965 and 1966.

Now the passage of this legislation brings us to the second point of my discussion here today: The role Congress has to play in the improvement of our country's education.

Our Congress cannot adequately discharge our responsibility to provide for "the common defense and general welfare" unless schools do their part in producing educated men and women. We need—more than ever—an informed electorate who can cooperate with us in making the decisions in the complex and complicated world of government as we now know it.

In 1636, Roger Williams fled from Massachusetts to our State—banished for his political and religious opinions. Roger Williams' theory of criticism and hunger for freedom holds a lesson for us all. While we may disagree with them, we in Congress are not interested in banishing various political views. We welcome diversity. We want and need and seek the opinions of an informed electorate in solving the many problems before us, in both this present Congress as in past sessions of your legislative body.

Some of you know that I am chairman of a subcommittee on appropriations of the House of Representatives—a duty which allows me to supervise and oversee the many activities of our National Government in the areas of labor and health and education and welfare. To accomplish this duty in this space age effectively, we need the help and informed support of a citizenry who cares—whether it is on the local level or the broader national level.

Our national problems come into focus when we view the fruition and completion of such efforts as this school today. And—here on the local level—is where we must meet these problems.

And this brings us to the third point. I will be brief.

The educated citizen of today knows how much more there is to know. He knows that knowledge is power. He knows that only an educated and informed people will be a free people. If we can, as Jefferson said, enlighten the people generally, tyranny and the oppressions of the mind and body will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day.

The future of education in this country hopefully will meet this challenge. It will not be easy and I ask all of you here today to help in this national effort to meet the burgeoning enrollment, to confront the challenge of poverty in our cities and rural areas, to provide for the necessary amount of classrooms for your children and my children and to provide the best we can afford.

Remember that this commitment is not new. But it is renewable. In 1787, the Continental Congress declared in the Northwest Ordinance that schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. We have to replenish that commitment because cold statistics today of growing school enrollment portend the challenge of tomorrow.

In the first place, one-quarter of all Americans are in the Nation's classrooms.

In the second place, high school attendance has grown 18 times as large since the turn of the century.

Finally, since the turn of the century college enrollment in the United States has advanced eight times and Americans today support a fourth of the world's institutions of higher learning and a third of its professors and college students.

We must move to meet these challenges.

And we must move in concert—with the help of all of you here today.

In a very true sense, this school being dedicated represents the efforts of those who have shown that they do care in sharing the light of education to others following after them.

This light—this fire—this zeal of sharing is our best hope, as the late John F. Kennedy put it in his inaugural address, to "truly light the world."

One-fifth of a Nation—A Sermon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. McINTYRE

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, one of the heartening aspects of the Johnson administration's war on poverty is the eagerness with which public-spirited men of religion have turned the attention of their congregations to the impact of the real poverty of our Nation.

Recently the Reverend William D. Goble, minister of the First Baptist Church of Manchester, N.H., delivered a sermon to his congregants entitled "One-fifth of a Nation," dealing with the very real problems of poverty facing our Nation. Reverend Goble, after a thorough discussion of the subject, states that "The taxes we pay for government help is really Christian charity working through government."

I feel that this sermon deserves a wide audience, and therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the sermon was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ONE-FIFTH OF A NATION

(A sermon preached by Rev. William D. Goble, minister of the First Baptist Church, in Manchester, N.H., Oct. 10, 1965. Text: 1 John 3: 11–18)

Poverty is a fact in American life today. In a recent essay in Time magazine (Oct. 1, 1965), 15 poor people are described as living in 2 rooms in 1 building in Atlanta, Ga. A Harlem, N.Y., woman who lives in a building jammed with babies, unemployed men, and rats, said, "I ain't got no stove in the basement, and I ain't got no stove in the kitchen; I ain't got no paint and I ain't got no windows and I ain't got no providements. I keep the place clean just so the doctor can get in, and some day the undertaker. What's a poor person? A poor person is when you see me." We are now engaged in a war against poverty of this sort. Just recently the Congress passed a $1.78 billion bill to attack poverty, which is more than twice as much as the Congress passed a year ago also to fight poverty.

To many people, that there is poverty against which we must fight is incredible. Employment stands at a record 75 million, and unemployment is down to an 8-year low. The stock market continues to rise, a tribute to a healthy economy. The Nation is shouldering the weight of foreign war and foreign aid without strain. And yet, we are told, there is poverty in our country. It is hard to believe.

Perhaps one of the reasons it is hard to believe is that the "other America" of the poor is more or less invisible to our eyes. The poor are physically separated because of their location away from the main highways traveled by those who have money. They are crowded into big city ghettos where they do not offend the eyes of people who live in luxury apartments or handsome suburbs. Or they are tucked away in small rural communities where most of us never travel. Or they live in remote areas of the South and West, surrounded by mountains. But nevertheless, poverty is a fact of American life, even though most of us may not see many of them.

Actually, there are about 34.1 million poor people in the United States. This is about one-fifth of our population. New Hampshire has its share of poor people. According to Prof. James R. Bowring, of the University of New Hampshire, there are some 23,383 families, or about 85,000 people in our State who are poor. This means that about 15.2 percent of our people in this State are poor, which is 6 percent less than in the country as a whole. In Manchester, there are 3,142 poor people. Now, these figures are based on a level of family income which is less than $3,000 a year. The average family has about 4 people in it; ask yourself, could my family live adequately on less than $3,000 a year? The Federal Government estimates that a family of four ought to have an income of $6,317 in order to live adequately but modestly. Think of it: one-fifth of American families try to live on less than $3,000 a year. This one-fifth gets only 4.7 percent of the country's personal wealth, while the upper one-fifth with the largest incomes gets 45.5 of the Nation's income.

This one-fifth of the Nation which is poor by this standard really suffer a great deal. Some 2,000 of them die of malnutrition each year. They die sooner than the rest of us because their whole lives are spent from one illness to another. Because of this, the death rate in America is higher than in Holland, Sweden, Israel, and Great Britain. They suffer three-times the mental illness rate as the rest of us experience. They live in substandard, decaying houses, shacks and slums. In the U.S. as a whole, there are 58 million such houses, and in New Hampshire, there are 38,489 substandard houses in which the poor are forced to live. And I have been in some of them. Our New Hampshire poor suffer more, perhaps, than poor in other parts of the country because the average wage scale for manufacturing is only $2 an hour, while in United States as a whole, the rate is $2.53 an hour. Our wage scale is lower than any other State in New England. To try to compensate for this low wage scale, there is a larger percentage of families in our State where the wife works and an older child works than in any other State in the country. This means neglected children, at least.

The poor in the United States, as well as in New Hampshire, include 15 million children. Forty percent of the poor are nonwhite, usually Negro, who are usually the last to be hired and the first to be fired. Forty percent of the poor are farmers trying to eke out a living on substandard farms. Fifty percent of poor families are headed by a divorced, widowed, or abandoned woman. The poor generally lack a good education. Two-thirds of the poor families are headed by people with no more than a grade school education. Lack of good education is obviously one of the causes of poverty. Incidentally, in Manchester the median school grade that has been achieved is only 9.3, which helps to explain, surely, some of the poverty in our own city.

This, then, is something of a description of the one-fifth of our Nation which comprise the poor. They are a challenge to this great country of ours. What should be our attitude toward these poor? Well, there are always some who have said down through the centuries that we will always have the poor with us and that there is nothing really that needs to be done or even can be done. They often quote, out of context, a saying of Jesus, "* * * you always have the poor with you." This has undoubtedly been the case, but I am sure Jesus did not consider this as ideal or something that we ought to consider as final. You know, men used to say that people would never fly, but we do indeed fly.

Another attitude which many people have is that poverty is one's own fault. They say, one is poor because one is lazy, or criminal; poverty then becomes a kind of divine punishment upon character defects. People who say this are usually those who themselves have worked hard and have, through their own efforts, achieved some kind of financial security. Now, there is undoubtedly some truth in this. Undoubtedly, some poor people could rise above poverty by hard effort and industry. However, the bootstrap theory does not take into account the Negro who just can't find a job because of the prejudice of his white brother. After all, the Negro can't help the color of his own skin. This theory does not take into account the mother of three children whose husband deserted her; it does not take into account the children of the poor who are too young to work; it does not take into account the victims of automation or cybernation, which is eliminating some 40,000 jobs a week. Poor, slum schools, often with at least de facto segregation, which fail even to teach some children even how to read, cannot be blamed on the children who attend them. This bootstrap theory does not take into effect the debilitating effect of poverty and ghettos on people, the despair and numbness and hopelessness which it spawns in people, so that they lose their nerve and sink back into more and more poverty. No, this bootstrap theory which may be true in a few cases, is not a worthy attitude of the modern American when confronted with the facts of poverty in our midst.

This attitude is especially unworthy of the Christian. And so, may I suggest what ought to be our attitude toward poverty, an attitude which is American and Christian. We ought to develop an attitude of genuine sympathy and concern toward the poor. We should look upon them as our brothers and sisters, children of the one God, along with us. And we should be challenged to try to help them in every possible way. This is made very clear in our Scripture passage: "For this is the message * * * that we should love one another. * * * If anyone has the world's goods and sees his brother in need, yet closes his heart against him, how does God's love abide in him? Little children, let us not love in word and in speech but in deed and in truth."

This loving in word, directed to the poor in our midst, will take, of course, many forms. One, there will always be a need for acts of personal charity, on a person-to-person basis. More often than not, however, this personal charity will be through private institutions, such as those represented in the community chest, and through all kinds of church institutions such as Church World Service. But such help is really inadequate to meet people's real needs in depth. This is where the government comes in, local, State, and Federal. Government represents you and me, and the taxes we pay for government help is really Christian charity working through government. We need, certainly, the kind of welfare which is available, and it ought to be made more adequate. We need social security and aid to dependent children. And we need the kind of massive Governmnet programs which have recently been provided by the Congress, especially those programs which aim at job retraining, and helping deprived children get a Head Start, and giving youth Job Corps training, etc. All this is needed, and much more. We have just begun to fight against poverty. Michael Harrington, in "The Other America," has written, "I want to tell every well-fed and optimistic American that it is intolerable that so many millions should be maimed in body and in spirit."

Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, last May in a speech before the Political Action Institute in Des Moines, Iowa, I urged a course in Vietnam that paralleled the one taken by the Johnson administration. It seemed to me then and it still seems to me that the United States could not ethically shrug off the mantel of world leadership that has been thrust upon us by the free world.

The wisdom of that administration policy has been pointed out in a recent column by Joseph Alsop in the Washington Post. I feel this article makes quite clear the need for and purpose of our action in Vietnam. I hope this will add to the understanding of those who were not afforded the opportunity of reading this column.

Mr. Alsop's column and my speech follow:

SMARTY'S PARTY

(By Joseph Alsop)

TOKYO.—Both in Hong Kong, and here in Tokyo, the China-watchers are currently playing a game that is both amusing and instructive. It starts with the fact that the Chinese Communists' great annual celebration of their revolutionary anniversary on October 1 was painfully like Smarty's party, to which nobody came.

Maybe that is going too far, for Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia was certainly on hand, there was also a commercial delegation from Pakistan, and there was a very minor member of the preupheaval Indonesian Cabinet.

But there were no Japanese or Filipinos or Burmans or Singaporeans. Africa, where Mao Tse-tung and his colleagues have lately been spending millions that China can ill afford, was strikingly poorly represented. The absence of the North Koreans—once the closest of Peiping's allies—and even the North Vietnamese—so widely supposed to be entirely under Peiping's thumb—was rather glaringly conspicuous.

In short, this was a party like one of the more ghastly diplomatic receptions in Washington, which are unattended by anyone except poor duty-State Department officials and old ladies who go to eat free canapes. The game of the China-watchers consists of making up the very different kind of guest list the Chinese Communists would surely have been able to announce, if only the Americans had duly proved to be "paper tigers" in Vietnam this winter and spring, just as Mao Tse-tung always said we would.

A minimum hypothetical guest list includes heads of state or foreign ministers from the two other Asian Communist countries and perhaps some Eastern European Communist states as well; plus heads or foreign ministers from all the unalined Asian counties except India and a good many in Africa too; plus discreetly inconspicuous yet highly significant delegations from Japan, the Philippines, and maybe one or two more westward-leaning states in Asia.

The China-watchers' game is no light joke. It is expertly played by men with long and intimate Asian experience. Hence it should

be of interest to those lacking serious Asian experience, who are so constantly warning that the United States is "losing friends in Asia" by refusing to be a paper tiger in Vietnam.

The upheaval in Indonesia should also be vividly interesting to these same people. From the vantage point of Tokyo (and very likely in Djakarta itself) the final outcome cannot yet be predicted with confidence. But it is already quite clear that the Communist coup was attempted hastily and brutally, in the way people act when they are apprehensive and off balance.

It is equally clear that there would have been very little resistance, even to such an outrageous assault on Indonesia's independence, if the Indonesian nationalists had become convinced that communism was the wave of the future. A Communist timetable in Vietnam would have implanted just that without conviction. If Indonesia remains a truly independent state, in fact, Mao's error about Americans being paper tigers will have much to do with it.

Finally, there is the not unimportant matter of the vital American bases here in Japan and on Okinawa. Those who want the United States to justify Mao's thesis have told us we can take a catastrophic defeat in Vietnam, and still stay in business as a Pacific power with the aid of our ocean-wide net of naval and other bases. That view evokes tired grins from the extremely competent official Americans who have to concern themselves with the Japanese base-problem on the spot.

The United States bases in Japan are a very real problem—no doubt about it. A rising tide of nationalism, deriving from a justified sense of national accomplishment, is making more and more Japanese impatient of the present arrangements. Above all, the quasi-colonial status of Okinawa, where the Japanese Government's writ does not run, is daily becoming harder and harder to defend. Sensible adjustments are going to have to be, and ought to be, made in the base-agreements.

But in the present circumstances, there is time and room for maneuver to make these adjustments, about which our very able Ambassador, Edwin O. Reischauer, is already conducting a dialog with Washington. And in the very different circumstances that would have been created by U.S. acceptance of the paper tiger role in Vietnam, there would have been neither time nor room for maneuver.

After such a demonstration of American unreliability, the Japanese would surely have been driven to see to their own defense, without further reliance on U.S. strength. The American base agreements, instead of being sensibly adjusted, would soon have been torn up and thrown in our faces. Defeat in Vietnam would in fact have cost us the bases. Such, at any rate, is the unanimous judgment of those closest to the problem, who are by no means illiberal or hard-nosed men. Maybe that phrase, "losing friends in Asia," requires a little further definition.

ADDRESS BY CONGRESSMAN HANSEN OF IOWA

The problem in Vietnam is a complex one as we all have repeatedly been told. Vietnam is somewhat like marriage. It was easy to get into, and it is hard to get out of. We have so many emotional arguments going both for a stronger position in Vietnam and for an immediate withdrawal that it is sometimes difficult to take a long, hard, look at the situation there. Let us try to do this.

First of all, it should be clearly understood that part of the problem in the United States in accepting this position has to do with our changing role of leadership over the past 40 years. Our acceptance of responsibility in world politics has grown to the place where we now have almost completely replaced Great Britain as the leader of the free world. We are called upon to do what the British did prior to 1900. She was somewhat the world police force. Scandinavian seamen could rove the fishing waters in the North Atlantic because they knew the British Navy would protect them if any difficulty arose. We, in the United States, now fulfill this same role for many small nations. This may not be as we would prefer, but at the moment, we have no real alternative but to accept our obligation as a Nation to maintain peace and order and to develop a political and economic climate where people can work and live as they wish under a Democratic system.

One criticism has been that the Vietnamese themselves cannot and do not fight. This is simply not true. This is a tough war, and the Vietnamese are a tough people to have stood up under it and to be holding their heads above water after 20 years of violence and uncertainty.

To see the situation in true perspective, take, for example, one fact alone—that in the first 8 months of 1964 the Vietcong assassinated more than 400 local officials and kidnaped another 700. Now try to project what an equivalent amount of gangsterism would do to government performance in this country. Then attempt to project that effect, in turn, into the situation in a country such as South Vietnam which is just learning the art of self-government.

This procedure has been a continuation of the policy of the Communists, to weaken the country by reducing the number of trained administrators.

The Vietnamese military forces continue to fight well. Our own military men consider most of them as tough and brave as any in the world. Though there have been military reverses, there have also been victories—which sometimes do not make headlines.

Living conditions in the south are superior to those in the north. There has been a continued flow, or flight, of people from North Vietnam since the Communist takeover—to the south. There is no like movement to the north.

This shows that the Vietnamese people are not voting with their feet or their hearts for communism.

The campaign that is going on is sometimes referred to as a civil war. But this is a misnomer. If this were a true civil war, let me ask why then have not the majority of the Buddhist and Catholic leaders and their people joined this Communist cause? Discontent, there may have been—and local recruiting by the Vietcong, largely through intimidation, has taken place. This whole campaign, however, would never have been possible without the direction, personnel, key material, and total support coming from the north. Nor would it have been possible either, without the strong moral support and key material, when needed, provided by Peiping and, up to 1962 at least, by the Soviet Union. Thousands of highly trained men coming from the north, along with the crucial items of equipment and munitions, have been from the start the mainspring of the Vietcong insurgency. This has been all along a Communist subversive aggression, in total violation of the Geneva accords as well as general principles of international behavior.

Indeed the true nature of the struggle has been publicly stated many times by Hanoi itself, beginning with a 1960 Communist Party conference in North Vietnam which declared the policy of—as they put it—"liberating" the south. In February, President Johnson gave the anti-Communist war in Vietnam a new dimension. The significance of his action is both military and political.

By ordering American warplanes to attack targets in North Vietnam, Mr. Johnson destroyed any illusion that the Hanoi regime enjoyed a "privileged sanctuary" from which to continue to supply leadership and material for the Vietcong attacking American and South Vietnemese forces below the 17th parallel.

When he acquiesced in the decision to let South Vietnam's own air force join in the retaliatory strikes, he gave a much needed boost in morale to the military forces of that country, which were so long at the mercy of hit-and-run guerrilla tactics difficult to counter.

The immediate effect in the United States of the President's decision to retaliate against North Vietnam for the actions of its agents in South Vietnam was to lessen criticism from both ends of the spectrum.

Those who had been demanding more decisive action were pleased, although the limited retaliatory responses did not satisfy those who would like an all-out assault on Hanoi and even Red China. But it appreciably diminished the clamor of those critics who had felt the United States was turning the other cheek too often.

At the other extreme, Mr. Johnson's decision to demonstrate that the United States is not a "paper tiger" halted mounting speculation both in this country and abroad that Washington was inclined toward some sort of international negotiation which would lead to "neutralization of South Vietnam." This speculative trend had to be stopped before it sapped the will of the Americans and their South Vietnamese allies to continue the struggle.

Having had one unfortunate experience in negotiating a "neutralization" deal—the 1962 agreement of Laos—the United States wanted nothing like that at this point in the southeast Asian conflict.

It might be well at this point to recall what happened after the 1954 agreement when the south fulfilled its commitment to disarm—a circumstance which did not take place in the north. Recently McGeorge Bundy said that all wars eventually end by negotiation.

But wiser men than Bundy learned and said long ago that a nation never wins at the conference table anything that it was not prepared to win by force of arms on the battlefield if it had to. We suspect that President Johnson knows this.

When we analyze the Vietnamese situation as it prevails, we must not fail to take into account the Communist activities in Thailand which completely belie the assertion that they are only interested in liberation of peace-loving people from oppressors and are fostering a program of nationalism among the emerging nations. If there is any nation that has become a national state and whose people are peace loving and which has been living in peace with its neighbors, it is that of the Thai. Yet this country must operate almost in a state of war to prevent and halt Communist efforts to insidiously subject their land.

Thus we see that based on their own rationalization, the Communists have absolutely no business in Thailand.

As to the basic alternatives, so long as South Vietnam is ready to carry on the fight, withdrawal is unthinkable. A negotiation that produced a return to the essentials of the 1954 accord and thus an independent and secure South Vietnam would of course be an answer, indeed the answer. But negotiation would hardly be promising that admitted communism to South Vietnam—that did not control the Hanoi regime—that exposed South Vietnam, and perhaps other countries in the area, to renewed Communist aggression at will, with only nebulous or remote guarantees—this sort of negotiation is likewise unthinkable.

As for enlarging our own actions, we cannot speak surely about the future, for the aggressors themselves share the responsibili-

ties for such eventualities. We have shown, in our reaction to North Vietnam's attacks against us in the Gulf of Tonkin and elsewhere, that we can act, and North Vietnam knows this and must know its own weaknesses.

The root of the problem is in South Vietnam. We must persist in our efforts there, with patience rather than petulance, coolness rather than recklessness, and with a continuing ability to separate the real from the merely wished-for.

As a great power, we are now and will continue to find ourselves in situations where we simply do not have easy choices, where there simply are not immediate or ideal solutions available. We cannot then allow ourselves to yield to frustration, but must stick to the job, doing all we can and doing it better.

The national interests that have brought us into the Vietnam struggle are valid, and they do not become less so just because the going gets rough, and the end is not yet in sight. President Johnson said in his state of the Union message, "Our goal is peace in southeast Asia. That will come only when aggressors leave their neighbors in peace. What is at stake is the cause of freedom, and in that cause, America will never be found wanting."

The Book

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial in the Washington Star, of Tuesday, October 19, 1965, entitled "The Book," which is recognition of National Bible Week, the third week of October. This is one of the most beautifully written summaries of what the Bible means to all of us that it has been my pleasure and privilege to read.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BOOK

It isn't a book at all, really; it's a collection of books and it tells a rambling, disjointed story that begins with Middle Eastern musings on how the world was made and ends in late Greek poetry on how it shall be saved.

From the creation and the fall, we whirl through the early generations of man, the famous "begats," to the catastrophes of Lot and Noah and God's bow set in the clouds as a sign of peace. Then Abraham comes out of Ur and all before seems prelude. Pacts with God are made and renewed. Problems of marriage and inheritance are solved in strange ways. The patriarchs consistently show a wry humor in their dealings with God and with them. He often speaks in sublime irony, both sides thus completely different from the slave-master religious relationship common to the time.

Jacob becomes Israel, the people of God, and his son, Joseph, rules in Egypt, a light to the gentiles. Abruptly, darkness falls on Egypt and out of it rises a new leader, Moses, who fashions a new people of God out of slaves and leads them fitfully and rebelliously toward the Promised Land. Battles follow and civil wars and the rearing of a throne in Israel, whereon finally sits David the King, shepherd, hero, warrior and corrupt, ruler, yet a poet of piercing sweet power, whose songs still solace and lift up the heart of man.

The corruption of power, which began with Saul, continues through the kings, splits the kingdom, leads the people into captivity beside the waters of Babylon.

Now the jumbled, crowded story begins to shift as if to another key, that of prophecy. From this point on, in good times or bad, and there are more bad than good, the spirit of the people of God is found no more in kings but in the lonely, insistent outraged, mourning voices of God's prophets. The voice is one of increasing ethical precision in a call to the people to return to God's ways.

Throughout all this long tale there have been interludes of great human pathos and love: Ruth amid the alien corn, Susannah and the elders, the trials of Job, the song which is Solomon's.

For the Christian reader, the New Testament is another change in key, the grand climax of the elaborate story, in which all the major themes of the past—the fashioning and preservation of the people of God, the building of His city, the understanding of His law, the human notes of pathos and tragedy—all these are brought to resolution in the birth, teachings, death, and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth, the Messiah.

At the end, the thousands of people and events reveal their substantial unity and a dynamic, directed movement through time toward God and eternity.

Jews or Christians, or vaguely agnostic survivors of those faiths, we are indeed people of the Book. It has formed us, our minds, our ways, our laws, and institutions. This third week of October is National Bible Week. There can be no observance more fitting and more rewarding than to open and read the Holy Book.

Veterans Organizations Support Investigation of Finance Companies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I am heartened by the support that the national veterans organizations are giving to the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, the distinguished chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, and chairman also of the Domestic Finance Subcommittee, which has been investigating loan-shark finance companies.

The Italian American War Veterans of the United States has already passed a resolution supporting the efforts of Chairman PATMAN and the other members of the Domestic Finance Subcommittee.

I am now pleased to inform my colleagues that the Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A., at their recent national convention, also passed a resolution supporting the subcommittee's efforts and urging that the Defense Department place off limits these unscrupulous loan companies which specialize in loans to servicemen.

The news release from the Jewish War Veterans about this resolution follows:

WASHINGTON.—Efforts of Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN of the House Committee on Banking and Currency to expose and combat the exploitation of U.S. military personnel by unscrupulous loan companies have been commended by National Commander Milton A. Waldor of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America.

Mr. Waldor, of Newark, N.J., called the attention of Chairman PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, to a resolution on the subject adopted by JWV at its recent national convention. Mr. Waldor said that Representative PATMAN's investigation and hearings complemented the objectives sought by his organization.

The JWV resolution noted that American soldiers and sailors pay an estimated $50 million a year in exorbitant interest and excess charges on consumer credit. Aiming at military patronage, loan companies have hired former high-ranking military officers to serve as officers of the firms, giving enlisted men a false sense of confidence.

In the opinion of JWV the exploitation of servicemen "is bound to effect their performance in the line of duty."

National Commander Waldor hailed new Department of Defense directives aimed at achieving more ethical practices by businesses catering to military personnel. "This response to the disclosures made by Chairman PATMAN's committee is in consonance with JWV recommendations as enacted by resolution of our national convention."

During last month's national convention the JWV went on record in support of Department of Defense cooperation with the Domestic Finance Subcommittee of the House Committee on Banking and Currency in exposing the sharp practices of a number of loan companies specializing in loans to armed services personnel. At that time the JWV convention urged that such companies be placed "off limits."

The Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America is the oldest active war veterans organization in the country.

The Artist and His Studies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the dean of the College of Fine Arts at Carnegie Institute of Technology, Dr. Norman O. Rice, has recently written an illuminating article, "The Artist and His Studies," which appeared in the September 15 issue of the Carnegie Tech Tartan. This article is especially pertinent in the light of the recent enactment into law of the National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965.

I ask unanimous consent that the article may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ARTIST AND HIS STUDIES

(By Dr. Norman O. Rice, dean of the College of Fine Arts, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, Pa)

A "fine arts student" is scarcely a type that can be pinned down by generalities.

The arts themselves differ from each other and attract different kinds of people. In the end we have everything from pragmatists to poets, with a range of characteristics in between that would astonish most people.

Some of the arts require tremendous physical control, others do not. Sometimes the control is one of narrow tolerances, as in the fingering of a violin or the delineation of an exact shape; sometimes it is perhaps no less precise but involves the whole body, as in tumbling around the stage. The mental controls have to be there, too. These are built up very systematically in all of the arts, starting with quite simple ideas and developing elaboration to the point at which reaction becomes instinctive. If one has to think about the mechanics of drawing he does not draw, if one is preoccupied with the techniques of acting he doesn't act. Students are bound to have deep concern for the craft they are learning, but in my judgment the craft is perhaps the least part of their problem. Craft must be mastered and accessible, but the arts begin by assuming an adequate base in craftsmanship, adequate, that is, for whatever expression has to be made. If the expressive urge is there, the means for turning it into art will generally be found.

MORE THAN CRAFT LEARNING

The problem of the school then is not to bear down on craft training exclusively for 4 college years. The kind of digital dexterity that musicians and draftsmen need goes on and on and must be encouraged and practiced and developed to whatever strength the artist needs. The same can be said of voice controls as they are practiced by singers and actors. The projection of a tone is important just as the projection of a word may be. If education in the arts ended at teaching these things, our task would be much less complex and much duller. As it is, we begin in each of our programs with the business of mastering adequate techniques. The departments approach this problem differently—each in its own way. In general, then, all fine arts programs build on the assumption of adequate techniques with ultimate emphasis on the adequate expression of ideas, stress on expressive capability increasing as a student matures.

EDUCATION IN THE SCIENCES

The educational process in the arts is one of indirection, suggestion, intimation, stimulation, speculation, demonstration, critical evaluation and then usually recapitulation and a new beginning. In my observation, everything that an artist knows he can eventually use. But learning in the arts is considerably more than assembling facts. Of course, artists need to know something about history and about the great ideas of mankind. Of course, artists should understand the sciences and the political systems of the world, and, of course, an artist should know all of the best literature in his own field and the best that has been written and said in all related fields. The humanities are extremely important to us if they are humanely taught, just as the sciences are important to us if they are taught with some recognition of the artist's particular kind of sensitivity and response. The world has placed, in recent years, a high premium on the capacity to deal knowledgeably with verbal and mathematical symbols and it has tended to ignore the fact that ideas can be communicated with great force and clarity through other kinds of symbols—through structure, through gesture, through the ordering of sights and sounds among which creative people of some varities feel most at home.

CIRCUMVENTING OBSOLESCENCE

There is nothing magical about 4 years as an educational term for anyone and I suppose 4 years is never enough time to give an artist to learn his trade. We talk a good deal on this campus about preparing students to circumvent the pull toward obsolescence. We do not have, in fine arts, quite the same problems that are found elsewhere, but I think we can say that the College of Fine Arts tries to do precisely this for the people it touches. The obsolescence we face, as I have indicated, is of a different kind. A good new idea in architecture does not make obsolete a good old idea. It is pointless, however, to go on simply reproducing old ideas or forms or encouraging their reproduction in a school.

Artists, that is to say creative and imaginative people, must learn how to make out of all the impingements in their lives a synthesis resulting in an overt statement, one of fresh interpretation or of new import. "Heard melodies are sweet but those unheard are sweeter" is hardly the analysis of a musician; it is a poetic verbal image based on still another visual image. A musician needs to hear the melody to judge its "sweetness" and unless he can create it according to his standards he has no function. We can proceed through all the arts and find parallels. A design which is described in words does not exist for the architect, the potter, the painter, the playwright, the printer—they can imagine all they choose but ultimately they have to produce. It is only by making external whatever ideas have been generated that the artist's ideas can be judged.

FINE ARTS CURRICULUM

With all of the preamble, what can I say about the curriculum in the college? I can describe it in fairly succinct terms. Architecture has 5 years and the other departments have 4 years; into these time limits (which as I have suggested are purely arbitrary and which may not be at all realistic for their purpose) we have developed programs which vary from department to department and even between options in the same department. About 25 percent of the total credit required in the college is in the general area of the humanities.

Some years ago the faculties of this college, working with humanities and social sciences, developed two basic courses. The first year we provide a combination writing and reading course, which we call thought and expression; in the second year we require a survey of man's cultural history (that is to say history with emphasis on man's cultural achievement rather than on his military, political or economic mutations). This course is called History of Arts and Civilization. It is possible for scholars to be scornful of both of these courses because they attempt far too much in the time we give them. They are intensive, they require a great deal of reading and writing and they are taught with varying levels of success by various members of the faculty who have attempted them over the years. In spite of their limitations, they do stimulate a desire in many students to read more widely and they provide a base for intelligent reading. In the 10 years I have been on the campus there have been many changes in both of these courses. The English and history departments have worked hard and helpfully with our own faculties in the hope of maximizing their interest and effectiveness. Although these courses are taken by all fine arts students, I am not sure that they are necessarily ideal for all students in the college. For various reasons it is simpler to mandate these two courses than to give beginning students a wide option, as many more complex and diversified universities have done. In general, I believe ours are good courses for our people; if I did not think they were good college level courses for anyone, I would not judge them to be good enough for the College of Fine Arts. It follows that we would be inconsistent were we to deny the privilege of taking these courses to anyone on campus.

CAN OTHERS BENEFIT?

Within the college we are integrated to the degree that schedules will permit. We do not exclude architects from sections which are basically for music students, and so on. The long laboratory hours required in the college make scheduling for mixed groups extremely difficult. Because of our own scheduling problem, the pattern of classes designed for fine arts is apt to be unpopular elsewhere on the campus and this is one partical situation, I suppose, which keeps us from enrolling students from other colleges in these courses. There is nothing mystical in thought and expression or history of arts and civilization, however, that in itself makes either course more or less valuable than another course in the same field. I happen to agree that cultural history for people in the arts has more meaning and excites more interest and response than does political history. To a historian who is differently oriented, this may seem incomprehensible but for many people man's cultural achievements can be as significant as his exchanges of power. Because man leaves behind him artifacts that can be looked at and evaluated, his record in cultural terms is quite clear: it does not depend on a phrase or value judgment seen through an overlay of many years.

ELECTIVE TIME

Most students in the college take a psychology course in the third year and thereafter they are free to spend their elective time on anything that presents itself. A year or two ago I made a survey of the kinds of courses that art students get into at junior and senior levels. The range is surprisingly wide, and the number of students moving into areas of mathematics, science, languages, humanities and the arts other than their own, surprisingly great. Artists are, after all, people—sometimes, if they are good artists, people with perceptions heightened by experience and possessing a vast curiosity about everything that goes on.

We do not, of course, achieve this high state of receptivity with every student. No art school does. We have our full share of good people, however, and in my view we are one of the more highly favored schools in this respect. I have lived among student and faculty artists through all of my days, and I assure you they are as diverse, as subject to period of exaltation and exhaustion, as keenly concerned about the world as it is or as it could be, as anxious to assist others, as full of frailty and nobility, as prone to the ordinary and the exotic as any other group you can imagine.

THE OVERPROJECTORS

Art students tend to respond externally to the ideas they are trying to absorb internally. Thus drama students who are learning how to project, sometimes overproject in the presence of others. I suppose this is disturbing to the underprojectors around them. In the interest of international good will and understanding, however, I suggest that we could practice on this campus a bit of tolerance toward those whose ideas are not like our own, and this applies to the painters who look at the actors, the actors who look at the musicians, the musicians who look at the architects, and all of the engineers, scientists, and humanitarians who regard the College of Fine Arts and its inhabitants. Some of the most luxuriant beards a few years ago were being worn (I think) by electrical engineers, though the College of Fine Arts got the credit for them. College years are expressive years and a time when young artists (and others) are rapidly growing in their awareness of all the possibilities the world holds for them. It neither shocks nor surprises me when the evidence of this phenomenon is

overstated and thus badly presented to the public view. Eventually, a good artist learns restraint as well as expression. He learns to develop his individuality in terms of his work rather than his person. At the beginning stages it is hard to learn everything at once, and I guess I, for one, would rather see an overstatement of personality than a flaccid kind of conformity.

Manpower Development and Training Act in the State of Texas

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, on September 30 I spoke out on the floor of this House to protest the failure of the State of Texas to properly implement the Manpower Development and Training Act in Texas. This constructive and highly successful program was designed to equip unemployed men and women with the skills they must have to find employment. The success of the program is demonstrated by the fact that cumulative data through June 30, 1965, indicates that 74 percent of those persons trained under the program throughout the Nation have been placed in jobs. Clearly this is a program which should be supported, expanded and fully implemented.

In the State of Texas, I am sorry to say, the manpower training program is not being properly or fully implemented. In fact, State officials responsible for the operation of the program in Texas are today wilfully violating the intent of Congress in passing the act and the Federal policy. Specifically, noncompliance with Federal policy consists in the total exclusion of all private business and training schools from participation in Manpower Development and Training Act programs. Contrary to the plain language of the act, and particularly the amendment to the act passed this year, Texas State officials have taken the position that the public schools shall have a monopoly in the field of manpower training and that the private business and training schools, who are in the taxpaying sector of the economy, shall be excluded. This situation is well documented and I have been complaining about it and bringing it to the attention of the appropriate Federal and State officials for more than 5 months.

Some time ago I received a letter from the U.S. Office of Education, in response to an inquiry I made, stating that:

> Responsible State officials are now giving active consideration to the involvement of private schools in manpower training.

I was gratified to learn that after almost 3 years from the time the act was first passed that the State of Texas was now giving consideration to proper implementation of the act. But I served notice on the Office of Education as well as the State agencies involved that I would not be satisfied until private schools in Texas were in fact given an opportunity to contribute to the program.

Today, I am pleased to report that after additional inquiries, the Office of Education has informed me that it has notified all the States that Federal approval and funding of projects will be withheld where the State refuses to permit private business and training schools to participate in Manpower Development and Training Act programs. It should be noted that Manpower Development and Training Act is funded 100 percent with Federal funds. This fact should be marked with more than passing interest by all the Federal and State officials concerned with the program.

I have also been informed that a meeting has been scheduled by Texas State officials with the private school community at Austin, Tex., on November 2, to resolve the question of utilization of private schools in the manpower program.

It should be remembered that the act was amended this year for the specific purpose of establishing guidelines for the States to follow in determining whether to use public or private schools, and to further encourage the use of private schools where they can provide equipment and training not available in public schools, or where at comparable cost they can provide substantially equivalent training, or an expanded use of the individual referral method, or aid in reducing more quickly unemployment or current and prospective manpower shortages.

State and Federal officials throughout the Nation, not only in Texas, should take cognizance of these guidelines. This is no time to smother our manpower program under clouds of regulations interpreted with narrow vision. It is my hope that the letter being circulated by the Office of Education will serve to invigorate the manpower program and to encourage State officials to make full use of it.

With unanimous consent I am inserting in the RECORD a copy of the circular letter of the U.S. Office of Education, dated October 14, 1965.

> U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, OFFICE OF EDUCATION,
>
> *Washington, D.C., October 14, 1965.*
>
> C.L. 4093.
>
> Sent to: State directors of vocational education.
>
> Sent by: Walter M. Arnold, Assistant Commissioner for Vocational and Technical Education.
>
> Subject: Use of private educational or training institutions for manpower training.
>
> Statutory provisions and congressional intent: Section 231 of the Manpower Development and Training Act as amended provides that "* * * State agencies shall provide * * * training through public educational agencies or institutions or through arrangements with private educational or training institutions where such private institutions can provide equipment or services not available in public institutions, particularly for training in technical and subprofessional occupations, or where such institutions can, at comparable cost, (1) provide substantially equivalent training, or (2) make possible an expanded use of the individual referral method, or (3) aid in reducing more quickly unemployment or current and prospective manpower shortages."
>
> Senate Report No. 123 contains the following explanation of this action: "The committee adopted an amendment setting forth specific guidelines for the States to follow in determining whether to use public or private facilities for institutional training. The committee feels that the present requirement that private facilities can only be used if they make possible reduced Federal expenditures is too restrictive and tends to discourage the States use of private institutions where existing private facilities might have advantages over public facilities. Specifically, private institutions may have equipment or services not available in public facilities. Furthermore, training of individuals may be facilitated where a particular training course is available at a private school."
>
> House Report No. 170 states: "Congress, when it passed the act in 1962, intended that the facilities of properly qualified, private training institutions could be used for Manpower Development and Training Act training. In 1963, Congress reemphasized its desire to have private institutions participate in the program by specifically amending the act to authorize the State vocational education agencies to contract for training with such institutions where they 'can provide substantially equivalent training with reduced Federal expenditures.'
>
> "Hearings on this bill indicated that private training institutions have so far played a small but valuable role in the Manpower Development and Training Act program. These institutions can be especially helpful in achieving the purposes of the program in certain situations. One of these situations arises when private institutions possess more modern equipment and facilities than public training institutions. Another exists when a private institution can readily absorb into one of its ongoing programs an individually referred Manpower Development and Training Act trainee, or a small group of Manpower Development and Training Act trainees, and thus prevent these approved trainees from waiting until a specific new Manpower Development and Training Act project can be gotten underway in a public institution. An additional case is found when the capacity of public vocational schools and other public institutions in an area becomes too fully utilized to allow them to take on the desired number of Manpower Development and Training Act trainees. * * * In certain States, however, legal or other barriers may prevent a State's contributing (after June 30, 1966) the required 10 percent of training costs to a Manpower Development and Training Act project assigned to a private institution. In view of this situation, the committee has acted to authorize full Federal financing, where necessary, of training projects that can best be carried on in private institutions."
>
> Project development and approval procedures: To insure that the intent of the Congress is complied with Office of Education regional Manpower Development and Training Act representatives may not approve projects unless the project application contains a statement signed by the State director of vocational education, or his authorized representative, documenting: (1) the names of private training institutions or agencies contacted to provide training; (2) that when the State agency proposes to award the training project to a private agency or institution, it is because of a finding that such institution can provide equipment or services that are not available in public institutions, particularly for training in technical and subprofessional occupations, or that such institution or agency can, at comparable or reduced cost,[1] (a) provide substantially

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[1] Training cost comparisons of public and private agencies or institutions considered shall be documented in terms of cost per trainee hour of instruction as well as total project costs.

equivalent training or, (b) make possible expanded use of individual referral procedures or, (c) aid in reducing more quickly unemployment or current and prospective manpower shortages.

This statement is to be inserted in each project file presented for final review and funding immediately before the training plan (Form OE-4014).

General or blanket certification to the effect that alternate facilities were considered in the selection of the training facility will no longer be accepted as meeting the requirement of article II-C of the agreement.

This procedure is to become effective immediately.

Copy of circular letter sent to chief State school officers.

Report of the New Hampshire State Regent, Daughters of the American Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. McINTYRE

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, yesterday, I was leafing through a copy of the proceedings of the Seventy-fourth Continental Congress of the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution. I read the report of Mrs. Charles E. Lynde, the New Hampshire State regent with great interest.

The 34 chapters of the DAR in New Hampshire have compiled an excellent record of activities over the past year. Their report indicates the falsity of a fallacy which many people have—that the DAR does little except inculcate the less desirable habits of ancestor worship.

The report of the New Hampshire activities of the DAR show that, in fact, this organization has performed a substantial amount of constructive, helpful public service. In New Hampshire, the DAR chapters have been a shining example of community thoughtfulness, good citizenship, and loyal patriotism.

Mr. President, as a Senator from New Hampshire I take great pride in the accomplishments of this organization. In order that the readers of the RECORD may understand my pride, I ask unanimous consent that the report of the New Hampshire State regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution may be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPORT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE REGENT

Once more the 1,725 members of 34 chapters in New Hampshire have made possible this final splendid report.

Highlights of the year include a net gain in membership for the first time in years; first State auction a tremendous success; library expansion pledge paid-up, plus; an enormous U.S.A. flag and a replica of first "no stamp, no tax" flag presented to famous "Strawbery Banke" restoration at Portsmouth; first NHSDAR Ancestor Directory compiled and published.

American Heritage: Very popular committee. Chapters continue to participate in town bicentennials; more cooperation with local historical societies, libraries, and schools; set of Wedding Band china given local art institute; film-strip of Currier & Ives prints shown; window display of American craft work; one chapter read American poem of prose passage at meetings.

American History Month: Proclamation by Governor and five mayors; resolution introduced in State legislature to observe this month in every February; increased participation in American History essay contest; 587 pupils from 52 schools; medals awarded at State and chapter levels; posters and stickers widely used; month observed in school assemblies; spot announcements on seven radio stations; window and other displays; 1,305 inches publicity in stories and pictures.

American Indians: Over 200 pounds clothing, beads, jewelry mailed; programs: slides of St. Marys, Bacone, Indian pottery of Southwest States, talk on Choctaw Indians, Indian songs, an original poem. Contributions totaled $152, plus money for filing cabinets at St. Marys. State chairman gave Indian doll to chapter doing the most.

American music: National Anthem and America sung at meetings. Some chapters had entire musical programs, especially at Christmas; audience-participation programs popular; young peoples programs encouraged.

Americanism and DAR Manual for Citizenship: Citizen, U.S.A., given, loaned, to radio stations and schools and well-received; 7 chapters attended naturalization courts, held receptions for new citizens and gave welcome cards; 1,000 inches publicity with photos; 201 manuals and 128 flag codes given; 25 books or magazines to promote Americanism placed in libraries and schools; $137.75 spent on this program; $82.70 for manuals.

Children of the American Revolution: 6 societies, 62 members, 2 girls transferred into DAR. The senior national president is from New Hampshire; 8 national promoters, 4 State boosters; 25 percent of CAR families have CAR magazines; 12 DAR members; 12,000 coupons mailed; 4 CAR's attended national convention; Constitution Week jointly observed with DAR and SAR, president general of latter was speaker; $148 contributed.

Conservation: 10 chapters used slides or films; 125 trees and 2,050 seedlings planted; 28 chapters reported feeding birds; aid of town selectmen enlisted to save trees on a common; material distributed to libraries, schools, Scouts and members of CAR.

Constitution Week: 10th annual banquet with CAR and SAR, hosted by latter; speaker, president general of NSSAR; Governor and three mayor signed proclamation; spot announcements and radio programs used; the New Hampshire educational TV station gave special program; displays in windows and libraries; special programs in schools; State chairman wrote several articles for newspapers.

DAR good citizens: 64 girls participated in annual pilgrimage to State capital; top 10 personally interviewed by judges, first place winner and 2 runnerups were given U.S. bonds at State conference.

DAR magazine: Increase of 89 subscriptions, 124 new; over 25 percent of membership subscribe; gift subscriptions given to schools; hospitals, and an inn. One chapter gave to grade schools having American history-essay winners, and to a guest speaker.

DAR magazine advertising: More than tripled for a total of $1,305.

DAR museum: $428 to friends, including 1 sponsor, 1 life member; $56.13 to New Hampshire Children's Attic; new transparancies purchased for DAR 75th Jubilee Book. Gifts: Bennington pottery child's bank; early books; doll's clothes, and materials; silk quilt for doll's bed; child's pin and chain; 28-inch doll, c. 1860. In commemoration of 75th Diamond Jubilee we purchased for the museum a miniature doll's chair with original stencil, c. 1820. To Museum Reference Library: "Decorative Arts of New Hampshire" from Currier Gallery of Art, Manchester.

DAR school: $535 to six schools; several chapters had schools programs; good clothing sent; books, gifts and money sent to Hillside at Christmas; 1 chapter annually gives scholarships to four schools; good representation from New Hampshire on DAR day at Hillside in Marlboro, Mass.

Genealogical records: 7 chapters completed 763 forms, including 63 supplemental sheets—a large increase over last year.

Honor roll: President general's citation, 2; banner award, 2; star award, 4; silver award, 4; honorable mention, 3; total, 15.

Junior membership: Total, 90; 25 percent of new members admitted were juniors; good publicity for outstanding State junior. Pages served at fall and spring conferences; 1 junior is chapter regent; 1, other officer; 1, State chairman; 4, chapter committee chairmen; State directory compiled; successful first junior bazaar at State conference; 28 chapters contributed to Helen Pouch Memorial Scholarship Fund; juniors of 1 chapter decorated large window for Constitution Week.

Lineage research: 56 potential members were helped, resulting in membership for 31; volunteers in 1 chapter meet each month at library to help potentials, with good results—the group idea is appealing.

National defense: 19 chapters had entire program; 30 devoted 5-10 minutes each meeting; 27 discussed, 3 studied resolutions; 7 gave material to schools, 9 to libraries, 21 to interested individuals, $18 to Dollars for Defense; 2 disarmament kits to school debaters.

Membership: New members, 68; reinstated, 3; transfers in, 8; deaths, 44; resignations, 19; dropped, 4; transfers out, 6. Net gain, 6.

Public relations: 33 chapters sent 945 items from 37 papers, DAR magazine, CAR magazine, 3 State DAR bulletins; New Hampshire articles with photos printed in DAR magazine; total inches, 8,426½; radio and TV, 6½ hours; 42 magazines given to public institutions or offices.

Program: Excellent topics; many shared with nearby chapters; American Heritage popular; ever mindful of national theme; slide program with script, "Scenic and Historic New Hampshire" presented to NSDAR.

Student loan and scholarship: $800 from auction was given to fund; $200 scholarship for gifted girl to St. Paul's School Advanced Studies program; 1 loan of $300 granted; repayments, $455; 3 chapters contributed.

The flag of the United States of America: 25 chapters gave out 80 flag codes; 3 gave to naturalization courts; 4 flags given to Girl and Boy Scouts; 1 chapter placed its 48-star flag in local museum; 1 put flags around town square on Flag Day; flags are annually renewed on Revolutionary soldiers' graves.

Transportation: All chapters provide rides to meetings and State conferences; 3 went on pilgrimages; good attendance at Cathedral of Pines DAR service; good representation at DAR Day at Hillside School.

Library: Library expansion pledge paid, and oversubscribed; 3 chairs purchased for library; 6 books of historic value given to local libraries and 2 to New Hampshire Historical Society; 32 bound DAR magazines to a public library from 1 chapter; 3 chapters requested DAR magazine listing in Index of Periodical Literature; 28 subscriptions to DAR magazines given to schools or libraries; all books on wanted list obtained; 13 chapters maintain bookshelves in libraries; Life Pictorial History of U.S.A. given 1 high school as published, 8 volumes to date.

GERALDINE D. LYNDE,
Mrs. Charles E. Lynde,
State Regent, New Hampshire.

"I Regret That I Have But One Life To Give to My Country"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, at this particular time when we see continued disrespectful demonstrations belittling our Nation's valiant efforts to halt communism in Asia, I would like to share with my colleagues a letter from what I believe is a typical American youth who has just completed his recruit training at the U.S. Naval Training Center at San Diego, Calif.

This young sailor addressed his letter to Capt. Fletcher Hale, USN, center commander, U.S. Naval Training Center, San Diego, Calif., and his outlook on life was so well received at the center that it was thought worth sharing with other naval personnel and was published in the October 1 issue of the San Diego Dispatch, an excellent publication devoted to the Navy, Marine, and Coast Guard community of San Diego.

Under unanimous consent, I include the contents of the letter as a portion of my remarks:

DEAR CAPTAIN HALE, SIR: I guess I'm just one of thousands of young men who go through recruit training here at San Diego. Although I have never met you, I would like to thank you and all the other officers who are responsible for making men out of young material just like me.

I'm awful proud of myself and for what I have accomplished. Although I am one whom you have never heard of, I'm just as proud as anyone who has passed before me.

No. I'm not an honorman or an outstanding recruit or an American Spirit Honor Medal winner, but in my heart I am just as proud as any of these men. We all can't be winners of awards or medals, can we? I have a medal, sir, that no one can see. It's my pride and my satisfaction of knowing that I have done my best since the first day I entered the Navy.

Sir, I am from a small town in Georgia called Rockmart. It's the kind of town that no one far off knows of, but, sir, I love my town, the people in it and everything about it. Sir, you should be there in autumn. Everything is red, gold, and yellow. The fresh streams and fields of clover are so beautiful, and, sir, it's such a wonderful place to live.

I'm sure there are lots of places in America like Rockmart, Ga., and people just as proud as me. If the day comes when I must lift my strength with my fellow comrades and fight to keep my country free, I am prepared to give my life in their defense.

We always dream of things in the future and of having a home and a family. Next Sunday I will be married, and someday I will have children who will grow up in a wonderful country and learn to love it as much as I do. I want them to be free and learn to love democracy, and someday if they have to fight, I hope they will be as proud as their father.

I will go to AB "A" School in Philadelphia the latter part of the month. I have always wanted to be an aircraft electrician, but I didn't get the school. I know the Navy can't always give us the school we want, but my desire is to serve the Navy anyway and anywhere they need me. And if that day should come when I must give my life for all these things I love most, I am prepared to die in their defense.

Yes, Captain Hale, I'm a very proud man, just one of thousands who pass under your command, but honored to have done so. My country comes first to me, sir, and with honor and respect I quote the words of Nathan Hale, "I regret that I have but one life to give to my country."

With respect and admiration,

R.C.N.

An Independent Interoceanic Canals Commission Imperative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, one of the gravest issues now before the Nation and the Congress is that of the interoceanic canal problem, especially as regards the Panama Canal. Over a period of years my distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania has given to the Nation in the form of major addresses in the Congress and informative statements the most comprehensive discussions of these matters in our national history. In their course, he has repeatedly emphasized the imperative necessity for the creation on a broadly based and independent Interoceanic Canals Commission to make the necessary studies and recommendations.

In this effort, various Members of this body from both sides of the aisle, including myself, have joined with him in introducing bills to create such body. There have been included such distinguished legislators as the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BOW], the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. ANDERSON], and the gentleman from Texas [Mr. THOMPSON].

During the course of my own survey of the subject, I have been impressed by the magnitude of the information available in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Much of this material is listed in convenient form in an extensive bibliography compiled by Representative CLARK W. THOMPSON, former chairman of a special Subcommittee on the Operations of the Panama Canal, which was published in the RECORD of September 2, 1964, under the title of "Isthmian Canal Policy of the United States—Documentation, 1955–64."

During the present session there have been a number of important contributions by Representative FLOOD, among them two major addresses: "Interoceanic Canal Problem: Inquiry or Coverup?" in the RECORD of April 1, 1965, and a sequel under the same title in the RECORD of July 29, 1965.

A notable contribution to the growing literature on the canal question is a major article in the March 1965 issue of American Opinion by Harold Lord Varney, president of the Committee on Pan American Policy of New York, under the title of "Help! Save the Panama Canal."

Because of its forthright clarification, this paper should be read and studied by every Member of the Congress, responsible officials of the executive department, and all others concerned with interoceanic canal and Caribbean policy questions, especially users of the Panama Canal, who will have to pay tolls. Such consideration will show the necessity for an independent inquiry of the canal question not incumbered by lodgment within the limits of the conventional executive structure of our Government.

The indicated article by Mr. Varney follows:

HELP! SAVE THE PANAMA CANAL

Once again, Americans are being reviled and penalized for standing up for American rights. Today, it is in Panama.

As these words are written, 3,500 Americans and their families in the Canal Zone, many of them devoted veterans of lifelong careers on the canal, are being gagged, humiliated, and threatened by agents of their own Government. These Americans see the canal becoming another slice of the pie to be passed out to the ravenous international Communist conspiracy, a piece of pastry designed to placate the insatiable Communist mobs and Panama's unclean and leftist politician prompters. They see the American position in Panama being steadily eroded by a series of cowardly and unnecessary American surrenders. And they are unable to get their story, the true story, to the American people because Canal Zone Bureaucrat in Chief Robert J. Fleming, Jr., pitching himself to the State Department key, has ordered Americans in the zone to shut up—or else.

At stake is the entire U.S. position in the isthmus and, eventually, in the hemisphere. At stake is the Panama Canal itself.

A few bold-spirited Americans in the zone have tried to break through the sound barrier. Reprisals have been swift. When, after the bloody 1964 riots, a U.S. marshal flew to Washington to present the case of Americans in the Canal Zone, he was promptly seques-

tered by the Department of Justice, before he could talk to the press, and told that if he wanted to save his job he had better shut his mouth and return to the zone. He returned.

When two canal employees of long tenure, Arthur C. Payne and Richard D. Meehan, publicly criticized Governor Fleming for his cringing attitude toward the corrupt and leftist Panamanian politicians, both were peremptorily fired from their jobs and forced by economic pressures to leave the zone. When Gerald A. Doyle, chief architect of the canal, filed a suit against Governor Fleming and the Secretary of the Army to restrain them from publicly flying the flag of Panama over American-ruled territory, conditions were made so unpleasant for him in the zone that he was forced to return to the States. There are, alas, many other such cases. In fact, a pint-size reign of terror has been instituted in the Canal Zone by Governor Fleming with the apparent design of preparing the way for full surrender of the Panama Canal. And—to the shame of America—it seems to be working.

HOPE FADES

We held some hope for an end to American retreat in Panama when Lyndon B. Johnson became President; for, it was then hard to believe that his policies could be worse than those of the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations. After all, while still a Senator, Mr. Johnson had sharply criticized President Eisenhower for permitting the Panamanian flag to be flown in the Canal Zone. "The President has chosen to ignore congressional advice," wrote the then Senator Johnson in an October 3, 1960, letter to a constituent, "and he is now responsible for the consequences of his decision." The country was again reassured after the January 9, 1964, riots, when President Johnson firmly declared that "the United States cannot allow the security of the Panama Canal to be imperiled." It seemed that a new spirit had entered the White House; a spirit of strength and honor. Perhaps the canal would not be surrendered after all.

Our optimistic expectation was short lived. With such high initial hopes, the letdown was the more agonizing when, on December 18, 1964, President Johnson did a complete cave-in on America's whole position in the Canal Zone. He announced that his envoys, who had been conferring with the Panamanians since the Communist-inspired January riots, had promised Panama two things: (1) That we would negotiate a revision of the 1903 Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty, under which Panama had ceded the Canal Zone to the United States "in perpetuity"; and (2) that we were ready to negotiate a redefinition of American sovereignty over the zone. Since these were the two basic demands, instigated by the Communists, which Panamanian politicians had been pressing since the 1958 visit of Milton Eisenhower, the President's December statement represented an almost complete American capitulation. It was incredible. Historically, the Johnson revelation ranks with Yalta as an alltime American diplomatic low. In a world where we have overmastering power, we had been made to execute a kow-tow before a pigmy nation of little more than a million people.

To comprehend the Panama debacle, we must see it as the confluence of two parallel and baleful influences which have darkened American politics throughout the last two decades. One is the gradual decay of our national image in the Americas, as a result of our constantly manifested cowardice in the face of innumerable affronts from miniscule nations. (After Fidel Castro made us the laughing stock of Latin America, there is little wonder that pale imitators, such as Panama's Presidents Chiari and Robles, would feel confident that they could blackmail, or riot, or hound, or talk us into surrender of our Canal Zone.) The other influence is the apparent enfeeblement of the United States as a result of the domination of political thinking and discussion by the far left. (The net effect of this enfeeblement has been to make the American people shock proof before the most humiliating foreign assaults upon our honor and security. As in Cuba, and now in Panama, we have so long retreated before shadows that a conditioned and uninformed public now registers no anger, no indignation, no fury.)

SOVEREIGNTY IN THE CANAL ZONE

The Panama story began in 1903 when, under the vigorous leadership of Theodore Roosevelt, we signed the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty with Panama, obligating us to build the Panama Canal. There were no "ifs" and "buts" in this treaty. Its language was plain. In return for building the canal, and a payment of $10 million, the Republic of Panama ceded to us a 10-mile-wide "zone" in which we would exercise "all the rights, power and authority * * * as if (the United States) were the sovereign of the territory * * * to the entire exclusion of the exercise by Panama of any such sovereign rights, power or authority." It was stipulated that the zone would revert to Panama only in the event that the United States ceased to operate a canal. Two subsequent treaties with Panama—the Hull-Alfaro Treaty of 1939, and the Eisenhower-Remon Treaty of 1955—did not in any way abridge the fact of our original sovereignty.

True, there have always been some shrill voices raised in Panama against American presence in the zone, but those voices were long considered irresponsible and exceptional. It was not until World War II that the rumblings of the present controversies became resonant. By an important coincidence, they synchronized both with the appearance of communism as an important factor in Panama and with the launching of the United Nations.

Alger Hiss seems to have provided the first catalyst for the efforts to take the canal from the United States. As first Secretary of the U.N. and later as Director of Political Affairs for the State Department, Hiss began to develop his unhealthy interest in the status of Panama. Emboldened at Potsdam by President Truman's off-the-cuff statement that Panama and Suez should be turned over to the United Nations (a position which Truman has never repudiated), Hiss made a sneak effort to bring the Panama Canal under U.N. jurisdiction. He actually turned over official Canal Zone papers to the United Nations on the ground that the zone was, as he put it, "occupied territory." Recognizing this as an effort to torpedo U.S. rule over the zone through the intrusion of the United Nations, Ambassador Spruille Braden, who was then Assistant Secretary of State, blocked Hiss' crude move and thus preserved the Canal Zone under American sovereignty.

However, after World War II, the Communists and the American left increasingly proposed internationalization of the canal. The potent Americans for Democratic Action, with HUBERT HUMPHREY as national vice chairman, began increasingly to refer to the need to turn the canal over to the United Nations. Following Nasser's coup in Egypt, and after a visit to Panama in late 1960, Adlai Stevenson declared that the "logical future of the canal may be some form of internationalization." Another indicative voice was that of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt; writing on June 25, 1962, she too proposed the Hiss plan for transfer of the canal to the United Nations. Norman Cousins, editor of the Saturday Review, echoed this proposal. Senator WAYNE L. MORSE even published a report by two Northwestern University professors recommending that the United States share control of our canal with the other nations of the hemisphere. In short, long before the ultimate Johnson decision in 1964, the Nation was obviously being softened by domestic "liberals" for a renunciation of American sovereignty over our Canal Zone, and for the consequent surrender of our Panama Canal.

Had this canker of American leftist propaganda not held out such encouragement, it is extremely doubtful that Panamanian politicians would have ventured to go so far in their anti-Americanism of the late forties and fifties. In all their increasingly provocative actions, they were made the more frenzied by their realization that a powerful political faction within the United States was ready to approve a sellout of American sovereignty in the zone. Those voices which defended our just sovereignty over the canal, most notably that of Representative DANIEL J. FLOOD, were given little play in the national press.

In Panama, an anti-American political faction began to consolidate. At first, there was little talk of an outright termination of U.S. sovereignty; that seemed incredible. Controversy raged over other issues; disposal of the defense bases which the United States had built in Panama (with Panamanian consent) during World War II; transfer to Panama of that Panama Railway property outside the zone; restriction of U.S. jurisdiction over sanitation in Panama; increase in the annual U.S. subsidy to Panama; payment of 20 percent of the gross income of the canal to the Republic of Panama, etc. In 1953, after President Eisenhower had invited Panama's President Remon to send a delegation to confer with the United States, "21 demands" were formulated by the Panamanian Government. In these demands officially appeared, almost for the first time, the request for a reconsideration of U.S. sovereignty over the canal, and for the raising of the Panamanian flag over the zone. Hitherto, the flag issue had been largely the war cry of the Panamanian Communists.

The Eisenhower administration's first reaction to this new militancy was to make a firm stand for American rights. A new treaty was negotiated in 1955. It preserved the status quo on American sovereignty and on the flag matter. But it offered pacification to the politicians by increasing the annual subsidy from $430,000 to $1,930,000; equalized the pay for American and Panamanian employees on the canal; called for construction by the United States of a bridge across the canal (the Thatcher Bridge); renounced American rights to establish and impose elementary sanitary rules for Panamanian cities; and made other minor concessions. In return, Panama gave the United States a rent-free 15-year use of the great Rio Hata airbase.

But an ugly spirit was developing around the matter of America's sovereignty over the canal, a spirit which boded ill for the future. At first, the U.S. representatives proposed that Panama agree that the sovereignty issue should never again be raised at Panama-United States conferences. The United States mistakenly retreated from this demand. It thus remained to become a flaming issue between Washington and the demagogic groups which dominate Panamanian politics. The fire was soon fanned by a great increase in Communists efforts in Panama, particularly after the Castro tri-

umph in Cuba with its continuing exportation of trained Communist revolutionaries.

Unfortunately for the United States, the Eisenhower administration, bedeviled by the continuous pressure of Republican "liberals" and "moderates" became incapable of needed firmness. At the same time, the Communists in Panama (many of whom operated under other banners) saw the flag and sovereignty issues as a pathway to power. Non-Communists politicians hoping to extort more concessions from Washington, decided to use the violence of the Communists as a club to activate the enfeebled Eisenhower. The men around the President, particularly his brother Milton, were too politically naive or too far to the left to stop the squeeze play. They registered only panic and displayed only the temperament of appeasement.

COMMUNIST VIOLENCE

In 1958, Communist-led students put on the first dress rehearsal for the staged and recurring violence which was to follow. Having won undisputed leadership over student organizations in the National Institute and the National University, the Communists now had the street force they needed. Having also manufactured an issue, they were ready to move. On May 2, the Union of University Students launched what they called Operation Sovereignty. Seventy-five students, led by the Communists Cleto Manuel Souza and Bolivar Davalos, marched into the Canal Zone taking the police by surprise. They planted 59 Panamanian flags at points in the zone between Panama and Cristobal. The Communists then marched this student mob to the presidential palace. There, they were greeted by President De la Guardia who promised that he would continue the fight to fly Panama's flag in the zone until his efforts were victorious.

In the aftermath of this incident, Milton Eisenhower was rushed to Panama. Arriving on July 12, the President's brother invited the student leaders (remember, they were Communists) to visit him. In a pretended pout, they rebuffed him with the proposal that he hold a public meeting and submit himself to Communist questioning. Milton Eisenhower then conferred with President De la Guardia, who reiterated the demand for the flying of the Panamanian flag in the American zone. What the President's brother told De la Guardia is not known, but it was reported at the time that he was noncommittal. He left Panama claiming that he was shaken by the political situation there.

Convinced that the Eisenhower administration could be bullied into far-reaching concessions, the Communists, now working hand in hand with nationalist politicians, decided to further test the Eisenhower timidity with an even more insulting demonstration. The occasion was the November 3, 1959 anniversary of Panamianian independence. Led by Foreign Minister Aquilino Boyd, a mixed column of Communists and Nationalists this time invaded the American Canal Zone, overawed the zone police, and was halted only by a mobilization of the U.S. Army.

Thus barred from the zone, the Communist-led force then marched upon the American Embassy in Panama City. There it lowered the American flag and spat upon it. Now, the mob spread out, looting and stoning American-owned business offices. President De la Guardia finally halted the violence by calling out the Guardia Nacional.

But the demonstration turned the trick. Eisenhower weakened. On November 5, U.S. Ambasador Harrington informed President De la Guardia that Milton Eisenhower, after his 1958 visit, had submited a memo to the President recommending that the United States recognize the titular sovereignty of Panama over the zone by permitting the flying of the Panamanian flag over the canal at designated points. The State Department then headed by Christian A. Herter, had approved the plan. The President was considering the proposal.

The final surrender was made on November 24 when Deputy Under Secretary of State Livingston T. Merchant visited President De la Guardia as Eisenhower's personal envoy and informed him that "the policy of the U.S. Government" was recognition "that the titular sovereignty over the Canal Zone remains in the Government of Panama." Thus were the flood waters loosed. On September 17, 1960, President Eisenhower directed that the Panamanian flag be flown beside the American flag in the Shaler Triangle in the Canal Zone. He preceded this, on April 19, 1960, by announcing nine other concessions to meet additional demands by the Republic of Panama.

There can be no question that this loss of nerve by President Eisenhower was the historic and disastrous turning point in our relations with Panama. Had Eisenhower stood firm against the Communist-Nationalist coalition in 1959, they would have been stopped in their tracks. They possessed no power to coerce the United States beyond the nuisance of their stage-managed demonstrations. Had we refused to be intimidated, the responsible forces in Panama would have been given an opportunity to come to power, and would have thus made an end to the Communist's "Operation Sovereignty."

Instead, this amazing manifestation of Washington's weakness and pliancy emboldened the leftist agitators to go on to further rapacities. We had bought off the political blackmailers, but the first was only a token payment. They were soon back for a bigger payoff. Few will deny that the subsequent U.S. blunders in Panama, culminating in President Johnson's surrender of December 18, 1964, stemmed from this first Eisenhower submission to mob pressure.

That President Eisenhower realized that he was doing something which outraged the self-respect of the American people is shown by the stealth with which he surrendered titular control over the canal. Hoping to head off just such a move, the House of Representatives (Feb. 2, 1960) voted 381 to 12 for a concurrent resolution to prevent the raising of the Panamanian flag in the zone. It is probable that the resolution would have won in the Senate by a similar margin had Chairman J. W. FULBRIGHT not bottled it up in the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, thus preventing it from reaching the Senate floor. The President withheld his order to fly the Panamanian flag until September 17, after Congress had adjourned and gotten out of Washington.

To consolidate the sellout to the Panamanian riot leaders, the President now sent to Panama a new team of representatives which approved his soft policies. As Ambassador, he appointed Joseph S. Farland. As Governor of the Canal Zone, he appointed Maj. Gen. Robert J. Fleming Jr. (Fleming replaced an excellent Governor, Maj. Gen. William E. Potter, who had stood firm against the Communists and the appeasers).

Governor Fleming quickly revealed himself as a square peg in a round hole. Instead of resisting Panama's hotheads, he supported their claims by turning his bureaucratic ire against the zonites, the most stable pro-American group on the isthmus. With the advent of the New Frontiersmen, Fleming more loudly joined the ultraliberal chorus. He now went so far that, in an address before the American Society of Civil Engineers in Panama on December 10, 1962, he actually belabored the local Americans who were urging the upholding of American rights in the zone as "self-appointed messiahs." Fleming also sneered at what he called "100 percent Americans," and he exclaimed that "change is inevitable":

"History," he said, "remembers with awe and affection only the great nonconformists who guided change. It has either forgotten or overwhelmed those small minds whose main air in life was to preserve the satus quo."

With such a man representing the United States in the isthmus, it is little wonder that the Panamanian Nationalist and their motivating Communist spearhead decided to press for more "change."

Ambassador Farland was less careless in his speech, but he early communicated to the troublemakers that he was on the right side. One of his first acts was to establish extremely friendly relations with the notorious Castroite, Thelma King, member of the Panama Congress and probably the most dangerous Communist in Panama. Thelma King is not officially a Communist; officially, she is the leader of the leftwing of the Panama Socialist Party. But her frequent trips to Cuba leave little doubt of her true identity (that is, to anyone but our Pollyanna State Department, which recently honored Communist Thelma King by awarding her a special medal of honor). Farland now made a great display of friendship for the Panamanians by repeated trips through Panama's villages. In another setting, this would have been good strategy. But, in the explosive atmosphere of the early sixties, it merely emphasized in the Panamanian mind the contrast between the Washington appointees and the Americans who had long lived in the Canal Zone.

President Kennedy, when he succeeded Dwight Eisenhower in 1961, might have headed off the worst had he remained firm with Panama's Nationalist-Communists. But he was surrounded, in his Latin American policies, by advisers who were even to the left of Milton Eisenhower. Adolf Berle, Jr., Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Richard Goodwin, Carl Kaysen, and like-minded advisers sold him on the thesis of "Inevitable Social Revolution in Latin America," and firmness against the Panama Leftists was not a part of their charts. Meanwhile, Robert F. Chiari had become President of Panama. Chiari, who had accepted the support of the Communist Party in his 1956 candidacy, was an irresolute and rich man who held covert relationships with the mobs now roaming Panama's streets.

In June of 1962, President Kennedy was persuaded to invite President Chiari to Washington for "conferences." This was clearly another invitation for more Panamanian demands. What President Kennedy promised remains an unrevealed secret of their closed conferences. That his promises were generous was indicated by President Chiari's new boldness. Publicly, at least, it was announced that Panama's flag would be flown "in an appropriate way" over the Canal Zone. What Kennedy meant by "appropriate" was shown when Farland and Fleming compiled a list of 14 new sites in the American zone where the flag of Panama would be flown; this in addition to the flying of the flag ordered by Eisenhower at Shaler Triangle. These sites, incidentally, included no schools.

A new ugliness in the mood of Panama's radicals was revealed on October 12, 1962, at the dedication of the Thatcher Bridge (with its approaches, wholly within the Canal Zone). A campaign was now unleashed by Panama's Communists protesting against the use of the Thatcher name, already authorized by Congress. At the last minute, the entire foreign diplomatic corps in Panama, sparked by Nasser's Egyptian Ambassador, boycotted the ceremonies; only the representatives of Colombia and Peru breeched the boycott When the dedication exercises began, a Communist mob broke through the barriers, drowned out the speakers, and prevented Mr. Thatcher (who is a distinguished figure in Panama Canal history, a former Governor of the zone, and an ex-Congressman) from making his speech. Later, the Communists blocked the bridge and prevented the official

cavalcade from making its first trip over the new structure.

This was but a curtain-act to what was to follow. After the Chiari visit to Washington, a joint committee had been set up to consider differences between the two countries. Farland and Fleming were the two American appointees: Foreign Minister Galileo Solis and former Foreign Minister Octavio Fabrega represented the Government of Panama. The committee came to an early deadlock when the Panamanian members revealed that they had been given to understand that they were to discuss the drafting of a new treaty, to supplant the treaty of 1903.

Governor Fleming now announced a new rule requiring the flying of the flag of Panama in the zone wherever the American flag was flown. This included schools. Fleming drew up a list of four high schools in the zone which were to fly both flags. The civic councils in the zone unanimously opposed this as an incitement to trouble. Fleming then stubbornly ruled that if Panama's flag was not flown over the schools the American flag would have to come down. This amazing decision touched off the bloodiest 3 days of riots in the history of Panama. It cost 27 lives, 400 other casualties, and the destruction by fire and violence of millions of dollars worth of American and Panamanian property.

Actually, the riots of January 9 to 14 were a carefully planned Communist effort to create a myth. Communists are skilled mythmakers. They realized that if they could convey to the world the fable that American zonites had murderously attacked Panamanians, a wave of anti-American sentiment could be touched off which would provide the excuse for Washington to grant Panamanian demands. They knew that they would be helped in this mythmaking by the liberal sobsisters of the American press and airwaves, who would report the Panama happenings with their usual soggy left-bank inaccuracy.

To this day, many Americans and most Latin Americans honestly believe that the riots were precipitated by the Americans. All of the evidence is to the contrary. The riots, in their successive waves, had all the recognizable earmarks of a planned Communist operation. They broke out simultaneously in several locations with all of the appearance of prearrangement; the course of the rioting was coordinated and guided by continuous broadcasts over Radio Tribuna, the leftist station; in the field, soundtrucks suddenly appeared to direct the mobs; known Communist leaders spontaneously appeared at every point of attack or agitation to supply incitement and leadership.

The extent to which non-Communist government officials were cognizant of Communist plans and operations is not clear. There are, however, reasons to believe that the Communists received both the encouragement and aid of the Panamanian Government. Men like President Chiari, who belong to that corrupt and wealthy collection of family dynasties which so afflicts Panama, have long sought to employ the Communists as decoys to frighten the Americans into concessions. They give the Communists the green light to start violence and disorder; they then pose as reasonable men with whom the Americans can make a deal, to avoid something worse. It is unquestionable that President Chiari believed he could manipulate the rioting to his advantage. This much is certain. Otherwise, Chiari could easily have ended the bloody riots during the first decisive hours simply by calling out his 3,000-man Guardia Nacional to stand between the mob and the zone. This he refused to do.

It was clearly obvious from the beginning, that both the Communists and Chiari wanted the Americans to bear the onus of any violent acts resulting from their self-defense. Like Pontius Pilate, the Panamanian President washed his hands of responsibility, and cordially received before his palace three huge parades of Communist-led marchers. He revealed his actual strategy by assuring the Communists that he would not make terms with the Americans until they had capitulated to his demand for a revision of the 1903 treaty. Later events were to prove his strategy a winner.

THE PRETEXT

It was the American students at Balboa High School who unwittingly gave the Communist-Nationalist alliance its pretext. The students were horrified when Governor Fleming pulled down the American flag from atop their school's flagpole. Young and idealistic, they naturally decided to make a gesture to show that all Americans were not so cowardly as their Governor. Led by James Jenkins, Jr.,[1] a senior in the high school, they marched to the flagpole and ran up the Stars and Stripes. It was a proud, brave, young thing to do and they did it.

The following day, the Communists retaliated. The word went out in both the Panama Institute and at Panama University, where—as we pointed out earlier—the Communists controlled the student organizations. Led by the Cuban-trained Communist Floyd Britton, 200 students set out from the institute resolved to fly the flag of Panama at the American high school. As they marched, their mission was applauded by Didimo Ros, principal of the institute, who handed them a Panamanian flag to display in Balboa. But the Communist-led students were unsuccessful in their march on the school. Although only 19 Canal Zone police were on hand to protect the high school, they turned back the 200 without violence. As the mob approached the border, the leftist students again became riotous. They began to attack American buildings. This was the beginning of a night of terror.

As if by prearrangement, the Communist apparatus sprang into action. Communist Thelma King began a nonstop harangue over Radio Tribuna, calling on the people of Panama to come out into the streets with arms to halt an "American massacre" of Panamanians. The government-inspired MIA radio network began to further panic the citizenry by provocative distortion of the news. Two hours after the first Communist-led incident, a violence-minded crowd of 5,000 had assembled at the border ready to invade the American Canal Zone. Communist snipers had taken positions and were firing into the zone. Communist arsonists were setting fire to buildings.

Fortunately, there was one strong man in the zone—Army Commander Andrew P. O'Meara. Seeing that the Canal Zone police could not hold their lines, he moved detachments of the U.S. Army into position. In the absence of Governor Fleming, General O'Meara took command of the situation. Through hours of critical danger, he and his forces stood firm. Throughout the hostilities, not a single armed American stepped across the border. It was a battle of self-defense. The first and most dangerous attack was repelled; but for 3 days outbreaks of violence occurred all along the canal. It is unfortunate that this picture of a restrained self-controlled Canal Zone, under murderous attack, did not get out to the world. Instead, the legend that "the Americans started it" colored the news. A false picture of a culpable and bloated Canal Zone traveled irresponsibly throughout the globe. Mushy-minded liberals in the United States repeated it—perhaps because they wanted it to be so—and were frightened. This was precisely the effect for which the Communists had planned and worked.

The stage was now set for the diplomatic farce that was to follow. President Chiari, seeking to give the world a spurious closeup of a molested and aggrieved Panama, angrily broke off diplomatic relations with Washington. The administration sent presidential envoys to Panama. The OAS was now brought, creaking, into the situation. All sorts of creatures tried to get into the act. President Romulo Betancourt, the founder of two Communist Parties in Latin America, himself bloated with American aid in Venezuela, announced his support of the Republic of Panama. President Lopez Mateos of Mexico, who had described himself as just "as ultraleft as I can be under the constitution," also offered himself as an umpire. Nobody offered to help the United States.

For 6 weeks negotiations were deadlocked in a logorrhea of talk. Actually, the American position was a strong one. We held all the face cards. Since we could exist without Panama, but Panama could not exist without us, except in the direst misery, we had only to stand pat on our insistence that we would not even consider renegotiation of the 1903 treaty. After the insolence we had endured in the January riots at the hands of the Panamanians, it was time for the presentation of a hard-boiled position. Strangely, at the end of 6 weeks, it was the United States and not Panama which broke.

The trick for which we eventually fell was so transparent that even the veriest tyro would not have been fooled by it. The situation called for President Johnson's spokesmen to say only five words to the Panama demand for treaty renegotiation. These words were, "We will not discuss it." Instead, they discussed it ad nauseum. They ended by accepting the mantrap of an agreement that Johnson should appoint two Americans, to meet with two Panamanians, to continue to further discuss the treaty. President Johnson appointed the former Secretary of the Treasury of the Eisenhower administration, Robert B. Anderson, as his pricipal negotiator.

The rest is history. For 8 months the negotiators talked, while President Johnson waged his campaign for reelection. Once the election was past, the negotiations were speedily ended. President Johnson announced the winner and ended the suspense on December 18: The winner was Panama. Unless a miracle of public rage and protest happens, we are going to renegotiate the 1903 Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty which President William Howard Taft declared was irrevocable. Americans face the shameful spectacle of a new generation of national leaders, too timid to hold the legacy which their forerunners handed to America 60 years ago. For, President Johnson is now set to give away the Panama Canal.

THE SEA LEVEL CANAL DIVERSION

To sell this unpalatable surrender to the American people, its proponents have naturally prepared a diversionary scheme—the proposal of a new canal. In a dubious national situation, politicians always find the red herring helpful. The crimson fish of the Panama fiasco swims in a sea level canal. It is, however, pertinent to ask why the United States, if it is too incompetent to protect and hold the canal that it already owns, should propose to build another.

With suspicious timing, "liberal" newspapers and magazines have in the last year broken out in a simultaneous rash of sea level canal stories. The purpose is unmistakable. A Washington which is determined to surrender our Panama Canal, to the Panamanians or to an international body, finds it useful to convince the public that the canal is no longer valuable. The obsolescence of the present canal has been a favorite theme of the New York Times, the Washington

[1] After the riots subsided, Jenkins' safety in Panama became so insecure that his parents were forced to send him to the States.

Post, and other leftist bellringers. Touches of science fiction have even been added to the project by the suggestion that we will surely dig the new canal with atomic blasts.

If we look beneath the surface, the sea level proposal is not so attractive. Several inescapable reasons for its rejection quickly confront us. Let us examine some of these reasons.

The first is political: To downgrade the Panama Canal and to build a sea level successor offers no escape from the political nightmares which now face us in Panama. It redoubles them. Five major new routes for a canal have been proposed: in Colombia, in Nicaragua, in Mexico, and two new routes in Panama. Not one of these nations, with the remotely possible exception of Nicaragua, will even discuss the grant of a sovereignty which we are already enjoying in Panama. Each is expecting us to put up the money ($1 to $3 billion) and to present them with a half ownership and half control of the completed waterway. The agonizing difficulties which we have had with little Panama, even with the matter of sovereignty when it is guaranteed by treaty, will certainly be magnified manifold when we find ourselves completely in the power, and subject to the extortions, of new hosts. It is the old Aesopism of dropping the bone which we already have to reach for the phantom in the water.

Nor is there any reason to believe that communism would be any less vigilant to make our position in a new country or in a new location less untenable than it has made it in the canal zone.

The second reason is security: One of the most common arguments for a sea level canal is that, in an age of atomic warfare, the two locks on the present canal make it an easy target for disablement at the hands of atomic bombers. By damaging the locks, the argument runs, the whole canal can be rendered inoperative. Such an argument shows little comprehension of the realities of atomic anticanal warfare. The painful truth is that there is no way either a lock or sea level canal can be made secure against nuclear attacks. But the sea level canal probably presents the greater risk. The gravest danger to a canal, unless it is carved through rocks, is the slide. A flat sea level canal is a prime target for bombers. Attacks need not be pinpointed, as in the case of locks; landslides can be started by explosions at any point or all along the banks. The security argument for a sea level canal is clearly a contrived one.

The third is the fallacy of size: Admittedly, a small number of vessels, notably carriers and oversized tankers, cannot now pass through the Panama Canal. It would be desirable if they could. But to declare a whole canal obsolescent on such a flimsy ground is an absurdity. A canal which, in the fiscal year 1963–64 serviced 12,128 vessels, is not a has-been. With its low tolls, unchanged in many years, and its proud record of efficient operation, the Panama Canal is a great institution which the United States provides impartially for the commerce of the world. Americans should be proud of the canal, not apologetic.

The time required to build a new canal: All estimates are merely that, but it would probably take 10 years to construct a new canal, under ordinary procedures—though atom power might shorten this time if indeed it can be used. It, therefore, becomes obvious that the sea level canal provides no solution to our immediate problems or difficulties. It is desirable that we should look ahead and calmly weigh all future possibilities and requirements. But the crash haste with which the sea level proposal has been projected to the American people has no justification by any present needs. Why the rush? Something more than Panama Canal obsolescence is behind the heedless speed with which the sea level plan has been shouted into the American mind.

It is obvious that the real motivation is political: This is evident from the uncalled-for hurry with which a bill was rushed through Congress on September 8, 1964, providing for a study of sea level canal alternatives in the Caribbean area and appropriating a large amount of money for these preliminary studies. Congressman BONNER, of North Carolina, chairman of the subcommittee of the House Merchant Marine Committee, railroaded the bill through the House with only 40 minutes for discussion. It was obvious that he was acting under pressure from much higher echelons. The objectionable thing about his bill was that it did not provide for a study of other proposals. Its scope was strictly limited to sea level plans. And, alas, the passage of the bill was tantamount to an endorsement of the sea level canal program by Congress. If the administration needed it as a bargaining counter against the Panama negotiators, it certainly did not prove very effective in the light of President Johnson's December 18, 1964, surrender on the sovereignty issue.

THE CHAIN REACTION

So far, we have discussed the Panama crisis on the basis of United States-Panama relations. Unfortunately, this is only a part of the picture.

Our defeat in Panama, coming on the heels of our quavering policies toward Castro's Cuba, is likely to strip us of the last shreds of respect which Latin America still entertains for us. We have constructed an image of ourselves, in the minds of Latin Americans, as a decadent and fumbling political force. Hemispheric politicians may publicly applaud our submission to our Lilliputian adversaries in Panama, but they hold us in contempt for yielding. The tradition of forceful leadership is too strong among Latin Americans to permit respect for a giant United States which walks before its fellowmen with cringing cowardice.

Our unfriendly rivals overseas are also watching the Panamanian debacle with fascinated wonderment. Kosygin, De Gaulle, Nasser, Sukarno, and Mao Tse-tung note that we yield to bullying and political blackmail. Our hand in world affairs has been dangerously weakened.

And it was all so unnecessary. The State Department, in three administrations, has been running away from our American destiny. It has been treading the path of a cowardly, and not of a valiant America. In a world where we possess preponderant and shattering power, we have been obsessed with defeat and abdication.

The deep shame of this policy is that we have not even been faithful to the protection of our own citizenry. In Panama, our spokesmen preferred to put the blame for the Communists' unleashing of disorder upon their fellow Americans in the zone, instead of on the murderous Communist mobs on Fourth of July Avenue. The Balboa High School youths who, in another time, would have been hailed as national heroes, were lectured by the editorial writers in our liberal press as if they were juvenile delinquents. This, for raising our country's flag. Senator WAYNE L. MORSE, weird veteran of repeated appeasement efforts, actually proposed, at the height of the rioting, that the zonites should be penalized for their years of faithful service to the canal by taking away their job security and setting up a 2-year rotation system for canal jobs. And, Governor Fleming lost no time, after the crisis was passed, in raising the Panama flag; not only over the four high schools, but over all other public schools in the zone. Even President Johnson could not restrain himself from taking a slap at the patriotic and embattled Americans in the Canal Zone in his statement of January 23, 1964.

What is the reason for this national inferiority complex, this inclination to blame ourselves for all foreign affronts? It is the bitter residue of all the rot that 32 years of liberal ascendancy has implanted in the American mind. It is the delusion that we have a responsibility for other nations which, only too often, transcends our devotion to our own Nation, and her interests, and her citizens.

Binding together all these unwholesome ideological vagaries is the untiring and self-certain hand of world communism. Whatever its label—humanism in Cuba, social democracy in Brazil, apristaism in Peru and Venezuela, the people's revolution in China, socialist Sovietism in Russia, or left socialism in little Panama—communism everywhere works for a world in which the United States cannot live. It erodes the foundations of our way of thought and life. It appears in many masks, and our leaders seem fooled by them all. It speaks through the voices of many ideologies, and our national leaders claim that they do not recognize the directing Communist purpose.

It is the evil genius of communism that, in a country like Panama, it can work with such political racketeers as Chiari and Roberto Arias, and guide them unwittingly to long-range Communist ends. Contradictory though it may seem, both a Chiari and a Thelma King can profit by such a bloodbath as that of January 1964. Miss King and her Communists built a new organization and captured complete leadership of the Panamanian mobs; Chiari wrenched a renunciation of the 1903 treaty from the trembling hands of President Johnson. Without the Communists, the outbreak could never have taken place in Panama. Without their liberal dupes in the United States, the riots could never have resulted in the surrender of sovereignty by Washington.

Unhappy America will face many Panamas in the period ahead. We can handle these situation with honor only if our leaders awake to the reality of the Communist efforts in the world in which we live.

CAN THE PANAMA CANAL BE SAVED?

It is long past 11 o'clock in America's struggle to save the Panama Canal. But it can still be saved.

The sequence of American blunders and retreats which culminated in the Johnson surrender of December 18 has narcotized many Americans. They are unaware of the fearful implications of our retreat in Panama. They have an uneasy feeling that we have come out at the wrong end of the deal, but as in the early days of Castro and Mao the picture is blurred. Many are the unconscious victims of the shallow liberal dailies and the slick magazines and the TV chatterers. Their incurable American optimism convinces them that the 42 million Americans who voted for Lyndon Johnson can't be wrong.

And so they will acquiesce in the surrender of the canal, unless the American-minded minority disenchants them, informs them, awakens them.

Fortunately, President Johnson's course for surrender still has one last hurdle—the American Congress. The Congress has prevented State Department sellout of American interests on repeated occasions. It can do so again in the final canal decision, provided American citizens, back home in the States and constituents, now speak out. A Congress, which voted 381 to 12 to defend American sovereignty in the Canal Zone just 6 years ago, cannot have changed its mind so precipitately. There are good and informed Americans on Capitol Hill. They will speak out again, as they spoke in 1960, if the people are with them.

Officialdom has had its day in Panama, and it has been a shameful day. The scene now shifts to the American people. It is our time to speak. Let us see that President Johnson is prevented from surrendering our Panama Canal to a foreign power. Let us participate in the campaign to save the Panama Canal.

Because It's There

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, Mr. James V. Panoch, of Fort Wayne, Ind., has been very active in teaching courses in Biblical literature. When asked why he did this, he replied in an article, "Because It's There," which I include herewith:

BECAUSE IT'S THERE

(By James V. Panoch, Religious Instruction Association, Fort Wayne)

When asked why he climbed Mount Everest, Hillary replied simply, "Because it's there." May I suggest this as the first of six reasons why the school could "offer" a Biblical literature course? By "offer" I don't mean teach—I just mean "offer to teach" if facilities, faculty, time, and student interest seem to warrant.

A first reason for offering the Biblical literature course could be because it's there on pages 58 and 59 of the Digest of Courses of Study for the Secondary Schools of Indiana, Indiana Department of Public Instruction, Bulletin No. 232. The objectives of the course are given as: "To acquaint the pupil with the Bible * * *; to create interest in Biblical lore and its influence upon the human race * * *; to reveal the English Bible as great literature." An outline is given for both a one-semester and a full-year course along with suggested teaching procedures. A footnote contains a listing of textbooks.

Because it's there, does an administrator have a moral obligation (maybe a legal obligation as well) to consider "offering" the Biblical literature course, if mechanically possible, for those who may choose to elect it? I'm sure every good administrator will give consideration to the Biblical literature course within the limits of his school program and in relation to the needs and interests of his students. And student interest will surprise you. One Indiana high school started the Biblical literature course as a one-semester course, expanded it to a year course at student request, and are being asked to extend it to a 2-year course. Another high school organized one class in Biblical literature and watched it grow to the most popular elective course on its campus.

There are many other, and possibly better reasons supporting the offering of the Biblical literature course. A second reason could be because of the preponderance of biblically inspired influences and aspects in our culture. So much of our history and tradition was motivated by Biblical principles and modeled by Bible-conscious people that knowledge of the Bible is necessary for an adequate understanding of our heritage. Numerous Biblical references in literature, both past and present, make literature unintelligible without a knowledge of the Bible. The same could be said for many news articles, cartoons, and even political speeches. Father James Keller, writing in Christopher News Notes, expressed it this way: "Numerous historical facts, from the Mayflower Compact to the most recent presidential Thanksgiving proclamation, give clear testimony to the spiritual in our national heritage. Every student, whatever his conviction, has a right to know these facts. Not to make them available to him is to shortchange him."

Arthur S. Fleming, president of the University of Oregon, formerly the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, expressed it this way: "Now the Supreme Court of the United States, the final arbiter of such matters set up some clear signposts: States have no right to require a religious exercise in public schools; but educators do have the right to offer objective courses in religion. This is not only a right but an obligation. Any school that did not introduce its students to the world of science would be severely criticized. Just as severe criticism should be directed against a school that refuses to introduce its students to the world of religion."

The evidence that youngsters do not have an understanding of the ways and extent the Bible has influenced our history, culture, literature, and what one high school teacher did to correct the situation was expertly reported in an article by Thayer Warshow in the February 1964, issue of the English Journal. (Reprints of the article are available free of charge from: Religious Instruction Association, Fort Wayne, Ind.)

A third reason for offering the Biblical literature course could be that it helps achieve the general purpose of education. Under "The Function of the School in Pupil Growth" on pages 10 and 11 of the Administrative Handbook for Indiana Schools, Department of Public Instruction Bulletin No. 225, several items are listed that support offering the Biblical literature course. They include: "The selective function of education implies the obligation of the school to offer a wide variety of elective and activities to meet the interests, needs, and capacities of all its pupils.

"The adjustive or adaptive function of education implies that the school should fit the child and not that the child should fit the school."

Under the "Aims of Secondary Education" on pages 221 and 222 of the same publication are several other items that would support the offering of Biblical literature. They include suggestions that the school offer:

"Free electives designed to offer a breadth of experience and to appeal to the special interests, aptitudes, and abilities of each child.

"Specialized curriculum, organized in terms of the child's future vocation or his fuller living."

In its research memo 1963-29, the NEA expressed it this way:

The National Education Association recognizes the necessity for a clear understanding of fundamental moral and spiritual values. The association believes that along with the home, the church, and the community, the school has a major responsibility for building this understanding into human behavior.

The general purpose of education is to teach all that is important, cooking, singing, driving, farming, dancing, reading, manners, citizenship, etc. Offering the Biblical literature course would help achieve that general purpose.

A fourth reason could be one of simple academic freedom. No area of human endeavor should be closed to the student. Dr. Rolfe L. Hunt, a former public school superintendent now associate executive director, Department of Church and Public School Relations, National Council of Churches, expressed it this way:

"No person is to be required to believe or to disbelieve, but each pupil in the public schools is to be given the opportunity to meet all the reasons and to understand them. Within the limit of his maturity and the goals of the school and curricular unit, the student has a right to research for the truth."

A fifth reason for offering the Biblical literature course could be that it helps maintain neutrality. The court has admonished the school to be neutral in religious matters. Offering at least one course in religion (the Biblical literature course is the only such course now approved) may be necessary to maintain that neutrality. An irreligious school is no more neutral than a religious one. In their official opinion in Abington-Schempp U.S. Supreme Court Justices expressed it this way:

Justice GOLDBERG. "Government must inevitably take cognizance of the existence of religion and, indeed, under certain circumstance the first amendment may require that it do so."

Justice STEWART. "For a compulsory State educational system so structures a child's life that if religious exercises are held to be an impermissible activity in schools, religion is placed at an artificial and State-created disadvantage. Viewed in this light, permission of such exercises for those who want them is necessary if the schools are truly to be neutral in the matter of religion."

A sixth reason could be to provide a study area for the preministerial student even as study areas are provided for those in pursuit of other professions and vocations. (The ministry is still an honorable profession.)

"Thus the reasons were finished and all the host of them, and on the seventh reason all rested." (Genesis 2:1-2.)

The two objections to offering the Biblical Literature course are that it is illegal and impossible. Illegal because of the recent court rulings—impossible because it cannot be taught objectively. Neither objection is valid. To the point of legality the Supreme Court in Abington-Schempp went out of its way to say:

"It certainly may be said that the Bible is worthy of study for its literary and historic qualities. Nothing we have said here indicates that such study of the Bible or of religion, when presented objectively as part of a secular program of education, may not be affective consistent with the first amendment."

Brennan and Goldberg in concurring opinions suggested the same. An Indiana statute provides that the Bible shall not be prohibited from the schools. The Indiana attorney general, at the request of the superintendent of public instruction, ruled this specific Biblical literature course to be legal and proper. The State teachers association and the State board of education collaborated to produce and approve a textbook for the course that was revised only last year. ("A Guide to the Study of the Old and New Testaments," Dr. J. A. Huffman, Wesley Press, Marion, Ind., $2.50). The National Education Association made this analysis of the legality of public school use of the Bible in its June 1963 research memo:

"Both the majority and concurring opinions (Schempp & Murray cases) make it clear that the decision does not restrict the nondevotional use of the Bible in the public schools."

On the second objection, to say that the Biblical literature course cannot be taught objectively, is to belie the facts. It is being taught objectively and successfully now. We ought to be able to teach Biblical literature at least as objectively as we teach any other subject. When I observed the Biblical literature classes and interviewed the administrators, teachers, and pupils, I found good teaching and high praise of and for the course. There was not a single complaint anywhere. In fact, most were willing and anxious to help others initiate the course.

In a recent issue of Religious Education, philosophy Pro. William C. Tremmel, of Kansas State University, spoke to the point of objectivity very curtly when he said:

"Plain sectarian courses designed to indoctrinate students are surely unconstitutional and improper. But courses objectively presented as part of a secular program of education are both proper and constitutional. Further, it should be remarked that anyone who pretends that religious subjects cannot be handled in an objective, scholarly fashion speaks from ignorance. Religion is also scientific; i.e., composed of organized bodies of knowledge."

From some of the same groups considered responsible for excluding improper uses of the Bible from the public schools has come a mandate to include the proper uses.

U.S. Supreme Court (Brennan concurring opinion): "The holding of the Court today plainly does not foreclose teaching about the Holy Scriptures or about the differences between religious sects in classes in literature or history. Indeed, whether or not the Bible is involved, it would be impossible to teach meaningfully many subjects in the social science or the humanities without some mention of religion."

Catholic (in the Commonweal): "The court's decision appears to have opened the way for an exploration of the ways in which the public schools could teach religion in an objective way, free of a devotional or sectarian basis. This is an opportunity which should be confronted directly and creatively. Obviously, the difficulties inherent in any quest for an objective study of religion are many; but that should not act as deterrent or be used as an excuse for inaction."

Protestant (National Council of Churches): "No person is truly educated for life in the modern world who is not aware of the vital part played by religion in the shaping of our history and culture, and of its contemporary expression. Information about religion is an essential part of many school subjects such as social studies, literature, and the arts. The full treatment of some regular school subjects requires the use of the Bible as a source book. In such studies—including those related to character development—the use of the Bible has a valid educational purpose."

Jewish (American Jewish Committee): "The schools should also foster an appreciation of the impact of religion on our civilization. Indeed, this knowledge is intrinsic to a well-rounded education. Such events as the Crusades, the Reformation, and the colonization of America would be hopelessly distorted if religious motivations were not given proper weight. It would be equally wrong to omit the Bible from courses in literature or to ignore religious influences in the study of art.

"If, as some charge, teachers shy away from religious references even when they are basic to an understanding of subject matter, prompt investigation of current practices is called for."

The Greater Minneapolis Council of Churches expressed their challenge this way: "We urge school administrators, teacher training institutions, and religious leaders of all faiths to engage in immediate and serious consideration of ways to increase the objective study of religion and the Bible in our public schools in accordance with the approval indicated by the Supreme Court."

The American Association of School Administrators, in their recent report "Religion in the Schools," contends that the schools have the responsibility of providing an environment in the school which the values and practices developed in the church and home can prosper.

There is a successful Biblical literature course available in Indiana now. It is both legal and desirable. It has student interest. Give both the kids and the course a chance.

New Pollution Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is well and good that this country has been reminded, and reminded forcefully, that no one has the right to use as a sewer America's rivers and America's waterways, which belong to all the people.

In underdeveloped countries, we have seen that rivers flowing through a community become something of a stream of life—people wash in them, dump their garbage in them, and also drink water from them. When we see such sights in poverty-stricken lands, we are shocked—not remembering that the same thing happens right here at home, to a certain extent.

With the Water Quality Act of 1965, the Congress and the administration have spoken—we intend to clean up our streams. Many editorials have been written in praise of this action, and one such editorial appeared in the Reading, Pa., Eagle. I believe that my colleagues will find it of interest, and include it in the RECORD:

NEW POLLUTION LAW

"The clear, fresh waters that were our national heritage have become dumping grounds for garbage and filth. They poison our fish. They breed disease. They despoil our landscapes."

These were some of the comments of President Johnson as he signed into law a bill strengthening Federal programs to combat water pollution, and said "additional, bolder legislation will be needed in the years ahead."

The President emphasized that "no one has the right to use rivers that belong to all the people as a sewer, and that no river should run red with blood from slaughterhouses."

He pointed out "there is no excuse for papermills pouring tons of sulfuric acid into the lakes and streams of the people of this country."

Terming the new law a proclamation of "our refusal to be strangled by the wastes of civilization," the President warned that the water quality measure "will not completely assure us of absolute success. Additional bolder legislation will be needed in the years ahead. But we have begun."

The most controversial provisions of the Water Quality Act of 1965 call for establishment of water quality standards as a yardstick for measuring pollution of interstate waters.

Such standards also are intended to improve the quality of interstate waters for drinking, recreation, irrigation and industrial processing.

The standards not only are aimed at elimination of existing abuses but at preventing growth of pollution in the Nation's lakes and streams.

The new law raises to $150 million a year, from $100 million, the total of Federal grants authorized to help States and local communities build sewage treatment plants.

Under the act, the Federal Government will have final authority over antipollution programs on rivers and streams crossing State lines.

The 1965 bill puts more teeth into the enforcement process than did the Government's Pollution Control Act of 1956, which prompted many cities and industries to launch cleanup programs. But others lagged, and 37 enforcement actions were begun under the 1956 act.

As for water-quality standards under the law, States must file letters of intent within a year stating they'll adopt acceptable standards and a method of enforcing them. They will have until June 30, 1967, to follow through on this pledge.

Federal officials estimate fewer than half the States have such standards today.

If a State fails to act, or if the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare wants to revise that State's standards, he can, under the new law, convene a conference of Federal, State, and local officials and industry representatives to discuss the possibilities.

The Secretary then can propose his own, Federal standards, subject to later public hearings before a special board that can endorse his proposals or require changes.

After the Secretary makes his proposals, the State involved will have another chance to adopt its own antipollution program.

If the standards appear to be breached, the Secretary must devote 6 months to seeking voluntary compliance from the factory or other offender. If those efforts fail, he can then file a court suit to require abatement.

To enable the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to carry out its responsibilities for setting standards and policing pollution, the measure establishes within the Department a new Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, under the direction of a new Assistant Secretary.

Resolution of the National Rifle Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I inserted into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a resolution of the National Rifle Association regarding the $105-million program for acquisition of migratory bird habitat and refuges.

That program, Public Law 87-383, enacted from H.R. 7391, which I had the honor to sponsor, has lagged during its implementation and substantially less land has been acquired than was intended by the Congress in passage of that legislation.

It is for this reason that the resolution of the National Rifle Association, urging continuation and extension of the program until completed, is so vitally important to conservation and to migratory birds.

Although it was anticipated that 2,503,000 acres of waterfowl habitat would have been acquired in a 7-year period, less than 600,000 acres have been acquired or are under consideration for acquisition in a little over 3 years. Expenditure of $41.2 million as opposed to an expected expenditure of $80 million has been accomplished through fiscal year 1965.

The resolution is as follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Whereas the preservation of an adequate number of suitable wetlands is essential to the maintenance of continental flights of migratory waterfowl; and

Whereas an advance of $105 million against future sales of migratory bird hunting stamps has been authorized to finance a major part of a 7-year emergency wetlands acquisition program; and

Whereas the program was delayed in the major production areas because of a reluctance on the part of a few State governments to allow additional lands to be removed from the tax rolls; and

Whereas the Congress has now enacted a law which provides for an equitable sharing

of revenues from units of the National Wildlife Refuge System; and

Whereas only a comparatively small portion of the emergency acquisition program has been completed because of the above hindrance, and that less than one-fourth of the advance has been made available: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Board of Directors of the National Rifle Association of America, in annual meeting assembled, hereby urges that the annual appropriation be increased, and that repayment of the advance loan, scheduled to begin in 1969, be deferred until the emergency wetlands acquisition program is completed or the entire $105 million is appropriated and expended.

——— ———,
Secretary.

Politics and Thought

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Christian Science Monitor of October 21, 1965:

POLITICS AND THOUGHT

(By Erwin D. Canham)

Henry Fairlie, a sharp-eyed and acid-tongued British journalist, now studying the United States, has a brilliant article on "Johnson and the Intellectuals," in the October Commentary, magazine of the American Jewish Committee.

Mr. Fairlie scolds American intellectuals for having been bemused by President Kennedy. He says that instead of grumbling at President Johnson now, they should be grateful that he has disenchanted them with politics. His essential point is that politics is the art of the possible, and intellectuals should move in a separate and freer world.

The intellectual, he says, is vain, easily flattered, readily lured into areas where his views may be positively harmful not only to himself but to politics. "The professor who allows himself to become a speechwriter to a presidential candidate or a special assistant to a President; the poet who allows himself to be tempted to participate in a Presidential inauguration; the academic economist who leaves his university to become an Ambassador: each of these (and the examples in America could be multiplied) I regard as a loss, with no compensating gain."

AUTHORITY ASSUMED

"Inside his own field," he observes, "the intellectual would never lay claim to omniscience, and seldom to authority. Outside it, his claim to both is breathtaking * * *. He cannot help resorting to an all-but-dishonest, and an all-but-contemptible use of the methods he has learned inside his discipline."

As for political power, he said: "At all times, and no matter who exercises it, power is ugly and brutalizing: President Kennedy was allowed to make it appear attractive and redeeming. Power is shoddy: President Kennedy was allowed to glamorize it.

"Power is for the aged: President Kennedy was allowed to cast over it the magic of youth. Power is unintellectual: President Kennedy was allowed to give it intellectual excitement.

"Power is safe only if it is exercised without enchantment, without claim to reason, and without pretense to virtue: President Kennedy was allowed to endow it with all three. Power is, no doubt, necessary: President Kennedy was allowed to make it seem desirable * * *."

"HE SHOULD REVOLT"

"If the intellectual is going to be fastidious about politics, he should revolt, not against President Johnson for making politics look as beastly as it is, but against a President Kennedy for making it look gracious, for appropriating to it virtues it does not possess."

Such men as McGeorge Bundy, says Mr. Fairlie, are successful in public life because they have ceased to be intellectuals and have become politicians. The politician, he insists, must work with problems which he cannot solve. Politics is trying to empty the in-tray.

Its decisions should not be panoplied in the majesty of great national interest. "'When the politician thinks that he hears the crack of doom * * * he has lost the nerve for the game, and should get out."

There's a lot in all this. The political decision has little to do with intellect. It is far more visceral and instinctive. President Kennedy's style certainly cast over politics an undeserved cloak. Some of the decisions in which his brothers have been engaged since have torn away the cloak. It will be hard to replace.

CONTRIBUTION POSSIBLE

Yet the intellectual is a citizen. He is also often bright. He can be useful, and unless he deludes himself that intellectuality has become politics, he can make a contribution. But he will often be the chief victim of his role. He will be required to make compromises that are inconsistent with his disciplines and principles. Such compromises are not inconsistent with politics, but are requisite there.

The use of intellectuals by politicians can be very effective, as President Kennedy proved, and President Franklin D. Roosevelt showed to a lesser degree. But it is really a kind of deception, as Henry Fairlie says. Still worse is the use by politicians of creative artists.

But there is much the intellectuals and artists can do of service to the body politic. They can ask and answer questions relevant to the good society; they can paint and sing about eternal things. They can and must transcend politics.

Soldier Citizen Speaks of His Responsibilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, apparently we are drawing close to the end of a long and formidable session. During this uphill, 9-month-plus debate, when we were aware of each of our district's passions over certain issues, we endeavored to represent them. It is in this context of representation that I wish to insert in the RECORD a column written by a former resident of San Francisco, Sfc. Charles S. Hawkins, a career NCO stationed at the headquarters, U.S. Army, Rykuyu Islands. I have corresponded with Sergeant Hawkins over the last 2 years and have been impressed with the questions that he asks and the opinions he expresses.

He seems to be an interested man, interested in his Government and how it functions. He attempts to encourage the interests of others. While he was stationed at the Presidio of San Francisco, he spent weekends showing schoolchildren through the installation and describing the role it has played in the defense of our country.

His recent column, "Keystone Komments," published in the Ryukyan Review, shows most aptly the fact that he takes his obligations as a citizen to heart.

The article follows:

[From the Ryukyuan Review, Oct. 1, 1965]

KEYSTONE KOMMENTS

Recently a friend of mine noted that I was mailing a letter to "my Congressman." Immediately he asked, "whatcha complaining to your Congressman about now—are you putting the finger on someone?"

It took me some little time to convince my friend that one did not necessarily have to be writing a gripe letter in order to make contact with his Representative in Congress.

It is my opinion that too many of us are concerned about our Representatives in Government only at the time of an election. If our representative system of government is to work we must be concerned about our personal Representatives all of the time—not just at election time.

In fact it is only by close observation of the workings of Congress and the voicing of opinion on proposed legislation that the average citizen can express his will. Your Congressmen welcome, in fact encourage letters expressing opinion on proposed legislation. It is by such expression of opinion that he is able in turn to cast a vote representative of his constituents.

My friend says "it's next to impossible to understand what is going on in Congress." I think he is wrong. The newspapers and weekly magazines devote much of their space to the workings of Congress. You can also obtain the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for $1.50 a month. This records every word spoken on the floors of Congress.

I've also found that many Congressmen produce periodic newsletters which they send to constituents. These usually round up the major activities of Congress and give a first-hand report on what the individual Congressman is doing. Often I have received from "my Congressman" a questionnaire asking me to voice my opinion on various important issues of the day.

Each time I receive one of these I feel that I'm casting my vote—in fact it is like election day all over again—instead of voting for the man I'm actually down to issues.

I want to go on record as taking a strong stand against carrying petty complaints to Congressmen. They are much too busy to spend their time taking care of trivial problems that can be handled elsewhere.

The Army personnel letter published by the office, Deputy Chief of Staff For Personnel, Headquarters Department of the Army, points out that DA policy on writing your Congressman is stated in paragraph 41, AR 600-20 as (quote) "that a soldier will not be restricted from communicating with a Member of Congress unless the violation is unlawful or violates a regulation necessary to the security of the United States."

Commanders are responsible for continually advising subordinates to first seek a solution to their problems within the chain of command. If a soldier feels his grievance has not been satisfied, he should then be encouraged to register a complaint with the local Inspector General. This is generally the best and fastest method of solving most personal problems. Complaints for assistance made to Members of Congress, the White

House, or directly to the Departments of the Army or Defense normally will be first referred by the recipient to the local commander for information or consideration before action is taken to render assistance. Many problems could be quickly handled locally if more soldiers were aware of this procedure.

However, there must be no doubt in any soldier's mind that while he is encouraged to seek a solution to his problem within the chain of command, he is not restricted in communicating with Members of Congress unless the communication violates security regulations or is unlawful.

Under no circumstances will any punitive action, either direct or indirect, be taken against any member of the Army who communicates with a Member of Congress unless the communication violates security regulations or is clearly unlawful.

So—I regard "my Congressman" as more than just a distant figure on Capitol Hill. To me he is really "my Congressman." Through the years I have called upon him for many services related to his position as my representative.

He has never failed me—I don't think he ever will. When and if he does then democracy will fail.

Breakthrough in Aid for Water and Sewer Facilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, on September 28 of this year Congress passed the rural water and sewer facilities bill. That measure has since been signed into law, Public Law 89-240. It was my privilege to cosponsor this legislation—legislation which may prove to be one of the best laws passed this year.

This observation is based on the enthusiastic and overwhelming response I have received from the people of the Fifth District of Kansas, my constituents. My office has received scores of letters asking for information about this porgram and other sources of assistance since enactment of this bill.

On my part I have attempted to acquaint as many as possible through newsletters, newspaper articles, radio programs, and personal correspondence with mayors, county extension agents, and Farmers Home Administration supervisors in my district.

Mr. Speaker, today I received the October issue of the periodical Nation's Cities. In it is an excellent article entitled "Breakthrough in Aid for Water and Sewer Facilities." It contains a survey of the programs adopted this year for public facilities and I recommend it as required reading for all those who are interested in the vital problem of health and welfare for our rural and urban communities.

As I stated in my speech supporting this legislation, "a corn or wheat crop is not the only thing that dries up from lack of water—communities do too." This is something we in Kansas have learned from long and bitter experience. I hope those who represent areas hit by drought will join with me in urging quick appropriation of funds to make this program a living reality. We cannot afford to wait.

I insert the aforementioned article from Nation's Cities in the RECORD:

BREAKTHROUGH IN AID FOR WATER AND SEWER FACILITIES

Whether by chance or design, several new Federal assistance programs are going to curtail the slogan "septic tank civilization" which often describes rural localities and far-out suburbs.

Both the Housing and Home Finance Agency and the Department of Agriculture won congressional approval of major grant programs to serve communities. The Department of Commerce received comparable authorization in behalf of economic development in depressed areas. Viewed as a whole, they show increased national concern about these fundamental services.

Authorized by the 1965 Housing Act, provision for basic water and sewer facilities have aroused more local interest than any other section of the massive piece of legislation. The number of inquires received by the National League of Cities and the Housing and Home Finance Agency (soon to be the Department of Urban Affairs, see p. 13) indicates that this new program is going to take hundreds of projects off the public works shelf. These improvements—needed but so far unfunded—have grown in their community importance; now something can be done about them.

The HHFA program, in which communities of every size are eligible, specifically authorizes grants of 50 percent of project costs for facilities. What's a basic facility? According to a House committee report, "Water facilities would include facilities to store, supply, treat purify, or distribute safe, potable water for domestic, commercial, and industrial use."

Sewer facilities would include "sanitary sewer system for the collection, transmission, and discharge of liquid wastes; storm sewer systems for the collection, transmission, and discharge of storm water caused by rainfall or ground water runoff * * *." Grants could cover all parts of the facility "except household connections and the local collection or distribution laterals."

The project needn't be for brandnew facilities. Expansion, enlargement, and improvement of existing systems could qualify; repairs and maintenance, however, would not be eligible for assistance, nor would treatment works qualify.

Smaller communities—less than 10,000 population—could receive grants of up to 90 percent for basic public sewer facilities under three conditions: (1) lack of an adequate facility for this purpose, (2) an unemployment rate 100 percent above the national average for the preceding year, and (3) inability to finance the facility.

The HHFA program got a big boost by Congress from the $400 million proposed to $700 million over the next 4 years. As originally offered by the administration, the grant provisions would have been primarily for communities with rapid growth potential. This factor was modified so that all communities are now eligible.

For rural communities of less than 5,500 population, Congress also authorized the Department of Agriculture's Farmers' Home Administraiton to make 50-50 matching grants totaling $50 million annually for water and sewer facilities. The existing loan and insured loan program is now $450 million.

Under amendments added by the House, applications of cities and towns in the eligible population group are to be given prefernece. Other amendments require that general units of local government—municipalities and counties—must be notified of, and given an opportunity to comment upon, any grant application for a facility within their jurisdiction.

The Agriculture and HHFA water and sewer facility programs have similar basic requirements:

Projects must be designed to serve the reasonably foreseeable growth needs of the area. They must be consistent with a program for a unified or officially coordinated areawide water or sewer facilities system as part of the area's comprehensively planned development. Before a sewer facility grant is approved, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare must certify that waste material carried by the sewer will be adequately treated before it is discharged into a public waterway.

Where there are no existing areawide systems, it will probably be required that a single, independent project be designed so that it can be linked with other independent water or sewer facilities or a proposed areawide system.

PLANNING WILL BE REQUIRED

The comprehensive planning requirements will not be enforced fully until 1968. Until then (July 1 for HHFA grants, October 1 for Agriculture), assistance may be given if:

A program for an areawide water and sewer facility system is "under active preparation" but not yet completed.

The facility for which assistance is sought can reasonably be expected to be required as part of such a program.

There is urgent need for the facility.

By requiring areawide water and sewer planning, Congress clearly hopes to promote orderly community development. "Such orderly development," said a House committee, "would minimize waste and unnecessary costs which are the result of unplanned and haphazard construction of basic community facilities."

Anticipation of future requirements caused by growth "would avoid the duplication of costs often occasioned by having to rebuild undersized facilities at a later date."

DEVELOPMENT FACILITY GRANTS

These two programs will unquestionably stimulate a more aggressive effort by smaller localities in providing such basic facilities for their residents. But in addition, the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 listed water and sewer facilities as types of public works which encourage industrial development and result in long-term employment.

This impressive new program which combines many of the better features of the accelerated public works and area redevelopment efforts, authorized $500 million annually for 4 years for public works and development facility grants. Direct grants up to 50 percent of construction cost may be made for eligible projects. Supplementary grants in the neediest areas can bring the Federal share as high as 80 percent.

Basic criteria for an area's eligibility for assistance under the Economic Development Act are substantial unemployment and/or low family income. Localities of less than 1,500 are excluded unless they are Indian reservations. All areas designated for assistance under the Area Redevelopment Act on or after March 1, 1965, will remain eligible under the new program until they have completed their first annual review of eligibility, probably about June 30, 1966. Generally speaking, eligibility requirements under EDA have been tightened in response to the political difficulties encountered in the last Congress by ARA.

While, in sheer dollar terms, the bulk of the grant funds represented by these three programs of HHFA, Agriculture, and Commerce will likely go to communities of more than 25,000 population, the implications for smaller places is unmistakable. For providing the amenities to residents, for attracting new industries or retaining old ones, these programs have immediate relevance in hundreds of localities.

Kilsoo Haan Reports Russian Will Supply Red China Nuclear Warheads?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VERNON W. THOMSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the prevailing view in this country is that within the Communist world there exists a great Sino-Soviet conflict. The dispute between Russia and Red China has been called by Mr. Allen S. Whiting, Director, Office of Research and Analysis for the Far East, Department of State, "One of the greatest ideological schisms in history." We are assured that the conflict is going to continue; that there is no basis for compromise or settlement among the two adversaries.

The majority point of view concerning the Sino-Soviet conflict is well explained and documented in hearings conducted by the Subcommittee on the Far East and the Pacific of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives. The hearings were held in March of this year. A report of the committee hearings was published in May.

There is a minority view concerning the Sino-Soviet conflict. An outspoken exponent of the minority view is Kilsoo Haan, 65-year-old Korean-American. Mr. Haan for the past 32 years has headed the Korean underground movement in the United States. He has written to Senators, Congressmen, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, and even to the President and Vice President giving his views and intelligence on Sino-Soviet affairs.

The minority view is that there is no actual conflict between Russia and Red China. That the apparent conflict is a ruse on the part of Communist partner nations to deceive the non-Communist world and in particular the United States.

The following is a report by Kilsoo Haan to Gen. Earle C. Wheeler, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, dated September 30, 1965. I do not vouch for the reliability of the report. I ask that it be printed in the RECORD so that Americans may know there is a view contrary to the one that prevails in official circles regarding the Sino-Soviet conflict. Mr. Haan has been right in the past in predicting the course of the worldwide Communist conspiracy. I hope those responsible for our national security will give serious attention to the Haan commentary regarding the furnishing of nuclear weapons to Red China.

KOREAN UNDERGROUND REPORT OF SEPTEMBER 30, 1965

(By Kilsoo Haan, released on Oct. 18, 1965)

To: Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Earle G. Wheeler. Certified Airmail No. 115518.

INFORMATION

"Since June 15, 1965, negotiations between the Sino-Soviet high command had been going on regarding the question of Soviet Russia supplying all the needed nuclear warheads to Red China.

"Gen. Lin Piao had requested that Russia, without restrictions supply all the needed nuclear warheads for Red Chinese ICBM's and other nuclear tactical weapons.

"On August 1, 1965, Marshal Rodin Y. Malinovsky of the Soviet Ministry of Defense agreed to implement Gen. Lin Piao's request beginning March 1966, which will be the 20th anniversary of the secret Sino-Soviet high command agreement signed in March 1946."

BACKGROUND INFORMATION REGARDS SINO-SOVIET MILITARY HIGH COMMANDS' SECRET AGREEMENT

In December 1946 Stephen Early, former White House Secretary to President Franklin D. Roosevelt suggested and advised me to submit the highlights of this secret agreement of March 1946 to Gen. George C. Marshall.

I carried out his suggestion and advice.

"SECRET AGREEMENT OF MARCH 1946

"1. Mao to recognize Soviet Russia as No. 1 Communist power.

"2. Mao to accept Soviet leadership in international affairs.

"3. Mutual acceptance on the 'image of America.'

" 'America is the center of world reaction.'

" 'America is the sworn enemy of the oppressed people.'

" 'America is the soil of future aggressive wars.'

"4. Soviet Russia to assist the Red Chinese armies to overthrow Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his government, also to expel all the imperialist Americans out of China. Time table? 'By 1950.'

"5. Soviet Russia to consider a Sino-Soviet military alliance. Time table? 'By 1950.'

"6. Soviet Russia to give lend-lease aid to Red China and help build and establish a sound industrial foundation.

"7. Red China to plan its domestic and foreign policies, to keep America out of Europe and Asia, within the spirit and the framework of a Eurasian Monroe Doctrine."

NOTE OF INTEREST TO ALL PATRIOTIC AMERICANS

Since the signing of the above secret agreement, most of their aims and objectives are now history. For example:

In December 1949 with the help of America, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was forced to flee to Formosa.

On February 4, 1950, Russia and Red China signed the Sino-Soviet Military Alliance Pact in Moscow.

On April 20, 1950 Russia began the implementation of Russia's lend lease aid to Red China. It establishes many joint Sino-Soviet industrial, shipbuilding, mining and oil producing companies throughout Red China. It also agreed to finance and train 10,000 Red Chinese construction engineers, scientists and nuclear physicists in Soviet Russia.

In October 1954, significantly Khrushchev and Bulganin traveled to Peiping, Red China, and offered Mao Tse-tung the following:

Russia to renounce the Soviet sphere of influence in the provinces of Manchuria, Inner Mongolia and Sin Kiang.

Russia to evacuate the Soviet naval base of Port Arthur, Manchuria in May 1955.

Russia to finance and assist in the building of many strategic railroads, the network of rail systems linking the north and southwestern provinces of China, Sin Kiang and Yunan Provinces, to Peiping, the capital of Red China.

Russia to relinquish and turn over to Red China, Soviet shares in all the joint Sino-Soviet enterprises throughout Red China.

ANOTHER SINO-SOVIET SECRET AGREEMENT

According to Allen-Scott Washington Report of November 13, 1963, the U.S. intelligence obtained a copy of the 1963 agreement of significant military value.

It revealed that Russia and Red China had agreed to link all the rail systems of the two countries; exchange rail personnel, including Russian technicians in China and Chinese labor in Siberia; standardize their railroad systems and exchange rail cars. Red China also agreed to give free access to Soviet ships to all Chinese ports.

The U.S. intelligence also, "found that most of Communist China's outstanding nuclear scientists are in Russia working in their field, and playing a key role in the Soviet's nuclear developments. The Chinese scientists are credited with some of Russia's most important breakthroughs in the last few years. Foremost among them is the concept that led to the production of the Soviet super bomb and method to test it without contaminating a vast area.

"While outwardly still at bitter odds, behind the scenes the story is wholly different. These profoundly significant deals were negotiated by Mikhail Suslov, third ranking member of the Kremlin hierarchy, during a 6-week stay in Red China. He disappeared from Moscow in mid-September, and was variously reported purged and hospitalized with a kidney ailment. Actually he was in China working out these momentous understandings.

"This fact has given rise to conjecture in intelligence quarters on the possibility of a nuclear agreement between the two Communist powers. This sinister likelihood is being intently explored."

When Money Is Master

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, too often I think central governments violate the nature of economics and abuse their monetary system. The result is a choice to either seek reform through austere and restrictive discipline on the part of the money managers or complete destruction of the economy. Sound monetary policy, based on pioneer concepts, can avoid disaster.

In the September 16 edition of the Wall Street Journal there was a sensible article on this subject. Under unanimous consent, I insert the editorial "When Money Is Master" in the Appendix of the RECORD:

WHEN MONEY IS MASTER

Money, we suppose it would be generally conceded, is one of man's more useful inventions, and for that rather basic reason a number of influential people are dissatisfied with the world's current monetary system. Treasury Secretary Fowler and others are pressing for an international conference to institute reforms as soon as possible.

Certainly the system is imperfect, but so are some of the ideas of the would-be reformers. Consider the case advanced by Fred Hirsch, financial editor of the London Economist. In a readable little book on the troubles of the British pound, he contends that those problems, as well as the difficulties of the U.S. dollar, reflect the fact that both nations have been "putting the monetary servant in the place of the political master."

What Mr. Hirsch means is that the mystique of monetary stability allegedly leads nations to curb domestic economic growth and otherwise refrain from using their own

resources in the way they politically wish. While he offers an interesting argument, it seems to us that he saddles the monetary system with more than its share of the blame.

To see why, it is useful to recall how Britain came to its present pass. The exercise is particularly pertinent because the United States to some extent seems bent on heading in the same direction.

Britains balance-of-payments troubles, and the consequent weakness of the pound, stem in part from the lack of competitiveness of its domestic economy. The growing political power of unions, together with the complacence of management, has threaded make-work rules and practices throughout Britains industry. Featherbedding, which is hardly unknown in the United States, saps industrys domestic vitality and lessens its ability to sell goods abroad. Its stretching things to blame those conditions on undue obeisance to stable money.

As a matter of fact, the behavior of both nations is cause for skepticism about their devotion to such stability. In both, governmental budget deficits and artificially easy money long have been almost a way of life. In Britain this proclivity already has led to substantial price inflation, which has helped push up wage costs at home and made British goods even harder to market abroad.

Britain at least appears to be trying to come to grips with its twin problems of inefficiency and inflation, though the outlook for some of its efforts is at best dubious. It is questionable, for example, whether the nation will actually revitalize its industries with its tax on imports, which in effect puts a higher protective tariff wall around its domestic factories.

Moreover, it's doubtful that the London government will have the political courage to try to curb the insatiable demands of labor unions. If anything, labor unions seem more out of hand under a labor government than they did under the Tory regime.

Conceivably matters may by now have degenerated so far in Britain that, as Mr. Hirsch contends, the pound should be at once devalued. No matter how highly anyone values monetary stability, it's only foolish to insist that it exists when it patently doesn't.

It would be even more foolish, Mr. Hirsch also recognizes, to believe that devaluation by itself would solve everything; at best it is only a recognition of past mistakes. With the slate wiped clean, a nation then must manage its monetary affairs sensibly if it is not to sink into one devaluation after another.

That does not require a government to run budget surpluses every single year and keep money right under all circumstances. But it does mean it cannot forever insist on the opposite. To do so is not to promote sound economic growth but, in the not very long run, to seriously endanger it.

A government runs such risks when, as in the United States it seems determined not to dampen the union urge for inefficiency but to enhance it, when it follows inflationary domestic policies, when it applies no more than paliatives at best to its balance-of-payments deficits.

It boils down, we think, to a fairly simple equation: If governments could control their political passions, they would not confront the problem of money becoming a master. It is precisely because they abuse money that it finally forces a choice—tyrannical thought it may appear to the politicians—between discipline and disaster.

Therein lies the essential point about altering the world monetary system. Intelligent reforms might improve it; they cannot substitute for common monetary sense.

The Viet Protesters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, throughout the country the public has risen in indignation against the Communist-infiltrated demonstrations last weekend in which our Vietnam policy was attacked. Chicago's American, in its edition of October 18 contained an impressive editorial on the demonstrations of the past weekend:

THE VIET PROTESTERS

Some of the people demonstrating against the U.S. involvement in Vietnam may be sincere in their beliefs, but they certainly are misguided. Mothers of sons naturally don't want to see young men drafted into military service for action anywhere. Many of the young men object to giving service and risking their lives for a cause that seems distant and incomprehensible. A few of the demonstrators are natural born pacifists and dissenters. And some are Communist fellow travelers and sympathizers who always take a position for communism and against the best interests of the free world.

These dissimilar persons are now banded together to cause as much mischief as they can for the American Vietnam policy. In so doing they are aiding the Communist cause, and helping to prolong the Vietnam war. The Vietcong launched a summer offensive against our military forces in Vietnam which has proved to be a failure. What the Communists failed to win in Vietnam last summer, however, they may hope to gain by successes on the domestic front within the United States.

Former President Dwight Eisenhower most properly points out that the Vietnam demonstrators don't know what they are talking about. Three U.S. President's, Mr. Eisenhower, Mr. Kennedy, and Mr. Johnson, have persisted in the prosecution of the war in Vietnam after a thorough examination and review of the facts. And what are the facts?

The Government of South Vietnam has been menaced by a Communist invasion from the north. The Geneva International Control Commission has indicted North Vietnam for this invasion, and no objective person doubts that the legally constituted Government of South Vietnam has indeed been menaced. The United States assured the South Vietnamese that they would have help from us. We are now providing that aid.

Is it in our own self-interest to do so now? It is certainly in our own self-interest to stop the advancement of militant communism. China and North Vietnam are now the leading exponents of militant communism. China has repeatedly called on the rest of the Communist world to destroy American "imperialistic capitalism" by force and violence wherever it appears. North Vietnam and the Vietcong are engaged in the attempted destruction of a capitalist outpost by bringing down the Government of the Vietnam Republic.

Unless we stop this assault, the whole of southeast Asia and ultimately the Pacific will go Communist. If we do not fight now on the Vietnam front, we ultimately will be fighting on a hundred fronts much closer to home.

Our purpose in South Vietnam is to defend a free and independent people, as we have promised to do, and to prove to the Communists that violent aggression does not pay.

No one likes the cost of this policy, any more than we wanted to get involved in World War II. But we are involved, and we had better stay involved until there is a just settlement in Vietnam. Otherwise, we ultimately will be even more deeply involved in a worldwide catastrophe that will be called world war III, if anyone remains to give it a name.

The demonstrators and protesters against Vietnam policy are doing a great disservice to all of us. They are helping to prolong the war. If they succeed in getting their way, they'll help to bring on conflict everywhere with a resurgent communism which will prove once again that violence does pay.

This is a course that those of us who love this Nation, and who prize a free world, cannot accept.

Trade Expansion Act—A Threat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT T. SECREST

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. SECREST. Mr. Speaker, earlier in this session I reintroduced a bill to amend the Trade Expansion Act, identical to a bill that I had introduced last year. It was designed to remove certain items from the President's list marked for a 50 percent tariff reduction. I am now introducing a bill that has also been introduced by some 15 to 20 other Members which repeats the earlier bill but goes further in amending the act of 1962 by modifying some of its extreme provisions and authorizing the imposition of import quotas under certain conditions.

The Trade Expansion Act has been a deep disappointment in what was to be one of its principal features, namely "adjustment assistance." This provision has become a dead letter. The Tariff Commission is now without a single case on its docket after nearly 3 years from the time the act was passed. This is not surprising because no case out of the 17 that have come before the Commission has succeeded in gaining any assistance. The turn-down has been unanimous in all cases but one, and that one was negative by a majority vote of the Commission. This record would hardly be conducive to further efforts to gain relief.

I can only conclude that the law was too strictly drawn. The bill I am introducing now would relax the severe requirements of the law so that its avowed intent could be carried out. This would be accomplished by striking the "major" where it is used to describe the degree of cause necessary to prove serious injury suffered by petitioning industries, firms or labor groups. The law says that a tariff reduction must have been the major cause of an increase in imports and the higher volume of imports must have been the major cause of the injury suffered by the industry or labor group seek-

ing relief. This is a double condition and represents an excessive burden of proof. Today there may be a number of causes of disturbance or disruption of normal operations of a manufacturing enterprise. To be asked to identify one cause and then to establish it as a major cause not only once but twice, the second one dependent on the first, is to demand what no applicant to the Commission has been able to satisfy. The requirement must be relaxed if adjustment assistance is to come to life.

Mr. Speaker, I do not understand the reasoning of those who believe in the high labor standards of this country and yet lend support to a trade policy that undermines those standards. We call for full employment in this country and seek a good level of prosperity for business but then turn about and vote for a trade program that works in the opposite direction. While I say "we" do this, I am not among those who voted in this fashion. I mean the 1962 congressional majority.

I do not understand how we can expect to maintain our labor standards and achieve full employment by calling for a sharp reduction in the tariff. No one can question the wide margin by which wages in this country exceed those in all other countries except Canada. The day is past when this discrepancy could be dismissed by simply saying that our industry is much more productive than the foreign. Other industrial countries have escalated their technological development more rapidly than this country if for no other reason than their lower level as a starting point after the war. We assisted them immeasurably in this escalation. I think it is safe to say that we presented the countries of Europe and Japan with a technological leap that saved them two or three decades of research and development.

This leap increased the competitive advantage they already enjoyed in many lines of goods as a result of their lower wages; for while their wages have risen considerably, wages in this country have also gone up. If their wages have come up faster percentagewise than ours the increases here have exceeded theirs in actual dollars and cents.

Yet there are those who generally support the principle of high wages and full employment who seem to believe that growing import competition is economically not only harmless but beneficial. Granted that fair competition is a healthy economic factor and that some imports do no harm because they are not competitive or do not represent unfair competition; it is nonetheless true that import competition that owes its advantage to lower wages may retard employment in this country by discouraging industrial expansion while increasing pressure for more mechanization and automation.

I am not one who opposes mechanization or automation as such. The benefits of technological progress are too evident to take such a position. However, we must ask what is the purpose of our feverish modernization. Ideally, the purpose should be to lower the cost of production so that goods may be sold to the consuming public at lower prices. Our very system of mass production indeed got its inception from such efforts. When the link between mass production and mass consumption came to be appreciated we began also to appreciate the function of fair competition, which was to reduce prices and thus allow more production in relation to consumer income. More production soon meant more employment. The workers who were displaced initially by radical mechanization were in time rehired or replaced in greater numbers throughout the economy as a result of greater production and greater activity in the supporting activities, such as selling, distribution, insuring, financing, transporting, and so forth.

These benefits, however, do not accrue under all circumstances. For one thing, if the product is one for which the demand is inelastic, consumption will not be stimulated perceptibly. The price of salt, flour, or sugar, within reason, has little effect on consumption. The price of some other goods if dropped sharply may lead to a doubling or tripling of consumption, or, in time, even a yet higher multiple. Our industrial history as it moved into mass production, from automobiles to telephones, radio to television, all sorts of household appliances to a great variety of gadgets—I say, the industrial history of this country during the past two generations has been a succession of invention and innovation, producing new products under the impetus of efforts to bring the costs within the reach of the mass pocketbook. The result has been what we see before us. It brought us the industrial leadership of the world.

Now, however, confront these same industries with the alternative of reducing costs sharply or seeing their domestic market supplied in rising degree by imports and the situation is different. The advantage of imports may lie in the very objective that was looked to as opening up a broader market, that is, lower prices. The domestic industry then faces a double problem. First, it may for the time being have gone as far as it can in cost reduction. New developments that increase productivity do not spring up over night. The foreign producers may be technologically abreast of our industry and because of their much lower wages can undersell us.

Second, even though the time is inopportune and the industry must reduce its cost nevertheless it will scour the capital market for means of increasing productivity regardless of the state of unreadiness. It can hope to hold its share of the market only by cutting costs; and the principal source of cost reduction lies in the decreasing the number of workers. Yet, in doing this, sales will not respond as in the days when the market was virgin and free of already low-cost imported goods. Now these skim the cream, and the displaced workers remain displaced.

Two negative effects, rather than only one, are produced. The work force is reduced, and plans for expansion that seemed opportune before must now be put on ice. Therefore the impact on unemployment is double. Not only are workers displaced; new workers who would have been hired had the industry expanded are left unhired and are added instead to the unemployment rolls. Thus we add to the retraining and relocation burdens no less than the distress that marks the poverty-stricken areas.

Mr. Speaker, it is a common human weakness to wish to eat our cake and yet also have it left over for future consumption. We all know that this does not work. Yet there are economists, doctrinal free traders and others who are strong suporters, as I have already said, of the high-wage high-income economy that characterizes our national state today. They adhere at the same time to a contradictory position that demands an impossible competition with foreign systems that base their competitive position on low wages. We cannot maintain our system and at the same time adhere to policies that render our position untenable.

We can meet the challenge in one of two ways: we can reduce wages or do what I have already described, namely mechanize and automate as relentlessly as possible in order to bring down our costs. Either course would undermine the income base that is necessary to sustain our high level of production. The day of reducing wages is gone, not only because of the strength of labor organizations but because it would diminish the market by reducing the number of dollars in the hands of consumers.

Let us examine briefly the extent of the dependence of our economy on personal income, or more truly, disposable, that is, spendable personal income, on the one hand, and the preponderate dependence of personal income on employee compensation.

In 1964 disposable personal income in this country was $431 billion. In the second quarter of this year it had risen to an annual level of $455 billion. This compares with $384 billion in 1962. Wage and salary disbursements in 1964 were $331 billion, rising to an annual rate of $352 billion in the second quarter of 1965. In 1962 they were $297 billion. These figures are in current dollars and therefore exaggerate the real income and real wages by the amount of price increases since 1962.

It will be seen that wage and salary disbursements represent a very high proportion of all disposable personal income which includes proprietors' income, rental income and dividends—see Survey of Current Business, U.S. Department of Commerce, July 1965, table 3, page 4—the proportion during the years I have cited was 77 percent.

The percentage runs even higher when the comparison is made with personal consumption expenditures. In 1964, for example, wage and salary disbursements of $331 billion represented 82 percent of personal consumption expenditures of $399 billion.

It is obvious that our high wages represent the principal underpinning of total consumer purchasing power while the latter is what sustains our high volume of production from farms and mines to mills and factories.

This relationship between our wages and consumption is very important. If

we wish to have high production we must have high consumer purchasing power or our factories will be idled. If factories are idled consumer purchasing power suffers and this in turn means a lower sales volume. Idle factories also mean fewer employed workers.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the effect of a trade policy that pits low foreign wages directly against our high wage standards places the high standards in jeopardy.

Already a considerable number of domestic industries have been severely injured by imports. In my own district I can speak of two of them. One, the pottery industry, has been so hard hit in my area that most of the companies have been forced out of business. Imports mounted a relentless low-wage competition that crippled our industry and impeded its expansion. Now the tile industry is undergoing a similar bombardment and the industry is suffering seriously. The only reason for the difficuly in both industries has been the low foreign pay.

Considering the importance of both wages and employment to the well-being of our economy, and the triple threat embodied in imports, which is to say actual displacement of labor, the stimulation of mechanization and the discouragement of domestic expansion, it seems most unwise, first, to propose further sharp tariff reductions, especially when the effect of past reductions continues to produce injury, and second, to expect a lively expansion of the domestic economy in the absence of defensive measures in the form of import quotas that would replace the uncertainties of import competition with an assured share of the market for the domestic producers.

Our balance-of-payments trouble reflects to a great degree the poor competitive standing of domestic producers in both foreign and domestic markets. There can no longer be any doubt that if all governmental assistance in the form of AID, Public Law 480 and export subsidies were eliminated our imports would exceed our exports.

The only fields in which our exports have experienced really appreciable gains in recent years have been in farm products and machinery. The farm product exports have expanded solely because of governmental assistance in the form of subsidies, sales for foreign currencies, giveaway programs, and so forth. The boom in machinery exports is a direct echo from our growing foreign investments. These in turn have grown so lustily precisely because we are not satisfactorily competitive with foreign production at home.

Anyway we look at it, the fact is that competitively we are in a state of deep discomfiture. This state in turn owes its existence to the high plateau of our wage standards in relation to our competitors whose productivity has been rising more rapidly than ours.

Our merchant marine cannot compete despite governmental construction and operational subsidies. Our farmers compete only by dint of heavy subsidies, and in the case of wheat, cotton, dairy products, and peanuts can hold their own in this country only because of highly restrictive import quotas. Our shipping companies can compete when they transfer their ships to foreign flags. Why? Is it because they suddenly become more efficient or because they pay lower wages and can offer lower living conditions to their workers?

Our industries that invest abroad find themselves very competitive. Their foreign operations are handsomely profitable. Is it because they can hire skilled and unskilled labor more cheaply abroad? The answer to both questions is clear enough and there is no mystery about it.

Mr. Speaker, it is no longer debatable. Our competitive capacity is sharply handicapped by our higher costs and those come from higher wages. Which do we elect to sacrifice? Our high wages and our high standards or the theory of free trade? As I have said, we cannot have it both ways.

The legislation I am introducing in company with others will mark a long step in the direction of sanity in our foreign trade policy.

Chattanooga Sesquicentennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, my hometown, Chattanooga, Tenn., is celebrating its 150th birthday. This is a great city of people whose warmth, vitality, and faith have contributed to a better community for all. A spirit of achievement permeates Chattanooga, creating a continuous challenge for each citizen to have his deeds match the natural scope of our scenic surroundings.

Chattanoogans are meeting their obligations to the past, establishing new avenues of service and expression in the present, and renewing their commitment to the future.

Mr. Speaker, I am grateful for the privilege of being a part of this outstanding community and am proud to have the honor of representing it in Congress.

Mr. Lee Anderson, editor of the Chattanooga News-Free Press wrote a splendid article briefly tracing our city's history.

Under unanimous consent, I insert the "Chattanooga's Story" from the official sesquicentennial program in the Appendix of the RECORD:

CHATTANOOGA'S STORY

(By Lee Anderson)

And the earth trembled and took form as God created the mountains, their shadows overlooking deep valleys. Both were clothed with trees and grass, and a river of water undulated, as though through a maze, seeking the easier course downhill, draining the highlands and moving toward an unseen sea.

There were fish in the waters and animals stalked the flatlands and wound their own highways around the base of the heights.

And there came men, from afar. They had copper skin and lived in caves and fished the waters and hunted the forests. They wrote their history not in words, but in their poor housekeeping on the floors of caves they covered not with rugs but with new layers of dirt to hide the litter. As long before Moses as we are after him, these Indians dwelt here, and their descendants moved like nomads in and out of the beautiful country.

The first white man they saw had a body and head that glittered. He carried a stick that spoke explosively. He drove an army of short, fat animals that rooted in the ground. Hernando De Soto, yet to discover the Mississippi River, passed through with his party and a herd of pigs in July of 1540. Chroniclers with him remarked in their journals about the rock rising to a point—Lookout Mountain—that guided their course. This was the beginning of written history here.

Two centuries passed, much in the way the two previous ones had gone, before long hunter Elisha Walden ventured into the winding river country in 1760 and left his name on the ridge that overlooks, from the north, the Grand Canyon of the Tennessee.

As English influence came from the east, the French came trading, and near the foot of that ridge, the point of which is now known as Signal Mountain, they raised in 1761 a crude structure that became known as the Old French Store, and marked the first settlement of white people in this area.

Nearly a decade later a canny Scot, John McDonald, went into business with a trading post of his own on South Chickamauga Creek. He became a neighbor of the Red Man, as Chief Dragging Canoe, in 1777, left the Cherokee Nation and brought the Chickamauga Indians to the Chattanooga area, where they settled and farmed and raided the frontier.

Drums of the American Revolution beat across the backwoods, but Indians were slow in hearing of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Still on the warpath, after the war was officially over, they were engaged on the slopes of Lookout Mountain on September 20, 1782, in what has become known as the last battle of the American Revolution. The frontier militia under John Sevier was victorious.

Men drew lines on a map and gave the name Tennessee to the western expanse that had once been the portion of North Carolina from the Smoky Mountains to the Mississippi River. The new State added the 16th star to the flag of the American Republic June 1, 1796. The country had changed little since De Soto, and was to change little for many years to come. But about the turn of the century, a man named Daniel Ross built a home on Chattanooga Creek and set in motion circumstances that were to loom large in the future of this community.

Daniel Ross married the daughter of old John McDonald, and soon was father of a son named John Ross. Indians called him "T-san-usdi," or "Little John," when he was a boy. As he grew older, they called him "Gu'wisguwi," the name of a rare migratory bird, prophetic of the movements he was to undertake in the service of the Indians whose blood flowed in his veins.

Time, in those days, was not important. The date is not marked in definite record. But about 1815, nobody knows exactly when, John Ross, who had taken an active part in the trading business, set up a branch office on the Tennessee River. At a point near the foot of present Market Street, he raised a crude log warehouse, and established a ferry that may have been barely better than swimming the broad, brown stream.

Thus he laid the foundations of a great city, though his eyes were certainly on nearer horizons at the time.

Grandson of John McDonald, Indian trader who claimed descent from the Clan Mac-

Donald of Inverness, Scotland, and bearing the blood of his Indian neighbors through his grandmother, Anna Shorey, a descendant of the Cherokee Bird Clan, Chief John Ross through inheritance and acumen came to serve the Indian people in public life for 57 years, from the age of 19 (he was born October 3, 1790) until his death in Washington, D.C., on August 1, 1886, while he represented the Cherokee Nation.

No ignorant backwoodsman, John Ross attended a private school established by his father (the first school of any sort in this section), before going to a Presbyterian institution in Maryville, and further study at Kingston. He learned from practical experience as he worked in a store on an Army post. All of this led toward his establishment of that business of his own—Ross' Landing—the foundation of the city of Chattanooga.

Shortly, there was a U.S. post office near Rossville Gap at Missionary Ridge in 1817, and the same year came the Brainerd Mission, which gave the long, historic ridge its name.

The mission was a school for the Indians under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, combining Congregational, Dutch Reformed and Presbyterian sporsorship. Near Chickamauga Creek, on what is now Brainerd Road. "The mission on the Chickamauga in the Cherokee Nation" was established in accord with the plans of Gideon Blackburn, and later was renamed in honor of David Bainerd, a missionary in New England who had died a martyr in his service to the Indians.

The first of many Presidents of the United States to see the beauties of this area was the fourth Chief Executive of our Nation, President James Monroe visited the Brainerd Mission in 1819.

Unfortunately, the prospects for peaceful fellowship between Indians and the new white settlers fell under a dark cloud. In the Treaty of 1835, certain minor chiefs and Cherokees of no ruling standing in the Cherokee Nation sold their lands east of the Mississippi to the United States for $5 million. In return, the United States gave the Cherokees 15 million acres of land in the Indian territory of Oklahoma, land far different from the green mountains and flowing valleys the Cherokees knew.

The transaction was disclaimed and repudiated by Chief John Ross and the full council of the Cherokee Nation in October of 1835, but the U.S. Senate confirmed it on May 23, 1836.

Fraudulent though it was, the treaty set the course of what was to be one of the shameful episodes of American history, "The Trail of Tears."

The Indians were dragged from their homes and assembled in camps for expulsion from their land. Not far from John Ross' landing, the gathered Indians were so numerous they were not kept in a stockade with their soldier guards around them, but the reverse was true: The soldiers withdrew into their fort and the Indians camped about them.

Through the wilderness and icy northland 13,149 Indians were forced on a harsh and circuitous journey that saw more than tears fall along the trail. Some 4,000 of those who set out met their Great Spirit on the way.

As more white settlers made their way through Cumberland Gap, where Virginia and Tennessee openly join each other, and as others skirted the great mountain chain and moved up from South Carolina and Georgia, the settlement along the Tennessee River began to be a center for farming and trade and river traffic. It was then that so much of vital history that had gone unrecorded day by day came to have its first regular record. It came with the birth of the community's first regular newspaper, the Hamilton Gazette, on July 9, 1838. The printing equipment was brought to Chattanooga by boat. The press was set under the shade of a great oak tree on the bank of the river, and began its work, later to be transferred to a more substantial pressroom on Walnut Street. Later, when Ross' Landing came to be Chattanooga, the name of the paper was changed to the Chattanooga Gazette. A number of other newspapers of note were to come in the wake of this early beginning.

Progress inspired the growth of civil pride. The people of Ross' Landing felt this name was not in keeping with the promise of their community. Talk went on for many months. Some advocated "Lookout City" as the new name, since Lookout Mountain was the most prominent landmark. Others had different ideas. The matter came to a head in the summer of 1838 when the town's commissioners met in the log cabin community hall, with the entire adult population reportedly in interested attendance. Someone suggested the name "Chattanooga" because of its musical sound, its unique quality, its historic connection with the Indians who had lived here, and it was chosen.

No one knows for sure the origin of the name. Some say it was the Indian expression describing the "rock rising to a point" that was Lookout Mountain. Capt. John P. Long said the name had been applied to a little Indian fishing village near Lookout Mountain, and had been carried over during Cherokee habitation from Creek Indians who had preceded them.

Whatever its source, the U.S. Post Office adopted the change November 14, 1838. The General Assembly of the State of Tennessee granted an act of incorporation to the town of Chattanooga in December of 1839, providing for the election by the people of seven aldermen, who would select one of their number to be mayor. The election was held and those victorious chose James Berry to be Chattanooga's first mayor, the new city government beinning its 1-year term in 1840. With this beginning, it is no surprise that the "town" of Chattanooga became chartered as the "city" of Chattanooga November 5, 1851.

With its background including the important Brainerd Mission and its work of taking Christianity to the Indians (and with modern Chattanooga to be known as "The City of Churches" for the large number of congregations here), it was natural that the early Anglo-Saxon settlers felt the need to establish formal churches. The Methodists known for their circuit riders in the backwoods areas, and the Presbyterians were organizers of the first formal congregations.

With the continued growth of the community, the barter of the Ross' Landing trading post days was no longer sufficient, and the first of Chattanooga's vital financial institutions was founded. It was the "Bank of Chattanooga" that opened its doors in 1853.

Of absolutely no connection with the opening of the bank, the city felt a need in 1854 to "erect a lockup or calaboose" for recalcitrant members of society.

By the time war clouds began to gather with the election of President Abraham Lincoln, Chattanooga had attained the prestigious size of about 2,500 people. It was an important railroad center, and that accounted for the stop of an important visitor here in January of 1861. He was a man en route from Washington, D.C., to his home in Mississippi. He had just resigned his seat in the U.S. Senate and departed the Capitol. His name was Jefferson Davis. He did not know the role that he was yet destined to play. But his presence in Chattanooga did not go unnoticed. His stop almost created a serious disturbance, for the people of this area were divided in their sympathies. Some held Union views, being nonslaveholders of Republican background, heirs of the hill country of east Tennessee. Others were oriented more to the South and to the Democratic Party traditions. This was a community of diversity among neighbors.

The June 8, 1861, election, the second referendum on whether Tennessee would secede from the Union, mirrored this split as Chattanoogans voted in majority to secede while Hamilton Countians voted in majority to remain with the Union. The secession vote carried in Tennessee and this community became one of the key battlegrounds of the war.

One of the most dramatic episodes involved a sabotage effort that culminated in the outskirts of Chattanooga, and is known as Andrews' raid or the great locomotive chase.

As a northbound train pulled by a picturesque engine called the General idled at a breakfast stop at Big Shanty, Ga., not far north of Atlanta, a conspiracy of 22 Union volunteers began to unfold. Having made their way to the train separately and in civilian dress, the leader, Capt. James J. Andrews, and his little band took possession of the engine and boxcars, cut couplings and made off northward toward Chattanooga, intending to destroy trestles and tracks and devastate the key railroad line leading from the heart of the South toward the battlefront in Tennessee.

Because of the swift and determined pursuit by the train's conductor, Capt. William A. Fuller, and others who commandeered a series of engines along the way, Andrews and his men were able to do relatively little damage before they had to abandon the General near Chattanooga, where they hoped to hide among sympathizers and escape to the North. Captured, however, eight were hanged as spies (and now are buried at the national cemetery in Chattanooga), six were exchanged and eight escaped from an Atlanta prison where they were being held.

As the war came closer to Chattanooga with Union forces pushing the Confederate defenders backward out of middle Tennessee, the most famous of the Confederate newspapers was born under the name of the Chattanooga Rebel. Established August 1, 1862, it was published for 13 months, and was distributed not only in its home community but throughout the Confederate Army. Early in its brief life, it had to flee Chattanooga to Marietta, Ga. It continued on the move, being published for a time on a railroad car and in whatever quarters were available, until its equipment was destroyed and its type pied when Union soldiers caught up with it near Selma, Ala. But its civilian publishers later resurrected it and published again before the banner came down on the lost cause.

On September 8, 1863, the fortunes of the Confederacy were suffering. Gen. Braxton Bragg had to order his troops out of Chattanooga while sad residents stood along the dusty roadsides and wept. The next day, Union forces marched in, intent on holding the key railroad center. But the Confederates were not to quit the area without a fight.

As Union forces under Gen. William Rosecrans took the city, General Bragg's Confederates moved into north Georgia, attempting to protect their supply line from Atlanta. The two armies in their maneuvers stumbled into each other at Chickamauga, about 15 miles from the heart of Chattanooga.

There in some of the bloodiest fighting of the whole war (some 35,000 casualties in 2 days), the 2 armies slugged it out. Finally, on September 20, 1863, a southern corps led by Gen. James Longstreet found a gap in the Union line and blasted through. This completely routed the Union forces, except for a holding action brilliantly organized by

Union Gen. George Thomas at Snodgrass Hill, a defense that earned him the title of "the Rock of Chickamauga."

Despite urging by General Longstreet, Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest and others, General Bragg failed to press his advantage. Thus he lost the fruit of his victory. The totally disorganized Union Army was fleeing northward and might have been cleared from Tennessee. In that event the possibility of a negotiated peace between North and South might have been raised.

But when Bragg did not pursue, the Union forces reassembled in Chattanooga, with Gen. U. S. Grant being sent in, and later Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman, to face a grave situation which had men on quarter rations and horses and mules dying for want of food as the Confederates drew tight the noose.

Thus the stage was set for the Battle of Chattanooga. First step was to break the Confederate siege so the Union troops could get supplies and reinforcements. Federal forces did this by a well-conceived maneuver involving the rarity of a night amphibious attack. Union soldiers floated down the Tennessee River on the night of October 26, 1863, in pontoons and captured Brown's Ferry, opening the "Cracker Line" for incoming supplies.

On November 23, Grant's troops pushed out and took Orchard Knob, a little hill in the valley between Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. Grant put his headquarters there. On November 24, Union Gen. "Fighting Joe" Hooker moved against Lookout Mountain in bad weather that sent swirling mists up the cliffs from the river below, giving the engagement the picturesque title of "The Battle Above the Clouds."

With Confederates cleared from Lookout Mountain, attention was turned to Missionary Ridge, the last great and formidable barrier defending the heart of the Southland. General Sherman sent his four divisions against the north end of the ridge on November 25, but after a hard and colorful battle, he was beaten back by the division of Confederates under Gen. Pat Cleburne.

Then General Thomas' men went forward against the center of the Ridge. In a confused battle which the men charged without orders up the slope, the Confederate defenses were broken and the southerners began their retreat toward Atlanta.

This caused Confederate Gen. D. H. Hill to remark: "Chattanooga sealed the fate of the Confederacy."

After this, the war swept past, leaving Chattanooga in a backwash of Federal occupation until the sheer weight of Union arms ratified the decision that, after Chattanooga, was inescapable.

As Chattanoogans loved their city and its beautiful mountains and river, so did Union soldiers who were its temporary, unwelcome guests during the period of hostilities. When peace returned, many of them came to Chattanooga to settle, marrying into the established southern families, and contributing greatly to the growth of new industry, which was to be the key to Chattanooga's future.

The conflicting sentiments of Union and Confederate supporters during the war and of the former northern and southern soldiers who now made up Chattanooga's population mellowed and found peaceful mutual respect.

As the community's progress continued, Chattanooga was to be visited more than a decade later, in 1878, by another terrifying invader—"Yellow Jack." As the cities of the Deep South sounded death bells and exploded gunpowder in the hope that this somehow would purify the air against the so often fatal assault of yellow fever, Chattanooga opened its doors to refugees from stricken areas. But with the fortunate ones who sought the safety of Chattanooga's altitude and relative freedom from the then unrecognized villainous mosquitoes that transmitted the disease, came the killer itself.

By the end of August, 500 refugees had arrived. By September 18, yellow fever had claimed its first Chattanooga victim. Panic swept the town. Every conceivable conveyance was used and many who could not find transportation set out by foot, fleeing the feared unknown.

Before the epidemic had ebbed, many had lost their lives, and many courageous citizens had demonstrated great heroism in treating those who fell victim.

But yellow fever provided only a temporary setback. Business and industry thrived once more. The University of Chattanooga opened its classes September 15, 1886. The ferry that John Ross had once provided to cross the Tennessee River and the Union military bridge that followed were soon quite outmoded by the new Walnut Street Bridge that was dedicated in colorful ceremonies on February 18, 1891.

And quite fit for any celebration was a new beverage that, just before the turn of the century, was to affix its name to that of Chattanooga. The fame of a fountain concoction called Coca-Cola had spread beyond its native Atlanta. A group of Chattanoogans had the revoluntionary idea of bottling the drink throughout the Nation, maintaining a uniform standard. And so Chattanooga came to be the site of the first bottled Coca-Cola, the headquarters of bottling franchising that was pleasurably to affect the life of a Nation.

While Chattanooga built its industry, it built in diversity. Not iron alone or textiles alone or any other single depression-susceptible field was allowed to become the foundation of the city's economy. Chattanooga came to have some part in virtually every area of manufacturing and service, developing a big city air while maintaining the charm of the small town where everybody knows everybody else, where all hands are put together in civic endeavor, where friendly relationships are plentiful and life is rich.

Based on a railroad crossroads, raw materials, enterprising people and the river, Chattanooga's industry grew and its residential sections sprawled outward. The air age came with enthusiasm for private and commercial flying. Catering to tourists became second only to manufacturing as a leading source of income.

In the mid-thirties, TVA entered the river valley, building dams and opening a new water recreation land with Lake Chickamauga just a few minutes' drive from the downtown section.

A public power board was formed to replace private power and a continuing campaign to increase the use of electricity brought so much home heating and air conditioning that Chattanooga became known as the "Electric Center of the Nation" in addition to its older nickname as the "Dynamo of Dixie."

New national and international industries came to raise their offices and plants where Indians had paddled their canoes, where pioneers had hunted the quiet forests, where a progressive city moves forward with new purpose and new speed in the second half of the 20th century. Cultural, education, charitable and religious activities expanded to keep pace with the city.

No boom town, no community with a single reason for being, Chattanooga and its people have built step by step, inorderly and sound fashion, a city where it is good to live and bring up families, where visitors from throughout the world are attracted and welcomed, where opportunity awaits, where the best of the past is combined with dreams for the future.

Thurgood Marshall Speaks on the Constitution and Social Change

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, the remarks of Hon. Thurgood Marshall, Solicitor General of the United States, before the Annual Convention of the Federal Bar Association on September 16, 1965, in Chicago merit the attention and study of all thoughtful people. The text of the remarks follow:

THE CONSTITUTION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The recent history of the Supreme Court is, in one respect, like a contemporary abstract painting. It is not that we cannot understand the painting, if we try, but that it has so many different interpretations, each of which has a measure of truth and relevancy. None of them can be totally dismissed for being impossible; none has a claim to absolute correctness; and each reflects the interpreter's special insights and experiences.

The subject of these remarks, "The Constitution and Social Change" is such an interpretation, suffering from these faults and seeking the appropriate immunities. It is offered merely as one interpretation of recent Supreme Court decisions, with no pretense that it is the only interpretation. My hope is only to cast a new light on this doctrinal history, to suggest that in recent decades the Supreme Court has molded the Constitution into a much needed instrument of social change, capable of initiating, accommodating and even requiring fundamental changes in the fabric of American society.

PROTECTING THE RIGHT TO CRITICIZE THE STATUS QUO

One of the most distinguishing features of American society is that it began with a bang, not a whimper—with a revolution packed with economic, social, and political significance. It is not surprising, therefore, that in framing the Bill of Rights a certain primacy was given to assuring that the citizenry would have the fullest opportunity to criticize the established social and political order and to propose radical reform. Hence the first amendment's guarantee of freedom of speech and the press, and the right of the people to assemble peaceably and to petition the Government for redress of grievances. These safeguards, it seems to me, are the minimal conditions needed for social change in any society.

Although the philosophic roots of the constitutional guarantees can be traced to the very founding of this Nation, only within recent years has this promise of the first amendment approached fulfillment. Now the first amendment stands as one of the touchstones of our civilization, not just as a mere legal rule to be applied dispassionately by the courts, but as a viable principle for organizing all our social relations. This near universal acceptance makes many of us lose sight of the fact that in 1922, almost 150 years after the founding of the Nation and adoption of the 1st amendment, and 50 years after the Civil War and the adoption of the 14th amendment, the Supreme Court declared, almost as a proposition of hornbook law, that "neither the 14th amendment nor any other provision of the Constitution of the United States imposes upon the States any restrictions about freedom of speech" (*Prudential Insurance Co.* v. *Cheek*, 259 U.S. 530, 543 (1922)).

Three years later this declaration was rendered obsolete. (*Gitlow* v. *New York* (268

U.S. 652 (1925)), decided in 1925, in one sense marked the inception of a new era in first amendment doctrine. Thanks to the absorptive powers of the Due Process Clause of the 14th amendment, the first amendment's protective cloak was spread wide enough to safeguard the right to criticize from suppressive actions of the States. The importance of this development cannot be overestimated. It is not that the States are more likely to suppress criticism than the Federal Government. Instead the importance lies in the ubiquity of State control. The non-Federal levels of government have been the primary agencies formulating policy on the issues that concern the ordinary citizen in a most direct and immediate way—education; policy protection; sanitation; recreation; zoning; etc. Without limiting the power to suppress criticisms of these policies, the first amendment freedoms would be meaningless to the ordinary citizen, who, for example, is not likely to take up the cause of altering the form of American Government, but who can be moved to question the soundness of the local school board's recent decision. Of course, most States have had laws guaranteeing freedom of speech and on the basis of these laws some have developed viable traditions of free criticism. Yet the extension of the Federal constitutional guarantee involves an independent and impartial protection, the significance of which can be illustrated by imagining what it would have meant to those on the historic and heroic Selma march if they had nothing more to rely on than the laws, and law enforcers, of Alabama to protect their right to criticize the policies of that State.

Making the first amendment applicable to the States was but a first step in enlarging the protection of the right to criticize the status quo. The meaning and scope of that protection remained to be established, and it is not surprising that within recent years it was confrontations with State suppression that created the occasion for interpreting, or reinterpreting, that guarantee. I shall comment on only two of these developments.

The first is, of course, the *New York Times* case (*New York Times Co.* v. *Sullivan*, 376 U.S. 254 (1964)), decided by the Supreme Court during the 1963 term. In this case the Supreme Court interpreted the first amendment to yield a measure of protection never before afforded, and did so at the cost of placing crisp limits on State libel laws: criticism of public officials could not be the subject of governmental sanction, or governmentally enforced sanction, even if the criticism contained unintentionally false statements. Such a measure of protection seems to be an elementary requirement to a healthy public debate on public issues, the particular societal activity that the first amendment was designed to safeguard, and encourage, and the activity which is the lifeblood of any progressive society. Those who cherish these values could only hail the development.

I think it important, however, to recognize that the limits of this protection be realized, and my concern is derived from more than the obvious definitional problems (e.g., who is a public official?). My concern stems from the hard fact that the defenders of the status quo, whether or not they are public officials, can immunize themselves from public criticism by the exercise of the nongovernmental power they invariably possess. Suppose, for example, the public official criticized does not resort to a libel suit in the State courts, but lets his outrage become known to the industrialists and employers of the community, who happen to be his very close friends, and they voluntarily decide to sanction the "ungrateful" critic, who happens not to be the New York Times, but a local radio station or a mechanic on the assembly line, vulnerable to the mildest of economic sanctions. Or, suppose that criticism is not directed at public officials, or governmental policies, but at the prevailing economic and social policies of the private sector of the community, which could have as severe an impact on the lives of the citizenry as the governmental policies, and those criticized seek to protect themselves and to vindicate their position in society through a libel suit. I am not suggesting that these problems can or must be dealt with on a constitutional basis, an issue that remains to be studied; but I do raise the question whether the public debate on public issues can be as full or as meaningful as the New York Times case envisioned if these situations, the rule rather than the exception, are left beyond the pale of first amendment theory.

The second development consists of what I like to refer to as the lateral expansion of first amendment protection. In recent years the specifics mentioned in the first amendment, such as the freedom of speech and press, have come to be referred to as the freedom of expression. Implicit in this usage is the recognition that there are many forms of human behavior which serve, in terms of first amendment purposes, the same function as speech—to express dissatisfaction to protest, and to criticize. Marches, picketing, parading, and films, to mention a few examples, all fall beyond the narrow meaning of "speech," but each can be an effective means of communication, and to have declined to extend the first amendment's protection to these activities would have frustrated the intent of the constitutional framers.

With this lateral expansion, however, must come further concession to Government regulation; or to express the idea more graphically, the lateral expansion is necessarily accompanied by a vertical contraction, where the peak of the vertical axis is the ideal of immunity from all control. Mr. Justice Holmes' example of shouting "Fire" in a crowded theater presented a compelling case for accepting some Government control of speech; and one need not be nearly as clever as the Justice to conjure up other hypotheticals illustrating, in a compelling way, the legitimacy of Government control if the relevant activity is not "speech" but expression, which can take a great variety of forms, some of which have always been sanctioned by the criminal law. Could an individual refuse to pay taxes or commit murder or grand larceny, then claim that his conduct was a means of protesting and criticizing governmental policies, and thus seek the immunities of the first amendment? I think not. Hence this lateral expansion seems to have resulted in a general acceptance of the proposition that Government has the power to regulate the manner of expression, the questions as to "how," "where," "when," though not the content of the expression, the "what."

As a general proposition this development is no cause for concern. Rigor is required, nevertheless, in its application in order to assure that the regulation of the manner of expression remains neutral as to content. Achieving this content-neutrality requires more than eliminating uneven regulation, where the proponents of one cause are afforded privileges and rights not afforded to another. For often the defenders of the status quo are prepared to stifle all aggression, since the burden of persuasion invariably falls on the reformers. If, for example, we accepted the principle that the manner of expression could be regulated so that the citizenry would never be "forced" to listen to speech they did not want to hear—and I use "force" in the mildest of senses, not the blaring sound trucks, but the street corner orator and peaceful picket line—the promise of the first amendment, to provide an effective means of criticizing the status quo and proposing radical reform, might be broken. This is an expression of concern, not of fatalism: I am confident that if the officials who have taken the oath to uphold the Constitution, and this includes more than the ever vigilant Justices of the Supreme Court, recognize the delicate dynamics inherent in trying to achieve content-neutral regulation, this promise will be fulfilled.

THE POWER OF INVALIDATION

By forging the first amendment into a viable means of protecting the critics of the status quo the Supreme Court has tried to create the essential conditions for the initiation of meaningful social change by the citizenry. In recent decades, however, the Court has gone beyond that, and the Court itself mandated the change, justifying this mandate in constitutional terms. Through its power of invalidation, the Supreme Court has wrought fundamental changes in the structure of our society, and it is this phenomenon that I would now like to discuss.

My point can best be made through example, and I chose the example that is closest to me—*Brown* v *Board of Education*. So much has happened in the decade since the decision, and people's expectations have risen, quite justifiably, at such an accelerated pace, that we often lose prospective. Yet just 25 years ago most Negroes' lives were constricted by a whole series of State-imposed and State-fostered laws and regulations designed to foreclose them from participating in the political process and to prevent them from attaining any sort of social or economic equality. In the last decade, however, there has been a massive assault on this citadel, and although today we find the legislature, the executive, and the general populace joining, and to some extent directing the assault, two things cannot be forgotten—*Brown* v. *Board of Education* was the initial spearhead, and it was launched by the Supreme Court.

What crumbled was not merely a network of legal rules; it was a whole social system bent on keeping the Negroes in a position of inferiority, a social system which relied on and was inspired by the Jim Crow laws. Segregation was constitutionally condemned, and it was thus stripped of all moral predicates. For Americans view the Constitution as a set of moral commands, guides to civilized communal living, not just technical and specialized guides to good government. In this struggle for racial equality the Supreme Court served, at least in 1954, as a voice not of contemporary opinion but of communal conscience, or in Chief Justice Hughes' earlier characterization, as "teachers to the citizenry."

The contrast between this use of the power of invalidation and that which confronted the early welfare and New Deal legislation has often been drawn; but the essential distinction can also be expressed in terms of the concept of social change. In the first half of the 20th century the power of invalidation was too often used to frustrate recently enacted legislation designed to effect a wholesale change in the social order; yet *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, and its progeny, initiated and required social change. History has judged the first use of this power of invalidation to be misconceived, while it will surely vindicate the latter. The difference is not hard to explain. The Supreme Court's leadership in the struggle for racial equality stems from two profound insights: first, the status quo had fallen short of a central constitutional ideal, the egalitarian ordeal, and secondly, all other societal institutions, especially the more representative institutions, refused to assume a major responsibility in working toward the realization of this ideal. With the welfare legislation, on the other hand, these justifications did not exist; no central constitutional ideal was

threatened, assuming, as Mr. Justice Holmes put it, that the Constitution did not enact the social statistics of Mr. Spencer; and there was no default on the part of the other societal institutions.

This contrast reveals two conditions that justify transforming the power of invalidation, spawned in a more modest context, into an active instrument of social change—an established social pattern that threatens a central constitutional ideal and a default by other societal institutions. The point to be made, however, is not purely an academic one. It suggests to me that the curtain has not, and should not come down, on the Supreme Court's active engagement in the process of social change, of requiring that our social living conform to our social ideals. Recent voting legislation might lessen the burden on the courts in the struggle for racial equality, and other Federal legislation might provide much of the long overdue reform. Yet on the constitutional horizon there looms the problems of the large metropolitan ghettos, both a product and a cause of the fears and prejudices of our generation, and the massive injustices inflicted on the poor; the "other America," is still with us. The hope is not that the Supreme Court will singly take up the burden of eliminating these injustices through requiring further reform, but that the other social and political institutions will make it a joint enterprise, if not their special responsibility.

REFORM OF THE CRIMINAL PROCESS

In *Powell* v. *Alabama* (287 U.S. 45), decided by the Supreme Court in 1932, State convictions were reversed because the defendants were denied the effective assistance of counsel in their trial; and in *Brown* v. *Mississippi* (297 U.S. 278 (1936)), decided 4 years later, State convictions were invalidated because they rested solely "upon confessions shown to have been extorted by officers of the State by brutality and violence." These two decisions heralded a new Supreme Court supervision radically reforming the State criminal processes, and they introduced a new dimension of its involvement in the process of effecting major social change.

The object was to insure that basic human values were not violated by State law enforcement officials in the course of, or in the name of, administering State criminal law. To draw a comparison to my earlier discussion dealing with the importance of making the first amendment applicable to the States, here the importance of this development also lay in the ubiquity of State control. If the ordinary citizen came in contact with law enforcers they were usually representing the non-Federal levels of government. While, hopefully, only a minority of the population would come in contact with law enforcers, this enterprise could hardly be considered specialized: as a logical proposition all the citizenry were susceptible to the abuses, for it was impossible to insure against being included in the minority, and the enforcement of the criminal laws is one of the most direct or immediate confrontations between the individual citizen and the State.

The Supreme Court's involvement in reforming our criminal processes began 30 years ago, and it has continued down to the present, with ever greater intensity. The brush strokes have been getting broader and broader, and the result has been, in my opinion, to remove anachronisms which have no place in our society. Guaranteeing the right to counsel and protecting the personal rights of the fourth and fifth amendments through the imposition of exclusionary rules have been among the more significant changes. There is little point to turning this address into a refresher course by summarizing these developments, but I would like to analyze them on a more institutional level.

We often lose sight of the fact that courts have traditionally engaged in this type of reform. The quality of the judicial process has always been the special province and special responsibility of the courts. Even where other institutions, such as the legislature, have participated in this reform, it has usually been as a response to judicial promptings. For example, those protesting against the imposition of the new exclusionary rules often overlook the hearsay rule, a massive judge-created exclusionary rule designed to protect less worthy interests than constitutional rights. Of course, there is a vital distinction. Traditionally the judicial reform of the judicial process has been initiated and effectuated by the courts whose process was being challenged; here the reform has emanated from the Federal courts, which some would like to view as the courts of another, though supervening, jurisdiction.

It is not difficult to explain this phenomenon, and in many respects the explanation resembles that offered in connection with analyses of the Supreme Court's active use of the power of invalidation. First, there had been flagrant violations of basic human rights specifically protected by the Bill of Rights. For example, in *Powell* v. *Alabama* the petitioners stood trial for their lives, in a hostile and tense atmosphere, and yet were deprived of the effective assistance of counsel: the trial judge would have to do more to assure this assistance than to appoint, in a most casual way, "all the members of the bar." And in *Brown* v. *Mississippi* the coercion and brutality were alarming; as it is related in the opinion, some of "defendants were made to strip and they were laid over chairs and their backs were cut to pieces with a leather strap with buckles on it" until they confessed. Any judge with the slightest degree of integrity surely felt that something must be done. Secondly, there was a realization by the Justices that the State courts had defaulted. The State judges had State constitutional provisions to deal with these injustices, and they had the obligation to apply the Federal constitution, but they refused to exercise their creative power. The Supreme Court attempted to fill the void, on the premise that the 14th amendment entrusted the Federal courts with an independent though supplementary power to decide which actions by State law enforcers violated our basic concepts of justice.

There is one very unique facet to this reform. The constitutional principle upon which these decisions are based, the principle that no individual shall be deprived of his life or liberty without due process of law, is an evolutionary principle—its contours change with the gradual evolution of our communal values. The process that is due in the next generation is not necessarily the one afforded in this. This fact gives judges more freedom of decision than is usually permitted under the doctrine of stare decisis, but, on the other hand, it can confront judges with a delicate and torturous problem, one that confronted me on more than one occasion during my judicial career—how can you gage this evolution, how can one be sure that he is remaining sensitive to this evolution without overstepping it? This fact also means that under the due process clause there is infinite possibility of reform. The courts cannot rest in their vigilance, they can never be sure that its engagement of reforming the criminal process has been completed. Even though, as a national proposition, we have moved a long way from those initial outrages perceived in *Brown* v. *Mississippi* and *Powell* v. *Alabama*, gross imperfections still remain, if the standard of judgment is contemporary communal values. Prearraignment procedures in the station house; bail; pretrial publicity; the right to a speedy trial; pretrial discovery; the admission of evidence dealing with the accused's prior criminal record; the right to counsel in specialized proceedings, such as collateral attacks, commitment proceedings, and revocation-of-parole proceedings. These are just some of the areas that will come under particular scrutiny in the years to come, and the areas in which radical reform will take place.

This is not just a prediction. It is an invitation. It is an invitation to all to join in this task of reform. The Supreme Court's extraordinary posture of leadership in reforming the criminal process can in part be attributed to a serious default by other institutions, and it seems to me that the time has come when the burden must be shared. Sharing the burden will add to the resources that can be used in this enterprise; it will tend to gain a more popular backing for the reform when the reform is initiated by institutions closer to the citizenry, such as local courts and local legislatures; and many of these institutions may be able to implement these reforms in a manner that is more flexible than that usually exercised by the judiciary. To be sure, this is not only an invitation to the local courts and local legislatures—it is also addressed to all members of the bar. Through their professional associations they can initiate and press for this reform, and each lawyer engaged in a criminal trial, whether as prosecutor or defense counsel, possesses a special responsibility and power—the power of self control—to insure that the trial conforms to our highest traditions of fairness and justice.

The Supreme Court's involvement in the process of social change, through protecting the right to criticize the status quo, invalidating laws and institutions, such as racial segregation, which fall short of central constitutional ideals, and reforming the criminal process provides part of the explanation why the Court has found itself in the center of an intense controversy. Some of the criticism flows from those whose material selfishness and self-satisfaction lead them to resist any change in the status quo with fury. They are not my concern here. There are others, however, whose criticism of recent Supreme Court doctrine stems from a more intellectual level. They are my concern. I am not referring to those who merely feel that the issue was a "close" one, that they would have decided the issue differently than the majority of the Supreme Court had. That kind of disagreement is the lifeblood of the law; the vigor of such disagreement is an occasion to rejoice rather than despair. Instead my concern is with the intellectual or professional criticism that reflects a profound element of misunderstanding. It reflects a refusal to accept a new concept of law, to shake free of the 19th century moorings and to view law, not as a set of abstract and socially unrelated commands of the sovereign, but as effective instruments of social policy. In recent decades the Supreme Court has transformed the law into an effective instrument of social policy, and the example par excellence is its involvement in the process of social change. The resistance to this transformation is the basis for much criticism and much misunderstanding. It seems to me more important to recognize this transformation, than to debate its propriety. I will close, nevertheless, by quoting a revolutionary patriot, Thomas Jefferson:

"I am not an advocate of frequent changes in laws and constitutions, but laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind, as that becomes more developed, more enlightened * * * Institutions must advance * * * to keep pace with the times. We might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him as a boy as civilized society to remain under the regime of their barbarous ancestors."

Atlantic Union Convention Proposed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, a bipartisan group of Senators and Representatives—myself included—has introduced resolutions proposing an 18-member U.S. delegation to an Atlantic Union Convention.

Hopefully the delegation would convene with similar groups from other North Atlantic Treaty Organization nations in order to establish Atlantic Federal Union as the ultimate goal, fix a tentaive timetable for achieving it and formulate the institutions needed to expedite the necessary stages.

Atlantic Federal Union would apply the genius of the U.S. constitutional system to the broader area encompassing the nations known as the Atlantic community.

These resolutions vary slightly but all have the same central objectives. Together they constitute what is probably the most specific and forthright proposal for the unification of the Atanltic community ever introduced to Congress.

Among the sponsors are Senator CARLSON of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Representatives ZABLOCKI and FRASER of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. This fact gives encouragement that the proposal may receive consideration early in the 2d session of the 89th Congress. Other sponsors are Representatives ELLSWORTH and QUIE, and Senator MCCARTHY.

If adopted, the resolutions could be a giant stride toward the peacekeeping and freedom-serving goal of Atlantic Union. And just beyond that goal could well begin the golden millenium of peace, prosperity, and progress of which mankind has dreamed since the day of the ancient Prophet Micah.

The short-term benefits to the United States and other free peoples are equally appealing. The simple act of authorizing the delegation would put us in a positive position in the contest with communism, strengthen free world leadership, and put the Communists in a difficult defensive position.

Since World War II we have been hopping from one Communist-inspired crisis to another—Berlin, Lebanon, Quemoy, Cuba, Vietnam, Dominican Republic. It is high time we take the intiative and put the Communists on the defensive.

An Atlantic Union Convention would do just that. It is both powerful and peaceful, as American history itself attests.

The work our forefathers did in Philadelphia in 1787 in creating the U.S. Federal Union did more to strengthen freedom and extend peace than any other act in history. Under the Constitution, individual States which were beset with monetary, trade, and military problems—weakened by division—were brought together effectively and permanently. Union was achieved in a system that gives the Central Government the strength it needs but still protects the liberty of the individual citizen and the authority of local government.

The monetary, military, and trade problems confronting the free nations today parallel in many ways the problems the 13 Original U.S. States faced in 1787. Today, as then, division weakens the forces of freedom and unnecessarily magnifies the problems—internal and external—which beset us.

In his farewell address on leaving the U.S. Presidency, George Washington warned against "entangling alliances" and added these significant words:

> To the efficacy and permanency of your (the United States) Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parties can be an adequate substitute. They must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which alliances in all times have experienced.

As presently organized in NATO, the Atlantic community must be classified as one of the undependable entangling alliances about which Washington warned. Of course it is better than nothing. But certainly it is doing no better than did the Articles of Confederation which failed to meet the problems of the Thirteen Original U.S. States in the pre-Convention period.

In almost every respect the Articles of Confederation formed stronger bonds than do the present organization of NATO, but they proved hopelessly inadequate and were replaced by a Federal Union Government.

NATO's infractions and interruptions are apparent at every turn of the nuclear-age road. Must we limp along with an organization far weaker than one which failed to meet the requirements of the sailing ship era?

A government for the whole of NATO is just as indispensable today as it was for the Thirteen Original U.S. States in 1787.

Here is the text of Atlantic Union delegation resolution:

H.J. RES. 769

Joint resolution to establish an Atlantic Union delegation

Whereas in 1969 any party may withdraw from the North Atlantic Treaty, which was ratified in 1949 as a first rather than a last step toward unity;

Whereas since 1949 revolutionizing scientific, technological and other advance has outstripped the treaty and made union of these allies imperative for prosperity, peace and freedom;

Whereas the fragmentation of the world into new nations at a time when the strongest democracies cannot live alone, requires these democracies to build the pilot union government needed to spread liberty and union both by example and by admitting to their union other nations willing and able to uphold its principles;

Whereas these allies need but unite their gold and other resources behind a common currency to assure their citizens and the developing nations, enduring monetary stability and liquidity, and to prevent another dictator-serving crash like the one of 1931;

Whereas our Original States, when beset with dangers caused by disunion under their conferedation, sent delegates to the 1787 Convention, which traced their troubles to their confederal structure and invented federal union, which has enduringly safeguarded member States from domination by one another, equitably apportioned among their sovereign citizens voting power on common concerns—and the benefits and burdens of union—assured each State an independent government for State affairs, met other challenges similar to those facing the Atlantic allies, and thereby proved that free people thus united can work wonders;

Whereas distant though North Atlantic Treaty Organization's transformation may seem, these allies can greatly speed it now by officially declaring that federal union, within the framework of the United Nations, is their eventual goal, by setting a timetable—as we did for our moon target—and by providing democratic means for achieving the transition in safe time: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, (1) the Congress hereby creates an Atlantic Union delegation, composed of eighteen eminent citizens, and authorized to organize and participate in a convention made up of similar delegations from such North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies as desire to join in this enterprise, to explore the possibility of agreement on:

(a) A declaration that the eventual goal of their peoples is to transform their present alliance into a federal union;

(b) A tentative timetable for the transition to this goal; and

(c) Democratic institutions to develop the ways and means for achieving the goal in time to save their citizens from another war, depression, or other manmade catastrophe, and let them enjoy, as soon as possible, the greater freedom and higher moral and material blessings which federation has brought to free people in the past.

(2) The convention's recommendations shall be submitted to the Congress for action by constitutional procedure;

(3) Not more than half of the delegation's members shall be from one political party, and all shall be citizens of high stature and wide influence, representing together a broad range of experience in the various major challenges facing this undertaking, and so conscious of its importance and urgency as to be willing to give it personally the necessary priority and time, in the spirit of 1787 which one member of that Convention thus expressed: "Inconvenient" as it was "to remain absent from his private affairs * * * he would bury his bones" in Philadelphia, if need be, to bring about the union;

(4) Eight of the delegation shall be named by the Congress and eight by the President of the United States, and all shall be as free to speak and vote as were the drafters of the United States Constitution;

(5) The Congress hereby requests former Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower and Harry S. Truman to serve as cochairmen of the delegation.

Resolution by Business and Professional Citizens of Odessa, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD WHITE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. WHITE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in these days of disloyalty demonstrations from one end of our country to another, it is good to hear the organized

expression of solid citizens on the subject of our actions in Vietnam.

The progressive and fast-growing industrial city of Odessa, Tex., in my district, has taken a stand which I would like to call to the attention of the House. The board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce of Odessa has asked that I present to you this resolution:

RESOLUTION BY BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL CITIZENS OF ODESSA, TEX.

The business and professional citizens of Odessa, Tex., have always stepped forward in the defense of freedom, because we believe oppression and wars against freemen anywhere constitute a threat to the life and the liberty of freemen everywhere.

Our Nation is now engaged in the defense of freedom in Vietnam, where the God-given rights of freemen are threatened by Communist subversion and aggression.

The business and professional citizens of Odessa, Tex., believe:

1. That to protect our own rights, we must always fight for the rights of others, especially when they ask for our help, because no man can be completely free as long as another man is enslaved.

2. That to achieve total victory over Communist aggression it is sometimes necessary to use force as well as diplomatic resources.

3. That responsible action in Vietnam, using military force, diplomacy, and all other public and private resources to protect these principles, is for the ultimate benefit of all freedom-loving people.

We are proud to support the President, the Congress, and other responsible government officials in stating that the attitude of the business and professional citizens of Odessa, Tex., is a positive one for freedom of all people everywhere.

R. W. HEDGES,
Executive Vice President.

Attest: JACK FREEMAN,
Secretary.

Good Grief, Charlie Green

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

GOOD GRIEF, CHARLIE GREEN

There is a lot of talk about inflation, higher taxes and the problems encountered by taxpayers in bringing the ends together. The tax foundation has done a good job in characterizing the situation faced by the average American family today. Whatever income level below the foundation's example is considered, the percentages taxwise are comparable, and the cost-of-living problems are even more serious since food, clothing, housing, etc., take up an even larger percentile of the family's disposable income.

Tax foundation called their man Charlie Green, gave him a wife and 12- and 14-year-old children, a $10,000 income.

How is he faring with this above-average income? Total direct taxes take almost 30 percent of his income, compared to only 24 percent 10 years ago. Indirect taxes have increased, until the price of some products represent almost as much tax as materials; some, like cigarettes and beverages, are far more tax than product.

Inflation since 1955 has forced the consumer price index up 17 percentage points, the foundation states. This costs Charlie Green $1,037 in lost purchasing power.

If he made $6,800 back in 1955 and his salary has increased to $10,000 today, he only gets $921 more after inflation and taxes have taken their toll. His taxes alone have increased $1,242. His tax burden of $2,897 per year breaks down this way: Federal, $1,527, State, $381, local, $989.

What does it mean? For Charlie Greens across the country, it means that they are spending more in taxes than for food. It means that the Great Society's great "promise" is for more taxes at all levels of Government, since Federal programs stimulate State and local spending through "matching fund" promises.

It also means that unless solid steps are taken to curb inflation, Charlie Green's increased wages could buy less than his salary of 10 years before. Twin pestilences of the Great Society are increased taxes and inflation. Last year's tax cut was swallowed up by tax increases, rising consumer prices. With higher social security taxes starting in January, with wage increases smashing the administration's "noninflationary" guidelines to smithereens, the outlook is for the cost of everything to rise.

Charlie Green handles a lot more money today than he did 10 years ago. Little of it stays with him, however, since Uncle Sam takes a bigger chunk at the source, the supermarket takes more every week, and local taxation presents him with a bigger bill every year.

The Arts Win a Place Beside Science

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES P. FARNSLEY
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. FARNSLEY. Mr. Speaker, throughout the history of mankind, races have come and gone, and each has had its characteristics. We review history in order that we may learn from it—to improve and make progress.

We build great machines, but does anyone think more profoundly than did Mencius? We fly fast airplanes, but does anyone have a better answer for the "good life" than the ancient philosophers? We in America seek to be well-rounded, complete men and women. We will not be satisfied within our souls if with all our learning we get only a fast, comfortable, exciting life. We will be satisfied only if we have contemplated, in some quiet moments, the meaning and the beauty and the mystery of life. For the life without reflection is really not worth living.

We want and need all of the artists—as well as the great scientists—that this country can get. Artists try for answers to the eternal questions. They take the "formless" and make form out of it. They can point the way to the "good life." The Louisville, Ky., Courier-Journal had an editorial recently entitled "The Arts Win a Place Beside Science," which I found of interest, and I include it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

THE ARTS WIN A PLACE BESIDE SCIENCE

The U.S. Government has entered a new field which is the proper province of an affluent society. Congress has passed and President Johnson has signed the National Arts and Humanities Act of 1965. It provides about $21 million, to be spent over 3 years.

Only once before, during the 1930's, did the Government show any active concern for artists, and then it was mainly to keep them from starving to death in the depression years. The present program is much more broadly conceived. It is designed to show equal visibility with the work of the National Science Foundation, which has put America in the forefront of scientific research and development.

President Johnson clearly sees the limits of Government action in the arts and humanities. "No government," he has declared, "can call artistic excellence into existence. It must flow from the quality of the society and the good fortune of the Nation. Nor should any government seek to restrict the freedom of the artist to pursue his calling in his own way. But government can seek to create conditions under which the arts can flourish."

Artistic activity will be encouraged through existing State and local organizations. Federal funds cannot of course subsidize hundreds of orchestras, theaters, opera and ballet companies, but they can be used to stimulate local support and to enhance quality. In the humanities, there will be grants to scholars and encouragement to humanistic studies in schools and colleges.

A Commission on the Humanities was appointed last year by the President. Its members issued a stirring call for the kind of legislation that has now been voted by Congress: "We propose a program for all our people, a program to meet a need no less serious than that for our national defense. We speak, in truth, for that which is being defended—our beliefs, our ideals, our highest achievements." That is the theme of the adventure on which the Nation is now launched.

Veterans Are Short Changed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, the problems faced by any retiree on a fixed income today are many. The cost of the things he needs—food, shelter, medical care—are all rising, but his income is not rising to keep up with them. He is caught in a terrible squeeze.

This Congress has been mindful of these facts and this year has provided those of its citizens on social security with a 7-percent increase and those of Federal retirement with from 6.1 to over 11 percent.

This we have done with one hand and with the other hand we have taken back benefits from thousands of those we were seeking to help.

How did it happen? Let us take a look at one of the retired disabled veterans in my district. His income from social security is $1,080 a year. He is allowed by law to exclude 10 percent of this in calculating his income for veterans pension purposes, bringing the amount to $972.

Because he was below the income limit of $1,000, he received from the Veterans'

Administration a pension of $105 a month. This brought his total income to $195 a month, a little less than $2,400 a year.

This, I might mention, is $600 below the amount that the President has set for his definition of "poverty." But our veteran has lived modestly and made ends meet by stretching each month's check a little further to go around growing price tags.

Then we voted to increase his social security by 7 percent, giving him an extra $75 a year, or $6 a month. Not much, but a help.

Shortly after that, however, he got a letter from the Veterans' Administration reminding him that this $75 has made his annual income, even with the deduction, $1,040, over the $1,000 limit, so his pension was being reduced to the next level of $80 a month. He cannot, under present law, refuse the social security increase, so for a $6 raise, he must lose $25. He is left reading in his newspaper how Uncle Sam is helping him with a raise, while he is actually receiving $240 a year less than he did before Uncle Sam helped.

Now $200 or $300 may not seem like a lot of money to some, but you can be sure that to someone whose income is already over $600 a year below the President's poverty limits, $200 or $300 a year is a lot of money. It is the difference between paying the rent and not paying it. On that sort of income there are simply no corners left to be cut.

These men are not merely statistics in the VA files that we here in Washington can give to and take away from without considering the lives we are affecting. They are men who have worked a lifetime and who are unable to work any longer. Some of them walk on crutches or not at all because of a sacrifice they willingly made for this country. All they ask now is to be able to get the same benefits their neighbors who are also on social security get—and without having to lose a greater part of their income in the process.

Now I do not think that any of us who voted for the social security increase or for the raise in Federal retirement intended that the people we were trying to help would actually lose several hundred dollars a year when the bill was passed. I know I did not.

What can we do to make up for this oversight?

There has been considerable reluctance expressed by the House of Representatives to solve this by giving another 10 percent exclusion, on the grounds that it would add many more to the VA rolls and swell the cost of the program. Many others feel that simply excluding this year's social security increase is unfair to those who have received Federal retirement increases to bring their incomes up to a reasonable standard. That would be singling out one group for benefits and forgetting another—it would compound an existing injustice.

I have, therefore, introduced a bill, H.R. 11456, which deals with each man according to his individual case and costs the Government much less. The bill provides simply that a veteran may accept any portion of the 1965 or future social security or Federal retirement increase which would be to his benefit and refuse that portion which would put him over the pension limits. He could take advantage of increases without losing more in the long run.

What would this do for the veteran we talked about before who lost $240 a year by the social security increase? Under this bill he would be able to accept $30 of the $75 available. This would bring his income, for pension purposes, to $999 a year, and he would still be eligible for his pension of $105 a month. His increase would be small, but at least some increase, and of most importance, he would not be losing a big percentage of his income.

Since this would apply only to this year's and future increases there would be no additional people on the rolls. It would mean a saving in social security and retirement funds.

I am confident that this plan can provide us with a desperately needed solution to the plight of these people without increasing the cost of our veterans' programs significantly.

We made a mistake and created the problem. Here is our opportunity to correct our error and our responsibility to those we have unintentionally hurt.

Students and the Draft

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, at this time, I would like to insert in the RECORD two letters I have received from constituents of mine concerning the recent wave of demonstrations by American youth protesting our commitment in Vietnam and our draft policy. The first letter is from Joseph J. Repshas, a father whose son was forced to leave college because of financial reasons and was subsequently drafted. His letter brings out the point that where education is being subsidized by the Government, there is no real reason to exempt students from the draft if they use that exemption to conspire to avoid the draft.

The second letter is from Denise Baralt, who writes on behalf of the many college students working and studying to secure an education and not making the headlines.

The letters are as follows:

OCTOBER 18, 1965.

MY DEAR MRS. GRIFFITHS: I feel it's my duty to write to you and let you know as to how we are hurt to know that our tax money is being spent just about foolishly on college education grants. We hear and see it on television, read it in daily newspapers about the so-called beatniks and baboons picketing the induction centers to protest the draft and U.S. involvement in Vietnam, and most of them are college youngsters who are out to avoid the call and still have the guts to take the benefits that come out of the U.S. Treasury in one form or another.

Our son had to leave college for financial reasons and had a steady job, not missing any working time, and going to night classes and was drafted without a murmur, and here you have people just giving the Commies more ammunition to prolong that Asian affair that much longer to endanger more American lives.

I suggest that you, along with your good colleagues, come up with stopping the fund money to those schools who have students participating in this un-American activity, or write up a law to throw the book at them. What's this country coming to? Never such doings would have been permitted when you were at campus and you were taught better.

Give this a serious thought, for if they have rights not to be drafted by simple traffic violations or petty offenses on their records, then we as parents of servicemen have a right to call them back home also, and then let the country go to pot. Survival of the fittest will prevail.

I remain,

Sincerely yours,

J. REPSHAS.

OCTOBER 18, 1965.

DEAR MARTHA GRIFFITHS: As a college student I would like you and all of Congress to know that I support our policy in Vietnam. The large majority of students here support the U.S. policy and are disgusted with yesterday's demonstrations by "bearded beatniks". These kids (they are far from being "young adults") were mostly protesting for the sake of publicity and excitement. I think they are seeking attention which they don't receive at large schools. But they are getting it the wrong way and are shedding a terrible light on the young people of America. Naturally I don't want my brothers, boyfriend, and his friends to be drafted, but America is our country and everyone I have talked to is ready and willing to fight for keeping our country free and others too.

So please, let the President and Congress know that the majority of college students are at home on weekends studying, working to pay for tuition, and enjoying good, clean amusements provided for us. These kids don't make the headlines and news reports because its not exciting enough. The right thing to do is to write, not run around the streets yelling and screaming about things we know little about (no one knows the complete story of Vietnam just by reading the papers and magazines).

Thanks for taking time to read this and please realize that the "young of America" were not represented yesterday.

Sincerely,

DENISE BARALT.

The Magnificent Journey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN TOLL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, in view of the widespread interest and admiration evoked by Pope Paul's visit to the United States and his history-making appeal at the U.N. for peace, I believe that an editorial recently broadcast by the Mutual Broadcasting System will be read with appreciation. With the permission of the House I am taking this opportunity

to place in the RECORD this eloquent broadcast:

In 14 magnificent hours, there was for the world a period of history for present and future that will be remembered as "the Magnificent Journey."

Pope Paul journeyed from Rome as a messenger. His climax, following the stirring plea for peace at the United Nations, was a magnificent emotion-packed moment of history at Yankee Stadium as he stood on a red carpeted platform before a spotless white altar and brought his message to the world. A message of faith and love.

He told his audience that there are three rules if there is to be peace. First, to love peace. Second, to serve the cause of peace. Third, peace must be based on moral and religious principles.

He was not loved and honored just because he was the leader of his church. There were thousands—millions—of others outside his church who looked upon this man and his journey as a symbol of something that is needed at this crucial moment in our lives.

It was a magnificent journey—a simple, dedicated man of the church who took 14 hours of his lifetime to bring a message of peace to a world. A message that could, if followed, mean millions and millions of hours of the future for all mankind.

Pope Paul is truly a man of peace.

Legislation To Raise the Personal Exemption to $1,000

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, we are apparently coming to the end of this session of the 89th Congress. It has been a very productive session, and action has been taken on many needed programs in our Nation. But there are two notable gaps in the legislative work of this session, and it is my hope that there will be action taken in the 2d session of the 89th Congress to fill those gaps.

Under the present income tax law, an exemption in the amount of $600 is permitted for an individual, for his wife, and for each of his children. When this provision was written into the law, there was some relationship between the $600 exemption and the cost of living for a year. Only the most naive, Mr. Speaker, would suggest that such a relationship exists today. Inflation has taken away so much of the buying power of the dollar that nothing less than a $1,000 personal exemption, with a like amount for each dependent, would begin to meet the problem realistically.

In both the 88th Congress and in this session of the 89th Congress I placed legislation before the House which would raise the personal exemption to $1,000. The administration, unfortunately, did not see fit to support such legislation. I think this to be serious short-sightedness. In an expanding economy, surely this would give tax relief precisely where it is needed in a form that would put new money flowing into the economy. It would put money into the hands of those people who would use the additional money for new purchases, and the stimulation for further economic growth should be notable.

The second serious gap in our legislative program is the failure of the Congress to grant special tax relief to those parents whose children are attending institutions of higher learning.

Again, both in this Congress and in the 88th Congress I placed legislation before the House which would have granted special tax credits for parents with children attending college or university. Again, unfortunately, the administration did not give this measure the support it deserved.

We have heard much about the need for an educated citizenry, and this is certainly a vital need in these times of crises. We know that the demands of our technology in America will require more and better education. We have passed legislation to aid in the development of this education. But we have failed to take that most necessary step, the step that would give parents the money with which to send their children to college. That step may be taken through the providing of tax credits.

This is a program which would give assistance to precisely those people we must reach. It would give principal help to those in the lower and middle income brackets, and the legislation was carefully framed to make sure that the extremely wealthy would not be included in the benefits. The very wealthy neither need nor want such help. From the beginning of time we have seen brilliant scholars who arose from the ranks of the poor and from those with only modest incomes. This legislation would guarantee that these same children would have an equal chance to rise intellectually in the future.

We will all be back here in January to work on the legislation in the 2d session of the 89th Congress. I hope, Mr. Speaker, that when the President comes before us to present his requests for legislation for the year 1966, he will make both of these items matters of the highest priority. They are realistic programs, cut to meet real needs. They both should be made part of the law of the land, and soon.

The 20th Anniversary of the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, on the 24th of October, the United Nations will celebrate its 20th anniversary. This date marks an important historic occasion for all Americans, but for the citizens of Great Neck is has a certain sentimental significance as well.

Those of us from the Third District well remember the early years when the infant world forum had its headquarters in the old Sperry Gyroscope factory at Lake Success. In a sense, it seemed appropriate that this new instrument for world peace should have its first home in a building once devoted to the manufacture of the instruments of war.

The first delegates to the United Nations found this quiet little suburban village to be a welcome respite from the teeming confusion of New York City, a great metropolis in the process of dismantling the war effort and hastening back to normalcy.

The United Nations has changed a great deal since those early days at Lake Success. It has moved from its humble beginnings in the old factory building to its soaring $68 million headquarters in New York City. Its membership has more than doubled; and its activities have extended to cover almost every important human problem on earth—or outer space for that matter.

Nevertheless, despite the changing appearance of the United Nations, its purposes remain the same as those that motivated the original 51 members who met at Lake Success in 1946 to begin the work of the new organization for world peace. The United Nations still exists to continue what our late Ambassador Adlai Stevenson called the "patient, unspectacular and, if need be, lonely search for the interests which unite the nations, for the policies which draw them together, for the international instruments of law and security."

Today the immediate work of the Organization is the same as it was then, keeping the peace in a world of crisis and conflict, extending and protecting human rights around the globe and continuing the endless task of improving the economic and social conditions of man. Only the scope of the task has increased. United Nations peacekeeping was still part of a brave dream in the postwar atmosphere of 1946; today blue-bereted forces of the United Nations patrol the uneasy truce in Cyprus and along the Gaza Strip, while another team of U.N. observers begins the patient, unspectacular and lonely effort to establish a lasting ceasefire in Kashmir.

In 1946, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was just beginning her work as the first Chairman of the Human Rights Commission. Since then the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has initiated a long series of human rights conventions ranging from the Convention on Genocide, Slavery and Servitude to Minimum Age for Marriage, and Conventions on the Consent to Marriage and the Political Rights of Women.

Twenty years ago, the United Nations was in the process of organizing a campaign to feed the homeless refugees of the last war. Today the United Nations devotes 80 percent of its regular budget and personnel to a worldwide campaign to promote international cooperation in solving the staggering economic and social problems faced by the underdeveloped world.

In the 20 years that have elapsed since the founders of the United Nations launched their brave enterprise and began their search for international

instruments of law and security at Lake Success, the U.N. has known its ups and downs, it successes and failures. Above all, throughout those 20 years the scope of its activities and its importance to man's search for peace and well-being have continued to expand.

Today, as the recent crisis in Kashmir so graphically demonstrated, the United Nations has become indispensable. It is appropriate that as Americans, we take this opportunity on the 20th anniversary of the United Nations to renew our pledge to continue the long, patient, struggle to find the common policies which will enable us to build an international organization and individual sovereign states that perpetuates peace and justice in a world of diversity.

What the People of America Owe to the Inter-American Press Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, early last month I had occasion to call to our colleagues' attention an article from Diario Las Americas, a newspaper published daily in Miami Springs, Fla., by Latin Americans. Dr. Horacio Aguirre is editor and Mr. Francisco Aguirre is publisher of this newspaper.

In a recent editorial, Diario Las Americas rendered a well-deserved tribute to the Inter-American Press Association, an organization dedicated to the preservation of freedom of expression throughout the entire continent. With the Inter-American Press Association as a watchdog, we can all look forward to the continued existence of a free press in this hemisphere.

The editorial follows:

WHAT THE PEOPLES OF AMERICA OWE TO THE INTER-AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

If the Inter-American Press Association only had preoccupations of a merely guild nature, without projections of general interest; if this institution were not intended for purposes of vigilance and action regarding the prevalence of the democratic principles in America, and if its work also did not have cultural reaches, it could not be said that the peoples of the hemisphere owe much to the Inter-American Press Association.

Fortunately, this formidable continental organization, besides doing its job as a guild, fulfills a very lofty mission of an ideological and cultural level, a mission that has splendid resonance and tangible accomplishments throughout the length and width of America.

The I.A.P.A. is an organization for vigilance in the Western Hemisphere, which at the present time constitutes a factor of extraordinary importance in the stabilization of continental democracy. Naturally, its relizations have to keep in close proportion with the kind of resources it commands to achieve its goals. With the weapons of thought, the Inter-American Press Association is dedicated to an open fight to defend the prevalence of freedom of expression throughout the continent, and in the measure in which it has been able, has won outstanding victories that are part of its magnificent ideological history.

Although in multiple occasions there have been cases of mockery of I.A.P.A.'s democratic campaign, and of its efforts crumbling before the intransigence and arbitrariness of some, its overall performance analyzed, it could well be gratifying for any organization of its kind what it has been able to translate into beautiful realities. The sole fact of its having been able to maintain a high spirit of solidarity within its own ranks in what concerns the defense of the free expression of thought, represents an effort of extremely vast projection, since to that solidarity, to that collective attitude of the great majority of America's newspapers is due, at least to a large extent, that the principles that nourish the freedom of the press may not have disappeared completely.

All the peoples of the continent have a moral obligation with I.A.P.A., in the sense of recognizing that this institution, respected and respectable, deserves the support of all those who in America are interested in the fulfillment of the high historic destiny of this continent of liberty and hope for mankind.

The American Republic: Decline and and Possible Fall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego Union, October 10, 1965:

THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC: DECLINE AND POSSIBLE FALL

(By Vice Adm. Ruthven E. Libby, USN, Retired)

President Ernest L. Wilkinson of Brigham Young University is hereby nominated for the highest civilian award available in the United States for distinguished services rendered.

This nomination is made in the absolute certainty that nothing will come of it, because, as he himself stated, what he said will be unpopular in certain quarters.

Nevertheless the commencement address he made to the graduating class on May 28, 1965, entitled "The Decline and Possible Fall of the American Republic" is as statesmanlike a piece of work as one is likely to find anywhere. This country would be far better off if every American would read this speech and take it to heart.

Wilkinson chose this subject, he says, because he believes the American Republic is fast being subverted into a socialist despotism which has already largely become—and eventually will further become—our master rather than our servant. Also, he believes than in times of national and world crisis it is the duty of a university president to speak forth boldly in behalf of what he considers to be the truth. Brief excerpts from this altogether admirable address follow:

The main purpose of our constitutional fathers was to create a republic which would protect Americans from the tyrannies of foreign governments and any proposed tyranny or domination by their own government. Their dislike of government domination was expressed by George Washington, "Government is not reason, it is not eloquence—it is a force. Like fire, it is a dangerous servant and a fearful master."

Accordingly, they were careful to provide that all powers not expressly granted to the central Government were reserved to the States and the people. They went further and made it plain that certain natural and divine rights of man could not be taken from him even by the Congress or the vote of the people; the rights of minorities and of the individual were to be protected.

That is why they set up for us a constitutional republic—not a democracy, in which the whim of an inflamed majority could be imposed upon the individual. To them, protection of the dignity and freedom of the individual man was the end of government. We have moved a long way from that concept.

Today our Constitution is hanging by a single thread; and our Republic is in grave danger of going the way of some 17 or more civilizations that have come and gone, not because of conquest from without, but primarily because of political decay from within.

The extent of this decay is illustrated by:

1. The increase in crime; up 13 percent in 1964; the FBI estimates that by 1970 serious crimes in this country will increase from the present level of 2.5 million to 4 million.

2. Juvenile delinquency has increased four times as fast as the population has grown.

3. There were three times as many illegitimate births in 1962 as there were in 1940.

4. The divorce rate is soaring.

5. From 1954 to 1964 the population of the United States increased 18 percent, but the number on relief increased 42 percent, and in times of so-called prosperity.

Our Government is demoralized by the prevailing political philosophy that the Government, rather than our God and our own effort, is the source of our economic and spiritual strength. There are at least four trends in our Government which, if permitted to continue, could spell the end of our Constitution and Republic. They are:

Abuse of the income tax: Confiscatory rates for individuals and corporations.

Usurpation of power by the Supreme Court: This body has now become a second unfettered legislative body. After 1933, the Supreme Court began its long course of appeasement to the executive branch of the Government. The result is that today, instead of all the powers not granted to the Federal Government being reserved to the States and the people, the States and the people are left only with those powers which an unbridled Supreme Court does not grant to the Federal Government. Under the alien concepts added to the Constitution, some 150 decisions promulgated over a century and a half were reversed by this Supreme Court between 1933 and 1965. When the Supreme Court thus abandoned the constitutional concepts of our Founding Fathers the door was opened for the Government to enter into all the affairs of our economic life.

Deficit financing: During the last 32 years the annual budget of this country increased from less than $5 billion to well over $100 billion. Our national debt has increased from $16 billion to an admitted $324 billion, the amount now owed by the United States to creditors. If to this we add accrued liabilities payable in the future, our real indebtedness exceeds $1 trillion. This represents an indebtedness of $5,200 for every man, woman, and child in the United States.

Loss of freedom: This fourth suicidal trend resulting from the first three is the loss of our freedom in this country—past, present and future. Nearly every law passed today is aimed at an enlargement of Government powers and a curtailment of individual liberties, but because each law pertains only to a certain group there is no organized opposi-

tion. The Government wins by dividing and conquering.

A noted economist says that no nation which over any substantial period of time takes more than 25 percent of the national income in taxation can survive as a free and independent nation. It will inevitably become a socialist state. Today, 40 cents out of every dollar is taken by local, State, and Federal governments for tax purposes.

Just how socialistic we have already become can be judged by these developments:

Norman Thomas, for many years Socialist Party candidate for President, after seeing one by one the principles of his party adopted by other parties, retired as perennial candidate, intimating it was no longer necessary for his party to continue.

Earl Browder, former leader of the Communist Party here, said in 1950 that socialism was further advanced in the United States than in socialist Britain. This, mark you, was 15 years ago. We have moved much farther downhill since then. How far can be judged by President Johnson's speech of last year in which he said:

"We are going to try to take all the money we think is unnecessarily being spent and take it from the 'haves' and give it to the 'have nots' that need it so much."

Already we are living under an entirely different government than vouchsafed to us by our constitutional fathers. The downfall of that government has already occurred. The outward forms are the same—we still have a President, a Supreme Court, and a Congress, but in many areas they proceeded on entirely different premises than our fathers intended.

Robert Muntzel said: "Great nations rise and fall—the people go from bondage to spiritual faith, from spiritual faith to great courage, from courage to liberty, from liberty to abundance, from abundance to selfishness, from selfishness to complacency, from complacency to apathy, from apathy to dependency, from dependency back again into bondage."

A great society can never be created by governmental paternalism. It can only be created by freemen of industry, integrity, and deep spiritual conviction who, in the words of Grover Cleveland, believe it is their duty to support their country but never the duty of their country to support them.

Lady Bird Beauty Bill Bulldozed Through Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, it will take a long time for us to forget the date October 7, 1965—the day President and Mrs. Johnson staged a gala "Salute to Congress" which we were unable to attend; the eve of the President's surgery; the night the House stayed in session until a new day was born just to "clean" the Nation's highways.

This date offers the best example of the power of the Executive over the legislative branch of our Government.

James J. Kilpatrick, writing in the October 15 Nashville Banner, gives a good account of the passage, and potential effects, of the highway beautification program. I would like to call attention to this article by placing it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

LADY BIRD BEAUTY BILL BULLDOZED THROUGH CONGRESS

The Johnson administration reached a new peak of arrogance in the House of Representatives on the evening of Thursday, October 7. Tempers have cooled since then, and Members have gone on to other matters; all animosities within 660 feet of the Capitol have been screened and prettied up; but no man should mistake the bitterness left behind.

For the record, the chronology began on Wednesday the 6th, when the Highway Beautification Act of 1965 came up briefly in the House. Maryland's GEORGE H. FALLON, chairman of Public Works, advised his colleagues of the schedule: "On tomorrow," he said, "this body will begin to consider the bill." That was the way the Republican leaders understood it, too. The bill itself presented some serious questions; a number of major amendments deserved consideration. Thus the House would convene at 11, go as far as it reasonably could go by late afternoon on Thursday, and then vote on Friday.

So Thursday's debate began. About 2 o'clock the word came down; the President did not want the House merely to "begin" to consider the bill. He wanted the bill passed. Mrs. Johnson was to be hostess that evening at a gala dinner. As chief patron of the beautification bill, she would be grateful for a chance to announce its enactment. As for the President, he was to enter the hospital Friday morning; and he would be grateful, too.

Mr. Johnson's proconsuls in the House cranked up their juggernaut and set the machine in motion. In the degrading spectacle that followed, Democrats trotted down the aisle in a dozen teller votes. They stumbled and shuffled through their paces, so many dutiful sheep, and the Republican amendments fell in windrows. At one point in the travesty, the House voted 121 to 84 to allow but 8 minutes of debate on five separate amendments.

Finally, a little after midnight, the bloody work was done. James C. Wright, Jr., of Fort Worth, speaking for the committee, pleaded with its colleagues to reject a motion to recommit.

"We ask all of you," he said, "to accept the will of the House, and present the bill tonight as a deserved present to a great President and a magnificent First Lady."

So the present was passed and packaged up and tied in a pretty bow, 245 to 138; and at 12:51 a.m., the House adjourned.

If the bill were a carefully drafted bill, prudently weighed in a committee, perhaps the Republican rebellion could be brushed aside as no more than the petulance of a resentful minority. But the debate, such as it was, made it evident that the bill suffers from serious flaws.

As Senator HARRY BYRD pointed out in the other body, the bill is woefully underfinanced. No one really knows what it may cost, in State and Federal funds, to compensate landowners, signowners, and junkyard owners for the property and rights to be condemned. Everyone does know, however, that $40 million a year is the merest token authorization.

No one knows, either, what effect the bill may have in those States that presumably must amend their constitutions to meet the bill's requirements. Some profound legal questions are presented under the law of police power and the law of eminent domain. Such States as California, Washington, Oregon, and Missouri could lose millions in Federal highway aid if they fail to revise their basic laws of January of 1968.

Actually, no one imagines that this will happen. The act that was passed in such haste will be amended at leisure. In the end, a great many billboards doubtless will come down, and a number of eyesores will disappear. In the process of this compulsory beautification, the lawyers will be singing like larks and small businessmen along the primary highways will be crying for relief.

All this could have been avoided if the deliberative process had been left to do its patient work, but this has not been a Congress of patience and deliberation. This has been a Congress of the bullwhip and the bulldozer; and those who were bullied along on the night of October 7 will nurse a long memory of a "present" they gave unwisely in the form of a hasty highway bill.

The Individual Versus Big Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, we are aware of the constant struggle in our country today between the individual and the giants—big labor, big business, and big government. I am addressing myself to the latter problem today. It seems to me that one of the basic concepts of our society is the right of an individual to defend himself against unfair, arbitrary and capricious government action.

I would like to call the House's attention today to a case wherein a small individual corporation—Holiday Tours, Inc.—has been struggling over a number of years in an unsuccessful effort to achieve justice. The Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Regulation Compact was authorized by Congress for the purpose of regulating transportation in the National Capital area. Article 12, paragraph 4(a) of the agreement clearly provides that operating certificates will be awarded to any person engaged in transportation on the effective date of the compact without requiring further proof that public convenience and necessity will be served. Nevertheless, even though Holiday Tours should have been protected under this provision, the Metropolitan Area Transit Commission refused to grant the sightseeing firm a certificate, and that is the genesis of the conflict.

This corporation spent 6 months in 1961 and 10 months of 1962 in redtape applications and prolonged hearings. Then, on October 15, 1962, the entire record of Holiday Tours, Inc., was expunged, and the organization had to start processing their application all over from the start again. Long litigation followed, and hearing after hearing after hearing held. Legal expenses piled up.

No stone was left unturned by the Transit Commission. During the summer of 1964, a number of bus-leasing companies, outside the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Area Transit Commission, were contacted by the Transit Commission, harassed, intimidated, and threatened with fines, having their buses impounded and ICC certificates cancelled if they continued to rent buses to Holiday Tours, Inc. Still, the small sightseeing

company fought on even though its business has been seriously handicapped by the actions of the Transit Commission.

In an effort to drive it out of business, the Metropolitan Transit Commission on July 3, 1964, obtained a cease-and-desist order stopping the Holiday Tours from taking sightseers around the Nation's Capital. This nearly broke the back of Holiday Tours, but not quite. However, the U.S. court of appeals ruled in favor of Holiday Tours and a stay was granted pending decision by the court on the merits of the case. This case was heard on January 7, 1965, in the U.S. court of appeals. The court again decided in favor of Holiday Tours and remanded the case so the Transit Commission for further appropriate proceedings in accordance with its opinion. One would think that, in light of the court's decision, a certificate would have been issued immediately. But the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Commission has now reopened the case, and has called Holiday Tours before it for still another hearing set for October 25. The expense in such a drawn out legal fight can be, of course, disastrous to a small firm.

Mr. Speaker, Holiday Tours has proved time and time again before the Commission and courts of law that it has met the necessary requirements and should have been issued a certificate back in 1961. The Commission, I believe, has exceeded its authority in threatening bus-leasing companies with fines, confiscation, and withdrawal of their ICC certificates if they continued doing business with Holiday Tours. In addition, the Commission has knowingly permitted a competitor to leave its own authorized route and infringe upon the territory of Holiday Tours, Inc.

Holiday Tours has spent thousands of dollars in an effort to attain justice. This protracted litigation is unfair, unnecessary and, quite frankly, seems to be designed to destroy Holiday Tours, Inc. Mr. Speaker, there must be some protection for the little man and the small company against the colossus—whether it be a regulatory commission, Federal agency, big labor, or big business. There is serious question whether the intent of Congress in the transit compact is being followed, or if not, whether new legislation may be required to encourage free enterprise in the Washington metropolitan area rather than restrict it, whether new law may be needed to protect the rights of the individual against the power of big government.

Students Give Blood for Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CATHERINE MAY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, I do not question the right of earnest pacifists, motivated by patriotic impulses, to have their say concerning U.S. policy in Vietnam. In a republic such as ours the smallest minorities are free to disclose their sentiments.

The real problem, however, is that the meaning of the demonstrations against the war in Vietnam is being misinterpreted abroad. This week the Communist Chinese press was giving front page coverage to the demonstrations in the United States. Peiping was saying:

> Panic-stricken U.S. authorities used large numbers of policemen, FBI agents and hired hooligans to obstruct and sabotage the demonstrations.

The Soviet Government newspaper Izvestia blazed the headline "Americans Ashamed of America."

I am sure it comes as no comfort to the real pacifists who sincerely desire to end the war to realize that demonstrations such as theirs have been exploited in a Communist effort to paint a picture of a divided America, and thus prolong the war. It is a bitter lesson to those who, in idealistic pursuits, fail to consider the realities of the situation and the hard results of their actions.

It is with gratitude that I have learned, just today, of the action of students at Washington State University, in my congressional district, who on Tuesday of this week gave 224 pints of blood in opening a drive dedicated to the Americans fighting in Vietnam.

It is this kind of action, Mr. Speaker, that should offer proof to all who care to know, that America is not divided with regard to Vietnam policies.

I would like my colleagues to know of this commendable action on the part of Washington State University students, and I, therefore, place the following excerpts from an account of the project in the Spokesman-Review of Spokane, Wash., at this point in the RECORD:

> PULLMAN, WASH., October 20, 1965.—Washington State University students gave 224 pints of blood here Tuesday on an opening day drive dedicated to Americans fighting in Vietnam, but most donors refrained from crediting the tie-in with the war except incidentally. Typical response from students questioned in the blood-drawing line was that they had given before, that they would have given this time anyway, but that the Vietnam appeal was an added incentive.
>
> There were no indications of open opposition to the drive theme (Bleed for Vietnam). Head nurse, Eleanor Eakin, of the American Red Cross Regional Blood Center for Boise, collecting the blood here, said that the number of contributors Tuesday was about the same for the first day of the drive here in other years but that in this year "it seems to be a little heavier than before."
>
> Some of the donors said they were primarily motivated by the special Vietnam appeal. They included Sandra Olson, 19, Tacoma sophomore, who said she was giving mainly because of friends in the Armed Forces, including two in the Army in Vietnam. "I think we should go into Vietnam and show 'em (the Vietcong) who's boss," she said while flat on her back having blood drawn by a nurse.
>
> Peggy Wilson, 18, Palouse freshman, said, "I think it is great to give blood for them (the American troops in Vietnam)." But, she also said, "this is an added incentive. I was going to give anyway."
>
> Jay Johnson, 20, Missoula, Mont., junior, said, "The idea of giving blood as a symbol of support for U.S. efforts in Vietnam was promoted in the dormitory Monday night," and he was sure it had influence.
>
> Copies of an announcement circulated on campus announced, "Blood Drive to Support Vietnam. Americans are fighting in Vietnam and it is in honor of these men that the junior class dedicates the blood drive."

Encourage Productivity in Agriculture To Meet World Needs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, one of the most challenging problems likely to face us in the years ahead is the matter of insuring an adequate supply of food to meet the expanding needs of a rapidly swelling world population. It is a startling fact that while the world's population is growing at a rate which will cause the present figures to double by the year 2000, the food producing capacity of much of the world is failing to keep pace with the growth.

Particularly distressing is the apparent lack of any prospect at the present time for a substantial increase in food productivity in the areas of greatest need, that is in the developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In these critical areas the limited supply of arable land has been compounded by inadequate training and technical knowledge, improper methods of farming, and insufficient political emphasis in the area of rural development.

As a nation blessed with abundant productive ability, we have for many years found a market for our food surpluses in these developing nations, and have succeeded in relieving the shortages they suffer. It is apparent, however, that our food reserves are not sufficient to meet the continually growing needs of the people of these nations, nor will the agricultural resources of the highly productive areas alone be adequate to fulfill nutritional requirements throughout the world in the face of predictable future demands.

It is clear, therefore, that while we consider adjustments in our domestic farm policies in the years ahead to see that the full potential of American agriculture is effectively utilized in meeting these needs abroad, we must at the same time take steps to assure that our aid programs are properly structured to encourage the fullest possible development of the productive capability in the nations. I am looking forward to the opportunity to view this problem firsthand this fall as I visit Vietnam and other nations in southeast Asia to conduct a special study for the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

One recent reminder of the continuing efforts being made in this vital field was the marking of the 20th anniversary of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, which has labored through the years to increase the recognition of this problem and to stimulate

greater emphasis on the matter of food output in the developing nations. I want to pay tribute to the work of the United Nations in this field, and introduce into the RECORD at this point an editorial from the Washington Post of October 16 which properly calls attention to the valuable efforts of the Organization on the occasion of its 20th anniversary:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 16, 1965]

FAO AT 20

The Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, which celebrates the 20th anniversary of its founding today, has an enormous task ahead of it. An important part of its service to member nations has been in its continuing analysis of rural problems, and this will be an important part of its work in the years ahead. It can make its main contribution in getting the facts and getting governments to pay some attention to them.

Unfortunately, it has not always been heard in the underdeveloped countries which have had a tendency to overemphasize industrial production at the expense of agriculture. One result has been that while agricultural output in developed countries in 1964–65 was 14 percent greater than the average of the 5-year period from 1952 to 1957, output in the underdeveloped countries was up by only 1 percent. Dr. Sen, FAO Director-General, has reported that total food supplies in the developing countries will have to be increased fourfold in the next 35 years to give their populations an adequate diet. This incredible task must be a main concern of the governments of the developing countries, and it must be a major factor in the administration of aid programs by the developed countries. Underproduction in agriculture simply must be attacked with greater determination. The figures of FAO keep reminding the well-fed nations that there is no surplus of food in the world—only a shortage of the means to put that food into the hands of the world's hungry people.

Free Immunization Available

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, some months ago the House had occasion to consider a bill, then known as H.R. 2986. It extended several programs of the Public Health Service which have been in existence for some years now, among them the immunization program which provides funds for free vaccination of preschool children against several of the most deadly, yet most preventable diseases. Among those is diphtheria. The success of this program over the years in restricting and in fact eliminating such diseases as smallpox and later polio as a widespread danger to public health dramatizes most effectively the proper role of Government in health programs. Based upon this experience, Congress this year extended the immunization program to measles and left room for an attack upon any other diseases which would respond to similar treatment if satisfactory vaccines become available.

We tend to take past blessings for granted. This is well illustrated by the following editorial in the Decatur Daily Review of Decatur, Ill., which notes the occurrence of the first case of diphtheria in the area in many years. Its presence recalled to mind the fact that the disease had been successfully banished and it also gives us a reason to be proud of the action of this House and the Congress in extending the battle to new fields.

FREE IMMUNIZATION AVAILABLE

The first case of diphtheria in almost a quarter of a century has been reported in Macon County. A 6-year-old girl, hospitalized with the disease, is reported recovering. Laboratory tests on throat cultures from members of her family have been reported negative by the county health department.

Diphtheria has been virtually eliminated in much of the country as a result of immunization. The local victim, who came to Decatur less than a month ago with her family from Tennessee, had never been immunized for the disease. It is the belief of health authorities that the family brought this case with them.

Diphtheria is one of several serious diseases, common in earlier generations, which can be prevented. Polio is one which has, for practical purposes, been conquered in recent years.

The current incident emphasizes anew the value of the Macon County immunization program. Anyone can get free immunization at the clinic with a referral note from either a doctor or a recognized social worker. It is too bad that a 24-year record of no diphtheria cases had to be broken, but it is gratifying to note that the case is a "transfer" and that apparently other members of the girl's family may escape it.

New Reason for Pride at UT

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the people of Tennessee have always been proud of the University of Tennessee. But we now take special pride in this group at the Knoxville campus who staged a recent memorial service to those Americans who have lost their lives in Vietnam. It was also a "thank you" to the young men who daily risk their lives for freedom.

Their service was in great contrast with the protests of marchers and demonstrators who go so far as to burn draft cards.

I place in the RECORD the following tribute to these fine citizens at the University of Tennessee:

[From the Knoxville Journal, Oct. 16, 1965]

NEW REASON FOR PRIDE AT UT

The Volunteer State had new reason for pride in its university this week when an estimated crowd of 700 students paused between classes on the campus Thursday afternoon to pay tribute to those who have died and those who are still fighting under the banner of the United States in South Vietnam. The rally was sponsored by the Student Government Association and was carried on in the solemnity and prayerful spirit that was appropriate to a patriotic observance of this kind.

As a followup to the rally, at which representatives of the Navy, Army, Air Force, and Marines appeared in uniform, a delegation of six UT student leaders were in Washington yesterday where they represented UT at a Symposium for Freedom in Vietnam. Barry Bozeman, chairman of the UT rally, was accompanied to Washington by Jerry Wayne King, Fred Lewis, Patsi Holloway, Bob Stivers, and Jean Thal.

Our pride in the action taken by these young people at the university is enhanced by contrasting their attitude to the disloyal and treasonable demonstrations which were scheduled for yesterday in other institutions of higher learning elsewhere in the country. As this is written, reports from these other places have not come in, but one may be certain that they did not take a form which met with the approval of loyal Americans.

Our hats are off to the participators in this demonstration at UT in behalf of loyalty to their country.

Many Not Falling for Plan To Build American Ships in Foreign Yards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the Maritime Administration here in Washington has a new communication gimmick. Employees of this agency, or those who care to do so, dial the telephone number DU 6–5550, whereupon a recorded message can be heard, giving a late propaganda handout.

Yesterday, I dialed this number and heard a recorded voice say:

This is Maritime Administrator Nick Johnson, with a message for all maritime employees.

Then it went on to say:

The future of the American merchant marine has never been brighter, as a result of the interagency maritime task force report.

After summarizing this task force report in a few words, it concluded with:

Now, if you have a message you would like to leave with me, you can do so at the sound of the beep. Thank you.

I left a brief message to the effect that I thoroughly disagreed with the interagency report.

Since this task force report was made public, the Maritime Administration has revealed that the American President Line has requested a Federal subsidy for building and operating four bulk carriers, or permission to build them abroad. This is part of the bright future of the maritime employees. The offer by this major American steamship line has been interpreted in shipping circles, according to the Baltimore Sun, as a response by a harried industry to this new task force suggestion—to the effect that ship construction in foreign shipyards will help solve America's maritime problem.

In the newspaper article, the Maritime Administration was quoted as claiming

that maritime unions with which this company deals have expressed enthusiasm for the expansion of the merchant fleet into the bulk carrier field.

However, Mr. Speaker, a false impression is given by this newspaper article, based on the news release of the Maritime Administration. One key issue was completely left out, and I am sure deliberately so. Peter M. McGavin, executive secretary-treasurer of the maritime trades department, AFL-CIO, has pointed this out to me and also, what the position of the unions actually is. In a letter which enclosed the Baltimore Sun article, he said:

> It is true all maritime unions want new ships, but we do not want to pay for these ships being built in foreign yards. Government and industry have tried this on us before and we are not going to fall for it.

Mr. Speaker, no American steamship operators want to build these ships abroad, but, looking to the Federal Government for their very existence, the management of these companies think it prudent to remain silent.

In the national interest, they recognize, however, that American-flag ships and American shipyards with American labor are necessary for defense.

Let us not let any bureaucrat barnstormers try and kid us that the maritime employees have a bright future based on the task force report.

The people who know best—those who are in the business—strongly oppose the proposals in this report. I think the thing to do is to let the steamship people themselves—both management and labor—suggest solutions to improve this admittedly difficult problem.

Meanwhile, anyone who seriously suggests there is a bright future for maritime employees—in or out of Government—is completely blind to realities.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, let me concur with the President's 11-member Maritime Advisory Committee, in a statement released yesterday. I agree that a Maritime Administrator is supposed to carry out policy, and not to lobby by telephone, or any other way, to change it.

Congress should initiate maritime policy—not the Maritime Administrator.

Can We Live With Our Cars?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, with the zest and liveliness we associate with her, Commissioner Elinor C. Guggenheimer of New York City's Planning Commission has written a compelling account of the problems and promise of our burgeoning automotive industry. She recommends the establishment of a Presidential Commission to make recommendations for the future development of highways and traffic patterns in and around our cities. It would also be concerned with mass transit. Commissioner Guggenheimer stresses the urgent need for real planning.

I encourage my colleagues and all concerned persons to read this article from the September 27 Nation:

CAN WE LIVE WITH OUR CARS?

(Elinor C. Guggenheimer)

Within the memory of a number of people still alive, the first horseless carriages appeared on our dirt roads and cobbled streets. They were as amusing to watch as a baby, moving from the creeping to the toddling stage. They were the toys of tinkerers and of a handful of the rich. Certainly, no one at the turn of the century could have foreseen the automobile explosion, but a few visionaries did predict some of the changes which were about to occur. Henry James remarked that the automobile would be "a great transformer of life and of the future"; Thomas Alva Edison announced that the horse was doomed. But the average man, possessed of average common sense, enjoyed the satisfaction of advising the cranks—and the crankers—to get a horse.

When General Motors was formed in 1908, the notion that its welfare could ever be thought synonymous with that of the United States would have seemed absurd. During the almost 60 years since then, the automobile has wrought staggering changes in our economy and our society. One thing remains true, however: what is good for General Motors, or Ford, or for the manufacturers of foreign cars now flooding in through our ports, is not necessarily good for all the people of the United States. Furthermore, what is currently good for the industry may be creating excesses that will curtail the usefulness of its product.

Automotive progress has been responsible for the irresistible thrusts of asphalt into our parks and meadow lands, across our countryside and along our river edges. It has ripped up our trees and has leveled the land contours in the rural areas; it has chocked up the streets and polluted the air of our cities; and its omnivorous need for facilities to serve its purposes has devoured our land. We are today the blessed beneficiaries of progress. We are also its victims.

Recently, the President's Conference on Natural Beauty paid a great deal of attention to the matter of highways. Principally, the conferees were concerned with billboards that detracted from vistas which would otherwise delight passing motorists. Relatively little attention was paid, however, to the fact that highways, in and of themselves, frequently destroy important natural areas.

It is not unusual today to see parks, which once represented the last reservation of natural land for city dwellers, lacerated by highways that leave the park areas fragmented. It is always simpler to build highways through open areas, and parks are natural prey. But even residential areas are not immune. Some of our finest homes and some of our most precious landmarks have disappeared before the onward march of roads.

Highway engineers are inevitably preoccupied with insuring economy and efficiency. The automobile industry is preoccupied with increasing the demand for cars. And automobile owners are interested in improving travel in general and increasing the range of their cars. The answer for all three, until recently, has been the building of more and better highways, with more and better interconnecting links and spaghetti-like interchanges. Relatively few people, until recently, have spoken out for the trees and the wildlife areas, and the pleasant sloping countrysides that are disappearing.

On through the decades, as highways have improved and as mass production has made the automobile more available, accessory demands have arisen. First of all, because of the automobile's limited life, burial grounds, or junkyards, are necessary. Secondly, the turnover in cars, induced by constant improvements, has accounted for a tremendous secondhand car-lot development. The growing numbers of automobiles require a growing number of service stations; and the growing numbers of motorists require recreation and refreshments. The entrances to our cities have been made hideous by automobile rows; by the string of shopping centers surrounded by seas of parked cars; by drive-in movies and neon-lit hamburger joints. But even so, roads and facilities barely keep pace with the rising demands of the automobile. Road planners frequently predict bumper-to-bumper traffic on highways and expressways that have not yet been completed.

The automobile has encouraged the development of metropolitan areas, and it is within metropolitan areas that the impact of traffic is greatest. Highways leading into cities are frequently built by authorities that are not controlled by the city government itself. Traffic generated by new and better highway systems streams into the core areas of cities and strangles them.

Furthermore, the automobile makes the most inefficient possible use of existing pavement. Recently, a member of the New York City Transit Authority, in a letter urging that more attention be paid to the problems of mass transportation, pointed out that in "1911 a horse-drawn truck could speed through the city streets at 11 miles an hour. Today, automobiles are forced to crawl at an average speed of 6 miles an hour when crossing Manhattan." In peak hours a 9-foot-wide lane in town centers can accommodate per hour 16,000 persons on foot; between 5,600 and 18,000 by bus (depending on the capacity of the bus) and 40,000 persons per track by rapid transit. In contrast to this, a 9-foot-wide lane in a town center can accommodate only 1,200 persons traveling by car. In actuality, the figures become even more startling because cars are rarely filled to capacity. The average number of persons per car, traveling in cities, is 1.5 to 1.7, rising at peak hours to 1.84. To put it a different way, three lanes of autos in one direction carry 4,100 persons per hour, and one local plus one express track carry 100,000 to 120,000 persons per hour. Sooner or later we must face the fact that if people are to move around a city freely they must forsake the automobile.

Merchants in the central business district of most cities urge more parking lots, because without adequate parking arrangements they cannot compete with suburban shopping centers. But parking lots generate traffic. They attract cars by their presence and they clog adjoining streets during hours when people are entering or leaving the lots or garages. Parking lots are useful for attracting customers only if they are convenient; if approaches to them become too clogged and the waiting period is too long they do not serve the purpose for which they are intended.

London, Paris, Rome, and Tokyo have joined the long list of cities undertaking studies and expressing deep concern for the steadily worsening traffic situations. In some instances cities have barred cars in sections of downtown areas. This is a drastic solution which orderly control might be able to avoid. The Buchanan report ("Traffic in Towns," London, 1963) states in a sentence what will happen in the absence of control: "The rising tide of cars will not put a stop to itself until it has almost put a stop to the traffic, essential and nonessential alike."

Traffic congestion has also contributed to the problem of air pollution. Even if the fumes from automobiles are not the major cause of air pollution, they are extremely un-

pleasant. At best they can be called a nuisance and, at worst, a health hazard. In California, motor-vehicle exhaust is recognized as perhaps the major source of atmospheric pollution. Congress has taken recent notice of this, and exhaust-suppressive devices to be installed in new cars should help. However, the devices now proposed will be only partially effective, and additional research is required.

Congress has grown restive over more than pollution. It is worried also about safety—about tires, padded dashboards, collapsible steering wheels, antiskid devices, laminated safety glass, and a variety of other safety devices, to cut the always appalling accident rate. Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF has been leading the efforts to improve the mechanical safety of cars.

Service stations and parking lots are meeting more and more opposition. New zoning resolutions attempt to exclude them from as many districts as possible. Industry has never been concerned about the appearance of service stations, secondhand car lots or other accessory uses. Many of them are decorated with wrecks. The advertising signs; the posters and the varicolored flags hanging like dirty underwear are an affront. In general, they have a downgrading effect on the area surrounding them.

The shopping centers, with their container-type architecture, are changing the roadside all over the country. Our finest architects take pride in the construction of major office and residential buildings, and of airport facilities. But their contributions to our cities are oversadowed by the vulgar design of the service station and the tasteless landscaping, or total lack of site planning, associated with parking facilities. Suggestions for improving such facilities, if they were publicized by the Federal Government, might raise the standards of some of our shortsighted entrepreneurs.

A good many communities are waging war against new highways. Recently, a California proposal to route freeways through certain established communities brought an all-out battle. In Bronxville, N.Y., citizens took up arms against bulldozers that were uprooting trees in an expressway widening. This battle was lost, but the spirit of revolution is growing and it is evident that uncontroled highway construction will not much longer be feasible. Sooner or later, determined citizens will rout the bulldozers and an entire highway plan may go down to defeat. If such a highway is part of an organized plan it will mean the disruption of that plan. It is essential, therefore, that the controls be established by government before orderly planning is destroyed by revolution.

No easy contraceptive pill exists to counteract the "automobile explosion," and discipline will have to be applied if the automobile is to be kept a servant of human welfare. The problem is national, and the time has come for the Federal Government to assume leadership. The President should establish a commission, consisting of the Secretaries of Commerce, Interior, Labor, Defense, and the new Department of Urban Affairs. In addition to these Government officials, the commission should include top management and labor representatives from the automotive industries, and from all accessory industries; city planners; representatives of the American Institute of Architects; and representatives from the Society of Landscape Architects. The commission should be instructed to submit to the President and to the Nation concrete suggestions for the planned future development of our highways and carefully designed recommendations for the construction and disposition of roadside facilities.

It should give special attention to the problems of central cities, since three-quarters of our citizens reside in cities. It should recommend plans for routing traffic around the cities and for increased subsidies to rapid transit and commuter systems. It should propose zoning patterns that will enable communities to control the design as well as the location of automotive facilities. The Buchanan report refers to "the magnitude of the emergency that is coming upon us and the inspiration of the challenge it presents." It states further that "we are nourishing at immense cost a monster of great potential destructiveness." I do not subscribe to the theory that the automobile is a monster—it is merely a child that is being allowed to run wild. It has served us well in emergencies and disasters. It has brought pleasure to millions and it has moved forward, not merely the passengers it carries, but the entire world. Nevertheless, it has desecrated the landscape, strangled cities, and left behind it a choking atmosphere of polluted air and a string of Kustard Kastles. Today, the automobile is ravening. We can continue to feed its inexhaustible appetite or we can put it on a diet that will enable us to live with it. Planned automobilehood is overdue.

Culver To Work for Sound Implementation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, as we approach adjournment, I think we will all agree that the 1st session of the 89th Congress has been an unusually productive one. Many of the measures enacted during the past months represent historic legislative breakthroughs, and the far-reaching benefits from the programs authorized by this Congress will soon contribute importantly to the continued growth and prosperity of the Second District of Iowa.

One vital reason for the accomplishments of this Congress was the clear endorsement given by the American people to these programs in the 1964 election. I am extremely pleased that discussions with my constituents, as well as their response to my recent newsletter, confirm the interest which the people of northeast Iowa hold in this legislation, and indicate their general support for the goals of the programs which it has established. The views expressed in the returned questionnaires have served as one very helpful guideline in my consideration of the complex bills before the Congress this year, and in my determination of the measures which may best serve the interests of the Second District, the State, and the Nation.

Having successfully enacted this heavy volume of legislation, the Congress should now properly concentrate its efforts on the sound implementation and operation of these new programs to insure realization of the great promise which they hold. Since a most significant feature of much of the new legislation is the requirement that resulting programs be initiated and administered at the local level, I have in past months worked closely with local officials in district-wide conferences on such matters as the education bill, the economic opportunity act and various flood control measures.

In the months ahead, I hope to hold similar meetings. Their purpose will be twofold: To obtain the best possible information regarding the successes and shortcomings of these programs from those who will administer them in the second district, and, at the same time, to insure the closest cooperation and coordination among all levels of Government.

I am going to Vietnam and other critical areas in southeast Asia this fall to conduct a special study for the Foreign Affairs Committee. Upon my return, I look forward to the opportunity of discussing these important matters with the people of the second district.

I would at this time like to call to the attention of my colleagues the tabulated summary of the replies to the questionnaire which I mailed to my constituents in the Second Distirct. The summary follows:

1. Vietnam: What approach do you think the United States should follow in Vietnam?

	Percent
Expand the war into North Vietnam and seek all-out victory	31.0
Support the government of South Vietnam, through retaliatory attacks on North Vietnam, until a satisfactory negotiated settlement is possible	33.6
Continue limited military efforts in South Vietnam and seek a negotiated settlement	15.1
Withdraw all troops and advisers from Vietnam immediately	8.7
No opinion	11.6

2. Voting rights: The administration has proposed legislation to insure the no-voting qualification or procedure shall be imposed or applied to deny or abridge the right to vote on account of race or color. Do you favor:

	Percent
The administration's bill	38.0
An expanded bill including the elimination of the poll tax	35.3
Leaving control of voting entirely with the States	17.7
No opinion	9.0

3. Agriculture: What is your opinion of the voluntary feed grains program?

	Percent
Should be continued as is	19.5
Should be continued with modifications	20.9
Should not be continued	18.0
No opinion	41.6

4. Firearms: Several proposals have been made for more effective firearms regulation. Please indicate whether you favor one or more of these proposals:

	Percent
Bar gun ownership by criminals and the mentally deranged	60.0
Bar gun ownership by children under 18 lacking parent's consent	51.1
Bar mail-order gun sales except to authorized dealers	50.9
Require registration of all guns with local police	40.9
Impose heavier penalties for violation of present regulations	42.2
Oppose any change in present laws	10.4
No opinion	3.5

5. Immigration: The administration has proposed gradual elimination of the National origins quota system, and replacement with a system favoring skilled workers and rela-

tives of people already in the United States. Do you favor:

	Percent
The administration's proposal	52.4
The present system	20.3
No limitations on immigration	2.5
No immigration	12.0
No opinion	12.8

6. United Nations: Indonesia's withdrawal and the assessments made to finance U.N. peacekeeping missions have brought the organization to a crisis point. Should the United States:

	Percent
Attempt to compromise the financial impasse over peacekeeping assessments	7.8
Follow a "hard-line" regarding the payment of assessments	50.7
Expand the U.N. role as an eventual international peace force	23.9
No opinion	17.6

7. Daylight Savings Time: A bill has been introduced to standardize the applicable time period for daylight savings time in all those areas which elect to adopt this practice. Do you favor:

	Percent
This measure to provide greater uniformity throughout the Nation	68.7
Leaving determination of the applicable dates at the local or State level	21.8
No opinion	9.5

8. Housing and Urban Development: A bill has been introduced to establish a Department of Housing and Urban Development. Do you favor:

	Percent
Passage of this bill	35.5
Separate administration of individual programs as is the current practice	33.1
No opinion	31.4

A National Youth Training Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to submit for the RECORD for my colleagues' reading a plan which has been devised by Mr. M. J. McDermett, of Fort Lauderdale, Fla. Mr. McDermett has spent many years in the field of teaching and counseling of students at the junior and high school levels. The points which have been raised in the article suggests a very diversified program for the education of boys. I feel that this is a worthwhile article and should be of interest not only to my colleagues but to any party who is concerned with the education of our youth and the dropout problems now facing our country.

The article follows:

A SUGGESTED DIVERSIFIED PROGRAM OF EDUCATION FOR BOYS

(By M. J. McDermett)

According to information adopted from the Newsletter, an N.E.A. project on school dropouts, 1 out of 3 youths in school today will not finish high school.

Studies are being made constantly to find out what is causing students to leave school. How long will it be before something is done to help these students before they drop out? Reasons for leaving school vary in frequency from one place to another but overall they are very similar.

The purpose of this report is not to determine why students drop out of school but to suggest that we accept the problem as we find it and that we do something for them. Progress in solving this problem will, of course, give relief to many related problems such as juvenile delinquency, unemployment, and this in turn will help economically.

If we can plan a good practical and different program for these people, then that in itself will have a twofold effect on keeping the others in school. First, when we take away the group who cannot adapt themselves to the traditional type of program, then those who are left will not be improperly influenced. Second, once many of the students see that they must make a choice between two types of programs, then they will settle down to what they are doing and become better students.

The writer has spent many years in school work and approximately 20 years have been spent in teaching and counseling with students of junior and senior high school age and with their parents. We must have firsthand experience with these people and their problems to fully appreciate them. We must consider the effects of this type of student on the school, the teacher, and the community. Many of our well-prepared teachers are dropping out too, and it is not entirely because of their low salaries. Certainly one of the most undesirable things about teaching today is coping with disinterested, undisciplined, and discouraged student.

Teachers are disgusted with being babysitters and having to contain students in school too long because there is no other place provided for them. If a teacher eliminated too many from his classes, he may be accused of not doing his job well. Yet he has no real means with which to hold students in line.

A high percentage of ill-mannered, discourteous, and low achieving or poorly adapted students come from homes where their parents did not finish school. Teachers are sometimes subjected to the wrath and abuse of these parents. School officials are reluctant to use strong measures in handling and especially in withdrawing them because there is no place for them to go. Also, they would add to the number already out of school and on the street.

In order to substantiate the need for the type of program which is recommended here, it may help to state some of the reasons why students drop out of school. These are not necessarily in order of frequency.

1. Lack of interest: This reason may be all-inclusive since most reasons lead to a lack of interest. In many cases our traditional program just does not hold the interest or fulfill the need of some of our students. Most of our schools were intended for the college-type student. Also many students need to learn by experience and can never attain the level of the true academic program.

2. Not able to do work: It is discouraging for a student to drag along for 12 years doing something he does not want to do when the only reward for him is failure. Many suggest a vocational or technical type of program. This would be a great help in most instances but even this type of program is not broad enough. Even if a vocational program would meet our needs, it will be years before local school systems will make vocational programs available to all. Also many of the skills needed for some of these students are never even suggested in vocational school. A more versatile program of training will be suggested in this report.

3. Abnormal homes: Unsatisfactory home-life may be due to broken homes, bad habits, neglect or incompatibility of parents, unemployment of parents, poor finances, etc. Many parents almost prayfully ask and plead with school officials to suggest something to do with their children. A program must be established to provide for the total need of some of these people.

4. The problem child: Some of these problems represent the students' way of rebellion. They don't like the type of program they are in. The schools have no way to properly discipline students with really bad behavior. Since school officials are hesitant to withdraw students because they become a burden on society, we need to establish an institution to accept these people, and relieve the school and community, as well as to try to meet their needs.

The writer is quite aware of the good intention of our national administration in proposing a program to take care of the uneducated, unskilled, and unemployed youth. This program is for a good purpose and may serve well as a matter of expediency to take care of those already out of school, but this program alone becomes only a containment program and not a program of rehabilitation. A good part of the youth who would be reached by the program suggested by our national administration, and a greater part of those yet to come, can best be reached by a different type program.

To suggest that parents should be held responsible for these students is not enough. They are not solving their problems and neither are we. Surely our National Government can provide a program which can train and rehabilitate any of our youth who wish to avail themselves of this opportunity.

THE PROGRAM

The Congress should appropriate funds to establish a broad, comprehensive training program for the youth of this country who are between the ages of 14 and 18 and who are having difficulty remaining in school. Also, to include those who have dropped out of school.

ORGANIZATION

Training institutions should be established in each of the States. The number in a State will depend upon its needs and population. The head officer in this institution should be a civilian so that the program would not become too militaristic. He and his academic staff should be employed from the teachers and administrators of the respective States. They should be permitted to retain their seniority in their retirement program; the State's contribution to the retirement program would be made by the U.S. Government. The program should maintain military discipline throughout. The military part of the program would be performed by U.S. military personnel. Also, a good part of the technical training would be performed by military technicians. (Since many of these men are already being paid by our Government, this would tend to reduce the cost of the program).

SCOPE OF THE PROGRAM

The program should be more comprehensive and much broader than any of our traditional schools. This school will need to provide training for students of nearly all levels of ability. There are those who can do little more than work and learn some simple skill such as driving a truck or operating a machine. For some we need merely a physical fitness program and busy work, and others may do well to learn such skills as barbering, shoe repair, building skills, such as carpentry, masonry, plastering, etc. Some may study technical subjects, such as electricity or electronics. A large number may complete their high school education and in some cases go on to college.

Since this institution should be somewhat self-sustaining, it should be on a large acreage and provide a range of opportunities almost equal to those in life. Possibilities

are truck driving, handling machinery, carpentry, plumbing, plastering, construction, mechanics, serving food, cooking, tailoring, store work, business machines, farming, landscaping, etc. Most of the work on building and expanding, once the program is started, can be done by the boys.

A complete physical fitness program could be planned and an intraschool athletic program could be initiated.

Because military equipment is constantly replaced and discontinued, it would be possible to have engines, electronic equipment, and supplies of all kinds which to work.

NATURE OF PROGRAM

Students who enter the program would be given clothing, food, and $15 to $30 monthly. They would remain on the grounds. Liberty and vacations would be similar to military leave.

Upon arrival a student would be given a physical examination, immunized, tested, and classified according to his desire and his physical and mental ability. A student would not be admitted for a period of less than a year. He would need his parents or guardians consent and the approval of his school principal or county official.

One of the advantages of this program is that the school would have complete control of the student. If he becomes a disciplinary problem, he would lose his pay and if necessary may be confined. If a student becomes bad enough to be discharged, then he should be place on probation by his local juvenile authorities.

At 17 a student may transfer to a military program with his parents permission. If he spends his last 2 years before he is 18 in the center, he may transfer to a military program with 1 year of credit toward his military obligation or career. In either case he would have credit for basic training and the induction process would have already been completed. A rating program would be in effect and outstanding prospects may enter the military program with a rating.

Counselors should be provided to visit the schools to determine the feasibility of accepting a student. No rigid physical standards would have to be met. He would train according to his ability.

SOME SPECIAL FEATURES OF THIS PROGRAM

1. Advantages to the student who enrolls in this program:

(a) Has an opportunity to do and study things in which he is interested and which local schools do not provide.

(b) Larger fields of opportunity to explore.

(c) Chances to get genuine physical fitness program.

(d) Can eat and dress properly in case of financial hardship.

(e) In a program where there is time to find himself and not under the pressure of making a grade level.

(f) Chance for leadership and rating where there is a reward for each step.

(g) Separated from gang at home, thereby acquiring independent attitude and outlook.

(h) Opportunity to work with group of equal ability and mutual interest in all phases of activity.

(i) Has removed whatever stigma or handicap he encountered at home.

(j) A program that takes care of the whole boy; expenses, housing, food, clothes, health, physical training, clean habits, vocation, skill or academic training, discipline, and spiritual needs.

2. Advantages to children who remain in school:

(a) Students are no longer slowed down by others who lack interest or ability.

(b) Students will realize that they must improve, especially in deportment, since another type of program has been provided.

(c) All students who remain in school will have a more common interest.

(d) Competition will be keener so all phases of the program will improve, including attendance.

(e) Students should show more loyalty and school spirit.

(f) Will take more pride in dress and appearance.

(g) Disciplinary problems should almost disappear.

(h) Better leadership will develop and students groups will become more responsible.

(i) By providing better training for the skilled worker in the new program, a higher price will be placed upon the academically educated because of the competition.

3. Advantages to the faculty and administration:

(a) The teaching profession will take on the dignity it deserves.

(b) Teachers will not feel obligated to keep students in class when they are deterring the progress of other students, now that they may transfer them into a program more suitable.

(c) Students will be better behaved and require less supervision, thereby relieving the teacher of so much nonprofessional duties, such as hall, bus, and lunchroom duty.

(d) Better attendance will lessen duties of teachers and administration, because of fewer reports and less makeup work.

(e) Teachers will have more pride, dress better, and in turn command more respect and better pay from society. Also, the aid from the Federal Government, for this most expensive part of our school program, will release more money locally.

(f) Eliminate a shortage of teachers and prevent the teacher transfer and dropout problem.

4. Advantages to the community:

(a) Parents can now relax knowing that all of our male youth can secure the type of training for which they are best suited.

(b) Juvenile delinquency should be practically eliminated—boys between 14 and 18 should be in regular school, in the new National Youth Training Center, or working. Officers could be more firm with those on the streets or out of school.

(c) Local communities would no longer have to worry about providing expensive training for the unskilled or uninterested student.

(d) More money would be available for the local school program.

(e) This program would be less expensive and much more rewarding than a youth-containment program similar to the CCC.

(f) Young people would take pride in education, and teaching would become one of the most honored and respected professions.

(g) Less money would be required for law enforcement on the local level.

(h) Mothers would no longer worry about where their children are and they would be proud of their success.

(i) Opportunities for servicemen to work in these centers would be valuable to the armed services, as well as providing an economical training program.

(j) Economic conditions would improve because these graduates would maintain a higher standard of living. Also, industry and business would have a source of manpower.

(k) School situations, such as the one being published in Washington, D.C., right now by School Superintendent Carl Hansen, need no longer exist.

Resolution by Caltech Young Republicans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the Young Republicans of Caltech, in the congressional district of our distinguished colleague H. ALLEN SMITH, on October 18, adopted the following resolution, which I believe shows a commendable insight into our congressional activities today:

RESOLUTION BY CALTECH YOUNG REPUBLICANS

Whereas the Constitution of the Federal Government of the United States provides that all legislative power therein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States; and

Whereas there has been an ever-increasing trend toward the situation where the President of the United States, to the exclusion of Members of Congress, is the only source of legislative ideas; and

Whereas through the neglect of Congress, regulatory agencies of the executive branch of the Government, such as the National Labor Relations Board, have been granted or allowed to assume powers of a distinctly legislative nature; and

Whereas executive usurpation of the legislative powers has reached the height of audacity, as evidenced by the attempt by the Secretary of Defense to abolish, without expressed congressional sanction, a major portion of our Military Establishment, the organized Army Reserve; and

Whereas the Federal courts, following the example of the Supreme Court, have openly admitted to base decisions on considerations other than law and precedent, thus entering the field of legislation rather than interpreting: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the Caltech Young Republicans urge that the Republican and Democrat leaders of the Congress take such initiative action and pass such legislation as is necessary in order to restore the legislative powers of the Federal Government to its proper place—the Congress.

New York College Young Democrats Platform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, last June, the New York State College Young Democrats meeting in convention in Niagara Falls, adopted a very fine platform. While I do not agree with every position they took, I think that the ideas set forth in the platform will be of interest to readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I am, therefore, putting the first part of the State and local affairs section into the RECORD, as follows:

PLATFORM ON STATE AND LOCAL AFFAIRS

HIGHER EDUCATION

We are opposed to the charging of tuition in the New York State and New York City universities. We believe that the charging of tuition will result in a decrease in the number of young men and women who can attend colleges. Instead of having taken action which is regressive, the Governor of New York should have been fighting for progressive measures.

The College Young Democrats commits itself to fighting against the imposition of tuition in the State university, for the maintenance of free tuition in the city university and community colleges, and for its extension to include the graduate and professional facilities associated with the State and city universities.

Our actions are not based upon political considerations, but rather on the knowledge that just as people once considered elementary and high school education essential for every youngster the time is rapidly approaching, if it has not already arrived, when we will consider it vital that every young man and woman receive a college education.

We emphasize that the education of our people is just as important to the health and security of this country as the maintenance of our military defense. We believe that the benefits which accrue to all the people from the education of this Nation's youth are such that all the people must bear the responsibility for supporting our educational institutions.

We urge the State legislature to restore mandated free tuition to the City University of New York. We would support efforts for a citywide referendum to allow the public to make its views known.

We commend Mayor Wagner and Assemblyman Abrams for their efforts in the fight for free tuition in the city and State universities.

We commend the State legislature for liberalizing the regents scholarship program. A new and realistic financial aid program will help the regents scholarship winners meet the costs of their college education. We urge the State legislature to approve the use of regents scholarships outside the State of New York. To restrict a student to the use of a regents scholarship within the State of New York is inconsistent with the aims of that program.

CIVIL RIGHTS

We believe that the State has a responsibility to enforce the antidiscrimination laws which are in effect, and we urge the Governor to support all efforts in this behalf by the State commission of human rights. We are pleased that the legislature passed and that the Governor signed a bill this year allowing the commission to initiate complaints.

CIVILIAN REVIEW BOARD

In order to restore faith in our police department and to review questions of alleged police brutality, we urge all major cities in New York State to follow Rochester's lead in establishing a civilian review board. We urge that the review board be composed of a large cross section of the inhabitants of the cities where they are set up.

STOP AND FRISK LAW

This law is a flagrant violation of the rights of the individual. It is the very definition of a police state, for it sets up a society in which any policeman may stop anyone on the streets whom he presumes to be dangerous, question him, and search him. We regard this law as undemocratic and urge that it be repealed by the State legislature. We also urge the repeal of its companion, the "no-knock" law.

FAIR TRIAL

All too often defendants in criminal cases have been subjected to adverse publicity by the press which would tend to prejudice a future jury against them. We urge the State legislature to make a thorough and detailed investigation to correct this situation while no less preserving the precious right of freedom of the press.

BLUE-RIBBON JURIES

We favor the legislation before our State legislature calling for the abolition of blue-ribbon juries. We feel that they are in violation of constitutional principles. They provide for the formation of an elite class under the law in a country where all persons are equal under the law.

FISCAL PROBLEMS

We believe that the State of New York is facing serious financial difficulties because of Governor Rockefeller's past finanical machinations aimed at balancing the State budget. We are dismayed by the fact that the State has failed to provide adequate and equal State aid for local education.

We are opposed to a State sales tax and urge its immediate repeal. We advocate, in its place, additional personal and corporate income taxes which will raise the needed revenue from those who can most afford it.

We support a statewide lottery as a means for procuring needed revenue.

NEW HAVEN RAILROAD

Due to years of mismanagement, the New Haven Railroad has gone bankrupt, and threatens to go out of business. We urge Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey to again try to set up a tristate authority to purchase and operate the line as an alternative. If this plan is not feasible, absorption of the commuter as well as freight operations of the New Haven must be taken over by the Central and Pennsylvania. Any action must be taken within the context of greater metropolitan planning. It is vital to develop a more efficient and better coordinated urban transportation.

LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURE

We are disappointed by the failure of the State legislature to reform its procedure. We urge that the following reforms, which have been under consideration for many years, be enacted: (1) Public journal of proceedings; (2) electronic voting; (3) public disclosure of committee votes; (4) modification of adjournment procedures to reduce the end-of-session logjam; (5) greater opportunity for minority members to dislodge bills from committee by petition; (6) public hearings on all major bills; (7) fairer allocation of office space and staff help between majority and minority members; (8) increased radio and television coverage of debates; (9) nonconflicting schedule of committee meetings.

CODE OF ETHICS

The New York State College Young Democrats urge the State legislature to adopt the Laporte committee's recommendations for a stringent code of ethics.

Although we recognize that the bill passed by the legislature this year was stronger than that of most States, we are disappointed that the ethics bill which was passed in the 1965 legislative session was not as strong as it might have been, and we note with regret the mildness of the Democratic leadership's support for a strong code. The legislature itself said, in the preamble to the 1954 code, which it adopted, that "the people are entitled to expect from their public servants a set of standards above the morals of the marketplace." The people's representatives, in order to be effective leaders, must act in the tradition of progressive reform legislation for which the Democratic Party has historically fought. We commend Assemblyman Kelly for his long and strenuous efforts in behalf of a stronger code.

We particularly urge that the code be strengthened next year by extending it to prevent State legislators from appearing before any State agency. We also believe that legislators should not be able to receive any fee, direct or indirect, for appearances before the court of claims.

REAPPORTIONMENT

We are deeply disappointed that the Democratic legislative leaders reneged on their promise to reapportion New York State by means of a bipartisan commission. The Republican Plan A is a blatant example of gerrymandering, but we are ashamed to say that the Democratic plan was not much better. We hope that the 1966 reapportionment will be placed in the hands of a bipartisan commission, and that such a procedure will ultimately be written into law. It is useless to allow an entire legislature to reapportion itself.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF NEW YORK STATE

We believe that it is essential that all members of the Democratic Party be given a full opportunity to participate in the affairs of the Democratic Party. In order to help promote democratization of the Democratic Party, we support such efforts which are truly aimed at such democratization.

We urge the Democratic Party of New York State to allow for primaries for all statewide officers except the court of appeals. A statewide primary for State offices would insure that the feelings of rank and file Democrats would carry the decisive weight and that candidates for these high offices would not be picked in the clubhouses of political bosses.

We urge the New York State Legislature to pass legislation which would make the direct election of district leaders mandatory in New York City. We believe that such a law will go far to insure that the rank and file members of each political party in New York City have the opportunity to express their feelings as to who their political leaders shall be in each community.

VOTING AGE

We urge the New York State Legislature to lower the voting age to 18. We feel that people between the ages of 18 and 21 are as enlightened (if not more so), as any other age bracket of the present electorate.

THE JUDICIARY

It is unfortunate but true that those who have been selected to serve on the bench in New York State have not always met the high standards which the public has the right to expect and which justice demands. We believe that appointments to the judiciary must be divorced from the political clubhouse. We note with regret that past mayors and the present mayor of New York City have frequently utilized the judicial appointment for political advantage.

We oppose the election of judges and urge that all judges now elected be appointed.

We urge that men selected for the bench be selected for their integrity and legal accomplishment. We recommend that executive officers in New York State making appointments to the bench act upon the recommendation of special nonpartisan committees of distinguished attorneys.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

We are pleased by the passage of the Ohrenstein bill abolishing capital punishment, but we do not support the amendments to the bill which make certain exceptions punishable by death. We would support a bill repealing the exceptions for those convicted of killing a law enforcement officer and those who commit murder in prison while serving life terms. We see no reason for the necessity of these exceptions and believe them to be inconsistent with the sociological forces that motivated the bill's passage.

CRIMINAL CODE

We applaud the legislature for revising the State's penal code, but we are sorry that the revision did not include New York's antiquated and unenforceable laws regarding adultery and homosexuality between consenting females.

We support the legalization of abortions in cases where continued pregnancy or birth would adversely affect the physical or mental well-being of the mother or child.

LABOR

We commend the State legislature for modifying the Condin-Wadlin Act and we deplore the hypocricy of those public officials who have utilized the act's provisions while simultaneously urging its modification.

We urge that the present exemption of nonprofit educational institutions from the State labor relations act to be repealed.

AIR AND WATER POLLUTION

We urge the State to take steps to avoid the serious problems of air pollution because of industry or automobiles. The time to act is now, not when air pollution has reached a dangerous level.

We regret the defeat of Senator Berman's bill calling for antismog devices to be installed in autos. We hope the next session of the State legislature will approve such a measure.

We commend the legislature for passing a program designed to alleviate water pollution conditions in New York State.

We commend Councilman Robert Low, of Manhattan, in his fight against air pollution in this State.

FLOURIDATION

We support the institution of flouridation of the water supply of all communities of New York State. We urge all Democratic Party organizations to support this proven health measure.

MENTAL HEALTH

We believe that the State of New York should increase its role in the field of mental health. The problems of the diseases of the mind and their high degree of instances, plagues our whole society.

We urge the State to increase its center for mental health. We also urge greater State aid to increse and expand facilities of existing mental health centers. Present facilities are simply not enough to cope with the large amount of our citizens who are stricken with the tragic problems of mental illness.

SPEAKER BAN DECISION

We strongly support the decision of the New York State Appellate Court permitting Communists to speak at the State university.

We believe that the essence of democracy is to give free reign to ideas and criticism. We are confident that in an atmosphere in which all thoughts can be examined, men have the right to decide for themselves and will not be misled to accept concepts which would destroy those conditions which permit them the fullest opportunity to develop as individuals.

We urge the university of the State of New York to abide by the court's decision and we hope that New York's private institutions of higher education will follow the spirit of the decision.

DIVORCE LAWS

We urge the State legislature to modify New York's present antiquated divorce laws to include at least mental and physical cruelty as grounds for divorce.

MARRIAGE COUNSELORS

We urge the legislature to pass legislation to license all marriage counselors.

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

That higher taxes may be needed to support this effort should not prevent its promotion. Those segments of the community which are well off have a moral responsibility to help those who need assistance. We also urge the board of education to continue its efforts for more State aid to help meet the costs of New York City's educational system.

In addition, we believe that the board of education should take steps to provide for a cultural training program for teachers so that all teachers will be familiar with the cultural background of their pupils.

We urge the continuance and expansion of the prekindergarten program which has been tried and has proven successful.

NEW YORK CITY FINANCES

It is clear that the city of New York does not have the revenues it needs to meet the requirements of the people of the city, nor has it always utilized the finances at its command wisely. In order to correct this situation, we strongly recommend (1) implementation of a city income tax and elimination of the city sales tax; (2) appointment of a committee of outstanding economists, businessmen, and labor leaders to investigate and recommend new areas for taxation and elimination of unfair or antiquated taxes in existence today; (3) passage of Mayor Wagner's off-track betting proposals. We regret the inaction of many local legislators in behalf of the latter bill.

We further recommend that New York City and its suburbs receive a fairer proportion of State revenues. It is unfair for New York City to pay 60 percent of the New York State taxes and receive only 40 percent back in terms of services.

MOBILIZATION FOR YOUTH

We support mobilization for youth and the fine work it has done in combating juvenile delinquency on the Lower East Side. We hope this organization's programs will be continued for many years to come, and we deplore the nature of the attacks that a number of public officials have leveled against mobilization for youth.

RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

To prevent the human waste that all too often results from deprivation and boredom, we urge the mayor to consider the construction of more and better equipped recreation facilities. We urge Governor Rockefeller to pursue a similar policy with respect to the State as a whole.

We applaud the efforts of the committee on parks and playgrounds in this area. We hope the mayor will continue his efforts in this area, as recreational facilities are one remedy for the delinquency problem.

We urge the creation of several small vest-pocket parks to make life more bearable in ghetto neighborhoods.

Newbold Morris has done much fine work. The mayor, board of estimate, and city planning commission should support his efforts to obtain additional municipal park acreage on Staten Island; at least 2,000 acres should be acquired in the next few years, since by 1975 the island's population will have soared.

WOMEN'S HOUSE OF DETENTION

The overcrowding and moral transgression in this miserable jail must be relieved, and charges of brutality against prison guards must be thoroughly investigated. The women's house of detention has survived many scandals, but it must not be allowed to survive the latest one. The city has been talking about doing something to improve this jail for more than 10 years; the time for action is now.

Ralph Coghlan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, it is always saddening to receive news of the passing of a friend. It is especially regretful when that death removes from our midst a person who has honored his profession and brightened the national scene. Such a man was Ralph Coghlan, a distinguished journalist and a warm and witty human being. I know of no better tribute a man can receive than the honor and esteem of his colleagues. The following editorial from the October 20 edition of the Washington Post sets forth a view of Ralph Coghlan which, I am sure, will find wide favor among those who admired and respected him. It reads as follows:

RALPH COGHLAN

Ralph Coghlan probably was not widely known to the general public, but a great many newspaper readers enjoy more cogent commentaries today because of his stimulus. As editor of the editorial page of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch until his retirement in 1950, he was a foremost practitioner of his belief that editorials should have something to say and should say it crisply and forcefully. Ralph Coghlan ran a great editorial page. He was not always reasonable, and his crusades sometimes led to distortions, but he was always warmhearted, scrappy, provocative and indignant with dithering.

Editorials, he felt, should serve a higher purpose than "pants pressing"—a phrase he borrowed from Henry Mencken—and he could be just as scathing in attacking the pomposity of the press as he could be irreverent in categorizing the foibles of public officials. His ability to infuse others with his enthusiasm brought formation of the National Conference of Editorial Writers, which has spread his concern with the conscience and the equality of the editorial page. Although he is now dead at 68, his influence continues to make itself felt.

Support of Vietnam Policy by Newark, N.J., International Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, as counteraction to the current demonstrations against our Vietnam policy, District 3, International Union of Electrical, Radio, & Machine Workers, AFL–CIO, Newark, N.J., has undertaken a vigorous campaign to make clear that the great majority of Americans are opposed to capitulation to Communist aggression. The men and women who comprise district 3 are most anxious to achieve an honorable settlement of the critical Vietnamese situation. Indeed they have an especial stake since for the most part it is the sons of working people who must bear the brunt of battle. But, never having dwelled in ivory towers, the people's sturdy commonsense tells them that aggressors are impressed only by strength and determination.

As a longtime member of district 3 prior to my service in Congress, I am proud of my fellow members and I salute their efforts.

The following statement gives the details of the campaign:

PRESS RELEASE BY DISTRICT NO. 3, IUE

Milton Weihrauch, president of District 3, IUE AFL–CIO, announced that a committee is now being formed for the purpose of undertaking a campaign designed to let our troops in Vietnam, the South Vietnamese people, and everyone else, know that the overwhelming majority of American citizens support the policy of our Government in Vietnam.

Jerry Leopaldi, president of Local 447, IUE, AFL–CIO, which represents the employees at ITTFL, Clifton, N.J., has been named chairman and coordinator of this committee, as the idea for the committee originated at the executive board of Local 447 IUE, AFL–CIO.

Gov. Richard J. Hughes has accepted the honorary chairmanship of the committee. The Governor stated that "I and the full resources of my office will be placed squarely behind this fine effort. This type of activity goes a long way in helping to offset the false illusion of nonsupport of our Government's role in Vietnam caused in many instances by what appears to be Communist inspired anti-American activities."

Mr. Leopaldi announced that all interested people, regardless of their party affiliations, and whether or not they are members of the labor movement, are invited to join and support the efforts of the committee. Anyone interested in joining can write or phone Mr. Leopaldi at 25 Washington Avenue, Nutley, N.J., 07110. Phone: 667–4107.

The committee is presently evaluating several projects to be undertaken for our troops in Vietnam which are designed to help improve their morale and make the coming religious holidays more meaningful.

When the final decision on these projects is reached, a fund drive will be immediately undertaken to finance and implement this program which will demonstrate to our sons and relatives in Vietnam that we do care.

Toward the Great Society—Appalachia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, wedged between the rich east coast and the prosperous Middle West is Appalachia, the Nation's largest economically depressed area. In this 165,000-square-mile area, 16 million people live. One out of every three families lives on an annual income of $3,000 or less. Annual per capita income in Appalachia is 35 percent below that for the rest of the Nation. Unemployment is 50 percent higher than the national rate. The general low standard of living prevailing means poor educational opportunities, inadequate food, substandard housing, poor clothing, poor health and sanitation facilities. There is one overriding characteristic of the entire 11-State area—the burning desire of the young to get away and the diminishing hope of the older folks who stay behind.

At the request of the Governors of the Appalachian States, the Democratic administration proposed a program of revitalization for this economically starved area. The 89th Congress approved the Appalachia Regional Development Act to accelerate the economic development of the area in order to raise the standards of human existence in Appalachia to a level comparable to the rest of the United States. This new program is aimed at overcoming the basic deficiencies of the region—difficult access, uncontrolled water resources, poorly managed physical resources, and a general lack of the public facilities which stimulate economic growth.

The Federal-State-local effort to bring new economic life to this area is coordinated by the Appalachian Regional Commission composed of the 11 State Governors. Congress has authorized $1.1 billion to get Appalachia moving again—to open the doors of this economically isolated area to more tourists and to more industry.

Lying between two great population centers, the eastern seaboard and the Midwest, Appalachia represents a potential market and source of raw materials, as well as a major recreational area for these enormous concentrations of population. None of this potential can be realized until the isolation of the region is overcome. Over the next 5 years $840 million will be used to construct 2,350 miles of development highways and 1,000 miles of local access roads. The Federal share will be 70 percent and the State share 30 percent.

Another $41 million will go for the construction of health facilities, including hospitals, regional diagnostic and treatment centers, and $28 million will go for the operation of the health facilities. The Federal Government will pay 80 percent of the construction costs and 100 percent of the initial operating cost. After the first 2 years the Federal share of operating costs will be 50 percent.

Other millions of dollars will go into construction of vocational education schools, development of water resources, sewerage treatment plants, soil conservation and land improvement, improvement of timber production and marketing, and restoration of mine-scarred land.

The program is designed only to provide initial Federal assistance, until July 1971. By that time it is hoped that revitalization will be sufficiently underway, and the States will continue their cooperative effort to develop the full potential of the region.

This is but part of the overall effort to bring Appalachia out of the poverty straits. It is geared largely to economic needs. Other Federal efforts, such as the antipoverty program and the elementary and secondary education bill, are concentrating on human needs.

In the words of President Johnson:

Giving a man a chance to work and feed his family and provide for his children does not destroy his initiative. Hunger destroys initiative. Hopelessness destroys initiative. Ignorance destroys initiative. A cold and indifferent government destroys initiative.

How the United States Got Involved in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, one of my colleagues was kind enough to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, October 20, 1965, page 26788, a letter from the Honorable RICHARD ICHORD to me on the subject of Robert Scheer's pamphlet entitled "How the United States Got Involved in Vietnam." The letter was accompanied by an enclosure containing information on Mr. Scheer's background—taken from the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. I am taking the liberty, therefore, of inserting in the RECORD my reply to Mr. ICHORD's letter.

The reply follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., October 21, 1965.

Hon. RICHARD ICHORD,
Longworth House Office Building.

DEAR DICK: I appreciate the fact that you took the trouble to read the pamphlet, "How the United States Got Involved in Vietnam," by Robert Scheer, and also took the trouble to give me your evaluation of it.

I should make it clear that I am not alleging the authenticity of everything Mr. Scheer says. However, this material is receiving widespread publication, not only through this pamphlet but in other publications, and deserves review and analysis by those concerned with our role in Vietnam. Only by such review and analysis, not just of this but of other pertinent material, can we reach an understanding of history and avoid some of the errors of the past. We all know how difficult it is to get reliable information on controversial issues such as Vietnam, sometimes even from Government sources. While I do not share the view of my Republican colleagues that "The figures that are fed to the press and the public by the administration contradict each other and surpass belief" (Vietnam—Some Neglected Aspects of the Historical Record—issued by the Republican Conference of the House of Representatives, Aug. 25, 1965), I do agree that adequate and accurate information is a problem.

As to Mr. Scheer's background, as revealed by the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities, I can understand how that would trouble you. I do not intend to defend his associations and activities, since I presume that he can do that more ably than I, if necessary. However, I am concerned about the two points which you take issue with in his pamphlet.

You state first that "the publication is filled with half-truths, distortions, implications, innuendos and inferences which lead one to believe that Ho Chi Minh is the George Washington of Vietnam * * *." Mr. Scheer is certainly not unique in thus representing Ho Chi Minh. Numerous prior writers have done so, of which I will cite only Robert Trumbull, who refers to him thus on page 204 of his book, "The Scrutable East," and Edgar Snow, on page 695 of his book, "The Other Side of the River." Your own Committee on Un-American Activities, in its biography of Ho Chi Minh published October 25, 1957, which obviously was not trying to be complimentary, said, "* * * the legendary figure of 'Uncle Ho' was entrenched in the minds of the Vietnamese people—not as a Communist but as a revered father of independence. The myth of the national liberator was so effectively instilled that not even the French risked a personal attack upon the name of Ho Chi Minh as they endeavored to bare the threat of communism."

If it is true that Ho Chi Minh has a public image as a "revered father of independence" or a "national liberator" as your committee states, then attacking Mr. Scheer for saying it may not be very logical. Perhaps we ought to deal with the fact, rather than attack Mr. Scheer.

Your other point of difference with the pamphlet was that it "* * * implies that our involvement in Vietnam was the result of a plot carried out by such distinguished Americans as * * *" and you name several names. I share your belief that such implications have very little foundation. Again, however, it is a position taken by other presumably well-informed people and needs to be dealt with. For example, Mr. Hilaire du Berrier, a former member of the French Resistance in Indochina, an employee of the O.S.S., an "aide" to a Diem delegate to Washington, and a frequest writer for conservative publications, is quoted as being "* * * in agreement with some liberal critics of our Vietnam policy in regarding the American Friends of Vietnam Committee as having functioned as a pro-Diem 'Lobby'."

The point I am trying to make, Dick, is that it is better to deal with the realities of whatever Scheer says rather than to attack his reputation or associations.

Sincerely,

GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.,
Member of Congress.

'Wizardry' on Trial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, Murray Kempton writing in the New York World Telegram and Sun on October 20, 1965, reported on the current hearings being conducted by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. I am sure all of my colleagues will be interested in reading the following article:

[From the New York World Telegram and Sun, Oct. 20, 1965]

KEMPTON SEES WIZARDRY ON TRIAL

(By Murray Kempton)

WASHINGTON, October 20.—In Alabama, Lowndes County gives every sign of moving to acquit Collie Wilkins Jr., a Ku Klux Klansman without visible rank, of murder on the highway.

And up here the House Committee on Un-American Activities is trying, in full passion, to hang Robert Shelton, imperial wizard of all the United Klans, for fooling the First National Bank of Tuscaloosa with the forged signature of a fictitious party on his corporation's checking account.

There are crimes no nation under law can brook.

The Un-American Activities Committee began its trip through the invisible empire the way it begins all its great occasions, with its chairman invisible behind the backs of cameramen.

Chairman EDWIN E. WILLIS, Democrat, of Louisiana, managed at last to lower that curtain and got over the formal insincerities about how fairly every fair witness could expect to be treated and introduced Chief Investigator Don Appell, to give us a summary of the many books and treaties that exist on the subject.

Don Appell responded with a handsome summary of the Klan's history; but he did not read any formal text of what wild surmise had hoped might be a freshly discovered treaty between some Alabama wizard and some Alabama Governor, and that was the first disappointment. Chairman WILLIS had meant to say "treatise."

Appell then moved to the present tense. He described an invisible empire split rather like our own Democratic Party, among small businessmen. As always the Un-American Activities Committee was dealing with a menace too terrible to distract anyone's attention with concrete membership figures; but the largest seemed to be the United Klans of America, Robert Shelton, imperial wizard, with such attendant genii as the imperial klockard, his propaganda director, and the imperial kludd, his chaplain.

We had begun in comedy, and for the moment one forgot that Robert Shelton's koustomers quite often end their hours of recreation with the murder of strangers and could begin to reflect how the country's sense of proportion might be improved if Jack Valenti could be introduced as special klockard for the President of the United States and Norman Vincent Peale as resident kludd of the Marble Collegiate Church.

There was put in exhibit a list of all the Klanklaverns known to exist: the Paul Revere Historical Society of Jacksonville; the Ancient City Gun Club of St. Augustine; the West Orange Sportsmen's Club; the South Pikymarksmen's Association of McComb, Miss.; the Craven County Improvement Association of New Bern, N.C.; the Saddle Club of Bunn, N.C.

All these documents seemed harmless enough in the Un-American Activities Committee's tradition, which is to compile lists without ever saying just what it is the people on them do. But they must have terrified Robert Shelton, perhaps because it is so much an article of the Klan's faith that any list is evidence of a conspiracy; and he seems to have decided that the committee had him.

He had promised the committee on Monday that he would testify freely and no doubt with patriotic gusto, but then he went off to lunch at the congressional with his counsel and his genii and he came to the stand stooped and sullen under the mantle of the fifth amendment.

He began clutching at the only dignity he had left, which was that of the small, free enterpriser. "Are you asking me as an individual or the president of a corporation?" he replied when first requested to produce his books and records. "That question is not relevant and germaine to this inquiry." Then Chairman WILLIS instructed him to reply and he answered that he honestly believed that an answer might incriminate him and that he was availing himself of his rights under "amendments (low voice) 5th, (loud voice) 1st, 4th (lowered voice), and 14th to the Constitution of the (full bellow) United States of America."

There followed the unappetizing congressional sport of clumsy enticements and clumsier taunts to see how many different times a hostile witness can be put through the recital of his resort to the fifth amendment. The record is generally accepted as 115 and was set by one of Jimmy Hoffa's bravoes under treatment by Senator JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, Democrat, of Arkansas. Chairman WILLIS got Robert Shelton up to an unofficial 78 by such ingenious devices as asking him occasionally whether he was taking the fifth amendment to avoid incriminating himself and getting the reply, "I decline to answer, etc." Shelton was to be back today and seems a cinch for the record.

After such sport, Don Appell turned to the subject of the Alabama Rescue Fund, a Klan subsidiary organized by Shelton in the early 1960's. Like those of any proper Alabama corporation, its checks required the signature of a president and treasurer; and Shelton, like any proper president, had filed with the First National Bank of Tuscaloosa as authorized to draw on the Alabama Rescue Fund's account his signature as president and those first of T. L. Montgomery and later of James J. Hendrix as treasurer.

Now, Appell asked, weren't T. L. Montgomery and James J. Hendrix entirely fictional characters and wasn't the signature purporting to be Montgomery's that of Carol Long, Shelton's secretary, and wasn't indeed the signature purporting to be Hendrix' that of Mrs. Robert L. Shelton herself?

Shelton continued his litany of refusal to answer, and Carol Long and Mrs. Shelton appeared to join him in involving, among other things, that 14th amendment which enchanted the South. Then they all sat down and the committee produced its handwriting expert whose pointer danced over blown-up photostats of signatures, convincing nobody of his proof quite so much as the Sheltons, who were riveted in the attention every Klansman knows any document deserves as evidence, just for being a piece of paper no matter what it says.

The hour is at hand. No southern jury will take this. Mrs. Viola Lee Liuzzo is unlikely ever to be avenged, but the First National Bank of Tuscaloosa is sure to be. You might be able to get away with murder but just don't try messing with a bank.

Higher Education Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, today we are committed to the war against poverty in our country.

The different forms poverty takes are sadly familiar. There is hunger and undernourishment. Many schoolchildren arrive each day at school without any breakfast and return home to dinners of peanut butter and jelly. There is chronic ill health. There is unemployment and underemployment. For too many Americans there is no home and no joy.

The causes of this devastating poverty are many, surely. But, at the heart of this problem is lack of education. For lack of education and training is what, in most cases, makes it impossible for a person to qualify for available jobs. It is what limits a mother's knowledge of how to budget properly and how best to feed her family. And, it is what inhibits learning and putting into practice beneficial health measures.

A National Teacher Corps, specially trained and dedicated, can be one of the best instruments for providing disadvantaged youngsters in our urban and rural slums with the kind of education they need to lift themselves out of poverty.

The National Teacher Corps proposed by title V of the Higher Education Act is patterned after the Peace Corps.

The National Teacher Corps would give highly motivated individuals who are now teachers, or who want to become teachers, the opportunity to serve their country and their fellow man by teaching the children of our poor.

Basically, the program would operate in this way.

First, members of the National Teachers Corps will be specially trained and oriented for teaching service in schools

with large numbers of underprivileged youth. Equipped with these special teaching skills, and with a broad understanding of the problems of the underprivileged, they will be ready to go into schools to teach.

Once in these schools, the members of the National Teaching Corps will apply specialized training to help give educationally underprivileged youngsters the particular enriched learning experiences they need in order to bridge the heritage of dispair. Understanding the children's handicaps, the teachers will be better able and prepared to teach these students the academic skills that must be mastered to be successful in school and in life, and to begin to enjoy both. And, they will introduce their pupils to the rewarding world of cultural life around them—a life which heretofore has been remote or unknown.

In order to attract a wide variety of dedicated teachers, and also, to train a new supply of teachers, the membership of the National Teacher Corps will comprise both experienced teachers and college graduates who wish to be teachers.

The experienced teachers will work in schools singly or as members or leaders of teaching teams. They will contribute both to the schools in which they will teach and to the young would-be teachers at their side.

To the classrooms of the disadvantaged the experienced teachers will bring their many years of teaching. The children and youth they teach will have the opportunity of being instructed by individuals who have had a wide range of educational experience and a deep knowledge of the art of teaching.

To the young teacher-interns in the program, these experienced teachers would also serve as instructors through leading in-service training programs carried out in cooperation with institutions of higher education. They would help to teach these young teacher-interns classroom skills while these young instructors are actually on the job in the schools of the underprivileged.

The teacher-interns, for their part, will contribute vigor and enthusiasm to the classrooms of the disadvantaged. Their original and fresh ideas and approaches will stimulate an atmosphere of excitement about learning which cannot help but communicate itself to children and youth who need to be convinced of the value, wonder, and pleasure of learning.

Teacher interns who will already have B.A. degrees would also be continuing their schooling at a nearby institution of higher education while they are actually teaching. At the end of their 2 years of service in the Corps teacher-interns would be able to have earned an advanced degree in education. With this degree, plus their training in the teaching of the disadvantaged and their actual 2 years of practicing this knowledge, members of the National Teacher Corps would be well prepared to teach underprivileged children. As a group, they would also provide a valuable supply of well-prepared future teachers for America's youth.

Although the cost of the program would be borne entirely by the Federal Government, the members of the National Teacher Corps will not be employees of the Federal Government but will be, in effect, a part of the local school system. Federal funds will go to the local education agency which will pay the Teacher Corps members and directly supervise them.

The pay of the teacher in the Teacher Corps will be the same as for teachers in the local school system. Members of the Corps who are experienced will be paid the same as a teacher with similar training, experience and duties in the local system plus an extra amount if they are leading a teaching team. Teacher-interns will be paid at the beginning of the scale at the lowest rate paid by the local agency for full-time teachers in a particular school and grade.

Mr. Speaker, the National Teacher Corps offers a concrete plan for attempting to raise the quality of education in our schools.

It will also stimulate respect for learning on the part not only of disadvantaged youngsters, but also on the part of youths and citizens in all parts of America.

I urge support for the Teacher Corps and trust that the Quie motion to recommit will be defeated.

Let's Take a Real Good Look at Plastic Pipe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT E. SWEENEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. SWEENEY. Mr. Speaker, in recent years there has arisen a substantial Federal interest in the use of ABS plastic pipe and fittings for DWV plumbing systems in residential and other structures. So profound is the general lack of knowledge about this question that even the vocabulary is a stumbling block to one of the uninitiated, like myself. The letters DWV stand for drain, waste and vent, and describe the plumbing system, with its pipe and fittings, which is used for these purposes in a structure. The letters ABS stand for "acrylonitrile-butadiene-styrene." I trust that a layman such as myself may be pardoned if he is unable to pronounce the name of this complicated chemical compound.

The area of legitimate and proper Federal concern with this problem has several dimensions.

A very important one arises from the fact that the Federal Housing Administration—FHA—must lay down conditions under which it will approve the insurability of home loans. I, for one, have become very much alarmed at the increased rate at which homes are being repossessed by the Federal Government under terms of the FHA home loan program. Certainly our Federal Government should be deeply and justifiably concerned with the materials that go into FHA-insured homes.

To my dismay, however, I have learned that in some instances negligence exists in properly safeguarding FHA home loans. For example, homes are being built today in certain sections in this country wherein the builder has failed to provide the homeowner with a 5-year warranty which he is required to give under Use of Materials Bulletin No. UM-33, dated December 15, 1961, of the Architectural Standards Division, FHA. Specifically, the builder must, under provisions of this bulletin, furnish a properly executed warranty to the homeowner which provides that the builder will "repair or replace any part of ABS plastic vent and drainage system, hereinafter referred to as 'system,' installed during construction in the house built by seller on the aforementioned lot, which, during a period of 5 years from the date of initial occupance of original purchaser, proves to be defective in material or workmanship, provided that the defect shall be material to the intended use of the system and shall have occurred as a result of normal domestic usage for which the system was intended."

The sad commentary is that in many instances the builder, the mortgage lender, the purchasing public, and others are totally unaware of this FHA requirement. Cases have been called to my attention in which none of the parties involved had ever so much as heard of the FHA requirement of a 5-year warranty for ABS plastic drainage and vent pipe and fittings.

This lack of awareness of the 5-year warranty requirement in our building community is not surprising. Already one manufacturer of ABS plastic pipe has been sent a warning letter, as of July 29, 1965, from FHA Commissioner Philip N. Brownstein for circulating misleading advertising and statements relative to FHA's acceptance of building materials. The company involved in this case stated in its advertising copy that its plastic pipe was "FHA-accepted."

Even more astonishing to me—an item which the Commissioner could not take official notice of—was the preposterous claim by this manufacturer that his plastic pipe is "never affected by chemical action of household waste or drain cleaners or by boiling water."

For example, in the case of ABS plastic pipe carrying a different brand name, I have seen installation instructions issued by the manufacturer describing this pipe as an unsatisfactory conductor at 72° F., for such familiar agents as acetic acid, ammonia—both wet and dry—benzene, borax, chloroform, manufactured gas, iodine, naphtha, and a long list of other materials including the familiar cleaning compound, carbon tetrachloride.

Does ABS plastic pipe mean one thing in the case of this latter pipe and something entirely different in the case of the manufacturer cited in the letter of Commissioner Brownstein?

As recently as September 27 of this year, the independent testing laboratory, Smith-Emery Co., of Los Angeles, describes the results obtained by submerging specimens of ABS plastic pipe in separate containers of 28 different materials for a period of 48 hours. To me, the

really disturbing observation is the number of materials which soften the plastic pipe to the point of disintegration in only half the time allowed for testing, that is, 24 hours. Materials having this effect included such diverse substances as Fireproof Energine, a Chicago-made household cleaner, creosote, a spot remover, Sears paint and varnish remover, and oil of cloves.

Cutex nail polish remover visibly attacks plastic pipe in 1 minute and eventually will completely dissolve it. The same source tells as that Absorbine, Jr., will swell and soften ABS plastic pipe, as will snail, slug and bug killer.

Metal Klean, manufactured by a Chicago firm, is used by housewives to remove baked-on grease from pots and pans and other cooking utensils. It visibly attacks ABS plastic pipe in 2 minutes, as does Fireproof Energine. Acetone does the job in half the time. All these materials, given sufficient time, will dissolve ABS plastic pipe.

The kitchen sink, or other household drain, is a common depository for carburetor and parts cleaners. Two different brands, one manufactured in Cleveland and the other in Los Angeles, were found to produce swelling, softening, cracking and eventual deterioration in ABS plastic pipe.

A problem of an entirely different kind is raised by a publication of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, designated as Home and Garden Bulletin No. 64, revised edition of August 1963. This publication is entitled "Subterranean Termites—Their Prevention and Control in Buildings." Authorship is attributed to three people from the Forest Service. On page 9 of this publication, we read:

> Many noncellulose materials, including plastics, may be penetrated and damaged by termites, even though they do not serve as food.

A related question is whether ABS plastic pipe is peculiarly prone to attack by gophers, rats, and other rodents. Apparently, there is little or no evidence to indicate that rodents find pipe and other materials made of plastic tasty or valuable as a food. A more substantial problem is whether rodents attack plastic materials obstructing their path. It has been brought to my attention that the Pacific Telephone Co. in a leaflet dated December 1961 admitted plainly that gophers were causing trouble by gnawing plastic covers of cables. It was the belief of the company at that time that gophers chewed cables merely to get to the other side of an obstruction without going under or over it. Or they may chew the cables just to keep their rapidly growing teeth worn down to comfortable length.

Possibilities of this type certainly justify the caution of FHA in requiring a 5-year warranty for installations of ABS plastic pipe and fittings, but has any further evidence been developed to corroborate or negate the fear of possible rodent and termite damage to plastic pipe installations?

A third major and very crucial area of inquiry concerns the combustibility of plastic pipe and the toxicity of resultant fumes.

There seems to be widespread agreement among impartial authorities that ABS plastic pipe not only does burn, but that the burning pipe itself contributes to the intensity of the fire and rapidly spreads flames throughout the entire structure. This observation was made by Dale R. Gatlin, a civil engineer of San Jose, Calif.

A much more important problem is the toxicity of plastic pipe when burning. After all, if a structure such as a family residence is destroyed by fire, it perhaps matters little whether the drain, waste, and vent system remains intact. It will have to be removed in any case before another structure can be erected on the same location. On the other hand, if a fireman should lose his life battling toxic fumes of a material which need not have been used in the first place, we are dealing with a matter of life and death.

I am told that ABS produces hydrocyanic acid upon burning, and that the fumes of this deadly poison have the same toxicity as hydrogen cyanide, which is used extensively by exterminators, and if I am not mistaken, also in criminal executions. Hydrocyanic acid is described as "intensely poisonous."

With respect to the toxicity of burning products, apparently it is rather easy for a layman such as myself to miss the point. All products of burning are toxic, if there is nothing else to breathe. Some products of burning, however, are poisonous even in very small amounts. This is true of hydrocyanic acid which ABS plastic pipe produces upon burning.

I trust then that these questions which I have raised may be taken to heart by the proper officials within FHA. No one is more aware than I of the commercial interests that are involved on all sides in this dispute. The relatively new and untried ABS plastic pipe has many competitors in the DWV field, many of them old and well established and representing millions of dollars worth of investment.

There is good reason to believe that millions of dollars have been poured into recent efforts in all parts of the country to gain approval of ABS plastic pipe for DWV systems from the various State and local code authorities.

This activity has led to a situation in which the public interest will no longer be served by opening the field to competition, and relying upon a Darwinian survival of the fittest. If it should turn out that plastic pipe is as unsatisfactory and dangerous as some evidence indicates, this result will inevitably show up in the future, but what of the damage to thousands of homeowners who have been left unprotected? What of the taxpayers equity in FHA-insured homes which are later repossessed just at the time that their plastic pipe DWV systems are ready to collapse?

In city after city across this great country in recent months, code authorities have heard these questions raised and they have sought a solution. Is ABS plastic pipe, as it is contended, really and truly nonresistant to a long list of common household materials, which are literally flushed down the drain every day? Are plastic pipe DWV systems peculiarly prone to unseen attacks by termites and gophers and other rodents? Does ABS plastic pipe measure up in quality, strength, fire resistance, and so forth, as required by the various State and local health and safety codes? Has the problem of the combustibility of ABS plastic pipe ever been thoroughly studied and finally resolved? Have the noxious fumes arising from a plastic pipe-fire ever claimed a human life? What would be the effect of a minor fire on the entire plumbing system within the walls of a building? What is the effect of expansion and contraction of ABS plastic pipe and how does this relate to the fatigue of the material?

What the Congress of the United States cannot and dare not forget is that ABS plastic pipe is manufactured for shipment in interstate commerce, and that it is actually transported in such commerce. If this were not the case, then there very well might be no solution to the dilemmas of so many plumbing code boards and authorities who look in vain to some impartial source, any impartial and nationally respected source, for trustworthy answers to the nagging questions which have been raised and which bear upon the health and safety of so many millions of American citizens. If the Federal Housing Administration did not insure home loans, or if builders seeking such insurance were not also seeking to install ABS plastic pipe for DWV systems, then the U.S. Congress might well be justified in assuming the posture of an ostrich. This is not the case; there is here a question of national importance which has become a Federal question under many titles; and the Congress cannot evade its responsibility.

Provision must therefore be made for a thorough investigation, financed by Federal money, and overseen by committees of the two Houses of Congress, into the usability and suitability of ABS plastic pipe for DWV systems. If upon balance there is some slight charge to the taxpayer at the Federal level, surely a commensurate saving will be realized at the State and local level, or else a commensurate saving might be realized in the protection afforded Uncle Sam's equity in repossessed homes. If the saving is not measurable in money, then it certainly will be even in the health and lives of our citizens.

ABS plastic pipe must be tested in independent laboratories of national recognition. It is not enough that this material be tested solely in tests paid for by the plastic pipe manufacturers and manufacturers of competitive products. It must be tested independently and it must be tested completely to convincing and satisfactory conclusions. Every effort must be made to assure that the tests are as impartial and objective as they can possibly be. If ABS plastic pipe is shown to be trustworthy and dependable and suitable for DWV plumbing systems, then by all means let this pipe be manufactured and transported in interstate commerce in competition with proven materials in the established American tradition. But if, on the other hand, this kind of pipe is found to be defective

and unsatisfactory for the uses for which it is intended, then this august body has no choice but to face up to its duty to the American public and proscribe its manufacture for, and its shipment in, interstate commerce; and likewise its eligibility for use in structures intended for FHA insurance.

There is no time to lose; further delay can mean only additional floundering on the part of State and local code authorities; and additional jeopardy of the public interest in FHA insurance of structures equipped with such pipe.

It goes without saying that the FHA cannot fulfill its obligation to the public so long as it continues to insure loans on any structure having ABS plastic pipe DWV systems, until these questions are satisfactorily answered. The FHA policy and practice, as set forth in Use of Materials Bulletin No. UM-33, whereby ABS plastic pipe is deemed suitable for use in properties otherwise eligible for FHA mortgage insurance, should be terminated immediately.

This FHA document on suitability—FHA Use of Materials Bulletin No. UM-33—if that is the proper term, of ABS plastic pipe for this purpose, must stand suspended until reasonable men are satisfied that the public interest is adequately protected through impartial and reliable independent testing.

Latin Americans Progress in Texas Through Strong Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the difficulties of overcoming prejudice, poverty, and discrimination by Texans of Latin American descent have been largely overcome because of the great leadership that has come from within this sizable group of Texas Mexicans.

Congressman HENRY B. GONZALEZ, the first Texan of Mexican descent to serve in Congress, is one of those outstanding men. Another is Dr. Hector Garcia, a physician from Corpus Christi, and the founder of the American G.I. Forum. Bexar County Commissioner Alberto Pena, Jr., has played a leading part in the progress of Texas Mexicans, along with Albert Fuentes, chairman of the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations.

The part which each of these men play in the leadership of Texas Mexicans was reported in the Sunday, October 3, 1965, issue of the Houston Chronicle, on page 6 under the title "He Rises From Siesta With a Bellyache." Another article on the same page entitled "The Rise of Max Lopez," written by the distinguished writer, Bill Porterfield, tells of the progress which has made Max Lopez one of 39 postmasters of Mexican descent in Texas.

Because of the importance of all of these people in the progress of Texans of Mexican descent, I ask unanimous consent that these two articles be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD today.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEJANO GETS INTO POLITICS—HE RISES FROM SIESTA WITH A BELLYACHE

He walked down the Street of the Sorrowing Mary, a stooped-shouldered little man with a bulbous nose, acknowledging the greetings of his people with a kindly smile and a nod of his balding head. In an earlier time he might have been gentle, barefoot Brother Francis, on his way in a woolen gown to say vespers for the Indians at Mission San Antonio de Valero.

But the time was noon on a day last July. His feet were shod in Thom McAns, the people called him Commissioner Pena, and he was on his way in a wash-and-wear suit to eat cabrito and talk politics at Oscar Flores' Continental Cafe in downtown San Antonio.

Yes, politics.

THREE LOUD VOICES

The stereotype of the sleepy peon beneath the cactus with sombrero in hand doesn't fit anymore. He has risen from his siesta with a bellyache. The pulque of poverty has soured his stomach and the sting of prejudice has stirred him to listen to orators and organizers. There are many who would lead him, but there are three whose voices carry like bugles across Texas. The triumvirate:

U.S. Congressman HENRY GONZALEZ, of San Antonio.

Dr. Hector Garcia, Corpus Christi physician, founder and chairman of the board of the American G.I. Forum.

Alberto Armendarez Pena, Jr., of San Antonio, a Bexar County commissioner and guiding hand of the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations.

GONZALEZ, a tall, felt-tongued orator, is the first Texan of Mexican descent since Lorenzo de Zavala to trudge to political prominence. The first Tejano to serve in Congress, he was elected in 1961, after two terms as State senator, an unsuccessful race for Lyndon Johnson's Senate seat, and one futile bid for Governor.

A former schoolteacher and San Antonio councilman, GONZALEZ is a liberal loner who relies on his personal magnetism, not a political machine, for votes. The despair of organization men, the darling of the hombre-in-the-street, GONZALEZ is the numero uno.

SERVED JFK AND LBJ

Garcia, a handsome Latin of 51, gained influence among Mexicans of Texas in the late forties with his fiery sense of social justice. Home from the war, he rallied Latin veterans to fight for a better deal for their people.

Like Representative GONZALEZ, Dr. Garcia and his G.I. Forums have lost the radical tag once tied to them. Garcia has served on missions abroad for the late President Kennedy and for President Johnson.

Albert Pena is a gallo of another color. Though he is gentle in manner, his political machinations have provoked cries of "power-hungry hoodlum" and "Boss Pena" from Republican State Representative Charles Scoggins, of Corpus Christi, and Gov. John Connally. On the other side, men like AFL-CIO State president Hank Brown and U.S. Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH admire Pena.

Like it or not, when the Bexar County commissioner speaks, the more militant Mexicanos listen. Although Pena has turned over the chairmanship of PASO to a fellow San Antonioan, Albert Fuentes, his influence has not diminished.

The triumvirate does not always hang together. Dr. Garcia observed:

"We're Latins, aren't we? We're Indians, aren't we, or a combination of both? Our weakness as a political force, perhaps, is that we are so diversified. We're white complexioned, dark complexioned. We're highly-educated and illiterate. We're rich and poor."

Their styles are different and they disagree on methods, but the three speak in eloquent agreement on problems which plague most of the 2 million Texans of Mexican descent.

They admit that the blatant discrimination against the Texas Mexican, as described by Edna Ferber in her book, "Giant," has softened. The Tejano who can afford it now eats beside Anglos in restaurants, and gradually more of his brothers are getting better jobs and moving into better homes in neighborhoods once closed to them. In the cities, his sisters sometime marry gringos, and no heads are turned.

THEIR RISE IS SLOW

But, they say, the rise of the Texas Mexican into the middle class has been slow, and limited to the few who can compete with Anglos in education and professional skills.

Most Texans of Mexican descent still live behind a torilla curtain (Pena calls it a cactus curtain) where illiteracy, poverty, and disease are common conditions.

Tejanos live in almost every 1 of Texas' 254 counties, but most are in the 50 southern counties. Draw a line from the northern border of Reeves County, in west Texas, to the northern border of Calhoun County, in southeast Texas, and you have the tortilla curtain.

Drive south from any point along the curtain and note how the concentration of Texans who speak Spanish thickens. The road signs symbolize the change as much as the cactus and mesquite and the ranchero music on the car radio. The "Stop" signs bear a second word, "Alto." In the 17 counties along the Mexican border from El Paso to Brownsville, the population is more than 50 percent Tejano; in some counties, like Starr, 85 percent.

The third-largest ethnic group in Texas, the Negro, has kept little of his African cultural heritage. This is not true of the Texas Mexican. The mother country lies just across the border and the ties with her are still strong.

In Texas towns near the border, Spanish is the predominant language. About 20 percent of the Mexicans in Texas speak no English. If most prefer to speak Spanish (few can read or write it), it is a hybrid tongue which the Mexican national belittles. The Anglo calls it Tex-Mex; the Mexican national dubs it pocho, which means discolored or faded.

A SPLIT PERSONALITY

The Tejano, for example, calls a truck a trucka, instead of the correct troca. When the Mexican national refers to his cousin in Texas as a pocho, the word takes on an even more derisive connotation; loosely translated, it means "neither here nor there."

The sociologist calls it schizophrenia, and points out that in blending the Spanish and Indian cultures, and then in the rather reluctant mixing of the Mexican and Anglo-American cultures, the Texas Mexican has come out with a frustrating split personality.

Ridiculed by his cousins across the border, abused by his Anglo countrymen, the confused Tejano turned inward long ago. He has lived, it has been said, "in American society but not of it."

Since World War II, the assimilation of our cultures has quickened. The taste of it has whetted the Tejano's appetite (who doesn't want a two-car garage and a green lawn?) and men like Gonzalez, Garcia, Pena, and Fuentes, are pushing him toward the table of plenty. He's not reluctant, for he realizes he has paid dearly because of this

separation, partly pushed upon him and partly self-imposed.

An education, always the springboard to a better life, has been hard for the Tejano to get in our English language schools. Twice as many Negroes make it to high school and college.

The 1960 census showed 23 percent of the adults in Texas with Spanish surnames have had no schooling; that 56 percent have had less than 8 years and that only 16 percent have attended high school. Only 4.2 percent have attended college.

Ignorance begs poverty and statistics tell the story:

The median income for more than 78 percent of the Mexican families in Texas is less than $5,000 a year. Of this group, 38 percent make less than $3,000 a year.

Poverty, in turn, appears to beget numbers, in spite of a high rate of tuberculosis and infant mortality, the growth of the Spanish-surname population in Texas has been 70 percent more than either the Anglo or Negro.

A third of this increase in the Texas Mexican population can be laid to immigration, which is now tailing off. But there's still the natural increase in numbers. One of every four Tejano families has seven or more persons in it: there are only three persons in one of every four Anglo families.

Says Dr. Ramiro Casso, a McAllen physician:

"Rich or poor, it is the custom for the Mexican to marry early. The senorita of 25 is an embarrassment to her family. Most of the girls marry in their teens, to young men, who, by American standards, have few of the tools for making a mark in the world.

IN A REPEATING CYCLE

"The young husbands work, as their fathers worked, as common laborers. They move their brides into shotgun shacks, because, like their fathers, they cannot afford better homes.

"Being Catholic, they have many children. By the time they are in their late 20's, they have a house full of children, but, unlike the Anglo, the husband's earning power has not increased proportionately. How many raises can you get digging ditches? Their children must drop out of school to help provide. The children marry as soon as they can and the whole cycle is repeated again and again."

The picture is unpleasant now, but it was worse 20 years ago when Hector Perez Garcia came home to Corpus Christi after the war. Garcia had been a battlefield surgeon in Africa, Italy, Southern France, and Germany. He came out a major with the Bronze Star, eager to settle into civilian life and make his mark as a surgeon. But healer in him gave way to the fighter, for he saw things that made his Latin blood boil.

With all the laws protecting veterans, Garcia saw that the Mexican-American GI was being discriminated against in education, employment, medical attention, and housing.

"I decided," he recalled, "that Lulac (League of Latin-American Citizens, formed in Harlingen in 1927) was too cautious, too conservative, and that a more militant organization was needed."

In March of 1948, Dr. Garcia founded the American GI Forum, with a motto, "Education is our freedom and freedom should be everybody's business."

Chapters sprang up in towns all over south Texas, as the Forum pounced on and publicized evidences of discrimination against Texas Mexicans, whether ex-GI's or not.

Back-to-school campaigns for children and adults were waged as the Forum sought to end segregation of Mexicans in the public schools.

When a skating rink in a State park barred citizens of Mexican descent, the Forums protested; the bars were removed. When a swimming pool at a military base was barred to Boy Scouts with names like Juan and Manuel, Garcia drove to the scene and raised such a commotion that the Scouts were quickly admitted.

AROUSED U.S. CONSCIENCE

Garcia aroused the conscience of the country when a Three Rivers funeral home balked at admitting the body of a Latin soldier to its chapel. The soldier, Felix Longoria, was finally buried with honors in Arlington National Cemetery.

Today Forum chapters are active in other States, particularly in New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, and California, where many Mexican-Americans live.

Although he is national board chairman, Dr. Garcia now gears down his participation in the Forum. It isn't because he thinks the battle is won. He said:

"My people no longer face discrimination in the schools or cafes and other public places.

"But they have little more than token representation on our juries and in our Government bodies.

"Because of our lack of voice in government, even in towns and counties where we predominate, we are victimized. The poll tax in Texas has disfranchised more Mexicans than Negroes and the new redistricting has but one motive—to prevent future office holders of Mexican descent.

"We are still exploited as cheap laborers, and, oh yes, there is still social discrimination. But I don't give a damn about that part."

He said frankly that he's weary and wants to devote the rest of his life to his medical practice and family.

HISTORICAL PREJUDICE

A hint of discouragement crept into his voice when he said: "Perhaps the source of our separation is based on a historical prejudice. You've forgiven the Germans for giving us hell twice. You've forgiven the Japs for bombing us at Pearl Harbor and you're willing to coexist with the Russians who want to bury us. But you haven't forgiven us for the Alamo, even though we were here first."

After fighting the good fight for so many years, the doctor may be a bit bitter over the turn the battle has taken. For today's more militant Tejanos are saying the same things about the GI Forum that Dr. Garcia said about LULAC in the late forties—it is too conservative.

Those who hold this opinion are mostly in PASO, which grew out of the Viva Kennedy clubs of the 1960 presidential campaign.

But Pena is quick to point out that the Forum's limitations are in its charter, not in its leadership.

"PASO is a political action group," Pena said. "The Forum is not. Its charter prevents it from endorsing political candidates or a party.

"But no Mexicano should forget what the Forum did for us after the war. It deserves the credit for knocking down the barriers that separated our schoolchildren. The nucleus of PASO's leadership came out of the Forum. I was a member of the Forum and still am."

Dr. Garcia was a member of PASO until 1963, when he bolted the State convention after charging that Pena had allowed the Teamsters union to gain control of the organization. He was referring to the Teamster-PASO coalition that swept for the first time in Texas history, an all-Latin council into power in Crystal City in 1962.

PASO was proud of its "showpiece" in Crystal City, but not for long. The mayor, Juan Cornejo, a stubby Teamsters agent with a limited education, bickered and fought with his council members, none of whom had a high school education. By the end of the 2-year term, only Cornejo and Manuel Maldanado remained on the council, and they had become enemies.

Cornejo, fired by the Teamsters, lost favor with PASO and was easily defeated earlier this year by an aroused coalition of Anglos and Latins.

IN RETROSPECT

If PASO and the Teamsters had not moved into Crystal City with Cornejo and company, it is unlikely that the Anglo power structure, which made up only 15 percent of the population, would have invited the Latins to share city hall.

But Garcia said in retrospect:

"PASO has become a bad word in the papers. The Anglo lives in fear and I feel sorry for him. He lives in fear of the Negro, the Mexican, the Catholic, and I suppose, the Jew."

Crystal City shook the Anglo in south Texas all right, but some say it shook him to the realization he'll have to join with the emerging peon rather than pushing him back.

Pena, who is not about to bury PASO, although he has stepped down as State chairman, said of Dr. Garcia:

"I've had my differences with Garcia, but we can't be on opposite sides of the fence very long because we want the same things for our people.

"The good doctor's heart is in the right place and it always will be. He's done a lot for the Mexicano at great personal sacrifice, and he still has influence and power among us."

THE RISE OF MAX LOPEZ

(By Bill Porterfield)

"The army made me realize I could take my place beside the Anglo." The dialog began with men like Max Lopez. One day last June, Max, whose papa, madre grande and padre grande followed Pancho Villa's ragtag army, sat in the Woodsboro Post Office and tried to explain how it began. In doing so, he told as much about the town, and about south Texas, as he did about himself.

Woodsboro is a pleasant little farm and ranch town between Victoria and Corpus Christi. Most of the blackland farms have mailboxes with German or Bohemian names on them, while the cattle-guard gates to the ranches display names like O'Connor, O'Brien, McCann. The people who work on the farms and ranches live on the north side of town, where the houses are more modest. They answer to names like Hernandez and Morales.

Max, a short, stocky Lopez with the Aztec in his veins, works in the post office. He doesn't sort letters or sweep the floor or anything like that. He runs the place. Max is the acting postmaster, and if all goes well in Woodsboro and Washington, he'll get the job permanently. There are only 38 other postmasters of Mexican descent in Texas.

The post office sits behind the Riskin Drugstore, now closed, where Max got his start 30 years ago as a $7-a-week cleanup boy. During the last few years, Max has often pinched himself in disbelief at his good fortune. He will never stop thanking the ghost of his father for deserting Villa's army to follow other wetbacks into Texas.

Max's father, Maxiamo, was the son of Alejandro and Ramona Mendoza Lopez, of the Villa caballeria. Maxiamo grew up to bugle calls and battle cries. When his father drowned in the Rio Grande, his mother stayed on with Villa as a camp follower. But Maxiamo quit Villa when Pancho ordered him to execute a farmer who refused to turn over his land to the bandit.

CROSSED BORDER INTO TEXAS

Maxiamo probably would have shot the farmer if the farmer had not been his friend. Anyway, he took his mother and crossed the border into Texas to work as a vaquero.

Max, christened Maximiano, was born in 1923 on the O'Brien ranch a few miles from Woodsboro. Old Doc Dodson delivered him. This was unusual, perhaps a portent of the

Anglicization of Max. Doc Dodson was a democratic soul, but he delivered few Tejano babies because the women had a strong sense of modesty and would submit themselves only to the assistance of parteras, midwives. Max's mother often consulted El Negrito del Salado, a notorious Negro curandero, faith healer, of the area.

Max's father moved around in those early years, grubbing out a living here and there. Max remembers, when he was 3 or 4, being sent into the streets of Mission with his sister, Venilde, to beg for beans and tortillas. After his father's death in a car accident, the mother and the two children settled in Woodsboro.

To help support the family, Max went to work one summer for G. A. Riskin, a small, white-haired man who ran the drugstore and movie theater on the square. Max liked Old Man Riskin and worked hard to please him. He remembers, with some humor, working frantically with Riskin and the projectionist to cut out all references to President Roosevelt in the news reels.

One morning in September Riskin turned to Max and asked, "What are you doing working today? Hasn't school started?"

"Yes, sir," replied Max, "But I'm not going back."

"Why?"

"If I go back to school, I can't work for you, and if I can't work, I won't be able to take Mama $7 a week."

Old Man Riskin got red in the face.

"If you quit school, I'll fire you. Go back to your books. I'll pay you $7 a week just to work in the evenings."

By the time Max reached high school, he was the only "Mexican" in his class. "About the only things I remember being left out of were dating and sports—and the latter had nothing to do with my being Mexican. I wanted to play on the teams, but Mr. Riskin hated sports. He thought games were a waste of time. Besides, I had to work in the evenings. But that's no complaint. I was glad to get work."

After he was graduated from Woodsboro High School, Max joined the Army, became a stateside medical corpsman. He came out a staff sergeant in 1946, with no intention of returning to Texas for good.

SCHOOLS AND ARMY CHANGED OUTLOOK

"After I got my high school diploma," he said, "I knew I wouldn't have to pick cotton or dig ditches like most other Mexicans. But I also knew that the highest thing I could aspire to was maybe working as a grocery clerk or something like that. And I was content to do that.

"But the Army taught me that I did not have to serve the Anglo. It made me realize I could take my place beside him. So when my hitch was up, I wasn't going to return to Texas. The air smelled different when I hit the Texas line. It was stifling."

When his father-in-law, Leon Gonzalez, a successful Refugio County farmer, insisted that Max return home, Max told him, "No. I don't want to sound ungrateful. Lots of people have been good to me back home, but I want to live and work where I'm known as Max Lopez, an American citizen, not Max the Mexican. I want freedom and choice—to eat in public where I want to eat, and all the rest. I want it for my kids."

But the father-in-law prevailed, and Max came home to work on a pipeline gang for 50 cents an hour.

Then Pedro Moya hired him at $25 a week to manage a little grocery and cantina. The Tuttles hired Max away from Moya (at $5 a week more) and put him behind their meat-counter. Roy Carpenter, another grocer in town, offered $35 and Max went with him.

"All the time," Max recalled, "I was making friends trying to improve myself."

Carpenter recognized Max's potential and offered to help him get a position with the Odom Lumber Co., where he could earn more.

Max started with Odom as a truckdriver and yardman, worked himself up to bookkeeper and then manager. In 1958, he and a silent partner bought the company.

And all the time, Max was politicking. He ran for the school board in 1953 and was elected. He is still on the board—the first trustee of Mexican descent in the town's history. And because of Max's influence, the Woodsboro schools were among the first to integrate in Texas. It was done with grace. Max and Joe Espinoza started a G.I. Forum chapter in Refugio County, campaigned hard among the Mexican settlements of three counties for Kennedy and Johnson.

MANY CHANGES IN THE TOWN

The town just is not the same since Maxiamo Lopez first rode through it 45 years ago. A Tejano can eat in any cafe in the county and you seldom hear the word "greaser" anymore. Dave Quintero, a merchant of Mexican descent, is on the city council. He and Max are big shots in the Lions Club. Gilbert "Poor Mexican" Elizando, who likes to drink beer and play dominoes in Sanchez's catina, is respected for his ability to deliver votes in "Mexican" town.

There are still some hangovers from the old days. Alfonso Lopez, who became a curandero to hex Poor Mexican (after Gilbert bested him in a beer joint brawl) but found it was more profitable to "heal," is giving Dr. Koontz some competition. Some Anglos privately complained when the county swimming pool in Refugio was opened to Tejanos, and you will still see segregated seating at some school proms. But the barriers are falling.

One night in 1960, Max's daughter, Ann, telephoned home in tears to ask him to come after her. She was attending a party with her Anglo classmates. They had been playing a game which had the boys taking the girls on walks outside the house. The boys had asked every girl except Ann to walk with them. Ann will never forget the humiliation of that night. On the other hand, Max will never forget the telephone call from Elmer Norris, the local barber, in 1961.

"Max," Elmer drawled into the mouthpiece, "next time you need a haircut, don't drive all the way to Refugio. Come on over to see me."

"Elmer, do you realize what you're doing?" Max asked in astonishment.

"Yep," Elmer said.

A few days later Max Lopez sat down in Elmer Norris' barber chair and the town talked. Elmer lost some customers to other barbers, but not many. There is another barber across the street now, but Elmer's doing all right.

Mass Meeting in New York on Behalf of Lithuania—November 13, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, for the past several years the Presidents issued proclamations designating a certain period as Captive Nations Week for the purpose of calling to the attention of the American people the conditions of millions of persons behind the Iron Curtain. The Presidents urged them to give renewed devotion to the just aspirations of all people for national independence and human liberty.

Lithuania, a Baltic State, is among those nations that are captives. On April 27, 1965, I introduced in the House of Representatives House Concurrent Resolution 399 to express the sense of the Congress that the President should instruct the U.S. mission to the United Nations to bring the Baltic States question before that body with a view to obtaining the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Lithuania and the other Baltic States; the return of exiles from these nations from slave-labor camps in the Soviet Union; and the conduct of free elections in these nations.

In recognition of the right of a free people to national self-determination, the U.S. Government has firmly and consistently stood by its declared policy of nonrecognition of the forcible incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union.

Lithuania is still fighting for her very existence. In order to better focus attention to the serious plight of the brave Lithuanian people, a mass meeting will be held in Madison Square Garden, New York City, on Saturday, November 13, 1965, at noon. All liberty-loving people are urged to attend.

I ask unanimous consent that notice of this meeting entitled "An Appeal to Lithuanians, Their Descendants and Friends of Lithuania," be published in the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It is as follows:

AN APPEAL TO LITHUANIANS, THEIR DESCENDANTS AND FRIENDS OF LITHUANIA

As Lithuanians, their descendents or friends of Lithuania, we need no reminder of the present situation of that nation. Her oppression is recorded by recent history—her people have suffered under the rule of Soviet colonialism for the past 25 years. Time, unfortuantely, is working against her. Unless we organize now, in a dynamic mass demonstration in her behalf, scientific methods employed by the Soviets will liquidate the Lithuanian character and Lithuania will disappear from the face of this earth. All too fresh in our memory, is the fate of other ethnic groups within the Soviet empire that have been liberated.

Events of the past year indicate that the time is ripe now for a mass demonstration. Is there a better way to protest Lithuania's 25th year of subjugation by the Soviets, than to hold this mass meeting of some 20,000 persons? Is there a more positive and effective way to tell the world that we are united for her freedom? Is there a better way to show that we will work and sacrifice with this firm purpose in mind.

Believing this to be an affirmative approach in securing freedom for Lithuania, a committee to organize this mass demonstration was formed. This committee consists of the leaders and members of all the Lithuanian organizations throughout the free world.

The mass meeting will be held in Madison Square Garden, New York, N.Y., on Saturday, November 13, 1965, beginning at noon. The specific purpose of the demonstration will be to protest the 25th anniversary of Lithuania's loss of independence. The theme of the rally will be an appeal to the conscience of the member states of the United Nations, to the General Assembly and the Committee of 24 to take up the matter of Lithuania's subjugation. Representatives of the various missions to the U.N. will be invited as well as church leaders, union rep-

resentatives, various veterans' groups, and State and Federal Government leaders.

A full page advertisement in the Sunday New York Times, signed by members of the above groups, will appear in conjunction with the demonstration. The advertisement will present Lithuania's plight in a factual and concise manner. A memorandum would be presented to the members of the "Committee of 24" investigating colonialism.

These are but a few of the reasons for this mass-rally. By this means, and others contemplated, it is conceivable that we can compel the United Nations to take positive action in Lithuania's behalf. Only through this show of purpose, can the general public stir the members of the United Nations into desired action.

As Lithuanians, or friends of Lithuania, each of us has an interest in this movement. The issue is freedom, we cannot take any other course. It is our obligation to support, actively participate, aid in the financing, and bring the project to fruition.

Others will not carry the banner for Lithuania's independence unless we demonstrate clearly that we want it, that we will fight for it, that we will sacrifice for it.

Success depends on your support and participation. Inquiries and financial contributions should be forwarded to: Committee To Restore Lithuania's Independence, 29 West 57th Street, 10th floor, New York, N.Y., 10019, telephone code 212 752-0099.

COMMITTEE TO RESTORE LITHUANIA'S INDEPENDENCE.

Report on 1st Session, 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, the 1st session of the 89th Congress is nearly at an end and I intend at this time to summarize the important legislative accomplishments that Congress has made in the last 10 months.

Naturally, I cannot include every bill enacted into law this year, but I do want to take note of the legislation now on the statute books that is important nationally and to the people of the Fourth Congressional District of Iowa.

Some bills have passed either the House or the Senate, but not both, and may receive final approval next year. However, I am including in this summary only the legislation that passed both Houses and was signed into law by the President.

This has been one of the most productive sessions of Congress in history, although many of the proposals enacted into law this year have been pending for several years.

A summary of congressional activities this year should be of interest to all citizens, and I plan to reprint these remarks at my own expense and mail them out to the people of the Fourth District.

It is important to note that many of the laws passed this year, while of long-range significance, will not go into effect immediately. One of the major tasks of Congress next year, and in the years following, will be to check closely to see that these new laws are carefully and efficiently administered.

AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The Food and Agriculture Act extends the voluntary feed grains program through 1969, continues other Government farm programs and provides for a cropland adjustment program designed to take about 40 million acres out of production. The administration originally recommended only a 2-year extension of the feed grains program, which was due to expire this year. However, the House Committee on Agriculture, of which I was a member, revised the bill to provide for a 4-year extension and this was approved by Congress as a whole. The feed grains program has stimulated the Fourth District economy, both rural and urban. During the 1964 crop year, for example, the program brought more than $25 million in price support payments to the farmers of the district and has improved the economy of every city and town.

Congress also passed emergency legislation to aid some farmers who signed up for the 1965 feed grains program. After the heavy spring floods in Iowa, I introduced a bill providing that farmers under the program would not lose price-support payments if floods kept them from planting their corn in time, and a modified version of this bill, the first introduced in Congress, later became law.

Congress established a new program under the Farmers Home Administration to assist rural communities of 5,500 population or less in constructing sewer and water facilities. This law, a modified version of legislation I introduced in May, provides for Federal grants to cover up to 50 percent of the local project cost, and also expands the authorization for loans by the Farmers Home Adminstration to aid rural areas.

Congress provided funds to continue the food stamp program under the Department of Agriculture. The program, operated in cooperation with regular retail and whole sale outlets, is designed to help low-income families increase their food consumption. It was expanded this year to include Appanoose, Lucas and Wayne counties, marking the first time any area in Iowa has participated.

EDUCATION

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act authorizes a 3-year program of Federal aid to local school districts to finance special education programs for pupils from low-income families. The funds will be distributed according to a formula taking into account the number of low-income pupils within the school district. The allocation to the Fourth District for the 1965-66 school year totals about $2.8 million.

The Higher Education Act provides for loans and scholarships to college students, grants for construction of classrooms and laboratories, expansion of the college work-study program to aid low-income students, assistance to college libraries for purchasing books and other materials and establishes a National Teachers Corps to aid local school districts with a high concentration of low-income families. According to prelimnary estimates, Iowa is to receive a total of nearly $8.5 million under first-year authorizations in the law. The final amount, however, will depend on appropriations made later.

HEALTH AND MEDICAL

The Social Security Amendments of 1965 provide for two related health insurance programs for persons 65 or older. The basic program, under the social security system, offers hospitalization benefits to the elderly beginning July 1, 1966, and benefits for care in hospital-related nursing homes effective January 1, 1967. The supplemental program provides for a voluntary health insurance plan, effective July 1, 1966, to cover the cost of physicians' fees and other services. Most of the cost of the basic program will be financed by an increase in socal security taxes. Those enrolling under the supplemental plan will pay a $3 monthly premium, matched by an equal contribution from the Federal Government.

The same law provides for a 7-percent, across-the-board cost-of-living increase in social security benefits retroactive to January 1, 1965, and also for increased payments under Federal-State assistance programs for the blind, disabled and others.

It is estimated that about 55,000 persons in the Fourth District will be eligible under the basic health insurance program, and that benefit payments will total about $3 million from July through December 1966, and about $6 million during 1967. Benefit payments under the voluntary plan are estimated at about $1 million for July through December 1966, and at about $3 million for 1967. The increase in scoial security benefits, according to currents estimates, will bring an additional $5 million to the Fourth District in 1966, and an additional $6 million in 1967.

Congress authorized a 3-year program for matching grants for the planning, establishment and operation of regional medical programs to combat heart disease, cancer and stroke. The program is designed to link medical schools with local hospitals, clinics and physicians to provide a more effective flow of information on diagnosis and treatment of these diseases, which cause more than 70 percent of the deaths annually in the United States.

Congress extended for 5 years the Community Health Services Act, which authorizes grants to States and local communities for mass immunization programs against polio, diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus and measles.

The Drug Abuse Control Act prohibits the illegitimate sale and distribution of depressant and stimulant drugs, which can be harmful to health, and fixes strict penalties for offenses involving persons under 21.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The Public Works and Economic Development Act authorizes a program for grants, loans, and technical assistance to areas with chronic unemployment and economic growth problems. This program expands the Area Redevelopment

Act, under which Appanoose and Monroe Counties were eligible for assistance, by adding provisions for regional economic development and aid for construction of public works facilities. Overall planning for the new program was put under a newly created Economic Development Administration.

The Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965 authorized expansion of the war-on-poverty program. Among other things, the new law extends through August 20, 1967, the 90-percent Federal contribution to local community action programs. It also directs the Office of Economic Opportunity to take measures insuring that antipoverty funds are equitably distributed between rural and urban areas.

HOUSING AND TRANSPORTATION

The Housing and Urban Development Act expands and extends programs for public housing, urban renewal, FHA insured home loans, construction of college housing, as well as authorizing matching grants for urban water and sewer projects.

This law contains an amendment, which I offered on the floor of the House, to make the Marina Gateway urban renewal project in Ottumwa eligible for noncash grant-in-aid credit for city-financed flood control work. This credit will offset the local cost of the Marina Gateway project and result in a substantial property tax savings to the people in the city of Ottumwa.

Congress increased from $2.9 to $3 billion the amount authorized for the Interstate Highway System during fiscal year 1967. With this increase, it is hoped that the presently planned Interstate System can be completed in the next 5 years.

Congress authorized a 3-year program of research and demonstration projects for the development of high-speed, intercity railroad transportation.

BUSINESS AND FINANCE

The Excise Tax Reduction Act cut Federal excise taxes by about $4.6 billion annually through repealing or reducing levies on such items as telephone service, automobiles, household appliances, and others. Tax cuts on many items went into effect on July 1, 1965, and there will be a gradual reduction on other taxes over the period ending January 1, 1969. It is estimated that Iowa will receive $47 million in excise tax reductions in 1966.

The State Technical Services Act establishes a new 3-year program of matching grants to the States for assistance in programs to provide local business and industry with the latest scientific and technological information. The law is aimed at giving businessmen assistance in the same fashion as the Agriculture Extension Service aids the farmer.

The Coinage Act eliminates silver from dimes and quarters and cuts the amount of silver in half dollars to 40 percent. This law was needed to free more silver for industrial uses and to permit expansion of the coin supply.

Congress repealed the requirement that 25 percent in gold reserves be held against deposits in the Federal Reserve System in order to free more gold for the United States to meet its foreign claims on the dollar, part of the balance-of-payments problem. The law does not affect gold reserves held against Federal Reserve notes, the major form of U.S. currency.

Congress increased by $120 million the amount the Small Business Administration may lend to small business investment corporations and to State and local development firms.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The Voting Rights Act was passed to enforce the 15th amendment to the Constitution, which declares that the right to vote shall not be abridged on account of race. The new law prohibits restrictive regulations on voting, and authorized the use of Federal examiners in areas where there is evidence of discrimination against qualified voters.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Congress extended for 3 years the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the research arm of the Government in searching for new methods to promote peace, and authorized $30 million annually to finance its operations.

The Immigration and Nationality Act abolishes the national origins quota system, as of July 1, 1968, and establishes a new policy under which persons are admitted to the United States on the basis of their skills and professional abilities. It fixes an annual ceiling of 170,000 immigrants from outside the Western Hemisphere and an annual limit of 120,000 on immigration from Western Hemisphere countries.

The Foreign Assistance Act extends for 1 year the U.S. program for foreign economic and military aid. Included is a provision terminating aid to any nation failing to take preventive action against destruction of American property.

Congress authorized $115 million to finance operations of the Peace Corps during the 1966 fiscal year. This law will expand the program so that about 15,000 Peace Corps volunteers will be serving abroad next year.

GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION

Congress authorized a new cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development to deal more effectively with problems affecting urban and suburban areas. It is the 11th Cabinet post created and the first since the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was established during the Eisenhower administration.

Congress approved and sent to the States for ratification a constitutional amendment on Presidential disability and continuity. It fixes procedures for the Vice President to serve as Acting President if the President cannot perform his duties, and for the filling of the office of Vice President if it falls vacant.

In the area of congressional reform, the House of Representatives adopted rule changes in January to facilitate consideration of legislation that otherwise might have remained buried in the Rules Committee. A joint House-Senate Committee was also formed to make the first comprehensive study in 20 years on methods to streamline and improve the work of Congress.

Congress created an Administration on Aging as a coordinating center for information and service to State and local governments concerned with the problems of the elderly.

Congress made it a Federal crime to assassinate, kidnap, or assault the President, President-elect, Vice President, Vice-President-elect and other officers in line of succession. Formerly, these crimes were punishable only under State law.

LABOR

Congress extended for 3 years programs under the Manpower Training and Development Act, designed to provide the unemployed and underemployed with the skills needed for obtaining work in a more complex and automated economy.

Congress amended the Railroad Retirement Act by eliminating a provision that reduced annuities of spouses of retired employees eligible for social security benefits.

Congress amended the Landrum-Griffin Act by providing that a bond fully protecting union funds against loss due to fraud or dishonesty is sufficient, thus eliminating a requirement for excessive coverage that was causing unnecessary premium payments.

Congress approved a 3.6-percent pay raise for Federal employees, designed to bring Government salaries more in line with those paid by private business and industry. The House rejected a proposed pay boost for Congressmen.

CONSERVATION

The Water Quality Control Act strengthens the program to check pollution of streams and rivers and sets procedures for establishing uniform national standards on regulating water pollution. It also expands the Federal program for assistance to local communities in constructing sewage treatment plants.

Congress authorized a 4-year program to control air pollution caused by gasoline- and diesel-powered vehicles, and also authorized a research program for the disposal of solid wastes discarded by individuals and manufacturers.

The Federal Water Project Recreation Act fixes uniform policies for utilization of recreational facilities and fish and wildlife benefits at multi-purpose reservoirs.

Congress established a Federal Water Resources Council and a River Basin Commission to coordinate planning for maximum use of water resources and to assist States in such planning.

Congress authorized establishment of the Herbert Hoover National Historical Site at West Branch, Iowa, the birthplace of the 31st President.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Congress appropriated about $49 billion this session for defense purposes, but a Defense Department cost-reduction program, base closings, and other economy moves have kept the overall cost for defense about the same.

Congress appropriated an additional $700 million for the 1965 fiscal year for

efforts against Communist aggression in Vietnam.

Congress approved a pay raise, averaging about 10.4 percent, for officers and enlisted men in the Armed Forces, and also provided for low-cost life insurance for servicemen on active duty.

Congress approved an increase in veterans' disability compensation to reflect the rise in living costs.

PUBLIC WORKS

Congress made public works appropriations and authorizations for several projects affecting the Fourth District.

A $15 million appropriation was made to continue work on the Red Rock Dam and Reservoir, now under construction on the Des Moines River between Knoxville and Pella. This project, which includes an 8,900-acre reservoir, is planned for completion in 1969.

A $6 million appropriation, the largest to date, was made for initial construction work on the Rathbun Dam and Reservoir, being built north of Centerville on the Chariton River. The 11,000-acre reservoir, which will cover portions of Appanoose, Lucas, Monroe, and Wayne Counties, will provide extensive recreational facilities and serve as an economic stimulus to south-central Iowa.

Congress authorized construction of a $3.1 million flood control project at Marshalltown to control high waters on the Iowa River and Linn Creek and also appropriated $50,000 for planning work on the project.

Congress also authorized construction of the $12.9 million Skunk River Dam and Reservoir north of Ames. This project will control flooding in the Skunk River Valley, which includes portions of Jasper, Marion, Mahaska, and Keokuk Counties.

A $40,000 appropriation was made for a comprehensive flood control survey in the Iowa and Cedar River Basins. Part of these funds will be used to study the possibility of flood prevention on the Cedar River near Vinton.

FEDERAL BUDGET

As always happens, Congress spent much of its time this session carefully scrutinizing appropriation requests submitted by the administration.

In some cases, where a genuine need was evident, Congress appropriated funds over and above the administration recommendation. On other items, Congress rejected or scaled down administration requests.

The funds appropriated by Congress are the maximum amount that can be spent. However, because of economy efforts within the Government and for a variety of other reasons, the expenditures actually made run below the funds appropriated by Congress.

This session, Congress appropriated about $1.5 billion less than requested by the administration. Excluding last-minute requests and appropriations, the overall status on appropriations at the close of the session is as follows:

Total administration requests	$103, 083, 378, 055
Total appropriated by Congress	101, 522, 219, 794
Total reduction by Congress	1, 561, 158, 261

The following table gives a detailed breakdown on these figures:

Appropriation bills, 89th Cong., 1st sess.

Title	Budget requests	Amount as passed (House)	Amount as passed (Senate)	Amount enacted
Agriculture, 1965 supplemental	$1, 742, 209, 000	$1, 600, 000, 000	$1, 600, 000, 000	$1, 600, 000, 000
District of Columbia	389, 346, 800	356, 300, 500	364, 350, 347	360, 228, 500
Interior	1, 270, 129, 500	1, 200, 090, 300	1, 246, 752, 770	1, 212, 739, 070
Treasury [1]	1, 219, 400, 000	1, 272, 252, 000	1, 304, 014, 000	1, 291, 239, 000
Post Office	5, 383, 000, 000	5, 313, 400, 000	5, 340, 850, 000	5, 324, 400, 000
Executive Office of President	15, 805, 000	15, 752, 000	15, 805, 000	15, 805, 000
Independent agencies	3, 000, 000	3, 000, 000	3, 000, 000	3, 000, 000
2d supplemental, 1965	2, 226, 456, 933	2, 118, 033, 083	2, 257, 869, 415	2, 227, 563, 977
Defense supplemental, 1965	700, 000, 000	700, 000, 000	700, 000, 000	700, 000, 000
Labor	588, 144, 000	537, 460, 000	557, 607, 500	547, 607, 000
Related agencies	36, 867, 000	36, 825, 000	36, 825, 000	36, 825, 000
Health, Education, Welfare	7, 652, 014, 000	7, 323, 020, 000	7, 411, 940, 000	7, 410, 170, 000
Independent offices	14, 566, 023, 000	14, 109, 908, 000	14, 253, 364, 000	14, 246, 167, 800
Agriculture [2]	5, 815, 134, 000	5, 717, 832, 000	6, 711, 908, 800	[2] 6, 210, 000, 000
State	404, 210, 000	388, 202, 000	390, 125, 000	389, 602, 000
USIA	173, 249, 100	171, 871, 000	171, 617, 000	171, 617, 000
Justice	373, 834, 000	370, 819, 000	370, 919, 000	370, 869, 000
Judiciary	76, 616, 500	81, 111, 900	80, 693, 900	80, 693, 900
Commerce	937, 030, 000	889, 522, 000	851, 122, 900	856, 851, 250
Related agencies [4]	191, 547, 000	184, 164, 000	187, 734, 000	184, 814, 000
Legislative [5]	204, 872, 222	150, 589, 107	190, 840, 167	189, 993, 297
Defense	46, 948, 844, 000	46, 888, 244, 000	46, 877, 063, 000	46, 887, 163, 000
Public works [6]	4, 373, 805, 000	4, 241, 636, 500	4, 327, 589, 000	4, 292, 866, 500
Military construction	2, 049, 000, 000	1, 755, 495, 000	1, 759, 504, 000	1, 756, 635, 000
Labor—HEW supplemental, 1966 [7]	1, 553, 918, 000	1, 223, 181, 500	1, 407, 181, 500	1, 223, 181, 500
Foreign aid	4, 188, 923, 000	4, 001, 453, 000	3, 857, 188, 000	3, 932, 188, 000
Total [8]	103, 083, 378, 055	100, 650, 161, 890	102, 275, 864, 200	101, 522, 219, 794

[1] Does not include permanent appropriations for debt service, tax refunds, trust fund payments, etc.
[2] Estimated and includes several hundred million dollars for CCC that will not be spent this year.
[3] Includes credit agencies and corporations (Rural Electrification Administration, Farmers Home Administration, Commodity Credit Corporation, etc.) and special functions and programs, such as school lunches, foreign assistance, etc.
[4] Includes Small Business Administration, Civil Rights Commission, Maritime Commission, Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, Tariff Commission, and U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.
[5] Includes funds for Architect of the Capitol, Library of Congress, Government Printing Office, Botanic Gardens, joint committees, in addition to the House of Representatives. Appropriations for the Senate added there.
[6] Includes funds for Atomic Energy Commission, Army Engineers' projects for navigation improvements and flood control, Tennessee Valley Authority, Bureau of Reclamation and power agencies of the Interior Department, Panama Canal, St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, and Delaware River Basin Commission.
[7] Includes funds to finance elementary and secondary school programs, medical centers for heart disease, cancer and stroke, and manpower development program.
[8] Does not include last minute supplementals for the newly passed education and other bills.

Will All of the Aged Get Medical Care Benefits?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Public Law 89–97, which provides hospital insurance and other medical services for our elder citizens, became law on July 30, 1965, or more than 2½ months ago. I am shocked and amazed to find that, during that time, practically no effort has been made to determine whether the services provided for under the hospitalization insurance program will, in fact, be available to the aged.

The House will recall that while Public Law 89–97 provides for up to 90 days of hospitalization, it also provides for 100 days of extended care in an expert nursing home, and for posthospital home health services of up to 100 visits by visiting nurses, physical therapists, and other health workers. This was supplemented under the voluntary health insurance programs to cover not only physicians' and surgeons' services, but other medical and health services not related to hospitalization.

In other words, Congress fully provided for the medical needs of the aged. Provision was made for hospital care, doctors' and surgeons' bills, outpatient care in a clinic or a hospital, and a wide variety of diagnostic and therapeutic services. The aged were told that all that need be done to obtain this complete package of medical care, in addition to automatic coverage under the hospital insurance program, was to sign up for the voluntary insurance program and pay $3 a month.

Shortly after passage of the law, the Wisconsin State Commission on Aging took an inventory to determine which services provided for under Public Law 89–97 would be available to older persons in the State of Wisconsin. The commission found that for many of our elder citizens in Wisconsin, the services provided under the program do not exist. There simply were no agencies, facilities, or personnel in many counties offering such services. I include a copy of this very revealing survey as part of my remarks.

While I recognize that every medical service might not be available conveniently to everyone in my State, I was surprised at the extent to which many of the services would not be available at all because there were no facilities or qualified personnel out where the old people are. I am certain that Wisconsin is not unique in this respect. The same must be true in most, if not all, of the other States.

Post-hospital extended care is of no benefit to a person who resides in an area where there is no extended-care facility.

Provision for home health visits is no help to an elderly person who resides in an area where there is no agency performing this service.

The aged have been told that the Federal Government will pay for certain medical services, but it is up to the individual to go out and find those services

if available—and they are not available. It thus becomes a cruel hoax when the Congress passes a bill to cover the costs of a service for the aged which the aged cannot in fact purchase because it is not available.

On receiving the report of the Wisconsin survey I contacted the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to find what steps were being taken in order to assist local agencies in preparing for the onslaught of the aged who will be entitled to medical care. I discovered that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare apparently had nothing to offer. No attempt had been made to gather together the information with respect to the various forms of Federal assistance which might be available in setting up the type of services which were provided for in the program. Without some research, the Department was not in a position to supply me with a list of the Federal programs which might be available such as the Hill-Burton program for financing hospital and extended care facilities, the FHA-insured mortgage program for an extended care facility, programs for training qualified personnel, and the like. I include as part of my remarks a letter I have written to Mr. Wilbur I. Cohen, Assistant Secretary of HEW, urging action and leadership by HEW to assist States, local governments, and private enterprise to remedy this deficiency.

I would urge the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare not to waste any more time. For the immediate future, a concentration of effort should be directed toward the development through local agencies and at the local level of the facilities and services which the Congress and the administration have promised our elder citizens in the medicare bill.

WISCONSIN STATE COMMISSION ON AGING,
Madison, Wis., September 28, 1965.

Representative JOHN W. BYRNES,
8th District, House of Representative,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE BYRNES: Enclosed is our recent report dealing with the availability of medical services to be provided under the recently passed medicare program.

You will note the introduction emphasizes that lack of definition at this point makes an exact estimate of available services impossible; however, indications are that in large areas of Wisconsin, many older persons will not be able to secure some of the medicare services unless immediate action can be instituted to develop the now nonexistent or skeleton services in those areas.

If we can be of any further assistance to you in this matter, please let us know.

Sincerely,

JAMES F. MCMICHAEL,
Executive Director.

STATE COMMISSION ON AGING,
CAPITOL BUILDING,
Madison, Wis., September 14, 1965.

AVAILABILITY OF HEALTH SERVICES AS PROVIDED UNDER THE SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965—INTRODUCTION

Passage of the 1965 social security amendments have constituted one of the major areas of interest in the field of aging for the past several years. Passage of this act, commonly known as medicare, has been signaled as a great achievement in the provision of health services for older people in the United States.

Basically the act provides a funding mechanism to purchase health services, which, to be effective, would require that the services as provided for under the act are available to be purchased. We know this is not the case for many older persons in Wisconsin and therefore have examined the availability of services specified in the act.

The following analysis of these services by counties shows, to the best of our available information, the extent of these services. Many factors can change the accuracy of these figures. For instance, Federal standards will probably use different definitions than those assumed to be meaningful for the purposes of this report. However, regardless of definitions or any other factors, the report does indicate gaps in services as far as many older people in Wisconsin are concerned. For these people, some of the services provided by medicare will simply not be available. In these areas, action must be taken to provide such services to assure full benefits under the law.

Availability of health services as provided under the social security amendments of 1965

County	(1) Population 65 or 65+	(2) Hospitals		(3) Outpatient clinics	(4) Home nursing agencies	(5) Therapists			(8) Medical social workers	(9) Health aid agencies	(10) Extended-care beds	(11) [M.D.'s
		Number	Beds			Physical	Occupational	Speech				
Adams	1,300	1	32								38	2
Ashland	2,300	2	67									17
Barron	4,400	4	195	1							88	21
Bayfield	1,650	1	29	1					1		29	2
Brown	11,250	3	724		VNA	10	3	3	5		128	106
Buffalo	1,700	1	49		PHN				3		26	6
Burnett	1,450	1	13									5
Calumet	2,250	1	60			1					24	8
Chippewa	5,000	3	227	1	VNA		1		1		10	26
Clark	4,050	1	56	1							109	15
Columbia	5,100	3	212	1	PHN							32
Crawford	1,900	1	46			1						9
Dane	20,650	7	260	3	VNA, PHN, hosp.	50	31	19	21	1	527	532
Dodge	7,400	2	245	1	PHN	1	2				249	41
Door	2,650	1	67					1				11
Douglas	5,450	3	295			3			2		74	27
Dunn	3,250	1	85			1					66	13
Eau Claire	6,350	3	583	2	PHN, VNA	7	1		1		220	66
Florence	400											1
Fond du Lac	9,400	3	450		VNA	4	1		4		213	70
Forest	950	1	20									4
Grant	5,700	5	214	3			1		2		126	33
Green	3,400	1	170	1		2		1				36
Green Lake	2,250										30	11
Iowa	2,550	2	109	1	Hospital						51	10
Iron	950											4
Jackson	2,000	1	50	1		1	1				65	6
Jefferson	6,850	2	177			8	6				256	38
Juneau	2,400	33	1								59	10
Kenosha	10,500	2	533	2	VNA	5	2		2		325	69
Kewaunee	2,050	2	75	1								11
La Crosse	8,250	4	609	2		5			1		390	92
Lafayette	2,200	1	36								60	10
Langlade	2,550	1	84									14
Lincoln	2,800	3	136			1					125	17
Manitowoc	8,050	3	338		VNA, PHA	1			3		120	52
Marathon	8,600	4	579	2	PHN, VNA	6	4		1		28	62
Marinette	4,400	1	79								40	16
Marquette	1,500											4
Menomonee	300											
Milwaukee	103,900	20	10,098	21	3 hospitals VNA	61	62	38	64	Hosp.	1,348	1,450
Monroe	3,950	4	1,470	1	Hospital		1				121	15
Oconto	3,050	3	92	1			1				30	9
Oneida	2,500	2	160	1							24	21
Outagamie	9,000	5	451		VRA, PHN	12	2				167	84
Ozaukee	3,350	1	120			3						21
Pepin	1,000	1	35								20	4
Pierce	3,000	1	32						1		83	12

Availability of health services as provided under the social security amendments of 1965—Continued

County	(1) Population 65 or 65+	(2) Hospitals		(3) Outpatient clinics	(4) Home nursing agencies	(5) Therapists			(8) Medical social workers	(9) Health aid agencies	(10) Extended-care beds	(11) M.D.'s
		Number	Beds			Physical	Occupational	(7) Speech				
Polk	3,350	4	131	1							70	22
Portage	4,050	2	215	1								25
Price	2,000	1	35								75	5
Racine	14,400	6	1,163	1	VNA	14	10	4			275	125
Richland	2,200	1	64			1					61	11
Rock	12,150	4	541	1	VNA	7	1	1	3		169	110
Rusk	1,800	1	71								75	6
St. Croix	3,500	4	208	1							98	20
Sauk	4,750	4	187				1				135	23
Sawyer	1,400	1	29									7
Shawano	3,950	2	89			2					20	14
Sheboygan	10,400	3	439	1	VNA	3	1	Audio clinic.	2		293	72
Taylor	2,050	1	50								12	5
Trempealeau	3,350	1	34								50	15
Vernon	3,400	2	237			1					114	17
Vilas	1,200	1	18								20	7
Walworth	6,950	1	123			3		1	2		193	41
Washburn	1,400	2	64								43	6
Washington	4,800	2	162	1		1	1				60	9
Waukesha	13,750	4	481	2		16	8		5	1	260	110
Waupaca	5,450	3	142	1		1					57	22
Waushara	2,100	3	110	1								9
Winnebago	11,700	2	550	1	VNA	9	3		12		11	98
Wood	5,850	2	383	1	Hospital	3		1	2		165	66
Total	430,850	179	23,921	62	(1)	244	144	70	128	3	7,536	3,990

[1] Total 29.

DEFINITIONS

1. Population statistics: Number of persons 65 and over per county, in Wisconsin, 1963.

2. Hospitals and hospital beds registered by the American Hospital Association.

3. Out-patient clinics: Organized out-patient clinics offering diversified services.

4. Home nursing care: That care given to a patient after discharge from hospital to his home, under supervision of a physician and an agency with trained staff; i.e., registered nurses, trained practical nurses, or home aids to provide this service. In some instances this service is conducted by the public health nurse; usually this is a program purchased through the visiting nurse service.

5 and 6. Physical and occupational therapists include those employed by long-term care facilities, special clinics, and outpatient departments, especially those offering rehabilitation services.

7. Speech therapists: Found in clinics and under rehabilitation service units; not known whether these are registered as both speech and hearing therapists except as shown.

8. Medical-social workers: All agencies offering services to the aged employing medical-social workers have been included; i.e., hospitals, guidance centers, welfare departments, family service, Catholic apostate, Salvation Army, rehabilitation centers, curative workshops, county health centers, outpatient departments, clinics, mental health centers.

9. Health aid: An individual trained by an agency or institution to perform specific duties within her capabilities under both agency and physician supervision; this entails simple nursing procedures such as making a bed without moving patient from bed, household duties covering shopping, cooking, assisting patient in ambulation, some record-keeping, reporting, etc.

10. Extended care facilities: All multistore facilities designed, constructed, or converted for long-term purposes that comply substantially with appendix A, title VI of the Public Health Service Act, as amended, and the Wisconsin Administrative Codes. In general, buildings falling within this category must be of fire-resistive construction. Single-story facilities same as above except may be of ordinary or frame construction; however, hazardous areas must be enclosed with at least 3-hour fire-resistive construction.

11. Physicians: All those in Wisconsin in 1960 listed by place of residence.

OCTOBER 21, 1965.

Mr. WILBUR J. COHEN,
Assistant Secretary, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

DEAR WILBUR: Following up my telephone conversation with you, I am enclosing a copy of a recent report by the State Commissioner on Aging for the State of Wisconsin, with respect to the availability of medical services to be provided under Public Law 89-97.

As you will note from this report, many of the services provided for in the medical programs for the aged are not available throughout the State of Wisconsin. Out of 72 counties in Wisconsin, only Dane County and Milwaukee County have facilities and personnel to provide all the various types of medical services specified in Public Law 89-97. In view of the population of those counties, the adequacy of those facilities is highly doubtful.

In Public Law 89-97 we provided as an alternative to hospital care, for a period of post-hospital care in a skilled nursing home—an extended care facility—followed by home health visits. These services were intended to reduce the cost to the Government, where further hospitalization was not required, and to reduce the burden on the elder patient where the period of hospitalization had been exhausted and some part of the cost might otherwise be chargeable to the patient.

The Wisconsin survey shows that there are no facilities for extended care in 17 counties of Wisconsin. Over half of the counties do not have any agency or personnel for home health care visits. In these counties, therefore, the aged citizen might have to be kept in the hospital until fully recovered. This places an unreasonable burden both on the individual and on the program. Certainly, this deficiency must also exist in a great many other States.

Upon checking with your department, I was shocked to find that practically no effort has been made to inventory the medical services that may be available to the aged throughout the country, and that no steps have been taken to assist local agencies in making provisions for such services. It certainly would be a cruel hoax, after the Congress has provided for the payment of various medical services for the aged, if the services should not, in fact, be available in a great many areas. Many of our aged will find that the commitment of the Federal Government to give them medical assistance under Public Law 89-97 is an empty promise to pay for the cost of a service which the aged cannot buy because the service is not available to them.

Under the circumstances, I think that it is absolutely imperative that your Department undertake immediately to have a survey made on a State-by-State basis to determine which services may be available, and simultaneously to offer technical assistance to the local authorities and groups in meeting any deficiency. As the first step, it is suggested that you make a study to determine what forms of Federal assistance or programs are available today in setting up the various medical services. For example, it is my understanding that hospital and extended care facilities may in some cases be financed under the Hill-Burton Act or that such financing may be insured under FHA. There must also be Federal programs which could be utilized to train some of the personnel that will be needed if we are to give the medical services that are provided for in Public Law 89-97.

I certainly urge that without further delay you undertake a crash program to assist State and local groups in the development and expansion of those services for which payments will be made under health insurance for the aged.

Sincerely yours,
JOHN W. BYRNES,
Congressman,
Eighth District, Wisconsin.

Year 1965 Constitution Week Essay Winners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, as has been my honor in past years I am happy to have printed here in the REC-

ORD the names of the winners of the annual Constitution Week essay contest sponsored by the Daughters of the American Revolution, Francis Broward chapter of Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

The ladies of the DAR are to be highly commended for their efforts to help impress on young Americans the importance of that great document, the American Constitution. To the winners, our most sincere congratulations and best wishes for continued success. We are sure that their faith in America will result in active and worthwhile citizenship.

First place winners were: Claudia Phillips, Sanders Park Elementary School; Joanna Lombard, St. Coleman's Junior High School; Nancy Stafford, Wilton Manors Elementary School; Maria Leach, St. Clements School; Lynda Folsom, Fort Lauderdale High School; Michael Miciak II, Lake Forest Elementary School; Maria Garcia, Madonna Academy.

In the art category, the grand prize winners were: Kathy Roberts, Harbordale Elementary School; Marc Gaspard, Our Lady Queen of Martyers and Nadnea Martin, Cardinal Gibbons High School.

The three top essay awards were made to the authors of the following three essays, which I place at this point in the RECORD, with my commendation for high achievement:

MY INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

(By Nancy Stafford, Grade 6, Wilton Manors Elementary School)

This is a typical Sunday at our house. After breakfast we read the newspaper. Whether the paper criticized the Government or praised it, the editors do not have to worry about being arrested by the police, because we have freedom to print whatever is true.

Then we all got into the car and went to the church of our choice. On the way, we met a neighbor who was going to a different church than we do. We are allowed to go to the church of our choice because we have freedom of religion.

After church, my family and I went out to dinner. While we ate I heard my mother and father talk about politics. They were not hesitant to discuss this subject because they did not worry about being overheard. We have freedom of speech.

Now my father is watching a football game on television. He is watching it comfortably because he knows that the police cannot come into our home without cause. We have freedom to live our daily lives without police interference.

This typical Sunday has shown "My Individual Freedom Under the Constitution," and I thank God for it.

MY INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

(By Maria Leach, Grade 7, St. Clement's School)

The Constitution of the United States guarantees every American citizen "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Our Constitution is long and has many amendments, but those few words at the beginning of our Declaration of Independence endow us with the freedoms that Americans enjoy so lightly. Each day we live our lives in a freedom that we take for granted.

Let's compare one of our days to the day of a schoolgirl under communism. In the morning, we wake up in a home that our parents have selected. In a country run by the state, a child wakes up in a house his parents were told to live in. We spend our day in a school of our own choice, private or public, not in a school run by the state, with books printed by the state. After school we are free to play, attend little theater groups, dancing classes or whatever we want, but many children in the world have no free time for fun.

Under our Constitution, we watch the television programs we want to watch, read the books and papers we want to read, or listen to what we want on the radio, with no fear of being shot for disobeying the Government. We say the things we want to say, when and where we want to say them, we go places of our own choice for our vacations and we vote for the people we want to lead us; they aren't just appointed or elected by a few. And especially important, we are allowed to believe any religion we want and we can practice it freely and openly.

By comparing a few of our freedoms in an average day, I know even better how lucky we really are. We never really stop and think of the many gifts God has given our lively country and very few thank Him.

America is a beautiful place, rich in many, many things. We believe our country is blessed by God, and surely it is to be able to have the opportunities that this wonderful country has received. I am proud to say that I am a citizen of the United States of America.

MY INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

(By Maria Garcia, grade 12, Madonna Academy)

One may try to imagine the reaction of a newly arrived immigrant as his gaze rests upon the copper image of a woman standing amidst the busy traffic in New York Harbor. In her hand she bears a torch as if to illuminate the paths of her new children and guide them into safe port. On her pedestal reads an inscription which is a tribute to the ideals upon which this Nation was founded, and at the same time, it is a pledge of relief for the oppressed of the world.

Although unable to read or write English, this reassuring sight fills the immigrant with a sense of security and profound gratitude to God. Hopes which at one time seemed never to be fulfilled, surge anew, and now, perhaps for the first time in his life, the immigrant can "breathe free."

To "breathe free" is a phrase of many meanings. It is a longing instilled in every human heart. In the sense of spiritual freedom, it denotes the ability to worship God according to one's conscience without persecution. To love God and to be loved by Him in return, is man's supreme desire. It also means that a man is able to provide for himself and his family and achieve honestly, a certain amount of financial security. In this way, the family breadwinner effects the temporal happiness of his wife and children. Freedom of mind and opinion gives the individual a significant role in choosing his form of government and the men who will lead it. It allows the citizen to reveal his mind—to openly and freely express himself through words spoken or written, or to assemble in an orderly manner for the purposes of petition or redress.

To "breathe free" is a precious gift coming not from man but liberally bestowed upon man by God himself in creating us. It is a manifestation of God's infinite freedom. Many times, unfortunately, its free exercise has either been hindered or completely denied to people because of tyranny or prejudice. However, our Founding Fathers, victims of persecution themselves, sat down to the task of insuring all future generations of Americans the opportunity to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." They sealed their efforts with the Constitution of the United States.

Yet to "breathe free" contains another facet of great importance. With freedom comes responsibility, as we all have an obligation to keep freedom alive. This means that we must thank God for being so generous with our land; that we must carefully choose our National, State, and community leaders; that we must be honest in all our relations with our fellow men.

Lastly, but certainly not least, we must make sure that we are just, compassionate, and tolerant of all peoples regardless of race, creed, or color, simply because they are our brothers.

As was stated before, to "breathe free" is a precious gift of God. Like all good gifts, its misuse can wreak nothing but havoc and misery. Its intended use fulfills the purposes for which man was created.

Congressman Harold R. Collier Reports to the People of the 10th District of Illinois

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extended my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

The first session of this 89th Congress, which ran from early in January through October, established new legislative records which may never be equalled in history. It surpassed the previous record for total number of rollcall votes and bills passed into law. It set a record for the greatest number of rollcalls in a single day—on September 13. It established a new record for Federal spending in a single session of Congress and for the legislative enactment of new domestic programs. It also established an all-time record on the number of bills brought to the floor by discharging the Rules Committee, which serves as a "traffic cop" in the normal process of reporting legislation to the floor with set rules of procedure and time allotted for debate.

If the activities of this past Congress are to be measured solely in terms of quantity of legislation approved, it was indeed a fruitful one. In my opinion, however, if we are to evaluate this Congress on the basis of the quality of its legislation, its performance was less than mediocre.

Throughout this session I pointed out as bills were being rushed through the House of Representatives and the Senate that I felt we were acting in haste and would repent at leisure. It is interesting to note that Democratic majority leader MIKE MANSFIELD recently stated publicly that he thought in future Congresses we would be obliged to spend a great deal of time amending and correcting many of the Federal programs which this Congress has passed.

The record-high budget for the current fiscal year, which was $98.8 billion, will be out of balance by more than $5 billion, notwithstanding the fact that tax collections have been better than even

the most optimistic expectations. But many of the programs instituted by the Johnson administration and pushed through by the Congress are so new that it is difficult to see what the ultimate costs will be. In fact, in merely projecting some programs as the war on poverty, the so-called highway beautification program, Federal aid to education and many of the others, it becomes a little frightening, particularly since we had put a tax cut bill through in 1964 and then removed or slashed excise taxes just this year.

The U.S. Government today, as the result of what has been happening in the past few years, and particularly the last 10 months, reaches into every home, every business, every farm, and virtually every neighborhood area. The expansion of bureaucracy to conduct these programs is reflected in a soaring Federal payroll. There is hardly an operation of any government or community which does not have Federal money made available for it with the U.S. Government as the overseer of the use of these funds in shaping the policies, functions, and even philosophies of groups and individuals. Local communities and States become subservient because they need Federal money and because they cannot afford to spend more than their tax revenues, whereas the whereas the Federal Government rather uniquely expends much more than its tax revenues and goes into debt farther and farther each year. Presently the Federal public debt is $320 billion and is certain to break through the $324 billion ceiling within a matter of a few months.

Sadly, there is apparently no way to turn back as long as the party in political power can perpetuate itself through the public largesse and increased dependency of everyone and everything upon it.

Included in the bills passed by this Congress are:

Establishing a new department of housing and urban development: Creates a new Cabinet post to place the functions of housing and urban development under the direction of the Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development. The bill also provides for establishing and operating of a central staff for investigation and compliance functions of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Medicare and social security: Limited medical benefits for both doctor bills and in-hospital and nursing home care would be financed both out of the social security fund and, temporarily, general revenues; will cost $2.8 billion, starting July 1, 1965, and will be increased to $6.3 billion by the following year. This will increase payroll taxes starting January 1, 1966, with further increases scheduled automatically in 1967, 1973, 1976, 1980, and 1987, with the base upon which the present tax will be levied to also be increased to $5,600 by next January and $6,600 by 1971.

Aid to education: On a formula based upon half of the cost of education, multiplied by the number of children in a school district coming from homes with incomes of less than $3,000 per annum, Federal aid to education at the primary and secondary school levels, finally became a reality this year. The cost beginning July 1, 1965, will be $500 million and will rise to approximately $1.2 billion beginning July 1, 1966.

Foreign aid: The foreign-aid bill which provides U.S. assistance to 70 nations of the world was approved at $3,662,077,000. It follows pretty much the same lines as the aid bills in previous years although it gives the President the right to bar sale of surplus foods to the United Arab Republic if he determines it is essential to the U.S. national interest.

Debt ceiling increase: With Federal spending continuing at a rate in excess of Federal income, it became necessary for Congress to again raise the national debt ceiling by $4 billion, carrying it from $324 to $328 billion for the fiscal year ending July 1, 1966.

Repeal of excise tax: A reduction of $4.6 billion in excise taxes through repeal of levies on furs, jewelry and other luxury items, as well as on radios, TV sets, cameras, household appliances, musical instruments, records, sporting goods, bowling alleys and on general admissions, effective July 1, 1965, was effected through enactment of a bill reported by the House Ways and Means Committee. It also provides for cuts of the 10 percent tax on automobiles gradually to 1 percent and eliminates communications tax effective January 1, 1969.

Economic opportunities amendments of 1965: Better known as the antipoverty program, this legislation authorizes $1.8 billion for fiscal 1966 which will cover a multitude of programs ranging from preschool training to Job Corps and youth opportunities projects.

Voting rights bill: This legislation to effectuate and enforce the 15th amendment of the Constitution authorizes the appointment of Federal voting registrars in certain areas where discrimination prevails, bars literacy and other tests and directs the U.S. courts to invalidate poll taxes.

Appalachia: The Appalachia bill is actually a geographical antipoverty bill which establishes a regional commission to initiate and coordinate public works and other programs in the general location of the Appalachian Mountains. It authorizes $1,100 million for 1966.

Silver coinage: This law eliminates silver from dimes and quarters and cuts proportionately the amount of silver in half-dollars from 90 to 40 percent. The new hybrid coins are presently being minted and will probably be in circulation by the time this report reaches you.

Housing and rent subsidy: This bill authorizes $7 billion for housing programs for 4 years, including FHA, urban renewal, housing for the elderly, 60,000 new units of public housing and $800 million annually in matching grants to communities for water and sewer facilities. This bill also authorizes the Federal Government to subsidize rents for families paying rentals in excess of a certain percentage of their income.

Immigration and naturalization: Amending the national origin quota systems in immigration, the new law provides for admission of immediate relatives of American citizens and fixes the annual limit of 170,000 from all former quota countries, 120,000 from the Western Hemisphere, giving preference to persons with skills and professional abilities.

Farm subsidy program: The new agricultural bill will provide for an increase in wheat subsidies of 15-cent a bushel although it will lower the support on next year's cotton crop from 30 cents to 21 cents a pound. The catch is that the Federal Government will make payments to growers who agree to limit production. The cost of the bill is about $4 billion, which is approximately the annual price tag on the messy farm surplus situation that has existed for the past several years.

Highway beautification: Legislation designed to beautify the Nation's interstate and primary highways passed after long hassles in both the House of Representatives and Senate. As a billboard and junkyard control program, it will affect 266,000 miles of highways in the country. It provides for the Federal Government to pay losses to the billboard and junkyard people. No one has the least idea what the program will cost and there is just no way of figuring it out. The bill also permits the Secretary of Commerce to veto, if he chooses, State or local moves to rezone for industry and commerce along highways not now zoned in that manner.

College aid: The Federal college aid bill provides for $670 million the first year and will cover everything from loans and grants to students to a wide variety of funds for institutions of higher learning.

Since it is impossible in this report to go into detail on these major items of legislation, the constituents wishing copies of the public laws need only write my office either in Washington or in the district.

PERSONAL REPORT

During the 1965 session more than 600 residents of the 10th District visited my office in Washington. My staff arranges tours of the White House for our visitors, provides gallery passes for both the House and Senate, and schedules tours of many other places of historical interest in the Nation's Capital.

Early in this session of Congress, I took a public opinion poll in my district to determine how the majority of my constituents felt about many issues of current importance.

During this 1st session of the 89th Congress, I have introduced 33 public bills, as follows:

H.R. 2183, a bill to provide for the rights of persons to be represented by attorneys in matters before Federal agencies.

H.R. 10495, a bill authorizing a survey of the DesPlaines River, in the interest of flood control and allied purposes.

H.R. 10945, Human Investment Act.

H.R. 4146, a bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act; amends benefits for a person forced to retire at 60 years.

H. Res. 194, a resolution prohibiting the closing of Veterans' Administration

hospitals until the Veterans' Affairs Committee determines whether such proposed closings are in the best interests of this Nation.

H.R. 4619, a bill to increase benefits under social security, to provide child's insurance benefits beyond age 18 while in school, to provide widow's benefits at age 60, and so forth.

H.R. 4150, a bill to allow deductions for expenses incurred by the taxpayer for education of a dependent.

H. Res. 91, a resolution establishing a committee which shall be known as the Special Committee on the Captive Nations.

H.R. 6679, a bill to increase the basic pay for members of the armed services.

H.R. 5561, a bill to increase widow's benefits under social security.

H.J. Res. 165, a resolution proclaiming the second Sunday in September Bataan Day.

H.R. 2181, a bill making Columbus Day a legal holiday.

H.R. 4145, a bill authorizing sale without regard to the 6-month waiting period of lead disposed of pursuant to Strategic and Critical Materials Stockpiling Act.

H.R. 2182, a bill amending the Tariff Act of 1930 with respect to the rate of duty on brooms made of broom corn.

H. Con. Res. 87, a resolution requesting the President to bring up the Baltic States question before the United Nations.

H.R. 98, amending the rules of the House with regard to appropriations.

H.R. 6225, a bill for the relief of military personnel whose personal property was damaged or lost by fire while stored in commissioned warehouse pursuant to Government orders.

H.R. 6692, a bill to repeal the retail excise taxes on luggage, handbags, et cetera.

H.R. 7463, a bill to provide continuation of duty-free reciprocity with Canada in case of parts for farm equipment.

H.R. 7838, a bill amending the Tariff Act of 1930 to provide that certain coprecipitates of major milk proteins shall be admitted duty free.

H.J. Res. 457, a resolution providing for equal rights for men and women.

H.R. 8513, a bill to amend the Anti-Dumping Act.

H.R. 8277, a bill providing Federal contributions to State water resources projects.

H.R. 10295, a bill to amend the Trade Expansion Act.

H.R. 10710 and H.R. 10711, bills for the relief of River Forest for complying with Civil Defense Regulations.

H.R. 4147, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, permitting deduction for student spouse, when supported by the taxpayer.

H.R. 4148, a bill to repeal the excise tax on communications.

H.R. 4149, a bill to terminate the retailers excise tax on cosmetics and other toilet preparations.

H.R. 4355, a bill to establish a program of voluntary comprehensive health insurance for all persons aged 65 or over.

H.R. 4477, a bill to insure availability of certain critical materials during a war or national emergency by providing a reserve of such materials.

H.R. 4478, a bill to amend the Federal Employees Compensation Act to remove certain inequities in rates of payment to survivors.

H.R. 4620, a bill to remove the excise tax on entertainment equipment.

Confrontation in Oakland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 19, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, the entire Nation is greatly shocked that a very small minority has the audacity to demonstrate against the Federal Government's efforts to defend the free world against the threat of Communist aggression. Naturally, private citizens must be protected in their rights to have freedom of speech but there are certain limits as to how far this freedom applies.

Last weekend, Oakland, Calif., in my congressional district, was confronted with a situation, which the whole country is aware of, with respect to the Vietnam Day Committee. The Oakland Tribune, a daily newspaper serving this area, carried a front page editorial on October 15 which sums up a very reasonable and lucid view on the issue of supporting law and order and due process under our Constitution.

I am pleased to place this editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD because of the wise counsel presented in it:

[From the Oakland (Calif.) Tribune, Oct. 15, 1965]

CONFRONTATION IN OAKLAND

The issue confronting the people of Oakland and Alameda County needs to be kept in proper perspective.

The issue is: "Do you support law, order and due process under our constitutional form of government?"

Intelligent men and reasonable citizens may debate whether three Presidents of the United States should have made commitments in Vietnam and elsewhere in the world. They may debate the issue pro and con and they do every day in public halls, service clubs, union meetings, barber shops, and on street corners throughout our land.

But most of them understand that the President of the United States is responsible for the conduct of our foreign policy, that the Nation must speak with one official voice in our relationships with foreign governments and that reaction to a Communist missile buildup in Cuba, a blockade of Berlin, or an attack upon our forces or installations around the world cannot be debated for a day, a week, or a month. Of necessity someone has to have the power to act and under our system that person is the President.

Each 4 years we vote on alternative choices for that high office. No President could carry out a foreign policy for long without congressional legislation and appropriations. We vote on alternative choices for Congress every 2 years.

Granted there are sincere "peace at any price" pacifists to whom the thought of armed conflict is so repugnant that they feel there is no justification for armed action by this or any other nation. The Constitution protects them in their right to hold and express these beliefs.

There are some, not idealistic pacifists, who subscribe to the doctrine better Red than dead. These may oppose (as they put it) unjust "capitalistic imperialist wars" but find no such opposition to "wars of liberation from the capitalistic yoke by the Soviet or Chinese Communist peoples."

If the United States failed to send supplies or reinforcements to our Armed Forces in Vietnam we would suffer a military defeat there. If we pulled out all our forces on Communist terms all of Vietnam, all of southeast Asia, and probably all of Asia, would go Communist before the next presidential election.

If the pacifists don't know this they are blind to the facts of life and if the innocent dupes don't know it they have not opened their eyes to the threat to a free world of freemen posed by aggressive and militant communism.

We need not doubt that the hard-core leftists understand this perfectly. These do not march for peace; they, in fact, march for an American defeat and a Communist victory.

Which brings us to the march scheduled for tonight. Under city ordinances in most municipalities of the land a parade requires a permit. Local authorities have the primary responsibility of maintenance of law and order. Only if and when it breaks down at the local level does the State or the Nation send in forces to restore order.

Here in Oakland there is a parade permit board. Application for a permit was made to this board by the Vietnam Day Committee and was denied. Under due process of law the committee had a right to appeal the decision of the permit board to the city council. This was done yesterday and the city council, elected by the people of Oakland, upheld by a unanimous 9 to 0 vote the action of the permit board.

At this point the Vietnam Day Committee had open to it (if they believe the city ordinances of Berkeley or Oakland are unconstitutional as some of their spokesmen maintain) an opportunity to file an action in the State or Federal courts. They might or might not find the courts in agreement with them. But it would be an acceptable policy under due process.

What is not acceptable is their defiance of local authority and local law.

The police do not enact the laws of our cities, States or Nation. They are sworn to uphold the law and this they intend to do. If disorder comes to our streets tonight it is not brought on by the law enforcement officials but by those who defy the law and seek to create incidents.

It makes no difference if the parade has 1,000, 5,000 or 10,000 marchers. This is a small fraction of the more than 1 million people who live in the county.

But the lives and property of these 1 million depend upon the maintenance of law and order, and the civil and constitutional rights of all of our people rest upon respect for the Constitution and the laws enacted under our form of government. We recently witnessed in Los Angeles the results of a breakdown of law and order.

If the size of mobs in the streets ever becomes the yardstick for the enactment of legislation, the administration of justice, the administrative acts of public officials or the law enforcement obligations of peace officers, then our whole constitutional fabric will collapse and either anarchy or some other repugnant system will take its place.

Now is the time for the public to support the constituted authorities by staying away from the areas of defiance to authority so the functioning of the law enforcement officials will not be handicapped nor will

the Vietnam Day Committee be able to claim that the background crowds seen on television are part of the Vietnam Day Committee's supporters when in fact they may be citizens disgusted with the whole performance.

Far better that the unorganized citizens use their constitutional right to petition by writing Mayor John C. Houlihan and the city council and showing now, tonight, that the Vietnam Day Committee's march and defiance of law and undermining of our foreign policy and our Armed Forces do not have their support. Until election day this is the best way to make felt your voice and influence as a citizen of the United States and a resident of this community.

The confrontation in Oakland tonight is being watch throughout the Nation and for this community it is clearly the hour of decision.

William E. Minshall Reports on the 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the 1st session of the 89th Congress is nearing adjournment after 9 months in session.

In this time, more than 11,700 bills were introduced in the House of Representatives, nearly 500 of which were passed. The House also acted on some 70 Senate measures. In all, more than 250 pieces of legislation will have been signed into law by the President by the time this session ends.

This Congress established a new high in number of House rollcalls, a total of nearly 400, surpassing the previous record of 307 called during the 2d session of the 81st Congress, which ran from January 3, 1950 to January 2, 1951. During my 11 years in Congress I have answered nearly 2,500 rollcalls for an attendance record of over 90 percent.

This Congress also voted more money than any since 1944 and the session's appropriations reached more than $118 billion.

Mere statistics, however, do not accurately represent the long hours spent in committee work. It is in committee that the major portion of actual legislating is accomplished. Bills are painstakingly studied, analyzed, discussed, often amended.

My Appropriations Committee assignments include a massive amount of detail and work. As a member of two of the most important subcommittees in the entire Congress—Department of Defense Appropriations and Independent Offices Appropriations—I take an initial role in reviewing more than half the entire Federal expenditure—more than $64 billion in fiscal 1966.

DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE

My Defense Subcommittee assignment is one I have held for the last 6 years. Always an important post, my duties have assumed an even more critical responsibility as the war in Vietnam is intensified. The Defense Subcommittee is charged with initial review of the administration's military requests and we spend long hours daily, over a period of months, taking top-secret testimony from the Secretary of Defense, the Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The Defense budget for fiscal 1966 totals $46.9 billion, which includes a last-minute request for $1.7 billion as token payment on increased costs in Vietnam. In addition last spring we approved $700 million in supplemental money for military action in the Far East. The President is expected to ask for as much as $14 billion more shortly after January 1 to cover costs now being incurred there.

INDEPENDENT OFFICES

After 4 years membership on the Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee, the House leadership last January asked me to accept appointment as second ranking minority member of the Independent Offices Appropriations Subcommittee, which supervises more than $14 billion in public spending. Combined with my Defense assignment, this totals action on more than $64 billion of the entire budget. I am one of only two House Members charged with examination and review responsibility for such a large portion of total Government spending.

The trend toward bigger foreign aid spending has been reversed and much of the credit for cutting out waste and mismanagement is due to the Foreign Operations Subcommittee. Much as I regretted leaving it, I felt I could better serve the Nation and the 23d District on the Independent Offices Subcommittee, which oversees the budgets of 22 Federal agencies which spend vast sums of public money and which have a day-in, day-out impact on the lives of all Cleveland citizens.

Agencies which fall under the purview of my new subcommittee are the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, which spends more than $5 billion yearly; NASA Council; Civil Defense; Civil Aeronautics Board; Civil Service Commission; Federal Aviation Agency, Federal Communications Commission; Federal Home Loan Bank Board; Federal Power Commission; Federal Trade Commission; General Accounting Office; General Services Administration; Housing and Home Finance Agency; Interstate Commerce Commission; National Capital Housing Authority; National Science Foundation; Office of Emergency Planning; Office of Science and Technology; Renegotiation Board, Securities and Exchange Commission; Selective Service System, and Veterans' Administration.

I have an intense interest in both of my subcommittee assignments and feel that fulfilling them is one of my most important services as a Representative in the Congress. This interest and the tremendous time it consumes does not preclude my concern in other areas of legislation, of course.

MINSHALL LEGISLATION

During this session I have introduced a number of bills and resolutions, a number of which were incorporated in legislation which became law. Among them are the following:

H.R. 4266, to repeal the 10-percent excise tax on communications. Full repeal of tax on telegraphs will be effective January 1, 1966; reduction of telephone taxes to 3 percent, January 1, 1966, with full repeal on January 1, 1969.

H.R. 4504, to repeal the excise tax on admission to cabarets, motion picture and legitimate theaters. Full repeal, noon, December 31, 1965.

H.R. 5048, to repeal the excise tax on club dues, initiation fees, and lifetime memberships. Full repeal, January 1, 1966.

H.R. 7337, to designate Vietnam as a combat zone to permit U.S. military Federal income tax exemption. Accomplished by Presidential proclamation.

H.R. 7532, to repeal the manufacturers' excise tax on passenger automobiles and trucks. Passenger automobiles reduced to 7 percent on June 22, to 6 percent January 1, 1966, and thereafter reduced yearly until it reaches 1 percent on January 1, 1969.

H.R. 9670, to provide free mailing privileges for first-class letter mail sent by U.S. Armed Forces in Vietnam.

A wide variety of new laws were placed on the Federal books during 1965. Many of them will have a profound impact on the lives of present and future Americans.

My report on the legislative action of the 1st session of the 89th Congress follows:

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Unanimous support was given to passage of the $46.9 billion defense bill. We minority members of the Defense subcommittee protested piecemeal funding of the war effort in Vietnam as not in the best interests of this Nation's security. Subsequent action by the White House has underscored our position and we have been alerted to expect a supplemental defense appropriation request from the President early in January, possibly asking for as much as $14 billion to pay current costs in Vietnam.

Nearly $2 billion were approved for military construction at domestic and foreign installations, and more than $114 million for Coast Guard procurement. The Atomic Energy Commission was authorized $2.5 billion for construction, operations, and equipment, including $704 million for weapons and $2.5 million for the merchant ship reactor program.

Federal penalties were enacted for assassination, kidnapping, or assault of a President or Vice President of the United States. Destruction or mutilation of draft cards was designated a Federal offense.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The foreign aid bill amounts to $3.9 billion, slightly over $270 million more than last year. A $1 million authorization was granted for construction of a new U.S. Embassy in Saigon, Vietnam.

National origins quotas on immigration were abolished effective July 1, 1968. Congress fixed an annual limit of 170,000 from all former quota countries. First preference, not to exceed 20 percent of the total, will be given to unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens; second, 20 percent, spouses, and unmarried children of aliens admitted for permanent residence; third, 10 percent, qualified immigrants who are members of the professions, sciences or arts; fourth, 10 percent, married sons and daughters; fifth, 24 percent, brothers and sisters of citizens; sixth, 10 percent, capable skilled or unskilled workers in job-areas where labor shortages exist, and seventh, 6 percent, conditional entries.

A 3-year extension, and an annual authorization of $30 million, was granted to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, for operations and research. The Peace Corps was authorized $115 million for the next year, including $500,000 for research.

U.S. quota in the International Monetary Fund was raised from $4.1 billion to $5.1 billion, and U.S. participation, to the extent of $250 million annually, was authorized in an increase in the Inter-American Development Bank's Fund for Special Operations.

NATIONAL ECONOMY

Congress removed $4.6 billion wartime-imposed excise taxes. Effective July 1, excises were removed from furs, jewelry, cameras, leather goods, radio and television sets, cameras, household appliances, musical instruments, records, and sporting goods. Taxes on general admissions and cabarets will be ended December 31, 1965. A gradual reduction in the 10-percent automobile tax will see it reduced to 1 percent by January 1, 1969. Taxes will be removed completely from telegraph communications and cut to 3 percent on telephones on January 1, 1966. Telephone excises will be eliminated entirely on January 1, 1969.

Requirement of 25-percent gold reserves against Federal Reserve deposits was repealed. Silver was eliminated from dime and quarter coinage, cut from 90 to 40 percent in half dollars.

"Temporary" increase in the national debt this year amounted to $4 billion, raising it from $324 to $328 billion. This is the seventh increase since January 1961.

HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Congress amended the Social Security Act to provide hospitalization for persons 65 and over, effective July 1, 1966, and optional medical care insurance at $3 per month, matched by the Government. Eligibility rules for social security payments were liberalized and benefits increased by 7 percent. Social security taxes and income rate bases were increased to cover the new costs of the program.

Congress approved $1.3 billion aid to elementary and secondary public school systems; a $5.5 billion, 5-year program of aid to higher education, and 25 percent Federal contribution toward scholarships for exceptionally needy students under the National Defense Education Act. A 5-year extension was given to the program of mass immunization against polio, diptheria, whooping cough, tetanus, and measles.

Authorization was given a 4-year, $7 billion housing program, which, for the first time, includes rent subsidies. Subsequent House action eliminated all funds for the rent program other than a limited amount for administrative costs in drawing up new regulations. As in the past, the housing bill included FHA, urban renewal, housing for the aged, college housing, 60,000 new units of public housing per year, $800 million annually in matching grants to communities for water and sewer facilities.

Office of Economic Opportunity antipoverty programs, which include VISTA and the Job Corps, were authorized $1.65 billion for the next year. The Juvenile Delinquency Act was extended 2 years, with $6.5 million approved for fiscal 1966 and $10 million for 1967.

Aid to Appalachia was authorized in the amount of $1.1 billion for 1966 and the Manpower Development and Training Act was extended for 3 years, with a first-year authorization of $454 million. More than $3 billion was granted for a 4-year public works program in economically depressed areas to develop industries and create jobs.

Congress attached stiff new penalties and controls on illegal sales and distribution of depressant and stimulant drugs. Cigarette manufacturers were told to label their products, "Cigarette smoking may be harmful to your health."

The highway beautification bill, to promote control of outdoor advertising signs and junkyards near Federal highways, was cleared by both House and Senate.

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

To enforce the right to vote, under the 15th amendment to the Constitution, Congress authorized appointment of Federal voting registrars in areas where discrimination prevails; barred literacy and other tests, directed U.S. court suits to invalidate poll taxes and fixed penalties for threats, intimidation and violence.

A constitutional amendment was adopted to fix conditions and procedures for succession of the Vice President to the Presidency in the event of the Chief Executive's disability and for filling the vacancy in the Vice-Presidency. The measure must be ratified by the States.

A Federal pay bill, granting approximately 4 percent to postal and civil service workers, was approved after the House eliminated a provision which would have increased the salaries of Members of Congress.

Congress created a Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development to coordinate programs in that area.

THE 23D DISTRICT, OHIO

It is an honor to represent the nearly half-million residents of the 23d District, one of the most highly informed and articulate congressional districts in the entire Nation. I take particular pride in the fact that these citizens have awarded me their confidence and support during the 11 years I have served them in the U.S. House of Representatives.

As a Representative of this outstanding district, I make every effort to keep well informed of the views of my constituents through personal contact, frequent newsletters and occasional opinion polls. When the session adjourns early enough in the fall, I take a traveling office to the 23d District to make myself available for personal office conferences in various communities.

In addition to my Washington, D.C., office, I maintain a full-time office at 525 Federal Building in Cleveland for the greater convenience of my constituents. I am always ready to provide counsel or assistance for residents of the 23d District who are involved in the increasingly complex problems of Federal Government.

Highway Beautification Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 7, 1965

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 2084) to provide for scenic development and road beautification of the Federal-aid highway systems.

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Chairman, today we are debating a highway beautification bill; but beyond that we are deciding something very important about the kind of America we want for ourselves and for our children.

The quality of a civilization is measured not alone by might, or by scientific genius, or productive know-how, or even by the extent of social justice; it is measured as well by its sense of proportion, its capacity to rise above the merely commercial, its gift for combining utility with beauty, its insistence upon placing the important above the petty, and its reverence for its natural heritage of land and lake, stream and mountain.

All of these qualities are being tested today as we determine the fate of the Highway Beautification Act. I am tempted to say that the choice before us is between beauty and beer signs, but perhaps that would be unfair; and it would obscure the most important aspect of the bill—the Federal grants to States for scenic improvements which will transform our barren roadsides into places of charm and beauty.

Our real choice today lies between two opposite concepts of priority. One concept says that having spent tens of billions for mobility, speed, convenience, and safety, we now propose to spend an additional 3 percent each year to adorn and humanize the greatest public works project in human history so that our people may not only use it, but enjoy it and treasure it; the other concept says that pavement is enough and we have no money to waste on frills. One concept says that though no one's business should be closed down without just compensa-

tion, the larger public good embodied in highway beauty and highway safety must prevail over commercial exploitation; the other says that the tail is more sacred than the dog, that the marginal property rights of billboard users and junkyard operators are more important that the right of the whole public to protect its largest single property investment from defacement.

The bill before us preserves the larger interest, without violating the smaller.

It spells out an exciting, positive program of beautification, paid for entirely by Federal grants, and it places proper but fair controls on billboards and scrapheaps, since it would be senseless to spend large sums beautifying one stretch of road while the next stretch was being disfigured with signs and junk.

Other Members will discuss the control features in detail, so I will limit my remarks on them, but I do wish to comment briefly.

Almost 18,000 junkyards are now visible from our interstate and primary highways; this number is growing from day to day as old cars pile up and their salvage becomes less and less feasible. And we all have seen personally the billboard clutter that defaces the American countryside. We know, therefore, that we must either deal effectively with these roadside blights now or abandon forever our hopes of beautifying the Federal highway system. We cannot be for both beauty and junkyards and cluttered-up signs and billboards—in the same place, at least.

Fortunately, we can be fair to both the public and the operators of billboards and auto graveyards. This bill is fair, almost to a fault. Everything that can be done to accommodate those whose enterprises mar the roadsides has been done in this bill. They will be given 5 years to phase out; they will be compensated fairly for their losses; billboard people will benefit from regulations enhancing the value of individual signs in those zones where they are permitted; junkyard and scrap-processing people located in zones presently used for industrial or commercial purposes may carry on as before. What more can be done, unless we scrap the idea of controls altogether and abandon the roadsides to anyone with a product to push or some junk to discard?

The same spirit of accommodation is applied to the problems of the States, which have to carry out the controls in this act. Twenty-five States already have similar legislation on their books; distance ban on billboards was fixed at 660 feet in order to conform to these State statutes.

There is some moonshine going around around to the effect that 18 States will have to amend their constitutions, and that some cannot do this within the time limit allowed and therefore will be arbitrarily deprived of 20 percent of their highway allotment. Exhaustive inquiries made of each State by the Bureau of Public Roads totally deflate these fanciful charges. Forty-nine States already have statutory authority for regulation of billboards. And there are only two or three States that might run into a constitutional problem in controlling junkyards. Thus, almost every State already has authority to control billboards and junkyards through their police powers. The present bill, which relies not on the use of police powers but on just compensation for loss, therefore offers even less of a constitutional problem.

Many States, of course, will have to take legislative action to meet the requirements of this act, but they have until January 1, 1968, to do so. From now until then, every State legislature will meet at least once and many of them twice. And there is an additional 7 or 8 months before funds would be apportioned and penalties imposed, during which the States could still act. Beyond this, the Secretary of Commerce has informed the committee that if some technicality or obstruction prevents a State from complying by that time, despite its intention to do so, the imposition of penalties will be waived further. Reasonable men cannot go further than this.

If any State proves so shortsighted as to actually reject the generous provisions of this act, if there is any State which prefers billboards and car cemeteries to large Federal grants for preserving and restoring nature, then, of course, the penalty must be imposed, and ought to be. But it will not be a 20 percent reduction in allotments, as alleged in some of the old wives tales I have heard, but only 10 percent, regardless of the number of titles not complied with. Some of our pessimistic friends on the other side are seeing double. They see two 10 percent penalties in the bill, but there is only one.

It would be hard to imagine a joint Federal-State venture which requires so little from the States as does this bill, or which shows more respect for their rights and their problems. The construction of highways, in the first place, is financed 90 percent with Federal money. And the new grants in this bill require no matching at all. The States are equal partners in the setting of regulations; they have almost three years to comply with their end of the deal. All that is required of them is reasonable assurance that they will not allow the roadsides to be disfigured faster than Federal money can beautify them. What could be less burdensome or more sensible?

Existing law has for years had provisions far more stringent; for instance a State can be penalized all of the Federal share for failing to meet Federal construction standards. No one disputes the justice of this; how can fault then be found with so mild a penalty as that contained in this bill?

It has been alleged that this bill bestows vast new dictatorial powers upon the Secretary of Commerce. This is not true. The bill does require the Secretary to enter into agreements with the States to do two things:

First. Where land is used for industrial or commercial purposes, but has not actually been zoned by the State, the Secretary and the State would come to agreement as to the designation of these areas, based on the criteria the State now uses in its normal zoning procedures. The Secretary would have no power to interfere in any way with any actual zoning a State or local subdivision decided to do.

Second. To agree on the criteria which would govern the size, spacing, and lighting of signs, except on premise signs where they are allowed. Before any of these agreements can be entered into, hearings must be held in every State in which all interested parties can be heard and present facts. In addition, the Secretary must report back to the Congress on the criteria and other factors in the agreements a full year before control would go into effect. The Congress can then make any modifications it feels are necessary.

Existing law confers upon the Secretary far more sweeping powers than those granted in this bill. Allow me to quote from the existing Federal-aid highways law:

> The Secretary shall have authority to approve in whole or in part the Federal-aid primary system, the Federal-aid secondary system, and the Interstate System, as and when such systems or portions thereof are designated, or to require modifications or revisions thereof. No Federal-aid system or portion thereof shall be eligible for projects in which Federal funds participate until approved by the Secretary.

Existing law also says that the geometric and construction standards to be adopted for the Interstate System shall be those approved by the Secretary in cooperation with the State highway departments.

Now, if the Secretary already has the power to approve where and how roads shall be constructed, how can anyone object to entering into agreements with the States on lesser questions?

Those of us who have been primarily concerned for many years with the highway program regard it as the finest achievement in the realm of Federal-State relationships. There is nothing in the Beautification Act that deviates from that spirit. And remember, the bill provides for Federal court review of any action that States deem unfair.

Other objections, equally lacking in merit, have been made to titles I and II, and they will be properly refuted by other members who are particularly concerned with those sections of the bill. I turn now to title III, the new, positive program for transforming roadsides into scenic corridors.

Title III opens the door to the natural beautification of our highway system, once we have eliminated the manmade eyesores. This section is where the money is. Of the $160 million expense envisioned in this bill, three quarters, or $120 million, will be invested in the adornment of the areas through which the pavement passes. I ask my colleagues who have thus far been sidetracked over the billboard and junkyards disputes to look up and contemplate what this scenic beautification program can mean for our States and for our country.

Each participating State will receive each year an amount equal to 3 percent of its annual Federal highway allotment. This will be a 100-percent grant, without matching. The smallest State share, Delaware's, will be $440,000. The largest,

California's, will be $10 million a year. I have here copies of tables showing each State's entitlement, and I will place this table in the RECORD at the end of my remarks.

How will this money be used? It will be used to preserve whatever areas of natural beauty still remain adjacent to the rights-of-way, and to develop sites that have a scenic potential.

It will be used for buying strips of land, on which there are handsome stands of timber, before the bulldozer and the saw levels them forever; or for buying areas now overrun with scrub growth and cleaning them up and planting trees and flowering bushes that are indigenous to the locale. It will be used for setting aside strips that overlook spectacular views of valleys and rivers and lakes, so that motorists can pull off the road to rest for a while and enjoy nature's bounty.

And it means fixing up suitable spots with picnic tables, fireplaces, sanitation facilities, so that our people will not just blindly pass through this incredible country, but will stop and see it, and feel it, and breathe it in, and rejoice in the beauty and wonder of this land.

And title III means even more than this. The work to be done in improving and maintaining these scenic strips will provide employment for retired railroad workers, the seasonally unemployed, and students on vacation who live in neighboring communities.

The planting of timber along barren stretches will mean a great saving to States in their winter road maintenance costs. In the northern half of this country, 50 percent of maintenance costs are for the removal of snow. It will not be necessary to erect snow fences where new timber provides natural barriers. And the timber will be valuable in its own right.

It will mean more tourist dollars to many a forgotten community. Tourism is now a $30 billion business each year, and growing. It is among the three most important sources of income for half of our States. What we do to make our highways more interesting and hospitable to the traveler will mean more tourist dollars.

It will enhance property values in areas adjacent to beautification projects.

And it has an important safety value. Beautiful scenery will not only delight the driver, it will keep him awake and tempt him to make those occasional rest stops that head off fatigue.

Let me cite some small examples of what the various States are proposing to do with this title III money, if we pass the bill.

Maine proposes to purchase three acres of woodland extending 1,300 feet along the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Memorial Drive at a cost of $2,500. New York plans to acquire 25 acres of land adjacent to a rest area and extending 1,800 feet along an Interstate Highway, at a cost of $7,200. My own State of Minnesota will invest $135,000 in the purchase of scenic easements along 47 miles of the Great River Road. And so it goes.

So many fruitful innovations can be made in the name of both beauty and practicality if we can only raise our sights above the soft drink signs and the scrapheaps.

And so much has already been lost to our people forever during these long years when we have been preoccupied with the billboard hassle, hypnotized by the mote and ignoring the beam. Some years ago, for example, a route through the 10 Mississippi River States were proposed that would carry motorists from its source to its mouth, past all the magnificent and varied scenery that has captured the imagination of the Americans since before the days of Mark Twain. Studies of the existing routes were made and all the outstanding scenic areas were identified. But year after year passed without action of any kind to protect this priceless scenic heritage along the Great River Road. By now, much of this heritage has disappeared. This is insanity. How much more will perish under the ax and the steam shovel before we take the modest steps that will save what is left of the beauty of this country?

We will help to answer that question today; and in so doing we will make another choice, as we have on so many other issues this year, as to the kind of society we want. Is our civilization wholly devoted to concrete and steel advertising and profits and the commercial rights of the few; or do we also value, and aim to preserve, the natural beauty of this country as it came to us from the Hand of God?

We know where the real majority is on this. So long as men labor away their spare hours on their lawn and garden, so long as they continue to plant trees and shrubs and flowers in their yards, and put up birdhouses to delight their children, there can be no doubt as to where the overwhelming majority of Americans stands on this issue. The true question is: Will Congress hear that voice, or will it be drowned out by the self-serving importunings of those who can make a small profit from disfiguring the highways and are not satisfied with the fair compensation that this bill offers them?

We are moving steadily toward the completion of our Interstate Highway System, a feat of engineering and construction that dwarfs all previous works of man. This is a national achievement that should lift our hearts.

Let us decide today that when the people go out upon these highways, when they take their families on journeys across this continent, they will not see the junk and the scrap and the refuse of a nation that does not know what to do with its good fortune; but rather will they see and cherish the waving fields, the fruited plains and the mountain majesties of America the beautiful, which we sang about as children and will preserve for all time.

Speeches Delivered at the Memorial Service of the International War Veterans' Alliance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. McCARTHY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, last summer the International War Veterans' Alliance held its annual convention at Bemidji, Minn. This organization, founded in 1937, includes veterans of the United States and of Canada and was founded to promote friendship between peoples and nations and comradeship amoung the veterans of Canada and the United States who were allies in preserving freedom.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the addresses given at the memorial service by Prof. Albert W. Fenske, department of philosophy at Bemidji State College, and the Honorable Alex Cairns, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

There being no objection, the speeches were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PAST AND FUTURE—INTERNATIONAL WAR VETERANS' ALLIANCE CONVENTION, BEMIDJI, MINN.

(Delivered by Prof. Albert W. Fenske, department of philosophy, Bemidji State College)

William Ernest Hocking has observed that man is the sort of animal who carries his history with him. His physiological organism represents inunmerable generations in the processes of evolution. His present pattern of conduct is the result of many years spent in the formation of the habits which help to organize his life. His ideas and attitudes are a distillation from a host of his previous experiences. No matter how obsessed he may become with the trivialities which clutter his brief span of years, he can never entirely forget his past. He remembers those occasions which were fraught with significance and laden with emotion. He carries them with him as he moves along; for they are a treasure to be cherished. Whether he remembers them or not, they are warp and woof of the fabric of his life. Only too well he knows that he can never quicken a day that is dead. There is, however, a nostalgic quality in his remembrance. He lives in the conviction that events of great import have transpired within his life and he fain would preserve their memory.

In the glow of his retrospective mood, the persons whom he has known tend to symbolize the meaning of his past: for they helped him to live it and their deeds are part of its fabric. Their lives are entwined with his: they are part of his history. Though they be dead in body, yet something of their spirits lives in him. And he is grateful for that which they have contributed to his life. For this reason it is that he erects tablets and builds monuments in their honor. In every stage of civilization, man has taken a similar attitude toward his past. He has sought to protect from corruption the remembrance of those people whom he has lost through death. Whether they have gone in the throes of

illness or disease, in the maturity of years, or in the fell swoop of catastrophes, his heart has been rended by the parting. He has not been satisfied that they should entirely perish. He has sought to give concrete expression to the groping, yearning, respect, and love which he has felt.

There is much that is genuine and laudable in such tribute: for one is easily aware that there, but for provident circumstances, is he. And eventually, he knows not when or how, there he will be. We know that those persons were human beings such as we, that they too felt the urge of desires, the pull of ambitions, the lure of ideas, and the buoyancy of hope. They were cut off, some of them, at an unseemly time, and our way of life is indebted to them for their sacrifices. When we think of the extent to which our lives are dependent upon what they have contributed we fain would preserve their memory.

In a farewell sermon delivered by William Ralph Inge at Cambridge University before he went to become dean of St. Paul's in London, he declared, "Believe me the only promise of a better future for our country is to be looked for from those to whom her past is dear."

The person who does not have some respect for the day that has gone before is not likely to show much for the day which is to come. But we may say with equal truth that the past of our country is really dear only to those who strive to make for her a better future. Continually looking back to the dear, dead days beyond recall is not a fit remembrance. The really worthwhile remembrance of the dead is in the contribution to the bettering of the lot of the living. We are only worthy of the sacrifices which the dead have made for us as we give ourselves, not to smug and blind satisfaction with things as they are or have been, but rather to the improvement of what we have received from them. This is true of our national and international life and it is true of our common life in this and every other community and nation. Only as we are willing to give of our time and of our energy and of our possessions to the advancement of our country and the world at large are we being fair to those whom we claim to honor.

It is a laudable aspect of this service today that we represent more than one country recognizing that the bonds of humanity go beyond the limits of national boundaries. One of the lessons which we are learning in the 20th century, however falteringly and fragmentarily, is that we cannot rightfully or safely think of our own country alone. The narrow, jingoistic attitude which thinks of one's country to the exclusion of all others ought to have died a long time ago and it is hoped that it is dying now. For John Donne is right in asserting that "No man is an island entire of itself. Every man is a part of the continent, a piece of the main."

John Henry Newman once said that nothing is easier than to say the word "God" and not mean anything by it. We have to confess that that is a habit into which chronic religion easily slips and from which it needs to be delivered. Our utterance of words in remembrance of the dead finds its real meaning in the extent to which we honor them by doing our part to make the present better than the past.

If man is always in memory looking to his past, he is also ever casting hopeful eyes toward the future. He is like the man singing in the old slave song, "I keep my eye on the bright North Star and think of liberty." He has never been satisfied completely to rest in what has been. He is always seeking to do better in the day which approaches. This has been the way with man's restless spirit. He has worked and looked for the dawn of a new day. He has sought to realize his dreams in his utopias and his adventures.

One hundred years ago, Frederick Douglass escaped from slavery in Baltimore and fled to Massachusetts. He attended a meeting in Nantucket where William Lloyd Garrison was to give an address. Douglass was introduced and asked to speak. He said, "I am free, but I am branded with the marks of the lash * * * I have not forgotten. Nor will I forget while, any place upon this earth, there are slaves."

Here is embodied the sort of spirit which will be required of us if we are to keep faith with those who have died and with the generations which will come after us. The past and the future place their obligations squarely upon us. To ignore their urgency is to betray our trust. Thomas Carlyle once referred to the mystic faculties of memory and hope through which we are able to summon both the past and the future and commune with them. We are obligated to see that both of them are allied in order that the legacy of the memory and the promise of the hope may find their fulfillment in a glorious future.

When Douglass finished speaking, Garrison inquired of the people, "Is this a thing—a chattel—or a man?" From the audience someone shouted, "He is a man. A man." Garrison continued, "And to this cause we solemnly dedicate our strength, our minds, our spirits, and our lives." It is in this heroic attitude of life that are met the honoring of the past and the hopes of the future.

SPEECH OF THE HONORABLE ALEX CAIRNS, WINNIPEG, MANITOBA, DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL WAR VETERANS' ALLIANCE HELD AT BEMIDJI, MINN., JULY 31 AND AUGUST 1, 1965

It is good for all of us to have these ceremonies from time to time, for they remind us of the debt we owe to those who fought in defense of their country. They also give us an opportunity to reflect on the fact that we have now entered a strange new world. A world without national boundaries. It is now evident that every being has a stake in the conduct, not only of national affairs, but of world affairs. A spark ignited in some small almost unheard of land could again, if uncontrolled, set the whole world ablaze.

In honoring the men we think of today—I remember the Gettysburg Address of Abraham Lincoln and how well it applies to those we honor today—"The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here.

"It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated to the unfinished work for which they fought, have so far, so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave that last full measure of devotion; that we highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

The men we honor today also fought for the same principles of liberty, freedom, and democracy as those referred to by that great American President.

We are destined to live in a time of feverish activity, of upheaval and challenge, of a world in revolt. The old dams have broken down, and the waters are flooding the land. The old continents are being submerged, and the world is being reshaped before our eyes. We might ask, What ancient fabric has fallen? What venerable tradition has been jettisoned? What new gospel has been proclaimed? It is as if we are in a world that has awakened from a sleep and has set out on a furious march under sealed orders. We are seething with a new and unintelligible life. Harmony has gone out of music, and beauty out of art. The Ten Commandments are challenged, the exploitation of self is elevated into a religion. All of this at a time when there is more need for national and international harmony and unity than ever before in the history of mankind.

Somehow there must be another approach to the problem of human survival. The real problem is that such an approach will only be found in the willingness to common understanding—to give and take throughout the whole world—a frame of mind which, unfortunately, is entirely unacceptable to the majority of mankind today.

The sacrifice of the dead will have been in vain if civilization in fact destroys itself. The weaknesses of mankind are what lead to the physical act of war and the destruction that goes with it. That is what we must consider when we accept the torch from failing hands and promise to hold it high. The decision is that of words—thoughts—honor and morality against the reeking tube and iron shard.

These are troublesome times—with the world practically divided into two armed camps. More than any other group the exserviceman fully appreciates the probable consequences of war. It is among these veterans that most ardent advocates of peace are to be found. There never has been a time in the world's history when all that they stand for is more significant and more desirable than today.

In the heart of every war veteran a flame of memory burns brightly. By its light he can look back to a time when words like "freedom" and "democracy" and "loyalty" came to mean something very real. Words which in those days drew forth the best that was in them though it was, of necessity, in the worst of causes—that of war and destruction.

Personal and political liberty—freedom of speech and conscience and belief. Are such words, and what they mean, empty of all real content? Have they lost their power so that instead of being banners and trumpet calls of an ideal—they have become as ineffectual and as pathetic in their impotence as the cry of a child in the night?

No, I cannot believe it. In two world wars men fought and died for those things, and, they were never more vital to the happiness of men and women than today. The veterans organizations stand for the maintenance of the democratic way of life and the democratic principles of government that have been established at so great a cost. They are the constant reminder that blood and sacrifice have been the price paid by democracies for the priceless possession of freely elected government and political liberty. Sacred possessions of which many of us may be barely conscious—and fail to value at their true high worth simply because our good fortune has spared us any experience of life without them.

In the world of today, democracy and peace show themselves, more and more, as interchangeable terms—the one implicit in the other—mutually dependent—one on the other.

The bitter gales of hate—the winds of propaganda which drive threatening clouds of war across the universally longed-for sun of peace and prosperity—and so darken the whole modern world—do not have their origin in the democracies. They arise in no country whose people still possess these rights.

We are challenged, as with the trumpets of God, to carry into the highways and byways of life something of their own self-giving spirit. To close our divided ranks and be as united in living for the common weal as they were in dying for it. To take up a task that is even harder than the task of making war; namely, the task of keeping the peace. Many familiar things that have been landmarks of our lives for countless generations are being changed beyond re-

call—but—the spirit endures and man can still be master of his fate.

And so today—as for a brief moment we stand in silent homage to the men who have crossed the great divide—to join the phantom army of the dead—that marches through whatever Elysian fields there may be—and where all men are comrades—let us reflect on those things—and today—in that brief space—let us climb to the high hills, bright in the sun, and with hands outstretched in greeting, let us rededicate ourselves to the great obligation which devolved upon us through their sacrifice. Let us gaze back through the wispy haze of memory to those never-to-be-forgotten days that terminated with our service. Let us renew our pledge to them to keep green in the minds of our generation at least the thought that in two world wars to end all war—men died to preserve the liberty and freedom we enjoy. They serve till death—why not we?

A quiet solemnity holds our hearts today. Memory turns back the pages and recalls the days of stress and anxiety through which all were called to pass. Wounds, which the kindly hand of time is beginning to heal, are just a little touched again—the past sorrow just a little revived. We would not have it otherwise. With proud acclaim we hear once again the rollcall of those whose names live forever more—a goodly array of martyrs, a noble army—men and boys. We bow our heads and hearts in humble thankfulness for great deliverances wrought on our behalf—for the proservation of the sanctities of life—and—for the memory of those who through suffering obtained the crown of everlasting life.

Of no previous national deliverance can it be said that, after such a lapse of years, we keep the memorial as fervently as we do this one. There is no abatement of sincerity. We gather round the lamp of remembrance today with as much desire, love and gratitude in our hearts as we did on that first anniversary of the day. A day to be proud of, a day to which we can look back, and from which we can look forward without any boastful thought or unworthy motive.

A great cloud of witnesses stands guard over us today and over the memory of the past. May we be accounted worthy of such immortal company.

They grow not old, as we who are left grow old. Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn. At the going down of the sun, and in the morning we will remember them.

Need for Freedom Academy Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, it is to be hoped that early next January the House will enact the long-awaited Freedom Academy bill which once some years ago was approved by the Senate and which, this year, has been unanimously approved by the appropriate legislative committee of the House. Senate approval should follow the House action.

Indicative of the rapidly growing support for this important and needed legislation is a recent editorial in the San Francisco News Call-Bulletin. I ask unanimous consent that this straightforward editorial may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FREEDOM ACADEMY

The cold war goes on, with varying degrees of temperature, but it does continue and is a major fact of our lifetime.

If the late President Kennedy was right, it also will be a major fact of our children's lifetimes.

This being so, it behooves the United States to conduct it with all the skills this country can muster.

A House committee has just voted out a bill to create a Freedom Academy which would train Government and private citizens in the science and art of nonmilitary conflict against communism.

It would cover such fields as psychology, politics, economics, and technology.

We have plenty of know-how in this country already in this field. They need to be brought into focus for the purposes of the cold war.

We hope this measure is pushed through this session of Congress and not lost as our Representatives show an increasing concern to adjourn.

H.R. 4170

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, I join the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HAYS] in urging the House to adopt H.R. 4170, a bill to provide for adjustments in the annuities of certain retired Foreign Service officers. Like the gentleman from Ohio I too urge adoption with some reluctance. But given the attitude of the other body, it seems desirable that we salvage what we can of this bill.

One of the fundamental purposes of the bill as it passed the House last year and again this year was to provide a measure of equity for the older retired Foreign Service officers and their widows. Throughout the consideration of this measure the subcommittee was most anxious to relieve the Congress of private bills for the relief of distressed widows. Since I have served on the subcommittee during the past decade, we have had to consider many such bills. Our thought was to enact a comprehensive measure that would eliminate such bills. As a result of the Senate amendments, I anticipate that we may expect more private bills.

The Senate amendments affect those Foreign Service officers who retired before October 16, 1960, and who were married at the time but who, upon retirement, made no provision for a survivor annuity. The House bill would have permitted such individuals to elect a survivor annuity of $2,400 for which they would pay $300 a year from October 16, 1960 to the effective date of the measure and would also pay $300 a year as the current cost of such an annuity.

The effect of the Senate amendment is to require these retired officers who now make such an election to start their repayments from the date of their retirement which in some cases goes back 20 years and to repay at the old rate of $1,200 a year. Thus some individuals would have to pay back about $24,000 in order to provide a survivor annuity of $2,400. This approach clearly defeats the purpose that our subcommittee, the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and this House has in mind.

I would expect that any retired Foreign Service officer who qualified for an election under the amended Senate language would proceed cautiously before making an election. He should be aware that his estate will be liable for any unpaid balances owed the Government. On the other hand, I would hope the Government would use restraint in seeking to impose a large liability on relatively small estates.

I am glad the gentleman from Ohio referred to the mechanics of repayment. The bill as it passed both Houses authorized the Secretary to make arrangements with annuitants who make an election to pay the cost of a survivor annuity in monthly installments. The House version made clear that this was to be in the form of a deduction from the annuitant's monthly check. The effect of the Senate amendment is to leave this matter unsettled. To require the Secretary to send out a monthly check and then have the annuitant send in a monthly check adds heavy administrative costs and burdens. I certainly should do nothing to increase paperwork in Government. I hope that nothing would be done to increase paperwork in Government.

There are many other commendable provisions in this bill that were not touched by the Senate amendments. On balance I think we have a measure that will help a number of the older retired Foreign Service officers and their widows. Therefore, I am urging my colleagues to support H.R. 4170 as amended by the Senate.

Voting Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to submit my voting record on major substantive issues during the first session of the 89th Congress. The record-breaking volume of legislaton is reflected by the greatest number of rollcalls in the history of Congress for a single session which has put considerable stress and strain on the time and patience of Members of the House of Representatives. Notwithstanding this pressure, I am pleased to report that I was in attendance on the floor of the House for 100 percent of the rollcall votes on legislation during this session.

My voting record follows:

Date	Issue	Vote
Jan. 26	Recommit supplemental Agriculture appropriations providing no funds be used for aid to Egypt	Yea.
Feb. 9	Eliminate requirement that Federal Reserve banks maintain certain gold reserves	Nay.
Feb. 17	Increase authorization of appropriations for arms control	Yea.
Feb. 18	Authorize increased U.S. participation in Inter-American Development Bank	Yea.
Feb. 25	Authorize appropriations for House Un-American Activities Committee	Yea.
Mar. 3	Provide economic aid to Appalachia	Nay.
Mar. 10	Establish special controls for depressant and stimulant drugs	Yea.
Mar. 15	Increase authorization of appropriations for national arts and cultural program	Yea.
Mar. 17	Increase salaries of Supreme Court Justices	Nay.
Mar. 22	Measures to prevent crime in the District of Columbia	Yea.
Mar. 23	Provide marketing quotas for tobacco, amend tobacco price support	Nay.
Mar. 26	Improving educational quality and opportunities in elementary and secondary schools	Yea.
Mar. 31	Providing grants to States for programs aiding older persons	Yea.
Mar. 31	Providing programs for development of natural resources	Yea.
Apr. 1	Extending Nation's active manpower policy	Yea.
Apr. 5	Return of obscene mail matter	Yea.
Apr. 5	Authorize funds for building chancery in Saigon	Yea.
Apr. 5	Appropriations for Treasury, Post Office Department, and Executive Office of the President	Yea.
Apr. 6	Supplemental appropriations for Appalachia program, Federal pay raises, and other purposes	Nay.
Apr. 8	Medicare bill, on passage	Yea.
Apr. 13	Amend Constitution with regard to Presidential succession	Yea.
Apr. 14	Authorizing additional expenditures for House Un-American Activities Committee	Yea.
Apr. 27	Authorizing increase in International Monetary Fund quota of United States	Yea.
Apr. 28	Authorizing grants for water pollution control	Yea.
Apr. 29	Increase authorization of appropriations for national arts and cultural program	Yea.
May 3	Extend provisions of Public Health Service Act, relating to community health services	Yea.
May 4	Authorizing Federal assistance in acquiring personnel for community mental health centers	Yea.
May 5	Supplemental appropriations for military functions of Defense Department	Yea.
May 5	Authorize appropriations for procurement, research and development for Armed Forces	Yea.
May 6	Authorizing appropriations for NASA	Yea.
May 10	Extending Public Health Service Act for construction of research facilities	Yea.
May 12	Carry out U.S. obligations under International Coffee Agreement	Yea.
May 20	Authorizing appropriations for Atomic Energy Commission	Yea.
May 25	Foreign Assistance Act of 1965, authorizing $2,000,000,000 in expenditures	Nay.
May 26	Appropriations, Department of Agriculture	Nay.
June 1	Appropriations, Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, and Judiciary	Yea.
June 1	Amend Federal Coal Mine Safety Act to further provide for prevention of accidents in mines	Yea.
June 2	Reduction Federal excise taxes	Yea.
June 3	Authorizing appointment of Gen. William F. McKee as Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency	Nay.
June 7	Amend Railroad Retirement Act to eliminate reduction of annuities of spouses of retired employees by amount of certain monthly benefits	Yea.
June 8	Provide for continuation of authority for regulation of exports	Yea.
June 9	Provide temporary increase in public debt limit for fiscal 1966	Nay.
June 9	Allowing U.S. Information Agency film, "JFK—Years of Lightning, Day of Drums" be shown in United States	Yea.
June 16	Establishing a Department of Housing and Urban Development	Nay.
June 16	Authorizing each House Member to employ annually, on temporary basis, a student intern	Nay.
June 21	Establish system of loan insurance assisting students to attend postsecondary business, trade, technical, and vocational schools	Yea.
June 21	Provide consideration for national disasters in the feed grains, cotton, and wheat programs for 1965	Yea.
June 21	Request President to take measures securing world recognition of the rights of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania	Yea.
June 23	Appropriations, Department of Defense, fiscal 1966	Yea.
June 24	Extend Area Redevelopment Act for a period of 2 months	Nay.
June 30	Provide housing for low- and moderate-income families, and urban development	Nay.
July 9	Voting rights bill, on passage	Yea.
July 12	Extension of civil service apportionment requirement to temporary summer employees	Yea.
July 13	Federal cigarette labeling and advertising, conference report	Yea.
July 14	Battin amendment, requiring silver content of quarters and dimes be fixed at 40 percent	Nay.
July 14	Coinage Act of 1965, on passage	Nay.
July 20	Increase rates of basic pay for members of uniformed services	Yea.
July 22	Expand war on poverty	Nay.
July 22	Recommital motion deleting provision for review Governor's vetoes of projects and reduce authorization funds to current level	Yea.
July 26	Adopt rule for consideration repeal sec. 14(b) Taft-Hartley Act	Nay.
July 27	Medicare, conference report	Yea.
July 27	Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, conference report	Nay.
July 27	Mental Facilities and Centers Construction Act, conference report	Yea.
July 28	Repeal sec. 14(b), Taft-Hartley, permitting right to work	Nay.
July 29	Amend Atomic Energy Act, 1954, clarifying portions on electric power	Yea.
Aug. 2	Law Enforcement Assistance Act of 1965	Yea.
Aug. 2	Rehabilitation of Federal prisoners	Yea.
Aug. 2	Appropriations, Interstate System	Yea.
Aug. 3	Voting rights, to enforce the 15th amendment, conference report	Yea.
Aug. 3	Civil service retirement annuity adjustment	Yea.
Aug. 4	Military construction authorization	Yea.
Aug. 4	Permitting U.S. Governors of International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Finance Corporation to agree to amendments to articles of agreement of such Bank and Corporation.	Nay.
Aug. 5	Interest Equalization Tax Extension Act of 1965	Nay.
Aug. 9	Motor vehicles insurance, to amend the Fire and Casualty Act	Nay.
Aug. 10	Prohibition of destruction or mutilation of draft cards	Yea.
Aug. 12	Sisk amendment, to economic development, providing more areas eligible for grants for public works and development facilities	Nay.
Aug. 12	Economic Development Act providing grants for public works and development facilities	Nay.
Aug. 16	Amend Tariff Act of 1930 suspending duty on certain forms of nickel	Yea.
Aug. 16	Establish and prescribe duties of Federal Boxing Commission	Yea.
Aug. 19	Establishing wheat, cotton, wool, dairy, and feed grain price supports	Nay.
Aug. 24	Recommit supplemental appropriations, Department of HEW and Labor	Yea.
Aug. 25	Abolishment national origins system of immigration and establishing new quotas	Yea.
Aug. 25	MacGregor amendment to establish July 1, 1968 a limit of 115,000 immigrants per year from countries in Western Hemisphere	Yea.
Aug. 26	Strengthen educational resources of colleges and universities, provide financial assistance for students	Yea.
Aug. 30	Financial assistance to elementary and secondary schools in areas affected by major disaster	Yea.
Aug. 31	Implementation of agreement between United States and Canada in automotive parts	Yea.
Sept. 1	Authorizing Federal grants as necessary for health professions and educational purposes	Yea.
Sept. 2	Authorize Secretary of Commerce to undertake research and development in high-speed ground transportation	Yea.
Sept. 7	Authorize certain construction at military installations	Yea.
Sept. 7	Veterans disability compensation, increase rates	Yea.
Sept. 7	Authorizing funds for President's Crime Commission	Yea.
Sept. 14	Establishment of concession policies in areas administered by National Park Service	Yea.
Sept. 15	Recommit Equal Opportunity Act Amendments	Yea.
Sept. 15	Recommit National Foundation of Arts and Humanities Act (passed by voice vote)	Nay.
Sept. 16	Motion to table resolution directing Postmaster General to provide names of temporary employees employed by Post Office Department	Nay.
Sept. 16	Extending indemnity provisions of the Atomic Energy Act	Yea.
Sept. 17	Appropriations, Department of Defense, conference report	Yea.
Sept. 17	Resolution dismissing 5 Mississippi election contests and declaring returned Members are duly elected to their seats in the House of Representatives	Nay.
Sept. 20	Group life insurance for uniformed services	Yea.
Sept. 20	Resolution expressing Sence of House relative to intervention international Communist movement in Western Hemisphere	Yea.
Sept. 21	Establishment of national policy re water pollution	Yea.
Sept. 22	Authorizing construction, repair and preservation of rivers and harbors	Yea.
Sept. 22	Provide participation of United States in Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center, Dade County, Fla	Nay.

Date	Issue	Vote
Sept. 23	Bennett amendment to eliminate exemptions in the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956	Yea.
Sept. 23	Amend consolidated Farmers Home Administration to provide grants to develop water supply and sewage disposal	Yea.
Sept. 24	Requirement of standards for controlling pollution and program for solid waste disposal	Yea.
Sept. 27	Discharge Rules Committee from further consideration home rule for District	Nay.
Sept. 29	Adoption Sisk amendment to home rule providing for election of Charter Board and referendum by District of Columbia residents	Yea.
Sept. 30	Adjust pay for Federal employees and establishment of Federal Salary Review Commission	Yea.
Oct. 1	Foreign assistance appropriations and related programs, conference report	Nay.
Oct. 1	Amend Public Health Service Act to provide for medical library facilities	Yea.
Oct. 1	Construction 3d Library of Congress Building	Yea.
Oct. 1	Construction of Jefferson National Expansion Memorial	Yea.
Oct. 7	Contributions to certain citizens of Ryukyu Islands for death and injuries resulting from activities of U.S. Armed Forces	Yea.
Oct. 7	Construction, operation, and maintenance of southern Nevada water project	Yea.
Oct. 7	Highway Beautification Act	Nay.
Oct. 8	Agriculture and Food Act of 1965, conference report	Nay.
Oct. 13	Extending for 5 years Sugar Act with amendments	Nay.
Oct. 14	Supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1966	Nay.
Oct. 14	Harvey amendment, to delete the rent supplement program	Yea.

My rollcall votes subsequent to October 14 and up to adjournment were on conference reports and were consistent with votes on original legislation.

Sea Power in Latin America—I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an article from the U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings, October 1965.

The article follows:

SEA POWER IN LATIN AMERICA

The influence of sea power upon history is evident in Latin America, both from the shape of the map and from the record of events. Not only were the oceanic empires of Portugal and Spain dependent on mastery of the sea; not only were the waters of the Western Hemisphere the training areas of admirals from Drake to Nelson; not only did the wars of the great European sea powers affect the fate of the New World; but also use of the sea was of itself a necessity to the economic growth of Latin America. Chile with its 2,000-mile length could be strung together only by maritime lines of communication; the vast bulge of Brazil invited circumnavigation, and the waters of the Rio de la Plata ultimately poured a cornucopia of food onto the tables of a hungry Britain and Europe.

Historically also, use or nonuse of the sea settled the destinies of old and new nations. For example, it was the battle of Trafalgar which, while spelling the salvation of England, likewise insure the ultimate freedom of Latin America. Spain, which lost its Navy as the result of Nelson's victory, did not have the transport capability to bring its veteran soldiers of the Napoleonic wars to the New World to redress the struggle for independence so successfully waged by José de San Martín and Simón Bolívar.

Of the positive use of seapower in the history of Latin America there are so many examples that for brevity we need merely cite the activity of the Irish-Argentine admiral, William Brown, on the east coast in assisting Uruguay to win its independence in 1825 through his decisive naval victory in the Bay of Montevideo. On the west coast, we can cite the brilliant leadership of Thomas, Lord Cochrane, who by establishing naval supremacy, made it possible for Bernardo O'Higgins and San Martín to arrive off Lima and ultimately to remove Spanish military power from the ancient viceroyalty of Peru. This same supremacy of naval power in the Pacific was once more demonstrated in the war of that name when in October of 1879 the Chilean ironclad *Cochrane* captured her Peruvian rival *Huascar* and thus, by assuring control of the coast, opened the way to the army's successful landing.

Coming to more recent times, the memoirs of Admiral Karl Doenitz are eloquent testimony of the havoc wrought off the River Plate and off the bulge of Brazil as well as in Caribbean waters by German submarines in World War II.

Finally, as we come to most recent times in this brief review of the influence of seapower on Latin American history, the quarantine of Cuba in 1962 gave dramatic evidence of the requirement for naval supremacy of the seas of the Western Hemisphere. In this particular case, the appeal of President John F. Kennedy for naval support from other Latin American nations brought an immediate response from Argentina which sent two of its *Fletcher*-class destroyers steaming northward in the space of a very few days. Venezuela and the Dominican Republic were likewise prompt in meeting the request of the American President for naval support. The training in joint exercises in Operation UNITAS made it possible for these South American ships to chop easily to combined command.

If we examine the characteristics of present-day Latin American navies, the points of similarity far outweigh those of difference. For example, the two aircraft carriers in South American fleets, the *Independencia* of Argentina, and the *Minas Gerais* of Brazil, are practically sister ships, of British origin. Three of the Latin American navies have light cruisers which are almost sister ships: the *General Belgrano* and *9 de Julio* of Argentina, the *Barroso* and *Tamandaré* of Brazil, and the *O'Higgins* and *Prat* of Chile. All are standard 10,000-ton U.S.-built light cruisers.[1] On loan to various navies, the *Fletcher*-class ships lead as the most modern units in the destroyer fleet. Of these, Brazil has four, Argentina three, and Chile two. Five of Peru's destroyers, although not of the *Fletcher* class, are of U.S. origin, while Colombia has one *Fletcher* in addition to the two modified Swedish *Holland*-type destroyers and the three U.S.-built *Almirante Padilla*-class frigates, a former U.S. PF type. Mexico likewise has four of these ex-U.S.S. *Tacoma*-type PF's, interesting as being among the few steam reciprocating war vessels still in active commission. Only Venezuela has no destroyers of U.S. origin. Its fleet is led by the three British-built *Nueva Esparta* class and has six Italian-built fast frigates of the *Almirante Clemente* class. In general, however, these South American navies closely resemble each other. Furthermore, their submarine components are almost all made up of former U.S.-built World War II fleet boats. The Peruvian Navy has four U.S.-built *Abato*-class submarines delivered during the 1950's.

Given this composition of the South American navies, it is obvious that they are best designed for antisubmarine warfare, if we leave aside the somewhat questionable utility of the six old, 10,000-ton former U.S. light cruisers. Thus, not only are the fleets composed of vessels useful in ASW activities, but the requirement placed on the Latin American navies and on the U.S. Navy operating in Latin American waters is almost exclusively of an ASW character.

Recognizing this fact, the U.S. Navy some 4 years ago commenced Operation UNITAS, a unique and increasingly effective means of international cooperation for the maintenance of security in the seas of the Western Hemisphere.

Starting each August or September, during the past 4 years a task force of U.S. ASW vessels, usually consisting of a destroyer leader, and other destroyers supported by patrol craft and with one or two submarines as targets, supplemented by patrol squadrons of P2V's or other ASW aircraft, sorties from the task force base at Trinidad and proceeds southward, either along the east or the west coast of South America, picking up en route units of the various national navies for combined ASW exercises. Perhaps the best way to discuss how UNITAS actually works, would be to review one of the operations, UNITAS IV, which took place between August and December 1963.

Task Force 86 was activated for operations on August 18, 1963, under COMSOLANT, Rear Adm. John A. Tyree, Jr., who had his flag in the U.S.S. *Norfolk* (DL-1). The U.S. task force, made up of four destroyers and one submarine, sortied from Trinidad on August 20. Its air component consisted of two SP-2H's and one C-131.

Since Venezuela had canceled its participation in UNITAS IV because of unsettled internal conditions arising from the fact that its presidential elections were to take place in December 1963, Task Force 86 first began combined UNITAS IV operations with the naval forces of Brazil.

The exercises commenced on August 31 when eight Brazilian DD's, one CVS without fixed-wing aircraft, and one submarine joined up with the American units. Because of difficulties of clearance, it was not possible for the UNITAS IV U.S. air detachment to operate from Brazilian land bases, and air support was lacking in this phase of operations.

Later on, during maneuvers between Rio de Janeiro and the estuary of the River Plate, Task Force 86 assumed truly impressive proportions. It was then composed of 29 ships, including both the Argentine and Brazilian ASW carriers, 22 destroyers of various types, 4 submarines, and 1 fleet oiler. Aircraft including S2F's and helicopters were embarked in the Argentine carrier *Independencia*, and helicopters were also on board the Brazilian *Minas Gerais*, although she had no fixed-wing aircraft for ASW activities. In

[1] *General Belgrano* ex-U.S.S. *Phoenix; 9 de Julio* ex-U.S.S. *Boise; Barroso* ex-U.S.S. *Philadelphia; Tamandaré* ex-U.S.S. *St. Louis; O'Higgins* ex-U.S.S. *Brooklyn; Prat* ex-U.S.S. *Nashville*.

addition, Argentine, Uruguayan, and United States land-based aircraft operated from Uruguayan land-based air installations. Task Force 86 conducted basic hunter-killer exercises and convoy screen penetration exercises, terminating by an all-round refueling from the Argentine AO *Punto Medanos*, which did an excellent job in supplying the vessels of Brazil, Argentina, and the United States with bunkers.

At the conclusion of this aspect of UNITAS IV, the commander in chief, UCINCSO, Gen. A. P. O'Meara, boarded the *Norfolk* at Buenos Aires and then transferred to the Argentine flagship, *Independencia*, on September 25, by helicopter; and, finally, successful combined antisubmarine warfare exercises at sea terminated the east coast aspect of UNITAS IV.

The American units of Task Force 86 then proceeded to the Straits of Magellan, which they reached on October 4. After shore leave at Punta Arenas, the American ships with Chilean destroyers, later joined by the Chilean light cruiser *O'Higgins*, sortied to the Pacific via the Trinidad channel on October 9. They rendezvoused about a week later at the Chilean Naval Base of Talcahuano and put into Valparaiso on October 18. Shore-based U.S. SP-2H aircraft supported by Chilean Air Force SA-16B planes, participated with excellent coordination between aircraft and ships. Altogether, in a 2-week period, the Chilean and U.S. forces operated so effectively as to constitute a well-integrated ASW task force, duplicating the experience on the east coast with Brazilian and Argentine/Uruguayan units.

For a brief while, late in October, there was also a trination fleet in ASW exercises on the west coast. Two Peruvian destroyers and two submarines arrived at Mejillones Bay on October 24 to join Task Force 86. Once more an impressive flotilla was assembled. There were four destroyers plus the destroyer leader *Norfolk*, four destroyer escorts, one light cruiser, five submarines, and a fleet oiler. The exercise at this phase was directed by the Chilean group commander with air support both day and night by United States and Chilean planes, operating from Antofagasta. Later, after the Chilean ships had chopped off from the UNITAS IV operations, the Peruvian group commander conducted exercises on October 29, still using the air cover of the Chilean SA-16B's.

Moving farther north, Task Force 86 then joined with Ecuadorean ASW craft, including one DE, one PF, one PCE, an ATF, and one LSM, for exercises once more conducted in part under Ecuadorean management. Finally, at the end of November, after the American force transited the Panama Canal, Colombia participated in joint exercises with two destroyers and one ATF. As in the case of the other countries, at times the Colombian commander conducted the combined ASW exercises of the entire task force.

Experience gathered in the five UNITAS exercises to date has shown conclusively what beneficial dividends have been returned as the result of this training between ships of varied flags. There is no doubt that a capability has been attained in training and readiness sufficient to enable the senior South American navies to operate effectively as units of a combined ASW force.

However, there is always room for improvement. For example, both in the fleets of Argentina and Brazil, the four Argentine *Buenos Aires*-class destroyers and the four Brazilian *Amazonas*-class DD's are over age and probably would not justify much more expenditure to keep them effectively at sea. As will be shown below, the writer is convinced that the United States, and particularly the U.S. Congress, should be more liberal in its policy of releasing ships from mothball fleets to be restored to active commission to build up the ASW capability of South American navies.

In the meantime, much can be done without releasing more hardware. For example, a future UNITAS operation might address itself specifically to joint exercises off the Straits of Magellan, the Beagle Channel, or the Drake Passage between the ASW forces of Argentina, Chile, and the United States.

Another improvement that could be made in UNITAS operations would be to deploy a U.S. antisubmarine support carrier. This would greatly stimulate the training of the already well-worked-up Argentine *Independencia* and the Brazilian *Minas Gerais* which now by Presidential decision will embark fixed-wing aircraft.

The United States could also provide a more modern submarine or submarines to deploy in future UNITAS exercises. Perhaps this year we might use one of the Guppy-type boats and eventually bring in the nuclear attack ships; because ASW, to be effective, must be capable of dealing with all types of undersea warships. There is also opportunity for much hydrographic research, particularly on the west coast, where salinity layers offer a veil of secrecy to submarines.

Modern ASW techniques require an acme of coordination between surface and air units, and in this domain a principal difficulty has been encountered among the several Latin American navies owing to strenuous rivalry on the part of their respective land-based air forces.

Clearly, then, the Latin American governments involved should iron out these rivalries and assign definite rules to the various armed forces concerned. It seems to this writer that the solution would be to put the entire responsibility for ASW activity, both surface, undersurface, and in the air, in the hands of the naval forces.

In ASW work, particularly on the east coast of South America, there is a definite requirement for modern minesweeping capabilities. The estuary of the River Plate and the approaches to Montevideo and Buenos Aires are almost ideal for pressure mining. Paraguay, accessible to the sea only by the Parana River, is also vulnerable. However, none of the navies concerned have adequate craft to counter this threat. From the experience of World War II and the havoc wrought by the U boats in the South Atlantic it does not take much imagination to foresee that the entire estuary of the Plate could be interdicted by an effective submarine mining program, or for that matter a perhaps more effective clandestine operation by local Communist subversive forces, operating at night from small craft. Our experience in Korea provides further warning.

In general, so far as materiel requirements are concerned in improving Operation UNITAS and the effectiveness of United States and Latin American navies in meeting the submarine threat, the United States should be more liberal in its policy of lending ships and equipment to the Latin American navies.

Here we come upon a fixed consensus in the U.S. Congress against the lending of vessels, even redundant vessels from the mothball fleet, to Latin American navies. In fact, so deep seated is this prejudice, that in effect no U.S. vessel can be loaned to a Latin American government without the specific approval of Congress for each ship.

Even if the difficulty of congressional prejudice could be overcome, there is another problem of cost in bringing destroyers or minesweepers out of mothballs and placing them in readiness for recommission. For example, when Argentina recently acquired three *Fletcher*-class destroyers, the Argentine Navy had to pay over $5 million apiece in order to bring these vessels to a state of readiness. Fifteen million dollars for the average South American naval budget is a large sum of money.

Recently in a discussion with a distinguished Senator who has been a protagonist in the Congress against the grant of military assistance to Latin American governments, I pointed out that whether or not Congress gave or refused approval to the lend-lease of vessels to these South American navies, any would-be revolutionary in Latin America already had sufficient weapons on hand to overthrow any government at any given time. The provision of ASW instruments would not alter the internal balance of power in the various republics. Consequently, I urged that the question of whether or not to assist South American navies to improve their ASW capability by the lending of destroyers and minesweepers, or the furnishing of aircraft, was one that should be decided by considerations of naval power rather than by considerations of domestic politics either at home or abroad.

After all, what we are considering is the problem of mutual naval defense. If the United States should be involved in a global war or be concerned in a situation of Communist-inspired limited war threatening the security of the Western Hemisphere, we will want all the help we can get. The participation of certain Latin American navies in the Cuban quarantine is a case in point. Consequently, in seeking ways to help the Latin American navies develop more effective ASW forces, we are merely studying the ways and means to make a more effective (and perhaps cheaper in terms of men and money) defense of the United States.

As indicated above, even to recondition mothballed *Fletcher*-class destroyers costs a great deal of money. If the Congress should continue to be obdurate in the release of mothballed ships, possibly it might give some consideration to including in the military aid program funds for the outright construction of new ASW vessels for certain of the Latin American navies which for an equal expenditure of money would result in brand new ASW vessels of the most modern type and equipment. Admittedly, however, such ships would be constructed more cheaply in foreign yards. The question really boils down to how much mutual defense can be obtained for any given dollar or peso.

A. G. Dewey Co., of Enfield, N. H., Earns Defense Department Quality Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND.

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, the A. G. Dewey Co., of Enfield, N.H., is proudly flying the Defense Department's "C" flag awarded recently for excellence in its performance on contracts with the Department. The high quality of this company's performance in manufacturing blankets for the military is in the highest tradition of Yankee craftsmanship and business integrity. This award is a source of continuing pride not only for the company but for the town of Enfield and, indeed, the whole State.

It is a great pleasure to draw the attention of the House to the Dewey Co.'s achievement and to congratulate company president, William T. Dewey, all members of the company management, and all employees who have earned this fine distinction for their company, town, and State.

Medical Care for the Aged—Statement by the American Chiropractic Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. McCARTHY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a recent statement by Dr. A. A. Adams, president of the American Chiropractic Association, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

In his statement Dr. Adams expresses his regret that the Medical Care Act did not include the Senate amendment which provided that patients seeking the services of chiropractors would be eligible for benefits under the voluntary program. He expresses the hope that the Congress will review the legislation and recognize the desirability and rightness of providing chiropractic and other essential health services under the program.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY DR. A. A. ADAMS, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN CHIROPRACTIC ASSOCIATION

As president of the American Chiropractic Association, I wish to make an official statement relating to the position of my organization on the subject of medical care for the aged. Now that the so-called medicare bill has become the law of the land this statement, I believe, is timely and appropriate.

I commend President Johnson for his program of social legislation and more especially for his concern for the needs of our older citizens. I also commend the Senate Finance Committee for accepting amendments to include chiropractic care in medicare legislation. Their expression of confidence in the integrity and value of the chiropractic profession was most appreciated.

The American Chiropractic Association officially endorsed the purposes of this legislation as early as January 8 of this year in a letter to the President. Our endorsement was offered even though at that time care by doctors of chiropractic was not provided in the main body of the bill. Later, deliberation of the Senate Finance Committee included chiropractic care as one of the important medicare benefits. Subsequently, the committee's amendments were made a part of the bill by vote of the Senate, itself. This action by the U.S. Senate was most welcomed by my profession. We were later to learn that the Senate-House conference committee removed chiropractic benefits from the bill.

Naturally, the American Chiropractic Association was disappointed when chiropractic services were deleted from medicare. Millions of our patients who are at or approaching retirement age must now feel denied of their right of free choice of doctors as a result of this deletion. It is doubly unfortunate that this denial of free choice will be imposed by an action of their own Government.

I wish to reiterate that medicare legislation appears to be a necessary step toward the solution of the problems of our older citizens. It is the belief of the American Chiropractic Association that when the Congress has had an opportunity to review the medicare program in the light of experience, it will recognize the desirability and the rightness of providing chiropractic and other essential health services under the act.

Local War on Poverty One of Best

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KEN W. DYAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DYAL. Mr. Speaker, I am particularly pleased with this report which came to me through the San Bernardino Free Press of September 29, 1965, which set forth the accomplishments of San Bernardino County's war on poverty. I am proud of the initiative that was shown in my congressional district and the continued interest in the welfare of its citizens.

LOCAL WAR ON POVERTY ONE OF BEST

A year has passed since Congress enacted the Economic Opportunities Act of 1964. San Bernardino County's dependency prevention commission was formed in January, this year, and funded in February.

After these months, how does the commission shape up? How much money has been and will be spent in the county sector of the war on poverty? What projects are underway and planned? Who are the persons involved? Where are the projects, underway and planned?

These questions were taken to the commission, and detailed answers, sometimes necessarily phrased in qualifications, were furnished.

Answers were provided from a hospital bed by William F. Nicholas (fighting ulcers), the commission's executive director, and at the commission's courthouse annex offices by Rudy Pico, program director.

San Bernardino County, through the commission, has the best antipoverty program in the western 13 States. Authority for this endorsement is from the Federal and regional levels of the war on poverty.

When the program was first established, it took time to start local operations. Participation lagged as many communities waited without getting Federal direction. The responsibility for coordinating, designing, and implementing the attack on poverty is at the local level, termed the Community Action program.

Federal funds, authorized and waiting, went untapped. Only the aggressive areas, such as San Bernardino County proved to be, applied for and got Federal funds for local programs.

Then as communities saw what the leaders were accomplishing, they applied for Federal help in such volume that the Federal money was almost drained and late-entry communities had to cut back their requests.

The legislation was intended to crank up local machinery, fund it on a 90 percent Federal, 10 percent local, basis. After 1 year the Federal Government intended to cut its share, establishing a 50–50 formula.

Many communities could not afford a 50–50 share.

To get the war on poverty into the poverty pockets across the country, the Federal Government apparently realized many communities could not afford to pay half the project costs.

Nicholas attended briefings in Washington, D.C., several weeks ago, and regional briefings more recently.

He said, "There is no question." The Federal share will continue at 90 percent beyond the first year, through the following fiscal year. How far beyond that, nobody can say.

Nobody knows the size of next year's Federal appropriation. Apparently the commission's hopes are high because plans are definitely underway to continue present efforts and launch new projects.

Although the commission has earned national recognition as a model for community action in the war on poverty, within San Bernardino County it is not generally understood, according to its leaders.

Nicholas and Pico accept speakers' invitations to civic and church groups to help explain the program. Commission offices welcome questions and visits. They welcomed the recent appointment of the city's industrial development coordinator, Cecil E. West, as liaison with the city council.

Ex officio representation on the commission already existed from county welfare, probation and parole, health, schools, hospital, administrative office, and sheriff's departments.

The State's division of vocational rehabilitation, county housing authority, agricultural extension services, State employment, California Youth Authority, the Farmers' Home Administration, the Riverside-San Bernardino council of churches and the San Bernardino County Council of Community Services have ex officio representation on the commission.

Pico said most of the $3 million total cost of present and planned programs will be spent "on this side of the mountains." He said that was fair, on a county population basis.

Within the city limits of San Bernardino the commission expects to spend $1,700,000, according to Commission President Dr. Robert G. Fisk.

Early next month the commission, without laying out any cash, will provide 475 men and 296 women, ages 16–21, with jobs in 30 agencies. The unskilled school dropouts will earn $1.25 an hour for 25 hours work per week. They will earn $700 and get valuable training for other employment during the 6-month program.

Operation Contact, with offices in eight key poverty areas, hired local persons of low income to maintain contact referral stations. Such persons have an easier acceptance within the community concerned.

Perhaps typical of the Operation Contact implementers is Mrs. Helen Jackson, Victor Valley.

"I've lived in the community 8 years, and this is the first time I've been asked to serve," said Mrs. Jackson.

Other implementers are: Henry Cotton, Ontario; Marguerite Fitch, North Fontana; Beatrice Hernandez, Colton; Venny Newman and Tony Suniga, West-Central San Bernardino; Clara Jefferson, Barstow; and Rose Remos, Redlands.

Operation Head Start saw nearly 100 teachers in 17 school districts and nonprofit agencies help 1,500 preschool youngsters. William D. Hatcher is county coordinator of this, the biggest such program in southern California. The summer's 8-week program was deemed successful in giving culturally disadvantaged children a chance to succeed when they started school. More Operation Head Starts are definitely in prospect.

In the planning stage is a Small Business Development Center, to aid small businesses, five or less enployees, with loans and counsel.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps has aided nearly 600 students, 16 to 21, with jobs in various school districts. The schools hire students for summer work to help them stay in school.

An out-of-school program for 16- 21-year-olds will provide 475 men and 296 women with jobs in 30 agencies, starting early next month. The commission will make no actual cash outlays on the project. The young persons employed will earn $1.25 an hour and get valuable training for other employment during the 6-month program. They will work 25 hours a week and earn $700 during the project.

Operation Open Door operates under the State division of vocational rehabilitation. It offers vocational training to impoverished, disabled citizens who are not on welfare.

Colton and Redlands have cultural enrichment programs for disadvantaged children and their parents. Clement junior high, Redlands, will house a new program that is planned.

Extended adult services reaches unemployed and underemployed adults in poverty areas. It provides counseling, testing, training and job placement. Local Operation Contact offices provide the services.

Community relations workers, from the county housing authority, working through Operation Contact, is conducting a program to mobilize community resources in economic, education, and social concepts. Recreation and homework help are provided.

The Frazee Community Center offers a reading center, study hall, recreation and field trips for first through seventh graders.

Dependency Prevention Commission members are named by local commnity action groups, the mayor's committee, the board of supervisors, the council of community services and the commission itself, five appointments each.

Members appointed from San Bernardino include: W. R. Holcomb, Donald L. Morgan, Harry C. Smith, Mrs. Opal Legardy, Mrs. Anne Shirrells, Mrs. Judy Ismach, Dr. Allen F. Sterling and Dr. Robert G. Fisk.

An Opportunity for Community Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, in the October edition of the Junior College Journal there is an excellent article describing the activities of two Baltimore junior colleges under the Economic Opportunity Act. I would like to include the text of this article in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues:

AN OPPORTUNITY FOR COMMUNITY COLLEGES—TWO BALTIMORE JUNIOR COLLEGES PROVIDE AN EXAMPLE OF HOW TO RESPOND TO LOCAL NEEDS

(By MOSES S. KOCH and Priscilla M. Woolley)

Community colleges in urban areas may soon be appointing elementary school teachers to their faculties.

This suggestion was among many made at a recent Columbia University conference of urban junior colleges. Elementary school teachers might very likely teach the culturally deprived—the undereducated student with college ability—how to write a sentence, how to form a paragraph, and ultimately how to qualify for freshman English.

This radical concept is only one of many dramatic approaches which community colleges will be devising as they begin to reach the poverty bound population for whom the Economic Opportunity Act has been designed.

The community college cannot be all things to all people but, in concert with the Economic Opportunity Act, the urban community college is in a position to increase its responsibilities in a zone of need thus far barely charted by higher education, namely helping persons in the poverty cycle to break out of that cycle so that their next generation need not be born into poverty.

To realize its potential in this respect, the community college will need to be imaginative and often radical in proposing programs. The act itself (titles I, II, IV, and V) encourages novel approaches to the problem of bridging and reducing the cultural gap between the poverty ridden and the middle class families. A broad spectrum of ideas, practices, concepts, and plans relative to implementation of the objectives of the act will need to be considered. This might include such varied programs as utilizing an unused portion of a large campus for a day care camp during the summer; training mothers in diet control, child care, and budget; or offering an A.A. degree program in human renewal.

A typical example of a unique project which was organized some months ago and now proves to have direct relevance to the war on poverty is the one presently carried out at Essex Community College and Baltimore Junior College. The urban development assistant project, a pilot project partly financed by the Urban Renewal Administration, has as its goal the training of semi-professionals in fields of city planning and urban renewal.[1] The emphasis of this terminal curriculum is not only on physical aspects, e.g., urban sociology and community organization. Students are recruited among local high school graduates with special efforts being made to reach those who live in the inner city. To their firsthand knowledge of the problems of their own neighborhoods, these young people can now add an insight into solutions developed by the professionals who are their teachers. Because the job opportunities in this field are so varied, the graduates of this program will be able to enter rewarding careers in the improvement of the physical and social conditions of their community.

Following the initial interest evoked by this program, the Baltimore Health and Welfare Council requested that a parallel type of curriculum be devised to train "neighborhood development assistants" who would qualify for positions in the neighborhood centers planned as part of the Community Action for Neighborhood Development and Organization (CANDO), a Baltimore City program to be financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity. As a result, Baltimore Junior College is developing such a curriculum which will be incorporated into the total Baltimore Human Renewal project. Although this program will be open to all eligible high school graduates, funds will be available to cover tuition costs for those students only who reside within the action area and whose family income places them in the poverty group. Thus, two goals will be attempted: offering to the community college graduates new and vitally needed occupations in a field of urban action, and developing the indigenous leadership which much be fully utilized if the war on poverty is to succeed.

Community colleges everywhere will, of course, be participating in the work-study programs offered under title I of the Economic Opportunity Act. In this they will emulate the senior institutions. However, because of their traditional open-door policy, the community colleges can now truly open the way to those students who are not only needy but, because of their inadequate educational and cultural backgrounds, are quite unprepared to meet the standards established by the more restrictive colleges. The bold new college discovery program of the Bronx Community College[2] is an example of the results which can be achieved with a group of potentially able but academically failing youngsters. Selecting those students who showed innate ability but whose school records were consistently low—finding, moreover, that the majority of them came from families living in poverty, suffering from racial discrimination, language difficulties, lack of education, and resulting social ills—the staff of this project devised a remedial program aimed at rehabilitating these potential college students. The results were striking enough to suggest widespread adoption of simliar programs.

If, in addition, the provisions of the work-study programs can be fully exploited so that students can earn while they learn, it would seem that any community college has at hand the means of a somewhat revolutionary breakthrough in higher education. Dr. Morris Meister, president of Bronx Community College, states that "In the community colleges, which deal essentially with the student in the middle, bits of knowledge are beginning to appear. These come to our attention in dramatic fashion, especially when complicated by students from the ghettos of a large urban center. Among the students in the middle we find the late bloomer, the slow starter, the victim of educational malpractice, both in the home and in the lower schools. We find the ravages of poverty on the minds of men, the total absence of a tradition for intellectual pursuits. We are beginning to get glimpses of the kinds of forces which motivate the young people in the middle."[3] These forces are indeed precisely those which the community college can utilize to meet the challenges of the war on poverty.

The community college, however, cannot operate in a vacuum. Traditionally drawing its faculty and its resources from senior colleges and universities, it must also turn to them for help in its efforts at achieving a broader scope of education. Conversely, the senior institutions, particiularly those located in large urban settings must keep attuned to needs and problems of the community. Educators and sociologists engaged in academic research and in action programs must not only be informed of but must also cooperate with the efforts of the junior colleges in establishing more effective channels of communication with the middle student, who may some day join their ranks.

A LOCAL EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION

Because of an effort to do precisely this, Essex Community College was awarded a grant from the Sears-Roebuck Foundation to organize areawide conferences in order to bring together town and gown. Two day-long sessions were held last spring for the purpose of exchanging information and coordinating efforts in areas of research, training, and action as these relate to urban problems and as they involve colleges and universities of the Baltimore area. Educators took an inventory of current programs and discussed needed additional ones at the first of these sessions. Six weeks later, at a second session, community representatives were acquainted with these prorgams and encouraged to examine them and to make further suggestions.

There emerged, from these two conferences, an almost unanimous recommendation on the part of the participants, community leaders as well as educators, that a permanent Higher Education Council for Urban Affairs be established in the Baltimore metropolitan area. The purpose of this council, which would be staffed and financed independently of any one institution, but whose membership would include all institutions of higher learning of the area, would be to act as a clearing house, as an investigative body, as an initiative power to mar-

Footnotes at end of speech.

shall existing higher education resources and to encourage the establishment of new ones in an effort toward defining and solving urban problems.[4]

Thus a community college acts as the catalyst for establishing a dialog between academic expertise and community leadership. It is interesting to note that a similar effort was recently undertaken in the New York metropolitan region under the leadership of the Regional Plan Association. The research undertaken by this association resulted in recommendations which closely paralleled those obtained from the Essex Community College conferences.[5]

Problems of poverty, of social ills, of lack of opportunity will not, of course, be solved only by discussions, no matter on how high a level, nor by the training of needed personnel, nor even by appropriating large sums of money for a new bureaucracy. A primary task is also that of trying to overcome the lethargy of the middle class urban periphery. Blindness to glaring social inequities seems all too often the case. Many communities lack an understanding of why it is that one-sixth of the people have been denied the privileges of the American way of life, a system credited for having created the most prosperous society the world has ever known. Ignorance of our neighbor's plight is a condition common to many of our comfortable suburbs.

A typical case in point concerns a small area of Baltimore County. To most citizens of this suburban county, one of the richest in the nation, poverty is something found only in vast ghettos of the neighboring city. According to 1960 census figures, however, the following statistics present a different picture:

Fourteen percent of Baltimore County families live on a yearly income of less than $5,000. In one particular census tract covering 200 families, 51 of them live on less than $3,000 a year; in another this applies to 156 of the 1,200 families.

Thirty-seven percent of Baltimore County adult residents were found to have an educational level equivalent to the eighth grade or below. In 23 census tracts this group comprised more than one-half the population.

Ten percent of all housing units of the area are dilapidated or deteriorating and lack essential plumbing. In some of these areas the rate is more than 50 percent, and in one area it is as high as 90 percent.[6]

This poverty, which is cultural as well as economic, is not restricted to racial minorities. This was dramatically pointed out by a recent call for help from an elementary school principal who found himself in the position of being the only enlightened leader in a white community where, in his own words, "children enter the first grade with every tooth in their mouths decayed and without knowing what a newspaper looks like."

This dedicated young principal turned to the community college in his area for help in two ways: To find the means of alerting appropriate government agencies toward the conditions of social dynamite existing in his neighborhood, and to ask that the college organize educational programs so that a few concerned residents could learn, could understand, and could intelligently attempt to work out solutions. Here, it would seem, is an example of one of the real challenges to the community college: namely, relating to its neighbors not only by offering formal education to the young but also by providing a resource to the adult and professional populations in need.

The community college, located at the point where, as expressed by Prof. Sloan Wayland,[7] the two planes of educational structure and community structure system intersect, can perform an invaluable role by focusing not only its own resources but also those of related agencies and institutions upon the grey areas which surround it. Local leadership, whether it be enlightened or primitive, instinctively turns for help to that institution in its neighborhood which represents knowledge and progress. In many localities the community college is just that, and perhaps even more so than the large university with its traditional image of the ivory tower rising above the intellectual and social darkness of its environment. One may then logically conclude that the community college can meaningfully exercise its role as an integral part of the community by acting as the middle man between the poverty ridden of the neighborhood and those agencies and institutions which offer the means for cultural and economic improvement.

WHAT THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE CAN DO

Most universities have well-defined extension programs, usually for the benefit of professionals such as teachers who wish to advance in their careers. Some offer informal courses in cultural subjects, mostly geared to an already well-educated segment of the community. The community college, on the other hand, can render a new service by using these two types of programs and directing them instead toward the semiskilled worker who wishes to attain semiprofessional status, or toward the undereducated potential community leader who is groping for the means to improve not only his own situation but that of his particular neighborhood.

Prof. John Bebout has stated that it is the university's "responsibility to see to it that knowledge and skills which it has developed or assembled * * * can be used to affect urban change and development. The university is part of the larger community. It is conditioned by and, in turn, conditions this larger environment."[8]

These statements can be applied to the community college with only slight modification, and the implementation of these concepts by the provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act then become more clearly defined.

Illustrative examples readily come to mind. The section of title II of the act which concerns adult basic education programs suggests a new approach for the community colleges. Here new courses over and above those offered by the public schools might well be initiated. Homemaking, health, child care, consumer buying, legal rights, and civil liberties are among the very material educational needs of the lower socioeconomic community. Appreciation of art, music, literature, needs promotion at a new level among a society whose leisure hours are increasing and whose recreational activities have been all too limited, in areas of intellectual and cultural pursuits.

The community college has a wealth of resources within its own faculty and through its contacts with other cultural institutions; it can plan new ways of sharing these with groups who have not yet realized that such knowledge could be theirs. It can, for instance, organize single-shot projects such as "A Day of College for the Aging"[9] recently conducted in Baltimore County when 102 people over 65 spent 1 day going to a number of college level classes planned for their benefit, in a variety of subjects.

Title II of the act, which calls for employment and investment incentives, is already well reflected in the many specialized junior college curriculums whose objects are to develop the managerial skills and resources called for by this title's statement of purpose.

But perhaps title V, which concerns work experience programs to assist older heads of families, needs to be considered as a new aspect of urban extension. Retraining opportunities for workers who have been displaced by automation are within the scope of the community college which is in the position of being able to understand the needs and problems of its area, both economic and psychological. Experimental, pilot, and demonstration projects are called for under this title, and here is where opportunities, as well as problems, present themselves. How, for instance, does the middle-aged person whose intellectual development has been crippled by a language deficiency or by a culturally sterile environment, fit into a college English class? How can this person understand the complexities of modern scientific theory or even the mathematics of industrial technology when his background includes only elementary arithmetic? Will the community college need to lower its standards of proficiency in the liberal arts and thus abandon the basic concepts of higher education? The answer to this last question must obviously be in the negative.

The need is probably for crash precollege remedial programs, of the type undertaken by the Bronx Community College, but with further adaptation to the older, more mature student as well as to the 18-year-old.

A special kind of faculty will be required for these programs, perhaps to include unusually gifted elementary schoolteachers, as previously mentioned. Individual tutors, who might well be recruited among the more advanced and outstanding students of the same institution, will probably play an important role.

What is called for here is a total commitment of college and community resources to the particular individual who is considered capable of breaking the poverty cycle. This is truly in the tradition of the community college movement, where the emphasis has always been on teaching and on individual student services.

The city of Baltimore and its metropolitan area can be considered one of the typical centers of "Megalopolis." Problems of regional planning, of renewal both urban and human, and of poverty, are of the magnitude which prompted the concern of our national leadership and resulted in the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act. Under the provisions of this act, Baltimore City is putting into effect this year a $4 million human renewal program. The surrounding counties are endeavoring to identify their own pockets of poverty in order to bring to them the advantages offered by the act.

For the community colleges of this area, as in similar areas throughout the country, the challenge is clear and the opportunities can be defined. These institutions can participate in providing means of raising the cultural level of the deprived citizen, of training the underprivileged youngster for a productive occupation, of discovering the future leader and offering him the educational climate in which he can develop his potential. With the aid of the Economic Opportunity Act urban community colleges are now in a position to act.

Footnotes at end of speech.

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Silence on the Potomac

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Messrs. Rowland Evans and Robert Novak have certainly caught the spirit to what I believe to be the opinion of a large group of Congressmen; namely, that the monolithic system used by this administration is causing not only some very good men to leave the service of the Government but results in poor administration because of the lack of competent people to be heard.

Frozen and unchanging administrative policies are not in the best interest of representative government, as so well explained by the following article by Messrs. Evans and Novak which appeared in the Washington Post of October 22:

SILENCE ON THE POTOMAC

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

At a recent closed meeting of the high-level poverty council presided over by Vice President HUMPHREY, one official momentarily interrupted the smooth flow of conversation.

Pointing to Budget Director Charles Schultze and White House economic adviser, Gardner Ackley, this official commented: "When all is said and done, the success of the poverty program depends on how well you fellows do with the economy—on whether enough new jobs are created."

These words are a cautious dissent from the official Johnson administration line on poverty. They suggest that present policy, no matter how well executed, cannot by itself strike deep at the roots of poverty. And this dissent is privately shared by a growing number of officials.

In the Washington of another day, the official's guarded warning to the poverty council might well have triggered a heated policy debate. Instead, the council hurried on to other matters.

That's because Lyndon Johnson's lieutenants aren't supposed to disagree with established administration policy in public. Even in private, they dissent only with supercaution. As a result, instead of the customary quarrels among policymakers, there is silence on the Potomac today.

Although this secretive atmosphere provides a facade of monolithic unity, it also prevents a healthy public debate over President Johnson's most important, most troubled new program, the war against poverty. For in whispers deep inside the administration, there are criticisms of that program that have nothing to do with personalities or ideologies.

The criticism goes to the basic strategy of poverty czar Sargent Shriver: attack poverty by stitching together the torn fabric of the Negro family, train unemployed youth in citizenship and job skills and try to nip the poverty syndrome in early childhood through the preschool Head Start program.

The dissenters (located in various Federal agencies) are warning that these worthwhile programs may only be building up the poor for a terrible letdown—preparing them for jobs that won't exist. Automation and the steady outpouring of youths into the job market all but rule out a significant decrease in unemployment even if the economy maintains its glowing health.

The answer? Perhaps Federal public works to create new jobs. But there are grave misgivings about the effectiveness of WPA-style programs. Consequently, dissenters inside the administration are coming to believe the answer is to spread out existing jobs among more workers.

The fastest way to spread the work is a Federal law requiring double pay (instead of the present time-and-a-half) for overtime—making overtime so expensive that employers would take on additional employees. The impact of doubletime pay in spreading jobs would be greatly heightened if the workweek were cut from 40 hours to 35.

But these proposals strike sparks inside the L.B.J. labor-management consensus. Workers who now have jobs don't want to give up their overtime to provide jobs for the unemployed. Accordingly, organized labor (with the conspicuous exception of the auto workers' Walter Reuther) gives little more than lipservice to job-spreading schemes. And normally pro-Johnson elements of big business vigorously oppose them. The auto industry highly influential in this administration, is adamant in its opposition to double time.

The result: The administration is irrevocably opposed to the 35-hour week and half-hearted in its support of double time. The House Labor Committee knocked the double time scheme out of the administration's minimum wage bill, and there is no apparent White House drive to restore it in the Senate.

The fact that such matters are not openly discussed in Washington these days is a major difference between President Johnson and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Roosevelt encouraged Harry Hopkins and Harold Ickes to slug it out over how to battle the depression. But Mr. Johnson insists on absolute loyalty once administration policy is determined. His antipoverty strategy seems to be frozen for better or for worse, and some silent dissenters fear it may be for worse.

Witch Hunts No Remedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, recent days have witnessed dramatic expressions of criticism and support of our foreign policy, particularly as it relates to Vietnam. Human emotions, propaganda, errors of fact and judgment, mistakes and misunderstanding confuse not only individual citizens but also governments, including our own. Wisdom and restraint are now necessary more than ever in determining a course of action.

The Detroit News in an editorial published on October 20, 1965, has very articulately reviewed this problem and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

ANTIWAR PROTESTS HARMFUL, BUT—WITCH HUNTS NO REMEDY

The News long has felt—and frequently has said—that the students and faculty members who have been protesting against the war in Vietnam have been misinformed, misguided, and misled. We still think so.

But now we see a possible new danger in the sharp reaction to these antiwar demonstrations by persons who want to beat up the demonstrators, throw them all in jail or insist they all be drafted into the armed services as soon as possible.

The demonstrators still represent only a small proportion of American youth and faculty members. There is no evidence that their point of view is representative either of all young people or of the campus. And so far few of the demonstrations have gotten beyond control of the local authorities.

In short, there is a danger now that the critics of the demonstrators will over-react and give the domonstrations an importance they do not deserve. Publicity and attention are the first goals of the demonstrators, and those who object too much are helping them achieve those aims.

By exaggerating the importance of the demonstrations, the critics also unintentionally serve the cause of our Communist foes overseas. If the critics try to break up antiwar or antidraft demonstrations at home, our enemies may be misled into believing there is more behind the protest movement than a minority of campus radicals.

We think the demonstrators often have taken advantage of freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and academic freedom. Yet the rights of free speech and free assembly do protect peaceful, orderly demonstrators, if not those who break the laws and the campus regulations.

We are not suggesting inaction by the proper authorities. We are saying that there are appropriate laws and regulations to deal with the problems created by these demonstrations. A new law makes it a Federal offense to destroy a draft card. So a young college graduate who staged a draft-card-burning demonstration in New York has been arrested. And the law will deal with him.

Similarly, if those arrested during a sit-in at the Ann Arbor draft board offices violated selective service regulations, they may be inducted into the Armed Forces. If that's what the law provides, that's what they can expect.

A new organization which wants to persuade high school students to become conscientious objectors also will find the law covers this situation. There is no such thing as an instantaneous conscientious objector. A man has to show substantial proof of religious and other convictions to earn the conscientious objector's role.

Nor will academic freedom always protect faculty demonstrators who violate the law or their college regulations. One professor at an eastern university has been dismissed, not because he took part in a demonstration, but because he carried his cause into the classroom and gave his students only his one-sided view of the Vietnam war.

Even if Communists have infiltrated some groups staging demonstrations, as FBI Director Hoover now insists, the job of finding the Communists and rooting them out is a matter for the FBI and other law enforcement agencies. This is not a task for the individual citizen.

Under the circumstances, there is no need for any vigilante groups getting into the act in the mistaken belief they're displaying patriotism. Law enforcement agencies and the institutions of the home, the school and the church are capable of dealing with the problem.

This country neither wants nor needs a witchhunt against the minority who oppose the war in Vietnam, no matter how misinformed, misguided and misled the majority may believe it to be.

Vice President Humphrey Gives a Vote of Confidence for the Youth of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, we are daily reminded of the troubles that exist in the world we live in. The news reflects violence, poverty, hate, misunderstanding, economic and political upheaval. Young Americans have lived most of their lives being aware of these unrests. They have lived in times fraught with tension. It is with too much ease that they are criticized for their reactions to these situations. They are too often labeled en masse as lazy, fad-minded, irresponsible individuals. It is about time that the adult members of our society take a good look at the American youth of today and realize that these judgments are erroneous. There are indeed young people who, due to an inability to cope with the pressures under which they live, have made mistakes and chosen to react without good judgment—no society has ever been totally free of this element—but this is no license to condemn in a body our young people. For every case of delinquency we read about in the papers or see in our television newscasts there are hundreds of upstanding youngsters who are working to educate themselves and prove themselves to be worthwhile members of their communities.

Vice President HUMPHREY, in an article he wrote entitled "What's Right With Today's Youth," which appeared in the Parade supplement of the Miami Herald on September 5, 1965, offers some profound insights into the situation of our youth today. In the article he recognizes and gives credit to those young Americans who, through their efforts, are making America a better place to live.

I feel that the Vice President has truly performed a great public service by writing this article. His has been an inspiring stand on the problems as well as the merits of today's youth. His interest and concern for this, one of America's greatest natural resources, has been an inspiration for all of us who see the need for a fuller understanding of the problems that young people face today. His leadership and the programs that he has supported to meet these problems deserve our fullest support. Cooperation and understanding are important keys, keys that can solve many of our problems. The article follows:

WHAT'S RIGHT WITH TODAY'S YOUTH—SOME RIOT; OTHERS DO GOOD DEEDS—THE VICE PRESIDENT LOOKS AT OUR CONTROVERSIAL YOUNGER GENERATION

(By HUBERT H. HUMPHREY)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Young Americans give their lives for freedom in South Vietnam, while other young Americans demonstrate against our involvement there. Some young people rip apart seaside resorts, others work night and day to repair the flood-ravaged dikes of the Middle West. Our universities turn out the brightest, best-educated graduates in history, but at the same time we face a problem of school dropouts.

Which is the true picture of the younger generation? Are more and more young people finding their release in rioting, protests, and crime? Or is the trend upward toward honor and achievement? Will they send America into decline, or will they build a greater, more dynamic Nation?

I believe the latter is true, and I can back up my belief with facts and personal experience. This is no reason for complacency. For we cannot allow even a fraction of our youth to squander themselves while we, who like to boast that we are older and wiser, stand by lamenting.

My interest in youth is by no means academic. As the father of four children (three still in school), I am concerned at the increase in juvenile crime not only in the slums, where there is the goad of dismal poverty, but among children who have never known want, children who should know better.

Like any other father of my generation, I have my share of skepticism about Beatle mops and dances like the swim, the frug, and the watusi. But then I find myself asking: Was there ever a young generation that didn't have crazes, and was there ever an old one that approved of them? What of the flappers of the Roaring Twenties, many of them now sedate grandmothers? What of the grandfathers who once sported Rudolph Valentino sideburns and those wide trousers known as Oxford bags? What about the black bottom and the charleston? But we grew out of them.

I do not condone the excesses of youth. I don't mean the fads; I mean the rioting, violence, and crime that cause us worry in our society. But again, I must ask how much we, the older generation, are responsible for the startling increase in juvenile lawlessness?

The war broke up families and reduced parental discipline. Then came the postwar years of the "fast buck" with an inevitable eroding of morality and family responsibility. Children were left to bring themselves up while their parents made up for lost time.

Now we are in a period of unprecedented prosperity, and I cannot help feeling that prosperity is a more severe test of character than adversity. Hard times, as I remember from my own youth, bring families together. In good times, it is all too easy to drift apart. Though the young people today enjoy luxuries never known to their parents, they are also exposed to pressures and frustrations their parents never encountered.

MORE PEOPLE THAN JOBS

Our youth are quite conscious they live in a world that has the capacity to destroy itself and that the detonators are in the hands of the older generation. They are also conscious of the fact that, in our affluent society, there are more people of their age than there are jobs to go around. The number of workers 18 and 19 years old is expected to increase by half a million this year—twice the increase of last year. Before 1970, more than 3 million young people will swell the labor force each year.

Those without training and skills will face a bleak future. The unemployment rate for the young already is more than three times as high as for older workers. We are past the time when a living, even a humble one, can be made without anything but willing hands.

Our country does not owe anybody a living, but it does owe its youth at least the opportunity to work. Government and private industry are now alert to this problem, and we are doing everything we can to help these young people. There are Youth Opportunity Centers, the poverty program, the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Community Action programs.

Of course, youth must be willing to work, and most of them are. I have spoken to thousands of young people at Job Corps camps and other training centers. Many come from broken homes; many are barely able to read and write. Almost all have been bitterly disappointed in their short lives. Yet most are determined to pick up their second chance, acquire new skills and face the world with hope.

Even more impressive are the thousands of young Americans who have an acute conscience about their own generation and want to help the less fortunate. They are intelligent, courageous, well-informed young people, willing to work long hours for little or no pay to correct what they feel is injustice.

Some of the student protests, picketing, marches, sit-ins have caused dismay among us older folk. Frankly, I have shared it because some of the issues, in my view, have been false. But I must admit that America today might be a better place if the people of my generation had shown the same awareness. Fiery speeches and angry placards on the campus are to my mind far less dangerous to the Nation's future than the silence that stifles new ideas. Age in itself is no guarantee of wisdom. In a world changing as rapidly as ours, there can be as many old fools as young fools. Young Americans who get into trouble, who kick against the established order, are often the most alert.

Who of our older generation has not been a rebel? I have been one, and so has our President. Lyndon Johnson was a school dropout who left his native Texas to work with his hands in the fields of California. But he returned to enter college and begin his career as a teacher in a Mexican-American public school. His former students still remember him as a man who gave them knowledge and encouragement to face a world that all too often seemed stacked against them.

Lyndon Johnson held his first Presidential appointment at 27, his first political office at 29. He has said: "No one knows better than I the fires that burn in the hearts of young men who yearn for the chance to do better what they see their elders doing not well * * * or not doing at all."

FAMOUS BEATNIKS

Today's young people—as students, as citizens, yes, even as demonstrators—are showing that they, too, want to do better. Of course, we have our beatniks. There have been beatniks in every age. Some of them are now listed among the world's leading artists, writers and musicians. Gauguin was a beatnik. So were Van Gogh and Edgar Allan Poe.

But I am less concerned with the eccentricities of genius, which can flower in the most unlikely soil, than I am with the mass of our young people today. I don't find them a "beat" generation at all, and I have met them by the thousands across this great country.

Our young people are a healthy and wholesome generation, less hypocritical, more frank than we were at their age. They speak more openly about sex, religion, politics, and other subjects that used to be taboo. In the age of computers, satellites, and almost instant communications, they are also more intelligent and competent. For this is the age of excellence.

Not long ago, I visited the nuclear aircraft carrier *Eenterprise* and was amazed to find boys under 20 manning consoles of multimillion-dollar radar equipment. They were responsible for the safety of American pilots and million-dollar aircraft miles away at sea. At Loring Air Force Base, I talked with a grease-stained enlisted man whom I found working under a jet plane. "I understand you are pretty good," I said, "at keeping these planes in tiptop shape."

"No, Mr. Vice President," the GI replied. "We're not pretty good. We're the best." His commanding officer, Brig. Gen. Frank Elliott, completely agreed. "I have been in the Air Force for a long time," he said. "This crop of youngsters is the best yet. They are more responsive and responsible."

No fewer than one-quarter of the members of our armed services are under 20. Our generals and admirals agree they are the finest young fighting men this country has ever produced, as tough as their fathers of World War II and Korea, more alert and adaptable and so more fit to use the complex weapons of the space age.

If I had to give the younger generation a label, I would call them, as the President has, Volunteer Generation. I may not always agree with the causes they serve, but I must always admire the spirit with which they fight. It could shame some of us older people who pride ourselves on being concerned citizens.

HOW FAR?

For example, a poll in a national news magazine asked American students how far they would go—beyond mere talk—to support a cause in which they believed. Some 93 percent said they would sign a petition; 72 percent had already done so. Some 87 percent said they would contribute money; 58 percent had already done so. An amazing 43 percent were even ready to go to jail.

More than 10,000 young volunteers are now serving in the Peace Corps. Another 3,000 have already returned after tours of duty. But most significant, more than 100,000 have asked to take part in this bold and idealistic experiment. When VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America—the domestic Peace Corps) was launched, more than 3,000 inquiries were received from young people on the first day of business.

When Parade's own editor, Jess Gorkin, had the inspired idea to ask the young people of America to "Work a Day for J.F.K.," the response was staggering. They went out by the thousands to mow lawns, clean cars, run errands, sell cookies and lemonade so they could donate their earnings to the John F. Kennedy Memorial Library. There was no compulsion such as is brought by the commissars in a Communist society. It was merely a suggestion in one magazine for young people to accept or reject.

All it takes to rouse today's young people is motivation. They need to know that their contribution has a purpose. I grew up when it was important to help the family. It was important that we dug vegetables out of sand and stored them in the root cellar. It was important that we earned money to help feed the family. Now in our prosperous suburbs, it is no longer important for young people to contribute to the livelihood. They are inclined to look upon the daily chores as merely an exercise in discipline.

I have complete faith in our young generation. Whenever I am weary or worried, I seek out young people. Many times I have walked out of a meeting, depressed and discouraged, looking for some teenagers. I have found them to be a tonic; they rekindle my spirit and sharpen my wits. I am able to go back refreshed and revitalized.

We parents expect the young to learn from us and from their teachers. But this holds good only if we are prepared to learn from the young—to probe their problems and to admit, as history has proven time and again, that the "follies" of today can be the truths of tomorrow.

Proposed Panama Canal Treaties: A Realistic Appraisal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, since the issue on September 27, 1965, of my press release on the proposed canal, base, and armed forces status treaties with Panama, it has been gratifying to read in small papers from various parts of the Nation thoughtful editorials on the matter of our isthmian policies. It is clear from them that our people are far ahead of those controlling the policies of our Government, the mass news media in general, and most syndicated publicists.

A realistic appraisal of the situation at Panama is given in a page 1 editorial signed by Lila Thomson in the October 14, 1965, edition of the Maryland Monitor of Rockville, Md.

The indicated editorial follows:

GOODBY, PANAMA

(By Lila Thomson)

After months of so-called negotiations, the President of the United States has proposed that the Senate ratify a treaty which will meekly and supinely surrender this country's sovereignty over the Canal Zone.

Make no mistake about it: The treaty's proposals go down the international Communist line developed in full 18 months ago. The "line" demanded abrogation of the United States-Panama Treaty of 1903; demanded zone sovereignty for Panama; and sharpened the ax for cutting a larger monetary take for that country.

Mr. Johnson wants to do just those things.

If the Senate goes along with the President's knuckling down to the left-winging, Communist-dominated people now in control in Panama, make no mistake about this either: damage to U.S. prestige in Latin and South America can only be assessed calamitous.

Under the President's proposed giveaway to Panama, that country will make all decisions concerning flying of the American flag. Military bases inside the zone will be permitted only if our military personnel is subject to laws and courts of Panama. A larger revenue slice is included.

On top of that, if the United States should decide to build another canal and negotiate for its passage across some other country, it will be required to reimburse Panama for losses in revenues. The big question is: How far do we go in this Santa Claus role?

Taxpayers of this country paid out $400 million in canal construction costs roughly 62 years ago. For 62 years Panama has received and prospered on princely income from that canal. For example, in 1963, we handed over a "rent" check amounting to $1.9 million. The same year our profits were $2.3 million which, under terms of the 1903 Treaty, we were required to turn back into maintenance and improvement costs of the waterway.

For that matter, Panama without the canal would have no existence. In 1902, the United States was attempting to negotiate with Colombia for a 10-mile-wide strip for Atlantic to the Pacific passage, but Colombia cooled on the deal.

Recognizing the economic bonanza the canal would represent and fearing the project would go to Nicaragua, a segment of the Colombia population broke away from the mother country and set up the government of Panama which the United States, for obvious reasons, recognized. The 1903 Treaty which followed was negotiated by the late President Theodore Roosevelt. It gave this country sovereign rights it has held ever since and provided Panama with a nice fat income.

For the President of this country to fall flat on his face before the riots and threats of 18 month ago—known to have been generated by Communists and pro-Communists now running Panama—and to surrender our Canal Zone rights and privileges guaranteed by treaty, leaves American interests in all of South America wide open to a good many troubles in a good many countries in the southern half of the hemisphere where Communist influences are rising to disturbing proportions.

In the event of war, where U.S. naval forces might be fighting a two-ocean battle for survival, loss of zone sovereignty and possible closing of the canal by a Communist-dominated Panamanian government to our ships could mean disaster.

In coming up with the pending treaty, the President has ignored advice of some of the most respected military and naval men in and out of the service of their country. We can only hope the Senate will heed what the President has ignored.

Sea Power in Latin America—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 13, 1965

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a second portion of an article from the U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings, October 1965.

The article follows:

Regrettably, it is true that, historically, the larger units of Latin American navies have been used mostly against their own populations. It is, for example, a matter of record that prior to World War II South American battleships fired their guns in anger only against South American cities. Today it is questionable whether the Latin American navies really require such obsolete vessels as the six 10,000-ton cruisers of American origin now in the fleets of the ABC powers. With the advent of modern air power, even the cruisers' former role as a threat to coastal cities has become redundant. These cruisers now have little role to play except to offer battle against each other.[1]

[1] However, some Latin American naval officers have pointed out the value of the big ships for training—not so much of cadets, but of officers in preparation for staff duties and higher command.

But surely the Organization of American States plus the United Nations has sufficient diplomatic machinery available to prevent open warfare between the American Republics. It is not easy to contemplate a reversion to the past and the war of the Pacific. There will be no further engagements between *Cochranes* and *Huascars*. The expensive, outmoded 10,000-tonners should be scrapped, the money saved to be used to make modern fleets serve modern needs.

Nevertheless, one must take into account the psychological factor of national rivalry as between the various navies in Latin America. For example, although it is no longer standard doctrine in Argentina that the Argentine Fleet should be capable of defeating simultaneously both the navies of Brazil and Chile, the Argentine Navy vigorously seeks superiority. Chile for its part has always had an eye cocked toward Peru as well as Argentina, and the Peruvian Navy has responded to the dimensions of the Chilean Navy. Even river flotillas on the remote reaches of the Amazon have responded to such tocsins as the "Leticia Incident" in the 1930's. There is thus an ever-present danger of escalation and of needless expense, both in budgets, materiel, and the allocation of human resources in building up fleets which have no raison d'être. To this it might be ruefully added that some of our NATO allies are foremost in their blandishments to encourage Latin American navies to buy additional questionable hardware in the form of prestige items such as aircraft carriers and cruisers. Also, we must not blink the fact that some South American CNO's are convinced that the United States has needlessly upset the South American balance of naval power by providing ships and aircraft to potential rivals.

In casting about for solutions, or at least palliatives, to the problem of national rivalries so necessary in an age when we must all pull together against the international menace of communism, the present writer dallied with the idea of mixed manning. To the simple—or perhaps not sufficiently simple—diplomat, the idea seemed attractive because of its political possibilities. For example, if crews of sister republics speaking the same language could man one vessel for a common objective, it seemed, at least philosophically, that much of the sting of national rivalry would automatically be dissipated.

However, in discussing this concept with the able and intelligent Latin American officers studying at the U.S. Naval War College in Newport, where the writer now serves as State Department adviser, their reaction to mixed manning was identical with that of the American and other navies (at the unofficial level, of course) to mixed manning as proposed within the NATO context. Apparently, sailormen have a very definite feeling that each ship should have her own crew and own flag, although they quite readily accept the concept that these ships under their national flags should join together with other ships and flags for joint objectives.

No one can question the sincerity of these officers nor their dedication to the defense of the Western Hemisphere from external aggression. In consequence, it seems better to employ their patriotism, energy, and intelligence to the most effective ends. The officers with whom this writer has discussed the problem at the Naval War College are unanimous in the belief that there is no real impediment to very active cooperation and coordination of activity as between the Latin American navies, particularly in ASW operations.

Here it would seem that variants of Operation UNITAS could be worked out on regional bases as between the governments and navies of the countries most intimately concerned with joint problems in definite geographic areas. For example, the vitally strategic waters of the Straits of Magellan, the Beagle Channel, and the Drake Passage could well be left to the responsibility of Argentina and Chile, operating joint task forces. Similarly, up the west coast, Chile and Peru with Ecuador could combine their resources in ASW activity. In the vital area of the River Plate, where as pointed out above, the danger of pressure mine warfare is at the moment totally unmet by local navies or even by the U.S. Navy, the riverine countries, Paraguay, Argentina, and Uruguay, could establish joint task forces for minesweeping and for the prevention of entry to the estuary of the River Plate of enemy submarines. A counterinsurgency capability should be developed to prevent the mining of this vital waterway by Communist subversives operating at night from small craft.

When the second isthmian canal has been dug, there will devolve wider responsibilities in the Caribbean and in North and South America generally for the protection of the approaches of both canals from both the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans.

In all of these cases, variants of Operation UNITAS should be developed as between the Latin American navies and with a minimum of U.S. participation, except in friendly guidance if requested. Above all, there should be a determination on our part to assist the Latin American navies in their programs of modernization, both in the acquisition of up-to-date ASW ships and also aircraft.

We should ask ourselves whether there is a requirement for an additional U.S. numbered fleet in the Western Hemisphere, similar to the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean. I should say unequivocally that the answer is no. So far as the primary naval requirement of antisubmarine warfare is concerned, this can best be handled by continuation of Operation UNITAS, with emphasis as suggested above on moving toward joint operations and ultimately complete control by Latin American navies of ASW activity in the waters of the Southern Hemisphere. The corollary would, of course, be the readiness of the United States to assist the South American navies in improving their ASW capability, both in terms of surface vessels and aircraft.

Although the presence of the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean is fraught with political significance and the latent power of this fleet has in recent years been demonstrated, as for example the landing at Lebanon, it is much to be doubted if the presence of a similar numbered fleet in Latin American waters would bring similar productive results. On the contrary, the presence of such a powerful fleet might in Latin American terms be contra producente, since its mere appearance at a given place and time would inescapably have political overtones.

To sum up, the future ideal for maintenance of naval power in Latin America by both the United States and indigenous navies would be to work toward joint task forces organized on regional requirements to keep open the sea lanes and the vital estuaries; to the placing of ASW air activity under exclusive naval control; to the deployment of coastal patrol craft and minesweeping operations under local command. The present investment in large ships, particularly the cruisers should be liquidated and the naval personnel attached to these ships released to more effective ASW-type vessels and aircraft. Ultimately, with elimination of obsolete tonnage and emphasis on modern small ships, there would be a reduction in naval strength on a country-versus-country basis, but a significant increase in overall allied naval strength throughout the waters of the Western Hemisphere.

I am disposed to agree with Lt. Carlos E. Zartman, Argentine Navy, who in a professional note entitled "Operation UNITAS" wrote in the May 1963 U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings:

"Without ready support of modernized and capable Latin American naval forces, the United States would be faced with the tremendous task of protecting the vast and absolutely vital shipping lanes around the entire South American Continent. Thus the primary function of UNITAS operations is to help the Latin American navies develop in size and ability to defend their own coastal frontiers."

If this goal is to be achieved, however, our Congress must amend its attitude on the lending of ships to Latin American navies or assistance in building new ships. We must also be willing to let Latin American naval pilots fly some of our ASW aircraft. And our Latin American shipmates must begin to think in hemispheric concepts and not in the old "out-cutlasses-and-board" heroics of the Almirantes Brown and Cochrane. Ultimately, if the promise of UNITAS is achieved and national entities merged into acceptance of international responsibilities, the navies of the New World might paraphrase and modify the national motto of Chile, "Por la razon o la fuerza," and apply instead that force of reason which will make them jointly victorious in the waters of the Western Hemisphere.

Toward the Great Society—Urban Affairs Department

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, while we are recalling the outstanding works of this first session of the 89th Congress, we ought to note the very important new Caibnet Department. of Housing and Urban Development, which will coordinate Federal efforts in urban programs. The Federal Government has more than 60 programs for urban areas.

Establishment of the Department of Housing and Urban Affairs was long overdue. It is the first step in a project whose goal is improvement in the lives and living areas of 70 percent of the Nation's population. The debate and legislative history of the bill to create that new Department record deep awareness of the enormous problems of today's American city by members of both parties.

In his remarks on September 9, after signing the act creating the Department, President Johnson told the Nation:

> In less than a lifetime—in less than my own 57 years—America has become a highly urbanized Nation, and we must face the many meanings of this new America.
>
> Social change in our country is often faster than the mind of a generation can comprehend. But the pace of our urbanization has been stunning. It will move still faster in the immediate years ahead.
>
> Between now and the end of this century, our urban population will double. City land will double.
>
> In the next 35 years, we must literally build a second America—putting in place as many houses, schools, apartments, parks, and offices as we have built through all the time since the Pilgrims arrived on these shores.

Perhaps the key statement in the President's remarks was this paragraph:

> Our cities and our new urban age must not be symbols of a sordid society. The history

of every civilization teaches us that those who do not find new means to respond to new challenges will perish or decay.

The first need in meeting the crisis of our cities is enlightened planning. The urban area is such a sensitive mechanism that to tamper with one component is to affect and possibly upset an unpredictable number of other seemingly independent components.

For example, how wide will the streets in an area be built? If too narrow, there will not be enough parking for vehicles. Then offstreet parking will be required. If the parking is offstreet, the residential lot must be made larger. With larger lots, multiplied a couple of thousand times over, more curb and gutter, more water main, more sewer, more storm drainage, and, in many cases, more annexation are imperative. Each of these factors is a major consideration in city finances. Each must be thought through fully by responsible local agencies.

Creating the Department of Housing and Urban Development, Mr. Speaker, goes a long way toward implementing the recommendations of the Hoover Commission. It coordinates related authorities, responsibilities and functions which have been placed in various officials.

Mr. Speaker, our Democratic platform of 1964 called for establishing the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Two-thirds of us in this House were elected on the basis of that platform. Most citizens must have felt that the Democratic platforms gave a clear choice.

In establishing the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and in our other actions, we simply made performance follow promise.

Hard Money Crusade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, as a Member of Congress who is concerned about the concerted effort on the part of certain financial groups in America to tighten money and increase interest rates against the express wishes of the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the President's economic advisers, I believe it worthwhile to have published the thought provoking editorial entitled "Hard Money Crusade."

It was written by Mr. Harry Conn of Press Associates, a most useful news agency which distributes well written literature to more than 300 labor publications throughout the country.

This editorial will be read by many Americans since the material Press Associates distributes is reprinted by a large and important segment of the labor press.

It is good for our country that such plain talk gets to millions of our people.

I hope that the daily press will pick up the thoughts provoked by the "Hard Money Crusade."

We have no need for an increase all along the line in interest charges. Such a disaster could well bring about an end to the longest period of uninterrupted movement forward economically in America's long history.

While I am one who is seriously concerned about inflation as well as deflation, hard money and retrenchment policies should not be enacted until such time as hard facts dictate the need. Obviously we must be ever mindful of the possibilities, obviously we must remain alert and attentive to the possibilities, but equally obviously we must not act precipitously.

The editorial is herewith presented for the benefit of Congress as well as readers of the RECORD:

THE HARD MONEY CRUSADE

Few economic developments are more harmful to the worker and his family than an increase in the cost of borrowing money or higher interest rates.

Higher interest rate charges seep through the entire economy. Businessmen find it too costly to go through with a planned plant expansion, which would create more jobs; and consumers just refrain from buying a house because mortgage rates are too high and put off buying a new car because the carrying charges are too steep.

Historically, this policy—known as hard money—has led to severe depressions and recessions.

The last major recession we had in this country was in 1958, when the Eisenhower administration followed a hard-money policy. Credit was tightened, the economy was restricted, business fell off and unemployment soared.

Now it appears that organized bankers, once again, are on the warpath for an increase in interest rates.

This move received a major boost the other day when the Chase Manhattan Bank, the Nation's third largest, announced it was increasing rates by one-half of 1 percent on short-term loans to many customers.

While this was not an across-the-board increase most economists consider it a trial balloon. The Wall Street Journal reported:

"Pressure is mounting in the banking industry for broad increases in interest rates. But many bankers are reluctant to act until they have a clear indication of White House reaction to such boosts * * *.

"There is now a widespread feeling among bankers that if the administration raises no particular objection to these increases, interest rates in general may start heading upward."

Almost as this was being written, Secretary of the Treasury Henry H. Fowler was telling the American Bankers Association convention in Chicago to go slow on any such increases.

Noting that the health of the national economy is a subject "nearest and dearest" to President Johnson's heart, Fowler declared:

"Why won't people stop, look, and listen and count three before taking steps that would change the favorable mix of economic policy that has characterized this balanced expansion"?

Bankers, as a rule, imagine creeping inflation and use this as an excuse for raising interest rates. Fowler, however, stressed that rates must not be driven upward due to "exaggerated ideas" of inflation and added that "there is a tendency in the money markets to jump to conclusions instead of acting on the basis of hard facts."

The threat of hard money resulted in some sharp warnings, too, from the National Council for Sound Monetary Policy. The group is headed by industrialist Milton Shapp and is made up of top representatives from business, finance, labor, academic, consumer, farm, and co-op groups.

If interest rates are raised, the council declared, "charges of usury, arrogance, ignorance of economic life, reaction, and just plain greed will assuredly be heaped on the banking community."

"It took a generation for the banker to regain the prestige he lost during America's great depression. We do not believe the average American banker will want to gamble well-earned prestige today and his unprecedented profits for a higher interest rate that could well be the straw that broke the prosperity camel's back."

Among the trade union officers of the committee are UAW President Walter P. Reuther, William McSorley of the AFL-CIO's Building and Construction Trades Department; president George Leighty of the railway telegraphers; president Jerome Keating of the letter carriers; Jacob Clayman of the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department, Joseph Keenan, secretary of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and Donald S. Beattie, executive secretary of the Railway Labor Executives Association.

The council seeks a policy of sufficient credit to support the legitimate needs of business and consumers, an expanding economy and adequate money supply to sustain it and to buoy the economy up by keeping interest rates down.

What concerns many economists today is that we still have a 4.5-percent unemployment rate and more than 10 percent factory capacity, idle. Restricting the economy, they feel, will inevitably throw more workers out of jobs and deflate the incomes of those who still have jobs.

We have enjoyed the longest period of sustained economic prosperity and growth in our history. Nothing could be more disastrous than to return to the hard money crusade of 1958 and, evidently, the Johnson administration is fully aware of this fact.

Tionesta, Pa., Protests Vietnam Demonstrations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT W. JOHNSON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks we have all been shocked by the demonstrations by beatniks, the uninformed and the misinformed protesting our policy in South Vietnam.

To show the world that there are still more sound Americans than otherwise, Tionesta, a small community in my congressional district, became the first town in the United States to openly protest the various demonstrations.

These wonderful, patriotic Americans are doing this by having businesses, industries, and individual homes fly the

American flag each day for a period of 30 days.

Mr. Rendall B. Agnew, a Tionesta merchant and county director of civil defense, is the organizer of the flag-flying movement and he has stated that he is not trying to sway people's minds on the Vietnam situation but is merely asking the people to support and back their country as Americans have done since the founding of our Nation.

The demonstrations and speech making have all been on one side and it is time that the sound, solid American citizen is heard from to offset the current movement and show our troops in Vietnam that we are behind them and to show the world that the great majority of Americans do back their Government.

Communities across the Nation have adopted the flag-flying movement and Mr. Agnew and the people of Tionesta are to be congratulated by all of us on taking the lead to show that we must all stick together and stand back of our Government in these very critical days in our fight against communism.

Automation in the Post Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 8, 1965

Mr. OLSEN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, there are historic changes taking place in the postal service. Billions of pieces of mail are being handled, and there are billions more to come. The service delivers your letter and mine, magazines, newspapers, parcel post, credit card transactions, insurance premiums, department store bills and payments, dividend checks and social security checks. In big business we have accounting and mailing by computer. We see automation growing throughout the Nation. We see new transportation systems developing and old ones passing into history.

The postal service itself must change, must automate to meet these challenges. Mr. Hallbeck, president of the United Federation of Postal Clerks, has carefully examined some of the changes programed for the postal service as a result of recent technological developments. Writing in the Labor Day issue of the Union Postal Clerk and Postal Transport Journal, Mr. Hallbeck explains these changes and analyzes the new legislative directions the Congress must consider if automation is to serve us all. I would like to call my colleagues' attention to Mr. Hallbeck's artice, which follows:

PROBLEMS OF AUTOMATION IN THE POST OFFICE

(By E. C. Hallbeck)

The United Federation of Postal Clerks, AFL-CIO, regards the establishment of the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress, and its broad mandate, as a major forward step of great historical importance in shaping future national policy.

We welcome the invitation to contribute our views to the deliberations of your distinguished commission because we are concerned, as you are, with the problem of alleviating inequities and dislocations arising from automation and related technical progress.

At the same time we are hopeful that the age of the computer heralds a new era in human relations.

Just as the industrial revolution brought about deep social change that ultimately produced modern capitalism and a vast new middle class, so the technological revolution can bring about equally radical change with a new leisure class status for the American worker. The implications and ramifications of such change are, however, barely more visible to most Americans at this stage than present-day capitalism was to Adam Smith.

But our union also believes that a phenomenon so vitally important to human welfare cannot be permitted to grow and develop in an atmosphere of laissez-faire. Our society must avoid the evils that accompanied the old industrial revolution.

That is the crux of the problem.

Society, insofar as it is represented by the entrepreneur, has always been more directly concerned with immediate gain than with moral responsibility. It has always been thus; it will be so again unless we do something about it.

Already, there are danger signals: the accumulation, for example, of that ineluctable 5 percent or hard core of unemployed who have been discarded by the cutting edge of automated machines and mechanized assembly lines.

Another example is provided by a recent magazine poll which showed a majority of corporation officials endorsing as basic management principles of automation such statements as these:

"The company is entitled to all of the savings from mechanization."

"We are not obligated to compensate mechanization-displaced workers."

Charles Dickens wrote novels about people who had similar views of their social obligations under early capitalism.

But something more than literary gadflies will be required to insure that the technologial revolution is built upon a moral foundation—by which, in social terms, we mean a human foundation.

Such a revolution must serve humanity. It must provide the greatest good for the greatest number.

Government has the major role in providing that insurance—and by government we use the word in its broadest sense to cover national, State and local bodies, regional groupings and even the industrial governments of labor and management.

But the primary role belongs to the Federal Government. Or in other countries to the national government.

That role was spelled out last May at the Anglo-American-Canadian Conference in Ditchley, England, on the Impact of Automation and Technological Change on Trade Union Interests and Policies. It was my privilege to participate in those deliberations.

"Whereas government in many cases may find it necessary to stimulate technological progress," the delegates concluded, "it must also maintain the responsibility for seeing that the burden of the ill effects is not borne by any one group but is shared by the entire economy."

The Ditchley delegates also pointed out that while—

"Government should be concerned with the long-range effects of technological change, it should also be aware of its short-term impacts, both favorable and unfavorable. Steps should be taken at the earliest possible moment to minimize any potential ill effects as well as to insure the security and enhance the welfare of both the employees directly affected and of society as a whole."

In this connection, they foresaw the need for governmental initiatives in at least four areas; (1) Stimulation of demand to insure the maintenance of full employment; (2) retraining of the work force affected by automation; (3) mandatory advance notice of redundancy to workers affected by automation; and (4) severance pay provisions.

These suggestions at best are only a beginning.

If the American people and their Government are prepared to accept the obligations of this philosophy, we have nothing to fear from the future of automation.

If they fail to accept these obligations, the economy of the future cannot carry the weight of its own waste.

Both President Johnson and the Congress have already demonstrated a positive awareness of this challenge. They have recognized that the victims of technology must be retrained and absorbed into the economy. They have recognized that potential victims must be spared through foresight and planning. The very creation of a National Commission on Technology is evidence of how clearly our political leadership understands that the benefits of mechanization must be used to enrich the lives of all—and not just a privileged few.

Perhaps the most useful contribution our union can make to your deliberations is to analyze the problem areas of our own "industry" and the implications, as we see them, of the on-going mechanization of the U.S. postal service.

It can be argued that employees of the post office are not likely to suffer from automation.

This, to be sure, is the argument advanced by postal management which tends to view its vast enterprise solely in terms of the labor-surplus problems associated with the advancing technologies of private industry.

Indeed, the Postmaster General may be technically correct—for the time being—when he says that "the development of mechnization is not designed to, nor will it, cause the loss of employment to regular employes."

The pledge has some persuasive quality against a background of increasing mail volume and increasing worker productivity on the one hand and decreasing cost factors and declining services on the other.

It is less persuasive when we discover that postal mechanization in 1965 is still in the swaddling clothes of earliest infancy.

It is not persuasive at all when we broaden our view to contemplate the staggering impact which automation already programed will inevitably have upon postal employees.

Since 1957 the Post Office—which bills itself as the biggest business in the world—has expended only $87,669,000 on mechanization—a mere drop in the bucket compared to the billions spent by private industry on automation and the research and development which undergrids it.

In fact the Post Office Research and Engineering Establishment, which is responsible for developing all technological improvements, was not set up until 1958. It is only 7 years old.

FUNDS SHOOT UP

As late as 1963 the total amount spent for development of mechanical equipment was only $224,000. But in the current fiscal year budget requests for research and development funds shot upward to $13 million.

In other words funds intended for developing new equipment have increased some 58 times over the amount spent just 3 years ago—a 5,800-percent increase.

Much has been done in this brief span—including the emergence of the ZIP code concept. But ZIP codes are far from being operational. Some ZIP code elements will go into effect in fiscal year 1966. But these

will be procedural rather than mechanical because the system cannot achieve the ultimate effectiveness claimed by its supporters until a time—still in the future—when virtually all the mail is sorted by electronic optical scanners.

Obviously mechanization of the Post Office is only just beginning.

Even at this early stage, however, it is evident that a revolution in mail handling has already been programed.

The coming optical scanners, in concert with letter-sorting machines already in operation, are intended entirely to eliminate the human element from the mainstream of the mail flow system.

The anticipated combination of the two will be wonderful machines, indeed. They will have a design capability of reading ZIP codes and sorting letters to all States and 1,000 cities at a speed of 36,000 items per hour. The scanners will replace the manual keyboards on existing letter-sorting machines thus eliminating all need for human operators.

The Post Office experts claim that ultimately something like 80 percent of all first-class mail will be handled by conveyor belts, facer-canceling machines, presorting machines, optical scanners, sorting machines, tying machines, and other types of mechanical equipment needing only a minimum touch of human hands.

It may be useful to digress for a moment and to consider both the new machines in being and programed as well as a host of other labor-saving procedures introduced during just the past 2 years alone.

Prior to any actual sorting operations, raw mail must first be separated by physical characteristics for uniform handling. And it must then be faced and canceled.

Hoping to combine these processes into a single mail-flow system, the Post Office Department, during the past year, devised an experimental mail-preparation line. The collection mail starts at the beginning of the line and, with minimum manual assistance, diverts all odd mail which cannot be canceled by machine and feeds the remainder into an automatic facer-canceler.

During a 5-day period last December this assembly line arrangement reportedly processed over 757,000 pieces of mail at an average rate of 27,250 pieces per hour. It will receive its first actual field tests during fiscal year 1966.

LABORATORY TESTS

In this connection, the Department is also developing an electronic presorting device designed to scan letter mail at high speed and to separate these susceptible to automatic processing with only a 5-percent margin of error. This presorter is now undergoing laboratory tests.

Meanwhile, 204 automatic facer-cancelling machines independent of the "mail preparation line" have already been installed in 72 Post Offices. On the basis of cost analysis reports, it is claimed they have yielded an annual return on investment of 46.8 percent. Annual savings in clerk hire formerly required to face this mail manually and to operate the old cancelling machine approximates $1½ million, the Post Office Department also claims.

The Department hopes to increase the efficiency of these machines by another 14 percent with a luminescent-sensing modification that will automatically separate airmail letters for preferential handling. A special luminous coating on airmail stamps will activate the machines. This, too, will be field tested in the next fiscal year.

A design for the first parcel-sorting system capable of sorting both to primary and secondary separations in a single operation has also been completed this year.

BREAKTHROUGH

But perhaps the biggest breakthrough is the new letter-sorting machine mentioned earlier and proudly described by postal engineers as the world's finest machine of its kind.

With it, each of 12 operators can currently sort 60 letters per minute to 300 separations. Soon, with new automatic electronic ZIP code readers attached to these letter sorters, they will sort ZIP coded addresses at a speed of 36,000 per hour to 300 separations. The Postmaster General predicts even greater capabilities for the future.

Engineering specifications for the letter sorter machine alone include 300 pages of text and parts lists, and 1,900 drawings of parts and assemblies required to manufacture the machine. Also, there are 700 tool drawings for the use of bidders when estimates are made of special tool costs. The machine has 400,000 individual items compared to only 3,000 or 4,000 parts in an automobile.

Twenty-six of the letter sorters and six of the optical address reading machines are on order.

The first two new letter sorters off the assembly line are being installed at Philadelphia now. In November, two will be installed at Washington, D.C., and two more at Houston. In 1966, two machines will be installed in each of the following post offices: Minneapolis, St. Paul, Portland, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Boston, Buffalo, Louisville, and Miami.

Four of the address readers will be put on letter sorters at Detroit beginning in November and the other two will be installed at Buffalo a year from this fall.

It should be noted, incidentally that 42 of the existing multi-position letter-sorting machines are already operational with 26 more on order. These existing letter-sorters in Detroit alone performed over 1 billion piece sorts in the past year with a daily peak output of over 10 million individual sorts. Since their installation, the Detroit machines have processed over 3 billion piece sorts.

More than machines are involved in the radical labor-saving procedures introduced by the Post Office Department during the past 2 years.

We can summarize these innovations thusly:

1. Establishment of consolidated data centers: beginning in April 1964, the 14 regional accounting offices were consolidated into 6 postal data centers where the use of electronic computers has, during the first year, effected an alleged $4 million reduction in labor costs.

2. Elimination of money order center: during 1964 the money order center at Kansas City was eliminated and operations centralized in Washington in cooperation with the Treasury Department with anticipated savings of $1 million in the first year.

3. Use of vehicles on city delivery routes: by using 11,500 three-wheeled vehicles in city delivery services, the Department claims savings of $4 million per year through enlargement of the carrier territories and reduction of driveout costs.

4. Reduction of parcel post service: on May 4, 1964, delivery of parcel post was restricted to a 5-day week basis.

5. Use of simplified postmark: elimination of the hour of mailing in postmarks is supposed to save over $3 million during the coming year.

6. Precancelling of postal cards: sale of precancelled post cards, initiated in November 1962, eliminated the cancellation step in handling approximately one and a quarter billion postal cards per year.

7. Elimination of the Postal Savings System: currently pending, the dismantling of this 50-year-old service involves dubious economies that are vigorously disputed by our union.

Finally, in a class all by itself, is the vaunted ZIP code system which is still far from being fully activated and whose ultimate impact upon jobs and labor staffing patterns cannot yet be estimated.

Already, however, the Post Office Department has started the process of closing down 70 so-called gateway postal terminals throughout the Nation including at least 12 in which widespread displacement and relocation of employees is certain. These terminals will be superseded by 533 sectional centers scattered according to population density and transportation facilities.

The Post Office Department claims that the new pattern of sectional centers will reduce normal handling of mail from 12 to 5 or 6 steps; yet there is already evidence in many local cases of mail having to be hauled miles out of its way under the new system.

Deeply intertwined with the new system is a collateral pattern of steady shrinkage in the en route sorting of mail by mobile clerks with consequent dislocation and complex seniority problems.

Unanswered as yet because there has been no real field testing of the whole scheme is the large question of what will happen to the workloads in major post offices affected by the new system and what it will do to the elaborate traceries of mail flow around the Nation.

In any case, despite the heady claims of superefficiency hopefully to be realized, the whole ZIP code system cannot be truly operative until optical scanners have been perfected and the automatic mail preparation lines have been installed in major post offices. In short, the system really depends upon full automation.

The foregoing review, we believe, clearly establishes the two points I made at the outset: Postal mechanization and automation is still in its infancy yet already the developments and innovations envisaged through technological change are literally staggering in their potential impact on the existing human skills and human resources of 585,000 postal employees.

Let us look finally at this human element in the post office—at the men and women whose specialized knowledge, without parallel in any other major industry, is basic to the successful processing of 72 billion pieces of mail in 1965.

This volume is rising at a steady rate. It will aggregate 90 billion pieces annually by 1970. It will surpass 120 billion pieces by 1980.

This on-rushing tidal wave of mail gives comfort to those in the Post Office who argue that technology will never eliminate the need for at least the existing level of clerks, mail-handlers, and postmen. Indeed, they say, without technology our human resources will be inundated.

This viewpoint will bear some further scrutiny. It is all tied up with questions of human productivity. And with changing patterns of mail flow.

Productivity, as it is calculated by the Post Office, can be increased in several ways:

It can be increased by reduction of services while assigning more manpower to moving the mail.

It can be increased by speeding mail movements through improved organization and increased mechanization.

It can be increased by squeezing more work out of the same number of employees through such devices as a work measurement system—a system, incidentally, still widely used in the postal service.

As a matter of fact, a combination of all these factors probably explains the recent

rather impressive upward trend of postal productivity.

We estimate that the productivity of clerks and mail handlers in 1965 will rise 1.4 percent—as against only 1 percent last year and 0.9 percent in 1963. Indeed, there has been a cumulative productivity increase of almost 5 percent during the past 4 years in striking contrast with a cumulative increase of only 1.1 percent during the previous 4-year period.

PRODUCTIVITY INCREASED

Comparing the two periods, it is evident that productivity of clerks and mailers—measured by the volume of mail handled per man-year—has increased almost 500 percent over the past 8 years. Moreover, the rate of annual increase since 1958 has achieved a pace that is more than six times what it was at the beginning of this period.

So, on the one hand, we find mail volume moving steadily upward at the rate of 3 to 4 percent a year and, on the other, we see individual productivity now surging up at a rate of almost 1½ percent annually as against an annual growth rate only a few years ago of just better than a quarter of 1 percent. And this stepped up productivity has been achieved even before most of the vaunted automation has become effective.

It should be apparent from these facts that future productivity increases—both absolute and relative—ought to be sizable indeed, especially if the predicted efficiency of automated techniques is developed and sustained.

Even if we discount any phenomenal productivity acceleration and assume the rate of increase will not exceed a quarter of 1 percent annually, it will still require only 6 to 10 years for such increases to catch and surpass the annual growth rate of mail volume. And this assumes the present work force remains constant.

Parenthetically, we might observe that the Post Office Department this year, with unusual firmness, demanded of Congress—and got—an increase of 5,000 employees to help handle increased volume. In previous years it has asked for even more, but with only pro forma or routine enthusiasm.

In any case, our union believes as a matter of probability that productivity will continue to accelerate, spurred by the many technological programs in the offing, and that it will be a matter of only 3 or 4 years until productivity catches up with volume.

The U.S. Government then will face a basic manpower policy decision that goes right to the heart of the problem of automation.

It can "phaseout" (to employ the official euphemism) x number of employees as surplus—with skills that are useless in any other field of enterprise.

Or it can restore the emphasis on service—an emphasis lacking since the early fifties—by diverting more manpower to a restoration and even a proliferation of postal services now unavailable or curtailed.

These options will bear further examination.

Our union believes management grossly over-simplifies the problem by swearing that no regular postal employee will lose his job because of automation.

It is clear that mechanization and all other mail flow improvements, including the sectional center and ZIP code concepts, primarily affects those employees who are concerned with mail handling and sorting—the one group most highly trained, and most specialized who constitute a large body of elite skills in a very real sense.

But, says management, there are only 64 or 65 post offices large enough to warrant the installation of sophisticated mechanization out of some 34,000 offices throughout the Nation; so the demand for skilled sorters and handlers cannot diminish all that much.

Yet these are precisely the 64 or 65 offices in which almost one-half of the entire postal field service is employed to handle 70 percent of the mail volume.

Out of a total of 584,990 employees in 1964, 252,222 were working in those 64 offices.

Estimating that 30 percent of the employees in a typical office are directly involved in the handling and sorting of mail, it is a safe estimate to judge that a minimum of 75,000 postal clerks in those 64 offices will be directly and adversely effected by automated equipment now under development or already being tested.

Very well, we are told, there are still many other jobs available elsewhere in the service with no loss of seniority or status.

Even assuming, as we do not, that adequate jobs can be found somewhere in the postal service for all who are displaced by machines, either through proliferation of services or otherwise, this solution takes no account of the dislocations involved.

To say that members of a skilled elite can be retrained for other jobs elsewhere is to argue that men and women at the top of their craft, with long careers behind them, are able and willing to undergo major adjustments that will substantially alter their status, location and possibly their opportunity for advancement.

Perhaps this will happen in isolated cases; the possibility runs counter, however, to every known shred of psychological knowledge.

The fruit of this fallacy has already begun to fall. Opening of the new sectional centers this summer has caused major dislocations and hardships. In hundreds of cases, postal clerks whose jobs have been offered alternative positions hundreds of miles away.

From a management standpoint, the Post Office Department has indeed assured them of continued employment. But from a human standpoint, to accept this employment our clerks must uproot their homes, disrupt family and social ties, sell their property (at a loss in many instances) and incur many other tangible and intangible losses for which there is no compensation. It should be noted in this regard that the moving and related allowances offered these employes are totally inadequate.

Rather than break out of an established and comfortable economic and social environment, many employes may prefer to seek other employmnt—if such employment can indeed be found.

It is for these reasons that assurances by the Post Office Department must be tempered with a vast skepticism.

On this score, permit me to cite the views of the late John I. Snyder, Jr., one of the great pioneering industrial visionaries in the field of automation and, at the time of his untimely death, a distinguished member of the National Commission on Technology.

Speaking to the AFL-CIO National Convention in 1963, he called the idea that workers displaced by machines can be relocated with comparative ease a major fallacy and a silly one at that.

"Workers who lose their jobs due to automation or anything else," he said, "are usually those who are least able to move in the first place. They are generally the lower paid, the older, the unskilled workers who either cannot afford to move from an economic standpoint, or who are psychologically incapable of beginning a new life in a strange land."

As a matter of fact, Mr. Snyder also gave short shrift to the soothing notion that automation really isn't going to eliminate jobs.

"I will stand," he said, "on the flat statement that automation is indeed eliminating jobs."

Whereupon he cited a long list of statistical evidence which he called "frightening figures."

DREAMY FALLACY

He has testified, moreover, that most of his experience refuted "the dreamy fallacy" that "all of those nice people who lose their jobs to machines can be rapidly retrained and placed in other jobs requiring higher skills and paying more money." His statistics on this score as equally frightening.

Surely, then, a government weighting its available options, cannot in conscience settle only for budgetary expediency. For the test is not how cheaply we can handle and move the ever-increasing volume of mail; the test is what effect change will have on the way people live, on their economic security, and on their ability to provide a decent education for their children.

In a broader sense the same principle applies. Machines will not buy back the products they produce; neither can jobless millions buy their yield.

The edifice of mechanization and automation now a-building must serve all.

It has value only to the degree that it helps make possible a happier life and a more wholesome community. This holds true for the short run no less than the long run.

Benefits not shared in equal proportion among those who stand to lose as well as among those who stand to gain in the process of adjustment will not be benefits for long. They will be a curse.

We are entering a period unlike anything our predecessors have had to face. Most Americans are still babes in the woods as far as the cybernetics revolution is concerned. But a new age is already upon us. Automation in the years ahead will do away with most manual labor as we know it today. We are going to have to learn how to meet the challenge of that age, how to devise policies to cope with it, and how to take advantage of those machines. We must revise our old ways of thinking. We must accept the fact that muscle and brawn will be no match for circuitry and tubes. But above all, as Humpty Dumpty told the immortal Alice, "the question is which is to be master—that's all."

So what we say to management is simply this: We agree with you about the benefits that can come from automation. We welcome it. But when you dismantle the old system of productivity, you cannot discard your workers. They must not, by themselves, bear the costs of progress.

With particular reference to the welfare and interests of postal clerks we believe it is essential that management enter immediately into effective prior joint consultations to alleviate the ill effects of automation.

Similarly, we believe that a comprehensive program of Federal legislation is necessary to protect the welfare of our members.

The essential elements of such a legislative program should include:

Reduction of working hours when necessary to maintain career employees at full employment;

Longer vacations, including periodic extended paid vacations;

Early retirement without loss of benefits;

Reduction of overtime;

Generous severance pay;

Realistic relocation and retraining allowances.

As the Ditchley Conference in England, to which I earlier alluded, has pointed out:

"One of the major purposes of introducing technological change on a national level in the economy is to insure growth, productivity, and an increasing standard of living. The Government should be concerned that the economic growth and increased productivity which technological progress will bring about benefit not only the companies and the industries but that the benefits should be shared by the employees, the general economy, and the national population. For it is only through a fair distribution of the

benefits of technological change that the continued improvement in the economy and the standard of living, which the Nation is seeking for all, will be attained."

I am hopeful that these views will be of some value to the work of the national commission. You are seized with one of the greatest problems of our times. For America needs the increased productivity that automation makes possible. We need it to upgrade the welfare of millions of American families, to open new vistas of leisure and culture, to provide public services consistent with shifting population patterns, to strengthen national defense and to provide leadership and assistance for the peoples of developing and newly emerging nations.

Such goals demand creative planning and moral policies. For the mere emergence and development of automation carries with it no guarantee that it will be used well or wisely or that the benefits made possible will be shared by all. Men, not machines, must prevail. Our technology must not outrun our ethics. The enormous power of the cybernetic world must be the handmaiden of society, not its master.

The Fighting 89th—A Nondocumentary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Arthur Hoppe has, with his inimitable satire, given us information about the film "The Fighting 89th—The Congress That Wouldn't Wait" which was supposed to be shown at the White House on the occasion known as the "Salute to Congress" which did not take place because the House did not adjourn until the wee small hours of the following day. Mr. Hoppe's column, which was published in the San Francisco Chronicle on October 20 follows:

THE FIGHTING 89TH—A NONDOCUMENTARY

(By Arthur Hoppe)

Mr. Johnson has scrapped his dramatic new movie, "The Fighting 89th—The Congress That Wouldn't Wait." The 17-minute film was to have been his tribute to our fighting Congressmen who all year long couldn't wait to do what he told them to. But the movie was finally killed because, as one insider put it, "it wasn't really up to the L.B.J. style."

For one thing, Mr. Johnson, who was to have narrated it, was replaced at the last minute on the sound track by Mr. Gregory Peck, and there were a few minor technical difficulties.

When Mr. Peck, for example, was extolling the current Congress for preserving America's great natural beauties, the screen was showing tornado-striken farmlands, hurricane-lashed beaches, and the ravages of windstorms. That, according to press reports, is when the "Fighting 89th" hit the cutting room floor.

But the true story of what happened can only be envisioned.

Scene: A darkened projection room. Two figures can be discerned seated in the front row—one big and broad shouldered, the other small and smoking a slim cigar. The screen flashes: "White House Productions—Lyndon B. Johnson, President, presents "The Fighting 89th—The Congress That Wouldn't Wait.'"

Big figure (sitting back expansively): "Moyers, I like the credit."

Small figure: "I think they're called credits in the film business, sir."

Big figure: "The more the better, Moyers." (A handsome face comes on the screen.) "Who in tarnation's that?"

Small figure (happily): "Gregory Peck, sir. We managed to get him at the last minute to read your lines. It'll really give the picture class."

Big figure: "My lines? Class? Moyers, you don't hardly understand the L.B.J. style."

Small figure: "Wait, sir. Here's the opening shot of the 'Congress That Wouldn't Wait.' See, they're lining up outside the White House door for their turn at discussing dams and things. Wow, look at them fight." And then Peck comes on hand.

Big figure: "He looks kind of squint eyed to me."

Small figure: "Now here's one of the major battles our Congressmen waged this year. Phew, look at them fight for those ballpoint pens you're handing out." Then Mr. Peck says——

Big figure: "He sure does have a gravelly, irritating voice."

Small figure: "Now comes the historic debate in Congress over whether we've got the greatest President in American history. Or the greatest ever. Then Mr. Peck sums up with a glowing tribute to the nameless men of 'The Fighting 89th.' What do you think, sir?"

Big figure: "That other fellow, again? Moyers, it isn't the L.B.J. style. I was thinking more of a real, down-to-earth family picture. Maybe a kindly, folksy, brilliant fellow—played by me—who's got a loyal, obedient, tail-wagging dog that he's always patting on the head."

Small figure: "I see, sir. And we can call it, 'My Friend, Congress.'"

Big figure (happily): "Moyers, now you're cottoning to the L.B.J. style."

Panama Canal Tolls—How Should They Be Calculated?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, one of the key factors in the interoceanic canal problem is that of fixing tolls, which, under Public Law 841, 81st Congress, are to be calculated to place the canal enterprise on a self-sustaining basis.

As is well known by all who have followed the canal question, Panamanians have often indicated their desire for an increase of tolls and for as much as 50 percent of the gross revenue. A recent special report on the toll question by George W. Westerman, a Panamanian, in the Miami Herald, should be of interest to all concerned with the canal question, especially the merchant marine.

The indicated report follows:

[From the Miami (Fla.) Herald, Oct. 6, 1965]

CANAL TOLLS—HOW SHOULD THEY BE SET UP?

(By George Westerman)

PANAMA CITY, PANAMA.—Tolls charged for transiting the Panama Canal have not been increased since 1914.

Shipping companies have continued in active opposition to any increase in toll rates to protect their own interests, no matter how justified such increases might be.

The Government of Panama considers the present tolls far from equitable.

One school of thought in Panama feels that tolls should be assessed according to Panama's considerations, so that this country can realize greater income from its prime national asset—an international canal.

Another theory is that in the establishment of tolls such factors as business judgment of value, equity, and effect on traffic should be taken into account. Also that consideration should be given to specific toll schedules for various classes of ships and for various classes of cargo.

Dr. Milton Eisenhower, a member of the Interoceanic Canal Commission, is on record as favoring at least a 30-percent increase in toll rates. This increase, he wrote a year ago in a realistic appraisal of United States-Panama relations, is justified and would raise canal income by about $20 million a year. Such an increase, he pointed out, would enable the United States to increase the annuity to Panama to $15 million from its present $1,930,000.

The progress report released September 24 by President Johnson and President Robles indicated that tolls would be reasonable in the light of the contribution of the Republic of Panama and the United States and of the interest of world commerce.

Under the proposed arrangement being negotiated for a new treaty, Panama is to become a joint administrator of an interoceanic canal lying within its territory and subject to its sovereignty and jurisdiction.

As far as is known, in order to assure free and unimpeded navigation through an international canal, the State (Panama) through which the canal flows and the operator (United States) of the canal are under an obligation:

To operate the canal in an efficient fashion.

To maintain the canal in a proper state of repair.

To the extent feasible, to make necessary improvements to permit use of the canal by all ships desiring to transit it.

To maintain tolls at a reasonable level, without the discrimination between states.

These tolls, it is further understood, are to be fixed with regard to need for:

Covering the cost of current operation and maintenance and depreciation.

Meeting the cost of capital.

Provision of necessary reserves for improvements.

Repayment of the capital investment.

Provision of a reasonable return on the investment represented by the canal.

The United States holds to the concept that tolls must do no more than satisfy the statutory minimum. If Panama is to conduct the canal administration jointly with the United States, it is difficult to conceive how any other concept will prevail, a former foreign minister said.

Furthermore, as recalled by a State Department source, one of the Six Principles adopted in October 1956 by the U.N. Security Council is that the "operation of the canal should be insulated from the politics of any country.

Another point of which negotiators are constantly reminded is:

The levy of tolls is subject to the provision of section 1 of article III of the treaty between the United States and Great Britain signed November 18, 1901; of articles XVIII and XIX of the convention between the United States and the Republic of Panama concluded on November 18, 1903; and of article I of the treaty between the United States and the Republic of Colombia signed April 6, 1914.

What position is the United States going to adopt regarding her commitments with Great Britain and Colombia on the issue of toll assessment, now that the 1903 treaty

with the Republic of Panama is to be abrogated? This question is being asked mainly in diplomatic and political circles. An answer also would be welcomed by professionals and intellectuals as well.

Keynote Address by Senator Walter F. Mondale at the 15th Biennial Convention, Young Democratic Clubs of America, October 12, 1965, New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an outstanding address given by the distinguished junior Senator from Minnesota, the Honorable WALTER F. MONDALE, at the 15th biennial convention of the Young Democratic Clubs of America on October 12, 1965, in New York City.

Senator MONDALE's address, which was the keynote address at the convention, follows:

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY SENATOR WALTER F. MONDALE AT THE 15TH BIENNIAL CONVENTION, YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF AMERICA, OCTOBER 12, 1965, NEW YORK

As a young Democrat in the Senate, I am deeply honored to have this opportunity to speak to you this evening. Like so many of you, I got my start in politics before I was old enough to vote. I started by helping a young mayor of Minneapolis who decided to run for the U.S. Senate. I was given the job of managing his campaign in our Second Congressional District in Minnesota, and I have been deep in politics ever since.

It has been my honor to succeed this man—Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY—in the U.S. Senate. And, when he was forced to remain in Washington because of the President's operation, I was very happy to come to New York to fill in for him. I cannot be called a substitute, because no one could equal to magnificence of our Vice President, as a speaker, and as one of the great American statesmen of our generation. But I know also that we all feel better that he is in Washington at this time, as always serving our country as only he can. We hope he can fulfill his plans to be here later this week.

We can all rejoice that the President is recovering so quickly. Once again we are getting fresh evidence of what an extraordinary human being he is.

I would like to pay a special tribute to Mayor Wagner, one of America's great Democrats, now completing his 12th year of service to the people of New York. When the history of our time is written, I have no doubt that he will be ranked among the greatest mayors since the Dutch bought Manhattan Island from the Indians.

SALUTE TO BEAME

And I would salute, also, Comptroller Beame, the next mayor of New York, who will continue the tradition of Democratic progressive government in this great city. And with him, the next president of the New York City council, Frank O'Connor, and the future comptroller, Judge Procaccino. We all await that day eary next month when we will be celebrating their victory.

And heading up the Young Democrats, we have your national president, Al House, who has carried on your tradition of liberal commitment and service, who spearheaded your most effective effort during the last campaign. And John Kearney, host chairman of this convention and president of the New York Young Democrats. And if you will forgive me, I would like to make special reference to the Young Democrats from Minnesota, headed by President Robert Owens. I know a lot about their work, because I was a member not so long ago. I remember representing Minnesota at the Young Democratic Convention at Chattanooga in 1949, being one of those fighting to win convention support for President Truman's civil rights program. And I remember the hard work put in by Young Democrats in Minnesota last year to assure an overwhelming victory for Lyndon Johnson and HUBERT HUMPHREY.

And let me say a word about my colleague, Senator BOB KENNEDY, who will be here later this week. Seldom has a freshman Senator had as much influence on legislation as the Senator from New York. I consider it a privilege to sit next to him on the Democratic side of the Senate Chamber.

I think you made a wise choice in holding your convention in New York, for Democrats have long been welcome here. I regret we can't say this for the other party. There seems to be a real question about which way JOHN LINDSAY is running harder—away from his own party or toward the office of mayor of New York.

And from what I've heard, it looks like he's going to lose both races.

PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP

But we are not here to worry about the Republicans, but to pay tribute to a year of great liberal achievement, and to the Presidential leadership which made these achievements possible.

Just a short time ago, the noted political scientist, James MacGregor Burns, expressed the viewpoint of scholars everywhere, when he called for dynamic political leadership at a time when a deadlock of democracy was choking off needed, liberal legislation. "The cure for democracy," he said, "is leadership, responsible, committed, effective, exuberant leadership. The man and the party who take the lead in modernizing our political system will have helped put an end to the dangerous cycle of drift and deadlock in our national affairs. They will have enabled Americans to regain control of their national politics and to define and assert their national purpose."

Today, we Democrats have found this leadership in our President, Lyndon B. Johnson. More than any other President in our history—and we have had some great ones—he has broken through the deadlock of democracy.

Lyndon Johnson and the 89th Congress have transformed the executive-legislative relationship from a deadlock of democracy to a partnership for progress.

Indeed, the achievements of this administration and this Congress have been so overwhelming, that the frustrated Republican wreckers and spoilers, who once engineered the deadlock, are now crying out against a "rubberstamp" Congress. Their position is unique in American history. They are calling on us to vote against everything we've fought for—and everything the people of this country voted for—in order to prove our independence.

PARTNERSHIP FOR PROGRESS

But let me be very clear. I am proud, and I know that you are, to be a part of this partnership for progress. For when we have a President who calls on us to enact a desparately needed program of hospital and medical care for the aged—when we have a President who asks us to pass an Elementary and Secondary Education Act for educationally deprived children—when Lyndon B. Johnson wants us to break down every barrier to the right to vote—when we have a President who supports a bold new housing bill, including a creative program of rent supplements for low-income families—when he calls on us to establish an urban affairs department to fight the chaos of our cities—to enact a forward-looking, 4-year farm program—or a program to turn the corner in our fight against our worst killer diseases—or to give economically depressed regions a chance to share in American prosperity—or to redouble our efforts to break the vicious cycle of poverty—or to provide scholarships, loans, and work-study programs for needy college students—or to end the unjust national origins system in immigration—or to combat air and water pollution and promote national beautification—or to reduce excise taxes to maintain our unprecedented economic growth—or to provide needed financial support to our arts and humanities, as other civilized countries have long done—when we have a President who fights for legislation such as this, then I am proud to say "yes" along with you and with the many Senators and Congressmen who have worked with our President to win these victories for the people of America.

This entire speech—and many more like it—could be spent talking only of the overwhelming liberal accomplishment of 1965. But the party which looks only into the mirror of its achievements—dazzled with self-admiration—will soon grow blind to challenges which lie ahead. It is better—far better—that we look to the future, to the important, unanswered questions which we as Democrats and Americans still must face.

MEANING OF THE INDIVIDUAL

And so, for this very special audience, I would like to discuss one of the deep, fundamental problems in our society—the question of the meaning of the individual human life in 20th century America.

This problem is at the very center of any hope for the Great Society. It has been summed up admirably by a young man, Richard Goodwin, when he was special assistant to President Johnson. "There is," he said, "one central cause for our condition. It is the fear of the individual that he has become meaningless in the great human enterprise."

Men feel lost in a bigness beyond their power to shape or control, while the old human ties seem no longer to serve so well in telling men who they are or how they ought to live, or in giving men a sense of their importance and worth.

And, we find that this human loneliness, this lack of identity and meaning, is starting to surface. Berkeley is an example of this—and just last week in Washington, the "Berkeley syndrome" dominated a conference of educators. They were asking, "What does this mean?" and "What can we do about it?"

Much of our liberal legislation has been devoted to providing men more meaningful lives. We have fought, and we will continue to fight, against all barriers which block men from full participation in our society. We must continue the battle for equal rights and equal opportunity for Negroes and other minorities. We must redouble our efforts in the poverty program, to remove the economic and cultural barriers to individual achievement. We must break down geographical barriers to opportunity through intensified efforts in economically depressed areas. And, we must make sure that every American has a real chance for a good education.

All of these battles are far from won. We liberals are sometimes guilty of thinking

that when we have passed a law, we have solved a problem. But it is not that easy. You don't win a war just by giving your troops some uniforms and ammunition. This Congress has drafted many charters of national progress this year, but making laws is only the first step in the resolution of national problems.

LAWS TO ACCOMPLISHMENTS

These laws must be transformed by dedicated people at all levels, into solid accomplishments. A voting rights law must be tested and implemented. A poverty program will fail without dedicated efforts in communities throughout America. An aid-to-education program stands or falls on the efforts of our teachers, educators, and administrators. And all of our legislative achievements must be guarded against those who fought them all the way and are determined that they shall fail.

And it must be added that most of these programs will require substantially greater appropriations by the Congress in future years.

I deeply believe that, in the programs we have enacted this year and in years before, we have the beginning of the answer to Selma, or Watts, or Appalachia. But we don't have the answer to Berkeley. We are working as never before to break down unjust racial or economic or social or geographic barriers, but we have not always provided meaningful lives to those who have overcome these barriers, or who never had to face them.

This is the problem of Berkeley, the problem of those who seem to have everything but feel they have nothing.

Men search for their identity, for a sense of their importance and worth, for work where they can make a personal creative contribution to the life of their community, State, Nation, and world. Too often today they do not find it.

As Goodwin said, "We went swiftly and hopefully ahead, assuming that if we built and grew rich we would create the conditions of a full life. We were wrong. These things were good and necessary. But they were way stations, not the destination, on the road to the Great Society."

BUILDING GREAT SOCIETY

And the answer to our larger predicament still escapes us. How do we build a Great Society which gives every individual a chance to live a meaningful life, to feel like a participant in America and not some distant spectator, to do work in which he can take pride?

I don't know the answer, and I wonder if anyone does yet. And since we don't know the answer, we don't know yet whether this is something that can be solved by legislation, whether at the Federal or at the State or local level. But we do know we must search for solutions wherever they can be found.

We do know that we cannot provide a contrived answer. You can't do it with some giant advertising campaign, with billboards and TV spot announcements telling people to "feel important." We can't solve the problem with computers, by developing a system of electronic people processing such as some people have proposed.

And just as we know what we can't do, I think we also know some of the things we can do.

For example, we can ask not just whether our economy is producing enough jobs, but whether they are the kind of jobs that are worthy of a lifetime of human effort. We must seek to develop the kind of national life which provides, above all, opportunities for men to give, to create, to build, to sense in their own lives their personal contribution to their society.

We can think of men not just as spectators, but as participants.

And we can, above all, call upon all American citizens to rise to a higher plateau of public commitment. John F. Kennedy put this call in memorable form when he said, "Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country."

YOUNG AMERICA ANSWERS

Young America answered that call with enthusiasm beyond all we could have expected, and the Peace Corps is a monument to that response, irrefutable evidence of your thirst for work that is important and meaningful.

And, there are hundreds and thousands of opportunities in teaching, in youth counseling, and work with the poor, in civil rights, in conservation, in humane law enforcement, in the clergy, in arts and humanities and in many other walks of life where young Americans can make a public commitment to serve their country and their communities, and in this process bring new State, or Nation.

And finally, as so many of you at the convention have already discovered, you can find much of your answer, as individuals, by your participation in this political party.

Your lives are richer, more meaningful, because of your commitment to a lifetime of liberal involvement, to making America the kind of just, progressive, human society we all know it can be and must be.

Some of you can fulfill this commitment by running for political office—as a number of you already have—by seeking the rare privilege of political leadership in your town, State, or Nation.

Others of you will do work that is equally imported by active participation at all levels of our political party.

MEANING TO LIFE

By making this commitment, you know that you are sharing in the accomplishments which are and will be our greatest reward. And in working with others who share this commitment, you will build lasting human friendships with the Nation's best citizens. These things, as so many of you have already found in our Democratic Party, can bring deep and permanent meaning to your lives.

For those persons who are in politics for money, or ego satisfaction or to pull the strings of political power, our answer is—we'd all be better off if they would quit right now.

But the overwhelming majority of delegates here tonight would not be here if they had not already made their commitment to a lifetime of meaningful dedication to a better America.

You have joined this great political party not for what you hope to receive, but what you can give. You are asking to serve your fellow Americans, and to work to build the Great Society.

By making this commitment, you can provide your own personal answer to the search for meaning in modern life.

And in finding your own answer, you are helping to find an answer for the Nation as a whole.

It's Time To Speak Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, a lot has been said and written about the war in Vietnam and the reaction to our commitments in that country here at home. This week, the community newspaper chain which publishes four weekly neighborhood papers in Philadelphia, ran an unprecedented front page editorial on the recent demonstrations against our policy. This editorial impressed me as a sound and mature expression of opinion which I feel is indicative of the feelings of the vast majority of the American people.

Under unanimous consent, I insert this editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD:

IT'S TIME TO SPEAK UP

The circus-like demonstrations over the past weekend protesting our Nation's presence in Vietnam was insulting to the intelligence of most thinking Americans. We uphold the right of any group, no matter how small in numbers and how fuzzy in thinking, to demonstrate for or against anything they choose. In this recent nationwide series of demonstrations it is perfectly understandable why so many young people and college students participated. The draft boards are breathing closely down the backs of so many of our youth, and they, as well as the rest of the Nation, have every right to be very concerned about events in Vietnam and other places in the world.

But it seems to us that the demonstrators have completely missed the whole point of our presence in Vietnam. We are there because of commitments made by our Government some time ago. Our President has made it abundantly clear many times that our Government is willing to negotiate a cessation of hostilities any time and any place without any qualifications.

No one in the country, certainly not our President nor our chosen leaders, wishes to continue the costly warfare in South Vietnam for its own sake. We are there to fulfill one of many of our Nation's commitments to free and peaceful nations throughout the world. For our country to renege or back out of any commitment at this juncture in world history would be, in our opinion, foolhardy and disastrous. It would completely undermine our commitments and relations with all countries of the world. It would certainly weaken our role as one of the leaders of the free world.

It is certainly not an easy task our Nation faces. No words here will console the bereaved families of men who are killed or wounded in Vietnam. But peace and freedom exact a terrible and high price from its champions. And a responsibility, too. Our responsibility is to keep faith with those people with whom we have made commitments and alliances. We agree that the price may be high, but we feel that our honor is at stake.

Cameron Voting Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 11, 1965

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

Vote

Roll call No.	Date	Bill No.	R.B.C.	Yea	Nay	Not voting	Brief description
198	July 26		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Arends, Republican, of Illinois. (22 Members absent.)
199	July 26	H. Res. 437	Yea	248	171	14	To permit consideration of H.R. 77, repealing sec. 14(b) of the National Labor Relations Act.
200	July 26		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Griffin, Republican of Michigan. (27 Members absent.)
201	July 26		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Rhodes, Republican of Arizona. (32 Members absent.)
202	July 27		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Ashbrook, Republican of Ohio. (17 Members absent.)
203	July 27	H.R. 6675	Yea	307	116	11	Acceptance of conference report on Social Security Amendments of 1965, including hospital and medical care.
204	July 27	H.R. 7984	Yea	251	168	12	Acceptance of conference report on Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965.
205	July 27	H.R. 2985	Yea	414	0	19	Acceptance of conference report on Mental Facilities and Centers Construction Act.
206	July 28		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Ford, Republican, of Michigan. (20 Members absent.)
207	July 28		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Younger, Republican of California. (14 Members absent.)
*208	July 28	H.R. 77	Nay	200	223	10	Motion to recommit bill to repeal sec. 14(b) of National Labor Relations Act.
*209	July 28	H.R. 77	Yea	221	203	8	On passage of bill to repeal sec. 14(b) of National Labor Relations Act.
210	July 29		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Devine, Republican of Ohio. (24 Members absent.)
211	July 29		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Baldwin, Republican of California. (30 Members absent.)
212	July 29	H.R. 8856	Yea	275	125	34	To amend Atomic Energy Act to permit construction of overhead transmission lines.
213	Aug. 2		Absent				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican of Iowa. (95 Members absent; RBC at lunch with constituents.)
214	Aug. 2	S.J. Res. 81	Yea	313	11	110	Apportioning funds for Interstate Highway System and establishing highway safety programs.
215	Aug. 2	H.R. 8027	Yea	326	0	108	On passage of Law Enforcement Assistance Act.
216	Aug. 2	H.R. 6064	Yea	323	0	111	To facilitate the rehabilitation of Federal prisoners.
217	Aug. 3		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Conte, Republican of Massachusetts. (34 Members absent.)
218	Aug. 3	S. 1564	Nay	118	284	32	Motion to recommit conference report on Voting Rights Act.
219	Aug. 3	S. 1564	Yea	328	74	32	On acceptance of conference report on Voting Rights Act.
220	Aug. 3	H.R. 8469	Yea	394	0	40	To provide increases in annuities paid to Federal civil service retirees.
221	Aug. 4	H.R. 8439	Yea	389	0	45	On acceptance of conference report on military construction authorization bill.
222	Aug. 4	S. 1742	Yea	330	54	50	To permit World Bank to make loan to International Finance Corporation.
223	Aug. 5		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican of Iowa. (57 Members absent).
224-239	Aug. 5-16		Absent				During this period there were 7 quorum calls and 9 rollcalls. (R.B.C. was under official leave of absence from the House to attend to legislative and other matters in California.)
240	Aug. 17		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Boland, Democrat of Massachusetts. (49 Members absent.)
241	Aug. 18		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Griffin, Republican of Michigan. (36 Members absent.)
242	Aug. 19	H.R. 7750	Yea	244	150	40	Acceptance of conference report on foreign assistance authorization bill.
*243	Aug. 19	H.R. 9811	Yea	169	224	39	Motion to recommit farm subsidy bill.
*244	Aug. 19	H.R. 9811	Nay	221	172	37	On passage of farm subsidy bill.
245	Aug. 24		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Albert, Democrat of Oklahoma. (49 Members absent.)
246	Aug. 24	H.R. 10586	Nay	139	263		Motion to recommit supplemental appropriation bill for Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare.
247	Aug. 25		Present				Quorum cal lby Mr. Hays, Democrat of Ohio. (28 Members absent.)
*248	Aug. 25	H.R. 2580	Nay	189	218	19	To revise amendments to Immigration and Nationality Act by placing quota limits on nations of Western Hemisphere.
*249	Aug. 25	H.R. 2580	Yea	318	95	19	On passage of amendments to Immigration and Nationality Act.
250	Aug. 26		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Collier, Republican of Illinois. (34 Members absent.)
251	Aug. 26		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican of Iowa. (39 Members absent.)
252	Aug. 26	H.R. 9567	Yea	367	22	41	On passage of Higher Education Act of 1965.
253	Aug. 30	H.R. 9022	Not voting	304	37	91	To provide financial assistance for construction of public schools affected by major disasters. (R.B.C. at dentist; would have voted yea.)
254	Aug. 31	H. Res. 551	Not voting	364	23	46	To permit consideration of H.R. 9042, to provide for implementation of agreement concerning automotive products between United States and Canada. (R.B.C. at luncheon; would have voted yea.)
*255	Aug. 31	H.R. 9042	Nay	280	113	39	On passage of Automotive Trade Act of 1965.
256	Sept. 1		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Joelson, Democrat, of New Jersey. (43 Members absent.)
257	Sept. 1	H.R. 3141	Yea	340	47	45	On passage of Health Professions Educational Assistance Amendments of 1965.
*258-293	Sept. 2-13		Absent				During this period there were 15 quorum calls and 21 rollcalls. (R.B.C. was in California to deliver a speech in Glendora and attend to various district matters.)
294	Sept. 14		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Roudebush, Republican of Indiana. (54 Members absent.)
295	Sept. 14		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Hall, Republican of Missouri. (54 Members absent.)
296	Sept. 14	H.R. 2091	Nay	73	298	61	Motion to recommit bill relating to concession policies in areas administered by Nationa Park Service.
297	Sept. 15		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gibbons, Democrat, of Florida. (46 Members absent.)
298	Sept. 15		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Hall, Republican of Missouri. (68 Members absent.)
299	Sept. 15	H.R. 8283	Nay	209	180	43	Motion to recommit conference report on Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965.
300	Sept. 15		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican of Iowa. (47 Members absent.)
*301	Sept. 15	H.R. 9460	Nay	128	251	53	Motion to recommit bill to establish National Foundation on Arts and Humanities.
302	Sept. 16		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Devine, Republican of Ohio. (52 Members absent.)
*303	Sept. 16	H. Res. 574	Yea	186	180	66	Motion to table directive that Post Office Department furnish the House with names of all temporary employees during summer of 1965.
304	Sept. 16	S. 2040	Yea	337	30	65	To amend indemnity provisions of Atomic Energy Act.
305	Sept. 17		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Haley, Democrat of Florida. (65 Members absent.)
306	Sept. 17	H.R. 9221	Yea	380	0	52	On acceptance of Department of Defense appropriations conference report.
*307	Sept. 17	H. Res. 585	Yea	228	143	51	To dismiss election contest against members of Mississippi delegation.
308	Sept. 20		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Goodell, Republican, of New York. (79 Members absent.)
309	Sept. 20	H.R. 10873	Yea	360	0	72	To provide group life insurance to Armed Forces personnel.
*310	Sept. 20	H. Res. 560	Nay	312	52	65	Declaration relative to U.S. policy in Latin America.
311	Sept. 20		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Goodell, Republican, of New York. (66 Members absent.)
312	Sept. 21		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Rumsfeld, Republican, of Illinois. (54 Members absent.)
313	Sept. 21	S. 4	Yea	379	0	53	Acceptance of conference report on Water Quality Act of 1965.
314	Sept. 22		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Hall, Republican, of Missouri. (50 Members absent.)
315	Sept. 22	S. 2007	Nay	207	185	39	On amendment to river and harbor bill calling for special survey on project in Maine.
316	Sept. 22	H.R. 30	Yea	254	113	64	To provide for U.S. participation in Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center.
317	Sept. 22		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Waggonner, Democrat, of Louisiana. (123 Members absent.)
318	Sept. 22		Not voting	89	204	139	Motion to adjourn (R.B.C. attending to office matters).
319	Sept. 23		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican, of Iowa. (51 Members absent.)
*320	Sept. 23	H.R. 7371	Nay	199	178	52	To g reatly expand scope of original proposed amendment to Bank Holding Company Act
321	Sept. 23	H. Res. 580	Yea	279	70	83	To permit consideration of H.R. 10232 regarding rural water and sanitation facilities.
*322	Sept. 23	H.R. 10232	Nay	325	10	97	To provide Federal aid for rural water and sanitation facilities
323	Sept. 24		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Devine, Republican, of Ohio. (104 Members absent.)
324	Sept. 24	S. 306	Nay	80	220	132	Motion to recommit amendments to Clean Air Act.
325	Sept. 24	S. 306	Yea	294	4	133	On passage of amendments to Clean Air Act regarding antismog devices for certain motor vehicles.
326	Sept. 27		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Hays, Democrat of Ohio. (51 Members absent.)
327	Sept. 27	H. Res. 515	Yea	213	183	36	Motion to discharge Rules Committee from further consideration of resolution to permit House to take up District of Columbia home rule bill.
328	Sept. 27	H. Res. 515	Yea	222	170	31	To permit consideration of District of Columbia home rule bill.
329	Sept. 27		Present				Quorum call by Mr. McMillan, Democrat of South Carolina. (41 Members absent.)
330	Sept. 27	H.R. 4644	Yea	234	155	44	Motion that House adopt procedural motion to permit consideration of District of Columbia home rule bill.
331	Sept. 27		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Hays, Democrat of Ohio. (54 Members absent.)
332	Sept. 28		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Haley, Democrat of Florida. (35 Members absent.)
333	Sept. 28		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Waggonner, Democrat of Louisiana. (54 Members absent.)
334	Sept. 28		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Abernethy, Democrat of Mississippi. (36 Members absent.)
335	Sept. 29		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Hall, Republican of Missouri. (38 Members absent.)
*336	Sept. 29	H.R. 4644	Nay	179	219	32	Motion to strike enacting clause (kill) home rule bill.
*337	Sept. 29	H.R. 4644	Nay	227	174	30	On acceptance of Sisk amendment to home rule bill.
*338	Sept. 29	H.R. 4644	Nay	134	266	30	Motion to recommit home rule bill as amended.

Vote—Continued

Roll call No.	Date	Bill No.	R.B.C.	Yea	Nay	Not voting	Brief description
*339	Sept. 29	H.R. 4644	Yea	283	117	31	On passage of home rule bill, as amended.
340	Sept. 30		Present				Quorum call by Mr. MacGregor, Republican of Minnesota. (45 Members absent).
341	Sept. 30	H.R. 2580	Yea	320	69	42	Acceptance of conference report on immigrarion reform bill.
*342	Sept. 30	H.R. 10281	Nay	238	140	53	Motion to recommit Federal Salary Adjustment Act.
*343	Sept. 30	H.R. 10281	Yea	370	7	54	On passage of Federal Salary Adjustment Act.
344	Oct. 1		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Jones, Democrat of Missouri. (96 Members absent).
345	Oct. 1	H.J. Res. 642	Nay	17	321	93	Motion to recommit bill authorizing construction of Library of Congress building.
346	Oct. 1	H.J. Res. 642	Yea	328	5	98	On passage of bill authorizing construction of Library of Congress building.
347	Oct. 1	H.R. 10871	Nay	164	174	94	Motion to recommit conference report on foreign aid appropriations bill.
348	Oct. 1	H.R. 10871	Yea	204	127	101	On acceptance of conference report on foreign aid appropriations bill.
349	Oct. 1	H.R. 3142	Yea	296	3	123	On passage of Medical Library Assistance Act of 1965.
350	Oct. 1	H.R. 6519	Not voting	250	12	168	Providing for construction of Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (R.B.C. attending to office matters).
351	Oct. 5		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican of Iowa. (132 Members absent.)
352	Oct. 6		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Hall, Republican, of Missouri. (118 Members absent).
353	Oct. 7	S. J. Res. 32	Yea	312	55	65	To authorize payments for property damage to certain inhabitants of Ryukyu Islands.
354	Oct. 7	H.R. 2020	Nay	239	134	58	To authorize construction of southern Nevada water project.
355	Oct. 7		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Mathias, Republican, Maryland. (54 Members absent).
*356	Oct. 7	S. 2084	Nay	153	230	49	Motion to recommit Highway Beautification Act of 1965.
*357	Oct. 7	S. 2084	Yea	245	138	49	On passage of Highway Beautification Act of 1965.
358	Oct. 8		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Pelly, Republican Washington. (62 Members absent).
359	Oct. 8	H.R. 9811	Nay	219	150	63	On acceptance of conference report on farm subsidy bill.
360	Oct. 11		Absent				Quorum call by Mr. Pelly, Republican Washington. (109 Members absent; R.B.C. attending to office matters).
361	Oct. 12		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Bell, Republican, California. (86 Members absent).
362	Oct. 12		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Teague, Republican California. (100 Members absent).
*363	Oct. 12	H. Res. 598	Nay	253	80	99	To permit consideration of H.R. 11135, Sugar Act amendments.
364	Oct. 12		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Utt, Republican California. (110 Members absent).
365	Oct. 13		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Ashbrook, Republican, Ohio. (46 Members absent).
*366	Oct. 13	H.R. 11135	Yea	160	230	41	Motion to recommit Sugar Act amendments.
*367	Oct. 13	H.R. 11135	Nay	246	147	39	On passage of Sugar Act amendments.
368	Oct. 14		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Erlenborn, Republican of Illinois. (72 Members absent).
369	Oct. 14	H.R. 11588	Nay	185	162	83	To delete rent subsidy funds from supplemental appropriations.
370	Oct. 14	H.R. 11588	Yea	242	100	89	On passage of supplemental appropriations.
371	Oct. 18		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Schmidhauser, Republican of Iowa. (117 Members absent).
372	Oct. 19		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Pelly, Republican of Washington. (78 Members absent).
373	Oct. 20		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Haley, Democrat, of Florida. (59 Members absent.)
374	Oct. 20		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Hall, Republican, of Missouri. (58 Members absent.)
375	Oct. 20		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Gross, Republican, of Iowa.(62 Members absent.)
376	Oct. 20	H.R. 9567	Nay	152	226	54	Motion to recommit Higher Education Act to kill provision for National Teachers Corps.
377	Oct. 20	H.R. 9567	Yea	313	63	57	On acceptance of conference report on Higher Education Act.
378	Oct. 20	S. 2300	Yea	221	139	67	Acceptance of conference report on Rivers and Harbors Act.
379	Oct. 21		Present				Quorum call by Mr. Wydler, Republican, of New York. (77 Members absent.)
380	Oct. 21	H.R. 11588	Yea	251	84	97	Acceptance of conference report on supplemental appropriation.
381	Oct. 21	H.R. 11588	Yea	165	162	105	To concur with Senate on appropriations for power project in Maine.

*Items so marked are considered to be of greater significance, and a brief explanation is included herein.

Address by Governor Romney of Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, at the annual banquet of the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce held in Chicago on October 1, the Honorable George Romney, Governor of the State of Michigan, outlined what I consider to be significant steps our Nation should take if it is to improve its substance and its image overseas.

I was particularly pleased to note Governor Romney's impression of the Partner of the Alliance program, as I share his enthusiasm for this direct approach to the problems being faced in many underdeveloped nations, and I hope that this concept will be expanded to other areas besides Latin America.

Oakland County, Mich., a part of which is in my congressional district, has a partnership with Cali, Colombia. We hope to see this partnership expanded to include the entire State of Michigan in the near future, and plans are already underway to accomplish this goal.

I urge my colleagues to study Governor Romney's remarks carefully, as I am sure we will be hearing more about them in the future:

ADDRESS BY GOV. GEORGE ROMNEY, OF MICHIGAN, AT THE 47TH ANNUAL BANQUET OF ILLINOIS STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, CHICAGO, OCTOBER 1, 1965

The poet, Stephen Vincent Benet, tells about the pioneer Americans who came to the shores of America and conquered the wilderness in pursuit of opportunity and freedom. "Americans are always moving on," he wrote, "Americans, who whistle as you go."

Where did they come from? Benet says:

"There was a wind through the nations, and it blew.
Strong, resistless, the wind of the Western Star."

Americans moved on, from every land, in every generation—to follow the beckoning hope of their western star of destiny. That's what brought them to Michigan and Illinois, and carried them beyond.

But, beyond the changes wrought by technology and time, there is another difference between today's pursuit of the western star and our ancestors' headlong dash for freedom. We have lost our happy-go-lucky mood of "We don't know where we're going, but we're on our way." The restless seeking which drove men half around the world is now turned inward, back upon ourselves, and has left us disquieted, uneasy, unsure of ourselves and our response. The phrase "We don't know where we're going, and we wish we knew" better describes our mood today.

This isn't all bad. It means that our approach is more sober than it was. The tangled, harsh reality of today's world requires careful, reasoned, coherent policies—not just helter-skelter reactions. But to achieve such policies, we must recapture the sense of purpose—the sense of destiny—which alone can restore our enthusiasm and free our energies from the web of dismay in which we are today entangled.

Our experience in Vietnam has accentuated our unrest and uncertainty. How did we get there? More important, how will we get out? Or should we get out? Should we seek victory or accommodation? Should Americans fight Asians? Should we negotiate? If so, with whom? If we do, how can we keep from getting taken? Who are our friends? Do we have any? And when will it all end? These are the pressing questions—in a single area—which haunt most Americans today.

And beyond our concern over specific policies, more fundamental doubts keep cropping up to worry and harass us. What has happened to America, once the bright citadel of most of mankind's hopes? Are we to be forever cast in the role of policemen of the world? How have we managed so disastrously to deplete the reservoir of good will which we filled in generations past with acts of humanitarian concern and ringing principles? And how have we—who won our own freedom from colonialism, who provided a haven for the oppressed of every land, who freed Cuba and the Philippines from colonial domination and refused to build an empire for ourselves, who twice sent our sons to die in great world wars to save the freedom of distant lands and peoples—how have we, the most idealistic, freedom-loving people in the world, come to be reviled and hated by many of the very peoples who should turn to us for hope?

Look at America through the eyes of oppressed and starving people, particularly in Africa, Asia, and South America. What do they see? They see the country which was first to drop the atomic bomb. They see an irritating and often unwanted "American presence" in their midst, dispensing occasional goodies with a smug, complacent air. Too often they see American support for unpopular, oppressive overlords. They see big cars, half-eaten steaks, empty bottles, and many arrogant men accompanied by

expensive women. And they see a great, white, Western power, raiding and bombing peasant villages. How many of them believe that we are fighting for their right to choose? Too many apparently do not believe it. The newest Prime Minister of South Vietnam has warned Americans, "Do not enslave us." As if we wanted to. Yet that is how we look to some of them.

We Americans—uneasy, but well-fed—are living, along with a few other nations, on a tight little island of luxury in the middle of a sea of starvation and despair. What does it matter that we are well-intentioned? "The road to hell is paved with good intentions"—and that's where too many of the people of the world would like to see us go.

And more perils lie ahead. Let's look at three sets of hard, cold facts. We know all about the hunger of the world—physical hunger, as well as spiritual; we sent our dollars to CARE and try to forget it. We know all about the population explosion, too; we click our tongues and wonder what will happen. And we know about Red China and the shaky balance of thermonuclear terror in the world; we shake our heads and wish it would go away. But how often do we put these three foreboding trends together, and look ahead at what they hold in store for us?

In the quarter century before 1960, the world's population increased by about 37 percent. World food production went up about 47 percent. That's a favorable relationship. However, the increased food production was concentrated in the developed areas of the world—North America, Europe, and Oceania—where population growth was smallest. Meanwhile, in many areas of Asia, Latin America, and Africa, population grew more rapidly than food production. As a result, they face more hunger and starvation than before.

Today, most of the people of the underdeveloped nations—almost half the people in the world—are undernourished, underfed, or literally starving. Over 10,000 people die of starvation every day.

Now look ahead. The world's population will more than double in the 40 years from 1960 to 2000. It will jump from 3 billion to more than 6 billion. That's staggering. But think of this: most of the population growth will be the poverty-stricken areas of the world which are barely scraping along today at a near-starvation level. By the year 2000, nearly 5 billion people will live in the impoverished areas of the earth—almost 3 billion more mouths to feed.

Where will the food come from? Not much of it will come from putting new land into production—there's a limit to the amount of land. It will have to come from increased yields. Either they grow it themselves, which would require technological advances far beyond their present or prospective capacity—or they get it from us and the other developed nations—or they starve. There are no other alternatives.

Now, superimpose this picture of the future upon the shape of world politics today. Red China no longer is a sleeping giant. It is awake. It is aggressive. It is filled with hatred for America, and is preaching it constantly. It is hungry. Already, it is reaching toward the rich rice bowl of southeast Asia. And it has the bomb.

What can we expect to happen 10, 20, or 30 years from now, if famine strikes not only Red China but large portions of the underdeveloped world? Will not Red China's demands become more insistent, its gambles more desperate, and its designs more dangerous? Will it hesitate to use any means to accomplish its objectives? Will it not throw its massive armies and growing nuclear arsenal into a war of extermination against the hated Americans and our allies? And will not the hungering masses of the world join with Red China in the fight?

This is an ugly picture of an ugly future, but it is not predestined. Action promptly taken can avert disaster. We must act to dispel the gathering storm before it strikes, or we will be like Carl Sandburg's Kansas farmer who said, "We asked the cyclone to go around our barn but it didn't hear us."

And remember this: it is the king of the hill who totters and falls when the earth shakes. Shakespeare says that Caesar pointed to Cassius, one of the conspirators who later struck him down, and said, "Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look; such men are dangerous." If we Americans should find outselves playing Caesar to the world, we too would learn that lean and hungry men are dangerous. Throughout history, famine has been the breeding ground of war. Why should we expect the future to be different—unless we make it different?

What shall we do? Some say we should begin by getting out of Vietnam. I cannot agree. We do not prove that we want peace by abandoning those whom we are pledged to defend. We cannot win peace by retreating before the advance of aggressive international communism.

All the same, Vietnam is not the answer, and other Vietnams would be disastrous. We must act, and act now, to prevent new Vietnams from springing up around the world, or we will indeed find ourselves attempting to police the entire globe. We can become the most hated imperialistic power in history—a garrison state in a garrison world.

The policy of containment, which we've followed for a generation, goes only halfway. It accentuates the negative. It is defensive. It is designed to preserve the status quo, rather than spread freedom, which should be our real objective.

We need a drastic, total upheaval and reshaping of American foreign policy. We need it now. We must commit ourselves, as a matter of highest national priority, to six broad, new policy approaches.

First, the United States should be the champion of plenty in the world. Hunger is our greatest enemy. Food is one of our most powerful weapons.

We should reshape our domestic agricultural policies from an approach of economic nationalism and artificial shortage to economic internationalism. We should press every available acre into the production of shipable, storable, high-protein foods. We should work with the United Nations to pinpoint areas of impending famine before it strikes, and rush them food and supplies on a crash basis. And we should feed hungry peoples until they are able to feed themselves.

Second, we must not only share the products of America's unparalleled abundance and prosperity with the world; we must share the means of progress. We must share and spread the skills, the technology, and the principles which brought us where we are. Partnership through progress-sharing must be the objective and the method of our foreign economic policy.

Acting by ourselves, and with our allies whenever they are able and willing, we must launch a massive progress-sharing effort to build the economies of impoverished nations. We must do more than strengthen our defensive military alliances; we must also transform them into positive alliances for economic progress to aid needy nations. We must concentrate our American aid where we can exercise constructive influence in building national economies to self-supporting levels. We must work through the United Nations to assist the peoples of those nations where our direct efforts would be less effective. And American economic and technical advisers should far outnumber American military advisers around the world.

Third, most American economic aid should be in the form of private investment, rather than governmental handouts. People-to-people and company-to-company relationships breed fewer resentments, and accomplish more, than government-to-government arrangements ever can.

We need new policies to stimulate international company-to-company and industry-to-industry trade bridges, benefiting consumers on both sides of the border, stimulating American investment abroad on a basis of partnership—not domination. Our Government must use all possible diplomatic influence to persuade other nations to create an economic, political, and social climate favorable to constructive partnership relationships. We must develop adequate programs of International Partnership Investment Insurance, to reduce the risk of private investment in unstable, underdeveloped countries.

Fourth, in revitalizing American foreign policy, we must enlist what Woodrow Wilson called the most powerful force on earth—the spontaneous cooperation of a free people. For we at home can also serve in this great effort to spread American principles and plenty around the world.

For example, look at Partners of the Alliance. It is an arm of the Alliance for Progress. It links private citizens, communities, and organizations in the United States directly with needy people in Latin America. It's a good idea. Its cost is relatively low. It is flexible. It benefits both sides. It distributes food and knowledge with a minimum of redtape, teaching needy people how to prosper and produce—how to help themselves, through the application of American know-how and American principles. Oakland County, Mich., was one of the first to pioneer this effort, and Illinois has an active "Partners" program.

But what progress has this promising idea made?

In the first place, it is limited to Latin America. We have no such program for other parts of the world. And in nearly 2 years of operation, we have mounted fewer than 30 Partners of the Alliance programs between States and cities in the United States and Latin American communities.

Think of it—in this great Nation, with our 50 States, 3,000 counties, 6,000 private foundations, 18,000 business associations and labor unions, 100,000 welfare organizations, 320,000 churches, and 190 million people—we've had fewer than 30 takers for the Partners of the Alliance. This isn't because Americans don't care—it's because we haven't yet made partnership through progress sharing our national goal.

Think what a mighty, revolutionary force we would unleash if all our 50 States were bound together in a coalition of concern, each with an underdeveloped sister nation as its partner. Think of the resources we could tap—from service clubs and universities to farms and industries. Think of the lives that we could save, the friends that we could win, and the progress we could share. This program should have top priority.

I know that a journey of a thousand miles starts with one step. We've taken that step. But this is a race we're in—a race with famine, a race with communism and slavery, a race to avert world war—and I say it's time we started running if we mean to win.

Then fifth, while we're at it, let's really do something about Vietnam. I don't mean just military action. We're doing that already. The President has set our course. Former Ambassador Taylor says we have a four-point strategy: to defeat the Vietcong in South Vietnam and drive them north; to demolish military targets in North Vietnam; to strengthen the Government of South Vietnam; and to be ready to enter into honorable negotiations.

But this strategy is inadequate. It suffers from the same glaring gap that weakens our posture around the world. It is a military strategy for achieving military goals. But we have not yet gone all-out for lasting victory in Vietnam.

Has anybody stopped to ask what we want South Vietnam to be like after the fighting ends—5, 10, or 20 years from now? After American fighting men sweep and clear the jungles and villages, at frightful cost, what will be left behind? What about the refugees who stream south toward safety every day? What about the shattered families, the ravaged farms and blasted villages? We talk of freedom and political stability, but what kind of foundation will be left to build on? What are our social and economic goals for South Vietnam? What level of per capita income should we shoot for? How much production of electricity, of food? What level of commercial activity?

For our own sake, as well as theirs, we must help the South Vietnamese rebuild in the only way that really counts—from the people up. And we must not ignore the voluntary contributions which hundreds of thousands of willing Americans would make to a meaningful and massive program of help and self-help for the people of South Vietnam.

These are the goals we have not set. This is the strategy we have not written.

Sure, the President offered a billion-dollar bribe in economic aid if the Vietcong would stop fighting, and they spurned it. It's great to talk about rebuilding southeast Asia as a single economic unit, but that's pie in the sky. Should we not now open our purse-strings and our hearts to the miserable victims of terrorism and aggression? Is it not worth a similar investment to make sure that American and South Vietnamese boys will not have died in vain—to show the people of Vietnam and the world that we want lasting progress for them, and not just military victory for ourselves?

And then, finally let's tell our story to the world. Let's really sell America by words which match our actions. Let's revolutionize our slickpaper propaganda periodicals that too few people read, and the mellow Voice of America broadcasts to which too few people listen. Let's talk to the people in language they will understand. Let's tell our story as if our lives depended on it—because indeed they do.

Robert E. Sherwood gave us a dramatic re-creation of the Lincoln-Douglas debates in his great play, "Abe Lincoln in Illinois." Douglas concludes his speech with these words: "We can go on as we have done, increasing in wealth, in population, in power, until we shall be the admiration and the terror of the world."

And this is Lincoln's answer:

"In his final words tonight, the Judge said that we may be the terror of the world. I don't think we want to be that. I think we would prefer to be the encouragment of the world, the proof that man is at last worthy to be free."

Which of these two paths should America follow through the perils of world leadership? Terror—or encouragement? Hatred—or hope?

On our answer hangs the future of America—the future of the world and all its people—the future of the peace and freedom which we seek for ourselves and for all nations.

For we are the keepers of the Western Star of ma nkind's hope. Americans willing, free men everywhere willing, and God willing, it will never set.

A Brave Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEO W. O'BRIEN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. O'BRIEN. Mr. Speaker, at a time when many of us are disturbed, puzzled, and angered by the enemy-comforting antics of some of our bearded college shirkers, it is comforting to tell you and my colleagues about a young man of my community, whose bravery offers a shining other side of the coin.

I speak of Bernard J. Kolenberg, a photographer for the Albany Times-Union, who was killed recently in Vietnam.

I am proud that Bernie was my friend. I am proud that I knew him. I am proud that we can produce a man like him in the midst of the chanting campus clowns.

Many eulogies of Bernard Kolenberg have been printed, but I think the best of all came from the pen of Lt. Col. William A. McLaughlin, commander of the 310th Air Commando Squadron, with whom Bernie was flying when he met his death. In a letter to the Albany Times-Union, Colonel McLaughlin wrote:

KOLENBERG "A BRAVE MAN IN BEST TRADITION," OFFICER IN VIETNAM SAYS

We have just learned with sad regret that Bernard Kolenberg, a photographer with your newspaper, was recently killed in a mid-air collision. In our small way we would like this letter to be a commemoration to him.

WROTE TO SAY THANKS

Bernard flew with us during his previous tour here in June. We hauled him from assignment to assignment. He covered the military funeral services in Tan Son Nhut for nine of our crewmembers. He flew a dangerous drop mission with us there, and covered a historic first for us when we hauled the first American troops by airlift from Vung Tau to Bung Bung. And he flew with us here out of Nha Trang.

When he got back to the States, he wrote us to say thanks, and that he was making every effort to get the true word to the Albany people.

He was always on the go. We distinctly remember him with what seemed to be a thousand cameras hanging about his neck, always seeking the best possible, most accurate photo coverage. We remember one night, well after dark, we came into the operations lounge. There he was, stretched out between two chairs, trying to get some sleep. He hadn't had any real rest in 36 hours. He had an early mission scheduled for the next morning with a helicopter crew, and he had just come off a special forces mission. Typically, he had his cameras with him, uncomfortably confining him even as he tried to rest. But a professional's professional, he wanted to be ready if action broke.

And typical for him, he was making his own way. He had asked no one for a place to sleep, because he didn't want to bother us. He told us that. He sincerely felt that our job was tremendously important, and that he would be interfering. This is just one example of Bernard's humbleness, one of the finest attributes a newsman can have over here.

So we policed him up, and took him to the local hotel with us. We loaned him a bed. He took a simple shower and relaxed. You'd have thought we had treated him like a VIP, he appreciated it so much. Just as he appreciated everything we did for him. And in return, it made us want to break our backs for him.

More important, it was obvious that Bernard was seeking the truth, the real story over here. He did not have preconceived notions. He did not automatically assume that he already knew the answers to anything. He was not blase, a veteran of the officers club, of the back lines. He had not "seen it all before." Rather he was enthusiastic. He listened hard. He thought long and carefully. He made honest appraisals. He understood the fact that the Vietnamese had a big stock in this war, under tougher living conditions. And he recognized quickly that we were making steady progress, in spite of the sophisticated observations and protests of failures by lesser newsmen than he.

A BRAVE MAN

And most important of all, Bernard was a brave man, in the best tradition of bravery. Sure he was afraid, like everyone, but he went anyway, because we were there, and he know that's where the real pictures were. He harbored no illusions. He knew that his check could be cancelled at any time.

As tragic as Bernard's death was, it was honorable, and appropriate that it came when he was doing his job as the man he was. We don't know if he had a family, but if he did, we want them to know, as well as his relatives and friends, that whatever his past might have been, whatever was thought of him there, over here Bernard was one of the best.

Bernard Kolenberg did not, therefore, die in vain. Rather, serving us and the people of Albany, and the Associated Press with great sacrifice and inconvenience motivated by deep patriotism, outstanding citizenship, and a great sense of public responsibility, he sacrificed his life in the best American tradition * * * with us, for us, and the folks at home.

Step Toward Racial Peace and Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the article "Brotherhood: A Step Toward Racial Peace and Progress."

Dr. and Mrs. Reuter of Alton, Ill., the authors, are suggesting a step to insure further progress and understanding. Dr. Reuter is a member of the graduate faculty of Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville.

The article follows:

BROTHERHOOD: A STEP TOWARD RACIAL PEACE AND PROGRESS

(By Dr. and Mrs. George S. Reuter, Jr.)

INTRODUCTION

You may recall the inspired painting by Weir entitled "The Embarkation of the Pilgrims" which hangs in the rotunda of our Nation's Capitol. There the Pilgrims are shown assembled on the deck of the *Speedwell*, the sister ship of the *Mayflower*, at the moment of their departure from Southampton. They are not cheering and shouting farewells. They are not demonstrating with confetti and firecrackers. Rather they are gathered for a serious period. Our Nation is now in the midst of such a soul-searching period.

Our heritage is great. Perhaps we are in somewhat the position which once confronted the late great Mr. Justice Holmes. Mr. Justice Holmes had written an opinion which struck the imagination of one of his boys. This brilliant young student labored far into the night in order to show the importance of the Justice's views. By the time he had finished he had nearly written a book.

He brought the manuscript to Mr. Justice Holmes, who glowed with appreciation as he read the brilliant expansion of his ideas. When he completed reading it, the young man eagerly asked, "Mr. Justice, is that what you meant when you wrote the opinion?" "No, boy," Mr. Holmes boomed enthusiastically, "but it certainly is what I mean now."

By the same token, we can't conceive of the Founding Fathers completely understanding the principle of equality through brotherhood, but we are certain if they returned they would endorse it fully today. They would endorse it because it has expanded man's knowledge, well-being, and conscience. And we firmly believe that the dreams of tomorrow must be even greater.

We thus consider our Nation's future bright. Remember, the decisive battle in the War Between the States took place at Gettysburg, Pa., on July 3, 1863. And we firmly believe the next several years will be the decisive years to expand brotherhood. Will we accept the challenge and move forward in a peaceful manner?

THE HISTORICAL CONCERN OF THE WORLD FOR FREEDOM

In order to move wisely ahead, it is important to review history. There have been many milestones on the road to freedom. Some of these are:

1. The expressions concerning the human family from the brush of Ptah-Hotep about 3500 B.C. This expressed a code of ethical behavior involving one member of the family controlling his own freedoms and respecting the freedom of others.

2. The expressions of freedom are given by the code of Hammurabi about 2000 B.C. At least 282 laws have been preserved from this code.

3. The expressions of Moses based on the code he received from God about 1300 B.C. Through Moses God gave to humanity the direction for personal and lasting freedom.

4. The expressions of Draco about 621 B.C. These writings saved the Athenian state from anarchy.

5. The expressions of Solon concerning the remodeling of the Athenian state. He brought about a compromise between the rich and the poor that resulted in the unshackling of the slaves.

6. The expressions of a commission of 10 magistrates called Decemvirs. The establishment of this code was the first step in the development of Roman law, which was influenced many modern legal systems.

7. The expressions of Emporer Justinian of Rome who reigned between 527 and 567 AD. He appointed a commission to assemble the law literature of the empire produced since the time of Hadrian.

8. The expressions of King John of the Magna Carta. This document was born on the fields of Runnymede near the Thames River.

9. The expressions of 1607 of a number of colonists in the establishment of the first permanent English settlement in America.

10. The expressions of the settlers of their plan for orderly government. This was written on the *Mayflower* on May 11, 1620.

11. The expressions of Parliament to Charles I in 1628. Briefly the provision stated: "By the statute called the great charter of the liberties of England, it is declared and enacted that no freeman may be taken or imprisoned or be disseized of his free hold or liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land."

12. The expressions of freemen under the leadership of Nathaniel Bacon, who rebelled against Sir William Berkeley, Royal Governor of Virginia. Berkeley had boasted in 1641, "There are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them for a hundred years."

13. The expressions of freemen through positive action which has been classified as the Boston Tea Party. A group of brave men disguised as Mohawk Indians dumped 342 chests of tea valued at $90,000 in Boston Harbor in rebellion against taxation without representation.

14. The expressions of Patrick Henry at St. John's Church in Richmond, Va., on March 23, 1775, when he uttered these words, "I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death."

15. The expressions of freemen to the Declaration of Independence.

16. The expressions of freemen to the establishment of a Constitution of the United States. The first 10 amendments should always be remembered as stating the American Bill of Rights.

17. The expressions of the declaration of the rights of man that developed as a document of the French Revolution.

18. The expressions of the code of Napoleon in 1804. These carried some of the principles of the French Revolution.

PROGRESS IN AMERICA

Our Founding Fathers established for us a system of government that had existed only in the minds of dreamers and philosophers. While our civilization is still young, our Nation, has become a major power. We thus operate as a government of law in a democratic society. The pioneers set themselves on a high course, and to it they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. They were a religious group. Mr. Justice W. O. Douglas describes these pioneers in *Zorach* v. *Clauson* in the following terms: "We are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being."

The land ordinance of 1785 became law and provided for the reservation of section 16 in each township in the western lands for the maintenance of public schools. Two years later, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, provided: "Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

While there was serious discussion among the delegates, the Constitution of the United States remained silent on the subject of education. The 10th amendment has been the prevailing reference and this has resulted in education becoming a function of the States. With the passing of time, however, the general welfare clause of the Constitution has been used more and more in providing Federal moneys for education.

The constitutional right is now that all children, youth, and adults have the freedom to attend public schools and colleges without regard to race, color, or creed. Each student, including the handicapped, is given the opportunity to learn fundamental knowledge and skills. It then becomes the function of public education to guide in the development of the abilities, interests, and skills of each student.

THE NEED FOR ANOTHER STEP: BROTHERHOOD

Richard Cardinal Cushing of Boston recently said: "My dearly beloved, I know people of all kinds. I never converted anyone in my life by what I said. But I tell you this, I have won the affection of many people by loving and respecting them and by trying to live in accordance with my own religious beliefs * * * if you want to increase and multiply, cherish and promote the philosophy of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man."

The problem of integration is still acute and thus holding back brotherhood. Professor Philip Hauser of the University of Chicago recently said: "Unless the exodus of white population from the public schools and from the city is brought to a halt or reversed, the question of school integration may become simply a theoretical matter * * * For de facto integration cannot be achieved without white students."[1]

Rabbi Jacob Weinstein of Chicago recognized the broad problem and uttered these words at Yom Kippur:[2]

"For the sin of the grit in our voice and the slur in our eye when we have spoken of "the colored" as though we could merge all black folk into one unseemly image.

"For the sin by word of mouth in spreading as truth the shadiest rumors, the most disparaging jokes, the most cynical judgments.

"For the sin of moving from a neighborhood because Negroes moved into it.

"For the sin of paying the Negro less for the same labor performed by a white man, and charging him more for the same goods and services.

"For the sin of believing that God made the black man inferior to the white man and intended to keep him so.

"For the sin of aiding and abetting segregated schooling and thus changing the locks on the doors of the one place where the Negro might find the means to redeem himself from the handicaps of his primitive origins and his slavery.

"For the sin which we have sinned in standing idly by while the blood of our black brother is shed, in wiping our hands clean because someone else pulled the lynch rope, fired the gun, cracked the skull, threw the dynamite.

"For all these since, O God of forgiveness, bear with us, pardon and forgive us."

A STEP FORWARD VIA JUDEO-CHRISTIAN BROTHERHOOD

Because integration, or the lack of it, makes our beloved Nation a divided humanity, let's resolve to place only love in our hearts for all mankind. As Mrs. John R. Wolfe of Andover-Newton Theological School said: "It will require being informed about such books concerning human cancers as, 'Behind the Cotton Curtain,' as ably written by Charles Remsberg, but with malice toward none."

With people in all walks of life and in all sections of the world crying for peace and world understanding, now is the time to outline a program to achieve some of these goals. While the Bible teaches that man

[1] Philip Hauser, "Integration in a Free Pluralistic Society" (excerpt from report of the advisory panel on Integration of the Public Schools, Presented to Chicago Board of Education: Chicago, 1964), p. 1.

[2] American Federation of Teachers, "Representing Today's Teachers" (American Federation of Teachers: Chicago, 1964), p. 97.

cannot create a perfect society, and that evil will persist and increase in the world until Jesus returns, yet we should avoid a do-nothing attitude and thus outline a positive program. This program should be built around the doctrine of one blood.

Really the principle of one blood is as old as the Bible because it is taught in this Holy Book, but man has yet to recognize this significance because he neglects this philosophy. This is probably caused by confusion among theologians concerning the relationship of brotherhood.

The Bible teaches brotherhood but points out the difference between sons of God by creation and by adoption. All peoples are in the classification of sons of God by creation, but only those who accept Christ are sons of God by adoption.

The sons of God by creation is the principle where one blood begins. This is the type of equality that Thomas Jefferson wrote of when he proposed that all men are born equal. This is the place where we must begin explaining the concept of one blood to the entire world and thus promote brotherhood. As we advance in the development of the philosophy of one blood, the concepts are built socially, morally, legally, and religiously.

Rev. Gerald L. Stover, famed Baptist leader, in reviewing the principle of one blood, says: "It simply means that all men of the earth are descended from one origin or stock. No matter what their color, their language or features, all are derived of a common parent. This means that the variety seen in complexion, etc. must be traced to some causes other than one which would affirm that God created the races individually or singly. There is no evidence of this. All have a common ancestry. It follows then that no one nation can claim superiority or preeminence over another on the ground of blood. No one race has a right to enslave another, oppress another on account of racial differences."

The philosophy of Thomas F. Gossett fits here: "As Irishmen, Germans, Jews, Italians, Chinese, Greeks, Armenians, Poles, Hungarians, Latin Americans, Negroes, Indians, and other ethnic minorities have found success in the areas of politics, science and the arts, they have to some extent elevated the status of their ethnic groups along with them. In addition, they have served as implicit refutations of the whole doctrine of racism."

President Johnson, speaking at the Christian Leadership Seminar on March 25, 1964, issued the challenge: "Let the acts of everyone, in government and out, let all that we do proclaim that righteousness does exalt the Nation."

Finally, by placing brotherhood via one blood in our hearts and by accepting the philosophy of the United Nations that "war begins in the minds of the people," we may plan for racial peace and progress. We must accept the challenge.

Dr. Roy F. Ray Inaugurated President of Friends University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, Friends University of Wichita, Kans., which is in my congressional district, inaugurated Dr. Roy F. Ray, a distinguished educator, as its ninth president on October 15, 1965.

We in Kansas are proud of the important contributions being made by the church-related private liberal arts colleges of our State. Friends University is a shining light in the educational service which it is rendering the community, State, and Nation. It has served students from all over the world since 1898. Its alumni totals almost 6,000, and more than 700 students are on the campus this year.

Dr. Ray's formal inauguration signals a time of examination and appraisal of the university's present and future goals; but while self-study is underway the university moves forward in fulfilling its educational and spiritual responsibilities to its students.

Dr. Ray joined the Friends University faculty in 1960 as a teacher in its department of philosophy. In 1964 he was named interim president. He is an ordained minister and has held pastorates in Kansas and Missouri. Dr. Ray was organizing pastor of St. Mark's Presbyterian Church in Haysville, Kans. He also has been active in civic affairs in Haysville and Wichita.

Dr. Ray's dedication to education has not been confined to the college level. He has served as president of the board of Campus High School in Haysville.

He graduated from Bethany, Okla., Nazarene College with bachelor's degrees in history and religion and he earned his bachelor of divinity degree and doctor of theology degree from Central Baptist Seminary in Kansas City, Kans.

As increasing attention is being given to the problems of higher education in our Nation, it is appropriate that we pay tribute to such private colleges as Friends University in Wichita, Kans., and to the work of members of the boards of directors, and to the dedication and leadership of college presidents such as Dr. Roy F. Ray who are performing a vital service for America.

Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wichita (Kans.) Beacon, entitled the "Future of Friends."

FUTURE OF FRIENDS

Friends University officially gained its ninth president this week. Dr. Roy F. Ray was inaugurated Friday.

We join in wishing him well. Dr. Ray deserves the support of all of us.

Friends University is important to the community. It can play a unique role in modern higher education. In this day of big schools and of specialization, the church-related private liberal arts college or university of modest size offers a welcome diversity, a difference of approach. For some, not all, students such a school is ideal.

This is not to say that Friends should be static or remain small for smallness' sake. And it is obviously not going to under Dr. Ray. He is full of plans and ambitions for Friends.

This really is a time of transition for the university. Studies are underway now to determine how Friends should move. "We're trying to define our role for the future," Dr. Ray puts it.

But it does appear likely that under Dr. Ray there will be an emphasis on quality education, some guided growth, a building program, an attempt to get a broader, more representative student body, and a hard, imaginative look at such basics as the curriculum and the calendar.

All of which should make for an air of excitement and anticipation at Friends. The community should reflect it.

Dr. Ray's administration is off to an auspicious start.

Toward the Great Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the 1st session of the 89th Congress has forged a historic record of accomplishment and progress beyond any session in our Nation's proud history. The Democratic team—combining the vigorous and forward-looking leadership of President Johnson, Vice President HUMPHREY, and the able members of the executive branch with the brilliant and tireless efforts of the leaders of the House and Senate—has carried forward the programs and policies that received such an overwhelming vote of confidence from the American people last November.

Working together to advance the wellbieng of all Americans, we have made significant progress toward achievement of the Great Society, begun little more than 4 years ago in the New Frontier proposals of our late beloved President John F. Kennedy.

President Johnson outlined the scope of the Great Society program in his remarks at the University of Michigan on May 22, 1964:

> I want to talk to you today about three places where we begin to build the Great Society—in our cities, in our countryside, in our classrooms. The Great Society is not a safe harbor, a resting place, a final objective, a finished work. It is a challenge constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor.

The 89th Congress has moved forward on dozens of important fronts toward the achievement of these far-reaching objectives to help bring about a better life for Americans in all walks of life. As we adjourn after more than some 10 months of intensive legislative effort, it is important that we review our progress:

First, in broad terms of the state of our national economy, our defense posture in a troubled world, and in carrying out our international commitments in our relationships with other nations; and second, in terms of the specific legislative accomplishments that have been enacted into law, many of them the result of years of patient consideration, tireless effort, and review by the Congress.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

We are enjoying the most prosperous period in our long history. The current

economic upswing has now continued for 56 months. Unemployment has been reduced to 4.4 percent—September 1965—the lowest rate in 8 years. Our economy is growing at an unprecedented 7.9 percent rate, based on the first half of 1965. Weekly wages are at an alltime high. Corporate profits after taxes are at record highs. Industrial production continues to soar.

Our gross national product is exceeding the most optimistic predictions of a year ago. Living costs have continued stable. Excise tax reductions voted by Congress this year have brought new purchasing power to every household. American families are now enjoying the highest standard of living in the history of mankind. We can take pride in the economic advances of our society, which make possible the tremendous progress we are making in other important areas of our national life.

Much yet remains to be done. We are not complacent or satisfied with these economic gains. Poverty still stalks the lives of millions of our citizens. Crime and juvenile delinquency still afflict our cities. Housing needs, water pollution, transportation, and educational problems are still unresolved. Our nonwhite citizens have not yet fully achieved equality of opportunity. While we have made great progress toward meeting these challenges, we still have much to accomplish to achieve the reality of the Great Society.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Our basic policy of defense in this crucial period of world turmoil has been constant. The primary purpose of our arms is for achievement of world peace through strength—to fulfill our commitments to free nations; to deter any general war—nuclear or conventional; to convince all possible aggressors that any overt action would be futile; to assure mechanism for diplomatic settlement of disputes through the full utilization of the United Nations; and to work for an end to the arms race through enforceable disarmament agreements.

We have continued the policy of balanced military strength, utilizing both nuclear and conventional weapons. We have improved the management and efficiency of our Defense Establishment, saving many billions of dollars. We have provided needed increases in the military pay schedule, to make certain that trained personnel is available to serve in our defense effort. We have increased both the scope and extent of our military capability—in the air, on the ground, and at sea.

FOREIGN POLICY

We have continued our positive policies in dealings with other nations. Castro's Cuba has been increasingly isolated and has become more dependent on Soviet economic support. Cuban refugees have been welcomed to our shores. Our basic immigration policies have been modified to eliminate the discriminatory national origins quota system. We have reaffirmed our commitment to the free government of South Vietnam by increased military efforts to resist continued aggression from the north. We have revitalized our foreign assistance programs in the Western Hemisphere and in other parts of the world, encouraging social and economic reforms in the recipient countries. We have strengthened and expanded the Peace Corps. We have worked to strengthen the role of the United Nations in helping to keep the peace and to promote international cooperation.

MAJOR LEGISLATION ENACTED

At the beginning of the session, the House adopted an important series of procedural reforms in the House rules to expedite the consideration of major bills and to provide for more democratic procedures. Our subsequent legislative achievements in the domestic area have been spectacular. A list of the major bills enacted by the 1st session of the 89th Congress follows:

Medicare and social security amendments: Provides hospitalization, surgical, and nursing home care for persons 65 years and older, financed through the social security system: increases social security benefits, retroactive to January 1, 1965, and makes other liberalizing changes in social security law.

Elementary-secondary education: Provides Federal grant program to improve elementary and secondary education under local control, with bulk of aid for school districts where there are large numbers of children from poverty-stricken families.

Excise tax reduction: Provides excise tax cuts totaling $4.7 billion on various consumer items such as appliances, telephone service, autos, and so forth; eliminates most Federal excises by 1969.

Omnibus Housing Act: Expands current urban renewal, public housing programs, extends FHA loan insurance program, encourages urban planning and beautification in housing; provides new rent supplement program for certain low- and moderate-income families.

Voting rights: Strengthens machinery for guaranteeing right to vote to all citizens by prohibiting poll taxes, literacy tests; provides for Federal registrars in States where less than 50 percent of potential voters are registered or voted.

Public works and economic development: Provides expanded program of grants and loans to communities for public works, development facilities, and other projects intended to aid economically depressed areas.

Water pollution control: Expands water pollution control program, grants for waste treatment plant construction; strengthens Federal enforcement authority to clean up our rivers and streams.

Department of Housing and Urban Affairs: Establishes a new Cabinet-level department to administer programs affecting the 70 percent of our population that now resides in metropolitan areas.

Omnibus farm program: Improves and extends feed grain, wheat, dairy and cotton programs, encourages cropland retirement, bolsters farm income.

Immigration Act Amendements: Abolishes discriminatory national origins quota system over 3-year period; establishes a 170,000 annual limit on immigrants, special preferences given to relatives of American citizens.

Appalachian regional development: Authorizes comprehensive State-Federal program to assist in the development of the economically depressed, 11-State Appalachian region.

Manpower development and training: Extends and expands manpower training program to assist unemployed in learning new skills to qualify them for better jobs.

Higher education: Authorizes expanded 5-year program to assist colleges and universities to improve educational opportunities; provides student loan and scholarship to aid needy students.

Economic opportunity program: Increases authorization for antipoverty program, makes other improvements in the operation of various parts of the war on poverty.

Military pay increase: Provides an average 10.4-percent pay increase for some 4.2 million uniformed personnel of the Armed Forces, effective September 1, 1965—2.7 million on active duty, 1 million reservists, 500,000 retired.

Regional medical centers: Authorizes 3-year program of Federal grants to plan and develop a series of regional medical programs to fight heart disease, cancer, and stroke.

Arts and humanities: Creates a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities to assist and foster broad cultural programs in art, music, films, ballet, and so forth.

Health professions education: Extends and expands program of construction grants to medical, dental, and other similar educational institutions; establishes new program of scholarship grants for needy students, increases student loan program.

Presidential continuity: Adopted proposed amendment to the Constitution to establish procedure to permit Vice President to become Acting President if the President is unable to perform his duties; provides for filling the vacancy of the office of Vice President.

Congressional organization: Created a joint committee to study the organization and operation of Congress and to make recommendations to improve and streamline the work of Congress.

Health research facilities: Provides for extension of program to construct health research facilities; establishes three new Assistant Secretaries of Health, Education, and Welfare to administer expanded programs in this area.

Comunity health services: Extends programs for public health services providing vaccinations, immunization, other preventive treatment of diseases, migrant health clinics, and grants to States for general health services.

Mental health services: Provides for initial staffing grants for personnel serving in community mental health centers.

Drug controls: Expands Federal control over certain depressant and stimulant drugs to reduce the illegal use of these dangerous drugs that affect the central nervous system.

Older Americans: Establishes new Administration on Aging in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to develop programs to assist the aged.

Juvenile delinquency: Extends present law to assist comunities in the development of new programs to prevent or control juvenile delinquency and youth crime.

Water resources development: Extends and broadens research program of converting saline water; another new law provides grants to States for the cordination of water resources planning and development; another new law establishes a grant program to assist in development of water supply and sewage disposal facilities in rural areas; a separate program was authorized to plan a water supply system for the northeastern part of the country.

Air pollution: Establishes machinery for controlling motor vehicle air pollutants, accelerates air pollution research program, creates new program to find methods of disposing of solid wastes.

Highway beautification: Provides for gradual control over billboards, signs, and so forth, along Federal-aided highways of the interstate and primary systems; offers incentive grants for improvement of scenic areas along such highways.

Federal pay: Provides salary increase for Federal classified and postal employees, attempting to achieve more equitable relationship with pay of employees in private industry; makes other fringe benefits in pay and overtime allowances.

High-speed rapid transit: Authorizes 3-year progarm of research and demonstration projects for development of high-speed intercity railroad transportation.

State technical srevices: Establishes new 3-year program of Federal-State-local-technical cooperation to provide technical service centers to disseminate findings of scientific and technological importance to commerce and industry.

Retired Government employees: Provides for cost-of-living increases in annuities to retired employees of Federal Government.

Vocational training: Expands vocational rehabilitation program to aid disabled persons; another new program provides Federal loan insurance to high school graduates to finance tuition at business, trade, technical, and other vocational schools.

This truly remarkable record of accomplishment has been achieved despite the traditional tactics of harassment and obstructionism of the Republican minority. We of the Democratic majority have acted decisively and responsibly to carry out the overwhelming mandate of the American voters last November. We have fulfilled our campaign pledges. We have kept faith with the people of our Nation who believe in continued progress in the 1960's, in continued economic growth and development of America's great potential, and in continued strength and resolve in our defense and international policies to achieve world peace.

VA Hospital, Salt Lake City, Utah

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, On September 24, disciplinary action was recommended internally in the Veterans' Administration with regard to the irregularities in the Veterans' Administration hospital, Salt Lake City. The "recommended action" is that suggested by the Investigating Unit of the Veterans' Administration. The proposed action is that suggested by the Department of Medicine and Surgery. What final action was taken, I have not been advised.

Both proposals seem to me to be very mild, and it should be noted that the present hospital director and the former assistant hospital director, now serving at another station, who deny all knowledge of the activities at the Salt Lake City hospital, are not reprimanded or counseled.

The recommendations follow:

REPORT OF INVESTIGATION RE ALLEGED IRREGULARITIES, VA HOSPITAL, SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH (DOCKET NO. 66-31)

RECOMMENDED ACTION	PROPOSED ACTION
Reprimanding or admonishing Dr. ——— (former hospital director) Dr. ——— (chief of medical service) Dr. ——— (assistant chief of medical service) Dr. ——— (acting chief, surgical service) Dr. ——— (chief, radiology service) Dr. ——— (assistant chief, radiology service) X-ray technicians ———, ———, ———, ———, EKG technician ———, animal house supervisor ———, senior bacteriologist ———, microbiologist ———, biological laboratory technician ———, and ——— plumber.	Former Director, VAH, Salt Lake City, will be counseled. Drs. ——— and ———, chief and assistant chief of medical service, respectively, will be counseled. ——— senior bacteriologist, and ——— microbiologist, will be repremanded. Action will be initiated to correct their time and attendance records. Dr. ———, acting chief, surgical service, will be reprimanded. Laboratory technician ——— will be counseled. ———, supervisor, VA animal house, will be reprimanded. ———, engineering division, will be counseled. X-ray technicians ———, ———, ———, and ———; ——— EKG technician, will be counseled. Dr. ———, assistant chief, radiology service will be admonished. ———, chief X-ray technician, will be admonished. Dr. ———, chief, radiology service will be reprimanded.
Correcting time and attendance records of senior bacteriologist ———, and microbiologist.	
Recovering fees deposited to Gastroenterology and Pulmonary Disease Funds for services provided ineligibles at VAH, Salt Lake City.	It is impossible to determine the amount of such moneys belonging exclusively to the VA. Any attempt made to recover these funds would seriously jeopardize relationship with the Utah School of Medicine. Accordingly, it is believed no attempt should be made to recover them.
Assuring that only persons eligible under VA regulations are treated at the VAH.	Action has already been initiated to assure that only persons eligible under VA regulations are treated at Salt Lake City Hospital.

Man of Bronze in His Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, it was no new experience early this week to view the casting in bronze of our Chairman L. MENDEL RIVERS at the intersection of Dorchester and Rivers Avenues in North Charleston, S.C.

To many of us, MENDEL has appeared as a man of iron for years, but particularly this year on his assumption of the chairmanship of the Armed Services Committee. With his drive and leadership, we have forged a revitalized armed service pay structure, a fair and equitable shipbuilding and repairs program, a new voice of the Congress respecting the closing or modification of military bases. But more than these tangible evidences of courage, the chairman has pioneered a new spirit of support of our armed services by the Congress, which in time can only be reciprocated by a resurgence of the finest defense structure known to the free world.

The Secretary of the Navy, Paul Nitze; Secretary of the Army, Stephen Ailes; Secretary of the Air Force, Harold Brown; Deputy Secretary of Defense, Cyrus Vance; and Director of Central

Intelligence, Adm. William Rayburn, a host of congressional colleagues and many other distinguished military leaders were present to celebrate the occasion.

The mayor of Charleston, the Honorable J. Palmer Gaillard, Jr., reflected the attitude of thousands of South Carolinians at the ceremony as follows:

As we all know Charleston is the modern city where the Cooper and the MENDEL RIVERS join to form the Charleston Navy Yard.

It is appropriate that we meet in this place and in this manner to do honor to our Congressman.

The office that he holds in the Congress is indeed a powerful one, and that power could not be more properly placed than in his hands. That he commands the respect of the Nation, and particularly of its military might, is evidenced by the presence of our military leaders here today.

His leadership in Congress has manifested itself in the establishment of the greatest and most modern military might in the history of our country. The tremendous military installations which have been established in this congressional district, and particularly in this area, give testimony of his interest, his concern, and his love for all of us.

Throughout the Nation, military installations have been established by his leadership, and under his direction. There is no person, civilian or military, who knows anything at all of the defense of this country that does not recognize the greatest single person, indeed the key figure in our defense, to be MENDEL RIVERS.

These things are all well known, and it is unnecessary for me to recount the tremendous power, and leadership that the image of MENDEL RIVERS casts over the entire Nation, if not the world.

Let me say a few words on a subject that is sometimes overlooked, but which I have always felt is perhaps more important than than all of these things mentioned. That is the tremendous inner strength within our Military Establishment—an inner strength which has been generated by the personality of MENDEL RIVERS. It is an inner strength which begets and produces such old-fashioned ideas as patriotism, honor, duty, and above all else, pride and loyalty to his country.

MENDEL RIVERS from his early youth, always gave of himself. He loved the little man. He was friend of the ordinary fellow. He loved him and was so concerned of his life and well-being, that he was collectively loved back, and he became in the minds, and in the hearts, of the people of this community at a very early age, the symbol of their hopes and their dreams and their ambitions. They knew that in him they had a true friend. They sensed in the very beginning that it was them that he was interested in. That he was no phony; that, in fact, it was in this advancement and their well being, that he was interested.

When he first ran for Congress, over what appeared to be unsurmountable odds—these people, who knew MENDEL RIVERS, turned out at the ballot boxes and overwhelmingly put him in office. He did not disappoint them. He has, from the date he entered the Congress, been recognized, as the friend, and the champion, of the interest of the ordinary American, and he has symbolized all of the things which they love, and respect as a leader.

This monument which we unveil today is a tangible symbol of our love and respect for the man that we honor today. It is a tangible symbol, of his efforts and his leadership, particiularly in behalf of the rank and file of all of the men and women in our military services.

The recent pay raise for our servicemen came about by the efforts of MENDEL RIVERS. It was his idea. It was opposed by the administration leadership. It could not have passed, except that the spirit and the concern of MENDEL RIVERS, so infected and captured the minds and the hearts of his colleagues in Congress, that through his leadership it became a reality.

It is not the amount of money, which was made available to each of our soldiers and sailors which is important. It is the fact that by his efforts, each of them knew that in him, they had a friend, and that that friendship could be converted into the national policy of their country.

It gave them a pride in their work. It gave them a feeling of being appreciated. It gave them a feeling of being wanted. It generated in them, the knowledge that whether they were in a foxhole in Vietnam, aboard a Polaris submarine, or engaged in another job of the service, that their love of their country, and their patriotism and their loyalty, found expression, and found recognition, in the Halls of Congress of their Nation.

It is these intangibles, generated by the personality of MENDEL RIVERS within the hearts of thousands, all over the globe, which is the true monument that will live in the minds of Americans, that we really and appropriately dedicate here today.

He is a great man. He is a great leader, and he is both, because he has not changed. He knows, that the strength of America lies in the people who do its work, fight its battles, give its country the inner moral strength, and the military might to defend those strengths against all enemies.

Rolling on High-Speed Rails

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the day is coming when rail passengers in this country will be able to stand and move about comfortably as a train rolls along at 150 miles per hour.

In a recent editorial, the Philadelphia Inquirer quoted President Johnson, in signing the High-Speed Ground Transportation Act, as saying:

We have airplanes that fly three times the speed of sound, we have television cameras orbiting Mars. But we have the same tired, inadequate mass transportation between our towns and cities that we had 30 years ago.

The editorial, which commends the administration and the Congress for taking the steps toward the day when this country will have supertrains, is typical of many throughout the country. Under previous consent, I insert it in the RECORD:

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer, Oct. 3, 1965]

ROLLING ON HIGH-SPEED RAILS

President Johnson, in signing the $90-million High-Speed Ground Transportation Act, pointed precisely to the 20th-century irony that makes it essential:

"We have airplanes that fly three times the speed of sound, we have television cameras orbiting Mars. But we have the same tired, inadequate mass transportation between our towns and cities that we had 30 years ago."

Stuart T. Saunders, Pennsylvania Railroad chairman, spoke for many—particularly in the northeastern corner of the United States in which the high-speed rail experiments will be starting within a year—when he responded, "It is excitng to think of the potential benefits for the Nation's transportation system that can stem from the signing of this bill."

Critics may wish that the railroad industry itself has been able to effect the changes for the faster, more convenient service that may now take place—but it is no secret that the rails have been under such severe competitive pressure that U.S. help was inevitable.

Initial plans for the electric, self-propelled cars on the Pennsylvania, and the gas-turbine cars on the New Haven, call for speeds up to 125 miles an hour. Given track, bridge and electrical system improvements, passengers may be able to stand up and move around comfortably even at speeds up to 150 miles per hour.

We hope the supertrains will be well patronized from the outset, for this transportation gain should be able to pay its way and "box office" will be a large factor in gaging success. The result of a failure, on the airlanes and highways, is horrible to contemplate.

Aberdeen Post Office: 65 Years of Growth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, post offices are people. The Aberdeen, Md., post office recently noted its 65th year of service to the community. It started out in a general store at the turn of the century; grew with the opening of Aberdeen Proving Ground; and now serves a thriving community in northeast Maryland.

I am delighted to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the story of the devoted postal service men and women who served in it. This human and excellent sketch of the post office—too often thought of as an institution—was written by Eileen Burke and Charlotte Cronin for the Harford Democrat:

ABERDEEN POST OFFICE: 65 YEARS OF GROWTH

(By Eileen Burke and Charlotte Cronin)

Now that the plaster dust has been swept away and the last brush strokes of blue and pale green paint applied, the residents of Aberdeen possess a post office which is double its original size.

The building has new lighting and heating equipment, air conditioning, and expanded loading and unloading facilities, and a remodeled lobby as well as a fresh coat of paint.

The front entrance has been supplemented with a side entrance with steps on the inside where they won't get slippery during bad weather.

During the 14 months since the construction project began in June 1964, workmen were in the building almost every day. Aberdeen Postmaster William Michael estimates that at times there were many as 50 workmen in the building at one time. However, he said the average was about five a day.

Mr. Michael said the post office employees had to make some adjustments every day during the renovation. But, he added, "the patrons were probably more inconvenienced than we were," particularly from February to May when the post office operated out of a cubbyhole in the corner that was just big enough for two clerks and a small lobby.

Although there was confusion and noise throughout the construction period, Mr. Michael said the worst part came when work on the old building itself began. Especially trying were the five noise and dust filled days when a crane demolished the back wall of the building.

The renovation cost about a quarter million dollars, including the price for acquiring and tearing down the garage that used to stand along the alley behind the post office.

Mr. Michael said the Post Office Department originally planned to relocate the building. However, when the Government could not find a large enough lot within a mile of the center of town, they decided to keep the old building even though the lot was smaller than was called for by the original plans.

ORIGINAL 1936 BUILDING

Mr. Michael said when construction on the present building began in 1936 the Government thought the building would be adequate for years to come with normal growth of the town. However, because of the Proving Ground, Aberdeen's growth was not quite normal. Mr. Michael pointed out that the 1940 census showed 941 people living in town; while the 1960 census showed 12,330 residents.

The postmaster said he doubted that his office served a thousand people when he began to work there in 1947 At that time there were two custodial employees, two rural mail carriers, four clerks, and the postmaster, Mr. H. Mitchell Hopkins. Since there were no carriers for the town, residents had to pick up their mail at the post office.

Now the office has 24 employees. Mr. Michaels estimates that they handle mail for 24,000 people. The carriers take mail to 3,200 people in town and over 112 miles of rural roads.

Despite the volume of mail handled by the Aberdeen post office now, the busiest days were during World War II, when the post office was staffed by one man and a series of temporary women employees. For 2 months, one of the ministers in town, who realized the carriers had more work than they could handle, became a part-time mailman.

AT TURN OF CENTURY

Before the present building was opened in 1937, the Aberdeen post office occupied a series of buildings. At the turn of the century, it was located in Mr. George Ivin's general store. This building later became a part of Hutner's Restaurant on a street known as Broadway.

Early in the 1900's the post office and store moved to a new building on the corner of Bel Air Avenue and Route 40, which was then called Front Street. While the post office was in this building, Mr. George Evans replaced Mr. Ivins as postmaster. Mr. Evans served for 4 years until the next presidential election, when Mr. Harry Arthur was appointed to the job.

In 1909 Mr. Walter Aaronson became the first postal clerk and Mr. Major Jewens delivered mail along the first rural route. A little later, two more rural carriers, Mr. E. W. Bonnett and Mr. Frank Mahan, were appointed. A part-time postal clerk was appointed to help Mr. Aaronson. Miss Cora Wells and Mrs. Lewis Martin held the job. Next a second full-time clerk was hired. Mr. Granville Pyle and Mr. Eldon Greenland held this job.

The Aberdeen fire during the winter of 1918 destroyed the post office building. The office moved to a wooden shack next to the ground where the building had stood until the present Odd Fellows Building was completed on the corner. From 1918 to 1936, the post office occupied a room on the Route 40 side of this building.

MISS ESTELLE OLDEST EMPLOYEE

While the post office occupied its makeshift quarters, Miss Jennie Reason and Miss Estelle Rogers served as postal clerks under Mr. William Jacobs, who was then postmaster. Miss Estelle Rogers, who retired in 1945, after over 30 years of service, is now the oldest living employee of the post office.

Miss Rogers said that funny things seemed to happen almost every day during her career at the post office. One incident that she always remembers is the post card she sent to the House of Correction, Maryland's penal institution.

Miss Rogers said that a boy, who used to come to the post office almost every day, "would get into some kind of trouble each fall so that he could spend his winters at the House of Correction."

One day his girl friend, who also frequented the post office, asked Miss Rogers to write a few words on a post card for the boy. The message Miss Rogers was asked to write was "Dear Sam: I am sorry you is where you am."

LONNIE BOWMAN OLDEST CARRIER

Mr. Lonnie Bowman, who retired in 1950, became a rural mail carrier in 1919. Mr. Bowman estimates that he made 9,100 trips over his route. Although he never had an accident, he was pulled out of snow drifts four times. Twice he was rescued by teams of horses, once by a team of mules, and once by a yoke of oxen.

When Mr. Bowman first began to deliver the mail, he drove a horse and buggy. Soon after then, he purchased a model T Ford. However, the car didn't quite replace the horse. Whenever the snow drifts got too deep, Mr. Bowman covered his route on a horse that belonged to his next door neighbor.

Toward his retirement, the roads were passable without a horse, but progress brought work of its own with the increased number of mail boxes along the route.

One of the most sudden examples of progress came during World War I. One day Mr. Bowman got lost while delivering mail to the people who still lived on the land that had been taken over by the Government for Aberdeen Proving Ground. When he asked for directions, Mr. Bowman found out that the group of houses that had caused his confusion had been built since his trip the previous morning.

AQUILLA FRISBY, 30-YEAR MAN

Mr. Aquilla Frisby, who retired 3 years ago, began working for the post office in 1928 when it occupied its rented quarters along Route 40. For $2 a day, he cleaned the room and carried the mail in a small push car between the office and the Pennsylvania Railroad station. Surprisingly, the number of daily mail deliveries by train has dwindled from nine when Mr. Frisby began work, to one, because most mail is now delivered by truck.

When the new building opened, Mr. Frisby, was appointed fireman. From 1937 until his retirement, he helped with the mail, watched the boiler, raised and lowered the flag and cleaned the building.

MRS. BAKER, MITCHELL HOPKINS, POSTMASTERS

Mrs. Frank Baker, who served during the Hoover administration, was the last postmaster whose job depended on the political party of the President of the United States. While the next postmaster, Mr. F. Mitchell Hopkins was in office, the Civil Service Act was passed which made the appointment to the job permanent.

When Mr. Hopkins resigned in 1947, his wife became acting postmaster. Mr. Michael was appointed postmaster in 1949.

EMPLOYED TODAY

Among the employees today are:

Mr. William N. Michael, postmaster, has been with the Post Office Department for 28 years, and Mr. Howard Holloway, assistant postmaster, has served 35½ years.

Other employees and their length of service are as follows:

Harry M. Ivins, 25 years; Edward Roy James, 23 years; Elwin L. Moretz, 22½ years; Grace B. DeBonis, 21 years; John V. Szamborski, 20 years; Elbert E. Collins, William Cooper, Jr., and Jack V. Sheppard, each 18 years; Phyllis J. Hurd, 16 years; Marshall N. Sargable, Kenneth M. Henry and Joseph I. Bowser, each 14 years.

Also Dennis L. Caudill, 13 years; Richard W. Kuester, 12 years; Charles M. Duff, 11 years; George W. Coen and Clyde Lewis, Jr., each 10 years; Robert W. Moxley, and Royce C. Palmer, each 7 years; Joe G. Szakacs, 6 years; and Ronald D. Kells and W. F. Coppersmith, Sr., each 3 years.

Teton County, Wyo.—A Colorful History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILWARD L. SIMPSON

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, the Jackson Hole Guide recently carried an article giving a succinct and colorful history of the Teton National Forest and some of the problems which cooperation between State and Federal agencies succeeded in overcoming. I ask that the article be printed in the appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TETON COUNTY HAS COLORFUL PAST—THE TETON NATIONAL FOREST

On February 22, 1897, President Cleveland issued an Executive order creating the Teton National Forest. It comprised 829,440 acres of public land.

The first work undertaken on the national forest began about 1876. The first national forest was called the Yellowstone Timberland Preserve which was created in 1891 by President Harrison.

These forest reserves were brought about to save the Nation's forest from the ruthless destruction of big lumber interests who had laid waste thousands of acres of timber leaving behind them only desolate cutover land.

The first appropriation made by the Government for the administration of Teton Forest was made available July 1, 1898. Charles DeLoney, of Evanston, was named supervisor, and Roland W. Brown was his clerk and ranger. The first Forest Service cabin was reportedly built in the spring of 1900 at Jenny Lake.

A great forest fire over the Teton, in the Hoback area, began that spring and raged throughout the summer. It was called "the Forty Mile Fire" and was only finally extinguished that fall when snow fell. There was no equipment to fight forest fires in those days other than shovels and axes, and little money was available to hire firefighters.

U. Armor Thompson succeded DeLoney, and in 1907 the first grazing permits were issued on the forest. Some local citizens

were quite upset at first, but when they understood the purpose—to eliminate sheep grazing and protect some areas from overgrazing—they were pleased and in the fall circulated a petition to increase the size of the Teton Forest. However some of the ranchers feared that enlargement of the area might bring in large cattle interests, so the petition was never presented.

In the early summer of 1902 Congressman Frank Mondell wrote to Robert E. Miller, U.S. Commissioner, saying that he had received complaints from some of the ranchers that Supervisor Thompson was (1) too strict, and (2) not strict enough. He asked Miller to investigate, and later, since it seemed the settlers were very dissatisfied with Thompson, Miller was appointed in his place. He received the magnificent salary of $1,500 a year.

The Teton was transferred back to the Yellowstone forest reserve in 1903, and in 1905 President Theodore Roosevelt transferred the national forest to the Department of Agriculture. Up to that time its administration had been divided between the General Land Office, the Geologic Survey, and the Bureau of Forestry in the Agriculture Department.

In June 1904, Edward F. Blair bought 100,000 feet board measure sawtimber, the first sale of timber on record for the Teton. Ben Sheffield bought 1,920 poles, 30 cords of wood, and 32,000 feet board measure sawtimber also in June, for which he paid a total price of $49.50.

Sheffield and Louis Joy bought the first permit to cut wild hay. In 1906 grazing permits were issued for a total of 4,072 cattle and 159 horses.

July 1, 1908, the Teton National Forest was officially created and comprised 1,991,200 acres. Later, changes in the boundaries were made, with the establishment of Grand Teton Park and the elk refuge.

Rudolph ("Rosie") Rosencrans and Fred Graham were among the first rangers on the Teton. Among the others who served the forest in early days were Emil Wolff, L. C. LaPlant, E. C. Carrington, Albert Gunther, A. M. Austin, F. Buchenroth, C. S. Horel, Henry Bircher, D. S. Imeson, A. N. Davis, C. N. Woods—the list is too long to chronicle here. In 1918, A. C. McCain succeeded Miller as supervisor; when Mac retired in 1936, J. W. West took over until 1942. F. C. Koziol succeeded him in 1942. He was succeeded by W. L. Hansen, who in turn was followed by Art Buckingham. When Art was transferred to the Bridger, H. H. VanWinkle took over, and when "Rip" retired, Bob Safran took over and is the present supervisor.

During the years 1933–40, when the Dog Creek and Cliff Creek CCC camps were located here, many worthwhile projects were constructed. Some of the projects were the pool and campground at Granite Creek, also the road leading into Granite; a road down Snake River Canyon; ranger stations at Kelly and Moran, and the supervisor's headquarters at Jackson. Besides this, much down timber was cleaned up, making the fire hazard much less.

Since 1947, infestations by beetles have occurred almost every year, and large crews have been employed to save the forest from destruction. Many other roads have been constructed for logging purposes, later used for recreation purposes. More campgrounds have been built, as the use of the forest for recreation has increased.

In 1949, many will recall, Charles Dibble had charge of the Buffalo district, A. K. Wogensen was on the Gros Ventre, Gray Reynolds was in charge of the Hoback district, and Doug Wadsworth had the Jackson district.

The Jackson Hole Winter Sports Association was formed in the early 1940's and operates the ski area on Snow King Mountain, just south of town. All developments on the forest are carefully supervised to prevent erosion and flagrant abuse of an area.

Recently a fine new building was constructed as a permanent and adequate home for the Teton National Forest personnel. The first office was in a log cabin near the old Government ranchhouse. From there, it was moved to various houses around town, including the second story of the building which is now the Richmond Hotel. From there the office was moved to the log building which is now occupied by the Jackson State Bank. In 1934, the Government built the white office building on the site of the new structure, which was moved last year to make room for the present fine office building.

The new modern building was completed in September 1964, and the office force moved in on September 29. An "open house" was held sometime later, at which time the public had an opportunity to inspect the new building and meet the various rangers and other personnel.

Permanent employees of the Teton National Forest now number 36. Seasonal employees vary each year according to the need.

Miami: The Magic City—A Great Place To Live

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, many in this Chamber are familiar with the countless sources for fun and frolic to be found in the magic city of Miami.

For many more throughout America, the Miami area has taken on the aspect of a second home. These millions of visitors have made Greater Miami today larger than ever before—we have over a million people—but more important they have helped Miamians to forge a great city. Many hundreds of thousands have moved to Greater Miami to build new homes and take places in our community. Millions more have kept alive both their interest in and hope to return to Dade County.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues who have never visited the Miami area to come this year and see for themselves the magic of our area. For those of you who have been to the Miami area, I urge you to return.

Mr. Speaker, an excellent article in this month's edition of the Florida Municipal Record outlines the many changes brought by those who have moved to Greater Miami and those who have visited the Miami area:

[From the Florida Municipal Record, October 1965]

MIAMI'S CHANGING SKYLINE

Miami's changing skyline, like Miami's curving shoreline, continually offers inviting new vistas for visitors and presents new riddles for residents.

The evolving vistas—full of blue-green waters darting sunbeams back toward cottonball clouds dotting Miami's airlanes, framed by swaying palm fronds that change from green to ebony when the sun sinks with reluctance into the mysterious Everglades—such vistas catch the eyes and lift the hearts of all who come and look.

The recurring riddles—how to provide double today's needs for the day after tomorrow, how to balance a pleasure-oriented economy with brass-tacks industry and agriculture, how to keep America's youngest big city growing in every way—such questions face Miamians who seriously think about "The Magic City's" future.

The resurgent vitality of this youngest metropolis of more than a million population is graphically shown in Miami's 1965 downtown redevelopment. The business heart of the city is forging ahead at a tempo recalling for oldtimers the boom days of the 1920's when the youthful community earned the name "Magic City."

The 30-story Ferre-built 100 Biscane Towers is one of half a dozen big new central-city structures. It is the tallest commercial building in Florida. The 348-foot office-and-apartment edifice tops by several feet Miami's 28-story, pyramid-crowned landmark courthouse completed in 1928.

Along Biscayne Boulevard, which is U.S. Highway 1 in Miami, the visitor notes other distinctive structures, including: The Bacardi Building, 2100, with its king-size blue-and-white mosaic murals in ceramic tile; the city-operated, 12-story, 422-car parking garage at 130; the 17-story First National Bank, overlooking the river's mouth; and modern downtown hotels and motels with some 4,000 rooms.

The 18-story Du Pont Building, Flagler Street at NE. Second Avenue, dominated downtown Miami till a few years ago. Today it is almost surrounded by buildings almost as tall. Dade's courthouse, is now faced across Flagler Street by two tall office structures—the 16-story Federal Building and the Concord Building next door.

Miami's changing skyline is three-dimension evidence of what the fourth dimension, time, has brought to this youngest million-plus metropolis in the United States.

Miami's 1965 skyline presents a striking vista of superlative proportions. All kinds of firsts fit flourishing Miami—naturally, historically, currently, beautifully.

First in size in Florida, Greater Miami (Dade County) is home to every fifth Floridian Metropolitan Miami's population is estimated at 1,143,000. The Miami market serves mores than one-third of all Floridians—some 2,100,000 consumers (figure in late August, from Miami Herald survey).

Leading the world's airports in international cargo volume is Miami International, one of the Nation's largest in area and by several other measurements. In 1964 Miami International Airport had 4,870,082 passenger bookings.

First choice of America's winter vacationers, Miami draws an estimated million visitors a month during the seasons—summer and winter. For the last 3 years August has brought more visitors than January or February; this year all three months saw more than a million visitors in Miami, according to careful estimates.

To catalog Miami's leadership in various fields would be tedious if not immodest. Evidences of many Miami firsts are readily apparent. For instance:

Miami International Airport ranks first in the world in number of flights completed annually without interference from weather.

The world's first permanent world's-fair type exhibition is going up in Greater Miami. Interama, promoting "Progress With Freedom," will draw some 15 million visitors a year, according to best estimates.

The world's biggest nighttime parade is Miami's King Orange Jamboree, every December 31.

Miami's Opa-Locka Airport has the largest general aviation hangar in the eastern United States—and this airport is one of the 10

busiest devoted to nonscheduled and private flying.

Miami is the world's No. 1 producer of summer and resort clothing, second largest manufacturing center for children's wear.

Metropolitan Dade County (Greater Miami) was the Nation's first local government organized along economic rather than political lines. "Metro" got its start with a 1953 study underwritten by the city of Miami.

The site of modern Miami was, apparently, the first townsite in the United States to be shown on an extant New World map. The Freducci map of about 1514 shows a Tequesta Indian village at the mouth of a river which the Indians called Mayaimi—"Big Water." Earlier maps by Alberto Cantino, Cabot, and Vespucci have not been preserved.

Miami's changing skyline overlooks Cape Florida, on the way to becoming our newest State park.

Cape Florida Light was built not far from where the area's earliest visitors must have touched shore. The lighthouse went up on Key Biscayne 3 years after the Key West depot was set up by the U.S. Navy.

Dade County was created in 1835, when Fort Dallas was being completed at the mouth of the Miami River. The fort was built as part of Uncle Sam's contest with the Seminoles, not yet officially concluded.

In 1871 William Barnwell Brickell, a friend of Abraham Lincoln who had made a fortune prospecting in California and Australia, stopped at Fort Dallas with his schooner loaded with merchandise intended for Indians trading in Florida and the Caribbean. Brickell saw a bright future here. He cancelled his Caribbean schedule, built a house and store south of the river.

Widow Julia Tuttle came from Cleveland in 1873, to visit her family. Her father was Ephraim T. Sturtevant, a Florida legislator. The homestead was at Lemon City—which became a city of Miami neighborhood. Here in 1890 Mrs. Tuttle purchased 640 acres which 6 years later figured prominently in the founding of Miami.

In 1875 Charles and Isabella Peacock came from London with their son Alfred and set up a general store at Coconut Grove. Seven years later they built the first hotel between Lake Worth and Key West—Peacock Inn, forerunner of 993 modern hotels and motels in Greater Miami (as of January 1, 1965.

Miami's first winter residents came in 1877: Commodore Ralph M. Munroe with his wife and her sister from Staten Island, N.Y. They started something that has earned for Miami the title "America's Favorite Winter Resort," a title endorsed several million times over every winter.

The great freeze of February 1895 ruined citrus as far south as Broward County, but Miami escaped the heavy frost. A sprig of orange blossoms from Widow Tuttle's backyard brought railway tycoon Flagler down from Palm Beach for a look around. When she offered him alternate lots throughout her 640 acres, plus the enthusiastic support of the burgeoning community, he decided to extend the FEC tracks and build a big hotel at the end of the line. The six-story Royal Palm Hotel went up where Tequestas had lived 15 centuries before, at the river's mouth.

The first "Florida Special" to reach Miami rolled into the mushrooming town of some 500 or more souls on April 22, 1896—and Miami was on its way.

Three months later (July 28) 343 citizens voted to incorporate.

Climate always has and no doubt always will accelerate Miami's forward push.

But Miami's No. 1 growth ingredient is people—people of vision, determination, courage, and stamina who have seen the area's possibilities and converted them into realities. Miami continues to attract such people, from near and far.

One Greater Miamian in seven was born outside the United States. Eight in ten were born outside Florida. Five in ten did not live here 10 years ago.

These factors help give Miami a virility uncommon in American communities. They also give Miami some unusual problems, and opportunities.

Miami's vigorous youth, compared to centuries older and more settled cities, marks its political as well as commercial and social life, imparting something of a frontier flavor. This makes it easier for Miami to innovate and pioneer, in government as in commerce and other fields—and, Miami does.

Metropolitan areas experience population turnover—families moving from as well as new residents coming to the community. Miami's "from-to" ratio is high—in favor of Miami. The magnetic factors which bring people to Miami, as residents, also keep them here.

Miami's changing skyline overlooks increasing thousands of productive "work benches behind the play beaches."

As more and more people come to Miami, from every direction, more and more Miami products go to other markets—throughout Florida, the Nation, the world.

According to late reports from the U.S. Department of Commerce, Metropolitan Miami now leads the Nation in rate of increase of:

1. New manufacturing plants—more than 200 new plants per year have gone up here in the last 10 years;

2. New manufacturing employees—Greater Miami has more than one-third of a million workers in nonagricultural employment;

3. New manufacturing payrolls—annual personal income totals more than $2.5 billion;

4. Value added by manufacture (official figures on this and some other factors have not been released for 1964).

These impressive increases do not represent sudden rising from a low base. Miami's industrial development has been sufficiently deliberate to be quite solid, and it continues in that pattern.

Tourism dominates Miami's economy. But tourist-compatible industry is increasingly important. In order of dollar value to Miami's economy the following industries lead: aircraft maintenance and overhaul, aluminum manufacture, wholesaling, agriculture, garment manufacture, printing and publishing, electronics, plastics, and research.

The city of Miami Department of Publicity and Tourism works with the Dade County Development Department, with utilities and other private enterprise, in attracting new industry.

A recent study by the city's publicity shows Miami's growth in the last 10 years at more than twice the national rate in number of residential customers for electricity, public school enrollment, and new banks; almost twice the national growth rate in registered motor vehicles, telephones, post office receipts, and several other factors.

From 1954 to 1964, Miami banks' debits to individual accounts multiplied more than three times over, savings and loan deposits multiplied five times plus.

Figures in this 1954–64 table speak for themselves:

Metropolitan Miami's growth—A 10-year study of some major growth factors, Dade County

[Compiled from originating sources by Miami-Metro News Bureau, July 22, 1965]

	1954	1964	Percent increase	
			Miami	National
Population (1955 and 1965 estimates)	703,777	1,143,000	62	18
Electricity customers, residential	204,690	322,890	58	26
Sales to residential customers (kilowatt-hours)	646,739,000	2,128,548,000	229	
Water pumped, gallons [1]	21,449,000,000	43,200,599,000	100	
Telephones in service, total	282,385	589,506	109	67
Residential main stations	137,933	267,012	94	
Motor vehicles registered	322,823	571,411	77	41
Public school enrollment	97,741	197,206	102	43
Post office receipts	$9,079,369	$24,257,858	156	85
Banks, commercial	23	58	152	2
Commercial bank deposits	$743,976,000	$1,507,777,000	102	
Savings and loan associations and branches	9	17	88	34
Savings and loan deposits	$326,575,000	$1,694,480,000	419	
Bank debits to individual accounts	$8,166,832,000	$19,701,300,000	140	
1- and 2-family dwellings	182,951	265,997	45	
Apartment units	63,496	91,899	45	
Total dwelling units	246,447	357,896	45	17
Manufacturing establishments	1,563	2,936	88	
Employed in industry, nonagricultural	210,400	340,500	62	8
Gross valuation of real property	$1,807,908,886	$6,676,548,260	[2] 84	

[1] City of Miami Water Department, which furnishes water to an estimated 80 to 85 percent of the metropolitan population—17 of 27 municipalities plus some unincorporated areas.

[2] This true comparative figure reflects an across-the-board doubling of tax assessments on real property in 1963–64.

Miami's Youth Opportunity Center was not only the first such Federal-local cooperative facility in Florida; it was one of the Nation's first. City of Miami representatives were among the first municipal officials presenting facts and figures in Washington in early discussions of President Johnson's antipoverty program.

Miami was the first municipality to submit an application under the Federal accelerated public works program, the first city to have an application accepted, the first to receive a Federal grant, and the first major city to begin an FAPW project.

Being "firstest with the mostest" is a sort of habit with the city of Miami. This is not done by sitting down and waiting. It's done by getting up and "gittin' along" on every avenue with promise of something good at the end.

That kind of progress comes with vigorous, courageous, imaginative leadership—and that the city of Miami has.

Heading Miami's leadership is Mayor Robert King High, this month completing his fourth consecutive 2-year term. He set a record with his reelection. Here are some reasons most citizens give him a very good chance for a fifth term:

1. Tax millage has been reduced or the line held on property taxes every year since High's first term. Miami's tax decrease—12 percent in the last 6 years—is unmatched by any major city in the United States.

2. High has led in establishing and maintaining Miami's reputation as "Gateway to the Americas." He has been decorated by 7 Latin American counrties, 7 major cities in Latin America, and by 15 societies promoting hemispheric friendship.

3. Miami's pioneering progress in public housing has been High sparked. The city

is said to have more accommodations and more varied facilities in public and private housing for senior citizens than any other U.S. city. Miami is frequently visited by housing officials who consider the Miami Housing Authority a model. The authority's newest completed facility is Robert King High Towers.

4. High has contributed significantly to Miami's world renown in sports. In August he led in completing negotiations for an American Football League franchise for Miami.

5. Miami's downtown redevelopment is helping the entire community. High was instrumental in obtaining a 1962 grant under the Federal community renewal program, which helped start downtown revitalization.

6. Urban renewal, in which field city and county are working side by side with Federal cooperation.

7. Miami's public library system, operating 12 units in the city and two for neighboring municipalities, has greatly expanded during High's four terms. Five new branches were dedicated in 1964.

8. Civic pride is apparent in Miami. A chief reason in natural beauty nurtured and complemented by a vigorous year-round program pushed by the city beautification committee. High led in organizing this communitywide effort during his first term.

9. Miami makes significant progress in Washington, thanks to effective liaison in which High has played a major role throughout his tenure.

During 1964, High spearheaded three major actions on behalf of the city of Miami but benefiting all Floridians. These efforts resulted in (1) denial of a requested statewide increase in auto insurance rates, (2) a public utilities commission order to the Florida East Coast Railway to restore passenger service, and (3) a PUC public rate hearing to determine whether consumers were being overcharged by telephone and power companies.

In 1962 High was named by Life magazine to its list of 100 outstanding Young Americans. He is former chairman of the Florida Committee for Fair Representation and of the mayor's committee on apportionment.

In 1921 Miami adopted the commission-manager form of government. Of the city's 17 city managers during 22 terms, 7 held the post less than a year. M. H. Reese has been city manager since March 21, 1960, and is well on his way to setting a record for length of tenure, as well as solid accomplishment.

Former head of a dairy firm in Appleton, Wisc., Reese was manager of Montgomery County, Md. (Washington's largest suburban area), for 5 years before coming here.

Reese's administering of Miami's affairs has been characterized by realistic economy, practical efficiency, stranightforward facing and applying of facts, imaginative planning, and outstanding achievement. Since he came to Miami the city has won national recognition on many municipal projects—24 major awards have come in the last year.

In addition to accomplishments already cited, honorable mention may be made of the following milestones recorded by Miami's city government:

1. The south Florida building code, assuring storm protection and "better housing per dollar" for owners of residential, business, and other structures from Jupiter to Key West and Naples, is largely based on the solid foundation of the city of Miami's code.

Completed in 1955, under sponsorship of the Dade County League of Municipalities, it was named "south Florida building code" because its framers—public-spirited contractors and other citizens working with municipal officials—fashioned it for the entire area. It has since been adopted in Broward, Collier, Monroe, and Palm Beach Counties, and in Caribbean areas with comparable climate and exposure.

2. Since 1962 the Miami Fire Department has been nationally rated class 1. It is one of only six such departments in the entire United States. This outstanding record, coupled with Miami's modern high-pressure hydrant system and other facilities, gives property owners most favorable fire insurance rates.

3. Miami is the first city to start a police cadet program including college training, under the Federal Economic Opportunity Act. The first and second groups of cadets are now studying criminology at Miami-Dade Junior College while "interning" (working part-time) in the police department.

4. The department of parks and recreation's pioneering programs of community service include regular preschool instruction in several city parks, at nominal "tuition" fees; operation of two 18-hole golf courses, 8 swimming pools, Miami Baseball Stadium, the Orange Bowl, Bayfront Park Bandshell (with semiweekly free concerts), and continuous concern with all city beautification projects.

5. Miami's water and sewer department, which is actually a semiautonomous agency set up in 1941, has returned some $10 million to the city's taxpayers while expanding its facilities to a current valuation of nearly $50 million. It serves about three-quarters of a million permanent residents plus nearly 1,000 hotels and motels. It supplies water to 16 municipalities in addition to the city of Miami. Several special, pioneering aspects of this 45-billion-gallon-a-year operation mark it as first in the Nation.

6. The department of finance has achieved and maintains for Miami excellent standing in the Nation's money markets. In the last 22 years the ratio of net bonded debt to net assessed value has been reduced from 19.72 to 2.25 percent—the lowest in Miami's history. Municipal bond analysts say 5 percent is good. Miami's favorable ratio last year helped sell Miami voters on approving $35,820,000 in general obligation bonds with the strong promise of no hike in taxes to service increased debt. Miami's millage for debt service is only $2.25 per $1,000 of net assessed valuation; it has been reduced by almost two-thirds in the last 10 years. Miami's latest bond borrowing was at 3.13 percent interest.

7. The training and safety division, operating directly under the city manager, saves Miami untold thousands of dollars every year through its advanced, positive program of accident prevention. No city employee has suffered a disabling eye injury since Miami's gate-to-gate eye safety program was started in 1962. Hard hats, safety shoes, and other protective equipment issued to employees in certain jobs have saved large sums in workmen's compensation, as well as considerable human misery.

8. Miami's communications department operates centralized telephone, radio, and teletype systems serving Metropolitan Dade County departments as well as city of Miami offices. The emergency telephone system includes a phone in a metal box at every intersection traffic light within the city. It is primarily for fire and police calls but is also used for calling any city of Miami office.

9. Two departments are concerned with pleasure boating: yacht docks and marine stadium. Miami voters last year approved $4,620,000 in bonds to expand and modernize city-owned marinas and related recreational facilities. The 2-year-old marine stadium, the world's only facility of its kind, is increasingly popular for concerts and other stage entertainment as well as for speedboating and other water sports.

10. City of Miami employees have had a retirement system since January 1, 1940. The seven-member retirement board is made up of the city manager, the director of finance, two appointees of the city commission, one member elected especially for this post by city employees and the two employee-elected members of the civil service board as ex officio members.

The retirement board appoints an actuary who is the technical adviser. It also appoints members of the medical board, who examine applicants for disability retirement.

At the end of 1940, there were 1,395 members and assets of $264,000. Last year, 3,886 employes were covered, and assets had grown to $40,993,000.

Reserves are invested in U.S. Government bonds, corporate bonds, VA vendee mortgages, lease-purchase agreements, rental property, and blue-chip common stocks. Income other than contributions of members and the city amounted to $1,877,000 during the last fiscal year, while pensions and annuities were paid amounting to $1,065,000.

"Benefits are generous by any standard, particularly in comparison with other municipal retirement systems," according to Director of Finance Wendall R. Bailey.

Policemen and firemen may retire at age 50 with a retirement allowance of approximately one-half pay with 25 years service. General employees may retire at age 55 with a retirement allowance of approximately one-half pay with 25 years service.

Average final compensation for the last 5 years or 10 years, whichever is greater, is used in calculating service retirement benefits. Any employee with 20 years service who has not attained minimum service retirement age may be granted early retirement with benefits adjusted accordingly. General employees participate also in the social security system.

Ordinary disability, after 10 years service, service-incurred disability and accidental disability benefits range from approximately 30 percent of the member's salary for ordinary disability to two-thirds of such salary for accidental disability. A death benefit of one-half year's salary is also provided to members' beneficiaries after 3-years' service.

In line with the city of Miami's continuous efforts to provide greater benefits for employees, the retirement system was recently amended to provide for flat rate contributions by all members, regardless of age, with benefits to be based on the member's group during his creditable service period.

In addition to departments and divisions already mentioned, Miami's city government includes: budget, city clerk, civil defense, civil service, finance, internal audit, law, medical, neighborhood rehabilitation, off-street parking, planning, property management, public properties, public works, purchasing, and sanitation.

Miami's changing skyline silhouettes 235 structures owned and maintained by the city of Miami.

Physically, city government is decentralized—for the convenience of Miami citizens. This is both logical and politic, since Miami's expansion has been more horizontal than vertical, and no doubt will continue so for several decades.

The tax collector's office is in the downtown shopping district. Publicity and tourism offices adjoin the downtown municipal auditorium. The department of law is one block from the courthouse. The medical department is near the county health offices. Municipal court is near the county jail.

Miami requires the services of five municipal judges, who preside over cases involving city ordinances—mostly assault and battery, drunkenness, vice, shoplifting, vagrancy—some 25,000 cases a year. Traffic violations, other than parking, are handled by Metropolitan Dade County Court. The city court's alcoholic rehabilitation is nationally renowned.

All city employees except department heads and the city manager's office staff are under civil service. Two of the five members of the civil service board are employees, elected by employees; the other three are appointed by the city commission.

Miami's changing skyline becomes familiar to more millions of visitors every year. Some 63 cents of each income dollar is estimated as coming from tourism.

The Florida Development Commission estimates that 52 percent of Florida's visitors come by auto. With Miami's emphasis on its unexcelled aviation facilities, the percentage of motorists is somewhat lower here. An educated guess puts it around 50 percent. This means about 4 million visitors a year who spend money elsewhere in Florida, going to or from Miami by car.

Miami's year-round promotional program helps other Florida communities in another way. While more than 100 sizable conventions go to the city of Miami every year, others meet elsewhere in Florida due in part to Miami publicity. Last year Miami voters approved $4,500,000 in bonds for a new downtown convention center.

Miami's skyline, expanding upward and outward, betokens not only a robust economy but healthy individuals too.

Miami has been a mecca for health seekers ever since the Ralph Munroe family came and spent the winter of 1877–78 in tents at old Fort Dallas.

One of the biggest boomtime hotels, the Miami Biltmore, is now the 450-bed veterans hospital in Coral Gables. Another VA facility is rising at Miami's big, fast-growing metropolitan medical center. The new $17.6 million VA hospital will add 1,062 beds to this health complex near the heart of Miami.

In its 14-year history, the University of Miami School of Medicine has risen to eminence not only among medical schools of the United States but is a bright beacon for better health throughout the Americas. Several of its faculty members have trained and taught at some of the hemisphere's leading universities—in Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, Paraguay and Puerto Rico—in addition to major European and United States universities.

Rounding out this healthy picture of Miami is this final fact: America's youngest big city is growing younger, in a manner of speaking.

The last Federal census showed that 56 percent of Miamians moving here in the last preceding 5 years were under 35. Five years earlier the comparable figure was 50 percent. Yes, the average 1960 Miamian was younger than the average Miamian of 1955. Final figures for 1965 are not in, but dependable signs indicate that today's average Miamian is even younger—and maybe stronger.

No wonder so many Miamians believe they have found the spot that Ponce de Leon missed.

Last Year the Per Capita Cost to Americans for the United Nations Was 93 and Two-fifths Cents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STANLEY L. GREIGG

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GREIGG. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from Sibley, Iowa, Gazette-Tribune presents a clear viewpoint of the relationship of the average citizen and his tax dollar to the United Nations. I commend it to my colleagues as a most enlightening editorial:

Last year the per capita cost to Americans for the United Nations was 93⅖ cents.

Less than a dollar from you, from me, and from each other person in the United States took care of the United States' share of all U.N. activities—including the regular budget, emergency forces in the Congo and Cyprus, work among refugees, the United Nations Children's Fund, and many specialized agencies such as UNESCO, Universal Postal Union, World Health Organization, International Civil Aviation Organization, and so on.

It is the biggest dollar's worth (or, we should say, 93 cents worth) that any American taxpayer gets.

Our expenditures for the United Nations is but a small fraction of our military expenditures. If we had spent as much helping the U.N. as we are now spending in Vietnam, that war might never have gotten out of hand.

There have been some complaints that the United States is bearing more than its share of the Congo and Cyprus expense. The complaints should be that we haven't spent enough to help U.N. peacekeeping activities.

Every dollar we spend in the United Nations draws matching dollars from other nations. And every dollar spent for the United Nations helps the cause of world peace, saving many dollars and many American lives in the future.

Mutual International Education in Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, a unique educational program known as the Ogontz plan for mutual international education has been developed in my Commonwealth of Pennsylvania during the past 2 years. It is making a very real contribution to international understanding. I ask unanimous consent that an article on this program which appeared in the Youth Section of UNESCO Features be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MUTUAL INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION IN PENNSYLVANIA, U.S.A.

For pupils at Ogontz Junior School in Cheltenham, a suburb of Philadelphia, international relations have taken on a new meaning during the past year. For half a day each week, the children have been learning about a foreign country, not from their own teachers but from students who actually come from the country and are studying at Pennsylvania University.

Under what is known as the "Ogontz Plan for Mutual International Education," 20 students from countries in various world regions signed up with the school to lecture to a class for one half-day a week during 3 consecutive weeks. The students from France, Ghana, India, Iran, Japan, Liberia, Pakistan, Sudan, Sweden, Turkey, and Yugoslavia, talked freely about many different aspects of life in their countries—from architecture, music and the arts to politics, economy and social customs.

The idea behind the Ogontz plan was born in 1959 when a Philadelphia businessman, Carl Stenzler, and his sculptress wife attended a school meeting on modern methods for teaching mathematics. Mrs. Stenzler left the meeting with the feeling that, while teachers were concentrating their efforts on science and math, very little was being done about the humanities and the creation of international good will.

Soon after, a series of foreign students were invited to stay with the Stenzlers, and many lasting friendships resulted. Mr. and Mrs. Stenzler talked to teachers about the importance of fostering international understanding through personal contacts. Eventually the Director of Foreign Students at Pennsylvania University became interested in the idea, and offered to find young people from abroad to lecture at Ogontz Junior High School.

Last year a cooperative arrangement was made between the Ogontz school and the university and the plan was inaugurated with five foreign students from Greece, India, Iran, Japan, and the Sudan. The scheme proved so successful that other schools in the district decided to join in.

The foreign students who have participated are enthusiastic about the Ogontz plan. Not only do they earn a little money—$10 per half day—for their lectures, but they also manage to clear up many misunderstandings during discussions with their pupils. And, no less important, they have the satisfaction of knowing that they are not only receiving but also giving during their fellowship period in the United States.

Philadelphia's International House, an agency which acts as a home-from-home for foreign students, is now going ahead with a scheme to expand the Ogontz plan to other districts of Pennsylvania. The House will act as a liaison office between interested schools and the 26 colleges and universities in Pennsylvania which now enroll about 3,800 foreign students.

Carl Stenzler, who heads the committee set up at International House to expand the plan, has even more ambitious ideas. He has spoken to the U.S. Education Commissioner, Francis Keppel, for, as he explains, he wants to see the experiment tried in schools throughout the United States.

Talbot Speer's 40th Anniversary in the Newspaper Publishing Field

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the daily newspaper is the chief source of information for an informed public in the United States. The functioning of a stable democracy depends in large part on the free press.

Recently one Maryland newspaper, the Carroll County Times, published a well-deserved tribute to Talbot Speer, editor of two other Maryland newspapers, the Evening Capital and the Maryland Gazette of Annapolis. The Gazette is the oldest newspaper in the United States.

Talbot Speer has been owner and editor of these papers for 40 years. During that time he enlarged their circulation; enlarged their coverage; and en-

larged the daily average number of pages. Along with the Carroll County Times, I salute this enterprising owner and publisher, Talbot Speer:

TALBOT SPEER'S 40TH ANNIVERSARY IN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHING FIELD

Next week is National Newspaper Week—October 10–16.

What could more appropriate than to pay tribute to a publisher who has just completed 40 years in the newspaper field.

He is Talbot T. Speer, publisher of the Capital-Gazette newspapers at Annapolis and Glen Burnie.

Mr. Speer was recently honored at the Annapolis Yacht Club for his 40 years in the publishing business.. Among those present was Governor Tawes, who presented him a certificate of distinguished citizenship.

The Governor, in presenting the framed certificate, said, "this is for all the good services Talbot Speer has rendered his State as a leading publisher, industrialist, and philanthropist. Talbot has contributed much to the welfare of our State, so much in fact, that some day we will have to hold another dinner honoring him for his achievements in other fields."

Mr. Speer purchased the Evening Capital and Maryland Gazette newspapers from the late Judge Ridgely P. Melvin in 1925. In those days the papers had only 4 to 8 pages.

The Evening Capital's percentage of growth has been phenomenal in its circulation field while the Maryland Gazette, which averaged more than 40 pages an issue in 1964, is considered one of the great weekly newspapers in the United States. The Gazette is America's oldest newspaper and Maryland's oldest business institution.

While involved in many philanthropic and civic endeavors throughout his life, Mr. Speer has never held political office. However, he has served his community and the State in many and varied offices, some of them connected with government, business, and education.

Over the years, Publisher Speer has set and maintained a sound, conservative policy for his newspapers. He believes in publishing all news as it happens without editorial opinion, the comment being reserved for special columns or the editorial page.

Mr. Speer has impressed his associates with the meaning of the expression, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." He remains constant in his conviction that a well-informed public will reach proper conclusions.

"The right of individuals to enjoy personal freedom" in its many forms has been one of Mr. Speer's firmest beliefs.

Mr. Speer lists three forces which have combined to make America great:

Belief in God and to live by Christian traditions.

Adhere to the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights.

Support and cherish the free enterprise system of business. All Americans possess the right to choose their own means of earning a living and to save or spend these earnings as they see fit, controlled only by the laws of the market place, where the customer is the judge. This supply and demand setup has led us to the greatest prosperity and the highest standard of living ever known to man.

All newspapers guided by Mr. Speer have strong editorial policies. They have fought for progress in the southern Maryland communities they represent.

Frequently, the newspapers have taken unpopular stands both on the local and national scenes, but even their critics admit they have been a leading force for progress.

"Our goal is to inform," Publisher Speer says. "Most of all we wish our readers to be self-reliant rather than wards of the government."

Speer newspapers, as well as discussing current issues, are also quick to present facts about taxes. "Readers should be aroused at their loss of control over the money they earn," Mr. Speers says. "If we are unable to save, and are obliged to live on borrowed money, like our Federal Government is now doing, we are headed for financial disaster."

The Talbot T. Speer Foundation has been a large contributor to historic Annapolis projects, the Anne Arundel General Hospital and other hospitals, schools, colleges, and community endeavors of civic nature in Maryland, Florida, and a number of other States.

In World War I, Mr. Speer rose from private to the rank of captain and was cited for meritorious service and gallantry in action while serving with the 1st Division in France.

An Episcopalian, Mr. Speer served for 30 years on the vestry of the Cathedral Church of the Incarnation.

Progress Against Water Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, man in his beginning always lived by a stream—and found that the stream provided him with life.

Early man had fresh water for drinking, and clean water for washing.

This administration now is taking steps to once again give this Nation clean streams—something that early man always found.

The President declared that he expected to swim in the Potomac by 1975, and that "water pollution is doomed in this century."

His deep concern—and dedicated efforts—to end water pollution have been applauded across the land. In a recent editorial, which I insert in the RECORD, the Philadelphia Inquirer praises the administration's progress against water pollution:

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer, Oct. 4, 1965]

PROGRESS AGAINST WATER POLLUTION

The concern of this Nation with the quantity of its water supply has been amply evidenced in Delaware Valley and elsewhere in the Northeast during the last few months; now there are signs of equal and growing concern with the quality.

The Water Quality Act of 1965, signed over the weekend by President Johnson, is a fair start on what must become a vast program to restore our streams, lakes and rivers to a sufficient state of health to support fish and human life. The President declared that he expected to swim in the Potomac by 1975, and that "water pollution is doomed in this century." We hope he is right.

But the bill adds only $50 million to the $100 million set aside for grants to help State and local authorities build adequate sewage treatment facilities. They are expensive.

At a Federal-State conference on Hudson River pollution (in which we have a stake because of New York City's reliance on Delaware water instead of its own) it was stated that municipalities are the greatest offenders by far, that neither they nor offending industries could afford proper treatment plants, and that the entire $150 million of Federal money could be used there.

The Nation as a whole cannot afford filthy, poisonous waterways, either. Thus the compromise in this measure will continue to arouse suspicion and controversy. The States are given until July 1, 1967, to establish their own water quality standards (after which the Federal Government will do it), and the standards may be appealed by the cities or industries to the courts.

The President has indicated that stronger bills than this will probably be needed. We believe it is self-evident, or his proud proclamations cannot be fulfilled.

Clear Presidential Fog

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNN E. STALBAUM

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, recently the Racine Journal-Times carried an editorial citing the delays involved in legislation outlining the transfer of power in the event of presidential disability.

As the editorial points out, the delays have occurred in States which have not displayed any urgency in approving this important matter.

While we are all gratified at the President's recovery, his recent illness focused attention on the need for such a constitutional amendment in the laws of our land.

I commend this thought-provoking editorial to my colleagues:

[From the Racine (Wis.) Journal-Times, Oct. 14, 1965]

CLEAR PRESDENTIAL FOG

Despite President Johnson's attempts to look like a postoperative superman, we should all be quite aware that there was another one of those periods over the weekend when the definition of Presidential authority hung by the thin thread of an extraconstitutional agreement between the President and Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY. Nobody really knows, as a legal certainty, that HUMPHREY had the powers of an Acting President while Johnson was out of action; thankfully, no one will ever know.

But this mushy state of affairs is nobody's fault but our own. Congress has done its duty, after a period of hesitancy, by providing in a constitutional amendment a clear method of transferring Presidential power from a disabled President to a Vice President, and a clear method of transferring that power back at the end of the period of Presidential disability. But the amendment has been pending before the State legislatures for more than 3 months, and only eight States have acted upon it. (Amendments must be ratified by three-fourths of the States to become effective.)

Moreover, on the present schedule of State legislative sessions, it could be 1967 before the required number of States even have the opportunity to act, unless they develop a greater sense of urgency than has thus far been displayed.

Eight States have ratified the amendment; four more States, including Wisconsin, have their legislatures in regular session and four have or are about to have special sessions, which means that eight more could act on

the amendment this year. Eleven States which have not ratified the amendment will have regular sessions next year. In the normal course of events, only 27 of the required 36 States will even have an opportunity to act by the end of 1966. Most of the other States will have regular sessions in the following year.

What is necessary is to interrupt that normal course of events, and persuade Governors to call special sessions for the purpose of ratifying the disability amendment. The Governors, executives and administrators themselves, should know the problem.

This is in the nature of emergency legislation, a sort of perpetual emergency each time the President takes a breath. Every once in a while we get a more emphatic reminder, as we did last weekend, that the most robust President is just a man, subject to gall bladder attacks and what not. Yet we continue in this foggy area of indecision as to the real constitutional status of Presidential power in this kind of emergency, a situation that would be greatly aggravated if events in this fast-moving age ever put the question of power to a test.

GOP Swings to East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STANLEY R. TUPPER

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, an article appearing in the Christian Science Monitor October 13, 1965, by Howard James deserves the attention of Republican Members, particularly those from the Midwestern States.

Mr. James, summary will be disputed by some of my colleagues in all probability, but it certainly makes good sense to a State of Maine Republican.

The article follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Oct. 13, 1965]

GOP SWINGS TO EAST

(By Howard James)

CHICAGO.—Has the time come to redraw the Republican map? The eastern brand of Republicanism appears to be sweeping into the heartland.

This is evident after interviewing a dozen midwestern Republican State chairmen, several midwestern Governors, and a number of other party leaders.

Some say it is the only way Republicans can expect to make a comeback in 1966.

For years the split between eastern and midwestern Republicans has been a favorite theme of political writers. Midwesterners have long tended to be conservative. Democrats and political observers have often called them the "Old Guard," or the "hold the line" wing of the party.

But all that was before the national political drubbing of 1964. Not only did the conservative presidential nominee go down in defeat. So did a host of Republicans running for other posts.

This point was made dramatically clear a few days ago in Des Moines. The new GOP national chairman, Ohioan Ray C. Bliss, presented midwestern Republican chairmen with five pages of statistics.

A MIDWEST SURVEY

The figures indicated that since 1952, Republicans in 13 Midwestern States had turned their seats over to Democrats more often than anyone had realized.

In the 13 States the number of Republican U.S. Senators dropped from 19 to 9 in that period. GOP Congressmen fell from 95 to 60.

"Where there were eight Republican Governors, there are now only six," Mr. Bliss told them.

"Twelve years ago we controlled at least one house of the State legislature in 11 of 13 States, and both houses in 9 of the 13. Today we control both houses in only 3 of the States, and one house in another 3."

The number of Republican legislators in the 13 Midwestern States has dropped 537 since 1952, he said.

"The number of legislators declined by over 100 in Iowa; by 56 in North Dakota; and by 84 in Indiana; by over 50 in Missouri; by over 40 in South Dakota; and by over 30 in Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin.

"Only Oklahoma held its own, and no State increased the number of Republican legislators."

(Nebraska and Minnesota have nonpartisan legislatures.)

Mr. Bliss also reviewed the 1964 smashup, noting that 60 percent of the Republican seats lost in the State legislatures in 1964 were lost in the 13 Midwestern States.

Iowa surrendered 69 seats to Democrats, Indiana 45 seats, Illinois 33 seats, and North Dakota 35 seats.

"No net gains took place in any of the 13 States," he added.

APPEAL SOUGHT

With these figures in mind, Republican leaders now are making a strong effort to turn to a political philosophy the people will buy on election day. And more and more they are looking to the so-called eastern wing of the party—especially as the States become more industrialized.

Conservatives are still around, of course. In some areas they retain some measure of control. In others they are fighting hard to retain their hold on the party. This is especially true in States like Illinois, where the party is weak and moderate leadership is missing.

And in States controlled by liberals or moderates efforts are being made to keep conservatives from splintering off into a third party.

Midwestern GOP leaders are also looking inward as well as outward. And slowly they are realizing that those Republicans still in office—especially those in the top jobs—are anything but men who follow the Old Guard philosophy.

PROGRAMS PROGRESSIVE

The Republican leaders interviewed point to Ohio's Gov. James A. Rhodes. His programes for education, highway building, and industrial growth are looked on as progressive.

He has avoided raising taxes only by getting the taxpayers to float huge bond issues. And he grabs every Federal dollar his State can get, explaining, his is one of the States that pours more into the Federal coffers than it gets back.

He also is often the first Governor in the Nation to sign up for new Federal programs—keeps an office in Washington for just this purpose.

Yet most observers in the State that so long kept Senator Robert A. Taft in office report that Governor Rhodes is at the peak of his popularity. He is expected to run again in 1966.

APPEARANCES AVOIDED

Although in office only since January, Wisconsin's Gov. Warren P. Knowles has moved in about the same direction as Governor Rhodes.

During the past legislative session (a fall term is just opening) he had to reverse his campaign promises and present the biggest State budget in Wisconsin history—and ask for new taxes.

He backed Senator Barry Goldwater at the national convention, but to win in Wisconsin found that he had to avoid public appearances with Mr. Goldwater and even found himself denouncing some of Mr. Goldwater's statements.

Governor Knowles, too, faces reelection next year, but a recent private poll shows he has the support of the people.

In Michigan Gov. George Romney won big in 1964, but to do it he had to all but denounce party affiliation as well as Mr. Goldwater. Now he is working hard to prove that he is a party man.

But his programs are found by some to be so new and imaginative that many members of the Old Guard plainly shrink from them. But the Old Guard is mostly out, and Romney backers are generally in.

ISSUES CONFRONTED

And Mr. Romney has criticized the old hold-the-line philosophy. While some of his programs seem too liberal for many Midwestern Democrats to buy, he seeks to confront the big issues of the day head-on—including employment, civil rights, old-age support, crime, and poverty.

To overcome the superliberal image, he calls his method of problem solving on the State level and through private enterprise true conservatism.

While there are differences, all three men have much in common with eastern Republicans like Gov. William W. Scranton, of Pennsylvania, Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, of New York, Gov. John H. Chafee, of Rhode Island, New York mayoralty candidate Representative JOHN V. LINDSAY, and a number of other Eastern Congressmen.

First of two articles on Republican politics in the Midwest.

DEMOCRATIC BULGE

A tally of comparative Republican-Democratic strength at the Federal and State levels spotlights the huge Democratic advantage. The standings in the Congress, in State legislatures, and in governorships are as follows:

Congress:	*Democrats*	*Republicans*
Senate	68	32
House	291	140
(Four vacancies.)		
Governorships	33	17
	Democrats control	*Republicans control*
State senates [1]	35	12
State houses [1]	8	40

[1] Minnesota has a nonpartisan legislature. Nebraska has a unicameral, nonpartisan legislature. The Nevada senate is divided among 8 Democrats, 8 Republicans, and 1 Independent.

Toward the Great Society—Elementary and Secondary Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, shortly after taking office President Johnson laid the cornerstone for the Great Society: "We begin with learning."

Today, more than one quarter of the American population is enrolled in schools or colleges—a total of 54.2 million students, with 35.9 million in elementary school, 12.9 million in secondary school, and 5.4 million in college.

The statistics are startling and our responsibilities immense, for no longer is education the business solely of educators. It is everybody's business. Nothing matters more to the future of our country. Without brain power to build a world of peace—armed power would be worthless. Without trained manpower—our productive economy could not be sustained. Without educated citizens—our democratic system of government would crumble.

Education is a $39 billion a year business with only 10 percent of this being met by the Federal Government through the U.S. Office of Education. Whereas the Federal Government invests less than 8 percent of its gross revenues for all educational purposes, the States invest 35 percent, and the local governments invest 45 percent of their gross revenues for the schools. With education still dependent on real estate taxes, the gap between rich and poor school districts grows wider every year. The resulting educational inequalities are enormous. Experience has shown that these inequalities are beyond the corrective powers of the State and local governments acting alone.

To break the vicious cycle of poverty, poor education, and still more poverty, the Democratic administration proposed and the 89th Congress enacted the first bill ever approved by Congress to provide general financial assistance for elementary and secondary education. Although directly aimed at the 5.4 million povery-stricken schoolchildren in the United States, funds are going to local public school districts in 95 percent of all U.S. counties.

Under this act, $1.3 billion will come into the U.S. school system this year to improve our elementary and secondary school education. $1.06 billion will be used to meet the special educational needs of disadvantaged children. Specific types of programs are left to the discretion of the local public educational agency but may include such programs as remedial reading, preschool training, additional teaching personnel, language labs, and classes for talented students. $100 million will be used for purchase of school library books, instructional material and textbooks which will be available on an equitable basis to all elementary and secondary school children and teachers. Another $100 million will be used for the establishment and operation of supplemental educational centers to provide special educational services which otherwise would not be available to all children in need of such services.

Special services may include courses in science or language not taught in local schools or better taught on a centralized basis; school health services, and development of TV programs for classroom use. Funds are also available to improve educational research and to strengthen State departments of education.

Because of the tremendous record of the 1st session, 89th Congress, greater progress in education is presently being made than in any comparable period in our history. But the needs are also greater today than ever before. There must be no slackening in the Nation's total educational effort until every American has the opportunity to acquire all the education he wants and needs to meet the demands of an increasingly complex world. A full commitment to that goal is a full commitment to the future progress and strength of America.

Trail Named "Outstanding Citizen of the Year"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, a singular honor was bestowed on Irwin P. Trail, of Baltimore, when the Catonsville Business Association named him "Outstanding Citizen of the Year" at a testimonial dinner on October 12. The Herald-Argus of Catonsville, Md., relates Mr. Trail's long, distinguished career of service to his fellow citizens and to the business community of Maryland.

I am delighted to include this story in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

TRAIL NAMED "OUTSTANDING CITIZEN OF YEAR"

Irwin P. Trail, senior vice president of the First National Bank of Maryland in the Catonsville branch, will be honored as the "Outstanding Citizen of the Year" at a testimonial dinner to be held in his honor on Tuesday, October 12 by the Catonsville Business Association at the Turf Valley Country Club in Howard County.

The program will include a talk by Robert B. Hobbs, chairman of the board of the First National Bank of Maryland. The principal speaker of the evening will be David L. Brigham, vice president of this same institution from the Rockville, Md., branch office. The Reverend Paul Lottich, of the Salem Lutheran Church of Catonsville, will deliver the invocation, Col. Alfred Fort of the Catonsville Business Association will act as host for the evening, and Leo Amster, president of the association will present the award for the outstanding citizen of the year. The presentation will be followed by a talk by John Zebelean, attorney and board member of the association. Dancing will follow.

The Catonsville Business Association, Inc., has honored three other Marylanders as "men of the year." Those previously honored are Fritz Maisel of Oriole baseball fame; Dr. Thomas G. Pullen, Jr., president of the University of Baltimore; and Col. Alfred Fort, U.S. Army, retired.

In 1938 Mr. Trail was elected vice president of the Catonsville National Bank, and in 1948 he became president, a position he held until 1962 when the Catonsville National Bank merged with the First National Bank of Maryland. Upon joining the First National Bank's staff, Mr. Trail became vice president and in January 1963, was elected senior vice president.

Mr. Trail was born and raised on a farm in Granite, Md., the youngest son of John E. and Ellen Trail. His formal education began at Granite Elementary School. After graduation from the Randallstown High School, he attended the University of Baltimore where he received the LL.B. degree. While a student at the university he became a member of the law fraternity, Sigma Delta Kappa.

On April 14, 1936, Mr. Trail married Miss Margaret Doetzer of Randallstown. They reside at 13 North Rolling Road in Catonsville. Mr. and Mrs. Trail have three daughters, Mrs. John J. Newbauer, Jr.; Mrs. Timothy H. Hooper, III; and Mrs. Frederick A. Culver, II; two grandsons and a granddaughter.

Mr. Trail is very active in civic affairs as a member of the Catonsville Business Association, Inc.; the Catonsville Rotary Club; the board of trustees for the Baltimore County Public Library of which he is also treasurer; the board of the Maryland division of the American Cancer Society; the board of directors of the General German Orphan Home located at Catonsville; and the advisory council of the Catonsville Community College.

Among the 400 guests who will honor Mr. Trail, will be Miss Marie L. Kemp, one of Mr. Trail's school teachers from Granite who for the past 40 years has headed the Crosby School, a private institution in Catonsville.

Gov. Mark O. Hatfield Salutes Dwight D. Eisenhower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, Oregon's Governor, Hon. Mark O. Hatfield, had occasion to participate in the dinners across the United States saluting Dwight D. Eisenhower. The Governor's remarks are thought provoking for all of us and because of their significance, I am recording them here:

Oregon played an important role in the Eisenhower years, and we proudly join in saluting him tonight. As we do so, our minds will turn to the many honors accorded him both in this Nation and around the world. But we should not be blinded to a facet of American life which sought to vilify him and which sought to destroy his reputation as a great soldier, a great President, a great leader.

He was castigated. But so great was his fame, so honorable his service, the charge did not stick and its sponsors have not been successful in damning his name.

Their spew of venom was aimed from the extreme right—those who operate beyond the bounds of good taste and decency and tear away at the fabric of our Nation. They see a Communist or a Communist agent behind every tree and they see most of us as at least a dupe.

But tonight, in the brief time assigned to men, may I say that General Eisenhower, and his brother, and some of his colleagues, and his minister, and his aid, and some of the organizations he headed, and many of his friends are all wrapped up very neatly in a literary package which is aimed at what it terms the dangerous rightwing. If this kind of thinking prevails, this Republic is undermined.

To say the least I am deeply disturbed to see the advancement of an organization

called Group Research, Inc., which has demonstrable financial and promotional support from the Democratic National Committee. This organization has published a directory and individual index which lists Dwight D. Eisenhower, Dr. Milton Eisenhower, John Foster Dulles—and hear this Cardinal Cushing, James A. Farley and hundreds of other great Americans right alongside Gerald L. K. Smith, Robert Welch, Lincoln Rockwell, and Robert M. Shelton.

This research outfit, which avoids the obviously clumsy, blatant approach of the ultra-right-wing extremists, uses the sly subversion of claiming only to list facts without conclusions. The office of the Clerk of the House in the Nation's Capitol shows $5,000 contributions on March 25, 1965, and again May 20, 1965, toward its support from the Democratic National Committee.

The operation is headed by Wesley McCune, former public relations man for the National Farmers Union and a press man in the Department of Agriculture during the Brannan administration. In an ad in the July 24, 1965, New Republic, the organization characterizes itself:

"Group Research is a 4-year-old private, nonprofit organization of professional research people who maintain vigilant watch over the activities of extremists of all shades who threaten American democracy. It is supported by business, labor, religious, educational, and many other organizations interested in maintaining traditional American freedom.

"Group research reports facts, not opinions. All citations are from original sources and responsible secondary sources such as major newspapers, magazines, and other publications.

"Group research facilities and materials are used by major television and radio networks, the major newspapers and many of the leading writers in the country. It is directed and staffed by experienced and responsible people with years of high-level newspaper experience."

The ad has pictures of the hooded Klan, swastika and haranguing in an emotion-aimed format together with General Edwin Walker, and Robert Welch.

Yet in the pages of the advertised publications are the Reverend Thomas M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame and the Presidential appointee to public projects like the Civil Rights Commission; Gen. Omar Bradley; Clergyman Edward L. R. Elson of National Presbyterian in Washington, D.C., onetime Eisenhower minister; Dr. Kevin McCann, aide of General Eisenhower's on many occasions and former university president in his own right. You can even find Arthur Godfrey, Jackie Robinson, Ozzie and Harriet Nelson, Pat O'Brien and Dave Garroway in the pages of this fantastic publication.

My point, on this evening honoring General Eisenhower, is not to defend him, or his aides, or his colleagues, or his minister because they need no defense. It is to decry the work of those who in their zeal to point a finger at a danger in our society have maliciously trampled the bounds of decency. They list not one easily recognizable Communist. Does the Democratic National Committee not consider that element at least an equally dangerous threat?

This approach—the lumping of the known patriots with the wild-eyed radicals—outdoes McCarthy. It misleads. It smears. It destroys. It defames. It feeds on fear. And to think it is subsidized by one of our Nation's two political parties. I call upon every responsible Democratic leader from Bethesda to precinct committeeman in Oregon to disavow this scurrilous compilation.

There is no place in America for such shoddy efforts which are disguised as scholarship, paraded as it was last month before the American Political Science Association at its annual meeting.

We are gathered to honor General Eisenhower but let us ever be vigilant to those who would destroy a good name, whose ever it is.

The State Commission on Interstate Commerce Investigation MC-65

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, under our system of government one of the most fundamental questions to which so much time and study is devoted today throughout the country is the relationship between our State and Federal Governments. Even though this question is involved with every facet of our national life it is not a new issue—it is historical in character and of necessity under our Constitution and traditional system we have enjoyed throughout the history of our country.

One of the major problems in connection with our State and Federal relationship is the transportation of the Nation. We have beyond a doubt the greatest, the best, the most efficient transportation system of any Nation in the world. While it is highly competitive and obviously controversial in many of its aspects it is made stronger continuously to serve the needs of the American people because of the constant thought, study, and action given to it by so many people in the various facets of our economy.

Today the Interstate Commerce Commission has under consideration a study and investigation through rulemaking proceedings in its ex parte MC-65, Sub. 2. This study and investigation has a direct bearing in our transportation program of this question of Federal and State relationship.

The Honorable J. Orville Cheney, chairman of the Arkansas Commerce Commission, is one of the most able, experienced, and efficient Commissioners of our State Commissions administering the transportation program. He discussed the interest of the State Commissions at the Commission's proceedings at the 77th annual convention of the National Association of Railroads and Utilities Commission in New York on September 30, 1965. It is a thought provoking, interesting discussion on the subject which reveals some views that the State commissioners may have and I think of great interest to many people who are constantly giving their time and attention to this problem. I, therefore, include these remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include it in the very fine address of this outstanding and able commissioner of our State on this subject.

THE STATE COMMISSION'S INTEREST IN INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION INVESTIGATION IN EX PARTE MC-65 (SUB 2)

The National System of Interstate Highways, when completed, will serve 92 percent of all cities having a population in excess of 50,000. Nearly 16,600 miles of the new Intertsate System are already open to traffic and construction is progressing on an additional 5,000 miles. Serving both civilian and defense needs, the system will constitute the Nation's key highways for both types of traffic.

Inasmuch as the cost of this ambitious highway construction program is borne by the users of all highways, it is natural to expect that every advantage will be taken by all property carriers to reduce their cost of operation and expedite the movement of their traffic by full use of the new facilities.

Even before segments of the system were opened to use, the bus and truck industry were given serious thought to the manner by which authority to use the facilities could be obtained. The historical method of obtaining authority to render a needed service to points within an area or at points on a specified highway was to file an appropriate application and produce affirmative support by shippers and receivers needing the service, either in public hearing or by verified statements.

The problem here is the tremendous number of authorized carriers already serving the areas or points embraced in the new system which, if required to file the routine applications, would create a backlog that would take the Interstate Commerce Commission years to process. A means of handling applications on an expedited basis is imperative and still keep within the framework of the act, if both the public and the trucking industry are not to be denied the benefit of the facilities which they have been underwriting for many years.

A tremendous amount of study and thought on the part of the transportation industry, the State and Federal governmental agencies has gone into an effort to avoid injustices which could creep into such an important undertaking in spite of careful and concerned thinking and planning.

Petitions were filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission seeking the institution of a rulemaking proceeding. On March 30, 1965, the Commission instituted a proceeding titled ex parte MC-65, Motor Service on Interstate Highways—Passengers, and ex parte MC-65 (Sub 2), Motor Service on Interstate Highways—Property. A prehearing conference was held in the proceedings on May 25, 1965, at which appearances were entered by the Secretary of NARUC and by representatives of the State Commissions of Arkansas, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, and Virginia, among others.

CONCERN FOR INTERMEDIATE POINTS

The principal interest of the State commissions is the measure of service available to intermediate points which are authorized to be served under the authority presently held by passenger and property carriers operating between gateways, but which will not necessarily be considered as intermediate points on the new highway system.

Even before the opening of the Interstate System, many carriers have shown a tendency to go to a terminal-to-terminal operation due to increasing cost of operation. Opening of the new system, no doubt, will accelerate this tendency inasmuch as the shortened distance between termini and high-speed capability is conducive to a more profitable operation.

On the basis of the agreement reached at the May 25 prehearing conference, the commission issued its order setting forth the manner in which applications to serve points on the new system would be handled. These proceedings will be processed, to the extent practicable, by the filing of verified statements and replies. Upon the filing of a verified petition eestablishing that a carrier holds a certificate authorizing service over regular routes, serving substantially the same points, such carrier shall be issued an in-

terim certificate, without further proceedings, authorizing between designated points the same transportation over a subtending or subtended segment of the new Interstate System which extends in the same general direction, and where the distance between departure and return is not less than 85 percent of the distance over the applicant's presently certificated service route between the same points.

The interim certificate will authorize use of all highway interchanges; all access routes to serve the points involved, and all off-route points relating to the certificated regular route. Where proposed new intermediate points on the new Interstate System are permanently authorized to another regular route carrier of general commodities, the application, insofar as it seeks authority to serve such points, shall be subject to protest by the carrier holding such authority; and, in the event of protest, the applicant is required to meet the statutory standard of proof.

JOINT BOARD RESPONSIBILITY

Section 205, part II, of the Interstate Commerce Act, provides that where the operations of motor carriers proposed to be conducted involve not more than three States, such applications shall be referred to a joint board. The rules proposed for the disposition of applications involving use of the new highway system makes no provision for referral of applications coming within the purview of the joint boards' jurisdiction to them. Time is of the essence in handling such applications to avoid depriving the highway transportation industry of the use of the facilities to which it has contributed so heavily. Perhaps it would be in the public interest for the States, except in instances in which they feel they have a particular interest, to waive participation in order to expedite the handling of an unusual situation which will consume a considerable amount of time at best. But how, if at all, under the proposed rules may a State commission protect the public at intermediate points if the certificated carriers elect to abondon service at such points with only a limited amount of traffic to offer? It would seem appropriate for the Interstate Commerce Commission to confer with the State commission is an effort to solve what, in all probability, will become a matter of paramount interest to intermediate communities whose economic future could be at stake.

Prior to the passage of the Federal Motor Carrier Act, a State could withhold the use of certain highways from interstate motor carriers upon a showing that a particular highway would be overcrowded and added traffic would contribute to hazardous conditions. It is doubtful now, since the passage of the Federal Motor Carrier Act, that a State would have this right even though the State may exercise its police power in regulation of certain phases of interstate motor traffic. The construction of the new highway system was justified in the interest of elimination of hazardous conditions on trunk highways.

The Regular Common Carrier Conference, in its petition for a rulemaking proceeding, said this with respect to the issuance of a certificate over the new system:

"While performing service over the second certificated route it would be essential that the carrier continue to render adequate service at all presently authorized intermediate and off-route points on its existing route and, in doing so, it would be allowed to utilize all interchanges on, and access routes appurtenant to, the newly authorized segment of the new interstate system. * * * The grant would not authorize new cities or towns in connection with existing authorities, but would permit as well as require the continued provision of service at presently authorized points on present routes."

The rules governing processing of applications for authority to utilize and serve points on the new system in no way conflict with the existing rules of the commission with respect to deviation routes. The deviation method and the alternate route method can still be used by such carriers as desire to use them. Although at the present time, there are few industries located immediately adjacent to the new highways, it is only a matter of a short time until shippers and receivers will be locating as near to them as possible to take advantage of the improved service which will be available to them. It is with foresight that the carriers will all seek certificated authority to serve all points on the system. Here, in addition to concern for continued service at intermediate points, we ask, what is to be the function, if any, of the joint boards?

The joint boards may be able to regulate this type of traffic in a given proceeding; but, here again, there is no certainty that the rulings of the joint boards will be upheld by the Interstate Commerce Commission; and, indeed, should not be unless basic standards of fact and law are adherred to. The rules for use in determining applications over the interstate system being silent with respect to the status of joint boards in these matters leads to conjecture and prompts the question, was the silence intentional or inadvertent?

Although it is the officially expressed intent of the Regular Common Carrier Conference to continue adequate service to the small intermediate point, if the multi-State carriers are forced by continually spiraling costs to go to a terminal-to-terminal operation, it would appear that a place must be made for the small peddler operator handling both intrastate and interstate traffic. Such a carrier, however, cannot exist upon small or minimum shipments.

It has been suggested that some provision should be made for supervision by State commissions of interstate service either relinquished or curtailed as a result of the use of the Interstate Highway System. Should provisions be made, if indeed they do not already exist, for the institution of complaint proceedings by State commissions to bring these matters to the attention of the Interstate Commerce Commission? The National Transportation Policy requires the Interstate Commerce Commission to cooperate with the several States, and the duly authorized officials thereof, to promote an adequate, economical, and efficient transportation service. The State transportation policy of a number of States likewise requires the regulatory body to cooperate with the Interstate Commerce Commission and the regulatory bodies of other States. The recent adoption of H.R. 5401, about which I will have further comment later, adds emphasis to the matter of cooperation between State and Federal agencies.

Since the Interstate System is being constructed with 90 percent Federal funds supplemented by 10 percent State funds, the State regulatory body should be allowed some voice in the need for, or lack of need for, service over them. Access roads generally are required to be constructed by the States, unless the Bureau of Public Roads finds special justification for relaxation of this requirement. I am informed that it is extremely difficult for a State to prove an exceptional case justifying a waiver of this requirement. It is estimated, over the years, the States will be required to expend approximately $10,000 per mile per year to maintain the highways in the Interstate System. This burden having been placed upon the States will ultimately result in each State having a tremendous investment in the system; and, this being true, the States being a substantial contributor to the existence and maintenance of the system, then the States should be accorded some degree of authority in regulating the traffic moving over them, and in preserving the rights and protecting the needs of communities located upon and contiguous thereto. Certainly, the States should have a louder voice than is apparent on the face of the rules presently recognized as governing applications for operating authority over such highways and especially as pertains to access roads built principally with local funds and by local authorities.

RECOMMENDED ASSOCIATION ACTION

It would be my suggestion that the appropriate standing committee of this association confer with members of the Interstate Commerce Commission in an effort to arrive at some definite plan of procedure in processing the multitude of applications which it may reasonably be anticipated will be filed by carriers having a just interest in serving points on the Interstate System. The Commission has ordered that these applications be handled, to the extent practicable, by the filing of verified statements and replies. It could well be that such applications which would be proper to assign to joint boards could be just as expeditiously handled in this manner as they could if assigned for oral hearing. If the appearance of NARUC and representatives of the named States at the prehearing conference on May 25 is not sufficient notice of the concern of the States in this matter, then the committee could make it abundantly clear that the State commissioners take a serious view of the dangers which may be apparent in the new rules from the standpoint of bypassed communities or communities which the multistate operator may not desire to serve or who may not elect to file for interim certificates under such rules.

The position taken by this association in this matter should be made clear—that the State commissions are much closer to problems of our people; knowing the needs of our people, we are best prepared to deal with local conditions and situations and we should insist upon the right to sit in judgment upon matters affecting them.

In closing, I wish to comment briefly upon H.R. 5401 recently signed into law by the President. This legislation, if properly implemented in keeping with the intent and purpose of the act, will prove to be the most important piece of transportation legislation adopted by the Congress since 1935. It will not be a cure-all; it is a step, but only a step, leading to accomplishment of stability in the Nation's economy. For the first time, Congress has made it clear that full cooperation between the State and Federal regulatory agencies is expected and authorized. In this connection, I am happy to say to you that there apparently is a vastly improved attitude in this respect on the part of more of the Interstate Commissioners now than has existed in previous years.

A favorable climate for full cooperation between State and Federal agencies is imperative if our responsibility to jointly promote adequate economical and efficient transportation is to be accomplished in the public interest responsive to the intent of the Congress in the adoption of H.R. 5401. Legislation standing alone however is worse than nothing; it is our responsibility to add knowledgeable leadership to congressional statesmanship.

More important however is the recognition by the Congress in adopting this legislation that the State commission has a vital role yet in the field of transportation not necessarily limited to purely intrastate functions. In an era when there seems to be a trend toward further concentration of authority in the Federal Establishment affecting all areas of the social structure this legislation could very well be the last opportunity we shall have to demonstrate ability and willingness to accept responsibility in the most important segment of the economy. If

we do not fully accept the challenge now it will be difficult to convince the Congress in the future of integrity at the State level, and, most certainly, prove a bitter disappointment to the industry we regulate.

Confrontation in Oakland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, on October 15, 1965, the Oakland Tribune of Oakland, Calif., contained a most reasoned editorial on the problems of demonstrations against our Vietnam policies. Its conclusions can be applied to most any city in our country.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit this editorial for inclusion in the RECORD:

CONFRONTATION IN OAKLAND

The issue confronting the people of Oakland and Alameda County needs to be kept in proper perspective.

The issue is: "Do you support law, order and due process under our constitutional form of government?"

Intelligent men and reasonable citizens may debate whether three Presidents of the United States should have made commitments in Vietnam and elsewhere in the world. They may debate the issue pro and con and they do every day in public halls, service clubs, union meetings, barber shops and on street corners throughout our land.

But most of them understand that the President of the United States is responsible for the conduct of our foreign policy, that the Nation must speak with one official voice in our relationships with foreign governments and that reaction to a Communist missile buildup in Cuba, a blockade of Berlin or an attack upon our forces or installations around the world cannot be debated for a day, a week or a month. Of necessity someone has to have the power to act and under our system that person is the President.

Each 4 years we vote on alternative choices for that high office. No President could carry out a foreign policy for long without congressional legislation and appropriations. We vote on alternative choices for Congress every 2 years.

Granted there are sincere "peace at any price" pacifists to whom the thought of armed conflict is so repugnant that they feel there is no justification for armed action by this or any other nation. The Constitution protects them in their right to hold and express these beliefs.

There are some, not idealistic pacifists, who subscribe to the doctrine "better Red than dead." These may oppose (as they put it) unjust "capitalistic imperialist wars" but find no such opposition to "wars of liberation from the capitalistic yoke by the Soviet or Chinese Communist peoples."

If the United States failed to send supplies or reinforcements to our Armed Forces in Vietnam we would suffer a military defeat there. If we pulled out all our forces on Communist terms all of Vietnam, all of southeast Asia and probably all of Asia would go Communist before the next Presidential election.

If the pacifists don't know this they are blind to the facts of life and if the innocent dupes don't know it they have not opened their eyes to the threat to a free world of freemen posed by aggressive and militant communism.

We need not doubt that the hard core leftists understand this perfectly. These do not march for "peace"; they in fact march for "an American defeat and a Communist victory."

Which brings us to the march scheduled for tonight. Under city ordinances in most municipalitaies of the land a parade requires a permit. Local authorities have the primary responsibility of maintenance of law and order. Only if and when it breaks down at the local level does the State or the Nation send in forces to restore order.

Here in Oakland there is a parade permit board. Application for a permit was made to this board by the Vietnam Day Committee and was denied. Under "due process of law" the committee had a right to appeal the decision of the permit board to the city council. This was done yesterday and the city council, elected by the people of Oakland, upheld by a unanimous 9 to 0 vote the action of the permit board.

At this point the Vietnam Day Committee had open to it (if they believe the city ordinances of Berkeley or Oakland are unconstitutional as some of their spokesmen maintain) an opportunity to file an action in the State or Federal courts. They might or might not find the courts in agreement with them. But it would be an acceptable policy under "due process."

What is not acceptable is their defiance of local authority and local law.

The police do not enact the laws of our cities, States, or Nation. They are sworn to uphold the law and this they intend to do. If disorder comes to our streets tonight it is not brought on by the law enforcement officials but by those who defy the law and seek to create incidents.

It makes no difference if the parade has 1,000, 5,000, or 10,000 marchers. This is a small fraction of the more than 1 million people who live in the county.

But the lives and property of these 1 million depend upon the maintenance of law and order, and the civil and constitutional rights of all of our people rest upon respect for the Constitution and the laws enacted under our form of government. We recently witnessed in Los Angeles the results of a breakdown of law and order.

If the size of mobs in the streets ever becomes the yardstick for the enactment of legislation, the administration of justice, the administrative acts of public officials or the law enforcement obligations of peace officers, then our whole constitutional fabric will collapse and either anarchy or some other repugnant system will take its place.

Now is the time for the public to support the constituted authorities by staying away from the areas of defiance to authority so the functioning of the law enforcement officials will not be handicapped nor will the Vietnam Day Committee be able to claim that the background crowds seen on television are part of the Vietnam Day Committee's supporters when in fact they may be citizens disgusted with the whole performance.

Far better that the unorganized citizens use their constitutional right to petition by writing Mayor John C. Houlihan and the city council and showing now, tonight, that the Vietnam Day Committee's march and defiance of law and undermining of our foreign policy and our Armed Forces do not have their support. Until election day this is the best way to make felt your voice and influence as a citizen of the United States and a resident of this community.

The confrontation in Oakland tonight is being watched throughout the Nation and for this community it is clearly the hour of decision.

Farm Study Vital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, in a recent report to my constituents, I commented about the necessity of doing a study in depth of the farm problem during the next 4 years so that we can fashion a sound program for the future.

The Topeka, Kans., Daily Capital saw fit to editorialize on this proposal and to use excerpts from my report as the basis for its editorial "Farm Study Vital."

It pleases me to have the backing of this influential newspaper in exploring what can be done to improve the agricultural economy and give the farmer greater freedom to operate his own business.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include this editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD. The editorial follows:

FARM STUDY VITAL

When Congress first gave approval to the new 4-year farm bill, U.S. Representative CHESTER MIZE of the Second Kansas District said he voted for the bill because it would give lawmakers time to study the farm problem thoroughly.

In other words, MIZE said, "We bought some time" to determine what kind of a farm program would be desirable 5 years from now.

This week, in a newsletter to constituents, MIZE talked more about the farm program of the future and questions which must be answered to insure a desirable program in the late 1960's and 1970's. Said MIZE:

"During this 4-year period when the Congress does not have to concern itself with the annual renewal of these programs, we can devote our attention and efforts to working out a program which will give the farmer an adequate return in the marketplace and lessen his dependence upon the Federal Government for direction and income.

"In order to have the advantage of some of the best thinking which is available on farm problems and their solutions, I have attended some meetings scheduled by the Republican Planning and Research Committee's task force on agriculture. Farm editors, economists, engineers, and consultants address these meetings and give us considerable food for thought.

"Their discussions have raised some provocative questions to which we must come up with sound answers in these next 4 years. Questions such as:

"Is the revival of a bipartisan farm bloc desirable and necessary?

"Is farm policy in the hands of outsiders?

"Is it possible to enhance the bargaining power of the farmer in an economy where the bargaining power of the unions and many businesses is far greater than that of the farmer?

"Can we achieve economic diversification in our rural communities in order to preserve them as the ground floor of the Nation's economic establishment?

"Should we try to save the family farm or promote the development of 100,000 superfarms to provide the Nation's food and fiber?

"Do we need to develop a national association of the various interests necessary to promote the commercial development of our rural areas?

"These and many other questions have come out of these discussions. We must find the answers if we are going to have a strong farm economy and not lose the vast reservoir of self-reliance, imagination, and initiative our rural areas have contributed to this Nation's growth and progress.

"The biggest threat to the farm economy of the future, as I see it, is that it may be dominated by non-farm interests. We saw a decided move in that direction in the omnibus farm bill which was worked out this year. We now know the influence that can be wielded by the textile mills, the millers, the bakers, businessmen and organized labor in drafting farm policy.

"They are coming into the farm picture at a time when there is a growing reduction in the number of farmers; at a time when there is less cooperation among the major farm organizations; at a time when the so-called farm bloc does not present a solid front and at a time when the technological revolution is having its greatest impact on the farm.

Some see the necessity of a revival of the bloc of representatives—Democrats and Republicans alike—from the farm States, so that the influence of the outside interests will be held to a minimum rather than being the dominating factor in the agriculture of the future. Whether this can be done remains to be seen, but I for one am not going to miss an opportunity in the months ahead to listen, inquire, and learn so that I can be helpful in meeting the big challenge which faces agriculture. I will welcome comments and suggestions from those who are interested and share my concern over this vital problem."

Kansans should accept Representative MIZE's invitation to speak up on the farm situation. There will be, as always, a wide range of opinion but only out of such expression can American agriculture look to the future with assurance that the public is aware of its problems.

Fires Are Failures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the hazard of fire is more prevalent than we imagine. An editorial in the Community Reporter of Mount Airy, Md., emphasizes how frequently fires occur and points out some simple procedures to prevent them. I am including this editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as I am sure we can all profit from the good advice given in this editorial:

FIRES ARE FAILURES

Every hour fire destroys or damages 67 American homes.

Every hour and twenty minutes, one person—most frequently a child or elderly person—dies in a dwelling fire.

These figures, from National Fire Protection Association research, are the measure of our failure to heed fire hazards, and the measurable result of our failure to correct them.

There is no mystery about the causes of most home fires. A carelessly discarded cigarette is left to smolder in an overstuffed chair, a portable oil heater is refilled while burning, electrical circuits are overloaded and overfused, uncleared rubbish becomes a breeding place for fire.

The causes of most fire deaths in homes is no mystery. They occur when the simple rules of safety from fire are violated—smoking in bed, leaving children alone in the house, neglecting to teach youngster that matches and lighters are not playthings.

A critical failure is being unprepared for fire emergencies in the home—no family planning of escape routes, no periodic family fire drill to make sure that both adults and children can act quickly and without panic.

Fires represent failure.

Fire Prevention Week is a time to recognize this fact, and to act—to remove hazards, to reform habits.

Your actions and attitude now can make you and your family safe from the tragic consequences of fire in the months ahead.

Second Congressional District of Michigan Community Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WESTON E. VIVIAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, as you well know, one of a U.S. Congressman's first responsibilities is to serve the needs of the people of his home district. An important aspect of effective service to the people at home is to inform them of the many Federal-local programs by which they can benefit. Such programs are varied; many are complex; some are obscure.

In order to make absolutely certain that the local leaders in the Second Congressional District of Michigan are aware of the programs that will aid them in carrying out their responsibilities, I recently held the first Second Congressional District Community Conference, here in Washington on the 18th and 19th of October.

As you well know, Mr. Speaker—for you were kind enough to attend our reception following the first day of the conference—our conference was a great success. A great many administration officials took their valuable time to prepare materials of interest and to speak to the over 80 conferees and wives in attendance. I particularly wish to commend and thank Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Wilbur Cohen, Assistant Secretary of State Douglas MacArthur II, and Commissioner William L. Slayton for speaking to our assembled conferees. In addition, I wish to thank Mrs. Esther Peterson, President Johnson's assistant for consumer affairs, for entertaining the wives of the Second Congressional District local officials and community leaders at a tea, Monday afternoon, at the White House.

Because of the efforts of a number of administration officials, Mr. Speaker, the local leaders of the Second Congressional District of Michigan have learned a great deal about Federal programs that will be of assistance to them in their fight to provide the best possible services for our constituents in the Second District.

At this point in the RECORD, I include a partial list of the community leaders who attended the Second Congressional District Community Development Conference, our guests at the reception, and an article on the conference from the Monroe Evening News, written by Roy E. Hamlin, managing editor, who attended:

SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE, OCTOBER 18–19, FINAL REGISTRATION LIST AND RECEPTION GUEST LIST

Mayor William Agusta, Monroe, Mich.

Chairman Lawrence L. Alto, Monroe Township Planning Commission, and Mrs. Alto, Monroe, Mich.

Councilman G. Yale Averill, Ypsilanti, Mich.

Councilman C. E. Backhuus, Fowlerville, Mich.

Mr. Gaylord L. Baker, attorney, village of Clayton, and Mrs. Baker, Adrian, Mich.

Councilman and Mrs. Richard E. Balzhiser, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Mr. James O. Barron, treasurer, Frenchtown Township, and Mrs. Barron, Monroe, Mich.

Trustee Peter Benesh, Frenchtown Township, and Mrs. Benesh, Monroe, Mich.

Executive Director William J. Bott, Ann Arbor Chamber of Commerce, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Treasurer Journey Brabant, London Township, Willis, Mich.

Trustee Shelby Brooks, Frenchtown Township, and Mrs. Brooks, Monroe, Mich.

Mr. Donald W. Burton, drain commissioner, Monroe County, and Mrs. Burton, Temperance, Mich.

Councilman and Mrs. LeRoy A. Cappaert, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Chairman Bliss Charles, Saline Planning Commission, and Mrs. Charles, Saline, Mich.

Mayor and Mrs. Marshall Cooper, Brighton, Mich.

President Bernard H. Craft, Woodland Beach Association, and Mrs. Craft, Monroe, Mich.

Councilman and Mrs. H. C. Curry, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Treasurer Wesley Daniel, Bedford Township, and Mrs. Daniel, Temperance, Mich.

President Grant DeForest, Fowlerville, Mich.

Mayor and Mrs. Clyde Evans, Luna Pier, Mich.

City Attorney Jacob Fahrner, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Dr. Frederick Feldman, president, Deerfield Village, Deerfield, Mich.

Mr. Douglas Ferman, Chamber of Commerce, Hudson, Mich.

Councilman and Mrs. Robert J. Gaffney, Brighton, Mich.

Mayor Jerry Gooding, Ypsilanti, Mich.

Mr. Roy Hamlin, managing editor, Monroe Evening News, and Mrs. Hamlin, Monroe, Mich.

City Attorney Thomas H. Healy, Jr., Plymouth, Mich.

Mayor Clifton W. Heller, Howell, Mich.

Mayor James C. Houk, Plymouth, Mich.

Supervisor and Mrs. Merrill Hull, Bissfield, Mich.

Councilman Charles Jackson, Ypsilanti, Mich.

Mr. and Mrs. Edward Kachman, Detroit, Mich.

Supervisor John H. Keller, Fairfield Township, and Mrs. Keller, Jasper, Mich.

Trustee Walter H. Knapp, Monroe Township, Monroe, Mich.

Mr. and Mrs. John R. Kurkjian, Ann Arbor, Mich.

City Director Leonard Leis, Monroe, Mich.

City Manager Robert Lorentz, Hudson, Mich.

County Surveyor Angelo Marino, Monroe, Mich.

Mr. Walter McNeil, clerk, Deerfield Village, Deerfield, Mich.

Commissioner and Mrs. John T. McGreevy, Monroe, Mich.

Mr. Don Mitchell, drain commissioner, Lenawee County, Adrian, Mich.

Supervisor Herbert Munzel, Green Oak Township, and Mrs. Munzel, South Lyon, Mich.

Supervisor David Naida, London Township, Monroe, Mich.

Supervisor Murray A. Nolan, Ash Township, and Mrs. Nolan, Carleton, Mich.

Mr. Edward O'Leary, director, Community Center, Monroe, Mich.

Mr. John E. Osmer, Michigan Municipal League, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Councilman and Mrs. Edward C. Pierce, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Mr. George Roth, Pinckney Junior Chamber of Commerce, Pinckney, Mich.

City Manager W. Robert Semple, Ypsilanti, Mich.

Supervisor Francis Shehan, Hamburg Township, and Mrs. Shehan, Hamburg, Mich.

Commissioner Richard Sieb, Monroe, Mich.

Trustee Gerald Sixbey, Green Oak Township, and Mrs. Sixbey, Brighton, Mich.

Mr. Edward J. Skala, mayor pro-tem and chairman, board of supervisors, Adrian, Mich.

Mr. Hamilton O. Soncrant, board of trustees, Detroit Beach Association, and Mrs. Soncrant, Monroe, Mich.

City Commissioner Joseph Stanifer, Monroe, Mich.

Mr. Fred Steingold, assistant to city attorney, and Mrs. Steingold, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Councilman Howard C. Thayer, Pinckney, Mich.

Councilman Ernest Therkelson, Ypsilanti, Mich.

City Commissioner John Van Slambrouck, Monroe, Mich.

Mr. and Mrs. Winfield C. Vernier, Lambertville, Mich.

President William G. Wall, Village of Dexter, and Mrs. Wall, Dexter, Mich.

Councilman and Mrs. Robert P. Weeks, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Supervisor William Winson, Bedford Township, Temperance, Mich.

Mr. and Mrs. Walter G. Wisdom, president, Stony Point Penn Association, Newport, Mich.

Supervisor Curtis H. Yoas, Frenchtown Township, and Mrs. Yoas, Newport, Mich.

City Manager Calvin Zorn, Tecumseh, Mich.

GUESTS AT CONFERENCE RECEPTION, MONDAY, OCTOBER 18, 6–8 P.M.

The Honorable CARL ALBERT, majority leader, House of Representatives.

The Honorable Joseph W. Barr, Under Secretary of the Treasury.

The Honorable Frederick C. Belen, Deputy Postmaster General, and Mrs. Belen.

The Honorable William P. Bundy, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs.

The Honorable Wilbur J. Cohen, Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Mrs. Cohen.

The Honorable Leland J. Haworth, Director, National Science Foundation, and Mrs. Haworth.

The Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, Speaker, House of Representatives.

Mr. Lawrence F. O'Brien, special assistant to the President and Postmaster General-designate.

Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, and Mrs. Seaborg.

The Honorable Frederick Seitz, President, National Academy of Sciences, and Mrs. Seitz.

Mrs. Roger Stevens.

Dr. Gerald F. Tape, Commissioner, Atomic Energy Commission, and Mrs. Tape.

The Honorable G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, and Mrs. Williams.

The Honorable W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor, and Mrs. Wirtz.

[From the Monroe Evening News]

WASHINGTON TALKS END TODAY—COUNTY GROUP HEARS AID PROGRAM EXPLAINED

(By Roy E. Hamlin)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The need for comprehensive, regionwide planning before Government assistance can be granted for sewer and water facilities was stressed repeatedly for Monroe County officials here yesterday.

At the same time, governmental officials made it clear that Federal funds are available for sewers and waterlines, as well as a wide variety of other purposes, as a result of legislation passed this year by Congress.

About 20 officials of the city and county of Monroe and various townships in the county are here to attend a community development conference set up by Representative WESTON VIVIAN, Democrat, of Ann Arbor, for Michigan's Second Congressional District. The conference, which is aimed at describing some of the new governmental assistance programs, concludes today.

Of particular interest to Monroe County officials yesterday was a description of the new Economic Development Act. Monroe is the only county in Michigan's Second District which qualifies for assistance under terms of the act. Its provisions were outlined to the Monroe group by Harold Williams, Deputy Administrator of the new Economic Development Administration.

Mr. Williams pointed out that Economic Development Act will have $500 million a year for the next 4 years for use in the some 1,100 U.S. counties that qualify. Monroe is on the list because it was eligible for aid under the expiring Area Redevelopment Act. However, Monroe County probably will not be eligible for this assistance after an annual review is made next June; hence county officials were urged to act quickly if Economic Development Act funds are wanted.

Economic Development Act money is available for eligible areas on a matching-fund basis if the projects for which they are sought either are directly related to economic development of the area or directly serve the poor. However, even in these circumstances a grant might not be made.

"The Federal Government is not going to make unnecessary grants," Mr. Williams said. "We're going to insist on proper comprehensive planning for an entire area. We want to make sure any grant answers future needs, not just those of the present. If you aren't doing planning for a county or area sewer and water system, it will jeopardize your chances of getting an Economic Development Act grant."

In answer to a question by Monroe Mayor William J. Agusta, Mr. Williams said it definitely would be better if a city and surrounding townships got together and worked out a comprehensive plan for future growth and then sought Economic Development Act assistance to finance it.

The city of Monroe has laid down a policy for sewer extensions that has not been accepted by Frenchtown and Monroe Townships, both of which have started studies which could lead to separate sewerage systems for each township.

Mr. Williams also indicated Economic Development Act funds might be available for such projects as a community center, provided it could be shown that it would directly serve a poorer area of a community.

Money to assist in building community centers and sewer and water lines also may be available under several other new programs, county officials were told. The new Housing and Urban Development Act could authorize up to 50 percent of the money for a community center. The same act could authorize funds for sewer and water lines; so could legislation pertaining to the Community Facilities Administration. These programs also were described for southeastern Michigan officials here yesterday.

Possible help for development of parks and other recreational facilities can be found in the Housing Act and in the recently implemented Land and Water Conservation Fund being administered by the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation. Up to 50 percent of the costs of these facilities can be financed by the Federal Government—but again, a comprehensive plan for the future must be included with requests for money for such projects.

Also on yesterday's agenda was a foreign affairs briefing by Douglas MacArthur II, an assistant secretary of state, and a description of the U.S. road program. The wives who accompanied many of the officials here were entertained at a tea by Mrs. Esther Peterson, special assistant to the President for consumer affairs.

The conference today heard from representatives of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Small Business Administration.

Among those to address the group today were Orville Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture, and W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor.

The University and Anti-Communist Pressure—Dr. Henry King Stanford, President, University of Miami, Florida

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the University of Miami at Coral Gables, Fla., is one of the Nation's outstanding educational institutions. Recently, President Henry King Stanford submitted his report to the board of trustees on the conclusion of his third year at the university.

Dr. Stanford has brought a wealth of experience and talent to the University of Miami. His report reflects his ability and character in the outstanding achievements reported therein, and in the expressions of his essay on the "University and Anti-Communist Pressure."

This essay is timely; it is forceful and clear; it is a call for sober reflection and perspective; it prescribes the challenge and duty for institutions of higher education and citizens generally. In short, I am of the opinion that the message of the essay is vital to our national interests and the preservation of our democratic institutions. I commend it to my colleagues:

THE UNIVERSITY AND ANTI-COMMUNIST PRESSURE

Last year I presented, as part of my annual report, the text of a talk I had made on "Universities and Political Invaders." It seemed appropriate, in that talk to the National Association of Broadcasters, to emphasize once again how the university is a trustee of the legacy of civilization; how the university cannot administer this trust effec-

tively unless it is free to roam where honest, rational, and critical inquiry takes it. I emphasized further that the true university can never be the pliable servant of political authority or any special group.

Now, a year later, it seems appropriate again to examine the nature of the university in view of the interest and activities of special groups who, in their fervor to expose communistic forces in our society, see in the integrity of a university a possible threat to the security of the United States. The University of Miami itself was subjected to criticism and innuendo by a local fringe group for seeking to maintain its campus as a forum for free inquiry and discussion during the year 1964–65. It was insinuated, in a novel means of character assassination, that the university had let itself become, wittingly or unwittingly, a tool of the international Communist conspiracy.

EXPRESSIONS OF ANXIETY

These an anxious times for both the town and the gown. Anxiety, of course, is not rooted exclusively in the uncertainties of international politics. The theological existentialist tells us that man, being able to perceive that he exists, and also that he may cease to exist at any moment, is foredoomed to an anxious state by his capacity for this duality of contemplation. There is no question, however, that whatever state of anxiety is peculiar to man's nature, the growing tension in international affairs has multiplied his apprehensive moments.

I confess myself a gnawing uneasiness ever since the Soviets launched the cold war following World War II. I became even more concerned after the Soviet development of nuclear power and missile technology. Now, that the Chinese Communists are becoming a nuclear power, my alarm is compounded.

One manifestation of this age of anxiety is the tendency to see the enemy at every turn. The Western sheriff would hardly have survived had he interpreted every sound as the presence of the outlaw and fired straightaway. But today we do have trigger-happy, self-appointed vigilantes, who startle at the slightest rustle of an idea with which they disagree. The cold war, turning hot once again in Vietnam, has unnerved them. Professing to see Communists behind every sound of free discussion, they fire at random at university campuses.

THE COLD WAR PHENOMENON

In fighting the cold war we are confronted with a phenomenon which we did not know in the earlier history of our country. To be sure we have known different kinds of wars. There have been different wars for different generations of Americans. Our forefathers fought the chivalrous Civil War. Men fought adventurously in the war with Spain, which John Hay called a splendid little war. The doughboys marched off idealistically to the First World War, the war to end war. The GI's fought the Second World War with grim and realistic determination to get a tough job over with as quickly as possible.

The cold war of the 1960's, however, is an altogether different kind of warfare. It is much more than a war of potential nuclear destruction. The Soviets, it appears, prefer to fight on the battlefront of ideas or native insurgents rather than the radioactive ashes of mutual death and destruction. The big weapons are evidently going to be kept hooded. There will be comparatively little opportunity for citizens to participate directly in military engagement, except those who will have to bear arms in wars of containment. But all of us are drawn inexorably to the battleground of ideas.

NEED FOR TOUGHER MINDS

The university worthy of the name cannot afford to shield the minds of its students from the mind of the enemy. How else are students to learn the fundamentals of dialectic materialism, and thus discover its weakness, if they are not exposed to it? How can students learn to recognize and cope with Communist propaganda if they never see or hear samples of it? Young minds must be toughened by exposure, by testing, by exploring all the ideas of man, free to question, argue, reject and accept. They must be free to read about, to discuss and analyze all the Communist systems. Totalitarian education, whether Nazi or Communist, can brook no expression of opinion contrary to the party line. What stultification of the vitality which the university student has the right to expect in the humanities and the social studies. We in America can build more inquiring, and therefore stronger, minds on the foundation of free discussion.

THE USE OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

During the spring I was questioned about the appearance on our campus of a periodical allegedly published by Communists to take advantage of the struggle for civil rights in the United States. My answer to the question was in effect: "So what?" I am not afraid to subject the minds of our students to any publication which the Communists can muster. And what is one isolated publication in comparison with the thousands of Communist publications we house in the Otto G. Richter Library? The university has prided itself on its agreement with the Library of Congress, by which our librarian, Dr. Archie L. McNeal, is given the opportunity to select duplicates of all Soviet publications received by the Library of Congress. Today our collection of Soviet documents, ranging from 1948 down to the present, numbers more than 100,000 items. We are enthusiastic about the possibilities for study and research into the Soviet state, ideology, economy, culture, and a hundred aspects of Soviet life which this great storehouse of documents provides. Similarly, our librarian is eagerly and successfully building up one of the country's greatest collections of documents published by the Castro regime in Cuba. We want to provide students and researchers with all possible materials that shed light on the particular brand of communism that has sprung up in Cuba. The beginning of the defense against the spread of communism is to know accurately the species and the environmental conditions which nurture its growth in a particular locality.

An attack upon this library collection is certainly possible by those anxious individuals who regard censorship as the surest weapon against free discussion of ideas. Their brand of superpatriotism expresses their fear and anxiety that freedom is itself suspect. It is a refuge of those who have lost faith in the United States, its democratic governance, its educational system, and its ability to defeat the Soviet challenge. It is a virulent form of disunity. As Henry Steele Commager said recently:

"Those who cultivate and spread the gospel of hatred throughout our society bear a heavy responsibility. They do not really weaken communism; they weaken democracy and liberty. By their conduct and philosophy they lower the moral standards of the society they pretend to defend. Eager to put down imagined subversion, they are themselves the most subversive of all the elements in our society, for they subvert that harmony and affection without which a society cannot be a commonwealth."

My plea must not be interpreted as an appeal to eliminate such criticism from our society. Progress results from exposure of weakness at either end of the ideological spectrum, and its correction through remedial change. Exposure means evaluation of shortcomings. There is much to criticize. Higher education itself, faced with the unprecedented task of coping with swollen enrollments and exploding fields of knowledge, should not be immune from criticism from layman and professional educator alike. What this essay does inveigh against is the frenzied attack upon free expression; the vicious denunciation, as subversive or Communist, of the individual who disagrees.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI TRADITION FOR FREE DISCUSSION

With the support of faculty and trustees I will continue to keep this campus a forum of free inquiry and discussion. I am proud of the consensus we have reached in the support of this principle. The tradition for freedom of investigation by research, discussion, or lecture has long been present on our campus. During 1964–65 the faculty senate wished to have a policy, in writing, supporting the right of faculty and student groups to invite to the campus outside speakers who they believed would enhance the intellectual development of the audience. The proposal from the senate had my endorsement and gained the unanimous approval of the board of trustees at its June meeting.

The task of the university in the cold war is clear. It must commit itself and its students to the most rigorous scholarship within its means. Mediocre standards cannot meet the Communist challenge. Any institution doing less than its best to strengthen the minds of Americans weakens the Nation in a perilous hour. The university must ever seek to graduate students who will enter into the responsibilities of citizenship with zeal, not apathy. The responsible alumnus-citizen will guard the liberties of vote and free discussion and oppose encroachment masked as superpatriotism, the easy solution of terming everyone who disagrees with us Communist or "pink." The responsible alumnus-citizen should be inspired by the standards of his alma mater to work wisely and insistently for improvements in our system of government and in our society. Thus inspired, the responsible alumnus-citizen should be influential in bringing to the underdeveloped peoples of our own Nation not only hope but progress in the democratic way of life.

The world is not sanforized; it keeps shrinking. Our neighbors press upon us. Barring nuclear war, there will be 6 billion people on this planet by the turn of the century. We cannot plan our lives to exist apart from these peoples and their aspirations. The Communist powers hope to encircle us—in Latin America, Africa, Asia, Indochina—with a vast mass of people who believe their best chance of progress lies with the totalitarian, Communist directed way of life. The United States must offer them another choice, no matter how difficult it is or how long it takes to bring it about. The university lies squarely in the middle of this struggle: to produce students today, citizens tomorrow, whose commitment in this battle of ideas is total, unflinching, deadly serious, and based on sound informed convictions.

An Enormous Task Well Done

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH J. GRAY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, one of the major accomplishments of recent years is the Interstate Highway System, a 41,000-mile network of well-engineered roads affording safe and rapid transportation throughout the Nation.

We are at the halfway point in this new highway system, authorized by the Congress in 1956.

A true expert in the interstate highway program, my friend and able colleague, JOHN BLATNIK, of Minnesota, who has served as chairman of the Special Subcommittee on the Federal Aid Highway Program, spoke to the National Highway Conference here in Washington during July.

Congressman BLATNIK described the work thus far on the interstate system and the problems encountered in this massive public works project which his subcommittee was directed to investigate.

JOHN BLATNIK's remarks are reprinted in the October 1965 issue of Constructor, the management magazine of the construction industry. While we are looking back on the works of the 1st session of the 89th Congress, we also ought to recognize earlier noteworthy efforts resulting from the hard work and determination of men like JOHN BLATNIK, who is among the most respected and best-liked Members of this House. It has been a privilege to serve as a member of the Blatnik committee and at this time, Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to include Chairman BLATNIK's remarks in the RECORD:

AN ENORMOUS TASK WELL DONE

(By Representative JOHN A. BLATNIK)

I am proud, as I know many of you are, to have been associated with the highway legislation passed in 1956. It is the keystone of the most ambitious public works undertaking in world history. And yet it is more than that. It recognized the direct relationship between the orderly development of national highway systems and our expanding economy, our increased productivity, and our growing population. It recognized that modern highways are the backbone of this tremendous growth.

Instead of highway construction programs being developed on a stopgap, piecemeal basis, we are now able to plan ahead as far as we can see. Highway needs can now be forecast, and construction can be planned and executed in a smooth orderly fashion. As this concept is developed further with either new programs, or extensions of the present ones, we will be able to avoid waiting until the need is painfully apparent and we are forced to resort to crash programs. Highway departments, contractors, suppliers and equipment manufacturers in turn, will be able to rely on some sustained and stable rate of expenditures.

I am pleased to be with you because I realize that it is rare to have together in one meeting such a large segment of distinguished and talented leaders from the roadbuilding fraternity. The very fact that this body is made up of representatives of the States, contractors and the Bureau of Public Roads is significant. It is recognized that the Federal-aid roadbuilding program can only be carried out through the combined and coordinated efforts of these groups.

Your being here together enables me to say some things which I would like each of you to know.

AN ENORMOUS TASK

Many of us realize now, much better than we did in 1956, what an enormous task was undertaken in the construction of an Interstate System while carrying out, at the same time, an expanded ABC program (primary, secondary and urban road extensions).

Congress had asked a whole industry to accelerate in a manner unprecedented in our peacetime history to a production workload hitherto unknown. The way in which it was done is a great credit to the industry. I am truly amazed at the developments in techniques and equipment.

Equipment manufacturers tooled up, produced, and have constantly improved the equipment necessary for the task; and contractors bought the equipment, hired the people to operate it, and put their enlarged organizations to work.

These two segments of the highway family are profit motivated and that is as it should be. This is in the great American tradition of free enterprise.

RESULTS TREMENDOUS

State highway departments and the Bureau of Public Roads, representing the governmental authority, responded creditably in providing the planning, design, and engineering.

What has been the result?

When viewed in the light of the difficulties encountered, the overall performance has been tremendous.

I think some people feel that because it has been my task to Chair a subcommittee to inquire into the way in which the program is being carried out, that I am indifferent to the many great accomplishments which have been made.

Let me say here and now—once and for all, that nothing could be further from the truth.

I am not unaware of the trials to which highway personnel, the engineers, right-of-way, fiscal, or management people have been subjected in trying to find acceptable soluitons to problems which seemed to have no solution.

I know, too, the great effort and strain it has been to Bureau of Public Roads people in attempting to keep everything on an even keel.

I am also aware that many contractors have done more than they were obliged, or told to do, in building projects just for the personal satisfaction of having built something in which they could take pride.

We cannot, and we do not, want to overlook these notable contributions and achievements, even though we must, at times, point to areas of weakness.

CONGRESS MUST FIND MONEY

Congress has an abiding role in this overall picture.

For one thing, more legislation to provide additional mileage to our systems will be needed. This legislation will require a continuing flow of money from highway users.

In addition to legislation, Congress also has the obligation and duty to determine that programs are carried out in accordance with law and policy. This brings us to our subcommittee and I am delighted to have this opportunity to clarify certain misconceptions and misunderstandings which I feel exist in the minds of some people.

In 1959, wihle the interstate program was still in its infancy, Congress had to consider increasing the gasoline tax 1 cent, to insure completion of the system as originally conceived. The alternative was to accept the suggestion that the program either be curtailed or drawn out over a longer period of time. None of us who are familiar with this porgram wanted a cutback.

At least some of the opposition to the program stemmed from a lack of confidence that it was being carried out properly.

There were charges made, some on the floor of the House, that the highway program was fraught with mismanagement, overdesign, incompetence and waste, and there were even suggestions of fraud and corruption.

Although these allegations were generally unsubstantiated and vague, they posed a serious threat to the program.

CHARGES MUST BE RESOLVED

Charges of this nature cannot be ignored. They have to be met and resolved. To do otherwise would lead to a continual weakening of congressional and public confidence. In time this would seriously jeopardize the continuation of the program.

It was in this climate, a little more than 5 years ago, that our subcommittee came into being.

Our mandate was clear: inquire into the practices, policies and procedures followed in the Federal-aid highway program.

I think it should be recognized that this necessary inquiry was entrusted to Members whose dedication to this fine program is not surpassed by anyone. It has been with this same spirit of dedication that this subcommittee has gone about its task.

From the beginning, committee policy has been that our inquiries would be thorough, fair and objective. That pledge has been kept. We have consistently held to the policy of not proceeding with public hearings on any matter until there has first been a detailed, exhaustive examination of whatever subject matter happened to be before the committee. From an operational standpoint such a policy is time-consuming but fully justified by what has since transpired.

We are always conscious that personal and business reputations are at stake. We also recognize that remedial legislation requires a solid record of fact.

COMPLAINTS DIMINISH

In this way the subcommittee has helped to bolster confidence in the program. Some proof of this, which shouldn't pass unnoticed, is the fact that since the establishment of the subcommittee there has been no outcry on the floor of the House against the program such as there was in 1959.

We have proceeded on the theory that things can always be done better. Once again that is not to say we are not aware of the tremendous achievements which have been made and which have made this country the recognized leader in roadbuilding throughout the world. That is as it should be, and is consistent with this country's leadership in many other fields.

I am convinced that the real appreciation for the construction of our highways will flow naturally and easily through the years as the American economy reaps the benefits from them, and as the American motorist conserves his time and money and broadens his horizon through their use.

The first step toward bringing about improvement is to define the problem. That is basic. We help to do this through our hearings; highlighting situations by developing them factually; choosing for subjects those matters which are of importance and which have broad application, even though the applicability varies in degree in different places.

In some of our hearings we have heard testimony from a number of witnesses about falsification of tests and samples, and building projects in a substandard fashion. These witnesses came to Washington, usually with some personal embarrassment, frequently with considerable courage, and testified as to what they had done.

COMMITTEE SEEKS "WHYS"

Now, when such practices are recognized, the matter isn't solved by discharging employees or suspending contractors. That is too easy a solution and does not do justice to the problems which have brought these matters to pass. It only treats the symptom and ignores the illness.

We need to go behind these happenings and discover their underlying causes—why did they happen?

The uncovering of wrongdoing was inevitable in a program of this size and scope. I believe we can all understand how a program

which involves so much money and so much work was bound to attract some unscrupulous people. Unfortunately, this is the type of thing that makes headlines. More attention is paid to what has developed in this particular area than is paid to the solid accomplishments and the corrective measures invoked to cure the shortcomings.

Unquestionably this has contributed to the impression in some quarters that the subcommittee's main objective is to pursue culprits and to inspire punitive action.

Those who are conversant with what we have done and are trying to do, and who have digested our transcripts and reports know that this is a vast misconception of our function.

Ours is not a hunt for wrongdoers. We examine at length and in depth, not to uncover culprits, but to pinpoint the underlying cause of unsatisfactory conditions and poor practices, the source of procedural weakness, the reason for manifest ineffectiveness.

In short, our prime concern is not with what has occurred but rather why it has occurred.

PINPOINTING THE PROBLEMS

We say if projects are not being built to specifications because the specifications are not good, let's improve the specifications; if contractors are being required to work to unreasonable and costly limits, let's find out what the proper requirements should be and incorporate them in the specifications; if there is not a sufficiency of able, competent people to provide the engineering services and testing required by both the contractor and the State, then let's train them and assign them in sufficient numbers so they will be able to do their work.

We submit that you cannot assign one project engineer to eight widely separated jobs and then be surprised that he does not adequately supervise them.

You cannot assign one or two untrained and unqualified inspectors to a project 7 miles long which has three contractors placing culvert pipe and doing embankment work in the middle and at each end while another contractor is building forms and pouring concrete; and then require the inspectors to set slope stakes and inspect and test all this work and have the right to be surprised that something went wrong.

When specifications are evaluated in retrospect and found to be impossible to meet, who can be surprised that they were not complied with?

These are not imaginary examples. They come from testimony before the committee.

Can we seriously expect to find anything other than loose practices, falsification, and failure to build to requirements when these and like conditions exist which virtually assure it?

PROBLEMS ARE REAL

You cannot transfer those impossible situations to the field personnel and expect that, somehow, they will be able to overcome them.

These are some of the real problems that have concerned the subcommittee. They go to the very heart of highway construction.

We must admit such problems do exist and address ourselves to their solution.

We must allow for wholesome, healthy evaluation of what is done, particularly when it is offered in an honest spirit of helpfulness and cooperation.

We cannot be so sensitive that the price to be paid for harmony is silent acquiescence of the status quo.

There is one point that I'd like to emphasize.

I know that many of you contractors feel that you have been caught in a squeeze because of our insistence on adequate management controls, particularly those at the project level. I am well aware of the fact that to a contractor, time is money. I am also not unmindful of the fact that contracting is a risky business.

This is the point I want to make clear and which I hope is carried on down to the field level. The committee has never advocated exactness or absoluteness either in the framing of specifications or in the enforcement of them. The members of the committee are fair, reasonable-minded men. At all times we have been on record as advocating reasonable, realistic specifications, and intelligent practical execution.

PROMPT DECISIONS A MUST

Also this program demands that, when the facts are known, judgments be given without delay or hesitation. We cannot totally succeed unless there is prompt decision making at all levels.

COMMITTEE'S CONTRIBUTIONS

I must say I feel a sense of pride in having seen a number of significant improvements instituted and to know that our committee has contributed to their accomplishment.

I also know that considerable effort is constantly being made by the Bureau of Public Roads, AASHO, the States individually, AGC, and other responsible organizations, independently of any suggestion made by our committee, to better the administrative and technical aspects of roadbuilding.

This is most gratifying, and I have confidence it will continue.

All of us, each in our way, need to operate and cooperate on the premise that improvements can and will be made.

Finally—what does the future hold? Well, regardless of how one analyzes the reports concerning the status of construction of the Interstate System, it is obvious that the tempo and rate of production must be increased in order to bring about completion on schedule.

SAFETY IS GREAT FACTOR

One very compelling reason for finishing the Interstate on time or even ahead of schedule is the safety factor. This is a matter of utmost concern to many on Capitol Hill today where the frightful toll of deaths and injuries in automobile accidents is a subject for almost daily discussion.

It is an awful thing to contemplate when we realize that more Americans die on highways on one holiday weekend in this country than have been killed during our years of involvement in the Vietnamese struggle.

I think it is imperative for the people to be aware of the death rate on other highways compared to the toll on the Interstate sections now open to traffic.

The Associated Press made a survey on the Memorial Day weekend and found that of the 474 fatalities reported, 12 occurred on the Interstate.

The Bureau of Public Roads received a congressional request to make a survey over the July 4 weekend. Its analysis showed 34 of the 555 deaths reported occurred on the interstate. Thirty-eight States reported no deaths, and 20 out of the 34 fatalities occurred in just 3 States.

The Bureau's analysis estimated that Interstate freeways carried approximately 12 percent of all the holiday traffic but accidents of all the other roads accounted for 94 percent of the deaths.

Thus, when I add my voice to all the others exhorting you to greater effort in the years ahead, it is with the thought that the Interstate will give Americans assurance that the lives of thousands will be saved.

I am convinced that there does exist among you the capacity for peak performance.

I am convinced there is commensurate determination to reach the objective.

In succeeding you shall have gained the trust and appreciation of Congress and the American people, and, thereby, have laid the foundation for major new programs which will naturally follow.

Obsolete, Inefficient College Buildings Create Need for Campus Renewal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, college campuses in America are so badly in need of more buildings and facilities to handle the onrush of new students, we may be neglecting to face the problem of removing or modernizing the old, obsolete buildings that often choke the efficient growth of these institutions.

The University of Minnesota, Minneapolis campus, in my own district, has a number of fine old structures that have long since passed their prime in usefulness as college buildings. I am sure that many of my colleagues would find the same picture I found, if they examine the construction records for colleges in their districts.

At the University of Minnesota we have Eddy Hall, built in 1881. Construction is masonry with wood floors. Condition is fair to poor. Pattee Hall, built in 1889 of masonry construction and wood floors, is also in unsatisfactory condition. Wesbrook Hall, 1896; the armory, 1896; Jones Hall, 1901; psychology, 1906; Shevlin Hall, 1906; music education, 1888; Norris Gym, 1914; and a large number of wood frame temporary war surplus structures from 1947 are part of a deteriorating, decaying and hard-to maintain old campus. By comparison, the solid, more efficient, newer structures that handle the bulk of the educational task on the Minneapolis campus, give strength to a growing, dynamic university.

HIGHER EDUCATION FACILITIES ACT OF 1963

The Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 might be broad enough to help college campus renewal. However, I am suggesting a short bill to make clear that renewal deserves immediate attention.

The U.S. Office of Education has written me with assurances that the act is broad and flexible enough to apply to campus renewal problems. Their letter said in part:

> Under the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, grants and loans are available to assist in financing the construction of academic facilities for institutions of higher education. The acquisition, rehabilitation, alteration, conversion or improvement of existing facilities are also eligible for assistance under this act.
>
> Included in eligible development costs of a project under this act is the cost of necessary acquisition of the land on which the facility is to be located and necessary site improvements to permit its use for such facility. We have interpreted "site improvements" to include the demolition of existing structures on the proposed project site.

The Commissioner of Education's regulations already in effect are also encouraging. Regulation 107.4 takes into account:

> (c) Efficiency of design, with due regard to safety standards, in placement of com-

mon-use areas such as hallways and lobbies, and in placement of plumbing and other utility systems,

(d) Ratio of assignable area to interior space area of the building,

(e) Relationship between the number of floors in the construction and the cost of land in the immediate vicinity,

* * * * *

(g) Reasonable allowance, where appropriate and justified, for harmonious integration of a new facility with architectural characteristics of surrounding buildings, for creative application of proved new developments in educational media and methods, for planned future expansion of the facility.

Regulation 170.15 of the Commissioner of Education also allows a State to include the following standard for determining relative priorities of projects:

(d)(6) The relationship of the proposed facilities to an adopted plan for development of the institution or branch campus for which it will be constructed.

Yet, I think more is needed. We should amend the law to make clear that campus renewal should be an important part of our long-range program of financing higher education facilities in every State across the land.

It is for this reason, Mr. Speaker, that I have today introduced the College Campus Renewal Act. Under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of this new bill. It is a simple bill that makes the removal of obsolescence on college campuses part of the national policy of development for higher education. A 10-percent bonus for constructing facilities in accordance with comprehensive planning for the institution should encourage and help finance this important activity.

This Congress is voting bold new programs in shaping a partnership between the Federal and local level in meeting the challenge of education. We have a responsibility to do the job well.

Campus renewal is a necessary part of the development of higher education facilities in the decade ahead.

The text of the bill follows:

H.R. 11816

A bill to authorize assistance to public and other nonprofit institutions of higher education in financing the construction, rehabilitation, or improvement of needed academic and related facilities in undergraduate and graduate institutions

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "College Campus Renewal Act".

FINDINGS

SEC. 2. The growing obsolescence of many buildings on the campuses of institutions of higher education in the Nation presents a problem that demands immediate action. Many buildings are no longer adapted to the academic purposes for which they were originally constructed. Many buildings are unsafe, expensive to maintain, and located in such a way as not to allow the most efficient and best arrangement of buildings on the campus. Functional or structural obsolescence and inefficient utilization of facilities and land area on the campus cause an unnecessary drain on the budgets of public and private colleges, and can reduce the effectiveness of grants and loans made under Federal programs in support of higher education. The expansion of facilities to accommodate the ever-increasing numbers of youth in need of higher education must now be accompanied by a carefully planned program for modernization and replacement of obsolete or inefficient facilities on our college campuses.

AMENDMENTS TO HIGHER EDUCATION FACILITIES ACT OF 1963

SEC. 3. (a) Section 106 of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 is amended to read as follows:

"ELIGIBILITY FOR GRANTS

"SEC. 106. An institution of higher education shall be eligible for a grant for construction of an academic facility under this title only if such construction will, either alone or together with other construction to be undertaken within a reasonable time, (1) result in an urgently needed substantial expansion of the institution's student enrollment capacity or capacity to carry out extension and continuing education programs on the campus of such institution, or (2) in the case of a new institution of higher education, result in creating urgently needed enrollment capacity or capacity to carry out extension and continuing education programs on the campus of such institution, or (3) result in modernization or removal or replacement of a facility that is functionally or structurally obsolete or inefficient."

(b) Section 401(b)(1) of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 is amended to read as follows:

"(b)(1) The term 'construction' means (A) erection of new or expansion of existing structures, and the acquisition and installation of intial equipment therefor; or (B) acquisition of existing structures not owned by the institution involved; or (C) rehabilitation, alteration, conversion, or improvement (including the acquisition and installation of initial equipment, or modernization or replacement of built-in equipment) of existing structures; or (D) removal of an obsolete facility and restoring and landscaping the land in its place; or (E) a combination of any two or more of the foregoing."

(c) The third sentence of section 107(a) of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 is amended by inserting after the words "utilizing existing facilities", the words "and making progress towards eliminating obsolete and inefficient structures".

(d) Section 108(b)(5) of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 is amended to read as follows:

"(5) The commissioner determines that the construction will be undertaken in an economical manner and will not be of elaborate or extravagant design or materials, and (if applicable) will remove functional or structural obsolescence and increase the efficient utilization of the campus or a facility; and".

(e) Section 107(b) of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 is amended by adding a sentence to read, "The Commissioner may increase the amount of a grant by an additional 10 per centum of the amount of the grant for any project which has been certified to him by the appropriate State commission as being in conformity with a comprehensive plan developed for the institution."

Protests on Vietnam War Aim at Wrong Target

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN R. DAVIS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, those who deliberately violate the law and those who deliberately set out to encourage and incite others to do so, do a disservice to themselves, their families, and their country.

There has been too much of the attitude that "boys will be boys" in connection with the violent demonstrations across our land, including my own State of Wisconsin. Those misguided people who seek to take the law into their own hands, who seek to "make a point" through violence need to be taught the errors of their ways. They are being used as dupes, and they ought to be smart enough to see that.

A recent editorial in the Milwaukee Journal well and thoughtfully brings the latest rash of demonstrations into perspective. I commend its reading to my colleagues:

PROTESTS ON VIETNAM WAR AIM AT WRONG TARGET

The basic fault of those who are honestly demonstrating against the war in Vietnam is that they are talking to the wrong people. They are admonishing the administration and the Congress. They should be directing their complaints to Peiping, Hanoi, and that part of the Communist world which gives those forces support.

For some months now the United States has made repeated offers to go to the conference table to seek an honorable way out of the Vietnamese war. We have offered to meet with everyone concerned, including the Vietcong. The President has invited any members of the United Nations and the United Nations itself to take the lead in mediating. But the only answer is continued war.

Some months ago the policy of the Government seemed uncertain and rigid. Protest then had validity. It has little now.

Of course, as some Members of Congress and the Attorney General himself have angrily charged, the demonstrations have attracted Communists, who may even have inspired some of them. That is to be expected. Our history since World War II has given us plenty of experience with the way in which they seize and instigate opportunities for troublemaking. Those who demonstrate honestly, even if mistakenly, owe it to themselves and their Nation not to be misled by such anti-American factions.

The demonstrators do our country no good. They may even mislead our enemies in Vietnam as to the determination of this country not to be pushed out of Vietnam and to accept nothing but honorable peace. They obscure the fact that for some time the administration has had the overwhelming support of the people. The protesters have been a small minority.

We also face another danger. In criticizing the demonstrators some officials have come close to denying the right of dissent and equating all who participate with Communists and traitors.

Senator PROXMIRE, Democrat, of Wisconsin, who thinks the demonstrators are woefully in error, nevertheless points out that "the right to protest is feeble and empty if it must confine itself to matters that concern us little or on which the Nation's vital interests are not touched. It is only when protest offends us and seems to strike at our country's deepest purposes that the meaning of our bill of rights, the right to dissent and protest in this democracy, is really tested."

Paralleling the Vietnam protests is an increasingly organized movement against the draft. When this is confined to peaceful demonstration and argument, no one has a right to deny it. But when it reaches organized methods of defying the legal draft, of teaching young men how to cheat and mislead authority to escape the draft, of

how to become conscientious objectors"—as though conscience could be shaped artificially—then Government has a right to be concerned.

Military service and fighting have never been popular in our democracy. But when public policy determines the necessity of the draft and of war, our duty is clear. We need not like it. But physically to interfere with it is to weaken the Nation in time of crisis and can become treason.

Protest is one thing. To be meaningful it must be honest. To be effective it must have a proper goal. It is an American right—but the right is balanced, too, by a duty to act thoughtfully and legally.

Utah's Cultural Attractions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Ogden Standard-Examiner of Monday, October 18, 1965. The editorial takes note of the fact that, in addition to the well-known scenic and recreational attractions to be found in Utah, there are also available some very attractive cultural opportunities. These are of interest to many of the workers moving to Utah to take new jobs in business and industry there, and to their families.

I might add, for the interest of my colleagues, that the editorial lists only a fraction of the many cultural attractions to be found in communities from one end to the other of my great State.

The editorial follows:

UTAH'S CULTURAL ATTRACTION LIST

Something unusual came to our attention recently—something we should have thought about before.

An Ogden couple was visiting with a man and wife who had just moved here from Pennsylvania as part of the force being redeployed to Hill Air Force Base.

The new arrivals were talking about some of the friends they'd left behind in the East.

"They're reluctant to move to Utah," it was explained, "because they don't think you folks out here have any real cultural attractions. They know about your skiing, your hunting, your fishing, and your scenery. But they're older folks and are more interested in music and the theater."

Those of us who have been in Utah a long time know well how this State has long prided itself in its culture. Music and the theater came to our State with the first pioneers—and has been an important part of Utah life since.

But for the new arrivals—and those who might hesitate about becoming Utahans—let's take at least a partial inventory.

Let's start with music. The Utah Symphony Orchestra, which makes frequent appearances in Ogden, is tops among the Nation's State orchestras. Maestro Maurice Abravanel is constantly receiving awards for his talents and showmanship.

Music is an important part of the Weber State College lecture and artists series, especially since the new, 1,800 seat Fine Arts Auditorium came into use this year. In the summer, Ogden's proud of its "All Faces West" pageant, featuring Igor Gorin.

Few musical groups in the world are better known than the Salt Lake Tabernacle choir and organ.

Dance? The Utah Ballet Co., directed by Willem Christensen, attracts a wide following for its appearances throughout the area, including in Ogden.

The Bertha Eccles Art Center in Ogden now has a permanent collection, plus the unique rental library that just opened. The University of Utah has its famed Hudnut Collection and, nearby, the Art Barn.

For theater, Ogdenites have a wide choice. The Weber State College Theater series is improving each year—the Fine Arts Auditorium helps with this, too. Soon to be placed in service in the WSC Fine Arts Building are the smaller, more intimate cellar theater and Little Theater.

Just down the highway from Hill Air Force Base, the Valley Music Hall—opened this past summer—brings top musical stars from all over the country for its frequently changed shows in one of the country's best theaters in the round. University of Utah has a summer theater and in winters has its Pioneer Theater.

Typical of world-renown performers who come to Utah is Louis Untermeyer, appearing tonight at Weber State College in the lecture and artists series to read a collection of letters by Robert Frost. He'll be followed later in the season by such diverse personalities as columnist Art Buchwald and essayist Harry Golden.

WSC also has a series of Audubon lecturers. The Ogden Knife & Fork Club helps add depth and variety to the area's attractions by inviting speakers of national reputation to appear at its dinner meetings.

Museums? The arms collection at the Browning Museum in South Ogden is unique because it has the original inventor's models of most of the Nation's important guns.

Utah's pioneers are remembered in the Goodyear Cabin and Museum at Ogden's Tabernacle Park, in the Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum near the Utah Capitol, at the Lion House in downtown Salt Lake City and the Pioneer Village in Holliday.

The list could go on. The Springville Art Museum. The Shakespeare festival each summer in Cedar City. Indian dances at the Intermountain School in Brigham City.

But these should answer the new arrival's question. Yes, Utah does believe in culture. And we have the attractions to prove it.

Linn County's Economic Action Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, I am very proud of the efforts being made in the Second District of Iowa to implement the economic opportunity program. On May 12, the United Community Services Agency received the first community action program grant awarded in the district to begin the necessary study of conditions in Linn County and to establish an organization to carry out this program.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the poverty program is the requirement that projects be initiated and administered by local officials in the community who are understandably most familiar with the problems in their area, and the resources available to meet these needs. It is a fine example of the proper coordination of the activities of all levels of government and private organizations to deal with problems which are of local, statewide, and national concern.

Since May, a most ambitious and comprehensive program has been developed for Linn County. Officials of the county's economic action program—LEAP—have worked closely and effectively with United Community Services and other community leaders in formulating imaginative proposals covering a broad range of areas which promise to give meaning to the goal of creating greater opportunity.

WMT radio and television stations in Cedar Rapids have recently carried on a commendable study of the efforts of the Linn County economic action program and brought their findings to the attention of the people of northeast Iowa.

I would like to introduce into the RECORD at this point the news analysis of this matter carried by WMT on October 11, 1965:

WMT NEWS CENTER BROADCAST, 6 P.M., MONDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1965

Linn County's economic action program—EAP as its initiates—is trying to fight poverty by diagnosing it, finding out where it is and who has it, then treating it by helping the disadvantaged to help themselves on a nighborhood basis.

In our last night's report we saw how councils of residents in each of three low-income neighborhoods are doing this locally with the help of LEAP administrator Leslie Nummela and his staff, through an extension of existing social service programs. On a broader level, LEAP and its parent organization—United Community Services—have held several meetings with four volunteer task force committees studying what's needed and how to fill the need in urban renewal and housing, education, health, and welfare, and employment.

But the most intriguing part of all this is the system of services the LEAP staff is building—a dozen new programs to attack poverty from 12 different angles.

Furthest along is the neighborhood in-school youth crops which should be getting a $150,000 Federal grant sometime next week, to help 228 students in 13 Linn County high schools finance their education by finding work in the schools for 10 hours a week. This is being administered by the County Board of Education and should be underway by November 1.

For high school dropouts, there's an out-of-school youth corps for 30 to 50 young men, providing up to 32 hours of work with a local sponsoring agency, in this case, the YMCA. It's aimed at getting the dropout back in school, ultimately. USC approval of this is expected shortly.

Then there's Operation Head Start, designed to prepare disadvantaged children for a formal education, through a 30-week preschool. A State administered 8-week program of this type was held last summer, and volunteer teachers had nothing but praise for it. LEAP is now working up an application to make it year-round.

LEAP has worked up an application for about $16,000 for a foster home finding service to overcome a serious local shortage of such homes in this area.

On January 1, the city's local family service agency will administer a broader

homemakers service, with volunteers to do cooking and housework for those families that need it in emergencies, and can't afford it. A Federal grant and income from fees will defray most of the $24,000 cost.

LEAP has also prevailed on Iowa State University to open up a new homemaking extension service to needy rural areas which will operate through the local antipoverty center in Chain Lakes.

LEAP is working with the State vocational rehabilitation office, and local business groups, on a sheltered workshop, to make the handicapped self-supporting. A private nonprofit corporation will be formed to set up a factory of sorts with the emphasis on people, rather than products. This will cost about $30,000 with the State giving half.

LEAP will work with the chamber of commerce in hopes of setting up Cedar Rapids' first small business administration center, for loans and other help to small or marginal businesses.

For rural areas, there'll be a neighborhood council meeting in the Toddville area this week, to explain what's involved in securing rural family loans for agriculture under the poverty bill.

County Social Welfare Director James Nisley is working up an eligibility list for a work-experience program, to develop job skills for heads of households on ADC or relief.

For college students, LEAP is working to broaden a work-study program, part-time work for needy college students, something already underway at Mount Mercy College. LEAP officials hope to get something similar going at Coe College.

Rural library service was discussed by the county supervisors 2 years ago, but dropped for apparent lack of interest. As evidence of the success of these neighborhood councils, leaders in the Chain Lakes area are asking for the council to reconsider.

No application has been made yet for volunteers in service to America, VISTA, as it is called, the old Peace Corps at home idea which is the crux of the poverty program in some areas, but Nummela has indicated he may apply for 2 or 3 to help with senior citizens.

The neighborhood council has worked so well in the three areas where it has been established, there's interest in getting at least two more councils set up in the future.

All of these programs are in the planning or early execution stage. It will take a year, perhaps longer, to see what they can do. But if they can break the cycle of poverty, make more people more productive, it won't be just a social victory. Winning even a few battles in the war on poverty can provide an economic shot in the arm, akin to getting a brand new industry.

Gen. Robert E. Wood Warns Against Release of Panama Canal Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, Gen. Robert E. Wood, who resides in the 12th Congressional District of Illinois, is one of the most honored Americans of our time.

As a young Army engineer, he served for more than 10 years in the Canal Zone between March 1905 and May 1915 as chief quartermaster and director of the Panama Railroad Company in connection with the construction of the Panama Canal. General Wood knows something of the hardship, the sacrifice, and the individual effort, genius, and investment of our Nation which led to the successful completion of the Panama Canal.

It is common knowledge that others had failed before our Nation succeeded. It is also common knowledge that the entire world has benefited from the economic, defense, and political advantages which have flowed from this great engineering accomplishment. Certainly, General Wood knows a great deal about the Canal Zone and the formal treaty and relationships which have existed since the canal was first opened in 1915.

As my colleague the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD] as well as my colleague, the gentlewoman from Missouri [Mrs. SULLIVAN] have declared in such articulate fashion, any decision to abandon our national control of the Panama Canal should be resisted. My friend, General Wood, has written to me that he "Hopes the President will not do what was stated in the press."

He wrote further:

> It may be all right to make some minor concessions on payments, but we have been more than generous to Panama; and if we allow the Panamanians any share whatever in the operations and administration of the canal itself, it will be a disaster.

Mr. Speaker, I call these observations to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives and to the President and others in the executive department as knowledgeable statements emating from one who served our Nation in the Canal Zone during the long years when the Panama Canal was transformed from jungle, rock, and water into a gateway joining the Atlantic and the Pacific. I hope that the words and recommendations of General Wood will be considered carefully and heeded faithfully in any decisions affecting our national interests and the interests of the free world with respect to future ownership, management, and control of the Canal Zone and the Panama Canal.

"$$$ and Sense"—A Best Seller

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, I need hardly mention to my colleagues that despite the remarkable prosperity which our great Nation is enjoying, many families are having difficulty making both ends meet. For this reason, I would like to bring to your attention an outstanding book which Fleet Publishing Corp., has just released. It is Ella Gale's "$$$ and Sense, Your Complete Guide to Wise Buying," with a preface by our good friend, Senator PHILIP A. HART, of Michigan.

In my own congressional district, we have many large families, and it is not at all unusual to find homes with five or more children. And although conditions are improving because of the new taconite plants, it is not easy to properly feed, house, clothe, and educate a large, or for that matter, a small family. This problem is not peculiar to my district. When the session ends, many of us will be going home to face similar conditions. It is for this reason that I heartily recommend Ella Gale's "$$$ and Sense," and would like to take a few minutes to describe it.

This is a book on how to buy wisely. It is not a book on budgeting. Ella Gale believes that strict budgeting is not only difficult in the home, it is the cause of much family friction. The difficulty of budgeting is something all of us in the Congress are well aware of—and—on a grand scale. So, as far as family budgeting is concerned, Ella Gales says:

> You don't necessarily have to cut to the bone to get more out of your income. Nor must you set up a budget, a thing most families detest. But you do have to plan your spending and your saving, and "you" means everyone in the family, children included. Some of the worst money leaks are caused by children whose parents are too soft to admit. It's too expensive.

She warns:

> Mismanaging the family paycheck can bring many problems. Often it means a needlessly lower standard of living. Always, it means doing without some of the things the family would like.

"$$$ and Sense" is jampacked with basic information on consumer problems and how to solve them. Senator HART aptly phrased it in his preface when he said:

> The whole gambit of purchasing decisions is covered here—and covered well. Whether you absorb one or two new facts—or two hundred—I would rate this book as a significant contribution to consumer education.

When Senator HART speaks of the whole gambit of purchasing decisions, he is not exaggerating. For example, in her chapter "How To Save on Household Equipment," Ella Gale not only tells how to get a good buy, but goes into this kind of detail:

> When it comes to demonstrators or floor models—stoves are a good buy, electric dishwashers aren't.

In the chapter "Cut Your Clothing Costs," she says that the best shoe buys, especially for children, are those with leather tops and synthetic soles. She disagrees with shoe people who think the most expensive shoes are a must for children. She thinks the middle-priced shoes are a better buy. Speaking of leather uppers, she admits "many synthetics wear longer and cost less than leather." But she adds:

> I think it's better to have a leather shoe that's comfortable than a synthetic that reverts to its original shape.

She recommends clothes that actually grow with a child. This new development permits the mother to merely pull a thread and add inches to coats, trousers, dresses, and underwear for growing boys and girls.

Ella Gale tells "How to Stretch Your Food Dollars" in a meaty chapter. She describes in detail how to comparison shop, find the stores with the best buys, and she urges consumers to arm themselves against becoming impulse buyers. She warns:

This kind of buying is a real strain on the income and must be avoided if you are in earnest about stretching your dollars. It is easy. Never go shopping unchaperoned. Take a shopping list with you and stick to it.

"$$$ and Sense," is bursting with information on how to save money, or, to be more accurate, how to stretch your dollar. Her chapter "Buying on Credit" illustrates how you can save as much as $57.58 in interest charges when you make a $200 purchase on the installment plan. She also tells in simple, down-to-earth terms how to figure true interest rates.

Since trading stamps have become a problem of concern to the Congress, her chapter on trading stamps is of particular interest to us in the Congress. She says:

I found it extremely difficult to compare an item at the trading store with the same thing at one or more discount stores.

Checking the prices of a nationally advertised electric iron, it sold for $17.88 in a discount store, and for 6¾ books of stamps at the trading stamp redemption center. Figuring the stamps are worth $3 per book, the iron cost approximately $20.25 in trading stamps. She concludes with:

I checked the large department store in town that claims it cuts prices to meet the discount store prices. It carried the same iron for only $13.98—a $4 saving over the discount store. Obviously, the best place to buy was the department store, not the trading stamp center or the discount store.

In the chapter "Your Dream Home," Ella Gale has a 22-point check list for new home purchasers. For those who want to buy older homes, she not only warns of 23 hidden dangers, but lists costs and hazards of renovations and repairs.

The book is full of tips—to save dollars. There is specific information on how to buy sheets, towels, blankets, bedspreads. How to select and save on furniture, carpets, curtains, and mattresses. She carefully describes how to save money on electrical equipment and tells under what conditions it is better to use a self-service laundry than to purchase a washing machine. The food and clothing chapters are loaded with information on how to buy every kind of canned, frozen, fresh, and packaged food, and every item of clothing for men, women, and children. She warns of deceptive advertising, phoney markups, and phoney markdowns, and, a subject of interest to many of us in the Congress, deceptive packaging and labeling.

According to Ella Gale, if a detergent costs, say, $2.15 for 9 pounds, 13 ounces, "it still is almost impossible for the average housewife to determine the best buy unless she has a computer or a cost-weight table." And so, she has included in the book a marvelous new cost-weight table, developed by Cornell University. Readers of "$$$ and Sense" will be able to tell at a glance, the cost per pound of everything from toothpaste to dehydrated potatoes.

This is the first time a book has appeared under the authorship of Ella Gale. And, I would like to take this opportunity to reveal that she is someone many of you know, for she has been a part of the Washington scene for many years. You know her as Ella G. Roller, and under this name she is known to many of my constituents, since as far back as 1948.

I deem it a pleasure to have had the opportunity of bringing to your attention Ella Gale's "$$$ and Sense, Your Complete Guide to Wise Buying." It is complete in its coverage, easy to read and often lively in its style.

The Protest Marches on Vietnam Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, patriotism is always in style. To honor your country, to believe in its heritage and hard-won freedom and liberty makes for good citizenship. It would be well for America's youth to study more about our stalwart founders of this Nation. All of us could very well do that. Especially should this apply to the misdirected, the easy mark, the misfit type of humanity who oppose the Nation's effort to snuff out Communist aggression in southeast Asia and elsewhere.

The marches and demonstrations against our country's Vietnam policies are shocking and despicable. These many demonstrations over a wide area do not just happen of their own accord. There is concerted organization and planning behind them. News media broadsided these protest marches since it was felt that they were newsworthy. The sensational is depicted, whereas when a person goes into the armed services and does his duty little is said regarding his love of country and devotion to the job he is doing.

The Nation is faced with two extremist elements. Organized troublemakers have been known to join either one or both of the movements.

I believe firmly in the right of assembly and petition. I favor free speech in the exercise of one's expression of opinion. I also believe in obedience to the law. The destruction of draft cards, the flouting of local, State, and National laws should result in prosecution and suitable punishment.

Our Nation has consistently urged negotiations to stop the fighting in Vietnam. If these gullible youths want to stop the fighting in Vietnam, they could very well change the wording of their placards and urge that Communist infiltration and aggression be ended. There should be no doubt about who is responsible for the prolonged fighting in Vietnam.

While the press has publicized these most deplorable and shocking marches, the editorial columns of the papers throughout the land rebuke vociferously such demonstrations. Campaigns are underway by the National Jaycees, veterans organizations, and college students on many campuses reverberating their support for the Nation's Vietnam policy. Rallies are being held on college campuses where previously demonstrations were carried on in the interest of our pulling out of Vietnam. America will not condone the practices being perpetuated by these radical elements. Offensive action to combat them are in order and being used effectively.

The Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations have all fully supported our Vietnam policies. The best course to pursue in bringing peace in southeast Asia is the continuation of offensive action on the part of the United States, South Vietnamese, and other allies who are fighting the Communist aggressors. Strength and firmness are the only assurances of bringing peace.

The Arkansas Gazette of October 19 carried a forceful and timely editorial entitled "The Protest Marches on Vietnam Policy." I hope my colleagues will read this excellent article. It follows:

THE PROTEST MARCHES ON VIETNAM POLICY

What is most striking about the weekend protests against U.S. policy in Vietnam is that those who were shouting and moralizing in the streets have neither defined adequately what they don't like about American involvement nor offered any alternatives to fighting the Vietcong other than the implication that we should effect a humiliating withdrawal. Exercise of such an alternative would amount to handing southeast Asia to the Communists, something the United States can never do and expect to retain its own and the free world's peace and security.

The Vietnam fighting is not, of course, a war following a declared act of Congress, although congressional backing of the President has been close to it. U.S. action there is a military reinforcement of a political policy and in that posture any legal and peaceful demonstrations—as silly or repugnant as they may be—against the policy, consistent with the democracy for which our men are fighting in Vietnam, must be accepted by the rest of us. And it must be recognized that our engagement in Vietnam raises valid questions of national policy that should be heard and considered even if, in the end, there are still no practicable alternatives.

It was preposterous, on the other hand, for a group at Madison, Wis., to attempt a citizens arrest of an Air Force base commandant; or for a document to be distributed at Berkeley, Calif., saying that draft eligible youths might fake homosexuality, or arrive at selective service examinations drunk or "high" on narcotics or try to bribe doctors for certificates of disability. This kind of draft-dodging is not only contemptible but also might be interpreted as criminal fraud to beat the draft laws. When protests take the form of the Madison and Berkeley actions they won't be condoned and cannot be justified.

In sum, and apart from the possible Communist involvement cited by the Justice Department, the marches reflect the thinking of only the tiniest minority of the American people. The militant assertion of the anti-involvement viewpoint benefits only those who wish to prolong the fighting. Commu-

nist nations in the past have misread developments in the West and indications from their press and radio reports are that they are misinterpreting the protest marches here as an expression of widespread feeling among the American people that the United States should withdraw its forces from Vietnam.

A central point argued by most of the protest groups has been that the United States should negotiate a settlement in Vietnam. Such an argument ignores the fact that our Government has made extensive efforts since early in the year to get the Communists to the conference table but has been rebuffed at every turn.

It is always necessary to reemphasize the validity of protest, within the right of peaceable assembly, but this does not alter the melancholy reality that the demonstrations, as misinterpreted in Hanoi and Peiping, make the objective of a negotiated peace all the more difficult to achieve.

Oceanography: A New Industry for Maritime Exploration and Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALTON LENNON

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. LENNON. Mr. Speaker, on October 15, Dr. Edward Wenk, Jr., Chief, Science Policy Research Division, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, presented a splendid address before the American Merchant Marine Conference of the Propeller Club of the United States in Galveston, Tex. Dr. Wenk, with an impressive background in engineering and oceanography, and former assistant to the President's Science Adviser and Director of the Office of Science and Technology in the Executive Office of the President, is one of the most highly qualified people I know to discuss matters relating to scientific activities under Government aegis, particularly in the fields of oceanography and ocean engineering.

In these times when there seems to be so much agitation, even in high Government circles, for an auction sale of our national maritime birthright for a mess of potage, it is refreshing to hear and read the words of Dr. Wenk as he places a new perspective on our role in the oceanographic environment.

His carefully thought out and eloquent review of the significance of our participation in all activities and studies relating to the oceans should be required reading for every Member of this body. Not limited simply to the purely scientific approach, Dr. Wenk points the way in which a broadening in the scope of the "maritime industry's strategic planning—to engage in engineering fundamental to both ocean sciences and resource development—might be as rewarding financially and technologically to revitalization of the U.S. merchant marine as it is necessary for a vigorous ocean science to mature to a productive ocean technology."

Mr. Speaker, I include at this point in the RECORD the full text of Dr. Wenk's outstanding address:

A NEW INDUSTRY FOR MARITIME EXPLORATION AND DEVELOPMENT

(By Edward Wenk, Jr., Chief, Science Policy Research Division, Library of Congress)

INTRODUCTION

Few logbooks of early seafarers have ever been found if, in fact, they ever existed. And the travels of Leif Eriksen, Marco Polo to China, of Christopher Columbus and Magellan are remembered as much from myth as from recorded history. But to the extent that resords were kept, they were commercial in content as well as motivation. These seafaring explorers were not simply excited by the lure of discovery; in most instances, they were extending empires. Spurred by nationalistic desires for territorial expansion or the promise of virgin resources, they were charting new trade routes, seeking new colonial markets and other sources of wealth.

Whatever fame history now accords these swashbuckling adventurers should be understood in terms of the practical purposes of their exploration. It was not until the 19th century that the oceans were explored for reasons of science.

To be sure, observations of winds and currents, waves and tides had been collected since man first set sail. But when such scientific data began to be recorded systematically, they were intended to aid navigation, improve safety and reliability of shipping.

The United States was a world leader in oceanography in the early 19th century. Benjamin Franklin's discovery of the Gulf Stream and Matthew Fontaine Maury's charts helped our clipper ships outsail all competition, and win world trade long before our Nation became a world power.

Oceanography and our maritime industry have thus longstanding ties. But oceanography has changed; so has our merchant marine and shipbuilding industry. When sail was replaced by steam, the incentive for oceanographic observation persisted only with academicians, and its development waned. In these evolutions, the two fields have split apart.

In responding to your chairman's invitation to speak, I want to discuss how this exciting field of oceanography contributes to the fortunes and goals of this Nation. In deveolping this assignment, I hope both to abstract some of the poetic attractions of marine sciences, and to relate these activities to the hard realities of maintaining this Nation's stature on the seas. Based on a concept of a new industry for maritime exexploration and development, I want to pose a question as to whether the shipping industry and ocean technology would mutually benefit from restoring an old and valued relationship.

OCEANOGRAPHY DEFINED

Oceanography is almost a household word today. Every layman understands that this field deals with the physical currents and waves of the ocean, the many chemicals dissolved in or deposited to form the geology of the bottom; the infinite variety of flora and fauna that feed many of the world's peoples, please sportsmen and gourmets. Our imagination is fired by discoveries of fossil fish, of evidence of the drift of continents so that we understand better why the scientists have turned to the sea to find answers to age-old questions about the origin of the earth and of life on the planet itself. The sea, in fact, is a laboratory where research in physics, biology, chemistry, and geology can be conducted by observations of waves and atmosphere, by cores of bottom sediments, by the capture of plankton and fish whose behavior, population, growth, and migration can be studied only in relation to the environment in which they live.

KNOWLEDGE FOR PRACTICAL BENEFIT

Some oceanic exploration is geographic to answer questions of "what" and "where"; some is scientific to answer questions of "why" and "how." But all of these observations have great meaning to us as citizens because they potentially answer practical questions. Because they cover 70 percent of the earth's surface, it is easy to see why the oceans, energized by the sun in a giant heat machine, become elements producing weather and climate and a major source of rainfall on the continents.

These same air-sea interaction data are also important when routing ships to avoid rough voyages, assure ontime arrivals, and lower transportation costs.

Commercial fishermen bring home a worldwide catch of 60 million tons, yet of 20,000 known species of fish, only a few are sought as food. To restore and expand fisheries and thus to meet hunger of so many of the world's peoples, it becomes vital to determine how the annual catch could be expanded without threatening fishery stocks, and to identify environmental factors which influence the distribution and abundance of fish.

The United States has a coastline 13,000 miles long, exceeded only by that of Canada, although much of Canada's coastline is in the icebound Arctic. This seashore is clearly valuable property, yet despite its length, it is a limited resource that is already reflecting pressures of a growing urban population. Our citizens annually spend over one-half billion dollars for salt-water fishing, but we continue to regard the sea as an infinite pit for the disposal of garbage. Other conflicts are growing in multiple seashore use as between sport and commercial fishing, sewage disposal, extracting shellfish from estuaries, surfing, swimming, or simply enjoying a seashore wilderness. All of these activities require more facts as a base for legal regulation and wise resource use.

Off the gulf and Pacific coasts, drilling rigs signal the presence of natural gas and oil. The vast sums and energies in offshore development are well known to the members of the petroleum community but are seldom recognized by others. While we have extracted 1.3 billion barrels of crude oil and 3,700 billion cubic feet of gas offshore, we have scarcely tapped these resources. As our consumption of fossil fuels increases, geophysical explorations must be pushed into ever deeper water. Some believe that by the year 2,000, 35 percent of the world's oil will come from undersea deposits.

To these few examples, we can add numerous other objectives of practical interest requiring knowledge of the sea—to improve accuracy of weather forecasting and warning of violent storms—to identify ocean mineral deposits of sands and unlimited quantities of nodules rich in manganese or nickel, littered widely on the ocean bottom, and to develop methods for recovery—to diminish hazards of pollution from atomic, industrial or domestic waste—to facilitate discovery of new medical and pharmacological weapons in the war against disease—to protect beaches from erosion, drilling rigs from wave damage.

In reviewing this list of practical benefits gained from research, we must not forget that whereas the sea is a road to cultural exchange and international trade, and contains a host of untold resources, it has been and still is a critical strategic component of national defense. Maintaining this Naton's security and safeguarding commerce from disruption in a national emergency is a priority national interest. This paper,

however, will concentrate on anticipated peaceful uses of the sea for man's benefits.

A GLIMPSE AHEAD

How about the future?

A Jules Verne approach might picture the Hudson River humming with GEM commuter buses; the smooth Texas shoreline converted to an undulating series of habitable marinas. Although I have not seen this proposed, portions of the suggested super-speed transit system from Boston to Washington might be contained in tubes more easily laid along the coast, in the Chesapeake Bay and Long Island Sound than drilled through solid rock.

In estuaries, we might find the artificial culture of clams and lobsters and beds of oysters protected from starfish predators. Heavily used bathing beaches no longer would be threatened by pollution from sewage outfalls because the effluent had been treated for reuse by coastal industries at low cost.

Further at sea, a gridwork of automatic buoys might sense wind and wave information, and when interrogated by communication satellites feed data into a global meterological network that far more reliably provides warning of hurricanes and typhoons. And also at sea we find large manned buoys holding station above submarine operations with small vehicles serving as elevators for men who, learning from SeaLab II exercises in 1965, for example, have been found able to live and work over long periods of time in hundreds of feet of water. Here and there also one might find massive platforms that pinpoint ocean mining operations thousands of feet beneath in a continuous system of mining and extraction, fed by submerged nuclear powerplants whose very efficiency may be improved by their location under pressure of deep water. In the Great Lakes, we note nuclear powered icebreakers, active also in Arctic and Antarctic to make these areas yield further to man's settlement in a hostile environment. And, of course, we see heightened world trade with cargo ships in a world of developing nations, with many more passenger vessels reflecting increased leisure made possible in those nations making use of industrial automation.

Whether this be an accurate sketch of the future or only a dream is more a question of "when" this becomes a reality rather than "whether" it comes true. The future always overtakes us faster than we expect, and the benefits have usually gone to those who looked ahead. Just such planning equips the foresighted to exploit the unexpected.

An excellent beginning of our study of the seas has been made. Thanks to a 10-year plan published by the National Academy of Sciences in 1958, interest by the Congress immediately thereafter, and accelerated funding by President Kennedy in 1961, the foundation of oceanic sciences necessary to realize some of the benefits just outlined has been strengthened. Research expenditures have grown from about $25 million annually to over $140 million, half of which are Navy funds. New research ships and shore facilities have been constructed; the limited base of trained manpower has doubled, and for several years, the field benefited from support at the White House level.

It turns out that the very availability of new technologies has been a major spur to oceanographic research: new tools, techniques, instruments, deep diving submarines, etc. The opportunity to collect, store and retrieve vast quantities of data simultaneously, and to make intelligent sense out of otherwise subtle relationships was impossible before the days of the computer. Radio communication now makes possible the collection of data from many points simultaneously so that a synoptic or snapshot view of one large sector of the ocean may be taken to study currents, the exchange of heat between ocean and atmosphere, etc. Meteorological satellites have made possible photography of phenomena that may one day permit a new automatic ice patrol that is completely unmanned. Ocean engineering to aid the scientists in their quest is itself a new industry.

The total capability for scientific exploration has been readied. But in fact, have we an oceanographic enterprise that recalls the purposes of Columbus, Franklin, Maury, or has it advanced only to meet the needs and opportunities of science?

BARRIERS TO PROGRESS

Problems characteristic of any growing enterprise have appeared, but the most startling has been a leveling off in Federal funding just as the field seemed ready to mature. Funding during the past 3 years has been so limited that it hardly permits activation of new ships. With science having justifiably received a great fraction of the support during early growth years, it now makes a claim for priority support in whatever increases appear. With the current plateau in policy level support, very little funding seems destined for civilian engineering—for the steps necessary to transfer scientific discovery to practical application. As a consequence geographical exploration and resource development continue at current low levels.

Is any greater support justified? This depends upon assessment by policymakers, the public and special interests as to the potential of such projects to contribute to national goals. The case for military defense is clear, and we continue to develop our scientific-military interests in the oceans as insurance against the Soviet submarine fleet, although many feel even this is retarded. But in the nondefense sector, we have made no national decision, and during the last 2 years, this sector has actually declined, despite the cold war geopolitical and economic implications of Soviet and Communist bloc nations to increase their control over the seas by intensified use and occupation; despite the prospects of developing fishing and mineral resources, of improving weather forecasts, protecting life and coastal property and enhancing recreational resources. The rate of investment in applied research and development has lost momentum—if, in fact, it ever had much—because here, the potential users of such knowledge have not made a case for strengthening this base of civilian ocean engineering. And the executive branch lacks any overt policy to take initiative.

The 89th Congress has been distressed by the gap in our maritime resource activities. Over 25 different bills have been introduced, offering 5 varieties of stimulation to this field—approaches that range from a statutory, self-liquidating commission to study the problem and make recommendations for Presidential action to the other extreme of establishing a new superagency.

All proposals agree on a statement of congressional purpose and policy that this Nation develop vigorous marine sciences and technology. Commentaries, however, differ as to the causes and alternative remedies. These have been mentioned:

(a) Inadequate Federal leadership and advocacy of marine sciences policy;

(b) Inadequate policy coordination between 20 Federal agencies engaged in oceanographic research;

(c) Inadequate incentives for private investment, and cooperation between Federal Government, the States, industry, and universities;

(d) Federal programs that are science-rather than technology-oriented and that subordinate private and public benefits;

(e) Inadequate Federal staffing.

Whatever the problem, the fragmentation of these objectives has been symbolized by a striking lack of industrial interest in a remedy.

FRAGMENTATION: THE NEED FOR A UNIFYING CONCEPT

It must be clear that many scientific disciplines are involved—physics, chemistry, biology, and geology. Many different technologies are involved, as are many institutional groups—universities, business, and commerce. Twenty different branches of Government have statutory responsibilities in one sector or another of oceanography. With such numerous and diverse interests, it is no small wonder that oceanographic research is debilitated by competition amongst goals, amongst resources, amongst organizations in a field too small to benefit from the stimulation of competition.

About 1 year ago, I proposed that we should think of our separate activities in the ocean as related to a coherent program of exploration and development. This way, we could provide the strengths of unity in our policies and programs to correct ignorance about the oceans and exploit resources of the sea for man's benefit. Without such a concept and its adoption as a public purpose, the recent acquisition of sovereignty over 300,000 square miles of ocean bed through an International Convention on the Continental Shelf ratified in 1964 will become academic.

But necessary as a unifying concept may be, it is not sufficient. Interestingly enough, there have been no common incentives that would attract this variety of interests to examine implications of the ocean as one body or to move in concert to advance a national program in this area. Much, if not most, of the momentum has come from intrests by the Navy and the vehicle of this interest has been the scientific rather than the industrial community.

The maritime industry represented by shipbuilders and ship operators has skimmed what little information it has needed from the oceans but has not conspicuously advocated more intensified research or development.

The immediate problems of this industry must be its first concern, but in viewing its problems an industry inevitable links its destiny to certain communities of interest. This industry, for example, may consider itself only a maritime activity in a limited sense or it may consider itself a significant element of a transportation network. But it could also consider itself the linkage between all of the technological activities in the sea.

THE NEED FOR A MARITIME EXPLORATION INDUSTRY

To achieve goals in ocean development, or any other technically based activity, requires a mixture of scientific knowledge, engineering know-how, capital, manpower, and entrepreneurship. Then when this mixture is mobilized at explosive proportions, we need a spark to ignite it. We have reason to consider the threat of Soviet expansionist aims in their trade offensive, and how they are combining oceanographic research and fisheries interests in a common goal. Yet, this Nation that launched a Lewis and Clark Expedition in the spirit of geographic exploration, followed by land grants to accelerate development—mixed with a tradition of seapower—now seems lacking in determination to maintain a position on the seas. The spark seems inadequate, notwithstanding intense congressional interest, both in the executive branch and in private industry. Only the scientific community, and then only limited segments, consistently advocate further U.S. growth in ocean sciences.

To be sure, when economic incentives for exploration are ripe, American entrepreneurship has shown no lack of incentive. But when economic benefits are marginal or long deferred, and important goals in the national interest remain, only the Federal Government can assume leadership. Since, however, any development of resources following

exploration will more likely be private than public, in the spirit of offshore oil and gas resources, it may well be necessary to consider new types of institutional partnerships between Government and industry to share in risks and benefits neither could or should assume alone.

We have noted earlier that engineering for science is a new industry, attracting the aerospace firms to new markets. Modest cooperative agreements are developing, as for example of the U.S. Bureau of Mines, Lockeed Missiles & Space, and International Mining & Chemicals Corp.

But with unprecedented challenge to the Nation to meet these opportunities to explore and exploit the sea, to bring together effective combinations of leadership, men, facilities and capital takes more than sorties by individual firms.

A common industrial base for our Marine affairs is necesary to overcome present fragmentation. But where in industry can this leadership come from? What are the alternatives? The fishing interests? The mining interests? The shoreside real estate interests? Or is there here another dimension of potential by the shipping-shipbuilding industry?

A NEW ROLE FOR THE SHIPPING INDUSTRY

At this point, consider the needs of the shipbuilding, ship operating industries. There seems to be general agreement that more research and development are needed to make this industry more competitive both as to construction and operating costs. There is debate as to what R. & D. to undertake first, but even amongst those adversaries, there is agreement that the total now invested looks small, especially in relation to other objectives for the Government's $16 billion R. & D. expenditures. To be sure, many if not most of the improvements in merchant ships have been borrowed from the Navy—but whether this is enough or appropriate can be questioned. Navy objectives for performance in warfare seldom match commercial requirements for economy.

We have seen how the high technology of military aircraft contributed to advances in civilian aviation, yet today we cannot design a civilian supersonic transport without perhaps a billion dollars more in R. & D. In any event, progress seems to depend more and more on availability of what could be called high technology. That high technology of materials, electronics, computers, hydromechanics and structures for ocean engineering for applications cited earlier, might well prove the most closely relevant to potential advances in ship design, fabrication and automated operation.

What are this industry's special assets?

There are many problems common to these enterprises that could well link them together. There is no substitute for experience at sea in understanding the forces of wave action, whether on ships, offshore drilling platforms, research buoys or beaches. The art of salvage, of harbor construction, cannot be accurately described in a textbook and questions of realiability of instruments, of effects of corrosion, and the behavior of men in a maritime environment all combine to make attractive the transfer of experience from one special area of maritime activity to another.

This combination of needs and assets assumes meaning only if the industry itself can justify an economic benefit by enlarging its scope of interest. In the short run, we can see markets for deep-diving submarines such as Shell development uses to tend offshore valves; for drilling rigs here and overseas; new types of fishing vessels. This new market is not the panacea for distress in shipbuilding. But industry must take a strategic rather than tactical approach to its problems—not an easy matter when it is in such a state of ferment. Yet there is a fundamental truth about the world in which we live today. We know from fossil records that highly specialized animals fail to survive under the influence of changed environments; we should record the same fate of races and nations; perhaps also in today's fast-changing society, the fate of industries. It would seem that Darwinian survival requires living and coping with complexity and the mechanism for survival is itself versatility.

DIVERSIFICATION IN THE MARITIME INDUSTRIES

This industry has, up until now, been largely one-dimensional—relating only to its inner structure. In recent years, it has begun to be recognized as two-dimensional, relating to a global transportation system to which each mode—air, sea, rail and truck—contributes.

What is suggested here is that the maritime industry represented by shipbuilders, shipowners, and financiers, and pier facility operators, have a third dimension—relating to the environment of the sea itself. Of alternatives listed earlier, this grouping may well be the most logical to utilize its know-how and extend its technical capabilities to provide the technological base for whatever industries of the future grow from the oceanography of today. Simultaneously this industry could draw upon that new capability in engineering sciences, electronics, propulsion, materials to serve its own primary interests in shipping. Only a small amount of yeast is needed to make a successful bread.

These activities are not foreign to the maritime industry. Offshore platforms are being designed by naval architects and built in shipyards. Yet, we realize how limited is engineering in this area of activity in the need for more data to locate and perhaps retrieve a *Thresher*, to permit Mohole and other programs to be carried out successfully.

Another example of accomplishment is employment of our merchant fleet as research ships of opportunity. Project Neptune, sponsored by the Office of Naval Research, with strong encouragement by the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, provided a portable laboratory which, placed on the American Mail Lines' the SS *Java Mail*, collected extensive oceanographic data as this merchant ship continued on its scheduled voyage. American Export Lines, Isbrandtsen, and Moore McCormack are following suit.

This Nation's oceanographic fleet itself is providing new opportunities for experiments in naval architecture to provide ships more stable in rough seas, able to hold station and collect acoustical data with minimum interference from self noise.

The Navy's geophysical survey of the world oceans has been, for the first time, partially entrusted to private enterprise through two prime contractors—Alpine Geophysical Associates, Inc., and Texas Instruments, Inc.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

All of the 25 bills now pending before the Congress provide a vehicle for accelerating development of marine resources. None, incidentally, were introduced by the administration. S. 944, introduced originally by Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON, and H.R. 2218, introduced by Congressman ALTON LENNON, set forth a firm statement of policy to support the exploration and development through existing agencies. Both versions, incidentally, provide for a study commission that could appropriately include representation from the shipbuilding-shipping industry. S. 944 has passed both Houses, but in considerably different forms, and so far no conference has been called to resolve these differences.

S. 1091, introduced by Senator E. L. BARTLETT, but not examined in the 1st session, provides for a program of marine exploration and development of resources of the Continental Shelf through a new agency that would include a working fund to aid cooperation with private industry to develop an engineering capability.

Some of these bills include provision for training. Congressman GEORGE P. MILLER has proposed informally that the scope of the Coast Guard Academy be extended to include courses in oceanography. Schools of Naval Architecture are establishing curricula in ocean systems engineering. A consortium, the Gulf Universities Research Corp., has been formed for the purpose of cooperative advancement of academic science and engineering.

The State of California has formed a new advisory commission on use of the ocean and is developing a coordinated plan that includes private participation as a basis for action.

A new Marine Technological Society held its first annual meeting in Washington, D.C., in June 1965, with 175 papers, and attended by over 2,100 persons.

Study groups have been established by the President's Science Advisory Committee, the National Academy of Sciences, National Academy of Engineering, National Security Industrial Association and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

SUMMARY

To summarize, the unrealized potential of the sea to contribute to our national interest has become widely understood: in terms of sea-based deterrents and protection of shipping for national defense; and also in terms of minerals and fossil fuels to supplement continental reserves; fish protein for undernourished peoples; for expanded seashore recreation; the use of oceanic data to improve weather prediction; and exploitation of the ocean as a laboratory for scientific research concerning the world around us. But progress in developing and maintaining world leadership has recently slowed.

Further advancement may require adoption of some unifying concept such as that of considering the combination of different activities all part of a maritime exploration and resource development enterprise.

The U.S. Congress also believes that the field requires more explicit Federal leadership, improved coordination and policy planning—with a new partnership between Government and industry; they assert public support is needed such as has been accorded space exploration and historically was afforded the Lewis and Clark expedition.

To realize these potential benefits, however, requires stimulation of ocean engineering and technologies, to convert scientific or geographic data to practical use. And for this to succeed, a new base of a maritime industry is needed. Among various contenders, the fishing interests have been the oldest exploiters of the sea's resources; the oil and gas interests the most successful. The aerospace industries provide the high technological skills needed to meet problems of the future, but alone they lack any durable industrial base, more concerned with means than with ends.

Shipbuilding and operating industries long had close ties to oceanography—but these have weakened.

The question raised here is whether a broadening in scope of this maritime industry's strategic planning—to engage in engineering fundamental to both ocean sciences and resource development—might be as rewarding financially and technologically to revitalization of the U.S. merchant marine as it is necessary for a vigorous ocean science to mature to a productive ocean technology.

A Better Understanding of Conditions in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Lucian C. Warren, Washington correspondent for the Buffalo Courier-Express, Buffalo, N.Y., recently returned from a 3-week visit in Germany. His report on conditions there has been written in several parts.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including below part VIII in the continuation of Mr. Warren's report:

VISIT TO GERMANY: "DER ALTE" MADE BONN CAPITAL CITY—VIII

(By Lucian C. Warren)

BONN, GERMANY.—The capital of West Germany offers the American visitor a not-so-simple lesson in A B C's.

"A" is for Adenauer, the former chancellor, whose strong will resulted in the location of the capital in Adenauer's home area after Berlin became politically unhospitable because of the Communist surroundings.

Beethovenfest: "B" is for Beethoven, who was born here and for whom the Bonn burghers are having a "Beethovenfest" (Beethoven festival) in honor of their native genius.

"C" is for the Christian Democratic Party (CDU), the victorious party of Adenauer and Chancellor Ludwig Erhard. As a result of the German election, the CDU will become more strongly intrenched than ever.

No big business: Bonn's population is under 150,000, and it has no big commercial enterprises. The Rhine River does wind its picturesque way past Bonn and on the other side of the river is Snow-White-and-the-Seven-Dwarfs country where mountains rise steeply from the river banks.

Bonn would not have been West Germany's capital if it were not for the stubbornness of "Der Alte" (the old one), as Adenauer is called. What Der Alte wanted, in this case a capital city within commuting distance of his home on the east bank of the river, Der Alte got. And there will be no shift back to Berlin until the reunification matter is settled in the admittedly distant future.

Double homage: This visitor paid obeisance twice to Ludwig Van Beethoven. Once was at his birthplace at 515 Bonngasse Strasse, where a simple bust of Beethoven and a wreath are all that mark the small, bare attic room in which one of the greatest of musical geniuses was born. Beethoven buffs spend many hours at 515 Bonngasse, for it has become a museum where his life—although he lived here only during boyhood—is fully depicted in documents and former possessions.

Our second homage was at the beautiful Theater Der Stadt Bonn where a stirring rendition of Beethoven's only opera, Fidelio, was performed.

The transition from the world of Beethoven to that of contemporary German politics is not a difficult one. On election night one of the two national German networks staged an "election party" in Beethoven Halle, named for the composer and converted that evening into a headquarters for mixing stage entertainment with election results—a program that was carried via Comsat in America.

Attends party: We attended that party, one event in a day of watching modern West German democracy at work. We saw the Germans casting ballots in the various districts. That evening, in addition to the television party, we took in the headquarters of the West German National Legislature, where election results were updated.

There are similarities and differences in the American and German system. The general idea is the same, but one striking difference is that the German aptitude for things mechanical has not yet carried over into installing voting machines, except in rare instances. Counting of ballots is a slow process and first results began to trickle in at 8:30 in the evening, 2½ hours after the polls closed.

Opinion polls: A similarity between the systems is the use of public opinion polls, but oddly the results of the two most important and comprehensive polls, taken about a week before election, were not released until after the polls were closed. One of these predicted the final result accurately and the other was considerably off.

Six weeks earlier, both these polling groups had announced results that showed the two major parties were neck and neck with popular support of about 45 percent each, the balance going to minor parties.

Grumblings: Despite the so-called advantage of holding up publication of the late polls so that the "band wagon vote" would not be influenced, there are some postelection grumblings here that the earlier polls were rigged to spur party workers and that it would have been better to publish all the polls as the results were known.

About 86 percent of those eligible to vote did, a higher percentage than in many places in America, even during a presidential election. Some of the fallout was among young people and there were discouraging preelection reports in the newspapers that the young people weren't taking much of an interest in the election.

Hard to tell: It is obvious that while the German elections show many manifestations of the democratic process we know in America, it is still too early to tell whether the Germans have finally realized a stable, free democratic society.

From what we saw, we would judge the preliminary indications are good that the nation which produced a Beethoven may eventually know the touch of constructive political genius as well.

Reelfoot Lake

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, I have the honor and privilege of representing the Eighth Congressional District of Tennessee.

We certainly have in my home county of Obion, and the adjoining county of Lake, one of the finest lakes in this great Nation of ours, namely Reelfoot Lake.

There was an excellent article by William Thomas and excellent pictures by Charles Nicholas, both of the Commercial Appeal, an outstanding newspaper of this Nation, in its Mid-South magazine section on October 17.

This article is so well written I thought it should be brought to the attention of the Congress.

The article follows:

REELFOOT: NATURE'S CUPBOARD SUPPLIES SPORT, WAY OF LIFE

(By William Thomas)

When the teal set their wings and swoop in over the cypress trees, you know fall has come to the wild, almost legendary land of Reelfoot Lake.

On such a day, 77-year-old Verdery Powell loaded his winter coal into a canoe and pushed off across an evil-looking bayou where he lives—on the far bank of civilization.

They call it the Bayou du Chien (Bayou of the Dog).

The air was still warm and summery. But Mr. Powell knew by the blue-wing teal that the first chill would soon roll across this primitive wonderland in northwest Tennessee.

Most of the tourist "sports" had left, and up and down the 14½-mile-long lake there was little for the year-round inhabitants to do but get ready for the winter.

"The winters are always the toughest," said Charles Carter, a guide and commercial fisherman who sat on his porch, weaving a net.

But, said another, "When you see this place as we see it, you begin to understand why these folks are willing to ride it out here rather than go to the city, where they likely could make more money."

Some Reelfooters, like Verdery Powell, even make the break for awhile. "Went all the way to Macon, Ga.," Mr. Powell said, but that was a long time ago. I guess I'd better like it * * * I been here since 1911."

As Mr. Powell gathered his coal, the professional guides were putting away their light tackle and dragging out the commercial nets. The hunters were cutting grass for duck blinds. The trappers were checking their traps.

It is a way of life in this enchanted lake country, born 153 years ago out of the heavings of the biggest earthquake ever recorded in North America.

It has taken nature a century and a half to make up for that one wild fling in which she buckled this entire area and wrought the miracle of Reelfoot Lake.

But today, nature has more than squared things.

Although it lies only about 110 miles north of Memphis, Reelfoot Lake is one of the country's most untouched and primeval beauty grounds.

They say that unwary fishermen can still get lost in the sloughs and hidden swamps on the wild side of Reelfoot—13,000 acres of open water and another 13,000 of marsh and woodland.

Thus the guide business is a big one for the men who know the lake from its Rat Island stumps to Goose Pen, and from Bee Tree Slough to Edwards Pond.

In the autumn, the lake is so thick with moss seed that even old-time guides are reluctant to risk a trip through some of the narrow canals and lagoons. Here you can easily foul a propeller and become stranded in waters so dense it's difficult to pole a boat.

Yet these are the places where nature puts on her finest show.

Man-high grass grows to the water's edge, and beyond this the swamp forest is often so thick it is impregnable.

Groves of cypress line the rolling ridges heaved up by the great quake, and cypress knees make eerie patterns in the shallows.

Acres of yoncopin lilies cover the strangely quiet water with giant green pads and brilliant yellow blossoms.

The air is filled with the shrieks of exotic birds, and from the hidden swamps and woodlands comes the stealthy rustle of abundant wildlife, from deer to mink.

Reelfoot is famous as a nesting ground for great blue herons and snowy white egrets. The egrets look like delicately-shaped question marks standing long-legged on cypress

stumps. If you move within 30 yards, they crouch suddenly and launch themselves into the air, with a great flapping of 4-foot wings.

A section of the lake is still named "Cranetown," where the egrets once mustered by the thousands. But ever since a Hollywood motion picture crew came here to shoot scenes for "Raintree County" a few years ago, the birds no longer gather in Cranetown. The bright lights and loud noises of the movie crew were too much for the egrets, and Hollywood has never quite been forgiven.

However, it hasn't hurt the lake's reputation as a wintering area for waterfowl that travel every year down the Mississippi flyway from Canada to the gulf. After the teal come the mallards, pintails, ring-necks, coots and Canadian geese, to feed on wild rice, corn and clover which Federal officials plant for them.

More than 220 species of birds have been sighted here, including the great bald eagle. And once, somebody thought they saw the rare whooping crane, but it was never authenticated.

The Reelfoot guides, like Billy Hall, pride themselves on their ability to call in flights of ducks, bring them past blinds for visiting hunters, who will spend $15 for a day's shooting.

The blinds are jealously guarded. There is an unwritten law on Reelfoot that if a new one goes up too near an established blind a strange thing will happen: It catches fire some night, or just mysteriously disappears.

Modern hunters grumble about the late shooting season, and small limits, but oldtimers like Jack Hogg merely shrug their shoulders. Mr. Hogg, now approaching 80, has hunted and fished the lake since he was 14, and still recalls when the duck limit was 50 a day.

That was when he was a market hunter, and got $2.50 a dozen.

Hunting and fishing is still big business, but the emphasis is largely on sport.

The latest report on the economic impact of Reelfoot showed that it put more than $1.3 million a year into local pockets. The report, compiled by the National Wildlife Refuge and Tennessee Game Commission, added revenues from hunting, fishing, the turtle and fur harvests, food, bait, boats, guides, lodging and dozens of other aspects of lake activity.

It didn't however, include one of the most interesting lake industries—the manufacture of the "Reelfoot boat." This has supported three generations of the Calhoun family, and almost any day you can find young Dale Calhoun, 30, fashioning the same kind of craft that his grandfather and father made before him.

Especially designed for Reelfoot, there are about 3,000 of these boats on the lake—and little else. They feature a "shoe" which protects the propeller and a rudder which rides up and over the thousands of stumps that lurk just beneath the surface.

on the developed end of the lake, just out of Tiptonville, the tourist business supports dozens of modern motels, fine restaurants, cabins, trailer parks and other facilities stretching up the east shore to the neat community of Samburg.

But beyond this strip of neon signs and attractive summer homes lies a land that seems almost untouched.

In the swampy, northern fingers of the lake, you can almost believe the Indian legend spawned in the wake of the New Madrid earthquake of 1811–12. The quake shook this area with such force that the Mississippi River briefly flowed backward.

Geysers of sand shot high into the air, and craters 100 feet deep opened up in the rich, rockless earth.

And after the last big tremor on February 7, 1812—a shock that rolled the waters of the Mississippi into a ball 20 feet high—Reelfoot Lake was left in the backwash.

The legend tells the story of a Chickasaw chief who walked with a reeling gait because of a club foot. He fell in love with a Choctaw princess named Starlight, whose father forbid her to marry. When Chief Reelfoot stole here away, the earth cracked open and swallowed the tribe, says the legend which gave the lake its name.

Nobody takes the legend seriously, except maybe in Walnut Log, where on the banks of the Bayou du Chien almost anything seems possible.

The nearest store, Parker's Grocery, is more than a mile away. It is a place where they sell more kerosene lanterns than light bulbs, and display double-bit axes and wood stoves.

The bayou is a narrow canal filled with dead-still water as thick as paste and green with moss seed. It runs through the center of Walnut Log, a rustic settlement of 35 or 40 persons, who have more use for boats than automobiles.

Every now and then, the bayou waters boil suddenly, and just below the surface could be anything from a 100-pound loggerhead turtle to a catfish or water moccasin.

Reelfoot is still alive with fish, mainly catfish, bass, bream, and crappie. But longtime residents say that a cut in the spillway has hurt the lake as a natural hatchery. The fish can no longer get out into the Obion River to spawn and return over the spillway, they say.

Lake boosters are pleading for a fish ladder to remedy the situation. They also have organized to promote a watershed program to stop silting. John DeLime, refuge manager, says gradual silting could fill the lake in another 50 years, unless something is done.

But such problems are too distant for the inhabitants of Walnut Log, where the immediate worry is how to weather the winter.

It is here that Verdery Powell lives in a patched-up shack on stilts in a small clearing. "I been here practically in the same house since the First World War," he said, hitching up a pair of old pants through which was looped an Army web belt. On the buckle is scratched, "Korea, 1953–54."

"It's my son's," he says without elaboration.

As he loaded his coal into the canoe, his neighbors along the Bayou de Chien were busy knitting nets or checking turtle boxes. (One man, James Scheland, sells turtles to biological schools as far away as Wisconsin.)

The people along the bayou are good, hard, lean men, like Cleo Bashum, 51, who grew up in Walnut Log and is a guide and commercial fisherman.

"It's just a living," he says. "You don't get ahead."

Why stay?

"You do what you're raised at, and I guess that's all any man can do," he drawls.

The stoop-shouldered Mr. Powell, after a lifetime of fishing and hunting, has retired even from that.

"I just piddle around now," he said as he heaved the last lump of coal into a bucket and loaded it into the canoe. "I fished till it got bad, and then I quit."

He wiped his spectacles and got into the canoe. He shoved off with the paddle, and the boat opened a small path through the green moss. He looked over his shoulder and waved. "Come again."

Overhead, through an opening in the trees, you could see the teal as they flashed past, headed for the open waters of Reelfoot.

Resolutions Adopted by 43d Supreme Convention, Order of AHEPA, Athens, Greece, August 7–13, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, the Order of AHEPA, the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, at its 43d annual supreme convention in Athens, Greece, from August 7 to 13, 1965, approved resolutions relative to the foreign policy of the United States in general and to the situation of the Greek peoples of the world in particular.

I would like to bring the policies enunciated in these resolutions to the attention of my colleagues and under unanimous consent to include in the RECORD the text of the resolutions adopted.

U.S. POLICY IN VIETNAM

That the 43d supreme Convention of the Order of AHEPA records its official approval of the foreign policy of the United States as implemented in the military efforts of our Armed Forces to restore peace and establish justice, in Vietnam, thereby protecting southeast Asia from Communist infiltration and preserving not only the American way of life but guaranteeing peace and freedom to all the Western World; and

That, we pledge to our great country—the world's finest and most humane democracy, our entire support and cooperation, our every resource, and in the words of the immortal Declaration of Independence, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor; and

That, we call upon all nations and peoples who are allied with the United States to endorse and support our country's stand against communism in this great crusade for the rights of man; and

That, we, mindful of our ancestry, invite Greece, where again we are met, where liberty began, where American first declared war on communism, and where the Greek people first stopped the march against the West by Communist guerrilla imperialism, to join us in this struggle for the preservation of the free world and the glory and expansion of Greece now and in the days to come.

SURPLUS COMMODITIES TO GREEK HOSPITALS AND SCHOOLS

That the Order of AHEPA request the U.S. Government to continue its distribution of surplus flour and other commodities to hospitals, old-age institutions, and school lunch programs of Greece through CARE and other voluntary agencies, and that the Order of AHEPA go on record as thanking the U.S. Government and American people for their generosity and kindness in the past for these deserving programs.

THE GREEK ORTHODOX PATRIARCHATE IN CONSTANTINOPLE

Whereas the policies, principles and resolutions of the Order of AHEPA as related to the persecution of the Patriarch and the Greek Orthodox people in Constantinople, and the islands of Imbros, Tenedos, and Cyprus, and the struggle of these people to gain their true freedom are based on the principles of the Declaration of Independence upon which all Western nations today

guarantee to their citizens religious freedom and protection of individual worship: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the members of the Order of AHEPA again reaffirm their oft-stated opposition to Communism and all other forms of tyranny and subversion.

The Greek Orthodox Christians of Constantinople and other parts of Turkey are being expelled and persecuted. Their properties are being confiscated without compensation. The Order of AHEPA condemns this arbitrary, unjust and uncivilized treatment of these Christians by Turkey, and calls upon all religious groups and all the Western nations everywhere to come to the aid of these unfortunate victims.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople and its hierarchy are being persecuted and exiled unjustly. The Order of AHEPA condemns these barbaric practices and appeals to all people of every faith to join in this condemnation so that religious freedom may be established in Turkey, for the Greek Orthodox minority.

We believe that religious freedom for Orthodox Christians in Turkey will restore civil liberties and lawful order in that country and strengthen the bulwarks against communism in the eastern Mediterranean.

The Order of AHEPA in convention assembled in Athens, Greece again endorses these principles and ideals and appeals to all people and governments who sincerely believe in justice and the basic rights of humanity to support them. We invite them to join with us in our efforts to guarantee religious freedom to the Greek Orthodox Christians in Turkey. God willing, the civilized world can do no less.

THE ORDER OF AHEPA ADVOCATES SELF-DETERMINATION IN CYPRUS

Immediately after World War I, President Wilson gave hope and inspiration to the enslaved and down-trodden nations and peoples of the world by enunciating the principle and doctrine of self-determination.

This doctrine was wholeheartedly supported and became a cornerstone of American foreign policy. As a result of this policy, great segments of the world were liberated and many peoples of the world have established their own democratic nations in Africa and Asia. It is a policy that continues to give hope and inspiration to those nations and peoples still enslaved behind the Iron Curtain. It is a policy that has given deserved credit to the United States. There is a struggle going on in the island of Cyprus. The people of Cyprus are entitled to self-determination for the purpose of establishing a democratic government where all the citizens will have equal suffrage, equal protection of the laws, religious freedom, and equal educational, economic and social opportunities in accordance with American history and tradition.

It is fervently anticipated that once self-determination is granted to the people of Cyprus, the Cypriots will express themselves in favor of enosis or union with Greece. Such an anticipation is predicated on the fact that 82 percent of the population of Cyprus is Greek, while 18 percent is Turkish; and upon the historical fact that by tradition, culture, religion, and language the island is Greek. Furthermore, it is anticipated that enosis would result from the application of the principle of self-determination to the island of Cyprus, and that such enosis would make Cyprus a bulwark against communism in the eastern Mediterranean and a bastion for NATO and the free world. With enosis it is expected that the Turkish Cypriots will receive the same fair and honorable treatment by Greece as the 100,000 Moslems of Turkish ancestry who live in and are citizens of Greece, and who have never been discriminated against, and who have lived in peace as a minority in Greece for generations.

THE ORDER OF AHEPA IS AGAINST PARITION OF CYPRUS

The members of the Order of AHEPA believe that partition in any form or the establishment of a Turkish military base in Cyprus cannot bring about a permanent, effective and equitable peace to Cyprus.

Partition, autonomous Turkish cantons coupled with Turkish military forces on the island will sow the seeds of future strife, create and uneasy, false peace which could only be maintained by the continuation of two arms camps of Greeks and Turks breeding and fanning the fires of suspicion, hatred, and bitterness. These devices are unworthy of great and constructive statesmanship. The rights of the Turkish minority must be preserved in the same way that all minorities are protected today in Greece and other enlightened nations in the free world.

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR NORTHERN EPIRUS

Whereas northern Epirus has been since time immemorial a Greek land and inhabited by Greek nationals, has earned the right to its Greek heritage and to live under the aegis of its motherland Hellas; and

Whereas the Senate of the United States has on two occasions expressed its conviction that northern Epirus is Greek and should be reunited with its mother country; and

Whereas the Conference of Paris in 1946 recognized that a justified demand on the part of Greece for the return of northern Epirus does exist: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the delegates to this 43d Supreme Convention of the Order of AHEPA meeting in Athens, Greece, taking into consideration all of the above and in the knowledge that a grave injustice is being committed so long as the Hellenic people of northern Epirus are denied the God-given rights of choice, liberty, and self-determination, we express our sympathy over this oppression of our brothers in northern Epirus and express their fervent hope for the early liberation of this Greek land.

A Better Understanding of Conditions in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include another part in the series covering Mr. Lucien C. Warren's report on conditions in West Germany. Mr. Warren, Washington correspondent for the Buffalo Courier-Express, Buffalo, N.Y., recently spent 3 weeks in Germany upon the invitation of its Government.

Part IX follows:

SILVER CREEK FIRM A HIT—VISIT TO GERMANY—IX

(By Lucian C. Warren)

WEST BERLIN, GERMANY.—If this city is still full of tensions because it is surrounded on all sides by Communist-dominated territory, maybe a western New York firm has come up with an answer to the problem.

In the United States exhibition in the Berlin industrial fair, visited by this correspondent, a big hit is the product of the American Massage Manufacturing Corp. of Silver Creek, N.Y.—the deep massage chair.

Here the demand to know about this unusual American product is so great that the sales manager, Bob Bachmann, has run out of brochures which describe the invention.

The American Ambassador to Germany, George McGhee, dropped by the exhibit and immediately wrote out a check for two of the chairs to be sent to the U.S. Embassy in Bonn. The idea may be for McGhee to entertain his distinguished German visitors by inviting them to take the treatment in the massage chair. After the pleasant tingling sensation which these chairs provide, the German visitors may forget about the fact that the Americans haven't done anything recently to solve the German reunification problem.

If this story sounds a bit incoherent, it is because your observer made notes while reclining in the product, and while spheroid action—three-way massage—horizontal, vertical, and circular may be and is delightful in relaxing tensions, it is not designed to improve one's handwriting.

Bachman has sold $10,000 worth of massage-chair products since the fair opened recently, including some buyers who own thoroughbred race horses.

"A thoroughbred race horse has as many tensions as you do, probably more," says Bachman. "Hence we find our patented devices very useful in soothing them."

It seemed to us rather difficult to get a horse into one of the chairs, but Bachman showed a hand device whereby the trainer softly massages the steed. While a Kentucky Derby winner may not be guaranteed with every massage, the company claims a number of successes in its therapeutic handling of the nervous type of race horses around the world.

The American Massage Manufacturing Corp. is a relatively new firm, now employing 40 persons. It was invited to participate in the fair by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Like the Berliners, this observer was an overripe candidate for the deep massage chair. We had spent most of the previous day visiting both sides of the wall, separating Communist-occupied East Berlin with West Berlin's free sectors.

It was a grim experience.

The sky was leaden and occasionally there was a cold drizzle as we toured the western side of the wall. There could have been no more appropriate somber backdrop for this most melancholy demonstration of this most iron of iron curtains.

At intervals along the wall, wreaths and other floral tributes marked places where East Berliners had unsuccessfully attempted to escape Communist oppression and either been shot of fatally injured when an attempted jump to a net below had missed the target.

For 30 miles, barbed wire and high walls divide a big metropolitan city into two hostile maps, where even direct telephonic communication is not permitted. The only way a telephone conversation is permitted between the two zones is long distance by way of cities hundreds of miles to the south.

An elevated streetcar system still traverses the two zones and it is run by the Communist half of the city. Knowing this, the West Berliners shun it like the plague and it is very poorly patronized.

After inspecting closeup the Western side of the wall for the better part of a morning, we got a not-so-close-up view of the Eastern side in the afternoon.

While Berlin residents themselves are not permitted to travel between the two zones except at Christmastime (negotiations are underway for two additional intervisit periods during the year), foreigners with proper passports are permitted in East Berlin.

A Lebanese student in West Berlin was our guide for the afternoon behind the Iron Curtain. For one-half hour upon entering the Eastern Zone, and for nearly an hour upon returning, we were detailed while passports were shuffled, the car inspected for contraband goods or persons, and we were questioned as to motivation for entering. We also had to exchange 5 West German marks into 5 East German marks, even though the former is about four times the value of the latter. There was no return exchange upon return.

In East Berlin, all residences have been cleared out at least a quarter-mile from the wall and no visitors are permitted in that area.

This is to seek to prevent the exodus of East German residents, who fled to free Germany to the tune of 350,000 a week in the early 1950's from their alleged Communist utopia. Elderly people who no longer work are the exceptions and they are permitted to go to West Germany, but the able bodied young and middle-aged German is kept a prisoner by the Ulbricht Communist regime.

An afternoon is not sufficient time to determine in detail how things are faring in this Communist state. But a few things were immediately obvious.

Progress in reconstructing the Eastern city from the rubble left by World War II's saturation bombing of Berlin was considerably less than in West Berlin.

Consumer goods in shops were scarcer.

And everywhere there is government propaganda. One big sign on a ministry of economics building proclaimed: "Freedom for the people; democracy through the people; socialism with the people; all of Germany must belong to the people alone."

But even in a Communist state, an occasional commercial is permitted. One sign on a railroad bridge was singing the virtues of DKK, a type of refrigeration which, the sign said, was "well known, worthy—you can depend on it."

At one relatively busy downtown intersection, electric light bulbs flashed so-called news bulletins that the Communist government wanted its people to see. One bulletin proclaimed that the American playwright, Arthur Miller, had come out against U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Just before returning to West Berlin, we dropped in to an East Berlin press information center and submitted voluntarily to a bit of Commy brainwashing.

The East Berlin propaganda artist was polite enough, but he strained a Western observer by suggesting that East Germany was about to have free elections with more candidates than offices. We later learned that the slate was rigged with the Communist first choices always placed first, and no one allowed on the slate who couldn't be considered safe from Communist standards.

The press center man suggested that East Germans were violently against the United States stand in South Vietnam, but that they welcomed to East Germany such U.S. cultural heroes as Ella Fitzgerald and Louis Armstrong.

Twenty minutes of such propagandizing was enough and we beat our retreat through the wall in late afternoon. The Communist guards took an extra long time to examine the car for contraband, and it took more than a half-hour additional to examine our passports.

Finally, we got the go-ahead and the gate lifted.

A moment later, an American military officer at "Checkpoint Charlie," west of the wall, glanced briefly at us, then waved us through without so much as examining our passports.

Darkness had just fallen on this divided city, but for this observer it was as though he had just emerged from an unlighted cave to broad daylight.

The 89th Congress Achieves Amazing Record in 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago President Lyndon B. Johnson credited the 1st session of the 89th Congress with the "greatest outpouring of creative legislation in the history of this Nation." The legislative record for 1965 has been truly amazing.

It took a great deal of hard work and long, long hours to achieve this record, but as one who is proud to have been a part of the 89th Congress in 1965, I can say it was well worth the effort for this Congress, I am confident, will go down in history as the most productive ever.

This was a legislative experience different from any I have had in the many years I have served in local, State and Federal Governments. The spirit of activity and productivity was present in the House of Representatives from the time the first gavel banged to open session January 4. Meeting at noon for the seating of the Members of Congress, debates began immediately and it was not until 10:30 p.m. we adjourned on that first day of the session. In the 10 months that followed, the pattern was the same, day and night.

For those of us serving northern California and Oregon and on the Public Works Committee, the urgency of the floods gave added impetus to the pace of those opening days and weeks of the 89th Congress. We immediately prevailed upon the President and the Speaker of the House of Representatives to send a team of legislative and executive department experts to the California and Oregon disaster areas. From that point on it was a continuing effort to assure that everything humanly possible was done to help flood stricken areas. The Pacific Northwest Disaster Act, drafted during that tragic Christmas week, was introduced January 4 and became the vehicle by which the Congress offered a large measure of assistance, especially in the area of road and highway rehabilitation. Not only did this help the disaster areas, but proved of financial importance to every single motorist in the State of California. You will recall that the State imposed a 1-cent emergency gas tax to finance its obligations in the road repair program. This was eliminated three months earlier than anticipated because of the additional Federal funds channeled into the State as a result of enactment of my Pacific Northwest Disaster Act.

Here was a problem which was faced and solved in a relatively short time. Another legislative achievement of the 89th Congress is a project on which I have been working for more than 20 years—authorization of construction of the $425 million Auburn Dam-Folsom South reclamation project, on the American River.

This is one of the finest reclamation projects to be considered by the Congress for many years. For every dollar spent in construction, Federal agencies anticipate a return of more than $3.61 over the years. This return will be reflected in flood protection to the city of Sacramento, water for domestic and agricultural purposes, hydroelectric power generation, enhancement of the fish and wildlife of the American River, and recreation attractions to Placer and El Dorado Counties. Included in the project are the Foresthill Divide and Folsom-Malby Canal units, primarily to provide water resources to the counties of origin, Placer and El Dorado.

In the area of national legislation, I have had the opportunity to move through the House of Representatives a bill to extend and broaden the Small Reclamation Projects Act.

A companion bill has been passed by the U.S. Senate and I anticipate the differences will be resolved soon after the 2d session convenes in January and another piece of major legislation will be signed into law. In the field of fish and wildlife, Congress has approved by proposal to initiate a nationwide program for conservation, development and enhancement of the Nation's anadromous fish. Several years ago hearings were held in California to review the need for such a program in our State. Following these, I drafted a bill, calling for a program in California. A major study by the Federal Fish and Wildlife Service proposed several hatcheries and other installations in the Sacramento River watershed. As the program was considered in the House of Representatives, it was expanded to be nationwide in scope. Congress now has enacted a $25 million, 5-year national program.

A fifth bill on my major legislative program is that to create the 250,000 acre Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area in Shasta and Trinity Counties. A total of $44 million would be authorized for recreation development around Whiskeytown, Shasta, Clair Engle, and Lewiston Reservoirs.

Here, as elsewhere throughout the Second Congressional District where water resources have been developed, we have seen an immediate and heavy demand for recreational use of the area. Black Butte, Folsom, New Hogan are artificial reservoirs which have been built and proved this point. Natural lakes such as Eagle Lake and Lake Tahoe have always attracted a great many fishermen, boaters, swimmers, picnickers, campers, and other outdoor enthusiasts.

It should be noted at this point that we are continuing a public works development program for the Second Congressional District. Shortly before final adjournment Congress put its final stamp of approval on a $51,500,000 irrigation and flood control program for the Second Congressional District in the current fiscal year. This included funds for the first acquisition of lands at Auburn Dam, start of construction of the Stampede Reservoir on the Washoe project, and the New Melones Dam on

the Stanislaus River, continued construction on the Cow Creek and Clear Creek water systems in Shasta County, the Corning Water District distribution system and the long Sacramento Valley Canal from Tehama to Colusa Counties. Funds are provided for development of fish facilities on the Tehama-Colusa Canal and recreation facilities at the Red Bluff diversion dam. Construction of the Pacific Northwest intertie, additional loan assistance to the Nevada Irrigation District and a greatly speeded survey of flood control and reclamation needs of the north coast and western Sacramento Valley, including the Paskenta-Newville project, also will be carried out during the fiscal year.

As the Congress adjourns, it is also time to look forward to next year and the budget which will be presented to the Congress by the President in January. I have proposed to the Bureau of Reclamation, the Corps of Engineers, and the Bureau of the Budget, a $63,700,000 program which will provide for the continuation of these programs.

Serving on two major committees of the House of Representatives has been challenging this year as both the Committee on Public Works and the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs have had full schedules.

As I have mentioned, the Public Works Committee was responsible for disaster relief legislation, and this year the Nation has had its full share of disasters, starting with the California floods, the midwestern tornadoes, the Mississippi River floods, and the recent devastating Hurricane Betsy which caused so much havoc in New Orleans.

Several other major bills enacted by the Congress on the recommendation of the Public Works Committee, include:

Public works and economic development: Providing expanded programs of grants and loans to communities for public works, development facilities and other projects intended to aid economically depressed areas.

Water pollution control: Expanding water pollution control grants for waste treatment plant construction and strengthening Federal enforcement authority to clean up our rivers and streams.

Highway beautification. Providing for gradual control over billboards along federally aided highways of the interstate and primary systems and offering incentive grants for improvement of scenic areas along such highways.

Omnibus Food Control Act: Providing a major program of river and harbor development, with substantial emphasis on flood control and prevention of major disasters such as hit the Pacific Northwest and Mississippi River Valley States.

Southeast Disaster Act: Providing relief to the States of Florida, Mississippi and Louisiana, devastated by Hurricane Betsy.

The Interior and Insular Affairs Committee had an equally impressive record. In addition to my bills on Auburn Dam, Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity national recreation area, and small reclamation projects, the committee considered and recommended construction of the Garrison and southern Nevada reclamation projects, the establishment of Assateague National Seashore and Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area.

This committee also moved legislation establishing a Federal Water Resources Council and a River Basin Commission to coordinate Federal-State planning for maximum use of these resources. The Water Project Recreation Act fixes uniform policies on provision for recreation facilities and fish and wildlife benefits on multipurpose water resource projects. The Interior Committee also is largely responsible for a 5-year $185 million program of research and development for conversion of saline water and also for the drafting, for the first time, of comprehensive policies relating to the conduct of concessions in our national parks.

In addition to my legislative program of direct importance to the Second Congressional District and that related to the two major committees on which I serve, the legislative record of the 1st session of the 89th Congress was broad and varied, and will touch the lives of every single one of us, through reduced taxes, increased retirement protections, better schools, and a healthier life. Here is a brief summary of major bills which were enacted by the 1st session of the 89th Congress:

Medicare and Social Security Amendments: Provides hospitalization, surgical, and nursing-home care for persons 65 years and older, financed through the social security system; increases social security benefits, retroactive to January 1, 1965, and makes other liberalizing changes in the social security law.

Elementary-secondary education: Provides Federal grant program to improve elementary and secondary education under local control, with bulk of aid for school districts where there are large numbers of children from poverty-stricken families.

Excise tax reduction: Provides excise tax cuts totaling $4.7 billion on various consumer items such as appliances, telephone service, autos, and so forth; elimnates most Federal excises by 1969.

Omnibus Housing Act: Expands current urban renewal, public housing programs, extends FHA loan insurance program, encourages urban planning and beautification in housing; provides new rent supplement program for certain low and moderate income families.

Voting rights: Strengthens machinery for guaranteeing right to vote to all citizens by prohibiting poll taxes, literacy tests; provides for Federal registrars in States where less than 50 percent of potential voters are registered or voted.

Department of Housing and Urban Affairs: Establishes a new Cabinet-level department to administer programs affecting the 70 percent of our population that now resides in metropolitan areas.

Immigration Act Amendments: Abolishes "'national origins" quota system over 3-year period; establishes a 170,000 annual limit on immigrants, special preferences given to relatives of American citizens.

Manpower development and training: Extends and expands manpower training program to assist unemployed in learning new skills to qualify them for better jobs.

Higher education: Authorizes expanded 5-year program to assist colleges and universities to improve educational opportunities; provides student loans and scholarships to aid needy students.

Military pay increase: Provides an average 10.4 percent pay increase for some 4.2 million uniformed personnel of the Armed Forces, effective September 1, 1965—2.7 million on active duty, 1 million reservists, 500,000 retired.

Regional medical centers: Authorizes 3-year program of Federal grants to plan and develop a series of regional medical programs to fight heart disease, cancer and stroke.

Arts and humanities: Creates a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities to assist and foster broad cultural programs in art, music, films, ballet, et cetera.

Health professions education: Extends and expands program of construction grants to medical, dental, and other similar educational institutions; establishes new program of scholarship grants for needy students, increases student loan program.

Presidential continuity: Adopted proposed amendment to the Constitution to establish procedure to permit Vice President to become Acting President if the President is unable to perform his duties; provides for filling the vacancy of the office of Vice President.

Congressional organization: Created a joint committee to study the organization and operation of Congress and to make recommendations to improve and streamline the work of Congress.

Health research facilities: Provides for extension of program to construct health research facilities; establishes three new Assistant Secretaries of Health, Education and Welfare to administer expanded programs in this area.

Community health services: Extends programs for public health services providing vaccinations, immunization, other preventive treatment of diseases, migrant health clinics, and grants to States for general health services.

Mental health services: Provides for initial staffing grants for personnel serving in community mental health centers.

Drug controls: Expands Federal control over certain depressant and stimulant drugs to reduce the illegal use of these dangerous drugs that affect the central nervous system.

Older Americans: Establishes new Administration on Aging in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to develop programs to assist the aged.

Juvenile delinquency: Extends present law to assist communities in the development of new programs to prevent or control juvenile delinquency and youth crime.

Air pollution: Establishes machinery for controlling motor vehicle air pollutants, accelerates air pollution research program, creates new program to find methods of disposing of solid wastes.

Federal pay comparability: Provides salary increases for Federal classified

and postal employees to achieve more equitable relationship with pay of employees in private industry; makes other fringe benefits in pay and overtime allowances.

High-speed rapid transit: Authorizes 3-year program of reasearch and demonstration projects for development of high-speed intercity railroad transportation.

State technical services: Establishes new 3-year program of Federal-local-technical cooperation to provide technical service centers to disseminate findings of scientific and technological importance to commerce and industry.

Retired Government employees: Provides for cost-of-living increases in annuities to retired employees of Federal Government.

Vocational training: Expands vocational rehabilitation program to aid disabled persons; another new program provides Federal loan insurance to high school graduates to finance tuition at busines, trade, technical, and other vocational schools.

You will agree, I am sure, that this list is impressive, amazingly impressive. Now that the Congress is adjourning, I will return to the 19 counties which comprise the Second Congressional District to discuss what has been done and what will be done in the 2d session of the 89th Congress, opening in less than 3 short months from now.

Anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES M. HANLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, 9 years have now elapsed since the turbulent uprising of the freedom fighters in Budapest, Hungary, on October 23, 1956. Nine years ago, the myths of Russia's benevolence toward Hungary were torn apart and violence replaced benevolence in the vocabulary of those who would profess Communist amiability. Nine years and a week ago, the Communists were again in control of Hungary, but the spirit of liberty which had burned steadily for a week in many parts of Hungary was extinguished.

The world will always remember the gallant, brave spirit of the men who armed with only a few guns and mostly farm implements fought for a breath of independence from the ruling, overpowering gag of the Communist world—a gag muffling the cries for emancipation and democracy, cries for independence of thought and life, freedom of choice. The trumpet sounded by these freedom fighters was heard through our planet, a trumpet blown during a violent week splattered with blood. For a week, the freedom fighters, unaided by surrounding countries or their world neighbors, continued to fight without surrender for the ideals and principles of liberty. During this torn period, 40,000 were arrested, 2,400 were executed, and 200,000 fled into exile. These brave persons offered their lives for independence and the independence of the future generations who will inhabit Hungary.

In defeat, this rebellion was victorious. Those who would believe that man can be subjugated to tyranny must listen, must learn that persons deprived of freedom through the centuries possess the instinctive trait of freedom.

Need To Include 2-Year Colleges in ROTC Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, on August 30, 1965, I brought to your attention a proposal that the rapidly growing program of 2-year colleges throughout the United States be authorized to teach military tactics as a part of their curriculum. The need for junior grade officers is constantly on the increase. Our 4-year colleges are carrying out an excellent program in furnishing our armed services with the backbone of our officer corps but at this point the supply is exceeded by the demand. We have at our disposal an excellent and feasible solution. Let us draw upon the vast number of junior colleges throughout the country to help us meet the demand for more ROTC officers.

Let me reiterate that these 2-year colleges are today performaing a vital service by alleviating, to a great degree, the overcrowded conditions which exist at 4-year colleges. There are a tremendous number of students who chose to continue their educations beyond the 2-year programs offered at the junior college level and do so by completing their remaining semesters at regular 4-year institutions. Under the present situation young men who wish to pursue military training while studying for their degrees cannot do so until they matriculate at senior colleges. If the program were made available at the junior college level those students transferring to 4-year colleges would find themselves on an equal footing with their fellow students who have been in attendance at the 4-year institution right along. At present, students who transfer to 4-year colleges, in order to supplement the training they have missed in their first 2 years must attend two summer encampments before they graduate instead of the one encampment which is required of those who are enrolled in the program during their first 2 years. There are a great number of students who must help finance their own educations and do so by working during the summer months. This then is obviously creating a difficult situation which tends to prevent many eligible candidates from taking part in this vital program.

I would like to call to your attention a resolution of the Hialeah Industrial Lions Club. It cites the problem and offers a very workable solution.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION BY HIALEAH INDUSTRIAL LIONS CLUB

Whereas our Nation is at present engaged in a hot war to fulfill our treaty oblibations and to prevent the takeover, by communism, of Vietnam and to contain the very real threat of complete Communist control of Asia; and

Whereas the continuing Communist threat makes necessary an increase in our Armed Forces with subsequent need for greater numbers of fully trained officers and noncommissioned officers to accept the responsibilities of leadership; and

Whereas a majority of our officers holding regular commissions now come from the ranks of those dedicated Americans who enroll in and complete Senior Reserve Officers' Training Corps courses in our colleges and universities. Better known as ROTC these military science and aerospace study courses furnish the largest number of junior grade commissioned officers to the Army and Air Force; and

Whereas in the State of Florida there are now eighteen 4-year colleges and 33 junior colleges in operation, with many more scheduled to open; and

Whereas in many other States than Florida the responsible authorities are instituting a program of including 2-year junior colleges as the primary step toward higher education; and

Whereas there is no provision for the establishment of Senior Reserve Officers' Training Corps at these 2-year colleges; and

Whereas students of these 2-year junior colleges are now deprived of an equal opportunity to complete the first 2 years of the Senior Reserve Officers' Training Corps course of instruction which leads to a commission in our Nation's Armed Forces; and

Whereas as a result of the above a vast number of young men are excluded from having an opportunity to serve their country, to the fullest extent, in a commissioned capacity, as a result of having been denied the advantages of specialized learning and training that are offered in other institutions of higher learning: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the opinion of the Citizenship and Patriotism Committee of the Hialeah Industrial Lions Club that those organizations, especially the Military Order of the World Wars and more especially the Coral Gables chapter of that order, be commended in their efforts to seek amendment of existing law, section 2102, "Establishment"; of chapter 103. Senior Reserve Officers' Training Corps; of Public Law 88-647, dated October 13, 1964, so as to include 2-year junior colleges in the ROTC training program, thereby allowing the students of 2-year junior colleges the same right to participate in the Senior Reserve Officers' Training Corps curriculums that is, at present, authorized for students enrolled in 4-year educational institutions offering such a course; and be it further

Resolved, That the Hialeah Industrial Lions Club adopt this resolution as their own; that it be published and distributed to all other clubs of district 35-A Lions International with the request that this matter be brought to the attention of their entire membership and that the individual Lions be encouraged to support efforts to obtain the amendment sought to the existing law, by, as individuals signing petitions if offered, and by writing their Senators and Congressmen in their capacity as an individual citizen.

Adopted this 20th day of September 1965, by the Citizenship and Patriotism Committee of the Hialeah Industrial Lions Club, Hialeah, Fla.

S. G. OSBORNE,
Chairman.
ROBERT DRUCKER,
Member.
ROBERT J. STAMPFL,
Member.

Iowa and Mexico Cooperate in People-to-People Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BERT BANDSTRA
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I have the honor to announce today that the State of Iowa has joined with the Mexican States of Yucatan, Campeche, Tabasco and the territory of Quintana Roo in the Partners of the Alliance program. Iowa has now joined with more than 27 States in a partnership endeavor in support of the aims and goals of the Alliance for Progress.

It would seem appropriate at this time, Mr. Speaker, to give credit to those fine citizens of Iowa who had the foresight and initiative to begin this endeavor, and I would like to refer by name to the board of directors and its able chairman, Mr. Ken Miller:

Dr. I. J. Lubbers, Des Moines; Robert Isensee, Mason City; Harold Goldman, Des Moines; Prof. John F. Timmons, Iowa State University; Betty Talkington, Des Moines; Earl L. King, Des Moines; Alline Stavely, Charles City; Monsignor Edward W. O'Rouke, Des Moines; and Dean Allin Dakin, University of Iowa.

To this distinguished panel of Iowans who make up the board, I wish to add the names of Mr. Richard Norpel of Bellview, Mr. James Reed of DeWitt, Mrs. Dorthy Lowell of Postville, Iowa; Mrs. Ethel Cairns of Marshalltown, Mrs. Thelma Heitsman of Corning, Mr. Les Holland and Ed Campbell from Governor Hughes' office.

Further assistance in the formation days was given by Mr. Bill Brown, assistant to the director of the Iowa Development Commission and Mr. Ray Eveland, the U.S. Department of Commerce representative in Des Moines.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is significant that in the formation of the Iowa Partners of the Alliance Committee a wide variety of State organizations have assisted its formation. I would like to call particular attention to the great effort made by the Iowa Federation of Business and Professional Women under the leadership of its fine president, Mrs. Ruth Webb, and its officers. Significant also is the fact that the Iowa Federation of Teachers was active in leadership in its formation through Miss Lorene Harrington, of Cedar Rapids. The Women's Director of the Iowa AFL-CIO Federation, Mrs. Betty Talkington, represented her organization very well also.

In conjunction with the formation of the Iowa Partners organization I would also like to recognize the assistance during several weeks which Iowa received from a former Iowa Congressman, Len Wolf, now Coordinator of Operation Niños—Children—and assistant to the director of the partners of the alliance program. A statement from his speech at the organization meeting is particularly pointed on the subject of American foreign policy:

> The Partners of the Alliance program is the best vehicle we have to prove to the world that "love" still has meaning in America when speaking of our friends south of the border.

All of this advance effort culminated in a group of about 35 outstanding Iowa citizens getting together at the invitation of Governor Hughes on September 24 for the organization meeting. I would like to particularly note a few words from the short speech of Governor Hughes when he endorsed the program and offered the full help of his office. He said:

> This program must not just be a bland step and philanthropic desire to help people living in a jungle. It must be a real working partnership.

In his letter of invitation to business leaders throughout the State, Governor Hughes clearly outlined what I believe to be the concept of the Partners of the Alliance when he wrote as follows:

> Partners of the Alliance is basically a private program through which business, professional, educational, labor and service groups as well as individuals can work directly with a community, State, or group in Latin America. It is not a charity program but rather one of action in which individuals who are concerned about the dangers of communism in this hemisphere can do something about it personally.

I fully endorse the Governor's words, Mr. Speaker, and because of this endorsement I am particularly proud to report that the first contribution by the State of Iowa to its partnership area is from Central College in Pella, Iowa, my own alma mater. My college has just committed a tuition-and-fee-free scholarship for a native informant in Spanish from Iowa's partner area of the Yucatan Peninsula in Mexico. The 1-year scholarship will also provide room and board and $200 per semester. This contribution by Central College is valued at approximately $2,200.

I am proud that Central College has taken this initiative in launching a meaningful educational phase of the Iowa partners program with the Yucatan Peninsula of Mexico. Other colleges and universities in Iowa are urged to participate in the partners program to strengthen the bonds of friendship between our two countries.

Mr. Speaker, I include the remarks of the director of the Partners of the Alliance program, Mr. James Boren, at Central College at Pella, Iowa, on October 12:

REMARKS OF JAMES H. BOREN, DIRECTOR OF THE PARTNERS OF THE ALLIANCE PROGRAMS AT CENTRAL COLLEGE, PELLA, IOWA, OCTOBER 12, 1965

President Lubbers, professor and friend of many years, Charles Haydon, faculty and students, 4 years ago today—Columbus Day of 1961—I stool in the altiplano village of Ichu, Peru, located on the southern shore of Lake Titicaca at an elevation of 12,500 feet. The occasion was the inauguration of the school feeding program in Peru. Among the participants in the ceremony were several Peruvian Government representatives, U.S. Ambassador Jim Loeb, Under Secretary of State Chester Bowles, Deputy Director of Food for Peace Jim Symington, AID Mission Director Bob Culbertson, Peace Corps Representative Frank Mannkiewicz—and several hundred Quechua and Aymara-speaking Indians.

The drums, cymbals, and flutes poured forth the strange rhythm of the altiplano and served to spark the swirling dancing of many groups. Five groups of musicians performed figuratively shoulder-to-shoulder in what was perhaps the wildest combination of sounds to ever greet such a group of top brass from Washington.

More impressive, however, than the participation of high officialdom and the gay splash of color and sound was the responsiveness of the people. This program was the first to bring the people of this largely forgotten area into the range of the Alliance for Progress. The mothers were organized into "patronatos"—PTA's—and they did the work in the preparing and serving of the food. In our society it is difficult for us to imagine the impact of a cup of milk, a bowl of corn meal mush, and hard roll. To know the cold hard life of the altiplano and to know the wonderful people who struggle aaginst the elements is to understand.

It is of the Alliance for Progress which I wish to speak today. And it is of specific opportunities which I wish to put forward to you in the form of a personal challenge.

In accepting your kind invitation to visit on your campus, I have also accepted a responsibility to talk in specific terms and about the specific role which you can play in this great hemispheric effort.

Within the past 2 months, President Johnson has stated twice, in precise terms, his strong belief that we must focus our attention on man and his position in the development process if progress is to be made in the cause of peace. In speaking to the Latin American Ambassadors on August 17, President Johnson said:

"Misery and pain and despair exist in the present; and we must fight them in the present as best we can. This is not only the command of compassion. It is the counsel of wisdom. For factories and banks and dollars do not build a nation. People build a nation. On those people—their health and knowledge and faith; and their participation and their sacrifice—rests the future of all of us and all our nations."

The Alliance for Progress is not a U.S. program, but rather it is an alliance which, as stated in the Charter of Punta del Este, involves "the full energies of the peoples and governments of the American Republics." It must be, therefore, a joint effort which calls for positive action not only of government but also of private citizens and leaders of the private sector. This means that the Alliance is a great revolutionary program for progress which needs your personal help, your ideas, and your energies.

Private citizens and civic, trade, and professional groups in 27 States of the United States are moving forward in a direct grassroots alliance with the citizens of 27 areas of 12 Latin American Republics. These partnerships normally revolve around 5 types of activities:

1. Helping local groups complete community self-help projects.
2. Technical assistance.
3. Educational scholarships and professor exchanges.
4. Cultural exchanges.
5. Investment and commercial relationships.

Let me describe some specific partnership activities. About 2 months ago, in the Barranquilla area of northern Colombia, a large number of children had died and many more were dying from dehydration. The supply of saline and dextrose solutions in the area was almost totally depleted. The private sector Colombia Partners Committee contacted their counterpart group in Florida. Within hours a supply of the vitally needed solutions arrived in Barranquilla—in time to save the lives of a number of children.

The village of Navan in the Andes of southern Peru had been isolated for years—with a narrow mountain trail being the only outlet for the products of the valley. The people of Navan provided the initiative, the plan and the labor and the Texas AFL–CIO provided the picks, wheelbarrows, and shovels. An article in the July 31 issue of the Dallas Morning News, with a dateline of Lima, Peru, described the scene as that road was opened:

"Last May they finished the job. A truck loaded with potatoes chugged up the narrow, lumpy road to commemorate the event. Church bells rang, people cheered and dogs barked. For Navan it was the greatest day in its history."

Upon completion of the Navan road, a special ceremony was arranged in which the village council passed the tools to a neighboring village which is now working on a 2-mile road to connect with Navan. Commenting upon this project the chairman of the Peruvian Partners of the Alliance, Carlos Boza, said, "Texans have not made this an 'old clothes' program. They have helped us without making us feel like beggers and taking away our dignity as human beings."

This is the spirit of the Alliance; this is a partnership response to a community self-help effort in a program which recognizes the importance of human dignity.

Pumps have been provided for community wells, and seed for school gardens. Hand tools have been provided for rural vocational schools, and medical equipment has been made available to small hospitals and medical posts.

Joint venture investments and other commercial relationships are developing as a natural outgrowth of the relationships.

High school and college students in several States have provided the funds to place roofs, doors, and windows on schools constructed through the self-help efforts of villagers.

Blockmaking machines have been provided—as have chain saws, handtools and other equipment to enable slum improvement associations to complete community buildings, schools, and medical posts.

An accomplished young concert pianist from Texas, Monte Hill Davis, returns to her home this very day after having performed 8 benefit concerts in Peru and 10 in Brazil. The funds raised were applied to local Partners projects.

On October 3, through arrangements made by the Tennessee Partners of the Alliance and the Neumann Foundation of Venezuela, an outstanding collection of 57 Venezuelan paintings were shown in Knoxville. They will be shown in seven galleries over a period of 9 months. In this partnership, Venezuela is making the first contribution.

The people of one Andean village were separated from their small plots of land by a rapidly flowing river. They hand-walked a steel cable stretched high over the Riotambo in order to plant, tend, and harvest their crops. At this moment, 1,200 feet of 1½ inch steel cable is on its way to that village. With it they can construct a suspension bridge—a bridge to their land—and a bridge to the high plains of Texas whose citizens became their working partners.

One of the most important aspects of the partnership program, however, is the fact that it is a two-way program.

A few weeks ago, a number of high school teachers of Spanish completed a program at Miami University in Ohio through which they were introduced to the Portuguese language. The Ohio partnership is with the State of Parana in Brazil, and through providing the professor of Portuguese, Dr. Navarro, Parana was making a contribution to its U.S. Partner State. Some 90 students are now studying Portuguese.

Later this year, a collection of Inca gold from Peru will be shown in the partner area of Texas, and plans have been completed to present a showing of photographic art depicting life in Peru.

Twelve Costa Rican educators assisted 12 Oregon school districts in upgrading the teaching of Spanish and contributing to social science classes.

The Mina Gerais, Brazil, partners are sending mineral specimens to Colorado for use in the high school science classes. Many other activities are being explored and many others are being implemented.

Last Friday afternoon, it was my privilege to visit with a distinguished private sector leader from Mexico, Dr. Ernesto Ayala, who is the General Coordinator of Programa Nacional Fronterizo and who is the president of the Comision Mexicana for the Alliance for Progress. Dr. Ayala not only believes in the importance of private sector activities as the key to Alliance success but he is also doing something about it. He is a leader who brings people together to focus on decisions and action. When I mentioned to Dr. Ayala that I would be meeting with you, he indicated great interest and wished to be kept advised of the progress being made in this developing partnership.

Yesterday afternoon, the executive committee of the Iowa Partners of the Alliance met to work on arrangements to send its program development team to their partner area of the Mexican States of Yucatan, Campeche, Tabasco, and the easternmost area of Quintana Roo. There the team members will meet with their counterparts of the private community to work on plans for specific projects of mutual concern and interest. When the members of that team return to Iowa, they will have a specific program to present to interested groups.

The Partners of the Alliance is your program. It is your opportunity to translate interest in the Alliance for Progress into action. Our office merely serves as the catalyst to bring together interested citizens of the Americas—not for pink teas but for action-oriented programs. This is not a charity program nor is it an "adoption" program in which one area patronizingly "adopts" another. The Partners of the Alliance focuses on helping those who are helping themselves, and it seeks to translate into reality the stated principle that we in the United States can learn as well as teach and receive as well as assist.

The fact that this is your program and the fact that the stress is on constructive action were recognized by your Governor, Harold E. Hughes, in the statements made when we were taking the first steps toward this partnership involving the people of Iowa. The program is a new one and the invitation for participation is open to all citizens in the State.

My challenge to you is the challenge of the Alliance for Progress. I ask you to become an operating partner in its drive for progress. I ask you to contact Ken Miller of Des Moines, chairman of the Iowa Partners of the Alliance, and enlist in this effort.

In closing, I bring to you the best wishes for a successful program from the U.S. Coordinator of the Alliance for Progress, Jack Vaughn. Secretary Vaughn said of the Partners program during our first Inter-American Conference, this past summer:

"There have been very exciting things done * * *. I have gloated over your activities, and I'm sure there are even greater things to come. Were it possible to * * * determine what we Americans, all Americans, get out of your (the Partners) endeavors compared to what is put in in time, effort, and money, this would be the most exciting program in history."

This is high praise from the Secretary but praise that I am sure will be lived up to by any group from Iowa accepting the challenge.

The Partners of the Alliance is not a "dollars and cents" program. More important than mutual material assistance is that body of intangible values which can bind the Partners together in a grassroots alliance of good neighbors. A man once said that youth is not a time of life—it is a state of mind. Nobody grows old by merely living a number of years; people grow old only by deserting their ideals. Hold fast, then, to the ideals of youth—and the ideals which have served as the touchstone for our Nation's development. I challenge you to articulate those ideals in the form of active involvement in the Alliance. Assist and receive; teach and learn. Become a partner in the Alliance and know the satisfaction that comes with the acceptance of a challenge and the fulfillment of a responsibility.

The Importance of the Individual Being a Real Person

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACKSON E. BETTS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, the fashionable position to take now days is to blame society for all of our national ills and relieve the individual of any responsibility. The following letter to the editor which appeared recently in the Findlay, Ohio, Republican-Courier challenges that philosophy and I personally feel it is an excellent treatise on the importance of the individual being a real person rather than a mere pawn.

[From the Republican-Courier, Sept. 15, 1965]

To the EDITOR:

In a recent number of the Republican-Courier, there was an article, entitled, "Crime Increases, Convictions Are Decreasing." In this editorial there is a quotation from Chief Justice Earl Warren, as follows: "We note a tendency today to blame the courts and the rulings of the courts for the vast amount of crime. Thinking persons and especially lawyers, know that this is not the fact. They know that crime is inseparably connected with factors such as poverty, degradation, sordid social conditions, the weakening of home ties, low standards of law enforcement, and the lack of education."

The author of the editorial disagrees with the Chief Justice and so do I. The above statement from the Chief Justice contains a false and dangerous philosophy, namely that not the individual but society and social conditions are responsible for all of our human woes.

This false philosophy is dangerous because it has become so widespread. It permeates to a very large extent all the departments of our Federal Government, the executive, the legislative and the judicial. Even many of our opinion-making agencies, such as newspapers, magazines and radio and television, are falling prey to it. Many of our

professors in colleges and universities are propounding this doctrine of social responsibility for all of our human ills. This false philosophy is even infiltrating the church and many ministers are proclaiming it from their pulpits. Instead of trying to make people feel responsible for their own sins and shortcomings, as Nathan the prophet did when he said to David, "Thou art the man," they talk about "social concerns." When I returned fresh from graduate school and began my ministry, I started to preach against the sins of society. Soon I learned that society was not there to hear me so I began to preach to the people with a larger degree of effectiveness.

As a preacher I have always tried to reinforce my convictions by an appeal to the Bible. Earlier prophets addressed themselves to the state, but Jeremiah became the prophet of individualism. In Jeremiah 31: 29–30 we read, "In those days they shall say no more, 'The fathers have eaten a sour grape and their children's teeth are set on edge,' but every man shall die for his own iniquity; every man that eateth the sour grape, his teeth shall be set on edge." Evidently people are blaming their sins on their fathers. This is a human trait. We are always trying to blame someone else when we do wrong. When God walked in the Garden of Eden and accused our first parents of the sin of disobedience, Eve blamed it on the serpent and Adam was so ungallant as to blame it on Eve, and so it has been going on ever since.

So this is the danger of an overemphasis on social responsibility. It only gives the erring individual an excuse for his wrongdoing. This is borne out by the fact that since 1958 crime has increased six times as fast as the population.

So let us not be afraid to espouse the doctrine of individual responsibility. If those who profess great knowledge raise their eyebrows, and accuse us of ignorance, let us tell them to read their history of philosophy and theology and learn of the conflict between nominalism and realism. We espouse the philosophy of realism. There is no objective reality corresponding to society. It is only a common term which we use for the purpose of thought. It is the individual that is real, and society exists only by virtue of the individuals that compose it. We agree with John Oxenham, who wrote:

"But to every man there openeth
A nightway and a low
And every man decideth
Which way his soul shall go."

Of course there are extenuating circumstances for some wrongdoing and it is the function of government to correct these as far as is possible. But legislation can only open the door of opportunity, and it is up to each individual to decide whether he shall enter that door and endure the toil and sacrifice essential to make him a member of the Great Society. It is up to each individual to decide whether he wants to become a mere pawn or a real person.

America First

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing a bill which would authorize the House Committee on Education and Labor to conduct an investigation and study of the Office of Education. The purpose of the legislation would be to investigate and study the practices followed by the Office of Education to determine whether such practices adequately insure that Federal funds are not used either to pay salaries or to provide educational assistance to persons opposed to the interests of the United States, either at home or abroad.

In view of the recurring demonstrations against U.S. foreign policy by certain professors and students, it seems high time that Congress investigate all programs under which Federal funds are made available for educational purposes to make certain these persons do not benefit. Americans have every right to responsibly criticize domestic and foreign policies of any administration, and unquestionably a great number now engaged in demonstrating against the administration policy in Vietnam are loyal Americans; but beyond this, a line must be drawn.

The U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary recently released a staff study prepared for the Subcommittee To Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws. The study indicates that the recent surge of criticism of administration policies in Vietnam could be divided into four broad categories. First. Honest criticism by loyal Americans who oppose communism but believe that the method we are using to fight in Vietnam is wrong. Second. Honest criticism by those who believe that communism is not a real threat or who believe that Vietnam is outside our sphere of influence and that we are pursuing an unwise course in committing ground troops to a war in that area. Third. Honest criticism by convinced pacifists who believe that force is wrong in any and all circumstances.

While many might violently disagree with the views expressed by those in these three categories, my resolution would be aimed at the fourth group composed of those who have been engaged in dishonest criticism and who appear to support the general aims of communism. These persons look upon America as the villain and communism as the real hope of the future.

It was recently reported that one who would fall in the fourth category received a graduate fellowship at the University of Iowa in 1961 under title IV of the National Defense Education Act. It was a 3-year award in international relations and comparative government, amounting to $6,600. The recipient of this grant reportedly admitted that he was a "professed Marxist" and would like to see the Communists win in Vietnam.

It would seem imperative that the Committee on Education and Labor should develop strict guidelines for use by the Office of Education to insure that no Federal funds, from any Federal program, whether it be loans, grants, or otherwise, would be used for the salaries of teachers or to provide educational assistance of any kind to students who intentionally oppose the interests of the United States. Congress should demand, on behalf of the taxpayers of this country and American servicemen everywhere, that if loans or grants are being made to any such person, they be immediately suspended and that proper legal action should be instituted to recover any and all amounts previously loaned or granted to any person, or persons, engaging in anti-American demonstrations, criticisms, or other activity.

Therefore, as previously stated, I am introducing a resolution directing the Committee on Education and Labor to conduct an investigation of the Office of Education and requiring the committee to take a look at the present practices of the Office of Education to see what is being done to keep Federal largesse from benefiting persons who have embarked on a course of conduct inimical to the interests of the United States, either at home or abroad.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

H. RES. 622

To authorize the Committee on Education and Labor to conduct an investigation and study of the Office of Education

That the Committee on Education and Labor, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of the practices followed by the Office of Education in providing assistance for education, with a view to determining whether such practices adequately insure that Federal funds are not used to pay the salaries of, or to provide educational assistance to, persons who, though willing to accept such Federal funds, are in fact opposed to the interests of the United States, either at home or abroad.

For the purpose of carrying out this resolution the committee or subcommittee is authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, including any Commonwealth or possession thereof, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require, by subpena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents, as it deems necessary; except that neither the committee nor any subcommittee thereof may sit while the House is meeting unless special leave to sit shall have been obtained from the House. Subpoenas may be issued under the signature of the Chairman of the Committee or any member of the Committee designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by such Chairman or member.

The Committee shall report to the House as soon as practicable during the present Congress the results of its investigation and study, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable. Any such report which is made when the House is not in session shall be filed with the Clerk of the House.

Personal Explanation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, since 1960, I have served by appointment under three Presidents, President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, and now President Johnson, as one

of the two House congressional advisers to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. It is necessary for me to attend United Nations sessions as well as keeping up with the activities and work of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, both in this capacity, as well as in my work as a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

On Monday, October 11, 1965, and on Tuesday, October 12, 1965, I was in New York City attending to my duties.

If I had been present I would have voted "nay" on rollcall No. 363, the vote on the rule on the sugar amendments bill, H.R. 11135, which passed by a margin of—yeas 253, nays 80.

Washington Santa Claus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, as we close down this first session of the most expensive Congress in peacetime history, it is a good opportunity to let the executive branch in on just how well-received are some of the grand plans of the big spenders who never seem to worry about who will foot the bills when they start rolling in.

Accordingly, I request that the following editorial broadcast by Paul Marlowe over WESH-TV, with facilities in Daytona Beach and Orlando, to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the benefit of interested colleagues.

Thank you.

The editorial follows:

[An editorial from WESH-TV, Daytona Beach-Orlando, Fla., Oct. 5, 1965]

WASHINGTON SANTA CLAUS

It is high time we realize that we, the people, pay the bills and there is no "sugar daddy."

We had better sober up and accept the fact that, as adults, we can no longer believe in a Washington Santa Claus.

Every American should face the stark reality that the once-proud Uncle Sam has turned into an Uncle Sap. And when we acknowledge the fact that no one gives us something for nothing, then, at long last, we'll be honest with ourselves.

In facing reality we cannot deny that Federal, State, and local taxes take the cream from our breakfast tables and savings from our bank accounts. The sum of this tax poses a major problem for the breadwinner, because he is the horse who is saddled with the burden. Taxes must be paid first since Government will not open a charge account for any individual—anywhere.

But the sad fact remains that we are responsible for our taxes since we, the people, put our officials into office.

There is only one place for governments to get money and that is from the people. The more the people look to a Washington Santa Claus the higher the taxes will go.

As long as we swallow the bait of "Something for nothing" the governmental spenders will continue to dole out the tens and hundreds of millions.

But for every million dollars that leaves Washington, the taxpayer will pay through the nose.

If you think Federal gifts come free, it is time to think again because "Uncle Sugar" will hand you the bill through some form of taxation.

Only the American voter can control his own tax bill. Inflation can be checked, if the citizen's vote is used to restrain extravagance in spending the resultant tax waste.

We put our politicians into office on the basis of promises and it is high time that these men take an interest in the purse strings of the voter.

We should remind these elected politicians that we rocketed them into office to look for our interests. And we should remind them, by telegram or letter that if the best they can do is agree with a self-styled Washington Santa Claus, then we have no further use for them and will make this abundantly clear in the voting booth.

In conclusion, we acknowledge the joy of receiving a gift. But, someone always foots the bill. No—Virginia, and you too George—there is no Santa Claus, in Washington, in Tallahassee, or in your hometown.

Adjournment Schedule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I believe that a Congressman should be in his district to confer and visit with his constituents whenever official duties do not require him to be in Washington.

When Congress adjourns, I expect to return home and to be available for conferences and visits with residents of the Fourth District in the courthouse of each county seat between 8:30 a.m. and 4 p.m., in accordance with the following schedule:

Allen County, Lima: Monday, November 1.

Auglaize County, Wapakoneta: Tuesday, November 2.

Darke County, Greenville: Wednesday, November 3.

Miami County, Troy: Thursday, November 4.

Shelby County, Sidney: Monday, November 8.

Mercer County, Celina: Tuesday, November 9.

Preble County, Eaton: Wednesday, November 10.

No appointments will be necessary. Any problems with, or opinions concerning, the Federal Government will be proper subject for conference.

Of course, I will be glad to see residents of the district, in my Piqua office, any time that Congress is not in session, except on the days scheduled above.

Demonstrations Inspire Communists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in the RECORD today an editorial from my hometown newspaper which I would like to bring to the attention of every Member of Congress.

This article points out with admirable clarity that the dissenting voices heard in the Vietnam protests can only serve the ends of the Communists for they have taken heart from these demonstrations and see them as the beginning of a wave that will sweep this country out of southeast Asia. This example only illustrates again that an organized minority can wield great power by receiving publicity all out of proportion to their size.

The article follows:

[From the Perth Amboy (N.J.) Evening News, Oct. 21, 1965]

THE HIGH COST OF DEMONSTRATIONS: TOUGHENED COMMUNIST ATTITUDES

The wave of demonstrations against U.S. involvement in Vietnam has shaken American policy and aims in the war.

There is no evidence whatsoever that the view held by the demonstrators represents any more than a protest by the lunatic fringe of the left.

But there is concrete evidence that the demonstrations are being interpreted in both Communist China and North Vietnam as showing a massive loss of support for President Johnson.

The result: A stiffening of Communist will to hang on in Vietnam, a refusal to consider negotiations and, more important, an almost certain loss of more American lives than would be necessary if the war followed its present course.

This is not an idle estimate.

Here are some examples of the reaction among Communists:

Reds are "profoundly thankful" for the series of demonstrations, according to Liberation Radio, the secret transmitter operated by the Vietcong.

North Vietnam is comparing the wave of protests to antiwar sentiment that swept France before the French were defeated at Dienbienphu and subsequently pulled out of Indochina.

The North Vietnamese Communist Party newspaper published a picture of 22-year-old David J. Miller of Syracuse, N.Y., burning his draft card and said Miller and others "have had a great effect in inspiring the struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressor."

The Soviet news agency Tass said U.S. authorities "have resorted to threats and the big stick of the police and judicial apparatus" to crack down on demonstrations but that the American people oppose the "aggressive policy in Vietnam."

President Johnson has made no secret of the Government's aim in the war.

A massive military buildup, use of American combat troops, and round-the-clock airstrikes against North Vietnam all are aimed at turning back the Vietcong and forcing North Vietnam to the conference table.

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The goals of the demonstrators remain somewhat mysterious. These aims go beyond a simple protest.

If the demonstrations are provoked and spurred on by Communist agitators, then the Reds are successfully undermining U.S. foreign policy and strengthening the Communists' position in Vietnam.

If the demonstrators are simply a collection of people seeking a U.S. withdrawal, then their goals backfire.

The Johnson administration will not be forced out of Vietnam by sign-carrying citizens, but the toughening of the Communist attitude will force this country to fight a longer and bloodier war to save South Vietnam.

Answers on the motives of the leaders of the protests and the goals will come from the Justice Department. A deserved investigation is already underway.

All of these protests come against a background of increased political stability in the Saigon government and mounting successes against the Vietcong on the battlefield.

The high cost of these demonstrations is not only being felt at the lofty level of foreign policy.

Regrettably, such nonsense has its effect on the morale of the men who must fight the miserable, dirty war in Vietnam.

It is a sad commentary that such courageous men can expect little more in the way of moral support than demonstrations against their effort by people safe at home.

Fortunately, a counterreaction is beginning in this country.

Several organizations plan programs to demonstrate support for the Government's policy. High-ranking Government officials, past and present, are speaking out against the demonstrations.

The overwhelming majority of the American people supports the Government's position in the war. A poll taken in this area shows decisive results on this score.

But the huge numbers of citizens who do back both the Government and the troops in Vietnam will have to make their feelings known.

It will take a large campaign to undo the damage that a comparative handful of demonstrators, acting out of stupidity or seditious design, have done to U.S. foreign policy.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development: An Idea That Took 63 Years To Prevail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, one of the most constructive actions taken by this session of the Congress was the creation of a new Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development.

More than 70 percent of the population of the United States is now located in urban areas and the problems that affect urban dwellers should be of concern to all Americans.

The need for a Cabinet-level Department to coordinate the planning and development of urban communities has long been recognized, and I think it is to the credit of the Congress that it transformed proposals for such a Department into reality.

In this connection, I would like to call to the attention of my fellow Members an article from the October 1965 issue of Nation's Cities, published by the National League of Cities.

As the article points out, the new Department of Housing and Urban Development will enable the Federal Government and local communities to plan more rationally in dealing with problems of urban growth.

Of particular interest is a chronological table accompanying the article, which lists the major proposals made over 63 years that eventually lead to the establishment this year of the new Cabinet post.

Like much of the legislation enacted into law this year, the Department of Housing and Urban Development is not a new idea. It has behind it a long list of proposals and legislative recommendations.

The job of the new Department will not be an easy one, and it is unfortunate that it was not created sooner. But the success of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, which will form the basis for the Department's administrative structure, provides solid grounds for speculating that the Nation's 11th Cabinet post will offer a valuable contribution in solving many of America's domestic problems.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I hereby include the article from Nation's Cities and the accompanying chronological table:

CITIES' VOICE WILL BE HEARD IN WASHINGTON

A happy crowd jammed into the White House rose garden September 9 to watch President Johnson sign legislation which established the Department of Housing and Urban Development—the 11th Federal department and the first created since 1953.

Congressmen, mayors, agency chiefs and staffs, planners, builders, professors, and representatives of many organizations observed the President's obvious pleasure as he declared that "today we are taking the first step toward organizing our system for a more rational response to the pressing challenge of urban life. This is a historic action and this is a historic occasion."

His pleasure may have been that of a politician who had successfully reversed a major defeat suffered by his predecessor. John F. Kennedy was rebuffed in 1962 by the House when he proposed to establish a similar Cabinet-level department through executive authority. In this Congress, L.B.J.'s proposal marched almost routinely to its final endorsement by both Chambers.

There is strong reason to believe, however, that his gratification was that of a deeply concerned American who recognized the opportunities of the new department to make greater progress in helping communities with their growing problems. Washington newspapers and columnists for the past several months have regularly reported that the administration will place urban affairs at the top of its 1966 domestic agenda. Much of this is typical speculation, but there is enough evidence to accept the fact that the man from Texas is determined to do something about the American city.

The signing ceremony failed to produce the name of the HUD Secretary. Veteran President watchers disagreed about this omission: one camp held that it meant he had failed to come to a decision, while another claimed that he would announce his choice another day, if only to get additional news coverage. With the designee yet unnamed in early October, both views may be correct. The Department will come into operation either 60 days after September 9 or on any earlier date the President may choose.

The creation of the Department of Housing and Urban Development culminates years of vigorous effort by the National League of Cities and other organizations. While the idea is an old one (see accompany chronology), it was not until the late 1950's that it became a keen political issue. The merits of NLC's position on the need for such a Cabinet-level Department gained adherents from both parties and opinion leaders throughout the Nation. And so, finally, the issue was settled.

What will HUD be like? At first, it will resemble the Housing and Home Finance Agency whose functions, powers, and duties will be transferred to the Secretary. The constituent HHFA agencies involved are: Federal Housing Administration, Urban Renewal Administration, Public Housing Administration, Community Facilities Administration, and the Federal National Mortgage Association.

The Secretary is charged, by the legislation, with widespread duties and responsibilities:

"The Secretary shall * * * advise the President with respect to Federal programs and activities relating to housing and urban development; develop and recommend to the President policies for fostering the orderly growth and development of the Nation's urban areas; exercise leadership at the direction of the President in coordinating Federal activities affecting housing and urban development; provide technical assistance and information, including a clearinghouse service to aid State, country, town, village, or other local governments in developing solutions to community and metropolitan development problems; consult and cooperate with State Governors and State agencies, when appropriate, holding informal public hearings, with respect to Federal and State programs for assisting communities."

He will also "encourage comprehensive planning by the State and local governments with a view to coordinating Federal, State, and local urban and community development activities; encourage private enterprise to serve as large a part of the Nation's total housing and urban development needs as it can and develop the fullest cooperation with private enterprise in achieving the objective of the Department; and conduct continuing comprehensive studies, and make available findings, with respect to the problems of housing and urban development."

These broad directives could lead in many directions besides housing and, partly because of this, the housing industry was greatly concerned about the status of the Federal Housing Administration within HUD. The act prescribes that one of the four new Assistant Secretaries shall be known as Federal Housing Commissioner and shall administer all programs dealing with the private mortgage market. He'll do this, however, "under the supervision and direction of the Secretary." From this, it looks like FHA will be much closer to the overall policies of HUD than the days when, as one HHFA oldtimer put it, "the head of HHFA and the boss of the FHA wouldn't even speak to each other."

Top brass of the new Department will probably spend much time thinking of the best ways to bring together the present HHFA operations into a more manageable package of programs. One help should be HUD's new headquarters, now under construction in Washington's Southwest Renewal Area. It will replace offices scattered in 16 locations throughout the city.

Besides the possible restructuring of the present lineup of agencies at home base, the Department will permit greater coordination of its activities in the field. In San Francisco, HHFA's regional director said,

"This reorganization is long overdue. The various programs in these related fields have expanded all over the place." The realinement, when it comes, should see cities touching one base for many programs. Said HHFA man Robert E. Pitts, "It will be easier for city administrations, whether urban renewal, mass transportation, or public housing is involved, to deal with the Federal Government."

This power to mesh programs within the Department, long denied to HHFA's Administrator, is just part of the HUD picture. With coordination of national urban programs as part of his duties, the Secretary can be expected to be something of a watchdog for urban interests when other agency programs are involved.

The task will fall, logically enough to the post of Director of Urban Program Coordination—a job unlike any previously filled in HHFA. This new position will have the authority to conduct studies of urban and community problems and to recommend ways to better cooperation between Federal, State, and local agencies.

An amazingly complex problem, this latter one, but eventually it will have to be attempted. And, in the meantime, the voice of the cities will be heard more loudly in the Nation's highest councils than ever before.

IDEA TOOK 63 YEARS TO PREVAIL

In 1912: First known proposal for Department of Municipalities. Would study all aspects of urban living. Woodrow Wilson seems interested.

In 1919: Proposal for Department of Civic Economy, with similar objectives.

In 1942: A 1934 proposal for an undefined voice for the cities take shape as a bid for a separate administrative agency to care for interests of growing urban population.

In 1945: First known proposal for a Department of Community Development to coordinate Federal activities having impact on cities.

In 1954: First legislative bill, introduced by Representative J. ARTHUR YOUNGER, of California, to establish a Department of Urbiculture. No action taken.

1955: Government Operations Committee holds hearing on similar bill. Little interest; some groups, including National League of Cities, seek expansion of bill's scope. Bill is not reported by committee.

In 1956: Both Senate and House get bills proposing Department of Housing and Urban Affairs. Both measures die in committee.

In 1957: Two similar bills introduced; same result. Temporary Commission on Metropolitan Problems is proposed.

In 1959: Eleven bills introduced to establish some type of executive body for the development and coordination of urban problems. Department concept suffers; Senate and House hearings focus on creation of a Commission on Metropolitan Problems. Growing interest in a proposal for an Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations results in its enactment.

In 1960: Three House bills introduced for a Department of Urban Affairs but no action follows. Senate bill for a Department of Housing and Metropolitan Affairs is reported favorably by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee; growing support for a Department is seen, although the measure dies on the calendar.

In 1961: President Kennedy's administration begins intensive campaign for a Department. President calls for one in his state of the Union message and in his housing message in March. By April, 17 Department measures are before the Congress. Hearings are held on four Senate proposals and one House bill; all see the Housing and Home Finance Agency as the nucleus of the new Department. In August the House reports a clean bill and the Senate an amended one (identical to a previous clean one).

In 1962: House Rules Committee refuses to grant a rule for floor action on the House bill. President Kennedy counters with Congress Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1962, which authorizes the President to establish executive departments. His plan is defeated.

In 1963: Eight House bills are introduced for a department; no hearings are held. No Senate measures are offered.

In 1964: President Johnson make a strong bid for a Department of Housing and Community Development in his housing message in January. Two days later a Senate bill is introduced to carry out the President's request and in February the House gets an identical bill.

In 1965: Strong push by administration results in reversal of 1962 House vote. Senate approval follows. President Johnson signs act creating a Department of Housing and Urban Development, September 9.

Publicly Owned Colleges Will Be $1 Billion a Year Short on Building Programs by 1970

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, this month another rush of students to the college campuses has rung the alarm to awaken us to the fact that we are falling behind on providing classrooms and laboratories and libraries for higher education. Last spring we were warned by the results of a study by the Council of State Governments that by 1970 public colleges alone—that will be bursting with 5.4 million students—will be short about $1 billion a year in providing plant and facilities. Another 2.3 million students will be attending private colleges and universities which have just as much—or more—difficulty in financing new buildings.

SEVENTY-FIVE PERCENT FEDERAL AID, $1 BILLION A YEAR PROGRAM SHOULD BE ADOPTED NEXT YEAR

If the young people in elementary and high school today are to have a chance to go to college, we must adopt an expanded program of construction at once. I have introduced today a bill to change the matching ratio and greatly increase the dollars available under the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963.

Rather than expect the State legislatures and private fund drives to raise two-thirds of the cost of construction, we should set the Federal share at 75 percent and the local matching share at 25 percent. Rather than the minor role that the Federal Government is still playing in financing college facilities, we should move swiftly and surely to meet the shortage as soon as possible.

The proposal I am making calls for Federal aid of $920 million a year for 5 years for undergraduate facilities including public community colleges and public technical institutes, and $240 million a year for 5 years for graduate facilities. In addition Federal funds are earmarked and held for a long enough period to allow State colleges and universities to get matching funds passed by their legislatures, most of which only meet every other year, and to allow private institutions to raise funds on a well-worked out schedule and a well-timed program.

COLLEGE ENROLLMENT UP 13.5 PERCENT OVER LAST YEAR IN UPPER MIDWEST

Last Wednesday's Minneapolis Tribune had a story by Richard P. Kleeman telling how enrollments have risen from 199,000 last year to more than 226,000 this fall at colleges in Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Minnesota. That is a 13.5 percent increase in only 1 year.

We have estimated in Minnesota that instead of having 38,000 in college as we had in 1954, we will have 118,000 in 1970.

STATES CANNOT AFFORD TO PAY FOR COLLEGES

The inability of States to meet the rising costs of public colleges is illustrated again and again in Minnesota. The University of Minnesota prepares a 10-year building plan and requests a portion of it from the legislature each session. The university request of $35.7 million in 1961 was cut to $12.5 million by the legislature. The 1963 request of $21.7 million was granted to the extent of only $7.5 million. In 1965 the $48.5 million building program proposed by the university was cut by the legislative building commission to $19 million.

I am afraid that a similar fate may be in store for the university's 10-year building plan for 1965–74 which amounts to $205.7 million. No doubt many other Members of the House recognize this as the same situation that exists in their own States.

I believe that this is one case in which Congress will have to offer a solution to the problem or the problem will not be solved. Centainly the hundreds of thousands of young men and women who will be knocking on the doors of our colleges each fall cannot be told to forget about college, or to go away because we are not ready for them yet.

We must channel a larger share of our Nation's resources into education. This is a pressing national problem. Congress must give it priority attention.

My bill follows:

H.R. 11790

A bill to amend title I of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 to increase the authorization of appropriations and to provide increased Federal matching, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 101(a) of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 is amended by striking out "four" and inserting "seven".

(b) The first sentence of section 101(b) of such Act is amended by striking out "and the sum of $460,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966; but for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and the succeeding fiscal year only such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law" and inserting in lieu thereof the

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following: "the sum of $460,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and each of the four succeeding fiscal years, there is authorized to be appropriated the sum of $920,000,000".

(c) The second sentence of section 101(b) of such Act is amended by striking out "the succeeding fiscal years" and inserting in lieu thereof "each of the succeeding fiscal years."

(d) Section 101(c) of such Act is amended by inserting "third" after "close of the".

(e) Section 104(c) is amended by inserting "third" after "close of the".

SEC. 2. (a) The second sentence of section 107(b) of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 is amended to read as follows: "In no case shall the Federal share of the development cost of an eligible project under this title exceed 75 per centum of such development cost."

(b) Section 202(b) is amended to read: "Grants under this title for construction of academic facilities may not exceed 75 per centum of the development cost of any such construction project."

(c) Section 401(d) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(d) The term 'Federal share' means, in the case of any project, a percentage (as determined under the applicable State plan) not in excess of 75 per centum of its development cost."

SEC. 3. (a) The first sentence of Section 201 is amended by striking out "four" and inserting "seven".

(b) The second sentence of Section 201 is amended by striking out "and the sum of $120,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966" and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "the sum of $120,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and each of the four succeeding fiscal years, there is authorized to be appropriated the sum of $240,000,000."

The Hungarian Revolution—Never To Be Forgotten

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow we will commemorate the ninth anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

I am sure none of us will ever forget those tragic but glorious days when people throughout the free world watched with hope and anxiety the struggle of the valiant Hungarian Freedom Fighters to overthrow Soviet domination of their country. It was a time of agony, as we saw the initial victories of the Hungarian patriots crushed when the massive might of Soviet armies and tanks was sent against them.

But on this anniversary we must remember that the death and suffering of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters was not in vain. In their defeat, which was inevitable against the overwhelming Soviet military machine, there was also triumph. For in the hearts and minds of men everywhere this courageous uprising will remain an inspiration in the continuing struggle for freedom and independence for the enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain. On this historic anniversary, I pay tribute to all who gave their lives for this cause, and to all who still carry on the struggle. And I pledge my continued support in the effort to win again the freedom gained those brief days in 1956. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include a resolution commemorating this event and outlining the aims of the Joint Central Committees of the Hungarian October 23d Movement and the Hungarian Freedom Fighters World Federation:

The Joint Central Committees of the Hungarian October 23d Movement and the Hungarian Freedom Fighters (Nemzetör) World Federation call upon the peoples and governments of the free world to help restore the freedom of the Hungarian people and the independence of Hungary.

In the perspectives of the 9 years which have elapsed since the revolution and freedom fight of 1956, it becomes more and more obvious that, so far, it was the most outstand history-shaping event of the 20th century.

While Hungarian freedom fighters and Americans of Hungarian descent equally condemn the treacherous attacks of the Soviet Union on the Hungarian people in October-November 1956 and protest against the continued colonial occupation of Hungary, we most solemnly deplore the fact that these attacks as well as the continued colonial rule in Hungary was and still is made possible only by the inaction, indifference and lack of understanding of their responsibilities of the still-free nations of the world.

We lay emphasis on asserting that the world will remain indebted to the heroic Hungarian people as long as it did not regain its freedom and independence.

It must be emphasized before the peoples of the world that the present authorities in Hungary were imposed into power by the armed forces of the Soviet Union, they are being maintained in power by the Soviet occupation forces against the expressed and manifested will of the Hungarian people and that the Hungarian people have no desire to participate in or to give support to such a Soviet-imposed Communist regime.

Therefore, we call upon the peoples and governments of the free world to support the demands listed hereafter before the proper international forums:

1. Soviet troops should be withdrawn from the territory of Hungary without any further delay.

2. Law and order should be maintained in the country after the withdrawal of Soviet troops by an international force which should strongly observe the sovereignty of the country.

3. Free and secret elections are to be held under international supervision to elect a truly representative Hungarian Parliament in which all parties trusted by the people will hold their seats. A new representative government should be formed based on the result of these elections with the aim to lay down the foundations of a free and democratic Hungary in accordance with the aims and purposes of the Hungarian revolution and freedom fight of 1956.

4. People once sentenced for their participation in the Hungarian revolution and freedom fight should be rehabilitated.

5. Return of Hungarian citizens who were deported to the Soviet Union during and after the events of 1956.

6. An international commission be sent forthwith to Transylvania, first of all, and to other countries bordering Hungary with substantial Hungarian minorities to investigate and to bring to a stop the genocide of the Hungarian minorities.

7. The abortion decree be immediately revoked under which the future of the Hungarian nation is being murderously undermined.

8. Rehabilitation and the return of Jozsef Cardinal Mindszenty, primate of Hungary, to his seat in Esztergom unconditionally.

We firmly believe that as long as these demands have not been fulfilled, the Hungarian question cannot be considered as solved and no true peace can be established in the world.

Attest:

ERNO HOKA,
Secretary General.

The Danger of Creeping Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, in certain circles it is, I suppose, unfashionable to worry about inflation any more. Some economists say a little inflation is a good thing; others say some inflation, whether good or bad, is inevitable. For whatever reason, talk and worries about inflation have dropped practically out of sight during recent unparalleled economic expansion.

This may be a useful reflection of confidence in the economy. But, Mr. Speaker, I think it important that we face a few facts.

First. Prices have been going up, both wholesale—especially for industrial commodities—and retail. Significantly, the rates of increase have been going up in recent months in a way which contrasts sharply with figures for the past several years. Many of these increases have been in foods, and therefore, may be seasonal and short-run. But they have taken place: The overall cost of living rose by over 1.7 percent between July 1964, and July 1965. In June, the price of meat had increased 9.9 percent. Cereals and other bakery products went up by 1.6 percent. Wholesale processed food costs were up 5.5 percent in August. There were other price increases throughout the economy. Clothing is up 1.1 percent; transportation is up 1.8 percent; rent is up by the same amount. Wholesale commodity prices were up 2.6 percent in August; overall wholesale industry prices were up 1.5 percent; and the wholesale price of industrial intermediate material was up 1.7 percent. On the price side of the economy, the pattern is general price increases, with the bulk of the increases occurring in the last few months.

The people know about these price increases, and they are worried about them. A recent poll reported that 87 percent of all women think that the cost of living is going up; they are right. Even more important, the same poll reported that 46 percent of housewives think that rises in the cost of living can be avoided; I hope they are right.

Second. On the wage side, the picture is somewhat less grim. The general

guideline for noninflationary wage movements is that, overall, increases should not be greater than increases in productivity. The administration's wage-productivity guideline is 3.2 percent. In contrast to this, recent wage increases have run at the rate of around 4 percent per year. The recent labor-management agreement in the steel industry, commonly regarded as a leading indicator industry for wage settlements, is difficult to compute accurately. Most economists tend to think the settlement is around a 3.5 percent increase, although some administration economists say it is within the 3.2 noninflationary guideline.

However, the overall employment picture has a considerable impact on wages. The latest data show a 4.5 percent unemployment figure, well above what is usually considered full employment. With this much unemployment, aggregate pressure on wages ought not to be too strong. However, looking at the figures in the aggregate may well be incorrect and misleading. For example, in Michigan the present unemployment rate is 2.6 percent, a figure close enough to full employment that labor shortages have started developing in certain sectors of the State's economy. Construction, for example, is very tight, and wages in this sector have increased sharply in the past 6 months.

A moderate aggregate unemployment rate may well conceal localized areas of labor shortage, which lead to wage increases, which may in some cases spill over into other sectors of the economy.

Third. As a result of the increased American commitment to the war in Vietnam, the President has asked for an extra $1.7 billion defense appropriation. It is expected that an additional sum will be requested when the Congress convenes in January. In any event, for the current fiscal year, outlays on defense will run a little over $50 billion, compared with an original estimate of $47.9 billion. In itself, this does not look like much, but we should take into consideration the secondary effects of such an injection of defense spending, termed by economists "the multiplier." A generally accepted figure for defense spending multiplier is 2. This means that the overall impact of defense spending on the economy will be around twice the original sum. In the case of the $1.7 billion additional defense appropriation, we can expect that the ultimate stimulus on the economy will be of the order of $3.4 billion. Should the President ask for another $2 billion next January, the total impact on the economy will be of the order of $7.4 billion. Even given the overall size of the American economy, this is a considerable injection, no matter how you slice it. In my own mind, it raises a real possibility of overheating in certain defense-related sectors of the economy.

There is, then, evidence of three sorts of substantiate worries about inflationary pressures in the economy. Prices have been going up, particularly in the past several months; wage increases have been running somewhat ahead of productivity gains, with considerable local tightness in certain labor markets; expected increases in defense spending will have a considerable impact on the economy.

In general, those who do not worry much about inflation at the present time use three arguments. I would like to examine them:

First. Increases in defense spending will not have much of an impact on the economy, given that the increases are a very small part of a total gross national product of $665.9 billion. This may well be true, but it should be noted that defense increases will be largely concentrated in defense-related industries, thus bringing up the real possibility of localized overheating in these particular sectors of the economy.

Second. At present tax levels, Federal revenues are expected to grow around $7 billion per year; with this fiscal drag operating in the economy, we should be more worried about maintaining aggregate demand, which will be done by defense spending increases. But if I am correct in my assumptions about the full impact of defense spending, the fiscal drag that so worries some economists will be all but wiped out.

Third. There is still enough aggregate slack in the economy, given that present production is running at around 90 percent of capacity and given an unemployment rate of over 4 percent, to prevent any serious inflationary pressures from building up.

Mr. Speaker, this is a critical turn in the argument. For if there is still aggregate slack in the economy, then we can breathe somewhat easier. I contend that although there may be overall slack in the economy, it is inaccurate and possibly dangerous to think that its existence alone will in some way insulate us against inflation.

Let me try to explain. Usual theories of inflation are distinguished by their concentration on aggregate factors. Demand-pull inflation is explained in terms of an excess of aggregate demand over aggregate supply, leading to price increases. Cost-push inflation is considered in terms of aggregate wage increases exceeding aggregate productivity gains, with price increases the outcome. In both cases, since both prices and wages are considered to be perfectly flexible with respect to changes in demand, the only thing which can lead to inflation is aggregate excess demand.

The reason for this conclusion rests on some assumptions which I think are incorrect. It is assumed that if there is excess demand in some sectors of the economy, balanced by deficient demand in other sectors, there will be some changes in relative prices and wages. But there will be no increase in the general price level, because over the long run resources will shift, demand composition will change, and price increases in excess demand sectors will be offset by price reductions in insufficient demand sectors. Prices and wages, being flexible and responsibe to changes in demand, will move in the long run to balance off excess or deficient demands in particular sectors of the economy, without leading to a general inflationary price increase.

But we all know that in the real world this is simply not so. Neither prices nor wages are that flexible.

As Charles L. Schultze pointed out in a study of Recent Inflation in the United States:

> In particular wages and prices are much less likely to be flexible in a downward than in an upward direction.

The reasons for this are clear. Labor contracts are often pegged to increases in the cost of living index, and industry-wide contracts are unlikely to show a wage decline in an era of rising profits. Business pricing is likely to be on a full cost-plus basis, rather than on a basis of supply and demand; diminished demand will not necessarily set off price reductions if costs remain about the same.

This does not mean that there is any downward flexibility of prices and wages. It simply means that the amount of excess demand required to raise prices is less than the amount of deficient demand required to reduce them. As Schultze puts it:

> There is an upward bias in the general level of prices such that a large change in the composition of demand, even when aggregate demand is not excessive, will lead to a general price rise. The rise in prices will be aggravated by the impact of excess demand in particular sectors of the economy on the prices of raw materials and wage rates.

What all this means is very simple. Inflation is perfectly possible without either excess aggregate demand or an independent increase in costs.

Further, inflation in one sector of the economy can spread to other sectors, even in the absence of excess aggregate demand. Excess demand in one sector, say semifabricated goods, could spread via cost increases to other sectors in which demands are not excessive and in which there may be unused capacity or substantial unemployment. Creeping inflation of this sort is every bit as dangerous as overall inflation of the classical kind. Mr. Schultze suggests that it was this creeping inflation which was responsible for the observed price increases from 1955 to 1957. His judgment is well regarded by other economists.

I fear the economic theory I have outlined above may well apply to our present situation. On the aggreate, there is still some slack left in the economy; but there are areas of localized overheating. Construction labor, as I have mentioned, is extremely tight in Michigan, and increased construction costs could spread over into other sectors of the economy. The impact of recent increases in defense spending, overall, should be slight; but such spending is concentrated in certain already strained areas of the economy. Copper and copper goods are extremely tight now, and sharp price rises have already taken place; increased defense procurement in these areas could lead to further price increases, which may well spread over into other sectors. The same reasoning applies to certain areas of the electronics and machine tool industry. There have been some sharp price increases recently, particularly in food and in some whole-

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sale prices. Although these may not have increased the overall cost of living index too sharply, there is danger that they may spread into other sectors of the economy.

I realize it is always unpopular to warn of inflation during times of economic progress. But I am impelled to do so, partly because of the evidence I have cited above, and partly because I am particularly concerned about the dangers of creeping inflation. This could sap our economic strength and seriously hinder our further progress.

Viewing with alarm is, of course, only part of the matter. Solutions must be suggested, and this is, of course, much harder than pointing to problems. Our overall tools of economic management have, by in large, worked fairly well, particularly since the beginning of the Kennedy administration. Fiscal policy has promoted the orderly expansion of the economy; monetary policy, operating through the Federal Reserve, has in general been fairly responsive to the needs of the time.

But it should be noted that both these tools are effective in the aggregate. This is particularly true of monetary policy, which is particularly undiscriminating in its effects and requires a long lag time to take effect. Fiscal policy changes are more precise—witness the recent tax cuts—but take a long time to come into law. More precise tools, such as the Federal Reserve's Regulation W, limiting terms of consumer credit, or the Defense Production Act, are lacking. The former lapsed in 1952, and the latter has expired. The Office of Emergency Planning has certain contingency plans, but they cannot be used without congressional authorization.

I hope that pointing out some of the dangers which may be ahead will give us all a sharper sense of the inner workings of our economy, and perhaps a little more understanding and responsibility in our economic actions.

Cleveland and Cuyahoga County Officials Declare October 23 Hungarian Freedom Heroes Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, 9 years ago tomorrow the Hungarian people rose up as one against their Russian Communist oppressors in a popular demonstration for freedom which literally shook the world. Twelve years of Russian occupation and Communist exploitation drove the people of Hungary to the breaking point. A peaceful student demonstration for elementary human rights soon swelled into a popular demonstration against the totalitarian system imposed upon the Hungarian nation by Moscow. When the Communist secret police machinegunned the peaceful demonstrators, the Hungarian people exploded into total political revolution.

In the course of 5 heroic, but bloody days of fighting, the Russian imposed regime was toppled, the Red army was in retreat from Hungarian soil, and a revolutionary government was engaged in efforts to remove the chains of slavery from that nation. When it appeared the Hungarian people had won their freedom revolution and peace would be restored, imperial Russia reinvaded Hungary on the morning of November 4, 1965. What followed is one of the blackest chapters in the history of civilized mankind.

The valor and courage of the Hungarian people in the face of overwhelming Russian military forces will go down in history as one of freedom's finest hours. It is important that we never forget what the Hungarian people fought for and what they fought against. The same forces of organized evil that have overrun Hungary are still striving to conquer all free nations and peoples. That is why we are fighting in Vietnam today. That is why President Johnson took bold and resolute action in the Dominican Republic. That is why we must be fully prepared to meet the challenge of Communist aggression in the years ahead.

Mr. Speaker, this ninth anniversary of the Hungarian freedom revolution will be fully observed in Cleveland, Ohio. Mayor Ralph S. Locher has officially proclaimed October 23, 1965, as "Hungarian Freedom Heroes Day." The council of the city of Cleveland has adopted a commemorative resolution which expresses the fervent hope and prayer that freedom will soon be restored to the heroic people of Hungary. Our Cuyahoga County commissioners have adopted a resolution declaring October 23, 1965, as "The Day of the Heroes of the Hungarian Freedom Revolution."

Under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD at this point the text of these official resolutions which express so well the feelings of the people of Cleveland for the people of Hungary and for the cause of human freedom:

CITY OF CLEVELAND PROCLAMATION DESIGNATING SATURDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1965, AS "HUNGARIAN FREEDOM HEROES DAY"

Whereas on October 23, 1965, the Hungarian people of Cleveland and Metropolitan Cleveland will commemorate the ninth anniversary of the Hungarian revolt for freedom; and

Whereas this day represents a day of national pride, prayer, and promise for the Hungarians living behind the Iron Curtain; and

Whereas this day is a day of inspiration and hope for all freedom-loving peoples of all of the captive nations; and

Whereas the city of Cleveland is proud of the part which the peoples of the various nationalities have played in the cultural and civic betterment of our community; and

Whereas it is fitting to commemorate the symbol of freedom and the valiant and gallant stand made by the Hungarian freedom fighters.

Now, therefore, I, Ralph S. Locher, as mayor of the city of Cleveland, do hereby proclaim Saturday, October 23, 1965, as "Hungarian Freedom Heroes Day" in Cleveland.

RALPH S. LOCHER, *Mayor.*

RESOLUTION 2298-65

Whereas 9 years ago the people of the free world, and those who can only silently wish for freedom, watched with hope and joy as the people of Hungary marched singing, arm in arm, to throw off the hated "Russian way of life" which had been fastened upon them by Russian guns; and

Whereas it was with frustration, horror, and tears that the world saw thousands of Russian tanks brutally crush the people of Hungary; and

Whereas the Hungarian freedom fight demonstrated to the people of the world that a decade of Russian suppression could not and did not extinguish the will to freedom of the Hungarian people; and

Whereas it is fitting that we, who enjoy a freedom unmatched by any other people in history, commemorate the 9th anniversary of the Hungarian freedom fight, for those who fight for freedom anywhere in the world fight for all of us: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That council joins the entire free world in commemorating the 9th anniversary of the Hungarian freedom fight with the fervent hope and prayer that the people of Hungary will once again live in the freedom for which so many sacrificed their lives to achieve; be it further

Resolved, That the clerk of council be and she hereby is requested to transmit a copy of this resolution to the various Hungarian societies of this community.

Adopted October 11, 1965.

JAMES V. STANTON,
President of Council.

Approved October 12, 1965.

RALPH S. LOCHER,
Mayor.

RESOLUTION BY COUNTY OF CUYAHOGA, CLEVELAND, OHIO

A philosopher once said, "Even a bird, to have freedom, must fly through the resistance of the air."

On October 23, 1956, freedom-loving Hungarians revolted against tyranny and dictatorship despite impossible odds; and their extraordinary courage and self-sacrifice brought glory to the human race.

Cuyahoga County is made up of many brave Europeans and their descendants from countries behind the Iron Curtain.

We, the commissioners of Cuyahoga County, salute all of these people by recalling this anniversary so as to keep it ever in mind.

We declare October 23, 1965, "The Day of the Heroes of the Hungarian Freedom Revolution, 1956."

FRANK M. GORMAN.
WILLIAM P. DAY.
HENRY W. SPEETH.

New Arts and Humanities Foundation Law Will Bring New Spark to Lives of the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965, just passed by Congress, will bring a new spark to the lives of the people in all parts of the country. The $10,700,000 appropriation we have voted will benefit the people in Minnesota as well as in the rest of the Nation.

With financing of this program, the Minnesota State Arts Council can make great strides toward setting up a program like the excellent work done by the New York State Arts Council. On the basis of an appropriation from the 1965 State legislature, our arts council is already in the process of hiring an executive secretary. With Federal aid, it could bring new vitality to all parts of the artistic life of the upper Midwest and the study and development of the humanities.

In the Minneapolis area we can expand the program of such excellent cultural institutions as the Guthrie Theater, the St. Paul Council of Arts and Sciences, the Minneapolis Symphony, the Walker Art Center, and the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Such programs as expanding the number of weeks for the performances given by the Minneapolis Symphony, sending out a tractor trailer set up as an artmobile to display works from the Minneapolis Institute of Arts into all parts of our State and region, and providing a resource center for amateur artistic productions and architectural advice, to our communities, are now possible.

Mr. John Meyers, chairman of the Minnesota State Arts Council, and other members of the council are ready with a well-thought-out program to put this Federal law to work now that financing is available.

I am sure that the foundation will soon follow President Johnson's prediction by having "an unprecedented effect on the arts and humanities of our great Nation."

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation spoke before the Southern Jurisdiction of Masonic Order on October 19, and the subject of his speech was "The Faith of Free Men." In the wake of the demonstrations of all sorts and for various reasons which this country has experienced during the past several years, I feel his remarks are most appropriate.

Mr. Hoover's remarks follow:

THE FAITH OF FREE MEN

(Remarks of J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, before the Supreme Council, 33d Degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Southern Jurisdiction, U.S.A., in Washington, D.C., October 19, 1965)

This is the proudest moment of my 45 years' membership in the Masonic Order. To receive the Grand Cross of the Scottish Rite is an honor which I shall cherish always. This award is made all the more meaningful by the high respect which Freemasonry commands in the minds of all who have felt its wholesome influence and observed its good works.

The strong virtues of the Masonic movement are indelibly etched in every chapter of our Nation's history. Masons helped to carve our country's early settlements out of a hostile wilderness that was Colonial America. They added vital fuel to the fires of freedom which burned so intensely from Boston to Savannah some two centuries ago. They stood prominent among the bold colonists who affixed their signatures to the Declaration of Independence in 1776 and, 11 years later, to the Constitution of the United States.

George Washington, the Father of our Country, was a Master Mason—a statesman of greatest courage and dedication who envisioned America as a land where men of all creeds might live together and worship together in freedom under God.

The brave patriots who served under General Washington at Valley Forge—and their latter-day counterparts at San Juan Hill, Belleau Wood, Corregidor, the Yalu Valley—made grave sacrifices that liberty and justice might prevail. They fought then—as Americans stand prepared to fight today—to uphold a cause which draws its greatest strength from an abiding faith in man's ability to guide his own destiny with the help of God.

Today, our priceless heritage of freedom is under relentless attack both at home and abroad. In the jungles and ricefields of southeast Asia, Americans in uniform maintain a constant vigil against the Communist hordes of a modern-day Genghis Khan to whom no commodity is cheaper than human life.

In Europe and the Near East, our country's patience and determination are constantly strained by the taunts and provocations of Iron Curtain slave masters who talk of peace while clandestinely plotting to spread their godless creed of Utopia-in-chains.

Throughout Central and South America we have had to erect guard posts of freedom against the sinister efforts of Communist henchmen to spread the malignant cancer of Marxism across the Western Hemisphere. Not only have we seen the results of their treachery in Cuba, but the Dominican Republic could be a Marxist satellite today were it not for the fast action taken by a courageous President and alert Americans to thwart a Communist take-over there earlier this year.

Communism is a vast international conspiracy which today dominates one third of the earth's people. Here, in our own country, that conspiracy is represented by the Communist Party, U.S.A. a bold and defiant band of anti-American turncoats whose operations are directed and controlled by the Kremlin in Moscow.

The Communists profess to be a legitimate political organization. This is not so. Actually, the Party constitutes a foreign outpost on America's shores. Its members—knowingly, deliberately and willingly—are active tools of the Soviet Union.

Witness, for example, the programs which occupy the primary attention of Communist Party members in this country: withdrawal of American support from South Vietnam; noninterference with Communist terrorists in Santo Domingo; appeasement in all dealings with members of the Marxist world.

The Communists speak of peace, but peace at an exorbitant and heart-rending price—submission to Communist domination. From 50 years of dealings with the Stalins, the Khrushchevs, the Brezhnevs, the Castros, the Mao Tse-tungs, this bitter lesson has been learned by the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

Yet, in country after country, there still remain the legions of uninformed, misinformed and politically naive who are the noncommunist dupes and fellow travelers whom the Communists rely upon to carry forward their programs for world domination.

We find these dupes in shocking abundance here in our own United States where Gus Hall, the Moscow-trained General Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., boasted to newsmen last fall that there are approximately 100,000 Americans within the Party's influence. About 10 percent of them, he said, are dues-paying members. The remainder he described as close sympathizers.

These sympathizers include growing numbers of young people—because the major target of Communist propaganda and exploitation in the United States today is the Nation's youth.

Standing in the forefront of the Communist campaign to confuse the minds, distort the thinking and win the support of our young people is the DuBois Clubs of America—an illegitimate spawn conceived by the Communist Party and nurtured by a trusted band of youthful adherents to the cause of world Marxism.

Leaders of the DuBois Clubs of America were prominent among the Communists who attended a special youth leadership school sponsored by the Party last June to prepare for a stepped-up campaign of recruitment and agitation among youth. Already, this fall, there are signs that these training sessions have begun to bear fruit—in the form of defiant protests against law and authority.

Today, as never before, the Communists are confident of their ability to win recruits among this country's youth. That is why the party has placed such intense emphasis upon its campus speech program—a program that has seen skilled hucksters of atheism and treason appear at scores of colleges and universities from New York to California, without objection by the authorities of those institutions of higher learning and often with positive encouragement by members of the faculties of such universities.

What do these party spokesmen have to say to our young people? In the State of Washington, one Communist speaker loudly condemned the United States for its actions in helping to defend the cause of freedom in the Far East. He charged his audience that it was their duty to demand immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam.

In Missouri, another party functionary told a group of students that the United States is the "most hated country" in the world.

And in Rhode Island, a third Communist explained that the wall of Berlin had been built to hold back undesirables from the West who were infiltrating East Germany.

The Communist movement, Communist regimes, and those who knowingly support them are really ultrareactionary. They are the worst enemies of freedom and social justice.

Our university professors and students would serve their country and professions with fruitful distinction if they were to study this historic development and become not only academic but dynamic fighters against the Communist drive to dominate the world and impose on mankind the Soviet system of tyranny.

It is one of the glaring contradictions of our day that the same Communist spokesmen who are so glib-tongued in their appearances before groups of college students immediately lose their voices when placed under oath in a court of law or before a committee on Congress. They always take refuge behind the fifth amendment. Our moral atmosphere would be better if they knew as much about the Ten Commandments as they do about the fifth amendment.

Communists refuse to testify at any proceeding where they are subject to fines and imprisonment for deliberate lies and distortions. In the dark world of communism, there is no room for truth—just as there is no place for freedom and decency and God.

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In their campaign to weaken and destroy the cause of democracy, the Communists actually are receiving invaluable aid from far too many intended victims.

I refer to the pseudoliberals of the extreme left, as well as the misguided zealots of the ultra right—modern-day Don Quixotes who mistakenly fight the transparent shadows of imaginary enemies rather than meet the challenge of the real and awesome problems confronting our beloved United States .

I refer to the Ku Klux Klan and other hatemongers, regardless of their color or creed, who practice a doctrine of intolerance, bigotry and intimidation toward their fellowman.

I refer to the unkempt characters of pliable minds and persuasion who eagerly attach themselves to any "cause" which runs counter to convention—and to the morally corrupt opportunists who flagrantly exploit their naive enthusiasm and credulity for self-serving purposes.

I refer also to the highly vocal rabble rousers of dubious stability and motivation who encourage defiance of the law by counseling cynicism and disrespect toward family, law and order, and all forms of authority.

"Civil disobedience," a seditious slogan of gross irresponsibility, has captured the imagination of citizens who are morally, mentally, and emotionally immature. It has been spread at street-corner rallies by those who would use it as an avenue to personal power and prestige. And it has been spread in the false guise of academic freedom in the halls of public and private institutions that have permitted emotional, and often obscene, harangues against morality and reason. What they really seek is license—not freedom.

I am greatly concerned that certain racial leaders are doing the civil rights movement a great disservice by suggesting that citizens need only obey the laws with which they agree. Such an attitude breeds disrespect for the law and even civil disorder and rioting. The citizen has no latitude as to what laws he must obey. If he feels a law is wrong or unjust, he has recourse to established constitutional procedures to have it changed through his legally elected representatives.

It is reprehensible for any person to select those laws he will obey and those he will ignore. Such defiance is a form of anarchy. It is shameful and disgraceful for persons in high authority to condone or urge the breaking of established laws.

I have also become increasingly concerned about the influence wielded upon the impressionable minds of our youth by some so-called educators—such as the college professor who reportedly urged a group of students at the University of California to burn their draft cards, refuse to pay income taxes and, if necessary, go to jail for their actions.

Civil disobedience is not, and must not become, an accepted norm of behavior in a society of free men. It leads to anarchy—and pre-empts all possibility of rational discussion or appeal.

No longer can respectable citizens complacently stand by while celebrity status is accorded those sick minds and corrupt souls who tamper with and ridicule our orderly processes of government under law.

We must choose between law and anarchy; freedom and chaos.

Is America as a Nation being swept by an epidemic of spiritual malnutrition? I fervently hope not; but the danger signs are all too clear. I fear that the public may be coming to accept widespread lawlessness as an unavoidable adjunct to our way of life.

What has happened to the civic pride, the righteous indignation, of otherwise respectable citizens who turn their backs on helpless victims of beatings, robberies, and sex crimes? The incredibly indifferent attitude of these people is exacting a heavy toll. It has helped to turn the streets and parks of many cities into virtual jungles of fear—where, according to a recent survey, nearly one-half of the residents are afraid to walk alone at night.

Despite the continuing efforts of some self-professed "experts" to minimize the crime problem, the undeniable fact remains that crime is increasing—in both numbers and intensity—at an alarming rate. It is growing six times as fast as our expanding population.

Last year, more than 2,600,000 serious offenses were reported to law enforcement agencies throughout the United States. This is the largest total on record. It means that more Americans felt the ravages of crime last year than ever before.

Today, the onslaught continues—with five serious offenses being recorded every minute. There is a vicious crime of violence—a murder, forcible rape or assault to kill—every 2½ minutes; a robbery, each 5 minutes; a burglary, every 28 seconds; and 52 automobiles are stolen every hour.

These figures are based on facts—unlike the illogical and inane criticism which has been voiced by that peculiar clique of sociologists and criminologists who are apparently suffering "armchair fatigue." These impractical theorists who attempt to "define away" our crime problem should step from their paper castles into the world of reality.

No one is more keenly aware of, or more deeply concerned with, the ravages of crime than the President of the United States. Last month, in signing the Law Enforcement Assistance Act—a bill designed to help strengthen the delicate machinery of justice in this country—he declared, "The control of crime is a major target of this administration."

The President has appointed a Special Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice to look into and seek answers for the problems of crime control. He has the support of every responsible law enforcement official in this vital undertaking.

There is an urgent need today for realistic thought and realistic action in meeting the challenge of crime and immorality. This is especially true in the critical area of youthful criminality—where society has too long been asked to endure gross abuses of public and private trust by shallow-minded juvenile authorities.

The true meaning and intent of our great national holidays have been defiled by bands of defiant youths such as the arrogant young hoodlums who turned the Fourth of July this year into a nightmare of terror and destruction at resort communities in Ohio, Missouri, Iowa and New York. Reports that participants in these orgies of lawlessness were being released after payment of small fines caused one great newspaper to observe, "About all that such slaps on the wrist will do is bring them out in force again next year. What they need, and what they ought to get, is 6 months at hard labor."

Whenever dangerous young hoodlums are encouraged to develop an attitude of "I can get away with anything—I'm a juvenile," society suffers and justice becomes a meaningless expression. Parental neglect, excessive weakness, categorical leniency, destroy respect for the law and for those charged with its enforcement.

In complaining last year of what it termed "Turnstile Justice," a major newspaper in New York demanded, "* * * it's time that the public was told just why so many young criminals and terrorists are passed through this turnstile and sent back to the streets to kill, rape, rob, and assault the innocent."

Exaggerated charges? Not in the least. From 1960 through 1964, no less than 225 police officers were killed in line of duty. Nearly one-third of the hoodlums arrested in connection with these murders were on parole or probation when the killings occurred.

The lives of six of these officers were claimed by criminals who had been paroled for a prior murder. Eleven lives were taken by offenders who had been paroled after confinement for felonious assault; and 32 of these officers were killed by paroled robbers.

We recently completed an examination of the records of nearly 93,000 criminals who were arrested in 1963 and 1964. This disclosed that 76 percent—more than three-quarters—had been arrested on at least one previous occasion. Over one-half of them had received lenient treatment, including parole, probation, and suspended sentences, at some point in their criminal careers—and these criminals recorded an average of more than three additional arrests after their first encounter with the school of soft justice and official leniency.

Forty-one years ago, an experienced attorney and jurist in New York issued the strong warning: "It is not the criminals, actual or potential, that need a neuropathic hospital. It is the people who slobber over them in an effort to find excuses for their crime. The demand of the hour in America, above all other countries, is for jurors with conscience, judges with courage, and prisons which are neither country clubs nor health resorts."

The same "demands of the hour" continue to exist today. Tragically, the atmosphere of many courtrooms is still polluted by some jurors who deliberately close their minds to the evidence before them. Too many of our judges seek out technicalities rather than guilt or innocence. A trial should truly represent an enlightened search for truth so that deception, surprise, technicalities and delay will be obliterated. The jousting in legal mumbo-jumbo resorted to by too many of our judges makes a farce of our judicial system.

But even if he should be convicted, the criminal knows that regardless of his past record there is steadily increasing hope for a suspended or a probationary sentence or an early release on parole.

The decent people in all sections of the country—East, West, North, and South—have suffered too long at the hands of terrorists set free with little more than a pretext of impartial consideration of their guilt.

They have tired of the street brawl tactics displayed by those lawyers-criminal who employ any means the courts will tolerate to defeat the interests of justice.

They are losing patience with systems of parole and probation that are little more than conveyor belts from our prisons and court chambers back to the underworld.

And they have become nauseated by the irresponsible actions of other "sometime" Americans such as those fair-weather patriots who eagerly grasp every right and privilege which our country guarantees its inhabitants—while ignoring the duties and obligations that citizenship necessarily entails.

Those who seek equal rights under the law should be taught to assume equal responsibility before the law. Certainly, civil rights and individual dignity have their vital place in life, but what about the common good and the law and order that preserve us all from lapsing back into the jungle?

We must have a world ruled by law. I am not one of those who believe in adding a great many more laws. The crux of the problem is that we do not observe the laws we already have; nor is the spirit of these laws interpreted by our courts to give equal justice to the criminal and to law-abiding citizens who are the victims of the savagery perpetrated on our streets and highways.

During my early years, a strong and lasting impression was made on my life by a schoolteacher who told our class one day

that, in order to receive passing grades and qualify for graduation, each of us would have to master the "three R's" of reading, writing, and arithmetic. "But," she continued, "I hope you learn far more than that in my classroom because, in order to achieve true happiness and success in life, you will have to master an additional set of 'R's' the 'three R's, of Americanism—reason, respect, and responsibility."

Then she added, "You will also find that there is a fourth 'R' which is sacred to America. It is religion."

Today, there is a most urgent need for Americans to rededicate themselves to the strong moral principles upon which our Nation was founded.

As Ralph Waldo Emerson said, "The true test of civilization is not the census, nor the size of cities, nor the crops—no, but the kind of man the country turns out."

Faith dominated the atmosphere at Independence Hall in Philadelphia where the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were framed.

Faith is our mainstay in the ideological struggle now raging between the camps of godless communism and human freedom.

And faith remains our strongest bulwark against the criminal and subversive enemies who would destroy our priceless heritage of liberty and justice for all. But faith without work will be of no avail—there must be unity of purpose.

America will continue to progress in dignity and freedom so long as our people cherish liberty and justice and truth and honor God.

Faith in God. That is the fortress of freemen.

Justice Department Investigation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I commend the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GRAY] for bringing this important matter to the attention of the Congress. It appears that the Justice Department, in its passion to pursue Jimmy Hoffa, is sacrificing the public interest by supporting and defending its anti-Hoffa witness, Edward Partin. The gentleman from Illinois has outlined the situation surrounding Partin, who has given massive testimony against Hoffa. In exchange, it appears that he is being shielded from the lawful consequences of what can only be called a criminal career. For example, Partin has been under indictment on 26 counts of violation of the provisions of the Landrum-Griffin Act, an act intended by Congress for the protection of rank and file union membership. The State prosecution for manslaughter against Partin was recently nolle prossed. Although everyone knows of Partin's whereabouts and activities, he has never been returned to the jail in Oregon from which he escaped and where he had been serving time for violation of the criminal law.

Further, I am reliably informed that U.S. marshals are in constant attendance upon Mr. Partin as he pursues his private activities, marching in picket lines, driving in automobile races in Alabama, and so forth.

It seems clear enough, Mr. Speaker, that the Department of Justice has made a policy decision in this case, based on a judgment that pursuit and prosecution of Hoffa outweighs considerations of justice, punishment of criminal offenders, protection of rank and file labor union membership, and of the general public.

I urge the House Committee on the Judiciary to pursue its investigation of this aspect of the Justice Department's administration. There is ample authority for such an investigation—indeed, the committee adopted an authorizing resolution sponsored by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCCULLOCH] in September 1964, by a bipartisan vote of 20–13. I trust the Committee on the Judiciary will pursue this investigation as a first order of business when the 2d session of the 89th Congress convenes in January 1966.

Distinguished Publisher-Editor Speaks on Pretrial Publicity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, of the several fine newspapers which publish within the congressional district I have the honor of representing, two of these of which we are extremely proud are the Malden Evening News and the Medford Daily Mercury.

Recently the distinguished publisher-editor of these newspapers, Mr. David Brickman, was invited to address the annual meeting of the United Press International Editors here in Washington. In doing so Mr. Brickman presented an especially perceptive commentary on the responsibility of the news media in releasing pretrial publicity. This, as we all appreciate, is a very important and timely subject and one which is wide open to thoughtful and imaginative comment. Dave Brickman is certainly well qualified to speak on this subject, not only as a practicing journalist but as a man whose work has always been characterized by great breadth of outlook and high intellectual honesty.

Mr. Speaker, I respectfully include Mr. Brickman's remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the benefit of the entire Congress:

PRETRIAL PUBLICITY

Ever since Cain allegedly slew Abel and the event was dutifully recorded, justice has wrestled with the impact of pretrial publicity. The pages of history are scored with heated and acrimonious testimony of those who have spent their breath debating it, but not settling it. As long as men have been able to whisper, one to another, to give the news or pass on some scandal, an accused has not been sure he would encounter prejudice to affect his trial.

It is, therefore, hardly extraordinary in our own time (one unmatched in man's capacity to communicate as never before), that anxiety seems to have increased over this issue. This anxiety takes the shape of formidable and well-intended proposals for protecting an accused; and the proposals flow from many responsible sources.

These generally suggest legislation is needed to curb pretrial publicity, so that our judicial system may function without an aura of prejudice by time a trial is held. On the other hand, assertions are made that no curbs are necessary, because the press is able to police itself, can be relied upon to live up to its responsibilities, and, besides, is protected from restraint in this field by the first amendment to the Constitution.

Unanimity of opinion will not be found in this dispute.

As a matter of fact, it is often impossible to tell which side one may be on in this situation merely by knowing to what profession the pleader is attached.

So it is we find lawyers and members of the bench joining editors in saying "leave the press alone, it knows what to do without being straitjacked by unworkable laws"; and we also find members of our own craft joining our antagonists, charging we need to be shackled by new statutes because, they say, we sanctimoniously preach responsibility in this area of reporting pretrial news but really are panting after sensation, circulation, and titillation of sin.

PATTERNS OF DECISION

However all this may be, patterns of decision are well beyond the academic stage. Rules have already been set down by the Attorney General of the United States limiting the information Federal officers may issue to the press about a crime, its alleged perpetrator and his record at the time of apprehension—a limiting regulation that apparently has so far rested well with the press.

At least one State jurisdiction has acted to restrain its own officials and police from detailing to the press information on hand about an apprehended accused, what he is accused of and what police know about his part in a crime, or what he has told them of it.

It has already created serious problems for the police, who have often needed press cooperation and found themselves combatting rumors they felt they couldn't deny under the newly installed code. Senator MORSE's proposal to limit information to the press from the Federal side and punish Federal employees who give out information, contributes to a continuing debate but without much to recommend it, really.

In other approaches to the problem, members of the bar and of the press have confronted and consulted with each other, evaluating what processes could be fairly adopted to publish pretrial information without running the danger of making it difficult or even impossible for a defendant to secure a fair trial. Guidelines have been evolved from these confrontations which, while existing without the force of law behind them, have been agreed to by large numbers of newspapers, if not all; and in the latter case, have had a decidedly salutary effect on nonsigners in their reporting, just the same. Voluntary compliance already has a shining record, even in its infancy.

LAW SIDE

On the law side of the issue, we have observed agreements by the bar, by prosecutors, and defense counsel, to abide by ground rules that tend to quiet the pulsing nerve of sensationalism insofar as their acts and statements have contributed to them and have contributed to that unsavory accusation—trial by newspaper.

For all this, for all the variations in the spectrum of approaches to dealing with pretrial publicity—and I have encountered

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most of them—none has the merit of genuine workability except the voluntary guideline system. Its superior merit lies in placing decision and judgment where it ought to be: the lap of the editor. Let him continue to do his job and be responsible for the consequences of his good judgment or bad judgment.

The validity of this position is attested to by many competent observers who need to apologize to none for their own dedication to justice and fair trial.

As Edward W. Brooke, attorney general for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, said last year, on the matter of balancing the public's right to know and a defendant's right to be tried "in an atmosphere free from preconceptions":

"The best person to make these judgments is the editor. It is he who lives with the problem every day in his professional life. Cynics might say that judgments of this type are determined on the basis of the profit motive only. Yet I think the facts do not justify such an assertion."

Dean Griswold of Harvard Law School has observed, laconically: "If the lawyers will simply put their own house in order, much of the problem can be eliminated."

CLASH OF PRINCIPLES

Former Judge Simon H. Rifkind of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York, expressing comparable sentiments in 1962, saw the occasional collision between the press and the courts as a result of a clash between two great constitutional princples. But he declared his recognition of the responsibility the press has to impart to its readers such information as it can obtain. He added that while this, indeed, "exposes the judicial process to some risks and injuries, the answer would probably be that that is part of the price we have to pay for the privilege of enjoying freedom of the press."

I am not attempting to establish a case for our profession on the basis of argumentum ad hominem. What I am pointing out, without interminable references to authority and history, is that no one can really compute what variations of pretrial publicity damn a defendant or make impossible a fair trial.

That is probably why, in the last 25 years, charges against the press for inflaming public opinion to an extent that a fair trial was denied a defendant have been stamped with two significant words by the U.S. Supreme Court: "Certiorari denied."

PRESS COMPETENT

Actually, as the one private enterprise guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, the press, in my judgment, is far more competent to decide what is suitable pretrial publicity than the police, a prosecuting attorney, or a defense lawyer; and in this judgment is better able to protect the rights of a defendant, as well as the rights of the public to be apprised about the apprehension of an accused.

The tendency to move toward prior restraint in terms of pretrail reporting not only seems to be unconstitutional, but represents a step in the direction of suppression of proper information that may well injure public confidence in all phases of law enforcement and justice. We cannot afford this in our country.

Yet, without legal interference, and on the basis of mutual agreement, bar-press guidelines agreeing to (1) avoidance of reports on confessions; (2) statements from police and attorneys about the guilt or innocence of a man arrested for a felony, and (3) prudence in applying accusatory words to describe him, his record, or his case from the time of indictment—these three broad approaches cover the area very well and meet the reasonable circumstances for maintaining a proper climate which will not jeopardize the prospects of an accused.

Let me point out that charges of trial by newspaper imply that prospective jurors will be so prejudiced by what they have read that an impartial jury may not be impaneled as a result. This seems to be founded on a premise that most jurors are dim witted and are prejudiced against a defendant because they may have read about him in connection with an arrest for a crime. No credit is given to the fact that the judge instructs a jury on evidential procedures or that a judge may just happen to make a very solemn impression on a jury as to its responsibilities in heeding evidence, and evidence only.

PUBLIC CONCERN

I suppose that those demanding restraints by law upon the press would not allow us to assuage public concern, as the press of Massachusetts did recently, when the arrest of a sex criminal who is charged with slaying a 3-year-old was aided by widespread publicity about the crime and for an automobile for which the police were searching.

Last August a 3-year-old girl disappeared in the town of Middleboro. She was found 10 days later in the woods nearby, raped and murdered. Police eventually arrested a former sex offender in New Hampshire.

He waived extradition, was brought back to the scene of the crime, reportedly gave authorities a statement admitting his complicity, took police to revisit the scene to describe what transpired. All this was reported in the press, and with pictures.

The crime itself, obviously, excited considerable emotion. Public interest in the search for the missing child and the ultimate arrest of the former sex offender ran high.

After his arrest and the report of his alleged involvement, and after he had been sent by the court for mental examination for 35 days, attention turned in Massachusetts to its method of dealing with known sex offenders. A new study was begun to see if Massachusetts was handling the matter in the most expeditious way. Meanwhile, the story on the prisoner died—until the next court appearance. This is as it should be, and no law was enacted to effect this exercise in restraint.

CITES INSTANCES

Let me cite a few other instances of recent reporting that might be challenged by zealots concerned with alleged criminals:

New York, Wednesday, July 7, 1965, New York Herald Tribune: "Six Prior Morals Arrests: Held in Boy's Slaying" says a headline. Story recites the arrest record of Marvin Kaye, 34, on sodomy and other charges going back to 1956—convicted six times for morals offenses—arrested for homicide for strangling and assaulting a 13-year-old boy.

New York Times, page 21, June 29, 1965: "Six Youths Arrested in Slaying of Boy at a Bronx Candy Store." "Six youths were charged yesterday with the fatal stabbing of a 16-year-old boy—Robert Curley Williams, 22, a Youth Corps member, has admitted the stabbing, according to Assistant District Attorney Irving J. Goldsmith."

New York Herald Tribune, June 29, 1965: "Six 'Barbarian Knights' Arrested in Stabbing; Curly Williams, the alleged stabber, stood off to one side, his face solemn and attentive, the lower lip protruding. His black oxfords were cracked, but a flashing gold shirt covered an even livelier multicolored Hawaiian blouse beneath it."

"Assistant District Attorney Goldsmith praised police for 'working like dogs' to solve the Terach slaying.

"The assistant prosecutor said Curly Williams had testified that Ivan Terach 'came at me, so I stabbed him.' "

Should statutes be adopted to bar this kind of information to the public, I can predict hundreds of newspapers will be facing court action—and gladly, considering all the implications of suppression and secrecy involved. Yet in these samples as quoted are contained details which some would bar from the public.

ANOINTED?

Somewhere along the line, there has taken hold an idea among public officials that they know best what the public may be told. The concept that an appointed official is somehow anointed and endowed with a capacity to order what may be told and what may not be told, is all to prevalent today.

Indeed, it is ironic that in the midst of the most shocking increase of serious crime in the Nation's history, we hear a plea that the acts of criminals should be cloaked in substantial pretrial secrecy.

Our own desire to act responsibly is being misread. Some see it as an act of confession of failure to realize our role in society. Others see it as timidity in the face of an assault on the press from those who speak in the name of equity but really are pleading for special privilege for themselves and their private interest.

There is a difference that should be clearly defined between the responsibility for reporting a trial in progress and reporting preindictment and pretrial information.

No excuse for inaccurate reporting of court proceedings can be justified. The ground rules are plainly designated; the restrictions are not difficult to learn; and an occasional lapse, although to be condemned, is merely a lapse, and not a conspiracy on the part of the press to bring about mistrials or annoy the court.

CRIME REPORT

But in the reporting of crime, the search for the criminal, his apprehension by the police, the return to the scene by the arrested person to reenact his crime, the public has not only a proper interest, but a proprietary and overriding interest.

The average law-abiding citizen is rightfully concerned with the work of the police and any arrest of an accused. He is anxious to be assured if the connection with the crime of the arrested person is more than fragmentary or nebulous. Even before indictment or arraignment, the public has a right to know if the police or law enforcement agencies have, indeed, apprehended a real suspect or not, and what they have done with him.

At another stage, however, publication of stories concerning previous criminal record is inexcusable. What is not offensive before indictment becomes so after indictment. Indeed, it may prove so offensive to the court as to provide a cause for mistrial—although not quite sufficient to cause the court to hold a publication in contempt. Most jurisdictions concur with the axiom that the rights of defendants are more surely protected with the spotlight on them, on the police and the courts than otherwise.

Courts, in the last analysis, are not holding the press in contempt for inflammatory or prejudicial pretrial publicity, or even erroneous trial reporting unless it impacts sharply on the possibility for a fair trial. This distinction needs to be clearly realized.

DESIRE TO KNOW

Thus, the courts will generally hold that the kind of selected reports we have referred to serve a genuine public desire to know not only what frightening crime is being committed, but also that the police have been effective in arresting and charging suspects.

It is given to no man to be infallible. The same applies to his institutions. We can continue to try in a constructive way to accept and carry through our responsibilities—and in our occupation they are neither light nor uncomplicated. If we have an appointed

task it is that we should preserve the right to free speech as well as fair trial, the right to speak up, as well as the right to remain silent.

Report on 1st Session of 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, the 1st session of the 89th Congress has been described as the most productive in modern times. From the standpoint of volume of legislation passed as well as the variety of subjects upon which the Congress has legislated, the session will currently fill this description. This Congress covered the gamut of legislative activity from the earth's subsurface to outer space, from the $130 claim of an Air Force officer to the $49 billion for national defense, and practically every interest and problem which exists in between these geographical and economic extremes. The Nation's health, education, economic well-being, and related subjects occupied the time of our 535 Members of the House of Representatives and Senate during the 10-month session about to close.

HEALTH

More legislation affecting public and private health was added to the Federal statute books than at any time during our Nation's history. Leading this category of legislation was the Social Security Amendments of 1965 (H.R. 6675) including medicare or hospitalization under social security for all citizens 65 years of age and older. Added to this measure before passage were a variety of other programs, including: First, a voluntary program to provide medical care administered by private insurance companies; second, increased social security benefits for older citizens as well as widows and dependents; third, an increase in social security taxes to protect the reserve funds; fourth, a beefing-up of the Kerr-Mills program of health care for the needy aged or eldercare, and fifth, provisions benefiting the blind, the physically handicapped and certain other disabled persons.

The Nation's health also was dealt with in the Community Health Services Act (S. 510) providing matching funds for local health centers, and the Community Mental Health Centers Act (H.R. 2985) providing a corresponding service for the mentally ill. Substantial funds were voted for health research facilities (H.R. 2984) and for concentrated research work on diseases of the heart, cancer, stroke, and related ailments (H.R. 3140).

The Congress has provided substantial funds to educate and train medical practitioners and others preparing for careers in the healing arts in H.R. 3141. Another new program will result in establishing and financing medical library facilities (H.R. 3142), including regional medical libraries to aid the medical profession and those whom it undertakes to serve.

Extensive amendments to the water pollution control laws include a new requirement for standards of quality in our major rivers and lakes. This represents completion of a long-time campaign for reducing pollution of our Nation's waters. A clean air bill (S. 306) is designed to reduce pollution from automobile exhausts as well as other pollutants in our Nation's air. Still another new program entitled the rural water sanitation amendments (H.R. 10232) is designed to assist in providing sewage facilities in the rural sections of our Nation.

Certain specific subjects affecting our Nation's health have also been dealt with, including amendments to further control the distribution are use of harmful drugs, including the so-called pep pills and goofballs (H.R. 2). In recognizing the damaging consequences of cigarette smoking, the Congress has imposed a requirement that all packages of cigarettes shall be labeled to indicate that "cigarette smoking may be hazardous to your health" (S. 559).

EDUCATION

For the first time in our Nation's history, a comprehensive program of Federal aid to elementary and secondary education has been enacted (H.R. 2362). The initial program of providing an annual allowance of $1.5 billion is intended to benefit public as well as parochial and private schools. This legislation also covers our Nation's high schools with all schools benefiting on the basis of a formula which takes into account the families in the school district with incomes of $3,000 or less according to the 1960 census.

The Higher Education Assistance Act (H.R. 9569) stepped up scholarship and loan funds for students seeking a college education. The program of vocational education also was augment through enactment of the Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act (H.R. 7743). Amendments to the Vocational Rehabilitation Act (H.R. 8310) are intended to educate disabled persons in order to make them productive citizens. Funds to provide an additional building for the Library of Congress (H.J. Res. 642) may also be classified as part of the national education effort.

Closely related to the subject of education was the establishment of the Arts and Cultural Council (H.R. 4717). This measure, which began as a purely advisory institution, developed later in the session as the National Arts and Humanities Foundation (H.R. 9460) which for the first time provides Federal subsidies for the performing arts. The Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center is authorized in H.R. 30 which passed the House of Representatives and was pending in the Senate at the close of the first session.

TAXES

One of the session's first enactments was the excise tax reduction bill (H.R. 837). This resulted in the elimination of excise taxes on automobiles, cosmetics, jewelry, luggage, and other items and provided for the reduction and future elimination of excise taxes on club dues, telephone, and telegraph messages and a great variety of other subjects.

Because the existing tax revenues do not equal the expenditures of our Federal Government, it was necessary to increase again the Federal debt ceiling (H.R. 8464). The public debt authorization is now at an all-time high of $328 billion.

A substantial improvement occurred in our balance-of-payments problem through the voluntary actions of private business concerns. Nevertheless, the adverse balance-of-payments issue and the continuing outflow of gold were the main reasons given for the extension of the interest equalization tax (H.R. 4750) which imposes a tax on foreign investments by American concerns.

The shortage of silver, coupled with a threatened increase in the price of silver, resulted in the elimination of silver certificates and the substitution of Federal Reserve notes in their place. The same conditions gave rise to passage of the Coinage Act of 1965 (H.R. 8926) as a result of which silver will soon be eliminated from dimes and quarters and reduced substantially in half dollars.

It should not be assumed that there were not also some tax increases. The boost in social security taxes to defray the increased benefits to recipients—including hospital care—will amount to more than last year's income tax cut for many persons.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Although the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was intended to provide equal voting rights for all citizens, the denial of voting rights in many Southern States brought a demand this year for additional Federal legislation. Passage of the Voting Rights Act (H.R. 6400) established an unprecedented Federal control of local and State elections and increased penalties against those who deny equal voting rights to all citizens.

A related civil rights issue was involved in the Mississippi election contest (H. Res. 585) under which certain Mississippi citizens sought to unseat the elected Congressmen from Mississippi on the ground that Negroes had been denied voting rights in the 1964 elections at which these Congressmen were elected. While this action failed, a note was sounded in behalf of a fairer administration of the voting laws in future elections in Mississippi and elsewhere.

IMMIGRATION

A new and far-reaching immigration law (H.R. 2580) was enacted which scrapped the national origins quota system and substituted a program which includes a world numerical ceiling of 290,000 on immigration to this country. The new law will facilitate the reuniting of families of American citizens and will also provide improved opportunities for skilled and professionally trained persons to emigrate to this country.

POVERTY

Notwithstanding its deficiencies and the sharp criticism leveled at the politi-

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cally and poorly administered poverty program, the Congress passed a bill designed to extend economic opportunity to additional Americans (H.R. 8283). This legislation with its multiple aspects includes funds for Head Start projects to aid disadvantaged children from ages 3 to 6, neighborhood community projects for school dropouts, work camps for young men and women, and loan and grant programs to expand educational opportunities of youngsters from poor families.

The Congress also passed the Appalachia Regional Development Act (S. 3). The theory behind this enactment is that by constructing highways and other facilities, prosperity can be brought to those residing near the abandoned coalfields and in the mountainous areas of this 13-State region of the East. The price tag is more than $1 billion.

CITIES

After years of debating the subject, the Congress established a new executive department known as the Department of Housing and Urban Development (H.R. 6927). This is intended to provide Federal service for cities comparable to the service which the Department of Agriculture provides for rural America. However, the bill does little more than to create a new Secretary in the President's Cabinet and to give the Federal Housing Authority a more prestigious title.

An appropriation of $90 million was authorized under S. 1588 to establish a high-speed surface transportation facility along the east coast intended to demonstrate that railroad trains can serve passenger transportation needs at speeds as great as 150 miles per hour. It is common knowledge that the highways of our cities and metropolitan areas are becoming increasingly jammed with automobile traffic. This high-speed railroad experiment is intended to demonstrate the need for increased railroad travel in order to reduce traffic on the highways.

A boon to the city of Washington is expected to result from passage of the District of Columbia Rapid Transit Act (H.R. 4822) to provide a subway system to serve Metropolitan Washington.

Many other subjects affecting agriculture, crime, housing—including rent subsidies—labor-management relations, veterans, civil service pay scales, and retirement benefits are among those on which the Congress took action during the first session. The list is staggering—the cost unpredictable. However, relative to the cost of this record volume of legislation, two things appear certain: First, the cost is bound to exceed the estimates; and second, the modest starts of some of the programs are bound to increase and expand in future sessions of the Congress.

JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

Many of the highly controversial and most interesting subjects of legislation of the first session of the 89th Congress were considered by the Judiciary Committee, upon which this Member of Congress serves. Of these, the voting rights and immigration bills, as well as the constitutional amendment relative to presidential succession and disability, are among the best known. In addition to these subjects, the committee considered close to 100 bills effecting changes in our Federal statutes and more than 1,000 private bills involving claims against the Government and individual immigration cases.

OF SPECIAL INTEREST

Legislative activity affecting the 12th Congressional District includes the military construction appropriation bill (H.R. 10323) providing funds for the establishment of the 5th Army Headquarters at Fort Sheridan. Military housing at Fort Sheridan and at Great Lakes Naval Training Center, as well as other improvements at both of these important bases, are also of particular interest to 12th District residents. Funds to initiate a feasibility study for a small-boat harbor at Highland Park as well as initial steps for a corresponding small-boat harbor at Zion were part of the legislative work of this session. Other engineering projects are underway affecting the Waukegan Harbor as well as the Fox River and the Des Plaines River.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

The huge legislative production of this first session of the 89th Congress included many measures which, in the opinion of this Member, might better have been left to State, local, and individual initiative. The resistance to still other proposals indicates that the second session of this Congress will be fraught with bitter controversy and very little in the way of new legislation.

Still pending on the agenda at the close of the session is the proposed repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, a proposal aimed at repealing the laws of 19 States where union shop clauses in labor-management contracts have been outlawed. In the labor-management field proposals to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act by increasing the minimum wage to $2, requiring payment of doubletime wages for hours worked in excess of 40 or 48 hours per week, and reduction of the standard work week from 40 to 35 hours per week are included. Measures to legalize secondary boycotts and to consolidate the unemployment compensation programs of the 50 States into one huge Federal program were also pending at the end of the session.

The highly emotional issue of home rule for the District of Columbia remains for the second session of this Congress or some later Congress to decide. General revision of the copyright laws is also expected to come to the House floor later. Federal control of firearms, including mail order sales of rifles and pistols, is a red-hot issue awaiting action next year.

COMMITTEE INVESTIGATIONS

These and other proposals which may not yet have been introduced will receive attention by the 89th Congress when it reconvenes in January. During the current recess many Members of Congress will engage in committee and commission work, including investigations occurring in Washington, other parts of the country and abroad. Some members of the Judiciary Committee including this member, will undertake investigations on pending narcotics legislation aimed at reducing the traffic in narcotics and helping to rehabilitate narcotics addicts. In addition, some investigations of military and civilian claims agianst the Government originating at overseas bases will be investigated during this period.

REPUBLICAN CONTRIBUTIONS

The legislative program, including the major bills which have been outlined above, has been prepared and carried out largely through the efforts of the Democratic administration with its overwhelming influence in the White House and its better than two-to-one majorities in the House and Senate. This should not indicate that the Republican Members of Congress have not contributed to the final legislative results. In many cases, as in the voting rights, immigration, health care, water pollution, education and other measures, Republicans have contributed substantially to produce the final form of these measures. In the case of repeal of the excise taxes, the administration carried through on a proposal which the Republicans initiated at the last session of Congress. Numerous recommendations of the Republican minority were adopted in the final form of the immigration bill, and an estimated three-fourths of the health care proposal represents programs initiated or supported by most Republicans. At least one-half of the voting rights measure reflects Republican recommendations.

SMOOTH SAILING

Bills such as the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Water Resources Planning Act, the Community Health Services Act, the Drug Abuse Control Amendments, the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act, and others passed the House of Representatives as well as the Senate unanimously. The fact is there were very few close votes. Even the highly controversial bill creating a new Department of Housing and Urban Development—H.R. 6927—was passed in the House with six votes to spare. This was the narrowest margin by which any of the bills passed which are now among our new laws.

In general the Johnson administration has had smooth sailing in the House and Senate during the 1st session of the 89th Congress. It is the expectation of this Member of Congress that, in this respect at least, the 2d session of the 89th Congress will be quite different.

Commission on National Economic Goals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, earlier this week I introduced H.R. 11651, a bill designed to establish a Commission on National Economic Goals. I believe that

an independent, bipartisan commission of this sort is necessary to provide objective analysis and evaluation of the Nation's long-term domestic and foreign economic goals, and I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to give this measure their complete support.

I view the next 2 months as a time for reflection on our fundamental problems and long-range goals. And just as the Congress needs time for a detached consideration of the trends of our society so too does the country need an institution which is bipartisan and independent of the Government, whose function it would be to identify long-range economic goals and recommend the means of attaining them.

The Commission on National Economic Goals would be composed of 12 members, appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, for terms of 6 years. I believe that this Presidential appointment, and the relatively long term of office would lend the Commission stature and independence commensurate with its responsibility, and would serve to attract the able men such a commission would require.

The members of the Commission would be drawn from various segments of our economy to provide expertise on issues of concern to the Commission. Organizations representing labor, business, agriculture, professional economists, and universities would each provide two members of the Commission, who would be selected, of course, by the President. The persons appointed from each category would be from different political parties to assure the nonpartisan quality of the Commission. The objective of this appointment procedure is to provide a breadth of knowledge of economic affairs, not to have each the interests of each category represented, in the narrow sense of the term. In addition, the President would be authorized to appoint two individuals from the general public, and I would hope that these men in particular would be generalists or humanists who would address themselves to the quality of life in America as this relates to our economy. For example, they might concern themselves with the availability of outlets for the time and talents of individuals who may have increased leisure time due to shorter workweeks in the years ahead.

The Commission would have full access to pertinent Government information, but would be independent of the Government. Thus it would not have to concern itself with defending or criticizing economic policies simply because they were formulated by those of a given political persuasion, and it would be free from the pressures and bureaucracy which plague the various Government departments and bureaus.

I believe that we need a commission to identify and periodically revise our economic goals, and to assign priorities among them. We can all agree, for instance, that we want to foster full employment, an everexpanding gross national product, and price stability, but we face extremely difficult problems in planning for the long range attainment of all three objectives. We can certainly increase our production by encouraging automation, but this of course, aggravates our employment situation. And many of the measures designed to increase employment have an inflationary effect which is quite harmful to those who are living on pensions. A Commission on National Economic Goals would address itself to these issues in an effort to define feasible goals with more precision, and to recommend the means of maximizing the attainment of each of these objectives.

The Commission would submit an annual report, which would supplement the shorter-term work of the President's Council of Economic Advisors and the Bureau of the Budget, and would stimulate constructive thought from all quarters interested in strengthening the U.S. economy. In performing its work, this commission would give us all a clearer picture of where we are going and how best to get there, which will certainly add strength of purpose and confidence to our economy.

The Second Russian Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RODNEY M. LOVE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. LOVE. Mr. Speaker, Dayton, Ohio, is fortunate in having Mr. John D. Yeck, a businessman with a unique knack for insight that goes to the heart of business and marketing problems. Along with his brother, William, they own a nationally known direct mail organization—Graphic Service—and an advertising and marketing agency for manufacturers—Yeck & Yeck.

Mr. Yeck is also an author and, among other books and articles, McGraw-Hill has recently published his book entitled, "How To Get Profitable Ideas," designed for creative problem solving which has meet with unusual success.

Mr. Yeck has been connected with the Dayton Council on World Affairs since its founding in 1946 and is currently serving as its chairman.

In 1964, he visited Europe to study marketing trends in the European Common Market. After his trip he become very alert to all the economic news from Russia. This led to a recent speech he made before the Dayton Discussion Club on his description of "Russia's Second Revolution," a concept and prediction that is being strengthened almost daily by reports of new developments behind the Iron Curtain.

I think my colleagues will be interested in Mr. Yeck's remarks and I submit them for the RECORD:

THE SECOND RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

First I want to warn you that this talk has nothing to do with politics—but rather with economics.

Russia's first revolution, in 1918, was both political and economic.

The economic revolution of 1918—the part I'm talking about—is over. Finished. It failed, miserably.

The second Russian economic revolution is just getting underway. It's even more important to us than the first one because this time it is right—economically right—instead of wrong.

This means that Russia, which became a big, strong world power when she was economically wrong, will become tremendously powerful if this revolution succeeds.

Don't kid yourself that a change in her economic system will automatically make Russia a friend of ours, though she may become one for other reasons. Internationally, friends come and go * * * England, Germany, Japan, Italy, China, Russia * * * almost all the big powers have been our friends at one time and enemies at another.

However, if a friend 10 years from now Russia could be a powerful friend; if an enemy, she'll be a powerful, strong, deadly enemy—the most formidable we've ever faced.

If her second revolution succeeds.

Now, I'm no expert on Russia. Why should I talk about her, when I may not tell you a thing you don't already know?

I have two reasons.

First, through long association with the Council on World Affairs I've become completely convinced that in the end U.S. voters actually make final decisions on U.S. foreign policy—so we have a responsibility to think about and discuss world affairs occasionally in order to make better decisions.

Second, I visited Europe in the spring of 1964 to study marketing in the European Common Market and a couple of things that happened on the trip sensitized me to certain aspects of communism. Of course, these things didn't sensitize you, so some of the things we've both read recently may strike us differently.

On this trip I saw and touched and felt the Berlin Wall and found out I hadn't known what it was at all.

I knew neither exactly what it looked like nor exactly what it was. I thought it was a plain old wall that acted as a dividing line.

Subconsciously, I guess, I thought it restricted my freedom in Berlin. I suppose I got that idea in the back of my head when the Communists first rolled out the barbed wire in 1961. There was a big commotion then over whether or not Americans could cross it without special permission.

Of course, that was just so much window dressing to establish the right to build the wall. The wall's not there to keep us out, but to keep the East Germans in. Their communistic economy had absolutely failed. All their best people were running away as fast as they could. They finally had to make Eastern Europe one huge concentration camp and shoot people to keep them from running away.

I knew that, mentally, before I saw the wall—but things you hear second-hand are never completely safe and I suppose I always have a mental reservation that there might be two sides to any question.

Well, there's only one side to the wall. That was obvious to the West Berliners even before it went up. "They had to do it," the West Berliner says. "We don't like it but we certainly understand the reason. East Germany was bleeding to death through Berlin. The wall is a tourniquet."

When you stand above the wall in West Berlin and look down on it, or go into East Berlin and look back, you see that it isn't a two-dimension wall at all. It has "width," too. One wall you see from the West, usually a brick or stone wall with barbed wire on top. But another fence, many feet to the east, and a cleared strip of "no man's land" between completes the wall when you see it from above or from East Berlin.

You cross the wall without trouble. In fact, at Check Point Charley the Communist's sign says "Welcome to Berlin * * * guides, limousines * * * are available. All currencies accepted." You can roam East Berlin at will, but the East Berliner stays on his side of the fence or risks a bullet in the back.

West Berliners chalk "KZ" on the wall (for "concentration camp") and that, of course, is what it is.

Walls like this are not built to show boundaries, or to keep people out. "Deadly" walls have only one purpose; to keep people in—people's who'll risk their lives to escape.

So all of the arguments about American versus Communist values may seem a bit inconclusive—until you see the wall.

Then they all collapse, completely, in the face of this total admission of total failure.

Everyone watches the politics of a country. They want to know who's running the show; how easily he gets his way; what he does with his army.

But what counts for a country in the long run is: How well the people live.

Most wars are for economic control; for economic gain.

Most revolutions have to do with the stomach—or the pocketbook.

The first Russian Revolution really and truly developed in the hope that workers could eat and live better * * * and it seemed reasonable to Bolsheviks that workers would fare better under socialism than under the czars. The czars certainly hadn't managed things well, and Lenin promised quick success. "Managers," said Lenin, "a worker can learn to be a Minister in 3 days." So he shot all the managers and put in the street fighters as managers. Then he set up his own economic system.

He was wrong on both counts.

Two of the key economic characteristics of Lenin's economic system were: state-controlled central planning, for more efficient production; to get rid of waste; elimination of profit, in order to keep any one person from making money on the work of another. This, he presumed, would "spread the wealth."

With more efficient production, less waste and no personal profit, workers would obviously produce enough wealth to provide state support of a decent life for everyone, workers and nonworkers alike. Soon, said Lenin, Russia would reach the ultimate: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his need."

Laudable goals. And they aren't restricted to Russians. You hear them around here, occasionally.

The theory sounds great. There's only one real trouble with it: It simply won't work.

As Charles Kettering once said, "The only difference between theory and practice is that in practice you can't leave anything out."

And, because their economic system leaves a few things out, and simply doesn't work, the Revolution of 1918 failed completely in its major objective—a worker's paradise.

It kept the workers, you understand—there's no unemployment in a dictatorship—but it missed out on the paradise except maybe for a few party leaders.

Finally it had to become a concentration camp, just to keep from "bleeding to death."

Luckily, for them, the Communist Party leaders had taken the precaution to keep all the guns, so even when the wall went up, and the economic revolution was finished, they were still in political control.

This gave them a chance to try again.

So they've "revolved" economically for the second time * * * and they swung 180°.

Now if I hadn't been in Europe on a marketing trip, I would have missed the second sensitizing experience.

In one of the London meetings an editor of Business Europe, a Swiss publication, casually referred to the street address of Russia's advertising agency.

I thought it was a joke—a Swiss name for propaganda, maybe. So I copied down the address and wrote the agency.

Turned out it's for real. The Russians are using real advertising. They're interested in learning more about how we do it, too.[1]

Heaven help Karl Marx. Maybe those long lines on Red Square are to watch Lenin turning in his grave. Advertising.

In Bob Benchley's story, "After the Steppe Cat, What?" he speculates on one's reaction to seeing a termite with a bit of steel in its jaw. A harbinger of considerable change.

Well, you don't just have advertising right in the middle of Lenin-type central planning * * * for the very first rule of successful salesmen (and advertising is just a multiplication of the salesman) is "Find out what people want and show them how your brand can help them it it." In Russia the only brand is the Central Committee.

With State planning and no profit the rule for business, who could use advertising? Yet there it was.

This had to have significance.

And, of course, as it turned out, it did.

It's just one symptom of an entirely different and substantially better economic system, now being rapidly introduced in Russia.

And let's not call it capitalism. In fact, we shouldn't use the words "communism" and "aciptalism" any more, simply because those words stand for systems that don't really exist anywhere today.

Advertising is a symptom of a market-oriented, profit-motivated economic system. Without such a system, it has no reason to exist.

As I began to realize this, after the trip, I became very alert to all the economic news from Russia.

About 6 months later, around October, I began to see other signs. (Not Khrushchev's retirement. I'm talking economics, not politics, although Khrushchev was the last of the street-fighter managers and Kosygin is a professional economist.)

You've been reading the papers and the magazines, too, so you probably know by now what has caused this.

Russia's economic production wasn't a complete flop—obviously.

Where central planning worked fairly well and patriotism or medals acted as the incentive or motivation—as in Olympic teams or building an army or on space flights—and where they've used special incentives, as in special payments or living conditions to scientists, they've done very well, thank you.

But in everyday things, involving plain people and no patriotic incentive, they've been lousy.

While they managed to produce quite a volume of consumer goods through centrally planned production quotas and severe penalties for not meeting them, their production per worker was low and most of the goods produced were so poorly made that people bought only what they absolutely needed, and unbought, shoddy merchandise piled up. No wonder.

Remember: When prices and standards are set by central planers, there's no incentive to do good work. Bread costs the same whether it's good or bad, fresh or stale. With no extra reward for extra effort, everything becomes equal * * * equally bad.

You didn't have to visit Russia to know this. Evidence has been printed everywhere.

Here are just a few bits of the news I noticed along that line—United Press story, February 2, 1965:

"Comrade Nikolai Andreyanov vented his wrath in a letter to the newspaper, Trud (Labor):

" 'I bought a pair of shoes produced by the shoe factory in our town. Unfortunately, the heel of one shoe fell off. Five times I took the shoe back to the factory, but the heel just kept falling off. I bought shoes from another factory and they were no better.

" 'Shame on you, comrade shoemakers, for turning out such work.' "

Time, February 12, 1965, pages 24 and 25:

"Since factory output goals are either laid down in weight or quota by the planners, a knitwear plant ordered to produce 80,000 caps and sweaters naturally produced only caps; they were smaller and thus cheaper and quicker to make.

"Taxi drivers were put on a bonus system based on mileage, and soon the Moscow suburbs were full of empty taxis barreling down the boulevards to fatten their bonuses.

"Machine builders used 8-inch plates when 4-inch plates would easily have done the job. 'We make the heaviest machines in the world,' sighed Nikita Khruschev. His choice complaint, however, had to do with a Moscow chandelier factory: the more tons of chandeliers the plant produced, the more workers earned in bonuses. The chandeliers grew heavier and heavier, until they started pulling ceilings down.

"An incredible $3 billion worth of unsalable junk as accumulated in Soviet inventories."

Hal Higdon, Kiwanis magazine, May 1965, page 23:

"The number of Soviet workers doing repair work on machine tools is three and a half times as great as those producing new ones.

"Nearly 60 percent of television sets sold recently in Russia failed during the first 6 months."

NBC: Huntley-Brinkley Report, November 4, 1964:

"The manager of GUM department store was quoted in the press recently saying that just in recent weeks 20,000 pairs of shoes bought at his store had been returned by dissatisfied customers. The fact that GUM took them back is remarkable, but the real story is that many Soviet products are of such poor quality that nobody will buy them. They keep coming onto the market because the system always has been run by production orders from some genius at a desk in the Planning Ministry. So many thousand pink ladies' hats, style 495, size 6. Sometimes they struck it lucky and the product was a success. All the ladies loved the hats, scrambled to buy them, wore them proudly, and the system looked great. But if the product was a dud they never knew it until it was too late. Nothing could be done to stop the outpouring of unsaleable merchandise from the factories because the plan says produce and overproduce."

Business Week, October 31, 1964, page 107:

"Last year, Russia produced only 911,000 refrigerators, fewer than 200,000 passenger cars, and few, if any, room air conditioners, dishwashers, or automatic washers and dryers.

"By 1961, planning errors had almost made a shambles of Russia's giant capital construction program. More than 100,000 unfinished construction projects were scattered around the Soviet Union, and the Kremlin had to call a halt while it drew up a revised plan."

Page 102: "The reason is this: If consumers have the chance, they will be unpredictable. Once they are supplied with more than their basic needs and given a degree of choice, consumers will make central planning harzardous at best, disastrous at worst.

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[1] Recent stories have made the existence of Moscow's ad agency a well-known phenomenon, but in early 1964 it was almost unbelievable.

The Soviets hit this critical stage in the late 1950's."

Page 98: "Everyone understands the problem: According to one estimate by a leading Soviet mathematician, 50 percent of the country's potential industrial output is being wasted by inefficiencies in planning and administration."

U.S. News & World Report, May 3, 1965:

"The Communist system in most of the eastern European nations is falling apart. There still is dictatorship but the totalitarian state is gone and communism as an ideology is dead in all satellites except Bulgaria."

In sum, central planning for business and industry just wouldn't work. The Russians, being human, followed their own self-interest and did things the easiest, rather than the best, way. And, as always when central planners have to defend themselves, for a long time they managed to use figures to cover the faults.

Finally in 1962 (a year after the Berlin wall spilled the beans, and Communist leadership, staring economic defeat in the face, became willing to listen to anyone) up popped a Russian liberal named Liberman. (You must remember that, in Russia, a liberal is against central planning.) A professor.

He proposed a diabolical, ingenious new Soviet scheme, the Liberman plan.

He called it "The plan, profits, and bonuses" (pretty nervy right there) and this was the idea:

Liberman said the public knows what the public wants. Let each factory develop its own production targets, product designs, and selling techniques (fancy words for individual and company initiative) based on what it thinks the public will buy (Westerners would call this, "the economy of the marketplace").

The reward is profits for the factories and bonuses for the workers when they make goods that sell, and only when they sell, rather than on what some central planner directed factories to make and people to buy. (That's individual responsibility and opportunity.)

If this sounds like something that's been going on in the United States for a long time—a market-oriented, profit-motivated, economic system, guided by decentralized individual decisions, that's not remarkable. It is.

Liberman had visited the West. He knew this would work. And Khrushchev had been in the West—he could see how well it worked.

Lenin had said, "We'll even learn, if necessary, from the capitalists," and it sure was necessary, so they decided to try it out. In the spring of 1964, just before I heard about that newborn advertising agency, they began to take steps.

After 2 years of kicking Liberman's ideas around, while things got worse and worse, Khrushchev held his breath and gave Liberman the green light to try his plan in the garment industry—men's suits. Let's quote again from the Huntley-Brinkley report, just 6 months later—NBC: Huntley-Brinkley Report, November 4, 1964: "The pioneer in the new profit system has been the suit factory, Bolshevichka. No more directives from the genius in the planning committee. Bolshevichka fills orders from retail stores like GUM. That's all. But it's never been done before. The stores order what they think their customers want. Bolshevichka produces it. The order is delivered to the store and the customers either buy it or they don't. If the merchandise doesn't move, the order is cut or rescinded. Bolshevichka changes the model, cuts the price, or does what any producer would do once he recognizes that he depends on customers and that the customer is right. Since the new system began, not a single Bolshevichka suit has had to go into storage. Production is up. Profits are up. Which means more money for the workers. Such success depends entirely on customer acceptance of their product, so the Bolshevichka workers have a basic profit incentive to satisfy the customers' demand for quality."

Incidentally—and this is important—this didn't work at first because the clothing factory couldn't get satisfactory cloth from its suppliers, so Khrushchev pushed the new method onto them, too. There's no stoping this, you see. And if Professor Liberman has his way, substantially all of the Russian economy will be based solely on profits, determined on the basis of goods actually sold at retail. The single best indicator of a firm's performance will be percent of profits on invested capital. (Sound familiar?)

Well, Liberman is getting his way—fast. In the months since then, with the economist Kosygin as Premier, the new scheme has been spreading rapidly. And, of course, we know that factory profits increase when customers are satisfied—through better service, quality, or price. So using profits to measure success in Russia will gradually improve the quality of all their production. In some fields this won't take long at all.

In that clothing factory, for example, bonus payments doubled in 2 months as the quality and profits improved. In 6 months, the plant was running at full capacity as more and more customers wanted the Bolshevichka brand name in their suits. Obviously, they needed some competition. So, by January 1, 1965, 400 more apparel factories had been switched to the profit system.

Since then, papers, magazines, and TV have been full of reports about the new Russian revolution. Let's pick up a few excerpts.

Time, February 12, 1965, pages 23, 25, 28, 29:

"Russia's growing community of pragmatic, highly professional economists and engineers understands very clearly what has happened, and is sure that it has the cure—even if much of it has to be borrowed from the capitalists. One editor proposed abolition of Russia's 50-percent consumer goods tax, argued that all Soviet revenues could be derived from a profits tax, once profit was made the universal indicator.

"The manager of a giant construction complex even went so far as to use the phrase 'supply and demand' in pleading for a free-wheeling open market for consumer goods, admitting that it would necessitate major reliance on that old capitalist technique of market research by firms.

"Last month a Moscow economist proposed that the profit motive even be extended to agriculture.

"Izvestia recently lamented that while the United States has 50 university-level business-management schools, Russia has none.

"Liberman—When asked if he tries to inculcate his students with notions of profitability, he smiles and says, 'Yes, but very carefully: I say that it is my opinion, but there are many objections. I explain them all, and the students draw their own conclusions.' "

Business Week, October 31, 1964, page 99:

"Prices will be set by producers and retailers—not planners. Under the old system it took 6 to 12 months and the approval of nine different agencies to set a price on a new product.

"Employment will be determined by managers who can expand or contract their labor force freely. Wages will probably still be set by the state, but plant directors will be allowed to increase wages up to 50 percent, out of profits, for good worker performance."

Page 100:

"There are risks as well as potential gains in the Soviet experiment. Healthy competition will no doubt increase among factories for retail customers and among both factories and retailers for the consumer. With competition will come a buildup of the marketing efforts that are already well underway.

"For the Russians, marketing expenditures are not such an easy pill to swallow; such 'wastes' were once considered among the misfortunes reserved for capitalism. It now appears that they are essential to any mass production-mass consumption economy."

Associated Press, March 27, 1965:

" 'The biggest task now,' said first Secretary Brezhnev, 'is to * * * make a wider use of economic and moral incentives in all sections of production on collective and state farms, which should be allowed greater independence in their economic activities.' "

Newsweek, February 18, 1965:

"For Muscovites, long accustomed to only the meagerest selection of fresh produce in winter, the abundance available at the Central Peasant Market last week was a strange sight.

"One peasant who arrived in Moscow last week told Newsweek correspondent Robert Korengold that he had traveled 2 days and 2 nights from Baku, 2,200 miles away, and had laid out $24.42 for his train ticket. But he added, he expected to clear about $333 on the load of pears that he had brought with him. When a woman shopper exclaimed that 5 rubles ($5.55) was far too much to pay for a kilo of pears, the man from Baku retorted: "It's 5 rubles, lady, because you can't get things like that here in winter."

"Behind this new march on Moscow lies a decision by the new team in the Kremlin. They have ruled that a peasant no longer needs written permission to bring his wares to Moscow. In keeping with their tendency to favor economic policies that work regardless of whether they coincide with Marxist dogma, Russia's new rulers are apparently willing to tolerate an expanded private trade in food.

"As for the Moscow housewife, she's apparently delighted with all the fruits and vegetables now available. Said one Muscovite shopper: 'Maybe if this system works and the peasants keep producing, we will have so much that the prices will go down.' "

New York Times, March 28, 1965:

"Last December 9, Premier Kosygin casually announced, as though it were the most natural thing in the world, 'We shall proceed toward planning on the basis of orders placed by consumers in all branches of the national economy.' "

Central planning also involved a lot of change of plant managers who were moved around like civil servants during a reduction in force. The "first in line" got the job regardless of training or ability. Now they are throwing that out. Merit will be the basis for promotion, they say.

You can see how far things have gone when you realize that profits can now increase "bonuses" of workers by 40 percent and of managers by 50 percent, automatically, and the workers' bonuses can be "adjusted" by management. "Supply and demand, market research, business schools, free prices, hire and fire authority, arbitrary bonuses out of profits, merit promotions, competition, marketing efforts, economic policies that work." When you gather all those words together the jigsaw puzzle begins to take shape.

So remember, when you read in the papers about another way in which the Soviets are "copying" the West, they aren't exactly. This is no longer reluctant "copying" of isolated intances, they are simply following and expanding—rapidly—their new way of life.

Now, I could go on. There are more and more examples.

But the cat's out of the bag. The Russians have discovered our secret weapon.

No kidding.

So they've revolted again. This time it will work.

Pravda has announced a true truth: That nothing really happens until somebody buys something.

That, once out of hunger, they don't buy until they want to buy—and that businessmen who make them want to buy, legitimately, with attractive, high quality products and persuasive salesmen, are the heart of progress.

That, by and large, for most things, central planning, socialistic systems work for conservation—like parks—and protection—like the military and the Food and Drug Administration and social security but they're not much good for progress. And in the world we're in, we progress or die.

Progress requires an economic system that is market-oriented, profit-motivated (some incentive; usually but not necessarily money, of course), competitive, with decentralized, independent management.

This is the biggest joke on American party line followers in 100 years. I wish Mark Twain were still alive. He'd love this.

Can't you see the bearded party line pickets in Times Square carrying signs that shout: "Up with profit; down with central planning." "We want piecework now."

Of course, the Russians may flub this second chance. Politicians and politics can ruin any economic system, and in Russia this would be easy because the state—that is, the Communist Party—is the sole stockholder.

But there's no guarantee that even dedicated Communists will let this chance go by. The turnabout has been and is bound to be so dramatic that they'll think twice before they fire a good market-oriented manager.

Progress doesn't require private ownership of the tools of production, anyway. Freedom may, but not progress.

Prosperity doesn't know the difference between the state taking half the profits in taxes and giving half the profits in bonuses, as long as management is being measured by return on investment.

(Management that's free to make a legitimate profit is the key. Ansco film kept very competitive for 20 years even though the U.S. Government owned all the stock * * * just as competitive as if a million stockholders had owned it.)

The government let General Aniline's management run the show as long as the "return on investment" stayed up, and that's what Russia's talking about.

Assuming that Russian leadership will be satisfied with the prosperity that the new system is sure to bring and will act pretty much like other stockholders, pretty soon the major difference in our two economic systems may be the words "capitalism" and "communism."

The important points are:

1. This old-fashioned market-oriented American system will work * * * even if it's called the new Liberman plan * * * no matter who owns the stock, as long as the managers are measured on profits, not politics (or even, as we know here in America, on a little of both) and the workers get bonuses, or raises, for making goods that sell.

2. Russia, if she keeps this up * * * (and how can they put the chicken back in the egg?) * * * Russia will grow productive, strong and powerful.

3. Once a country tastes the value of change and of the use of profitable new ideas, they won't want to go back. Prosperity keeps men in office. Next thing for the Russians to invent is the installment plan—consumer credit—and that won't be long now.

4. The Russians aren't "copying" bits and pieces of "Western methods" any more. What we see in the papers is not evidence of reluctant imitation but of the growth of their own new total system. There's a subtle and important difference.

The satellites are in on this, too. Fact is, some of them are way ahead.

Czechoslovakia has decentralized authority and has shifted from plan-fulfillment to profits as a measure of managerial success. They call it "gross value realize," but as one Czech interviewed on TV recently said, "What counts is whether you sell the stuff and can do it at a profit."

Hungary has profit sharing and—hang on to your hats—the payment of interest on capital. The prime rate is 5 percent.

There's another bit of termite-steel. Interest is even worse than advertising to Marxists. Better keep your eye on Hungary.

Or Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia, it turns out, has been on the profit system for quite awhile. In fact, they have actual stockholders, although only the workers themselves own the stock in the factory. Nevertheless, they've gone so far that a factory can go broke and all the management people lose their jobs if they fail to make a profit.

That's incentive.

And things are rapidly getting worse for Marx and Lenin.

By now, according to reports from a member of a recent trade mission, 85 percent of all arable land in Yugoslavia is back in private hands and any business employing five or fewer people can be privately owned.

There's no income tax on the first million dinars, with a 50-percent maximum tax.

They still call that "communism" in Yugoslavia. What would you call it?

Even East Germany is talking about it. Brand-name advertisements are appearing on the billboard kiosks here and there.

And you know how industrious the Germans are. If they are allowed to be effective, they have a tendency to be.

If they eat well and have choices—as you always do in a market-oriented, profit-motivated economy—then many won't be so desperate to leave East Germany. Businessmen, salesmen, marketing men and advertising men will pop up everywhere.

When that happens—for better or worse—the wall will come tumbling down.

Obviously, this tremendous 180° change in the Soviet economic system calls for a reexamination (not necessarily a change but a reexamination) of our attitudes and American foreign policy.

I warned you at the beginning that I was not going to assume that this change in economic theory would make Russia a bosom pal of the United States. Neither can I assume that it will make her more of an enemy. But in a way, the question of what to do about Russia's coming economic might is more perplexing than the what to do about the Chinese bomb * * * because we know the bomb is evil as far as we are concerned, and we can't be sure whether Russia will use the atomic power of profits as a friend or as a foe.

Of course, some folks say that we've been drifting toward Government control, central planning, and deprofiting of American business and Government support of nonproductive nonworkers to the point where it won't be long until we cross systems with Russia and change sides. Wouldn't that be something. And it could happen.

Certainly, we've just about wiped out production incentive pay only to find Russia thriving on it. Would our unions accept a 40 percent "you get it only if your production sells" bonus and "management discretion"?

And, honest now, that Czech on TV said, "We in Czechoslovakia now believe (get this) that "what is good for society is also good for the individual company; and what is good for the individual company is good for society."

Ever hear anything like that before? When an American said that he almost got jeered out of the President's Cabinet.

Surely we want to avoid that switchover.

But we'll have to watch our step.

For Russia is now on the right track, economically.

And we know that Russians are smart and capable, as well as clever, so there's no need for us to underestimate them.

They're wise to central planning and state-supported nonworkers by now—they've had a go at it. Forty long say years of it. Boy, how they must regret those wasted years.

Will they glorify initiative, profit, bonus, work, self-improvement, personal responsibility, opportunity, salesmanship * * * and start spreading wealth the "American" way?

I think the odds are at least 80 to 20 that they will.

Well, you make the U.S. foreign policy. How are you going to react?

Do you want to encourage Russia toward a high-powered, highly motivated economic system? Should we show her how to build her market-oriented economy now that she's willing to listen?

Or, if we have any influence, should we try to talk her out of this "profitable idea"?

She'll be asking * * * wanting to know how American salesmen do it. Asking for sales and advertising know-how.

Will encouragement and help just be aiding the enemy * * * or will it be man's last great hope?

What will happen if we do drift toward a Government-controlled central-planning, nonincentive, state support for nonworkers, system * * * until we cross the Russian drive toward their new, effective, decentralized, incentive, more-pay-for-more-effective-work system?

Will we then become the second most powerful nation in the world, economically?

Is this how they hope to "bury" us—with our own discarded weapons?

You make policy in the United States. What do you think?

Cuban Refugees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, last week I called upon the appropriate committees of Congress to insure that any agreement between Cuba and the United States on the entry of Cuban refugees into this country must contain certain conditions and safeguards for the south Florida area as well as the United States.

The response to that speech, Mr. Speaker, has been most gratifying. The chairmen of the appropriate subcommittees have assured me of their full consideration. Already the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs has held hearings.

Especially gratifying to me and to all the people of south Florida has been the expression by people in all parts of the United States of a willingness to assume both this privilege and the burden of additional thousands of Cuban refugees.

Congress has recognized that the refugee problem is a national one, and I am happy that in this case it so ably reflects

the innate hospitality and friendliness of all Americans.

The following editorials from across the country attest to the willingness and friendliness with which the whole Nation welcomes those who have the courage to flee from tyranny:

[From the Miami Herald, Oct. 18, 1965]

GUIDELINES FOR REFUGEES

Once we knew a family whose elderly father grew ill but could not go to a nursing home for care. So he moved in with one of his sons. The others promised to help.

Well, you know the story. Through the fault really of nobody at all, the one son became the sole support of the ailing father.

South Florida would not equate its Cuban visitors with a sick old man but rather with an ailing freedom that somehow must be nursed back to robust good health. Yet it cannot perform that function if new and heavier burdens are laid upon it by the resettlement in this area of large groups of exiles.

It seems to us that Representative DANTE FASCELL framed the issue properly before the House the other day when he observed that "the major burden is the ability of one area to take to its heart and absorb into its economic life, thousands more who flee tyranny."

There is no reason the United States Government cannot do this job with order and dispatch if it addresses itself seriously to the question as a metter vested with the national interest.

Mr. FASCELL has suggested a number of guidelines. All of them are good. Some must be adopted. Here they are:

1. Entry should be limited to reuniting divided families and releasing political prisoners; beyond that the United States should not now go.

2. Miami should be only an entry and processing point and not a staging or relocation center.

3. Transportation of refugees from Cuba should be at all times under the strict supervision and control of U.S. authorities.

4. Necessary personnel and equipment should be kept in the south Florida area to enforce the laws and to safeguard the security of the United States.

5. The United States must have final determination on who is admitted.

6. Refugees must be security screened and, if considered a security risk returned to Cuba.

7. The rate of entry of Cuban refugees into the United States should not exceed the rate of relocation.

8. No agreement should contain any terms or conditions which in any way could be interpreted as changing the position of the United States against Fidel Castro and his government. The United States must remain firm in its determination to rid the Western Hemisphere of communism and to allow the people of Cuba to restore a democratic government.

This policy would commit Congress to a responsibility for as well as an understanding of the Cuban refugee problem.

It would by no means close the door on refugees.

Indeed, point 8 gives purpose to the reception of refugees beyond a humanitarian impulse. For if the United States is to help achieve a free Cuba it must of course be receptive to those who seek sanctuary.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Oct. 16, 1965]

CUBAN REFUGEES

Refugees from Fidel Castro's Cuba may soon be flooding into Florida at the pre-Cuban missile crisis rate of more than 1,000 a week. The Cuban Premier's surprising announcement that anyone on the island who wants to leave might do so, together with President Johnson's offer to accept all refugees, is a fascinating development. We have grown accustomed to communism's iron curtain approach to the desire of its peoples to emigrate.

There is speculation that Mr. Castro's motives were both political and economic. He could rid the country of opponents of his regime and at the same time strengthen the hard-pressed economy by seizing their possessions.

Mr. Johnson's motives were first of all humanitarian. From his point of view the exodus, moreover, may be considered a propaganda victory, illustrating to the world the dissatisfaction of many Cubans with life under Castro's communism.

Whatever the motives of the two leaders, if the plan does actually materialize it will pose certain problems for the United States. There will have to be another crash program to absorb the refugees as well as long-range planning and effort to integrate them into the social and economic structure of the country. It will demand the joint endeavor of private agencies and local, State, and Federal governments.

Many of the refugees have neither the language background nor the skills necessary to support themselves in the American economy. They are bound to add to the Nation's unemployment and welfare problems. In some cases their presence may limit job opportunities for Negroes. Special educational and job-training programs will certainly be needed.

And the Nation as a whole is going to have to find places for the new arrivals. Florida, and especially Miami, have borne heavy and disproportionate burdens. About one-third of the 270,000 refugees who have come since the Cuban revolution still live in Miami. When and if the new flood of refugees does come, both Government and private agencies should be ready with plans to locate them, insofar as possible, in areas of opportunity beyond the borders of Florida.

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 5, 1965]

WELCOMING CUBANS

The administration is wise to hold Premier Castro to his offer to let Cuban refugees come to the United States irrespective of technicalities. Whether or not Castro misunderstood President Johnson's suggestion that the International Red Cross assist with preparations, this country's expressed willingness to negotiate reasonable arrangements will serve the double purpose of reaffirming the traditional American haven for those in distress and of dramatizing any Castro attempt to renege. Federal help in resettling Cubans with relatives already here as well as political refugees should prevent too great a burden from falling on Florida.

At the same time the administration's position would be even more impressive if it could take Castro up on his additional proposals—that Americans be allowed to travel to Cuba, that Cubans in this country be permitted to visit relatives in Cuba and return, and that Cubans in Cuba be permitted to visit relatives here and return. Such procedures are impossible now because Latin American countries have agreed to discourage travel to and from Cuba as a curb on subversion. The State Department has allowed journalists to visit Cuba but not others, and American passports are endorsed with a prohibition.

Although restrictions of this sort cannot easily be ended, they still are of dubious principle. Restrictions on travel are basically a totalitarian device. Even with the acknowledged security dangers and possibility of propaganda facades, there is nothing like seeing for yourself to bring out essential truths and encourage open societies. If there are to be barriers to free travel, let them come from the Communists.

[From the Evening Star, Oct. 5, 1965]

THE NEW EXILES

The offer of unqualified refuge to Cubans who wish to leave the island gave a dramatic ring to the President's Ellis Island speech. In terms of national sentiment, even in terms of propaganda, it was the natural response to Castro's sudden decision to open the doors.

But virtually unlimited immigration from Cuba creates a host of new problems for Florida and the city of Miami. Since 1959, Miami has been the West Berlin of the Cuban nightmare. More than 200,000 Cuban refugees have flowed into the city, most of them remaining there on temporary "parole" status. Miami, aided by State and Federal funds, has been a kind host. Refugee children attend the public schools. Jobless refugees go on the public-assistance roles immediately, although Florida residents must live there for 5 years before receiving a dole. The exiles are allowed to hold jobs, and the result has been a serious rise in jobseekers in Dade County, particularly in unskilled categories. Some resettlement has been achieved. The majority of exiles hover in southeast Florida, where the climate and culture are their own, awaiting the day of return.

Yet this very hope for an end to Castroism argues for some sort of limitation on future immigration from the island. Castro's offer puts a foreboding seal of permanence on his revolution. It is a way of cleaning house and battening down the hatches. What he seems to be angling for, in effect, is a second Cuba set up on our own shores—a convenient dumping ground for unemployables and malcontents. This may or may not be true. Castro may really wish to reopen channels of communication between the two nations. But given his muddled speeches, who can tell?

The Cuban refugee has an unprecedented hold on the Nation's conscience. This was made clear in the President's response to Castro. And the Federal Government will doubtless take on more of the responsibility for feeding and resettling the exiles.

What cannot be reckoned is the cumulative effect the new immigration will have on the exiles themeselves—on their morale, their hopes, their dreams of eventual return. If the open-door plan goes through, Castro will have his safety valve. But the exiles will not, and their bitterness is bound to increase as problems of resettlement become more complicated. It is not a happy prospect, in the long run, for anyone involved—except perhaps for Castro himself.

[From the Oregonian, Oct. 10, 1965]

SLY CASTRO

According to Cuban exiles in Miami, Fidel Castro apparently meant his recent statement that all Cubans who wished to join relatives in the United States would be free to do so. Castro not only has opened the door; he has stocked a small port with food and other provisions for his departing countrymen and has sent telegrams to exiles in Florida inviting them to come to Cuba by small boat to fetch their relatives.

Already some small craft have made the voyage safely through waters which formerly were so closely guarded by Communist torpedo boats that they became known as "death corridor." Many Miami residents are worried that their city and State will be flooded by refugees before the U.S. Government can arrange for their relocation throughout the country in an orderly manner. Of 244,000 alien Cubans already in the United States, more than a third live in the Miami area and almost half in Florida.

Many Cubans relocated elsewhere have returned to Miami.

The social and economic impact on Miami of thousands of additional Cuban refugees obviously could be severe, if the orderly influx approved by President Johnson were not observed.

One would guess that this was in the mind of the sly, whiskered dictator when he reversed usual Communist tactics and offered to remove, rather than erect, barriers to emigration. It is a severe indictment of the Castro Communist regime that thousands of Cubans are eager to vote by boat against it, as so many thousands of East Germans voted by foot against their rulers until the Berlin wall was erected. But, by opening the door, Castro gets rid of many countrymen who do not support him and lessens the drain on Cuba's skimpy economy.

If the United States should turn an armada of refugees away because they are not following an orderly process of immigration, Castro would have ammunition for propaganda branding this country as inhumane and hypocritical. Cubans already here understandably would be upset if their relatives were not admitted freely by the U.S. Government, after Castro had set them free.

Castro may not be as loony as he appears. There's probably a cynical grin behind the beard.

[From the Lincoln Evening Journal and Nebraska State Journal, Oct. 14, 1965]

CASTRO'S BOMBSHELL

Recently Fidel Castro began giving one of his long rambling talks which covered everything from poverty to bureaucrats. Then he dropped a bombshell, saying that any Cuban with relatives in the United States could leave the island after October 10.

President Lyndon Johnson reciprocated by saying they would be welcomed. Then the stampede was on. Everyone from diplomats down to the Cuban in the street is searching for the reasons for Castro's new open door policy.

One thing is certain, many Cubans don't trust the Cuban dictator and are making a mad dash to get out while the leaving is possible. Cuban exiles in this country are aiding their friends and relatives despite the U.S. Government's plea for an orderly exit and the promise of safe transportation.

This mass exodus should disillusion any remaining Castro admirers in Latin America. It also has provided both a challenge and a problem for the United States.

The proximity of Florida places the burden on the southern part of that State. Florida Gov. Haydon Burns proposed a four-point Federal program to prevent refugees being dumped in the Miami area for resettlement and school officials there were told not to admit new wave Cuban refugee children to classes until Federal funds were available for classrooms and teachers.

There has also been grumbling in some labor groups about the added competition in the job markets. It seems evident that the Cuban Government is not going to cooperate in an orderly flow of refugees.

The United States can absorb the refugees, but Florida cannot, without help. That help should be forthcoming—quickly before the tempers rise in that State. Possibly it was Castro's plan to embarrass the United States, but this he should not be allowed to do.

President Johnson may have been impetuous and perhaps the ground rules should have been laid before extending the welcome. But both Castro and the President have spoken. In international circles Castro's word means nothing but Uncle Sam's is respected.

The United States now must make the best of a difficult situation. It dare not dash the hopes of enslaved men and women. Castro has also given it an opportunity for a great propaganda coup against the Communist world.

[From the Atlanta Journal, Oct. 14, 1965]

CARING FOR CUBAN REFUGEES

A number of agencies here are wisely starting work to care for a fraction of the Cuban refugees expected to come to this country in what promises to be a major exodus.

It will be a welcome exodus. Like the tens of thousands before them, they will be fleeing from the cruel band of communism. For reasons not fully known Fidel Castro has said that he will let down the barriers to all who want to leave Cuba.

Whatever the reasons it is a happy opportunity for a brutalized people to make their way to freedom.

Freedom for those who can leave, as it has been for practically all who have escaped before, logically lies in the United States. This country is not only the traditional haven for the oppressed but it has also held a burning anger against Castro and his fellow Communists and an abiding sympathy for the Cubans.

As these refugees arrive it is the responsibility of the entire country to resettle them and start them in new lives. The Federal Government should lead the way. States and communities should follow through with their own arrangements.

Miami has been all but swamped with the refugees. Other parts of Florida have been burdened with large numbers. This should not be. They are a national problem which should be the enthusiastic concern of all Americans.

[From the Chicago Daily News, Oct. 16, 1965]

CUBA'S NEW EXODUS

It is for Fidel Castro to decide whether the exodus from Cuba will be confied to the daring few skilled enough to venture the passage in small boats or enlarged to number in the thousands.

For reasons as unfathomable as his initial offer to let refugees leave his island prison, Castro has thus far indicated a willingness to cooperate with an orderly and larger departure.

Is Castro merely trying to get rid of "undesirables"? Will he eventually demand a ransom, financial or political? Is he being prodded by his Soviet bosses to make a conciliatory gesture?

Whatever the answers, the Cuban refugees ought to be welcomed by Americans.

They will be a temporary burden, especially to the Miami area, which has absorbed so many in the past. But their presence and their plight affords an opportunity for the United States to live up to its tradition as a haven for the oppressed.

The opportunity is a national one, and Gov. Haydon Burns of Florida is right in asking other States to do their share.

Fortunately, Chicago already has the mechanism for absorbing many more refugees. The Cardinal's Committee for the Spanish Speaking and the Cuban Association, which it supports, have integrated thousands with a minimum of public dependency. (The story is told elsewhere in today's paper by reporter Norman Glubok.)

The doors of these organizations are now being crowded by refugee Cubans anxious to receive friends and relatives who might form part of a new exodus. Chicagoan should give them wholehearted support.

[From the Boston Globe, Oct. 13, 1965]

THE ROAD TO EXILE

When Fidel Castro startled an audience at Havana a fortnight ago by announcing that anyone discontented with his regime could migrate to the United States, he posed several riddles. They remain unanswered.

Was he referring only to those in Cuba who have relatives living in exile, in this country? Or was his purpose broader? Was he merely reaching for an expedient to rid himself of leaders of the growing passive resistance movement among Cuba's peasantry and workmen? Whatever his aims, was he ready to cooperate with the United States to facilitate an orderly exodus of the thousands who undoubtedly would like to accept his offer?

President Johnson, taking note of Castro's proposal, was careful to emphasize that the United States will give first priority to Cubans having relatives in this country, and to political prisoners. But he indicated a broader policy: "Those wso seek refuge here will find it."

Washington's efforts to obtain a rational working agreement with Havana are still bogged down. Castro's suggestion that he will manage matters as he sees fit doesn't help. As a result, while intermittent boatloads of refugee Cubans turn up off Florida, our own Government faces a number of problems.

Whether, as some estimate, 300,000 or more Cubans are preparing to seek freedom here, or (as is more likely) the realistic figure would be nearer 50,000, rigorous control of admissions is of necessity part of U.S. policy. The immigration laws make that mandatory. Even when latitude is allowed for political asylum precautions are needed.

This should not mean serious hardship for the fugitive Cubans who, in fact, can only benefit by orderly procedures. Meantime the problems created by the prospective arrival of some 5,000 refugees a month need attention and farsighted planning. That was the scale of the influx prior to the Cuban missile crisis, when 350,000 Cubans fled abroad from Castro's tyranny and some 270,000 of them came here.

Our Government has already spent about $190 million helping resettle and retrain these refugees, one-third of them in and around Miami. Private agencies have contributed a similar amount. Yet nearly 16,000 are still on relief. Clearly the $12 million asked of Congress by the President to deal with the situation now developing is too modest.

Neither Miami nor Florida's Dades County can absorb unaided a new heavy influx of refugees. The problem obviously is Federal, not local. No true American will fail to welcome these unfortunates; but the welcome will be the more beneficial to all, including the refugees, if backed by an adequate Federal economic and educational program.

UNCLE DUDLEY.

[From the Tampa (Fla.) Times, Oct. 11, 1965]

NOT A JOB FOR AMATEURS

If the evacuation of refugees from Cuba is to be a success it is extremely important that Cuban exiles in the United States cooperate fully with Government plans for handling this unusual Castro-approved exodus.

In their anxiety to aid friends and relatives leave Cuba, Cubans already in the United States may defeat their purpose by rushing a small boat floatilla across the Florida Straits.

First, the number of escapees picked up by small boats would be low compared to the total removed in an organized evacuation.

Second, unless the rescue of these people from Castroism is orderly, there is a danger of injustice, accidents and error. One such "error" occurred over the weekend when exile operators of a refugee pick-up craft swapped gunfire with a Cuban militia patrol. Castro could use such an incident to cancel his open-door order and take retaliatory measures against those would-be escapees who have identified themselves.

Third, any rescue effort which is not tightly supervised by Government agencies

will risk turning public opinion in this country against the rescue effort.

In this latter regard, members of the exile community must realize that there is already a large and legitimate segment of public opinion in the United States which doubts the wisdom of admitting more Cuban refugees on a mass basis. Gov. Haydon Burns, of Florida has expressed his concern that an additional flow of Cuban nationals into this State will add to economic problems, specifically in the area of employment.

Other critics foresee an increased burden on State and national welfare programs since many of the escapees will arrive with the clothes on their backs as their only personal possessions, and no immediate job prospects.

Such fears are not without justification. We are not surprised that Castro is anxious to create these problems for the United States But we would be surprised if members of the Cuban exile community cooperated, wittingly or unwittingly, in aiding him in this cause. A disorderly reply to the Castro challenge would create the sort of chaos here which already exists in Cuba. We don't want that.

On the other hand, it is extremely important that those who seek to take advantage of the Castro escape hatch have an opportunity to do so. Naturally, we would prefer an internal revolution in Cuba which overthrows Castro completely. But his continuing control of the military apparatus seems to rule that out. His opponents have neither the arms nor the organization to displace him.

Rather than see these people rounded up Hungarian-style and moved to some Cuban Siberia, we would prefer that an efficient means of freeing them from Cuba be developed and that a fair and intelligent resettlement program be organized once they are out of communism's clutches.

Of course, it would be an error to bring more refugees to this country only to plunge them into a cesspool of poverty and psychological depression. But isn't that what the ideological war with communism is all about? We must prove that we can face problems such as these and solve them without damaging our own strong socioeconomic system or simply moving victims of communism from one bad situation to another.

This is not a job for amateurs. It is not a task to be carried out alone by emotion-struck exiles already in the United States. If Castro is truly determined to open the doors of his country to those desirous of leaving, the exodus must be handled wisely and in context with existing U.S. policies.

If it is successful and so complete that we may be relatively sure only pro-Castro elements remain on the island, then it will be far easier from the standpoint of conscience to increase economic pressure on Cuba; to blockade the island and to wage psychological and physical warfare against Castroism.

But that is for the future. Our concern now is with the present and with the best possible means of taking advantage of the latest strange and wonderful twist in Castro's reasoning.

The Norpel Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, in the publication Tactics, of the date of September 20, 1965, is an article by Mr. Edward Hunt calling attention to the case of Mr. John R. Norpel, Jr., who has been the victim of unwarranted punishment by officials in the State Department because of his support of Otto F. Otepka.

Norpel is being punished because of his honesty and loyalty, not only to Otto Otepka but to his country. It is incredible that those entrusted with the proper conduct of the State Department have been permitted to make a mockery of the civil service which was designed to protect efficient, honest, and loyal employees of the Federal Government.

The article by Edward Hunt follows:

BACKGROUND ON OTEPKA'S DEFENDERS: STUDY PAPER ON NORPEL CASE

An integral, although separated part of the Otepka case is the Norpel case. Actually, it also might be called the Shea case, the Hite case, the Hughes, or the Burkhardt case. The issue in the Norpel case is a fundamental one by itself, with its own significance in the maintenance of freedom. If Otto F. Otepka were to be restored to his post in the State Department, and his rights as a citizen upheld, it would be a pyrrhic victory if Norpel and the others were not likewise vindicated.

The basic issue in the Otepka case is the right of Senators and Congressmen to obtain correct information from any source as guidance in drafting laws and for policy guidance. The other side of the identical coin is the right of the American citizen, in or out of government, to contact or be contacted by his Representative in Congress.

Surely it does not require any book learning to know that it is impossible for any legislator to write intelligent laws, if when he asks a question of a government employee or office holder, he is led astray, misinformed, or lied to. Free society could not exist without this right of his being fully protected.

The issue in the case of John R. Norpel Jr., is a person's right, surely in government, not to be penalized or discharged when his superior falls from favor or is fired, or to be forced to repudiate and betray him in order to get on the right side of his new boss. Every American has read about the dismissal or disgrace of some official in Soviet Russia, and how everyone related personally or professionally to him was purged, as well. What American while reading this has not felt a self-satisfied glow of satisfaction that this could not happen in the United States? Well, it has happened to Norpel, and to all these others.

Surely it does not require any book learning to know that we cannot expect the interests of the United States to be uppermost in the mind of any government employee or functionary if he knows that if he does not play ball with the top, and stand ready at any time to doublecross or knife anyone who receives the displeasure of the top, he will be tossed to the wolves, and the public not give a damn, the Congress look the other way, and the press be closed to him.

This is how it is under despotism, of course. What we have not realized, of course, is that with the best will in the world, it is impossible to institute a news management procedure, allowing officials to decide when they believe it convenient to lie to the public, press, and Congress, and to insist on a policy of one voice in government, without gradually building up a dictatorship, with the inevitable police state required to enforce it. This is modern despotism.

OUR SMUGNESS IS ALLOWING THIS TO HAPPEN

This reminder should be brought to the attention of every man or woman in government, whether in the White House or a city hall. It should be brought to the attention of every professor of political science, and should be digested by every newspaper reporter and voter. The Otepka case and the Norpel case are the symbols of these two fundamental issues. We have been so confident that such despotic and unfair procedure could not happen to us that we fail to recognize these things when they occur under our noses. They are given such dissembling names as institutional loyalty, which replaces patriotism.

Norpel, who is married and has two daughters, is cleancut in looks and character. Although only 40 last August 6, he has given half his years to patriotic work, from the U.S. Army to the FBI, to the State Department. His is the sort of outlook and career that those bent on softening up the United States seek to corrupt. He even was an Eagle Scout. But he can meet eggheads on their own ground. He has his B.A., studied law, is a member of Phi Delta Phi legal fraternity and Alpha Epsilon national honorary society, and has been a teacher in Philadelphia and in the FBI. His FBI work ranged from specialization in investigative photography to penetration of Communist underground activities to developing complex espionage cases. He was highly commended by J. Edgar Hoover in the designing of an investigative device for security tasks, and Hoover also commended him on other occasions in connection with security operations.

Otto Otepka brought him into the State Department in July 1961 to work on a special project suddenly ordered for an exhaustive review of the security backgrounds of all at officer level. Preliminary studies were being made by two other security evaluators, Harry M. Hite and Billy N. Hughes. Otepka, as Deputy Director of the Security Office, also brought in as evaluators, Raymond A. Loughton from the Defense Department, who was upset over being overruled regarding Adam Yarmolinsky, and Francis V. Gardner, recently with FBI. Howard J. Shea at this time was an investigative supervisor under Otepka. Edwin A. Burkhardt, evaluator, had been brought over previously from the Civil Service Commission by Otepka, who also had been connected with the Commission.

The project was begun under the instructions of William O. Boswell shortly after this career Foreign Service officer became Director of the Office of Security. His role was to eliminate the Scott McLeod image. The routine work of the office proceeded, and included the William A. Wieland case, which Otepka completed in August 1961, and passed it directy to Roger Jones, who recently had become Deputy Under Secretary for Administration. Boswell simply refused to have anything to do with it, and the ill-fated Salvatore Bontempo, given a political plum as administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, was out of the picture. He resigned after a controversial 6 months, during which Congress and the press asked what a man of his total lack of experience was doing in such an office. Norpel during this period was trying to retrieve the voluminous, scattered information in State Department files that were hidden all over the place.

FIRST BACKLASH IS REDUCTION IN FORCE

Obviously the team that was assembled was actually digging into the records. This obviously never had been intended. The expectation was that Otepka would be mature enough to know his men were supposed only to be going through the motions. The boom was dropped. Otepka was informed of a sudden need for a reduction in force. His post and 24 other security jobs were abolished. Otepka now was made chief of the Division of Evaluations, taking his project staff with him. Norpel went along. They now had to handle all the routine cases of applicants, and with a greatly reduced total staff, a big backlog built up. Without anyone having to say a word, the special project was pushed to the side for lack of time.

Otepka, taking advantage of the reorganization of the file room, of which Norpel had charge, discovered something curious. A number of clearances for high appointees had been predated to the time of their hiring. They had been put at once on the payroll without any investigation into their background. Inquiry quickly showed that some had very dubious or even adverse records. When news of this spread through the Department, a number of those employed decided they did not want a Government job after all.

Orders came down that Norpel would be more useful away from the files, and they were removed from Otepka's jurisdiction. Norpel was set to work on special clearances. Simultaneously, Boswell transferred some of the functions of the evaluations division to his own executive office, including the files. They were now safe from probing security men.

HERE IS WHERE REILLY ENTERS THE PICTURE

On April 16, 1962, John F. Reilly, who had been a senior lawyer for the Federal Communications Commission, was brought in to succeed Boswell. Congressional testimony revealed that his job was to "get Otepka." A stratagem was thought up to make this easy. Otepka was offered a 10-months' course in the National War College. Otepka surprised by this bounty, found out that he was not to be returned to the security section, so he said, "No, thank you."

David Belisle was brought from the National Security Agency as Deputy Director, Otepka's old post. He had supervision over Otepka's evaluation division, as well as the moribund special project. Obviously, a squeezeplay was being attempted against Otepka, and while technically he retained his old status, actually he was being downgraded. Anything that came from the Otepka office now was sure to meet objection, if only for a "t" not crossed, while the top was disregarding and violating actual personnel security procedures, promulgated by the White House and sanctioned by Congress as Executive Order 1040. This is still the basic regulation. A flood of waivers from the top circumvented clearances.

Civil Service in December 1962 resurrected the Wieland case by sending to the State Department new evidence that was developed after the Senate Internal Security Subcommitte's exploration into the fall of Cuba. This naturally went to Otepka, who assigned it to the old special project group. Reilly called for the special Wieland file almost at once, and this was the last seen of it until May 1963. No work had been done on it. Harry M. Hite immediately was assigned to it. Norpel and his security associates began a departmentwide search for documents relating to the new data. Reports spread in the Department that they were hitting pay dirt.

The boom was lowered again. This time it dropped right through the hull. The evaluation division phones were tapped by orders that came though Reilly. A futile effort was made to attach microphones in the offices. The classified trash that was discarded daily into burn bags, to go into the furnace, was diverted and pored over minutely. Surveillance of Otepka's selectees was begun. Officers and secretaries in contiguous security areas were persuaded to act as informants on all movements of the group, to report what these men said, and to assess their intent and actions.

On June 27, 1963, a raid took place of the Otepka premises, indistinguishable from any raid that might have taken place of a narcotics ring or even a Red espionage ring. At 11:50 a.m., Mrs. Eunice Powers, Otepka's personal secretary, was called by Reilly and sent to a different office for a spurious rush job. At 11.53 a.m., Billy N. Hughes was summoned and handed his transfer to routine investigation in a Washington field office. Reilly suggested he go to lunch at once instead of returning to his old office.

At 11:56 a.m., Norpel was summoned and likewise was handed the same transfer orders, and he, too, was told, "There's no need for you to report back to your office; go out to lunch, and then report to your new office." At the stroke of noon, Otepka, having been similarly summoned, walked into Reilly's office. All this time, Belisle hovered over the scene, as a bodyguard might have done.

Otepka was given an obviously make-work assignment apart from his old staff. He was banished to a cubbyhole to "write a handbook on security operations." He returned to his office to find Mrs. Powers, Hughes, and Norpel there. They were experienced enough in surrptitious and illegal techniques to know there was something phony about this. And there was.

THREE OFFICES—NOT ONE—RAIDED AT ONCE

The public impression, from what has been published, is that Otepka's office alone was summarily entered and searched. Actually, a raiding party simultaneously at about 12:10 p.m. entered the office of Otepka, the adjoining separate office of Mrs. Powers, and farther down the hallway, the combined offices of Norpel and Hughes. While others watched, wondering what crime had been committed, Reilly superintended the seizure of all safes and the immediate changing of all combinations on the locks. All records and file material were removed from the desks. Even the personal belongings of the exiled staff were impounded, and could be obtained only later under the surveillance of a guard.

If only such energy could be focused on our Communist enemies.

Norpel worked on routine investigations of job applicants, the sort of thing he had cut his teeth on in the FBI in 1951. Hughes shortly after was pressed into accepting a permanent assignment as a field agent in Memphis, Tenn. In January 1964, Norpel made his first appearance as a witness before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, on instructions relayed through his superior. Intermittently, for the past several years, the subcommittee had been calling witnesses from the security branch, on the basis of information sent it from numerous alarmed sources.

Following his testimony, Norpel was asked if he was satisfied with his assignment, and when he replied in the negative, was transferred back to the evaluations division. Apparently, anywhere they went, this group insisted on doing a thorough job. On March 15, 1964, the old group, except Hughes was reassembled, along with Howard J. Shea, an old State Department hand, and Edwin A. Burkhardt, and was reconstituted as an undefined section of the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs. They were supposed to be engaged in some supersensitive task. But the required files and facilities were kept from them. They twiddled their thumbs, chafing and protesting over the inaction. Loughton settled for a consular assignment abroad. Gardner went upstairs.

Norpel was placed in charge. He kept insisting on something to do, and continued being fed a line about the super-secretness of it all. He did his usual probing, nonetheless, and came up with what he surmised they should have been seeking. His security background led him to the right trail. This was evident when the same boom came down. Out of the administration's woodwork came the same influences that divert or paralyze any government project once it threatens to really hurt the Communists.

Norpel was ordered to El Paso, Tex., where there never had been a State Department office. Shea was ordered to Denver, Colo. Hite and Burkhardt were left behind, with the same ambiguous non-assignment, where they still are in virtual quarantine. Otepka on April 30, 1964 was told to delay his previous meaningless task, and take on a new one, reading the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in order to record the views of legislators on security matters. Norpel and Shea, of course, did not accept punitive exile, and have been dropped from the payroll, and are considered discharged. Now it is up to the public, Congress and the press. The Otepka and the Norpel cases, and those of the others, must not be separated.

Jack Foisie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the October 1965 edition of the magazine Army published by the Association of the U.S. Army contains an article written by Jack Foisie of the Los Angeles Times on the war in Vietnam, and the men who are fighting it. It is entitled "My Third War" and I commend it to all those in this body who have seen service in military combat:

MY THIRD WAR

(By Jack Foisie)

SAIGON.—When my "friends and neighbors" of the draft board selected me for a year of military training back in mid-1941, I hated the thought of being in the Army. Even after Pearl Harbor, and the year became "for the duration" and learning to shoot took on purpose, I remained at heart a civilian.

Now I am in Vietnam—in my third war.

Of course, I am no longer a soldier. I am a correspondent. I also was a correspondent during the Korean war. And midway through World War II, I became an Army combat correspondent.

But in uniform or out, I have remained a civilian, and at least in the last two conflicts I have—I fear—sometimes gloried in the independence enjoyed by a correspondent even when among the military. Yet if I ever really hated military life (and there were days in basic training when I thought I did), I hate the Army no longer. Nor any other of the Armed Forces.

A career as a military reporter, spanning 2 decades, has been time enough for my prejudices to wear away.

This is not to suggest that in 1941 I was a pacifist. But neither was I a fired-up patriot. Although just beginning in journalism, I had already taken on a speck of the cynicism that is an occupational disease (and some would say, a necessity) in our business.

And so I believed that the war then confined to Europe was not our affair; that much of the discipline of the military was needless harassment, and that officers as well as sergeants were narrow thinkers and had chosen the military as a career because they were people who really couldn't cut the mustard in civilian life.

I am still a cynic—particularly here in Vietnam. But I harbor no such general condemnation of men in uniform here, or anywhere else in the world where, in past years, I have been associated with professional soldiers, airmen, sailors, marines.

I remember a November day at Fort Knox, 24 years ago, when I had rebellious thoughts.

I was ordered to sweep the street in front of our barracks—and it was snowing. By the time I had brushed the snow clear, the sergeant overseeing the operation from the doorway belly-laughed and said to sweep it again.

To me, this typified the senselessness of military discipline. I was ignoring why I was being disciplined, for signing a letter circulated within the barracks and addressed to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, complaining because we were not to be given Christmas leave.

This was before Pearl Harbor, of course. I don't think such a letter would have been written after the Japanese attack. My barracks mates and I were not without some dull sense of obligation to the Nation, once we were at war.

I remember my battalion commander, Col. Harrison King, a West Pointer. As we trained at Fort Knox, then at Fort Dix, then in Ireland, then in England, readying for the North Africa invasion, I was not a very successful soldier.

On one occasion, I ignored an order to take the names of men found drunk in town. I rounded them up, brought them back by truck and let them stumble into their rooms in the castle where we were billeted. I was not going to be a squealer and turn them in for punishment.

Next morning Col. King said to me, "Sergeant, where is the list of men on report?" I replied I had forgotten to take their names.

"You are now Private Foisie," the colonel said stiffly.

In the next 7 months the colonel busted me 5 times. In between busts, he promoted me a stripe or two, just so—I thought—he could bust me again.

He was a stern disciplinarian in the rear area. But in combat he proved to be considerate, an effective commander, and brave. I grew to respect him, and to appreciate the virtues in him that, I believe, he would attribute to his 4 years at West Point.

I think this is where my undertsanding of war began—with Col. King.

I left my battalion, the 701st Tank Destroyer, at the end of the North African campaign.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Foisie served as a gunner aboard a half-track at Kasserine Pass until the vehicles was shot out from under him. He then mounted another and fought until Field Marshal Erwin Rommel's forces were chased from North Africa.

I had requested a transfer to Stars and Stripes, the Army newspaper, and Col. King. approved it. He was glad to see me go. After all, the 701st was due for some rear rest and re-training in preparation for the Italy invasion.

"And you know what rear area discipline means, Foisie," the colonel said, similing, as he bid me goodbye.

I did not see Colonel King again until after the war. He was a civilian worker in the Pentagon, almost totally blind. An outgoing shell at Anzio had struck a tree, exploded, and the shrapnel had hit him in the eyes.

When I dwell on the terrible waste of life in war, on the sacrifice of men so matter-of-factly made, I think of Colonel King.

It is difficult to explain why I have made a career out of reporting wars. It is particularly troublesome to explain to my family when we face a separation of many months. As my puzzled young son, Franklin, said earnestly before I came to Vietnam; "You don't have to go."

There are times over here when I wonder myself why I find it such a satisfying experience being with combat units, or fighter pilots, or aboard the carriers off the Vietnam coast. Correspondents tag along and hang around, but really undergo few of their hardships and face few of their everyday risks. Yet a good correspondent writes with understanding and compassion about the dangers and the boredom of combat.

I find that, in this sense, at least, I do not grow stale. If you will pardon the use of a religious saying by a nonreligious man, war brings out "the goodness in men"—the qualities that Colonel King showed so clearly. It is an unending pleasure to write of the goodness of men in combat, yet not neglecting at the same time to record the horror of battle. What a paradox are men's actions in war.

As I say, I think this awareness is still with me here in Vietnam. And wanting to be associated with gutty, dedicated men is one reason why I accepted this assignment. I was in Vietnam for a brief time in 1962, and warmed to that renewed association with men in combat. The Army helicopters were just starting to fly the Vietnamese into battle then.

I know that good solid men are not only to be found in battle. But I can never feel the kinship back in everyday life that I sense from being with men whose loyalty and respect for one another are so profound—because they have been tested under battle. Some people call it "combat comradeship." It is a relatively exclusive society, and a correspondent can, at best, become only an associate member.

How can I explain this to my son? I cannot. He must find out for himself, when he grows up.

For all my appreciation of a soldier's low key but always present spirit, and his courage well camouflaged by droll casualness, I find that with each war I like his mode of living less. I do not find sleeping on the ground any more inviting. I still find my stomach hardening when I am a passenger on a plane staggering through a storm. I do not look forward to the monsoon rains for this reason.

At age 46, is a mile on patrol longer to walk? Yes, it is. I find I do more and more of my patrolling by helicopter. Happily, the whirlybird has become the usual method of getting around in Vietnam for almost everybody, including the ground soldier.

If I am softer in body, I am also a little shorter on the courage that sometimes is required in covering battles. That takes some rather deep self-analysis.

Too often correspondents dwell on the risk of reporting combat. They are chesty about their "close calls." I hope I have discarded that attitude. For actually the risk is small.

I think good war photographers, such as Horst Faas of the Associated Press and freelance Jim Pickerell, deserve medals. For they expose themselves almost as much as regular line soldiers. Pickerell has been wounded in Vietnam.

But writers can do their job without too much exposure to shot and shell. The first-person story is valid on occasion. But personalized reporting really takes the emphasis from the troopers who deserve the credit.

Even when in the Army as a combat correspondent in Sicily and Italy, I was allowed to pick and choose where I went in the forward area. I told myself: I will take the risk when the story is worth it.

Strangely, or maybe not so strangely, I found after marrying that my appraisal of what constituted a worthwhile story underwent a change. The story value went down as the risk went up.

I suspect old debil caution is still with me in this conflict. I thank my dear wife and children for the gentle restraint they exercise—just by being often in my thoughts. Not even the bravest soldier is foolhardy, I rationalize. But I consider myself reasonably realistic. The day I shirk going on the obvious big story is the day I cable the office I'm coming home.

During my brief home leave last Christmas, I was confronted by friends who think just living in Saigon is foolhardy. I have developed a standard reply: Life in Saigon is no more dangerous than driving on a California highway. It is a smart retort, but there is truth in the comparison. Mathematically, the odds of being caught in a terrorist bombing are about the same as having a fatal collision.

And so, my outlook on life and death, I think, is about the same as in World War II and Korea. I am neither brave nor cowardly. I do my job. I think this is much what a soldier would say. I do not mean to relate my hole to his. Soldiers cannot retreat without orders. A correspondent can bug out without orders or remorse when he comes under fire.

After all, if you don't come back, who will write the story?

There are two big differences about the Vietnam war. It has no front—the war is everywhere and yet, when the Vietcong withdraw into their jungle hideaways, the war is nowhere. And, secondly, the war has no censorship.

Both conditions are making the war more difficult to cover. With no formal censorship, it is much more difficult to find people-in-the-know who will talk openly, honestly. They are afraid they will get "burned."

A correspondent is tested for judgment and faithful adherence to promises made with news sources before he is given the type of information helpful to being at the right place in this California-long country when big events occur.

We are approaching the time of censorship of news copy here. When American troops become involved in all-out combat, as seems certain to happen within a few weeks, the U.S. command would like to ask for voluntary censorship. It has already sounded out correspondents on this point. But correspondents will not agree.

Trusting yourself—and your competitor—to make his own interpretation of what should be printed and what should be withheld as valuable to the enemy did not work out when tested in the early months of the Korean war. Racehorses need a starting gate for an equal start, and so do correspondents.

Yet American information officers dread the day when they must impose their own censorship, at least on American correspondents and probably on all foreign correspondents. For to do this means asking the Vietnamese Government to waive its sovereign power to censor.

The Vietnamese do not censor outgoing news dispatches now, although correspondents must submit extra copies "for review." But the government does censor local newspapers, on both political and military grounds. Often the papers contain big white spaces or blacked-out paragraphs because censors acted at the last moment as editions were going to press or were already run off.

The American command knows that public opinion back home would never stand for Vietnamese censorship of correspondent reports about Americans in action. Yet the Vietnamese are in no mood to give up one speck of their sovereign power.

I think a war or two ago I would have chortled over the impasse. Maybe it is just growing old, or the belated arrival of maturity, but the sight of allies nipping at each other in wartime like a couple of unfriendly bulldogs is no longer amusing.

Even more of a problem, when American units go into action, will be the issue of American assumption of top spots in a joint command to conduct the war.

Nor do I find myself able to generate anger against public relations officers, assigned to help the press, who end up hindering it. When I think about it, like any good press agent they are assigned to present events in their most favorable light. Some of them are wise men and do not withhold bad news.

But no one should expect them to put it out on a platter. It is the correspondent's job to aim for the balanced presentation.

Sometimes I am surprised by my own moderate reaction, almost an understanding of the military and embassy concept of what the role of the press should be in Vietnam. They think we should be almost an extension of foreign policy, a sort of unofficial propaganda corps.

I understand how they have arrived at their point of view. I try to be sympathetic. I try to report favorably. But I am a miserable failure much of the time.

Much of the time, day-to-day developments are not favorable, no matter how you look at them.

And so, under the concept of the role of a press in a democracy, such events have to be reported—within the readily identifiable limits of true military security.

I remember before coming to Vietnam last October, a high State Department official counseled that the press generally lacks long-range vision.

"We make mistakes," he said, referring to foreign affairs. "We fumble in our policy sometimes. But our basic position in Vietnam is morally right. Since our advent to world leadership, the U.S. record of winning in the end is very good. We have persevered to repel aggression, we have contained communism. We shall do so in Vietnam."

I keep remembering what he said. I believe in what he said.

I keep alert for favorable indicators that we are winning the war.

A third war has given me, perhaps, more experience in assessing developments, sorting out the ones that are positive and meaningful and should be emphasized in daily reports.

But experience is a two-way thing. I also have confidence in my judgment. And sometimes I see important events which are indicators that we still are losing the war.

My good friends in public relations will claim I am a cynic and a pessimist and will try to fend me off from sources of information on the subject. I enjoy the contest. It is part of the job.

The Congress of the United States Salutes Lewis E. Phillips

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, Lewis E. Phillips is a man who never had a childhood. At the age of 9 he found himself selling stove polish that would blacken, but did not polish.

At the age of 13, Lewis and his brother bought a news agency, ran it themselves and did all their own delivering of newspapers and magazines.

He never had any time for the usual childhood pleasantries.

Today, through hard work and a great desire, Lewis E. Phillips is chairman of the board of National Presto Industries of Eau Claire, Wis., and president of Ed Phillips & Sons Wholesale Co., Inc.

And today he spends most of his time providing for others, so that they may enjoy the boyhood that he had never known.

The enthusiasm that Lewis Phillips holds for the Boy Scouts, and takes him to Scouting convocations all over the world, began in 1940 when Judge Merrill Farr imposed on Phillips to go with him to the local Boy Scout camp.

Phillips recalls that the camp was ill-equipped and was using a mobile kitchen borrowed from a highway crew, but the enthusiasm of the boys was undimmed.

Mr. Phillips said:

After a supper of salmon loaf the boys made a speech of welcome that warmed my heart. From then on I was heart and soul for scouting.

Would Mr. Phillips help them in their drive to build a new kitchen? Phillips decided that a new kitchen was not enough—these Scouts deserved a new camp.

Twelve years and a half million dollars later, Lewis E. Phillips dedicated a new camp for the "men of tomorrow," the Boy Scouts of America.

Nestled in a wilderness area of Wisconsin, surrounded by white birch and contrasting pine, and dotted with small lakes, Camp Phillips, with its many lodges, fine facilities, and excellent staff now serves as the home for thousands of Boy Scouts every summer.

Following his belief that character building is a part of a good education, and that a good education is necessary for every man, Lewis E. Phillips has been a contributor to many colleges.

His donation made it possible for the University of Wisconsin at Madison to build a new art center. And just last week the Lewis E. Phillips Science Hall was dedicated on the campus of Wisconsin State University at Eau Claire.

Mr. Phillips' quarter of a million dollar gift allowed this science building to be finished according to the original plans.

Due to the shortage of State funds, the greenhouse, the planetarium, and the observatory now available to students would not have been completed without his donation.

In his dedication speech at the presentation of Camp Phillips, Lewis E. Phillips stated his beliefs:

This camp is a symbol of our way of life—a concrete example of democracy at work. For generations to come this camp will stand as living testimony to our bill of rights, as written into the Constitution of the United States.

In that great instrument, the founders of our country, with incredible foresight, realized that the fundamentals of greatness for any nation rest upon the freedom of its people: The freedom of worship; freedom from want; freedom of opportunity; and freedom for all men and women regardless of their race or creed.

Seeking these freedoms, my parents threw off the shackles of an oppressed foreign country to settle here, in the State of Wisconsin. Although not possessed of worldly goods, my parents were blessed with an implicit confidence in the American way of life—in the opportunities it had to offer those who believe that freedom and work are man's salvation.

Words cannot express my gratitude for the opportunities this country gave me, to work from a newsboy in Manitowac, Wis., to the head of a business which now gives employment to approximately 5,000 people.

Words cannot express my gratitude for the opportunities which made possible for me to lend a helping hand in the building of this camp.

By the same token, I am mindful of the great responsibilities that go with material success. Such success is real to any man only as it reflects the success of his neighbors. To a nation, as to its peoples, with material possessions comes responsibility. A man's worldly goods are of little real values unless they contribute to the welfare and to the happiness of his fellow man. We must be mindful that all we have is but lent to us—and that the only way we can repay our debt to Him who has given it is to give to others as we have received.

No Congressman, no Senator, yes, no President could speak greater words to the future leaders of the United States than did Lewis E. Phillips at this camp dedication.

This man, Lewis E. Phillips, who has given so much of himself for Scouting all over the world, and to the cause of higher education in the State of Wisconsin, will receive the only tribute he seeks, he will receive tomorrow, twofold, of all the good works he has done today.

The Congress of the United States salutes a real, honest-to-God American. One who believes by word, and proves by deed, that giving a helping hand to the youth of our land insures the future of this Nation.

The Congress of the United States wishes Lewis E. Phillips a long and healthy life, because our Nation, our world, and the course of freedom need men like him.

New York State College Young Democrats 1965–66 Platform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include herewith the national affairs section of the New York State College Young Democrats 1965–66 platform:

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CIVIL RIGHTS

Racial prejudice is contrary to the ideals upon which the country was founded; segregation is despicable evidence of racism, negating the human dignity of 20 million Americans. We do not believe that the United States can continue to deny equal rights to all its citizens and remain the leader of the free world. The test of a country's principles is its practices. If we are indeed a democracy, we must act like a democracy.

Now that the civil rights bill is law we call for the strict enforcement of it by the Federal Government. The Congress has passed a law which has gone further than any previous one, but a law is words. We expect the President will work as hard in enforcing the civil rights bill as he did in securing its passage. The time for words is past, the time for action is now.

We support the President's voting rights bill. We also urge that the bill include the abolition of all literacy tests and poll taxes as they apply to State and local elections.

Roy Wilkins has characterized the current battle against legal segregation as a "mopping up operation." The realization of this condition demands a new, deeper understanding of America's minority problem. The problem is based on a crisis of identity, self-hatred, and existence in a world where white is right. The need for the long maligned concept of autoemancipation, freely chosen separation, and a Negro community which has suffered under the appellation of "Tomism" must now be recognized as vital to the meaningful integration of Negro Americans.

Assimilation in the manner of other minority groups is neither possible nor desirable. A pluralistic community in which a variety of peoples live according to styles of life that have some uniqueness is crucial to the prevention of the homogenization of American society.

We endorse the philosophy recently expressed by President Johnson that legal equality for the Negro is but the first step in the acceptance of Negroes as equals in the fullest sense.

The American Indian

We recognize that racial prejudice is also directed against people other than Negroes, Puetro Ricans, and Mexican-Indians. One of these groups is the American Indian. We support all efforts to aid the American Indian to maintain his own cultural heritage, and which enable him at the same time to reap the benefits of American society. We strongly support the "High Trails" program of the late President Kennedy. We urge that the U.S. Government honor its treaties with the American Indian tribes.

Loyalty and disclaimer oaths

We believe that loyalty oaths and disclaimer affidavits are in violation of the freedoms contained in the first amendment to the Constitution. Loyalty oaths and disclaimer affidavits are no indication of a citizen's patriotism and devotion to the ideals upon which this country was founded; rather, they are contrary to these very ideals and tenets.

We therefore advocate that the use of loyalty oaths and disclaimer affidavits be discontinued, and that all legislative requirements pursuant to the use of such loyalty oaths and disclaimer affidavits be repealed.

We oppose the provision of the National Defense Education Act which permits the U.S. Commissioner of Education to deny any scholarship award he deems "not in the national interest."

We oppose the provision of the National Defense Education Act which forces an individual to list fines over $25 which he has sustained. We feel that the individual's desire to participate in causes which he feels are just, such as the civil rights movement, is no criterion for the granting of education loans and scholarships.

Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950

The Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, commonly known as the McCarran Act, threatens the free exchange of ideas. It is designed to politically persecute a group whose ideas differ from those of the majority. Democracy provides for guarantees of minority rights, and Congress has shown bad faith in violating the basic tenets of democracy by requiring a distinct political minority to register. We urge the Congress of the United States to repeal the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950.

Smith Act

We oppose the Smith Act and any legislation similar to it as a denial of fundamental freedom to think and discuss without fear of reprisal. We urge that in addition to the abolition of the Smith Act, the Communist Control Act also be abolished.

House Committee on Un-American Activities

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has consistently violated the fundamental rights of American citizens as guaranteed in the Bill of Rights. The U.S. Supreme Court, in *United States* v. *Watkins*, made it clear that the committee has habitually misused its power in unconstitutional ways, that it has become an agency of repression, that it has usurped the functions of the executive and judicial branches of our Government, and that it has sought to punish, via publicity, those holding "unpopular views."

The committee, originally intended for investigations for legislative purposes, has become a threat to those freedoms which it hoped to protect. The fear of such unproper committee investigation endangers the process of free intellectual inquiry, and further violates the precepts of due process of law by denying the accused the right to face his accuser.

We urge that the legitimate function of the House Committee on Un-American Activities be assumed by the House Judiciary Committee and that the House Committee on Un-American Activities be abolished.

Although we believe that the Ku Klux Klan merits immediate investigation, we do not believe that such an investigation should be carried out by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. We believe that such an investigation might best be carried out under the jurisdiction of the House Judiciary Committee.

Wiretapping

We are opposed to wiretapping and other forms of electronic eavesdropping because it is a violation of the individual's right to privacy and constitutes an illegal search and seizure.

Freedom of communication

We oppose any censorship of any oral or written public communication. We urge that the Federal Communication Commission's power over communications not extend to political, intellectual, or moral content of any program.

War on poverty

The vicious legacy of poverty passed on from generation to generation is incompatible with the ideals of democracy and we support the war on poverty as a vital means to alleviate the plight of these once-forgotten Americans. We must assert, however, that patronage has no place in the poverty program. We are dismayed by the attempts by many politicians of both parties to manipulate the various aspects of the program to their own advantage. We urge the President to provide sufficient funds each year for the actual needs of the poverty program.

Education—elementary and secondary

We support President Johnson's education bill. We believe that there should be aid to teacher's salaries, and we urge the President to propose appropriate legislation.

If our Nation is to continue to lead the free world we must provide each of our citizens with the best education possible. To do less would be to help those who wish to destroy our democratic society.

Freedom to travel

The limitations placed by the State Department on the right to travel are violations of the right of each American citizen to inform himself, and we disagree with the Supreme Court ruling which allows travel restrictions when such restrictions are "in the national interest." We believe that our Nation will gain more by removing travel bans than it has by maintaining them. It is obvious that such a ban on travel is equally as heinous an act as that which involves the construction of a wall of brick and mortar.

Academic freedom

We support the free inquiry of all students and faculty into all matters compatible with an academic community. Our universities must retain their traditional purposes as centers for free inquiry.

We support the freedom of political groups to form on campuses. This freedom is necessary to foster free expression and debate among adherents of various views.

We are extremely glad to see the course that criticism has taken in regard to recent events in our foreign policy. The teach-in has brought to our society a new concept in democracy that was actually born in Greece long ago. Through it, the academic community has matured and become a vital force in public opinion and public policy. We sincerely hope that regardless of the issue, the free and open public forums of the teach-ins will continue. We also urge all to remember the words of Dr. Ernest Nagel of Columbia University at the conclusion of the televised teach-in in Washington, D.C.: "I will not adjourn this meeting. I will recess it until the next opportunity that we have to bring democracy to Washington." We hope that the next opportunity will be soon. The public dialog, debate, and forum is essential to a well-informed governing populace.

We believe that State and city governments supporting institutions of higher education should take no part in the selection of teachers or courses at those universities, or interfere with the academic administration of them.

We endorse the fine efforts in the area of academic freedom that have been made by the American Civil Liberties Union's Committee on Academic Freedom.

Department of Urban Affairs

We recognize the need for the Cabinet position of a Department of Urban Affairs, and we strongly support the administration's proposal to establish one.

Minimum wage

We urge Congress to broaden the minimum wage law to include migratory workers, employees of voluntary organizations, and other groups that are similarly situated. We believe that these groups must be covered if all individuals are to earn a living wage.

We urge the raising of the minimum wage to $1.50 an hour.

Taxes

We believe that the present tax loopholes should be closed. We urge that the present oil depletion allowances be reduced. We support the proposals to allow tax credits for families currently incurring college expenses.

We urge Congress to pass the excise tax reduction bill now pending.

Labor-management relations

The Democratic Party has traditionally been allied with trade unionism in America. We are proud of this alliance and urge its reinforcement. We urge reform of racketeer ridden and undemocratic unions so that the unions may more closely fulfill their stated goals.

We urge repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, and oppose the concept of "right to work" laws.

We oppose Government enforced compulsory arbitration in labor-management disputes.

Unfortunately, in our society today, organized labor has become an essential cog in the status quo. To a very great extent, labor unions have lost the zeal and ambition to fight for social, political, and economic justice. We hope that labor will regain its place in the vanguard striving to make this Nation a better place in which to live.

Immigration

We urge Congress to pass the program proposed by the late President Kennedy to eliminate the national origins quota system. The

present immigration laws make a mockery of what America has always stood for as the land of freedom, hope, and opportunity for all.

We oppose the "good moral character" requirement of the Immigration Act as an insult to those people who wish to migrate to our shores.

Congressional Democrats

We urge that the privileges of being a member of the congressional Democratic Party be refused to any congressional Democrat who supports any opposition ticket to the Democratic national ticket. If the Democratic Party is to continue to be the champion of the great struggles for political, economic, and social reform it is vital that those who profess to be Democrats practice and work for the principles of the Democratic Party's national ticket.

We support the efforts of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party to unseat the regular Mississippi Congressmen. However, we do not feel that representatives elected by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party should be seated. We urge the State of Mississippi to hold free and open elections in all districts, regardless of race, creed, or color.

The draft

We believe that the present draft system must be completely reexamined. Less than 10 percent of those eligible to serve are drafted; those who do serve feel they are being punished, that they are accomplishing nothing, that they were unable to slip through a loophole. Less than 10 percent of those in the Armed Forces are draftees; of a million men, those drafted are fewer than 100,000. By increasing exemptions, the draft leads to more inequities than fewer.

We believe that many jobs now being done by soldiers might better be accomplished by civilians and that the remaining draft quota might better be filled by volunteers through a general pay raise and increased educational incentives rather than by the draft itself.

Prayer in the schools

We are opposed to the proposed amendment permitting the recitation of prayers in the public schools. It is a cardinal principle of the first amendment that each American shall have the right to believe in God or to disbelieve. To believe or not to believe is a deeply personal decision which each individual has to make for himself free from any governmental coercion. The Supreme Court decision banning prayers in public schools is right because it maintains inviolate the freedom of conscience of each American.

Reapportionment

We strongly support the Supreme Court decision that representation in the House of Representatives and in both houses of all State legislatures must be equal by population. This holding promises to help achieve the fair representation of all people in Congress and the State legislatures, and further promises to make our legislatures more reflective of the true majority of the people.

We urge each State legislature to act immediately to implement this decision and to create bipartisan commissions to redraw district lines, with an equal number of members from each party and a nonpartisan chairman.

We oppose the Dirksen amendment on reapportionment, and we urge the passage of Congressman CELLER's bill to implement the intent of the Court's decision. We are disappointed with Senator JAVITS' support of the Dirksen amendment. His contention that the Federal analogy applies is a misunderstanding of the Constitution and American history.

We recommend that all State legislatures set up commissions to investigate the possibility of establishing unicameral legislatures.

Capital punishment

We urge all States to abolish capital punishment. Statistics show that not only has there been no increase in capital offenses in those States where capital punishment has been abolished, but in one instance there has even been a decrease.

Capital punishment only serves to fulfill the revenge desire of a small minority of people. It is not worthy of a civilization such as ours. There have been too many instances of the execution of the wrong man. Death is irreversable and we have no right to take the life of another when he has for the time being been judged guilty beyond a reasonable doubt but may in time be proven innocent.

We favor the abolition of capital punishment for all Federal crimes.

National Economic Conversion Commission

We support the legislation introduced by Senator GEORGE MCGOVERN that would create a National Economic Conversion Commission. If we are to avoid economic pressure against disarmament proposals, we will have to plan on a large-scale, long-range basis, ways and means for resources now being used for the production of military goods to be converted to civilian uses. It is inconsistent with the idea of disarmament that the specter of economic depression be allowed to threaten disarmament talks.

Washington, D.C.

We urge Congress to grant home rule to the District of Columbia. It is unfair for the District to be governed by two congressional committees which it doesn't elect, often calloused to the needs of minority groups.

Firearms control

We believe that the sale of firearms should be more strongly and more carefully regulated than has been the case in the past. It is regrettable that the United States remains the only modern nation without enforceable restrictions of the sale, possession, and use of firearms.

We urge Congress to pass Senator DODD's two bills calling for the control of mail-order purchases of firearms and the elimination of the sale of heavy nonhunting weapons. These bills have been carefully drawn so as to assure the legitimate use of firearms by hunters and sportsmen.

We also urge the State legislature to enact legislation which would require a gun owner to register his arms with the local police authorities who in turn would notify the FBI, and city and State authorities.

Presidential succession

We urge Congress to pass and the State legislatures to ratify the constitutional amendment recently passed by Congress with regard to Presidential succession. An amendment of this sort is essential for the stability of our Government and must be passed without delay.

Narcotics

We urge Congress to permit physicians to prescribe narcotics for addicts according to the best judgment of the physician. Such legislation would considerably weaken organized crime, eliminate the need for addicts to steal, and curb the spread of narcotics use by making it less profitable for organized crime to 'push" narcotics to innocent youth. Since narcotics are a major factor in big city crime, such legislation is a necessary first step toward making our cities safe.

We believe that narcotics addiction is a medical and not a police problem. We oppose the Harrison Act and other Federal legislation whose purpose is to treat the addict and addicted "pusher" as a criminal.

We favor the setting up of rehabilitation camps for the cure and reeducation of drug addicts so that they may get back into the mainstream of society. These camps should be open to those who wish to voluntarily get off drugs.

We favor the requirement of a prescription for the sale of any medicine containing any percent of an addictive drug.

Farm labor

We urge Congress to pass a bill of rights for farm labor. Those who labor in our agricultural communities should be protected by minimum-wage legislation, have the right to bargain collectively through a union representative, and to receive those benefits that are given to unionized labor in American industry. No society can boast of greatness if it does not guarantee certain basic rights for each sector of its population.

Conservation

We congratulate the Johnson administration for the passage of the wilderness bill as an important step for the preservation of natural resources in the United States. We trust that other bills will soon be passed that will reinforce this necessary first step.

We urge legislation that will protect the natural resources in the Missouri River Basin in the Midwest. This region is one of the last that has not been utilized for commercial purposes and it should be left in its natural state. We urge the Congress to act immediately in this vital area.

Foreign Service Institute

We believe that a more highly skilled team of experts is necessary and essential in the basic administration of our foreign affairs. We urge that the Federal Government establish a new, advanced institution of higher learning for the career Foreign Service. Entrance should be by competitive examinations to insure the quality of our career diplomats. Tuition should be free to make it available to all and there should be no loyalty oath required for admission.

Highways

We support President Johnson's proposals to prohibit unsightly billboards and automobile junkyards along our federally supported highways.

Social security

We urge Congress to pass legislation to include Federal Government employees under the social security system and medicare.

Federal Government assassination

We believe that the assassination or attempted assassination of a President, Vice President, Cabinet member, Member of Congress, or Supreme Court Justice should be a Federal offense.

Voting age

We believe that the legal voting age for a citizen of the United States should be lowered to 18. We fully support and urge the Congress to pass the constitutional amendment offered by Representative ROSENTHAL, H.J. Res. 440, to realize this end.

Agricultural subsidies

We urge the adoption of the Brannan plan on agricultural subsidies with the stipulation of giving subsidies only to farmers who are shown to need them and who should be in farming.

We also urge that the Government more actively encourage farmers to get off the land and to retrain them for other occupations.

National university

We realize the need for the expansion of higher education and we therefore support an investigation into the possibility of the establishment of a national university system.

Unemployment

We commend the Johnson administration for its efforts in bringing about a reduction in the high rate of unemployment. How-

ever, we are not satisfied with the present rate of employment and urge the President to fight in Congress for a massive program to retrain the unemployed. We suggest a program in which private industry and Government would join with labor in an attempt to give each individual the means to support himself. From the experience gained with the Manpower Retraining Act, it is clear that greater incentives must be offered to lure the unemployed into a retraining program.

Need for State-Federal Cooperation in Legislation To Help Advance the Technological Frontiers of the Ocean Sciences

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the technological advances that the United States has made with regard to our achievements in outer space are truly commendable. We can be proud of the achievements and endeavors of our scientists and our astronauts. This, after all, is a new frontier and America has become great because of our willingness to accept the challenge that new frontiers have offered us throughout our history. It is of another and relatively unexplored frontier that I wish to speak. That is the frontier of our own oceanographic sciences. Oceanography is an area that we would do well to turn our attention to, for I believe we can be as enriched by a knowledge of our great bodies of water as we can be from the knowledge of the space which surrounds our planet.

Advancement of the oceans sciences in the United States is not occurring as satisfactorily as it might due to a lack of cooperative efforts between all levels of government to assist needed technological change in the exploration and use of ocean resources. I would like to call your attention to the remarks made by Under Secretary of the Interior, John A. Carver, Jr., to the Atlantic States and Gulf States Marine Fisheries Commissions in Miami, Fla., on October 6, 1965. These remarks follow:

THE OCEANS—A CHALLENGE TO FEDERAL-STATE LEADERSHIP

From *Sealab II* to Gemini V, Scott Carpenter, an astronaut himself, but now an aquanaut, communicated with his former colleagues. *Sealab II* was but feet away from man's normal environment; Gemini V was about as many miles away. In each case, man had constructed a capsule wherein he could take the essentials of normal life into an alien and forbidding world—there to study himself and the environment and push outward the frontiers of his knowledge about each.

When I became Under Secretary 10 months ago, the world of the oceans and fisheries was opened to me, new and different from the parks, Indian, and land management world which I'd known as Assistant Secretary for Public Land Management. I have been impressed by some similarities between these apparently dissimilar worlds.

For example, I sense a parallelism between fisheries and conventional agriculture. Fisheries is now in a transition equivalent to that of a couple of hundred years ago when we moved from the age of pastoral hunters to the age of the plow and disciplined farming. I've heard a lot about "marine engineering." Is it not really nothing more than a more complicated way of talking about "farming"?

The fisheries biologist's theories for "aggregation engineering" is putting a complicated handle on a principle known to the cowboy as "herding." A sheepherder's dog has been practicing "olfactory engineering" for a long time.

The temptation to make the frontiers of oceanography more esoteric than they really are has some hazards in it. I suspect a lot of people fall off the sled as a result of the technological jargon and fail to appreciate either the logic or the necessity for the effort. No cattle or sheepraiser today would question the need for applying the principles of herding or would deny the validity of fences as a means of keeping his stock where he wants them at the time he wants them there. The far-out proposals for chemical fences, air bubble curtains, and artificial attractants are solidly proven principles of ranch and farm management that don't take any magic to sell.

The time which man took to move from the age of hunting to the age of farming amounted to at least several thousand years. Civilized man has been hunting for fish for about as long as he has hunted for other food. Agriculture now replaces the process of hunting for fruits and vegetables and the like, and we have domesticated the animals which provide much of our meat.

Because the seas were difficult to explore and offered man a hostile environment, we have stayed in the age of the hunter for our fish. The current national oceanographic program represents a really monumental effort to telescope the transition from the age of hunting to the age of farming into a decade or two because we will not be patient enough to wait thousands of years for this revolution.

It helps to understand the science of oceanography by putting it in a familiar context and I am convinced most people would understand the relevance of oceanography if we were less often so mysterious about it.

I would like to carry my analogy one step further by suggesting that fisheries problems and the conservation issues of fisheries are not at all unlike those we have faced before. Take the buffalo. The heartland of our continent was settled and westward migration nourished on the carcasses of millions of buffalo. By the time we became conscious of our foolishness this great animal was near extinction. The national conscience said "stop" at a time only barely short of the point of no return. The wood buffalo, one species, is gone forever.

Isn't this exactly the same issue we face with the world's population of whales?

For 100 years the oceans' stock of whales fed a thriving New England industry and nurtured the economic development of the Northeastern United States. The lusty tales of down-east whalers have a quality comparable to the raucous history of the mining camps in the West. Both breeds of men are gone now, and the whaling industry which supported New Bedford, Mystic, and the other whaling ports of New England.

However, the conservation issue involving whales is unresolved, and, like the buffalo, time is running out for us to act. Some authorities think we may already be too late to save the great blue whale from extinction. Almost no authorities deny the whale catch now exceeds a sustainable supply.

We were fortunate in the case of the buffalo to have had it as a problem within the grasp of national action. This is not true of whales. The United States has no whaling fleet of consequence and our leverage is limited to a moral dimension. This makes it all the more essential.

The technological horizons in fisheries easily excite the imagination. On a recent inspection visit to the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries Laboratory in Hawaii I saw experiments with tuna that may in a short time take much of the guesswork out of that fishery.

The scientific breakthrough represented by control of the sea lamprey in the Great Lakes is comparable to the introduction of insecticides into the agricultural economy, though in the case of the lampreycide, rigorous scientific assumptions will hopefully avoid the hazardous implications of widespread use of agricultural pesticides.

One of the more intriguing technological developments in fisheries is nearing payoff. After many years of research effort an economically feasible means of producing large quantities of fish protein concentrate seems near at hand. The availability of low-cost high-quality protein in large quantities has implications for worldwide human nutrition of revolutionary dimensions. This kind of approach is also representative of a new dimension of the conservation effort itself—namely, to find economic ways to translate material regarded as waste—in this case trash fish—into an economic asset. This same principle supports current research efforts to clean up the gases coming out of coal-burning industrial plants by extracting marketable sulfuric acid under methods that will make the process of cleaning up our air pay its own way. Similar research is being made on junked cars.

If I have tried to simplify the technological frontiers of the ocean sciences—and I have—I find it considerably more difficult to simplify the governmental and industrial hurdles over which the U.S. fishing industry must somehow climb if the industry is to keep pace with the scientific innovations being made available to it. I say nothing new with the observation that the U.S. fishing industry is substantially behind the other world's major fisheries in almost every category by which industrial progress can be measured. The fleet is not modern. Ports are too small and confined too much of the fishery effort to small-scale operations inshore. The economic units of the industry are often too small to be viable and too dependent to see utility in cooperative action. The ability of the industry to lift itself is severely handicapped by various forms of economic inertia and the unpredictable fluctuations of a resource the supply of which the industry has no control. The fishing industry works in an environment of water, the quality and quantity of which cannot be controlled. The inshore fisheries resource is often at the mercy of distant agricultural land practices which produce silt or from which flow minute but significant traces of chemicals capable of changing or wiping out a local fishery.

The Department of the Interior sees these problems of American fisheries as inadequately understood. We see that the ecological framework and interdependence of the resource on the land and in the sea must be better understood.

There is a gap between the goals of fishery conservation and the laws by which they are managed. A law, for example, which limits oyster harvesting to inefficient hand tongs, channels the inventive genius of an industry away from concern with the resources to concern with the tools.

Laws which would require foresters to cut trees with axes instead of power saws and move logs with horses instead of hauler trucks would be laughed at. But we require hand tonging and sail power for oyster ves-

sels. Isn't this really a knd of backward approach to conservation—legislating tools instead of legislating conservation goals.

Along with the cooperative efforts between all levels of government to assist needed technological change in the exploration and use of ocean resources, it seems to me that one of the major opportunities for Federal-State leadership and cooperation lies in the field of conservation law and the definition of conservation goals. As a future source of food, of minerals, and even large quantities of fresh water, the oceans are the last frontier on the planet. It may be a fact that man will stand on the moon long before very much is known about the seas, but under the opportunities offered by such cooperative programs as the new Commercial Fisheries Research and Development Act, this frontier cannot fail to give way to the thrust of knowledge.

President Johnson stated the challenge of the seas when he said:

"For tens of thousands of years—ever since man has possessed the power to sense and reason—he has been aware of the seas around him. This awareness has varied from disdain to superstition, as man alternately sailed and fished the sea on the one hand, and worshipped it on the other.

"But never until recently did man seek great understanding of the oceans, because he saw little necessity. There was always a new frontier, an unexplored land, unexploited territory.

"Now our view of the seas has had to undergo a drastic change. We have always considered them as barriers to invasion; we now must see them as links, not only between people, but to a vast new untapped resource."

Lt. Gen. Robert W. Colglazier, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I want to dispel certain misconceptions that have resulted from the action taken by Lt. Gen. Robert W. Colglazier, Jr., commanding general, 4th U.S. Army, in connection with the court-martial case of Pvt. Winstel R. Belton. On at least three occasions on the floor of the House, my fellow Texan, General Colglazier, an officer with whom I have had a long acquaintance and a personal friend, has been severely criticized for his action with respect to this case and I feel it is my duty to set the record straight and remove any doubt as to the loyalty and dedication of this fine Army officer. Many of you know General Colglazier and have seen him appear as a witness before your committees when he was serving as deputy chief of staff for logistics. He is a great officer and soldier who has had a very distinguished career. His action in the Belton case was not brought about by callous disregard of all things we hold to be dear, but rather by his compassion for a young soldier, who has acknowledged his guilt and asked for an opportunity to rehabilitate himself by joining his unit in Vietnam where he is presently serving. I have asked the Department of the Army to prepare a statement for me explaining the circumstances of the Belton case, and I am sure that this information will remove any doubt that may have arisen concerning the character and integrity of a devoted Army officer.

A fact sheet follows:

FACT SHEET EXPLAINING THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE CASE OF PVT. WINSTEL R. BELTON

Private Belton was assigned to the 1st Cavalry Division (Airmobile) at Fort Benning, Ga., when that division was alerted for oversea movement to Vietnam. On August 17, he informed his commanding officer that he was on a self-imposed hunger strike. As a result of his actions, he was charged with violations of the Uniform Code of Military Justice and placed in pretrial confinement in the post stockade at Fort Benning. Since these actions were of a serious nature requiring a complete and thorough investigation, it was not considered in the best interests of the Army for Belton to accompany his unit to Vietnam. He voluntarily ended his fast on August 18, 1965.

A pretrial investigation was completed and his case was referred to trial by general court-martial. Subsequently, his defense counsel presented a motion for a change of venue, which was granted by the commanding general, U.S. Continental Army Command. His trial was then scheduled for October 5 at Fort Sam Houston, Tex. He was represented by civilian counsel he provided, and by military counsel who was a Judge Advocate General's Corps officer appointed in accordance with the requirements of the Uniform Code of Military Justice. The prosecution was represented by two officers of the Judge Advocate General's Corps.

Acting through his defense counsel prior to trial Private Belton offered to plead guilty to the offense of malingering to avoid duty in Vietnam if the convening authority would agree not to approve a sentence greater than 1 year in prison, forfeiture of all pay and allowances, reduction to the grade of private from private first class, and a bad conduct discharge, all except the reduction to be suspended and remitted after 1 year, dependent on Belton's future conduct and performance of duty. Belton's offer was accepted by Lt. Gen. R. W. Colglazier, Jr., commanding general, 4th U.S. Army, who was the convening authority.

Pretrial agreements are common in both military and civilian jurisdictions. The acceptance of such an agreement is within the discretion of the convening authority. In agreeing to the offer of the defense, General Colglazier took into consideration the implied willingness of Private Belton to fulfill his duty by serving in Vietnam as previously ordered and the soldier's military record up to the time of the hunger strike.

Private Belton pleaded guilty and was found guilty by the court. He was sentenced to a dishonorable discharge, total forfeitures, and confinement at hard labor for 5 years (which automatically includes reduction to the grade of private). Following completion of his review of the record of trial, on October 13, the convening authority notified Belton that the sentence, reduced in accordance with the pretrial agreement, had been approved and that he was being ordered to rejoin his unit in Vietnam without delay. The commander exercising general court-martial jurisdiction over Belton may legally vacate the suspension and order the execution of the approved sentence if Belton again fails to perform his military duty properly or is guilty of other misconduct.

There was no irregularity in the request for change of venue, the approval of that request, or the acceptance of the offer of a pretrial agreement. The laws and policies of the Federal Government have been meticulously observed in all actions pertaining to this case. Determinations in the case have been influenced solely by appropriate and relevant factors. The type of discharge Belton eventually receives will depend on the overall quality of the service he renders during the full period of his military duty.

Wyoming VFW Speaks Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Joe Haratyk, adjutant of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Post 2281, of Thermopolis, Wyo., sums up the feelings of every sensible citizen of Wyoming in the condemnation of the demonstrations last weekend against our policies in Vietnam. The following statement exhibits what I know to be the feeling of the majority of the citizens of Wyoming and of the United States:

Seven hundred members of VFW Post 2281, Thermopolis, Wyo., deplore not only the actions of last weekend's demonstrations, but also the undue publicity given to them. In a resolution adopted last evening, the members went on record again as being in wholehearted support of President Johnson's policies in Vietnam and southeast Asia and ask your continued demonstrations of the solidarity of Wyoming citizens as true Americans, committed to fulfillment of our obligations among nations as well as our personal obligations to serve our country when called upon to do so.

We feel these demonstrators are not just exercising the rights of free speech and assembly, but are being used to embarrass the United States in the eyes of the world. These demonstrations do not represent the beliefs and ideals of Americans, but in reality are a small minority of individuals with misguided beliefs, rebelling against authority, law and order.

JOE HARATYK.

Mr. Speaker, I applaud and concur in the statements of Adjutant Haratyk and I am happy to insert them in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

Appendix

NOTICE

The last issue of the daily Congressional Record for the first session of the Eighty-ninth Congress will be published not later than Monday, November 15, 1965. It is requested that copy and proofs of speeches withheld for revision, or extensions of remarks as authorized by either House, be submitted to the Government Printing Office or to the Congressional Record Clerk, Room H-112, Capitol, before that date.

By order of the Joint Committee on Printing.

CARL HAYDEN, Chairman.

The 89th Congress—A Congress of Fulfillment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, of the untold number of hours this 1st session of the 89th Congress has spent in this Chamber, in committee, in conferences, in voting and decisions, none, I hold, goes deeper to the inner legislative soul of us all than this moment of résumé and evaluation.

We have come now to the summing up.

If we had to give this Congress a label, a name to distinguish it from other Congresses of the past, a designation in history, what would be the right form of words?

I mean a title for this 89th Congress that matches and defines its role in history to set it apart from all the Congresses since the meeting of the 1st Congress under the Constitution in 1789?

This has been a dramatic Congress and a Congress of infinite scope.

It has done its work well and earned for itself very special praise.

The words that I think fit this Congress better than any others, and that give it the correct chapter heading in the history of the United States, are simple and true.

I would say the 89th Congress of the United States is "The Congress of Fulfillment."

It is the Congress of accomplished hopes.

It is the Congress of realized dreams.

It is the Congress that shaped and crafted the noblest obligations of man to man, the highest moral values, into the workable and statutory language of the practical and the sound; of the legal and the constitutional.

This is the Congress that dealt pragmatically and successfully with the subjects and the profoundest problems that plague the soul of men everywhere.

And this is the Congress that came through with a program of fulfillment.

So I am proud to say that this Congress constitutes a new plateau on what is up to now the highest level of mature government, democratically administered, for some 190 million or more of our people and for the freedom of the world and mankind.

What therefore sets this extraordinary achievement apart from, for example, the early Presidential days of the all-time great Franklin Delano Roosevelt is that this superbly historic record generally was created without the acute pressures of tragic national crises.

It was done out of a sense of a nation's greatness.

It was done without the driving force of an existing or impending disaster.

It was done out of a feeling for humanity bred into us by the great heritage and tradition of our past and out of such leadership as gives our history its glory.

What I am saying is that this Congress—perhaps more than any other Congress that has gone before—reached a higher moral elevation.

What began for the immediate present in our history with President John Fitzgerald Kennedy and the New Frontier surged forward under the impetus of President Lyndon Baines Johnson's grand pronouncement.

Let us continue.

And what we have wrought in this House and in the other body is the creation into the structure of our laws of a sound and compassionate regard for our fellowman.

It is a new statutory upgrading of human values.

In depth, in implementation, in effectiveness, in making moral justice more complete than it has ever been hitherto, I believe what we have done here to be without parallel in time.

I know of no words in the last half century so pregnant with meaning as "civil rights."

I know of no words so pregnant with meaning as "right to vote."

I should like to be shown a word so rich in religious significance, so proudly noble in terms of Holy Writ, as that word coined in these very legislative halls and known now to civilization as "medicare."

Of course none of this is the last word in legislative perfection. Of course some clause, some phrase, some grudgingly wrought compromise in some of this massive legislation will bring with it a train of difficulties. And these in later legislation may have to be ironed out and corrected, adjusted, changed, improved. This is why we have Congresses and why we live so well and achieve so much under the democratic process with its inherent allowance for change.

I emphasize this legislation for humanity because there are critics among us who charge that we are becoming a nation losing its soul. That we are in the throes of the tragic delusion that money and power and affluence guide our will and overwhelm humility and our sense of decency and righteousness.

What this Congress has wrought in this session is a concrete denial of that indictment.

The aged and the blind, the children and the dependent, the disabled and the infirm have felt the healing hand, so to speak, of the 89th Congress.

This was the Congress that gave the Nation its first real "nuts and bolts" Housing Act. There has been housing legislation in the past, but the 89th Congress took dead aim at the heart of the problem—and extended to the less fortunate American an opportunity to raise his family in new and better housing.

The bill, which authorizes more than $7.5 billion for a comprehensive housing program, is especially designed to aid low-income families. Although the rent subsidy provision of the bill failed to gain the necessary appropriations in the waning hours of the first session, we can expect a vigorous effort to restore this kingbolt section early next January. For those whose yearly income ranges below $3,000, grants of up to $1,500 will be available to help restore older, rundown property.

In the passage of the Housing Act, this Congress again demonstrated a vital concern for the people and for the dignity of the individual. Clearly, the Congress has shown an ability to meet squarely a moral responsibility; and in meeting that responsibility it has earned a prominent place in the chronicles of the Republic.

Along with significant housing legislation, this Congress sought to correct a festering inequality and extend to this

country's burgeoning urban communities a proper representation in Washington. This move toward equality was achieved through the creation of a Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development. Long overdue, this new department will combine under a single head the duties of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the Federal Housing Administration, the Public Housing Administration, and the Federal National Mortgage Association. This act will enhance the future planning and development of our great metropolitan centers, and it will help extend to our urban dwellers the blessings of a satisfying and rewarding life.

This is the Congress that thrust itself into the very pit of our neglected national educational problem. The bill that is now law—H.R. 2362—with great care and consideration for detail and universal justice, authorized $1.3 billion to bring about a better educated America. The elementary and secondary grade-school education for our children throughout the land is to be improved.

There is a 3-year program of aid to school districts.

The primary beneficiaries of this program are to be the pupils from the lower income families. There is, besides, a 5-year program for communitywide supplemental educational centers. Here there is involved the purchase of textbooks and teaching aids, research, and help for State education departments. And there is for 2 years, under this authorization, aid for school districts impacted with our servicemen. The program is comprehensive, exhaustively worked out, and as nearly ideal as legislation can be.

But this was the Congress that also took cognizance of the fact that today a student's education often is not completed with a high school diploma. With thousands of young men and women waiting at the Nation's college doors, this Congress took action designed to keep open those doors to the qualified applicant. The higher education bill will provide scholarships for needy undergraduates; it will provide for an expanding program of national defense education loans; and it will provide for better libraries and better adult-education classes.

Again, the Congress of fulfillment has guaranteed to future generations of Americans that they too will be able to enjoy the fruits of a better education.

Yes, this was the Congress that blazed a new and edifying trail in the field of medical care for the aged. What a beautiful memorial to former President Truman, when President Johnson journeyed to Independence, Mo., to sign into law the medicare bill. Harry Truman was the great Democrat who first sought to lift the burden of medical bills from our senior citizens. And this law does just that. It adds an immeasurable amount of dignity to our fellow Americans who have reached the golden years. The victory for medicare was not an easy battle; but once won, this Congress can be proud that, like St. Paul, "it fought the good fight."

We have legislated to tighten the Federal power in those areas of commerce that have proved themselves incapable of doing their own policing of their own predatory and dishonest commercial delinquents—however much in the minority they may be. Thus we have given certain authority to the Food and Drug Administration. We are putting controls over the sale and distribution of depressant and stimulant drugs to end their special toll of crime and traffic accidents. And we have been justly forcible where this type of profiteer uses, for his victims, children under 21 years of age.

This can hardly be said to be a society that is losing its soul.

Along kindred lines we have enacted the Community Health Services Act in terms of its extension for 5 fiscal years through 1966 to 1970. Here the ancient Biblical injunction about being our brother's keeper was put into practice through authorizing grants to States and communities for a mass immunization program.

Like the all-out war on poverty, this is the all-our war on disease.

It is aimed to strike at polio and diphtheria, at whooping cough and tetanus and—in this act for the first time—at measles. In this act this Congress literally searched out whole areas of mankind within its borders to bring them health: the act extends for another year general and special health services to migratory workers, among others, and to the chronically ill and the aged. And grants are provided to improve research for such health activities.

This, indeed, is the Congress that not only provided fulfillment for democratic government, but instead of losing its soul, found, reactivated and expanded it, and reached out for the noblest works consonant with a great human conscience.

When the furious floods of winter ravaged Oregon and the States of Washington, California, Idaho, and Montana, Congress authorized $111.8 million to repair the devastation nature had inflicted. This bill, now law, is doing its humane job among the dispossessed and the afflicted.

This is the Congress also that saw beyond its basic borders in the grand design for helping the needy and the worthy, and those people of our country who are our own. Thus we enacted, for one example, H.R. 5874, a bill that amends the Aid for School Construction Act or Public Law 81–815, so as to authorize help for building facilities in Puerto Rico, Wake Island, Guam, and the Virgin Islands. This is the act that reached out to help those children beyond the means of local agencies and for who local authorities are unable to do anything, but who need help. And there is Public Law 89–36, a relatively minor measure in itself, but of powerful meaning for the handicapped since this is the law that establishes a national technical institute to provide higher education for the deaf.

Along the same line and belonging in the same family of legislation is the act that authorizes $224.1 million through fiscal 1972 authorizing grants to community mental health centers for professional and technical staffing. It authorizes also $205.5 million for training of teachers of the handicapped and retarded children, and still another $80 million for research, demonstration projects, and construction of facilities in this field through fiscal 1971. Here is a complex of problems to which the late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy was so deeply devoted and to which the Kennedy family has given so much of its energies and its wealth.

There are, of course, other measures on health that mean so much to a Nation of more than 190 million whose strength as a democracy depends on a rugged and an informed population.

This Congress, in the Regional Medical Programs Act, launched a concerted attack on the sadness, the human misery, and the irreplaceable loss of valuable talent through the diseases of the heart, of cancer, stroke, and accompanying ills. An authorization of $350 million over the next 3 years will assist in developing a cooperative regional arrangement among public or nonprofit private institutions engaging in the research, diagnosis, and treatment of those diseases that too often promote despair and cause surrender of life itself.

And, as with the victory over polio, I am confident that this attack will also meet with success; and the victor will be awarded the benefits of a healthier America.

Let me ask the "doubting Thomases": Does this sound like a Nation that is losing it's soul? No, I submit to you, that this Nation and this Congress have made a new covenant with the future—a covenant that will fulfill the historical promises of democratic government.

The strength of a nation like ours is, to be sure, not only in the health and the vigor of its people, but in the health and the vigor of this people's economy. It is in this area that this Congress realized, I believe, to its utmost potential the legislative power given it by the Constitution and affirmed by the electorate that put this Congress in office. Here is the sweep and the scope of which I have been speaking, and here is the fulfillment on a scale that does this Congress proud and that will resound down through the corridors of history for decades to come.

For this is the Congress that enacted Public Law 89–44, reducing excise taxes by $4.6 billion and proving for the first time on a huge scale that more money can come into the Federal treasury by removing the heavy burdens of taxation from the American people, than by increasing taxation, provided this is done with discretion and with economic wisdom.

It is also the first time that Congress, by its courage and its decision, destroyed the long-held myth that once a tax is imposed it is never removed.

This Taxation Extinction Act, which became effective by July 1, 1965, repealed the Federal tax on furs, on jewelry, on a whole catalog of luxury items, and on radio, TV sets, cameras, household appliances, musical instruments, records, sporting goods, and bowling alleys.

This is the law that gradually cuts the 10-percent tax on automobiles, bringing it down to 1 percent.

It is the law also that eliminates the communications tax beginning January 1, 1969.

Here we have, I repeat, legislation that is bold, that is thorough, that is courageous, and that is in keeping with the tradition of the great legislative measures of the Roosevelt, the Truman, the Kennedy, and now the Johnson tradition. I shall have more to say about the Johnson leadership, but it is in the field of the national economy, as was the case with the late Franklin Delano Roosevelt, that this extraordinary leadership manifested itself with striking and dramatic impact for the good of our country and, in the long run, for the good of the free world and—I do not hesitate to insist—for the good of the whole planet and its 3 billion people.

For the solid strength of our economy has its advantageous repercussions on the economies of the world and all peoples, sooner or later, feel its helpful effects.

I ask those who find our country wanting in the spirit of nobility and who charge us with "the new imperiousness of power and wealth," with arrogance and with concentration on money and power, to examine the body and the burden of the legislation of this Congress. For the critics of whom I speak are not necessarily abroad. They are our own critics and they speak—sincerely and with the best intentions, I suppose—in our public places and our public prints.

What, I ask, is Public Law 89–4 but the expression of the finest instincts of the American people, as brought to reality by this Congress. This is the law that established the Appalachia Regional Commission. This is the Commission whose function it is to initiate and coordinate public works and similar programs—not only Federal, but State and local as well, to bring the economy into the homes of those who need it most. It proposes to do this by improving the skills and the health of residents in the area covered by the legislation.

And for this effort Congress authorized $1.1 billion for 1966.

Lest this be not enough, we have Public Law 89–15, the statute that extends for 3 years, to June 30, 1969, the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. It is a law that encompasses results achieved, and to be achieved, and therefore establishes a limit, so that it reduces full Federal support of projects to 90 percent after fiscal 1966. Excepted from this reduction are payment of allowances for trainees. Also the maximum training period is extended from 52 weeks to 104. It brings the training program of the Area Redevelopment Act under this Manpower Development and Training Act.

And it authorizes $454 million for the program for 1 year.

If this Congress was busy at all it was busy with the examination of its own soul, its own conscience, and the well-being of its people. This was done in a spirit, not of rhetoric and what might be done at some time in the future, but with principles and law put on the statute books here and now. They are already set to work to give our people help, relief, and the opportunity to exercise their own initiative, their self-reliance, their feeling of being an integral part of the Great Society.

Let me reemphasize the story of the 1965 session of the 89th Congress:

We enacted Federal funds for elementary and secondary schools and, within constitutional limits, we included private and church schools.

We launched Appalachia, providing aid that totaled $1.1 billion for an 11-State program, changing desperation into hope.

We provided $454 million for manpower retraining.

We repealed excise taxes on a massive and historic scale.

We instituted comprehensive health benefits for those from one to one hundred.

We took the best system of higher education and made it even better with continued Federal grants to our colleges and universities.

We showed the free and the tyranny-ridden world where we stood as a Congress on South Vietnam with an increase of $700 million in defense funds.

This is the Congress that had the fiduciary courage to release a substantial proportion of our gold reserve in order to support the international value of the dollar.

This is the Congress that removed the stigma of 100 years of Negro disfranchisement from the soul of America. In no other piece of legislation was the conscience of this Nation put to a more rugged test. That challenge was met by this Congress, and every American should rejoice in the knowledge that today his Negro brother has the legal and moral right to go into the voting booth and cast his equal vote for his equal choice.

This is the Congress that gave new encouragement to the Nation's struggling artists through the establishment a National Arts and Humanities Foundation.

This is the Congress that had the courage to revise the immigration policy of the United States. This move represents a humane, enlightened, and highly beneficial legislative change not only from the standpoint of those seeking to come to these shores and throw their destiny in with us, but from the standpoint also of our own interests as a Nation. It has taken us some 40 years to bring these changes about. The results show a position of mature statesmanship that does this session great credit.

For this is the Legislature that has brought down, so to speak, the walls of Jericho and helped us into the promised land of international decency and national advantage, free of narrow prejudices that run athwart the American tradition. The change in immigration policy is not merely a technical advance in the matter of the admission of immigrants arrived at after much debate and trained technical advice. It is a high point, again, in the moral eminence we have achieved as a people. We did not merely correct a wrong, but we followed through on a question of simple moral righteousness. It is this that does this Legislature immense credit and that is bound, in the years of the policy's operation, to improve the character and the quality of those coming to our shores, and supply the human needs of our manpower requirements.

In immigration we have raised high the standard of human understanding and promoted with it what is right for us all both morally and materially. The passage of this bill brings great happiness to me because my maiden speech in the House of Representatives in February of 1929 was in opposition to the national origins clause.

This is the Congress that extended and expanded President Johnson's poverty program. Who, among you, can accuse this Nation of losing its soul when through the Job Corps 40,000 high school dropouts will receive the vocational training and educational skills necessary to give them a crack at making a meaningful contribution to the Great Society.

Who can accuse this Nation of turning its back on its less-fortunate citizens when legislation to aid the poorer farmer, the migrant worker, and the American Indian has been passed by this Congress.

And who can accuse this Nation of snobbish neglect when through a regional development program those painfully depressed areas of chronic unemployment will receive a helping hand in the form of grants to modernize their water systems, sewage plants, sewers, and police and fire facilities.

No, all of these accusations are for another time and another place; but in 1965, this Congress was truly the Congress of fulfillment.

Thus when I speak of fulfillment, of promises kept, of commitments lived up to, I do not mean a program of sentimental do-goodism that is all heart and no head. But I mean what I have just delineated: a solid program of hard, sound sense and definite achievement. This is a program that, for the very sweep and scope of its aims, is bound to show some signs of imperfection, some areas of criticism, some details not fully and ideally worked out. But it is a program that shows legislative judgment of the highest order, and that for its massive reach and effect, may well go down as one of the greatest accomplishments legislatively in the history of the United States.

When we dealt with dollars we used the cold, hard laws of arithmetic as our fiduciary legisation well testifies. When we dealt with human beings and our fellow citizens we displayed a sense of what is right and just, what is uplifting and what will teach and rehabilitate, what will build and make for a progressive and an economically well-administered citizenry.

We do not want paupers; we want people.

We want people who are self-sustained and proud and capable of doing what needs to be done for themselves, getting only from Government what will enable them to become self-supporting and bring them as quickly as may be to their own feet.

That's the real inner meaning of much of this legislation.

The national defense and internal security is an area of legislation that has always held a high priority in this Congress as in mostly every other. Especially since the end of World War II there has been a feeling of sensitive regard for anything that touches upon our military survival and our military preeminence, for upon our military survival depends every other survival. Yet, in going all out on our defense program, we did not go overboard and the same fundamental good sense that governs our general legislation applied here, except that there was an element of priority and extra consideration that was naturally elicited by the immense importance of the subject.

This is a monumental program that chews up more than half of a $100 billion annual budget. It pays for itself by providing the people of the United States with military protection for our survival and assuring peace and some measure of security for the free world. The choice is so enmeshed in terror that appropriations by this Congress to the military requirement may be said to be in fact a choice between money and death. This more than anything else explains the astronomical money—statistics in the military appropriations of this and former Congresses.

What do we have?

We have Public Law 89–37 authorizing $15.4 billion for the Department of Defense. This is solely for the procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels. It includes $6.4 billion for research and development, for tests, and for evaluation.

It is almost impossible to say in language what a buildup this means of the mighty combination of science and industry, creative research and analysis to create a power for death and destruction undreamt of only a decade or two ago—a combination basic to the continuation of humane life in freedom on this planet.

A sort of profound psychological expression of money-and-military opinion behind our foreign policy protestations of commitment against Communist aggression is Public Law 89–18, which I already mentioned.

In terms of a $700 million additional appropriation this law tells Hanoi and Peiping, and some doubting capitals in other parts of the world, that this Congress surely to the extent of this legislation, is solidly and concretely, absolutely and without the peradventure of a doubt behind the President of the United States in his foreign policy in South Vietnam. Nor does this in any way exclude debate on the subject both within and without the Congress—a debate that the President himself has said he earnestly welcomes. What I am talking about is honorable debate, honorably spoken, not malicious and unwarranted, or evilly inspired, personal strictures against the administration and the strong and lonely man who leads it.

In a collateral category of expenditures is the authorization by this Congress of $5.18 billion for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for the fiscal year 1966. This is to be used for the construction of facilities, administrative operations, and, of course, research and development. This is where the critical problem of solid fuel rockets are handled and questions resolved for nuclear solid-powered systems for spaceships. It is, overall, the brilliant and adventurous project that is shooting mankind into the next century. It has yielded an incredible body of information for science already and it has nurtured many new and remarkable products for ordinary use that are already on the market. It holds an infinite promise of great discoveries beyond anything imaginable at the time in 1492 that this continent was opened for civilization. Its potential for creating solutions—now beyond the knowledge of man—for problems that beset us, is practically without limit. It has already given us a new category of hero called astronauts. More than that, we have, up to now, placed ourselves in the lead of world-prestige in space exploration—a position we once thought we had lost to the Soviet Union.

The same bold and sweeping application of legislative statesmanship may be said to be inherent in Public Law 89–32, which authorizes $2.55 billion for fiscal 1966 for the Atomic Energy Commission. Some $704 million of this sum is for a weapons program, and another $2.5 million for a merchant ship reactor plan, bringing our surface ships within range of this amazing source of energy. Here again we are dealing with an imponderable future and our initiative and diligence today, our effort in money as well as talent, may bring us rewards wholly beyond understanding at the present moment. Doing these things is imperative lest others, unfriendly to us, forge ahead of us in these—the greatest mysteries about matter that until now baffled mankind—and much of which will, for a long time to come, continue to excite man's scientific curiosity.

Fulfillment, as we see, is a very big word.

It becomes bigger when we see what this Congress did to meet our country's responsibilities as the leading Nation of the free world. Here, in the area of international affairs, we see how monumental is the burden that rests on the back of the people of the United States in helping to keep the world's economy viable and at the same time discharge our responsibilities to our own people. And we see how careful, how adroit, how measured, yet how intelligently generous, this Congress has been in fulfilling this phase of its functions to our country and to the nations involved with us in the economic sphere.

When this Congress authorized $3.27 billion for foreign economic and military assistance for fiscal 1966 it stipulated that aid end to any nation failing to take preventive action against destruction of American property. But the Congress at the same time was careful not to preempt the constitutional authority of the President in directing our foreign policy. The act the Congress passed thus bars the sale of surplus foods to the United Arab Republic—one of the offenders against American property—but reserves to the President the right to make the determination on the basis of whether or not withholding the surplus foods is essential to our national interest. I like to think of this wise reservation in the act as a sound and simple example of legislative statesmanship and legislative good manners.

Thus in other laws that are now on the statute books this Congress extended the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency for another 3 years, and extended the authority of the President to control the export of strategic or scarce materials for 4 years to June 30, 1969. There are still other laws passed by this Congress that bolster and improve the international banking situation as in the case of the amendment to the Inter-American Development Bank Act. Another very solid lift to the interantional banking situation was achieved through the authorization to increase by $1.035 billion the U.S. quota in the International Monetary Fund, broadening our participation by a jump from $4.125 to $5.16 billion.

On matters of governmental reorganization this Congress I believe for the first time, adequately corrected a strategically dangerous loophole in the Constitution of the United States. This is in the matter of the constitutional amendment fixing conditions and procedures for the Vice President of the United States to take over the duties and functions of the President in the event of the latter's incapacity, and making sure that the then occurring vacancy in the Vice Presidency is properly assumed by a constitutionally named successor.

This constitutional amendment is now before the several States for ratification.

This Congress with its sights raised high on the moral and economic and fiduciary and international issues of our time did not neglect the workaday old, and enduring difficulties that confront the Nation.

Cries have gone out that the forgotten citizen is the American farmer. But let me assure you that this administration and this Congress have not forgotten him. His individual well-being is the concern of every Member of Congress, and that concern is reflected in the passage of the omnibus farm bill which authorizes, revises, and extends the acreage allotments and price supports for wheat, cotton, rice, and allied agricultural commodities.

While the Soviet Union exchanges hard gold for Western wheat needed to supplement an agricultural economy laid waste by collective schemes, this Nation's farmers continue to provide the bounties of a blessed soil to the American housewife at bargain-basement prices. No, this achievement will never be forgotten; and this Congress will continue to reward our farmers with the cooperation and help of a sympathetic Government..

Under the heading of "Natural Resources" this Congress took into account the rising and critical question of water scarcity in certain areas. Thus we have the act establishing a Federal Water Resources Council and River Basin Commission. It will become the job of this

body to coordinate plans for the maximum use of these resources, helping the States in their planning for a better adjustment of this basic eternal and indispensable need of human, animal, and vegetable life.

Other measures put the Federal strength behind flood control and navigation improvement projects with a $944 million authorization, and struck out at the growing problem of water pollution through the establishment of a Water Pollution Control Administration in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

This legislation will give the Federal Government and the States—if they choose to take the initiative—the power and the authority to strike down those individuals and industries who for their own financial gain selfishly exploit and pollute the waters that belong to all the people.

But if this Congress was concerned with the water we drink, it was also concerned with the air that we breath. That air has become the victim of misuse and mismanagement. In the air pollution bill, this Congress moved to kill the source of strangling fumes that has made the air over our urban areas a modern technological disaster. The bill authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to establish standards governing the exhaust fumes emitted from passenger cars, trucks, buses, and other motor vehicles.

This legislation comes not a day too soon. The romance of the American people and the automobile is legendary, but that romance is threatening to endanger the health of our citizens, and it is a tribute to the work of this Congress that it again has acted to protect the health and well-being of all Americans.

"Conservation," That is the key word. This was the Congress that legislated to conserve the natural, God-given blessings of this magnificent country. It has acted to conserve our waters, our air; and with the enthusiastic support of President and Mrs. Johnson, the Congress has rescued the Nation from a mad dive toward ugliness brought on by a cyclorama of tasteless billboards and rusting junk heaps. The highway beautification bill will help to remove these eyesores and restore to the byways of this land a new birth of scenic wonderment. It is legislation long overdue, and it's advent is welcomed by the majority of our countrymen.

Another conservation measure considered by this Congress concerned the rapidly diminishing level of the world's silver reserves. To help stem the tide of a disastrous silver shortage, and to free adequate supplies of this precious metal for industrial uses, the Congress eliminated or reduced the silver content of the Nation's coinage. Let me rush to emphasize, that this will in no way affect the value of our money—that value has been religiously maintained for 180 unbroken years by the full faith and credit of the U.S. Government.

There were still other measures along the same line, all of them pertinent.

And for veterans and servicemen toward whom this House has always extended its legislative hand of meaningful gratitude, there was the reopening of national life insurance and the authorization of special allowances for evacuated dependents of members of the Armed Forces from foreign duty posts.

There was the act which allows the sorrowing families of those Americans who gave "the last full measure of their devotion" to receive compensation for the unused leave accrued by the servicemen at the time of their death.

And there was the military pay bill which grants a justly deserved pay hike to our young men and women who each day give unselfishly of their talents, their energies, and their lives—so that we might enjoy the continuing advantages of a free society. This money cannot begin to compensate these young Americans for the sacrifices they are making in the malaria-infested jungles of Vietnam. But this act does put the world on notice that we have not forgotten those who willing stand in defense of liberty—and we shall not forget them.

Over and beyond this massive legislative accomplishment is the economic state of the country. This is the base, from the standpoint of a position of strength and security, from which all else is derived. For our country is in a condition of economic growth and health beyond anything known to the history of economics since man first organized himself into societies. As I speak, this country is producing at a rate of growth that is in itself a kind of industrial, financial, and economic landmark. For the rate of growth is a phenomenal 5 percent. Now the learned economists of the country may dispute with me, and with each other, some of the interpretations to be drawn from these figures. But all agreed that, on the level of economic magnitude, our country is now in a state of achievement that may classically be defined as the golden age of American business.

The total story of the 1st session of the 89th Congress is for all these reasons, and this remarkable record, a new and brilliant page in the history of our country and the chronicle of man's progress toward the Great Society.

Suppose then we ask ourselves what were the factors that contributed to this pyramid of realized hopes, this catalog of legislative fulfillment?

The answer is to be found not only within the walls of this Chamber, but beyond it.

For, first, there was the dynamic, insistent, unrelenting, tireless, and extremely human and humane leadersip of President Lyndon Baines Johnson. This, as we all know from our actual experience and contact, is leadership on the highest standards of Presidential relationship between the executive and the legislative branches of our Government.

Second, and certainly no less vital, there was this eager, cooperative, deeply informed, and dedicatedly concerned Congress, acting always on its own knowledge and its own independent judgment, and profoundly aware of its role in history.

Third, there were the mighty moral, economic, social, political issues-of-the-first-moment pleading for solution.

Fourth—and equal to all the rest—there was the pre-eminent and dominant will of the people of the United States as expressed in a bluntly positive and unmistakable landslide presidential election that swept all polling-booth records before it. It was an election that showed the voters of the United States in a ponderous, calculated, and irresistible decision, well backgrounded on the issues and clearly knowledgeable, moving like a mountainous tide to put into office Lyndon Baines Johnson and so many of the legislators I see before me now.

These factors, together, constituted an unbeatable combination.

What, from my point of view, matters as much as anything else, is that there were no so-called crash programs. We were not subject here nor did we subject each other to what is sometimes referred to as the steamroller or the rubberstamp decision.

There were no threats, political or otherwise, to legislate or else.

This extraordinary record of the 1st session of the 89th Congress is all of it, from one act to the other, sound legislation, soundly arrived at, exhaustively planned, discussed, disputed, reported, accepted.

No group, no party, affirmative or in opposition, was asked to take anything on faith.

No one was asked to do anything against principle.

No legislator was asked to act or accept any proposition that had not been first thoroughly argued to the limit of intelligent, detailed, and considered debate.

We heard it all and fought it all out right here in the Chamber and in committee and with each other.

The greatest single influence for the passage of this remarkable body of legislation was the legislation itself.

It is legislation that stands up on morale grounds, and, from the standpoint of arithmetic, it is certainly on solid fiduciary ground.

It is legislation that accepts the needs and wants and rightful claims of all our citizens. It discriminates against no group, no race, no faith, no party.

It is legislation that aims at the totality of the American people.

It is legislation that is ruggedly conceived.

But, of course, legislation cannot be the absolute answer nor cover the whole of the human problem.

What we did in this Congress was to build a road of statutes to a higher social order.

We cannot preempt the functions of the school.

We cannot preempt the duty of the home.

We cannot preempt the teachings of the church.

We cannot preempt the responsibility of the community.

The human heart, as we have been well taught by experience, cannot be shaped and remolded by the cold, hard language of statutory law.

The communication media has its duties to perform in a free and open society.

The organized authority of the professions—the law and medicine—have their own areas of responsibility to themselves and to the rule of the law.

The Congress opened the gate—as this legislation testifies—and now the people must enter and do their share.

We have obeyed Holy Writ and we have accepted fully and honorably the role of being our brother's keeper.

It is now up to our brother and his associates to do some of the keeping on their own.

Yet, as this Nation, under God, must see it, this legislation that we have enacted is touched by a Biblical thoughtfulness.

It is invested with the decency of man's humanity to man.

It is rich in the unique workability that combines compassion with technical competence.

It is legislation that as nearly as possible represents in all its truth what President Johnson calls "a consensus."

Indeed, it is legislation that speaks in the language of Isaiah shaped to the needs of the middle 1960's, rooted in the usages of democracy, and rendered feasible by the phenomenal know-how of a highly pragmatic and politically mature people.

By the time the legislation reached the desk of President Johnson in the White House for his signature, returning to the spot where so much of it had been initiated, it was enveloped in the words from Holy Writ that President Johnson loves so much:

Come now and let us reason together.

Members of the 89th Congress: It is my opinion that the record of legislation you have just written will live forever in the story of man's progress to the realization of his noblest dreams and the fulfillment of justice and peace through sound government.

Bill Moyers: Key White House Figure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, Bill D. Moyers is a key figure among the able men and women who serve the Nation in the White House. As the President's press assistant, Mr. Moyers has been matching both wit and candor with the White House press corps almost daily since the withdrawal of Mr. Reedy because of illness. He has quickly gained a well-deserved reputation for exceptional ability and acumen.

Yet his official function, important as it is, reveals only a part of the immense responsibilities which Bill Moyers carries, through the President, for the Nation. President Johnson draws heavily on his assistance in any number of ways in order to cope with the great press of public business which comes into the Executive offices. Bill Moyers is versed in and acts on behalf of the President on a whole range of national, international, and inner-governmental matters which require the President's attention. His great usefulness, particularly in an emergency, is highlighted by the highly effective contribution which he made to maintaining public calm during the President's recent surgery.

Bill D. Moyers has brought to the White House the faith of the ministry of which he was a part before entering Government service. He has brought an originality of mind and a sense of organization, both of which he sharpened in connection with the creation and effective operation of the Peace Corps. He has brought an endowment of human sensitivity and a zest for work in the public interest. In short, his contribution to the Nation—through the President—is that of a man of complete dedication, that of a practical idealist which he has been and which he remains.

An excellent insight into the outstanding character and ability of Bill D. Moyers is provided by a feature which appeared in the Saturday Evening Post of October 23, 1965. I ask unanimous consent that this article be inserted at this point in the RECORD. In addition, I ask unanimous consent that an article, in the same vein, and on the same subject, which appeared in the Sunday Star also be included at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Saturday Evening Post, Oct. 23, 1965]

SIX YEARS AGO BILL MOYERS WAS AN UNKNOWN PREACHER IN A LITTLE TEXAS TOWN—TODAY HE IS THE MAN WHO SPEAKS FOR L.B.J.

(By Don Oberdorfer)

One of President Johnson's favorite stories is about the time he asked his young assistant, Bill D. Moyers, to say grace before the meal in the private quarters of the White House. As Moyers began to pray softly, the Chief Executive interrupted to urge him to "Speak up, Bill! Speak up!" The former Baptist minister from east Texas halted in mid-sentence, raised his bowed head and responded firmly, "I wasn't addressing you, Mr. President."

The President would repeat such a story about no one else in his official entourage—and about no one else would the story be believable. Moyers is something special. He has a boldness that sets him apart from any Johnson assistant, past or present. For that reason he is a major figure in the Government of the United States.

At age 31 he has risen further and faster in official Washington than any young outsider since the days of Franklin D. Roosevelt's original whiz kids. Six years ago he was a threadbare seminarian and part-time pastor of a country church at Brandon, Tex. (population: 121). Today, Tom Wicker, of the New York Times, calls him "the Ted Sorensen, the Sherman Adams, of the Johnson administration," and Mary McGrory, of the Washington Star, describes him as "the youngest and ablest man around the President." A member of L.B.J.'s Texas inner circle says, "If you really got the President's back against the wall and stuck a gun in his belly, he'd tell you that Bill is his No. 1 boy. They are almost like father and son."

Billy Don Moyers (his full name) was a teenage summer intern in then-Senator Johnson's outer office in 1954 when L.B.J. "discovered" him, and Moyers freely acknowledged that "anything I am can be traced to Lyndon Johnson." Yet in recent years Moyers has struggled constantly with Johnson for the independence he cherishes. Repeatedly he has tried to quit his chief for a career of his own, but he is now reconciled to serving at least 2 or 3 more years on the White House staff. Since July, when George Reedy left to undergo surgery, Moyers has been "acting" press secretary, and thus in the full glare of national publicity as the official spokesman for the President.

Regularly, the Nation's most exalted reporters shuffle into his office. They find a slender young man with black horn-rimmed glasses, a mischievous smile and a long, thin, 25-cent cigar, which he alternately puffs and waves in amiable greeting. The summit of his previous journalistic eminence was as a cub reporter for his hometown paper and part-time assistant news editor for KTBC, the Johnson family television station in Austin. Nonetheless, not even the most intensive grilling from the White House press corps has shattered his supreme composure.

In addition to the news job—itself one of the toughest in government—Moyers is engaged in a vast array of demanding pursuits. He begins each day with top secret briefing papers from the CIA and attends nearly every major White House meeting. Moyers oversees the advisers who are formulating the administration's all-important legislative program and in times of national or international crisis is often the President's principal "crisis manager." Johnson has described him as "my vice president in charge of anything."

With all, it is entirely possible to exaggerate the power of this busy young man. He is not a Sherman Adams or a Robert Kennedy, for the only substantial power center in the White House today is the oval office itself, and the man who sits there is both conscious of his prerogatives and exceedingly loath to share them. Johnson is the boss. Moyers is a creature of delegated authority, an attendant lord.

"I am here as the President's catalyst," Moyers is fond of telling the groups of idea men that assemble in his office. But insiders have often credited him with a considerably more active function. According to many, Moyers is one of the few people who can persuade Lyndon Johnson to change his mind.

In preparing this article, I consulted six close associates of L.B.J. about this impressive assertion, and each of them said it was true. One informant said that "more people than you think can do that when their arguments are cogent. Bill can do it more often, though, than anybody else." Another insider recalled a time when the President rejected an important paper he had sent to the oval office for approval. "I sought out Moyers and explained the issue and its importance," he said. "Bill took it back to the President twice. He got the OK on the second try."

Moyers himself insists that "I can't get the President to do a dad-burned thing he doesn't want to do," an observation that is both self-evident and essentially meaningless. He goes on to say that Johnson's working relationships are misunderstood. "I don't know where people get the idea he is surrounded by sycophants. He can't tolerate yes men. The times when he really burns us are when we tell him something we think he wants to hear."

Moyers at work displays both nerve and self-confidence. When a Post Office official complained to him recently about the embarrassing failure of the White House to use zip codes on outgoing mail, Moyers responded with characteristic directness. He imme-

diately telephoned the White House mail room and, as his visitor gaped in awe, ordered zip codes to be used.

Another facet of Moyers' boldness in his zeal as a practical joker. One of the earliest instances was in 1960 when, as a member of Johnson's senatorial staff, he was urged by an all-too-serious colleague to save papers and artifacts for the newly established L.B.J. "archives." Moyers responded with a large Manila envelope and elaborate instructions for the preservation of its contents—chicken bones purported to be the remains of the great man's lunch. Moyers' coworkers see his penchant for pranks as "Bill's way of growing up."

For all this self-assurance, however, Moyers is never pretentious or curt, traits easily developed in the junior assistants of the great. No matter how busy he is, he makes each visitor feel as if his mission is the most interesting and significant business of the day.

This unusual young man is all the more remarkable for his background. His father is a time clerk in a Texas defense plant and his mother is a clerk in a funeral home. As a student young Moyers had little money, but Johnson took a shine to his 1954 summer intern and made it possible for him to finish college by supplying part-time jobs at the L.B.J. station in Austin. Later the Senator offered him an executive post at the station, but by then Moyers had married Judith Davidson, the daughter of a Dallas postal clerk, and dedicated his life to the ministry.

In the fall of 1959, when L.B.J. was getting ready for his forthcoming run for the presidential nomination, Moyers was serving as the $35-a-week pastor of the country church at Brandon, with twin outhouses in back and a congregation of a dozen families. The farm folk doted on the young preacher, who arrived every Sunday with his wife in a battered car. Almost every week he would pull a nickel out of some kid's ear at Sunday school, and after dinner he would organize a ball game or rehearse the choir. Then, one day he announced in church that he had reached a great decision—to leave the ministry and join Lyndon Johnson in Washington. He explained that he had stood upon a ridge and seen his life spread out before him, and found that the path of politics, and action, was the one ordained for him. "After his regular sermon he said goodbye to us, one by one," recalls one of his parishioners, Mrs. Alec Wallace. "When only a few were left, it was too much for him, and he broke down and cried."

Johnson installed Moyers at his right hand in his private office; later, when the political pace picked up, Moyers sent his wife and child back to Texas and moved into a bedroom of the Johnson home. At the 1960 Democratic National Convention he slept in a large closet in the boss' hotel suite.

During the campaign, Moyers was like Johnson's second skin—scheduling appearances, drafting speeches, keeping touch with the Kennedys. After the election, Johnson confidently prepared a place for his protégé on the Vice-Presidential staff, but Moyers had other ideas. Driven by ambition and by idealism, he yearned for a chance to be somebody, on his own, in the new Peace Corps. Both Johnson and John F. Kennedy were opposed to his plan, but the tenderfoot from rural Texas wore them down.

In this endeavor Moyers recruited the aid of James H. Rowe, Jr., a Washington attorney-strategist who was well respected by both Johnson and Kennedy. Sargent Shriver was picking the Peace Corps high command, and in late February 1961, Rowe wrote Shriver a perceptive memorandum: "* * * If I were a young man, I think I would be content at the age of 26 to be the top assistant of the Vice President. * * * But this boy Moyers is willing to give this up, without a backward look, so he can 'do good.' * * * The world is full, and the Peace Corps will be, of people who want to 'do good' and have not the slightest idea how. This young man knows how. He is that curious and very rare blend of the idealist-operator."

A few weeks later Moyers was named Associate Director of the Peace Corps, and in January 1963, President Kennedy promoted him to Deputy Director, thus making him the youngest Presidential appointee. He was so young that when querulous Senators demanded to know his age at the confirmation hearing on Capitol Hill, Moyers replied hopefully, "28½."

There matters stood until, in mid-November of 1963, Kennedy borrowed him from the Peace Corps for temporary duty as a political scout for the forthcoming Texas trip. Moyers was having lunch in Austin when he heard the news of the assassination, and within 15 minutes he was airborne to Dallas to join Lyndon Johnson.

In the days that followed, Moyers rarely left Johnson's side. At night he again slept in the Johnson home. When the President transferred operations to the White House, he placed Moyers at the desk just outside his office.

To reporters who came to call, the young aid insisted, "I'm just here helping a friend, and when that ends, I'll drift away and never be heard of again." Each day he was more enmeshed in the work of the White House; even so, he refused to join the Presidential payroll, keeping his old position at the Peace Corps and even his old office intact.

In mid-1964 Johnson and Moyers reached a meeting of minds about the future. Moyers agreed to help run the fall campaign, and Johnson promised that after the election he would appoint his cherished young aid Director of the Peace Corps, replacing the beleaguered Shriver, who was already doing double duty as Director of the war on poverty. The elated young Texan passed the word to his old associates and began casting about for a Deputy Director.

On October 14, word spread through the incredulous White House that Walter Jenkins, for years L.B.J.'s administrative assistant, had been arrested on a morals charge. That night the innermost circle of the Johnson high command gathered in Moyer's office at the White House, and Presidential confidant Clark Clifford placed a call to the distraught Chief Executive, who was campaigning in New York City. "We have Walter's resignation," Clifford reported wanly. "How do you want to announce it?" Clifford listened, then hung up, and turned to Moyers. "He says it is being announced in New York that you are succeeding Jenkins as top White House assistant."

"Oh, no—oh, no," groaned Moyers, "I've got to talk to him." He rose as if to pick up the telephone for a last-minute appeal, then realized it was hopeless and sank back in despair and resignation. A month later, after the election was won, he gave up his Peace Corps office and joined the White House payroll as a special assistant to the President. "The Peace Corps was the one thing I wanted," he said to a friend. "Now I'll never get it."

Today the idealist operator of the White House staff has come to terms with the present and learned to take a longer view of the future. He will never return to the ministry, which seems to him now "a world of words" for which he is temperamentally unsuited. "My long-term interest is international affairs," he says. "If I stay in the executive branch of Government, I would like to work someday in the Defense-State complex." Another possibility is elective office—perhaps as a Congressman, a Governor or Senator. Still another is the business world. One problem is health. He has a peptic ulcer, and every few months his coworkers see him grimace and whiten, as pains come upon him. Sometimes a walk on the south lawn will bring relief, but other times a day or two in bed is necessary.

When his long day is done, Moyers prefers to devote whatever spare time he has to his wife, their three small children, a few friends from seminary days and some Peace Corps cronies, most of them younger than he. The Moyers' idea of fun is a quiet dinner with friends or churning homemade ice cream in the backyard of a neighbor. They recently bought a house in the suburbs and traded in their car. Privacy being precious to them, Judith Moyers put her foot down and prevented the installation of a White House telephone in the new station wagon.

It is a most difficult job to reserve a life of one's own against the demands of a strong leader and particularly so in a city where power is idolized. "It is hard to be a White House aid as a very young man," reports one who previously looked down from that high pinnacle. "Sometimes it can spoil you for the rest of life."

So far there is no sign that success has spoiled Bill Moyers, but critics have wondered whether any man so young can carry such an enormous responsibility without risk to himself and to the country. Several years ago, on the occasion of his Senate confirmation as deputy director of the Peace Corps, such doubts were raised publicly, and HUBERT HUMPHREY, who had been mayor of a great city before he was 35, rose to defend the boy preacher from Texas.

"We are supposed to be a young Nation," HUMPHREY solemnly told those elders of the Senate who were worried about Billy Don Moyers. "I see no reason why occasionally we should not place trust and responsibility in some young man."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star]

ATTENTION MR. SHRIVER: MOYERS EYES PEACE CORPS

Bill D. Moyers says his supreme ambition is to become Director of the Peace Corps—if President Johnson ever lets him quit as White House press secretary.

In an interview with the Storer Broadcasting Co., released today, Moyers said being press secretary is exciting and he enjoys it, but it "is not my cup of tea."

Although he has generally been well received by the press corps since he took over George Reedy's job several months ago, Moyers said, "It's a little bit like a man who was trained to play left end, suddenly shifted to guard. He'll do his best, but he would prefer to go back to what he was doing, catching passes instead of blocking 220-pound linebackers."

CALLED BY JOHNSON

The 31-year-old Johnson aid was Associate Director of the Peace Corps when the President called on him to join the White House staff following President John F. Kennedy's assassination. Moyers earlier had worked for Johnson when he was majority leader of the Senate.

Moyers was asked by the interviewer, Linton Wells, director of Storer's Washington Bureau, whether this meant he'd like to return to the Peace Corps.

"Frankly, yes," Moyers replied. "I've always had in the midst of my ambitions the desire to be Director of that organization. I would have been if circumstances had not been altered by forces and powers beyond our control. It remains my ambition."

Wells asked, "You mean, to take Sargent Shriver's job?"

Moyers replied: "When Sarg leaves it, that would be the Everest of my hopes."

STILL WANTS POST

Shriver, a brother-in-law of President Kennedy, has been head of the Peace Corps since its inception in 1961. He also is head of the poverty program—the so-called domestic peace corps, and there have been rumors

from time to time that he would give up one of his two hats.

Moyers seemed to imply he would have taken over as Peace Corps Director at one point, if he had not been needed by Johnson, first as a special assistant, and then as press secretary.

At the end of the interview, Wells asked Moyers, "Even if the Peace Corps were offered to you again, would you take it?"

"Yes," Moyers answered.

"And leave the President?" Wells asked.

"If he would let me," Moyers replied.

Moyers said his maxim in office comes from his father: "Tell the truth if you can, but if you can't tell the truth, don't tell a lie."

CALLS PRESS PICAYUNE

Moyers said the press is not overly critical of Johnson, but is too picayune from time to time, "and too inaccurate about what they are picayune about."

One example of this, he said, was a story that Johnson had installed Muzak in the White House although it had been installed 7 years ago by President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Another item which greatly annoyed the President was an account that Johnson spent 7 hours one Saturday on his boat at his Texas ranch, while Moyers in Austin was giving out news which created the impression the President was very busy.

"The truth of the matter is that the President was on that boat 1 hour and 13 minutes," Moyers said. "He worked 13 hours at his desk that day, even though he was at the ranch."

Moyers also gave his analysis of the President's actions which sometimes appear spontaneous and impulsive, but which others say are always planned in advance.

"I think that his impulsiveness is studied impulsiveness. I think his spontaneity is planned spontaneity," he said.

"It is very important for the President, whatever his name, to maintain his options, and to be able to move in any one of a number of directions at his choosing.

"The reason for that is simple. If his moves are known in advance, if his options are identified prior to actual implementation, then his opponents, of whom there are always many, can move to choke off his options."

He said Johnson is a man with "enormous capacities for work, for compassion, as well as for capacities of a less positive nature. He is bigger than life and that includes in every respect."

Report to the People of the Third Congressional District of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. BYRNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

THE YEAR 1965: A YEAR OF ACHIEVEMENT

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, although we are now ending but 10 months of our 2-year tenure of office, this 89th Congress has already been praised by President Lyndon B. Johnson as the greatest in history.

I am sure that every Member of the House of Representatives, as I do, shares the satisfaction and pride, which you expressed in delivering to us the President's "Salute to Congress," for the privilege of having a part in the massive outpouring of legislation.

I believe, however, that it is difficult for the average citizen—merely from the reading of his daily newspaper or from snatches of radio and TV reports dealing mostly with controversial angles—to fully appreciate the broad scope and deep impact of the programs we have enacted.

Only a comprehensive listing of specific major laws benefiting, as you have pointed out, millions of people and designed to improve our democratic way of life can draw the whole picture.

For this reason, Mr. Speaker, I am appending such a compilation for the benefit of my constituents of the Third District of Pennsylvania. This covers not only the broad fields of international affairs, national economy, education, social security, health and welfare, and the improvement of our governmental and political structure, but also measures emanating from the Armed Services and Merchant Marine Committees on which I have the honor of serving.

Philadelphia, with its Navy yard, Defense Supply Agency, and other related agencies, and with its great port facilities so vital to foreign trade and the export-import business and the shipping industry, has an important stake in the legislation of these two committees.

The matter referred to follows:

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND INTERNAL SECURITY

S. 800: Authorizes $15.4 billion for Department of Defense for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels, including $6.4 billion for research and development, tests, and evaluation. (Public Law 89-37.)

H.J. Res. 447: Appropriates $700 million additional for fiscal 1965 to press Vietnam campaign. (Public Law 89-18.)

H.R. 7717: Authorizes $5.18 billion for National Aeronautics and Space Administration for fiscal year 1966, for construction of facilities, administrative operations, and research and development including solid fuel rocket, and nuclear solid-powered system for spaceship. (Public Law 89-53.)

H.R. 10775: Authorizes $1.78 billion for military construction at domestic and foreign installations. Requires notice to Congress of future planned base closings. (Public Law 89-188).

H.R. 10306: Prohibits destruction or mutilation of draft cards and provides Federal penalty for violations. (Public Law 89-152.)

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

H.R. 7750: Authorizes $3.36 billion for foreign economic and military assistance for fiscal year 1966. Terminates aid to any nation failing to take preventive action against destruction of American property; bars sale of surplus foods to the United Arab Republic unless President determines it essential to U.S. national interest. (Public Law 89-171.)

H.R. 2580: Abolishes national origins quota system in immigration effective July 1, 1968. Provides for admission of immediate relatives of American citizens. Fixes annual limit of 170,000 from all former quota countries, and 120,000 from Western Hemisphere, giving preference to persons with skills and professional abilities. (Public Law 89-236.)

H.R. 2998: Extends for 3 years, to June 30, 1967, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and authorizes $30 million annually for its operations and research. (Public Law 89-27.)

S. 2054: Authorizes $115 million for Peace Corps for fiscal year 1966, including $500,000 for research. (Public Law 89-134.)

NATIONAL ECONOMY

H.R. 8371: Reduces excise taxes by $4.6 billion a year. Repeals levies on furs, jewelry, other luxury items, and on radio, TV sets, cameras, household appliances, musical instruments, records, sporting goods, bowling alleys, and on cabarets and general admissions, effective July 1, 1965. Cuts 10 percent tax on automobiles gradually to 1 percent and eliminates communications tax effective January 1, 1969. (Public Law 89-44.)

S. 3: Establishes Applalachia Regional Commission to initiate and coordinate public works and other programs, Federal, State, and local, to revive economy and improve skills and health of area residents; authorizes $1.1 billion for 1966. (Public Law 89-4.)

H.R. 3818: Repeals requirement of 25 percent gold reserves against Federal Reserve deposits. (Public Law 89-3.)

S. 974: Extends for 3 years, to June 30, 1969, the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962; reduces full Federal support of projects to 90 percent after fiscal 1966, except payment of allowances for trainees; maximum training period extended from 52 weeks to 104; brings training program of Area Redevelopment Act under MDTA; authorizes $454 million for 1 year. (Public Law 89-15.)

S. 1648: Authorizes 4-year, $3.3 billion program of public works by loans and grants to local governments and other public or private groups in economically depressed areas, communities, or regions, to develop industries, facilities, and create jobs. (Public Law 89-136.)

S. 1588: Authorizes 3-year, $90 million program of research and demonstration projects for development of high-speed intercity railroad transportation. (Public Law 89-220.)

S. 949: Authorizes 3-year, $60 million program of Federal matching funds cooperation with universities, States, local governments, and private enterprise, in establishment of State or regional technical services centers to disseminate findings of science and technology to commerce and industry. (Public Law 89-182.)

S. 2080: Eliminates silver from dimes and quarters, cuts proportion in half dollars from 90 to 40 percent. (Public Law 89-81.)

H.R. 8283: Authorizes $1.8 billion for fiscal 1966 for antipoverty programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964; provides for training for chronically unemployed and special task force on problems of aged poor. (Public Law 89-253.)

H.R. 7847: Increases by $120 million to $461 million limit the SBA may lend to small business investment corporations and to State and local development firms. (Public Law 89-78.)

S.J. Res. 81: Authorize increase from $2.9 billion Federal aid for Interstate and Defense Highway System for fiscal year 1967; authorizes apportionment to States; directs Secretary of Commerce to report highway needs January 1, 1968 and every 2 years thereafter. (Public Law 89-139.)

SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH AND WELFARE

H.R. 6675: Amends Social Security Act to provide: Hospitalization for person 65 and over, effective July 1, 1966; optional medical care insurance at $3 a month, matched by Government. Increases by 7 percent all social security payments, liberalizes eligibility rules. Expands and increases payments under Federal-State assistance programs for dependent children, blind, and disabled. Increases social security taxes, and income rate base, to finance new and increased benefits. (Public Law 89-97.)

H.R. 2362: Authorizes $1.3 billion to improve elementary and secondary grade-school education; provides for 3-year program of aid to school districts on basis of percentage of pupils from lower income families and 5-year programs for communitywide supplemental educational centers, purchases of textbooks and other teaching aids; research, and help for State education departments. Extends for 2 years to July 1, 1968, aid for

impacted schools districts. (Public Law 89-10.)

H.R. 7984: Authorizes $7 billion housing programs for 4 years including FHA, urban renewal, housing for elderly, college housing, 60,000 new units of public housing per year, and $800 million annually in matching grants to communities for water and sewer facilities; authorizes rent subsidy for some low-income families; limits interest charges to elderly and moderate-income home buyers; permits no-down-payment insured loans to veterans; expands rural programs. (Public Law 89-117.)

H.R. 2: Authorizes Food and Drug Administration to establish special controls over sales and distribution of depressant and stimulant drugs (amphetamines and barbiturates); fixes strict penalties particularly for offenses involving persons under 21 years of age. (Public Law 89-74.)

H.R. 8131: Extends Juvenile Delinquency Act for 2 years to June 30, 1967; authorizes $6.5 million for fiscal 1966, $10 million for 1967. (Public Law 89-69.)

S. 510: Extends for 5 fiscal years, 1966-70, the Community Health Services Act, authorizes grants to States and communities for mass immunization programs against polio, diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, and adds measles. Extends for 1 year general and special health services, including those for migratory workers, chronically ill and aged, and grants for research to improve such services. (Public Law 89-109.)

H.R. 9567: Higher Education Act of 1965—Authorizes 5-year, $5.5 billion program to help States support community service programs of colleges and universities in urban and suburban areas; for grants to their libraries for training, research, and acquisition of materials; for teaching fellowships to raise quality of instruction at smaller colleges; amends National Defense Education Act to permit use of 25 percent of Federal contribution for scholarship grants to "exceptionally needy" students. (Awaiting President's signature.)

H.R. 8027: Authorizes 3-year program of grants by Attorney General to help State, local police, and other agencies improve enforcement methods and otherwise prevent crime; authorizes $10 million for 1966. (Public Law 89-197.)

S. 306: Authorizes $3.9 million 4-year program for control of air pollution by gasoline- and diesel-powered vehicles, and $92.5 million for action and research programs to improve methods of disposal of solid waste. (Public Law 89-272.)

H.R. 2985: Authorizes $224.1 million through fiscal 1972 for grants to community mental health centers for professional and technical staffing; $205.5 million for training of teachers of handicapped and retarded children, and $80 million for research, demonstration projects and construction of facilities in this field through fiscal 1971. (Public Law 89-105.)

H.R. 2984: Extends for 3 years, to June 30, 1969, expiring Health Research Facilities Act, expands program, and authorizes aggregate of $289 million in matching grants for construction. (Public Law 89-115.)

H.R. 7031: Establishes a national technical institute to provide higher education for the deaf. (Public Law 89-36.)

H.R. 8469: Provides for cost-of-living increases in annuities to retired Government employees. (Public Law 89-205.)

H.R. 3141: Authorizes $755 million for 3-year extension of matching grants program for construction of teaching facilities for physicians, dentists, professional health personnel, optometrists, pharmacists, and podiatrists; for 3-year extension of student loan program; for new 4-year programs to aid such schools, and those of osteopathy to improve scope and quality of teaching and for grants for scholarship aid to their students. (Public Law 89-290.)

H.R. 7743: Provides for Federal insurance of loans to high school graduates, and direct loans by the Government, not to exceed $1,500 per year, to finance tuition at business, trade, technical, and other vocational schools. (Public Law 89-287.)

S. 596: Establishes regional medical programs of cooperative research by hospitals, medical schools, and physicians' clinics to combat heart disease, cancer, and stroke; authorizes $340 million for 3 years. (Public Law 89-239.)

H.R. 8310: Expands Federal program of aid to States for vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons and to increase supply of trained counselors; authorizes $1.05 million for 3 years through fiscal 1968. (Awaiting President's signature.)

GOVERNMENTAL REORGANIZATION

S. 1564: To effectuate and enforce the 15th amendment to the Constitution, guaranteeing the right to vote: Authorizes appointment of Federal voting registrars in areas where discrimination prevails, bars literacy and other tests, directs U.S. court suits to invalidate poll taxes; fixes penalties for threats, intimidation, and violence. (Public Law 89-110.)

H.R. 6927: Established a Department of Housing and Urban Development at the Cabinet level to assume functions of Housing and Home Finance Administration. (Public Law 89-174.)

H.R. 3708: Creates an Administration on Aging, under direction of a Commissioner, within the Department of HEW, to be a coordinating center for information and service to State and local governments, administer grants, promote research, gather statistics, and prepare and publish other data. (Public Law 89-73.)

S.J. Res. 1: Proposes constitutional amendment fixing conditions and procedures for succession of Vice President to the Presidency in event of Chief Executive's disability; provides for filling vacancy in the Vice-Presidency. (Adopted.)

S. 1483: Establishes a National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities comprising separate national endowments for each and a Federal council. Authorizes $10 million annually for 3 years, through June 30, 1968, with United States authorized to match private grants. (Public Law 89-209.)

H.R. 10281: Provides 3.6 percent pay increase for Federal employees. (Awaiting President's signature.)

NATURAL RESOURCES

S. 21: Establishes a Federal Water Resources Council and River Basin Commission to coordinate planning for maximum use of resources and assist States in such planning. (Public Law 89-80.)

S. 1229: Fixes uniform policies on provision for recreation facilities and fish and wildlife benefits, on multipurpose water-resource projects. (Public Law 89-72.)

H.R. 6755: Authorizes $944 million for flood control and navigation improvement projects in 13 river basins during the next 2 years. (Public Law 89-42.)

S. 4: Increases authorization for aid to communities to combat water pollution; establishes a Water Pollution Control Administration in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; permits Federal Government to fix quality standards for interstate waters when local authorities fail to do so within 2 years. (Public Law 89-234.)

S. 24: Extends for 5 years, to June 30, 1972, expanded research and development program for conversion of saline water; authorizes $185 million. (Public Law 89-118.)

S. 1623: Authorizes continued study of effects of insecticides and other pesticides on fish and wildlife. (Public Law 89-232.)

H.R. 89: Authorizes Federal purchase of land along Delaware River in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York for establishment of Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area as part of Tock's Island Reservoir Project. (Public Law 89-158.)

S. 2300: Authorizes $1.69 billion for program of navigation improvement, flood and beach erosion control, and hydroelectric power projects in 38 States; proposes long-range plan to meet water needs of Northeast United States via system of reservoirs and aqueducts. (Awaiting President's signature.)

S. 2084: Authorizes program of roadside beautification by control of billboards and auto junkyards. (Public Law 89-285.)

VETERANS AND SERVICEMEN

H.R. 9075: Provides average 10.4-percent basic pay increases for officers and enlisted members of the uniformed services totaling $1 billion. (Public Law 89-132.)

S. 2127: Provides $10,000 life policy for members of Armed Forces on active duty under private insurance blanket coverage plan. (Public Law 89-214.)

H.R. 205: Increases allowances under the War Orphans' Educational Assistance Act. (Public Law 89-222.)

H.R. 7597: Provides up to $1.65 million as initial capital to establish fund for reopened national life insurance policies (Public Law 88-664), on loan from VA and to be repaid out of premiums. (Public Law 89-40.)

H.R. 206 and H.R. 208: Increases subsistence allowances paid disabled veterans pursuing vocational rehabilitation. Increases period of training. (Public Law 89-137; Public Law 89-138.)

H.R. 168: Increases veterans' disability compensation to reflect rise in living costs. (Awaiting President's signature.)

Tribute to a Loyal GOP Worker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK R. MILLER

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, in the Friday, October 22, issue of the Des Moines Tribune appears an article by the distinguished columnist David Lawrence entitled "Tribute to a Loyal GOP Worker." It is about the late Robert Humphreys, whose untimely and tragic death has sorrowed all of us.

Bob was a good friend and able, always willing and most knowledgeable adviser of people like me who have served in the Republican ranks.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be placed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRIBUTE TO A LOYAL GOP WORKER

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Congress was busy on Wednesday getting ready for adjournment, but part of the day the leaders of the Republican Party in both Houses were bowing their heads in prayer in a memorial service to Robert Humphreys. He died a few days ago of cancer, at the age of 60, after many years of service for the Republican National Committee and the joint Senate-House Republican Leadership Conference.

The name of Bob Humphreys was not known throughout the country, but he made a deep impression here in the Capital as an honest and conscientious workers in the field of politics.

INVALUABLE SERVICE

Though he wrote many a speech and public declaration that made headlines, he was one of those anonymous workers whose services have been invaluable to the Republican Party.

When such a man dies, the story of his career gets no such attention as marks the passing of someone elected to high office. But this time Members of Congress from both parties, assembled at the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, where a remarkable eulogy was delivered by Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN.

"What mortal being, standing on the threshold of infinity, has not pondered what lies beyond the veil which separates the seen from the unseen."

A USEFUL CAREER

"Who would persuasively contend that this work of the Great Designer could only end in oblivion, in destruction without a trace? Who will contend that this—the noblest work of the Great Designer—man, with dominion over all living things, man, with a brain and a will, with a mind and a soul, man with intelligence and divinity should come to an end when the spirit forsakes its earthly temple?

"Five hours before Bob Humphreys' spirit left its earthly, pain-wracked temple, I shook his hand. His last word to me was his request that I make this testament to him. There were no tears."

Those of us who heard the eulogy felt it was an appropriate tribute to Bob Humphreys. His career was a useful one. In politics, he was a man with a sense of honor who dealt fairly with the press and was equally frank and outspoken in the private councils of the Republican Party. He never mismanaged news. He will be missed in Washington.

In a Democracy the Public Has a Right To Be Heard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, for some days I have given serious thought to a letter received by me from Roger L. Stevens, the White House Special Assistant on the Arts. In that letter, dated October 11, he refers to, and adopts as his own, a statement of a New Jersey Congressman in the October 7 issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. That same statement is being widely circulated by Mr. Stevens in his other role as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

Through these communications, direct official threats are being made against the tax-exempt status and municipal financial support of several cultural organizations in the District of Columbia. They include the American Light Opera Company, the National Symphony Orchestra, the Opera Society of Washington, the Washington Ballet, and the Washington Civic Opera Association. Their offense, according to the document being circulated in Kennedy Center mailings, is that they permitted me to poll their supporters in my own name and in the pursuit of objective and legitimate information related to legislation.

The results of this survey have not been welcome to the Kennedy Center trustees. The heavy response proved that 70 percent of the Washington area concert and theater audiences want the controversial question of the Center's site reexamined in open hearings. Late returns are still arriving daily and, despite the barrage of propaganda by the Center's trustees, the overwhelming vote remains in the same ratio—greater than that enjoyed by the President himself in his landslide victory last November.

Because their ticket-purchasers—who will spell success or failure for the Kennedy Arts Center once it is established—voted "wrong", Washington's leading musical organizations are now being endangered by the threat of, first, losing their tax-exempt status; second, being deprived of the pitifully small payment for services that some of them receive from the District of Columbia Government; and, third, the liklihood that they are disqualified from receiving assistance under the new Federal arts program established by the National Foundations on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965, the National Endowment for the Arts of which is to be administered, it appears, by the same Roger L. Stevens.

His recent public and private communications tend to give White House approval to the theory that these organizations, which have outstanding and unblemished records of public service, should be deprived of their tax-exempt status and municipal support. The theory is based on section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue law, which denies tax exemption to organizations which substantially attempt to influence legislation. It is strange that the Kennedy Arts Center itself has spent and is spending many thousand of dollars in order to lobby for legislation in its own behalf. It is the Kennedy Center Trustees who are now lobbying against the leading musical organizations of the District of Columbia.

How curious it is that those who are now attacking the resident musical organizations of Washington have consistently sought and frequently obtained their direct intervention in legislative matters. Some of the very groups that are now being severely criticized for allowing a survey that did not involve them by name were regularly requested in the past by Kennedy Art Center officials to take organizational positions before Congress regarding legislation. Apparently the awesome power of the tax laws and the ending of municipal financial suport is to be used against those art organizations which do not conform when cultural legislation is the issue.

The hard fact is that these organizations now have a directive from their own supporters and ticket purchasers that the Kennedy Center site should be reexamined and the Kennedy Center itself possibly be relocated. There is every reason, under logic and under law, for these cultural groups to intervene directly in a matter that so closely affects them. They are made up of first-class citizens and they have every right to be heard. I certainly would not press them or even request them to speak up. However, if they wish to be heard, I and many of my colleagues will vigorously defend all their rights.

One of these organizations, the Washington National Symphony, has such high standing with the people of the National Capital area and in other metropolitan centers, such as New York, that it has just been announced that it is a serious candidate for a grant of $2,500,000 under the new orchestral program of the Ford Foundation. The National Symphony is so highly respected that it was one of the major symphony orchestras chosen by the Ford Foundation's art experts for a depth study which led to the decision to set up a magnificent program which will provide $85 million in support for American symphony orchestras. The Ford Foundation is to be commended and congratulated for this decision. It has brought to reality the essential and dominant support that private enterprise should and must devote to the arts under the American system. The Ford Foundation apparently agrees with President Johnson, as I do, that Government involvement in the arts should be supplemental to existing private efforts and should not supplant or try to suppress or control the art organizations, such as the Washington National Symphony, that have, through their own public service, made our lives so much more significant and meaningful.

I include as part of my remarks the following items:

FEDERATION OF CITIZENS ASSOCIATIONS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,

October 22, 1965.

Hon. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WIDNALL: I am enclosing for your information the text of a letter I am sending to Mr. Roger L. Stevens in reply to his letter memorandum of October 15, 1965. This is for immediate release.

I want you to know how much the citizens and performing arts supporters of the District of Columbia appreciate your efforts on their behalf in obtaining a performing arts center which will serve the needs of all the people and not just a select few who drive their own limousines.

We also appreciate the fact that you have come to the defense of local performing arts groups in the face of a threat by the White House Assistant for the Arts to take away the tax-exempt status and all municipal financial support from organizations asking for a reexamination of the Center site.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN R. IMMER, *President.*

FEDERATION OF CITIZENS ASSOCIATIONS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,

October 22, 1965.

Hon. ROGER L. STEVENS,
Chairman, John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STEVENS: As one of the 144 signers of the petition addressed to President Johnson and his administration I have received from you a memorandum dated October 15, 1965, as well as a large volume of related material. One of the items which you enclosed included a lengthy but inaccurate chronology prepared by Mr. Ralph E. Becker,

cousel for the Center. It also included the following statement from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of October 21, 1965, page 26880, as follows:

"It may well prove that these organizations have done themselves the greatest disservice of all. Section 501(c)(3) denies tax exempt status to organizations which substantially attempt to influence legislation. And loss of tax exemption seriously endangers the sources of charitable contributions. In addition, the National Symphony, the Washington School of Ballet, and the Washington Civic Opera received from the District of Columbia Recreation Board over $49,000 of public funds appropriated by Congress and a similar amount is provided in this year's budget. It is hardly appropriate for these funds to be used to support opposition to the Kennedy Center site when that site has been endorsed by the District of Columbia as well as the Recreation Board."

This allegation was made in criticism of a survey undertaken for legitimate legislative purposes by Representative WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, Congressman from New Jersey.

I am sure that you are familiar with the provisions of title 18, section 1913, United States Code, relating to lobbying with appropriated moneys by Federal officials, and employees. I would appreciate it if you would advise me, with the provisions of this section of the United States Code firmly in mind:

1. Have you thought about the propriety and the legality of supporting such an intimidating statement by the White House and circulating it by the executive offices and the trustees of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts? Have you had any legal advice that the circulation of this statement is lawful and appropriate?

2. Did the Board of Trustees of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts approve the statement from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of October 21, 1965, page 26880 cited above and its distribution, which statement threatens to end the tax-exempt status and the municipal financial support of the National Symphony, the Washington School of Ballet, and the Washington Civic Opera, and, also end the tax-exempt status of those organizations plus the American Light Opera Company, and the Opera Society of Washington? If they did approve it, please advise me when and were there any abstentions in such approval and by whom.

3. The officials of the Federal Government who are ex officio members of the Board of Trustees of the Center are as follows:

Assistant Secretary of State for Cultural and Educational Affairs.

Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.

Chairman, Commission on Fine Arts.

Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Chairman, District of Columbia Recreation Board.

President, District of Columbia Board of Commissioners.

Librarian of Congress.

Director, National Park Service.

From the U.S. Senate: Senators JOSEPH S. CLARK, J. W. FULBRIGHT, LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, and ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

From the House of Representatives: Representatives JAMES C. WRIGHT, JR. and CHARLOTTE T. REID.

Did any of the above officials approve the statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD cited above?

4. How much money and time by specific personnel paid by funds from the Center and by the trustees of the Center have been devoted to lobbying activities in each of the years since you have been its chairman?

5. How many times and on what occasions have you and Mr. Ralph C. Becker, counsel for the Center, contacted Members of Congress, or members of their staffs, in connection with any legislation or appropriation bills of Congress related to the arts?

6. How many times and on what occasions have you and Mr. Ralph E. Becker contacted Members of Congress or their staffs on any other matters related to the arts but not necessarily related to the Kennedy Arts Center since commencing your duties with the Kennedy Center?

It is believed that answers to the above questions will put recent activities of the trustees of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in the proper light and may permit an objective analysis of these activities by the appropriate committees of Congress.

In addition, I am enclosing a reply to your memorandum of October 15, 1965.

REPLY TO MEMORANDUM LETTER OF OCTOBER 15, 1965

The JFKCPA is not a performing arts center. It consists only of certain halls and auditoriums where events can be held. There are no other facilities for the performing arts of the District of Columbia or of the rest of the Nation. There are no facilities for the National Symphony, the Washington Ballet, or any other performing arts group. There are no practice rooms, rehearsal halls, working rooms, shops for stage scenery, storage for stage sets not on the stage, meeting rooms for performing arts groups, committee rooms, office space, audition rooms, or any of the many of other facilities needed in a performing arts center.

The concert hall is too small to be used by the National Symphony (2,700 seats compared to 3,500 in the Constitution Hall). I predict that they will never use it and I point out that there has been no commitment to do so. The fact that there is no storage space for extra stage sets forces one to the conclusion that the entire project has been designed primarily and exclusively for the presentation of New York road shows. No repertory theater can use it.

The project as now designed does not satisfy the requirements of the enabling legislation. Where can it present and develop programs for children and youth and the elderly? There are no rooms for these purposes. How can it provide facilities for other civic activities if there are no committee or general meeting rooms? I question whether the Center as now designed is a proper or suitable memorial to the late President. He had a concern for the average man. Is it a proper honor to him if his memorial can be reached only by those in limousines or those who can pay $1.75 for a parking fee in addition to $10 for a ticket? I am surprised that his family would stand by and see such mockery made of the ideals John F. Kennedy expressed while he was President.

There has been a great deal of misrepresentation in connection with this project. The basic figures will not stand up. The work of reputable consulting firms has been distorted in order to provide an acceptable answer. One of the leading parking experts in the country developed figures on parking—but used the criteria given them by the Center trustees—figures which are false and untenable. Only those traffic surveys favorable or acceptable to the project have been revealed. How long it would take to empty the garage of 1,600 cars after a performance? Would it take 3 or 4 hours? The assignments to the traffic studies cited have been carefully defined and no recommendations affecting the site selection have been permitted.

There has been a lot of misrepresentation regarding savings of four structures under one roof. My own alma mater, the University of Illinois, now has under construction a true cultural center, consisting of four auditoriums equal to the size proposed here, each in a separate building rising out of a large elevated platform. It has in addition more parking, plenty of classrooms, workshops, conference rooms and storage areas to serve the teaching needs of a great university. The total cost of this project is $15 million including the foundation and the parking garage. One could construct every building of the finest marble and still be below the projected cost of the present Center design. A congressional committee should compare these projects before proceeding on this project.

SITE DEVELOPMENT

Mr. Stone's concept of a large white building in a parklike setting is a truly magnificent one. The only trouble is that there is no parklike setting. Mr. Stevens omits many facts and thereby misleads Congress and the critics. He does not tell you that the approaches to E Street rise 30 feet above the level of the plaza on the east side of the structure; or that at one point an approach road (on the southeast corner) is less than 12 feet from the plaza and 8 feet higher. To the north there is the Watergate Town rising to an impressive height and bulk. Across the freeway to the east looms the Columbia Plaza. To the south there are only the approaches to the Roosevelt Bridge. To the west the 7-acre bulk of the Center overpowers and destroys the rustic effect of the 2-acre Roosevelt Island. The parklike setting is a mockery and the trustees of the Center realize this all to well.

Reference is made to the Watergate complex to the north and the confidence that its height can be kept to that of the Kennedy Center. Even this permits a 13-story building that can be built within 175 feet of the north side of the Kennedy Center Building. This will be the most congested area in Washington when it is completed.

TRAFFIC PATTERN

The traffic pattern is an unbelievable nightmare. There is no direct access to the Center from the inner loop which had been designed to carry the greater part of the traffic in the area. Only New Hampshire Avenue is available to provide direct access to the Center. The park roadway is not wide enough to accommodate large streams of traffic. In times of flood or high water all exits will be closed and the Center cannot be used at all. The only access from the south to the garage must cross over the exit road from the east loading plaza which will create the worst kind of traffic hazard.

The integrated system of pedestrian walks and approaches is a mockery. Ladies attending concerts in the District of Columbia at night do not walk four or five blocks on isolated integrated walkways. It isn't safe. This is an isolated part of the city. It is a "traffic island" surrounded by freeways which can be approached only by automobile or bus.

RAPID TRANSIT

On this point Mr. Stevens plays very loosely with the truth. Mr. Stevens has been given no reason to believe that a subway station will ever be built any closer to the Center than the present proposed station at 23d and H Streets. This whole section presented by Mr. Stevens is highly misleading. It would cost over $6 million to provide a station for the Center. Why does Mr. Stevens not tell the Congress about this figure? Such a subway, incidentally, would have to be blasted out of almost solid rock.

ACOUSTICS (AIR TRAFFIC)

Although Mr. Stevens lists the eminent experts he has called in he very carefully does not provide any assurance that the noise level of jets flying directly overhead can be overcome. There is a very good reason for this lack of assurance on Mr. Stevens' part.

DOWNTOWN AREA

Mr. Stevens has been advised of several suitable sites on Pennsylvania Avenue. He makes no reference to that land to the north of the Archives Building which the Pennsylvania Avenue plan indicates as being suitable for a cultural center. Again it is misleading to refer to 18 acres of parklike setting (unless one includes all the surrounding highways). It is my understanding that Mr. Stevens is not speaking truthfully when he says that the officials of the Pennsylvania Avenue plan have no present plans to include a cultural center. It is plainly marked on the official release of the plan and no disclaimer has been made by those officials.

His reference to the Metropolitan Washington Board of Trade may be understandable when it is recalled that Mr. Ralph Becker, general counsel and principal paid employee of the Center, is a director of the board of trade and head of the Culture Center Committee of that organization.

LATENESS OF HOUR

The statement referring to the "over $3 million for the construction work done to date" cannot be correct as no construction work has been done. If the building were moved to the Pennsylvania Avenue area with a saving of $15 million for a garage, $1 million for sound conditioning, $6 million for a subway station and the $5 million spent for additional site—then this would more than offset any loss caused by moving the Center downtown.

REVIEW

There has never been objective consideration of other sites, or at least not in the last 2 years. I attended the hearing held by the National Capital Planning Commission which preceded the approval of the present site and the preliminary drawings and plan. I can tell you that every organization appearing before that subcommittee testified against the site and the plan. Yet 2 days later the plan was approved. No performing arts group in the District of Columbia has approved the final design for this Center and I predict that none of them will. This is not a performing arts center and it is not a suitable memorial to our late President.

JOHN R. IMMER,
President, Federation of Citizens Associations of the District of Columbia.

FEDERATION OF CITIZENS ASSOCIATIONS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
October 5, 1965.

Hon. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WIDNALL: Enclosed is a copy of a letter I have just received from Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. I had written to him enclosing a copy of a letter to the editors of the Washington Evening Star and the Washington Post. Both papers published those letters, copies of which are enclosed.

I feel that this letter from Senator KENNEDY is highly significant, and it indicates that the complete responsibility for the site of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts rests with the President. The Trustees of the Center are so deeply committed to the present site, despite its overwhelming disadvantages, and who are completely unwilling to consider the views of the people of the District of Columbia without whose patronage the Center will be a white elephant. As they did not select the original site and since the Kennedy Center Act does not authorize them to select a site they have no authority over the site issue. The responsibility belongs clearly to the President and to the Congress.

In the interest then of the entire future of the performing arts in the Nation's Capital, I request you to transmit this letter to the President along with the latest result to the poll you are taking of the views of the citizens of the metropolitan area who must be relied upon to support this great arts center and presidential memorial.

Assuring you of the complete support of the federation in this matter, I am,

Sincerely yours,

JOHN R. IMMER,
President.

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,
September 27, 1965.

Mr. JOHN R. IMMER,
President, Federation of Citizens Associations of the District of Columbia, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. IMMER: I just wanted you to know how much I appreciated your writing and expressing your reasons for opposing the present site for the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. I certainly respect your opinion but feel that it is out of my hands and that it is not appropriate for me to be involved at this time.

I have, however, brought your views to the attention of Mr. Roger Stevens. My thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

Detection of Phenylketonuria

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL B. LONG
OF LOUISIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, on August 12 the junior Senators from Vermont and Massachusetts introduced a bill to promote the detection of phenylketonuria—PKU—and other inborn errors of metabolism leading to mental retardation. Such legislation would authorize the Surgeon General of the United States to make grants to the States to pay the cost of blood-testing programs and other screening examinations.

The simple blood test used to detect PKU in infants was developed with public funds by Dr. Robert Guthrie at the University of Buffalo and, as I have stated on the floor of the Senate on two previous occasions, is an important breakthrough in the field of medicine. I also stated on May 17 that Miles Laboratories of Elkhart, Ind., having secured an exclusive license from Dr. Guthrie for the life of the patent, that is, for 17 years, planned to charge $262 to produce a kit to test 500 babies, although Dr. Guthrie's cost to produce a similar kit was only $6. Fortunately, a few dedicated public servants in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the source of most of the funds used to develop the kit, became aware of this situation and determined that ownership of the invention belonged to the United States, and the proper action was subsequently taken.

This case illustrates the need for patent legislation which will provide that the results of Government-financed research must be made freely available to the public. In this particular instance, if each newborn child is to be tested for PKU, and the Government is to subsidize this effort, the market for the test kits is extremely large and the normal risks of production are eliminated. Therefore, the customary justification for the granting of exclusive rights for the production of a new invention has no merit in this case. It is obvious that the market for the PKU test kits is virtually built in, when we note that the projected figure for the average annual number of births in the United States over the next 5 years is 4,960,000.

Now, a little quick arithmetic will show us the cost to the Government of the program my colleagues are advocating under present conditions as compared with the cost the taxpayers would have had to bear had Miles been allowed to retain exclusive rights to produce the Guthrie test kit. If Miles had secured a monopoly on the Guthrie test kit and was able to charge 52 cents for each child as it had been planned to do, the annual cost to the Government for the kits alone under the program proposed by Senators PROUTY and KENNEDY would cost $2,579,200 per year. Now that the title to the invention is vested in the United States, however, competition has made it possible for hospitals to purchase the kits commercially for less than 2 cents per infant, and, for those hospitals with adequate facilities to produce the kit themselves, to do so for as little as 1.2 cents per test per infant—a difference of over 50 cents per test per child. The cost, then, to produce kits to test all newborn infants in a year will be $59,520, or $2,519,600 less than would have been the case under the original price of Miles.

The kind of abuse that was almost perpetrated in this case, which would have cost the taxpayers over $2 million annually, can be avoided only if the Government takes title to inventions financed by the public.

Obviously, Senators PROUTY and KENNEDY are vitally interested, as are all citizens of this country, in health research and in seeing to it that the results of this research be made available to the public at a minimal cost. Of course, they are anxious to see to it that PKU be detected in all infants so afflicted, in order that these children can grow up to be healthy and productive members of our society. The junior Senators of Vermont and Massachusetts have, by displaying their intense concern in the PKU testing program, confirmed that the benefits of publicly financed research must be made available to all our citizens. In my judgment, it is an outrage to force the public to pay for research and then force them to pay again exorbitant prices for the results of this research. Private industry must not be allowed to reap the benefits of publicly financed research while our citizens who paid for this effort are denied the benefits which are rightfully theirs without paying monopoly prices as tribute. Advances in science and technology paid for by the taxpayers have no purpose other than to benefit every American.

The 190th Anniversary of Marine Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, as we receive the daily reports from Vietnam, we are all proud and grateful for the courageous performance of all of our fighting men, of all the various units and services, on duty there.

However, with the approach of the 190th anniversary of the founding of the U.S. Marine Corps, I feel sure every Member of Congress would want to join me in a special birthday greeting to the magnificent men of the Marine Corps.

The thousands of marines in Vietnam will celebrate this November 10, as they have so many of their birthdays since 1775, adding greater credit to their corps, and greater glory to our flag. In admiration, and appreciation, we salute them.

Commanding the marines in Vietnam is Maj. Gen. Lewis W. Walt. In a recent broadcast, Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said of Walt, that he is not only a fine, fine officer, but a fine man as well. Such is certainly his reputation.

Those who have served with General Walt praise him not only as a superbly competent professional marine officer, but as a sincerely compassionate human being. This is a mighty commendable combination for a leader, in the strange war we are up against in Vietnam.

I would like to read to you from a most interesting letter written recently by General Walt, which will give you a better insight into this remarkable officer, and perhaps a better understanding of the conflict in which he is giving such dedicated leadership:

This is the biggest challenge I have ever been faced with. It is extremely interesting and takes many long hours, both day and night, to keep on top of it. However, there isn't anywhere I would rather be, so long as this job has to be done.

One of the biggest problems we have here, as you have read many times, is to distinguish enemy from friendly. There is no question in my mind that we have constant surveillance by enemy agents. However, overall the picture is not as discouraging as you might think. I honestly feel that we are making headway. Each day we free more people, and each day we have more South Vietnamese thankful for the protection we are giving them against the Vietcong terrorists, and we have more of them giving us information of intelligence value.

After we have freed these villagers, and the people have had an opportunity to get their self-respect and confidence back, they have taken steps to set up their own village governments, open their churches and schools, and once again start living like civilized people. It takes a lot of time and effort and some money in order to do this. If they were denied our protection by having us pull out, then all of these people who have stepped forward as leaders will have a Vietcong price on their heads.

I believe that we can win this war, together with the Armed Forces of the South Vietnamese Government. It is going to take a long time. It is going to be difficult and costly. It is going to tax the patience of the people of the free world, especially of the United States; however, I believe that the United States would make a great mistake if they didn't carry this through to the end, regardless of the cost.

I am heartened by the number of top-rate reporters and writers who are starting to visit this country and take time to spend a few hours with some of my troops. I think that some of these reporters are very much surprised that our marines, Navy doctors, Navy corpsmen, and Navy chaplains, who are working so closely with us, have a definite idea as to why we are here and what our job is.

It wasn't my intention when I started this letter to make it a lecture on the evils of communism and the why's and the wherefore's of our position in South Vietnam. However, this is what we are living here day and night and it is difficult for us to think about anything else but the job we have to do. The morale of my troops is outstanding; the food we are getting is the best I have seen in any area of combat. I am optimistic about the outcome of this war, if we are willing to pay the price and to have the patience necessary to do the job.

Abraham Lincoln—Poem by Van Ness Nolan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a beautiful poem on Abraham Lincoln, written by Van Ness Nolan.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A MAN IN WASHINGTON

(By Van Ness Nolan)

There's a man who sits in Washington,
  In a great white, stone arm chair,
His forehead has deep wrinkles—
  And he's quiet and thoughtful there.

I wonder if we disturb him
  As we clamber up the stair,
Or perhaps he is pleased—
  That we evidence that we care.

To visit with him awhile,
  When there are so many things to do
In the Capitol of this great Nation
  That belongs to me and you.

I'm sure he is grateful
  For the tribute which we show,
Should he speak, it's sure he'd say,
  There are many miles more to go.

I believe he'd point eastward
  To the great, great Capitol dome,
And recite man's eternal struggle—
  For freedom and a home.

I think he'd say, there's no compromise,
  For truth and justice here,
You must keep in mind, forever—
  There is no man without a peer.

Of the days of '65
  With the Nation torn apart,
He no doubt would tell you
  That we'd only made a start.

Of himself, he'd say but little,
  But he'd readily point around
To other stanch Americans—
  Who steadfastly held their ground.

The past you must forget,
  But for the lessons it has taught.
I believe he'd sternly admonish—
  That freedom is dearly bought.

Your fathers and your countrymen,
  Sewed the red, the white, the blue,
And whether their blood was spilled in vain—
  Is squarely up to you.

When you've seen their work about you
  In this symbol of liberty and peace,
He'd pray that you'd remember—
  Your vigilance must never cease.

For yours is a gift from
  The true, the brave, the tried,
Never let their spirits say—
  We're sorry, for you we died.

Pope's Peace Plea Fell on Deaf Ears

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a public letter which appeared in the Richmond Times Dispatch on Sunday, October 10, 1965:

POPE'S PEACE PLEA FELL ON DEAF EARS

RICHMOND, VA.

The visit of Pope Paul VI to the United States in general and to the United Nations in particular was a momentous event in the history of mankind. It had worldwide significance because he came on a mission of peace, and for this great attempt at strengthening the cause of peace throughout the world, he deserves the commendation and gratitude of mankind. His great statesmanlike utterance will long be remembered and listed among the greatest statements of the 20th century and thankful we ought to be to have been living to hear it.

But it is greatly to be feared that such nobly inclined sentiments were falling on unheeding ears of a hardhearted generation, which seems determined to destroy itself wallowing in the mud and mire of race prejudice. Race prejudice is a far greater threat to the survival of mankind than war. Whereas war may destroy its thousands or even millions, race prejudice is destroying its billions. Whereas war destroys the body, race prejudice sears the soul.

When this writer spoke before the Baptist World Alliance in Atlanta in 1939, his closing words were: "Men must be brotherized or they will be brutalized." World brotherhood must precede world peace and the fact that the Pope failed to speak frankly on this point makes no difference. Race prejudice is destroying the world just as surely as if atom bombs were exploding. With race prejudice the world's dominant religion, there can be no peace and in proof thereof let us note not only the vicious, the venomous, the violent hatred against Negroes in the South of the United States but a more vicious, a more venomous and a more violent hatred against those nobly inclined whites who attempt to befriend the hapless Negroes.

Consider the South's hatred for Franklin Delano Roosevelt who made America's first attempt to integrate the Negro into the life of the Nation. Consider the South's hatred

for our great late John Fitzgerald Kennedy because he dared to declare himself in favor of civil rights for Negroes. Consider the South's hatred for our great President Johnson, a son of the South, because he favors the full citizenship of the Nation's Negro citizens.

Considering these things, the question arises: Do we need peace or better still are we fit for peace in a world where white noses are turned up at nonwhite faces the world over? An even more powerful question arises and that is: What would we do with peace if we had it? This question is partially answered by noting what we are doing with our semipeace or our patched-up peace. We would go right on with our program of race hating and race baiting and killing civil rights workers and giving the murderers farcical court trials and then exonerating them to further slay helpless Negroes and those who would befriend them. We would go on organizing our Ku Klux Klan and our Nazi Parties and our White Citizens' Councils and our John Birch Societies with their overt or covert hatred for Negroes.

Do we really need peace? Are we really fit for peace? I wish the Pope had enlightened us on this matter.

GORDON B. HANCOCK.

"Capital Assignment" Interview of Senator Mansfield

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on October 18, two able newsmen, Joe Campbell and James Hall of the Washington Bureau of Mutual News interviewed me on the program "Capital Assignment." Their penetrating and perceptive questions covered a wide range of international and national affairs.

I ask unanimous consent that the transcript of the interview be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the transcript was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"CAPITAL ASSIGNMENT," OCTOBER 18, 1965

Guest: Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, Democrat, of Montana.

Reporters: Joe Campbell and James Hall (both assigned to the Washington bureau of Mutual News).

Mr. HALL. Senator MANSFIELD, as a leader in Congress, you're kept pretty well informed on the progress as to our situation in Vietnam, for example, and other things affecting the country. What is your assessment of the present progress in Vietnam, and what do you feel are the future prospects?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, militarily, we are making fairly good progress and so are the Vietnamese, themselves. But, I would point out that the road in Vietnam is going to be a long one, and we have a long way to go before we reach a conclusion as to what will happen out there. We should not be taken in too much by the victories which we've been able to achieve during the monsoon season. We have to recognize the fact this can be a long, drawn-out affair, and we have to keep in mind that sometime it will have to end at the conference table, and the President still has the avenues open which Hanoi and the Vietcong can tread if they wish to.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Senator MANSFIELD, several important officials in the Government have pointed out that there are other ways to bring a conclusion to this Vietnam war beside negotiations, and Greece is cited as an example, and there, they were pretty well beaten down. What do you think about this other method?

Senator MANSFIELD. I've noticed those stories, and I've noticed the fact that Premier Ky, or at least a spokesman for him in Saigon, has found fault with the efforts of the administration to achieve a negotiated settlement. I believe that these high official sources, which you refer to, should make themselves known. I'd like to know who they are. I certainly would not expect anyone to go against what the President has said would be his policy and which Rusk, as Secretary of State, has emphasized time and time again. So far as I know—I'm quite sure that I speak correctly—the President has not deviated from his position. He is willing to negotiate on the basis of the factors which he has laid down, and if this struggle is going to end, it will have to end at the table, somewhere, somehow, sometime.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, these officials were careful to point out that negotiation was still the main road that we're going to travel, but this other road was being pursued as well.

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes, but they played down negotiations—you say that in the last paragraph—and they placed the emphasis on this new idea of theirs which, I suppose, they figure could be developed from a position of strength. What if the position reverses itself? Are we still not going to negotiate? Again, I'd like to know who these people are, and I'd like to know for whom they speak?

Mr. HALL. Well, there have been some spokesmen, Senator, in these anti-Vietnam demonstrations in many of our American cities. They seem to have gained momentum and frighteningly so. What are your feelings toward this kind of thing?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I believe, of course, that citizens of this country have the right to protest, but I believe that these demonstrators are doing a disservice to the United States and a grave disservice at this time. What they are doing, in effect, is undermining President Johnson's reiterated desires for a negotiated settlement, and they are furnishing fodder which I think is being gobbled up by Hanoi and Peiping and the Vietcong.

Mr. HALL. Now, on this subject—one of their means of demonstrating their feelings is tearing up their draft cards. How about that?

Senator MANSFIELD. There is a law which the Congress passed just a few weeks ago which takes care of that situation, and those who do so are liable to a fine and imprisonment.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Where would you draw a line on free dissent?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I believe that this matter should be discussed pro and con in a responsible fashion. I believe both sides should be heard, not just one side or the other. I do not believe, for example, of people advocating that draft cards be destroyed. I do not believe that the issuing of brochures which tell young men how they can avoid draft service by undertaking certain special techniques which are spelled out for them. I believe that in this country every young man has a responsibility to his country, and I think that every young person who should live up to that responsibility, if this Republic is to go on in the future as in the past.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Do you agree with Senator DODD and the others on the Internal Security Subcommittee—a report that there are Communists within the teach-in movement?

Senator MANSFIELD. Oh, I have no doubt that there are Communists in there. I would say—I certainly would not say that the majority of them, by any means, were Communist sympathizers but, in any movement of this kind, you can expect the Communists to move into and to do what they can to direct it, to guide it, and to assume some degree of control of it.

Mr. HALL. Senator MANSFIELD, there has been some criticism of the 89th Congress, particularly from the other side of the aisle, some saying that they're long on quantity but short on quality. What's your reaction to this comment?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, no Congress is perfect. We've done the best we could. We've tried to look after the welfare of the people. No doubt we've made mistakes. We hope those mistakes can be corrected next year, and it is for that reason that I've advocated to the committee chairmen that they create oversight committees for the purposes of rounding out the edges, plugging the holes, filling the gaps in this legislation which we have passed this year. On the whole, I would say, though, that the record has been quite respectable.

Mr. HALL. On the subject of the President's illness, do you feel that his illness and subsequent surgery had any effect on the workings of Congress?

Senator MANSFIELD. Nothing. No, not at all. I don't think that there was any effect. He had made his position known on all the pieces of legislation worth noting before he went to the hospital. He had performed his job with discretion and responsibility, and what we're doing now is our responsibility.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I wanted to get back to the legislative record of Congress for just a moment. There are some charges that this issue of 14(b), the repealing of it, came at just the right time, or that the operation on the President came at just the right time. These are some of the charges being made from the people on the other side of the aisle. What's your comment to that?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, you have to expect implications, innuendos, and rumors to become rife. As far as 14(b) was concerned, it wasn't reported out of committee and put on the calendar until September 9. We gave it a reasonable amount of time to stay there so that people could be informed in advance that it was coming up. As a matter of fact, we just couldn't get to a vote on 14(b) because we just couldn't get enough votes to impose cloture, and that's the key to the whole situation. The President did his part. He kept the campaign promise of the Democratic Party in the last election; he recommended that 14(b) be repealed. The House followed his lead, but the Senate refused to face up to its responsibility on the merits of the issue itself, and if there is any one to blame, it is me; and if there is any body to blame, it is the Senate.

Mr. HALL. When do you think you're going home, Senator?

Senator MANSFIELD. I would hope we could go home at the end of this week, but we have some difficulties which may postpone it for a little while into next week.

Mr. HALL. Did President Johnson have anything to do with Congress staying so long as it has?

Senator MANSFIELD. Oh, no. As a matter of fact, as long as 3 months, he told me, and has told me several times since, that, whenever we were through, he wanted us to go home because he realized that it would be good for us to meet with the folks and to talk things over with them.

Mr. HALL. Senator MANSFIELD, let's talk about the John Birch Society for a moment. Does the Democratic Party have any John Birchers that you know of?

Senator MANSFIELD. Not that I know of. It seems to me that they sort of veer toward the Republican Party. Why, I do not know.

I'm a little bit shocked, for example, to find out that a John Bircher is considering running against a man like KARL MUNDT, of South Dakota. It's hard to understand—hard to figure out.

Mr. HALL. Do you feel that the John Birch Society's ideals or aims more coincide with the Republican Party than with the Democratic Party?

Senator MANSFIELD. No, I do not. I think that the founder of the John Birch Society, Mr. Welch, is doing the country a disservice and is harming the Republican Party, which I do not like to see. After all, when he refers to such men as former President Eisenhower as a Communist sympathizer; when he tries to pin the same label on Allen Dulles and Foster Dulles; when he makes snide remarks about General of the Armies George Marshall and other prominent and outstanding Americans, I certainly cannot sympathize with him nor what he advocates.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Sir, every time the issue of John Birchers is brought up in a political discussion, vis-a-vis the Republican Party, some Republican will say, "Well, the Democrats have the ADA." What about the ADA?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I'm no sympathizer of the ADA. I have nothing to do with them. I try to carry on my own affairs, and they have a right to make their views known, but I'm not one of their admirers.

Mr. HALL. On the Cuban situation, Senator MANSFIELD, there's been some comment that Castro's offer to allow all those who wish to leave the island of Cuba—there have been comments on it saying that this is another Castro trick. How do you feel about this?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I think that it is a sign of weakness on Castro's part, and I was delighted that President Johnson took him up immediately when he signed the immigration bill. Of course, it's going to mean an added burden on the State of Florida, but I'm quite sure that the Federal Government will step in and, with the funds necessary, take care of the refugees from Castro's Cuba, and it would be my belief that other States would be prepared to take part of the influx.

Mr. HALL. Do you think that the other States are ready to take some of these Cuban refugees; that is, to ease the overcrowding on the State of Florida?

Senator MANSFIELD. That I couldn't answer though they have been going out into other States. For example, we've had about 20 or 30 Cubans in Great Falls. They've been taken in by the College of Great Falls. They are dispersing from there into other parts of the country as jobs become available, and I think that what Montana has done, other States in the same condition have assumed responsibilities.

Mr. HALL. You mentioned the Senate taking some action to ease the burden there with funds. Is there anything afoot at the moment to do this?

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes. The President has requested $12.5 million to take care of the influx of Cubans from Cuba on the basis of the Castro offer.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Sir, I'd like to switch the subject to Europe for a moment. There's been a lot of talk in the NATO nations about a multilateral nuclear force. Germany has been one of the loudest voices in favor of this. I wonder how you feel about it, sir?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I have never felt very happy about the multilateral force—the so-called MLF. I am glad to note that it seems to have become extinct. I hope that's true because to me, while it might bring about a certain degree of coordination among the NATO powers, I think that in the long run, it would be a divisive influence.

Mr. CAMPBELL. In what way? Do you mean that Russia would get hot under the collar about just such a force?

Senator MANSFIELD. Yes, indeed, and I think that a buildup of Germany, either West Germany or a united Germany, with nuclear capability, even though they didn't have the finger on the button, so to speak, would make the situation, which seems to be working itself out to some degree in Western Europe, much more tense.

Mr. HALL. President de Gaulle, of France, has been sort of the vocal expression of discontent with the NATO and with various other forces, particularly the European market and the Common Market. He has just indicated that he will once again stand for the presidency in the next election. Do you think this means that we're going to have that many more years of dealing with this man?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, I certainly do not fear dealing with de Gaulle. I think that he is one of the world's great men. What he's doing, he's doing in behalf of France, and while I disagree with him on many occasions, I certainly do not downgrade him. I think that he's been good for France. I think that in any showdown between—in which our country was involved—that the French would be with us, shoulder to shoulder.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, there are rumblings that he would like to see all NATO bases out of France altogether. What would be your reaction to that kind of move?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, we could do that. We don't have to stay anchored to France all the time. There are the other areas over there in Western Europe which could be used, and incidentally, as long as you've raised the question, frankly, I have not seen any reason why we should maintain in excess of 450,000 men in Western Europe when the Western European nations are prepared, or should be prepared, to undertake their own responsibilities. They have the manpower. They have the means to sustain them. They have most of the weapons outside the nuclear field, and it's about time that they undertook those responsibilities, and I would think think that one division of U.S. troops over there would be just as significant as the five-plus in being at the present time.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Including Germany?

Senator MANSFIELD. Including Germany.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Every time this issue is brought up, possible moving of American troops in any great numbers from West Germany, there are all kinds of economic implications over there, as well as political. And you would still favor that?

Senator MANSFIELD. I certainly do. I think that we ought to stand up for what we think is right and not be guided by Mr. de Gaulle, Mr. Erhardt, or any other person.

Mr. HALL. Senator MANSFIELD, on this subject of Vietnam once again. With all the friends that we're supposed to have around the world, why aren't we getting more support?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, that's the question I would like answered. At the present time, we have very little support. I would say that, excluding the Koreans, there are less than 2,000 outside forces; I would include the 1,000 Australians, the 25 or 59 New Zealanders. There are, I think, 2,000 South Koreans there; supposedly a division of some 15,000 is coming or is on the way down. Of course, we've been told that that there are 30 nations participating in one form or another, but if you add that up on a dollar and cents basis, I think that it would come to less than $10 million in aid, which, of course, isn't enough to carry on the war for a week.

Mr. HALL. We've certainly put enough money in foreign aid into those countries. Do you feel that we should reevaluate our foreign-aid program?

Senator MANSFIELD. Oh, yes, indeed. I think that we ought to reduce it considerably; try to make it more effective; do away with duplications and become more interested in a multilateral program than the continuation of the unilateral program.

Mr. CAMPBELL. This word "multilateral" brings me back to Europe. I just finished a tour over there, and one of the places I visited was Turkey, and another was Greece. We are in the middle. They both are a little angry with us because of the Cyprus situation, especially the Turks. They feel we let them down. Any comment from you on that?

Senator MANSFIELD. Well, there are so many places in the world in which we find ourselves in the middle that we ought to be getting used to it by now. What I think we ought to do is bring about a reevaluation of our foreign policy so that we wouldn't be caught in the middle all the time. We realize, of course, that we have to carry the primary burden for the free world. It's a choice that we didn't seek; it's responsibility that we did not want, but it's something that we can't avoid. So we'll have to do the best we can, and our friends will become mad at us on occasion as in the case of Cyprus, but that's the part of the responsibility that goes with leadership.

The Public Health Service Hospital, Staten Island, N.Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I should like to speak of a matter of great importance to the American people and to my constituents: This is about the value of the Public Health Service hospital system to our commerce, our health, and to our prosperity. I believe evidence to support my contention, in this regard, may best be served by discussing the hospital which serves the merchant mariner in the busiest port in the United States, New York. The Public Health Service Hospital at Stapleton, Staten Island, N.Y., still known to most as the Marine Hospital, has had a long and distinguished medical history.

From the time President John Adams authorized Federal hospitals to care for sick and injured seamen until 1879 care of the ever-growing population of New York merchant seamen was by contract in private hospitals. This was paid for from funds obtained by a direct tax levied on the seamen's wage. Since then it has been by a tonnage tax or more recently by direct appropriation.

By 1879 it became evident that medical care was becoming more complex and that the present method of providing care was neither economical nor satisfactory. Twenty-three other port cities had obtain federally authorized marine hospitals over the years, beginning in 1797 in Boston, and it was increasingly apparent that the seamen of the Port of New York needed one as well. Citizens and members of the merchant marine, in 1831, organized and supported a Seamen's Rest at Stapleton. Near the rest they built a small hospital which today is still in use by the Public Health Service as a dwelling.

In 1854, the population of New York was 800,000 and a new and larger Sea-

men's Rest Hospital of 100 beds was built. It functioned as a major resource for the medical care of merchant-seamen throughout the War Between the States and was the major center for the care of seamen until the temporary Federal Marine Hospital was established at Bedloe's Island in 1879.

In 1883, the Federal Government and the city of New York agreed to a continuing lease-purchasing contract on the Stapleton property. This purchase was concluded in 1903 at a cost of $250,000. Nine years later the hospital was modernized and enlarged to 143 beds. This building, constructed in 1854 and enlarged in 1912, still serves as the outpatient department of the present Public Health Service hospital.

In 1935, a new hospital was built at Stapleton next to the older building, an increase in size to 563 beds and, in 1942, an addition was made to increase the size to approximately 800 beds. Eight hundred employees served the hospital at that time with a million-dollar budget. Under the pressure of war in 1943, by using double-deck beds for many of the patients, 1,200 persons were treated in the hospital at a time. This overuse of the facility continued until the end of World War II. Since that time, progress in the provision of medical care has demanded additional space for services such as medical records, ambulatory care, X-ray and laboratory facilities, thereby decreasing the space available for beds to about 700.

The hospital today, in spite of the age of many of its buildings, functions as a modern medical center, carrying on its tradition of excellence in patient care, research, and training of medical and paramedical personnel. Because of its excellence, it is heavily used by Public Health Service beneficiaries who now, as a result of congressional action, include the Bureau of Employees' Compensation, the Coast Guard and the Department of Defense military personnel and their dependents, the Coast and Geodetic Survey and the Public Health Service commissioned personnel and their dependents, the Peace Corps and the State Department overseas personnel, and many other categories.

Important research has been carried out at this hospital. In 1887, Dr. Kinyoun established here the first American Laboratory of Hygiene, the forerunner of the National Institutes of Health. In 1941, the now widely used method of caudal anesthesia for relieving mothers of pain during childbirth was discovered and proven safe at Stapleton. In 1943, Dr. Mahoney and his coworkers proved that penicillin would cure syphilis and developed the program of treatment which is still accepted the world over as the safest and surest means of curing this dread disease. Now the staff at Staten Island is embarked on a major study of medical means to control hypertension and diseases of the kidney. Research is going on in studies of cancer of the mouth, heart disease, diseases of the eyes, the breast, and the lungs.

The hospital is one of the primary teaching centers for Public Health Service medical personnel, giving training each year to about 93 medical and dental residents and interns. From this group, through the years have come many of the Public Health Service's key personnel. The hospital also provides training to other valuable health personnel such as hospital administrators, pharmacists, dietitians, nurse anesthetists, medical record librarians, and laboratory and X-ray technicians.

Its annual budget is about $8 million and it employs over 1,000 personnel. It has one of the two artificial kidney team centers in New York City. It aids in the training of students and residents in five medical schools, and in turn its residents and interns receive training in these schools and a dozen teaching hospitals. It acts with the hospitals of the Department of Defense and the Veterans' Administration to implement the President's call for extensive cross-servicing by Federal hospitals by accepting and caring for patients from these organizations. It is an important member of the New York metropolitan medical community.

I should like to bring to your attention a matter about which many of my constituents have written, the proposed transfer of the Public Health Service hospital system of the Veterans' Administration. I believe a transfer of such broad responsibilities to the Veterans' Administration would be a serious mistake. For many years the merchant seamen of America and many other beneficiaries of the Public Health Service have depended on these hospitals for their medical care and have provided a basis for important medical research. During this same period the Public Health Service has depended on its hospital system to attract and develop trained medical personnel for many of its programs in medical care, preventive health, and research. Many of these trained personnel are now serving on Indian reservations, in Federal prisons, aboard Coast Guard cutters, at the National Institutes of Health, and with many other programs of the Public Health Service.

Therefore, I believe that the Public Health Service system of hospitals does not need a change in its administration but needs to be adequately funded to provide modern facilities, sufficient supplies and equipment, and adequate staff.

Speeches by Senator Miller Relating to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, my colleague from Iowa, Senator JACK MILLER, recently made two major addresses before the Iowa State Education Association at its annual convention in Des Moines. One of these, entitled "Federal Aid to Education—An Appraisal," was delivered before the general session of the convention and the other, entitled "The Implications of Federal Aid to Education," was delivered before the county superintendents at their annual banquet. Each of these speeches is timely and perceptive, and I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speeches were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION—AN APPRAISAL

(By JACK MILLER, U.S. Senator, Iowa)

First I wish to thank you for the honor of appearing on the program of this outstanding convention—the 111th annual convention of the greatest association of educators in our State.

I also wish to compliment you on the theme of this convention—"Teachers, Keys to Progress—ISEA, Key to Teacher Progress." As a former teacher myself who married a public school teacher, I believe very strongly that good teachers are keys to progress; and although I was never privileged to be a member of ISEA, I well know from many years of working with this association that it is truly dedicated to the highest and finest traditions of the teaching profession.

There are, I regret to say, some who argue that Federal aid is per se (by its very nature) a bad thing. One can find a bill, for example, which has been introduced with the following statement: "The Congress hereby finds and declares that responsibility for and control over education is one of the powers not delegated to the United States but reserved to the States or to the people under the 10th amendment of the Constitution."

There are others, I also regret to say, who, in their deeply felt concern and impatience for better education, seem quite prepared to support any proposal which happens to bear the label of "Federal aid."

Neither of these philosophies is helpful.

The very Preamble to the Constitution of the United States declares that the Constitution for the United States is established to "promote the general Welfare". And although the debates at the Constitutional Convention make it clear that the Federal Government is not to be primarily responsible for the provision of education—that this is a responsibility of the various States—the changes which time has wrought since those debates make it equally clear that the general welfare of our citizenry cannot be secured without equality of opportunity for excellence in education.

The equal protection of the laws clause of the 14th amendment directly expresses the responsibility of the Federal Government for seeing to it that equality of opportunity is secured, although legislation to carry out this responsibility has consistently recognized that primary responsibility should be at the State level.

The Federal Government's responsibility for securing excellence in education has long been recognized—going clear back to the Northwest Ordinance of 1785; but, like the general welfare clause, the form and limitations under which this responsibility is to be carried out are not clearly defined and, indeed, are in a state of evolution.

At the same time, it should be recognized that there can be Federal aid which falls within the ambit of Federal responsibility and Federal aid which, either for constitutional reasons or for reasons of public opinion, or both, exceeds the proper and acceptable limits of Federal responsibility. The content and not just the label of a Federal aid program is what matters.

I realize that there are arguments for shifting primary responsibility for education from the States to the Federal Government. Proponents of this doctrine are not con-

cerned over Federal control or Federal standards and, indeed, would welcome them. After all, wouldn't this make our educational system more uniform and efficient? Similar arguments are often advanced with respect to other areas of government—taxation, union shop contracts, building codes, social welfare, election laws, criminal law, and business codes. But we should never forget that our system of government was not devised for the primary purpose of efficiency and uniformity. The first purpose was freedom of the individual, protected by a system of checks and balances between the States and the Federal Government and among the branches at each level of government. And nowhere can this freedom be more importantly affected than in the area of education.

The goal of Federal aid to education surely must lie somewhere between the two extreme points of view to which I have referred. As Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare John Gardner writes in the October issue of Fortune magazine: "The need to get things done has to be balanced against the need to preserve freedom."

Perhaps we should not try too hard to specifically define the goal, because, as I pointed out earlier, the concept of Federal responsibility is evolving. "Excellence in education, to be achieved by the State and local governments with adequate Federal financial assistance, but without unacceptable Federal controls, or a foundation for unacceptable Federal controls"—would be one way of putting it. But this only states a general concept over which the deepest of controversies rage.

You may note that I have used the word "unacceptable" rather than "unconstitutional," because even though a Federal educational program may be "constitutional," it may not be "acceptable" to public opinion. Public opinion plays a vital role in the evolution of the form and limitations of Federal education programs.

Federal control is already an accepted fact of Federal responsibility in the desegregation of public education—not only under the Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States, but most recently as spelled out in title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Even here, however, there are lines of demarcation between what is regarded as "acceptable" Federal responsibility and the responsibility of the States. Under the new Federal law, for example, "desegregation" is specifically stated to not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance. What constitutes "racial imbalance" and what, if anything should be done about it, is left to the responsibility of the States and local governments.

Federal control of a sort exists over school curriculums under the National Defense Education Act, because the Federal funds must be used for particular critical subjects—science, mathematics, foreign languages, geography, civics, English, reading, history, and now, tucked away in the Higher Education Act of 1965, it is proposed to add economics.

So when one speaks of Federal aid without Federal control, or without unacceptable Federal control, or without a foundation for potential unacceptable Federal control, he must be speaking of a certain quality of control or a certain degree of control which is not to be permitted, or the foundation for which is not to be laid.

There are some who believe that we can find a key to the magic formula of acceptable Federal control in the word "general"—as distinguished from the word "special"—when applied to Federal aid.

This, however, will not be helpful unless we are sophisticated enough to recognize that there is a difference between general Federal aid to special districts, such as those covered by the impacted areas legislation, and special Federal aid to school districts generally, such as the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. But having made this distinction, it should be pointed out that some 30 percent of the elementary and secondary school population is in school districts qualifying for aid under the impacted areas program. Does this mean that if the program should be broadened so that over 50 percent of the school population is affected, we would have general Federal aid of the type or degree that is unacceptable? We probably will not reach that question, so it would be prudent for me not to try to answer it.

Just to make the magic formula a little more tenuous, I would point out that there can be different kinds of general Federal aid as well as different degrees of it. General Federal aid which entails the annual close scrutiny of the Education and Appropriations Committees of the Congress and which involves the surveillance of nonelected officials of a large Federal bureau could (I do not say necessarily will) exercise Federal control to a degree which, if not found to be unconstitutional, would be regarded by public opinion as unacceptable. There is a fear among the general public that local control over the education of their children will be eroded away to the point that some Federal official in Washington—far removed from their school and community—will sit in judgment over the destiny of their children. Nor do they wish to see partisan political considerations enter into the education of their children which they fear might be the case under some general, if not special, Federal aid proposals. Suggestions that such fears are groundless fall on deaf ears, because examples of abuses of discretion by Washington bureaucrats are constantly in the news.

Accordingly, I would suggest that a general Federal aid approach which would avoid the establishment, much less the supervision, of a Federal bureaucracy for its implementation, and which would avoid the typical close scrutiny of the Education and Appropriations Committees of Congress, would have the best chance of acceptability by public opinion. Moreover, I believe that such an approach would have the best chance of assuring truly adequate Federal financial assistance to the States to enable them to secure the excellence in education that is our goal.

Five years ago I advanced a proposal which is still the best one I know—namely, that the Congress appropriate a percentage of the Federal revenue collections to the States simply for education purposes. Each State, which surely understands its needs best, would program the specific uses of the money. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 should provide the control mechanism needed for assurance of equal opportunities to share in these State-developed programs. And the National Compact for Education, adopted last September 30 at Kansas City, which established an Educational Commission of the States, should assure standards and needed improvements in programs, techniques, and facilities without resort to Federal controls—whether acceptable or unacceptable.

As you probably have read, this percentage-of-Federal-revenue idea has been receiving an increasing amount of attention in Washington. Of course, it is possible that special Federal aid programs could be provided to such an extent that State and local funds would be freed to support the kind of education our children should have. But this is a piecemeal and cumbersome approach which requires bureaucratic administration in Washington with its inevitable cut from the education dollar. Moreover, the programs being "special," are not so built into the budget that they cannot readily be dropped by a congressional appropriations committee which may happen to be offended by an adverse hearing or an adverse report by one of its staff investigators. Speaking of bureaucratic administration, title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 authorizes withholding of Federal financial assistance to encourage nondiscrimination in federally assisted programs. In less than a year, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare estimates it has received more than 100,000 forms from various State agencies, local school districts, universities, hospitals, rehabilitation workshops, and the like—all preliminary to enforcing title VI. Procedures for checking up on compliance are only in the most rudimentary stages of development, and there is concern over not only the cost of adequate enforcement but over the mass of paperwork which may strangle the program. With the paperwork some of you have experiences in applying for assistance under the National Defense Education Act, you can imagine what it could be like under several special programs.

It is also possible that, after the phasing out of some of the Federal excise taxes, which we provided for earlier this year, the States will decide to make use of one or more of these sources of revenue to find additional money for education. But there is no assurance that the States will tap onto these revenue sources, much less use the money for education.

Whether and to what extent the Federal Government has a responsibility for securing excellence in education for private as well as public school children is another highly controversial matter. There are some who would rest their arguments on constitutional grounds, but no one knows what the Supreme Court will decide on the record of any given case. Also, it seems to me that just because a particular program may turn out to be constitutional does not necessarily mean that it is a good program, a wise program, or a program that is "acceptable" to public opinion.

In recent years there has evolved a policy of providing special Federal aid to both private and public colleges—principally for the construction of dormitories and academic buildings no used for religious services or instruction. The possibility of unacceptable Federal controls, which are equally abhorrent to the private and public school people, is not present in these programs. Moreover, it might be pointed out that attendance at these schools is voluntary.

It is the private elementary and secondary school on which the principal controversy now centers. Here the child is of compulsory school age—an age at which Federal controls over education would have an almost inescapable impact. Since 1958, private schools have been eligible under the National Defense Education Act for loan assistance for certain types of courses. Perhaps it was the national security urgency fever growing out of sputnik which made this type of Federal aid to private schools acceptable to public opinion and the recipient schools. And I suppose most would agree that our national security and our educational needs today are just as great as, if not greater than, they were 7 years ago.

This year, both the administration and the Congress sought an acceptable solution to the church-state problem in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. It was recognized that children of poor families, whether attending public or private school, are in need of better educational opportunities and that their failure to have these opportunities provided would be contrary to our national interest; further, that while the Federal Government may have no additional responsibility to the private school, it does have a responsibility to the child. Let me read the declaration of policy which appears in the act:

"In recognition of the special educational needs of children of low-income families and

the impact that concentrations of low income families have on the ability of local educational agencies to support adequate educational programs, the Congress hereby declares it to be the policy of the United States to provide financial assistance to local educational agencies serving areas with concentrations of children from low-income families to expand and improve their educational programs by various means (including preschool programs) which contribute particularly to meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children."

It was also recognized that among the States there are differences in handling the church-state problem. And so the Federal Government now recognizes its responsibility to children of poor families by providing money to the States. In turn, the States must program the use of this money in behalf of these children in such a way as to be in accord with their respective State constitutions and laws.

I might add that the percentage-of-Federal-revenue approach to general Federal aid, to which I referred earlier, would similarly leave the solution of the church-state problem to the respective States, which seems to be the principle the Supreme Court of the United States is following in constitutional questions in this area.

With this convention's theme emphasizing "Teachers as the Keys to Progress," my discussion would not be complete without calling attention to the fact that your Federal Government is becoming increasingly aware of this truism. This is not because all of the Members of Congress have been endowed, from birth, with the light. Public opinion, aided by good public relations of our teachers, has brought the light to them. We have been made aware that over one-fourth of all our citizens are directly involved in educational programs; that we need more facilities for college, junior college, university, and health profession students; and that in just the next 10 years our school systems will need 1,700,000 new teachers to take care of our exploding pupil population. Federal responsibility in meeting these challenges was given unprecedented recognition with enactment of the Higher Education Act of 1962, the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act of 1963, the Expanded Vocational Education Act of 1963, and the Library Services Act of 1963. The Higher Education Act of 1965, title V of which establishes teacher preparation programs, carries this recognition of Federal responsibility still further. This title provides for a Council on Teacher Preparation in the Office of Education; a National Teacher Corps at $60 million a year for 5 years, to include several thousand teachers for assignment to assist school districts having concentrations of low-income families; several thousand fellowships for master's degree study; and extensive grants to pay the cost of improving graduate and undergraduate training programs in colleges and universities. The bill also provides $190 million for student loans under the National Defense Education Act, with the 10 percent per year up to 50 percent forgiveness feature for those who enter the teaching profession, and 15 percent per year up to 100 percent forgiveness for those who teach in elementary or secondary schools determined by the Commissioner of Education to be "hardship schools." Surely these programs should help in the membership drives of Future Teachers of America clubs.

I would sum up my appraisal simply by saying: Federal aid is on the way and, with it, the doors of progress through equal opportunity for excellence in education are swinging open.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

(By JACK MILLER, U. S. Senator, Iowa)

In its review of the "Educational Responsibilities of the Federal Government," the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association said last year: "There is little doubt that the Federal Government has a responsibility for trying to express the national interest in education. But the question is raised whether the Congress ought to have power to decide which aspects of education are worth reinforcing and which aspects do not need support, and whether the executive agencies which carry out legislation and affect its preparation ought to have influence over such decisions. This power and influence are in fact increasing."

The Commission went on to say that the central Federal decision on education has to do with the amounts of money to be distributed to the States, and it stated its belief that the total sums of Federal money involved come nowhere near meeting the needs that many States and localities are also unable to meet.

Total public elementary and secondary school expenditures in Iowa came to almost $314 million for the fiscal year ended last June 30. Of this, less than $8 million came in from the Federal Government—$1,352,000 under the impacted areas program and $6,300,000 under the National Defense Education Act. With enactment of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, it is estimated that Iowa will receive some $22 million more during the current fiscal year—but this money must be spent for new programs relating to education of educationally deprived children and not serve as a replacement of funds now being spent. Although the new Federal funds will avoid the necessity of using State and local funds for these new programs, which sooner or later would probably have to be undertaken, it is clear that Federal financial support at the primary and secondary education level will still be relatively small. On the other hand, Federal aid to higher education will soon be bearing a considerably higher relative share of the cost under the various programs for construction of dormitories and academic buildings, contracts and scholarships under the National Science Foundation, the Library Sciences Act of 1963, and the Higher Education Act of 1965—under which, incidentally, $6 million is Iowa's estimated share for the current fiscal year.

There are two broad implications one can derive from this picture: (1) that there is less priority being attached to Federal aid programs for primary and secondary education than for numerous other Federal programs, such as, for example, the so-called war on poverty, for which appropriations have expanded from $700 million for the last fiscal year to $1.5 billion for the current year—less priority, that is, as far as the administration and its leadership in the Congress are concerned; and (2) there are problems which have not yet been surmounted over the formulas to be used in allocating Federal money to the States and over the Federal control which might, sooner or later, creep into the allocation of such money. Each of these implications is important to consider.

As might be expected, there is no Member of Congress who does not wish to see poverty in the United States eliminated or minimized; and I am also confident that a majority of the Members of Congress believes that the Federal Government should support a larger share of the costs of education. Granted that a small portion of the antipoverty program is in the area of education, there has been a failure on Capitol Hill to give due recognition to the fact that the greatest single weapon against poverty is educational opportunity. Formal recognition was given with enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, one title of which is designed to assure equality of educational opportunity. But when it comes to appropriating Federal money, priority has been asigned such programs as the Job Corps, which is costing the taxpayers between $6,000 and $8,000 per enrollee per year, and which, I might add, has been causing friction with some local school districts because of the salaries being paid some of the administrators of the program, when compared with the salaries of long-experienced teachers.

Other programs have received higher priority, such as the "man on the moon" project greatly expanded programs for the National Institutes of Health, an accelerated public works program, and Appalachia. By the time appropriations for these have been made, the Federal budget is in such a deep deficit position that "budgetary considerations" are offered as an excuse for inaction on a substantial increase in Federal aid to education.

I do not say that budgetary considerations should not enter the picture, because I believe very strongly in maintaining a reasonably balanced budget so that inflation will be stopped. However, either some of these other programs are going to have to be postponed or the money for them reduced, or both, in favor of Federal aid to education; or else little progress is going to be made in the foreseeable future.

The formula proposed for a Federal aid program is always controversial. During my 5 years in the Senate, I suppose there was more controversy over the formula contained in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 than was the case with the formulas contained in any of the other proposals which have been debated. For a school district to qualify under this act, there must (with certain exceptions) be at least 100 children of elementary and secondary school age coming from families with annual incomes of less than $2,000; and the amount of the Federal money is based on the total number of such schoolchildren from such low-income families and the average expenditure per pupil in the State. As Commissioner of Education Keppel testified, the $2,000 family income level is not, of course, a perfect measure of poverty. However, this figure clearly does identify an unquestioned hard core of poverty." But there were arguments that a family having an income of $2,000 in Mississippi would not be nearly as impoverished as a family having an income of $2,000 in New York City; and that the "average expenditure per pupil in the State" would mean more money per pupil going to a high-income and high-cost State, such as New York, than to a State such as Mississippi. However, this latter argument competely missed the point that it costs more money in New York to educate a child than it does in Mississippi, and therefore it should be expected that less money per child would go to Mississippi than to New York.

Other proposed formulas were advanced by way of amendments, which were rejected out-of-hand because orders had come from the White House that there were to be no amendments. I supported some of these amendments, because I believed them to be meritorious. However, Iowa, with its supplemental aid being taken into account in computing the average expenditure per pupil, comes out very well under the formula contained in the new law, and therefore I was able to support the bill in good conscience.

During consideration of the Federal aid bill proposed by the late President Kennedy

in 1961, there was a considerable amount of controversy over the formula to be used in allocating money to the States. Under that bill, the first-year allocation of money to New York State, for example, would have been $37,650,000 as against New York's estimated share of the taxes needed for the program of $91,110,000; so that New Yorkers would have been paying $53,460,000 to other States under the program for fiscal year 1962. This excess of payments over receipts for New York would have increased to $66,075,000 for fiscal 1963 and to $78,735,000 for fiscal 1964—the last year of the 3-year program. Other States would have paid in considerably more than they received back, although the formula had been drawn up in such a way as to make sure that many more States would be on the "plus" side than on the "minus" side in order to obtain needed support for the bill.

In my judgment, one of the major defects of the formula proposed in the Kennedy bill was use of a factor called income per pupil for the State, which was defined to mean the total personal income for the State divided by the number of public school pupils in the State. This factor was to be used in comparing the State's effort with the national effort for the purpose of making a reduction in the allocation of money that would otherwise go to a State. It seems to me that mere personal income is not sufficient to make a fair determination of relative effort. Some States have a tremendous amount of corporation tax income—all reported on tax returns filed in the State even though much of the income itself was earned through corporate outlets in other States. Certainly it should be expected that some of this income would be used for education purposes in the State, so that total income for the State (personal, corporate, trusts, estates, and the like) divided by the number of pupils would have been a more fair and realistic factor. And even this could have been further refined to take into account the differences in cost of living among the various States. In short, in seeking to implement the elusive goal of equalization, many Members of Congress are going to require much more than just a comparison of personal income among the States.

The minimum foundation program approach has its advocates in Congress as well as among the professional educators. It takes its form in such recitals as the one which appeared in one bill as follows:

"Equality of opportunity lies at the basis of the entire Republic. No child can begin to have equality of opportunity unless he has in his youth, above all, effective schooling.

"The purpose of this Act is to assist the States in financing a minimum foundation program of public elementary and secondary school education designed to provide more nearly equal opportunities for the Nation's children by raising the quality of such education in the States and districts in greatest need of assistance."

This particular bill, from which I have just quoted, went on to provide a Federal allotment of $20 per public school child, with larger amounts to those States which, after making a "maximum reasonable effort" to provide support for schools, would still be unable to guarantee a minimum education program. The larger amounts, it was said, would help the low-income States bridge the gap between a "fair allocation" to education of their resources and the cost "adequate" public school education. But what constitutes or should constitute a "minimum foundation" can mean many different things to different people. This particular bill set $400 as the minimum foundation, making no differentiation in relative costs of living among the various States. It was, therefore, vulnerable to the argument that $400 might be adequate in Mississippi and inadequate in New York, for example. Moreover, in determining the fiscal capacity of the States to meet their education needs, the sole factor of "personal" income was to be used. No justification was advanced for the flat $20 per pupil Federal aid, although it could be argued that even without this $20 per pupil assistance some States would be providing better education and would be better able to provide it than other States receiving more than $20 per pupil.

Not very many Members of Congress are going to argue over the noble concepts of "equality," "effective," "need," "reasonable effort," "fair allocation," "high income," and "low income." It is when these concepts are reduced to specifics, as they must be in the legislative process, that their advocates gallop off in four different directions.

The problem of Federal control, real or imagined, has been the most difficult to surmount. As former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Arthur Fleming, a strong advocate of Federal aid for construction of facilities, testified: "[There are] citizens who are genuinely fearful of the Federal Government making grants that become a part of current operating budgets at the local school district level. Some argue that there is no basis for such fears. The fact remains that they exist. There are many persons who will support a school construction program, but who will not support a program that also calls for Federal grants to current operating budgets even though these grants are to be used for such a desirable objective as teachers salaries. They believe that such grants afford too great a temptation for Federal controls."

I recognize that limiting Federal aid to construction of facilities is not going to be the answer, but I believe Mr. Fleming succinctly stated the problem of Federal control which lurks behind every Federal aid proposal and which must be answered to the satisfaction of a majority of the Members of Congress if a bill is going to be passed—passed by both Houses of Congress, that is.

Almost every major bill introduced on the subject of Federal aid is accompanied by assurances that no Federal control will be involved. Dr. Edgar Fuller, executive secretary of the Council of Chief State School Officers, testified in support of the Kennedy bill that "Federal controls are fortunately lacking." Even the bill itself recited: "In the administration of this title, no department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States shall exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the policy determination, personnel, curriculum, program of instruction, or the administration or operation of any school or school system." Still the problem was not answered.

Probably the main reason it was not answered was that it was a 3-year program. What was to happen after that time ran out and, meanwhile, local school districts had constructed their budgets on the basis of the Federal aid money? Everyone knew the answer. There would be a powerful lobby effort to continue the money—as, no doubt, it should be. Hearings would be held before the Education and Appropriations Committees of the Congress, and there would be questions about the use of the money for teachers' salaries, teachers' qualification standards, textbooks (the bill was amended on the Senate floor to include these), teacher-pupil ratio, curricula, and the like. Without satisfactory answers, threats could be forthcoming to withhold support for a continuation of the money unless some so-called basic standards were incorporated into the new bill. And that is the way Federal controls could come about. As one group testified in opposition to the Kennedy bill, "The greatest control available to the Federal Government is its power to allocate funds."

In other words, although most Members of Congress would have agreed that there were no Federal controls in this particular bill, it was widely recognized that passage of this bill would lay a foundation for Federal controls.

Is one to conclude, then, that any bill providing money to the States for education is going to be opposed because it lays a foundation for future possible Federal control? I don't believe so. For one thing, the bill should not be set up with a time limit, which automatically requires introduction of a new bill (before the time runs out) and hearings before the Education Committees of the Senate and House. For another, a bill which would simply allocate a percentage of the Federal revenue collections to the States "for education purposes" would, once put into effect, have a status not unlike the recurring appropriation to pay interest on the national debt and would run far less risk of being tampered with than the average appropriation for a Federal program.

There are, of course, fears of other Federal control than that which might be written into an act of the Congress. Fears of control emanating out of a Federal bureaucracy established to administer a Federal aid program are not without foundation. The late President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education was cited during testimony in opposition to the Kennedy bill with this quotation: "Much of the very unwise existing Federal control over vocational education results from the fact that Federal officials have assumed the duty of determining in detail what types of education shall be considered vocational."

With the percentage-of-Federal-revenue approach, there would be no Federal bureaucracy, and thus the foundation for future possible control from this direction would be eliminated.

A novel approach was recently introduced by one of the Members of the House of Representatives in the form of H.R. 10696. Under this bill, an educational assistance trust fund would be established into which would be paid 1 percent of Federal revenue collections for the fiscal year 1966, 2 percent for the fiscal year 1967, 3 percent for fiscal 1968, 4 percent for fiscal 1969, and 5 percent for each year thereafter. Half of this money would be allocated to the States on the basis of the number of students enrolled in public schools, and the other half would be allocated according to the respective efforts of the various States determined according to a formula designed to compute effort. As I have pointed out, there are different points of view over how to arrive at a formula for allocating money, but the interesting and unique feature of the bill is that it would require approval (with provisions for judicial review, incidentally) of State plans for spending the money by the Comptroller General of the United States. The General Accounting Office, which is headed by the Comptroller General, is a part of the legislative branch of the Federal Government; and its audit reports and investigative actions are not only extremely thorough, but equally important, nonpartisan. Thus, under this bill, any Federal control would lie in the legislative branch, the one closest to the people, rather than with some nonelected public official who may not share the public's concern over Federal controls.

With any Federal aid proposal there is, of course, the implication that Federal aid is needed. I would merely point out that, rightly or wrongly, there is a fairly widespread opinion in the Congress that the need is sometimes exaggerated. For example, the Kennedy bill was promoted, in part, at least, on the basis that the Federal money could be used for teachers' salaries and that

the failure to improve teachers' salaries was causing a critical shortage of teachers. Opponents of the bill cited statistics to show that the shortages actually existed in only a few fields, such as mathematics and science; and that this shortage was the result of competition from the Federal Government itself and from private industry, particularly private industry with Federal Government contracts. Also, it was pointed out that during the previous 5 years, the number of college graduates prepared to teach had increased 47 percent, and the number prepared to teach science and mathematics had increased 100 percent. It was further pointed out that from 1950 to 1960, teachers' salaries increased 70 percent; whereas weekly earnings in manufacturing went up only 53 percent.

Strong criticism was also voiced over the statistics issued by the Office of Education relating to the shortage of classrooms, which ranged all the way from 600,000 down to 132,000. However, the Office of Education noted that its data on classroom shortages should be used with caution because of varying States standards of normal class size and varying definitions of unsatisfactory rooms. Still, using a 10-year projected requirement of 600,000 classrooms to be built, evidence was introduced to show that from 60,000 to 70,000 classrooms per year had been built during each of the 5 preceding years; and the conclusion obviously to be drawn was that this rate would be continued even without Federal aid.

The point to be made, I think, is that the case for Federal aid should be based on statistics which are less vulnerable to attack; and that it is far better to premise the case on the need of the States for more sources of revenue to meet their own specific State needs in education—some being teachers, some being classrooms, some being laboratories, some being higher operating costs, and some being all of these items. The percentage-of-federal-revenue approach would meet this point.

Once a need for Federal aid is established, and I believe it can be, another implication is that the need can certainly be met. This is no doubt true if the problem of relative priorities of Federal spending can be solved. But even then, I believe, the proponents would do well to not rest their case on relatively unmeaningful statistics, such as the gross national product. There are many Members of Congress who are very much aware that the gross national product is merely the sum totals of goods and services purchased by individuals, corporations, and all levels of Government during the course of a period of time; and just because there may be an increase in GNP from one year to the next hardly means that we are enjoying a satisfactory rate of "true economic growth" which would support a certain level of Federal aid. Almost one-third of our increase in GNP now consists of inflation, so that the regular figures usually cited for increased GNP must be reduced to arrive at what is known as "real dollar" increase in GNP. This needs to be further refined to reflect per capita increased GNP, if any, because a mere absolute increase may not keep up with our population increase.

Some economists discount the alarm over deficit spending by pointing out that our national debt is a smaller percentage of our gross national product today than it was 10 years ago. Therefore, they argue, deficit spending to enable a proposed level of Federal aid is perfectly sound. But they fail to point out that, in the present state of our monetary and fiscal policy, for every billion dollars that is added to our national debt, there is a billion dollars of inflation. People like you who are directly and gravely concerned over the rising costs of education do not need to be told what a large part inflation has been playing in these increases.

Here in Iowa there are some implications to be considered—implications arising from the failure of the Federal Government to share a little more of its tremendous revenue with the State in meeting our educational needs. It is true that we, the citizens, are the Federal Government and the State government too; but this doesn't mean that all of the tax money comes out of the same pocket in the same amount. The tax structures of the two levels of government are vastly different. If Federal aid is not provided (and, we should remember that it comes largely from taxes based on relative ability to pay), are property taxes to be increased still more? There are many who believe that the property tax, which is not designed to produce revenue on the basis of relative ability to pay or even on the basis of ability to pay, has reached the saturation point in Iowa; and it has become rather fashionable to intrigue the voters with the thought of "property tax relief" during political campaigns.

Perhaps, then, more aid for schools should be provided by an increase in the State income tax? But there are many who believe that this would jeopardize the future of the very people we are trying to educate by discouraging business growth and its accompanying job opportunities. After all, the existence and the rate of a State income tax is a factor that is given considerable weight in plant location.

One can always turn to an increase in the State sales tax, but this assuredly works hardship on retailers in the border or near border counties located near neighboring States which do not have a sales tax; and there is little question but what the sales tax is regressive—just like the social security tax, which will receive a large boost commencing next January.

The only choice left at the State level is to make do with what we have, but then one sees a statement by the former chairman of the Iowa Development Commission that "education and Iowa's economic growth are inseparable." He was referring particularly to the technical, graduate, postgraduate, and research levels, and the fact that industry is becoming more and more research centered with each passing year. And a little later one reads in the September 23 issue of the Wall Street Journal that the manager of location surveys of a large engineering firm says that a good local school system is a "top requisite" for employees' families and therefore of a plant selection site. Add to these considerations the fact that Iowa has been educating far more men and women for jobs in other States than have been educated in other States for jobs in Iowa, and I believe the conclusion is inescapable that more Federal aid, without Federal controls or the foundation for Federal controls, without more bureaucracy, and with a realistic allocation formula, is the answer.

Food for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNN E. STALBAUM

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, I have been speaking on the need for a revised and expanded program of food for peace. A great increase in the world's population has not been accompanied by a similar increase in the world's food production. We now have a great shortage of food in the world, and the crisis will become even greater in the next few years.

Therefore, greater use should be made of the tremendous productivity of the American farmer. Instead of basing all our farm programs on the concept of restricting production, an attempt should be made to use American agricultural productivity to better feed the world.

A speech of mine before the Dairy Society International was inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of October 19 by Senator MCGOVERN, of South Dakota, the outstanding proponent of the food-for-peace idea. Since then, many articles on this subject have been forwarded to me. They give some indication of the nationwide awareness of this irrational situation of American agricultural restrictions in a world where half the people are hungry, malnourished, or both.

One of the most outstanding articles was by Mr. Loren H. Osman, a fine writer for the Milwaukee Journal, who, on October 17, told of the exciting possibility that American farmers may be unleashed from production controls in order to fight the problem of world hunger and malnutrition. He shows the accomplishments of the food-for-peace program to date, and the bipartisan support for better use of American agricultural productivity.

I am sure the article by Mr. Osman will be of interest to the many Members interested in this subject.

WILL UNITED STATES UNLEASH FARMERS FOR WAR ON WORLD HUNGER?

(By Loren H. Osman)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The exciting idea that American farmers may be "unleashed" from production controls, to feed more of the world's hungry, is making the rounds here and gaining some support. This would be a dramatic shift, after 30 years of Government programs to curb farm output. Abundance would be encouraged instead, and U.S. agriculture given an increased world role. Expanded food shipments, for both aid and sales abroad, are almost sure to come in the wake of booming world population. Rising domestic consumption also will bring greater demands for American farm output, but yields per acre are zooming, too. This year's corn, for instance, is expected to run 73 bushels per acre, almost double the 1949 figure.

The new 4-year farm program, which just emerged from Congress, puts increased emphasis on getting American crops into world trade. Cash payments to farmers allow lower support prices, which make our commodities more competitive in foreign markets.

ACREAGE REDUCTION

However, the new legislation also provides for retirement of 40 million acres of cropland by small farmers. Some 50 million acres now are out of production, under various programs. This includes the conservation reserve (soil bank) which is gradually expiring; some of these acres may again be diverted under the new plan.

What would happen to the need for such farm programs if food aid were boosted? If American agriculture were turned loose, could the world be adequately fed?

The House Republican Task Force on Agriculture last week recommended a bipartisan World Food Study Commission, "to plan the future U.S. role in the approaching world food crisis," in the words of a statement issued Thursday. "If we plan wisely," said the committee chairman, Representative

LANGEN, of Minnesota, "this could be an opportunity for American agriculture to realize its great potential. This Commission could very well prove to be the catalytic agent that would help bring food to the hungry mouths of the world, and a new health and economic vitality to U.S. agriculture."

Legislation introduced by LANGEN and others to establish the bipartisan Commission sets up a 15-point program to study world food needs and population trends, American agricultural production potential and coordination of foreign aid programs.

A war on hunger, global in scope, is starting to emerge under President Johnson. A two phase study of world food needs, one part looking at the quality, the other the quantity, was set up earlier this year, as an interagency project.

Phase I has been completed. It found malnutrition was rampant, affecting half of preschool children in developing countries. Recognizing this as a major deterrent to social and economic development, programs to fortify grain diets with vitamins, minerals and animal proteins already are underway.

Phase II, to be completed soon—will update earlier surveys by the U.S. Agriculture Department.

Population in less developed regions, wrote the USDA's international agricultural economist, Lester Brown, totaled 2.1 billion and was expected to reach nearly 5 billion by the century's end. This would indicate that less developed countries in 35 years would have to add a food production capacity more than equal to the present world's capacity, to handle the demand.

Another USDA analysis recently projected needs to 1970. It found that two-thirds of the world's population lived in countries with inadequate diets, averaging 900 calaries per person per day less than the other one-third. Protein consumption was two-thirds that of "diet adequate" countries, and fat less than one-third.

FOOD FOR PEACE

The hunger belt includes: All of Asia except Japan and Israel; all but the southern tip of Africa; the northern part of South America, and most of Central America and the Caribbean lands. These areas have an average of 53 persons per 100 acres of farmland, nearly four times as many as in the rest of the world. Their population is increasing 2.1 percent a year, compared to 1.3 percent in the "have" countries.

The Food for Peace Act has put $21 billion worth of food abroad in 10 years. Its current rate is $1.1 billion in "concession sales," another $600 million worth of gift food, distributed through relief agencies. Still the food supply in many countries continues to fall behind population growth.

The Food for Peace Act expires in 1966. A new food policy presumably will be made in the context of what other countries will do. An AID official said the decision will be "one of the most profound to be made by this Government and the free world."

GEORGE MCGOVERN, former Food for Peace Administrator and now a Democratic Senator from South Dakota, has called for a half-billion-dollar-a-year stepup in food programs, to boost the annual level by $2.5 billion in 5 years. Senator NELSON was a cosponsor of the bill.

MCGOVERN's plan includes purchase of food for sale or donation, improvements in storage, processing, and transportation, use of the Peace Corps to help utilize and distribute food, a rural technical assistance program to develop food production, and payments to cooperating agencies.

The President could set up a director, according to the bill, now in the Foreign Relations Committee and with little likelihood of passage by the Congress this year. (Its chances are considered better in Foreign Relations, according to a McGovern spokesman, than in the Agriculture Committee, whose chairman, Senator ELLENDER, "believes all foreign food aid should end with the disappearance of surpluses.")

Under the new farm bill, Government purchases for school lunch and relief feeding would not be limited to surpluses, a broadening from a food program based on disposal.

Surpluses indeed are shrinking. The October 1 report of Government stocks by the Commodity Credit Corporation, showed:

	1965	1964
Butter ..... pounds	68,541,000	71,679,000
Cheese ..... do	1,586,000	25,614,000
Dried skim milk ..... do	157,040,000	65,693,000
Wheat ..... bushels	510,419,000	687,773,000
Corn ..... do	521,541,000	814,544,000
Dried beans ..... hundredweight	22,000	291,000
Rice ..... do	765,000	1,084,000

From these surpluses must be subtracted adequate reserves for this country, still to be determined.

The 50 million acres now retired include 25 million in corn lands and 10 million in grain sorghums and barley, under the feed grains program; 7,500,000 in diverted wheat and the rest soil bank.

It costs $1.3 billion in acreage payments and a total of $2 billion, including supports, storage, and other costs, to keep this production off the market.

Even using minimum Government loan rates, farmers would gross more than that if the acres went back to crops.

Agriculture Secretary Freeman, who with Vice President HUMPHREY figures strongly in the move for more food, says he has nightmares about the paradox of costly controls while hunger exists. Obviously spending to relieve want is more defensible politically.

Waves of American supplies could upset foreign markets, might even delay local agricultural development. For the next 10 years, one USDA authority said, this country could provide the calories and proteins to keep world hunger from getting any worse but the need eventually would outrun our capacity.

In the long pull, needy nations must learn to feed themselves, officials say—and that includes use of population control.

American agriculture, having created its own "miracle of plenty," can help by sharing in the interim. Perhaps its most important contribution will be providing the experts, technology, and machinery which have made this the best fed land on earth.

Coed Stops Student at Peace Rally From Burning His Draft Card

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, at San Jose State College on October 23, a young woman dissuaded a young man from burning his draft card in front of a rally of students. The young woman did not know the young man. She did not even know, by her own admission, anything "about the war in Vietnam." What she did sense was that the young man was not being true to himself. And she sensed correctly, for the young man turned away at her pleading from the act which he contemplated.

It was but a brief personal interlude in the great sweep of impersonal current events in which these two young people, along with all young people, must probe for the future. Yet there would appear to be a meaning in the incident which lifts it out of the confusion and perplexity of the times and endows it with a more universal significance.

Public assemblies have an essential role to fulfill in this Nation and I do not discount them. But they seem to me to be singularly ill adapted to the uncovering of personal conviction.

I do not know whether this young man, in the end, will accept military service which he is required to serve under law or whether he shall ask exemption on the grounds of conscientious objection, an exception which is also provided for under law. But I do know that the courageous good sense of the young woman in persuading him to make that decision as a private one and after consultation with himself rather than as a public exhibit and at the exhortation of the crowd is a service to him personally, as well as to the Nation.

I ask unanimous consent that an article referring to the incident described which appeared in the Washington Post be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CROWD CHANTS, "GO AHEAD, BURN IT"—COED STOPS STUDENT AT PEACE RALLY FROM BURNING HIS DRAFT CARD

SAN JOSE, CALIF., October 23.—Though a crowd urged him to go on, a San Jose State College sophomore who said he had planned to burn his draft card was dissuaded by the dramatic pleas of a red-haired coed.

With the girl's arm around his shoulder, Roger Lette, 19, turned slowly to the anti-Vietnam war rally and announced:

"I do not choose to do it. I did not come here to be an object of ridicule, but you have made me one."

Lette, a philosophy major from Fremont, Calif., announced several days ago that he intended to burn his draft card at the rally yesterday called by the Students for a Democratic Society.

Men said to be FBI agents stood in the front rank of the rally.

Lette withdrew some papers from his pockets and was looking through them for his draft card when Ann Morris, 23, a drama major, pushed through the crowd to Lette's side.

"Think what you are doing," she said. The crowd of about 2,000 persons quieted. "If you must do this, if you have reasons and are sincere—go ahead. But not here, do it in private." She put her arm around him.

"Prison is no place for a young man like you."

As Lette announced over a public address system that he had changed his mind, shouts from the crowd said, "Go ahead and do it. Burn it."

At one point Lette's father, who had opposed the burning, jumped up on the platform beside his son and told the crowd, "I'm here now to take him home or bury him." He was hooted.

Miss Morris told newsmen afterward:

"I don't know him * * *. All of a sudden I just felt that this was all so terribly wrong. I thought 'Why doesn't somebody do something,' and nobody did. So I did.

"I don't know anything about the war in Vietnam * * * but this boy was losing sight of his reasons."

The 175th Anniversary of Gallipolis, Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER H. MOELLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MOELLER. Mr. Speaker, the city of Gallipolis, Ohio, marked its 175th anniversary with a weeklong celebration October 10–17 that was one of the most impressive, well-organized community undertakings that I have ever witnessed.

This historic city—the second oldest in Ohio—is in my congressional district, and it was my honor and privilege to take part in the celebration. It will always be a cherished memory.

Much of the credit for the success of the celebration must go to the officers of the Gallipolis Area 175th Anniversary, Inc. The corporation was headed by Maj. Gen. George E. Bush, U.S. Army, retired. He was ably assisted by Miles T. Epling; Manning E. Wetherholt; the Reverend A. H. McKenzie; and Mrs. Keith Suiter. Division chairmen were Herbert Bush, Clarence Phalen, Mrs. P. J. Ryal, J. Sherman Porter, and Jack Hudson. Committees were led by Earl E. Tope, Harry Wheeler, and W. H. Sowers.

Many other individuals worked tirelessly to make the anniversary celebration the rousing success that it was. I regret that space does not permit me to name them.

At this point in the RECORD, I insert a brief history of Gallipolis, which, I might say, personifies the gallant history of frontier America:

The Ohio makes a worm-like curve a few miles below the mouth of the Kanawha, and there, where the hills of two States stretch in folds near the great river, stands the city of Gallipolis. The odd name, signifying "city of the Gauls," has a familiar ring; newspaper readers will recall that this is the place about which the late O. O. McIntyre used to write. Visitors will not discover, as McIntyre did, the scent of clover coming over from the hills of West Virginia. They will, however, find many old houses set flush with the sidewalks, evenly spaced cross streets bearing the pretty names of trees, an old-fashioned park with benches, cannon, and a pagoda-like bandstand.

Various singularities are soon noticed. On the landscaped grounds at the city's east end are the buildings of the Gallipolis State Institute. At the west end is Mound Hill, commanding a magnificent view of the town, the river, and the surrounding hills and bottom lands. Behind the town, running parallel with the river, is Chickamauga Creek; the steep slope of its valley squeezes the main part of Gallipolis into a sector 9 blocks long and 4 blocks wide.

Behind the commonplace facade of the town's brick and frame houses, its business structures, and its narrow, tree-lined streets, lurks a romantic beginning. In the fall of 1790 about 500 upper middle-class Frenchmen came here from France to make a home in the wilderness. The enthusiastic reports of travel writers, the fear inspired by the French Revolution, the promptings of an American land office in Paris—these factors brought them here. They moved into log cabins where City Park is now. They made wine, cultivated formal gardens, nurtured fruit trees, and tried to raise vegetables and other crops. Twice a week they met at the community ballroom.

For years they struggled to adapt themselves to the frontier. It was an uneven contest. Fevers plagued them; Indians harassed them; and the cold winters brought near famines. They were unsuccessful as crop farmers, and in the end they had to buy their land a second time. The heartbreaks were too many. One by one they drifted away; by 1805 not more than 20 French families remained.

So Gallipolis became an American town. It built boats and shipped produce during the decades when river traffic on the Ohio dominated life in the valley. After the railroads arrived, the river commerce declined, and Gallipolis turned to manufacturing. It never became completely industrialized, but in the 1880's more than 300 of its residents made wheels, carriages, stoves, woodwork, and foundry articles. Later on manufacturing also declined.

Today this old river town sees only an occasional packet or string of barges passing below its raised site on the majestic Ohio. As the county seat and the only large community in Gallia County, Gallipolis is the marketplace for most of the county's produce, livestock, and dairy products. Located in the heart of the industrial Ohio Valley, it is also an attractive and desirable site for industrial development.

At the request of Hobart Wilson, Jr., managing editor of the Gallipolis Daily Tribune, President Johnson and I both addressed messages of congratulations to the community and its people.

The President's message follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, October 5, 1965.

Hon. GARY SHORT,
City Manager,
Gallipolis, Ohio.

DEAR MR. SHORT: I can well imagine how pleased the citizens of Gallipolis must be as they celebrate the 175th anniversary of the founding of the town.

We can always draw inspiration from the past. Congressman MOELLER has told me that the old French city of Gallipolis is the second oldest city in Ohio.

Please accept my congratulations on this important occasion.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

I now insert my own letter of congratulations:

OCTOBER 10, 1965.

To the CITY OF GALLIPOLIS:

I extend my heartiest congratulations to the city of Gallipolis—Ohio's second oldest—on the 175th anniversary of its founding.

Settled by French immigrants during the second year of the Presidency of George Washington, the history of your city, more than most, parallels the history of America. The past 175 years have been years of unrivaled national growth and progress. The years immediately ahead will be years of even more fantastic advances. I want Gallipolis, and its sister communities throughout southeastern Ohio, to fully share in these blessing.

It can be done.

The city of Gallipolis itself stands as a monument to what can be accomplished through vision, faith, and hard work. Preceding generations believed in the future; they did not shrink from challenge; they were not content with the status quo. Now, it is the obligation of the present generation to expand on the good works of those who carved out a community from the wilderness and built for posterity a good place to live and work.

I have no doubt that this obligation will be met.

With sincere good wishes, I am,

Respectfully yours,

WALTER H. MOELLER,
Member of Congress.

Results of Government Research Should Be Made Available to the Public

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSSELL B. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, to insure that the taxpayers receive the benefits of the results of publicly financed research, I offered an amendment to the higher education bill which would provide that "all information, copyrights, uses, processes, patents and other developments" resulting from Government expenditures "will be freely available to the general public." Such a provision, designed to protect the public interest, should be part of every bill which authorizes research expenditures.

I regret that the Education Subcommittee of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee did not see fit to attach my amendment to the higher education bill, which was passed by the Senate on September 2. Support for the principle of my amendment, however, was recently shown by the U.S. Office of Education, which published in the Federal Register of July 28 a statement of policy that:

Material produced as a result of any research activity undertaken with any financial assistance through contract with or project grant from the Office of Education will be placed in the public domain. Material so released will be available to conventional outlets of the private sector for their use.

This policy is effective immediately. I would like to congratulate the Honorable Francis Keppel, Commissioner for Education, for adopting this policy which will guarantee that all patentable and copyrightable material amassed at great Government expense will be made available to the greatest number of people, in the shortest amount of time, and at the least cost to all American citizens who have made the research possible. The free flow of information is essential to our democratic form of Government.

Establishing this policy by an administrative ruling is not enough. An agency regulation can be changed quickly, and depends on each administrator who holds office. This policy, in order to be effective, must become law. The distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Patents, Trademarks, and Copyrights of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, has assured us that legislation will soon be reported out by his subcommittee, which is now studying the issue of the public availability of information and patentable discoveries which result from Government-financed research. I look forward with great interest to seeing the

results of the subcommittee's study of this matter which is very important to the future growth and competitive structure of our economy. I would like to commend the senior Senator from Arkansas for his sincere efforts to design Government policy regarding the disposition of the fruits of publicly financed research which will rigorously protect the interests of all American citizens.

When the taxpayers finance research, whether performed by Government employees or by means of grants and contracts, new information and knowledge gained through these efforts must be made freely available to the press, to scholars, to private enterprise, and the public at large.

The Hungarian Revolt of 1956

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Incredible as it may seem, 9 years have already passed since that fateful day, October 23, 1956, when the free world awoke to hear that the Hungarian people had risen to break the shackles which the Soviet Union had placed on them in 1949.

For nearly 2 weeks, the sheer courage and determination of the freedom fighters, as they were aptly called, succeeded in keeping the might of the Soviet Union at bay. With characteristic treachery and faithlessness, the Soviets gave the Hungarians to understand that most of the legitimate demands of the freedom fighters would be acceded to, and that the question of Soviet troops in Hungary would be the subject of discussions with the new and more liberal regime of Imre Nagy. Even while discussions between the leaders of the new government and the highest representatives of the Soviet Union were in progress, Soviet tanks, troops and other equipment were rushed across the border in order to ruthlessly crush the Hungarian attempt to regain some of their most basic human rights.

We and the rest of the free world cannot afford to forget the many lessons which the freedom fighters of Hungary, and officials and army of the Soviet Union, taught us in those memorable 2 weeks. From the exploits of the Hungarians, we have been vindicated in our belief that it is impossible for any dictatorship to repress the desire of mankind to live in an atmosphere of freedom. We learned that human beings around the globe are alike in their determination to achieve this goal, and that they are willing to pay the price in blood if it becomes necessary. We learned that no matter what effort is expended by a tyranny upon repression and subjection, it cannot in the long run root out what the free world has long known is natural to all human beings—the desire for self-rule. These are lessons we should not, indeed must not forget.

From the actions of the Soviet leaders, we learned once more that it is not possible to deal honorably with a dictatorship whose basic ideas about the nature of man are so completely antithetical to our own. We learned that the free world and free men cannot accept the guarantees or promises of a regime which must maintain itself through tyrannical means, for they are broken and discarded whenever it becomes convenient for the dictator to do so. We learned that a meaningful discussion, even if we assume this is possible, can only take place when every action, every suggestion, every thought we express can be and is unmistakably supported by the combined strength which only free men can muster.

I am certain that the struggle of the Hungarian freedom fighters was not in vain, for there are nations throughout the globe who learned from these events—learned the lessons which I have enumerated. If this alone were the result of those fateful 2 weeks in 1956, it was worth more than we can ever know. Of course it was not, and in this fact both we and the Hungarians here and still behind the Iron Curtain can take pride.

The Morrissey Nomination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK R. MILLER

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, the action of the Senate on Thursday, returning the nomination of Francis Morrissey for Federal judge to the Senate Judiciary Committee, was made without objection. I hope that this ends the matter, which has embarrassed the Senate and has unfortunately and unnecessarily brought considerable criticism to bear on the manner in which judicial appointments are handled.

Examples of this criticism are the lead editorial appearing in the Washington Evening Star for Thursday, entitled "The 90-Day Wonder," the lead editorial in the Washington Evening Star for Friday, entitled "After Morrissey," and the lead editorial in the Washington Post for Friday, entitled "Defeat of Judge Morrissey."

The sum and substance of these criticisms is that the nomination should never have been made, it should not have been recommended out of the Judiciary Committee for approval of the Senate, and there should not have been a persistence in trying to push the Senate itself to approve the nomination. Furthermore, there should be a far greater effort to preserve a balance between Republican and Democratic members of the judiciary, and appointments should be much less partisan in number than they have heretofore been. And finally, qualifications of appointees should be such as to avoid condemnation by the American Bar Association. In this latter connection, I believe that recommendations of the bar association should be accorded considerable weight, although a President certainly should be free to make a nomination from outside a group recommended by the association. But when the association has concluded, after the diligent study it always gives such matters, that a proposed appointee is simply not qualified, for the sake of the reputation of the bench among the bar, I believe such a proposed nomination should not be made.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorials to which I have referred be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Oct. 21, 1965]

THE 90-DAY WONDER

The Senate's vote to recommit the judgeship nomination of Francis Morrissey to the Judiciary Committee is a classic lesson in humility for Congressmen who take themselves too seriously. This has a particular application to Morrissey's sponsor, Senator KENNEDY of Massachusetts, who made the motion to recommit. This kills the nomination for this session. KENNEDY said he would seek later confirmation and predicted eventual approval by a greatly increased majority, which sounds like a man whistling in the dark.

Thus ends a spectacle which had threatened to besmirch the notable record of the 89th Congress, substituting for it the Capitol Hill's version of the theater of the absurd.

Where else could one find the Speaker of the House searching furiously for the right analogy, then proclaiming Morrissey a kind of latter-day Frank Merriwell, persevering in his numerous attempts to pass the Massachusetts bar exam?

Where else is there a straight man quite like the FBI, concluding solemnly that Morrissey really did spend 3 months working for his Georgia law diploma and "some months" thereafter trying to make a living in the Peach State?

It was almost perfect. To make it absolutely flawless, Senator KENNEDY rose the other day on the floor to accuse Senator DIRKSEN of "playing politics" by doubting Morrissey's qualifications.

But comic masterpieces, formless by nature, need hidden currents to hold the surface farce together. Those inclined to view the President's power with alarm point out, rather gloomily, that the Emperor Caligula bestowed a consulship on his favorite horse to show his contempt for the Roman Senate. But this is an uncharitable and probably incorrect view of Mr. Johnson's attitude toward the appointment. Then there is the widely held suspicion that the President did this to young TEDDY KENNEDY with malice aforethought—a suspicion fed by the silent withdrawal of the White House from the whole show. Nothing could be more calculated to crimp the pious and lofty style of the KENNEDYS than to undertake a lonely defense of their old Boston friend. It couldn't have been very much fun without the President along to share it with.

True, the White House undertook a "last minute" effort to muster votes for confirmation. Yet, by saying nothing throughout the committee hearings and subsequent conflicts on the floor, the White House seemed to be pleading that it was a helpless middleman in the old game of senatorial courtesy. This left the KENNEDYS conspicuously holding the bag. So the major result of Morrissey's nomination, and its recommitment, might well be heightened bitterness—and another score to be settled—between elements in the Democratic Party.

There probably are many persons around today who wish that Francis X. Morrissey had tried a little harder to make a living down there in Georgia.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Oct. 22, 1965]

AFTER MORRISSEY

Francis Morrissey's chances for appointment to the U.S. district court are dead, unless President Johnson chooses to renominate him in the next session. There is no reason why the President should renominate Morrissey, and several substantial reasons why he should not. Too many questions going directly to the nominee's fitness for service on the Federal bench have been raised during the past 2 weeks—and none of them so far has been satisfactorily answered.

Why, for instance, did Morrissey omit any reference to his Georgia diploma-mill studies until after the American Bar Association brought up the subject?

How does Morrissey explain being in Georgia "trying to make a living" at the time he was a candidate for the Massachusetts legislature, a candidacy requiring a year's residency in the State?

What reasons can be offered for Morrissey's failure repeatedly to pass the bar examinations in Massachusetts?

What experience with jury trials does Morrissey have other than the "one civil case" he recalls handling?

What qualifications, other than his service as retainer to the Kennedy family, have been—or can be—offered to substantiate Morrissey's appointment to the Federal courts?

In light of these questions, could Francis Morrissey meet the challenges of the Federal bench, the subtle and complicated cases he would regularly hear, without becoming a burden to his fellow jurists?

The senior judge of the court to which Morrissey aspires thinks not.

President Johnson has sound reasons for finding another nominee. There is an ample supply of qualified lower court judges, eminent lawyers, and distinguished law professors in the Greater Boston area, any one of whom would be a credit to the district bench.

The President should feel free to make such an appointment, regardless of TED KENNEDY's preferences. The Morrissey incident has dealt a severe blow to the tradition of senatorial courtesy. But it is a preposterous tradition that could use some trimming if it can be twisted to reward a Senator's old political friend, otherwise unqualified.

Whatever the President decides, Francis X. Morrissey shouldn't be a part of that decision. With so many qualified men at hand, his nomination for a second time would bring down the kind of public ridicule that neither the President nor the Senate can afford.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Oct. 22, 1965]

DEFEAT OF JUDGE MORRISSEY

Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY took the right course in asking the Senate to return the nomination of Francis X. Morrissey to the Judiciary Committee. His failure to win confirmation for this longtime friend and political aid of the Kennedy family was, of course, a bitter pill for the young Massachusetts legislator. But it was less galling that an outright defeat would have been. And it saved Mr. KENNEDY from the embarrassment of pleading for votes from fellow Democrats who would have long resented the invocation of party loyalty in behalf of a nominee so obviously unprepared for a Federal judgeship.

Mr. KENNEDY did what he could to soften the blow for Judge Morrissey by again defending his record and expressing confidence that the Judiciary Committee, on further examination of his qualifications, would send the nomination back for triumphant confirmation. But this was only the rhetoric of retreat. It is scarcely conceivable that President Johnson will submit the name of Judge Morrissey again next year or that, if he did, the nomination would ever again emerge from the committee.

Among those who were relieved by Senator KENNEDY's decision was Majority Leader MANSFIELD. Although Senator MANSFIELD tried to underline Mr. KENNEDY's claim to have had the votes necessary for confirmation, he candidly admitted that "the results might have been anything but beneficial." The real reason why the nomination was sent back to the committee is that a majority of the Senators were not willing to face the consequences of such a bald use of judicial office for the payment of political debts. If Vice President HUMPHREY took the responsibility of helping Senator KENNEDY to see this, he did a good day's work.

The frightening thing about the incident is the strong indication that confirmation would have been voted, in a regular demonstration of partisan solidarity, if the press and a few courageous lawyers had not created a public outcry. The demands of "senatorial courtesy" are still strong on Capitol Hill. The lesson of the Morrissey affair is that the Senate will rise to its responsibility as a guardian of the bench if the danger signals are flashed with sufficient intensity and persistence.

In effect, public opinion has administered a significant rebuke to the President, the Department of Justice, the Senate Judiciary Committee, and especially to Senator KENNEDY. The national conscience was aroused because of the great concern of the people for a judiciary of the highest qualifications. If this outcry against a man who did not meet minimum requirements, and who cannot talk with candor and confidence about his own legal background and experience, is seriously recognized as a sign of the times, it may have a very salutary effect on the quality of future judicial nominations.

An Inspiring Example of Personal Initiative and Enterprise

SPEECH

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include here a very timely feature story, by Martha Mason, that appeared in the magazine section of a recent issue of the Worcester, Mass., Telegram newspaper.

At a period in which there is so much fear about the loss of personal initiative and ingenuity in modern society this article graphically demonstrates, in the life of Mrs. Carol Lebeaux, that a young mother, while fully discharging her household duties, can still exercise her talents and ambition, through persevering, study, and industrious application, for personal satisfaction and family development which is worthy of wide imitation.

The article follows:

CALENDAR GIRL CAROL LEBEAUX

(By Martha Mason)

"Calendar art"—It's a term to conjure up images of comely females in varying degrees of dishabille.

Not so with the crisp, imaginative woodcut-on-cloth calendars from the workshop of Mrs. Maxim Lebeaux of 15 Monadnock Drive, Shrewsbury.

An attractive former New York professional model, nightclub performer, artist and jewelry maker turned housewife, Carol Lebeaux has developed her calendar making from a kitchen hobby to a growing nationwide business.

She produced her first batch of calenders—a mere 30—to give as Christmas presents in 1957; and, just like topsy, the idea growed and growed.

It's no surprise then, that Carol woke up one morning to the realization that she had a full-scale, if modest, business on her hands.

Those first 30 calendars were a far cry from the ones Carol turns out these days. It took 1 hour and the body English of her children, Annie and Roy, now 16 and 12, respectively, to print each calendar.

Though her enthusiasm for woodcuts dated from elementary school days, Carol was unfamiliar with the silk-screen process which now simplifies production for her.

Since she knew nothing of the method, Carol saw but one way to reproduce each woodcut on the cloth calendar—by spreading each block by hand, or, in this case, by foot.

"I balanced both children on tiptoe on the surface of the woodblock and had them totter there for several minutes. Some process."

But when calendar requests flocked in for the following year, Carol set about finding a better method.

"Someone suggested silk screen," she said, "but no one in the family knew a thing about the process, so I went to the public library and studied all the books on the subject. It turned out to be ideal."

A silk screen is basically a stencil drawn on a drum-tight sheet of silk stretched on a wooden frame. The screen is placed on top of the fabric to be printed and a special printing ink is poured on one end of it.

The actual printing is accomplished by pulling a squeegee the length of the screen, forcing the ink to print through the open areas of the stencil—et voila.

Carol doesn't make the actual silk screens. She designs the calendar, carves the art work on the block, and then makes a print of the entire layout on a 20-by-32-inch sheet of paper. The layout is then taken to a craftsman who transfers it to the silk by a modern photographic method.

So, having found someone to make the silk stencils, the Lebeauxs armed themselves with squeegees and set to work printing.

But where to work? Carol needed a large enough table in a room that wouldn't cry over spilled ink. Only one place filled the bill—the kitchen.

The result was that calendar output boomed, but cooking met with production setbacks, and the Lebeauxs lived on soup and sandwiches eaten alfresco in the living room until the 1958 batch of 130 calendars had been finished.

Thirty of the 130 were a repeat of the Christmas gifts; the remaining 100 had been ordered by Carol's father, in the textile business in New York City. In filing his first order, Carol began her practice of individualized designs for each major customer.

The 1958 calendars produced the same flood or requests for the following year as had the 1957 edition. But this time her father was also besieged with requests from business associates to whom he had given the calendars as token gifts.

From them came mock-anguished cries about how they would have to redecorate their offices if not supplied with the latest calendar of likesize to cover the spot on the wall left by the existing hanging. And so, once again, kitchen-produced calendars.

The orders were music to Carol's ears. "But when I got a good order from a local drug distributor in 1960, the thought of

another siege in the kitchen was more than the family could bear. So we simply had to find some other place to work."

A recent addition to the animal hospital which her husband then operated provided it. Carol stole one room, and her husband constructed a suitable table so that the kitchen would not have to go tableless for the duration. For 2 years, then, calendars were turned out to the tune of barking dogs and meowing cats.

It wasn't until about 2½ years ago, when the family moved to their present home, that Carol finally acquired a proper studio of her own, and her husband, Maxim, built another new table for her.

Instead of requiring the squeegee to be pulled with two hands the length of the silk screen, an exhausting and backbreaking process, the new setup involved a lever device called a one-arm squeegee which permits much easier operation by one person.

Meanwhile business boomed. "One thing always seemed to lead to another," Carol said. "For instance, while I was talking about my work with the owner of a men's speciality shop, I met two more prospective clients—a Worcester restaurant man, and the owner of a truck sales agency and I got two new orders.

"One was a heraldic design for a Tudor-style restaurant, and the other an antique truck motif for the truck dealer."

For a stamp and coin shop in Springfield, supposed to be the oldest and largest of its kind in the country, Carol designed an exclusive calendar depicting early American coins. And while visiting Old Mystic seaport in Connecticut, she was so impressed with the potential of the nautical scenery that she employed it in a calendar. The Old Mystic gift shop has reordered it every year since.

The College of the Holy Cross is equally pleased with the calendar designed for it, showing scenes in and around the college.

Carol became interested in wood cuts when she used that art form to illustrate some creative writing she had done in the 8th grade. She developed an instinctive liking for the block prints, a liking that endured despite the fact that she did nothing with them for quite a number of years. "I think the woodcut is the best medium for me—I get the most satisfying effect with it."

Carol studied at New York City's Music and Art High School, and at the famous Art Students' League under such lights as Sculptor William Zorach and Painter Yasuo Kuniyoshi.

But after completing her studies she turned to the other side of the easel, as it were, becoming a photographer's model with the Harry Conover Agency.

A year and a half later a chance meeting with Comedian Wally Cox, a former costudent at Music and Art High, started her on the road to a successful nightclub act.

"At a party where both Wally and I had been invited, he entertained with a phony palmistry routine. So I got the idea for a comic character-reading act." With Cox's blessing, Carol went on to make a name for herself as "Lorelei," a rather kooky clairvoyant.

In 1950, however, the siren call of palmistry began to pall, and Carol returned to her original love—art. Not woodcuts yet, but attractive handmade ceramic jewelry, a pursuit she could follow and still care for her young daughter. She sold her baubles, bangles, et al., to the chains of Elizabeth Arden and Helena Rubinstein shops.

But the birth of son Roy in 1952, and the press of her husband's recently acquired veterinary practice in Leominster, caused the creative arts to take a back seat, and I became a sort of chief cook, bottle washer, and veterinary assistant until 1957.

Then the creative urge became too persistent to ignore, and those first fateful calendars were laboriously stomped out.

Her most extensive recent commission is tied in with Worcester Polytechnic Institute's centennial celebration. As part of the commemorative events, WPI paid tribute to one of WPI's most illustrious graduates, Dr. Robert H. Goddard.

To celebrate National Goddard Day, March 16, WPI held a formal banquet, and gracing the cover of the banquet program was a woodcut portrait of Goddard carved by Carol. Mrs. Goddard, widow of the doctor has also requested that a print of the woodcut be given a permanent place in a room dedicated to Goddard memorabilia in the proposed Goddard Library to be built at Clark University.

Carol also has done a woodcut portrait of the late George C. Gordon, Tech graduate, who for 92 years was notoriously camera shy. Gordon bequeathed $5 million to WPI to be used to build a library, and the portrait will be on both the ground breaking and building dedication programs.

For Paxton's Anna Maria College, Carol is doing a series of woodcuts of campus scenes to be used for brochures and newsletters.

With increasingly larger orders, she has found it necessary to remove part of the production from her home studio. For orders larger than 300 she does the designs and woodcuts, but has the actual printing done by Worcester's Silpro Co., Inc.

But the smaller orders are still strictly a family affair. Roy and Annie help by taking up finished prints and transferring them, with agonizing care so as not to smudge the wet ink, to the drying racks. Later, they insert sticks and hooks into the top hem of each calendar, roll it up and slip into an individual mailing tube.

"With the children's help, we can print about 200 calendars an hour—that's something compared with the 1-an-hour rate during the old foot pressure days."

Of course, this home-based enterprise is not without certain side effects—some scratchier than others.

"You take one cat, half Burmese, half Siamese, dip well in printing ink, and the result is one very substantial mess," Carol said ruefully.

Kittan, the cat in question, walked across a silk screen not long ago, and then proceeded to paint the house in a trail of colored paw prints alternating with tail swishes.

Carol and Roy mistakenly used turpentine to remove the ink. The result was one hysterical cat—howling and scratching until finally let outdoors. Cat streaked off in such a fine frenzy that no one expected ever to see him again. But 3 hours later he returned, purring like a kitten and apparently none the worse for the dye job.

But Carol and her family have learned to take such minor crises in stride.

"There's a satisfaction to working in a medium you enjoy, and producing art that pleases the public," she said.

"It's even worth a technicolor cat."

The Facts on Pesticides—Setting the Record Straight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, the persistent attacks on pesticides essential for agricultural production and for health would be ludicrous if they were not harmful and dangerous.

Already this antipesticide campaign, which began with the publication of the book, "Silent Spring," by the late Rachel Carson, has done a lot of damage and will do a lot more if it is continued.

Miss Carson was eloquent, moving, and undoubtedly sincere, but these qualities are not necessarily synonyms for accuracy. By insisting that pesticides present a tremendous threat to wildlife and human life, she did the country a disservice, and her followers are doing still more. I am sorry to say that some officials of the Government itself, including one Cabinet officer, Secretary Stewart L. Udall, of the Interior, are ignoring the evidence and repeating Miss Carson's discredited claims and conjectures.

There have been at least two thorough and objective inquiries into this whole pesticide situation since the publication of "Silent Spring" in 1962. One was conducted by the staff of the House Appropriations Committee and another by the Pesticide Residues Committee of the National Academy of Sciences.

Insofar as I know, the conclusions reached by the committee staff and the Academy of Sciences group have not been challenged. Let me state them briefly:

First. There is no case on record of injury to human beings in the United States where pesticides were used as directed by Government agencies.

Second. The theory that any threat to wildlife and man is posed by the accumulation of pesticide residue in animal fat is refuted and discredited by the scientific evidence available.

Third. Pesticides are not only essential for efficient agricultural production, they also are essential in preventing and combating disease.

Fourth. In the light of modern testing methods, the provision by the Food and Drug Administration that no pesticide residues will be permitted for certain foods, the zero tolerance provision, is impractical and unworkable. The criterion which should be used to establish tolerances for residues is that of safety.

Eventually the impact of "Silent Spring" will be more interesting to students of propaganda than it will be to anyone else. For despite the many scientific references noted in the book, it is a propaganda tract. The work is full of innuendo and half truths. Facts are distorted, and some of the conclusions border on the fantastic. Many eminent scientists and students have pointed this out. Among them are the scientists on the National Academy of Sciences Committee, and world-renowned authorities like Dr. Fredrick J. Stare, of Harvard, and Dr. William Darby, of Vanderbilt, to name only a few.

Consequently, it is both amazing and alarming to find the Carson charges repeated by Secretary Udall in a lengthy article in the magazine, True, for August 1965. In his very first paragraph the Secretary says:

> After almost 3 years of debate, Miss Carson's main hypothesis still stands unchallenged.

This "main hypothesis," was that the use of pesticides presents a grave threat to all animal life. But, as I have also

pointed out, there is not one case on record of injury to human beings where pesticides were used as directed. Nor is there any evidence that they threaten injury to humans in the future.

There is, as I see it, no excuse for the misinformation which the Secretary of Interior is foisting on the public. He is discrediting himself and his Department. He is ignoring scientific evidence. Moreover, the Fish and Wildlife Service of Interior and a segment of the Public Health Service persist in issuing scare reports about pesticides which are misleading. These reports can only confuse, bewilder and, if they are taken seriously, harm everyone concerned.

Already many persons are beginning to doubt and question the authenticity of the statements about pesticides which have been issued from the Fish and Wildlife Service and the Public Health Service. For example, Secretary Udall, in his magazine article, says pesticides killed 5,175,000 fish in the lower Mississippi River during the winter of 1963–64.

Actually, the cause of the fish kill has never been definitely determined. In my opinion, the manner in which the affair was handled is a reflection on the processes of Government. The Public Health Service, in an announcement on March 19, 1964, pointed to the pesticide, endrin, as the agent which killed the fish. A few days later, the Surgeon General, Dr. Luther Terry, reported that scientists at the "Taft Sanitary Engineering Center have identified the culprit responsible—infinitesmal traces of chemical pesticides draining from farmlands throughout the watershed." Challenged by Orville Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Anthony J. Celebrezze, backed off from the runoff theory. Later the Public Health Service said the endrin source was a plant in Memphis, Tenn.

In the True article, the Secretary of the Interior states:

> The fish kill seemed to run from Memphis, south to the Gulf of Mexico.

However, the discovery of dead fish between Memphis and Baton Rouge is quite belated since the PHS in 1964 located all of them south of Baton Rouge. Nobody could explain why, if Memphis was a source of endrin, no fish were killed by the chemical in the more than 500 miles between Memphis and Baton Rouge. Moreover, 5 million of the fish were menhaden, a salt water variety, and only one menhaden was analyzed. The staff report of the House Appropriations Committee states:

> PHS examined one menhaden, the results of which examination were inconclusive because of an insufficient sample of blood.

The staff study points out that a number of scientists and experts who were interviewed question the PHS findings, and the report stated:

> The scientists opposing the PHS findings believe that the agency's scientific data were not adequate in that the number of samples tested was insufficient.

Nevertheless, Secretary Udall in his magazine article not only blames the deaths of the 5,175,000 fish on pesticides but, by inference, blames pesticides for fish deaths dating back to 1960. Moreover, a newspaper article in the New York Herald Tribune dated August 30, 1965, stated that two PHS officials had attributed the deaths of 9.3 million fish in the lower Mississippi since 1960 to pesticides. The officials, according to the newspaper article, were A. F. Bartsch, who is stationed at Corvallis, Oreg., and William N. Ingram, at Cincinnati. The two, the Herald Tribune story said, made the charges in a report presented at a meeting in Warsaw.

In the summer of 1964 the PHS issued a press release which said scientists would investigate a new series of fish kills in the lower Mississippi River region, and pesticides were mentioned as a possible cause. The fish kills, if any took place, were insignificant, and nothing more has been heard about them.

In the spring of 1964 there were reports of a fish kill in the Missouri River between Kansas City and St. Louis. The PHS rushed investigators to the scene, and Government officials leaked stories to the press blaming pesticides. The inquiries developed that few fish had died in the first place and that the fatalities probably were due to lack of oxygen.

A steady stream of releases and statements issuing from Government sources are aimed at pesticides. In May 1964, the Washington Star reported that Congress was told by Lansing A. Parker of the Bureau of Fisheries and Wildlife that the bald eagle may be on his way out because of pesticides. The decline in grebes, ospreys, and other fish-eating birds due to reduced reproduction also was attributed, again by inference, to pesticides.

A United Press International story out of Washington in October 1964, said the whooping crane, an extremely rare species, might face a new enemy, pesticides, in its fight against extinction. The source, an announcement from the Department of the Interior, said studies showed that whooping crane eggs and two dead chicks contained pesticide residues. However, there was a contradictory and ludicrous aspect to this announcement. In the case of the whooping crane, 42 showed up last fall in the wildlife refuge in Texas where they winter, 28 more than when the count began by Fish and Wildlife 26 years ago. In these 26 years the use of pesticides has greatly increased and there are more whooping cranes. If one adopts the logic of the Fish and Wildlife Service, it could be argued that pesticides are helping preserve the birds.

On September 7 the Fish and Wildlife Service issued a report which said amazingly small amounts of pesticides were fatal to shrimps, crabs, and other aquatic life. The report did not give any instances involving substantial damage to shrimps, crabs and oysters, but the inference is there. On September 19, 1965, the Public Health Service said a study of more than 350,000 cancer deaths in New York State over the past 25 years had been undertaken in cooperation with the New York State Department of Health to see whether pesticides may have been causative factors. The release is couched in language designed to arouse alarm and apprehension over the use of pesticides. I might point out that, if the research is no better than that which characterized the inquiry into the Mississippi River fish kill, the results will be worthless.

All these releases, statements, and articles are part of a continuing and irresponsible campaign which uses the scare techniques against pesticides and which are becoming increasingly suspect as time goes on.

Some State conservation agencies and conservation organizations have followed the lead of "Silent Spring," the Secretary of the Interior, the Fish and Wildlife Service of his Department, and the PHS. They are likely to blame any decrease in fish and wildlife on pesticides, and the impression mounts to great peril to our natural resources.

There is a curious aspect to this anti-pesticide campaign. There is almost overwhelming evidence that both wildlife and fish are thriving in areas where pesticides and the persistent pesticides are used in great quantities. But the pesticide foes ignore this evidence.

The reports of the Audubon Society itself indicate that birds over the country are thriving. The figures point to the conclusion that the bird population in the late 1950's, after a period of several years in which pesticides were employed in ever-rising quantity, was about double the population in the 1940's. Bird watchers reported about 2 million birds in 1940. The sample census showed approximately 37.8 million in 1961, and although the 1961 census used four times as many persons to count the birds, still the 1961 total was 19 times as great as that for 1940. Incidentally, the annual Audubon inventory is described by Allan D. Cruickshank, society official, as an accurate source of bird population trends.

Sportsmen know that pheasants thrive in Midwestern areas where chlorinated hydrocarbons have been widely used for years. I have never seen any attempt to explain this by Secretary Udall, or anyone in the Fish and Wildlife Service or PHS. The Secretary does say:

> Every day a great many hunters are eating fish and game containing residues far in excess of the legal limits allowable in domestic meats. This is a matter of grave concern, and even has given rise to the question of whether thousands of acres of prime wildlife habitat ought to be closed to hunting—a consequence no one wants to contemplate.

Once again we have a big scare technique, the inference that hunters are in danger from residues if they eat the game they have bagged. There has not been one verified instance of injury or illness to human beings through eating game which contained pesticide residues. Also it is obvious that the threat to ban hunting because of the pesticide situation is a completely empty one, for this would only call attention to the absurdity of the Secretary's claims and prejudices.

The Secretary and other pesticide foes in Government make little attempt to explain the contradiction between their assertions that pesticides are inimical to wildlife and the fluorishing state of the

latter. Such an explanation would indeed be difficult. Mabry Anderson, a frequent contributor to sportsmen's magazines, pointed out in the September 1964 issue of Field & Stream that wildlife population in the Mississippi Delta has increased substantially since 1946 when, in his words, "pesticides became big business."

At a hearing in Baton Rouge in April 1964, Dr. L. D. Newsom, of the Department of Entomology at Louisiana State University, also said that wildlife in Louisiana had risen in recent years. Both Missiissippi and Louisiana are States where the chlorinated hydrocarbons are extensively used. Representative JAMIE L. WHITTEN, of Mississippi, chairman of the Agriculture Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, said in a speech in the House on September 30, 1964:

> In connection with the theory that pesticides accumulate threateningly in the water and soil, I went hunting not long ago in Mississippi for doves. We hunted in an area where pesticides, the chlorinated hydrocarbons, had been used in large quantities for years and years. Yet game was plentiful, so plentiful that the hundreds of hunters got the overall limit, 12, in a very few hours.
>
> The Mississippi Delta, or a large portion of it, is in my district. Pesticides, the persistent kind, have been used to literally drench much of the delta for years in order to protect crops. Nevertheless, fish and game flourish and thrive. Moreover, my constituents of the area are vigorous and healthy. Their life span, like that of the people of the Nation, has risen sharply since the use of DDT eliminated the malarial mosquito and the disease itself. In addition to the scientific evidence, the evidence of commonsense is against the present charges.

In view of the releases issuing from the Fish and Wildlife Service, there is some amazing testimony in the record of the House Appropriations Committee hearings. On January 30, 1964, this bureau formally asked over $600,000 to help combat bird depredations. The presentation stated:

> We request of the Congress the sum of $639,000 for fiscal year 1965 to deal with the problem of too many birds.
>
> We have 47 projects to deal with this problem along with that of rodents. Animal damage problems are becoming more acute as human population increases, and bird depredations to agriculture crops are serious in many parts of the country owing to the change in agricultural technology.
>
> Last winter 227 starling-blackbird roosts were located which contained an estimated 204 million birds. Eighty of the roost contained a million or more birds each.

The majority of the birds were in the Arkansas-Mississippi ricegrowing region, the area of perhaps the greatest concentration of pesticide use in the Nation.

When one takes into account the view of the Fish and Wildlife Service that pesticides constitute a definite threat to birds, the request for money to combat the damage done by too many birds in a section where pesticides, including the chlorinated hydrocarbons, are heavily employed, is quite startling.

Offhand, it would seem that the Department of the Interior is going out of its way to make itself ridiculous. On the one hand, it solemnly issues warnings that pesticide residues may be exterminating the bald eagle, ospreys, the whooping crane, and so on, and on the other, it solemnly goes to Congress to ask for money to combat the millions of birds which are eating rice and other grain in a section where chlorinated hydrocarbon pesticides—the great bugaboo of the Department of the Interior—are used more widely than in almost any other part of the country.

There is no question that pesticides are toxic. If they did not poison insects, they would be valueless. The chlorinated hydrocarbons are not only poisonous to insects; they linger in the soil and they continue to kill insect pests. The chlorinated hydrocarbons account for about two-thirds of the pesticides used for agricultural production, and about three-fourths of the pesticides used. Today, ironically enough, many a woman gardener who subscribes to Rachel Carson's views on pesticides uses the persistent pesticides generously in combating insect ravages on her flowers, shrubs, and grass.

Emphasis on the toxicity of pesticides and references to the fact that we are spraying poisons over the land are misleading and mischievous. Almost every drug and food, if overdosed, can kill. One must take into consideration the dose of pesticides and the precautions surrounding their uses, precautions which are extensive and thorough. Every pesticide in use today has been tested over and over. The safety margin in every instance is wide. The Food and Drug Administration itself issued a press release on April 9, 1965, which said:

> Pesticide residues are detectable in the American food supply by today's highly sensitive analytical methods, but the amounts of such residues are insignificant from a health standpoint, according to findings announced today by the Food and Drug Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

When we go beyond the probable and get into the theoretical, which has been done in the case of pesticides, we leave the port of commonsense and sail into a dangerous and uncharted sea. Many fantastic things are theoretically possible. One cannot prove definitely that the most wholesome foods and the strictest health measures actually will not turn out in the end to be injurious. All the evidence points the other way, but still almost any wild assertion can be made about cause and effect and no positive proof against it can be presented. Already action against pesticides has gone beyond the probable, and some of the ill effects are apparent. Let me name a few of them:

First. A ban on the use of the chlorinated hydrocarbon pesticides on forest lands has intensified insect damage which will mount unless the restrictions are removed.

Second. Milk in several States has been dumped because traces of pesticide residue were found, although no question of health was involved. Today almost all milk produced is in violation of the law as interpreted by the Food and Drug Administration, although once again there is every indication that the food is completely wholesome. Congress already has appropriated approximately $8 million to compensate dairymen for the damage inflicted.

Third. Restrictions on the use of pesticides have resulted in damage to potatoes in Idaho and in the Northeast, and other damage to producers by interfering with normal crop rotation.

Fourth. The ban on heptachlor and dieldrin on pasture lands has intensified the ravages of the alfalfa weevil and other pests.

Fifth. The attacks on pesticides makes the problem of world hunger, the biggest problem aside from the threat of nuclear war, more difficult to solve. Pesticides, including the chlorinated hydrocarbons, are indispensable to modern agriculture, and farming methods must be drastically improved in many of the underdeveloped and overpopulated countries if famine is to be averted.

Sixth. Because of the persistent assault on pesticides, and in particular the chlorinated hydrocarbons, manufacturers have cut back on the research necessary to develop new chemicals. The effort to deal more effectively with destructive insects has been hampered, as have been efforts to combat insects which have become resistant to pesticides which once destroyed them.

The milk situation today furnishes a good example of bureaucratic bungling and also an almost contemptuous disregard of the welfare of agriculture by Government agencies.

Alfalfa is used extensively for feeding dairy cattle in Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia and in some other States. In these States, the persistent pesticides, heptachlor and dieldrin, have been used against the alfalfa weevil. The Food and Drug Administration says no pesticide residues will be permitted in milk, although there are some paradoxes here which I will point out later. In 1964, the U.S. Department of Agriculture permitted the use of heptachlor and dieldrin on alfalfa on the theory that cows fed the cured hay would have no chemical traces in their milk. This theory was correct so long as FDA used the old methods of testing, but new and much sensitive methods were developed. With these the residues could be found. Furthermore, FDA began using the new testing methods without notifying the Department of Agriculture, much less the dairy farmers.

In January 1964, FDA found heptachlor expoxcide and dieldrin in milk in Maryland and reported the presence of the residues to Baltimore officials, and the poor farmers were in for it. FDA also notified the District of Columbia Department of Health that pesticide residues had been found in milk destined for the District. Before the furor was over, the permits of 34 farmers to sell milk were suspended. The agitation spread and milk began to be condemned in other States, including some of the leading dairy States.

Then a curious and alarming development—alarming even to the bureaucrats—developed. Using the new testing methods, almost all milk contained

traces of residues, and FDA had to reverse itself in quick order, otherwise, almost all milk would have to be kept off the market. A nationwide catastrophe impended if FDA went through with its strict interpretation of the law. Quietly, I am told, FDA violated its own regulations by passing the word that, if the milk contained no more than a certain amount of pesticide residues, nothing could be done about the situation. The FDA's excuse for violating its own regulations was, I am informed, that it would be difficult to make milk condemnation stand up in court with anything less than its new and quickly established tolerances.

But what about the dairymen who had their milk condemned and their operations halted? Obviously they were not at fault. They obeyed the rules, but while the game was in progress the rules were changed. I might compare the change to a baseball umpire's decision that two strikes are out, and that three balls constitute a walk. No baseball umpire could get away with rule-changing in the middle of a game, but the Food and Drug Administration did.

As I have stated, the Congress voted some $8 million to compensate dairymen who suffered damage, but I doubt that cash could make up for the disruption and uncertainty which followed the ukase that they could no longer sell milk.

It is certain, according to Secretary Udall himself, that it did not in one instance. The Secretary of the Interior tells the tragic story of Allan Sandvig, a dairy farmer near Wapato, Wash., in his article in True. After commenting that "few organisms, plant or animal, are totally free of the—pesticide—residues," Mr. Udall continues:

> One man who learned these hard facts well is Allan Sandvig, a dairy farmer near Wapato, Wash. Starting in 1946 with $976 saved during a hitch in the Navy, he bought 10 heifers to start a dairy herd. Scrimping and saving, he gradually put together a remarkable herd of 100 milking Holsteins, delivering 3,200 pounds a day of grade A milk. Sandvig was voted "Dairyman of the Year" in Yakima County, Wash.

The Secretary's article continues that in October 1963, State milk inspectors refused to pass Sandvig's milk, alleging that it contained 20 parts per million of DDT, commenting that only 7 parts per million of DDT are permitted in foods such as grapefruit, meat, and apples and "no DDT at all—zero tolerance—is allowed in milk, for the simple reason that milk is the prime food of babies." Sandvig, the dairyman who had worked himself up literally by his bootstraps, could not even feed the milk to hogs or other animals destined for slaughter, for this might have resulted in the meat having more than 7 parts per million of DDT in its tissues.

Secretary Udall writes that the source of the DDT was found in some sweet corn silage which the unlucky Sandvig had bought from a neighbor. The article by Secretary Udall relates the struggle of Allan Sandvig to recover from the blow dealt him. There is poignancy in his story:

> He (Sandvig) tried everything to reduce the DDT levels in the milk, including special diet and chemical treatments. These were somewhat effective, but painfully slow. A year after the pesticide disaster he was able to get the last of the contaminated cows back into production. He now milks 50 head, half of them from his old herd, half new ones. His production is only half what it had formerly been, and his loss is estimated at $80,000. He and his family are understandably disheartened. "We are back where we started 17 years ago," he says, "pinching nickels and dimes."

The Sandvig story, I take it, is intended by Secretary Udall to dramatize what can happen through the use of poisonous pesticides. There is an element of drama in the tale, all right, and an element of horror also, the latter being the things which happened to an upright citizen through no fault of his own. One must take into account the fact that the inspectors banned Sandvig's milk in 1963 after the country had become familiar with the lurid tales which characterize Miss Carson's book and its inferences that pesticides are poisoning the water, the land, and even the air.

Allan Sandvig, according to Mr. Udall, is still hard pressed, and through no fault of his own. There has never been any evidence whatever, nor even any claim, that his milk or any other milk kept off the market involved any threat to health.

I have already stated that, with pesticide residues found in almost every gallon of milk, the Food and Drug Administration itself is ignoring the law. Consequently, it is a pity that the milk inspectors in Washington did not do some investigating of their own before they ruined a hard working and upstanding citizen. Had they looked into the matter they would have found, for example, that Dr. Wayland J. Hayes of the U.S. Public Health Service had done an extensive series of experiments into the effects of DDT on human beings. These took place in 1956 and 1958, several years before the publication of "Silent Spring" and several years before the descent of the bureaucrats upon Allan Sandvig and his dairy farm.

In brief, by feeding convict volunteers daily up to 200 times the normal amount of DDT found in the average man's diet, Dr. Hayes determined that men achieved maximum storage of DDT in about a year and thereafter stored no more of the material despite continued intake. During the entire study, no volunteer complained of any symptom or showed by the tests used any sign of illness that would not have an easily recognizable cause clearly unrelated to exposure to DDT. Dr. Hayes concluded that the storage of DDT in man is proportional to the dose. The convict volunteers were just as healthy as another group of convict volunteers who were fed a diet which contained no DDT.

Before the so-called Ribicoff hearing, a hearing into the pesticide situation conducted by the distinguished Senator from Connecticut, Dr. Hayes put into the record data which stated that the average storage of DDT in human tissue is about five parts per million. He also pointed out that experiments had shown that men could consume DDT daily at a level 200 times greater than the amount consumed in the ordinary diet without ill effects.

The Hayes experiments are corroborated by a study under the auspices of the Chicago Board of Health which concluded there had been no increase of DDT in human tissue since 1951.

Offhand, it might seem that the $8 million appropriated to pay dairymen whose milk was banned from sale would take care of Allan Sandvig. But no, he is most definitely out of luck because the program applies only to milk prohibited from commercial sale after January 1, 1964, and the inspectors swooped down on him in October, 1963. He will apparently just have to struggle. The way things are going, he may get on his feet some years hence just in time to be wiped out again by the zeal of Federal or State employees stimulated by the publication of another "Silent Spring."

I have pointed out that the report of the National Academy of Sciences blasted zero tolerance, and the staff report of the House Appropriations Committee throws further light on this subject. The staff report said:

> For example, the tolerance for any pesticide in cows' milk shipped in interstate commerce is zero. The scientists advised that no milk available on the market today, in any part of the United States, is free of pesticide residues and it is scientifically impossible to guarantee that any product is absolutely free of some pesticide, as it is only possible to state that a product does or does not contain more than a certain proportion of a pesticide.
>
> * * * * *
>
> Representatives of AMA (American Medical Association) stated that there is no medical reason for singling out cows' milk as an agricultural product for which pesticide residues are not permitted. They stated that babies who are bottle-fed with cows' milk are, nowadays, put on a diet containing other foods when they are stil very young, and these foods often include processed baby foods for which finite limits for content of pesticide residues have been set under FDA regulations. Therefore, the baby is not permitted to ingest pesticide residues when he is fed cows' milk, but he may take them in other foods.
>
> In contrast to bottle-fed babies receiving cows' milk, breast-fed babies are ingesting pesticide residues contained in the mother's milk because she ingests foods that legally contain pesticide resides. Studies were made by PHS at the Taft Sanitary Engineering Center in Cincinnati, Ohio, and by the Bureau of Occupational Health, State of California, Berkeley, Calif., in which it was determined that samples of mothers' milk contained amounts of pesticide residues far in excess of the pesticide residues permitted by FDA in cow's milk. Further, the study concluded that there were no ill effects on the babies as a result of the pesticide residue in the mothers' milk.
>
> Further examples of such inconsistency in FDA regulations can be illustrated by the following:
>
> 1. Beverages such as juices, beer, and wine prepared from fruit and vegetable sources may contain a finite amount of pesticide residues—but cows' milk may not.
>
> 2. Beef may contain finite amounts of pesticide residues—but cows' milk may not.
>
> 3. Margarine and vegetable oils may contain finite amounts of pesticide residues—but butter may not.
>
> 4. Ice cream containing fresh fruits such as strawberries, cherries, and butter pecans may contain finite amounts of pesticide residues—but vanilla ice cream may not.

We have, then, a ridiculous and contradictory state of affairs. Babies are permitted to absorb pesticide residues from mothers' milk and from other sources, and yet, as Allan Sandvig and other dairymen know, the discovery of pesticide traces in milk can result in a ban on milk sales and grave injury, if not ruin, to the farmers involved. Some ice cream may contain pesticide residues; other may not, and so on.

There have been a whole series of incidents involving the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, FDA, and farmers in which the latter have fared badly indeed. Back in 1959 an alarming release about pesticide residues on cranberries came around Thanksgiving time and virtually destroyed the holiday market, and actually did the cranberry industry damage for a long, long time. Eventually the Government, the taxpayers, paid out about $8.5 million to cranberry producers to compensate for the damage done by overzealous bureaucrats. There have been other similar incidents affecting fruits, vegetables, and cheese. All this hurts, not only the individual farmer and farmers affected, but it hurts the foods affected by arousing public fear that their consumption will prove harmful. I agree that adequate safeguards must surround the use of pesticides. I am in disagreement with excessive zeal, with publicity-seeking officials, and with Government officials and agencies whose prejudices are guiding their attitudes and actions.

The pesticide residues committee of the National Academy of Sciences made a number of recommendations about the use of pesticides. All seem to be constructive, and one is particularly so. It says:

> A pesticide should be registered on the basis of either "negligible residue" or "permissible residue," depending on whether its use results in the intake of a negligible or permissible fraction of the maximum acceptable daily intake as determined by appropriate safety studies.

This is sensible and reasonable. We should establish tolerances to pesticides on the basis of safety factors as we know them. We must not burden agriculture with the unknown if we expect to maintain an abundant and nutritious food supply. We should not ban pesticides on supposition if we expect to deal adequately with serious diseases.

Another recommendation is for an expanded research program on the persistence of pesticides in the total environment, and with that I am in hearty accord. Already some $30 million has been appropriated for studies and for the development of better means of pesticide control.

We need, however, reliable and accurate information, and we are not getting it from some Government agencies. Instead we are getting antipesticide propaganda. Many officials seem to have read and reread "Silent Spring" as a devout person might read the Bible. The frantic attempt to connect pesticides with the vicissitudes of nature, and on very flimsy evidence, is doing a great disservice.

I would like to remind some of the bureaucrats who are agitated over the fact that some fish may have been killed by pesticides that over 10,000 persons die every day of hunger. If the choice is between the life of a catfish and the life of a baby, I for one will sacrifice the catfish.

The world's biggest problem, aside perhaps from the threat of all-out nuclear war, is famine. There are approximately 3 billion people in the world today, and about half of them suffer from malnutrition and undernourishment. Moreover, population is increasing much faster than the food supply. As Senator GRUENING, of Alaska, so aptly put the matter in a Senate speech in 1963:

> Two grim specters beckon mankind toward oblivion today. One offers instant and wholesale death by nuclear means. The alternative guarantees eventual starvation when the human population exceeds the food supply.

Our marvelous agricultural efficiency must be used more and more to deal with the world scarcity of food. Our immediate problem is surpluses, but we are going to be called upon more and more to help tide over the hungry areas and also to help upgrade their agriculture. A modern agriculture without pesticides, including the persistent pesticides, is impossible. The chlorinated hydrocarbons are the most widely used and are the most effective against pests in many circumstances. Secretary Udall, in the True article proposes a ban on the chlorinated hydrocarbons, but the case against them has not been made and the evidence for them is steadily accumulating. To prohibit their use on the basis of what amounts to superstition would be a catastrophe to agriculture, a disaster for the consumer and, in view of the world food situation, a calamity to the human race.

I suggest that our pesticide foes must concern themselves with human beings and their welfare. If they do, their unreasonable attacks on pesticides will cease. They will ask only that precautions be taken to forfend any ill effects from their use.

Not only are pesticides essential to an efficient agriculture, they are essential from a health standpoint. The foes of DDT and dieldrin never mention the fact that these two chemicals have eliminated malaria, once the foremost scrouge of mankind, from this country and are helping curb it in many areas of the world. They are helping to curb other diseases also.

For the life of me I cannot understand the overweening concern with pesticides by our Government agencies when there are some very real problems under their very noses. It actually seems like a psychosis. Unquestionably our air is getting dirtier, and so are our streams, and very little of this infection comes from pesticide plants. The carnage on our highways is dreadful, and the lack of good water is plaguing more and more communities. In most of our cities, including the Capital of the Nation, our streets are not safe. Crime costs thousands of lives and billions of dollars every year. But the Fish and Wildlife Service and the Public Health Service cannot take their minds off pesticides, although there is no evidence of injury whatever to human beings from their judicious use, and very little of injury to anything else.

I am surprised that Orville Freeman, the Secretary of Agriculture, has been so silent in the face of this situation, which fundamentally constitutes an attack on agriculture. An attempt is being made to take away some of the tools which enable farmers to be the most efficient producers the world has ever seen and to give us the cheapest food supply in the world, comparatively speaking. I think the Secretary of Agriculture has been remiss. I think he is allowing farmers to be kicked around without defending them. He too seems to be listening to the echoes from "Silent Spring."

Most politicians know that only 7 percent of our population today is rural and that 93 percent is urban. Consequently, they are disposed to give agriculture and its problems very little attention. But Mr. Freeman knows, or should know, agriculture. He knows that over 7 million workers are employed directly in agriculture, more than in the automobile, transportation, public utilities, and steel industries combined. Farmers spend more than $40 billion each year. Their purchasing power is a tremendous factor in national prosperity and stability. The efficiency of our agriculture also is a reproach to the inefficiency of Communist agriculture and constitutes the most dramatic difference between our two systems.

Secretary Orville Freeman should tell his fellow Secretary, Stewart L. Udall, some of the basic facts of life. It would help them both.

Most of the hearings and inquiries held thus far, including congressional inquiries, have been directed against pesticides. The latter have been on trial. The pesticide industry which makes a tremendous and valuable contribution to our economy has been harassed. I am told that many companies, in view of the situation, have cut back on pesticide research which is badly needed. The damage done annually by destructive insects in this country is estimated at around $4 billion which sum, in the last analysis, must be paid by the consumers. More and more insects become resistant to the pesticides now in use and new chemicals are needed to deal with them, and new chemicals are needed to augment and improve those now in use.

I think it is time this whole matter should be looked into from a broad and objective standpoint. I have become convinced that, properly used, pesticides pose no health threat, either to human beings, or to fish and wildlife.

In the words of the report of the Pesticide Residues Committee of the National Academy of Sciences:

> Although it is recognized that some pesticide chemicals are more toxic than others to warm blooded animals, and that their use requires greater restriction to protect the public health, the committee believes that their valuable properties can be utilized without exposing people, domestic animals, fish, or wildlife to undue risk.

That Amazing 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the performance of the 1st session of the 89th Congress—both critics and partisans agree—has been remarkable in the amount and scope of legislation handled.

Mr. Tom Littlewood, Washington correspondent, of the Chicago Sun-Times, has done an excellent job in analyzing the record of this Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this is one of the best analyses of the mechanics of Congress that I have seen and I strongly recommend the article to my colleagues.

Mr. Speaker, the article follows:

THAT AMAZING 89TH CONGRESS

"The President is at liberty, both in law and conscience, to be as big a man as he can."—WOODROW WILSON.

(By Tom Littlewood)

WASHINGTON.—The reasons for the amazing performance of the 89th Congress are rooted in President Johnson's anxious determination to be as big a man as he can; beyond that, in his skill at prolonging the national mood, the consensus, that followed the shock waves of the assassination of his younger, more exciting predecessor; and in his professional and personal kinship with EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, of Illinois, the spiritual descendant of Uncle Joe Cannon.

Who among those, barely a year ago, who watched EVERETT DIRKSEN hop nimbly aboard the Goldwater bandwagon ("too long have we ridden the gray ghost of me-tooism"), could have dreamed that in these last 10 months, the Senator would be recorded in favor of:

Widespread Federal aid to the local schools; Federal college scholarship; Government medical insurance; immigration reform; abolition of State literacy tests for voting and Federal registration for local elections; extension of Government manpower retraining program; a potentially vast plan for regional development, overlapping State lines, not only in Appalachia, but in other economically troubled parts of the country; and ridding the highways of some of their billboards?

For more than his meager minority of less than one-third would seem to require, the 1st session of the 89th Congress bears the imprint of the leader of the Senate's loyal opposition.

Much of the historic voting rights act was written in his office. The administration chose to omit an outright prohibition of the poll tax at his insistence, and against the wishes of northern liberals who resented the Republican's come-lately role .

Across in the House of Representatives, practically every time the new activist GOP leaders mounted an anti-Johnson march, DIRKSEN's good-humored and well-publicized activities threw them off stride.

Making the most of his limited power always, DIRKSEN nevertheless lost the most important constitutional issue of the session, one with long-range political impact: his campaign to overturn the Supreme Court's ruling that all State legislatures must contain districts of equal population.

Heaping insult on injury, the defeat was roundly inflicted by his arch-foe, the Democratic Senator from Illinois, PAUL H. DOUGLAS.

At this stage, the immigration bill was lodged in a subcommittee of which DIRKSEN held the deciding vote. A few days earlier Mr. Johnson had said privately, "I want an immigration bill. I don't care what kind. I don't care whether it's a Celler bill or a Feighan bill or what," referring to the bothersome Judiciary Committee feud in the House, "but I want a bill."

The measure passed the House, after Democrats had risked political harm by narrowly repelling a popular limitation on admissions from other countries in the Western Hemisphere.

DIRKSEN, alarmed by the population explosion in Latin America, demanded a hemispheric quota in the law. So Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach made another of his many visits to DIRKSEN's office and, while House Democrats and liberal Senators fumed, the hemispheric amendment was accepted.

For his immigration support, the Illinoisan extracted yet another concession from the administration—assurances that his reapportionment resolution would be out of committee and ready for another floor vote early next year, when conditions may be different.

Then, as though in recognition that it was time to renew his conservative credentials, DIRKSEN organized a filibuster with the Southerners against organized labor's attempt to receive national sanction for union shop agreements. After only 1 week, the administration gave up on that until next year. Mr. Johnson's calmness about the problem, quite in contrast to Lady Bird's anticlutter crusade, has labor leaders muttering about withholding precinct workers and campaign funds next year for punishment.

So, just like a chess game, when the election-year session begins in January, reapportionment and the union shop will be side by side on the Senate Calendar.

Liberals, who have learned to respect DIRKSEN's cunning, are worried that he might persuade labor to ease off on its opposition to the historically far more important reapportionment amendment in exchange for a more reasonable resolution of the union shop question.

Both Mr. Johnson and DIRKSEN are pragmatists. Neither is a dogmatist. Neither goes down for lost causes.

Both are masters at orchestrating Congress, at conjuring up spells, at preparing the atmosphere properly, at letting loose rumor and counterrumor long before an issue has reached the voting stage. In his preparatory work on the 14(b) Taft-Hartley bill, DIRKSEN was most reminiscent of the former majority leader of the Senate, the tall Texan himself.

Another illustration of the Senator's remarkable influence and the offstage tactics that he uses so effectively came at the end of the session when the Senate blocked confirmation of a judicial appointment strongly supported by Mr. Johnson, the KENNEDY brothers, Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY and Richard Cardinal Cushing. During the preliminary maneuvering, where DIRKSEN excels, he circulated Italian newspaper accounts of a chance meeting in 1961 on the Isle of Capri between the would-be judge, Francis X. Morrissey, and deported Mafia Leader Michael Spinella.

The Morrissey experience badly tarnished the KENNEDY image, while Mr. Johnson was far removed from the scene with his surgical problems to worry about.

The President is an unashamed, hardboiled wielder of power, insensitive sometimes and overbearing. He understands that Congressmen are proud folks whose egos can be massaged. He knows how to move them, when to use a lump of sugar, when to snap off a switch.

DIRKSEN is of the same old school, only cornier, more theatrical.

"Ev is ready and willing not only to recognize the inevitable," one of his colleagues has remarked, "but to scurry around so that he has a major part in making it happen. His humor is disarming. He couldn't get away with what he does without his charm and humor. He's like a pony express rider who jumps off his steed at full speed and onto the back of another dashing off in the opposite direction."

Who outslicked whom? In the twilight of his career, DIRKSEN appears to have become conscious of history and particularly of the Presidency. His closeness to Presidents of both parties has given him prestige—and nary the slightest compunction about championing a Federal voting registrar system that a few years ago he had fought (as had Mr. Johnson) when DOUGLAS was for it.

Mr. Johnson has been given an anthology of social welfare legislation that cleans up most of the business of the Roosevelt, Truman, and Kennedy years.

The revolutionary impact will be felt slowly. Many of the programs, training the authority of the National Government on the problems of the big cities, have delayed-action fuses.

Surely, the health insurance program is only a beginning that will overflow the social security system. The school bill, keyed to the children of poor families, has finally solved the religious dilemma by opening the way for new types of shared facilities for public and parochial school pupils alike.

The voting rights bill contains the promise of the franchise for southern Negroes; the housing bill, of breaking the ghetto character of low-income public housing. The Cabinet-level Department of Urban Affairs is only a start, as are the pollution control measures that finally give the Federal Government an effective way to start combatting dirty water and auto exhaust fumes.

A long-needed constitutional amendment on Presidential disability was submitted to the States.

With Mr. Johnson laid up, the conservatives got in a few retaliatory licks at the windup by denying funds for two key programs—rent subsidies for poor families and the recruitment of special federally paid teacher teams for slum schools.

The record of education legislation even gave some thought to the overmortgaged suburbanite with college-age children. Federally subsidized student loans are authorized for families with incomes under $15,000; The Government pays the interest charges while the student is in school. After graduation, the student pays off the principal and the first 3 percent of interest, the Government continuing to pay the rest.

At times, to be sure, Mr. Johnson proved himself every bit as capable of recognizing the inevitable as DIRKSEN. The President did nothing when J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, forced the Senate to put off action for another year on a consular treaty with the Soviet Union that had been requested by the Secretary of State. Home rule for the District of Columbia is still unaccomplished. And Congress turned around a cigarette labeling measure so that it prohibits the Federal Trade Commission from ordering health danger warnings in cigarette advertising.

In the House, two Illinoisans emerged from the ranks with enhanced talent. Republican PAUL FINDLEY, of Pittsfield, persisted in a courageous struggle against the farm and sugar bills, and advanced his unlikely campaign (for a downstate Republican) for a federal union of the Atlantic nations. In the tightly controlled Chicago Democratic delegation, Representative ROMAN C. PUCINSKI showed uncommon intiative in the not always easy task of defending the party organization against the assaults of the volatile ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, Democrat, of New York, on two fronts—the war on pov-

erty and the racial makeup of the Chicago schools.

As a prominent early backer of the new Republican leader, GERALD R. FORD of Michigan, Glenview Republican DONALD RUMSFELD enhanced his future career. Another suburbanite, freshman JOHN N. ERLENBORN, of Elmhurst, impressed his seniors.

Where does all this leave the national politics of the future?

In a practical sense, the war on poverty, the education bills, the voting rights measure, the expensive design for regional development, and many of the programs cannot help but strengthen the Democratic Party.

How younger workers react to the $4.7 billion increase in social security taxes next year, to finance medicare, remains to be seen. Next year a million more Americans will reach age 18 than have this year. The yearly increase in America's teenage labor force in the 1960's will average six times that in the 1950's. By the next presidential election, the age of the average American will have dropped from 33 in 1960 to 25 or less.

Business, pacified by prosperity, the excise tax cuts, and the President's sporadic displays of economy, is a part of the national consensus as never before.

Nonetheless, there is an uneasy feeling among many Democrats that "Lyndon doesn't wear well" among the voters and it wouldn't take much to upset the current equilibrium.

Representative FINDLEY believes "we face a difficult election. We won't automatically pick up a lot of seats in Congress just because it's the off year. The administration's heavy spending and welfare programs will gain votes. The public thinks we as a party don't recognize their problems. We've got to make clear what we're for, not just carp at the opposition. By any measure, the President is a superb politician, the best I've ever seen."

Tribute to Cecil C. McDaniel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL HAYDEN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, it is with considerable regret that I wish to announce that at the end of the present session of the Congress Cecil C. McDaniel, of the staff of the Senate Appropriations Committee, plans to retire after 15 years of service with the committee and over 30 years of service in the Federal Government.

Cecil's position with the Appropriations Committee has been that of chief of the editing and printing department, for which his background and experience admirably fitted him. In that capacity he reviewed the transcript of all testimony taken by the committee, prepared it in proper form for printing and prepared all the records of the committee for publication. The volume of work this entailed is a tribute to his conscientious performance. His cooperative attitude, his painstaking desire for perfection, and the expedition with which he executed his tasks have been of great aid in accomplishing the work of the committee.

I wish to thank him personally for his assistance. It was largely through his painstaking efforts that the monumental printing procedure related to committee work has evolved into the systematized, efficient, and rapid operation it is today.

I am sure that all the members of the committee as well as the committee staff join me in wishing him every happiness in his retirement.

Surrender of Panama Canal Unwise at This Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, it was with regret I heard the President's announcement the 24th of September on the progress of Panama Canal treaty negotiations. It was evident from the manner in which the announcement was made that it was hastily conceived. It has been speculated that the purpose of the announcement was to aid President Robles of Panama, who desperately needed such a pronouncement to aid his domestic political position. Another theory is that it was to offset some unfavorable publicity that had resulted from the recent House Resolution 560 concerning communism in Latin America. Whatever the reason, whatever the rationale, I see little good that can come of it.

One could reach the conclusion that by rioting and murder, the United States can be forced to a conference table to concede what they would not surrender previously. Those who think they see in this treaty an end to such rioting are mistaken. With each new concession in Panama we have been faced with still more demands. One needs only to note that Castro's attacks on our base in Guantanamo and the challenges to our position in Panama seem to be well coordinated. Guantanamo is one of the key positions from which the canal is guarded, and if the United States leaves either the canal or Guantanamo, the Soviets will be in a much better position to cut this vital sealane of the free world.

One can also conclude that our policymakers are primarily concerned with our image rather than the hard facts of the cold war. We have given the Communists in this hemisphere, who will certainly take the major credit for our concessions, renewed hope of controlling this vital waterway. Our legal rights will now be vested in status of forces agreements. Communist agitators, trained and exported from Cuba, will now only have to concentrate on these "vestiges of Yankee imperialism" in their continuing campaign of subversion and terror against the United States. In a short while we will find that no Panamanian politician will be able to justify these vestiges. These in return will become an affront to their sovereignty—a target for riots and demonstrations.

Under the present treaty we can control riots in the Canal Zone. How will we control such riots under a status-of-forces agreement whereby our forces are stationed in Panamanian territory?

What new Panamanian Government will be able to resist pressures to ask us for more concessions?

What will prevent Panama from denouncing this new treaty once a new canal has been constructed? Based upon the precedent set in 1956 when Nasser seized the Suez Canal, the United States could be expelled from all rights and interest in the new canal, and most of the world would applaud. Our ships could be barred from use of the canal, and we would be right back to 1520 when Magellan discovered the straits that now carry his name. I would not wish to see that day come.

What should the United States do? We should not approve this proposed treaty as outlined by President Johnson on the 24th of September. We should continue with the conversion of the present canal to a sea level one, and retain our present rights in Panama until Castro communism has been liquidated in this hemisphere. Because, not until that day arrives can the Panama Canal problem be settled in a stable atmosphere. We can make concessions and bargain, but none of these concessions should compromise our control of the canal.

Debate Continues on Army Reserves

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK R. MILLER

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, in the Friday, October 22, issue of the Des Moines Tribune appears a knowledgeable article on the controversy over the proposed merger of the National Guard and Army Reserve written by the able military writer, Hanson Baldwin, of the New York Times.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be placed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEBATE CONTINUES ON ARMY RESERVES

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

NEW YORK, N.Y.—The reorganization of the Army National Guard and the Army Reserve, now starting, represents another victory for Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara in his campaign to streamline the Reserves.

But it is a partial victory, and some in Washington consider it a Pyrrhic one, for it has increased resentment in Congress and in the Reserve Officers Association.

Chairman JOHN C. STENNIS, Democrat, of Mississippi, of the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee, called it a major scuttling of the Army Reserve and he charged the Defense Department with ignoring the intent of Congress.

TEMPORARY REALINEMENT?

Thus the current reorganization—one of several proposed or carried out in recent

years—will not end the long debate about the size, the role, or the organization of the Nation's ground Reserve components.

The National Guard, the Reserve Officers Association, Congress, and the Pentagon all regard the present "realinement"—as it is called—an interim measure, and all of them anticipate additional legislation at the next session of Congress to shape the size and organization of the Reserve forces.

McNamara's plan calls for the elimination of about 750 Army Reserve units, including all 6 Army Reserve tactical divisions, with a total strength of about 55,000 men. Some of these men, it is hoped, will join selected high-priority units to bring them up to full strength.

READY IN 8 WEEKS

The objective is the creation of a total ground Reserve force of 145,000 to 150,000 men—119,000 National Guardsmen and more than 30,000 Army reservists—to be maintained at 100-percent strength and, with ample equipment and by increased drills and more field training, to be ready for deployment within 6 to 8 weeks.

The new select force is to comprise three National Guard divisions—each composed of units drawn from three different States (a change from the past practice of drawing National Guard divisions chiefly from a single State)—six independent brigades, and hundreds of company- and detachment-size units from the Guard and from the Reserve, drawn from all 50 States.

These units are to be brought to full strength and maximum readiness as soon as possible—hopefully by next spring—to provide a cushion or reserve for the regular forces during the Vietnamese war.

OTHER UNITS

The creation of this select force leaves two other categories in the Army National Guard. The Guard will continue to maintain, until Congress and the Pentagon take further action, five additional divisions, plus brigades and supporting units, designated as "high priority" units at about 80 percent of war strength.

Fifteen more National Guard divisions and supporting units of lesser strength are also included in the National Guard troop list.

The elimination of the 6 Army Reserve tactical divisions leaves the Reserve—in addition to the units in the new select force—with 13 training divisions, specialized units equipped to man newly opened replacement training centers to train new recruits. The Army Reserve also retains, at least for the time being, a considerable number of other units and individual reservists.

The total paid-drill strength provided is 650,000—380,000 for the National Guard and a yearend strength of 270,000 for the Army Reserve.

MORE POWER FOR CONGRESS

It is certain that debate about the Army Reserve forces will continue into a new session of Congress. In fact, a bill originated by the Reserve Officers Association to modernize the Reserve law and "guarantee the integrity" of all Reserve components will be pushed at the next session.

The bill would authorize Congress to set the strength annually of the selected Reserve, would establish a number of training and pay categories in the Reserve, and would clarify legally many provisions now subject to interpretation or open to doubt.

Since the bill would increase congressional—as opposed to executive department—authority over the Reserves, it is likely to have considerable support. But it is likely to conflict head on with the revived proposal of the Defense Department to merge the National Guard and the Army Reserve.

Winning the Peace in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, A task force of American businessmen is now ready to leave for Vietnam to bring American business skill and capital together with Vietnamese businessmen to help build up a strong and productive society in that war-ravaged land. One American has already left to negotiate a business arrangement with a Vietnamese firm.

Several months ago I proposed a new approach to the problem of securing stability and order in Vietnam—and consequently the whole southeast Asia area.

In April the President proposed a sweeping, long-range program for the economic development of this vital region—the Mekong Delta project. I support this effort. Yet I believe a start should be made now toward stabilizing and strengthening the economy of South Vietnam. And this effort should utilize the free enterprise, capitalistic approach.

Therefore, my proposal involves the encouragement of small business, joint-venture business operations between Vietnamese and American businessmen.

This is a bold effort, but it may be one of the keys to the ultimate success of securing independence in Vietnam.

The struggle in Vietnam is but another phase of the conflict between the democratic nations and the Communist powers that has been the main feature of international affairs since the end of the Second World War. Yet, Vietnam is a new kind of war, and a new kind of challenge.

The military effort is only part of the struggle. It is a necessary part, but without the support and confidence of the people such a military effort can never be wholly successful. The American businessman can help supply the support, confidence, and economic stability necessary to supplement the military effort and ultimately drive the Communist threat from Vietnam.

This plan is designed to provide the catalyst that could spark a new era of hope for the people of Vietnam.

How will the plan actualy work?

American businessmen will invest in light industry and smaller business projects with Vietnamese businesmen. These ventures will be aimed at Vietnamese resources, talent, and labor with American business expertise to stimulate the economy to produce basic goods for consumption within Vietnam and to lay the groundwork for future exports.

What security will there in war-torn Vietnam for such investment?

The Agency for International Development has agreed to guarantee such investment up to 100 percent against losses due to hostile action, and up to 75 percent against commercial losses.

Several months ago, I presented my proposal for the economic development of South Vietnam to Vice President HUMPHREY. He was enthusiastic and has been of great help in cutting through the bureaucratic maze that sometimes seems to be the main feature of our Government operations overseas. I am much indebted to our eminent Vice President for expending his precious time and talent in support of this effort.

On September 8, I arranged to meet in Washington with officials of the Agency for International Development and with American businessmen from industries ranging from plastics to pharmaceuticals. My colleague the gentleman from New York [Mr. RESNICK], also attended.

Problems associated with the Vietnam investment plan were discussed. Many of the businessmen present indicated an interest in further exploration of the proposal. The State Department delegation, led by Mr. Rutheford Poats, Assistant Administrator for AID, indicated their keen interest and support for the concept of American joint-venture investment in Vietnam.

Phu Duc, the distinguished former Ambassador of the Republic of Vietnam to the United Nations, met with me several times while the plan was being developed. His learned counsel has been invaluable, and his enthusiastic endorsement is much appreciated.

On September 24 a further meeting took place. On that date American and Vietnamese businessmen were brought together for the first time to talk about implementing my proposal, and to begin to talk about business arrangements. The meeting was held in the Department of Commerce field office in New York with a delegation of nine Vietnamese, including two women, who came from Saigon for the meeting and to examine American business and industrial techniques. Mr. Selig Taubenblatt of the Far East Bureau of the Department of State and Mr. David Horner of the Department of Commerce's Office of International Investment joined me in welcoming the group, and helped in presenting my proposal to them.

The meeting was a considerable success. After the formal presentation in the morning, individual discussions took place in the afternoon between the Vietnamese and American businessmen. A number of those present have since indicated a desire to go to Saigon to implement this program. Interest in the idea of joint American-Vietnamese investment has spread through the business community.

Now we have reached the operational stage of this effort. American and Vietnamese businessmen have been brought together, the State Department has given its blessing to the proposal, and a group of American businessmen stand ready to go to Saigon for further talks.

Our American economy is today enjoying the 55th month of continuous business expansion. The stock market is at an alltime high. We have even seen recent indications that the Soviet

Union is moving toward more private enterprise in their economy. What an opportune time to make a start toward bringing the rich rewards of free enterprise to a people whose lot has been destruction and despair for so many years.

The primary objective of my plan is to demonstrate to the people of South Vietnam the interest and support of the American business community and the American people in their struggle against Communist domination. It is a patriotic effort on the part of American small business, but it is also a positive effort toward building hope and laying the economic basis for eventual peace.

Things are looking up for the forces of freedom in Vietnam. The President's judicious prosecution of our effort there is showing significant gains in crushing the Vietcong's efforts to destroy the political independence of a nation.

Now is the time to capitalize upon our gains with a positive step toward peace.

College Boards and Our Nation's Scholastic Profile

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, within a few weeks, many of our high school seniors will take a crucial test. On December 4, the College Entrance Examination Board will be administered to next year's prospective college freshmen. Other seniors will take the test later in the school year. For some of them, the CEEB may determine whether or not they receive a college education. The scores they receive are a major determinant of scholarship aid as well as of admission to the college of their choice.

The parents whose children are taking this test, and the students themselves must have been dismayed and concerned to read the article which appeared in the Sunday magazine of the New York Times late last week. The article, written by Banesh Hoffmann, is entitled "The College Boards Fail the Test." I commend it to the attention of the Senate and ask unanimous consent that it be entered in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times magazine]

THE COLLEGE BOARDS FAIL THE TEST

(By Banesh Hoffmann)

(NOTE.—Banesh Hoffmann, a theoretical physicist who teaches mathematics at Queens College of the City University of New York, wrote "The Strange Story of the Quantum" and "The Tyranny of Testing," both available in paperback.)

Millions of American students each year take nationwide tests of scholastic aptitude and achievement that can have decisive effects on their educational futures. Altogether, students fill out well over 100 million standardized test forms a year, and these tests are almost exclusively of the multiple-choice, machine-gradable type.

For many students, testing reaches a climax in the scramble for college admission. In the 1964–65 academic year, for example, an estimated 1,390,000 candidates took the scholastic aptitude tests of the College Entrance Examination Board, and these and their companion achievement tests are by no means the only ones used for college admission purposes, though they are probably the best of their sort.

But how good is this best? How well do the college board tests fulfill their intended function? Even more important, how serious are the side effects of such mechanized tests? These are questions that we dare not treat lightly. Too much is at stake, not only for ourselves and our children as individuals, but for all of us as a nation. The answers are not necessarily reassuring.

With its approximately 600 member colleges and its strategic role in college admissions, the College Entrance Examination Board now occupies a position of enormous prestige and power in education. Its tests and its actions are inevitably reflected in educational practice throughout the country, and whether it wishes to or not, it affects intellectual standards by its own example, which should be one of excellence.

Naturally, in its exposed position, the college board has not escaped criticism. Critics have said, among other things, that its mechanized tests penalize subtlety and originality while favoring quick-witted superficiality and conformity; that they foster intellectual dishonesty; that they are made artificially difficult by means of ambiguity because genuinely searching questions do not readily fit into the multiple-choice format; that they neglect skill in disciplined expression; that they corrupt education.

The aim of the tests is to help in the selection of students for entrance to college, but, as Benjamin D. Wright gently put it a decade ago, when he was president of Smith College: "[They seem] to give the advantage to certain kinds of minds, although not always to those which will take the greatest advantage of college opportunities."

The College Entrance Examination Board was founded at the turn of the century to bring an element of order and uniformity to a chaotic situation in college admissions. It began with a grant from the Carnegie Corp., but is now supported by the fees it charges those who take its tests. It maintains its own full-time administrative staff.

Twelve colleges were the board's charter members and its first examinations were taken by 973 candidates. They were essay examinations.

During World War I, mass testing began to assume national importance, with inductees being sorted by means of what the Army called Alpha and Beta tests. After the war, the college board began to show cautious interest in such methods of mass testing, and in 1926, not without opposition from member colleges, it gave its first "psychological tests," calling them scholastic aptitude tests. In 1929 these SAT's underwent major improvement, being divided into two parts—one to test scholastic aptitude of a verbal sort and the other, scholastic aptitude of a mathematical sort, a separation that is maintained to this day.

Grading essays is expensive and time consuming, and essay graders are distressingly subjective: They do not even agree with their own ratings when given essays to regrade a few months later. During World War II, the board, over bitter opposition from member colleges, gave up essay tests—as a war measure—and substituted achievement tests of the mechanized sort now used. The English composition examination was an exception, but of that story and its strange convolutions, more later.

Meanwhile, in Princeton, N.J., the board had set up modest research facilities which, like the board itself, quickly became involved in extensive wartime activities. Because the research arm continued to expand into various testing activities after the war, it was set up as an autonomous nonprofit organization, Educational Testing Service, so that the board could concentrate on college admissions. Over the years ETS has become enormous: Its psychologists alone are now numbered in the hundreds. It makes up all the board's tests, as well as many others used by schools, graduate schools and governmental agencies, and it has earned a high place in the realm of testing, ranking among the very best in its field.

The SAT's and the achievement tests have different aims. The former seek to measure general academic potential, while the latter, offered in more than a dozen different subjects, are intended to measure specific academic achievement.

They are constructed by ETS with elaborate professional care. Special committees of professors, teachers, and psychologists select and prepare questions that are tried out by being inserted in actual tests (though not used in the scoring of those tests). The responses of the candidates are subject to statistical analysis designed to reveal, for example, which questions perform their intended function well, which are ambiguous and which favor those who actually scored poorly on the nonexperimental part of the test. Only after passing this rigorous statistical screening may a question be used in the nonexperimental part of a test.

But this is only the beginning. The SAT's are validated by comparing students' scores with their subsequent performance in college, statistics once again being brought into play, and it is primarily statistics that have molded the evolution of the SAT's to their present form. If scientific routine were all there is to science it would be hard to refute the claim that the tests are products of science, a claim that has repeatedly intimidated humanists critical of the test.

How well do the SAT's perform their intended function of predicting college grades? It depends on the college, but on the whole, in the purely statistical sense, they do so no better than a man's weight indicates his height. Many colleges, from Harvard down, find the board's tests valuable, and when the scores are used skeptically, which unfortunately is not always the case, they can give admissions officers useful supplementary data.

However, the University of California, which had been admitting students on the basis of their high school grades, made a 2-year study of the effect of combining these grades with SAT scores. The statistical improvement in prediction turned out to be so slight that the idea of requiring all candidates to take the SAT's was forthwith dropped.

Statistics are not everything, of course. Other things are also important. For the benefit of prospective candidates, the college board, aided by ETS, puts out booklets describing its tests and giving sample questions. We shall consider here the 1964 booklets describing the SAT's and the achievement tests.

Since, in the eyes of candidates and their teachers, these booklets represent, among other things, the quality of ETS and the college board, and since, if only by implication, they set intellectual standards, we would expect them to be prepared with meticulous care. Indeed, they often read as though they had been prepared by committees. It comes as a surprise, then, to find signs of carelessness, such as a "y" instead of an "x" in a sample mathematics question, and even faulty wording, such as: "The SAT can pro-

vide only a sample of your verbal and mathematical aptitudes," when what the SAT does is test such a sample, not provide it.

Were such slips the only reason for concern, we could forgive them. At worst we might mention them for the innocent pleasure of causing brief reddening of faces in high places. But, as we shall see, they are not the only reasons for concern, and they may well be symptoms of a wider carelessness with deeper implications.

The SAT is a 3-hour test containing both verbal and mathematical questions. It currently measures verbal scholastic aptitude by means of multiple-choice questions of just four types: questions dealing with antonyms, sentence completions, analogies, and reading comprehension. Samples are given in the booklet describing the SAT's. Let us examine one of each type—not, of course, selecting the four questions for purposes of flattery.

The first sample question in the booklet asks which is most nearly opposite in meaning to the word "exaggeration," the choices being: "(A) slight misunderstanding; (B) silence; (C) accurate representation; (D) truth; (E) understatement.

A competent student would probably pick the wanted answer without hesitation. As the board explains: "Since exaggeration means to overstate the truth about some matter, the appropriate answer is (E)." A deeper student might worry, though, feeling perhaps that precision is an absolute, and that there is an element of exaggeration in understatement. Indeed, when I tried this question out on a few professors and students, three professors in the humanities chose (E), but three in mathematics rejected it, as did a number of my mathematics students. However, since the question is intended as a test of verbal and not mathematical aptitude, let us not press this particular point but look instead at the board's own discussion. It goes as follows:

"If you know the meaning of the word, answers (A), (B), and (D) are obviously inappropriate. Answer (C) is, in a sense, partially correct, but represents what may be called a midpoint between the extremes of 'exaggeration' and 'understatement.' (But it can be regarded as the midpoint of a U.) It can also be eliminated as a possible correct answer if you consider that (C) and (D) are almost identical in meaning. If you reason that (D) is incorrect, then (C), too, must be wrong."

The word "consider" casts a pall of ambiguity over the whole passage. Suppose it is meant in the sense "take into account." Then the board is apparently saying that (C) and (D) are indeed almost identical in meaning. But in that case, why did it previously treat (C) and (D) differently, lumping (D) with (A) and (B) as "obviously inappropriate," and then giving special consideration to the "partially correct" (C)?

Since the above leaves the board in a predicament, let us explore the possibility that "consider" was meant in the sense "believe." This allows an escape, since it gives us a chance to interpret the passage as saying that the board does not itself believe that ((C) and (D) are almost identical in meaning. What the passage is now saying, in effect, is that if the student erroneously believes (C) and (D) are almost identical in meaning, and if he has already eliminated (D), then he can also eliminate (C), for an incorrect reason.

It is hard to believe, though, that the college board would thus deliberately point up one of the basic defects of multiple-choice tests: that they ignore quality, being concerned only with choices of answers and not with reasons for choices. Picking a wanted answer for no matter how stupid a reason scores 100 percent on a question, while picking an unwanted answer, even for reasons of Einsteinian majesty, automatically scores zero.

This ignoring of quality, this all-or-nothing system of scoring, this insistence on conformity, this refusal to let the student express himself in words, this rigorous exclusion of evaluative judgment lest it contaminate the sterile precision of the grading—it bears a proud name. It is called "objectivity." And machine-gradable tests are called "objective tests."

Look next at this question. It is of the sentence-completion type, in which the candidate is required to pick the one set of words which, when inserted in the blank spaces in the sentence, best fits in with the meaning of the sentence as a whole:

"Despite the popular feeling against—in college football, the major teams have found it difficult to ——— without encouraging outstanding athletes with scholarships.

"(A) competition—survive, (B) favoritism—be impartial, (C) professionalism—win, (D) academic standards—discriminate, (E) rivalry—qualify."

Most of us would probably quickly pick (C). Indeed, the question may be too easy: If almost every student picks the wanted answer to a question, the question is virtually useless for test purposes and is usually discarded. How can we make this one more difficult?

There is an easy way. In answer (C), "professionalism" fits excellently into the first part of the sentence, as "win" does into the second. In (A), however, "competition" (if not excessive) makes no worthwhile sense in the first part, and "survive" makes none in the second. Let us, then, simply interchange "survive" and "win" so that (A) and (C) now read: "(A*) competition—win" and "(C*) professionalism—survive." At once we have a harder question.

Do you object that this is utterly improper? That instead of worthwhile difficulty we have introduced a spurious substitute? That no reputable test-maker would offer the above question with "survive" and "win" thus interchanged? Educational Testing Service and the college board do so in the SAT booklet.

It would take too long to go into all aspects of this question. The wanted answer is what we have labeled (C*), but once "survive" is counted as acceptable, "competition" cannot properly be rejected, and a close analysis shows that even the presence of the word "despite" does not save the question from ambiguity at the least.

We may not console ourselves with the belief that defective questions are so infrequently met as to have negligible significance. They are all too frequent, even on tests made by organizations as good as ETS. Dean Harry N. Rivlin, of the City University of New York, unwittingly gave the game away when he praised a test made by ETS with the words: "There are remarkably few items in which the key is challengeable." This is a little like praising the editors of the New York Times by saying that there are remarkably few who are illiterate. Again, the graduate record examinations are made by ETS, yet when Prof. E. M. Hafner of the University of Rochester scrutinized a GRE in his own subject, physics, he expressed the opinion that about 25 percent of the questions were defective in that if one thought deeply one would pick an unwanted answer.

Here is a sample analogy question taken from the SAT booklet:

"Island: Water:

"(A) sand: desert; (B) mountain: ocean; (C) city: meadows; (D) lake: land; (E) river: banks."

The official instructions call on one to select the paid "which best expresses a relationship similar to that expressed in the original pair." Sometimes in these analogy questions the particular aspect of the original relationship that the testers have in mind is fairly easy to guess, as perhaps it is here. At other times it can be quite obscure.

The wanted answer here is (D). But suppose we think of the original pair as expressing the relationship of terrestrial solid to terrestrial liquid. Then the "best" answer is (B), and (D) is quite unacceptable.

There are further points that can be made in favor of (B). For example, in general an island is a protuberance, as is a mountain, and each rests upon and is directly joined to the solid earth; but a lake is not a protuberance, and in general it does not rest on water, nor is it directly joined by water to the oceans. Those who wish to defend (D) would do well not to argue here that a lake can be linked directly to the oceans by a river. If they did, they would negate the implication of insularity, the very aspect of the relationship on which they principally rely.

Again, under appropriate circumstances, a mountain in an ocean can actually be an island in water. Identity being a close similitude, we could hardly deny that (B) can express none too badly "a relationship similar to that expressed in the original pair."

At first glance this question seemed relatively straightforward. Only after we stopped to think did its complexities begin to show—a not uncommon occurrance. A national merit scholar put the matter aptly in these words: "One of the best pieces of advice to give on 'how to take multiple-choice tests' is this: Play your hunches. If you stop to think, you'll only get confused."

The basic fallacy in analogy questions is clear: The given relationship inevitably has many facets, and the particular combination that the tester has in mind is neither specified nor unique, a point that Prof. L. La Fave of Indiana State University has particularly stressed.

In the SAT's the board measures reading comprehension by means of groups of multiple-choice questions pertaining to passages of some 400 words on various topics. The danger here is that imprecision, ambiguity, and worse may enter when the tester paraphrases the passage. For example, the wanted answer to one of the reading-comprehension questions in the SAT booklet is to the effect that the Kennelly-Heaviside layers in the atmosphere "do not affect [radio] waves of certain lengths." But what the passage says is that the layers "are transparent" to the longer waves.

That they are transparent to these waves does not mean at all that they do not affect them. How, for example, does the tester imagine that eyeglasses could perform their function if they did not affect the light waves to which they are transparent? The passage is about a scientific topic, yet the question penalizes the student who knows even a little science while favoring the one whose lack of scientific understanding allows him to equate "are transparent" and "do not affect" without a qualm.

These are samples, culled from the college board booklet, of the four types of multiple-choice questions with which the board currently assesses the verbal scholastic aptitude of candidates for college admission. The board assures us that they are solidly based on scientific research. A closer look at the procedure, though, shows that it is more scientism than science. It is based on statistics, and to use statistics we must first reduce what we seek to measure to numbers. But not everything lends itself readily to arithmetical treatment. Indeed, the most valuable human qualities are often those that are the most resistant to reduction to numerical form.

What does the "scientific" scholastic-aptitude tester do about such recalcitrant qualities? He ignores them—as he ignores all the damaging side effects of his tests. He concentrates solely on those superficial aspects of evaluation that he can conveniently reduce to numerical terms, and these alone he feeds into his computers. If

what comes out goes against the sensibilities of scholars, so much the worse for the scholars and their subjective views.

Moreover, the statistical tester is like a man who appraises his milk by its bulk, unaware that part of the cream may have been skimmed off. When our concern is for one student out of a hundred, the tester's mass statistics will not reveal our loss. Yet even one in a thousand comes to a thousand in a million, and thought the penalizing and thwarting of this exceptional thousand may seem statistically trifling to the objective tester, it is certainly no trifling matter, and ignoring it does not make his method of testing scientific.

In the arts, subjectivity is rampant. But imagine the sterility that would ensue were the task of separating masterpieces from trash handed over to "scientific" evaluators who relied on statistical techniques for the sake of objectivity. Excellence, in the deepest sense, is not likely to be discoved by such methods.

If the present college boards leave much to be desired, why are they used? A major reason is that they are cheap and convenient and can handle large numbers of students expeditiously. The pressure of numbers is a powerful argument. With so many candidates to be rated for college admission, mechanized tests have obvious economic and practical advantages, as the testers are quick to point out. But not all bargains turn out to be bargains in the long run. If it is bargains we seek, why do we not use lie detectors as a substitute for the whole system of trial by jury—starting in this anniversary year of Magna Carta? The monetary saving could be enormous.

The college board and ETS would have us believe that theirs are searching tests worthy of the best students. But their own actions belie this. On the verbal part of the SAT they give 40 questions to be answered in 30 minutes and a further 50 questions to be answered in 45 minutes. This leaves so little time for contemplation that even if deep questions were present they could hardly elicit deep responses. At such a pace can the SAT's be other than superficial?

Perhaps, though, depth is out of place when we are testing merely for aptitude. Perhaps the deep questions are reserved for the achievement tests, even though those tests too are objective. Alas, it is not so. Here, for example, is what the college board says about the achievement test in history and social science:

"Each test consists of about 100 questions and has a time limit of 1 hour. Some of the easier questions should take you only a few seconds; others, more complex and requiring more thought, will take longer."

One would be hard put to match the delicate, if unconscious, irony of this statement.

On the basis of elaborate experiments, ETS and the board decided that the best way to measure ability in English composition was by means of an achievement test that involved no English composition. To the layman and the scholar this is manifestly ridiculous, and the teacher sees it as threatening to corrupt the teaching of English composition. But to the testers it was apparently an indisputable scientific fact.

Their test contained multiple-choice questions testing the student's ability to perceive such things as grammatical errors, inappropriate wording, tautology and misuse of metaphors; to recast sentences; to match styles; to restore the original order of shuffled sentences, and so on. In addition as a departure from strict multiple-choice objectivity, it asked him to correct a passage written in atrocious English.

But when they included it among their achievement tests it caused much dispute. To counter the criticisms, ETS and the board made a further experiment. They studied statistically the success with which three different tests measured ability in English composition: an essay test, the verbal part of the SAT, and their nonessay objective test (which they had had the audacity to call the "English composition test"). The statistics gave a scientific verdict: The essay test was the worst, the so-called English composition test was in the middle, and the SAT verbat was the best.

Armed with scientific evidence of such seeming cogency, the testers easily overawed the humanists, at least for a time, and this left them free to give their so-called English composition test instead of a test involving essays. So unnerved were the scholars that they failed to note the staggering fact that the board demonstrably did not believe in its own scientific statistical argument—the very one with which it had overawed them. Yet the evidence was clear. Had the board believed in its own argument it would have given up not only the essay test but also its miscalled English composition test and used the SAT verbal instead, for the SAT. Verbal was the test that had statistically, and therefore "scientifically," come out best—despite the fact that it had never been intended as a test of ability in English composition.

After a while, the scholars began to find renewed courage. Their commonsense told them that abandoning essays were wrong, and they forced the board to yield to the extent of giving a subsidiary 1-hour essay test. But the board was clearly reluctant. It gave the essay test the unattractive title "Writing Sample" and refused to grade it. Colleges that insisted on having candidates for admission take the essay test had to make arrangements as best they could to grade it themselves.

But the pressure continued, and to meet it the board incorporated a 20-minute essay into some of its 60-minute English composition tests—though into only a small proportion of them.

The latest twist in this curious tale introduces a note of irony. The board has just completed a new experiment, somewhat different from previous ones, and this experiment shows statistically that essays are, after all, worthwhile tests of ability in English composition. It is easy to be cynical about all this and to wonder whether perhaps science is here following the election returns. But the new experiment, like the previous ones, was performed in good faith, and carefully performed, and we must applaud the courage of the ETS investigators in pursuing an experiment that went against previous ETS findings. And if all that has been presented in this article leaves us with a feeling of misgiving, we have to remind ourselves in all fairness that ETS and the college board are among the very best of the testing organizations. Indeed, their high standing points up the need for establishing a distinguished committee of inquiry to look into the whole testing situation in the public interest.

Because of the new experiment, the board is about to propose to its members that the 1-hour "Writing Sample" be replaced by a 2-hour test, 1 hour of which will be objective and the other devoted to two essays to be graded by the board. It is not yet ready to suggest giving up the present 1-hour English composition test, but if the proposed new test is ultimately accepted it may well end up as the sole English achievement test.

There is a ray of hope in this. Perhaps one of these days ETS will have the courage to pursue an experiment proving "scientifically" what is already clear: that the college boards penalize deep students. The ensuing reforms could be momentous.

Meanwhile, here is a way to make a start on the road toward reform if the 2-hour English test comes into being. As an essay topic give, say, an analogy question, such as the "island: water" one. But do not ask the student to select the wanted answer here. Instead, have him use the question as a springboard for flights of fancy. Have him analyze the question, giving as many reasons for and against each choice as he can think of, both serious and flippant. And above all assure him that critical remarks will be welcomed and not held against him.

Many students would be dumbfounded by such an assignment, and among them could well be uncreative ones with the happy knack of picking wanted answers. But a few gifted students, oppressed by the restraints of the multiple-choice format, would revel in their new-found freedom. Now at last they would have a chance to break through the multiple-choice barrier and, against a background created out of its remnants, show something of their true quality. Imagine the inspired essays that would be forthcoming, the wit, the frolics, the deliberate sophistry, the cogent reasoning, and the gentle, and ungentle digs at the objective testers. Imagine, too, the fun of grading such essays, and their salutary effect on the college board. It is certainly worth a trial. We already have far two many mechanized tests in the United States, and it could start a revolution.

But the revolution lies ahead. For the present, candidates for college admission will have to pay such heed as their intellectual integrity permits to that old prescription for success:

Pick "best," young man—and let who will be clever.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, Mr. Hoffmann's book "The Tyranny of Testing," published in 1964, in greater detail, expresses his concern about multiple-choice testing of all sorts. He analyzes demonstratably vague and ambiguous questions which are contained in college examinations, board tests, in the national merit scholarship tests, and other widely used scholastic aptitude tests.

All of us enjoy nit-picking at specific test items and I am sure that every Senator in this body can recall ridiculous questions from tests he took in college and in the armed services. But the questions themselves are not really the central issue. We must continually consider and assess the impact of aptitude tests on our educational system. We must stop to think of how they influence a high school English teacher who is attempting to prepare students for college. We must consider their part in setting intellectual standards for the young people of our Nation.

Commissioner of Education Keppel is concerned with testing also. However, he is not looking for individual levels of "scholastic aptitude" but for a group "profile" of our Nation's scholastic strengths and weaknesses. Those of us who have worked for the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act were gratified to read Commissioner Keppel's speech of September 22, 1965, in which he discussed the need for a better reporting system on the quality and progress of our schools.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Keppel's speech be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOWARD A NATIONAL ASSESSMENT OF EDUCATION [1]

You were good enough to suggest that I might talk a little bit on what is called national assessment. I wonder if I could start personally with opinion and then shift to fact.

First, with regard to opinion. Personal opinion No. 1: I am personally opposed—and vigorously opposed—to a mammoth national testing of all children. I do not think that the instruments that we have achieved have the sensitivity necessary to justify any such procedure.

Second, I do not believe that any of us are, or probably ever will be, able to resist as teachers the tendency to teach for a test which you know darn well that kid is going to get. This is a personal view, and I don't care whether we are talking about a required national testing or voluntary (testing).

Next, personal feeling. With the immense complexity of the American educational system, particularly since the end of the Second World War, with the extraordinary migration that this Nation is engaged in, almost unlike any other nation in the world—20 percent of our people move every year—I think we are coming to the point where the role of the National Government as demonstrated in legislation this past year will be increasing. I happen to believe that it (the Federal Government) should always be the junior partner, financially and in every other way. It is sounder public policy to keep the majority of the stock locally, a larger portion of the stock at the State level, and a minority of the stock at the Federal level.

We are in an age in which we are going to need a better reporting system than we have had on the quality and the progress of the schools. This is partly documentable, I think, and I do refer to this as a fact because of the language that was written into title I of the Elementary and Secondary (Education) Act. Title I sends money into local school district plans that are approved by the State. You will find Congress inserted language saying that reports had to be submitted by the States to Washington, through the Office of Education and then to the Congress, on what effect these funds were having. That is just one of a good many such requirements of the Congress that amount to saying, if we are going to put up a million dollars we would like to know what happened to it. So then, this is a mixed personal (opinion) and fact here.

Another personal opinion to which I will add some facts, and I hope I can persuade you, is that we are really in a very different position in 1965 with regard to the problem of reporting the educational enterprise than we were in 1935 or certainly 1925.

The major differences are, I think, in two categories: No. 1, the development of the science, may I call it, of statistical handling has been substantial since roughly 1925 or 1935. It is in the last quarter century, anyway, that one can get within 5 percent accuracy or even less by dealing with very small samples.

I don't see that we need 100 percent accuracy. You're going to be putting funds into areas in which society concludes improvements should be made. What you want is a general reporting system. The development in the last 25 or 30 years of statistical sampling is one of the phenomena which we are more accustomed to in opinion polls, but we haven't used it very much in the educational area.

So, my opinion here is that statistical sampling theory and technology have developde to the point where we ought to be able to use them without running the risk—now please note, I am stating personal opinion—without running the risk which I figured at the beginning. If I thought that sampling would lead inevitably to national testing, like the first drink to alcoholism, I would oppose the whole works. But I think we've got to have a better reporting system.

The Office of Education can tell you all sorts of things: How many teachers we have, how tall they are, how many buildings we have, and whether they are painted or not. It doesn't tell you how much the kids know, and sooner or later we are going to be asked.

Very well, then, it was on the ground of these personal opinions and some facts that I encouraged Carnegie Corp. of New York to explore, with private funds and in the private realm, the question of whether it would be possible to get a better reporting system by taking a sampling of the knowledge of children—5 percent samples, 4 percent samples, but much less than 10 percent—to learn whether two things have developed: If the theory, the applications, the methods of statistical handling, could be successfully adapted to our need; and second, whether the testing art had developed to the point where we could do considerably better than guesswork if we used testing in connection with statistical handling.

Carnegie Corp. made a grant—a series of them, I guess—and set up a committee. There is a note on this in the current issue of the Phi Delta Kappan. The committee was headed by Ralph Tyler, of Stanfard. He used to be professor of education at Chicago, then became dean, and then went to hell in a hack at the Ford Foundation. That happens to deans. Anyhow, this group consulted with a lot of people.

I think a basic confusion was allowed to develop at the start: The word "testing" got into it. The minute I hear the word "testing" I think of kids in a classroom being tested on the same subject at the same time all over the place. It's inevitable. The idea of 5 percent or less statistical sampling got lost in the discussion the way these things do. The committee had a lot of meetings and then came down to the following statements, which I quote:

"A well-conceived and well-executed assessment would, it is hoped, serve several important purposes." (Not necessarily the ones I started with, incidentally. I was just simple minded and thought we ought to have a way of reporting to the Congress so we wouldn't hurt so much every year I go up there.)

"First, it would give the Nation as a whole a better understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the American educational system. Thus, it might contribute a more accurate guide than we currently possess for allocation of public and private funds, where they are needed, what they achieve, and decisions affecting education.

"Second, assessment results, especially if coupled with auxiliary information on characteristics of the various regions, would provide data necessary for research on educational problems and processes which cannot now be undertaken." If you have a bank of data of this sort you could probably do some research that would otherwise not be possible.

"Third, when sampling and testing procedures are adequately developed, international comparisons might be possible."

As a result of this committee report, Carnegie said, let's try it; make up some tests for four groups. The committee decided that the sensible way to begin sampling was by age level: Children approximately 9 years old, children approximately 13 years old, youth approximately 17 years old, and this charming group known as "adults." That, I presume, is anything over 17. In any case the committee wanted to cut at a certain level.

The committee has made contracts with the American Institute of Research, Educational Testing Service, Psychological Corp., and Science Research Associates to construct initial instruments in reading, language arts, mathematics, social studies, citizenship, fine arts, and vocational education. At least two contractors are working in most areas to develop more than one approach.

These will be quite different from the usual test, which is an effort to diagnose an individual student and predict whether he'd do better at Harvard or Yale or some equally incomprehensible result. The purpose here is not to test the individual; in fact, no one kid would take the whole of any one test. But the purpose is to guess how much they know. Therefore, it is a different kind of instrument. They propose to pretest these things after the first of November and then get a little more serious tryout in spring of this year.

I presume that they will see problems here, try to work them out, see what the results are—whether you get any kind of assessment of groups. The purpose, of course, is not reporting to schools on particular schools—certainly not on particular teachers, because that wouldn't make any sense. You've got such a tiny sample. This test would report, rather, on general levels, regionally or something similar, over a period of time—and I think it would be a great mistake to move too fast on this—so that the United States might have a method of being able to say that our schools have advanced so much, just as you do with children. * * * Haven't you backed yours up against the bathroom wall and put a thing on their head, and drawn a line and said all right, in the time since we drew the last line, at least he has grown up that much? It is about as simple as that, I suppose. Maybe too simple.

At any rate, that's the development of the Carnegie program. I had thought, and continue to think, that explorations in this area are much better done under private auspices and without Government money. I remain interested, very much interested, in the results of this in 6 months from now or so. If the conclusion is that assessment can be done by sampling without the risk of national testing, I shall myself be of a mind to say that we had better go ahead with Government or private or any other kind of money so that we do have this method of reporting.

Not on individual children. Please let me underscore this. We are dealing with a small percent. Actually, most children would never be tested in the course of their lifetime. And no child would be tested in all subjects anyway, because you take this sample from here, there, and somewhere else.

I would argue that this project deserves the full attention of the professional educational world. We are not now reporting satisfactorily to ourselves, and I must report to you as your representative in the executive branch of the Government that we are not providing satisfactory information to the public and to those who are responsible for making public policy. We've done remarkably well in getting a lot of legislation through, and I suspect it might be useful now to have some numerals.

That's the background.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, unfortunately, when one sees the vast amount of paperwork for every school with which Mr. Kepple's staff has burdened this new program, one recognizes the inconsistency of his protest that the Department is only sampling.

[1] Highlights of remarks by Francis Keppel, U.S. Commissioner of Education, addressing an executive luncheon at the National Education Association, Washington, D.C., Sept. 22, 1965.

I am sure there are some schools in every State that would find it convenient and suitable to participate in the sampling. But to require that every school—in addition to all the usual paperwork routine of initiating a new program—now test to measure the profile of our Nation's education is stifling and defeating to the objectives of the legislation.

I also share the concern of numerous State education officials and local school administrators who are disturbed about the multiplicity of reports required by the regulations and proposed regulations of the officials in the Office of Education who are in charge of the administration of the Elementary and Secondary Act. There is evidence that a good many of these requirements are based upon the eagerness of these officials to use the reporting requirements of the act as a basis for gathering information for future research projects. Of course, such requirements were never contemplated by the authors of the act or by the Congress. These unduly burdensome reports required of already overworked local school administrators threatens to alienate public support of this legislation before it has had an opportunity to demonstrate its value.

When the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 passed, it was the belief of many that this bill was the most significant improvement in 100 years toward full development of our most precious natural resource, our youngsters. In his recent speech to the final Democratic caucus of the session, Majority Leader MIKE MANSFIELD called on every committee of the Senate next year to assume the task of the many new Federal approaches to the Nation's problems. I urge that educational testing, as well as the many new reporting requirements, be one of the first areas in which Congress functions as an overseer. The Education Subcommittee of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee or a specially appointed subcommittee should delve thoroughly into the whole question of educational testing, including widely used privately sponsored tests such as the College Entrance Examination Board, as well as the national survey. The reporting procedures which have been adopted by the Office of Education should be carefully considered in the light of the guidelines laid down by Congress in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Report of Voting and Attendance by Congressman Gerald R. Ford

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a report of my voting and attendance record during the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

The record includes all rollcall votes and all quorum calls. The description of bills is for the purpose of identification only; no attempt has been made to describe the bills completely or to elaborate upon the issues involved.

The purpose of this report is to collect in one place information which is scattered through thousands of pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I want to be able to provide any interested constituent with a simple compilation of my voting and attendance record.

The report is as follows:

Rollcall No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
	1965		
1	Jan. 4	Call of the House	Present.
2	Jan. 4	Election of the Speaker. (McCormack, 289; Ford, 139)	Present.
3	Jan. 4	H. Res. 1: To order a vote on the resolution authorizing the Speaker to administer the oath of office to the 5 Members-elect from Mississippi. (Passed 276 to 148.)	Yes.
4	Jan. 4	H. Res. 8: To order a vote on the resolution providing 3 changes in the rules of the House. (Passed 224 to 201)	No.
5	Jan. 19	Quorum call	Present.
6	Jan. 19	H. Res. 126: To dismiss a contest of the election of Representative Ottinger of New York. (Passed 245 to 102)	No.
7	Jan. 26	H.J. Res. 234: On a motion to recommit to committee the supplemental appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture in order to add a provision prohibiting the use of these funds to supply surplus farm commodities under title I to the United Arab Republic. (Passed 204 to 177.)	Yes.
8	Feb. 4	Quorum call	Present.
9	Feb. 8	Quorum call	Present.
10	Feb. 8	H.J. Res. 234: On a motion to instruct House conferees to insist on House provision in supplemental appropriations bill for Department of Agriculture relating to sale of certain surplus farm commodities to the United Arab Republic. (Defeated 161 to 241.)	Yes.
11	Feb. 9	Qurom call	Present.
12	Feb. 9	H.R. 3818: To recommit to committee the bill to eliminate the requirement that Federal Reserve banks maintain certain reserves in gold certificates against deposit liabilities. (Defeated 93 to 289.)	No.
13	Feb. 9	H.R. 3818: On final passage of the bill to eliminate the requirement that Federal Reserve banks maintain certain reserves in gold certificates against deposit liabilities. (Passed 300 to 82.)	Yes.
14	Feb. 10	Quorum call	Present.
15	Feb. 17	Quorum call	Present.
16	Feb. 17	H.R. 2998: To authorize appropriations for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency for 3 years in the amount of $40,000,000. (Passed 302 to 63.)	Yes.
17	Feb. 18	Quorum call	Present.
18	Feb. 18	Quorum call	Present.
19	Feb. 18	H.R. 45: To recommit to committee the bill authorizing funds for the Inter-American Development Bank in order to reduce the amount from $750,000,000 to $725,000,000. (Defeated 142 to 237.)	Yes.
20	Feb. 18	H.R. 45: On final passage of the bill authorizing an appropriation of $750,000,000 for the Inter-American Development Bank. (Passed 288 to 92.)	Yes.
21	Feb. 24	Quorum call	Present.
22	Feb. 25	Quorum call	Present.
23	Feb. 25	H. Res. 188: To recommit to committee the resolution providing funds for the Committee on Un-American Activities in order to hold hearings on justification of the funds. (Defeated 58 to 332.)	No.
24	Feb. 25	H. Res. 188: To pass the resolution providing $370,000 for operation of the Committee on Un-American Activities. (Passed 359 to 29)	Yes.
25	Mar. 1	Quorum call	Present.
26	Mar. 2	Quorum call	Present.
27	Mar. 3	Quorum call	Present.
28	Mar. 3	S. 3: On a motion to recommit to committee in order to substitute the provisions of H.R. 4466. (Defeated 100 to 323.)	Yes.
29	Mar. 3	S. 3: On final passage of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965. (Passed 257 to 165.)	No.
30	Mar. 9	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
31	Mar. 10	H.R. 2: To approve the Drugs Abuse Control Amendment of 1965. (Passed 402 to 0.)	Yes.
32	Mar. 11	Quorum call	Present.
33	Mar. 15	H.R. 4714: To suspend the rules and pass a bill authorizing an appropriation of $150,000 per year for the Advisory Council on the Arts. (Defeated 217 to 113; a ⅔ majority being necessary.)	Yes.
34	Mar. 16	Quorum call	Present.
35	Mar. 16	H.R. 5505: On a motion to amend the Congressional Redistricting Act to provide that the number of Representatives that a State is entitled to may be elected at large pending reapportionment under this act and providing for at-large elections in States that have never established districts. (Defeated 147 to 255.).	Absent.[2]
36	Mar. 17	Quorum call	Present.
37	Mar. 17	Quorum call	Present.
38	Mar. 17	H. Res. 276: On agreeing to the rule for taking up for consideration H.R. 5374, the bill to increase the salaries of the Justice of the Supreme Court. (Passed 202 to 183.)	Yes.
39	Mar. 17	H.R. 5374: To increase the salaries of the Justices of the Supreme Court from $39,000 to $42,500 and the salary of the Chief Justice from $40,000 to $43,000. (Defeated 177 to 203.)	Yes.
40	Mar. 18	Quorum call	Present.
41	Mar. 22	Quorum call	Present.
42	Mar. 22	H.R. 5688: On a motion to recommit to committee for further public hearings the bill on criminal legislation for the District of Columbia. (Defeated 166 to 216.)	Absent.[3]
43	Mar. 22	H.R. 5688: On final passage of the bill relating to crime and criminal procedure in the District of Columbia. (Passed 250 to 131.)	Absent.[3]

Footnotes at end of table.

Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
	1965		
44	Mar. 23	Quorum call	Present.
45	Mar. 23	H.R. 5721: To amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act to provide for acreage-poundage marketing quotas for tobacco. (Passed 206 to 170.)	No.
46	Mar. 24	Quorum call	Present.
47	Mar. 24	Quorum call	Present.
48	Mar. 25	Quorum call	Present.
49	Mar. 26	Quorum call	Present.
50	Mar. 26	Quorum call	Present.
51	Mar. 26	On a motion calling for a vote (previous question) on the motion to consider the House Journal as read. (Passed 274 to 119.)	No.
52	Mar. 26	H.R. 2362: On a motion to recommit to committee the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 in order to change the formula for the allocation of funds. (Defeated 149 to 267.)	Yes.
53	Mar. 26	H.R. 2362: On final passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. (Passed 263 to 153.)	No.
54	Mar. 29	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
55	Mar. 30	Quorum call	Present.
56	Mar. 31	Quorum call	Present.
57	Mar. 31	H.R. 3708: To approve the Older Americans Act of 1965. (Passed 391 to 1.)	Yes.
58	Mar. 31	H.R. 1111: To approve the Water Resources Planning Act. (Passed 383 to 0.)	Yes.
59	Apr. 1	Quorum call	Present.
60	Apr. 1	H.R. 4257: To approve the Manpower Act of 1965. (Passed 392 to 0.)	Yes.
61	Apr. 5	Quorum call	Present.
62	Apr. 5	H.R. 980: To suspend the rules and pass the bill providing for the return of obscene mail and making it easier to keep this type of material out of homes. (Passed 360 to 21.)	Yes.
63	Apr. 5	H.R. 7064: To suspend the rules and authorize the appropriation of $1,000,000 for construction of a U.S. embassy building in Saigon. (Passed 378 to 0.)	Yes.
64	Apr. 5	H.R. 7060: To approve the $6,600,000,000 appropriation bill for the Departments of Treasury and Post Office and for the Executive Office of the President. (Passed 344 to 7.)	Yes.
65	Apr. 6	Quorum call	Present.
66	Apr. 6	H.R. 7091: To approve the $2,100,000,000 2d supplemental appropriation bill. (Passed 348 to 62)	Yes.
67	Apr. 7	Quorum call	Present.
68	Apr. 7	Quorum call	Present.
69	Apr. 8	Quorum call	Present.
70	Apr. 8	H.R. 6675: To recommit to committee the Social Security Amendments of 1965 as reported by the committee in order to substitute the provisions of H.R. 7057, a bill similar to H.R. 6675 but without the compulsory medicare provisions and without the increase in social security payroll taxes. (Defeated 191 to 236.)	Yes.
71	Apr. 8	H.R. 6675: On final passage of the Social Security Amendments of 1965 and increasing the social security payroll taxes. (Passed 313 to 115.)	No.
72	Apr. 13	H.R. 2998: On adoption of the conference report on the authorization for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in the amount of $30,000,000 for 3 years. (Passed 315 to 65.)	Yes.
73	Apr. 13	Quorum call	Present.
74	Apr. 13	H.J. Res. 1: On passage of the resolution proposing a constitutional amendment relative to presidential disability and succession. (Passed 368 to 29).	Yes.
75	Apr. 14	Quorum call	Present.
76	Apr. 14	H. Res. 310: To provide $50,000 for additional expenses of Committee on Un-American Activities for an investigation of the Ku Klux Klan. (Passed 312 to 43).	Yes.
77	Apr. 27	Quorum call	Present.
78	Apr. 27	H.R. 6497: To recommit to the Committee on Banking and Currency for further consideration the bill to authorize an increase in the International Monetary Fund quota of the United States	Yes.
79	Apr. 27	H.R. 6497: To pass the bill authorizing an increase of $1,035,000,000 in the U.S. quota for the International Monetary Fund. (Passed 301 to 88.)	Yes.
80	Apr. 28	Quorum call	Present.
81	Apr. 28	Quorum call	Present.
82	Apr. 28	S. 4: To approve the Water Quality Act of 1965 as amended by the House. (Passed 390 to 0)	Yes.
83	Apr. 29	Quorum call	Present.
84	Apr. 29	H.R. 7091: To agree to the conference report on the supplemental appropriation bill in the amount of $2,200,000,000. (Passed 316 to 55)	Yes.
85	Apr. 29	H.R. 7091: To agree to the Senate amendment (No. 6) to the supplemental appropriation bill providing $942,000 to continue the Federal subsidy this fiscal year for helicopter service at New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. (Defeated 144 to 228.)	No.
86	Apr. 29	H.R. 4714: To correct a technical error in Public Law 88-579 with the effect of authorizing annual appropriations for the National Council on the Arts of not more than $150,000. (Passed 239 to 115.)	Yes.
87	May 3	H.R. 2986 (S. 510): To extend the Community Health Services Act and to launch a nationwide immunization program against measles. (Passed 347 to 0.)	Yes.
88	May 4	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
89	May 4	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
90	May 4	H.R. 2985: To authorize the appropriation of $172,000,000 during the next 4 years to help pay the cost of staff members of community mental health centers. (Passed 389 to 0.)	Yes.
91	May 5	Quorum call	Present.
92	May 5	H.J. Res. 447: To pass the resolution transferring $700,000,000 to the Department of Defense for use in connection with military activities in southeast Asia.	Yes.
93	May 5	Quorum call	Present.
94	May 5	H.R. 7657 (S. 800): To approve the bill authorizing the appropriations for 1966 of $15,300,000,000 for the procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels for the Armed Forces. (Passed 395 to 0.)	Yes.
95	May 6	Quorum call	Present.
96	May 6	H. Res. 366: To adopt the rule providing for consideration of H.R. 7717, a bill to authorize appropriations for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. (Passed 389 to 0.)	Yes.
97	May 6	H.R. 7717: To approve the bill authorizing appropriations in the amount of $5,100,000,000 for the national aeronautics and space program. (Passed 389 to 11.)	Yes.
98	May 10	Quorum call	Present.
99	May 10	H.R. 2984: To approve an amendment to the Public Health Service Act to extend the health research facilities program and to authorize 3 additional Assistant Secretaries of Health, Education, and Welfare. (Passed 333 to 4.)	Yes.
100	May 12	Quorum call	Present.
101	May 12	S. 701: To approve the bill designed to implement the International Coffee Agreement signed at New York in 1962. (Passed 300 to 97.)	No.
102	May 18	Quorum call	Present.
103	May 20	Quorum call	Present.
104	May 20	H.R. 8122: To recommit to committee the Atomic Energy Commission's authorization bill in order to delete $91,500,000 for construction of a large seed and blanket reactor in cooperation with the State of California. (Defeated 43 to 313.)	No.
105	May 20	H.R. 8122: To approve the $2,500,000,000 authorization bill for the Atomic Energy Commission. (Passed 350 to 1.)	Yes.
106	May 24	Quorum call	Present.
107	May 24	Quorum call	Present.
108	May 25	Quorum call	Present.
109	May 25	H.R. 7750: To recommit to committee the foreign aid authorization bill in order to reduce the authorization for the Development Loan Fund by $131,000,000 and to change "free labor unions" to "free non-Communist-dominated labor unions" in connection with institutions to be developed through housing projects in Latin American countries. (Defeated 178 to 219.)	Yes.
110	May 25	H.R. 7750: To pass the foreign aid authorization bill in the amount of $2,000,000,000, making $3,400,000,000 available for fiscal 1966. (Passed 249 to 148.)	Yes.
111	May 26	Quorum call	Present.
112	May 26	H.R. 8370: To recommit to committee the Agriculture Department appropriation bill in order to add an amendment which would prohibit the use of funds to finance the exportation of any agricultural commodity to either the United Arab Republic or Indonesia under title I of Public Law 480. (Defeated 187 to 208.)	Yes.
113	May 26	H.R. 8370: To approve the appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture in the amount of $5,700,000,000. (Passed 354 to 41.)	No.
114	May 27	Quorum call	Present.
115	June 1	Quorum call	Present.
116	June 1	H.R. 8639: To approve the appropriation bill for the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, the judiciary and related agencies in the amount of $2,000,000,000. (Passed 322 to 60.)	Yes.

Footnotes at end of table.

Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
	1965		
117	June 1	H.R. 3584: To approve the bill amending the Federal Coal Mine Safety Act. (Passed 335 to 43.)	Yes.
118	June 2	Quorum call	Present.
119	June 2	H.R. 8371: To approve the bill reducing and/or eliminating certain excise taxes. (Passed 401 to 6.)	Yes.
120	June 3	Quorum call	Present.
121	June 3	H.R. 7777: To approve the bill which would authorize the President to appoint Gen. William F. McKee (retired) to the office of Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency as an exception to existing law. (Passed 228 to 137.)	No.
122	June 7	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
123	June 7	H.R. 3157: To approve a bill which would permit the spouse of a railroad employee to receive a spouse's annuity under the Railroad Retirement Act and social security benefits or railroad retirement benefits earned in her own right. (Passed 323 to 0.)	Absent.[2]
124	June 8	Quorum call	Present.
125	June 8	Quorum call	Present.
126	June 8	H.R. 8775: To recommit to committee the legislative appropriation bill in order to delete $35,000 for the employment of 16 operators for automatic elevators in the Rayburn Office Building. (Defeated 149 to 244.)	Yes.
127	June 8	H.R. 7105: To adopt the bill extending and amending the Export Control Act. (Passed 387 to 1.)	Yes.
128	June 9	Quorum call	Present.
129	June 9	H. Res. 413: To adopt the rule under which to consider the bill increasing the debt limit to $328,000,000,000. (Passed 273 to 109.)	Yes.
130	June 9	H.R. 8464: To adopt the bill increasing the debt limit from $324,000,000,000 to $328,000,000,000. (Passed 229 to 164.)	No.
131	June 9	H. Con. Res. 285: To amend the resolution to allow the showing in the United States of the Kennedy film produced by the U.S. Information Agency in order to provide that no fee should be charged those who viewed the film. (Defeated 174 to 216.)	Yes.
132	June 9	H. Con. Res. 285: To adopt the resolution authorizing the showing in the United States of the film, "John F. Kennedy—Years of Lightning, Day of Drums," produced by the U.S. Information Agency for use abroad: Bill contains no provision against charging viewers a fee to see film produced by tax funds. (Passed 311 to 75.)	No.
133	June 10	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
134	June 10	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
135	June 10	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
136	June 14	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
137	June 15	Quorum call	Present.
138	June 15	Quorum call	Present.
139	June 15	Quorum call	Present.
140	June 16	Quorum call	Present.
141	June 16	H.R. 6927: To recommit to committee the bill establishing a Department of Housing and Urban Development in order to substitute the provision of H.R. 8822 establishing in the Executive Office an Office of Urban Affairs and Community Development. (Defeated 141 to 259.)	Yes.
142	June 16	H.R. 6927: To approve the bill establishing at Cabinet-level a Department of Housing and Urban Development. (Passed 217 to 184.)	No.
143	June 16	H.Res. 416: To authorize each Member of the House to employ, on a temporary basis, a student intern without regard to present restrictions on number of employees and clerk-hire allowance. (Passed 229 to 153.).	No.
144	June 21	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
145	June 21	H.R. 7743: To approve the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965, providing to a system of loan insurance to assist students to attend postsecondary business, trade, technical, and other vocational schools. (Passed 300-0.).	Absent.[3]
146	June 21	H.R. 8620: To amend the Agricultural Act to take into consideration floods and other disasters in reference to feed grains, cotton, and wheat programs for 1965. (Passed 296 to 2.)	Absent.[3]
147	June 21	H. Con. Res. 416: To approve the resolution in behalf of freedom for the people of the Baltic States. (Passed 298 to 0.)	Yes.
148	June 22	Quorum call	Present.
149	June 22	Quorum call	Present.
150	June 22	Quorum call	Present.
151	June 23	Quorum call	Present.
152	June 23	Quorum call	Present.
153	June 23	H.R. 9221: To approve the appropriation bill for the Department of Defense in the amount of $45,000,000,000. (Passed 407 to 0.)	Yes.
154	June 24	Quorum call	Present.
155	June 24	H.J. Res. 541: To extend the Area Redevelopment Act for a period of 2 months. (Passed 224 to 167.)	No.
156	June 28	Quorum call	Present.
157	June 28	H. Res. 425: To adopt the rule under which to consider H.R. 7984, the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. (Passed 230 to 115.)	No.
158	June 28	Quorum call	Present.
159	June 29	Quorum call	Present.
160	June 29	Quorum call	Present.
161	June 30	Quorum call	Present.
162	June 30	H.R. 7984: To substitute for sec. 101 of the Housing and Urban Development Act the Stephens amendment relative to rent supplements making minor changes in that section. (Passed 240 to 179.)	No.
163	June 30	H.R. 7984: To delete from the Housing and Urban Development Act sec. 101, relative to rent supplements, and sec. 106, relative to a new grant program under urban renewal. (Defeated 202 to 208.)	Yes.
164	June 30	H.R. 7984: To approve the Housing and Urban Development Act containing the provision for rent supplements (subsidies) for middle-income groups. (Passed 245 to 169.)	No.
165	July 1	Quorum call	Present.
166	July 6	Quorum call	Present.
167	July 6	H. Res. 440: To adopt the rule providing for consideration of H.R. 6400, the Voting Rights Act: 10 hours of debate with the right to substitute the text of H.R. 7896 (the McCulloch-Ford bill) for H.R. 6400. (Passed 308 to 58.)	Yes.
168	July 6	Quorum call	Present.
169	July 7	Quorum call	Present.
170	July 7	Quorum call	Present.
171	July 8	Quorum call	Present.
172	July 8	Quorum call	Present.
173	July 8	Quorum call	Present.
174	July 9	Quorum call	Present.
175	July 9	H.R. 6400: To amend the voting right bill to provide criminal penalties for giving false information on voting eligibility status, or for paying or accepting money to register or vote. (Passed 253-165.)	Yes.
176	July 9	H.R. 6400: To amend the voting rights bill to permit the courts to remove the Federal examiner in a given county if it is proved that at least 50 percent of Negroe of voting age are registered. (Defeated 155 to 262.)	No.
177	July 9	H.R. 6400: To amend the voting rights bill to allow people illiterate in English to vote if they have completed the 6th grade in Spanish-language schools. (Defeated 202 to 216.)	No.
178	July 9	H.R. 6400: To recommit to committee the voting rights bill in order to substitute the provision of the Ford-McCulloch bill, H.R. 7896. (Defeated 171 to 248.)	Yes.
179	July 9	H.R. 6400: On final passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. (Passed 333 to 85.)	Yes.
180	July 12	Quorum call	Present
181	Jluy 12	H.R. 8856: To clarify the law relative to the Atomic Energy Commission to correct any conclusion that its activities, as authorized by Congress, are limited by local regulations relative to the generation, sale, or transmission of electric power. (Defeated 216 to 139; a ⅔ vote being necessary to suspend rules.)	No.
182	July 12	H.R. 242: To require that appointments to fill temporary summer positions in the Federal Government in the Washington area be apportioned among all the States. (Passed 336 to 22.)	Yes.
183	July 12	Quorum call	Present.
184	July 13	Quorum call	Present.
185	July 13	S. 559: To adopt the conference report on the legislation requiring a "caution" statement on packages of cigarettes. (Passed 285 to 103)	Yes.
186	July 14	Quorum call	Present.
187	July 14	Quorum call	Present.
188	July 14	H.R. 8926: To amend the Coinage Act of 1965 to require the silver content of quarters and dimes to be minted under this act be fixed at 40 percent. (Defeated 187 to 218.)	No.
189	July 14	H.R. 8926: On final adoption of the Coinage Act of 1965 reducing the amount of silver in our dimes, quarters, and half dollars. (Passed 255 to 151.)	Yes.
190	July 15	Quorum call	Present.
191	July 15	Quorum call	Present.
192	July 19	Quorum call	Present.
193	July 20	H.R. 9075: To approve the Uniformed Services Pay Act of 1965 increasing compensation for members of the Armed Forces. (Passed 410 to 0.)	Yes.
194	July 21	Quorum call	Present.
195	July 22	Quorum call	Present.
196	July 22	H.R. 8283: On a motion to recommit to committee the antiproverty bill of 1965 in order to delete the provision giving the Federal Poverty Administration the right to overrule Governors' vetoes of projects and to reduce the authorization for 1966 from $1,900,000,000 to $945,000,000, the amount for 1965. (Defeated 178 to 227.)	Yes.
197	July 22	H.R. 8283: On final passage of the antipoverty bill of 1965 authorizing $1,900,000,000 for the program. (Passed 245 to 158.)	No.

Footnotes at end of table.

Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
	1965		
198	July 26	Quorum call	Present.
199	July 26	H. Res. 437: On a motion (previous question) to halt debate and vote on the resolution calling for only 5 hours of debate on H.R. 77 (to repeal sec. 14(b) of Taft-Hartley) and prohibiting the consideration of meaningful amendments. (Passed 248 to 171.)	No.
200	July 26	Quorum call	Present.
201	July 26	Quorum call	Present.
202	July 27	Quorum call	Present.
203	July 27	H.R. 6675: To approve the conference report on the Social Security Amendments of 1965 including medicare and an increase in social security payroll taxes. (Passed 307 to 116.)	No.
204	July 27	H.R. 7984: To approve the conference report on the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 including the rent subsidy provision. (Passed 251 to 168.)	No.
205	July 27	H.R. 2985: To approve the conference report on the Mental Facilities and Centers Construction Act. (Passed 414 to 0)	Yes.
206	July 28	Quorum call	Present.
207	July 28	Quorum call	Present.
208	July 28	H.R. 77: To recomm it to the Committee on Education and Labor the bill to repeal sec. 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. (Defeated 200 to 223)	Yes.
209	July 28	H.R. 77: To approve the bill repealing sec 14(b) of Taft-Hartley law (which authorized States to prohibit compulsory union membership). (Passed 221 to 203.)	No.
210	July 29	Quorum call	Present.
211	July 29	Quorum call	Present.
212	July 29	H.R. 8856: To clarify the law relative to the Atomic Energy Commission to correct any conclusion that its activities, as authorized by Congress, are limited by local regulations relative to the generation, sale, or transmission of electric power. (Passed 275 to 125.)	No.
213	Aug. 2	Quorum call	Present.
214	Aug. 2	S.J. Res. 81: To increase the amount of funds authorized for the Interstate Highway System for the fiscal year 1967 from $2,900,000,000 to $3,000,000,000 and authorizing the apportionment of these funds to the States. (Passed 313 to 11.)	Yes.
215	Aug. 2	H.R. 8027: To authorize the appropriation of $10,000,000 for fiscal 1966 to provide assistance in training State and local law-enforcement officers. (Passed 326 to 0.)	Yes.
216	Aug. 2	H.R. 6964: To approve the bill authorizing the Attorney General to transfer certain prisoners to residential community treatment centers, to grant them leave, and to permit them to work in private employment. (Passed 323 to 0.)	Yes.
217	Aug. 3	Quorum call	Present.
218	Aug. 3	S. 1564 (H.R. 6400): To recommit to committee the conference report on the voting rights bill of 1965 in order to delete the provision which would permit the courts to remove the Federal examiner in a given political subdivision if it is proved that at least 50 percent of Negroes of voting age are registered. (Defeated 118 to 284.)	Yes.
219	Aug. 3	S. 1564 (H.R. 6400): To approve the conference report on the voting rights bill of 1965. (Passed 328 to 74.)	Yes.
220	Aug. 3	H.R. 8460: To provide certain increases in annuities payable from the civil service retirement and disability fund. (Passed 394 to 0.)	Yes.
221	Aug. 4	H.R. 8439: To adopt the conference report on the military construction authorization bill for 1966 in the amount of $1,700,000,000. (Passed 389 to 0.)	Absent.[3]
222	Aug. 4	S. 1742: To amend the articles of agreement of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and its affiliate, the International Finance Corporation to permit the World Bank to lend to the IFC. (Passed 330 to 54.)	Absent.[3]
223	Aug. 5	Quorum call	Present.
224	Aug. 5	H. Res. 498: To adopt the rule under which the House would consider H.R. 4750, the bill to provide a 2-year extension of the interest equalization tax. (Passed 329 to 44.)	Yes.
225	Aug. 5	H.R. 4750: To adopt the bill amended to extend for 19 months the interest equalization tax. (Passed 274 to 97.)	Yes.
226	Aug. 9	Quorum call	Present.
227	Aug. 9	Quorum call	Present.
228	Aug. 9	H.R. 9018: To adopt the substitute bill (H.R. 7174) in lieu of bill approved by committee relative to motor vehicle insurance in the District of Columbia, the substitute requiring all insured drivers to cover protection against uninsured drivers and requiring uninsured drivers to pay at least $40 a year into an unsatisfied judgment claims fund. (Passed 173 to 156.)	No.
229	Aug. 10	Quorum call	Present.
230	Aug. 10	H.R. 10306: To amend the Selective Service Act to make it a crime to knowingly destroy or mutilate a draft card. (Passed 393 to 1.)	Yes.
231	Aug. 11	Quorum call	Present.
232	Aug. 11	Quorum call	Present.
233	Aug. 12	Quorum call	Present.
234	Aug. 12	S. 1648: To amend the Public Works and Economic Development Act by making more areas eligible for grants for public works and development facilities, to increase the authorization from $400,000,000 to $500,000,000 and to change the limitation in the program from 5 years to 4 years. (Passed 196 to 194.)	No.
235	Aug. 12	S. 1648: To recommit to committee the Public Works and Economic Development Act in order to cut $85,000,000 from the cost by eliminating industrial and commercial loans and guarantees for working capital, to require the purchase of American-made products, and to provide for an annual review of expenditures by Congress. (Defeated 163 to 224.)	Yes.
236	Aug. 12	S. 1648: On final passage of the Public Works and Economic Development Act authorizing the expenditure of $3,300,000,000 (not including administrative costs) for the initial 5 years of the program. (Passed 264 to 135.)	No.
237	Aug. 16	Quorum call	Present.
238	Aug. 16	H.R. 6431: To suspend the tariff duty on certain forms of nickel. (Passed 297 to 48)	Yes.
239	Aug. 16	H.R. 8635: To suspend the rules and pass the bill establishing a Federal Boxing Commission. (Passed 346 to 4)	Yes.
240	Aug. 17	Quorum call	Present.
241	Aug. 18	Quorum call	Present.
242	Aug. 19	H.R. 7750: To approve the conference report on the Foreign Assistance Act of 1965. (Passed 244 to 150)	Absent.[3]
243	Aug. 19	H.R. 9811: To recommit to committee for further consideration the omnibus farm bill. (Defeated 169 to 224)	Yes.
244	Aug. 19	H.R. 9811: On final passage of the $3,300,000,000 food and Agriculture Act of 1965 (omnibus farm bill). (Passed 221 to 172)	No.
245	Aug. 24	Quorum call	Present.
246	Aug. 24	H.R. 10586: To recommit to committee the bill making supplemental appropriations in the amount of $1,200,000,000 for the Department of Labor, and of Health, Education, and Welfare for fiscal year 1966. (Defeated 139 to 263.)	Yes.
247	Aug. 25	Quorum call	Present.
248	Aug. 25	H.R. 2580: On an amendment to the Amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 which would place a restriction of 115,000 on the number of immigrants to be admitted from the Western Hemisphere. (Defeated 189 to 218.)	Yes.
249	Aug. 25	H.R. 2580: On final passage of the bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act. (Passed 318 to 95)	Yes.
250	Aug. 26	Quorum call	Present.
251	Aug. 26	Quorum call	Present.
252	Aug. 26	H.R. 9567: On final passage of the Higher Education Act of 1965. (Passed 367 to 22.)	Yes.
253	Aug. 30	H.R. 9022: To provide for Federal assistance in the construction and operation of elementary and secondary schools in areas affected by a major disaster and amend the law relative to impacted school areas. (Passed 304 to 37.)	No.
254	Aug. 31	H. Res. 551: On adoption of the rule providing for consideration of H.R. 9042, the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965. (Passed 364 to 23.)	Yes.
255	Aug. 31	H.R. 9042: On passage of the bill providing for the implementation of the agreement concerning automotive products between the United States and Canada. (Passed 280 to 113.)	Yes.
256	Sept. 1	Quorum call	Present.
257	Sept. 1	H.R. 3141: To approve the health professions educational assistance amendments including provision for Federal Scholarship grants. (Passed 340 to 47.)	No.
258	Sept. 2	Quorum call	Present.
259	Sept. 2	H.R. 5863: On passage of the bill to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to undertake research and development in high-speed ground transportation. (Passed 317 to 24.)	Yes.
260	Sept. 2	Quorum call	Present.
261	Sept. 7	Quorum call	Present.
262	Sept. 7	H.R. 8439: On a motion to table a motion to discharge the Committee on Armed Services from further consideration of the bill, vetoed by the President, which authorized 1966 military construction funds. (Passed 320 to 19.)	No.
263	Sept. 7	H.R. 10775: To suspend the rules and pass the bill adopted by the committee (in lieu of vetoed bill) authorizing 1966 military construction funds. (Passed 347 to 0.)	Yes.
264	Sept. 7	H.R. 168: To increase the rates for service-connected compensation for veterans. (Passed 348 to 0.)	Yes.
265	Sept. 7	S.J. Res. 102: To authorize funds in the amount of $1,500,000 for the Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice and the District of Columbia Commission on Crime and Law Enforcement. (Passed 338 to 0.)	Yes.
266	Sept. 8	Quorum call	Present.
267	Sept. 8	Quorum call	Present.
268	Sept. 8	Quorum call	Present.
269	Sept. 8	H.R. 10871: To approve the $3,400,000,000 foreign aid appropriation bill. (Passed 239 to 143)	Yes.
270	Sept. 9	Quorum call	Present.
271	Sept. 9	Quorum call	Present.
272	Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
273	Sept. 13	On a motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call of the House in rollcall 272. (Passed 225 to 126)	Absent.[3]
274	Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.

Footnotes at end of table.

Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
	1965		
275	Sept. 13	On a motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call of the House in rollcall 274. (Passed 241 to 127)	Absent.[2]
276	Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
277	Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
278	Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
279	Spet. 13	On a motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call of the House in rollcall 278. (Passed 256 to 123)	No.
280	Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
281	Sept. 13	On a motion to dispense with fruther proceedings under the call of the House in rollcall 280. (Passed 255 to 120)	No.
282	Sept. 13	On a motion to lay on the table the motion that the Journal be approved as read. (Defeated 138 to 244)	Yes.
283	Sept. 13	To order the previous question on the motion to approve the Journal as read. (Passed 257 to 126)	No.
284	Sept. 13	On the motion to approve the Journal as read. (Passed 264 to 119)	No.
285	Sept. 13	On a motion to adjourn the House. (Defeated 175 to 204)	Yes.
286	Sept. 13	H. Res. 506: To discharge the Committee on Rules from further consideration of H.R. 10065 and to make it in order to consider the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1965 with 2 hours of general debate. (Passed 259 to 121.)	Yes.
287	Sept. 13	H. Res. 506: On a motion to lay on the table a motion to reconsider the vote by which H. Res. 506 was adopted. (Defeated 193 to 181)	No.
288	Sept. 13	On a motion to adjourn. (Defeated 173 to 201)	Yes.
289	Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
290	Sept. 13	On a motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call of the House in rollcall 289. (Passed 243 to 136)	No.
291	Sept. 13	H. Res. 499: To discharge the Committee on Rules from further consideration of H.R. 7371 and to make it in order to consider amendments to the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 with 4 hours of general debate. (Passed 201 to 171.)	No.
292	Sept. 13	H. Res. 478: To discharge the Committee on Rules from further consideration of H.R. 9460 and to make it in order to consider the bill providing for the establishment of a National Foundation of the Arts and Humanities with 2 hours of general debate. (Passed 260 to 114)	No.
293	Sept. 13	H. Res. 536: To discharge the Committee on Rules from further consideration of H.R. 10281 and to make it in order to consider the bill adjusting salaries of Federal employees with 4 hours of general debate. (Passed 288 to 84.)	No.
294	Sept. 14	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
295	Sept. 14	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
296	Sept. 14	H.R. 2091: To recommit to committee the bill relating to the establishment of concession policies in the areas administered by the National Park Service. (Defeated 73 to 298.)	Absent.[2]
297	Sept. 15	Quorum call	Present.
298	Sept. 15	Quorum call	Present.
299	Sept. 15	H.R. 8283: To recommit to conference committee the antipoverty bill and insisting on the retention in the bill of the veto power of State Governors in the form approved by the House. (Passed 209 to 180.)	Yes.
300	Sept. 15	Quorum call	Present.
301	Sept. 15	H.R. 9460: To recommit to committee the bill providing for the establishment of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities. (Defeated 128 to 251.)	Yes.
302	Sept. 16	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
303	Sept. 16	H. Res. 574: To lay on the table the resolution calling upon the Postmaster General to furnish to the House of Representatives the names of all persons employed by the Post Office as temporary employees during the summer of 1965. (Passed 186 to 180.)	Absent.[2]
304	Sept. 16	S. 2042: On passage of the bill extending authority of the Atomic Energy Commission to indemnify licensees and contractors for public liability. (Passed 337 to 30.)	Absent.[3]
305	Sept. 17	Quorum call	Present.
306	Sept. 17	H.R. 9221: To adopt the conference report on the $46,800,000,000 Department of Defense appropriation bill. (Passed 280 to 0.)	Yes.
307	Sept. 17	H. Res. 585: To adopt the resolution as amended dismissing the election contests against the seated members of the Mississippi delegation in the House of Representatives. (Passed 228 to 143.)	Yes.
308	Sept. 20	Quorum call	Present.
309	Sept. 20	H.R. 10873 (S. 2127): To provide life insurance for members of the Armed Forces at a cost of $2 per month for $10,000 of insurance and $1 per month for $5,000 of insurance. (Passed 360 to 0.)	Yes.
310	Sept. 20	H. Res. 560: To express the sense of Congress approving the action of the President or the Organization of American States in combating Communist subversive aggression in the Western Hemisphere. (Passed 312 to 52.)	Yes.
311	Sept. 20	Quorum call	Present.
312	Sept. 21	Quorum call	Present.
313	Sept. 21	S. 4: To adopt the conference report on the Water Quality Act of 1965. (Passed 379 to 0)	Yes.
314	Sept. 22	Quorum call	Present.
315	Sept. 22	S. 2300: On a motion to delete the authorization for the Dickey-Lincoln School project, St. John River, Maine, and to provide for a survey for flood control and allied purposes of the St. John River by the Department of the Army. (Passed 207 to 185.)	Absent.[3]
316	Sept. 22	H.R. 30: To approve the bill providing for the participation of the United States in the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center in Dade County, Fla., and to authorize appropriations for it not to exceed $15,000,000. (Passed 254 to 113.)	Absent.[3]
317	Sept. 22	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
318	Sept. 22	On a motion to adjourn. (Defeated 89 to 204.)	Absent.[3]
319	Sept. 23	Quorum call	Present.
320	Sept. 23	H.R. 7371: To add to amendments proposed by the Committee on Banking and Currency relative to the Bank Holding Act of 1965, an amendment to forbid any company that controls a bank to own nonbanking businesses. (Passed 199 to 178).	Absent.[3]
321	Sept. 23	H. Res. 580: To order the previous question on the adoption of the rule relative to H.R. 10232, the bill to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961. (Passed 279 to 70.)	Absent.[2]
322	Sept. 23	H.R. 10232: To approve the bill amending the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act with respect to loans for rural water and sanitation facilities. (Passed 325 to 10.)	Absent.[3]
323	Sept. 24	Quorum call	Present.
324	Sept. 24	S. 306: On the motion to recommit to committee the Clean Air and Solid Waste Disposal Act in order to remove from the bill title II relating to solid waste disposal. (Defeated 80 to 220.)	Yes.
325	Sept. 24	S. 306: On final passage of the Clean Air and Solid Waste Disposal Act. (Passed 294 to 4)	Yes.
326	Sept. 27	Quorum call	Present.
327	Sept. 27	H. Res. 515: To discharge the Committee on Rules from further consideration of the bill relative to home rule for the District of Columbia. (Passed 213 to 183.).	No.
328	Sept. 27	H. Res. 515: To adopt the resolution providing an open rule with 5 hours of general debate on legislation relative to home rule for the District of Columbia. (Passed 222 to 179.)	No.
329	Sept. 27	Quorum call	Present.
330	Sept. 27	H.R. 4644: On the motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for the consideration of legislation on home rule for the District of Columbia. (Passed 234 to 155.)	Yes.
331	Sept. 27	Quorum call	Present.
332	Sept. 28	Quorum call	Present.
333	Sept. 28	Quorum call	Present.
334	Sept. 28	Quorum call	Present.
335	Sept. 29	Quorum call	Present.
336	Sept. 29	H.R. 4644: To strike out the enacting clause of the bill relating to home rule in the District of Columbia. (Defeated 179 to 219)	No.
337	Sept. 29	H.R. 4644: To adopt the motion which in effect substituted the Sisk amendment (calling for a referendum in the District of Columbia on home rule) for the charter proposed in the Multer amendment to H.R. 4644. (Passed 227 to 174.)	No.
338	Sept. 29	H.R. 4644: On a motion to recommit to committee the District of Columbia home rule bill as amended. (Defeated 134 to 266)	Yes.
339	Sept. 29	H.R. 4644: On passage of the District of Columbia home rule bill as amended to provide for a local referendum and for the election of a board to prepare a municipal charter (if the voters so desire) for submission to the voters and to the Congress. (Passed 283 to 117.)	Yes.
340	Sept. 30	Quorum call	Present.
341	Sept. 30	H.R. 2580: To accept the conference report on the amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act, which report included a limitation of 120,000 persons per year from the Western Hemisphere. (Passed 320 to 69.)	Yes.
342	Sept. 30	H.R. 10281: On a motion to recommit to committee the Government employees pay raise bill in order to remove the provisions increasing salaries of Members of Congress, and certain top positions in the executive and judicial branches, and providing for a permanent system for establishing and maintaining these salaries. (Passed 238 to 140.)	Yes.
343	Sept. 30	H.R. 10281: On final passage of the Government employees pay raise bill, as amended, granting a 4-percent across-the-board increase. (Passed 370 to 7.)	Absent.[4]
344	Oct. 1	Quorum call	Present.
345	Oct. 1	H.J. Res. 642: To recommit to committee the bill authorizing the 3d Library of Congress building (James Madison Memorial) in order to direct the Architect of the Capitol to study the feasibility of including a visitor's center in this building or in the vicinity. (Defeated 17 to 321.)	No.
346	Oct. 1	H.J. Res. 642 (S.J. Res. 69): On final passage of the resolution to authorize construction of a 3d building for the Library of Congress to be known as the James Madison Memorial Library. (Passed 328 to 5.)	Yes.

Footnotes at end of table.

Roll-call No.	Date	Measure, question, and result	Vote
	1965		
347	Oct. 1	H.R. 10871: On a motion to recommit to conference the foreign aid appropriation bill and to insist upon the original House position that foreign aid is not to go to those nations which trade with North Vietnam. (Defeated 164 to 174.)	Yes.
348	Oct. 1	H.R. 10871: On final passage of the conference report on foreign assistance appropriations for 1966 in the amount of $3,900,000,000. (Passed 204 to 127.)	Yes.
349	Oct. 1	H.R. 3142 (S. 597): To amend Public Health Service Act to provide for a program of grants to assist in meeting needs of medical library services and facilities. (Passed 296 to 3.)	Absent.[3]
350	Oct. 1	H.R. 6519: To authorize $6,000,000 toward construction of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis. (Passed 250 to 12)	Absent.[3]
351	Oct. 5	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
352	Oct. 6	Quorum call	Present.
353	Oct. 7	S.J. Res. 32: To authorize a contribution of not more than $22,000,000 to certain residents of the Ryukyu Islands for claims against the United States due to actions or omissions of the Armed Forces between Aug. 15, 1945, and Apr. 28, 1952. (Passed 312 to 55.)	Yes.
354	Oct. 7	H.R. 2020: To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the southern Nevada water project. (Passed 239 to 134.)	Yes.
355	Oct. 7	Quorum call	Present.
356	Oct. 7	S. 2084: To recommit to committee the so-called highway beautification bill in order to give the States authority to zone commercial or industrial sites in rural areas under this act. (Defeated 153 to 230.)	Yes.
357	Oct. 7	S. 2084: On final passage of the so-called highway beautification bill as amended by the House. (Passed 245 to 138)	No.
358	Oct. 8	Quorum call	Present.
359	Oct. 8	H.R. 9811: To approve the conference report on the omnibus farm bill of 1965. (Passed 219 to 150)	No.
360	Oct. 11	Quorum call	Present.
361	Oct. 12	Quorum call	Present.
362	Oct. 12	Quorum call	Present.
363	Oct. 12	H. Res. 598: To adopt the rule for consideration of H.R. 11135 (sugar bill) with 4 hours of general debate and the opportunity to act on 2 amendments. (Passed 253 to 80.)	Yes.
364	Oct. 12	Quorum call	Present.
365	Oct. 13	Quorum call	Present.
366	Oct. 13	H.R. 11135: To recommit to committee the sugar bill in order to provide for an import fee to obtain for the U.S. Treasury some of the profits now going to foreign sugar interests. (Defeated 160 to 230.)	Yes.
367	Oct. 13	H.R. 11135: On final passage of the sugar bill. (Passed 246 to 147)	Yes.
368	Oct. 14	Quorum call	Present.
369	Oct. 14	H.R. 11588: On an amendment to the supplemental appropriation bill to delete $6,000,000 for the rent subsidy program. (Passed 185 to 162)	Absent.[3]
370	Oct. 14	H.R. 11588: On final passage of the supplemental appropriation bill in the amount of $4,200,000,000. (Passed 242 to 100)	Absent.[3]
371	Oct. 18	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
372	Oct. 19	Quorum call	Present.
373	Oct. 20	Quorum call	Present.
374	Oct. 20	Quorum call	Present.
375	Oct. 20	Quorum call	Present.
376	Oct. 20	H.R. 9567: To recommit to conference committee the Higher Education Act of 1965 in order to delete that part of the bill which would establish a National Teacher Corps. (Defeated 152 to 226.)	Yes.
377	Oct. 20	H.R. 9567: On final passage of the Higher Education Act of 1965. (Passed 313 to 63)	Yes.
378	Oct. 20	S. 2300: To approve the conference report on the Rivers and Harbors Act including the Dickey-Lincoln School project in Maine which will cost about $300,000,000 and which was deleted from the bill when it was passed originally by the House. (Passed 221 to 139.)	No.
379	Oct. 21	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
380	Oct. 21	H.R. 11588: To approve the conference report on the supplemental appropriation bill for 1966. (Passed 251 to 84)	Absent.[3]
381	Oct. 21	H.R. 11588: To accept the Senate amendment to the supplemental appropriation bill providing funds for the Dickey-Lincoln public works project in Maine. (Passed 165 to 162.)	Absent.[2]
382	Oct. 22	Quorum call	Present.
383	Oct. 22	H.R. 11135: To adopt the conference report amending and extending the Sugar Act of 1948. (Passed 174 to 88)	Yes.

[1] Speaking engagement.
[2] If present would have voted "no."
[3] If present would have voted "yes."
[4] Personal interest; would have voted "present."

Confirmation of William D. Bechill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, on October 1, the President appointed, subject to Senate confirmation, Mr. William D. Bechill as Commissioner of the new Administration on Aging and the Senate confirmed this appointment on Friday, October 22. The President could not have found anyone within the width and breadth of the United States who would have been better qualified to carry out this important new responsibility. Mr. Bechill is well known to those who work in the field of aging throughout the United States as an able, energetic, and imaginative leader in efforts to solve the problems of aging and to take maximum advantage of the opportunities for improving the later years of our people. During the past 5 years he has rendered outstanding service as executive secretary of the Citizens Advisory Committee on Aging in California. We of the Senate Special Committee on Aging have come to know him and of his excellent work in that capacity through our studies, investigations, and hearings in California, on which he has been very helpful. He is also serving as president of the Western Gerontological Society and as a member and advisor to the National Council of Senior Citizens. In 1961 he was a delegate to the White House Conference on Aging.

Mr. Bechill is well qualified by education as well as by experience to undertake the duties of Commissioner of Aging. He received his baccalaureate degree at Beloit College and his master of arts degree at the University of Michigan. He has also done additional graduate work beyond his masters degree at the University of Michigan, and has served as a member of that institution's faculty. After obtaining these excellent educational qualifications, and before entering the specialized area of aging, Mr. Bechill spent many years obtaining firsthand knowledge and understanding in the more generalized area of social work. He served first as a case worker in Detroit public welfare, rising to the responsibility of area representative of the Michigan Department of Public Welfare.

I emphasize Mr. Bechill's education at the University of Michigan and his practical work experience in the State of Michigan, Mr. President, because that great educational institution and that progressive, enlightened State have been preeminent in gerontological endeavors. Mr. Bechill's education and early experience in Michigan coupled with his more recent specialized experience and service in California constitute a background for a Commissioner on Aging which would be hard to duplicate.

Mr. Bechill is our Nation's first Commissioner of Aging. This position was created by the Older Americans Act of 1965 which became law on July 14. I am confident that all Senators are aware that the able senior Senator from Michigan was the principal Senate sponsor of this measure, which is not surprising in view of his State's leadership in the field of aging.

Mr. President, the President has decided to let his administration's record in the field of aging stand or fall based upon Bill Bechill's ability to carry out this responsibility. Those of us who have worked in aging and who are acquainted with him and his excellent work and qualifications for this new responsibility are confident that the President has chosen wisely.

I am pleased that the Senate confirmed him prior to adjournment. This will enable the programs envisioned by Congress in enacting the Older Americans Act to go into effect without delay.

Dispensation of Justice

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I have sat here in complete amazement by the charges made by the gentleman from Illinois in this very serious matter. The real fact that such statements are made should be concern enough for the Justice Department, and should have even more importance for the Judiciary Committees of the House and Senate, in order that they may take a look into the matter to decide whether the charges of favoritism and privileged treatment for indictment of known criminals has become a part of the system of justice as established by the American people.

The charges against the Teamsters, through their leader and president, has begun to take on the aura of a cloak and dagger novel. No one wants James Hoffa exonerated from the many violations of law that he has committed, but by the same token there are those who have been arrested and then completely exonerated of charges of evil and wrongdoing by those who should be able to substantiate the position of the prosecution.

No one of us knows, and the indications are probably that no one ever will, but if the gentleman from Illinois makes the statement on the floor of the House such as he has just put into the RECORD—and the record is open and shut insofar as the character of the so-called friendly witness, I see behind this—if this is even half true—a continuing and deliberate attempt at harassment and weakening of the labor movement—not alone the Teamsters, Mineworkers, and many other international and national unions, but the whole spectrum of organized labor.

I cannot think of a better gift to the support for the prostration of unions than to destroy the leadership of the Teamsters, who have produced working conditions and wages—without parallel—in the entire history of the work force. I do not believe this should be left without the proper committee of the House making a thorough and complete search in this long, drawn out, and complicated trial.

This is not the first time in our history that a controversial figure, whether political, industrial, or labor have been in the position Mr. Hoffa finds himself in now—a position easily spelled out if one should demand a most careful application of justice. It is not the first time that informers have been tried to complete absolution, even to the fact that they have made a life of lawbreaking and corruption a profitable business.

The conviction and ultimate prosecution—no matter if applied to a widely known controversial figure such as Mr. Hoffa cannot help but yield a harvest of publicity and political reward. The charges made by the gentleman from Illinois concerning the conviction of any person—no matter whom he might be—is not worth the decay of moral values in the equitable dispensation of justice.

Every one of us have heard rumors of a very questionable nature regarding the procedures, charges, and countercharges made during this case. However, it is charges made on the floor of the House which make this a matter of public interest as well as begin the festering of decay in our judicial procedures—not only in the protection of citizens but in the protection of the dignity of the Federal Government as well as those falsely charged with serious charges.

A Federal Tax-Sharing Plan With the States Should Be Explored

SPEECH

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, one of the increasingly important challenges facing us today is to searchingly examine and prudently move toward achieving a more wholesome and even balance and separability between and among the units and powers of government at the National, State and local levels.

Many authorities have voiced their concern at the accelerating temptation and tendency of the State and community units to surrender too many of their responsibilities and energies to the influence and direction of remote planners and consulters within the agencies of the Federal Government.

This tendency is perhaps a natural development in connection with the huge Federal assistance appropriations going to the State and community operations in concert with the duty of the Federal Government, in this nuclear age, to encourage and inspire working partnerships with the States and communities in the common objective of national progress. The fear is that these partnerships, admittedly in good cause, may unwittingly become unhealthily disjointed and eventually operate against the best whole interest, if we do not watch out.

Money may be, as in other things, at the root of this unhappy tendency of the States and local governments to give up to much of their community home responsibility and independence but the evil is not inevitable if we are wise enough to recognize its approach and take effective steps against it.

It is precisely in order to initiate and develop effective ways and means to restrain this situation, while retaining and promoting the wholesome and dynamic cooperation of the Federal Government with other levels below in obvious areas of essential need, that I have introduced a bill, H.R. 11770, to establish a system for the sharing of certain Federal tax receipts with the States.

Mr. Speaker, the traditional principle, that the best government is the government closest to the people, still remains true. It is to that fundamental truth and purpose this bill is directed. I hope that early in the next session the Congress will devote itself to the increasingly imperative need to encourage local government responsibility and independence in matters of home concern while preserving the coodinated energies and vision of wholesome partnership that has brought this country to the pinnacle of free world leadership, seeking only peace on earth and health and progress for all, everywhere.

A Special Hell for Children in Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, I commend to your attention the following article which appeared in the latest 1965 issue of Harpers magazine. It was written by John W. Anderson, an editorial writer on the Washington Post. Mr. Anderson is a perceptive observer of affairs in Washington and the nearby suburbs. His article on Junior Village should be read and reread. Its message is unmistakable:

A SPECIAL HELL FOR CHILDREN IN WASHINGTON

(By J. W. Anderson)

The youngest victims of poverty and family disintegration are stowed away in a great "factory" for mental retardation on the banks of the Potomac.

The southern corner of the District of Columbia, along the Potomac River, is an isolated tract known as Blue Plains. Here Washington stores its refuse—dried sludge from the sewage plant, abandoned automobiles, people who are old and poor, and homeless children.

The children live in a desolate institution called Junior Village, at the end of a short dusty road that is apparanently nameless. To the right are six square 3-story barracks built at the turn of the century as an industrial school for Negro boys. Today the barracks are called cottages and they are named, with unconscious irony, after the American Presidents. Down a steep slope and across the playground is Garfield Cottage, a cinderblock shed, redolent of the urine that has seeped into the porous cinder. Originally a temporary expedient to house small boys, it has become, in the spirit of the place, a permanent expedient.

The reception center is now used largely as a dormitory to handle the overflow of other dormitories. The small chapel is as dusty as the road; at the mess hall children stand in line to eat in shifts. Several new buildings are low and bright but, unfortunately, badly drained. In wet weather the children are issued galoshes to cross the surrounding muddy marshes.

The population of Junior Village has tripled since 1958. Last winter it reached 912. Each year the children coming to the village are younger, and they stay longer. Junior Village is now the largest institution in the United States for young children classified as "dependent" (to distinguish them from the delinquents). And it has become a national example of the wrong way to care for homeless children.

Here, in fact, Washington is running a great factory of retardation and mental illness. Because it is too big, too crowded, and desperately understaffed, it involuntarily inflicts severe—often permanent—damage on small children.

Junior Village is the product of Washington's welfare system, which deserves national attention not only because it is run directly by the Federal Government, but because Washington offers other American cities a view of their own futures. Today it is the Nation's best-paid and best-educated metropolitan area. But there is secure employment only for white-collar workers, and the distance between the lower and middle classes is steadily widening. There is little neighborhood cohesion to sustain a family in trouble. Family relationships are loose. Many families have only one parent. (Some 19,000 working mothers in the city have children under 6, but there are in the city only four low-cost day-care centers, with a total capacity of 185 children.) Above all, there is a savage and unremitting housing shortage. Actual rents for slum housing so far exceed the obsolete relief payments that even families safely on relief often fall apart because they cannot find shelter. And they leave their children literally on the city's doorstep.

Washington is not unique in the rising numbers of its homeless children. The same thing is happening in every American city that is undergoing great population changes and growth. And everywhere the traditional methods of caring for these children are breaking down.

New York City, for example, last winter was housing more than 600 children in a "temporary" shelter where the physical crowding resembles Junior Village. In theory, no child is to stay at the New York shelter for more than 90 days. But a recent survey showed that fully half the children were there more than three months, some for as long as 4 years.

New York has long depended on privately operated charities to care for its homeless children. The city paid the charities for that service. But the increased municipal per diem payment could not expand an inflexible private system fast enough to keep pace with the postwar baby boom. Worse, some charities insist on picking and choosing among the children. The most intractable products of misfortune are left in the public shelters.

Washington, too, depended on its private charities to care for children until about a decade ago. This system has now collapsed. In effect Washington is farther down the same road that New York is traveling, primarily because it is growing faster than any other American city.

Across the country, the character of homeless children is changing. The genuine orphan, in this time of low death rates, is a rarity. Junior Village and its counterparts house the victims of ambiguous relationships in which parents are neither present nor wholly absent. The child's mother may be ill, or in prison. Or she may simply be too poor to keep all her children with her. Then our brutal welfare laws force upon her the agony of deciding which ones will stay at home, which will go to the institution. Unlike orphans, most of these children cannot be adopted. Frequently these children are so defensive that they cannot respond even to the limited affection a foster home offers. Being removed from a series of foster homes as "unsuitable" is quite as damaging to a child as being left in an institution.

Baltimore has twice as many children in foster homes as Washington, and it consequently has no Junior Village. California has always leaned heavily on its foster home program and there are seldom more than a few dozen children in a county shelter. But officials of both these systems are finding that foster parents cannot handle children with emotional disorders; and the proportion of these children is rapidly rising. Driven by a sense of crisis, the country's ablest welfare officials are searching for new techniques. To all of them a huge institution like Junior Village is the ultimate failure.

LOST IN A MULTITUDE

For the children, the menace of Junior Village is the anonymity of its life, and the fear of abandonment. The visitor becomes aware of these silent plagues almost as soon as he walks in. The children come quietly to you, hoping to be picked up, or touched, or in some other way singled out of the crowd for a moment. The little ones anxiously call everyone "mommy" and want to be held. The 8- or 10-year-olds hold up their biceps to be felt, or their hands to be shaken. Among them all, there is the same hunger for simple physical contact.

In Cleveland Cottage—a clean, sunlit place—you find some 25 two-year-olds. There are two attendants, sturdy, placid women, who are too busy wiping noses, serving orange juice, changing diapers, and folding clothes to talk to a child. But how will a 2-year-old learn to talk if he never hears any one but other 2-year-olds? Modern educators have warned that children who do not learn the basic language processes very early will never learn them well.

This year the Howard University School of Social Work published a detailed study of 376 children who had been in Junior Village. "Perceptive parents have noted that 'Johnny was walking when he went in, but he doesn't walk now,' or that 'Mary was beginning to talk in sentences and now she only says single words,'" the report found. "Obviously the Johnnys and Marys of Junior Village have regressed in their growth and development."

Regression is inevitable because—despite the physical crowding—these children are isolated to a degree that would be impossible in even the most disorganized family. The child is parted not only from his parents but also from his brothers and sisters, since the institution segregates by age and sex. He is then repeatedly separated from whatever friends he can make. Children admitted for 2 nights in a family emergency are jumbled indiscriminately with others who have been genuinely abandonded but have not been moved to foster homes, possibly for psychiatric reasons. Junior Village is actually several institutions for several kinds of children, all of them shuffled together at random.

Each child is further separated from the adults who care for him by the 8-hour shift: one counselor gets him up in the morning, another puts him to bed at night, a third appears if he wakes in the night, and the following morning he sees a fourth face because the first counselor has a day off.

At Junior Village, in some cottages there is 1 adult for as many as 28 children. The Child Welfare League of America recommends a ratio of one adult to every six children in all institutions. The League also states that no institution should try to care for more than 50 children and that those with sleeping difficulties need their own bedrooms. At Junior Village some of the dormitories hold 30 children in double-deck army cots.

"Each child's birthday should be celebrated individually in the intimacy of the group living unit," the League manual continues. At the Village each cottage—housing as many as 80 children—celebrates a communal birthday once a month, with one cake. There are too many children to do otherwise and many of them do not know their birthdays.

Washington cannot plead ignorance as to the effects of institutional life on children. They were accurately described by the Victorian novelists. In the 1930's students of delinquency began to report finding a recurrent pattern among delinquent children of very early separation from parents. The psychiatric literature on this subject is extensive, explicit, and well known. After World War II the British psychiatrist John Bowlby reported to the World Health Organization that, among young children, the deprivation of maternal care nearly always resulted in retardation of every kind of growth, physical and social as well as intellectual. Frequently, the retardation turned out to be irremediable.

IRREVERSIBLE DAMAGE

The District of Columbia Welfare Department, which runs Junior Village, sometimes blames the children's symptoms on misfortunes suffered before they arrived there. But recent research has clearly shown the damage done by large institutions themselves. For instance, two Yale pediatricians, Sally Provence and Rose C. Lipton, followed for some years the development of 14 children placed, within days of birth, in a Connecticut foundlings' home. Later they were adopted into normal families, most of them between their first and second birthdays. But even after a period of years, these children were still impaired in their ability to receive and return affection, to control their impulses, and to use their minds.

If a child passes his early years without learning to depend upon affection, he may become impervious to it later. He then becomes impervious to guilt as well. Large anonymous institutions for children are a notorious source of what has come to be known as the sociopathic personality.

The younger a child is when he comes to the institution—and the longer he stays there—the greater the likelihood of serious harm. The Child Welfare League's standards warn that no child under 6 can safely be held in an institution. Yet more than half of the children at Junior Village are now under 6, and the median age is declining. Half of the children now stay there more than 3 months; among the youngest children—those 6 to 18 months old—half stay more than 4 months. In the year ending in June 1964, 13 percent of the children discharged—a total of 184—had been there more than a year. Some have been there as long as 5 years, and others have been in and out repeatedly.

There are children in the Village who are mentally ill. No one knows how many, since Junior Village has no psychiatric or psychological service whatever. This omission reflects the differences in a community's attitudes toward ills of the mind and body. If a typhoid epidemic were to break out at the Village, there would immediately be a tremendous outpouring of money, medical help, and offers of shelter. But nothing happened when the annual report for 1962 stated: "The majority of these children were emotionally disturbed, from a barely discernible lesser degree to an apparent prepsychotic state."

The Welfare Department answers that report by saying that the Village's staff is not competent to diagnose mental illness. Nothing, however, has been done to obtain a competent diagnosis. When a child's behavior becomes intolerably disruptive, he is sent on to the city's general hospital or, if he is an adolescent, perhaps to the institution for delinquents. The city has money enough to use private psychiatric institutions, but these rarely have space.

At Junior Village, then, the city of Washington is putting children into a situation known to damage children's minds, and it is putting them there at the ages when they are most susceptible. It has provided no psychiatric advice to mitigate these effects. If the city were a person rather than a corporate guardian, it would long since have been prosecuted for child neglect.

PURGE OF THE INNOCENTS

Washington has arrived at this state of affairs through a chain of circumstances that has, with local variations, caught most large American cities. The dispersion of white families into the suburbs, and their replacement by Negro families, has meant the substitution of a younger population for an older one. (At Junior Village about 97 percent of the children are Negro.) Since 1950 the population under 20 in the District of Columbia, quite apart from the suburbs, has increased by about one-third, while the total population has scarcely changed.

Washington's peculiar incompetent response to this rising responsibility is due to its rudderless local government. The city's laws have been written and its budgets passed, not by a city council, but by congressional committees. Usually the committees speak for the rural South, and their relationship to the city is an incessant adversary proceeding. Welfare policy has rightly become a leading issue in the District's campaign for home rule. (The latest home-rule bill was defeated in September; but even if it is passed eventually, elected local officials could not be installed for several years. Consequently, any early remedy to Junior Village will have to come from Federal authorities.)

In public welfare, the Appropriations Committees have preferred to build institutions. When they vote funds for relief payments or foster homes, Congressmen have a feeling that they are simply sowing money through the slums. But bricks and mortar are something they understand.

On top of this predisposition Congress has lately been waging war on the city's entire public-relief program. It began in 1961 when Senator ROBERT C. BYRD of West Virginia became chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee for the District of Columbia. He launched an investigation which found that 58 percent of the city's relief recipients were violating one or another of the Welfare Department's innumerable regulations. In fact, in most instances it was the regulations, not the recipients, that offended decency and commonsense. For example, if an able-bodied man is unemployed and totally destitute, in Washington he can qualify his family for public aid to dependent children only by deserting them.

Taking over personal direction of the city's Welfare Department, while the administration's District Commissioners tactfully looked the other way, Senator BYRD instituted a massive purge of the relief rolls. The results were quickly evident at Junior Village, for relief was being withdrawn from families with no other hope of sustenance.

At the beginning of the purge, in early 1962, the city was supporting 19,968 children on relief and 472 in Junior Village. Three years later there were only 16,104 on relief but 862 in the Village. (And where were the other children? The independent Bureau of Social Science Research surveyed 50 mothers with children who had either been refused or taken off relief in the course of the purge. The survey found a few of these women employed, but "the majority had to depend on relief from private agencies or handouts from friends or relatives, or illicit activities, or on the unintended largess of the business community in permitting the accumulation of debts." The "illicit activities" included bootlegging and prostitution.)

Senator BYRD—sad to report—is supported by a majority of the Senate. Last spring the generous Senator RIBICOFF, of Connecticut, forced a rollcall vote in his campaign to bring to Washington relief rules as enlightened as those in Senator BYRD's own State of West Virginia. The Johnson administration's leaders—Senators MANSFIELD and LONG—both supported BYRD and opposed RIBICOFF. The welfare reforms lost by 47 votes to 40.

The Howard University study referred to above established that 22 percent of the children admitted to the Village in the past 3 years were there as a direct result of the Byrd purge, and remained there for unusually long periods.

KEEPING A HOME INTACT

To be sure, half of the children who go to the Village are there because their families have run out of money. There many reasons for destitution, but during the purge the city had a choice between supporting these children in their own homes or at Junior Village. The vast majority would have been far better off psychologically in their own homes with their own parents. (Only 2 percent of those in the Village have been removed from their homes on grounds of cruelty.) It would also be cheaper for the city. Relief for a child costs $33 a month. To support him at Junior Village costs nine times as much—$300 a month. The Washington system is wasteful not only in social terms, but in the cold arithmetic of the cash register.

Sometimes the fiscal costs rise even higher. Children deprived of affection become abnormally susceptible to illness. The Howard study described three small children, all under 3, whose parents were in jail; their grandmother, elderly and ill, cared for them with the help of a homemaker provided by a badly overburdened charity. When the charity withdrew its homemaker, the children went to the Village, promptly fell desperately sick, and spent months in a series of hospitals. They recovered only when the charity's homemaker was brought in to the hospital to tend them. The medical treatment of those children cost the city $26,000 before they were well enough to be moved into foster homes.

If Washington's city politics are unique, its children are not. The welfare system that Washington needs for its children is the same that other cities need. It must begin with a sustained and imaginative program to keep families together even in poverty and misfortune. A reasonable and humane relief policy is founded on an interest in helping children, rather than a passion for judging their parents' morality. Squeezing the poor is not only wrong but expensive.

Sometimes a lack of money is not the root trouble that disrupts a family. If, for example, a mother is simply a poor manager, a caseworker visiting once or twice a week can bring large returns on a small investment. In other instances, a temporary homemaker can fill a mother's place when she is ill, keeping the children together at home.

But unfortunately there is a dearth of homemakers. And meanwhile other welfare programs train women for other kinds of jobs while children continue to go to Junior Village.

Day-care centers are clearly needed for those mothers who want to work. But there is currently great political appeal in job-training schemes which force ill-prepared women willynilly into a labor market already supersaturated. For a great many women, bringing up a family is a full-time job, and for the city it is worth the price of relief to have the job done well. The Welfare Department's statistics and the Howard study strongly suggest that relief, day care, counseling, and homemaker services could reduce by two-thirds the number of children in Junior Village. With an effective effort at birth control, they could over the long run do even more.

In birth control, at least, Washington has made a hopeful beginning. Last year Congress, to its credit, appropriated funds for a system of public birth-control clinics now well underway. A Roman Catholic parish, deep in a Negro slum, is running a family planning center. There has been remarkably little controversy, for the cost in personal tragedies of an unchecked birth rate in the slums is too apparent to be arguable. Big families are the most vulnerable to catastrophe; there are 4.4 children in the average family represented in Junior Village.

For children whose homes are irretrievably dissolved, foster homes remain essential. If the city cannot find enough of them, then it must do as it does in hiring plumbers and lawyers. It must pay more for them.

TO END A PUBLIC MENACE

It is possible, of course, for children to grow up in institutions without suffering retardation. But the conditions must be ideal, which means among other things an adult to every four children, around the clock. To insure continuity of care there must be much longer shifts than American municipal civil-service rules permit. In Europe and particularly in Russia, governments have made heavy investments in institutions where, according to American observers, children have grown up with sharp intelligence and even poise. (These children also seem abnormally dependent upon the group with whom they live; but this dependence is less alien to the Russian tradition than to the American.)

Comparable institutions would be formidably expensive in America. And, in any event, they would offer no real alternative to Junior Village. The children in Russian state nurseries and boarding schools are healthy to begin with, and they are in the state's care permanently. Such children in the United States are the ones most readily adopted. But those in our big urban shelters are increasingly the severely marked products of family disasters. Their legal status is usually uncertain and no one knows exactly how long they will remain in the institution. A model institution requires a type of child that is very rare at Junior Village.

For an increasing number of homeless children neither the traditional institution nor the traditional foster home will do. In California, for example, welfare authorities have been experimenting for some years with group homes that combine some of the best features of foster homes and small, professionally staffed institutions. In the city of Washington, Family and Child Services, a progressive private charity, has recently rented 11 houses scattered inconspicuously through the city, and has hired and trained couples to run them. Five or six children are placed in each group home, with a degree of professional supervision impossible in foster homes. This elaborate program costs less per child, incidentally, then Junior Village. For adolescents, the city is establishing halfway houses where they can live under supervision while finishing school and finding jobs.

If programs such as these were developed on the scale needed, only a few dozen children would remain in Junior Village instead of many hundreds. Then the city could tear down the brutally ugly old buildings inherited from the Industrial School, and devote the new buildings to the very small residue of children who are so ill mentally that they require residential treatment. Washington urgently needs a small, expertly staffed institution for these children.

But Junior Village should be closed. The responsibility for it lies directly with the U.S. Government. It is steadily improving welfare standards in the 50 States, yet continues to operate in its own Capital an institution that is a public menace.

The mayor of Washington is Lyndon B. Johnson, the man who declared war on poverty and deprivation. Some of his administration's social reforms are already felt in Washington, but not in the Village at Blue Plains.

The men and women who run Junior Village—good and dedicated people—have no

illusions about it. They welcome visitors and give them a pamphlet which begins, "As a responsible citizen, your interest is well-placed—whether you are a resident of Washington, D.C., or San Francisco—because the existence of junior villages is tangible evidence of society's concern for the welfare of children and its own future, and of its unconcern. Analogously, the institution might be viewed as the bandage placed over the careless, self-inflicted wound." The booklet ends with these lines, upon which I cannot improve: "The Village staff would be the first to disabuse the reader of the notion that a good job is being done at Junior Village. Our job is to provide care for children, to be substitute parents, teachers, and trainers—a good job of that cannot be done in an institution."

Tribute to Colonel Vandervort

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK R. MILLER

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I am advised that one of the U.S. Army officers with whom all of us have been in frequent contact and who has served all of us most ably is scheduled to retire from the service in the near future. This officer is Col. Ralph E. "Bud" Vandervort, Jr., U.S. Army, who has been serving as the Army liaison officer for the U.S. Senate for nearly 6 years.

I wish to take this occasion to express my appreciation for the splendid service and cooperation Colonel Vandervort has furnished me and my colleagues, to indicate my regret that he is leaving the service, and to wish him many happy and successful years in a retirement which I trust will be most active.

Report to the People of the Eighth Congressional District of Wisconsin—XIX

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a report to the people of the Eighth Congressional District of Wisconsin on my voting and attendance record for the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

The report includes all rollcall votes. Its purpose is to collect in one place and in concise form information which is scattered through 27,330 pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The description of the bills and the amendments or motions in the report are for purposes of identification only; no attempt is made to describe the legislation completely or to elaborate upon the issues involved. This word of caution is advisable in view of the fact that the descriptions used are, for the most part, taken from the official titles of the bills which, unfortunately, do not always reflect the nature or true purpose of the legislation. Upon request, I will be pleased to furnish more complete information concerning any particular bill, as well as a summary of the issues involved and the reasons for my vote.

The furnishing of this report continues a service I began in the 1st session of the 80th Congress. This is the 19th report of my voting and attendance record. These 19 reports show how I voted on 2,478 questions in the House of Representatives. Based on quorum calls and the record votes, they also show an attendance record of 93 percent.

In addition to the votes shown in this report, there were 182 quorum calls in the House which are omitted to conserve space. This accounts for the nonconsecutive numbering of the rollcalls. I answered "present" to 175 quorum calls, and I was absent for 7 quorum calls.

89th Cong., 1st sess.

Roll-call No.	Date 1965	Measure, question, and result	Vote
2	Jan. 4	Election of Speaker. (McCormack 289, Gerald R. Ford 139)	Ford.
		H. Res. 1, authorizing seating of Mississippi delegation:	
3	Jan. 4	On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Agreed to 276 to 149)	Yea.
		H. Res. 8, adopting the rules of House with an amendment giving additional authority to Speaker:	
4	Jan. 4	On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Agreed to 224 to 202)	Nay.
		H. Res. 126, dismissing contest of election of Representative Ottinger of New York:	
6	Jan. 19	On resolution. (Adopted 245 to 102)	Nay.
		H.J. Res. 234, making supplemental appropriations for Department of Agriculture for fiscal 1965:	
7	Jan. 26	On motion to recommit with instructions to bar export of farm commodities to United Arab Republic. (Adopted 204 to 177.)	Yea.
		H.J. Res. 234, making supplemental appropriations for Department of Agriculture for fiscal 1965:	
10	Feb. 8	On motion to instruct House conferees to disagree to Senate amendment allowing aid to United Arab Republic at President's discretion. (Rejected 165 to 241.)	Yea.
		H.R. 3818, eliminating 25 percent gold cover in Federal Reserve banks:	
12	Feb. 9	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 93 to 289.)	Not voting.[1]
13	Feb. 9	On passage. (Passed 300 to 82.)	Not voting.[2]
		H.R. 2998, extending Arms Control and Disarmament Agency:	
16	Feb. 17	On passage. (Passed 302 to 63.)	Yea.
		H.R. 45, increasing U.S. participation in the Inter-American Development Bank:	
19	Feb. 18	On motion to recommit with instructions to reduce funds from $750,000,000 to $725,000,000. (Rejected 142 to 237)	Yea.
20	Feb. 18	On passage. (Passed 288 to 93.)	Nay.
		H. Res. 188, providing funds for expenses of Committee on Un-American Activities:	
23	Feb. 25	On motion to recommit to Committee on House Administration with instructions to hold hearings. (Rejected 58 to 333.)	Nay.
24	Feb. 25	On resolution. (Agreed to 360 to 29.)	Yea.
		S. 3, authorizing $1,092,400,000 for public works and development programs in the Appalachian region:	
28	Mar. 3	On motion to recommit with instructions to substitute bill authorizing $995,000,000 for 2-year economic development program for all depressed areas in United States. (Rejected 100 to 323.)	Yea.
29	Mar. 3	On passage. (Passed 257 to 165.)	Nay.
		H.R. 2, expanding Federal controls over depressant and stimulant drugs:	
31	Mar. 10	On Passage. (Passed 402 to 0.)	Yea.
		H.R. 4714, authorizing annual appropriations of $150,000 for National Council on the Arts:	
33	Mar. 15	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Rejected 217 to 113, a ⅔ majority being required.)	Nay.
		H.R. 5505, establishing standards for congressional districts:	
35	Mar. 16	On amendment permitting at-large elections of Representatives. (Rejected 147 to 255.)	Nay.
		H. Res. 276, providing for consideration of H.R. 5374, Supreme Court pay bill:	
38	Mar. 17	On resolution. (Agreed to 202 to 183.)	Yea.
		H.R. 5374, restoring the differential between Supreme Court and lower court salaries existing prior to 1964 Federal pay bill:	
39	Mar. 17	On passage. (Rejected 178 to 202.)	Yea.
		H.R. 5688, amending crime laws of District of Columbia:	
42	Mar. 22	On motion to recommit with instructions to hold hearings. (Rejected 166 to 216.)	Nay.
43	Mar. 22	On passage. (Passed 250 to 131.)	Yea.
		H.R. 5721, providing for acreage-poundage marketing quotas for tobacco:	
45	Mar. 23	On passage. (Passed 206 to 170.)	Nay.
		Motion to approve House Journal without further reading:	
51	Mar. 26	On ordering previous question (ending debate) on motion. (Agreed to 274 to 119.)	Nay.
		H.R. 2362, providing grants to States for elementary and secondary education:	
52	Mar. 26	On motion to recommit with instructions to change formula so that the grant for each child from low-income families would be equal. (Rejected 149 to 267.)	Yea.
53	Mar. 26	On passage. (Passed 263 to 153.)	Nay.
		H.R. 3708, Older Americans Act of 1965, providing for development of programs for the aging:	
57	Mar. 31	On passage. (Passed 396 to 1.)	Not voting.[3]
		H.R. 1111, Water Resources Planning Act, authorizing funds for Federal-State water resources development programs:	
58	Mar. 31	On passage. (Passed 384 to 0.)	Yea.

Footnotes at end of table.

89th Cong., 1st sess.—Continued

Roll-call No.	Date 1965	Measure, question, and result	Vote
		H.R. 4257, extending and expanding Manpower Development and Training Act programs:	
60	Apr. 1	On passage. (Passed 395 to 0.)	Yea.
		H.R. 980, providing for return of obscene mail matter:	
62	Apr. 5	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 360 to 21.)	Not voting.[2]
		H.R. 7064, authorizing construction of U.S. Embassy building in Saigon, South Vietnam:	
63	Apr. 5	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 378 to 0.)	Not voting [2]
		H.R. 7060, making appropriations for Treasury and Post Office Departments, Executive Office of the President, and 4 independent agencies:	
64	Apr. 5	On passage. (Passed 347 to 7.)	Not voting.[2]
		H.R. 7091, making supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1965 including $344,328,000 for Appalachia programs to be available beyond fiscal 1965 but to be charged against 1965 authorization:	
66	Apr. 6	On passage. (Passed 348 to 62.)	Nay.
		H.R. 6675, Social Security Amendments of 1965, increasing social security benefits and taxes, and providing medical care benefits for aged:	
70	Apr. 8	On Byrnes motion to recommit with instructions to substitute Byrnes bill, H.R. 7057, providing a voluntary, comprehensive health insurance program for the aged financed by general revenue and contributions from participants. (Rejected 191 to 236.)	Yea.
71	Apr. 8	On passage. (Passed 313 to 115.)	Nay.
		H.R. 2998, authorizing appropriations for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency:	
72	Apr. 13	On conference report. (Agreed to 316 to 65.)	Yea.
		H.J. Res. 1, proposing a constitutional amendment relating to Presidential inability and succession:	
74	Apr. 13	On passage. (Passed 368 to 29.)	Yea.
		H. Res. 310, authorizing $50,000 for investigation of Ku Klux Klan by Committee on Un-American Activities:	
76	Apr. 14	On resolution. (Agreed to 313 to 43)	Yea.
		H.R. 6497, authorizing increase of $1,000,000,000 in the U.S. quota in the International Monetary Fund:	
78	Apr. 27	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 113 to 275.)	Yea.
79	Apr. 27	On passage. (Passed 301 to 88.)	Yea.
		S. 4, Water Quality Act, expanding Federal assistance for water pollution control:	
82	Apr. 28	On passage. (Passed 396 to 0.)	Yea.
		H.R. 7091, making supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1965:	
84	Apr. 29	On conference report $109,000,000 higher than House-approved bill and including Appalachia funds for use beyond fiscal 1965 but to be charged to 1965 authorization. (Agreed to 316 to 55.)	Nay.
85	Apr. 29	On motion that House concur with Senate amendment addin funds for helicopter subsidies in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. (Rejected 114 to 228.)	Nay.
		H.R. 4714, authorizing annual appropriations of $150,000 for National Council on the Arts:	
86	Apr. 29	On passage. (Passed 239 to 116.)	Yea.
		H.R. 2986, extending and amending certain provisions of the Public Health Service Act:	
87	May 3	On passage. (Passed 347 to 0.)	Yea.
		H.R. 2985, authorizing Federal grants for initial cost of professional and technical personnel for community mental health centers:	
90	May 4	On passage. (Passed 389 to 0)	Yea.
		H.J. Res. 447, providing $700,000,000 in fiscal 1965 supplemental appropriations for U.S. military operations in southeast Asia:	
92	May 5	On passage. (Passed 408 to 7.)	Yea.
		H.R. 7657, authorizing $15,300,000,000 for military equipment procurement and research:	
94	May 5	On passage. (Passed 396 to 0.)	Yea.
		H. Res. 366, providing for consideration of H.R. 7717, National Aeronautics and Space Administration:	
96	May 6	On resolution. (Agreed to 389 to 0.)	Yea.
		H.R. 7717, authorizing fiscal 1966 appropriations for National Aeronautics and Space Administration:	
97	May 6	On passage. (Passed 389 to 11.)	Yea.
		H.R. 2984, extending and expanding Federal grants for construction of health research facilities:	
99	May 10	On passage. (Passed 334 to 4.)	Yea.
		S. 701, implementing the International Coffee Agreement of 1962:	
101	May 12	On passage. (Passed 300 to 97.)	Yea.
		H.R. 8122, authorizing $2,555,521,000 for the Atomic Energy Commission in fiscal 1966:	
104	May 20	On motion to recommit with instructions to delete authority for cooperative arrangement establishing a nuclear reactor. (Rejected 43 to 313.).	Nay.
105	May 20	On passage. (Passed 352 to 1.)	Yea.
		H.R. 7750, authorizing appropriations for foreign aid in fiscal 1966:	
109	May 25	On motion to recommit with instructions to reduce development funds by $131,000,000 and stipulate that labor unions participating in Latin American housing projects be "non-Communist dominated." (Rejected 178 to 219.)	Yea.
110	May 25	On passage. (Passed 249 to 148.)	Yea.
		H.R. 8370, making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for fiscal 1966:	
112	May 26	On motion to recommit with instructions to bar use of any funds to finance export of farm commodities to United Arab Republic or Indonesia. (Rejected 187 to 208.)	Yea.
113	May 26	On passage. (Passed 354 to 41.)	Yea.
		H.R. 8639, making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, and the Judiciary:	
116	June 1	On passage. (Passed 332 to 60.)	Yea.
		H.R. 3584, extending Federal inspection and safety requirements to small coal mines:	
117	June 1	On passage. (Passed 336 to 42.)	Yea.
		H.R. 8371, reducing Federal excise taxes:	
119	June 2	On passage. (Passed 401 to 6.)	Yea.
		H.R. 7777, authorizing appointment of Gen. William F. McKee as FAA Administrator without affecting his status as retired Air Force officer:	
121	June 3	On passage. (Passed 228 to 137.)	Yea.
		H.R. 3157, permitting spouses of railroad employees to receive both railroad retirement and earned social security benefits:	
123	June 7	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 323 to 0.)	Yea.
		H.R. 8775, making appropriations for the legislative branch for fiscal 1966:	
126	June 8	On motion to recommit with instructions to delete funds to provide operators for automatic elevators. (Rejected 149 to 244.)	Yea.
		H.R. 7105, amending and extending the Export Control Act:	
127	June 8	On passage. (Passed 388 to 1.)	Yea.
		H. Res. 413, providing for consideration of H.R. 8464, increasing the temporary national debt limit:	
129	June 9	On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Agreed to 273 to 109.)	Yea.
		H.R. 8464, increasing the temporary national debt limit:	
130	June 9	On passage. (Passed 229 to 165.)	Yea.
		H. Con. Res. 285, suspending the rule against USIA domestic propaganda so that President Kennedy film could be distributed in United States:	
131	June 9	On amendment requiring that the film be shown without charge. (Rejected 174 to 216.)	Yea.
132	June 9	On resolution. (Agreed to 311 to 75.)	Nay.
		H.R. 6927, establishing a Department of Housing and Urban Development:	
141	June 16	On motion to recommit with instructions to substitute bill establishing an Office of Urban Affairs and Community Development in the Executive Office of the President. (Rejected 141 to 259.)	Yea.
142	June 16	On passage. (Passed 217 to 184.)	Nay.
		H. Res. 416, providing funds for each Representative to hire a student intern:	
143	June 16	On resolution. (Agreed to 229 to 153.)	Nay.
		H.R. 7743, providing loans and loan insurance for students attending vocational schools:	
145	June 21	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 300 to 0.)	Yea.
		H.R. 8620, providing price support payments for wheat, feed grain and cotton growers affected by 1965 floods and other natural disasters:	
146	June 21	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 297 to 2)	Yea.
		H. Con. Res. 416, requesting the President to direct attention of United Nations and others to the denial of the rights of self-determination for the peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania:	
147	June 21	On motion to suspend rules and agree to resolution. (Agreed to 298 to 0)	Not voting.[2]
		H.R. 9221, making appropriations for the Department of Defense for fiscal 1966:	
153	June 23	On passage. (Passed 407 to 0)	Yea.
		H.J. Res. 541, extending the Area Redevelopment Act for 2 months:	
155	June 24	On passage. (Passed 224 to 167)	Nay.

Footnotes at end of table.

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Roll-call No.	Date 1965	Measure, question, and result	Vote
		H. Res. 425, providing for consideration of H.R. 7984, providing rent subsidies and expanding public housing, urban renewal, and community facilities programs:	
157	June 28	On resolution. (Agreed to 230 to 115)	Nay.
		H.R. 7984, providing rent subsidies and expanding public housing, urban renewal, and community facilities programs:	
162	June 30	On amendment modifying rent subsidy provisions. (Adopted 240 to 179.)	Nay.
163	June 30	On motion to recommit with instructions to delete rent subsidies and other provisions. (Rejected 202 to 208.)	Yea.
164	June 30	On passage. (Passed 245 to 169.)	Nay.
		H. Res. 440, providing for consideration of H.R. 6400, Voting Rights Act of 1965:	
167	July 6	On resolution. (Agreed to 308 to 58.)	Yea.
		H.R. 6400, Voting Rights Act of 1965:	
175	July 9	On amendment providing penalties for falsifying voting or registration information or buying votes in Federal elections. (Adopted 253 to 165)	Yea.
176	July 9	On amendment allowing political subdivisions with more than 50 percent of voting age Negroes registered to free themselves from coverage. (Rejected 155 to 262.)	Nay.
177	July 9	On amendment waiving English literacy requirements. (Rejected 202 to 216.)	Nay.
178	July 9	On motion to recommit with instructions to substitute more comprehensive bill. (Rejected 171 to 248.)	Yea.
179	July 9	On passage. (Passed 33 to 85.)	Yea.
		H.R. 8856, permitting the Atomic Energy Commission to condemn land for overhead power transmission lines notwithstanding local ordinances prohibiting overhead lines:	
181	July 12	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Rejected 216 to 139, a ⅔ majority being required.)	Nay.
		H.R. 242, requiring Government summer jobs in Washington, D.C., to be apportioned among residents of all States:	
183	July 12	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 336 to 22.)	Yea.
		S. 559, requiring warning labels on cigarette packages:	
185	July 13	On conference report. (Agreed to 285 to 103.)	Yea.
		H.R. 8926, removing silver from coinage except for 40 percent in half-dollars:	
188	July 14	On amendment retaining 40 percent silver in dimes and quarters. (Rejected 187 to 218.)	Yea.
189	July 14	On passage. (Passed 255 to 151.)	Nay.
		H.R. 9075, increasing military pay:	
193	July 20	On passage. (Passed 410 to 0.)	Yea.
		H.R. 8283, authorizing increase in "poverty" program funds to $1,900,000,000 in fiscal 1966:	
196	July 22	On motion to recommit with instructions to maintain Governors' veto and fiscal 1965 level of spending ($947,500,000). (Rejected 178 to 227.)	Yea.
197	July 22	On passage. (Passed 245 to 158.)	Nay.
		H. Res. 437, providing for consideration of H.R. 77, repealing sec. 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act permitting State right-to-work laws, under procedure bypassing Rules Committee:	
199	July 26	On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Agreed to 248 to 171)	Nay.
		H.R. 6675, Social Security Amendments of 1965, increasing social security benefits and providing medical care benefits to the aged:	
203	July 27	On conference report. (Agreed to 307 to 116.)	Yea.
		H.R. 7984, providing rent subsidies and expanding public housing, urban renewal, and community facilities programs:	
204	July 27	On conference report. (Agreed to 251 to 168.)	Nay.
		H.R. 2985, authorizing Federal grants for initial cost of professional and technical personnel for community mental health centers:	
205	July 27	On conference report. (Agreed to 414 to 0.)	Yea.
		H.R. 77, repealing sec. 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act permitting State right-to-work laws:	
208	July 28	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 200 to 223.)	Yea.
209	July 28	On passage. (Passed 221 to 203.)	Nay.
		H.R. 8856, permitting the Atomic Energy Commission to condemn land for overhead power transmission lines notwithstanding local ordinances prohibiting overhead lines:	
212	July 29	On passage. (Passed 275 to 125.)	Nay.
		S.J. Res. 81, authorizing increase in funds for Interstate Highway System in fiscal 1967:	
214	Aug. 2	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 313 to 11.)	Yea.
		H.R. 8027, providing assistance in training State and local law-enforcement officers:	
215	Aug. 2	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 326 to 0.)	Yea.
		H.R. 6964, authorizing certain rehabilitation practices for Federal prisoners:	
216	Aug. 2	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 323 to 0.)	Yea.
		S. 1564, Voting Rights Act of 1965:	
218	Aug. 3	On motion to recommit conference report with instructions to disagree to Senate language allowing political subdivisions with more than 50 percent of voting-age Negroes registered to free themselves from coverage. (Rejected 118 to 284.)	Yea.
219	Aug. 3	On conference report. (Agreed to 328 to 74.)	Yea.
		H.R. 8409, increasing civil service retirement annuities:	
220	Aug. 3	On passage. (Passed 394 to 0.)	Yea.
		H.R. 8439, authorizing certain military construction:	
221	Aug. 4	On conference report. (Agreed to 389 to 0.)	Yea.
		S. 1742, authorizing certain changes in World Bank Charter:	
222	Aug. 4	On passage. (Passed 330 to 54.)	Yea.
		H. Res. 498, providing for consideration of H.R. 4750, extending interest equalization tax:	
224	Aug. 5	On resolution. (Agreed to 329 to 44.)	Yea.
		H.R. 4750, extending interest equalization tax:	
225	Aug. 5	On passage. (Passed 274 to 97.)	Yea.
		H.R. 9918, strengthening motor vehicle financial responsibility laws of the District of Columbia:	
228	Aug. 9	On amendment substituting unsatisfied judgment fund plan. (Adopted 173 to 156.)	Nay.
		H.R. 10306, making it a crime to knowingly destroy or mutilate a draft card:	
230	Aug. 10	On passage. (Passed 393 to 1.)	Yea.
		S. 1648, Public Works and Economic Development Act, authorizing $3,250,000,000 in grants and loans for regional development:	
234	Aug. 12	On amendment further expanding public works and development facilities grants. (Agreed to 196 to 194.)	Nay.
235	Aug. 12	On motion to recommit with instructions to delete loans, provide for annual congressional review, and require use of American-made products. (Rejected 163 to 224.)	Yea.
236	Aug. 12	On passage. (Passed 246 to 138.)	Nay.
		H.R. 6431, providing that certain forms of nickel be admitted duty free:	
238	Aug. 16	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 297 to 48.)	Yea.
		H.R. 8635, establishing a Federal Boxing Commission:	
239	Aug. 16	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 346 to 4.)	Yea.
		H.R. 7750, authorizing $3,360,000,000 for foreign aid in fiscal 1966:	
242	Aug. 19	On conference report. Agreed to 244 to 150.)	Nay.
		H.R. 9811, omnibus farm bill of 1965:	
243	Aug. 19	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 169 to 224.)	Yea.
244	Aug. 19	On passage. (Passed 221 to 172.)	Nay.
		H.R. 10586, making supplemental appropriations of $1,200,000,000 for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for fiscal 1966 including $1,000,000,000 for elementary and secondary education:	
246	Aug. 24	On motion to recommit so that all supplemental requests can be considered at the same time. (Rejected 139 to 253.)	Yea.
		H.R. 2580, eliminating national origins quota system in immigration, providing for admission of Western Hemisphere immigrants and relatives of U.S. citizens without limitation, establishing priorities, and fixing annual limit of 170,000 for all others:	
248	Aug. 25	On amendment placing Western Hemisphere under numerical limitation. (Rejected 189 to 218.)	Yea.
249	Aug. 25	On passage. (Passed 318 to 95.)	Yea.
		H.R. 9567, authorizing a 5-year program of assistance to institutions of higher education and to students attending such institutions:	
252	Aug. 26	On passage. (Passed 367 to 22.)	Nay.
		H.R. 9022, authorizing disaster assistance to elementary and secondary schools and making more cities eligible for "impacted" school aid:	
253	Aug. 30	On passage. (Passed 304 to 37.)	Nay.
		H. Res. 551, providing for consideration of H.R. 9042, authorizing agreement with Canada on duty-free treatment of automobiles and parts:	
254	Aug. 31	On resolution. (Agreed to 364 to 23.)	Yea.
		H.R. 9042, authorizing agreement with Canada on duty-free treatment of automobiles and parts:	
255	Aug. 31	On passage. (Passed 280 to 113.)	Yea.
		H.R. 3141, expanding the health professions educational assistance program:	
257	Sept. 1	On passage. (Passed 340 to 47.)	Nay.
		H.R. 5663, authorizing research into high-speed ground transportation:	
259	Sept. 2	On passage. (Passed 317 to 24.)	Yea.

89th Cong., 1st sess.—Continued

Roll-call No.	Date 1965	Measure, question, and result	Vote
		H.R. 8439, authorizing certain military construction in fiscal 1966:	
262	Sept. 7	On motion to table motion to discharge Committee on Armed Services from further consideration of H.R. 8439. (Agreed to 320 to 19.)	Yea.
		H.R. 10775, authorizing certain military construction in fiscal 1966:	
263	Sept. 7	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 347 to 0.)	Yea.
		H.R. 168, increasing veterans' disability compensation:	
264	Sept. 7	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 348 to 0.)	Yea.
		S.J. Res. 102, authorizing funds for the President's Crime Commission:	
265	Sept. 7	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 338 to 0.)	Yea.
		H.R. 10871, making appropriations of $4,001,453,000 for foreign aid and Export-Import Bank in fiscal 1966:	
269	Sept. 8	On passage. (Passed 239 to 143.)	Nay.
273	Sept. 13	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under rollcall No. 272. (Agreed to 225 to 126.)	Nay.
275	Sept. 13	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under rollcall No. 274. (Agreed to 241 to 127.)	Nay.
279	Sept. 13	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under rollcall No. 278. (Agreed to 256 to 123.)	Nay.
281	Sept. 13	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under rollcall No. 280. (Agreed to 255 to 120.)	Nay.
282	Sept. 13	On motion to table motion to order previous question (end debate) on motion that Journal of Sept. 9 be approved as read. (Rejected 138 to 244.)	Yea.
283	Sept. 13	On ordering previous question (ending debate) on motion to approve Journal. (Agreed to 257 to 126.)	Nay.
284	Sept. 13	On motion that Journal stand approved as read. (Agreed to 264 to 119.)	Yea.
285	Sept. 13	On motion to adjourn. (Rejected 175 to 204.)	Yea.
		H. Res. 506, providing for consideration of H.R. 10065, Equal Employment Opportunity Act under procedure of bypassing Rules Committee:	
286	Sept. 13	On resolution. (Agreed to 259 to 121.)	Nay.
287	Sept. 13	On motion to table motion to reconsider vote on rollcall No. 286. (Agreed to 193 to 181.)	Nay.
288	Sept. 13	On motion to adjourn. (Rejected 173 to 201.)	Yea.
290	Sept. 13	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under rollcall No. 289. (Agreed to 243 to 136.)	Nay.
		H. Res. 499, providing for consideration of H.R. 7371, repealing an exemption from the Bank Holding Company Act under procedure of bypassing Rules Committee:	
291	Sept. 13	On resolution. (Agreed to 201 to 171.)	Nay.
		H. Res. 478, providing for consideration of H.R. 9460, providing for establishment of National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities under procedure bypassing Rules Committee:	
292	Sept. 13	On resolution. (Agreed to 260 to 114.)	Nay.
		H. Res. 536, providing for consideration of H.R. 10281, increasing pay of Federal employees, under procedure bypassing Rules Committee:	
293	Sept. 13	On resolution. (Agreed to 288 to 84.)	Nay.
		H.R. 2091, establishing concession policies in National Park Service areas:	
296	Sept. 14	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 73 to 298.)	Nay.
		H.R. 8283, authorizing increase in poverty program funds to $1,800,000,000 in fiscal 1966:	
299	Sept. 15	On motion to recommit conference report with instructions to insist on House provision maintaining Governors' veto. (Agreed to 209 to 180.)	Yea.
		H.R. 9460, establishing a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities:	
301	Sept. 15	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 128 to 250.)	Yea.
		H. Res. 574, directing Postmaster General to provide names of 1965 summer employees:	
303	Sept. 16	On motion to table resolution. (Adopted 186 to 180)	Not voting.[1]
		S. 2042, extending indemnity provisions of Atomic Energy Act:	
304	Sept. 16	On passage. (Passed 337 to 30)	Not voting.[2]
		H.R. 9221, making appropriations for Department of Defense for fiscal 1966:	
306	Sept. 17	On conference report. (Agreed to 380 to 0)	Yea.
		H. Res. 585, dismissing election contests of 5 Mississippi Representatives:	
307	Sept. 17	On resolution. (Agreed to 228 to 143.)	Yea.
		H.R. 10873, establishing program of group life insurance for members of armed services on active duty:	
309	Sept. 20	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Agreed to 360 to 0.)	Yea.
		H. Res. 560, expressing sense of House of Representatives that the United States and other American States take whatever steps necessary to prevent communistic aggression in Western Hemisphere:	
310	Sept. 20	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Agreed to 312 to 52.)	Yea.
		S. 4, Water Quality Act, expanding Federal assistance for water pollution control:	
313	Sept. 21	On conference report. (Agreed to 379 to 0.)	Yea.
		S. 2300, authorizing construction and repair of certain public works on rivers and harbors:	
315	Sept. 22	On amendment deleting $277,000,000 Dickey-Lincoln power project in Maine. (Adopted 207 to 185.)	Yea.
		H.R. 30, providing for participation of United States in Inter-American Cultural Center in Florida and authorizing $15,000,000 for U.S. exhibit:	
316	Sept. 22	On passage. (Passed 254 to 113.)	Nay.
318	Sept. 22	On motion to adjourn. (Rejected 89 to 204.)	Yea.
		H.R. 7371 repealing an exemption from the Bank Holding Company Act:	
320	Sept. 23	On amendment repealing all major exemptions from act. (Adopted 199 to 178.)	Yea.
		H. Res. 580, providing for consideration of H.R. 10232, authorizing matching grants for rural water and sanitation facilities:	
321	Sept. 23	On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Agreed to 279 to 70.)	Nay.
		H.R. 10232, authorizing matching grants for rural water and sanitation facilities:	
322	Sept. 23	On passage. (Passed 325 to 10.)	Yea.
		S. 306, authorizing standards to control air pollution from automobiles and a research and development program on solid waste disposal:	
324	Sept. 24	On motion to recommit with instructions to delete solid waste disposal provisions. Rejected 80 to 220.)	Nay.
325	Sept. 24	On passage. (Passed 294 to 4.)	Yea.
327	Sept. 27	On motion to discharge Committee on Rules from further consideration of H. Res. 515, providing for consideration of H.R. 4644, home rule for the District of Columbia. (Adopted 213 to 183.).	Nay.
		H. Res. 515, providing for consideration of H.R. 4644, home rule for the District of Columbia:	
328	Sept. 27	On resolution. (Agreed to 222 to 179.)	Nay.
330	Sept. 27	On motion that House immediately consider H.R. 4644, home rule for the District of Columbia. (Agreed to 234 to 155.)	Nay.
		H.R. 4644, providing home rule for the District of Columbia:	
336	Sept. 29	On motion to strike the enacting clause (kill the bill). (Rejected 179 to 219.)	Yea.
337	Sept. 29	On amendment substituting Charter Board home rule plan. (Adopted 227 to 174.)	Yea.
338	Sept. 29	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 134 to 266.)	Yea.
339	Sept. 29	On passage. (Passed 283 to 117.)	Nay.
		H.R. 2580, eliminating national origins quota system in immigration, providing for admission of relatives of U.S. citizens without limitation, establishing priorities, and fixing annual limitations:	
341	Sept. 30	On conference report. (Agreed to 320 to 69.)	Yea.
		H.R. 10281, increasing pay of Federal employees:	
342	Sept. 30	On motion to recommit with instructions to remove automatic future increases for judges, executives, and Members of Congress and the Cabinet. (Agreed to 238 to 140.)	Yea.
343	Sept. 30	On passage. (Passed 370 to 7.)	Yea.
		H.J. Res. 642, authorizing an additional Library of Congress building to be named James Madison Jemorial Building:	
345	Oct. 1	On motion to recommit with instructions to create visitors center. (Rejected 17 to 321.)	Nay.
346	Oct. 1	On passage. (Passed 328 to 5.)	Yea.
		H.R. 10871, making appropriations for foreign aid:	
347	Oct. 1	On motion to recommit conference report with instructions to insist upon retention of provision prohibiting aid to countries that furnish aid to North Vietnam. (Rejected 164 to 174.)	Yea.
348	Oct. 1	On conference report. (Agreed to 204 to 127.)	Nay.
		H.R. 3142, providing Federal grants for medical library services and facilities:	
349	Oct. 1	On passage. (Passed 296 to 3.)	Yea.
		H.R. 6519, providing for completion of Jefferson National Memorial, St. Louis:	
350	Oct. 1	On passage. (Passed 250 to 12.)	Yea.
		S.J. Res. 32, authorizing compensation to Ryukyu Islands for use and damage by U.S. Armed Forces:	
353	Oct. 7	On resolution. (Agreed to 312 to 55.)	Yea.
		H.R. 2020, authorizing $20,000,000 for construction of southern Nevada water project:	
354	Oct. 7	On passage. (Passed 239 to 134.)	Nay.
		S. 2084, authorizing $325,000,000 for highway beautification:	
356	Oct. 7	On motion to recommit with instructions to give States authority to determine areas in which outdoor advertising and junkyards would be permitted. (Rejected 153 to 230.)	Not voting.[2]
357	Oct. 7	On passage. (Passed 245 to 138.)	Not voting.[1]

Footnotes at end of table.

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Roll-call No.	Date 1965	Measure, question, and result	Vote
		H.R. 9811, omnibus farm bill:	
359	Oct. 8	On conference report. (Adopted 219 to 150.)	Not voting.[1]
		H. Res. 598, providing for consideration of H.R. 11135, allocating sugar quotas:	
363	Oct. 12	On resolution. (Agreed to 253 to 80.)	Yea.
		H.R. 11135, allocating sugar quotas:	
366	Oct. 13	On motion to recommit with instructions to add special fee on imports. (Rejected 160 to 230.)	Yea.
367	Oct. 13	On passage. (Passed 246 to 147.)	Yea.
		H.R. 11588, making supplemental appropriations $4,200,000,000 for fiscal 1966:	
369	Oct. 14	On amendment deleting funds for rent subsidies. (Adopted 185 to 162.)	Yea.
370	Oct. 14	On passage. (Passed 242 to 100.)	Nay.
		H.R. 9567, authorizing a 5-year program of assistance to institutions of higher education and to students attending such institutions:	
376	Oct. 20	On motion to recommit conference report with instructions to disagree to Senate language providing for a national teachers corps. (Rejected 152 to 226.)	Yea.
377	Oct. 20	On conference report. (Agreed to 313 to 63.)	Nay.
		S. 2300, authorizing construction and repair of certain public works on rivers and harbors, including $277,000,000 for Dickey-Lincoln power project in Maine:	
378	Oct. 20	On conference report. (Agreed to 221 to 139.)	Nay.
		H.R. 11588, making supplemental appropriations of $4,700,000,000 for fiscal 1966:	
380	Oct. 21	On conference report. (Agreed to 251 to 84.)	Nay.
381	Oct. 21	On motion to agree to amendment providing $800,000 for preliminary planning of Dickey-Lincoln power project in Maine. (Agreed to 165 to 162.)	Nay.
		H.R. 11135, allocating sugar quotas:	
383	Oct. 22	On conference report. (Agreed to 174 to 88.)	Yea.

[1] Absent. If present, would have voted "nay."

[2] Absent. If present, would have voted "yea."

Support for Tax Sharing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, as responsible legislators we cannot close our eyes to the increasing problem of centralization of Government power in Washington. Control of our pocketbooks and daily decisions is, more and more, being concentrated in the Federal departments and agencies. The traditional balanced relationship between the National and State Governments is being weakened, if not destroyed. If our State and local authorities—the strength of our Government system—are to act responsibly they must have the wherewithal to meet their obligations. However, there can be little doubt that local taxation has reached its saturation point. Yet finances for worthwhile programs are sorely needed.

I have introduced a bill, H.R. 10696, which would assist our unique Federal system to function in a truly responsible manner by returning up to 5 percent of the national revenue to the States to be used for education. While the President is reluctant to surrender control of a program and finances, most of our States' governors are solidly behind the tax-sharing concept. Therefore, I shall press for early committee consideration of this measure next year and will urge my colleagues to support H.R. 10696.

Mr. Speaker, four newspaper articles on revenue sharing in the Appendix of the RECORD:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Sept. 2, 1965]

A REPUBLICAN OPPORTUNITY

(By Raymond K. Price, Jr.)

One of the Republican Party's chief problems in these days of the Great Society is the simple one of identity. In terms of social goals the Johnsonian "consensus" leaves precious little room for any one else. Yet the GOP has to establish a distinct image; its problem is one of building a distinct image within the broad range of consensus which in fact does exist, across party lines, on the evolving nature of our society.

But if there is a consensus on ends, there is none on means, and here the Republican Party has a golden opportunity quite specifically in line with its present needs: to present itself as the party that can make State and local government work, because it believes in State and local government.

The Goldwater debacle last year cost the GOP heavily in those offices at State, county, town, and district level on which political organizations are based. The recovery of these is an essential element of the from-the-ground-up rebuilding of the party now being attempted.

For as long as most present-day voters can remember, Republicans have been the guardians of individual, local, and State prerogatives against Federal encroachment. Though on any given issue the lines might get smudged, the Democratic orientation has been toward greater centralization of power, the Republican toward decentralization.

This has been more than a campaign stance. It represents a philosophic commitment to the ideals of diversity and plurality, a concern for the manageability of the Federal colossus—and also a greater measure of faith that the Democratic Party has shown in the capacity of States and localities to govern themselves.

There is, of course, another side to the coin of this faith. As Governor Rockefeller put it in his Godkin lectures at Harvard in 1962:

"The essential political truth is that—today more than ever—the preservation of States' rights depends upon the exercise of States' responsibilities. We stand, in fact, upon the threshold of a new test of leadership at the State level. For—so great and urgent are the demands of national defense and foreign policy upon all resources of the National Government—that, now as never in our history, State governments are challenged to face and meet the pressing domestic concerns of our society.

"This, then, can prove to be an historic moment in the long evolution of our Federal idea. For it summons us to remember and to apply a basic fact of American political history—the fact that our States are designed to be our great centers for political experiment. This—as Lord Bryce discerned long ago—is perhaps the key role of the State: to be the proving ground for ever-new ventures in free government. * * *

"The time is upon us now to * * * call upon our States to be active where they have been passive—progressive where they have been timid—creative where they have been merely cautious. In a word, it is time for the States to lead."

Or, as the Ripon Society put it recently:

"The United States is entering upon a period of political turbulence, in which a new and much younger population will confront issues which are different in kind and in scope from those of the past generation. They are the sort of problems which convince us that the exciting new area of political action, the great new opportunity for boldness and creativity and innovation, will be found more and more at the State and local level."

The plain fact is that the very size and complexity of the existing Central Government and its programs argue persuasively for a shift of the political pendulum toward initiatives at the State and local level. In any human organization, there comes a point at which the limits of comprehension set the limits of manageability. And the Republican Party is ideally situated to capitalize on this shift.

Nor would the GOP, by pitching its claim to State and local offices on its faith in State and local government, be compromising its own claim to national office. For the party could then argue, plausibly and legitimately, that to make the entire national structure of government work requires making the Federal system work—that it requires a respect for the separate responsibilities of governments at all levels.

Currently, the question of faith in State and local government finds its sharpest focus in the debate on the so-called "Heller plan"—the proposal that a given percentage of Federal revenues be earmarked for redistribution among the States according to a fixed ratio (for example, by population), with no Federal controls over use of the money.

The relevance of the Heller plan to the GOP opportunity is simple and direct. To function, the States need money. Washington has preempted the best tax sources. States now are heavily dependent on Federal grants-in-aid for specific programs, which also involve Federal supervision and control. The question is whether these should be expanded—with a consequent further erosion of State authority—or whether tax sharing should be instituted, by which the States would get money without controls. Those

who distrust local and State government insist on extending the controls.

The tax-sharing plan offers those who believe in State government a chance to prove their faith and put it into practice.

And that faith, in turn, offers the GOP a convincing argument to take to the voters when it asks their support for a return to power in the State houses, and for a chance at running the cities.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Aug. 4, 1965]

L.B.J. ON REVENUE SHARING

It is not difficult to understand why a President should be incensed when information on a major fiscal proposal is released before there has been an ample opportunity to discuss it within the close confines of the White House. But one may also wonder whether Mr. Johnson isn't passing up a great opportunity to strengthen the overall fiscal system when he treats the plan for sharing surplus Federal revenues with the States as if it were a dead letter.

In an interview which appeared in Newsweek of August 2, the President, in stressing the need for legislative planning remarked:

"Now this proposal to refund money from the Federal Government to the States is an example of one they screwed up. What do they call it—the Heller plan? Now there was no recommendation to me on paper that we adopt this. And I had every responsible group oppose it. George Meany told me he'd never go for it."

In maintaining that "every responsible group" opposes the Heller-Pechman plan, the President is surely wide of the mark. Those who attended the recent Governors' conference in Minneapolis expressed a strong and sympathetic interest in the revenue-sharing plan. And as for Mr. Meany's hostility, two comment are in order. The opposition of the AFL-CIO, insofar as it has been articulated, is based on the untenable assumption that State governments are hopelessly inefficient, reactionary, and corrupt. Given this unreasonable attitude, it is fair to ask whether everything ought first to be cleared with George Meany.

If the economy grows at the moderately rapid rate of 4 percent annually between now and 1970, Federal revenues will increase by at least $35 billion, much faster than the foreseeable demands on the Treasury. But the reverse situation obtains on the State and local levels where revenues are insufficient to meet current needs.

The problem of what Walter W. Heller has called a "fiscal mismatch" can easily be solved by sharing Federal surpluses with the States. Whether the Federal grants to the States should be unconditional or tied to specific programs or levels of fiscal performance is a matter that must be worked in the political arena. But neither the problems posed by the mechanics of determining State shares nor the blind opposition emanating from certain quarters in the labor movement should preclude White House consideration of a vitally important fiscal proposal.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Sun-Times, July 18, 1965]

GOVERNORS COME UP WITH ISSUE THAT COULD BRING UNITY TO GOP

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—Good issues are in short supply with the Republicans. When they get one, they ought to run with it—fast.

The Republican Governors' Association has come to life with an admirable initiative. It isn't being scared away just because President Johnson once supported it.

The GOP Governors strongly endorse the project, which had its origins within the Johnson administration, that the Federal Government share unconditionally with State governments substantial Federal tax revenues.

The purpose: to strengthen government at the State and local levels, which bear the brunt of the most acute problems of the exploding population and massive shift to the cities, by helping provide revenue where it can best be collected—at the Federal level.

The proposal is not new. The initiative of the Republican Governors is new—and timely. Their plea, in effect, is that the Republican leaders in Congress join with them in making the revenue-sharing plan a major Republican cause and to generate such public support that the Democrats will also find it irresistible.

It seems to me that this is a good Republican enterprise.

It is sound government. It is sound politics.

It is progressive in that it seeks to equip State and loval government to deal effectively with massive problems of urbanization—transportation, education, health, technology—not neglect them.

It is conservative in that one of its end results would be to arrest the flow of political power to Washington.

It would unite all wings of the Republican Party on at least one major issue at a time when GOP unity is so elusive. Barry Goldwater supports the plan and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller supports it. So do all the Republican Governors in between. Here a Republican consensus ought to be possible and once the Republicans start working together, who can tell—they might like it.

Gov. Robert E. Smylie, chairman of the Republican Governors' Association, calls the proposal to share Federal revenue with the States "the first really workable suggestion advanced in many years to correct the developing imbalance in the revenue structure of government at all levels."

Dr. John S. Saloma III, president of the Ripon Society, a Republican research group which helped prepare the study paper for the Governors, say that "strengthening State and local governments will be one of the great challenges of a new and exciting political era."

If the Republican Governors and the Republican leaders in Congress can join forces on this program, they will be showing the country that they can overcome one of the most serious deterrents to action.

The distaste for giving up control of Federal programs administered through the States isn't something which prevails only in the executive branch of the Government. It is shared by Congressmen. They hesitate to yield their role and their control in these matters. There is no doubt that the Governors will have to demonstrate decisive public demand to win Congress—and the President—to their side.

President Johnson once supported this plan and maybe he will again. Its merits haven't changed.

"The revenue-sharing proposal," Governor Smylie's report concludes, "can help to prepare our political system to meet the onward rush of events. It can help us to put into practice all that we mean when we speak of 'cooperative federalism.' It can help us build government for tomorrow."

[From the New York Times, July 13, 1965]

TAX-SHARING PLAN PRESSED BY GOP—TWO GROUPS BACK REVISION OF SOME U.S. INCOME TO STATES

WASHINGTON.—The Republican Governors' Association and the Ripon Society jointly announced their support today for the Heller plan of sharing part of the Federal income tax with the States on a no-strings basis.

The Ripon Society, centered in Boston, is a group of liberal and moderate Republicans from the universities, business, and the professions.

The Heller plan takes its name from its original advocate, Walter W. Heller, former Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. It calls for a fixed portion of the Federal income to be turned back to the States for any use desired by the States except highways, which are already liberally financed by Federal funds.

A PREVIOUS ENDORSEMENT

The plan was endorsed last year by a presidentially appointed group headed by Joseph W. Pechman of the Brookings Institution. However, the President declined to adopt it for his program this year, partly because he was upset that its main contents had leaked to the press and aroused criticism in some quarters.

The idea is not dead, however. Mr. Pechman saw the President last Thursday evening, together with other leaders. A major choice may confront the President in his program for the next year before another income tax cut and adoption of the Heller plan.

Today's joint Republican statement called the plan "one of the few really new major policy ideas that has been advanced in recent years." It said the States and local governments "face a crisis" because "at the moment when the future is rushing in upon them with such remarkable speed, they are victims of a financial resource base which is decades out of date.

"Let us admit that we are speaking without apology in defense of a Federal system," the statement continued. "We are not speaking against the Federal Government. We believe that we cannot seize the future unless the various orders of government become allies rather than enemies."

Gov. Robert E. Smylie of Idaho, chairman of the Republican Governors' Association, noted in a statement "the once friendly attitude of the President" and said his group "stands ready to cooperate with the States, with the President, and with the Congress in working out a detailed plan for the accomplishment of this salutary objective."

RIPON SOCIETY'S VIEW

John S. Saloma III, president of the Ripon Society, said, "We firmly believe that the Republican Governors and the new generation of Republican leaders in the States represent the real hope for the future of a new Republican Party.

"We believe that strengthening State and local governments will be one of the great challenges of a new and exciting era in our political history. And one of the first problem areas where Republicans must provide creative leadership is in finding adequate tax revenues for expanding State and local service."

Today's jointly issued statement said that "almost every imaginable tax resource has already been subjected to increasing and often undesirable pressures." It said more and higher State income taxes were no solution because "cutthroat competition for industry and labor makes it extremely difficult to raise income taxes at the State level."

A Summary of the Historic 1st Session of the 89th Congress

SPEECH

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, the President has termed the 1st part of

this 89th Congress as "the greatest session in the history of our Nation." Most authorities agree this session has been the most productive in all of our national legislative history. Unquestionably it has been the most consistently industrious and effective of any in which I have been privileged to serve.

Even the statistics of this first session are more than usually impressive. Over a period of 10½ months more than 13,000 bills and resolutions were introduced in the House of Representatives and some 3,000 more in the Senate. The House considered some 1,000 of these legislative proposals. Out of this number some 300 have become public laws which include about an 85-percent implementation of the administration's legislative recommendations and programs.

However, legislative effectiveness and merit must be judged more by quality and beneficial range than mere quantity. It is exactly by these standards of real substance and great national impact that this congressional session seems to have widely surpassed the accomplishments of any other congressional session in the past. I think any objective assessment of the bills that were adopted will clearly show that tremendous legislative strides forward were made in practically all the basic areas of human needs, human rights, human development, economic stimulation and conservation, of our natural resources.

The most outstanding legislative breakthroughs came about by the approval of new programs providing medical care for the elderly, aid to all the children in the elementary schools and the elimination of the discriminatory national origins quota system from our immigration laws. These three legislative goals have been much debated in past Congresses but never achieved until this session.

I am particularly gratified by the passage of this new immigration law. I was among the first advocates of this bill and it was originally approved by the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration of which I am a Member. This new law besides outlawing the national origins principle creates a revised system of equitable preferences for relatives of American citizens and, while strengthening the protection of the American worker against any possible competition in his employment, also grants preferences to prospective immigrants whose special skills are urgently required here.

High on any listing of approved measures in the area of human needs we would have to mention, besides medical care for the aged, social security benefits expansion; extending the antipoverty program to insure the continued operation of such provenly effective projects as Head Start, community action council, the Job Corps, the neighborhood youth corps, and the works study program; providing special Federal assistance, in the elementary grades, to educationally deprived children from the lowest income families; the creation of a new Administration on Aging to initiate and develop programs of interest and value to our increasing numbers of older citizens; a new housing bill that includes particular consideration of the decent housing requirements of low-income families and the approval of a 3-year program of Federal grants to develop a series of regional medical centers throughout the country to fight the three worst afflictions of our modern society—heart disease, cancer, and stroke.

Of course, as soon as we mention the area of human rights we have to immediately emphasize the enactment of the historic voting rights measure of 1965. This act, finally and forever, provides that every citizen anywhere in this country can exercise, as fully and freely as is humanly possible, his privilege to participate in all public elections. Also in this area we would have to list legislative actions taken to implement such essential objectives as fair employment practices, equal employment opportunities, equal wages for similiar work, the so-called equal rights for women amendment and, in this category, I think we would have to add the immigration reform bill.

In the area of human development we would have to place foremost those measures providing a new system of student loans and scholarships to give every qualified student a chance to continue his higher education if he so desires; expansion of the manpower development and training program to assist the unemployed to learn new skills to qualify them for new jobs; extending the vocational rehabilitation program and including special consideration and assistance for the disabled veterans and the mentally retarded; enlargement of the war orphans educational assistance program; a new military pay incentive program; disabled veterans cost of living compensation increases; and creation of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities.

In the economic field we would have to give prominent mention to the elimination of a burden of more than $4 billion of excise taxes on the American consumer; the Public Works and Economic Development Act providing assistance to economically distressed regions; the State Technical Services Act to make the findings of modern science and technology more readily available to American industry and commerce; major improvement and expansion in the loan procedures and amounts available to small business; approval of a Federal program of research and development in high-speed rail transportation, so vitally important to our State and region, and a host of less publicized measures.

The Congress further devoted particular attention to the conservation of our natural resources by authorizing new measures for water resources development, expanding recreation facilities and wildlife benefits in connection with watershed projects, water pollution control, conversion of saline water, air pollution research, highway beautification and many other supporting programs.

This recital is necessarily restricted to a summary of the more important legislative actions of the session but I believe that most of our people will judge it to be an extraordinary record of solid achievement by an industrious Congress working with an energetic President for the national benefit.

I think the tremendous record of the Congress this year can be attributed to three fundamental factors. The people and the Congress, shocked by the almost unbelievable assassination of President John F. Kennedy, were in a mood for action to implement and expand his original legislative recommendations. The vigorous successor to President Kennedy, President Lyndon B. Johnson, possesses a unique knowledge of the workings of the Congress and the executive department of the Government; he believed in and was dedicated to the accomplishment of the legislative plans of his predecessor and some new ones of his own and he provided the inspiring leadership to obtain their approval.

Last, but not least, the patriotic, nonpartisan cooperation of many members of the minority party without whose effective help many of the most important programs could not have been approved, particularly those historic measures involving tremendous advances in civil and voting rights for all of our citizens and greater educational opportunities for all our children.

Congressman Ancher Nelsen's Report to the Second District on the 1st Session of the 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, in order that my constituents in the Second Congressional District of Minnesota may better understand and judge the actions of this 1st session of the 89th Congress, I have prepared a brief summary of major work completed this year. A summary of this sort is essential if the people we are here to represent are to be fully informed. This report cannot include an accounting of all the several hundred bills passed during the last 10 months, of course, but it is intended to inform about important bills passed or rejected.

THE OVERALL PICTURE

By virtually everyone's estimation, in terms of quantity this has been the most lawmaking Congress in American history. In 10 months, scores of old and new ideas have become law. No other single session of the Congress has contributed so much to the continuing trend toward centralization of governmental powers in the National Government in Washington. This has been a Congress devoted to slogans instead of study and characterized by pressures rather than by perfection.

In terms of dollars, this Congress also set alltime records. Only one other Congress in our history spent more—the 1942 Congress which poured $150 billion into the crucial task of winning World War II. The 89th Congress has appropriated

some $118 billion, in sharp contrast with the $106 billion appropriated last year. This is an increase of $12 billion in a single year, or 11.3 percent. Around half this increase is for the many Great Society domestic ventures now underway.

In comparison with other years, our efforts to reduce nonessential spending have not been as successful, I regret. Only a bit more than $2 billion was trimmed from budgetary requests, in contrast to better than $10 billion cut in the 2 previous years of the 88th Congress.

In terms of the merit of the far-reaching congressional actions taken this year, of course, each constituent will want to judge for himself.

EXCISE TAXES

Excise tax reductions to total around $4.8 billion by 1969 were voted. There was little opposition to cutting back these regressive taxes imposed during wartime on many items ranging from cosmetics to telephone services. However, it was disturbing to many of us to find Congress following this action by raising the ceiling on our national debt to $328 billion in order to permit greater deficit spending. The inevitable consequences of such contrary fiscal policies are to bring the Nation nearer bankruptcy by overloading the debt burden of future generations and to encourage inflation, a curse to those on low or fixed incomes because the value of the dollars they earn or save are destroyed. Such contrary policies additionally aggravate our country's serious balance-of-payments problems and contribute to the gold flow away from our shores.

APPALACHIAN DEVELOPMENT, REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The first major Great Society measure to clear Congress in 1965, this new law provides $1.1 billion to 12 States in the Appalachian area in efforts to remedy economic depression. Approved in the House without change, it is to do such things as build roads and restore marginal farmland to production. Some 17 amendments designed to improve it were rejected by the House.

Later on in the year, Congress decided to set up another omnibus regional development program for other areas said to be economically distressed, and provided another $3.3 billion for this purpose to be spread over 5 years. Appalachia can share in this one, too. An expanded Area Redevelopment Administration is to handle it. The House rejected 14 amendments during debate on this scheme.

IMMIGRATION

Substantial changes have been made in our immigration laws which should improve on the old national origins law under which we operated for a number of years. Under the new system, key preference is given to reuniting families and to those with skills needed in America, while protections written into the law should assure that no immigrant admitted will reprive an American worker of a job nor impair wage structures and working conditions. Total immigration is increased only slightly, and no more than 20,000 could be admitted annually from any country outside the Western Hemisphere. The first ceiling in our history is imposed on immigration from other countries in the Western Hemisphere.

Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson all sought these improvements, which will hopefully make diplomatic dealings easier now that we have moved away from the quota system some nations interpreted as discriminatory.

VOTING RIGHTS

In the face of evidence that Negro voters continue to be discriminated against at the polls, Congress with big majority votes enacted a bill designed to assure all Americans of their fundamental, constitutional right to vote. While some of us would have preferred dealing with this painful and difficult problem in different legislative fashion to avoid questions of constitutionality, the mandate imposed by the 15th amendment is clear. This amendment reads:

> The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denited or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Gratifying to many of us was the inclusion in this law of a provision we had suggested pertaining to Federal voting frauds, such as vote buying, ballot stuffing, and so forth. Guarantee of the right to vote cannot be meaningful unless that vote is fairly counted.

EDUCATION MEASURES

For the first time in our Nation's history, Congress passed legislation authorizing funds for general use in elementary and secondary schools. The new law, with a first-year cost of $1.3 billion, gives grants to some 94 percent of the Nation's counties to assist in educating children from low-income families. This sweeping program passed the House with 1 minor change and after 19 other amendments were rejected.

Many other education measures received support by this Congress. The higher education program established during the Eisenhower years was renewed and substantially revised. It will cost about $643 million a year for the next 4 years. Congress this year incorporated into this program a National Federal Teacher Corps. Corps members will be recruited, trained, and fully paid by the Federal Government and will be sent by the Federal Education Commissioner to local elementary and secondary schools where such teachers are requested and where there are large numbers of poor children.

Vocational education, manpower training, and a wide variety of other educational programs were expanded and extended.

SOCIAL SECURITY CHANGES

With first-year costs pegged at $6.5 billion, the so-called medicare program, part compulsory and part voluntary, becomes partially effective July 1, 1966. The compulsory hospital plan has raised fears that the entire social security system may be jeopardized and many oldsters may be disappointed by its inadequacies. Younger workers, of course, face a heavier tax burden—$35 billion alone for those who have paid nothing into the fund. Within a few years, social security payroll taxes for both employee and employer will be doubled.

Fortunately, overall changes made do increase social security benefits to older citizens by 7 percent, and the Kerr-Mills plan, now effective in Minnesota, is expanded.

FLOOD CONTROL LEGISLATION

Included in flood protection legislation enacted into law are three separate items which will prove most helpful to southwestern Minnesota. The Army Corps of Engineers has been given $150,000 to proceed with its comprehensive survey of the Minnesota River Valley Basin. The survey is designed to eye such matters as flood and pollution control, land, water and wildlife conservation, recreation and industrial development. Eventually, the survey should contribute toward the sound economic development of our whole region.

Second, some $100,000 has been made available to plan a flood control diking project at Mankato and North Mankato, the site of some of the worst flooding during this spring.

Third, I was successful in amending the omnibus flood bill on the House floor to assure the people of the Mankato area that the Government will give consideration to expenses they have incurred this summer in constructing flood protection works when the Government figures the local costs of the Federal diking project to be built there later on.

OMNIBUS FARM LEGISLATION

Congress, after much debate and soul-searching, passed an amended omnibus farm bill extending, with some changes, existing programs for wheat, feed grains, wool, and cotton. The legislation also institutes a cropland retirement program patterned after the old soil bank plan, and it establishes a class I base dairy plan. A formula for an increase in the release price of Commodity Credit Corporation grain was not written into the law, though it would have been a definite improvement.

SUGAR LEGISLATION

The sugar act has been extended to insure domestic growers of an increase in permitted marketings, but Congress did not do much to correct the complicated quota system which gives some 40 percent of our domestic sugar requirements to foreign sugar interests.

RURAL WATER SYSTEMS

Congress established a new program of matching grants to help develop water supply and waste disposal systems in rural areas, including sewage systems in towns up to 5,500 population.

WATER POLLUTION CONTROLS

Recognizing present serious water shortages, fish and wildlife losses from contaminated streams, and increasing drinking water needs, Congress enacted new legislation in an effort to reduce serious water pollution of public waterways. States are supposed to establish water quality standards and related en-

forcement programs, and will get assistance with sewage treatment plant construction and with related needs.

MONEY CHANGES

The Congress eliminated a requirement in existing law that each Federal Reserve bank maintain gold certificate reserves valued at not less than 25 percent of the amount of commercial bank deposits it holds in order to free some $4.9 billions in gold to meet international claims. Each dollar deposited now, of course, has less gold backing.

Another change removes the silver content from quarters and dimes and reduces the silver in half dollars to 40 percent. All heretofore have contained 90 percent silver. These new coins are to be circulated starting around Christmastime. While some reduction in silver may be necessary to counter shortages, totally abandoning the use of silver in favor of worthless tokens runs counter to the lessons of history.

NEW DEPARTMENT ESTABLISHED

The Nation's 11th Cabinet-level department, to be known as the Department of Housing and Urban Development, has been established, though operation of more than 60 Federal programs relating to urban affairs is to remain in other jurisdictions, including some two-thirds of the Government's existing housing programs. The new Secretary has not yet been designated.

FOREIGN AID

The Congress voted $3.2 billions in foreign aid this year, commendably the smallest sum since this controversial program was started in 1947. Unfortunately, however, a ban on aid to nations shipping goods to North Vietnam proposed in the House did not prevail in the Senate, and was not included in the final legislation. It was the view of many that any shipping, even of nonstrategic imports, bolsters the economy of North Vietnam and contributes to its ability to continue a war in which many American fighting men are losing their lives.

OMNIBUS HOUSING

This $7 billion city catchall housing package includes authorization of an additional 60,000 units a year for several years for low-rent public housing, and additional housing for the elderly, college students, and others. It also creates a program entirely new to our country—Government subsidized rent. Fortunately, this new wrinkle created so much consternation when it become known that many thousands of middle-income Americans could receive rent assistance, Congress later refused to appropriate funds for the rent subsidies.

PRESIDENTIAL CONTINUITY

A Presidential continuity amendment was approved. It would give the President the right to nominate a Vice President when the office is vacant and attempts to clarify when the Vice President should become Acting President due to Presidential disability. If ratified by three-fourths of our States within 7 years, it will become our 25th amendment to the Constitution.

HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION

This much debated measure authorizes the appropriation of $320 million for the first 2 years to remove junkyards and billboards along interstate and primary highways, but costs beyond that time are not known. The Secretary of Commerce is given power to withhold 10 percent of a State's highway funds if it does not comply with new Federal standards, though this punishment may be waived if he finds it in the public interest. As many as 18 States may have to amend their constitutions to avoid penalties, while the economic impact on small businessmen using billboards to attract tourist trade may well be severe.

POVERTY WAR

Despite cries from citizens in every part of the country about serious and admitted defects in the so-called war on poverty, Congress chose to ignore the pleas for correction and instead doubled spending for this year-old program. An additional $1.8 billion was authorized to be spent. It is now reported that 1 in every 19 employees of the Office of Economic Opportunity makes over $19,000 a year, and this extravagant situation is likely to continue until the legislative branch exercises more careful control over a program with the worthwhile objective of helping the poor, but primarily benefiting politicians and bureaucrats at present.

ARTS AND HUMANITIES

Also established is a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities which is to provide Federal financial aid to the visual and performing arts and to the humanities. Some $63 million is to be spent helping artists and other cultural groups and persons between now and 1968, with the chairman of a specially established arts endowment to hold broad powers in making recommendations on requests for Federal arts funds.

MILITARY, FEDERAL EMPLOYEE PAY RAISES

A military pay bill designed to remedy the inadequate income situation of so many in the uniform of our Nation has been enacted. The 10.7-percent increase goes to more than 2.6 million Americans on active duty and to military dependents. The need for this increase might best be illustrated by the fact that those in the three lowest grades of our military services have been receiving less pay than the school dropouts in the Job Corps. Additionally, low pay has discouraged reenlistments among those the United States has spent billions to train. Accordingly, the boost may actually reduce ultimate defense outlays.

A Federal worker pay raise of 3.6 percent also was voted. In a preliminary vote, some of us succeeded in eliminating an unwarranted salary increase of 10 percent or more which was planned for top Federal executives, high-ranking judges and Members of Congress. It is to be deplored when Government officials use the needs of underpaid Federal workers as a vehicle to promote their own selfish salary betterment.

PROTECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Congress has agreed to make it a Federal crime to kill, kidnap, or assault the President or other high Government officials, a measure proposed by many of us. Penalties for trying to hinder or harm any of these individuals would be punishable by fine, imprisonment and, in cases of most serious offense, by death.

WORK OF MY COMMITTEES

This was an especially busy and demanding year for me due to my increased responsibility as ranking minority member on the District of Columbia Committee and added duties on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

Our Interstate Committee handled the legislation requiring that a precautionary health warning be carried on cigarette packages and cartons.

The Interstate Committee was also given the task of establishing a 3-year program of Federal grants to aid localities in establishing regional medical programs where emphasis is to be placed on combating such killers as heart disease, stroke, and cancer. The program stresses these regional cooperative arrangements among medical schools, research institutions, and hospitals are to be carried out in cooperation with local doctors, administrators, and others. Our committee substantially altered this measure from the original proposal, which sought to build regional medical complexes around the country.

Another interstate bill enacted is to control air pollution from automotive exhausts and to authorize a national research program for disposal of solid wastes such as garbage, rubbish, and so forth. No deadline is set for establishing standards for car exhaust fumes.

A number of bills expanding the activities of the U.S. Public Health Service in the areas of mental retardation and mental illness, immunization from contagious diseases, health services to migrant workers, and public health nursing all were handled by our busy Interstate Committee, as were proposals for aid to medical and dental schools and for assistance to students in the health sciences.

I was particularly interested in our committee's work toward the passage of the drug abuse control law which provides for restrictions on the manufacturing and sale of such drugs as "goof balls" and "pep pills." These drugs have tragically started some youngsters on the road to lifetime drug addiction.

In our District Committee, we dealt with a multiplicity of home rule bills for Washington, worked up a strong anticrime bill which the Senate did not accept, and handled many other matters dealing with our Nation's Capital.

LEGISLATION FAILING TO PASS

The following legislation did not receive final approval in this first session of Congress, but will doubtless receive further attention next year:

Repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which permits States to enact right-to-work laws.

The administration's home rule plan for Washington, D.C.

Legislation such as I have introduced making it possible for Americans to vote on a constitutional amendment guaran-

teeing the States their right to decide the composition of their State legislatures.

Changes in the unemployment compensation program.

Changes in minimum wage and hour laws.

Changes in the secondary boycott law.

Acceptance of an income tax credit for parents or sponsors of students seeking a college education, also a proposal on which I have sought enactment into law.

Legislation introduced by many of us from the Midwest assuring an adequate boxcar supply in all parts of the Nation.

World Food Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNN E. STALBAUM

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks many editorials and articles dealing with the world food shortage and American attempts to alleviate that shortage have appeared in the Nation's press. Three of these items will be of particular interest to the Members. The first is an article by Mr. Earl W. Foell in the Christian Science Monitor. The other two are excellent editorials which appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and the Kansas City Times:

FOOD GAIN EATEN UP, U.N. REPORTS

(By Earl W. Foell)

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—A United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization report shows that world population growth has all but neutralized major food gains during the past decade.

The FAO report was issued only 3 days after Pope Paul VI's more-food-but-no-birth-control plea to the U.N., which it tended to undercut.

Food production in poorer lands increased nearly 30 percent in the 1955–65 period, the FAO report stated. But population growth diluted this so that the food gain per person was only about 1 percent.

To compound the problem, food harvests in the industrialized countries rose by 14 percent per person.

LITTLE OPTIMISM REPORTED

This meant that the poorer nations lost ground in their attempts to export more food—mainly tropical—to these wealthy northern markets. Such increased exports are necessary to earn capital with which to improve the efficiency of the underdeveloped nations' farming.

The wealthy northern countries—because of slower population growth, increasing farm efficiency, and use of synthetic substitutes—provide less and less help for the poorer Southern Hemisphere's trade.

Nor does the FAO annual report provide much optimism about the future.

"Merely to keep pace with the expected population increase without any improvement in diets," it states, "would require total food supplies to be almost double by the year 2000, but present dietary levels in the developing countries are so inadequate that actual needs are far greater than this."

Furthermore, the FAO report adds, the poorer countries are not able to take rapid advantage of new farming techniques being developed in the industrialized countries.

And the slow growth of their agricultural exports into the surplus food markets of the north has meant that they cannot earn the foreign exchange they need for mechanizing farming, training agronomists, and increasing fertilizer use.

Agricultural specialists here say that the Pope was basically right about the long-term effect of more food. Nations that improve their dinner table and their general standard of living do tend to have falling birth rates—as in the case of the Pontiff's native Italy.

OPPORTUNITY SOUGHT

But the specialists say that the poorer nations are caught in a vicious circle that is not improving.

Therefore, they state, many of these nations apparently cannot quickly reach the plateau of affluence and education where birth rates begin to drop through the individual choice of enlightened family planning.

The approach taken by Pope Paul in his U.N. speech follows the reasoning developed by the British Roman Catholic population analyst, Colin Clark.

Professor Clark urges the theory that civilizations come up with ingenious scientific breakthroughs to increase their resources only when they are put under strain by exploding populations. No population pressure: no technical breakthroughs.

The rebutting argument from other population experts such as Harrison Brown holds that this theory is likely to apply only in already industrially developed lands.

TWO SOLUTIONS SUGGESTED

The argument continues that where the population pressure is most acute—in the underdeveloped lands—centuries of subsistence living and premature mortality serve to prove that such strain does not produce breakthroughs: only misery.

Faced with the picture painted in the FAO report on the past decade, U.N. officials concerned with this most basic subject suggest once two broad solutions.

One is more emphasis on birth control.

The other is speedier negotiation of programs for transferring the farm surpluses of the "wealthier north" to the "poorer south."

Only then will the poorer states be able to concentrate on reaching the takeoff stage in their economies, after which they can afford to modernize their farming.

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch, Oct. 12, 1965]

FOR POOR AND RICH

That half the world is hungry has been said so often that one may be tired of hearing it again and again. Nevertheless the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations is to be congratulated on its "Review of the Second Postwar Decade." Not merely does this comprehensive study bring the old story up to date; it makes impressive suggestions for resolving the paradox of a world, half affluent and half starving. Their implementation, especially by the more fortunate nations, could lead out of rivalries and arms races into an era of fruitful international cooperation.

The fundamental concern of the FAO report is the population explosion in the developing countries which is rapidly offsetting their gains in agricultural productivity. To help them in this desperate race, the report recommends greater incentives for their farmers as well as better training and the progressive introduction of more productive techniques. A growing output of food is necessary not only to feed their people, but also because it involves food processing, often the first sound step toward industrialization. But most of them, in the view of the FAO, will find this a slow job.

Meanwhile among the developed countries, especially the United States, agricultural productivity has become an embarrassment. Despite restrictions on production, price supports encourage unwanted surpluses. Indeed, the FAO finds a growing conviction in this country and in Europe, too, that "farm supports should be regarded primarily as social welfare measures to be directed specifically at those who need them." In the next decade "the family farm, which has long been the basis of rural life, may be unable to continue as the main type of enterprise in anything like its present form." Certainly the fading tradition of the American family farm or the European peasant small holding can no longer justify the tariffs and other restrictions which keep prices high and in other ways restrict the developed countries as suppliers of the hungry half of the world.

It is estimated that "food supplies in the developing countries will need to be increased to four times their recent level by the end of the century." Certainly it is much easier for the developed countries to step up production.

The developing countries, however, need to export some of their foodstuffs and other raw materials in order "to raise their export earnings so that they can obtain the foreign exchange they need for their economic development." To the FAO, this is "the most pressing problem of international trade." To obtain nutritious foods as well as capital funds, the developing countries need other aid than the surplus products available because of the domestic political policies of affluent nations.

What is needed, then, is a rationalization of production and trade. According to the FAO, there should be "much greater international consultation and coordination in agricultural development," in trade as well as in aid. There should be regional integration instead of unplanned interregional competition. To help to achieve this, the FAO has started work on an indicative plan for agricultural development. The question is whether the governments will avail themselves of it.

Are the United States and Russia—and China, too—convinced by now of the frustrating folly of military aid to the developing countries? Are they ready to abandon their competition in political slush funds for Egypt, Greece, Pakistan, India, and other countries? Are they ready to extend help on a more mature and promising basis? Is it really too much to hope that, through international consultation and planning, they will extend aid, in produce and in money and credit, which really will put the hungry on their own feet? Such an approach surely would serve the best interest of all concerned.

[From the Kansas City (Mo.) Times, Oct. 12, 1965]

THE DUAL CRISIS OF FOOD AND PEOPLE

It is always a shock and a frightening reminder of tomorrow's critical problems, to be reminded of the world's increasing hunger. The shock is doubled in the United States. This is the land of surpluses and affluence that has sent billions of dollars worth of food and agricultural experts to help other nations. Yet hunger remains. And recently there have been two especially pointed warnings:

Richard W. Reuter, special assistant to the President and Director of food for peace, spoke in Princeton, N.J., of the widespread starvation that is likely unless there is a sharp increase in world food production in the next decade.

In Rome, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization predicted a hungry future unless the developing countries increase food production four times in the next 35 years.

Both Reuter and the FAO noted that the developing countries had increased food production, but that the gains have been wiped

out by the population explosion. Thus the hunger problem grows worse. It is a trend that obviously must be reversed. But how?

Some of the answers appear obvious, but implementation of them is extremely difficult.

One obvious route is population control. Yet for religious and other reasons this is not an easy route. Moreover, the lands with the most serious food problems are those with the highest birth rates. The world is waiting for word from the Vatican.

Greatly increased production within the needy countries themselves is a must.

At home the Johnson administration is toying with the idea of taking off production controls in this country and using our greater excess production to give even more help to needy nations. Nothing has been done officially, but the feelers are out. Perhaps the Reuter speech was in that category.

Always it has seemed illogical that this country would cut down on the production of food as long as there are hungry people anywhere in the world. But the big unanswered question is, who can pay the bill?

While the United States can supply more food to needy nations, it certainly cannot feed the world. The problem of hunger is not a problem for the United States alone. Other advanced nations would need to share in the cost, even if this country should make more food available.

Yet in the end, the ultimate solution must lie within the developing countries themselves. If a hunger crisis is to be avoided, these nations must recognize more and more the necessity for population control, and they must produce more of their own food. In one sense, too much outside help might retard progress within.

The world now has the technical know-how to produce enough food for all. If the modern methods used so effectively in the United States and some other countries could be put into operation everywhere, there would be sufficient food at least for now and for the immediate future. Providing the technical know-how is the real challenge to world leaders. But at the moment, as Reuter and the FAO have pointed out, the world is fighting a losing battle. Here is a matter of the utmost concern for all nations.

Part 2, State and Local Section of New York State College Young Democrats Platform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, last June the New York State College Young Democrats, meeting in convention in Niagara Falls, adopted a very fine platform. While I do not agree with every position they took, I think that the ideas set forth in the platform will be of interest to readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I am therefore putting the second part of State and local affairs section into the RECORD, as follows:

LOWER MANHATTAN EXPRESSWAY

We oppose the construction of the presently planned Lower Manhattan Expressway in New York City. This expressway would needlessly destroy many homes and businesses. We propose that any expressway in lower Manhattan be routed around the island's lower tip instead of cutting through populated areas.

HOUSING

The problem of providing safe and healthy housing conditions at reasonable rentals is one of the most serious faced by New York City. There are many opportunities for governmental action to alleviate the present situation of slum conditions, ignored violations, and housing shortages in the low- and middle-income ranges.

We, therefore, propose that the city, with cooperation from the State, where necessary, support the following measures: (1) Continuation of the present rent control system; (2) stringent enforcement and drastic increasing of penalties for repeated building violations; (3) legalizing rent strikes: rent would be paid by the tenants to the civil court and held in escrow until the ordered repairs were carried out to the court's satisfaction; (4) a law to insure that tenants actually receive notice of dispossession proceedings, by requiring that the clerk of the court issuing notice of dispossession send the notice to the tenant by registered mail; (5) a law to establish special city squads to make emergency repairs and provide heat and hot water, with all repair costs charged to the landlord; (6) a law requiring that, for all publicly aided housing, at least 20 percent of the apartments be allotted to the housing authority for letting to low-income tenants.

We urge that future city housing projects not be concentrated in areas of similar income level; they must be located throughout the city.

We urge the department of welfare to utilize in full the provisions of the Spiegel law and withhold rents from slum lords who refuse to correct deplorable conditions in slum buildings.

BOARD OF ESTIMATE

We support the elimination of the board of estimate. We believe that this institution violates the cardinal principle of democracy—"one man, one vote." The board of estimate gives equal representation to the five counties of New York City, despite the huge disparity of population in these counties. Richmond's 220,000 inhabitants have a voting power equal to Kings' 2,620,000. We suggest that the budgetary, legislative, and administrative functions of the board and the borough presidents be transferred to the city council. New York City does not need a bicameral legislature.

COUNCILMAN AT LARGE

Although originally instituted for the purpose of aiding minority representation on the city council, this office has led to a perpetual domination of the council by the two major parties. Minor parties have little chance of winning these offices. Since each county has an equal number of at-large councilmen, regardless of population, the "one man, one vote" principle is clearly violated.

BOARD OF SUPERVISORS

We find the governments of many counties much in need of reform. We favor the rapid centralization of county government in the hands of an elected county executive. The board of supervisors that today governs many of the counties of the State ought to be democratized.

BIRTH CONTROL

We support the dissemination of birth control devices and information through the health and welfare agencies of the State of New York.

FINEBERG LAW

We support the repeal of the Fineberg law which demands that teachers sign a loyalty oath. Loyalty oaths are both degrading and ineffectual. We also favor the abolition of loyalty oaths at all public colleges in New York.

TAX DEDUCTIONS FOR POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

We urge the New York State Legislature to enact a law permitting income tax deductions for political contributions under $200.

This law would encourage wider participation in politics and government on the part of the average citizen. The political campaigns for candidates for public office are often completely financed by either the candidates' personal wealth or by a small cadre of wealthy and influential persons and organizations seeking political power. In either case there is an undesirable situation. All too often the successful candidate in an election is the candidate who had the means to spend the greatest amount of money on his campaign. All too frequently political office has become the prize of the wealthy and the influential. In those instances where a successful candidate's campaign has been financed by large contributions from unions, business organizations, or wealthy persons, there is always a danger that an implied obligation on the part of the elected candidate to his benefactor has been created.

STATE TEACHER'S COLLEGE AT BUFFALO

We urge the State legislature to increase funds for the State Teacher's College at Buffalo, so that their facilities may be expanded. This way the college will be able to gain final accreditation.

WATER PURIFYING SYSTEMS

We are in favor of Federal or State funds being made available to the towns of New York State so that they might facilitate their own water purifying systems.

HUDSON VALLEY

We support the scenic beauty of the Hudson Valley. We commend State and National Government efforts to establish a park and hope that they will find a workable solution. We regret the approval of the King project and also urge that stronger measures be taken to prevent water pollution, especially in the Albany area.

A Journey for Peace

SPEECH

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include at this point a most timely and inspiring editorial delivered over the Mutual Broadcasting System recently, graphically describing and reminding us of Pope Paul's historic visit to this country and the United Nations on a mission of peace with a message of faith and love that is so sorely needed in this confused and distressed world.

The editorial follows:

In 14 magnificent hours, there was for the world a period of history for present and future that will be remembered as the magnificent journey.

Pope Paul journeyed from Rome as a messenger. His climax, following the stirring plea for peace at the United Nations, was a magnificent emotion packed moment of history at Yankee Stadium as he stood on a red carpeted platform before a spotless white altar and brought his message to the world. A message of faith and love.

He told his audience that there are three rules if there is to be peace. First, to love

peace. Second, to serve the cause of peace. Third, peace must be based on moral and religious principles.

He was not loved and honored just because he was the leader of his church. There were thousands—millions—of others outside his church who looked upon this man and his journey as a symbol of something that is needed at this crucial moment in our lives.

It was a magnificent journey—a simple, dedicated man of the church who took 14 hours of his lifetime to bring a message of peace to a world. A message that could, if followed, mean millions and millions of hours of the future for all mankind.

Pope Paul is truly a man of peace.

South Vietnam's National Day, October 26

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, few nations in history have been launched into more difficult circumstances than South Vietnam. Divided from the Vietnamese land and people north of the 17th parallel as a result of the Geneva Agreements of 1954, South Vietnam was originally seen by most Eastern and many Western analysts as a temporary expedient, a face-saving device that would permit France to end a disastrous colonial adventure without a total surrender to the Communist-led Viet Minh. South Vietnam was to be a temporary national entity, independent of both France and the new Democratic Republic of Vietnam to the north, itself considered a temporarily delineated state.

The two Vietnams were to be reunited at a later date and few doubted that the resultant whole would be a Communist nation. But the Republic that declared its sovereignty 10 years ago today did not view itself as a strawman erected to be swept "inevitably" before the tide from the north. South Vietnam took its nationhood seriously and for 8 of its 10 years of existence has been violently engaged in a combat to preserve its national integrity. That bitter, fratricidal war in a small Asian land has developed high international significance; the leaders of Communist China and North Vietnam have declared it the model and the acid test of "the war of national liberation" strategy to be applied to all the developing world. The United States has chosen to join the South Vietnamese nation in its struggle and in this test.

October 26 falls in the season of rice harvest in Vietnam, and for some in the more secure cities there can be celebration, thanksgiving, and feasting as befits a national holiday, but for the Vietnamese and American troops sharing a common vigil over the barbed wire defenses of 500 villages there can be little festivity. Many have died and more have sacrificed that the day might be observed. Since this small nation has shown such courage and tenacity in its national struggle, and since the United States has found firm common cause with South Vietnam in its international confrontation, it is fitting that we pause in commemoration of this Vietnamese National, Republic, and Constitution Day.

It is well to recognize that, had there never been a Vietcong nor a Lao Dong, there would still be a vigorous and abrasive social revolution in South Vietnam today. This revolution is presently proceeding below, above, with and against what the Communists call their war of national liberation. In this bigger, more spontaneous, far less controllable social phenomenon there is occurring a nationalist struggle against the traditional forces of regionalism and localism, a struggle to reshape a colonial land-holding structure into one suited to a nationwide, family, freehold farming system wherein the tiller will indeed own his land, a struggle to modernize and expand the educational system, and a rebalancing of urban political power factors away from the French trained and protected elite which once monopolized the levers of state.

Let us wish them well, the South Vietmanese people with their bright, new, red-on-yellow flag; let us wish them well on this, their national day, not only in the insurgent war but also in their greater, more complex social revolution that is now in progress.

The Anti-Vietnam Policy Demonstrations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, an unfortunate image of our college campuses has been created by the recent campus demonstrations and teach-ins against American policy in Vietnam.

The right of free speech and free assembly is basic to our system and the students, campus hangers-on and others who have demonstrated are certainly free to express their views on Vietnam.

With this freedom, however, comes the responsibility to inform themselves on the facts of U.S. policy and the alternatives in southeast Asia.

It has been my experience that those who take part in such demonstrations often are long on emotionalism and short on information. Their actions give aid and comfort to our adversaries and postpone—rather than hasten—the day when the struggle in Vietnam is taken from the battlefield and brought into the conference room.

In recent days a number of excellent editorials have appeared on the subject of the Vietnam demonstrations. One of the most interesting appeared in the Washington Daily News. It was written by T. Sgt. Peter G. Gainutsos, editor of the newspaper of the Air Force's 2d Division at Tan Son Nhut Airfield in Vietnam.

Sergeant Gainutsos speaks from personal experience about the propaganda being generated by the demonstrations when compared to the realities of the conflict in Vietnam.

Other notable editorials on this subject have appeared in the Milwaukee Sentinel and the Milwaukee Journal. I am also inserting them at this point and earnestly urge the attention of my colleagues to them:

[From the Washington Daily News]

THE COLLEGE FRINGE

(This is a guest editorial by T. Sgt. Peter G. Gainutsos, editor of the Advisor, the newspaper of the Air Force's 2d Air Division at Tan Son Nhut Air Field in Vietnam.)

Time was when a boy went to college to study law, medicine, engineering, or one of the arts. And girls went to get their "Mrs. degree." But for too many it is not that way any more. Today's crop of college cut-ups are no longer content to swallow gold fish, crowd themselves into telephone booths or small foreign cars. They and we refer to the minority that makes the majority of the voice—now insist on dictating Government policies, and are ready to parade, demonstrate, and sit-in at the drop of a cause.

The latest gimmick among these intellectual midgets is a campaign to urge all members of the Armed Forces to desert their posts, rather than serve in Vietnam.

I have no quarrel with the right of the individual to voice his opinion. However, the hysterical babbling of these bourgeois boors borders on sedition, if not treason. I leave that to the Justice Department. It is a sad day indeed when the words "honor, duty, and country" have come to mean so little. As a member of the military family, I spent the better part of my adult life in the Saigons of the world. It never occurred to me to disobey an order, or to question the right of my Government to send me anywhere to protect and preserve its interests.

Like a lot of us here in Vietnam, I have had occasion to be at the base theater during one of the daily memorial services, and I have seen the slow walking and heard somber music and soft prayers for those to whom rotation dates are no longer important. I muttered my own prayer, as well as giving silent thanks that it was not I inside that box.

As I stood there, I remembered preachings of these mentally retarded adults back home and my compassion for a dead man turned to shame, and then anger that they dared to ask me to prostitute my profession, ask me to bring dishonor to myself, to my service, and to my country.

It is difficult enough to understand when the supposed learned citizenry take the rostrum to rant and rave against our Government, and thereby feed the propaganda mills to the north, but to be subjected to the meaningless chatter of these imbecilic sloths, whose ideas of bravery is to lead a panty raid on a girls' barracks, is more than human dignity can bear.

It has been suggested that they all be drafted into the service and brought to Vietnam. I could not agree less. To put these morons in a uniform is to insult the memory of those who never came back from Guadalcanal or Pork Chop Hill, or those who did not survive the bombing of the Brinks Hotel or the American Embassy here.

Instead, clean them up, cut their hair, and take away their sweat shirts and sneakers and bring them to Vietnam to live among the people. Let them expound their the-

ories about the good, the kind, the misunderstood Vietcong among the villagers whose homes were destroyed and their meager rice stolen.

Let them talk about warmongering to the widow of a Vietnamese army private, who earns her fish and rice as a prostitute, or with the village woman who lost a hand, one finger at a time, and finally the wrist to these kind of misunderstood Vietcong because she dared to stand up for what she believed was right.

Draft them into the military? Never. Ours is a proud organization, made up of men and women who have ideals and principles and, what's even more important, men and women who have the courage and the will to live up to those beliefs.

They take great pride in themselves, in their uniforms, and in their Nation, qualities that the campus "cuties" have yet to acquire. Until they do, they will never "belong." Their voice will be that of the semi-educated, the fool who will leave behind only a legacy of shame, dishonor, and ignorance.

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel]

WEARING THIN

Hasn't the time arrived when public demonstrations have burned themselves out as a means of expressing dissent?

Sit-ins, boycotts, picketing, marching, teach-ins, and all the variations of these methods of street protesting have been worked to death.

VAST MAJORITY MUST BE BORED

The 99-plus percentage of the American people who do not participate in these demonstrations by now must surely be bored with, if not repelled by, the antics of the remaining less than 1 percent. This is not to question the merits of any cause around which a coterie of demonstrators are ready to buzz at the drop of a hat or the mention of the word freedom. It is simply to wonder if demonstrations, as a tool for influencing public policy, haven't become so dull that they are worse than useless in that they alienate support for worthy policies.

The anti-Vietnam policy demonstrators, for example, have only served to harden the national consensus on the side of President Johnson—a result presumably opposite to what they intended.

The right to dissent is one of the glories of America. In light of what has gone on around the land in the name of dissent of late, the Nation need not apologize for its tolerance for the exercise of the right of free speech. Let's see any Communist-dominated country come within a light-year of matching it.

But American patience is another matter. That patience is wearing thin. The time has come for another right in addition to the right of dissent to come into play—the right to express our disgust with these sets of instant exhibitionists who think a beard is all it takes to become another Abraham Lincoln.

Demonstrators are hard to ignore. To boo them is to descend to their level. This leaves little to do but yawn in their faces, and then get on with trying to solve the problems that the demonstrators succeed only in complicating.

[From the Milwaukee Journal]

THE RIGHT TO BE WRONG

The disturbing thing about the national ferment over the war in Vietnam is that factions on both sides of the argument over whether we should be fighting there are losing perspective and resorting to angry name calling.

Those who demonstrate against our activities in Vietnam have been shown to be aiming catcalls at the wrong side. It is Hanoi and Peiping that refuse to go to the conference table to seek peace. Washington has offered to do so time and again.

Among those who demonstrate are many who honestly feel that we have no business in Vietnam and should pull out regardless of consequences. But now the question is not whether the administration wants to get out—it does. The question is how to do it honorably and without betraying those with whom we have been allied.

But just as disturbing as misdirected demonstrations is the reaction of some public figures and national organizations. The tendency grows to denounce dissent itself and to tag all opponents of national policy in Vietnam as Communists or fellow travelers. Communists and fellow travelers always seek to exploit dissent, but that does not make all who dissent Communists.

The national Jaycee organization is starting out on a dangerous road when it announces that it is taking upon itself the task of reading for the Nation the backgrounds of those who lead demonstrations. This is flirting with witch hunting. Such matters are best left to our law enforcement agencies and official bodies. An organization like the Jaycees is not equipped or experienced to handle such matters—and most particularly to decide who are Communists or traitors. Only when law is broken should even official bodies step into such matters.

We have had enough experience with private organizations and individuals becoming self-appointed guardians of truth, patriotism, and policy. We feel the shame of the late 1940's and 1950's still.

The Jaycees intend to "pack" college meetings opposing the war. Why? Most people oppose war, but feel that, now that we are involved, we must not surrender even while we seek acceptable means of disengagement. Are the Jaycees about to advocate war? The issue is peace and how best to attain it.

Former Secretary of State Byrnes demands that the FBI expose those who demonstrate against Vietnam policy. Certainly the FBI is constantly looking into possible law breaking or subversion, and should be. But its job is not to expose honest dissent; its job is to enforce the law.

It would be tragic if this Nation should let the argument degenerate into witch hunts. The basis of our democracy is the right of opinion and freedom to express it. We may feel that some of our people are misguided, and some obviously have not thought the problem of Vietnam through. But the dangers of intimidating them into silence far outweigh any harm they can do.

Partin and the Justice Department

SPEECH

OF

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from Illinois relative to a most important aspect of the administration of justice in our Nation. I thank the gentleman from Illinois for calling this matter to the attention of the House of Representatives.

From the freedom and the luxurious life that is being enjoyed by a person who has committed almost every sort of crime, it makes people wonder just how such a thing can happen. This is a matter which ought to be looked into from every angle. The Congress has authorized and directed that a committee be set up for this purpose.

With the information brought out by the gentleman from Illinois, I cannot see how this committee can avoid investigating this matter thoroughly. If this committee fails to do this, I believe that Congress has evaded its responsibility. I urge that in the light of what the gentleman from Illinois has brought out, that this committee start investigating this matter at the earliest possible time.

Politicians Are People, Only More So

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, it is a rare day in June, or October, when a politician is praised, nor as a husband or father or Christian gentleman, but as a politician. And yet today I have read just such a testimonial, not just to a single politician, but to all politicians. The event is so remarkable that I should like to call it to the attention of my colleagues.

The author of these unsolicited praises is a gentleman of my acquaintance who has been following my career, and the careers of all other Arizona politicians, for the last 14 years. He has not always been in my corner; in fact, I seem to recall his predicting my imminent defeat on various occasions. However, he has always been fair and accurate in his reporting, and, like the crocodile following Captain Hook, he has performed a useful service; namely, to keep people like me on our toes.

This gentleman's name is Jim Cooper. If the truth be known, it is James Fenimore Cooper. I first came upon Mr. Cooper when he was a political reporter for the Tucson Daily Citizen in Tucson, Ariz. Of late, however, he has been the editor of a weekly newspaper, the Southwestern Record.

What prompted Mr. Cooper's kind words for politicians was his decision to return to the academic halls and the necessity of writing a final column to his readers. Perhaps his anticipated freedom from the pressure of deadlines has softened his heart and opened his mind to new vistas of beauty and light. Whatever it is that has prompted his appreciation of politicians, I think we who are the beneficiaries should be grateful. And perhaps at some future time we might engrave his words on a tablet of stone somewhere for other newspapermen to read and thereby to be inspired.

I shall miss Jim Cooper from the newspaper scene. He has done a good job, and he has been a good friend. Mr. Speaker, without objection, I shall insert at this point in the Appendix the column

referred to, taken from the October 21, 1965, issue of the Southwestern Record:

IN MY OPINION

(By Jim Cooper)

This may be the last column I'll ever write—or news story for that matter—so if you will bear with me I may do a little overwriting.

Actually this is one of those columns that newsguys write chiefly for their scrapbooks, not so much for their readers.

I am stepping out of the newspaper business because of the separation of the "school and the press," so to speak. I can't do both—attend the University of Arizona and edit this newspaper and write this column. When I enrolled this fall I thought perhaps I could do both. But those young kids up there are sharp and I'm in competition with them.

This makes the third time I've started out on a master's degree. The first two times I quit before I finished. The first was the fault of the Japanese and Hitler and the second was that after World War II I soon lost the mood.

But I've always wanted to get a master's degree in English so—conditions being favorable—I decided to do it beginning this fall. I may not make it. I may.

Friends ask me what I will do if I achieve this goal—teach? I tell them that I do not know, and I don't. All I know is that I want the degree. Maybe, after 2 years, I'll get a job as a fry cook.

The newspaper profession has its drawbacks just as any other work has. Chiefly, the drawbacks are city editors and lengthy sameness. After you've written the same kind of news stories for more than 20 years; after you've heard the same speeches for that long; when you've written every type of story that appears in newspapers over and over and again, you've had it. I suppose it is the same with sawing logs or cutting hair. You can have had it there.

Most of the people who would like to start over can't do it for various reasons—family security, lack of ability, a sense of dependence, or an actual affinity for sameness without knowing it. But I've had it and that's enough for me.

I wrote my first news story for the Manhattan (Kans.) Morning Chronicle in 1937. And except for the period during World War II when I was destroying airplanes (ours) and except for another period when I wrote a novel that I'm still trying to sell, I've been at the reporting and writing business.

I always liked political writing and in Arizona I had about 14 years of it. The reason I like politics is that politicians are people only more so. A politician has his present and future at stake every minute of his political life and so he cannot be anything as average as other folk. A murderer places his present and future on the block when he pulls the trigger. But for his past life, he may not have been in jeopardy. A bookkeeper who absconds with the firm's funds may have been a dullard all his life and until the moment of placing his finger in the till, he was uninteresting and average. A man who is elected president of the Rotary Club makes news at the moment—and all the rest of his life he may go unnoticed on the news pages.

But the politician is always there—he's always a news item—until he dies or lies as good as dead before the election polls.

They live a hard life, these politicians, but they may not appear to do so on the surface.

I like politicians. They're more intense than the average. If they cheat, they cheat more; if they lie, they lie more; if they are fair and honest, they are more fair and more honest; if they carouse, they carouse more; if they are intelligent, they are more intelligent; if they are stupid, they are more stupid.

Politicians are supercharged humans in every emotion, reaction, and human response.

I've known some who died and I cried. I've known some who died and I said it was good riddance. But, as a class, I liked them all.

I asked a great managing editor once what to do with a story when you couldn't think of an ending. He said, "Put a '30' on it."

Making Your Annual Chamber Meeting More Effective

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, few serve Americans more continuously, efficiently, or conscientously than does our local merchant. This man does an outstanding job of proving the depth and worth of our American system of free enterprise.

Nor does his enthusiasm stop at the counter. He knows that in building a business, he must also give attention to building his community. He bands with other merchants to do this through his chamber of commerce.

Gains made through this affiliation, although shown throughout the year in myriad ways, vie for attention, along with opportunities which exist for greater growth, when the annual chamber meeting is held.

A personal friend who has attended and addressed many such annual chamber meetings, Hu Blonk, managing editor of the Wenatchee Daily World in Wenatchee, Wash., penned some personal observations a few days ago. They were published in the Tuesday, October 22, edition of the World. All who plan and participate in an annual chamber meeting will agree with much that Hu has written, want to follow some of his suggestions, and probably agree with me that Hu has made an important contribution in making our annual chamber meeting more effective.

I would ask the unanimous consent of the Senate at this time that the editorial column be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRAVEL TIME ON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BANQUET CIRCUIT

Twenty or so times during the fall and winter months groups of north central Washington people are going to sit down, partake of food, exchange small talk across the table, and hear someone deliver a speech.

These affairs are called annual chamber of commerce banquets.

As you look over the various audiences—gathered in restaurants, lodge dining rooms, school cafeterias, and other places—you find yourself looking at a few people who are to be seen at many of these events.

Among these are editors and writers for the Daily World, plus chamber of commerce presidents and others who want to make sure their town is represented, in loyalty to their chamber.

Those who travel the banquet circuit year after year find some groups friendly, others sort of shy and aloof; others serving real good meals, others not, some having orators at the podium and some having speakers who should have stayed home.

All the dinners are fun if you enjoy meeting people you don't see often enough, enjoy seeing communities trying to do something for themselves.

The veterans at attending chamber of commerce banquets can provide chamber officials with valuable advice on how to make their annual event most successful in seeming to extend a genuine welcome to visitors from other towns. Not all do, you know.

Be sure that your guests are introduced properly. These people have traveled as much as 140 miles to come to your town. It seems an awfully long ways if the master of ceremonies just says: "We have a delegation from Podunk," and doesn't mention names.

Introduce each individual guest by town, by name, and most important by business and his association in that business. He's sacrificed quite a few business hours, or leisure evening hours at home after a busy day, personally to extend you best wishes for a great chamber year ahead. A little free advertising for his business are the sweetest words he'll hear all night.

Few things annoy the night traveler as much as a master of ceremonies who seems to have his notes and names all mixed up, neglects to mention that the guest's wife is also there, or forgets a guest altogether. One chamber man is still grumbling about having been so ignored 3 years ago.

The responsibility for proper introductions is not wholly the fault of the home chamber. Often its officers never get the full list of names, and almost never are they advised what the man's business is and what he does for that business. Someone should be given the duty of getting the full information to the speaker's stand.

Assigning someone at the door to greet your guests is a great investment in public relations. At one recent event an incoming chamber president came over to say how glad he was the guest had come. The guest beamed all the way home, and figured that that man's town was about the friendliest community in all of north central Washington.

With reference to chamber banquets, those representatives of the Wenatchee chamber who frequently attend these functions feel that many of their brethren are overlooking the importance of the community and themselves being represented.

The number of Wenatchee businessmen who attend chamber banquets is almost in direct ratio to the mileage from here to there. Chelan draws many Wenatcheeites. Oroville is lucky to get four or five. Sometimes the Daily World editor is the only Wenatcheeite present.

Against that background it's refreshing to hear that the new manager, Gordon Chester, plans to attend all of the chamber meetings as far as his schedule permits and to induce greater representation from the chamber.

Many, many people from Quincy, Tonasket, Okanogan, Twisp, and other towns come through the business doors that are open on the Avenue. They get a royal welcome there.

Doesn't it seem wise, in return for this patronage and in the interest of good public relations, that more businessmen devote a few hours saying thanks in the towns from which so many customers come? It surely does.

And a final thought—when chamber of commerce work together as a unit, the combined public pressure can achieve amazing accomplishments in whatever direction they wish to move. This has been proven many times. But such unified effort certainly is harder to attain if officials of various chambers never see one another—not even once a year at the annual banquet.

HU BLONK.

Dalton Firm Makes Paper for Currency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, each of us who is privileged to serve in this great body takes understandable pride in the various social and economic elements which comprise our respective constituencies. Many of us are honored to count some of this Nation's most spectacular scenic wonders in our districts. Others point with pride to gigantic industrial concentrations. Still others take pride in the great metropolitan and cosmopolitan areas which we represent.

Each area is a vital, integral part of the whole; an indispensible facet on the jewel that is the United States.

It has been my pleasure on a number of occasions to call the attention of my colleagues to the many unique aspects of the First Congressional District of Massachusetts, which it is my very great pleasure and high honor to represent here. I have from time to time extolled the virtues of the Berkshire Mountains, of our many superb educational institutions, of the colleges and universities, and of our cultural assets exemplified by the internationally famous Tanglewood Music Shed in Lenox, Mass.

Today, I would like to direct the attention of this body to another of the points of pride and interest in the First District of Massachusetts—one which is surprisingly little known by most Americans. Few of us, perhaps, realize that every dollar we spend and receive in day-to-day commerce is printed on paper manufactured by the Crane Paper Co. in Dalton, Mass.

The Crane mills are a source not only of economic pride to us in western Massachusetts, but of social pride as well. Beside setting an international standard for quality paper, its officials have always taken a leading role in the civic and governmental affairs of their time.

Its present director is Mr. Bruce Crane, a very close personal friend of mine and the distinguished Republican national committeeman from Massachusetts. Bruce was also Governor's councilor from 1953 to 1956, during the administration of Gov. Christian A. Herter.

Bruce's father was the late Senator Murray Crane, of Massachusetts. Murray Crane was also a three-term Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The Crane family tradition is indeed one of our proudest and most revered, not only in my district, but throughout the State.

I was pleased to note that the Boston Sunday Globe of October 17, 1965, honored the Crane mills with an excellent picture article in its Sunday magazine section. I regret that the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD cannot reflect the photographs of the Crane facilities in operation, or of the picturesque surroundings of the plant in Dalton, located deep in the Berkshire hills.

Nevertheless, the text of the article reveals some of the history and unique story behind Crane mills and how it came to be supplier of paper for the currencies, not only of the United States, but of much of the rest of the world as well.

I include herewith the text of the article from the Boston Globe of October 17, in full in the Appendix of the RECORD:

DALTON FIRM MAKES PAPER FOR CURRENCY

(By Brendan Malin)

From rags to the richness of a unique and vital American industry is the summarized history of the Crane paper mills in Dalton.

For more than 160 years, all of the time in the hands of the Crane family, they have been turning out fine papers for a highly specialized and demanding world market.

Millions of Americans handle Crane paper every day in the form of U.S. dollar bills. Crane & Co., has been under contract since 1879 for the supply of special paper to the U.S. Treasury for this purpose.

And it has done the same for 48 other countries.

It all began in 1799 when Zenas Crane decided to establish a mill to make fine paper from rags in the valley flanking the swift-flowing Housatonic River.

He was just 22 then, but he had learned his trade expertly in Newton Falls and Worcester.

By 1801 he was seeking the raw material for his craft—rags—among the homesteads of Dalton, and Crane & Co. has been a going concern in the most active interpretation of the term since.

With an original payroll of seven and filling, himself, a whole complex of jobs from general manager to factory handyman, he set Crane & Co. a challenging target to make the best paper in America.

Ten years later, the enterprise was paying its founder a salary of $8 a week.

The industry soon outgrew its supply of raw material. There just were not enough rags in western Massachusetts to satisfy the production drive of Zenas Crane—and the demand of local banks for his output as a basis for their note issue.

The advent of papermaking machinery in 1831 and a railroad to transport it—linking Boston with Albany in 1845—put a new and urgent premium on raw material.

As the mill expanded and new units were added, rags were shipped to it on the Hudson River from New York and across the Atlantic from Ireland.

After the establishment of standardized bank notes by the United States, the Treasury took a critical look at its source of currency paper supply, a Philadelphia concern.

A grandson of the founder, W. Murray Crane proferred his distinctive paper—and won the contract.

Since the average life expectancy of a dollar bill is 15 months, the Crane mill has had its plate more than full in providing U.S. currency needs. In the process rags as raw material gave way to new cotton and linen cuttings from the textile industry where the supply is regular.

This development, and plant expansion, means that Crane paper, in bank note form, has circulated through 48 other countries, engraved for them under contract with the America Bank Note Co.

The sheen of Crane paper has also become the hallmark of American society.

It fell to the lot of another grandson of the founder, Zenas, Jr., to break the monopoly of the American market exercised by foreign suppliers of top-quality stationery for invitations, social notes, and so forth.

And this remarkable Massachusetts family has also left its mark on the political life of America.

Grandson Murray Crane, who won the first currency-paper contract from the Treasury, served three 1-year terms as Lieutenant Governor and three more as Governor of Massachusetts, ending a distinguished public career as U.S. Senator in 1912.

The present president of the Dalton enterprise, Bruce Crane, is son of the Senator and was Governor's Councilor from 1953 to 1956 during the Herter regime.

The Demise of the American Merchant Marine

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the following article which I received today from Mr. Joseph Curran, chairman of the AFL-CIO Maritime Committee:

THE DEMISE OF THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE—NICK JOHNSON STYLE

The administrative changes to section 804 of the 1936 act by the Maritime Administrator to permit the use of foreign-flag ships to fulfill the trade route commitments of the subsidized lines may signal the beginning of the phasing out of subsidized American-flag shipping.

Section 804 of the 1936 Merchant Marine Act states:

"It shall be unlawful for any contractor receiving an operating-differential subsidy under title VI or for any charterer of vessels under title VII of this Act, or any holding company, subsidiary, affiliate, or associate of such contractor or such charterer, or any officer, director, agent, or executive thereof, directly or indirectly to own, charter, act as agent or broker for, or operate any foreign-flag vessel which competes with any American-flag service determined by the Commission to be essential as provided in section 211 of this Act: *Provided, however*, That under special circumstances and for good cause shown the Commission may, in its discretion, waive the provisions of this section as to any contractor, for a specific period of time, by affirmative vote of four of its members."

Section 211 authorizes and directs the Administrator to investigate and determine the ocean services, routes and lines from the United States to foreign ports which are or may be determined by the Administrator essential for the promotion, development, expansion and maintenance of the U.S. foreign commerce.

The Maritime Administrator is directed by the 1936 act to "study all maritime problems arising in the carrying out of the policy set forth in title I of this Act; (b) to study and to cooperate with vessel owners in devising means by which (1) the importers and exporters of the United States can be induced to give preference to vessels under United States registry." This specific directive is flagrantly disregarded in the granting of these waivers.

Section 804 has only one proviso and this is included for the specific purpose of permitting the Government to grant exemptions in the most unusual circumstances

only. The words, "in its discretion," "under special circumstances," "for good cause shown," "for a specific period of time," "by affirmative vote of four of its members,"—all of these protective phrases attest to the seriousness with which the Congress treated this subject.

The discretionary phrase places an obligation upon the Government to exercise the utmost care in administering this proviso. The "good cause" provision means just what it says. There must be overwhelming evidence of the needs of the Nation's commerce to justify an exemption.

The overwhelming evidence position is further substantiated by the fact that the Congress was even unwilling to leave the decision to the more normal administrative processes so a vote of four out of five members of the Commission was provided. Further, the Congress was fearful of the damage to the American merchant marine inherent in any exercise of such an exemption so it provided for specific time period limitations.

No one familiar with the legislative processes of enacting our laws can fail to escape the meaning here. It is generally unlawful for any contractor under title VI or title VII of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, to own, charter, act as agent or broker for, or operate any foreign-flag vessel competing with an essential American-flag service. This is the meaning of the act.

The Maritime Administration has now changed all this. This change has been made because of the failure of the Administrator to carry out the policy of the act. Also, we fear that this making of new law by the Administrator is all part of the general drive to eliminate the American merchant marine. The new law follows:

"Application for waivers under Section 804 for the charter of foreign-flag ships by subsidized operators with ships under charter to the military should be supported by the following information:

"(1) A showing that the sailing to be made by the chartered ship is one which would, but for a lack of subsidized ships due to the charter of ships to the military, normally be made in the applicant's regular commercial service;

"(2) the applicant's assurance of the nonavailability of U.S.-flag ships for operation under charter without subsidy;

"(3) the applicant's assurance that other U.S.-flag lines providing service in the particular trade have been contacted and have indicated that they do not object to the proposed charter;

"(4) the applicant's assurance that it has consulted the labor unions manning its ships, and has been advised that they do not object to the charter;

"(5) the applicant's agreement that any profits realized from the voyages made with the chartered ship shall be included for subsidy accounting and that any losses will be for the sole account of the applicant.

"In addition to the foregoing, all applications will, of course, include information as to the name and flag of the foreign-flag ships, the type, rate, and duration of the charter, ports of loading and discharge, and estimated voyage results."

The present condition of our merchant marine is surely highlighted when it becomes apparent that we do not have enough U.S.-flag ships to carry the less than 9 percent of our imports and exports because of the commitments in Vietnam. The Administrator and the Under Secretary, and the Department of Defense have just told the Maritime Advisory Committee that we have sufficient ships now for any emergency and for our domestic needs under emergency conditions.

Under what authority the administration can change the law as enacted by Congress is a mystery. This action was taken in the greatest of secrecy. Probably, because it contradicts their advice to the Maritime Advisory Committee.

In the interagency report there is a reference that the transfer-out of the *America* was the beginning of the phasing-out of the U.S.-flag passenger ships. This statement is contributed to Nicholas Johnson.

Does this change in section 804 to allow the use of foreign-flag ships by the subsidized operators mean the beginning of the phasing-out of the subsidized liner companies?

Is this in agreement with the task force recommendations which the Department of Commerce portrays as the answer to promoting U.S.-flag shipping?

There is no question but that the subsidized companies are in a box in fulfilling their regular trade commitments because of their participation in Vietnam. The fact that they are short on ships is not their fault. The fault rests squarely on the failure of the Department of Commerce to administer the shipping policy.

We must, and we do, oppose any action of the Department of Commerce to excuse its maladministration of our shipping laws in this fashion.

Letter From an American Soldier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, one of the more distressing aspects of the "peacenik demonstrations" which have occurred around the country is the painful and demoralizing effect these unwise demonstrations have on our fighting men in Vietnam. I have just read a letter about this from an American soldier who is defending the freedom and integrity of our Nation and South Vietnam at the risk of his own life. I am proud to say Cpl. James Feist, son of Mr. and Mrs. Ray Feist of Pipestone, Minn., comes from my congressional district. His moving letter has been circulated in some of the newspapers, including the Waseca Herald. I believe it should be circulated more broadly and include it in the RECORD at this point in my remarks:

(Written by Cpl. James Feist to his parents Mr. and Mrs. Ray Feist of Pipestone. Corporal Feist is stationed in Chu-Lai, Vietnam, with the U.S. Marines.)

I received your letter of August 12 and August 17, but because I have * * * we all have been rather busy the last couple of days I haven't had a chance to write back. No doubt you must have heard something of my reason for being busy lately. The units that were involved yesterday and today, in what has proven to be the biggest American versus Vietcong of the war thus far. An approximate 1,100 marines against an estimated 2,500 Vietcong in steel reinforced concrete bunkers.

There is nothing official on the number of VC killed right now but the hundreds we know of, were costly. Second Battalion (my people) who are already much under strength, suffered the greatest losses, as they were the plunger in the movement. The last reports told us of 130 wounded and 26 dead. Many were people I knew well. I didn't get in on this one. Our commanding officer informed me that "technicians are too valuable to go out and get their heads shot off." I imagine at least 26 families somewhere in the United States thought that of some others, too.

But it isn't supposed to be easy—is it? Nor is it supposed to be fun. It's a lousy war as in any war but it's going to be fought some time, someplace, I hate to see what it's doing to these poor people here in Vietnam, but I'd rather it be here than in Minnesota—and I'd rather it be now than in 10 years when they are better prepared to fight us.

The only thing I would like to see from the States is a little better support. The servicemen here, all branches, have gotten enough. "Sonny, what are you doing there?" type letters. They've had enough about college students yelling "Yankee imperialism" and "Get out of Vietnam." We've had as much as we want to racial riots killing and wounding more than this 2-day battle with VC so far.

What has happened to the flag wavers—the pride in supporting our President and our Nation and our own freedom of the world? Since when is it old fashioned to love the sight of "Old Glory" to celebrate the Fourth of July, to fight for the security of the world?

I can't understand the ideas these people have in their protest demonstrations against the President and his Vietnam views, or the burning of selective service cards with parents' approval.

Mom and Dad, you raised me to love this country of ours, to love her freedoms, support her President and to respect her flag. Of course, I haven't a college education nor do I hold a position with a fancy title for making such a statement, but as an American, when I read about tearing down flags, burning draft cards, wrecking government buildings as a protest against the Nation's governing body, (which needless to say we placed there by vote), I think it's about time parents, teachers and all adults hold inventory and ask themselves what they have done to aid such a situation and what they can do to stop it. Telling them if we don't fight them now, over here, we'll have to fight them there is no good. They know that.

So let's look at ourselves * * * have we really shown any interest in the world situation, are we indifferent to the national issues (except at election time), when did we last fly a flag or sing the national anthem? When did we take time to discuss apathy in our town or State?

I'm really confused. It's my generation that's causing a lot of the trouble and I don't understand them. Yet I think maybe it could be the little things. Again, how many times in the past 10 years have we or our neighbors flown a flag? Also in Pipestone, what has become of the Fourth of July parade, and Veterans' Day parade and celebration? Parades may be old fashioned but not when they are showing our patriotism and pride in being an American.

It's ridiculous that I should write this way to you people. If I want to complain about something like this I should write a letter to the editor, but that might look silly—to show an interest. But that's part of where we have fallen down, too, waiting for the other guy to do it.

It's our problem as much as anybody's. Indifference is our biggest problem—procrastination and rationalization our second. "The mayor or the city council or the board of education should do it." (Hear it a lot, don't we? And the voices are familiar. They should be—they're our own.)

Flying the flag, showing our patriotism, voicing our opinions may not cure it, but I bet it would reduce it one heck of a lot. I have a slogan, too. "Let's quit being ashamed of being proud Americans."

Educational Television Facilities Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, in 1962 the Congress enacted the Educational Television Facilities Act which made it possible for direct Federal support for educational television stations.

Since 1962 grants have been made under the formula set forth in the Educational Television Facilities Act on a matching basis for the development of new stations and for the expansion of existing facilities. Almost 100 applications have been accepted since the enactment of the Educational Television Facilities Act of 1962.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this time a progress report on the development of educational television that I have prepared.

There being no objection, the progress report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION: PROGRESS REPORT

The educational establishment in this country has been struggling since 1945 to keep up with new techniques and developments in communication. Still, the situation in Amedican education is critical: numbers of students continue to increase at all levels while the number of qualified teachers is not increasing at the same rate. In addition, the amount of information to be taught grows almost daily requiring almost continuous curriculum changes. One of the emergencies is arithmetic: there are too many students who must learn an increasing amount of material through the efforts of too few teachers.

Thus, we must consider education as we do advertising, entertainment and manufacturing, in that the distribution must be efficient. For at least part of our educational effort we are forced to think of the mass media, the most potent of which is television.

The use of television in education is about 12 years old. Between 1948 and 1952 the Federal Communications Commission suspended television licensing while it investigated technical problems in allocations, color compatibility and station separation. During this period educators across the country acted with surprising solidarity in convincing the Commission that a number of television frequencies should be set aside and reserved for the exclusive and specific use of education. With its sixth report and order in 1952, the Commission so reserved 242 frequencies, with the stipulation that they be used to meet the educational needs of communities and that the stations be noncommercial and nonprofit enterprises. Today there are slightly more than 100 educational television stations on the air, and it is expected that, there will be 130 by the end of 1966.

In addition to broadcast television, many schools and colleges have installed their own closed circuit systems, which require no Federal licenses. It is estimated that there are approximately 800 such systems in operation,. and the prognosis is that the number will double in 5 years.

In 1963 the Commission reserved frequencies between 2,500 and 2,690 megacycles for low-power educational signals, thus providing another type of ETV. With this UHF band a single school system can reach the schools in its community with several different programs simultaneously, which means that scheduling remains a local issue.

There are other means by which educational televisions signals are transmitted. The midwest program on Airborne Television Instruction, with headquarters at Purdue University, operates DC-6 aircraft, which beams programing to several States and phenomenal numbers of students. Mobile television units are also used in cooperative projects involving several schools or institutions.

The most pervasive of these educational television signals comes from the broadcasting stations, which are Federal licensees, charged with meeting community needs. It is about the stations that I would like to comment, realizing fully that there are other, more restricted means of signal distribution: closed circuit systems, the 2,500 mc. band, airborne techniques and mobile units.

Of the 105 stations on the air, about 20 are owned by school systems. These stations are supported to a large degree by local boards of education, and more than 60 percent of the programing is designed specifically for classrooms.

More than a dozen stations are owned by States, or State ETV authorities, and are committed not only to programs for schools, but also to the education and enlightenment of audiences at home. Several States have interconnected their stations, and now operate educational television networks.

Almost 35 stations are operated by universities, some of which also make use of closed circuit systems. University stations often serve local public schools, under contract with boards of education.

In more than 30 communities, corporations have been formed for the specific purpose of owning and operating educational television stations. The boards of directors are local businessmen, industrialists, educators, public officers, and prominent citizens. These are cooperative educational ventures, committed entirely to the communities in which they operate, and are called community stations. Examples are WQED in Pittsburgh, KCTA in Minneapolis, WGBH in Boston, WTTW in Chicago and KQED in San Francisco.

Educational television programs are produced and distributed to stations by only a few agencies. National Educational Television in New York, which has been supported heavily since 1953 by the Ford Foundation, produces the bulk of ETV's cultural and public affairs programs. These are mailed from station to station. As NET grows older, its library of programs also grows, making available additional material to the newer stations. Educational Television Stations, a division of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, has recently developed the ETS program service, a second source of general programing for stations. This will be, basically, an exchange system whereby programs produced at local ETV stations are made available to others across the country.

Instructional programs—the tapes and films used for school audiences—are either locally produced or are obtained from one of three instructional libraries. (Each of the libraries was started as a project supported by the National Defense Education Act.) One is operated in cooperation with the Eastern Educational Network, with headquarters in Boston, and another is at the University of Nebraska. The third, the National Center for School and College Television, recently moved to Indiana University from New York City, where it was called the National Instructional Television Library.

Two regional networks exist, though only one of them, the Eastern Educational Network, involves interconnection that crosses State lines. Fourteen stations are affiliates of the EEN, and half of them are interconnected. The member stations which support the operation, stretch from Washington, D.C., to Maine and westward to the Ohio border. The other network is incorporated as Midwestern Educational Television. Its headquarters are in Minneapolis and its goal is the actual interconnection of stations in six States.

A recent study by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters indicates the following about educational television stations:

(a) The average station is on the air between 9 and 10 hours a day, and a little more than 5 days a week.

(b) School stations emphasize classroom television to the extent that more than 60 percent of their programing is of a direct instructional nature. Most stations devote a little less than one-half of on-the-air time to inschool broadcasting.

(c) There are 2,445 people employed by 95 educational television stations on full-time bases, with 1,199 working part time. The average station employees about 25 people full time. University stations tend to make greater use of part-time help than do other types of stations.

(d) More educational television stations, after several years, have investments of between $400,000 and $500,000 each in broadcast properties. Community stations tend to own more property than do other types of stations.

(e) More than half of the money ETV stations receive comes from direct budgeted support—money budgeted each year by a parent organization. A little less than one fourth of the income realized by ETV stations comes from gifts and donations, with approximately the same amount coming from services rendered by the stations.

(f) Community stations show the highest percentage of money earned through services or gifts; State stations are supported directly by State taxes for 95 cents out of every dollar, and earn very little money through contract services.

(g) Average ETV station income, regardless of ownership, is $368,000 per year. Community and State stations tend to operate on larger budgets than school and university stations.

(h) Station incomes range from less than $50,000 to $2,500,000. Community stations are more predominate in the higher income groups, while university stations tend to be found among the stations with lower budgets. However, a full 50 percent of the community stations report that their expenses are greater than their incomes. Of the other varieties, only school stations have no reports of such situations.

(i) Seventeen percent of all stations operate on less than $100,000 per year, and 39 percent on less than $200,000.

(j) Three cents out of every dollar expended by educational television stations is used for procurement of programs from outside sources—44 cents is spent for salaries, and 25 cents for engineering supplies and equipment.

The Federal Government has not only been aware of the growth of educational television, but has also assisted, through several important pieces of legislation. The National Defense Education Act provides for experimentation in the use of new media, and in the past 7 years more than $8 million has been obligated by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for studying, planning, and reporting about ETV. Beyond this, almost 40 contracts have been awarded under title VII for the dissemination of information about the use of television in teaching.

The Educational Television Facilities Act, Public Law 87-447, has made possible direct Federal support for educational television stations. Grants have been made since 1962, on a matching basis with States, for development of new stations and for the expansion of existing facilities. Almost 100 applications have been accepted for filing.

The All-Channel Receiver Act makes it mandatory for manufacturers of television receivers to include capability for UHF reception in their products. A large number of the frequencies reserved for educational use are in the UHF band, and this has often been a deterrent to local station activation in VHF markets. Where potential audiences have no UHF receivers, an ETV station broadcasting above channel 13 is not likely to survive. Almost two-thirds of the ETV stations on the air today are in the VHF band, representing 50 percent of the VHF reservations. Only 18 percent of the frequencies set aside in the UHF spectrum have been activated. The impact of the All-Channel Receiver Act is yet to be felt; as more time passes, a greater number of receivers across the country will be able to see UHF broadcasts, and this fact is already spurring many local educational agencies toward activation of UHF stations.

The growth of educational television has been reassuring over the past decade, and the rate of expansion is increasing. Half of the stations on the air today were activated subsequent to 1960.

Private foundations have been committed quite heavily over the years to educational television. Between 1950 and 1960 the Fund for Adult Education, an independent agency established by the Ford Foundation, gave more than $12 million to ETV, after playing a major role in the very beginning of the movement. Since 1960, the Ford Foundation has continued to demonstrate a deep interest in the future of ETV, for which the entire country is very thankful. Other foundations have come to the assistance of stations—at both local and national levels—without which, in some cases, the stations might not have survived.

The educational television station is an instrument that has proven to be useful and powerful. More and better use of it must be made, but is there a single role for television in education? If we were free to mold local and national educational television into whatever shape we pleased, what could we choose?

Some would insist that educational television must be built as part of formal education, making its services aim primarily at the needs of school and classrooms.

There are those who would argue that the 2,500 megacycle band, closed circuit installations and other facilities are available for schools and that educational television station programing should provide "alternate viewing" for American television audiences, offering a steady stream of cultural and informational programs for those who wish to view.

Still others would tell us that the value of educational television lies in its ability to reach minority groups in need of specialized training. Continuing adult education, they would insist, is the area on which ETV must concentrate. Literacy programs, series for the socially neglected, extension courses for professionals in the community and programs in foreign languages should be the work of educational television.

The needs of American education, however, transcend any single philosophy for educational television. ETV must become as many things as possible, depending, in each instance, on the needs of the community and the needs of the station. There can be no single philosophy for educational television, and it is diversity itself—among stations—that will strengthen the national effort. Educational television must become a service; its properties and goals should change from day to day to day and from city to city.

Three fundamental needs in educational television persist, and the future of ETV will depend on these issues.

Educational television stations have no firm financial base on which to operate. The United States is unique in the world because its commercial broadcasting system is a giant in comparison with its educational and information service. We have been careful to define what educational television stations may not do, but we have not clearly described methods by which they may support themselves and expand. Television is as expensive as it is useful, and I do not believe we can expect noncommercial educational licensees to exist without a basic financial structure. This is not to propose Federal support for all of educational television, but it is to suggest that we examine the areas in which the Federal Government can assist, as we have assisted in elementary, secondary and higher education, vocational rehabilitation, and other specialized fields.

Continuity of growth must be assured. Educational television has passed through two important phases. The first included the establishment of a few stations, and the recognition of ETV as an instrumentality of importance. The second was the activation of many stations across the country, their organization into a single body of educational telecasters, and the establishment of distribution systems for programing.

The next phase for ETV is that of expansion. The agencies and foundations that have supported the movement from the start will, it is hoped, continue to contribute to its growth. Networking in the sense of actual interconnection will change during the next number of years from being statewide or regional to national. Interconnection among educational television stations is essential, if the medium is to provide the national service of which it is capable. Efforts are being made now toward this linkage.

For the stations themselves, the costs are prohibitive, but the advantages of a network are such that ways must be found to support the operation.

Additional stations must be activated across the country. Some cities already use more than one ETV station, but 40 percent of the country's population is not within reach of an educational signal. While the All-Channel Receiver Act will act as encouragement toward station activation, all other sources must be tapped to stimulate smaller communities toward the establishment of local ETV stations. I believe the FCC was wise in July of this year when it developed a new allocations plan calling for more than 600 ETV reservations. There is need for that many educational stations.

Educational television must be stimulated to produce a continuously better product. The outcome of education is the enlightenment of citizens; the output of any broadcasting service is its programs. Therefore, it is the mission of educational television to produce and distribute enlightening programs. Since there is intense competition among broadcasters for the attention of viewers, it is clear that ETV programs must be nothing short of excellent. Because of stringent budgets, ETV programs have hardly reached this level.

Instructional libraries and program centers must be nurtured for the good of all ETV stations. Regional centers for educational programs should undoubtedly be developed to serve stations at local levels, and part of the underpinning of these centers could well be a federal responsibility. It warrants serious consideration.

The Educational Television Facilities Act has now been operating for a period of 3 years. Its 5-year period will expire in the next Congress. What has been the impact of this act on the development of educational television? Should the ceiling limitation of $1 million to one State be raised? Should the matching funds formula be modified? Should the formula pertaining to interconnection costs be changed so as to encourage the early development of a nationwide interconnected educational television system?

It is my intention to have a full examination made of this entire subject matter in the very near future. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Federal Communications Commission, the two agencies charged with the administrative responsibility of the Educational Television Facilities Act, will be asked to submit their views and recommendations.

I am hopeful that all individuals and groups interested in educational television will put their minds to work on this subject so that a meaningful analysis and appropriate action can be taken to assure the continued expansion and development of this significant service to the public.

The Vietnam Protests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNN E. STALBAUM

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, there has been much comment on the protests against our Government's policy in Vietnam and the attempts to evade the draft. Unfortunately, some of this comment has been of a rather hysterical nature, with some people advocating in effect that we give up the cherished American rights of freedom of expression and freedom of speech.

But the Beloit Daily News published a very wise editorial, where they place the whole controversy in its proper perspective. They point out that while there may be little popular sympathy with the protesters against the Government's Vietnam policy, the protesters' right to speak out is unquestionable. Organized draft-dodging schemes cannot be tolerated, but the draft laws make provision for the legitimate conscientious objector.

I commend this outstanding editorial to all Members of the House:

THE VIETNAM PROTESTS

It's difficult to understand what prompts demonstrations. We suspect, in the instances of near lawlessness or actual lawlessness by students across the country, that the Government's Vietnam policy is a solid reason. The distinction between organized draft dodging and demonstrations of protest is an important one.

No individual or concerted effort to evade the requirements of the draft law can be tolerated. Such evasion cannot fairly be equated, however, with mass protests of the sort that were seen in numerous communities over the October 15 weekend. No matter how little sympathy one may have for those who thus demonstrate against what their Government is doing in Vietnam, their right to speak out is unquestionable. Only if the Nation were engaged in full-scale war could a fair case be made for suppressing dissent on the grounds that it might hurt the war effort.

As for draft dodging, we reiterate what is said above; no effort to evade the requirements of the law can be tolerated. But it should be noted that the draft laws make provision for those who object to military service on principle and in good conscience. Religious and philosophical grounds for such objections are accepted, so long as the belief is thought to be deeply held and not a mere excuse to stay out of the Armed Forces. Thus any man who holds such beliefs stands

a reasonable chance of having them respected by those charged with administering the law.

Draft evasion by deceit or trickery is quite another matter. The true conscientious objector upholds an honorable though unpopular tradition, but the man who simply tries to get out of military service because he doesn't like the idea deserves little or no sympathy. When the draft law is violated, punishment should quickly follow.

Address To Be Delivered by Deputy Postmaster General Frederick C. Belen at Ceremonies Dedicating the Adlai E. Stevenson Memorial Stamp

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP A. HART

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HART. Mr. President, tomorrow in Bloomington, Ill., a postage stamp will be released to honor the memory of one of the great Americans of our time, Adlai E. Stevenson.

It is most appropriate that this stamp is being issued in conjunction with our annual observance of United Nations Week, for I suspect that no other single American devoted more of his mind and heart, his time and his energies, to the United Nations than did Governor Stevenson.

The principal address at the ceremonies in Bloomington will be delivered by Deputy Postmaster General Frederick C. Belen, and I ask unanimous consent that the advance text of his remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS TO BE DELIVERED BY FREDERICK C. BELEN, DEPUTY POSTMASTER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, AT THE DEDICATION OF THE ADLAI E. STEVENSON MEMORIAL STAMP, BLOOMINGTON, ILL., OCTOBER 23, 1965

We are meeting today to share an act of remembrance. If ever it can be said of any man that he both lived and died before his time, that man was Adlai Stevenson. To use his own eloquent words on the death of Winston Churchill, he has left "a lonesome place against the sky."

The honor we do him cannot repay the honor he did us by living in our times. To capture the full flavor and essence of this remarkable man in a commemorative stamp is, of course, impossible. But I think the Post Office Department has produced an impressive design, showing the portrait most favored by the Stevenson family, with a symbol of the United Nations in the background and framed by the colors he was not ashamed to love—red, white, and blue.

Adlai Ewing Stevenson was a composite American. He was a polished, articulate, urbane statesman, equally at home in the diplomatic corridors of the world, and back on his farm in Libertyville, where he could shear a sheep, chop wood, build a fence, drive a tractor, and help deliver a new born lamb.

As our Ambassador to the United Nations, his aspirations and his energies were not fenced in by national boundaries. He spoke out against oppression—and injustice—and poverty—and discrimination wherever it existed, anywhere in the world. And he spoke in words that added new dignity and luster to the English language. He was a special friend of the developing nations. They were his brothers, and he had their confidence and their trust. Most of all, he was our most eloquent advocate for peace.

But many as were his great accomplishments in the world of diplomacy, they were equaled, in my judgment, by his contributions to American political thought and American political life.

Adlai Stevenson campaigned twice for the office of President of the United States. Beginning in 1952 he started talking sense to the American people, and he continued to talk sense until death stilled his tongue on a London street. In the years between he left us a legacy of ideas which probed, with the precision of a surgeon's scalpel, the most complex problems of our age. Many of these ideas were ahead of his time and are just now beginning to flower into being as programs of this administration.

It was not only the content of his speeches that excited the imagination of thinking Americans. It was the way he clothed his thoughts in graceful and noble language—rarely if ever heard before in American political campaigns.

Through the spoken word he was able to express, as few men have before him, the range of his intellect, the quality of his humor, the depths of his knowledge, the meaning of his life experience, and the presence within him of an abiding philosophy and faith.

I said that he lived before his time. As early as 1952 he was on record as saying that a democracy "qualified by color will win no hearts in Africa or Asia."

Announcing his candidacy for the 1956 election, he said: "Our great opportunity lies in the fact that our prosperity and wealth can now be used to give all of our people the higher standards and wider opportunities which are mankind's universal dream."

Adlai Stevenson was a candid man. He urged a trial nuclear test ban treaty during the 1956 election, realizing it would cost him votes. Seven years later he went to Moscow as a member of the U.S. delegation to sign the treaty.

He had not been wrong in his belief. He was just 7 years ahead of his time.

Adlai Stevenson was a contemplated man. Following his nomination in 1952—a nomination he did not seek—he returned to the State Capitol in Springfield. He walked to the Lincoln home nearby, woke up the caretaker and told him he wanted to come in and sit awhile. He was overwhelmed by the burdens of the office to which his party had committed him. But an hour's reflection there, alone in the silence, was a great comfort to him and opened up hidden resources of strength.

Adlai Stevenson was also a passionate idealist. "If we are to make honest citizens of our hearts," he said, "we must unite them again to the ideals in which they have always believed, and give those ideals the courage of our tongues."

He was a devout man. At a commencement address to Princeton University in 1954, he remarked that one of the things you learn with age is "a little faith and a little reverence for the things you cannot see."

He had a profound faith in the United Nations. "It has proved tougher," he said, "than faint hearts predicted, and evil hearts hoped."

And Adlai Stevenson proved that he, too, could be tough when he had to be. He proved it, while many of us watched on television, during the Cuban missile crisis in October of 1962. Who will forget the flaming anger in his voice, and in his eye, when he challenged the Soviet Ambassador to deny that the Russians were building missiles and sites in Cuba?

And yet Adlai Stevenson was a reasonable man—a tolerant man. "Surely," he said, "the most rewarding task of civilized man today is that of reconciling different points of view, of accommodating national positions, of providing a consensus from a workable design for a meeting of the minds."

Arthur Goldberg, you may be sure, shares Adlai Stevenson's convictions that we will have to learn to live together in the world as we do in the community, to respect each other's differences, to heal each other's wounds, and to benefit from each other's knowledge.

In an interview, Adlai Stevenson was asked the question: What do you think you are? And he replied:

"I like to think of myself as a highminded, decent, enlightened citizen, trying to play his part in his generation, to play it well, to play it fairly, play it squarely, and move along to my place in the shadows, having left behind something better than I had found."

Adlai Stevenson cast a longer shadow than he thought. But as with so many great men before him, his lifework was incomplete. And so he died before his time.

He has left his plow in midfurrow, and too many of his brothers, white and black, here and abroad, still walk naked among the hills.

With the help of his brilliant successor, Ambassador Goldberg, our task, and the task of the United Nations, is to clothe the naked and plow to the end of the furrow.

Mail Delivery and the Pony Express

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, while all of us applaud the great strides made by the Post Office Department in the last few years to speed the handling and delivery of mail, it seems appropriate to recall that this proud service has long stood for progress and improvement.

One of the most colorful attempts made to expedite mail in the early days of this Republic was the famed Pony Express, a horseback relay system that stretched from St. Joseph, Mo., to the capital of my home State, Sacramento. It is said that a letter leaving St. Joseph on Monday would normally arrive in Sacramento 10 days later, an astonishing feat for its time.

The Pony Express represented one of those noble experiments in our Nation's history, but it did not prove practical with the advent of improved transportation, and it was abandoned. Nevertheless, the men who carried the mail on this hazardous route remain symbols of the kind of folk heroes that made this country great.

The most recent recognition to these gallant couriers was made on film recently in my home community. The makers of the television series, "Bonanza," were responsible for this salute, a two-part story of the Pony Express, to be seen on the series sometime early next year. In telling this story, "Bonanza" is continuing its high standard as a program that combines entertainment with

historical interest, all presented in a quality fashion.

The sponsor of the program, the Chevrolet Division of General Motors, deserves recognition, as well, for its support of such wholesome and rewarding entertainment. They are one of television's major sponsors, and their constant concern for upholding the ideals of family entertainment is commendable. The story of Pony Express on "Bonanza" is the latest in a long series of examples of that concern.

A Thinking Citizen Responds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, one of democracy's greatest strengths lies in the ability of its people to analyze themselves and their system of government.

Such unceasing analysis has been and continues to be productive, as each of us knows.

Nor has this been confined to the Federal level. It is true in our States and our municipalities.

One of the finest articles in this vein of productive self-analysis was written recently by a good friend of mine, Jack Gordon, of Seattle. It was published in the Northwest Today magazine section of the Seattle Post Intelligencer of Sunday, October 10.

I ask unanimous consent that the article by Jack Gordon be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A CITIZEN'S RESPONSIBILITY

(By Jack Gordon)

Rev. Peter S. Raible of the University Unitarian Church stirred quite a controversy recently when he delivered a sermon called "The Shame of Seattle."

I think the sermon deserves further comment. There is something of import in it for all citizens. It should have particular significance for men of good will whose practice of their religion is a sign that they recognize their responsibilities to God, their families, and to themselves. Yet any of us is vulnerable to confusion when it comes to clearly defining the extent of those obligations.

The Reverend Mr. Raible dealt in generalities as well as specifics, in the name of civic concern. Or, as he puts it, "I protest not because I am an expert on city affairs, I protest because I am a clergyman. I protest in the name of religion's involvement with the world."

On this first point, we should agree with Mr. Raible because religion is involved with the world, and so it should be, for religion and the good it stands for is the last great bulwark in a materialistic society seemingly leaning toward immorality, lawlessness, and godlessness.

Our purpose here, however, is not to echo the protest, but to examine it carefully—the problems, remedies, targets, and motives.

Mr. Raible moves from his broad base to zero in on our city council, the park department, freeways, racial problems, rapid transit, city government in general and makes public officials the scapegoat for the assorted ills, which in his book, beset our metropolis.

He singles out the city council's appointment of a 66-year-old conservative as a replacement for a young, liberal councilman, the late Wing Luke, and charges that the council was motivated because it was tired of "incisive, dissenting views in its midst." We cannot verify or contradict the allegation, but suggest that if the criticism is justified, it should not be leveled at the city council, but at us, at you and me, at all the citizens of the community who may have failed our city in making known our feelings about the action, pro and con, in this and too many other instances.

If we failed to make our feelings known in advance, then nothing is to be gained from hindsight judgment except the self-indictment that we are the true culprits.

Mr. Raible attacks the progress of our city's park acquisition, stating that, "improvement is at a scandalous standstill, as more and more public lands are gobbled up by freeways."

But the attack begs the question. Are the park department and the park board alone to be blamed? Or once again isn't the fact that those unoccupied chairs at their public meetings the mute testimony that you and I don't care, haven't the time or the intestinal fortitude to stand up and be counted?

Our neighbor-pastor focuses on city government in general and declares that "our form of government is costly, is inefficient, is irresponsible," and that, "it riddles our best efforts and leaves no one accountable for lack of authority and decision."

He continues: "Our government is an exercise in duck-and-weave, collective irresponsibility * * *. It is obvious that we need a fusion ticket in Seattle which would bring together men and women of civic concern, representing a wide range of political ideology, but putting forth candidates dedicated to meeting, rather than avoiding community problems."

To these ends, Mr. Raible apparently finds a tentative ally in the Municipal League, which has long sugested that budgeting procedures be transferred from the council to the mayor. The League of Women Voters has also called for a "strong mayor" system. But where do the rest of us stand on these ideas? Are we informed and if we have opinions on one side or the other of this debate, do we make our voices heard?

The Reverend Raible goes on to criticize our delay in solving traffic bottlenecks, delays on freeways, expressways, rapid transit and cross-Sound bridges.

His shotgun is still loaded as next he moves into a "gray" area, scoring progress on a topic, which, like religion and politics, has become taboo or tiresome for most polite social discussions. I refer to race relations. Most people in our city agree that everything possible should be done to improve job, school, and housing opportunities for minorities, but too many draw the line at helping in their office, or their plant, their school or in their neighborhood.

I have questioned Mr. Raible's targets up to now, but here I must leave it to your individual conscience to determine whether or not we have done everything in this area which Christian charity demands.

Finally, Mr. Raible pricks our civic hide for allowing seeds of greatness to lie fallow: "Seattle is a sick, shameful city, but we cannot luxuriate only in blaming the failure of our elected officials," and then he lets part of the blame fall at the door of those who work in Seattle, but live in the suburbs, "abandoning the city" each night.

He blames the outdoor pleasure seekers, the skiers, the boaters, who revel in nature's delights instead of attending to their community obligations.

I find myself in disagreement with Mr. Raible's suburban targets for it is hard to fault anyone for wanting to get closer to the God-given natural beauty of the Northwest by living in the country and by enjoying these gifts.

But what about the other great issues of our time in our city which should concern us all?

Where do we stand on our city's proposal to solve juvenile delinquency? What about industrial diversification, the garbage problem, urban renewal, air pollution, our local antipoverty program?

Are we really helping youth stay in school and later find suitable employment? Are taxes too high; is the police review board a good idea or would a revised city charter and a police commission be a better answer?

Is our voice being heard anywhere outside our business, our home, the locker room or the club?

IOU—No. 35: Returns on Equity of 44 Power Companies Exceeds 15 Percent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, historically electric utilities are said to be allowed a rate of return of approximately 6 percent. I use the phrase "said to be allowed" because in practice most power companies have a rate of return of more than 7 percent. In 1963, 111 of the 188 IOU's—investor-owned utilities—with annual operating revenue of $2.5 million or more had a rate of return of 7 percent or more. In 55 of the companies the rate of return exceeded 8 percent. In 20 companies the rate of return exceeded 9 percent. In three companies the rate of return exceeded 10 percent. The source of these figures is pages 651–52 of "Statistical of Electric Utilities in the United States, 1963, Privately Owned," published by the Federal Power Commission and based on the 1963 reports of the companies.

The return on common stock is in most cases substantially more than the rate of return. That is because carrying charges on the companies' debt are frequently 4½ percent or even less, which permits more earnings to be applied to stock.

The FPC publication referred to above does not include the return on equity. I have had the 1963 return on equity computed for the 212 major power companies, using their statistics as carried in the FPC publication referred to above. This study shows that the return on equity of 44 large companies exceeded 15 percent, and in three cases exceeded 20 percent. The return on equity of 100 large power companies exceeded 12 percent.

The average rate of return on equity for the 212 major companies—including some relatively small ones—was 11.7 percent.

Yield on dividends paid by power companies is usually much less than the return on equity, because much of the earnings are retained.

Mr. President, in a landmark decision in utility regulation, the Hope case, the Supreme Court said:

> The return to the equity owner should be commensurate with risks on investments in other enterprises having corresponding risks.

I know of no industry with less risk than electric power. I know of no other industry which sells an essential product for which the demand is constant and constantly increasing, sold on a monopoly basis at a price related to the size of the company's investment rather than competition in the marketplace. But I know a lot of risk enterprises which would be pleased to realize the return on equity which many power companies are allowed.

For example, I recently asked the Library of Congress to compute the return on equity of three large food chains, Safeway, Food Fair, and Kroger. Their return on equity over the 5-year period 1960–64 averaged 12.9 percent. Unlike power companies, some grocery stores go broke. More than 2,500 food stores, but no power companies, failed during the 1960–64 period. Food retailing is a competitive, risk industry. Electric power is not. The electric consumer cannot walk down the street and shop for "Super Krunchy Kilowatts," or an electricity clearance sale, or an anniversary special rate.

Mr. President, the consumer is not sharing equitably in the tremendous savings in the cost of electricity. Most of the $11 billion annual savings which should be realized by 1980 will go instead to the companies, as superexorbitant profit, unless effective regulation becomes a reality.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert at this point in the RECORD a table in which shows the rate of return on equity of the 212 major electric power companies in 1963, and the overall rate of return on 188 of these companies during the same year.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed, as follows:

Rate of return on equity of class A and B investor-owned utilities, electric, 1963

[In percent]

State of registry	Name of company	Rate of return on equity	Overall rate of return
Indiana	Indiana & Michigan Electric Co	20.83	6.91
Texas	Texas Power & Light Co	20.73	9.67
Ohio	Ohio Power Co	20.27	7.26
West Virginia	Appalachian Power Co	19.35	7.40
Texas	El Paso Electric Co	18.98	9.20
Florida	Tampa Electric Co	18.88	8.92
Illinois	Central Illinois Electric & Gas Co	18.86	8.73
New York	Patchogue Electirc Light Co	18.15	8.42
Texas	Texas Electric Service Co	17.92	9.00
Illinois	Illinois Power Co	17.73	9.18
Texas	Southwestern Public Service Co	17.72	8.35
Montana	Montana Power Co	17.54	10.24
Illinois	Central Illinois Public Service	17.50	8.87
Texas	West Texas Utilities Co	17.38	9.40
Colorado	Western Power & Gas Co	17.34	8.25
Texas	Dallas Power & Light Co	17.08	9.33
Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania Power Co	16.76	8.40
Maryland	Potomac Edison Co	16.67	7.87
Michigan	Edison Sault Electric Co	16.63	9.43
Texas	Central Power & Light Co	16.60	8.75
Do	Southwestern Electric Power Co	16.59	9.23
Oklahoma	Oklahoma Gas & Electric Co	16.58	8.04
South Dakota	Northwestern Public Service Co	16.36	8.97
Nevada	Sierra Pacific Power Co	16.31	8.92
Florida	Florida Public Utilities Co	16.26	----------
Indiana	Northern Indiana Public Service Co	16.22	8.37
Pennsylvania	West Penn Power Co	16.13	7.23
Do	Duquesne Light Co	16.07	7.67
Michigan	Michigan Gas & Electric Co	16.05	9.04
Indiana	Indianapolis Power & Light Co	16.00	8.26
South Carolina	South Carolina Electric & Gas Co.[1]	15.94	7.45
Oklahoma	Public Service Co. of Oklahoma	15.93	8.00
Texas	Houston Lighting & Power Co	15.91	9.45
Iowa	Iowa Public Service Co	15.89	7.36
Delaware	Delaware Power & Light Co	15.84	7.21
Mississippi	Mississippi Power Co	15.78	7.88
Iowa	Iowa-Illinois Gas & Electric Co	15.69	8.14
Texas	Community Public Service Co	15.54	9.08
Missouri	Empire District Electric Co	15.43	8.07
Ohio	Toledo Edison Co	15.25	6.78
Missouri	Missouri Power & Light Co	15.24	7.21
Louisiana	Central Louisiana Electric Co., Inc	15.18	8.71
Iowa	Iowa Electric Light & Power Co	15.08	8.06
Texas	Southwestern Electric Service Co.[2]	15.01	7.13
Iowa	Iowa Power & Light Co	14.99	6.28
Louisiana	Louisiana Power & Light Co	14.94	7.40
Nevada	Nevada Power Co	14.94	8.21
Florida	Florida Power Corp	14.88	7.87
Minnesota	Northern States Power Co. (Minnesota).	14.81	8.34
Florida	Gulf Power Co	14.72	7.73
Rhode Island	Blackstone Valley Gas & Electric Co	14.41	11.18
Ohio	Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co	14.38	7.53
Georgia	Savannah Electric & Power Co	14.33	7.37
Virginia	Virginia Electric & Power Co	14.30	7.26
Texas	Gulf States Utilities Co	14.29	7.41
Georgia	Georgia Power Co	14.27	6.94
Missouri	Kansas City Power & Light Co	14.26	7.31
Ohio	Ohio Edison Co	14.26	7.33
Kansas	Kansas Power & Light Co	14.13	8.12
West Virginia	Monongahela Power Co	14.00	7.31
Minnesota	Minnesota Power & Light Co	13.98	6.27
Missisippi	Mississippi Power & Light Co.[3]	13.90	7.13
Missouri	Union Electric Co	13.87	6.47
Oregon	Pacific Power & Light Co	13.85	6.39
Indiana	Southern Indiana Gas & Electric Co	13.81	7.63
New Mexico	Public Service Co. of New Mexico	13.74	8.11
Iowa	Iowa Southern Utilities Co	13.54	8.09
Illinois	Central Illinois Light Co	13.51	8.12
Indiana	Public Service Co. of Indiana, Inc	13.42	7.06
Florida	Florida Power & Light Co	13.29	8.31
Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania Electric Co	13.27	7.06
Kansas	Kansas Gas & Electric Co	13.19	7.50
Illinois	Commonwealth Edison Co	13.17	7.89
New Jersey	Atlantic City Electric Co	13.17	6.75
Alabama	Alabama Power Co	13.13	7.01
Ohio	Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co	13.12	7.02
Maine	Maine Public Service	13.10	8.00
Iowa	Interstate Power Co	13.07	7.14
Arkansas	Arkansas-Missouri Power Co	13.03	7.38
Kentucky	Kentucky Utilities Co	13.02	8.08
Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania Power & Light Co	13.01	6.63
New Mexico	New Mexico Electric Service Co	13.01	9.57
Alabama	Southern Electric Generating Co	12.96	7.94
Ohio	Columbus & Southern Ohio Electric Co.	12.90	6.69
Louisiana	New Orleans Public Service, Inc	12.86	13.04
California	California Electric Power Co.[4]	12.83	6.53
North Carolina	Carolina Power & Light Co	12.83	6.98
Arizona	Tucson Gas, Electric Light & Power Co.	12.81	7.48
Wisconsin	Wisconsin Public Service Corp	12.80	8.16
Michigan	Consumers Power Co	12.75	6.98
California	Southern California Edison Co.[5]	12.60	6.64
Arkansas	Arkansas Power & Light Co	12.56	6.84
Oregon	Portland General Electric Co	12.46	7.45
Kentucky	Louisville Gas & Electric Co	12.46	8.10
South Dakota	Black Hills Power & Light Co	12.46	6.95
Connecticut	Hartford Electric Light Co	12.44	7.03
New Jersey	New Jersey Power & Light Co	12.33	6.82
Ohio	Dayton Power & Light Co	12.30	7.55
Massachusetts	Brockton Edison Co	12.26	9.63
New Jersey	Public Service Electric & Gas Co	12.22	7.14
Michigan	Detroit Edison Co. and subsidiaries	12.16	7.43
Pennsylvania	Metropolitan Edison Co	12.00	7.32
Colorado	Public Service Co. of Colorado	11.95	7.68
Hawaii	Hilo Electric Light Co., Ltd	11.94	----------
Missouri	St. Joseph Light & Power Co	11.82	8.23
New York	New York State Electric & Gas Corp	11.78	6.67
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia Electric Co	11.76	6.55
Minnesota	Otter Tail Power Co	11.76	6.77
Colorado	Home Light & Power Co	11.75	8.01
Connecticut	United Illuminating Co	11.75	7.52
Rhode Island	Newport Electric Corp	11.74	7.86
Indiana	Commonwealth Edison Co. of Indiana, Inc.	11.69	6.65
Maine	Bangor Hydro Electric Co	11.66	6.98
Missouri	Missouri Public Service Co	11.64	6.17
Massachusetts	New England Power Co	11.43	6.52
Kansas	Western Light & Telephone Co	11.38	8.20
California	Pacific Gas & Electric Co	11.36	6.43
New York	Orange & Rockland Utilities, Inc	11.34	6.52
North Carolina	Nantahala Power & Light Co	11.29	9.88
Idaho	Idaho Power Co	11.21	6.45
New York	Niagara Mohawk Power Corp	11.12	5.82
Do	Central Hudson Gas & Electric Corp	11.10	6.48
Do	Rochester Gas & Electric Corp	11.07	7.12
South Carolina	South Carolina Generating Co.[6]	11.06	----------
Kentucky	Kentucky Power Co	11.04	9.62
North Carolina	Duke Power Co	11.03	6.98
Vermont	Green Mountain Power Corp	10.98	6.76
Hawaii	Hawaiian Electric Co., Ltd	10.95	----------
New York	Long Island Lighting Co	10.93	6.41
Maryland	Baltimore Gas & Electric Co	10.92	6.83
Illinois	Sherrard Power Co	10.79	----------
Do	Mount Carmel Public Utilities Co	10.78	----------
North Dakota	Montana-Dakota Utilities Co	10.72	6.42
Massachusetts	Boston Edison Co	10.70	7.24
Missouri	Missouri Edison Co	10.66	7.25
New Jersey	Jersey Central Power & Light Co	10.65	6.94
Connecticut	Connecticut Light & Power Co.[7]	10.64	6.65
Massachusetts	Cape & Vineyard Electric Co	10.62	7.84
Do	Cambridge Electric Light Co	10.58	8.22
North Carolina	Yadkin, Inc	10.51	----------
Michigan	Alpena Power Co	10.42	----------
Kansas	Central Kansas Power Co	10.40	6.42
New Jersey	Rockland Electric Co	10.37	7.24
Massachusetts	Western Massachusetts Electric Co	10.31	7.14
Vermont	Central Vermont Public Service Corp	10.29	6.07
Hawaii	Maui Electric Co., Ltd	10.28	----------

Footnotes at end of table.

Rate of return on equity of class A and B investor-owned utilities, electric, 1963—Continued

[In percent]

State of registry	Name of company	Rate of return on equity	Overall rate of return	State of registry	Name of company	Rate of return on equity	Overall rate of return
Missouri	Missouri Utilities Co.	10.19	7.36	Wisconsin	Wisconsin Power & Light Co.	10.17	7.40
Arizona	Arizona Public Service	10.18	6.23	Massachusetts	Holyoke Water Power Co.	10.11	7.61
New Hampshire	Public Service Co. of New Hampshire	10.17	5.98	Wisconsin	Wisconsin Electric Power Co.	10.07	6.42

[1] Company acquired its subsidiary, South Carolina Generating Co. Report includes operations of acquired company from date of its acquisition, Oct. 31, 1963.
[2] Report for year ended Aug. 31, 1963.
[3] Became a Mississippi corporation on Jan. 2, 1963, moving its place of incorporation from Florida to Mississippi by creating a new Mississippi corporation of the same name and merging the Florida corporation into the new Mississippi corporation on May 1, 1963.
[4] Company acquired by Southern California Edison Co., Dec. 31, 1963, through merger.
[5] Company acquired California Electric Power Co., Dec. 31, 1963, through merger. Report excludes operations of acquired company for year 1963.
[6] Company merged into its parent, South Carolina Electric & Gas Co., Oct. 31, 1963.
[7] Company acquired Mystic Power Co. Report includes operations of acquired company from date of acquisition, Apr. 30, 1963.

Companies with rate of return on equity of 9.99 percent or less (privately owned, clasess A and B)

[In percent]

State of registry	Name of comapny	Rate of return on equity	Overall rate of return	State of registry	Name of comapny	Rate of return on equity	Overall rate of return
Maine	Central Main Power Co.	9.92	6.12	Pennsylvania	South Penn Power Co.	7.04	7.10
Washington, D.C.	Potomac Electric Power Co.	9.92	6.97	Tennessee	Tapoco, Inc.	6.98	7.63
Wisconsin	Superior Water, Light & Power Co.	9.66	8.05	Washington	Puget Sound Power & Light Co.	6.86	5.36
Massachusetts	Yankee Atomic Electric Co.	9.62	6.99	Massachusetts	Holyoke Power & Electric Co.	6.73	5.71
California	San Diego Gas & Electric Co.	9.61	6.31	New Hampshire	Granite State Electric Co.	6.72	----------
Utah	Utah Power & Light Co.[1]	9.59	6.33	Rhode Island	Narragansett Electric Co.	6.59	4.84
New Hampshire	Concord Electric Co.	9.44	----------	Massachusetts	Massachusetts Electric Co.	6.45	5.43
Massachusetts	New Bedford Gas & Edison Light Co.	9.43	7.87	New Hampshire	New Hampshire Electric Co.	6.44	6.08
New Hampshire	Exeter & Hampton Electric Co.	9.43	----------	West Virginia	Potomac Light & Power Co.	6.31	6.01
Massachusetts	Fall River Electric Light Co.	9.42	9.59	Ohio	Marietta Electric Co.	6.21	6.35
Do	Plymouth County Electric Co.	9.39	7.85	Virginia	Old Dominion Power Co.	6.17	5.26
Washington	Washington Water Power Co.	9.32	5.93	Vermont	Vermont Electric Power Co.	5.88	----------
Tennessee	Kingsport Utilities Co.	9.19	6.31	Maryland	Eastern Shore Public Service Co. of Maryland.	5.76	5.18
Wisconsin	Madison Gas & Electric Co.	9.13	7.50				
Massachusetts	Montaup Electric Co.	9.00	6.85	Wisconsin	Northern States Power Co. (Wisconsin).	5.70	6.54
Pennsylvania	Cumberland Valley Electric Co.	8.95	----------				
Wisconsin	Lake Superior District Power Co.	8.94	6.81	New Hampshire	White Mountain Power Co.	5.68	----------
Pennsylvania	United Gas Improvement Co.	8.84	5.43	Wisconsin	Wisconsin River Power Co.	5.52	----------
Massachusetts	Fitchburg Gas & Electric Light Co.	8.70	6.83	Virginia	Northern Virginia Power Co.	5.37	5.35
California	California-Pacific Utilities Co.	8.64	5.66	South Carolina	Lockhart Power Co.[2]	4.97	----------
Massachusetts	Boston Gas Co.	8.24	----------	Colorado	Western Colorado Power Co.	4.82	4.72
New York	Ellenville Electric Co.	8.08	----------	Maine	Rumford Falls Power Co.	4.74	----------
Hawaii	Kauai Electric Co., Ltd.	8.07	----------	Wyoming	Cheyenne Light, Fuel & Power Co.	4.60	8.05
Alaska	Alaska Electric Light & Power Co.	8.00	----------	Vermont	Citizens Utilities Co.	4.28	9.44
Ohio	Ohio Valley Electric Corp.	8.00	4.14	Virginia	Eastern Shore Public Service Co. of Virginia.	4.03	----------
New Hampshire	Connecticut Valley Electric Co.	7.90	----------				
Maryland	Conowingo Power Co.	7.86	5.65	New York	Paul Smith's Electric Light & Power & Railroad Co.	3.97	----------
New York	Consolidated Edison Co. of New York, Inc.	7.76	5.18				
				Kentucky	Electric Energy, Inc.	3.90	3.51
Wisconsin	Wisconsin Michigan Power Co.	7.49	6.08	Illinois	South Beloit Water, Gas & Electric Co.	2.63	----------
Kentucky	Union Light, Heat & Power Co.	7.47	6.04	Wisconsin	Consolidated Water Power Co.	2.12	2.61
Pennsylvania	Safe Harbor Water Power Corp.	7.28	5.06	Utah	Telluride Power Co.[3]	.19	----------
West Virginia	Wheeling Electric Co.	7.05	5.40				

[1] Company acquired its subsidiary, Telluride Power Co. Report includes operations of acquired company from date of acquisition, Mar. 15, 1963.
[2] Report for year ended Nov. 30, 1963.
[3] Company acquired by parent, Utah Power & Light Co., Mar. 15, 1963, through merger.

Water Problem in New York State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a resolution adopted by the Medical Society of the County of Erie in Buffalo, N.Y., in regard to the serious water pollution problem in New York State:

Whereas water pollution is one of the most pressing health problems of our times; and

Whereas nearly two-thirds of all the people of this State live in areas seriously affected by pollution coming from 1,200 communities and 760 industrial sources: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Medical Society of the County of Erie recognizes water pollution as a health problem requiring immediate solution by appropriate Federal and State action programs; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Governor of the State, and to our State legislators, Congressmen, and commissioner of health.

Not So Shocking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the Members of the House of Representatives an article which appeared in the September 14, 1965, issue of the Washington, Iowa, Evening Journal entitled "Not So Shocking." It points out the concern which Iowans feel for the medical needs of their aged.

The article follows:

NOT SO SHOCKING

The mere fact that the State social welfare board paid $6,600 in hospital bills for one aged Iowan under the medical aid to the aged program last month should be cause for neither surprise nor shock. And assuming (as we have no reason not to) that the hospital care was needed, it should be no cause for alarm.

That's precisely the kind of desperate, overwhelming need that any kind of State aid (or insurance program) should be designed to handle.

Most people, even the comparatively affluent, would be badly hurt by a sudden illness requiring that kind of hospital care. To an elderly person, on limited income, it would be certain disaster.

No, it isn't the occasional "big bill" that will worry the welfare board in the long run nor drain away its funds faster than a generous State can supply them, it will be the succession of "little bills," the proliferation of minor claims, that will run the costs of the program sky high in the end.

Costs of medical aid to the aged may be getting out of hand, as many claim, but when the need is real the people of Iowa will not hesitate to pay the bill.

Congressman Roudebush Reports on 1st Session, 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, Congress has adjourned for the year and I will be spending the remainder of 1965 back home in Indiana talking with the people.

It is appropriate at this time that I report to them on the highlights of the first session of the 89th Congress, and my activities during the session.

There will be many viewpoints on the accomplishments of this session of Congress, both pro and con. It was one of the longest, lasting early 42 weeks; one of the busiest with 86 major bills passed, and one of the spendingest—$119.3 billion.

It is important to remember that the President enjoyed a 2-to-1 majority and therefore the vast majority of his program sailed through by large margins.

Much of the legislation considered, of course, was of a highly controversial nature such as Federal aid to education, hospital care for the aged, and high-costing poverty programs.

Many persons supporting these measures hail the past session of Congress as the greatest in history; other citizens, proponents of limited government and personal liberties and local control, regard the past session as a disaster.

Members of the minority party, such as I am, are often accused of being "negative" and "against everything" because we do oppose some programs of the administration.

The essence of our system of government is the two-party system, and under the current ratio in Congress, our party does fulfill the role of the loyal opposition, whose duty it is to criticize and object when in disagreement.

However, disagreement on basic issues and fundamental philosophy of government does not mean blind opposition. For instance, during the past session my support and vote was cast in favor of such programs as:

Water resources planning legislation, especially necessary at this time when water shortages are threatening some of our cities and of especial importance in Indiana, with so many projects underway or in the planning stage;

Manpower retraining, which helps unskilled workers obtain training for more skilled jobs;

Higher Education Act with student assistance and funds for construction of academic buildings.

Rural water and sanitation loan program which assists local governments meet problems of providing these services.

Armed services pay increase legislation which gave our servicemen a long-overdue pay hike.

Excise tax reduction which removed nuisance taxes on many household items.

Mental health grants to help pay the salaries of professional technical people to assist the mentally ill at community mental health centers.

A voluntary health program to help older people meet the costs of medical costs.

Water pollution control funds and community health services.

These are but a few of the constructive proposals which I supported. Many more were passed on a nonrecord vote which received my support.

At the same time, there were many proposals presented which I considered wasteful and extravagant, or objectionable for other reasons and not in the best interests of the people of Indiana—and these measures I vigorously opposed.

Included in the administration legislative proposals which I opposed were these:

The auto parts treaty with Canada, which will cost many jobs in the automotive parts industry in Indiana because of dislocations and liquidations of American automotive operations. Pushed by the administration as a public relations gesture to Canada, this bill guarantees a windfall to Canada at the expense of companies and unions in such cities as Muncie, New Castle, and other automotive parts manufacturing areas of our State.

Foreign aid to Communist countries and such tyrants as Nasser and Sukarno who take, millions in American tax money with one hand and slap us in the face with the other.

New national debt increases—we now have increased the debt eight different times during the Johnson and Kennedy administrations.

Removal of gold reserve requirement on American money and coinage debasement by removal of silver from some of our coins.

Poverty programs which have wasted millions and are aimed more at creating vast patronage empires, with little real help going to the needy.

Socialistic rent supplement program which subsidizes rent for people earning as much as $11,200 per year.

Altogether, there were 383 rollcall votes on significant legislation during this past session of Congress, and anyone desiring my vote or position on any of these issues is invited to write me in care of room 1532, Longworth Office Building. Congress reconvenes on January 10, 1966, and anyone desiring a weekly report from this office on the activities of the second session is also invited to write me.

This summary would not be complete without some brief comment on the session in general, and some remarks on our foreign policy.

It is my personal opinion that we are moving steadily toward a dangerous centralization of power in the Federal Government. The Founding Fathers warned repeatedly about this trend, and we can see that their fears were not without foundation.

Those who favor an all-powerful bureaucracy in Washington with control over many facets of the American society often blame the local communities or States for not solving their own problems, thus necessitating further reliance on the Central Government in Washington. My response to this is that the power and responsibility seem to go where the money goes, and with increased spending by a rich and wealthy Federal Government, the tendency at the local level, where officials are hard pressed for funds and under terrific pressure to restrain the tax rates, there emerges a natural attitude to let Washington do it.

Another danger, it occurs to me, is the domination of the Congress by the Executive. This has been obvious throughout the past session when highly controversial bills, objectionable to a majority of both parties, have been rammed through by Presidential insistence. The President has even indicated his disdain of the Congress publicly by announcing he will not abide by restrictions written into a public works law. Can this disregard of legality be any less dangerous than the prevalent attitude we observe in many quarters in the United States to obey only the laws one believes just?

Our foreign policy remains vague and confused. American sons and daughters are again serving in combat duty on foreign soil but are being restricted by unwritten ground rules which favor the Reds. Many Members of Congress feel it is not good to commit unlimited American ground forces to southeast Asia and that the war could be won by air power directed at the proper targets without allowing the Reds a sanctuary as in the Korean conflict. The President has the Congress full support in the prosecution of the war, but views on strategy differ.

There is also fear that far from the last chapter has been written in the Communist effort in the Dominican Republic and the always explosive Cuban situation.

May the Lord give the people, the Congress, and the President the strength and guidance for the important decisions and action ahead.

Tribute to Col. Ralph E. Vandervort, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ERNEST GRUENING

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, the retirement of Col. Ralph E. Vandervort, Jr., at the end of this month after 24 years of military service marks the close of one career and, I predict, the beginning of another which will be equally distinguished.

Bud Vandervort has been an outstanding liaison officer. He is a credit to his particular branch of the service, the U.S. Army, and to all of the services, for he typifies the finest attributes of the military. Most recently he has served with distinction in the Legislative Affairs Office of the Secretary of Defense.

Many families in Alaska are happier because Bud Vandervort was ever ready to start to work on a problem immedi-

ately when called by me or a member of my staff.

We of Alaska thank him and invite him and his family to come north to Alaska in 1967 and join us in celebrating the 100th anniversary of the purchase of Alaska by the United States from Russia.

Devotion of Greek People to Principles of Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, on October 28 of this year, the people of Greece will mark a day of great significance in Greek history. Twenty-five years ago, on October 28, 1940, the Italian Ambassador to Greece presented an ultimatum to the Greek Government demanding immediate assent to Italian occupation of strategic points on Greek territory. Mussolini's Italy had already, in April 1939, occupied and then annexed the independent neighboring country of Albania. World War II had begun in September 1939, with Germany's invasion of Poland. The Greek Government, anxious not to become involved in a major world conflict, was determined to remain neutral and to protect the freedom and independence of the country at all costs.

The Italian ultimatum of October 28, 1940, was rejected with dispatch. Italian troops immediately invaded Greek territory, only to encounter fierce resistance. For the Government and the people of Greece were united in their resolve to repulse blatant and unprovoked aggression. The Greek army, under the able leadership of Alexandros Papagos, quickly drove back the Italians, and within a few months, had occupied about a quarter of Albania.

It was only with the intervention of the troops of Hitler's Germany on April 6, 1941, that the tide began to change. The Greeks, with their British allies, waged a stout resistance, but they had to yield before the overwhelming mechanized forces of the Germans. It is probable, however, that this resistance delayed the planned German offensive against Russia for some crucial weeks, and prevented an attempt to break through Turkey to the Caucasus. Although the Germans entered Athens on April 27, 1940, the heroic defense of Crete tied up German troops for another month.

Mr. Speaker, October 28 is first and foremost a day which evokes memories of Greek heroism during 1940 and 1941. But it has broader significance. For Greeks throughout the world, October 28 symbolizes the steadfast devotion of the Greek people to the principles of freedom and self-determination—freedom and self-determination for the people of Greece, freedom and self-determination for others. Mingled with the glorious memories of 1940 and 1941 are those of the long Greek struggle for independence in the 19th century and the more recent memories of the difficult but ultimately successful struggle against internal Communist subversion following World War II. It is indeed a pleasure, on this occasion, to salute a people who have never faltered in their determination to regain liberty lost and to preserve liberty won.

Our Water Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. GILLIGAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, from the Nation's Capital to the smallest village in our land, 1965 has been distinguished by an upsurge of interest in water resources. At the outset, President Johnson emphasized water in his historic natural beauty message. Later, the first Natural Beauty Conference ever held at the White House reflected growing citizen interest in clean water. Our country sponsored the first International Desalination Conference in 1965, is participating in the first International Hydrological Decade—which began this year—and a national Water Quality Act became law this fall. One State alone, New York, is promoting a $1.7 billion program to end water pollution.

Still another notable development, which culminated in 1965, is the action of an industry, which has not only achieved a major accomplishment in the interest of clean water, but has set a precedent in its thinking in regard to industrial responsibility. On June 30, 1965, the soap and detergent industry completed a voluntary conversion to new "soft" materials in all washing and cleaning products made for U.S. consumption.

This $150 million changeover to readily biodegradable products of high quality, which resulted from more than a decade of research and the construction of new plants, has been praised by experts as "a scientific breakthrough of major importance in the field of water quality," "a notable achievement of industry," and "a response to the call of the conservation minded."

The Soap and Detergent Association, speaking for the industry, has prepared a brochure, "Target: Clean Water," which explains this outstanding contribution to our country's water resources, and I include it in the Appendix of the RECORD at this time:

THE "SOFT" DETERGENT STORY—TARGET: CLEAN WATER

The detergent industry, having developed and produced a new, more readily biodegradable detergent raw material, has achieved a major accomplishment in the interest of clean water. This has resulted from a decade of research and the expenditure of over $150 million, much of this for the construction of new plants.

Called LAS (for linear alkylate sulfonate), this new material is a substitute for the old sudsing ingredient called ABS (alkyl benzene sulfonate). ABS decomposed slowly after it had done its job in the washing machine or dishpan. It occasionally caused foam on rivers and streams after going down the drain with waste waters from the home.

As of June 30, 1965, the newly developed LAS replaced all of the ABS material used by members of the Soap and Detergent Association in the production of cleaning and washing products for U.S. consumption. This association represents companies who manufacture more than 90 percent of these products.

This unique contribution by one industry to the cause of clean water is diminishing foam on waterways, because LAS breaks down in treatment plants as readily as the other soluble organic matter of sewage.

The soap and detergent industry has made this revolutionary change despite the fact that detergents never constituted a hazard to health—even in tests where the concentrations were thousands of times greater than the levels at which ABS could cause foam.

A PROMISE FULFILLED

Although the old "hard" ABS detergents were only a fraction of organic impurities in waste water, foaming episodes on streams were highly visible and were singled out and identified in the public mind with pollution. The industry, which is devoted to cleanliness in all forms, voluntarily pledged to make foam reduction its contribution to the Nation's clean water program.

LAS and other "soft" ingredients have equal or better cleaning power compared with the old "hard" ABS and do not change the appearance of the product. However, the chemical structure of LAS is more amenable to the action of bacteria, and breaks down rapidly in modern sewage treatment facilities.

Does this mean and end to foam problems? No. There are many natural and manmade causes of foaming other than detergents that can affect water supplies. These include raw sewage, industrial wastes, algae, excess nitrate, waxes on the leaves of certain types of vegetation, and the right combination of atmospheric conditions and water temperature.

Since LAS degrades as rapidly as the soluble organic components of ordinary sewage, any future cases of foam in discharges would be an indication of inadequate sewage treatment.

Of course, the disappearance of detergent residues in water will not mean the end of the major pollution problem, which is the continuing discharge of untreated or only partially treated raw sewage and industrial wastes into surface and ground water.

SETTING A PRECEDENT

The real solution for our water problems will come with the widespread use of sewers and the construction of adequate sewage treatment facilities.

The detergent industry's conversion is a big step forward which has won national recognition. The Assistant Surgeon General and Chief of the Division of Water Supply and Pollution Control, U.S. Public Health Service, said: "This is the first time that a product changeover of this magnitude has been made—solely to resolve a water pollution problem."

The Ohio Conservation Congress, representing more than 100 garden, nature, and conservation groups in the State, presented its 1965 Merit Award to the Soap and Detergent Association for outstanding accomplishment in the field of conservation as a result of the industrywide conversion to the new highly degradable LAS.

With other organizations and agencies who are supporting clean water and conservation programs, the Soap and Detergent Association has pledged itself to continuing studies

in the interest of our water resources—and continuing concern with the progress of constructive environmental health programs not limited to the direct effects of the industry's products.

Wilson R. Hart's Letter Supports the Federal Employees Management Cooperation Bill, H.R. 6883

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. MORRISON

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker the following letter was sent to me by Mr. Wilson R. Hart, resident representative and director of Special Fund Programs in NEPAL, United Nations Technical Assistance Board. I feel that it is a very good statement in behalf of my bill, H.R. 6883 the Federal employee-management cooperation bill:

Hon. JAMES H. MORRISON,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MORRISON: Charlie Rockwood and George Bursach have sent me a copy of your bill, "The Federal Employee-Management Cooperation Act of 1965" (H.R. 6883) which I have just read with consuming interest. In your bill you have forthrightly attacked all of the major problems which have beset Government employee leaders and administrators alike, and which have retarded them in their drive to achieve meaningful, constructive, creative employee-management cooperation of the order of excellence so clearly envisioned by the President of the United States in Executive Order No. 10988. You, moreover, have succeeded to a degree which I would not have believed possible in finding simple, practical, workable solutions to all of those problems which have, heretofore, "stumped the experts." In a complex and controversial area you have brought forth a legislative masterpiece. Merely by introducing this bill you have undoubtedly contributed immeasurably to the bill's avowed objective: "Improved employee-management cooperation in the Federal service." When your bill is enacted into law it will, I am sure, soon come to be ranked with the Civil Service Act of 1883 as one of the milestone achievements in the development of public administration in the United States.

By the simple, sensible and equitable requirement that agencies "refrain from delegating the partisan function of serving as the spokesman for management and the quasi-judicial functions" to the same persons you have removed the greatest single stumbling block to progress in the existing programs. Similarly, the establishment of a Federal Employee-Management Cooperation Board will have the highly salutary effect of relieving the Civil Service Commission of many of the onerous police and quasi-judicial functions with which it is now saddled, thus permitting it to concentrate its energies and talents upon its primary responsibility: that of providing positive leadership to the entire executive branch in the professional fields of personnel management, including meaningful, imaginative, constructive employee-management cooperation. By specifically defining "unfair labor practices" so as to include refusals, whether by management or unions, to negotiate in good faith; and by providing specific fair and effective remedies for unfair labor practices, you have struck decisively at the heart of the problem of "impasses" in bargaining negotiations which constitute the most significant grounds for complaint against the present program on the part of Government employee leaders. You have completely resolved the troublesome conflict-of-interest problems which are plaguing both management and unions under Executive Order No. 10988. You have articulated the "doctrine of neutrality" with precision for the first time and placed it in proper perspective. You have wisely encouraged practitioners of labor relations in the Federal sphere to avail themselves of the vast wealth of wisdom accumulated by the Federal courts and the National Labor Relations Board from their years of experience grappling with comparable labor relations problems in the private sphere. Most importantly, you have eliminated any possibility of confusion remaining in the mind of a reasonably prudent man concernng the Government's fundamental labor relatons policies. Your bill makes clear, without leaving the slightest scintilla of doubt, that the United States supports enthusiastic, affirmative employee-management cooperation in the public interest; and opposes internal conflict, class struggles, and negative neutralism. It supports democratic management and opposes both autocratic and paternalistic management. It encourages decentralization of administrative decisionmaking (but not of basic policymaking) and gives no solace to those who subscribe to the "all-the-brains-are-in-Washington" philosophy of administration. Although it may be classified as a labor bill by some, it cannot be properly classified as either antilabor or antimanagement by anybody. It is happily free of any harsh or punitive measures. It is concerned exclusively with the public interest, not with any private or parochial interest. Its entire spirit can be summarized with sterling eloquence in two short sentences borrowed from your bill itself: "There can be no real conflict between the leaders of our Government agencies and the leaders of employee organizations that qualify for recognition. * * * The ultimate interest of both must inevitably be the same: to make the U.S. Government the best, the most efficient, and the most honorable in the world."

In introducing this bill you have made a monumental contribution to the future of productive employee-management cooperation in American Government which you can confidently expect to have a beneficial effect upon the future peace and progress of labor-management relations in American private industry as well. Your bill richly deserves the unstinting support of those who speak for the Federal departments and agencies, including both the Labor Department and the Civil Service Commission; for the Government employee organizations, both affiliated and independent; and for the general public. I fervently hope and pray that you will get it. When your bill is enacted into law it will become a worthy and perpetual testimonial to your many tireless efforts through the years to improve and strengthen the Federal civil service.

Sincerely,

WILSON R. HART.

Amendment to Administrative Expenses Act of 1946

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing, by request, H.R. 11773, a bill to amend section 15 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946—5 U.S.C. 55a—to make more uniform the employment of experts and consultants and organizations thereof by Federal agencies.

This bill is patterned after some of the recommendations made several years ago by the Bureau of the Budget following a study of the practices of the departments and agencies of the executive branch in the hiring of experts and consultants, both individuals and firms. It reflects the experience and concern of the National Society of Professional Engineers, many of whose members provide invaluable professional and technical services to the Federal Government on a consulting basis.

I am introducing the bill at this time so that it will be available for analysis and comment during the period between adjournment and the beginning of the next session.

International Food and Nutrition Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE McGOVERN

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, because of many inquiries being received requesting copies of S. 2157, the International Food and Nutrition Act, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in the RECORD following this statement so it will be widely available to persons interested in their libraries, as well as to Members of Congress and the executive departments.

There being no objection, the text of the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 2157

A bill to provide for the United States participation and leadership in an international effort to end malnutrition and human want, and for related purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. (a) CITATION AND EFFECTIVE DATE.—This Act may be cited as the International Food and Nutrition Act of 1965, and shall become effective upon its enactment and approval by the President of the United States.

(b) PURPOSES.—The purpose of this Act is to provide for the use of the excess production and capacity of American agriculture and food industries and, insofar as possible, in cooperation with other nations, to eliminate human hunger and malnutrition throughout the world, to assist underdeveloped nations in increasing their own production of food and other human requirements, and to encourage other developed nations to participate in a united effort to eliminate want as a potential cause for international disputes, aggression, or war.

SEC. 2. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President of the United States for allocation by him to appropriate agencies including an agency of the United Nations, in addition to appropriations for current programs, $500 million for fiscal 1966, and for each fiscal year thereafter through fiscal year 1970 an amount equal to the amount authorized for the preceding fiscal

year increased by $500 million and continuing at the fiscal year 1970 level through fiscal year 1975, for the following purposes:

(A) Purchase of domestic agricultural products, including high protein animal and vegetable foods, and payment for enrichment of foods, to be sold, exchanged, or donated to nations without adequate nutritional supplies for their citizens, including sales on long-term credit, sales for currencies not convertible into dollars, and grants, as may be necessary in consideration of the economic condition and needs of each recipient nation.

(B) Payments for such processing, enrichment, storage, and transportation as may be necessary or desirable, including loans or grants to recipient nations for such purposes within their boundaries where necessary to assure preservation and countrywide distribution of foodstuffs.

(C) Expansion of the United States Peace Corps to provide personnel which may be usefully employed abroad in assisting with distribution and in training citizens of recipient nations in handing, storage, preparation, and distribution of such foods.

(D) Enlargement of rural technical assistance programs through the Agency for International Development and the colleges, universities, firms, foundations, individuals, and government departments cooperating with it to assist underdeveloped nations in increasing their own food production, or, in areas deficient in agricultural resources, in the production of goods exchangeable for foods through sales and purchases in normal trade channels.

(E) Payment of the additional expenses of departments or agencies of the United States Government required by increased operations under the provision of this Act, and payment of the United States share of the operating costs of any United Nations agency with objectives and programs implementing the purposes of this Act.

SEC. 3. The President may designate a director of the international food and nutrition (food-for-peace) program, create such advisory groups, and promulgate such regulations governing the administration of this Act as he deems advisable, including regulations to assure proper use and distribution of foods to needy in recipient nations.

SEC. 4. The Congress recommends to the President that he negotiate with other nations, through his Ambassador to the United Nations, for the expansion of the world food program of the United Nations or other multilateral agency of the United Nations to assume as much responsibility for world freedom from hunger as possible with the participation and support of the United States.

A Record of Press Conference Statements Made by Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen and Representative Gerald R. Ford for the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, pursuant to permission granted on Friday, October 22, I submit for printing in the RECORD, the following record of press conference statements by the joint Senate-House Republican leadership:

THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

FOR THE SENATE

EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, leader.

THOMAS H. KUCHEL, whip.

BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, chairman of the policy committee.

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, chairman of the conference.

THRUSTON B. MORTON, chairman of the Republican senatorial committee.

FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

GERALD R. FORD, leader.

LESLIE C. ARENDS, whip.

MELVIN R. LAIRD, chairman of the conference.

JOHN J. RHODES, chairman of the policy committee.

H. ALLEN SMITH, ranking member, Rules Committee.

BOB WILSON, chairman, Republican congressional committee.

CHARLES E. GOODELL, chairman, committee on planning and research.

PRESIDING OFFICER

Ray C. Bliss, the Republican national chairman.

FOREWORD

This legislative year marks the fifth year of existence of the Joint Senate-House Republican leadership established at the suggestion of President Dwight D. Eisenhower in January 1961.

The format remains that of issuing policy statements on subjects both foreign and domestic, usually in the form of a press conference by Senator DIRKSEN and Representative FORD. Occasionally, releases were made without the press conference or by some other member of the leadership.

The membership was increased by one member this year with the addition of the chairman of the Committee on Planning and Research, CHARLES E. GOODELL. During the session the leadership was saddened by the passing of Clarence J. Brown, one of the original members of the joint leadership. Representative H. ALLEN SMITH thereby succeeded to the leadership as ranking member of the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives. During the year the meetings were presided over by Republican National Committee Chairman Dean Burch and his successor, Ray Bliss.

During this year Robert Humphreys, who served with great devotion and efficiency as the staff consultant of the joint Senate-House Republican leadership since its inception, was granted a leave of absence because of a lingering illness. Mr. Humphreys died on October 15. The Joint Leadership mourns the passing of this irreplaceable colleague. At the time of his death, Columnist David Lawrence paid him this richly deserved tribute: "He made a deep impression here in the National Capital as an honest and conscientious worker in the field of politics * * * he was one of those anonymous workers whose services over the years have been invaluable to the Republican Party."

The members of the joint leadership are members of the Republican Coordinating Committee, a new idea in party politics. During this session the Coordinating Committee held three sessions, formed five task forces, and approved three task force reports. All indications are that the Republican Coordinating Committee will continue as a positive force in the examination of party policy and party operations.

As in previous years, the leadership statements for 1965 are being published as a Senate document. They appear on the following pages and are indexed as to the issue covered.

BERLIN WALL

(By the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership, August 13, 1965)

August 13 marks the fourth anniversary of a tragedy in American foreign relations and a tragedy for all mankind—the erection of one of man's most hated and degrading structures, the Berlin wall. The wall is an insult to all of mankind. It is an ugly reminder that the Communists cannot command the voluntary allegiance of those trapped by terrible circumstance within their borders.

In 1961, the Communists violated the Four Power Agreement, a pledge among nations, and they violated man's sense of individual diversity, a pledge among all men, when they constructed their cold cement edifice. Now, 4 years afterward, the wall has been warmed many times over by the blood of courageous, imprisoned men who have sought escape from mistrust, compulsion by force, and deadening conformity.

The lust for freedom of the east German people has sent unnumbered hundreds under, through, and over the wall in quest of this freedom. In order to join with their families and friends in the West and escape the tyranny of Communist government, these men have matched bravery and ingenuity against the fiendish traps and obstacles concocted by the Communists. Many German people have died by the bullets of Communist rifles when they sought to escape.

It is a great irony that man's response to the wall, the escape, has become one of the most meaningful and important actions to all freedom-loving men. We feel a common bond with the stifled individuals behind the wall, and every freeman identifies with the individuals who are compelled by conscience and blessed with the opportunity to escape.

Tragically, as more men have escaped and more men have died, the wall has been fortified and enlarged with cement, wire, and explosives. Yet one remains confident that the bravery and genius of such men will not be defeated by a wall.

The return of freedom and unity to all the German people must remain a major objective of the foreign policy of the United States until the wall is no more.

COST OF LIVING

(By Senator DIRKSEN, August 5, 1965)

The most recent figures on the cost of living convey disheartening news. For the third month in a row a substantial increase in living costs were registered. The increase to date in 1965 has been four times the increase during the same period of 1964.

The month of June showed the biggest increase in 23 months. Food prices alone rose 2 percent. The meat, poultry, and fish group was up 10 percent from a year ago.

Foodstore prices in the Washington area bring these statistics to life. For instance, in one chainstore since June 1964 the cost of smoked ham has risen from 43 cents per pound to 59 cents per pound. At another chainstore, the past 13 months have seen a rise in the cost of rib steaks of 22 cents per pound, while boneless chuck roast has zoomed from 49 cents per pound to 85 cents per pound. Pork chops at another chainstore have nearly doubled in price, from 69 cents per pound in June of 1964 to today's price of $1.19 per pound. The same store in the same period has seen bacon more than double in price, from 49 cents to $1.05 per pound.

There are signs of continued pressures affecting not only the price of food but also a broad range of commodities and services. Wholesale prices, following a 6-year period of stability, have risen 2 percent in the past year. On top of this, the Labor Department reports that in the first 6 months of this year the increases granted in wage settlements have averaged 4 percent—well above the administration's guidepost of 3.2 percent. And that will tend to push prices up even more.

In spite of these disquieting signs, the press reports that "Administration spokesmen * * * said they were not worried by the recent surge in consumer prices." These

sentiments are not shared by the American housewife, the wage earner with a family to feed, the poor, the retired, and others who live on fixed incomes. Perhaps the President should be reminded of that portion of his state of the Union message in which he said, "Our continued prosperity demands continued price stability."

The inflationary trend offsets the billions being expended in the highly publicized war on poverty.

Food prices in Washington, D.C., chainstores

	June 1964	July 1965
Chainstore A:		
Fryers, legs (per pound)	$0.37	$0.55
Fryers, breasts (per pound)	.43	.59
Smoked hams, fully cooked (per pound)	.43	.59
Medium fresh shrimp	.69	.89
2 dozen large eggs	.91	.95
Chainstore B:		
Chuck roast, boneless (per pound)	.49	.85
Fryers, whole (per pound)	.25	.39
Fryers, cut	.29	.43
Rib steaks, 7-inch cut (per pound)	.57	.79
Chainstore C:		
Pork chops (per pound)	.69	1.19
Bacon (per pound)	.49	1.05
Chainstore D:		
Porterhouse steak, USDA choice (per pound)	.95	1.49
Round steak (per pound)	.79	1.35

CUBA

(By Representative GERALD R. FORD, May 20, 1965)

Today is the 63d anniversary of Cuban independence. On May 20, 1902, Cuba assumed the status of an independent Republic with the inauguration of its first president.

On this anniversary, we call for the reestablishment of Cuba's independence. Since late 1960 the present government of Cuba has been a military, economic, and political vassal of the Soviet Union. Today thousands of foreign Communist military personnel remain on Cuban soil. Cuba's rulers continue to serve the purposes of an alien system by carrying on a campaign of terrorism, sabotage, subversion, and sporadic warfare against their neighbors, disturbing the peace of the hemisphere and threatening the security of all American nations.

The policy objective of the present administration toward the Communist government of Cuba has been ambiguous. At times it has been described as "to get rid of the Castro regime and of Soviet Communist influence in Cuba." So Mr. Johnson declared at Midland, Tex., on September 30, 1962. At other times it has been described as "to isolate Cuba * * * to frustrate its efforts to destroy free governments and to expose the weakness of communism so that all can see." So it was formulated by President Johnson on April 20, 1964.

The melancholy events in the Dominican Republic are a forceful reminder that neither objective has been attained. Cuba has not been isolated, nor is it rid of Castro and Soviet Communist influence. Cuba is the breeding ground for Communist subversion throughout this hemisphere.

President Johnson's recent statement that we "cannot permit the establishment of another Communist government in the Western Hemisphere" clouds the purposes of administration policy toward Cuba still further.

The administration should fix clearly so that all can see the objective of its policy toward Cuba. The isolation of the Castro regime and the prevention of the export of communism from Cuba should be pursued more vigorously as an immediate policy objective. But the ultimate objective can be nothing less than the elimination of the Communist government of Cuba and the restoration of independence under a government freely chosen by the Cuban people.

This objective is dictated by policies subscribed to by all the nations of the hemisphere at Caracas in 1954. The Caracas Declaration stated:

"The domination or control of the political institutions of any American State by the international Communist movement, extending to this Hemisphere the political system of an extracontinental power, would constitute a threat to the sovereignty and political independence of the American States, endangering the peace of America."

In compliance with this doctrine, President Eisenhower said on July 9, 1960:

"Nor will the United States in conformity with its treaty obligations, permit the establishment of a regime dominated by international communism in the Western Hemisphere."

It is time to reaffirm this as our national purpose and the purpose of the other American nations.

THE ECONOMY

(By Senator HICKENLOOPER, July 1, 1965)

The health of the economy has become a matter of concern and debate since William McChesney Martin pointed out some similarities between present conditions and those of 1929. The President and other administration spokesmen, emphasizing the bright spots in the economic picture, have suggested that anything wrong in the economy results from fright caused by Mr. Martin's speech.

We find it hard to understand how an administration that has been talking constantly of the poverty in the United States can blame Mr. Martin's qualified warning for weakening confidence in the economic system.

A balanced appraisal of the performance of the economy should begin with a recognition of the fact that the period since World War II has been one of steady and sustained economic growth. Downturns have been few, short, and moderate. We should not expect only guaranteed and sustained rises in economic activity for the future, but the attitude that "things are so good they can't continue" is probably too nearsighted.

Nevertheless, there are danger signals in some economic indicators. To ignore them, to sweep them under the rug, or to denounce those who point them out is shortsighted.

The international financial situation is one of the most ominous clouds on the economic horizon. The administration's program of "voluntary coercion" in the balance-of-payments area is based on the same principle of political expediency as so much of its domestic economic wheeling and dealing. In the process of instituting short-run remedies, the President is following a practice of giving glib and pat answers to serious and involved questions. In imposing more and more controls over international trade and capital flows, the administration is abandoning the principle of liberalized multilateral trade embodied in the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 and supported by the United States throughout the Eisenhower years, in the face of adversity encountered by almost all of our trading partners. If this series of shortsighted treatments for the symptoms in our balance of payments produces serious dislocations in major foreign economies, the United States will not remain unscathed.

We believe that an International Monetary Conference should be called to deal with the basic structural shortcomings of our international monetary system. The problem is one which cannot be further neglected.

(By Representative GERALD R. FORD, July 1, 1965)

Certain strategic imbalances have developed in the domestic economy. Although more than 4½ percent of our labor force remains unemployed, distinct inflationary pressures are evident. Indeed, we are greatly concerned about eroding price increases in view of the employment situation. In particular, nothing seems to succeed in helping young labor force participants—the teenager jobless rate remains close to 15 percent. Yet in May 1965 the Consumer Price Index stood at 109.6 of its 1957–59 base, which was an increase of 0.3 percent for the month of May. If the rate of increase for April and May is maintained for the next 12 months, the Consumer Price Index would rise 3.6 percent, which is inflation in anybody's book. Even more important, the Wholesale Price Index rose by 2.0 percent from May 1964 to May 1965 and this index had been standing still from 1957 to 1964. We note that a number of recent labor contracts have provided about 4 percent in yearly wage increases, substantially above the guide lines set by the administration. These may well lead to cost-of-living increases during 1965 and future years.

We are entering the sixth fiscal year of continuous deficits. They have averaged over $6 billion a year for the past 5 fiscal years. The deficit for fiscal 1965 is somewhat below $4 billion, and this is being hailed as a great accomplishment. We deplore the doctrine of "permanent fiscal irresponsibility" coupled with a politically pressured easy money policy. The continuous use of fiscal "pep pills" has serious consequences—inflationary pressures (so hurtful to the very poor and the elderly retired), a growing interest charge on the public debt, and disruption of international trade as more and more nations lose their faith in the value of our currency. Even more important, Democrats in Congress have lit the fuse on an inflationary "time bomb" by rubber-stamping one expenditure program after another. These extended programs give the administration greater and greater carryover authority to spend and spend—in fact, this carryover unspent authorization ties the hands of Congress in switching to an anti-inflationary policy.

There are definite signs that the quality of much of the debt has been deteriorating and that its quantity may be growing too fast. The so-called temporary public debt ceiling was just raised from $324 to $328 billion. Other debt—of States, local governments, corporations, and individuals—has been growing more rapidly. For example, consumer installment payments now stand at 15 percent of personal income and total debt of the average family is a staggering 60 percent of its yearly earnings. Bank credit has been expanding more quickly than in all previous expansions, although some recent changes are apparent here.

It is our view that the administration may be in great danger of falling from their tightrope. Clearly they are falling off on the side of inflation. It is our view that a balanced economy is important to all. We therefore endorse the suggestion made by Senator JAVITS and Congressman CURTIS, i.e., that the Joint Economic Committee call hearings "at the earliest possible time" in order to explore "the basic issues raised by Mr. Martin" and "the outlook for the economy over the next year."

EDUCATION

(By Representative GERALD R. FORD, September 9, 1965)

The 89th Congress has passed several bills increasing the flow of Federal funds available for education. It has added a cut in excise taxes to a reduction of income tax rates in 1964.

Because of administration opposition, the Congress has not, however, provided tax relief specifically directed toward lightening the burden of higher education.

More than 5 million students will settle on the campuses of colleges and universities throughout the United States this month. In the course of the next 5 years, college enrollment is expected to increase by an additional 1¼ million students.

The average cost of a year of higher education at a public institution is now $1,560; it is $2,370 at a private institution. These costs will continue to rise in future years. It is estimated that tuition charges will increase by 50 percent in both public and private institutions in the next decade.

The cost of going to college is a severe strain on the resources of most of the 5 million students now enrolled and on their families. Millions, who on the basis of ability deserve a college education, are deprived of one because of the financial burden.

The Higher Education Act of 1965 will provide Federal scholarships for fewer than 3 percent of the college students immediately and for fewer than 8 percent eventually. It will make borrowing to defray educational expenses somewhat easier, but these provisions are not enough.

The most effective and direct method of lightening the burden of college expenses for all is to provide for a credit which those who are paying for higher education may taken against their Federal income tax.

Assistance of this kind has been advocated by Republicans for many years. We shall continue to fight for it.

EIGHTY-NINTH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION—A COMMENTARY

(By Senator DIRKSEN, Oct. 23, 1965)

The White House acted wisely in suppressing the motion picture which it had prepared glorifying the 89th Congress. For this session of the Congress would win no Oscar, even in the best supporting role category. From this Congress, we have had an echo, not a choice.

A movie of the 89th Congress would be like an episode of the oldtime serial which always ended as the heroine was pushed off a cliff or was about to be ground up by an oncoming locomotive. Not until you see the thrilling episode that will be presented in this theater next year will you know whether 14(b) of Taft-Hartley is ground to bits under the administration's locomotive or whether the reapportionment amendment survives its fall from the cliff.

We would caution those who judge the work of the session which just wheezed to a close to look, not at the quantity of the legislative product, but at its quality. The test should be not how much has the Congress done, but how well has it done.

Always a candid man, the majority leader of the Senate has confessed serious deficiencies in the legislation enacted this year. Senator MANSFIELD has announced that the 2d session of the 89th Congress should "spend less time on new legislation and more time correcting oversights in legislation we have just passed." He has said the Congress "must tighten up the hasty enactments" and must rectify "a number of gaps and any number of rough edges, overextensions and overlays."

It is highly significant that Senator MANSFIELD, in reviewing the work of this session before the Democratic Conference, could find no adjective to describe it other than the ambiguous word "exceptional."

As a believer in complete candor, I endorse the majority leader's appraisal of the work of this session. I assure him that he will find on the Republican side willing allies in the effort to devote considerable attention during the second session of this Congress to correction of the mistakes of the first session.

(By Representative GERALD R. FORD, October 23, 1965)

The 1st session of the 89th Congress clearly demonstrates the evils of one-party dominance of the National Government.

When the party that occupies the White House holds a two-to-one majority in the Congress, the Congress ceases to function as a coequal branch of government, the integrity of State and local governments is undermined, and the public interest is often jeopardized.

The executive branch unchecked becomes careless and arrogant. "Arrogant" is a strong word, but there is no other to describe those who attempted to bull through the appointment to the Federal judiciary of a man totally devoid of qualifications for this high office. There is no other word for the conduct of an agency that withholds Federal funds from a city in defiance of the procedures clearly established by Congress before such action can be taken. There is no other word for the methods used to rush legislation through the Congress without adequate consideration and without adequate opportunity to debate and to amend.

The House had no chance, for example, to consider any meaningful amendment to the bill repealing section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. In the consideration of the administration bill on elementary and secondary education, no opportunity was granted to the sponsors of 14 amendments for explanation and debate.

Protest has been heard from both sides of the aisle. Democratic Congresswoman GREEN, of Oregon, early in the session, condemned the "determined effort to silence those who are in disagreement." Many other Democrats have spoken out in similar terms in frustration and futility.

When either House of the Congress acts in this way, it abdicates its responsibility. It ceases to be a deliberative body and becomes a rubberstamp.

State and local governments have suffered because of one-party dominance in this Congress. Congress has enacted far-reaching programs without concern for the views of responsible State and local officials or the effect of Federal action on existing State and local programs. Especially significant was the Democratic attempt to deprive Governors of any shred of veto power over projects under the poverty program.

Finally, this Congress has been prodigal with taxpayers' money, over and above the military needs of the country. During this year $119 billion has been appropriated—$36 billion more than in the last year of the Eisenhower administration. For many new programs this year's appropriation is only a small fraction of the annual expenditure that will be inevitable when the programs are fully in operation.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, THE CONDUCT OF

(By Senator DIRKSEN, July 15, 1965)

This is an appropriate time to speak of bipartisanship in foreign policy.

Bipartisanship signifies united support by the two major parties for such policy aims and means as are required for the security of the Nation.

A bipartisan foreign policy imposes obligations on both the majority and the minority parties. For the majority party, it counsels frequent consultation with the minority as policy is formulated and access for the minority to information needed to determine the wisdom of policy.

For the minority party it imposes an obligation to avoid carping about trivia. The minority should avoid the hypocrisy of complaining about measures which it would favor if it were in the position of policymaker. No administration should be blamed for events beyond its control.

Members of both parties must weigh all the consequences of public criticism. There is an obligation to demonstrate to both friend and foe that the American people are united in time of danger. There is an obligation to avoid furnishing grist for the propaganda mills of an enemy.

But bipartisan foreign policy has never meant a cessation of debate, of criticism, of suggestion. Senator Arthur Vandenberg, who, more than any other public figure in his time, personified bipartisanship, said that bipartisan foreign policy "simply seeks national security ahead of partisan advantage." But, he added immediately, "Every foreign policy must be totally debated * * * and the 'loyal opposition' is under special obligation to see that this occurs."

Debate, then, should be encouraged. Only in the crucible of full and candid debate can the Nation forge a foreign policy which will lead to the ends which all Americans seek to attain—peace, freedom, and security. Only thus can public understanding and acceptance of foreign policy be achieved.

Bipartisanship in foreign policy demands that representatives of both parties give each other a respectful hearing, that both deal in facts, that both discuss genuine issues, that both avoid distortion and misrepresentation.

We pray that the national security decisions of the President may always be wise. If we must disagree with any of those decisions, we shall never question his sincere desire for peace. We expect that responsible spokesmen for his party will credit us with similar motives.

"GREAT SOCIETY"

(By Representative GERALD R. FORD, March 18, 1965)

In a series of messages to Congress that are almost encylopedic in the listing of problems purportedly to be solved by the Federal Government, President Johnson proposes enactment of laws and the appropriation of funds that will place the Federal foot in the door of every important function now reserved to the States and local communities.

The formula is ingenious. The future needs of every local community for the next 10 to 20 years are fed, computer-like, into the Federal maw to arrive at a gigantic nationwide figure calculated to stagger the imagination and reduce the citizen to a feeling of utter helplessness. The heroic answer is of course the one now being set forth almost daily by the Johnson administration: Only the Federal Government can handle the problem.

Had our Founding Fathers examined the problems confronting them on the same basis, this country probably would have remained a British colony with the Crown handling everything. The fact that the States and local communities have been meeting these problems in their relatively simple locales for nearly two centuries of unequaled progress is ignored.

Federalized schools, textbooks, and teachers; federalized zoning building codes, health centers, and transportation; federalized libraries, laboratories, auditoriums and theaters—all these and much more are now in prospect for our States and local communities. In time our State and local governments can only be reduced to resident agents for the huge central authority in Washington.

Perhaps the American people want to abandon a proven system that has worked as no other on earth. We do not believe it. The Johnson program has been so disguised by platitudes and Madison Avenue adjectives that its real aim has not been recognized. We are told we are approaching the "Great Society."

We deem it our obligation to provide our citizens with full knowledge of the direction in which their Federal administration is heading our Nation. The end of this road is complete Federal control.

(By Senator DIRKSEN, March 18, 1965)

The unveiling of President Johnson's "Great Society" makes it starkly clear that the Federal Government has only begun to grow in size, power, and cost.

The central thesis of the Great Society is that bigger and bigger Government means better and better health, better and better education, better and better transportation, and better and better environment. It resembles political "perpetual motion."

How big is the Government today? The answer is: It's enormous.

Here are some samples of the combined impact of Federal, State, and local governments: Taxes and other Government levies now consume 35 percent of total national income. One out of every six workers in the United States is a Government employee. One out of every five dollars spent in the United States for goods and services is spent by Government. One dollar out of every four dollars and a half of personal income in the United States is accounted for by direct Government payments.

The impact of the Federal Government alone is startling: Federal aid to State and local governments has risen from $3.8 billion in 1956 to $13.6 billion in 1966—an increase of nearly 260 percent. Federal funds now amount to 14 percent of total State-local revenue.

These figures give some idea of the size of Government today. Right now the Federal Government has more civilian employees in 30 of the 50 States than do State governments themselves, including the 5 biggest in the Union—California, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Ohio.

To all this we are now going to add President Johnson's "Great Society." There is no conceivable way to estimate its future cost. The sky's the limit.

The President has already told us that balancing the budget "too quickly" can be "self-defeating." Thus the Congress and the Nation have been put on notice that the "Great Society" will be financed by ever-increasing Federal deficits and, although not predicted by the President, these deficits could break all records, wartime or peacetime, if the "Great Society" expands as projected. It is time all Americans took a look at the hard facts.

LATIN AMERICA

(By Senator DIRKSEN, May 20, 1965)

From the time the President announced to congressional leaders that he had sent forces into the Dominican Republic to protect lives and to thwart the danger of a Communist takeover in that country, the Republicans in the Congress have given him their support.

Support of the President's action in the circumstances does not, however, imply blanket approval of administration policy toward Latin America.

The administration has been slow to recognize danger signals in Latin America. It has permitted problems to grow to crisis proportions before acting. It has been reluctant to provide leadership to make the Organization of American States an effective agency for the defense and development of the Western Hemisphere.

Even now, in its reaction to events in the Dominican Republic, the administration is not manifesting awareness of the extent and the danger of Castro-exported Communist subversion in at least half a dozen other American nations. In the past 3 years, many thousand citizens of other Latin American countries have received paramilitary and ideological training in Cuba and have been sent home to carry on subversion, terrorism, and guerrilla warfare in Central and South America. Since the end of November 1964, there has been renewed emphasis by Cuba on the use of violence to attain political power, particularly in Venezuela, Colombia, and Guatemala. In Guatemala, the activities of 500 terrorists and guerrillas led to the establishment of a state of siege in February of this year. Haiti, Panama, Paraguay, El Salvador, and Honduras are all announced targets of Communist violence.

It is regrettable that the administration did not move to head off the new outbreak of subversion and violence when it was planned at the Havana meeting of Latin American Communist leaders in November 1964.

Clearly there is need now for vigorous and effective action by the Organization of American States and by the individual American nations to put an end to the current Castro offensive.

We urge the administration to present such a plan of action to the OAS before the tragic drama of the Dominican Republic is replayed in other Latin American nations.

"PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE"

(By Senator DIRKSEN, March 4, 1965)

In days past, the members of the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership have expressed support for a stiffened American military position in South Vietnam. At the very time we spoke, the Soviet and Red Chinese regimes were warning the United States against such action and promising the North Vietnamese increased military assistance. In many nations throughout the world, Communist agents were organizing riots and demonstrations against American diplomatic establishments in an all-out propaganda drive against the United States.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk has stated, as American policy, that there can be no negotiations on the Vietnamese issue so long as the Communist nations promote aggression against South Vietnam. We believe this a worthy policy. In fact, we advocated it.

We suggest that logic would have the United States carry this policy one step farther.

The Soviet Union has been espousing a policy of "peaceful coexistence." This policy was welcomed by the Kennedy and Johnson administrations and numerous moves were made to demonstrate American readiness to respond, particularly in the fields of trade, communications, and diplomatic relations.

Yet the fact remains that the Soviet Union and the other Communist nations have not diminished, but stepped up, their promotion of subversion in the neutral and free world countries. South Vietnam is only the most glaring example. The continued supplying of Cuba, the subversion in South America, notably Venezuela, and in Africa, notably the Congo, and the ceaseless agitation throughout southeast Asia, are typical.

The only thing peaceful about "peaceful co-existence" is the title. In any relaxed relations, it is the United States that is supposed to do the relaxing. The Communist nations continuously outrage the rights of other nations. Too long have we heard the trumpet of retreat from those who seem to favor another Munich.

If we are not going to negotiate the Vietnamese question until the aggression against South Vietnam ceases, an equally necessary step would be to stop entertaining the overtures of the Communist nations for broader trade and diplomatic relations and to intensify our efforts to persuade our friends abroad to do the same, until the Communists have demonstrated their good faith in areas where not only freedom but life and death are at stake.

(By Representative GERALD R. FORD, March 4, 1965)

During the past 3 years the Soviet Union and other Communist nations have, under the so-called "peaceful co-existence" policy, made measureable gains in trade and diplomatic concessions from the United States while offering little in return. Here are some examples:

An agreement has been initiated for the establishment of a New York-Moscow air route which the Soviet Union has long sought.

An American-Soviet treaty has been negotiated, which now awaits Senate approval, that would give the Soviets consular offices they want in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco in exchange for similar American consulates in Russia which would avail us little and only give the Communists more targets for mob violence.

Having purchased $140 million worth of badly needed U.S. wheat on which the American taxpayer paid $44 million in subsidies so the Soviets could buy it for below our domestic price, Russia has now bought $11 million in soybeans which the New York Times speculated might be going to Cuba.

In response to Communist bloc overtures for expanded trade, President Johnson has named a committee to explore stepped-up sales, and the Commerce Department's issuance of export licenses for sales to Communist nations has been increasing steadily.

Even more significant, our Government last month backed down completely on its widely publicized call for the Soviet Union to pay up its assessments to the United Nations, and then compounded this loss of face by lifting a 3-month freeze on voluntary contributions to the U.N. out of the U.S. Treasury.

From a standpoint of bargaining, we constantly give much and get little or nothing in deals with the Communist nations. We, the members of the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership, urge a "no concession, no deal" policy, meaning that the Communists must be ready to make concessions as the price of agreements with the United States. Until we and our allies arrive at such a policy, we can only expect more Koreas and Vietnams and an ever-widening circle of Communist subversion around the earth.

POVERTY

(By Senator DIRKSEN, September 30, 1965)

Republicans have long been engaged in a determined and effective campaign to broaden economic opportunity for all Americans and to reduce the numbers of those in the lowest income brackets.

During the first 4 years of the Eisenhower administration the number of families below the $3,000 income level (in dollars of constant purchasing power at 1962 prices) was reduced at a rate of 400,000 a year. In 4 years since 1960, the number has been dropping at a rate of 250,000 a year.

When President Eisenhower assumed office, 28 percent of the families of the United States had incomes below $3,000. Four years later the percentage was down 5 points to 23 percent. In 4 years of the Democratic administrations which succeeded Eisenhower, the figure has been reduced by 3 percentage points.

Despite the pressagentry of the current war on poverty, progress toward the goal of eliminating this evil has been slower during the past 4 years than it was during the first term of the last Republican administration.

The success of the administration's anti-poverty efforts must be judged in these terms. The crucial question is whether these efforts with their vast increase in Federal spending and their sizable bureaucracy accelerate the rate of reduction of the numbers of those in the lowest income brackets. This question has become obscured in a paper blizzard of press releases from the White House and the Office of Economic Opportunity which provide some measurement of the effort of the administration but yield little information about the results.

The public is told how many communities there are in which Federal antipoverty programs have been started, how many Job Corps camps have been established, how many VISTA workers have been recruited, but it is not told how many poor people have increased their income, and by what amounts, because of participation in the antipoverty program. It is not even told the names of the disadvantaged youths who were given summer employment by the Post Office Department.

It is too early to pass final judgment on the effectiveness of the antipoverty program. The evidence available at present makes it appear that the program has not yet proved itself.

(By Representative GERALD R. FORD, September 30, 1965)

There are several glaring weaknesses in the antipoverty program.

The administration of the program is chaotic. It is headed by a part-time Director and a top staff of temporary personnel who simultaneously decided to desert as the first skirmishes of the war on poverty were hardly underway. The office of Economic Opportunity is top heavy with high salaried executives. In this agency, one out of every 18 employees receives a salary in excess of $19,000. In the Defense Department, by contrast, one of 1,000 employees is paid more than $19,000.

The program as administered treats elected State and local officials with cavalier disdain. Though Republican protest in the Congress salvaged some semblance of influence in the operation of the program for State Governors, neither State nor local officials have an effective voice in the program today. This weakening of the Federal system, on top of other centralizing programs of the current administration, is a dangerous trend.

Disregard of State and local governments and their elected officials has made the term "war" an apt title for the poverty program. In too many places it has become a war waged by local officials and competing private groups with each other for control of Federal funds and for partisan and personal advantage. The poor are treated as the spoils in this conflict. They do not participate in decisions on what is to be done for them or to them.

Enough evidence has come to light to raise serious doubts about the Job Corps program. Instances of criminal and immoral behavior suggest inadequate selection processes for trainees and a breakdown of discipline. There is a serious question, too, as to whether the training consists too much of work that keeps youth off the streets but does not nurture skills needed in the job market.

The poverty program needs basic reform and a tightening of administrative practices. Whatever benefits that can be realized from this program can be attained less wastefully by clearer definition of objectives, by more careful structuring of programs, by cooperation with State and local governments, and by elimination of considerations of partisan political advantage.

REAPPORTIONMENT

(By Senator DIRKSEN, July 22, 1965)

A strange thing happened to the proposed constitutional amendment on apportionment of State legislatures on its way to the Senate floor. Disputes over the wording of the amendment have recently arisen and produced a deadlock in the Senate Judiciary Committee.

I am confident that the Senate will in time act favorably on an amendment. Recent discussion shows the need for clarification of the effect of the proposal.

There is universal recognition of the need for reform of the system or representation obtaining in most States at the time of several well-known Supreme Court decisions. In fact, in 1955 a presidential commission reported to President Eisenhower that the strengthening of State governments called for adequate representation of the interest of urban areas in State legislative bodies. I welcome the reforms now underway in many States in the belief that they provide more equitable representation and help to invigorate State governments. I do not, on the other hand, conclude that mechanical adherence to the "one man, one vote" principle should be imposed on both branches of the legislature of every State by Federal fiat regardless of the desires of the people. Everyone concedes that it is appropriate to require that representation in one house of the legislature of each State be based solely on the factor of population.

The proposed amendment does no more than permit the people of each State to employ factors other than population as the basis of representation in the other house if by periodic referendum a majority of the people in any State so desire.

It would not deny any minority group the opportunity to gain representation. Presumably any system of representation contrived to discriminate against any group would be struck down by the courts as a violation of the 14th amendment.

Experience shows that the "one man, one vote" principle can be used to euchre minorities out of seats in legislative bodies. This can be accomplished by submerging minorities in large constituencies with at-large elections, as has been done in the State of Virginia to render less likely the election of members of minority groups to the State legislature. It can be accomplished by drawing district lines so as to spread the minority population thinly over a number of districts.

The issue which the proposed amendment presents is this: Shall we allow the people to make the decision about the basis of representation in one house of their State legislature, or shall we impose a decision on them whether they want it or not? We propose to meet this issue and fight every step of the way to preserve our Federal-State system and the historic right of the people of the several States to determine the composition of one branch of their own legislature according to their desires.

REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE

(By Senator DIRKSEN, January 11, 1965)

When defeat comes to a major political party in this country invariably there are outcries for revolutionary changes in party structure, party leadership and party policies. The Republican defeat of 1964 has produced these manifestations of uncertainty, unrest and uneasiness. Many suggestions, both formal and informal, for action pour from numerous sources.

We, the members of the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership, are fully cognizant of the situation. There is no doubt in our minds that action is indicated and we are taking it. In our conversations since the November defeat we have discussed, among ourselves and with other recognized party leaders, numerous paths that might be followed. Always, certain basic facts have emerged:

First, that the only elected Republican officials of the Federal Establishment are the 32 Republican Members of the United States Senate and the 140 Members of the House of Representatives. Obviously and beyond dispute, they will guide Republican Party policy at the national level, in the absence of a Republican President and Vice President, by the record they write in the Congress. It is their responsibility.

Second, that an additional repository of advice and counsel on party policy exists in former Presidents and nominees for President, in our present elected Governors, in the members of the Republican National Committee and the State chairmen of our several States, and of course, in active Republican advocates at all other levels of the party structure. Their wisdom must be channeled into party policy formulation.

In the conviction that the Republican Party for a century has been and is an essential element in this nation's forward progress, and with the firm belief that all Republicans must join the effort, we, the members of the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership, have on this day initiated a proposed mechanism to achieve a broad consensus on vital objectives for our country and our Party. It is an honor to introduce my colleague, the new Republican Leader of the House, JERRY FORD, to provide the details of the proposal.

(By Representative GERALD R. FORD, January 11, 1965)

We propose to give the Republican Party a unified leadership. We are inviting the five living Republican nominees for President—one of whom, Dwight D. Eisenhower, served two terms in that office—and representatives of the Republican Governors Association to join with us in the establishment of a Republican Coordinating Committee to continuously examine party policy and party operations.

We have asked the Presiding Officer of the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadearship, the Republican National Chairman, Mr. Dean Burch, to serve as Presiding and Administrative Officer of the new Republican Coordinating Committee, and through the Republican National Committee to provide such staff assistance and funds as may be necessary. As Mr. Burch, himself, suggested, we regard this role an implicit responsibility for him or whoever may occupy his office in the future.

It will be the function of the Republican Coordinating Committee, composed of the eleven members of the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership, the five living Republican nominees for President, and five representatives of the Republican Governors Association to facilitate the broadest party representation and the establishment of task forces for the study and examination of major national problems and issues.

For the Joint Leadership, I have been asked to add these two pertinent points: First, the Republican National Chairman has been requested to immediately invite the other participants to join us in forming the Republican Coordinating Committee. Second, we are convinced that the Republican Party is not only a great force in the American way of life, but it is the only living political instrument which can make the American Dream a reality, not a mere collection of words and promises. Our only goal is results and we intend to achieve them.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON GOP COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Question. Does the establishment of the Republican Coordinating Committee mean that the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership is surrendering its role as a policymaking body?

Answer. No, policy formulation, when the Party does not occupy the White House, still resides in Republican members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives and their elected leaders, but the Coordinating Committee will provide a communications center for the exchange of ideas on policy with other important party leaders and elected officials; also the establishment of task forces will be an implementing feature.

Question. Who will appoint the task forces?

Answer. The Republican National Chairman as the Presiding Officer of the Coordinating Committee will appoint the task forces with the advice of the Joint Leadership and, when appropriate, in consultation with the former Presidential nominees and

representatives of the Governors Association. In all cases the Presiding Officer will circulate his lists of task force appointees in advance to all the participating members of the Coordinating Committee.

Question. Who will direct the staff operation which will assist both the Coordinating Committee and the task forces?

Answer. The Presiding Officer will designate a Staff Coordinator, presumably from the staff of the Republican National Committee. It will be the Staff Coordinator's responsibility to assemble volunteer research help from the sources indicated on the chart.

Question. What about representation on the task forces for organized groups representing agriculture, labor, veterans, etc., etc.?

Answer. It is the hope of the Coordinating Committee the task forces will have help from all the major organizations in our society and such help will be sought.

Question. How often will the Coordinating Committee meet and when will the first meeting be?

Answer. The date of the first meeting will be fixed to suit the convenience of the maximum number of the Committee's members. This will be explored by the Presiding Officer. The continuity of Committee meetings will be established at the first session.

Question. How will the Coordinating Committee be financed?

Answer. By the Republican National Committee.

Question. Has this type of committee ever been set up before?

Answer. As near as can be determined neither major political party has ever attempted to establish a coordinating body such as the Republican Coordinating Committee. It is an innovation.

TAFT-HARTLEY 14(b)

(By Representative GERALD R. FORD, July 22, 1965)

Next week the Members of the House of Representatives will demonstrate by their votes whether they are members of an independent branch of government or simply yes men responding blindly to the manipulation of the executive branch.

The issue which the House will face is fair consideration of the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act—a section which simply preserves to each State some right to regulate labor-management relations.

An attempt will be made as a part of President Johnson's program to force repeal of section 14(b) through the House under the most stringent of gag rules. I anticipate a proposal that the House act on this important change of policy with only 2 hours of debate and that no opportunity be given to offer meaningful amendments.

If the House is not to sacrifice its self-respect, it will vote down the proposal that it shut its mouth, plug its ears, close its eyes, and swallow the Johnson administration's prescription without adequate debate and without opportunity to vote on important amendments.

The action expected next week is the latest manifestation of a disturbing tendency to avoid discussion of the subject of the repeal of section 14(b) on its merits. The administration has engaged in a cynical type of logrolling on the subject. It has sought to convince city Congressmen to vote for a bread tax against their convictions in order to get repeal of section 14(b) and farm Congressmen to vote for repeal of 14(b) against their convictions in order to get a farm bill.

If the coalition which the administration is ruthlessly trying to put together is successful, how can Congress be considered to act as an independent branch of government?

(By Senator DIRKSEN, September 9, 1965)

If the President insists on Senate consideration of the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act this year, the present session of Congress will end not with a bang in the fall but with a whimper when the snow falls. Section 14(b) is the provision affirming the right of the States to forbid compulsory unionism.

The Senate will not act speedily on this issue so basic to Federal-States relations. Several Senators have promised extended discussion of the subject, and clearly the votes for cloture will not be forthcoming.

The Congress has done enough for 1965. There is no emergency, no crisis that requires immediate alteration of a law for which the President once voted and which he never sought to amend in the course of his 12 years of service in the Senate.

Undoubtedly there is room for many improvements in labor's relations with management and management's relations with labor. If the repeal of section 14(b) is taken up, it is clear that Members of the Senate cannot be persuaded to refrain from offering numerous and far-reaching changes in labor-management legislation. It would be far wiser for the Senate to turn to the task of overhauling such laws next year after a respite from the hectic pace of the present session and after consulting the folks back home than to attempt to ram through a single highly controversial change this year.

There are dangers in the indiscriminate use of presidential power to compel action from a reluctant Congress—particularly when the President showed little interest in the legislation until relatively late in the session.

UNEMPLOYMENT

(By Representative GERALD R. FORD, August 5, 1965)

It is now more than 4 years since the Council on Economic Advisers set an unemployment level of 4 percent as the "interim goal" of the administration. It is now more than 3 years since HUBERT HUMPHREY declared, "I predict that by the end of the coming calendar year—by December 31, 1962, the problem of unemployment in the United States will be a page in the history book. * * *" The year 1962 is long gone. It has been a long interim, and the achievement of the goal is not yet in sight. The unemployment rate has been stuck around the 5 percent level since early in 1964.

In the four years since 1960 employment in agriculture has declined by 1 million jobs, or 17 percent. This is more than double the rate of decrease in farm jobs under the previous administration.

In spite of the economic upsurge which the Nation has experienced, unemployment remains an unsolved problem. Unlike past periods of upswing in economic activity, the current prosperity has not brought with it an automatic reduction of the ranks of the jobless to tolerable levels.

The problem of unemployment is particularly a problem of the young. The rate of joblessness among teenagers hovered between 15 and 17 percent before schools closed for the summer—a rate more than three times as high as that for the total working force.

Employment of youth promises to be a more difficult problem within the next few years because of substantial increases in the number entering the labor force. In 1964, 2,700,000 Americans reached their 18th birthday. This year 3,700,000 will reach the age of 18, and on through the 1970's approximately 4 million will attain this age each year.

Spending programs by the score have been offered as panaceas for unemployment. They have not attained the administration's stated goal.

We see here a repetition of lessons which should have been learned decades ago. A "Niagara" of Federal spending—a host of Federal programs—has never been provided a real solution to the problem of unemployment.

The administration stands indicted by its obvious failure in dealing with this critical problem.

UNITED NATIONS

(By Senator DIRKSEN, June 24, 1965)

It is now clear that the United States has lost its fight to keep article 19 of the United Nations Charter alive. The fight was waged with neither skill nor vigor.

No sophistry can mask the fact that the United Nations has been weakened and that the present administration has suffered a serious defeat.

Article 19 prescribes the penalty of loss of voting rights in the General Assembly for any member nation in arrears by 2 years or more in the payment of its contributions to the United Nations.

A decision of the World Court in 1962, ratified overwhelmingly by the General Assembly, removed any doubt that the Soviet Union and some other nations are now subject to the penalty of article 19.

The administration at first loudly announced its intention to insist on the application of article 19. It even threatened to withhold its contributions for some U.N. activities if the Soviet Union failed to pay up.

Because of the issue raised by article 19, the last session of the General Assembly was a tragic farce with no voting at all until February 18. In effect, the delinquent members of the United Nations deprived the nations that had lived up to their obligations (including the United States) of their right to vote.

On February 18, a vote was taken. The acquiescence of the representative of the United States in that action constituted an abandonment of the position which he had taken until that time. On that day the position of the administration was exposed as a bluff, and a staggering blow was dealt to the structure of United Nations.

We regret the backdown of last February. Further action to make article 19 a dead letter will further weaken the United Nations.

Until the nations that are in arrears in their payments to the United Nations manifest interest in preserving the international organization by moving to make up their deficit, the United States should make no voluntary additional contribution. Once this Nation embarks on a policy of paying the debts of other countries to the United Nations, there will be no end to the process. It will help neither the world organization nor the cause of peace.

(By Representative GERALD R. FORD, June 24, 1965)

We salute the United Nations with a mixture of satisfaction and apprehension on the occasion of its 20th anniversary.

Republicans (notably the late Senator Arthur Vandenberg) helped to bring this organization into being. They have loyally supported its every effort to attain the noble goals set forth in its charter.

There is some encouragement in its accomplishments in keeping the peace in certain troubled areas and there is reason for satisfaction in its social, economic, and humanitarian activities.

Yet the United Nations today is in difficult straits. It is bankrupt. It has been used as nothing more than a propaganda forum by many nations. It has violated its charter. The General Assembly was unable to take a vote on any substantive issue in its last session.

The survival of the organization as an effective agency is in doubt.

To save it, the United States and its other leading members must move to deal with its problems instead of permitting them to fester and grow.

One problem is posed by the separation of power and responsibility. A two-thirds majority of the 114 members of the General As-

sembly can be put together by nations representing 10 percent of the population of U.N. members and 5 percent of the contributions to the U.N. budget. Clearly, these small states cannot enforce big decisions, and situations can easily arise in which big states will be unwilling to follow the orders of smaller members.

Another problem is the relationship of the United Nations to regional organizations such as the Organization of American States. In the Dominican Republic representatives of the U.N. have in fact worked at cross purposes with the representatives of the inter-American organization.

Finally, there is the problem of finance. For more than 3 years, the U.N. has teetered on the brink of bankruptcy. At present it is $108 million in the red.

The problems are formidable. Solving them calls for determined action on the part of the administration.

VIETNAM

(By the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership, February 17, 1965)

It is undoubtedly difficult for the Communist capitals of Moscow, Peiping, and Hanoi—where disagreement is not tolerated—to understand that because Americans may differ on means to assure the complete independence of South Vietnam, there is no difference among us on the objective.

We, the members of the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership, want to make it clear we support President Johnson's recent order for strikes against Communist supply bases in North Vietnam. If we have any difference with the President in this respect, it is the belief these measures might have been used more frequently since the Bay of Tonkin decision last August and an even stronger policy formulated in the meantime.

These Communist-proclaimed "wars of liberation" are nothing more than a verbal cover for naked aggression. The Communists unmask this aggression when they "stage" mob demonstrations against American embassies as free world resistance to their terrorist tactics in an independent nation is stepped up.

We suggest that so long as there is Communist-promoted infiltration of South Vietnam in violation of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva agreements, there can be no negotiations on the Vietnamese question, and we urge the President to make this unmistakably clear to the world. Agreements can only fail when the Communists negotiate only for domination and we negotiate only for peace.

(By Senator DIRKSEN, June 18, 1965)

To date, the Republicans in the Congress have publicly supported the administration's policy toward South Vietnam in the belief that it was in harmony with that enunciated by the Congress in joint resolution.

That objective, as defined last August, was "assisting the peoples of southeast Asia to protect their freedom."

Now doubt is raised about this objective by recent remarks of the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. In a speech, timed so as to make it appear that it had Presidential approval, Senator FULBRIGHT and some other Democrats may wish to redefine the objective for which American troops are being committed to conflict in South Vietnam in ever-increasing numbers.

The Senator calls for a "negotiated settlement involving major concessions by both sides."

Any who talk of concessions by the United States have an obligation to specify the kinds of concessions which they are prepared to advocate. They have an obligation, too, to indicate the limits beyond which concessions cannot be made.

Senator FULBRIGHT suggests the Geneva Agreements of 1954 "in all their specifications" as a basis for settling the conflict in South Vietnam. But this agreement, as Secretary Rusk acknowledged in 1962, contained a fatal flaw in providing veto power to the Communist member of the international commission established to supervise the execution of the terms of the Geneva settlement.

This mistake must be avoided in any future peace settlement. So must the mistake of establishing a coalition government with Communist participation for South Vietnam. Bitter experience should have taught us that such a coalition merely defers a Communist takeover.

To conclude an agreement with such provisions would violate the President's promise of April 7, 1965: "We will not withdraw under the cloak of a meaningless agreement."

We hope for negotiations among representatives of responsible sovereign governments which will both end the fighting in South Vietnam and preserve the independence of that nation. The United States cannot, without violating its word, settle for less. The meaningless Laotian settlement of 1962 should be a lesson to us at this time.

(By Representative GERALD R. FORD, June 18, 1965)

Of all the things that Senator FULBRIGHT has had to say, none was more revealing than his criticism of the Eisenhower administration for "encouraging" the South Vietnamese Government to refuse to permit the holding of a nationwide election in Vietnam in 1956.

The refusal was amply justified if only because the kind of election envisaged by the Geneva Agreement of 1954—a free election—could not have been held. Anyone who thinks that a free election was possible in Communist North Vietnam knows little of how Communists operate and could have fallen into a Moscow-Peiping trap.

The criticism boils down to a complaint that the U.S. Government failed to exert pressure on the South Vietnamese to surrender to the Communists 9 years ago.

Such was not the policy then—and veiled suggestions that it be the policy today should be emphatically repudiated.

The United States could not agree today—any more than in 1956—to legimatizing Communist control of all of Vietnam by the device of a Communist-style election.

The Eisenhower administration labored to build out of the choas in South Vietnam a durable economy, a progressive social order, and military strength.

That it achieved a considerable measure of success was attested to by several of Senator FULBRIGHT's colleagues.

In February of 1960, Senator MANSFIELD's subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported:

"By any measure, Vietnam has made great progress under President Ngo Dinh Diem in the improvement of internal security, in the creation of the forms and institutions of popularly responsible government where before few existed, and in the advancement of the welfare of the people of Vietnam."

Finally, a major policy paper, issued by the State Department in December 1961, stated flatly that—

"The years 1956 to 1960 produced something close to an economic miracle in South Vietnam * * *. It is a report of progress over a few brief years equaled by few young countries."

Any attempt to equate overall conditions, including the U.S. military commitment, in South Vietnam in 1960 with conditions there today is a crude distortion of history.

(By Representative GERALD R. FORD, July 15, 1965)

Today the President is being called on to make fateful decisions. His efforts to end the fighting in Vietnam by negotiation have been spurned. President Johnson has now decided to increase substantially the commitment of American ground forces in the theater of conflict.

As the military commitment grows, the Nation must be clear about its objectives, its responsibilities, and the consequences in Vietnam. This objective can only be the establishment of conditions under which the people of South Vietnam can live in peace, freedom, and security.

The objective can be attained only when aggression from within or without is brought to a halt.

The establishment of a coalition government with Communist participation in control of South Vietnam is incompatible with this objective.

Evacuation of American troops under an agreement to be policed by a commission including a Communist member with veto power over commission decisions would be incompatible with this objective.

The desire of the Government and the people of the United States to negotiate a peace in Vietnam has been established beyond question. But a peace which would turn South Vietnam over to the Communists—immediately or after some interval—must be forthrightly rejected.

Any doubts as to the resoluteness of the United States in the pursuit of the objective of maintaining the freedom and independence of South Vietnam that has arisen is due to unfortunate statements of some Democrats.

Although we do not quarrel with the President in his invitation to the aggressors to negotiate without any preconditions, we doubt the wisdom of failing to make it clear that the United States is not going to agree to the kind of treaty and truce provisions that have made possible Communist takeovers in the past.

President Johnson has said that the United States will not withdraw from Vietnam under a meaningless agreement. We suggest that the President assure the Nation that no agreement will be made which will make a mockery of the sacrifices already suffered by our American fighting men and the soldiers of South Vietnam.

Winners Call the Shots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, now that the 1st session of the 89th Congress has adjourned, everyone will have a chance to review and evaluate the actions of the Congress and the voting records of the individual Congressmen. As the Congressmen return to their districts and meet with constituents, I feel it would be a good idea to keep in mind the sentiments expressed in an editorial which appeared in the Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Gazette, "Winners Call the Shots."

The editorial follows:

WINNERS CALL THE SHOTS

The Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA), a political-action group that presumes to rate Congressmen from the conservative viewpoint as the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) presumes to rate them from the liberal viewpoint, clobbered Iowa's five freshman Representatives this week for having "deplorable rubberstamp voting records of which * * * the people of Iowa should be made aware." It found

them guilty of from 92 to 100 percent support of 12 selected Great Society measures during the session just ending.

"A rubberstamp Congress is one which votes for or against legislation exactly as the President wishes, without regard for the people back home," says an ACA release. "Rubberstamp Congressmen such as BANDSTRA, CULVER, GREIGG, HANSEN, and SCHMIDHAUSER are the greatest threat to liberty in our country. A Congress which is no more than a puppet in the hands of the President is a subversion of the traditional system of checks and balances provided for by our Constitution. A rubberstamp Congress, such as the one we have now, is the surest and swiftest road towards the destruction of our Federal Republic."

Oh, pooh. We pass over the fact that some of the bills these freshman Democrats rubberstamped were bills, like the excise tax cut and the Voting Rights Act, which many Republicans, and possibly even the ACA, favored. And we didn't like the way they voted on some of the other selected bills, notably the 14(b) repealer, any better than the ACA does.

But we get a bit impatient with the tendency to condemn Congressmen for not voting as their unsuccessful rivals for the jobs might have voted if they had been elected. This is what politics in a two-party country is all about. If your side wins, it calls the shots; if the other side wins, it calls the shots. The way to enjoy that game is to so plan your approach to the voters that your side has a reasonably good chance of winning.

Mr. Johnson Is in Stitches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, again the columnist, Arthur Hoppe, has focused his attention on one of the most unusual Presidential judicial nominations in this generation. His column, published in the San Francisco Chronicle, follows:

MR. JOHNSON IS IN STITCHES

(By Arthur Hoppe)

"That was a mighty fine victory the unified Democratic Party won on appointing Judge Morrissey," said the Kindly Old Philosopher, puffing on his briar. "It kind of tugged at my kindly old heartstrings."

But they lost, I said. Despite the splendid efforts of Senators TEDDY and BOBBY KENNEDY to get their dad's old pal appointed to the Federal bench, in the end they had to yield.

"They ain't the unified Democratic Party," snapped the Kindly Old Philosopher in his kindly fashion. "Mr. Johnson is."

But he sent the nomination to the Senate. He was behind the noble Kennedy lads all the way.

"That he was," said the Kindly Old Philosopher, nodding. "At a seemly distance. I reckon I better fill you in.

"Now first you got to have a little sympathy for Mr. Johnson. He loved his predecessor, but folks keep comparing. It's like being a second wife. 'That's a mighty solid cake, honey,' says the husband. 'But it ain't frosted in the same style as poor old Martha used to do it.' That tends to get a mite wearying.

"Then you got to know about the deep understanding between the President and BOBBY. 'I'll never turn my back on my friend BOBBY,' says the President. And he don't trust TEDDY much, either.

"So anyway, in comes TEDDY, hat in hand. 'Mr. President,' says TEDDY, gulping. 'I wish to ask a favor because of our mutual friendship, our common trust, and because my father told me to. Dad and BOBBY and I would be much obliged if you'd kindly appoint the Honorable Francis X. Morrissey to the august Federal bench in Boston. Despite his record."

" 'Look h'yar, TEDDY,' says Mr. Johnson. 'I wouldn't * * *. Record? What's wrong with his record?'

" 'Well,' says TEDDY, kind of scuffling his feet, 'seems like he went to some fly-by-night law school in Georgia.'

" 'Fly-by-night?' says Mr. Johnson, tapping his fingertips together. 'Do go on.'

" 'And he put in 12 years in Boston ward politics.'

" 'Ward politics? My, my, tell me more.'

" 'And there may be some charges of shady characters in his past. But BOBBY and I will fight to the last in the Senate and in the press for our old man's man. No matter what it costs us.'

" 'TEDDY,' says Mr. Johnson, 'you got an ideal candidate. I cannot deprive you of this battle. I will appoint him. I will fight at your side. At least I would if I wasn't going to the hospital the day the fighting starts. But I want you to know that when I'm in pain, I'll think of you and BOBBY, out there laying your futures on the line for this Mr. Morrissey. And, TEDDY, I know it's going to make me feel a sight better.' "

Nonsense, I said. I bet Mr. Johnson was taking the defeat heavily. Just watch, I said, he'll keep his word and submit Mr. Morrissey's nomination to the Senate again next year.

"Why, that," said the Kindly Old Philosopher, "would be the meanest, most lowdown, dirtiest trick he could play on them poor Kennedy boys. Of course he will."

David G. Nagle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, last week memorial exercises were held in the Superior Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Boston, Mass., in honor and memory of the late David G. Nagle, who served for years with great distinction as associate justice, the superior court, being the great trial court of Massachusetts.

The late Justice Nagle, a dear and valued friend of mine, for years rendered dedicated service in the legislative and judicial branches of government. His service as a judge covered a period from 1936 until his death in 1960. For over 11 years of this service, he served as associate justice of the superior court.

During his years of service, Judge Nagle lived up to the high traditions of the Massachusetts judiciary, making his own contributions to the dignity and strength of the court.

In my remarks, I include an address made on that occasion by way of telephone:

Your honors, Mr. Justice Hudson, and Mr. Justice Murray; Father Nagle; Mr. Justice Kirk, and other members of the supreme judicial court; Chief Justice Tauro, and other members of the superior court; members of the Massachusetts Bar; clerks of the court, Edward Keating and Thomas Dorgan; Mrs. Nagle, and your loved ones, it is fitting and proper that we pay tribute to an outstanding representative of the judiciary who sat in these hallowed halls in judgment of his fellow man and in the interpretation and enforcement of the law. Certainly, those of us who knew our beloved friend, Judge Dave Nagle best, miss him the most. We feel his loss because we knew that underneath that quiet and humble facade, was a man whose courage was unquestioned, whose understanding and intellectual capacity were superior to most, and whose love for his family and his friends was unsurpassed.

The following quotation of Platus is most appropriate this day:

"He whom the Gods favor dies young
While he is in his health
Has his senses and his judgment sound."

This year, in our new Boston, in our great commonwealth and in this magnificent country of the United States, we should give pause to reflect as we look at the law, those privileged to administer justice and our status as citizens in our great land. The law has given us new horizons. The rights of man in our land have been greatly expanded. As lawyers and those interested in the law, we must acknowledge that our Government has in this day made it possible for each of our citizens to receive the benefits of a dynamic society. We have, in fact, opened new horizons because we have applied the principles of law and the judicial process to the needs of upgrading our society. Our great President, the Congress, and the courts, working together as equal partners of the finest Government in the world, have wrought benefits for all our citizens. We are all working together for the improvement of our educational system, the elimination of slums, the reduction of crime, the extension of voting rights, assistance to the poor and needy, and comfort to our aged.

The grave responsibility which rests on the shoulders of the judges, the lawyers, the legislators, is known to the majority of our citizens. Certainly, most of our citizens should recognize that the magnificent achievements we see today in our Nation have resulted because this Government of ours and those who govern have, by legislation and by the interpretation and application of constitutional principles, set in motion a new era. It can safely be said that nowhere else in the world is it possible for a citizen to express himself so freely without fear of reprisal by his Government. Why is this so? To a great extent it is because of the courage and independence of our courts and those who serve as justices, many of whom I recognize, are serving at great sacrifice to themselves and their families.

It was the Supreme Court of the United States that led the way in the landmark case in *Brown* v. *Board of Education*. It was our courts, by insisting on the right to picket, to protest peaceably and to demonstrate that enabled the movement for racial equality to achieve its strength.

The Supreme Court and the Federal and State courts, have been in the forefront of this new era because they have protected the rights of all our citizens. The courts are playing a leading part on the judicial level in the fight to protect the underprivileged. Our courts have insisted on the due process of law, have insisted on fair trials and have insisted on the right to counsel.

Our beloved Government has enabled us to move forward because of the rule of law. Our citizens must recognize the rule of law for what it is—is something to be cherished and obeyed. For it is not morally justifiable to break the law openly and notoriously.

even if we feel that any law is not correct. The courts and those of us who are elected officials must not be reluctant to meet lawlessness quickly and firmly. For "where law ceases, tyranny starts." Or on the American scene, in the historical utterance of Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty, or give me death."

We cannot maintain our society in the face of wanton public disregard for law and order. I am sure the sober-thinking citizens of our Nation recognize this, and our courts will continue to lead the way in protecting the rights of all our citizens regardless of their race, creed or color.

We have an obligation as citizens to support our Government, and our elected officials and our courts. Certainly, while our youth and the best in our Nation are giving their lives for the defense of democracy in Vietnam, we owe it to them to aid in every way, and not confuse and deprecate their efforts. Our national conscience should require us to do no less. Our debt and our obligation to our fighting men in all our armed services has never been greater than it is today.

We are at the beginning, not at the end, of a great era. We are striving to uplift our poor and underprivileged. We are striving to wipe out misery. We need to do much more if we are to attain these goals.

We can take pride in our democracy. We can take pride because it is a moving force for good in the world. We can take pride because we recognize the moral and spiritual values which govern our actions. We can take pride because our judges administer the law without fear or discrimination or prejudice. We can take pride because we are recognizing the fact that our police forces should be trained and equipped to prevent crime and apprehend lawbreakers. We in Government have great responsibilities, challenges undreamed of decades ago. It is how we meet these challenges when the history of our day is written which will determine whether our efforts have been worthwhile.

It is well we pause to pay tribute to the life and memory of our late friend, Judge David G. Nagle.

Honorable and trustworthy, Judge Nagle led a dedicated life in the service of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and whose nobility of character was an inspiration for all others to follow.

Judge Nagle did much to serve his fellowman; we should do no less.

Huxley's words were never more appropriate:

Be not afraid, ye waiting hearts that weep,
For God still giveth his beloved sleep,
And if an endless sleep he wills, so be it.

The Strange Bird on the Campus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the demonstrations and marches against our country's policy in Vietnam are despicable and downright disgusting. Our position in Vietnam has had the support of the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations, and it has the approval of the overwhelming majority of the American people.

There is no evidence that the views held by these demonstrators represent anything more than a protest initiated by the lunatic fringe of the left. Some of these are natural-born pacifists and dissenters; some are Communist fellow travelers and sympathizers who have always taken a position for communism and against the best interests of the free world; some are just misguided and are being used as dupes.

I am a firm believer in the right of free speech the right of assembly and petition as guaranteed by the Constitution. I am just as firm a believer in obedience to the law. Those who destroy their draft cards and those who show a flagrant disregard for law and order should be prosecuted and punished.

We have concrete evidence that these demonstrations are being interpreted advantageously in both North Vietnam and Communist China as a great loss of support by the American people for our Vietnam policy. A North Vietnamese Communist Party newspaper carried a picture of a young American burning his draft card. It has been reported that Liberation Radio, a secret transmitter operated by the Vietcong, announced that the Reds are "profoundly thankful" for the demonstrations in the United States.

Our country has consistently urged negotiation to end the Vietnam war. If these demonstrators want to stop the bloodshed in Vietnam, has it occurred to them that they should urge the end of Communist infiltration and aggression? There should be no question as to who is responsible for the continued warfare in Vietnam.

A very clever, and highly appropriate, article has come to my attention which was written by a student at the State University of Buffalo. It was published in the Buffalo Evening News, Buffalo, N.Y., on October 23, 1965. I commend its reading to my colleagues.

The article follows:

THE STRANGE BIRD ON THE CAMPUS

(NOTE.—This article by a State University of Buffalo student is reprinted from the Spectrum, the UB newspaper. The News is publishing it because the editors believe it displays young adult maturity, a contrast to the immaturity that gets so much attention.)

(By Bob Milch)

One frigid morning several years ago, a most unusual egg was found at the door of the department of ecology.

It was a mealy thing, with a lily-white, badly misshapen shell that looked something like the head of a toadstool. One end of the shell had a small crack from which emanated a foul, putrefying odor most unlike anything smelled before in the department of ecology.

While their finer sensibilities revolted against it, their gentler natures and inquisitiveness prevailed, and the members of the department decided to incubate this freak to see what would develop. With gentleness and care they warmed and watched the egg; they even grew used to the sight, if not the smell, of the thing.

A year or so passed when, on another bitter night, strange rumblings began to come from the egg. It tumbled about in its incubator, rolling around and spewing its nauseating odor in a menacing, hissing sound. Then, there was a horrible scream of protest from within and, as if it could no longer contain its onerous burden, the shell gave way and presented * * *

Well, no one was sure exactly what it was. It looked like a bird, but it had a funny, furry growth on its lower beak most unlike any bird's; and it had the feet of a bird, but they were encased in leather-like straps with holes for the claws; its feathers were sterile white except for yellow tips, and swept up on each side to form a ridge down its back; its voice was most unbirdlike—an aggravated, protesting rasp like that of a prepubescent Tarzan.

And soon it was learned that the horrible smell that had come through the crack of the shell was not from decaying matter at all, but was the birds breath; the odor permeated everything, and once the bird breathed on an object, the noxious scent stayed for weeks.

But oddest of all was the fact that the bird had an oversized left wing, an ungainly appendage three or four times the size of the other.

Over the months the bird grew until it was too big and too smelly to be confined in any lab or office; so while they were reluctant to loose this thing on society, the bird had its right to freedom then, and the department members had their right to 24-hour protection.

The bird was given the run of the campus.

What a sight it was, this ugly thing with and unmanageable left wing and yellow stripe down its back flying in circles over the campus and wilting foliage with its breath.

It wasn't long before the news and the odor of the bird got around, and many people took notice of our left winged oddity; very well known lecturers came and saw it; moderately well-known literary scholars came and similied about a phonix; totally unknown sociologists came and took polls.

All the while the bird flew in circles, its voice of protest clearly audible through the clouds of sight-obscuring dust raised by its large left wing.

It flew all over the campus, once landing in the offices of the student newspaper (where it breathed on the editorial page), once landing in the cafeteria kitchen (where it breathed on the food, though no one took notice). It was having a high old time, just spinning and spewing.

And then one day the bird was gone. Where it went, why it went, no one knew.

Some of us were genuinely saddened to see the thing depart, for it had given us something to smile about; some of us were glad to see it go, for the annoyance of its breast-beating, left-winged flight, and its odor had at times been difficult to bear.

But despite the fact that the bird is gone, you can still see the effects of its stay. The next time you pass through Norton, notice the people handing out papers at the door, the fur on the lower face, the leather straps on the feet.

Take the piece of paper they give you and read what is on it, and if you read well you will see the large left wing and the yellow stripe; then, smell it.

John F. Kennedy Center Inaccuracies Corrected by the President of the Federation of Citizens Associations of the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I include as part of my remarks on the John

F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts the following items for the information of my colleagues:

RESOURCES RESEARCH, INC.,
Falls Church, Va., October 22, 1965.

Hon. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL,
Representative, State of New Jersey, House of Representatives, 2329 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. WIDNALL: As a resident of Maryland, living in the Washington metropolitan area, I must commend you for calling for a reexamination of the site for the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. Herewith I enclose a card which you have provided but I wish to comment further on my belief that it would be a serious mistake to locate the Center in Foggy Bottom as conditions in that area now exist.

Perhaps many others who have suggested the relocation have in mind the reason which I wish to point out, but feel that the statement for their opposition would be indelicate to bring up. You, no doubt, are aware of the sewer outfall into the Potomac at the end of G Street near the proposed site. In the summer months, the odor from this sewer outfall is sometimes almost overpowering. Resources Research, in 1958, undertook a sampling program of the extent and levels of pollution of the Potomac from Great Falls to below the entrance of the Aanacostia River for the District Helath Department. A technical appraisal of the study was made for Senator BIBLE'S Joint Subcommittee on Washington Metropolitan Problems by Dr. Gilbert V. Levin of our staff in 1958. Two staff reports were published as committee prints, "Sewage Disposal and Water Pollution in the Washington Metropolitan Area," March 1958 (23124) and "Water Supply and Sewage Disposal in the Washington Metropolitan Area," December 1958.

Some 13 million gallons daily of raw sewage flows into the Potomac at the foot of G Street as a result of the combined sewage system of the District. This system of combined sewers is responsible for the sewage discharge into Rock Creek which subsequently enters into the Potomac near the proposed site. The sewer gases escaping into the air from these effluents are responsible for the blackening of the gold equestrian statues which the Italian people gave to the United States. The statue upstream from the Memorial Bridge is exposed to such a fumigation from the sewer outfall that the U.S. Park Service maintenance people are unable to keep it polished even for the most important visitors to the United States.

It might be possible to scrub the ventilation air going into the building at an excessive cost but visitors to the Center in time of low water on the Potomac would experience a very objectionable odor outside of the buildings.

In time, we hope, of course, that the storm sewers and the sanitary sewers can be separated but this will cost perhaps $200 million to accomplish. I know that the President is extremely interested in cleaning up the Potomac but this will take place many years after the Kennedy Center is built.

Please call on me or my associates if we can be of further help in this important community problem.

Sincerely yours,
LOUIS C. MCCABE, Ph. D.,
President.

FEDERATION OF CITIZENS ASSOCIATIONS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
October 21, 1965.

Hon. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WIDNALL: The Federation is deeply concerned with the inaccurate chronology published, at the taxpayers expense, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of October 7, 1965, pages 25448–25449, as "The complete chronology of the official actions which resulted in selection of the site for the John F. Kennedy Center."

Even a cursory examination of this so-called complete chronology of the official actions shows that it is intended to mislead the unwary reader who may not have complete knowledge of actual events.

In an attempt to set the record straight I am enclosing comments on some of the inaccurate and misleading statements in the chronology for the information of Members of Congress in the belief that it will be of importance in later consideration of this project.

Sincerely yours,
JOHN R. IMMER,
President.

FEDERATION OF CITIZENS ASSOCIATIONS, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
October 21, 1965.

Setting the record straight—some comments on a few of the inaccurate statements circulated by the trustees of the Kennedy Center, and also those in the "Chronology of Site Location, John F. Kennedy Center," prepared by Ralph E. Becker, General Counsel of the Kennedy Arts Center, and published at the expense of the taxpayers in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of October 7, 1965, pages 25448 and 25449 as "The complete chronology of the official actions which resulted in selection of the site for the John F. Kennedy Center."

Statement: "January 31, 1957: Potomac River site recommended for multipurpose auditorium by District of Columbia Auditorium Commission."

Fact: The District of Columbia Auditorium Commission, under the distinguished direction of Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer, produced a remarkably clear and careful study. It recommended three sites, none of which is the Potomac River site of the John F. Kennedy Center. The site recommended by the District of Columbia Auditorium Commission which is nearest the site of the Kennedy Center would have located the combined auditorium and cultural center on high ground overlooking the Potomac River, and along two major avenues with regularly scheduled public transportation. The Commission's report, submitted to the Congress in 1957, had this to say about the considerations which should govern the choice of sites:

"Location: It should be central to business district, stores, hotels, restaurants, and residential areas.

"Accessibility: It should be convenient, both by automobile and by public transportation."

Statement: "The Potomac site is more accessible."

Fact: "Street traffic flow: Virginia and New Hampshire Avenue will be main traffic arteries carrying over 60 percent of all traffic into the Cultural Center from south, west, and downtown Washington. In the area surrounding the intersection of these two avenues, there will be a great volume of traffic. The problem of traffic jams on Virginia and New Hampshire Avenues is inevitable. (It will be necessary) to control capacity at overflow events. When this occurs, traffic will have to be diverted"—From report to Kennedy Center Trustees prepared by Meyers Brothers Parking System & Parking Plan, Inc.

Statement: "Rock Creek Potomac Parkway is being relocated about 20 feet from its present location and between the roadway and the river is a green park strip."

Fact: Representative HARRISON, of Wyoming: "Is it planned to move the parkway road farther toward the river?"

Mr. Horne, Associate Regional Director, National Park Service; "To within 20 feet of the present sea wall."

This exchange took place at the February 20, 1964, hearings, and it adds up to the fact that the Potomac riverside park at the site of the Kennedy Center will be eliminated, and that the so-called green park strip referred to by counsel is meaningless.

Statement: "The cost of the facilities, that is, without the substructure and the parking facilities, is estimated at $31 million."

Fact: The foregoing fiction has plagued Congress and the project since 1962. The so-called substructure includes the foundations and basement facilities which are integral and essential parts of the theaters above, including plumbing, heating facilities, stage machinery, storage facilities, etc. Thus the $31 million estimate is as deceptive as a similar estimate on a residence would be which ignored the foundations, the basement, utility facilities, and the recreation room. The real cost of the Kennedy Center, including the relocation of the roads and parkway has been repeatedly reported by the Evening Star to be $65 million.

The John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts is costing the taxpayers at least $27 million more than it should and it still does not satisfy the requirements of the authorizing legislation. An equivalent arts center for the University of Illinois is costing only $15 million. The excess costs of the Kennedy Center not originally authorized is detailed as follows:

	Thousands
Garage	$15,400
Subway station for Center	6,000
Soundproofing from jets and prop planes which cannot be more than 60 to 70 percent successful	1,000
Additional site	5,000
Total	27,000

There are sites on the Mall, and on Pennsylvania Avenue which are in Federal ownership, and would not cost the taxpayers one additional cent.

At the same time, Secretary of the Department of the Interior Stewart L. Udall estimated the land in the vicinity of the Kennedy Center at $1,720,000 an acre. Since the Kennedy Center has been allocated some 17 acres, the current price of this land raises the cost of the present site to an astronomical figure.

Statement of counsel: "There is every reason to believe that the National Capital Transportation Agency will locate the (subway) station as near the Center as feasible."

Fact: The present plan of the subway system was established by the Congress, and can only be changed by the Congress. Such a change will require an amendment to the present law, and an additional appropriation. The trustees of the Kennedy Center, while promising a subway station, have made no attempt to obtain such an amendment and the requisite appropriation from the Congress.

Statement of Board Chairman: "About a year ago, I raised the question of the possibility of jets using the National Airport."

Fact: A recent letter by the Federal Aviation Agency states:

"The Agency has expressed concern with respect to the impact of aircraft noise on the proposed Center. Former Administrator Najeeb E. Halaby made known his concern to Vice-President-elect HUBERT H. HUMPHREY in December 1964. He stated that we see no way of rerouting aircraft away from the location of the Center. The Potomac River must be used as an approach and departure path for aircraft operating into and out of Washington National Airport (WNA) because of runway alinement. In addition, he stated that the only way to prevent aircraft from flying in proximity to the Center would be to close WNA. Such a drastic move would have a serious effect on the public and would vitally reduce the overall usefulness of one of the Nation's most active

airports. He solicited Mr. HUMPHREY's support in suggesting that proper accoustical planning be taken into account from the inception of plans for constructing the Center.

"As a followup, Mr. Halaby further wrote to the Chairman of the Board of Trustees for the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts and highlighted the requirement for proper acoustical treatment."

Statement: "Theaters normally deaden an area rather than revitalize it."

Fact: Impartial and objective examination of the major theater and performing arts centers in all of the world's larger cities proves that this statement is far from the truth, and one has only to mention New York City, London, Paris, Rome, Berlin, Vienna, to show how far from the truth such a claim it.

Statement: "Contributions (have been) solicited on the basis of the Potomac River site."

Fact: Substantial donors have signed petitions asking that the Kennedy Center site be reexamined. The standard instruments covering gifts and pledges do not mention the site as a legal consideration. In addition, the statement is inconsistent with a resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the Kennedy Arts Center on October 14, 1965, which says, in part, that the officers of the Center shall continue operations on the present site "unless and until Congress by law shall change the location of the site."

Statement: "With the exception of one person, there has been no criticism."

Fact: Some of the oldest and closest friends of President Kennedy, President Eisenhower, and President Johnson, including Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, have said that the present site could well be reexamined at this time to the benefit of all of the citizens of our country.

A petition published in the Washington Post of October 15, 1965, listed 144 leading citizens including such distinguished Democrats as Mrs. Dean Acheson, Hon. and Mrs. Thurman Arnold, Mrs. Alfred Friendly, Mrs. W. John Kenney, Mrs. Phyllis Nitze, Mr. and Mrs. Jack Coopersmith, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., and Mrs. Cyrus Vance. This petition also listed the Right Reverend Paul Moore, Jr., suffragan bishop of the Episcopal Bishop of Washington with offices at the Washington Cathedral, who wrote that—

"I completely agree as to the urgency of making the John F. Kennedy Center available to all citizens of Washington and, particularly, to those who could not reach the Center by car or who could not pay the kind of prices necessary to make it self-supporting. Many of the people of our diocese are in that position. In view of the Government's increasing concern for the culturally deprived and, particularly, because of President Kennedy's own concern, it seems incredible that a cultural center would be of such a nature as to be unavailable to the culturally deprived."

The proposal for a study of other sites came not from a smattering of local architects but from the American Institute of Architects which includes nearly 18,000 members representing about 90 percent of the architectural firms of the country. The same position has been taken at various times by the American Society of Architects, the Architectural League of New York, the Committee of 100 on the Federal City, the Washington Building Congress, the Washington Planning and Housing Association, the Federation of Citizens Associations of the District of Columbia, the Washington Post, the New York Times, and many other groups and individuals.

Representative FRANK THOMPSON, Jr., Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, William Walton, and Representative ROBERT N. GIAIMO have also expressed themselves in the strongest terms, at one time or another during the years from 1958 up to and including 1964, as favoring a site away from the Potomac, including a site on the Mall, or on Pennsylvania Avenue. Representative FRANK THOMPSON, the principal author of the legislation, strongly backed a Mall site in 1958, as did Senator FULBRIGHT. As late as August 1963, Representative THOMPSON called for location of the National Cultural Center on Pennsylvania Avenue. This was while President John F. Kennedy was living and occupying the White House. He changed his mind after the death of President Kennedy.

The hearings on S. 3335, Senator FULBRIGHT's bill calling for the location of the National Cultural Center on the Mall, had the strongest kind of support from the following people as shown by the hearings before the Senate Public Works Committee on April 22 and 23, 1958:

George A. Garrett, president, Federal City Council; Hon. David E. Finley, chairman, Commission of Fine Arts; Mr. Edwin Hughes, executive secretary, National Music Council; Mrs. Merriweather Post; Mr. Patrick Hayes; Mr. Gerson Nordlinger, Jr., as vice president of the National Symphony Orchestra and chairman of the board of trustees of the Washington Ballet Guild.

Also, E. R. Finkenstaedt, president, Opera Society of Washington, and member of the board and of the executive committee of the National Symphony Orchestra Association; Rachel F. Skutch, for the 600,000-member National Federation of Music Clubs; the Reverend Gilbert V. Hartke, O.P. of the Catholic University of America; Milo F. Christiansen, superintendent, District of Columbia Recreation Department; Curt Schiffeler, president, National Opera Guild of Washington; Oscar Cox, trustee, Opera Society of Washington.

Also, Mrs. McCall Henderson Imes, State president, Federation of Women's Clubs of the District of Columbia; Miss Marie A. Hurley, national legislation chairman, National Federation of Music Clubs; Mr. Sam Jack Kaufman, president, District of Columbia Federation of Musicians; Mr. Ralph Black, manager, National Symphony Orchestra; Frank R. Jelleff, representative of the National Symphony Orchestra.

Also, Samuel Spencer, former member, Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia; Pierson Underwood, president, Greater Washington Music Council; Rear Adm. Neill Phillips, U.S. Navy, retired, chairman, American Planning and Civic Association; Mrs. R. I. C. Prout, president, General Federation of Women's Clubs; Robert Dowling, chairman, American National Theater and Academy.

Also, John S. Thacher, directors, trustees for Harvard University, the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection; Elizabeth Butler Howry; Eleanor Hale Wilson, national president, Mu Phi Epsilon, national music sorority; Edward C. Cole, president, American Educational Theater Association; Clarence Derwent, chairman, National Council on the Arts and Government; Hon. John B. Duncan, Recorder of Deeds, District of Columbia, now a member of the Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia.

Also, Duane H. Haskell, president, Music Teachers National Association; Mary Cardwell Dawson, president, National Negro Opera Co. Foundation; Germaine Krettek, director, Washington office, American Library Association, Leon Barzin, musician and composer.

Also, Mrs. C. O. Johnson, immediate past president, Minnesota Federation of Music Clubs; Annabel Morris Buchanan, National Federation of Music Clubs; Joseph E. Maddy, president, National Music Camp.

Also, Mrs. Harold N. Marsh; Andrew J. Biemiller, director, Department of Legislation, AFL–CIO; Mrs. Morris Cafritz; and Richard L. Coe.

THE FEDERATION OF CITIZENS ASSOCIATIONS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

RECOMMENDED MOTION BY THE CITY PLANNING AND ZONING COMMITTEE, OCTOBER 7, 1965

Whereas the project to construct the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts is at the point of initiating construction on a site located on the banks of the Potomac River in the so-called Watergate area;

Whereas many citizens of the District of Columbia who desire to support a cultural center project have grave doubts as to the wisdom of major aspects of the present plan for the Center including its location for the following reasons:

1. Access to the Center by those attending performances in the three (or possibly four) halls will be unsatisfactory with regard to parking, traffic flow, or location relative to the planned rapid transit system.

2. Estimated operating costs indicate that a subsidy will probably be necessary.

3. Local art groups such as the National Symphony, the Washington Opera Society, etc., may not be able to use the Center.

4. The location of the Center along the landing and takeoff path of aircraft from Washington National Airport may cause objectionable noise, particularly within a few years when jet aircraft will undoubtedly be operating from the airport; and

Whereas many changes have taken place since this location was originally agreed on including a major reduction in acreage for the Center, the approval of a plan for construction of a rapid transit system for the District of Columbia and the Washington metropolitan area and the establishment of the National Historical Site along Pennsylvania Avenue; and

Whereas the federation has previously taken the position that the Center should be located in another area than on the Potomac such as on Pennsylvania Avenue:

Now, therefore, the FCAWDC in regular meeting October 14, 1965, does hereby express its view that the grave doubts as to the wisdom of the present plans and particularly the location of the JFKCPA should be resolved before the project moves into the construction phase and for this purpose expresses its strong support for Senate Joint Resolution 109 sponsored by Senator MUNDT and similar measures sponsored by other Members of Congress requiring that immediate hearings be held taken into account all of the factors which have changed since the present plan on the Watergate site was approved for the purpose of determining if the project should proceed as presently planned or should be revised, and that copies of this resolution be sent to the trustees of the JFKCPA, the District of Columbia Commissioners, NCPC, NCTA, FAC, and the appropriate committees of the House and Senate.

Approved by the federation October 14, 1965.

G. W. BRADY,
Chairman, City Planning and Zoning Committee.

MABEL E. MORRIS,
Mrs. Edward B. Morris,
Secretary.

The Terror of Bogalusa: A Case in Point

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES L. WELTNER

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Speaker, it is my firm conviction that the vast major-

ity of southerners, white and Negro alike, reject the Ku Klux Klan. Southerners are generally law-abiding citizens, and terror and violence are abhorrent to the southern character.

How, then, it might be asked, can the Klan exert such influence on some southern communities? How can the Klan place itself in seemingly a controlling position in some cities of the South?

Bogalusa, La., is a case in point.

Bogalusa, a city of 30,000 people, was for many years called the "magic city." Unfortunately, the Klan has stripped away most of the magic and cast over it a pall that will endure for some years to come.

Here is how it happened.

The Klan in that area was originally chartered as the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Its leaders were Charles Christmas, of Amite, La.; Saxon Farmer, an oil distributor; Albert Applewhite; Marvin Foster, who ran unsuccessfully for the police jury; James M. Ellis, an auto repairman; Ovied Dunaway, a telephone employee; W. H. Burke, a city electrician; Charles H. Lane, an insurance representative; Johnny Magee, a part-time preacher; Hulon Dunaway, a carpenter; Dewey Smith, retired; and Murphy R. Williams, Jr.

Following investigations by the Federal court in New Orleans, the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan recently changed its corporate name to the Anti-Communist Christian Association.

The Ku Klux Klan uses three basic techniques—secrecy, terror, and intimidation. It attempts to infiltrate legitimate functions of government. Again Bogalusa is a case in point.

The mayor of that city, whether willingly or not, became subject to the influence of the Klan. His next door neighbor, Dewey Smith, was a member of the Klan and in close contact with the mayor. W. H. Burke, the city electrician, was to report on all activities taking place at the city hall, and Marvin Foster served as the city's liaison man for the Klan. A salesman for the Red Bird Ice Cream Co., owned by Mayor Cutrer—Mike Moody—is a member of the Klan.

The prosecuting attorney for the city, Mr. Robert Rester, who is duty bound to prosecute whatever crimes are committed in Bogalusa, is a member of the Klan. O'Neil A. Jones, brother of City Judge A. J. Jones, is a Klansman. The mayor appointed to the Bogalusa Housing Authority a member of the Klan, Devon Varnado.

A member of the fire department, Myrle Carriere, is a member of the Klan. Melvin R. Lloyd, a Klansman, is a city policeman.

In addition to infiltration of law enforcement agencies, the Klan has membership among other officials. They are: Ray Branch and Tom Bush, members of the police jury—or county commission—Spot Honaker, former member of the Bogalusa School Board; J. D. Shows, former State representative and former president of a paper mill union; Russell Magee, schoolteacher in Washington Parish, is also a member of the Klan.

With membership in high places, the klan instituted a reign of terror, seeking completely to dominate the city of Bogalusa. By intimidation, coercion, and boycott, these men, then anonymous—were able to force many innocent people to do their bidding. They bragged about the boycott of one of the radio stations, and by terror tactics forced practically all its advertisers to cancel contracts. Having accomplished this, the Klan, by further threats of violence, tried to take over the Bogalusa News, the city's daily newspaper. Threats failing to accomplish this purpose, the Klan began a long siege of harassment—burning crosses on the owner's lawn, puncturing his automobile tires, and abusing him in unsigned letters and scurrilous circulars.

The mayor, following prolonged violence, asked President Johnson's help, and then became the Klan's bitter enemy. In an unsigned circular, the Klan demanded that Mayor Cutrer, Gov. John J. McKeithen, Senators RUSSELL and LONG, Representative Sheridan, Senator "Sixty" Rayburn, Congressman JIMMY MORRISON, and Sheriff Dorman Crowe be tarred and feathered.

The Klan's threats were singularly unsuccessful against the sheriff of the county, Dorman Crowe, because he proved to be a sincere law officer. His oath of office would not be broken by threats of violence by the Klan. Violence failed to spread beyond the city limits of Bogalusa largely because the Klan could not intimidate the sheriff.

The Klan campaign was also directed at the Crown-Zellerbach Corp., Bogalusa's major industry, in an attempt to prevent that company from complying with the civil rights law. Had it been successful, that company might have closed down, with chaos to the community's economy.

Some employees of the Louisiana Power & Light Co. and the Crown-Zellerbach Corp. are members of the Klan. Some who wanted to resign from the Klan at the onset of violence feared to do so because of possible Klan reprisals. They thus became unwilling captives of their own organization.

Was this terror inevitable? Had those elected and appointed officials of Bogalusa charged with the responsibility of law enforcement done their duty, this tragedy could have been avoided. With firm action at the outset, the klan would probably have been ineffective, and recognized only as a small band of misguided and maliciously irresponsible men. Yet, they were hidden, anonymous, unidentified.

Mr. Speaker, I now place in the RECORD the names of members of the Ku Klux Klan of Bogalusa, and the Anti-Communist Christian Association. These names are derived from Federal court records, as submitted pursuant to court order:

Charles H. Lane, Johnny Magee, Jim Ford, Virgil Corkern, Robert Fuller, Royal Young, Delos Williams, Hardie Goings, Sr., Houston P. Morris, Esley Freeman, Zeke Freeman, Hardie Goings, Jr., James Hollingsworth, Jr., Randle Pounds, J. D. Swenson, James Burke, Billy Alford, Sidney Warner, Rawlin Williamson, Billy Skipper, Eugene Farmer, Billy Crain of Pine, La., R. L. Stallings, Sidney Brock, Colin Warner, J. M. Fisher, James Hollingsworth, Sr., Harold E. Smith, Carl Williams, Devon Varnado, Arvis Warner, Ray Ritchie, Rayford Dunaway, Ovied Dunaway, Hulon Dunaway.

Dave Kindy, Jack James, Bill Simmons, Clayton Hines, J. D. Creel, Albert Crain, Bobby Anderson, Jewell Freeman, A. F. Hancock, Silas Thomas, Marvin Tynes, Steve Moody, Harold E. Smith, H. E. Morris, Leslie Spears, Wallace Kimble, Rivert Roe, Howard Branton, Murphy J. Williams, Herbert Adams, Ray Parson, Robert Roy Jones, Jack Holliman, J. W. Mixon, Danny Miller, Hollie Martin, Hoyt Boyd, Carl Williams, James E. Cothern, Lamar Moody, Lucius Bateman, R. C. Alford, Burnin Martin, Roy Self, Willmer Creel, Joseph L. Adams, Louis Newman, Jr., Alvin K. Spears, Thomas Ray Stewart, Ernie D. Knight, Lavaughn Rawls, Rustin E. Duncan, Jim Barber, L. B. Thompson, Doyle Mizell, Myrle Carriere, Hollie Thomas, Marshall Walker, Buddie Thomas, Elmo Seal, Joseph T. Wheat, N. E. Crain, Walter Reeves, Charles Tulles, Homer Sheridan, Robert Middleton, J. D. Brister, James L. Bests, Glen L. Lott, Edwin Welch, Paul E. Coone, Tommy Bateman, Frank Bedwell, D. A. Walker, Elton Thomas, M. L. Breland, Sidney Warner, Argel E. Carroll, Delkus Landrum, Eddie Lawrence.

W. J. Williams, Jessie Pierce, Kenneth Wilson, Vexter Rester, Edmond Crain, Glynn Reid, E. Jones, Chess Adams, N. H. Branch, Talmadge Seals, Malloy Jones, L. Brumfield, Sam Seals, S. E. Hartzog, Colen Warner, Dewitt Mizell, Albert J. Branton, A. J. Foil, Buster Ellis, Devon Varnado, Marvin Sandifer, C. D. Wheat, Frank R. Misita, Ray Wheat, C. L. Smith, K. C. Morris, W. W. Merritt, Robert Overstreet, E. D. May, Burkett Stringer, Zeke Freeman, Noel Ball, J. D. Tynes, Pearlie Wheat, Richard Seale, Glynn Monasco, Jimmie Goss, J. D. Miller, J. W. Landrum, William W. Nielsen, Marvin C. Paige, Marion E. Williams, Moellerce Knight, Roy Lindsey, Willis Adams, T. B. Sumrall, S. W. Hamilton, Loran M. Passman, Richard Tynes, Huston Jordan, Fenon Jenkins, Rudolph Jenkins, Fred H. Magee, Lavell Knight, Woodrow Hopgood, Sanford Slade, Gerald P. Laurence, R. M. Freeman, Walter Gunn, J. J. Hilton, John D. Bush, C. L. Lott, W. E. Hill, W. J. Mixon, Robert R. Adams, Arthur Applewhite, Frank. L. Jenkins, O. S. Day, Frank Boyington.

I place these before the public so the public may know with whom it deals. I firmly believe that full information, amply imparted to the public, will be an adequate remedy. Now, when a decent citizen receives a threatening telephone call, he has an idea who might be calling. When he finds the now familiar leaflet, "The KKK Is Watching You," in his mailbox, he will know who is watching. When he finds a sticker proclaiming "Your Neighbor Is a Klansman" he can now judge the truth of that matter.

In his first inaugural message, in the year 1801, Thomas Jefferson proclaimed a government characterized by "diffusion of knowledge, and the prompt arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason." It is my fervent hope that this presentment might help restore reason, honesty, and harmony to the community of Bogalusa, and that that city may soon recapture the magic destroyed by the Ku Klux Klan.

A Better Understanding of Conditions in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the remainder of Mr. Lucian C. Warren's report on conditions in West Germany. Mr. Warren, who is the Washington correspondent for the Buffalo Courier-Express, Buffalo, N.Y., was invited to spend 3 weeks in this country by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany. His uncensored observations are most interesting and informative, and I am pleased to have had the opportunity to insert them into the RECORD.

A special feature column, which appeared in the Buffalo Courier-Express on October 17, 1965, and part X, concluding Mr. Warren's report, follow:

GERMAN PEOPLE DEEPLY DEVOTED TO CULTURE—LAVISH OPERA PRODUCTIONS DRAW CAPACITY HOUSES

(By Lucian C. Warren)

HAMBURG, GERMANY.—In this port city commerce is a thriving enterprise, but culture is doing splendidly, too.

Hamburgische Staatsoper, or the Hamburg State Opera, is playing to standing-room-only houses, as this correspondent can testify. In a beautiful new opera house that even Metropolitan Opera Manager Rudolf Bing might envy and probably does, Hamburgische Staatsopher stages lavish productions of opera classics.

On one evening we saw Verdi's "La Forza del Destino" the Germans call it "Die Macht des Schicksals," and the next night it was "Carmen." On the following day we took in a 4 p.m. matinee of Arthur Miller's "Incident at Vichy," and that night it was a light opera, "Im Weissen Rossl," at the Operettanhaus on the Reeperbahn.

TAKES TO SERIOUS MUSIC

It is perhaps significant of the way the Germans take their culture seriously that the two grand operas and the somewhat somber Arthur Miller play were sold out while the light opera played to some empty seats.

Culture is a year-round affair with the Germans. The Germans would sooner part, we gather, with sauerkraut and wiener schnitzel than have any one of the many opera, concert, and drama theaters throughout the nation close down for any longer periods than are necessary to get ready for the next production.

We commented on this to Dr. Wilhelm Witten, chairman of the CDU (Christian Democratic Party) faction in the Hamburg State Parliament.

SURPRISED ON U.S. VISIT

He acknowledged the deep devotion of the German people to culture in depth and cited as a contrasting example his visit to the United States in 1961.

He recalled visiting the beautiful new opera house in San Francisco and was profoundly shocked when he learned that it was only open 2 months out of the year.

But Dr. Witten recognizes that the difference between America and Germany is not so much the difference in "cultural IQ" between its peoples, but the simple fact that for centuries governments have subsidized the arts in Germany.

HAS STATES SUPPORT

In Hamburg, for instance, the state government provides an annual subsidy of 26 million marks, or better than $6 million, as a direct subsidy to production of opera and plays and symphony concerts.

In Munich which has really become the cultural capital of the nation since Berlin was bisected, there is an even more lavish outlay from the Bavarian state government.

A Munich official of the national theater there estimated that the government pays for about two-thirds of the cost of the opera productions. The opera seats average about 18 marks, or $2.50. This means that the Bavarian kicks in $5 on every $2.50 seat to make up the deficit.

AFFAIRS OF STATE

Curiously, the cultural life of this nation is more the affair of the state governments than the Federal Republic. This has been so for centuries when the German dukes, the predecessors of state governments, vied with each other in providing their people with the best cultural programs. The Federal Republic does, of course, mix in a bit on cultural affairs with such organizations as the German Music Council, but this is mainly to promote international aspects of German musical offerings.

In West Germany there are today more than 70 theaters with regular opera programs and their own operating ensembles and well over 100 first-class symphony orchestras.

BEAUTIFUL MUSIC HALL

In the postwar period, many millions have been spent on construction of concert halls and opera houses. Some have followed the traditional rococco style of oldtime German theaters, but many are constructed in ultramodern style, such as the Beethoven Hall in Bonn, where we saw Beethoven's only opera, "Fidelio," performed, and the Berlin Philharmonic's new building, where the orchestra is placed arena-style in the center, with seating rising in octagonal shape on all sides.

In Germany the more important radio stations have their own orchestras that are just as good as those somewhat more directly subsidized by the state governments.

HE WAS SKEPTICAL

In 1961, Virgil Thompson, eminent American music critic, wrote in "Musican America" that West Germany dominated all of Europe in the quality of its musical offerings.

Thompson went on to say that the business of music is doing well there because all business is doing well.

"But this writer doubts in all sincerity whether today's music setup there is not, for all its fine prosperity, a hollow shell," Thompson concluded. "There is money to spend and power to exercise, and certainly these are in proper hands. He simply has no faith in so rootless a growth."

HAS PROVED WRONG

Thompson will probably have to eat those words some day because there is no evidence of any lessening in the quality of West Germany's cultural offerings, and "rootless" is hardly the word to describe a program so handsomely subsidized by the government and so popular with the German people.

VISIT TO WEST GERMANY—X

(By Lucian C. Warren)

MUNICH, GERMANY.—The Oktoberfest, the last stop in this correspondent's crowded 3 weeks in West Germany, is not a political event. Yet in a jammed beer hall in the midst of this festival there are some political overtones worth reporting.

At the height of the gaiety, the German band in the center podium suddenly blares the musical equivalent of "attention please" and it is announced over the loudspeaker that Franz-Joseph Strauss, the former Defense Minister in the Erhard Cabinet, is paying a visit to the hall.

Immediately pandemonium breaks loose. There are some vociferous cheers from some Bavarians who think that Strauss is right in adopting a "Gaullist line" of more independence from America, and in general, along with former Chancellor Adenauer, supporting a hard line toward Communist countries east of the Iron Curtain.

But there were also vigorous boos from other Bavarians who consider Herr Strauss did not distinguish himself by these policies. Some of these boos may be coming from West German lovers of a free press. As Defense Minister, Strauss went to great lengths in seeking to jail the publisher of Der Spiegel, the weekly news magazine that had the nerve to publish a supposedly confidential NATO report on weaknesses in West Germany's military setup. As a direct result of the Strauss mishandling of this issue, he was dropped from the Erhard Cabinet.

As head of the Bavarian wing of the CDU party of Erhard and Adenauer, Strauss has tried to throw his weight around and actively sought to prevent the renaming of the stanchly pro-American Gerhard Schroeder as Foreign Minister and of Erich Mende, leader of the FDP, the third party in the Bundestag, as Minister of All-German Affairs.

In this he has apparently failed, although he did succeed in having some of the duties of the Ministry of All-German Affairs transferred to the Chancellor's office.

Strauss and Adenauer do not like either Foreign Minister Schroeder or FDP Leader Mende, and the feeling seems to be reciprocated. Schroeder, for instance, is said to feel that the so-called hard line of West Germany toward Iron Curtain countries has already failed. He is reported to think that with both America and France seeking a relaxation of tensions with Russia and its European satellites, the only fruitful German policy is to seek a similar rapprochement.

Schroeder has been responsible for the opening of West German trade missions in several East European countries and has hinted he would also like to junk the "Hallstein doctrine" established by the former West German Secretary of State. This doctrine prevents West German diplomatic relations with those nations which have diplomatic relations with Communist East Germany. The only exception to this doctrine has been the U.S.S.R. with which West Germany does have diplomatic relations.

The retention of Schroeder as Foreign Minister can be regarded in America as another indication that the government of Chancellor Erhard will continue its policies of the closest possible alliance with the United States.

In the 21 days of my visiting West Germany, this correspondent found nothing but the friendliest of feelings toward the United States of America and this is voiced not only by the members of the dominant CDU party, but those of the Social Democrats, the opposing minority party that lost the election.

For instance, there is less division of opinion in West Germany over the American course in Vietnam than there is in the United States. Almost everyone in West Germany thinks that the United States is correct in seeking to halt Communist aggression in South Vietnam. They worry a bit about the fact that the United States will become so preoccupied there that it will forget about trying to unify Germany, but this is understandable. On the other hand, the Germans are realistic enough to know that reunification is a long way off, and some are even aware that compromises may have to be in order if a peaceful settlement is to be achieved.

As this visit draws to a close, a few general observations are in order:

West Germany is one of the most brilliant successes of postwar U.S. foreign policy. With the help of the Marshall plan aid and their own energy and ability, West Germany has become a showcase of prosperity in the West. Its only economic difficulties stem from that very prosperity with its surplus of jobs over workers causing some headaches, but not insurmountable ones.

Politically, West Germany is another showcase for the West. No other nation can boast that 87 percent of its eligible voters actually cast their ballots in a national election, as happened in West Germany on September 19. True, West German politics still has not resolved itself into a truly two-party system and Erhard has had some government-forming troubles in his coalition dealings.

But minor parties are shriveling, and radical parties are getting nowhere at all in a West Germany that is relieved and happy with the generally middle-of-the-road philosophy of the two major parties, the Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats. A neo-Nazi party in the September 19 election polled only 2 percent of the vote and thus cannot be represented in the Bundestag where 5 percent is the minimum requirement for any party.

Twenty years after the Hitler disease was forcibly eliminated from their midst, the West German people can well afford to be proud of their economic, political, and cultural progress. And the United States can rejoice in a partnership with a nation that after some terrible mistakes seems to have found itself at last.

Report on 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, as a part of my report on the 89th Congress, this summary of my 2-week trip to Asia might be of interest. This was a most informative mission and it is impossible to convey all of the impressions I received in such a short address. My official purpose was to attend the 11th annual conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League which met in Manila, Philippine Islands, on September 7–12.

Before going to Manila, however, I visited Japan, Korea, and the Republic of China. Japan is the industrial colossus of the Orient and is western in most respects. They are currently gripped by a strong wave of pacifism which seems to restrain the actions of the government leaders in relation to Communist threats. Ambassador Edwin O. Reischauer told me, however, that he has noted a slight movement of the Japanese people into the realization that they, like the Americans, must respond to the Communist challenge in Asia. Mr. Reischauer is one of the most knowledgeable men I met and has served this post since 1961.

Two days in Korea proved to be among the most interesting of the entire trip. The APACL Freedom School is located in Seoul, and is just beginning to function. It is a part of the anti-Communist response which the free nations of Asia have developed in their efforts to cope with Communist propaganda and political subversion. I was the guest of President Chung Hee Park and his political leader and adviser, Jong Pil Kim. Korea has come a long way in the 12 years since the Korean war ended. They are one of our very stanchest allies and have responded well to the call for troops in Vietnam.

A highlight of this tour was a helicopter trip to Panmunjom where the negotiators still meet regularly but resolve little. One of the officers humorously referred to it as "Uncle Mao's Ding Dong School" since little results in the negotiations except the Red tirades and their lengthy philosophical lecturing of the free world representatives. As of that date, 33,182 violations have been charged by the Communists and each must be investigated.

Panmunjom and later visits to Corregidor, Bataan, Hong Kong and the U.S. cemetery in Manila where 17,000 Americans are laid at rest give mute testimony to former war efforts.

VISIT WITH CHIANG KAI-SHEK

In the Republic of China, you are once again on the edge of the Communist world. Quemoy and Matsu well up memories of the Eisenhower confrontation in the Taiwan Straits and our 7th Fleet's response to put down the Red Chinese threat to invade Formosa. An hour with Gen. Chiang Kai-shek certainly must rate as one of the most memorable experiences of my life. He was a world figure when I was a boy and it was stimulating to compare views with the 78-year-old statesman. Incidentally, he looked more like a man of 65. The Generalissimo was particularly concerned about the insistence by American leaders that there be negotiations in Vietnam. His view was that the offer of negotiations was fine and honorable but "to drum at this request week after week is wrong because Asians misunderstand our purposes and the Vietcong will become cocky."

Madame Chiang was in the United States during this time and upon my return she called the office and invited me to a private interview at her Washington hotel. These two persons certainly must be numbered among the great patriots of the world.

The Republic of China is going forward with great reforms, particularly in the area of land and agriculture. The Red Chinese still shell the offshore islands at intermittent periods and the Nationalist Chinese of course have two major international insterests: exclusion of Red China from the U.N. and an eventual overthrow of the mainland Chinese Communist oppressors.

APACL CONFERENCE

The conference itself presented an opportunity to exchange ideas with men and women from all over the world. Every continent was represented and all seemed gripped with one concern, world communism. That America is the hope of the free world was etched on their every pronouncement and expression of hope. There were about 20 of us including Walter Judd and Prof. David Rowe of Yale who represented the United States. The keynote address was delivered by Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman, of Thailand. This nation is a good example of the changing sentiment among so-called nonalined nations. A few years ago Thailand was barely interested in the APACL but now that the designs of Red China are clearer to them, they are steadfast anti-Communists.

Excitement and tension was focused on the Pakistan-India war which broke out while delegates from those nations were on their way to Manila. On the whole, there was no rancor except for the usual denunciations. Each nation obviously thought the other was the aggressor.

A particularly interesting opportunity was offered when I was able to discuss Asian problems with Rufino J. Cardinal Santos, who was just leaving for the Vatican Ecumenical session. Cardinal Santos is the Archbishop of Manila and is extremely competent in the field of anticommunism.

The APACL Conference was a great success. I had met with many of these anti-Communist leaders before. They approach their work in dead seriousness. Expressions of strong support for American efforts in Vietnam were included in the many resolutions.

TRIP TO VIETNAM

It would go without saying that the highlight of the trip was the 3 days spent in Vietnam. It gives you a feeling of the unreal. A nation at war but not in the traditional sense of a frontline with opposing forces on each side. The Vietcong are everywhere and most skirmishes are in the southern delta section, far removed from North Vietnam. The Communists use selective terrorism to unnerve the people. Bombs are hurled into restaurants and hotels. Yet the city of Saigon flourishes, showing its French culture. School girls sing merrily on the way home. An air of determination prevails.

I came away with a very healthy respect for the Vietnamese people. Like most of the youthful nations in Asia they are faced with the herculean task of improving economic and political stability while at the same time devoting a major part of their time to staving off Communists efforts to take over their nation. No American can fully appreciate what it means to have the disruptions which these people face in their every day life. The United States of America stands as their only hope and one strong feeling came through in my discussions with hundreds of people there. They feel we are committed—something they had doubts about until President Johnson's strong statement and our resolute military actions. This has been a morale booster to the Vietnamese people and they in turn are making more headway in their three-pronged economic, military and political front.

I spent an afternoon with our troops at Bien Hoa. These are the men of the famous Big Red 1, the 1st Division, 2d Brigade. Their officers were superb. It is comforting to know there are men around like Col. James Simmons, who

commands the 2d Brigade. More important, he commands the respect of those who are there in such a difficult situation. The sound of artillery firing in the background punctuated the briefing session. A tour of the facilities would have made any American duly proud.

Let me give you just one example. Bien Hoa is not exactly a garden of Eden. To dump several thousand men at this strategic point and then build the base around them is quite an endeavor. I was there on September 12, and you would have thought the camp was at least a year old instead of a scant half-dozen weeks. Morale? Think of this. It was in the monsoon season, and the mud reminded one of red North Carolina clay. Lumber had been requisitioned, but it could not be obtained expeditiously. This is no fault of the Defense Department. The officers and men, being Americans with gumption and the spirit of Yankee ingenuity, took the matter into their own hands. They used their pay to purchase lumber from nearby Vietnamese farmers and then built their own mess hall and facilities. Even more important, they constructed elevated wooden floors for their tents. This had a great psychological impact, to get a bunk off the muddy ground and up on a dry floor. This is the type of men we have there—no beatniks, draft card burners, or protestors. You would have been proud, as I was. One of the men I met was Sgt. Earl J. Moorehead, whose home is on Route 6, Cambridge.

One night in Saigon I listened to the Armed Forces radio network. The disc jockey was signing off and with a clear voice said:

> Reminding you that Vietnam is the place to be—

Small items but indicative of our morale and commitment there.

I have heard the myth repeated often that the Vietnamese are a weak people, and this is the wrong war in the wrong place. I could not disagree more. Consider just one fact: The Vietnamese people have gone through 20 full years of war and political disruption, and yet there is not one significant peace movement in their nation. Village chiefs in the provinces have been killed one by one by the Vietcong. Yet others immediately take their place. The Vietnamese are a sturdy people, and freedom will prosper if we help them eradicate the Vietcong.

In my conversations with the officers, troops, and the Vietnamese themselves, the question was raised dozens of times: Do the Lippmanns and the teach-ins represent thinking back in America? Walter Lippmann had just that week written a very negative article on American participation in Vietnam, and all of these things had an impact. Of course, this was before the current wave of vocal anti-Vietnamese protests, so they probably wonder even more now.

It is impossible to give more than these few highlights. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge invited me to lunch and we spent 2 interesting hours on a wide range of subjects. From Korea to Hong Kong, I received the benefit of military, political and economic briefings as well as the opportunity to meet with the national leaders of the respective countries. One of the indelible impressions received was in regards to the high caliber of the men in the Foreign Service. Accustomed to seeing the Washington types, I frankly did not expect to see such hard-working, knowledgeable people in our diplomatic posts which I visited. They give a person confidence which is sometimes hard to gain from the higher level State Department bureaucrat. Each day was packed with many interesting visits ranging from the textile mills to the rice paddies. I did not want a planned tour and made up the itinerary after my arrival. One typical day in Vietnam was like this:

Morning: Visit Tran Quoi Buu, president, Vietnamese Confederation of Labor. Visit Pham Ba Thuc, president, Employers' Association. Lunch with Ambassador Lodge. Afternoon: Helicopter trip to Bien Hoa Air Force Base. Evening: Dinner with labor attaché.

At each stop on the trip, I met a wide variety of American and local people. Consider this typical guest list at the dinner referred to above on 1 day in Saigon:

> Mr. Nguyen Xuan Phong, Minister of Labor; Mr. Tran Quoc Buu, president, Vietnamese Confederation of Labor; Mr. Nguyen Van Thang, vice president, Vietnamese Confederation of Labor; Mr. Dam Sy Hien, professor, former Minister of Labor and Minister of Social Welfare; Mr. Pham Viet Tuyen, editor, Tu Do; Mr. Ton That Thien, editor, Saigon Daily News; Mr. Nguyen Ngoc Rao, journalist for New York Times; Col. William H. Crossen, MACV; Mr. Alan Strachan, Deputy Director, USOM; Mr. Leslie Tihaney, chief, economic section of Embassy; Mr. Mel Levine, political officer; Mr. John P. Condon, first secretary of Embassy.

CONCLUSIONS

I was able to meet with young political leaders in each of the nations.

All in all, this trip was one of the most meaningful and rewarding 2 weeks of my life. The Asian people are a warm and friendly people. They look to us for help and leadership. You can well be proud of what we Americans are doing in Asia. I personally hope that we never let them down. In many ways, they are more realistic than we are and they certainly have a better understanding of communism than we in America do. The preamble contained in the Charter of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League declares:

> We, the freedom-loving peoples of Asia, being dedicated to the cause of democracy and keenly conscious of the menace of Communist aggression in various parts of the world, look upon international Communist imperialism as a tyranny working for the enslavement of humanity and threatening world peace. We are convinced that the free peoples can neither compromise nor coexist with Communist imperialism.

Rather to the point, is it not? They need our leadership but at the same time, Mr. Speaker, we can learn a great deal from them. I certainly did.

Americans must not grow weary at our task. We are like the watchman at the bridge who can prevent a wreck. Our duty is clear. We cannot escape responsibility even though the burden is great, the hours are long, and relief is not in sight—even though we have served far beyond the ordinary duty. This is our challenge. The future of all civilization depends on our response.

At this point I would like to include with these remarks the speech I delivered at the conference:

VOTING RECORD

The voting record which is printed at the conclusion of these remarks contains only a brief identification of the issue because of space. Upon request, my office will furnish a record which includes further detail and a summarization of the issue involved in each vote. I will personally be glad to explain or give additional information on any particular issue. Your Congressman was present and voted on all major issues although I missed some votes due to important committee assignments which entailed hearings outside of Washington. My Asian trip and personal reasons such as death in the families also accounted for sevral absences. The letters "NV" indicates these absences but I have then indicated how I would have voted if present:

Voting record, 89th Cong., 1st sess.

Roll-call No.	Issue	Vote	Roll-call No.	Issue	Vote
2	Election of Speaker	Ford.	35	Congressional redistricting	Yea.
3	Seating the Mississippi delegation	Yea.	38	Supreme Court pay raise	Nay.
4	House rule changes	Nay.	39	Supreme Court pay raise	Nay.
6	New York election contest	Yea.	42	Recommit District of Columbia crime bill	Nay.
7	Barring aid to Nasser	Yea.	43	District of Columbia crime bill	Yea.
10	Barring aid to Nasser	Yea.	45	Acreage-poundage tobacco quotas	Nay.
12	Recommit gold reserve bill	Yea.	52	Recommit Federal school aid	Yea.
13	Federal Reserve bank gold reserves	Nay.	53	Federal school aid	Nay.
16	Arms control authorization	Nay.	57	Grants to help older people	Yea.
19	Recommit IDA	Yea.	58	Water resources planning	Yea.
20	Inter-American development authorization	Nay.	60	Manpower training program extension	Yea.
23	Recommit HCUA funds	Nay.	62	Obscene mail return	Yea.
24	House Un-American Activities funds	Yea.	63	Saigon Chancery construction	Yea.
28	Recommit Appalachia bill	Nay.	64	Treasury-Post Office appropriations	Nay.
29	Appalachia bill	Yea.	66	Second supplemental appropriations	Yea.
31	Drug abuse control	Yea.	70	Medicare bill recommit	Yea.
33	Arts Council authorization	NV—Nay.	71	Compulsory medicare bill	Nay.

Voting record, 89th Cong., 1st sess.—Continued

Roll-call No.	Issue	Vote
72	Arms control authorization	Nay.
74	Presidential inability amendment	Yea.
76	Ku Klux Klan investigation funds	Yea.
78	Recommit International Monetary Fund	Yea.
79	International Monetary Fund	Nay.
82	Water pollution control funds	NV—Yea.
84	2d supplemental appropriations	NV—Yea.
85	$942,000,000 helicopter subsidy	NV—Nay.
86	National Council on arts authorization	NV—Nay.
87	Community health services	NV—Yea.
90	Mental health grants	Yea.
92	Vietnam military appropriations	Yea.
94	Military procurement authorization	Yea.
96	Space program funds, NASA, authorization	Yea.
97	Space Program Funds, NASA, authorization	Yea.
99	Health research facility grants	Yea.
101	International Coffee Agreement	Nay.
104	Recommit AEC authorization	Yea.
105	AEC authorization	Yea.
109	Foreign aid authorization	NV—Nay.
110	Foreign aid authorization	NV—Nay.
112	Bar sales to Sukarno and Nasser	NV—Yea.
113	Agriculture appropriations	NV—Nay.
116	State, Justice, Commerce appropriations	Nay.
117	Small coal mine safety	Yea.
119	Excise tax reduction	Yea.
121	FAA Administrator	Nay.
123	Railroad retirement increase	Yea.
126	Legislative appropriations	Yea.
127	Export control continuation	NV—Yea.
129	National debt limit increase	NV—Nay.
130	National debt limit increase	Nay.
131	Amend Kennedy film	Yea.
132	Kennedy film showing	Nay.
141	Recommit Housing and Urban Development Department	Yea.
142	Housing and Urban Development Department	Nay.
143	Hiring congressional interns	Nay.
145	Vocational student loan insurance	Yea.
146	Agriculture disaster relief	Yea.
147	Baltic States resolution	Yea.
153	Defense appropriations	Yea.
155	Area redevelopment extension	Nay.
157	Housing and Urban Development rule	Nay.
162	Rent supplements	Nay.
163	Remove rent supplements	Yea.
164	Housing and Urban Development	Nay.
167	Voting Rights Bill Rule	Yea.
175	Clean elections amendment	Yea.
176	Voting rights amendment	Nay.
177	Non-English-speaking amendment	Nay.
178	Recommit voting rights bill	Yea.
179	Pass voting rights	Yea.
181	AEC powe lines	NV—Nay.
182	Summer Government jobs	NV—Yea.
185	Cigarette Labeling Act	Yea.
188	Amend Coinage Act	Yea.
189	Changing coinage system	Nay.
193	Armed services pay raise	Yea.
196	Recommit poverty program expansion	Yea.
197	Poverty program expansion	Nay.
199	Taft-Hartley 14(b) rule	Nay.
203	Conference report on medicare	Nay.
204	Conference report on Housing Act	Nay.
205	Conference report on mental health grants	Yea.
208	Recommit Taft-Hartley 14(b) removal	Yea.
209	Taft-Hartley 14(b) removal	Nay.
212	AEC powerlines	Nay.
214	Highway funds authorization	Yea.
215	Police Training Act	Yea.
216	Prisoner rehabilitation	Yea.
218	Recommit voting rights	Yea.
219	Conference report on voting rights	Yea.
220	Civil service retirement increase	Yea.
221	Military construction authorization	Yea.
222	International banks	Nay.
224	Interest equalization tax	NV—Nay.
225	Interest equalization tax	NV—Nay.
228	District of Columbia auto insurance	Nay.
230	Draft card mutilations	Yea.
234	Regional development	Nay.
235	Recommit regional development	Yea.
236	Regional development	Nay.
238	Nickel duty suspension	NV—Nay.
239	Federal Boxing Commission	NV—Yea.
242	Foreign aid authorization	Nay.
243	Recommit 1965 farm bill	Yea.
244	1965 farm bill	Nay.
246	Recommit Labor-HEW supplemental appropriations	Yea.
248	Western Hemisphere limitations	Yea.
249	Immigration Act	Yea.
252	Higher Education Act	Yea.
253	School aid liberalization	Yea.
254	Rule on tariff bill	Yea.
255	Removing tariffs on Canadian automobiles	Nay.
257	Health education aid	Nay.
259	High-speed transportation	NV—Nay.
262	Military construction authorization	NV—Yea.
263	Military construction authorization	NV—Nay.
264	Veterans compensation increase	NV—Yea.
265	Crime Commission funds	NV—Yea.
269	Foreign aid appropriation	NV—Nay.
296	Park Service concessions	NV—Nay.
299	Preserve Governor's poverty program veto	Yea.
301	Arts and Humanities Foundation	Yea.
303	Patronage employee name disclosure	Nay.
304	Nuclear accident indemnification	Yea.
306	Defense appropriations conference report	Yea.
307	Mississippi contested elections	Yea.
309	Servicemen's life insurance	Yea.
310	Anti-Communist intervention	Yea.
313	Water pollution control funds	Yea.
315	Rivers and harbors	Yea.
316	Florida Cultural and Trade Center	Nay.
320	Bank holding companies	Yea.
321	Rural water and sanitation loans rule	Nay.
322	Rural water and sanitation loans	Yea.
324	Recommit air pollution	Yea.
325	Air Pollution Act	Yea.
327	Discharge District of Columbia home rule	Nay.
328	District of Columbia home rule	Nay.
336	Strike the enacting clause, District of Columbia bill	Yea.
337	Substitute District of Columbia home rule	Yea.
338	Recommit District of Columbia home rule	Yea.
339	District of Columbia home rule	Yea.
341	Immigration conference report	Yea.
342	Recommit Federal pay raise	Yea.
343	Federal pay raise	Yea.
345	Madison Memorial Library recommittal	Nay.
346	Madison Memorial Library	Yea.
347	Recommit foreign aid appropriations	Yea.
348	Foreign aid appropriations	Nay.
349	Medical library facilities	Yea.
350	Jefferson National Expansion Memorial	Yea.
353	Ryukyu Islands damages	NV—Yea.
354	Nevada water project	NV—Nay.
356	Recommit highway environment control	Yea.
357	Highway environment control	Nay.
363	Rule on sugar bill	Yea.
366	Recommit sugar bill	Yea.
367	Sugar bill	Nay.
376	Delete National Teachers Corps	Yea.
377	Conference report on Higher Education Act	Nay.
378	River and harbor conference report	Nay.
380	Conference Report on supplemental appropriations	Nay.
381	Separate vote on Dickey-Lincoln power project	Nay.
383	Conference report on sugar bill	Nay.

Samuel Rose, Chief Contact Officer, Veterans' Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, on October 31, 1965, Samuel Rose, who for many years has been Chief of the Central Office Contact Division, of the Veterans' Administration, will retire.

There is much that can be said in honor of this man who has given 48 years of service to his Government and to the veterans who served this country. It has, I think, best been said in the letter sent to him by the Administrator of the Veterans' Administration, Mr. W. J. Driver, in a tribute written for the El Paso Times, by Sarah McClendon, and in an editorial of the Stars and Stripes—the National Tribune.

Under permission granted, I wish to include the foregoing in the RECORD and wish Sam Rose a long life in the continued service of his fellowman:

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C., October 8, 1965.

Mr. SAMUEL ROSE,
Chief, Central Office Contact Division, Veterans' Administration, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SAM: Your service with this agency in behalf of veterans is legend. There are few persons who have been associated with veterans activities in this country since World War I who are not aware of the tremendous impact of your dedication and devotion on the individual and overall needs of veterans.

You have personified our highest ideals of service and set a standard which others will emulate but seldom match. You have brought together a rare combination of zeal, sincerity, sympathy, understanding, and know-how in your day-to-day efforts to assist veterans, and you have represented the Veterans' Administration in gathered groups with distinction. The respect and esteem in which you are held by the national service organizations do you honor. You have fulfilled each and every assignment with inspiring loyalty.

You have every reason to take satisfaction in your accomplishments of the past 48 years, for it is with intense pride that we view your record of service.

We know that, as you put it, your "way of life" will not change following your retirement, for whenever and wherever you meet a veteran, the same spontaneous helpfulness will be evident and the "legend of Sam Rose" will be perpetuated. On behalf of all of us who have been so fortunate as to work with you in past years, let me wish you the very best for the future—you have earned it.

Sincerely,

W. J. DRIVER, *Administrator.*

[From the El Paso Times]

A WEST TEXAN IN WASHINGTON

(By Sarah McClendon)

WASHINGTON.—For 48 years, redtape has been cut in a huge Government bureaucracy for literally hundreds of thousands of war veterans, their widows and orphans by a friendly voice on the telephone.

"Sam Rose, may I help you, please," is the way he answers that telephone from 6:30 a.m. (he does not have to come to work at that early hour) until 4:30 p.m., at the Veterans' Administration headquarters in Washington, where he is chief of the VA's Central Office Contact Division. He has been there since the VA started and before it had its present name when it was the old War Risk Insurance Bureau. He is the employee with the greatest longevity in service. At the end of this month, he will retire, with the gratitude of multitudes. Probably for many years hence, when veterans call the office, they will ask for "Mr. Rose."

Always, this little man, himself a veteran and an active member of the Jewish War Veterans, would follow his cherry greeting on the telephone with "Come to see me. Let me push your case for you." or "Did they take care of you?—My pleasure—come in any time."

Such service is rare in the stores giving most attention to personnel relations or having valuable goods to sell but much more rare in Government bureaus.

This type of service which always ends up in making friends for the Veterans' Administration and Rose is made possible through a highly important function of the VA—contact. As Sam Rose says, "All roads lead here," and indeed they do, to his office. Maybe one minute he is answering a query for the White House. He has served under nine Presidents, from Woodrow Wilson to Lyndon Johnson. The next minute, he is trying to help a widow to find proof that her husband died of war injuries 15 years later than combat. The next minute, he may be helping a man win greater compensation for a service-connected injury or he may be figuring out a way for an orphaned child to attend college. He may be helping a former WAC officer to straighten out her National Service life policy or helping someone to find a job. He may be admitting someone to a hospital or helping to bury the war dead.

No wonder he is often called by veterans themselves "Mr. VA." and has been decorated by his own agency for distinguished service and has been hailed in veterans association publications, the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and other groups and has been recently given an award of appreciation of Jewish War Veterans.

Chances are if one eavesdrops on his telephone conversations, they will hear Sam Rose cordially renewing old friendships among certain repeats among his customers or calling one by his first name as he intersperses the conversations with interpretations of laws and rules in simplified language. He has the regulations on the tip of his tongue.

It is nothing for this little man to handle 20 such cases a day. Any one of these may be of mammoth importance to the veteran and his family.

He loves his job and the only reason he is quitting is he has to, having reached the mandatory age of 70.

"To me, it has never been a task, for I feel it is an honor to be a part of an important humane and beneficial agency. For 48 years I have been dedicated to the service of the veteran, his widow, and his dependents.

"I have endeavored to bring personal service from the heart. I have tried to express the feeling of a grateful nation to those who have given their best.

"I did care about each and every individual with whom I came in contact," said this quiet, thin, stooped man who is still quick to open the door for one. "Every claim number, every insurance number represents to me a living person, and more important, a person who has served his country," is the way Sam Rose put it.

What changes has he seen in veterans' claims over the years?

"Well, the veteran of World War I had little coming to him, whereas the veteran of World War II had the GI bill of rights."

The hardest problem in his job has been knowing or thinking a man is entitled to compensation and not being able to find sufficient evidence so that a man and his family can have the benefits they are entitled to receive. "Often the claim is not filed until the husband and father is dead when only he could supply links in the chain of evidence," he said.

Thus, he advises those who are suffering from injuries or effects who think they might be entitled to compensation to report this early to the VA so that officials may start to trace the matter and arrive at the proof which is required by the VA, said Rose as he bows out.

[From the Stars & Stripes-National Tribune]

"MR. VA" RETIRES

After nearly one-half century of service to veterans and their dependents, Samuel Rose, affectionately known as "Mr. VA" will retire from the Veterans' Administration on October 31. This would appear not to be Rose's own choosing, as he will have reached the mandatory retirement age of 70.

Rose joined the War Risk Insurance Division, now the Veterans' Administration, in 1917. For over 48 years he has given of himself with love and devotion to the cause of veterans who have served our country in peace and in war.

He is the only one of the VA's employees who was on the job when the old Veterans Bureau was formed and has never been too busy to listen to the plight of a veteran or his widow and lend a helping hand in solving their problems.

Rose has served continuously during the terms of office of nine Presidents of the United States. On one wall of his office are the autographed portraits of Presidents Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson.

Until a few years ago, the commissions of notary in the District of Columbia were signed personally by the President of the United States. Sam's original commission, signed by President Wilson in 1918, is a framed conversation piece in a place of prominence in his office.

"Mr. VA" has received many commendations and acknowledgments of his dedicated service to veterans from the many Administrators of Veterans' Affairs under whom he served, as well as from service organization representatives and, perhaps most gratifying of all, from the veteran and his dependents.

He has enjoyed good health thru his two score and 8 years of service and, like the riders of the pony express, neither wind nor rain, nor sleet nor hail could keep this man from his appointed tasks.

This newspaper, and the veterans of America, will miss the knowledge and experience which Rose brought to his office. He has been a sincere, devoted and accomplished contact officer and certainly deserves the title of "Mr. VA."

Three Job Corps Graduates Win Chance at Executive Careers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, a recent article in the Washington, D.C., Sunday Star, written by Larry A. Still, tells of the fervent hope for the future of O'Neil Leroy Costley of Baltimore, Md.

The article is headlined "Three Job Corps Graduates Win Chance at Executive Careers." The story is a true story of Americana—give American youth a chance and it will strive to pursue constructive goals.

There is another saga of Americana in the story. This is the report of W. C. Hobbs, vice president in charge of the Washington, D.C., based firm giving jobs to Job Corps graduates—the Management and Engineering Services Division of Consolidated American Services, Inc. Mr. Hobbs was himself a dropout—he left school in 1931, but returned to get a B.S. in science and engineering.

I think it is interesting to quote what Mr. Hobbs had to say to the Job Corps graduates he employed:

> I want these fellows to know they won't get any preferential treatment. They'll have to work like everybody else. At the end of the 90 days they will be just one of the workers and advance on merit and ability. It's entirely up to them.

Mr. Hobbs is also quoted as stating that he hired "the youths from the Job Corps program because the camps offered greater selectivity, better character and higher quality of potential workers than any other single source."

Mr. Speaker, I believe this account merits the attention of my colleagues and I insert the article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, Sept. 26, 1965]

THREE JOB CORPS GRADUATES WIN CHANCE AT EXECUTIVE CAREERS

(By Larry A. Still)

Three graduates of the Office of Economic Opportunity's Job Corps training program were given new jobs in Washington and a chance of executive training yesterday by two former dropouts who already have succeeded.

The trainees are Cosme Arriola, 21, of San Antonio, Tex.; O'Neil Leroy Costley, 18, of Baltimore, and Lawrence Harkless, 21, of Port Arthur, Tex., all members of the first graduating class of the Camp Kilmer, N.J., Urban Center.

Camp Kilmer is 1 of 100 training centers being established in the antipoverty program for 40,000 young men and women, aged 16 to 21, "who need a change of environment and individual help to develop talents, self-confidence and motivation to improve themselves."

FIRST EXECUTIVE TRAINEES

The three Kilmer grads started work as the Job Corps' first executive trainees at the Management and Engineering Service Division of Consolidated American Services, Inc.

Consolidated operates management and maintenance services for major industries throughout the Nation and on Wake Island, in Thailand and Vietnam.

"I never thought I would be here," said Arriola at the firm's plush Washington office in the Madison Bank Building. "My mother didn't want me to be far from home, but she says it's for my benefit," said Harkless.

"My family is proud of me. They hope I stick it out," said Costley.

W. C. Hobbs, vice president of Consolidated, said he hired the youths from the Job Corps program because the camps offered "greater selectivity, better character and higher quality" of potential workers than any other single source.

"We are going to adjust their working hours so they can go to college if they wish," Hobbs said. "We can always use a good mechanical engineer. It may take 6 or 7 years, but we're in no hurry."

The trainees will begin at a minimum starting salary of $1.75 to $2.25 an hour during a 90-day training period, according to John Rollo, manager of the division's logistic and social science department.

The firm found each youth housing in the District, established separate checking accounts for them, purchased clothing so they could go to work and return to school.

Hobbs recalled that he dropped out of school in 1931, but returned to get a B.S. degree in science and engineering. He is general manager of Consolidated's management and engineering services division which includes three other dropouts among the 105 employees.

Dr. David Gottlieb, Director of Program Development and Job Evaluation for the Office of Economic Opportunity, agreed that the executive training program could provide new inspiration for the 13,000 youths presently in 44 camps.

"These fellows have already demonstrated more on the ball then I had at their age," Gottlieb said.

EARNED PH. D.

Gottlieb also quit school when he was in the 10th grade and never returned to get a high school diploma.

He enrolled at Wayne State University in Detroit as an unclassified student and received a Ph. D. from the University of Chicago after the graduate school waived all entrance requirements. Today Gottlieb is a member of the Michigan State University faculty.

There are 800 graduates of Job Corps training programs, including many who have entered military service and eight who are attending college on scholarships, Gottlieb said.

Arriola was graduated from high school in San Antonio, but dropped all hopes of studying architectural drafting to find a job that would help support five brothers and two sisters.

He was recommended for the Job Corps and became president of the student council at Camp Kilmer and valedictorian of his class. He was hired as a property control clerk at Consolidated and plans to study data processing at night.

Costley will work in the firm's administrative group as a reproduction clerk and Harkless as a junior draftsman in the engineering department. Costley dropped out of high school in his senior year when his mother, father, 10 brothers and 3 sisters moved to Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, where his father took a job at the Veterans' Administration hospital.

"I didn't have to drop out," Costley said, "but I was too bullheaded. The Job Corps has given me a wonderful chance."

Harkless said he quit school in the ninth grade because "I was losing interest and it was getting to be a bore." He added, "I didn't want to go back to school and I was too young to go in the service, so the Job Corps was right in between."

Hobbs had one final word for his new trainees. "I want these fellows to know they won't get any preferential treatment," he emphasized. "They'll have to work like everybody else. At the end of the 90 days they will be just one of the workers and advance on merit and ability. It's entirely up to them."

PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE SUBSEQUENT TO ADJOURNMENT

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION ENROLLED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that on the following dates, that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

On October 22, 1965:

H.R. 168. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide increases in the rates of disability compensation, and for other purposes;

H.R. 227. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to entitle the children of certain veterans who served in the Armed Forces prior to September 16, 1940, to benefit under the war orphans educational assistance program;

H.R. 797. An act to establish the Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area in the State of California, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1778. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to create a Board for the Condemnation of Insanitary Buildings in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," approved May 1, 1906, as amended;

H.R. 2571. An act for the relief of Ralph S. DeSocio, Jr.;

H.R. 5493. An act to provide that the flag of the United States of America may be flown for 24 hours of each day in Lexington, Mass.;

H.R. 5597. An act to relieve physicians of liability for negligent medical treatment at the scene of an accident in the District of Columbia;

H.R. 7475. An act to name the authorized lock and dam No. 6 on the Arkansas River in Arkansas and the lake created thereby for David D. Terry;

H.R. 8353. An act for the relief of Becky Jo and Charles R. Smith;

H.R. 9047. An act to authorize the release of certain quantities of zinc from either the national stockpile or the supplemental stockpile, or both;

H.R. 10097. An act for the relief of North Counties Hydro-Electric Co.;

H.R. 10305. An act to authorize the disposal, without regard to the prescribed 6-month waiting period of approximately 200 million pounds of nickel from the national stockpile;

H.R. 11267. An act to amend the joint resolution of March 25, 1953, relating to electrical and mechanical office equipment for the use of Members, officers, and committees of the House of Representatives, to remove certain limitations; and

H.R. Res. 641. Joint resolution authorizing Father Flanagan Boys' Home to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs.

On October 23, 1965:

H.R. 4421. An act authorizing the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey certain property to the city of Cheyenne, Wyo.;

H.R. 4845. An act to provide for the economic and efficient purchase, lease, maintenance, operation, and utilization of automatic data processing equipment by Federal departments and agencies;

H.R. 5026. An act to authorize the Burt County Bridge Commission, a public body politic and corporate in the county of Burt and State of Nebraska, to refund the outstanding revenue bonds of said Burt County Bridge Commission heretofore issue to finance the cost of the construction of a bridge, together with the necessary approaches and appurtenances therefor, from a point located in the city of Decatur, Burt County, Nebr., across the Missouri River to a point located in Monona County, Iowa;

H.R. 7812. An act to authorize the loan of naval vessels to friendly foreign countries, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8310. An act to amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to assist in providing more flexibility in the financing and administration of State rehabilitation programs, and to assist in the expansion and improvement of services and facilities provided under such programs, particularly for the mentally retarded and other groups presenting special vocational rehabilitation problems, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9830. An act to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, to authorize reimbursement to a State or political subdivision thereof for sidewalk repair and replacement or to make other arrangements therefor;

H.R. 9903. An act to provide for the free entry of certain scientific instruments for the use of certain universities;

H.R. 10281. An act to adjust the rates of basic compensation of certain officers and employees of the Federal Government, and for other purposes;

H.R. 10878. An act for the relief of Anderson G. Matsler, senior master sergeant, U.S. Air Force, retired;

H.R. 11135. An act to amend and extend the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended; and

H.J. Res. 788. Joint resolution establishing that the 2d regular session of the 89th Congress convene at noon on Monday, January, 10, 1966.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Pursuant to the authority granted the Speaker by House Concurrent Resolution 528, 89th Congress, he did on the following dates sign enrolled bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

On October 22, 1965:

H.R. 168. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide increases in the rates of disability compensation, and for other purposes;

H.R. 227. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to entitle the children of certain veterans who served in the Armed Forces prior to September 16, 1940, to benefit under the war orphans educational assistance program;

H.R. 797. An act to establish the Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area in the State of California, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1778. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to create a Board for the Condemnation of Insanitary Buildings in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," approved May 1, 1906, as amended;

H.R. 2571. An act for the relief of Ralph S. DeSocio, Jr.;

H.R. 5493. An act to provide that the flag of the United States of America may be flown for 24 hours of each day in Lexington, Mass.;

H.R. 5597. An act to relieve physicians of liability for negligent medical treatment at the scene of an accident in the District of Columbia;

H.R. 7475. An act to name the authorized lock and dam numbered 6 on the Arkansas River in Arkansas and the lake created thereby for David D. Terry;

H.R. 8353. An act for the relief of Becky Jo and Charles R. Smith;

H.R. 9047. An act to authorize the release of certain quantities of zinc from either the national stockpile or the supplemental stockpile, or both;

H.R. 10097. An act for the relief of North Counties Hydro-Electric Co.;

H.R. 10305. An act to authorize the disposal, without regard to the prescribed 6-month waiting period of approximately 200 million pounds of nickel from the national stockpile;

H.R. 11267. An act to amend the joint resolution of March 25, 1953, relating to electrical and mechanical office equipment for the use of Members, officers, and committees of the House of Representatives, to remove certain limitations; and

H.J. Res. 641. Joint resolution authorizing Father Flanagan Boys' Home to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs.

On October 23, 1965:

H.R. 4421. An act authorizing the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey certain property to the city of Cheyenne, Wyo.;

H.R. 4845. An act to provide for the economic and efficient purchase, lease, maintenance, operation, and utilization of automatic data processing equipment by Federal departments and agencies;

H.R. 5026. An act to authorize the Burt County Bridge Commission, a public body politic and corporate in the county of Burt and State of Nebraska, to refund the outstanding revenue bonds of said Burt County Bridge Commission heretofore issued to finance the cost of the construction of a bridge, together with the necessary approaches and appurtenances therefor, from a point located in the city of Decatur, Burt County, Nebr., across the Missouri River to a point located in Monona County, Iowa.

H.R. 7812. An act to authorize the loan of naval vessels to friendly foreign countries, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8310. An act to amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to assist in providing more flexibility in the financing and administration of State rehabilitation programs, and to assist in the expansion and improvement of services and facilities provided under such programs, particularly for the mentally retarded and other groups presenting special vocational rehabilitation problems, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9830. An act to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, to authorize reimbursement to a State or political subdivision thereof for sidewalk repair and replacement or to make other arrangements therefor;

H.R. 9903. An act to provide for the free entry of certain scientific instruments for the use of certain universities;

H.R. 10281. An act to adjust the rates of basic compensation of certain officers and employees of the Federal Government, and for other purposes;

H.R. 10878. An act for the relief of Anderson G. Matsler, senior master sergeant, U.S. Air Force, retired;

H.R. 11135. An act to amend and extend the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended; and

H.J. Res. 788. Joint resolution establishing that the 2d regular session of the 89th Congress convene at noon on Monday, January 10, 1966.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Pursuant to the authority granted the Speaker by House Concurrent Resolution 528, 89th Congress, he did on October 25, 1965, sign enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 149. An act for the relief of Benjamin A. Ramelb;

S. 1320. An act to amend certain criminal laws applicable to the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; and

S. 1647. An act for the relief of Kim Sung Jin.

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Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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Adams, Brock, *Wash*
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PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 89th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 111 WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1965 No. 200

Appendix

NOTICE

The last issue of the daily Congressional Record for the first session of the Eighty-ninth Congress will be published not later than Monday, November 15, 1965. It is requested that copy and proofs of speeches withheld for revision, or extensions of remarks as authorized by either House, be submitted to the Government Printing Office or to the Congressional Record Clerk, Room H-112, Capitol, before that date.

By order of the Joint Committee on Printing.

CARL HAYDEN, Chairman.

Report of the House Majority Leader on the Legislative Accomplishments of the 1st Session of the 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, it is my sincere pleasure and great privilege to review the legislative performance of this 1st session of the 89th Congress. The accomplishments that this session has recorded in the annals of legislative history are numerous and far-reaching—many are monumental and even historic. Spanning the horizon of age-old issues that have plagued generations of concerned Americans, they speak to a victory in casting aside the bonds of poverty, ignorance, disease, and oppression that have persecuted men since the beginning of time. They speak also to the challenge of improving the quality of life for all of our people.

Labeling Congress as "the education Congress" or "the conservation Congress" is an irresistible temptation experienced by most students of the legislative process. Too often, however, it creates a false or misleading impression of the record of a Congress—emphasizing one area of national interest and congressional accomplishment and simultaneously subordinating all other spheres of legislative activity. The value of this manner of assessment is, therefore, extremely limited.

As leader of the majority in the House of Representatives, I can say with unrestrained pride that this Congress, with its overwhelming Democratic majority, has heard the clear mandate of the American people and responded with vision and foresight in realizing their concept of an American society that is a Great American Society.

In his efforts to build a Great American Society, President Johnson has fulfilled the promises made by the Democratic Party to the American people and has demonstrated his determination to "serve all the Nation, not one section or one sector, or one group, but all Americans. These are the United States—a united people with a united purpose." The creation of a Great Society is, therefore, the united purpose of a united people.

Henry Ward Beecher observed that "greatness lies not in being strong, but in the right use of strength."

No actual or potential source of strength within our society has been bypassed in these efforts "to enrich and elevate our national life, and to advance the quality of our American civilization." Who would deny that this is not the legitimate or right use of our strength?

Before I review some of the major legislative achievements of this 1st session of the 89th Congress, I wish to pay tribute to the gentleman from Massachusetts, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, Speaker of the House of Representatives, who enjoys the deepest admiration of his colleagues for his wisdom and ability, his kind counsel, and his unceasing devotion to the duties of the speakership and to the welfare of his Nation. His leadership during this session has placed his name among those of the great Speakers of all time.

My praise and gratitude go out to my distinguished colleague from Louisiana, HALE BOGGS, for the manner in which he has efficiently and responsibly discharged his duties as majority whip and also to each Member—for each has persevered relentlessly in executing the legislative task and responsibilities entrusted to him by the voters of this country.

In contemplating a job well done, may we be reminded of the sage words of the late Adlai Stevenson who said:

> We shall lead in that degree to which we build a vital and healthy society. As we solve our own problems, economic, social, and above all, moral, we shall help other people solve theirs. By demonstrating the limitless powers of a free society which knows how to liberate the full creative energy of man, we shall fulfill the destiny that history has assigned to us.

NATIONAL SECURITY AND MILITARY PREPAREDNESS

This same great American and outstanding humanitarian whose courage, fortitude, and tireless dedication to the creation of a world order in which peace prevails, earned him the deepest respect of men everywhere, also once remarked that intolerant power respects power, not weakness.

In an age which finds hostile forces determined to destroy American security, and the security of all free and peaceful nations, military weakness and unpreparedness are luxuries we cannot afford. The costs of national security and military strength are high—high in terms of human suffering and loss of life—high in terms of equipment, hardware, and construction.

We are now engaged in the defense of South Vietnam—in a struggle in which the Communist forces of aggressive world conquest pose a genuine threat to the

existence of South Vietnam as a free nation and to the security, peace, and national survival of the United States and our allies.

In response to President Johnson's request for additional funds to meet the rising costs of our commitment in southeast Asia, the House and the Senate, as one of its first legislative actions of the session, approved supplemental funds totaling $700 million for the 1965 fiscal year. It was anticipated that $275 million would be allocated for ammunition, $180 million for helicopters, other aircraft, and aircraft parts, $100 million for the construction of supply-storage facilities, and the construction of equipment, and $10 million for miscellaneous costs.

That these supplemental defense funds were speedily approved by almost unanimous rollcall votes in both Chambers of the Congress is a clear indication that a vast majority of the Members of Congress and a vast majority of the American people support our President and our fighting men in their firm stand against wanton disrespect for the rights of those who seek only the enjoyment of peace, freedom, and self-determination.

On August 21, President Johnson signed into law Public Law 89–132, a bill which seeks to effect a fair adjustment in the rates of compensation for members of our uniformed services. To military personnel assigned the awesome responsibilities of protecting the Nation's security, to military personnel from whom we demand a total commitment to duty and advanced skills to direct our increasingly complex and sophisticated weapons systems, and whom we expose to the hardships and hazards of combat and command, we must be willing to offer an annual income and a standard of living comparable in attractiveness to those enjoyed by their counterparts engaged in the various economic activities of civilian life. Effective September 1, 1965, Public Law 89–132 authorized an appropriation of $1,048,029,000 for pay raises for more than 505,000 retired personnel, 1 million reservists, and more than 2,500,000 active-duty members of the Armed Forces. Basic pay adjustments for active-duty members of the Armed Forces counted for $809,855,000 of the total authorization. Within this category, a 6-percent increase, totaling $136.6 million, was granted to officers with more than 2 years' service; $28.8 million was approved for a 22-percent hike in the salary of officers with less than 2 years' service. Four hundred ninety-three and one-tenth million dollars were allocated for enlistees with more than 2 years of service, as well as a 17.3-percent increase totaling $151.2 million for enlistees with less than 2 years of service.

Additional provisions include: an increase from $55 to $65 monthly in "hostile fire" pay for military personnel serving in regions which the President specifies as combat zones; free first-class postal services for servicemen stationed in combat zones; allowances by the Department of Defense of reenlistment stipends of up to four times the present stipend for personnel possessing "critical skills"; immediate increases in pay for retired personnel compensating for rises in the Consumer Price Index since 1963 and future increases should the Consumer Price Index rise 3 percent for any 3 consecutive months.

Public Law 89–149, a legislative recommendation of the Department of Defense, authorizes an increase in the monthly pay of enlisted personnel and officers who are engaged in dangerous assignments on the flight decks of aircraft carriers. Enlisted men will receive $55 a month; officers will receive $110 a month in hazardous duty compensation. Justification for incentive compensations for personnel performing hazardous duties rests on statistics which substantiate the high number of fatalities among aircraft carrier flight deck crews. Moreover, the rate of reenlistment for personnel of flight deck crews is considerably below the overall Navy reenlistment level. This authorization will serve to maintain highly qualified and experienced men on our flight decks.

The Congress has placed its stamp of approval on H.R. 3043—Public Law 89–26—which amends title 37 of the United States Code to authorize payment of special allowances and dislocation allowances for dependents of members of the uniformed services to meet the expenses incident to their ordered evacuation from an overseas danger zone. Under previous law, dependents could receive per diem payments and cost-of-living allowances prescribed for the oversea "safe haven" only when they were evacuated to another oversea area; no special allowances were granted when dependents were returned to the United States. This legislation, now Public Law 89–26, was proposed by the Department of Defense in an effort to alleviate the serious financial hardships which emergency and unexpected evacuations can produce in the way of high-cost, short-term living accommodations, the necessities of housekeeping, and clothing appropriate for the climate of the new post.

Public Law 89–151 amends titles 10 and 37 of the United States Code to authorize the survivors of a member of the Armed Forces who dies while on active duty to receive the monetary value of his unused and accrued leave at the time of his death. The need for this legislation arises from an inequity in the statutes. Presently, other Federal employees' beneficiaries receive the monetary value of accrued leave in the event of the employee's death. Similarly, most industries pay their employees basic pay for unused vacation time and unused leave upon termination or in the event of death. This is a benefit that has been long overdue widows and children of American service personnel who have made the supreme sacrifice.

Public Law 89–150, part of the Department of Defense legislative program, amends section 1485 of title 10 of the United States Code relating to the transportation of the remains of deceased dependents of members of the Armed Forces and authorizes the transportation of such dependents even if death occurs within the continental United States. Under previous law, authority for the transportation of the deceased at Government expense was limited to those situations in which the death occurred while the dependent was outside the United States. This legislation recognizes the financial hardships that can befall armed services personnel stationed in remote areas and the fact that, although stationed within the United States, the deceased may be farther from the place of final rest than some stations outside the United States.

Public Law 89–140 amends title 10 of the United States Code and authorizes transportation, at Government expense, of dependents accompanying members of the uniformed services at stations outside the United States who require medical attention, excluding elective surgery, unavailable locally or below standard in quality. This enactment attempts to provide equal benefits for all dependents and afford them access to first-class medical care regardless of their service location.

Public Law 89–152 amends the Universal Military Training Act of 1951 and makes it a crime knowingly to mutilate or destroy a draft card. Conviction may bring a maximum fine of $10,000 or a maximum prison sentence of 5 years. Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, the gentleman from South Carolina, L. MENDEL RIVERS, expressed the sentiments of many Members of the Congress when he said that this legislation is "the least we can do for our men in South Vietnam fighting to preserve freedom, while a vocal minority in this country thumb their noses at their own Government."

The House and the Senate have appropriated $46,887,163,000 for the 1966 fiscal year expenditures of the Department of Defense. This defense appropriation seeks to maintain and update our military forces so that they will be capable of effectively supporting our basic foreign policy objectives. In addition to authorizing the Commander in Chief to allocate whatever funds may be required to set into operation an airborne alert, this appropriation measure empowers the Secretary of Defense to increase the moneys in the Defense Department's emergency fund by no more than $150 million. This additional $150 million may be drawn from other DOD funds, with no single fund subject to more than a 7-percent reduction in its appropriations. Of the total $46,887,163,000, $1,700 million has been approved for the southeast Asia emergency fund, $14,658,391,000 for military personnel, $12,555,272,000 for operations and maintenance, $11,404 million for procurement, and $6,569,500,000 for research and development.

Appropriations of $1,090,789,000 have been earmarked for the construction of domestic and overseas military installations. An additional $665,846,000 was allocated for use in the building of some 8,500 family housing units for our military personnel and their families.

Chapter 31, title 38 of the United States Code has been amended to include an authorization for a 10-year extension, through June 30, 1975, of the period during which veterans seriously disabled in World War II or the Korean war are

eligible for vocational rehabilitation and training. This legislation offers aid, similar to that authorized for blinded veterans by Public Law 87–591, to disabled veterans whose service-connected disability has become progressively worse and consequently prevented the pursuance of occupational activities for which they had been prepared previously. What is more, favorable action by the Congress on this legislation offers hope to veterans who have been hospitalized for long periods of time but who are now capable of participation in rehabilitation and training programs.

Public Law 89–137 authorizes an increase in the subsistence allowance granted to disabled veterans receiving vocational rehabilitation and training under chapter 31, title 38 of the United States Code. Children of permanently or totally disabled or deceased veterans receiving an education under the war orphans' educational assistance program, also will be eligible for increased cost-of-living allowances. In spite of the fact that the cost of living has risen approximately 30 percent since the setting of these allowances in April of 1948, no readjustments have been forthcoming. This legislation, therefore, is long overdue and seeks to provide a realistic revision in subsistence allotments.

One of the last actions of the session was the enactment of a bill providing an average 10-percent increase in the monthly compensation payments for veterans with service-connected disabilities and their dependents. Veterans who are 50 percent or more disabled receive the largest increase in monthly rates. The first-year cost of this increased compensation is estimated at $175,826,663. This bill also authorized 4,000 nursing-care beds for veterans.

SERVICEMEN'S INSURANCE

Legislation—Public Law 89–214—was enacted which authorizes the purchase of group life insurance for all active duty members of our armed services. With the deduction of premiums from monthly pay, each active duty member will be insured against death in the amount of $10,000. Individuals may waive all coverage or select insurance in the amount of $5,000. This life insurance protection will terminate 120 days after severance from the armed services or release from an active duty status. Protection will expire automatically 31 days after a member has been away without leave. Active duty personnel will enjoy full conversion rights to permanent, regular insurance protection without undergoing any medical examination.

Widows, widowers, children, or parents of armed services personnel who died in the course of hostile action, as a result of military or naval accidents, or the extra hazards imposed by military or naval operations will receive a death gratuity payment of $5,000. This death gratuity clause is retroactive and covers deaths occurring—in the circumstances stipulated above—on or after January 1, 1957, through the date when the terms of the group life insurance protection became operational.

COAST GUARD AUTHORIZATIONS

Functioning as an integral part of the U.S. Navy in time of war and as a protective force in time of peace, the U.S. Coast Guard is credited, during the past 10 years, with rescuing more than 21,000 persons in distress and saving property valued in excess of $15 billion. Public Law 89–13 incorporates appropriations of $114,250,000 authorized for the procurement of helicopters and other aircraft, ships, and the construction of shore and off-shore establishments. The constant and harsh abuse inflicted by the sea makes replacement and improvement of many Coast Guard facilities imperative, if this unheralded but faithful service is to continue to carry out its missions with dispatch and efficiency.

Public Law 89–21 authorizes for the 1966 fiscal year additional moneys totaling $6,260,000 to be used for the procurement of 17 small patrol cutters for the Coast Guard. This legislation allows for the replacement of those cutters ordered transferred to the U.S. Navy for activities off the coast of Vietnam by President Johnson.

SPACE

The Congress continued to support and to promote the highly successful program of the United States. Public Law 89–53, the NASA authorization legislation, and Public Law 89–128, the appropriations legislation provided $5,190,305,200 for the space program for fiscal year 1966. This includes facilities construction, administrative operations, and research and development, including solid rocket fuel and nuclear solid-powered systems for spaceships.

In the Department of Defense appropriations legislation—Public Law 89–213—we earmarked $150 million of the Air Force research and development funds for a manned orbiting laboratory to conduct defense-related research in space.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE, 1965

No one will refute that the mid-20th century is an age characterized by perpetual peril to the national self-determination of peace-seeking and freedom-loving nations everywhere.

And there are few among us who would assert that our national security is divorced from the national security of each peace-seeking and freedom-loving nation, for, in a very real sense, our future security depends on the evolution of a world society of strong and independent and free nations.

To hasten the coming of an age characterized not by perpetual peril but by perpetual peace, not by subversion and aggression but by national self-determination, not by a yoke of oppression but by a full measure of individual freedom, we have appropriated for the 1966 fiscal year, $3,218 million to finance economic and military assistance programs and $714,188,000 in other funds for allied programs.

In the Foreign Assistance Act of 1965 we renew our pledge to offer strength to those who would be free; hope for those who would otherwise despair; progress for their who would help themselves.

ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY

In a never-ceasing effort to avert a senseless nuclear holocaust and incalculable human destruction and suffering, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency was established as a permanent agency in 1961. This Agency has devoted its efforts to the formulation and acceptance of international agreements and understandings halting the proliferation of nuclear weapons and preventing the escalation of limited conflicts into an all-out nuclear exchange.

The late President Kennedy stated our goal as the realization of a "world free from war and free from the dangers and burdens of armaments in which the use of force is subordinated to the rule of law and in which international adjustments to a changing world are achieved peacefully."

Under the terms of Public Law 89–27, $30 million have been appropriated for the fiscal year beginning in 1966 and extending through 1969. No investment that furthers the realization of this goal can be too great. Our continued support of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency underscores our commitment to world peace and hopefully will serve as a beacon to guide other nations of the world along a course that will bring international understanding and the advancement of mankind out of peaceful negotiations among men of good will everywhere.

UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AMENDMENTS

President Johnson has said that the United Nations should serve simultaneously the large and the small, the rich and the poor—for the peace of one area is but part of world peace, and the prosperity of one country is but an element of the world's well-being.

The Senate has consented to the ratification of two important amendments to the United Nations Charter—amendments which will allow this association truly to involve more of the nations of the world in its work as a genuine force for peace.

The first of these amendments would increase the representation on the Security Council from the present 11 nations to 15 nations, with an accompanying increase from 7 to 9 in the number of member nations necessary to constitute a voting majority. The second charter amendment would enlarge the Economic and Social Council from 18 to 27 members.

When founded 20 years ago, the United Nations represented 51 countries; today this institution serves 114 nations, 61 of whom are from the African and Asian continents. Remaining steadfast in its dedication to the advancement of world peace and the realization of liberty and dignity for mankind, the responsibilities of this world organization for peace have expanded. Representation on governing councils and bodies has not, however, reflected overall changes. The continued strength and success of the United Nations will depend on how fully it meets the needs of all members, especially the newer nations—alive with

the hopes and aspirations of national independence and national freedom.

Adoption of these two proposed amendments will strengthen the foundation by assuring a greater voice and more vital participation to the African and Asian nations. What is more, U.S. support of these two charter amendments will underwrite our faith in this world assembly of sovereign states which, in the words of the late President Kennedy, "is our last best hope in an age when the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments for peace."

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

The Congress has authorized a 25-percent increase in the U.S. quota to the International Monetary Fund. Created at the Bretton Woods Conference of 1944, the IMF was established as a permanent institution working to build a world in which economic cooperation prevails among all countries. By providing the milieu in which participating nations may strive for viable solutions to international monetary problems, the Fund has written an impressive record since its operations commenced. Great strides have been made in mitigating specific problems relating to fair and stable currency and exchange convertibility policies, the fluctuations of inflation and deflation, and restrictive practices affecting international trade transactions. The International Monetary Fund must be recognized as an invaluable mechanism for the extension of international credit facilities. Credit facilities provided consist of currency quotas assessed to and paid by each member nation. Borrowing nations may draw out the foreign currency of which they have a temporary shortage and, within a specified period of time, transfer to the currency reservoir an equivalent amount of a specie acceptable in repayment terms to the Fund. The financial assistance which the IMF offers to its members is of a relatively short-term nature and is afforded to ease temporary currency pressures and temporary imbalances in their balance-of-payments situation. This financial respite permits the country in question to implement economic policy revisions designed to restore a balance-of-payments equilibrium.

Based on the recommendations of the Executive Directors of the International Monetary Fund, all of the 102 member nations have been asked to increase their quotas by 25 percent. These additional funds will bring the total IMF pool to the $21 billion level—an increase of $5 billion from its present $16 billion and will allow the IMF to continue to meet the credit demands, especially the convertibility of currencies, imposed by present and projected increases in the volume of international trade negotiations.

The general 25-percent increase authorized by the Congress and signed into law—Public Law 89-31—amounts to $1,035 million, bringing the total share of U.S. contributions to the IMF to $5,160 million.

INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

The Inter-American Development Bank now functions as the major cooperative banking instrumentality of the Alliance for Progress and is therefore an essential link in a vast partnership for progress—a partnership that unites the developed and the underdeveloped free nations of this hemisphere in a coordinated program of social, economic, and political development.

Convening in Panama City in the spring of 1964, the Board of Governors of the Inter-American Development Bank recommended major revisions affecting the Fund for Special Operations lending "window." The Fund for Special Operations—FSO—offers low-interest, long maturity loans for economic development programs; the Special Progress Trust Fund—SPTF—offers easy repayment loans for social development projects. Cognizant of the fact that Latin American social and economic objectives are interrelated and interdependent, the Board has strongly urged member approval of a consolidation of the Fund for Special Operations and the Social Progress Trust Fund with FSO expanding its financing to incorporate programs relating to higher education, housing, sewerage, water supplies, and similar endeavors heretofore the exclusive interests of the Social Progress Trust Fund. If the FSO is to experience no interruption in its record of solid accomplishments, its capital resources level must be raised. As of December 31, 1964, only $48 million in FSO funds remained available and the exhaustion of these uncommitted funds appears inevitable in the near future. The Board recommended a total increase of FSO funds amounting to $900 million for the 1965–67 calendar years. The United States was asked to contribute $250 million annually; the Latin American nations were asked to contribute a total of $150 million over this time period. If this proposal is approved, American financing of SPTF operations will automatically terminate. Passage of Public Law 89-6 authorized the Secretary of the Treasury, in his capacity as U.S. Governor of the Inter-American Development Bank, to vote in support of the resolution calling for the additional assessment of $900 million for the Fund for Special Operations.

Authorization of a $750 million U.S. contribution to the proposed overall increase also received congressional approval. American representatives to the Bank were instructed to vote against approval of any FSO loans to nations who, after January 1, 1962, have expropriated U.S. properties without making adequate compensation arrangements. Quick enactment of this authorization measure and acceptance of the Board's recommended structural revisions mark an important step in strengthening the objectives of the Alliance for Progress and reflect our sincere determination to support our commitments to bettering the lives of our Latin American neighbors.

INTERNATIONAL COFFEE AGREEMENT

The House and the Senate passed, by overwhelming rollcall votes, an Administration-sponsored measure which would allow the United States fully to assume its responsibilities and obligations as set forth in the International Coffee Agreement of 1962.

Representatives of more than 50 nations vitally interested in coffee import-export transactions signed the agreement on September 28, 1962. Subsequently, the Senate gave its advice and consent to the ratification of the International Coffee Agreement; it became operative October 1, 1963. U.S. compliance with the terms of this agreement was contingent upon the successful enactment of enabling legislation. In the last session of the Congress, the House set aside a conference report which would have authorized active participation by the United States. The 88th Congress adjourned before further consideration could be given to this matter.

The International Coffee Agreement must be placed in its proper perspective. It must be viewed as a concrete measure designed to implement one of the major goals of American foreign policy; it must be viewed as a constructive effort to further the development of social and economic progress in the developing nations of the world.

The need to eliminate the constant threat of sharp price fluctuations on the world coffee market is apparent if we consider carefully one of the major premises set forth by the Honorable George W. Ball, Under Secretary of State, in his testimony before the Senate Finance Committee in January of this year. Secretary Ball said, and I quote:

> Coffee is the single most important agricultural commodity in the trade of most of the developing countries, particularly in Latin America. Coffee exports account for more than 50 percent of all exports in 6 Latin American countries and an average of 25 percent in all the 14 Latin American exporting nations. Seven new African countries receive from 30 to 50 percent of all foreign exchange earnings from coffee.
>
> About 20 million persons in the world depend on coffee for their livelihood; more than 60 percent of them are in Latin America.
>
> In a very real sense, therefore, coffee is the lifeblood of the developing nations of the world.

Clearly, coffee is a primary commodity which plays and will continue to play a dominant role in the lives of millions of persons in whose future well-being we have a vital interest. Instability of worldwide coffee prices poses a serious obstacle to the evolution of social and economic betterment within each and every one of the developing nations of the world.

A bipartisan appreciation of this truism has been often expressed. Many of my Democratic colleagues in the House and fellow Democrats in the Senate wholeheartedly subscribe to the sentiments voiced by the late President Kennedy in March of 1961. In outlining his administration's program for Latin American development, popularly referred to as the Alliance for Progress, the late President said, and I quote:

> The United States is ready to cooperate in serious, case-by-case examinations of commodity market problems. Frequently violent changes in commodity prices seriously injure the economies of many Latin nations—draining their resources and stultifying their growth. Together we must find practical methods of bringing an end to this pattern.

Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, of New York, expressed similar thoughts when he commented:

A sharp decline in the price of one commodity can wipe out in one afternoon our combined efforts to raise standards of living in Latin America via public and private investments.

What are the provisions of the enabling legislation passed by the Congress and now included in Public Law 89-23?

First, the President is authorized to place a limitation on the amount of coffee imported into the United States from nations who are not active participants in the International Coffee Agreement. Moreover, the Chief Executive is authorized to place a ban on the importation of coffee shipments not accompanied by proper certificates of origin or of reexport. Exports of this commodity from the United States must also be certified as to their country of origin.

Second, the President is directed to maintain a dossier of pertinent statistics and facts releating to coffee prices, consumption, distribution, and import-export patterns. Annually he is to forward to the Congress a report detailing world coffee prices together with an evaluation of the status of American consumers vis-a-vis policies implemented by the International Coffee Council.

Third, the President must judge whether or not the workings of the International Coffee Agreement will affect any unwarranted increase in the cost of coffee to U.S. users. The terms of the act will go into effect only if, in his judgment, no unwarranted increase in coffee prices to be paid by the Nation's homemakers is imminent. The continued participation of the United States in the Coffee Agreement is extended through October 1, 1968, or until the Congress adopts a concurrent resolution expressing its opinion that unwarranted increases in coffee prices make future U.S. participation unfeasible.

Fourth and finally, we have authorized an appropriation of $150,000, or 20 percent of the total contributions per fiscal year as our share in the overall costs of this agreement's operations.

Surely the 89th Congress, in passing legislation bolstering the respective positions of the International Monetary Fund and the Inter-American Development Bank and in approving enabling legislation paving the way for American participation in the International Coffee Agreement, has shown to our friends and our enemies alike that the United States continues to act in good faith in her efforts to build a hemisphere—and a world—where all men can hope for the same high standard of living, and all can live out their lives in dignity and in freedom.

PEACE CORPS APPROPRIATIONS

Nearly 14,000 trainees and volunteers have asked not what their country could do for them but rather what they could do for their country and for mankind. These 14,000 men and women, from all walks of American life, are now a part of the Peace Corps.

Engaged in the broad fields of public health, education, agriculture, and community development, Peace Corps personnel is presently serving in 46 countries. The success of the original concept of deploying highly trained, first-quality Americans to swell the trained manpower resources of foreign nations is evidenced by the continuing and increasing demands for additional volunteers at a rate which exceeds the number available.

In partial recognition of the fine work performed daily by this dedicated group of Americans, the Congress has given final approval to several amendments to the Peace Corps Act of 1961—Public Law 87-293. These amendments will expand a variety of measures relating to the health needs of our volunteers and will effect a unification of Washington and overseas personnel operations under the provisions of the Foreign Service Act. Appropriations of $115 million have been authorized for the 1966 fiscal year expenditures of the Corps. We recognize fully that in assisting in the economic and social development of others in all corners of the globe, we are furthering our own national interests by promoting good will and understanding between the United States and host countries while advancing a higher standard of living for our free world allies.

UNITED STATES-CANADIAN RELATIONS

Our good neighbors to the north, Canada, must also know that we seek to maintain and strengthen the goodwill and understanding that have allowed our two great nations to live side by side in peace and cooperate one with the other in the interests of mutual prosperity. The Congress and the Johnson administration have examined carefully several potentially troublesome issues—issues which, if not amicably and equitably resolved might erupt into tensions disruptive to harmonious United States-Canadian relations. One of these problem areas involved tariffs levied on automobiles and auto parts shipments. In January of this year, Prime Minister Pearson of Canada and President Johnson signed the United States-Canada Automotive Parts Agreement. The major objective of this agreement was the removal of artificial barriers whose imposition has impeded the expansion of the American and Canadian automotive trade and prevented the full integration of American and Canadian auto markets and industries into a single North American automotive industry and market.

While producing essentially the same vehicles as their U.S. counterparts, Canadian manufacturers have not yet achieved economies of scale. As a consequence, lower volume of output, accompanying higher per unit costs, and a smaller consumer demand have brought to Canada a smaller share of the overall North American automobile market. A Commonwealth content stipulation of 60 percent, Canadian customs duties of 17.5 percent on incoming motor vehicles and up to 25 percent on auto parts have served to "protect" Canadian manufacturers but have restricted the expansion and growth of the industry. In a concerted effort to increase production and export levels, the Canadian Government introduced the concept of "import duty rebates," in November of 1962.

To Canadian manufacturers substantially increasing their auto export quota, an import duty rebate was promised on all automotive parts. Convinced that they were now in a disadvantageous competitive position, American parts manufacturers responded by demanding that the Federal Government, under section 303 of our Tariff Act, impose similar duties on incoming Canadian parts shipments.

Interested parties on both sides of the border were aware of the potentially devastating impact that such retaliatory actions could have on the fine trade relations existing between the two countries as well as on the continued friendly relations between the United States and Canada. Their negotiation efforts bore fruit in the United States-Canada Automotive Products Agreement. Canada has already implemented this agreement. Full workability required the enactment of enabling legislation by the Congress. Public Law 89-283 authorizes the President to eliminate the American tariff of 6.5 percent on Canadian autos and the 8.5 percent tariff on original parts destined for use in the production of new vehicles. This agreement is expected to permit a more economical and efficient use of production facilities, price reduction, rising sales, and a more complete integration of American and Canadian automobile interests into one North American industry.

Earlier this session the Senate ratified the Gut Dam Claims Agreement establishing a three-man international tribunal with the authority to settle property damage claims brought by American citizens against the Canadian Government. Composed of one American member, one Canadian member, and a mutually agreed upon chairman, this tribunal will seek equitable settlements for damages caused by rising waters on Lake Ontario which the injured parties allege resulted from the construction, operation, and maintenance by Canada of the Gut Dam.

EXPORT CONTROL ACT

The power of the President to place needed controls on American exports has been extended through June 30, 1969—Public Law 89-63. By extending and amending the Export Control Act of 1949, the Congress has reinforced the authority of the President of the United States to guide American export transactions along paths paralleling defined domestic economic goals, foreign policy objectives, and national security interests. The terms of the act were written with the purpose of offering national decisionmakers a comprehensive yet flexible set of alternatives to effect a safeguard against potential threats to our national welfare. Policymakers have concluded that the best interests of our national security demand the imposition of export controls on specified categories of equipment, supplies, raw and processed materials, and certain technological information to unfriendly nations.

Our NATO allies have joined us in a multilateral effort to exclude sensitive supplies and information from the Communist nations of Eastern Europe and of Asia; the United States has instituted a unilateral export ban on similar car-

goes destined for Cuba, North Vietnam, North Korea, and Communist China. We do not wish to further the efforts of those who would employ their full economic and military might to bring to pass our ultimate destruction.

In a concerted endeavor to underscore the importance of this act and in a deliberate effort to foster strict adherance to the terms of this act, the Commerce Department has been authorized to impose yet another penalty on violators. This Department is now empowered to punish infractions by the assessment of fines of $1,000 for each offense. As a means of collecting the equivalent of this assessment, export licenses may be revoked for a 1-year period.

We also stated, in Public Law 89-63, the opposition to the United States to any boycott or restrictive trade practices of any country against any other country with which we are friendly.

GOLD RESERVE REQUIREMENTS

In a special message sent to the Congress in February, President Johnson proclaimed:

> The state of the dollar in the world today is strong—far stronger than 3 or 4 years ago. Clearly, those who fear for the dollar are needlessly afraid. Those who hope for its weakness, hope in vain.

While the President noted that the prospects for the continued stability and prosperity of our economy are indeed favorable, he took cognizance of the fact that certain aspects of our monetary policies were in need of revision in light of present and projected financial trends. Mr. Johnson reiterated his concern over our chronic balance-of-payments deficit and the possible ramifications it may have in relation to the international financial posture of the United States.

Although considerable progress has been made in reducing this deficit, American dollar expenditures abroad still exceeded American dollar earnings from foreigners by more than $3 billion in 1964. The persistent balance-of-payments deficit, together with somewhat outdated domestic monetary policies, could combine to introduce impediments to the maintenance of the gold value of the dollar at the current exchange rate of $35 an ounce. Should the nations of the world come to doubt the future of the free convertibility of the American dollar to gold at the current ratio, the preeminent economic position of this country could be endangered.

A fundamental relationship exists between the balance-of-payments accounts concept and the status of the Nation's gold reserves. Quite simply stated, any transaction which results in a flow of American dollars out of the country contributes to a balance-of-payments deficit; any transaction which results in a return of American dollars to the country, contributes to a balance-of-payments surplus.

Beginning with our efforts to aid those nations ravaged in the holocaust of World War II, a steady stream of American dollars has gone abroad. With each passing year, we have realized an unfavorable balance of payments because we have spent more money overseas than the rest of the world has spent or could spend in the United States.

Since the stability of the U.S. dollar is recognized by all free world governments, it is not difficult to understand why many international business transactions are settled by an exchange of American dollars. Eventually, foreign businessmen, investment brokers, and bankers may accumulate more dollars than they need or desire to retain for working balances or for immediate investment purposes. Should a foreign receipient feel that he possesses an excess of dollars, he may surrender them to a central bank in his country. The central bank, in turn, may elect to choose either of several alternatives: it may retain the dollars as part of its reserve, or it may exchange its dollars for gold. The Treasury of the United States has pledged that it will convert dollars into gold at an exchange rate of $35 to the ounce.

Related to this discussion are the terms of the Federal Reserve Act as amended in 1945. This act required Federal Reserve banks to maintain gold certificate reserves equivalent in value to at least 25 percent of the notes or currency in circulation and to hold gold certificate reserves equivalent in value to at least 25 percent of the value of deposits made by domestic commercial banks.

Former Secretary of the Treasury, C. Douglas Dillon, pinpointed the serious problem which had developed when he made the following statement before the Senate Committee on Finance:

> At the end of 1964, the volume of Federal Reserve notes in circulation—which make up over 95 percent of our basic currency—totaled $35.3 billion. At the same time, Federal Reserve deposit liabilities amounted to $19.5 billion. Together, these Federal Reserve liabilities required a gold certificate reserve of $13.7 billion, absorbing for that purpose all but $1.4 billion of the gold certificates issued to the Federal Reserve against the Treasury gold stock. And since January 1 the Treasury gold stock has declined by $200 milion as a result of sales to foreigners, with further losses to be expected.

The twin demands of a respect for international pledges and an adherance to legal reserve requirements clearly could not be satisfied within the limits of our relatively inflexible $1.4 billion free gold supply. To bolster world confidence in the future of the American dollar and to foster continued economic growth at home, Public Law 89-3 removed the legal requirement that Federal Reserve banks maintain gold certificate reserves equivalent to at least 25 percent of commercial bank deposits and thereby injected an additional $5 billion into our available gold supply.

TOURIST EXEMPTIONS

A perennial factor contributing to our balance-of-payments deficit is the dollar outflow resulting from expenditures made abroad by American tourists. In 1964 alone, foreign travel by American tourists saw an estimated $2.8 billion outflow while the dollar inflow from foreign travelers in the United States totaled only $1.2 billion. Simple arithmetic tells us that the 1964 balance-of-payments deficit was increased by $1.6 billion on account of American overseas travel. A high percentage of American overseas spending takes the form of the purchase of foreign goods and products. On June 30, the President signed into law a bill which makes permanent the temporary $100 limit on the value of duty-free purchases which returning American travelers may bring into the country. Had this legislation, Public Law 89-62, not been signed into law by June 30, the temporary $100 ceiling would have automatically returned to the $500 permanent limit; our program to reduce our balance-of-payments deficit would have received a serious setback. Calculations of exemptions will now be based on the retail value of the goods instead of the wholesale value as will the $10 exemption on mail gifts. The limit on duty-free alcoholic beverages brought into the United States from other than U.S. possessions will be reduced from the 1-gallon maximum to a 1-quart maximum.

INTEREST EQUALIZATION TAX

Executive-congressional study has bypassed no phase or aspect of our economic policy that has a direct relationship to our balance-of-payments posture. President Johnson requested congressional approval of an extension of the interest equalization tax on bank loans. An interest equalization tax is a levy imposed on foreign securities, including foreign stock and debt obligations obtained by Americans from foreigners. Increases in costs to American purchasers will be reflected in higher costs to foreign borrowers. In short, the purpose of an interest equalization levy is to make the costs of acquiring capital in the United States comparable to those prevailing on foreign capital markets. Traditionally, the United States has offered lower interest rates. By alining U.S. and foreign capital interest rates, foreign demands for our capital are expected to decline and thereby effect a reduction in the flow of American dollars out of the country.

Since its initial application in July of 1963, the interest equalization tax has contributed to a substantial curtailment of the dollar outflow. Further savings can be anticipated as a result of the extension and expansion of the interest equalization measure. Public Law 89-243 extends this tax through July 31, 1967, and broadens its coverage to include the purchase of foreign bonds maturing in 1 to 3 years. Prior to this action, only foreign bonds with a maturity period of more than 3 years were assessed.

ANTITRUST EXEMPTIONS

We know that our persistent balance-of-payments deficit will not be brought under satisfactory control until we are able to engage the cooperation of business investors in limiting loans and investments abroad. Full cooperation on the part of our lending institutions requires assurance that the imposition of credit restraints will not result in violation of antitrust laws. Public Law 89-175 assures the investment community that participation in voluntary credit curtailment plans requested and approved by the Chief Executive will exclude involvement in antitrust violation suits.

Revisions in our gold reserve requirements, in the limits of duty-free foreign purchases allowed to returning American tourists, the renewal and expansion of the interest equalization tax legislation, plus antitrust exemptions to American business investors represent sound efforts to alleviate undue pressures on the stability of the dollar and simultaneously effect a reduction in the gap between American expenditures and earnings abroad.

EXCISE TAX REDUCTIONS

All phases of our economic policy must be constantly and critically reviewed; every aspect of our economic program must be justifiable in terms of the advancement of our national economic goals.

The decade of the 1960's poses the challenges of "useful employment opportunities, including self-employment for those able, willing, and seeking to work, and maximum employment, production, and purchasing power."

With the explicit purpose of furthering these aims and aspirations, a major tax cut was introduced in 1964. The consequences of this tax reduction have been favorable; unemployment has steadily decreased, while income, production, and employment levels have increased. Notwithstanding the fact that we are experiencing our fifth consecutive year of unequaled economic achievement, our general prosperity is not shared by all; the doors to self-employment opportunities and satisfying, gainful work are not yet open to all. What is more, the productive capacity of our economic structure falls short of its potential. We cannot be content; we cannot boast of our accomplishments until the fruits of our prosperity and the bounty of our unparalleled economic heights are fully and equally distributed among all Americans.

To stimulate investment and to encourage continued economic growth while maintaining stability, the Federal excise tax schedule has been revamped through Public Law 89-44. This tax revision will phase out most Federal excise taxes over a 5-year period, beginning June 22, 1965, and ending January 1, 1969. Certain general assessments will remain in effect after the latter date and will include the following: a 1 percent manufacturers' excise tax on passenger automobiles, Federal taxes on tobacco and alcohol, and regulatory levies on narcotics, gambling, and firearms. Users' charges will be adjusted in an effort to transfer the cost burden from the generality of taxpayers to the beneficiaries and users of a wide range of special services and facilities provided by our highway, aviation, and inland waterway programs.

Since the excise tax reduction will make its impact felt in households and businesses across the Nation, I wish to outline some of the highlights of the scheduled reduction-repeal schedule.

First-phase changes, effective June 22, 1965, include:

Elimination of retail excise taxes on furs, jewelry, toilet articles, luggage, and handbags;

Reduction of the manufacturers' excise tax on passenger automobiles from the current 10 percent to 7 percent, retroactive on all consumer purchases of autos as of May 15, 1965;

Repeal of manufacturers' excise taxes on business machines, radios, television sets, phonographic equipment, fountain pens, ball point pens, mechanical pencils, matches, lighters, playing cards, and sporting goods, with the exception of fishing equipment;

First-phase changes, effective July 1, 1965, include repeal of excise levies on safe deposit boxes, coin-operated amusement devices, bowling alleys, billiard tables, and membership fees in clubs organized after July 1, 1965.

An estimated $1.8 billion reduction will result from these first-phase changes.

Second-phase changes, effective January 1, 1966, include:

Reduction of the tax on local and long distance telephone service and teletypewriter service from the current 10 percent to 3 percent;

Repeal of excise tax on private communications telephone service including such service when connected with general telephone networks;

Elimination of excise tax on admissions to racing events, athletic events, concerts, movies, theater performances, cabarets, and club dues, effective December 31, 1965, to accommodate New Year's Eve users;

Removal of documentary stamp taxes on issuance and transfer of stocks, bonds, and deeds of conveyance;

Repeal of manufacturers' tax on lubricating oil, with the exception of that used in highway vehicles;

Repeal of manufactures' tax on electric light bulbs, and automobile accessories and parts, with the exception of those accessories and parts used chiefly in trucks;

Repeal of the excise tax on manufactured tobacco;

Repeal of the excise tax on telegraph and wire services.

An estimated $1.6 billion reduction will result from these second-phase changes.

Third through fifth-phase changes, spanning the period beginning January 1, 1967, and ending January 1, 1969, include:

Reduction of the manufacturers' excise tax on passenger automobiles to 4 percent effective January 1, 1967, 2 percent effective January 1, 1968, and to a permanent 1-percent level effective January 1, 1969;

Reduction of the tax on local and long-distance telephone service and teletypewriter service to 2 percent effective January 1, 1967, to 1 percent effective January 1, 1968, and complete elimination of all tax on this type of service effective January 1, 1969;

Elimination of real estate conveyance taxes effective January 1, 1968.

An estimated $1.3 billion reduction will result from the third through fifth phase changes in the excise tax schedule.

Other major provisions of this legislation resulted in the following actions:

Seventy million dollars in highway user charges were transferred from the general revenues to the highway trust fund.

Levies placed on cigarettes, distilled spirits, wines, and beer at the time of the Korean war effort have been made permanent. These Korean regulatory rates were subject to automatic annual reevaluations; the time and cost factors involved in the yearly extension of these revenues all but canceled out the returns achieved.

The 5-percent excise tax on air travel was made permanent. Under current law, this levy was subject to automatic annual review. It has been fixed at the 5-percent level in line with the Presidential objective of guaranteeing that users of the airways bear their fair share of airway costs.

The $14 billion income tax cut of 1964 swelled the volume of consumer purchases by $28 billion; business investments, in turn, increased by approximately $6½ billion. Greater consumer purchases and increased business investments resulted in expanded production schedules and the subsequent creation of 2 million new employment opportunities.

We are confident that the authorization of this estimated $4.7 billion excise tax reduction will serve as an additional stimulus for greater consumer purchasing and greater business development and expansion. We are equally confident that the excise tax revision represents a worthwhile investment whose returns will be manifold in the advancement of our goal of full employment within the framework of a progressive, dynamic, and healthy economy.

COINAGE ACT OF 1965

The growing shortage in the world's silver supplies has had its impact on the American currency system. The Treasury Staff Silver and Coinage Study revealed that, in the period from 1960 through 1964, the nations of the free world annually consumed an average of 410 million ounces of silver while they annually produced an average of 210 million ounces. In his message to the Congress requesting legislation authorizing measures which would avert any impending nationwide silver crisis, President Johnson announced that we expect to use an estimated 10,000 tons of this precious metal to meet our 1965 coinage needs. This demand alone will exceed this year's free world production of new silver.

Silver is a vital commodity in many industrial, research, and national defense endeavors. In the manufacture of jewelry, silverware, mirrors, and photographic supplies; in the practice of medicine and dentistry, and in the construction and operation of nuclear submarine batteries, supersonic jets, and solid fuel rockets, silver plays an increasingly important role. The dictates of the law of supply and demand left us only one feasible solution and workable course of action; new coinage policies had to be adopted to effect a reduction in the silver content of our coins, thereby freeing greater quantities of the metal for industrial and research usage.

Accordingly, under the Coinage Act of 1965, dimes and quarters with no silver content will be minted and distributed. The new 10-cent and 25-cent pieces will

be composed of a cupronickel-clad alloy. Resembling our familiar dimes and quarters in design and diameter, the new coins will be composite coins containing 75 percent copper and 25 percent nickel bonded to a pure copper core. Presently these denominations contain a 90-percent silver content. Half dollars will be composite coins as well; makeup of the new 50-cent pieces will find the outer layers of high-silver content alloy—80 percent silver to 20 percent copper—bonded to an inner core of low-silver content alloy—21 percent silver to 79 percent copper. As with the dimes and quarters, the outward appearance of these new disks will remain essentially unchanged. The content difference, however, will bring about a reduction from 90 to 40 percent in the silver content.

In an effort to keep national decision-makers abreast of relevant technological developments and estimates of national and international metal supplies, the Coinage Act of 1965 creates a Joint Commission on Coinage. This Commission will review currency problems as they arise and offer recommendations as to policy revisions which will aid in bridging the gap between silver supplies and demands.

The obsolescence of precious silver as a basis for our Nation's currency system is now common knowledge. A 173-year-old American tradition must yield to contemporary considerations; a pang of nostalgia touches the hearts of millions of patriotic Americans. The prestige of the American silver piece is recognized around the world. We must not blind ourselves to the fact that the prestige of the American silver coin comes from the purchasing power that it represents and not from the percentage of precious metals which it contains. When the new coins join those already in circulation, they too will enjoy the dignity, respect, and prestige of our 173-year-old coinage heritage because their full and equal purchasing power will be as strong as ever.

HEALTH CARE AND FACILITIES

MEDICAL CARE-SOCIAL SECURITY

The gentleman from Arkansas, Mr. WILBUR MILLS, chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, described the enactment of the medical care-social security bill as "one of the most significant and far-reaching measures which has been before this or any recent Congress." Successful passage of the so-called medicare legislation drew to a close a decade of frustrated efforts to establish a workable program of insurance protection against the unpredictable and often catastrophic costs of hospital care and related medical services for the elderly.

Former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Anthony J. Celebrezze, pleaded the cause for our senior citizens in the following words:

> It is one of the unfortunate facts of life that in old age, when people are living on substantially reduced incomes, health costs are much higher than in younger years. And since, as a general rule, old people have relatively little in the way of resources that can be readily converted into cash and little or no possibility of gaining new income or assets, many find that their high health costs are too much for them. The years of security and independence that they had hoped for and planned for are spent in a losing battle against dependence.
>
> Despite commendable efforts by the private insurance industry, the voluntary health insurance effort has not proved adaptable to the almost universal need of the aged for adequate health insurance; few of the aged can afford to pay the premiums which older people must be charged for broad health insurance protection.

Under the terms of the expanded social security structure, all persons 65 years of age or older, with minor exceptions, will benefit from the basic health insurance provisions of Public Law 89-97. Excluded from this coverage are Federal employees covered by the Federal health benefits program, aliens unlawfully admitted to the United States, and aliens with residence of less than 5 consecutive years in this country. Also ineligible for the expanded benefits are persons judged guilty of subversive crimes against the Government.

Financed in its entirety by increased social security assessments, the basic health insurance section of the medicare program will assume the costs of all ordinary, inpatient hospital services for a maximum of 90 days per single illness. The patient will pay the first $40 of costs and, after 60 days of hospitalization, will pay an additional $10 daily. Psychiatric hospitalization is covered up to a lifetime maximum of 190 days per individual, with no single hospital stay amounting to more than 60 days.

After any illness period involving a minimum of 3 inpatient hospital days, a person is entitled to a maximum of 100 days of nursing home care. The cost to the patient is $5 daily, following the first 20 days in an extended-care facility.

Outpatient diagnostic service expenses are also included in the provisions of the medicare legislation which this Congress has passed. Patients will contribute the initial $20 toward meeting charges incurred and 20 percent of any remaining expenses.

Posthospital home-care visits made by other than a physician are fully included. Within any single period of illness, the patient may avail himself to up to 100 home-care visits by nurses or therapists.

The basic health insurance section of Public Law 89-97 excludes from payment the expenses incurred for the services of physicians, psychiatrists, anesthesiologists, pathologists, and radiologists.

The second major section of the medical care-social security legislation offers supplementary protection against the mounting costs of health protection. Unlike the basic health insurance plan, the supplementary health insurance coverage is voluntary. What this means is that persons 65 years of age or older may elect to pay $3 monthly premiums; the Federal Government, in turn, will match this premium payment. Eighty percent of the cost to the patient is paid after an initial annual $50 payment. No limitation is imposed on the payments made for a variety of services provided by psychiatrists, dental surgeons—subject to certain stipulations—anesthesiologists, pathologists, radiologists, surgeons, and physicians. What is more, these services may be rendered to the patient whether in or out of a medical institution. An additional 100 home-nursing visits, over and above the number provided under the basic health insurance coverage, are allowed. Among other benefits accruing from election of the voluntary supplementary health insurance are the following: rental of some types of medical equipment, the cost of X-rays, electrocardiograms, laboratory tests, stipulated ambulance service costs, splints, iron lungs, artificial limbs and eyes, and some surgical dressings.

Thus far, we have discussed some of the general provisions of the two major medical insurance proposals incorporated in the liberalized social security program. These, however, do not exhaust the improvements that have been made. The significance and the scope of this legislation become apparent if we look at several additional provisos.

Retroactive to January 1, 1965, approximately 20 million retired or disabled workers will receive an increase of 7 percent in their monthly social security cash benefits. This 7-percent increase was granted to afford some relief from the financial burdens of an increasing cost of living. We have also given effective recognition to the needs of young people between the ages of 18 and 22 who are in the process of completing their formal education and who are, consequently, not completely self-supporting. Payment of insurance benefits for eligible young people has been extended beyond the 18th year through the 22d year providing that the individual is attending school as a full-time student.

Disability insurance payments will be forthcoming to workers whose incapacitation has been or may be for a consecutive 12-month period. Prior to this enactment, disability insurance payments were allotted to workers whose recovery was doubtful or who could not anticipate full recovery within the near future. The eligibility waiting period for disabled workers has been shortened from the current 7 months to 6 months.

Limited cash benefits will now be available to aged persons who have worked between three and five employment quarters; current law set the minimum at six quarters.

Under this new authorization, eligible workers or widows of eligible workers who have reached their 72d year would be entitled to a monthly allowance of $35; eligible wives would receive a monthly cash allowance of $17.50.

Widows of eligible workers may now draw upon their benefits earlier. Election of this early payment option will necessarily result in a reduction of the benefits allowed. In other words, an eligible widow aged 60 may now draw approximately 17.5 percent of the benefits her husband would have received at age 65 if living. Should an eligible widow elect to draw benefits upon reaching age 62, she would then receive 82.5 percent of the benefits her spouse would have received, if living, at age 65. The retirement provisions of the present law have been made more flexible. We substituted a $1,200 to $2,400 income range for the

existing $1,200 to $1,700 range. We increased the exemptions on annual earnings of an individual without his sacrificing all or part of his social security benefits. The first $1,500 of annual earnings are completely clear of social security benefit reductions. For each $2 that an individual earns between $1,500 and $2,700, there is a $1 reduction in benefits; above the $2,700 figure, there is a $1 reduction in benefits for each $1 earned.

ADDITIONAL HEALTH LEGISLATION

Legislative action relating to the health needs of our people did not stop with the enactment of the medicare program. Many very successful health programs have been extended and expanded; many very promising measures have been initiated—measures which are certain to aid us in winning our battle against disease and disability.

Let me briefly outline some of the major provisions of the bills which we approved and which were signed into law by President Johnson.

Expiring provisions of the Public Health Service Act of Public Law 87–868 were renewed and authorized continued Federal support of a program of mass vaccination protection against a number of diseases which constitute major public health hazards. Through June 30, 1968, local communities and States will be the recipients of grants from the Federal Government for the purchase of vaccine providing immunization against tetanus, poliomyelitis, whooping cough, diptheria, and measles. Prior to these revisions, in the Public Health Service Act, vaccination protection against measles was not included. Immunization benefits were limited to children under 5 years of age; protection will now be available to all preschool children.

Public Law 87–692, providing health services for our domestic migratory workers, has been extended through June 30, 1968. Twenty-four million dollars have been authorized for Federal grants to public and private nonprofit institutions to assist in meeting the costs of operating migratory worker family health centers at which seasonal farmworkers and their families may obtain a broad range of health services including the treatment of illness, injury, and accident, as well as prenatal and postnatal care.

Approval was given to a 1-year extension, through June 30, 1966, of those provisions of Public Law 87–395, or the Community Health Services and Facilities Act of 1961, which authorizes Federal public health grants to public, private nonprofit agencies, local communities, and the States for the completion of studies relating to the best ways of improving outside the hospital care methods for the chronically ill and the aged patient. Those provisions of the Community Health Services and Facilities Act relating to grants to the States for application to general, dental, mental, and radiological health services as well as health services for the chronically ill and the aged will continue in effect through June 30, 1967.

To keep pace with the exciting and lifesaving discoveries being made by our medical research teams, we must provide additional, highly specialized health research facilities. To assure the continued progress of our national research effort, the Public Health Service Act was extended and expanded to include $280 million in authorized funds for the construction of the necessary research accommodations for the fiscal 1966 through 1969 3-year period.

Public Law 88–164, or the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Act of 1963, was broadened to provide for a 7-year program of grants to meet the original costs of manning community mental health centers with well-trained professional and technical staffs. To be awarded by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to public or nonprofit private institutions and agencies, these grants will absorb varying percentages of staffing expenses incurred over a 51-month period, ranging from 75 percent of professional and technical personnel costs for the first 15 months of operation to 30 percent of such costs during the last 12 months. During the fiscal 1966–69 period, $73.5 million will be available for these initial or original grant awards.

The Congress enacted Public Law 89–239, which authorizes a 3-year, $340 million program of grants to establish an estimated 25 regional medical programs in the fields of heart disease, cancer, stroke, and related diseases. These programs contemplate cooperative research by hospitals, medical schools, and physicians clinics.

Public Law 89–290 authorizes $775 million for a 3-year extension of the existing matching grant program for the construction of teaching facilities for physicians, dentists, professional health personnel, optometrists, pharmacists, and podiatrists. This legislation also extends for 3 years the existing student loan program in specified health fields.

Also, it established new 4-year programs of grants to improve teaching programs and of scholarships for needy students in specified health professions.

Public Law 89–291 authorized $105 million in grants to improve medical library services and facilities over a 5-year period.

OLDER AMERICANS ACT OF 1965

It has been said that old age is more to be feared than death. In an era alive with hopes for a Great Society promising a better quality of life for all, the lives of many of our senior citizens offer little more than deprivation, discomfort, and despair.

The Bureau of the Census estimates that our population presently includes more than 18 million persons past 65. Population projections tell us that this number will increase to 25 million within the next 20 years.

A young nation, proud of its youth, its zeal, and its pioneer heritage cannot turn its back on those millions who share this heritage and whose contributions to our Nation's greatness can never be fairly assessed or fully appreciated.

Approximately one-half of our citizens over 65 live in inferior and often substandard housing facilities. Their need for adequate diets, clothing, varied recreational facilities, extended educational opportunities, and retraining programs equipping them to be volunteer or wage earning workers in our communities are suggestive of the multi-faceted tasks lying before us.

The Johnson administration and the Members of this Congress have recognized their responsibility to our senior citizens and have accepted the challenges which a meaningful later life for the aged pose. Legislation has been signed into law which creates within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare an Administration on Aging. This new Administration on Aging will coordinate action among Federal, State, and local governments, administer grants, and undertake extensive research studies to develop programs designed to meet the problems of the aging and by so doing repay them in part for their contributions to a society which, in the words of the historian Toynbee, will be rated "by the respect and care given its elderly citizens."

ELEMENTARY-SECONDARY EDUCATION

In my report outlining the major accomplishments of the 88th Congress, I stated that the legislative achievements of that Congress in the field of education were unequivocal and exceptional. The annals of legislative history may record the 88th Congress as the "Education Congress." During its lifetime, that Congress passed the Higher Education Facilities Act authorizing Federal loans and grants to our public and private colleges for the improvement and construction of classroom, laboratory, and library facilities. The Vocational Education Act was passed. Federal matching funds were allocated to aid the States in modernizing and enlarging their programs in the teaching of job skills and job training. For a greater number of deserving students, amendments to the National Defense Education Act provided low-interest loans and the financial means for completing educational programs. The life of the impacted areas program was renewed, and scores of communities received partial reimbursement from the Federal Government for any increase in the costs of school construction, maintenance, and operations brought about by an influx of Federal civilian and military personnel.

Although the education measures passed by our predecessor Congress were progressive and far-reaching, its performance is rivaled by the activities of the present Congress. With a strong and sincere dedication to the principle that all children should be able to attain their full intellectual potential, the Elementary-Secondary Education Act was passed, and became law—Public Law 89–10—on April 11. While this act will benefit school districts in an estimated 95 percent of our counties, special emphasis was placed on the provision of full and meaningful educational experiences to young people from culturally deprived backgrounds.

Title I contains a $1.06 billion authorization for the fiscal year 1966 in grants to State educational agencies for payment to local school districts. To benefit from Federal grants, a local educational agency must belong to a school

district in which the number of school-age children of low-income or relief families equals 100 or more or is equivalent to 3 percent of the total number of school-age children. School-age children are defined as those between 5 and 17 years of age; low-income families are families whose annual incomes are $2,000 or less. Qualifying local agencies will receive, at maximum, an amount equivalent to 50 percent of their State's average expenditures per school child times the number of school-age children from the low-income factor families residing in the school district. Beginning in the 1967 fiscal year, eligible local educational agencies may be awarded special incentive grants to be applied to programs consistent with the basic aims of this legislation. The amounts of these awards will be determined by the percentage of increase in current agency expenditures over those for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965.

Subject to final approval by State and Federal educational agencies, local agencies will enjoy a high degree of flexibility in the uses to which these grants may be put.

Title II—School Library Resources and Instructional Materials—institutes a 5-year program for the allocation of funds to local educational agencies, via the States, for use in the acquisition of textbooks and school library resources. One hundred million dollars was authorized under title II for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966. Each State's share of the total monetary authorization will bear the same ratio as its number of public and nonprofit elementary-secondary school students bears to the national enrollment in such schools. Federal participation is limited to the role of providing funds for each of the States. State educational agencies, in cooperation with local public school agencies, will determine what types of printed instructional materials and library resources will be purchased. Federal funds will supply nonpublic schools with those books and materials which State educational agencies have approved for distribution in the public schools.

Title III—Supplementary Educational Centers and Services—establishes a 5-year program of Federal grants for supplementary educational centers and services. One hundred million dollars have been authorized under title III for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966. Each State will receive a basic allocation of $200,000. Remaining moneys will be distributed among the States on the following basis: 50 percent according to the number of school-age children in a State—compared to the national total—and 50 percent according to the total population of the United States. This title seeks to provide those educational services and facilities unavailable in quality and quantity in our Nation's elementary-secondary school system. Among the many programs for which these funds may be used are: guidance and counseling, remedial instruction, psychological and social work services to enable persons to participate in educational programs, special educational projects for nonschool session periods, academic and vocational education for adults, specialized equipment and instruction for advanced scientific subjects, foreign languages, and other courses not offered in the local schools, or which could be better taught in one central location, specialized equipment and instruction for the handicapped and for preschool age youngsters, specially qualified personnel for temporary teaching assignments, special programs for persons isolated from normal educational opportunities, including home-study courses, visiting teachers, and mobile education units, and the development of educational radio and television.

Title IV—Educational Research and Training—amends the Cooperative Research Act by authorizing the Commissioner of Education to make grants to colleges, universities, other public or nonprofit agencies, institutions, organizations, and to individuals for research, surveys, and demonstrations in the field of education and for the dissemination of information derived from this education research. Recipients of such grants may utilize these funds to establish and maintain research traineeships, internships, personnel exchanges, and predoctoral fellowships for training and research in the field of education.

Title V authorizes the establishment of a 5-year program of grants to stimulate and assist the States in strengthening the leadership resources of their educational agencies and to assist those agencies in the establishment and improvement of programs to identify and meet their educational needs. Ten million dollars in grants were authorized for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966.

HIGHER EDUCATION ACT

In his education message to the Congress, President Johnson said:

> In the life of the individual, education is always an unfinished task. And in the life of this Nation, the advancement of education is a continuing challenge.

With the passage of the Higher Education Act of 1965, we have accepted this continuing challenge and renewed our commitment to equality of educational opportunity for all of our young people.

Title I authorizes a program of matching grants to assist the Nation's colleges and universities in continuing and expanding the scope of adult education and extension programs and strengthening their resources to cope effectively with present community problems, including housing, poverty, youth opportunities, and education.

Authorizations of $25 million for fiscal 1966, and $50 million annually for fiscal 1967 and 1968 have been approved.

Title II authorizes a program of basic grants and supplemental grants to assist institutions of higher learning in raising their standards of their library resources.

Appropriations of $50 million annually during the 1966–68 fiscal period have been approved for the purchase of books, documents, periodicals, phonograph records, and similar library resources.

This title also authorizes a program of grants to institutions of higher learning for the training of persons in librarianship. Appropriations of $15 million annually have been approved for a 3-year library service training and research program.

Title III initiates a 1-year program, with funds of $55 million, to improve the academic quality of our Nation's "developing institutions." The costs of cooperative projects including faculty exchange and improvement plans between developing institutions and other colleges and universities and agencies could be covered under this provision.

Title III also authorizes a national teaching fellowship program to encourage outstanding graduate students to join the staffs of these developing educational institutions.

Title IV authorizes a program of undergraduate scholarships of up to $800 per year for academically qualified, needy students.

Annual appropriations of $70 million in first-year grants have been approved for the fiscal 1966–68 period together with necessary funds to continue each grant for the next 3 academic years.

Title IV also authorizes the release of Federal moneys for the establishment of State and nonprofit institution student loan insurance funds and allows the Commissioner of Education to insure against losses loans made to eligible students unable to secure comparable loan terms elsewhere.

Title IV also amends the National Defense Education Act of 1958 to strengthen "critical subject" instruction and broaden institutes for teacher training.

Title V authorizes the establishment of a National Teacher Corps of specially trained experienced teaching personnel to augment existing staffs in schools drawing their enrollments from low-income areas.

This title also authorizes the establishment of a program of fellowships and grants to advance certain graduate study programs.

Title VI authorizes a program of matching grants to colleges and universities for the acquisition of educational equipment and media.

Title VII authorizes a 100-percent increase in current 1966 fiscal year funds for the construction of undergraduate and graduate academic facilities under the terms of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR THE DEAF

June 8 was the date for the signing law—Public Law 36—by President Johnson of a bill establishing a National Technical Institute for the Deaf. In all of the United States there is only one postsecondary liberal arts facility administering to the special needs of our deaf young people—Gallaudet College in Washington, D.C. Postsecondary vocational training and educational facilities are virtually nonexistent. Deaf youngsters are expected to receive their technical training in schools attended primarily by hard-of-hearing students. Generally speaking, such arrangements have proven unsatisfactory because of the serious communications problems which arise. Dropout rates among those suffering from hearing impairments are high and lack of educational

training causes a large percentage of the deaf to join the ranks of the unskilled.

The Congress heard and responded to the pleas of the deaf and of those who have a keen interest in their welfare. We authorized appropriations necessary for the establishment and operation of a postsecondary technical institution for the deaf. After consultation with a 12-member national advisory board, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare may enter into agreement with any institution of higher education for the establishment and construction of this Institute.

The deaf have long been deprived of the educational opportunities which are essential stepping stones to the mainstream of American life. A nation that strives for greatness cannot expect to attain its goal as long as it deprives itself of the valuable contributions of a deserving segment of our national community.

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION AND TRAINING

The Congress passed legislation expanding the program of aid to the States for vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons. We authorized $1,005,000 for 3 years through fiscal year 1968.

Public Law 89–287 provides for Federal insurance of loans to high school graduates, and direct loans by the Government, not to exceed $1,500 per year, to finance tuition at business, trade, technical, and other vocational schools.

CIGARETTE LABELING

The results of months and years of medical studies of the relationship between prolonged tobacco smoking and health were made public in January of 1964 in the "Report of the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee on Smoking and Health." In this report, Luther L. Terry, former Surgeon General of the United States, voiced the warning that "cigarette smoking is a health hazard of sufficient importance in the United States to warrant appropriate remedial action." Extensive studies produced sufficient corroborating evidence to substantiate the conclusion that the continued smoking of cigarettes is a contributory factor in the high mortality toll taken annually by a host of specific diseases.

It was the consensus of this Congress that concrete measures should be enacted to assure that the American public is adequately and continually informed of the far-reaching consequences inherent in prolonged cigarette consumption.

Effective January 1, 1966, each cigarette package, carton, or similar container must bear the statement: "Caution: Cigarette Smoking May Be Hazardous to Your Health." This warning message must be conspicuous, legible, and readily distinguishable from other printed material appearing on cigarette packages, cartons, or similar containers. While the specific format—size, color, and location—of this warning label will be the responsibility of the tobacco manufacturers, final approval of these specifics will rest with the Justice Department.

Within a year and a half after this legislation becomes operative, and annually thereafter, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is to submit to the Congress the results afforded by present and future study of the causal relationship between specific diseases and prolonged cigarette addiction, together with recommendations for possible legislation. The Attorney General of the United States has been assigned to enforce these measures, violation of which will result in an imposition of a $10,000 fine on the guilty party or parties.

DRUG CONTROLS

The illegal manufacture and distribution of drugs have reached alarming proportions. To protect fully the welfare of the American people from those who are without scruples and without concern for the human misery in which they traffic, national controls must be made more comprehensive and more stringent.

The gentleman from Arkansas, Representative OREN HARRIS, chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, reported that approximately 50 percent of the 9 billion barbiturates and amphetamine pills and tablets annually produced in the United States are sold illegally.

In an effort to curb the misuse of drugs and to regulate depressant, stimulant, hallucinatory, and counterfeit drugs, the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act has been expanded to include the Drug Abuse Control Amendments of 1965. In addition to defining broadly the categories of depressant and stimulant drugs and strengthening the powers of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in this sphere, these amendments prohibit the manufacture, compounding, sale, delivery, or disposal of the delineated categories by other than a carefully specified group of persons. With the exception of licensed practitioners, prescribing, such drugs in the course of their professional practice, those engaged in the legitimate manufacture, compounding, sale, delivery, or disposal of depressant and stimulant drugs must maintain for a 3-year period and make readily available to Health, Education, and Welfare inspectors the required records, stock samples, and quarters used for the above activities.

Tight restrictions relating to prescriptions for barbituates, amphetamines, and other psychotoxic drugs have been made retroactive in their application and prohibit the filling or refilling of prescriptions after 6 months from the original date of issuance. No similar drug prescription orders may be refilled more than five times without the approval and verification of need by the issuing practitioner.

Public Law 89–74 or the Drug Control Amendments Act of 1965 is the legislative embodiment of a commitment by this administration to insure the use of drugs as therapeutic agents to diminish the human suffering of sickness, pain, and disease, and not as debasing masters to increase the suffering of mankind.

SECURITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL

LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE

The Nation has witnessed a proliferation in the incidence of criminal acts—acts which have increased at a rate five times that of our population increase since 1958. The problem of preventing and combating crime has reached major proportions. The causes of crime are many and complex; the breadth of the crime problem is nationwide, for the mobility of our criminal element ignores the borders of local and State subdivisions. To cope successfully with the activities of the criminal element within our society, local, State, and Federal authorities must join in a partnership to check and control behavioral patterns endangering the welfare of our citizenry. We feel that the rethinking of all aspects of the cirminal process will be greatly advanced by the provision of the necessary funds for "projects designed to develop or demonstrate effective methods of increasing the security of person and property, controlling the incidence of lawlessness, and promoting respect for law. To this end, the Law Enforcement Assistance Act authorizes the Attorney General of the United States to make grants to public and private nonprofit organizations, agencies, and institutions for studies pertinent to law enforcement problems and to the improvement of the training of law enforcement personnel. Ten million dollars in Federal moneys have been authorized for the 1966 fiscal year.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND YOUTH OFFENSES CONTROL

Changing social conditions, especially the overall process of urbanization, have spawned socially unacceptable behavior among our youth as well as among adults. In 1961, the Congress passed the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act, which authorized the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to provide grants to public and private nonprofit organizations, agencies, or institutions for the demonstration of "new techniques of delinquency prevention and control, for the training of personnel working with youth and youth problems, and technical assistance to communities seeking to combat delinquency and for the dissemination of valuable information."

It would be naive to assume that the enactment of any single piece of legislation could bring quick and easy solutions to the problems of youthful misbehavior. Nevertheless, difficulty in solution does not justify avoidance, complacency, or inaction. On the contrary it poses a challenge to men and women in many fields of learning to apply their skills and their knowledge in a united effort to develop progressive approaches to an effective counterattack on the social conditions that foster delinquency. Demonstration and training programs that will bring to the foreground such promising and progressive approaches must be initiated and continued.

Public Law 89–69 will enable us to continue the progress that is currently being made by extending through June 30, 1967, the life of the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act and providing authorizations of $6.5 million for the 1966 fiscal year and $10 million for the 1967 fiscal period.

PRISONER REHABILITATION

Our efforts to guarantee the security of the individual will fall short of success if we limit our attention to any one or two phases of the criminal problem. We must extend our support across the en-

tire spectrum—from the causes of crime among juveniles and adults to the all-important questions of methods and personnel employed in correctional rehabilitation.

The objective of prisoner rehabilitation is to return to the community men and women who will again contribute to society in a meaningful and productive way. Correctional rehabilitation techniques must attempt to make first offenders last offenders; correctional rehabilitation techniques which fail to accomplish this goal must yield to new and more effective reorientation methods. Operating within this framework, the Congress favorably acted upon legislation authorizing the trial of several very promising programs in the rehabilitation of Federal prisoners. We authorized the Attorney General of the United States to permit Federal prisoners to take part in community "work release" endeavors. Participants will be allowed to go to training or work locations and then return to their confinement quarters at night or when not actually employed. This new approach is justified in terms of the invaluable employment experience which on-the-job training can offer, the financial support which earnings will bring to the families of these prisoners, and in the community acceptance extended to the individual.

A maximum of 30 days of unsupervised emergency or rehabilitation leave may be granted by the Attorney General to Federal prisoners for legitimate and "compassionate" reasons consonant with the public welfare. By granting furloughs to trusted prisoners in order that they may visit dying or critically ill relatives, attend the funeral services of relatives, obtain medical treatment unavailable within the limits of the penal institutions, and for interviews with potential employers, we are bolstering the rehabilitation process by assuring the individual that, if worthy, he will have the trust of those about him. We are also denying that a man is "marked" for life by virtue of misguided past actions.

Based on our past successful experience in connection with juvenile offenders, we hope that the assignment of adult offenders to prerelease, resident treatment centers of "halfway" houses will ease the period of transition from the rigidity of institutional confinement to the contrasting atmosphere of the home and the community.

CORRECTIONAL REHABILITATION PERSONNEL

To a very high degree, the success of all of our reorientation programs depends on the dedication and training of a sufficient number of rehabilitation personnel. Of their dedication we can well say that it is complete, but all too often forgotten and unappreciated. To reduce the shortage in professional manpower, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare has been authorized, with the advice of a 12-man Advisory Council on Correctional Manpower and Training, to award grants for a nationwide analysis and reevaluation of the problem and the means of solving the lack of qualified manpower. Appropriations of $500,000 have been authorized for these studies for the 1966 fiscal year; $800,000 has been approved for fiscal 1967 and 1968.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT

The pressing needs of residents of our urban-suburban communities confront us with perhaps the greatest challenge of the day. The onrush of the tide of urbanization has already swelled the number of metropolitan area inhabitants to 70 percent of our population; this tidal wave has not yet reached its peak. In its wake has followed a labyrinth of problems—problems pertaining to mass transportation systems, educational institutions, water supplies, medical care, sewage treatment facilities, and housing units.

In calling upon us to make the American society a Great Society, our President stated that "our society will never be great until our cities are great." I do not think that our cities will be great until the magnitude and complexity of their problems are challenged by all the boldness, determination, and creative energies that we can apply to their solution. Boldness, determination, imagination, and concert in planning characterize the administration-sponsored Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965.

Since this law will affect the daily lives of nearly three-fourths of our people, I should like to discuss some of the significant provisions incorporated in this legislation.

Federal Housing Administration loans, with ceilings of $10 million for individual projects, will become available for private land acquisition and site-betterment undertakings.

Veterans who have not taken part in existing VA mortgage insurance programs will be eligible to apply for Federal Housing Administration home mortgage loans. No downpayment will be required on the first $15,000 of the loan; a 10-percent downpayment will be required for loans between $15,000 and $20,000, and a 15-percent downpayment will be required on loans of between $20,000 and $30,000.

Armed Services personnel may now receive Federal Housing Administration insured loans of $30,000 instead of the previous $20,000 maximum. A 3-percent downpayment will be required on the initial $15,000, 10 percent on amounts between $15,000 and $20,000, and 15 percent down on loans between $20,000 and $30,000.

Federal urban renewal programs will continue over the next 4-year period with the authorization of additional appropriations totaling $2.9 billion.

Two-thirds of the costs of leveling or demolishing unsafe or condemned dwellings in urban renewal areas may be absorbed by demolition grants.

Appropriations totaling $100 million have been authorized for rehabilitation loan funds; termination date for this phase of urban renewal activities was set for October 1, 1969.

Renewal and restoration of nonresident structures will receive increased moneys.

A guarantee of rental payments by small businesses forced to relocate as a result of urban renewal projects or highway construction plans will be forthcoming from the Small Business Administration.

Low-rental public housing benefits will be continued through October 1, 1969; increased authorizations totaling $47 million annually will go to the completion of more than 50,000 units yearly during the lifetime of this program.

Federally owned housing complexes may be sold to nonprofit or local housing agencies if continued use will provide shelter at low-rental rates.

College housing construction funds have been increased by $300 million annually through the 1968 fiscal year. Vocational and technical institutions operating under the auspices of 4-year, accredited, degree-awarding colleges and universities will be eligible for housing construction loans.

Housing and Home Finance Agency grants will be available to qualifying community agencies undertaking the construction of sewer facilities, water storage, distribution, or purflicaiton facilities, and health, recreation, social service centers, or related community facilities.

State and local agencies will be eligible for contracts totaling $310 million for the creation of open-land areas in urban communities and for urban landscaping and beautification projects.

Current rural housing programs will be continued for an additional 4-year period through October of 1969. The Secretary of Agriculture has been authorized to establish a low-interest, insured loan program for the improvement of rural dwellings.

The 2d session of the 89th Congress is expected to give further consideration to the feasibility of implementing a program of rent supplement payment to low-income families.

As one of the most comprehensive measures enacted during this session, the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 paves the way for cooperative action among Federal, State, and local governments—action that will improve the standards of living within our metropolitan societies.

Passage of this historic legislation is our substantive answer to the challenge of urbanization. In its success lies our vision of the American city as "a place where future generations will come, not only to live but to live the good life."

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

To coordinate all executive department and all Federal agency functions or activities directly affecting urban-suburban problems and to assure planning for the sound development of our metropolitan areas, the Congress enacted legislation establishing a Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development. This Department will be headed by a Secretary of Housing and Urban Development appointed by the President and subject to Senate confirmation.

APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT

In the 11-State Appalachian Mountain region of our Nation, poverty among plenty is a harsh reality. More than

16 million Americans reside in an area blessed with an invaluable store of natural resources. Yet millions of these Americans have been bypassed by the full rewards of our Nation's economic growth and general well-being. Lack of individual and collective resourcefulness, determination, and concern does not account for the hardship and privation that have plagued generations of Appalachia's inhabitants. A good measure of the blame for this region's retarded economic development may well be attributed to the confinement and isolation imposed by a difficult and rugged terrain. Theoretically within easy access to more than half of the Nation's population, this area has long awaited a constructive program of local, State, and Federal action to provide administrative assistance, technical know-how, and finances for major capital expenditures to enable maximum industrial and recreational development of its vast resources. Such a program has been enacted by this Congress and signed into law by President Johnson on March 9. Public Law 89-4, or the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, authorizes $1,092,400,000 for the cooperative development of the physical resources of 360 counties in Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. Counties in southern New York may be included in the program at a future date.

Preparation of programs and coordination of development projects to promote the growth and productivity of the Appalachian region rests with the Appalachian Regional Commission composed of the Governor or his representative of each affected State and a Federal Cochairman appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. In addition, the Commission has been designated as a body to foster measures which will result in the formulation of local development districts, encourage private investment in commercial, industrial, and recreational projects. Finally, the Commission will serve as the sponsor of investigations and research studies relating to area redevelopment and as a forum for the consideration of problems and proposed solutions to these problems. Recommendations pertaining to the realization of the goals of the act will be made to the participating States and to the President.

Appalachia lacks adequate major transportation arteries; highways are urgently needed. If the area's abundant natural resources are to be developed, the isolation inflicted by the Appalachian Mountain chain must be ended. New access links with our national highway system must be constructed. An authorization of $840 million has been approved for the construction of 2,350 miles of development highways together with 1,000 miles of local access roads to serve specific residential, recreational, commercial, industrial, or similar facilities. Federal assistance in any highway or road construction project will not exceed 70 percent of the total construction cost. Road sites will be specified by the Appalachian Regional Commission. State members of the Commission will be required to consult with their State highway departments and receive department recommendations before participating in Commission decisions on road sites.

Appalachia knows an abundant annual rainfall; its water resources potential is one of its most valuable assets. Through proper planning and management, winter and spring floods and summer droughts can be avoided, and this all-important resource can help to bring industrial, commercial, recreational, and residential development to fruition. In spite of sufficient quantities of water, more than 75 percent of the area's residents do not enjoy public water supplies or supplies that meet minimum health standards for human use. Pollution from sewage and mine acids now renders large quantities of water virtually useless.

The Secretary of the Army has been authorized to prepare a comprehensive plan for the development and utilization of Appalachia's water resources. Specifically, this plan should encompass recommendations relating to flood control measures, regulation of rivers to enhance their value as industrial and municipal water supply sources, the improvement of rivers for navigation to further industrial development, the prevention of water pollution, and the development of the recreational potential of water bodies in the region. An authorization of $5 million has been approved for this water resources study.

In his inaugural address, Mr. Johnson vowed that "in a land of healing miracles, neighbors must not suffer and die unattended." In Appalachia, however, countless persons suffer and die unattended. Human misery is widespread, because there are too few health facilities to meet the present demands of the residents. Lack of adequate highways and roads make the few existing medical care institutions unavailable to those whose need may be the greatest. A generally low-income level and its accompanying low-taxable base mean that the necessary construction funds for new and needed facilities will not be forthcoming. Stated in somewhat different terms, decent hospitals, clinics, nursing homes, and related health facilities are not and will not be available in sufficient numbers to answer the health demands of area residents.

Grants totaling $41 million have been authorized for use in the construction of multicounty demonstration health facilities such as treatment centers, regional health diagnostic centers, and hospitals. These grants may be used for up to 80 percent of total project construction costs. In addition, $28 million has been authorized for use in meeting the operation expenses incurred during the first 2 years of health facilities operations. These funds will be available for the first 2 years of operation and may cover the total operating costs for this time period. During the third year, funds will be reduced to meet a maximum of 50 percent of total operating expenses.

Land stabilization programs have been allotted a maximum of $17 million. More than 8.6 million acres of land have suffered the consequences of soil erosion and must be protected from additional damage. The topography of the Appalachian Mountain area has not been conducive to successful large-scale farming. It is hoped that this land may be made suitable for the feeding and grazing of livestock. Land stabilization programs will take the form of grants, awarded by the Secretary of Agriculture, to landowners for application to mutually agreed upon programs of land improvement and erosion control on individual holdings not in excess of 50 acres.

Appalachia is potentially one of the Nation's finest timber producing centers. Years of poor cutting practices have reduced the area's timber yield to one of inferior quality. Poor highways and poor access roads pose marketing problems and the number of small timber growing enterprises with limited capabilities make the future of the timber industry seem bleak. In an effort to coordinate improvement efforts and implement timber development programs on a scale large enough to be worthwhile, the Appalachian Regional Development Act authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to make loans of up to 50 percent of incurred costs to aid in the establishment of timber development organizations whose goals wil be those of returning quality and quantity to the timber crop and profitable returns to the area's timber producers and processors. Five million dollars in funds have been authorized to assist in the creation of timber development organizations.

Appalachia counts coal as its No. 1 natural resource but suffers from the serious and damaging aftereffects of "deleterious mining practices." Acid drainage from underground and strip mines pollutes many of the water resources leaving them unfit for most uses. Many private residences are now unsafe because of the constant threat posed by surface cavings. The threat is of sufficient proportions as to cause industrial developers to move on and locate elsewhere. Underground mine fires slowly continue to burn spreading noxious fumes endangering lives and property. Piles of refuse now left as monuments to previous mining efforts burn—polluting the air and preventing acres of land from being profitably developed. Acres and acres of valuable land, now in need of backfilling and replanting, lie in waste because of abandoned strip mines. The Secretary of the Interior has been authorized to make financial contributions to the States for filling in the gaps left by abandoned mines, extinguishing underground mine fires, and for use in the restoration of fish and wildlife to the blighted locales. These moneys will be limited to publicly owned lands and may finance up to 75 percent of the costs of restoration and reclamation projects. Finally, a number of existing legislative programs, including the National Defense Education Act, the Vocational Educational Act, and the Housing Act of 1954, have received supplementary authorizations to allow the communities

of Appalachia to share more fully in available facilities and services.

AMENDMENTS TO THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964

That the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 seeks to wage an unconditional and unlimited war on the causes of poverty can be readily seen by a quick and cursory review of some of the many programs which its passage launched.

A Job Corps program was established for our young men and women between the ages of 16 and 21, and with it, new hope for a productive and rewarding future. As residents of rural conservation or urban training communities, these young people, most of whom lack the rudiments of a high school education, are given another chance to complete a basic education and to receive the benefits of sound guidance and counseling, together with the valuable experience that comes from on-the-job training.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps or work training program concept provides part-time or full-time work and job training for young people in the 16 to 21 age bracket. In many instances, the modest salaries earned make the difference in whether or not these young adults continue their educational programs. In a wide variety of newly created positions in school libraries, parks, playgrounds, and hospitals, Neighborhood Youth Corps trainees are not only exercising their earning powers, but increasing their employment assets and enjoying the self-respect and individual dignity that come with active and rewarding participation in community life.

College work study programs have been designed to allow college and university students from low-income families to be self-supporting and remain full-time students by devoting part of their energies to on-campus and off-campus jobs sponsored by public and private nonprofit agencies and organizations.

Urban and rural community action programs encourage impoverished localities to avail themselves of Federal technical and financial assistance in the planning and implementation of locally oriented projects of self-help and community betterment.

Adult basic education offers training in reading and writing to those whose only qualification must be their earnest desire to learn.

Through participation in job experience and training opportunities, in basic and vocation education programs, work experience projects promise to chronically unemployed heads of households hope today for a self-supporting tomorrow.

Denied credit and financing due to the lack of necessary collateral, low-income rural families and owners of small businesses may receive loans for projects which have the potential to raise their earning levels.

To improve the quality of life in our Indian communities and in those areas of our Nation where our more than 2 million seasonal workers and their families reside, there are special programs authorized under the terms of the Economic Opportunity Act.

To aid local communities in providing learning experiences and much-needed medical and dental care for preschool youngsters from disadvantaged families, we have initiated Project Head Start.

A massive and unconditional assault on poverty is an ambitious but by no means impossible or unreasonable undertaking. That experience is the best guide and teacher may have much meaning in terms of our antipoverty campaign. We must look at our objectives; we must review our progress in achieving our stated goals; we must re-evaluate our operations carefully. We must be willing to make those revisions in our overall plans which will better solve the problems that we seek to eliminate.

The Congress this year scrutinized thoroughly the working of the antipoverty program and incorporated in the original act a series of amendments which experience dictates are necessary if we are to conquer poverty amidst plenty in our time.

For all titles of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 we have authorized appropriations of $1,785 million for the 1966 fiscal year. The current Federal financing of 90 percent of the costs of the Neighborhood Youth Corps or work-training programs, college work-study, urban and rural community action projects, and adult basic education programs will continue through August 20, 1967, with the States expected to increase their contributions thereafter.

We have now authorized the enrollment of persons coming to our shores from Cuba in the Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps.

The Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity has been empowered to override the veto of suggested community action and work training programs by State Governors.

Changes have also been made in the terms of title 2 authorizing urban and rural community action programs to require that the public be afforded reasonable access to data relevant to community action projects. The number of potential recipients of Federal moneys has been expanded to include private nonprofit organizations separate from the designated community action agencies that are able to justify or show good cause for such financial assistance. Office of Economic Opportunity officials must, however, inform the official or designated community action agency and the State's Governor of such requests and inquiries from private agencies.

Loans and loan guarantees will now be available to State agencies, local public agencies, private nonprofit organizations, institutions, and cooperatives aiding farmers and seasonal workers in the processing and marketing of farm or dairy foods and in programs of education, sanitation, day care for children, and housing.

Farm families earning less than $1,200 annually are deemed unemployed for the purposes of the work experience project, thus entitling these heads of families to receive basic, vocational, and work-training benefits.

For Project VISTA personnel responding to the pleas of their less-fortunate neighbors and giving of themselves in the finest spirit of humanitarianism, we have adjusted the wage base from the previous GS-2 level to a GS-7 level for the determination of death and disability benefits.

MANPOWER AMENDMENTS

The Johnson administration and the 89th Congress are totally committed to the realization of full employment opportunities for all Americans.

We are confronted with a somewhat paradoxical labor situation. While approximately 3 million of our people are not gainfully employed, thousands of jobs go begging annually for lack of qualified and readily available personnel. Our objective, therefore, must be the enactment of vocational training programs which will elevate our unemployed to a level of proficiency in those skills which are and will continue to be valuable employment assets. Those whose skills are no longer useful due to the increasingly sophisticated training requisites exacted by technological innovations must not be forgotten. We are obliged to provide them with the opportunity for retraining. Those who have never possessed truly marketable skills must also be afforded an equal chance to join the ranks of the productively employed. Our task is one of merging well-skilled personnel and available work opportunities. This was the primary objective of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. Although this legislation focused its initial attention on experienced workers whose skills had been rendered obsolete by the forces of automation and mechanization, it was amended in 1963 to afford more effective relief to the unemployed who are illiterate and to young persons who were ineligible for aid under the 1962 provisions of the act.

Two and a half years of experience with the rehabilitation projects instituted under the Manpower Development and Training Act clearly show that the aspirations of its original sponsors have been more than realized. Through the end of January of this year, 305,000 persons have been approved for vocational training. More than 85,000 persons have successfully completed their training courses, and, of these, 73 percent have been placed and are again an integral and productive part of the American working force. Moreover, our 2½ years of experience have given us insight into the nature of special problem areas which demand our immediate attention if our goal of full employment opportunity for all of our citizens is to be attained.

According to the terms of the Manpower Amendment Act of 1965, the life of the Manpower Development and Training Act has been renewed. The final bill, signed into law—Public Law 89-15—on April 26, extended the act's expiration date from June 30, 1966 to June 30, 1969, and included monetary authorization for fiscal 1966 of $454 million together with such additional appropriations as are deemed necessary thereafter. It has been feared that the financial arrangements contained in the act's original stipulations would place an unbearable burden on the tax structures of the States.

Recall that under the existing law, each of the States would be required to assume one-third of the costs of the Manpower Development and Training Act's administrative and training costs as of July 1, 1965, and one-half of the costs effective July 1, 1966. The States have wholeheartedly endorsed the purpose of the program and are enjoying the benefits which accrue to their residents who are Manpower Development and Training Act trainees. Nevertheless, the dollar demands of the matching funds clause, combined with the mandatory expansion of a wide range of established State programs, have given rise to doubtful prognostications for continued State participation. The withdrawal of thousands of current trainees from frontiers offering new skills and new trades to the doldrums of the "no skill, no job, relief role" syndrome constitutes a disheartening finale.

It was incumbent upon us to establish a more feasible financial basis for the future operation of this vocational education program. Under the new bill signed by the President, the Federal Government will absorb the full cost of the Manpower Development Training Act programs until June 30, 1966. Subsequently, the States will be asked to supply a maximum of 10 percent of the institutional training expenses. What is more, new wording gives the States the option of making their contributions in cash or in kind. Local outlay of matching funds has been further reduced by the repeal of the current requirement that beginning July 1, 1965, one-third of the training allowance allotments—one-half effective July 1, 1966—fall to the States. Revisions accepted by both Houses of the Congres provide for full Federal financing of training allowance costs.

The Secretary of Labor has been authorized to initiate and oversee a myriad of research programs and experimental pilot studies with an eye to applying the expertise of private and public institutions in a concerted effort to arrive at satisfactory solutions to our general manpower problems and specifically to the expansion of employment by meeting the demands of service-related industries.

Through the awarding of contracts and grants, the Labor Secretary has been directed to conduct appropriate experimental studies which will pave the way for constructive efforts to combat chronic unemployment among the long-term unemployed, the mentally and/or physically handicapped, minority group blocs, disadvantaged youth, and those who have passed their prime productive years.

Assuming that we must bring skilled workers and available work situations together, we feel that the extension of the time limit and the increase in monetary allotments for pilot labor mobility-demonstration projects are justifiable. Accordingly, the Secretary of Labor's authority over this study has been extended through June 30, 1967 and the funds available for this undertaking increased from $4 to $5 million annually.

Based on our experience to date under the Manpower Development and Training Act, we have written in an authorization which allocated moneys for an experimental project affording bonding aid to otherwise trained and qualified persons whose past behavioral patterns make it still impossible for them to obtain indemnification.

In order to afford each trainee every chance to exercise his newly acquired skills, we must not overlook what might appear to many as only minor stumbling blocks. To those on the threshold of employment rehabilitation, however, such impedimenta assume major proportions. We have effected a liberalization of other major provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act. The payment of training allowances may be made for as long as 104 weeks or 2 years. Heretofore, training allowance payments terminated at the end of 1 year. The additional time factor should be especially advantageous to those with an extremely low intellectual achievement. Their progress in attaining at least a minimum of the required skills may be somewhat slower. Additional time may constitute an important factor in aiding potential workers seeking admittance to job markets requiring the mastery of highly developed trade tools. To ease the financial pressures experienced by vocational trainees and their families, the following changes have been made: basic training allowances may be raised by $5 a week for each dependent over two and up to a maximum of six; trainees may work up to 20 hours a week without being subject to a reduction in their basic training allowances; trainees will be fully reimbursed for transportation costs incurred; more than one member of a family may now receive training allowances when the head of the household is unemployed. The 1965 amendments have repealed earlier clauses which excluded single persons, regardless of their financial status, from receipt of training allowances. Since one of the well-defined unemployment problem areas centers around the ever-increasing number of young persons unable to compete effectively in the job market, we have eased the limitation on the percentage of young adults eligible for the program's benefits.

PUBLIC WORKS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965

On August 26, President Johnson signed into law the Public Works and Economic Development Act—Public Law 89–136—and in so doing, waged war against poverty and economic stagnation on an ever-widening front. Public Law 89–136 distills from past successful efforts measures which have proved that new opportunities for employment may be provided for residents of areas marred by chronic underemployment and unemployment by improving the social assets and economic capabilities. An economic resurgence within an area may be fostered by rendering assistance to projects that will expand commercial and industrial capabilities and attract and retain industries and enterprises which offer long-range job opportunities. In the spirit of our Federal system, this legislation seeks to construct the overall framework within which the Federal Government, in partnership with the States and local governments, may plan and finance public works and other developmental facilities on a scale otherwise infeasible and above the financial capacities of local communities and individual States.

Title I allows the Secretary of Commerce to award direct grants to States, political subdivisions, Indian tribes, or nonprofit representatives of redevelopment areas characterized by low-incomes and high unemployment levels. These direct grants will be applied to the total costs of necessary public works and public service projects as well as development facilities whose completion will provide attractive settings for industrial and commercial development and expanded long-term employment potential which follows in its wake.

Funds allocated for the construction of facilities for the treatment of sewage require that construction plans receive the approval of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Eligible areas may receive direct grant funds for 4 years covering a maximum of 50 percent of the total project cost. Annual appropriations of $500 million to meet the costs of title I have been authorized for the fiscal years 1966 to 1969.

In order to enable eligible areas to participate in a number of Federal grants-in-aid programs and thereby provide to their residents services and facilities whose costs would otherwise exceed their abilities to finance, the Secretary of Commerce has been authorized to make supplemental grants to the States—otherwise eligible—but unable to raise the required matching funds.

Direct grants and supplemental grants may contribute to a maximum of 80 percent of the total costs of a single project; grants may not be applied to projects which will compete with operational privately owned public utilities currently serving an area and subject to the regulations of State or Federal agencies unless these utilities are inadequate to meet the demands of the region. Excluded from the category of projects to which funds authorized for this act may be applied are projects eligible for assistance under the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965. No State may be the recipent of more than 15 percent of the total financial authorizations for the act.

Under title II, the Secretary of Commerce is authorized to make loans to and purchase evidence of indebtedness from eligible States, political subdivisions, Indian tribes, or nonprofit representatives of redevelopment areas for application to public works or development facilities and for purchase and betterment of land and facilities earmarked for industrial and commercial usage and to guarantee loans for working capital made by private lending institutions to private borrowers for application to redevelopment area projects.

A total annual authorization of $170 million for all types of guarantees and loans for the fiscal years 1966 to 1970 was approved. Twenty-five million dollars annually has been authorized for the fiscal years 1966 to 1970 to provide technical assistance in the form of aid in the development of plans and studies to alleviate underemployment and unem-

ployment in needy areas across the Nation and financial assistance in the form of grants of up to 75 percent of the administrative expenses of economic development planning organizations.

Redevelopment areas, for purposes of the act, are designated as areas which fall within objective and detailed categories of below national avearge median family incomes and within certain levels of chronic and high unemployment.

Title V provides for the creation of multi-State regional action planning commissions to initiate and coordinate regional programs designed to foster long-range economic development.

STATE TECHNICAL SERVICES ACT

Public Law 89–182 was referred to by President Johnson as the "sleeper" measure of the 1st session of the 89th Congress. This was the State Technical Services Act, which authorizes a 3-year, $60 million program of Federal matching grants to States which establish technical service centers for the dissemination of findings of science and technology to commerce and industry. The programs will be conducted by institutions of higher learning. It is hoped that this legislation will help American businesses and industries have better access to the rapidly growing body of nonproprietary scientific and technical information.

DISASTER LEGISLATION

The period from July 1964 through September 1965 was one of a series of natural disasters for the United States. Several laws were enacted by this Congress to give affected individuals, States, and local communities more comprehensive and rapid disaster relief.

Public Law 89–41 authorized $111,875,000 for emergency public highway and forest road construction in Pacific Northwest areas damaged by floods.

Public Law 89–59 provided additional Small Business Administration assistance to disaster victims and increased by $50 million the Small Business Administration's revolving fund for disaster victims.

In Public Law 89–128 we increased the President's emergency disaster relief fund from $20 million to $55 million for fiscal year 1966.

The Congress also passed legislation authorizing $70 million in Federal aid to Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi to repair public facilities damaged by hurricane. Also authorized were Federal loan adjustment assistance and a study of alternative Federal relief programs.

VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

On March 30, 1870, the Secretary of State declared that 29 States, or the necessary three-fourths of all the States, had ratified the 15th amendment to the Constitution. With the proclamation of ratification, an inalienable right was unequivocally guaranteed:

> The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Beginning with the Enforcement Act of 1870, which nullified racial considerations as reasonable or justifiable criteria for the denial of voter rights, to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which streamlined the mechanism for expediting voting rights suits, nearly a century of legislative activity relating to the franchise had elapsed. Time after time, the Congress has sought to protect and to guarantee the right of suffrage to all Americans. Simultaneously, the Supreme Court of the United States has struck down a series of State and local enactments and procedures which affected the disfranchisement of large segments of our population. It is well known that the American Negroes have been the prime targets of most of this legislation and practice.

A variety of techniques have subverted the unmistakable meaning of the 15th amendment and consequently retarded the progress of the Negro in exercising his unalterably guaranteed rights. That his progress has been minimal is documented by the token numbers of Negroes voting in many of our communities.

Those States or political subdivisions in which literacy or similar voter qualification measures were employed and in which less than 50 percent of the total voting-age population was registered to vote or actually voted in the November 1964 election will be automatically affected by the provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965—Public Law 89–110. A failure to meet the minimum voting or registration requirements together with the simultaneous use of literacy or voter qualification tests will automatically trigger the act into operation. Additional States or political subdivisions thereof may be subject to its provisions should a Federal court, on the basis of suits brought before it by the Attorney General of the United States, deem it appropriate in order to insure voting rights or should the Attorney General certify that he has received legitimate complaints of disfranchisement due to race or color from a minimum of 20 residents. To any of these areas, the Civil Service Commission is empowered to send Federal voting examiners whose task is that of determining the qualifications of all applicants who wish to register to vote. Qualified residents would be enrolled and thereby entitled to vote in all subsequent Federal, State, and local elections and to participate in future State political conventions and party caucuses. General registration procedures, including times and places for registration, as well as voter registration forms, will be scrutinized and determined by the Civil Service Commission.

Literacy tests and related voter qualification measures also come under review. In those States and political subdivisions in which less than 50 percent of the voting-age population was registered to vote or voted in the November 1964 election, in States against which the Attorney General has brought voter discrimination suits, and in areas in which widespread patterns of racial discrimination have been virtually ignored by local and State authorities, existing literacy and analagous voter qualifications will be canceled. Included in the overall category of literacy-voter qualification tests are provisions which require an applicant to produce evidence of high moral character, to demonstrate educational attainment or proficiency in any specified subject area, or to exhibit his ability to read, write, or interpret the meaning of any given item.

Before any affected State or political subdivision, whose past voter statistics and procedures automatically triggered the act's provisions into operation, enacts new voting laws, it must receive the prior confirmation of the Attorney General or three-judge Federal court in the District of Columbia that the purpose or probable effect of the proposed statute will not result in voter discrimination for reasons of race or color.

Should an area which is a party to a voter-discrimination lawsuit wish to legislate new voter enactments, it must also receive prior judicial approval from the Federal court in whose jurisdiction the case falls.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 also contains a declaration by the Congress that the levying of poll taxes as a prerequisite to the ballot is a factor contributing to low registration figures and thereby thwarts the intent of the 15th amendment. Acting in accordance with its enforcement power, the Congress had directed the Attorney General of the United States to file suits in Federal district courts against States currently levying poll taxes. During the litigation of these cases and for a 1-year period in States in which the constitutionality of the poll tax has been upheld, no qualified voter may be denied the right to vote by virtue of failure to pay such taxes in the past, if he satisfies payment of the present year's levy 45 days prior to an election.

According to the terms of this enactment, penalties of up to $5,000 and/or 5 years of imprisonment may be imposed on individuals convicted of vote fraud or acts of intimidation directed against persons exercising their right to vote or against those charged with executing the directives of the act. Penalties of up to $10,000 and/or 5 years' imprisonment may be imposed on individuals convicted of falsifying voting or registration data. At the request of the Attorney General of the United States, the Civil Service Commission may appoint poll watchers to oversee actual voting and tabulation of the ballots.

I have attempted to outline some of the highlights of this monumental and historic legislation. May the Voting Rights Act of 1965 commence a century characterized as one in which the dignity of man is accorded its rightful position in the hierarchy of values on which our society was founded and upon which our future greatness as a Nation rests.

PRESIDENTIAL INABILITY

Woodrow Wilson said of the Nation's highest elective position:

> The Office of President requires the constitution of an athlete, the patience of a mother, the endurance of an early Christian.

No other single office in the world is charged with comparable responsibilities and duties; in no other single officeholder in the world have so many millions placed their hopes and aspirations.

Most nations of the world choose to assign to several decisionmakers the duties and responsibilities that we have entrusted to our President. It is because we have equated an individual officeholder with this unique combination of real and imaginary powers that the issue of Presidental succession and disability assumes monumental proportions.

Less than 2 years ago, a grieving Nation mourned the national and personal tragedy that saw an assassin's bullets cruelly and quickly fell our beloved President Kennedy. A bereaved Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson assumed the responsibilities of Presidential leadership and renewed our dedication to the truths and principles which are our American heritage and tradition.

Although our Nation has not known other than smooth transitions from one administration to another, our Presidential succession procedures are replete with ambiguities which could disrupt the continuity of our national life.

The House and Senate have concurred in the provisions of a proposed constitutional amendment which goes far in eliminating the ambiguities inherent in our present Presidential succession procedures.

When this proposal is ratified by three-quarters, or 38 of our sovereign States, it will become the 25th amendment to our Constitution.

In its major provisions, this amendment seeks to alleviate the dangers of uncertain command and disputed responsibilities. In any situation which results in the removal of the President, or in the event of his resignation or death, the Vice President becomes President of the United States. Should a vacancy occur in the office of the Vice President, the President would nominate a candidate for Vice President, who, upon confirmation by a majority of the Members of both Houses of Congress, shall assume the duties of the Vice Presidency.

What of the all-important issue of Presidential disability? Under the proposed amendment, the President may, in writing, voluntarily inform the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate that he is unable to perform his duties as Chief Executive; these duties are then to be carried out by the Vice President as Acting President. When the President has ceased to be incapacitated, he shall, by way of a written statement, so inform the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate. The powers and duties of the Presidency shall once again be his unless the Vice President and a majority of either the Cabinet, or any other body that the Congress may choose to designate by law, conveys within a 4-day period a written statement refuting the President's declaration of ability to resume executive responsibilities.

In this case, the issue will be resolved by the Congress. If the Congress is in session at the time, it shall, within 21 days of receipt of the statement of challenge offered by the Vice President and a majority of the Cabinet—or other lawfully designated body—render its verdict as to whether or not the President is able to execute his powers and duties. If the Congress is not in session, it will assemble within 48 hours and within a 21-day period thereafter, register its will on the disability question. Should two-thirds of the membership of the House and the Senate vote that the President is unable to reassume the role of the Chief Executive, the Vice President would continue to exercise the Executive powers and duties as Acting President. Should less than two-thirds of the Members indicate that the President is unable to resume his activities, all the powers and duties of the highest office of the land would be restored to him.

SECRET SERVICE PROTECTION

Scheduled to expire in December of 1965, the protection of our Secret Service will be offered to the widow of the late President Kennedy for an additional 2-year period.

Similar protection will be afforded to former Chief Executives, their wives and widows, and minor children.

IMMIGRATION

One of the basic tenets to which our Nation is fundamentally committed is that all men are created equal and are to be judged, not on the basis of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude, but by the contributions they make to society and on their worth as human beings. For more than 40 years our immigration policies have been to guarantee the status quo of the ethnic balance of our population in the 1920's. An annual ceiling of approximately 158,000 was set on the total number of persons to be admitted; nearly 70 percent of this total was allocated to Ireland, England, and Germany. While these quotas were often not used, they were not transferable to those remaining 100 countries and areas whose nationals could not be accommodated within the limits of the 30 percent quota assigned to them.

How, many have queried, can a nation of immigrants, proud of a tradition expounding individual equality, practice a policy which judges the admissibility of an individual on his national and ancestral origins? Does the concept of a national origin priority system not imply that certain peoples and certain races are essentially more desirable than others because of their racial ancestry or place of birth? In establishing admission quotas on these criteria, we were not fully living up to our heritage of greatness, our commitment to humanitarian and equalitarian principles, and our national interests as the leader of the community of free world nations.

Revisions liberalizing our immigration policy and removing the discrimination have been approved by the 89th Congress and signed into law by the President.

A gradual phasing-out of the national origins quota system will be effected over a 3-year period terminating June 30, 1968. During this time, previous national quotas will remain in effect but unused quotas will now be placed in a pool and made available in an order of preference to immigrants heretofore denied entrance because of an oversubscription of their country's quota. Through June 30, 1968, a maximum of 170,000 may be admitted annually on the basis of this combined national origins quota system and pool concept. Commencing July 1, 1968, immediate relatives of U.S. citizens, including husbands, wives, unmarried minor children and parents; special immigrants, subject to wage employment determinations by the Secretary of Labor, including primarily persons born in independent countries in the Western Hemisphere; resident aliens seeking readmission; some former U.S. citizens and certain U.S. Government employees, all will be granted admission without numerical limitations. Exclusive of the above-mentioned categories, an annual maximum of 170,000 immigrants will be permitted to enter according to the following preference categories: (A) 20 percent for unmarried adult children of American citizens; (B) 20 percent, in addition to any unused numbers from A, for husbands, wives, and unmarried children of legally admitted aliens seeking permanent residence; (C) 10 percent for person possessing special talents, skills, or educational training; (D) 20 percent, in addition to any unused numbers from A–C, for married children of American citizens; (E) 24 percent, in addition to any unused numbers from A–D, for brothers and sisters of American citizens; (F) 10 percent for skilled or unskilled workers whose permanent services are in current demand and unable to be provided by U.S. workers; (G) 6 percent for conditional admission of refugees seeking asylum from Communist countries, Communist-dominated countries, the Middle Eastern area of the world, or areas rendered uninhabitable by catastrophes of nature. Unused quotas will then be available to qualified immigrants on the principle of first come, first served.

In addition to repealing the racial ancestry clause of the Asia-Pacific triangle provision, the new immigration amendments, resting on the criteria of humanitarianism and the individual's contribution to society, set an annual maximum of 120,000 for immigrants from the independent nations of the Western Hemisphere and, exclusive of immediate relatives and certain other broad exceptions designed to prevent the hardships suffered by the separation of children from parents and husbands from wives, a yearly ceiling of 20,000 from any nation outside the Western Hemisphere.

As the Voting Rights Act of 1965 holds forth great promise for eradicating discrimination in the relationship of American to American, we feel that the revisions in our immigration policy will remove discrimination between the United States and countless numbers who ask only for the opportunity to prove themselves worthy of American citizenship.

AGRICULTURE

In the tradition of the great Democratic administrations of former years, the Johnson administration and the 89th Congress are giving their wholehearted support to policies which seek to guarantee parity of income and parity of opportunity to rural and farm families across this land. President Johnson, in

his message to the Congress on Agriculture, said.

The farm people of this Nation have made and are continuing to make a lasting contribution to our national prosperity. As a matter of simple justice they should share equitably in this prosperity. They deserve a place of dignity and opportunity.

That many farmers do not know dignity and opportunity became clear in the statistics presented by Secretary of Agriculture, the Honorable Orville L. Freeman, who reported that out of 3 million farmers, only 400,000 earn close to the equivalent wage earned by skilled industrial workers.

OMNIBUS FARM PROGRAM

The 4-year omnibus farm program enacted unites a variety of income and price support programs with acreage allotment and land diversion measures—all of which are aimed at establishing a workable relationship between farm produce supplies and projected domestic and overseas demands. Out of this relationship must come a reasonable guarantee to our farmers of an income level that will mean parity of earnings and parity of opportunity.

The highlights of this all-inclusive farm legislation may be summarized as follows:

Wheat: To wheat producers willing to divert 15 percent of their 1966 allotted acreage to land conservation use the Secretary of Agriculture may forward payments of as much as 50 percent of the support rate of the estimated output of the diverted acreage. Farmers who wish to retire acreage over and above 15 percent will be eligible for additional payments. To further aid wheat producers in realizing returns approaching 100 percent of parity, direct Federal payments, and government-issued marketing certificates will be given for wheat grown for domestic human consumption. Calculated on the basis of the world wheat market price level and wheat price, support loans will also be available. All of these measures—land diversion payments, direct Federal payments, marketing certificates, and price support loans must assure the wheat growers of a minimum average of $1,845 per bushel.

Cotton: To cotton growers willing to withhold a minimum of 15.2 percent of their 1966 acreage allotment, the Secretary of Agriculture may forward payments amounting to 25 percent of parity on the estimated yield of acreage diverted from cotton planting and turned over to conservation programs. Growers retiring up to 35 acres would be eligible for maximum payments of 40 percent of parity on projected outputs. Acceptance of acreage diversion quotas entitles cotton growers to receive price-support loans of 21 cents per pound during 1966, as well as direct payments of at least 9 cents per pound on the estimated or projected yield of individual domestic allotments. Support and payment measures must bring the grower a return within the range of 65–90 percent of parity.

Feed grains: To growers of corn, grain sorghum, and barley—the latter if designated by the Secretary of Agriculture—assigning the requisite number of acres to conservation programs, the Secretary of Agriculture may forward payments of as much as 50 percent of established price support rates on the estimated yield of this land. Continuance of direct payments has also been authorized; combined loan and direct payment receipts must equal 65 percent of parity.

Wool: The provisions of the current wool program will continue to operate through 1969 with the Secretary of Agriculture authorized to make direct payments in the amount of the difference between average wool market prices and an annual income return ranging from 60 to 90 percent of parity.

Rice: Acreage diversion measures and land diversion projects may be initiated by the Department of Agriculture whenever the rate of rice acreage allotment dips below the 1965 level. The existing $4.50 per hundredweight support price will apply to the 1966 and 1967 crops.

Cropland adjustment: To reduce the recurrence of unwielding agricultural surpluses, a 4-year program of land retirement has been initiated. By making 5- and 10-year contract agreements of payments of as much as 40 percent of the value of "unplanted crops," it is anticipated that some 40 million acres will be retired from planting.

TOBACCO MARKETING QUOTAS

American tobacco growers have long produced a leaf unrivaled in flavor and aroma. Serious problems, however, plague our growers. Per acre yields have reached an alltime high and production currently exceeds demand by approximately 1 billion pounds.

In order to keep production in alinement with demand, changes in marketing quota procedures were enacted into law—Public Law 89–12.

Acreage-poundage quotas were provided in place of existing acreage allotments for the 1965 Flue-cured tobacco crop and for other tobacco beginning in 1966. The new quotas became effective for Flue-cured tobacco when growers subsequently voted in a referendum to accept the new program. The new quotas will not become effective for other tobacco unless approved by two-thirds of the growers voting in a referendum.

RURAL WATER AND SANITATION FACILITIES

Public Law 89–240 increased the annual ceiling on Farmers Home Administration insured loans from $200 million to $450 million. This important enactment also provided grants to help develop water supply and waste disposal systems in rural communities up to 5,500 in population.

SUGAR ACT AMENDMENTS

The Congress revised and extended through December 31, 1971, domestic and foreign sugar quotas. We increased domestic mainland cane and beet sugar quotas by 580,000 tons a year and granted foreign quotas to 31 nations. This program, in effect since the 1930's, guarantees to the American housewife an adequate supply of sugar at reasonable prices and, at the same time, it plays a vital role in American foreign relations, particularly with our friends in the Alliance for Progress.

FARM DISASTER RELIEF

Legislation was enacted to provide price supports for farmers who participate in acreage reduction projects and who were unable to plant their usual cotton, feed grain, or wheat crops this year due to damage caused by floods or other natural disasters. Farmers are eligible only if their acreage was not planted with other price-supported crops. Losses incurred by land damage prior to crop planting are no easier to sustain than those suffered after crop plantings.

RIVER BASIN PLANNING

National attention is focused on the relationship between national water demands and available supplies when newspaper headlines spell out boldly that water reserves are being depleted rapidly, and measures to conserve existing supplies are being put into effect.

National attention is focused on the necessity for controlling water resources when newsreels show the havoc of unmanaged water supplies.

To meet satisfactorily and successfully our current and projected water needs, local, State, and Federal authorities must launch immediate and coordinated programs with the stated goals set at effectively planning, developing, managing, and utilizing the water resources with which we have been abundantly endowed and which we have carelessly squandered. To advance this undertaking, the River Basin Planning Act was signed into law—Public Law 89–80—creating a Water Resources Council whose membership includes the Secretaries of Agriculture, Interior, Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Army and a Chairman appointed by the Chief Executive. This Council will be assigned the major responsibility of conducting an ongoing study and making a periodical assessment of the adequacy of regional water stores as well as setting standards and spelling out procedures to be applied in the formulation and evaluation of Federal water and related land resources programs. Finally, the Water Resources Council must oversee the projects of river basin commissions—making certain that the implementation of these plans will be in harmony with our national water conservation objectives.

The President was granted the power to establish Federal-State river basin water commissions whose primary task will involve the preparation and revision of comprehensive and coordinated plans for the water and related land resources development within their respective jurisdictions.

SALINE WATER CONVERSION

Desalting of seawater may well be the answer to one of our major questions: How do we supply the water needs of our large metropolitan areas having access to the coasts—areas which are now chronically plagued by water shortages.

Intensified studies in saline water conversion have been made possible by the passage in 1961 of the Anderson-Aspinall Act, which authorized $75 million for 1962 to 1967, inclusive.

Public Law 89–118 extends the life of our national saline water program from

June 30, 1967 through the 1972 fiscal year and authorizes an increase from $75 to $90 million for fiscal 1967 and a maximum of $275 million through the life of this program.

Remarking that success in saline water conversion "could be one of history's most vital contributions to the cause of peace among nations," President Johnson further noted that the legislation extending and expanding our desalination program could well be the most historic product of this Congress—"not for what it provides but rather for what it promises, not for what it accomplishes but rather for what it symbolizes."

With the signing of the Water Quality Act into law—Public Law 89-234—early in October, President Johnson launched a dynamic program of joint Federal, State, and local action against the causes of pollution, which diminish further our already inadequate water stores.

A Federal Water Pollution Control Administration has been created within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and will be charged with the responsibility of coordinating and overseeing the operations of this act.

Authorization has been given for a $20 million annual appropriation during the 1966-69 fiscal period—an authorization that may provide matching Federal grants to interstate, municipal, and intermunicipal commissions in order that they may evolve better techniques for preventing the discharge of untreated sewage and other wastes from storm sewers and sanitary sewers into community water supplies.

A Federal matching grant for any individual discharge-control improvement project may equal 50 percent of the total project costs.

The current annual $100 million community sewage treatment grant program has received a $50 million supplemental authorization, with additional moneys to be awarded to qualifying States agreeing to match equally Federal funds received.

Within 1 year from the passage of this legislation, each of the 50 States will be required to forward to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare a letter declaring an intention to set satisfactory water quality standards for interstate waters or portions thereof within its boundaries. This declaration of intent must be accompanied by procedures guaranteeing the attainment and enforcement of established standards.

Failure to carry out this obligation may result in the setting of reasonable quality standards by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. The States, however, will be consulted and given every opportunity and any assistance requested in working out acceptable quality control measures. Differences of opinion concerning proposed Federal standards will be aired at a public hearing before a five-member board composed of effected Federal and State representatives. With this panel will rest the final authority to set and implement quality standards.

Failure to maintain set quality standards may result in the invocation of established pollution abatement procedures.

FEDERAL WATER PROJECT RECREATION ACT

Water-oriented recreational activities occupy an increasingly prominent place in the leisure-hour lives of our people. Recreational demands must be examined along with the quality-quantity aspects of water resources development.

The Federal Water Project Recreation Act states that it is the consensus of the Congress that careful attention must be given to the inclusion of fish and wildlife enhancement measures as an integral part of Federal water resource planning. In an effort to stimulate State and local interest and participation in this phase of water planning, the Federal Government is under the terms of this act, authorized to first, assume 100 percent of the "joint" costs or costs contributing to all aspects of project operations as allocated recreation and fish and wildlife enhancement sites; and second, assume a maximum of 50 percent of the "separable" costs or costs related most directly to recreation and fish and wildlife enhancement. State and local interests will assume the remaining 50 percent of separable costs incurred by paying in cash or by providing the equivalent in needed lands or facilities.

RIVERS, HARBORS, AND FLOOD CONTROL

Our responsibilities to the welfare of the Nation cannot and will not be fully met until careful and complete consideration is given to each and every potential purpose that the development of our natural resources can advance. Navigation, flood control, hydroelectric power, and beach erosion control are vital purposes well-deserving of our sage development and planning scrutiny.

The omnibus rivers, harbors, and flood control legislation passed in the twilight hours of this session of the Congress authorized a total of $1,982,305,000 in funds for 47 navigation betterment projects, 9 land and beach stabilization programs, and 84 flood-control undertakings.

In addition, $75,000 in appropriations has been authorized to enable the continuance and expansion of a national program to control the growth of obnoxious aquatic plants in our waters. Previously limited to the southeastern section of the United States, we feel that all areas and regions experiencing serious and dangerous weed infestation problems should be eligible for control assistance.

The Corps of Engineers will now join forces with Federal, State, and local authorities in the preparation of long-term planning and development projects for the drought-stricken northeastern sector of the Nation.

One final major provision of this legislation is certainly worthy of mention. To areas eligible for aid under the 1965 Public Works and Economic Development Act, the Secretary of Commerce will be empowered to grant loans to and purchase evidence of indebtedness from local authorities, thereby aiding in the completion of water resource projects.

AIR POLLUTION

To expand and accelerate our efforts to abate the contamination of our air and reduce the hazards of air pollution threatening the health of the public, this Congress approved legislation which authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to establish and implement workable standards for the control of dangerous substances from new motor vehicles.

The manufacture, sale, or importation of any substandard vehicle will result in the assessment of fines of up to $1,000 per unit. To meet the costs of implementing these amendments to the Clean Air Act, we have approved authorizations of $470,000 for fiscal 1966, $845,000 for fiscal 1967, $1,195,000 for fiscal 1968 and $1,470,000 for fiscal 1969.

Included in the air pollution control legislation was provision for a nationwide research and development program designed to advance our methods of disposing of solid waste materials including garbage, discarded agricultural, commercial, and industrial byproducts, and refuse from mineral extraction and processing operations. Excluded from this coverage were domestic sewage, solid wastes, and other polluting agents found in the Nation's water resources.

Under the joint administration of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Secretary of the Interior, appropriations totaling $10 million for fiscal 1966, $20 million for fiscal 1967, $30 million for fiscal 1968, and $32.5 million for fiscal 1969 have been approved for the implementation of the solid waste disposal provisions of this legislation.

HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION

On the occasion of the signing of the Highway Beautification Act, President Johnson vowed that "beauty belongs to all the people. And so long as I am President, what has been divinely given to nature will not be taken recklessly away by man."

With its enactment into public law, the highway beautification legislation paved the way for an all-out attack on the forces of ugliness which threaten to deprive present and future generations of Americans from knowing and appreciating the finery of nature with which we have been abundantly endowed.

To aid in the control of outdoor advertising along our Interstate and primary highways and to enhance simultaneously public safety and preserve natural beauty, 10 percent of a State's allotted Federal highway funds may be denied for failure to remove other than specified outdoor advertising devices.

Authorizations of $20 million annually in fiscal 1966 and 1967 have been approved for implementation of outdoor advertising control measures.

The withholding of a maximum of 10 percent of Federal highway funds to which a State would be normally entitled could also be justified by a failure to initiate and maintain effective controls of outdoor junkyards. Seventy-five percent of the costs of removal and landscaping and/or screening costs will be available to the owners of affected junkyards and billboards.

Authorizations of $20 million annually in fiscal 1966 and 1967 have been approved for these junkyard control provisions.

Appropriations of $120 million annually in fiscal 1966 and 1967 have been

provided for Federal participation in landscape and roadside development projects along all Federal-aid roads.

NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON ARTS AND HUMANITIES

With the enactment into law of Public Law 89–209, a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities was established. Encompassing a National Endowment for the Arts,, a National Endowment for the Humanities, and a Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities, the function of this Foundation will be the promoting of a "broadly conceived national policy of support for the humanities and the arts in the United States."

The National Endowment for the Arts has been authorized to award matching grants to the States, to individuals, and to public and nonprofit groups directly involved in the creative or performing arts for activities including production, purchase, or construction of needed facilities, workshops, and similar projects that will contribute to the support of the arts, as well as public enjoyment and appreciation of them.

The National Endowment for the Humanities has been authorized to award matching grants, research loans, and fellowships for research, information exchange, publication of significant works, training, workshops, and similar projects that will contribute to the promotion and appreciation of the humanities.

The establishment of a Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities was authorized. This Council will coordinate the efforts of the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities as well as the relevant activities of all other Federal agencies.

Appropriations totaling $63 million for the 1966–68 fiscal period have been approved for the establishment of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities and for the implementation of its programs.

COSTS

We know that the primary concern of Government must be the promotion of the welfare of its citizenry. In a heterogeneous nation of approximately 195 million individuals, the promotion of the general welfare is a vast and expensive undertaking.

For the good of the individual and the greatness of a nation and a society, we must be willing to commit the requisite financial resources, for, in the words of the late President Kennedy:

> A strong America cannot neglect the aspirations of its citizens, the welfare of the needy, the health care of the elderly, the education of the young. Wealth is the means, and the people the ends.

The Congress early gave its approval to $1,600 million in supplemental funds for fiscal 1965 for the Commodity Credit Corporation and to $700 million in funds for additional fiscal 1965 Defense expenditures in South Vietnam. Passage of the second supplemental appropriations bill supplied $2,227,563,977 for the additional costs of continuing or completing a number of agency programs during fiscal 1965.

The following agency appropriations are for the 1966 fiscal period: Agriculture, $6,242,929,500; Defense, $46,887,163,000; Federal contribution of $46,122,000 to the approved $360,228,500 budget for the District of Columbia; $14,246,167,800 for the independent offices; $1,212,739,070 for the Department of the Interior; $8,011,331,500 for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare; $189,993,297 for the legislative branch; $2,057,597,150 for State, Justice, Commerce, and the Judiciary; $7,669,444,000 for the executive offices, Treasury, and Post Office Departments; $3,218 million for economic and military assistance programs and $714,188,000 in related foreign aid programs; $1,756,635,000 for the construction of military family housing units; $1,223,181,500 in supplemental funds for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare; $4,292,866,500 for public works; and general supplemental moneys totaling $4,741,644,602 to finance many of the proposals approved by the 89th Congress during its 1st session.

FEDERAL CIVILIAN EMPLOYEES PAY RAISE

Throughout our discussion of the outstanding legislative accomplishments of this session, we have spoken of policies, of programs, of projects, of authorizations, and of appropriations. Surely we must understand that the success or the failure of each and every activity of Government depends on one very vital ingredient, and that ingredient is the dedication and devotion to the service of their fellow Americans on the part of our Federal employees.

If the Government service is to retain its dedicated corps of personnel and offer an attractive career to our bright young men and women, it must offer salaries that are comparable to those of other sectors of our economy. To achieve this end, a 3.6 percent pay raise measure has been enacted and will benefit more than 1,600,000 Federal civilian employees.

John F. Conlon: A Man for All Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSSELL B. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, there was a dinner in New York City at the St. Moritz Hotel at which my good and old friend was presented with the annual "Man of the Year" award by the Veterans of Foreign Wars, State Department of New York.

The award, a solid bronze plaque, was given to Jack Conlon for his outstanding record of service in public life and his contributions to the American way of life and his efforts on behalf of veterans and their families. He is a veteran of World War II, commissioned as a lieutenant, junior grade, in the U.S. Navy in 1942, and served for 38 months. He saw action in the Atlantic and Pacific for 19 months. He served for a year as an instructor at the U.S. Naval School of Recognition at Ohio State University before serving overseas. In the Pacific, he participated in landings at Leyte Gulf, Lingayen Gulf in the Philippines, and Okinawa.

He was released from the Navy as a lieutenant commander in 1945. He remained active in the Naval Reserve until 1960 when he joined the Army Reserve. He retired in 1964 with the rank of lieutenant colonel.

Prior to becoming administrative assistant to Senator HOWARD W. CANNON in 1959, Jack Conlon served as executive secretary for the late E. P. Carville, Nevada Governor and U.S. Senator. He served as an engineer for the Nevada Highway Department, deputy surveyor general and chief Nevada safety engineer until 1949 when he formed an insurance company in Las Vegas.

I ask unanimous consent to include in the Appendix of the RECORD the following address by John F. Conlon on the occasion of his receipt of this well-merited award.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> Mr. Chairman, Reverend Clergy, distinguished guests, members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and friends, if I could get through this without showing you a few Irish tears, I would be lucky.
>
> To receive this award, "Man of the Year," is a great personal honor, and I accept it with pleasure and with humility, as an occasion of great importance in my life.
>
> But my mind, at this moment, remembers with particular strength the time, 20 years ago, when two great wars had just ended. Our memories were still fresh with the faces of our less fortunate comrades who had given their lives to protect the ideals of this Nation which we love. There may well not be one veteran in this room tonight who cannot summon from the mists of memory the faces of one or a dozen buddies who gave for us and our country the greatest gift—his life.
>
> Twenty years, with a bit of interest, has since passed. They died for our national ideals—but have we, with equal strength, lived for these ideals during these succeeding years of relative peace? While I hope that none of us at this pleasant occasion may feel that we have let down our missing comrades, more important than my personal honor this evening is my hope that we may rededicate ourselves—by word and by action—to strengthening our determination to bring our country ever closer to the noble ideals for which our comrades fell.
>
> I hope all of you can have the opportunity to talk to a man here tonight who has just returned from Vietnam. He had an opportunity, as a representative of the Armed Services Committee of the Senate, to visit the fighting men in their daily work. Senator CANNON gave a report to the Senate the other day and I wish you could have heard him talk about the boys we have sent to Vietnam. Some of you here tonight may have sons there, I know most of you have friends there, and you would be overwhelmed with pride if you could hear the report, and I hope that some of you later this evening get a chance to listen to the Senator tell of this. It is absolutely amazing. You would be so proud of those boys. You would know—absolutely know—that our old buddies did not die in vain. These are a dedicated bunch of fighting men that we have sent to this faraway country, and they are

committing themselves nobly. It is to them—each and every one of them—that I wish could be named "the man—or men of the year."

This is a great evening for me folks. Thank you very much for coming.

Federal Reserve Board Member Hits Tight Money and High Interest Rates as Harming Economic Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, shortly we shall be entering into an unprecedented 57th month of the Kennedy-Johnson economic prosperity. During every month of this economic boom, we have heard from the harbingers of doom that economic expansion has gone too long and that the economy was overheating and leading us into disastrous inflation. Of course, Mr. Speaker, every new month has brought new gains so strong and prosperous that fears of the pessimists have been washed away amidst an increasingly dynamic economy.

Recently, the newest member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve, Sherman Maisel, delivered an address to the 22d annual meeting of the National League of Insured Savings & Loan Associations, which I too had the privilege of addressing. In one of the finest statements I have read in many years from the Federal Reserve Board, Governor Maisel dispels the pessimistic attempts to downgrade our prosperity. He warns that caution and understanding of the dynamics of prosperity are necessary, but fear of doom has no place.

The idea that decline follows prosperity is dispelled by a deliberate statement to the fact that the so-called business cycle theory of contractions and expansions following each other in rapid succession is no longer an applicable theory or idea in our present stage of economic growth.

Governor Maisel, in dealing with our balance-of-payments problem and domestic prosperity, states that it is easier to deal with this problem, involving less than 6 percent of our total income, by dealing with the imbalance directly through the interest equalization tax and the voluntary foreign credit restraint program, than by throwing the whole economy into a depression by tightening credit and raising interest rates. The wage-price situation, despite cries to the contrary, does not add up to an inflationary bust. Tighter credit, as practiced by the Eisenhower-Martin administration, rocked the economy in the late 1950's when careful piloting of the economy by keeping credit available would have saved us from such crises.

If the economy is to continue to expand, high investment, which assumes readily available credit at low rates, must be maintained. Behind Governor Maisel's appraisal of our expansion lies the belief that economic prosperity must be encouraged and should not be stopped or hindered when the first signs of possible price rises appear, as so firmly believed by Chairman Martin and his cohorts at the Federal Reserve.

I commend Governor Maisel's statement, which follows, to my colleagues for careful study:

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

(Remarks of Sherman J. Maisel, member, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, at the 22d annual meeting of the National League of Insured Savings Associations, Los Angeles, Calif.)

I have returned to Los Angeles as a seminative. When I moved here in the Army 23 years ago, I had my first contact with the savings and loan industry. I made an initial deposit or share purchase in a local savings and loan in 1942.

Last week I checked to see what had happened to your industry in the interim. I found that California savings and loan institutions had $300 million in shares outstanding in 1942. Now they have over $20 billion. That is a growth of nearly 7,000 percent. Nationally your industry has grown from under $5 billion to over $106 billion, or by 2,200 percent in the same 23 years.

Growth on this scale demonstrates the excellent results obtained through Government and industry cooperation. Without Federal savings and loan insurance, the story would be very different. When they operated completely on their own, our banking and thrift institutions suffered from a long record of losses, instability, and runs. Because even the best felt repercussions from the troubles of the worst, there is now a nearly unanimous agreement that Government support, cooperation, and regulation are necessary.

The savings and loan industry is a dramatic example of growth. So is our overall economy. Every day, we set new records of output, wealth, and well-being. Our economy has been expanding steadily for 56 months, by far the longest peacetime expansion in our history.

The record of this expansion is striking. Since February 1961—

Gross national product is up over $173 billion.

The Federal Reserve index of industrial production has increased 38 percent.

Families have $117 billion extra in income to spend or save.

Corporation profits are more than $21 billion higher.

There are 5½ million more people at work.

Unemployment has fallen from 6.9 to 4.4 percent.

Compared to the previous peak in May 1960, deposits in commercial banks have risen by 52 percent, and savings in your savings and loan have gone up by 88 percent.

CAUSES OF DOWNTURNS

While we all rejoice in this record, a great deal of worry is evident. Everywhere I go people ask one or the other of these questions:

1. Hasn't the expansion gone on too long; doesn't it have to end soon?

2. Isn't a record expansion bound to lead to overheating and inflation?

The simple answer to both is "no." Let me use the remainder of my time to explain why caution and understanding are necessary but fear is not.

First, I would like to point out that many economists—myself included—have avoided use of the term "business cycle" for over 20 years. "Cycle" is a poor term because for many people it connotes an inevitable sequence of events. What cycles up must cycle down. This is not the lesson of history. Contractions or depressions don't just occur. They are caused and can be explained.

While past expansions have ended for a wide variety of reasons, their causes can be grouped under four major hearings:

(a) War, international crises or shortages, or similar outside forces have caused the economy to operate for a time under forced draft. Later this extra demand has fallen off.

(b) Governmental operations: The impact on the economy of governmental expenditures and taxes has been sharply reversed by governmental action or, as likely, inaction. This has occurred either through a change in fiscal policy or a failure to change it, as when so-called "fiscal drag" went unrecognized and unheeded.

(c) Credit. The banks or the monetary authority have brought about a slowdown in the expansion or a contraction in the supply of credit.

(d) Overinvestment: Production of housing, of inventories, or other types of investment has exceeded a level sustainable by the growth in final demand.

THE NEW ECONOMICS

Better understanding of why past expansions have ended has led to the concepts of the "new economics." What does this term mean? I think it contains three related ideas:

First, agreement that a continuing expansion of income, jobs, and welfare and a minimal price rise is a possible and proper national goal.

Second, recognition that reaching our goal requires understanding and deliberate action in monetary, fiscal, and wage-price fields.

And, third, widespread acceptance by business and political leaders, and by the press and public that the Nation's requirements must be considered in making price and wage decisions and that monetary and fiscal policy should be used more positively. Most significantly, the ideas taught by economists for the past 25 years have gained wider acceptance. Maintaining progress may require a deliberate use of the Federal budget and of credit to add to or subtract from total demand. Government action should be deflationary when total demands are threatening to outrun available supplies. It should add to income when other demands fall short of our growth potential.

The new economics puts a heavy burden on gentlemen such as you, who are recognized as experts in the areas of finance and budgets and do so much to help form public opinion, to understand and explain current economic events. As busines leaders, you are well aware of major community needs such as those for schools, parks, health, and national defense which can only be met on a governmental basis. As economic observers, you see immediately the impact on your savings flows and mortgage demands when the Government shifts from a policy of expanding to one of contracting overall demand.

MONETARY POLICY

Relative price stability has characterized our present expansion. Now, however, the backlog of unemployed resources has diminished. The gap between production and potential output has shrunk. Clearly price increases are more likely. If total demand rises at a much faster rate than supply, inflation will be an immediate danger.

These facts have led to a widespread debate on the proper stance for monetary policy. I might comment briefly on this debate. In doing so, I want to make two things clear. Our economy changes rapidly. A great advantage of monetary policy is that it can react and shift with the economy. A correct policy today might not be a proper one a month, or even 2 weeks, from now.

Secondly, as you all recognize, the formation of monetary policy is complex. Final decisions by the 12-man Federal Open Market Committee are made in the context of changing credit needs and the fiscal plans and requirements of the rest of the Government. Obviously any information you might glean today about my own views in the transient circumstances of the day may have little relation to any future decisions of the Committee as they are molded in the crucible of public and private debates.

CRITICISM OF CURRENT POLICY

Critics of current monetary policy range from those who feel that recent moderate firmness is far too easy to those who feel it is much too tight.

Criticism can be grouped roughly under six headings.

1. Some, as represented by certain European central bankers, believe that adjustment in our critical balance of payments situation can be brought about only by action so restrictive as to risk deflation. To contract demand, we should raise interest rates. Depressed countries import less and may export more.

2. Others fear the future because of Vietnam. They judge that the amounts which rumors say we might spend on the military could not be added to other demands without inflation. As an offset, civilian purchases of houses and similar goods should be contracted by a tighter monetary policy.

3. Some believe that any expansion must be paid for by a later contraction. They neglect the opportunities for growth. Based on a false analogy that the higher you rise the farther you must fall, they would like to see the fall start from our current rather than some future higher level.

4. Others feel the rate of expansion must be slowed because it contains, or may lead to, serious distortions that would require a depression to correct. Two different types of reasoning end up believing in tighter policies. Some maintain that continuing credit expansion at current rates is bound to end in trouble. Credit will either deteriorate in quality, or it will lead to too much spending with inflationary consequences. Others take almost the opposite point of view. They feel credit must be contracted to hold production at sustainable levels. Continued expansion at current rates means to them that some areas will exhaust demand and be left with unsalable backlogs of goods. Such imbalances will lead to a depression.

5. Still others hold that money currently is too tight, not too easy. They argue that our excellent record has been possible only because sufficient money and credit have been available at reasonable rates. Some credit has come from additional reserves, but much has come from tapping pools of liquidity left from previous periods. They feel that recent interest rate increases mark the exhaustion of this prior liquidity Unless reserves are made available more rapidly, the supply of credit will be insufficient to sustain normal growth. Interest rates will rise. Demand will contract. We will experience another recession.

6. Finally, some believe that monetary policy has been too firm throughout the expansion. The rate of growth would have been greater with cheaper money. Continuation of the expansion can be assured only by much cheaper interest rates and the availability of far more credit.

REJECT OUT OF HAND

I think we can reject the first three views out of hand. I believe, as do most people in Washington, that adjustment of our balance of payments is an immediate serious problem. President Johnson has stated the firm administration goal of bringing our balance to equilibrium. However, I judge that most officials reject the depression road as an improper path to equilibrium. Certainly I do.

Every time I hear someone urge deflation, I am reminded of Lamb's famous story of the first roast pork. You remember the tale of the tribe whose hut burned with a pig inside. In clearing the debris, they discovered succulent roast pork. For years thereafter they burned another hut every time they wanted roast pig. Only gradually did they learn that you could cook more efficiently and with less economic waste.

I see our payments problem in this same way. Our foreign sales are less than 6 percent of our total income. Iti s far more efficient to deal with a lack of foreign balance directly, as we have done through the interest equalization tax and the voluntary foreign credit restraint program, than through throwing the entire economy into a depression.

Similarly it would be wrong for the Government to base its monetary policy on Vietnam rumors instead of on its own best facts and estimates. The Vice President, Secretary Fowler, and Chairman Ackley have all said that probable increases in our defense expenditures have been greatly exaggerated. While these added expenses are unfortunate because of the sacrifices involved as well as the necessary postponement of tax cuts and more desirable Government spending, present plans for additional military spending do not require a basic shift in policy.

In fact, the best available spending and tax estimates show that for this fiscal year, allowing for the announced increases for Vietnam, we may already be feeling the maximum expansionary pressures in relation to supply to be expected from fiscal changes.

Similarly, the idea that cycles are necessary and that expansions must lead to proportionate contractions has no basis in fact. Policy based on such beliefs has led to disastrous events in the past. We must believe that we do learn from past mistakes. We need not repeat them.

SUPPLY AND DEMAND

In analyzing the other three contentions I named, we must examine the present as well as expected relationships of supply and demand and their impacts on wages and prices.

The current expansion has brought our employment and operating rates closer to desirable levels than they have been in nearly a decade. What about the future? While there is not yet an official forecast for next year, the consensus of business and university economists is that growth will continue at approximately the same rate as in recent months. If so, demand will expand at about the same pace as potential output. Rates of unemployment and capacity utilization will change only slightly from the present.

These rates do not threaten inflation. Unemployment in September was 4.4 percent. In many categories, there are still more people seeking work than in 1953 and 1956. Although a few skills are in short supply, no major labor market reported an overall shortage. Past experience indicates that specific shortages can be met rather readily through training and upgrading.

A similar situation exists with respect to our overall use of plant and equipment. Few serious bottlenecks have appeared. While we lack good information on capacity, utilization appears to have risen steadily from a low of around 78 percent in 1961 to the vicinity of 90 to 91 percent in recent months. This is still somewhat below the preferred rate for peak efficiency. However, since it is an average, some industries—mainly in durable goods—are operating above their preferred levels.

PRICES AND WAGES

We know that absence of generally excessive demand is, unfortunately, no guarantee of price stability. There can be a cost-push from pricing or wage-setting. Does such a push seem likely?

Industrial prices are about 1.4 percent higher than at the start of 1964. This is more than the total amount of increase for the entire period since 1959. Until the recent price flurries, these prices had moved up and down, but had no upward trend. We would all hope that the highly successful 6-year record could be maintained.

The wage situation appears promising. Although some increases, particularly in construction, far exceeds the guidelines, in manufacturing, unit wage costs have decreased in the past 2 years. The rise in productivity has outpaced that in money wages. Furthermore the calendar of labor negotiations for the coming 9 months shows few major problems.

The most difficult areas are nonferrous metals and machinery. These are basic industries in which prices have been rising. Their demand has reached or exceeded capacity. Prices and profits have expanded, but the fact that capacity is rising also may moderate further movements. With these and other minor exceptions, existing cost increases seem selective rather than pervasive. They give no indication of a cumulative interaction of rising prices and costs. Business and labor statesmanship appears to be better than at times in the past. While a few giant firms could cause prices to rise regardless of any justification from the basic supply and demand picture, such action appears less likely than in the 1950's.

The price-wage situation does not add up to signs of overheating. While tighter credit could be forced by the irresponsible action of a few in key industrial firms, such prospects appear less probable than in the last decade. Lacking such cost-push, the supply and demand situation shows little justification for tighter credit.

THE SUPPLY AND DEMAND FOR CREDIT

Another debate concerns the amount of credit made available to the productive sectors over the last year and a half. A rate of increase close to 9 percent in bank loans and investments, and an almost 7-percent rise in liquid assets—the deposits of banks, savings and loans, and mutual savings banks plus short-term Treasury securities—exceeds the growth in GNP. This expansion has been accompanied by stable mortgage interest rates, a rise of 14 percent or 50 basis points in the bill rate, and a 20 basis point increase in corporate bond yields.

Some feel that such a growth in credit cannot be maintained. They believe that an expansion accompanied by this much additional debt must contain within it the seeds of its own destruction. Others argue that such a view of the economy is, like the belief in inevitable cycles, simply incorrect. Since the establishment of the Federal Reserve we have had no expansion that ended because of too rapid a rise in credit.

On the opposite side, many critics believe that too many expansions have ended because of a failure of credit to expand. They fear that recent events herald a similar prospect. While credit expanded at a 9-percent annual rate, the money supply grew only at 4 percent, and nonborrowed reserves at less than 3½. They see the recent interest rate movements as a reflection of a lack of liquidity. They fear a recurrence of prior periods in which they believe growth was reduced by too little credit.

The optimists for next year base their predicted gains on a continued expansion of plant, equipment, and inventories. Such expectations of high investment assume that credit will be available and at costs similar to this year. If credit were to tighten more and interest rates were to continue their rise, the present optimistic predictions would have to be revised downward. This

would concern most people greatly. It would be welcomed, however, by those who believe that one should always stop expansions when the first signs appear of possible price rises.

CONCLUSION

In concluding, I would like to return to the two basic questions asked at the start. I think it is clear that nothing inherent in the length of this expansion requires either either a downturn or an inflation. The proper uses of fiscal and monetary policy have maintained an excellent economy. We have had growth without major distortions or price increases.

The continuation of our current growth rate is, however, far from certain or automatic. It is no more necessary than is a contraction. If excesses develop; if prices and wages chase each other; if demand falls in too many specific sectors; if we make poor policy choices, the expansion will be slowed or halted.

To maintain growth and prosperity, it is vital that we all have a clear understanding of our current economic situation and the types of policies which have made this expansion possible. The American people deserve and want to support the best possible policy. For this they need proper knowledge.

Our economy is dynamic. Progress depends on millions of independent decisions. Our excellent record of the past 4½ years is based on an environment of aid and cooperation which has made it possible for our economy to develop its full potential.

We must all work to maintain our present momentum.

Wirtz' Unworkables

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a recent editorial from the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch entitled "Wirtz' Unworkables."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WIRTZ' UNWORKABLES

When Labor Secretary Wirtz ruled early this year that harvesting of seasonable vegetable and fruit crops was to be done by persons recruited from the ranks of the unemployed, a great many city people may have thought it a good idea. It was a good idea, in theory; but farmers knew it would not work. It had been tried before, and had failed dismally. The reason: Too many unemployed workers, even in so-called disaster areas, don't want steady work, and some of them think it foolish to work for a living when they can continue to draw relief checks.

In the November issue of the Farm Journal, Gene Logsdon, editor of the truck and fruit section of that magazine, relates conditions and personnel observed while working in West Virginia apple orchards. Mr. Logsdon got the job by posing as unemployed.

He reports that out of the 600 West Virginia unemployed recruited for the apple picking season, only 60 showed up. They were put up at a tri-county labor camp near Martinsburg, constructed by 26 growers at a cost of $100,000. The men were offered $1.15 an hour during an 8-day training period, and after that the going rate of 15 cents a bushel, with a 2-cent bonus for staying the whole season. At these rates, reports Mr. Logsdon, Florida migrant workers told him they could pick 120 bushels a day in a good crop and earn as much as $20.40 a day.

"The very first morning of work, he writes, "before they'd even been to the orchard, the jobless 'Wirtz's Wonders' announced that they were ready to go on strike. They claimed it was impossible to work at the piece rate and make $1.15 an hour, despite their having been told that the per hour rate would prevail during their 8-day training period. Nevertheless, some walked off the job. Logsdon said that, inexperienced as he was, he picked 42 bushels in 7 hours.

But the unworkables simply wanted pay, not work. By the end of the week most of the unemployed had left.

An editorial in the Farm Journal had this to say about the situation:

"The Secretary Wirtz has played a game of 'brinkmanship' with farmers all year. He'd bring in foreign help, he said 'if needed.' But by the time a limited number of Mexicans and Jamaicians arrived, farmers, processors and their work force, labor, the Mexicans, and Jamaicans all lost money. Consumers will pay more for food all winter. American labor gained nothing."

Act of Bad Faith

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, the leading newspaper in my home State of Wisconsin, and one of the top papers in this country, the Milwaukee Journal, expressed an opinion in one of its recent editions that deserves the attention of every Member of this House.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include this editorial, "Act of Bad Faith," in the appendix of the RECORD:

ACT OF BAD FAITH

Congress acted in outrageous bad faith when it accepted congratulations for giving birth to a promising new program for the betterment of American life, then starved the baby in its cradle by denying it funds to live on. This is almost worse than if the program had not been conceived, because of the dashed hopes and shattered plans.

It did this twice in 1 day on the Thursday before adjournment. A Senate-House conference, putting a catchall appropriations bill in final form, permitted opponents of the rent supplement and Teacher Corps programs to knock out the funding of them at this time, without which of course they cannot begin.

The rent supplement for people in need of adequate housing was to be a very hopeful alternative to the subsidizing of public housing, an incentive to private housing enterprise, an added aid to the rescue of older neighborhoods from the bulldozer. Milwaukee is one city that was ready to leap at it, as the best hope of salvaging the bogged down Plymouth Hill renewal project.

The Teacher Corps, imaginatively fostered by Wisconsin's Senator NELSON, was to bring equal educational opportunity to poverty-stricken school districts. Teams of skilled, experienced teachers and new college graduates were to add the quantity and quality of schooling that such districts cannot otherwise afford.

It must be noted with dismay that Wisconsin's Representative LAIRD, one of the conservative Republicans on the House Appropriations Committee, led those who went behind the door to engineer the blockade of Teacher Corps funds. And this was within hours after his group had lost again in the full House, which had again voted the popular will to put this program to work.

Now the two funds will have to be sought anew in January, and perhaps will finally be forthcoming then. But meanwhile Congress, already basking in a brilliant record—notably including enactment of these two programs—took some of the shine off it.

Resolution by Polk County (Iowa) Board of Supervisors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK R. MILLER

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I have received a resolution from the Board of Supervisors of Polk County, Iowa. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION BY POLK COUNTY BOARD OF SUPERVISORS

Whereas there is an undesirable element of ill-advised young people in Des Moines, Iowa, who, according to newspaper reports, have made seditious statements and have conducted demonstrations to influence others to join them in their disloyal and unpatriotic actions under the guise of being conscientious objectors; and

Whereas said element appears to be a part of, influenced by, or subject to the control of, a vicious group of undesirables located outside of the State of Iowa, whose two objectives appear to be (1) the undermining of the loyalty and patriotism of our brave men fighting for our freedom, and (2) to shirk and avoid their own duty and obligation to fight for their own freedom; and

Whereas a large group of these unpatriotic citizens are now attending at least partially tax-supported places of learning: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Polk County Board of Supervisors go on record that each and every member of this board abhors the idea of contributing to the cost of educating these undesirable and unpatriotic persons and recommend to them that they remove themselves from the State of Iowa and from our free and glorious country to some place where they may find companions of the same ilk and also recommend to our institutions of learning that they adopt measures to discourage the attendance and enrollment of such persons in their institutions; and be it further

Resolved, That this is not intended to cast any reflection on sincere patriotic persons who object to military service because of their religious convictions, who follow prescribed governmental rules to obtain exemption from military service.

Adopted this 19th day of October 1965.

POLK COUNTY BOARD OF SUPERVISORS,
By E. W. ARMEL, *Chairman*.

The Historic 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the old saying goes that "the record speaks for itself."

However, the record of the 1st session of the 89th Congress cannot speak for itself. It is too vast.

We have accomplished so much and made such progress in these past 10 months, implemented so many fine new programs and expanded others of proven value that it is incumbent on each of us who were privileged to participate in the writing of this record to review it for the citizens of our constituency.

It has been said that the 1st session of the 89th Congress will be remembered as the most productive of this century.

History, of course, will pass judgment on this point. However, there is no denying that much has been accomplished. Great strides have been taken in meeting and conquering the social and economic ills which drag on the progress of our great American society.

In reviewing briefly these programs, it is important to note and fully comprehend that each is designed to have a positive effect on every American citizen even though each person may not benefit directly by any specific program. For it is true that many of these programs are designed to bring relief to minority groups. Minority group in this sense does not necessarily imply only the poor, the nonwhite, the elderly, or the young.

We are each a member of a minority group. Each of us are citizens of the United States and in that respect we are members of an absolute majority. Yet, we are each members of some minority group.

Some of us are small businessmen, and we are, thereby, members of a minority group.

There are those among us who are corporate executives, men and women of power but, nonetheless, they form and are members of a minority group.

There are good citizens of this Nation who are in the minority because of their color, their religion, because they belong to a labor union, are white collar workers, are elderly, are preschool children or students. The very rich are a minority as are the very poor.

If we stop to think about it for just a minute, we realize that each of us belongs to at least one minority group and probably several.

It is because of this that Congress and the Johnson-Humphrey administration have sought programs to solve the complicated and interrelating problems of the minority groups to which we all belong.

The aim of these programs is to give strength to our Nation and assist in laying the path to greater security and prosperity for that great majority to which we are all privileged to enjoy membership, the citizenry of the United States of America.

The ills of each minority group sap the strength of the great majority and act counter to the national interest. Thus, by remedying the ills of the part, we strengthen the whole.

In reviewing the progress marked by this session of the 89th Congress, it is appropriate that we first mention specific programs which benefit directly our own districts and citizens of Tennessee.

In the closing days of this session, the Congress passed and forwarded to the President, as part of the public works bill, my bill to permit the sale of 28.2 acres of land on Old Hickory Lake by the Corps of Engineers to the Tennessee Society for Crippled Children and Adults.

The society currently leases the land which it uses for the site of its crippled children's camp. Outright ownership will permit the society to meet the camp's needs for expansion.

Working as a member of the House Ways and Means Committee, I was successful in securing House approval of Senate amendments to the Tariff Act which, without interfering with domestic production or competition, will permit one large Tennessee firm to expand its operations in western middle Tennessee and prevent the threat of a probable cutback in production at four firms in east Tennessee.

A nonlegislative service provided the people of Nashville and middle Tennessee was the Nashville Conference on Small Business.

Held at Peabody College on September 16, 1965, this conference was attended by over 400 persons. The conference was designed to outline to the small business community of Nashville the programs and personnel available to them through the Nashville Small Business Administration regional office.

It was judged to be highly successful and I enclose here a letter we received from the Washington SBA Director of the Office of Development Companies, who played such an important role in the success of the conference:

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C., October 7, 1965.

Hon. RICHARD H. FULTON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FULTON: We wish to express our appreciation for providing us with the opportunity to take part in the seminar on economic development for small business, sponsored by the Nashville Area Chamber of Commerce and you on September 16, 1965, in Nashville, Tenn.

The program you and the chamber arranged was most effective as was the mode of presentation which gave everyone present the advantage of freely participating in all five of the workshop sessions held.

The tremendous interest shown by those in attendance, the number and depth of questions asked, as well as the degree of active participation evidenced, certainly established that the community of Nashville can and will continue to expand and strengthen its economy. It established, too, the effectiveness of seminars of this type as a vehicle to provide small businessmen, bankers, community leaders, attorneys, and others with the facts and information on SBA and the programs available to assist them in achieving their individual economic and industrial development objectives.

You might be interested in knowing that as a result of this seminar, Mr. Sam Jennings, our regional director in Nashville, Tenn., reports a substantial increase in requests for assistance in community development projects, for management assistance, and financial counseling as well as loan inquiries and applications.

I am sure that the business community of the greater Nashville area shares with us the appreciation of the value of this seminar which the chamber of commerce and you made possible.

Sincerely,

THOMAS S. FRANCIS,
Director,
Office of Development Companies.

Another program of great promise in the field of international relations was launched in Tennessee this year. With the assistance of the University of Tennessee and its able representative, Dr. Carl Thomas, of the graduate school, a Tennessee Partners of the Allience organization was formed. The Partners program is designed to strengthen and assist the Alliance for Progress by working with our Latin American friends at the grassroots level.

The foundation of the Partners program is mutual assistance. Under the program each participant contributes to the other. Already Tennessee is making available to its Partner know-how and assistance in the field of electrification. Venezuela, meanwhile, is making a meaningful cultural contribution to Tennessee through an exhibition of Venezuelan art which will tour our State over the coming months.

In the future there are plans for mutual assistance in the field of education and other fields.

This is not a giveaway program. It is a program whereby each party contributes to the benefit of the other. The people of Tennessee understand and approve of this approach to foreign aid and have illustrated their approval by their support of the Tennessee Partners of the Alliance.

A final footnote should be added by way of followup to the work being done in Nashville as a result of the 1964 Conference on Automation, Education, and Jobs, which we cosponsored with George Peabody College.

The conference produced such interest in the problem of automation and its related aspects that a grant for a study and report was secured from the Office of Education in Washington.

This study is now underway and should be completed in the near future.

These are services to the people of Tennessee and Tennessee's Fifth Congressional District. But their effect in better care for the less fortunate, economic stimulation and security will have an impact transcending our borders.

Conversely, the major programs implemented and expanded by the 1st session of the 89th Congress will have their effect not only across the Nation but will have impact in Metropolitan Nashville-Davidson County.

In brief, here are these programs:

SUMMARY OF MAJOR LEGISLATION

Antipoverty amendments: Authorizes $1.5 billion for fiscal year 1966, and extends for 10 months, to June 30, 1967, the period during which the Government

could provide up to 90 percent matching funds for poverty projects.

Appalachia: Authorizes $1.1 billion for development of the economically depressed 12-State Appalachia region.

Coffee Agreement: Enables the United States to carry out its obligations under the International Coffee Agreement of 1962.

Department of Housing and Urban Development: Places at Cabinet level a new agency, with all functions now in the Housing and Home-Finance Agency and its constituent agencies, to administer major Federal programs relating to the physical development of our urban area.

Disarmament Agency: Authorizes $30 million for fiscal 1966–68 for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Drug Control Amendments: Place stricter controls on the possession, distribution and disposal of depressing barbiturates and stimulating amphetamines.

Elementary and Secondary School Education: Authorizes $1.3 billion for the first year of Federal grant programs to improve elementary and secondary education with $1 billion earmarked to aid educationally deprived children from low-income families.

Excise tax reductions will reduce excise taxes by $4.7 billion by January 1, 1969, by eliminating all Federal excise taxes except user, regulatory, and sumptuary levies.

Foreign aid: Authorizes $3.38 billion for fiscal 1966 for foreign assistance programs.

Gold reserves: Allows the Nation's money supply to expand by eliminating the required 25-percent gold backing for Federal Reserve deposits.

Higher education: Authorizes educational opportunity grants for needy undergraduate students; provides guaranteed reduced interest loans for graduate and undergraduate students; broadens college work-study program to include all students in financial need of part-time job; establishes National Teacher Corps and teacher fellowship program; doubles funds for construction of academic facilities; provides special help for college libraries, less developed colleges and community service programs.

Immigration: Replaces the discriminatory national origins quota system with a first-come, first-served system of preferential admissions for immigrants with especially advantageous skills, education or training, or close relatives in the United States.

Inter-American Development Bank: Authorizes a $750 million increase in the U.S. contribution to the Bank.

Manpower program: Extends the manpower development and training programs 3 years through June 30, 1970; authorizes $454 million in fiscal 1966; continues 100-percent financing of MDTA training programs through June 1966; liberalized training allowances.

Medical care and social security: Creates first, a basic hospital insurance program providing 60 days of hospitalization—over the first $40; 100 days of posthospital care, and 100 visits by a home nurse; second, a voluntary medical insurance program costing individuals $3 a month and providing physicians' services—over the first $50—and 100 home nursing visits; third, a 7-percent increase, averaging $4 a month, in old-age and survivors benefits; fourth, expansion of medical care programs for the aged, blind, disabled, and dependent children under the existing Kerr-Mills program of Federal-State aid; and fifth, expanded maternal and child health and crippled children's services.

National Arts Foundation: Creates a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities to provide $20 million a year for 3 years in endowments for the creative and performing arts and for scholarships in the humanities.

Older Americans bill: Establishes an Administration on Aging in HEW and authorizes $17.5 million in grants for fiscal 1966 and 1967 for development of programs for the aged.

Omnibus housing: Provides funds for preliminary study of rent supplements under housing built under FHA for low-income families whose rent exceeds one-fourth of their income; increases subsidies for public housing; extends all FHA insurance programs for 4 years; authorizes grants for urban renewal.

Public works and economic development: Consolidates area redevelopment and accelerated public works programs in a new Economic Development Administration in the Commerce Department to make loans and grants to areas crippled by high unemployment and low income.

Presidential continuity: Proposes a constitutional amendment to permit the Vice President to become Acting President if the President is unable to perform his duties, and allows the President, if a vacancy occurs in the Vice-Presidency, to nominate a Vice President subject to confirmation by a majority vote of the House and Senate.

Regional medical centers: Launches a 5-year program of project grants—$50 million for the first year—to develop 25 multipurpose regional medical centers to fight heart disease, cancer, stroke and other diseases.

Tobacco marketing: Quotas provide acreage poundage marketing quotas for tobacco if approved by two-thirds of growers voting in a referendum. If rejected, present acreage controls will continue.

Voting rights: Enforces the 15th amendment's guarantee that the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude by: prohibiting the imposition or application of voting qualifications or procedures which deny the right to vote on account of race or color; prohibiting tests or devices as a prerequisite for voting; authorizing the Attorney General to appoint Federal examiners or registrars when State or local officials continue to discriminate against potential voters; empowering Federal examiners to give certificates of eligibility to vote to citizens who have been denied the opportunity; providing penalties of 5 years in prison, a $5,000 fine, or both for attempting to deprive a person of his rights under the law or destroying voting records.

Water pollution control: Creates a Federal Water Pollution Control Administration within HEW; authorizes HEW administered control programs; and provides $20 million a year for 4 years for control improvement projects.

PENDING

Air pollution control: Authorizes HEW to set standards for control of automobile exhaust, and launches a major study of methods to control pollution from smoke and other wastes.

Higher education: Authorizes a 5-year—$250 million in the first year—program to provide scholarships for needy undergraduates; insured, reduced-interest loans to graduate and undergraduate students; work-study programs; National Defense Education Act student loan program expansions; improved college libraries and trained librarians; university extension and adult education courses.

This, then, is the record of the 1st session of the 89th Congress. It is a record of progress and of positive action. It illustrates to the people of the United States that this Congress and this administration is more than aware of the problems of our society. It is graphic proof that we are doing something to meet, ease, and eliminate them.

I would like just a few moments more to express my appreciation to the people of Tennessee's Fifth Congressional District for bestowing upon me the honor of being their Representative in the Congress.

Because of them I was allowed the privilege of assisting in the writing and the passage of the medical care-social security amendments.

Because of them I was allowed the privilege of assisting in the writing and passage of the bill to increase social security benefits.

Because of them I was allowed the privilege of assisting in the writing and passage of the bill to reduce and repeal the Federal excise tax.

Because of them I was given the privilege of joining in sponsoring and passage of the bill creating a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities and many of the other bills which have now become public law and a part of the record of the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

Legislative Apportionment: The Latest Proposal Analyzed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, there is now pending, on the Senate Calendar, Senate Joint Resolution 103, better known as the Dirksen amendment.

This is the fourth reincarnation of the thrice-killed effort to overrule the Supreme Court's decisions requiring fair apportionment of State legislatures.

Since those decisions were handed down in June 1964, the rotten borough legislators and their allies have fought with every resource at their command to perpetuate their minority stranglehold over our State legislatures.

The country is aware that the opponents of fair apportionment first attempted a frontal attack on the Court last year with the Tuck bill in the House of Representatives. That measure would have simply denied the U.S. courts all power to consider apportionment cases. When that effort failed, the foes of fair representation attempted a flanking action on the Court with the Dirksen rider to last year's foreign aid bill. That rider would have temporarily denied the courts jurisdiction over State legislative apportionment suits. When that effort failed, the proponents of malapportionment sought to sabotage the Court's decision with a constitutional amendment, known as Senate Joint Resolution 2.

That remarkable resolution was the subject of full-scale hearings in the Senate. Reacting to the mounting criticism which the hearings evoked, the proponents revised the text of Senate Joint Resolution 2 at least three times. Then, when the Judiciary Committee refused to report the amendment, they bypassed the committee and brought it to the Senate floor as a substitute to an American Legion Baseball Week resolution. Sensing defeat, they kept amending and tinkering with their constitutional amendment right up to the very moment—before—it was voted down last August 4.

Bloodied but unbowed, the foes of fair representation have hastily scraped together yet another version of their amendment. The latest draft, now printed as Senate Joint Resolution 103, cannot escape its heredity. It is the orphan of a succession of political proposals, now deceased, which attempt to overrule the decisions of the Supreme Court. Like its departed parents, Senate Joint Resolution 103 seeks to scuttle the requirements of the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment by permitting some citizens in a State to speak with an unequal vote in the selection of their State legislatures.

Since Senator DIRKSEN's latest amendment has not been the subject of any hearings, there is considerable doubt as to the precise meaning and effect of the new language. The basic purpose is, however, clear: to shrink the votes and sap the political strength of certain groups of citizens. Senate Joint Resolution 103 is thus subject to the same philosophic objections as the earlier efforts to frustrate majority rule by permitting some citizens to cast more votes than others.

In addition to its inherent philosophic defects, Senate Joint Resolution 103 suffers from a great number of technical deficiencies. Based upon the testimony and debate on the earlier version of the Dirksen amendment, and the views of experts who have now studied the new text, one can say with certainty that the present amendment is more vague, more ambiguous, and more confusing than any previous version. Let me suggest a few of the more obvious technical difficulties with the text of Senate Joint Resolution 103.

1. RATIFICATION PROCEDURE

The proponents of Senate Joint Resolution 2 were obviously stung by the charge that a rotten borough amendment to the Constitution should not be submitted for ratification by a rotton borough legislature.

The opponents of the Dirksen amendment argued that if the proponents were really serious about letting the people decide, ratification should be by State constitutional conventions, consisting of delegates chosen at large. This would give the people an effective choice on the fundamental question of amending the Constitution.

Senate Joint Resolution 103 does not adopt this suggestion. Instead, it provides for ratification by State legislatures "provided that each such legislature shall include one house apportioned on the basis of substantial equality of population."

This new approach constitutes half-hearted recognition of the validity of our argument, but there is an obvious effort on the part of the warriors for the Dirksen amendment to avoid the logical consequences of their own battle cry: "Let the people decide." While ratification by a legislature with one fairly apportioned house is better than ratification by a doubly malapportioned legislature, there is still a substantial possibility that a State legislature could ratify this amendment even though it does not command the support of a majority of the people in the State.

As Senator DOUGLAS has pointed out, it is certainly possible that the fairly apportioned house of a State legislature could be blackmailed into ratifying this constitutional amendment by the threat of the other house to withhold consent on important matters of public business. Such blackmail is not unheard of; it has happened in the past.

Senator PROXMIRE has pointed out another fatal weakness in the unique ratification procedure specified by Senate Joint Resolution 103. It is not always possible to tell whether a legislature which has ratified the amendment does in fact "include one house apportioned on the basis of substantial equality of population in accordance with the most recent enumeration provided for in section 2 of article I of the Constitution." This requirement would invite numerous court tests to determine whether the legislatures that ratified the amendment were, in fact, qualified to do so.

2. MANDATORY REFERENDUM

The original Dirksen amendment required that an apportionment plan which deviated from constitutional standards must be approved by the voters in a popular referendum before it could go into effect. Along with many of my colleagues, I believe that a citizen's constitutional right to cast an equal ballot should not be restricted, even if that were desired by public opinion, moreover I believe that the referendum is not, in any event, a fit tool for determining true voter sentiment on so abstract and complicated an issue as legislative apportionment. Nonetheless, once the idea of surrendering constitutional rights is accepted, there is a certain Machiavellian logic to a popular referendum, for it makes it appear that the people who are to be underrepresented are crippling themselves.

The referenda provisions of the latest version of the Dirksen amendment are still subject to the same objections in principle that were leveled against the earlier edition; but, in addition, Senate Joint Resolution 103 has lost all color of logical consistency. It requires that every apportionment plan, even one that clearly meets constitutional standards, must be submitted to the people for ratification. It provides "a plan of apportionment shall become effective only after it has been submitted to a vote of the people and approved by a majority of those voting on that issue in a statewide election." The requirement is not limited to plans of apportionment which deviate from substantial equality of population. Every plan, even a wholly constitutional plan, must be resubmitted to the voters every 10 years.

What possible purpose is served by submitting to referendum an apportionment plan that is consistent with constitutional principles when there is no alternative plan to be considered? Suppose by some fluke or misunderstanding the voters rejected the plan? How would the next legislature be apportioned? Presumably, the constitutional requirement of fair apportionment would still apply, and the State would be in the embarrassing position of having to implement a plan that the voters had rejected.

This confusion in the revised Dirksen amendment is compounded by another provision which loftily proclaims that the legislature of each State "shall be apportioned by the people at each general election following each decennial census." This seems sensible at first glance, but what does it mean?

How can the people apportion a legislature? They obviously cannot meet at one time and place to debate and resolve the question, the way the citizens of Athens did 2,500 years ago. But can it be said that the people have apportioned their legislatures if a plan is drawn by a legislature that is itself malapportioned? Does a rotten borough legislature represent the people for this purpose?

A number of States provide in their constitutions or statutes for automatic reapportionment in accordance with a preestablished formula. Would such a procedure be valid under a constitutional amendment which requires that the legislature be apportioned by the people of that State?

Other States provide for reapportionment by a bipartisan commission or administrative tribunal on a regular basis. Again I ask, does a provision of Senate Joint Resolution 103 requiring apportionment by the people render such reapportionment procedures invalid?

Senator DIRKSEN speaks eloquently of States rights. But what could be a

greater infringement on the right of a State to reapportion its legislature than to say it cannot reapportion in accordance with a self-executing formula or by a bipartisan committee provided for in its own constitution without first submitting a referendum plan to all the people of the State?

3. EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATION

At the heart of Senate Joint Resolution 103 lies the notion that one house of a State legislature should be permitted to deviate from constitutional standards of apportionment "in order to insure effective representation in the State's legislature of the various groups and interests making up the electorate."

I must say, with all candor, that I do not have the foggiest idea what that phrase means. I suggest, with all respect, that it has no meaning that is susceptible of consistent or rational application.

The phrase "effective representation in the State's legislature of the various groups and interests making up the electorate" is a direct quote from the dissenting opinion of Justices Stewart and Clark in the case of Lucas against Colorado, decided the same day as Reynolds against Sims. Dean McKay, of New York University Law School, a noted authority on reapportionment, has pointed out that Justices Stewart and Clark proved unable to agree, even between themselves, as to the meaning of the phrase "effective representation." One week following the decision in Reynolds against Sims, they disagreed as to the proper disposition of four of the nine reapportionment cases decided that day.

Let us look more closely at the phrase "effective representation in the State's legislature of the various groups and interests making up the electorate." What, we may ask, does Senator DIRKSEN mean by "effective representation"? And how would he define and determine the "various groups and interests making up an electorate"?

A clue to the meaning of "effective representation" may be found in Senator DIRKSEN's speech of August 11, 1965, the day he introduced Senate Joint Resolution 103. Referring to the new amendment, he said:

> It will make the franchise more democratic because it will insure the appropriate representation in the State legislatures of the 49 percent of the people who might otherwise be denied representation.

He told the Senate that the clear and compelling reason for his amendment was the protection of minority representation. He said:

> Adequate representation for divergent viewpoints in our legislative bodies * * * is the best and most effective check upon a rampant majority.

Note the operative words, "effective check."

It seems clear to me that by the phrase, "effective representation" the proponents of Senate Joint Resolution 103 clearly intend an effective check upon the majority. They intend, in other words, a minority veto over majority rule.

We come then to the equally intriguing question of which minority will wield this veto power. The text of Senate Joint Resolution 103 speaks vaguely of "various groups and interests making up the electorate," but Senator DIRKSEN has spoken and plainly of his intent to allow rural minorities to perpetuate their stranglehold over State legislatures:

> I have seen no evidence that the growth of cities * * * has been impeded by legislatures under the guidance of rural representatives. There is a give and take in our form of government which has worked well and will continue to work well so long as we take care to provide that all of the people are fairly and effectively represented in the various legislative bodies.

In other words, representative government works best when a rural minority holds the whip hand.

I do not think our Constitution should be amended to accord any minority the whip hand in a State legislature. Under our system of government, minority rights can be and are protected through the specific guarantees of the Bill of Rights, and not through the exercise of a veto power in the legislature.

But even if the concept of a preferential minority representation were accepted, how should a State determine which minority or minorities would receive special treatment? There are those who wish to preserve special privileges and power for the rural minorities which can put forward compelling claims for more "effective representation."

The Negroes in my State, for example, are an important minority whose needs and aspirations have been long ignored by our legislature. Negroes comprise 18 percent of the population of Maryland. Can they be "effectively represented" with only 18 percent of the votes? By the same logic as is used on behalf of rural minorities, should not Maryland Negroes receive 51 percent of the seats in the Maryland Senate so they can "effectively check" the majority? The suggestion is preposterous, but no more so than giving an 18-percent rural minority 51 percent of the seats.

There are, of course, an unlimited number of groups which make up the electorate in any State. There are obvious groups which come to mind—racial groups, religious groups, business groups, labor interests, and farm interests. But there are also less obvious groups and interests; for example, bird watchers, duck hunters, antivivisectionists, and patriotic organizations. Are they each entitled to elect a State representative? Are they each to be given "an effective check" on the majority?

Moreover, no major group has uniform interests. There are conflicting interests within groups. Would, for example, all Protestants be lumped together under the Dirksen amendment, or would we distinguish between Seventh-day Adventists and Unitarians? How would we differentiate between business groups which desire free trade and those which demand tariff walls? Within the so-called "urban group" there are countless subgroups with radically different interests: bankers and beatniks, housewives and haberdashers, scholars and steelworkers.

By the time all of the various groups and subgroups are broken down to their component parts, we find single individuals, each with unique interests and aspirations. While each man may share some interests with his fellow worker, his coreligionist or his neighbor, there is no other individual who combines all of the same interests in exactly the same proportions. That is why, ultimately, the only fair and effective system of representation must accord each man one vote.

There is ont subtle aspect of Senator DIRKSEN's concept of effective representation that deserves some attention. Presumably, he is not advocating proportional representation, but rather a technique for overrepresenting groups and interests whose members live, or vote, in identifiable political subdivisions or geographic areas. If an interest group, such as garage mechanics, is spread throughout a State, it could not be given preferential treatment under Senate Joint Resolution 103, for the only factors that can be considered in apportioning a State legislature are population, geography, and political subdivisions. Thus, only a minority which can be identified by geography or political subdivision can obtain extra representation in the legislature. When one considers the various minorities which might qualify for such favored treatment, one is led again to conclude that Senate Joint Resolution 103 is designed to benefit the rural minority. It is the only readily identifiable minority which is so distributed as to comprise the majority in many political subdivisions and over wide geographic areas.

Finally, we must recognize the antidemocratic bias implicit in the concept of "effective representation of the various groups and interests making up the electorate." Prof. Andrew Hacker, of Cornell University, has pointed out:

> The notion is that there exist certain interests which deserve representatives regardless of the number of people such an interest may contain. There is, in a word, a real class basis here. For such interests as the poor or Negroes or even city dwellers are invariably put in one large group. In contrast, the middle class is usually cut and sliced into literally dozens of groups: architects, applegrowers, accountants, advertisers, etc. Under such a tendency the middle class—and especially businessmen—get far more representation. (Part of this, of course, stems from the fact that we tend to overlook the varieties of groups and interests among the poor, the Negroes, and city dwellers. It takes a certain sensitivity to distinguish among the varied sorts and conditions of, say, Negroes. Needless to say, most of us tend to be rather stereotyped in our image of those at the bottom of the heap.)

Likewise, Mr. Burke Marshall, former Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Civil Rights Division, has written:

> The purpose of the new Dirksen amendment is to create a means by which the people of the cities can be deprived of part of the political voice they would have in the State legislatures based on population. As I stressed in my testimony, this will proportionately affect minority groups more than other segments of our society, and in particular will inevitably do damage to our national efforts to remedy the economic,

social, and educational disadvantages which we as a Nation have placed upon Negro Americans.

4. JUDICIAL REVIEW

Senate Joint Resolution 103 provides:

The legislature of each State shall be apportioned by the people of that State at each general election.

All Members of this body will recall that the first sentence of Senate Joint Resolution 2, as originally introduced, provided that the power to apportion State legislatures shall be in the people. That sentence was deleted by Senator DIRKSEN after it was pointed out that it would preclude judicial review of any apportionment scheme. He removed it under the pressure of our attack.

Is the language of Senate Joint Resolution 103 merely a subtle reincarnation of the first sentence of Senate Joint Resolution 2? Does apportionment by the people as provided in Senate Joint Resolution 103 prohibit judicial review of an apportionment plan?

To be sure, Senate Joint Resolution 103 expressly provides for prior judicial scrutiny of an apportionment plan that is not submitted by a legislature which has one house apportioned on the basis of population. But what about reapportionment plans formulated by a legislature which has one malapportioned chamber? Senator DOUGLAS has shown that the malapportioned house of such a legislature can use its veto power over other matters to wring from the fairly apportioned house an unfair apportionment plan. Since judicial review is expressly required in all other cases the negative implication is that a plan submitted by a partially reapportioned legislature is not subject to judicial review.

This is a crucial matter, for unless there is judicial review to determine whether the "various groups and interests making up the electorate" are "effectively represented," there is no limit to the type of plan that can be put into effect. Despite some perfunctory bows in that direction, it would appear that Senate Joint Resolution 103 does not embrace the philosophy advanced by Senator JAVITS who has advocated that any apportionment scheme which deviates from substantial equality of population be reviewable in the courts for fairness and reasonableness.

5. THE ALTERNATIVE PLAN

Senate Joint Resolution 103 requires that:

In addition to any other plans of apportionment which may be submitted at such elections, there shall be submitted to a vote of the people an alternative plan of apportionment based solely on substantial equality of population.

This language is subject to the same deficiencies as was comparable language in earlier versions of the Dirksen amendment.

This would permit a legislature which was bent on perpetuating its malapportioned existence to submit as the alternative plan one which would be wholly unacceptable to the people of the State, thus forcing the people of a given State to select the malapportionment plan as the lesser of two evils.

For example, there is nothing to prevent a State legislature from submitting as the "alternative plan" an apportionment scheme which would provide for the election of one house of the State legislature wholly at large. It could even provide that the composition of that other body would be limited to a half-dozen men. While this would meet constitutional requirements of apportionment on the basis of population, it would obviously be unacceptable. The people, lacking a reasonable alternative, would undoubtedly prefer to perpetuate a rotten borough legislature.

This is essentially what happened in Colorado when there was an "alternative plan" presented to the voters. The plan that accorded fair representation to Denver also provided that all the representatives from Denver had to be elected at large. The plan that gave Denver less than fair representation would have created single member districts. The people of Colorado preferred the plan that established single member districts, just as the people of my State would.

6. MULTIPLE PLANS POSSIBLE

Senate Joint Resolution 103 provides no limit to the number of plans that can be submitted at any one time. It states: "In addition to any other plans there must be submitted an alternative plan submitted based on population." This means that the people may be confronted with a choice among three, four, five, or more alternative plans.

What would happen in a statewide election if the people had a yes-or-no choice on each of four plans of apportionment and rejected them all? Would the existing malapportioned legislature continue in existence? Would a new special election have to be held?

Suppose the majority voted in favor of two plans which were mutually contradictory. Which would go into effect, and how would the obvious impasse be resolved?

This problem was debated at length in the constitutional amendments subcommittee during a discussion of Senate Joint Resolution 2. It was finally agreed that the only sensible way to handle the problem was to have the State legislature submit to the voters only one plan at a time for a "yes" or "no" vote, or submit two plans and require the voters to choose between them, without any option to accept or reject them both.

This seems to be the only way to avoid the impasse which would obviously be created if all plans were rejected or more than one plan were accepted.

The present language of Senate Joint Resolution 103 does not deal with this problem, and the opportunities for chaos and confusion are great.

7. INVITATION TO UNICAMERALISM

Senate Joint Resolution 2, as originally introduced by Senator DIRKSEN, provided that unicameral legislatures could deviate from fair apportionment standards by according "reasonable weight" to factors other than population. During the course of the many transformations of Senate Joint Resolution 2, the term "reasonable" was dropped. It was only seconds before the vote to substitute his amendment for the baseball resolution that Senator DIRKSEN accepted an amendment to restore the word "reasonable."

Senator DIRKSEN explained that the word "reasonable" was dropped during the consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 2 through oversight. I accept this explanation, but it reinforces my fear that the Constitution should not be amended on the floor of the Senate or in back rooms without detailed, careful consideration.

In any event, it is clear that the word "reasonable" does not appear in Senate Joint Resolution 103.

Senate Joint Resolution 103 provides that a unicameral legislature may be apportioned among the people on the basis of substantial equality of population with such weight given to geography and subdivisions "as will assure effective representation in the State legislature of the various groups and interests making up the electorate."

Again we return to the elusive phrase "effective representation." How much weight would be permitted to geography and political subdivisions in order to accord "effective representation" to some favored group or interest? How far can a unicameral legislature deviate from "substantial equality of population?" I submit there is no limitation: no factor of reasonableness is involved. It would appear that any deviation would be permissible so long as the proponents of the rotten borough plan could point to some "group or interest" in the State which in their judgment needed more "effective representation."

If, as it seems, there is no limitation whatever on the apportionment of a unicameral legislature, is this not an invitation to some of our more resourceful legislators to try to preserve their rotten boroughs by transforming their legislatures into unicameral bodies, where no constitutional standards of representation would apply?

CONCLUSION

Wholly aside from the philosophical question, on which Senator DIRNSEN and I disagree, it seems to me that the language he has put forward is subject to the many technical objections which I have attempted to outline here.

The amendment, if ratified, would become the most confusing, ambiguous, and wholly unintelligible section of our Constitution.

If we are to amend the Constitution to overrule Reynolds against Sims, let us not do it with such a hastily drawn and obviously inadequate provision.

Independence of Czechoslovakia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, October 28 is the 47th anniversary of the

independence of Czechoslovakia, the country born of the aspirations and toil of two nations, the Czechs and Slovaks. It was a country whose ideals were espoused by such men of foresight as Thomas Masaryk and General Stefanik. Czechoslovakia flourished during its first decades—its people were industrious, its civilization was second to none, and its folklore was beautiful to see and listen to.

At Munich Czechoslovakia was chosen as a sacrificial lamb by those whose knowledge of dictators was so scant that they were willing to sacrifice anyone else except their own interests. Following World War II, Czechoslovakia fell again—this time to the Soviet sphere of domination.

The Czechs and Slovaks have always been and shall remain oriented to the West. The people who now suffer under Communist domination still yearn for the day when they can again enjoy the basic freedoms we do. Let us show that we have not forgotten them and that we shall never acknowledge their condition of Communist domination as a permanent status. We join them in looking forward to the day when Czechoslovakia's freedom and independence is restored.

Post Office Helps Send Passenger Trains Into Oblivion

SPEECH

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I have fought the curtailment of railway post offices for the past 9 years as a member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. I have stated before, and I will state again, the curtailment of en route distribution on railway post offices and the elimination of railway mail terminals around the Nation will certainly not improve the mail service.

There is another very important aspect to the curtailment of railway post offices. This loss of operating revenue to the railroads is leading to the elimination of rail passenger service in many parts of this Nation.

Many of us voted, just this year, to set up a program for high-speed rail transportation and put the Nation's rail travel back on its feet. While this legislation was being enacted into law the Post Office Department was busily engaged in taking mail franchises away from the railroads.

This action by the Post Office Department is affecting trains and the communities they serve all over the Nation. I think many of my colleagues are aware of the problems they face as their own communities are affected, but I would call their attention to a very detailed article on this subject which appeared in the October 12 edition of the Wall Street Journal. Reporter Burt Schorr details how passenger runs and the communities they serve are being dealt a deathblow:

MAIL TRAIN BLUES—POST OFFICE'S SWITCH TO TRUCKS SPURS RAILS TO END PASSENGER RUNS—ATLANTIC COAST LINE DROPS EIGHT LOCALS—C. & O.–B. & O. SEES 40 PERCENT OF RUNS JEOPARDIZED—MRS. WARD'S CHICKEN WOES

(By Burt Schorr)

WASHINGTON.—Even as the Government moves to invest millions in improving rail passenger service in the Washington–Boston northeast corridor, its Post Office Department is helping to send many a passenger train highballing into oblivion.

More and more passenger runs in many parts of the land are receiving a financial death blow as the Department diverts mail and important mail-hauling payments from passenger trains to highway trucks and piggyback rail-truck service. In consequence, many ordinary travelers and some businessmen are being discomforted.

The sole aim, postal officials insist, is to obtain the most efficient and economical transportation. "The Post Office Department has no legal right to continue the transportation of mail on trains when it has been established that better service can be provided at less cost by highway transportation," asserts Assistant Postmaster General William Hartigan, who heads the Department's Bureau of Transportation. "It's up to regulatory agencies to determine whether a railroad company shall be permitted to discontinue train operations."

Almost inevitably, however, loss of mail revenues pushes a train operation deep enough into the red for the line to convince State public service bodies or the Interstate Commerce Commission it must be continued.

MILWAUKEE ROAD ACTION

Just the other day, the Commission agreed with the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific Railroad that its trains Nos. 219 and 220, running 181 miles daily between Sioux Falls, S. Dak., and Manilla, Iowa, with connections to Chicago, unduly burden interstate commerce and should be removed. Both trains averaged some 40 coach and Pullman passengers per trip in 1964 and produced an out-of-pocket loss of $188,000. But it wasn't until last March, when the Post Office Department removed mail worth approximately $102,000 annually in revenues, that the Milwaukee road acted to drop the runs.

Currently, the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad is earmarking four pairs of local trains for extinction because of lost mail. For the same reason, the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad has announced discontinuance of a pair of trains running through Wyoming, and the Louisville & Nashville is proposing to drop a pair operating between Atlanta and Evansville, Ind. The Chesapeake & Ohio–Baltimore & Ohio is considering canceling its night express between Detroit and Cincinnati; spokesmen contend mail losses since last May jeopardize no less than 40 percent of the lines' 54 remaining intercity passenger trains.

For the year ended last June 30, the Post Office Department counts 61 passenger trains nationwide which lost their railway post office service, and railroad men say current experience indicates that some three-fourths of the affected trains will be discontinued because of the revenue loss. Only 25 mail-carrying trains were killed during the same period at the instigation of the operating carriers themselves because of poor passenger patronage alone. By contrast, between July 1, 1959, and June 30, 1964, the 225 railroad-initiated cancellations were more than double the railway post office operations eliminated by post office action.

PASSENGER CRISIS?

Intercity passenger trains now number less than 1,100 on all U.S. railroads, it's estimated, against some 3,400 as recently as the early 1950's; transportation experts chiefly blame the automobile for this nosedive. Recently the decline in passenger patronage has begun to level off, offering railroaders hope that many remaining trains could survive. But now, with the shift of mail from train to truck accelerating, the Association of American Railroads gloomily forecasts the doom of over two-thirds of existing runs should they lose mail revenues.

Just how much mail the passenger trains can expect to lose in coming years, postal officials won't predict. But other forecasts suggest a passenger service crisis is brewing.

"Ten years ago we had over 20,000 men working in railway post office (RPO) cars and today there are half that number," says Henry Anglim, administrative vice president of the United Federation of Postal Clerks. "In 2 years the figure will be down another 50 percent and the way things are going, in 5 years there won't be any RPO service at all."

Loss of mail can be fatal to a train operation simply because mail represents the relatively profitable side of passenger service. There's no separate tally on profit from mail alone. But last year combined railroad mail revenues equaled $329 million against passenger revenues of $578 million, and the cost for hauling humans was obviously far higher than for sacks of mail. Though down in recent years, the mail revenues in 1964 were $22 million above a decade earlier and this income is chiefly credited for holding the year's total passenger deficit to $410 million.

FALLING DOMINOES EFFECT

Even a modest reduction in trains traceable to mail losses can cause a "falling dominoes" effect as cancellation of one passenger run cuts into revenues on a connecting line.

A case in point: Trains 94 and 95 formerly operated over the Chicago & Eastern Illinois and Louisville & Nashville lines between Atlanta and Chicago. Last August the C. & E.I. discontinued its portion of the run between Chicago and Evansville, Ind., when the mail carried was shifted to piggyback service. The L. & N.'s 94–95 operation immediately suffered a "substantial" mail loss and the Southern carrier now is seeking discontinuance of its trains too. "It's a chain reaction," says an L. & N. passenger official, "and once it begins, it's impossible to stop."

There is a strong suggestion, moreover, that more than a few trains will be affected by the realinement of mail distribution now going on under Post Office ZIP code planning. The concept of sorting mail aboard trains for distribution to towns along the line is giving way to sorting at sectional postal centers from which the mail goes out to satellite post offices. Because many of the 553 sectional centers are located in suburban areas to reflect post-World War II population shifts, the most efficient routes between them, ZIP planners maintain, are highways rather than rail lines linking older downtown areas.

Currently some railroads are feeling the impact of a wave of mail cancellations that began building earlier this year as use of the sectional centers expanded. Especially hard hit is the C. & O.–B. & O. system, which seeks to lure passengers with midweek fare reductions, $1 dining car meals and movies on trains. Since May, it has lost postal business worth $975,000 annually. This amounts to less than 8 percent of the system's total mail revenues, but Passenger Service Director Paul Reistrup figures some 40 percent of C. & O.–B. & O. intercity passenger trains are imperiled by the loss.

It's true that many trains affected by Post Office action mainly served mail needs and attracted few riders with their slow, off-hours schedules. Lately, though this has been less

true. The C. & O.-B. & O.'s night express between Detroit and Cincinnati with Southern connections, for example, has a high-seat occupancy in the two modern coaches it usually carries and formerly turned a small profit on its yearly gross of $1 million. But since it lost one of its RPO cars a few months ago, the train is operating at a $150,000 yearly loss and is being considered for possible cancellation.

NOTHING MORE CONVENIENT

A pair of trains running between Montgomery, Ala., and Waycross, Ga., marked for discontinuance by the Atlantic Coast Line because of lost mail, actually have posted a 25-percent gain in passenger revenues since the beginning of this year. The reason: Inauguration of a Montgomery-New York through coach which couples onto the ACL's crack East Coast Champion at Waycross. One recent user of this service was Mrs. W. G. Sellers, Sr., wife of a Ramer, Ala., pulpwood dealer who made an 8-day train excursion with 10 other women to see the New York World's Fair and Broadway shows. "We got on in Ramer and we got off in Ramer and we all sat together," says Mrs. Sellers. "Nothing could be more convenient than that."

Travelers with a penchant for trains aren't the only ones facing inconvenience. In Torrington, Wyo., Mrs. Clarence L. Ward worries about the effect of an announced ending of a pair of Burlington trains on the chick hatchery she operates.

"Normally we mail out 25,000 chicks a year and most of them travel north on that rail line to the Big Horn Basin," Mrs. Ward says. "The rail cars were heated but the trucks that replaced them aren't and with the severe weather we have here, the chicks would freeze to death. It looks as though we're going to lose a lot of business."

LATE NEWSPAPERS

In Live Oaks, Fla., RPO service removed last July used to allow business firms until 9 p.m. to get to the post office with outbound mail. "Now we have to get to the post office by 5:30 p.m. to catch the truck,' complains Louis Wadsworth, owner of the weekly Suwannee Democrat. To meet the changed schedule, Mr. Wadsworth says he is paying an extra $50 weekly in overtime wages to rush the Wednesday printing of his paper. Even so, the publisher adds, nearly all his 3,100 subscribers formerly got their copies Friday, but "at least 25 percent are getting them the following Monday now and some as late as Tuesday."

Such hinterland complaints thus far have stirred little response in Washington, perhaps because much of the inconvenience affects rural areas with relatively sparse populations. It's true Democratic Senator GALE MCGEE, of Wyoming, whose State faces drastic RPO curtailment, has introduced a bill that would establish a commission to study the sectional postal centers' impact on railroad service. But a Senate staffman confides there's little congressional interest in the topic "because the Post Office Department has been pretty persuasive in winning people over to its side."

A Tribute to Olof Anderson and His Assistants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ERNEST GRUENING

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, President Johnson has correctly stated:

A people proud of their collective heritage will take pride in their individual health, because we cannot stay strong as a country if we go soft as citizens.

Here in the Senate my colleagues and I owe much to the faithful attendants in the Senate Gymnasium who, for many years, have helped us in our efforts to maintain physical fitness.

I therefore wish to pay tribute to Olof R. Anderson and his capable and ever-attentive assistants—Bo I. Anderberg, Ray Johanson, Gunnar Johanson, and Johnny Ware—for the great help they have been to all of us through the years. Olof Anderson has been with us since 1950—a period of 15 years of devoted service to the Members of the Senate—service which has meant so much to all of us in maintaining the degree of physical well-being necessary to perform our duties here in the Senate.

Girl Dropouts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the realities of modern life still have not penetrated some stereotyped attitudes which perversely cling to the idea that women are in less need of education and job training than men. This kind of thinking ignores the fact that 1 out of every 10 heads of family is a woman, that one-third of the labor force is composed of women, that 3 out of 5 of these women workers are married, that nearly 3 million mothers with children under 6 are in the labor force, that 8 out of 10 girls will have jobs sometime during their lives. It ignors, too, the serious manpower shortages in skilled and professional services to which women could make an immense contribution.

For this reason I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to an article about girl dropouts aptly titled "A Neglected National Tragedy." Although nearly half the school dropouts—that is, approximately 500,000, are girls—their fate has been largely overlooked on the unwarranted assumption that marriage will take care of their economic needs. What this assumption may do is to force many into an early marriage for economic reasons, resulting in unhappiness for husband, wife, and children alike. At this time there is room for only about one-eighth as many girls as boys in Job Corps training programs. Thousands of young women have responded to the promise of personal dignity and accomplishment which an opportunity to enroll in the Job Corps offered them. But because of lack of training centers, their hopes, like their applications, remain locked in steel filing cabinets. Surely we have the means, the wit, and the energy to keep more of our promise than this.

At this point in the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, I would like to include the article, written by Jack Harrison Pollack:

[From Parade magazine, Sept. 26, 1965]

GIRL DROPOUTS—A NEGLECTED NATIONAL TRAGEDY

(By Jack Harrison Pollack)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—When you hear the word "dropout," you probably picture a delinquent teenage boy hanging around a poolroom. Yet each year approximately half the 1 million young Americans who quit high school before graduating are girls. In some areas the proportion is as high as two-thirds. And these hundreds of thousands of young girls make up the most forlorn and forgotten segment of our society.

True, boy dropouts may commit more dramatic crimes. But girl dropouts—though nicer and smarter as a group—are probably more self-destructive. When girls quit school, they doom themselves. They become jobless, lost, bewildered, defeated, hopeless, rejected, drifting outsiders of society—fugitives from failure," Dr. Daniel Schreiber, director of the National Education Association's pioneering school dropout project, calls them. Some plunge into senseless sex or run off to a hasty marriage. Others enter a harsh world that has no place for them. Nearly 9 out of 10 report afterward they regret quitting.

WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE?

Both the girls and the Nation are the losers. Girl dropouts are a welfare problem, an employment problem, and a moral problem. They cost the taxpayers millions. Yet few people seem to care. Although 1 in 3 workers in the labor market today is a woman, American culture clings to the notion that education is less important for girls than for boys. "What's the difference if girls quit school?" goes the refrain. "They won't have to earn a living. They're just going to get married." Even if this is so, the attitude is shortsighted since as mothers the girls will be responsible for the education of their families.

Yet virtually all efforts to assist dropouts concentrate on boys. Investigations by educators, Selective Service, the Department of Labor, and State employment services all either ignore or underplay the girl dropout problem.

In fact, a 6-year study of New York State schools by Dr. James Moore, of the State education department's bureau of guidance, found that in the case of about half the girl dropouts, no effort whatever had been made to keep them in school. By contrast, two-thirds of boy dropouts had exit interviews with school counselors, teachers or principals before quitting.

"Female dropouts were less well served than males," Dr. Moore reported. "Furthermore, a greater percentage of males than females were granted program adjustments and more contacts were attempted with their parents."

"This has been one of our biggest educational lags," says U.S. Office of Education Guidance Specialist Leonard M. Miller.

Ironically, there is strong evidence that girl dropouts have better school records than boys. "Nearly all the local and regional reports coming across my desk," says the National Education Association's Dr. Schreiber, "indicate that girls had better disciplinary records, better marks, and even higher IQ's not only than boy dropouts but than many boys who stayed in school."

But what happens to the girls after they quit school is more pathetic and tragic. When President Johnson last month announced a nationwide back-to-school drive to reduce the number of dropouts, he said, "Their employment rate was almost 17 percent—four times that of the entire labor force." What the President did not mention

was that nearly twice as many girl as boy dropouts were unemployed.

Girls who have quit school find themselves at the bottom of the employment barrel. They get only the most menial and routine jobs, receive the lowest pay, are the last to be hired and the first to be laid off and are out of work for longer periods. They can't even get unemployment benefits because many of them never have been employed.

A California study of dropout girls showed that 46 percent had never worked. Those who did were mostly part-time waitresses and carhops. Even in the industrial city of Bridegport, Conn., twice as many girl dropouts were unemployed as held jobs, School Superintendent Joseph B. Porter told Parade.

"The overwhelming majority of girl dropouts enter the labor market with no skills whatsoever," says Dr. Schreiber. "They are ill prepared and inadequately educated to enter the adult world. They knock on the doors of employment offices, file applications, are interviewed, but then at least half are turned away. They face the prospect not only of unemployment but also of being unemployable."

A few years ago this wasn't true. A girl could drop out of school and usually drop into a job. But today automation is making a scarcity of unskilled jobs. With machines now doing much of the work formerly done by hand, girls need special skills to operate machines or work in offices.

In an increasingly selective labor market, preference is given to the better qualified. "Why should I gamble on a quitter when there are better risks?" asks a Pennsylvania personnel director. "If this girl didn't finish high school, something must be wrong. Why should I take on her troubles?"

DOROTHY'S PROBLEM

What happens to a girl dropout is typified by the case of Dorothy, who recently visited Katherine Cook, director of guidance for the Arlington, Va., schools. An attractive, intelligent, neat 22-year-old, Dorothy told Miss Cook:

"I quit school in the 10th grade on my 16th birthday even though I had pretty good marks. I didn't get along too well with the other kids, who had their own cliques and cars and things. I thought I was being snubbed. When I talked about it at home, they didn't seem to care. Since I quit, when I've had a job, it's been mostly as a waitress, hotel maid, or babysitter. But now I'd like a real, steady job, like working for the Government. I was told that I need a high school diploma or have to take an equivalency examination. Not having a diploma has been my big problem. I was told I'd be sorry I quit. Well, I am."

Not surprisingly, a vast number of dropouts wind up on relief rolls. In Cook County, Ill., 85 percent of those receiving welfare aid never finished high school. Studies indicate the figure elsewhere runs as high as 90 percent. Dropouts also make up a large percentage of the 250,000 women who bear illegitimate children every year—90,000 of whom are teenagers and 5,000 of whom are under 15. This is partly because many schools follow a rigid policy of automatically expelling girls when they become pregnant and do little to encourage them to return to school after the baby is born. This is especially shortsighted, because the girl may now need education more than ever in order to earn a living for herself and the baby.

Why do most girls quit school?

By far the largest number claim they drop out to marry or because they wish to marry. According to one estimate, about 200,000 girls aged 15 to 17 each year forsake the road to learning for the bridal path.

Sadly, these marriages turn out much less successfully than others. One study shows that dropouts tend to marry dropouts, thus perpetuating the breed. And when they do not marry dropouts the results may be worse. One expert cites the case of Alice who, when Fred finished high school, quit to marry him. For a time they were happy. But Fred, an alert and ambitious young man who realized that he needed more education, enrolled for night courses. Often his college friends gathered at his home. Alice, good wife that she tried to be, quietly filled the coffee cups and listened to them talk about things she did not understand. She felt left out. As the time went on, a gap developed between Alice and her husband. They seemed to have less and less to say to each other. The final result was heartbreak for Alice and divorce.

A second big reason why girls quit school is rebellion against their parents. An intensive Chicago study of intellectually capable dropouts, directed by Dr. Solomon Lichter, found that, "The majority of girls were rebelling and acting out hostilities against problems at home not only in school but in other social areas of their lives. They became aggressive and defiant in the face of any authority. Truancy, one of the ways they expressed their rebellion, was a frequent problem and often came as a complete surprise to their parents."

Many girls, the study said, find their parents rigid, dictatorial, tyrannical and compulsive. They strike back against parental nagging and pushing by making the school the battleground.

A third important reason why girls (as well as boys) drop out is what Dr. Schreiber terms "adverse school experience." This includes failing grades, getting behind and feeling discouraged, dissatisfaction with the school program—especially the lack of desired vocational training—moving from one school to another, rejection by classmates or the school staff and, of course, reading retardation.

TEACHER ATTITUDE

Some teachers give up too easily on the potential dropout. Dr. K. B. Hoyt, of Iowa State University, president of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, deplores this attitude as one of teach the best and shoot the rest.

What is being done to help girl dropouts?

A dramatic effort now is being made by Uncle Sam through the Job Corps, in the Office of Economic Opportunity, an arm of the Johnson administration's war on poverty. It is now operating five residential training centers for about 1,500 girls in Cleveland; Charleston, W. Va.; Los Angeles; Omaha; and St. Petersburg. Officials hope to have 14 centers accommodating 5,000 girls at this year's end and to reach 100,000 next year. The aim is to make these girls useful, responsible citizens.

At the centers girl dropouts receive guidance, academic, and vocational training including basic instruction in reading, speech, and mathematics. They are taught business and clerical skills and child, and home care.

Dr. Bennetta B. Washington, director of the training centers, a former Washington, D.C., high school principal who was nationally acclaimed for helping hundreds of young people stay in school, told Parade: "These girl dropouts don't know who they are, what they can be or what they want to be. They are afraid, but they don't know of what. They are angry, but they don't know at whom. They're rejected and they don't know why. All they want is to be somebody."

The Neighborhood Youth Corps, operated by the Department of Labor, also has begun battling the problem. It trains dropouts in their home areas and helps them find jobs where they work 30 hours a week at $1.25 an hour while attending school at night. The Corps also enables potential dropouts to work parttime while attending school. Jobs include nurses aides, assistant librarians, hospital helpers, teachers' aides, park workers and playground attendant.

Alert schools also are launching work-study programs, or stepping up those that already exist. New York State now has a lively school to employment program (STEP) where potential dropout students attend school in the morning and work in the afternoon. Orange County, Calif., has a unique summer school program for dropouts with ungraded classes in reading, English, math, and other subjects. Other school systems, including Toledo; Seattle Philadelphia; Portland, Oreg.; Wahington, D.C.; and San Francisco have programs to help unwed mothers continue their educations and receive child care and family living instruction.

Recalling how successful women were in traditionally male jobs during World War II, Dr. Schreiber suggests opening industrial arts shop classes to girls in junior high. "Most work experience programs have been initiated and developed specifically for boys," he points out. "It is disappointing to find hardly any developed particularly for girls."

Indeed, infinitely more needs to be done by parents, schools, employers, unions, civic, trade and religious organizations, if the tragedy of America's girl dropouts is to be averted. We must try harder to break this vicious cycle of human waste where the girl dropout becomes the frustrated woman—and the next generation pays the price.

And we must overcome the attitude that education of girls is unimportant. For, as Mrs. Lyndon Johnson has said, "When you teach a man, you teach an individual. But when you teach a woman, you teach a family."

Wheat Processors' Profits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, during the recent debates on the farm bill, H.R. 9811, a great deal of interest was generated over the administration's proposal that additional revenues for financing the wheat program be derived from an increase in the domestic certificate required of processors of wheat for food use. Since such an increase in certificates would only be shifted to the consumer, this secured the title of "bread tax." My firm opposition to it stemmed from the fact that poor people eat more food derived from wheat than wealthier people; therefore, the tax would have been a greater burden on them and extremely regressive. Also, during the course of debate, the flour milling industry suffered a great deal of criticism. My interest was aroused and I began wondering whether this industry actually was making such profits that they could have absorbed the 50 cents or more a bushel increase in certificate cost or not. So, I looked into the situation securing material from USDA reports and I will place the tables after my comments to illustrate what I am about to say.

It should be pointed out that the millers and other wheat processors still are required to pay 75 cents per bushel to the Commodity Credit Corporation for each bushel of wheat processed into flour for human consumption in addition to the market price. It was expected when the bill was enacted, requiring this certificate

to be paid, that the loan would be $1.25 a bushel and the certificate 75 cents—therefore, the cost of the wheat to the processor would remain at $2 a bushel. The price support loan, without any certificate, the year previously was $1.82 a bushel.

I believe I should also add that in my efforts to prevent an increase in the certificate above 75 cents a bushel that I continuously supported a program which would bring a fair return to the wheat producer. In fact, I recognize that wheat producers are facing a rather severe cost-price squeeze. I believe that the farmer should have the opportunity to secure the highest price possible for the commodities which he sells. Also, in fairness to the flour millers, I should like to point out that the Miller's National Federation has emphasized that "flour millers want wheat producers to earn a fair return on their capital investment and labor."

I can hardly blame them for opposing the certificate tax since they have seen processors of another commodity, cotton, for 2 years being paid to reduce the cost of their raw material; and now, direct payments to cotton producers will be made directly from the Treasury as has been the case in wool and feed grains heretofore. Millers evidently wanted similar treatment; that is, direct producer payments.

I do recall their pointing out that the adoption of the principle of a processor tax or certificate would eventually lead to attempts to impose greater assessments on them. Their fears were borne out this year and an attempt was made by the administration to expand the principle to rice. However, the hue and cry in that commodity prevented even the principle from being established.

At this point, I include the tables I mentioned earlier in the Appendix of the RECORD:

Wheat and flour—Price relationships at milling centers, year beginning July 1948–49

MINNEAPOLIS [1]

Crop year	Cost of wheat to produce 100 pounds of flour	Wholesale price of—		Total products (flour+millfeed)	
		Bakery flour per 100 pounds	Millfeed obtained per 100 pounds	Col. (2)+(3)	Over cost of wheat
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1948–49	$5.41	$5.69	$0.80	$6.49	$1.08
1949–50	5.41	5.81	.75	6.56	1.15
1950–51	5.73	6.12	.85	6.97	1.24
1951–52 [2]	5.75	5.87	1.01	6.88	1.13
1952–53 [2]	5.72	5.74	.88	6.62	.90
1953–54	5.96	6.36	.79	7.15	1.19
1954–55	6.31	6.82	.72	7.54	1.23
1955–56	5.61	6.22	.68	6.90	1.29
1956–57	5.47	6.04	.70	6.74	1.27
1957–58	5.40	6.10	.57	6.67	1.27
1958–59	5.02	5.68	.64	6.32	1.30
1959–60	5.11	5.44	.61	6.05	.94
1960–61	4.92	5.36	.61	5.97	1.05
1961–62	5.43	5.70	.61	6.31	.88
1962–63	5.61	5.92	.68	6.60	.99
1963–64	5.20	5.52	.66	6.18	.98
1964–65	5.64	5.68	.70	6.38	.74
Average, 1948–49 to 1963–64	5.50	5.90	.72	6.62	1.12

KANSAS CITY [3]

1948–49	$5.15	$5.24	$0.82	$6.06	$0.91
1949–50	5.13	5.36	.78	6.14	1.01
1950–51	5.38	5.59	.87	6.46	1.08
1951–52 [2]	5.66	5.64	.98	6.62	.96
1952–53 [2]	5.50	5.46	.93	6.39	.89
1953–54	5.52	5.93	.79	6.72	1.20
1954–55	5.87	6.14	.76	6.90	1.03
1955–56	5.34	5.73	.69	6.42	1.08
1956–57	5.29	5.68	.67	6.35	1.06
1957–58	5.18	5.64	.57	6.21	1.03
1958–59	4.81	5.14	.63	5.77	.96
1959–60	4.83	5.03	.60	5.63	.80
1960–61	4.77	5.04	.58	5.62	.85
1961–62	5.13	5.37	.58	5.95	.82
1962–63	5.47	5.65	.68	6.33	.86
1963–64	4.99	5.25	.67	5.92	.93
1964–65	5.33	5.41	.70	6.11	.78
Average, 1948–49 to 1963–64	5.25	5.49	.73	6.22	.97

[1] Minneapolis:
Wheat: (1) No. 1 Dark Northern Spring, simple average of 13 percent and 15 percent protein. Includes 70-cent certificate beginning July 1964. Based on 72 percent extraction rate, 1948–56, cost of 2.31 bushels. Based on 73 percent extraction rate, 1957–64, cost of 2.28 bushels.
Flour: (2) Short patent spring wheat flour (1948 to January 1960). Spring wheat standard patent (January 1960–64). Beginning February 1959, quoted as bulk.
Millfeed: (3) Assumes 50–50 distribution between bran and middlings.
[2] Federal price controls in effect. Data should be disregarded.
[3] Kansas City:
Wheat: (1) No. 2 Hard Winter, 13 percent protein (1948–56); No. 1 Hard Winter, 13 percent protein (1957–64). Includes 70-cent certificate beginning July 1964. Based on 72 percent extraction rate, 1948–56, cost of 2.31 bushels. Based on 73 percent extraction rate, 1957–64, cost of 2.28 bushels.
Flour: (2) Short winter wheat flour (1948 to January 1960); 95 percent patent (January 1960–64). Beginning February 1959, quoted as bulk.
Millfeed: (3) Assumes 50–50 distribution between bran and middlings.

NOTE.—Col. (4)=col. (2)+col. (3); col. (5)=col. (4)−col. (1).

Source: All data from Economic Research Service, USDA.

Cash wheat closing prices—Monthly average at Kansas City and Minneapolis

Year and month	Kansas City		Minneapolis	
	Number 1 Hard Winter, 13 percent protein	Per hundred pounds of flour [1]	Number 1 Dark Northern Spring, average of 13 and 15 percent protein	Per hundred pounds of flour [1]
1963–64				
July	$2.09	$4.77	$2.30	$5.24
August	2.12	4.83	2.20	5.02
September	2.21	5.04	2.32	5.29
October	2.29	5.22	2.31	5.45
November	2.27	5.18	2.36	5.38
December	2.28	5.20	2.35	5.36
January	2.29	5.22	2.33	5.31
February	2.27	5.18	2.28	5.20
March	2.22	5.06	2.21	5.06
April	2.30	5.24	2.25	5.13
May	2.24	5.11	2.32	5.29
June	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
1964–65 [3]				
July	2.34	5.34	2.42	5.52
August	2.37	5.40	2.41	5.52
September	2.40	5.47	2.45	5.61
October	2.39	5.45	2.50	5.71
November	2.41	5.49	2.51	5.73
December	2.38	5.43	2.50	5.70
January	2.34	5.34	2.49	5.68
February	2.36	5.38	2.48	5.67
March	2.31	5.27	2.48	5.65
April	2.28	5.18	2.46	5.63
May	2.25	5.13	2.48	5.65
June	2.26	5.15	2.46	5.61
1965–66 [4]				
July	2.42	5.52	2.51	5.72
August	2.49	5.68	2.50	5.70
September	2.51	5.72	2.54	5.79

[1] Cost of 2.28 bushels of wheat used in producing 100 pounds of flour.
[2] Transition period. Data not meaningful.
[3] 1964–65 prices include a $0.70 certificate cost to millers.
[4] 1965–66 prices include a $0.75 certificate cost to millers.

Source: All data from Economic Research Service, USDA.

Mr. Speaker, as I have said, all of these tables were taken directly from Department of Agriculture statistics. They show that the U.S. flour milling industry last year—that is, the year ending June 30, 1965—went through its worst year in the past 17.

The simplest measure of the flour miller's economic condition is his milling margin. This is the amount of money he receives for flour and millfeed, less the cost of wheat. The margin is certainly not profit, since all other costs of producing flour, such as wages, salaries, interest, laboratory expenses, and so forth, must be taken from the margin.

The price relationship table for Kansas City, for example, shows that the average margin—based on wheat costs and flour and millfeed prices in that market—last year was 78 cents, or 19 cents less than the average of the preceding 16 years. Also, it was lower than any of the preceding individual years. In Minneapolis, the decline was 38 cents, from $1.12 to 74 cents. This is a one-third reduction in the milling margin.

The magnitude of these losses in the milling margin—gross receipts less wheat cost—can best be demonstrated by relating them to total flour production for domestic consumption. A decline of 19 cents per hundred pounds of hard wheat flour, as at Kansas City, is equivalent to an industrywide margin loss of about $50 million. The comparable figure for spring wheat flour represented by Minneapolis is some $100 million. Thus, the milling industry is undergoing a cost

price squeeze which cannot be endured for long.

Mr. Speaker, I will not take the time of my colleagues to analyze these tables in detail, but I invite them to do so when the tables appear in the RECORD. I ask them to pay particular attention to the changes in wheat costs, shown in the third table, which took place after the adoption of the wheat certificate program, which went into effect July 1, 1964.

I think you will see that, regardless of what has been said and regardless of what the reasons are, wheat costs to the miller have increased and are continuing to increase over the costs which prevailed during the year prior to enactment of the certificate program. In the long run, this increased cost must be reflected in flour prices if there is to be an economically healthy flour milling industry.

I imagine it was natural for me to be primarily interested in the consumers of wheat products, and it is natural for anyone in politics to do so since the consumers are more numerous than any group in the country. It is also natural to be concerned about the incomes of producers since not only do many of us represent substantial numbers of them, but they are desperately needed in order that the human race might be well fed and well clothed. I must hasten to add that the food processors are an important segment of our economy and should not be used as a whipping boy, as was said during the debate on the farm bill this year. Therefore, I felt it would be wise to submit some facts for the RECORD in order that those who are interested in what is happening to this important industry in our economy can make their judgment of the statements that were made during the debate here and in the other body.

Tribute to Speaker McCormack

SPEECH

OF

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, before this session closes I would like to join my colleagues in saluting our distinguished Speaker, the gentleman from Massachusetts, JOHN MCCORMACK.

In the words of our President and people, few citizens will disagree this has been a historic year. It is perhaps, from a legislative view, the most productive Congress in recent history. But let that history include that if it were not for the truly great leadership of Speaker JOHN MCCORMACK in the Congress, and his ability to resolve what at times appeared to be impossible legislative impasses, the record of this Congress would have passed unnoticed.

If this legislative record ranks as one of the greatest in our Nation's history so it must follow that the outstanding legislator of this session, JOHN MCCORMACK, must go down as one of the great Speakers of our Nation.

The decisions on crucial issues were decided by a mere handful of votes. But somehow Speaker MCCORMACK knew where they were and he permanently secured the victory in many a legislative skirmish.

Our Nation owes him a great debt. Future generations who will be the beneficiaries of our actions in the days ahead when they consider how it was done, should realize that it could not have been done without JOHN MCCORMACK.

Activities of the House Banking and Currency Committee, 89th Congress, 1st Session

SPEECH

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting for printing in the RECORD a list of committee bills which became law or were otherwise acted on during the 1st session of the 89th Congress by the Banking and Currency Committee of the House:

MAJOR BILLS CONSIDERED BY THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY DURING THE 1ST SESSION OF THE 89TH CONGRESS

BILLS ENACTED

Gold reserve requirement

H.R. 3818 (S. 797). To eliminate the requirement that Federal Reserve banks maintain certain reserves in gold certificates against deposit liabilities, but does not eliminate a similar reserve requirement with respect to Federal Reserve Notes. Hearings held by full committee and in executive session, February 1, 1965, and reported to House. House Report 14, rule granted February 8, 1965. Passed House February 9, 1965. Reported to Senate (S. Rept. 65), February 10, 1965. Reported out of Senate committee February 10, 1965; passed Senate February 18, 1965. Approved March 3, 1965 (Public Law 89–3).

Inter-America Development Bank

H.R. 45: To amend the Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the Fund for Special Operations in the Inter-American Development Bank. This act authorizes the U.S. Governor of the Bank to vote in favor of the resolution proposed in April 1964 to merge the Social Progress Trust Fund into the Fund for Special Operations and to increase the resources of the FSO by $750 million over a 3-year period, 1965–67, at the rate of $250 million a year. The adoption of the resolution called for an increase equivalent to $900 million in resources of the Fund for Special Operations. Hearings held by full committee February 3, 4, and 5, 1965. February 5, 1965, reported out of committee with amendment (H. Rept. 27). Rule granted February 16, 1965. Passed by House technically amended February 18, 1965. Passed Senate with amendments February 25, 1965. Conference requested March 1, 1965; conference report filed March 3, 1965 (H. Rept. 137). Conference report adopted by House March 4, 1965. Senate adopted March 8, 1965. Approved March 24, 1965 (Public Law 89–6).

Increase in International Monetary Fund

H.R. 6497. To amend the Bretton Woods Agreement Act to authorize an increase in the International Monetary Fund quota of the United States. This act authorizes the U.S. Governor of the International Monetary Fund to consent to an increase of $1,035 million in the quota of the United States in the Fund and to authorize the appropriation of this amount to pay the additional subscription to the Fund. This increase in the U.S. quota is part of a proposed increase of 25 percent in quotas of all members with additional increases for 16 countries. Hearings of full committee, March 23–24, 1965. Reported to House March 24, 1965 (H. Rept. 222). Rule granted April 14, 1965. Passed by House April 27, 1965. Reported to Senate May 24, 1965. Approved June 2, 1965 (Public Law 89–31).

Extension of Area Redevelopment Act

H.J. Res. 541. To extend the Area Redevelopment Act for a period of 2 months. The 2 months' extension of this act is to provide sufficient time for congressional action on the Public Works and Economic Development Act, incorporating many programs provided under the Area Redevelopment Act. The act provides for continuation of loans and grants for public facilities and the rendering of information and technical assistance, urban redevelopment, planning, and occupational and retraining programs. Rule granted June 23, 1965 (H. Rept. 545, H. Res. 433). Passed House June 24, 1965. Passed Senate June 24, 1965. Approved June 30, 1965 (Public Law 89–55).

Assistance for Disaster Victims

H.R. 8060 (S. 1796). To amend the Small Business Act to provide additional assistance for disaster victims. This act amends the Small Business Act to provide additional assistance to victims of natural disasters, increasing the maturity of SBA disaster loans from 20 to 30 years, and providing for a suspension of up to 5 years on the payment of principal and interest on disaster loans at the discretion of SBA upon showing of need. Hearings, Small Business Subcommittee, May 12, 1965. Subcommittee reported favorably to full committee May 12, 1965. Full committee reported to House May 17, 1965. Passed House under suspension of rules June 21, 1965. Passed Senate May 19, 1965. Approved June 30, 1965 (Public Law 89–59).

Extension of Export Control Act

H.R. 7105. To provide for continuation of authority for regulation of exports and for other purposes. The original act furnished basic authority to control exports to Communist bloc countries. This act extends the Export Control Act of 1969, authorizing civil penalties not exceeding $1,000 for violations of the act. This act also declares it the policy of the United States to oppose restrictive trade practices or boycotts by foreign countries friendly to the United States and to encourage American firms to refuse to cooperate with restrictive trade practices and boycotts. Hearings held by Subcommittee on International Trade, May 13, 20 and 21, 1965. Reported favorably to full committee May 21, 1965. Full committee reported to House, with amendment, May 25, 1965 (H. Rept. 434). Rule granted June 7, 1965. Passed House June 8, 1965. Reported to Senate (S. Rept. 363), June 23, 1965. Passed Senate June 30, 1965. House concurred June 30, 1965. Approved June 30, 1965 (Public Law 89–63).

Amend Small Business Act

H.R. 7847. To grant SBA authority to lend to SBIC's and State and local development companies. This act increases by $120 million the portion of the Small Business Administration's revolving fund which may be loaned to small business investment companies and State and local development companies, raising the present ceiling of $341

million to $461 million. Hearings held and reported out, May 11, 1965, by full committee (H. Rept. 353). Rule granted May 26, 1965. Passed House June 10, 1965. Reported to Senate June 30, 1965 (S. Rept. 382). Passed Senate July 7, 1965. Approved July 21, 1965 (Public Law 89–78).

Interest rates of foreign official time deposits

H.R. 5306. To continue the authority of domestic banks to pay interest on time deposits of foreign governments at rates differing from those applicable to domestic depositors. This authority is confined to time deposits of foreign governments, central banks, or other monetary authorities and international financial institutions of which the United States is a member. The objective of this act is to assist in encouraging foreign governments and monetary authorities to maintain dollar accounts in this country rather than convert dollars into gold or transfer the funds to other financial centers. Hearings held May 4, 1965, and bill reported with amendment by full committee May 5, 1965 (H. Rept. 336). Rule granted May 26, 1965. Passed House June 10, 1965, with committee amendment. Reported to Senate (S. Rept. 385), June 30, 1965. Passed Senate July 7, 1965. Approved July 21, 1965 (Public Law 89–79).

Coinage Act of 1965

H.R. 8926 (S. 2080). To provide for the coinage of the United States. This act is intended to conserve the Nation's dwindling supply of silver, superseding and eventually replacing existing dimes, quarters, and half dollars made of traditional coinage alloy of 90-percent silver and 10-percent copper; the act provides for minting 10- and 25-cent pieces containing no silver, and 50-cent pieces of 40-percent silver content. The new coins will be legal tender and circulate together with existing coins. To discharge hoarding of silver coins, the price of silver will continue to be pegged at silver's monetary value of $1.29 per fine troy ounce. Reported to House by full committee in executive session with amendments June 11, 1965 (H. Rept. 509). Rule granted June 23, 1965. Passed House July 14, 1965, conference requested. Passed Senate July 15, 1965, conference report agreed to July 15, 1965. Approved July 23, 1965 (Public Law 89–81).

Housing Act of 1965

H.R. 7984. To assist in the provision of housing for low and moderate income families, to promote orderly urban development, to improve living environment in urban areas, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing, urban renewal, and community facilities. This act provides additional authorization and funds to continue federally assisted housing and urban development programs for 4 years and makes improvements affecting nearly all housing programs. Title 1 of the act authorizes a new program of rent supplement payments for disadvantaged persons, paying the difference between one-fourth of the occupant's income which he would pay as rent as fair market price. Subcommittee on Housing hearings held March 25, 26, 29, 30, 31; and April 1, 2, 5, 6 and 7, 1965. Hearings full committee in executive session May 17, 18, 19, 1965. Reported to House May 21, 1965 (H. Rept. 365). Rule granted June 16, 1965. Passed House with amendments June 30, 1965. Passed by Senate July 15, 1965, with amendments. Conference requested July 19, 1965. Conference report filed July 23, 1965. Senate adopted conference report July 26, 1965, and House adopted July 27, 1965. Approved August 10, 1965 (Public Law 89–117).

IBRD and IFC Articles of Agreement

H.R. 8816 (S. 1742). To authorize the U.S. Governor to agree to amendments to Articles of Agreement of International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Finance Corporation and for other purposes. This act authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury, as U.S. Governor of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, to agree to an amendment to the Articles of Agreement to permit loans to the International Finance Corporation. It also permits the IFC to lend to or borrow from the IBRD within specified limitations. The U.S. Governor is authorized to vote in favor of increases in the Bank's authorized capital stock without express congressional approval, providing it involves no such change in U.S. subscription. Hearings held by full committee July 8, 1965. Reported to House by full committee July 8, 1965 (H. Rept. 644). Rule granted July 29, 1965. Passed by House August 4, 1965. Reported to Senate June 28, 1965 (S. Rept. 372). Passed Senate June 30, 1965. Approved August 14, 1965 (Public Law 89–126).

BILLS PASSED BUT NOT SIGNED

To Amend the Small Business Act

(H.R. 11306) S. 2542. To increase SBA revolving fund by $120 million, to provide funds for more disaster loans. The devastation incurred by Hurricane Betsy caused great need for disaster fund loans. Hearings held S. 2542, October 21, 1965, by full committee. Reported to House October 21, 1965 (H. Rept. 1188). Passed House October 21, 1965. Reported in Senate (S. Rept. 794). Passed Senate October 1, 1965.

BILL PASSED BY HOUSE—IN SENATE

Amending Bank Holding Company Act

H.R. 7371. To amend the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956. The purpose of this act is to preserve the traditional American system of locally owned independent banks serving local needs, the avoidance of concentration of banking power, to keep banks from competing unfairly with nonbanking businesses and to minimize self-dealing practices. This bill amends the Bank Holding Company Act to include partnerships, nonprofit, charitable, educational, or religious organizations and trusts, except trusts established for named beneficiaries terminating within 25 years or upon death of named beneficiaries. Hearings held by full committee May 27, June 14, and 15, 1965. Reported to House June 16, 1965, with amendments (H. Rept. 534). Rule pursuant to clause 23 of rule XI, September 13, 1965. Passed House, September 22, 1965, after adoption of a committee substitute amendment, supplying new text.

Commemorative Medal for San Antonio

H.R. 7526. To provide for the striking of medals in commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of San Antonio. Reported favorably to House by full committee on October 5, 1965 (H. Rept. 1136). Rule, October 11, 1965. Passed House October 18, 1965, with amendment.

BILLS REPORTED BUT NOT ENACTED

Study of Federal financial assistance to natural disaster victims

(H.R. 7397) S. 408. To authorize a study of methods of helping to provide financial assistance to victims of future natural disasters. The bill directs the Housing and Home Finance Administrator to undertake immediately such a study to include alternate methods of Federal disaster insurance, as well as existing flood insurance. Hearings held by Small Business Subcommittee June 24, 1965. Reported to full committee July 6, 1965. Reported to House by full committee July 13, 1965 (H. Rept. 632). S. 408 incorporated in H.R. 11539, Committee on Public Works. Passed House, October 18, 1965. Passed Senate, October 21, 1965.

To amend Bank Holding Company Act of 1956

H.R. 7372. To amend Bank Holding Company Act of 1956. This bill would repeal the provision of the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 exempting from regulation under that act any company, or its affiliates, registered before May 15, 1956, under the Investment Company Act of 1940 which do not directly own 25 percent or more of the voting shares of two or more banks. The bill specifically provides for divestment of all interests in banks acquired after May 9, 1956, by companies becoming bank holding companies under this act if the Federal Reserve Board finds on hearing within a 1-year period from enactment that retention is not in the public interest.

Hearings held by Subcommittee on Domestic Finance, June 2, 3, 22, and 23, 1965. Reported to full committee, June 23, 1965. Hearing by full committee, July 13, 1965; reported to House by full committee with amendments, July 13, 1965 (H. Rept. 680).

The amendatory effect of H.R. 7372 to the Bank Holding Company Act would also be accomplished by enactment of H.R. 7371, which passed the House on September 23, containing a similar provision to H.R. 7372.

International Wheat Agreement

(H.R. 10110) S. 2294. To amend section 2 of the International Wheat Agreement Act of 1949. The bill would extend for an additional year U.S. participation in the International Wheat Agreement, participating countries agreeing to buy an average of 81 percent of their commercial wheat imports from the United States and nine other wheat exporting countries. Hearings held by Subcommittee on International Trade, July 29, 1965. Reported to full committee, July 29, 1965. Reported to House by full committee, August 4, 1965 (H. Rept. 723). Reported in Senate, July 22, 1965. Passed Senate, July 23, 1965. Rule granted, September 1, 1965.

Commemorative medal for Poland

H.R. 139. To provide for the striking of medals to commemorate the 1,000th anniversary of the founding of Poland. Full committee approved, October 5, 1965; reported to House, October 22, 1965 (H. Rept. 1206).

Commemorative medal for Secret Service

H.R. 10357. To provide for striking of medals to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Secret Service. Approved by full committee, October 5, 1965; reported to House, October 22, 1965 (H. Rept. 1207).

BILLS CONSIDERED—NO ACTION

To amend Bank Merger Act of 1960

S. 1698. To establish a procedure for review of proposed bank mergers so as to eliminate the necessity for the dissolution of merged banks, and for other purposes. Reported to Senate (S. Rept. 299), June 8, 1965. Passed Senate, June 11, 1965. Hearings Domestic Finance Subcommittee, August 11, 13, 16–20, 23–27, 30–31; September 1, 2, 14–17, 22–24, 27, and 28, 1965. Reported with amendment to full committee, October 1, 1965. Full committee in executive session, October 5, 8, 11, 1965. No final action.

COMMITTEE INVESTIGATIONS

Federal Services Finance Corporation

The Subcommittee on Domestic Finance conducted an investigation of Federal Services Finance Corporation, a worldwide lending operation primarily engaged in the business of financing automobiles and making small loans to enlisted military personnel. The subcommittee investigation uncovered a multitude of evidence of worldwide abuse of military personnel in the form of usurious interest rates, falsification, and duplication of contracts, highly irregular repossession procedures, hidden add-on charges and phony insurance fees, and unethical use of military facilities in forcing payments from military personnel.

Federal Services had nearly $33 million worth of loans from banking institutions across the country; these banking connections with the unethical operations of Federal Services were carefully investigated. The subcommittee is continuing its investi-

gation into Federal Services. Hearings were held June 9, 16, 17, 18; July 14; and September 13, 1965.

Crown Savings Bank

Pursuant to its responsibility of determining whether existing laws are adequate to the task of providing the Nation with a sound and progressive banking system and seeing if these laws are being properly administered by the Federal supervisory agencies, the Banking and Currency Committee, through its Domestic Finance Subcommittee, looked into the failure of the Crown Savings Bank of Newport News, Va. The subcommittee sought to determine whether there was a pattern in the increasing rate of bank failures during the past year, of which the Crown Savings Bank was a part.

After a thorough subcommittee investigation and hearings, the subcommittee found gross mismanagement on the part of Crown officers, serious misuse of certificates of deposits, fraudulent loans, misuse of cash items, infiltration of criminal elements into the banks' operations, and the use of the bank's facilities as a clearinghouse for phony companies operated by criminal elements. The subcommittee also found the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation's examination and supervision policy preceding the closing of the Crown Savings Bank to be inadequate and faulty. The FDIC's operations, as receiver of the bank, came under careful scrutiny by the subcommittee when discrepancies and questions were raised concerning the handling of the closing.

Hearings were held July 20–23, 27–30; August 3–6, 1965.

Of War and Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, at this time in our Nation's history a clear and precise statement on men's duties to God and country is most helpful.

I was personally delighted by a statement published by the members of the clergy of the Cathedral of the Incarnation in Garden City, Long Island, N.Y., which is the seat of the Episcopal Diocese of Long Island, and my home church.

I wholly subscribe to the statements made so forthrightly by the members of the clergy, as follows:

OF WAR AND PEACE

(Submitted by the Cathedral Clergy)

So much publicity has been given through the public news media to the Vietnam protest marches and to the burning of draft cards, and since some stature has been given this movement by the participation of a very few high level educators, it seemed to us that we should make clear our position.

War is a dreadful occurrence in the life of man. Every honorable effort should be made to avoid further conflict and to bring to a close those conflicts now in progress. It is not, however, mankind's right to sell his soul for a short-term benefit—there are unfortunately times when a man must fight to preserve his honor, his integrity, his right to live and to function as a free independent being.

The draft-card burners who declare their hate of war and particularly the war in Vietnam are very short sighted indeed. If ever history has taught us a lesson, it should be that tiny capitulations lead only to worldwide conflict.

As Christians we must recognize the right of the individual to be a conscientious objector—but this position certainly does not give anyone the right to speak treasonously or for that matter to behave in a way which can be described as veiled insurrection.

In a democracy, we have the right to believe and to function within the framework of our own conscience, but we most certainly do not have the right to subvert the national goals and purposes which our elected officials have established.

If our national goals are to be changed by the will of the people, then let it be by the people's expression on election day, but not by marches, riots, and treasonous speech.

Greek "Ochi" Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, "Ochi" Day, October 28, 1940, was the day when all valiant Greeks who cherished the freedoms which their forefathers had established unanimously exclaimed "No," to the Fascist dictator, Mussolini, who threatened to invade them. Mussolini gave the Greek Government 3 hours to surrender, but even before the ultimatum had expired Fascist troops were poised for incursions into Greece. The dictator had planned to achieve an easy victory within 2 weeks, but within 10 days all his troops that had invaded the Greek territory in the Pindus Mountains had been driven out and Mussolini suffered his first ignominious defeat by the heroic men and women of Greece.

Unfortunately, as the Nazi terror spread throughout Europe, it ungulfed the Greek territory, forcing the Greeks to flee to the mountains where they fought as guerrillas against the invader. Even the Nazi occupation was short lived, for on October 12, 1944, the Allied forces liberated Greece, aided by the brave Greeks who fought and died to free their country.

Another threat to their territorial integrity and freedom, directed by Moscow's Communists, was witnessed by the Greeks following World War II, but the Communist civil war turned to disaster for Moscow's puppets, and Greece went on to join NATO, the Western alliance, united to stop the spreading danger of communism.

The heroism which the Greek people displayed in fighting oppression in World War II is dramatically evidenced at the present time, as their nation is one of the stalwart pillars of the free world in the continuing struggle against Communist aggression. We salute the brave people of Greece, their traditions, and contributions to the history of the world and reemphasize the tremendous value of the role of leadership they are providing in the present world situation.

Life (and Jobs) Begin at 40

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the House Select Subcommittee on Labor, of which I am a member, has recently held hearings on problems facing the older worker. Our hearings were devoted primarily to the employment problems of workers who have reached middle age—those who are between 40 and the age of retirement.

We found that workers in this age group face very real employment difficulties. And while the Federal Government has devoted considerable attention to the problems of youth employment, the worker between the ages of 40 and 65 and how he fits into our rapidly changing labor market has been largely ignored.

I hope that next year the subcommittee will report, and Congress will act, on legislation to help the older workers of America overcome some of the employment problems many of them face through no fault of their own.

It is encouraging, Mr. Speaker, when one finds an employer who seeks workers over 40. The Macomb Daily, a newspaper published in Mount Clemens, Mich., recently carried an article about such an employer. I am pleased to call the article to the attention of other Members of Congress and include it as part of my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD:

LIFE (AND JOBS) BEGIN AT 40—THIS FIRM WELCOMES "OLDSTERS"

(By G. Stuart DeMott)

MOUNT CLEMENS.—Life begins at 40—and there is something new under the sun.

This is graphically revealed in advertisements of the Willey Sign Co., 163 Grand, which are appearing in the Macomb Daily.

The ads are asking for "men 40 years of age and over for steady employment."

Plant superintendent Andrew Mertz, of the Willey company, says that already the firm has hired more than 15 men over 40 and is finding them highly satisfactory.

Three of these older new employes were interviewed and expressed deep satisfaction at having been hired. All had been out of work and because of their age had experienced difficulty in getting jobs.

These men are: Edward J. Cocking, 59, of 18 Washington, Mount Clemens, a woodworker and cabinetmaker; George E. Jones, Sr., 58, of 11711 Barbara Ann, Romeo, a former truckdriver; and Earl W. Hershman, 58, of 2592 Howe, Utica, a former automobile plant worker.

What is "new under the sun" is that the Willey company, one of the largest sign making firms in the United States, should systematically seek older men.

Most companies cast a cold eye at men over 40 and as a result thousands of them seek in vain for employment.

But A. E. Bradbury, 48, president of Willey, has decided to change this trend, not only for the benefit of the older men hired, but also for the good of the company.

He says he finds older men show stability and much less absenteeism than real young employees.

No special skills are required for the work and the older men are trained for various jobs in the plant as soon as they are hired.

Like any other employees they have to start "at the bottom of the ladder," but their chances for advancement are good under excellent working conditions.

At present, men in the plant are working about 58 hours a week and there are no seasonal layoffs.

Robert DeCausin, 34, a plant foreman, who has been with the company 13 years, says he is very much pleased with the way the new older employes are catching on.

The Willey company was founded 47 years ago in Detroit by Claude S. Willey, whose widow lives at 15 Belleview, Mount Clemens.

The firm, which manufactures plastic-panel signs and ships them all over the United States and to several foreign countries, has operated in Mount Clemens since 1949.

Rivers and Harbors Act of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. WESTON E. VIVIAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 20, 1965

The House had under consideration the conference report on the bill (S. 2300) authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes.

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, the bill before us today contains many projects which I consider beneficial both to the residents in the specific areas where they are located and to the entire Nation. I regret, however, that the conference committee has reported a bill which still includes the Dickey-Lincoln School project, in northern Maine. This body voted to defer authorization of the Dickey-Lincoln School project until a detailed report could be prepared and considered, next year.

During the past few days, I have held discussions with representatives of the Electrical Coordinating Council of New England and of the Federal Power Commission, in an attempt to assess several different cost analyses prepared on the project. Just this morning, I received additional information from the Federal Power Commission, which provides new insight into the matter. It is clear to me that questions remain—important questions—relating to the amount of transmission line and equipment required by the various alternative proposals.

After analysis of the documents which I have obtained in the last few days, there appears to be little difference in cost between the Dickey-Lincoln School project and the nuclear pump hydrostorage project advocated by the coordinating councils. Furthermore, neither project supplies more than a small fraction of the total electrical demand for the area. Finally, I see no reason to believe that location of the dam in Maine will provide any significant industrial development in the State of Maine—a State I have learned to know and love from many months of residence there.

If this project had promised any substantial saving in the cost of power in New England, it would have had my complete support. Should the proposed study definitively indicate such potential savings, I shall support the project. But given the lack of pertinent information I must oppose the Dickey-Lincoln School project at this time. I can only express this opposition, I am sorry to say, by voting against the entire conference report on the omnibus public works bill.

Soviets Fool United States Once; Shame on Soviets—Soviets Fool United States Twice; Shame on United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, to those of us who have long opposed a consular treaty with the Soviet Union, the signing of such an agreement with the U.S.S.R. on June 1, 1964, was both demoralizing and dangerous. Fortunately, the Senate has yet to approve the agreement. In the light of past U.S. experiences with the U.S.S.R. since 1933 when diplomatic relations were established between the two countries, I think the only way to adequately describe the proposed policy of granting additional offices to the Soviet Union in other parts of the United States is the word "lunacy." A simple analogy will support my choice of this extreme term.

Picture the U.S. Government as an average, fairminded American citizen, John Doe, who makes a contract with a certain company, the U.S.S.R., back in 1933. The company salesman cheats John, John protests, and the salesman is replaced with another, but no further retribution is made. Our friend John is promptly swindled a second time, a third salesman arrives on the scene and the first episode is repeated again. Upon inquiry Mr. Doe finds that many of the company's salesmen have been caught doubledealing, but even worse, he learns that it is actually company policy to cheat and that representatives of this company are diligently trained to perfect their cheating. Thirty-two years later—1965—still finds John Doe being robbed blind by the same company but he is now hopeful of better relations. Our friend John to show his fairness and good will toward the errant company, plans to increase his business with them in 1966.

Ridiculous? Certainly—for a mentally healthy person. Yet, while no normal person would consider the above plot plausible, and while bearing in mind that there is no such thing as a perfect analogy, the above case adequately describes the proposed U.S. policy regarding the Soviet consular convention. A policy which right-thinking citizens would consider sheer lunacy, the U.S. Government, in their name, intends to carry out. The case is by no means overdrawn.

In 1933 the Soviet Union, in an exchange of letters with President Roosevelt, promised not to intrude or meddle in the internal affairs of the United States. An embassy was established in Washington which, to this day, has served as a center for Soviet espionage activities. Earlier this year, J. Edgar Hoover, referring to the collection by the Soviets of information—classified and otherwise—stated:

> The focal point of these operations continue to be the United Nations and the Communist embassies, legations, consulates, and news or commercial agencies in our country. Such gathering of information is conducted by the Communist representatives using the legal cover of their diplomatic or other official status to cloak their spying activities.

More specifically, from January 1, 1950, through May 1, 1960, 19 "salesmen" or official Soviet nationals were declared persona non grata and officially requested to leave the country because of their "cheating" or participation in espionage operations or other action completely incompatible with their continued presence in this country.

In the relatively short time since July 1, 1964, five additional Soviet nationals were asked to leave the United States. One case involved the American, Robert Glenn Thompson, who received 30 years in jail for furnishing information relating to the national defense of this country to the U.S.S.R. And where was the Soviet official's base of operations? The Soviet Embassy, Washington, D.C.

Three other Soviet officials were recently involved in the Butenko case in which information on a military communications system was relayed to the U.S.S.R. The official cover from which the three Soviet officials plied their trade: The Soviet mission to the United Nations in New York.

To list the many violations by official Soviet representatives in the United States since 1933 would belabor the point. Suffice it to say that for almost 32 years, the Soviet Union has been "cheating" on its contract, and the American people, through their representatives, the U.S. Government, keep coming back for more. And now, to help the U.S.S.R. see the error of its ways and to show that we harbor no ill feeling for their 32 years of errant behavior, we plan in 1966 "to increase our business with them" through the establishment of additional offices of Soviet intrigue.

As if our shameful backdown at the United Nations on the matter of the U.S.S.R. nonpayment of dues and assessments was not enough to sicken anyone who closely watches our foreign policy as it relates to the Communist world, the State Department has recommended this consular convention with the U.S.S.R. which is without parallel. Despite the long record of espionage by Soviet diplomats and officials who are attached to the United Nations and the embassies, our State Department proposes to expand the number of consulates throughout the United States and, most important of all, extend immunity to these officials to include felonies. We have all heard of the diplomatic immunity which allows these

officials to park their cars in front of hydrants for weeks, but in the past, these infractions have always extended to misdemeanors. I know of no bona fide reason why Soviet officials should be granted immunity from felonies and, quite the opposite, think it ludicrous that it even be considered.

The following remarks by J. Edgar Hoover before a House Appropriations Subcommittee in March 1964, demonstrates all too well the folly of providing additional lairs from which the Soviet bear can sally forth to hasten our destruction:

EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENT BY J. EDGAR HOOVER BEFORE A HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE IN MARCH 1965

ESPIONAGE AND COUNTERINTELLIGENCE

In regard to espionage and counterespionage operations, we differentiate between these activities and those of the Communist Party, U.S.A. The Communist Party, U.S.A. is made up mostly of U.S. citizens.

The subversive role of the Communist Party, U.S.A. is but one aspect of the Communist threat to the internal security of our Nation. The other is the espionage and intelligence attacks mounted against this country by the Communist-bloc countries. Underlying both aspects of the threat to our internal security from the international Communist movement is the fact that we are competing with a totalitarian system, intent on our destruction, which operates the most extensive networks of subversion and espionage ever developed in history.

In regard to the Communist bloc espionage attack against this country, there has been no letup whatsoever.

SOVIET ESPIONAGE TARGETS AND OBJECTIVES

Though seeking any and all information which may be utilized to weaken the United States or implement their plan of world communism, the Soviet intelligence services have placed special emphasis on such targets and objectives as:

1. Penetration of U.S. intelligence and counterintelligence agencies.
2. Penetration of other governmental agencies.
3. Collection of data concerning scientific and technical developments of any and all types.
4. Collection of data of military interest ranging from information concerning atomic submarines to the location of missile and radar bases.
5. Collection of data concerning those industries closely concerned with America's defense efforts.

USE OF OFFICIAL PERSONNEL

The methods used to collect the data sought by the Communist-bloc intelligence services are almost as varied as the types of data which they endeavor to collect. One of their mainstays is the collection of information—classified and otherwise—through espionage operations involving personnel legally assigned to official Soviet and satellite establishments in the United States. The focal points of these operations continue to be the United Nations and the Communist embassies, legations, consulates and news or commercial agencies in our country. Such gathering of information is conducted by the Communist representatives using the legal cover of their diplomatic or other official status to cloak their spying activities.

SOVIET BLOC OFFICIAL PERSONNEL

Historically, the Soviet intelligence services have appropriated the great bulk of official positions abroad, primarily using their official representatives and diplomatic establishments in other countries as bases from which to carry on their espionage operations.

As of February 1, 1965, there were 843 Soviet-bloc official personnel stationed in the United States, accompanied by 1,173 dependents, many of whom have espionage potential.

This does not include those official Soviet-bloc representatives and their dependents who are temporarily in the country, such as couriers, members of special delegations, and the like. As of February 1, 1965, there were 907 individuals from the Soviet bloc in this country within fall in this category.

NEW SOVIET CONSULATES

Long seeking greater official representation in the United States which would be more widely spread over the country, a cherished goal of the Soviet intelligence services were realized when the United States signed an agreement with the Soviet Union on June 1, 1964, providing for the reciprocal establishment of consulates in our respective countries.

One Soviet intelligence officer in commenting on the agreement spoke of the wonderful opportunity this presented his service and that it would enable the Soviets to enhance their intelligence operations.

"ILLEGAL" (DEEPCOVER) OPERATIONS

A growing problem is the extent to which the Soviet intelligence services are dispatching undercover spies into the United States. These individuals have no ostensible connection with either the official Soviet establishments or personnel in this country nor do they make any overt contacts with their foreign espionage headquarters. They are well-trained, professional intelligence officers and usually bear assumed identities and are supplied with expertly fabricated documents and unlimited funds. They enter the United States without difficulty to become assimilated into our population and, unless uncovered, eventually serve as the nucleus of an extensive clandestine espionage network. Their detection among the more than 190 million people in this country is a counterintelligence problem of great magnitude.

Write to an American Serviceman

SPEECH

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a very worthwhile project recently initiated by the University of Omaha Young Republicans Club. It was called "Write to an American Serviceman Week," and all of the students at the university were asked to write a letter to any American serviceman on active duty and pay their respects to the men who defend our country and guard our way of life.

I would like to congratulate Miss Nancy Schneiderwind, president of the University of Omaha Young Republicans, and Mr. Rick Reeser, chairman of the "Write to an American Serviceman Week," for initiating this project.

These young people have urged that other colleges and universities throughout the United States take similar action to let our American forces around the world know that we support them and that recent unpatriotic anti-American demonstrations do not represent the majority of public opinion.

As our Omaha University students pointed out, all that is required is an 8-cent airmail stamp, an envelope, paper, and a few minutes of your time to participate in this tribute to the American men at arms. Students were asked to write to a serviceman they knew personally or write to one of the following:

AN AMERICAN (SOLDIER OR AIRMAN),
U.S. Army and Air Forces, Vietnam,
Care of U.S. MAAG Headquarters,
San Francisco, Calif., APO 96307

AN AMERICAN (SAILOR OR MARINE),
U.S. Navy and Marines, Vietnam,
Care of Chief, Navy Section,
U.S. MAAG Headquarters,
San Francisco, Calif., APO 143.

In view of the recent disgraceful demonstrations I hope many other good Americans will begin similar writing campaigns to let our servicemen know we are standing behind them.

The 89th Congress: A Record Session

SPEECH

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, Willard Edwards, of the Chicago Tribune Press Service, has presented a comprehensive recounting of the activities of the 1st session of the 89th Congress. His newspaper devoted two entire pages to the story in its edition of Sunday, October 17, 1965.

The Tribune assessment of the first session follows:

LEGISLATION POURS OUT IN PEAK VOLUME

(By Willard Edwards)

WASHINGTON, October 16.—The 1st session of the 89th Congress is certain to be recorded as epochal in its impact upon American citizens and the way they live.

The legislative record is so staggering in volume, so revolutionary in nature that it defies comparison with the achievements of any earlier Congress. In its full import, it marks a turning point in the history of the Republic.

The United States saw one-man government in a form never contemplated under the checks and balances restraints of the Constitution. Both Houses of Congress dominated by 2-to-1 Democratic majorities, succumbed to the demands of President Johnson for a program unprecedented in scope and almost boundless in its implications for the future.

PRESIDENT USES POWERS TO ACCOMPLISH HIS WILL

The President intervened personally on scores of occasions to accomplish his will, not hesitating to exercise his vast political and economic powers upon wavering legislators when the gentler arts of persuasion had failed. He insisted not only on passage of his "must" measures but on passage by sweeping majorities without amendment. Almost invariably, he got his way.

The lawmaking pace was so swift and violent, as a result, that major bills, admittedly deficient in nature, were forced to passage with little debate and under gag rules pre-

venting alterations. An embarrassed leadership pledged later action to plug gaps obvious to all.

Congress, as a coequal branch of the Government created to curb the monarchic tendency of any Chief Executive who might be intoxicated by power, ceased to function.

The House, traditionally jealous of its exclusive revenueraising authority, became an automatic stamping machine for spending bills drafted in the White House.

The Senate, designed to advise and consent to the conduct of foreign affairs and as a Chamber where legislation would be subjected to painstaking scrutiny devoid of emotional public pressures, voluntarily reduced itself to the status of an indulgent house of lords. It sought to exceed the House in hasty indorsement of measures bearing the Presidential imprimatur.

MANY MEMBERS WORRIED OVER EXPANDING BUREAUCRACY

As this session neared an end, many Members were uneasily conscious of this surrender. They were aware that they had initiated programs carrying built-in provisions for expanding a Federal bureaucracy, not responsible to the people, to enormous proportions. The new spending authorized, approximately $9 billion the first year, would mushroom in future years to incalculable heights.

Some serious problems had been ignored or attacked with stopgap methods. The balance-of-payments deficit continued to stir alarm despite passage of some money-tinkering bills admittedly expedient. Talk persisted of an "overheated" economy, resulting from the push of rising costs and the pull of inflationary pressures, which could explode in coming months, further destroying the value of the dollar.

Whatever the consequences, good or bad (only the future could determine), the lives of 195 million citizens and those of coming generations would be affected. The political, social, and economic face of the Nation was sure to be altered. Supporters of the program outlined an imminent utopia; a minority voiced alarm about its gigantic costs and a racing economy fueled by tax cuts, deficit spending, and a steadily soaring national debt. All joined in agreement, however, that none, young or old, rich or poor, would escape the thrust of new laws almost countless in number.

There were many "firsts" recorded at the session. Legislation, experimental in nature and repeatedly pigeonholed by past Congresses over the years, received easy approval. Old laws were abolished. Ancient traditions were ignored and precedents established.

Federal influence was expanded to long-forbidden areas. The church-state issue was bypassed to permit aid to elementary and secondary schools where religion is taught. Federal scholarships for college students received indorsement for the first time.

The American system of medical care underwent a radical change, including hospital care underwritten by Federal money, after a quarter century of controversy.

A voting rights bill for Negroes, destined to change the political face of the South, was approved after a lackluster filibuster in the Senate had been killed by invocation of cloture.

NEW PLAN OF SUCCESSION TO PRESIDENCY APPROVED

The Constitution was rewritten to provide a new system of succession to the Presidency and the new language in the form of a constitutional amendment sent to the States for ratification.

Congress decreed an end to almost all excise taxes, cutting Federal revenue by nearly $5 million.

It increased the national debt limit to a new record high.

A new Federal department at the Cabinet level was created to deal with city problems. Predictably, it would be one of the biggest in a few years.

The silver coinage system was drastically altered and the required gold backing for Federal reserve deposits was repealed.

RENT SUBSIDIES APPROVED; IMMIGRATION LAW CHANGES

An extraordinary plan for Federal rent subsidies became law.

However, the House voted on Thursday not to appropriate funds for the rent subsidy program.

An immigration quota system of 40 years standing was ended.

Laws were passed to restrict tourist spending, to place a warning label on cigarette packages, to beautify highways, and to experiment with high-speed railroad systems under Federal financing.

Federal aid for the arts was legalized for the first time. The President announced plans for creation of a national repertory theater, support for national opera and ballet companies, and grants for artists at a cost of $63 million in the next 3 years.

An unprecedented bill authorizing creation of regional medical centers to fight heart disease, cancer, and stroke became law. It will cost $340 million in its first 3 years.

The major costs of the Vietnam war were ignored until the next session in order that the $100 billion budget ceiling set by the President, already breached, might not be further exposed as fiction.

Antipoverty bills under various labels poured billions into selected areas despite mounting evidence that the funds were under political control.

Setbacks for the President were rare. A notable one was rejection of a plan for local self-government in the Capital, where the population is 58 percent Negro. Johnson intervened personally and lined up 218 signatures, a House majority, to force a bill to the floor.

A 3-day battle ensued, and the House substituted a bill delaying election of a mayor and city council for at least a year while citizens voted on a charter form of government.

Shelved for consideration until next year were:

1. A bill to raise the minimum wage to $1.75 an hour and extend coverage to 7,900,000 more workers.

2. A consular convention (treaty) which would have permitted the United States and Russia to expand their consular forces in each other's countries. It also would have extended immunity from criminal prosecution to all consular employees. Senate ratification was postponed by testimony from J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, that the treaty would be an aid to Soviet espionage in the United States.

A merger of the National Guard and the Army Reserves, urged by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, was stymied by congressional opposition.

In the closing days of the session the Senate killed the bill to repeal State right-to-work laws. The measure had passed the House.

The repeal had been demanded by the President to redeem his campaign promises to labor bosses. However, it ran into a filibuster led by Senator DIRKSEN, of Illinois, the Senate Republican floor leader.

Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana, the Senate Democratic floor leader, sought to break the filibuster by invoking cloture but was beaten 45 to 47. Thus, he was unable to muster even a simple majority, much less the two-thirds majority required for cloture.

Faced with renewal of the filibuster, which would have blocked the administration's legislative program, MANSFIELD then withdrew the repeal bill. Specifically, the bill would have repealed section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law. The section permits States to enact right-to-work legislation which outlaws labor contracts requiring workers to join unions.

These were some of the more notable features of the session. It began January 4 with the effects of President Johnson's sweep in the previous November elections evident in both Houses. The lineup was 295 Democrats to 140 Republicans in the House (2 Democratic seats were vacant at the end) and 68 Democrats to 32 Republicans in the Senate.

The President's state of the Union address announced his intention to improve "the quality of life" for all in the Great Society. He outlined a staggering array of proposals. He also made it clear that he wanted fast action with the objective, he confessed later, of outdoing Franklin D. Roosevelt's famous "first 100 days" in 1933.

As Johnson's first 100 days ended April 13, he boasted to his Cabinet that Congress had written "a record of major accomplishments without equal or close parallel in the present era." The boast was a little extravagant at the time but Congress then went on to legislative experiments unmatched in this century. Johnson offered to bet that it was the greatest Congress in history.

DEMOCRATS ALTER RATIOS TO PACK TWO COMMITTEES

Not content with 2-to-1 majorities to facilitate legislation at a dizzy pace, Democratic leaders realined committees, breaking tradition to alter ratios on the Ways and Means and Appropriations Committees and thus increase control. The Ways and Means Committee, for example was packed with three new members to insure approval of the medicare bill, which had been resting on a committee shelf since 1964.

Republicans, meanwhile, ousted their leader, Representative CHARLES A. HALLECK, of Indiana, and replaced him with Representative GERALD R. FORD of Michigan. The vote was close, 73 to 67, leaving some wounds and some doubts. As the months passed, however, FORD emerged as an aggressive leader, one of the few in Congress who dared to dispute with the President.

The shadow of war in Vietnam hovered over Washington from the first days of the session and darkened as the months passed. On January 13, the United States acknowledged that two Air Force bombers had been shot down in a raid over Laos. The disclosure was the first public admission that U.S. forces were engaged in attacks on Communist supply lines outside South Vietnam. From that point, the war steadily expanded until it became apparent that another Korea was in the making.

Johnson was sworn in for his first elected term on January 20. "Is our world gone?" he asked in his inaugural address. "We say farewell. Is a new world coming? We welcome it—and we will bend it to the hopes of man."

The bending, so far as Congress was concerned, came quickly. The budget for the fiscal year starting July 1 arrived on Capitol Hill—$99.7 billion, a fraction under the $100 billion level which the President had decreed, and $5.3 billion more than expected revenues. This deficit would mean that the national debt limit would again have to be raised. The White House avoided stress on the fact that actual cash outgo, as the result of other types of spending such as trust fund outlays, would be a record $127.4 billion.

REDUCTIONS OF $4.7 BILLION IN EXCISE TAXES VOTED

The President proposed excise tax cuts totaling $1.75 billion. Congress leaped on this proposal with such enthusiasm that the

tax cuts totaled $4.7 billion when the bill reached final passage 5 months later.

In the first 30 days of the session, the House displayed a small measure of resistance to White House dictation. In passing a $1.6 billion bill replenishing funds for the Commodity Credit Corporation, it placed a ban on shipments of surplus food to Egypt. President Gamal Abdel Naser had just replied to an American protest against mob-burning of the John F. Kennedy Library in Cairo with the Egyptian equivalent of "go to hell." Indignation was high and 76 Democrats joined 128 Republicans to approve an amendment, 204 to 177, which cut off supplies to Nasser.

Johnson acted quickly to squelch this minor uprising, reminiscent in some respects of operations by the old coalition of conservative Democrats, largely from the the South, and northern conservative Republicans, which had operated to frustrate many Presidents in the past.

The President asked the Senate to remove the Nasser amendment. With the assistance of DIRKSEN, the Senate bowed, 44 to 38, to the President's will. Then pressure was put upon the House to reverse its previous action. Representative ROBERT H. MICHEL, Republican, of Illinois, led the fight against this surrender but the number of Democrats opposing the White House dwindled from 76 to 37. All Republicans except one stood firm but the House defeated an amendment, 241 to 165, which it had approved only 13 days earlier. Surplus food shipments would continue to Nasser as long as the President decided it was in the national interest to send them.

Little more was heard of the Republican-Democratic coalition. Thus, early in the session, was established the trend which became popularly known as "What Lyndon wants, Lyndon gets." He had demonstrated that he could crush opposition quickly and ruthlessly whenever he saw congressional action as an affront to his authority.

JOHNSON PLEASED BY ACTION IN HIS FIRST 100 DAYS

As the end of the 100-day period approached, Johnson was justifiably elated. His euphoria was based on enactment of these measures:

1. Passage by both Houses, for the first time in history, of a bill which in effect authorized funds for general use for elementary and secondary education, including schools where religion is taught. Although directed primarily at aiding educationally deprived children from low-income families, the bill authorized grants to school districts in approximately 95 percent of the Nation's counties.

By placing the major emphasis on assisting schools with many children from low-income families, sponsors of the measure successfully avoided the controversy over Federal aid to parochial schools which had blocked such legislation for many years. But a paradoxical feature (essential to secure the needed votes) was noted: The bill poured more money into rich States than into poor States where the need was greatest. Total first-year cost of the legislation was estimated at $1.3 billion. Projected 5-year cost for the authorized life of the measure is $6.5 billion.

2. Passage of the first so-called Great Society measure, pumping $1.1 billion into the mountainous 11-State Appalachian region. Most of the money was for 10,000 miles of new highways. The rest was for health facilities, vocational schools, reclaiming of mining areas, and development of timber and water resources. Authorized to continue until 1971, the program had an estimated overall cost of $6 billion.

3. House passage of medicare, the health-care insurance program for persons 65 and over, an increase in social security cash benefits, and expanded medical assistance to the indigent aged. It was the first time the House had ever approved such a program, which had been the subject of violent controversy for 25 years.

It was the costliest and most sweeping welfare program since the original Social Security Act of 1935. The vote was 313 to 115.

Senate approval, never in doubt, came July 9 by a 68 to 21 vote. The Senate made 513 changes in the House bill, increasing its annual cost to $7.5 billion. A conference agreement reduced the cost to $6.5 billion, to be financed largely by increased payroll taxes, taking a $275 yearly cut from the salary of wage earners with a $6,600 income. The bill was sent to the White House July 28.

CONGRESS VOTES TO END GOLD RESERVE REGULATION

These were the three major actions of Johnson's first 100 days. There were other important bills cleared in a period when Congress customarily is engaged in committee work designed to detect flaws in administration proposals. These included:

A bill eliminating the requirement in existing law that each Federal Reserve bank maintain gold certificate reserves valued at not less than 25 percent of the amount of its commercial bank deposits. This legislation freed about $5 billion in gold to meet international claims on the dollar and to allow the Nation's money supply to expand. Its stated purpose—to gain time for the administration to take steps to reduce the continuing U.S. balance-of-payments deficit.

Legislation extending for 3 years the Manpower Training Act, authorizing $454 million in the first year for a program designed to relieve the persistent unemployment problem. Full Federal financing was authorized for another year, killing a provision under which States would have been forced to pay one-third of the training costs beginning July 1, 1965.

A bill authorizing a $750 million increase in the U.S. contribution to the Inter-American Development Bank for low-cost loans to other countries.

A bill proposing a constitutional amendment to permit the Vice President to become Acting President if the President is unable to perform his duties. Both Houses passed it in differing versions; the differences were finally ironed out July 6 and the amendment sent to the States for ratification. If ratified by three-fourths of the States (38) within 7 years, it will become the 25th amendment to the Constitution.

The story of Johnson's first 100 days, however, was not so much one of great legislative achievement, although the output was indeed phenomenal for an early period. It was the manner in which these bills were pushed to passage under gag rules in the House and voluntary curbs in the Senate which violated century-old traditions.

MEDICARE GAINS OK UNDER GAG RULE

The medicare bill, for example, a 294-page document of infinite complexity, was swept to passage in the House in 3 days. Not a word was changed as the result of floor debate under a gag rule prohibiting most amendments.

The Senate, in the same week, approved and sent to the White House an 80-page bill equally complicated, launching the Government program of Federal aid to education in elementary and secondary schools. Again, not a solitary change was permitted.

Both Houses were working under White House orders, demanding speed. Gag rules in the House are not unusual but the Senate's voluntary surrender of its cherished tradition of unlimited debate was extraordinary. The Senate has always been proud of its reputation as the body which subjects all bills to the closest scrutiny.

The Appalachia bill was similarly steamrollered to passage. President Johnson told House leaders he wanted it on his desk on the weekend of March 5–6. Any changes would have required sending it back to the Senate for concurrence, causing a delay of 2 or 3 days. Amendments, some of them widely recognized as beneficial, were impermissible. The Great Society, said Representative WILLIAM C. CRAMER, Republican, of Florida, had yielded to "The Great Stampede." All protests were suppressed and the President got his weekend gift.

After an Easter recess, the Senate plunged into debate on the Negro voting rights bill which had been made the pending business on April 13. Final passage did not come until May 26 and followed the invocation of cloture (curb on debate). It was only the second time in history that the Senate had voted such a restriction on a civil rights measure.

The long weeks in between could not be called a filibuster. The Senate at times took up and pased other legislation. Long sessions, beginning in the morning and lasting until late at night, were never ordered.

SENATE VOTES 70 TO 30 TO ADOPT CLOTURE RULE

In the end, however, MANSFIELD, blocked in efforts to get unanimous consent for the final passage vote, proposed cloture and it was approved, 70 to 30, 3 votes more than the necessary two-thirds majority. The bill was then passed, 77 to 19.

Six weeks later, the House, by a 333 to 85 rollcall vote, passed a similar measure. The bill, after differences had been eliminated in conference, went to the President and he signed it on August 6. Twenty weeks had passed since he requested the bill to "strike down restrictions to voting in all elections—Federal, State, and local—which have been used to deny Negroes the right to vote." Congress gave him a bill which went significantly beyond his requests, particularly with respect to State poll taxes.

The legislation, aimed particularly at seven Southern States, swept away the literacy tests for voters in those States and authorized the registration of Negroes by Federal examiners. It directed the Attorney General to challenge the constitutionality of the poll tax as a condition to voting in the four States which still impose it for State and local elections. He promptly initiated these lawsuits.

The major action in June was passage of a $4.7 billion excise tax reduction bill, almost $3 billion more than suggested by the President in his January budget message and $700 million more than he proposed in a special excise tax message in May.

The cuts began with elimination of $1.8 billion in taxes the day after enactment and will continue with a reduction of $1.6 billion on January 1, 1966, and $1.3 billion in successive cuts on January 1, 1967, 1968, and 1969. A Government survey indicated that about 75 percent of the initial savings were being passed on to the consumer.

TAXES ON LIQUOR, GAS, AND CIGARETTES UNTOUCHED

By 1969, all Federal excises will be gone except user, regulatory, and sumptuary levies, and a 1 percent manufacturers' tax on passenger automobiles. The list of these emergency taxes, dating back to the Korean war, was almost endless. Scheduled for immediate or eventual discard were taxes on furs, jewelry, luggage, handbags, cosmetics, air conditioners, cameras, musical instruments, and a host of similar luxuries.

Those faithful revenue producers—the taxes on liquor, cigarettes, and gasoline remained untouched.

Supporters of this big slash in Federal revenue argued that it was essential to sustain the momentum of the $11.5 billion income tax cut of 1964. A few die-hard oppo-

nents assailed it as a reckless gamble with the stability of the American dollar.

Twenty-four hours before the tax cut bill was given final approval, Congress cleared another measure closely related to dollar stability. The administration was given authority to increase the national debt limit to $328 billion. This ceiling would have slipped back on July 1 to the permanent statutory limit of $285 billion fixed in 1959. Temporary increases have been permitted each year since then, Congress never having been quite willing to relinquish a forlorn hope that debt reduction might some day be initiated. The new debt limit was essential to accommodate an expected national debt of at least $326 billion in the current fiscal year.

As a followup to elimination of the gold reserve clause, two more measures designed to alleviate the disturbing balance-of-payments deficit were whipped through Congress. No heed was given to protests that these bills were merely expedient and only delayed the day of reckoning when the United States would have to face up to the disciplines (such as cutting foreign aid spending) required for meeting the problem.

The President was authorized to increase the U.S. contribution to the International Monetary Fund by $1.85 billion, bringing the total U.S. obligation to the Fund to $5.16 billion. The Fund was established in 1944 to deal with problems of foreign exchange. It helps countries to finance temporary balance-of-payments deficits without resorting to measures restrictive of trade. The United States was never forced to use this Fund until 1963.

A $100 CEILING APPROVED ON DUTY-FREE IMPORTS

A second measure attracted much more publicity, most of it critical. Sent to the White House June 30, it fixed a $100 ceiling on the value of foreign goods which could be brought home duty free by returning American citizens after October 1. The restriction was made tougher by providing that the exemption would be computed on the higher retail value rather than the wholesale value of imported goods, the current practice. The bill also reduced the amount of duty-free foreign alcoholic beverages that could be brought back from 1 gallon to 1 quart.

The $100 figure was $50 more than that requested by President Johnson in his message stressing the need to cut tourist spending abroad and thus alleviate the balance-of-payments deficit. The estimated improvement of $55 million a year in the deficit picture was assailed in Senate debate as picayune and a penalty on low-income tourists.

Late in the session, Congress extended the tax on purchase by Americans of certain foreign securities, scheduled otherwise to expire December 31. Continuation of the levy, supporters said, was crucial to attempts to adjust the balance-of-payments deficit. Opponents said the deficit was created by huge Government expenditures around the world and that the tax was a deterrent to private investment abroad which generated U.S. exports and eased the payments problem.

A historic change in the Nation's coinage system was authorized because of a shortage in silver; the Treasury was instructed to mint new dimes and quarters with no silver in them. New half dollars would have only 40 percent silver. All these coins currently have a 90-percent silver content. Silver dollars were not affected.

Approximately 9 million of the new dimes and quarters, now being minted for distribution in the future, will be copper with a coating of nickel alloy like the present 5-cent piece.

CREATE U.S. DEPARTMENT TO HANDLE CITY PROBLEMS

Another "first" was the creation of a new Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development, designed to deal with the problems of American cities which have a projected 100-percent increase in population in the next 35 years. A similar proposal had failed to pass in 1962, largely because of controversy over reports that a Negro would be appointed Secretary of the Department.

The new Secretary will have all the functions, powers, and duties of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Federal Housing Administration, Public Housing Administration, and Federal National Mortgage Association. He will be the 11th member of the President's Cabinet. Predictions were made in debate that the new Department would expand to gigantic proportions. It starts with 13,600 employees and a $4.4 billion budget.

Foreign aid, a subject of bitter dispute over the years, was again the center of a battle which went on through most of the session. A long deadlock between the House and Senate committees was eventually broken in late August and a bill authorizing a 1-year appropriation of $3.36 billion in spending abroad was approved. The Senate retreated in its demands for a 2-year authorization, an end to the program in 1967, and a study group to recommend a new program.

After a 2-year delay, caused by worry that it would increase the price of coffee to the American consumer, both Houses agreed to legislation enabling U.S. participation in an International Coffee Agreement designed to stabilize world coffee prices at the general 1962 level. The President was forbidden to take any action under this agreement unless he could assure Congress in a report that it would not result in an unwarranted increase in coffee prices.

ENLARGED U.N. COUNCIL WINS SENATE RATIFICATION

The Senate ratified by unanimous vote amendments to the United Nations Charter which would enlarge the Security Council from 11 to 15 members and the Economic and Social Council from 18 to 27 members. These amendments reflected the increase in U.N. membership from 51 to 114 nations and the desire to give African and Asian nations greater representation on the two councils.

The Senate, in acting on the foreign aid bill, rejected, 59 to 27, an amendment, offered by Senator JACK MILLER, Republican, of Iowa, which would have prohibited aid to any country more than 1 year behind in payment of its U.N. dues. The dues problem continued to agitate Congress for months until the United States on August 16 dropped its fight to make Russia, France, and other nations pay up more than $100 million in delinquent dues under penalty of losing their votes. This reversal of policy caused some bitter remarks about surrender from MILLER and a few others but the issue was soon forgotten in Congress.

The Senate's constitutional role as the President's adviser and partner in foreign policy was subdued during the session. Most Senators shied away from discussing the expanding war in Vietnam. Senators WAYNE MORSE, Democrat, of Oregon, and a small group fulminated almost daily against White House policy while Senator THOMAS J. DODD, Democrat, of Connecticut, and a few others defended it. Late in the session, Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, reportedly brooding over his failure to be named Secretary of State, indulged in an outburst against the armed intervention in the Dominican Republic authorized by the President 4 months earlier. This spurred some indignant replies. But the great majority of Members in a body designated as the Chief Executive's partner in foreign policy, remained discreetly silent.

SUM OF $700 MILLION REQUESTED AS VIET EMERGENCY FUND

On May 4, President Johnson used the device of requesting $700 million as an emergency fund for Vietnam war spending in order to secure a congressional indorsement of his policies in southeast Asia. He announced frankly that it was not a routine appropriation, that each vote for the money would be a vote to continue the efforts to halt Communist aggression.

Within 53 hours, the appropriation bill was on the President's desk, swept through by virtually unanimous rollcall votes in each House (408 to 7 in the House, 88 to 3 in the Senate).

Four months later, the President requested an extra $1.7 billion for emergencies in southeast Asia and Congress tacked it on to the general Defense Department appropriation bill totaling approximately $47 billion. But the total was deceptive, congressional leaders agreed. The bill should have contained another $10 or more billions for the actual cost of the Vietnam war. The administration asked that action on this amount be postponed until next January in order to avoid shocking the taxpayers by revealing the actual cost of the jungle war.

The cost of military defense in a hostile world was given another boost when more than 4 million uniformed members of the Armed Forces were given basic pay increases totaling a billion dollars a year, double the amount the President had suggested. Raises were given for the first time since 1952 to enlisted men with less than 2 years' service. For personnel with more than 2 years' service, given their third increase in 3 years, the increase was 11 percent for enlisted men and 6 percent for officers.

In view of darkening war clouds, the President's request for a 4-year, $55 million extension of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency struck many in Congress as ironical. This Agency makes long-range plans under which all nations, including the United States and Russia, would agree to disarm. Congress eventually authorized a 3-year, $30 million extension of the Agency as a symbolic gesture of peace aims.

The administration came close to defeat on a major proposal in connection with the so-called rent supplemental section of a bill authorizing $7.8 billion for public housing expenditures over a 4-year period.

RENTICARE PLAN DRAWS ATTACKS IN BOTH HOUSES

This $150 million rent subsidy plan, promptly dubbed "renticare," was assailed in both Houses as one of the most far-reaching experiments submitted in a generation. It survived in the House by 6 votes, 208 to 202, and in the Senate by 7 votes, 47 to 40.

Speaker JOHN W. MCCORMACK, Democrat, of Massachusetts, confessed that the task of swinging Members into line for this proposal was "the toughest in a quarter century." When it appeared at one time that the plan would lose by some 30 votes, President Johnson personally telephoned an estimated 30 Members. The President had called it a crucial new instrument to fight slum conditions in big cities.

In addition to the rent supplements plan, the bill authorized huge sums for housing programs, low-rent public housing, housing for the elderly, college housing, and urban beautification. In size and scope, it was one of the most comprehensive housing bills ever written by Congress.

APPALACHIA SUPPLEMENT OF $3.25 BILLION VOTED

Congress pumped another $3.25 billion into the economy by passage of a Regional Development Act which supplemented the Appalachia program passed earlier in the session. This measure was, in effect, a reenactment and broadening of the scandal-ridden Area Redevelopment and Public Works Acceleration Acts of 1961 and 1962, although the Johnson administration claimed it as part of the new antipoverty program.

The money will be spent over a 5-year period on public works designed to lure business into economically depressed areas

and relieve unemployment. Government officials conceded waste, ineffectiveness, and failure in past operations of the program but pledged a cleanup. Opponents said the legislation was a prime example of how a discredited spending program could be revived by giving it a new title and a higher price tag.

A companion bill, carrying the antipoverty label, added another $1.65 billion to funds of the Office of Economic Opportunity. This was more than double the first year appropriation of $785 million which financed the Job Corps, community action, and training programs. Senator DIRKSEN called it "the greatest boondoggle since bread and circuses" in the Roman Empire and proclaimed that the Nation was on a "binge" which couldn't last.

In a compromise, House and Senate conferees agreed that the Governors would retain the power to block proposed community action and Neighborhood Youth Corps programs in their States. But the poverty program—the Office of Economic Opportunity—would have authority to override the veto if it was found to be based on partisan, racial, or other considerations contrary to the purposes of the law.

THE SUM $600 MILLION APPROVED TO EXPAND HEALTH WORK

In 2 days late in July, both Houses passed and sent to the President three measures providing more than $600 million for health programs which had taken months to reach final form. These bills expanded construction of health research facilities, extended programs for children and migrant workers, and authorized grants to organizations at community mental health centers.

Federal controls over depressant and stimulant drugs, sometimes known as "goof balls," were expanded.

After next January 1, Congress decreed, all cigarette packages and cartons must bear the following statement: "Caution: Cigarette smoking may be hazardous to your health." But the same bill also prohibited until July 1, 1969, any requirement that cigarette advertising include a similar statement.

Near the end of the session, the House attempted a second rebellion, minor in nature, against Presidential authority. It was crushed as quickly as the first, 6 months earlier.

A bill authorizing $1.7 billion for construction of military installations carried a provision requiring congressional review of any plan for closing military bases. Johnson promptly vetoed the bill as "repugnant to the Constitution."

Both Houses folded up under the White House reprimand. Nobody dared suggest an attempt to override the veto. The bill was repassed without the offending stipulation.

Johnson reacted in similar fashion when Congress sent him an emergency relief bill providing $70 million for repair or reconstruction of highways damaged by floods, specifying that certain funds could not be spent except with the prior approval of the House and Senate Public Works Committees. The President glimpsed "improper encroachment" on his powers by Congress and vetoed the bill. The restriction was deleted, the bill passed again and it received the President's signature.

All through the session, Congress was disturbed by repercussions of Supreme Court decisions requiring both houses of State legislatures to be apportioned on the one-man, one-vote principle. DIRKSEN, unable to secure Senate Judiciary Committee approval of a constitutional amendment permitting the people of a State to apportion one house on the basis of geography and political divisions as well as on population, forced the issue to the Senate floor in August.

DIRKSEN had a Senate majority with him but a constitutional amendment requires a two-thirds majority before it can be submitted to the States for ratification. The vote was 57 to 39, 7 votes shy of the necessary margin. DIRKSEN warned that he would keep battling until adjournment to secure, at the least, another vote early in the next session.

One of the historic actions in Congress was a sweeping revision of the immigration law. For more than 40 years, immigration into the United States had been based on the so-called national origins quota system which sought to retain the racial balance existing in the United States in 1920.

Under Johnson's prodding, the quota system was wiped out under a bill passed by the House August 25. The Senate set a limit of 120,000 on immigrants from the Western Hemisphere, a proposal killed in the House.

The bill establishes a new set of priorities which favors close relatives of American citizens and those with special skills. After it becomes fully effective July 1, 1968, about 340,000 persons a year are expected to enter under its terms, the largest increases being permitted for Greece, Italy, and Poland.

SECOND EDUCATION AID BILL OK'S $4.7 BILLION OUTLAY

In the closing days of the session, Congress completed action on a second aid-to-education measure carrying authorized spending over a 3-year period of $2.5 billion. This measure, supplementing the bill for support of elementary and secondary schools with a projected $6.5 billion cost in the next 5 years, was designed to strengthen institutions of higher education, colleges, and universities.

A general program of Federal scholarships for college students, repeatedly blocked in earlier years by House resistance was approved.

Most debate on the Senate floor dealt with an amendment by DIRKSEN to a provision stipulating that no part of the bill could be construed to authorize any Government control over the curriculum instruction, administration, personnel, or selection of library resources of any educational institution. DIRKSEN sought to insure the independence of fraternal and social organizations on the campus from Federal intrusion. The Senate accepted the amendment, 60 to 28.

Another major measure left until near the end was the farm bill, costing $4.5 billion, to authorize 4 more years of Government support payment and loans for wheat, cotton, rice, wool, dairy products, and feed grains.

The Senate bill contained a provision designed to make sales to Russia of bread grains possible. Under present law, half of wheat shipments must be transferred in American ships.

TRANSPORTATION RESEARCH PROGRAM GAINS APPROVAL

Congress authorized a $72 million research program that could lead to revolutionary changes in ground transportation. The Government will pour money into eastern railroads to promote faster service and will explore more radical forms of transport such as trains running on air cushions and interurban pneumatic tubes.

In the closing days Congress passed the bill designed to please as many Members as possible—the so-called pork barrel bill carrying $1.7 billion for rivers and harbors projects in 41 States. Its highlight was the first installment ($83 million) on a billion-dollar project to make Fort Worth, Tex., a seaport by dredging the Trinity River for 360 miles from the Gulf of Mexico. The President's home State was not neglected during the session.

Congress also increased the President's authority to investigate pollution of the air and launch an attack on automobile and truck exhaust fumes. It provided funds to improve garbage disposal methods. A law increasing Federal authority to stop pollution of rivers was passed. It increased grants for municipal sewage treatment plants.

After months of squabbling, the President's highway beautification bill was approved. It gave the Secretary of Commerce authority and funds (estimated at $300 million in the first 2 years) to remove unsightly billboards and automobile junkyards along interstate and primary highways.

Postal Employees Right to Freedom of Speech

SPEECH

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, as an advocate of improved mail service, I have long felt that the people of this country—the mail users—have a right to know what is wrong with our postal system and what should be done to correct it.

I have found, through discussions and correspondence with postal workers throughout the United States, that they feel the same way. The postal employees of today, who are as dedicated as those of Jim Farley's time, should be allowed, through their union publications and through other media, to speak out about the new, and in many cases, unworkable postal programs that have been instituted recently and are costing untold dollars and a loss in service to the public.

In this regard I would call attention to a letter I recently received from a postal worker who is not from my State but who is editor of his union publication:

SEPTEMBER 6, 1965.

Congressman GLENN CUNNINGHAM,
House Post Office Committee
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: As a union member and an editor of a union publication of the United Federation of Postal Clerks, I ask that you do what you can to correct a sickening situation which exists today in the Government. That is the limited freedom of speech and press that we are subjected to.

We can't inform the public of the programs of the Post Office Department that are costing untold dollars for "ideas" which, in all probability, will never work. I speak of the ZIP code, WMS, POMSIP, ABCD, NIMS, etc., etc.

As a taxpayer and a public servant I want to tell the people just what is happening with their tax dollars as regards the Post Office Department. They are entitled to know because they are the government.

Take the WMS system. This system is to measure the production of the individual. Nothing is said of the fact that with a 2-foot tray of mail, before it is completely distributed is counted four times: (1) Initial primary distribution; (2) secondary handling in one of two route distribution cases; (3) secondary handling in a "Capitol holdout" case; (4) secondary handling in an alphabetical "business firm" case. To me this seems like a waste of time and money. Did you know that the supervisor counts the number of men under his jurisdiction every 6 minutes? A waste of time? Certainly. And people wonder why their mail is late and service is lousy. If they only knew half the

story. But, unfortunately, they don't know any of it. And we're not supposed to "tattle."

ZIP code: Our local has been informed by local management that we must ZIP-ZIP our mail by 1967 or face paying first-class postage. To ZIP-ZIP our plates would cost us quite a sum of money and we cannot afford it. If the ZIP did any good maybe then we would, but the mail doesn't get delivered any sooner with the ZIP than without it. Mail can be ZIP'ed to death but it won't make it to the grave if there is no one to take it there. What the POD needs is people. They are what you might call "people who need people."

I feel, as a taxpayer and as a servant of the people, that it is my duty to bring these facts to the attention of the public. Can I bring these facts to their attention without fear of loss of my job? Can I enjoy the righ to criticize the programs of the POD publicly?

The questions need to be answered. I'm sure that you, more than anyone else, judging by your statements in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, are aware of the poor postal service and the need to have it corrected.

Respectfully,

——— ———.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, four or five times in each session of Congress I issue a legislative report to the residents of the 12th Massachusetts District. I include in the RECORD the text of my final "Washington Report" of the 1st session of the 89th Congress, which comments on the activities of the past 10 months and discusses briefly some of the legislative work that must be undertaken in January:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman HASTINGS KEITH, 12th District, Massachusetts)

DEAR FRIENDS: As this final letter of the session reaches you, I will—hopefully—have left room 1111 of the House Office Building for my home offices in West Bridgewater Town Hall and the Post Office Building in New Bedford.

We've finished 10 long months of work in Washington. Now, I plan to use the 2 months remaining before the start of a new session for getting reacquainted with my congressional district and my family. During this period I will travel about—from Hull to Provincetown, Nantucket to Westport, and as many way stations as possible—to meet with town officials and constituents. I hope that circumstances make it possible to see you when I am in your town.

LEGISLATIVE LANDMARKS

It would be impossible to present a detailed summary of all the accomplishments (and failures) of the 1st session of the 89th Congress. But there are some noteworthy highlights:

One of the most significant bills enacted in this session is the new immigration law, which eliminates the 41-year-old national origins quota and substitutes a policy which gives priority to immigrants with specially-needed talents and skills and to the reuniting of families. Because this new law is so revolutionary and complex, I plan to issue a memorandum in the near future to explain the new law, which I will make available to the newspapers and to constituents who request a copy.

The President has proudly said this Congress will "leap into history." Others have been somewhat less enthusiastic. By any measurement of quantity, at least, this session has been a blockbuster. For example, Congress raised social security benefits (and taxes); enacted medicare; cut $4.6 billion worth of excise taxes; raised the national debt ceiling to $328 billion; appropriated $47 billion for defense (together with a special $700 million appropriation for the Vietnam war); passed a highway beautification program; authorized expenditures of more than $15 billion for space, farm, and foreign aid programs; and enacted clean air and water legislation.

And, furthermore, Congress approved a series of seven major education bills, enacted various public works and antipoverty programs costing some $8 billion; appropriated $2.5 billion for the atomic energy program; created a new Department of Housing and Urban Affairs; passed a voting rights bill; and authorized a $7 billion omnibus Housing Act.

Of course, that's only a few of the 260-odd new laws that came out of the first session. (More than 14,000 bills were filed since January, so there is still plenty of unfinished business.)

A HEALTHY OUTLOOK

As I mentioned in my last newsletter, the Commerce Committee worked many hours on legislation affecting the health of our Nation. (This is one of the areas of prime responsibility for this important committee.) In addition to the heart, stroke, and cancer legislation which has been discussed in an earlier report, the committee approved bills dealing with drug abuse control (pep pills), clean air and solid-waste disposal, cigarette labeling, expansion of the community immunization program, financial aid for staffing community mental health centers, health professions educational assistance, and authorization of further public health research projects.

CONGRESS STILL HAS THE LAST WORD—AT TIMES

It hasn't all been roses for the administration. Republican opposition and criticism were major factors in halting or modifying greatly some of the more overly enthusiastic Federal programs.

Funds for the Teacher Corps, for example, were held up when it was pointed out that the Federal Government's complete responsibility for recruiting, training, and paying teachers for services in local school districts could lead to too much Federal interference at the municipal level. And, Congress changed its mind about appropriating money to supplement rent payments (and also 40-year home mortgages at 5¾ percent interest) when debate indicated that, under proposed regulations, some beneficiaries could be earning $10,000 a year and have up to $20,000 in assets.

We Republicans are in the minority—very definitely—but we have had varying degrees of success this session in our role as the loyal opposition. The greatest contribution that we were able to make was in the committees of Congress—here the spending was cut, the programs tightened up, and the role of private enterprise and the responsibilities of State and local governments recognized and defended.

Believe it or not, even after the rapid-fire lawmaking of the past session, there is still a backlog of unfinished business. The fight over repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act is yet to be settled. The proposal for an increased Federal minimum wage will be before the second session. Differences between House and Senate versions of the oceanography legislation must be ironed out. And we're likely to have a package of controversial new maritime legislation to consider. And much more.

A HOOVER COMMISSION FOR BETTER GOVERNMENT

High on my own priority list in 1966 will be a bill I have filed calling for a new Hoover Commission-type of study of the executive branch. The multilayered maze of interlocking and often overlapping Federal bureaus, agencies, departments, et cetera, et cetera, clearly needs an overhaul. I've mentioned before that 19 different agencies have a hand in the national oceanography program, with none having a controlling responsibility. This situation applies in other areas of Government, and the result can only be waste and inefficiency. There are no less than 42 bureaus involved in some aspect of education, for example. The situation in transportation is perhaps even worse. We have the amazing total of 296 Federal programs in the field of consumer protection—administered by some 33 separate agencies or bureaus.

A HUMAN INVESTMENT FOR BETTER JOBS

Next year I will also work for action on another bill I have sponsored—the Human Investment Act—which is based on an idea championed by Vermont's Senator PROUTY. This attacks the problem of a growing shortage of skilled workers by giving private companies the incentive to undertake their own training program, not through the creation of some new federally financed project. The incentive would be a tax credit for authorized apprenticeship and training advancement programs. This is a job that private industry is equipped to do, and one that it can do much better and cheaper than the Government.

Nationwide, about 4.5 percent of our labor force is unemployed. Experts tell us that such unemployment could be wiped out entirely if jobless men and women had the skills sought by industry. This legislation is a sound and practical way of developing those skills.

Safer and better harbors: Southeastern Massachusetts economy has been historically linked with the sea and the coastline. This is still true today with the increasing importance of fishing, boating, and tourism. I'm glad to report, therefore, that $1,377,000 of this year's rivers and harbors appropriation is earmarked for the 12th Congressional District.

Clevelanders Support H.R. 10518—Minimum Wage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, petitions in support of H.R. 10518 signed by thousands of Greater Clevelanders have been presented to me. The petition reads as follows:

PETITION TO THE MEMBERS OF THE 89TH CONGRESS

The present Federal minimum wage law is inadequate in meeting the needs of our times. The $1.25 minimum wage level is too low to provide a decent living standard at today's living costs; in addition, far too many workers remain beyond the protection of the law altogether. In order that

it may effectively do the job for which it was designed, and that it may make a substantial contribution in the national war on poverty, our minimum wage law must be brought up to date, and made more realistic in the light of today's living and working conditions.

To this end, we, the undersigned, urge passage of H.R. 10518, as reported by the Education and Labor Committee of the House of Representatives on August 3, 1965, to include an increase in the minimum wage, in steps, to $1.75 per hour, to include the addition of some 6½ million additional workers to the ranks of those protected by the law, and to include a percentage rise in minimum wage rates for Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands to parallel the increase provided for mainland workers.

I have placed these petitions in the custody of the Clerk of the House of Representatives. I urge the leadership of the House to schedule H.R. 10518 for floor debate as early as possible in the next session.

The 20th Anniversary of the Employment Act of 1946 To Be Marked by All-Day Economic Symposium

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, February 20, 1966, marks the 20th anniversary of the enactment of the Employment Act of 1946, and several months ago a special committee of five distinguished economists from outside the Government was set up to formulate specific plans for a bipartisan observance of this occasion. Today, the Joint Economic Committee, which was created by the Employment Act of 1946, issued the following press release giving details of the program of activities that has been arranged to commemorate this event:

THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1964 TO BE MARKED BY ALL-DAY ECONOMIC SYMPOSIUM

The four senior leaders of the Joint Economic Committee, in a bipartisan action, today announced plans for an economic symposium to be held February 23, 1966, to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the Employment Act of 1946. The plans for this occasion have been developed by a special five-man committee of distinguished economists whose appointment to plan and carry out an observance of this anniversary was announced recently by the committee. Today's announcement, like the preceding one, was made by Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, chairman of the Joint Economic Committee; Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, Republican, of New York, ranking minority member, Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, vice chairman; and Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, Republican, of Missouri, senior minority member from the House of Representatives.

The special committee, after extensive consultations with the Joint Economic Committee, the Council of Economic Advisers, and former members of both groups, and other interested parties, has arranged a program which includes morning, luncheon, and afternoon sessions of the symposium in the New Senate Office Building, and a reception and dinner at the Washington Hilton in the evening. The subjects to be discussed include: (1) The Employment Act objectives—after 20 years; (2) aggregative or structural approaches to achieving Employment Act objectives; (3) using fiscal and monetary policies to further Employment Act objectives; (4) sharing the increasing productivity of our economy in a manner consistent with Employment Act objectives; (5) administration of the Employment Act.

Each subject will be discussed by at least two persons who have had intimate experience and responsibility under the act during the past 20 years. Time has been allowed for audience participation.

Following the reception and dinner a summary of the day's symposium will be presented by the executive director of the Joint Economic Committee and discused by two ranking members of the committee and the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. President Lyndon B. Johnson and former Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower and Harry S. Truman have been invited to attend and participate. Details of the all-day program are attached.

The Joint Economic Committee plans to publish the proceedings. Copies will be sent to research groups and scholars with a request for their comments. The responses, along with other statements prepared by various groups on the occasion of the 20th anniversary, will be published as a followup volume to the proceedings.

The sessions will be open to the public. There will be no registration or admission charges, except for meals. Luncheon will be at the New Senate Office Building. The capacity of the room for the luncheon is limited to a maximum of 200, and tickets will be on a first-come, first-served basis. As soon as the capacity of the room has been sold out, the admission to the luncheon will be closed. Tickets will be $4. Tickets for the reception and dinner at the Washington Hilton will be $15. Requests for tickets for the luncheon as well as the reception and dinner should be sent to: Special Committee, room 908, Colorado Building, 14th and G Streets, NW., Washington, D.C. Checks should be made payable to: Special Committee on 20th Anniversary of the Employment Act.

The special committee chosen to plan and carry out the observance consists of Dr. Grover W. Ensley, chairman, now executive vice president of the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks and formerly executive director of the Joint Economic Committee from 1951–57 and associate director from 1949–51—serving under both Democratic and Republican leadership of the committee and the Congress; Dr. Walter W. Heller, professor of economics, University of Minnesota, and Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1961–64; Dr. Raymond J. Saulnier, professor of economics, Barnard College, and Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1956–61, and a member of the Council, 1955–56; Dr. Gerhard Colm, chief economist, National Planning Association, and a senior staff member of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1946–52; and Dr. Henry C. Wallich, professor of economics, Yale University, and a member of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1959–61.

ECONOMIC SYMPOSIUM ON THE OCCASION OF THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1946

PRELIMINARY PROGRAM, FEBRUARY 23, 1966

General chairman: Dr. Grover W. Ensley, executive director of the Joint Economic Committee, 1951–57, Associate Director, 1949–51.

Morning session, 9:30 a.m., New Senate Office Building

Introduction: Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, chairman of the Joint Economic Committee and member of the committee since 1946.

The Employment Act Objectives—After 20 Years

What was the original commitment of the Federal Government under the act? Has passage of time changed the consensus as to that commitment? Does the act give sufficient weight to stability of prices? What has been the effect of the Nation's international obligations on achievement of domestic economic goals?

Dr. Roy Blough, professor of international business, Graduate School of Business, Columbia University, and member of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1950–52.

Dr. Henry C. Wallich, professor of economics, Yale University, and member of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1959–61.

Aggregate or Structural Approaches To Achieving Employment Act Objectives

What does the act call for by way of economic analysis by Federal policymakers? Can goals and gaps be quantified or are qualitative factors more important? What weight should be given to aggregative or structural approaches?

Dr. Leon H. Keyserling, president, Conference on Economic Progress; Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1950–53; and Vice Chairman, 1946–50.

Dr. Arthur F. Burns, president, National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc.; Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers, 1953–56.

Luncheon session, 12 m., New Senate Office Building

Using Fiscal and Monetary Policies To Further Employment Act Objectives

What should be done about a Federal tax system with a capacity to produce increasing revenues in an expanding economy? What weights should be given to expanded Federal programs, tax reduction, debt retirement? What is the role of monetary policy in an expanding economy? How can fiscal and monetary policies contribute to economic stability in a period of mounting aggregative demand?

Dr. Walter W. Heller, professor of economics, University of Minnesota, and Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1961–64.

Dr. R. J. Saulnier, professor of economics, Barnard College, Columbia University, and member of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1955; Chairman, 1956–61.

Afternoon session, 2:30 p.m., New Senate Office Building

Sharing the Increasing Productivity of Our Economy in a Manner Consistent With Employment Act Objectives

What is the effect of technological advances on the economy? What role—direct and indirect—should the Federal Government play with respect to distribution of income resulting from technological advances, e.g. wage-price guidelines, antitrust actions?

Dr. Kermit Gordon, vice president, the Brookings Institution, and members of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1961–62.

Dr. Paul W. McCracken, professor of business conditions, School of Business Administration, University of Michigan, and member of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1956–59.

Administration of the Employment Act

What are the most constructive roles and relationships of the President, the Council of Economic Advisers, other executive agencies, the Joint Economic Committee, other committees, the Congress as a whole, and nongovernment groups.

Dr. Gerhard Colm, chief economist, National Planning Association, and senior staff member of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1946–52.

Mr. Bertram M. Gross, director, national planning studies, the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University; executive secretary of

the Council of Economic Advisers, 1946–52; and staff adviser to congressional sponsors of the Employment Act of 1946.

Dr. Neil H. Jacoby, dean of the Graduate School of Business Administration, University of California, and member of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1953–55.

Mr. John W. Lehman, regional director, bureau of Labor Statistics, and member of the staff of the Joint Economic Committee, 1947–62.

Questions and observations from the audience.

Recess: 5:30 p.m.

Reception and dinner, 7:00 p.m., the Washington Hilton

Greetings from Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, and member of the committee since 1946; and Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, ranking minority member of the Joint Economic Committee, and member of the committee since 1959.

Messages from former President Harry S. Truman, who signed the Employment Act, February 20, 1946; former President Dwight D. Eisenhower; and President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Summary of symposium: Mr. James W. Knowles, executive director of the Joint Economic Committee from 1963 to present, and member of the staff of the committee since 1950.

Responses to summary: Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, vice chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, and member of the committee since 1949; Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, senior minority member of the Joint Economic Committee, and member of the committee since 1955; Dr. Gardner Ackley, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers from 1964 to present, and member of the Council since 1962.

My Experience With the Dispensing Physician

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Richard G. Cook, of Iola, Kans., has made available to me a most interesting and enlightening statement entitled "My Experience With the Dispensing Physician." It is based on his own experience. I am pleased to place the thesis in the RECORD in order to bring it to the attention of all my colleagues:

MY EXPERIENCE WITH THE DISPENSING PHYSICIAN

(By Richard G. Cook)

FOREWARD

I have been associated with the dispensing physician for many years. I have known the workings of their offices for a long while. I have tried to outline a few of the pitfalls of this type of practice as it affects me and will affect pharmacy before many more years. I believe that every word can be substantiated and can be verified if necessary. This subject is far too broad to be covered completely by me in writing. I will be most happy to answer questions about it at any time.

THESIS

Everyone is an authority about one subject or another, and usually the authority is someone that is connected or has been connected with a happening for some time. I claim to be an authority on the dispensing physician as the term applies to physicians in the Iola area and in some parts of the southeastern Kansas area. In order to make a thorough study of the dispensing physician, it is necessary to divide our study into several parts. Some will be repetitious of the other, but they will go hand in hand to make a complete picture as I have known it since childhood and how I have seen it grow and the pharmacist get smaller in stature. Let us first turn time back a bit and start prior to World War II.

In this time period, economic conditions had been bad after the prosperity of the twenties and during and after the great depression. Many local physicians dispensed their own drugs rather than write prescriptions, because they felt, or rather so they said, that this method was necessary for them to make a living. I believe some people believed this and even some pharmacists of my acquaintance. The doctor had the complete control of the patient; he examined, diagnosed, dispensed the medication, or had his assistant do the dispensing as he became busier. In doing this, he also found that all the accounts receivable on his books were not collectible and that some of his patients whom he had treated and cured, not only owed him for the treatment and his knowledge that he placed into play to heal them, but also for the medication that he supplied them, and he found that he could stand the loss of income from his knowledge, in part, but when they failed to pay him for the medicine he was actually losing money that he had invested in the medication. This fact brought some doctors to change their style and method, some became writers, as others were all over the country, and some decided to continue supplying both treatment and medication, thus taking the loss when it became necessary, and hoped that the profit would offset the loss. During World War II, the few doctors that were left were overworked, as there were not enough to take care of the people at home. In a case such as this you would think they would share part of their burden with the pharmacist rather than spend a great amount of their time delivering medicine instead of seeing more of the ill. This was not the case, and many became so entrenched in this system that they couldn't break the habit if they ever tried. This bit of history brings us to the time period after World War II and up to the present time.

The dispensing physician has a great many ways that he can dispense pills to his patients. Most of these men employ a woman or two that don a white dress and parade about like a registered nurse. They give shots, take blood pressure, and hand out pills. Some doctors allow the handing out of medicine whether they are in the office or not. They use the excuse that they keep an accurate card file and all the office girl has to do is refer to this card file and then do as the file indicates. Some, however, are more conscientious about their practice and insist that the office girls not hand out any pills when they are out of the office or out of town. Others use it as a way to have some income when they are out of town, either on a business or pleasure. One doctor once told my father, "I can have the girls sack 'em up while I am gone and she will take in $75 to $100 a day." Thank goodness all of them don't handle their practice in this manner.

Naturally the dispensing physician can make a little more money, if all of his accounts are good or at least a high percentage. He buys in great quantity from "generic-name houses" (50,000 tablets at a time). If this particular tablet is of a greater quantity than he needs, he splits with another of the dispensers and thus takes advantage of the price.

It is argumentative whether the doctor fits the medicine to the patients disease or the patient to the medicine on his shelf. The same man, up until a few years ago, prior to the great number of "generic-name houses" that make everything from Tetraclycline to aspirin, would dispense the inexpensive medicine and write prescriptions for the expensive such as achromycin, ilosone, furadantin, thorazine, and so forth. I have noticed that they still write for the more expensive drugs, and some are reluctant to get away from using strictly the cheaper common medicine.

I had an experience with an osteopath which should prove interesting. The patient had been getting at his office some prednisolone, 5 milligrams and had been getting these regularly for a period of time. One time when the patient needed the medicine, the doctor of osteopathy was out and he wrote a prescription. He first told the patient that the drugstore would probably have it, and if they did it would be quite a bit higher in price. The patient insisted that he get a prescription so the doctor obliged with the writing of the prescription, using metacortelone, 5 milligrams, on the prescription blank. When the prescription was filled, the patient felt that the price charged was much higher than he had been paying for the "same little yellow tablet." I had the patient get on the phone and call the doctor, asking if the pill he wrote for was the same as he had been supplying. I listened in on another phone and the doctor said this, "I told you it would be a lot higher over there." At this point I broke into the conversation and asked the doctor if he had been supplying Scherrings metacortelone or was he using someone else's. He told me that it wasn't Scherrings but it shouldn't make any difference. At this point, I thanked him for the information and hung up, the patient hearing both ends of the conversation. I had asked permission to use a cheaper prednisolone, 5 milligrams, and had gotten the doctor's OK. Then I filled the prescription and undersold the physician as much as I could.

Prescriptions from out-of-town doctors are a large percent of my business here in Iola. Over 40 percent of all of my private prescriptions are brought to me from out-of-town physicians. This percentage seems strange as we have seven M.D.'s and two D.O.'s in our town, all of whom dispense most of their medication except welfare. Some patients decide to try another doctor from out of town, and after having gone to him, and been examined, they feel pangs of guilt about sidetracking the family physician and they take their prescription to their hometown physician. This is bad for the druggist because the dispenser will take the prescriptions, fill what he can, and either say that they, the patient, really doesn't need all of them or will in turn write a prescription for the medicine he didn't have until he can get some of if it is something he will not use much of, he will let the druggest take the risk on having the part of bottle left over. In either case, I don't believe the druggist gets a fair chance at them and there is no way to fight it. Last year, I filled a prescription from a local doctor, one of four that the patient had taken to the doctor from the doctor in Kansas City. He supplied the other three, the druggest got to supply the odd one that had to be ordered.

The prices of a dispensers medicine is not something that is easy to put one's finger on. They vary and I must admit, in some instances are consistent with the ability of the patient to pay. I have had patients show me small envelopes of phenobarbital in all sizes and colors that range from $1 for 30 up to $4.50 for 30. Some sell only in 100's of certain medicines. There prices are usually higher than they are in the drugstore. Some examples of over-the-counter items sold by dispensers in the area are as

follows. I will list the OTC price and then the price I can prove a dispenser charged for the same thing.

Item	Drugstore price	Dispenser
Casyllium, 8 oz	$2.55	$4.00
Vidaylin drops, 30 cc	2.29	3.50
Vi-Mix drops, 30 cc	2.34	4.00
Gelusil liquid, 12 oz	1.49	3.00
Maalox liquid, 12 oz	1.57	3.00

These are just a few and used only to illustrate a point. I do not say that all drugstore prices are fair and just but I do believe they are more in line than the ones listed above.

The druggist's image is further lowered because the only prescriptions written by most of our doctors are for expensive medicine. The patient brings the prescription to the drugstore and finds that they are charged $5 or $6 or more for just a few pills or capsules, and never gets anything for $1 or $1.25 from the druggist. Naturally, the question would be asked, "Why is everything so high at the drugstore?" The answer is obvious but most difficult to explain to a patient.

Just recently I have had a doctor who had switched mostly to prescribing, change back, his reason when asked was that drugs cost too much, not just here but all over the country. This statement is probably true as he is using a lot more expensive drugs than he did 20 years ago, as there are more available and the job that they do is much superior to the job they did 20 years ago. I believe that there was another factor, different than this and different than the idea that the druggist was making all of the money.

This newly introduced factor is the one where the physician owns a pharmacy or a pharmacist as is the case in Yates Center, which I will relate now. Dr. X came to Yates Center, Kans., a few years ago and set up shop. The towns people were most anxious to have him come as the only doctors they had were old and not long for this world. Dr. X moved in, set up shop, hired a couple of office girls, and went to work. In no time at all he was in the healing and dispensing business in a big way. He introduced his own numbering system so that the patient could bring the bottle back to the office for a refill just like the drugstore. In no time at all, he had more prescriptions in his file than Pharmacist Y who had been in business for 40 years. You see, the old doctors had been dispensers and Pharmacist Y hadn't been allowed to fill many prescriptions in the years gone by. In fact I believe Pharmacist Y had forgotten that he was supposed to fill prescriptions. When the new doctor moved to town, Pharmacist Y did what he could for him, but the new doctor said that Pharmacist Y wasn't available when he needed him. Consequently, he had to introduce this new system. As the story goes, dispensing got to be so good that Dr. X brought a pharmacist to Kansas from Oklahoma, our board licensed him and now he can fill Dr. X's prescriptions. I must admit at this point that it is a better way than having some housewife in a white dress do it. The primary reason Dr. X made this move was because the way that the new welfare machinery is set up, he can't get paid for medicine if there is a druggist available. Dr. X couldn't get a cut from the druggist that was available so he brought his own in.

I have told the above story in order to relate a point. My doctor who has suddenly decided to dispense again, is a good friend of Dr. X, and now has his own numbering set up for bottles he dispenses. The welfare part does not apply here as he sees very few welfare people. This type of operation, the numbering system, still hasn't been accepted by the other dispensers. They still just write the name on a card and when the patient comes back, they ask them which color the pill was and supply it from there. I am sure that this idea will spread like cancer to all dispensers of medicine.

My last example is what happens when a patient insists on getting a prescription. Some will, after much deliberation and discussion, concede and give them a prescription. Others will be most emphatic about not letting their patient have a prescription. This last example happened when an aunt of my pharmacist asked her doctor for a prescription of dartal with phenobarbital. Her husband had been taking these for a few months and took two daily, the doctor sold her nine for $1. She asked me what the price would be if she could get a prescription from her doctor, and if she did she would get one for a hundred tablets. I priced them to her at the same price that we would sell them to anyone else. She related this to her doctor when she asked him for a prescription and he said that he could sell them as cheap as I could so she should find out my price and he would sell them for the same. She told me about her conversation with her doctor and I priced them to her at cost and told her to tell him what my price was and see if he would meet it. I felt that my cost would be a little lower than his and hoped that if he stuck by his guns, he would lose money on each sale. I have known him for years and knowing the way he loves the buck, this would probably cause a coronary faster than anything I could do. I don't believe it affected him as I have not heard from the lady as to the outcome of her last visit with him. He, no doubt, is selling her at my figure, or found through extensive study that her husband needed a different medication.

I wish that I could reason the whys and wherefores of the situation here in Iola. To my knowledge, we have never shot at anyone of the doctors here, we haven't stolen from any of them, nor have we been at war with them. We do not counter prescribe to any great extent. We usually send patients to the doctor of their choice if asked for guidance. In most cases, we have always been friendly to them and worked with them, rather than aaginst them. It is beyond my comprehension as to what started it and why it continues. It puts the pharmacist at a great disadvantage as he can't fill as many prescriptions as he would like to, therefore, he must occasionally order drugs that should be in stock, but because of lack of demand and expense of the tablets, must order rather than stock.

The dispensing doctor will fit the patient to his shelf stock rather than maybe using something that would speed recovery and save them loss of time at work. He employs a housewife or single girl, with a high school education, enlists her in the Medical Assistants Society of Kansas, places her in a white dress, allow her to wear an obscure pin that has a combination of a Caduceus, a registered nurse emblem, a pharmacist emblem, some Latin, and very medical in looks. He can pay this lady from $40 upward per week and make much money on her talents. A pharmacist on the other hand must pay another pharmacist if he wants to be away from his store, to cover for him, fill all prescriptions, handle all medicines, or he must lock his doors when he is away. The price of a pharmacist is not unreasonable and my complaint doesn't start here. My complaint is that by law all prescriptions must be filled by a registered pharmacist. Why then can a doctor have a lady in white fill his prescriptions and call it legal? If this trend is not stopped, we must all look for work in the future, as the need for pharmacists, not tied to a doctor's pocketbook, is fast diminishing. The statistics on doctor-owned pharmacists, and dispensing housewives must be appalling. Is there anything we can do to stop this?

A Review by Paul Brindel of the Book "Public Regulation of the Religious Use of Land," by James E. Curry, From the Notre Dame Lawyer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, in the June 1965 issue of the Notre Dame Lawyer there appeared a book review, by Mr. Paul Brindel, of the first legal text of its kind, "Public Regulation of the Religious Use of Land," by James E. Curry, of the Washington, D.C., bar.

Mr. Brindel notes that the book is basically a historical and critical analysis of the approximately 100 cases concerning attempts to regulate the religious use of land. Mr. Brindel refers to the book as a monumental work and one of substantial significance as a future point of reference for county, city, town, and village planning commissions and their professional planning staffs across the country.

Under unanimous consent I include this review in the Appendix of the RECORD at this point:

"PUBLIC REGULATION OF THE RELIGIOUS USE OF LAND" BY JAMES E. CURRY (CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA., THE MICHIE CO., 1964, P. XXII, 429, $12.50)

(Book review by Paul Brindel)

This is the first definitive work of its kind, "a historical and critical analysis, in more-than-usual depth, of approximately 100 cases in which attempts to regulate the religious use of land have resulted in court decisions published in the official reports." The preface continues: "So far as I know, no previous author has tried to bring so much of this material together. Because church and church school zoning cases are not usually classified as such in the various legal encyclopedias, digests, etc., that legal writers use as 'casefinders,' there is no certainty that I have found them all. If any are omitted they may be included in supplements."

This book has been long needed. The author reminds us: "Church construction is big business (over a billion dollars in 1960). As the number of new churches increased after 1949, so did the number of church zoning cases. There also ensued a heightened realization on the part of judges of the need for redefining the relative rights of churches and municipalities with respect to the control of religious land use."

It was only 39 years ago that the first comprehensive municipal zoning ordinance was given validity by the Supreme Court of the United States in *Village of Euclid* v. *Ambler Realty Co.* In this "cornerstone of modern land use zoning," the Court did not pass directly on the validity of the sections excluding churches, but it did note their existence. Comments the author:

"If the exclusion of churches from residential districts was as evil as the New York City planners of 1916 thought, the Supreme

Court passed up an ideal opportunity to say so.

"In spite of this early record, there has been what almost seems like a campaign of learned articles to convince lawyers and the courts that any exclusion of churches from a residential area is ipso facto invalid."

In 1949 came the now famous Porterville Mormon case, which was denied a review by the Supreme Court of the United States. This was the first, and remains the only church zoning decision which sustained total exclusion of churches from residential zones by express provision, rather than by indirection through the use of such arguments as inadequate parking facilities, alleged discrimination and balancing of conveniences.

"This milestone in the development of church zoning law," as the author terms it, continues to influence the courts of California and other States. Of nine California cases covered in this book, only three were decided in favor of religious appellants. One of these was the epochal Piedmont school case which invoked the 1925 United States Supreme Court's decision in *Pierce v. Society of Sisters*. "The Piedmont case may have pointed the way to future determination based on religious liberty rather than property rights," comments the author.

What of the future as county, city, town and village planning commissions, and their professional planning staffs in nearly every State, come up with "master plans" and initiate restrictive ordinances as to the sale of property, number of a householder's pets, limitation of paying guests, and what not? Few of these planners have any legal training, yet often they act in a quasi-judicial capacity. The author warns, "Religious liberty, which is largely an individual right, must be carefully distinguished from the special status that some courts have bestowed on churches in consideration of the great public service they render."

And he closes with this constructive note:

"The trend of future restrictive legislation depends on the success of voluntary action. If developers can be induced to provide suitable church sites in new subdivisions, and if church planners and church administrators choose and use sites carefully, with full regard for protection of the public interest, public action will be limited. If voluntary action is lacking, or inadequate, there will be increasing pressure for public controls."

This monumental work is more than the years of research of one man. Two pages list those to whom the author acknowledges deepest gratitude. The bibliography—books, periodicals, articles, public addresses and authors—covers seven pages. Cases are cross indexed as to religious denominations (21 Catholic, 17 Jewish, 13 Jehovah's Witnesses, etc., State municipalities, and case titles. A chronological index starts with the Holy Bible, Magna Carta, and St. Thomas More, and concludes with eleven 1962 entries. In fact, the author believes that "Utopia" may be the first book on city planning.

Behind the Headlines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, an incisive observation on the pacificist demonstrations was eloquently expressed in an editorial, "Behind the Headlines," in the current issue of the Machinist publication.

For those who wish to have a clearer understanding of the significance of these demonstrations, I commend this editorial and include it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Union members have reason to be puzzled by the pacifist demonstrations of the past fortnight.

We are not surprised that some college students are able to demonstrate how little they have learned about the world they live in.

We know that many young people grow through a period of rebellion. In college, some of them become political proteges of older faculty members, who should know better. Others, we suspect, are victimized by Communist agents.

We have confidence that the authorities have both the wit and the will to deal intelligently with those who are responsible.

The cause of our puzzlement is not the demonstrators, but the attention they get in the newspapers and on radio and TV. Small wonder that Hanoi and Peiping are saying that the U.S. Government is about to fall.

The newspaper editors know that even if all the college students in the country agreed with the demonstrators, they would represent less than 3 percent of the American people. And most students don't even vote yet.

The editors also know that the overwhelming majority of young Americans, out of college as well as in, are patriotic and loyal 100 percent against the spread of communism. Lump all the demonstrators together, the pro-Russian Communists, the pro-Chinese Communists, the Socialists, the pacificists, the nonresistors, the beatniks, and they represent less than 1 percent of the college students—a few thousand in a nation of 200 million people.

We have to remind ourselves that it is because they are a small, freakish group that the newspapers give them attention and big headlines. The American press is most interested in what is sensational, what is exciting, what is unusual—the oddballs, the freaks. That's what makes news in this country.

Somehow, editors are not interested, for example, when 60,000 union Yankees, speaking through the New England Conference of Machinists, show that they know something about communism. The recent New England IAM Conference, like most union meetings these days, adopted a resolution praising President Johnson for his policies in southeast Asia and called for full support of the American troops in Vietnam.

You didn't read about it because the editors know that is the way most Americans feel. It isn't news that adult Americans know which side their liberties depend on. We can only hope that Hanoi and Peiping also understand the American press.

Baltimore Boy Given New Opportunity Through Job Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, a recent article in the Washington, D.C., Sunday Star written by Larry A. Still, tells of the fervent hope for the future of O'Neil Leroy Costley, of Baltimore, Md.

The article is headlined "Three Job Corps Graduates Win Chance at Executive Careers." The story is a true story of Americana—give American youth a chance and it will strive to pursue constructive goals.

There is another saga of Americana in the story. This is the report of W. C. Hobbs, vice president in charge of the Washington, D.C., based firm giving jobs to Job Corps graduates—the Management and Engineering Services Division of Consolidated American Services, Inc. Mr. Hobbs was himself a dropout—he left school in 1931, but returned to get a B.S. in science and engineering.

I think it is interesting to quote what Mr. Hobbs had to say to the Job Corps graduates he employed:

I want these fellows to know they won't get any preferential treatment. They'll have to work like everybody else. At the end of the 90 days they will be just one of the workers and advance on merit and ability. It's entirely up to them.

Mr. Hobbs is also quoted as stating that he hired "the youths from the Job Corps program because the camps offered greater selectivity, better character, and higher quality of potential workers than any other single source."

Mr. Speaker, I believe this account merits the attention of my colleagues and I include the article in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

THREE JOB CORPS GRADUATES WIN CHANCE AT EXECUTIVE CAREERS

(By Larry A. Still)

Three graduates of the Office of Economic Opportunity's Job Corps training program were given new jobs in Washington and a chance of executive training yesterday by two former dropouts who already have succeeded.

The trainees are Cosme Arriola, 21, of San Antonio, Tex.; O'Neil Leroy Costley, 18, of Balitmore, and Lawrence Harkless, 21, of Port Arthur, Tex., all members of the first graduating class of the Camp Kilmer, N.J., Urban Center.

Camp Kilmer is one of 100 training centers being established in the antipoverty program for 40,000 young men and women, aged 16 to 21, "who need a change of environment and individual help to develop talents, self-confidence, and motivation to improve themselves."

FIRST EFFECTIVE TRAINEES

The three Kilmer grads started to work as the Job Corps' first executive trainees at the Management and Engineering Service Division of Consolidated American Services, Inc.

Consolidated operates management and maintenance services for major industries throughout the Nation and on Wake Island, in Thailand, and Vietnam.

"I never thought I would be here," said Arriola at the firm's plush Washington office in the Madison Bank Building. "My mother didn't want me to be far from home, but she says it's for my benefit," said Harkless.

"My family is proud of me. They hope I stick it out," said Costley.

W. C. Hobbs, vice president of Consolidated, said he hired the youths from the Job Corps program because the camps offered "greater selectivity, better character, and higher quality" of potential workers than any other single source.

"We are going to adjust their working hours so they can go to college if they wish," Hobbs said. "We can always use a good mechanical engineer. It may take 6 or 7 years, but we're in no hurry."

Three trainees will begin at a minimum starting salary of $1.75 to $2.25 an hour dur-

ing a 90-day training period, according to John Rollo, manager of the division's logistic and social science department.

The firm found each youth housing in the District, established separate checking accounts for them, purchased clothing so they could go to work and return to school.

Hobbs recalled that he dropped out of school in 1931, but returned to get a B.S. degree in science and engineering. He's general manager of Consolidated's management and engineering services division which includes three other dropouts among the 105 employees.

Dr. David Gottlieb, director of program development and job evaluation for the Office of Economic Opportunity, agreed that the executive training program could provide new inspiration for the 13,000 youths presently in 44 camps.

"These fellows have already demonstrated more on the ball than I had at their age," Gottlieb said.

EARNED PH. D.

Gottlieb also quit school when he was in the 10th grade and never returned to get a high school diploma.

He enrolled at Wayne State University in Detroit as an unclassified student and received a Ph. D from the University of Chicago after the graduate school waived all entrance requirements. Today Gottlieb is a member of the Michigan State University faculty.

There are 800 graduates of Job Corps training programs, including many who have entered military service and eight who are attending college on scholarships, Gottlieb said.

Arriola was graduated from high school in San Antonio, but dropped all hopes of studying architectural drafting to find a job that would help support five brothers and two sisters.

He was recommended for the Job Corps and became president of the student council at Camp Kilmer and valedictorian of his class. He was hired as a property control clerk at Consolidated and plans to study data processing at night.

Costley will work in the firm's administrative group as a reproduction clerk and Harkless as a junior draftsman in the engineering department. Costley dropped out of high school in his senior year when his mother, father, 10 brothers and 3 sisters moved to Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, where his father took a job at the Veterans' Administration hospital.

"I didn't have to drop out," Costley said, "but I was too bull-headed. The Job Corps has given me a wonderful chance."

Harkless said he quit school in the ninth grade because "I was losing interest and it was getting to be a bore." He added, "I didn't want to go back to school and I was too young to go in the service, so the Job Corps was right in between."

Hobbs had one final word for his new trainees. "I want these fellows to know they won't get any preferential treatment," he emphasized. "They'll have to work like everybody else. At the end of the 90 days they will be just one of the workers and advance on merit and ability. It's entirely up to them."

Personal Explanation

SPEECH

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, on six occasions during the 1st session of the 89th Congress, rollcall votes developed at a time when it was necessary for me to be out of town. Had I been present, I would have voted as indicated below:

On rollcall No. 7, motion to recommit House Joint Resolution 234, supplemental agriculture appropriations, to bar the use of funds to finance exports of agricultural commodities to the United Arab Republic, I would have voted "yea."

On rollcall No. 196, motion to recommit H.R. 8283, Economic Opportunity Act amendments, to delete provisions for review of Governors' vetoes of projects and reduce authorization of funds to current level, I would have voted "yea."

On rollcall No. 246, motion to recommit H.R. 10586, supplemental appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, I would have voted "nay."

On rollcall No. 249, final passage of H.R. 2580, Immigration and Nationality Act amendments, I would have voted "yea."

On rollcall No. 253, final passage of H.R. 9022, elementary and secondary school aid in areas affected by major disasters, I would have voted "yea."

On rollcall No. 259, final passage of H.R. 5863, high speed ground transportation research, I would have voted "yea."

For Shame, Jim Farley

SPEECH

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, former Postmaster General James Farley, who is now chairman of the board of the Coca Cola Export Co., may have a remarkable memory for faces but his judgment clearly "ain't" what it used to be.

The thought comes to mind in reading over his recent pronouncement in my hometown of Omaha that today's postal employees are not as dedicated as they were in his time.

Addressing the National Association of Postmasters, he was quoted as saying:

> Prior to and during the time I was head of the Department, we had excellent postal employees. But times have changed, and the employees today are not as dedicated as they were then, despite attempts made by the postmasters.

Whether he was shooting from the hip, voicing a considered judgment, or merely pandering to his audience, Mr. Farley is guilty of trying to indict a whole body of Federal employees.

As a student of politics, Mr. Farley has forgotten the immortal words of Edmund Burke, some 200 years ago, who told Parliament:

> I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people.

His ill-considered statement indeed has evoked resentment throughout the postal service, as well it should, for it constitutes in fact an irresponsible slander against the motivations of half a million postal employees. Perhaps, as the official organ of the United Federation of Postal Clerks observed editorially this month, Mr. Farley had one coca cola too many. In any case his statement cannot be permitted to stand unchallenged.

George A. Bang, an Omaha letter carrier for the last 36 years and a national officer of the National Association of Letter Carriers, stated:

> Speaking on behalf of the Omaha and Nebraska letter carriers and all letter carriers in the Nation, I must say that we were terribly hurt and chagrined at the statement made in the October 10 issue of the Omaha World Herald wherein former Postmaster General James Farley was quoted as saying "that postal employees today are not as dedicated as they were then." Insofar as I am concerned the current letter carriers are truly dedicated and loyal members of the Post Office family.

As a member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee for 9 years, I think I know something about the problems, the aspirations and, yes, the dedication of today's postal employees as they go about their daily business of moving 70 billion pieces of mail—a volume more than double what it was in Mr. Farley's time although the total number of employees is not very much greater. These two facts, in themselves, tell us much about the productivity of today's employees compared with those of a quarter century ago.

Let Mr. Farley tell us how this amazing increase in the per capita productivity of individual employees has been achieved without dedication—if he can.

I will not argue, of course, that there are not a few time servers or deadbeats in the ranks of postal employees any more than we can say that there are no deadbeats or time servers in the ranks of any craft or profession—including ex-politicians and the Coca Cola Co. But if they were not a tiny minority, as they are in all crafts and professions, how would the work of the Nation ever be accomplished whether it is moving the mail or growing food or building automobiles or providing the myriad services that have made our society the richest and most efficient on earth?

The real wonder in the postal service is that there is so much dedication among so many employees considering the disadvantages in wages and working conditions under which most of them are required to function.

In Mr. Farley's day, not because of him, but due to the general economic conditions of the time, the wages and working conditions of postal and other Federal employees were by and large far superior to equivalent jobs in private industry. World War II changed all that. Yet postal workers stuck to their dedicated tasks when most of their friends and neighbors moved into the shipyards and great defense factories at wages far more attractive and rewarding.

Postal employees have been trying to catch up ever since.

Even with the latest postal pay increase, enacted a few days ago by Congress which included—for the first time in history—overtime pay for thousands of postal employees who have never before received a penny of overtime, al-

though they have been working 50, 60, 70, and even 80 hours a week, the Nation's postal clerks and letter carriers are still substantially below the income levels of workers in private industry. These are facts which Mr. Farley's offhand views cannot alter or erase.

There have been changes since Mr. Farley's long ago day but they are not in the hearts and minds of our postal employees.

The changes have been in the degree of automation being developed with little or no concern for the future of the men and women who are being displaced.

The changes have been in the attitude of postal management which, more and more, has placed emphasis on costs rather than public services.

The changes have been in dubious new patterns of mail distribution which have sought to replace human skills and human hands with an alphabet soup of ZIP codes and stopwatch measuring techniques like the hated work measurement system and by POMSIP, ABCD, VIMS, and other methods of trying to wring an extra ounce of standardized work out of men and women regardless of the God-given diversity of human beings.

Yet with all of the difficulties brought on by change and growth, the one continuing thread has been the very dedication of employees which Mr. Farley professes to find lacking.

I suggest to Mr. Farley that he read some of the essays produced a couple of years ago by more than 600 postal clerks from every State in the Union as part of the national essay contest sponsored by the United Federation of Postal Clerks on the broad question of why they found fulfillment in their jobs.

Three eminent Washington newspapermen who judged that contest each wrote later public tributes of their own to the astonishing level of dedication revealed in the avalanche of responses.

I commend to Mr. Farley the winning entry penned by a 26-year-old San Francisco postal clerk of Chinese ancestry, Mr. Robert David Wong, which reads as follows:

It is not the thought of being a public servant in a Government postal installation as much as it is the chance and privilege of serving others through my job as a postal clerk.

It is the knowledge that what I am doing is essential to the happiness and well-being of my community and my Nation—for to millions joy is imparted each day through letters they received from friends and loved ones who wrote a thought, and in faith, placed a postage stamp on an envelope—which eventually passed through my hands and on its way.

It is the assurance that these letters will reach their destination; for somewhere, a letter of my own is intermingled within millions of parts of machinery and of human hands—and I am confident that this combination of automation and the untiring efforts of the human heart—working together—will bring the mail to its goal.

It is the way of life that I have chosen for mine own. As the privilege of voting is inseparable from a democratic government, so also is my indisputable right to voice my thoughts through my postal union, and through its legislations, better my working conditions, benefit from health and sickness insurance plans, receive reasonable living wages, as well as representation that will continually seek to further my welfare while I am serving the public.

It is a warm feeling to know that as a postal clerk I am doing my duty well, and through faithfulness excel. In giving a part of myself, I am doing the best I can—I am being a good and useful citizen—I am serving my fellow man.

For shame, Mr. Farley.

Rent Supplement Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HARVEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the rent supplement program, once characterized as a "dead horse" during House debate, will apparently be at the starting gate and off and running when the 2d session of the 89th Congress convenes on January 10.

Personally, I welcome the special emphasis which has been placed on the proposed program by the President and the administration's announced intention to seek $30 million to start the program early next year through another supplemental money bill.

If there is a genuine effort by the administration, the next 10 weeks can be used wisely in establishing a case for this program. It is a legislative matter that can be considered quickly by the Congress.

In this review of congressional action and events concerning the rent subsidy program, which generated so much debate and, unfortunately, some harsh and bitter words as Congress refused to appropriate contract authority funds in the 1966 supplemental appropriation bill, I would respectfully suggest that the administration carefully consider the words of chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations the gentleman from Texas, GEORGE H. MAHON. The following quotation of Congressman MAHON's can be found on page 26863 of the October 21, 1965, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

This conference bill eliminates the rent supplement item put in by the other body, but language is contained in the statement of the managers stating that this is done without prejudice to the program. However, the program had been launched under such an ill omen it became necessary to call a halt, because the administrator of the agency had indicated the announcement and the promulgation of rules and regulations which were abhorrent to many Members of Congress, many of whom were strong supporters of the rent supplement program.

It is true when he observed that he was running against the wishes of the Congress he came to Capitol Hill with a series of letters saying, in effect, "I am sorry, we will change this," and he then offered a different type of proposition than had previously been offered, but a man convinced against his will is somewhat of the same opinion still, and we felt it was wise to take a little time to digest this program and let the agency come up with regulations and let us see with our own eyes what the regulations will be before we take action. If there is anything wrong or illogical with that approach, I fail to see it. This is not a repudiation by this body, it is not a veto of the program. It is an action in good commonsense under the circumstances.

Mr. Speaker, the real issue, which still must be resolved, is whether the HHFA will develop and present reasonable evidence that it intends to comply with intent of Congress; namely, that the rent subsidy program be limited to low income groups having an income less than that prescribed for public housing under the Public Housing Act of 1937—title I, section 101(c)(1).

From the time that the President submitted his housing message to Congress last March, his proposal to inaugurate a multibillion-dollar Federal rent subsidy program has been under fire. I can recall that, during our several weeks of testimony before the Housing subcommittee, even stalwart friends of the administration, both inside and outside of Congress, were openly skeptical with regard to this proposal. When the omnibus housing bill reached the floor of the House last June the issue of rent subsidies completely dominated the debate for three full afternoons. At the time, there was not a single objective veteran Washington observer who did not report that the rent subsidy proposal, as reported by the House Banking and Currency Committee, was in deep trouble. In fact, it was facing nearly certain House defeat. Only after a last-minute floor amendment by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. STEPHENS], limiting the program's benefits to families below public housing income limits, did the House approve the proposal by a slim 6-vote margin. We should recall at this point that this last-minute change on the floor of the House had never been discussed in committee, thereby creating a situation where a majority of the Members of the House were not at all certain as to precisely the nature of that which they had agreed to accept.

In all fairness to those who voted for rent supplements last June, I feel certain most thought that they had some fairly certain idea of the maximum income limits of families eligible for rent subsidies. On the other hand, those of us who opposed this last-minute amendment warned that entirely too much discretion was being left in the hands of housing agency officials and that Congress, in effect, was approving a concept, while permitting the HHFA to do the actual legislating through regulations.

Then on September 28, the Housing Agency released its rent supplement regulations. When I reviewed these regulations I was disturbed at what I saw. Among other things, they made it clear that the Federal Government was willing to subsidize up to 70 percent of monthly rental payments for families earning at least the maximum allowable under public housing regulations. Superimposed on this was the revelation that elderly or handicapped families could have net assets three times the maximum family income limits, with nonelderly families limited to net assets of twice these same

maximum family income limits. Nowhere in the regulations, however, was it spelled out for Members of Congress precisely the dollars and cents limits of these public housing income limits. Nor did the regulations indicate the mortgage limits for the units to be occupied by rent subsidy families. Again we were told that these would be supplied at a later date.

Without going into further details in describing the September 28 rent subsidy regulations, it is only fair to recall that these were not available to most Members until 20 days after the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Independent Offices had held its hearings in considering the administration request for an initial first-year $30 million funding for rent supplements. The Appropriations Committee did not have the needed information contained in these regulations with which to constructively question housing officials during the hearings.

The House Appropriations Committee cut the $30 million contract authority request back to $6 million. On the theory that this program needed further study and that if once it received even a token appropriation it would be off and winging for 40 years, I offered an amendment on the floor to delete the $6 million. This amendment carried by a 23-vote margin with nearly as many Democrats as Republicans voting in support of it—99 Republicans and 86 Democrats. I do not think there is any doubt whatsoever that the House action reflected general disenchantment with the September 28 regulations and that most members thought that the intent of Congress had been grossly violated.

When I offered my amendment to strike out the funds for this program on October 14, I emphasized that it was not my motive to kill the program. The sum of $170,000, later increased to about $450,000, was left in specifically for the administration of the rent supplement program, under section 101, so that the Housing and Home Finance Agency would have the money to proceed and to continue to work on regulations.

I also added:

> I had not intended to speak on this subject again this year for, very frankly, I believed the question of rent supplements was fully debated over a period of 3 days during the month of June. It was a good debate. It was a fair debate.

My only concern, my only intent—and it remains so today—is that this program should be for the low-income groups, a program for the poor people of America that it was purported to be when it was authorized by the House of Representatives last June.

When on the next to the last day prior to adjournment the Senate-House conferees on the supplemental appropriations bill agreed to comply with the House position in denying contract authority funds for rent supplements, they did so with the apparent support of a vast majority of the conference committee, controlled by a 17-to-8 margin by members of the majority party. It is in this environment that the President issued on the following day, October 22, his blistering indictment of a Congress that otherwise gave him nearly all he asked for. The President blamed defeat of funds for rent subsidies on what he termed "propaganda of fear and mistrust" and "false propaganda and misrepresentation." The President also declared that "cynicism and self-interest preyed on fear of the new and imaginative" and that the "old voices of doubt and misunderstanding were raised once more.

I have recently taken the liberty of writing a personal letter to the President in an attempt to better relate exactly what took place and why. In particular, I stressed the excellent statement by Mr. MAHON which is included earlier in this report. Further, I emphasized that if HHFA submits a revised set of regulations limiting rent subsidies to the needy, as authorized by Congress, a new, more reasonable approach would not only have my support but that of an overwhelming majority of Members.

With regard to the charges of "false propaganda and misrepresentation," I would point out that during the October 14 debate not a single Member of Congress disputed the facts that I revealed with regard to the maximum income limits and other matters covered in the September 28 HHFA regulations.

Certainly, I would be the first to concede that the administration did not envision that the majority of rent supplement families would be earning $8,100, with $25,000 assets living in four-bedroom apartments with as few as four children. But we should keep in mind that these unrealistic limitations were inserted in the regulations and that in the face of the nationwide controversy over the rent supplement program, the better part of valor would have been for the Housing Agency to have drafted more reasonable and defensible income and asset limitations. On the other hand, in view of the sharp debate over rent subsidies,I feel certain the HHFA must have thought that what some of us regarded as being unrealistic limitations were, in fact, needed in order to make the program work.

With this in mind, it is interesting to recall that on several occasions during the past year the Housing Administrator, Dr. Weaver, admitted that this program would not work for low-income families. It was he, not opponents of the program, who said to a Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce audience shortly after the authorization bill passed that a nonprofit or limited-dividend organization would have to have "a heart of gold or a head of lead" to participate in this program if it were limited to low-income families. To his credit, Dr. Weaver, throughout the year, has never backed down from his original premise that rent subsidies could not be effectively implemented unless such payments were directed at families above the public housing income range. I do not think it would be idle speculation to assume that the September 28 regulations reflected these sentiments when they greatly exceeded what most Members of Congress thought they had voted for.

Now is there any need for this alleged mass confusion to have arisen with regard to the maximum family income limitation under the proposed rent subsidy program? Section 101 of Public Law 89–117 stated clearly that the recipients were "to have an income below the maximum amount which can be established in the area, pursuant to the limitations prescribed in section 2(2) and 15(7)(b)(ii) of the U.S. Housing Act of 1937, for occupancy in public housing dwellings." I submit that the HHFA in its regulations could have advised Members of Congress precisely what these maximum income ranges were. Within a few days, data could have been developed by the HHFA which would have specified these maximum income limits in communities where there are existing public housing authorities. We have never seen a complete list of these family income ranges. I do know, however, that Marie McGuire, Commissioner of the Public Housing Administration, stated during our subcommittee hearings that the maximum net family income range for public housing in New York City was $8,100.

I have written to Dr. Weaver wherein I specifically ask for such a list. If this is supplied, then maybe for the first time since this issue began, all Members of Congress will have some idea of the maximum income limitations under the President's proposed rent subsidy program.

In light of all the circumstances surrounding this controversy, I must confess that I have to agree with President Johnson when he said that "the old forces of doubt and misunderstanding were raised once more." However, the doubt and misunderstanding that I refer to was initiated and generated completely within the Housing Agency and not on the floor of the House or Senate.

Where does this leave us now? I think there can be little doubt that the Congress, in refusing to appropriate funds for rent subsidies, made clear its intention and demand that, once and for all, the Housing Agency set forth a complete set of regulations before any funds are forthcoming. During the House floor debate there was absolutely no confusion over the intent of my amendment to strike the $6 million contract authority appropriation. Ample funds for developing new and more reasonable regulations were left intact.

If, on the other hand, the administration insists upon ignoring Congress' desire to become better acquainted with the broad outlines of this program, then I think there can be no doubt whatsoever that rent subsidies will confront the same difficulties next year that it faced during the first session of Congress.

Speaking for myself, I have the utmost confidence in the commonsense of the American people when this issue is brought before them for their judgment. I am convinced beyond any reasonable doubt that our citizens will reject any multibillion-dollar, 40-year, Federal rent subsidy program directed to families whose incomes center around or exceed the median family income in the United States.

Such adjectives as "collectivist," "radical," and "socialistic," in describing this program, did not originate with

me or those Members who opposed this program. These were words used by such widely read and respected news columnists as Arthur Krock of the New York Times, Stewart Alsop, of the Saturday Evening Post, and Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, of Publisher Newspaper Syndicate in their honest interpretations of President Johnson's rent subsidy proposal.

In conclusion, may I call your attention to the following two articles from the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal, which very accurately describe the situation which brought about the final defeat of the rent subsidy appropriation:

[From the New York Times]

BLOCKING THE RENT SUPPLEMENT

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON.—Of all the President's Great Society programs, his rent supplement proposal was the most vulnerable to the objection that it adopts a basic theory of modern socialism. But this concept, that the national income should be allocated by Government action to assure an equitable sharing of its benefits, was only one of the causes of the refusal by Congress to start the program with an appropriation for the first year.

There was an intense dislike in Congress of the principle inherent in a proposal that part of the rent of low-income groups for improved housing should be financed out of general tax revenues. To some Members this undermines the incentive of individuals to better themselves by their own efforts, a traditionally American economic philosophy. To others it was an unconstitutional penalty imposed on honest achievement in a free enterprise society, and a bonus for shiftlessness and other defects of individual character.

WELFARE STATISM

But this country has moved so far toward becoming a collectivist, welfare state by its political decisions since the reelection of President Eisenhower that it required more than the extreme expression of collectivism in the rent supplement measure to block it in Congress. And by the same token the block may prove to have been only a postponement when the question of financing the proposal recurs at the next session. This will happen as a matter of routine, because Congress has already authorized an appropriation to begin it.

WEAVER'S ERROR

This appropriation was denied the President at the current session because the Federal Housing Administrator, Robert C. Weaver, made several grave tactical errors which, superimposed on the burden the project already carried as clearly socialistic in concept, proved too heavy for it to bear. In advance of action by the House Appropriations Committee, he prepared administrative regulations for the program that could be and were successfully attacked on the following grounds:

1. The criteria listed as determinants whether a rent supplemental project would be approached included "full consideration of its contribution to assisting in integrating income groups and furthering the legal requirements and objectives of equal opportunity in housing." In other words, the program was to be used, beyond its stated legislative purpose as housing assistance to low-income groups, as an economic club to compel racial integration.

2. The regulations were so loosely drawn as to support the charge of critics that a family with a net income of $25,000 a year could qualify for a rent subsidy; and a family with four children could be subsidized for occupancy of a four-bedroom apartment.

3. The text of the regulations was withheld from the House Appropriations Committee by Weaver until 20 days after the ending of its hearing on the measure.

4. The regulations failed to set a mortgage limitation on rent supplemental projects. Hence, Congress was left in the dark as to the type of units which would be built with its appropriation.

These aspects of the regulations left them wide open to effective attack from supporters of the proclaimed objective of the legislation—to help the poor get decent housing—as well as from Members of Congress who oppose its basic political philosophy.

The only appropriation in furtherance of the rent supplement that Congress retained is $450,000 for replanning of the operation by Weaver, and for redrafting the administrative regulations,. But this itself is evidence that Congress has not yet rejected the basic concept of the legislation. When the next session assembles in January 1966, there will first be a request from the President for an appropriation for the remainder of the fiscal year with which the Housing Administration can enter into contracts for rent supplement units. The President announced today, somewhat defiantly, that he would ask the full $30 million authorized for the first fiscal year, though the fiscal year will then be half over. If Congress supplies the $6 or $8 million now indicated, the program will be underway. And a Presidential request for second-year appropriation of $75 million or more can then be confidently expected, with good prospects of approval at least in part.

HOW MUCH SOCIALISM?

Therefore, while the President has suffered a sharp setback in the refusal of Congress at this session to give him starting funds for the project, he has not yet suffered defeat. What finally happens will depend to a large extent on whether a majority of Congress, particularly the large Democratic majority in the House, will risk the venture of a socialist program in a general election year.

That the venture is an extreme socialistic concept is implicit in a story told by Marshal Montgomery, of Alamein, of an exchange he once had with Marshal Stalin. Asked by Montgomery for a statement of the difference between Russian communism and Western socialism, Stalin explained that under Soviet communism everyone contributes according to his abilities and receives according to his needs, whereas under democratic socialism the receiver shares according to his merit. "Then you haven't a Communist state in the U.S.S.R.," said Montgomery. "Not yet," said Stalin. "There is only one nation which could afford it—the United States of America."

[From the Wall Street Journal]

APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORITY GIVES CONGRESS CHANCE TO REVIEW GREAT SOCIETY IN 1966

(By Arlen J. Large)

WASHINGTON.—It would be a serious distortion of events to dwell too heavily on the rent subsidy defeat suffered by President Johnson in the last hours of the congressional session. Denial of subsidy funds in the final appropriation bill stands out starkly against a landscape of year-long revolutionary lawmaking. In terms of important legislative tonnage, the 1st session of the 89th Congress was all it has been cracked up to be.

Yet the rent subsidy incident is worth special study as a specimen of next year's possible lawmaking trends. Right now, anyway, everyone says the 1966 session will be different: It will be time to digest the Great Society just wolfed down whole. Things may not turn out that way, of course. New racial emergencies or foreign crises could require continued full-throttle production; what L.B.J. regards as a bland 1966 legislative diet may seem strong spice to others.

But Congress is leaving town now with the expectation that next year's session will be confined mainly to polishing up its 1965 handiwork. On the House Education and Labor Committee, Representative EDITH GREEN, Democrat, of Oregon, plans to birddog the efficiency with which the Office of Education deploys its multibillion-dollar array of new school aids. Chairman PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, of the Joint House-Senate Economic Committee is getting ready for an ambitious survey of the Great Society as a whole; his staff of professional economists hopes, among other things, to concoct long-range cost projections of Uncle Sam's new activities.

THE MARCH TO CAPITOL HILL

This kind of function is known as congressional oversight, a jargon term for riding herd on the executive branch. And one of the most important mechanisms for overseeing the work of bureaucrats is the appropriations procedure which snared the rent subsidy plan last week. New or old, nearly all Federal activities require annual appropriations of fresh money from the Treasury to keep them going. Fewer new programs may go on the lawbooks next year, but the specialized House and Senate Appropriations Committees will have a heavier workload than ever as Mr. Johnson's agency heads march to Capitol Hill to justify their spending plans.

Congressional appropriations cuts are usually made in the name of economy; in years past such career economizers as the late Representative Clarence Cannon thundered annually against the inflationary perils of all presidential budgets in their uncut stage. Starting last year, however, President Johnson grabbed the pennypincher image away from Congress; his huge budgets have been successfully sold as "preshrunk." Only a pittance was chopped from his appropriations request this year, and with the same big Democratic majority returning in January there's little prospect of a 1966 outbreak of economy fever.

But even in such an atmosphere the appropriations process still gives lawmakers a powerful lever for influencing Federal programs. Housing Boss Robert Weaver lost his measly $12 million in rent subsidy money not because the House thought it would break the Treasury, but because of dissatisfaction with his startup plans. Those Great Society administrators who fear a lot of congressional back-seat driving next year may profit by analyzing the rent subsidy fiasco.

The rent subsidy plan is intended to lure private builders away from the luxury market and put up more new moderate-rent apartments. The landlords would be churches or other nonprofit groups, receiving Federal rental payments on behalf of poor families; officials hoped to work a little social engineering into the program, encouraging landlords to take nonsubsidized as well as subsidized tenants. Mr. Weaver visualized a happy mixture of rich and poor, black and white, living constructively together at the Methodist Arms.

But for such a simple goal, the rent subsidy mechanism for achieving it was incredibly complex. Everyone—liberals and conservatives alike—kept asking Mr. Weaver how rich a person could be and still get rent subsidies. Because the limit would vary from place to place, Mr. Weaver could quote no single figure. His vague answers either sparked suspicions of a boondoggle for the rich, or confused people hopelessly.

Baffled or not, the Senators agreed to give Mr. Weaver $10 million in initial funds, but only after he bowed to their demands for a change in the proposed eligibility rules.

But the House wasn't convinced that Mr. Weaver, deep down, really wanted to change the original rules. "A man convinced against his will is somewhat of the same opinion still," rhymed Chairman MAHON, Democrat, of Texas, of the House Appropriations Com-

mittee. So the rent subsidy money is being held hostage by the House until Mr. Weaver drafts a new plan. In Mr. MAHON's words: "Let us see with our own eyes what the regulations will be before we take action."

VARIATION BY PERSONALITY

The rent subsidy example shows that the appropriations process can be a powerful digestive organ indeed for a raw new Federal endeavor. But results in the past have been spotty, depending on the personalities in charge of reviewing each fragment of the budget. State Department officials testifying before the Appropriations Subcommittee of Representative ROONEY, Democrat, of New York, can assume they'll get a general dressing down for profligacy. But Representative FOGARTY, Democrat, of Rhode Island, just as regularly upbraids Federal health researchers for spending too little.

A Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress may submit proposals next year for making the appropriations process more efficient. This study panel has heard suggestions for increasing the Appropriations Committees' staffs of investigators, and using computers to keep track of all the budget's nooks and crannies. Senator MAGNUSON, Democrat, of Washington, thinks Congress ought to spend the first part of each session considering regular legislation, devoting all of its energy later in the year to appropriation bills.

Any such reform is years away. Meanwhile, the existing appropriations process promises to be a lively battleground in the 1966 session even if the White House runs out of new ideas. If you don't believe it, ask Mr. Weaver.

Report to 23d District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, I include the following letter to residents of the first and fourth wards of the city of Cleveland as a part of the RECORD:

DEAR FRIEND: As you may know, the 105th General Assembly of the Ohio Legislature last year changed the boundaries of Ohio's congressional districts, which will take effect in the 1966 elections. Although the new area of the 23d District still represents many of the suburbs around the city of Cleveland, it now also includes the ward in which you live.

Since 1955 I have represented the 23d District in the U.S. Congress. During my 11 years in Washington I have made it a practice to keep in the closest possible touch with constituents through frequent newsletters, radio, and television appearances, occasional opinion polls and, when length of the session permits, a traveling office. At the end of each session I send a summary of the year's legislative actions to my district and a copy of this year's report is enclosed for your information.

For your convenience, I maintain a year-round office at 525 Federal Building, Cleveland, CHerry 1-7900, extension 7360, in addition to my office in Washington, D.C. During the months ahead I hope I will have the opportunity of meeting you.

Meanwhile do not hesitate to give me the benefit of your counsel and advice. Please remember I am always ready to be of assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM E. MINSHALL,
Member of Congress.

Address of Hon. James E. Webb on the Dedication of Space-Science Laboratory at University of Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on October 13, 1965, the Honorable James E. Webb, Administrator of the National Space and Aeronautics Administration, dedicated a new space-science laboratory at the University of Chicago, and it gives me great pleasure to be able to share his comments on that occasion with the Members of this body:

ADDRESS BY JAMES E. WEBB, ADMINISTRATOR, NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION, AT THE DEDICATION OF SPACE-SCIENCE LABORATORY, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, CHICAGO, ILL., OCTOBER 13, 1965

It is a pleasure to participate here today at the dedication of this new laboratory for astrophysics and space research. As you know, I have, from the beginning, followed with great interest the creation of this highly promising new resource for the University of Chicago.

The research efforts of Chicago scientists will be significantly extended as a result of the laboratories made available here. By bringing together the various scientific and engineering disciplines, the new facility will contribute to increased cross-fertilization of ideas and research. This broadly based multidisciplinary team will be better able to work with others in the scientific community, as well as the industrial and business communities, in pursuing new opportunities for research and the application of specific developments to the problems of Chicago's social, business, and economic structure.

It seems particularly appropriate that these facilities should be built at this great university which has made such valuable contributions to the Nation's scientific and technological development through the years. Indeed, it was only a short distance from this site that Enrico Fermi and his team of dedicated and brilliant scientists set in motion the first nuclear chain reaction. Thus began a progression of events which led our country through a series of major research and development efforts of rapidly increasing scope; these, in turn, brought us to the present era, which is often called the age of space, but which might perhaps appropriately be called the age of science and technology.

What our Nation is experiencing today, and has been experiencing in the almost quarter of a century since that atomic pile was started behind Stagg Field, is a scientific and technological revolution. Cooperative effort on the part of the Government, universities, the scientific community and industry has been the prime mover in this revolution.

Without such team work and cooperation, our Nation could not have developed the immense technological power that it now possesses—the technological power that makes possible supersonic aircraft, ballistic missiles, nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, and many other elements of our peacekeeping machinery. This cooperation has given us tremendous capability for technological research and development, now being extended and augmented for space exploration, which will be available to meet the national security requirements of the future.

Much of our basic research, although not in areas specifically related to weapons programs, has led to later applications which have helped preserve the peace. The fields of cybernetics, cryogenics, solid-state physics, and microminiaturization are examples that come immediately to mind.

The influence of our technological progress and prowess is and has been the deciding factor in keeping the peace; technological and scientific capabilities constitute a basic source of national power. Preeminence in the field is an instrument in international relations, and influences our dealings with other nations involving peace and freedom in the world.

Thus we can neither wish away nor afford to ignore political realities which make the capability to explore space a matter of strategic importance as well as a challenge to man's scientific and engineering ingenuity. We can no more afford to falter in space than we can in any earthly pursuit in which the security and future of our Nation and the world hang in the balance.

As President Johnson has said, "The question is not whether we can afford to go to the moon. It is whether we can afford not to go, for to default would be as catastrophic as if we had defaulted exploration of the atom."

The space effort is really a research and development competition—a competition for technological preeminence, which demands and creates the quest for excellence. In this quest, the space program is increasing our scientific and technological power—a resource as important as raw materials and productive capacity. Should we fall behind in the area of space technology, we would jeopardize our ability to progress, on earth as well as in space. At stake is the technological balance of power in the world.

In space we are using science and technology to build our national competence and to work toward a peaceful and better world. We believe that the reinforcement of this new foundation of power—based on advanced technology—can provide new means to provide more assurance of meeting man's needs for security, freedom, dignity, and opportunity.

By mastering the restrained but decisive use of the powers that modern science and technology give us, we are providing the Nation with the capability to achieve greater cooperation toward a world consistent with the ideals we seek for others as well as ourselves. In the Cuban crisis of 1962, and again in Vietnam today, this advanced strategic technological capability has given the United States the kind of large capacity to act in various ways and combinations of ways that enables us to fit our responses to the need in a judicious and measured way.

Another aspect of our space program, and one which is very closely related to technological power, is the matter of how others view our capability to act and the sureness, swiftness, and self-improved restraints that show through our decision to put our power in motion. Our space program—and manned space flight in particular—may be considered as a vital element in demonstrating to the world that the United States is a "can do" country, able to compete with a formidable rival that has prepared in secret for technological surprise, to utilize methods consistent with our best traditions, and in an open and cooperative manner worthy of emulation by other peoples.

Our national goal is to build the equipment and use it enough to acquire a sure know-how in every important phase of space activity, then to build working systems that use this know-how to do useful work—in satellites, orbiting observatories, communications, and other fields. It is the objective of the Apollo program as a focal point of our national space program to make our capability clear to the entire world within this decade by flying outward a quarter

million miles from earth, landing on the moon, and returning safely. I am proud to be able to report today that we are on schedule in the Apollo program, and the recent highly successful Gemini flights have greatly increased our confidence that we can continue meeting our key milestones.

Prestige is meaningful, however, only to the extent that it reflects the substance, not the shadow, of power. Thus, the value of the space effort must be judged in terms of how well it provides a visible focus of power, evident to all the world, of a broad capability to do whatever is necessary to insure the security of the Nation and the peace of the world.

Thus far, I have directed my remarks primarily toward the importance of technological power in terms of the national security and international prestige aspects of the space program. These are the imperatives that motivate us to explore and utilize the new element of space. Basic to this technological strength, as I indicated earlier, is the individual and collective role of scientists, and also of our universities.

While the scientific community is playing a leading role in the space effort, the space program in turn is exerting a significant and beneficial influence on science. New approaches to established disciplines have appeared and there has been a tremendous increase in interdisciplinary research activity.

A particularly significant aspect of the space program is that, in its breadth, it involves almost every known science and technology—physics, chemistry, biology, astronomy, geology, geodesy and cartography, heat studies, cryogenics, particles and fields, to name but a few—and its needs spread across the entire industrial spectrum—electronics, metals, fuels, ceramics, machinery, plastics, instruments, textiles, and many others.

The impact of the space program on science and technology is, however, far greater and broader in scope than this.

The history of science and technology indicates that a small spring of basic research is often the source of a mighty river of technology. Thus, it is most imperative to augment our reservoir of knowledge with new concepts that can come only from basic research.

To maintain technological power, we recognize that knowledge and trained people are essential elements and that our Nation's universities are a resource which must be encouraged, nourished, and involved on a broad basis.

Universities have traditionally been the main source of new ideas in science through research carried out by faculty members and graduate students. This interaction of education and research in academic institutions thus contributes both to the training of scientific and technical manpower and to the advancement of research.

President Johnson again emphasized these principles last month in his statement of policy to the Cabinet on strengthening the academic capability for science throughout the Nation. In this statement, the President pointed up the importance of the Nation's support of science as having a "decisive role in determining the extent to which we fulfill our potential as a nation—and a free society * * *. We must," he continued, "devote ourselves purposefully to developing and diffusing—throughout the Nation—a strong and solid scientific capability, especially in our many centers of advanced education."

The new policy, the President stated, will "increase the capacity of our universities to produce well-trained scientists and to serve as a source of the ideas upon which our national welfare depends." As one of the actions under this policy, the President asked each Federal agency, to the fullest extent possible, to "provide research funds to academic institutions under conditions affording them the opportunity to improve and extend their programs for research and science education and to develop the potentialities for high-quality research of groups and individuals."

NASA programs already in being seek to assist in the education of the highly trained scientists and engineers whose services will be required in the future, and to strengthen university research capacities through resources such as this laboratory.

To further these goals, NASA has established a sustaining university program that will eventually assist in the training of 1,000 Ph. D.'s a year to provide the highly qualified persons who will be needed not only in the space sciences but also for other scientific and technical endeavors.

At the same time, NASA finances and supports research in programs designed to increase the broad body of scientific and technical knowledge which underlies the future advancement of the Nation's welfare, economic growth, and security. This is particularly true of basic research, concerned with increasing knowledge about man, and the universe, and which lays the groundwork for applied research and development.

One of the most important of the capabilities being provided by the space program is experience in the management of large scientific and technological enterprises. The scope of the effort to manage a very large space program is several orders of magnitude beyond that of even the largest industrial operations. The Apollo program, for example, is one of the largest peacetime research and development undertakings in our history.

The development of the ability to manage such vast programs began with the Manhattan project during World War II and was later expanded and refined in the ballistic missile programs of the 1950's. Their use in the Apollo program and other NASA efforts is an outgrowth and a further utilization of the necessary decisionmaking processes, management techniques, and professional skills to a higher degree and more comprehensively than even was necessary to meet the requirements of the earlier programs. These techniques, skills, and trained people have great potential application to aid in other large-scale programs that would satisfy important national needs.

One of these skills is that of systems engineering, which has been described as an approach to a project which encompasses the whole, rather than a separate handling of component parts. From this viewpoint it is but one element in a transportation system that includes bus lines, subways, railroads, freeways, air transport and so forth. It is possible that the application of this technique may lead to the solution of many of the intricate problems of modern life.

One State is already actively studying whether systems engineering can be applied to everyday problems here on earth. California has recently completed an experiment, in which it awarded $400,000 to four aerospace firms for such studies. One company examined ways to rationally handle and effectively use the mass of paperwork issued daily by State and Federal agencies. Another study dealt with transportation in a State which, in the words of one California official, "lost the race to the automobile a decade ago." A third company examined the problems of air and water pollution and waste disposal. Finally, a fourth company took a cold engineering look at the problems of crime, delinquency and punishment. The studies have been submitted to the Governor, and the conclusions are being analyzed for potential applications, with possible nationwide implications.

Other areas of concern which may prove susceptible to these techniques include such matters as nuclear desalinization of water, water resources management, urban planning and development, and high speed transportation systems, such as the rail link planned between Washington and Boston.

These problems are all matters of major national concern, and their solution is of utmost importance in the achievement of the goals of our society. As our economy continues to grow, increased resources may well become available to devote greater attention to these matters. Work at the facility that we are dedicating today could very well lead to similar studies of how modern science and technology might contribute to the solution of problems of a like nature in Illinois and the Midwest.

Of particular interest to the scientific and academic community, I am sure, are the scientific and applications aspects of our space program, which are further elements of our national technological power.

In the applications area, the Nation has made rapid progress so that we now have the capability to develop and fly highly sophisticated and useful satellites, such as the Tiros weather satellites, the Syncom and Early Bird communications satellites, and the Navy's navigation satellites. In the scientific area similarly long strides have been taken in orbiting observatories and lunar and deep space probes. A magnificent scientific and engineering achievement was accomplished on July 14, when Mariner IV completed its epic fly-by of Mars, taking history's first closeup pictures of the Martian surface and greatly increasing our understanding of that planet.

The recently completed Ranger program had previously transmitted more than 17-000 high-quality, closeup pictures of the lunar surface, the last of which were dramatically broadcast on television by Ranger 9 "live from the moon." Forthcoming NASA programs should give us a great deal more information on the structure and composition of the moon, and should provide additional data regarding the Martian surface.

We are now defining programs for flying much larger and more sophisticated payloads and manned applications satellites and laboratories. Many new ideas are under consideration on how to use man's capabilities in space to yield great benefits to mankind in his daily life on earth.

There are opportunities for significant improvements in our earthly existence through general observation of the earth's atmosphere and surface from a manned orbiting spacecraft. Weather forecasting is one specific example. Another is surveying agriculture and forestry acreage and species. In general, we can learn more in every way about the size and shape of the earth. We will know more about the earth's physical surface features; more about its climate, plants, and natural resources; more about its lakes, oceans, and mountains, including the remote and lesser known arid and polar regions.

We are also defining manned missions both in orbit about the moon and for exploration of the moon's surface. In lunar orbit, we can do mapping, surveying, and exploration of the moon by various means. On the surface of the moon, we plan to conduct exploration missions for extended periods of time.

Many of these application will capitalize on the presence of men in space. Scientific and technological groups throughout the United States are developing experiments that will take advantage of man's abilities to use his senses, to manipulate instruments and experiments, to evaluate what he observes, and to conduct investigations in earth orbit, in lunar orbit, and on the surface of the moon. I suggest to those scientists wishing new and promising fields of investigation to consider how best to participate in this program of utilizing and exploring the scientific and technological po-

tentials inherent in these programs, unmanned as well as manned.

Today I have discussed importance of technological power in an era of scientific and technological revolution, and some of the applications and implications of that power. It is clear that science and technology are becoming increasingly major forces in all aspects of human activity. Our national security, our ability to lead the free world and preserve the peace, and our future economic growth are all bound up in the efforts which we expend to excel in the acquisition of new scientific knowledge and the development of new technology.

Our space programs constitute an essential element in these efforts to achieve and maintain scientific and technological leadership.

President Johnson expressed this well, after the successful conclusion of the Gemini V flight, when he said:

"Today the capacity of this country for leadership in this realm is no longer in valid question or dispute any place in the world. Openly, proudly, we are proceeding on our course, willing always to share our knowledge and our gains with all mankind. So, I would repeat, and I would renew again America's invitation to all nations to join together to make this adventure a joint adventure. This globe seems smaller today than ever before."

Aid for the Victim of a Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH GREEN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the victim of a crime is in a very real sense a double victim. He is attacked by the assailant, often brutally beaten, left senseless by the criminal, stripped of his possessions, his body battered and torn. At times, there is only death or permanent injury to one who supports a family or is responsible for the care of children.

The assault victim also loses in another way. Society, which takes upon itself the responsibility of repressing crime and prosecuting those who violate its laws, at present shows little concern for the victim of the mugger, the rapist, or the murderer. Where the accused is provided the important constitutional guarantees of a fair trial and free legal assistance, if necessary, the only interest in the victim on many occasions is that he is in good enough condition to be a possible witness in a prosecution. He is afforded little, even though it is he that has suffered the most.

On October 22, I introduced legislation which would provide some care for the victim.

The problem of how to help the victim is an old one. The ancient penal codes of Babylon, Israel, Greece, Rome, and Anglo-Saxon England required the criminal to reimburse the victim with money or property. The same principle was followed in cases of theft in Connecticut and Massachusetts in the 17th century. During the late 19th century compensation of victims was a topic of discussion at five different international conferences on prison reform, but even though resolutions were passed favoring relief of the victim, nothing further came of the idea. Now Great Britain, as the result of a white paper on the subject, and New Zealand, both have compensation plans, and the State of California recently embarked on such a course.

The distinguished Senator YARBOROUGH, of Texas, has introduced legislation to better balance the values of police protection and constitutional rights for the accused and community care for the victim. His bill would be limited to victims of violent crimes in the District of Columbia and certain other jurisdictions where the Federal Government has general police powers. My own bill has somewhat broader application, and would cover every victim of crime, whether under State or Federal law.

This legislation—H.R. 11818—proposes setting up a Federal Violent Crimes Compensation Commission, a three-man tribunal chosen for their legal prowess, which would consider the claims of those who suffer physical injuries during the commission of crimes. The Commission will decide if the victim is actually an innocent party and it will determine the level of compensation. In setting the compensation the Commission will provide for actual medical costs suffered by the victim, including rehabilitation services involved. In the event of murder, the victim's survivors would be paid, but in no event would the compensation exceed $25,000. A victim of a crime of violence, to receive compensation, would have to give notice of intent to submit his claim within 1 month of injury. In no event would the Commission consider claims that did not total $300. There would be no appeal from the decision of the Commission.

Compensation plans have the backing of some of the Nation's most distinguished jurists. As former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg has pointed out, the victim of a violent crime "has been denied the protection of the laws in a very real sense, and society should assume some responsibility for making him whole."

Such a law, it seems to me, is the very lease we can do for those who innocently suffer from the wanton assaults of those who have no respect for law or authority—or who decide to take the law into their own hands. So far, society has shown little concern for those who must pay the most. There are the days lost from work, the medical costs of recuperation. There is the pain and suffering. There may be years of physical and psychological torment. It is hoped that in a small way this proposal can start the national effort necessary to insure that victims of crimes are protected by society and returned to their jobs and families as quickly and painlessly as possible.

I include the bill in its entirety at this point and I welcome comments and recommendations from members of the bar, penologists, sociologists, and others interested in this area:

H.R. 11818

A bill to provide for the compensation of persons injured by certain criminal acts

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

TITLE I—SHORT TITLE AND DEFINITIONS

Short title

SEC. 101. This Act may be cited as the "Criminal Injuries Compensation Act of 1966".

Definitions

SEC. 102. As used in this Act—

(1) The term "child" means an unmarried person who is under eighteen years of age and includes a stepchild or an adopted child;

(2) The term "Commission" means the Violent Crimes Compensation Commission established by this Act;

(3) The term "dependents" means such relatives of a deceased victim as were wholly or partially dependent upon his income at the time of his death or would have been so dependent but for the incapacity due to the injury from which the death resulted and shall include the child of such victim born after his death;

(4) The term "personal injury" means actual bodily harm and includes pregnancy and mental or nervous shock;

(5) The term "relative" means his spouse, parent, grandparent, stepfather, stepmother, child, grandchild, brother, sister, half brother, half sister, or spouse's parents;

(6) The term "victim" means a person who is injured or killed by any act or omission of any other person which is within the description of any of the offenses specified in section 302 of this Act.

TITLE II—ESTABLISHMENT OF VIOLENT CRIMES COMPENSATION COMMISSION

Violent Crimes Compensation Commission

SEC. 201. (a) There is established a Violent Crimes Compensation Commission which shall be composed of three members to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, solely on the grounds of fitness to perform the duties of the office. The President shall designate one of the members of the Commission who has been a member of the bar of a Federal court or of the highest court of a State for at least eight years, as Chairman.

(b) No member of the Commission shall engage in any other business, vocation, or employment.

(c) The Chairman and one other member of the Commission shall constitute a quorum; and where opinion is divided and only one other member is present, the opinion of the Chairman shall prevail.

(d) The Commission shall have an official seal.

Terms and compensation of members

SEC. 202. (a) The term of office of each member of the Commission taking office after December 31, 1966, shall be eight years, except that (1) the terms of office of the members first taking office after December 31, 1966, shall expire as designated by the President at the time of the appointment, one at the end of four years, one at the end of six years, and one at the end of eight years, after December 31, 1966; and (2) any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed, shall be appointed for the remainder of such term.

(b) Each member of the Commission shall be eligible for reappointment.

(c) A vacancy in the Commission shall not affect its powers.

(d) Any member of the Commission may be removed by the President for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office.

(e) Each member of the Commission shall be compensated at the rate prescribed for level IV of the Federal Executive Salary Schedule of the Federal Executive Salary Act of 1964 except the Chairman who shall be compensated at the rate prescribed for level III of such schedule.

Attorneys, examiners, and employees of the Commission; expenses

SEC. 203. (a) The Commission is authorized to appoint such officers, attorneys, ex-

aminers, and other experts as may be necessary for carrying out its functions under this Act, and the Commission may, subject to the civil service laws, appoint such other officers and employees as are necessary and fix their compensation in accordance with the Classification Act of 1949.

(b) All expenses of the Commission, including all necessary traveling and subsistence expenses of the Commission outside the District of Columbia incurred by the members or employees of the Commission under its orders, shall be allowed and paid on the presentation of itemized vouchers therefor approved by the Commission or by any individual it designates for that purpose.

Office for service of process

SEC. 204. The Commission shall maintain an office for the service of process and papers within the District of Columbia.

Powers and procedures of the Commission

SEC. 205. (a) Upon an application made to the Commission under the provisions of this Act, the Commission shall fix a time and place for a hearing on such application and shall cause notice thereof to be given to the applicant.

(b) For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act, the Commission, or any member thereof, may hold such hearings, sit and act at such times and places, and take such testimony as the Commission or such member may deem advisable. Any member of the Commission may administer oaths or affirmations to witnesses appearing before the Commission or before such member. The Commission shall have such powers of subpena and compulsion of attendance and production of documents as are conferred upon the Securities and Exchange Commission by subsection (c) of section 18 of the Act of August 26, 1935, and the provisions of subsection (d) of such section shall be applicable to all persons summoned by subpena or otherwise to attend or testify or produce such documents as are described therein before the Commission, except that no subpena shall be issued except under the signature of the Chairman, and application to any court for aid in enforcing such subpena may be made only by said Chairman. Subpenas shall be served by any person designated by the said Chairman.

(c) In any case in which the person entitled to make an application is a child, the application may be made on his behalf by any person acting as his parent or guardian. In any case in which the person entitled to make an application is mentally defective, the application may be made on his behalf by his guardian or such other individual authorized to administer his estate.

(d) Where any application is made to the Commission under this Act, the applicant, and any attorney assisting the Commission, shall be entitled to appear and be heard.

(e) Any other person may appear and be heard who satisfies the Commission that he has a substantial interest in the proceedings.

(f) Where under this Act any person is entitled to appear and be heard by the Commission, that person may appear in person or by his attorney.

(g) Every person appearing under the preceding subsections of this section shall have the right to procduce evidence and to cross-examine witnesses.

(h) The Commission may receive in evidence any statement, document, information, or matter that may in the opinion of the Commission contribute to its functions under this Act, whether or not such statement, document, information, or matter would be admissible in a court of law.

(i) If any person has been convicted of any offense with respect to an act or omission on which a claim under this Act is based, proof of that conviction shall, unless an appeal against the conviction or a petition for a rehearing or certiorari in respect of the charge is pending or a new trial or rehearing has been ordered, be taken as conclusive evidence that the offense has been committed.

Attorneys' fees

SEC. 206. (a) The Commission may, as a part of any order entered under this Act, determine and allow reasonable attorney fees, which if the award is more than $1,000 shall not exceed 15 per centum of the amount awarded as compensation under section 301 of this Act, to be paid out of but not in addition to the amount of such compensation, to the attorneys representing the applicant.

(b) Any attorney who charges, demands, receives, or collects for services rendered in connection with any proceedings under this Act any amount in excess of that allowed under this section, if any compensation is paid, shall be fined not more than $2,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

Finality of decision

SEC. 207. Except as otherwise provided in this Act, orders and decisions of the Commission shall be final.

Regulations

SEC. 208. In the performance of its functions, the Commission is authorized to make, promulgate, issue, rescind, and amend rules and regulations prescribing the procedures to be followed in the filing of applications and the proceedings under this Act, and such other matters as the Commission deems appropriate.

TITLE III—AWARD AND PAYMENT OF COMPENSATION

Awarding compensation

SEC. 301. (a) In any case in which a person is injured or killed by any act or omission of any other person which is within the description of the offenses listed in section 302 of this Act the Commission may, in its discretion, upon an application, order the payment of compensation in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

(b) The Commission may order the payment of compensation—

(1) to or on behalf of the injured person; or

(2) in the case of the personal injury of the victim, where the compensation is for pecuniary loss suffered or expenses incurred by any person responsible for the maintenance of the victim, to that person; or

(3) in the case of the death of the victim, to or for the benefit of the dependents of the deceased victim, or any one or more of such dependents.

(c) For the purpose of this Act, a person shall be deemed to have intended an act or omission notwithstanding that by reason of age, insanity, drunkeness, or otherwise he was legally incapable of forming a criminal intent.

(d) In determining whether to make an order under this section, the Commission may consider any circumstances it determines to be relevant, including the behavior of the victim which directly or indirectly contributed to his injury or death.

(e) No order may be made under this section unless the Commission, supported by substantial evidence, finds that—

(1) such an act or omission did occur; and

(2) the injury or death resulted from such act or omission.

(f) An order may be made under this section whether or not any person is prosecuted or convicted of any offense arising out of such act or omission. Upon application from the Attorney General, the Commission may suspend proceedings under this Act for such period as it deems appropriate on the ground that a prosecution for an offense arising out of such act or omission has been commenced or is imminent.

Offenses to which this Act applies

SEC. 302. The Commission may order the payment of compensation in accordance with the provisions of this Act for personal injury or death which resulted from the commission of a criminal offense which is a felony under State or Federal law.

Nature of the compensation

SEC. 303. The Commission may order the payment of compensation under this Act for—

(a) expenses actually and reasonably incurred as a result of the personal injury or death of the victim; and

(b) any other pecuniary loss resulting from the personal injury or death of the victim which the Commission determines to be reasonable.

Limitations upon awarding compensation

SEC. 304. (a) No order for the payment of compensation shall be made under section 301 of this Act unless (1) the Commission has been notified within thirty days after the date of the personal injury or death that an application will be filed with the Commission for the payment of compensation under this Act, and (2) such application has been made within one year after the date of the personal injury or death. Such notice shall be filed with the Commission in such manner and in such form as the Commission may by regulation prescribe.

(b) The Commission shall not enter an order for the payment of compensation under this Act unless it determines that the sum of (1) the expenses incurred as the result of the personal injury to, or the death of, a victim of a criminal offense, and (2) any other pecuniary loss arising out of such personal injury or death, exceeds $300. If the Commission determines that such sum exceeds $300, it may order the payment of compensation in an amount not to exceed $25,000. Nothing in this Act shall be construed as authorizing compensation for damage to or loss of any personal or real property.

(c) No compensation shall be awarded if the victim—

(1) is a relative of the offender; or

(2) was at the time of the personal injury or death of the victim living with the offender as his wife or her husband or as a member of the offender's household.

Terms of the order

SEC. 305. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this section any order for the payment of compensation under this Act may be made on such terms as the Commission deems appropriate.

(b) The Commission shall deduct from any payments awarded under section 301 of this Act any payments received by the victim or by any of his dependents from the offender or from any person on behalf of the offender, or from the United States (except those received under this Act), a State or any of its subdivisions, for personal injury or death compensable under this Act.

TITLE IV—MISCELLANEOUS

Reports to the Congress

SEC. 401. The Commission shall transmit to the President and to the Congress annually a report of its activities under this Act including the name of each applicant, a brief description of the facts in each case, and the amount, if any, of compensation awarded.

Penalties

SEC. 402. The provisions of section 1001 of title 18 of the United States Code shall apply to any applicaton, statement, document, or information presented to the Commission under this Act.

Appropriations

SEC. 403. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Effective date

SEC. 404. This Act shall take effect on July 1, 1966.

United Nations Speech of Congressman Barratt O'Hara

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, the Honorable BARRATT O'HARA, of Illinois, now a delegate from the United States to the 20th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, made the following speech on the floor of the Assembly:

ADDRESS BY HON. BARRATT O'HARA BEFORE THE LEGAL COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, ON TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO PROMOTE THE TEACHING, STUDY, DISSEMINATION, AND WIDER APPRECIATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Distinguished colleagues, I should like to state that, as a lawyer, I can think of no item on the agenda of the General Assembly on which it gives me greater pleasure to speak. I can think of no audience more seasoned than this by experience, learning and dedication, to share in the making of vital determinations in this area of our deep and mutual interest.

I heartily express my personal appreciation as well as that of my Government to Ambassador Dadzie and Mr. Bal for their lucid and informative statements. We are grateful to the special committee for the excellent work they have done as well as to the Secretariat for the helpful information they so kindly and competently supplied.

As the report of the special committee indicates and as we have heard, many of the most important contributions in this field can be made on a bilateral basis, and many have been. There is a need for multilateral effort, but, in planning that effort, full account needs to be taken of what otherwise is being done. I should like to point with what I hope is pardonable pride to the record of my own Government and private American foundations in this field, both prior to and in response to resolution 1816 of the 17th General Assembly and resolution 1968 C of the 18th General Assembly.

I refer to the extensive comments of my Government contained in documents A/5455, addendum 1 and A/5744, addendum 2. I shall merely touch briefly on what is more fully described there.

My Government maintains a number of programs in the field of international law, including scholarships and fellowships, distribution of books and publications, and exchanges of professors, lecturers, and specialists. Efforts are being undertaken so that these agencies will be able to respond to additional requests stimulated by the welcome increase of activity and interest by the United Nations and member nations in this field. The Department of State awards approximately 150 grants annually in the field of law. Of these, roughly two-thirds are to foreign students to enable them to study law in the United States. The remainder include grants to foreign professors and specialists who come to the United States for short periods, and to American professors and students. These grants are primarily for graduate study in international and comparative law.

In the private sector—and here again with what, I hope, is justifiable pride—more than 250 colleges and universities offer training in international law. Many of these schools maintain scholarship programs for foreign scholars and programs to support research in international law by scholars of diverse nationalities, whether student or faculty. A number of leading law schools, like Harvard, Yale, Columbia, New York University, Chicago, and Stanford, offer extensive studies in international law. Certain universities participate in student and faculty exchanges with foreign universities and nations in the field of international law. Now, we think that all of this is worthwhile.

Professional societies and private foundations have extensive programs relating to international law. Professional groups such as the American Society of International Law, the American Bar Association through its committee on world peace through law, and the American branch of the International Law Association issue learned publications, hold professional conferences and sponsor research projects. Mr. Chairman, I should also like to mention the Federal Bar Association which is composed of lawyers working for the Federal Government.

Foundations such as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Asia Foundation have made grants for study and travel, and sponsored international conferences and made studies. They have provided grants to universities and societies, located, among other places, in India, Burma, and the United Arab Republic. The Carnegie endowment is presently sponsoring the preparation of a basic textbook or manual of international law, with the various chapters being written by outstanding scholars representing all the major geographical areas, legal systems, and traditions.

I have only touched the surface. Nor do we intend to settle for that and rest on the record.

In response to the resolutions of the General Assembly, particularly resolution 1816 (XVII), and in view of the importance the United States accords to the teaching, study, dissemination, and wider appreciation of international law, my Government is planning to assist in the holding of a special international seminar for lawyers, largely from the newer and developing states. It is presently anticipated that the seminar will take place in New York City for about a month in August and September 1966. It is anticipated that young lawyers, preferably in government service, and advanced law students will study salient problems of international law and organization under the leadership of a distinguished faculty. After the seminar, we would hope that the participants will have an opportunity to follow the United Nations General Assembly, acquaint themselves with methods of work of the Office of the Legal Adviser of the Department of State, and visit leading American universities.

The details of the program will be worked out by nongovernmental sources. The U.S. Government will provide full travel grants and per diem to participants. My Government has expressly requested me to invite my colleagues in this committee to help recruit the most qualified participants. Any such help, I can assure you, would be greatly appreciated.

In light of contributions from various quarters, my Government wishes to insure that in this field of such paramount importance there is no waste due to duplication. Each country, each institution, must contribute what it is best, if not uniquely, capable of contributing. My Government has studied the report of the committee with this basic criterion in mind. We have asked ourselves: What aspects of the great need in the field can best be met by multilateral United Nations efforts?

We suggest the following:

The distribution of United Nations publications such as the yearbooks of the International Law Commission, the United Nations Juridical Yearbook, and the invaluable Repertoire of Practice on as wide a basis as possible is of great importance.

The study on training in international law presently being conducted by UNESCO and referred to in paragraph 15 of the special committee's report represents a valuable step toward the type of capital investment in knowledge and understanding that is called for.

My delegation also generally approves the recommendations set forth in paragraphs 36 to 40, that international law be given full attention by the United Nations Training and Research Institute.

My delegation also supports the idea of on-the-job training in the form of intern programs. We would be in favor of such programs at the United Nations headquarters or at the seats of the specialized agencies. Where the training is to take place at the headquarters we would be inclined to explore further the suggestion contained in paragraph 38(b)(i), that the program, insofar as possible, be coordinated with the United Nations Training and Research Institute.

As a natural consequence of the views which I have just expressed, my delegation finds much of merit in the proposed 3-year program set forth in the special committee's report.

Before proceeding to a somewhat detailed examination of parts of this proposed program we are constrained to call attention to the following. As the Secretary General himself has stated, the financial crisis of this Organization has—and I quote—"by no means been dispelled." The Secretary General also stated that the conference program has reached almost unmanageable proportions. It seems clear, particularly in light of the very informative discussion in the committee yesterday, that financing a program of technical assistance in international law through the regular budget would—as a practical matter—most certainly mean additional appropriations. The decision of the technical assistance committee, discussed at some length in the committee yesterday, that it would not be possible under existing EPTA legislation to permit consideration of requests for assistance in the general field of international law, must also be taken into account.

These are sobering facts, Mr. Chairman, facts which must be borne in mind when we examine each proposal for action. These facts make it even more strongly incumbent on us to ask, with respect to each proposal, whether it would duplicate existing efforts, and whether a multinational organization represents the optimum means of meeting the need. They make it incumbent upon us to establish a list of priorities to insure optimum utilization of such funds as may become available through voluntary contributions or otherwise.

I should now like to turn to the program proposed for the first year, limiting, for the time being, my specific comments on the committee's proposals to that year.

In general, it comports with our view that one of the most important functions the United Nations can serve is as an information center and clearinghouse, to pinpoint needs, elicit resources, and match the two. The United Nations, in short, is perhaps uniquely equipped to serve as catalyst for increased bilateral efforts.

Now, one or two particular matters. So far as co-sponsorship of international meetings is concerned, I should like again to call attention to the Secretary General's plea for nonproliferation of conferences. It is to be hoped that any conference will, in large part, be paid for by the host governments or institutions, with the participation of the United Nations or UNESCO being sufficient to assure that the purposes and mode of operation of the conference are such as to justify the use of the name of the interna-

tional organization. And that, I think, is important.

Insofar as item VII set forth in paragraph 98(a) of the committee's report is concerned, it would seem advisable to await the completion of the study of training in international law being conducted by UNESCO before determining that a model curriculum is desirable. Curriculum is, after all, a function of the skill of the particular teacher, the level of the students, the quality of the library and the nature of other courses being offered—in short, basically a matter for each school to decide for itself.

Subject to the approval by the governing board of the United Nations Training and Research Institute, as my earlier remarks indicate, my Government would hope to see international law play a significant role in the training and research programs of the Institute.

Mr. Chairman, these comments cover only the smaller portion of the specific suggestions contained in the report of the special committee. Since others of these suggestions will doubtless be discussed and perhaps made the subject of proposals before this committee, I should like to reserve the right to speak again as the occasion might require. May I simply note at this point, with respect to the proposals of the special committee for the second and third and succeeding years of the program, that my delegation particularly favors the provision of United Nations legal publications, the provision of advisory services, if they are requested by developing countries, and the award of fellowships for study of legal aspects of U.N. activities. It would hope that priority would be accorded to these proposals. While there is certainly merit in courses and seminars, these are less well-suited to U.N. contributions. We do have doubt about the United Nations giving subventions to international nongovernment institutions active in the field of international law, however meritorious their work. May I now make a few very general remarks on the question of the financing of any projects of assistance in international law, and the question of the practical steps which the sixth committee might take at this stage.

In light of the various financial considerations which have been brought to the attention of the committee, some of which I have alluded to today and many of which were placed before us yesterday, by delegation believes that a renewed call by the Secretary-General for voluntary contributions, from both governmental and private sources, represents the most practical step open to us at this time to obtain the requisite funds. We are hopeful that, in addition, some funds will be available through the expanded program for technical assistance, for that part of any program—which may well be a significant part—for which a case can be made out for EPTA assistance under existing legislation.

Regardless of what financial approach is adopted, Mr. Chairman, it will not be possible for the committee to know exactly how large a sum will be available to it. Accordingly, in our view, it would be wise for any action by the sixth committee at this stage to include the establishment of—

First, certain priorities among possible projects of assistance;

Second, certain guidelines governing the execution of these projects and the use of funds which become available; and

Finally, an advisory committee such as that suggested in paragraph 103 of the report of the special committee, charged with the task of assisting in carrying forward as much of the program as is possible in view of the funds that are made available.

I should like to add one final note, Mr. Chairman. My Government notes with appreciation the tentative commitments made by UNESCO as set forth in document A/C.6/L.565 and as further explained by the distinguished representative of UNESCO yesterday. We find the possibility of a training course for Africa, should the necessary financing become available, of particular interest. In our view this project might well be considered a useful opportunity for cooperation between the United Nations and UNESCO in the planning and execution of technical assistance projects in the field of international law.

In this connection, my Government would like to associate itself with the remarks of our distinguished colleague from Belgium that the maximum benefit will be derived from such a program, and the ends of the international organization involved will be best served, if, and only if, the subjects taught are of a strictly legal nature and are in those areas where the law is well established and not a matter of major contention between the differing legal, political, and social systems of the world. The topics suggested—international rivers, the role of law and the lawyer in the foreign office, certain aspects of treaty law, and the law of the United Nations—would largely seem to comport with these criteria.

A Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial from the September 1965 issue of the Volta Review, entitled "A Challenge—The National Technical Institute for the Deaf," be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A CHALLENGE—THE NATIONAL TECHNICAL INSTITUTE FOR THE DEAF

The bill establishing a new National Technical Institute for the Deaf was signed into law by President Lyndon B. Johnson on June 8, 1965, on the lawn of the White House. Among those who viewed the signing of the bill and who later received one of the many pens used by the President to sign his name, were such stanch friends of the deaf as Senator LISTER HILL and Representative HUGH L. CAREY, both of whom introduced in their respective branches of Congress bill for the new Institute.

Also in the audience were representatives of virtually every national organization concerned with the education and rehabilitation of the deaf and hard of hearing. The day was hot, and the enthusiasm was warm for the most recent enactment of law which has as its special concern the creation of new opportunities for obtaining a technical education by the deaf.

There was also concern expressed for the ultimate nature of the National Technical Institute for the Deaf. If this institution is organized and implemented on a positive and high level, it will be looked back upon as one of the most significant moves of the century in creating new opportunities for the deaf. By its very association with a university for hearing students in an urban area, a requirement written into the law itself, the Institute can be expected to provide many opportunities which have long been sought by the deaf and those interested in them. By emphasizing the development of educational and social skills necessary for work in a normally hearing community, there should be the maximum preparation for prosperous careers in whatever fields are chosen. Among those emphasized will certainly be such areas as engineering, scientific technician, drafting, science, and others.

If, on the other hand, the new Institute is organized along the lines of an extension of the vocational programs of present schools for the deaf, it may be looked upon by historians in our field as a tragedy. If there is not a broad approach to the jobs of the future, then we will have advanced little from where we are today. If there is not a coordinated and cooperative affiliation with industry, labor organizations, professional organizations, and civic groups, then the student graduating from such an institute will have little more to look forward to than he has today.

Unquestionably, there should be on the 12-man advisory committee which selects the university to which the Institute will be attached, some people who are knowledgeable about the education of the deaf. There should be a successful technically trained deaf person, too. There must also be a number of representatives of those parts of the American public who will be expected to accept the graduates of this Institute, once it is in operation. Fresh insights from the fields of engineering, labor, management, and education in general will be imperative if this Institute is to serve its proper purpose. Of utmost importance, also, will be the qualifications of the Director of the Institute. If his background is limited strictly to the education of the deaf, the Institute may have difficulty fulfilling the high purpose set for it by the people of the United States.

There is no precedent for this school. No one else has even attempted what is to be attempted under this new law. It can succeed, or fail miserably. The deciding factor will be the uninhibited foresight of those selected by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to serve on the advisory committee.

TEXT OF PUBLIC LAW 89-36: THE NATIONAL TECHNICAL INSTITUTE FOR THE DEAF

An act to provide for the establishment and operation of a National Technical Institute for the Deaf

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "National Technical Institute for the Deaf Act."

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 2. For the purpose of providing a residential facility for postsecondary technical training and education for persons who are deaf in order to prepare them for successful employment, there are authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year such sums as may be necessary for the establishment and operation, including construction and equipment, of a National Technical Institute for the Deaf, including sums necessary for the acquisition of property, both real and personal, and for the construction of buildings and other facilities for such Institute.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 3. As used in this Act—

(a) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

(b) The term "institution of higher education" means an educational institution in any State or in the District of Columbia which (1) admits as regular students only persons having a certificate of graduation from a school providing secondary education, or the recognized equivalent of such a certificate, (2) is legally authorized within such State (or in the District of Columbia) to provide a program of education beyond secondary education, (3) provides an edu-

cational program for which it awards a bachelor's degree, (4) includes one or more professional or graduate schools, (5) is a public or nonprofit private institution, and (6) is accredited by a nationally recognized accrediting agency or association. For purposes of this subsection, the Commissioner of Education shall publish a list of nationally recognized accrediting agencies or associations which he determines to be reliable authority as to the quality of training offered.

(c) The term "construction" includes construction and initial equipment of new buildings, expansion, remodeling, and alteration of existing buildings and equipment thereof, and acquisition of land; including architect's services, but excluding off-site improvements.

PROPOSALS

SEC. 4. Any institution of higher education which desires to enter into an agreement with the Secretary to establish and operate a National Technical Institute for the Deaf shall submit a proposal therefor at such time, in such manner, and containing such information as may be prescribed by the Secretary.

AGREEMENT TO ESTABLISH INSTITUTE

SEC. 5. (a) The Secretary, after consultation with the National Advisory Board created by section 6, is authorized to enter into an agreement with an institution of higher education for the establishment and operation, including construction and equipment, of a National Technical Institute for the Deaf. The Secretary, in considering proposals from institutions of higher education to enter into an agreement under this Act, shall give preference to institutions which are located in metropolitan industrial areas.

(b) The agreement shall—

(1) provide that Federal funds appropriated for the benefit of the Institute will be used only for the purposes for which paid and in acocrdance with the applicable provisions of this Act and the agreement made pursuant thereto;

(2) provide that the Board of Trustees or other governing body of the institution, subject to the approval of the Secretary, will appoint an advisory group to advise the Director of the Institute in formulating and carrying out the basic policies governing its establishment and operation, which group shall include persons who are professionally concerned with education and technical training at the postsecondary school level, persons who are professionally concerned with activities relating to education and training of the deaf, and members of the public familiar with the need for services provided by the Institute;

(3) provide that the Board of Trustees or other governing body of the institution will make an annual report to the Secretary. The Secretary shall transmit the report of the institution to the Congress with such comments and recommendations as he may deem appropriate;

(4) include such other conditions as the Secretary, after consultation with the National Advisory Board, deems necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act; and

(5) provide that any laborer or mechanic employed by any contractor or subcontractor in the performance of work on any construction aided by Federal funds appropriated for the benefit of the Institute will be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing on similar construction in the locality as determined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276a—276a-5); and the Secretary of Labor shall have, with respect to the labor standards specified in this paragraph, the authority and functions set forth in Reorganization Plan Numbered 14 of 1950 (15 F.R. 3176; 5 U.S.C. 133z-15) and section 2 of the Act of June 13, 1934, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276c).

(c) If within twenty years after the completion of any construction (except minor remodeling or alteration) for which such funds have been paid—

(A) the facility ceases to be used for the purposes for which it was constructed or the agreement is terminated, unless the Secretary determines that there is good cause for releasing the institution from its obligation, or

(B) the institution ceases to be the owner of the facility,

the United States shall be entitled to recover from the applicant or other owner of the facility an amount which bears to the then value of the facility the same ratio as the amount of such Federal funds bore to the cost of the facility financed with the aid of such funds. Such value shall be determined by agreement of the parties or by action brought in the United States district court for the district in which the facility is situated.

NATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD ON ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL TECHNICAL INSTITUTE FOR THE DEAF

SEC. 6. (a) There is hereby established a National Advisory Board on Establishment of the National Technical Institute for the Deaf, which shall consist of twelve persons, not regular full-time employees of the United States, appointed by the Secretay without regard to the civil service laws. The Secretary shall appoint one of the members to serve as Chairman. The appointed members shall be selected from among leaders in fields related to education and training of the deaf and other fields of education, and from members of the public familiar with the need for services provided by the Institute. The Commissioner of Education and the Commissioner of Vocational Rehabilitation shall be ex officio members of the Board.

(b) Members of the Board, while serving on business of the Board, shall be entitled to receive compensation at rates fixed by the Secretary, but not exceeding $100 per day, including traveltime, and while so serving away from their homes or regular places of business, they may be allowed travel expenses including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 73b-2) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

(c) It shall be the function of the Board (1) to review proposals from institutions of higher education which offer to enter into an agreement with the Secretary for the construction and operation of a National Technical Institute for the Deaf, (2) to make recommendations to the Secretary with respect to such proposals, and (3) to make such other recommendations to the Secretary concerning the establishment and operation of the National Technical Institute as may be appropriate.

(d) After the Secretary enters into an agreement under this Act, the Board shall cease to exist.

TESTIMONY EXPLAINING THE AIMS AND PURPOSES OF THE NATIONAL TECHNICAL INSTITUTE FOR THE DEAF ACT

(May 25 (legislative day, May 24), 1965—Senator LISTER HILL, From the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare)

SUMMARY OF THE BILL

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare would be authorized to enter into an agreement with an institution of higher education for the establishment, construction, equipping, and operation of a National Technical Institute for the Deaf for the purpose of providing a residential facility for post-secondary technical training and education for persons who are deaf in order to prepare them for successful employment. A 12-member National Advisory Board on the Establishment of a National Technical Institute for the Deaf would be appointed by the Secretary to review proposals from institutions of higher education which desire such an institute, to make recommendations to the Secretary concerning such proposals, and to make such other recommendation concerning the establishment and operation of the National Technical Institute as may be appropriate. The Commissioners of Education and of Vocational Rehabilitation would be ex officio members of the Board.

NEED FOR THE LEGISLATION

There are approximately 3,000 deaf students above the age of 16 who leave or graduate from State and local schools and classes for the deaf each year. A large number have indicated their intense interest and desire for further educational opportunities. Dr. Leonard M. Elstad, president of Gallaudet College, the only institution for higher education for the deaf in the world, in his testimony reported that over 600 student applications were received and reviewed this year. He reported that 275 of these students will be admitted in September 1965.

The other 325 students who could not meet the entrance requirements of the college, by the very act of submitting an application expressed their desire for further education. This number coupled with some 75 to 100 annual withdrawals from the college at various levels from freshmen to seniors, in addition to numerous other deaf persons among the unemployed or underemployed who desire further training, indicates that well over 400 students each year would be eligible for a program that could be offered in a National Technical Institute for the Deaf.

The recent report on the "Education of the Deaf" prepared by the National Advisory Committee on Education of the Deaf in 1964, appointed by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, stated that "five-sixths of our deaf adults work in manual jobs as contrasted to only one-half of our hearing population." If the door to further educational opportunity is not opened for the group who could not be admitted to Gallaudet College, including other qualified students, they have almost no other alternative than to join the ranks of the nonskilled labor force.

Population and enrollment

The Office of Education estimates that there are 37,000 school-age seriously hearing impaired children in our country. According to the American Annals of the Deaf (January issue, 1965), 83 public and private residential schools are attended by approximately 18,400 deaf students. About 12,300 attend 355 public and private special day schools and classes for the deaf. It is estimated that 6,000 additional students not accounted for by the American Annals of the Deaf are either in public school classes that do not provide necessary special education services for these children or they are not in school at all.

Special problems in education of the deaf

Dr. S. Richard Silverman, director of the Central Institute for the Deaf and professor of audiology at Washington University Medical School in St. Louis, in his testimony before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor on April 27, 1965, described the educational problems brought about severe hearing impairment. A portion of this statement was as follows:

"For the persons we are here concerned with, the essential and primary channel for receiving the acoustic symbols we call speech is either absent or severely restricted. All the skills of communication that depend on learning over this channel are adversely affected. From infancy to early school age, the chief mode of communciation for the normal hearing child is auditory. The child

hears and learns to talk from what he hears. Furthermore, he not only learns how to communicate; he also learns what to communicate.

"For a child who does not have the daily experience of listening to language, its acquisition is indeed difficult, if not impossible for some, even within struction. The teacher is confronted with the task of communicating language to a child in the absence of the sensory system considered to be essential for its acquisition.

"The educator, therefore, must seek ways to manipulate information so that it can be transmitted over whatever sensory system or combination of systems are available—such as vision, touch, and residual hearing. At the same time, we are concerned about the content of what we communicate—language and subject matter, as it is influenced by the demands of society and the child himself."

A young child who has a substantial or total hearing loss, acquired at birth or before the normal age for learning language through hearing, has a serious educational handicap. Every attempt has been made by educators of the deaf to accelerate the acquisition of reading, language, and communication skills by deaf children. For the most part, the objective has been to teach the basic language and communication skills well enough at the elementary level so that these children could go on with their education or further vocational training in our colleges, universities, and vocational training facilities for normal hearing students.

Philosophically, this goal would appear to be a reasonable one. Many educators have been convinced that this kind of preparation is the best way for the deaf child to become a full participant socially and economically in a hearing world. Numerous individual success stories can be and have been produced to support this theory. However, the facts reveal that for the general deaf population this has not been achieved.

Most residential schools for the deaf offer programs that provide for the equivalent of an eighth grade education. Very few of the specialized day school programs go beyond this level. Students desiring more than this are expected to enroll in regular high school and other vocational schools for the hearing. This is a commendable objective and its practice should be encouraged wherever and whenever possible. However, because of the serious communication problem involved a relatively small percentage of these children can really communicate well enough to do this.

A NATIONAL TECHNICAL INSTITUTE FOR THE DEAF

The establishment of a National Technical Institute for the Deaf would, by providing a broad flexible curriculum, be able to meet the many and varied special needs of able young deaf adults who seek the opportunity for further education and training. Adequately trained staff members, who are resourceful, flexible, and imaginative would be required for the successful operation of a technical training program.

Size of the Institute

Since the estimates that have been made regarding the number of students who would be able to profit from a specialized program indicate that at least 400 students each year could qualify for enrollment, provision should be made initially to enroll at least 200 students each year with adequate planning for necessary future expansion. The special needs of individual students for program planning purposes would be determined following complete physical, psychological, audiological evaluations, and a program of orientation and guidance counseling. The goals established for some students could be accomplished in 1 year. The objectives for others might require 2, 3, or even 4 years to complete.

Program objectives

The principal objective of the institute should be the employment of the student upon completion of a prescribed educational and training program. The environment of the school, the curriculum, and general living conditions, along with health and recreational services, should be designed to help the student achieve a high degree of personal development and a sense of social responsibility. The educational and training program should be supplemented by varied civic and social group activities to provide the proper environment for developing concepts of responsible citizenship and social competence.

The focus of effort of the entire faculty on behalf of the students attending the Institute should be directed toward the goals of successful employment and preparation for full participation in community living.

Location

The National Technical Institute for the Deaf should be located in a large metropolitan industrial area so that it could be designed to serve the special needs of deaf youth from any community in the Nation. The area should also have a wide variety of nationally representative types of industrial activities in order to make it possible for the student to return to his home for eventual employment. The Institute should be affiliated with a major university for the administration of its program. This would facilitate securing the medical, audiological, psychological, and psychiatric services needed to supplement appropriate guidance and counseling services provided by the staff of the Institute.

The community where the Institute is located should be able to offer a variety of opportunities for training and experience in a wide range of modern industrial settings. The community should be one that would generally be receptive to a program of this nature and be sympathetic with training needs of the deaf.

Curriculum

The curriculum of the Institute should be very flexible so as to permit a variety of adaptations to meet the needs of individual students without the absolute necessity to conform to traditional accreditation standards, such as course credits, fixed period scheduling, and other curriculum restrictions. Courses of study should be available to meet the needs of students attending the Institute. Upon successful completion of a prescribed curriculum, each student should receive a certificate or other formal recognition that would attest to what has been accomplished. The standards and quality of training offered in all areas will have to be high enough to meet the usual requirements as recommended by labor, industry, and professional associations, including certifying and licensing agencies.

The program offered should be broad enough to include a basic or preparatory curriculum of a remedial nature in such subjects as English, reading, science, and mathematics as may be required to prepare deaf students to take the postsecondary courses intended to increase their educational and work skills to enable them to become qualified candidates for employment at levels commensurate with their ability and training. A supplementary curriculum including such courses as humanities, government, history, and economics should be offered to properly prepare students for living in a modern urban society. A comprehensive suporting curriculum in such subject areas as physics, chemistry, biology, and higher mathematics, should be offered where required as prerequisites for training in technical areas.

The course work offered in preparatory, supplemental, and support curriculums should follow a logical sequence in preparing students for training and experience in a wide variety of technologies. The following suggested technological programs are illustrative of some of the kinds of training opportunities that should be made available to deaf students:

Automotive technology: mechanics and body repair, automotive refrigeration, diesel engine technology; aviation technology: mechanics and engine repair, drafting; building and construction: carpentry, plumbing, architectural drawing; paramedical and chemical technology; chemistry, microbiology, dental prosthetics, optical instruments, embalming; engineering technology: technical math, physics and chemistry, technical drafting, enginering fundamental, surveying, technical report writing; business accounting, data processing, computer operation, programing; commercial art: basic design, basic drawing, dress design; electronic engineering technology: rado and television repair, industrial electronics; technical graphic arts: lithography, offset; mechanical and metals technology: machine shop, welding, air conditioning, sheet metal work, refrigeration, tool and die.

An enrichment curriculum should be made available to those students who have the ability and desire to pursue further professional training in other institutions of higher learning. Such courses as literature, history, psychology, sociology, foreign language, philosophy, and political sciences could be offered in the Institute itself or arrangements for study in these areas could be made for the student in other regular university programs.

Essential to the overall program would be the opportunity for continued instruction in communication skills. These would include work toward improving speech and speech reading skills in addition to a continuing support program of auditory training.

Administration

The Institute should be directed by a person who has had professional training and experience as an educator of the deaf. He should be qualified to recruit and direct a competent staff that would be able to organize all the resources of a community and other institutions of higher education in the area in order that the needs of students to be enrolled could be served. All staff members, including counseling, placement, psychological, and instruction specialists, should be adequately trained to deal with deaf students from all types of schools and educational backgrounds. These personnel should know and understand deaf students thoroughly, including their special education and social problems.

Under the provisions of the bill, the governing body of the institution of higher education, subject to the approval of the Secretary, would appoint an advisory group to advise the Director of the Institute in formulating and carrying out the basic policies governing its establishment and operation. Because of the Federal support for the National Technical Institute for the Deaf, it would be anticipated that congressioanl representation would be included in the membership of the advisory group among those who are designated as members of the public familiar with the needs of educational services for the deaf.

Placement officers on the staff of the Institute should provide for initial placement and followup services directly as well as through appropriate liaison with community vocational rehabilitation agencies throughout the Nation.

As a byproduct, in providing this kind of expert service, the Institute could serve as a practice teaching center for the training of special guidance and rehabilitation counselors of the deaf.

One of the responsibilities of the placement guidance and counseling staff should be to maintain continuous liaison with personnel in all schools and classes for the deaf, vocational rehabilitation agencies, and industry, in order to keep these individuals informed and up to date on all pertinent activities of the Institute and to kep the Institute informed about the employment needs of industry.

Standards for admission

Admission to the Institute should be based on a complete comprehensive evaluation of each student's potential for successfully completing one of the courses of study offered at the Institute. The information needed for this purpose as a part of the application process should include a review of medical, psychological, and audiological records; academic achievement and school progress reports; and recommendations from teachers, school principal and others who are acquainted with the student. Wherever possible personal interviews with potential students at the Institute, at home, or in school should be made by the appropriate staff members of the Institute.

A period of orientation, evaluation, and counseling at the Institute in order to properly prepare the new student for full participation in the program, should be available to those who need it.

Research

In addition to serving as a practice teaching center for the training of teachers, instructors, and rehabilitation counselors the Institute will serve as a research facility for the study of educational problems of the deaf. The Institute will be an excellent proving ground for the development of new and better educational teaching techniques. Such information will be useful to all programs where deaf children are taught.

During the hearings the question was raised as to whether the language of S. 1650 and H.R. 7031 authorized the Institute to conduct research. On this point the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare submitted the following letter:

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D.C., May 21, 1965.

Hon. LISTER HILL,
Chairman, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR HILL: This is in response to your request for clarification of the question raised by Senator MURPHY in the May 17, 1965, subcommittee hearing on S. 1650 regarding plans for including research as an essential component of the program to be conducted at the National Technical Institute for the Deaf.

The concept that the National Technical Institute should serve as a focal point for research related to the education of the deaf was thoroughly discussed in numerous planning sessions that preceded the presentation of our testimony in support of this legislation. The Institute would be an excellent proving ground for the development and evaluation of new and better ways for teaching deaf children. The knowledge that results would be useful to all programs where deaf children are taught.

Our plans definitely include recommending that the research component of the Institute be charged with the responsibility for organizing, conducting, and interpreting research, and for disseminating research information on all educational aspects related to the education of the deaf.

In our opinion the National Technical Institute for the Deaf Act authorizes conducting research as outlined above.

If you have any further questions on this matter, I hope you will get in touch with me.

Sincerely yours,

WILBUR J. COHEN,
Assistant Secretary.

Physical facilities

The Institute should have a sufficient number of flexible classroom accommodations to handle at least 50 groups or classes simultaneously; dormitories for 600 residential students equipped with recreation room, social center, reading and study areas; laboratory and shop facilities for all technological and occupational programs; a special library and instructional media center; group auditory training equipment available in all classroom and other meeting or assembly areas; an auditorium adequate to accommodate the entire student body and staff at one seating; and a completely equipped guidance and counseling and psychological services center.

PROGRAMS FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE DEAF

The National Institute for the Deaf is a most worthwhile, constructive, and long overdue measure. However, the committee regards it as only a step in what should become a comprehensive program to meet the educational needs of the deaf.

The Advisory Committee on the Education of the Deaf appointed by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare pursuant to an authorization contained in the 1965 appropriation for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare submitted a detailed report to the Secretary early in February 1965. The report contained a careful analysis of the problems of education of the deaf and made a number of constructive recommendations for both administrative and legislative action.

The committee hopes that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare will soon be in a position to make available his analysis of the Advisory Committee's report, and to include with his analysis a summary of the administrative actions to be taken and legislative proposals to be supported in the general area covered by the "Report on Education of the Deaf."

COSTS

Because of the nature of the legislation it is impossible to specify exact costs on an annual basis. However, the committee anticipates that approximately $200,000 will be needed for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, as a planning year budget. Costs for construction, equipping, and operation of the Institute over the first 4 years will amount to approximately $13,500,000. Annual maintenance and operation costs once the construction and equipping expenses are met will require an appropriation of approximately $2 million per year.

Retirement of Digest Editor Jerry Allen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. BYRNE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, with the adjournment of the 1st session of the 89th Congress the House will lose the services of Jerry E. Allen, House editor of the Congressional Daily Digest, due to retirement. Mr. Allen has edited the House proceedings since March 17, 1947, when the Daily Digest began publication pursuant to the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1946. Before coming to Capitol Hill Mr. Allen had worked at the Government Printing Office for 21 years in various capacities ranging from apprentice boy to copy editor. So after 40 years of Government service I am certain I speak for the entire membership of the House when I say "a long and happy retirement to you and yours, Jerry." It will be my earnest prayer that the good Lord will continue to shower you and yours with His blessings and good health.

Big, Beautiful Hunk of Skin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, I know of no writer who so accurately and vividly describes the unexplained action on the part of the President in exposing his scar to the photographers as Charles McCabe, a writer for the San Francisco Chronicle.

His column follows:

BIG, BEAUTIFUL HUNK OF SKIN
(By Charles McCabe)

Millions of Americans last week enjoyed their grape nuts and cream at the family breakfast table to the accompaniment of a picture that made the front pages of the world's newspapers. It showed a man pointing with obvious pride to a scar on a sizable swatch of his belly, the result of having a bladder and a kidney stone excised.

It was not the sort of picture that one usually sees while trying to take on the first and, it is said, most important meal of the day. It was not a part of the anatomy that is usually exposed to gentle ladies, unless their husbands are forward lads.

But this was an unusual man. This man had recently classed up the gall bladder. He had done the same for the lowly kidney stone. Now he was giving the ignoble belly an exposure and dignity it had never before earned in all the eons it has done its useful, though less than inspiring, labors for mankind.

The caption identified our man. "Baring his abdomen, President Lyndon B. Johnson points to the wide incision cut by surgeons who removed his gall bladder and a stone at Bethesda Naval Hospital near Washington."

Now, it is not altogether clear that the American people were on the clamor to get a view of this delicious incision. There's nothing wrong with good, healthy American flesh, I always say. Good healthy American flesh from Texas has traditionally been labeled choice by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Especially since Mr. Johnson took office.

But there is flesh and flesh.

There were people of a nature sufficiently squeamish to take the view that the President's scar was strictly his business, and that their breakfast was strictly their business, and that they wanted to keep their breakfast just as ardently as the President wanted to lose his scar.

Doubtless some of these people, especially the ladies, were motivated by gross partisan considerations in the disapproving view they took of the Presidential divestiture. They may, for instance, have been ladies and even gentlemen.

Such a one was the lady who wrote in to the New York Herald Tribune, a daily of the Republican persuasian.

"I trust," the lady wrote, "that the President never needs to be operated on for hemorrhoids.

Though the pride in the Presidential countenance, as he unveiled his incision, was obvious, I am frankly puzzled at just what it is that he's so proud about. Because he got rid of a bladder and stone? Because his recovery was remarkably quick? Or because it was his bladder and stone—now, alas, gone—and his scar, now happily going?

I think we must incline to the latter view. The President has developed the view that he is now a kind of a national monument, above and beyond considerations of privacy; that withholding, in the smallest particular, any info about the functioning of his soma and psyche, is simply too cruel a deprivation to inflict on the American electorate.

If there is one thing Mr. Johnson and I agree on, it is that he thinks he knows what is good for us here Americans. Mr. Johnson seems determined the American people are going to like abdominal scars for breakfast. And if that's what Mr. Johnson is determined we are gonna like, then, palsies all, that's what we are gonna like.

I too, along with the Herald Tribune's lady correspondent, hope the Prez stays in cracking good health, in every single one of his members, for the rest of his public, and private, life.

Deep Sea Science Achievements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, American progress in space technology has captured the public imagination to the extent that other noteworthy scientific achievements are sometimes slighted. Litton Industries in my district, Minneapolis, constructed the submarine *Alvin* which recently made a record-breaking dive to a depth of 6,000 feet. This remarkable achievement deserves recognition.

The record-breaking dive was made on July 20 of this year, near New Providence Island in the Bahamas. While Bathyscaphs have gone deeper, the *Alvin* descent was the first time that a neutral buoyancy submersible had reached a depth of 1 nautical mile.

Alvin's chief pilot was Mr. William Rainnie and its copilot was Marvin McCamis. They reported that they were able to see 30 to 40 feet with the aid of exterior lights. Rainnie and McCamis stopped the submarine every thousand feet on its descent to check all its systems.

While *Alvin* was submerged in its testing procedures, a heavy thunderstorm arose on the surface, with winds in excess of 25 knots. The recovery operation was the roughest to date. The craft was taken aboard its catamaran tender and brough back to Port Canaveral, Fla., for a postdive checkout. The 22-foot *Alvin* was conceived and designed through the cooperative efforts of the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution and the Applied Sciences Division of Litton Industries. The construction of the craft by Litton and the research program are supported by funds from the Office of Naval Research.

In our enthusiasm over the Gemini project, we should not forget comparable undersea achievements. Everyone connected with the *Alvin* project should be congratulated.

Vice President Humphrey's Remarks Before the Economic Club, Detroit, Mich.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BILLIE S. FARNUM

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following remarks of Vice President HUMPHREY before the Economic Club, Detroit, Mich., under date of October 22, 1965:

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

There is one great all-important fact which faces us today. It is the fact of interdependence. Interdependence has been thrust on man, involuntarily, by the reality of his ability to destroy himself. Interdependence has been created by man, voluntarily, through his efforts toward more rapid communication, commercial and cultural exchange.

There are very few things in this world which are not tied in some way to something else. We of our generation have certainly learned that during our lifetimes.

But it took us awhile to learn it.

Take the world of economics.

I can remember how, in this country, there were once voices raised debating what was good for business or labor, producer or consumer as if they were separate, unrelated, independent units. There was talk about economic royalists and labor bosses.

There were those who thought that our economic prosperity was a pie of fixed size, with so much for one man, so much for the next, and who seldom thought in terms of a bigger pie for all.

There were those who said that we in America could enjoy prosperity and security with little or no concern about the rest of the world.

Yes, even in the business community there were far too many who believed that foreign trade was something that foreigners did, among themselves—and that trade was of little importance to America.

But, we have learned some hard lessons. We learned lessons of recession and depression. We learned lessons of costly struggle and unresolved dispute within our own society. Most of all, we learned the lesson that a policy of "me first" is wasteful, costly and dangerous. Today we seem to have learned those lessons—at least our domestic economic lessons.

We are in our 56th consecutive month of domestic economic expansion. Wages are up, profits are up, gross national product is up, prices are relatively stable, unemployment is down.

We enjoy this expansion thanks to a creative burst of expression by our private initiative economic system. We also enjoy it because people who used to be antagonists are today working in common cause—business, labor, Government, citizen.

We are agreed to an almost surprising degree on our economic goals and how to get there.

We know the lesson of interdependence in our domestic economy—and, I might add, in other parts of our American society.

But have we learned the lesson of economic interdependence in the world around us?

I have my doubts. I hear lots of talk about the need for a reformed monetary system; about foreign aid; about better credit terms for export; about foreign investment; about commercial negotiations with our Western partners; about trade with the East. But I hear very little about the interdependence of these things.

What are the economic realities of the world?

First, there is the overwhelming reality that two-thirds of mankind is awakening to the fact that poverty is not written in the stars, that life can be better than it is.

Before World War II, there was no such thing as a "developing country."

Our Foreign Service officers—and those of other Western nations were not in fact concerned with economic development. Their days were largely spent dealing with other Western diplomats and occasionally talking philosophy and political theory with the local elite. Now and then an anthropologist, or a student of language or literature, would make his appearance—but seldom someone so mundane as an economist or a businessman.

And, isolated from the world around them, the people in these places lived a miserable peasant life in a modern world. Some of them, in fact, lived literally outside history itself. But in these past few years they have caught up with history and then some.

In the past 15 years alone, over 60 nations have entered the United Nations—nations many of which had previously not existed, except as colonial enclaves, or tribes, or protectorates. Today they are the "developing," the "underdeveloped," the people who live in poverty and want out.

The unpleasant reality is that the rich nations of the world are getting richer, and the poor, poorer.

And there is an unfortunate but growing tendency among the developing nations to regard the three major international economic institutions—the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade—as rich men's clubs, pitted against the poor.

What will be our answer to the demands of these people who see unshared affluence around them?

Second, we see the fact of a rapidly expanding world economy trying to exist on slowly increasing monetary reserves and credit.

The fact is that our present monetary system, as useful as it has been, could be a drag on the world economy unless it meets the legitimate need for added economic fuel.

The time will come when our own balance of payments will again come into equilibrium. The resulting shortage of new dollar balances in other places could stifle economic growth in the world.

There was a time for study. Now there is a time for negotiation. There will also be a time to act. We must act to modernize and expand the system which is so indispensible to the general welfare.

In the long run, the situation cannot be solved by restrictive trade policies which limit imports to reverse a balance-of-payments deficit, by emergency loans to prevent one country from foreclosing on another, by patchwork adjustments of interest rates.

Third, we see the need for reduction of trade barriers in the rich, industrialized countries.

There was a time when tariffs produced revenue and protected young, infant industries. But the rich Western World has long since learned that barriers to trade—both tariff and other barriers—often become excuses to protect uncompetitive domestic industries.

There is a good case to be made, in fact, that those nations which have most reduced their own tariffs have most benefited economically by becoming more competitive and export minded.

Today we attach barriers to trade in the Kennedy round negotiation in Geneva. But tariff reduction alone will not solve the problems of international commerce. In fact, global reduction of tariffs, among developed and developing countries alike, would clearly not benefit the developing nations to the degree we would seek. For they are, in the Biblical phrase, "hewers of wood and drawers of water," nations without strong and balanced economies.

Nor can trade liberalization be undertaken without appropriate monetary mechanisms to handle liberalized trade, without elimination of pernicious practices which mock tariff reduction, without the building of competitive industries in nations which yet lack those industries.

Fourth, we face the fact that the old economic alinement of the world is changing.

We used to talk about a world divided between those who lived by the rule of the marketplace and those who were so-called state traders. But let us not fool ourselves. The world today is made up of many and varied complex national economies. Even the Soviet economy has been making great strides toward adopting indeed a profit system—call it "revisionism," or "libermanism," or whatever you will. And many Western nations today engage in trading practices which would hardly bear scrutiny by Adam Smith.

The world economy is in constant change. And how would you classify those young nations where there is today hardly any monetized economy at all?

Can we adjust to this changing world economy by the sending of a few trade missions to previously unknown parts, by reminding ourselves every so often that there have been some changes in commercial regulations or investment policy, or by making speeches to the effect that we can transplant our own economic system, as is, to places whose needs and experiences are far different than our own? Of course not.

We must learn that the world economy is interdependent, too. We must learn that, just as the answers to domestic prosperity are found in a thousand interrelated factors, so are the answers found to a more just and prospering world economy.

Let me give you one simple and concrete example of what I mean. Earlier this week I addressed a meeting of the National Export Expansion Council in Washington. Some of you may be members of that Council. At that meeting I pointed out that our favorable trade balance this year will be almost $1½ to $2 billion less than it was in 1964. I further noted that had our trade surplus not been reduced, we would have achieved this year a surplus in our international accounts for the first time since 1957.

Now, we seek a balance in our payments accounts particularly because we wish to maintain world confidence in the dollar which underpins the world trading system.

A sound dollar will also facilitate discussions toward monetary reform. We consider monetary reform to be of highest priority for developed and developing nations alike—for the developed so that they may expand their commerce; for the developing so that they may in turn have means to build competitive, self-sustaining economies of their own.

The strengthening of these young economies has a great deal to do, in turn, with the size of our commitments in foreign aid and technical assistance—with foreign investment, with creating markets for our own products.

I pointed out to the National Export Expansion Council that only 4 percent of our gross national product is devoted to foreign trade. For American business—with its efficiency, its skilled labor force, its mass production, its management, its capacity for growth—has today still not seriously entered the world market in a competitive manner. If the United States, as other nations, were fully alert to export opportunities, our trade surplus could today be doubly large. And the fact is that a trade surplus would have an effect on all the interrelated matters I have mentioned.

I am not here this evening to preach any sermon of discontent. I am here to reaffirm, for the good of all of us, the fact that man is interdependent and that his economy is especially interdependent.

What can we do in this country to meet this era of international economic interdependence?

First—and most obviously—we must all realize that it is here. Then, each of us who has responsibility in this society—and that includes all of us here tonight—must view this country's foreign economic policy in large perspective.

Let us cease asking: Is a high tariff on product X good or bad? Is monetary reform necessary? Is foreign aid worthwhile?

By now we should know the answers. Let us instead ask these questions:

How can striving, desperately poor young nations become members of a world society without being lost to totalitarianism along the way?

How can a freer world be built unless we have freer exchanges of peoples, goods, and capital?

How can we benefit and our economy prosper if there are not others in the world with income enough to buy our goods?

How can we provide for the needs of a growing world population without a strong world economy to build upon?

Let us then devote ourselves to answering them with positive, forward-looking policies, both public and private. Let us commit ourselves—as businessmen, as Government officials, as a nation—to helping the young and weak nations become economically free and strong.

There are many ways: Through private investment that may sometimes involve some risk, through fair commercial treatment for the products of the developing nations, through foreign aid and technical assistance, through private and public loans, through commitment to international and multilateral institutions devoted to economic development, through encouragement of common-market concepts where those concepts have value, through open consultation and spirit of cooperation among the rich and poor alike.

Let us commit ourselves to the maximum possible reductions of all barriers to trade among the developed nations.

This means full and determined commitment to the Kennedy round negotiation. This means acceptance of the fact that, in any trade liberalization, there must be reciprocity and that we must give as well as get. This means patience and fortitude in finding solutions to the knotty problems of agricultural trade liberalization. This means—yes—the acceptance by those American industries not fully competitive that they must become competitive. This means giving highest priority to the avoidance of inflation, for inflation could rob us of the growth and prosperity we have achieved. This means the examination by many nations of their policies of subsidy, price-support, export-financing, antitrust. This means moving ahead with sometimes painful changes in trading pattern. This means undertaking of measures by business, Government, labor to ease impact of these changes.

Let us commit ourselves to the construction of a world monetary system with adequate liquidity.

This will involve the maximum of tact and restraint in difficult negotiation in the Group of 10 and with other members of the International Monetary Fund—the creation, perhaps, of a new reserve asset, the necessity for discipline in maintaining a strong position in our own international accounts, the recognition that not only the rich and industrialized must be taken into consideration in shaping that system.

The answers lie in the intelligent and sophisticated blending of trade, aid, investment, monetary, and domestic economic policies of this Nation and our partners.

They lie in the increasing recognition by those who are not our partners that they cannot live in a closed economy.

They lie, most of all, in the realization by all of us that we have a common destiny on this planet, shared but a short time, and that man's interdependence need not be a proscribed necessity—it can be a means of extending the benefits of mankind to more of mankind.

Young Americans for Freedom Supports a Strong Vietnam Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLOTTE T. REID

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the Young Americans for Freedom, Inc.—YAF—is generally recognized as the leading student organization in the Nation in support of a strong U.S. foreign policy position in Vietnam. For several years, YAF has been regarded as the Nation's largest conservative youth organization on the college campus and in the young business community, but the organization's position in support of a strong U.S. commitment in southeast Asia has given it even greater recognition.

It is indeed encouraging to hear of student organizations who are supporting a strong U.S. foreign policy. During the past few months, when student protest demonstrations against U.S. involvment in Vietnam have increased in number and strength, it is encouraging to hear of students' groups offsetting the protest demonstrations by offering constructive programs for fighting Communist aggression in Vietnam and all of Asia. YAF is such an organization.

Mr. Speaker, the position of YAF on foreign policy questions is derived from the Sharon statement which was adopted in conference at Sharon, Conn., September 9–11, 1960, at the founding of the group on the estate of William F. Buckley, Jr., editor of National Review. In the Sharon statement is found the policy guideline for determination of foreign policy questions by YAF:

In this time of moral and political crisis, it is the responsibility of the youth of America to affirm certain eternal truths.

We, as young conservatives, believe—

That the forces of international communism are, at present, the greatest single threat to these liberties;

That the United States should stress victory over, rather than coexistence with, this menace; and

That American foreign policy must be judged by this criterion: does it serve the just interests of the United States?

YAF is comprised of thousands of college students across the Nation, and YAF's position becomes even more important, when one considers that those YAF members calling for stronger action in Vietnam are eligible for the draft and service in Vietnam themselves. Responsible students do not have sympathy for the students of the political left who are burning their draft cards, deliberately blocking the troop and supply convoys and trains, picketing Selective Service System local board offices, and by staging riots in major cities which flagrantly disrespect the law. YAF is representative of the other elements of the college campus who are supporting a strong policy. YAF is helping to offset the demonstrations of the student leftwing groups.

Mr. Speaker, the newly elected national chairman of YAF, Tom Charles Huston, a student at Indiana University Law School, recently made a trip to southeast Asia to view the situation first hand. Upon his return to the United States, Mr. Huston issued a press release calling for more effective use of our allies in Asia. This release follows:

CONSERVATIVE HEAD SAYS L.B.J. NOT MAKING GOOD USE OF ASIAN ALLIES IN VIETNAM

The national chairman of Young Americans for Freedom, a 25,000-member conservative group, charged today that the war in Vietnam is being prolonged by the failure of President Johnson to take advantage of offers of assistance by America's allies in Asia.

Tom Charles Huston, 24, Logansport, a senior in the Indiana University School of Law, recently returned from a 25,000-mile tour of the Far East during which he met with governmental leaders in Korea, Philippines, and the Republic of China.

"There is tremendous support for our strong anti-Communist policy in Vietnam among the peoples and governments of Asia," Huston said. "The only fear is that America, in an effort to achieve peace, will sacrifice the aspirations of the Vietnamese people in order to pacify Red China."

Huston reported that Prime Minister Chung Il Kwan of Korea told him that the Republic of Korea was anxious to send two or three combat divisions to Vietnam. He quoted the Prime Minister as saying that "Koreans are honored to shed blood with their American allies once more in the fight against communism. It is the least we can do to express our gratitude for the American sacrifices made during the Korean war."

Huston also met with President Chiang Kai-shek and Premier C. K. Yen, of the Republic of China, who told him that China was anxious to assist in any way possible in the struggle against communism in Vietnam. According to Huston, President Chiang Kai-shek observed that Chinese personnel are presently assisting in refugee relief and relocation work in South Vietnam, but expressed the hope that the U.S. Government would make it possible for the Republic of China to take a more vigorous part in the struggle. Both leaders denied reports circulating in the United States that Chinese involvement in South Vietnam would be met with resentment from the Vietnamese people. Huston said his conversations with Vietnamese leaders, including former Prime Minister Phan-Huy-Quat, indicated that there is no reason why Chinese personnel could not actively participate in the anti-Communist effort in South Vietnam.

The Philippines, which currently has several medical teams in Vietnam, is anxious to expand its role, Huston reported. "While the Philippines is not in a position to make an extensive commitment of military forces to the war in Vietnam, it is willing and able to extend increased technical assistance," Huston said.

"There is general agreement among Asian leaders," Huston said, "that the war in Vietnam will be won only if there is a two-pronged counteroffensive against communism. The major thrust must, of course, be made by the military. However, political stability must be achieved, and this will occur only if an increased effort is made to provide economic assistance to Vietnam. It is in this area that the present administration has conspicuously failed. Our allies in Asia are willing to help by sending civic-action volunteer teams composed of doctors, nurses, engineers, agriculturists, and socio-economic development experts, and administrative, military, and other technical advisers in an effort to assist the Vietnamese people and win their hearts and minds away from the clutches of communism. This is the key to permanent peace and stability in South Vietnam. If this administration is anxious to achieve a lasting solution to the Vietnamese war it must rally the support of our Asian allies and take advantage of their offers of assistance."

Huston concluded: "This administration talks of peace. Our Asian allies talk of victory. The time has come for the administration to show some initiative in international affairs and encourage the active participation of our Asian allies in the war in Vietnam. Victory is attainable if only the United States is determined enough to seek it."

Mr. Speaker, at the National Convention of YAF, held in Washington, D.C., during late August of this year, the organization passed a resolution unanimously which called for the commitment of sufficient numbers of ground troops to combat the guerrillas now active in South Vietnam. It also called for several other actions to help win the war. This resolution follows:

RESOLUTION ON SOUTH VIETNAM

Whereas we share the administration's view that what the Communists chose to call "wars of national liberation" constitute nothing more than a new form of aggression which must be resisted as a threat to the establishment of true peace; and

Whereas the current aggression against South Vietnam takes its primary inspiration and direction from the north and has as its ultimate object the conquest of all of southeast Asia; a fact recognized by those countries in the area who have sent significant amounts of combat personnel to share in the burden of defeating the Communists; and

Whereas we believe that this Nation is required by considerations of national interest and by moral considerations of the highest order to come to the aid of the people of South Vietnam and other countries of southeast Asia in their defense against aggression; and

Whereas, While South Vietnam fails to measure up to the full standards of freedom to which we in this country have become accustomed, the present form of government nevertheless affords a greater opportunity for the ultimate development of truly liberal institutions than would a Communist regime: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Young Americans for Freedom applauds the committment of U.S. might and prestige on behalf of South Vietnam and supports the recognition that this war must be won on the ground in South Vietnam as military success is a precondition for the political and social developments which will ultimately decrease the ability of Communist recruiters to lure local peasants into giving aid and comfort to the Vietcong; and be it further

Resolved, That we urge the administration demonstrate its intent to take whatever action proves tactically necessary to assure that the successful termination of the war will not be unduly delayed, including such measures as (a) the commitment of sufficient numbers of ground troops to combat the guerrillas now active in South Vietnam; (b) effective air action against Soviet-built missile sites around Hanoi and Haiphong, (c) the beginning, by calculated aerial and naval bombardment of the destruction of the industrial capacity of North Vietnam; (d) by instituting a naval and air blockade of North Vietnam, all of these steps to be taken to induce North Vietnam, to cease in its support of the troops in the South, and (e) the clear communications to Communist China that any overt intervention by that country will result in retaliation by the United States and by our allies such as Nationalist China.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution clearly indicates the clear and sound position which YAF has taken on Vietnam. YAF stands on that resolution today as much as it did then, if not more so.

One of the most notable accomplishments of YAF with respect to Vietnam events was the sponsorship of a symposium for freedom in Vietnam. This symposium was held at the International Inn here in the Nation's Capital on Saturday, October 16, 1965, under the sponsorship of the YAF-created Student Ad Hoc Committee for Freedom in Vietnam. This project was YAF-created, YAF-directed, YAF-sponsored, YAF-financed, and YAF-attended. Its national coordinator was the able Alfred Regnery, a recent graduate of Beloit College in Wisconsin and a recent enlistee for duty in the armed services, who is the college director of Young Americans for Freedom, Inc.

This symposium was attended by nearly 1,000 students from throughout the Nation. Prominent officials from the Department of State, staff members from senatoral and congressional offices, prominent scholars, students recently returned from Vietnam, and press corpsmen participated in the symposium. The symposium was climaxed by a peaceful march to the Vietnamese Embassy for presentation to the Ambassador with an American flag as a symbol of YAF's support for the defense of freedom in Vietnam.

It was a substantial contrast to witness this peaceful and orderly march in support of U.S. policy as compared to the nearly riotous protest demonstrations conducted by the Vietnam Day Committee—VDC—and the Students for a Democratic Society—SDS—throughout the Nation which featured such things as the burning of draft cards.

It was most encouraging to hear of this symposium on October 16 at the same time that leftwing students were burning their draft cards, conducting rallies which nearly resulted in riots in major cities, and calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam. The VDC, led and directed by

leaders of the SDS, was one of the most irresponsible events to have occurred in this Nation in many years.

Mr. Speaker, when students, as they did during the VDC demonstrations, call for open defiance of Federal statutes, when they call for avoiding the draft, when they call for physically blocking troop and supply trains, when they call for withdrawal from Vietnam of American troops, when they call our valiant fighting men in Asia war criminals, it seems to me that it borders on sedition.

Mr. Speaker, it is almost unbelievable to see the amount of disgusting "hate" material that the student left put out during the VDC demonstrations. In California the VDC and its associates were circulating handbills with a picture of former Ambassador Maxwell Taylor with the caption, "Wanted for Mass Murder." It was encouraging to see an organization like YAF out there leading demonstrations to offset such VDC and SDS activities.

I think some of the materials which the YAF-sponsored symposium issued about the event will give everyone a clear idea about the symposium.

A news release of October 9, 1965, giving the general scope of the symposium follows:

SENATOR DODD, COLUMNIST ROWLAND EVANS, TO ADDRESS SYMPOSIUM FOR FREEDOM IN VIETNAM OCTOBER 16

WASHINGTON, D.C., October 9.—Alfred S. Regnery, national college director of Young Americans for Freedom and member of the steering committee of the Student Ad Hoc Committee for Freedom in Vietnam, sponsors of the symposium for freedom in Vietnam, announced today that Senator THOMAS J. DODD, of Connecticut, and syndicated columnist Rowland Evans will address the student symposium to be held in Washington, D.C., on Saturday, October 16.

Senator DODD, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and an outspoken defender of the Johnson administration's policy in Vietnam will make a major address at the morning session of the symposium.

Evans, who, along with Robert Novak, writes the widely quoted column, "Inside Report", will analyze the Vietnam war and moderate the panel discussion at the afternoon session. Evans has visited Vietnam several times and will give his first-hand impression of the war's course.

Approximately 1,500 students from across the Nation are expected to attend the reverse teach-in in Washington, which will be the only student meeting that day endorsing current U.S. policy in Vietnam. The weekend is expected to be filled with left-wing "peacenik" protests against American firmness in that southeast Asian territory.

Representing the State Department will be Joseph Luman, former press attaché in Saigon, who will discuss at the morning session the legal and political reasons for U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Participants in the afternoon panel discussion are four distinguished professors: David Rowe, Yale University; Frank Trager, New York University; Oliver Martin, University of Rhode Island; and Franz Michael, George Washington University.

A special feature of the daylong meeting will be a student panel discussion conducted by four student leaders who have visited Vietnam. They are Arthur Collingsworth, University of Michigan; Jolynn Cappo, Michigan State University; Jay Parsons, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University; and Don Emerson, Yale.

Symposium schedule follows:

10:00: Opening remarks, introductions.

10:15: Address, questions and answers; Senator THOMAS J. DODD, of Connecticut.

11:00: Address, questions and answers; Republican Senator.

11:45: Address, questions and answers; Mr. Joseph Luman, State Department.

1:30: Panel discussion; moderator, Rowland Evans; Profs: Frank Trager, New York University; David Rose, Yale University; Oliver Martin, Rhode Island University; and Franz Michael, George Washington University.

3:00: Student panel discussion; Arthur Collingsworth, University of Michigan; Jolynn Cappo, Michigan State; Jay Parsons, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University; and Don Emerson, Yale.

4:30: General discussions, reactions, etc.

5:15: Adjournment.

The meeting is open to the public.

The following is from the initial announcement of the symposium:

The symposium for freedom in Vietnam is a meeting national in scope and international in importance. It is a meeting of students who support the U.S. commitment in Vietnam, and who approve of our Government's strong stand against Communist aggression in southeast Asia.

This symposium offers an opportunity to examine the U.S. foreign policy in relation to this country's present involvement in Vietnam. The symposium is an answer to the demonstrations, picket lines, and civil disobedience of those who would have us withdraw from Vietnam. It is a call to all people in the academic world to show support for strong American foreign policy, and a call for a halt to Communist aggression.

This symposium shall also serve as an opportunity to constructively criticize the present U.S. position to halt Communist aggression in southeast Asia. This is the first of a series of meetings. It will be up to you to take what you have learned to your campuses, and to show the people of America and the people of the world that American students support our Government's action in Vietnam. It will also be up to you to take the projects which will be discussed here to your campus, and to see that these projects are undertaken to help the people of South Vietnam.

The list of the supporting professors of this symposium was most impressive. The list of those professors follows:

SYMPOSIUM FOR FREEDOM IN VIETNAM—SUPPORTING PROFESSORS

Comer Clay, professor of government, Texas Christian University.

Leslie Pruitt, associate professor, Parsons College.

Allen G. Erickson, associate professor of education, Moorhead State College.

Theodore L. Shay, professor of political science, Willamette University.

Donald P. Kilpatrick, instructor of mathematics, Siena.

Dr. Frank J. D'Amico, professor, Spanish, studies abroad, Parsons College.

Dr. Kenneth H. Thompson, associate dean of the college, Berea College.

William H. Clements, professor of education, Wisconsin State University.

Walter C. Kitzerow, instructor, Morton Junior College.

Paul Warren Allen, director, School of Music, North Central College.

Stephen A. Janto, professor of history, Siena College.

Beauvais Fox, assistant professor, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn.

L. Lautenbach, dean, School of Business Administration, Bob Jones University.

Lionel Crocker, Department of Speech, Denison University.

Prof. Anthony T. Bouscaren, professor of political science, Le Moyne College.

W. L. Furman, associate professor of mathematics, Spring Hill College.

Rev. Martin A. Stillmock, CSSR, chairman of English department, St. Joseph's.

Dr. L. A. Dellin, chairman of the East European studies, University of Vermont.

O'Neill K. Kane, instructor, Palm Beach Junior College.

Donald L. Strand, associate professor, Bradley University.

David Dautenhahn, associate professor of mathematics, Missouri Valley College.

Kenneth D. Mackenzie, assistant professor of industrial administration, Carnegie Institute of Technology.

George G. Thielman, Ph. D., associate professor of political science, Georgia State College.

Robert T. Gillespie, assistant professor, Gettysburg College.

Rev. Daniel Lyons, S.J. sociologist, Gonzaga University.

Dr. Raymond C. Suiter, faculty research engineer, Montana State University.

Roland I. Perusse, associate professor of government, Texas Western College.

John J. Kennedy, College of Business Administration, Arizona State University.

Albert Wass de Czege, assistant professor, University of Florida.

Robert R. Neff, associate professor of history, Grove City College.

Robert Samuel Rogers, chairman, classical studies, Duke University.

Edward J. Rozek, professor of political science, University of Colorado.

David N. Rowe, professor of political science, Yale University.

Francis G. Wilson, professor of political science, University of Illinois.

Dr. Justus M. van der Kroef, chairman, Department of Political Science, University of Bridgeport.

William F. Wagner, professor of Spanish, Louisburg College.

William A. Nye, associate professor of insurance, San Diego State College.

Wayne L. Shick, professor of general engineering, University of Illinois.

Maurice G. Porter, associate professor, University of Illinois.

Arthur R. Williams, psychology, Shimer College.

William Nelson, instructor, University of Arizona.

Raymond Eling, assistant professor of pharmacology, University of Cincinnati.

William Fleming, chairman, Department of Political Science, Ripon College.

Oscar Ibele, professor of political science, Kent State University.

Michael Lindsay, professor of Far Eastern studies, the American University.

William Oliver Martin, chairman, Department of Philosophy, University of Rhode Island.

Demetrios F. Nixon, chairman of Social Studies Department, Louisburg College.

William F. Stokes, senior professor of comparative political institutions, Claremont Men's College.

Dr. Walter S. Blake, Jr., dean of students, Willamette University.

Dr. Anthony Kubek, chairman, Department of History, University of Dallas.

W. P. Shofstall, dean of students, Arizona State University.

Father Hugh Halton, chairman, Department of Government, Providence College.

Dr. Nicholas Nyaradi, School of International Studies, Bradley University.

John Alden Clark, professor of mechanical engineering, University of Michigan.

F. T. Quiett, professor of engineering, San Diego State College.

A letter was sent by the Student Ad Hoc Committee for Freedom in Vietnam to the editor of every campus newspaper in the Nation. This letter follows:

DEAR STUDENT NEWSPAPER EDITOR: You are invited to attend the symposium for freedom in Vietnam in Washington, D.C., on October 16. This will be the only national meeting

on that day in support of U.S. action in Vietnam. On the same day, from New York City to Berkeley, Calif., students by the thousands will demonstrate, protest, and commit acts of civil disobedience against our foreign policy.

It is therefore of utmost importance that you join with us in this meeting supporting our action in Vietnam. Student body presidents and newspaper editors from all parts of the Nation will participate in this meeting.

The program will include addresses by a Republican and a Democratic Senator, a panel discussion of five professors, all experts on southeast Asia, a panel discussion of five students who spent the summer in Vietnam, an address from a newspaper reporter who recently returned from Vietnam, and an address by an official of the State Department.

We are arranging a briefing with either the President or one of his top aids. One of the most interesting highlights of the afternoon will be a discussion of how students can help the people of South Vietnam—projects such as the collection of money for war orphans, and a program whereby student governments adopt a Vietnamese village.

If you can possibly be in Washington on the 16th, we will look for you. If you cannot attend yourself, send a representative from your paper. Please make every effort to attend this important function to show support for our strong policy in Vietnam.

Sincerely yours,

ALFRED REGNERY.

Mr. Regnery also issued a letter dated October 3, 1965, to the general membership of YAF on the symposium detailing its plans and purposes. The letter follows:

OCTOBER 3, 1965.

To: Members of Young Americans for Freedom.

From: Alfred S. Regnery, YAF college director.

Re an item of vital importance.

On Saturday, October 16, one of the major student activities of the fall will take place in Washington. The symposium for freedom in Vietnam, a meeting of national scope and of tremendous importance, will be sponsored by a bipartisan committee of student leaders. Students from all parts of the Nation will take part in this meeting. The symposium will serve as the starting point of a coalition of liberal and conservative, Republican and Democratic anti-Communists.

This meeting will be the only national effort to counteract the thousands of radical students who will be picketing, protesting, breaking the law, and actually aiding the Vietcong in protest of American involvement in Vietnam on that day. The leftwing students will be on the front page of every newspaper in the country. In order that the entire American population not come under the false illusion that the American student in general is opposed to our anti-Communist stand in Vietnam, you must participate on October 16. You, a member of Young Americans for Freedom, will play a vital role in this meeting by presenting the young conservative voice.

If the efforts of the left are to be counteracted on October 16, this meeting must be successful. To be successful, you must be there. You will hear speeches by Republican and Democrat Senators, an official of the Department of State, panel discussions of professors and of students who have been in Vietnam. Programs will be discussed which can be undertaken by local groups. There will be no charge for this meeting.

If you are in a chapter, help your chapter chairman arrange for a carload or busload of people from your area. If you are not in a chapter and need transportation, contact one of the following people.

A news release on the symposium was also issued by the student ad hoc committee right before the symposium took place. The release follows:

STUDENTS FROM 55 COLLEGES TO ATTEND TEACH-IN SUPPORTING U.S. ACTION IN VIETNAM HERE

WASHINGTON.—The sympsium for freedom in Vietnam, the first major win-the-war teach-in, will be attended by students from 55 colleges, it was reported today.

The meeting, to take place Saturday at the International Inn from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., will be keynoted by Senator THOMAS J. DODD, of Connecticut. Other speakers include Joseph Luman, past aid to Maxwell Taylor, Syndicated Columnist Rowland Evans, of the Evans-Novak team, and a host of professors and students who have spent time in southeast Asia.

Students from as far away as Colorado will fly into Washington for the occasion. Three busloads of students will come from Philadelphia, and official delegations are expected from most eastern universities.

The symposium, being sponsored by a bipartisan committee of members of the Young Republicans, Young Democrats, and Young Americans for Freedom, was organized to counteract leftist demonstrations protesting American involvement in Vietnam. Demonstrations will supposedly take place this weekend in some 28 cities and university campuses. The "peace-niks" are expected to commit acts of civil disobedience and to draw attention to themselves by being arrested. In spite of this, "a great majority of students support administration policy in Vietnam," Alfred S. Regnery, member of the steering committee said. "They simply have not yet had the opportunity to demonstrate that support."

A highlight of the meeting, to take place during the afternoon, will be a panel discussion of four American students who spent last summer in Vietnam. They will discuss their reactions and ways in which American students can show support for U.S. Vietnamese policy, and ways in which they can help the people of South Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, the symposium was a success. Nearly a thousand college students attended the gathering. Similar symposiums on a more localized level are planned by YAF chapters for this fall and winter.

Typical of the activities of various YAF leaders to aid the war effort in Vietnam is a news release issued by Randal C. Teague, YAF's southern regional director and member of the its national board of directors. YAF leaders throughout the Nation are trying to win press support for the war effort in Vietnam, to arouse public opinion behind the war effort, and to gather the support of college students. The news release follows:

YAF LEADER BLASTS VIETNAM PROTESTS

WASHINGTON.—A leader of the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) blasted the student anti-Vietnam protests here in the Nation's Capital today as a deliberate attempt to defeat the cause of freedom in Asia and the world. YAF is regarded as the leading student organization supporting a strong policy in Vietnam. It is behind the administration's strong policy there.

In making the denouncement, Randal C. Teague, a member of YAF's board of directors and the leader of its southern program, said, "Students who are burning their draft cards and organizing programs to avoid the draft and to thwart the American effort against communism in Asia are in a minority on the college campus. What they are doing is wrong—legally and morally. Those who are in violation of Federal laws should be prosecuted and severely punished by the courts."

Teague, a student himself, went on to say, "These students are not conscientious objectors. Their actions show shades of absolute anarchy. As many national leaders have pointed out, there is strong evidence that many of these protests have been led by the extremists of the radical left who often associate themselves with Communist-leaning groups. Responsible students have no sympathy with those who are deliberately flaunting the law by burning their draft cards, by blocking troop and supply convoys, and worst of all by demoralizing those valient fighting men in Vietnam today who are risking their lives to insure the security of freemen."

The YAF leader concluded by saying, "When our Nation issues a call to arms, it is our duty to respond to it, whether we personally like it or not. Every American, from the youngest to the oldest, deserves to support his Government in time of national emergency, and surely the war in Vietnam is one of the gravest situations confronting the world today."

At its recent national convention in Washington, YAF passed a strong resolution unanimously calling for the commitment of sufficient numbers of ground troops to combat the guerrillas now active in South Vietnam. The resolution also called for effective air action against Soviet-built missile sites around Hanoi and Haiphong, the beginning by calculated aerial and naval bombardment of the destruction of the industrial capacity of North Vietnam, and by the institution of a naval and air blockade of North Vietnam. The resolution concluded with the call to issue a clear communication to Communist China that any overt intervention by that country will result in retaliation by the United States and by our allies.

The national office of YAF has been in the front position on the Vietnam program. YAF is developing a constructive program to aid the war effort, and some of these constructive programs were detailed in a chapter-State-regional chairmen's newsletter issued by David R. Jones, the executive director of YAF. This newsletter follows:

VIETNAM

October 15 and 16 have been designated "Vietnam Day" by the left, and all signs seem to indicate that the "new left" will be very active picketing, protesting, parading, and committing acts of civil disobedience or, more exactly, breaking the law on that day. It is therefore important that members and chapters of Young Americans for Freedom demonstrate their support of a strong policy in Vietnam, in a positive fashion. The national office therefore recommends a number of projects, to be started on the 16th and to be carried out throughout the coming months.

Crisis fund for Vietnamese children of the International Rescue Committee, 460 Park Avenue South, New York, 10016. A fund to send food and clothing to war orphans of South Vietnam. This project should receive prime importance—money should be collected and sent to New York. For more information and brochures, send to the International Rescue Committee.

Vietnam mail call, Post Office Box 3104, Columbus, Ga.: A program of letterwriting to American soldiers in Vietnam. Letters should be written and addressed to Columbus, Ga., and will in turn be forwarded on to soldiers in Vietnam, showing the sup-

port of the American people of the Vietnam war. Christmas cards can also be sent.

Petition campaign: A simple petition should be drawn up and as many signatures as possible gathered supporting our war efforts in Vietnam, and sent to the President of the United States. Gather as many names as possible for this program.

Poster and letterwriting campaigns should be launched. Posters should go up on your campuses and in your communities calling for victory in Vietnam, and many letters should be written to the editor of your local papers.

Mr. Speaker, the most encouraging aspect of the YAF participation in the great debate raging on the college campuses of this Nation today over involvment in Vietnam is the constructive aspect of their policy. Instead of merely demonstrating, they are developing comprehensive programs to help the Vietnamese and the American fighting men there. YAF chapters across the Nation are participating and cooperating with the Crisis Fund for Vietnamese Children of the International Rescue Committee in New York. This is a fund to send food and clothing to war orphans of South Vietnam. This project is receiving prime importance on many campuses. Money is being collected and sent to the International Rescue Committee by YAF members to help in this program.

YAF chapters and members are also cooperating with Operation Vietnam Mail Call which operates from Columbus, Ga. This is a program to send letters to soldiers in Vietnam telling them of the support which many college students have for their efforts. Christmas cards by the thousands will be sent to these fighting men who will be on the front fighting for the freedom of a troubled world. They are going to be out in the jungles on Christmas Day, when most of us will be in our comfortable homes enjoying a fine holiday. We must not forget these men and thank them for their efforts. YAF is trying to do just that.

YAF has a nationwide campaign in operation to obtain tens of thousands of signatures supporting our war efforts in Vietnam. These petitions are being sent to the President of the United States, to Senators and Congressmen, and other prominent national political figures.

In cooperation with other organizations, YAF is helping to collect clothing to be sent to refugees fleeing from North Vietnam. Victory in Vietnam committees are being established by YAF on hundreds of college campuses. Students will be sent to Vietnam during future months to look at the situation first hand.

Mr. Speaker, when a student recently burned his draft card in New York, attracting national attention, many Americans were incensed at the idea. Here was a student burning his draft card before a rally of students protesting American action in Vietnam and burning it in open violation of Federal law. The national chairman of YAF, Tom Huston, responded with an outcry which was carried in hundreds of newspapers across the Nation. At this point in the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, I include the news release which was issued from the national offices of YAF in response to this event:

NEWS RELEASE

A national student leader today supported the action of the Justice Department in arresting David J. Miller, the "pacifist" who burned his draft card during last weekend's anti-Vietnam demonstrations.

Tom Charles Huston, national chairman of the conservative Young Americans for Freedom, advised Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach in a telegram today that Miller "must be prosecuted if respect for law and order is to prevail in the student community.

"The demonstrations against the U.S. presence in Vietnam," Huston added, "represent a very small minority of student opinion and of American opinion in general. We certainly support their right to protest by all legal and peaceful means, but we must demand that their protest—and the protests of any other groups, on any other issues—be carried out only through legal and peaceful means."

Young Americans for Freedom also called upon its members "to isolate the new left; to render it impotent" in an editorial in the October issue of the organization's magazine, the New Guard.

The editorial, entitled "Aid and Comfort to the Enemy," says that the anti-Vietnam demonstrators "are not pacifists (though there are pacifists among them); they are a fifth column.

"The touchstone of the antiwar activity," says the New Guard, "is not true pacifism—for that would involve stern condemnation of the Vietcong invaders—but rather a hatred of Western, and especially American institutions, beliefs, and strategic security."

Mr. Speaker, YAF is not merely responding to the demonstrations of the student left. It is taking the initiative. Tom Huston was not satisfied with sitting back and merely issuing news releases. He went right to the heart of the agitation. With courage which few individuals have demonstrated, Tom Huston flew to San Francisco, and during the height of the protest demonstrations, this young man from Indiana led a demonstration supporting U.S. policy. Tom Huston spoke from the steps of the infamous hall at Berkeley, Calif., which was made infamous by the so-called Free Speech Movement several months ago. He was one of the few conservatives to ever speak to a mass audience from those steps, and I think I can safely say that the remarks which Mr. Huston made there were more consistent with the national interests of America than were the remarks made by the Free Speech Movement leaders, the Students for a Democratic Society leaders, and the Vietnam Day Committee spokesmen. Mr. Huston spent several days going from one end of California to the other rallying support for America's strong commitment in Vietnam. His speeches and appearances attracted statewide coverage by the press.

Mr. Speaker, I think that there is little doubt that YAF represents the majority opinion on this issue on the college campus. YAF deserves to be commended for its efforts, and I sincerely hope that their efforts will be successful in convincing the students on America's campuses that they should support a strong U.S. position in Vietnam. I commend YAF for its efforts.

Congressman Edward R. Roybal Reports From Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of my October 1965 newsletter, the 11th in a series of regular "Reports From Washington" which I have made during the past 3 years to the residents of the 30th District of California on my activities as their Representative in the Nation's Capital.

These, plus eight special reports, were designed to cover all major items of legislation considered by Congress, events of national and international significance, and particularly, those matters of special concern to Metropolitan Los Angeles and southern California.

In its 10 months' work, the 1st session of the 89th Congress has compiled one of the most productive records of legislative achievement in our Nation's history.

Working in close harmony with President Lyndon Johnson, Congress has supported a developing national consensus for considered and prudent conduct of the Government's fiscal business, while adopting progressive and forward-looking programs to meet the essential needs of a rapidly growing modern society of nearly 200 million citizens.

Great strides were made toward reaching the goals of a more prosperous economy, equal opportunity for all Americans, a strong defense posture, and lasting world peace with freedom.

I am proud to have had a part in building this constructive record, and I have attempted to outline some of the highlights of the session in this October 1965 "Report From Washington."

The report follows:

THE 11TH REPORT FROM WASHINGTON

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RECAP, 89TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

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MEDICARE—SOCIAL SECURITY

In a truly historic action, Congress overwhelmingly approved the landmark medicare and Social Security Amendments of 1965.

As one of the bill's congressional sponsors, I am proud to have supported this progressive and forward-looking legislation, for it not only contains the most comprehensive medicare-health insurance plan for America's senior citizens ever enacted, but it also includes the largest increase in social security benefits approved since the program was started 30 years ago.

Of particular benefit to California's 1½ million elderly citizens, as well as the 17 million other Americans over 65, this plan will enable them to prepay in their earlier, more productive working years most of their own hospital and related health expenses during retirement.

In addition, the program provides optional supplementary health insurance available at minimum cost to all persons over 65 to cover their major medical and doctor bills.

Finally, the measure includes a long overdue 7 percent across-the-board cost-of-living increase in social security benefits for some 20 million Americans—a real help to them by raising the minimum level of their basic economic protection.

These three key provisions of the medicare and Social Security Amendments of 1965, plus several other substantial improvements in current federally assisted programs, make this law the most significant piece of health and social welfare legislation in American history.

I have always been convinced that the elderly are not asking for charity. But they want and deserve a system such as this offering them an opportunity to plan for the future, to permit them to live their remaining years in earned dignity, secure in the knowledge that they have provided adequately for their own needs during retirement years.

EXCISE TAX CUT OF $4.6 BILLION

With President Johnson and Vice President HUMPHREY at the White House for signing of the excise tax cut into law.

As one of the bill's original legislative supporters, I am happy to report that over 90 percent of this long-overdue multi-billion-dollar tax reduction is now being passed on to the Nation's consumers in the form of lower prices on a wide range of retail items such as jewelry, luggage, cosmetics, radios and TV sets, air conditioners, household appliances, typewriters, cameras, autos and auto accessories.

These Federal excise taxes, which hit low- and middle-income families hardest, also have exerted an unnecessary and harmful drag on our country's economic growth. They have been preventing us from reaching our goal of a full-employment economy with worthwhile job opportunities for every American.

On top of last year's $11.5 billion personal and corporate income tax cut, and 1962's $2.5 billion investment for tax credit and liberalized depreciation allowance for business, the new excise tax cut is already helping improve the Nation's economic health, not by more Government spending, but by releasing the pent-up energies of the American private enterprise system.

ELEMENTARY-SECONDARY EDUCATION

Los Angeles' Unified School District will receive more than $15 million during the current school year, under the Administration's landmark program of aid to elementary and high schools approved this spring by Congress and emphasizing better education for America's 5½ million underprivileged youth from families on public assistance or from those with annual incomes below $2,000.

Statewide, California children will receive nearly $80 million in aid under the program, much of it concentrated in our heavily populated urban centers where the ever-increasing demand for more schools and teachers has placed a tremendous strain on existing sources of State and local tax revenues.

Historically, we have always acknowledged the need for education as solid investment in the future of our country. Beginning with the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, setting aside a portion of the new territory for educational use, through the Morrill Land-Grant College Act of 1862, the GI bill after World War II and Korea, and the 1958 National Defense Education Act, the Federal Government has assumed leadership in the effort to provide full educational opportunity for all our citizens.

ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

Under Secretary of State Thomas Mann joins me in congratulating former California Deputy Attorney General Carlos Borja of Los Angeles on his appointment to a key State Department post as Assistant Director of the U.S. Agency for International Development Mission in the strategic Central American Republic of El Salvador.

Dedicated by President Johnson as a living memorial to the faith and idealism of John F. Kennedy, the Alliance for Progress calls for a peaceful, democratic social and economic revolution in the underdeveloped countries of the Western Hemisphere.

Offering a positive and constructive answer to the false claims of international communism, the alliance is also in line with the objectives of Franklin Roosevelt's good neighbor policy of the 1930's.

IMMIGRATION REFORM

As coauthor of this historic reform measure, I had the honor of being invited to accompany President Johnson as a special official party guest to witness the colorful signing ceremony for the 1965 Immigration Act held in the shadow of the famous Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor.

The first major revision of our immigration laws in over 40 years, the new statute eliminates the highly discriminatory national origins quota system, and sets up a more equitable first-come first-served selection procedure based on a greatly improved system of preference categories.

By helping to reunite families, to admit those with special knowledge or needed skills, while providing safeguards to protect the jobs of American workers, and by abolishing the notorious Asia-Pacific triangle provisions that unfairly discriminated against persons of Asian descent, the new law will make a real contribution to our Nation's foreign policy, and at the same time serve to strengthen our domestic U.S. economic and cultural objectives.

In John Kennedy's words, "we are a nation of immigrants," and Californians in particular have always had a big stake in our immigration policies—because it has been the many thousands of men and women who came to our State from all over the world who have helped make California what it is today; the largest, wealthiest, and most progressive State in the Union, and a pace-setting leader in building an even greater America of tomorrow.

HIGHER EDUCATION

The Golden State is in line to receive an extra $50 million in Federal financial aid during the current fiscal year to help handle the staggering problems caused by our fantastic college student population explosion that has seen enrollments more than double within the last 10 years alone, and promises to continue into the 1970's without letup.

California students and colleges will receive nearly 10 percent of the funds appropriated under the Higher Education Act of 1965, which recognizes that nothing is more important to America and to our Nation's well-being than the fullest possible development of our human educational resources.

Besides doubling present construction grants, the law authorizes a variety of new college aid programs, and, for the first time, offers a comprehensive Federal scholarship grant, loan, loan-guarantee, and work-study program for bright but needy students who would otherwise be unable to continue their education.

SUGAR SUBSIDIES AND CONSUMER PRICES

I voted against the 1965 sugar subsidy bill, because I believe it is time we stopped spending taxpayers' hard-earned money to keep food prices up at artificially inflated levels. Such subsidies, in my opinion, are the kind of special-interest legislation that has long since outlasted whatever economic or social justification it may ever have had.

The House version would have authorized an extra quota premium of $280 million a year to be paid by American consumers for our foreign sugar purchases. So, over the 5-year life of the legislation, U.S. homemakers would have been required to pay nearly $1.5 billion more than the regular world price for the sugar we buy abroad on the world market.

Such a ridiculous situation results from the fact that the American premium price paid to foreign suppliers, in order to artificially support the price of domestic sugar, is presently almost three times the world price.

In my opinion, this is profiteering on a grand scale, with every housewife and consumer in the country forced to pick up the tab through an increased food budget, adding unnecessarily to an already high cost of living.

THE 1965 SERVICE ACADEMY APPOINTMENTS

Five of this year's 30th District service academy appointees are Robin Cababa, Gregory Barnes, Richard Finston, Raynaldo Valadez, and Ernest Wong. The sixth winner Harrison Lobdell, was not present.

We have been most fortunate since I have been in Congress, to have had enough academy openings available so I could appoint every young man who successfully passed the rigorous mental and physical qualification examinations. The six 1965 district winners, three times as many as had qualified in any previous year, all had applied to enter West Point.

THE 1966 SERVICE ACADEMY EXAMS

For the fourth year in a row, I want to offer every young man in the 30th District who is interested an equal chance to compete for the valuable educational and career opportunities provide at our national service academies at West Point, Annapolis, Colorado Springs, and Kings Point, N.Y.

To qualify for one of the freshmen cadet openings available next year to residents of the district at the Military, Naval, Air Force, and Merchant Marine Academies, I am asking all applicants to take the Civil Service Commission's special academy designation exam to be given in Los Angeles on November 6, and again on December 1.

For more information, application blanks, and a letter of authorization to take the exam, interested students should contact my Los Angeles district office—phone: 688-4870.

VOTING RIGHTS

At a conference in his Capitol office, Vice President HUMPHREY outlined legislative strategy just prior to passage of the administration's voting rights bill.

Recent examples of widespread denial of the elemental right to register and vote had clearly shown the urgent need for a strong Federal statute guaranteeing the full and free exercise of this precious right of citizenship for all Americans.

SMOKING HAZARD

In response to the U.S. Surgeon General's report that "Cigarette smoking is one of the greatest health hazards of the 20th century," Congress passed legislation this summer to require a printed health warning on cigarette packages.

The law, however, does not apply to cigarette advertising in newspapers or on radio and TV, and, in fact, actually revoked a Federal Trade Commission order set to go into effect last July, which would have applied uniformly to all these communication media. In addition, the measure prevents all other Federal, State, or local agencies from taking meaningful action to protect the public health in this matter by prohibiting them for 4 years from requiring any kind of advertising warning.

For these reasons, I voted against this legislation, because I am convinced that, instead of protecting the health of the American people, it serves only to protect the economic health of the cigarette industry, and prevents the consuming public, and especially young people, from learning effectively about the serious dangers associated with cigarette smoking.

LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

The House voted 221 to 203 to repeal section 14(b) of the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, the so-called right-to-work section which allows individual States to prohibit employers and employees from agreeing, through voluntary collective bargaining procedures, on work contracts which include labor organization security provisions.

Since California voters in 1958 overwhelmingly rejected a proposal to adopt a right-to-work law in our State, the repeal of 14(b), if concurred in by the Senate, would have no effect on existing California law, or on relationships between management and labor in the Golden State.

I voted with the House majority and in line with the decisive expression of California voter preference on this matter, because I do not believe the States should be permitted to override the Federal Government's clear constitutional authority to establish a uniform national policy on labor-management relations in interstate commerce.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

I was extremely pleased this year to receive a coveted assignment to the powerful House Committee on Foreign Affairs—particularly in view of the strong leadership role our country has come to play in promoting the cause of freedom and international peace among the nations of the world.

We Californians have always been an outward-looking people, deeply interested in the success of America's foreign policy—coming as we do from many ethnic and cultural backgrounds, a true melting pot of the strength and diversity that has made America great—and interested in being a good neighbor to the world, working in close harmony with others to promote international cooperation and expand our commercial trade contacts.

As an official congressional observer at Pope Paul's recent historic visit to United Nations Headquarters in New York, I was deeply impressed by this renowned world spiritual leader's wholehearted support for the U.N. as man's "last hope of concord and peace."

Certainly every religion, and every man of good will, must unite in creating the conditions that will lead to lasting peace, for if we fail, we will surely witness the terrible proof of President Kennedy's unforgettable warning that "mankind must put an end to war, or war will put an end to mankind."

RECORD ECONOMIC PROSPERITY

Americans are now enjoying the longest, most stable period of economic growth and prosperity in our entire history. For 56 consecutive months we have seen an all-time record high business expansion and a matching unprecedented increase in jobs, corporate profits and personal income for our people.

The country's gross national product is now approaching an unbelievable $700 billion annual pace (up $200 billion since 1961), with nearly 75 million men and women gainfully employed, while less than 3 million workers are now without jobs (at 4.4 percent of the labor force, the lowest unemployment figure in more than 8 years)—remarkable economic achievements scored during a period of relatively noninflationary price stability, and labor peace almost without parallel—for one of the best records of any modern industrial nation in the world.

Our current prosperity testifies to the dynamic vigor of our private enterprise system, the skill of American workers, and the wisdom of recent public fiscal and tax policies, all of which have been major contributing factors in maintaining a vigorous, healthy economy, and in holding out the promise of a brighter, more secure future for every American.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Housing and Home Finance Administrator Robert Weaver discusses President Johnson's 1965 housing program, describing how many of its progressive features can assist Los Angeles and other major metropolitan centers meet the challenge of continuing rapid growth.

With southern California's population due to triple from 10 million to over 30 million in the 35 years between now and the year 2000, when some 80 percent of our people will be living in cities, the President's forward-looking program is of vital importance to every citizen.

One key element was the creation of a new Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development to serve as a focal point of Federal concern for such pressing urban problems as sharply rising local tax rates, efficient mass transportation systems, adequate housing, expanded educational opportunities, effective air and water pollution control, recreation, and related necessities of modern life in 20th century America.

CLEAN AIR AND PURE WATER

California's outstanding pioneer leadership was recognized this year when Congress took decisive action to organize a truly national effort to eliminate, once and for all, the dangerous impurities in the air we breathe and the water we drink.

Using California standards as a guideline for effective air and water pollution control, the new rules encourage a cooperative local, State and Federal approach to fight the serious pollution problems in America's increasingly crowded metropolitan areas, like Los Angeles, where nearly 80 percent of our population will be living within the next few years.

I was particularly happy at my success in obtaining House and Senate approval of my amendment to start an urgently needed research program to attack the mounting problem of solid waste disposal—another adjunct of our prosperous, growing, highly industrialized, and automobile-oriented civilization.

WAR ON POVERTY

Congressman ROYBAL congratulated Dr. Maurice Dawkins, of Los Angeles, on his appointment as Associate Director of the war on poverty's VISTA program, the domestic version of the world-famous Peace Corps.

Los Angeles, already the recipient of some $25 million in Federal antipoverty assistance, is among the chief beneficiaries of this promising new approach to solving the tragic paradox of extreme poverty for some 30 million disadvantaged citizens, in the midst of an alltime record prosperity for most Americans.

Nationwide, during the 12 months of its operation, nearly 6 million persons have been assisted directly or indirectely by the various economic opportunity programs—the Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, basic education and job training, work-study and community action programs, and Project Head Start—in the first comprehensive effort in history to attack the root causes of human poverty and unemployment to assure every American the chance to earn his rightful share of the material blessings this Nation has in such rich abundance.

HEART DISEASE, CANCER, AND STROKE

To fight these three leading killer-diseases, which together cause 70 percent of the deaths in this country each year, Congress authorized a unique nationwide network of regional medical centers. The new centers will encourage closer cooperation between local hospitals, university medical schools, clinical research institutes, and practicing physicians, to speed the life-giving miracles of scientific research from the laboratory to the individual patient, thus making available to the general public the latest advances of medical science to concentrate on the prevention, early diagnosis, care, and treatment of our Nation's most dangerous threats to continued good health.

NEW LOS ANGELES VA HOSPITAL

Architect's sketch of the new $22 million VA hosptial to be built in east Los Angeles adjacent to the USC School of Medicine-L.A. General Hospital medical complex.

Construction on the huge, 14-story, 1,040-bed, ultra-modern health facility is expected to start in the near future.

THE 1965 LEGISLATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE

Again this year I sent out a questionnaire soliciting the views of the residents of the 30th District on some of the major legislative issues of special interest to Los Angeles, the State of California, and the Nation.

Like the encouraging experience with last year's congressional poll, I have been highly gratified at the overwhelming response (nearly 10,000 of you returned answers) to this opportunity to participate in the affairs of Government by indicating your opinion on these vital issues.

The time and effort spent in answering this survey is deeply appreciated. You may be sure that your informed and thoughtful advice will continue to assist me in representing our 30th District in Congress, as well as aid my consideration and vote on these important subjects.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

With Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., just appointed by President Johnson to be first Chairman of the recently established U.S. Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity.

A new agency set up under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Roosevelt Commission has a major responsibility to help eliminate, once and for all, unfair discrimination in job opportunities based on race, religion, sex, and national origin.

Slovenian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, October 28, 1918, marks the day when

the Slovene nation, established over a millenium and christianized according to Western tradition, united with the Serbs and Croatians to form the nucleus of the free country of Yugoslavia.

The Slovenes can trace their historical background to the 8th century, with struggles for freedom from the Bavarian Kingdom, Frankish Empire, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Hapsburgs of Austria-Hungary, who ruled them until 1918. Following World War I, the Slovene nation continued to build upon their own traditions and progressed well until March 1941, when Yugoslavia was divided by the Nazi-Fascist dictators emerging to engulf Europe. The Slovenes were an occupied nation until the end of the war, when the Soviet troops helped Tito subjugate Yugoslavia for the Communist bloc.

It is tragic, Mr. Speaker, that the people of Slovenia find themselves controlled by an atheistic Communist dictatorship which is completely contrary to their historic traditions. We encourage the brave people of Slovenia and their compatriots abroad to continue their efforts to produce a restoration of freedom and a legitimate government in their homeland.

The Vice President's Remarks at Oakland University, Rochester, Mich.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BILLIE S. FARNUM

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following remarks of Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY at Oakland University, Rochester, Mich., under date of October 22, 1965:

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

My fellow students, I always welcome the opportunity to speak on a college campus.

President Truman has often said that college audiences are the best. They listen intently—weighing each word with a scholarly mixture of skepticism and objectivity—and then ask questions that make you wish you had stayed in Washington. And he is right.

As a refugee from the classroom—a former professor of political science—I am careful to keep my academic credentials in order by regularly facing campus audiences.

In the past few years, I have found significant changes on campus. Ten years ago, most students were primarily concerned with their own well-being and security. It was "me first."

But this is not true today. This is the era of committed young Americans.

Today's college students are less introspective and more outward looking, less unconcerned and more involved in the political and social issues of the day than at any other time in our history.

You are in the forefront in the battle to restore civil rights, correct social injustice, and enhance human dignity.

You comprise the majority of volunteer workers helping to teach the illiterate, train the unskilled, and administer to the sick and poor.

Your motivation is, I think, based upon the same desire that has prompted us to seek a Great Society—a realization that today we have our best chance in history to better the human condition. And we have our best chance ever of truly becoming an educated and enlightened society.

Education is the fortress of our liberties. And it is the foundation of the Great Society. When every boy and girl with the capacity to profit from a good education can get one, we shall have unlocked the door to universal opportunity.

Without knowledge, we Americans cannot live successfully in the society we are building. In the last decade, jobs requiring a high school education grew by 40 percent; but those open to people without a high school diploma dropped by 10 percent.

Today, 54 million young people are in school, one-fourth of our total population. This tidal wave of enrollment presents a challenge to our 125,000 schools, 100,000 administrators, and 2 million teachers.

(I might add that Oakland is a good example of the enrollment explosion. When your doors opened for the first time in 1959, you had several hundred students; today you have several thousand. And in the next few years, you can expect to double your enrollment.)

We anticipate even greater demands on our educational system in the near future. Four million youngsters must find seats in schoolrooms in the next 5 years. We need 400,000 more classrooms. And there will be 50 percent more college students in the next 5 years.

Under the leadership of President Johnson we have enacted in this session of Congress the most far-reaching education legislation in history. These programs will help us to prepare today to meet tomorrow's demands. And they will enhance the educational opportunity here in Michigan.

Last year, Michigan opened 3,202 new classrooms for 1.1 million elementary school pupils and 793,000 secondary school pupils. The student-teacher ratio was 27. Michigan will need more classrooms and more teachers in the months and years ahead if it is to maintain this ratio, much less better it.

Under all the titles of the new Elementary and Secondary Education Act your State will receive $42 million to aid low-income districts, help purchase library and textbooks for public and private schools, establish model school programs and educational centers, and to initiate a program of grants to strengthen the State's department of education.

Here in Oakland County, $1.5 million in Federal funds will help 6,800 schoolchildren from low-income families.

Michigan is receiving $10 million this year from the Higher Education Facilities Act; and the University of Michigan ranks among the top 10 universities in the country receiving Federal research grant funds.

The State also receives $916,000 to help finance guidance, consulting, and testing in public schools. And under the Economic Opportunity Act—which Congress has doubled this year—you are receiving $6.5 million for vocational and adult education programs.

These programs, together with the higher education bill, the vocational education amendments, the Manpower Training and Development Act, and the Teaching Professions Act, will help your State realize the potential of each of its children.

These programs cost money. But they are bargains in comparison to the cost of inadequate or incomplete education, to wasted talent and resources.

Inadequate education leads to unemployment: The high school dropout is twice as likely to be unemployed as the high school graduate, and five times as likely as the college graduate.

Inadequate education leads to poverty: Two-thirds of the families in which the father had less than 8 years of schooling find themselves locked in economic hopelessness.

Inadequate education perpetuates itself in future generations: The children of the unemployed and poor become themselves unemployed and poor.

For these reasons, President Johnson proposed in his historic education message to the Congress that we declare a national goal of full educational opportunity.

The evidence indicates that the American people support this goal. This year—for the first time—public opinion polls show that Americans consider educational opportunities to be their most important domestic concern.

My fellow students, the foundations of this Republic rest on a people capable of accepting the burden of choice—a people who can assume voluntarily the burden of freedom.

Our wealth and power represent freedom's best hope in the world. And our people represent the best hope for human, social, and scientific progress.

Two-thirds of all the scientists who ever lived are alive and working today. This age has already produced twice as much knowledge as in all succeeding history. The science student today is learning 400 times the amount of new information that his predecessor did of only a decade ago.

Each new discovery in turn triggers other new advances and more new knowledge. Yet, our ability to harness new progress for the benefit of all is even more challenging and complex than the discoveries themselves.

It has been said that the race of man moves slowly because it must all move together. But we now have the means—for the first time in human history—to extend mankind's benefits to all men.

We have the genius to soar far beyond our own imaginations into the distant reaches of space. But we also have the chance to reach for the human heart—to do what we must to preserve life and make it full and free and bountiful.

My generation had its rendezvous with destiny. Your generation will have its rendezvous with opportunity. For you, and future generations, will have the best chance yet to right old wrongs and offer each person—and each place—in our country the chance to be better than today.

The Great Society offers our people the rare opportunity of self-fulfillment. Let us, then, accept seriously our obligation to liberate the human spirit in America and embrace the responsibilities of freedom. Let us resolve that freedom's holy light shall never be the light that failed.

Today we are embarked on one of the great adventures in human history—to join in the task of building the America begun but never complete.

Views Concerning NASA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, our Nation was shocked at the failure of the Gemini 6 space mission caused by the apparent explosion of the modified Agena rocket.

On October 13, 1965, I set forth in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—page 25963—

some views of mine concerning the NASA program of last year.

One of my statements concerned the last two Pegaus shots made as part of the Saturn I development program. I concluded that in my opinion the last two Pegasus shots were not clearly necessary.

The recent failure of the modified Agena rocket raises the further question of whether the major mission of the flight of the Gemini 6 should have been the occasion for the original firing of the greatly modified Agena rocket.

The cost of the failure to our Nation in dollars and prestige was enormous. It is also a fact, Mr. Speaker, that this modified Agena rocket could have been test fired by means of utilizing the last two Saturn I rockets, which carried the additional Pegasus satellites instead. Such a test might have avoided the failure.

I believe the question of priorities in the space program is one that deserves consideration by the NASA Oversight Subcommittee of the Science and Astronautics Committee on which I serve.

Change, Challenge, and the Drug Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix a speech given by John J. Powers, Jr., president of Chas. Pfizer & Co., Inc., of New York, to the National Association of Retail Druggists Convention recently held in Washington, D.C.

Pfizer, one of the world's largest pharmaceutical companies, has pioneered in antibiotic and viral research and is currently putting its scientific skills to work on mental illness and cancer research at medical laboratories in Groton, Conn., and Terre Haute, Ind.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHANGE, CHALLENGE, AND THE DRUG INDUSTRY

(Remarks by John J. Powers, Jr., president, Cohas. Pfizer & Co., Inc., at annual meeting of the National Association of Retail Druggists, Washington, D.C., October 12, 1965)

Nearly five centuries ago, a man stood on the shore of Portugal and turned his face to the western wind. Columbus believed, against all tradition, that there was land beyond that wind—land a mariner could reach if he were bold enough to sail around the world. He was one of a very few who knew that wind was blowing a change that was to alter forever the European world.

We, too, have felt the winds of change—you and I—and we know they will not cease. They get stronger by the day.

As we enter the final third of the 20th century, we have witnessed progress in the past few years speeding by us at such a dazzling rate as to blur the vision, like a motion picture film running at too fast a pace. The spectacular thing about it is not each new development, or discovery, or improvement in itself, but the constantly accelerating pace at which they are occurring, so that in the past 20 years more change has taken place than in the entire previous history of the world. The science of today is so new that 90 percent of all the scientists ever trained are alive today.

Already the wonder, the miracles, of a few years ago are taken for granted—the amazing idea that not only sound, but pictures, could be sent electronically from one place to another; that a plane could be propelled at more than twice the speed of sound, once a Buck Rogers prediction; that the atom could be split and its energy harnessed to power stations or to run submarines; and the thousands of other new things, large and small, well known or little heard of, which have yet become part of the very fabric of our lives.

We look now, not through ordinary microscopes, but electron microscopes which, magnifying 200,000 times or better, enable us to see for the first time, the unbelievably tiny viruses of disease. We have been able to photograph the surface of Mars close up, and the far side of the moon. A miniature solar energy plant developed for a Venus-bound missile has powered radio signals that flashed back to earth, 40 million miles distant. By the end of this decade we will, in all likelihood, have landed men on the moon. At the American Chemical Society meeting a few weeks ago, a prediction was made that life itself would be produced synthetically by man in the next 20 years.

Whatever the degree of accomplishment of all these spectacular achievements, it is obvious that they are but the symbol of almost unimaginable technological advances which will have reverberations in untold numbers and kinds of smaller changes in every aspect of our lives.

This incredible pace of change which is upon us will produce newer techniques and tools before we can turn around. To keep pace, we must be ready to adopt entirely new patterns of thought. If we are complacent, or preoccupied with past experience, we will be lost in the vortex of a changing world.

Technological change is probably at the root of most other change in one way or another. And it is, therefore, certainly not surprising that in these times we see great social, political, and economic upheavals here and throughout the world. It is to this total picture of technological, social, political, and economic evolution, that finally we must react. And who, more than we in the drug industry, whose past developments have had such a striking and beneficial social and economic impact upon society, and whose future is so deeply enmeshed in some of the greatest of all the technological advances seen on the horizon, who more than we should appreciate the pace of change about us and react to it?

Indeed, our industry has faced harsh criticism—some of which, we feel, has been unjustified, or even suspect. But criticism can be a positive force, stimulating all industries to examine their role in society. I suggest that the criticism directed at us is a symptom of the times. It is an indication of the inevitability of change, and the need for improvement. People expect more; of us and of themselves. Change is in the air—more and more people are dissatisfied with the status quo.

And so we must review every aspect of our business with our minds freed to accept the inevitability of change in response to all the circumstances surrounding us. I am sure the years ahead will see great new developments in manufacturing, quality control, marketing, and distribution in all industry. Already, for example, our greater understanding of electronic computers is beginning to create a revolution in practically every aspect of business. Its capacity for analyzing tons of data, controlling operations, and its possibilities even for solving problems, is breathtaking.

But this new approach means much more than just turning to these new machines, wonderful though they be. It means new patterns of thought, and new attitudes. It will take boldness. It suggests that in this new atmosphere it will actually be safer to take a chance, and more risky to seek security—as always in times of change.

But whatever else we do, in the drug industry, however far we go in other respects, I am sure that we will be judged, first and foremost, by our new discoveries in the field of medicine—the miracles and near miracles we have to offer in the great battle to improve the health of man.

And in that area particularly, we are on the verge of great things. Discovery comes, sometimes slowly, sometimes in a series of brilliant breakthroughs. The task of deciphering the hieroglyphics on the Egyptian tombs seemed hopeless until the Rosetta Stone was discovered in 1799. This piece of black basalt, with inscriptions in hieroglyphics and in Greek, was the key which unlocked the mysteries of ancient Egypt and opened the rich world of its history for all time.

Throughout history there have been periods which stand out like beacons. The Elizabethan period was a golden age of literature. The 19th century gave birth to the industrial era. This generation has seen the beginning of the atomic age. And now we are well into what, in the end, may be the most remarkable breakthrough in the modern scientific world—the era of molecular biology.

You have seen those three mystic letters: DNA, with their partners, RNA, which have escaped from the laboratory and invaded the pages of the New York Times and Life magazine. They are the key words of a new science which is a true turning point in biological research.

Molecular biology is our Rosetta Stone to the mysteries of the human cell. In just the past 5 years, the cracking of this tightly locked puzzle has given us more insight into the vital balance of chemical activity in the cell, than was know in all the centuries past.

It is so significant that at the annual meeting of the American Chemical Society held in September of this year, its president, Dr. Charles Price, keynoted the meeting with these remarks:

"The synthesis of life is now within reach. It seems to me that we may be no further today from at least a partial synthesis of living systems than we were in the 1920's from the release of nuclear energy, or in the 1940's from putting a man in space. The political, social, biological, and economic consequences of the ability to synthesize living organisms in the test tube will, however, dwarf those of either atomic energy or the space programs."

Now obviously I am in no position to comment on the scientific probabilities of that prediction, but this will nevertheless give you some hint as to the high pitch of excitement stirring the biochemical or molecular biological world today. It suggests too that while we have had our telescopes trained upon a distant universe, it may be that the greatest developments in the decades ahead will be rather in the microscopic and submicroscopic world of the human cell.

It is an intriguing thought that the great macrocosm of our universe, with its billions of miles of space, is no vaster, in proportion, than the world of the microcosm as we go down, smaller and smaller, into the vast spaces inside it. Space travel, in truth, is going in two directions—outward and inward.

Molecular biology is not a simple concept. DNA is a giant molecule within the nucleus of a cell. It issues orders for the day-to-day manufacture of proteins for cell use, and it also carries the blueprints of heredity for the reproduction of itself.

There is an orderly delegation of authority within the cell. DNA synthesizes messenger RNA which carries the orders for protein synthesis down to small chemical factories in the cell called ribosomes. Once the orders are delivered, there is another type of RNA called transfer RNA, which brings up the necessary amino acids for the ribosomes to organize into the correct proteins. (All this, remember, is taking place within one human cell—or one bacterial cell, for that matter.)

Once this function of DNA and RNA was understood, scientists went to work to decipher the features in DNA which governed all this activity, with some intriguing results.

For one thing, they discovered that the little protein factories—the ribosomes—could be removed from a cell, placed in an environment containing all the necessary raw material, and the ribosomes would go right on manufacturing proteins, even though they were no longer part of a living cell. They found that a ribosome could be broken into two parts, reduced in essence, to its basic chemicals. It was no longer alive and functioning in any sense of the word—just chemical units. Yet when put together again, it would resume its activity. It was, you might say, alive again.

Working with the "live" ribosome outside the cell from which it was taken, scientists found they could slightly alter the messenger RNA, thus changing the message, and the ribosomes would make a different protein. They discovered that when a virus invades a cell, its DNA (or RNA if it is an RNA virus, like influenza or polio) takes over the cell DNA and issues orders to make more viruses instead of cell proteins.

The significance of these findings is incalculable. Even our first crude knowledge of this master code leads us to reevaluate many of our approaches to the therapy of disease. How many illnesses—birth defects or metabolic diseases like diabetes—may be traced back to a flaw in the DNA molecule which contains the many volumes of our lives. Certainly cancer must be a molecular disease—a condition in which the DNA literally goes berserk and reproduces itself without control or end.

Virus infections are molecular in that they affect the DNA of cells and the approach to antiviral therapy must be planned far down on this molecular level, a job already underway in our laboratories.

Molecular biology has already helped us break one of the most puzzling mysteries—how an antibiotic like tetracycline works.

Tetracycline, or oxytetracycline, which is our own terramycin, penetrates the cell and acts at the site of the ribosomes. It intercepts the messenger RNA of a bacterial cell and scrambles the orders for new proteins. Thus a bacterial cell which has invaded a human host and is multiplying, is suddenly blocked from assimilating proteins and, in essence, starves to death. Moreover, the antibiotic is selective; it acts upon the bacterial invader without harming the host.

With this knowledge, the work of designing more efficient or more broadly useful anti-infective agents takes an enormous stride forward. We know the site of action and the form of action, and we can translate this into chemical terms. Our scientists have a molecular blueprint to guide them in designing the anti-infective agents of the future.

Nor is this molecular blueprint limited to anti-infectives. Determining the site of action of other drugs is the first step to designing better ones in all forms of therapy. We have hopes for better drugs to treat diabetes, for example, as we move closer to the accumulating belief that the disease is caused, not by a shortage of insulin, but by a molecular condition—perhaps an enzyme which binds the insulin so that the body cannot make use of it.

A new study on learning and memory has led some researchers to the conclusion that the learning process causes a change in DNA and that therefore some types of learning may be passed on to the offspring. Such a theory is still highly speculative, but it would go far to explaining the so-called instinctive learning of birds and animals. No one has to teach a bird how to build a nest—she just knows it. If the knowledge is planted in her genes, passed from mother to daughter, a great deal about the learning process and memory becomes clear.

There is an excitement now in laboratories all over the world, a sense that we have broken through, that the Rosetta Stone of biology is being rapidly deciphered and we are close upon discovery after discovery. I confidently believe that we are going to see new drugs in the next decade which will make the old ones seem as quaint as the potions of an Indian medicine man.

But the very importance of this new field of research to which we have committed ourselves raises important corollary questions which also require a careful appraisal of the future. Who is going to do this research—private industry, government, universities? Actually they are all in the field. Each year the amount of money spent on research by all these groups takes another jump upward.

In 1950 the drug industry spent $39 million of its own funds on research. Fifteen years later, in 1965, the budget was $339 million—nearly 10 times as much. In the same period, the budget of the National Institutes of Health, a Government agency, went from $58.8 million to $826.3 million, more than 10 times as much. And Government-financed research is on the rise.

There has been a sort of legend that industry concentrates on product research, leaving Government to sponsor fundamental research, the kind that develops basic knowledge rather than products. These distinctions, if they ever existed at all, are now very much blurred. The pharmaceutical industry is doing fundamental research because we simply have to know more about the nature of diseases before we can design new drugs for treating them. On the other side of the line, the Government has been sponsoring more and more research targeted on new medicinal and biological agents.

To churn this mixture further, the Government has called on the universities and on industry to undertake specific research contracts—and on a constantly growing scale, though up till now, in the pharmaceutical industry, it has amounted to less than 5 percent of all funds employed in that industry's research efforts.

In any event, it is no longer a question as to whether or not Government will be involved in science and technology. It is involved, and deeply. And the overlap between Government, industry, and the universities is growing. This, in turn, has raised serious questions as to the ownership of patents resulting from the joint work.

This question of rights to patents on Government-sponsored research had a public airing this year by a Senate subcommittee under Senator JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, of Arkansas. The proponents of legislation started from a sound position. They were concerned that the Government should be putting large sums of money in support of private research efforts (which incidentally is mainly in nonmedical areas such as the space programs) with the possibility that resulting patents might be owned by the private party alone. Obviously, this could get out of hand. But the legislation proposed went far beyond protecting the Government interest and seriously jeopardized the possibility of good working relationships between Government, industry, and the universities; relationships which certainly in the medicinal field hold the best promise for fruitful work in the future.

Fortunately, Congress did not act on this legislation during this session. The problems were simply too complex. In fact, it would have seemed to have put the cart before the horse to try to define a patent rights policy before understanding better the answer to the basic question: to what extent should Government extend its activities into the research area of all industry?

Obviously by reaching too far the Government could take over the very cornerstone of industrial life—its product-and-process research efforts.

It must be understood that research, the constant, unceasing search for something better, is of the very essence of our competitive, industrial society. It has always seemed to me that one of the great dangers of our generation, in which massive Government efforts have been repeatedly utilized in war, in foreign aid, and in social benefits, is that we may go too far and eliminate the very atmosphere of freedom we seek to defend, help, or improve. Yet, we must go far enough. It is a delicate and a difficult balance that has to be struck and none more so than in the matter of Government-financed research. Fortunately, there is evidence that the need for careful study of this subject is beginning to be appreciated.

A Senate Subcommittee on U.S. Government Research has been formed under the chairmanship of Senator FRED R. HARRIS, of Oklahoma. This subcommittee and a House subcommittee headed by Congressman PAUL G. ROGERS, of Florida, have already begun the massive task of conducting a deep and thorough study of Government research activities.

In addition, President Johnson has announced plans for what promises to be a historic White House Conference on Health during the first week in November. Its aim, in the President's words, is to "bring together the best minds and the boldest ideas to deal with the pressing health needs of the Nation and to set new goals for achievement in the field of health."

The work of these committees should help greatly in clarifying the roles which might best be played by Government, industry, and universities in medical and other research.

A welcome byproduct of these studies would be the emergence of a Government patent policy that would protect the public in the use of Government research funds and encourage rather than prevent a fruitful cooperation between industry, Government, and the universities.

All of this is obviously a prelude to change. We often resist change because it makes us uncomfortable. But let's not resist too long. From now on the race is to the swift.

In our industry we have a special opportunity and a challenge to leave the past and take an imaginative look at the future. In our society we must, and we should, be motivated by profit, but we must have a sense of social responsibility as well. If our vision be true, we will move without hesitation toward a truly great goal—the eradication of disease and the gift of a longer, better life for every human being.

The 89th Congress, 1st Session

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, as we return home to report to our constituents

upon our stewardship, we who have been privileged to serve in the 1st session of the 89th Congress are entitled to pride and satisfaction upon what has been accomplished to make life better for all Americans.

As a freshman Member of the 88th Congress, I was proud of its outstanding record under the forceful leadership of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. An even more impressive record has been made by this "do everything" 1st session of the 89th Congress. We have discharged with deliberate speed and great effectiveness the mandate given the Congress by the people in the last election to shape constructive, affirmative programs to move the Nation toward the goals of a Great Society, toward "a more perfect Union."

The Great Society envisioned by President Johnson is concerned with improving the quality of life for all, with giving all our people the opportunity to share in the American dream. The programs enacted at this session will improve the quality of life for all Americans, specifically—

OLDER AMERICANS

It is a tribute to the national character that the problems of our older people were given high priority in this session. As a longtime advocate of including basic protection against the health hazards of old age in our social security system, I am delighted at the adoption of the comprehensive medicare program. No longer must our people depend upon the goodness of their own families or the charity of strangers when major illness strikes.

The increase in benefits, liberalization of the retirement test, and other improvements in the Social Security Amendments of 1965; the establishment of the Administration on Aging in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and the special benefits for the aged contained in the housing, antipoverty, and other programs will also help to create a whole new day for older Americans.

SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFICIARIES

Extension of benefits to children attending school up to age 22; lowering of eligibility age for widows to 60; improvements in disability program; and the other provisions of the Social Security Amendments of 1965 will enable the system to meet more effectively the problems of the aged and the disabled, the widows, and orphans. This is not a handout, but a cooperative program with both economic and moral objectives. My father's premature death, leaving a widow to provide unaided for five young children in pre-social-security days, made me an early and enthusiastic supporter of this noble program.

YOUTH

Basic to our democratic way of life and to our national future is the principle that every American child is entitled to as much education as he wants and can usefully absorb. The educational accomplishments of the 88th Congress merited it the proud title of "the Education Congress," but the 89th Congress has made even greater progress toward insuring quality education to all our children. The historic Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the first general elementary and secondary school aid bill to become law, will help our hard pressed urban areas meet the mounting costs of offering a good basic education to every child.

Ability to learn, rather than ability to pay, must be the standard of education opportunity at all levels.

The Higher Education Act will assist colleges and universities in improving classroom, library, and laboratory facilities, and will provide loans and scholarships to students. This legislation will do much to give our young people an equal opportunity for higher education and a fair chance in the increasingly scientific and intellectual society of the future. It is important that graduate and undergraduate students and their parents inform themselves about the new loan program.

Another splendid program is the Vocational Training Act to expand the existing program and to provide loan insurance to high school graduates to finance technical and trade training.

The juvenile delinquency amendments will assist communities in the development of new programs to prevent or control juvenile delinquency and youth crime.

DISENFRANCHISED

The free and secret ballot is the foundation of our democracy and is the key to achieving other rights of citizenship. Every American citizen is entitled to an equal right to vote. The tragic events in Southern States underscores the necessity for determined action to insure that right to Negro Americans. I am proud that Congress enacted the Voting Rights Act and thus fulfilled the century old promise of emancipation.

DISADVANTAGED

No other program is more exacting or more promising than the campaign against poverty. This is a program for the reform of our society, for breaking down the obstacles that prevent one-fifth of our people from enjoying the blessings of liberty, equality, and opportunity promised by our Declaration of Independence and Constitution. The tremendous response to Project Head Start, VISTA, to the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the community action programs, and the other economic opportunity projects indicates the urgent need and desire to enable our deprived and disadvantaged to break out of the vicious cycle of despair.

The war on poverty is a war against the enemies of man—want and ignorance and disease—and its success will depend upon the united efforts of all groups in our society. Based upon the first year's experience with this pioneer experiment, the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965 will expand the war and increase its effectiveness.

WORKERS

The Manpower Development and Training Amendments extends for 3 years and expands assistance to unemployed in learning new skills to qualify for better jobs.

ILL AND HANDICAPPED

A mere listing of the measures enacted in this important field gives a good idea of the tremendous steps taken by this Congress to make the marvelous advances in medical science available to all our people: Expands program to construct health research facilities; extends programs for public health services providing vaccinations, immunization, other preventive treatment of diseases, migrant health clinics, and grants to States for general health services; provides initial staffing grants for personnel serving in community mental health centers; expands Federal control over certain depressant and stimulant drugs to reduce the illegal use of these dangerous drugs that affect the central nervous system; authorizes 3-year program of Federal grants to plan and develop a series of regional medical programs to fight heart disease, cancer, and stroke; extends and expands program of construction grants to medical, dental, and similar educational institutions; establishes new program of scholarship grants for needy students, increases students' loan program.

SERVICEMEN AND VETERANS

Congress acknowledged the national debt to our valiant defenders by granting justly deserved increases in military pay and benefits to disabled veterans and their dependents; national life insurance for servicemen; special allowances for evacuated dependents.

URBAN DWELLERS

With over 70 percent of our population living in cities, and with those cities suffering from blight and overstrained, obsolete facilities, it is past time that urban affairs received equal consideration to the perennial farm problem. I am delighted at the significant strides taken to regenerate our great metropolises into places worth living in as centers of civilization. The establishment of the Cabinet level Department of Housing and Urban Affairs will permit cooperation and cohesiveness among all levels of government and with private forces in raising the quality of urban life in all respects. No single community can meet its growth demands alone and without help. Federal, State, and local governments must act as partners in solving the complex problems facing the city.

The omnibus Housing Act, which was under the jurisdiction of the Banking and Currency Committee on which I serve, will accelerate our reaching the goal of a decent home for every family, improve our urban renewal and community facilities programs, and otherwise help our cities overcome their current predicament.

The High Speed Ground Transportation Act of 1965, authorizing research and development in rail and other forms of surface travel, will, hopefully, lead to a solution of the traffic congestion problem. A nation that can send men through space surely can devise better ways of transporting people on ground.

The Public Works and Economic Development Act, the successor to the area redevelopment program which has already provided invaluable aid to Newark and other hard-hit areas, is of immense importance in stimulating economic development in depressed areas.

NEWCOMERS

The policy of democracy of opportunity, reflected in the various programs to improve the lot of our citizens, was demonstrated in another way in the historic immigration and nationality amendments. As the son and grandson of immigrants from Italy, proud and grateful for the opportunity given them many years ago to become good and loyal Americans, I strongly supported this new law. The tragic separation of families incurred under the rigid national quota system will now be happily ended. The quality—but not quantity—of immigrants will be raised since an applicant will be judged, no longer on his birthplace, but on what he can contribute to our national strength and progress.

SMALL BUSINESS

Legislation was enacted to increase the highly useful Small Business Administration's loan funds for small business investment companies and State and local development firms.

Of course, small business, as well as large corporations and consumers, benefit from repeal and reduction of the various excise taxes. The first session proved how singular it was by removing taxes.

The economy of our Nation has reacted buoyantly to the can-do Democratic policies as evidenced by its sustained expansion for 55 months. Corporate dividends are up 30 percent; corporate profits after taxes are up 88 percent; consumption is up 27 percent.

CONCLUSION

Every group will profit from such measures as highway beautification; conservation of our precious natural resources; air and water pollution controls; water resources development—including a program to plan a water supply system for the Northeastern United States; National Foundation on Arts and Humanities to foster artistic and cultural activities and thus elevate the whole society.

The foregoing summary indicates that this Congress has acted upon the words of Thomas Jefferson:

The care of human life and happiness is the first and only legitimate object of government.

Impressive as are these achievements, much remains to be done to build the kind of society envisioned by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, a society in which every American has the opportunity to carve out a rewarding and satisfying life. When we return to Washington for the second session in January, let us carry forward the task of shaping the Great Society with the vigor, concern, and vision that have characterized this first session in compiling its notable record.

The Nonexistent Coalition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK R. MILLER

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, as a result of superficial writing by some columnists and superficial reporting by some news commentators, there are many who believe there is a northern Republican-southern Democratic bloc in the Congress. When I first came to the Senate 5 years ago, I had heard about this bloc and rather expected to see it. However, in these 5 years, I have not seen it yet.

Another phenomenon which is not generally understood by the voting public is the power exercised in the Congress by the southern bloc. This arises solely from the fact that the people of the South play their politics wisely, electing their Senators and Congressmen at a relatively early age and keeping them in office so that they will accumulate seniority, which brings a certain amount of power with it. All too often, the people in the North do not follow this policy, and so the southern bloc possesses seniority and power out of proportion to the number of people represented.

The distinguished columnist, William S. White, knows the Congress as well as anyone on the Washington scene, and it is encouraging to see an article written by him which precisely bears out the points I have just made.

I ask unanimous consent that a recent article by Mr. White, appearing in the Washington Post, entitled "An Old Notion," be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN OLD NOTION—THE NONEXISTENT COALITION

(By William S. White)

The stillness falls now over the Capitol. And in the long autumn of twilight between a session of Congress just ended and another to open in January a good many death notices are being read over the southern Democratic-Republican coalition.

President Johnson's extraordinarily success in putting a legislative program of unexampled liberality through the Senate and House is being interpreted as signaling the very end of a clammily conservative grip upon Congress, by a fierce lot of southern bourbons and oligarchs.

The notion has the attraction of melodrama and facile simplicity and the even greater attraction of time-honored acceptance. It is thus a pity, perhaps, that it has the material shortcoming of not really being so, and not really so on more counts than one.

For in fact there is no southern Democrat-Republican coalition and never was except in the most limited and shorthand sense that sometimes some, but never all, southerners have made common cause with some, but not all, Republicans on some, but not nearly all, phases of some kinds of issues.

On practically every major test of the more or less liberal against the more or less conservative viewpoint during the Johnson administration to date, the President has received more critically important support from southerners than he has lost. And even on the one big exception, civil rights, it is well to remember that 24 votes were cast from the Deep South in the House—and even more in proportion from the Deep South in the Senate—for the Negro voting bill.

Mr. Johnson's experience, moreover, is not unique, though he has, to be sure, fared relatively better with the congressional southerners than any President since Franklin D. Roosevelt half a lifetime ago. After all, he is a southerner himself, if a quite untypical one, and he knows his old congressional colleagues exceptionally well.

Indeed, the true wonder is not that President Johnson (and Democratic Presidents Truman and Kennedy before him, if it comes to that) has met some resistance from the congressional southerners. The true wonder is that, all things considered, he has met so little; and especially and poignantly so little, on those life-and-death matters of foreign policy—like Vietnam—which can distinguish or destroy an administration.

This is another way of saying that far from being the automatically reactionary roadblocks they are so persistently pictured as being, the commonrun of southerners in Congress are actually engaged in perpetually brave Hairbreadth Harry enterprise to support a President who is far too liberal for southern home tastes.

There is one and only one real truth in the widely held stereotype of the southern majority. The belief that southerners exercise disproportionate personal influence in the club affairs of both the Senate and House is entirely correct.

But even this circumstance is neither sinister nor undemocratic. It simply reflects two realities. The first is the power of seniority accruing from a region that reelects and reelects its men to Washington. The second is the inborn skill of southerners in parliamentary relationships and their high capacity to resist the demands of mere demagoguery—on most matters anyhow.

The southerner is indispensable to his nonsouthern friends in Congress. For at his best he knows how to bend a little but not too much—and to show his colleagues how to do the same—to the alarms and emotions that excite the public.

The Pershing Memorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. R. HULL, JR.

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, the erection of a memorial in honor of Gen. John J. Pershing is bound to occupy the attention of the House very early in the next session. Every Member is interested in this matter and I know of no opposition in the Congress. The President, in expressing his approval, urged that action go forward "without further delay."

We have been optimistic before. For example, S. 3903, 86th Congress, authorizing a memorial, was reported by Senator CARL HAYDEN and passed by the Senate on August 30, 1960. It failed of passage in the House because of adjournment—a national election required our attention.

It now occurs that the conceptual plans of the temporary Pennsylvania Avenue Commission may not admit of construction and completion of the plan as designed. It may be necessary to seek another site.

The memorial was visualized as looming large, and to be located on its own grounds and be commensurate with the deeds and the stature of the man whose services we seek to honor. Obviously no feature may intrude or clash with the monument. It is not a case of being accommodated or being lived with. These plans were submitted pursuant to an act of Congress by Gen. Jacob

Devers' Battle Monuments Commission. They have been accepted by the veterans societies and by the Senate without stint of praiseworthiness.

My bill, H.R. 10107, this Congress, superseding H.R. 17, laid aside, places the entire responsibility upon the Secretary of Interior as to site, erection, and maintenance of the memorial on federally owned land in the District of Columbia. He would be charged with following the plans for the memorial which I have described.

The National Park Service has indicated the availability of a potentially suitable site on Virginia Avenue NW., at C Street. This area, approximately the same size as Pershing Square, has much to offer now. It has much promise for the future. Virginia Avenue is an access route to and from the Capitol and the Southwest to the State Department, the Kennedy Cultural Center, Georgetown and the suburban counties of Virginia and Maryland. This alternate site may or may not be the solution, but it is there and its use may obviate further delay and inevitable invidious considerations.

Be all this as it may, it is hoped that Pershing Square will be the approved site and that necessary approvals for construction may go forward with at least a prayer that construction will be sufficiently advanced to permit dedication on the 50th anniversary of the commencement of the World War, April 6, 1967.

I understand that the Budget Bureau will have cleared the required reports to the Congress from the executive department agencies prior to the convening of the next session.

I am confident that we are on the way to fulfill this long-overdue honor to that great general who created his armies in the field 3,000 miles from his home base and then led them to a certain victory—turning the tide of a battle which otherwise would have been lost. No one who has read and studied the memoirs of Marshalls Von Hindenburg or Ludendorff of the Imperial Germany Army will doubt this statement.

It is trusted that early favorable action on H.R. 10107 may be had. Such will give substance to the Act of Congress of September 29, 1919, tendering its thanks to Pershing for a heroic task well done.

S. 2710, To Establish an International Center in Washington, D.C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a section-by-section analysis and additional background information prepared by the Department of State on S. 2710, which would authorize the establishment of an International Center in the northwest area of Washington. I believe that this information will be helpful to all persons interested in this proposal.

There being no objection, the analysis was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF S. 2710

(Submitted by Douglas MacArthur II, Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations)

Section 1 identifies land to be acquired by purchase, condemnation, donation, exchange, or otherwise, as that area in the Northwest section of the District of Columbia bounded by the Rock Creek and Potomac Parkway, Pennsylvania Avenue, New Hampshire Avenue, 21st Street, and O Street.

Section 2(a): Of the land acquired under this draft bill, a parcel not exceeding 3 acres will be conveyed or transferred, without consideration, to the Organization of American States for its headquarters site.

The OAS will, reciprocally, transfer or convey, without consideration, to the United States the building and other improvements known as the OAS Administration Building located at 19th and Constitution Avenue NW.

Section 2(b): Title to the property and the building known as the OAS Headquarters Building, located at 17th and C Streets NW., will be transferred, without consideration, to the Organization of American States. Title to that property has been vested in the United States since May 6, 1907. It was paid for with funds appropriated June 30, 1906, in the Sundry Civil Appropriation Act "for the purchase of land and the entire contribution of the United States toward the erection of a building to be used as Government quarters in the city of Washington by the International Bureau of American Republics." However, it was determined in April 1907 that the International Bureau of American Republics (the predecessor of the Pan American Union) as an unincorporated association was incapable of taking and holding a legal or equitable title. The title deed, therefore, was drawn so as to vest a valid title to the United States of America. Since the Pan American Union is now capable of taking and holding legal and equitable title, it is felt that this would be a suitable occasion on which to complete the intention of Congress at the time the money was appropriated.

Section 3: If requested by the OAS, the U.S. Government will design, construct, furnish, and equip with funds provided in advance by the OAS or on a reimbursement basis, the headquarters for the OAS on the property acquired under section 2(a) of this proposed bill.

Section 4(a) grants authority to the Administrator of General Services to sell, lease, or otherwise transfer property acquired by the United States under section 1 of this bill to foreign governments and international organizations under such terms as the Secretary of State, after consultation with the Administrator of General Services, shall prescribe.

Section 4(b) authorizes the transfer of title to or jurisdiction over any property acquired under this bill to the District of Columbia for public purposes, including, but not limited to streets.

Section 5(a) provides that plans for construction by foreign governments and international organizations shall be submitted to the National Capital Planning Commission and the Commission of Fine Arts for approval.

Section 5(b): Relocation costs shall be borne by the U.S. Government.

Section 5(c): Costs of rerouting, relocating, and rebuilding public sewers, water mains, etc., shall be borne by the U.S. Government.

Section 5(d): Foreign governments and international organizations will be required to conform to Federal Government standards and codes governing building construction and the equipment therein.

Regarding the proposed implementation of this draft bill, it is not currently envisioned that the acquisition of land by the U.S. Government will seriously disrupt or inconvenience many of the established business concerns in the area. The U.S. News & World Report, for instance, occupies a most attractive building and their activities would not be inconsistent with the character and general flavor of the proposed Center. In like manner, the Columbia Hospital would be regarded as a definite asset to the area. Moreover, since land will be acquired under the provisions of this draft bill on a need basis, there is a possibility that many of the remaining business establishments in the area may not be affected. However, should it become necessary, then relocation will be accomplished with a minimum of inconvenience and at no cost to the business concerns involved. It is not the intent of this bill to satisfy the requirements of some at the expense of others. It is hoped that any necessary relocation will improve the lot of those relocated. In any event, all efforts will certainly be expended in this direction.

Regarding the 200 families presently residing within the boundaries of the proposed Center those who own or reside in homes which are not in conflict with the basic plan of the National Capital Planning Commission would definitely remain, as would the renovated housing and the apartment buildings recently constructed or in the process of construction. Those residing in tenement houses of ancient vintage will most likely be provided with new housing in the immediate vicinity. Private developers have expressed a desire to construct such housing adjacent to the Center. Also, those families unable to afford low-income housing and who qualify for public housing would be given preference in existing public housing establishments.

The draft bill, therefore, will not only provide suitable sites for the OAS, other international organizations, and foreign chanceries, but will also serve to develop the area in keeping with the National Capital Planning Commission's projected plan for the overall development of the Nation's Capital.

I will be happy to furnish any further information you may require regarding this proposed legislation.

Double Standard of Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I am from a State which has felt the heavy hand of the Justice Department meting out its own peculiar brand of justice. We have noted the double standard of law enforcement which has marked their handling of civil rights cases, wherein the prophets and perpetrators of civil disobedience can apparently do no wrong while the elected officials of the people can apparently do no right. I do not think it unfair to state that, on the basis of the record, the Justice Department has served as a sponsor of civil disobedience in Alabama.

A few days ago, it was impressed on me that this double standard also apparently applies to persons charged with serious crimes, based on their degree of

cooperation with the Department. A constituent request called to my attention the strange case of Edward Grady Partin, indicted but never prosecuted on 26 counts of embezzlement of union funds and falsifying records in violation of the Landrum-Griffin Act, and also indicted but never prosecuted on charges of manslaughter and leaving the scene of an accident in Alabama.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot believe that cooperation with the Justice Department should purchase for a man an indulgence protecting him against penalty from any crime he has committed or may commit. Consequently, I have written to the attorney general of Alabama, as well as to the circuit solicitor involved, asking that the record be reviewed with an eye toward possibly reopening the case on the manslaughter charge, the statute of limitations having now run out on the charge of leaving the scene of an accident.

The fact that 10 days after these charges were nolle prossed, an Alabama jury awarded $150,000 in damages to the mother of the young airman killed in the accident in question seems ample basis for such review.

Since there was also no action taken on the Federal charges, under a law intended to protect rank and file workingmen against such crimes on the part of union officials as those indicated in the 26 counts of violation of the Landrum-Griffin Act for which Partin was indicted, there seems to be ample basis for congressional review of the Justice Department's handling of this case.

I join, therefore, with others in urging that the investigation of such Justice Department practices by the Judiciary Committee, authorized by the House in 1964, be in fact conducted in the coming year.

America's Forests: A Look Ahead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY M. JACKSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I am honored to represent one of the greatest paper producing States on the west coast—indeed, in the Nation. The State of Washington has numerous papermills and other concerns relating to the pulp, paper, and paperboard industries. Historically, the industry has been a significant employer of people throughout my State and has contributed immeasurably to its economic strength.

Through State and local taxes paid annually, through capital spent for new plant equipment, and through local contributions to the community, the paper industry has played a strong role in the development of the west coast. I am proud of the industry's record in the State of Washington.

In recognition of the efforts and progress of both industry and government and in the utilization of forest products, I respectfully request the inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the following article by Forest Service Chief, Edward P. Cliff, from a special New York Times supplement.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA'S FORESTS: A LOOK AHEAD

(By Edward P. Cliff, Chief, Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture)

About a quarter of all the timber harvested in the United States is used to produce wood pulp. By the end of the century the present harvest is expected to triple. At that time the pulpwood cut—some 105 million cords—would be equivalent to a solid pile of pulpstick covering Manhattan Island to a depth of 22 feet.

Can the forests of the United States produce this vast quantity of wood and at the same time meet increasing demands for veneer logs, sawlogs, and other timber products?

How do the increasing uses and values of forest land for outdor recreation, watershed purposes, wildlife habitat, and natural beauty relate to timber supplies?

What are the trends in forest area, timber growth and harvest, inventory volume and quality, utilization and technology, losses from fires and pests, etc.—and what do they indicate?

Earlier this year the Forest Service, an agency of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, published a comprehensive analysis of the current and prospective timber situation entitled "Timber Trends in the United States." This 235-page report is the latest in a series of periodic appraisals extending back over the 60-year period since our organization began under the direction of Gifford Pinchot in 1905. Detailed analyses covering potential demands for pulpwood and other timber products and timber supplies are included. State organizations, forest industries, Federal agencies, and others helped develop this latest evaluation of the Nation's timber situation and outlook.

We were pleased to find that the timber situation in the United States has improved considerably in the last couple of decades. Because of intensified fire control, tree planting, and other measures, timber growth now exceeds the cut. This long-awaited achievement means that timber inventories are beginning to rebuilt. However, old problems associated with timber quality and tree size still remain. In most regions the major part of the timber cut still comes from preferred species of larger diameters, while most of the timber growth is on smaller trees and less desirable species. Moreover, much of the remaining higher quality timber in the East occurs in widely scattered trees and much of the timber in the West is still economically inaccessible.

Despite these problems, the situation with respect to pulpwood supplies is relatively favorable. Although the declining quality of our total timber inventory is serious to industries producing lumber and veneer, small-size trees and low-grade material can be effectively utilized by the pulp industry. The wave of young timber that has tipped the growth-cut balance in our favor is made to order for pulpwood operations. New plantations and thick young stands of natural origin can yield substantial pulpwood volumes as they are thinned out to maintain their vigor and growth.

An abundance of low-grade oak and other hardwood material makes up a large portion of the forests in the Eastern United States. This timber, frequently unsalable for other purposes, is being increasingly utilized in making paper, newsprint, milk cartons, container board, building materials, and similar products. Relatively low in cost per ton of fiber, this kind of timber is expected to assume greater importance in the years ahead. This trend is a good omen for areas like Appalachia where markets for low-grade hardwood timber are badly needed.

Another favorable supply factor is the rapid increase in production of pulp chips from byproducts at sawmills, veneer mills, and other wood-using plants. For example, in 1962 a volume equivalent to 9 million cords of slabs, veneer log cores, and other coarse residues was converted into wood pulp. This was about one-fifth of the total consumption of domestic pulpwood. Ten years earlier, only 1.6 million cords of plant byproducts were utilized for pulp production. Although this striking rate of increase cannot continue, we expect that by the year 2000 some 20 million cords of plant residues—including sawdust—will be used each year for pulp.

There is another reason for optimism in considering the supply outlook facing the pulp and paper industries. Energetic research programs and rapid technological advances have been hallmarks of this industry for decades. New and improved pulping processes, for example, have expanded the resource base available to the industry through utilization of a wide range of species once believed to be worthless for pulp. Close cooperation between the industry, the Forest Service, universities, and other research organizations is the foundation for much of this technical progress. Scores of research projects, ranging from genetic improvement of pines to better methods of insect control and direct seeding of new forest by helicopter, are already paving the way toward increased timber supplies.

Leadership in the management of forest lands is also characteristic of the pulp and paper industry. Many companies have extensive holdings of forest land which are intensively protected, developed, and managed to assure sustained high yields of timber. The industry also has strong programs of technical assistance which aid private landowners in management of their forests. The doubling of pulpwood production in the South since 1950 is a dramatic illustration of the productive capacity of well-managed forests—and even there much more improvement in yields is possible.

Much remains to be done, however, particularly on lands owned by farmers and miscellaneous private owners. These millions of small ownerships include about 60 percent of the commercial forest land in the United States. In recent years they have furnished nearly half the total cut of pulpwood, sawlogs, and other timber products used by the forest industries. In aggregate they constitute the greatest opportunity for improving timber resources and increasing yields of forest products.

One out of every 3 acres in America is still forest land. These forests can supply projected timber demands to the year 2000 with more intensive management and utilization. Planting and seeding productive sites; increased protection from fire, insects, and diseases; improvement of timber stands by removing cull trees, and other cultural work; more complete utilization of timber in logging and manufacturing; and expanded research are some of the continuing tasks ahead. Cooperative forestry programs including States, Federal agencies, wood-using industries, and others are already well established. Intensification of these efforts can sustain a favorable outlook despite increasing demands of all kinds on our forest lands.

Vice President Humphrey's Remarks Before the Adlai Stevenson High School, Livonia Mich.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BILLIE S. FARNUM

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following remarks made by Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY at the dedication ceremonies, under date of October 22, 1965, of the Adlai Stevenson High School in Livonia, Mich., which is located in the 19th Congressional District which I have the privilege to represent:

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY

It is, for me, a source of particular satisfaction—and humility—that you have seen fit to invite me here today.

The dedication of this high school in the name of Adlai Stevenson—the first so-named in our country—takes its deepest significance not as a monument to his memory, but as a first milestone in the bright new world he foresaw for all men.

Today would have been a day of tremendous satisfaction for him because no man in our time was so dedicated to the idea that the only lasting mark a man can leave is a beacon by which the future generations can guide themselves.

In man's physical world, the trail blaze of yesterday is the highway of today. You need merely look about you to see its proof. Only two centuries ago the French voyagers, pushing westward through the lakes, paddled their birchbark canoes through the blue waters of the wilderness peninsula of Michigan.

Not one of them could possibly have dreamed of the highway he was blazing or the breadth and power of the new civilization which would use it.

It is my firm conviction that today we embark upon another such adventure, for there are future highways of the mind as well as of the wilderness.

Only 400 short years ago man believed he was the center of the universe, that the planets themselves revolved around him and had been doing so for only 5,000 years.

Then Copernicus saw with his mind's eye that the earth itself was in motion, that it was not the center of the universe, but part of a larger and more majestic movement.

Man today stands on the threshold of such discovery about himself.

As man once believed the earth was the center of the heavens, each nation believed it was the center of this earth, and spent its blood and treasure trying to make other nations revolve around it.

This concept compelled other nations, in turn, to preserve at similar cost the independence of their culture and people.

Hundreds of millions of innocent people died, cities were destroyed, libraries of priceless knowledge were obliterated because of this ghastly concept.

But it is no more ordained that the peoples of this world shall revolve around any one nation than that the planets and stars of the heavens shall revolve around this earth.

That was the great idea of Adlai Stevenson. It is man's latter-day discovery. It is the concept underlying the United Nations.

Today our poets and philosophers—yes, and our forward-looking political leaders—already sense that humanity is on the brink of development of a society which may unloose man's spirit and human potential—a society where, as President Johnson has said, men strive not for themselves alone but for all men.

The United Nations represents the triumph of the concept that no nation is the center of this earth any more than man is an island to himself.

Adlai Stevenson, a Copernicus of public life, gave strength and insight to this concept and he marshaled the giants of the ages to the cause of the United Nations.

"Know thyself," said Socrates. Adlai Stevenson added to this the Copernican view: That the key to a man's understanding of himself and of his country will be found in all other men and nations.

In a physical world of clashing arms and nuclear weapons, Adlai Stevenson took the noble path of Athens.

It was the knowledge that the only victory is in civilized persuasion—that that army never existed, nor that weapon ever invented or devised, by which hostile forces can enter into the realm of men's minds or hearts.

He knew that no nation and no man could ever extinguish the light God gave to men of every race, color and creed: the light of man's free spirit.

No physical force ever existed which can turn back the force of the evolution of man's soul. Consider the preponderant force of the pagan emperors of ancient Rome. Their legions were pitted against a forlorn group of men and women who insisted unto death that all men are brothers.

Which has lived through the centuries—the physical force, or the noble idea? Where are the Caesars, where are the legions now? And where is the noble idea?

The idea governs the consciences of billions of people of all religions—and may it soon govern the conduct of nations.

Like the early idea among men, 2,000 years ago, the early idea—as among nations—faces a heavily armed world.

The United Nations today may appear weak in the physical world. But that nation does not exist which is powerful enough to kill it. For the idea moves forward.

And among its allies is the United States of America. The most wealthy and powerful nation on earth, we have made our commitment to the idea and the precepts which underlie the United Nations.

For, in this nuclear age, we have reached the maturity to know that the strongest and weakest in mankind are equally vulnerable to mankind's dangerous inventions.

We have come to realize that, faced with a world two-thirds hungry, sick and ignorant, no one nation, acting alone, can hope to carry the burden of remedying those conditions.

We have come to know that both men's survival and his progress depend on his devising common and peaceful solutions to disputes and disagreements which, in previous history, were settled by force.

We have come to see that the evolution of man's technology has indeed forced evolution in man's organization and behavior.

Adlai Stevenson placed his faith and hope in the United Nations—even in times when it was mocked, belittled, and disregarded as an international instrument.

For his greatness was in his ability to look far beyond the limited horizons of the mockers and belittlers.

Today Adlai Stevenson is not with us. But his aspirations, his breadth of vision, his commitments to the United Nations as an institution, to the interdependence of man as a reality of life are shared by this Nation.

Adlai Stevenson was in his lifetime not chosen for the American Presidency. But the Presidency is today filled by another man of depth and purpose and of equal devotion to the betterment of the human condition. And under his leadership our evolution toward the great idea has moved swiftly forward.

For he knows, as Adlai Stevenson knew: Once men and nations understand the great common bond which sweeps them along together, like the great hidden undercurrents of the sea, new worlds open.

Could the French couriers viewing these wildness shores have imagined modern Detroit?

Could Columbus, tracing his lonely line across the Atlantic, have dreamed he was blazing trail for ocean liners and jets?

Could Galileo, training his telescope on distant sky, have dreamed that man would one day leave this planet?

These are miracles we today accept.

Adlai Stevenson accepted them and their expanding truths as the challenge of the future.

He believed that man was no more condemned to eternal war than he was to eternal polio, cholera or yellow fever.

He believed—and the coming generations will prove—that the upward striving of man will bring revelations by which he may cure the ills of his body politic as he now cures the ills of his physical body.

You stand on the threshold of these great new perceptions.

If one may presume to speak for his great and gentle spirit, I know that Adlai Stevenson would want this school to stand not as a monument to him, but to the promise and the goal of the true brotherhood of man.

Let us then make our hopes the hopes of all men. Let us make our cause the cause of mankind.

East-West Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, on October 21, Mr. Anthony M. Solomon, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, made a speech to the Salesmanship Club of Dallas on the subject of "East-West Trade." In view of the significance of his subject, I ask unanimous consent to have the speech printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EAST-WEST TRADE

(Address by the Honorable Anthony M. Solomon, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, at a luncheon of the Salesmanship Club of Dallas during World Trade Week, Dallas, Tex., Thursday, October 21, 1965)

It gives me great pleasure to be in Dallas and to participate in the stimulating program you have organized this week. I bring you personal greetings from Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs Tom Mann. If it had been possible for him to do so, he would have joined in this program today. I have worked with Tom Mann for the past 2 years, first on Latin American affairs and more recently on the whole range of matters that fall within our foreign economic policy. It is on an important and controversial aspect of that policy that I would like to talk today.

My subject is "East-West Trade," a subject that is looming increasingly large in the councils of the free world. I want to tell you something of the history of our trade

policy with the Communist countries of Europe, the reasons for its various phases, the thinking and practice of the other democracies in this matter, some encouraging developments behind the Iron Curtain, and the questions these have raised in the United States business community and in the U.S. Government.

Because this is a controversial subject, I want to be sure there is no confusion as to what kind of trade I am referring to and with which countries.

I am not talking about trade with Communist China, North Korea, or North Vietnam. Since 1950, the United States has maintained an embargo on all trade and financial transactions with Communist China and North Korea. We do not permit American ships or aircraft to touch at the mainland. This embargo was extended to North Vietnam in January, 1955. Each of these countries is engaged in aggressive activities, activities that we are helping the free countries of Asia to resist. Our trade embargo will continue so long as these countries continue to incite, support, and participate in aggression.

Nor am I talking about trade with Cuba. The United States prohibits all exports to Cuba, except nonsubsidized food and medicines for humanitarian needs, and embargoes all imports from Cuba. We have cut off financial transactions with Cuba and limited Cuban access to Western shipping services. Our restrictions on trade with Cuba are part of our total effort to isolate Castro's regime and reduce its ability to export subversion and violence to the other American States. Our embargo will continue so long as Cuba threatens the security of the Western Hemisphere.

Lastly, I am not talking about trade in strategic goods. Strategic trade, that is, trade in items of military significance to the Communists, is embargoed not only by the United States but also by our European allies and Japan. Fourteen NATO countries and Japan, working together in a Coordinating Committee, called COCOM for short, maintain an agreed embargo list of items whose export each participating country controls. The list is reviewed periodically to add new items of technological importance and to delete others no longer of strategic significance. We can expect the system of COCOM controls on strategic trade to continue in effect so long as Communist military capabilities are used to threaten the peace of the world.

What I do want to talk about today is nonstrategic trade, trade in peaceful goods, with the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Let me sketch briefly the history of our trade policy with these countries.

From the earliest days of this Republic, we have regarded peaceful trade as a normal element of international relations, and we have not sought to interfere with trade because we disapproved of the philosophy or form of government of a trading partner. Consistent with this general approach, we placed no obstacles in the way of trade with the Soviet Union in the 1920's and 1930's even though we did not officially recognize the U.S.S.R. until 1933; and at the end of World War II we treated trade with the Soviet Union no differently from trade with any other country.

The sharp break came in 1948 when we imposed controls on strategic trade with the Soviet Union and its European satellites. It was an unprecedented but necessary response to Soviet aggressive expansion in Eastern and Central Europe. It was also an effective response. At the time we were practically the only important source of supply in the West for important industrial materials and equipment. Moreover, our Western allies shortly adopted parallel controls, thus establishing the COCOM system I have mentioned earlier.

During the Korean war, these COCOM controls were tightened and covered virtually all industrial equipment and raw materials to Communist countries. However, following the end of the Korean war and the death of Stalin, the embargo list was reduced and made more selective. In the changed political climate, our allies were no longer willing to maintain a general embargo. They have continued to control commodities of direct military significance, in accordance with COCOM arrangements, but they have substantially expanded their peaceful trade with the Soviet Union. The United States has maintained more restrictive controls. We have a prior approval licensing system for most exports to the U.S.S.R. and we continue to prohibit equipment and technical data not on the COCOM list if they embody technology more advanced than may be currently available in other Western countries. We do permit without prior approval trade in consumer goods and in some types of equipment for the production of such goods. In 1963 when the exports of all COCOM countries to the Soviet Union reached $940 million, U.S. exports to the U.S.S.R. totaled only $20 million.

Because the Soviet Union exercised effective control over its European satellites and organized and exploited their economies in its own interests, our trade controls were initially applied equally to the Communist countries of Eastern Europe. But from the outset of our trade control program, we recognized the possibilities and the value of differentiating our controls and other aspects of our policy as a means of responding to and influencing significant political developments in the Communist world. Thus when Yugoslavia rebelled against the domination of Moscow in 1948 and Moscow broke off its trade in an effort to force her back into line, we supported Yugoslavia's assertion of independence with trade and substantial military and economic aid. Yugoslavia's successful breakaway was a significant event in world history and its influence was felt throughout the eastern world. Yugoslavia is a Communist country in ideology but it has undergone significant internal transformation. As is often the case, dogma lags behind fact. In fact there are now many elements of a market economy in Yugoslavia, a liberalized system of foreign trade administration, a reduction in government intervention in the economy, and a moderation in political controls. These very developments have resulted in higher rates of economic growth than in nearly all the countries which remained in the bloc, as we who are wedded to a market economy could have foretold. About 65 percent of Yugoslav trade is now with the non-Communist world. The influence of that trade and the contacts that have flowed from it have had, in the opinion of your government, an impact on the internal liberalization in Yugoslavia and can be expected to continue to have a salutary influence. Yugoslavia does not always or even often vote with us in the councils of nations but she is not an imperialist and aggressive power seeking to undermine the Western World.

The Yugoslav experience stimulated the latent forces of nationalism within the Eastern European countries. Its influence was felt in Poland. The Gomulka government was able to reduce Soviet domination in Polish life. We encouraged the trend toward greater independence through our food-for-peace program, our Export-Import Bank credits, and our trade policy. In connection with the conclusion of a claims settlement we restored most-favored-nation treatment to imports from Poland and adopted a more liberal export licensing policy toward her. In Poland, Voice of America broadcasts are now jammed. U.S. magazines, films, and books are circulated. Catholics, who comprise 95 percent of the population, enjoy basic freedom of worship. Farmers are no longer collectivized. In Poland, as in Yugoslavia, 85 percent of the farms are in the hands of private farmers. We know from Anglo-Saxon history the significance for freedom of an independent body of small farmholders.

These steps toward internal liberalization should not be exaggerated. The governments of these countries are not representative governments with limited powers, tolerant of diversity and nonconformity. Freedom of speech is curtailed in both Poland and Yugoslavia but to a far lesser extent than when they were part of the monolithic Soviet bloc. On balance, our observers and experts believe that the trend, with setbacks from time to time, is toward the assertion of a national point of view and toward internal liberalization.

More recently Rumania has demonstrated its independence and has resisted outside efforts to put her economic development within the straitjacket of an economic plan for Communist Europe as a whole. She has asserted her national interests, pursued her economic development along lines consistent with those interests as she sees them, and has achieved the most dynamic economy in Eastern Europe. During the past year, our willingness to trade more freely with Rumania has been a means of encouraging these favorable developments.

In Hungary and Czechoslovakia, there are similar trends in the direction of improved relations with the West and greater national identity. With the possible exception of Albania, there is no part of the Eastern European area that does not show the ferment of change.

Except for Yugoslavia and Poland, we have not extended most-favored-nation tariff treatment to imports from countries of Eastern Europe and our controls over peaceful trade are more restrictive than those of our Western allies. In 1963, when the exports of our European allies to the countries of Eastern Europe, excluding the Soviet Union, were $1.3 billion, U.S. exports to these countries totaled about $150 million.

The question is being asked more and more insistently whether developments within the countries of Eastern Europe warrant further modifications in U.S. policy and practice on peaceful trade with them. This question is being actively studied not only in the executive branch and the Congress but also by a variety of nongovernmental organizations and most particularly by members of our business community.

Even a casual student of Eastern European history knows that these are people with distinct national histories and close traditional ties with Western Europe. They are small and economically vulnerable countries. Should we reinforce the Iron Curtain by ignoring the significant changes taking place in Eastern Europe or should we tailor our trade and related policies in accordance with the conditions and behavior of each of these countries?

President Johnson has recognized the longing of the peoples of Eastern Europe—and some of their rulers—for "deeper, steadier, and more natural relations with the West." He said recently and eloquently that "we wish to build bridges to Eastern Europe—bridges of ideas, education, culture, trade, technical cooperation, and mutual understanding for peace and prosperity."

The business community in the United States has spoken up more and more forcefully for greater flexibility in our trade policy with Eastern Europe. In April 1964, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce asked for a "prompt reexamination and reevaluation of the present system of export controls with the objective of strengthening some controls and eliminating others which are not nec-

essary for the security of the United States and which result in discriminations harmful to its competitive position."

In November 1964, the National Foreign Trade Council in a resolution approved by nearly 2,000 delegates, endorsed the increasing interest being shown in development of trade with Eastern Europe and underlined the "extreme importance of maintaining a watchful and cautious but not unfriendly or inflexible approach to this issue."

In May 1965, the Committee for Economic Development completed an exhaustive study it had made of East-West trade in cooperation with its counterpart organizations of businessmen in Western Europe and Japan. After a penetrating and balanced assessment of the Western interest in peaceful trade with Eastern Europe, the report concluded that "the interests of the West would be served in present circumstances by an expansion of East-West trade brought about by mutual East-West reduction of the obstacles to trade." It noted that "the West should be in a position to respond more affirmatively to tendencies of some eastern countries to trade more freely with the West and to follow more market-oriented practices."

In one of a series of studies of East-West trade made by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the views of an important cross section of 125 American businessmen and 20 bankers were sought. A total of 105 of the 125 felt that trade with Eastern Europe should be expanded. Only nine believed it should not be. Most of the bankers favored participation of the Export-Import Bank in guarantees of normal commercial credits in East-West trade.

More recently, a committee apopinted by President Johnson, the Special Committee on U.S. Trade Relations with East European Countries and the Soviet Union, composed of distinguished citizens under the chairmanship of J. Irwin Miller, chairman of the board of the Cummins Engine Co., made an extremely hardheaded evaluation of the way in which U.S. national interests may be advanced by a more creative use of American trade relations with the Communist countries of Europe.

The businessmen who have spoken so forthrightly are not naive about the Communist threat to our interests. They know, as you and I do, and as Tom Mann said only the other day in an address to the Inter-American Press Association at San Diego, that Communist bloc doctrine still calls for world revolution. The Soviet Union continues to train selected candidates from other lands in the arts of subversion, sends them out to disrupt vulnerable societies abroad, and finances their activities.

But our businessmen are also aware that we must not be trapped and frozen by dogma; that we must not look at the Communist world as an undifferentiated unit. All are agreed that we must keep our powder dry and deny to the Communist world strategic goods that strengthen its military capabilities. But in the area of peaceful trade, there is a broad consensus that we should differentiate among Communist countries; weigh carefully the advantages and the disadvantages in each case; and consider how the whole range of trade tools: export controls, most-favored-nation treatment, and normal commercial credits, can be used to effect economic and political change in our national interest.

In a statement to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last year, Secretary Rusk summarized U.S. policy on trade with the Communist countries in these three points:

"1. Trade can be a useful instrument in the contest with communism and in affecting Communist policies, provided it is adapted to the particular situations presented by different Communist countries.

"2. Trading policies suited to one period in our relations with a particular Communist country may not be equally appropriate at another period.

"3. Our national purpose can be served either by the denial of trade or the encouragement of trade, depending on circumstances. Furthermore, the denial of trade may be either total or selective. It is important that the steps taken in East-West trade policy be flexibly adapted to particular Communist countries at particular times."

Foreign policy cannot be based on slogans. A mature and responsible power must be discerning and discriminating in assessing its best interests. Our objectives toward international communism are:

1. To prevent the Communists from extending their domain, and to make it increasingly costly, dangerous, and futile for them to try to do so—for example, our policy in South Vietnam;

2. To achieve agreements or understandings which lead to peace and help reduce the risk of a devastating war—for example, the test ban treaty; and

3. To encourage evolution within the Communist world toward national independence, peaceful cooperation, and open societies—for example, trade in peaceful goods with the West.

Favorable developments in Eastern Europe have not been paralleled by like developments in Communist Asia. The contrary is the case. But the Sino-Soviet split which have divided the Communist empire has given the countries of Eastern Europe more room for maneuver and an opportunity to assert their national interests. It is the Communist Chinese thesis that peaceful coexistence, in its true sense, is not possible between the free world and the Communist world. From this rigid dogma flows their call for aggression and their appeal to the barrel of the gun. Should we accept their dogma and constrict channels of contact and communication in Eastern Europe, the flow of peaceful goods, persons, and ideas where these can influence change in our direction? Were we to accept so rigid a view, we would be aiding Chinese Communist foreign policy which is based entirely on looking down the gun barrel. And while it is the case that we have more and bigger guns, and will continue so long as necessary to multiply these guns, to rely solely on them is to risk Armageddon. Surely the better course is to use other instruments available to us as well—and peaceful trade is one of them—prudently and wisely, to encourage the forces now at work toward peaceful intercourse and more normal relations.

We should also remember that trade which can be encouraged when the time and circumstance are right can also be withdrawn when circumstances change. To move toward a more liberal trade policy with Communist Europe on a selective basis does not commit us to perpetuity to continue that policy. We do not give hostages to fortune. We are in full control. There is no conceivable danger, given the size and strength of our economy, that we for our part could become unduly dependent on such trade. We would benefit economically from such trade and our businessmen would not have to cede the business to their Western European competitors. But the economic benefits to the United States are not the major reason; they would still be marginal. It is the contribution such trade can make to the lessening of the tensions, fears, and suspicions that isolation encourages, and the support that trade can give toward the progressive opening of the Iron Curtain—it is these that we value and should recognize as the critical gains from such trade.

Let me turn briefly to the question of increased peaceful trade with the Soviet Union itself. It may be argued that facilitating peaceful trade with the small countries of Eastern Europe is clearly in our interest because it encourages national independence and liberalization, but that these considerations do not apply with equal force to peaceful trade with the U.S.S.R., the most powerful Communist country in the world. One question is whether increased U.S. trade with the U.S.S.R. would strengthen its power to mount foreign offensives and provide it with added resources for subversion abroad? This question deserves the most careful and thoughtful consideration. In the time that remains to me today I want to suggest some of the considerations that bear on it in the hope that these will provoke you, as the leaders of the business community in Texas, to undertake a balanced analysis of the issue.

To begin with, we must recognize that the Soviet Union has a powerful military-industrial base, an advanced weapons technology and military production capability. The Soviet Union could not procure from us or our Allies, nor would it permit itself to become dependent on us or our Allies for, equipment related to weapons development. What it would seek in increased trade is civilian goods. But it would have to pay for such goods in real resources, gold or other commodities of real value to us. This would be a fair exchange. Why should we assume that we would lose out in such trade? Nor are we the sole source of civilian goods of a kind of interest to the Soviet Union, whether it is wheat or machinery. Our Allies in Western Europe and in the Western Hemisphere are prepared to make these goods available if the Soviet Union can afford to buy them. Is it the Soviet Union or our own farmers, businessmen, and workers that are disadvantaged when we put impediments in the way of such peaceful trade?

What about advanced technology, advanced industrial plants, and our latest data that may not be available elsewhere? By and large, our business firms protect their advanced technology in which they have made heavy investment in research and development; they may be willing to exchange their technology for what they consider equivalent advanced technology from other firms. Whether such an exchange would be feasible with the Soviet Union deserves further examination, but if it were to result, it would mean that we had gained something of equivalent value from certain advanced Soviet industrial processes. Let me remind you that our export licensing controls would prevent the sale of advanced technology that has military implications.

There is another consideration. The presence of American factories, machinery, and equipment in the Soviet Union surely can be a means of demonstrating the efficiency and excellence of American products and American technology. This is not a factor that works to our disadvantage. It works rather to the disadvantage of Soviet doctrine by demonstrating the superiority of the Western system of economic organization. We know that the U.S.S.R. is in the midst of a period of critical self-examination, insofar as its economic institutions are concerned. The steady exposure of Soviet industry and agriculture to the hard facts of economic life internally and in world markets has led Soviet policy makers to think more and more critically about problems of attempting to run their economy efficiently and improve the quality of their products. Their dilemma is that they want some of the benefits of Western private initiative and risk-taking combined with centralized political control and planning. But a large and complex industrial economy like the Soviet Union can not be tightly controlled at the top and expect to enjoy the full benefits of initiative and experimentation at the levels below. The web of controls in which managers of enterprises are ensnared inhibits innovation and experimentation. Periodically the Soviet rulers restructure the system, shift decision making to the regions,

then back again to the center. They are presently in the throes of such a reorganization. This reorganization has new and interesting features. For example, it gives a greater role to profits and it permits managers of enterprises some discretion in wage payments and incentives to labor. The Soviet reforms do not go so far as a number of reforms introduced recently in Eastern European countries, but they are a hesitant first step in the right direction.

The Soviet rate of growth has been slowing down since 1960 while that of the United States has been picking up. During the 1960–65 period the Soviet rate of growth of gross national product has averaged about 4.3 percent a year, roughly the same as our own. Thus, during the past 5 years the Soviets have made no further progress in narrowing the relative gap between their economy and our own. In fact, because the United States GNP is approximately twice that of the U.S.S.R., the absolute gap has widened by roughly $60 billion. At present rates of projection, the Soviets by 1970 will be farther from matching the United States economically than at any time since Khrushchev first began talking about "catching up" with us.

The fear has been expressed that peaceful trade might increase Soviet resources for mischief abroad. But if the Soviets must pay with real resources for what they buy abroad, whether from the production of goods or gold, they are not getting something for nothing. They are giving up hard-pressed resources for what they gain. There is no question here of long-term credits to the Soviet Union. The question I am examining is two-way trade on a commercial basis, not trade through aid credits.

I think we might also give consideration to the implications of Soviet trade in civilian goods for its effect on the allocation of Soviet resources internally. If Soviet trade in peaceful goods with the United States could in fact develop substantially in volume and value, the development would be a most hopeful one. It would reflect a concern of the Soviet regime with internal civilian needs rather than the singleminded and obsessive concentration of resources on military development, a concentration that has characterized Soviet economic planning over the years, and has left the ordinary Soviet citizen with a narrow choice of low-quality and relatively high cost consumer goods and long queues and waiting lists even to procure many of these.

We should welcome such a development if it could come to pass. When consumers have not enjoyed goods sturdy in quality, esthetic in design, and available in quantity and variety, they accept drabness as a way of life. But if these goods do become available to them as a regular matter, it becomes difficult then for the regime to reverse direction without generating widespread and unhealthy dissatisfaction. Luxury becomes necessity; and barring emergency situations, resources committed to civilian requirements tend to continue to be so committed.

One last consideration I would like to put forward is the influence that increased trade with the Soviet Union might have in encouraging the adoption by the U.S.S.R. of Western standards of international behavior, observance of rules of arbitration, protection of industrial property and copyrights, limitations on freedom to engage in disruptive trade practices. If the U.S.S.R. wanted to increase its trade with the West substantially, it would have to bring its trade practices into line with those of the established world trading community. Only this summer, the Soviet Union adhered to the international patent convention. And it would have to open up its economy to commercial representatives, facilitate entry and travel. This normalization of behavior in economic intercourse would not, of course, entail a reorientation in political thinking and political objectives. Trade is not so revolutionary an instrument as that. But is it unreasonable to believe that small steps toward more normal intercourse might over the longer term have a cumulative beneficial effect in reducing the aggressive thrust of Soviet policy?

I have tried this afternoon to put forward food for thought, not a specific agenda for action. My primary concern is that whatever policies we do adopt be taken on the basis of a full and rational examination of their implications and following a full exchange between an informed citizenry and their representatives and public servants in Washington.

On the controversial subject of East-West trade, emotions run high. But the need today and tomorrow is for a hard-headed, not an emotional, approach to an important issue. We must first make a calculated assessment of the possibilities and the forces for change—political, economic, and commercial. Only then can we decide what course best serves the national interest.

The Spending 89th

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, all of us have heard about the records which the 1st session of the 89th Congress has put on the books, but all of the encomiums should not exclude the fact that the 89th Congress was also one of the spendingest.

The Topeka, Kans., Daily Capital editorialized on this aspect of the 89th's record, and under leave to extend my remarks, I include this thoughtful editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD:

[From the Topeka (Kans.) Daily Capital]

THE SPENDING 89TH

It must be with a sigh of relief that the public witnesses the end of the 1st session of the 89th Congress. The "spendingest" Congress in the history of the Nation maintained such a hectic pace in passing Great Society legislation that the onlooking voters were probably just about as exhausted as the lawmakers themselves when the final gavel sounded.

But the real effect on the general public is yet to be measured. The Johnson administration claims the session of Congress just closed was the greatest in the Nation's history. Measured by the yardstick of what it will cost the people, it was.

But how desirable and how effective the welter of new legislation will be can be told only in time.

President Johnson's press secretary says that while the President was, in general, pleased with the accomplishments of the session, "there are a good many things on the agenda that we want to get at—23 in all."

These weren't named but the list no doubt includes a renewal of the effort to ditch section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, defeat of which in the session just ended constituted the administration's biggest setback.

In their zeal to provide more and greater benefits for various welfare programs—education, social security, aid for local governments, etc.—the lawmakers added to the mass of present bureaucracy and created new agencies.

Even the L.B.J. lieutenants in Congress are saying that part of the second session's job will be to round out "rough corners" in laws the first session put on the books.

They concede there has been some overlapping in the tremendous amount of social legislation approved.

Besides the administration's failure to obtain repeal of Taft-Hartley section 14(b), L.B.J. forces lost some other battles in the session. The lawmakers refused to supply any funds for rent subsidies or for a Teachers Corps proposal. Home rule for Washington, D.C., was another administration-supported bill that wasn't given approval. The move to increase the $1.25 minimum hourly wage also failed.

But by and large, L.B.J. got what he wanted and his so-called arm twisting kept Congress mostly in line. The result is a massive program of welfare legislation which will affect everyone for years.

This means annual built-in increases in the cost of Government unless Congress should somehow decide to terminate some of its munificence.

Washington observers are now forecasting a budget for the next fiscal year of $107 billion. Another deficit is expected. With taxpayers already feeling the effects of creeping inflation, the future doesn't indicate any relief from the tax burden unless, of course, the administration tries another tax-cut for voter appeal even if it means taking dangerous chances with the Nation's solvency.

The 1st session of the 89th Congress proceeded to pass major legislation mostly on a sign from the White House. The impression prevails that this will continue unless the public indicates it believes the Great Society is great enough already, or perhaps too big for its britches.

Letter From Chief Justice Elijah Adlow of the Boston Municipal Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to put in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter I have received from Chief Justice Elijah Adlow of the Boston municipal court.

Judge Adlow is a graduate of Harvard, a former member of the legislature, and chief justice of our municipal court for many years.

His letter describes briefly the history of the court, its members and its functions. I am confident, in view of recent discussions, that Senators will find this letter instructive and helpful.

I have known the judge for many years, and respect him for his work in the court and its administration.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
MUNICIPAL COURT OF THE CITY OF BOSTON,
Boston, Mass., October 1965.

Hon. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL,
Boston, Mass.

MY DEAR SENATOR SALTONSTALL: In the past few weeks the municipal court of the city of Boston has been brought to public attention by proceedings before a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee at

hearings considering a Presidential appointment. Remarks made by members of this committee during these hearings have grossly distorted the true picture of this court, and lowered it in the opinion of the general public. In justice to this court I feel that our representatives in Washington should spare no effort to correct this erroneous impression.

This court was originally created in 1822. At a time when lower court justice was administered by justices of the peace all over the United States, the establishment of this court represented a marked advance in the administration of justice at the lower court level. It was manned by salaried judges paid from the public treasury who enjoyed life tenure. Since 1822 its jurisdiction has been extended to embrace all of Suffolk County, of which Boston is a part, in civil matters, its jurisdiction once limited to causes involving no more than $1,000, has been extended to the point where it today has unlimited jurisdiction over contract and tort actions. The original court consisted of a presiding justice who received an annual salary of $1,500, and two associate justices who received an annual salary of $1,200 each. Today the court consists of a chief justice who receives $21,000 a year and eight associate justices who receive $20,000 each. Prior to 1914 parties to litigation had a general right of appeal to the superior court in all contract, tort, or summary process causes. Since 1914 the findings of fact of our justices are final in all contract and tort matters, and parties aggrieved by rulings of the court on legal questions may appeal only on these questions to the appellate division of this court. I am not aware of any other lower court in the United States whose findings in civil causes enjoy this conclusive character.

As for the nature of the business transacted on the civil side of this court, the records will disclose a multitude of judgments in amounts ranging from $10,000 to $25,000. I am personally aware of one contract case in which a finding for $120,000 was returned. The legal rulings in this case were reviewed by the appellate division and were sustained. What is most significant is that in 1964 there were over 22,000 entries on the civil side of this court, and over 2,300 actual trials of causes. This represents only a share of the civil work. We must not overlook the small claims and poor debtor proceedings.

Since the creation of this court in 1822 and its reorganization in 1866, its criminal jurisdiction has been limited to the trial of misdemeanors with a power to sentence up to 2½ years. This court can sentence prisoners to the Concord Reformatory, the Sherburne Reformatory for Women, the House of Correction, or the jail. It cannot sentence to the State prison because such a sentence is legally considered infamous punishment and a constitutional provision prevents such punishment except on presentment by the grand jury. Grand jury indictments are returnable to the superior court only. In 1857 the legislature attempted to confer this power on our lower courts, but the supreme judicial court declared the act invalid. However, an act of the legislature has empowered our lower courts to take jurisdiction over crimes punishable by no more than a 5-year term in the State prison. This act does not empower our judges to sentence to the State prison, but it authorizes judges in the exercise of their discretion, to reduce charges and dispose of them as misdemeanors. I think it is a tribute to the sound judgment of our justices that over many years this great power has been exercised without complaint or scandal.

It is unnecessary for me to recite the voluminous statistics reflecting the work on the criminal side of our court. There are thousands of traffic cases and thousands of drunkennesses cases. But there are thousands of serious criminal cases as well. Hardly a day goes by that does not witness justices of this court presiding over prosecutions for murder, rape, robbery, assault, larceny, and the various other crimes that contribute to the contemporary revolt against authority. This work is not a minor responsibility as was intimated by certain members of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Since 1866, eight of the justices of this court have been promoted to the Superior Court of Massachusetts. One of our judges now sits on the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. I am aware of four judges who presently sit on this court who have been offered the opportunity to go on the superior court and have declined. Let me make this further observation. A former chief justice of this court was one of the founders of the Harvard Law Review, and enjoyed high repute in the world of legal scholarship. I refer to the late Chief Justice Wilfred Bolster. Another of our former chief justices was John Wilder May whose book "May's Criminal Law" has already appeared in five editions and is considered authoritative in all common law jurisdictions. There were many others who enjoyed high repute in legal circles. The many volumes of decisions handed down by the appellate division of the Municipal Court of the City of Boston will provide ample proof of their merit.

The annual budget for this court is $1,267,579. Aside from the criminal and civil clerks offices, our probation department is staffed by 28 full-time probation officers. Sixteen court officers attend the justices in the various sessions. Certainly, a court that carries on its payrolls 158 employees deserves a little better consideration than that given by a committee which was reported in the press to have compared this court to certain magistrate's courts which are presided over by laymen.

I am not aware of any other lower court in the United States which serves such a vast area and enjoys such great power with respect to the trial and disposition of causes. I do not believe that the members of the Judiciary Committee who made these adverse comments on the court were aware of these facts.

I trust that you will do all in your power to correct what I believe to be an unfair impression.

I have sent a similar letter to your colleague, Hon. EDWARD M. KENNEDY.

Sincerely yours,

ELIJAH ADLOW,
Chief Justice.

Extremism and Its Threat to America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

EXTREMISM AND ITS THREAT TO AMERICA

Mr. Chairman, honored guests and delegates to the Jewish Labor Committee Convention, I am happy that you are holding your national convention here in the Nation's Capital this year and I am particularly glad to have this opportunity to be with you this evening. I would particularly like to welcome those of you who are from California. I have often had the pleasure of working with you back home.

You are in the midst of a concentrated 2 days of work, study, and meetings. We in the Congress have just concluded more than 10 months of continuous session, enacting important milestone legislation in such areas as medicare, voting rights, education, public works, immigration, housing, health, water resources, and dozens of other vital measures. I trust that your deliberations will be fruitful as the work of the 1st session of the 89th Congress. I hope that before you must leave this beautiful city, you will have an opportunity to visit the Capitol Building, the Supreme Court, the White House, and other national shrines.

I spent my day today in the office at the Capitol trying to catch up with the load of committee work for which I am responsible as chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. The tempo of work does not let up completely even when Congress adjourns. Much remains to be done in committee before the next session begins in January. However, I felt compelled to take the time to think about your deliberations here this weekend. The issues that so deeply concern you are also profoundly my concerns.

You convention is helping focus attention on two great and interrelated challenges that confronts us today:

One, the need to mobilize our economic, social, and manpower resources in a mighty national effort to extend the benefits of our society to all our citizens; and second, the need to muster our political and spiritual forces to defend our democratic institutions against ever-growing, open and venemous attacks by ultraright and ultraleft extremists.

You and I and national and local community leaders have over the years sought to eliminate from all areas of community life discrimination, and segregation based on race or color or religion or national origin or ancestry.

We have sought to remove the disadvantages, the disabilities, the indignities inflicted on Negroes, Spanish-speaking peoples, and other minority group persons. We have done this through appealing to the courts for redress of wrongs, through legislation to implement constitutional rights, through public information and education concerning prejudice and through voluntary programs by the groups that constitute our local communities.

At the Federal level we developed in Congress—and I have supported—legislation to assure equality of rights and opportunities in employment, housing, public accommodations, and voting. We have made significant progress.

But beyond these measures, we have recognized that equality of opportunity for all is not enough; that greater opportunity for all must be achieved. This is the meaning of the war on poverty and all the other programs geared to the concept of abundance for everyone. This is the purpose of the massive Federal support for educational and economic expansion.

The problems of poverty and discrimination with which we are striving to cope are immense, complex, and deeply rooted in our society. Our progress has been only gradual. Some programs have been temporarily stalled; others bring only long-term results. This has evoked in many persons feelings of helplessness, frustration, and despair.

Meanwhile, the very fact that these great changes in social, economic, and human relationships are not completed has provided an opportunity for ultraright radicals to try to turn back the clock of history.

It is easy to dismiss this growing wave of extremism from both the right and the left as being evidence of fringe malcontents, social and psychological misfits, or crackpots. Some have called such persons part of the lunatic fringe. Not too many years ago Hitler was viewed in a similar way, yet the step between the fringe and the seizure of political power can often be a short one, as man-

kind discovered to its horror just a generation ago.

Here in America we have been fortunate to maintain greater political stability in our national life, yet we all recall the era of McCarthyism a little more than a decade ago. We note with apprehension that various extremist groups such as the John Birch Society, the Minutemen, the Ku Klux Klan, the Americans for Constitutional Action, and other front groups are doubling and redoubling their expenditures of time and money to spread the gospel of hate, mistrust, and fear throughout the land.

Although still only a noisy minority, they are a larger and more aggressive minority and have succeeded in penetrating into the mainstream of political and community life in some areas.

Many of these groups have already made plans and have assembled political war chests to defeat Members of Congress from both parties who have dared to vote for legislation guaranteeing equal rights for Negroes and other minority groups; who have voted for long-needed reforms of our immigration laws; for medicare to air our senior citizens; for foreign aid to assist underdeveloped nations; for measures to help improve the living standards of American workers.

They are already circulating purge lists for the 1966 campaign to smear honorable Members of Congress who refuse to accept the peculiar brand of patriotism which they fervently espouse.

Some groups like the Minutemen have assembled secret, private armies equipped with machineguns, rifles, mortars, hand grenades, and other tools of guerrilla war. A few months ago a large cache of arms was discovered less than 50 miles from Washington.

Their purpose is to inflame, to prejudice, to stir fear of change, to promote turmoil, to silence opposition, to paralyze democratic action. We see the results of such exploitation in many ways. Violence against peaceful demonstrators seeking the right to vote in many parts of the South. Riots and racial agitation in major cities such as Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York. Leftwing condemnation of our anti-Communist policies in Vietnam, attacking the integrity of our top national leaders; senseless burning of draft cards; formenting violence at our military installations.

The Ku Klux Klan has long been the handmaiden of totalitarianism. The KKK was Hitler's echo chamber before World War II. It has recently come to the fore again to impose violence, spread terror, and thwart justice. In short, it is leading the forces of hate in a last desperate effort to stop the inevitable changes which would bring a measure of freedom to the Negroes in the South.

The House Un-American Activities Committee, long the target of some of our liberal friends, this week began its investigation of the Klan. It was interesting to note that totalitarians of both the left and the right invoke the same techniques to avoid the spotlight of publicity being focused on their activities.

The John Birch Society, parading under the banner of patriotism while imitating the techniques of the Communists, is perhaps more typical of rightwing extremists who have lately concentrated their attacks against the national effort for human rights.

The John Birch Society boasts a widespread membership and evidences substantial sources of funds. It has exerted serious influence in some election campaigns. It has disrupted some local communities and civic groups.

The Birch Society budget expenditure has risen from $1.6 million in 1963 to an estimated $6 million today. They have announced new organizational campaigns to raise some $12 million for the 1966 congressional elections. Rightwing spokesmen spread their venomous propaganda throughout the land each day. They now pour forth more than 10,000 broadcasts a week, using more than 2,500 hours of radio and television time—much of it donated by individual stations as a public service.

Like other groups of its kind, it is easily exposed by close scrutiny: it cannot stand the light of day.

In its own structure, the John Birch Society mirrors the kind of social order to which it is directed. It operates on the fuehrer principle. The founder is the final authority and no elections of any kind are held at any level. The John Birch Society operates in secret, through an apparatus of cells and front groups.

None of this is new. But what is new is that the founder has apparently ordered his apparatus to zero in on human rights as his prime target. What began as a campaign for impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren now has become a full-fledged effort to create an atmosphere hostile to the antipoverty program, the progressive legislation of the last several years and the pattern of court decisions to uphold constitutional rights.

All of the fantastic propaganda of the John Birch Society and other ultraright groups is being carried on under the guise of fighting communism. They brand any opinion which differs from their own as Communist or Communist-inspired, and any group or movement of which they are critical as part of the Communist conspiracy.

It is by this irrational reasoning that the John Birch Society has concluded in its last box score, that the United States is now 50- to 70-percent under Communist control. It is by this process that it has consigned most of the rest of the world to the category of being hopelessly Communist controlled, beyond recall.

In reality, the Communists, their fellow-travelers and those in their orbit have for years been rebuffed and discredited in the United States. Their totalitarian ideology has become well known. Their subservience to one or another of the Soviet police states has been thoroughly understood. Their techniques for infiltration and perverting public and private institutions and organizations have been thoroughly exposed.

However, they have been endeavoring to make a comeback. They are probing for soft spots in the life of a nation and in each community to penetrate. In these circumstances the indiscriminate labelling of innocent groups only serves to enhance the real Communists' chance of camouflaging themselves, of hiding among those who are falsely alleged to be Communist.

Thus, the totalitarian groups of the ultraright are the handmaidens of the ultraleft. Both would undermine and finally destroy our American social, economic, and political institutions. Both are alien to the basic principles of freedom, justice, and human dignity on which our Nation was founded.

For obvious reasons we are both the first targets of these extremist forces—you who are associated with the free labor movement, in the civil rights field, in the Jewish community because this represents the strong bulwark against totalitarianism in any form; I too am a target because I hold a responsible public office and work in the legislative arena to help establish the progressive types of programs that will resolve the basic cause of agitation, discontent, and economic deprivation. Since we face the voters of our district every 2 years, we in the House of Representatives who repudiate the totalitarian objectives of both the right and the left become the very special targets for these groups.

Both you and I have correspondingly heavy responsibilities to be particularly vigilant to detect and take action against totalitarian forces that are the cancer on our body politic. We must speak out courageously. We must educate our fellow citizens to the inherent dangers of extremist groups who so often hide beneath a cloak of patriotism. We must act decisively wherever and whenever we can to halt the spread of totalitarian doctrines in our schools, clubs, unions, and other organizations. Yet we must be ever conscious of the fundamental constitutional rights afforded to all citizens to speak, act, and hold such political beliefs as they choose. We must not use the same weapons of smear and innuendo that mark our totalitarian enemies.

The basic objectives of the extreme right and the extreme left are similar. They should be emphasized and reemphasized:

1. Both are committed to the overthrow of our American system of representative government.
2. Both seek to destroy the United Nations as an effective instrument of peace.
3. Both feed on and exploit discrimination against minority groups.
4. Both seek the abolishment of labor unions as effective instruments in advancing the well-being of working people.
5. Both use violence to achieve their objectives.
6. Both have sought to infiltrate the community leadership levels to advance their totalitarian doctrines—the schools, churches, social groups, unions, and governmental organizations.
7. Both seek to nullify the vast social and economic legislative gains over the past generation.
8. Both exploit fear, ignorance, prejudices, discontent, and frustration to help advance their cause.
9. Both seek to destroy the decent and responsible forces in the community and national life who are in a position to most effectively expose them and convince other citizens of their real objectives.
10. Finally, both can draw on almost unlimited financial resources to carry on their campaigns of hate, confusion, and division.

Obviously, the threat of the extremist groups in America cannot be eliminated overnight. It has a strong, well-organized, and highly financed core that has grown and spread its influence over the past several years. We must do more than just talk about it here tonight or just to think about it when we return home. We who are genuinely concerned over the implications of this threat to our American system must work however and wherever we can in our daily lives to spread the alarm among our citizens.

Public scrutiny must be directed to the activities of extremist, totalitarian groups and their leaders and spokesmen in villages, towns, and cities throughout the Nation.

Help strengthen those public opinion leaders who fear to speak out in opposition to such alien doctrines for fear of economic reprisal or physical violence.

Study the tactics and organization of extremist groups.

Mobilize efforts to resist their efforts to infiltrate and capture control of PTA's, clubs, unions, or other organizations to which you belong.

Support public officials who have the courage to take on a fight against well-organized extremists of the right or left.

Work cooperatively with other groups who are mobilizing to meet this extremist threat.

Only by undertaking these and many other courses of action can we make certain that the forces of totalitarianism never become more than a small, but vocal minority in America. Only then can we be sure that our children and our children's children will grow to enjoy this wonderful land of freedom, opportunity, justice, and human dignity and help to elevate our Nation to even greater accomplishments in the achievement of lasting world peace.

Congressman Chester Mize Reports on the 1st Session of the 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, carrying on a tradition which was inaugurated by my predecessor, the Honorable William Avery, who is continuing his career of public service as Governor of Kansas, I am making a report to the constituents of the Second District of Kansas on the activities of their congressional office and the position of their Congressman on vital issues.

This report is being mailed to every household in the district—more than 130,000 of them—so that my constituents can keep track of the stewardship of the congressional office they have entrusted to me. The report follows:

THE RECORD OF THE 89TH

The 1st session of the 89th Congress will go down as a historic one. The quantity of the legislation passed set records in itself. The total impact of this legislation which touches the lives of every man, woman and child in one way or another is yet to be evaluated, however, because of the profound changes which will be wrought. It is indeed safe to say that this year's legislative activity will also affect the lives of generations yet unborn. They will be asked to foot the bill for some of the programs on which payment has been deferred in the mad rush to set records and be all things to all people. History will be the judge of this session's output.

A BUSY YEAR

The tremendous amount of legislation and the record number of votes, plus quorum calls on the House floor, kept my staff and me busy throughout the session. We answered thousands of letters on the hundreds of issues which came before Congress. The controversial nature of so many of the bills provoked comment both pro and con from Second District constituents, all of whom received replies. We handled hundreds of matters for individuals seeking help on problems which were created by an expanding government's rules, regulations and requirements. As centralized Government grows larger, more people are involved and more problems result. A substantial part of our work is aiding constituents in meeting these problems.

Keeping in close touch with the district, I made 15 trips back to Kansas to attend functions and confer with constituents. I also serve on two task forces—one on the United Nations; the other on Latin America.

A BUSY COMMITTEE

As a member of the House Banking and Currency Committee, I participated in the hearings of some of the most controversial legislation to come before this session of Congress. Such bills as the measures to change the silver content of our coins, to create a Department of Urban Affairs, to include a program of rent supplements in the housing bill, to reduce reserves against deposits in Federal Reserve banks, to extend the Area Redevelopment Act, to amend the Bank Holding Act, and to amend the international wheat agreement. I attended more than 50 meetings of the committee in considering this workload of major legislation, plus deliberation on several minor bills.

WIDE VARIETY OF BILLS INTRODUCED

In addition to representing the Second District of Kansas on all of the issues before Congress, I also took a hand in introducing legislation which I feel is necessary for the district and the general public. I was gratified that the first bill I introduced, H.R. 3307, a bill to pay firms for improvements when they had to move their establishments because of the Milford Dam, became a part of the omnibus rivers and harbors bill. I also introduced legislation to reduce the excise tax on telephone service, hot water heaters, and documentary stamp taxes on real estate transfers. Versions of these bills were incorporated in the excise tax reduction bill approved by Congress.

The increase in social security benefits which I supported in a separate bill was included in the medicare bill. Other bills in which hearings were held were legislation to alleviate the boxcar shortage and a bill to include Kansas Modoc Indians in the distribution of judgment funds.

Some of the bills which I have introduced and on which I anticipate action next session are: A tax credit for higher education expenses; the establishment of a water resources trust fund, the Human Investment Act, the establishment of a Hoover-type Commission to study the organization of the executive branch, legislation to standardize real property acquisition procedures, and a bill to establish the Great Prairie Parkway.

WORKING FOR KANSAS

Besides the promotion of my own legislation, I appeared before various committees in behalf of matters important to Kansas: The establishment of a Grain Marketing Research Laboratory at Kansas State University, the Little Delaware-Mission Creeks Watershed project, the appropriations for the navigation and flood control projects in the Second District, a constitutional amendment to permit States to apportion one house of the legislature on factors other than population, and against the cut in funds for the ACP practices and the Soil Conservation Service as well as against the closing of the VA hospitals and regional offices. I also testified before the Joint Committee on the Reorganization of Congress in behalf of the elimination of omnibus bills.

VOTING RECORD

Here's how I voted on some of the major issues before the 89th Congress this year:

Voted for

The Drug Control Act.
The Elementary Education Act.
Funds to continue House Un-American activities investigations.
The Water Quality Act.
Excise tax reduction.
The voting rights bill.
The Older Americans Act.
The military pay increase.
The farm bill.
Changes in the immigration laws.
Higher education assistance.

Voted against

Eliminating the gold reserves.
The Appalachia bill.
The Foreign Assistance Act.
A compulsory medicare program.
Increase in the national debt.
Department of Urban Affairs.
Reduction of silver in coins.
Repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.
Omnibus housing bill with rent supplements.
Expanded public works.
Expansion of antipoverty measures (felt existing programs should be checked for effectiveness before any expansion).

THE NEW SECOND DISTRICT

The Congressional Reapportionment Act, approved by the Kansas Legislature on March 11, 1965, enlarged the area of the Second Congressional District to add Dickinson, Morris, and Jefferson Counties. Wyandotte County was realined so that the portion retained in the Second District includes the cities of Edwardsville and Bonner Springs and the townships of Delaware, Prairie, and Quindaro.

Although the area was increased, the population was decreased to bring it closer to the numerical strength of the other four districts. Whereas the district had 445,196 people on the basis of the 1960 census, the new district has a population of 436,085.

We are sorry to lose some of the constituents in Wyandotte County but pleased to add those in the new counties of Dickinson, Morris, and Jefferson. The present Congressmen will continue to serve these counties until the new Congress convenes in 1967; but for the purposes of the 1966 election, voters in Dickinson, Morris, and Jefferson Counties will vote in the Second District.

Timely Reminders of Why We Defend Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the misguided public demonstrations against U.S. defense of freedom in Vietnam have provided comfort to the avowed enemies of our Nation. The basic issue involved here is not the right of our people to free speech, freedom of assembly or public dissent against the policies of our Government. Those rights are assured by law and are cherished by all thinking Americans. What is involved is the organized misuse of those rights to create the false impression that our policy in Vietnam does not have the support of our people and that a serious division exists among our people over continuing U.S. support for the besieged people of free Vietnam.

Those demonstrations are beginning to backfire. The American people are becoming aroused over these anti-U.S. demonstrations. We are being reminded of the fundamental truths which make our policy in Vietnam necessary.

Mr. Speaker, the world news editor for the Cleveland Press, Albert E. Prudence, underscores the reasons for our action in Vietnam in his column of October 14, 1965. He concludes on the note:

Nowhere does freedom come cheap.

On October 16, 1965, 87 full-time faculty members of John Carroll University, an esteemed institution of higher learning in Cleveland, issued a public statement "In Defense of the American Position in Vietnam." That statement was published by the Cleveland Press of the same date. It presents a calm and reasoned analysis of why we are in Vietnam, what we are fighting for and why it is not always possible to avoid war.

By leave previously granted, I include the article written by Albert E. Prudence, which appeared in the Cleveland Press on October 14, 1965, and the statement "In Defense of the American Position in Vietnam," inserted in the Plain Dealer on October 16, 1965, by faculty members of John Carroll University, Cleveland:

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Press, Oct. 14, 1965]

DEMONSTRATING AMERICANS ARE GIVEN SOME REMINDERS

(By Albert E. Prudence)

There is something ironic about anti-U.S. demonstrations which are about to break out in Cleveland and elsewhere throughout the Nation.

The demonstrations—essentially against U.S. war action in Vietnam—will be an example of every American's constitutional right to free speech and freedom of assembly.

But while the demonstrators are busy huffing and puffing, other Americans will be dying 10,000 miles away in South Vietnam so that the South Vietnamese will remain free.

The dying Americans are illustrating what Mme. Chiang Kai-shek told U.S. Senators recently: "Freedom is worth dying for. Nowhere does freedom come cheap."

The demonstrating Americans, however, argue that the United States has no business in South Vietnam, that its troops should be withdrawn and bombing raids on Communist North Vietnam should be halted.

They don't complain about Communist troops being in South Vietnam. And they don't mention that North Vietnam ignores the fact that the United States has offered to talk peace just as soon as the Reds stop their attacks on South Vietnam.

Here are some of the things the demonstrators should know:

More than a million Vietnamese have fled from Communist North Vietnam, to take refuge in the south, according to the State Department.

Red terrorists last year assassinated 436 hamlet officials in South Vietnam, killed more than 1,300 civilians in bombings, and kidnaped at least 8,400 civilians.

The United States is not fighting alone. There are more than 1,000 Australians and more than 5,000 South Koreans battling the Communists.

South Vietnamese soldiers also are dying. Defense Secretary Robert McNamara said nearly 8,000 have been killed in action so far this year. He said they were being killed at the rate of 270 a week this summer.

Why is the United States fighting? For the demonstrators against U.S. policy, President Johnson had this to say last February:

"Our purpose in Vietnam is to join in the defense and protection of a brave people who are under attack that is controlled and directed from outside their country."

Captured documents show that troops from Communist North Vietnam are fighting inside South Vietnam and that the troops are supplied by Red China.

Campus demonstrators might like to know that so far in the Vietnamese war 722 Americans have been killed and about 4,000 have been wounded—all fighting for freedom.

Bitter survivors also might remind the demonstrators that:

Two Americans were killed and 54 wounded when terrorists exploded a bomb near the U.S. Embassy in Saigon and did $1 million worth of damage last March.

Twenty-three Americans were killed and 22 others were wounded when Communists bombed an enlisted men's barracks at Qui Nhnon in February.

Eight Americans were killed and 108 were wounded in a mortar attack at Pleiku, also last February.

Two Americans were killed and 63 wounded by a Christmas Eve bomb at the Brink Hotel in Saigon.

There are now nearly 145,000 American troops fighting in South Vietnam and some administration sources think the total may reach more than 200,000. The total now includes 88,719 Army troops, 36,700 Marines, 13,200 Air Force, 5,900 Navy, and 270 Coast Guard.

As the fighting continues and anti-U.S. demonstrations are planned on campuses, costs of the war are mounting.

Aid to South Vietnam is estimated at $2 million a day. But cost of supporting all U.S. troops there is put at $10 million a day.

Keep in mind that thousands of rifles are needed and each one costs $100, hundreds of bombs costing $350 each have been dropped on Communist North Vietnam, and hundreds of shells costing $13 each have been fired. Each B-52 raid is estimated to cost $1 million and about 100 U.S. fighter planes—each worth $350,000—have been shot down.

But the biggest cost has been 722 Americans killed in action, more than in the Spanish-American War. As Madam Chiang said, "Nowhere does freedom come cheap."

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer, Oct. 16, 1965]

IN DEFENSE OF THE AMERICAN POSITION IN VIETNAM

We feel that it is necessary to publicize the fact that there are American university faculty members who do not condemn the actions of the United States in South Vietnam. No one wants war. But it is not always possible to avoid war, simply because the alternatives may be worse than the war itself. War was avoided several times in the early 1930's. Will anyone argue that the choice was a good one? There are two main arguments for our presence in Vietnam. One is that we are pledged to protect the people of South Vietnam from a truly terrible fate. The second is that, even if we were willing to abandon them, we would be repeating the mistakes of the early 1930's. We would again be committing the folly of retreating before ruthless aggression.

We are willing to admit that these claims are arguable. But we believe it necessary to stand up and say that we think them more likely true than false. Our opponents question our information and our motives. On neither score is it obvious to us that our country is always wrong, and our antagonists always right. We do not like to be told that we are immoral in Vietnam. We feel, on the contrary, that we are attacking a difficult task, reluctantly, because it should be done. We feel that the American position, far from being immoral, is an honorable and a courageous one, and that it is high time that more voices were raised in its defense.

Raymond Allen, S.J., Lucien Aube, James Batter, Joseph E. Bender, Paul Besanceney, S.J., Frank Bittenz, S.J., Joseph T. Bombelles, Bernard R. Campbell, Edward F. Carome, John R. Carpenter, Robert B. Carver, Charles Castellano, S.J., Mrs. V. Cicek, J. R. Cicin, R. D. Cihlar, S.J., Richard W. Clancey, Robert Corrigan, Joseph T. Cotter, Anthony J. DeCarlo, Herbert Eisele, Thomas D. Ewing, S.J., Rene Fabien, William D. Fissinger, Richard J. Gaul, John D. Gerken, S.J., James E. Gocek, Frank A. Gutowski, S.J., Frank J. Heintz, C. N. Hinman, Marvin Hoffman, Nicholas Horvath, Mary K. Howard, Francis T. Huck, Dominic Hunt, Joseph L. Hunter, F. A. Jones, Terence F. Kane, S.J., Howard J. Kerner, S.J., John Deshock, Francis A. Kleinhenz, George A. Kmieck, S.J., E. T. Kramer, Betty R. LaFontaine, James M. Lavin, L. Morgan Lavin, Dougald B. MacEachen, Francis J. McGurr, James E. Magner, Jr., Leone Marinello, John L. Melton, Joseph B. Miller, Eugene R. Mittinger, Lawrence J. Monville, S.J., Robert S. More, John Morford, Joseph A. Muenzer, S.J., Harry C. Nash, Robert J. Nook, Walter S. Nosal, Eugene G. Oberst, James F. O'Donnell, Joseph P. Owens, William F. O'Hearn, Michael S. Pap, Louis G. Pecek, James J. Peirolo, Ralph Pica, George J. Prpic, John Reali, John C. Reed, S.J., Edward Reilley, D. Clayton Schario, S.J., Gerald J. Schweickert, Francis J. Smith, S.J., Gerard F. Smola, S.J., Richard J. Spath, Terrence J. Sheehan, Robert T. Sullens, Edmund Thomas, Arther S. Trace, Joseph Trivisionno, Jr., Victor C. Vitug, James Walsh, Edward J. Walter, William Weaver, Nora J. Wieser, Robert Yackshaw.

(All of the above are full-time faculty members of John Carroll University.)

Gold Problem in Russia, Too

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Roy Harrop of Omaha, Nebr., the chairman of the Western States Mining & Business Men's Association, brought to my attention a recent article by columnist Henry J. Taylor, in which he discusses Russia's gold reserves and production. I think this article will be of interest to many of my colleagues, and I include it herewith:

GOLD PROBLEM IN RUSSIA, TOO

(By Henry J. Taylor)

ZURICH.—Good news leaks out of the Kremlin.

While our gold reserve hits another new 27-year low, Swiss experts on world gold—and there's none better—indicate that the U.S.S.R. is having a gold problem, too. The Kremlin treasury is a cottage filled with secret nooks, but this one has been penetrated.

These authorities now estimate Russia's annual gold production at approximately $175 million. This, of course, leaves her in her usual place: No. 2 to South Africa.

Their estimate also makes Russia's output about 3½ times the size of ours. Just one of the Siberian complexes, called Dalstory, which means the "Far North Project," based at Magadon, exceeds our total production.

While our gold mines struggle against high and often unprofitable production costs, and many in Alaska, California, and elsewhere are closed, the Soviet mines are running 24 hours a day and exploration is expanding.

The Swiss experts find that the Kremlin is consuming about $30 million in gold for internal needs. This leaves about $140 million available for sale for hard currencies abroad. But they also find that Russia's gold sales in Zurich, London, Paris, Amsterdam, etc., have been much larger than that. The difference could only come from the Kremlin's gold reserve.

The disastrous 1963 harvest alone called for almost $1 billion worth of grain from free world markets. Russia bought 150 million bushels of wheat from us for 1964 delivery. Then she had to buy 300,000 tons

this year to fill her commitments to Egypt. That touched us directly, too.

Russia bought it in Australia. On June 27, the Soviet freighter *Dubossary* delivered 8,845 tons of this amid cheering Alexandria crowds shouting, "Long live Soviet-United Arab Republic friendship."

One reason President Johnson resumed aid to Gamal Abdel Nasser after the U.S. Senate tried to ban it specifically was to offset this Soviet wheat pitch. The American ship *Sabrina* docked a few hours ahead of the *Dubossary* with a cargo three times the size. But for our delivery there were no crowds, no cheers—nothing.

That, it seems to me, should be written into the Senate record. Once again, we were the sucker. It's a pity for our taxpayers that the Senate ban did not prevail.

Machine tools are Switzerland's largest export. So this market comes in for close scrutiny as Russia presses all exports to relieve her balance-of-payments problem.

The Soviet is producing an amazing 185,000 machine tools a year compared to 60,000 or 70,000 in the United States. Their quality is generally inferior to ours, but sufficiently good to affect the world markets, and they are priced domestically at about one-third of comparable American units. Some Canadian factories, for example, are nearly entirely equipped with these.

Her machine tools have given Russia her biggest export success and balance-of-payments relief.

Russia has sharply boosted the price it will pay for citizens' gold rings and other objects. The campaign is being pressed in the special Mascow store set up to sell foreigners precious jewelry, rare carpets, important heirlooms, etc., for hard currencies, and GUM, the giant emporium, has opened a hard-currency fur department.

In any case, as the $1 billion in grain purchases is only the largest single lump in the Swiss calculation of the Soviet balance-of-payments problem, revealed here to be much more severe than previously realized, they have traced the imbalance back through the years before that.

The Swiss experts estimate that today the imbalance brings the Soviet gold reserve down to between $1,500 million to $2 billion.

This is less than Belgium's. It is also the lowest reliable and respected estimate I have ever encountered, and represents very important news.

Rivers' Monument

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure, along with many members of the House Armed Services Committee, to participate in the ceremonies dedicating a bronze bust of the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina, L. MENDEL RIVERS, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee.

It was a most impressive ceremony made all the more important by the attendance of Under Secretary of Defense Cyrus Vance, Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor, Secretary of the Navy Paul Nitze, and Secretary of the Air Force Harold Brown, as well as Admiral Raborn, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

I think the importance was best summed up in the principal address delivered by the Reverend Paul Pridgen, a boyhood friend of our colleague, who captured the spirit of Charleston as well as the nature of the contributions which he has made to our country.

I give you Reverend Pridgen's address:

DEDICATION SPEECH, RIVERS' MONUMENT, OCTOBER 20, 1965

(By Paul Pridgen)

President Wayne, Congressman RIVERS, Mrs. Rivers, distinguished guests, fellow Kiwanians and friends, this is an historic occasion in the life of North Charleston. Congressman RIVERS, a grateful people are here assembled to express their gratitude to you.

North Charleston's growth and development is a thrilling story. During the colonial period, our community was the overland gateway to the flourishing city of Charleston, the center of trade and culture in the South. The lush forest of the area offered excellent hunting for food and sport. Hides found a ready market, therefore, hunting and trapping were important in the early development. The forest also made possible the development of the lumber and naval stores industry. This industry meant much to growth and heavy lumbering interests operated huge mills here even until the 1930's. Names such as Burtons, Tuxbury, and Cherry will not soon be forgotten.

As the forest gave way to the ax and saw, plantations sprang up. The agricultural emphasis of the plantation brought an important industry to life. Phosphate which was mined here brought the fertilizer industry into being and today the agrico-chemical industry remains a stable contributor to the economy of our community.

Two main factors contributed to the industrialization of North Charleston. First, easy accessibility. The area is accessible to the up-country by land and by water through the port of Charleston. The other major contributing factor was the availability of land. Land became limited in the city proper because of the natural boundaries formed by the Ashley and Cooper Rivers. Industry cast a longing look at North Charleston as an industrial promised land.

Today, North Charleston is the hub of industry for lower South Carolina in general and metropolitan Charleston in particular. Here are located the pulp and paper industry, metallurgical industry, the rubber asbestos industry, agricultural-chemical producers, oil storage and refinery, textile dye plant, garment manufacturers, industrial rubber glove manufacturing plant, aircraft sub-assembly plant, roofing manufacturing, sugar-packaging plant, railroad yards, wholesale grocery warehouses, industrial supply houses, sport boat construction, and many other industrial units.

The naval shipyard has been and is the largest industrial unit in North Charleston. This introduces us to another feature of our community for which we are justly proud. We find free enterprise blended harmoniously together in the same community with Government installations. The military installations—Navy, Army, Air Force—are not islands unto themselves. They are a vital part of the community. The service personnel are citizens and not just economic statistics. North Charleston is proud of her military citizens. This relationship is credited by many service men choosing to make North Charleston their permanent home after retirement from the service.

Thrilling as the story of this industrial development is, it would be unjust if North Charleston is pictured as just an industrial mecca.

North Charleston is now the home of about 86,000 people. Israel Zangwill said, "America is God's crucible, the great melting pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming."

Zangwill's application of America as the melt pot of the world can be appropriately applied to this community as the melting pot of America since most of the people are from some other city or State.

We are proud that with the population growth the business community has made monumental progress. Housing developments entice homeowners. Modern shopping centers dot the area, providing efficient and convenient shopping and domestic services. The Cooper River Parks and Playground Commission, under the able leadership of Mr. Danny Jones, has established parks and operates a playground and recreation program for which any community could be proud. Our dedicated civic clubs constantly seek the betterment of the community. The Cooper River School District is the largest in the State of South Carolina. A new addition is the technical education center which is providing training for a more skilled work force. The impact upon the community by the new Baptist college is already being felt. Religious life in North Charleston is enhanced by many beautiful houses of worship. The ministerial association constantly contributes to the spiritual welfare of the community.

Congressman RIVERS, as a community we have come a long way since you lived here as a young man.

Just before you were elected to the State legislature in 1933, you made a promise to my father. At that time, you said you could not predict how far your political career would carry you. One thing, however, was for certain, you would not forget where you came from and then promised to do what you could to help the people you represented.

We, the people, are here today to say "thank you" for fulfilling that promise.

Therefore, we dedicate this monument to your honor in recognition of your faithful stewardship as our representative to the State Legislature of South Carolina and to the Congress of the United States.

This monument is also dedicated as a reminder of the continuing task that is ours in protecting and perpetuating this community and our Nation to which we owe such a great debt of gratitude.

In conclusion, this monument is dedicated with the hope that it will remain as the symbol of the expression of a grateful people who wish to say "thank you."

Atchison, Kans., Marine Asks "If the Reds Get Viet, What Next?"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, in view of the demonstrations which have been staged in various parts of the country in opposition to our position in Vietnam, I think it is interesting to note how the American soldiers fighting in this faraway land feel about the backing they are getting at home.

Of special interest to me was was a letter from Cpl. Harold L. Vandeloo, of Atchison, Kans., to his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Harold J. Vandeloo, 1423 Division Street, Atchison.

The letter was reprinted on the front page of the Atchison, Kans., Daily Globe,

and since it carries a message which all should ponder, especially those who are carrying their objections to unpatriotic lengths, I include it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

LOCAL MARINE ASKS: "IF REDS GET VIET, WHAT NEXT?"

What is the reaction of U.S. servicemen fighting the Vietcong in Vietnam to the reports of anti-war protests and draft-card burnings at home?

Cpl. Harold L. Vandeloo, of the Marine Corps, who has been in the midst of the Vietnam conflict, has written his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Harold J. Vandeloo, 1423 Division Street, his feelings concerning the demonstrations.

The letter, dated October 20, 1965 at Chu Lai, Vietnam, is as follows:

"DEAR MOM AND DAD: This letter today is a little different than those of the past. I'm in hopes this one will find its way to the news stands.

"Today I was very disappointed when I picked up the October 18 edition of the Pacific Stars and Stripes (an Armed Forces newspaper). In big bold letters across the front were 'Anti-War Flareups Across United States.' We have heard of these demonstrations but didn't think too much of them at the time. But what I read today is what possessed me to write this letter.

"If this letter will sway one person's thought from protest to patriotism, then I'll feel it was a success.

"Vietnam is stricken with poverty and poor sanitation conditions. The people have to rely on their produce of rice and small crops or other grain for survival. The Communist guerrillas are using a method of terrorizing to gain support of the civilian populace. Their main source of supply is that of the people. If the people don't give food and shelter and whatever may be demanded, then they are terrorized.

"I wonder if any of the young protestors have seen a mother of small children with her arm cut off at the elbow or a young girl with a bamboo shoot driven into her or heard an elderly village chief scream for mercy at night from torture of the Vietcong?

"That's why we are here—to stop this Communist aggression. Is this what the United States is supposed to pull out of and let continue? If we don't stop it here, then where will it stop—at the threshold of Berkeley or the University of Wisconsin? And who will stop it—the students? I think not.

"President Johnson is doing a fine job, but yet he is criticized by person who know nothing of this war.

"Many good men have given their lives here for a cause that is greater than any other—freedom. And they also were condemned. We can only pray to God that He will open these people's eyes so they can see again. I feel sorry for the young men who burn their draft cards—they are suffering from an incurable disease, a severe case of yellow spine.

"All we servicemen ask is loyalty from the people in the United States. Not just the majority, but all the people. It would make our jobs so much easier.

"Love ya,

"HAROLD LEE."

Stanley Home Products—35 Years of Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, much has been written in recent years about the economic ups and downs of New England industry and commerce. No one can deny that many plants and industries traditionally associated with New England have packed up and moved to areas where tax concessions, cheap land, and low-wage labor have been offered. But that is only part of the story.

A great many other industries to whom quality of workmanship, reliability, and craftsmanship outweighed the promise of low overhead and cheap operating costs, have remained in New England to prosper and expand.

One among these is Stanley Home Products, Inc., located in the First Congressional District of Massachusetts which I am pleased to represent in this body. This forward-looking firm is celebrating its 35th anniversary this year; 35 years of constant growth and progress through one of the most turblent economic periods in history for New England, the Nation, and the world.

Stanley Home Products was built on the unique premise enunciated by its cofounder, Frank Stanley Beveridge, who vowed:

> We will build here an institution the likes of which has never been seen; one that will be a benefit and a blessing to those associated with it.

The institution which Mr. Beveridge and Miss Catherine L. O'Brien, cofounder, originated began with one floor of an old tobacco shed in Westfield. As the business grew, Stanley spread its facilities into several buildings throughout the city until the manufacturing facilities were eventually moved into a former textile mill, which became available after World War II, in nearby Easthampton.

Here there are now almost 700,000 square feet of clean, well-lighted, manufacturing space where over 200 different Stanley products are produced and distributed. On a trip through the plant you see coordinated the many kinds of efforts that go into research and development, buying materials, product design, production, testing, packaging, and shipping. Stanley associates employed in the Westfield-Easthampton area number almost 700.

Mr. Beveridge's original words of prophecy proved to be not only an inspiration, but also a reality to thousands of people who through the years have become independent Stanley dealers. For Stanley has persevered in destroying artificial barriers, long before the working woman came into her own right. Today, most of this company's approximately 25,000 independent dealers are women. They range in age from 21-year-old young ladies to the great grandmother in her late seventies. Incredibly enough, most of them were without prior experience in selling.

During these years, the company has been a dramatic illustration of American economic opportunity. It has proved time and again, how individuals with the drive and ambition to get ahead can be successful, regardless of race, sex, color, national origin, or religion. For the past several years the retail value of merchandise and premiums distributed by Stanley dealers and Stanley subsidiary companies has exceeded $100 million annually.

Stanley Home Products can rightfully take enormous pride in having pioneered sales opportunities for women. Virtually thousands and thousands of women have built important sales careers through the Stanley Hostess Party, which the company originated. Stanley is one of the relatively few large industrial companies that is headed by a woman—its chairman of the board, Miss Catherine L. O'Brien.

Foster E. Goodrich, president, once said about his company:

> There is almost no limit to the growth possibilities for a man or woman as a Stanley dealer. Our company's success is tied directly to the success of each and every dealer.

Individual case histories of successful dealers have underscored his words. The opportunity indeed is almost limitless. An independent Stanley dealer averages about $12 gross profit per regular Stanley hostess party. It takes about 2 hours for the party to take place. This includes playing games, having cake and coffee, and, of course, a product demonstration, dramatizing the convenience of living room shopping. Consequently, the dealer can virtually decide on the kind of income he wants or needs. Naturally, when a good dealer becomes a manager and then goes up the Stanley ladder, the opportunities for financial success and personal gratification are even greater.

This highly successful company has devoted many of its energies to those things that transcend higher profits. It has for years conducted a good neighbor program, sending "cleanup kits" to victims of national disasters. In fact, only a few years ago, in Washington, D.C., General Gruenther, as president of the American National Red Cross, presented the company with a special good neighbor commendation. The company has sponsored numerous scholarships, safety programs, journalism awards, and other public service efforts.

It is an example of the kind of company that those of us who believe in free enterprise take pride in. For it has a proven record of success. It has brought great benefits to its dealers and associates. And yet, at the same time, it has been a good neighbor not only in Westfield and Easthampton, Mass., but in all of those communities throughout the 50 States where people know their Stanley dealers. In the words of its founder, Frank Stanley Beveridge, it has become a benefit and a blessing.

It should be noted that Mr. Beveridge was indeed a philosopher as well as the builder of this unusual company. Mr. Beveridge left behind the following credo, which all of management might well study, and from which it can learn so much. He said at one time:

> We have taken ordinary objects—tangible, inanimate objects like these brushes and like the chemicals we make—and turned them into something whereby people can build their lives with them, whereby people can improve their thinking, improve their living, improve on their ambitions, their working qualities, improve their minds, improve—yes—improve their spiritual thinking.
>
> All these things have been done directly or indirectly through the medium of using Stanley home products. That is a big claim

and some people would be inclined to dispute that idea, but any organization can take their products and do the same thing with them.

Mr. Beveridge has since passed on. But his cofounder and now chairman of the board, Miss Catherine L. O'Brien; Foster E. Goodrich, president; A. W. Elzerman, vice president in charge of sales, and the other members of the management team have carried on his eloquent idea and ideals.

As this company celebrates its 35th year, the words of Mr. Beveridge along with his belief that "the man is more important than the plan" should help not only Stanley Home Products, Inc., but help us as well in all of our dealings and perhaps for years to come, assist us in appreciating a little better the human equation.

TRANSACTION OF SENATE BUSINESS SUBSEQUENT TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED

Pursuant to House Concurrent Resolution 528, the Secretary of the Senate, on October 25, 1965, received a message from the House of Representatives, which announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills and joint resolutions:

S. 149. An act for the relief of Benjamin A. Ramelb;

S. 1320. An act to amend certain criminal laws applicable to the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

S. 1647. An act for the relief of Kim Sung Jin;

H.R. 168. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide increases in the rates of disability compensation, and for other purposes;

H.R. 227. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to entitle the children of certain veterans who served in the Armed Forces prior to September 16, 1940, to benefit under the war orphans educational assistance program;

H.R. 797. An act to establish the Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area in the State of California, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1778. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to create a Board for the Condemnation of Insanitary Buildings in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," approved May 1, 1906, as amended;

H.R. 2571. An act for the relief of Ralph S. DeSocio, Jr.;

H.R. 4421. An act authorizing the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey certain property to the city of Cheyenne, Wyo.;

H.R. 4845. An act to provide for the economic and efficient purchase, lease, maintenance, operation, and utilization of automatic data processing equipment by Federal departments and agencies;

H.R. 5026. An act to authorize the Burt County Bridge Commission, a public body politic and corporate in the county of Burt and State of Nebraska, to refund the outstanding revenue bonds of said Burt County Bridge Commission heretofore issued to finance the cost of the construction of a bridge, together with the necessary approaches and appurtenances therefor, from a point located in the city of Decatur, Burt County, Nebr., across the Missouri River to a point located in Monona County, Iowa;

H.R. 5493. An act to provide that the flag of the United States of America may be flown for 24 hours of each day in Lexington, Mass.;

H.R. 5597. An act to relieve physicians of liability for negligent medical treatment at the scene of an accident in the District of Columbia;

H.R. 7475. An act to name the authorized lock and dam No. 6 on the Arkansas River in Arkansas and the lake created thereby for David D. Terry;

H.R. 7812. An act to authorize the loan of naval vessels to friendly foreign countries, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8310. An act to amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to assist in providing more flexibility in the financing and administration of State rehabilitation programs, and to assist in the expansion and improvement of services and facilities provided under such programs, particularly for the mentally retarded and other groups presenting special vocational rehabilitation problems, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8353. An act for the relief of Becky Jo and Charles R. Smith;

H.R. 9047. An act to authorize the release of certain quantities of zinc from either the national stockpile or the supplemental stockpile, or both;

H.R. 9830. An act to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, to authorize reimbursement to a State or political subdivision thereof for sidewalk repair and replacement or to make other arrangements therefor;

H.R. 9903. An act to provide for the free entry of certain scientific instruments for the use of certain universities;

H.R. 10097. An act for the relief of North Counties Hydro-Electric Co.;

H.R. 10281. An act to adjust the rates of basic compensation of certain officers and employees of the Federal Government, and for other purposes;

H.R. 10305. An act to authorize the disposal, without regard to the prescribed 6-month waiting period, of approximately 200 million pounds of nickel from the national stockpile;

H.R. 10878. An act for the relief of Anderson G. Matsler, senior master sergeant, U.S. Air Force, retired;

H.R. 11135. An act to amend and extend the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended;

H.R. 11267. An act to amend the joint resolution of March 25, 1953, relating to electrical and mechanical office equipment for the use of Members, officers, and committees of the House of Representatives, to remove certain limitations;

H.J. Res. 641. Joint resolution authorizing Father Flanagan's Boys' Home to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs; and

H.J. Res. 788. Joint resolution establishing that the 2d regular session of the 89th Congress convene at noon on Monday, January 10, 1966.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED SUBSEQUENT TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Pursuant to House Concurrent Resolution 528, the Vice President, on October 27, 1965, signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolutions which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

S. 149. An act for the relief of Benjamin A. Ramelb;

S. 619. An act for the relief of Nora Isabella Samuelli;

S. 919. An act for the relief of Lt. Col. William T. Schuster, U.S. Air Force (retired);

S. 1004. An act to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, to make title III thereof directly applicable to procurement of property and services by executive agencies, and for other purposes;

S. 1320. An act to amend certain criminal laws applicable to the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

S. 1647. An act for the relief of Kim Sung Jin;

S. 1758. An act to provide for the right of persons to be represented in matters before Federal agencies;

S. 2092. An act to amend the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937 to permit marketing orders applicable to various fruits and vegetables to provide for paid advertising;

S. 2118. An act to amend sections 9 and 37 of the Shipping Act, 1916, and subsection O of the Ship Mortgage Act, 1920;

S. 2150. An act to discontinue or modify certain reporting requirements of law;

S. 2542. An act to amend the Small Business Act;

S. 2679. An act to amend the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, as amended;

H.R. 168. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide increases in the rates of disability compensation, and for other purposes;

H.R. 227. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to entitle the children of certain veterans who served in the Armed Forces prior to September 16, 1940, to benefits under the war orphans educational assistance program.

H.R. 797. An act to establish the Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area in the State of California, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1778. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to create a Board for the Condemnation of Insanitary Buildings in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," approved May 1, 1906, as amended;

H.R. 2303. An act for the relief of Ernest J. Carlin;

H.R. 2571. An act for the relief of Ralph S. DeSocio, Jr.;

H.R. 2079. An act for the relief of Mrs. Eleni Bacola Ciacco, doctor of medicine;

H.R. 4170. An act to provide adjustments in annuities under the Foreign Service retirement and disability system;

H.R. 4421. An act authorizing the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey certain property to the city of Cheyenne, Wyo.;

H.R. 4845. An act to provide for the economic and efficient purchase, lease, maintenance, operation, and utilization of automatic data processing equipment by Federal departments and agencies;

H.R. 5026. An act to authorize the Burt County Bridge Commission, a public body politic and corporate in the county of Burt and State of Nebraska, to refund the outstanding revenue bonds of said Burt County Bridge Commission heretofore issued to finance the cost of the construction of a bridge, together with the necessary approaches and appurtenances therefor, from a point located in the city of Decatur, Burt County, Nebr., across the Missouri River to a point located in Monona County, Iowa;

H.R. 5493. An act to provide that the flag of the United States of America may be flown for 24 hours of each day in Lexington, Mass.;

H.R. 5597. An act to relieve physicians of liability for negligent medical treatment at the scene of an accident in the District of Columbia;

H.R. 6666. An act to provide for the free entry of a 90-centimeter, split-pole magnetic spectrograph system with orange-peel internal conversion spectrometer attached for the use of the University of Pittsburgh;

H.R. 7475. An act to name the authorized lock and dam No. 6 on the Arkansas River in Arkansas and the lake created thereby for David D. Terry;

H.R. 7812. An act to authorize the loan of naval vessels to friendly foreign countries, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8310. An act to amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to assist in providing more flexibility in the financing and administration of State rehabilitation programs, and to assist in the expansion and improvement of services and facilities provided under such programs, particularly for the mentally retarded and other groups presenting special vocational rehabilitation problems, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8353. An act for the relief of Becky Jo and Charles R. Smith;

H.R. 8370. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9047. An act to authorize the release of certain quantities of zinc from either the national stockpile or the supplemental stockpile;

H.R. 9567. An act to strengthen the educational resources of our colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in postsecondary and higher education;

H.R. 9830. An act to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, to authorize reimbursement to a State or political subdivision thereof for sidewalk repair and replacement or to make other arrangements therefor;

H.R. 9903. An act to provide for the free entry of certain scientific instruments for the use of certain universities:

H.R. 10097. An act for the relief of North Counties Hydro-Electric Co.;

H.R. 10281. An act to adjust the rates of basic compensation of certain officers and employees of the Federal Government, and for other purposes;

H.R. 10305. An act to authorize the disposal, without regard to the prescribed 6-month waiting period of approximately 200 million pounds of nickel from the national stockpile;

H.R. 10878. An act for the relief of Anderson G. Matsler, senior master sergeant, U.S. Air Force, retired;

H.R. 11135. An act to amend and extend the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended;

H.R. 11267. An act to amend the joint resolution of March 25, 1953, relating to electrical and mechanical office equipment for the use of Members, officers, and committees of the House of Representatives, to remove certain limitations;

H.R. 11539. An act to provide assistance to the States of Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi for the reconstruction of areas damaged by the recent hurricane;

H.R. 11588. An act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes;

H.J. Res. 641. Joint resolution authorizing Father Flanagan's Boys' Home to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs;

H.J. Res. 671. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim the month of November as "Water Conservation Month"; and

H.J. Res. 788. Joint resolution establishing that the 2d regular session of the 89th Congress convene at noon on Monday, January 10, 1966.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED SUBSEQUENT TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Pursuant to House Concurrent Resolution 528, the President pro tempore, on October 26, 1965, signed the enrolled bill (S. 2300) authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED SUBSEQUENT TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The Secretary of the Senate, on October 27, 1965, presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills:

S. 149. An act for the relief of Benjamin A. Ramelb;

S. 919. An act for the relief of Lt Col. Willian T. Schuster, U.S. Air Force, retired;

S. 1320. An act to amend certain criminal laws applicable to the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

S. 1647. An act for the relief of Kim Sung Jin;

S. 1758. An act to provide for the right of persons to be represented in matters before Federal agencies; and

S. 2092. An act to amend the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937 to permit marketing orders applicable to various fruits and vegetables to provide for paid advertising.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF JOINT RESOLUTION

Under authority of the order of the Senate of October 19, 1965, the names of Senators DODD and LAUSCHE were added as additional cosponsors of the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 119) authorizing the Hungarian Freedom Fighters' Federation to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE SUBSEQUENT TO ADJOURNMENT

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on October 27, 1965, present to the President, for his approval, bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 168. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide increases in the rates of disability compensation, and for other purposes;

H.R. 227. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to entitle the children of certain veterans who served in the Armed Forces prior to September 16, 1940, to benefit under the war orphans educational assistance program;

H.R. 797. An act to establish the Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area in the State of California, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1778. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to create a Board for the Condemnation of Insanitary Buildings in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," approved May 1, 1906, as amended;

H.R. 2303. An act for the relief of Ernest J. Carlin;

H.R. 2571. An act for the relief of Ralph S. DeSocio, Jr.;

H.R. 3079. An act for the relief of Mrs. Eleni Bacola Ciacco, doctor of medicine;

H.R. 4170. An act to provide for adjustments in annuities under the Foreign Service retirement and disability system;

H.R. 4421. An act authorizing the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey certain property to the city of Cheyenne, Wyo.;

H.R. 4845. An act to provide for the economic and efficient purchase, lease, maintenance, operation, and utilization of automatic data processing equipment by Federal departments and agencies;

H.R. 5026. An act to authorize the Burt County Bridge Commission, a public body politic and corporate in the county of Burt and State of Nebraska, to refund the outstanding revenue bonds of said Burt County Bridge Commission heretofore issued to finance the cost of the construction of a bridge together with the necessary approaches and appurtenances therefor, from a point located in the city of Decatur, Burt County, Nebr., across the Missouri River to a point located in Monona County, Iowa;

H.R. 5493. An act to provide that the flag of the United States of America may be flown for 24 hours of each day in Lexington, Mass.;

H.R. 5597. An act to relieve physicians of liability for negligent medical treatment at the scene of an accident in the District of Columbia;

H.R. 6666. An act to provide for the free entry of a 90-centimeter split-pole magnetic spectrograph system with orange-peel internal conversion spectrometer attached for the use of the University of Pittsburgh;

H.R. 7475. An act to name the authorized lock and dam No. 6 on the Arkansas River in Arkansas and the lake created thereby for David D. Terry;

H.R. 7812. An act to authorize the loan of naval vessels to friendly foreign countries, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8310. An act to amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to assist in providing more flexibility in the financing and administration of State rehabilitation programs, and to assist in the expansion and improvement of services and facilities provided under such programs, particularly for the mentally retarded and other groups presenting special vocational rehabilitation problems, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8353. An act for the relief of Becky Jo and Charles R. Smith;

H.R. 8370. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9047. An act to authorize the release of certain quantities of zinc from either the national stockpile or the supplemental stockpile, or both;

H.R. 9567. An act to strengthen the educational resources of our colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in postsecondary and higher education;

H.R. 9830. An act to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, to authorize reimbursement to a State or political subdivision thereof for sidewalk repair and replacement or to make other arrangements therefor;

H.R. 9903. An act to provide for the free entry of certain scientific instruments for the use of certain universities;

H.R. 10097. An act for the relief of North Counties Hydro-Electric Co.;

H.R. 10281. An act to adjust the rates of basic compensation of certain officers and employees of the Federal Government, and for other purposes;

H.R. 10305. An act to authorize the disposal, without regard to the prescribed 6-month waiting period, of approximately 200 million pounds of nickel from the national stockpile;

H.R. 10878. An act for the relief of Anderson G. Matsler, senior master sergeant, U.S. Air Force, retired;

H.R. 11135. An act to amend and extend the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended;

H.R. 11267. An act to amend the joint resolution of March 25, 1953, relating to electrical and mechanical office equipment for

the use of Members, officers, and committees of the House of Representatives, to remove certain limitations;

H.R. 11539. An act to provide assistance to the States of Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi for the reconstruction of areas damaged by the recent hurricane;

H.R. 11588. An act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes;

H.J. Res. 641. An act authorizing Father Flanagan's Boys' Home to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs;

H.J. Res. 671. An act to authorize the President to proclaim the month of November as "Water Conservation Month"; and

H.J. Res. 788. An act establishing that the second regular session of the Eighty-ninth Congress convene at noon on Monday, January 10, 1966.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

NOTICE

The last issue of the daily Congressional Record for the first session of the Eighty-ninth Congress will be published not later than Monday, November 15, 1965. It is requested that copy and proofs of speeches withheld for revision, or extensions of remarks as authorized by either House, be submitted to the Government Printing Office or to the Congressional Record Clerk, Room H-112, Capitol, before that date.

By order of the Joint Committee on Printing.

CARL HAYDEN, Chairman.

Gallantry in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. KENNEDY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a letter that I recently received from Mrs. Daniel Sullivan, a constituent of mine.

Mrs. Sullivan is the wife of Lt. Daniel H. Sullivan, U.S. Marine Corps, who was severely wounded in action in Vietnam on August 9, 1965. Lieutenant Sullivan was serving with the 3d Tank Battalion, 3d Marine Division, when he was hit by a fragment from a Vietcong mortar shell.

Lieutenant Sullivan was taken to Clark Air Force Base Hospital in the Philippines to receive major surgery. He was on the critical list for many days, being unconscious much of the time. Mrs. Sullivan was able to join her husband at Clark during his desperate fight for survival. Excellent medical help and strong courage saved Lieutenant Sullivan's life and he is now on the long road to recovery.

Mrs. Sullivan recently wrote to me about her experiences. Because of the significance of her remarks, I would like to include part of her letter in the RECORD:

After leaving Clark Air Force Hospital, we spent the month of September in Hawaii, at Tripler Army General Hospital. Here, Danny, again underwent major neurosurgery and it is believed that this operation was a success although his condition remains quite serious. The Army surgeon at Tripler, has assured me that his recovery will be a long slow process but with excellent medical care and intensive physical therapy, Danny's prognosis could be very promising. I hope and pray that his care at St. Albans will meet these requirements.

During my stay at Clark, I met many young American servicemen who had been injured while fighting in Vietnam. Their courage and belief in what their country is fighting for is truly an inspiration. I just wish that the American public could be made more aware of these fine young men now fighting a personal war for survival and usefulness in our society.

Mrs. Sullivan's letter points up the gallantry and courage of our men in Vietnam. I know that my colleagues will join me in paying tribute to Lieutenant Sullivan and the many others who bear the direct burden of this conflict. I would also like to pay tribute to Mrs. Sullivan's bravery, for she too faced the trials of war when her husband was wounded. We owe a debt to Mrs. Sullivan and the relatives of other men fighting in Vietnam as well.

Letter From Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, Lance Cpl. Chris H. Dever, of Noblesville, Ind., who is serving his country in Vietnam, has written a letter home to his mother, Mrs. Rosella Dever, 1553 Hannibal Street, Noblesville, recalling his reaction to the anti-American demonstrations and teach-ins by some students and professors on American campuses.

Mrs. Dever, who resides in my hometown, has asked that this letter be presented for others to read in order that loyal, patriotic Americans here in the United States can understand what our men in the war zone think about these antics by a noisy minority back home.

Corporal Dever's letter was cosigned by two of his buddies, Lance Cpl. G. David Reynolds, and Lance Cpl. Gordon D. Ziebart.

For the sake of brevity I have omitted extraneous material and excerpted Corporal Dever's letter to the essential comments.

Under unanimous consent, the remarks follow:

This letter is not to scare or depress you. It is to let you know what the young people of the United States who are protesting against us being in Vietnam are doing to us.

We know there are more people on our side. People who are behind us all the way. But what about the kids, the young people, the ones who are influenced so easily? They either sit at home not knowing or caring or are reached by some infiltrator. He works on their young minds until they only know what they are told and believe it is right. The youth will soon be running the United States. Then what? The ideas planted now will grow.

We are fighting here to stop the fire of communism before it burns higher and takes all of southeast Asia.

The 20-year-old college student who burns his draft card and says "Get out of Vietnam, let us have peace," is ignorant of the reasons we are here. He is like a man in the woods throwing wood on the forest fire not worried because the wind is blowing the fire away from him. The wind can change, then it's too late.

There are approximately 1,200 American dead because of Vietnam. Those infantiles who call themselves Americans, want us to pull out. They want to say to hell with the 1,200 men, so what if we pull out and those men would have died for nothing.

No, we will finish what we set out to do. Myself and the majority of the men say if one American has died, it is worth fighting for.

No man should give his life without a reason. Give us a reason, please. Help us to help you. We need your support. Give us a reason for dying.

Respectfully,

Lance Cpl. G. DAVID REYNOLDS,
Lance Cpl. CHRIS H. DEVER,
Lance Cpl. GORDON D. ZIEBART.

Exchange Provisions of Oregon Dunes National Seashore Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on July 28, 1965, I wrote to a number of individuals in Oregon calling to their attention a proposal that was then under consideration by the Department of the Interior with respect to the exchange provisions of S. 250, the Oregon Dunes National Seashore bill.

In my letter I pointed out that the Department suggested an amendment to

section 2 of S. 250 which would provide for exchanges as follows:

On page 2, line 5, change "SEC. 2." to "SEC. 2. (a)" and add at the end of subsection (a) the following new subsection:

"(b) In the exercise of his exchange authority the Secretary may accept title to any non-Federal property, and in exchange therefor he may convey to the grantor of such property and federally owned property under his jurisdiction which he classifies as suitable for exchange or other disposal and which is of approximately equal value. If the properties are not of approximately equal value, the Secretary may accept cash from, or pay cash to, the grantor in order to equalize the values of the properties exchanged."

In my July 28 letter I made these observations:

I understand that at least one timber company with lands inside the proposed park will, if this section is included, seek to exchange these lands for BLM timber lands in another county.

The result will be to reduce BLM's allowable cut and the amount of timber available for independent operators long accustomed to the purchase of this public timber. Also, there is no requirement that private companies will have to practice sustained yield similar to that on BLM lands.

In addition, there exists the possibility that timber speculators may obtain options on Oregon Dunes properties, then seek to exchange for BLM sustained yield forest. Also, speculators may similarly operate as third party agents.

I received responses from several residents of Oregon, addressed to me between August 3 and 4, 1965. I ask unanimous consent that these communications be included in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the communications were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEDFORD MAIL TRIBUNE,
Medford, Oreg., August 3, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE L. MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR WAYNE: I am flattered that you should seek my views concerning the various proposals for the Oregon Dunes National Seashore.

They are, in brief, these:

1. Such a seashore is important, not only to protect scenic, scientific, ecological, and recreational values, but also as a major factor in Oregon's economy through its third-largest and fastest growing industry—tourism and recreation.

2. The precise size and borders are negotiable, and the important thing is to obtain authorization as soon as possible. But size and borders should not be reduced from the sharply reduced proposals which now verge on the minimal.

3. Condemnation should be used sparingly and only as a last resort, but the authority should be there to use it should all else fail. Life occupancy and limited survivorship rights should be included as a further protection against arbitrary use of the right of eminent domain—which is now well recognized as a valid instrument in obtaining properties for recreational purposes.

4. Land exchange is a valuable tool, but it, too, must be used with the utmost care and caution. I would propose that lands outside the seashore area be exchanged for lands within it under strict provisos that productive forest land, in particular, be retained in that use, and that it be managed under established silvicultural practices for sustained yield. Who owns the land is less important to the overall public weal than how it is managed and used as a renewable resource.

It would be a great tragedy if this seashore is not created. It would also be a great tragedy if, in the process of its creation, forest properties are taken out of production by cut-out-and-get-out methods or used for other purposes.

Thank you for the opportunity to comment.

Cordially,

ERIC W. ALLEN, JR.,
Editor.

OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY,
SCHOOL OF FORESTRY,
Corvallis, Oreg., August 4, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: In response to your letter of July 28, I am concerned in maintaining the resource base of Oregon. Knowing the responsibility of companies like Crown-Zellerbach, I would favor giving such long-time operators the opportunity to replace timber crops which would be lost to them by annexation. Surely it would be possible to write into the law stipulations which would exclude the speculators which are your concern, and mine too.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

W. F. MCCULLOCH,
Dean.

THE WORLD,
Coos Bay, Oreg., August 3, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Acknowledgment is made of your letter of July 28 querying my views concerning the land exchange factor in S. 250, the Oregon Dunes National Seashore measure.

The enclosed editorial clipping may be in partial, if unsatisfactory, reply to your query. It is regrettable that the overall principle of land classification and land-use exchanges has not been thoroughly aired by the O & C and Multiple Use Advisory Boards, of the BLM.

It would also be regrettable if this controversial factor were permitted to form an insurmountable and perhaps convenient obstacle to the land-use protection inherent in the Interior Department National Park Service program, typified by the Oregon National Seashore proposal.

I believe that development of a policy of land acquisition by purchase should be encouraged for the National Park Service program.

I believe, further, that the power of eminent domain should be as logical and valid an authority of the National Park Service or Department of the Interior as for State or Federal highway departments. If, as you state, "there exists the possibility that timber speculators may obtain options on Oregon Dunes properties, then seek to exchange for BLM sustained yield forest," it would seem to constitute a convincing argument in favor of resorting to condemnation proceedings for the acquisition of national seashore land.

I am strongly in favor of protecting the sustained yield timber (or any other renewable resource, for that matter) consistent with the highest use of the land or resource involved. I do not believe that "sustained yield" in itself is a sacred doctrine or sacrosanct concept, to be applied only to the dominant industrial resource.

I also favor a sustained yield of scenic, educational and recreational values from our seashores, rivers, lakes, and forests.

I believe that both yields can be developed and realized from those sections of our Nation which are as yet not completely marred by inconsiderate practices. At least it is my knowledge that measures such as Senator NEUBERGER's and Congressman DUNCAN's Oregon Dunes National Seashore proposals are a sincere effort are harmonizing the two types of land use values.

It is my hope and my suggestion that the BLM Oregon Advisory Boards consider thoughtfully and deliberatively the land classification, multiple use and land law review legislation and whole complex and interrelated issue of land exchange and public land acquisition. I believe the public is entitled to such deliberation, free from the pressures, urgencies, and inspired influences of political and special interest ambitions.

If such an opportunity presents itself, it is my hope that I can make my views more effective and ample.

Sincerely yours,

DAWN PESEAU.

[From the Coos Bay World, July 31, 1965]

CONSULTING THE PUBLIC

(By Dawn Peseau)

In matters of public policy, as in forest protection, a little prevention can go farther than a lot of cure. The U.S. Bureau of Land Management should, by now, be just about expert in both areas of conflagration: The kind that threatens timber, and the kind that threatens sound management policies.

The Bureau, the public, and the public advisory boards which in theory form a liaison between them, recently experienced a pretty disturbing episode brought about largely—not by unsound governmental policies, but by a failure to communicate programs, intent and purpose to those who should have been informed. The uproar which reached a crisis of fevered communicating in May subsided into an uneasy truce. BLM personnel matters, which had become symbols of the policy conflicts, were left unchanged—a situation which does little more than indicate a false resolution of the very real policy—conflicts in the background.

We believe that the State advisory boards which have been created by the BLM should be called into session—not for another personnel testimonial, but in a calmer atmosphere, for consideration of the policies involved in the personnel hassle.

A number of development and circumstances prompt this suggestion, beginning with the original fact that the issue of the Point Reyes-Curry County public domain lands exchange has never been resolved within the framework of Federal land management policies.

There is the recently reported declaration from Bill Sweet that he feels justified in pursuing the Point Reyes exchange.

There is the July 22 announcement from Gov. Mark Hatfield to the State land board proposing that Oregon scattered grazing lands be exchanged with the BLM for timber acreages in eastern and southern Oregon. "There has been, as you know, a willingness on the part of BLM to exchange their fragmented timber holdings in certain Oregon areas," the Governor's letter noted with, we suspect, a certain dryness.

And there is the whole interrelated area of multiple use policies, program, and practices. We are thinking especially of the classifying and developing of recreational use lands in Oregon. These are responsibilities of stewardship, clearly defined by Federal intent, which, once defaulted, will be like time running through our fingers.

The content of documents and other information made public through the recently released proceedings of the May 14 joint O & C and multiple use advisory boards more than ever confirms the impression that had these boards been informed and consulted, and the public, through the various public information media, been informed, the big testimonials and hassling could have been avoided. Policy could have been deliberated and decided as policy—and not as an ordeal of hostilities and endurance between the various levels of BLM directorship.

This paper has attempted to comprehend, digest, and report the events in terms of policy. We have endorsed and upheld the record of accomplishment of BLM State Director Russell Getty, one target of the hostilities.

We have deliberately refrained from any attack or concurrence in attacks on the National Director of the BLM, Charles H. Stoddard.

We did not believe then, at the heat of the hassle, that sound public policy and the public interest would be served by such a demand. Nor do we believe so now.

On the contrary, we believe that genuine balanced, multiple use land and resource management policies will best be served by the full and effective service of both the national and State directors of the BLM. A merging and blending of the policies embodied in their respective experience would do much to insure a future of sustained yield timber, identified, classified, and developed recreation potentials, and full public benefit from the mineral, grazing, and other resources inherent in the public stewardship. We do not believe it naive to feel that the public is entitled to such an expectation.

We believe that steps should be taken now to lift the issues confronting our public land management in 1965 out of the sticky, sluggish mire of vested interests and adherence to the status quo. And by vested interests, we do not confine our meaning to the caricature image of private industry. There is no vested interest quite as stubborn and resistent to change as that of the doctrinaire and self-righteously embattled bureau or agency.

The BLM in Oregon has not one, but two public advisory boards: The O & C board made up of some 18 members, and the multiple-use board of a similar size. The men (and women) who have been asked to serve on these boards are not trivial people. They are busy people, representing actively various facets of public, industrial, professional, and economic life in their communities and State.

We believe that they are too busy to concern themselves with recrimination; with wondering who was responsible for the seemingly insolent ignoring of them prior to last May when the Point Reyes controversy was at issue in the BLM.

But we believe that they—the members, individually and collectively, of the advisory boards—are entitled to being consulted now and in the future. We believe that they are entitled to function in the service of the BLM in a truly advisory and consulting capacity, and not as a rubber stamp to be used when convenient but ignored at other times.

Either such a relationship with advisory boards should prevail—or they should openly and with dignity disband.

THE OREGON STATESMAN,
Salem, Oreg., August 3, 1965.

Senator WAYNE L. MORSE,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am in receipt of your letter of July 28, addressed to me as chairman of the O & C Advisory Board, and making inquiry regarding the authority included in S. 250 to exchange federally owned property for certain lands owned by private parties within the proposed Dunes National Seashore Recreation Area.

The questions you ask are:

"Do you support this unlimited power of the Secretary of the Interior to exchange BLM sustained yield forest lands for private timberlands? Should public timberlands now designated for sustained yield in this or another county be taken out of BLM allowable cut for this sort of exchange? Should sustained yield forest be exchanged without provision that it must be managed for sustained yield?"

The advisory board has not had before it any proposal for transfer of lands to facilitate acquisition of the land for the proposed Dunes Park in Oregon. However, at a meeting of the board on May 14, the proposal to exchange BLM timberland in southwest Oregon for lands in the Point Reyes National Seashore was under discussion.

At that meeting a motion was offered by member H.R. Glascock, Jr., as follows:

"I move that the O & C Advisory Board recommend to the Secretary of the Interior that the publicly announced policy of the Secretary of the Interior and Under Secretary Carver, that the O & C and public domain lands in western Oregon be managed as one under a common standard for permanent forest production and under principles of sustained yield and multiple use, be reaffirmed."

The motion was carried with only one dissenting vote.

I call your attention to the fact that this motion relates only to specific tracts of public domain which had been grouped for coordinated management with O & C lands, under a program of sustained yield. It would not apply to other lands or property which the Secretary might wish to trade for Dunes lands.

Yours very truly,

CHARLES A. SPRAGUE.

OREGON STATE GRANGE,
Portland, Oreg., August 3, 1965.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: In answer to your inquiry with regards to exchange of Federal lands, particularly in connection with the Dunes Park proposed legislation, I am enclosing marked copy of my annual address before the State grange convention at Pendleton, Oreg., wherein I discussed briefly the matter of our public lands policy; and would recite also that a resolution was adopted at this session which places the Oregon State Grange on record as being opposed to trading of Oregon land, timberland especially, for private land wherever located, for the purpose of parks, or otherwise.

Both my section of the annual address and the resolution were thinking more especially about the proposed trade in connection with the Point Reyes Recreation Area. However, the same policy would apply, and I feel free to say that both myself personally, and the Oregon State Grange are in opposition to granting to the Secretary of the Interior authority to exchange these public lands at will.

I am currently a member of the BLM Advisory Board, and there also is in Oregon, another board called the O & C Advisory Board. Either of these, or both, are good sounding boards in matters of this nature. Certainly, a State should have at least advisory authority before public land within the boundaries of that State are exchanged.

So I repeat, both personally and speaking for the Oregon State Grange, we are in opposition to granting this blanket authority to the Secretary of the Interior whereby he could exchange public lands at will.

Sincerely and fraternally,

ALLEN P. WHEELER,
Master.

FEDERAL LANDS

(Extracts from address of Allen P. Wheeler, master of the Oregon State Grange, Pendleton, Oreg., June 15, 1965)

Recently, the residents of Oregon have been alerted to possibilities as regards land management policy by the Federal Government. The fact that approximately one-half of the total area of Oregon is owned by the Federal Government, together with the fact that the No. 1 industry in Oregon is timber and timber products, makes this something of great importance to our economy. The proposed exchange of timber lands in Curry County for lands in California needed for the establishment of the Point Reyes recreation area is in reality of minor importance when compared to the total problem, excepting as it is a matter of establishing policy.

In this case, the press has been supplied with ample material for sensational writing. The stories cannot all be true because they are in contradiction. The exact extent to which commitments have been made in this particular situation may never be generally known. One fact is certain, that the Bureau of Land Management did proceed to quite a degree before ever presenting this particular matter to either of the advisory boards now in existence in the State, one being the O & C Advisory Board, the other being the Bureau of Land Management Advisory Board.

Had these matters been presented before either or both of these boards, much of the unfortunate controversy might well have been averted. These advisory groups are supposedly set up as a sounding board and a means of ascertaining local sentiment in matters of this type. Certainly they should be used freely or discontinued. If their function is only as a buffer between the Department of the Interior and the people, then they are of little or no value.

In the midforties, there was a real controversy in Oregon over the matter of setting up sustained yield unit operation of timberlands. Many people were caught in the middle of this development. Those who were inclined to favor sustained yield policies were accused of favoring monopoly, and all sorts of other things. The net result was a modified sustained yield program as to federally owned timber, which has worked a hardship on some small mill operators who are not able to comply with the requirements. However, Oregon is working on a sustained yield program that should provide a constant supply of timber from now on. I think there is not any person who is well informed of the circumstances who would doubt the advisability of such a program.

Returning now to the issue at hand, this proposed exchange enters into our sustained yield program in that timberlands included in our calculations would be exchanged for lands in another State and to be used for another purpose. It matters little to the residents of Oregon whether we are exchanging for lands in California, Alaska, Hawaii, or any other place. Certainly State boundaries should have some meaning in this instance, and the economy of the State should be taken into account before any such exchange policy would be established. Though I have spoken only of timberlands, the situation covers grazing lands as well, and a great many people are dependent upon public lands in their livestock operations. Any withdrawing of these lands from availability would be a blow to the economy. This present, much publicized, situation should give rise to energetic action on the part of the residents of Oregon in protecting our State economy. Let us be alert to guarding against encroachment on our inherent rights in this situation.

DIAMOND, OREG.,
August 4, 1965.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you very much for your letter of July 28 in which you refer to your concern about the Oregon Dunes bill, S. 250. Your outline of concern also

concerns me and I will try to list my observations and feelings relative to this matter.

The question of unlimited power of the Secretary of the Interior to exchange BLM sustained yield forest land for private timber lands is an important issue. I, of course, am very much interested in private industry and feel that the private timber industry is an important segment to the economy of Oregon. I do not feel that the Secretary of Interior should have such unlimited power and authority in dealing with such complicated matters that affect the well-being of the State of Oregon.

Your important question regarding sustained yield and its relationship to the continuation of this policy concerns me in that I feel the sustained yield principle should be maintained and so stipulated should this exchange take place. I do not question the integrity of private industry but I do feel that the only protection the people of Oregon have where such public lands are involved create the necessity of the sustained yield principle. This, of course, will eliminate the stripping of this valuable resource and will maintain the resource for future generations.

In regards to the public timber lands now designated for sustained yields, the BLM allowable cut should be taken out of the exchange of private lands. It is my personal feeling that should the private lands involved in the sand dunes exchange be traded for BLM lands, the people then who assume the ownership of these Federal lands should have the privilege to do as they see fit with these lands. Therefore, the BLM allowable cut should be reduced accordingly. Certainly the private individual in the State of Oregon should be protected in such an issue.

Please accept my thanks, Senator MORSE, for consulting me about this important issue. I am sure that the problem is complicated and the resources of this State plus the private individual must be protected and safeguarded without serious detriment to the economy and stability of the areas involved.

Senator, I would like to also comment on the principle of condemnation if this is still an issue in the sand dunes situation. I am not in favor of the condemnation of private lands for recreation. The Federal agencies own over 50 percent of the land in the boundaries of the State. Therefore, cannot the recreational needs be met by development of the lands now owned and controlled by public ownership?

On January 9, 1964, I visited with Representative DUNCAN about the condemnation of private land in forming the sand dunes and he explained his views that if you are going to have recreation, you are going to have to have condemnation. I oppose this very much because it would be retroactive throughout the State.

Here is an example:

Suppose I own a spring on the Steens Mountain and someone comes along and decides that the spring would be better suited for recreation and they condemn it—that would hamper me from using as much as 3,000 to 4,000 acres of land for grazing purposes. This, if practiced, I feel would upset the economic stability of our eastern Oregon counties as well as the western counties.

If I have neglected to answer other questions that might be important in this matter, please feel free to contact me.

Thank you for your continued interest in Oregon's resource problems.

Very truly yours,

C. M. OTLEY.

PORTLAND, OREG.,
August 4, 1965.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

I am definitely opposed to amendment of S. 250 as proposed by Secretary of Interior per your letter of July 28. Amendment would invest too great authority in single public official. Would reduce BLM allowable cut badly needed for Oregon's future economy. Would also open door for speculator manipulation of public lands. Basic principle of sustained yield practice must be maintained at all costs. Urge you oppose this amendment to S. 250.

WESTERN COUNCIL LUMBER & SAWMILL WORKERS.
JULIUS VIANCOUR.

"Where Goest Thou, Mr. President?"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROGERS C. B. MORTON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, as we approach the anniversary of the dreadful day in Dallas, it seems to me that the well-turned words of Mr. Charles V. Spalding, of Harford County, Md., bear rereading:

"WHERE GOEST THOU, MR. PRESIDENT?"

It was a beautiful fall day in the busy little town of Bel Air, Md. The sky was clear and bright. The air had that particular quality about it that makes you feel, "glad to be alive."

Having just parked my car behind the Bel Air Cleaner's building, I started walking to my real estate office, only a short distance away. Although the traffic on Bond Street was very heavy at the time, and I was having some difficulty in getting across, all in one piece, I was in a very happy mood, whistling like "the canary which had just swallowed a piece of hot pepper."

While waiting for an opening, I heard someone loudly calling "Charlie, Charlie." As you have no doubt guessed by now that is my name. It wasn't too hard to locate the source of this bellowing, as it was easy to recognize my good friend, John Joesting. He was across the street in front of the Regal Restaurant, standing beside his parked car. It would probably be more appropriate to say that he was towering over his parked car. John is built like Paul Bunyan, with a face like the late Wallace Berry, and a voice like a bull moose at mating time. As soon as John realized that he had my undivided attention, he said. "Charlie, Charlie. Come over here—Hurry."

After waiting a few more minutes for the traffic, I finally reached John's car. My greeting to John was, "Hi, John, What's all the noise about?" To which John replied, "Did you hear about the President?" Now John likes to kid around and I thought he was playing some sort of a joke on me, so I said, "All right, I'll bite; what about the President?" John very seriously replied, "I'm not joking, Charlie, an announcement just came over the radio stating that someone has shot President Kennedy, down in Dallas, Tex." At this moment another announcement about the shooting was coming over the radio in John's car. This removed all doubts of authenticity from my mind.

By now the news was spreading around the town like wildfire. My first thought was "Maybe the President is only wounded." This seemed to be the feeling of most of the others in the community. However, as the time passed, the situation grew more serious and the atmosphere became more somber. When the final announcement of the President's death was made, I don't think that it came as a surprise to any of us.

My disposition had undergone a radical change in a very short period of time. I was no longer whistling. My outlook on life had an entirely different perspective than when I first started walking to my office. It was very much in evidence that I was not alone with my thoughts, for everyone to whom I talked could not believe that such a thing had happened.

Not unlike millions of Americans on that evening of November 22, 1963, my wife and I sat in front of our television set and watched fate in action. Not unlike millions of Americans we watched a great tragedy take place. In the days that followed, the medium of television was so expertly applied that even though we were hundreds of miles from the scene of history in the making, we had the distinct illusion and the emotional feeling of being on the spot and witnessing the events, as they were taking place.

On the evening of Sunday, November 24, my wife and I were watching the television. The scene was the one in which the President and Mrs. Kennedy were descending the steps from the airplane. They were both so happy and unaware of the role that fate had in store for them. Having seen this particular sequence several times before, I had at this moment the distinct feeling of a person peering into the future, possessing this knowledge I could not help but say to myself, "Where goes't thou, Mr. President?" My emotions became so intense, I could not help but to transcribe my interpretation of the events which I had witnessed since that fateful day of November 22. As my emotions were transformed into verse, the poem, "Where Goes't Thou?" was thus composed.

My story would be incomplete without setting forth the chain of events involved, placed in their proper sequence, and each followed by the appropriate verse of my interpretation.

The skies were clear and the sun was a gleaming jewel in the blue, as the private plane of President John F. Kennedy approached the Dallas, Tex., airport. There is no doubt, but one of the foremost thoughts in his mind at this time was his sincere hope of making a favorable impression upon the residents of this western community. This line of thought was momentarily disrupted when, upon making contact with the runway, the tires screamed their defiance at being earth-bound once again. The plane had no sooner halted, when the side door opened and the President stepped vibrantly out into the bright sunlight, followed closely by his attractive wife, Jacqueline.

"Down from the blue on wings of hope,
Out where the westerners dwell;
Reluctant contact with this land,
The vibrant cargo to expell."

The reflection of the sun shining directly upon his face tended to make his features lighter in color than they actually were. He was all smiles as he stepped down from the ramp. The many out-stretched hands were evidence of the warm welcome being extended to him. After shaking as many hands as the limited time would permit, he then joined Mrs. Kennedy in the rear seat of the topless, black limousine that was parked between two cars of Secret Service agents. He was visibly happy as the cars proceeded toward the city of Dallas.

"Fair of hair and bright of face,
The eager hands he tries to press;
Thence aboard the meager motorcade,
With countenance wreathed in happiness."

Many people had gathered in downtown Dallas, in the building known as the Trade Mart, and were anxiously awaiting the arrival of President Kennedy. Another person, lonely and frustrated, was also waiting; it was absolutely necessary that he have a clear view of the President in order to perform his sinister task. Hundreds of people were lined up along the Prsident's route, hoping

to catch a glimpse of the Presidential couple as they passed by. Some were waving while others were only looking. All were unaware of the tragedy about to take place.

"The gregarious and the lonely one,
Have settled down to wait;
While the multitude along the way,
Watch innocently as he encounters fate."

As the President's car approached the point where destiny was to be enacted, his boundless energy and vitality was exceeded only by his pleased disposition. Mrs. Connally, the wife of the Texas Governor, John Connally, also riding in the car, had just remarked to the President on how well the people of Dallas were receiving him, this he enthusiastically acknowledged. Then came the impact of the first bullet, bewilderment and disbelief were registered on the President's face. Immediately after the impact of the second bullet, the President slumped to the seat unconscious. Death was now the uninvited passenger in the President's car.

"One moment, vitality and exuberance,
overflowing from the brim;
Then, an inert shape, eternity,
and its companion, oh so grim."

Mrs. Kennedy, sitting on the left of the President, sensing something was wrong turned toward him. With intense disbelief and agony, she extended her hands to help her stricken husband. The terror of what was happening was reflected on her face as the Secret Service agent jumped onto the rear of the President's car and threw his body over that of the President and Mrs. Kennedy. The driver then accelerated to a high speed and proceeded to the hospital; but all was in vain.

"Love's tender hands and anguished heart,
all but feel the pain;
The swift dash is sanctuary, is naught for him,
having been made in vain."

The President was dead. The bullets had performed the task for which they were designed, this was assured by the high-powered rifle that had launched them. The office of the President of these United States was vacant, and at that moment this country was without a leader.

"The projectiles had found their mark,
launched from an instrument of hate;
Removing from his earthly chore,
the captain of the ship of state."

It was difficult for all who knew the President, for all who had seen the President countless times on television and for all those who had witnessed this great tragedy to believe that such unlimited energy, vitality and spirit had been subdued. However, they do believe that by virtue of these qualities and by the past actions of the late President, the United States of America will become a greater Nation, a bastion of democracy and wil continue to be a symbol of hope for many of the suppressed people of the world.

"The undaunted spirit, new released and free,
into the blue did soar;
If you listen closely, you can hear it say,
America for evermore!"

In conclusion, I firmly believe that if the late John F. Kennedy could now be asked, "Where goes't thou, Mr. President?" he would answer firmly and without hesitation, "With America now and forever."

High School Dropouts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BIRCH E. BAYH

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I call the attention of the Senate to an article that appeared in an issue of Guideposts, entitled "Harvey Doodleburg Drops Out."

This article, which was written by Andrew Kennedy of Marion, Ind., relates the true and fascinating story of how one young man realized the great importance of securing an education and has determined to help fellow dropouts.

Many high school dropouts express their regrets about curtailing their education; few do more than talk about their mistake. Andrew is one of these few. Not only did he return to school, but he also originated a new club called "Reopening Doors to Students, Inc." This group devotes its time to encouraging those who are considering leaving school to remain there. Their success has led to the founding of several other clubs in Indiana and similar interest has been expressed by groups in other States. This is not the end of this organization's success story. The members have already set their sights on achieving success on many higher plateaus; their work has only begun.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HARVEY DOODLEBURG DROPS OUT

(By Andrew Kennedy)

My name is Andrew Dennis Kennedy; I'm 21 years old and live with my parents in Marion, Ind. (population 56,000). My twin sisters Elaine and Ellen and my brother "P.J." are all older and married now, but when I was growing up we were a real close family. This story is about how I let them all down, something you wouldn't think could happen in a family as close as ours, but it did just the same.

In the family they called me Harvey Doodleburg. I got that name because I was always doodling around and trying to cut out when there was work to be done. I didn't mind washing dishes for extra money out at Moon's Drive-In, but I didn't go for the home assignments like sweeping the floor. Too, I know I was slow. Even today I move slow and I talk slow. Also I always have hated to take orders.

Yet, some kinds of work were okay with me. From the time I was a sprout, I wanted to be a part of the family business. We all were steeplejacks and sign painters. We specialized in big jobs like painting grain elevators and water towers. People always are interested to hear that Mom is a steeplejack because that's unusual for a lady and especially for a lovely, young-looking one. Mom is good at what she does; once when Dad was in bed ill, all by herself she painted a water tower 275 feet high.

Mom and Dad always painted the high stuff; P.J. would work the middle and Ellen and Elaine, our two beauty queens, would do the low stuff. When I joined the group at the age of 9, I started by hauling water up and down the ladder. The idea was to get me used to heights.

So that is the way it went, all of us working together as a family unit. Of course, I went to school but as I said, I wasn't much interested in it and I didn't get myself involved in any school projects. The friends I had were really just speaking buddies except for a kind of cast-off fellow I'll call Sam.

If you bummed around with Sam, you didn't hang around with the other guys. He was a rough customer. In a couple of run-ins we had I found it was good having him on my side. Mom and dad hired Sam to paint with us and that was fine. Off time, he and I would goof around together, shooting tin cans along the river and things like that.

When Sam and I got to be freshmen he quit school. "Come on, Harvey," he said, "Let's start living."

I suggested the idea to mom and dad, pointing out my D-minus average to them as proof that I should quit. They told me that instead of quitting I'd better work harder if I knew what was good for me. But I was Harvey Doodleburg and Harvey never cracked a book.

In the autumn of 1959, our family was on an important job in Fordville, checkerboarding storage bins. Dad was up 45 feet when his foot slipped on an outside rung. I heard a "ka-thud." I looked around; he had fallen across the railroad track. Dad's leg was smashed, his angle shattered, and he was out of commission for more than a year. It was then, with the job deadline facing her, that I convinced mom I should work full time. Naturally, I was supposed to go back to school later, but old Harvey had other plans.

Marion High School didn't like my leaving. My English teacher, Mr. Miller, reasoned with me especially hard, telling me about his own years of hard labor and how loading a boxcar one day at 4 a. m. he said to himself, "Why this for me? I can do something better." Mr. Miller made a big thing about how education would help me later.

But I didn't want to listen.

Well, I can tell you it was no time until I made Mr. Miller and his boxcar look a little silly because I began to make a lot of money. We finished up that Fordville job and with winter setting in I got work as a grease monkey in a trucking garage. Eventually I had two jobs. In the day I was a machine operator in a Formica top factory and at night a picture tube inspector in a TV plant. I was making about $300 a week.

What did I do with all that money? Well, I'll tell you something about teenagers. The most important thing in their lives is not a girl friend or their family or education—it's owning a car. A car is a good way to acquire a girl friend. If you have an expensive car, even the parents of a girl think more of you. A car is a good impression. I had a Mercedes-Benz.

The Mercedes was just a starter. I bought clothes, rings, all kinds of stuff and ran up big bills and fell heavily into debt. I'd go to Chicago, stay at a nice hotel, take my new buddies along and act like a big shot. My parents and I argued about these things but I wasn't doing anything dishonest or immoral.

Several years went by and I met some very special people. First I became good pals with two guys who worked in the TV factory:

Ronnie Keith and Fred Bell. Both are working to make money to go to college.

The third person I met was a girl. A fine girl; Evelyn was her name. I never had met a girl like her and I wanted to marry her. But she didn't want that because as she said, "I'm going to college."

Here were all these people talking about college, and I hadn't even finished my freshman year of high. Even without an education, though, I could talk to Evelyn about anything. She was very interested in religion and couldn't understand why I never went to church. It was clumsy explaining that I was Harvey Doodleburg about God too.

Evelyn, a Protestant, took me, a Catholic, to my church. And do you know, I started going every Sunday.

Our priest was the fourth important person I got to know. Father O'Neill looked like Ben Casey. He was a regular guy. I'd drive up in my Mercedes-Benz and he'd say:

"How about letting me take a spin, Andy?"

"Sure, Father, take over."

Then Father would take off his hat, saying, "Don't want the bishop to see me—not in a car like this."

Father O'Neill and I had long discussions on subjects I never thought I'd be talking about—odd, random subjects that didn't seem specific yet that had a way of hitting a spot. For instance, one time we were talking about penance and Father said:

"If someone has a rough life, Andy, don't automatically feel sorry for him. He may be offering his suffering to help others and that's a beautiful life."

That one statement made me think about something other than just helping myself to material things. I began to realize that it wasn't my own skill, or even hard double-time labor, that had made me such a good salary. I had been lucky to make so much money.

Then I began to think about Mr. Miller, the English teacher. When he had said in that boxcar at 4 a.m. that there must be something better, he didn't mean more money. No sir, a teacher's salary is hardly that. So what was "something better?"

These were the kind of thoughts I was having when I heard the terrible news about my friend Fred. He was killed in a highway accident. Poor Fred never got to finish college.

His death shook me hard, hard enough to make me want to do something.

"Harvey Doodleburg," I said to myself, "you're aimless. You've got to head for something. You've got to make a start somewhere." And the best start I could think of was right at the beginning—school.

Once Evelyn had suggested that I go back to Marion High, but it seemed too hard then. Now I was deep in debt and scared to face all those teenagers who were at least 4 years younger than I. While I was thinking of this I saw one reason for dropping out: guys who are not doing well in school, who can't break out of the rut, can't stand the constant reminder of their inferiority. They don't have the guts to face what other people think. They don't have the will to try harder.

In 1963 I went back to Marion High School as a freshman.

Today I'm paying off my debts by working at a gas station and doing mechanical work on the side. I drive a heap, a 1955 model that barely runs. I'm still slow in studying and had to take algebra in summer school last year because I failed it, but I have a B average. I'm active in the French Club, the Art Club and the Future Teachers of America. And last year, though really I didn't want it, they voted me class president.

The extra-curricular activity I am most interested in is a club which I former myself. It's called RODS, which stands for Re-Opening Doors for Students. We are a group of students who try to prevent kids from dropping out of school. This past summer I got 59 names of kids who had dropped out. I went around to see each of them. Three came back. Our club wants to get to them before they drop out.

And what do I say to kids? I tell them my story and I say that I let my family down because I let myself down. And I let myself down because I was too stupid and too lazy to make the most of myself.

I hope to graduate in 1966 and then—who knows? Maybe Harvey Doodleburg will go to college.

Mrs. Wavie Drew, of Wilmington, Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most outstanding public servants in Massachusetts, Mrs. Wavie Drew, of Wilmington, was honored Saturday evening at a dinner in the Moose Hall in North Reading.

Mrs. Drew, who is the chairman of the Board of Selectmen in Wilmington, served as chairman of the Republican Town Committee for 16 years, and on the committee itself for three decades.

Widowed while her children were still in grade school, Mrs. Drew raised an outstanding family of eight children. Tragically, one of her sons was killed in action in World War II. Mrs. Drew always found time, not only for political activity, but for active participation in a number of civic and veterans' groups as well.

The warmth of the regard for Mrs. Drew was demonstrated by the turnout for her testimonial dinner. Mrs. John A. Volpe attended the reception before the dinner, representing her husband, the Governor. Mrs. Elliot Richardson, wife of the Lieutenant Governor attended the dinner and spoke briefly and eloquently. Master of Ceremonies Lloyd C. Bender III, a member of the Wilmington Board of Selectmen, introduced Republican State Chairman, Senator John O. Parker, who presented Mrs. Drew with a special citation reading:

THE COMMONWEALTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
October 20, 1965.

GOLDEN DOME CITATION AWARDED TO MRS. WAVIE M. DREW FOR DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC SERVICE

Nothing makes the world so wonderful than to have it populated by individuals like Wavie M. Drew. Her devotion to the Republican Party over a lifetime and for more than 16 years its chairman in the town of Wilmington is a record few persons can match.

The full story of her achievements, as a party worker, member, and chairman of the Wilmington Board of Selectmen, her civic and charitable efforts, is a diary of the sincere application of a splendid woman to the betterment of mankind. Her loyalty to her family is a monument of love and affection. Few persons in Massachusetts' history have given so freely of their time, energies, and talents to support party programs, community welfare, and a helping hand to those in need.

This Golden Dome Citation is, therefore, awarded to a rare and wonderful persons who serves her party and her town with honor, integrity, and a high sense of public spirit.

JOHN A. VOLPE,
Governor of the Commonwealth.
ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON,
Lieutenant Governor.
EDWARD W. BROOKE,
Attorney General.
JOHN F. PARKER,
Senator, Chairman, State Committee.

Others in attendance included, Mrs. Albert Kitchener, who succeeded Mrs. Drew as Republican town chairman, Roland Wood, vice chairman of the town committee, Madeline Slater, secretary, and Miss Willard Richardson, treasurer.

Assistant Attorney General John Sheehy represented Attorney General Edward Brooke, and State Committeeman Andrew Card, of Billerica, and State Committeewoman Marion E. Hunt, of Lexington, were also present to honor Mrs. Drew.

State legislators, Senator James Long, of Woburn; Representative Frank Tanner, of Reading; and Representative Fred Cain, of Wilmington, attended as did all the members of the Wilmington Board of Selectmen: Mr. Bender, Mr. Charles H. Black, Mr. Paul H. Niles, and Mr. Rene J. LaRivee.

Also present were selectmen from Andover, Reading, North Reading, and other towns, as well as former colleagues of Mrs. Drew on the Wilmington board.

Rev. Robert Smith delivered the invocation while Father Edmund Croake pronounced benediction at the close of the evening.

All in all, it was a magnificent tribute to a great lady. Under unanimous consent, I include an article by Raymond Bates of the Lowell Sun about Mrs. Drew's dinner in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD following my remarks:

TO HONOR WILMINGTON'S "MRS. GOP"

(By Raymond P. Bates)

STATE HOUSE.—Wilmington's most fabulous lady, the redoubtable Mrs. Wavie M. Drew, known throughout the community as "Mrs. Republican", will bow out of the Wilmington Republican town committee after three decades of dedicated service.

On Saturday night Mrs. Drew, now in her 70's, will be honored by more than 500 Republicans and Democrats at a testimonial banquet to be held in her honor at Moose Hall, in North Reading.

Many visiting dignitaries, both men and women, including U.S. Representative F. BRADFORD MORSE, Republican, of Lowell, will be on hand to pay tribute to Mrs. Drew, who until recently had served 16 years as chairman of the Wilmington GOP town committee.

Mrs. Drew also has been, and still is, a familiar figure at the Wilmington townhall, where she has served on the board of selectmen for 16 years and currently is rounding out her fourth term as chairman of that board.

During her many years in GOP committee affairs and as a Wilmington selectman Mrs. Drew has won the respect and admiration of all for her forthright manner in dealing with both friend and foe alike.

Many of the State's leading ladies will be in attendance in the farewell tribute to Waive Drew on Saturday night. Among these will be the Governor's wife, Mrs. John A. Volpe, of Winchester, and Mrs. Ann Rich-

ardson, of Brookline, wife of Lt. Gov. Elliot L. Richardson.

In addition to Congressman MORSE, the other prominent members of the GOP will include Senator John F. Parker, of Taunton, newly elected chairman of the Republican State committee.

Mrs. Drew, mother of seven sons and a daughter, was widowed while her eight children were in grade school. Her sons enlisted in the military services during World War II. One son, Elmer, was killed in action. As a Gold Star Mother, Mrs. Drew also has been most active in the auxiliaries of the three veterans organizations in Wilmington.

Small wonder that Mrs. Drew in the past had won the honor of being named Wilmington's "outstanding woman of the year."

Building World's Largest Nitric Acid Plant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STUART SYMINGTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, recent announcement, as carried in the Louisiana Press-Journal, of Louisiana, Mo., that the Hercules Powder Co. is building there the world's largest single line nitric acid plant recalls to mind the fact that just a dozen years ago this plant was idle, declared surplus by the Federal Government. It had been built during World War II for experimental work in possible development of automobile fuel from coal and was readily convertible to production of anhydrous ammonia for use in fertilizer and other industrial purposes.

Thanks to prompt approval of the disposal of this plant by the House and Senate Armed Services Committees, these facilities were sold. Many improvements have been made since that time, and this present facility with 460 employees is one of the largest industries in northeast Missouri.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article from the Louisiana Press-Journal be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUILDING WORLD'S LARGEST NITRIC ACID PLANT HERE—HERCULES EXPANDING SEVERAL OTHER FACILITIES AT MISSOURI CHEMICAL WORKS

The world's largest single line nitric acid plant is now under construction at Hercules Powder Co.'s Missouri Chemical Works at Louisiana.

The plant is scheduled to be in operation next spring, with a capacity of 800 tons of acid a day. It will augment the 300-tons-a-day existing capacity at the Hercules plant and is the latest in a series of multimillion-dollar expansion projects at Missouri Chemical Works, making the plant complex one of the largest of any of the 40 plants Hercules operates in the United States.

The company's entire board of directors toured the facility today, Tuesday, and will conduct its regular September board meeting at the plant tomorrow.

In addition to the new nitric acid plant, there is now nearing completion an expansion of ammonia facilities and a 20,000-ton low-temperature ammonia storage unit. Also under construction are expansions of existing formaldehyde and pentaerythritol facilities, a $600,000 unit for the control of plant waste, and a major expansion of water intake equipment on the Mississippi.

Supporting services for the expanded plant include new railroad siding, additional dock space and modernization of offices and laboratory facilities.

That new nitric acid plant is being built adjacent to the old facility. It can be operated in conjunction with the old plant or separately.

According to MCW Manager Joe Talley, the present crew of the old plant will be able to operate the new also, with no more than half a dozen more workers being necessary.

However, the total work force at the Missouri Chemical Works has risen to 460 from 400 on the payroll at the first of the year. Manager Talley describes this as stockpiling of manpower to meet the employee needs which are expanding along with the chemical production facilities.

When the plant's sewage treatment system is complete, it will treat all of MCW's chemical wastes as well as the sanitary sewage from the plant and Ordonia.

There are so many contractors now working at MCW that an estimate of total construction personnel now employed there is impossible.

"Plastic Surgery Ain't Too Bad Now"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, my good friend, Mr. Harold Trulock, editor of the Muncie Press, is a newspaperman and editor of rare quality and possesses an acute sense of the appropriate.

His response to the recent series of anti-American demonstrations by some students and professors on American campuses in protest of the Vietnam war, was the publication of perhaps the finest story concerning that war which we have seen.

In selecting this story, Harold Trulock gave his readers more information, drama and stark realism concerning that dirty war in Vietnam and the caliber and morale of our men there, than any amount of editorializing could have accomplished.

My wish is that every American could read this story by Mr. Trulock.

Under unanimous consent, I submit the article from the Muncie Evening Press:

"PLASTIC SURGERY AIN'T TOO BAD NOW"

(By Tom Tiede)

BIEN HOA, VIETNAM.—Pfc. James Wright tried to talk but his efforts were drowned by the gagging of his own blood.

He has been shot through the jaw with a machinegun.

The right side of his face resembled an early American quilt. Scores of surgical stitches wove discolored patches of flesh together and crimson saliva ran from his gaping, wired mouth.

He had been a handsome kid once—brush headed, blue eyed, fair of complexion. There was a girl back in Dallas, in fact, that thought he was just about the best looking guy alive.

She wouldn't know him now.

"I guess," he had said when hit, "this ruins my beautiful smile."

"WE KILLED SOME OF THEM IN THE TREES"

Swathed in bloody sheets and clinging to life by a tracheotomy tube which allowed him to breathe through his throat, he wrote down how it happened on a pad of yellow paper. The grammar was faulty. He apologized for that:

"Can you make it out? I'm sorry, I never finished high school."

Jim Wright, 18, was a member of Company A when the 1-503 (Airborne) Infantry was assigned to clear out an area in what is called war zone D—a frightening countryside with the enemy under every rock.

As he wrote it: "We walked into an ambush. They (the Vietcong) were in the trees and they opened up a .50-caliber machinegun which pinned us down. I was scared real bad.

"After we got organized, we could see they had two .50's and two .30-caliber guns on us. We killed some of them in the trees and then my platoon started after the gun bunkers.

"But they were on a hill and the firepower was too much for us. Four of our guys got it right there. The rest of us stalled."

HE DROPPED GRENADE IN FOES' BUNKER

The boy stopped writing and began to choke blood. It ran down his narrow chest before being blotted up with gauze.

It hurt when he coughed, he said. But then it hurt when he didn't cough, too.

"So then we regrouped," he went on, "and made another stab to get on line.

"About then I saw where one of the .30 calibers was positioned and I decided to rush it. I kept low and tried to make a small target, but they zeroed in on me. Next thing I know they hit me in the face with two slugs.

"But I didn't black out. I knew exactly what was going on. And that machinegun was still firing up there. So, I just kept moving toward it.

"SO MAYBE I'M EVEN LUCKY

"When I reached them, I dropped a hand grenade in their damn bunker. Our guys told me later I killed five of the people."

By the time they got to Jim Wright, he had caught another bullet—a flesh wound in the side. In sum, he had lost two pints of blood, an undetermined number of teeth, some of his jawbone and part of a lip.

A terrible price.

But with it he purchased five enemy lives and, in part at least, a way out of hell for a company of American infantrymen.

"I ain't so bad off," he indicated. "I think they got maybe a dozen of our guys back there. So maybe I'm even lucky. At least I'm still alive."

He started to cough again and squeezed his eyes in pain.

"And, anyway, they say plastic surgery ain't too bad now."

Appellate Review of Criminal Sentences

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, on October 22, I introduced S. 2722, a bill to provide for the appellate review of

sentences imposed in criminal cases arising in the district courts of the United States.

Under existing Federal law, the determination of the sentence in a criminal case is left to the sound, but unsupervised, discretion of the district judge before whom the case is pending. As long as the sentence imposed is within the statutory limits, it is unreviewable by appeal. No matter how excessive or unjust the sentence might be, an appellate court is powerless to modify it in any way.

This basic shortcoming in criminal procedure—which is unique to our judicial system—has produced serious inequities and needless disparities in sentences. It has been frequently criticized. While programs such as the sentencing institutes admittedly have made substantial progress toward the development of better sentencing practices, experience has shown that such procedures and techniques are not enough. To adequately cope with the problem of excessive sentences—to correct injustices once they have occurred—the practice of appellate review is also required.

This is not to suggest that the right of appellate review will satisfactorily solve all of the remaining problems in determining a proper sentence. Quite obviously such a claim would oversimplify a complex and controversial subject. However, appellate review will at least provide an additional and important step in the right direction. It would give the judicial process the means of reaching and reviewing undeniable mistakes. It would clearly facilitate the development of proper sentencing practices and standards. It would, in other words, close the gap existing in the present system for which there is little logic and even less justification.

It is not to be denied that variations in sentences for the same crime are essential. Sound results can never be achieved by providing rigid and inflexible formulas. A sentence which may be quite proper in a case involving one set of circumstances may well be grossly inadequate in dealing with the same offense when committed by a different type of offender or under aggravated circumstances. However, where the same crime has been committed by similar offenders and under similar circumstances, it is sensible to expect that the punishment should be reasonably uniform. That any disparity should depend upon which judge happens to hear the case strikes anyone as unjust. Yet under our present system of unsupervised sentencing, this factor unfortunately does account for the difference in many cases.

The determination of a proper sentence involves the consideration of many elements. It can never be reduced to an exact science. Substantial leeway must be left for the exercise of sound judgment and, indeed, the differing views of individual judges in whose hands the sentencing power has been placed. But the determination of a sentence should be on a rational, not an arbitrary, basis. When, however, such judgments cannot be reconciled with reason, it is utterly incredible that the appellate courts should be denied the right to prevent a miscarriage of justice.

To place this matter in perspective, it is appropriate to quote a still applicable passage from the address of James V. Bennett, formerly the Director of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons. Speaking to the Sixth Circuit Judicial Conference on April 28, 1961, he observed:

> I have a great and abiding respect for judges and for their courage as demonstrated particularly in this circuit in recent months. I admire them for their dedication to the ideal of equal justice under law. The care that is taken to ascertain the facts about an offender and how he is to be treated constantly amazes me. In no other judicial system in the world do judges now have or are able to obtain so much information about an offender as in the Federal system. And it is being used effectively to improve the administration of justice.
>
> Even though I feel thus and agree that our courts and judges are the bulwark of our way of life, I cannot be so shortsighted as to overlook or shrug off without concern some cases where I have been duty bound to carry out the mandate of the court. Take for instances the cases of two men we received last spring. The first man had been convicted of cashing a check for $58.40. He was out of work at the time of his offense, and when his wife became ill and he needed money for rent, food, and doctor bills, he became the victim of temptation. He had no prior criminal record. The other man cashed a check for $35.20. He was also out of work and his wife had left him for another man. His prior record consisted of a drunk charge and a nonsupport charge. Our examination of these two cases indicated no significant differences for sentencing purposes. But they appeared before different judges and the first man received 15 years in prison and the second man 30 days.
>
> These are not cases picked out of thin air. In January the President of the United States commuted to time served the sentence of a first offender, a former Army lieutenant, and a veteran of over 500 days in combat, who had been given 18 years for forging six small checks.
>
> In one of our institutions a middle-aged credit union treasurer is serving 117 days for embezzling $24,000 in order to cover his gambling debts. On the other hand, another middle-aged embezzler with a fine past record and a fine family is serving 20 years, with 5 years probation to follow. At the same institution is a war veteran, a 39-year-old attorney who has never been in trouble before, serving 11 years for illegally importing parrots into this country. Another who is destined for the same institution is a middle-age tax accountant who on tax fraud charges received 31 years and 31 days in consecutive sentences. In stark contrast, at the same institution last year an unstable young man served out his 98-day sentence for armed bank robbery. An examination of sentencing statistics produce a less dramatic picture, for they inevitably level off the extremes of leniency or severity. But they do serve to prove the widespread extent of disparities. For example, the crime of forgery usually involves similar circumstances and individuals, but last year the district of northern Indiana gave average terms of 52 months, while western Washington imposed an average of 10 months. For auto theft, an offense so often involving similar factors, one court in this circuit imposed terms averaging 48 months, but eastern New York imposed terms averaging slightly in excess of 14 months. The proportion of all types of convicted defendants placed on probation ranged from 67 percent in South Carolina to 10 percent in western Tennessee.

Unquestionably, some of these judgments are the direct result of the absence of any appellate power to review individual sentences or to exercise general supervisory power over sentencing practices. Other phases of the work of trial judges are subject to appellate review and supervision. Only sentencing errors are not capable of being corrected on appeal, apparently for reasons that are for the most part historical. Such reasons are increasingly irreconcilable with prevailing notions of procedural due process and are woefully out of step with the requirements for a fair and just sentencing system.

There appears to be a substantial divergence of opinion as to whether trial judges' sentencing power should be curtailed. The adoption of appellate review procedures would not be necessary if sentencing should cease to be a judicial function, but that is not the case today. Since the sentencing power is in the hands of individual Federal district judges, the right to review the exercise of such judgment should be given to the Federal appellate courts.

Legislation to provide for appellate review of sentences is not new. It was recommended by the American Law Institute in its Code of Criminal Procedure and by Attorney General Cummings in the 1930's. Attorney General Cummings sent his proposal to the Congress with this statement:

> My studies of the disposition of criminal cases in Federal courts have led me to the conclusion that there frequently occur wide disparities and great inequalities and sentences in different districts, and even by different judges in the same district, for identical offenses involving similar states of facts.
>
> While, of course, varying points of view as between individual judges must of necessity lead to a certain degree of divergence in sentences imposed, the result is that the penalty which a person convicted of a crime has to undergo may depend on chance and on the fortuitous circumstances that a particular judge disposes of the case. This situation makes it difficult to maintain that equal, evenhanded justice is attained.

These reasons are as applicable today as they were 30 years ago. The intervening years have, however, intensified the need to cope with the problem of the grossly disproportionate sentence and have witnessed a widespread acceptance of the principle of appellate review. The time has come, therefore, to enact such legislation in the interests of enhancing public confidence in the administration of criminal justice.

S. 2722 confers on the courts of appeal the power to review certain criminal sentences. It would allow a convicted person, who is sentenced to imprisonment for a term or terms aggregating more than 1 year, to appeal his sentence within 10 days after entry of the final judgment or order imposing the sentence on the ground that it is excessive. The courts of appeal, by rule or order, may require the forwarding of such transcripts and records which are deemed necessary to decide the matter from the clerk of the district court. The bill provides that the courts of appeal can make available to counsel any presentence reports and other evaluations relating to

the defendant on such terms as are considered necessary for an effective prosecution of the appeal. The bill also provides that the district judge is required to state for the record his reasons for the sentence when imposing a sentence subject to review.

With one exception, the appellate court may decide the matter with or without an oral hearing. It is given the power to reduce, increase, or otherwise modify the sentence as it deems appropriate. However, before any sentence is increased the appellant is given the opportunity to appear for the purpose of making a statement and presenting any information in his own behalf. By taking an appeal, however, he is deemed to have waived any right to plead that as a result of the revision of the sentence he has been twice put in jeopardy.

Because it would not be reasonable to expect an individual to appeal a suspended sentence of any kind, the bill also provides that, in the event probation is subsequently revoked, the right to appeal from a sentence of more than 1 year is preserved until entry of the judgment or order imposing such sentence of imprisonment.

Furthermore, S. 2722 makes clear that the right to bail after conviction remains discretionary with the district court. The legislation does not confer or enlarge any right to be released pending an appeal from the sentence imposed. Because it is contemplated that the courts of appeal will require a reasonable period of time following enactment of the legislation to adopt appropriate rules governing appeals against sentence, the law would become effective 6 months after its approval and would apply only to sentences imposed thereafter.

While this legislation is patterned after bills I have introduced in previous sessions of the Congress, it has benefited from considerable discussion devoted to the subject in recent circuit conferences, as well as the thinking expresed in numerous legal periodicals. The basic departure from S. 823 introduced in the 88th Congress—granting the power to increase as well as reduce sentences—is in response to the recommendation of the Judicial Conference of the United States as adopted in its meeting of September 1964.

Rather than to discuss the merits of each provision of the bill at this time, it is more appropriate to offer two articles for the consideration of the Senate. The first, written by the Honorable Simon E. Sobeloff, was published in the Brooklyn Law Review. The second, by Prof. Gerhard O. W. Mueller, was published in the Vanderbilt Law Review. It is my hope, Mr. President, that, when Congress reconvenes next January, hearings on the bill will promptly be scheduled. To quote Judge Sobeloff in his closing remarks to the symposium of the Judicial Conference of the Second Circuit on September 24, 1962:

> To guard against irrationality, inequity, and oppression, every long sentence warrants a second look.

This bill will provide that opportunity.

For purposes of full information I am having the text of S. 2722 printed at this point:

S. 2722

A bill to amend chapter 235 of title 18, United States Code, to provide for the appellate review of sentences imposed in criminal cases arising in the district courts of the United States

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) chapter 235 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting immediately after section 3741 thereof the following new section:

"§ 3742. Appeal from sentence

"(a) In every case arising in a district court of the United States in which a defendant has been sentenced to imprisonment for one or more criminal offenses where the term or aggregate terms total more than one year the defendant may, upon application to the United States court of appeals within ten days after entry of the final judgment or order imposing the sentence, appeal from the sentence so imposed upon the ground that the sentence, although lawful, is excessive. Upon the making of such application, the clerk of the district court shall certify to the court of appeals such transcripts of proceedings, records, and other information relating to the offense or offenses of the defendant and the sentence imposed upon him as the court of appeals by rule or order may require, including any presentence reports or other evaluations made pursuant to statute or otherwise. The court of appeals shall provide for the availability of such presentence reports and other evaluations, or portions thereof, to counsel for the defendant on such terms as may be necessary for an effective prosecution of the appeal. Any district judge imposing a sentence subject to review under this section shall state as part of the record his reasons for imposing that particular sentence.

"(b) Subject to the provisions of this subsection, any appeal may be determined by the court of appeals with or without an oral hearing thereon. The court of appeals may reduce, increase, or otherwise modify the sentence imposed by the district court as it deems appropriate: *Provided, however,* That before any sentence is increased the court of appeals shall afford the defendant an opportunity to make a statement and to present any information in his own behalf. By taking an appeal from the sentence under this section, the defendant shall be deemed to have waived any right to plead that as a result of any revision of the sentence by the court of appeals he has been twice put in jeopardy for the same offense.

"(c) In any case where a judgment or order of probation is revoked and a sentence of imprisonment is imposed for more than one year, the defendant may appeal from such sentence as provided in this section within ten days after entry of the judgment or order imposing the sentence.

"(d) This section shall not be construed to confer or enlarge any right of the defendant to be released following his conviction pending an appeal from the sentence imposed.

"(e) The procedure for taking an appeal under this section shall follow the procedure for an appeal from a judgment or order of conviction and, where the appeals are joined, a single notice of appeal shall be sufficient.

"(f) This Act shall become effective six months after its approval and shall apply only to sentences imposed thereafter."

(b) The analysis of chapter 235 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new item:

"3742. Appeal from sentence."

Statement by the Honorable Gabriel Valdes, Foreign Minister of Chile

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an excellent presentation of the Chilean viewpoint on Latin American integration by Gabriel Valdes, Foreign Minister of Chile.

Mr. Valdes' statement follows:

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE GABRIEL VALDES, FOREIGN MINISTER OF CHILE, AT THE PAN AMERICAN UNION, WASHINGTON, D.C., TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1965

Whenever the Government of Chile has stated the need for integration, it has done so with the deepest conviction of its great urgency. We are convinced that progressive forms of integration that eventually lead to a Common Market adequate to meet the political, economical, and social reality of Latin America are conditions of development. We are also convinced that 140 years of disunity have been the principal cause of our poverty and political and social instability and, in short, have arrested our advance toward better and fairer forms of life already attained by other nations in the European Community.

There is no doubt that integration is a political and economic phenomenon and that it also responds to political and economic requirements. In our particular case, I shall discuss the latter, not because I consider them to be the most important and urgent, but because they have been given priority in our continent. It is curious, in this respect, that Latin America integration has been started and promoted by technicians and economics, while in Europe integration began with the impulse and decision of politicians like Adenauer, De Gasperi, Schuman, and Monet.

Here seems to lie the explanation for the great difference in the speed and shape of both processes.

As we see it, Latin America is confronted today by a dilemma: United it faces its responsibility in the world of today, or it must lag behind, protesting conditions for which we—the Latin Americans—will be to blame because we have failed to understand history or see its trend.

Existing conditions of international commerce and the characteristics of modern technology make economic development impossible in compartments of stagnation.

To a considerable degree, the present reality in Latin America—that is to say, disintegration—determines a structure inadequate to foster development and also hinders it. It is inadequate in the sense that markets are too narrow to support industries that generate adequate levels of scale economies. Nor would it be possible for certain industries to become dynamic centers of development. It is also inadequate insofar as it makes impossible further substitution of imports.

We well know that substitution of imports is still a condition of the development of Latin America and of equilibrium in its global balance of foreign payments. I would like to mention here the figures given by ECLA concerning the deficit that would exist in Latin America in 1970 between the possible value of exports and the demand for imports. In the cases where substitution

plans are successful, the deficit would reach a figure of $1.520 million. If there is no such success, the deficit would be $4.300 million. Our main objective in integration is to create a large regional market that makes possible a process of substitution of imports on a regional level.

The substitution of imports is not a simple process: it demands protective measures, that beyond a certain limit might turn the protected activity into an antieconomic one. If substitution is not paired with an increase of productivity, internal costs might affect the stability and levels of exports. Moreover, we all know that modern technology makes it compulsory to produce on a large scale or raise the customs protection to permit competition of national and imported products. The problem, as we see it, is that in order to utilize the advantages of technology, we must not only increase our ability to acquire the capital which incorporates technology, but must also increase our ability to fully exploit the advantages offered by technology with respect to specialization and large-scale economies in production.

In this sense, integration must take place in a protected regional market. It will have to be so, just as the United States and European markets were during their initial stage of development. It is not that we seek the imposition of barriers as high as, for example, the average 57 percent tariff that imports to the United States paid in 1897. What we need is that our industries attain, in the shortest possible time, production levels that permit them to compete in domestic and foreign markets with those of more developed countries.

I pointed out a moment ago that the present Latin American economic structure also tends to "put the brake" to development. That is because it consolidates archaic structures and makes a solution to the problem of international trade in our region difficult.

In the years following the great depression of the 1930's, many Latin American countries sought a greater degree of self-sufficiency through protection, and deliberately initiated a process of imports substition. Some countries were successful in this and created industries that developed, in many instances, protected by high tariff barriers. Thus, while establishing their industries, those countries gave rise to groups interested in consolidating and perpetuating those barriers. It is clear that only integration will permit industries thus created to become efficient and dynamic activities through their own development.

Latin America on the other hand confronts a situation in which it is impossible for it to acquire the imports essential to development with the product of its exports. In this respect, integration would permit an expansion of markets for products of the region, and a reduction in the region's dependence on world trade. Integration would enable a better regional interchange, allowing the increase of available foreign exchange currency for the import of goods that are not produced within the region but are essential to the development.

Generally speaking, the archaic structures that determine the present reality in Latin America are not only economic but social as well. We believe that integration will have have a cause and as a consequence the gradual increase in Latin America of the people's pressure to obtain a greater participation, security and profit.

At the present time, in many regions of Latin America, well being is a privilege of those who inherit it. On the other hand integration that requires and generates a modernization of society will create and be the consequence of more dynamic communities in which those who contribute more to the common good of the nation and the region are those who attain prosperity and success. Competition in larger markets will make this possible.

Furthermore, the necessary greater mobility of capital within the region and the inflow of capitals from outside the region that will have to be effected under conditions of regularity of treatment, will channel those capitals toward the countries where social peace, derived from well-being is stronger.

Besides, communication between the peoples of Latin America through exchanges between associations of workers and between unions, should bring with it an improvement of social conditions. This will have the result of equalizing upward the workers gains.

As we have indicated, the political aspects of integration, hold the greatest importance. In the future, political understandings, the currents of international traffic, and of world trade, will take place between the large nations or between large communities of nations. This is a fact we cannot forget. Our nations, by remaining disunited, will be unable to take part in this dialog between continents.

Latin America, in this respect, cannot permit itself to be relegated, and for all time, to the category of a second-class region. More than 200 million men, who increase at the highest rate in the world, must have a voice and influence within the concert of nations. But separated into 20 different countries, without the bonds that are each day uniting people, this voice and this influence will continue to be at a minimum.

To our way of thinking, this problem must be the fundamental concern of the American Governments, because it means deciding today the future of Latin America.

The Latin American Governments, are presently facing very serious political, social, and internal economic problems. They have the tendency to relegate to a second level the demands that the more or less near future imposes. But many of these problems should be easier to solve in an integrated system; that is the reason why our policy of pushing integration has the same priority of our policy intended to solve the internal problems that afflict us.

Latin America has already begun two processes of integration. At the beginning of 1960 there was signed at Montevideo the treaty that established a free trade zone and set up the Latin American Free Trade Association, which is signed by Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay, later on adhered to by Colombia and Ecuador.

At the end of this year, the General Central American Economic Integration Treaty will be signed at Managua, including Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua.

Although this treaty was signed after that of Montevideo, it was the culmination of a process, for which previously various obligations had been taken. The Central American Convention for the equalization of import duties, and its protocol on Central American Tariff Preferences, the Multilateral Free Trade and Central American Economic Integration Treaty, and the Treaty of Economic Association signed between Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras, had been decisive steps in Central American integration.

The routes followed in each one of these zones have been different.

Central America has made substantial advances toward a common market, establishing a common external tariff, creating measures to coordinate its monetary policies, coordinating its development plans, establishing its own banks to finance joint projects and coordinating its social policies.

With respect to the nations of the Latin American Free Trade Association, they have been slower in their advances. The Treaty of Montevideo has been used only as a commercial instrument through which it is intended to liberalize international trade on the basis of periodic negotiations, product by product. This is, in itself, a slow and complicated process.

The objective of integration is not only a liberation of existing trade. It cannot be, since such trade is of little importance in volume and in relative terms it is a minimum part of the total of international trade, and of the product of the region.

Integration, as we see it, must be a directed process, with a view to changing the present structure of Latin American economy, to consolidate the political union of our peoples, to improve social relations, and to bring efficiency to the institutions and mechanisms that regulate the life of the continent.

Such broad tasks cannot be the product of automatic forces nor of simple liberating measures. We do not have such faith in the mechanisms of the market.

Furthermore, we believe that the liberation of trade is an important measure, but that it must neither constitute the center of the problem, nor may be obtained without other measures being taken simultaneously.

We run the risk of serious disturbances in the future if we concentrate, with too much enthusiasm, on liberating measures, without simultaneous action with respect to common import duties, monetary measures, mechanisms of the redistribution of profits, programmation of investments and, in general, measures permitting an equitable distribution of the benefits of integration.

I wish to briefly dwell upon these aspects.

It is undoubtable that in underdeveloped economies there does not occur the displacement of resources and goods according to the tendencies of the market, as has been the European example. The simple lowering of duties, with differences so marked in import duties, with different rates of inflation, and various grades of progress among the Latin American nations, may provoke such disturbances and disequilibriums as to denaturalize the objectives and very tools of integration.

Furthermore, with the exaggerated emphasis on simple measures of liberation, there is a risk of consolidating and aggravating the present economic structures of Latin America. This should be, for example, the case of the monopolies that, now dominating the national economies in many places, expand their harmful action to the regional ambit.

That is why there must be joined to the internal taxing measures, a simultaneous process that permit harmony between taxes and expenditures, for the purpose of avoiding distortions in competition within the zone. It is necessary, also that the countries obligate themselves to adopt monetary and exchange policies that prevent the tensions that unilateral measures in these matters may bring about in the region. The harmonization of customs duties toward third countries is another condition for the success of integration. This the artificial differences in the undue costs and advantages of exchange can be avoided.

The economic community to be established must, as a necessary condition for its operation, adopt a regional program of investments, coordinating investment policies with national planning. This aspect is of special importance. It is possible that the dynamics of integration without sufficient safeguards will condemn certain regions, that are now more backward, to remain in this situation. This will occur in some countries, at least in relation to other zones of Latin America, that will grow with great rapidity after the liberation of regional trade. An important instrument, for the coordination of investments as well as for the development of the more backward regions, apart from reciprocity, must be an institution that will preferentially finance those investments whose market will be regional.

With reference to this, some consideration should be given to the role that foreign financing must play in the process of integration.

In the first place, credits that satisfy the need for foreign capital in Latin America must orient themselves in a multilateral manner to permit in this way the financing of joint projects in Latin America.

The method that will most efficiently benefit integration would be that which would permit adequate coordination in the use of the scarce resources of capital in a given region.

Furthermore, financing requirements change in an integrated market. In such instances, credits for the production of certain goods should supplant credits for the acquisition of resources. An integrated market justifies the production of certain goods that cannot be justified in limited national markets. This, in turn, determines that loans formerly made for the acquisition of goods may now be made for regional production, since the median term of the loans is equivalent to the volume of acquisition. This applies, for example, to certain equipment that, as in transportation, can be produced in Latin America, with plans financed there instead of their acquisitions being financed year by year abroad.

Third, international financing instructions should show special interest in financing complementary industrial programs, which are of great importance to integration. Through the establishment of complementary industries, we hope that Latin America may more rationally utilize its capital resources and specialized manpower, intensify the movement of merchandise within the region, and, in brief, avoid the inefficiencies inherent in productive processes that fail to function economically. We cannot but praise the promotional work of the Inter-American Development Bank in this respect. It fully justifies what its president said some time ago when he called it "the integration bank."

Naturally, these aspects are related to foreign investments. We believe that we must develop a uniform treatment by all the Latin American countries toward external capital. Our countries, which stand so badly in need of such capital, should standaridize certain forms of guarantee and treatment applicable to external investments. Otherwise, the competition for such capital, by no means abundant, can bring consequences that will be politically and economically inimical to our countries.

The measures that we advocate may be adopted maintaining in action the Treaty of Montevideo. I am now talking of the LAFTA countries. But it will not be an easy task to mobilize the mechanisms that we have outlined, as it will not be easy to attain the proposed objectives.

What is required, in the first place, is a political decision which will express a will to advance toward economic integration. Many of such measures will be taken through a process which might lengthen itself. However, the great political decisions cannot be repeated indefinitely. They involve resolutions which are adopted, once and forever, so that by avoiding hesitations they will bring about their full value.

This political decision must contemplate, in the first place, the creation of an efficient regional institutional structure. An important role would be played by an executive organism with adequate authority and within which those who represent the Latin American community should make the decisions.

We believe that it is necessary to overcome the stage where decisions are adopted by mere governmental agreements. The purpose is not to annul the nation state but to assign to the community organisms certain powers which up to now have been conceived as pertaining to the nation state, the sovereignty of which is increasingly acquiring a mere symbolic value.

Without an institution of this nature we cannot have regional programs that will yield the best utilization of resources within the framework of coordinated policies and of fair distribution of profits.

The great political decision has a significant importance in the national spheres. It implies the need to confront in a definitive manner the imperious necessity of not listening to those who benefit from the anomalous existing structure. It means the need to confront the most powerful groups, who are not the most legitimate; those who have benefited from trade barriers, with tax privileges, with favorable credit systems, with monopolistic conditions.

Such political decision also means that we must be prepared to stop the arms race in Latin America; that is, to avoid that many countries continue to spend around 4 percent of their national income in weapons.

Moreover, economic integration requires other conditions.

It would be absurd to attempt integration if this only meant perpetuating social life as it is today. That is why popular participation is fundamental in engineering those decisions that will lead us toward integration.

The participation of the people is, therefore, a requisite without which integration either becomes impractical or turns itself into an effort of certain privileged minorities to enlarge the scope of their business dealings.

For these reasons we believe that in the institutions through which integration should be promoted there must be a place for the well-organized people, the unions, the labor unions, the management groups, and the professionals of Latin America.

The political attitudes that will enable us to attain integration will meet with certain difficulties.

In our continent, integration is attacked, as all the measures endangering the existing order, by the extreme right as by the extreme left. The extreme right attacks it because it considers integration a menace to its interests, to its positions, generally bound to those of nationalism. The extreme left attacks it because it knows that integration is the real answer to many Latin American problems instead of its own solutions. I still recall some of the expressions of the leaders of the extreme left in my own country: they considered integration as an escape, as a means to make the people forget that only through violent methods they could obtain an improvement of their situation.

For us, integration is precisely the opposite; it is the means to unite all the Latin American peoples in a common enterprise, and through a spontaneous blending of the will of many sectors; workers, managers, and professionals, to give one step further, within a climate of freedom at international level, toward what Pope John XXIII called the "socialization," that is "the gradual multiplication of all social relationships."

Integration requires changes in certain juridical conceptions and in several fields of legislation. This is the task of jurists and lawyers and we have been left behind by economists and engineers in the creative process, because we have been concerned with teaching and implementing an individualistic law that still expresses the reality of the 19th century. It is about time that we, men of law, abandon the office of museum curators in order to assume our responsibility in creating the channels, in building the architecture of a dynamic national and international order, in which the social part has priority; in which the common good predominates over the individual rights of persons or state.

The commissions of jurisconsults formed by eminently respectable men, have often been an expedient to lengthen studies and to turn the law into a brake instead of an impulse.

I have the presumption of thinking that the day that men of law really start working with imagination, creating and not repeating, that day the integration will be possible. Only in such a manner will the analysis and programs of economists—often too numerous—will have an adequate effect. Therefore we celebrate as a decisive step toward that goal, the creation of the Institute for Integration of the Inter-American Bank in Buenos Aires. Its president—a man of law—has understood the vital importance of this aspect.

There is a certain parallel between the reforms to juridical internal structure that development demands and those that have to be achieved in the international field to attain integration. In the internal field of our countries with a Latin juridical tradition, different from that of the Saxons, where law is more susceptible to evolution because of its pragmatism, the written law acquires a sacred respect and an immobility that often reaches a stage of paralysis to the point of becoming antisocial. In the center of this structure stands the concept of private property, derived of Roman law in its classical powers, jus utendi, fruendi et abutendi, that grants to a few people what becomes a privilege, while the great majority remain outside of it and, therefore, it becomes very easy for them to place themselves against the law. To change this criteria and to modify the law is fundamental to the creation of new conditions of development. They are the most revolutionary of all tasks.

Implementing them will make possible an agrarian and a city reform. This brings about another concept: Individual progress can only be certain and increasing if it is the result of the general situation of the community; profit derives of the efficiency with which the community is served. This is the general policy we are implementing in Chile, that in the end gives more guarantee to property, to investment and therefore to freedom. We want no laws that are under the menace of the people's pressure.

In the international order, the concept of absolute sovereignty is also staying behind in the 19th century.

If man is considered as the center and his development, security, and freedom are the purpose of the state, we shall soon begin to see that there are two different classes or conceptions: on one side the flag, the traditions of the country, the election of its rulers and in general the internal expression of human communities organized in nations; on the other, exchange rules, labor laws, taxes, custom tariffs, transportation, communications and commercial law, jurisdiction of the courts, etc.

Certain concepts essential to maintain the individuality of the community require some sort of grading; others must give way for the benefit of common good; in the economic order this is not limited by geographical frontiers and should not be limited by political ones, since resources are distributed by nature without regard for these frontiers. Nations are not built to put a limit to man, but to give him integral development. That is why we consider that instead of speaking of ideological frontiers in our America—frontiers that would destroy its unity—we must speak of the integration of the economical and cultural frontier.

What we have stated in relation to the integration of Latin America, implies necessary reform to the inter-American system.

The reform of OAS should be destined to accommodate the system to the new ideas

and mechanisms contained in the Charter of Punta del Este, and therefore to the political, social, and economical aspects of Latin American development.

It is a question of making possible through new and more efficient mechanisms, the full action of the concept of the Alliance for Progress—and therefore of the multilateral and united effort in America. This means the granting of a new structure to the system in which the central guiding conceptions are the Alliance and the integration.

In its essence, the inter-American system has developed itself until now, according to the lines drawn 130 years ago in the Congress of Panama when the continent newly born to freedom had to defend itself from the foreign menace of European monarchies. It was the juridical pattern, followed a quarter of a century ago, in front of the foreign menace of nazism.

But nothing is achieved by closing doors to a foreign menace if at the same time our own home is being destroyed and crumbles from inside, consumed by poverty, ill-based on archaic foundations, shaken by tragical and economical tensions. Foreign menaces to our continental frontiers are only occasional and sporadic. The permanent menace is the one derived from the inadequacy of our old economical and social structures. In order to face this permanent problem, we have accumulated in a haphazard way, committees and commissions. There has been no complete revision of the system in order to organize it according to the new realities.

Many efforts have been done to dynamize the action of the system in the social and economical aspects. However, we do not believe that we can go on working on the bases of an inorganic superposition of different institutions, committees, and commissions.

To explain it in the simplest possible way, we would say that the Alliance for Progress as a power-generating idea, and integration as an objective, constitute for us the bases and fundamentals of the new charter.

Men of extreme right are those who try to present the policy of integration as a move against the United States. According to them it would be a question of dividing in two this hemisphere: on one side a Latin American united block and on the other, the United States of America. It is to be presumed that this united Latin America would tend to gravitate toward the anti-North American orbit and that its economy under a process of development, would seek a worsening of the tensions of cold war as an incitement.

Those who worry so much about that eventual division of the continent have not realized that this continent is now already divided in a more serious and dangerous way. Divided between the richest and strangest nation of the earth and 20 countries, more or less small and evenly poor. Those who are concerned for the security of the United States (and who usually do not have the responsibility of that security), should ask themselves if this security is not threatened in a higher degree by the existence of an area politically unstable, socially explosive, and economically backward, subject to all kinds of compulsions that can only continue to increase, if events are not channeled with political foresight. I ask if the political and military security of the United States and world peace itself, would not have a better guarantee through the creation of a prosperous and united Latin-America.

Our fundamental concern is the well-being of our own people. We hope to insure it during the span of our life, in such a way that there might be a worthy place under the sun for 500 million of Latin-Americans, a figure that will be reached within a few decades. And if we insure this well-being; if we give those millions of men of our suffering masses, bread and freedom, we are certain that we shall be contributing in the most effective manner to establish peace and harmony in this hemisphere.

Exchange Provisions of Oregon Dunes National Seashore Bill—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the letter I addressed to Oregon constituents under date of July 28, 1965, supplied the details of an amendment proposed by the Department of the Interior with respect to the exchange provisions of the Oregon Dunes National Seashore bill, S. 250. I asked these constituents to give me the benefit of their studied views on the amendment which had been proposed by the Department at that time. The replies I received addressed to me on August 5 and 6, 1965, were most helpful. I ask unanimous consent that the text of these communications be included at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DAY & COURTRIGHT,
Medford, Oreg., August 5, 1965.

Re amendment to Oregon's bill S. 250; your letter of July 28, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am opposed to the proposed amendment requested by the Secretary of the Interior as contained in your letter of July 28, 1965.

The term "any lands" includes land contained in sustained yield programs and other lands owned by the Government and either providing or having the potential to provide important economic and other valuable use to the people of the State and to the communities in which the land is located. Only lands containing valuable resources would be acceptable by the private individual making the exchange and it is a poor policy to give the Secretary of the Interior such absolute right to transfer valuable resources from the public domain.

Money is the proper exchange for payment for land which the Government needs. We have adequate methods of determining the proper purchase price through either negotiation, arbitration or trial by jury. The proposed amendment opens the way for outsiders to fatten their own pockets at the expense of both the dunes area landowner and the public generally by acquiring options or making quick purchases of the land in the dunes area, and then stalling in the exchange procedures with the Government until we have been harmed, both by delay and by upgrading of the values of the privately owned lands. Such transactions even though they are fair and square do raise questions of sharp dealings, influence, and honesty.

If there are public lands which should properly be in private ownership then the correct procedure is to classify these lands, place upon them minimum values, advertise that they are for sale by bid subject to the minimum values and allow as many people as wish to bid upon the lands. Such a procedure would properly dispose of unneeded public lands and close the backdoor approach to its acquisition.

I do not want anything which I have written to be interpreted as opposition to the Oregon Dunes Park bill or to the exchange of public lands for the purpose of blocking out holdings for greater efficiency to both public and private owners.

I hope that my comments will be of some assistance to you and you have my very best wishes.

Sincerely,

BEN DAY.

P.S. As this is in answer to your personal request, I will not send copies except with your permission. If I hear from you that you have no objection, I will send copies to Governor Sprague, Governor Hatfield, Senator NEUBERGER, and Representative DUNCAN.

BEN.

PORTLAND, OREG.,
August 5, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

In reply to your letter addressed to me dated July 28, 1965, re proposed Interior amendment to S. 250, I disapprove the amendment which could only tend to increase public disaffection with Federal land trades in this area.

I fully recognize the advantages as well as hazards of land exchanges in specific circumstances where Federal funds will not do the job, but Interior's amendment is far too broad. Oregon will not hold still for a continuing program of trading off sustained-yield Federal lands, but it will accept reasonably safeguarded exchanges of land classified for disposal under the Classification and Multiple Use Act of 1964, providing adequate public notice, consultation with advisory boards, and hearings.

The wording of Representative DUNCAN's proposed amendment to H.R. 7524 in this respect appeals to me as being a good approach to the Oregon Dunes problem, as well as to similar situations involving land transfers.

Sincerely,

HERBERT LUNDY,
Editor, Editorial Page, the Oregonian.

STATE OF OREGON,
OFFICE OF STATE FORESTER,
Salem, Oreg., August 6, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Reference is made to your letter relative to the proposed amendment to the Oregon Dunes bill, S. 250, and to your request for my reactions regarding the possible effect of granting unlimited authority to the Secretary of the Interior in administration of timberland in exchanges which could mean so much to the sustained yield program and the economy of the State of Oregon.

We are very much concerned by the proposal to grant blanket authority to negotiate exchanges of timberlands to the Secretary without policy guidelines from the Congress and without requiring concurrence in such exchanges by State authority; the only criteria being the exchange of timberland of "approximate equal value."

While the proposed Dunes Park area contains only a very minor part of Oregon's forest resource, the planting of the seeds of authority to make all decisions here could lead to disaster for the sustained yield program if carried out in the future as general authority for all Interior lands.

Oregon went through a similar problem with the Department of Agriculture back in the early 1930's when that Department was carrying on an expansion program, trading timber for land and exchanging forest land with little regard for equal values or acreages. The Oregon Legislature at that time passed a law to curb the acquisition program. (A copy of the history of the board of forest conservation is attached, together with a copy of the law enacted by the State legislature.) The authority of this board applies

only to the acquisition and exchange of lands by the national forests; however, it has worked quite well and insures that local and State government have knowledge of the terms of exchange and the values involved. The Forest Service has made a real effort to comply with the requirement of the law and the policies of the committee. It is possible that the law setting up the duties of this committee may be broadened to include Interior Department forest lands if supported by the people familiar with present problems.

The 53d Legislative Assembly of Oregon in its regular session adopted House Joint Resolution 60, introduced by the joint committee on ways and means, which established an interim committee on public lands to survey the public land problem in Oregon. The objective of the committee will be to study the many problems relating to the acquisition, sale, exchange, ownership, and management of public lands.

It is important where broad powers are given that policy guidelines be spelled out to insure proper administration and protection of the country and State interests.

The local community economy in Oregon is becoming more and more dependent upon the allowable cut from Federal lands. These figures are known and are taken into consideration by local industry as a guide for expansion and development.

It is the consensus of opinion here that the type of exchange which this authority could grant would tend to cut down the immediate allowable cut in local areas or counties and support a possible tendency to trade high values in mature stands of timber for areas of cutover lands or reproducing lands which in the immediate future would tend to lower the allowable cut and thereby upset the sustained yield program.

The balance of public versus private lands is at a very critical point in Oregon and any appreciable increase in the acquisition of private lands by public agencies could definitely influence the tax base of any particular county affected.

We recognize that some exchanges and purchases are necessary and inevitable for the welfare and safety of the people, but provision can be made for the orderly handling of such needs through well publicized and approved long-range plans which take into account the highest use priority.

We also recognize the need for blocking in of ownerships in order to permit more efficient administration and management, but these should be on a reciprocal basis whereever possible.

We feel that in some instances exchanges involving lands designated for sustained yield would be justified for the public interest. However, it is my thinking that these exchanges should be considered individually upon the merit of the specific case and with approval of the specific county and State authority.

I appreciate the opportunity to express, in a general way, some of my reactions to the proposed amendment to S. 250.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

D. L. PHIPPS,
State Forester.

THE HISTORY OF THE BOARD OF FOREST CONSERVATION

The events leading up to the passage of the act creating the Oregon Board of Forest Conservation had their beginning back in the depression days of the 1930's when counties found themselves short of funds through extensive tax delinquencies. There was considerable agitation at that time for the Federal Government to take over some of the tax distressed lands. It stemmed mainly from the Federal sources and the segment of the State population that was being indoctrinated with the philosophy of Federal control of various State affairs and especially in matters concerning forestry and forest production. Stepped-up acquisition was a part of the program.

An example of early forest acquisition concerned the Olean Land Co., an eastern holding company which owned about 16,000 acres of pine land lying along Green ridge just north of the town of Sisters. It found itself in financial difficulties and, after some negotiation, the Federal Government purchased the land outright and added it to the Deschutes National Forest. There was considerable vigorous objection to the deal. At the same time the practice of trading Federal stumpage for privately owned cutover lands was continuing on an expanded scale, especially in the eastern part of the State.

Counties strongly objected to the program on the basis that it took lands off the tax rolls without provision for current lieu tax payments. Counties demanded action that would prevent the practice, or provide for financial reimbursement for tax losses.

At that time Guy Cordon was attorney for the land-grant counties and during one session of the State legislature in a conference with State forestry officials it was suggested that a bill be introduced which would prohibit further land acquisition by the Federal Government. Mr. Cordon stated that such legislation would be ineffective since Federal laws took precedence over State measures.

Then some time prior to the 1935 session of the State legislature, the Federal Government requested the passage of an act by the State of Oregon that would permit the Federal Government to acquire forest lands. Similar requests were made of other States in the Nation and a model act was submitted by the Federal Government. This act, modified to meet Oregon conditions, was introduced in the 1935 session of the State legislature. It carried the blessing of the late Gov. Charles H. Martin.

The bill immediately caused a storm of protest from the various counties on the basis that it was taking lands off the tax roll. A suggestion was made that the proposed law be amended as to make such acquisition contingent upon approval by the State board of forestry.

The showdown came later and finally ended in a special order of business in the senate and several rollcalls and polls of the house. The bill in its original form was simply the enabling act permitting the Government to acquire forest lands in the State. It passed the house but the senate amended it by setting up the commission composed of the Governor, the State forester, the chairman of the State tax commission, and two county judges appointed from counties having more than 400,000 acres of forest land. The bill also required the approval of the county court in which an acquisition area might lie.

Opposition to this bill centered in the county courts, especially in the land-grant counties where there was a lot of Federal ownership. There was little income in those days from either the national forest or O and C lands. The counties insisted that provision should be made for the Government to make lieu tax payments. In spite of the opposition the bill passed the senate by a 22-to-8 vote.

LEGISLATION GIVING THE CONSENT OF THE STATE OF OREGON TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO PURCHASE LAND

(The Weeks Law of 1911 requires the consent of the State for purchase of land by the U.S. Government for national forests. Not all States have such enabling legislation for that specific purpose. However, all States have legislation giving authority for acquisition of real estate by the Federal Government. Below are the pertinent sections from the State statutes under which the Federal Government acquires land for national forests or for other purposes.)

ACQUISITION OF LAND; NATIONAL FORESTS; BOARD OF FOREST CONSERVATION

272.040 Acquisition of land for national forests; retention of jurisdiction for certain purposes (1) The Legislature of the State of Oregon hereby consents, subjects to the provisions of ORS 272.050, to the acquisition by the United States by purchase, gift, or condemnation with adequate compensation, of such lands in the State of Oregon as in the opinion of the Government of the United States may be needed for the establishment, consolidation, and extension of national forests in this State under the provisions of the act of Congress approved March 1, 1911, and entitled "An act to enable any State to cooperate with any other State or States, or with the United States, for the protection of the watersheds of navigable streams and to appoint a commission for the acquisition of lands for the purpose of conserving the navigability of navigable rivers," as amended.

(2) The State of Oregon retains a concurrent jurisdiction with the United States in and over lands so acquired so far that civil processes in all cases, and such criminal processes as may issue under the authority of the State of Oregon against any person charged with the commission of any crime without or within such jurisdiction, may be executed thereon in like manner as if this consent had not been granted. The State of Oregon retains a concurrent jurisdiction to tax persons and corporations and their property and transactions on such lands so acquired; and retains concurrent jurisdiction for the purpose specified in ORS 376.505 to 376.540, subject, however, to such modification as to the detailed location of any right-of-way as may be necessary to protect the interests of the United States.

272.050 Board of forest conservation and county court to approve acquisition for national forest. Acquisition authorized under ORS 272.040 shall be contingent on the approval of the Oregon Board of Forest Conservation which hereby is created. It shall consist of the Governor, the State forester, the chairman of the State tax commission, and two other members to be appointed by the Governor from the county judges in office in counties of this State containing at least 400,000 acres of forest land. Before approval by such board of the acquisition of any tract, the consent of the county court of the county wherein such tract or any portion thereof is situated must be given by an order duly made and entered in the records of such court and a certified copy thereof transmitted to the board.

PORTLAND, OREG.,
August 6, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Mr. Joseph W. McCracken, executive vice president, Western Forest Industries Association, has been almost continuously out of the city. We have had an opportunity to discuss together, however, your letter to him of July 28 regarding the land exchange amendment proposed by the Department of the Interior for the Oregon Dunes bill, S. 250. Mr. McCracken has asked me to thank you for your letter and to present to you the views of Western Forest Industries Association.

The proposal of the Department (on S. 250) is as follows:

"In the exercise of his exchange authority the Secretary may accept title to any non-Federal property, and in exchange therefor he may convey to the grantor of such property any federally owned property under his jurisdiction which he classifies as suitable for exchange or other disposal and which is of approximately equal value. If the properties are not of approximately equal value, the Secretary may accept cash from, or pay

cash to, the grantor in order to equalize the values of the properties exchanged."

This proposal, if enacted, would open the door to practices that the public interest condemns. It would surrender to the Department of the Interior and its subordinate agencies the most effective control that the Congress now possesses with respect to such agencies—the control of the purse strings. It would discriminate as between owners of large tracts of timberland and the owners of other types of property scheduled for inclusion in the dunes project. Within the timber industry itself it would necessarily entail an unacceptable and unreasonable discrimination. It would impair investments and jobs remote from the dunes area in circumstances which make the impairment noncompensable.

As to the encouragement of practices that contravene the public interest, your letter points to the invitation implicit in the Department's proposed language for speculators to acquire interests in or relating to dunes lands for use as base for exchanges for timberlands elsewhere. Such practices were apparently adopted and even encouraged in connection with the acquisition of lands for a park in California, the lands and interests so acquired thereafter being advanced for exchange for old growth timberlands in Oregon that were and still are being managed for sustained yield timber production.

Nor are unwholesome practices limited to the private sector. It is possible for an agency without consultation with anybody to shift its internal plans in such fashion that lands theretofore managed for sustained yield timber production are removed from that classification; the next day they may be declared disposable and involved in an exchange on the ground they are not being managed for sustained yield timber production. Public surveillance of activities of this sort is extremely difficult, particularly where an agency is bent upon acquiring new lands for which it does not have and cannot get from the Congress an appropriation.

As your letter points when Federal lands that are or recently have been under sustained yield management or are susceptible of and ought to be under sustained yield management, are exchanged for private lands in the interest of Federal acquisition of a park or scenery, there is no assurance that the lands so disposed of will be managed under sustained yield. At this point the Nation will have paid out its sustained yield timber production for scenery or a park.

It does not seem to us that the United States is so impoverished that it must pay with its sustained yield program for scenery and parks. We simply do not believe that the acquisition of land for the dunes is so utterly inconsistent with sustained yield management of timberlands that the concept of sustained yield must surrender. An honest purchase for cash, the price if necessary to be fixed by the U.S. court, would allow the concept of sustained yield timber management to continue, treat the landowner fairly, and provide a park.

Besides opening the door to practices that public interests condemns, the Department's proposal asks Congress to strip itself of its control over the purse strings in this instance. Where parks on other property are to be acquired by the Federal Government for cash, the agency must come to Congress with a budget request that it is expected to justify. When Congress appropriates the requested funds the agency is free to proceed within the limits of the appropriation. Even this process, as the Senate is unhappily aware in so many instances, does not always force the agencies to stay within the dollar limits originally proposed to Congress. Even so, the agency must return to the Congress to explain where the money has gone and justify the request for increases.

But when an appropriation for land acquisition is coupled with a blanket exchange authority, the wraps are removed from the agency. Under the customary secrecy employed for the appraisal and valuation data, the agency is free to expend as much of the Federal asset as the agency, rather than the Congress, thinks is appropriate in the circumstances. Where the landowner is not forced to sell and the agency has an intestinal commitment to the acquisition of his land, rather fanciful exchanges can be anticipated. Here it seems to us the Congress must be particularly vigilant in holding the purse strings.

The breadth of language that the Department of the Interior desires for itself would, of course, authorize the Department to trade off national park lands, O & C lands, reservoir, recreation and irrigated lands, and so forth. As a matter of fact there may be oil lands that are worth almost as much as old growth timberlands. As one who is rather intimately familiar with the Department of the Interior and its history since the days of President Harding, it seems to me that the requested blank check approach ought to be refused. It should not be necessary to recall such instances as the Department's efforts at swapping naval petroleum reserves for oil storage tanks in Hawaii, or the more recent episode involving the disposal of old growth timberlands under the cloak of the mining laws. Really, I do not believe that the present or any future Secretary of the Interior needs or even wants the authority to swap the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor for a tree farm on Tahkenitch Lake in Oregon.

I have remarked that the Department's proposal would discriminate as between owners of tracts of timberland and owners of other types of property scheduled for inclusion in the dunes project. When the late Senator Cordon and Representative Ellsworth with the support of the late Secretary of the Interior McKay proposed to authorize exchanges of private timberlands being acquired for Federal reservoir purposes, Dick Neuberger brought out his trenchant pen. Writing in the October 1954 issue of Frontier magazine Dick Neuberger said:

"On top of all this bill (H.R. 4646) attaches to the lumber industry—and particularly the biggest operators in the industry—a standing and respect never accorded thus far to homes, schools, farmhouses, hospitals, and even churches.

"Whenever a piece of private property is acquired for a public purpose, the sole obligation on the Government is to provide just and fair financial remuneration. Highways have cut through farmhouses and barns. The Army has flattened schools and churches to clear the way for airbases. Cottages and bungalows have given way to the lakes impounded behind irrigation dams. In these situations, the Government paid for the property it took. But no legislation ever was proposed that the payment be in kind. The Government did not have to furnish a family farmhouse similar to the one it had flooded. No parish was guaranteed a church identical to the chapel which was leveled by military tractors and steamshovels.

"But Representative Harris Ellsworth and Senator Guy Cordon, two of Oregon's isolationist Republicans, believe the lumber industry should be more inviolate in eminent-domain actions than are homes, farms, schools, and churches.

"THE CONSERVATIONIST VIEW

"Significantly, their bill limits its benefits to lumber operations where a sustained-yield unit is in operation. At first blush, this might seem commendable. Yet this description applies in the Pacific northwest only to the cutting carried on by the biggest companies.

"One of America's leading conservationists, Lyle F. Watts, believes the generosity in the bill 'would extend only to large operations. The little man with 160 acres or even 640 acres could not apply. It's essentially a big man's bill.'

"The philosophy of the Ellsworth-Cordon bill is especially revealing. Occasionally, the construction of roads, bridges, and railroads in forest areas requires the taking over of summer cottages. To these cottages their owners attach a sentimental and nostalgic value. They may have been the scene of a wedding or honeymoon. Neither Senator Cordon nor Representative ELLSWORTH ever has remotely suggested that the Government should reimburse the owners of summer homes in kind. This privilege is to be reserved exclusively for timber operators, who will have their pick of public lands that are similar and suitable."

When the bill about which Dick was writing reached the House, Senator LEE METCALF, then a freshman Representative, led a floor fight that forced its recommitment. When an attempt was made by a segment of the lumber industry to resurrect this policy later in the Eisenhower administration, that administration reconsidered and reversed the policy supported by Secretary McKay. The full exchange of correspondence is contained in the appendix of House Report No. 293 86th Congress, 1st session, a photographic copy of which is enclosed. (See, especially, letters from Department of Agriculture on pp. 12–16.)

Within the timber industry itself, as remarked above, the Department's proposal would necessarily entail an unacceptable and unreasonable discrimination. Discussing the effect of such an exchange in the context of national forest land, the Department of Agriculture advised the House Government Operation Committee in 1959, as follows:

"The national forests are managed under principles of sustained yield and multiple use. A large number of timber industries are wholly dependent upon the timber from the national forests. An even greater number are partly dependent to a considerable extent, upon a continuing supply of timber from the national forests. There is sharp competition for sales of national-forest timber. If such an exchange procedure were followed, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to avoid the result that the private timberland owner whose timberland is acquired for a Federal reservoir would be made whole at the expense of other timber operators dependent upon the national forest timber." (House Rept. No. 293, 86th Cong., 1st sess., p. 15.)

Where timber under sustained yield management by the Department of the Interior is swapped for reservoir sites, for campgrounds, for scenery or for parks, the lumberman dependent upon that timber for his raw timber supply has no privilege of acquiring replacement timber. And where the timber on which he is dependent is transferred to another lumberman whose private timber is being acquired hundreds of miles away for a park, the lumberman dependent upon the continuing supply of public timber is hurt because his timber supply is cut off by an agreement between a Government agency and a private party—an agreement to which the lumberman who is hurt is not a party.

This leads to a further point. The kind of exchange proposed in connection with the Oregon Dunes not only harms lumber operators in the area where the public lands are to be transferred to a favored company, but the harm is not compensable. If the tree farm around Lake Tahkenitch is acquired by the Government for cash, full compen-

sation must be paid to the owner including, if only part of the tree farm is taken, such severance damages as may be appropriate. But where the tree farm is acquired in exchange for allowable cut on lands under Federal sustained yield management in Clackamas County or in Clatsop County, the operators who thereby lose allowable cut in those and adjacent counties have no compensation. If this bite out of the allowable cut is enough to force the closure of one mill, a Government decision to favor one timberland owner by compensating him in kind rather than in cash will have destroyed the investment of another mill owner.

If that mill is in a small village, as is common, the employees lose their investments because they must leave in circumstances where there is no market for their homes.

The local drugstore, the garage, the hardware store, and their employees suffer the same fate. If there is a small school district there with a new school for the children of these families, the remaining people in the school district, probably the farmers, will continue to pay taxes to retire the bonds which were used to build the school for the children who are not there.

Somehow, Senator, results of this sort seem absurd and unnecessary. The tree-farm owner can and must be treated fairly. He must be treated just as fairly as every other person is treated whose property is wanted or taken by the Government for a public purpose. If he is paid in cash he can invest elsewhere or he can use the cash in an effort to compete for the public timber supply. But if he is paid in kind, he is favored at the expense of great harm to others who will not be compensated—indeed, to the great harm of many who are not even directly in the lumber industry either as landowners, investors, managers, or labor. Any decent regard for the principle of balancing equities would bar the kind of exchange that is being discussed.

If, nevertheless, it is believed that some sort of exchange must be made, I would suggest that the Secretary be limited to public domain lands which, if timber bearing, are in an area in which the Chief of the Forest Service, who has extensive research data and facilities available to him, finds that there is a surplus of available allowable cut of timber as measured by the installed plywood and sawmill capacity. While an exchange so limited would violate our traditional practice against compensation in kind for real property acquisitions, it would avoid the noncompensable harm that must inevitably follow the kind of proposal that is being discussed.

And then, because we feel strongly that the burial of the principle of sustained yield timber management is premature, we suggest that if the owner of the tree farm enters into such an exchange, the lands conveyed to the tree farm owner be covered by the kind of sustained yield covenant or agreement that Crown-Zellerbach entered into when it acquired a portion of the former Klamath Indian Reservation.

For such help as it may be to you I am enclosing a copy of a statement that was submitted by Western Forest Industries Association to the House Public Lands Subcommittee for inclusion in the dunes record it recently compiled.

I apologize to you for the length of this letter. It is long for two reasons. First, both the association and all of us who have been concerned about good forestry and fair competitive opportunities in the lumber industry feel strongly about this matter. Second, we want to explain that our conclusions have not been reached on frivolous reasons.

Because of this, all of us appreciate greatly your deep and thoughtful concern for this problem.

Sincerely,

LEONARD B. NETZORG.

Schoolmates Urged To Support Troops

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, every war in which the United States has been a participant has brought to the fore a group of dissenters—the pacifists and the conscientious objectors. The crisis in Vietnam, however, has brought forward a more vocal and demonstrative group than we heretofore have had to face.

The political repercussions of the recent demonstrations notwithstanding, the adverse effect on our young combat troops cannot be minimized. A letter from a Hawaiian marine stationed in Danang with the 3d Battalion of the 9th Marines, reflects the anxiety the demonstrations have caused in our fighting men. Pfc. Ralph Hamilton wrote to his former schoolmates at McKinley High School in Honolulu:

The most disheartening and biggest blow to morale is reading or hearing about people picketing and demonstrating about the armed forces in Vietnam.

I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the article which appeared in the October 18, 1965, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin and in which Private Hamilton relates not only the daily hardships which he and his buddies face in the performance of their duties, but also the reasons why he feels that they are fighting for a worthwhile cause:

LETTERS FROM AN ISLE GI: SCHOOLMATES URGED TO SUPPORT TROOPS

Opposition to U.S. policy in Vietnam is difficult for some American servicemen who are fighting in the jungles to understand.

It's a blow to his morale.

A 1964 graduate of McKinley High School, Marine Pfc. Ralph G. Hamilton, recently wrote to his schoolmates at the school from Danang, where he is stationed with the 3d Battalion of the 9th Marines.

Hamilton keenly feels this criticism of U.S. policy because he has a rifle in his hand and is getting shot at.

He writes:

"I would like to address this letter mainly to the student body as a whole.

"I believe this letter will have an effect on the attitudes (regarding) the pros and cons of (the Vietnam war).

"My job with the scout section is an interesting, yet dangerous one.

"I go out on patrols to gather intelligence.

"Most of the men are around the ages of 19 to 20 and are having a rude awakening to the cruelties of life.

"We finally realize what luxuries we have back home and what a wonderful country America is.

"The hardest thing on the men here is watching their buddies drop beside them, never to move again.

"It's a hard feeling, but that's one of the many cruelties of war.

"The rain, extreme heat, and insects make life miserable for us.

"Letters from home are the biggest morale boosters.

"Knowing that someone knows and cares makes us realize just what we're fighting for when the chips are down.

"The most disheartening and biggest blow to morale is reading or hearing about people picketing and demonstrating about the Armed Forces in Vietnam.

"We know why we're here and are glad to see magazine and newspaper reporters coming out to talk and live with the men in the lines.

"If the people back home could only see for themselves the cruelties and hardships, the suffering, the disease and poverty these people have lived through while under Communist influence.

"If we let (the Communists) take over southeast Asia, they'll be that much closer to the States.

"Next stop would be the Philippines and Australia.

"We have seen how these people live and we know that as long as we live our families will never suffer like the Vietnamese.

"We have few luxuries ourselves.

"Bathing is a luxury.

"Ice water is just about the best thing besides a letter from home.

"Clean water is scarce. Milk is unheard of. Fresh vegetables are unsanitary. Most of our food is canned.

"We have dehydrated potatoes, dehydrated eggs, anything you can think of is dehydrated.

"Like all Americans, we carry our feelings wherever we go. We give sticks of gum and cigarettes while on patrol to little children begging in the streets.

"I have not eaten a few meals because I gave my 'C' rations to a small child so that his family could have a bite to eat.

"By the time the men do a tour of duty here they can honestly say that they've been to hell and back."

Col. Ralph E. Vandervort, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BIRCH E. BAYH

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I would like to say a few words in behalf of Col. Ralph E. Vandervort, Jr., who has retired as liaison officer between the Department of the Army and the Senate.

I know that I speak for my colleagues in saying that Colonel Vandervort has been more than a representative of his Department during the last 6 years. He has become a personal friend to many Senators by virtue of his warm personality and his efforts to serve without hesitation or complaint.

Colonel Vandervort distinguished himself long before he became liaison officer to the Senate. During his 24 years of military service, he has accumulated a regular who's who of Army medals. They include the Purple Heart, Croix de Guerre with Gold Star, EAME Campaign Medal, American Defense Service Medal, American Campaign Medal, World War II Victory Medal, Army Occupation Medal—from Germany—DAGS identification badge, National Defense Service Medal, five overseas bars, and the Army Commendation Ribbon with Medal Pendant.

Having entered the service shortly before World War II, Colonel Vandervort served during the Korean conflict and

in other areas of the world during the various cold war crises.

Although Senators will miss the advice and counsel of Colonel Vandervort, his many friends wish him well in the years ahead.

Service Recruiters Being Kept Busy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, we have all been dismayed by the spate of anti-American demonstrations, teach-ins and other pro-Communist activity by some students and professors on American university and college campuses.

At the same time, there has been noted a very real surge of patriotism in the wake of these demonstrations by Americans from all walks of life across the United States.

There has been an overt attempt, in my opinion, over the past few years to submerge American nationalism and patriotism under a wave of propaganda about one-world government and allegiance and faith in the United States as the protector of world peace.

While we all wish the United Nations well, so long as it does not adversely affect the best interests of the United States, reasonable and informed persons conclude that the American fighting man and the Strategic Air Command stand between the free countries of the Western World and Communist aggression.

In the recent anti-Vietnam war demonstrations—and there are more planned this month—we detect the involvement and exploitation of the Communist conspiracy to inspire a lessening of our efforts against the Vietcong and an attempt to dampen morale of our men fighting that war.

A recent article in the Richmond Palladium-Item illustrates, in my opinion, the typical reaction of an American community to this Communist ploy, and sets straight any Communist hope that the American citizen can be brainwashed out of his native patriotism and love of country.

Under unanimous consent, I submit the following news story from the Richmond, Ind., Palladium-Item. The article follows:

SERVICE RECRUITERS BEING KEPT BUSY—REPORT MORE INQUIRIES THAN EVER FROM DRAFT-AGE MEN, VETERANS

Patriotism remains strong among Richmond area World War II and Korean war veterans and younger men alike, recruiters for the Air Force, Navy, Marines, and Army are finding.

They said Wednesday they are receiving more inquiries than ever from draft-age men plus many from veterans out of service for as long as 20 years.

At the same time officials of local draft boards No. 87 and No. 293 say they "know only what they are reading and hearing" about lifting the ban on drafting childless married men who said "I do" before midnight August 26.

This ban was lifted Tuesday by the Selective Service System in Washington. Earlier President Johnson ordered men married after August 26 to be classified in the single category for selective service purposes.

MORE TO BE SENT

The two local draft boards in October sent two men who were married after August 26 for induction. Mrs. Winifred Timins, chief clerk of the two local boards, Wednesday said more men married since August 26 will be sent for induction in the November calls next Monday.

Reiterating a statement carried in the Palladium-Item several weeks ago, the board officials say men married before August 26 and who are childless may be drafted in January. More face physical examination calls in December.

"This depends on the quotas we receive," Mrs. Timins said.

The December quotas are expected next week.

OFFICE BUSY

In the meantime, the office in the Colonial Building was busy as young single men and young husbands were seeking their status. Officials were telling them it depends on the quotas.

The local boards last month were sending men 19½ years old to fill quotas. The draft age group is 19 to 26. A man must register within 5 days after his 18th birthday.

U.S. Air Force S. Sgt. Lee Stumborg, who heads the recruiting office in room 220, Colonial Building, says:

"We have had heavy enlistments since July. We still have openings for those who can qualify physically and mentally."

He cited many queries from World War II and Korean war veterans, who say they want to get back into service.

"Many say they want to do their part again," Sergeant Stumborg said.

He added he is sorry they can't be used because they have been out of service too long, are too old, could not get old rates back, and have too many dependents.

INQUIRIES DAILY

Marine Sgt. Joe Dorsett, whose recruiting office is in the Richmond Auto License Branch Building, 300 East Main Street, said the marines have plenty of openings and he is getting many inquiries daily.

"Since our quotas have been increased, we can take the men. Daily I get veterans trying to get back in, saying they want to help in the present situation. One man was 57 years old and has five children. I am sorry, we have to turn them down," Sergeant Dorsett said.

Navy Recruiter Quartermaster 1c. James Eakin, located in the same facility, also is busy with young and old. The Navy also has many openings since the fleet is being enlarged.

Local recruiters for the Army located at 1025 East Main Street, were in area offices. They have said their enlistments are up and more openings remain.

The recruiters point out that the more men that volunteer for the services will mean draft call reductions.

A man called for draft induction still can enlist in any service.

Exchange Provisions of Oregon Dunes National Seashore Bill—III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the letter I addressed to a number of Oregon constituents on July 28, 1965, concerning an amendment which was then proposed by the Department of the Interior with respect to the exchange provisions of the Oregon Dunes National Seashore bill, S. 250, brought a response from the Oregon State Multiple Use Advisory Board. However, I did not receive this response until 2 months after I made my initial inquiry. On October 4, 1965, I received from the Oregon office of the Bureau of Land Management a copy of a publication entitled "Oregon State Multiple Use Advisory Board Meeting Proceedings, Prineville, Oreg., August 4 and 5, 1965." At pages 6 and 7 of this publication appeared the response of the Oregon State Multiple Use Advisory Board. I ask unanimous consent that this response be included in the RECORD at the close of my remarks.

In addition, between August 9 and September 23, 1965, several other Oregon residents wrote to me on this specific land exchange problem. I ask unanimous consent that their letters also be included in the RECORD at the close of my remarks.

The replies I received on this subject are most thought provoking and I am sure they will be useful to my colleagues in the Senate in connection with any further consideration which may be scheduled for the Oregon Dunes National Seashore bill, S. 250.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXTRACTS FROM AUGUST 4 AND 5, 1965 PROCEEDINGS OF OREGON STATE MULTIPLE USE ADVISORY BOARD MEETING, PRINEVILLE, OREG.

Resolved by the Oregon Multiple Use Advisory Board, That this board opposes the unlimited power granted the Secretary of the Interior to exchange without limitation BLM land for lands within the boundaries of the Oregon Dunes National Seashore as proposed by the addition of section 2(B) to Senate bill 250;

That this multiple use board opposes in principle the removal of any public timber land from sustained yield either in the county where the Oregon Dunes National Seashore is proposed, or elsewhere; and be it further

Resolved by this multiple use advisory board, That in the event any sustained yield forest area be exchanged for dunes lands that such forest lands be required to be maintained on a sustained yield basis of production;

That in explanation of the foregoing resolution said Oregon Multiple Use Board resolves as follows:

That national parks and other areas of single purpose use, in general, be acquired by purchase and not by exchange and that any exchange in connection with the acquisition of lands devoted to a single purpose be accomplished only after approval of the people in the area affected;

That this board is dedicated to the principle of multiple use on all publicly owned lands and that with rare exception this board believes that each acre of publicly owned lands should provide the greatest possible diversity of uses;

That this board does not oppose all exchanges as such but recognizes that some exchanges may be in the public interest and in the interest of the owners of non-Federal lands offered for exchange;

Further that each proposed exchange must be fairly examined and the impact on the economics of the area from which the non-Federal lands shall come, shall be considered along with the impact upon the area from which the Federal lands shall come;

That generally and with few exceptions, the exchange of lands shall be for lands of like kind and character;

That no exchange shall be across State lines;

That of the lands finally classified for disposal they shall be first used in exchanges for non-Federal lands which will best improve the public land pattern and its uses before public sale is considered;

That in the event of public sale the owner of adjoining or adjacent lands shall be given the privilege of meeting the high bid; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be furnished the Secretary of the Interior, the Oregon congressional delegation, the O & C Advisory Board, and the public lands committee of the Oregon State Legislature.

INTERNATIONAL WOODWORKERS OF AMERICA,
Portland, Oreg., August 9, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This is to acknowledge your letter dated July 28, 1965, in which you bring to my attention some changes that were made in the Oregon Dunes bill, S. 250, and you point out certain changes on page 2, line 5, of section 2.

In the last paragraph of your letter you pose several questions. Your first question is: "Do you support this unlimited power of the Secretary of the Interior to exchange BLM sustained yield forest lands for private timber lands?" I do not think that any one individual should have unlimited power to trade, sell, or exchange BLM timber. After all there has been an advisory committee set up for many years to advise the Bureau of Labor Management in the handling and processing of BLM forest lands and I think that before any such trades or exchanges be made that they should be discussed with the advisory committee and to receive their recommendations.

Your second question: "Should public timber lands now designated for sustained yield in this or another county be taken out of BLM allowable cut for this sort of exchange?" As you know I was opposed to exchanging Oregon timber for the park site that was proposed in the State of California. I have not changed my mind on that issue. I do realize that it may be of advantage in some certain instances to exchange timber holdings in order to build a more compact area to operate in.

Your last question: "Should sustained yield forest be exchanged without provision that it must be managed for sustained yield?" I presume that if the Government got equal amount of footage and as good as timber as they traded off they would not lessen the amount of footage that would be in the BLM holdings. It has long been my view that the Government should have something to say about the management of private holdings because they, in many instances, depend upon the State and Federal Governments to protect their timber from fire and when they sustain damages for blowdown timber from severe wind storms or in some cases heavy snow storms, they always look to the Government to help bail them out and I feel that there should be a closer working relationship with the private timber owners and the Government-owned timber so that the future generation will be guaranteed the benefits that come forth from well-managed forest lands.

With very best wishes, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

A. F. HARTUNG,
International President.

MASON, BRUCE & GIRARD,
CONSULTING FORESTERS,
Portland, Oreg., August 9, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Your letter of July 28 is received. My opinions given below refer in general to the Oregon Dunes and to any similar situations which may be considered in Oregon involving O & C or BLM land.

For about 40 years I have been quite active in encouraging, wherever possible, the practice of sustained yield forest management so I am, perhaps, biased where such management is under consideration.

In establishing national parks or similar recreation areas to be owned by the United States, I believe that normally the United States should acquire any private land involved by the payment of cash. Private land to be used for such purposes, when the purpose becomes known, generally acquires a new value in addition to that which it previously had for ordinary use for grazing, for forest, for town lots, etc. This additional value usually is not a well-established market value which can be readily determined. Therefore, to attempt to determine the fair market of such land to be exchanged for other grazing or forest land is unusually difficult; this easily leads to charges of improper procedure whether or not such charges are justified. If there is failure to agree upon the cash value, then the courts should decide.

If, however, there is to be provision for exchange of property, such as is proposed in connection with the Oregon Dunes bill, there should, in my opinion, be several limitations placed upon the Secretary's authority without, however, removing his obligation to use good judgment. The limitations which occur to me are the following although, perhaps, there should additionally be others.

1. Such an exchange should be limited to lands within the State; and so far as practicable such lands should be as close together as feasible within the State.

2. Such exchanges should be limited to relatively small areas, for the larger the areas involved, the more difficult it is to arrive at suitable exchange values.

3. The exchanges should be limited to lands of like kind, that is, grazing land for grazing land or forest land for forest land. Also there should, of course, be recognized, in order to get approximately equal values, such matters as accessibility, the character, age, and volume of timber present in the case of forest land, etc.

4. If any land to be acquired by the Secretary is forest land dedicated to sustained yield management, the owner thereof should receive in payment therefor forest land suitable in character, location and value upon which sustained yield management may be conducted by him. If land to be given up by the Secretary has already been dedicated to sustained yield forest management, then the receiver should be required also to maintain the practice of sustained yield management.

5. In order to assure wisdom and judgment and to avoid as much as practicable later public criticism, it would be well to consult the appropriate existing advisory board as to policy in a proposed exchange before proceeding with the working out of the details.

The above is not intended to prevent or affect "blocking-up" exchanges; many of which have been made in the past.

The above, I hope, covers the ground concerning which you inquired in your letter.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID T. MASON.

STATE OF OREGON DEPARTMENT OF GEOLOGY AND MINERAL INDUSTRIES,
Portland, Oreg., August 10, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Thank you for your letter of July 28 in which you asked me to comment on the Oregon Dunes bill, S. 250.

My particular concern with the Dunes bill has been that it did not adequately cover the matter of reserving mineral exploration and development rights, particularly those that pertain to oil and gas and water.

A copy of my letter to Congressman DUNCAN concerning the House companion bill, H.R. 7524, is enclosed for your information as it includes suggested amendments to Mr. DUNCAN's bill. These suggestions, I believe, are also appropriate to S. 250.

As a member of the O & C Advisory Board I would have to answer in the negative the three questions you pose on page 2 of your letter. I am against unlimited power for the Secretary of the Interior for anything, including exchange of BLM sustained-yield forest lands for private timberlands. I also feel strongly that the BLM allowable cut should not be tampered with and in this same context I am a firm believer that sustained yield forests be maintained.

Thank you for contacting me on this very vital issue to the State of Oregon.

Sincerely yours,

HOLLIS M. DOLE,
State Geologist.

JULY 13, 1965.

Hon. ROBERT B. DUNCAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BOB: Inasmuch as you folks are taking testimony on H.R. 7524, the Oregon Dunes National Seashore bill, I feel compelled to once again comment on its language as it pertains to the possible development of oil, gas, and water. My comments, I believe, are consistent with the position established by the State of Oregon on the Senate's dunes bill in testimony presented to the Senate subcommittee when it held its hearings in Eugene, Oreg., on May 4, 1963. I believe this testimony can be found beginning on page 208 of the proceedings prepared on the hearings.

It is my feeling the following additions should be made to the bill to make oil and gas exploration and development usage compatible with the concept of the proposed seashore legislation. To this end I offer the following:

1. Modify section 7(a), lines 13 through 21, to read as follows:

"SEC. 7. (a) The Secretary is authorized and directed, under terms and conditions prescribed by the State of Oregon, if permission therefor has been obtained from said State either before or after the effective date hereof, to permit the investigation for and the appropriation, storage, withdrawal and conveyance to a point outside the boundaries of the seashore for beneficial use in accordance with the laws of said State of, crude oil, natural gas, gasoline, condensate and other hydrocarbons associated with any thereof, and of ground water, surface water, and lake, stream, and river water: *Provided*, That".

2. Modify section 7(b), page 12, line 3, to read as follows:

"The Secretary is authorized and directed to permit transportation and storage in pipelines within and through the seashore of crude oil, natural gas, gasoline, condensate and other hydrocarbons produced from tide and submerged land leases of the State of Oregon or Outer Continental Shelf land leases of the United States which are or may

be granted by said State or by the United States either before or after the effective date of this Act and which are situate seaward of and in the general vicinity of the seashore and to permit".

3. Modify section 7(c), lines 10 through 17 to read as follows:

"SEC. 7. (c) The Secretary is further authorized to grant such additional easements and rights, in terms up to perpetuity, as in the judgment of the Secretary would be appropriate and desirable for the effective use of the rights to explore for, produce and remove oil, gas, water, and other substances, and for the disposal of waste provided for herein and for other utility and private purposes, subject to such reasonable conditions as are necessary for the protection of the scenic, scientific, historic, and recreational features of the seashore."

I appreciate the privilege to contact you on this and hope that if there is any question you will call on me.

Sincerely yours,

HOLLIS M. DOLE,
State Geologist.

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,
Salem, Oreg., August 11, 1695.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Old Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: It was very thoughtful of you to write concerning the Oregon Dunes bill and the proposals of the Secretary of Interior for land exchanges. I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I have directed to Representative ROBERT DUNCAN in response to his request for my comments on the Crown Zellerbach proposals for amendment.

I believe that these comments will express some of the reservations which I have to exchange to public timber lands.

Thank you again for your thoughtfulness in writing.

Sincerely,

MARK O. HATFIELD,
Governor.

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,
Salem, Oreg., August 11, 1965.

Hon. ROBERT B. DUNCAN,
Cannon House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BOB: Your most recent telegram concerning the Oregon Dunes bill requests my position concerning the specific wording of the Crown Zellerbach amendment. I cannot concur in that wording. It would appear that additional safeguards should be included which would protect the principles of sustained yield and provide for additional attention to the public interest.

For example, the following should be considered:

1. In the provisions for disposition of certain lands which had formerly been in the Klamath Indian Reservation, there was included a specific sustained yield covenant. The conditions of this convenant were stringent and detailed and conceivably could serve as a pattern.

2. Provisions for exchange should require that such exchange should not be disturbing to the administration of a management unit and particularly that they should not involve O & C lands.

3. Provisions for exchange should specifically exempt lands set aside for special purposes.

4. Consideration should be given to the possibility of restricting exchanges to areas in which there is a surplus allowable cut.

Sincerely,

MARK O. HATFIELD,
Governor.

WESTERN FORESTRY AND CONSERVATION ASSOCIATION
Portland, Oreg. August 13, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your recent letter inquiring as to the position of Western Forestry and Conservation Association on forest land exchanges.

Our association recognizes the real need for land exchanges to consolidate forest ownerships for more effective management wherever they are intermingled or badly scattered, as in much of Oregon. We are pleased that the American Forestry Association, as well as the Columbia River Section of the Society of American Foresters, also recognize this need, as expressed in their policy statements (see copies enclosed).

We also believe that the accelerated taking by Government of private forest land for public uses makes it more and more imperative that such land be replaced in kind with suitable public forest land wherever feasible and under proper safeguards. Not to do this will frequently curtail private sustained yield stewardship operating in the public interest, interrupt stability of communities and tax bases, and further reduce the shrinking private forest base in our western areas of high Federal ownership.

We recognize that certain safeguards are needed to assure that exchanges of public land for private land are in the public interest. Among these, we recommend the following:

1. Lands to be exchanged should preferably be within the same political subdivision.

2. Exchange procedure should not be used as an expediency for obtaining properties for which Congress has refused Federal funds and where the effect would be to bypass the appropriation process.

3. Appropriate State and local governments and advisory boards should be consulted on exchange proposals involving public lands prior to consummation.

We hope our position will be helpful to you in your approach to this subject on any particular proposal with which you may be concerned. We appreciate very much the opportunity of calling it to your attention.

Sincerely,

H. R. GLASCOCK, Jr.

FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF OREGON,
Portland, Oreg., August 16, 1965.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your request for my opinion on the Oregon Dunes bill, S. 250, with the proposed amendment by the Secretary of the Interior, is appreciated. I attended the Oregon Multiple Use Advisory Board meeting in Prineville on August 4 and concur with the resolutions presented, which have been forwarded to your office.

My personal views may not be quite as stringent as those in the resolutions, as I feel that in some cases trades or sales are essential for the betterment of the public lands. I do agree that the classification of the land is imperative, prior to negotiation, and am encouraged at the progress being made within the State of Oregon on the classification of many of the Bureau of Land Management properties. However, I hasten to add that I do not support unlimited power for the Secretary of the Interior to exchange Bureau of Land Management forest lands or grazing lands, without limitations and at least a governing body to approve his recommendations.

I wholeheartedly agree that our sustained yield forests should not be exchanged without the provision that they must be managed for continued sustained yield. The forest industry and its economic impact to the well-being of the State of Oregon is too valuable to permit any dilution.

In our recent advisory board meeting, there was considerable discussion relative to exchange of lands across State lines. However, I cannot agree with the group, as in my opinion if it benefits the multiple use of public lands, I do not believe the State line should be the barrier.

I wholeheartedly support the opinion that, if after classification it is deemed to the benefit of the public interest to dispose of individual properties, the adjoining or adjacent landholders should be given the opportunity of meeting the high bid on this specific property.

Your continued efforts in establishing guidelines for the management of our public lands is appreciated. With a major portion of our Oregon land area under public ownership, this subject is certainly vital to our future and economic growth.

Again may I thank you for soliciting my opinion, and my participation on the advisory board will continue to emphasize the multiple use of our public lands.

Very respectfully,

GRANT W. PERRY,
Vice President.

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON,
Eugene, Oreg., August 18, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR WAYNE: Thanks greatly for your several communications.

In response to your July 23 letter about land exchanges with reference to the Oregon Dunes National Seashore, it seems to me that exchanges are neither good nor bad in themselves. In many situations they are good, that is beneficial to both the people at large through their Government and to the individuals concerned, or to both segments of government when the exchange is merely between jurisdictions as recently between BLM and Deschutes County. Or they can be bad or undesirable for many reasons, as you would recognize.

With respect to exchanges connected with the dunes it is easy to understand the desire of Crown-Zellerbach to avoid a reduction in its operations by exchanging its land needed for the seashore area for other productive forest land in the neighborhood. Its operations are probably on as sound a sustained yield program as are public forest lands. The objectors are those who fear that a reduction in the sale of public timber to operators relying mainly on that, may result. They have a point which should not be ignored but which may be outweighed by other considerations. Any reduction resulting from exchanges for the dunes would be a pretty insignificant fraction of the total allowable cut of the region from which purchases may be made. It is a bit difficult to see why timber operators and specifically this particular fraction of timber operators, are entitled to preferential treatment with respect to lands used for a national seashore as part of the national park system as compared with what is accepted practice with respect to lands taken for highways or other public purposes. Incidentally it is interesting to see people and agencies which very recently were strongly opposed to any additions to public lands by purchase for recreational or almost any other purpose, now advocating just as strongly buying park and recreational land rather than acquiring

needed sites by exchange. Actually, I gather, most of the protests to exchanges have originated with agencies concerned primarily with maintaining, or increasing, the allowable cut on public timber convenient to their particular operations. It does not necessarily follow that their special interest is also the best public interest.

As I said at the outset, it seems to me that no general rule can be laid down. Each situation should be determined on its own merits with respect to the best public good. I could imagine that some exchanges might be in order with respect to the dunes, others less so or definitely undesirable.

As to what action regulating or guiding the Park Service with respect to exchanges, my comments would be: (1) Despite the fact that we have on occasion been critical of specific actions of the Park Service we have great confidence in its integrity and dedication to what appears to be the best for the people at large. Whatever the factors involved in the recent ruckus over exchanges proposed or investigated on behalf of Point Reyes, there was certainly no dereliction on the part of the Park Service. (2) Appropriations should be sufficient to permit purchase if that should be advantageous as compared with exchange. Lack of adequate funds for Point Reyes acquisitions no doubt put the NPS under pressure to seek exchanges which it might not otherwise have regarded as desirable or practicable. The vast amount of publicity attending these affairs, probably in the main unavoidable in the nature of the operation of democracy, does result in land speculation and high costs to the public which Congress would do well, it seems to me, to provide for at the outset—delay only results in still higher costs as a rule, even without other complications, as over exchanges. (3) If Congress desires to lay down guidelines I can see no objection provided they do not so tightly tie the hands of the agency that it cannot operate, or is so restricted that it cannot serve the best long-term interest of the public in carrying out the purpose of the act.

Sincerely,

KARL W. ONTHANK.

ASSOCIATION OF OREGON COUNTIES,
Salem, Oreg., September 23, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The Association of Oregon Counties Executive Committee, at its last meeting, discussed the amendment to the Oregon Dunes bill (S. 250) proposed by the Department of the Interior permitting the Secretary of the Interior to exchange any lands under his jurisdiction for private land within the boundaries of the proposed park.

The executive committee voted to oppose this amendment. The committee felt that granting the Secretary of the Interior this broad exchange authority would potentially compromise the integrity of any Federal land managment programs within the Department of the Interior.

The trend in future years will be for the Bureau of Land Management to manage more of its lands under principles of sustained yield and multiple use. This philosophy was codified by the last session of Congress with the passage of the Classification and Multiple Use Act. Our executive committee feels, and this view is shared by the AOC public lands committee, that if the amendment proposed by the Secretary of the Interior is included in S. 250 the door will be open for lands that are part of a sustained yield management operation, and that are essential to the economy of a local area, to be exchanged for private lands in order to fill out the boundaries of the Oregon Dunes Seashore or for the creation of future parks and seashores in other parts of the Nation.

Sincerely yours,

KENNETH C. TOLLENAAR,
Executive Secretary.

Selectman Paul W. Cronin Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, Selectman Paul W. Cronin, of Andover, Mass., was honored on Wednesday evening, October 20 by the Greater Lawrence Young Republican Club and received that organization's Distinguished Service Commendation. The citation presented to Mr. Cronin by Club President Milton Lebowitz, of Methuen, read:

In sincere appreciation for his enthusiastic and energetic support of the Republican Party and its principles both as a precinct worker and later as captain—secretary of the board of selectmen in the town of Andover—company liaison officer with the government—representative of our U.S. Congressman. His sound judgment, tireless energy, and dedication to principles will ever be an inspiration to his fellow Republicans.

Principal speaker of the evening was our distinguished colleague, Congressman DONALD RUMSFELD, of Illinois, who as the youngest Republican Member of the House was a particularly appropriate guest for this occasion.

Mr. Cronin, who serves as my administrative aid, for district affairs, also received an award from the Greater Lawrence Teenage Republican Club as Republican of the Year. The award was presented by Club President Miss Susan McMakin:

In recognition of sincere, intelligent support to leadership of the Republican Party, exemplifying the type of Republican that will sustain and develop a strong party in this Commonwealth. His past record of service, both elective and appointive offices, point as an inspirational light to Republicans young and old.

Chairman of the dinner was Mr. Cronin's fellow Andover selectman, Roger Collins. Master of ceremonies was Dean K. Webster, III. The chairman of the Andover Board of Selectmen, Philip K. Allen, who is also a former Republican State chairman, read messages of congratulations from Senator LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Gov. John A. Volpe, Lt. Gov. Elliot Richardson, Attorney General Edward Brooke, and Congressman WILLIAM BATES.

Among the many colleagues in the Massachusetts Selectmen's Association who attended Mr. Cronin's testimonial at the Andover Country Club were Raymond Broadhead, chairman of the board of selectmen in North Andover, and William Moran, chairman of the board of selectmen in Methuen.

Father Paul Keyes, of St. Robert Bellarmine Church in Andover, delivered the invocation and pronounced benediction.

Mr. Cronin's proud family also turned out for the occasion. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. William Cronin, of Elm Court in Andover, his wife Kathleen and his brothers William, Leo, and John were all present.

In introducing Congressman RUMSFELD to the gathering, I extended my own personal congratulations to Paul Cronin for his achievements. There is no doubt that he represents the kind of leadership that will inspire other young Americans to carry on the great traditions of our society.

In his remarks accepting the award from the Greater Lawrence Young Republican Club, Mr. Cronin emphasized the intelligence and dedication of the great majority of young Americans, who are far better equipped in terms of education, than any previous generation to meet the perplexing problems of the modern world. At the same time he emphasized the need for flexibility and response to change, and to the needs of the people of the United States. He aptly summed up the challenge to today's younger generation in saying:

As Young Republicans we are now older than we have ever been before and prepared to handle anything that comes our way. At the same time, we are younger than we ever will be again and we have time to learn and do many thing.

Included in a comprehensive report on the evening in the Lawrence Eagle Tribune were excerpts from Mr. Cronin's remarks, and under unanimous consent I include these excerpts at this point in the RECORD:

We have all read of teach-ins, sit-ins, demonstrations against our policy in Vietnam, draft dodgers and Beatnick types galore, but do these people truly represent a generation? I think not.

We have over 2 million men in uniform safeguarding our freedom throughout the world.

We have millions trying to better themselves and the world through education.

Monday's paper carried an article on my alma mater, Boston University, where the Young Republicans joined the Young Democrats in a bipartisan drive to support our Nation's policy in Vietnam. Others give years of their lives to the Peace Corps.

I think we have allowed a minority to distract us from the job to be done.

More important than who these people are, what will they be in 1970? This generation will be measured by its contributions.

A modern framework of government must be established if we are to meet our ever-increasing needs.

As young Republicans, or still better, as young Americans, we have a responsibility to work for the fulfillment of this promise. One of the best ways to assure this is through a strong political system based on the two-party concept.

It is the duty of both major political parties to meet new problems with new solutions.

We must continue to encourage and seek qualified men and women to become involved at every level of government.

We must continue to build responsible leadership within the framework of the Republican Party.

Where do these contributions begin? I believe here. At the unglamorous but very root of democracy, local government.

Congressman Race's Back Home Service to Constituents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, Congressman JOHN RACE, of Fond du Lac, achieved one of the most remarkable upset victories last year of any Congressman in the Nation. It was the big surprise in Wisconsin politics. RACE won election in a district which is the most solidly Republican of any in our State, and of course our State historically has been Republican.

The story of how Congressman RACE is working with his constituents, and how he is facing up to the tough, challenging problem of one of the Nation's most difficult reelection campaigns, is vividly told in a recent edition of the National Observer.

I ask unanimous consent that the article, "Back Home With a New Congressman" be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BACK HOME WITH A NEW CONGRESSMAN: WHAT FOLKS SAY ABOUT THE BIG ISSUES

FOND DU LAC, WIS.—You're a freshman Democratic Congressman from a normally Republican district. You managed to ride President Johnson's coattails into office in 1964. And for 9½ months you have been making his proposals—scores of them—the law of the land.

You have been part of the most productive Congress since the 1930's—the Congress that the President calls "the fabulous 89th." You have been instrumental in the creation of the Great Society. And now, at last, Congress has adjourned and you have come home to explain your record and defend it in your conservative constituency.

It is happening all over the country, and it is as important a happening as the passage of the legislation itself. For it involves the question: Did the American people really want the Great Society, or did they simply not want Barry Goldwater? Does the freshman Democrat go home and defend this mass of legislation with pride? Or does he find himself ducking a sharp reaction at home to what conservative Republicans are calling the rubber-stamp session?

PICKLES AND THE PRICE OF MILK

The reporter who goes home with a Democratic first-term Congressman to find out is in for a considerable surprise. For in congressional districts such as Wisconsin's sixth, the broad issues that seemed so important in Washington fade away like the morning mists around Lake Winnebago here. Immigration law revision?—Yes, but can the Congressman help get a Canadian doctor to settle in the rural community of Campbellsport? Labor legislation?—But what about the broken contract under which the high school boys of Slinger were to pick pickles in Michigan? The Great Society?—well, what difference is it going to make for the price per hundred for milk?

It's in terms of local problems such as these that the incredible legislative record of Congress will be evaluated by many people. And it is the answers that Congressmen give to such a question that will determine whether the 38 Democrats who in 1964 defeated Republican incumbents will be returned to Washington in 1966, when they won't have Lyndon Johnson's name on the ballot to help them.

Consider Representative JOHN ARNER RACE, of Wisconsin's Sixth District, for example. His home area includes the schoolhouse at Ripon, Wis., where, according to popular legend, the Republican Party was founded. The 51-year-old Mr. RACE is the first Democrat elected to represent that district in Congress since the early years of the New Deal. William K. Van Pelt, the Republican incumbent he defeated, had been in Congress for 14 years. "You're looking for a normally Republican district?" asks Mr. RACE. "I've sure got one."

HIS CONSTITUENTS ARE FARM FOLK

At least a third and perhaps more than half of the district's voters are farm people. But Mr. RACE came to Congress "straight out of the shop," as the International Association of Machinists takes pride in saying. For most of his 23 years in the big Giddings & Lewis Machine Tool Co. in Fond du Lac, he operated a huge overhead crane. And he has been president of Lodge No. 1402 of the machinists' union.

Mr. Van Pelt was a Goldwater conservative. But Mr. RACE has been an admirer since his youth of Wisconsin's famous Progressives. And in Congress, whether you calcuate on the basis of the most important legislative issues or on the basis of 66 major rollcall votes, he voted with the Johnson administration slightly more than 90 percent of the time.

On the surface it appears that Mr. RACE won election only because in 1964 President Johnson was bringing out the vote in the Sixth District against Barry Goldwater. Mr. RACE had run against Mr. Van Pelt in 1962—when the President wasn't running—and had lost by a 7 to 5 margin. Even with the district going for the President in 1964 by 26,107 votes, Mr. RACE managed to win by only 2,587 votes out of more than 160,000 cast. His victory margin was a scant 0.8 percent of the vote.

Small wonder, then, that the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee in Washington says that his district would have to be on any list of 10 in the Nation that the Republicans are most likely to recapture in 1966. But hope springs eternal in the human breast, and in this regard Congressmen are more human than most of us.

THE THIN MARGIN

Mr. RACE believes the difference might have been only 500 or 600 votes, but insists he still would have won even without the President on the ticket in 1964. The Democratic candidates for Governor and for the Senate failed to carry Mr. RACE's district in 1964. And the voting machines used widely in Wisconsin are not set up so that voters for President Johnson could pull that handle and vote a straight Democratic ticket at the same time, says Mr. RACE.

Moreover, there are some trends here in a Democrat's favor. Mr. RACE's district is rapidly industrializing. More Democratic votes are showing up as the number of people who live in the district but work in Milwaukee grows, and as more and more farmers take at least part-time jobs in urban centers. Observes a small-town attorney, himself a Democrat: "In the last 10 years, it has ceased to be unrespectable to be a Democrat here. Before, a Democrat was considered something in between a Communist and a s.o.b."

THE WEATHER COULD DECIDE

But, in 1966, the votes that decide the contest could go one way or the other on the basis even of such imponderables as next summer's weather. And so Congressman RACE came home last week to campaign as if the election were a few days away.

There was no band, no crowd, no warm welcome to dispel the October chill at Mitchell Field in Milwaukee as he arrived late in the evening, just another airline passenger from Washington. There was only Russell Meerdink, his 25-year-old administrative assistant, waiting to drive him to Fond du Lac in a car belonging to Russ' father.

At the Retlaw Hotel in Fond du Lac, Mr. RACE and his aid were up until 1 a.m. consulting with a local party worker and with Jim Callan, a feed salesman whose territory is coincident with the Congressman's district, and who tries to sell the Congressman there as well. Their talk was not about local reaction to this or that Great Society program; it was instead about such things as the constituents who own a building the post office leases in a small town. They want the Congressman to keep the post office there from moving.

Before dawn the next morning, the 6-foot-2-inch, 233-pound frame of the Congressman was squarely in front of the employees' entrance at the Wells Manufacturing Plant in Fond du Lac. He shook hands and passed out matchbooks to hundreds of day-shift workers just coming on. After a tour of the plant where he once worked, Mr. RACE went to Neenah to give a Kiwanis luncheon speech on the Nation's defenses. He larded his talk with locally popular "we must stand firm against communism" declarations. One Kiwanian did want to know about the rubber-stamp Congress charge. "I voted against the foreign aid bill," the Congressman responded. Other questions touched on such matters as Federal aid for Wisconsin's Menominee Indians.

A television cameraman in Neenah took shots of the Congressman denouncing the John Birch Society and other rightwing groups—hardly a major legislative issue. Then Mr. RACE toured a Kimberly-Clark papermill, where the plant manager gave him a "side tour only for Governors, legislators, and newsmen." The tour was designed to convince Mr. RACE that stiff, blanket Federal legislation against water pollution by such plants is not necessary. It was apparent that if Mr. RACE opposed such legislation, he would get the mills' support no matter how much Johnson welfare-society legislation he supported.

Mr. RACE had told the Kiwanians, "I believe in the Democratic platform." At an evening meeting of farmers he unflinchingly read off a list of Great Society legislation with a word of praise for practically everything. The farmers privately said they believed Congress had moved too fast. But if Mr. RACE succeeds in his attempt to get them 34 cents more per 100 pounds of milk, he'll get every vote in the place. (One farmer was asked, "What do you think of the volume of legislation Congress passed?" His reply: "Listen, the price of milk * * *.")

And so it goes. The next day the Congressman stopped at four rural post offices to shake hands as farmers came in for their mail. "What can I do to be of service to you?" he asked. The answer wasn't "Stop voting to spend so much money." The answer was: "We've got to get a doctor in this community," or "It'll be good if you succeed in getting the Government to establish the National Scientific Ice-Age Park here." Conservation programs are popular locally—and Mr. RACE is on the House Interior Committee.

DIALOG AT SLINGER

At the Slinger post office he talked with youngsters who want his help in winning a breach-of-contract case against a Michigan Pickle Growers Association. Then, Mr. RACE asked if there were questions about anything else. A mother quickly replied: "I think we'll just concentrate on the pickle people."

The Great Society, the poliferation of legislation, and the place of the 89th Congress in history are burning issues, it seems, only in Washington. If freshman Democrat

JOHN ABNER RACE is reelected in 1966, it won't be because he did or didn't vote for administration legislation. It will be because of what he did or didn't do about milk prices, doctors, and pickles.

—GERALD GEORGE.

True American Feelings Expressed in Letter From Mayor of Laconia to Troops in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago, a young New Hampshire soldier, Pvt. William L. Bullough III, of Gilford, came home from Vietnam on emergency leave to attend his mother's funeral. In the midst of his grief, however, a very heart-warming thing happened to him. In nearby Laconia, Mayor Peter L. Lessard, deeply disturbed by the image of the country being projected by the various anti-Government student demonstrations, wrote a moving letter, which he gave to Private Bullough to take back to his comrades in arms. This letter, addressed "To Our Boys in Vietnam From Your Friends in Laconia, N.H.," will surely give them a big uplift in morale and go far to counteract the false impression created by the demonstrators that America is not united behind them. I offer Mayor Lessard's letter for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for all my colleagues to see, certain they will endorse its sentiments and join me in congratulating Mayor Lessard for writing it. I also join in thanking Private Bullough and all our fighting men for the magnificent work they are doing in a tough, complex, dirty, dangerous but vital situation. The entire Nation, including those who demonstrate against them, is in their debt. Without them, our very right to dissent, to protest and to demonstrate would be in the gravest peril.

The letter follows:

To our boys in Vietnam from your friends in Laconia, N.H.:

The fighting out where you are may seem pretty remote to many Americans, but we want you to know that to us in the small city of Laconia, N.H. (population about 15,000) you are all very real, and what you are doing for us is something which has earned our eternal gratitude.

Perhaps the reason that too many of us are taking too much for granted in this undeclared war is that we are used to doing that in our everyday lives.

We ask and expect too much from life, without doing our rightful share. We feel that the world owes us freedom, security, and a safe future, without our making any investment ourselves.

What you boys are doing for us now in Vietnam should cause all of us back home here to lift up our hearts to God in divine thanks for the guts, the determination, the spirit, and the faith which you are showing there, so that all peoples everywhere may continue to live in peace, freedom, and justice with their fellowmen.

But do we offer up such appreciation, to you men of steel, character, bravery, and sacrifice? No, instead many of us cry out when our taxes go up, to help support the war. We talk about what we would do, if we were running it, what's wrong with how it is now being handled, and how quickly we would end it, given a chance.

Several boys from the Laconia area have fought in Vietnam and returned here to take up their lives again.

One of them, of whom we all in the Laconia area are truly proud, is Pfc. William L. Bullough III, 20. He is returning to Vietnam soon, after being called home on emergency furlough, due to the death of his mother.

Young Bill spoke to the Kiwanis Club here this week, on what is going on in Vietnam, and his appearance, what he said, and what he didn't say, made us all feel mighty glad that we have soldiers like him fighting for all that we hold dear in life.

We feel that Bill in turn will be glad to take back this message from the people of Laconia, to all of you out there half a world away, letting you know as positively as we know how, that we believe in all that you are doing, and that we are supporting you every step of the way.

Many boys from throughout the United States—including some from New Hampshire—who went to Vietnam have paid the supreme sacrifice, suddenly, without warning. And always, as in past crises of our great Nation, they have measured up to their highest calling.

"Has this been in vain?" we hear their voices drumming in our ears, for they can still reach us, if our hearts, our minds, and our souls are receptive, and willing to listen.

"No, a thousand times no," we answer you, "who have given your all that we might live. You who now serve on a higher plane, answerable only to your Supreme Commander, the Heavenly Creator.

"Your sacrifice shall lead the way toward that ultimate day which God has ordained for mankind everywhere, when all of His creatures shall dwell peaceably together," we cry out in meaningful terms, direct from our hearts, to you newly crowned heroes.

And to you, in whom the blood of life flows still, but who are also willing to shed it for us if need be, and for all humanity, may we citizens of Laconia assure you men—a boy becomes a man quickly under such circumstances—that we are solidly behind you; that we are daily praying for you; that we believe in what you are doing; that we have implicit faith that you will win.

Remember, we ask you, the many wars of the Bible, when faith carried men through all obstacles, as long as that faith remained invincible.

We here in Laconia are setting aside one day of special prayer for the fighting forces in Vietnam, as a further evidence of our faith in you.

We are also asking that for those of us who may not be able to attend a formal service, that we take a moment wherever we may be to pause, bow our heads and ask God's blessing upon all of you, our brothers, out there, so far away in miles, but so close to our hearts in understanding, love and appreciation.

We are further asking God's divine guidance for President Johnson, as he directs the destinies of our great Nation, for the wisdom, in whatever decisions he makes, that will reflect the will of our Creator for the future and freedom of mankind.

We implore every thinking American, throughout the breadth of our glorious country, to join with his fellowmen in humble prayer, that lasting peace may descend upon this troubled world, and that friendship, love and compassion reign for all eternity.

This then is our message to you men in Vietnam. Take heart, God has heard your pleas. He will answer your prayers. He will bring you victory. For God is everywhere.

PETER R. LESSARD,
Mayor.

LACONIA, N.H.

Final Newsletter to Constituents of the 1st Session, 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I would like to include in the RECORD the final issue of my newsletter which will be forwarded to my constituency.

The newsletter follows:

NOVEMBER 5, 1965.

THE 89TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

Some have said that this session of Congress has been productive. Others say that it has been prolific. Some say it has been counterproductive. Other people say that it has been downright destructive. Some praise it highly, while others condemn it roundly. There are those who will tell you that this Congress has opened new vistas to all Americans. There are other equally sincere people who feel that the legislation adopted by this Congress sounds the death knell to individual initiative, and the free enterprise system as we know it.

The true verdict concerning the worth of this Congress will not be rendered for some years. Its true impact on our economy will not be felt for at least 5 years. Neither can the extent to which it will change American life be assayed for some time. But, have an economic impact it will, and change our lives it will.

There can be little doubt that this Congress has pushed the United States further toward a welfare state. The passage of medicare guarantees greater Government involvement in the medical profession and in the operation of hospitals. For the first time the Federal Government will be involved in the administration of our elementary schools, through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The Higher Education Act, with its Federal scholarship provisions, will probably result in less private initiative in the establishment of scholarships, and undoubtedly will result in more surveillance of our colleges and universities by Federal bureaus. The Teacher Corps will provide a body of federally oriented and federally trained teachers to work in the school systems of our country, but not to be a part of them. Who can deny that the germs of vast Federal influence, if not Federal control, exist in these measures?

We are propelled farther along the road to the welfare state by the rent supplement program, which was contained in the Housing Act of 1965. When this act was passed the House was assured that (1) only persons eligible for public housing would be eligible for rent supplements; and (2) that the program would not be used for forced racial integration. However, regulations published by the Housing and Home Finance Agency went contrary to both of these conditions. Therefore, Congress deleted all funds for beginning the rent supplement program from the last supplemental appropriations bill.

The impact this Congress has had on the economy is best illustrated by the Appalachia

bill, the housing bill, the Economic Opportunity Act, and the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. These bills are aimed mainly at pump-priming even though the country is admittedly prosperous. Some of them concentrate on areas of chronic depression or unemployment, while others sow their benefits broadcast. Most of these laws are well-intentioned, being aimed at helping people through governmental action. The only thing which bothers many of us is the fact that governmental action has never really helped people. These same remedies were tried during the Great Depression—and failed. It still takes private enterprise to provide the jobs and the high standard of living which makes America the great Nation that it is. I would certainly not charge that these bill were all politically motivated. However, I doubt that anyone would deny that they have political significance, and that this fact is certainly not lost on the Johnson administration.

This Congress also reduced excise taxes; it passed an Immigration and Nationality Act which started out to be very controversial, but ended up by having the support of most people. It pasesd a voting rights bill which was aimed at ending deprivation of the right to vote because of race. It also passed an omnibus farm bill, and an omnibus public works authorization bill. The House passed a bill to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, but the Senate has thus far refused to do so.

This Congress has created a new department for the President's Cabinet to be known as the Department of Urban Affairs. In this Department will be included most of the activities of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, and will probably include similar activities which are now quartered in other departments or bureaus of the Government.

This Congress has been concerned with water matters. It passed the Water Resources Planning Act, the Water Quality Act, and has continued its support for the program for the desalinization of salt water. It has not yet passed a major reclamation act. It is hoped that the Lower Colorado Basin Project Act, which has now had hearings in both the House and the Senate, will be the first major reclamation bill—not only for the 89th Congress, but for the Johnson administration.

The 1st session of the 89th Congress appropriated $119.3 billion, to be spent through the administrative budget. This is by far the highest level of appropriation ever requested of a Congress, or granted by it. The Honorable GEORGE MAHON, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, has remarked that the days of $100 billion budgets are probably gone forever. Certainly, if the penchant to spend which we have seen prevail in this Congress is continued, the words of Mr. MAHON are indeed prophetic.

As we look back on the last session of Congress, it is natural for us to think about the next. The President has already indicated that he has another massive legislative program in mind for next year. It seems to involve further spending, further impetus toward welfare-statism, and further encroachment of the Government into areas of endeavor which many feel would best be left to the States and to individuals. Only the people can stop this pellmell rush to the left. Therefore, I hope that everyone who is an American citizen will become immediately active in the political party of his choice, so that he may have a part in the continuance of the great national debate which is now in progress—subject being "Resolved That the United States of America, as a Welfare State, Cannot Preserve the Fundamental Rights, Privileges, and Liberties Granted to Her Citizens by the Constitution."

Neutral Esperanto Language Gaining in World Popularity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I should like the attention of my colleagues concerning an interesting article which recently appeared in several newspapers throughout the country on the topic of Esperanto and the fact that it is gaining popularity as an international language. I have been interested in Esperanto for some time and was very pleased to see the enclosed article.

Certainly the group of independent nations with its various tongues and dialects makes it abundantly more apparent that if we are to have a better understanding among the nations of the world, we must develop an international language that will be available in the channels of diplomatic discourse.

I am quite sure that while we respect the national language of each nation, including our own, the development of a neutral language to be used in international relations would indeed bring about greater understanding and better harmony.

The Esperanto Society of Chicago whose president, Mr. David Jordan, is one of my constituents, was kind enough to suggest that the United States lead the way in petitioning the United Nations to urge its member states to encourage the teaching of Esperanto and further its uses in international relations between the peoples of the world.

I fully support this suggestion; and next January when Congress resumes, I shall offer a formal resolution for the consideration of the House urging that the United States lead the way for implementing Esperanto as a neutral language in diplomatic relations.

The UPI article follows:

NEUTRAL ESPERANTO LANGUAGE GAINING IN WORLD POPULARITY

NEW YORK.—Esperanto, the international language, may be poised for a breakthrough to global status.

The "language of hope" has been around for three-quarters of a century. But it looks like a natural for the jet age.

The proliferation of new nations, scientific knowledge, world trade, and travel demand a language that is easy to learn yet has a rich and supple vocabulary.

Basic English has certain drawbacks. For one thing, it is just too basic. You can't use it to write a treaty, a play, or a scientific thesis.

English is regarded by many people around the globe as a colonialist language. So are French, Spanish, Russian, and Chinese—the other four official languages of the United Nations. Esperanto is neutral.

Most people feel self-conscious when speaking anything but their mother tongue. Esperanto is the exception. Anyone who speaks Esperanto is on an equal footing with every other Esperanto speaker.

Americans who have traveled abroad know that it is just not true that "everyone speaks some English"—or French, or any other language.

The use of English is being officially discouraged in India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaysia, and other former British colonies. They are pushing their own languages. The same is true of Dutch in Indonesia or of French in former French territories.

With all these new nations retreating into their local tongues and dialects, language barriers are getting higher at the very time that the world's business demands that they be lowered.

The United Nations and other international organizations—more than a thousand in all—spend millions of dollars a year on translation services.

Most of this money could be saved if a common international language gained general acceptance.

Esperanto certainly is simple enough. It has just 16 rules of grammar and pronunciation, with no irregularities or exceptions. It can be learned in about one-fourth the time it takes to learn any other language. (The Esperanto Information Center, 180 Riverside Drive, New York 24, will send you more information for a stamped, self-addressed envelope.)

Yet the vocabulary is full sized. Shakespeare's plays and Einstein's theories have been translated into Esperanto.

More and more people are getting the idea. Examples:

Esperanto is taught in the schools of 32 countries, from the United States to the U.S.S.R.

International companies like Philips Electric of Holland and Fiat Motors of Italy print their brochures in Esperanto.

Communist China is pushing Mandarin as the language spoken by more people—half a billion—than any other. But Esperanto is one of the languages it uses in its propaganda broadcasts.)

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) gives financial support to the publication of great works, such as Dante's "Divine Comedy," into Esperanto.

Esperanto is one of the languages used in the official introductory guide to the New York World's Fair.

Ali Gerad Jama, Minister of Education in the new African Republic of Somaliland, says: "It is humiliating for the small nations to be obliged to learn the languages of the large. Only a neutral language like Esperanto can eliminate that cultural dependency."

E. L. M. Wensing, an executive of the Philips Co., puts it this way: "Esperanto is good business."

Justice Calls for Investigation

SPEECH

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, if what the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GRAY] says is true, then there is definitely "something rotten in the state of Denmark." The allegations are such as to shock the sense of justice of any American. The question here is not the guilt or innocence of James Hoffa, but an even greater one—one which affects the very integrity of our system of justice.

If this august body fails to take any action after having been apprised of the situation by one of its own respected Members, we will have sown the seeds which will grow into an ever increasing distrust of our Government. I join the gentleman from Illinois in urging that the House Judiciary Committee institute a complete investigation at the earliest possible moment.

FAO Appeals to World's Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNN E. STALBAUM

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, the October issue of the Wisconsin Farmers Union News published an editorial which told of the inspiring work being carried out by youth throughout the world in support of the freedom from hunger campaign. This program, called Youth World Appeal, is one part of the great work being done by the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization.

The editorial is as follows:

"HELP FEED THE HUNGRY": FAO APPEALS TO WORLD'S YOUTH

(By Carlyle Hodgkin)

On October 16 the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization launched an appeal to youth to help feed the hungry of the world.

The drive is called Youth World Appeal. It will run 21 weeks, during which young people are asked to give 21 hours of their time. (October 16 was FAO's 20th anniversary.)

Youth World Appeal is part of the FAO's worldwide, 5-year freedom from hunger campaign, which calls upon all of its 100-plus member nations to help to end the stark, chronic hunger that grips much of the world.

R. B. Sen, FAO Director-General in Rome, underscored its importance in a recent letter to the ministers of agriculture in member countries.

Food production in relation to population has not increased appreciably in the past 7 years, he said. The "alarming outlook" is that unless great improvement can be made, famines in some populous areas within the next few years are inescapable.

The Youth World Appeal is to be spearheaded in the United States by the Freedom from Hunger Foundation, 1815 H Street NW., Washington, D.C. 20006. In Canada, by the Canadian Assembly of Youth Organizations, 75 Spark Street, Ottawa 4, Ontario.

The FAO cited examples of what young people in some countries already have done.

In some African countries they have set up National Youth Services which, by youth training, help to check the drift of young people from country town.

In the Netherlands, in Operation 10 Times 10, young people give 10 percent of their spending money for 10 weeks, sending $550,000 to finance a home gardens project in West Africa.

In France, Catholic Scouts collected more than 140 tons of materials and made up more than 70,000 parcels of school supplies and equipment which they sent to developing countries, mainly in Africa.

In Laos, the Boy Scouts organized a football game and sent the proceeds to the Freedom From Hunger Campaign.

In the United Kingdom, the FFHC Committee developed programs and materials for use in the schools at all levels. In Scotland a textbook, "Food and People," was published in 1964 and used in all schools. One of the senior school-leaving examinations was based upon it.

In India, after learning about 4-H clubs during an exchange visit to the United States, a group of youth formed the Young Farmers' Association. Through a network of village clubs the association teaches rural young people improved farming and home-keeping methods.

The field is wide open, FAO pointed out, for young people to work out the details of their own programs.

A Declaration To End the Cold War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the September 1965 number of Change contained a brief and highly incisive statement by Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, entitled "A Declaration To End the Cold War."

I commend this article to readers of the RECORD and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A DECLARATION TO END THE COLD WAR

(By Robert M. Hutchins)

I propose that the President of the United States make the following statement at the next session of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

"I hereby declare that the cold war is over.

"I do not minimize the depth and breadth of the ideological differences that divide the world. I am proud to proclaim the virtues of the American system. But I do not intend to carry on a war, hot or cold, to prove the superiority of our ideas or institutions.

"In the first place, such proof is not convincing. It is as though one university was proved better than another because it won a football game.

"In the second place, more urgent matters claim our attention. Millions of our fellow men are suffering from ignorance, poverty, hunger, and disease. They have learned that these sufferings are not inevitable. The knowledge and productive capacity of the world are sufficient to give every man, woman, and child on this planet a chance to become a human being and to lead a human life.

"These millions are therefore on the move.

"The interests of the United States require a peaceful and prosperous world.

"To this end two things are necessary. First, massive assistance to change in those parts of the world that need it; and, second, international police, and peacekeeping arrangements, designed not to prevent the revolutions that must take place but to help them take place without violence and loss of life.

"The United States, as the richest and most powerful nation in the world, is prepared to bear its full share—and more—of the cost of elevating and protecting mankind.

"But the United States will not hereafter take any unilateral action affecting any other country.

"Since our primary concern is the establishment of a just world order, we shall work exclusively through the United Nations or through regional organizations approved by it.

"We shall support such changes in the Charter of the United Nations as may be required to enable it to act expeditiously and effectively for the maintenance of peace and order.

"I promise the people of the world that the United States will gladly, in its own self-interest, make available its intellectual and material resources for the development of all peoples—regardless of race, color, creed, or political doctrine.

"I call upon the governments of the world to join in a great, new effort that will lead to peace, justice, and freedom for all mankind."

The above was written for the Los Angeles Times Syndicate before I went to Russia this summer. Now I wish I had included the following recommendation: "As President of the United States, I shall especially invite the Premier of the Soviet Union to meet with me to join in proposing a plan to the nations of the world—a plan by which violence may be abolished in settling international arguments."

Report to the People of the 16th Congressional District of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a report to the people of the 16th Congressional District of New York on my voting and attendance record for the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

The report includes all rollcall votes. Its purpose is to collect in one place and in concise form, information which is scattered throughout thousands of pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I want to be able to provide any interested constituent with a simple compilation of my voting and attendance record.

There are 201 votes listed. I was present and voted on 179. I missed no major vote. Of the 182 quorum calls for attendance in the House, I was present for 173. On the votes and quorums for which I was not present, I was on official business of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee and the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

The report follows:

Date	Roll-call No.	Measure, question, and result	Vote
1965			
Jan. 4	2	Election of Speaker. McCormack, 289; G. Ford, 139	McCormack.
Jan. 4	3	H. Res. 1, a resolution authorizing and directing the Speaker to administer the oath of office to certain Members. (Yeas 276, nays 149.)	Yes.
Jan. 4	4	H. Res. 8, a resolution adopting Rules of the House of Representatives for the 89th Cong. (Yeas 224, nays 202.)	Yes.
Jan. 19	6	H. Res. 126, a resolution dismissing the notice of contest of election by James R. Frankenberry of the 25th New York Congressional District. (Yeas 245, nays 102.)	Yes.
Jan. 26	7	H.J. Res. 234, a joint resolution making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, for certain activities of the Department of Agriculture, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit. (Yeas 204, nays 177.)	Not voting, paired for.
Feb. 8	10	H.J. Res. 234. (Yeas 165, nays 241.)	Not voting, paired against.
Feb. 9	12	H.R. 3818, a bill to eliminate the requirement that Federal Reserve banks maintain certain reserves in gold certificates against deposit liabilities. On motion to recommit. (Yeas 93, nays 289.).	No.
Feb. 9	13	H.R. 3818. On passage. (Yeas 300, nays 82.)	Yes.
Feb. 17	16	H.R. 2998, a bill to amend the Arms Control and Disarmament Act, as amended, in order to increase the authorization for appropriations. On passage. (Yeas 302, nays 63.)	Yes.
Feb. 18	19	H.R. 45, a bill to amend the Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the Fund for Special Operations of the Inter-American Development Bank. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 142, nays 237.)	No.
Feb. 18	20	H.R. 45, a bill to amend the Inter-American Development Bank Act. On passage. (Yeas 288, nays 93.)	Yes.
Feb. 25	23	H. Res. 188, a resolution authorizing the expenditure of certain funds for the expenses of the Committee on Un-American Activities. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 58, nays 333.)	No.
Feb. 25	24	H. Res. 188. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 360, nays 29.)	Yes.
Mar. 3	28	S. 3, an act to provide public works and economic development programs and the planning and coordination needed to assist in the development of the Appalachian region. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 100, nays 323.)	No.
Mar. 3	29	S. 3. On passage. (Yeas 257, nays 165.)	Yes.
Mar. 10	31	H.R. 2, a bill to protect the public health and safety by amending the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to establish special controls for depressant and stimulant drugs, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 402, nays 0.)	Yes.
Mar. 15	33	H.R. 4714, a bill to amend the National Arts and Cultural Development Act of 1964 with respect to the authorization of appropriations therein. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Failed.) (Yeas 217, nays 113.)	Not voting.
Mar. 16	35	H.R. 5505, a bill to require the establishment, on the basis of the 18th and subsequent decennial censuses, of congressional districts composed of contiguous and compact territory for the election of Representatives, and for other purposes. On Mathias amendment. (Failed.) (Yeas 147, nays 255.)	No.
Mar. 17	38	H. Res. 276, a resolution providing for consideration of H.R. 5374, a bill relating to the salaries of the Chief Justice of the United States and of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 202, nays 183.)	No.
Mar. 17	39	H.R. 5374, a bill relating to the salaries of the Chief Justice of the United States and of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. On passage. (Failed.) (Yeas 178, nays 202.)	No.
Mar. 22	42	H.R. 5688, a bill relating to crime and criminal procedure in the District of Columbia. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 166, nays 216.)	Yes.
Mar. 22	43	H.R. 5688. On passage. (Yeas 251, nays 131.)	Yes.
Mar. 23	45	H.R. 5721, a bill to amend the Agriculture Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, to provide for acreage-poundage marketing quotas for tobacco, to amend the tobacco price support provisions of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 206, nays 170.)	Yes.
Mar. 26	51	On motion to approve the Journal. On ordering previous question. (Yeas 274, nays 119.)	Yes.
Mar. 26	52	H.R. 2362, a bill to strengthen and improve education quality and educational opportunities in the Nation's elementary and secondary schools. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 149, nays 267.)	No.
Mar. 26	53	H.R. 2362. On passage. (Yeas 263, nays 153.)	Yes.
Mar. 31	57	H.R. 3708, a bill to provide assistance in the development of new or improved programs to help older persons through grants to the States for community planning and services for training, and to establish within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare an operating agency to be designated as the "Administration on Aging." On passage. (Yeas 396, nays 1.)	Yes.
Mar. 31	58	H.R. 1111, a bill to provide for the optimum development of the Nation's natural resources through the coordinated planning of water and related land resources, and by providing financial assistance to the States in order to increase State participation in such planning. On passage. (Yeas 384, nays 0.)	Yes.
Apr. 1	60	H.R. 4257, a bill to amend the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 395, nays 0.)	Yes.
Apr. 5	62	H.R. 980, a bill to provide for the return of obscene mail matter. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 360, nays 21.)	Yes.
Apr. 5	63	H.R. 7064, a bill to amend the Foreign Service Buildings Act of 1926, as amended. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 378, nays 0.)	Yes.
Apr. 5	64	H.R. 7060, a bill making appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Departments, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 347, nays 7.)	Yes.
Apr. 6	66	H.R. 7091, a bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other puproses. On passage. (Yeas 348, nays 62.)	Yes.
Apr. 8	70	H.R. 6675, a bill to provide a hospital insurance program for the aged under the Social Security Act with a supplementary health benefits program and an expanded program of medical assistance, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit with instructions. (Failed.) (Yeas 191, nays 236.)	No.
Apr. 8	71	H.R. 6675, a bill to provide a hospital insurance program for the aged. On passage. (Yeas 313, nays 115.)	Yes.
Apr. 13	72	H.R. 2998, an act to amend the Arms Control and Disarmament Act, as amended, in order to increase the authorization for appropriations. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 316, nays 65.)	Yes.
Apr. 13	74	H.J. Res. 1, a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to succession to the Presidency and Vice-Presidency and to cases where the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. On passage. (Yeas 368, nays 29.)	Yes.
Apr. 14	76	H. Res. 310, a resolution authorizing the expenditure of certain funds for the additional expenses of the Committee on Un-American Activities. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 313, nays 43.)	Yes.
Apr. 27	78	H.R. 6497, a bill to amend the Bretton Woods Agreements Act to authorize an increase in the International Monetary Fund quota of the United States. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 113, nays 275.)	No.
Apr. 27	79	H.R. 6497, a bill to amend the Bretton Woods Agreements Act. On passage. (Yeas 301, nays 88.)	Yes.
Apr. 28	82	S. 4, an Act to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended, to establish the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 396, nays 0.)	Yes.
Apr. 29	84	H.R. 7091, an act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 316, nays 55.)	Yes.
Apr. 29	85	H.R. 7091, an act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes. On preferential motion of Mr. Keogh to recede and concur in Senate amendment No. 6 to conference report. (Failed.) (Yeas 144, nays 228.)	Yes.
Apr. 29	86	H.R. 4714, a bill to amend the National Arts and Cultural Development Act of 1964 with respect to the authorization of appropriations therein. On passage. (Yeas 239, nays 116.)	Yes.
May 3	87	H.R. 2986, a bill to extend and otherwise amend certain expiring provisions of the Public Health Service Act relating to community health services, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 347, nays 0.)	Yes.
May 4	90	H.R. 2985, a bill to authorize assistance in meeting the initial cost of professional and technical personnel for comprehensive community mental health centers. On passage. (Yeas 389, nays 0.)	Yes.
May 5	92	H.J. Res. 447, a joint resolution making a supplemental appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, for military functions of the Department of Defense, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 408, nays 7.)	Yes.
May 5	94	H.R. 7657, a bill to authorize appropriations during fiscal year 1966 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels, and evaluation, for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 396, nays 0.)	Yes.
May 6	96	H.Res. 366, a resolution providing for consideration of H.R. 7717, a bill to authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, and for other purposes. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 389, nays 0.)	Yes.
May 6	97	H.R. 7717, a bill to authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 389, nays 11.)	Yes.
May 10	99	H.R. 2984, a bill to amend the Public Health Service Act provisions for construction of health research facilities by extending the expiration date thereof and providing increased support for the program, to authorize additional Assistant Secretaries in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 334, nays 4.)	Yes.
May 12	101	S. 701, an act to carry out the obligations of the United States under the International Coffee Agreement, 1962, signed at New York on Sept. 28, 1962, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 300, nays 97.)	Yes.
May 20	104	H.R. 8122, a bill to authorize appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with sec. 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit with instructions. (Failed.) (Yeas 43, nays 313.)	No.
May 20	105	H.R. 8122, a bill to authorize appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission. On passage. (Yeas 352, nays 1.)	Yes.
May 25	109	H.R. 7750, a bill to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 as ameneded, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 178, nays 219.)	No.
May 25	110	H.R. 7750. On passage. (Yeas 249, nays 148.)	Yes.

Date	Roll-call No.	Measure, question, and result	Vote
1965 May 26	112	H.R. 8370, a bill making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit with instructions to report back forthwith with an amendment as follows: On page 32, line 2, insert the following: "No part of this appropriation shall be used during the fiscal year 1966 to finance the export of any agricultural commodity to either the United Arab Republic or Indonesia under the provisions of title I of Public Law 480, eighty-third Congress, as amended." (Failed.) (Yeas 187, nays 208.)	No.
May 26	113	H.R. 8370, a bill making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture. On passage. (Yeas 354, nays 41.)	Yes.
June 1	116	H.R. 8639, a bill making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agences for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 322, nays 60.)	Yes.
June 1	117	H.R. 3584, a bill to amend the Federal Coal Mine Safety Act so as to provide further for the prevention of accidents in coal mines. On passage. (Yeas 336, nays 42.)	Yes.
June 2	119	H.R. 8371, a bill to reduce excise taxes, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 401, nays 6.)	Yes.
June 3	121	H.R. 7777, a bill to authorize the President to appoint Gen. William F. McKee (U.S. Air Force, retired) to the office of Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency. On passage. (Yeas 228, nays 137.)	Yes.
June 7	123	H.R. 3157, a bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to eliminate the provisions which reduce the annuities of the spouses of retired employees by the amount of certain monthly benefits. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 323, nays, 0.)	Not voting.
June 8	126	H.R. 8775, a bill making appropriations for the legislative branch of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit with instructions. (Failed.) (Yeas 149, nays 244.)	No.
June 8	127	H.R. 7105, a bill to provide for continuation of authority for regulation of exports, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 388, nays 1.)	Yes.
June 9	129	H. Res. 413, a resolution providing for consideration of H.R. 8464, a bill to provide, for the period beginning on July 1, 1965, and ending on June 30, 1966, a temporary increase in the public debt limit set forth in sec. 21 of the Second Liberty Bond Act. On ordering previous question. (Yeas 273, nays 109.)	Yes.
June 9	130	H.R. 8464, a bill to provide, for the period beginning on July 1, 1965, and ending on June 30, 1966, a temporary increase in the public debt limit set forth in sec. 21 of the Second Liberty Bond Act. On passage. (Yeas 229, nays 165.)	Yes.
June 9	131	H. Con. Res. 285, concurrent resolution to allow the showing in the United States of the U.S. Information Agency film "John F. Kennedy—Year of Lightning, Day of Drums." On Mailliard amendment. (Failed.) (Yeas 174, nays 216.)	No.
June 9	132	H. Con. Res. 285, concurrent resolution to allow the showing in the United States of the U.S. Information Agency film "John F. Kennedy—Year of Lightning, Day of Drums." On agreeing to concurrent resolution. (Yeas 311, nays 75.)	Yes.
June 16	141	H.R. 6927, a bill to establish a Department of Housing and Urban Development, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit with instructions. (Failed.) (Yeas 141, nays 259.)	No.
June 16	142	H.R. 6927, a bill to establish a Department of Housing and Urban Development. On passage. (Yeas 217, nays 184.)	Yes.
June 16	143	H. Res. 416, resolution to authorize each Member of the House of Representatives to employ annually, on a temporary basis, a student congressional intern. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 229, nays 153.)	Yes.
June 21	145	H.R. 7743, a bill to establish a system of loan insurance and a supplementary system of direct loans, to assist students to attend post-secondary business, trade, technical, and other vocational schools. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 300, nays 0.)	Not voting.
June 21	146	H.R. 8620, a bill to amend the Agricultural Act of 1949 and the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 to take into consideration floods and other natural disasters in reference to the feed grains, cotton, and wheat programs for 1965. (Yeas 297, nays 2.)	Not voting.
June 21	147	H. Con. Res. 416, concurrent resolution to request the President of the United States to urge certain actions in behalf of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. On motion to suspend rules and agree to. (Yeas 298, nays 0.)	Not voting.
June 23	153	H.R. 9221 a bill making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 407, nays 0.)	Yes.
June 24	155	H. J. Res. 541, joint resolution to extend the Area Redevelopment Act for a period of 2 months. On passage. (Yeas 224, nays 167.)	Yes.
June 28	157	H. Res. 425, resolution providing for consideration of H.R. 7984, a bill to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, to promote orderly urban development, to improve living environment in urban areas, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing, urban renewal, and community facilities. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 230, nays 115.)	Not voting.
June 30	162	H.R. 7984, a bill to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, to promote orderly urban development, to improve living environment in urban areas, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing, urban renewal, and community facilities. On Stephens amendment. (Yeas 240, nays 179.)	Yes.
June 30	163	H.R. 7984, a bill to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families. On motion to recommit with instructions. (Failed.) (Yeas 202, nays 208.)	No.
June 30	164	H.R. 7984. On passage. (Yeas 245, nays 169.)	Yes.
July 6	167	H. Res. 440, resolution providing for consideration of H.R. 6400, a bill to enforce the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 308, nays 58.)	Yes.
July 9	175	H.R. 6400, a bill to enforce the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States. On Cramer amendment. (Failed.) (Yeas 253, nays 165.)	No.
July 9	176	H.R. 6400. On Boggs amendment. (Failed.) (Yeas 155, nays 262.)	Yes.
July 9	177	H.R. 6400. On Gilbert amendment. (Failed.) (Yeas 202, nays 216.)	Yes.
July 9	178	H.R. 6400. On motion to recommit with instructions. Ford-McCulloch bill and McClory amendment. (Failed.) (Yeas 171, nays 248.)	No.
July 9	179	H.R. 6400. On passage. (Yeas 333, nays 85.)	Yes.
July 12	181	H.R. 8856, a bill to amend section 271 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Failed.) (Yeas 216, nays 139.)	Yes.
July 12	182	H.R. 242, a bill to extend the apportionment requirement in the Civil Service Act of Jan. 16, 1883, to temporary summer employment and for other purposes. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 336, nays 22.)	Yes.
July 13	185	S. 559, a bill to regulate the labeling of cigarettes, and for other purposes. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 286, nays 103.)	Yes.
July 14	188	H.R. 8926, a bill to provide for the coinage of the United States. On Battin amendment. (Failed.) (Yeas 187, nays 218.)	No.
July 14	189	H.R. 8926. On passage. (Yeas 255, nays 151.)	Yes.
July 20	193	H.R. 9075, a bill to amend title 37, United States Code, to increase the rates of basic pay for members of the uniformed services. On passage. (Yeas 410, nays 0.)	Yes.
July 22	196	H.R. 8283, a bill to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. On motion to recommit with instructions. (Yeas 178, nays 227.)	No.
July 22	197	H.R. 8283, a bill to expand the war on poverty. On passage. (Yeas 245, nays 158.)	Yes.
July 26	199	H. Res. 437, resolution providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 77) to repeal sec. 14(b) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, and sec. 705(b) of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 and to amend the 1st provision of sec. 8(a)(3) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended. On ordering previous question. (Yeas 248, nays 171.)	Yes.
July 27	203	H.R. 6675, an act to provide a hospital insurance program for the aged under the Social Security Act with a supplementary health benefits program. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 307, nays 116.)	Yes.
July 27	204	H.R. 7984, an act to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, to promote orderly urban development, to improve living environment in urban areas, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing, urban renewal, and community facilities. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 251, nays 168.)	Yes.
July 27	205	H.R. 2985, an act to authorize assistance in meeting the initial cost of professional and technical personnel for comprehensive community mental health centers. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 414, nays 0.)	Yes.
July 28	208	H.R. 77, a bill to repeal sec. 14(b) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, and sec. 705b) of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 and to amend the first proviso of sec. 8(a)(3) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 200, nays 223.)	No.
July 28	209	H.R. 77, a bill to repeal sec. 14(b) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended. On passage. (Yeas 221, nays 203.)	Yes.
July 29	212	H.R. 8856, a bill to amend sec. 271 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended. On passage. (Yeas 275, nays 126.)	Yes.
Aug. 2	214	S.J. Res. 81, joint resolution to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to apportion the sum authorized for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, for the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 314, nays 11.)	Not voting.
Aug. 2	215	H.R. 8027, a bill to provide assistance in training State and local law enforcement officers and other personnel, and in improving capabilities, and for other purposes. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 326, nays 0.)	Not voting.
Aug. 2	216	H.R. 6964, a bill to amend sec. 4082 of title 18, United States Code, to facilitate the rehabilitation of persons convicted of offenses against the United States. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 325, nays 0.)	Not voting.
Aug. 3	218	S. 1564, an act to enforce the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and for other purposes. Conference report, on motion to recommit. (Yeas 118, nays 284.)	No.
Aug. 3	219	S. 1564. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 328, nays 74.)	Yes.
Aug. 3	220	H.R. 8469, a bill to provide certain increases in annuities payable from the civil service retirement and disability fund, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 396, nays 0.)	Yes.
Aug. 4	221	H.R. 8439, an act to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 389, nays 0.)	Yes.
Aug. 4	222	S. 1742, an act to authorize the U.S. Governor to agree to amendments to the articles of agreements of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 331, nays 54.)	Yes.
Aug. 5	224	H.Res. 498, resolution providing for consideration of H.R. 4750, a bill to provide a 2-year extension of the interest equalization tax, and for other purposes. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 329, nays 44.)	Yes.
Aug. 5	225	H.R. 4750, a bill to provide a 2-year extension of the interest equalization tax, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 274, nays 97)	Yes.
Aug. 9	228	H.R. 9918, a bill to amend the Fire and Casualty Act and the Motor Vehicle Safety Responsibility Act of the District of Columbia. On Sickles amendment. (Yeas 173, nays 156.)	Not voting.

Date	Roll-call No.	Measure, question, and result	Vote
1965			
Aug. 10	230	H.R. 10306, a bill to amend the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951, as amended. On passage. (Yeas 393, nays 1)	Yes.
Aug. 12	234	S. 1648, an act to provide grants for public works and development facilities, other financial assistance and the planning and coordination needed to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment in economically distressed areas and regions. On Sisk amendment. (Yeas 196, nays 194.)	Yes.
Aug. 12	235	S. 1648, an act to provide grants for public works and development facilities. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 163, nays 224)	No.
Aug. 12	236	S. 1648, an act to provide grants for public works and development facilities. On passage. (Yeas 246, nays 138)	Yes.
Aug. 16	238	H.R. 6431, a bill to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to provide that certain forms of nickel be admitted free of duty. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 298, nays 48.)	Yes.
Aug. 16	239	H.R. 8635, a bill to establish and prescribe the duties of a Federal Boxing Commission for the purpose of insuring that the channels of interstate commerce are free from false or fraudulent descriptions or depictions of professional boxing contests. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 346, nays 4.)	Yes.
Aug. 19	242	H.R. 7750, an act to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 244, nays 150.)	Yes.
Aug. 19	243	H.R. 9811, a bill to maintain farm income, to stabilize prices and assure adequate supplies of agricultural commodities, to reduce surpluses, lower Government costs, and promote foreign trade, to afford greater economic opportunity in rural areas, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 169, nays 224.)	No.
Aug. 19	244	H.R. 9811, on passage. (Yeas 221, nays 172.)	Yes.
Aug. 24	246	H.R. 10586, a bill making supplemental appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 139, nays 263.)	No.
Aug. 25	248	H.R. 2580, a bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes. On MacGregor amendment. (Failed.) (Yeas 189, nays 218.)	No.
Aug. 25	249	H.R. 2580, a bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 318, nays 95.)	Yes.
Aug. 26	252	H.R. 9567, a bill to strengthen the educational resources of our colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in postsecondary and higher education. On passage. (Yeas 368, nays 22.)	Yes.
Aug. 30	253	H.R. 9022, a bill to amend Public Laws 815 and 874, 81st Cong., to provide financial assistance in the construction and operation of public elementary and secondary schools in areas affected by a major disaster; to eliminate inequities in the application of Public Law 815 in certain military base closings; and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 305, nays 37.)	Yes.
Aug. 31	254	H. Res. 551, resolution providing for consideration of H.R. 9042, a bill to provide for the implementation of the Agreement Concerning Automotive Products Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Canada, and for other purposes. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 363, nays 23.)	Yes.
Aug. 31	255	H.R. 9042, a bill to provide for the implementation of the Agreement Concerning Automotive Products Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Canada, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 280, nays 113.)	Yes.
Sept. 1	257	H.R. 3141, a bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to improve the educational quality of schools of medicine, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 340, nays 47.)	Yes.
Sept. 2	259	H.R. 5863, a bill to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to undertake research and development in high-speed ground transportation, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 317, nays 24.)	Yes.
Sept. 7	262	H.R. 8439, an act to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes. Motion by Mr. Hall: "*Resolved*, That the Committee on Armed Services be discharged from further consideration of the bill H.R. 8439, for military construction, with the President's veto thereon, and that the same be now considered." On Rivers of South Carolina motion to lay on table. (Yeas 322, nays 19.)	Yes.
Sept. 7	263	H.R. 10775, a bill to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 347, nays 0.)	Yes.
Sept. 7	264	H.R. 168, a bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide increases in the rates of disability compensation to reflect the increase in the cost of living from the year 1933. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 348, nays 0.)	Yes.
Sept. 7	265	S.J. Res. 102, joint resolution to authorize funds for the Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice and the District of Columbia Commission on Crime and Law Enforcement. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 339, nays 0.)	Yes.
Sept. 8	269	H.R. 10871, a bill making appropriations for foreign assistance and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 239, nays 143.)	Yes.
Sept. 13	273	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call on roll No. 272. (Yeas 226, nays 126.)	Not voting.
Sept. 13	275	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call on roll No. 274. (Yeas 244, nays 127.)	Not voting.
Sept. 13	279	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call on roll No. 278. (Yeas 256, nays 124.)	Yes.
Sept. 13	281	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call on roll No. 280. (Yeas 255, nays 121.)	Yes.
Sept. 13	282	On motion to approve the Journal. On ordering previous question. On Hall motion to lay on table. (Failed.) (Yeas 138, nays 245.)	No.
Sept. 13	283	On motion to approve the Journal. On ordering previous question. (Yeas 257, nays 126.)	Yes.
Sept. 13	284	On motion to approve the Journal. (Yeas 265, nays 119.)	Yes.
Sept. 13	285	On motion to adjourn. (Failed.) (Yeas 175, nays 204.)	No.
Sept. 13	286	H. Res. 506, resolution providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 10065) to more effectively prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, and for other purposes. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 259, nays 121.)	Yes.
Sept. 13	287	H. Res. 506, resolution providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 10065). On Albert motion to lay on table. (Yeas 194, nays 181.)	Yes.
Sept. 13	288	On motion to adjourn. (Failed.) (Yeas 174, nays 202.)	No.
Sept. 13	290	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call on roll No. 289. (Yeas 243, nays 136.)	Yes.
Sept. 13	291	H. Res. 499, resolution providing for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 7371) to amend the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 201, nays 171.)	Yes.
Sept. 13	292	H. Res. 478, resolution to provide for the establishment of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities to promote progress and scholarship in the humanities and the arts in the United States, and for other purposes. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 260, nays 114.)	Yes.
Sept. 14	293	H. Res. 536, resolution providing for consideration of H.R. 10281, to adjust the rates of basic compensation of certain officers and employees in the Federal Government, to establish the Federal Salary Review Commission, and for other purposes. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 289, nays 84.)	Yes.
Sept. 14	296	H.R. 2091, a bill relating to the establishment of concession policies in the areas administered by National Park Service and for other purposes. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 73, nays 298.)	No.
Sept. 15	299	H.R. 8283, an act to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Conference report, on motion to recommit with instructions. (Yeas 209, nays 180.)	No.
Sept. 15	301	H.R. 9460, a bill to provide for the establishment of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities to promote progress and scholarship in the humanities and the arts in the United States and for other purposes. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 128, nays 251.)	No.
Sept. 16	302	H. Res. 574, resolution directing the Postmaster General to provide the names of temporary employees employed by the Post Office Department during the summer of 1965. On Morrison motion to lay on table. (Yeas 185, nays 181.)	Yes.
Sept. 16	304	S. 2042, a bill to amend sec. 170 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended. On passage. (Yeas 338, nays 30.)	Yes.
Sept. 17	306	H.R. 9221, an act making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 382, nays 0.)	Yes.
Sept. 17	307	H. Res. 585, resolution dismissing the 5 Mississippi election contests. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 228, nays 143.)	No.
Sept. 20	309	H.R. 10873, a bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to establish a program of group life insurance which shall be provided by private insurance companies for members of the uniformed services who are on active duty. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 362, nays 0.)	Not voting.
Sept. 20	310	H. Res. 560, resolution to express the sense of the House of Representatives declaring the policy of the United States relative to the intervention of the international communistic movement in the Western Hemisphere. On motion to suspend rules and agree to. (Yeas 312, nays 52.)	Yes.
Sept. 21	313	S. 4, an act to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended, to establish the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, to provide grants for research and development, to increase grants for construction of municipal sewage treatment works, and for other purposes. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 381, nays 0.)	Yes.
Sept. 22	315	S. 2300, an act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works and rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes. On Clark amendment. (Yeas 207, nays 185.)	No.
Sept. 22	316	H.R. 30, a bill to provide for participation of the United States in the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center in Dade County, Fla., and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 255, nays 112.)	Not voting.
Sept. 22	318	On motion to adjourn. (Failed.) (Yeas 90, nays 204.)	Not voting.
Sept. 23	320	H.R. 7371, a bill to amend the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956. On Bennett amendment. (Yeas 199, nays 178.)	No.
Sept. 23	321	H. Res. 580, resolution providing for consideration of H.R. 10232, a bill to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to make or insure loans to public and for other purposes. On ordering previous question. (Yeas 280, nays 70.)	Yes.
Sept. 23	322	H.R. 10232, a bill to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to make or insure loans to public and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 326, nays 10.)	Yes.
Sept. 24	324	S. 306, an act to amend the Clean Air Act to require standards for controlling the emission of pollutants from gasoline-powered or diesel-powered vehicles, to establish a Federal Air Pollution Control Laboratory, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit with instructions. (Failed.) (Yeas 80, nays 220.)	No.
Sept. 24	325	S. 306, an act to amend the Clean Air Act. On passage. (Yeas 294, nays 4.)	Yes.

Date	Roll-call No.	Measure, question, and result	Vote
1965 Sept. 27	327	H. Res. 515, resolution providing for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 4644) to provide an elected mayor, city council, and nonvoting Delegate to the House of Representatives for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes. On Multer motion to discharge Committee on Rules from further consideration of. (Yeas 213, nays 183).	Yes.
Sept. 27	328	H. Res. 515, resolution providing for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 4644). On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 223, nays 179.)	Yes.
Sept. 27	330	H.R. 4644. On Multer motion that House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of. (Yeas 234, nays 155.)	Yes.
Sept. 29	336	H.R. 4644. On recommendation of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union that the enacting clause be stricken out. (Failed.) (Yeas 179, nays 219.)	No.
Sept. 29	337	H.R. 4644. On Multer amendment as amended by Sisk amendment. (Yeas 227, nays 174.)	No.
Sept. 29	338	H.R. 4644, a bill authorizing the residents of the District of Columbia to make known their preference on the question of home rule, and, if they wish, to elect a board for the purpose of preparing a municipal charter for submission to the voters and to Congress. On motion to recommit. (Yeas 134, nays 267.)	No.
Sept. 29	339	H.R. 4644. On passage. (Yeas 283, nays 117.)	Yes.
Sept. 30	341	H.R. 2580, an act to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 320, nays 69.)	Not voting, paired for.
Sept. 30	342	H.R. 10281, a bill to adjust the rates of basic compensation of certain officers and employees in the Federal Government, to establish the Federal Salary Review Commission, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit with instructions. (Yeas 238, nays 140.)	Not voting.
Sept. 30	343	H.R. 10281. On passage. (Yeas 370, nays 7.)	Yes.
Oct. 1	345	H.J. Res. 642, a joint resolution to authorize the Architect of the Capitol to construct the 3d Library of Congress building in square 732 in the District of Columbia to be named the James Madison Memorial Building and to contain a Madison Memorial Hall, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit with instructions. (Failed.) (Yeas 17, nays 321).	No.
Oct. 1	346	H.J. Res. 642. On passage. (Yeas 328, nays 5.)	Yes.
Oct. 1	347	H.R. 10871, an act making appropriations for foreign assistance and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. Conference report, on motion to recommit with instructions. (Failed.) (Yeas 164, nays 174.)	No.
Oct. 1	348	H.R. 10871. On adoption. (Yeas 204, nays 127.)	Yes.
Oct. 1	349	H.R. 3142, a bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for a program of grants to assist in meeting the need for adequate medical library services and facilities. On passage. (Yeas 296, nays 3.)	Not voting.
Oct. 1	350	H.R. 6519, a bill to amend the act of May 17, 1954 (68 Stat. 98) as amended, providing for the construction of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial at the site of old St. Louis, Mo., and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 250, nays 12.)	Not voting.
Oct. 7	353	S.J. Res. 32, joint resolution to authorize a contribution to certain inhabitants of the Ryukyu Islands for death and injury to persons, and for use of and damage to private property, arising from acts and omissions of the U.S. Armed Forces, or members thereof, after Aug. 14, 1945, and before Apr. 28, 1952. On passage. (Yeas 312, nays 55.)	Not voting.
Oct. 7	354	H.R. 2020, a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the southern Nevada water project, Nevada, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 240, nays 134.)	No.
Oct. 7	356	S. 2084, an act to provide for scenic development and road beautification of the Federal-aid highway systems. On motion to recommit with instructions. (Failed.) (Yeas 153, nays 230.)	No.
Oct. 7	357	S. 2084. On passage. (Yeas 245, nays 138.)	Yes.
Oct. 8	359	H.R. 9811, an act to maintain farm income, to stabilize prices and assure adequate supplies of agricultural commodities, to reduce, and for other purposes. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 219, nays 150.)	Yes.
Oct. 12	363	H. Res. 598, a resolution providing for consideration of H.R. 11134, a bill to amend and extend the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 253, nays 80.)	Yes.
Oct. 13	366	H.R. 11135, a bill to amend and extend the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended. On motion to recommit with instructions. (Yeas 160, nays 230.)	No.
Oct. 13	367	H.R. 11135. On passage. (Yeas 246, nays 147.)	Yes.
Oct. 14	369	H.R. 11588, a bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. On Harvey of Michigan amendment. (Yeas 185, nays 162.)	No.
Oct. 14	370	H.R. 11588, a bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 242, nays 100.)	Yes.
Oct. 20	376	H.R. 9567, an act to strengthen the educational resources of our colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in postsecondary and higher education. Conference report, on motion to recommit with instructions to the managers on the part of the House to insist upon the deletion of pt. B of title V of the bill, which would authorize the establishment of a National Teacher Corps. (Failed.) (Yeas 152, nays 226.)	No.
Oct. 20	377	H.R. 9567, conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 313, nays 63.)	Yes.
Oct. 20	378	S. 2300, an act authorizing the construction repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes. (Yeas 221, nays 139.)	Present (live pair for).
Oct. 21	380	H.R. 11588, an act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 250, nays 84.)	Yes.
Oct. 21	381	H.R. 11588, an act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. Conference report, on motion to recede and concur in Senate amendment No. 66 with an amendment. (Yeas 166, nays 162.)	Yes.
Oct. 22	383	H.R. 11135, an act to amend and extend the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 174, nays 88.)	Yes.

The Progressive XDR System of Athletic Training

SPEECH

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I am certain that we will all agree that physical fitness is a prerequisite for success—be it as a Congressman, a banker, or a farmer. And there should be no dissenter when I say that adequate exercise, proper diet, and sufficient rest are the three basic ingredients that comprise a system of physical training in the attainment of good health. These fundamentals of good health have been acknowledged by people of all ages—and yet, man continues to suffer from being physically unfit. Twenty-five percent of our young men are being rejected for military service. I believe, therefore, that we all need to be reminded occasionally of the importance of physical fitness and to take renewed interest in the techniques by which we may attain maximum physical fitness.

One such system is the progressive XDR system of athletic training, developed by Honolulu's Dr. Richard W. You. It is a progressive training program based on exercise—X, diet—D, and rest—R which has been used successfully in the training of U.S. athletes. As physician for the U.S. Olympic team in 1952 and 1956, and as a physician-trainer for the U.S. Pan American team of 1955, Dr. You with his XDR system has helped many athletes capture world championships and other titles.

I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Dr. Richard You's informative article on "The Progressive XDR System of Athletic Training":

AUGUST 1, 1965.

THE PROGRESSIVE XDR SYSTEM OF ATHLETIC TRAINING

(Prepared by Richard W. You, M.D., Honolulu, Hawaii, physician, U.S. Olympic team, 1952 and 1956; physician and trainer, U.S. Pan American team, 1955)

To all my friends and acquaintances throughout the universe—of all races and climes—I extend to you my warmest personal greetings and sincerest wishes for a unified, happy, healthy, and physically fit existence:

Leaders in every field of endeavor are groomed for success, seldom are they born with it; and to be successful, one must be mentally and physically fit in order to rise above or grow within his environment, and in the process help himself, his family, and his friends.

Good health nourishes a sound philosophy of life. As a wise man once said: "There is a tide in the affairs of man which, taken at the flood, will lead to fame and fortune."

Being healthy and physically fit can make a champion of a man when the opportunity comes, whether it be in business, sports, medicine, law, entertainment, politics, or any other line of endeavor.

Good health and physical fitness can be achieved by properly supervised training.

In the field of athletics, which I feel qualified to discuss because of a life-long and satisfying association both as a competitior, coach, and trainer, I am convinced that any person endowed with good reflexes and coordination can become an inspiring leader and prolong his championship years beyond the so-called natural peak through the application of my progressive XDR training program.

What do the letters stand for? Allow me to explain. "XDR" means exercies, diet, and rest: Exercising daily and regularly, and

extra daily requirements of food and food supplements.

First, let's talk about exercise. All basic physical deficiencies should be corrected with the proper exercise in order to develop a strong healthy body that can withstand the stress and strain of any kind of competition. It is wise to start with light exercise; then gradually work toward increased resistance and weights in order to promote greater strength, agility, and flexibility. I have found that the best method of correcting deficiencies and improving athletic ability is through the use of progressive weight training such as barbells, dumbbells, pulleys, and other gymnasium apparatus.

Next, let's analyze the letter "D" (diet) in my XDR program. Diet is very important in competitive athletics. Many athletes who possess the physical attributes and natural coordination to become great champions never realize their maximum potential because of poor nutrition. The common signs and symptoms of nutritional deficiencies and unbalanced diet are overweight, underweight, high blood pressure, low blood pressure, low hemoglobin, dermatitis, high and low basal metabolic rate, low red blood cell count, impaired growth, nervousness, and frequent colds. The normal diet of the competing male athlete should always be high in proteins, vitamins and minerals with a moderate amount of fats and carbohydrates.

The average athlete should have a daily intake of at least 125 to 150 grams of good protein, light on fats and carbohydrates (about 3,000 to 4,000 calories), high in vitamins, especially vitamin A (25,000 units), vitamin B complex (especially vitamins B–1 and B–12), vitamin C (500 Mgm.), and vitamin E (100 Mgm.); plus high minerals, primarily calcium, iron, iodine, and phosphorus.

In the case of the female athlete, her nutritional intake is usually lower than that of the male. Her daily diet should be fortified with certain supplements and should contain at least 110 grams of good protein, moderate fats and carbohydrates (about 2,000 to 3,000 calories). The diet should also be high in vitamins, especially vitamin A (20,000 units); vitamin B complex including vitamin B–12; vitamin C (500 Mgm.) and vitamin E (50 Mgm.); plus minerals, especially calcium, iron, iodine, and phosphorus. Diets should be individualized because each woman participant varies in her ability to digest, absorb, and utilize the various foods. Nutritional requirements will vary from day to day, so the diet and food supplements must be flexible and various nutrients must be increased or decreased in order to attain the highest benefits. This also applies to the male competitor.

The exact quantity and type of food and food supplements needed each day depend on physical activity, climatic conditions, weight, individual response, and tolerance to the various nutrients and food factors. Always keep this in mind, that nutrition is the sum total of those processes by which the living organism receives and utilizes the materials necessary for the maintenance of life which includes growth, the repair of worn out structures, and the liberation of energy. And here's something else that's mighty important to every individual, whether an athlete or not: too much food is just as detrimental to a person as too little nourishment. The important thing to remember is to consume adequate and proper nutrients on a balanced basis.

And now let's briefly discuss the letter "R" (rest) in my XDR program for athletes. Rest is so important to all mankind. The more strenuously an athlete trains, the more rest and relaxation is required to restore the human body to its normal condition and to replenish those cells which have been destroyed by overactivity.

My progressive training program was developed nearly 35 years ago, and has improved with the years in the development of new ideas, techniques, and procedures to meet the complex requirements of the 1960's.

After many years of continuous research, I have found that my XDR program is one of the finest and most productive in the world today in developing champions in every field of athletics.

Here is something very important to keep in mind: Athletes require various methods of training and conditioning, but in general the athletes should be on a progressive, training program, which consists of sprints for speed, distance work for stamina, and progressive resistance work for power. All athletes should gradually increase their daily workouts and correct their weak points until they develop a maximum of speed, stamina, and power. Many people do not realize that most "burnt-out" athletes can be brought back through correction of the various deficiencies and proper training.

Always remember—natural ability alone will carry an athlete a long way, but the super performance and world record achievement can only belong to the star who trains himself into perfect condition.

My convictions are based on factual findings in the case histories and performances of more than 50 athletes who have been under my XDR nutritional and training program. Many of the athletes who have conscientiously followed this program have gone on to become national and world champions in their specialties—breaking many records along the way. When first examined by me, more than 90 percent of these athletes had physical and nutritional deficiencies, varying in degree from slight to severe. The most common nutritional deficiencies were in proteins, vitamins (especially B-complex) and in minerals (notably iron).

Among the athletes who have developed into nationally and internationally known champions by following the XDR training programs are:

Weightlifting:

1. Tommy Kono: Multidivision Olympic and world champion. Beside winning eight world titles in three weightlifting classes, Kono has won the "Mr. World" title in 1954, and the "Mr. Universe" title in 1955, 1957, and 1961. Kono has officially exceeded 26 world, 7 Olympic, 8 Pan American, and 37 American records in 4 different weight classes.

2. Isaac Berger: 1956 Olympic champion and 1961 world champion. Berger has broken many world records.

3. Charles Vinci: 1956 and 1960 Olympic champion. Vinci has broken many Olympic and world records.

4. Emerick Ishikawa: Former world record holder. National champion and member of the 1948 U.S. Olympic team.

5. Richard Tomita: National champion and member of the 1948 and 1952 U.S. Olympic team.

6. Harold Sakata: Runnerup in the 181-pound class at the 1948 Olympic games.

7. George Yoshioka: National 132-pound title holder in 1951.

8. Ed Bailey: Second place winner, National AAU 198-pound championship, 1952.

Swimming:

1. Ford Konno: 1952 Olympic 1,500-meter champion. Konno has broken numerous American and world records from 200 meters to 1,500 meters.

2. Dick Cleveland: Many times national sprint champion and former holder of numerous world records.

3. Evelyn Kawamoto: Many times national women's champion and record holder. Winner of the U.S. final Olympic 400-meter tryouts and third place winner in the 400 meters at the 1952 Olympic games.

4. Yoshinobu Oyakawa: 1952 Olympic 100-meter backstroke champion and former world record holder. Oyakawa has broken many American and world records.

5. Robin Moore: Former 100-yard freestyle world record holder.

6. Shelley Mann: 1956 Olympic 100-meter butterfly champion.

Boxing:

1. Johnny Santos: Hawaii's most promising junior welterweight at the age of 20. Undefeated since 1963 with 20 straight wins.

2. Gaspar Ortega: World welterweight contender with a recent record of 12 consecutive KO's scored since April 22, 1964.

3. Stanley Harrington: Popular local fighter and world welterweight, world junior middleweight and world middleweight contender.

4. Frankie Fernandez: One of Hawaii's greatest fighters and former world welterweight contender.

5. Phillip (Wildcat) Kim: Former world ranking welterweight great.

6. Eddie Pace: World welterweight and world junior middleweight contender.

7. Norvel Lee: 1952 Olympic light heavyweight champion, and voted the most outstanding Olympic champion.

8. Edward Sanders: 1952 Olympic heavyweight champion.

9. Charles Adkins: 1952 Olympic light welterweight champion.

10. Roy Kuboyama: 1952 National intercollegiate flyweight champion.

11. Nate Brooks: 1952 Olympic flyweight champion.

12. David Moore: Member of 1952 Olympic team and former world featherweight champion.

Golf:

1. Tura Kahaleanu: 1956 women's Hawaiian champion at the age of 18.

2. Edna Lee: 1954 Hawaiian titleholder.

Long distance running:

1. Norman Tamanaha: Undefeated Hawaiian marathon champion and 5th place winner at the 1952 Boston marathon when he was 45 years old.

Track and field—Men:

1. Lindy Remigino: 1952 Olympic 100-meter champion.

2. Milton Campbell: 1956 Olympic decathlon champion.

3. Tom Courtney: 1956 Olympic 800-meter champion.

Track and field—Women:

1. Mildred McDaniels: 1956 Olympic high jump champion and world record holder.

2. Leah Bennett Ferris: Two time All-American, 1962 winner of the 880-yard national indoor and outdoor championships, setting a new world record in the indoor meet. Mrs. Ferris won the 1963 indoor 880-yard national championship and placed second at the 1963 Pan American games. She is the present holder of the American record in the 800-meter run (2:08.8).

3. Cindy Wyatt: Twice an All-American, national women's indoor shotput champion, in 1961, 1962, and 1963.

4. Karen Mendyka: 1962 national javelin champion.

5. Cynthia Hegarty: Placed second in the 1963 national 880 indoor championship. Miss Hegarty was a member of the 1963 U.S. Pan American team.

6. Lacey O'Neal: Third place winner in the 80-meter hurdles at the final U.S. Olympic tryouts, and member of the 1964 U.S. Olympic team. She placed in the semifinals in the 80-meter hurdles at the 1964 Olympic games in Tokyo, Japan.

Here are the important training and dietary rules for the average athlete:

1. Correct all physical and nutritional deficiencies first, before going into the preliminary phase of training and conditioning.

2. Take up a well planned preseason weight training course.

3. Set a high goal and work diligently toward it.

4. Experiment with yourself and make out a scientific and progressive training system which is most suitable to you.

5. Train for speed (repetition sprint work), stamina (long distance work), and power (progressive resistance work).

6. Train regularly, but not to the point of complete exhaustion.

7. The coach and trainer should supervise the athlete's workouts.

8. Try to get at least 8 to 10 hours of sleep every day.

9. Avoid tobacco, alcohol, and poor health habits.

10. Again I must stress—eat a large amount of good protein daily, such as: meats, fish, poultry, fresh milk, powdered milk, buttermilk, eggs, cheese, soybeans, nuts, legumes, and seed cereals.

11. Eat a large amount of foods rich in vitamins and minerals daily, such as: vegetables and fruits.

12. Eat some fats and vegetable oils daily.

13. Eat seafoods at least four times weekly.

14. Drink about 1 quart of milk daily.

15. Drink at least three glasses of fruit juices daily, especially the juices from citrus fruits.

16. Eat foods rich in vitamin B-complex daily, such as: whole-grain cereals, brewer's yeast, meats, fruits, and vegetables.

17. Increase the intake of proteins and fats during cold weather.

18. Increase the intake of water soluble vitamins and minerals in hot weather to replace the excessive loss caused by perspiration.

19. Avoid excess of carbohydrates (starches and sugar) in the diet.

20. Increase the intake of vitamin B-complex when your diet is high in carbohydrates.

21. Do not combine high protein foods (meat, cheese, fish, poultry, eggs) with large amounts of high starches (potatoes, rice, bread, spaghetti) in the same meal.

22. Always include in your daily diet the necessary food supplements, such as: high protein tablets and powder, multiple vitamin and mineral concentrates, liver, vitamin B-12 and iron tablets.

Vallejo's Greatest Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, my hometown of Vallejo, Calif., celebrated its greatest day last week when we launched the SSB (N) *Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo*, the last of the current projected construction of Polaris submarines.

We were honored in the West by the appearance of L. MENDEL RIVERS, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, his wife, Margaret, and my colleagues Representatives EDWARD R. ROYBAL, ELIGIO DE LA GARZA, DON H. CLAUSEN, and HARLAN HAGEN at the event.

The chairman delivered the following important policy statement indicating the direction of our committee:

Secretary Nitze, Admiral Fahy, my colleagues from the House of Representatives, Mr. DE LA GARZA, Mr. ROYBAL, Mr. LEGGETT, and descendants of General Vallejo, and ladies and gentlemen, I do not know for sure how many of General Vallejo's descendants are here today but I do know that he was 1 of 13 children and the father of 16 children, so I think it is a pretty good guess that some of the family are with us today.

There are several reasons why I am particularly pleased to join in this ceremony. This is the first time I have had an opportunity to visit Mare Island as chairman of the Armed Services Committee and, as far as I know, this is the first time in more than 30 years that a chairman of the Armed Services Committee, or its predecessor, the Naval Affairs Committee, has visited here. As you may have heard, my predecessor, the distinguished Carl Vinson, was somewhat averse to travel. He once told me that he went down in a submarine as a young Congressman in 1917 and since that experience had not felt any need to go down in a submarine again.

I am also pleased for personal reasons to be here, since I have had in my legislative career occasions to take a special interest in this locality. In 1950, I was chairman of a special subcommittee which held 2 days of hearings here in connection with the closing of the Mare Island Naval Hospital. I continue to have a special interest in Mare Island. As I'm sure you know, our committee has always taken a profound interest in naval shipyards. I am very much concerned about assuring the continued capability of our remaining eight naval shipyards and it is an inspiration for me to join with you in the launching of what is perhaps the finest product ever launched by west coast shipbuilding—the Polaris submarine, *Mariano G. Vallejo*.

My being here is also a tribute to the persuasive powers of your Congressman BOB LEGGETT. He's a mighty effective Congressman.

I am also pleased to represent the Congress in the ceremony today because this ship represents two aspects of our national defense in which the Congress has taken a special interest and, I might say, a special pride—the Polaris and attack nuclear submarines and nuclear power for major surface warships. And I shall have more to say about that later on.

It is singularly appropriate that we should name a Polaris submarine after that great son of California, Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo.

This submarine will be one of our most powerful weapons in containing the world ambitions of communism as directed from Soviet Russia. Over a hundred years ago General Vallejo was busy practicing a policy of containment on the Russians in northern California. At that time, when California was still under Mexico, General Vallejo led an expedition through northern California which held the Russian influence in check and began the colonization of the northern area of the State.

Trained from early years for military service, Vallejo became commandante general of California—the senior military officer in all California—when he was not yet 30 years old. We remember him most, however, for his efforts to bring California under the flag of the United States.

This was at a time when U.S. power in relation to the rest of the world was nothing near what it is today and Russia, France, and England were all seeking domination over California.

Vallejo, as I'm sure you all know, in addition to his military service, served as a legislator during most of his public career and it is a tribute to his statesmanship that the problems of uniting California with the United States were solved. More than any other man, he was responsible for the annexation of California by the United States. I am sure those who will be privileged to be in the crew of this great weapon of freedom will bear in mind that the ship bears a name that is synonymous with selfless service and a tradition of duty to the public trust.

This ship is the 38th to be launched in our current program of 41 nuclear powered Polaris submarines. Your record here in the Mare Island Shipyard in this construction program has been outstanding. Since you launched your first nuclear attack submarine—the U.S.S. *Sargo* in 1957, you have constructed six great Polaris submarines—the *Theodore Roosevelt*, the *Andrew Jackson*, the *Woodrow Wilson*, the *Daniel Boone*, and the *Stonewall Jackson*—and I appreciate your getting a Confederate in there—and you will soon commission the *Kamehameha* (Ka-ma-ha-may-ha).

Your record in the attack submarine field is also a long and enviable one. I foresee a tremendous future for the capability of this great shipyard complex. Your record of efficiency is a model for the entire American shipbuilding industry.

I know the people of this area have a special interest in the actions we take in Congress, and in the committee of which I have the honor to be chairman, on the matter of naval shipyards.

In our committee this year, with a big assist of one of our most diligent members, Vallejo's own BOB LEGGETT, we included a policy statement—section 303—in the military procurement authorization bill on the so-called 65–35 provision. This is the appropriation rider which directs that at least 35 percent of repair and alterations go to private yards. Our committee convinced the Congress, and I mean both the House and Senate, to join us in voicing disapproval of this hamstringing, uneconomical policy. And the Appropriations Committee followed our lead and took the provisions out of the defense appropriation bill.

While you are interested in our action on naval shipyards, I suspect you also have a keen interest in the matter of base closings.

Our committee has insisted that it must be an equal partner with the White House and the Pentagon on any revamping of our military forces. We recognize that it is necessary to get rid of deadwood from time to time—but our committee insists that we have an opportunity to verify that the wood is really dead before the Pentagon lights the match.

Although the President vetoed our first efforts in the military construction bill, a revised formula was agreed upon and signed into law and I am satisfied it will allow the Congress to carry out its duties in providing for our Armed Forces according to the duties imposed on us by the Constitution.

The Polaris submarine which we launch today is a source of special pride to Members of the Congress. Both in the development of nuclear submarine technology and in the advance to the Polaris concept, the Congress has taken a special hand. Several committees over the years have pushed these developments and I think it is fair to say that without the spur provided by Congress the nuclear submarine program would not be nearly as advanced as it is at this hour.

The Polaris submarine is an undersea launching platform for long-range ballistic missiles. Its advent added to our strategic power the desperately needed quality of invulnerability. One of the greatest assets of this weapons system is that it provides insurance against accidental start of a global conflict for the very simple reason that it provides a barrier against a paralyzing first strike in a surprise attack.

There used to be the fear that a war could start by accident because such a firing would look like a surprise attack and there would not be time to determine whether the attack was real or not until it was too late. By its invulnerability, the Polaris submarine takes away from a potential enemy this option of destroying our capability with one surprise blow. The Navy used to have a photograph it distributed which merely showed a stretch of ocean and the caption was, "Polaris on Station." The message was apt.

You can't launch a surprise attack at what you can't see and what you can't find.

All of us in America sleep a little easier because we know these Polaris submarines are there, and I hope the men who serve on this ship and those who serve on all other Polaris ships who must fight tedium constantly in their long ocean deployments will remember when I say how much we all appreciate the importance and dedication of their service and know that their sacrifices do not go unhonored.

Your Navy, like the other Armed Forces, improving constantly with the rapid growth of new technology. It has not stood still and it must not stand still in the future.

If it is necessary for the Congress to take the lead to insure this, then the Congress will perform that duty. In approving a $15.3 billion ship, plane and missile program authorization bill this year, my committee included a number of unusually important developments. Among these were four fast deployment logistics ships, a hydrofoil gunboat that is faster than a PT boat, additional nuclear attack submarines and, most important of all, a nuclear-powered missile frigate.

The committee stated that it was unhappy with the rate of application of nuclear power to surface warships. I said at the time: "The committee feels that the Department of Defense has been extremely dilatory in pushing nuclear power for surface ships. It is true that we do have three nuclear-powered surface ships today but this is quite literally a drop in the bucket when viewed in the light of the ships which are still conventionally powered.

"The addition by the committee of this guided missile frigate will at the one time express the will of Congress that greater and more rapid progress be made in the field of nuclear-powered surface ships and help to break the logjam of disinterest—if that is what it can be called—in the Pentagon with respect to nuclear power.

"This is just one manifestation of the intention of the Armed Services Committee to place itself in the forefront of military determination in direct accordance with the constitutional responsibilities of the Congress."

One year ago this month the world's first nuclear-powered task force consisting of the aircraft carrier *Enterprise*, the guided missile cruiser *Long Beach* and the guided missile frigate *Bainbridge* made a historic 30,000-mile cruise around the world without logistic support of any kind.

This cruise, named Operation Sea Orbit, prove conclusively the feasibility of operating nuclear surface ships throughout the oceans of the world on a self-sustaining basis.

It gave world leaders the opportunity to witness firsthand the capability of the U.S. Navy to operate nuclear-powered warships anywhere, independent of support ships—a feat out of the question for conventionally-powered ships.

In the last 3 years the *Enterprise*, *Long Beach*, and *Banbridge* have proved their outstanding reliability in steaming over one-half million miles. In addition to these three operational nuclear-powered surface warships, a fourth, the nuclear-powered guided missile frigate *Truxtun*, will join the fleet next year. This first nuclear-powered task force will be assigned duty in the Pacific in the near future.

Oil-fired warships must be refueled every few days.

This requires a vulnerable, worldwide distribution system to provide fuel oil for conventional ships. As the number of foreign nuclear submarines increases and as the air striking capabilities of our potential enemies increase, the difficulty of providing this logistic support will increase. The basic reason for developing nuclear power for surface warships is to reduce this logistic support—support which will be most difficult, if not impossible, to provide in wartime.

Now that the United States has over 50 nuclear submarines at sea—now that our Polaris armed nuclear submarines stand their watchful guard hidden under the oceans of the world—few remember that it was Congress that arranged to buy the shipboard nuclear power plants for our first two nuclear submarines, the U.S.S. *Nautilus* and U.S.S. *Seawolf*, with Atomic Energy Commission funds for the simple reason that the Defense Department would not give the necessary support to the nuclear submarine project in the early 1950's.

Today history is repeating itself—Congress has had to take the initiative to overcome the reluctance of the Department of Defense to use nuclear propulsion in new surface warships. As I mentioned before, Congress this year authorized construction of the fifth nuclear powered surface warship—a guided missile frigate. This nuclear powered ship was added to this year's Defense Department authorization even though the Secretary of Defense had overruled a Navy proposal to build such a ship.

In doing this, Congress was acting under the power granted to the legislative branch under article 1 of the Constitution, namely the authorities: "To raise and support Armies, * * *; to provide and maintain a Navy; and to make rules for the Government and regulation of the land and naval forces."

These clauses were not inserted in the Constitution for the purpose of endowing the National Government with power to do these things, but rather to designate the legislative branch as the department of government which should exercise such powers. Moreover, they permit Congress to take measures essential to the national defense in time of peace as well as during a period of actual conflict.

These powers and the responsibility that comes with them were reaffirmed by the House Armed Services Committee in our report on the 1966 defense authorization bill and I quote:

"I hope that these words will go beyond this room, and that the American public will know that as of now this committee has picked up the gauntlet unhesitatingly that has been thrown down. And I hope in the months to come this committee will have the opportunity to prove to this Nation that we will discharge our responsibility as written in the Constitution and that this committee and the Congress is not the creature of an agency or department, but that department is our creature and it is ours to direct and guide."

Concerning the question of whether or not to build nuclear-powered surface warships, the committee has been told by the Department of Defense that the choice we face is between a given number of conventional ships and a smaller number of nuclear ships for the same total cost. In other words, to improve a weapons system, we are told that we must reduce the number of weapons to pay for it.

We in Congress reject the Department of Defense concept that improvements in our Nation's defense capabilities must be paid for by a reduction in the number of weapons. We reject the idea that we must not build nuclear-powered surface warships because we could build more conventional ships with the same money.

The U.S. Navy needs more warships with the unique capabilities provided by nuclear propulsion. Recognizing this, Congress has supported a major scientific and engineering effort to achieve the capability. Today the U.S. Navy is preeminent in the field of nuclear propulsion throughout the world. We must take advantage of this lead by building more ships which have the tremendous advantages nuclear propulsion can give them.

The argument used today against building nuclear-powered surface warships is the same as that used a decade ago by those in the Defense Department who did not want to go to nuclear power in submarines. It was also the one used by those in authority a half-century ago who did not want to convert our warships from coal to oil, and by those a century ago who did not want to shift from sail to steam. This argument is that the new means of propulsion is more expensive than the old.

Cost effectiveness comparisons have been cited to Congress by the Defense Department to support the contention that the advantages of nuclear propulsion are not particularly significant. These studies, however, contain a fundamental weakness that makes them wrong. The comparisons presented by the Defense Department were based on the assumption that in wartime logistic support forces will not be subjected to enemy attack and will suffer no losses. This is obviously a fallacious assumption. We must prepare our military forces for times of crisis. It is in the heat of battle that the superior mobility, flexibility and reliability of nuclear warships will give the United States an unequaled military advantage which could be crucial to deciding the outcome.

Further, many of the cost effectiveness studies have shown that the overall construction and lifetime operating costs of nuclear-powered surface warships are about the same as the overall construction and lifetime operating costs of conventially powered ships with their larger logistic support requirements. The higher initial cost of nuclear ships is counter-balanced by the cost of the extensive and vulnerable distribution system required to provide fuel oil for the conventional ships. The small differences in cost calculated for nuclear powered forces compared to conventional forces are less than the errors inherent in the oversimplified assumptions used in the calculations.

There is a real danger in continuing to produce ineffectual cost effectiveness studies to justify decisions affecting our national security. Such studies divert attention from the real issues that should form the basis for making decisions.

Past wars and military developments should have taught us by now that:

First, a war, small or large, does not follow a predescribed pattern laid out in advance. If we could predict the sequence of events, we probably could avoid the war.

Second, when a war starts, we must fight with what we have—not with equipment still on the drawing boards or in the minds of men. You will recall that the aircraft used throughout World War II had been designed prior to the war. Remember that it takes years to produce major military equipment from the drawing board. For example, it takes 4 to 5 years to build an aircraft carrier. We may not be fortunate enough to have such time available in the future.

I have just come back from Saigon and one thought particularly strikes home. It is difficult to know who will be our friends and who will be our enemies in future years. Since World War II our three major enemies have become our friends and two of our previous major allies have become our antagonists. Bases in foreign countries which we must presently depend upon for storage of fuel oil for our conventionally powered warships may not be available when needed in future conflicts due to changes in the international situation. It is dangerous to assume that such advance bases will be there when they are needed to support our combat forces in a time of a national emergency.

It was Congress who took the lead in forcing the shift to nuclear power in submarines. It was Congress who took the lead in spending a half billion dollars to develop nuclear propulsion for surface warships. It was Congress who strongly supported the building of the three nuclear surface warships now in the fleet which have so ably demonstrated to the world the obvious capabilities of nuclear propulsion in warships. It

is Congress who must exercise its responsibility to "provide and maintain a Navy" by authorizing more nuclear-powered surface warships.

The new nuclear-powered frigate authorized this year by Congress means a great deal more than a mere addition of a ship to the fleet. There can be no doubt of the wisdom of adding this vessel to the program, but this authorization by Congress goes well beyond that goal.

The House Armed Services Committee feels, and has felt for all too long that the Department of Defense has both procrastinated and vacillated in its approach to nuclear-powered surface ships. It has an in-and-out game, with nuclear propulsion recommended for 1 year and a return to conventional power the next year—and for the same general type of ship.

Since the authorization of the *Enterprise*, *Long Beach*, and *Bainbridge*, the Navy has added 12 new surface warships to the fleet which are types logically suited for nuclear propulsion. Of these, only one, the frigate *Truxtun*, will have nuclear power; this during a period when nuclear propulsion was technically feasible for all 12 warships.

The House Armed Services Committee was encouraged this year by testimony received from the Secretary of Defense to the effect that it is highly probable that a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier will be requested next year. However, the committee stated at that time that it will ask the House to authorize a nuclear-powered carrier next year whether requested by the Department of Defense or not. A nuclear-powered carrier will appear in next year's bill when presented on the floor regardless of any foreseeable circumstances, technical, fiscal, or otherwise. We may even go further and direct that it be constructed.

It is foolhardy not to build military equipment that is known to be superior to existing equipment presently in use if the technology needed to build the better equipment exists. The technology necessary to build nuclear-powered surface warships exists today. We already have three in operation and they work fine.

I am convinced, and I think it is fair to say that the Congress as a body is convinced, that the Navy of the future must be nuclear powered. There is no reason why our future aircraft carriers, cruisers, frigates, and destroyers cannot be powered by nuclear energy. It is clear that continuing to build conventionally powered warships will, in the long run, be economically wasteful; it would be following a policy of built-in obsolescence. I serve notice here and now that the Armed Services Committee is not going to let that happen. I hope the military planners will come in with a realistic request next year for nuclear power in the surface warship building program. But if they don't, my committee will make its own long and searching study into the problem. We are not going to let the U.S. Navy become obsolete.

In conclusion, I thank you for the contribution you have made here at Mare Island to our national defense as symbolized in this great ship. To the men of the USS *Mariano G. Vallejo*, I say you serve a ship with a proud name and I know that you will serve it proudly.

Economic Inequities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD H. CALLAWAY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year, I was visited by Mr. William D. Pardrige, of Virginia, an economist who brought with him some thought-provoking articles which he has published throughout the country. Mr. Pardrige's purpose in visiting me was to ask that I insert in the RECORD a guest editorial which he had published in one of my district newspapers. In studying Mr. Pardrige's material, I found some points of disagreement, and therefore hesitated to meet his request; yet an exchange of correspondence between us has changed my mind. I want now to insert his material into the RECORD, preceded by our correspondence, which I believe will make clear his purpose and mine: to provoke, in spite of differences, some honest thought about the economic trends of this Nation:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., October 12, 1965.

Mr. WILLIAM D. PARDRIGE,
Economic Inequities,
The Plains, Va.

DEAR MR. PARDRIGE: I enjoyed meeting with you. I think your plan for a book on economics composed of 50 editorials in the 50 States is a unique one.

As you know, I told you that I would go over your editorial in the Columbus Enquirer carefully to see whether I felt it proper for me to enter this in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Although I am not one who enters a great deal of material in the RECORD, I would be glad to do it for an important project such as yours, provided I think the editorial contributes to the principles that I believe in.

Having read your editorial carefully now, I find that it is not entirely in accord with my own philosophy on at least two points. First, working teenagers; and second, the national mandatory school age limit of 18.

I, of course, think it is a shame for any teenager to drop out of school in order to work, and thus be handicapped by a lack of schooling for the rest of his or her life. I have always felt that gainful work by teenagers during vacation or during off-school hours is extremely important. I have strenuously opposed the proposed revisions of the minimum wage laws for the very reason that, in my opinion, these amendments would deny teenagers their present share of the work force. I don't think there is a better way to prepare a teenager for the life ahead than productive work at an early age.

I would very definitely be opposed to a national mandatory school age limit. I am not one of those who feels that we can solve all of our problems with national legislation. If there is anything that should by our Constitution and by our entire Federal concept be left up to the States, it should be the question of school truancy laws.

Although there is a great deal of what you say with which I agree, I feel that there is enough with which I disagree to make it inadvisable for me to enter your material into the RECORD.

I feel that I could not do this without some kind of a disclaimer, and that with the disclaimer, it would not serve your purpose.

Sincerely,

HOWARD H. CALLAWAY.

THE PLAINS, VA.,
October 14, 1965.

Hon. HOWARD H. CALLAWAY,
Third District, Georgia,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN CALLAWAY: I have your honest letter of October 12.

On August 16 of this year Senator HUGH SCOTT, of Pennsylvania, inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article from the Pittsburgh Press, the article being one of the 50 parts of the series entitled "Economic Inequities." I quote Senator SCOTT: "One need not agree with every word to share the author's hope that he will stimulate the public's thinking."

On June 11 of this year Senator ALAN BIBLE, of Nevada, inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article from the Las Vegas Review-Journal, it being another in the series. I quote Senator BIBLE: "While I do not necessarily endorse all of Mr. Pardridge's conclusions, I believe that they are worthy of the attention of the Senate."

Mr. Congressman, your letter of October 12 is flat proof that Senator SCOTT's and my hopes that the series "will stimulate the public's thinking" are not forlorn ones. Accordingly, with such hopes held high, I ask you as earnestly as I know how to enter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the disclaimer of your last paragraph along with the article from the Columbus, Ga., Enquirer.

I note that you decry the "proposed revisions of the Minimum Wage Act." I do also, Congressman CALLAWAY, on the economic ground that upward revision will reduce total employment and thus defeat in an aggregate manner the good intentions of those who think in terms of wand-like prosperity for all.

Second, I note that you oppose "a national mandatory school age limit." So do I. This is a State's problem of statute law, not a Federal one. I said in the article that "there is not one honest juvenile court judge in this Nation who would not sleep better if (1) the national mandatory school age limit were raised to 18." There isn't today any national mandatory school age limit. The juvenile court judges, bless them, would be happy as a societal minority group, yes, but the free sociopolitical structure of America would be attacked by any such Federal manifesto.

I have been to many, many parts of our country on foot and by automobile, and I know well that the differences in societal habits between different parts of America provide the basic sociological cause of American individuality. No, Mr. Congressman, I myself want no Federal legislation that could homogenize our geosocial traits. On the other hand, if some peculiar chap were seriously to propose in the Halls of Congress such Federal law, the ensuing hue and cry just might be enough to lead a lot of folk back home in the 50 States to look carefully at their own local laws governing school age limits.

I find it difficult, if not impossible, to deny that modern technological advances have not made mandatory more schooling and education than required when you and I went to grade and high schools. And that wasn't too long ago.

Let me return to Senator SCOTT's remarks of August 16. Again I quote him: "From careful thought, better solutions to our economic problems may emerge, and, for this reason, I believe the provocative points raised are well worth the attention of all of us."

If my article has induced you, not by tricks but by genuine differences of opinion, to think carefully about these matters, then the article has not been a waste but a profit. Give the article, together with the fundamental reasoning of your October 12 letter, to the people of Georgia and the other 49 States.

I urge you, then, to insert the article in the RECORD, but allowing, I see now, our two letters and any remarks my letter may bring to mind to precede its printing point.

Yours could be the finest disclaimer, if that's what it is, made public so far.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM D. PARDRIDGE.

[From the Columbus (Ga.) Enquirer, Sept. 25, 1965]

LABOR ISN'T LOOKING TO FUTURE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following article is written by William D. Pardridge, an econo-

mist of The Plains, Va. It is one of a series which will be compiled into a book called "Economic Inequities." Pardridge's previous articles have won the praise of Senators and Representatives, and although his pen is sharp and stabbing, he has a surprising message for the persevering reader.)

(By William D. Pardridge)

American management simply cannot be blamed for organized labor's abject failure to see beyond an increase in wages, an increase in fringe benefits, and a decrease in the workweek.

These three goals are justified ends in a normal, progressively productive economy, but they are not goals to satisfy labor's demands to be recognized. Everybody wants a cut of the pie when it's on the window sill, but nobody wants to pick the berries.

Organized labor today has the benevolent power to deliver a body blow to economic unemployment and to be a real hero to its children. But there's no glory for the leaders in fighting to get long-run benefits.

These near-sighted windbags will tell you it isn't moral to take a 10-year-old boy out of school and put him to work.

Making an 11-year-old girl work full time or even part time in a grocery store is not part of the great humanitarian aims of the glorious American labor movement.

That kind of talk is drivel. She isn't there for the same reason her 12-year-old cousin isn't working in the cannery where his father is a foreman. She just doesn't know enough to guide the tomato crates.

In the next county the cannery foreman has a widowed sister-in-law with 13-year-old twins and one boy a year older. The twins are in school, but the 14-year-old boy is a bona fide, real McCoy digit of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. You see, he works.

The widowed woman has a neighbor whose husband works in a steel mill and who drives a late-model car owned by the finance company. They have a 15-year-old daughter and a son. The girl goes to school now and then, but the 16-year-old boy dropped out of school because he didn't like civics and geometry. He plays pool while he looks for a job.

He can escape work, but he cannot escape the U.S. Bureau of Labor statistics, which says he is unemployed. His old man's union doesn't want him—he can't do the work. Things have changed at the mill since the time his own father did go to work there at the age of 16 years.

Across the street live two brothers of the ages 17 and 18. The younger boy also dropped out of school because he didn't like history and geography. He works full time at a gas station on Main Street. The 18-year-old is a senior in high school, and so the BLS doesn't count him as a member of the labor force.

Now, on the north side of town the gas-station boy's uncle is out of work. He is out of work only because he himself was a gas station attendant on Main Street when he was 17.

The uncle is on some sort of a dole, which the Office of Unequal Opportunity calls "an appropriation by the U.S. Congress to wipe poverty off the face of the earth."

This is great. This is nifty. And labor's leaders are bloated with satisfaction. They don't have to worry about the uncle. Besides, it isn't costing anybody any money. Congress just appropriated it. Congress should do this more often.

One day, though, the gas station owner told the uncle he could have the 17-year-old's job because the kid was now going to a brandnew vocational school that never heard of history and geography.

The old-fashioned uncle took the job, went off the dole, and started bringing home the bacon. His neighbors thought he was crazy.

In America in 1964 there were 3 million—count 'em—3 million employed persons under 18 years of age.

And in that same America there were 3 million—count 'em if you dare—3 million unemployed persons over 18 years of age.

The exact figures, from the U.S. Bureau of Labor statistics, are 3,065,000 employed under 18, and 3,350,000 unemployed 18 and over.

While the union big wheels are eating mashed potatoes and gravy, their kids are either starving or playing pool, depending, of course, on how their parents vote. This is not a political party matter, though, as some would say, for Republicans and Democrats alike have their failings.

Tomorrow's job simply is forsaken for today's plum pudding.

Just who, then, is going to mind the store next week? Nobody.

Labor over the past century or so has fought diligently and nobly, at great personal sacrifice, to reduce the workweek from 80 hours to the present 40 hours. But not one of the "leaders" has placed a mortgage on his house of power to increase the mandatory school age of his very own children.

The crafts are dying right in front of the shortsighted eyes of the big, wonderful, humanitarian labor movement. They are dying because of the incredible technological advancement that has no place in it for the untrained, the school dropout—who would not be dropouts, by and large, if there were as many public trade schools as there are public schools for rote history and geography.

The engineers are ahead of the operators, and big labor either doesn't know this or is too afraid to do anything about it.

The 35-hour week is a big deal with much fanfare and immediate glory. So is the Office of Unequal Opportunity. There's room for everybody, folks. Step right up and get your share.

There is not one honest juvenile court judge in this Nation who would not sleep better if (1) the national mandatory school age limit were raised to 18, and (2) the billions of the poverty program were applied directly and immediately to construction and teacher-training programs for as many vocational schools as are needed.

These twin programs would in themselves be good for the economy if, of course, they were financed from the economic profits of the Nation instead of from its working capital.

Labor unions are like nations—they forget guys like Thomas Jefferson and Samuel Gompers, guys who put them in business in the first place.

Is there a single leader in America today who has the courage publicly to agree with Samuel Gompers, the cigarmaker who founded the American Federation of Labor, that "Doing for people what they can and ought to do for themselves is a dangerous experiment. In the last analysis, the welfare of the workers depend upon their own initiative. Whatever is done under the guise of philanthropy or social morality which in any way lessens initiative is the greatest crime that can be committed against the toilers."

Big labor in 1965 is in arrears. And the Devil is watching.

Major Policy Statement by President Nyerere of Tanzania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, seated next to the delegation from the United States in the Assembly Hall of the United Nations is the delegation from the United Republic of Tanzania, the President of which, Julius K. Nyerere, I am honored to number among my personal friends.

President Nyerere made a major policy statement regarding Southern Rhodesia in the course of his state of the union message to the opening session of Parliament in October. The occasion was the first meeting of the Tanzanian National Assembly following general elections held in September in which Nyerere received a massive vote of confidence from the electorate and after which he took over the reins of the Ministry of External Affairs.

In his statement on Southern Rhodesia he clarified Tanzania's policy, commented on British policy, outlined a three-point plan for a peaceful solution of the problem, appealed to white leaders of Southern Rhodesia, and discussed the proper role of Rhodesian nationalists in Dar es Salaam. His remarks in respect to the latter constituted a warning that Tanzania would not be used as a staging area for any violence in Southern Rhodesia.

TANZANIA POLICY

President Nyerere first noted that he had said during the September election campaign that Tanzania would leave the Commonwealth if Britain acquiesced in independence without majority rule. This remained true, he said, but was not a threat to Britain, for Britain does not own the Commonwealth. It was no more a threat to the United Kingdom, he explained, than to Ghana, India, or Canada, "but rather a test of our own adherence to the principles we say we believe in."

BRITISH POLICY

In commenting on British policy, President Nyerere said:

On the principle of majority rule before independence there can be no compromise. We are not yet satisfied that the United Kingdom Government is insisting on the achievement of majority rule before independence. But I want to make it clear that I regard the principle to be of more importance than timing. It is infinitely more important to have the right solution than a quick solution. And it is infinitely preferable to have a peaceful solution than to have the peoples of Rhodesia suffer the horrors of war.

President Nyerere acknowledged that:

For historical reasons the situation in that colony—Southern Rhodesia—is very difficult.

He added:

Because I believe we must seize any chance which remains to us, I have informed the British Prime Minister that so long as this principle (majority rule) is maintained, Tanzania would do all in her power to cooperate in securing a transition to majority rule and then to independence.

THREE POINT PLAN FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTION

The Tanzanian President then outlined three concepts which could contribute to the peaceful attainment of majority rule:

A. A right solution is more important than a quick solution.

B. The advancement of the Rhodesian people will be greatly assisted by the unity of the nationalist forces of that colony.

C. The possibilities of peaceful transition to majority rule will be much increased if nationalist leaders, provided they are not

locked up in prisons or detention camps, should show willingness to use constitutional methods of struggle if these are available to them.

President Nyerere said that the whole of Africa prefers to use constitutional methods and it is only when these are suppressed that other methods are considered. He declared:

We know no constitutional advance could satisfy nationalist forces unless it gives independence on the basis of majority rule. But this is no reason for not accepting interim steps so long as the final goal remains open. I do not say these things in ignorance of the difficulties which face our brothers in Southern Rhodesia. But I think that if the constitutional path is open to the smallest degree, it should be used.

APPEAL TO RHODESIAN LEADERS

In referring to the failure of the Rhodesian talks in London, President Nyerere said that the United Kingdom Government, despite a difficult internal political situation, refused to accede to the demands of the colonial minority government. He said:

Tanzania welcomed the stand, and congratulated Prime Minister Wilson and his colleagues for the courage they have shown. I hoped this indication that the principle of no independence before majority rule has been accepted despite British refusal to use these words. The dangers of UDI remain very real. I hope the London discussions will have caused Rhodesian authorities to think again and realize that black and white Rhodesians will gain from acceptance of the principles of democratic independence and that they planned to move toward their implementation. If the Rhodesian white people would accept these principles, I do not think they would find Africa unsympathetic to their genuine though baseless fears. It is no part of African nationalism to replace one type of racial discrimination by another.

PROPER ROLE OF RHODESIAN NATIONALISTS IN TANZANIA

President Nyerere then turned to the Rhodesian nationalists:

I wish to make clear our attitude to the leaders of the Rhodesian people now in Dar es Salaam and I hope these leaders will take note of what I am saying. We expect the members of nationalist forces who are in our country to act and talk as responsible people and to recognize the desires of humanity. Sometimes when they speak they sound as if they were anxious that there should be a fight in Rhodesia. The rest of us in Africa are working extremely hard and doing our best to safeguard the principles we stand by while avoiding violent struggle. We may fail and a fight may become inevitable. We hope it does not; but if it does, I want to make it quite clear that the fighting will take place in Rhodesia and will be led from Rhodesia and in Rhodesia. It is absurd to expect that the grim fight can be led from the comfort of Dar es Salaam. The right place for these leaders is with Joshua Nkomo and Ndabangi Sithole and the masses in Rhodesia.

He Does Us Honor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently the Chicago Sentinel, one of the oldest and most respected publications in Chicago, paid a most deserving tribute to Mr. Seymour Simon, president of the Cook County Board of Commissioners.

Mr. Simon has earned the respect of the entire community in Metropolitan Chicago for his dedication and imaginative leadership as presiding officer of the largest county in the entire world.

Mr. Simon has discharged his responsibilities with a degree of dedication which indeed places him as one of the truly competent government executives in this country.

I should like to include the Sentinel article in the RECORD today because Mr. Simon brings great honor on all of us privileged to serve in government:

HE DOES US HONOR

(By J. I. Fishbein)

American Jewry has noted with justifiable pride the recent elevation of two of its most distinguished sons to high public office. There is no doubt that U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg and Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas will bring us much "nachas" in the years that lie ahead.

Last week our local press gave praise to another member of our faith, who unlike most politicians, prefers to shun the limelight. Seymour Simon, second Jew to ever hold the important post of president of the Cook County Board of Commissioners, has by thoughtful effort accomplished wonders during his brief 3 years in office.

The news media gave praise to Simon for closing the boarder baby ward at Cook County Hospital which was formerly home for healthy children abandoned at the hospital. All of them—at times as many as 100—have now been placed in foster homes, legally adopted, or settled temporarily in orphanages. President Simon ordered the assignment of additional caseworkers, cutting through the redtape in adoption and child placement procedures to see that these children would not continue to be deprived of the care and affection they so desperately needed. For the first time, too, the space they occupied can now be used for babies needing hospital care.

In 3 years since becoming president of the county board, Seymour Simon has created a long list of impressive achievements in local government, not sufficiently acknowledged.

Cook County Hospital, which in 1962 was on the verge of losing its accreditation has been fully accredited. This was achieved largely through the adoption of the recommendations of a citizens' committee appointed by President Simon. Acting on its advice he put through a number of other improvements at the hospital which will assure future accreditation.

The administrative structure has been overhauled, the position of administrator created, and William McCoy, an extremely competent and experienced hospital administrator appointed to fill the job.

A diversion program was initiated and is proving successful. Through it, Cook County Hospital, cooperating with private hospitals, diverts a number of potential county patients to them, thereby eliminating the problem of overcrowding which has plagued county hospital for so many years. Because most of these patients are on some form of public assistance, the diversion program to be successful, required that someone cut through the redtape and establish procedures by which the State department of public aid could pay private hospitals in the same manner as they pay Cook County Hospital for hospital services.

Cook County opened Herrick House, a separate shelter for neglected and dependent children, in pleasant, rustic surroundings. The children were formerly housed at the Audy Home, where a confinement atmosphere prevails.

Budgets have been adopted which have greatly increased expenditures on welfare and hospital services without increase in taxes. In fact, there was a decrease in the tax levy for 1965. The administration has accomplished this amazing result through discipline and austerity in spending plus an imaginative program of pursuing non-real-estate sources of funds.

A department of air pollution was created in 1962. By 1963 some 15 monitoring stations were established and in 1964 it received a Federal grant of $150,000 to expand its research and activities.

A "clean streams" program is well underway using able-bodied relief recipients to clean badly polluted streams.

A public defender was assigned to the mental health clinic to protect the rights of persons involved in commitment hearings.

The superintendent of the Audy Home was given complete authority to hire personnel dealing with children without regard to any political sponsorship.

Liquor control laws in the unincorporated areas have been enforced in a serious and responsible manner.

Idle Forest Preserve land acquisition funds have been invested in interest-bearing U.S. Government securities.

For efficiency and economy, more centralized purchasing was organized. Also, a program has been initiated for cooperative purchasing with the city of Chicago and forest preserve district.

The building and zoning departments have been merged; administration of the highway department has been overhauled; the veterans assistance commission which duplicated activities of other agencies has been eliminated and its function taken over by the department of public aid. A number of the divisions within the department of public aid have been merged.

A new botanical garden, first of its kind in the Chicago area, is being developed at the north end of Cook County in the Skokie Lagoons.

Local government problems, particularly zoning, were brought closer to the people in the areas involved. Zoning committee meetings of the Cook County Board are being held in the village halls and the president of the county board attends them personally.

Aid was given to distressed areas in time of catastrophe, primarily through the department of civil defense.

This impressive record was achieved with more unanimity on the part of the county board members than almost any previous administration. It is a unique tribute to President Simon's administrative skill and dedication.

In addition to all this, he has found the time to play an active role in every phase of Jewish communal endeavor. He is never too busy to aid a good cause.

We Jews are so often involved in Jewish "tzoris" that we tend to overlook occasions for saying "well done." Seymour Simon deserves that "Yasher Koach." He does us all honor and adds luster to our name.

Report to the People of Maryland on the 1st Session of 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to report to the people of Maryland on the unprecedented

accomplishments of the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

From farm to factory, from city to countryside, from Assateague Island to Appalachia, the actions of this Congress have benefited the Nation and the State of Maryland.

For your information, I have compiled with the help of the Democratic study group a brief summary of the major legislation enacted in this session of Congress, including legislation to control crime and extend civil rights, legislation to promote the economy and improve our educational system, legislation to advance health and improve housing, and finally, legislation to aid the elderly, preserve our natural resources and natural beauty, and deal with many miscellaneous problems that confront our Nation.

To control crime we have enacted the following:

Drug controls: Expands Federal control over certain depressant and stimulant drugs to reduce the illegal use of these dangerous drugs that affect the central nervous system.

Law enforcement aid: Authorizes 3-year program of grants by Attorney General to help State, local police, and other agencies improve enforcement methods and otherwise prevent crime; authorizes $10 million for 1966.

President's Crime Commission: Authorizes $1,500,000 for the expenses of the two Presidential Commissions on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, and the District of Columbia Commission on Crime and Law Enforcement, both established in July of 1965 by Executive order for crime studies and recommendations to reduce and prevent it.

Juvenile delinquency: Extends present law to assist communities in the development of new programs to prevent or control juvenile delinquency and youth crime.

To extend civil rights, we have enacted:

Voting rights: Strengthens machinery for guaranteeing right to vote to all citizens by prohibiting poll taxes, literacy tests; provides for Federal registrars in States where less than 50 percent of potential voters are registered or voted.

To promote the economy, we have enacted:

Appalachian regional development: Authorizes comprehensive State-Federal program to assist in the development of the economically depressed, 11-State Appalachian region. This bill is of great importance to Allegany, Garrett, and Washington Counties.

Economic opportunity program: Increases authorization for antipoverty program, makes other improvements in the operation of various parts of the war on poverty. In addition to continuing operation Head Start many local antipoverty programs in Maryland will be aided by this bill.

Excise tax reduction: Provides excise tax cuts totaling $4.7 billion on various consumer items such as appliances, telephone service, autos, and so forth; eliminates most Federal excises by 1969. Along with other legislation aiding our economy, this bill helped push the unemployment rate in Maryland to its lowest point in the last 9 years.

High-speed rapid transit: Authorizes 3-year program of research and demonstration projects for development of high-speed intercity railroad transportation. Provides a ground work for "Bullet Train" in the Washington-Baltimore-Boston Northeast Corridor.

Manpower and development and training: Extends and expands manpower training program to assist unemployed in learning new skills to qualify them for better jobs. To date 2,000 Marylanders have been trained or retrained for new jobs under this program.

Public works and economic development: Provides expanded program of grants and loans to communities for public works, development facilities, and other projects intended to aid economically depressed areas.

State technical services: Establishes new 3-year program of Federal-State-local-technical cooperation to provide technical service centers to disseminate findings of scientific and technological importance to commerce and industry. The Maryland Department of Economic Development strongly endorsed this legislation stating that it would not only "encourage the birth of new firms, but will also serve to encourage the healthy expansion of existing Maryland industry."

Omnibus farm program: Improves and extends feed grain, wheat, dairy, and cotton programs, encourages cropland retirement, bolsters farm income.

To improve our education system, we have enacted:

Elementary-secondary education: Provides Federal grant program to improve elementary and secondary education under local control, with bulk of aid for school districts where there are large numbers of children from poverty-stricken families. Maryland schools will receive about $18 million annually under this bill.

Higher education: Authorizes expanded 5-year program to assist colleges and universities to improve educational opportunities; provides student loan and scholarships to aid needy students. Construction funds for Maryland colleges and universities are doubled by this bill.

Impacted aid: Extends and expands program under which Maryland currently receives $18 million annually for elementary and secondary school construction and operation to communities in which large numbers of Federal employees live.

Teacher Corps—part of higher education bill: Provides teacher teams and interns to aid school staff in slum areas. Six thousand teachers will comprise the Corps. This is especially significant to Baltimore City.

Vocational training: Expands vocational rehabilitation program to aid disabled persons.

To advance health, we have enacted:

Health professions education: Extends and expands program of construction grants to medical, dental, and other similar educational institutions; establishes new program of scholarship grants for needy students, increases student loan program. Expansion of the University of Maryland Medical School and Johns Hopkins School of Public Health have already been financed under this program.

Community health services: Extends programs for public health services providing vaccinations, immunizations, other preventive treatment of diseases, migrant health clinics, and grants to States for general health services.

Mental health services: Provides for initial staffing grants for personnel serving in community mental health centers. This bill would staff mental health facilities to be constructed in the Baltimore and Washington metropolitan areas.

Regional medical centers: Authorizes 3-year program of Federal grants to plan and develop a series of regional medical programs to fight heart disease, cancer, and stroke. Both the University of Maryland Medical School and Johns Hopkins Medical School are in the process of planning how best to utilize this program in Maryland.

To improve housing and urban development, we have enacted:

Department of Housing and Urban Affairs: Establishes a new Cabinet-level department to administer programs affecting the 70 percent of our population that now resides in metropolitan areas. Maryland's urban areas, in which 75 percent of our State's population lives, will now have a voice at the President's Cabinet meetings.

Omnibus Housing Act: Expands current urban renewal, public housing programs, extends FHA loan insurance program, encourages urban planning and beautification in housing; provides new rent supplement program for certain low and moderate income families. Expanded open-space programs and planning grants will help Maryland cities develop in a more orderly manner.

To aid the elderly, we have enacted:

Older Americans: Establishes new Administration on Aging in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to develop programs to assist the aged.

Retired Government employees: Provides for cost-of-living increases in annuities to retired employees of Federal Government. This bill aids almost 30,000 Federal retirees and their survivors residing in Maryland.

Medicare and social security amendments: Provides hospitalization, surgical, and nursing home care for persons 65 years and older, financed through the social security system; increases social security benefits, retroactive to January 1, 1965, and makes other liberalizing changes in social security law. The medicare program will aid 264,000 Maryland senior citizens; 270,000 Marylanders will receive increased social security benefits under the bill; and another 15,000 will receive payments for the first time under the liberalized provisions.

To preserve and protect natural resources and natural beauty, we have enacted:

Air pollution: Establishes machinery for controlling motor vehicle air pollutants, accelerates air pollution research program, creates new program to find methods of disposing of solid wastes.

Assateague Island National Seashore: Provides for the establishment of the As-

sateague Island National Seashore in the States of Maryland and Virginia. An estimated 3 million visitors annually are expected to visit the island.

Highway beautification: Provides for gradual control over billboards, signs, and so forth, along federally aided highways of the interstate and primary systems; offers incentive grants for improvement of scenic areas along such highways.

Water pollution control: Expands water pollution control program, grants for waste treatment plant construction; strengthens Federal enforcement authority to clean up our rivers and streams. This bill is important to Maryland's shellfish industry and to communities lacking adequate pollution control facilities.

Water resources development: Extends and broadens research program of converting saline water; another new law provides grants to States for the coordination of water resources planning and development; another new law establishes a grant program to assist in development of water supply and sewage disposal facilities in rural areas; a separate program was authorized to plan a water supply system for the northeastern part of the country.

To deal with numerous other problems that confront our State and Nation, we have enacted:

Arts and humanities: Creates a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities to assist and foster broad cultural programs in art, music, films, ballet, and so forth. A grant to aid the establishment of a Maryland Council on the Arts is included in this program.

Congressional organization: Created a joint committee to study the organization and operation of Congress and to make recommendations to improve and streamline the work of Congress.

Federal pay comparability: provides salary increase for Federal classified and postal employees to achieve more equitable relationship with pay of employees in private industry; makes other changes in fringe benefits in pay and overtime allowances. This measure is important to the Maryland economy and the 90,000 Marylanders who work for the Federal Government.

House rules reform: Amendments to rules of the House to expedite consideration of legislation and provide for more democratic procedures.

Immigration Act amendments: Abolishes discriminatory "national origins" quota system over 3-year period; establishes a 170,000 annual limit on immigrants from all former quota countries and 120,000 from the Western Hemisphere, special preferences given to relatives of American citizens and persons possessing skills needed to improve our economic growth.

Mass transit for the Washington metropolitan area: Authorizes construction of a 25-mile rail rapid transit for the National Capital area, to be operated through contracts with private concerns, at an estimated total cost of $431 million excluding an estimated $52 million in interest. The bill authorizes $150 million in grants for construction and equipment—$100 million from Federal funds and $50 million from District of Columbia funds.

Military pay increase: Provides an average 10.4-percent pay increase for some 4.2 million uniformed personnel of the Armed Forces, effective September 1, 1965—2.7 million on active duty, including 50,000 Marylanders, 1 million reservists, 500,000 retirees.

Presidential continuity: Adopted proposed amendment to the Constitution to establish procedure to permit Vice President to become Acting President if the President is unable to perform his duties; provides for filling the vacancy of the office of Vice President.

If you desire additional information on any of these programs, please let me know. I appreciate the opportunity to represent you in the House of Representatives.

Only 2 Left of Company I's 112

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include the following article from the St. Joseph, Mich., Herald-Press of September 18, 1965:

TELLS OF 1898 CUBA CAMPAIGN

One of the last two survivors of the Berrien County Army volunteers to the Spanish-American war visited Benton Harbor this week on a sad mission.

Archie J. House, now of St. Petersburg, Fla., was here to attend to the burial of his sister-in-law, Mrs. Anna Price, the widow of M. A. Price who was a longtime Benton Harbor cigar merchant. Mrs. Price, 100, died Tuesday in St. Petersburg where she had resided for many years.

House, and Representative BARRATT O'HARA, of Chicago, are the only 2 survivors out of the 112-member Company I, 33d Michigan Volunteer Infantry.

LEAVES SCHOOL

House said he was a 16-year-old sophomore at Benton Harbor High School, then on Broadway, when he quit school to enlist in the Army when the war broke out in April 1898. The company left Benton Harbor in early May, trained at Island Lake, Mich., and then at Camp Alger, Va., and arrived in Cuba on June 27, 1898.

Company I was in the thick of a great deal of fighting that included the major battle for the Cuban city of San Diego. "I saw a whole Spanish fleet sunk in the bay across from where we were camped," said House.

But the Berrien County man's biggest battles were with the hot Cuban weather, poor food, disease, insects, and huge land crabs.

HOT UNIFORMS

House was in Cuba for a year and recalled that all during that time the soldiers had to wear uniforms designed for the cold north. "We had to wear long underwear, heavy trousers, jackets that buttoned up around the neck, heavy woolen shirts, and leggings that went up to the knees—all of this in the 100-degree Cuban weather," said House.

He said at that time war was quite personal with much of the fighting hand to hand with the enemy with the American soldiers' main weapon being the 45–70 blunderbuss. At that time there was no aviation, little artillery, and no mechanized vehicles such as tanks, jeeps, or trucks.

"At night we'd sleep in pup tents on the ground and at first those land crabs (big as a dinner plate) would rattle through and scare us. But after a while we didn't pay any attention to the crabs or the bugs," said House.

SOLDIERS' FOOD

The only food the soldiers had was hardtack bread and sowbelly plus some undrinkable coffee.

House is now 83 but looks much younger. He has retired twice. In 1947 he retired as personnel director over some 700 civil service workers at the Michigan State Prison at Jackson and then in 1955 he retired from his monument business.

He is past commander of the United Spanish War Veterans, a group encompassing some 9,000 of the remaining 12,000 veterans of that war.

MEMORABLE MOMENT

One of the high points in House's life was his audience with President John F. Kennedy on November 8, 1963, just 2 weeks before the President was assassinated. House was in Washington on that Veteran's Day attending to his duties as commander of the Spanish War Veterans' group when Representative O'HARA arranged for House to meet the President.

House said he had an informal chat with the President and then Kennedy arranged for House and Representative O'HARA to have the special tour of the White House. "We didn't miss a corner of that building," said House, "except for the President's private quarters."

House said "there aren't enough adjectives in the dictionary to explain Jack Kennedy. He was the most cordial, friendly man I ever met in my life." The President told House that his grandfather, "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald, fought in the Spanish-American war.

Minnesota Newspaper Comments on Job Corps Fallacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, with many of my colleagues, I am a sponsor of the Human Investment Act, which would give industry a very effective means of simultaneously increasing the demands for skilled personnel and helping the war on poverty. It would do this by granting income tax credits of 7 percent to companies for establishing a broad range of training programs, exactly as the Government does in the 7-percent tax credit allowed for investment in capital equipment.

This is the sort of approach that I believe will prove more effective than many of the welfare programs carried on under the present operations of the war on poverty. A pertinent comment on this subject appeared earlier this year in the editorial pages of the Delano, Minn., Eagle, which pointed out a flaw in the approach of the Job Corps. The editorial raises a thought-provoking point and I offer it at this point in the RECORD, as it was reprinted in the Reader's Digest for June 1965:

JOB CORPS FALLACY

We have received one of the first salvos in the war on poverty—an ad which we were asked to run free of charge for the Government. It tells how young people 16 to 21 years of age who can't find jobs can learn a trade in Job Corps camps and get $50 for each month spent there.

Why do we question it? As a business, we would gladly take youths and teach them a trade if we could get by with paying them $50 a month plus board and room. In fact years ago our printing plant and others throughout the country did just that. The same thing happened in virtually every trade. Now we must pay minimum wages with overtime. No employer can hire the unskilled at these rates except at a great financial loss.

If we realy want to war on poverty we could give business the same privileges the Government is taking. If an in-shop apprentice program were allowed at reasonable salary rates, a lot of youths walking the streets could be gainfully learning a trade—at no expense to the taxpayer. Such a program is too simple, however. There are no bureaucrats mixed up in it.

Review of the 1st Session, 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT B. DUNCAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DUNCAN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the 1st session of the 89th Congress is now history. It is an appropriate time to review what we have done, yet the full significance of our highly productive 10 months can only unfold as the programs we have initiated or strengthened, as well as funded, reach the communities and people throughout our great land.

What have we done to keep our Nation strong, prosperous and free, and how have we helped to bring peace closer and to extend basic freedoms in a world in revolution? How have we kept faith with the pledges we made the people who sent us here and what have we contributed to a greater realization of the promise that is America?

I submit that this session of the Congress did as much or more than any session in our history to marshall the great resources of this Nation to achieve more nearly the purpose of our Government as set forth in the Constitution: "to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty."

The steps we have taken are not new, except where before they were promises or pledges, they have now been kept. Many of the programs have been before the Congress in one form or another for many years and had been finely honed in the full legislative process with years of public discussion for guidance. I am certain, as I am sure my colleagues are, that experience will dictate some modifications or alterations and as these become known the Congress will, I am confident, act accordingly.

Thomas Wolfe, the great American writer, stated our goal as well perhaps as it has been said:

So then to every man his chance—to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity—to every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This is the promise of America.

And it is this promise the 89th Congress is keeping.

CONGRESS OF OPPORTUNITY

This has been, more than anything else, the Congress of opportunity. For what we in fact have done is to enlarge the areas of opportunity for full participation in the mainstream of American freedom and prosperity for all our people. We have broadened the horizons of a Nation and we have forged the tools for the Federal, State, and community governments to create the opportunity for better lives for the people. And we have charted the route, for those who would take it, from poverty to economic betterment.

While we have strengthened the constitutional rights and liberties of all Americans, we have not neglected our responsibilities to freedom throughout the world. We have met and shall continue to meet the challenge of communism and other forms of despotism wherever and whenever they appear. This is not without its pain and anguish. We all fervently hope for an early end of armed conflict. We know well and deeply the tragedy of young lives lost on foreign soil. But every generation has been called upon to defend freedom anew, and we are no exception. We will in the future, as we have in the past, measure up to this responsibility.

ACTION NEW, NOT THE IDEAS

Mr. Speaker, I said that major programs with which we were concerned in this session were not new. Medicare in various forms has been hotly debated both in and out of the Congress since 1945, with specific legislation in several of the Congresses since that time.

Housing programs were considered first as long ago as 1937 and substantial modifications were made in 1949 and 1961.

Aid to education has been considered actively since 1949 and a Department of Urban Affairs was proposed in 1954 and again in 1963.

The public works, economic development program was considered in 1957, 1961, and again in 1963.

Voting rights legislation was under intense study in 1957, 1960, and 1964.

Water pollution control was considered in 1956 and 1961.

Although some phases of the war on poverty appear new, they have their roots in the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930's and even the eminently successful Peace Corps established in 1961 made its contribution through a domestic version of volunteer activity, VISTA. The list could go on and on.

Although there were instances in which I believe we should have given fuller debate to a measure, to explore on the floor the full meaning of a bill—and I expressed this in words and votes at the time—any impartial observer would have to concede that with rare exceptions measures received full and complete committee consideration and careful debate in committee and on the floor.

POLITICAL PARTY PROGRAM

In August of 1964, delegates to the Democratic National Convention at Atlantic City drafted a platform to present to the voters. At that time we announced to the American people that our platform would be our program if we were elected.

A strong majority of this Congress and the President of the United States, elected on the same platform, have worked together to implement an unprecedented 85 percent of the platform—much of which was also in the Republican platform—adopted a little more than a year ago at Atlantic City. These are the principles to which both the executive and the majority of the Congress subscribed with neither subservient to the other.

We have not finished the job, but we have made great strides. Important support, ideas, leadership, and significant contributions have come from Republican Members. Despite the frequent ridiculing of political party platforms, as words without real meaning, the fact is we have been methodically carrying out precisely what we announced in advance we would and exactly what the voters of America charged us with the responsibility for doing.

CONGRESSIONAL DIFFERENCES WITH EXECUTIVE

On important details, we have had our disagreements with the executive and Congress has worked its will. The budget bills, for example, are more than $2 billion below the total amount estimated by the administration. Medicare, as finally passed, is a vastly different and, I believe, improved bill over that originally submitted. Home rule for the District of Columbia, as passed by the House, is far from the recommendation of the administration, and its final form may be changed even more.

The highway beautification program is greatly changed from that submitted. The tax reduction bills were also significantly altered, and I believe improved, for they gave even greater relief from the annoying excise taxes than the executive had urged.

Other measures could be mentioned, but this is sufficient to indicate that an independent and hard-working Congress worked well with an independent and hard-working President in a cooperative and successful effort to advance the welfare of the Nation.

It is accurate to report that every major bill that was a part of the President's legislative program was rewritten, amended, or substantially modified in the normal examination, study, and compromises of the legislative process before being enacted into law.

PERSONAL DIFFERENCES WITH EXECUTIVE

Speaking individually, I found myself disagreeing on details even more than did the Congress as a whole. And this, too, is as it should be.

District of Columbia criminal procedures bill: For example, I opposed the

District of Columbia criminal procedures bill, because I believed it unwise and a violation of our traditional legal safeguards of the rights of the accused and the suspected. The administration-supported measure, however, carried.

Federal Walter Pollution Control Act: I reluctantly supported the original House version of the water pollution control bill when it first came before us in April. While it was a step forward, it was far less than we should have done. I have urged stronger Federal controls in the establishment of water standards. These standards were later accepted in substance, and I could support the final conference report with greater enthusiasm.

In addition, I introduced legislation to double the authorization for funds available for water treatment facility grants; one-half of this requested increase was authorized together with additional authorization for this same purpose in other programs.

Further, I urged on the Bureau of the Budget, the conferees and the White House full funding of the entire authorized program since we should and we must do what we can and what we know needs to be done to protect the Nation's water supply. The final bill contained the appropriation for the full $150 million authorized, $20 million of which will be used for research and development.

Section 14(b): The repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law created more emotion than realism, and if my mail was any indication of public understanding of the measure, considerable misinformation has been disseminated concerning the repeal. Oregon was comparatively unaffected because it had no right-to-work law and, should this bill pass, no change will occur. I supported the repeal because I believe this issue should be subject to a common rule equally applicable to competing employers and their employees all over the country, and because I believe the choice of union security should be decided by a majority of the workers in each bargaining unit together with their employers, rather than by a majority of a State legislature not directly involved.

I also supported Mrs. GREEN's efforts, despite the vigorous opposition of the administration and the leadership, to amend the measure to include a freedom of conscience provision. While this effort was not successful, a similar amendment has been added to the Senate bill. This matter goes over for further consideration next year.

Labeling on cigarette packages: I opposed the proposal to require specific warning labeling on cigarette packages basically on the grounds that it accomplished nothing while seeming to do much.

And I opposed the Roosevelt amendment to permit the States to impose other and/or different labeling requirements for one of the same reasons I supported repeal of 14(b); namely, cigarettes move in interstate commerce and the same rule should apply everywhere to avoid a multiplicity of different rules which would create chaos.

Duty on ferronickel: I opposed the successful administration effort to suspend the duty on ferronickel. A number of my colleagues and I managed to defeat the proposal on a teller vote, but on a hurried rollcall, the measure did finally carry. While I expect no lessening of employment in the Fourth District of Oregon where the only domestic nickel mine is located, it may limit exploration and development of new mines and new jobs. It puts more dollars in the hands of France for exchange for gold. And it represents another piecemeal, commodity-by-commodity reduction with no reciprocal concessions to American industry contrary to the overall concept of the Kennedy round of tariff negotations at Geneva.

Immigration Act: I supported the amendment to the Immigration Act that would limit the immigration from the Western Hemisphere. The amendment was vigorously opposed by the administration and defeated in the House. If our purpose was to remove discrimination among countries and peoples, it did not seem consistent to me to permit unrestricted immigration from the Western Hemisphere while putting a ceiling on immigration from the balance of the world.

It was readily admitted that a ceiling would be necessary in a few years and I felt it should be done now as a part of a major reform rather than later when it could easily be misinterpreted as a unilateral slap in the face of South and Latin America. My judgment was vindicated when the Senate added such a provision; it was accepted in conference and became the law.

Incidentally, no lessening of the security provisions of the immigration law was involved and we will not be flooded with hordes of undesirables. As a matter of fact the amendment referred to above will reduce immigration.

Arts and humanities: I opposed the administration's bill for aid to arts and humanities. I supported and will support increased assistance to the humanities. I believe firmly that, however masked, government influence over the arts is bad for the arts, for government, and finally, for the people, and that the expenditure of money for this purpose in the face of growing demands for basic education, health, defense, and other more pressing needs, cannot be justified.

Resolution on Western Hemisphere: I opposed the hastily introduced resolution which appears to announce the right to unilateral intervention in the internal affairs of Western Hemisphere countries by any other country. We cannot afford to conduct our foreign affairs from the floor of the House by passing resolutions against a background of heated emotions. We demonstrated in Cuba and the Dominican Republic that we would act in self defense. Our actions speak for themselves.

Highway beautification bill: I opposed vigorously, as did other Members of the Oregon delegation in the House, the administration's so-called highway beautification bill. My reasons were simple. I was advised that it penalized Oregon unfairly and could cost my State as much as $13 million in highway funds. This, when Oregon, as much or more than any other State, has an effective program of highway beautification of its own. However, in addition, as a member of the Appropriations Committee I could not support what in my judgment amounted to an open-end appropriation to pay the undetermined cost of the experiment. And the bill was poorly designed to achieve its stated purpose.

It is not only on the floor of the House, however, that I and other Members of the House have had differences with the administration.

Camp White saved: In my own case, for example, from the moment the rumor was first heard that the Veterans' Administration was planning to close Camp White Domiciliary and a number of other Veterans' Administration and Public Health Services hospitals and domiciliaries throughout the country, I protested early, and often and long to the White House, to the President directly, to the appropriate congressional committees and finally to the President's special commission to study the closings. I contended with full justification that closing of Camp White Domiciliary would not save the Government money and would not give the same or equivalent care to the veterans. As the cost studies I presented showed conclusively, it would have cost more money, and would have seriously lowered the level of care for many of the veterans and greatly inconvenienced the remainder.

At the same time, I contended, that should the administration be able to prove that it could in fact save the Government money and still render as good or better care to the members of the domiciliary I would not only support the plan, but would defend it to the people of the district. This the VA could not do, and we finally won our case. Camp White will remain open. Much credit is due to the Congress, the House Veterans Committee and Chairman OLIN TEAGUE.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF HOUSE MEMBERS

It is not only the responsibility of a Member of the House to criticize and oppose that which he believes is wrong or unnecessary, it is also his responsibility to support and seek to improve those measures he believes to be in the interest of his district and his country.

President Johnson will go down in history, in my judgment, not only as a great President, but as a President with a deep compassion for the problems of his fellow countrymen and for his ability and drive to do something effective about them. His genius lies in his ability to help shape a national consensus and translate it into needed public law.

MAJOR BILLS SUPPORTED

Among the major pieces of legislation I supported that were enacted by the 1st session of the 89th Congress in achieving its great record are:

Medicare and social security amendments: Provide hospitalization, surgical and nursing home care for persons 65 years and older financed through social security. In addition, a program of vol-

untary medical insurance was established that will assist those who want to participate, in meeting the sudden and high costs of modern medical treatment. This addition I have urged for years. Social security benefits were increased retroactive to January 1, 1965, and other liberalizing changes were made.

Elementary and secondary education: Provides for a Federal grant program to improve elementary and secondary education under local control with the bulk of aid for school districts where there are large numbers of children from poverty stricken families. The program is a major breakthrough in providing at least minimum educational opportunities for all American children and in this we strike a real blow against the circle of poverty producing ignorance, and ignorance, poverty. I was pleased to give my fullest support to the measure. I would have preferred that the bill also include a provision for judicial review to determine finally whether the measure did violate our traditional policy of separation of church and state. I do not believe that it does, yet I felt that the final review of this should be made by the Supreme Court. I spoke on the floor of the House in support of an amendment to provide for judicial review, and I voted for it.

Excise tax reduction: Provides for excise tax cuts totaling $4.7 billion on various consumer items including cosmetics, luggage, jewelry, appliances, telephone service, and automobiles. It eliminates most Federal excise taxes by 1969. This will and is acting not only to increase spendable income for consumers, but to spur business to meet the demand for goods created by the increased spending power. This in turn helps to create more job opportunities. For the most part, businesses have been, and all of them should be, passing on to the consumer the excise tax reductions.

Omnibus Housing Act: Expands current urban renewal and public housing programs, extends FHA loan insurance program, encourages urban planning and beautification and provides for a rent supplement program for low-income families. The Congress did not, however, provide funds to implement the rent subsidy.

Voting rights: Strengthens the machinery for guaranteeing the right to vote to all citizens by prohibiting payment of a poll tax as a condition for voting and by prohibiting literacy tests as a means of discriminating against some voters; provides for Federal registrars in States where less than 50 percent of the potential voters are registered or vote. This interferes with the right of States to set voting qualifications only in those instances in which States have used their right to discriminate against and deny a segment of their population the full rights of American citizenship. States rights cannot be used as a sword to violate individual rights. In the conflict between States rights and the rights of the individual citizen, my choice was clear. I voted for the measure.

Public works and economic development: Provides for an expanded program of grants and loans to communities for public works, development facilities, and other projects and is intended to aid economically depressed areas. The Fourth District was helped considerably by the old ARA; however, this program must be carefully administered to achieve its purpose.

Water pollution control: Expands water pollution control programs, establishes a stronger administrative organization for carrying out the program, strengthens the Federal responsibility in setting water standards, increases the grant program for water treatment plant construction, and increases Federal enforcement powers. Although I supported the bill, I am less than satisfied with it. We know the extent of the pollution problem throughout the country. We know the dangers pollution represents. It is inexcusable for us to do less than we can and less than we should. Yet this bill did represent progress in attacking the problem. I am hopeful the next time we consider this problem in the Congress we will do the rest of the job.

Department of Housing and Urban Affairs: Establishes a new Cabinet-level Department to administer programs affecting 70 percent of our population that now resides in urban areas.

Omnibus farm program: Improves and extends feed grain, wheat, dairy, wool, and cotton programs, encourages cropland retirement and bolsters farm income. While all of these programs can be criticized, and I have done so, they have avoided the chaos of a farm depression which would inevitably envelop the whole economy and have helped make this the best fed Nation on earth at far less cost to the consumer than anywhere else on earth. The alternatives were unacceptable.

I believe that our biggest farm problem of the near future will be how to grow more, not less, to help feed the rapidly expanding population of this country and the world.

Immigration Act amendments: Gradually abolishes discriminatory national origins quota system but maintains all present security restrictions.

Appalachian regional development: Authorizes a comprehensive State-Federal program to assist in the development of the economically depressed Appalachian region. It is basically a program to provide public facilities and technical assistance so that the region can participate in the growing prosperity of the entire Nation.

Manpower development and training: Extends and expands manpower training programs to help the unemployed learn new skills so they become contributing members of the communities in which they live. This is proving to be a worthwhile program.

Economic opportunity program: Expands the antipoverty program and makes other improvements in the operation of various aspects of the war on poverty.

Regional medical centers: Authorizes 3-year program of Federal grants to plan and develop a series of regional medical centers to fight heart disease, stroke and cancer.

Health professions education: Extends and expands program of construction grants to medical, dental and other health educational institutions and initiates a program of scholarship grants for needy students as well as increases the student loan program.

Presidential continuity: A long step toward closing a serious gap in the Constitution was taken by adopting a proposed amendment to the Constitution to establish a procedure to permit the Vice President to become acting President if the President is unable to perform his duty and to provide for filling a vacancy in the office of Vice President when this occurs. The amendment has been submitted to the States for ratification and it is hoped this will be accomplished speedily.

Health research facilities: Provides for extension of program to construct health research facilities and establishes three new Assistant Secretaries of Health, Education, and Welfare to administer expanded programs in this area.

Community health services: Extends programs for public health services providing vaccinations, immunization, other preventive treatment of diseases, migrant health clinics and grants to States for general health services.

Mental health services: Provides for initial staffing grants for personnel serving in community mental health centers.

Drug controls: Expands Federal control and supervision over the distribution of certain depressant and stimulant drugs that are becoming a serious threat to the health and welfare, particularly of young people. This is not the final answer to the increasing problem but it is an important beginning.

I am now studying what our national policy should be and what, if any, changes we should make in the law to achieve an enlightened and effective policy in regard to the use and control of narcotics as well as barbiturates, amphetamines, and hallucinogenic drugs.

Older Americans: Establishes a new administration for aging in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to develop programs to assist the growing number of elder citizens.

Juvenile delinquency: Extends the present law to assist communities in the development of new programs to prevent or control juvenile delinquency and youth crime.

Water resources development: Extends and broadens research program of converting saline water; another new law provides grants to States for the coordination of water resources planning and development and another establishes a grant program to assist in development of water supply and sewage disposal facilities in rural areas.

Air pollution: Establishes machinery for controlling motor vehicle air pollutants and accelerates air pollution research programs.

State technical services: Establishes new 3-year program of Federal-State-local technical cooperation to provide technical service centers to disseminate findings of scientific and technological importance to commerce and industry. The rapid acceleration of our scientific

and technical knowledge makes it increasingly necessary that these advances be put to the benefit of the people generally through the widest possible dissemination.

Retired Government employees: Provides for cost-of-living increases in annuities to retired employees of the Federal Government.

Federal pay comparability: Provides salary increases for Federal classified and postal employees to achieve more equitable relationship with the pay of employees in private industry and makes other fringe benefits and overtime allowances. The pressure for adjournment prevented achievement of as good a bill as should have been passed, particularly that part of the measure involving overtime pay of postal employees, but I am hopeful that this deficiency can be corrected. A laborer is worthy of his hire, and this is no less true for an employee of the Federal Government than for one in private industry.

And many more measures which I supported were passed which add something to creating a better and more just America.

RESPONSIBILITY TO DISTRICT

Important as is our function as a Member of Congress in participating in shaping national and international policy, it is also my function as a representative of a congressional district to be concerned with, and act in the interest of, my district and its some 500,000 people. It is my job to see that they share in the general prosperity of our country, that Federal responsibility is properly assumed and administered in my district for those functions that properly fall within the sphere of the U.S. Government, and to act as attorney in Washington for the people and organizations in my district who cannot come back here to present their own cases.

This does not mean that I must adopt each citizen's view as my own. No man can do that, for constituents disagree among themselves. Any time two people agree 100 percent of the time, one of them is not thinking.

Edmund Burke once said that the citizens are entitled not to an elected representative's vote but to his judgment. I have tried to exercise my best judgment to accomplish the most good for the greatest number in my district and in my country. I hope that a strong majority of my constituents agree.

There are many issues with which I have dealt this session that are of particular concern to my district or my State. Some involved legislation, some contact with executive departments, and some a combination. Not all efforts met with success, but in each instance I tried, and in many will try again and succeed another time.

Boxcars: For example, a great amount of time was spent seeking ways to obtain additional boxcars, particularly wide- and double-door cars, for Oregon's lumber industry. This involved work with the Interstate Commerce Commission, the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, contacts with the President and members of the White House staff, preparation and presentation of testimony to the House Interstate Commerce Committee, as well as extended discussions with railroad officials.

The result: There are now more boxcars available to Oregon shippers; emergency orders have been issued by the ICC for the return to the West of our own boxcars, and legislation that will encourage car ownership and efficient use has moved to near final stages in this Congress. I am hopeful that this can become law early in the next session.

Roseburg Veterans' Administration land: The city of Roseburg has wanted the Veterans' Administration to return some 47 acres of land, part of the more than 400 acres the city had years ago donated to the VA. The agency was willing to release this surplus land, but it took an act of Congress to accomplish it. I introduced a bill to accomplish this last year but was unable to obtain action on it. I tried again this year and, with considerable help from my colleagues in this House and the Senators from Oregon, the law was passed and signed by the President.

A $300-million atomic accelerator: Much time was spent in seeking full consideration for the proposal by the Willamette Valley Research Council to locate the $300 million atomic accelerator in the Willamette Valley and in helping the council in its contacts with the Atomic Energy Commission. Should we eventually be successful, and the competition is extremely intense, it will mean Oregon will share more fully in the mainstream of American science, and that the Oregon economy will reap great direct and related benefits. But this is only one scientific installation.

Research and development contracts and grants: With the Federal Government now spending more than $15 billion a year on scientific research and development contracts and grants, much of it going to a few large institutions, I have sought a more equitable policy for the distribution of such Federal funds and have testified for such a policy before a Senate committee calling for this.

I am happy to note that recently the President has instructed all agencies and departments handling Federal research and development funds to seek a more equitable distribution and greater recognition of the need for the entire Nation to share in the forward thrust of our science and technology. It is precisely this policy that I, and others in the Congress, have been urging and it is one that I believe will have great benefits not only for my district but for the Nation as a whole.

Funding of existing navigation, flood control, and reclamation projects: In addition, I have worked on funding of existing navigation, flood control, and reclamation projects. During the 3 years I have been privileged to serve in the Congress, annual appropriations for the Fourth District have increased from approximately $25 million to over $40 million. And yet, much more remains to be done if we are to harness for man's protection and productive use the rivers and streams of Oregon.

Improvements authorized: Major harbor improvements were authorized for the mouth of the Chetco River at Brookings-Harbor and at Port Orford, and Congress provided first year funding for the Port Orford project. It is very unusual for a project to be authorized and funded in the same year and with both projects in a single county the task was even more difficult. Although Brookings was equally deserving, the conferees on the public works appropriation bill did not approve funds to begin work this fiscal year because the fourth district already has more than its share. Brookings is not behind schedule; Port Orford is just ahead of schedule.

Obtaining financing for the Chetca River project to the full Army Corps of Engineers capability the first year will be a high priority goal in the coming session. Both projects are fully justified and should be pushed to completion at the earliest possible time.

Other district concerns: Attempting to settle the controversy concerning an Oregon Dunes National Seashore, still unresolved; working with industry and the affected departments to assure the maintenance of an equitable bidding system on Government timber; helping communities with their problems ranging from continued air service to financing water systems and waste treatment facilities; seeking many millions of dollars of flood relief following the tragic floods of last winter; fighting for maintenance of the 35-to-65 ratio in private and Navy ship repair work in order to protect both Oregon employment and the national ship repair capacity; attempting to secure an adequate suppy of agricultural labor, improve harbors for the State, increase Oregon's business share in Government contracts, and the like, have occupied many hours, days, and weeks.

In addition, the receipt of an average of 50 first-class letters a day, each requiring research or contract with departments of governments and the furnishing of accurate information and assistance to residents of the Fourth District has absorbed much time and effort. I hope this effort has served a useful purpose in proving that government is not a huge, impersonal bureaucracy but does, in fact, have a heart and a conscience. Many letters involve problems of social security benefits, military or civil service pensions, post office personnel, requests for service academy appointments, and the like.

The list is really endless. It ranges from helping a high school student obtain material for a debate to working to obtain the release from a Communist country of the daughter of a constituent.

It has been a good year, a satisfying and a busy one. I hope now, as do all of my colleagues, for the chance to spend some time in the district, primarily to listen and not to talk. And for some time to rest, to fish, to ride my horse, and for some solitude in which to think and gain refreshment for the efforts ahead. Much remains to be done.

My thanks to the people of the Fourth District for permitting me to serve in this Congress of opportunity, in this most demanding and exhilarating office.

Tenth Anniversary of Kaiser Aluminum in West Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, West Virginia is fortunate to have a great and civic-minded industry, the Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp., with a plant in our rapidly expanding Ohio Valley. Recently, we celebrated the 10th anniversary of the Kaiser plant in Ravenswood, W. Va., with an appreciation dinner. The dinner came on a weekday night when the House of Representatives was in session, and thus it was unfortunate I could not attend in person, but I did send the following telegram to the editor of the Ravenswood News, who was master of ceremonies for the appreciation dinner:

Mr. PHILIP FOURNEY,
Ravenswood News,
Ravenswood, W. Va.:

Jackson County and the entire State of West Virginia are proud of the outstanding leadership which Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp. has demonstrated in the development of the Ohio Valley and our State.

As a member of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, I was personally gratified while witnessing the successful test firing of the 260-inch solid fueled rocket recently to be able to point out Kaiser's role in providing the aluminum for this rocket. This is but one evidence of the importance of Kaiser in the space age.

Even more important, however, is the tremendous contribution which Kaiser has made in furthering human relationships and community development. The list would be too long to detail, but whether it be building schools, the hospital in Ripley, recreation facilities, and just being a good neighbor, Kaiser is always ready to help and all of us join in expressing our sincere appreciation.

Your servant in Congress,

KEN HECHLER.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I also include the texts of addresses at the appreciation dinner by the Governor of West Virginia, the Honorable Hulett C. Smith, and the president of the Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp., T. J. Ready, Jr. Also included with my remarks is an article by Phil Fourney entitled, "Jackson County's Years of Change, 1955–65," which appeared in the magazine West Virginia Progress:

REMARKS OF GOVERNOR SMITH AT THE INDUSTRIAL APPRECIATION DINNER, RAVENSWOOD HIGH SCHOOL, RAVENSWOOD, W. VA., OCTOBER 14, 1965

This industrial appreciation dinner tonight is noteworthy and important in many respects.

It is noteworthy, because it is being held under the joint sponsorship of the Ravenswood and Ripley Chambers of Commerce. I hope this is just a beginning for you. Both organizations have men and women of great talent, who can devote those combined talents to building a stronger Jackson County.

It is important, because what we are marking is not the success of a company nor the success of a community, but the spirit of a people. This dinner tonight is taking place because over several years, thousands of people have been interested in the progress of their business, their community and their State.

Indeed, West Virginia as a whole could learn a great deal from Jackson County. You should be proud of what you have accomplished.

We all know this story—the decade of change that has transformed this county from a quiet rural area to a bustling industrial complex.

Ten years ago, Ravenswood's population was 1,200. Today, it is over 5,000.

Ten years ago there were 759 students in school. Today, there are over 2,000.

Ten years ago there were 15,000 in this county. Today, that figure has jumped to 20,000.

The reason, of course—an important American aluminum company chose to build and produce in West Virginia. And today, our State is bursting at the seams with pride at the fact that the Kaiser Aluminum plant in Jackson County is the world's largest, most modern fully integrated aluminum plant and that the leaders of Kaiser had enough faith in the future of West Virginia to locate here.

In short, the cooperative spirit of the people of West Virginia and the management of Kaiser Aluminium has answered the hopes of Henry J. Kaiser, who said, 10 years ago in Ravenswood, "we sincerely hope that, in the future, men may look back with pleasure to the day we transformed a part of the landscape into a huge aluminum mill, and say that you and we together built much more than just a new industry."

Now, today, we in West Virginia must ask ourselves the question: Where do we stand today? What are we doing to merit the trust others have placed in our State? And—most importantly, are we doing enough?

There are three yardsticks with which we can measure our growth—jobs, education, and roads.

West Virginia has had to change from primarily a one-industry State to a State of many industries, and this has required a period of adjustment. But we have made progress in providing more jobs—through the location of new industries, through job retraining programs, through vocational education—and we are going to do more.

Every year for the past 4 years, this State has set new economic records, and this is due, in large part, to our growing work force.

In the last 12 months, for example more than 25,000 persons who were previously out of work were put on the job.

This is progress. This is what we are doing in this field. This is the answer when people ask how we've been combatting unemployment. And Kaiser Aluminum has been a big part of that progress.

Our highway system, which is so important to a State with such geographic factors as West Virginia, will grow into ribbons of modern, first-class highways cutting across our State, so that by 1972, every West Virginian will be within 35 minutes driving time of a major, first-class highway. We're talking here about a billion-dollar road program, really, because plans have already been laid for the post-1972 era of construction. We're going to town on roads and highways, and we intend to meet our commitments here.

Finally, let's look at education. This is a very important matter to the people of West Virginia and to the people of Jackson County.

I hope that I'm not misinterpreted when I point out to the people fo this county "what needs to be done in education."

But there are a few things that should be emphasized.

First, your State legislature approved the administration's bill on education last January which will mean an annual pay raise for teachers over the next 3-year period—and a richer curriculum for your boys and girls in school. This is of interest to every parent and this monumental achievement brought me the greatest satisfaction I have had since being in office. It meant a change—and a change for the better.

Project Head Start was an innovation in West Virginia education this year—and every one of us here should take pride in the fact that we led the Nation by having every one of our school districts participating in Head Start.

These are some of the things the State has done.

But the State can only do so much when it comes to education. This is not a matter of choice. It is a matter of law.

The responsibility of operating the schools in this county rest with the people of this county.

I am quite aware of the splendid way in which Kaiser Aluminum has joined with you as a partner to build a stronger educational system through your education foundation in Jackson County. Not just the people of Jackson County, but all the people of this State bow in your direction for the vigor with which Kaiser stepped in and said, "Here we are. Let's go to work on the problem. We want to help out."

This system is working well. But we must be realistic. This, of necessity, must be considered a temporary program. What the people of this county need to do is take a long-range view of educational needs and make long-range plans to solve your educational problems.

The educational foundation is a temporary answer. It has been a good answer, but it is not the answer.

In taking a long-range view, we'd better begin asking ourselves some questions:

Should there come a lull in the aluminum business within the next decade, would Kaiser or any aluminum industry be able to continue its contribution to your school system—or indeed, should it be expected to?

Are we asking industry to do something we should be doing ourselves?

In the past, have we done as much as we could, as well as we could, to see that our county school boards have the adequate finances to strengthen our school system?

Is the present system of school financing going to result in more industries being attracted to Jackson County or fewer industries?

These are questions that need to be asked.

The real answer lies in leadership. If new industries are to come into this part of West Virginia, the leaders of those industries will look first to see if the local people have provided the necessary leadership at that level to meet the problems of this area.

In short, if it is feasible—and this is something only you alone can decide; no State office can decide it for you—a new, equitable means of financing your school system should be worked on, so you could point to your schools, and mean it when you say, "There are our schools for our children, built with our money."

The matter of our children's education is nobody's responsibility but our own. And we must grasp it. Educational excellence in West Virginia today is ours alone to develop. And no one will deny that the quality of West Virginia's educational system is our key to opportunity, and the key to this State's brightest days.

So the leaders of all of our communities—not just Ravenswood, not just Ripley—must ask ourselves, "Are we doing enough?"

And only we can answer that.

What we need is insight and foresight. This means the ability to stand up and say things that may not be popular with 100 percent of the people. It means speaking the hard truth, although it may warp the

delicately woven threads of political ideas and prejudices.

It boils down to a pure and simple interest in politics, government, and public affairs, and I use the terms synonymously.

All too often, when someone mentions politics, everyone runs for cover into his own little corner, as if a plague had hit the countryside.

The truth of the matter is, the political system is one of the best ways we have of getting things accomplished. It has been in existence since this country came into existence. It produced Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Roosevelt, and Kennedy. And today, more and more people are becoming more interested in the affairs of political life because this is the outlet for new ideas and the vehicle for placing these ideas before the public.

President Kennedy was fond of pointing out that mothers may still want their sons to grow up to be President, but according to a famous Gallup poll of some years ago, some 73 percent do not want them to become politicians in the process.

I would remind you all that we have pledged excellence in State government, and that we want to attract men and women of highest standards to conduct our generation's most important business, the public business.

And if you have an interest in our generation's most important business—and I'm sure you do—we will welcome you and your ideas to build a stronger State.

Let me say in closing that Kaiser Aluminum has proven its dedication to our State over the past decade, and enriched the cultural economical and educational stance of the entire Ohio Valley by its presence.

Now, we have to work together to improve our State and to reach its goals.

In so doing, we must recognize that leadership on the community level is our greatest strength. We must accept the challenge to provide that leadership, whether it be in Ravenswood or Harper's Ferry; in Chester or Bluefield.

And in so doing, we can work together for a better road system. And I, as Governor, will devote myself to that goal.

We can work together for more job opportunities. And I, as Governor, will aim for the day when no man is without a job.

We can work together to continue our pursuit of educational excellence. And I remain committed to that goal.

And the same spirit that brought Kaiser Aluminum to Ravenswood and national recognition to Ripley's Fourth of July can build the best employment, road, and educational system in the entire State of West Virginia right here in Jackson County.

REMARKS BY T. J. READY, JR., PRESIDENT, KAISER ALUMINUM & CHEMICAL CORP., AT KAISER APPRECIATION DINNER, RAVENSWOOD, W. VA., OCTOBER 14, 1965

Governor Smith, Mayor Moore, Mayor Jordan, members of the county court, distinguished guests, ladies and gentleman, it is a real pleasure for me to acknowledge, on behalf of Kaiser Aluminum, the demonstrations of appreciation and goodwill expressed today by officials representing the State, the county, the cities of Ravenswood and Ripley, and the business community. It is gratifying, to say the least, to hear one's organization accorded this kind of testimonial. Speaking for the some 3,000 men and women who operate the Ravenswood Works and for the thousands of other Kaiser Aluminum employees located around the country and throughout the free world, we thank you all for this recognition.

Kaiser Aluminum has always had great faith in the future of this State and of its people. We have continuously invested in expansion and improvement of the Ravenswood Works since we originally announced its construction here 10 years ago. In so investing, we have demonstrated our continuing belief that West Virginia is a reliable and economic location for major industrial production facilities.

We are confident that you will continue to protect your favorable business climate, and that under the able guidance of your Governor, congressional delegation, legislature, and other dedicated public officials, you will seek further means of encouraging the fruitful partnership of business, industry, and the citizens of West Virginia.

Together, we can look with real satisfaction on the many physical changes that have taken place here during the past 10 years. The extent of this progress struck me today as I toured the county. The evidence is all around us. I'm told that the population has increased by more than a third.

Per capita income in 1954 was $1,106, one of the lowest in West Virginia. It now stands at $2,482, the second highest of West Virginia's 55 counties.

These changes have created greater opportunities for all of the people of Jackson County.

I wish there was some way that I could describe to you in the short time we are together here the great changes that are also taking place in our business and in industry as a whole in the United States and in the free world. Some of these changes have a direct bearing on our operations here at Ravenswood and upon the welfare and the prospects of our employees.

The outstanding new factor with which we all must deal today is the serious impact of increasing competition upon our business—competition from other producers and fabricators in the United States; competition from similar organizations in other parts of the free world, and competition for the established aluminum markets which comes increasingly from other materials.

Competition is expressed in terms of price, quality and range of product and service, including promptness of shipment and reliability in the meeting of customer schedules. The ability to compete in any of these categories is determined largely by the quality of plant operations—high efficiency and low production costs to yield an adequate profit at competitive prices; careful handling and processing to insure highest product quality, and topnotch delivery performance to meet the schedules of our customers.

The most skilled management group and the most modern and efficient equipment cannot accomplish these objectives. The important ingredient is people. The contribution of employees in this chain of factors determines the quality of the product, the cost of production, and the kind of service we can give our customers. Only through a joining together of management, equipment and employees will the Ravenswood works be able to maintain its place in an increasingly competitive business picture as one of the world's largest aluminum production and fabricating establishments.

Speaking for management, I can say that we have every intention of making Ravenswood works the top plant in our whole system of 50 domestic and 28 ovearsea facilities. Our overall objective is for Ravenswood to become known as the industry's most reliable source of aluminum sheet and plate products of the highest quality. We have here all the makings to accomplish this goal—modern plant buildings, the latest in equipment, and capable workers. In short, biggest and best is the image we have for Ravenswood works.

But leadership does not happen all by itself. We will all have to contribute. The truth is that in the final analysis, it is not the company that is in competition with other companies, but the employee—the individual employee who is in direct competition with the employees of other plants in other parts of the country. The aluminum market will accept fabricated aluminum products from any reliable and economic source. We must make sure that we qualify as such a source, so that we can maintain and expand our share of the market and continue to grow.

For there is room for growth. The aluminum industry is one of the most phenomenal growth industries of all time. Since the turn of the century it has doubled, on the average, every 10 years, which represents an annual increase of from 7 to 8 percent. The industry's current growth is at that rate, or better, and the outlook for the future—both short and long term—is for a continuation of this rapid growth.

At this point, I should like to say a few words about the very foundation of our American economy—the system known as the free enterprise or profit system. Like the sunlight and the good air we breathe, it is something many of us accept without much thought, often without really understanding the great importance of the profit incentive in our lives. Certainly, as businessmen, government leaders, and citizens, we should all be doing more about furthering such understanding.

In a very real sense, profits are what make our tomorrows.

Tomorrow's jobs are dependent on today's profits. We all know that more job opportunities have to be created if we are to continue to prosper as a country and as a State. In Kaiser Aluminum, for example, it takes a substantial investment of many thousands of dollars—enough money to start a sizable business—for every single name on our payroll. Furthermore, after the initial investment is made and a plant is operating, today's rapid rate of obsolescence—the result of great technological progress—makes it necessary to continue to invest money in the plant to replace and upgrade equipment. It is necessary to do this to keep abreast of industry progress. We have already made a great deal of this kind of investment here at Ravenswood, and we expect to continue to do a great deal more over the years ahead. Industry needs adequate profit, therefore, not only to provide the original investment, but also to keep its facilities at peak production efficiency.

Where does the money come from to create and maintain new jobs? There is only one place it can come from—that is from the profits of successful business enterprise. We must always be in a position to persuade investors and financial institutions to place their funds in our securities. There is only one way to persuade them to do this, and that is to offer the expectation of greater profit by investing in our securities rather than in other investments of equal safety.

And while we are mentioning the need for utmost industrial efficiency to meet competitive pressures, let us remember that not only business is competitive. States, counties, and cities are in competition too. West Virginia's State Department of Commerce and the various industrial development groups in the State know just how serious that competition is. While the department of commerce and the industrial dveelopment groups are trying to sell the advantages of West Virginia to industry, 15,000 other groups are trying to do the same thing for other cities and areas of the United States.

To the extent that West Virginia and Jackson County succeed in such effort, the result will be more payrolls, more businesses, more people, better homes, better schools, and improved cultural opportunities—all supported by a broader tax base. There will be jobs to keep West Virginia's children in West Virginia, and something left over to grow on. It's that "something left over to grow on" that may very well be said to be West Virginia's profit.

As a final note, I would like to talk for a moment about young people and education. In 1920, H. G. Wells, in his "Outline of History," wrote that "human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe." Unless we educate our children, we will lose the peace by default through lack of technological skill or ignorance of political philosophy. In these times, there are other things that require education and understanding, too. And they include the competitive free enterprise system of our country.

This system is eminently worth preserving, if only because none other has worked so well, so long, for so many.

The danger of losing this system, through erosion, if you please, is another race, as Wells wrote, "between education and catastrophe." We can do our part here in Jackson County and in all of West Virginia to protect our way of life by giving our children the education that is theirs as a right.

Kaiser Aluminum stands ready to support any effort that will help further the education and training of all young people. We go on record pledging our cooperation to the partnership that started here 10 years ago. We are steadfast in our desire to assist in the continued improvement of the social and economic climate of this county and its people—remembering at all times that a business can only meet its social responsibility if it is in business—and that it can only stay in business by meeting its profit responsibility.

I have said that "profits make our tomorrows"—but it is up to each of us to maintain and improve the economic and social climate of Jackson County and West Virginia for those tomorrows. Let us continue our partnership in this objective.

Again, I want to thank you, the citizens of Jackson County and West Virginia, for this testimonial of good will and for your always gracious hospitality.

I have had a wonderful day in Jackson County today.

JACKSON COUNTY'S YEARS OF CHANGE, 1955–65: ONE MAN'S PERSONAL REPORT ON WHAT HAPPENS WHEN HEAVY INDUSTRY MOVES INTO A RURAL WEST VIRGINIA COUNTY

(By Phil Fourney)

(NOTE.—Mr. Fourney is editor-manager of the Ravenswood News and is the current president of the West Virginia Press Association. He moved to Jackson County in June 1955 just as Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp.'s giant facility was being built. For this story he was asked to describe the area as he first knew it, and to note changes which have taken place in Jackson County during the past decade. Because he is more intimate with the circumstances in Ravenswood itself, much of his article deals with that community—although the facts presented can be extended across the county to a large degree.)

I arrived in Ravenswood in June 1955, to run the town's weekly newspaper—which had closed its doors and ceased publication a month before.

Two blocks of red brick and painted metal buildings stretched down either side of Route 2, which was just about to be paved for the first time above and below Ravenswood. A single movie house and a few taverns offered the town's night life. There were no intersection traffic lights, few intact sidewalks or curbs, and parking meters had just been added to the town's business district.

The residential section of the town was characterized by old homes, some of them graceful reminders of a more prosperous past. Stately trees lined both sides of the streets.

The town's native population consisted largely of older people, since the youngsters had to leave to find job opportunities.

Ravenswood proper covered about 40 square blocks. Nearly half a mile of open field separated Ravenswood from the small residential community of North Ravenswood.

Except for rural routes, there were no postal carriers in Ravenswood in 1955. The town owned and operated its own electric and water systems.

And this was the way Ravenswood had been for the past 50 years. While a portion of its support came from the railway and a pottery, the larger portion was derived from the agricultural districts.

Then came Kaiser Aluminum. About the time I arrived on the scene, the first of some 9,000 construction workers began to appear. Housing was at a premium. There were no motels.

Life in Jackson County in 1955 was truly a rural life.

But today, Jackson County's economy is based primarily on industry. Some 3,500 people are employed at the aluminum plant. The annual payroll is in the neighborhood of $23 million. The county boasts a new 41-bed hospital (in Ripley), a remodeled courthouse which gives the appearance and space of a new structure, a vastly expanded youth center at Cedar Lakes, a modern shopping center, and many enlarged and remodeled business houses. New homes are everywhere. Where once there were farms, today there are housing developments.

The transformation from the rural life to the industrial life—while not yet complete—has been an intense experience. There have been problems, of course; but in balance the picture is extremely rosy.

While statistics are quite dull, they sometimes tell a story more effectively than any other means. Let's keep them to the bare essentials, but consider the change in the past decade:

In the summer of 1955, the population of Ravenswood was nearly 1,200; this year that figure stands at 5,000.

Ravenswood's school enrollment was 759 in 1954; last year it reached 2,185.

In effect, the presence of Kaiser has meant to Ravenswood the superimposition, on a community of less than 1,200 people, of the populations of three more towns of the same size. Your imagination doesn't have to stretch very far to enable you to see what this kind of growth in such a short span means in terms of utilities, government services, retail trade and all the rest.

In fact, school facilities became so overtaxed that Kaiser Aluminum in 1957 built a modern 20-classroom elementary school in Ravenswood and has since leased it to the county board of education for $1 per year. When a converted apartment building had to be purchased for school use, Kaiser again put up the money and now leases this facility for $1 per year to the county.

But Kaiser's influence has not been limited to Ravenswood alone. Less than one-third of their employees live in Ravenswood. Nearly half commute to work from outside the county.

Yet, with just 1,800 of their employees living in Jackson County, look at the economic impact Kaiser has had upon the county in the past 10 years:

Total population has climbed from about 15,400 in 1954 to approximately 20,000 this year.

Assessed valuation of property has risen from $27 million to more than $62 million last year.

The school population has gone from 3,600 in 1954 to 5,700 in 1965.

Per capita income in 1954 was $1,106, one of the lowest in West Virginia. It now stands at $2,482, second highest of West Virginia's 55 counties.

Retail sales in Jackson County amounted to $8.2 million in 1954; in 1963, they stood at $14.4 million.

In Ravenswood today, that half-mile of field that used to separate the old town from North Ravenswood has been filled in with houses, apartments, and a shopping center. For half a mile, virtually every structure standing has been built since 1956.

The town that 10 years ago was a little river town of 1,200 is now a bustling community of 5,000 * * * with more church socials, PTA meetings, teas, Little League baseball games, dances, and you name it, than the average married couple can keep up with.

With all these impressive figures, what could possibly be wrong in Jackson County? Let's explore some of our problems.

We're a one-industry county. If things go slack in the aluminum business and the plant has to lay off people, there's no steel mill, no chemical plant, no auto factory to take up the slack.

Because of this, groups in both Ripley and Ravenswood have become active in the past 12 months to attract new, small industries. Leaders in both communiites have learned they must go out and sell their sites, must offer local financial help in order to attract companies which will boost the economy. Even Kaiser realizes the necessity of diversified industry, and is currently conducting a campaign to attract another major industry. It has distributed a brochure offering for sale some of its prime Ohio River acreage to a major industrial concern. This has resulted in negotiations for property with at least two major manufacturers.

Development of Interstate 77 from Kanawha County is opening up housing sites—particularly in the southern portion of Jackson County—for workers in Kanawha Valley factories who prefer rural living. The movement of such people to Jackson County has the economic impact of adding another industry here.

Our school program isn't what it should be. For that matter, this is one of West Virginia's major handicaps in attracting new industry. In order for the county—or the State—to effect a transition to a new and broader economic base, our schools must help the potential labor force to acquire new skills.

The rapid growth of Jackson County's school population has strained every resource of our educational program. Our school buildings have become too small for the large classes they must house despite a $2.5 million building program in 1959; our transportation system has become overburdened; our teaching load has increased. But our per capita pupil expenditure has not kept pace. And the registered voters of our county have been unwilling to provide additional taxes to meet the need of an expanded instructional program.

The school situation has deteriorated so badly that, in desperation, the people of Ravenswood have formed an educational foundation to supplement their local school program. While county taxpayers continue to vote down excess school levies, patrons of Ravenswood schools, including Kaiser Aluminum, voluntarily contribute $115,000 annually to upgrade the local system.

Ravenswood's approach is not a permanent solution to a pressing problem * * * it simply is a measure to insure that its students receive a topflight education while people of the county wrestle with the problem of financing its school system adequately.

We're too sectional. Since the Civil War, the people of Ravenswood have opposed those things the people of Ripley wanted * * * and vice versa. Or, when the leaders of the two towns could get together (as they did on the most recent school issue), the people of the county have been opposed.

This sectionalism has deterred the growth and well-being of the county's two towns and of the county itself. Instead of cooperating to attract new industry, one town has thwarted the other's changes. Instead of working together for capable Government leaders, one area has opposed the other. In

instance after instance, sectionalism has deterred progress.

Again, as with the problem of schools, Jackson County is not alone with this problem. This matter of sectionalism and undue rivalry is common to most sections of the State, and has been one of the greatest handicaps of progress.

But here the problem is being exposed for what it is, and leaders in the county now are working vigorously to bring unity and progress. Last spring the people of Ravenswood and Ripley got together on the proposed school improvement program and genuinely worked together. This month, the chambers of commerce of the two towns are cosponsoring an appreciation dinner for Kaiser Aluminum—simply to say they're happy to have such a fine industry and would like to work together as a team for a brighter tomorrow.

Jackson County has been the most looked at, written about, surveyed, and studied place in the State this past decade. While our achievements these past 10 years have fallen far short of the fabulous publicity we've received, our growth has indeed exceeded most every area of the Mountain State.

Jackson County today is a nice place to live and work. There is opportunity. There is a future—a bright one.

We still have but one movie house and only a few more taverns in Revenswood. There still isn't the night life you picture when you think of Pittsburgh, Washington, or Charleston. A majority of the stately trees remain. Modern housing dots the landscape. There are more and more jobs for the young folks, but not enough even yet.

Planning has been good and most Government services and utilities are adequate and can be expanded as the need increases. Our crime rate is low. We have little water pollution and even less air pollution.

Resolution Supporting U.S. Position in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, in the wave of irrational behavior hitting many college campuses, it is refreshing to note an item of calm, patriotic reasoning.

The University of Mississippi campus senate on October 19 unanimously adopted a resolution supporting the Government's effort to halt the spread of communism in southeast Asia.

I congratulate senate members on their expressed judgment and am pleased to make this resolution available to my colleagues.

It follows:

RESOLUTION SUPPORTING U.S. POSITION IN VIETNAM

Whereas our Nation is currently engaged in a war in Vietnam against Communist aggression that threatens the freedom of the people of southeast Asia and the security of the free world; and

Whereas we, the University of Mississippi senate, are shocked by the behavior of certain groups of students in this country who are currently engaged in anti-Vietnam war demonstrations and who are urging that eligible persons evade the draft in every way possible; and

Whereas we are cognizant of the responsibilities and commitments of our Nation to resist Communist aggression throughout the world, and are aware of the responsibilities of all patriotic Americans to support our Government in this effort; and

Whereas we are fully aware of our personal responsibilities, our draft status, and the realization that many of us will be called upon to give of our time and perhaps even our lives in the service of our country in Vietnam: Therefore, be it

Resolved by the University of Mississippi campus senate:

1. We condemn the actions of those organizations and persons currently urging that qualified persons evade the draft and urge the President, the Justice Department, and the Congress to deal with them accordingly.

2. We support the President of the United States and the policy of our Government in resisting Communist aggression in southeast Asia.

3. We urge the President of the United States to continue the policy of the United States in Vietnam and to take whatever steps that are necessary to achieve total victory over the Communist aggressors and to secure freedom for all of the people of Vietnam and southeast Asia.

4. That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Mississippi congressional delegation, and to the press.

Passed by acclamation: October 19, 1965.

MARY ANN HANCOCK,
Senate Clerk.

BO ROBERTS,
Senate President.

Report on 1st Session, 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, if quantity and quality were one and the same thing, there would be little difficulty in rating the accomplishments of the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

Certainly, the 454 public and private bills enacted into law, the 16,882 measures introduced, the 460 rollcall votes and the 27,816 pages of House and Senate proceedings in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD are impressive statistics by themselves.

But we well realize that legislative accomplishments are not properly measured by the page or the pound, and that the number of words in an act of Congress is not necessarily an accurate measure of its importance or its impact on our lives.

What we need are more significant yardsticks to give us a better picture of what happened during the 177 days that Congress was in session.

One of these meaningful measurements, to be sure, is the $119.3 billion to be spent by the Federal Government during the fiscal year ending next July—the largest amount ever appropriated by any government anywhere for any purpose in either peace or war.

We realize the meaning of this total, because as taxpayers we realize we are going to have to pay this bill one way or another sooner or later.

But there is another form of payment we will have to make for some of these programs so recently passed into law, and the date due for collection is unfortunately not very far away.

Payment will be made in freedom as well as in dollars. To some extent, each of us will be forced to give up a part of our right to make decisions for ourselves as individuals and for our community as members of it. We will turn that freedom, that authority over to the Federal Government.

Whether the benefits from these new programs are worth the price we must pay is something which each of us must decide and determine for ourselves.

But there is little doubt that in some cases, the price is going to be high and that some Federal agencies have been given massive doses of power and authority in areas they have never had such power before.

Already, there are serious doubts about the wisdom of some of the programs enacted into law. For instance, Congress refused to appropriated funds for a rent subsidy program which it had authorized only a few weeks earlier.

The reason for the cutoff of funds was that Federal regulations to administer the new program appeared to go far beyond anything Congress had intended and would have amounted to virtual dictation by the Federal Government on some aspects of housing in our local communities.

Families with assets to up to $25,000 would be eligible for Federal subsidies of up to 70 percent of their rent under these new guidelines. This certainly would be outside the category of assistance to needy families envisioned by the proponents of this plan.

REGRETS

Also, it is worth noting that the administration has not offered to amend its regulations to make them more palatable. Instead, it has simply regretted that the regulations were made public before funds for the program were appropriated and when it would have been too late for Congress to do anything about them.

The latest warning has come from the chairman of the House Education Subcommittee who has urged Congress to "stop, look, and listen" after the flood of education programs urged by the administration were enacted into law by Congress, in some cases with little committee consideration and very limited congressional debate.

Many fear that control of the funds and the administration of these programs gives the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare entirely too much power over local school districts.

They fear that the Office of Education will become the virtual dictator of what will be taught, how it will be taught, and who will teach in our schools.

WITHHOLD FUNDS

Already, the Office of Education has been charged with attempting to withhold $30 million in Federal school funds from the Chicago school district, and has tried to exert similar pressures on

school districts in Boston and San Francisco even though such efforts were directly contrary to the intent of the law.

They further point out that the Office of Education has grown 800 percent in personnel in the past 20 years, while funds administered by the agency have increased 7,000 percent in the same period of time.

Certainly not all programs passed by Congress this past year have been automatic raids on our freedom or our wallets. Some few of them, such as the voting rights bill and the removal of Federal excise taxes, have had just the opposite effect. They have enhanced and extended both political and economic freedom for many Americans who previously had been deprived of their fair share in years past.

PRICE OF PROGRAMS

It will be up to each of us to determine whether the price paid in freedom and in dollars for these programs was worth it in benefits received.

To comprehend all that has gone on in Congress in the past few months is a difficult task. A great deal will depend upon how programs are administered, the competence of those responsible for them and whether or not they are responsible public servants.

But it is important that the basics of what was done in Congress are understood by our citizens, because they will pay the bills for these far-reaching programs.

MAJOR PROGRAMS

Therefore, I would like to outline the major provisions of the programs considered by Congress since last January and give those I represent my vote on these issues and my reason for voting as I did.

After they have read this report, I would invite them to write me at Room 2435, House Office Building, Washington, D.C., if they have further questions or views on these programs or my position on these issues. I assure them that their letters will receive prompt consideration and attention.

Following are the issues, how I voted on them, and why:

VOTING RIGHTS

Voted "yes." Implements 15th amendment to the Constitution which provides that no one shall be deprived of the right to vote in either national or local elections because of race or religion. Provides for Federal examiners where there are indications that right to vote has been denied by local units of government or where less than 50 percent of voting age population voted in last presidential election.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Voted "yes." For those over age 65, provides hospital care program including inpatient hospital service, post-hospital and outpatient diagnostic services. For extra $3 a month, provides doctor and surgeon services, home health services, ambulance, X-ray. Benefits start July 1, 1966.

Also provides 7-percent average increase in social security benefits, plus increased benefits for child care, blind, disabled, needy children. Extends benefits to sons or daughters of recipients to age 22 if full-time students, lowers benefit age to 60 for widows or workers at reduced monthly amount. Provides social security coverage for physicians and interns.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Voted "no" on final passage after supporting more equitable distribution formula. Provides more than $1 billion annually in Federal grants to elementary and secondary schools. Opposed because distribution formula gives more money to richest counties rather than to poor who need it, because State educational agencies would be bypassed in many instances and Office of Education would have arbitrary control over distribution of funds. Because of complaints, House Education Subcommittee has already scheduled hearings next year on the question of possible Federal control of local school districts under this program.

EXCISE TAX REDUCTIONS

Voted "yes." Provides for ultimate repeal of all Federal excise taxes except for special purposes such as highway trust fund, alcoholic beverages and 1 percent excise tax on autos. Provides $4 billion in cuts on such items as autos, telephones, furs, jewelry, appliances, general admissions. Most items reduced on sliding scale before outright repeal of tax.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Voted "yes." Provides community service program, college library and library training assistance, assistance to developing institutions, student scholarships and loans, work-study program extensions. Proposal to create a National Teachers Corps was killed in conference committee after being added in Senate.

APPALACHIA

Voted "no." Authorizes $1.1 billion for 360 counties in 11 States. Opposed because emphasis wrongly placed. Eighty cents out of every dollar provided would go for highway construction, while only 2 cents would go for vocational training and the teaching of new skills to the unemployed. Roads without job skills for unemployed would be meaningless.

OMNIBUS HOUSING ACT

Voted "yes" on House passage. Voted "no" when Senate version containing rent subsidies came back to House. Authorizes $8.2 billion. Establishes rent supplement program for Federal Government to pay portion of rent to low- and middle-income families. Provides for 60,000 additional units a year of low-rent public housing for 4 years, including rent certificate feature to be used in connection with single-family housing.

Provides $2.9 billion for additional urban renewal. Increases college housing authorization by $300 million a year. Authorizes matching grants to communities for water and sewer facilities. Provides grants for health, recreational and community centers under poverty program.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS

Voted "no." Doubled authorization of funds for poverty program, removed right of State Governors to veto programs considered undesirable. Opposed because of program maladministration, political patronage of appointments, and because 1 in 7 OEO staff employees have salaries of $19,000 a year or better—the highest ratio of any Federal agency. Programs in big cities too often serve politics rather than poor. What is needed is an impartial investigation rather than more Federal money.

RIGHT-TO-WORK REPEAL

Voted "no." Would invalidate State laws guaranteeing right to work and banning union shop, some of which were adopted by votes of the people of the States. Passed by House but died in Senate. Opposed repeal because it would have given worker no place to go if he were blackballed by union. Supported amendments to prohibit union dues from being used for political purposes, end to racial and religious discrimination in labor unions, end to punishment of union members for exercising constitutional rights of free speech but which were rejected in the House.

ARMED SERVICE PAY

Voted "yes." Provides 11-percent pay increase for soldiers, sailors, airmen and marines to meet cost-of-living hikes and to move them closer to comparable pay with industry and civil service. Provides bonds on first reenlistment to Armed Forces member who is designated as having critical military skill.

IMMIGRATION ACT

Voted "yes." Abolished country quota system for immigrants and replaced it with a new system based on the reuniting of families and the individual merit of each applicant. Sets a limit of 170,000 on the number to be admitted to the United States each year, exclusive of Western Hemisphere, and sets a limit of 120,000 on Western Hemisphere immigration. Provided safeguards from unfair competition and lowering of wages and working standards to American workingman.

HEALTH PROFESSIONS

Voted "yes." Extend to 3 years program of matching grants for teaching facilities for training of physicians, dentists, public health personnel, optometrists, pharmacists and podiatrists. Also extends medical student loan program.

HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION

Voted "yes." Limits signs on interstate and primary highway systems within 660 feet of road right-of-way to directional and official signs and which conform to national standards, except for signs listing real estate on property for sale. If States do not conform, face loss of 10-percent of highway construction funds.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA HOME RULE

Voted "yes." Provided for establishment of locally elected government for District of Columbia. House version called for Charter Commission to draft city charter. Senate called for Mayor-Commission form of government. Conference committee will attempt to reconcile differences for further action by Congress next year.

WATER RESOURCES PLANNING ACT

Voted "yes." Provides for establishment of regional water basin organizations to assure adequate water supply in future. Provides financial assistance to States on a matching basis for resources planning. Authorizes $11.5 million a year for 10 years.

WATER QUALITY ACT

Voted "yes." Provides for cooperative action between local, State, and Federal governments in attacking water pollution.

Authorizes $20 million a year for 4 years for grants to develop demonstration projects of new methods of controlling waste discharges from storm drains or combined storm and sanitary sewers. Increases dollar limit on grants for sewer plant construction. Requires States to file letter of intent on water quality control to receive funds.

ARTS AND HUMANITIES ACT

Voted "no." Provides grants to States, organizations, and individuals to further creative and performing arts and humanities. Opposed because it establishes art czar and leads to official art. As in France, grants would go to those who are more able politicians rather than the best and most creative artists. In France, every major painter and sculptor was banned from official exhibits. Such artists as Rodin, Renoir, Van Gogh were forced to hold own exhibits after being criticized by official art circles.

FARM BILL

Voted "no." Provided price supports and subsidies of more than $2.4 billion to farmers for feed grains, wheat, rice, et cetera. Opposed because surplus stocks now at $7 billion and program has failed in past years. Now 1 Department of Agriculture employee for every 32 farms in United States. Net income of farmers standing still while food and clothing prices for families rising because of artificially high prices and higher taxes because of subsidies.

SUGAR SUBSIDIES

Voted "no." Provides subsidies of $90 million to foreign and domestic sugar producers which in turn raise price of sugar to Americans to almost three times world market price. Testimony revealed that sugar lobbyists receiving as much as $50,000 a year in their efforts to obtain sugar quotas for foreign governments.

MANPOWER ACT AMENDMENTS

Voted "yes." Provides extension of Manpower Retraining Act for encouraging the teaching of new skills to those out of work or employed at unskilled labor. Provides assistance of $432 million to States to establish and administer programs and provides training allowances for those enrolled.

FOREIGN AID

Voted "yes." Provides $3.1 billion for continuance of overseas economic and military assistance programs, including aid to Vietnamese. Also amends Agriculture Trade Development Act by banning sale of surplus foods to United Arab Republic unless President determines such sales in national interest. Increases Latin American housing guaranties, continues limit of arms aid to Africa, directs use of foreign currencies rather than dollars wherever possible.

EMPLOYEE SALARY INCREASE

Voted "yes." Provides 3.6 percent salary increase for Federal employees, based upon comparability formula with private wage increases.

HEART, CANCER, STROKE

Voted "yes." Establishes 3-year program of regional cooperative research, training, education and demonstrations of patient care in fields of heart disease, cancer, stroke and related diseases. Authorizes grants for establishment and operation of regional medical programs. Authorizes $340 million to carry out programs.

MENTAL HEALTH

Voted "yes." Authorizes Federal grants for meeting the initial cost of professional and techincal personnel for community mental health cnters.

PRESIDENTIAL INABILITY

Voted "yes." Proposed constitutional amendment provides for clear lines of authority in case President should be unable to exercise duties of office. Also provides for filling of vacancy of office of Vice President should one occur. Amendment must be ratified by States.

Mr. Speaker, Congress will reconvene in January for the second half of the 89th Congress.

Let us hope that the measure of its accomplishment will not merely be the number of taxpayer dollars spent on Federal programs. Spending money, even in the amounts expended by the Federal Government, is not a particularly difficult task.

What is difficult is solving national problems while still protecting the right of our citizens to self-determination. Let us hope that this will be constantly kept in mind.

Credit Union Development in Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, ever since the idea of credit unions was introduced in this country in 1900, credit unions have specialized in serving people by providing an institution in which a person can put savings and a place where loans can be made at low interest charges. The basis of credit unions is service to the public, not the blind obedience to profit.

It is always a pleasure for me to read of credit union successes, more so when it is my own State of Texas. I can remember a time when there was no such thing as a credit union in Texas, but today we have 1,282 credit unions, with membership of 15,700,000 in the United States with 982,000 in Texas alone. Over half a billion dollars worth of loans were made to Texans by credit unions in 1964.

Next to the church, credit unions have done more good than any other institution, helping the family keep respect and pride when financial difficulties arise. Low interest rated loans at easy terms for the little man, service to groups who otherwise could not afford expensive bank credit, and the providing of continuing prosperity to our growing economy are the results of a vigorous credit union system.

Mr. Speaker, I include an article by Sam Acheson, appearing in the October 21, 1965, Dallas Morning News, in the RECORD following my remarks:

CREDIT UNIONS THRIVE IN TEXAS: 902,881 MEMBERS

(By Sam Acheson)

The number of Texans belonging to Federal and State credit unions is approaching the million mark, with an actual count at the end of 1964 of 902,881. They hold membership in 1,282 unions to be found from the top of Texas in the upper Panhandle to the tip of Texas at Brownsville in the lower Rio Grande Valley.

According to figures released by the Texas Credit Union League in connection with International Credit Union Day observed in Dallas today, these same agencies for loans to individuals have total assets in excess of $½ billion.

In numbers served and volume of loans and savings, these nonprofit, carefully supervised agencies occupy an increasingly important place in the financial picture. The 1,282 Texas unions reported total savings last year of $473,672,700, loans outstanding of $448,617,900, reserves of $26,008,870, and assets of $542,643,200.

Before 1929, there were no credit unions in Texas, although the credit union idea originated in southern Germany in the middle of the last century during a period of extreme famine and poverty.

As explained by James M. Barry, of Dallas, managing director of the Texas Credit Union League, such a financial institution is created by a group of people who agree to save their money together and make loans to each other at low interest charges.

Members are always people in a particular association or group, ranging from employees in a given company or business to those grouped in other ways such as the same fraternal order, church, labor union, or even residential neighborhood.

Dallas and its metropolitan area has 185 credit unions with total membership of 167,805. This makes it the largest district in the State in total membership, although Houston with 229 unions and total assets of $115,679,000 is larger in total transactions.

Viewed statewide, the largest number of unions, 124, is made up of people engaged in the field of transportation. But one of the largest memberships is found in education, with a total of 104,964 members.

Other large groups include petroleum (99,131), wholesale and retail trade (45,590), Federal, State, and local governments (166,706), and defense installations (105,284).

Credited with fathering the idea of credit unions is Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen, mayor of a small town in Bavaria in 1849. It was transplanted to America in 1900 by Alphonse Desjardins, a legislative reporter in Montreal, and introduced from Canada into the United States by way of New England.

One of the biggest boosters of the idea was the late Edward A. Filene, Boston merchant and philanthropist. Massachusetts passed the first State law empowering this form of banking.

Basic Texas law was passed in 1929, in which year the first 11 credit unions were formed here. The late Senator Morris Sheppard and Representative WRIGHT PATMAN,

of Texarkana, got the first Federal credit union law through Congress in 1934.

The credit union movement has now become worldwide, with more than 25 million people belonging to it in 77 nations. It is strenuously attacked by Communists in the developing countries of the world because of its inculcation of habits of thrift, saving, and promotion of individual enterprise.

Texas has reason to be proud of its record of credit union growth, the State now being third in the Nation in the number of operating unions.

Salute to a Newspaperman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased at this time to salute Bruce O. Jolly, newspaperman.

I am compelled to do this by my conviction that there is no greater service to the stability and strength of our democracy and to the quality of our civilization than to carry the truth—the absolute truth—to our people. Moreover, in this salute I am aware that it is a personal privilege to draw attention to, and to commend, a newspaperman who has demonstrated outstanding devotion and performance in this purpose.

Bruce Jolly was a respected member of the Washington press corps for 15 years, serving as correspondent for the Greensboro, N.C., Daily News.

During this service he penetrated and reported faithfully the intricacies and the events of our Nation's Capital, and his work took him to far places. He has covered the national political conventions. He has made the "whistlestop" campaigns with presidential candidates. His pursuit of the news took him to the Arctic, the Antarctic, to London, to the continent of Europe, and to other lands.

Mr. Speaker, Bruce—as he is affectionately known to many Members of this body—has chosen now to use his exceptional talents in another field. He has left newspaper work to join the Southern Railway System in a public relations capacity. The Southern Railway is one of America's most progressive enterprises. I commend the wisdom of its executives in their recognition and use of Bruce's talents. All of our good wishes, and our confidence, follow Bruce in this new and challenging responsibility.

Many of those who know him miss his presence on Capitol Hill. But he will remain in Washington, and we shall continue to enjoy and to value his friendship.

Mr. Speaker, on occasions, as are other Members of the Congress, I am invited to attend and to participate in various functions of the National Press Club. I have been struck, as you have, by a bronze plaque in the club lobby, which sets forth "The Journalist's Creed," as stated by Walter Williams, dean of the School of Journalism, University of Missouri, 1908–35. I have had this creed copied down, and I include it at this point:

THE JOURNALIST'S CREED

I believe in the profession of journalism.

I believe that the public journal is a public trust; that all connected with it are, to the full measure of their responsibility, trustees for the public; that acceptance of a lesser service than the public service is betrayal of this trust.

I believe that clear thinking and clear statement, accuracy, and fairness, are fundamental to good journalism.

I believe that a journalist should write only what he holds in his heart to be true. I believe that suppression of the news, for any consideration other than the welfare of society, is indefensible.

I believe that no one should write as a journalist what he would not say as a gentleman; that bribery by one's own pocketbook is as much to be avoided as bribery by the pocketbook of another; that individual responsibility may not be escaped by pleading another's instructions or another's dividends.

I believe that advertising, news, and editorial columns should alike serve the best interests of readers; that a single standard of healthful truth and cleanness should prevail for all; that the supreme test of good journalism is the measure of its public service.

I believe that the journalism which succeeds best—and best deserves success—fears God and honors man; is stoutly independent; unmoved by pride of opinion or greed of power; constructive, tolerant, but never careless; self-controlled, patient, always respectful of its readers but always unafraid; is quickly indignant at injustice; is unswayed by the appeal of privilege or the clamor of the mob; seeks to give every man a chance, and, as far as law and honest wage and recognition of human brotherhood can make it so, an equal chance; is profoundly patriotic while sincerely promoting international good will and cementing world comradeship; is a journalism of humanity, of and for today's world.

Suffice it to say, Mr. Speaker, I have never known a newspaperman to live more closely to this creed than did Bruce O. Jolly during his years as Washington correspondent for the Greensboro Daily News.

The Eloquent Fuller Warren

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished former Governor of the State of Florida, the Honorable Fuller Warren, is well known for his eloquence as a speaker and a writer. Recently he commented in a letter to the Miami News on the meeting of Pope Paul and President Johnson in New York, and the text of that letter follows:

[From the Miami News, Oct. 7, 1965]

MANKIND STEPS AWAY FROM THREAT OF WAR

MIAMI.

To the EDITOR:

When the greatest political leader since Caeser clasped, in warm friendship, the outstretched hand of the consecrated spiritual leader of one-sixth of all mankind humanity's never-attained goal of permanent peace seemed not so far off as it once did.

It may be that these two men of God are His own chosen instruments for saving the human race from self-destruction. In mankind's long and tragic trek from savagery to civilization, no such combination of political and spiritual power has ever before been lined up so solidly on the side of peace and against war.

Let us hope, let us believe the meeting of these two men means that a mushroom cloud of nuclear destruction will not wipe out the world, as it did two Japanese cities 20 years ago.

FULLER WARREN.

On another occasion, former Governor Warren recalled the tragic death of one of the Nation's most colorful political leaders in a letter to the Orlando Sentinel. The text of that letter follows:

[From the Orlando Sentinel, Sept. 13, 1965]

HUEY LONG

MIAMI.

EDITOR: Thirty years ago, one of the two most progressive Governors ever to serve a Southern State fell mortally wounded by the bullet of a crazed assassin.

In 1928 Huey Long toppled an oppressive oligarchy that had made life miserable for most Louisianians throughout more than 50 years.

Huey Long built charity hospitals, roads, bridges, schools, colleges, and other institutions the people of Louisiana had needed for 100 years.

He waged relentless war on disease, hunger, poverty, and ignorance. He was the first southern Governor to provide free school books and buses, and he did it for all schoolchildren, Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and Negro.

Unlike some southern demagogs, Huey Long never raised the racial issue to win votes. He never bellowed about the South's "way of life." He never lamented "the lost cause." He never made an appeal to sectionalism.

Huey Long made government amusing. He made most Louisianians laugh. He brought fun to the floor of the U.S. Senate. He was the merriest man in America and the loudest. He wiped away the tears of millions of Americans during the terrible depression and filled their hearts with hope.

He inspired the man who gave Florida "50 years of progress in 4."

FULLER WARREN.

Report by Comptroller's Office Indicates Public Hurt by Heavy Banking Concentration and Easy Merger Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the September 1965 issue of the National Banking Review, a journal published by the Bureau of the Comptroller of the Currency, contains a very significant study by Franklin R. Edwards, a senior economist in the Department of Banking and Economic Research, Bureau of the Comptroller of the Currency.

Mr. Edwards concludes on the basis of a careful examination of 36 banking

centers in all parts of the country that the more heavily concentrated in a few hands commercial banking is, the more likely that interest rates on loans will be higher, interest rates paid on savings and time deposits will be lower, the ratio of loans to deposits will be lower and bank earnings will be higher.

Thus, are see from this careful study that the public is the loser when banks are permitted freely to merge, causing heavy concentration of economic power in the hands of a few banks. This conclusion casts gave doubts on the wisdom of the policy followed by Mr. Saxon, the Comptroller of the Currency, in approving well over 90 percent of the merger applications he has acted upon over the last 5 years.

I am inserting in the RECORD at this point excerpts from Mr. Edwards' article:

[George] Kaufman's study, which investigates bank performance in several Iowa counties, concludes that "high market concentration * * * is associated with higher interest charged on loans, lower interest paid on time deposits, higher service charges on demand deposits, and lower ratios of loans to assets and time deposits to total deposits." My earlier study supports Kaufman's findings with evidence showing that structure significantly affects small-business loan rates.

Further, a recent study by Shull & Horvitz concludes that the presence of a branch office, or even the possibility of entry by branching, significantly affects both interest rates paid on time and saivngs deposits and interest charged on loans. They also find a relationship between rates on time and savings deposits and the number of banks in the market. Although their study focuses on one- and two-bank towns and is directed primarily toward evaluating the impact of branching, their results, broadly interpreted, favor the thesis that structure partially determines bank performance.

It is clear that previous studies are conflicting, and that considerable disagreement exists among observers who have made the effort to find answers. The present study, by focusing on metropolitan areas where the structural variation is greatest, provides additional evidence to support the hypothesis that structure does affect performance.

* * * * *

1. Bank prices—Testing the hypothesis: Two hypotheses are tested: (1) that highly concentrated markets have lower average rates on time and savings deposits; and, (2) that in such markets average loan rates are higher. Classifying metropolitan areas into three groups according to their degree of concentration, table 5 shows the effect of concentration on these rates is consistent with the above hypotheses: In concentrated markets loan rates are higher and rates on deposits are lower. This simple scheme, however, does not permit us to conclude that concentration significantly affects bank pricing. For example, loan rates could be high because of high demand.

* * * * *

A 10-percentage-point increase in concentration results, on the average, in a decrease of approximately 6 basis points in the average interest rate which banks pay on time and savings deposits, and an increase of 10 basis points in the average interest rate they charge on loans. Thus, an increase in concentration is harmful to bank customers in two ways: by lowering the return on their savings deposits, and by increasing the price they must pay for loans.

* * * * *

Thus, the evidence shows that concentration affects bank pricing in a manner compatible with the theory of monopolistic competition.

* * * * *

2. Bank output: Lower loan rates increase the amount demanded, which results in higher loan-deposit ratios, while higher rates result in lower ratios. Since less competition leads to higher loan rates, we would, therefore, also expect concentration to have an adverse effect on bank output.

* * * * *

3. Bank profitability: Table 8 shows that bank earnings rise as concentration increases. From the lowest to the highest concentration group there is a difference of 16 basic points, which amounts to a 13-percent rise in earnings. The evidence is far from conclusive, of course, since many factors may combine in a coincidental manner to bring about this result.

* * * * *

Thus, high concentration may result in high profits because it permits banks to charge high loan rates while paying low rates for time and savings deposits. Both fact and theory therefore combine to support the hypothesis that structure also affects bank profitability.

* * * * *

Market concentration, especially, was found to be significantly associated with the pricing, output, and profits of banks—high concentration being associated with high loan rates, low rates on time and savings deposits, and high profits.

Report on Midpoint Conference of the International Farm Youth Exchange (IFYE) Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, the State of Kansas is proud of its role in the international farm youth exchange—IFYE—program. Kansas was host again this year to the midpoint conference of IFYE, July 29 to August 4. During the course of this conference, 108 IFYE exchangees from 33 countries participated in the meeting.

Because of the importance of this program to improve relations between the United States and other nations around the globe, and because these improved relations promote better understanding between the peoples of the various countries and because this better understanding fosters a climate for peace and progress, I feel that it is important that Members of Congress and their constituents know more about this program and the part Kansas has played in the development of it.

To that end I asked R. B. Tomkinson, of Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kans., to prepare a summary of the midpoint conference. Mr. Tomkinson is the division of extension specialist in 4-H work at Kansas State University. He served as coordinator of the IFYE program in Kansas and deserves much of the credit for the success of this year's conference.

In his report, Mr. Tomkinson stated:

IFYE was started as a cultural exchange to create better understanding between people by living another way of life. One of the strong points has been the opportunity for young people to live with farm families in another country.

Each year a different land-grant college cosponsors the IFYE midpoint conference with the National 4-H Club Foundation. This was the second time Kansas has been host to the event.

This year, the IFYE midpoint conference was held from July 28 to August 4 on the campus of Kansas State University in Manhattan, Kans. We had 108 exchangees from 33 countries participating in the program. As each exchangee visits two States in their 6 months' stay in the United States, the midpoint conference is held between the two State visits.

The objectives of the midpoint conference are to provide opportunities for the exchangee to—

(a) Renew acquaintances with other exchangees from their country—to speak their native language, to share experiences with each other, and to relax and recreate;

(b) Meet and learn to know exchangees from other parts of the world and to learn something of the culture, economy, government, and geophysiology of their countries;

(c) Review the objectives and discuss the operations of the IFYE program;

(d) Pursue their individual interests in educational rural youth work and/or agriculture and home economics;

(e) Review experiences in their first host States and needs yet to be fulfilled; and

(f) Look ahead to the second State visits and the opportunities to meet such needs.

In addition to the experience of young people living with farm families in another country, other countries are now indicating that they want their young people to pick up technical information that they can use in their home countries. This year, four special-interest workshops were included on the agenda of the conference: (1) Rural youth leadership; (2) home economics; (3) animal husbandry and poultry; and (4) field crops. Thus, by including this for the first time in the midpoint conference, we feel the exchangees were able to acquire some technical knowledge and information.

Kansas has the largest IFYE program of any State in the Nation. All 105 counties in Kansas have been active in the program. We have had 739 families host 238 exchangees from 64 different countries. At the same time, we have sent 141 Kansas delegates from 66 countries to 46 different countries. The following is a summary of the highlights of the Kansas IFYE program for 1965:

PARTICIPANTS FROM KANSAS IN 1965

Gloria Bartholomew, Alton (Osborne County) visited Japan.

Mary K. Munson, Junction City (Geary County) visited India.

Richard Hawkins, Colby (Rawlins County) visited India.

Gerald Schmidt, Kinsley (Edwards County) visited Tunisia.

Barbara Symns, Atchison (Doniphan County) visited Jamaica.

Tom O'Dell, Elk City (Elk County) visited Turkey.

Karen Chitwood, Wichita (Sedgwick County) visited Brazil.

Fourteen exchangees from 13 countries lived with 37 Kansas families in 26 counties. This year's IFYE's were:

Miss Ilma T. Arns, Brazil.
Mr. Matti Sipila, Finland.
Miss Annemarie Weber, Germany.
Miss Arati Sahana, India.
Mr. Shailendera Pathak, India.
Miss Gabrielle M. Gowing, Ireland.
Mr. Dante Losco, Italy.
Mr. Alvaro Aguirre C., Mexico.
Miss Marit Valstad, Norway.
Mr. Eladio Saldivar M., Paraguay.

Mr. Aziz A. Fouzai, Tunisia.
Miss Nedret Sener, Turkey.
Mr. Raul G. Bratschi H., Uruguay.
Mr. Eduardo J. Vasquez G., Venezuela.

The National 4-H Foundation said this was the best midpoint conference yet. Thanks goes to the Kansas IFYE alumni who assisted, Cooperative Extension Service personnel, and other Kansas State University faculty members who worked tirelessly to make it a success.

FRIEND OF IFYE

This was the third year that the Kansas IFYE Alumni Association presented this award.

(a) This year, 1965, Kansas Farm Bureau, the first organization to receive this award was made "Friend of IFYE" for their support and encouragement of the IFYE program.

(b) In 1963, J. Harold Johnson, executive director of the Kansas 4-H Foundation, and Roger E. Regnier, State 4-H leader were the recipients.

(c) In 1964, Dr. G. B. Marion, KSU faculty member and one of the originators of the IFYE program was the recipient.

Kansas IFYE alumni planned and conducted the 1965 delegate selection and orientation, Feast of Nations, and National IFYE Mid-Point Conference. The State 4-H advisory committee recommended that part of the additional money raised by the new district 4-H foundation committees be used to lower the county share to $700 from $900 per 1965 delegates.

Letters from Kansas delegates were printed in the major Kansas newspapers and through the cooperation of extension information department. Tapes were used by radio stations for the third year.

Fraternities and sororities hosted incoming IFYE exchangees which gave the exchangees an opportunity to become acquainted with college life, and KSU students to become acquainted with the IFYE program.

The Kansas IFYE Alumni Association sponsored, for the fifth year, a 4-H Club people-to-people project which provides 4-H Club members an opportunity through their 4-H Club experiences to promote world peace and understanding. The 1965 winners were: Kathy Rebecca Jackson, Greenwood County; Teresa Fauss, Sedgwick County; Bonnie Collins, Ford County; Mary Beth Chase, Thomas County; Florence Stein, Leavenworth County; Mustard Seed 4-H Club, Saline County.

The reason, I believe, Kansas has the largest IFYE program is not because of what we do at the State 4-H office, or State extension service but that the people of Kansas, even though landlocked in the middle of the United States, are truly interested in understanding the people of the world.

We felt the one thing that helped make this conference a huge success was that the total universiy was involved. No only was the State 4-H staff involved, but our IFYE alumni and other Kansas State University resource people. With the whole university contributing their talents, the conference was highly successful.

In addition to this report by Richard Tomkinson, I want to also include with my remarks an article on the conference which appeared in the August issue of Yield, the publication of the Farmers Union Cooperative Marketing Association. The article follows:

MIDPOINT CONFERENCE FOR 108 INTERNATIONAL FARM YOUTH EXCHANGEES

Kansas State University hosted a meeting of worldwide scope, July 28 to August 4, during the annual International Farm Youth Exchange Midpoint Conference.

The 108 IFYE exchangees from 33 countries now in the United States participated in the meeting, reported Dick Tomkinson, extension 4-H club specialist, KSU and coordinator of the IFYE program in Kansas. The National 4-H Foundation, Washington, D.C., conducts the IFYE program and the conference in cooperation with the State extension service of the host university.

Highlights of the program included workshops on rural leadership, home economics, animal husbandry, and field crops; discussion of the American way of life and world challenges. Dr. A. D. Weber, director of international activities at KSU, gave a major address on "World Challenges" followed by discussion groups and a question period with a panel of KSU faculty members.

For many sessions the exchangees are divided into three groups according to countries—Latin America, Asia, and Europe, Caribbean, Oceania.

The final day of the conference was IFYE day with Kansas IFYE alumni, host families, participants in the people-to-people program, and friends of IFYE as guests. The schedule included a luncheon, people-to-people program, reception, and international banquet and evening program.

The midpoint conference provides the exchangees an opportunity to compare experiences and evaluate the first half of their 6-month stay in the United States. They have lived with rural families in one State and will go from the conference to their second host State. In each State, the rural youth from other countries live with four to six host families.

Ten countries had four or more exchangees at the meeting. India had the largest number, 16, with Brazil, Republic of China, Germany, Israel, Japan, Nepal, Philippines, Turkey, and Venezuela each having at least 4 exchangees in the country this year.

IFYE IS WHEAT FARMER

One of the IFYE delegates was from the wheat growing area of New South Wales, Australia, Maldon B. Yelland, 25, a third generation wheat farmer. "I had hoped to see some of Kansas' famous wheatfields while I was here," he related, "and was disappointed to find harvest already completed."

Yelland explained some about their farming operation in Australia, "We have 200 acres of wheat. It is spring wheat, planted in May and harvested in December. We have three major damaging factors we fear each year: (1) A frost; (2) rust, and (3) root rot. This year we are experiencing one of the worst droughts ever, receiving only 2½ inches of moisture since December 15.

"All wheat is marketed through our Australian Wheat Board, an organization for the selling of wheat and storage of same. At the present time the board is constructing many silos, what you call elevators here. The board guarantees us a price on our grain and pays us when we deliver it to them. This usually runs about $1 to $1.12 per bushel. Then for the next 2 years, as the grain is sold domestically or for export, the proceeds over the original price are prorated back to us, so that we receive about $1.60 per bushel total payment over a 3-year period."

In addition to wheat, the Yelland farm has 150 acres of oats, which they graze and then harvest for feed grain for their 2,300 head of Merino sheep. The national average is one to four sheep per acre of pasture and Yellands have 1,100 acres of grazing land.

Primary exports of the country are (1) wool, (2) wheat, (3) meat, and (4) sugar.

Maldon spent the first 3 months of his exchange tour in Wyoming and was heading for North Carolina for the second half, planning on being home in time for harvest.

Preliminary Analysis of Report of the Interagency Maritime Task Force

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, on October 4, 1965, the Interagency Maritime Task Force issued a report on "A Policy and a Program for the Merchant Marine in National Defense and Trade." Unfortunately no opportunity was actually afforded to persons actively engaged in maritime commerce to comment or make suggestions regarding the content of the interagency report.

Adm. W. J. McNeil, president of the Grace Line, has prepared a critique of the task force report. I am placing this critique in the RECORD inasmuch as I believe that Admiral McNeil's views will be of interest to those persons concerned with our maritime problems in both the private and public sectors:

PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF REPORT OF THE INTERAGENCY MARITIME TASK FORCE ISSUED OCTOBER 4, 1965

This brief critique of the task force report has been prepared as a possible aid to persons interested in U.S. maritime policy and represents the general viewpoint of a U.S.-flag ship operator.

It is clear that a great deal of thought has gone into this report, but it obviously suffers the infirmity of having been authored by a group who apparently do not have the practical background, experience, or technical knowledge of the ocean shipping business. The recommendations, as a result, contain good, bad, and indifferent elements.

Perhaps the most serious shortcoming of the report is its obvious disregard of the large body of history that went before the passage of the 1936 act, the intent of Congress in adopting the 1936 act, and the reasons for passage of the other acts, such as the 1916 act, dedicated to the development of our foreign trade and our merchant marine.

In summary, the good points in the interagency report—or points which, with some modification, could be made acceptable—are the following:

1. The aim to minimize the extent of direct Government supervision and involvement in the payment of subsidy and operation of the merchant marine.

2. Permission for liner operators to engage in bulk trades.

3. The right to build or acquire ships abroad for U.S.-flag operation after shipyard subsidies are exhausted (but only if separation of shipyard and ship operator support could not be achieved, or, assuming direct subsidy to shipyards, if the operator could not attain a reasonably competitive price on ships in U.S. yards).

4. The payment of direct operating subsidies to new U.S.-flag bulk carriers in lieu of the present indirect support given through premium rates for cargo.

5. Granting the right to U.S.-flag operators to own foreign shipping operations as long as the two operations are kept separate and distinct (but only to the extent that the U.S. Government does not choose, as a policy, to support U.S.-flag operation on a full parity basis).

6. Government sharing in a one-time financial settlement as an effective means of bringing about progressive introduction of automation, rationalization of work practices, and the setting of manning scales at minimum levels consistent with safety and technology.

The bad points in this report appear to be the following:

1. The payment of operating subsidies based on gross revenue earned.

2. The continuation of the present system of administering shipbuilding subsidies. Rather than make the subsidy a direct grant to the shipyard, the proposal continues the requirement that the ship operator be responsible for initiating requests for construction subsidy, thus involving the operator in the administration of these subsidies and entangling him in Government control of design of his ship.

3. Destruction of the trade route concept and substitution of global trade areas.

4. Arbitrary elimination or elimination by virtual blackmail of passenger ships.

5. Proposed destruction of the conference system, apparently based on a lack of understanding that there is no international equivalent to an ICC to control and regulate ocean commerce.

6. The indiscriminate elimination of the cargo preference laws—not realizing there are two distinct forms of cargo preference: rate preference and routing preference.

7. The continuation of Marad's insistence on standardized construction without regard to the need for specialized design features for profitable operations in particular trades.

8. Permitting indiscriminate entry of more than one U.S.-flag liner company into one trade area. Most insidious, perhaps, is the proposed intention of using this vehicle to force operators into the new program regardless of existing contract rights.

9. The proposal omits altogether any mention of the possibility of creating a U.S.-flag fleet for the carriage of proprietary cargoes in bulk.

To give a better understanding of the good and bad points listed above, a paragraph or two on each, following the numbered sequence listed above, follows:

GOOD FEATURES OF PROGRAM

1. Reduction of Government interference: It is a stated purpose of the task force program to reduce the extent of interference of the Government in administering the merchant marine support program. This is an eminently desirable objective which would result in freeing up a great deal of top-management talent to concentrate on the productive side of operating a shipping business. As it is, a disproportionate share of top management's time, effort, and ingenuity is devoted to Government regulatory matters. Unfortunately, however, the stated intent of the task force's program is quite different than the probable result. If all the elements of the program which will require MARAD's determinations, permissions, and direction are added together, the only result will be greater interference and involvement with the operation of the U.S. merchant marine than before.

2. Liner operators to be permitted to operate bulk ships: The present system of restricting subsidized liner operators solely to the operation of ships in subsidized trade routes eliminates the possibility of the company using its administrative organization and talent to run more than one business. Essentially, the management of a subsidized liner company could very well take on other shipping activities without impairing its ability to carry on the liner operation and yet increase its profit picture by engaging in corollary activities such as the bulk trades. The financial strength and management knowhow of these companies could be invaluable in building a strong bulk carrier fleet to meet the needs of U.S. commerce.

3. Permit U.S.-flag operators to build abroad: The program contemplates allowing U.S.-flag operators to build or acquire ships abroad after the U.S. shipyards exhausted the shipbuilding subsidy funds granted by the Government in any given year. The basic idea has merit, but it should be modified to the extent of permitting operators to build abroad only if a separation of shipyard and ship operator support cannot be achieved, or, assuming direct subsidy to shipyards, if the operators could not attain a reasonably competitive price on ships in U.S. yards. There are also the practical problems of timely appropriations by Congress, fiscal year juggling of orders, and other such difficulties which would in fact make it unlikely that a time would ever be reached when permisison would be given to a U.S.-flag operator to build or acquire abroad. These problems could be solved by having the Government make subsidy payments for shipbuilding direct to the shipyard on a basis of continuing appropriations with no reference to the operator and no interference on the part of the Government in attempting to dictate to the ship operator the type of ship or characteristics to be included for commercial operation. Under such arrangement, the shipyards would have the assurance of a stated amount of funds to be allocated annually on a continuing basis and thus give them the ability to bid for work on a 12-month basis. It would be hoped that support would be provided for an adequate level of shipbuilding in U.S. yards because American-built ships are excellent ships and U.S.-flag operators are proud to buy and sail these ships and would naturally hope to continue to do so. Nevertheless, the principle of separation must be established and should be as distinct as it is between Boeing and United Airlines, General Motors and Greyhound Bus Lines, or any manufacturer of equipment and user

4. Payment of operating subsidies to bulk carriers: The proposal to pay direct operating subsidies to bulk carriers would assist greatly in bringing into being efficient and modern ships for the U.S. merchant marine to carry a large portion of the volume of U.S. foreign trade. Such direct support of bulk carriers would progressively reduce and ultimately eliminate payment of premium freight rates on farm surplus cargo now being paid as an indirect subsidy. The proposal has shortcomings, however, since it insists that these ships be constructed under the present system of Government interference with design through the shipyard subsidy and limiting the number of ships to be built with Government support to five ships a year. If the limitation of five ships a year is adhered to, for example, it would probably take 40 years to achieve, or possibly never achieve, the impact desired in carrying all or a major portion of the premium-rated overseas surplus shipments and imported raw materials. These ships, it should be recalled, are to be permitted to cross trade in order to obtain cargoes. It is possible, therefore, that some of the ships might only make one voyage a year carrying U.S. exports or imports and spend the rest of the year in trade between other countries. The number of ships actually required to have any substantive impact is more likely in the neighborhood of 20 vessels a year for a period of 10 years and perhaps 10 vessels a year thereafter in order to have an effective program in motion.

5. U.S. liner operators to be permitted to operate foreign flag tonnage: The proposal to permit U.S.-flag liner companies to operate foreign flag tonnage is basically sound on the same principle applying to the proposal to permit the U.S.-flag liners to operate bulk ships under the U.S. flag. The purpose of such a diversification would be to allow the liner company to utilize its administrative setup and capital resources to maximum advantage. Caution is necessary not to permit this type diversification to be completely unrestricted. It probably should be limited to the extent that the U.S. Government does not choose, as a policy, to support U.S.-flag operation on a full parity basis. Stated differently, no U.S.-flag operator should be permitted to operate foreign flag tonnage as long as funds are available and the U.S. Government is willing to provide the necessary financial support to operate the additional tonnage on a full parity basis under the U.S. flag.

6. Government to share in one-time financial settlement and arrangement with labor: This is a desirable recommendation. Their plan to have the Government recognize its role and responsibility to bring about labor stability, to permit free introduction of automation, to allow rationalization of work practices, and the setting of manning scales at minimum levels consistent with safety and technology has merit. The major shortcoming of the U.S. merchant marine industry has been its inability to cope with labor on a rational and comprehensive basis. Both management and labor in the maritime industry have been and are fragmented, making it almost impossible to reach the kind of settlement necessary to put the industry as a whole on a sound management-labor footing. This was amply demonstrated in the recent 78-day strike when the Government agreed to set up machinery to settle interunion problems and adjudicate disputes on manning of automated ships. The U.S. Government is the only entity which would be capable of coping with this problem at this stage, and a program such as that described in the task force report should be carried out regardless of implementation of any portion of the program. This, alone, would be a long step forward in making the U.S. merchant marine more viable and economically sound.

The undesirable features of the task force report are discussed below.

UNDESIRABLE FEATURES OF PROGRAM

1. Payment of subsidies based on gross revenue: While proposing to retain the parity concept, the task force outlines a system of making actual subsidy payments based on gross revenue earnings from commercial cargo. Parity would continue to be calculated on the basis of foreign wage costs, but the actual payment would be geared to gross revenue—the higher the gross revenue the greater the payment of subsidy and vice versa. Needless to say, the U.S.-flag operator would enjoy or possess parity only in theory since it would be based on an average gross earning over the preceding 3 years. In the following years, the operator would always be either less than on an equal footing or on a better footing depending on how much below or above the average earnings he attained in subsequent years. Upon recalculation in the next 3 years, the operator would no doubt receive a greater rate of subsidy per hundred dollars of revenue if his revenue performance fell below the previous average and would receive less in the way of subsidy payments if his performance had been better than the average. Thus, the so-called incentive would reward poor performance and would penalize the good performance—just the opposite of the stated objective.

In addition, the proposed system would probably have the following effects on ship operations:

(a) Encourage increases in freight rates.

(b) Encourage selectivity and concentration on high-rated cargoes and neglect of low- or medium-rated cargoes.

(c) By emphasizing gross revenue, it would automatically tend to deemphasize costs and could bring about a situation where operators would strive for gross earn-

ings no matter what the costs, such as overtime, etc.

(d) By encouraging an increase in revenue which is highly variable, and encouraging an increase in fixed costs, the program would result in an increase in the risk element of the operation and make it even more difficult to attract private capital to the shipping business.

(e) The complicated computations required both for computing what the foreign costs are, as is being done now, and added to that the determination of a subsidy rate for different companies and different ships within each company would tend to increase rather than decrease Government interference in subsidy administration and ship operations.

(f) While the incentive to increase gross revenues might be present for the initial 3 years, the fact that the subsidy rate would be decreased if gross revenues exceeded the previous 3-year average would tend to take all the starch out of the incentive aspect for companies who intend to stay in business beyond the first 3-year or contract period.

While the proposed system of subsidy geared to gross earnings is totally unacceptable, the task force report does contain a suggestion for a method of paying subsidies that has a certain amount of merit. This scheme is listed as "alternative 8" and factors the subsidy per voyage day in terms of the type of ship operated. Further consideration of this scheme might very well be justified.

2. Continuation of the present system of administering shipbuilding subsidies: The report goes on at great length to describe the importance of the shipbuilding industry and further describes how the Government should go about determining the amount of shipbuilding that should be subsidized for commercial purposes. (It should be noted that the subsidy for commercial purposes is only a small fraction of the total Government support given to U.S. shipyards through Navy and other Government agency work.) All of this discussion, it should be noted, relates, as it should, to shipbuilding as an industry apart from the U.S. merchant marine or ship operators. Unfortunately, the proposal does not take the logical next step which is to treat the shipbuilding-support program completely separate and apart from the program of support for ship operators. As a result, the shipyard subsidy is used as a device to entangle the ship operator in the bureaucratic desires of the Maritime Administration in terms of ship characteristics, ship equipment, and ship manning. The stated intention of freeing the operator from Government interference is again thwarted by this device, so no change should be expected in the amount and kind of dealing of the Government with the ship operator. If the logical next step had been taken in this proposal, and the shipyard subsidy had been considered as a direct-support payment to the shipyard industry, it would then have been possible to consider allowing the shipyards to conduct their business with as little interference from the Government as possible and, by having their costs equalized with foreign shipyards, could then compete for shipbuilding work on a worldwide basis rather than strictly on a domestic basis.

3. Destruction of the trade-route concept and substitution of global trade areas: The basic idea behind the existing trade-route concept for liner operations is to ensure that the principal geographic trading areas important to the commerce of the United States are adequately served by a strong and healthy U.S.-flag carrier for the purposes of reliability, adequacy and stability of rates and service, and encouragement and development of U.S. trade with all countries of the world. The substitution of a trade-area concept destroys the basic intent of the trade-route concept, as described above, by using the profit motive as the sole criterion to determine ports or countries to be served by U.S.-flag carriers, by permitting indiscriminate entry of U.S.-flag companies into trade areas, and permitting shifting from one trade area to another solely for the temporary purpose of maximizing profits. What is needed is a reaffirmation of the trade route concept for liner services but liberalized sufficiently to permit the operator within a trade route to maximize utilization of his ships by giving him greater freedom of choice of ports of call, frequency of sailings, and routing of his vessel. Bulk and tramp operations, however, can be and should be of a global nature and not restricted to trade routes.

4. Elimination of passenger ships: The final objective of the task force's recommendations regarding passenger ships is their total elimination from U.S.-flag operation. No distinction is made between pure passenger ships and combination-passenger ships. This proposal comes at a time when every other significant maritime nation is in the process of adding modern passenger ships to their fleets. It sweeps aside the arguments of national prestige, national defense for troop-carrying purposes, trade enhancement aspects, and other plus arguments for continuation of passenger ship operations. What is even more serious is the implicit blackmail contained in the task force report on the proposal to eliminate passenger ships. The report states that operators who propose early termination of their passenger ship operations can expect to receive favorable consideration for Government participation in new freight operation projects which could be viewed as using part of the passenger ship operating subsidy savings. Conversely, it can be concluded that those passenger ship operators who insist on continuing under their passenger ship contracts with the Government will undoubtedly be excluded from any other Government assistance for any new project. Such an indiscriminate and total commitment to an action that might have dire consequences of the future of this country is wrong in principle. The cost to the United States for supporting passenger ships is small in comparison to the danger inherent in the gamble that would be taken by their elimination.

5. Destruction of the conference system: Besides invading the province of the Federal Maritime Commission, the task force makes the sweeping conclusion that the conference system is inimical to the best interests of the United States and that the subsidy system should be used as a means of destroying the conference system. This sweeping conclusion disregards the repeated findings after exhaustive studies of Congress and the governments of other nations regarding the benefits of the conference system. It also discards a long history of abuses, malpractices, and trading chaos which existed throughout the maritime world before the formation of a strong conference system. The condemnation of this system rests on the erroneous premise that the existing freight-rate structures have an adverse effect on U.S. commerce. The fact that our Shipping Act of 1916, as amended, specifically exempts ocean carriers from the antitrust laws to permit them to engage in the conference system for good and valid reasons is cast aside as being immaterial. This drastic and immature recommendation, if implemented, could only do grave harm to the U.S. merchant marine and the foreign commerce of the United States by returning to the chaotic and intolerable conditions and discriminatory practices of nonconference operation.

6. Elimination of cargo preference: The task force report is obviously confused on the meaning of and the impact of cargo preference. It indiscriminately lumps together routing preference and rate preference under the single heading of cargo preference. In the case of rate preference—that is the payment by the U.S. Government of premium rates on Government or surplus commodities for shipment in U.S. bottoms—there is no argument regarding the desirability of its elimination, providing some method is developed to make U.S. bulk carriers competitive. It is the purpose of the proposed direct subsidy payment to bulk carriers to eliminate in due course the need for such extra payment, which is actually an indirect form of subsidy to now-unsubsidized U.S.-flag carriers.

Routing preference, on the other hand, by which is meant the control by the U.S. Government or reservation by the U.S. Government of government cargoes so that all or some definite portion must move in U.S.-flag bottoms, in this case, at the going world rate—there is no extra cost to the U.S. taxpayer since the price would be the same no matter who carried. The argument that routing preference creates problems with our allies and friends to whom we are bound by treaties of commerce can be answered by the fact that it is the common practice of all major maritime nations to reserve for their own ships the bulk of the cargo generated for their own account by the governments involved. In fact in many nations commercial cargoes are also controlled through ingenious import/export regulations and U.S. cargo preference laws and regulations are the only proven countermeasures to secure equal treatment for U.S.-flag carriers.

In the case of U.S. routing preference, only Government-generated cargo is presently involved. Moreover, in practice, routing preference is used by many ship operators not as a negative tool, that is to reserve to themselves all of the Government-generated cargoes, but as a lever by which to pry from the countries and areas in which the operator trades the right to equal access to the cargoes of those countries. It is often forgotten that United States is only one of the partners in foreign trade. In all cases there is the sovereignty of a second country that is involved and discrimination can and does go both ways. When routing preference is used as a means of forcing equal access, it is then a constructive tool. Its loss to the ship operators would be a serious setback in maintaining the position of the U.S.-flag ships in world trade.

7. Government control of ship design. The task force report proposes to continue the present system of Government control over ship design and vessel equipment, insisting principally on standardization. It is or should be obvious that it is impossible for a group not practically or financially involved to gain an appreciation or develop a knowledge of the ship requirements of the many trade areas in the world. The fact is that ship operators, from a purely self-interested point of view, already specify standardized components and features for their vessels wherever it is practicable, feasible, and economical to do so, but never at the expense of service to the trade.

For the task force to insist on continuing the present effort to dictate standardized hulls, certain types of equipment, and other impedimenta of ship operation flies in the face of their stated intention of freeing the operator from Government interference. If the intention of the task force is to permit the U.S.-flag operator to buy his ship at world prices both in domestic shipyards as well as foreign shipyards, the task force should take the logical next step in permitting the U.S.-flag operator to deal with the U.S. shipyard in precisely the same manner he would deal with a foreign shipyard if he were permitted to build or acquire ships abroad. This follows the point made earlier that the relationship should be as distinct and separate as Boeing is from United Airlines, Greyhound from General Motors, or any manufacturer from any user of transportation equipment.

8. Allowing indiscriminate entry of U.S.-flag subsidized carriers into any given trade

area: One of the concepts embodied in the 1936 act, and one which is still valid, is the limitation of use of subsidy money in any given trade area to one or as few companies as necessary to give a trade route adequate U.S.-flag tonnage. Unless the volume of cargo in any one trade route warranted it, it was not to be permitted to have two or more subsidized carriers competing among themselves. The wisdom of this is quite apparent, but obviously was not taken into consideration by the task force report. It is their proposal that liner operators be permitted to switch from trade area to trade area as they wish to achieve the single purpose of maximizing gross earnings. No consideration is given to any other aspect of foreign trade, whether it be service, regularity, or anything else. The proposal is largely self-defeating since the Government would theoretically be subsidizing a number of lines in competition with each other whose only effect would be to cut down the profitability of all companies and make the expenditure of subsidies largely ineffective and therefore wasted.

9. Report omits mention of proprietary carriers: The task force report makes no mention whatever of proprietary carriers as an element of the U.S. merchant marine. As matters now stand, a preponderance of U.S. industries that depend on imported raw materials operate foreign-flag shipping. While it is not being suggested that direct subsidy payment be made to operators of proprietary carriers, it is suggested that means are available for inducing U.S. companies to bring their ships under the U.S. flag by such means as accelerated depreciation allowances, minimum manning guarantees, and other similar incentives. In the case of the petroleum industry alone, for example, U.S. companies own one-fifth of the tanker tonnage registered under all other flags—a return of even a portion of this tonnage to U.S.-flag operation would be a significant boost to the status of the U.S. Merchant marine.

The Doctor Shortage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, one of the many problems confronting our Nation with its ever-increasing population is the training of enough doctors to properly care for those with illness or disease.

In Indiana this problem is expected to become particularly acute as the population approaches 5 million with only one State medical school to supply physicians.

The Indiana Legislature is now considering suggested sites for a new State medical school and one of those under consideration is at Ball State University in Muncie.

After an examination of the advantages in the Muncie site I have given my wholehearted support to locating the new medical school there.

Strong supporters of a new medical school at Ball State are the Muncie newspapers which have been lending editorial backing to the project.

In an excellent editorial, the Muncie Star presented a concise report on the problem confronting Indiana which will be of interest to all States which must soon reckon with this problem.

The Muncie Star editorial follows:

THE DOCTOR SHORTAGE

The proposal of a council of Indiana doctors that the State build new medical schools deserves the most serious consideration.

Indiana has a population fast approaching 5 million. Yet it has only one medical school. The Indiana University School of Medicine admits 200 freshmen a year. Many medical experts think its enrollment is too large. Its admissions are approximately double that of the average medical school.

The experts' concern is based upon the belief that medical education can suffer if the enrollment is too large for the faculty and plant. The idea seems to be that the more students that must be trained, the thinner the faculty must spread its talents and attention. This is a widespread weakness in undergraduate schools, as most postwar college graduates are well aware. Medical education is a field that should not take shortcuts or cut corners.

In spite of the fact that experts think Indiana University Medical School is already too large, its administration wants to expand it further. Care must be taken that this excellent school is not force-grown to the point where its administration becomes unwieldy and its teaching inferior.

But the most urgent need from the public's viewpoint is a need for more doctors. A recent study financed by Eli Lilly & Co. showed that the Nation's population is growing much faster than physicians are being trained to minister to its ills. Unless steps are taken to ward off the eventuality, it said, the Nation will experience a serious shortage of doctors within a few years.

The long lines of patients waiting sometimes for hours in so many doctors' offices and hospital corridors would seem to bear this out.

The council of the Indiana State Medical Association in proposing new medical schools for the State warned that Indiana University "cannot train the number of physicians who will be needed in our State in future years."

The time to meet the problem is soon—before it reaches the dangerous stage. Muncie is interested.

Conservation Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the 1st session of the 89th Congress has been labeled by custodians of our natural wealth as the "conservation Congress." In this, I heartily concur. More important than what this Congress has accomplished in conservation and development of our natural resources is the manner in which we proposed the programs. I outlined the need for balanced development of our natural resources when I had the privilege of delivering the keynote speech to the 1965 Pacific Northwest Region Convention of the American Society of Agricultural Engineers, at the University of Idaho.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of my address.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR CHURCH

No other section of our country—and possibly no place on earth—has been endowed with a greater abundance of natural wealth than our own Pacific Northwest. We have been blessed with rich mineral deposits, with vast tracts of timber, and with a plentitude of fertile land. Best of all, we enjoy a generous supply of water.

The Pacific Northwest has every physical attribute for a bountiful future. Our responsibility, as the custodians of this rich endowment, is to care for and develop it in such a wisely balanced way as to best promote the general well-being of all the people—now and in the future.

The key word is "balance," for without the proper balance—to use a resource in one instance, to replenish or conserve it in another—we will not be utilizing our natural wealth; we will be exploiting it to depletion and eventual destruction.

It has been said that the difference between a politician and a statesman is that a politician thinks in terms of the next election, while a statesman thinks in terms of the next generation. The same could be applied to the difference between a developer and a conservationist.

At the turn of the present century, half the population of the United States was still engaged in the production of raw products—on the farms, in the mines and forests. Today, only a tenth of our working force is so engaged. This doesn't mean that our national resources have become less important. It indicates, rather, that production of raw materials has become so efficient that 90 percent of our work force can concentrate on the embellishments—manufacturing, processing, servicing, transporting, teaching, engaging in the arts and sciences, the medical or legal professions, or in engineering—the many facets of modern society which, nonetheless, rests upon the base of our natural resources.

The mounting pressure on these resources has been accentuated by the phenomenal growth in our population. By the end of this century, 35 years hence, the number of people living in the United States will double—350 million citizens will be hungrily consuming our natural wealth, and, at the same time, looking to it to furnish them with outdoor pleasure during their leisure time. Projections indicate that they will have more than twice as much disposable per capita income and paid vacation time as in 1960. Their average workweek will have decreased from 39 hours to 32 hours. Plainly, we face a challenging trusteeship, if we are to manage our endowment in such a way as to permit our grandchildren to eat their cake and have it too.

By the year 2000, farm production will have to rise from its 1960 level of $20.8 billion to $38 billion. In the same period, timber needs will grow from 11.5 billion cubic feet to 32.3 billion cubic feet. Where we were withdrawing 84.5 trillion gallons of water a day in 1960, we shall require a withdrawal of nearly 150 trillion gallons, 35 years hence.

If we assume—and I think we can—that the expert management of our forests will prove equal to the test—and that our farmers with the help of modern research, hybrid seeds, commercial fertilizers, advanced education in agricultural methods, excellent extension courses, and the contribution of the soil conservation service, will also manage—this leaves us with the unanswered question of how we are going to handle our water.

It is with this question—the care and development of the water resources of the great Northwest—that I propose to deal this morning.

The modern phase of river development in the Northwest began when President Frank-

lin Delano Roosevelt, in 1932, commenced the construction of the Bonneville Dam, followed shortly by the Grand Coulee on the Columbia River. This was the beginning of a comprehensive program, prepared by the Army Corps of Engineers, to harness the mighty Columbia-Snake River system. It was then no more than a dream—an excellent giant's dream, to be sure—but, in the years since it has been given much substance in both the United States and Canada.

Millions of acres of land have been reclaimed and put into production as the Columbia, and many of her major tributaries, have been harnessed to the plowshare and the turbine. Moving hand in hand with irrigation, the dams in the Northwest today generate larger quantities of electricity—to light our homes and turn our industrial plants—than in any other part of the continent.

The needs of commercial navigation have also been well served. By 1970, the great system of Federal dams on the Columbia and the lower Snake will be nearing completion. River barges will be bringing goods from Pacific ports up the river as far as Lewiston, to be reloaded with inland grain, ores, and quarry products for shipment to farflung places. The ocean highway will reach more than 500 miles inland to create a landlocked seaport in Lewiston, Idaho, 25 miles from where we meet today.

As each new dam and its companion generators has gone "on the line," the network of powerlines and irrigation ditches grows, the electricity benefiting not only the American and Canadian parts of the Northwest, but, through interties now abuilding, California and the intermountain West as well. Industry and agriculture expand to meet our burgeoning needs.

Fortunately, we have much water left in the Northwest to put to future use. In the Mountain States and in the Southwest, thirsty States are even now eyeing our unappropriated waters. We can hope that the next few years will see great strides in desalinization of ocean waters to help meet the needs of these water-short regions. But we can't be sure this will happen. As of now, we must assume that a major attempt will be made to divert water from the Northwest into other river basins.

There are now study proposals pending in Congress, introduced by Representatives of water-short States, which relate to possible diversions of water from the Northwest in the future. One such bill calls for a study on the feasibility of diverting 8½ million acre-feet of water into the Upper and Lower Colorado River Basins and to supply irrigation canals along the route of the diversion. This, I would point out to you, is in excess of the total annual flow of the Snake River at the site of the proposed Guffey Dam in southwestern Idaho.

What would this water be used for in Colorado, Arizona, or southern California? To fill the empty water glasses of thirsty people? To provide the necessary sanitation and sewage disposal in Phoenix or Los Angeles? To meet vital industrial demands? Not at all.

The water which would be siphoned away from the Pacific Northwest is mainly to be put to the very same irrigation uses we have pioneered. At fantastic expense, it is to be diverted a thousand miles to reclaim new land in the Southwest, while desert lands, lying next to the very source of the diversion in the Northwest, remain dry.

Incredible? Yes, but the proof can be found in the present use of water in the areas which now search for more. Southern California is now using 90 percent of its water, locally developed and imported, for irrigation. Throughout the arid Southwest, 75 percent of all the water is going into reclaiming new land or irrigating old.

So, if we are not to lose our unused water here in the great Northwest, we must put it to use. Balanced development will not permit the construction of new hydroelectric dams at the expense, or to the exclusion, of new reclamation projects.

The case for comprehensive use is exemplified in a proposal that Congressman COMPTON WHITE and I recently put forward for a unified southwest Idaho water development project. Briefly stated, this is a half-billion-dollar plan to put the unused water in southwest Idaho to work. When it takes final form, the project may pull together as many as five previous proposals for piecemeal development of the region. Two major dams, two diversion tunnels, and associated generator facilities, fully integrated with existing works, would be entailed. The project would irrigate some 500,000 acres of vacant desertland, putting supplemental water on other land, now irrigated but without adequate water supplies. In addition, the project would generate more than half a million kilowatts of salable Federal power to help repay its construction costs. Municipalities and industry would come in for their share of the water, while recreation, fish, and wildlife would also be served.

If a project of this dimension, and others like it, are to be built in the Northwest, then our vast river system must be made to pay for the full development of the land it drains. We must lift our sights in the Northwest, as other great river basins in the country have already done, and establish an overall basin account. This would enable us to lump together all of the revenues derived from the enormous Government investment in the waterworks of the Northwest, and then draw upon the surplus, as the projects pay themselves off, to help finance new development, wherever it may be located, upstream or downstream, within the drainage system. Until such a basin account is put fully into effect, optimum utilization of the water resources of the Northwest will never be achieved.

From what I have said thus far, it is obvious that I am a devoted advocate of dams, provided they are built to comply with the requirements for complete utilization of their sites. When first elected to the Senate, the proposed Heels Canyon Dam had been made into a scare word in southern Idaho. Nevertheless, I fought for its authorization—which passed the Senate but died in the House—because it seemed to me inexcusable to squander so monumental a site on an insufficient, single-purposed private development.

Whenever the evidence shows that a proposed dam will do more good than harm, I shall work for it. But, by the same token, whenever the evidence shows that a dam will do more harm than good, I shall work against it—with equal fervor.

This brings me back to what I tried to stress at the outset, the need for a properly balanced management of our water resources. Much of our unused water should be put to work irrigating land, generating power, and meeting municipal and industrial requirements.

But not all of it.

Part of it should be put to a different use—to the service of another vital public need, outdoor recreation. If we build a dam on every site, on each and every one of our rivers, we shall relinquish the entire river system to this one use. The rightful claim of outdoor recreation, in all of its different and diverse forms, will be sacrificed.

Yet this is where we are now headed. Since the licensing of dams is in the hands of public agencies which exist for this purpose, the direction in which we are moving is perfectly evident: Ultimately—indeed, within a relatively short time—in the absence of restraining legislation, every feasible site will be used for dam construction. Unless laws are enacted to save some of our few remaining free-flowing rivers in their natural untamed state, wild rivers shall soon vanish from our land.

It is for this reason that I have introduced a wild rivers bill in the Senate. This bill would establish a national wild rivers system, within which dams could not be built. Among those streams initially included would be a long stretch of Idaho's magnificent Salmon River, and a section of the Clearwater, including her wonderous tributaries, the Lochsa and the Selway, as well as a segment of Oregon's beautiful Rogue.

The objective of the bill is to keep these rivers, and certain others located in other parts of the country, in their natural condition unobstructed and free flowing. The system would be administered to promote maximum public use and enjoyment. Other uses of the banklands which are not incompatible, such as farming, grazing, and lumbering, would continue without interference. Even mining on the bankland within the system would not be prohibited, if the operations were conducted in a way that avoided the obstruction or pollution of the river.

I regard the wild rivers bill as an essential part of any program that seeks the balance management of our water resources. Legislation of this character may well prove indispensable to the preservation of our migratory fish runs in the years to come. Meanwhile, we have acres of damsites on obstructed rivers which no longer mother the salmon, on which we can meet our future power needs for as many years ahead as hydro-produced electricity is ever likely to remain competitive with power generated at nuclear plants, where efficiency of operation steadily improves and costs continue to decline.

The discovery of the scenic wonders of the Northwest by the rest of the continent—the fishing, the hunting, the summer vacationers trying to escape the stifling confinement of megalopolis—the inevitable tide of tourists coming our way—this has already come to represent our fastest growing source of new income in the Pacific Northwest.

And the expansion has just begun. By the year 2000, taken altogether, there will be nearly 400 million American and Canadian citizens. Where will these people go to find relief from the clatter, cluster, and smells of the bulging cities? From the oppressiveness of asphalt and concrete? From the frustrating proximity of the crowd?

I think the answer is clear. The 11 Western States, having but 15 percent of the national population, hold 75 percent of the recreation acreage. And about half of this lies in the Pacific Northwest.

So we must prepare ourselves for the rush to come, for—much as we might like to isolate ourselves—there is no way to escape the facts of life.

In the Senate, I have tried to do my part. There, I have served as floor manager of both the wilderness bill and the land and water conservation fund, two measures which should prove of immense help in both conserving and developing our great potential for outdoor recreation.

You, in turn, as interested and responsible citizens of our beloved Northwest, can also play a vital role, if you will stand up for, and insist upon, a wisely balanced management of your inheritance. In the utilization of our water, let no single interest dominate to the exclusion of others, neither the farmer's spade, the angler's hook, or "Reddy-Kilowatt's" switch.

If you will do this, the challenge of the coming years will be fairly met, you will have discharged your custodial duties well—and long after you are gone, your grandchildren will remember you in their prayers.

Observations on the 1st Session of 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the record of the 1st session of the 89th Congress is spotty. Along with the enactment of some meritorious and needed legislation, the Congress often acted hastily, blindly, and indiscriminately.

The majority leader of the Senate, Mr. MANSFIELD, of Montana, has confessed serious deficiencies in the laws enacted by the Congress this year. He has announced that the 2d session of the 89th Congress should "spend less time on new legislation and more time correcting oversights in legislation we have just passed." He has said that the Congress "must tighten up the hasty enactments" and must eliminate from the laws of the session just ended "a number of gaps and any number of rough edges, overextensions and overlaps."

The Mansfield confession should be good for the soul of the American people. It should convince them that one-party government does not serve them well.

One conclusion to be drawn from the 1st session of the 89th Congress is that whenever the party that holds possession of the executive branch of the National Government also enjoys overwhelming dominance in the Congress, the Congress becomes a satellite of the President.

The failure of the Congress to act as a deliberative body, coequal with the Executive, is the most striking feature of this past session. Until the closing days of the session, it rubberstamped the proposals of the White House in far too many instances.

The members of the American Political Science Association who gathered in Washington in early September of this year felt that the legislative initiative has passed irretrievably to the executive branch. One of the experts at that convention, Lewis A. Dexter, said that the Congress will come to have the same importance in the American system of government as the House of Lords has in the British, particularly if several future Presidents resemble Lyndon Johnson.

Eric Sevaried wrote:

> We know of a number of Congressmen who would be very grateful to learn what they have really done this year.

He also found that the Congress has so often acted under "a curious kind of intimidation" that the "once-exalted title of Senator or Representative has lost much of its prestige."

One of the leading newspapers in the home State of the Vice President summed it up this way:

> Anyone following the daily deliberations of the House of Representatives must be struck by the ruthlessness with which the Democratic majority of so-called liberals is flexing its muscles. It is not, in fact, a deliberative body. Representative government is in a sad and critical state.

Columnist Ted Lewis said:

> The presidential image of a miracle producer of new laws makes the legislative branch of Government appear to be a creature of the executive branch.

The Chicago Tribune, in an editorial entitled "Legislating by Scoop Shovel," said:

> It would take a truck scale to weigh the legislation forwarded by the White House and automatically approved, most of it wasteful, much of it unnecessary, and all of it putting the individual in the grip of the Federal vise.
>
> He [the President] has been legislating everything and anything, and, with two-thirds majorities in either Chamber, he has a Congress of robots that is totally compliant.

The Knoxville Journal editorialized:

> Any Congress which voluntarily yields its right to perform as a coequal part of the Federal Establishment, as this one has, is a continuing threat to the Nation.

It is one thing for a Congress to adopt Presidential proposals after thorough deliberation and adequate discussion. It is quite another thing for a Congress to rush through such proposals without careful scrutiny and without reasonable debate. No Congress that performed its constitutional duty would do the slipshod job of which Senator MANSFIELD indicted the present Congress when he said that it must now devote most of its effort to tightening up "its hasty enactments."

EXAMPLES OF RUBBERSTAMPING BY THE CONGRESS

On many important bills the House of Representatives acted without adequate consideration, without full hearings in committee, and without sufficient debate on the floor.

The arts and humanities bill was railroaded through the Committee on Education and Labor after about 15 minutes of consideration. Even a motion by the minority that the bill be read was summarily rejected by the majority. When the committee met to act on the bill, the members were presented for the first time with a new committee print, dated the same day, containing a number of significant amendments which the minority members had never seen before. Thereafter, several additional amendments, which the Republican members had never seen, were quickly adopted in committee, and the bill was reported with great haste.

The Education and Labor Committee made virtually no change in the administration bill to provide assistance for elementary and secondary education, despite vigorous bipartisan complaints about the formula for distributing Federal funds contained in the bill. On the floor, at least 10 of 25 amendments were rejected without discussion due to the gag-rule limitation on debate.

As this far-reaching legislation was being considered by the House of Representatives, Democratic Congresswoman GREEN, of Oregon, took the floor to protest, "Today it seems to me we have in the House a determined effort to silence those who are in disagreement."

So little was the elementary and secondary education bill studied before floor action that two of the best informed supporters of the measure, gave to the House contradictory explanations of its application to nonpublic schools.

The higher education bill was reported out of the Education and Labor Committee in great haste, apparently at the command of the White House. The Wall Street Journal noted that the committee "under prodding from an impatient White House deliberated for all of 20 minutes." Democratic Congressman PUCINSKI, of Illinois, called the bill's handling "a mockery of the legislative process."

Hearings on the administration's original highway beautification proposals were held by the Committee on Public Works on July 20, 21, and 22. These hearings were adjourned with the understanding that the complex proposals should be studied further and acted upon early next year. Without warning, the hearings were reopened on September 3 and 7, while the committee and its staff were absorbed with the omnibus rivers and harbors and flood control bill. The act was debated and passed by the House on October 7, with the final vote being tallied well after midnight. At one point in the proceedings the House voted 121 to 84 to allow but 8 minutes of debate on 5 separate amendments.

Regarding the very controversial bill to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, the Democratic majority of the Committee on Education and Labor rejected all attempts by Republican members to amend the bill so as to provide some basic protections for rank-and-file employees compelled to join unions in order to hold their jobs. Because of the restrictive rule under which the bill was considered by the House, amendments which would permit compulsory union membership agreements only if the unions involved refrained from racial and religious discrimination, refrained from using union funds for political purposes, and refrained from denying employees rights guaranteed them by Federal law were rejected as not germane. Other amendments offered, on which the House was not permitted to vote, were designed to insure that unions securing compulsory membership agreements truly represented a majority as demonstrated by winning an NLRB election, to protect the religious liberty of employees whose religious beliefs clash with compulsory union membership, and to insure that employees would be protected from compulsion to join a Communist-controlled union.

The Washington Post commented:

> Several important questions were raised in the House debate and left unanswered.

The Democratic majority rammed through a bill repealing section 14(b) which the Post said "scarcely qualifies as well-rounded legislation in the national interest."

On the important bill to prohibit discrimination in employment and union membership, only the briefest of hearings were held by the Committee on Education and Labor. These hearings contained no testimony based on experience under the 1964 Civil Rights Act and were followed almost immediately by a subcommittee meeting which reported the bill favorably. An hour later the full committee met and reported the bill to the House. No amendments were offered because none of the minority members

had any opportunity to study the long and complex measure and analyze even its theoretical weaknesses. This bill was not acted on by the House.

The percentages allocated to the various categories of immigrants in the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 were not discussed either in the Judiciary Committee or on the floor.

On the voting rights bill, the administration forces on the Judiciary Committee methodically rejected all significant amendments offered by Republicans. On the floor of the House the same general attitude prevailed. With the exception of the Cramer amendment to prevent election irregularities, any significant amendment offered by a Republican was blindly voted down.

GAPS AND OVERLAPS

The defects in the legislation enacted during the session of Congress just ended will come to light as the bills are put into effect. Problems of duplication and overlap will be encountered.

The Appalachia bill overlaps several existing Federal-aid programs, notably in the fields of highway construction and public health.

The public works and redevelopment bill, providing aid to so-called depressed areas, overlaps the Appalachia bill.

The expanded poverty program overlaps the elementary and secondary school aid bill, which is ostensibly aimed at children from low-income families, as well as vocational education and public assistance programs.

The Manpower Development and Training Act overlaps the poverty program.

One unfortunate oversight in the laws of the session can be cited to illustrate the results of hasty and ill-considered congressional action. By increasing social security payments, the Congress inadvertently caused the termination or reduction of the pensions of tens of thousands of veterans. The added social security payment meant a reduction of the income of these veterans.

WEAKENING OF CHECKS ON EXECUTIVE BRANCH

One-party domination of the legislative and executive branches weakens the constitutional system of checks and balances. The subservient Congress which it produces fails to exercise the restraint which it produces fails to exercise the restraint which it should over the executive branch. The majority leader of the Senate recognizes that such is the case when he urges the Congress now to undertake its neglected function of legislative oversight over executive agencies.

The executive branch unchecked is prone to carelessness about legal restraints and about the public interest. This carelessness can descend to the level of arrogance in some instances.

Arrogance is a strong word, but there is no other word for the submission to the Senate of the nomination of Francis X. Morrissey to the Federal judiciary nor for the efforts to bull that nomination through the Senate. The American Bar Association and the Massachusetts Bar Association pronounced this nominee unfit for the post. A representative of the American Bar Association testified on the Morrissey nomination:

From the standpoint of legal training, legal experience, and legal ability, we have not had any case where these factors were so lacking.

There is no word but arrogance for the withholding of Federal funds from the city of Chicago in defiance of the procedures established by Congress.

There is no word but arrogance for procedures in the Congress that silence dissent and preclude careful consideration of legislation.

There is no word but arrogance for opposition to freedom of information legislation which would permit the public to know what is going on in the Government which it pays for. The Freedom of Information Committee of Sigma Delta Chi, the national society of journalists, in its annual report, accused the administration of seeking to "warp the proposed Federal public records legislation into an almost unlimited authority for the President to establish broader secrecy practices." The committee also indicted the administration for "increased centralization of information releases at the White House, and increasing sensitivity over leaks of information having no connection with national security problems; secrecy on the names of young persons hired by the Post Office Department during the summer in the President's youth opportunity campaign; the Defense Department's continued use of a directive that requires military and civilian personnel to report all contacts with newsmen; and failing to balance national security interests and freedom for the press in connection with Vietnam and the Dominican Republic."

There is no word but arrogance for the behavior of administration spokesmen, including the President and the Vice President, when they pointedly imply that the consideration which the problems of a locality receives in Washington will depend on whether its local officials are Republicans or Democrats. It is shocking to learn that responsible national officials would stoop to threaten any community with reprisals if its citizens choose officials who are not of the administration's party.

The New York Times reacted with indignation to the threat when it was made in New York City. Its editorial commented:

This is a remarkable indictment of the Johnson administration. It suggests, for example, that Sargent Shriver, the head of the antipoverty program and a Democrat, would be less sympathetic and helpful to New York if its mayor were a Republican. It makes the same inuendo about the officials who run the housing, education, mass transit, antipollution, and other programs in which New York has a vital interest. It suggests that President Johnson, Vice President HUMPHREY, and Senator KENNEDY himself would not be so helpful to the mayor of the Nation's largest city if he were of a political faith different from theirs.

FISCAL EXCESSES

The carelessness of a Congress overwhelmingly controlled by the President's party is particularly manifested in big spending. This session of Congress has set a new record in appropriations not approached since the Second World War. The appropriation of $119.3 billion this year is $36 billion more than was appropriated by the last session of Congress during the Eisenhower administration. This staggering figure of almost $120 billion does ont include additional backdoor spending of $7 billion made possible by the Congress this year. Nor does it include perhaps $5 to $7 billion needed for the war in Vietnam, a request which the administration is holding back until next January.

The Congress failed to exercise any restraint on reckless spending. The reduction of administration requests for appropriations by $2.4 billion is more apparent than real. The funds denied have only been deferred until 1966.

The following table shows the amount appropriated by Congress in each session since 1960. It reflects an increase of $36 billion, or 43 percent, since 1960. Of this $36 billion increase, only $8.3 billion is for defense:

[In billions]

Session	Appropriations	Change from preceding year
86th Cong.: 2d (1960)	$83.8	
87th Cong.:		
1st (1961)	95.8	+$12.0
2d (1962)	102.3	+6.5
88th Cong.:		
1st (1963)	102.6	+.3
2d (1964)	106.0	+3.4
89th Cong.: 1st (1965)	119.3	+13.3

CONSTRUCTIVE REPUBLICAN RECORD

On February 3, 1965, the Republican leadership of the House of Representatives said:

House Republicans have a major responsibility as the representatives of approximately 43 percent of the electorate who voted for a Republican House of Representatives in 1964. That duty, as we conceive it, is to exert whatever influence we can to guide the Nation toward the goals of freedom, security, peace, and well-being with fiscal responsibility.

We cannot accept the statement, "The duty of the opposition party is to oppose." This is too narrow and too negative a formulation of our responsibility.

We must do more than respond to the initiatives of the administration. We must take the initiative ourselves in two ways.

First, we must offer alternative measures to cope with national problems when the administration's proposals are unwise. This we are doing, for example, in the matter of lightening the burden of the costs of health care for older people.

Second, we must press for action to deal with the problems to which the administration is blind or indifferent.

In this spirit the Republican Members of the House of Representatives have discharged their responsibility this year. Their record is impressive.

REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVES

For six of the major bills proposed by the administration and passed in this session, there were alternative proposals supported by a majority of the House Republicans. In every case the Republican alternative dealt more adequately with the problem without unnecessary extension of Federal power.

VOTING RIGHTS

The administration's bill on voting rights—H.R. 6400—as originally introduced, provided a remedy for discrimination only in six Southern States and Alaska and in 37 counties in certain other States, including one county each

in Arizona, Idaho, and Maine. These strange results were achieved by language which limited the application of the bill to places which used literacy tests or tests of moral character for voters and in which fewer than 50 percent of the voting-age population voted in the 1964 election.

Republican House Members and Republican Senators introduced voting rights legislation before the administration got around to deciding to present a bill.

The basic difference between the administration proposal and the major Republican alternative, the Ford-McCulloch bill—H.R. 7896—lay in the fact that the Republican bill provided a remedy for unconstitutional discrimination wherever it occurs and regardless of the device used to achieve discrimination.

The administration bill wiped out literacy and other tests wherever fewer than 50 percent of the voting age population voted in 1964. The Ford-McCulloch bill did not disturb nondiscriminatory qualifications for voting established by States.

The administration bill required Federal court approval of any new voting laws passed by the States to which it applied. The Ford-McCulloch bill did not restrict State authority to enact new nondiscriminatory voting laws.

The administration bill, as originally introduced, approved of the poll tax, providing that Federal examiners would collect it in areas in which they operated to register voters. The Ford-McCulloch bill directed the Attorney General to initiate a speedy court test of the constitutionality of the poll tax.

MEDICARE

The medicare bill, included in the Social Security Amendments of 1965, is an amalgamation of the administration proposal and a Republican alternative offered by Representative JOHN BYRNES, of Wisconsin—H.R. 7057.

In contrast to the bill originally proposed by the administration early in the session, the Byrnes bill provided a system of insurance for the elderly—first, covering all medical expenses, not just hospitalization; second, offering voluntary rather than compulsory coverage; and third, financed by a combination of general tax revenues and premium payments by the insured, avoiding the regressive social security tax.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL AID

The administration's bill to aid elementary and secondary schools—H.R. 2362—presented as a measure to assist poverty stricken children, is in fact the first general aid to primary and secondary schools passed by the Congress. Under this bill, $2.1 million will be granted by the Federal Government to Westchester County, the wealthiest in New York State, for the education of children from poor families. Sunflower County, Miss., with median family income only one-fifth that of Westchester County, will receive only $745,000 for the education of an equal number of children from poor families.

Republicans sought to make it a bill which would do what it professed to do. aid poor children without undue Federal control of State, local, and private schools.

The Republican effort was directed toward first, channeling Federal funds only into areas of need within each State; second, recognizing differences in financial ability and need among States; third, concentrating the program upon the needs of deprived children; and fourth, reducing the discretionary authority of the U.S. Commissioner of Education.

A Republican approach to the problem of expanding and improving elementary and secondary schools was incorporated in H.R. 6349, offered by Representatives WILLIAM AYRES, of Ohio, and THOMAS CURTIS, of Missouri, and others. This bill relied chiefly on the device of tax credits for individuals who pay for schools through State and local taxes directly or indirectly as well as for those who incur expenses for students in higher education. This bill would have diverted $3 to $5 billion annually from the Federal Treasury and made it available for additional support for education at the State and local level.

In addition, H.R. 6349 provided $300 million annually to the States for the education of deprived children aged 3 to 7. Unlike Project Head Start under the poverty program, which provides uneven summer schooling for some deprived children, this bill proposed a systematic national effort to give preschool education to children who need it.

APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT

The administration bill—S. 3—which became law, provided for an Appalachian Regional Commission with authority in 360 counties in 10 States to plan the expenditure of funds for various public works, particularly highway construction, in a region that includes many severely depressed areas.

The Republican alternative, offered by Representative WILLIAM C. CRAMER, of Florida—H.R. 4466—would have extended Federal assistance to all economically depressed areas throughout the Nation instead of to a single region. Unlike the administration bill, which provides aid to prosperous as well as depressed areas in the region to which it applies, the Cramer bill proposed to limit aid to places suffering economic distress and high unemployment.

The Public Works and Development Act of 1965—Public Law 89-136—is, like the Cramer bill, a measure intended to assist depressed areas throughout the Nation. It raises serious problems of duplication and conflict with the Appalachian Regional Development Act.

CABINET DEPARTMENT DEALING WITH URBAN AFFAIRS

The administration bill establishing a new Cabinet agency, the Department of Housing and Community Affairs—H.R. 6927—was defective in many respects. It did not more than confer a more prestigious title on certain existing agencies. It brought together in the new Department less than one-third of the Federal Government's housing activities and only a minor fraction of Federal activities and funds aimed at assisting States and municipalities to solve the problems of metropolitan areas. As passed by the House of Representatives, it made no provision for the continued existence of the Federal Housing Administration, a defect which Republicans sought to correct and which was finally remedied in conference.

The Republican alternative, offered by Mrs. DWYER, of New Jersey—H.R. 5173—and several other Republicans, would have created an agency in the Executive Office of the President to deal with metropolitan area problems. This agency would have been a center of coordination and information for all Federal programs and activities relating to urban areas.

HOUSING

The administration's housing bill—H.R. 5840—as originally presented, offered a scheme of rent supplements for families whose incomes were above the levels set for public housing tenants. Under this plan, some families with an income of more than $11,000 in some places would be eligible to have a part of their rent paid by the Federal Government. Beyond this, the bill provided largely for a continuance of existing Federal housing programs.

A Republican substitute, offered by Representative WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, of New Jersey—H.R. 9501—sought to modify existing housing policy in several important respects:

First, by giving residential redevelopment in urban renewal a higher priority;

Second, by stimulating rehabilitation of existing sound housing;

Third, by utilizing existing privately owned rental housing for low-income tenants;

Fourth, by lower interest rates on loans for college housing and housing for the elderly; and

Fifth, by providing new FHA mortgage financing for veterans.

Many of the features of the Widnall bill were incorporated in the measure which was enacted.

REPUBLICAN IMPACT ON LEGISLATION

In spite of the fact that Republicans in this Congress hold only one-third of the seats, there were occasions when the Republican minority exerted an important influence on legislation.

A 7-percent increase in social security benefits was approved—a proposal which Republicans made in 1964, but which was voted down in the last Congress by Democrats acting on White House orders.

The repeal of Federal excise taxes—a step which Republicans have advocated for many years and which was called for in the Republican platform of 1964—was accomplished in this session. In 1964, a Republican proposal to repeal retail excise taxes was defeated by Democratic votes.

Other changes made in the social security system were influenced by Republican initiatives and conform to longstanding Republican policy. One was the liberalization of the earnings limitation beyond which elderly people become ineligible to collect their social security benefits. The other was the liberalization of coverage requirements for people

over the age of 72 in order to qualify for benefits.

Similarly, Republicans took the lead in advocating changes in tax policy to lighten the burden of medical expenses. The Congress repealed maximum limitations on income tax deductions for medical care insurance and authorized a deduction of one-half the cost of medical care insurance up to $150.

The medicare bill passed by the Congress incorporates in its provisions much of the Republican bill offered by Representative JOHN W. BYRNES, of Wisconsin. This bill is not limited to hospital care as the administration recommended. In its final version it covers doctors' bills and other medical costs in provisions borrowed from the Byrnes bill.

The Housing Act passed by Congress contains six significant features from the Republican substitute proposed by Representative WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, of New Jersey:

First, low-income private housing: This new program will provide immediate relief to low-income families who have been living in substandard housing in those areas where there is a long waiting list for public housing. It will use any adequate existing housing on a voluntary basis at a cost not exceeding present public housing rental levels, without the gigantic expense of constructing new public housing units.

Second, veterans housing program: The first major veterans' benefits legislation affecting so-called cold war veterans ever to be enacted by the Congress, this will also apply to an estimated 21 million veterans who have failed to use or qualify for VA home loan benefits. Comprehensive benefits include no downpayments for homes costing up to $15,000, with as little as $500 down on a $20,000 home.

Third, low interest rate college housing: Conferees accepted this proposal, despite the firm opposition of the Johnson administration. It will provide $1.2 billion in lower rent college housing, avoiding an expensive Federal grant program.

Fourth, low interest elderly housing: To prevent the phasing out of a highly successful program administered by churches and other nonprofit organizations, a program with rents at a level they can afford will be available to elderly people of low income.

Fifth, compensation for condemnees: This provides, for the first time, prompt and equitable compensation for homeowners and small businessmen displaced by urban renewal and other housing programs.

Sixth, rehabilitation loan program: Sponsored by Republicans in the 1964 Housing Act, the low-interest loan program for tenants, homeowners, and small businessmen in urban renewal areas received a $400 million authorization. This was not requested by the administration.

A notable improvement in the housing bill was made with the adoption of an amendment offered by Representative JOHN C. KUNKEL, of Pennsylvania, aiding homeowners who became unemployed because of the closing of Federal installations. It placed a moratorium on FHA-insured loan payments of such persons and authorized the Secretary of Defense to acquire their properties for FHA disposal when the owners were unable to dispose of them on reasonable terms.

The Voting Rights Act as passed contains at least two provisions of Republican origin. One was the clean elections provision proposed by Representative WILLIAM CRAMER, of Florida, inserted in the bill over the opposition of a majority of the Democrats in the House of Representatives. The bill as finally passed dealt with the question of the poll tax by directing the Attorney General to secure a speedy court test of the constitutionality of the tax—the approach used in the Ford-McCulloch bill.

The immigration bill contains a ceiling on immigrants from the Western Hemisphere because of Republican effort. Because of opposition from the White House and the State Department, an amendment to bring such immigration under control presented by Representative CLARK MACGREGOR, of Minnesota, was voted down by Democrats in the House. This provision prevailed in the Senate, however, and was incorporated in the final version of the law.

Republican initiative and solid Republican support saved for State Governors some power of veto over projects under the poverty program within their States in opposition to the effort of most Democrats to eliminate any vestige of State control over this program.

Republican initiative and solid Republican support led to the denial of funds for the rent supplement program under the Housing Act.

Republican initiative and solid Republican support led to the denial of funds for a federally directed National Teacher Corps.

On the other hand, an initial Republican success—the prohibition of the use of agricultural funds for aid to Nasser, voted by the House at the motion of Representative ROBERT MICHEL, of Illinois, on January 26—was reversed under severe administration pressure on February 8.

REPUBLICAN INFLUENCE ON EXECUTIVE ACTION

In some instances the policy of the President and other executive agencies responded to Republican proposals.

On April 30, the House Republican leadership proposed the creation of an inter-American police force to restore peace and order in the Dominican Republic. On May 3, the administration offered this proposal to the Organization of American States.

The appropriation of an additional $700 million for defense as a means of emphasizing national unity and national resolve in the face of Communist aggression on two continents was suggested by the minority floor leader at a White House Conference on Vietnam problems. The administration subsequently requested the increased appropriation. It was granted with the unanimous support of Republican Members of both House and Senate.

Since mid-1963, Republicans in Congress have been urging the administration to take the lead in convening an international monetary conference to deal with the urgent balance-of-payments problem. In 1965, the urging was renewed by Representative ROBERT ELLSWORTH, of Kansas, and by the joint Republican leadership on July 1. On July 10, Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Fowler, announced that the U.S. Government would issue a call for such a conference.

OTHER NOTEWORTHY REPUBLICAN INITIATIVES

Representative MELVIN R. LAIRD, of Wisconsin, and Representative GLENARD LIPSCOMB, of California, performed important service in bringing to public attention the inadequacy of the administration's defense budget for the prosecution of the war in Vietnam. In order to give the appearance of holding Federal expenditure below the level of $100 billion in the fiscal year and to leave room for Great Society legislation, the administration devised its defense budget on guidelines set in 1963, which did not take account of the involvement of 150,000 American troops in a shooting war in Asia. The result, as the Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee under Senator STENNIS has found, is a dangerous drain on personnel, equipment, and ammunition in other parts of the world.

Representative H. R. GROSS, of Iowa, served as the public conscience, along with Senator JOHN WILLIAMS, of Delaware, in endeavoring to raise the ethical standards of the administration with special attention to the treatment given Otto Otepka and the inadequately explored aspects of the Bobby Baker case.

Representative PAUL FINDLEY and his task force on NATO and the Atlantic Community issued a thoughtful report on means of strengthening the Atlantic Alliance and improving the strained relations of the United States with France after a study trip to Paris.

Representative FINDLEY, along with Representative RALPH HARVEY, of Indiana, also took the lead in an unsuccessful fight against the administration on the sugar bill in an effort to recapture for the taxpayers of the United States a part of the excess profit which foreign sugar producers derive from sales in this country because Government action maintains a domestic price more than double the price in the world market.

Representative ROBERT J. CORBETT, of Pennsylvania, fought unsuccessfully to bring about an adjustment of the pay of Federal employees to provide full comparability with pay scales in private industry. Though full comparability is given lip service by the administration, it is opposed to putting this principle in practice.

Representative ANCHER NELSEN, of Minnesota, continued his efforts to protect Federal employees from illegal political pressures imposed by the administration, particularly in the matter of forced contributions to Democratic fund raising events.

Representative ROSS ADAIR, of Indiana, sought vainly to secure for the servicemen fighting in Vietnam educational benefits similar to those granted to the veterans of the Second World War and Korea.

Representative WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD, of California, sought with limited success to secure legislative action to reinvigorate the merchant shipping of the United States.

REPUBLICAN SOLIDITY

Republican ranks in the House of Representatives held fast on important votes throughout the session. On the 26 rollcall votes in which a party position was formulated by the House Republican policy committee headed by Representative JOHN RHODES, of Arizona, 87 percent of the votes cast by Republican Members were in support of the party position and only 13 percent in opposition.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PARTIES

During this past session of the Congress, there were 93 rollcall votes on which a majority of the Republican Members of the House voted in opposition to a majority of the Democrats. On these votes in the aggregate, 81.4 percent of the Republican votes were on the side of the majority of their party and 80.2 percent of the Democratic votes were in agreement with the majority of their party. These 93 votes reveal some significant differences between Republicans and Democrats.

The general conclusions to be drawn from these votes is a Republican preference for a more discriminating approach to national problems. Republicans opposed and sought to modify the loosely drawn, ambiguous, blank check approach of the Democratic majority.

Republicans showed themselves more concerned than most Democrats about such things as prudent use of tax dollars, the danger of inflation fired by big increases in Government spending and unending deficits, the stifling of State, local, and private initiative by the spread of an overweening Central Government, the peril of runaway bureaucracy, and the application of the commonsense principles of good management in Federal programs.

For all of these reasons, a majority of Republicans in the House of Representatives, in contrast to a majority of the Democrats, voted against such things as—

Doubling the authorization for the poverty program at a time when loose administration prompted the Committee on Education and Labor to launch a full investigation of the program;

A rent supplement program whereby taxpayers would help to pay the rent of families earning in some areas more than $8,000 a year and possessing assets of as much as $25,000;

A foreign aid program of $3.2 billion which all agree needs drastic overhauling;

A farm bill which will mean that Government payments in 1966 will equal one-third of realized net farm income but will not solve the farm problem;

A Public Works and Redevelopment Act modeled after the discredited Area Redevelopment Act and the Advanced Public Works Act; and

A Highway Beautification Act rushed through the House without adequate deliberation.

Republican Members even voted against a pay raise for themselves, again unlike a majority of the Democrats.

In order to provide a more consistent and vigorous foreign policy, Republicans unsuccessfully attempted to place restrictions of foreign aid funds so that the American taxpayer would not be financing anti-American regimes or assisting nations that are helping North Vietnam in the war in which 150,000 American fighting men are now engaged. For these reasons most Republicans supported a prohibition against American aid to nations engaged in supplying North Vietnam and against further shipment of agricultural commodities to Egypt's Nasser and Indonesia's Sukarno.

In order to preserve the integrity of State and local governments, most Republicans sought to—

Retain the veto power of State governors over poverty program projects;

Maintain the power of the States to forbid compulsory unionism;

Permit the people of each State to decide the basis of representation in one house of their State legislature;

Defeat appropriations for a federally controlled National Teacher Corps;

Secure legislative recognition of the rights of States to set standards of water purity in rivers instead of transferring this authority to the Federal Government;

Maintain State authority to determine the use to be made of areas adjoining highways; and

Maintain the right of States to deny the suffrage to people unable to read or write the English language.

PLANNING AND RESEARCH COMMITTEE

Early in the session the planning and research committee was established as an organ of the Republican conference of the House of Representatives. This new agency was created to help mobilize activity toward the development of long-term solutions to national problems.

The planning and research committee issued in August a report entitled, "Vietnam: Some Neglected Aspects of the Historical Record." Columnist Roscoe Drummond said of this report:

This is "loyal opposition" at its best.

Headed by Representative CHARLES E. GOODELL, of New York, this committee supervises the activities of 13 task forces, each of which has spent this year in the study of major public policy problems in its field of jurisdiction. Several of the task forces have made reports containing constructive proposals in 1965. All will make a substantial contribution to the positive Republican program in 1966.

The task forces and their chairmen are:

Agriculture: ODIN LANGEN, of Minnesota.

Congressional reform and minority staffing: JAMES CLEVELAND, of New Hampshire.

Economic opportunity: PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey.

Education: ALBERT H. QUIE, of Minnesota.

Federal civil service: ANCHER NELSEN, of Minnesota.

Latin America: Cochairmen F. BRADFORD MORSE, of Massachusetts, and DONALD RUMSFELD, of Illinois.

NATO and Atlantic Community: PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois.

Nuclear affairs: CRAIG HOSMER, of California.

Platform implementation: JAMES BATTIN, of Montana.

Unemployment compensation system: JOHN W. BYRNES, of Wisconsin.

United Nations: JOHN B. ANDERSON, of Illinois.

Urban and suburban affairs: CLARK MACGREGOR, of Minnesota.

Voting rights: WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH, of Ohio.

REPUBLICAN SUPPORT OF ADMINISTRATION BILLS

Several enactments of the past session received strong Republican support. Republican House Members judged each bill on its merits and gave approval to administration measures that served the public interest.

Among the bills that were given strong Republican support on final passage were the following: The higher education bill, vocational training loan bill, the immigration bill, the Export Control Act, constitutional amendment on Presidential succession, the Older Americans Act of 1965, various bills in the field of health, excise tax cuts, manpower development and training bill, expansion of veterans' benefits, various anticrime bills, pay raises for military and civilian personnel, legislation for the control of air and water pollution and water resources planning, and the voting rights bill.

A SAMPLING OF REPUBLICAN LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS

Republican Members of the House of Representatives introduced bills which comprise a comprehensive, broad-gaged, and constructive legislative program.

At least 256 bills expanding and liberalizing social security were offered by Republicans. These bills dealt with such matters as reduction of the age requirements for beneficiaries, increasing the maximum age for eligibility of children, expansion of the system to groups not presently covered, and increasing the amount of earnings permissible without sacrifice of benefits.

At least 61 Republican bills were introduced for the reduction or repeal of excise taxes.

At least 59 Republicans introduced voting rights legislation, generally patterned after the Ford-McCulloch bill.

At least 54 Republicans introduced bills providing for a new program of medical care for the aged. The three major approaches were typified in the proposals of Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS—H.R. 3728; Representative FRANK T. BOW—H.R. 21; and Representative JOHN W. BYRNES—H.R. 7057.

At least 46 Republicans proposed a constitutional amendment to permit the people to employ factors in addition to population in the apportionment of one house of State legislatures.

At least 27 Republicans introduced bills to establish a coordinating office concerned with urban area affairs in the Executive Office of the President.

At least 28 Republicans introduced bills establishing a Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government to do the job which two Hoover Commissions did in the past.

Nine Republicans introduced a freedom of information bill defining the authority of Federal agencies and officials

to withhold information in order to make available a maximum of information to citizens and taxpayers.

The House Republican conference adopted the recommendation of its task force on education, headed by Representative ALBERT QUIE, of Minnesota, for legislation granting a tax credit against the costs of higher education. A large number of Members have sponsored bills like Mr. QUIE's which permits a credit up to an amount of $325 per student annually.

At least 78 Republicans have joined with Representative THOMAS CURTIS, of Missouri, in offering the Human Investment Act, a bill granting credits against the Federal income tax to business for the expenses of retraining present or prospective employees to upgrade their skills.

At least 60 Republicans have introduced legislation of the type recommended by the House Republican task force on agriculture, headed by Representative ODIN LANGEN, of Minnesota, to establish a World Food Study Commission to determine population trends and food needs for the future.

This list could be extended indefinitely. It is meant to be illustrative not exhaustive.

CONCLUSION

Looking back on the session just concluded, the Republican Members of the House of Representatives can take pride in the role that they have played. They tried to make the Congress what it should be—a deliberative body, independent of and coequal with the Executive, judging legislation by the sole standard of the national interest. Their success cannot be measured in terms of the votes on which they prevailed—which were few. The verdict on their work will not be known until the people speak in the elections of 1966.

A Report on the 1st Session of the 89th Congress by Congressman Tom Curtis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, this is a report on the legislation passed by the 1st session of the 89th Congress, which adjourned October 23, 1965. The other work of the Congress; namely, conducting oversight over the actions of the executive branch of the Government and conducting studies on which to base future legislation will be the subject of future reports. The point needs to be made that the legislative work of this session, as of any session, is largely the result of committee studies and deliberations which have occurred in the preceding Congresses.

Unfortunately, with the public's attention directed to the legislation passed by the Congress, too little attention has been paid to Congress' overseeing the manner in which the executive branch of the Government has been faithfully executing the laws already on the books. The President has stated that in his opinion this session of the Congress was the most productive in history. I disagree. It followed pretty closely the rate of activity of its immediate predecessors. Its studying for future legislation was negligible and its oversight of the executive was pampering rather than disciplinary.

Seldom have we seen a period in our history where so many laws already on the books lie unenforced, so many laws inadequately enforced, and so many laws actually violated. New laws have been piled one upon another without proper adjustments to the old laws.

The Congress failed not only in its oversight duties, but it failed to consider and to pass recission bills, bills to rescind the authority granted to the President which the President was not using or was abusing.

The most important test of the legislative activities of any session of the Congress lies in toting up of the cost of the new legislation and the cost of administering the old programs. Almost every bill the Congress passes has a dollar cost that goes with it. This is not to say that we must not also evaluate the legislative activity of a session of Congress in other ways as well. It is to say, however, that a session of Congress which appropriates over $100 billion new authority for the President to spend from the administrative budget is far from a do-nothing Congress. The 1st session of the 89th Congress is not the first, but the fourth, Congress in a row to vote over $100 billion in new power to spend.

This points up the "great lie" technique employed in public discussions of the Congress. The previous sessions of the Congress were not "do-nothing" Congresses. They were by any proper standards very active Congresses; the question really is, were these "do-entirely too much Congresses without adequate study and deliberation?" which, in my judgment, they were.

It also points up the further inaccuracy in referring to this session just finished as somewhat miraculous. The $100 billion sessions immediately preceding this session performed the same kind of miracles, voting to spend more money than the Federal Government was taking in and making up the difference by printing and selling more Government bonds. The administration has stated that this session of the Congress voted $119 billion new authority to spend. Happily, this is an overstatement. Spending power in this context relates to the "administrative budget"—this is the budget over which Congress has direct control through the appropriation process and which relies for financing on the tax revenues and selling more Government bonds. However, there are two other Federal budgets with which the administrative budget is frequently confused. A second budget relates to the administrative budget plus the so-called trust fund revenues and expenditures. The trust funds such as social security, civil service retirement, the Federal highway program are not included in the administrative budget because the yare set up on the assumption that the revenues and the expenditures in each trust fund are in balance and that any surplus of revenue over expenditures goes into a reserve fund earmarked for the purposes of each trust fund alone. The funds do not go to general revenue, the administrative budget fund. If the authority to spend trust fund revenues for their statutory purposes was to be included in the administrative budget, the figure for new spending authority granted in the previous congressional sessions would be around $140 billion and, in this session, close to $150 billion, not $119 billion. Actually the administrative budget figures for new appropriations for the present and ensuing fiscal years is about $110 billion, not $119 billion. It would correspond to about a $105 billion figure voted by the previous session of the Congress, one of the so-called do-nothing Congresses.

The third Federal budget is one in which the economists are particularly interested—the total cash budget. It consists of the administrative budget, the trust fund budgets, plus other expenditures of the Federal Government. These other expenditures are made by the many varied Federal governmental agencies and somewhat autonomous Federal governmental corporations. These expenditures and revenues require no new or yearly authorities from the Congress. They operate under permanent laws and only become a drain on the administrative budget when they run out of money, which some of them do from time to time. Add another $20 billion to the administrative budget, plus trust funds, and we get roughly the total impact of actual Government spending—not power to spend—on the economy, around $150 billion for this present fiscal year—$100 billion from the administrative budget, $30 billion from the trust funds, $20 billion from other Federal governmental operations.

There is one other deceit contained in the manner in which the figure $119 billion was announced by the administration. The administration press releases refer to the $119 billion power to spend as if it related to this and future fiscal years. However, one of the first actions taken by this session of Congress in January was to vote a deficiency appropriation of $4.5 billion for the administrative budget of fiscal year 1965, which ended this past June 30—not fiscal year 1966, which began July 1. So, in addition to deducting certain trust funds which the President included in his figure of $119 billion, we must also deduct this $4.5 billion for the last fiscal year to get a figure which is properly comparative with the previous $100 billion "do-nothing" Congresses.

If anyone is getting the impression that the Federal Government's accounting system—or systems—leaves something to be desired, he is entirely correct. I have not attempted to mention all of the more flagrant examples of bad accounting practices. Suffice it to say that if a certified public accountant were to advise a client to follow the Govern-

ment's system he would lose his license to practice and probably be convicted of fraud and put in jail. I want to make it clear that this criticism I am registering should not be directed solely against the Johnson administration. Regrettably, these archaic accounting methods have been with us for decades. The Federal Government just has not kept pace with modern developments in accounting practices. We are trying to deal with a $150 billion a year Federal Government in the latter part of the 20th century with accounting practices which were probably outmoded even in 1910, when we were dealing with a $700 million a year Federal Government.

Nonetheless, this is no excuse for those in high authority to deliberately deceive the people by juggling the various figures and budgets, by mixing oranges with apples as it were. It certainly behooves us to be wary about putting further strain on this jerry rig system until we do a thorough job of overhauling it. Much of this overhauling is within the powers of a good Executive to do without congressional reference.

EXPENDITURES

All of these budgets I am talking about are separate and apart from the kind of budget the householders or businesses are concerned about, namely, the actual revenues to be collected and money to be spent in a current fiscal year. These budgets I was discussing deal with power to spend granted to the Executive in various ways by the Congresses. Whether the President uses the power to spend he has been granted in the administrative budget is another matter.

At the beginning of fiscal year 1960—July 1, 1959—President Eisenhower had $149.6 billion power to spend—$76.8 billion the first session of the 86th Congress was asked to grant him, plus $72.8 billion balance left over from actions of previous congressional sessions.

At the beginning of fiscal year 1961, President Eisenhower had $151.2 billion power to spend—$79.4 billion new obligated authority asked from the 2d session of the 86th Congress and $71.8 billion carryover.

For fiscal year 1962 the comparable figures for President Kennedy asked in Eisenhower prepared budget from 1st session, 87th Congress were $154.9 billion, $80.9 billion new obligational authority, and $74 billion carryover.

In 1963, $181 billion for President Kennedy—$99.3 billion new obligational authority from 2d session, 87th Congress—actually exceeded $100 billion—$81.7 billion carryover.

The new obligational authority are the figures the Executive estimated he would ask Congress for as set out in his January budget message to the Congress for the fiscal year which would begin in July. The actual figures Congress did grant to the President varied upward, inasmuch as the Presidents asked Congress to enact new programs not included in the administrative budget requests without rescinding old programs. Furthermore, the Presidents from time to time underestimated in the budget requests the amounts that certain programs set by law, like veterans benefits, would of necessity have to spend. These are the type of items which appear in the deficit appropriation bills which almost all of the Congresses have been asked to enact early in their sessions.

In 1964, $195.1 billion for President Kennedy—$107.9 billion new obligational authority from 1st session, 88th Congress; $87.2 billion carryover.

In 1965, $194.2 billion for President Johnson—$103.8 billion new obligational authority from 2d session, 88th Congress; $90.4 billion carryover.

In 1966, $203.1 billion for President Johnson—$106.4 billion new obligational authority from 1st session, 89th Congress; $96.7 billion carryover.

In 1967, the anticipated carryover is $101.5 billion.

An important figure to note is the carryover unspent authorizations enacted in prior years. The figure has grown in 7 years from $72.8 billion in fiscal 1960 to $101.5 billion in fiscal 1967 projected in the President's budget message of January 1965, to this Congress. This increase indicates a failure of both the Congress and the Executive to review, for rescinding, programs already on the books which may be obsolete, ill-advised, poorly administered, or duplicating. It also demonstrates the extent to which the Congress has defaulted to the President in its most important fiscal function; namely, to exercise its judgment on the need for a balanced cash budget in the current fiscal year, and the failure of the Presidents to achieve this balance.

So, the most important piece of legislation enacted in this session of the Congress was increasing the debt ceiling to $328 billion. The President had requested a $329 billion ceiling based upon an expenditure rate for administrative budget items for fiscal 1966 of $99.7 billion from his total power to spend of $203.1 billion. This figure for the debt ceiling was based upon anticipated revenues from taxes revised upward in May to $96.5 billion. In other words, the Congress in its judgment said the expenditure rate should be $98.7 billion, not $99.7, and yet it rescinded none of the excess $203.1 billion the President still had the power to spend. Incidentally, the President stated firmly in respect to both the debt ceiling limitation and the big Federal excise tax cuts that his expenditure and revenue figures were updated to May 1965, and contemplated no increase in expenditures because of either the stepped up Vietnam war nor the Dominican incident.

Our current fiscal status is as follows: Revenues are holding up as anticipated. Expenditures for the first 2 months of fiscal 1966, July and August 1965, were quite gratifying—$7,240 billion and $8,900 billion. This indicated an expenditure level for the full year—averaging $8.1 billion a month—of $97.2 billion, below the $99.7 billion—averaging $8.3 billion a month—estimate in the January budget message.

However, the expenditures for September 1965 are very alarming. Instead of going down seasonably a bit as they usually do, they rose to $9.452 billion, putting us at a yearly rate of well over $100 billion expenditure level for the administrative budget for the first time in our history.

If this continues, and I am afraid it will, the cost of living will rise even more rapidly than it has been. Creeping inflation which already has caused us serious problems in international affairs in our imbalance of payments and loss of gold, and in our domestic affairs in having to take the silver content out of our coins—debasing our currency—and in removing some of the gold backing for our paper currency, will start moving at double or triple its 6-year pace. At the rate it presently is moving, the cost-of-living increase—consumer price index—will be over 2 percent this year, compared to 1.4 percent last year. To the Nation this means a loss of purchasing power of over $11 billion and to the wage earners over $8 billion, in 1 year. This will further damage our balance-of-payments situation and weaken us internationally because inflation tends to encourage further imports of goods and services from abroad and lessens our ability to export and sell our own goods and services abroad. This is entirely apart from the damage it does to us domestically and to the individual person, particularly those in the lower income brackets. Interest rates, too, will continue to go up.

This Congress took more unfortunate steps to curtail our trade and private relations abroad by extending the interest equalization tax, and further hampering our tourists abroad. The President went beyond the authority the Congress had granted to him by imposing what he called voluntary agreements to restrict private investment abroad. All of this was done as a reaction to the serious imbalance of international payments and our continued loss of gold. But these actions only deepen the hole we are in, over the long run. Nothing was done by the President to use his powers to curtail Federal governmental expenditures abroad or to balance our own Federal budget. Quite the contrary—he asked from the Congress, and received, the power to spend $4 billion more in foreign economic and military assistance as well as to add $750 million more to the Inter-American Development Bank, a Federal agency designed to lend money abroad. I emphasize the word "lend" because the terms of the loans are even more liberal than the 2-percent interest loans the Federal Government makes to the Rural Electrification Administration. The Congress also voted to increase the U.S. contribution to the International Monetary Fund by $1.035 billion, the Development Loan Fund by $1.5 billion a year for 2 years, a total of $3 billion. What is incomprehensible to me is the restricting of private investment abroad which is carefully and profitably invested and helps both us and the countries abroad and, at the same time, expanding governmental giveaway programs which the record shows are putting the underdeveloped nations further in the hole.

LEGISLATIVE RECORD

The House had 182 quorum calls and 201 yea-and-nay votes this session. The

yea-and-nay votes are what the public knows as the record votes, the votes where the Congressmen answer to the call of their names by responding "aye" or "nay." It is the record votes that become the basis for the various voting record guides put out by different lobbying groups and political organizations and are used—properly so—in the election campaigns of the Congressmen. They also become the base for evaluating the records of the two political parties by these same groups—so many Republicans voted for the amendment to prohibit agricultural surplus being sent to Egypt, so many Democrats vote against, for example.

However, the yea-and-nay votes are by no means an indication of what legislation was passed by the Congress because most measures are passed by voice vote. Furthermore, there may be many record votes on different aspects of the same measure. There may be a record vote on whether the measure will be considered under a closed—gag—rule or open rule. There may be record votes on some of the important amendments added to the original bill—if the rule has been open to amendment and not closed. There may be a record vote on the motion to recommit the bill "with instructions" and to have it reported back forthwith with an amendment. Or there may be a vote on what is called a straight recommital, back to the committee reporting the bill for further study. Then there can be a record vote on final passage of the bill as amended, whether the recommital motion with instructions passes or fails. Finally, there can be record votes on the conference reports wherein the House version of the legislation is considered by the conferees along with the Senate version and modified so that a common version of the bill is up for passage before both bodies. A vote can be had on the conference report in final form as well as on specific changes made to the original House version. Or votes can be had on sending the bill back to conference with instructions to the House conferees to hold fast to the House version on a specific issue. I recall a few years ago one bill had over 14 record votes taken on various amendments in the bill and at various procedural points on its way to passage.

Inasmuch as most groups putting out voting guides will list about 10 to 12 recorded votes as "key" votes, out of the average 100 recorded issue votes taken in a session, it becomes important for the voter to know what were the 90-odd recorded votes which the group did not select as "key" votes. Furthermore, the groups putting out voting guides may select only one of the several different record votes taken on the same piece of controversial legislation, to make it appear as if this was the real or sole crucial test.

Equally important for the voter to know is what laws were enacted without record votes.

Here are the vital statistics on all legislation passed in the last session of the Congress.

Out of 16,882 total measures introduced in the Congress, 3,084 in the Senate and 13,798 in the House, 295 public bills and 149 private bills became law. With a total of 295 public bills becoming law only 88 had recorded votes and, of these 88, 44 were recorded as unanimous or nearly unanimous. Of the remaining 44 measures on which there was controversy, 40 had sufficient controversy so that the two political parties, or sizable segments in both parties, made a partisan issue out of the measure.

In other words, over 85 percent of the measures passing the Congress met with the accord of the entire Congress and probably would have become law whoever was President and whichever party controlled the Congress. This is probably average for most Congresses.

An example of measures receiving a unanimous or almost unanimous approval by record vote in this last Congress are the following: Amending the Food and Cosmetic Drug Act to establish special controls for depressant and stimulative drugs. A bill to provide assistance in the development of new and improved programs to help older people, through grants to the States, for community planning and services for training.

Amending the Manpower Training Act—which was a Republican measure in its inception—passed in 1962. The Natural Resources Act, control over mailing obscene matters, the Foreign Services Building Act, the presidential succession resolution—amending the Constitution. Amending the Water Pollution Act, amending the Public Health Service Act relating to community health services, the Community Mental Health Centers Act, Defense Appropriation Act, authorization to Defense Department for procurement of aircraft, missiles, et cetera, extending the space program, extending the atomic energy program, amending the Railroad Retirement Act, loan insurance for Vocational Trade and Technical Training Act, the excise tax reduction, amending the Interstate Highway System Act, assistance in training State and local law enforcement officers, an act to prohibit the destruction or mutilation of draft cards, the Military Construction Act, the Water Quality Act, and the Clean Air Act.

Of course, in addition there were the measures which were not put to record vote because no one was seriously opposed to them.

It is important to have this context in light of the false propaganda which has been spread that the Congress is "fighting" or is unresponsive to the President or that Republicans are negative and always vote against measures. Even in respect to the controversial measures, controversial between the President and the Congress or between Republicans and Democrats, a large part of the law finally enacted has been the result of congressional and Republican help, even though the Republicans might still end up voting against the measure. A good example of this is the very controversial medicare issue. Medicare was placed in a package which included many measures to improve social security, including an increase in benefits by 7 percent to keep up with the past inflation of over 8 percent. These changes were worked out with Republican cooperation. Indeed, many of the changes were originally suggested by Republicans. Even in the medicare part, which Republicans by and large thought was not the right way to assist older people meet their health costs, the inclusion of nursing home care and home health services was the result of Republican suggestions to the original Forand bill which they also had opposed.

Once the matter is placed in this context of areas of agreement then an evaluation of the two political parties or of Congress vis-a-vis the President by considering the areas of disagreement is in order.

THE AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT

In fiscal policy the areas of disagreement between the two parties were three. One, the Republicans by and large sought to cut back appropriation bills; the Democrats sought to increase them even beyond the President's request in a number of instances.

Second, on increasing the debt ceiling. The Republicans sponsored the amendment in committee which cut back the proposed $329 billion to a $328 billion ceiling. Even then they voted against the $328 billion as still too high when the matter was put to a record vote in the House.

Third, on monetary policy. Most House Republicans voted against first, lowering the gold reserves behind our currency, and second, devaluing our silver coinage.

FOREIGN POLICY

The Republicans opposed the extensions of Federal governmental lending abroad, $750 million additional to the Inter-American Bank, $3 billion additional to the Development Loan Fund. Most Republicans also voted against the $1 billion additional to the International Monetary Fund. Their reasons were, first, the President's failure to balance our own domestic budget resulting in continued loss of gold and devaluing our currency and further inflation; second, the restriction placed on private investment abroad; third, the backward steps being taken in our international trade policies; and fourth, the failure to reevaluate our total foreign aid program including Public Law 480, the disposal of agricultural surpluses. To put this in context, it must be realized that Republicans have supported these basic programs in the past and, indeed, were the innovators of the Development Loan Fund and food for peace as preferable to outright grants to underdeveloped countries.

The Republicans opposed agricultural surpluses going to Egypt and other Communist-dominated countries, the International Coffee Agreement, the Sugar Act, and some of the basic aspects of the United States-Canadian Auto Treaty. They also opposed the extension of and broadening of the interest equalization tax designed to restrict private investment abroad. The Republican broad affirmative policy covering these areas is trade, not Government subsidies or aid, and where trade is inappropriate, loans, not grants, and when loans are inappropriate, grants under well-defined guidelines and sound programing.

DOMESTIC WELFARE PROGRAMS

The Republicans opposed the Appalachia road-building program, the ex-

tension of the area redevelopment program, the extension of the so-called Economic Opportunities Act—the poverty program, the so-called Economic Development Act—accelerated Public Works Act—for several reasons: First, all are poorly drafted; second, they are duplicating; third, they are heavily involved in spoils politics and logrolling; fourth, they badly weaken instead of encourage local and State governments and private and church welfare programs; fifth, they miss their mark by keeping people on welfare or putting them in "make work" issues instead of putting them on their own feet; and sixth, their cost-benefit ratios are excessive. Note, however, the Republicans supported the further development of the Manpower Training Act which they originally conceived, and vocational and technical training and most features of the extension of the Federal education and research programs. The Republicans, joined by some congressional Democrats, proposed tax credit programs in lieu of direct Federal spending programs to accomplish these desired goals. However, the administration has taken a negative position on these proposals.

MEDICARE

The Republicans opposed the medicare part of the Social Security Amendment Act while strongly supporting most of its other features. The Republicans had helped to develop and pass the Kerr-Mills Act and stood ready to improve it as a sounder method of meeting the problems of the aged.

HOUSING

The Republicans opposed the moderate income housing subsidy bill for obvious reasons—moderate income people can do a better job of getting good housing for themselves than can the Federal Government. The Republicans point out the mess that has been made in the administration of public housing for low income people. It is regrettable that the urban renewal program which they developed has been perverted through unbelievably poor administration into a program which itself is now subject to much legitimate criticism.

The Republicans opposed the creation of a Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Affairs. The title is a misnomer because it does not bring together under one department all Federal activities in housing or in urban affairs which was the primary justification advanced by its promoters. Furthermore, if the President was doing an adequate administrative job, much of the inefficiencies, redtape, and duplications could be eliminated without congressional action. Congress, indeed, has been remiss in its lack of oversight and not calling the President to task for the inefficiencies that exist. Finally, the creation of this Department was designed by some to deliberately bypass the State governments. Municipalities are creatures of the States. Where a metropolitan area covers several States, bistate or tristate agencies can be created—by Act of Congress under the constitutional powers specifically granted for this purpose. This power has been exercised in the past for the benefit of metropolitan areas, such as the Missouri-Illinois bistate authority for the St. Louis metropolis but only with the involvement of the State governments.

EDUCATION

Most education measures were developed and passed with bipartisan support. The Republicans did seek to substitute their tax credit education programs for the administration's direct expenditure programs, but when their efforts were unsuccessful they supported the modified administration bill. However, they opposed and sought to eliminate the creation of a National Teacher Corps. Most of the education measures passed by this Congress were not innovations, but extensions and developments of existing programs.

THE VOTING RIGHTS BILL

This measure was developed with bipartisan support and would have been proposed and passed whoever was President and whichever party controlled the Congress. However, the Republicans did seek to have their proposal adopted. I think it was a stronger measure than that of the administration. Certainly it was a much fairer measure and, therefore, one which would have received much more cooperation from the southern communities which were primarily affected. A Republican sponsored measure to extend the bill to include vote frauds was adopted in spite of opposition from many big city Democrats in the north.

IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY BILL

Again, here was a measure which would have been proposed and passed whoever was President and whichever party controlled the Congress. Like the voting rights bill, it had been under congressional study for sometime and was ripe for legislative action. The primary matter reaching an issue on a recorded vote was the so-called McGregor amendment, which applied quotas to the Western Hemisphere in a manner comparable to the quotas set up for the rest of the world. In my judgment, this act has been much overstated and misrepresent. It is not the liberalizing bill that has been advertised. If anything, the control of immigration has been turned over to our national labor leaders as the administration is presently set up. However, something had to be done to correct the erroneous impressions held abroad about our immigration laws, and the new law is a workable one.

ELIMINATING SECTION 14(b) FROM THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

This passed the House by a very close vote, 221 ayes to 203 nays. As a result of the House studies and debate, the matter has been held up in the Senate. I have written extensively on the issues involved here, so I will not discuss it further. Obviously many congressional Democrats had to join the Republicans to have such a high negative vote.

AGRICULTURE

The Republicans opposed the omnibus agriculture bill for many reasons, the inclusion of the bread tax being one of the most publicized. Very few people fail to agree that our agricultural programs need major overhauling. This major overhaul still awaits action and, regrettably, Congress has not been studying the issues with assiduity.

Republicans opposed the Tobacco Price Support Extension Act. Tobacco agriculture is probably more controlled by Government than any segment of agriculture. For many years it was pointed to as the ideal of farm programs. Now the long range ill effects of the political decisionmaking process being substituted for the marketplace process is being spelled out for all of us to see, even the tobacco grower.

There was a mixed vote by parties on the Federal Cigarette Advertising and Labeling Act. I think a very poor job was done in this matter by both the Congress and the President.

MISCELLANEOUS

An interesting issue developed in the extension of the Atomic Energy Act in respect to the rights of a small community government dealing with a big powerful agency of the Federal Government. This, although becoming an issue of record vote, was not developed along party lines.

The Republicans largely opposed both th National Arts and Cultural Development Act as well as the act creating the National Foundation on Arts and Humanities. We are well aware of the fact that those who differ with us would have the people believe we are against art and culture. From our standpoint we opposed these two pieces of legislation because we are for art and culture. We do not believe the intervention of the Federal political mechanism into these areas benefit art and culture in the long run.

HOME RULE FOR DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

This bill serves as a good example of the Congress in opposition to the President, rather than Republicans against Democrats. Of course, the proponents of the President's bill sought to have the people believe this was a case of Republicans and southern Democrats alining to defeat the President's proposals. However, as in most of the cases where this allegation is made, the record vote serves to point up the inaccuracy. In addition, in this instance Congressman SISK, of California, a well established liberal, offered the congressional substitute which passed the House in lieu of the President's proposal.

Congressional reapportionment and the Highway Beautification Act are other measures which did not have the disagreement centered on differences between the two parties, but, rather, differences between segments of both parties, although, because of what was felt to be improper pressures interfering with proper study and deliberation by the President, most Republicans opposed his version of how to get our highways beautified. The Federal pay raise was another example of disagreement between the President and the Congress, rather than disagreement between the two parties. In this instance I supported the President. I thought it important to hold to the President's wage-price guidelines, although I have been very critical over the years of the failure to get Federal

wages increased, particularly in a high-cost area like St. Louis. We still do not have a good system of Federal job reclassification and increased remuneration for Federal employees who work in high-cost areas. We are way behind the employment practices of many of our private companies.

Four procedural points came to a record vote which require some comment.

First. To increase the salaries of the Federal court judges. I thought the House behaved badly in making an issue here because of its disapproval—which I share, to a large degree—of some of the recent controversial Supreme Court decisions.

The Congress waived two statutory requirements which Republicans opposed, I thought, with very good reason.

Second. To permit General McKee to maintain his military position and yet be head of the Federal Aviation Authority. The law requires the FAA be headed by a civilian.

Third. To permit a film prepared by the U.S. Information Service for foreign propaganda to be shown in the United States. The law governing the USIS specifically states that no films or other materials prepared for foreign propaganda be released for domestic propaganda.

Fourth. Whether the Post Office Department should be required to give to the Congress the names of the temporary postal employees supposedly to be selected from the lower income groups to assist in fighting the war on poverty. This was a matter I was amazed to find the administration opposing, including Democratic leaders of Congress. Quite clearly Congress, as well as the public, should have this information and all information like it. To do otherwise invites corruption and other improper action on the part of the executive. This is an example of what I meant when I referred to the Congress failing in its oversight function, and actually pampering, instead of disciplining, the executive branch of Government.

Finally, there was the procedural problem involved in the issue of unseating the Mississippi Congressmen. The House looked very bad taking up a matter in September which should have been decided in February. Whatever one might feel about the issue itself, the failure to grant a timely and thorough hearing to those who felt they had a grievance hits at the heart of representative government. If the Congress does not maintain itself as a forum for people with grievances to be heard, then indeed it is difficult to complain if the people take to the street with these grievances. However, such action means that law and order itself have broken down, and this spells the failure of government itself, that is, governmnt by laws, not government by men.

Now I would conclude with this observation. If you will look over the legislation which has become law this year, you will note that in spite of the propaganda to the contrary, most laws are extensions of existing programs or modifications of them. The only real innovations were the culmination of years of study; namely, medicare, the Immigration Act, and the Voting Rights Act. The debasing of our currency and coinage and the restriction of private investment abroad are innovations all right but the result of temporizing, rather than of deliberation. The drift toward further inflation and international economic difficulties will continue as the trend to increase and extend Federal programs, not so much from introducing new ones, continues. Medicare, it is true, will sorely test the payroll tax on which all social security, unemployment insurance, and workmen's compensation are based.

The differences between the two political parties and between the President and the Congress are primarily differences of degree. All are interested in advancing peace, prosperity, freedom, and justice. The arguments lie over how we best do this for the long pull. No one is surely all right or all wrong. Through study and debate we can best give us the right decisions over the long pull. This is what representative government can provide, but to provide it the people as well as their representatives must take part in the study and debate and not be diverted from this difficult task by either arm twisting or demogoguery.

I hope this little summary will assist to some degree in furthering the study and deliberative process.

Louisiana State University Medical Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the great work being done by the Louisiana State University Medical Center in its successful collaborative scientific programs, particularly in Latin America, for many years.

I am indebted to Dr. William W. Frye, chancellor of the medical center, for furnishing me detailed reports of the progress in these programs. He has also summarized the work and I would like to include that summary in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

SUMMARY OF PROGRAM

The first program which was initiated is a training program in tropical medicine, infectious diseases, and public health. This is financed by a training grant from the National Institutes of Health. It is designed for the staff members and for advanced students of medical schools throughout the country, and for advanced graduate students. This program has been in progress for more than 10 years. Remarkable collaboration has been received in this endeavor from Latin American medical scientists. Out of the program have evolved two other inter-American collaborative projects.

Since 1959, the LSU School of Medicine has been assisting the University of Costa Rica School of Medicine, through an AID grant, in the development of a school of medicine. Most of their staff members have come to our school of medicine for training. Conversely, a large number of the LSU staff have gone to Costa Rica to assist them in the development of the teaching program at their new medical school. The first class of the new medical school will be graduated in January 1966. President Hunter and several members of the board of supervisors have been invited to attend.

Our third, and major collaborative undertaking, is the LSU International Center for Medical Research and Training in Costa Rica, Central America (LSU–ICMRT). This center is supported largely by funds awarded to LSU by the Public Health Service through the Office of International Research of the National Institutes of Health.

One remarkable finding of the research programs of the LSU–ICMRT has been the demonstration of a significant association between certain viruses and diarrhea. Thus, a group of viruses in association with diarrhea has emerged from these studies which may well assume a major role in the causation of endemic diarrhea and thus lead to its control. In many areas of the world, diarrheal diseases represent the major cause of death in the young age groups. You will also remember that diarrheal diseases are extremely important to the military. These findings have not been published yet and thus are not subject to general release.

Studies of a wide range, e.g., cancer of the stomach, infectious hepatitis, parasitic diseases and others, are included in the scope of the research and training activities of the LSU–ICMRT. These centers offer remarkable opportunities for collaborative research and research training in diseases of mutual importance to the United States and the host countries.

Anti-American Sentiment in the Dominican Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter which I received recently from a close friend and constituent regarding the political sentiment in the Dominican Republic:

MIAMI, FLA.,
October 6, 1965.

Hon. CLAUDE PEPPER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CLAUDE: For several years I have kept in close touch with the political situation in the Dominican Republic through responsible American and Dominican citizens who live and have their businesses there.

When the Johnson administration sent American troops into San Domingo to quell the Communist revolution I received nothing but words of gratitude to the United States for having quickly stepped in and saved the Dominicans from the slavery of communism. They had rejoiced when they threw off the yoke of Trujillo and now they were rejoicing once again that President Johnson had saved them from the tyranny of communism.

But today—only a few months later—I hear nothing but scorn and contempt for the OAS and our bungling State Department who have turned victory into defeat by handing over the Dominican Republic to the Communist revolutionists.

The State Department put a gun in Gen. Weissin y Weissin's back and hijacked him.

He was the hope and symbol of anticommunism around whom the anti-Communists could rally but thanks to our State Department they forced him to leave, turned the Dominican Government over to the Communists, ousted the true patriots, and probably will comply with the revolutionists demands for loss of pay suffered as a result of their unemployment brought on by the revolution they started.

Is it any wonder that now most American and Dominican citizens—anti-Communists and Communists alike—now say, "Yankees go home."

Neither I, nor my friends in the Dominican Republic, can be classified as alarmists, but this is one time that we are alarmed.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

WILLIAM C. MARTIN.

The United Nations After 20 Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I recently had the honor of addressing the convocation of the College of Idaho at Caldwell, Idaho. This gathering of concerned faculty members and students shared our interest in international cooperation expressed in congressional support for the International Cooperation Year and the continued development of the United Nations.

In my remarks, I attempted to review the silent strengths of the United Nations in its 20 years of existence, and our hopes for the future role of the U.N.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of my address.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE UNITED NATIONS AFTER 20 YEARS

(Address by Senator CHURCH)

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the birth of the United Nations. As if in celebration, the U.N. has presented the world with a very special birthday gift—a truce in the dangerous war between Pakistan and India.

Such accomplishments account for the continuing respect which most Americans hold for the United Nations. We thought it wholly appropriate, for example, that so eminent a citizen as Adlai Stevenson, twice a candidate for President of the United States, should serve as our Ambassador at the U.N. And we found ourselves in general agreement with Arthur Goldberg, when he gave up a coveted seat on the Supreme Court, in order to become Stevenson's successor.

Fortunately, this esteem for the United Nations is widely shared by the foremost figures of the world. The recent visit to the U.N. by Pope Paul VI is indicative. As the first Catholic Pope ever to journey to the New World, Paul's mission was the cause of peace, but his commitment was to the United Nations.

I was privileged to be present at the General Assembly when Pope Paul delivered his historic message. I was struck by the fervor of his plea for peace, and by the strength of his endorsement of the United Nations. Not only did he call it the "last hope of concord and peace," but he described it as "a bridge between peoples" helping "to hasten their economic and social progress."

The dream of an international organization that would function as global guardian of the peace, was first envisioned by a great American President. Surveying the senseless carnage of the First World War, Woodrow Wilson recognized how desperately mankind needed to put an end to the anarchy among nations. For this purpose, he proposed that the victors should establish a League of Nations, to which the vanquished might also repair, where all sovereign states would act in concert to keep the peace.

But the victors of the First World War fell apart almost as soon as the guns fell silent. Wilson's dream was subverted, not so much by the Allied Governments with whom we fought, as by our own, when the U.S. Senate refused to sanction American participation in the League.

It was left to another generation of Americans, under the leadership of another great President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, to fashion from the wreckage of the Second World War a successor to the League that was finally to secure the participation and support of our own Government.

Originally, at San Francisco in 1945, we constructed the United Nations upon the great alliance which was winning the Second World War. In the mistaken belief that the victors, united in war by a common enemy, would remain united afterward, we entrusted the peacekeeping power, not to the General Assembly where all countries were to be equally represented, but to the Security Council, where the Big Five would have permanent seats, each equipped with a built-in veto. Our vision was of a Pax Victorum, where peace would be maintained by the United States, acting in concert with her allies, the United Kingdom, France, China, and the Soviet Union. The veto was to guarantee that no policeman's club would be raised to enforce the peace, except by the common consent of the Big Five.

Looking back on those euphoric days, one wonders how so infirm an infant as the United Nations could ever have received so auspicious a christening. We supporters of the U.N., then and now, bear a responsibility for having oversold it to the American people. From the outset, we should have stressed that the U.N. itself lacked the power to preserve world peace, having neither the means to finance its own operation nor to impose its will; that the Security Council could only act with the unanimous consent of its permanent members, the Big Five; that the General Assembly could pass resolutions, but could not enforce them; that the U.N. was not, in any sense, a world government, and could not possibly be described as the "Parliament of Man." Consequently, we should have emphasized that, in keeping the peace and protecting our national interests, the U.N. could be no substitute for our own Armed Forces, our nuclear deterrent, our regional alliances, or our mutual assistance programs abroad.

Having said all this, we could then have endorsed the United Nations for realistic reasons—as a useful instrument through which the sovereign nations of the world might strive to build better procedures for achieving the peaceful settlement of international disputes; as the one forum that could hold out the promise, as it grew in strength and stature, of ultimately replacing today's rule of violence with tomorrow's rule of law.

If, following the San Francisco conference, we had made this kind of factual case for our entry into the United Nations, I believe the American people would not have been left to nurse the exaggerated expectation that the U.N. would prove a panacea for peace. Then, perhaps, the failures of the U.N., which were bound to come, would not have loomed so large. Much disillusionment could have been avoided. And fewer today would be the voices attracted to that mindless chant: "Get the United States out of the U.N., and the U.N. out of the United States." For once the United Nations is seen in its proper light, the wonder is not that it has accomplished so little, but that it has accomplished so much.

First of all, it somehow managed to survive the precipitous breakup of the wartime alliance which had pasted it together. As cold war enmity divided the victors into two camps, the Security Council was quickly manacled by the use of the veto. But most of the member countries were determined that the U.N. should not be rendered impotent so quickly, and they found a way, within the charter, to upgrade the role of the General Assembly. The U.N. remained relevant after all, as a sentinel for peace.

Nevertheless, it seemed, for a time, that the cold war might limit the United Nations to the function of a sounding board for the smaller countries, and a convenient meeting place where the channels of communication could be kept open for the use of the major powers in periods of crisis. Indeed, the U.N. has played a most useful role in this respect. I recall, in 1949, while we were airlifting supplies into blockaded Berlin, how informal talks began between our U.N. representative, Philip Jessup, and the Soviet's Jacob Malik, in the U.N. diplomats' lounge. In this casual setting, Malik first hinted that Moscow might be willing to end the blockade, and here the talks were pursued which eventually led to that result.

Even more dramatic was the mediating role of the U.N. during the dread Cuban missile showdown of 1962. The Russian veto could not prevent the Security Council from serving as a stage on which the United States could tellingly present, before the assembled nations of the world, indisputable evidence of Soviet mendacity, thus helping to galvanize world opinion behind the audacious action President Kennedy had announced. The good offices of the U.N. then served to bring our former Ambassador, the late Adlai Stevenson, and John J. McCloy, into continuing contact with Soviet envoy Kuznetzov, for negotiations in which the Secretary General of the United Nations, U Thant, played a vital part. Ambassador Stevenson once summed it up this way:

"At a critical moment, when the nuclear powers seemed to be set on a collision course, the Secretary General's intervention led to the diversion of the Soviet ships headed for Cuba and interception by our Navy. This was an indispensable first step in the peaceful resolution of the Cuban crisis. The mere existence of an impartial office which could perform such a service in the middle of the night at such a time, is no small asset to the human race."

So it has happened that the United Nations, while not performing its intended role as policeman for the victors, has served as their mediator instead, helping in this way to keep the cold war from turning hot.

Though nuclear suicide has thus far been averted, the brushfire wars have not, and these peripheral struggles will continue to endanger the uncertain stability which tenuously rests upon the present nuclear stalemate. In dealing with these flareups, the U.N. has developed a role, not confined to mediation, but extending to active involvement as a kind of fire brigade.

It started in Korea in 1950, where force was invoked under the U.N. flag to defend a member state against invasion from without. To be sure, most of the troops were American and South Korean, and all were under U.S. command, but the fact that the operation was carried out in the name of the United Nations, and did entail token forces from a host of other countries, undoubtedly helped to keep the Soviet Union away from a direct confrontation with the United States.

Moreover, the U.N. auspices did much to mobilize world opinion against the aggression, to a degree that American unilateral action never could have accomplished.

The limited participation of the U.N. in the Korean war led it to become centrally involved as the principal fireman in snuffing out the fighting at Suez in 1956. This time a way was found to set up a U.N. command, with troops furnished by the smaller member nations, whose mission it was to restore peace and order along the Gaza strip. The presence of these impartial sentinels to patrol the seething boundary between Egypt and Israel proved acceptable to both countries, and enabled the French and British to disengage without disgrace. U.N. forces still remain in Gaza, where they have been successful, thus far, in preventing any new eruption along this uneasy border.

The biggest fire brigade operation yet undertaken by the United Nations occurred in the Congo. Here again, the intervention of the U.N., at the request of the Congolese Government, was indispensable to restoring order out of a chaos which threatened to engulf all of central Africa. Had we gone in alone to do this job, as some of our shrill U.N. critics advocated, I daresay we would find ourselves today in the same bottomless quagmire, faced with the same dreary prospects, with which we are in truth confronted in South Vietnam.

Since the Congo, the U.N. has played a vital part in arranging a cease-fire in both Cyprus, and as mentioned earlier, in the India-Pakistan war over Kashmir. In neither of these situations, do we now have a guaranteed peace, but the chances for avoiding further bloodshed have been brightened by the persistence of the United Nations.

Wherever the U.N. has acted as a world policeman, we have found our own national interests well served. Several months ago, on the floor of the Senate, I advocated that we enlist the help of the U.N. in the search for a peaceful solution in Vietnam, and I have been encouraged by the moves President Johnson has since made in this direction.

The notable peacemaking succeses of the U.N., in Africa and Asia, contain a lesson that we should not overlook. The U.N. has no race, creed, or color; it is as varied in its composition as the 117 countries that now make up its membership. The U.N. bears no onus for ever having engaged in colonialism or imperialism; it lacks the intrinsic power to menace even little countries, and so it is neither feared nor distrusted by them. Finally, the U.N. is a genuine international organization which does not separate the "have" countries from the "have nots," the big from the small, the strong from the weak, the developed from the undeveloped, the capitalist from the Socialist, or even the Communist. It has refused to become the handmaiden of any particular alinement or ideology.

If experience proves anything at all, it is that upheaval among the black, brown, and yellow peoples, now emerging in their own right throughout Africa and Asia, is not likely to be assuaged for long through the unilateral intervention of any white nation. The empires which Western power could not hold, that power cannot now pacify. But because the United Nations has proved itself to be theirs, as well as ours, it can often play the role of "honest broker" and even that of the welcome policeman on the beat, when violence breaks out within, or between, countries which were so recently the restive possessions of the Western World.

One cannot appreciate the full scope or significance of the United Nations without a look at its work to improve living standards. The widening gap between the rich nations and the poor, which, in the main, separates those countries of predominantly white population from the colored, lies like a time bomb beneath our superficial efforts to preserve stability and peace. Unless this gap can be held in check and then narrowed in the years ahead, the time may come when the ideological differences dividing the Western World will be swept aside, as the affluent white nations join common cause against the looming specter of racial war.

To avoid this catastrophe, the United Nations is at work, helping to channel both know-how and capital from the rich industrial countries to the poor undeveloped. Of every 20 U.N. employees, 17 are engaged in these programs of social progress and economic growth. Through the U.N.'s World Health Organization, tropical diseases are under relentless attack—malaria is about to be eradicated from the face of the earth.

Various U.N. agencies are making loans and technical guidance available to promote monetary stability and long-range economic development—the World Bank, the International Finance Corporation, the International Development Association, the International Monetary Fund, the technical assistance program, and the Special Fund.

As for our own foreign aid program, nothing gives us greater trouble than trying to reconcile our belief that imrpoving living standards abroad is a goal in itself, which ultimately serves our national interest, with the awkwardness of extending American grants and loans to countries engaging in policies that we regard as unfriendly. This is not only hard for the American people to understand; it is equally incomprehensible to the recipient governments. Our own people conclude that we are embarked upon the folly of trying to buy friends, while the foreign governments concerned suspect that we are offering them money to make them subservient, and so either demand the money without strings attached, or engage in that now-familiar game of diplomatic blackmail, obtaining their own terms by playing us off against the Russians or the Chinese.

This experience, coupled with the fact that other rich nations should bear their share of the cost, has caused the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to recommend that the United States shift its emphasis—from a bilateral basis to a multilateral basis—in the making of long-term loans for economic development. This would mean expanding the role of the U.N. agencies, an objective I strongly favor, not only for diplomatic reasons, but for sound business reasons as well. Eugene Black, who so ably managed the affairs of the World Bank, has explained the success of investments made through the U.N. lending agencies, in these words:

"Because they are known to have no ulterior motive, they can exert more influence over the use of a loan than is possible for a bilaterial lender; they can insist that the projects for which they lend are established on a sound basis, and—most important—they can make their lending conditional upon commensurate efforts being made by the recipient country itself."

In your home community, a loan extended on hard terms by a self-styled friend is usually resented by the person receiving it, although that same person would expect such terms from the local bank. It is no different in the community of nations.

In its role of nation building, the work of the U.N. has barely begun. Nowhere is this more evident than in the compelling need to vastly expand the world's supply of food.

We Americans find it hard to realize that hunger stalks the world. Most of us have more than enough to eat; our most common problem is overeating, so the doctors may. But more than half the world's people suffer from chronic malnutrition. And the hunger problem is getting worse, not better. If drastic measures are not taken soon, it is estimated that the diet of two out of every three people in the world will deteriorate, rather than improve, in the years ahead.

The reason is not hard to guess. It has taken 100,000 years for the world's population to reach its present level of 3 billion people. In 35 years, between now and the end of this century, 3 billion more will be added.

India exemplifies the incredible population explosion the world must face. Within a scant 15 years, India's population will grow by another 200 million people, which is more than the present population of the United States.

Already, in Latin America, we see the drain on food supply occasioned by the burgeoning population. In the thirties, Latin America was the greatest grain-exporting region of the world. Today, Latin America imports more grain than it exports. By the year 2000, 600 million Latin Americans will compete for a food supply which now scarcely feeds 250 million.

Obviously, the problem is much too big for any one nation to solve, even one with such food surpluses as our own. Only by banding together to achieve more efficient distribution of food, to irrigate vast stretches of now unproductive, arid land, to learn methods for harvesting the untapped bounty of the oceans, and to greatly increase the agricultural yield in the underdeveloped countries, can we hope to meet the challenge of the astounding population growth, and escape the brutal upheaval that the scourge of famine will spread across a stricken world.

Can anyone doubt that the United Nations must become the operational center of this great, global enterprise? Can anyone really believe that its importance to the human race will not grow larger with each passing year?

Yes, there are those who do not believe it. Even in this enlightened country, a militant minority of U.N. haters are zealously at work. Disdaining all things foreign, they see the world through Red glasses. To them, the U.N. is some kind of Communist trick. If you tell them that, on its own voting record, the U.N. has shown itself a friend of freedom—that no Soviet resolution actively opposed by the United States has ever been approved by the General Assembly, they respond that this is but a clever ploy to disguise the true Communist character of the organization. If you remind them that the Soviet Union has had to exercise her veto more than a hundred times in the Security Council, to prevent it from taking action against Russian interests, while the United States has yet to cast her first veto vote, they respond, with straight faces, that this proves U.N. procedures were set up to serve the Russians best. These anguished people can never be persuaded.

But fortunately, the great bulk of our people are better balanced and better informed. Commonsense tells them that, despite the diversity among nations, or the conflicts in ideology, we all share a common interest in survival. As Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, has observed: "In the world of today any breach of the peace could lead to the destruction of civilization. In the thermonucler age, any instrumentality with the potential for deterring war can hardly be described as less than indispensable to mankind."

In June of this year, I introduced a resolution in the Senate, quickly approved in both Houses, vigorously reaffirming congressional support of the United Nations. A few days later, it was my privilege to accompany President Johnson to San Francisco, where he addressed the 20th anniversary celebration. There, I heard him renew our pledge to uphold the Charter of the United Nations, with these memorable words:

"I do know this: Whether we look for judgment to God, or to history, or to mankind, this is the age, and we are the men,

and this is the place for us to give reality to our commitments under the charter. For what was for other generations a hope is for us a simple necessity."

This is the age, and we are the men—and the hour is late.

The Stupidity of Intelligence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday October 21, I read in the New York Times an editorial advertisement entitled "The Stupidity of Intelligence," which I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues.

The advertisement reproduced a column by the distinguished associate editor of the New York Times, Mr. James Reston. It was presented as a public service by the International Latex Corp.

I consider this article of the utmost importance for all Americans and indeed for the entire free world because, better than any other single item I have come across, it sets the protest demonstrations against the Vietnam war, which took place last week, in proper perspective.

Mr. Reston makes the point that:

The demonstrators are inadvertently working against all the things they want, and creating all the things they fear the most. They are not promoting peace but postponing it. They are not persuading the President or the Congress to end the war, but deceiving Ho Chi Minh and General Giap into prolonging it.

In an introduction appearing above Mr. Reston's column, Mr. A. N. Spanel, the founder of the International Latex Corp., stresses the mischievous exploitation of these demonstrations by the Communist propaganda apparatus—in Peiping, in Moscow, and in Hanoi.

I believe that Mr. Spanel and his company deserve a world of credit for the courage and public spirit they have displayed over the past quarter of a century in devoting so much of their advertising funds to the publication of vital statements on national and international affairs. I include the editorial-advertisement which appeared in the New York Times on October 21, 1965, in the appendix of the RECORD:

THE STUPIDITY OF INTELLIGENCE

(An advertisement presented as a public service by International Latex Corp.)

Lurid headlines blazoned in the Moscow Izvestia in its report on the noisy demonstrations in the United States during the weekend of October 16, demanding that we abandon South Vietnam. We have ample reason to be ashamed of those Americans whose bizarre conduct gives the Communists added gall to write such grossly exaggerated and misleading stories.

What Moscow, Peiping, and Hanoi do not tell their captive peoples is that their own agents organized and manipulated most, if not all of the ragtag gangs of beatniks and so-called pacifists including students and a relatively small percentage of sincere conscientious objectors. Anti-American demonstrations that weekend took place not only in the United States but in many countries, from Uruguay to Belgium. Only the Communists have the worldwide apparatus for staging such an organized, coordinated international action.

In releasing a detailed study made by the Senate Internal Security Committee, Senator THOMAS J. DODD asserted bluntly: "The control of the anti-Vietnam movement has clearly passed from the hands of the moderate elements who may have controlled it at one time, into the hands of Communists and extremist elements who are openly sympathetic to the Vietcong and openly hostile to the United States."

It is good news that President Johnson is determined to deal with those who violate laws through activities bordering on treason. We are reminded that there was once a professor at Yale who opened his courses by advising his students to keep an open mind—"but not so open that the brains drop out."

The effect of the teach-ins and other agitations, professedly for peace, actually is to prolong the war. This total reality has been set forth brilliantly by James Reston in the New York Times of October 17, in the article reprinted below. We recommend that it be read and pondered especially by the honest, well-meaning Americans drawn into the swamp of confusion staged by the familiar Communist conspiracy.

A. N. SPANEL,
Founders, Chairman,
International Latex Corp.

ARTICLE BY MR. RESTON

WASHINGTON.—It is not easy, but let us assume that all the student demonstrators against the war in Vietnam are everything they say they are: sincerely for an honorable peace; troubled by the bombing of the civil population of both North and South Vietnam; genuinely afraid that we may be trapped into a hopeless war with China; and worried about the power of the President and the Pentagon and the pugnacious bawling patriotism of many influential men in the Congress.

A case can be made for it. In a world of accidents and nuclear weapons and damn fools, even a dreaming pacifist has to be answered. And men who want peace, defy the Government, and demonstrate for the support of the Congress, are not only within their rights but must be heard.

THE PARADOX

The trouble is that they are inadvertently working against all the things they want, and creating all the things they fear the most. They are not promoting peace but postponing it. They are not persuading the President or the Congress to end the war, but deceiving Ho Chi Minh and General Giap into prolonging it. They are not proving the superior wisdom of the university community but unfortunately bringing it into serious question.

When President Johnson was refusing to define his war aims in Vietnam the student objectors had a point, and many of us here in the Washington press corps and the Washington political community supported them, but they are now out of date. They are making news, but they are not making sense.

HEART OF THE PROBLEM

The problem of peace now lies not in Washington but in Hanoi, and probably the most reliable source of information in the Western World about what is going on there is the Canadian representative on the Vietnam International Control Commission, Blair Seaborn.

He flies regularly to the North Vietnamese capital with the Polish and Indian members of that commission, and he is personally in favor of an honorable negotiated peace in Vietnam. He is a cultivated man and a professional diplomat. He knows all the mistakes we have made, probably in more detail than all the professors in all the teach-ins in all the universities of this country. What he finds in Hanoi, however, is a total misconception of American policy, and, particularly, a powerful conviction among Communist officials there that the antiwar demonstrations and editorials in the United States will force the American Government to give up the fight.

Not even the conscientious objectors on the picket lines in this country really believe that they have the power or the support to bring about any such result, but Hanoi apparently believes it and for an interesting reason.

Ho Chi Minh and the other Communist leaders in Hanoi remember that they defeated the French in Vietnam between 1950 and 1953 at least partly because of opposition to the Vietnam war inside France. The Communists won the propaganda battle in Paris before they won the military battle at Dienbienphu.

COUNTING ON PROTEST

Now they think they see the same surge of protest working against the Government in Washington, no matter what Mr. Seaborn says to the contrary. They have not been able to challenge American air, naval, or even ground power effectively since midsummer in South Vietnam, but they apparently still have the hope that the demonstrations against the Johnson administration in the United States will in the end give them the victory they cannot achieve on the battlefield.

So the Communists reject the negotiations the demonstrators in the United States want. They reject the negotiations the American Government has offered, and the demonstrators are protesting, not against the nation that is continuing the war but against their own country that is offering to make peace.

WRONG OBJECTIVES

Honest conscientious objectors are being confused with unconscientious objectors, hangers-on, intellectual graduate school draft-dodgers and rent-a-crown boobs who will demonstrate for or against anything. And the universities and the Government's policy are being hurt in the process.

So there are now all kinds of investigations going on or being planned to find out who and what are behind all these demonstrations on the campuses. It is a paradoxical situation, for it is working not for intelligent objective analysis of the problem, which the university community of the Nation is supposed to represent, not for peace, which the demonstrators are demanding, but in both cases for precisely the opposite.

The Problem of Hunger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. MACKIE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MACKIE. Mr. Speaker, all of us received a copy of the September issue of Limestone, a quarterly magazine published by the National Limestone Institute, Inc., of Washington.

This issue features a special section on the No. 1 problem for the world in the years ahead—hunger. This issue of Limestone is indeed an outstanding

example of corporate responsibility and vision in the social area. Limestone Institute President Robert M. Koch and the members of this organization are to be commended for bringing this important issue to our attention.

Authors of articles in the special hunger issue include Senator GEORGE MCGOVERN, of South Dakota; B. R. Sen, Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations; Bishop Reuben Mueller, of the National Council of Churches; and Mr. Koch.

With a great deal of foresight, Senator MCGOVERN has introduced a bill in the Senate that is designed to give America a leading role in an international effort to end malnutrition and human want.

After Senator MCGOVERN introduced his legislation, I did a considerable amount of research on the problem of world hunger and decided to introduce similar legislation in the House of Representatives. Recently, Representative LYNN E. STALBAUM, of Wisconsin, joined me by sponsoring the same bill.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues who have not yet done so to review the current issue of Limestone. Because I feel Dr. Sen's message is worth repeating, I include it as part of my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD:

ARTICLE BY MR. B. R. SEN

Today, not less than half of the world's population suffers from varying degrees of undernutrition and malnutrition. Undernutrition means plain hunger. Malnutrition has been called "hidden hunger," an expression which implies that people who have enough to eat may nevertheless be unhealthy and even become seriously ill and die because their diet does not provide all the elements needed for satisfactory growth and health. The causes of undernutrition and malnutrition are numerous, but the major causes are poverty and ignorance.

This is the biggest human problem of the century. I say this advisedly, because even if there were an end to the cold war and arms race today, there would still remain the problem of providing food, clothing, shelter, and education to nearly half the world's population who live in poverty and constitute a perennial threat to peace and security.

Before I proceed to define the problem of hunger as I see it, let me briefly refer to two fairly recent and continuing developments which make the problem so much of a peril and so much of an opportunity. The first development is to be seen in its most dramatic aspect in the new states that have come into being in Asia and Africa. The peoples of these new states number nearly 1,000 million—or almost one-third of the entire human race. They have come to their freedom not as an end in itself, but as a beginning—the beginning of a dynamic and demanding new life. They have come to their freedom not blindly and mechanically but in an alert and informed understanding of the many ways in which they can make their needs and aspirations felt at home and in the world.

When you add to these mobilized millions the many more millions elsewhere in the world who are equally underprivileged and equally aware of their condition and the posibility of changing it, you have a ground swell of aspiration that has the potential power to sweep institutions, administrations, national barriers pell-mell out of its giant path. This ground swell has been well-named "the revolution of rising expectations."

Many are pessimistic about the capacity of the underdeveloped countries to climb out of primary poverty. It may be pertinent to inquire what the outlook was in Europe 200 years ago when she started pulling herself up by her bootstraps. Could it not be said then that her peoples were too poor to save on any massive scale, that her agriculture could not be made more fruitful, and her peoples would not adapt to factory tasks and the urban way of life? And yet the revolution took place. Is the plight of the underdeveloped countries today any worse than that of Europe in 1750?

It is true that the world food position is a little more satisfactory than it has been in past times, but today we are confronted by a new challenge in human history which, if it is not faced, could easily sweep away the little progress we have so far made—this is the upward surge of world population at a rate which has never been approached before. Through most of man's history, high death rates, due to disease and lack of control over natural surroundings, prevented his numbers from increasing very considerably. Then with the development of medical science, the new triumphs in death control began to remove the influence of this brake on population growth, and numbers began to soar.

In 1600 the population of the earth is believed to have been 300 to 400 million people, and it was not until about 1800—two centuries later—that this figure had doubled. By 1900—just 100 years this time—the population had risen to about 1,500 million. In only 60 years since then, our numbers have almost doubled again—to about 3,000 million people. With world population rising by more than 50 million people a year, it will not take 60, but only 35 years to double our numbers once more, and all the indications are that 6,000 to 7,000 million people will enter the year 2000. If today we are having trouble in producing adequate supplies of food for 3,000 million people, what a problem lies only 35 years ahead in feeding twice that number.

The essence of the world food problem is not what is happening in the world as a whole or on average. It is the differences that exist between countries and regions, and the growing disparities between various population groups that give the greatest cause for concern.

A particularly disturbing feature of the situation is the slow tempo of economic development in those regions where food deficiencies are most pronounced. For instance, in North America the total food production today is about 50 percent higher than before the war, while the population during the same period has increased by 33 percent. In the Far East region, including most of the densely populated countries of south and southeast Asia but excluding China, food production has increased by about 25 percent since before the war, while the population has gone up 30 percent. Today, per capita production in Asia and the Far East, where prewar consumption levels were among the lowest in the world, is about 8 percent lower than it was 20 years ago. On the other hand, agricultural production in the United States, Canada, and Australia has so outstripped national requirements that vast surpluses have accumulated in these countries.

With the world's present trade and economic arrangements, it has been found difficult to move these surpluses into consumption. This dilemma of hunger and surpluses is one of the most baffling paradoxes of our time.

The statistics of hunger and malnutrition are neither complete nor wholly accurate. But we know enough to formulate a fairly reliable estimate. From the statistics of agricultural production and food consumption surveys which are available, it is clear that up to half of the world's population suffer from dietary deficiencies. The food they eat somehow keeps them alive, but lacks those nutritive elements which are essential for growth, vitality, and resistance to disease. The incidence of endemic deficiency diseases, such as kwashiorkor, pellagra, beriberi, and goiter in various parts of the world, supports this estimate more eloquently than any impressive array of statistics.

In Africa, for instance, one child in four is affected between the ages of 1 and 4 by a more or less severe form of kwashiorkor. Pellagra, usually rife in areas where maize is the staple food, is endemic in north Egypt, Basutoland, and Yugoslavia, and occurs sporadically in Latin America. Beriberi, although the first known vitamin deficiency disease, still takes a heavy toll in the rice-growing areas of Asia. A wider use of polished rice has only increased its incidence in recent years. In a survey in Burma, 40 percent of the 2,000 expectant and nursing mothers examined had symptoms of beriberi. In northern Thailand in 1956, 24 percent of the adult population was suffering from polyneuritis which is attributable to this disease. It is endemic in the Indian States of Assam and Bengal.

Rickets, rare in tropical countries, is nevertheless found in South Africa and north India. It is frequent in north Africa and the Near East. Fifteen percent of the children in Cairo and Damascus hospitals show clear signs of rickets. Endemic goiter is common in the Andes and the Himalayas. In eight States of Mexico comprising 11 million inhabitants, an estimated 2 million have goiter. In Basutoland, 40 percent of the population is affected and in East Cameroon, 25 percent.

Available data reveal enormous differences in infant mortality rates in different parts of the world. They range from over 200 per 1,000 live births in some African countries, and over 100 per 1,000 live births in the major countries of Asia, to below 30 in countries with efficient health and social services. Undernutrition and malnutrition are among the important causes of infant mortality.

Even more suggestive is the death rate in children aged 1 to 4, the age group in which malnutrition is most common and severe. In the developed countries this is nowadays one of the safest periods in life. Figures from Sweden will illustrate this point. In that country the infant mortality rate—the number of deaths per 1,000 live births in the first year—is about 16. In the age group 1 to 4 the death rate per 1,000 population is about 1; that is, only about 6 percent of the infant mortality rate. The Swedish figures are exceptionally good but other highly developed countries can produce figures of approximately the same kind.

In the underdeveloped countries the picture is altogether different. The infant mortality rate will, of course, be higher: 100 per 1,000 live births can be taken as a typical figure. The death rate in the age group 1 to 4 per 1,000 population may be of the order of 20 to 60, or even higher. Suppose 40 is taken as a typical figure. This means that for 1 child dying every year in Sweden in the age group 1 to 4 years, 40 die in the underdeveloped countries.

Such figures, however approximate, bring out a fact which is still insufficiently recognized, namely, that children in the underdeveloped countries survive the first year of life only to enter into another dangerous period. Malnutrition is one of the most serious dangers which they encounter. The incidence of malnutrition in the less developed countries may be placed at well over 50 percent. In other words, well over 1,000 million people in the world today suffer from various degrees of malnutrition.

Basically, hunger and malnutrition are the result of poverty—of underproduction, underemployment, and underconsumption which form a vicious circle. Balanced economic and social development is obviously the long-term answer. Neither explosive population increases nor the limits to the use of nonrenewable resources should stand in the way of achieving a rate of economic growth which can correct the present imbalances and shortages.

We must not forget that man is not simply a consumer, but also a producer. If his productive potential can be harnessed and fully employed in a development-oriented economy, there is no reason why the normal increment in world population should prove to be a crippling burden.

In fact, the problem of feeding a rising population can be best tackled in the economically underdeveloped countries where food and agricultural production per head is alarmingly low. In these countries there exists a vast scope for both horizontal and vertical expansion of food production—that is, for bringing new lands under cultivation and for increasing the yield on lands already cultivated. The former would, of course, require heavy capital investment, and the latter would require the application of scientific techniques and modern cultural practices, improvement in infrastructure and institutional arrangements, and the adoption of such economic and fiscal policies as would provide incentive to the farmer for increased production.

Viewing the hunger problem in these perspectives, it is my firm conviction that it will be solved with finality and in the time remaining to us only through international cooperation. Many of the developing countries have formulated national development plans and are seeking to work out these plans with vigor and enthusiasm. Many of the developed countries have come forward with economic aid and technical assistance, both through bilateral and multilateral channels. The United Nations system as a whole is showing much enterprise in making available technical and other assistance to the developing countries. This is the ground plan for progress. But a realistic appraisal of actual progress in the last decade toward the elimination of hunger reveals that, while steady, it has been slow.

Young at 94

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to the following article from the New Buffalo, Mich., Times of October 15, 1965:

A bright and alert lady of 94 seems to have set a precedent among senior citizens. While most people in this age bracket are giving up their own homes and the rigors of housekeeping to take up residence in the multitude of nursing and convalescent homes, Mrs. Irma R. Frankenstein, of Chicago, has just done the reverse.

With the assistant of her daughter, Mrs. Emily F. Chapman, of Grand Beach, Mrs. Frankenstein packed her bags and moved out this past weekend from the South Shore Pavillion, one of Chicago's fine nursing homes. While the lady did not dispute the merits of the home, she did not feel she belonged there with its large numbers of really sick and senile elderly persons and convalescents. Mrs. Frankenstein is one of these.

Taking up residence with a companion in the Mayfair Hotel, Mrs. Frankenstein in her advanced years, enjoys reading, writing, and dressing up to go out to dinner.

Private Investment in the Alliance for Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following outstanding statement by Mr. H. W. Balgooyen, executive vice president of American & Foreign Power Co., Inc. Speaking earlier this year on behalf of my bill H.R. 30 to provide for U.S. Government participation in the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center in Miami, Fla., Mr. Balgooyen also provided a splendid example of one American company's use of its resources to stimulate a large amount of local private investment in Latin America. I commend his statement to my colleagues:

STATEMENT BY MR. H. W. BALGOOYEN

I am Henry W. Balgooyen, executive vice president of American & Foreign Power Co., Inc., an American enterprise with a history of over 40 years in the Latin American investment field. In representing a company which has made, and is making, a major contribution to Latin America's economic development and social progress, I am very happy to support the legislation now before this committee.

My company, for many years, has been one of the largest investors of U.S. private capital in Latin America. Prior to the Castro-Communist takeover in Cuba, our subsidiaries provided public utility services in 11 Latin American countries. Our Cuban properties, in which we had an investment of some $150 million, were expropriated by Castro's Communist government in 1960 without compensation, as were all major U.S. private investments, totaling well over $1 billion, in that unfortunate country.

Following the loss of our Cuban properties, and because of the extreme difficulty in maintaining profitable private utility operations in the inflation-ridden economies of some of the major Latin American countries, we sold our utility properties in Argentina, Mexico, Colombia, and Brazil to the respective governments; and early this year, we reached an agreement with the Government of Chile for the sale of our electric properties in that country, subject to the necessary congressional ratification.

In selling these utility properties to the various governments, we have been influenced, also, by the broad trend toward public ownership which, of course, is not limited to Latin America. I want to make it clear, however, that the economic and political pressures which have resulted in government ownership of many of the utilities in Latin America have not borne as heavily on industry, in general, as on the public utility business which, because of certain unique characteristics, is particularly vulnerable. The public utility industry, of course, is both price fixed and government regulated. Unlike other businesses, it cannot compensate for rising costs of operation by automatically increasing the price of the product which it sells and delivers to the consumer, but must first apply for and obtain authorization from the regulatory authorities.

I want to emphasize that, while my company has sold many of its utility properties, we are not withdrawing from Latin America, but actually are broadening our participation in Latin American economic development. We continue to operate utilities in a number of countries where the pressures to which I referred have not been so evident. Furthermore, under our sale agreements with the Governments of Argentina, Mexico, and Chile—which call for payment in dollars over a period of years—we are committed to reinvest a large part of the total compensation, as it is received, in enterprises outside the public utility field which will make a definite contribution to the economic development of the countries concerned.

Up to now, out of a total reinvestment obligation of $137 million, we have made specific investments or commitments of $28 million in Mexico and Argentina in the automotive, business machine, metals, building materials, ranching, and petrochemical fields. This program, which has attracted $75 million of additional capital to these countries—a ratio of $3 of outside capital to every dollar we invest—is having an important and favorable impact on their economies.

In making these investments, our company has adhered to a policy of associating itself with Latin American enterprises and industrialists as well as with leading United States and European investors. For example, our $5.8 million equity capital commitment in Argentina's first petrochemical fertilizer production facility, known as Petrosur, has been the basis for bringing together other equity funds from Europe and Latin America and an Inter-American Development Bank loan which, together, amount to about three times the foreign-power commitment.

I might say, in passing, that foreign powers' investment in Petrosur, and investigations we are making concerning possible future investments in fertilizer production in other Latin American countries, tie in very well with U.S. objectives under the Alliance for Progress as stated by President Johnson in his statement of August 17, when he said that the United States is especially interested in promoting an increase in agricultural output in Latin America and promised U.S. help in efforts to establish continental arrangements for production and trade in fertilizers and pesticides.

It can be seen, in the light of the foregoing, that my company has a deep and continuing interest in Latin American trade and development and in the preservation and strengthening of the private enterprise system throughout the Americas. This, of course, accounts for my interest and the interest of my company in Interama and all that it stands for.

I sincerely believe that Interama, located, as it is, at one of the principal gateways from Latin America into the United States, and designed to provide industrial, cultural, recreational and trade facilities of interest to visitors from Latin America as well as to our own citizens who are interested in what Latin America has to offer, can make a major contribution to inter-American understanding and play an important role in promoting the objectives of the Alliance for Progress.

I believe that the theme of Interama, "Progress With Freedom," is an excellent

statement of the aspirations of the Latin American people and of the objectives of U.S. policy toward Latin America. The progress which our Latin American neighbors and business partners are struggling to achieve is, of course, a compound of economic, social, and cultural elements, all of which will be ideally represented in the Interama exhibits.

I have had many discussions with Dr. Muskat, the very able and energetic chairman of Interama, and I know that he shares my belief in the fundamental importance of education and educational interchange in promoting economic and social progress and, hence, in achieving the aims of the Alliance for Progress. Interama will place great emphasis on education; and the cultural, industrial, and commercial exhibits will, in themselves, be educational to our own tourists and Miami visitors as well as to Latin American travelers and exhibitors.

North Americans who visit Interama will have a matchless opportunity to learn about the geography, history, culture, and economic background of our sister republics in Latin America and, thus, to achieve that broader understanding which is the only sound basis for inter-American cooperation and good will. Latin American visitors, on their part, will obtain a new understanding of our economic system, our political institutions, and of our foreign policy objectives. From the industrial exhibits, they will become familiar with American goods and the excellent qualities of our industrial products. This should lead not only to an expansion of our trade with Latin America—already a customer for almost $4 billion of our exports annually—but to a broader interchange of methods, ideas, and people to the great benefit of all the American people, North and South.

It seems to me that it is essential for the achievement of these aims that the U.S. Government, itself, be represented by an exhibit which exemplifies its interest in Interama, in the promotion of American foreign trade, and in the progress and development of our Latin American neighbors. It should be an exhibit worthy of the great Nation which it represents and portrays, and it should support and carry out the theme of Interama, "Progress With Freedom."

The fact that the U.S. Government, through the Community Facilities Administration, already has authorized a loan of over $20 million to Interama, and that a prominent Wall Street firm has entered into a commitment to underwrite a similar amount of bonds for financing the Interama project, is indicative of the support which this highly worthy project has obtained, both from our Government and from American business. It is not only logical but, in my opinion, essential, that the present bill to provide for participation of the U.S. Government in Interama be approved by Congress and that the funds be made available to Interama at the earliest possible date so that there will be no unnecessary delay in startup time. I know that several of the Latin American governments have made known their deep interest in Interama, and I was present at the executive committee meeting of the Inter-American Council of Commerce and Production, which was held in Buenos Aires in March of this year, when that important hemispheric organization of business and industrial leaders of the Americas voted unanimously to support and sponsor the Interama project.

Approval of H.R. 30 would provide a convincing demonstration of active U.S. Government support for Interama and will provide the needed impetus for the efforts now being made by the Interama authority to obtain the broadly based industrial support and participation that are essential to its success.

The 89th Congress, 1st Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, the "do-it-all" Congress, the "fabulous" Congress, the Congress that compiled the greatest record in the history of the country—these are some of the terms used by newspaper observers and other commentators to describe the constructive record of the 1st session of the 89th Congress, which was elected just a year ago with President Johnson.

The passage of a bill setting up a single major new program is generally considered enough to entitle a congressional session to place in history. Thus in the middle years of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Presidency, the Wagner Labor Relations Act was passed in 1935, the Social Security Act in 1936, and the first Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938.

In 1965 Congress produced a great mass of programs—some of them expansions from the past, some of them brand new—that are certain to change the quality of American life across the next several decades.

The President has estimated that about 85 percent of the Democratic platform pledges of 1964 have been enacted into law.

A word must be said about the relationship between the President and the congressional leaders. He has been pictured, by those who write fiction in the pretense that it is news, as an "arm-twister," a ruthless driver who horsewhips and threatens Members of the House and Senate to procure the passage of bills.

Nothing could be further from the realities of life on Capitol Hill. Members of the House and Senate, many of them with 15 or 20 years or more of experience, would be totally resentful of arm twisting and totally resentful of White House pressure to vote for or against pending legislation against their honest convictions.

The President can lead through formal messages, either general or special, that make legislative recommendations and set priorities. His departmental experts can send up draft bills for Congress to consider in committee. But Mr. Johnson spent 12 years in the House and 12 years in the Senate, and it is nonsensical to suggest that he does not deeply comprehend the relationships between the Presidency and Congress, each with its own part to play as a coordinate branch in the framing of legislation.

A specific example is the medicare program, adopted this year, to establish federally sustained health benefits for every citizen 65 years of age and older—partly through the social security system, partly through a supplemental plan to meet the needs of those not on the social security rolls. President Johnson signed the bill with a very proper sense of triumph—but the fact is that the bill Congress approved was sharply modified from the original proposals sent to the House Ways and Means Committee by four Democratic Presidents in succession.

The Ways and Means Committee, with vast experience in the tax and financing fields of old-age care, wrote its own bill in committee, the Senate amended it, the two Houses agreed on a single version—and that was the medicare program the President was invited to sign.

The School Aid Act of 1965 would be rated by most observers as ranking with medicare in importance. Federal aid for elementary and secondary schools has been on the calendar of every Congress with which this Member has been acquainted, since 1945. Suddenly it is an accomplished fact.

Here Mr. Johnson's personal contributions must be rated high. He had courage enough to ask for more money than any President had urged before—$1.25 billion in a single year—and his technical advisers came up with an extraordinary new program of concentrating Federal funds to aid the children of the poor, the city slum schools, rather than clinging to archaic measures of traditional grants-in-aid. The 89th Congress, where more than 70 Members of the House were freshmen and were not involved in stale controversies, welcomed the approach and endorsed it.

Congress also voted a heavy increase in Federal funds for higher education, both at the college levels and beyond, thus becoming the third successive session in a row to place major emphasis on Federal assistance to the upgrading of educational opportunity at these levels.

A major action of the 89th Congress was approval of an immigration-reform measure, killing the 40-year-old national origins quota system that invited migrants from northern Europe who did not wish to come and prohibited or severely limited the immigration of families from the nations of southern and eastern Europe who did want to be a part of America.

Every President since Mr. Truman's day has asked for major revisions in this law, particularly in the national origins provisions that implied some groups were more worthy than others of citizenship in this country. Five years ago it would have been the general judgment that revision and reform of the immigration laws were simply impossible. But with the addition of 70 new Members of the House and the backing of the White House the quota laws came tumbling in 1965.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was another major achievement of the 1st session of the 89th. It became apparent late last year that the Civil Rights Act of 1964, despite its sweep and scope, did not give adequate protection to minority groups, such as Negroes in some Southern States, in performing the simple acts of registering and voting. The situation

in Selma, Ala., this year underscored the fact.

Now we have the new Voting Rights Act, authorizing the appointment of Federal registrars in State areas where there is a pattern of discrimination. Expedited procedures are set up for court tests of the rights of individual citizens claiming a violation of their constitutional guarantees.

It is a credit to the 89th Congress that the Voting Rights Act was approved by heavy bipartisan majorities, just as the Civil Rights Act last year had strong bipartisan support from both Democrats and Republicans.

A program for regional medical programs was cleared by Congress in the last month of its session, together with a parallel bill authorizing Federal funds for medical libraries.

Early in the session the first step was taken toward developing a multi-State economic redevelopment approach in the Appalachia region—a program formulated with the assistance of State governments and designed to provide a wide variety of services to economically depressed and bypassed areas. Most of the Federal money will be devoted to highway development, simply to provide easier communication between the communities of the 10-State region.

Later, Congress passed a bill providing for a more broadly conceived program for regional development, including the financing of local public works, that expanded the original area redevelopment program of 1961.

The 89th Congress took the first step since 1953 to increase the size of the President's Cabinet, authorizing a new Department of Housing and Urban Development headed by a Secretary with Cabinet rank. In addition a new omnibus housing program, maintaining the Government's loan, insurance, and guarantee activities and revising urban renewal was approved.

The water pollution plan gives the States a first right to set up controls to check the pollution of interstate streams and authorizes the Federal Government to impose its own standards if the States fail to act. New funds are provided, as well, for the construction of municipal sewage plants.

The air pollution control program includes two major sections: First, a plan to reduce the smog and pollution that infest the air from the exhaust systems of automobiles; second, a research project designed to develop ways and means of disposal of solid wastes such as demolition debris, abandoned auto hulks, rubbish, garbage, and the wastes from canneries, manufacturing plants, and slaughterhouses.

Two measures were approved that make a direct attack on the root problems of poverty for a few million alongside with affluence, or relative affluence, for 20 or 30 times as many other Americans. The manpower training and development program, designed to teach workers new skills to meet the needs of the job market, was updated and expanded. The antipoverty program President Johnson successfully proposed in 1964 was given an overwhelming endorsement by Congress this year, even to the extent of doubling the Federal funds the administration recommended.

A major bill was passed to reduce, on a selective basis, excise taxes that had been imposed during the Korean war and kept in effect all these years. Reports from Government agencies indicate that these reductions in levies are being substantially passed on to consumers, thus giving lower prices and increased purchasing power and throwing a further strengthening factor under the extraordinary economic surge that for nearly 5 years has maintained high levels of employment, wages, and corporation profits.

The foreign aid program was carried forward but a foundation was laid for a full-scale review of all our economic and military programs abroad with the objective of making them more practical and effective under changing conditions in the world.

The complicated and long lasting farm program was also substantially revised to emphasize a direct attack on the removal of surplus acreage from cultivation. The cotton crop was placed on the same basis as wheat and feed grains, with lower price supports and the substitution of direct cash subsidies where they are needed to undergird farm income.

A military pay increase was approved and a 3.6-percent raise in pay for postal and civil service workers to restore them to levels of parity with income paid workers in private industry.

There was a whole series of bills that can be mentioned only in summary but that stake out new ground:

A National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities was created, with a $60 million, 3-year authorization to promote culture and scholarship.

A gold reserves program was approved to reduce the problem of balance-of-payments deficits.

A new drug control law was approved to strengthen Federal safeguards against the traffic in harmful drugs.

A major achievement of the session, I believe, was passage of a proposed constitutional amendment clarifying and defining the roles of the Vice President, the Cabinet, and Congress itself in the event of Presidential disability. The proposed amendment also provides for the appointment of a Vice President, with the consent of Congress, whenever there should be a vacancy in that Office.

The amendment is subject to ratification by the States, of course, and will take effect only when three-quarters of the States have given their approval. Thus far 10 of the necessary 38 State ratifications have been received. It is of the utmost importance that other States also take action, so that the great gap presently existing in regard to Presidential disability and possible Vice-Presidential vacancy can at last be effectively met in orderly legislation.

As many know, much of the real work of Congress is done in committee, where there is an opportunity for executive department officials to appear and to answer questions of congressional Members who have spent many years working in special fields. This year, as for some years in the past, I have had the privilege of membership on the Committee on Armed Services which deals with our defense structure and the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy—a Senate-House committee that reviews the Nation's situation and progress in the whole field of nuclear activity.

There are other matters to mention that may seem relatively small but in fact affect a great many Americans. One of the standards by which a nation is judged is the care it provides for veterans of past wars and members of the armed services.

The 89th Congress was able to reach agreement on a new insurance program under which each member is given the right to purchase $5,000 or $10,000 in insurance at group-insurance rates, with the Government paying any additional costs. The coverage is automatic, with the servicemen having to take affirmative action to remove himself from coverage. Administrative costs are borne by the Veterans' Administration.

Two bills affecting veterans otherwise are on their way through the legislative procedures. The Senate passed a bill to extend to present members of the Armed Forces many of the advantages that in the past were included in the GI bill of rights during World War II and the Korean war. The House Veterans' Affairs Committee has completed hearings. The House, on the other hand, has passed a bill to increase benefits to those with service-connected disabilities, and a comparable bill has been reported favorably by the Senate Finance Committee. Indications are that final action will be completed this session on the bill increasing service-connected disability benefits. Action on the other measure should be completed in 1966 during the 2d session of the 89th Congress.

It is a special pleasure to report that funds were voted by the 89th Congress for initial construction work on the $73 million Kaskaskia navigation project and that these additional funds were voted for other flood control and navigation projects in our district: $1,371,000 in East St. Louis and vicinity, $391,000 for the Chain of Rocks canal and locks, $600,000 for the New Athens levee.

In addition Congress voted $6.1 million in authorization for the Hillside drainage project, that in the long run will cost $9.34 million and $179,000 in authority for a modified Wood River drainage and levee district project.

It occurred to me that voters in our district might be interested in a summary of the many other Federal activities that undergird the economy and furnish both contracts and jobs. For fiscal year 1965, ending last June 30, these were the statistics for our area—Office of Economic Opportunity and Department of Labor funds include sums for programs to be expended after June 30, 1965:

Agency for International Development	$780,302.57
Army Corps of Engineers	2,457,000.00
Department of Agriculture	3,379,140.00
Department of Commerce	16,967,117.00
Department of Defense	58,051,674.35
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare	45,920,266.00
Department of the Interior	5,500.00
Department of Labor	782,300.00
Federal Aviation Agency	54,800.00
General Services Administration	1,012,498.00
Housing and Home Finance Agency	7,256,000.00
National Aeronautics and Space Administration	235,000.00
National Science Foundation	55,640.00
Office of Economic Opportunity	482,597.00
Post Office Department	7,643,560.00
Railroad Retirement Board	8,090,000.00
Selective Service System	46,746.00
Small Business Administration	66,000.00
Veterans' Administration	13,700,000.00
Department of the Treasury	690,000.00

In addition, Madison County may receive $836,000 under the school aid program and $412,000 from the Office of Economic Opportunity program. The figures for St. Clair County are $1,796,000 in school aid and $643,000 under the Office of Economic Opportunity programs.

Big Education Boost

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNN E. STALBAUM

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, this session of Congress has enacted important legislation to improve higher education. The Beloit Daily News published an editorial which stresses the tremendous importance of education.

In summarizing the accomplishments of this Congress in the field of higher education, the editorial says:

All this adds up to an educational step forward of major importance. As the measure's effects are felt, more and more will have access to the education they need if they are to play a full role in tomorrow's America.

I am pleased to place this fine editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD:

BIG EDUCATION BOOST

The importance of education, whether it applies to youth at home or to people of other lands is difficult to overemphasize. Aside from academic attainment and regardless of consideration to any specific field, learning and understanding are the keynotes to the future. Schooling has many aspects. But the pattern assuring greater effectiveness, and the cost is high, prompts considerable in thought and action.

The Senate and House make clear the deep commitment of this Congress to the need of Federal aid to higher education, and by authorizing some $841 million annually, legislators have stressed how they feel about the importance of schooling to the Nation's future in an increasingly complex world. They have agreed to a broad-scale measure.

A good case could be made for the contention that, partly because of the old bugaboo of Federal control, Congress has been overly cautious about expanding aid to higher education. Some would say it has been downright slow to respond to a clear need. The acuteness of this need has for some time been apparent to everyone even modestly familiar with what has been written on the subject. The need for Federal support has not gone wholly unmet. Some money has been available for construction of new and expanded facilities, and the Government-backed program of student loans has been helpful to many.

The program now authorized is something quite different, however. Besides expanding the loan program, Congress has for the first time authorized what amounts to Government scholarships—that is, grants to needy students. Such grants, coupled with a matching program, will enable many of small means to get a college education. In addition, the bill doubles the fund available for construction grants, establishes a program to upgrade college libraries, offers direct help and teaching fellowships to small institutions with special problems.

All this adds up to an educational step forward of major importance. As the measure's effects are felt, more and more will have access to the education they need if they are to play a full role in tomorrow's America.

Federal Water Pollution Control Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, we must continue to stress the importance and the urgency of Federal, State, and local cooperation in our continuing efforts to control the burgeoning problem of water pollution.

The Natural Resources Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations has conducted extensive hearings and studies, and each day there are new evidences that our efforts are being recognized. The adoption of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, which also has been referred to as the Water Quality Act, during the current session of Congress will provide a very effective approach to the means of alleviating the problem. The fact remains, however, and it must be recognized at all levels of government that the only sure cure to pollution rests in the willingness to appropriate sufficient funds for the work that must be done, and the cost will be staggering.

It was, indeed, gratifying to me that the Federal Water Pollution Control Act as adopted by the House and Senate, and signed by President Johnson, contained an amendment which I sponsored to increase from $100 to $150 million a year the authorized Federal funds for assistance to the States and the communities for the construction of sewage treatment plants.

It is also gratifying to note that Gov. John Dempsey, of Connecticut, has appointed a 100-man task force to make a thorough study of Connecticut's water pollution problems and to make recommendations to the Connecticut General Assembly for remedial action. The Governor has made it clear that it will be a costly program, but he has asked his special commission, which includes prominent residents of all sections of the State, to include the cost factor in its recommendations to the general assembly.

With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I include an article by E. Joseph Martin which appeared in the Hartford Courant of October 10, 1965, under the heading "Drive Against River Pollution Bolstered by Federal Response." The article points up the recent developments in Washington and in Connecticut which stimulate encouragement and hope that we are about to see some tangible results from our continuing efforts.

The article follows:

DRIVE AGAINST RIVER POLLUTION BOLSTERED BY FEDERAL RESPONSE

(By E. Joseph Martin)

Efforts to speed up the cleaning of Connecticut rivers and streams received both State and Federal responses last week.

One always stimulating impetus came in the form of a promise of more dollars from Washington. The other less tangible reaction was a promise of more action by Governor Dempsey.

On October 2, President Johnson signed the Water Quality Act of 1965 into law. This increased the Federal Government's committment to help States build community treatment plants to $150 million a year for the next 2 years.

STATE TASK FORCE

Also on October 2, Governor Dempsey appointed a 100-man task force. It was charged with studying the State's water pollution problems and to come up with recommendations for accelerating pollution abatement programs in time for the next general assembly session.

Under the old law, Connecticut received $1,321,300 in Federal grants. Under the new law Connecticut qualified to receive an additional $697,350 making a total of an eligible $2,018,650.

With these additional funds, the State water resources commission expects to increase new community sewage plant construction about 50 percent. About six to eight new projects are now begun each year. The number is expected to increase to from 9 to 12.

At present Connecticut has 97 community sanitary sewage collection and treatment systems treating 96 percent of the sewage discharged from 80 municipalities serving 60 percent of the population.

To treat the remaining municipal raw sewage discharges, State water resources officials say 44 new, expanded and upgraded plants are needed. Target date for completing the 44 is 1970.

Although this target date is expected to be advanced somewhat by the increase in Federal money available, officials say the money will continue to be used after these plants are constructed for modernizing and making more efficient the community treatment facilities already in operation.

LOCAL EXEMPTIONS

No Federal money is available to industries who install treatment facilities. However, the 1965 general assembly made it possible for industries to apply for local property tax exemptions on equipment certified by the State water resources commission as "water pollution abatement equipment."

Many conservationists hope Governor Dempsey's task force will help to accelerate the pace of industrial waste treatment plant construction by resolving two basic issues:

(1) Finding methods of persuading or forcing industries to install treatment facilities more quickly; and (2) deciding whether the installation of this equipment should be subsidized by the State to a greater degree.

Although most of Connecticut's industries treat both sanitary and industrial waste water, 199 factories still discharge sanitary wastes in the amount of 0.45 million gallons per day to surface waters without treatment.

In addition, officials say 46.8 percent of the total amount of industrial waste water being discharged will need the construction of 234 new treatment facilities.

GET TOUGH POLICY?

To these ends, therefore, two big questions need to be answered. Should Connecticut officials get tougher with uncooperative industries? Should industry receive financial help to construct their treatment plants?

Up to this point, the State water resources commission has been following what has been described as a relatively lenient policy. Although it has the authority by law to issue the necessary orders to secure elimination of specific causes of pollution the commission has chosen to take carefully measured steps in fulfilling its charge.

Its stated policy is "to attempt by education and personal conference to develop a sentiment calling for correction and by assistance to and cooperation with both industry and communities in bringing about the desired results."

Many industries, however, take full advantage of the commission's stated policy and delay the desired results as long as they can. A few even blackmail commission members and communities by threatening to leave the community if forced to construct the treatment plants.

If Governor Dempsey's task force accomplishes nothing else, conservationists say they would consider the effort a success if the group succeeded in forcing a stronger and more positive method of handling industry's few feet-dragging exceptions.

Tribute to Olof R. Anderson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, a Senator's job, with its long hours and steady work, is wearying and fatiguing. It is most fortunate, I think, that we have the Senate gymnasium, small though it is.

We have a most able staff of assistants in the gymnasium, who for many years now, have attended us faithfully in our effort to maintain physical fitness. I wish to pay tribute to each member of the staff: Olof R. Anderson and his capable assistants—Bo I. Anderberg, Ray Johanson, Gunnar Johanson, and Johnny Ware. They have been wonderful to help us through the years. The senior member of the staff is Olof R. Anderson, who has had 15 years of continuous and devoted service to the Senate. The services of all of these men have contributed greatly to the maintenance of our health and physical well-being.

New Thinking on Potomac River Valley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, last June 28, 1965, when addressing the Governor's meeting with Interior Secretary Udall on conservation of the Potomac River, I stated that because of the controversial Corps of Engineers' plan for high dams on the river we should take steps to protect the land involved until a decision is made on whether to follow the corps' recommendations or try something else.

I said:

Regardless of what plan, let's take steps now either through purchase, scenic easements, or otherwise; let's make arrangements to protect the land in the event the new ideas do not work, in the event we do find that impoundment is the only way we can insure adequate water supply, adequate flood control, pollution abatement, and the additional benefits of recreational and comprehensive programs. But let not we, who are in office now, jeopardize the future of this area where we'll have situations of signs where you cannot get water without paying for it, such as the present situation in New York.

Let's get started now, whether it is for part planned now or what; but let's get a plan and have it available in the event that the Corps of Engineers in their expert way are proven to be right. In the event we do not have that technology that some people say is just around the corner, let's not be derelict in our responsibility to the future generations.

This month, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Kenneth Holum stated in a speech that he favored avoiding making a decision now on whether to build the Seneca Dam on the Potomac as recommended by the Corps of Engineers. He said:

If Seneca Dam were built—and if the Washington metropolitan area grows as everyone predicts that it will—Seneca Reservoir would be one of the largest man-made reservoirs within a major metropolitan area. It is not surprising that Seneca has become a major subject of controversy—not just because it would inundate the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal and a beautiful stretch of the river itself—but, perhaps, even more so because no one quite knows how a man-made fluctuating reservoir would fit into a metropolitan area.

Personally, I think we should avoid making irrevocable decisions for future generations unless they are absolutely essential and unless we are completely certain that the decision we make is in their best interest.

A decision to build Seneca now will force an irreversible decision on our heirs. I would prefer to avoid that decision. It would be particularly unfortunate if the dam were built for purposes that advancing technology can serve through other means.

By the same token, if we do nothing, in 10 years the area will be so completely developed that economics will make it impossible to use the area to serve whatever public purpose may prove to be most desirable in the future.

A more prudent course, it seems to me—and it coincides with the urgent need for more parks, playgrounds and outdoor recreation areas—would be to act now to maintain the present level of economic development so as to free the hands of future decisionmakers. Most of the site can easily and appropriately be incorporated into a Potomac Valley Park. No doubt, new legislative tools would need to be developed to achieve this objective, but, nonetheless, I think it merits careful consideration.

It is very encouraging to see that the Interior Department has chosen this course. It is a wise course and one that can be supported as a compromise by the proponents and opponents of the Corps of Engineers' recommendations. There is no question something will have to be done to insure the Washington metropolitan area an adequate water supply and clean river in the near future.

Until our scientists encounter a technological breakthrough or a majority of the experts agree on a plan for the Potomac River Valley, we could best lay the groundwork for any decision by setting aside the land under easement—donated or purchased.

This will guarantee that if we need the land it will be available in undeveloped or low-density development and large-scale condemnation and relocation will not have to take place. This will allow room for implementation of any one of several courses of action. In preparing for and making a decision of such significance, we need latitude in order to take the best course.

Remarks of John T. Dooley, Navy Day Observance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert in the RECORD an outstanding speech given by John T. Dooley, president of the Niagara Frontier Council Navy League of the United States, in Buffalo, N.Y.

The speech follows:

REMARKS OF JOHN T. DOOLEY

The U.S. Navy and the officers, members and friends of the Navy League do me a singular honor this evening in permitting me to address this distinguished gathering. However humbled I am by this task, I realize a certain pride in recognizing that it is appropriate to the office of president which I enjoy, to discharge the task.

Since being elevated to the presidency of the council, I have often been cheered by the advice, assistance and cooperation which I received from my fellow officers. I wish to publicly acknowledge my appreciation to them for the accomplishments the Navy League has witnessed here in the past few months.

Due mainly to their dedication and leadership we have added some 40 new members to the council.

We have been able to attract some of the most outstanding military officers in the service of the United States to speak to us on subjects of vital interest to every American.

We have enjoyed ever greater participation at our meetings and affairs—as witness the results this evening of John Lee and his committee's hard work to make his dinner a success. I think we should give Mr. Lee a round of applause. [Applaud.]

We hope we were instrumental in helping the Navy to make up its mind about where the minesweeper, *Prowess*, should be stationed.

We have instituted a division of the Navy Sea Cadet Corps here in western New York for lads 14 through 17 years of age.

And, finally, we are cooperating with the Navy Department in preparing for an orientation cruise abroad a warship in the Atlantic.

We're an active group, and we intend to become even more active. We have to be. There is a special need at this critical moment in our Nation's history for organizations like the Navy League. Every day, throughout this country we see people getting up on their hind legs and demonstrating for peace. Now there is nothing wrong with that. I'm for peace and you're for peace, and if that's all there was to it I'm sure we would all join in the demonstrations.

But peace pure and simple isn't what these people are agitating for. They seem to be advocating a peculiar form of foreign policy. They would dictate military strategy, political programs, economic principles, and moral judgments to the duly elected and appointed representatives of the people. Aside from the fact that I personally find their conclusions to be half-baked, unrealistic hogwash, I fell that the clamor and tumult they arouse gives aid and comfort to our enemies, undermines the morale of our fighting men on the frontlines, and confuses and weakens the will of the American people to stand steadfast against the spread of tyranny.

One of the ablest, fairest, and most conscientious men in the Senate of the United States, Senator DODD, of Connecticut, has recently warned that the demonstrations for peace in Vietnam have been seriously infiltrated by Communists, and now follow the party line.

What can we do about this state of affairs? We can set the record straight. It's up to us to dispel the confusion in the public's mind about intervention in Santo Domingo, the war in southeast Asia, and other such actions taken by our Government to meet the threat of Communist imperialism. There is even a strong possibility that some of the misguided agitators who are opposed to these aspects of our foreign policy might be persuaded to join the majority of Americans who support our action in these places, if they were correctly informed about the nature of the conflict.

Speaking recently in Washington, Secretary of State Dean Rusk said, "the integrity of America's commitment is the principal pillar of peace throughout the world." I agree with Mr. Rusk. We must stand by our commitments in every part of the globe. But I would add something further. We cannot take the sacrifices of the military for granted. They need civilian support. Without such suport, we don't deserve their sacrifices. We deserve to be vanquished. But, God help us, with your support and the support of millions like you across this great country, they won't give up and we won't be beaten.

This is the only sure road to peace—and by peace I mean an order stabilized by justice and inspired with freedom. To follow any other road is to seek the kind of blasphemous peace promoted by Mao Tse-Tung—a condition in which every man is equally wretched, a soul-less robot employed in the service of a satanic master.

The late President Kennedy predicted that this struggle would be long, hard, and bitter. But he also offered us an opportunity unparalleled in the annals of human history: the opportunity to create a world order in which every man's dignity is recognized, and where every person may pursue his individual destiny in freedom.

The battle is joined. Not only in the swamps of Asia, but right here in the busy commercial offices of Buffalo, men are required to make a commitment. We can support—and I mean actively support—this Nation's bloody resolve to hold fast the perimeters of freedom, or we can stand on the sidelines and carp at better men who are doing their duty.

The Navy league is committed. Now let's see what we can do to alert our friends and fellow citizens to their responsibilities.

Thank you.

Your Federal Government in Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the C. & P. Telephone Co., as part of its civic education program, has been featuring in its bimonthly magazine, the Transmitter, a very interesting and valuable series of articles, "Your Federal Government in Action." Each of these articles focuses on the structure and activities of one Cabinet department, and includes a statement by that Department's Secretary or another high-ranking official. The third of this series, on the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, appeared in the September-October issue of the Transmitter, and I would like to bring it to the attention of the Congress. In future issues, other departments will be discussed, and I am confident that the high quality of the first three articles in this series will be maintained.

The article follows:

YOUR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN ACTION

FOREWORD BY WILBUR J. COHEN, UNDERSECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

The goals that President Johnson has spelled out for the Great Society represent major new challenges to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. We welcome these new challenges.

Excellence at all levels of education, the very best possible health care, a life free from the threat and tyranny of poverty, a society that welcomes and uses the rich variety of talents among all its people, the elderly as well as the young—these are some of the great opportunities that lie just ahead of our society today.

Already this year we have taken big strides in this direction with the passage of some vital and historic legislation, including the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the expansion of of our Social Security system to provide medical care for the aged.

There is a tough job ahead, a job that can be infinitely rewarding. And for this job the old ways of doing things are not good enough. We are going to have to find new ways of solving the problems of equality of opportunity for the victims of racial discrimination, for the poverty stricken, for the handicapped, for the sick and the aged, for all of our people.

I am confident that solutions can be found and that we can strengthen and revitalize our entire society. We must settle for nothing less.

HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE FOR ALL THE PEOPLE

It is young, big, growing—and not infrequently controversial. In one way or another, directly or indirectly, it touches the lives of all Americans.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has grown because many of the problems with which it deals have grown. It is sometimes controversial because it not only deals with the problems of change, but seeks to identify and develop the opportunities for human betterment that new knowledge and new technology produce.

Social security, especially health insurance, has been a hotly debated issue for years. Both the "how" and "why" of Federal aid to education generate divergent views. There are those who object to public assistance for the children of unemployed parents. Some do not like the idea of fluoridation of public water supplies to reduce tooth decay. There are even those who say the Department has no business insisting that peanut butter be made mostly of peanuts.

Out of the past

The national interest in health and education has been recognized from the earliest days of the Republic. Federal aid to land grant colleges and to vocational education and Federal operation of hospitals at major ports of entry are but a few examples. More recently, the national interest in individual economic security also came to be widely recognized. The Social Security Act of 1935, triggered by the great depression, was the first major response of the Federal Government to the economic problems that can beset hard-working, provident members of the labor force and their dependents in an industrial society.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, itself, was established only in 1953, but its roots, too, go far back into the Nation's history. There was a Public Health Service, an Office of Education, a Children's Bureau, a Food and Drug Administration long before there was a Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Into the present

Since 1900, life expectancy at birth has increased from an average of 50 years to 70. Education has become the Nation's largest single enterprise. And, today, most Americans have the satisfaction of knowing that basic economic security for themselves and their families is assured as a matter of earned right.

These and other advances can be traced in varying measure to programs administered by the Department—to an expanding effort to prevent disease and improve health, to the support and encouragement of education, to a strong social insurance system, to welfare programs which seek not only to reduce dependency but to remove its causes, to expanding consumer protection.

All told, HEW administers more than 100 programs, under the direction of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. As of July 1965 the Department was composed of eight operating agencies, all working toward the common goal of improving the health and well-being of the American people.

The Department's work is carried on by some 90,000 employees. About 6,000 of these work in Washington; most of the others in offices, laboratories, and hospitals throughout the country. About 650 are on foreign assignments.

In the fiscal year ended June 30, HEW expenditures amounted to $23.3 billion. Of this, $17.5 billion came from the social security trust funds to pay benefits to retired

and disabled people and their dependents, and to survivors of deceased workers. The remainder—$5.8 billion—came from funds appropriated by Congress. The Department budget constitutes about 18 percent of total Federal expenditures.

Most of HEW's budget—95.8 percent—is returned to the taxpaying public. Medical research by the Department, consumer protection, medical care for Federal beneficiaries, and similar activities account for 2.6 percent of the budget. Administration costs of assistance programs account for 1.6 percent.

Toward better health

The Public Health Service, oldest of the Department's agencies, was established in 1798 as the Marine Hospital Service to help sick and injured seamen and to prevent the introduction and spread of disease.

Today, the Public Health Service is engaged in a wide range of activities. Its National Institutes of Health at Bethesda, Md., is perhaps the world's largest medical research center, and its research grants support an even larger medical research effort in universities, hospitals, and other nongovernment institutions throughout the country. Since 1947, it has made grants totaling $2.3 billion for the construction of hospitals and other health-care facilities involving a total construction cost of $7.3 billion. It makes grants to help build medical research and medical teaching facilities, and to help build municipal waste treatment works to control water pollution.

The Service assists the States in controlling epidemics and in insuring the safety of milk and water supplies. It licenses serums, vaccines, and other biological products. It looks after interstate and foreign quarantine and operates scores of hospitals. It runs the world's largest medical library and keeps track of births, deaths, and health conditions.

Better foods and drugs

Safeguarding the public health is a prime concern of another HEW agency—the Food and Drug Administration. Americans who followed the story of thalidomide still shudder at what might have happened here if thalidomide had been permitted to go onto our drugstore shelves.

So mild it was sold in European countries without prescription, thalidomide seemed a perfect drug. It would induce restful sleep and had hardly any after effects. It was given freely to children, and expectant mothers took it. But, when thalidomide was submitted for premarketing approval, FDA's Dr. Frances Kelsey found things in the record that made her uneasy. She asked for more information. Approval had not been given when European headlines told of a wave of birth deformities. A strong law and a dedicated scientist had averted an American tragedy.

Evaluating safety and efficacy of new drugs before they go on the market is just one of FDA's many major functions. Its mission is to see that the American people get foods, drugs, therapeutic devices, and cosmetics that are safe, beneficial, and honestly labeled.

The FDA enforcement staff is constantly watching for adulterated or misbranded commodities. Insulin and antibiotic drugs are pretested and certified by FDA before they can be legally sold. Color additives and chemicals may not be used in foods unless approved by FDA as both suitable and safe. Food standards are established to promote honesty and fair dealing. Hazardous household substances must bear warning labels.

Special health problems and programs

Over 100 years ago, a long crusade ended in triumph when President Pierce signed an act to establish a Federal hospital for the mentally ill in the Nation's Capital. Dorotheo Lynde Dix had proved herself a great lobbyist as well as an indefatigable humanitarian. She began a new era in the care and treatment of the mentally ill.

Today, another new era for the mentally ill is beginning. Huge, isolated mental hospitals are on their way out. Community centers and services for the mentally ill and the mentally retarded are the modern answer. St. Elizabeths Hospital, still the only Federal hospital concerned with all types of mental illness, will contribute increasingly to this new kind of pioneering.

In 1855, when St. Elizabeths was founded, the concept of "enlightened curative treatment" for the mentally ill was new. Today, that concept is applied to a wide range of handicapping conditions whose victims were once thought beyond help.

HEW's Vocational Rehabilitation Administration provides financial assistance to rehabilitation agencies in each of the States and territories, which last year prepared some 135,000 handicapped men and women for useful employment. Federal and State spending for vocational rehabilitation has risen from $35 million a year to almost $140 million in the past 10 years.

Since the beginning of the program in 1920, nearly 2 million handicapped men and women have been rehabilitated into employment, and the annual total has been growing.

For more and better education

"If we are learning anything from our experiences," President Johnson has said, "we are learning that it is time for us to go to work, and the first work of these times and the first work of our society is education."

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, authorizing more than $1.3 billion in Federal funds for classrooms, broke a long deadlock over the issue of Federal aid to education. Expanded support for higher education, the many calls for innovation emanating from the recent White House Conference on Education, the rapid growth of educational television—these and other developments point to one overriding fact: America's single largest enterprise—education—is in ferment.

The Office of Education has entered its second century with its central mission unchanged but with vastly expanded resources. Its mission: to help succeeding generations of Americans attain a good education. Its resources: new and expanded programs, increased appropriations, more people to develop and guide its activities, and heightened public interest in education. As the pace of change quickens, demands on American education as an essential tool of national policy and purpose will increase.

In 1953, when the Department was established, the Office of Education's appropriation totaled $289 million. For the fiscal year that ended June 30, 1965, the appropriation had reached a total of $1.5 billion. The budget for fiscal year 1966, including the new program of Federal aid to elementary and secondary education, is $3.5 billion.

The Office of Education's budget for 1966 puts that agency's expenditures in support of education almost on a par, for the first time, with Federal expenditures for public assistance. There is wide agreement that inadequate education is a major cause of dependency.

Toward greater economic security

When he signed the Social Security Act on August 14, 1935, President Roosevelt said: "We can never insure 100 percent of the population against 100 percent of the hazards and vicissitudes of life, but we have tried to frame a law which will give some measure of protection to the average citizen and to his family against the loss of a job and against poverty-ridden old age."

Today, 9 out of 10 American workers and their dependents are covered by the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance programs of the Social Security Administration. Every month, payments totaling $1.5 billion go out to over 20 million Americans—almost half of them wives, widows, parents, and children.

Since 1935, new benefits have been added, existing benefits have been increased, and coverage has been extended to more people. These improvements have helped retired and disabled workers, dependents, and survivors meet their living expenses.

In 1945, President Truman proposed a program of compulsory health insurance through social security—and one of the longest and most heated debates in American legislative history was underway. On July 30, President Johnson, with former President Truman at his side, signed the Social Security Amendments of 1965 at the Truman Library in Independence, Mo.

The new amendments set up two new health insurance programs for the aged to be administered by the Social Security Administration—one a basic program of hospital insurance financed through the social security system and the other, which is voluntary, a medical insurance program financed jointly by the Federal Government and those who elect to participate.

More constructive welfare services

Among many things, the new social security amendments also provided for important improvements in a number of programs operated by the Welfare Administration, including child health and welfare and medical programs for the needy aged.

Human dependency costs well over $5 billion a year in public assistance payments alone. Much of this money is used to provide subsistence for needy children, the aged, the blind, and the disabled.

Recognizing that many recipients of public assistance cannot be expected, because of age or disability, to become self-supporting, HEW has increasingly supported programs to discover and remove the basic causes of dependency, and to provide work opportunities.

Work-experience programs under the Economic Opportunity Act, counseling to help impoverished families, maternal and child health and crippled children's services, studies and demonstration projects to help halt the spread of juvenile delinquency are among the activities supported by Welfare Administration grants.

Toward a better life for the aged

There are over 18 million people in America who have passed their 65th birthday; the number grows by about 800 every 24 hours. For millions of people past 65, life is a series of problems, ranging from boredom to desperation. Many have problems finding suitable housing they can afford. Many who want to work cannot find jobs.

The passage of the Older American Act created an Administration on Aging. All aspects of growing old will receive the attention of a Federal agency helping with the problems of the Nation's senior citizens.

Through grants and other means, the Administration on Aging will seek to make better use of the knowledge and resources now available to help older people cope with their problems. And through support of research, the new agency will seek additional knowledge about the problems of older people and the steps needed to give new meaning and dignity to the later years.

Time for Rest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNN E. STALBAUM

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, the Racine Journal-Times published a fine editorial on the record of the 89th Con-

gress, and the reasons for the great amount of significant legislation passed. The editorial points out:

All the bases of American life were touched—health, welfare, poverty, taxes, education, constitutional government. And this came from a branch of the Federal Government which, only less than 2 years ago, we were accusing of being incapable of government.

I commend this editorial to my colleagues, as follows:

TIME FOR REST, EVALUATION

Congress has gone home to rest, and President Johnson has gone home to Texas to recuperate, and there has come a rather breathless pause in the Federal legislative process which has operated for 10 months at a breakneck pace unequaled in the past 30 years.

The pause, even if it is only 10 or 11 weeks, should be valuable to permit the Nation, the administration, and Congress itself to evaluate what has been wrought in the past year. During the session, Congress was adopting on an almost semiweekly schedule significant bills, each of which could have been the highlight and single monumental work of any of a dozen previous sessions.

The record can be summarized only in phrases: medicare and the social security increases; a sweeping Federal educational program; the voting rights bill; a housing program that for the first time includes rent subsidies for the poor; a constitutional amendment on Presidential continuity; establishment of a Department of Housing and Urban Affairs; a regional planning and development program with special legislation for the Appalachian region; a start on water pollution control; an immigration bill finally rejecting the odious national origins principle; establishment of regional medical centers; a Federal program for the arts and humanities; doubling of the antipoverty program, first adopted only a year earlier; a new coinage plan; elimination of most Federal excise taxes.

When, since 1933, has any Congress had such a positive impact on the life of the Nation? All the bases of American life were touched—health, welfare, poverty, taxes, education, constitutional government.

And this came from a branch of the Federal Government which, only less than 2 years ago, we were accusing of being incapable of government.

We are reminded of a ceremonial question asked by Jewish children at the Passover seder, or supper: "Why is this night different than all other nights?" Why, indeed, is this Congress so different than its immediate predecessors?

There can hardly be one answer. Rather, a combination of factors has played on the legislative process.

Not the least of those factors has been President Lyndon Johnson himself, who not only has intimate knowledge of the legislative process, but also the ability to capitalize in most practical ways on his famed consensus, so as to put as many of the people as possible behind his demands for legislation.

But Johnson alone could not have performed these legislative miracles. The 1964 elections, with the sweeping victory of liberal and moderate Democrats, set up the conditions which made it possible to adopt legislation that had been in the making for many years, but had been stalled by the conservative coalition of Republicans and southern Democrats.

Finally, much of the legislation adopted simply represented ideas come to their own time. A prosperous Nation, with liberal leadership both in Congress and the White House, was finally able to do things which it had believed could not be done previously—medicare, Federal school aid, programs to help the chronically impoverished.

Congress represents the Nation, and the Nation now feels itself economically secure, progressive and generous. It is ready to expand what John Galbraith has called the public sector of our economy. In the legislative form, that has been done, and we should soon be ready to evaluate the results.

History will no doubt show that this is the legacy we have left to the young. We can object to history and make excuses. It is easy to evade our responsibilities but we cannot dodge the consequences of avoiding our responsibilities.

We can point to some of our gains and show that we have opened the door to the atom. At the same time we have to admit we have not realized all of its benefits for good. We have opened the way into space, only to find how limited we really are in our knowledge of the heavens. We have made significant gains in medicine, but we are a far distance away from conquering the diseases of the minds and bodies of mankind.

How can we help our young to tackle this formidable agenda of unfinished business and to better face today's and tomorrow's world?

One answer is to be found in providing them with schools and the knowledge and skills which education provides. Education properly used and applied will give real knowledge and only through knowledge will man progress.

Let us hope and pray that this school will produce the youngsters that will have some of the answers to a few of the problems we are giving them. Most of all it is fervently hoped that the children who attend this school will have instilled in them, by the time they leave, a real love of God and of country and a genuine concern for all of mankind.

Dedication to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I had the recent privilege of giving the principal address at the dedication ceremonies of the new Tashua School at Stonehouse Road, Trumbull, Conn. It was a very interesting and rewarding program and I was particularly impressed with the statement made by Mr. Thomas P. Ryan, chairman of the school building committee. Mr. Ryan has given us a very succinct and effective formula and guideline for our Nation's educators.

All of us are aware, of course, of the great contributions which have been made to education by the 89th Congress. It is encouraging to note that the Federal Government's financial stake in the Nation's education budget has risen from appropriations of $700 million in 1964 to authorizations of $3 billion in fiscal year 1966, but we must also recognize that a total of $39 billion from all sources is annually spent nationally on education and that, therefore, the Federal Government remains a minority stockholder in the entire enterprise.

While State and Federal assistance will continue to help improve our programs of education, the fact remains that the foundation of this country's educational resources and responsibilities rests with the local school board and I believe that this is entirely advantageous.

With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I include at this point Mr. Ryan's statement on education, and I also include from the program of the dedication ceremonies the historical background of Tashua School as compiled by Mr. E. Merrill Beach:

STATEMENT BY MR. THOMAS RYAN

Mankind is beset with many problems. Most of them are of his own making. Many of them will not be solved in our time, so we are thereby forced to leave them to the children of today and tomorrow. We have abused our natural resources; we have fouled the air we breathe, the water we drink. We have allowed poverty and ignorance to spread and flourish, mainly through our greed, selfishness, and bigotry. We have still not found the formula for world peace.

Our young men and women are in turmoil. They are saying that the despotism of custom has to go. They are not content with the things that are. They are asking, rather, "what ought to be."

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF TASHUA SCHOOL, TRUMBULL, CONN.

(By E. Merrill Brach)

The first settlers to the northwestern part of what is now Trumbull came in the early 1700's. Through endless toil, they cleared the forest to prepare their farm land and became friendly with the Tamtashua Indians who lived here.

In 1760 these courageous pioneers organized a church and soon thereafter they established a school, which they very naturally were pleased to call "Tashua" after the red men who, no doubt, had made it their homeland for centuries. The new school which is being dedicated this year could very well mark the 200th anniversary of the original school.

The early deeds used in the 1700's for the transfer of property referred to this location as a place called Tashua (sometimes spelled Tashaway).

One of the first records which we find referring to the Tashua school district is dated December 1768, when it was voted to divide the six law books donated by Deacon Abraham Brinsmade to six district schools, including one at Tashua.

In 1778 three committeemen for each of the nine districts were appointed. Those named for the Tashua district were Samuel Gregory, Abijah Seeley, and Joseph Mallett.

Tashua school district bounds were approved at a meeting held December 8, 1795. The other school districts were also approved at that time. The new elementary school is about one-half mile from the old school and about midway from the north and south bounds of the district.

Within this district stands a historical eminence, Tashua Hill, rising 608.3 feet above sea level, which is one of the highest natural elevations along the coastline from Maine to Florida. This was an important lookout station during the War of Independence.

The name "Tashua" that has been used for 2 centuries for the school in the northwest district of Trumbull perpetuates the memory of an Indian tribe which, no doubt, lived and hunted here for hundreds of years. Tashua, the most deeply rooted name in our heritage, means much to the history and traditions of our town.

The 50th Anniversary of the Minot Farmers Union Elevator Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. QUENTIN N. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, the Minot Farmers Union Elevator Co. in Minot, N. Dak., recently celebrated its 50th anniversary. The occasion was reported by the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association in their GTA Daily Radio Roundup. The reporter does an admirable job of catching the spirit of that day—the exuberance, the pride, the sense of value felt by all who participated. The Farmers Union Elevator Co. in Minot is one of the finest in the Nation as this report amply shows and I ask that the report be submitted to the RECORD at this time.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GTA DAILY RADIO ROUNDUP

(Prepared by the GTA public relations department, St. Paul, Minn.)

In Minot, N. Dak., today it seems like the whole town is turned out to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Minot Farmers Union Elevator Co. It's been a busy morning at the Minot Farmers Union Elevator meeting, with lots more to come. You ought to see the people coming into the celebration, hundreds of them. Manager Walt Abrahamson is a busy man today.

The farm people are here, men, women, and children, and townspeople too. Everybody is having a good time. The meeting itself is at the Farmers Union Hall in Minot. It's good to take time out to celebrate once in a while, and this co-op has plenty to celebrate. Looking at the financial statement we see net savings of almost $84,000 for the year and total assets for this cooperative of almost $2.5 million.

The farm people get the credit for pouring the business into the elevator to make this possible, but no co-op or any other business gets very far without good, aggressive leadership. That's where the Board of Directors comes in, and the manager, that all-important guy who calls the shots as he sees them. And they've all got to be hits, or darn near all of them. Walt Abrahamson has a record that any co-op manager in the Nation can envy, and that includes the managers of some very large and successful co-ops.

Speaking of leaders, one of the great farm and co-op leaders of the Nation will speak here. He is, of course, M. W. Thatcher, the veterans general manager of GTA. We wish all of you could hear his address.

So it is a tremendous and significant occasion, the golden anniversary of the Minot Farmers Union Elevator. Looking out over the grounds and office, I see people and machinery and buildings, and hear talk of events and ideas. These are the things from which cooperation is built. It takes all of them, plus a thing called loyalty and another thing called determination. You can't see these last two ingredients. You can't frame them and hang them on the wall, but they are here at Minot. You can feel them so strongly that you can almost touch them, and say, "Here is loyalty and here is determination."

It's a job well done at Minot, but nobody thinks that it is time to quit. The consensus is that the co-op way is getting a good start and that the young farmers of today will build a farmer-owned spread of cooperative enterprises, co-operative businesses in the all-American sense from the farm to the receiving docks of the big consumer industries. What better place to have the foundation of these great cooperatives of the Nation of the future than in towns like Minot, N. Dak., where it all begins. It took 50 years in Minot, but what a wonderful and rewarding span of years it has been.

Project Aware

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, a very interesting and valuable project, "Project Aware," has been undertaken by Mr. John T. Crandall and the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Kensington-Wheaton, Md.

The purpose of "Project Aware" is to explore publicly the problems of today's youth through radio and television discussion shows, lectures, question and answer sessions, and newspaper articles. Its objectives are to publicize the need for greater parental and teen involvement in the prevention of juvenile delinquency; to provide opportunities for discussion of programs to prevent and combat delinquency; and to publicize constructive activities and achievements of youth groups and individuals.

"Project Aware" began with a series of five 45-minute weekly radio programs on WAVA, featuring audience participation via telephone. From this start, which generated more calls per program than could be handled, the program has grown tremendously, and has gained support from many civic groups and prominent citizens of Montgomery County and Maryland. Its supporters to date include county and State officials, juvenile professional workers, radio and TV stations, newspapers, YMCA and YWCA, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, other voluntary agencies, and industry.

I would like to include in the RECORD the following examples of support for this imaginative and fast-growing project:

[From the Bethesda-Chevy Chase (Md.) Tribune, Apr. 30, 1965]

GOOD JAYCEE PROJECT

Kensington-Wheaton Jaycees are doing a good job with their "Project Aware," designed to publicize the need for greater parental involvement in the prevention of juvenile delinquency.

There's no one answer to juvenile delinquency, we suppose, but if just one could be listed, "parent concern" would undoubtedly be it.

Latest step in the jaycees' "aware" program is participation in station WAVA's "Crackerbarrel" program every Thursday from 12:15 to 1 p.m., with Rex Smith, a Jaycee and probation officer of the Montgomery County juvenile court and several area youths taking part.

First subject for discussion, when program premiered yesterday, was "What Role Parents Can Play in Preventing Delinquency" and, after giving their ideas on the subject, the boys answered questions submitted by the listeners.

The program will continue for 5 weeks and if it can awaken even a few adults to their responsibilities, it will have been worthwhile. And we're happy to see the jaycees, most of them still young enough to remember the problems of teenage, tackle the juvenile delinquency problem.

If enough members of the community express the same concern, we may be able to turn some of this aggressive behavior on the part of our youngsters into more constructive channels. They've got to kick up their heels a bit, we know, but some of them are going way too far beyond the bounds of pranks.

[From the Maryland News, May 6, 1965]

JAYCEES SPONSOR RADIO PROGRAM

The Kensington-Wheaton Jaycees on April 22 kicked off "Project Aware," a series of five weekly broadcasts exploring the problem of today's youth.

The initial broadcast featured Rex Smith, chairman of the K-W Jaycee Youth Development Committee, and a probation officer with the Montgomery County juvenile court.

Also expressing their ideas on "What Role Parents Can Play in Preventing Juvenile Delinquency" were Dennis Ethier, 16, of 9511 Sawinaw Avenue, Silver Spring, from Eastern Junior High; Bruce Walter, 17, of 2909 Blueridge Avenue, Wheaton, from Wheaton High; and Skip Arthur, of Arlington, from Stratford Junior High.

The series will continue over Radio Station WAVA on Thursdays from 12:15 to 1 p.m. for another 2 weeks.

PEOPLE'S COURT FOR JUVENILE CAUSES OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY,
Rockville, Md., September 24, 1965.

Mr. JOHN T. CRANDALL,
Chairman, Maryland Jaycees, "Project Aware," Wheaton, Md.

DEAR MR. CRANDALL: Pursuant to our recent conversations in reference to the "Project Aware" which is being sponsored by the Kensington-Wheaton Jaycees, I wish to congratulate you and the Jaycees for this very well conceived and practical approach to the important problem of school dropouts. I am enthusiastic about this program and wish to assure you of the cooperation of our court in every possible way.

I am most pleased that the program has been approved by your State organization for expansion so that it may become a statewide endeavor. It is my hope that it will meet with such success in our State that it may become a nationwide undertaking.

The Jaycees as a community service organization is particularly well qualified to have a positive impact upon the teenage boys in the community who for various reasons have lost their incentive for further education. I am confident that the design of approach to this problem which you have formulated will result in having many boys stay in school who are on the verge of discontinuing their education and also to motivate those who have left school to return.

Please feel free to call upon me and the personnel of the court for any help that we can give you in this most worthwhile and commendable endeavor.

With very best wishes and kindest regards.

Sincerely,

ALFRED D. NOYES,
Judge.

WHEATON HIGH SCHOOL,
Wheaton, Md., September 30, 1965.

MARYLAND JAYCEES, "PROJECT AWARE."

DEAR MR. CRANDALL: For the past 6 months I have followed your program "Project Aware" with keen interest. I believe the interest you are creating for the positive aspects of youth and their problems is most noteworthy. I fully support your practical and realistic approach to the problem of dropouts. I believe the list of topics you have explored to date timely, well stated and very appropriate to all teenagers.

May I congratulate you and the Jaycee organization, both the Kensington-Wheaton chapter for initiating the project, and the State organization for adopting the project as part of their statewide program. The work you are doing in helping youngsters with their immediate problems and helping their parents really understand these problems will go far in helping all youths as they mature.

Please feel free to call upon me and the personnel from Wheaton High School for any help we can give you with your "Project Aware."

Sincerely,

EUGENE P. MORAN,
Principal.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MD.,
Rockville, October 8, 1965.

Mr. JOHN T. CRANDALL,
State Chairman, Maryland Jaycess,
Wheaton, Md.

DEAR MR. CRANDALL: Thank you for providing me with information relative to the program "Project Aware" which the Maryland Jaycees are conducting to counter juvenile delinquency.

I am particularly impressed with the facet which provides the juveniles an opportunity via radio to express their ideas relative to the causes and possible remedies for juvenile delinquent conditions. I am sure the teenagers have intimate knowledge of the conditions which tend to cause juvenile delinquency, and I believe they will be frank in outlining these conditions to the benefit of the parents and others vitally concerned.

I wish to congratulate members of the Kensington-Wheaton Jaycees for the initiative and interest they have shown in producing a most worthwhile approach to the problem which is of immediate concern to residents of the county, but in a broader sense, to the entire country.

I am pleased to be advised that the Maryland Jaycees have endorsed and will support the program. Should it develop that members of the Montgomery County Police Department can be of assistance, please advise me.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES S. MCAULIFFE,
Superintendent.

WTOP RADIO,
Washington, D.C., October 14, 1965.

Mr. JOHN T. CRANDALL,
Chairman, Maryland Jaycees "Project Aware,"
Wheaton, Md.

DEAR JOHN: Aware as I am of the dozens of community-minded activities your jaycees engage in, I am prompted to label your Kensington-Wheaton group's latest efforts the most important and far-reaching endeavor you've yet undertaken.

To damn all juveniles is easy. To recognize their innate and potential worth is something else again. And to inspire and uplift them as your "Project Aware" is designed to do is a service that merits all our attention and support. The concept is most admirable and I congratulate you for inaugurating it, just as I hope to share in enlarging upon it by whatever means are at my disposal.

With cordial good wishes,

LEW MARTIN.

North Carolina Grange Selects Harold D. Cooley as Man of the Year 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. L. H. FOUNTAIN

OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Speaker, our able and beloved colleague, the Honorable HAROLD D. COOLEY, chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, has been named by the North Carolina State Grange as "Man of the Year for 1965."

This is, indeed, a signal honor.

The National Grange is the oldest and one of the proudest and most respected national farm organizations. The North Carolina State Grange, with Mrs. Harry B. Caldwell its master, is a great constituent unit of the National Grange, working constantly to achieve a parity position for agriculture and for the well-being of the farm families of our State.

I salute HAROLD COOLEY for the deserving honor and I commend the Grange for the wisdom of its selection. With the permission of the House I am inserting in the RECORD, at this point, the North Carolina State Grange citation of HAROLD DUNBAR COOLEY:

THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE GRANGE PROUDLY RECOGNIZES HAROLD DUNBAR COOLEY AS THE MAN OF THE YEAR FOR 1965

HAROLD DUNBAR COOLEY, native of Nash County, where he owns farms and maintains his residence, is a 7th degree member of the Grange, and the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Agriculture in the Congress of the United States.

He was educated in the public schools of Nash County, the Law School of the University of North Carolina and Yale University; served in the Aviation Flying Corp during World War I; married Madeline Matilda Strickland in 1923; practiced law in Nash County; and was elected to the 73d Congress on July 7, 1934, a position he has filled during the past 31 years.

His assignment to the House Committee on Agriculture in 1934 marked the first time in more than 100 years that a Representative from North Carolina had served on this important committee. Since that time he has been its honored chairman during the 81st, 82d, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, and the current session of the 89th Congress, which is a record not equaled by any other individual.

During his tenure in office he has been a strong supporter of programs to perpetuate the family farm and to assure farmers of parity of income and services with other segments of the economy. He believes that a prosperous agriculture is essential to the welfare of the Nation and that no program can succeed unless it is fair to farm and city people alike.

Congressman COOLEY played a prominent role in developing the Agricultural Adjustment Act, price supports, crop insurance, the soil conservation program, rural electric and telehpone programs, reorganization of the Farm Credit System, farm security, and other measures which gave rural America the benefit of electric power and brought agriculture out of the depression of the 1930's. Under these programs, farmers received 100 percent of parity for 11 consecutive years prior to 1953.

He sponsored legislation creating the Farmers Home Administration, championed programs to expand foreign markets for farm commodities, led battles in the Congress against efforts to destroy farm programs, and introduced and guided to enactment the farm legislation initiated by the administration during the 87th and 88th sessions of Congress. Tobacco and cotton growers will be forever indebted to him for his role in developing the programs that have been invaluable to producers and the industry alike in North Carolina.

He demonstrated his skill and ability again by piloting the new omnibus farm bill through the current session of Congress so that the producers of cotton, tobacco, wheat, feed grains, dairy, and other products are assured of stable markets and a reasonable return for their capital and labor.

For these and other achievements, the North Carolina State Grange is proud to recognize HAROLD DUNBAR COOLEY as the Man of the Year for 1965 at its 37th annual convention in Raleigh, N.C., on this 22d day of October 1965.

MRS. HARRY B. CALDWELL,
Master, North Carolina State Grange.

Independence Day of Czechoslovakia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE

OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, geography has placed Czechoslovakia in the heart of central Europe, and the Czechs as well as Slovaks have been very much in the center of European affairs. The native home of John Huss and Comenius, of Masaryk and Benes, Czechoslovakia was overrun and dominated by foreigners during most of modern times. Before the First World War Czechoslovakia was part of the polyglot Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy. However, alien rule could not subdue the spirit of independence among these indomitable Czechs and Slovaks. Trained in the school of adversity under the leadership of true patriots, they vowed to fight during the war years of 1914–18 for the attainment of their political independence. During those trying years they earned the sympathy of the democratic world in support of their national cause. Then, on October 28, 1918, they proclaimed their independence.

Unhappily this much-deserved and well-earned independence was not destined to last long. Czechoslovakia became one of the first victims of the Second World War. In 1939 it was partitioned among its three neighbors—Germany, Poland, and Hungary. After the Second World War the country was reconstituted once again. But the Czechoslovak's hopes of preserving and enjoying their regained freedom and independence turned out to be quite illusory. In 1948 the independence of Czechoslovakia was again smothered by totalitarian dictatorship, this time in the guise of communism. The Kremlin's Communist regime could not tolerate Czechoslovakia's independence, and the Soviet Government saw to it that these sturdy and freedom-loving people were once more robbed of their liberty.

Today the people of Czechoslovakia live under totalitarian Communist tyranny. Even though there have been modifications in Soviet policy in the past few years, still the Czechoslovak people detest the Communist yoke imposed upon them by the Kremlin as bitterly as ever. On their independence day we wish them patience and fortitude in their struggle for their freedom.

Comments on Americanism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, if Americans have been somewhat apathetic to the tragedy of certain of our citizens conducting the so-called draft-card burning demonstrations and other activities such as sending blood to the Communist Vietcong which are so repugnant to the American conscience, I would say today that such apathy has dissolved.

An excellent example of the forthright and expressive response to our national heritage and traditions in time of crisis comes from an editorial written and aired by Ross E. Case, general manager of radio station KWAT in Watertown, S. Dak.

Mr. President, Mr. Case's editorial is worth the reading time of every American—it bring back into perspective the real values which are involved in this topsy-turvy world in which the Communist aggressors sometimes are successfully able to present their efforts to subjugate free peoples under the curious and entirely inaccurate version of being programs for peace. I request the editorial be made a part of the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMENTS ON AMERICANISM

(By Ross E. Case, KWAT general manager)

The following should be considered a KWAT editorial—perhaps it sounds more like it might be a sermon. This is Ross Case speaking. These comments are brought about because of the story that I read on my noon newscast of yesterday, which I hope that many of you heard. I'd like to repeat that story first of all:

"The New York World-Telegram said today an antidraft group known as the May second movement is sending blood, first aid supplies, and money to the Communist Vietcong. The movement was among those involved in recent demonstrations against the war in Vietnam. The report said a blood donor drive has been organized in the movement's west coast chapter, and blood and first aid material already has been shipped to North Vietnam. The paper said the New York chapter plans to send blood donated by its members and send the money to the Vietcong through the Algerian National Liberation Front. The report said the movement has 17 chapters across the country, with the New York City chapter having 200 members.

"The paper also quoted one Columbia University student—identified as a member of the May second movement—as indicating that the movement in Michigan is training volunteers to join the Communist forces in Vietnam. The student, when asked about the report, was quoted as saying: 'That's not far from the truth.'" So much for the story. It's time for the average, decent, red-blooded American to stand up and be counted. Do you or do you not believe in the concept of liberty and justice, tempered with faith in those who lead our country and have the authority to direct our actions. Isn't it time to quit snickering about being a flag waver and really show our patriotism.

I challenge every veteran's organization to become militantly aggressive in the purpose of bringing home to the people, especially our younger people, the need for military preparedness. I challenge the fraternal organizations such as the Elks, the Masons, the Eagles, and others who stress Americanism in their rituals, to give it more than lipservice. I challenge the civic organizations, business firms and individuals of this community, to put God and country above business in observance of patriotic holidays, to help drive home the principles of democracy that guide our country. I challenge the churches to preach to their congregations: Why the need for relief in what our country stands for. I challenge the youth group leaders; such as Scouting, FFA, YCL, Hi-Yi, and all the rest, to make Americanism and an understanding of loyalty to country and constituted authority, a major portion of its regular programing and instruction. I challenge the teachers to educate our students from the very beginning about our country and what it represents. I challenge the young people of our area to think clearly and honestly about their future. They have no place to go if they don't believe in the principles of the American way that history and tradition have created. And, most of all, I challenge you parents to undertake the task that is your most solemn obligation—that of guiding your youngsters by experience and example. If you don't believe in what our flag stands for, if you don't participate to the fullest extent in the practice of democracy, if you let someone else do the job of protecting your rights; then don't expect your youngsters to be any different than you. Someone has got to tell these young people why they have to expect to face sacrifices in behalf of their country. Someone has got to get across to them the reasons for respecting authority and discipline. Someone has got to give them enough faith and belief in that which is right so that they can't be hoodwinked and misled by fuzzy thinking and deliberate subterfuge. And, parents, that someone has got to be you.

Patriotism, love of our flag and country, respect for the rights of others—these are the lessons that must be taught at home. They have to be started young and they have to be told often. The attitude and approach-to-thinking on the matter of serving our country and accepting our responsibilities has sunk to a new low. Our apathy and evasive stand on the problems facing the United States in our conflict with our enemies are hard to comprehend.

Somebody, somewhere has got to start the ball rolling. Somebody, somewhere has got to fire up a very tiny flame that at one time was bright enough and warm enough to create the greatest country in the history of the world. There's no reason why that somebody can't be you and I. There's no reason why that somebody must not be you and I.

Take the time to think about it and you'll suddenly realize that time is running out on our way of life. If that's the way you want it to be, keep on doing what you've been doing. As for me, I'm joining the parades—I'm going to wave the flag—I'm going to sing the "Star-Spangled Banner." Are you ashamed to join me? I don't believe so. But, just nodding your head in agreement, talking about it over the coffee cup this morning and forgetting it—that's not going to improve the situation. You've got organizations you beyong to. There are people who will listen to you. Most of all, you have kids that need your instruction and example. Let's get on with our job of being acting, active, aggressive and proud Americans. And, let's show the light of truth to those around us who aren't too sure about it all.

Finally, here's a comment written by a Peter E. Gianutsos, an American officer serving in Vietnam. I'd like to read his comments:

"A legacy of ignorance: Time was when a boy went to college to study law, medicine, engineering or one of the arts. And girls went to get their Mrs. degree. But, that was in the past. Today's crop of college cut-ups are no longer content to swallow gold fish, crowd themselves into telephone booths, or foreign cars. They now insist on dictating Government policies and are ready to parade, demonstrate or sit in at the drop of a cause.

"The latest gimmick among these intellectual midgets is a campaign to urge all members of the Armed Forces to desert their posts rather than serve in Vietnam.

"As a member of the race that started this democracy kick (quick, Socrates, the hemlock) I have no quarrel with the right of the individual to voice his opinions. However, the hysterical babbling of these bourgeois boors, borders on sedition if not treason. I leave that to the legal eagles in the Justice Department. It is a sad day indeed when the words honor, duty, and country have come to mean so little. As a member of the military family, I have spent the better part of my adult life in the Saigons of the world. It never occurred to me to disobey an order, to question the right of my Government to send me anywhere to protect and preserve its interests.

"Like a lot of us here, I have had occasion to be at the base theater during one of the daily memorial services, and I have witnessed the loud music, the slow walking, and heard the soft prayers for those to whom fygmo charts and rotation dates are no longer important. I muttered my own prayer, as well as giving silent thanks that it was not me inside that metal box. As I stood there, I remembered the preachings of these mentally retarded adults and my compassion for a dead man turned to shame, and finally anger, that they dared to ask me to prostitute my profession, ask me to bring dishonor to myself, to my service, and to my country.

"It is difficult enough to understand when the more learned citizenry take the rostrum to rant and rave against our Government, and thereby feed the propaganda mills to the north, but to be subjected to the meaningless chatter of many of these imbecilic sloths, whose idea of bravery is to lead a panty raid, is more than human dignity can bear.

"It has been suggested that they all be drafted and brought to Vietnam. I could not agree less. To put these morons in a uniform is to insult the memory of those who never came back from Guadalcanal, Pork Chop Hill, or, those who did not survive the Brinks BOQ bombing or the VC attack on the Embassy. Instead, clean them up, cut their hair, take away their sweat shirts, and sneakers and bring them to Vietnam to live among the people. Let them expound their theories about the kind, gentle missunderstood VC among the villagers whose homes were destroyed and their meager rice crop stolen. Let them talk about war mongering to the widow of a Vietnamese Army private who earns her rice and fish as a prostitute, or, with the village woman who lost a hand, one finger at a time, to

Vietcong terrorists because she dared to stand up for what she believed was right.

"Draft them into the military? Never. Ours is a proud organization, made up of men and women who have ideals and principals, and what's even more important, men and women who have the courage and the will to live up to those beliefs. They take great pride in themselves, in their uniforms and in their nation, qualities that campus cuties have yet to acquire. Until they do, they will never belong. Their voice will be that of the semieducated half-baked idiot and the fool who will leave behind only a legacy of shame, dishonor, and disgrace."

These last comments by Peter E. Gianutson, an American officer serving in Vietnam.

And this is the sermon for this morning.

Richard Aldrich Decorated With Brazilian Order of the Southern Cross

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, on October 1, I had the honor of being present at the Embassy of Brazil when Mr. Richard Aldrich was decorated with the Brazilian Order of the Southern Cross by former Ambassador Juracy Magalhaes.

A dedicated friend of Brazil, Mr. Aldrich is associated with the International Basic Economy Corp., and has served as president of the Brazilian Center in New York City.

Governor and Mrs. Nelson Rockefeller were present to witness the moving ceremony of friendship between our two nations, and the Governor presented a specially commissioned portrait of Lord Nelson to the Sao Paulo Art Museum, of which the Governor has long been a patron. The portrait was commissioned from the British artist Graham Sutherland by the former Brazilian Ambassador to Great Britain, Assis Chateaubriand. Ambassador Chateaubriand made the taxing journey from Brazil to be present at the ceremony. His remarks during the ceremony revealed the high integrity and deep insight of this outstanding Brazilian statesman.

The occasion had special meaning because of the imminent departure of Ambassador Magalhaes to return to his country as Minister of Justice. The Ambassador rendered distinguished service here and I am sure that my colleagues join me in wishing him well in his new post.

It was a splendid evening, worthy of the great friendship between our two nations. Under unanimous consent, I include at this point in the RECORD Ambassador Magalhaes' remarks in presenting the award to Mr. Aldrich and Mr. Aldrich's reply:

REMARKS OF AMBASSADOR MAGALHAES

Mr. Justice Stewart, Governor and Mrs. Rockefeller, distinguished American and Brazilian friends, my dear friend, Ambassador Garin, my beloved friend, Assis Chateaubriand, ladies and gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to welcome here so many distinguished American and Brazilian guests, who join me in honoring a good and long-standing friend of my country, Mr. Richard Aldrich. I would like to express my deep gratification for the presence of Justice Potter Stewart and convey to him the high regard in which we all hold the great judiciary institution of which he is a respected member.

I deem myself fortunate to have here tonight so many members and friends of the Rockefeller family. The presence of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller cannot fail to evoke among my countrymen the memory of the services rendered by the Governor to the cause of closer relations between the United States and Brazil in times of war and peace. They were and are so numerous that out of consideration for his well-known modesty, I will refrain from relating them. Tonight, he renders a further service to the cause of Brazilian-American friendship by making the formal presentation of the portrait of Adm. Lord Nelson to Washington society. This valuable painting, commissioned from the renowned British contemporary artist, Graham Sutherland, is another major contribution from that admirable and tireless fellow citizen of mine, Ambassador Assis Chateaubriand, to the enrichment of the São Paulo Art Museum, one of the outstanding achievements of his creative genius.

The drives for the development of civil aviation, for child welfare, and for the progress of the press, radio, and television in Brazil, are only a few of the many patriotic-minded and enduring initiatives of a dedicated and public-spirited Brizilian. The greatest, however, of his services to Brazil, has been the admirable courage he has shown in face of adversity by overcoming the illness which tries to keep his wings from soaring into even higher flights in the service of his country.

We pay tribute to the Rockefeller tradition of selfless public service and enlightened private enterprise, in the person of Mr. Richard Aldrich. His close association with my country dates back to the Second World War, when as a captain in the 5th Army, he was assigned to train Brazilian soldiers of the Brazilian Expeditionary Force on the Italian front. The next 20 years of his life, spent partly in my country, show a record of unbroken connection with Brazil. One of his five children, William Stuart Aldrich, is a Brazilian-born national. He has held with distinction many stewardships, among them the Chairmanship of the Brazilian Institute in New York, and the honorary presidency of the Brazilian Center in that city, sharing with Mrs. Aldrich the burdensome social activiteis of that useful organization. As manager in Brazil of the International Basic Economy Corp.'s many ventures into agricultural research, and the development of a mutual funds investment company, the largest in the country, he has lived up to the high standards set by the Rockefellers in my country.

I have the privilege of having as cohosts of this double occasion, their Excellencies Octavio Gouveia de Bulhões and Raymundo de Britto, Ministers of State for Finance and Public Health, as well as other many distinguished friends, among whom is His Excellency the Ambassador of Portugal, who represents a country so dear and close to us. As close, if I may say so as is Great Britain to the United States; all three countries represented here tonight, doing honor to an American and a great British hero.

I take great pleasure in presenting to Mr. Richard Aldrich as a token of the gratitude of Brazil, the highest honor which my country bestows upon a non-Brazilian—the Order of the Southern Cross in the rank of chevalier. This gesture by my Government is a further link in the chain of good friendship between our two countries and our two governments, united in the struggle for the preservation of peace, economic development and social progress everywhere.

REMARKS OF MR. RICHARD S. ALDRICH, BRAZILIAN EMBASSY, WASHINGTON, D.C., SEPTEMBER 30, 1965

I would like to begin my remarks with the opening lines of a Brazilian poem:

"I looked for my love at all corners,
But the corners were all round."

These are the words of that distinguished Brazilian poetess, Dora Vasconcellos, who is here tonight, I hope. I came across these words in her book "Surdina Do Contemplado" and I was struck by the haunting quality, but at the same time by the simplicity with which she described the terrible futility of the lives of many.

The terrible futility of those who have not and will not. Two-thirds of the people of the world today are in this state. And the free world, as it attempts to deal with this problem, is faced with its greatest challenge.

Yet, in the spirit of the Irmãos Leme I have had the privilege to deal with perhaps the most ingenious pioneering device dealing with this problem, that has come upon the scene in many years. Roger Blough at San Francisco said that the most interesting recent development in the field of economics is the multinational corporation. I would like to ask, how about the multinational corporation that deals with the needs of man?

A corporation that builds houses at prices within the reach of the working class. A corporation that has brought agricultural techniques to some of the underdeveloped nations of the world, techniques that have helped to make Brazil an exporter of corn. A corporation that, in bringing the techniques of food distribution to some of the lesser developed nations, has reduced the cost of food as much as 40 percent. A corporation that has developed a chicken whose conversion of grain to protein has supplied a food product which promises to make a dramatic contribution to the feeding of millions. A corporation whose contribution in the field of finance in these same areas has permitted the small wage earner to stand beside the industrialist in ownership of the gross national product. These are the characteristics of that corporation which I have the privilege to serve and had the opportunity to lead in Brazil.

For this privilege I am receiving the Cruzeiro do Sul from a country whose people have perhaps more to offer the world in terms of understanding of problems than any other.

Our Ambassador said to your country, at the end of the parliamentary debate which terminated slavery: "Your 4 days of debate have accomplished more than we in 4 years of civil war."

It is no coincidence that Brazilians fought in Italy, where I had the privilege of serving with them—nor that Brazil was in Korea—nor that on the day of the announcement of our intervention in Santo Domingo, Brazil, was on our side and remains there at the head of the OAS effort to bring reason out of chaos—nor that Brazil has been on the side of right in the United Nations time after time.

Mr. Ambassador, I am receiving this decoration more gratefully than I can express, but also in the humility of one who has been so fortunate as to be singled out.

I use the word "humility" because if it were not for men like Marek Lubomirski and Hans Horch, who worked with me and respectively succeeded me in the leadership of IBEC-Brazil—both of whom are here—I would not be here. Without the guidance of men like Dr. Theodore Quartim Barbosa, Ambassador Walther Moreira Salles, Robert Purcell, Paulo Reis de Magalhães, Thomaz Saraiva Przirembel, to mention a few, I would have been lost. I would also like to thank Miss Clelia Moraes for her patience—which is

exceeded only by that of my wife and my four children.

But, Mr. Ambassador, I must also thank you for being so generous as to let me bring so many of my family, my brother and two sisters, as well as members of my wife's family and many of my friends. And I must reserve a different sense of gratitude to Nelson Rockefeller for the two ideas: that of IBEC and that of having me with it.

Thank you.

Civic Responsibility—I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, last year I had the opportunity to present to the Members of this body the report by the National Committee for Civic Responsibility, located in my city of Cleveland, on the book "None Dare Call It Treason," which at that time caused great controversy in our Nation.

It has again come to my attention that the book is again receiving wide distribution on college campuses throughout the United States. In light of the increasing circulation of this book and continuing interest in the academic basis for the assertions made in this book, the National Committee for Civic Responsibility has seen fit to release an additional study of the book.

It is my hope that this study which follows will be of some use to people throughout the country. I shall publish the report in two parts, the first of which follows:

REPORT OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY

1. On August 10, 1965, the American Educational League circulated a letter asking for tax-deductible contributions for the purpose of distributing 500,000 copies of "None Dare Call It Treason" to students on approximately 700 college campuses.

The books were to be distributed free of charge in October 1965, so that students might participate in an essay contest in which the Americanism Educational League will award over $6,000 in prizes.

While the letter states that students will be "encouraged to consider" material critical of as well as favorable to "None Dare Call It Treason," the sponsors make their own strong bias in favor of the book very clear. In addition, no provision is indicated for the distribution of critical material along with the book.

2. On September 10, 1964, the National Committee for Civic Responsibility's report on "None Dare Call It Treason" was inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by Representative CHARLES A. VANIK, of Ohio. The NCCR report received wide coverage in most major newspapers and requests were received by the NCCR and by Representative VANIK's office for almost 4 million reprints.

3. Prominent Republican and Democratic spokesmen denounced the book and the National Fair Campaign Practices Committee cited it as one of the major abuses in the 1964 election campaign. Since all candidates for national elective office formally pledge themselves to abide by the standards set forth by the National Fair Campaign Practices Committee, that body's letter to the NCCR is quoted herewith:

FAIR CAMPAIGN
PRACTICES COMMITTEE, INC.,
New York, N.Y., October 23, 1964.

Mr. THOMAS C. WESTROPP,
Cleveland, Ohio.

DEAR MR. WESTROPP: I am very grateful, both personally and for the Fair Campaign Practices Committee, for your permission to reprint the National Committee for Civic Responsibility's review of John Stormer's "None Dare Call It Treason."

Our election issue of Fair Comment tried to take on all the major campaign abuses, both those affecting Senator Goldwater and those against President Johnson. We devoted considerable effort to gathering the best material on these subjects; and we found that the committee's review of the Stormer book was by far the fairest and most painstaking. We have been gratified that such responsible (and impeccable) conservatives as Russell Kirk and John Chamberlain have written briefly of the invalid documentation you so fairly and carefully exposed.

I am enclosing several copies of Fair Comment, as well as some information on our committee. May we again thank you for cooperation.

With every good wish, I am
Sincerely yours,

CHARLES P. TAFT,
Chairman.

4. The NCCR also received many rebuttals. Most of these were from individuals; some were from unorganized ad-hoc committees; a very small number came from newspapers and other publications; one was from the Young Americans for Freedom; and John A. Stormer, author of "None Dare Call It Treason," issued a 16-page pamphlet entitled "Anatomy of a Smear." This report will comment briefly on these rebuttals, but Stormer's own publication will be examined in detail.

5. "Anatomy of a Smear":

A. Like "None Dare Call It Treason," this 16-page pamphlet was published by Liberty Bell Press. On September 8, 1964, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch published a news item about Liberty Bell Press, excerpts from which are quoted below:

"John A. Stormer has been in violation of the Missouri law on registration of fictitious names since February of this year, Proscuting Attorney Daniel V. O'Brien, of St. Louis County, said today. 'There is no question whatsoever about Liberty Bell Press, Post Office Box 32, Florissant, Mo., being a fictitious name and there is no question that Stormer has been in violation of the law for a long period of time,' O'Brien said. 'I presume he registered because he learned he was under investigation for this violation. We had the choice of issuing a warrant against Stormer or of warning him and giving him a chance to comply with the law. We elected to follow the latter course, and I wrote him informing him to comply with the law within 1 week. Otherwise, I told him we would proceed against him.'"

The article went on to say that Stormer had previously attempted to register under the Fictitious Names Act several months earlier but that his check had been returned because the law required that a street address be furnished. Stormer had not listed a street address, only a Post Office Box and "Liberty Bell Press" apparently had no street address to furnish.

B. Since Stormer's pamphlet does not have numbered pages for easy reference, this report will attempt to consider his rebuttals in the order that they are presented.

C. At the outset, Stormer implied that this committee is variously a "button-pushing agency" for the Communist conspiracy, a leftwing organization or, at the very least, the tool of the Democratic Party. He did not make the kind of direct charges which would be legally actionable but the implications are clear. The only evidence he cited to substantiate those implications is that: (1) This committee "received editorial coverage in the official Communist Worker almost immediately after formation"; and (2) "an article in the Cleveland Press on September 19, 1964, points out that the NCCR was formed early this year to fight hate shortly after the Communist press in the United States called for the formation of such groups."

The fact is that this committee did not receive editorial coverage in the Worker. Since Stormer published the article in question, it would normally be obvious to any reader that this was a matter-of-fact news story, neither favorable nor critical. Stormer sought to obscure this publishing on the same page but in smaller type an editorial from the Worker about a different organization which used a similar name but which was formed 10 months later and which has since disbanded. As for the item which Stormer identified as being from the Cleveland Press, it was in fact the statements made by the John Birch Society coordinator for the State of Ohio as reported in the Cleveland Press. He identified himself in that article only as the director of the American Opinion Library which many people do not recognize as the designation given to the John Birch Society bookstores.

Now that the charges made in that article have been identified as emanating not from the Cleveland Press, but from the John Birch Society, the only refutation necessary is to say that the charges are false. The Cleveland Press itself had something quite different to say about this committee. The following editorial appeared in that newspaper on November 14, 1964:

"CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY

"The small voice of the National Committee for Civic Responsibility, born less than a year ago in Cleveland, was raised and heard in the incredible din of the presidential campaign just ended.

"In September NCCR described as a fraud the John Stormer rightist book 'None Dare Call It Treason,' which had been accepted by many people as a scholarly proof that this Nation's statesmen, judges, clergy, schoolmasters and journalists had been Communist dedicated or duped since the 1930's.

"NCCR traced back a few of the 'scholarly' references Stormer cited and found them to be quite unscholarly and shaky foundations for this remarkable nonsense.

"The sparkplugs of NCCR have been Hal Steigman, its originator, and Thomas Westropp, executive vice president of the Women's Federal Savings & Loan Association, NCCR's president. They have been attacked by the far leftists and far rightists, as was to be expected.

"They have courageously continued their course, which is to expose any individual or organization that uses innuendo, calumny, distortion, lies or violence in attempts to shape public opinion."

The Press is Cleveland's afternoon and evening daily newspaper. Cleveland's morning and Sunday newspaper is the Plain Dealer. On November 24, 1964, the following editorial appeared in that newspaper:

"YEAR OF BALANCE

"First anniversary of the National Committee for Civic Responsibility is being marked today—a year in which this organization has served the cause of truth and justice exceedingly well.

"It has also been a year in which the individuals who had the courage to speak out about hatemongers were subjected to abuse from extremists of the right and the left. That they continued their efforts is to their credit and to this community's benefit. That the NCCR has been eminently successful is

illustrated most emphatically by the nature of those who have attacked the Cleveland-based group now known nationally.

"The anniversary is a tribute to the zeal of Hal Steigman, who conceived the idea of the NCCR and served as its first executive secretary, and to Thomas C. Westropp, president of the NCCR, and to other members.

"As the Plain Dealer commented editorially on December 24, 1963, the NCCR was faced with the necessity of 'walking a tightrope' if it was to achieve its goals. It has, in the Plain Dealer's opinion, maintained that necessary balance, wavering neither to the right nor to the left but walking the tighrope of truth."

D. Stormer stated that his rebuttal had not been issued in order to defend his book against the NCCR report. He claimed that an objective look at the history of the last 20 years attests to the accuracy of his charges and that, therefore, no attempt will be made to justify every comma and correct every misspelling or typographical error in the book. The NCCR report did not, of course, note any errors of that kind. For this reason, Stormer stated, he would not dispute point by point the charges made against his book in the NCCR report, but would instead answer a few of the charges to demonstrate the propaganda techniques used to discredit his book.

(1) On page 29 of "None Dare Call It Treason" Stormer stated that "half of all American uranium and the technical information needed to construct a bomb were sent to Russia." Item 6B of the NCCR report stated that "Nowhere in this reference is any mention even made about any atomic bomb information" and the NCCR report then reprinted the testimony cited by Stormer to show that Stormer's own reference did not corroborate his claim about the shipment to Russia of half of all American uranium. In rebuttal, Stormer simply ignored the bomb information issue, and admitted that half of all uranium was not shipped to Russia, but countered with the claim that all the uranium which American officials could locate was shipped to Russia. He gave no documentation for this new charge.

(2) On page 29 of "None Dare Call It Treason," Stormer charged that "in actual conduct of the war, military decisions were made, not according to the tactical needs of the day, but for the long-range political advantage of the Communist conspiracy." Item 6C of the NCCR report stated that Stormer's reference contained "nothing whatever to support this charge, nor is any mention made of such a happening." The NCCR report further stated that the reference cited seemed "to be saying quite the reverse of Stormer's allegation." In rebuttal, Stormer admits that the NCCR charges are accurate, but that he was citing this reference only to establish certain facts, and that since he had cited as his reference a liberal source, "naturally his conclusions differ."

(3) On page 126, Stormer sought to imply that G. Bromley Oxnam was a pro-Communist because he was closely associated with Dr. Harry F. Ward. Item 6D of the NCCR report stated that Stormer sought to do this by "pulling a reference out of context in order to twist it to the opposite meaning." In support of this charge, the NCCR report reprinted the entire testimony which Stormer had cited as his own reference. In rebuttal, Stormer repeated that portion of the testimony he had used in the book and claimed that the NCCR was guilty of "planned distortion" because it had reproduced the testimony in full.

(4) On page 58, Stormer charged that "weapons and ammunition were supplied to the underground in Cuba by the CIA in such a way as to insure that they could never be used." Item 6E of the NCCR report noted that since Stormer's documentation for this charge came from a biased right-wing source, that it would not necessarily have been an accurate statement if it had so charged, and that finally, the source did not say or even imply that this operation was carried out so as to insure that the weapons could never be used. In rebuttal, Stormer admits that his documentation does not bear out his implication of treason but that "whether the action was prompted by stupidity or treason matters little." This is precisely what the first NCCR report objected to: Stormer consistently labels as traitors those who do not agree with his views. To Stormer, this is apparently both fair and logical.

(5) On page 168 Stormer charged that the CIO remained under Communist control for at least 7 years after that control was exposed by congressional investigations. Item 6F of the NCCR report stated that the reference cited by Stormer did not support this allegation. In rebuttal, Stormer admits the accuracy of this charge but says that his contention is supported on the very next page (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 22, 1950, p. A6832). The fact is that neither on that page nor on any other page of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for that date was the charge made that the CIO was under Communist control.

E. The above items constitute Stormer's entire rebuttal to the specific charges contained in the NCCR report. These are the items which Stormer selected to demonstrate how he had been smeared and yet in not one single instance did he even attempt to dispute the accuracy of the specific charges contained in the NCCR report. Instead, he sought through innuendo, distortion, and misrepresentation to impugn the integrity of this committee. This cannot be excused as honest error or lack of knowledge; it was a deliberate attempt to deceive.

F. Upon receipt of Stormer's pamphlet, the NCCR invited him to participate in a day-long seminar so that "under the spotlight of national publicity, your book and our evaluation of it will be critically examined." The telegram to Stormer said, in part, "In light of the serious charges that have been made, one or the other of us deserves to be held up to public ridicule and scorn * * * we are herewith providing the medium by which that can be done."

This challenge was reported in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on October 25, 1964, in the Cleveland Press on October 26, and in many other newspapers. The Post-Dispatch reported that Stormer could not be reached for comment and Stormer did not accept the NCCR invitation.

6. Most of the rebuttals received from individuals were answered briefly with the comment that this committee was not staffed to satisfy numerous individual requests which required lengthy replies. The NCCR urged these individuals to write to Stormer requesting that either he or a spokesman designated by him accept the NCCR invitation to a public seminar or debate. In every instance, this ended the correspondence.

7. Several informal ad hoc committees were formed in support of Stormer. These received the same response as did individuals. One such ad hoc committee (which described itself as a committee of prominent Catholics) prepared a lengthy rebuttal and demanded that the Diocesan newspaper which had published the NCCR report also publish their rebuttal.

The managing editor of that newspaper wrote back that he would be happy to publish a rebuttal from any group or individual who was a party to the controversy (such as Stormer or his representative). Of the rebuttal which that ad hoc committee had submitted, his letter said, "Your manuscript is not worth publishing. In our judgment it is tendentious, abusive, sophomoric and misleading. Instead of confining itself to whatever points are held to be at issue, it descends, through innuendo and insinuation, to attacks on the honesty and good faith of the authors of the (NCCR) report."

8. An editorial rebuttal was published in the Richmond News-Leader and reproduced in the rightwing publication Human Events. When the NCCR requested permission to answer that editorial, James Lucier, associate editor of that newspaper, refused to honor that request. The NCCR then asked for permission to reproduce the correspondence between Mr. Lucier and the NCCR. Mr. Lucier responded that this was private correspondence and was, therefore, not to be made public. James Lucier also writes for the John Birch Society periodical American Opinion. His articles have appeared in the following issues of that publication: May, July-August, and November of 1963; April, July-August, September, October, November of 1964; and January, February, April, June, and July-August of 1965.

9. Young Americans for Freedom:

A. The cover page of the Young Americans for Freedom's 12-page rebuttal pamphlet described the National Committee for Civic Responsibility as a new brand of smear artist—respectable and sometimes eminent individuals who under the cloak of civil responsibility did the work of the far left in defaming the conservative movement." It went on to say that this committee was one of this country's two worst offenders in tactics of "lies, distortion, and emotional appeal." On April 7, 1965 this committee wrote to the YAF requesting that they furnish substantiation or documentation for those charges. The YAF did not reply.

On June 16, 1965, this committee again requested that the YAF furnish documentation and substantiation for their charges. This letter closed with the following statement: "If this letter too brings no response from you, we can only assume that your publication knowingly and maliciously circulated material which you knew to be false and defamatory." Again the YAF did not reply despite the fact that in August 1965 their failure to reply was brought to public notice in many newspapers, including the Washington, D.C., Star, circulated in the city where their national headquarters are located.

B. The YAF rebuttal said that "Mr. Stormer does document his statements and gives matter-of-fact references to his sources, making no claims to their being authoritative." It further says that only "the jacket of the book claims it is a carefully documented story of America's retreat from victory and a careful compilation of facts from hundreds of congressional investigations and dozens of authoritative books." The rebuttal explains that Stormer himself makes no claim that his documentation is authoritative and that "for an advertising blurb this rates unusually high, in contrast to the misleading blurbs on a great many books offered by established publishers."

Since Stormer registered as the publisher of "None Dare Call It Treason" and sole owner of Liberty Bell Press under the Missouri Fictitious Names Act, he was obviously just as responsible for the advertising blurb as he was for the rest of the book. This committee considers it self-evident that Stormer meant for his readers to think that his documentation was both "careful" and "authoritative." This committee has demonstrated that it is neither.

C. YAF's rebuttal is very much like Stormer's own "Anatomy of a Smear." The NCCR sent YAF a point-by-point refutation on April 7, 1965. YAF has not replied. This report will not examine the YAF rebuttal in detail but the very last item merits special comment.

The NCCR report stated Stormer's reference 29 for chapter 8 of his book was nonexistent. Stormer admitted this saying that he could "find no clue as to how it even got into the manuscript." The YAF report claims that Stormer's reference was accurate and that the NCCR report was in error.

College Editor Defends U.S. Policy in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I suppose everyone knows by now that there are students on American college campuses who oppose American foreign policy in Vietnam. What may not be so well known is that the great majority of college students in this country support our military effort there and regret the demonstrations now taking place in their midst.

One evidence of this is an editorial published in the Arizona Daily Wildcat, student newspaper on the University of Arizona campus. In this editorial, the editor, Frank Sotomayor, observes that 12 Arizona students participated in the recent Vietnam day demonstration but that these protesters represented only a tiny fraction of the university's student body of 20,000.

Mr. Speaker, without objection I shall insert the editorial at this point in the Appendix:

THE LUNATIC FRINGE

America's role in the Vietnamese war has brought forth, in addition to courageous soldiers, another traditional Yankee figure—the crackpot.

We regret the anti-Vietnam war demonstrations on a national level. But we are ashamed and disheartened by their presence on our campus.

Last Saturday, 12 members of the Vietnam Day Committee (mostly students), proudly exercised their constitutional right to protest by marching through Tucson (starting at the university main gate) to condemn U.S. military intervention in Vietnam.

These local antics were part of a sickening weekend nationwide series of international days of protest sponsored by something called the National Coordinating Committee To End the War in Vietnam.

The unshaven demonstrators, mostly college students, termed American bombing of Communist North Vietnam as aggression, condemned American atrocities against the Vietnamese people and urged increased efforts to achieve a negotiated peace (mainly, by getting out—surrendering).

Placards reading "Yankee, Come Home," "Stop the Draft, Let Johnson Do the Fighting," and "Negotiate, Not Escalate" were commonly used.

Fortunately, the demonstrators were an obvious minority. Throughout the country last weekend, marchers were booed, pelted, and everywhere met by counter-demonstrations supporting the United States in this difficult time.

The agitators have not been cowed, however.

A November 27 march on Washington is planned by the National Coordinating Committee further to harass a courageous administration and to downgrade a noble cause.

Make no mistake: the demonstrations by these misfits are helping to prolong, not shorten, the Vietnam fighting. As James Reston, distinguished New York Times columnist, recently wrote:

"The Communists have not been able to challenge American air, naval, or even ground power effectively since mid-summer, but they apparently still have the hope that the demonstrations against the Johnson administration will in the end give them victory.

"Ho Chi Minh and the other Communist leaders in Hanoi remember that they defeated the French in Vietnam between 1950 and 1953 at least partly because of opposition to the war inside France."

Not only do the demonstrations invite Communist aggression abroad (as well as confusion in the minds of our allies), but they also encourage subversive activities at home.

The FBI, in its annual report issued this week, said the American Communist Party "has instructed its members to cooperate with all protest groups in order to intensify these activities and weaken the Government's position."

It is fortunate that the obnoxious weekend outbursts (which drew 70,000 participants, according to end-the-war bigwigs) have not seriously affected American morale in South Vietnam.

According to an Arizona Daily Star article, many soldiers in Vietnam refused to dignify the demonstrators by commenting on them. When asked for an opinion, a staff sergeant just spat on the ground. One soldier, however, said:

"I think the demonstrators are crazy. I don't think they know what they are talking about. I don't like it over here but it's my duty as a soldier to be here.

"They sent me over to help these people and I'm going to help them all I can. Some of those demonstrators ought to come over here and see what it is all about."

What is it all about?

It's about brave young Americans defending a tenacious country against a barbarous tyranny whose advocates in South Vietnam terrorize, mutilate, kidnap, assassinate, and steal village food and medicine in the name of "liberation."

In short, it's simply the old story of Americans defending freedom as in countless other times and places. The odds are great, as in past times, and our adversaries should be those abroad—not at home.

There should be national unity in this painful period of war and the support of a just policy which, if not followed, would lead, in Dean Rusk's words, "to further and bigger Communist aggressions in the future."

It pleases us that only a handful of students out of a campus of 20,000 saw fit to degrade the country last weekend. We sincerely hope that this fringe will remain a tiny, if still odious, part of the university.

Resolution by the Hawley Dieckhoff American Legion Post No. 33

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, we all are aware of the undue and amplified publicity given to demonstrations against U.S. policy in Vietnam.

I think we also are aware that these demonstrators represent a very small minority of Americans. Unfortunately, publicity of equal measure is not given to the thousands of voluntary efforts and activities in support of our Vietnam policy.

It is indeed, an honor for me, therefore, to bring to the attention of the Congress the following resolution adopted by the Hawley Dieckhoff American Legion Post No. 33 of Neenah, Wis., in my district.

Post Commander Harvey Porath was good enough to send it to me.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I request that the resolution be printed in the RECORD:

Whereas the United States is now at war in Vietnam; and

Whereas the support of our Government's policy in Vietnam is the patriotic duty of all citizens; and

Whereas citizens in our armed services are now serving our national interest and deserve our wholehearted appreciation and support: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Hawley Dieckhoff Post No. 33, the American Legion, Neenah, Wis., reaffirms its support of the U.S. policy in Vietnam and expresses the appreciation to all who serve our national interest by service in the armed services of the United States.

Civic Responsibility—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD at this point, the second part of the supplemental study which the National Committee for Civic Responsibility of Cleveland, Ohio, recently completed on the book "None Dare Call It Treason."

In this part, additional data is brought to light concerning political support of "None Dare Call It Treason" by certain organizations in the United States. In addition, the background of the National Committee for Civic Responsibility has again stated publicly letters of commendation and support for the NCCR which are included to further validate the usefulness of the National Committee for Civic Responsibility.

The second part of the supplemental study follows:

10. Distribution:

In "Anatomy of a Smear" Stormer charged that this Nation's news media had engaged in a conspiracy of silence against his book "hoping that it would die as have so many other anti-Communist books in the last 20 years."

"It didn't work this time," wrote Stormer, "because instead of relying on the normal channels of distribution, a pricing structure and marketing concept was developed which has enabled concerned Americans to place large quantities of this book in the hands of their friends, relatives, neighbors, etc."

That pricing structure and marketing concept is examined below:

A. In most cases, this was simply a euphemism for distribution by the John Birch Society. In Cleveland, as elsewhere, even the newsstand distributors received their copies through the local heads of the John Birch Society. The massive distribution of "None Dare Call It Treason" was made an official project for members of the John Birch Society in that organization's July 1964 bulletin. The books were to be purchased directly from the national headquarters of the

John Birch Society for that purpose at 20 cents per copy.

The Americanism Educational League's plans for a massive free distribution of "None Dare Call It Treason" was announced on August 10, 1965. The August 1965 bulletin of the John Birch Society advised all members that they were to receive five free copies of that book for distribution to their young friends and a coupon was sent to each member redeemable for five free copies at their nearest American Opinion bookstore. The September 1965 bulletin of the John Birch Society advised all members that each chapter was being sent an additional 25 free copies for distribution to college students of their choice.

B. Substantial quantities of "None Dare Call It Treason" were distributed by the members of such rightwing organizations as the Young Americans for Freedom, the Organization To Fight Communism and by such disreputable racist organizations as the National States Rights Party.

C. A few respectable organizations also distributed the book. By far the most prominent and most active among these were numerous posts and districts of the American Legion, although the American Legion did not authorize such distribution under its auspices.

In most places across the country such distribution was unopposed, but it might be instructive to quote an example of what happened when opposition did develop.

In August of 1964, a notice was circulated on American Legion letterheads stating that the Lake County, Ohio, District of the American Legion was sponsoring an essay contest in the Lake County public schools on the patriotic book "None Dare Call It Treason." On September 2, 1964, the Cleveland Plain Dealer reported that at least three of the five members of the committee which had initiated the project, including its chairman, were followers of the John Birch Society. (The chairman was, in fact, a chapter leader of the Birch Society.)

Other Legionaires now protested the project and on September 3, the Plain Dealer editorially stated that Birch Society control of an American Legion Americanism project was an improper link.

On September 8, Ohio American Legion Commander Vernon E. Allen ordered the project abandoned and stated that it had been mounted without Legion knowledge or approval and that, furthermore, this committee of the American Legion was not empowered to mount such projects.

Subsequently, a rightwing organization, now defunct, attempted to rescue the project under its own auspices. That attempt was unsuccessful and the project collapsed.

D. These facts, along with the observations that (1) the printing of 6 million copies of Stormer's book is a very expensive project; (2) that quantity of books could hardly have been distributed from a post office box; and (3) the close similarity between the book and John Birch Society material, even to erroneous quotations and wording, lead this committee to the conviction that Liberty Bell Press was in effect, if not in fact, nothing more than another John Birch Society front.

E. The distribution currently subsidized by the Americanism Educational League is being implemented by the Young Americans for Freedom; 16,000 copies have been distributed by the YAF at the University of Pennsylvania, 5,000 at Ohio State University, and 1,500 at Case Tech in Cleveland. The president of the Case Tech chapter of the YAF stated that this was a major project for YAF chapters across the country (Cleveland Press, Oct. 18, 1965).

11. The NCCR has two major functions. The first is to promote responsible debate between knowledgeable spokesmen for opposing views on controversial issues of public importance. That it has effectively and impartially fulfilled this function is attested to by the following letters from two radio stations in Cleveland:

WJW BEAUTIFUL MUSIC RADIO,
Cleveland, Ohio, November 27, 1964.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY,
Cleveland, Ohio.

GENTLEMEN: May I take this opportunity to extend to your organization the gratitude of this radio station for your efforts during the past year with respect to informational public service programing.

Your office was a frequent source of accurate, unbiased information; willing and able to provide learned spokesmen from opposing sides of various issues.

In our continuing efforts to expose all reasonable opinion on today's questions and issues, your cooperation was most helpful.

We look forward to working with you in the year ahead.

Cordially,

CHARLES C. RENWICK,
Program Manager.

KYW RADIO,
Cleveland, Ohio, December 9, 1964.

Mr. HAL STEIGMAN,
National Committee for Civic Responsibility, Cleveland, Ohio.

DEAR HAL: This is to express my appreciation for your several appearances on our "Contact" radio program in which we were able to quite dramatically illustrate the analytical function of your organization, particularly concerning issues of passionate feeling.

I know you have been attacked by aggressive groups and individuals at either extreme of the political spectrum, but I believe you have done a sincere and conscientious job in spotlighting your targets—those appealing to prejudice and latent hatreds in order to propagandize their own ends.

In particular I was pleased to have you on the air at that time last winter when an explosive situation had developed in this city over the school integration issue and you were able to confront representatives of both points of view in the "Contact" studio, to expose the personal animosities that were standing in the way of logic and solution.

I would like also to thank you for your cooperation in supplying information for other programs in which you did not personally participate. While you and I have personally disagreed on many issues, I feel that there is a great need for the NCCR and I wish you success in attaining your nationwide goals.

Sincerely,

S. DAVE BABBITT,
"Contact" Producer.

The NCCR's second major function is to oppose and expose those who use violence or malicious falsehood in attempts to intimidate or discredit. With the exception that the NCCR excludes those who use such tactics, its membership is deliberately balanced to represent differing races, religions, and political persuasions. The organization is prohibited from taking a partisan position on any political issue and each NCCR chapter in the United States must adopt that same structure and code of regulations.

For these reasons the NCCR reports on "None Dare Call It Treason" are limited to examples of those instances where Stormer used malicious falsehood in attempts to discredit those with whom he disagreed.

12. Others have documented some of Stormer's misrepresentations and distortions in their own individual fields. Among these are the Office of Public Services, Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D.C.; Dr. Julian Foster and others in a tract entitled "None Dare Call It Reason" which may be obtained by writing to Dr. Foster at California State College, Fullerton, Calif.; and by Dr. Henry M. Bullock, editor, Church School Publications, the Methodist Church, 201 Eighth Avenue, Nashville, Tenn.

Cited below are examples of items listed in the State Department release:

A. On page 48, Stormer charged that in the middle of the Hungarian revolt of 1956, the State Department sent a telegram to Marshal Tito, of Yugoslavia, stating that "the American Government does not look with favor upon governments unfriendly to the Soviet Union on the borders of the Soviet Union."

State Department: "This allegation is baseless in fact. No such message was sent."

B. On pages 56 and 57 Stormer alleged that Dean Rusk gave a speech on June 14, 1951, in which he compared Mao-Tse-Tung to George Washington and contended that the Chinese revolution did not aim at dictatorship.

State Department: "Dean Rusk gave no speech on that day and did not at any time make such statements."

C. On page 25, Stormer charged that Dean Rusk defended Alger Hiss when Hiss was exposed as a Communist agent.

State Department: Dean Rusk did not defend Alger Hiss, either as a witness during his two trials or in any statement.

D. On page 8, Stormer charged that the United States supplied nuclear reactors to Czechoslovakia and machinery to produce precision ball bearings used in guided missiles along with synthetic rubber plants to the Soviet Union.

State Department: "No such equipment was ever sent."

E. On page 93, Stormer charged that "today, 400 American boys rot in Red Chinese prisons, deserted after a war which ended in 1953."

State Department: "There is no factual evidence or intelligence to indicate that any of the 389 men listed as unaccounted for at the end of the Korean war may yet be alive and held prisoner by the Soviet Communists, the Chinese Communists, or the North Korean Communists."

13. Summary:

A. Both Stormer and the major subsidizer and distributor of his book, the John Birch Society, claim that their publications are attacked, not because they are dishonest, but because a giant Communist conspiracy is operating against them.

Both have a simple formula for identifying Communists and traitors: Those who disagree with right wing extremist doctrine are either stupid or they are Communists; if it can be demonstrated that such persons are not stupid, they are then by definition Communists or traitors.

B. It is disturbing that some Americans understand their country, its free institutions and its problems so little that they consider it patriotic to distribute Stormer's book. And it is distressing to witness the tactics those people have used to defend that book even after its true nature was exposed.

Plainly, "None Dare Call It Treason" is not an anti-Communist book; it is an anti-American book. Only one chapter truly deals with communism; the rest is primarily a maliciously dishonest attack on American political, religious, educational and judicial institutions and on their topmost leaders.

C. Few Americans are taken in when such attacks are mounted directly by Communist propagandists. Americans recognize such attacks as deliberate attempts to divide them into polarized and mutually hostile factions. But when the very same thing is done by Communist fronts or under the guise of patriotism, some Americans are deceived.

D. Leftwing and rightwing extremists have far more in common with each other than either has with the legitimate conservatives and liberals to whom they attach

themselves and whom they attempt to exploit.

Liberals and conservatives have in common the desire to preserve our free society and its institutions while seeking, each according to his own views, to improve and strengthen them.

Extremists, whether they be labeled left wing or right wing, have in common a distrust of a free society and a desire to discredit, disrupt and subvert it so that upon its ruins a totalitarian society can be built.

For that reason, legitimate conservatives and liberals seek to adjust and resolve problems caused by conflicting interests and ideologies in our pluaralistic society. Their tools are debate, persuasion, lobbying, lawful assembly, comprise and the other processes normally associated with a free society.

Extremists, on the other hand, seek to emphasize our differences and to escalate them into open conflicts. They seek thereby to demonstrate that free institutions are incapable of preserving order and that those institutions must therefore be replaced by authoritarian controls. Their tools are infiltration, fronts, intimidation, suppression, character assassination, inflamatory propaganda and the other tactics normally associated with totalitarianism.

E. The NCCR considers the current mass distribution of "None Dare Call It Treason" an excellent opportunity for initiating an educational program for understanding and recognizing extremist programs and tactics. This committee has already approved such an undertaking for its own affiliates and it will soon ask for the active participation of major educational, civic and religious organizations for that purpose.

HAL STEIGMAN,
Executive Secretary.

Congressional Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, the Milwaukee Journal published a provocative editorial, "Bit of Unfinished Business: Congressional Reform." Under leave to extend my remarks, I commend this editorial to my colleagues and request it be printed in the RECORD:

BIT OF UNFINISHED BUSINESS: CONGRESSIONAL REFORM

You are a Congressman who has been hearing complaints for years that Congress' usual incapacity to make more than a handful of major decisions per session is proof of its archaic arrangements and inefficient process, needing extensive reform.

Then comes a 1965 session with a prodigious record of accomplishment and you are accused of acting with undue haste and merely rubber stamping the administration. Between the two sets of critics, you're damned if you do and damned if you don't.

One of the first of the 89th Congress' many deeds this year was to set up a joint committee on the organization of Congress, like the one that brought forth the last big modernization effort, the La Follette-Monroney Act of 1946. The danger now, in light of the 1965 record, is that the ensuing session will feel too smug to see the need for any important changes—except more pay and fewer elections. The committee report may get lost.

The fact is that, except for a couple of helpful rule changes in the House, the great spate of action in 1965 did not come because Congress suddenly found itself efficient; it came in spite of the same old inefficiencies as before. Indeed, much of it is undoubtedly going to demonstrate defects in the lawmaking process.

The same Senator MONRONEY, of Oklahoma, who as a Representative put his name on the reorganization of 20 years ago, heads the joint committee now. It has three members of each party from each House. It held many hearings over a 5-month period. It is directed to report in January.

The mandate from Congress forbids it to propose changes in rules, precedents, and floor procedures, but the 1946 reorganizers labored under the same inhibition. This has not prevented the present committee from being a forum for critics of the rules, a showcase for what's wrong with them. It has stimulated thinking by scores of Congressmen who deluged it with their own reform ideas.

The limitation leaves open a broad range of reform opportunities—in congressional controls over budget and spending, in the committee structure and appointment of chairmen by seniority, in electronic voting, regulation of lobbying, ethical discipline, abdication of Congress' role as the Washington city council, processing of citizen complaints against Government bureaus with less burden on Congressmen.

The 89th Congress, for all the temptation to bask in its own glory, will need this sort of attention to its defects not one bit less than its recent predecessors.

The Meaning of the Ashley Bank Merger Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, much has been said and written about S. 1698, the power and pressures behind it, and the prospects for enactment.

S. 1698 is of course a bill to give commercial banks special treatment under the antitrust laws and to forgive all past bank mergers, even those held illegal by the courts.

The impression has been given that all bankers back S. 1698 and the so-called Ashley-Moorhead bill. Of course, this is contrary to fact. It is only the largest and most powerful giants in the banking industry who have been so vociferous and brazen in lobbying for these bills. The Independent Bankers Association, an organization of 6,300 banks in 40 States, strongly opposes any move to exempt bank mergers from the antitrust laws.

I commend to Members the remarks made to my colleague on the Banking and Currency Committee, the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. MIZE] by Mr. Paul Jones, president of the Cummins-American Corp., and a banker and respected member of the financial community for 43 years. His letter well describes what this bill represents:

OCTOBER 7, 1965.

Hon. CHESTER L. MIZE,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MIZE: Thanks for your considerate wire asking me to explain why I feel the Ashley amendment indicates support of giant banks as opposed to small banks.

First, the Independent Bankers Association in a convention resolution opposed S. 1698. The Independent Bankers Association is the association of small banks. The Ashley bill is more severe and dangerous than S. 1698, therefore, more regupgnant to that association. I know this does not prove that S. 1698 and the Ashley amendment are opposed to the welfare of small banks but it is pretty evident that small banks think so and they should be somewhat expert in that area. The American Bankers Association supports it and it is my opinion and that of others that the American Bankers Association is dominated by the giant banks.

Furthermore, Mr. Horace Hanson, eminent counsel for the Independent Bankers Association has this to say as to the applicability of the antitrust laws under the Ashley bill:

"The Ashley bill would completely eliminate court actions under the antitrust laws as to future bank mergers, thus removing the ultimate competitive protection for smaller banks.

"Worse than this, the Ashley bill makes more vague and indefinite the loose standards of the present law by adding in paragraph (4)(g) 'such other factors as the responsible agency may deem relevant.' This would give the approving agency unrestricted discretion. Considering that under the present law the approval rate by the agencies is 20 to 1, the future could see boundless merging activity.

"The Ashley bill provides, as the sole court remedy, an appeal from the agency order, but as protective device it is a delusion. Involved here is the subtle relation of the bill's provision to the Federal Administrative Procedures Act.

"When Congress gives such absolute discretion to the Executive, the judiciary is loath to interfere, in deference to the separation of powers doctrine, unless there has been a flagrant abuse of discretion."

In contrast, this is the statement of Senator ROBERTSON, the original sponsor of S. 1698 when he commented on the resolution opposing S. 1698 by the Independent Bankers Association as follows:

"The basic purpose of your resolution, I take it, is to promote competition and to prevent monopoly in the field of banking. I agree fully with this objective. I believe that this objective is in the best interest of banking and of the individuals and business firms served by banking, and that it will promote most effectively the growth and development of the United States."

Those who are promoting the passage of the Ashley amendment hope to take the enforcement of the antitrust laws with respect to bank mergers out of the jurisdiction of the courts where all other American free enterprises are tried, and set up a special privilege for banks whereby "the control of bank mergers should be in the hands of the appropriate banking supervisory agencies—the agencies equipped with the special knowledge necessary to regulate intelligently the American banking system," as stated in the American Bankers Association resolution approving S. 1698. The appropriate agencies are the Comptroller of Currency, the Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and the Federal Reserve Board. The Comptroller of Currency, Mr. James Saxon, certainly will qualify as equipped with special knowledge necessary to regulate with intelligence the American banking industry. Mr. Saxon was House Counsel for the First National Bank of Chicago before becoming

Comptroller and before that counsel for the American Bankers Association. It is reported that he expects to leave his office as Comptroller shortly. He undoubtedly will either return to the First National Bank of Chicago or make his unusual talents available to the banking industry. The others are bankers or career men oriented to the banking institutions and their needs through many years of service to the Federal Reserve System, the stock of which is owned by the bank members of that system.

This is like placing the chicken coop in the care of the fox. It's not that fox are bad, it's just their nature. If fox had the power to legislate, chickens would be raised for fox to eat and cooped away from human beings. Human beings and our historic antitrust laws that all other American enterprises operate under are pretty well forgotten in the Ashley amendment.

If the record under the Bank Merger Act of 1960 is bad, it will be far worse under the Ashley bill amendments, because the slight restraints on the approving agencies in the existing law would be removed, and all bank mergers henceforth would be exempt from antitrust restraints.

One final thought. If bank mergers are to be exempt from the antitrust laws, as in the Ashley bill, further exemption bills would inevitably follow in favor of bank holding companies (two of which are now involved in antitrust actions) and bank branching systems. The end result would be little or no restraint against concentration of banking and the control of commercial credit in this country.

Sincerely yours,

PAUL JONES,
President.

The District of Columbia Election Extension Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, last year over 200,000 people in the District of Columbia registered to vote here. These people are U.S. citizens who do not claim the right to vote in any State or territory but who must meet the other usual qualifications for voting. Last November over 90 percent of these registered voters voted in the first presidential election ever held in the District of Columbia.

These people constitute the largest single group of American citizens in any one place who still have no voice of their own in Congress. The time is long overdue to remedy this, within the present constitutional framework, by an amendment of the District election law so as to establish the office of Delegate in the House of Representatives from the District of Columbia, and to provide for his election by the registered voters here. This matter is entirely separate from any home rule proposal.

The Delegate's function and authority in Congress will be comparable to that of the former Delegates from the territories such as Hawaii and Alaska, and of the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico.

I am confident that once the office of Delegate is established and the elected Delegate installed, we in Congress will find the Delegate will serve a useful and needed function, to the Members of Congress, to the citizens of the District of Columbia, and to the country as a whole.

Mr. Speaker, this proposal for Delegate has great merit. There is already a substantial interested electorate here, but under the present election laws its members can exercise their franchise only at 4-year intervals in presidential election years. The Delegate would be elected every 2 years, and I believe that the resulting increased frequency in the use of the electoral system here will add vitality and maturity to the District electorate, and produce a better overall working arrangement for the conduct of affairs affecting the citizens of Washington.

Other changes will be required in the present framework of the District of Columbia election law, not only so as to provide for the Delegate's election, but also to improve the nature and conduct of the quadrennial election operations under the present law.

Earlier today the gentleman from Maryland, Congressman MATHIAS, introduced H.R. 11822, a bill to amend and extend the District of Columbia Election Act and for other purposes. I had intended to introduce an identical bill for these purposes at the same time, but was delayed in doing so due to the pressure of other business in the House. I wish to make it clear, however, that I want to be considered a cosponsor of Mr. MATHIAS' bill, and that I believe that the subject matter of this bill will warrant the attention of the House early in the next session.

Mr. Speaker, I have had a section-by-section analysis of this bill prepared, and without objection I shall insert it at this point in the Appendix:

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF H.R. 11822, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA ELECTION EXTENSION ACT

(Introduced by Mr. MATHIAS, October 22, 1965, and referred to the House Committee on the District of Columbia)

SECTION 1

Section 1 states the title of the act.

SECTION 2

Section 2 provides for permanent registration of voters in the District of Columbia. It changes the existing system of registration, which now requires each person to register again every 4 years. The third section of this bill provides for the election of a Delegate to Congress every 2 years, and this speedup in the election cycle will make a permanent registration system workable here.

Subsection (a) of this section 2 provides for automatic removal of the names of people who have failed to vote in two successive general elections and who have not reregistered; and continues the provision of existing law which charges the Board of Elections with the duty to keep the registry "accurate and current." Subsection (b) puts the permanent system of registration into effect at once and provides that people who were registered at the close of the polls in November 1964 and who continue to live in their precinct will not have to re-register to vote in 1966 elections.

Subsection (c) provides for longer periods of registration than under the present law and shortens to 30 days (from the present 45 days) the period before each election in which the registration office is closed. It also broadens slightly the Board of Elections' power to issue regulations with regard to times and places of registration.

SECTION 3

Section 3 establishes the right of the people of the District of Columbia to be represented by a Delegate in the House of Representatives. The Delegate will have a seat in the House Chamber with the right of debate but not of voting. His term would be for 2 years, along with the Members of Congress. The committees to which he would be assigned would be determined by the House under its rulemaking power. The District Delegate must be at least 25 years old and have lived in the District for at least 3 years, and must continue to live in the District during his term of office. He must be a qualified elector under District law.

Subsection (b) of section 3 provides that the District Delegate shall be elected by the District of Columbia voters in a general election, in the usual case after first winning a primary election. The existing District of Columbia Election Act as amended by this act would govern the election of the Delegate. Subsection (c) provides that the candidate for a primary election for Delegate is to be nominated by a petition containing at least 500 signatures of registered voters of the same political party as the nominee, and accompanied by a filing fee of $200. The section also provides that the primary election of candidates for Delegate will, as in the case of existing District of Columbia law, be by a closed primary, but that the general election of the Delegate will be an open election which will permit voters to cross party lines. Subsection (d) provides that the timing of the primary and general elections of Delegates will coincide, in presidential election years, with the May primaries and the November general elections under existing law. The Delegate would be elected every 2 years, of course, and in nonpresidential election years the Delegate would also be chosen by a May primary and a November general election.

Subsection (e) provides for filling vacancies in the office of Delegate, and also in the position of candidate for Delegate in the event that a candidate wins in a May primary but dies or resigns before the general election in November. In the latter case the local political party committee selects the successor. If a vacancy occurs in the office of a Delegate who has already been elected, the Board of Elections can hold a special election to fill the vacancy, except toward the end of a term of Congress.

SECTION 4

This section makes a series of changes in existing statutes relating to the operation of the Congress, to put the Delegate from the District of Columbia into a position or status in the House of Representatives essentially comparable to that formerly held by the delegates from Hawaii and Alaska, and presently held by the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico. Most of these changes in law are required simply because the present laws refer to Delegates "from the territories." Since the District of Columbia is not a territory, these changes are required.

As a result of the enactment of these 10 subsections, the Delegate from the District of Columbia would be elected on the same election day as Members of Congress (subsec. [a]); he would receive the same annual salary as a Member of Congress or Resident Commissioner—$30,000 (subsec. [b]); and when elected to fill an unexpired term, his salary would begin with the date of his election and not with the date on which the vacancy occurred (subsec. [c]).

Similarly, the provisions of law relating to the payment of unpaid salaries in the event of the death of a Member of Congress during his term of office are made applicable to the District Delegate (subsec. [d]), and the privileges of participating in the retirement benefits of the Civil Service Retirement Act which are applicable to Members of Congress are made applicable to the District Delegate (subsec. [e]).

In the same way, subsection (f) makes applicable to the District Delegate, and to his office, the provisions of law relating to allowances for stationery, telephones, the hiring of clerical help, and the furnishing of office equipment which now apply to Members of Congress and to the Resident Commissioner. The statutory provisions for congressional office space are also made applicable to the District Delegate (subsec. [g]).

The provisions of Federal criminal law which relate to Members of Congress, to their activities, and to their elections, are also made applicable to the District Delegate. Thus, the Federal Corrupt Practices Act is made applicable to the Delegate's position (subsec. [h]), as are also the provisions of law making it a Federal crime to intimidate voters (subsec. [i]), as well as those punishing the use by Federal employees of influence or authority to interfere with elections (subsec. [j]).

Subsection (k) contains the changes required in existing law to assure that appointment of candidates to the armed services academies from the District would be made by the elected Delegate, rather than by the appointed Commissioners.

SECTION 5

This section contains the definitions which are used throughout the bill, and also a number of miscellaneous provisions which will be important in administering the law. Subsection (a) contains the definitions. Subsection (b) provides that in all elections in the District the polls will be open from 7 a.m. to 9 p.m. (present law is 8 till 8.).

Subsection (c) clarifies the power of the Board of Elections to issue regulations to set deadlines where not already set by the statute, but provides that the deadlines must be published at least 30 days before they take effect. Subsection (d) simply brings the provision of the existing election law up to date with respect to the current name of the former municipal court. Subsection (e) amends the law so as to give the Board of Elections authority to accept initially the signatures on duly filed nominating petition, but sets up a mechanism by which the petitions can be timely challenged and the challenges resolved by the Board of Elections.

Subsection (f) amends the existing law slightly to clarify the authority of the Elections Board to issue regulations to accept some ballots which have been cast outside the precinct in which the registrant lived—as, for example, in the case of a person who was registered in one precinct but on election day is in a hospital in another precinct and is voting as a "shut-in."

Subparagraph (g) changes the system of law slightly so as to require that only one of the officials in the polling place will be needed to assist an illiterate or handicapped voter to vote his ballot, instead of two officials as is now required. The change would also provide that the voter can, if he so desires, have a second official to assist him in the voting process.

Subsections (h) and (i) will shorten and simplify the party primary ballots under the 1955 Election Act, by eliminating the election of alternates to the various party officials. The party primary ballots have been widely criticized because of their length and complexity. The elimination of the election of the election of alternate officials will substantially shorten the ballots in a number of cases. At the same time, the arternates can, of course, be selected by the parties themselves, by caucus or other means not involving the use of the citywide primary election machinery. The party officials themselves (national committeemen and women, delegates to the presidential nominating conventions and, when designated by the parties, members, and officials of the local party committees) would continue to be elected by ballots under the present election law.

Subsection (j) amends the existing law to make it clear that the party primary ballots may contain presidential preference questions to be answered by the voter (if the party committee so desires and presidential and vice-presidential candidates do not object). The right to have such questions on the ballot under the present law has been sharply disputed ever since the act passed in 1955, and a 1964 court decision cast a further cloud on the authority of the Board of Elections to permit presidential preference questions under existing law. With this amendment, these presidential preference questions would replace the so-called party questions. These party questions have been criticized as diluting the powers of the elected party officials to formulate party policies, and also because the questions add further to the length of the ballot.

Subsection (k) would remove an ambiguity in existing election law by establishing a clear deadline for filing the designations of the offices of local party committees to be filled by the party primary elections.

Under the existing election law each candidate on the ballot has the right to have one watcher at each polling place. Subsection (l) would change this arrangement slightly in the light of the length of the party primary ballots (in the 1964 election, for instance, there were over 250 candidates on the party ballots), to give the Board of Elections authority to issue regulations reasonably limiting the number of watchers in each voting place, and reasonably to regulate the scope of the watchers' activities, while at the same time preserving their rights to perform their important duties.

Subsection (m) would give the Board of Elections clear authority to declare that duly nominated and unopposed candidates for office are elected without opposition. The fact that they have been so elected would appear on the ballot, together with the names of all the candidates who are opposed and whose election is to be determined by the voters. This change will further simplify and shorten ballot forms, without in any way diminishing the effectiveness of the elections under the act.

Subsection (n) changes the method of compensation of the members of the three-man Board of Elections. They are now paid $25 per day while performing their duties. With the enactment of this act there will be two elections in every even-numbered year, with occasional special elections to be expected from time to time, thus substantially increasing the activities of the Board of Elections. The amount of time spent by Board members in an election year is substantial, and the changeover to a modest, fixed annual compensation is desirable and appropriate under all the circumstances.

Subsection (o) amends the law so as to give the candidates a period of 30 days after each election in order to complete and file their financial reports. At present they have only 10 days in which to perform this work, a period which is insufficient and unworkable.

Subsection (p) tightens up the enforcement provisions of the present law so as to make it clear that any false statement by a registrant with respect to qualifications for voting will render him subject to penalty, whereas the present act limits the applicability of the penal provision to false statements as to the registrant's residence or voting privileges outside the District. The bill also makes the enforcement provisions of the act applicable to the restrictions on contributions and requirements for reporting expenditures.

Subsections (q) and (r) amend the title, and the first section of the existing law, so as to reflect the fact that the act provides for the election of the Delegate to the House of Represenatives in addition to the other officials elected under the existing law.

Subsection (s) makes it clear that all the provisions of the act become effective on the date of approval, except the provision which reactivates the registration of voters, and which would take effect 30 days after the act is approved.

Longer Terms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, our present system of 2-year terms for U.S. Representatives is archaic. Too much of a Congressman's time is spent in doing the necessary campaigning for reelection, and not enough time is left for representing the people.

It is my feeling that a congressional election at the same time as the presidential election every 4 years would reflect the choice of the country in both the executive and legislative branches. This would avoid much of the stagnation that arises when one party controls the legislative and the other controls the executive branch of Government.

I was pleased to testify before the subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee which held hearings on House Joint Resolution 394. This bill to provide for 4-year terms for Congressmen was sponsored by the Honorable FRANK CHELF of Kentucky. I supported Congressman CHELF in August when I testified before the subcommittee, and I continue to support him today.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I would like to present a recent editorial which stresses the need for a change in our present system. The article was printed in the Carroll Daily Times Herald, a newspaper in the Seventh Iowa District. The editorial follows:

LONGER TERMS

Representative FRANK CHELF's bill providing 4-year terms for Members of the House of Representatives now languishes in the Judiciary Committee. There is no chance it will be brought to a vote in the closing days of this session. Many who have devoted some thought to the problems of representative government in our complex society will agree, we think, that when the next Congress convenes this measure ought to receive more attention.

A few generations ago it was feasible to have the 2-year term as a means of making Members of the House quickly answerable to the electorate. Sessions were much briefer than in recent times, and the task of being a Congressman was far simpler than it is today. By now the complexities of the job are such that mastering it takes longer and is made more difficult by the need to run constantly for reelection.

A 4-year term would be short enough to keep representatives sensitive to their constituents' desires. It would be long enough to give them a far better chance than they now have to concentrate on the business of legislating in the general interest. The Chelf bill may not be the complete answer, but it should make a good takeoff point for debate leading to action.

Text of Hon. Bob Ellsworth's Newsletter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of my newsletter which is being sent to my constituents in the Third District of Kansas:

YOUR CONGRESSMAN, BOB ELLSWORTH, REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON

A tough and demanding year in Congress has come to a close. I have enjoyed serving you, and thought you might enjoy a few observations from inside Capitol Hill.

ATOM SMASHER FOR KANSAS?

As the Atomic Energy Commission narrows its list, the Third District of Kansas is still in the running for the $300 million atom smasher. Many of us have cooperated and worked hard on this project—our future is bright, we hope to win. If not, we have learned a good deal about attracting and holding new space-age industry for Kansas.

A NEW HOOVER COMMISSION

New programs costing billions of dollars are now being set up by Federal legislation. In the last few weeks over two dozen Republican Congressmen (including House Republican Leader GERALD R. FORD) have joined me in sponsoring legislation to establish a new Commission to review management and operation of the executive branch of Government. It is high time for such a Commission, patterned after the effective Hoover Commissions of the past, to make sure the taxpayer is getting maximum efficiency for each dollar spent on new and old programs.

ELLSWORTH BILLS

As your Representative I have introduced over 50 bills this session of Congress. They are the result of study, research, and discussions with colleagues, and visits and exchanges of letters with citizens of the Third District. Below are a few of special interest:

My first bill, to repeal many of the Federal excise taxes, was introduced on January 4. Many other Congressmen joined as sponsors, and on June 21, the President signed into law a bill repealing the excise taxes.

The Bobby Baker affair pointed to the need for a congressional code of ethics. I have submitted a bill to establish such a code. If passed, I believe it would do much to restore Congress to the position of respect it deserves as the greatest legislative body in the world.

Medicare was one of the hottest issues in Congress this year. I opposed the financing of the mandatory administration program and reintroduced my voluntary medicare proposal to be administered by private insurance companies. My viewpoint did not prevail, although it was accepted in a portion of the final version.

I also introduced a bill to increase social security benefits. Many ideas from my bill were written into the administration's legislation—now law. This will be some help to senior citizens faced with rising living costs.

ELLSWORTH COMMITTEES

Congressional committees are the backbone of our legislative work. Here we study bills and social problems in detail. During hearings public witnesses and administration spokesmen testify and are cross-examined. After long hours, often weeks, of testimony, we committee members roll up our sleeves in closed sessions and hammer out bills and reports that establish policy and law to guide the Nation.

Working in the Joint Economic Committee. I became aware of dangers in our international monetary system. In June, I addressed the Congress and called for reform. Treasury Secretary Fowler liked the speech, talked with the President, and the United States is now providing world leadership in this field. Last month I was on the U.S. delegation which made important progress at the 103-nation International Monetary Fund Conference.

Bills concerning veterans and, often, active servicemen are considered in the Veterans' Affairs Committee. One important bill on which many of us worked, provides up to $10,000 worth of life insurance for American fighting men. On September 20, I told the House of Representatives that the bill is of great importance to our servicemen, their wives and children—it passed unanimously.

When Vivian and I spent an evening at the White House, I had a chance to discuss opening new markets abroad for Kansas wheat with the President. If we could sell to available markets, the impact on Kansas would be about the same as opening a large space-age industry. All of the Kansas congressional delegation has been working on this. The President has expressed interest but has not yet acted.

THIS WAS THE YEAR THAT WAS

This was the year of the galloping Congress. Like a well-oiled machine, it cranked out bills—some good, some poorly drawn, most expensive. This was the year of medicare, higher education, air pollution control, omnibus housing, National Arts and Humanities Foundation, drug controls, omnibus farm program, excise tax reductions. A multitude of "minor" bills also passed. Issues like repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act will still be with us next year.

The Third District of Kansas has everything: Cities, towns, farms, suburbs, flatland, highland, colleges, labor, management, and on and on. A colleague once said it sounded like the entire United States in one congressional district. Your views are as diverse as the district, and I enjoy hearing from you and working for you.

The $100 billion Federal budget holds a multitude of stories affecting our lives. We could talk about taxes, or millions of dollars going to KU for higher education, or thousands going to Pomona for water pollution control, or 30 Olathe children enrolled in Project Headstart. One gratifying activity on which my staff and I spend much time, has been development of flood control, water conservation and recreation projects. The economy of our entire area is boosted by these important programs.

My office is your office. More than 2,000 have visited us this year. When you are in town—come in. We can give you passes to the House and Senate. With advance notice we can arrange VIP tours of various agencies.

Many thousands sent letters this year. Letters help me to know your views on important issues, or allow me to assist you with a problem involving the Federal Government. Keep writing: Congressman BOB ELLSWORTH, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

The space of a newsletter is all too brief, but perhaps this one has given you a glimpse of Capitol Hill this year. I hope we can get together at home, during adjournment, for an exchange of views and a firsthand report.

Sincerely,

BOB ELLSWORTH,
Your Congressman.

The Campbell Soup Plant in Paris, Tex.—President Murphy, Friend of Rural America—Offers Solution to Rural Area Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the adequacy with which we are trying to deal with the enormous problems of a rapidly growing population gives cause for added study. This is especially true when it comes to the urban areas of this country which are now the center of this Nation's population.

Thirty percent of the Nation's population now live in cities; our farm population has declined from 30 million in 1930 to 12 million today, representing only 6 percent of our population. This reduction in rural population has been caused by a vast increase in farm productivity, the replacement of small farms by large mechanized operations, and more job opportunities offered in cities to people who could not make a decent living on the farms.

Mr. W. B. Murphy, president of the Campbell Soup Co., recently addressed himself to the problems of the rural areas of this country in an address to the Economic Club of Detroit. Mr. Murphy discussed the all too familiar problems that a large city creates, but makes a proposal which, I believe, Mr. Speaker, merits some thoughtful consideration. Recognizing the large number of unemployed citizens in our cities and the decline in small farming in our rural areas, Mr. Murphy proposes that a greater number of new manufacturing plants be located in rural areas so that the work force, made available by the reduction in the number of farms, would not have to move to crowded metropolitan areas to find work.

Mr. Murphy describes the way the Campbell Soup Co. established a new plant making use of the rural labor supply in my congressional district in Paris, Tex. In a community of 21,000 people, the new plant employed 1,500 new workers, who readily adapted to the work of handling some of the most sophisticated manufacturing machines. In a very short time, the Campbell decision to settle in Paris, Tex., proved to be successful; the employees developed the necessary skills in at least as short a time as was the case in urban centers.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Mr. Murphy's statement to my colleagues:

THE RURAL-URBAN BALANCE

(By W. B. Murphy, president, Campbell Soup Co.)

Michigan is well known throughout the world for its metalworking industries, of course. But to those of us in the food industry, it is equally renowned for its high-quality agricultural production and for its position as a leader in education relating to foods. The food industry leans heavily on Michigan farms for a wide variety of ingredients and on its great universities for teaching and research in agriculture, biology, and food distribution.

When one is in the food industry he is likely to find it advantageous and usually necessary to keep closely attuned to the people of our country if for no other reason than that there's a well-established custom of eating foods at least three times a day. Also, the food habits of the population are pretty decisive in the success or failure of a food business.

There are two subjects relating to food and people that are much discussed these days and that are of concern to anyone who is thinking of the future. The first of these is the country's and the world's ability to provide the necessary food as population shoots upward; and second, the adequacy of water supplies.

A third subject is less discussed but just as vital: The continued shifting of population from the farms and small rural places to the mammoth metropolitan areas. To a food processor who deals with and is dependent on the farmers in the rural areas, this shifting of people and what it means is a matter of more than small importance.

Today I should like to discus briefly the first two of these subjects; namely, food production potentials and adequacy of water supply and then deal with the question of where people are going to live and work.

Now, there are many predictions about the things to come. Undoubtedly one of the least unreliable has to do with the future population trend. It is estimated that the population of the United States will come close to doubling and that of the world about double over the next 35 years; that is, by the year 2000. This sounds like the distant future, but actually it isn't so far off. A growth rate of 2 percent per year means doubling in 35 years.

Can this vastly greater population be fed? This is a complicated subject in itself. There is a different answer for North America than for Asia or South America. For North America, the answer is an unequivocal "yes." For some parts of the rest of the world, the answer hinges on economic, educational, and political accomplishments more than on the technical question of the earth's food production potentials. Since food supplies are inadequate now in Asia, the future for food in that part of the globe is full of problems. For the rest of the world, the situation is less questionable.

I believe it is not too difficult to raise food production to a much higher level. The world's arable land is about 6.6 billion acres and only about 3 billion are used for agriculture. Furthermore, substantial progress is being made in reducing the huge crop losses caused by insects, viruses, predators, weeds and nematodes and there are continued improvements in the techniques of crop production. A combination of reduced losses and better growing methods means that the yield per acre generally can climb to much higher levels. The agricultural productivity in large areas of our country and in many countries of the world is not near its practical limit and will rise as modern agricultural research and development is applied to meet local conditions.

For example, a careful program of agricultural research in Mexico, sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation, boosted corn and rice crops and enabled that country to become self-supporting and, in fact, an exporting nation for wheat, sugar, and cotton. Mexico is now engaged in a well-rounded research program that is showing fine results for many other crops. In the United States and Canada, the yields per acre for a long list of grains and vegetables have more than doubled since World War II and can go much further with research work now underway. The productivity figures for cattle and poultry have also climbed rapidly. Genetics research can bring resistance to some of the crop debilitating factors. Crop-growing experiments result in improved growing methods. Chemical research is producing means for more effective disease and predator resistance and for weed controls.

The adequacy of water for a population that will nearly double over the next 35 years is vital to the food industry for the simple reason that 40 percent of the water used in the United States today is for irrigation. If a higher percentage of our arable land is to be planted, a primary concern is water supply. The subject of water is just coming into its own as a national problem. The 3-year below-normal rainfall in the Northeast States triggered this sudden general interest, although water as a subject of major national and regional concern would have come to the forefront in any event sooner or later.

There is plenty of water for a doubled population and much more if water supply and its distribution is given attention. It is a sure thing that we are going to have to pay a little more for water in the future. Unmetered homes, unlined irrigation ditches, undistributed surpluses, uncaptured rain and snow runoffs, and untreated waste water, of necessity, will be frowned upon, and as a result, water supplies will probably be adequate for the foreseeable future.

The third subject for discussion here, namely, increased population, is more difficult to deal with than food production potentials and water supply. Where is this increased population going to live and work? If the present trend toward greater and greater population concentration continues, there will be rather drastic environmental effects on most of us having to do with the way we live—our taxes—and our peace of mind—among other things. Incidentally, the entire September issue of Scientific American is devoted to the problems of the metropolitan areas viewed from the standpoint that big cities will get bigger and bigger.

Why would a businessman and a food processor worry much about population trends as long as they're going up? There are at least two good reasons:

1. As a food processor, he is vitally concerned with the need for continuing increases in crop yields per acre, not only to raise food production, but to help hold consumer food prices. This increasing productivity, involving as it does fewer and fewer farms producing larger and larger crops, carries with it the problem of surplus farm and small-town population.

2. As a businessman and taxpayer, he must be interested in the massive problems and in the costs to convert the metropolitan centers into attractive, livable places.

Last March, President Johnson sent a message to Congress on housing and cities. He said, "Over 70 percent of our population—135 million Americans—live in urban areas. A half century from now 320 million of our 400 million Americans will live in such areas. And our largest cities will receive the greatest impact of growth. In our time, two giant and dangerous forces are converging on our cities; the forces of growth and of decay. Between today and the year 2000, more than 80 percent of our population increases will occur in urban areas. During the next 15 years, 30 million people will be added to our cities. Each year, in the coming generation, we will add the equivalent of 15 cities of 200,000 each."

Plans are already being considered for the huge metropolitan areas of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore-Washington—for the enormous metropolitan areas centered by the cities of Chicago, Detroit, Miami, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. These plans involve much needed programs for cleanup, rehabilitation, and upgrading. People are to be stacked on top of each other in innumerable large apartment projects—distances from suburbs to city centers will increase—breakfasts will be served earlier and dinners later—transportation needs will soak up vast areas of valuable urban and suburban property.

This picture of greater and greater population concentration is to me unpleasant and expensive, and I would hope, not inevitable. It makes for a more impersonal existence, higher taxes, more government controls, and in most ways what can be considered a distorted existence, at least by the standards we know today.

Yet, we are on our way to this rather dismal prospect if we continue for the next 35 years the trend toward urban concentration that has characterized the past 35 years.

Thirty-five years ago, the farm population was approximately 30,500,000 people. In 1965, it is about 12,500,000. Farm population was almost one-fourth of our population 35 years ago, whereas today it is only 6½ percent. In contrast, the metropolitan areas with populations of over 1 million totaled 43 million people in 1930 and today about 80 million. The reduction in the farm population has come about through the tremendous productivity improvements in farming, the sharp reduction in numbers of small farms, plus the job opportunities offered in the big cities for people who had difficulty making a living in the rural areas.

An analysis of population figures by counties shows what has been happening. Counties with less than 25,000 population not contiguous to metropolitan areas represent 61 percent of all counties—they also have 61 percent of the land area but only 12 percent of the population. Counties with 25,000 to 100,000 population and not in metropolitan areas represent 26 percent of all counties and 20 percent of the population. Adding these together yields 32 percent of the population as against 42 percent 35 years ago, yet they represent 88 percent of all counties and a corresponding proportion of the land area.

Now, let's look at the metropolitan areas of 1 million or over. There are 164 counties in this category that represent less than 5 percent of the land area but have 41 percent of the population. This population has gone up in a disproportionate amount over the last 35 years. If we examine the record on distribution of employment in manufacturing establishments, the most recent count shows that the metropolitan areas have 48 percent of the total.

We know that the combination of metropolitan industrialization and scientific farm developments has caused many millions of rural people to go to the metropolitan areas. What problems we created for ourselves. Had industry expanded by decentralization to a far greater extent than now is the case, and had it gone into the thousands of small cities and towns, the rural citizens who could not make a living on their farms could have found jobs in local industry and the overcrowding of big city areas would be far less.

This isn't a phenomenon of North America. The vast slums of Caracas, Mexico City, and Lima, for example, are made up to a considerable degree of families from rural sections who are attracted to the possibility of jobs in the industry that clusters in metropolitan areas. One day the merit of industrial decentralization will be recognized throughout the world and those from the poor farms

will find jobs in plants located near their homes.

I believe it is in order to suggest that in the United States the disproportionate industrial concentration in the metropolitan areas not go further and further and also to suggest that manufacturers can do themselves a favor and our country a service by allocating a fair share of their new plants to the rural areas.

We already have critical urban problems. Those problems will be compounded if the trend toward the metropolitan areas that characterized the past 35 years continues into the future.

In this city of Detroit, there is an aggressive urban renewal program led by Mayor Cavanagh that obviously is badly needed and which illustrates the kind of attack that must be carried on in all major cities. But Detroit doesn't need to have further migrations from the rural areas.

Philadelphia, where I live is also making strenuous efforts to upgrade its character and also has a long struggle ahead. It too doesn't need further migrations from the rural counties. The conditions in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles are too well known to need description here.

It is estimated, and I think it is a reasonable estimate, that over the next 35 years, while our population will double, the number of farms wil decrease from today's 3,300,000 to about 1,500,000 and that farm population will drop from today's 12½ to about 6 million. Since in 35 years the 12½ million will nearly double to approximately 24 million, and farms will then need only 6½ million, this means a surplus of about 18 million. These are conservative figures. Other estimates indicate that there will be only 1 million farms and a farm population of only 4 million. There is no estimate for the future reduction in numbers of people in rural towns serving the farm population. This reduction easily can match in numbers the surplus from the farms. The trend to fewer and fewer farms and lower farm and other rural population has been going on for many years and shows no sign of abating.

This does not mean that our crop production will be less—in fact, it will be far higher but it will be done by much larger farms and by further farm mechanization and other crop productivity gains. I am not suggesting that we are going to have farm factories. An overwhelming proportion of our farms undoubtedly will be family farms as they are today, but these will be family farms of much larger acreage, operated with more sophisticated machinery and with fewer work-hours per unit of crop production. In 1930 the average value of a farm was $10,900—today, the average value of a farm is $68,000. It is estimated that 35 years from now the average value of a farm will be $200,000 or more. This means that there will be fewer farms and millions of people from small farms and rural towns will be looking for jobs. If the trend of the last 35 years continues, they will go to the large cities and mostly to the metropolitan centers.

Farming is an exciting occupation when the farmer has good education and training and when the farm has the potential to be profitable. This means a sizeable acreage, high production modern farm machinery, funds for fertilizing and spraying and ample water supply.

But it's no fun being a break-even or loss farmer and so over the last several decades there has been an evolutionary change entailing large, year-after-year reductions in small farms. This will continue, in all probability, until there remains a hard core of well educated, high income farmers. Speaking as a taxpayer, this will be a good thing in more ways than one.

The fact that there is considerable unemployment in the poor sections of big cities would seem to argue for concentrating new plants in such areas. This seems to me to be a superficial conclusion. There are plenty of job opportunities now in the big cities for trained people.

The principal problem of the unemployed is lack of education. Educated people do not have trouble getting jobs and this applies to all nations and all races. Our unemployment is heavily concentrated in the ages of 16 to 25 and primarily among those without good education or training. Motivate these young people to want an education, to want to work and to want to be trained, and the vast employment opportunities now existing in big cities will be available to them.

If most of the new manufacturing plants are loaded into the metropolitan areas, this won't solve the unemployment problem of the uneducated, but it will cause millions more from the rural counties to drift to the big cities to look for jobs.

You might ask what will stop this greater and greater big-city concentration. People are going to move where they want to and the mobility of the American people is well established. If the jobs are available in the metropolitan areas, the people are going to those jobs. By the same token, if jobs are available in the thousands of small towns and cities away from the metropolitan areas, I think most of the people in these rural areas will not move. They will prefer to live in the circumstances in which they were raised. People everywhere can read. They see television and they read the papers. They know about urban crowding and the urban crimes. They also know that smaller places are friendly. They know that in the small town or city it takes only 5 to 15 minutes to travel between home and work. Generally, parking is not a problem. For those who golf, the golf course is near enough to their place of work to permit nine holes before dinner. If one likes to hunt and fish, the hunting and fishing frequently are quite handy also. If one runs into trouble, the neighbors will help and not look the other way.

Of course, those of us who travel a good deal find much of this industrial decentralization going on right now. Industrial plants are springing up in many places throughout the country, but they are also still springing up in the metropolitan areas as well and in greater proportion. At the present time, we have a continuation of the trend to greater and greater big city crowding.

For the most recent 10-year period for which figures are available, that is 1952–62, the number of business establishments of all kinds, manufacturing and nonmanufacturing combined, that had over 100 employees, increased from 50,900 to 57,000. Over 48 percent of that increase took place in the already overcrowded 164 counties that represent metropolitan areas.

To place this in another perspective, by the latest figures available, the number of people employed in manufacturing plants in the rural counties is about 1.1 million and has gone up only 450,000 in 20 years. The number of people in manufacturing plants in metropolitan areas is 8.5 million and has gone up 3.4 million in 20 years, over seven times as much as in the rural counties; so 5 percent of the land and 5 percent of the counties have had seven times as many new jobs as the rural 60 percent land area. This is concentration and overcrowding with a vengeance.

If manufacturers were to schedule a fair share of their new plants to the small places distant from the metropolitan areas as suggested here, this could well bring down the wrath of the metropolitan chambers of commerce and metropolitan real estate promoters, but it should not. Even if there were no more manufacturing plants built in the already overcrowded urban areas, there is still more cleaning up to do, more building expansion, more growth in the urban centers than probably can be handled well.

Most of our urban centers now have very difficult water and sewage problems. All of them need housing improvements. Their educational facilities, which should be first rate to cope with big city problems, are, in general, far from that much-needed level. This applies to the situation today. Without a further disproportionate share of new manufacturing plants added to metropolitan centers, the load on transportation, on water and sewage systems, on housing and on education will be vastly greater in the future for the very simple reason that the metropolitan centers will have constantly rising populations and greater demands on contiguous business.

It happens that there is an enormous segment of the business complex that can't be disassociated from the great population of the metropolitan centers. I refer here to the services industry which includes retailing, wholesaling, utilities, transportation, construction, entertainment, banking, insurance and all of the other types of services that are necessarily indigenous to the population. They must be located where they are needed. It also happens that the services part of our economy is our fastest-growing portion and now exceeds in employment the manufacturing part.

The metropolitan areas will have their hands full adjusting to the growth in the services industries without further massive manufacturing plant loads.

I am not so naive as to think that in this area of industrial development and population growth that everything is cut and dried. In my company, for example, we now have five plants in metropolitan areas. We are in the process of some necessary expansion in three of these plants. We have rehabilitated all of them in order to raise their productivity.

I do not think for the future that it would possibly come about that all new manufacturing plants could be located in the counties of smaller population, but I would hope that a greater portion would be so located than has been the case in the past so that the work force made available by the reduction in numbers of farms would not have to move to the metropolitan areas to find work.

Assuming it to be desirable, how is this scattering of new manufacturing plants to be accomplished? In England and France, for example, it is done by government fiat. Belgium has a most effective voluntary program that stresses the logic of utilizing available rural labor, lower taxes, and low-cost real estate. I think in our country decentralization is now going on to some extent and will be done to a much greater degree as the relative merits of locating in small rural-type communities become more apparent to our manufacturing companies. Lower costs will be an important factor and here I do not mean labor rates, except as they reflect lower living costs.

There are many places in our country where manufacturing can be located away from the metropolitan centers. Of the Nation's 28,800 manufacturing establishments with over 100 employees, only 2,062 are located in these rural counties. This is about one such plant per county. Now it is true, of course, that a part of this land is represented by mountainous or desert areas, but even if we allow for this, there are literally thousands of small places hungering for manufacturing industries. Also, most counties away from metropolitan areas, that have 25,000 to 100,000 population, are far from being overcrowded with manufacturing plants.

Using our company as an example, we recently completed construction of a million-square-foot plant that will ultimately require about 1,500 people in Paris, Tex., a community of about 21,000 people. This was

a very close decision as we had dozens of opportunities to go into small places in Texas where conditions were adequate in all respects. We were in the happy position of being able to choose one out of at least a dozen excellent communities. We are now constructing a plant in Sumter, S.C., a town of 23,000. This plant could have gone into any one of 50 locations in the southeastern part of the country, all with adequate land, labor, water, utilities, etc.

I could give examples of other such plants in Ohio, Maryland, Indiana, Minnesota, Nebraska, Arkansas, California. These plants are located in towns as small as 2,000 population. In these places, employees are sometimes drawn from a radius of 15 to 20 miles. In the past 15 years, our medium-size company has added roughly 14,000 employees in smaller communities as our business has expanded. This has meant that some 50,000 to 60,000 family members have been held in their home communities rather than forced to drift into larger places looking for jobs plus at least that number of people in the services industries dependent on money circulating from those families.

Of course, there are some obstacles to operating manufacturing plants in small cities and towns. The difficulties might be considered to be these: lack of management and executive personnel—reluctance of some company executives or their wives to take assignments in small communities—lack of trained mechanical workers—inadequate utilities—lack of construction work forces. Of all of these, the most serious one is the possibility of inadequate utilities. It may be necessary to put in one's own water or sewage system. This is an extra cost, of course, but we have found it to be more than offset by the lower tax rates. The matter of the lack of trained people is a myth in my opinion. The men and women from farms and small towns tend to have good work habits because of their way of life and their early training. Our organization at Paris, Tex., for example, where we took a green force from scratch and trained it to handle some of the fastest metalworking machines, such as, can body makers and aluminum presses, and intricate electrical devices, such as, electronic sorting machines, automatic controls and computers, developed the necessary skills in at least as short a time as is par for the course in urban centers.

Being the main industry in a town has many advantages but also I suppose has the disadvantage of being constantly in the spotlight. However, an industry that deals fairly with its neighbors and employees has lots of friends. This can be important during critical periods.

Small towns cannot compete with large centers for cultural activities—the theater, museums, concerts, lectures, etc.—but I don't think this is a critical matter. There are fast airplane services, national magazines, national newspapers, and national radio and television, but most of all, the fast and frequent means of travel permits those who live in small places to visit large cities with great ease and at low travel cost. And, I suppose, we might put forth the advantages of communing with nature as being a cultural advantage favoring the small town.

If someone should ask us whether rural places and small towns can equal the urban centers as the spawning ground for business, government, education, and scientific leaders, the record to date indicates that the answer is "Yes." For example, of the 100 president's of the country's leading industrial firms, 23 were born in metropolitan areas, but 41 came from small towns or rural communities. Of the 100 U.S. Senators, only 13 came from metropolitan areas, while 59 came from the predominantly rural counties. For the President and his Cabinet composed of 12, only 3 came from metropolitan areas, and 5 came from rural places. Of the 20 heads of the Nation's leading colleges and universities, only 3 were born in metropolitan areas, while 12 came from small towns and farms. Of the 20 top men in the National Academy of Sciences, which includes 11 members of the Council and 9 Division Chairmen, 4 were born in metropolitan areas, while 9 were born in small places. This does not prove that the rural counties are better than the metropolitan areas for developing future leaders, but it does indicate pretty persuasively that there is no disadvantage to being born and brought up on a farm or in a small rural town.

I think I have certainly shown a leaning toward locating a fair share of manufacturing plants away from the big population centers at this stage in our country's development. My purpose has not been to disparage the big city, but rather to indicate the importance of avoiding further unnecessary overcrowding and additional distortions in our already mammoth centers that will result through failing to provide jobs in the rural counties for the coming millions from these rural counties who will need nonfarm jobs.

The 89th Congress, 1st Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following report to my constituents on the activities of the 89th Congress, 1st session:

DEAR FRIEND: The 89th Congress, having just completed its first session, has been widely praised by many, including the New York Times, which has termed it "the best Congress since World War II." The major legislation passed by this Congress has been developing for over two decades and its far-reaching effects will benefit every family in our district. Federal expenditures in education, social security, medicare, immigration, veterans' benefits, and voting rights are but a few of the measures enacted by a Congress that was no longer hampered by obstructionist rules and a rigid seniority system. I have supported and in some instances coauthored much of this legislation. I have also exercised my right to disapprove those administration policies that I believed were not in the best interest of good fiscal government or in the best interest of my constituents. In addition to measures of national scope, I have actively engaged in our local problems of conservation, economy, urban renewal, transportation, and consumer protection. To those who may think this a "do-too-much" Congress, I refer to the enormous task still before us. Twenty-eight pieces of major legislation awaits the second session's scrutiny and approval. In this first session I have represented you on 201 rollcalls and on 172 quorum calls. I have had 12 general pair votes and 2 active pair votes. I was absent for five votes, although my absences were justified by official duties. My attendance record was 95 percent. I am anxious to tell you about my activities and share some thoughts with you about our Nation's political agenda. Our Federal Establishment is now so complex that people and their Government are often precluded from adequate contact with one another. This development I think we should all try to resist. For this reason, and because it enables me to reach the greatest number of you (about 200,000 families), I am sending you my congressional report by postal patron. As always, I welcome your views on the report, and on any other matters which interest, concern, or trouble you.

MAJOR LEGISLATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS I VOTED FOR

Medicare and social security amendments: Provides hospitalization, surgical, and nursing care for persons 65 years and older, financed through the social security system; provides for increases up to 7 percent in old-age and survivor benefits, retroactive to January 1, 1965, plus other liberalizing changes. If you are a recipient of social security, railroad retirement, or Federal civil service retirement benefits, you qualify automatically for hospital insurance and should be receiving an application for the new program going into effect July 1, 1966. If you are 65 or over and not a recipient of any of the above benefits, or if you will be 65 by January 1, 1966, you should check for information with your local district office of the Social Security Administration prior to March 31, 1966. May I caution you not to cancel any health or hospital insurance you may now have. I coauthored this legislation which is an insurance plan that will do much to alleviate the need for welfare by our senior citizens.

Elementary-secondary education: Provides Federal grants to improve elementary and secondary education under local control, with the bulk of aid for the school districts where there are large numbers of children from poverty-stricken families. I also coauthored this bill.

Omnibus Housing Act: Expands current urban renewal, public housing programs, extends FHA loan insurance, encourages urban planning and beautification in housing; provides grants for public housing for the handicapped. The new act reaches at the heart of causes of much of the spreading growth of crime.

Excise tax reduction: Provides for excise tax cuts totaling $4.7 billion on various consumer items such as appliances, telephone service, autos, jewelry, furs, cosmetics, luggage, and many other items.

Voting rights: Strengthens machinery for guaranteeing the right to vote for all citizens by prohibiting poll taxes and literacy tests; provides for Federal registrars in States where less than 50 percent of potential voters are registered.

Water pollution control: Expands water pollution control programs and grants for waste treatment plant construction, strengthens Federal enforcement authority to clean up rivers and streams. This measure will help to make our beaches safe to enjoy.

Immigration act amendments: Abolishes the discriminatory national origin quota system over a 3-year period; does not enlarge the present total immigration quota but gives special preference to relatives of American citizens. I coauthored this bill.

Department of Housing and Urban Affairs: Establishes a new Cabinet-level Department to administer programs affecting the 70 percent of our population now residing in suburban and metropolitan communities. This measure provides representation for the urban and suburban resident to counterbalance the farmer who has had a Department of Agriculture.

Higher education: Provides scholarships for needy undergraduates and reduces interest on private loans to graduate and undergraduate students.

Arts and humanities: Creates a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities to assist and foster broad programs to meet the cultural needs of our Nation.

Presidential continuity: Proposes amendments to the Constitution to establish procedure to permit the Vice President to become Acting President; provides for filling the vacancy of the Office of the Vice President, and eliminates the dilemma caused by the tragedy of President Kennedy's assassination.

ADMINISTRATION PROGRAMS I OPPOSED

On May 26, I voted against H.R. 8370, the Department of Agriculture appropriations bill, because I am in favor of eliminating long-term agricultural subsidies. These subsidies make the farmer totally dependent upon Federal handouts and raise the price of food to the consumer; my vote on July 14 was against the Coinage Act and for sound money; I opposed the administration's position by voting for the military pay raise which I felt our servicemen deserve; on August 3 I voted to increase civil service annuities for retirement and disability as an adjustment to economic reality; because I am concerned with the balance-of-payments problem, I voted against the interest equalization tax which I found to be a burden on private enterprise and did not accomplish the desired result; the public works bill presented on August 12 was poorly drawn and because I do not support the pork barrel theory, I could not support this measure, and in September I opposed a flood control bill because it was also poorly drawn. I favored an increase in Federal salaries over administration recommendations because I feel such salaries should be commensurate with private industry.

PROPOSED LEGISLATION

In addition to the many programs enacted, there remain bills which I have introduced that are still pending before the Congress. A partial review follows: House Resolution 144, to establish a special committee on the captive nations living under the Communist yoke; H.R. 3494, to award posthumously a Congressional Medal of Honor to the late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy; House Concurrent Resolution 240, making known the sense of Congress against persecution of persons in the Soviet Union because of religion; H.R. 5609, to establish a Commission on Science and Technology and aid private enterprise convert from too great a reliance upon defense contracts; H.R. 7074, to provide free distribution of certain Government publications to State and local governments and also to institutions of higher education; H.R. 9875, to provide for the regulation of transportation of dogs and cats intended for research and experimentation, a humane act to protect our pets from cruelty; House Resolution 518, expressing the sense of the House with respect to the Warsaw Convention and Hague Protocol which sharply limits the amount of money survivors of international air disasters can collect. (On October 20, the President authorized the Department of State to withdraw from this treaty unless the insurance limit was increased to a minimum of $75,000. This decision resulted from my resolution.) H.R. 10861, to provide protection for members of families of the Armed Forces from threatening and harassing communications; H.R. 11215, to provide for a Hudson Highlands National Scenic Riverway in the State of New York; House Joint Resolution 686, to reduce voting age to 18; H.R. 11557 to provide for a comprehensive plan to preserve, develop, and make usable for the public the Long Island Sound and related shoreline in New York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, thus eliminating the piecemeal destruction of our natural resources. The last measure I introduced, H.R. 11797, provides for the Federal Government to establish standards for marine heads to eliminate further pollution of our navigable waters by uncontrolled discharge of raw sewage.

PROMOTION OF BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

The lifeblood of the economy of Long Island rests with increased business activity. In July I led a tour of 17 members of the Armed Services and Space Committees, who had never before visited our area or realized the full potential of our area for space and defense production, through the Republic Aviation plant at Farmingdale. Again, in October, I accompanied Secretary of Defense McNamara and Senator ROBERT KENNEDY on a tour of the Sperry, Fairchild Hiller-Republic, and Grumman installations. These have been unprecedented visits for our district, and I am confident of a better working relationship with the Department of Defense and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Early next year I have planned a special Government contract procurement seminar for small businessmen in our district in my continuing effort to promote Long Island as one of the Nation's finest business and industrial areas.

CONSERVATION OF OUR NATURAL HERITAGE

The magnificant heritage of natural beauty found on Long Island must be protected. I have introduced legislation that would provide a "conservation master plan" for the entire Long Island Sound area. This unified approach involves New York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, and would replace the individual uncoordinated efforts that have so far proved ineffective. This legislation calls for a study that would provide the best method of coping with the problems of water pollution, destruction of marine life and wetlands, the hodgepodge construction of piers and marinas and indiscriminate dredging. It would be a major step toward arresting and reversing the unfortunate trend toward piecemeal destruction of our priceless natural heritage. One reason I am opposed to the construction of a proposed sound bridge at Oyster Bay is that it will destroy one of the finest natural areas in the northeast. I favor two bridges—one at Port Jefferson and the other at Orient Point—for the betterment of the economy of our area, but the cost in the loss of the Oyster Bay natural retreat would be incomprehensible. I brought to Oyster Bay Interior Department officials who joined me in an aerial survey of the wetlands in the area. The possibility of establishing a Federal wildlife preserve was favorably reported. The National Park Service has already agreed to spend $104,400 in fiscal 1966 for the development of the Sagamore Hill National Historical site, the home of President Theodore Roosevelt.

CONGRESSIONAL OFFICES

You may be interested to know that my staff has served over 3,000 visitors in this first session, answered over 100 letters per day, and about the same number of phone calls. I am equally proud of your use of the congressional district offices in Glen Cove, Jericho, and Port Washington.

NEW LEGISLATION FOR OUR CITIZENS

One of the most progressive and long-awaited pieces of social legislation, medicare, is now a reality. Some 5,800 residents of our district, who previously were not eligible, will now be entitled to receive benefits. About 92,000 residents, age 65 and over, will be eligible for hospital insurance protection on July 1, 1966. If you have any questions regarding this or any other new Federal program, please contact my office for assistance. This landmark legislation begins a new era of security for our senior citizens.

VETERANS' LEGISLATIONS

This year there are four major improvements in benefits to veterans: (1) increased compensation to disabled veterans; (2) reestablishment of the national service life insurance program; (3) increased vocational rehabilitation training allowances for service-connected disabled veterans; and (4) war orphans' allowances for educational assistance. Any veteran with questions is invited to contact my office for assistance through our Veterans' Affairs Committee.

I am continuing my efforts to locate a veterans' hospital in Nassau County where it will serve the greatest number of veterans.

FEDERAL AID TO OUR COMMUNITIES

As your Representative in Washington, I take it as my responsibility to make available to the communities in our district, information about the many Federal-aid programs. On November 4, I arranged a meeting in Port Washington between the officials of all the towns in our district and a team of top Washington administrators for the purpose of implementing as many programs in our communities as feasible. To date Federal assistance to housing and urban development—loans, grants, and advances from major programs of Housing and Home Finance Agency totaled $179,282. I am happy to report that after 5 years our urban renewal program in Glen Cove is finally underway. Federal funds totaling $1,843,342 have been granted to our district for the operation of antipoverty projects. Two hundred and sixty-six culturally deprived 4- and 5-year-old children attended 12 Project Head Start centers with the help of 7 grants totaling $45,932. Three residents of our district have joined VISTA, the domestic peace corps. Five hundred and forty unemployed heads of families are receiving constructive work training, and over 73 small business loans have been made to help individuals establish and strengthen their businesses.

WINNING THE PEACE IN VIETNAM

The war in Vietnam is an ideological and economic struggle as well as a military conflict. Ultimate peace depends upon a realization by the Vietnamese people that the democratic way promises a better life to all. Recently I proposed a plan to stimulate American business investment in Vietnam. Backed by Federal Government guarantees, American businessmen would join with their Vietnamese counterparts in producing items of light manufacture that are in short supply. Besides bolstering the war-weary Vietnamese economy, this program would eventually relieve the burden of foreign aid from American taxpayers. With the backing of the State Department, meetings were held in Washington and New York with American and Vietnamese businessmen. Recognizing that this plan could provide a strong key to a successful peace in Vietnam, plans are now afoot to bring this project to fruition.

CONSUMER PROTECTION

As a former businessman concerned with the rising cost of living, I have long questioned the impact and widespread use of trading stamps upon consumer costs. I have concluded a series of informal meetings on this matter both in Washington and New York. Joined by 16 of my distinguished colleagues, I have inquired into all aspects of this multimillion-dollar industry on behalf of the American consumer, for I believe Mr. and Mrs. Consumer have a right to know for what they are paying. It is gratifying to report that at a recent meeting of the trading stamp industry there was talk by a number of reputable stamp companies to seek standards to insure the public from unscrupulous companies by providing adequate bonding regulations. It was also agreed to reexamine the use of the word "free" with reference to premiums. However, the consumer must be protected from irresponsible dealers, and any premium that is paid for directly or indirectly cannot rightfully be called "free." It is high time the consumer was protected. This has been the vigor and thrust of my inquiry.

JET NOISE

I have attended meetings in Washington with Federal Aviation Agency officials who are studying the serious problem of jet noise on Long Island. I actively support all efforts to solve this annoying problem without compromising aircraft safety.

FOR THE INTERNATIONAL TRAVELER

In August, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY joined me in seeking an increase in liability of airlines in international travel to survivors of air crashes. Present liability is regulated by the Warsaw Convention and is limited to $8,300 (even to Canada and Mexico) and even if airline negligence is proven. The

State Department, at the President's behest, has now advised that the United States will withdraw from this treaty unless coverage of a minimum of $75,000 is available. This is a major victory in protecting the air traveler.

RECESS

With Congress adjourned until January 10, 1966, I have planned for my third visit to Vietnam in the past 18 months. I plan to conduct a series of town meetings this winter to review those issues you wish to bring to my attention for legislation at the next session.

In conclusion, I wish to thank the local radio and television stations for carrying my news reports of Congressional activities to you. The daily and local newspapers have also been generous in reporting my activities in your behalf. I am also very appreciative of the contributions of time given freely to my office by volunteers who have helped to carry on the activities of our congressional offices and by college students from our district who are studying in Washington.

During my trip to Vietnam all of our offices will remain open for your continued use. Please do not hesitate to contact me any time I can be of service. If you are planning a trip to our Nation's Capital, please contact my office in advance so that we may arrange tours and visits that would make your visit more memorable.

VOTING RECORD OF THE HONORABLE LESTER L. WOLFF, 89th CONGRESS, 1st SESSION

January 4, 1965:

Election of Speaker (289–139): Vote MCCORMACK.

House Resolution 1: Authorizes oath of office to certain Mississippi Members. On ordering the previous question (276–149): Vote "nay."

House Resolution 8: Relates to rules of the House. On ordering the previous question (224–202): Vote "yea."

January 19, 1965: House Resolution 126—Dismissal of contest of election of Richard L. Ottinger. On agreeing to resolution (245–102): Vote "yea."

January 26, 1965: House Joint Resolution 234—Supplemental appropriations for Department of Agriculture. On motion to recommit, designed to bar use of any funds to finance any exportation of agricultural commodities to the United Arab Republic under provisions of title I (204–177): Vote "yea."

February 8, 1965: House Joint Resolution 234—Supplemental agriculture appropriations, 1965. On motion to instruct the House conferees to insist on disagreement to Senate amendment No. 3, providing Presidential discretion in granting of aid to the United Arab Republic (165–241): Vote "nay."

February 9, 1965: H.R. 3818—Eliminates the requirement that Federal Reserve banks maintain certain reserves in gold certificates against deposit liabilities. On motion to recommit (93–289): Vote "nay." On passage (300–82): Vote "yea."

February 17, 1965: H.R. 2198.—Amends the Arms Control and Disarmament Act. On passage (302–63): Vote "yea."

February 18, 1965: H.R. 45.—Amends the Inter-American Development Bank Act. On motion to recommit, designed to reduce the authorization from $750 million to $725 million (152–237): Vote "nay." On passage (288–93): Vote "yea."

February 25, 1965: House Resolution 188.—Provides $370,000 for the expenses of the Committee on Un-American Activities. On motion to recommit, designed to provide for open hearings on authorization of funds for the committee (53–333): Vote "yea." On agreeing to resolution (360–29): vote "yea."

March 3, 1965: S. 3.—Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965. On motion to recommit, designed to replace the text of S. 3 with the provisions of H.R. 4466 (100–323): Vote "nay." On passage (257–165): Vote "yea."

March 10, 1965: H.R. 2.—Amends the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act. On passage (402–0): Vote "yea."

March 15, 1965: H.R. 4714.—Amends the National Arts and Cultural Development Act of 1964. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (217–113): Vote "yea."

March 16, 1965: H.R. 5505.—Relates to establishment of Federal standards for Congressional redistricting. On Mathias amendment providing that the number of Representatives that a State is entitled to may be elected at large pending reapportionment under this act; also providing for at-large elections in States that have never established districts (147–255): Vote "nay."

March 17, 1965: H.R. 5374—Increases by $3,000 per annum the salaries of the Chief Justice and the Associate Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court. On agreeing to House Resolution 276, the rule providing for consideration of the bill (202–183): Vote "yea." On passage (178–202): Vote "yea."

March 22, 1965: H.R. 5688—Relates to crime and criminal procedure in the District of Columbia. On motion to recommit (166–216): Vote "yea." On passage (251–131): Vote "yea."

March 23, 1965: H.R. 5721—Amends the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 to provide for acreage-poundage marketing quotas for tobacco. On passage (206–170): Vote "general pair."

March 26, 1965:

On ordering the previous question on motion to consider the Journal as read (274–119): Vote 'yea."

H.R. 2362—Strengthens and improves educational quality and opportunities in the Nation's elementary and secondary schools. On motion to recommit (149–267): Vote "nay." On passage (263–153): Vote "yea."

March 31, 1965:

H.R. 3708—Providing assistance in the development of new or improved programs to help older persons. On passage (395–1): Vote "yea."

H.R. 1111—Provides for the optimum development of the Nation's natural resources. On passage (383–0): Vote "yea."

April 1, 1965: H.R. 4257—Manpower Act of 1965. On passage (394–0): Vote "yea."

April 5, 1965:

H.R. 980—Provides for the return of obscene mail. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (360–12): Vote "general pair."

H.R. 7064—Authorizes an appropriation of $1 million for construction of a U.S. Embassy building in Saigon. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (378–0): Vote "general pair."

H.R. 7060—Treasury-Post Office Departments, appropriations. On passage (347–7): Vote "general pair."

April 6, 1965: H.R. 7091—Second supplemental appropriations, 1965. On passage (348–62): Vote "yea."

April 8, 1965: H.R. 6675—Provides a hospital insurance program for the aged under the Social Security Act. On motion to recommit (191–236): Vote "nay." On passage (313–115): Vote "yea."

April 13, 1965:

H.R. 2998—Arms Control and Disarmament Act. On agreeing to conference report (316–65): Vote "yea."

House Joint Resolution 1—Presidential inability and succession. On passage (368–29): Vote "yea."

April 14, 1965: House Resolution 310—Providing $50,000 for additional expenses of Committee on Un-American Activities incurred in investigation of Ku Klux Klan. On agreeing to resolution (313–43): Vote "yea."

April 27, 1965: H.R. 6497—Authorizes an increase in the International Monetary Fund quota of the United States. On motion to recommit (113–275): Vote "nay." On passage (301–88): Vote "yea."

April 28, 1965: S. 4.—Water Quality Act of 1965. On passage (396–0): Vote "yea."

April 29, 1965:

H.R. 7091—Supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1965. On agreeing to conference report (316–55): Vote "yea." On preferential motion to recede and concur in Senate amendment (144–228): Vote "yea."

H.R. 4714—Amends the National Arts and Cultural Act of 1964 with respect to the authorization of appropriations. On passage (239–115): Vote "yea."

May 3, 1965: H.R. 2906—To extend and amend certain expiring provisions of the Public Health Service Act relating to community health services. On passage (347–0): Vote "yea."

May 4, 1965: H.R. 2985—Authorizes assistance in meeting the initial cost of professional and technical personnel for comprehensive community mental health centers. On passage (389–0): Vote "yea."

May 5, 1965:

House Joint Resolution 447—Making supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1965 for the Department of Defense. On passage (408–7): Vote "yea."

H.R. 7657—Appropriations during fiscal year 1966 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, etc., for the Armed Forces. On passage (396–0): Vote "yea."

May 6, 1965: H.R. 7717—Authorizes appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, construction of facilities, and administrative operations. On agreeing to resolution (389–0): Vote "yea." On passage (389–11): Vote "yea."

May 10, 1965: H.R. 2984—Amends the Public Health Services Act provisions for construction of health research facilities. On passage (334–4): Vote "yea."

May 12, 1965: S. 701—International Coffee Agreement Act of 1965. On passage (300–97): Vote paired "for."

May 20, 1965: H.R. 8122—Atomic Energy Commission, appropriations. On motion to recommit (43–313): Vote "nay." On passage (352–1): Vote "yea."

May 25, 1965: H.R. 7750—To amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, after adopting a corrective committee amendment. On motion to recommit (178–219): Vote "nay." On passage (249–148): Vote "yea."

May 26, 1965: H.R. 8370—Department of Agriculture, appropriations. On motion to recommit (187–208): Vote "yea." On passage (354–41): Vote "nay."

June 1, 1965:

H.R. 8639—State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary, appropriation. On passage (322–60): Vote "yea."

H.R. 3584—Coal Mine Safety Act. On passage (336–42): Vote "yea."

June 2, 1965: H.R. 8371—Excise Tax Reduction. On passage (401–6): Vote "yea."

June 3, 1965: H.R. 7777—Appointment of Gen. William F. McKee to the office of Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency. On passage (228–137): Vote "yea."

June 7, 1965: H.R. 3157—To amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to eliminate the provisions which reduce the annuities of the spouses of retired employees by the amount of certain monthly benefits. On passage (323–0): Vote "yea."

June 8, 1965:

H.R. 8775—Legislative appropriations. On motion to recommit (149–244): Vote "nay."

H.R. 7105—To provide for continuation of authority for regulation of exports. On passage (288–1): Vote "yea."

June 9, 1965:

H.R. 8464.—Public debt limit, increase. On ordering the previous question (273–109): Vote "yea." On passage (229–165): Vote "yea."

House Concurrent Resolution 285.—Kennedy film. On request for a separate vote on an amendment to prevent the charging of a fee from viewers of the film (174–216): Vote "nay." On agreeing to resolution (311–75): Vote "yea."

June 16, 1965:

H.R. 6927—Housing and Urban Development. On motion to recommit (141–259): Vote "nay." On passage (217–184): Vote "yea."

House Resolution 416—Authorizes each Member of the House of Representatives to employ annually, on a temporary basis, a student congressional intern. On agreeing to resolution (229–153): Vote "yea."

June 21, 1965:

H.R. 7743—Establishes a system of loan insurance and a supplementary system of direct loans to assist students to attend post-secondary business, trade, technical, and other vocational schools. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (300–0): Vote "general pair."

H.R. 8620—Amends the Agricultural Act of 1949 and the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 to take into consideration floods and other natural disasters in reference to the feed grains, cotton, and wheat programs for 1965. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (297–2): Vote "general pair."

House Concurrent Resolution 416—Requests the President of the United States to urge certain actions in behalf of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (298–0): Vote "general pair."

June 23, 1965: H.R. 9221—Defense Department appropriations. On passage (407–0): Vote "yea."

June 24, 1965: H.J. Res. 541—Extends the Area Redevelopment Act for a period of 2 months. On agreeing to resolution (224–167): Vote "yea."

June 28, 1965: H.R. 7984—Housing and Urban Development. On agreeing to House Resolution 425, the open rule providing for 6 hours of debate on, and the waiving of points of order against the bill H.R. 7984 (230–115): Vote "yea."

June 30, 1965: H.R. 7984—Housing and Urban Development. On Stephens amendment to rewrite section 101, relating to rent subsidies, to limit eligibility to persons eligible for public housing (240–179): Vote "yea." On motion to recommit designed to delete sections 101 and 106, relating to rent subsidy payments, and rehabilitation grants to homeowners in urban renewal areas (202–208): Vote "nay." On passage (245–169): Vote "yea."

July 6, 1965: H.R. 6400—Voting Rights Act of 1965. On agreeing to House Resolution 440 providing for the consideration of, and 10 hours of debate on H.R. 6400 (310–58): Vote "yea."

July 9, 1965: H.R. 6400—Voting Rights Act of 1965. On Cramer vote-fraud amendment to provide criminal penalties for giving false information on voting eligibility status (253–165): Vote yea." On Boggs amendment (identical to the Long amendment in the Senate bill) respecting judicial review (155–262): Vote "nay." On Gilbert amendment to allow people illiterate in English to vote if they have completed the sixth grade in Spanish-language schools (202–216): Vote "yea." On motion to recommit designed to substitute the text of H.R. 7896 prohibiting the denial to any person of the right to register or to vote because of his failure to pay a poll tax or any other such tax, for the language of the committee (171–248): Vote "nay." On passage (333–85): Vote "yea."

July 12, 1965:

H.R. 8856—Atomic Energy Act of 1954, intent of Congress. On motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill (216–139): Vote "yea."

H.R. 242—To extend the apportionment requirement in the Civil Service Act of January 16, 1883, to temporary summer employment. On motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill (336–32): Vote "yea."

July 13, 1965: S. 559—Cigarette Labeling Act. On agreeing to conference report (285–103): Vote "yea."

July 14, 1965: H.R. 8926—Coinage Act of 1965. On Battin amendment to require the silver content of quarters and dimes to be fixed at 40 percent (187–218): Vote "yea." On passage (255–151): Vote "yea."

July 20, 1965: H.R. 9075—Military pay increase. On passage (410–0): Vote "yea."

July 22, 1965: H.R. 8283—Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1964. On motion to recommit (178–227): Vote "nay." On passage (245–158): Vote "yea."

July 26, 1965: H.R. 77—Labor, right-to-work provisions (14(b)). On ordering previous question, open rule (H. Res. 437) for consideration of bill (248–171): Vote "yea."

July 27, 1965:

H.R. 6675—Provides a hospital insurance program for the aged under the Social Security Act. On agreeing to conference report (307–116): Vote "yea."

H.R. 7984—Housing and urban development. On agreeing to conference report (251–168): Vote "yea."

H.R. 2985—Community Mental Health Centers Act Amendments. On agreeing to conference report (414–0): Vote "yea."

July 28, 1965: H.R. 77—Labor, right-to-work provisions (14(b)). On motion to recommit (200–223): Vote "nay." On passage (221–203): Vote "yea."

July 29, 1965: H.R. 8856—Atomic Energy Act of 1954, intent of Congress. On passage (275–126): Vote "yea."

August 2, 1965:

Senate Joint Resolution 81—To increase the amount authorized for the Interstate Highway System for fiscal year 1967 and to authorize the apportionment of such amount. On motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill (314–11): Vote "general pair."

H.R. 8027—Provides assistance in training State and local law enforcement officers and other personnel and is improving capabilities, techniques, and practices in State and local law enforcement and prevention and control of crime. On motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill (326–0): Vote paired "for."

H.R. 6964—To amend U.S. Code to facilitate the rehabilitation of persons convicted of offenses against the United States. On motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill (326–0): Vote "yea."

August 3, 1965:

S. 1564—Voting Rights Act of 1965. On motion to recommit designed to delete the Boggs-Long amendment (118–284): Vote "nay." On agreeing to conference report (328–74): Vote "yea."

H.R. 8469—To provide certain increases in annuities payable from the civil service retirement and disability fund. On passage (396–0): Vote "yea."

August 4, 1965:

H.R. 8439—Military Construction Authorization. On agreeing to conference report (389–0): Vote "yea."

S. 1742—Permits U.S. Governors of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Finance Corporation to agree to amendments to the articles of agreement of such Bank and Corporation. On passage (331–54): Vote "yea."

August 5, 1965: H.R. 4750—To provide an extension of the interest equalization tax. On agreeing to House Resolution 490, the closed rule under which the legislation was considered (329–44): Vote "yea." On passage (274–97): Vote "nay."

August 9, 1965: H.R. 9918—To amend the Fire and Casualty Act and the Motor Vehicles Safety Responsibility Act of the District of Columbia. On Sickles amendment supplying new text (173–156): Vote "yea."

August 10, 1965: H.R. 10306—Amends the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951 to prohibit destruction or mutilation of draft cards. On passage (393–1): Vote "yea."

August 12, 1965: S. 1648—Provides grants for public works and development facilities, etc. On Sisk amendment to make more areas eligible for grants for public works and development facilities under title I; to increase the authorization from $400 million to $500 million; and to limit the program from 5 years to 4 years (196–194). Vote "nay." On Cramer motion to recommit designed to require funds provided for projects be spent on American products, prevent the making of working capital loans; and provide for annual congressional review of Economic Development Loan Fund (163–224). Vote "yea." On passage (246–138). Vote "nay."

August 16, 1965:

H.R. 6431—To amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to provide that certain forms of nickel be admitted free of duty. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (297–48). Vote "yea."

H.R. 8635—To establish and prescribe the duties of a Federal Boxing Commission. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (346–4). Vote "yea."

August 19, 1965:

H.R. 7750—To amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. On agreeing to conference report (244–150). Vote "yea."

H.R. 9811—Food and Agriculture Act of 1965. On motion to recommit (169–224). Vote "yea." On passage (221–172). Vote "nay."

August 24, 1965: H.R. 10586—Supplemental appropriations for Departments of Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare. On motion to recommit (139–263). Vote "nay."

August 25, 1965: H.R. 2500—Amends the Immigration and Nationality Act. On MacGregor amendment to establish on July 1, 1968, a limit of 115,000 immigrants per year from countries in the Western Hemisphere and require cancellation of special immigration visas from numerical ceiling of 115,000 when deportation proceedings are stayed or alien status adjusted (189–218); Vote "Nay." On passage (318–95); vote "Yea."

August 26, 1965: H.R. 9567—Higher Education Act of 1965. On passage (367–22); vote "Yea."

August 30, 1965: H.R. 9022—Amends Public Laws 815 and 874, Eighty-first Congress, to provide financial assistance in the construction and operation of public elementary and secondary schools in areas affected by a major disaster. On passage (305–37); vote "general pair."

August 31, 1965: H.R. 9042—Implementation of Agreement between United States and Canada concerning Automotive products. On agreeing to resolution (H. Res. 551) closed rule for consideration of H.R. 9042 (364–23); Vote "Yea." On passage (280–113); vote "Yea."

September 1, 1965: H.R. 3141—Health Professions Educational Assistance Amendments of 1965. On passage (340–47); Vote "Yea."

September 2, 1965: H.R. 5863—To authorize the Secretary of Commerce to undertake research and development in high-speed ground transportation. On passage (317–24); Vote "Yea."

September 7, 1965: H.R. 8439—Military construction authorization. On motion to table a motion providing for discharging the Committee on Armed Services from further consideration of H.R. 8439, fiscal 1966 military construction authorization (323–19); Vote "Yea."

H.R. 10775—Military construction authorization. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (347–0): Vote "Yea."

H.R. 168—Veterans' disability compensation increase. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (348–0): Vote "Yea."

Senate Joint Resolution 102—Authorizes funds for the Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice and the District of Columbia Commission on Crime and Law Enforcement. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (339–0): Vote "Yea."

September 8, 1965: H.R. 10871—Foreign Aid Appropriations. On passage (239–143): Vote "Yea."

September 13, 1965:

(Procedural votes to delay consideration of or in opposition to one or more bills under the 21-day rule or in opposition to the consideration of bills without a rule from the Rules Committee):

On Moss motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call of the House (220–126): Not voting.

On Albert motion that further proceedings under the call of the House be dispensed with (243–127): Not voting.

On Albert motion that further proceedings under the call of the House be dispensed with (256–123): Not voting.

On Albert motion that further proceedings under the call of the House be dispensed with (255–121): Not voting.

On Hall motion to lay on the table ALBERT's motion that the Journal be approved as read (138–244): Vote "Nay."

On ordering the previous question on the motion to approve the Journal (257–126): Vote "Yea."

On Albert motion that the Journal, as read, stand approved (265–119): Vote "Yea."

On McMillan motion to adjourn (175–204): Vote "Nay."

H.R. 10065—Equal Employment Opportunity Act. On agreeing to House Resolution 506, the open rule for consideration of (259–121): Vote "yea." On Albert motion to table motion to reconsider vote to adopt House Resolution 506 (194–181): Vote "yea." On Sikes motion to adjourn (173–201): Vote "nay." On McFall motion that further proceedings under the call of the House be dispensed with (243–136): Vote "yea."

H.R. 7371.—Amends the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956. On agreeing to House Resolution 499, the open rule providing for the consideration of and 4 hours of debate on H.R. 7371 (201–171): Vote "yea."

H.R. 9460—National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965. On agreeing to House Resolution 478, the open rule providing for the consideration of and 2 hours of debate on H.R. 9460 (260–114): Vote "yea."

H.R. 10281—Government Employees Salary Comparability Act. On agreeing to House Resolution 536, the open rule providing for the consideration of and 4 hours of debate on H.R. 10281 (288–84): Vote "yea."

September 14, 1965: H.R. 2091—Establishment of concession policies in areas administered by National Park Service. On motion to recommit (73–298): Vote "nay."

September 15, 1965:

H.R. 8283—Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965. On motion to recommit the conference report (209–180): Vote "nay."

H.R. 9460—National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965. On motion to recommit (128–251): Vote "nay."

September 16, 1965:

House Resolution 574.—Directs the Postmaster General to provide the names of temporary employees employed by the Post Office Department during the summer of 1965. On motion to table the resolution (186–180): Vote "nay."

S. 2042.—Atomic Energy Act of 1964, indemnification agreements. On passage (338–30): Vote "yea."

September 17, 1965:

H.R. 9221.—Department of Defense appropriations, 1966. On agreeing to conference reeport (380–0): Vote "yea."

House Resolution 585.—Mississippi contested elections. On agreeing to resolution (228–143): Vote "nay."

September 20, 1965:

S. 2127—Armed Forces, indemnity insurance. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (360–0): Vote "yea."

House Resolution 560.—Communism in Western Hemisphere. On suspending the rules and agreeing to the resolution (321–52): Vote "yea."

September 21, 1965: S. 4.—Water Quality Act of 1965. On agreeing to conference report: Vote "yea."

September 22, 1965:

S. 2300.—Rivers, harbors, and flood control. On Clark amendment to authorize the Secretary of the Army to conduct and report to Congress on a survey of St. John River, Maine, for flood control and allied functions separate and apart from the Passamaquoddy tidal power project (207–185): Vote "yea."

H.R. 30.—Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center. On passage (255–112): Vote "yea." On motion to adjourn (89–204): Vote "nay."

September 23, 1965:

H.R. 7371—Amends the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956. On committee substitute amendment to eliminate several additional exemptions from the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 (199–178); Vote "yea."

H.R. 10232—Water and sanitation systems in rural areas. On ordering the previous question on H. Res. 580, the open rule providing for 2 hours of debate on the bill (280–70); Vote "yea." On passage (325–10); Vote "general pair."

September 24, 1965: S. 306—Clean air pollution program. On motion to recommit designed to delete the provisions for solid waste disposal (80–220); vote "nay." On passage (294–4); vote "yea."

September 27, 1965: H.R. 4644—District of Columbia home rule. On Multer motion to discharge Committee on Rules from further consideration of House Resolution 515, the open rule providing for the consideration of, waiving points of order against, and 5 hours of debate on H.R. 4644 (213–183); vote "yea." On agreeing to House Resolution 515 (222–179); vote "yea." On Multer motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee on the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 4644 (234–155); vote "yea."

September 29, 1965: H.R. 4644—District of Columbia home rule. On motion to strike the enacting clause and thus kill the bill (179–219); vote "nay." On Multer amendment as amended by the Sisk amendment (227–174); vote "yea." On motion to recommit (134–267); vote "nay." On passage (283–117); vote "yea."

September 30, 1965: H.R. 2580—Immigration and Nationality Act. On agreeing to conference report (320–69); vote "yea."

H.R. 10281—Government Employees Salary Comparability Act. On motion to recommit designed to remove the provisions for a permanent system for the establishment and maintenance of proper salary relationships in Federal, executive, judicial, congressional, and career salaries (238–140): Vote "nay." On passage (370–7): Vote "yea."

October 1, 1965:

House Joint Resolution 642—Third Library of Congress Building. On motion to recommit (17–321): Vote "nay." On passage (328–5): Vote "yea."

H.R. 10871—Foreign assistance appropriation. On motion to recommit with instructions to the conferees to insist on disagreement to amendment No. 7, which deleted North Vietnam from the language prohibiting aid to countries that furnish aid to Cuba or North Vietnam (164–174): Vote "yea." On agreeing to conference report (204–127): Vote "yea."

H.R. 3142—Medical Library Assistance Act of 1965. On passage (296–3): Vote "yea."

H.R. 6519—Jefferson National Expansion Memorial. On passage (250–12): Vote "nay."

October 7, 1965:

Senate Joint Resolution 32—Ryukyu Islands, contributions to. On agreeing to resolution (312–55): Vote "yea."

H.R. 2020—Nevada water project. On passage (239–134): Vote "nay."

S. 2084—Highway Beautification Act of 1965. On motion to recommit (153–230): Vote "nay." On passage (245–138): Vote "yea."

October 8, 1965: H.R. 9811—Food and Agricultural Act of 1965. On agreeing to conference report (219–150): Vote "nay."

October 12, 1965: H.R. 11135—Sugar Act Amendments of 1965. On agreeing to House Resolution 598, the closed rule providing for the consideration of, 4 hours of debate on, and waiving points of order against H.R. 11135 (253–80): Vote "yea."

October 13, 1965: H.R. 11135—Sugar Act Amendments of 1965. On motion to recommit (160–230): Vote "general pair." On passage: Vote "general pair."

October 14, 1965: Supplemental Appropriation for fiscal 1966 (242–100): Vote "Yea."

October 20, 1965: To strengthen educational resources of colleges and universities (313–63): Vote "yea."

October 21, 1965: Supplemental Appropriation (250–84): Vote "yea."

October 22, 1965: Amend and extend provisions of Sugar Act of 1948. On adoption of conference report (174–88): Vote "yea."

PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE SUBSEQUENT TO ADJOURNMENT

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS APPROVED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The President, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, notified the Clerk of the House that on the following dates he had approved and signed bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

On October 20, 1965:

H.R. 10871. An act making appropriations for foreign assistance and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes.

On October 21, 1965:

H.R. 9042. An act to provide for the implementation of the agreement concerning automotive products between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Canada, and for other purposes.

On October 22, 1965:

H.R. 7919. An act to provide for the establishment of the Roger Williams National Memorial in the city of Providence, R.I., and for other purposes.

On October 23, 1965:

H.R. 5457. An act for the relief of Maria del Rosario de Fatima Lopez Hayes;

H.R. 5554. An act for the relief of Mary Frances Crabbs;

H.R. 5904. An act for the relief of Nam Ie Kim;

H.R. 6229. An act for the relief of Kim Sun Ho.

H.R. 6235. An act for the relief of Chun Soo Kim;

H.R. 7888. An act providing for the extension of patent numbered D–119, 187;

H.R. 8457. An act for the relief of Robert G. Mikulecky;

H.R. 9521. An act for the relief of Clarence Earle Davis; and

H.J. Res. 571. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim the week beginning October 25, 1965, as National Parkinson Week.

On October 26, 1965:

H.R. 1319. An act for the relief of Joseph Durante.

H.R. 3515. An act for the relief of Mary Ann Hartmann; and

H.R. 9526. An act for the relief of Raffaella Achilli.

On October 27, 1965:

H.R. 1311. An act for the relief of Joseph J. McDevitt;

H.R. 1836. An act for the relief of Constantinos Agganis;

H.R. 2005. An act for the relief of Miss Gloria Seborg;

H.R. 2285. An act for the relief of Mrs. Concetta Cioffi Carson;

H.R. 2557. An act for the relief of Frank Simms;

H.R. 2757. An act for the relief of Maria Alexandros Siagris;

H.R. 2853. An act to amend title 17, United States Code, with relation to the fees to be charged;

H.R. 3288. An act for the relief of Hwang Tai Shik;

H.R. 3669. An act for the relief Emilia Majka;

H.R. 3770. An act for the relief of certain individuals employed by the Department of the Navy at the Pacific Missile Range, Point Mugu, Calif.;

H.R. 4078. An act for the relief of William L. Minton; and

H.R. 4203. An act for the relief of Alton G. Edwards.

On October 29, 1965:

H.R. 1644. An act for the relief of 1st Lt. Robert B. Gann, and others;

H.R. 4137. An act for the relief of Dr. Jan Rosciszewski;

H.R. 4194. An act for the relief of Angelica Anagnostopoulos;

H.R. 4464. An act for the relief of Michael Hadjichristofas, Aphrodite Hadjichristofas, and Paniote Hadjichristofas;

H.R. 8350. An act for the relief of the successors in interest of Cooper Blyth and Grace Johnston Blyth otherwise Grace McCloy Blyth; and

H.R. 10281. An act to adjust the rates of basic compensation of certain officers and employees of the Federal Government, and for other purposes.

On October 30, 1965:

H.R. 23. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to initiate with the several States a cooperative program for the conservation, development, and enhancement of the Nation's anadromous fish, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1386. An act to provide for the free entry of one mass spectrometer for the use of Pomona College;

H.R. 2578. An act for the relief of Maxie L. Rupert;

H.R. 4832. An act to provide for the free entry of a mass spectrometer for the use of Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.;

H.R. 4845. An act to provide for the economic and efficient purchase, lease, maintenance, operation, and utilization of automatic data processing equipment by Federal departments and agencies;

H.R. 8272. An act to provide for the free entry of an isotope separator for the use of Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.;

H.R. 8646. An act for the relief of Rifkin Textiles Corp.;

H.R. 9495. An act to increase the appropriation authorization for the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9588. An act to provide for the free entry of an electrically driven rotating chair for the use of the Louisiana State University Medical Center, New Orleans, La.; and

H.R. 10198. An act to amend the requirements relating to lumber under the Shipping Act, 1916.

On October 31, 1965:

H.R. 168. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide increases in the rates of disability compensation, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1393. An act for the relief of Mrs. Maria Eduvigis Aran Heffernan;

H.R. 2762. An act for the relief of Marlio Massimiliani;

H.R. 2906. An act for the relief of Mrs. Lily Ning Sheehan;

H.R. 3126. An act to provide for the free entry of one mass spectrometer for the University of Washington;

H.R. 4170. An act to provide for adjustments in annuities under the Foreign Service retirement and disability system;

H.R. 6312. An act for the relief of Mario Menna;

H.R. 6655. An act for the relief of Pieter Cornelis Metzelaar.

H.R. 6720. An act for the relief of Ping-Kwan Fong;

H.R. 7282. An act for the relief of Richard D. Walsh;

H.R. 7357. An act for the relief of Dr. Felipe V. Lavapies;

H.R. 7608. An act to provide for the free entry of one automatic steady state distribution machine for the use of the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.

H.R. 8135. An act for the relief of Jennifer Rebecca Siegel;

H.R. 10256. An act for the relief of James D. W. Blyth, his wife, Jean Mary Blyth, and their daughter, Penelope Jean Blyth;

H.R. 10292. An act for the relief of Hilda Shen Tsiang;

H.R. 11096. An act to authorize the disposal of graphite, quartz crystals, and lump steatite talc from the national stockpile or the supplemental stockpile, or both; and

H.R. 11588. An act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes.

On November 1, 1965:

H.R. 1218. An act for the relief of T. W. Holt & Co. and/or Holt Import & Export Co.;

H.R. 5217. An act to permit the vessel *Little Nancy* to be documented for use in the coastwise trade;

H.R. 6906. An act to provide for the free entry of one mass spectrometer and one split pole spectograph for the use of University of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y.;

H.R. 7453. An act for the relief of Margaret Elizabeth and Frederick Henry Todd;

H.R. 8232. An act to provide for the free entry of one mass spectrometer-gas chromatograph for the use of Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Okla.;

H.R. 9022. An act to amend Public Laws 815 and 874, 81st Congress, to provide financial assistance in the construction and operation of public elementary and secondary schools in areas affected by a major disaster; to eliminate inequities in the application of Public Law 815 in certain military base closings; to make uniform eligibility requirements for school districts in Public Law 874; and for other purposes;

H.R. 9351. An act to provide for the free entry of one shadomaster measuring projector for the use of the University of South Dakota;

H.R. 9587. An act to provide for the free entry of a Craig countercurrent distribution apparatus for the use of Colorado State University, Fort Collins, Colo.;

H.R. 10369. An act to give the consent of Congress to the States of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Vermont to become parties to title II of the Compact on Taxation of Motor Fuels Consumed by Interstate Buses and the agreement relating to Bus Taxation Proration and Reciprocity;

H.R. 11303. An act to amend section 18 of the Civil Service Retirement Act, as amended; and

H.R. 11420. An act to amend title 39, United States Code, to provide certain mailing privileges with respect to members of the U.S. Armed Forces, and for other purposes.

On November 2, 1965:

H.R. 1317. An act to provide for the free entry of a mass spectrometer which was imported during May 1963 for the use of Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.;

H.R. 1781. An act to amend section 113(a) of title 28, United States Code, to provide that Federal District Court for the Eastern District of North Carolina shall be held at Clinton;

H.R. 2565. An act to provide for the free entry of one mass spectrometer for the use of the University of Chicago;

H.R. 3905. An act for the relief of Bibi Daljeet Kaur;

H.R. 4088. An act for the relief of Irving M. Sobin Chemical Co., Inc.;

H.R. 5006. An act for the relief of Diosdado F. Almazan;

H.R. 8370. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9545. An act providing for the acquisition and preservation by the United States of certain items of evidence pertaining to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy; and

H.J. Res. 397. Joint resolution to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia on behalf of the United States to transfer from the United States to the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency title to certain real property in said District.

On November 3, 1965:

H.R. 9811. An act to maintain farm income, to stabilize prices and assure adequate supplies of agricultural commodities, to reduce surpluses, lower Government costs and promote foreign trade, to afford greater economic opportunity in rural areas, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 597. Joint resolution providing for the erection of a memorial to the late Dr. Robert H. Goddard, the father of rocketry.

On November 4, 1965:

H.R. 9047. An act to authorize the release of certain quantities of zinc from either the national stockpile or the supplemental stockpile, or both.

On November 5, 1965:

H.R. 7812. An act to authorize the loan of naval vessels to friendly foreign countries, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 10305. An act to authorize the disposal, without regard to the prescribed 6-month waiting period, of approximately 200 million pounds of nickel from the national stockpile.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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Appendix

NOTICE

The last issue of the daily Congressional Record for the first session of the Eighty-ninth Congress will be published not later than Monday, November 15, 1965. It is requested that copy and proofs of speeches withheld for revision, or extensions of remarks as authorized by either House, be submitted to the Government Printing Office or to the Congressional Record Clerk, Room H-112, Capitol, before that date.

By order of the Joint Committee on Printing.

CARL HAYDEN, Chairman.

High School Graduates Overwhelm Portland Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, my attention has been called to an article which appeared in the Friday, October 15, 1965, issue of the Portland Oregonian over the byline of Mr. John Guernsey. It details the factual nature of the pressure being placed upon institutions of higher education through increased enrollment. The research of vice principal Mildred Wirtz of the David Douglas High School shows incontrovertibly, in my judgment, how badly needed are the authorities which we provided through Public Law 88-204 and in the recently enacted Higher Education Act of 1965.

Mr. President, I commend Mr. Guernsey and Mrs. Wirtz upon this article. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MASS OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES OVERWHELMS PORTLAND COLLEGES

(By John Guernsey)

The David Douglas School District has done much to pinpoint why it is difficult this fall to find a parking space around Portland State College and the nearby Portland Community College.

Research by Mrs. Mildred Wirtz, vice principal and college counselor at David Douglas High, indicates that 359 of the 620 June graduates now are enrolled in colleges, community colleges, or business schools.

This is 57.8 percent of the graduates, up 4.3 percent over the percentage of 1964 David Douglas graduates who went on to college. And the 1964 class had about 80 fewer students in it.

But more significant is the fact that a much larger percentage of Portland area students are staying in the Portland area to do their college work.

About 96 of the graduates are enrolled at Portland State, and 42 of them at Portland Community College. This compares with the fall of 1964 when only 67 of the David Douglas graduates enrolled at Portland State, and only a handful at Portland Community College, which offered college transfer courses for the first time last year.

PORTLAND GAINS STUDENTS

More than half of the 359 David Douglas graduates who are continuing their educations are doing it in the Portland area.

In addition to 96 at Portland State and 42 at Portland Community College, 18 are at Multnomah College, another 28 at 4-year colleges in the immedate Portland area, and 11 are at private business schools.

Although most other school districts in the Portland area do not have student followup information as refined as that from David Douglas, counselors from the other districts believe that more of their students are attending the Portland area colleges and community colleges. Their conclusions are based on conversations with the students.

Frances McGill, supervisor of guidance of counseling for the Portland school system, believes that about 55 percent of the Portland system's 6,066 June graduates are in colleges or community colleges. She is also positive that a bigger percentage of them are going to Portland State and Portland Community College.

The number of Portland High school graduates continuing their educations last year was about 51 percent, and there were only 5,100 graduates.

That explains much of the phenomenal growth at Portland State and PCC, and why the college vicinity parking is like putting sardines in a can.

But what about the rest of the State? In the seven public colleges and universities operated by the State system of higher education there are about 42,500 students—nearly 5,900 more than the total enrollments of last year. Enrollments at the State's private colleges are up slightly this year.

The full-time enrollment at Oregon's growing system of community colleges is up about 70 percent this year.

Richard Pizzo, director of high school relations for the State system of higher education, has the answer to why the public colleges have 5,900 more students this year, the private colleges have several hundred more, and the community colleges have about 3,400 more full-time students.

First, Oregon's public and private colleges graduated about 31,788 seniors last June, compared with 26,041 graduates in the spring of 1964.

On a statewide basis, about 50.2 percent of the June high school graduates are continuing their educations this fall. The percentage was about 46.9 during the fall of 1964.

Most educators believe that the higher percentages enrolling as college freshmen are caused by two main factors: (1) More students have become conscious of the need for education; and (2) the increased armed service draft calls has caused more students to take shelter in the colleges.

Additionally, many counselors believe that fewer Oregon students are going out of State for their college educations.

Old Glory a Symbol To Guide Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, I believe my colleagues here in the House and all

Americans will appreciate the following excellent article, which came across my desk:

TO HONOR OUR FLAG IS AMERICANISM

(By Christ S. Minneci, Chicago, Ill.)

George Washington said, "If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it, if we desire peace it must be known that we are at all times ready for war," and again Abraham Lincoln questioned, "What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements, our bristling sea coasts—our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us."

Our flag represents this and much more. It gives us the incentive to acquire property, it gives us the protection of holding that property. The pioneers who risked their lives could not or would not build the wilderness without the protection and security our flag gave them.

Under the flag of the United States of America, we have laws that we ourselves enacted. We established courts to protect the innocent and penalize the guilty. We have a Constitution of our own making, not dictated by royalty or dictatorship. We have established a military force equal to none, and unless our country is destroyed by traitors within, we shall enjoy the peace that Washington prayed for.

Under this flag we are free to choose our political leaders, though often we make horrible mistakes; and we are free to choose the means of earning a living—what, where, and when we please.

Our flag is a symbol of worship to God and no one can force us to love God any other way than our own and by this freedom we have loved liberty which God has planted in us.

But our flag is also a constant reminder that the United States of America cannot be the bulwark of liberty and independence unless its people continue to be vigilant and jealously guard its liberty and independence, in the schools, in the clubs, in the unions, in our governments, and particularly at the election polls, watching and exposing Communists or their stooges who would enslave us and make a satellite of our Nation within.

We, who have served, we who have offered our lives must continue on to live for our country, the archangel of peace, the lifegiver of the world, by being ready and willing to weaken or disintegrate our enemies and help our friends who love liberty; for our flag, the American flag, must wave forever.

A. L. Valencia, of the Manila Times, Comments on the U.S. Presence in Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILWARD L. SIMPSON

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, one of the best explanations I have ever read, for the presence of several thousand U.S. troops in Asia, appeared in the June 3 Manila Times under the byline of A. L. Valencia. Unfortunately, it missed the wide attention it should have received, for Mr. Valencia points to one of the key factors in the rise of anti-Americanism in some quarters of Asia when he says:

To be able to talk back to the greatest power on earth is regarded as a badge of courage and patriotism.

This, I suppose, is a penalty that any nation can pay for being the "biggest kid on the block," but Mr. Valencia has put the issue in keen perspective and I call his remarks to the attention of my colleagues and readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by asking that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. PRESENCE IN ASIA

(By A. L. Valencia)

WASHINGTON.—Beyond the crucial decisions posed by the war in South Vietnam lies an even larger, long-range problem for President Johnson and the American people.

It can be put in one stark sentence.

How far should the United States commit itself to the defense of freedom in southeast Asia?

If southeast Asia were united and enthusiastic in its desire for American protection, the question would be easier to answer. But that is far from the case. In fact, for his efforts so far, Uncle Sam has received far more brick-bats than bouquets—not a few from the Philippines, an area in which he least expected them.

FASHIONABLE

Among the angry young men of southeast Asia, it has become fashionable to attack America's actions and motives at every turn, and to applaud every American misfortune. To be able to talk back to the greatest power on earth is regarded as a badge of courage and patriotism.

But should not these critics—if they are honest men—also concede that their very liberty to dissent has up to now depended directly on American protection?

It is all very well to be in fashion—but how does fashion match up with fact?

For Filipinos, the fact should be clear: But for the United States, we might not be a free nation today. We would certainly not enjoy our present sense of security and well-being.

How can we remain so aloof from the turbulence all around us? How long do we really think we could maintain our freedom in an Asia dominated by Red China?

TWO FACTORS

Up to now we have relied on two factors for our safety and identity as a free people—the seas around us and the American presence.

In the air and space age, the widest ocean is no more a barrier than a ditch. If as a result of shrill demands for "Yankee Go Home," American power were to draw back in the Pacific, the Philippines—let's face it—would be virtually defenseless.

Even now, our Government admits anxiety about the larger ambitions of President Sukarno, of Indonesia, hence the angling for American money to build a new naval base in Mindanao. It is somewhat ironic that President Macapagal who, on taking office, lost no time in stamping his feet at Uncle Sam and then showed sympathy for Sukarno, should now be pressing Uncle Sam to defend him against an Indonesian threat.

It is a fortunate happenstance that Sukarno has so blotted his copybook with the United States that we will almost certainly get the Mindanao base. It is hardly a credit to Macapagal statesmanship and certainly no credit to our own brand of American baiters.

ASIAN PROBLEMS

We are always talking about Asian solutions to Asian problems. What is an Asian problem? And what is an Asian solution?

The world is shrinking so rapidly that anybody's problem is everybody's problem. If we insist on an Asian solution, it will be Asian all right, but it is most likely to be labeled "Made in Peiping."

When India, one of the arch apostles of Asian solutions, found herself suddenly attacked by Red China, her first call for help went to the West. Big India thought it no shame to seek non-Asian aid.

Thailand knows where its safety lies. Without the Americans, it is next on Peiping's list for conquest—and the Thai, who I am sure are not less patriotic than we are, are not shamed to admit it.

Even Cambodia's flamboyant Prince Sihanouk, who enjoys damning the United States, always keeps looking over his shoulder to see if Uncle Sam is still around.

LAOS TOO

Would Laos still preserve a semblance of freedom but for American support?

Malaysia could not hold off Sukarno and defend its new nationhood if it did not have the assistance of Britain. And Britain could not defend Malaysia if America allowed the dam to break.

Even powerful Japan, the most advanced nation in the East, is content to be almost totally dependent on the United States for its security. Japan is fully aware that if South Korea falls into Communist hands, it will have a dagger pointed at its belly.

How long could Taiwan exist as a free fragment of China, if it were not for the Americans?

STATEMENTS OF FACT

To make these statements of obvious fact, and to ask these questions to which the answers are equally obvious, is not to demean national prides.

It is merely to stress a decent respect for reality.

There is a trend today for people to scoff when any mention is made of a special relationship between the Philippines and the United States. But can anyone honestly say that such a relationship does not exist?

But what is the yardstick—dollars and cents or shared ideals? What of the deep emotions stirred by the memory of blood mingled on Bataan and Corregidor?

Does anyone seriously doubt that if the Philippines were attacked, the United States would not come to our aid?

FRICTIONS

Of course there have been frictions between the two countries. The relationship would not be healthy if there were not—since that is the way between freemen.

That most Filipinos understand is shown by the willingness of Filipino veterans to volunteer for service in Vietnam alsongside their former American comrades.

If there are millions of Asians who resent the American presence in Asia, there are many other millions of Asians who know that that presence is all that enables them to remain free.

The President Leads the Nation Toward Beauty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, last February President Johnson called upon this Congress to help preserve and protect America's wonderful natural beauty, and at the same time he called upon other Americans to do the same.

On October 1, the President released a report of 8 months of study on the parts of the Secretaries of the Interior, Commerce, and Health, Education, and Welfare, the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

This report outlines progress which has been made, and programs which are just beginning, and it offers many imaginative ideas for preservation of our beauty in the future. Some of its proposals are already reality—for example, the Highway Beautification Act was still pending legislation on October 1.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this report is excellent for the sense of direction it offers our Nation in an effort to preserve our irreplaceable natural beauty. I would like to have it appear in the RECORD, and include it with my remarks:

A REPORT ON NATURAL BEAUTY TO THE PRESIDENT

(A summary of the major beautification efforts of the Federal Government, which are designed to beautify our cities and suburbs, protect the American countryside, improve our water and waterways, enhance our highways and roads, repair the ravages of industry, mobilize public support, finance beautification, and redirect Government efforts.)

(From the Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Commerce, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Director, Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency)

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I am releasing the results of the first 8 months of the Federal Government's efforts to preserve and improve the beauty of America. These efforts are of particular concern to me, because they will determine the kind of America my daughters—and all the children of America—will inherit.

Last February (1965) I sent to the Congress a message on natural beauty. I pointed out, as emphatically as I knew how, the threat of eventual blight to our God-given heritage of natural beauty.

In that message I called specific attention to the fact that our growing population is swallowing up areas of natural beauty with its demand for living space.

I noted with concern that the increasing tempo of urbanization is already depriving many Americans of the opportunity to live in decent surroundings.

I said that a new conservation would be required to deal with these new problems if we are to protect the countryside, save it from destruction, and restore what has been destroyed.

And I also said that this conservation must be not just the classic conservation of protection and development, but a creative conservation of restoration and innovation.

That message was only one of several instances in which I have attempted to convey my interest in preserving and renovating our heritage of beauty.

I spoke of my concern in the state of the Union message.

I reiterated my concern at the White House Conference on Natural Beauty.

I have since reemphasized it in other messages, in speeches, and in great detail in much of my correspondence.

My administration has made a number of proposals to bring the full resources of this Government to bear on the problem of dwindling beauty.

I am pleased to issue the first fruits of these proposals—a report from the Secretaries of Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, Health, Education, and Welfare, the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

This report summarizes the major efforts of the Federal Government to lead the way in keeping America beautiful. It is an encouraging report because it indicates that concrete progress is being made.

Among other things, it reflects the plans to make this Capital the Nation's showcase.

It outlines what is being done to beautify locations that range from such diverse areas as New York City to the great open spaces of the West.

It indicates in strong fashion that research and training are important tools to be used in giving natural beauty a foothold in both urban and rural environments.

It sums up what we have done thus far to promote natural beauty in the countryside, to retain and improve our scenic and historic sites, and to preserve our wildlife.

It notes the action we have taken to offer improved outdoor recreation to more of our people.

It details our activities to improve our water and waterways as useful and yet beautiful natural resources, and our plans for controlling pollution of streams and rivers.

It points up what we have done and what we intend to do to make our vast network of highways not only useful but beautiful.

There is much more. This report reflects action that ranges from schools and classrooms to local neighborhood projects, from the disposal of refuse and waste products to the use of trash and garbage as fuels for operating desalting plants.

And yet it is only a beginning. It is a first step. I have asked those who prepared this report to continue to report to me, on a regular basis, the progress which they have made in this all-important area. These reports will be available as they are made.

But I want you to know that this is more than just a report on action taken and action contemplated. It is also a request for help. The task of creating a more beautiful America, of making it a more pleasant place in which to live, is not and cannot be the job of the Federal Government alone. We must have the enthusiasm, the concern, and the cooperation of every level of government—States, counties, cities, and precincts.

I believe that the American people share our feelings. I believe that they want a beautiful country. And I believe that they will respond to the challenge which we have set—to make this the most beautiful Nation on earth.

THE CITY AND ITS SUBURBS

Here is the area of primary challenge—where nature's grass and greenery give way to man-made steel and concrete and where most of our people dwell under the double-barreled pressures of urbanization and industrialization.

Following are some of the Government programs underway to bring natural beauty to the people of our cities and suburbs:

The Nation's showcase

Extensive plans are underway to make Washington, D.C., the Nation's No. 1 showcase of urban beautification, including:

A major effort to create a "Potomac National River" similar to the national park concept. A national river would be a natural beauty and recreation resource for the people of the Great Atlantic Megalopolis that stretches from Boston to Richmond.

Improvement of all area parks. The National Park Service has completed floral beautification of 41 parks out of a projected goal of 119 areas in the National Capital region.

Master planning of the heart of the District. Architect Nathanial Owens has been engaged to help in the master planning for the center of the Nation's Capital. In addition, he serves with fellow architects Daniel Urbane Kiley, Edward Durell Stone, and Victor Gruen, as adviser to Mrs. Humphrey's Committee of Congressional Leadership Wives on the Beautification of the Capital.

Beautifying Federal buildings

Federal agencies have responded with enthusiasm to the President's desire that they beautify their buildings. Agency heads have issued instructions to put the President's beautification program into effect. Some results of this intensive campaign include:

Numerous requests to the National Park Service from Federal agencies for professional guidance and assistance of Park Service landscape architects.

General Services Administration (which operates more than 5,000 Federal buildings) has a vigorous building beautification program underway. All 10 GSA regions were active this summer in rehabilitating lawns, trees, shrubs, and hedges; increasing flower plantings; screening unsightly equipment and areas; and painting, repaving, and redecorating buildings and grounds.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is insuring that good architectural design is part of its plans for hospitals, schools, and other facilities built under it 13 construction assistance programs. It asks recipient to cooperate with local and area planning authorities to make sure that the federally aided structures fit in with local and area development plans.

Helping to beautify New York City

The Federal Government has responded to New York City's request for help in developing a citywide outdoor recreation plan. It has prepared a systematic inventory of all Federal programs available to aid the city's outdoor recreation efforts. It is also helping the city to acquire new recreation lands, train unemployed workers in park maintenance, improve beaches and swimming places, and protect the scenic Hudson River. The Department of Interior and the Housing and Home Finance Agency are sharing the $100,000 cost of this work.

Improving federally aided housing

The Public Housing Administration is calling for more rehabilitation of low rent housing projects including the restoration and planting of grounds as well as building maintenance.

The Federal Housing Administration and the Community Facilities Administration have proposed up to 1 percent of project cost be devoted to sculpture and works of art.

Parks and open spaces

The Federal Highway Administration is encouraging States to take advantage of the Federal road funds which do not require State matching money to purchase land in cities for small roadside parks, green strips, and playgrounds.

The Department of Agriculture has increased its service to help homeowners, developers, and State and local governments preserve and restore natural beauty in the suburbs. For instance:

In the Chicago, Washington, D.C., and other suburbs, their soil maps and specialists are helping to select the best sites for residential and industrial areas, recreation, and nature study centers. Nationally, some 75 soil surveys are underway for areawide suburban development.

In Stanford, Conn., Agriculture Department technicians helped convert a swamp into a 30-acre recreation area for fishing, swimming, hiking, and just relaxing. Without their aid it might have been converted into a city dump.

The HHFA open-space program is being tailored to waterfront development, an application of great interest to many cities. In addition, the Agency's special study on park and open space needs of metropolitan areas will soon be completed, and this, too, is of great interest.

The Urban Renewal Administration's program of historic preservation is expanding, including the recent grant to aid reconstruction of the New Orleans French Quarter. (The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 makes it possible to relocate historic structures within renewal areas, and, for the first time, to sell them to nonprofit organizations interested in maintaining and restoring historic buildings.)

Research and training

Research and technological advance is helping give natural beauty a foothold in the urban environment. For example:

The Department of Agriculture is working on new ornamental plants, grasses, and shrubs especially adapted for urban conditions. It has developed a hybrid lily, the first of its kind, with bigger and more beautiful blossoms than any other lily now grown.

The National Arboretum in Washington serves as a coordinator for natural beauty programs for botanical gardens throughout the Nation, and develops, tests, and distributes new ornamental plants.

The National Agricultural Library is consolidating all research information on pest control and making it available to cities, real estate developers, and the general public to help them protect their natural greenery.

Agriculture researchers are breeding a new variety of elm resistant to the Dutch elm disease, which threatened to wipe out these shade trees. They have also developed a spray that curbs the disease.

Because improving rundown housing conditions causes good health as well as good looks, the Public Health Service plans a program of technical assistance to States and cities on housing code adoption and enforcement to serve this dual purpose.

THE COUNTRYSIDE

The American countryside—a tapestry of farmland, mountain, forest, and prairie—is three-fourths privately owned.

Here is what the Federal Government is doing to promote natural beauty in the countryside—largely the domain of private property:

Preserving wildlife

Last year, the waterfowl preservation program set a new record: 83,000 acres were purchased; 178,000 acres were protected against wetland destruction; 9 new wildlife refuges were activated.

Preserving the land

Federal programs designed to protect scenic and historic sites are:

Protecting the natural beauty of thousands of miles of free-flowing national forest streams that have been recognized as wild rivers. Their wild state has been restored where damaged.

Encouraging suitable natural development of private lands adjoining these streams.

Setting aside 9 million acres of national forest wilderness to preserve it in its natural state for public enjoyment.

Maintaining 5.5 million acres of national forest as primitive areas.

Expanding outdoor recreation

To make more sites of natural beauty available to the people, the Federal Government has—

Surveyed nearly 800 surplus military properties to see which can be used for conservation and recreation. It has scheduled detailed investigations of 132 surplus defense areas which have known conservation and recreation values.

Surveyed the national forest trail system and its accommodations for hikers and riders. Nothing spoils the beauty of the countryside more than overuse. So this surveying will determine if new trails are needed to handle the growing number of outdoor enthusiasts.

Completed a major study of the historic, wildlife, and other recreation resources along the Lewis and Clark Trail.

Required States to provide for natural beauty in their outdoor recreation plans and to give it special priority, if they want Federal financing through the land and water conservation fund.

Added nine new areas to the National Park System, and recommended 21 more to Congress for consideration.

Helped—with Area Redevelopment Administration funds—to improve State parks, construct artificial lakes, and develop ski facilities.

Research

The agriculture researchers are active in developing flowers, shrubs, trees, and turf that have maximum beauty and adaptability to varying soil and climatic conditions. They put greater emphasis on the esthetic qualities of new plants, and also are giving increasing attention to the economic aspects of natural beauty.

WATER AND WATERWAYS

Several departments have continuing programs to protect our Nation's water and waterways. Here is a summary of Federal activities designed to upgrade rivers and streams to the level of a vital, beautiful natural resource rather than a convenient means of transportation and waste disposal:

Cleanup programs

In the National Capital area, a Federal task force, under the Secretary of Interior, has the mission of making the Potomac a conservation model for the entire country. Its plans are carried out with the active participation of the District of Columbia and of the Governors of all States the river flows through. They will provide an office and full-time staff to work with the Federal agencies. Also in the District of Columbia an experiment will get underway to develop advanced waste treatment techniques that should be of great national interest.

Following the many floods this year, the Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture has stepped up the cleaning of debris from streams. This activity will restore the fishing conditions, and the beauty of streams and landscape.

The Area Redevelopment Administration's work to develop port facilities at Cambridge, Md., and New Bedford, Mass., while done for industrial purposes, has helped to clear up and beautify the waterfronts of those cities.

Pollution control

A major breakthrough in treating of domestic sewage and thus cleaning up waterways may result from a process developed by the Rand Development Corporation under contract with the Interior Department. It involves filtering sewage through coal and has performed well on small-scale tests.

The U.S. Public Health Service is demonstrating and evaluating methods to control pollution from acid mine drainage. This program consisted of three projects and may expand to another three.

The Interior Department announced a more stringent "when in doubt do not use" policy on pesticides. Priority is given to nonchemical insect controls and objectionable chemicals are being phased out as soon as possible.

The Environmental Sciences Service Administration (ESSA) which unites the Weather Bureau and the Coast and Geodetic Survey, advises public and private agencies on anticipated water levels of streams and rivers, and the likelihood of runoff. This enables these agencies to gage the potential pollution and check it.

The Maritime Administration is helping to devise an economical process for taking oil out of ballast water before it is pumped overboard. Oil discharged from ships kills birds, fish, and ruins bathing beaches. The Maritime Administration is also studying ways to prevent pollution of the Great Lakes and of harbors from the discharge of untreated sewage from ships.

HIGHWAYS AND ROADS

The average American motorist spends an estimated 2 months of each year behind the steering wheel, plus vacation driving. The vista of this man in motion is the ribbon of roadway he traverses. It can be limited, monotonous, and ugly. But some improvement is underway.

The response of the States to the President's program has been encouraging. State highway officials have endorsed it. By mid-1965, 43 States were beautifying their roads at a cost of $25.9 billion; the Federal share was $20.6 million. Here are some actions the Federal Government is taking to make natural beauty an integral part of the trip.

Signs and billboards

The Interior Department is taking a close look at all commercial signs and billboards on land under its jurisdiction. It will remove inappropriate and offensive ones.

The Agriculture Department carefully controls signs to maintain natural beauty along the 194,000 miles of national forest roads.

Important legislation now before Congress (S. 2084) could prohibit billboards closer than 660 feet from highway right-of-way, and otherwise control them.

Landscaping

The Bureau of Public Roads has taken administrative action to enhance federally aided highway systems by—

Requiring landscaping—above and beyond the usual conservation and erosion control.

Increasing the use of Federal money for high-priority beautification such as screening junkyards, excavation scars, and other eyesores.

Encouraging States to use Federal funds which do not require matching State funds to purchase land adjacent to highways in order to preserve their natural beauty. Minnesota, Maine, and New York have already taken advantage of this provision.

In addition, it has requested State highway departments to establish long-range landscaping programs for their interstate and primary highway systems. Most States have already done so, and an analysis of these long-range programs reveals—

Adequate existing or authorized landscaping on about 25 percent of the Interstate System and 63 percent of the primary system. Landscaping is planned for construction on about 11 percent of the interstate and 3 percent of the primary mileage by mid-1966.

New screening is programed next year for about 16 percent of the unsightly areas along interstate and 8 percent of those on primary routes. Screening is not feasible on about 35 percent of the areas.

Scenic sights and amenities

The Bureau of Public Roads has taken steps to—

Double the number of safety rest areas on the Interstate Highway System, and increase the number on the primary road system to the higher Interstate Highway System standards.

Authorize the use of Federal-aid funds for the construction of scenic view points, scenic overlooks, and sanitary and other amenities of the road.

An analysis of State plans for interstate and primary routes revealed that:

Some 25 percent of the major safety rest areas have been completed or authorized along interstate routes and 51 percent along primary routes. About 21 percent of these facilities are planned for construction during mid-1966.

Some 26 percent of the smaller rest areas and scenic overlooks have been authorized or completed on the Interstate System and 65

percent on the primary system. About 15 percent will be constructed by mid-1966.

RESEARCH

The Commerce Department is completing work on a scenic roads and parkway study for the Recreation Advisory Council. The study will cover data on recreation, transportation, esthetics, and engineering.

THE IMPACT OF INDUSTRY

President Johnson put it very well in his remarks to the White House Conference on Natural Beauty, May 25, 1965:

"The technology which has given us everything from the computer to the teleprompter has created a hundred sources of blight. Poisons and chemicals pollute our air and water. Automobiles litter our countryside. These and other waste products of progress are among the deadliest enemies that natural beauty has ever known."

Here are some of the Federal programs that strike at the ugly underbelly of progress by controlling: Junkyards, overhead transmission lines, strip and surface mining, refuse and waste.

Junkyard control

The Bureau of Public Roads is giving high priority and increased funds to screen auto junkyards along Federal-aid interstate, primary, and urban highways.

The Commerce Department is trying to shrink the growth of junked autos—6 million a year. It is developing processes that would make it more profitable to use auto bodies for scrap steel.

The Interior Department is also undertaking a nationwide survey to determine the factors that influence scrap movement and to find ways of speeding it up. The study will focus on the auto wrecking and other industries that accumulate junked autos.

Interior's Bureau of Mines is attacking the problem through metallurgical research. It is developing a "magnetic separation" process for economically getting the steel out of auto bodies which also contain aluminum, copper, lead, and zinc.

Overhead transmission

The Federal Housing Administration has issued a new regulation. It requires homebuilders to put utilities underground where at all feasible and get rid of ugly overhead wiring. The Rural Electrification Administration is an advocate of underground utilities, particularly in new construction. Over two-thirds of all new REA-financed telephone lines to be constructed this year will be placed underground.

The Interior Department is ready to launch a research program to devise new methods of reducing the cost of underground transmission. It has reviewed and commented on legislation introduced on underground transmission (H.R. 10513, 10514, and 10515).

(The relationship between economic and natural beauty is nowhere better illustrated than in underground installation of utilities. Ten years ago underground installation cost 10 times more than overhead construction; today the cost ratio has been reduced to 1.5 to 1.)

Strip-and surface mining

The Federal Government has launched a nationwide study of strip and surface mining, under the Appalachian Development Act. Governors of all 50 States have been asked to cooperate. Federal field teams are now in Appalachia making several on-site surveys of surface and strip mine land. State laws and regulations will be reviewed in the light of their reports.

The Public Health Service has started a program to reclaim land disturbed by strip mining. The land will be rehabilitated by regrading, burial of acid-forming materials, adequate drainage, and forest cover.

The Interior Department is publishing new regulations on surface and strip-mining operations to insure that the mined land does not produce silt and pollutants in the water that drains from it.

Sixteen projects, costing almost $13 million, have been approved by the Commerce Department and the Appalachian Regional Commission to study the harmful effects of mining, such as surface caveins, erosion, siltation, and acid drainage.

Refuse and waste products

The Public Health Service will broaden its programs dealing with the problems of solid waste, which is generated at the rate of 160 million tons a year. With the Tennessee Valley Authority, it will build a full-scale overuse composting plant which will mix raw sewage and sludge with city refuse. TVA will determine if resulting composts can be sold as soil conditioners and fertilizers.

(Few States have specific legislation giving authority to State health departments to meet the solid waste problems. A "Solid Waste Disposal Act," which would carry out recommendations contained in the President's Natural Beauty Message, has been submitted to Congress.)

The Interior Department's Office of Saline Water is studying the use of trash and garbage as fuels for operating desalting plants. Because they contain more cellulose and paraffin-base materials, trash and garbage have higher energy value and can fill a need for cheap fuel.

The town of Hempstead, N.Y., for example, is now desalting 600,000 gallons of water a day, using urban trash and garbage incinerations as the heat source.

Hong Kong plans to construct a 3.6-million-gallon-a-day desalting plant which will use burning trash and garbage as its heat source.

Thus, garbage and trash, which normally produce smoldering rat-infested dumps, would be used to produce clean water—and beautification would be a byproduct.

The Area Redevelopment Administration which will continue its work in expanded form under the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 has provided technical advice that should lead to the elimination of burning culm (coal refuse) banks in Pennsylvania.

The Commerce Department is working on a continuing basis with representatives of the construction industry to encourage them to clean up debris and conduct operations with an eye to preserving the natural appearance of construction sites.

The Interior Department is giving increased attention to the disposal of mine refuse in abandoned mine shafts. The objective would be to—

Prevent mine cave-ins and surface fall-ins that destroy the usefulness and appearance of the land above.

Eliminate pileup of ugly, water-polluting refuse heaps.

Some of the new work is also directed to burying huge quantities of spent oil shale which looms as a major problem.

The Bureau of Mines and Public Health Service are intensifying efforts to cut down air pollution resulting from sulfur emission from coal.

The Commerce Department helps anti-air-pollution organizations by providing them with forecasts of atmospheric conditions that result in heavy concentration of air pollutants. This information gives them time to reduce the amount of burning in their areas.

MOBILIZING PUBLIC SUPPORT

The Vice President mentions the President's beautification program in almost every major speech, particularly when he speaks to local government officials. And he never fails to get a warm response when he suggests that they might give out as many tickets for dirty alleys as for illegal parking.

People seem to be sold on natural beauty; they want to be told what to do to achieve it.

Here are some of the Federal programs that are directing their readiness.

Schools and classrooms

State directors of extension in all but three States have responded to the Agriculture Department's call for a national emphasis on beauty. The Cooperation Extension Service is stressing natural beauty in educational work with some 95,000 4-H Clubs, school groups, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, garden clubs, nursery associations, chambers of commerce, church groups, and county home demonstration councils.

(The administration's proposed title I of S. 600 could support this extension program legislation which would direct the resources of a university on urban communities just as they have long been focused on rural areas. Universities can help provide trained manpower and technical aid needed to keep natural beauty in our civic environment.)

Public information and promotion

The Forest Service is conducting an all-out antilittering campaign so that our Nation's forests and woods will provide clean campsites and uncluttered natural beauty for all visitors.

A nationwide "youth for beauty" campaign has been launched by the Federal Extension Service. Mobilizing the Nation's youth organizations in the cause of beautification, this drive is headed by Honorary Chairman Luci Johnson.

Meetings and conferences

The Housing and Home Finance Agency's major effort right now in behalf of beauty involves a model conference for a series that would be held later in other parts of the country. The model conference, a direct outgrowth of the White House Conference on Natural Beauty, brings together outstanding experts in architecture, landscape architecture, physical planning, urban conservation, and homebuilding, plus top Government officials. They will try to identify and explore the basic problems of improving the total environmental design in sprawling urban areas. They will prepare a formal report on the ideas generated.

The Secretary of Commerce and the Federal Highway Administrator discussed natural beauty with key executives of the American Association of State Highway Officials. They underscored the need to build highways that preserve and enhance the beauty of the Nation.

The National Advisory Committee on Highway Beautification, appointed by the Secretary of Commerce, held its first meeting in May, organized a series of working groups to carry out the President's beautification program, and will meet again in September.

The U.S. Conference of Mayors has commended and endorsed the President's program, in a resolution on urban beautification.

The National League of Cities has adopted policies supporting urban beautification, and created a 25-member committee on urban beautification. The cochairmen are Mayor James Kelly, East Orange, N.J., and Jerome Keithly, city manager, Palo Alto, Calif.

Community action

The Secretary of Agriculture has directed his personnel to help improve the beauty of privately owned lands. They will do it by stimulating soil conservation districts, local rural area development committees, cooperatives, farmer committees, 4-H Clubs, and other organizations. Once motivated, these organizations can do much to beautify America.

In 1964, 4-H members—from 9-year-olds to teenagers—completed more than 325,000 home beautification projects that ranged from planting small flower beds to landscaping entire estates.

The Commerce Department, through its 42 field offices, maintains continuing liaison

with businesses and is encouraging their support of Government beautification programs. This type of liaison has been successful in the past in advancing Government programs, such as the export expansion drive, the voluntary balance-of-payment effort, and the youth opportunity program.

The Bureau of Public Roads is encouraging States to enlist civic and garden clubs in efforts to improve the roadside beyond the highway right-of-way, through growth of native wild flowers.

HHFA plans a heavy schedule of meetings, seminars, and conferences aimed at educating the entire urban development and housing community on beautification.

FINANCING BEAUTIFICATION

Making America more beautiful requires the utmost in cooperation and innovation from the Government and its people. To this end the President has issued a call for "creative federalism," which implies "creative financing," for this program's popularity will depend on the heft of its payoff and the thrift of its price tag.

Here is a summary of the Federal programs that help pay for beautification:

Incentives to individuals

Many long-established Federal housing loan programs—Farmers Home Administration, Federal Housing Administration, and Veterans' Administration—contribute to the beauty of America's cities and countryside. By enabling farmers, suburbanites, and city dwellers to own and improve their homes they instill pride of ownership—a prime motive for attractive neighborhoods.

The Agriculture Department plans to make natural beauty an objective of all its assistance programs. The aim: To stimulate rural Americans to take advantage of the opportunities to improve natural beauty.

Federal cost sharing

Increased Federal aid funds have been made available to States for landscaping projects that give a high priority to natural beauty, such as screening junkyards, excavation scars, and other roadside eyesores.

States have been encouraged to use Federal funds that do not require matching to purchase strips of land which preserve a road's natural beauty. These nonmatching funds can also be used to buy land along urban highways for use as small parks, green strips, and playgrounds.

A new formula for making Federal grants-in-aid with land and water conservation funds gives growing urban populations special preference. Their need for natural beauty programs now get double weight.

The Federal departments and agencies are working with the Office of Economic Opportunity to unite beautification and antipoverty programs. Economic Opportunity Act funds are financing improvement projects that benefit—

Low income men and women, by providing needed jobs and useful work experience.

Communities, by increasing their total employment and restoring their natural beauty.

Antipoverty activities with beautification component include:

The joint OEO-NYC-HHFA neighborhood beautification program: This is designed to bring parks, playgrounds, and open spaces to urban poverty neighborhoods. First projects are slated in Atlanta, Ga.; Washington, D.C.; Detroit, Mich.; Miami, Fla.; and New Haven, Conn.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC): During the spring, this program had 9,000 youths doing beautification work in 130 projects in 38 States. Several thousand more young people were engaged in beautification during the summer, helping to spruce up housing projects, municipal buildings, hospitals, airports, schools, parks, playgrounds, and picnic areas.

Community action projects: Nearly $600,000 has been approved for projects with a beautification component in California, New Jersey, New York, and Texas.

Approval of an additional $1 million is pending for projects in Missouri, Oklahoma, Washington, North Dakota, Arkansas, Kentucky, New Mexico, and Florida.

Here are some examples of specific projects:

In Arizona, some 1,000 members of the Neighborhood Youth Corps are as work cleaning up highway litter, removing leaves and rocks, trimming shrubbery, and collecting seeds from native plants.

In Florida, the State road board has hired some 100 youths, age 16 to 21, on a 6-month project that will give them on-the-job training in roadside maintenance.

In our national forests, the war on poverty is contributing to beautification. While learning new skills, young men of the Job Corps are sent to the national forest to plant trees, trim and prune timber stands, construct picnic and camp sites, and carry out landscaping projects.

In widespread sections of the country, 15 projects involving public welfare recipients are underway which will provide work experience and training and also enhance natural beauty. These include: 1,000 persons at work beautifying Rhode Island's secondary roads by removing brush and overgrowth; and 200 persons at work improving an Ohio county's roads by landscaping and tree planting.

REDIRECTING GOVERNMENT EFFORTS

The President's leadership has stimulated a special concern for natural beauty in the Federal Establishment. Departments and agencies are more sensitively aware of how their programs can help build a more beautiful America.

This awareness has been translated into administrative reality; the quest for natural beauty has been written into the operating rules and regulations of many Federal agencies. For example:

Heads of departments and agencies with buildings and facilities under their jurisdiction have issued internal instructions to put President Johnson's beautification program into effect. Others have instructed their staff to work closely with the General Services Administration or other agencies that control the buildings they occupy.

The Agriculture Department has redirected its established programs and begun new activities, all pointed toward natural beauty. Its news agency, the Rural Community Development Service, will coordinate natural beauty activities.

The land-administering bureaus of the Interior Department have issued policy statements and guidelines to carry out the President's beautification program. The Interior Department is also drafting a revised Executive order for the Recreation Advisory Council. The draft will make natural beauty a council concern, establish a Citizens Advisory Committee on Outdoor Recreation and Natural Beauty, and create a coordinating center for the interest generated by the White House Conference on Natural Beauty.

The Federal Highway Administrator has written directives and guidelines concerning beautification both to all Bureau of Public Roads field offices and to all State highway departments. To insure priority attention to the President's beautification program, the Bureau of Public Roads has established a special task force to review progress of the program.

The Urban Renewal Administration has issued two special technical bulletins that stress design review and design objectives in renewal projects. These guides will aid local developers to realize higher quality design.

In addition—

Through Presidential messages, speeches, and correspondence—the state of the Union message, special message on natural beauty, and remarks to the White House Conference on Natural Beauty—you have made your interest in natural beauty abundantly clear on an unprecedented scale. Presidential letters on the subject, for example, have reached out to all Congressmen, Cabinet members, mayors of cities with over 10,000 population, and county executives. (This is believed to be the first time a President has ever written directly to the heads of county-level governments.)

Your call to action has made a deep impact on the American people. As a result, they are alerted, responsive, ready to act.

STEWART L. UDALL,
Secretary of Interior.
ORVILLE L. FREEMAN,
Secretary of Agriculture.
JOHN T. CONNOR,
Secretary of Commerce.
JOHN W. GARDNER,
Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.
SARGENT SHRIVER,
Director, Office of Economic Opportunity.
ROBERT C. WEAVER,
Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Conflict of Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the question of conflict of interest and what is involved when a businessman accepts a post in government has been a continuing recurring problem. Certainly it is one that deserves the constructive interest and efforts of Congress.

In the October 1965 issue of Dun's Review there appears an interview on this subject with Adm. Lewis L. Strauss. Admiral Strauss makes a very strong case for the requirement of disclosure to solve the problems which have so often plagued the nominees for government positions. I ask unanimous consent that this interview be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD. I would recommend that all Members carefully read the remarks and suggestions of Admiral Strauss.

There being no objection, the interview was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUSINESS, WASHINGTON, AND CONFLICT OF INTEREST—A FRANK DISCUSSION OF THE MAJOR FACTORS THAT KEEP MOST BUSINESSMEN FROM ENTERING GOVERNMENT SERVICE

When a businessman decides to take the big step to Washington, he adds an incalculable new dimension to his life. At the same time, commonsense dictates that he had better be aware of the Capital's unique pitfalls. Of these, few are more treacherous and disconcerting than the conflict-of-interest muddle. Such situations, where an appointed official's reputation suffers simply because he could benefit himself by decisions made in the line of duty, arise all too often in the Nation's Capital.

In contrast, critics point out that Members of the Congress, who have the power to order the bureaucrat to divert or desist, are not themselves subject to this kind

of scrutiny. But while there is much talk about revamping the antiquated criteria used in judging conflicts of interest, so far no action has been taken.

To give its readers insight into this controversial question, Dun's Review's John Berry went to Washington, D.C., to visit a long-time businessman who has also spent many years of his life as a public servant: Adm. Lewis L. Strauss. On the walls of the admiral's office hang photographs signed by such noted figures as Winston Churchill, Dwight Eisenhower, and J. Edgar Hoover, and framed memorabilia collected during his lengthy and often controversial tenure of public office.

Named to the Atomic Energy Commission by President Truman in 1946, Strauss was made Chairman in 1953 and served in that post until 1958. At that time President Eisenhower appointed him Secretary of Commerce. When he was not in Government service, the admiral returned to Wall Street and his partnership in the prestigious investment banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. During World War II he helped create the Office of Naval Research and for his efforts rose up the ladder from Reserve lieutenant commander to rear admiral.

Although he spends most of his time on his Brandy Station, Va., cattle farm (he exhibits his livestock at President Eisenhower's annual show in Gettysburg), his work for the Republican coordinating committee and the writing of his second book demand that he commute to the city. His first book is titled "Men and Decisions."

Question. Admiral, as you know, there is a lot of dissatisfaction today in both Washington and business circles about the entire conflict-of-interest situation. Under existing statutes, which are around 100 years old, things are so indeterminate that businessmen coming into high Government posts have no clear idea of what attitude will be taken vis-a-vis their existing interests. They might be left pretty much alone, or they might be asked both to reveal their holdings and to dispose of them. Do you think that this confusion can be ended; and if so, how?

Answer. Certainly it could be ended. As I see it, the answer is an automatic public disclosure by appointed officials—and by elected public servants as well—of all their holdings. There is no reason why a man taking a public office, which is a public trust, should feel that his privacy has been improperly invaded by a requirement that he lay on the line his personal investments and the interests of his immediate family in private business.

Question. Could you spell out what you feel would be the advantages of complete disclosure?

Answer. Well, my belief is that full and prompt disclosure makes it unnecessary to try to draft a code to cover every conceivable contingency—even if that could be done, which I doubt. If complete disclosure were required of a man, he could retain his interests after being elected or appointed to public office. If he bought or sold securities thereafter, he would be required to note it in a public record as corporate officers do today under the Securities and Exchange control law. This would be effective. For example, let's say the head of a Government bureau—call it the Bureau of Left-Handed Monkey Wrenches—discloses prior to taking office that a major source of his income is stock in a plant making such tools. His obvious disqualification would be apparent. That, of course, is an oversimplification.

Question. Do you think there's a risk that businessmen might object to complete disclosure and turn down Government work in order to preserve privacy?

Answer. No; I don't think so. Certainly not as a general thing. Businessmen will accept this just as they long ago accepted the disclosure involved in the filing of income tax returns. And you remember how businessmen came to accept the disclosures that the Securities and Exchange Act required. Though at first unpopular, it is recognized today as a proper provision for the common good. Men who have the privilege of public service in whatever capacity should be willing to sacrifice as much of their privacy as is required in making their income and its sources public knowledge.

Question. Should a man be forced to reveal his holdings even when he can see no possible likelihood of conflict of interest?

Answer. Certainly. It would be a mistake to leave it to the individual to determine what he will or will not disclose. For one thing, one can never tell which holdings will become involved in a conflict of interest. Besides, to have a choice to withhold anything would defeat the whole idea of full public disclosure. We would be right back where we are today. We would have to rely on some inadequate procedure such as divestment by public officials through the establishment of trusts to hold their portfolios.

Question. Then you consider such trusts unsatisfactory?

Answer. Yes, I do. For instance, nothing prevents a friendly trustee from consulting with the maker of the trust and vice versa. It is not a clean break with ownership. Also, the public would still be in the dark as to the holdings of officials.

Question. What about divestment by sale?

Answer. I think that requirement is unfair. The men who are willing to sell their lifetime accumulation of equities and give up options if they have any are asked to go beyond the call of duty. It deprives a man of the fruit of his labor earned in the past. The example that comes to mind of their obvious inequity was when Charles Wilson was compelled to dispose of his General Motors stock as the price of Senate confirmation of his appointment to be Secretary of Defense in 1953.

Question. Charles Wilson, of course, was a wealthy man. What about the man who can't afford to hire expert financial advisers to help him with divestment?

Answer. He really suffers. Quite possibly, it is a deterrent to many men who are not as well heeled as was Wilson to enter public service, and it is a situation that needs relief.

Question. And the specific relief would be complete disclosure?

Answer. Yes. For then, having made his disclosure, a man should not have to worry about a Senator saying to him: "Well, Mr. X, we have heard testimony that you have a reputation as a good executive and a moral man, but we still do not feel confident that you will be able to resist the temptation of favoring yourself. So you have two choices: either get rid of your holdings or forget about serving your country."

Question. Companies have been encouraged by the Government to send their up-and-coming young executives to serve in the public sector for a couple of years or so. Do you think that the risks of conflict of interest make it worth while for either the companies or their men to accept such offers?

Answer. I heard this help-the-Government plan when it was put forward many years ago. It has been revived recently as something brand new. I have seen no figures but my guess is that very few companies and very few individuals have pursued it. But there are other reasons than possible conflict of interest for a junior executive to decide not to come to Washington under such an arrangement. A young man on his way up in a big company who leaves for a 2-year stretch in the great Government machine, usually finds that his seniority has been imperiled, no matter what assurance he has received. The next man down the line usually has a firm grip on his job by the time he returns. There is an exception in the case of young lawyers. A law firm that sends its juniors for a stint in Washington is on sound ground. It is like a young doctor's getting a tour of duty at the Mayo Clinic where he can see a great variety of cases. It broadens his experience. A young lawyer does gain from Government experience without the same threat to seniority or harassment by conflict of interest.

Question. What about the consultant who comes to Washington to advise the Government on matters that relate to his particular specialty? What rules do you set for this gentleman?

Answer. Primarily that he be a gentleman. Such a man is neither elected nor appointed subject to Senate confirmation. He is usually a contract employee engaged because of his special knowledge or experience. He does not make executive decisions or award contracts calling for the expenditure of money. In my years of experience in Government, I can recall no instance in which a consultant abused the trust reposed in him. On the contrary, I can recall a number of instances where a consultant has said something substantially to this effect, "Well, count me out on this question; I'll have to leave the room. I don't want to know what you're thinking about this because of where I come from." This happened in my hearing not infrequently.

Question. Would you suggest that a governing body be created to oversee disclosures of elected and appointed officials?

Answer. No, I don't think that would accomplish anything at all. It merely would move the responsibility along another step for it would have to be decided who would oversee the overseers. And how does one find 12 or 50 or a hundred men whose probity is so beyond question that they could sit in judgment on the morals of their fellowmen? Would their selection be subject to confirmation? I think the only answer, and I go back to what I said before, is complete public disclosure.

Question. Admiral, when he comes to Washington, a businessman finds that there are two sets of criteria on conflict of interest—one for himself as an appointed official and another for elected officials. What do you feel about this?

Answer. The idea of two sets of criteria—two standards—is tolerable to some observers. For my part, however, I feel that the elected and the appointed public servant should be governed by the same rules of conduct. The fact that officeholder A is elected by his constituents should not entitle him to immunity from the scrutiny to which appointed officeholder B is subject.

Question. Of course, those who stand in judgment over the businessman's so-called conflicts of interest are themselves beholden to no one but the voters, most of whom do not follow affairs in Washington in very much detail. This must be frustrating.

Answer. That's true. The legislative branch is an effective mentor over the morals of the executive branch. But our system provides no such auditor to check on the legislators. They come, of course, from the same backgrounds and are subject to the same temptations as the men who conduct the business affairs of Government. The legislative branch exercises autonomous control. The Bobby Baker case is an instance of the inadequacy of that kind of moral audit.

Question. There is no such audit, then, except the elected officials' constituents. Is that correct?

Answer. Yes. But it has long been a phenomenon of American public life that when a man acts in a way that should deny him the confidence of his constituency, his actions usually are only brought to the attention of the voters by his opposition. Therefore, the charges are discounted by voters as the hyperbole and exaggeration of political campaigning. In recent times men have been elected while in jail. There was the

instance a few years back of a legislator reelected on his return from a prison term to which he was sentenced for evading the very taxes he had helped impose on his loyal constituents.

I feel confident that someday there will be one conflict-of-interest code that will apply to all Government employees. As President Johnson said in 1958, when he was majority leader of the Senate: "There is no room in a great democracy such as ours for any set of double standards." Three years later, President Kennedy sent a message to Congress on the same subject in which he said that high ethical standards can be maintained only if the leaders of Government provide a personal example. He went on to say that the dangers of abuse of Government positions exist in almost every decision of Government, and he cited especially "proceedings such as license applications for television or radio stations and similar requests for Government approval." Unfortunately, nothing ever came of that Presidential message, and the double standard still exists.

Question. Do you think the legislators will come around to this way of thinking? After all, in the final analysis they are the persons who must decide whether or not there will be full disclosure for all Government officials, whether appointed or elected?

Answer. Many of them are already in favor of a policy of full disclosure and have spoken to that effect in the Congress. More public expression on the subject should serve to accelerate action. We cannot afford a double standard of morals in the public service. It is a corrosive of good government, and great evils will come from it.

Annual Legislative Report, 89th Congress, 1st Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, it has been my custom at the conclusion of each session of the Congress to report to the residents of the 13th Congressional District of Illinois on the activities of the Congress. The record of the 1st session of the 89th Congress certainly has been extraordinary, and it would be impossible to include a detailed account in such a report of each of the issues that have been involved. However, I have attempted to touch briefly on the issues of major interest to my constituents. The report follows:

ANNUAL LEGISLATIVE REPORT, 89TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

(By Congressman DONALD RUMSFELD of the 13th Congressional District, Ill.)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The record-breaking 1st session of the 89th Congress has ended. House action included 13,798 measures introduced, 1,129 passed. Twenty-two rollcalls in 1 day shattered a record on September 13, and 10 days later, when the roll was called for the 308th time, it topped the mark of 307 set in 1951. At the final bell, the roll had been called an amazing 383 times.

This report, as in previous years, will comment on some of the problems which have come before Congress during 1965. Understandably, it can touch only the highlights. I welcome your comments and views on matters before Congress. Full details on any measure may be obtained by writing my office, 241 Cannon Building, Washington, D.C., 20515.

LEGISLATION SPONSORED

Part of a Congressman's responsibility is to identify problem areas and initiate action to resolve them. This year, I have introduced and sponsored various bills and resolutions, including proposals for:

Tax credits for education expenses: To permit individual tax credits for parents and others who are financing students in college.

Voting Rights Act of 1965: To implement voting rights by the appointment of Federal registrars. A composite bill has now been signed into law.

Human Investment Act of 1965: To provide a tax incentive for business to hire and train unemployed workers lacking the skills for available jobs.

Food Study and Coordinating Commission: To establish an 18-member Commission to plan the future U.S. role in the world food crisis.

Miscellaneous: In response to requests from our district, I have introduced bills to grant a Federal Charter to the Hadley School for the Blind, Winnetka; and to permit the Palatine Police Department to withdraw from social security coverage because of existing double coverage.

NEW LAWS

More than 86 major bills, and hundreds of lesser importance, became law in 1965. Some of interest were: Resources: water pollution control, water resources planning, clean air, highway beautification; Health: medicare, community health services, community mental health services, National Institute for the Deaf, Older Americans Act, drug abuse control, health professions education assistance, heart-cancer-stroke aid; Others: National arts and cultural development, excise tax reductions, voting rights, military and Federal pay increases, immigration reform, Federal Crime Commission, Appalachia program, Sugar Act, tobacco subsidies, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Presidential assassination, and Presidential inability and succession laws.

WAR: THE FAILURE OF FOREIGN POLICY

Vietnam, the Dominican Republic—name any trouble spot—the hard fact is that war represents a failure in foreign policy, a failure in communication and diplomacy. Potential trouble spots of the future are as numerous as there are countries which are of interest and attraction to aggressive nations. Testimony documenting activities of the Communist-trained agitators being sent throughout Latin America and Africa warns of future problems. U.S. policy today is determining in large part the seriousness of these situations in the future. Let us hope and pray that through sound foreign policy, the administration will evidence the will and foresight to prevent, before the fact, further breakdowns in diplomacy.

ON THE DOMESTIC FRONT

There are at least three areas to which the Government and the people must devote thoughtful attention:

Rising prices: The cost of living continues to rise. Inflation hits hardest those who can do least about it—elderly citizens living on fixed incomes. Government spending ($119.3 billion authorized for fiscal year 1966 alone) is an important factor in the wage-price spiral. At some point, Government must establish priorities in Federal spending.

Lack of information: All interested citizens are increasingly aware of the fact that the public is not being kept fully informed on the conduct of Government. The purpose of my bill, H.R. 5017, is to require Federal agencies to "make all records promptly available to any person," and to provide for court action to guarantee the right of access, with the exception of specified categories of sensitive information. Up to this point, the White House has vigorously opposed such legislation, and, as a result, it remains bottled up in committee. Hopefully, next year will see sufficient public interest in a freedom of information bill that will achieve favorable consideration. Pope John XXIII, in the encyclical Pacem in Terris, said: "By the natural law every human being has * * * the right to freedom in searching for truth and in expressing and communicating his opinions * * * the right to be informed truthfully about public events."

The law society: Conspiracies to undermine the military draft and the destruction of draft cards are bringing to a peak the trend toward disregard of law. Schools, churches, and the family have a principal responsibility to see that our young people are not misled into believing there is something wholesome in violating the law. The preservation of freedom is closely associated with the preservation of law and order. Without law and order, freedom would mean very little.

Excellence of 13th District's youth: The 13th District will be especially well represented at the U.S. service academies in the new classes of 1969. Ten outstanding men from our area started military careers this summer:

Air Force Academy: Thomas W. Collier, Jr., Golf, and Paul Demmert, Mount Prospect.

Military Academy: James S. Gavitt, formerly of Evanston, and Raymond D. Gruenke, Skokie.

Naval Academy: Peter S. Chalfant, Palatine; Michael E. Fitzsimmons, Skokie; Jay B. Jans, Wilmette; Francis Albert Roberts, Chicago; and George F. Schmoll, III, Northbrook.

Merchant Marine Academy: Barry L. Butter, Glenview.

Nominations for appointments are based on Civil Service examinations, physical tests, and leadership potential. Applications should be requested during a student's junior year in high school, and may be obtained from my Washington office.

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS—SPACE AND GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

With the Gemini space flights and progress toward the Apollo moon landing, work on the House Science and Astronautics (Space) Committee continues to be a challenge. In January, I was selected for the Manned Spaceflight Subcommittee. Our committee has jurisdiction over NASA's $5 billion space exploration budget as well as the Bureau of Standards and the National Science Foundation. It is a privilege to be participating in these historic endeavors.

Also, I was selected to serve on the Committee on Government Operations, the chief House investigating committee, the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations and Government Information, and as ranking minority member on the Legal and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee.

THE BUDGET BATTLE—A PROBLEM OF PRIORITIES

The year 1965 saw a sharp upturn in appropriations—$13.2 billions above last year's level. Totals are: 1963—$103.8 billion; 1964—$106.1 billion; 1965—$119.3 billion. This most responsive Congress gave the President all he requested and more. The Texas Democrat who chairs the House Appropriations Committee, Representative GEORGE MAHON, explains it away by saying: "It reflects the relentless growth—for better or for worse—of centralized government in response to the demand of a majority of the people. There is no ground swell of sentiment for fiscal restraint from across the country."

EDUCATION

It is estimated that during the year ending June 30, 1966, more than $3 billion in Federal funds will be channeled through the U.S. Office of Education to schools and colleges, teachers, students, libraries, and librarians in the form of grants, loans or con-

tracts. More than 10 new measures relating to education passed Congress this year. The most comprehensive direct aid passed this year involved: Elementary and Secondary School Act—a $1.3 billion, 5-year program for communitywide supplemental educational centers, purchases of textbooks and teaching aids, research, and aid for State education departments; and the Higher Education Act—a 5-year, $5.5 billion program to aid State support of community service programs of colleges, grants to their libraries for training and research, and acquisition of materials, and teaching fellowships.

EDUCATION BILLS NOT ACTED UPON

H.R. 9411 (RUMSFELD, of Illinois): To allow a credit against income tax to individuals for certain expenses incurred for higher education. H.R. 10696 (BROCK, of Tennessee): To return to States a portion of Federal revenues for use in public elementary and secondary education. S. 2619 (JAVITS, of New York): To share Federal revenues with States through a trust fund of 1 percent of the individual income tax base to be used only for health, education, and welfare.

A BUSY FALL

My wife Joyce, our daughters, Valerie and Marcy, and I will be returning to Illinois within a few days. I look forward to seeing many of you during the adjournment period at the various meetings which are scheduled. A few of the local groups with which I will meet during November are: Evanston Rotary Club; Northwestern University Mock Congress Seminar; Illinois Teachers College, Chicago; Wilmette and Winnetka Leagues of Women Voters; Little City Helping Hands, Palatine; the Men Off-Campus Club of Northwestern University; the North Town (Chicago) Community Council; the Purdue Club of Chicago; Golf Junior High School students, Morton Grove; the Evanston-Niles Council of Jewish Women; and others too numerous to list. Between meetings, I plan to be in my district office during this brief fall recess.

WHAT'S AHEAD IN THE SECOND SESSION?

While it is impossible to predict what the Johnson administration will offer in its legislative package in 1966, it is likely that efforts will be made to complete action on the President's three major pieces of unfinished business: Repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, the rent subsidy program, and an increase to $1.75 in the minimum wage. Senate Majority Leader MIKE MANSFIELD gave another clue when he said (and I fully agree but wish he had noticed it earlier in the year): "We have passed a lot of major bills this session, some of them very hastily. And they stand in extreme need of a going over for loopholes, rough corners and, particularly, for an assessment of current and ultimate cost in the framework of our capacity to meet it."

Regrettably, there is justification to charges that the 89th Congress did not function as a deliberative body this year. Let us hope that the Congress will concentrate on improving and perfecting this legislation next year. Under our system of separation of powers, it is not healthy when the Executive totally dominates the Congress. We, as a nation, face problems and can settle for no less than the very best solutions to these problems. The best solutions come from debate and discussion, not dictation by an all-powerful Executive.

WE CAN DO BETTER

As 1965 draws to a close and one reflects on the progress made, it is difficult not to feel that we have fallen short of our goals. The power of the American system is great. Our system depends on both private and public effort—and the success of both depends directly on the interest and participation of each person privileged to live in this free society. It is the people of a democracy who must guide its efforts, determine the quality of its leadership, and shape its course.

I believe we can do better.

DONALD RUMSFELD.

Commendation to Forest Service on Flood Disaster Aid to Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on October 20, when the supplemental appropriation bill was before the Senate, I discussed the status of unobligated funds for forest roads in the Bureau of Land Management.

I also mentioned that, if the Forest Service had a similar record, it too, should take note of the admonition I directed to the Bureau.

It is with pleasure that I insert in the RECORD a letter dated October 22 from the Chief of the Forest Service which shows that the Forest Service has done an outstanding job of correcting flood damage. The letter speaks for itself, and I ask unanimous consent that it be inserted in the RECORD following these remarks.

At the close of fiscal year 1965, last June 30, out of a total obligational authority of $106,221,693 there was only a $750,000 carryover. This is less than three-fourths of 1 percent unobligated.

The Forest Service has made temporary repairs so that timber operations are not held up. This will cause some of the final repair work to be deferred into 1967 and will permit a more orderly program of permanent restoration of roads.

I am especially pleased that the Forest Service is taking action, wherever needed, to improve locations and designs to increase the resistance of facilities to future storms. We all know that man cannot control a rampage of nature, but by experience man can reduce the damage. One of the great lessons which the Forest Service has learned is that it must be on guard against disaster losses attributable to lack of foresight.

In fact, I trust that this flood will produce a greater awareness of the need to plan roads so that they will be within reasonable cost but still flood resistant. I suspect that far too often in the past not enough attention has been paid by either the Federal timber agencies or the timber industry to this vital consideration.

It would be interesting to have an analysis and review of the steps needed to build better flood resistance into road designs. Great soil losses, great monetary losses, great production losses and great employment losses can be avoided by building conservation principles into forest road construction.

Deserving of special tribute are the employees of the Forest Service who worked 7 days a week, 12 hours a day, to attain access to timber during the disaster of last winter. I trust that Secretary Freeman will keep close track of these dedicated efforts and give genuine recognition to those who have labored so in the public interest.

It is my hope that the Civil Service Commission and the Bureau of the Budget will take an "on the ground" look at how these dedicated Forest Service employees serve the public interest at great personal sacrifice when they reflect on proper levels of pay for Federal employees.

These men and women in the Forest Service have earned a high reputation because in emergency after emergency they have responded effectively. I am delighted to call attention to their outstanding public performance.

BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

Nor would I exempt, by the comparison of omission, the many splendid employees of the Bureau of Land Management. I am confident that their field employees, too, have given extra devotion to the public interest.

At the same time, I must reiterate my concern that the overall fiscal record of the two agencies on putting their funds to work stands in stark contrast.

On June 30, 1965, for the Forest Service out of a $106,221,693 total obligating authority, only $750,000—less than three-fourths of 1 percent—was in carryover to the 1966 budget year. For the Bureau of Land Management out of $23,366,495 there was a carryover of $9,674,706—41.4 percent of the total.

I want to see a well-planned, well-executed flood damage restoration program integrated with regular operations so that all needs can be met. I am not criticizing the operating officials who do their job within the limits of their authority. However, I want to make it absolutely clear that those responsible for operations must be judged on results.

There are clear tests for accomplishment which stand as examples. I call particular note to the fact that the Forest Service expects some of their flood restoration work will continue in fiscal year 1967. There is no doubt that this is because of the immensity of the problem. I trust that the Bureau of Land Management, too, will adopt a schedule that is equally realistic rather than trying to get all the money it thinks it needs early and have it sitting around unobligated.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
FOREST SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., October 22, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This is in reference to your remarks reported in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (p. 22608, October 20) and to a request from Mr. Berg of your office for information about our progress in repairing flood damage to our road system in the Northwest.

In view of your well-known interest and support of funding the access road program for the national forests, we regret that we have not kept you more fully informed about our progress in restoring roads, trails, and

bridges damaged by the storm of the winter of 1964–65.

Your remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD very adequately describe the disaster which struck the Pacific coast States. That disaster was one of three major catastrophies which struck the national forests in the years 1964 and 1965. These include the Alaska earthquake and the flood of June 1964 which struck Montana and Idaho. We mention these occurrences because we are working on all of them concurrently. Funds were shifted from regular programs and between special apportionments for disaster relief in order to cope with the most critical situations in each area.

As soon as rescue operations after the winter 1964–65 storm were completed, the Forest Service used available authorizations and appropriations to begin work. In some areas, contracts were negotiated with timber operators for men and equipment to restore access to timber sale areas. Where it appeared impossible to secure access in time to prevent mill shutdown, timber sales were prepared and offered in areas not cut off by flood damage. High priority was given to those actions which would keep logs flowing to purchasers of national forest timber. Except for a few relatively minor interruptions we have been able to do this. It could only have been accomplished with the cooperation of the operators themselves and by the heroic action of the States and the Bureau of Public Roads in opening main routes of travel.

While work was in progress, estimates were prepared of additional funds needed to accomplish the entire job. Many of these estimates were made from helicopter and from aerial photographs. In spite of the partial snow cover, these estimates were remarkably close to recent estimates based on more detailed inventory of work accomplished and work left to be done. (This recent inventory checked within 2 percent of original estimates.)

The Forest Service had organized an all-out effort to restore damaged roads. Men were detailed to the damaged area from other regions and forests—all parts of the country are represented. The majority of these men worked 7 days a week at 12-hour shifts until access had been attained. They are continuing to work overtime to meet planned objectives.

In addition to Forest Service people, contracts were negotiated with outside firms for engineering services.

Due to prompt action by the Bureau of the Budget and by Congress, this restoration work has not been interrupted on account of lack of funds. Initial work was started by reprograming funds already apportioned to the Forest Service. The Bureau of the Budget acted promptly to apportion authority from existing unallotted authorizations under the Federal Highway Act. Then finally, you and other knowledgeable people in Congress were successful in obtaining an additional authorization of $38 million for this work. All of this, we assure you, will be used only for this flood repair.

In fiscal year 1965 we were able to use all contracting authority made available to us for emergency operations. The attached table shows the source of contracting authority and obligations against it. You will note that $352,000 from authority allotted for the June 1964 storm was diverted to get immediate action on the winter 1964–65 storm.

To give you the present state of obligations for fiscal year 1966 would not be significant because many millions of dollars of contracts are now being advertised. Periodic checks are made of planned and actual accomplishment. It is our best judgment that we will have no trouble obligating apportioned contracting authority for fiscal year 1966. In fact we plan to ask for additional apportionments from the Bureau of the Budget for this fiscal year if we find ourselves substantially ahead of schedule next spring. As an indication of our capacity to get our work done, your attention is called to the record for fiscal year 1965 in the attached table. You will note that out of a total obligating authority of $106,221,693 we only had a $750,000 carryover.

You may ask why we have planned to extend this work into fiscal year 1967. This has been necessary because certain work must be done in sequence for best economy in the use of funds. This schedule of operations will not hold up timber operations. An example of work deferred to fiscal year 1967 is the replacement of very large culverts and massive fills which were destroyed. Temporary bypass bridges were immediately constructed so that logs could move. Permanent bridge replacements will be built by contract in fiscal year 1967.

We have been very careful to insure that both estimates and expenditures are in line with the intent of the administration and the Congress in making these funds available to us. Roads and bridges are being restored to be functional and equivalent to those destroyed. At the same time we have improved some locations and designs to increase resistance of facilities to future storms.

You will note that information contained here and in the attached tables is based upon the allocation of contracting authority and total obligation of that authority. Allocation of contracting authority is the key to planning for and execution of a program of this nature. The appropriation of the actual cash to pay the obligations as they become due has always been promptly handled by the Appropriation Committees of the Congress. There was a small supplemental appropriation in fiscal year 1965 and $22,500,000 in the first supplemental appropriation act recently passed by the Congress.

The information provided does not separate Oregon from the total program. A breakdown of such information by States is not readily available. We do know, however, that work in Oregon has progressed faster than has the total repair program.

We hope that this information will be adequate to acquaint you with our efforts to date.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD P. CLIFF,
Chief.

By M. M. NELSON.

Forest Service—Emergency road and trail restoration

FISCAL YEAR 1965

Funding (contracting authorization):	
Alaska earthquake	[1] $300,000
Flood of June 1964 (Montana and Idaho)	[1] 6,700,000
Flood of winter 1964–65	[1] 8,450,000
Flood of winter 1964–65	[2] 2,650,000
Flood of winter 1964–65	[3] 2,113,000
Total	20,213,000
Obligations against contracting authority:	
Alaska earthquake	300,000
Flood of June 1964	[4] 6,348,000
Flood of winter 1964–65	13,565,000
Total	20,213,000

[1] Added apportionment by Bureau of Budget.

[2] Apportioned from Disaster Relief Act by Bureau of Budget.

[3] Reprogramed from regular funds.

[4] $352,000 reprogramed for flood of winter 1964–65.

Forest Service—Forest development road and trails—Total program

FISCAL YEAR 1965

	Contracting authority
Balance brought forward	$730,430
Apportioned from authorizations	105,471,263
Total funds available	106,221,693
Total obligation	105,471,572
Unobligated June 30, 1965	750,021

FISCAL YEAR 1966

Balance brought forward	750,021
Apportioned, Disaster Relief Act	20,350,000
Apportioned, regular funds	100,688,671
Total available	121,788,796

FISCAL YEAR 1967

Residual, Disaster Relief Act	15,000,000
Apportionment, regular funds	([1])

[1] Unknown at this date.

Funds available for Pacific Northwest flood, 1964–65

[In millions of dollars]

Fiscal year	Amount absorbed from regular program	Prior Highway Act authority released from Bureau of the Budget reserve	Authorized by Disaster Relief Act of 1965, Public Law 89–41	Total program
1965	1.9	8.45	2.65	13.0
1966	1.0		20.35	21.35
1967			15.0	15.0
Total	2.9	8.45	38.0	49.35

Former Congressman Cites Interest Rate Cuts as Alternative to Government Subsidies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, much has been said for and against Government efforts to make decent housing available for every man, woman, and child in America. A recent example is the rent subsidy feature of the 1964 Housing Act.

I favor these programs, and always have, but I would be less than honest not to admit that Government subsidies in housing would be unnecessary if interest rates were not so exorbitantly high. That interest rates absorb a shamefully high percentage of the average citizen's take-home pay is now beyond dispute. This is just as wrong as it is unnecessary. If the Federal Reserve System was more concerned about long-term economic growth and less concerned about daily money market rates in Wall Street, the public would no longer be gouged by high interest and there would not be the current slump in the housing mar-

ket. Furthermore, in the current fiscal year, the taxpayers will have to cough up $12 billion just to pay the interest on the national debt, thanks to the Federal Reserve.

An interesting letter to the editor appearing in the Washington Post bears me out. The author is Byron L. Johnson, former Representative from Colorado and member of the Banking and Currency Committee, who is a world-renowned expert on housing and home-financing problems. His letter follows:

FOR AN INTEREST RATE CUT

Across the country our financial pages are publishing a chorus of statements that are calling for caution in bank mortgage lending and, I regret to add, endorsing "selected increases" in interest rates.

We need a cut in interest rates, not a hike, if America is to be well housed. In the years just ahead, there will be a sharp jump in the rate of family formation. It will require a 20-percent jump in housing starts. The war babies are finishing college, and getting married. They need homes, at monthly rents or charges they can afford. Yet interest payments are becoming almost 50 percent of monthly housing costs. Only the upper and middle income families are served at present interest charges on mortgage money. Rent subsidies and special low interest Government loans on housing for low income families are a poor substitute for lower interest charges.

The trend to ever higher interest diverts loanable funds away from productive investment in housing and public utility expansion, and from other public works, toward the more inflationary consumutive uses. The growth in consumer debt for short-term purchase loans is not stopped by higher interest. Nor are speculative loans stopped by higher interest. But housing is severely hampered.

Over the years that interest charges have been rising, Congress and the administration have tried to hold monthly housing costs down by lengthening the term of the insured loan. But this simply slows the rate of return of loanable funds, thus shrinking the rate of annual saving. If interest rates were lower, families could save money by paying off their loans more rapidly, increasing the rate and volume of savings available for new loans.

It is nothing short of tragic that all attention has centered on the interest factor in the loan transaction. Actually, the Federal Reserve and the banking system can manage the volume of lending so as to promote orderly growth without inflation, without raising interest rates, and even while lowering them. Not only can amortization periods be cut shorter, but higher down payments can be required, and stricter eligibility requirements imposed. Every economist knows that appropriate attention must be given to all four factors in loan transactions, for a healthy economy.

The needs for the lower-income groups for decent housing can be met without subsidy, if interest rates are lowered. If inflation were to threaten, the shorter amortization and higher downpayment requirement could correct the volume of new loans, without raising rates.

With total borrowing (governmental, business and consumer loans) now more than $1.1 trillion, each 1 percent on the average rate of interest adds $11 billion to the annual cost of money. The money doesn't do any more for us by reason of our paying more for it. If interest rates could be reduced by 1 percent during the coming year, the Federal taxpayer would save more than $2.2 billion a year, as the debt was refinanced; the whole economy would ultimately save $11 billion a year.

That money could be better spent to help raise the standards of our housing, schools, other capital facilities, and give greater productive employment to the still substantial number of unemployed persons in our society.

BYRON L. JOHNSON.

On Throwing Tantrums

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE MURPHY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, my mail and personal contacts with Americans throughout this great Nation indicate Americans are concerned and, in many cases, disgusted with the demonstrations against our country's policy in Vietnam.

Although our Constitution protects the right of free speech and the right to assemble, Americans across the Nation were shocked at some of the actions and protests against American policy in southeast Asia. These constitutional rights are vital elements of the precious American heritage that was acquired and preserved through the efforts of the American soldier. Right today, in the jungles of Vietnam, the American GI is fighting so that our children, too, will continue to enjoy these rights. Although the above constitutionally protected rights clearly include the right to dissent, these constitutional rights are not without their limitation. Illegal acts, like the burning of draft cards, should be answered with swift enforcement of the law. Other acts, such as interfering with the performance of duties by American servicemen and the obstruction of movement of military supplies, clearly cannot be tolerated. I joined Senator FRANK LAUSCHE in introducing S. 2482, which would make such actions a crime punishable by a 10-year jail sentence and/or $10,000 fine.

Ironically, while demonstrators march on the home front, allegedly for the purpose of peace, the American soldier on the war front answers aggression. These demonstrations, ostensibly for the purpose of peace are doing more to prolong the war. Peace will not return to that troubled area until the Communists understand our message, evidence by our build-up, that aggression, even if it takes the form of so-called wars of liberation will not be tolerated and will not be successful.

It is little wonder that these soldiers in Vietnam who daily place their lives in jeopardy are disheartened over the demonstrations here at home—demonstrations which can do nothing except encourage the Communist cause.

As resentful as these actions are, both to our troops in Vietnam and to the overwhelming majority of Americans, we must realize that these headline hunters, like juvenile delinquents, represent only a small segment of our people. For the vast majority of American feelings are revealed in the many counterdemonstrations by college groups, veterans, and civic and union organizations that have pledged their support to our Nation's effort in Vietnam.

The Wall Street Journal editorializes on these demonstrations, and I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ON THROWING TANTRUMS

Even after all the discounting is duly done, the current rash of youthful demonstrations against the Vietnam war must puzzle the mind and conscience of thoughtful men. Is it a case of young people failing society or the other way around? Or some of both?

Granted, the eruptions do not represent majority American opinion, including that of college students themselves, however disturbing may be the plain thread of extreme leftist instigation or encouragement. It is perhaps indicative of the general mood of the country that the purported pacifists are evoking counterdemonstrations in support of the administration's Vietnam policy. In any event, taking to the streets with a grievance is nothing new. Finally, it can be conceded that this is a peculiarly messy, disagreeable war, despite its broad objective of containing communism.

Still, the protesters, whether committing illegal acts like burning their draft cards or indulging in peaceful marches, are giving a certain amount of aid and comfort to the enemy. And all too evidently their behavior is part of a broader pattern of disrespect for law and order. While their conduct is not to be condoned, it is at the same time instructive to see where their elders have let them down.

For whatever reasons, this century has witnessed a decline in the disciplines of home, school, and church; indeed, in the attitudes of the courts and governmental officials. The atmosphere has been one of pervasive permissiveness, part of which is the notion that to impose standards of behavior on a child is somehow to stunt his development.

What too often turns out to be stunted, of course, is the child's sense of the importance of an orderly society. His view of his role is likely to become a self-centered arrogance to do as he pleases without regard to the consequences. Former President Eisenhower is among those who clearly understand this tendency toward erosion of the old virtues.

Without presuming to make a precise allocation of the blame, we think it beyond question that the contemporary liberal philosophy which has dominated the intellectual fashion of a generation has made a sizable contribution. For it is pre-eminently a philosophy of irresponsibility; that is, the individual is not regarded as particularly accountable for his actions. If he goes wrong or criminal or delinquent or otherwise antisocial, the society is presumed guilty. The curious cure recommended is for the society in the form of government to take over more and more of the responsibilities abdicated by individual, family, minister and teacher.

Given the prevailing winds, it seems to us equally undeniable that the civil rights movement has provided fresh impetus to the fad of disrespect for law and order. While most Americans sympathize with the aims of the movement, it has nonetheless brought a sort of status to mob action. More significantly, it has enshrined the doctrine that people are morally obliged to obey only the laws they think just and to disobey the rest—taking to the streets if they want until the offending auhority has buckled under.

A viewpoint more corrosive to a society conceived in the framework of both liberty

and order is hard to imagine. Not surprisingly, some of the same students and leaders and professors who have been foremost in advocating disobedience of laws they don't like are also the most vociferous objectors to the Vietnam war. Any cause, so long as it is anti-law and order, apparently will do.

By now this variety of "free speech"—which is devoid of intellectual content, invites no debate, tolerates no rebuttal, trades on emotion, bases its appeal on sheer numbers of demonstrators and beckons to exploitation—has become so accepted it is employed on the slightest impulse by dissatisfied groups of every description. In our opinion, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that most of the street action is not an expression but a debasement of honest public discussion of the issues, Vietnam or anything else, and in fact of the whole constitutional concept of free assembly.

Probably in many cases the youthful pacifists will outgrow their enthusiasm for nose-thumbing. Far more disquieting than their antics of the moment is that we the adults have done so much to foster the childish idea that anyone can have his own way just by throwing a tantrum.

Free Speech and the American College Student

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. HALLECK

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, during the past several months the Nation has viewed with alarm the student protest demonstrations against U.S. involvement in Vietnam and against a strong U.S. foreign policy in southeast Asia.

These student demonstrations have moved from peaceful teach-ins to riotous street demonstrations. The burning of draft cards in flagrant violation of Federal statutes, the deliberate blocking of troop and supply convoys and trains, the dissemination of materials giving college students information on how to supposedly legally avoid the draft, the distribution of pamphlets calling former Ambassador to Vietnam Maxwell Taylor an American version of Goebbels, and a myriad of other alarming actions have become the order of the day during these protests.

The Vietnam Day Committee—VDC—demonstrations on many college campuses on October 16–17, 1965, led by members of the Students for a Democratic Society—SDS—and leaders of the May second movement—M2M—and a host of other leftwing student groups, carried the student protest demonstrations to a point of national concern.

Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that these demonstrations are representative of the true student consensus on the Vietnam question. These agitators represent only a well-organized and a well-vocalized minority.

The responsible American college student is taking steps to counteract the leftwing student protests. Members of Young Republican clubs, Young Americans for Freedom—YAF—chapters, and some Young Democrats are leading demonstrations in support of winning the war in Vietnam. These groups are launching drives to donate blood to be flown to American fighting men in Vietnam, sending food and clothing to Vietnamese refugees and orphans fleeing from the war-torn areas, circulating petitions in support of a strong U.S. policy in Vietnam, sponsoring lectures and debate-ins on college campuses, and a number of other constructive programs.

Mr. Speaker, a constituent of mine from Logansport, Mr. Tom Charles Huston, the recently elected national chairman of the YAF, has written an interesting article on the first amendment rights of college students.

During his teen years Tom served as the chairman of the Governor's Youth Advisory Council in Indiana. As an undergraduate at Indiana University he was very active in campus affairs. For 3 years he served as a member of the student senate. He was president of Phi Kappa Psi Fraternity and the Indiana University Conservative League. He was a member of the board of Aeons, a 12-member student advisory board to the president of the university. Upon graduation in 1963, he was named to membership in Phi Beta Kappa and selected as the outstanding graduating senior. He is presently a third-year law student at Indiana University and at the top of his class. After serving an apprenticeship as the national vice chairman of YAF, Tom stepped into the top position at the National Convention of YAF here in the Nation's Capital in late August of this year.

As a law student and as the national spokesman of a political organization which operates on the college campus, Tom is vitally concerned with the first amendment rights of the university students. He recently authored a searching and well-documented analysis of this question.

Mr. Speaker, at this point in the RECORD, I include this article, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

THE FIRST AMENDMENT RIGHTS OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

(By Tom Charles Huston)

THE INTEREST AT STAKE

It is often argued that a student does not have a right to attend a college or university; at the most he has a privilege and this privilege comes not from Federal sources but is given by the State. In the Federal courts today the distinction has become meaningless; the courts holding that the pursuit of studies in an institution of higher education is an interest which is entitled to legal protection.

The courts have taken judicial cognizance of the fact that education is a vital interest of great value to the student. As noted in *Dixon* v. *Alabama State Board of Education:*

"It requires no argument to demonstrate that education is vital and, indeed, basic to civilized society. Without sufficient education the plaintiffs would not be able to earn an adequate livelihood, to enjoy life to the fullest, or to fulfill as completely as possible the duties and responsibilities of good citizens."

Adopting the rationale of the *Dixon* case, the court in *Knight* v. *State Board of Education* rejected defendent's argument that the interest which the plaintiffs had in attending a State university was a mere privilege and not a constitutional right:

"Whether the interest involved be described as a right or a privilege, the ract remains that it is an interest of almost incalcuable value, especially to those students who have already enrolled in the institution and begun the pursuit of their college training. Private interests are to be evaluated under the due process clause of the 14th amendment, not in terms of labels or fictions, but in terms of their true significance and worth. The court cannot resist the conclusion in the present case that to describe the interest of the plaintiffs in continuing their education * * * as a privilege rather than a right, although perhaps accurate for some purposes, is a mere play on words insofar as the present case is concerned."

The Federal court's willingness to protect the interest of a student in continuing his education extends only to public institutions, except in cases where State courts will intervene to prevent an abuse of discretion or an arbitrary discrimination. The shocking statement that "one may question whether any school or college can ever be so private as to escape the reach of the 14th amendment," fortunately has not found support in the decisions of the courts, the rule being that "a private educational institution is not in a business so essential to the public in its nature as to render a corporation so engaged subject to public control." Thus, the rights of the student vis-a-vis a private institution are contractural in nature, and not subject to review by the courts unless so arbitrary or unreasonable as to constitute a breach of contract.

GENERAL POWER OF THE UNIVERSITY TO REGULATE ACTIVITIES OF STUDENTS

The State legislatures are generally in control of the public colleges and universities of the State and have a right to legislate for their welfare and to enact measures for their discipline. In all cases, however, the authority to make rules and regulations is broad. As the Ohio Appellate Court observed:

"The term 'government' incorporates a trinity of functions: the enactment of laws, rules, and regulations; the judicial construction of same as applicable to their suggested violation, and their execution. This term 'government' is broad enough in its scope, as applied to university or college, or school, to include administrative rules and regulations affecting scholastic procedure as well as disciplinary measures affecting only moral conduct and order."

The student who enters a public institution does so subject to the reasonable rules and regulations promulgated by the proper administrative authority. As the Indiana Supreme Court noted: "Every student, upon his admission into an institution of learning, impliedly poses the duty on the trustees of each of the institutions to see that the requirements of the legislature are enforced. A State may also adopt such measures as it deems necessary to its duty of supervision and control of its educational institutions, including rules regarding the activities of students attending those institutions.

In most States the authority to determine the rules and regulations for the colleges and universities is delegated to a board of trustees or regents. Some States provide that the rules shall be made by the board and the faculty jointly; others provide that only the faculty shall make the rules; while still others allow the board the option of delegating this responsibility to the promises to submit to, and to be governed by, all the necessary and proper rules and regulations which have been, or may thereafter be, adopted for the Government of the institution."

These rules and regulations may provide that the student must not belong to any fra-

ternal group, or at least not to one affiliated with a national, must live in university-owned housing, must participate in military training, and must submit to a vaccination or an X-ray examination prior to admission. The Indiana Supreme Court has held that there is a distinction between the power of the university to enact rules regarding admission of students and rules regarding their control once admitted—the power in the latter case being largely one of discretion, while in the former, the power being limited by "well established rules." As the dissenting Justice noted, the distinction seems to be meaningless since the student's right to continue his education once admitted would be contingent upon his adherence to rules promulgated by the authorities, which most likely would include those specified initially as a condition for his admission.

UNIVERSITY POWER TO DISCIPLINE STUDENTS

The authorities of both public and private institutions have broad powers to discipline students for violation of the university regulations. The rule with regard to private schools is that the courts will not consider whether the rules are wise or expedient but whether they are a reasonable exercise of the power and discretion of the college authorities. The Federal rule with regard to public schools is much broader. While granting that a State college or university must have a very wide latitude in disciplining its students and that this power should not be encumbered with restrictions which would embarrass the institution in maintaining good order and discipline among members of its student body, nevertheless, "the authorities uniformly recognize that the governmental power in respect to matters of student discipline in public schools is not unlimited and that disciplinary rules must not only be fair and reasonable but they must be applied in a fair and reasonable manner."

It is implied in the student's attendance at a university that he will not be guilty of "Such misconduct as would be subversive of the discipline of the college or school, or as would show him to be morally unfit to be continued as a member thereof." The New York Appellate Court held that while "misconduct" perhaps referred more particularly to demeanor within the walls of the institution or in connection with the ordinary activities of student life, "the implied stipulation of good conduct, variable in its meaning and incapable of precise definition as that term must always be, is not to receive the restricted construction that the student's conduct may be the subject of control only insofar as it relates to his actions in his capacity and status as student. The term 'morally unfit' * * * mut be given a broader meaning and should be construed as comprising any conduct that may interfere with or injure the university, or lessen its proper control over its student body, or impair its influence for good upon its students and the community."

The court in *Carr* v. *St. John's University* declared that "when a university, in expelling a student, acts within its jurisdiction, not arbitrarily but in the exercise of an honest discretion based on facts within its knowledge that justify the exercise of discretion, a court may not review the exercise of its discretion." While this rule is generally accepted, the Federal courts are, nevertheless, tending to take a close look at the facts upon which the exercise of discretion was allegedly based in order to ascertain whether there was actually "some reasonable and constitutional ground for expulsion." If there was not, the Federal courts "would have a duty to require reinstatement." Although no where has the court said so, such language implies a constitutional standard of substantive due process. It is not enough that the rule be fairly administered, the rule must in and of itself be fair. It appears that we are on the threshold of a constitutional advance of great significance. Although carefully skirting the issue, the court's logic in both the *Dixon* and *Knight* cases leads one to the conclusion that a substantive due process requirement is slowly evolving. This should not be surprising, for as Mr. Justice Frankfurter pointed out so eloquently in *Wolf* v. *Colorado:*

"Due process of law * * * conveys neither formal nor fixed nor narrow requirements. It is the compendious expression for all those rights which the courts must enforce because they are basic to our free society. But basic rights do not become petrified as of any one time, even though, as a matter of human experience, some may not too rhetorically be called eternal verities. It is of the very nature of a free society to advance in its standards of what is deemed reasonable and right. Representing as it does a living principle, due process is not confined within a permanent catalog of what may at a given time be deemed the limits or essentials of fundamental rights."

THE CASE LAW AND SUBSTANTIVE DUE PROCESS

Freedom of speech: Petitioner in *People ex rel. Goldenkoff* v. *Albany Law School* was summoned before a committee of the faculty of the law school where the dean said to him:

"Goldenkoff, it has come to the attention of the faculty that you are in sympathy wtih the doctrines of the Socialist Party and that you are disseminating offensive propaganda about the school, converting students to the cause. What have you to say? Or would you prefer to hear what these boys have to say?"

Goldenkoff replied that he would gladly hear what the boys had to say, and they proceeded to report how he had patronized with the Socialist members of the New York Legislature who had been evicted from their positions and publicly sympathized with them. Although it was alleged that he advocated a Socialist or Communist government, called for the speaker of the State assembly to be hanged, and read a book entitled "Socialism, Sovietism, and I.W.W.-ism," the primary complaint seemed to be his support of, and friendship with, the Socialist members of the legislature. He alleged in his petition that "the dean and faculty were very bitter against the Socialists who were expelled from the legislature and the fact that petitioner did not approve of this expulsion was the real and only cause of his expulsion from the law school."

At the conclusion of a recital of charges against him by his fellow students, Goldenkoff told the dean that he was 100-percent American, an enrolled Republican, and his opinions in regard to the Socialist trial were the same as those expressed by Gov. Charles Evans Hughes. After several questions were asked him, the dean said to him:

"I find that your offensive propaganda in favor of socialism and your views make you an undesirable and further connection with this school is denied you. You may no longer enjoy the benefits of the institution."

In an affidavit filed for the trial, Dean Fiero elaborated on the factors which prompted his decision "that this petitioner, Jacob M. Goldenkoff, while a student at such school in the year 1920, made disloyal statements with regard to the United States, and held that and had repeatedly expressed to his fellow students views with reference to the established government of this country and its laws which were inconsistent with and contrary to sound morals and good citizenship; that he had been guilty of radical, socialistic, and seditious utterances and propaganda calculated to injure the standing and reputation of said school, and detrimental to its best interests, and had attempted to proselyte fellow students to a disregard for law and order and our form of government, and thereby became and was offensive to the faculty and the student body of said school, and because thereof petitioner's fellow students were unwilling to attend said institution during the petitioner's continuance as a member thereof."

It may be assumed that the university had the right, if not indeed the duty, to expell from its law school one who advocated disregard for the laws of the United States or who advocated the overthrow of the Government by force and violence. On the other hand, it seems equally clear that a student ought not be summarily dismissed from a public institution simply because he possesses unpopular ideas and gives expression to them. The maintenance of a proper degree of discipline and decorum does not require that a student abandon his right to exercise those liberties guaranteed to him as a citizen under the Constitution of the United States. Granting that a student may not disrupt the university by the exercise of those liberties, it nevertheless seems only reasonable to assume that so long as he maintains a proper respect for the faculty in his dealings with them, conducts himself in a reasonable and decorous manner, complies with the scholastic requirements, and abides by the rules and regulations promulgated for general disciplinary purposes, the student should be free to enjoy his constitutional rights without fear of expulsion from the school.

The mere fact that the petitioner sympathized with the evicted Socialist legislators and fraternized with them during the course of their trial at the capitol does not suggest that he engaged in acts "contrary to sound morals and good citizenship." University administrators, particularly in public institutions, must be cautious in applying the standard of "good citizenship." After all, good citizenship does not require conformity with prevailing political opinion. Neither does it seem enough that petitioner attempted to proselyte his fellow students, so long as his activities did not disrupt the regular academic activities of the school. The mere fact that his opinions were offensive to the faculty and the student body appears totally irrelevant. Ideological conformity is not necessary to the training and preparation of competent lawyers.

The case seems to suggest vividly the need for a high standard of due process. The proof of such serious charges ought to consist of more than unsubstantiated allegations. Where a student is to be dismissed for exercising those rights guaranteed by the Federal Contitution and given special protection by the courts, a different standard should be applied than that found adequate in most cases of expulsion for improper conduct. A student should not be forced to waive his basic rights as a citizen in order to secure an education.

In *Samson* v. *Trustees of Columbia University,* the plaintiff was expelled for participation in off-campus political activity which allegedly involved the university in "undesirable notoriety." Samson had attended an Emma Goldman meeting in downtown New York at which he said: "We have no love for the Kaiser; but, as much as we hate the German Kaiser, we hate still more the American kaiser." He also predicted that there would be a draft revolution. His speech was reported in the New York Times and the New York World. It is not clear from the case whether either paper identified him as a student at Columbia University.

The court viewed the problem from the perspective of the university whose function was to "instill and sink deep in the minds of its students the love of country," asking whether the conduct of the plaintiff rendered it impossible for the university to effectively carry out this important educational duty. The court concluded that the

conduct of the student rendered him a menace to the morale of the Columbia student body and a blot on the good name of the famous and honored university. In the court's opinion, his close contact with impressionable young men of his own age who might "thus be inoculated by him with the poison of his disloyalty" constituted such a menace that the university was well within its rights in expelling him.

Nowhere, in the opinion of the court, is there evidence that Samson made any attempt to convince his fellow students of the merits of the position he had taken at the meeting. The only allegation is that he made the statement, it was reported in the papers, and it resulted in "undesirable notoriety" for the university. There is no explanation of how this notoriety was brought about.

To say that the student's remarks were intemperate is grossly to understate the case. America was at war, and to brand the President of the United States a greater tyrant than the Kaiser of Germany was a rash, if not disloyal, thing to do. Although the court explicitly refused to consider whether the activity of the plaintiff amounted to sedition or treason, there is no doubt as to the personal opinion of the judge. Considering the emotions of the times, it is not difficult to understand the university's concern about such a public statement by one of its students. Yet, the question still remains: Should a student be responsible to the university for his political conduct off the campus?

The cases indicate that the power of the university over its students does not cease absolutely when they leave the campus. Conduct away from the campus may subject a student to disciplinary action if it directly affects the "good order and welfare of the school." It appears that there must be some direct relation between the conduct of the student and his status as an enrollee of the school. It surely is not enough that he is a student. Often administrators use the criterion of whether the acts emanated from the campus, i.e., did the student leave the campus, engage in the conduct, and then directly return to it? Sometimes the criterion seems to be whether the university was "implicated" in the conduct of the student off campus, i.e., did he, by his conduct, so associate the name of the university with his activity as to characterize himself as a representative of the institution. Perhaps more often, the university simply determines whether it approves of the conduct, and if it does not, brands it as contrary to the good order and welfare of the school.

It is this writer's opinion that the exercise of a student's political liberties is entitled to special protection, and a university ought not be allowed to discipline a student for the exercise of those liberties unless it can make a showing of substantial violation of reasonable university regulations designed to maintain order and insure the general welfare of the university. The courts should examine carefully any suspension which is based upon the student's off-campus political activity to insure that a proper showing of injury to the university is made. It should not be enough that the university was inconvenienced or even embarrassed, unless some disruption of university affairs resulted as a direct consequence of the student's activity.

Freedom to protest: Three recent cases involved student participation in the civil rights movement: *Dixon* v. *Alabama State Bd. of Educ.*, *Knight* v. *State Bd. of Educ.*, and *Due* v. *Florida A. & M. Univ.* A university regulation in the *Due* case provided that disciplinary action would be taken against any student involved in misconduct while on or off the campus, including conviction for violation of any criminal or civil law. The regulation of Tennessee A. & I. University involved in the *Knight* case provided for the automatic expulsion of any student convicted of a criminal charge "involving personal misconduct." In the *Dixon* case a regulation provided that pupils might be expelled for conduct prejudicial to the school and for conduct unbecoming a student or future teacher in the schools of Alabama.

The plaintiffs in the *Due* case had been convicted of contempt for demonstrating against racial discrimination at a theater in violation of a court injunction. The students involved in the *Knight* case had been convicted of a charge of disorderly conduct resulting from an attempt to integrate a bus terminal in Mississippi. In the *Dixon* case, the students had conducted a sit-in at a publicly owned lunch grill located in the basement of the county courthouse in Montgomery and had conducted a subsequent demonstration at the courthouse to protest the trial of one of their fellow students.

In each case the court refused to consider the substantive question of whether it was a legitimate exercise of university discretion to dismiss the students for this off-campus activity. The problem is a terribly complex and troubling one, and it is no wonder that the courts declined to grapple about with it. The violation of law by a student certainly is a serious matter with which the university must legitimately concern itself. No university should be expected to open its doors to those who have only scorn for law and order and who disregard the obligation of every citizen to observe the law. However, the problem in these cases is not so simple, since the laws violated were those used to maintain a system of racial discrimination.

The court in the *Knight* case took this fact into consideration, and a careful reading of the opinion by Judge Miller suggests that he was largely motivated to order the reinstatement of the students by the fact that they were convicted of violating a statute which was vague and was utilized to perpetuate a socially undesirable situation. He placed great emphasis on the fact that the university's regulation provided for dismissal when the misconduct of the student resulting in his arrest reflected dishonor and discredit upon the institution. He seemed to conclude that quite possibly conviction for disorderly conduct in Mississippi while protesting racial discrimination would not reflect dishonor or discredit upon the institution. He makes it quite clear that any regulation which required dismissal for conviction of any law, however insignificant, e.g., a traffic violation, would be arbitrary and unreasonable and violative of due process. He concluded that the particular conviction of the students was of a sufficiently doubtful character as to merit at least a hearing. Although he placed his decision upon procedural due process grounds, his reasoning is uniquely along the lines of substantive due process and is, perhaps, a precursor of things to come.

The court in the *Due* case refused to examine the merits of the contempt citation or the reasonableness of the university regulation authorizing expulsion for conviction of violating a criminal or civil law. The judge simply asserted that on its face the contempt citation was valid, and since the university had provided notice and hearing to the students prior to their expulsion, the action of the disciplinary committee was likewise valid.

The students in the *Dixon* case had been expelled upon order of the Alabama State Board of Education. The president of the university testified at the trial before Judge Johnson in the district court that he did not know why the students were expelled. The notice of expulsion assigned no specific reason for expulsion, referring only to "this problem of Alabama State College" and quoting the rules regarding grounds for expulsion.

The court based its decision on the grounds that the students had not been given any notice or hearing before being expelled. Thus it placed its decision upon the denial of procedural due process. However, one cannot fail to get the impression from the testimony cited by the court in its opinion and in the footnotes that the court was bothered by the fact that the plaintiffs had not been warned that their conduct was unbecoming of a student, that is, that the State board of education had ordered their expulsion simply because the board members disapproved of the social or political objectives of the group, Governor Patterson's disavowal to the contrary notwithstanding. Nevertheless, the court did not direct itself to this aspect of the case. However, the court in *Knight* did consider whether the regulation of the university was aimed at prohibiting students from engaging in civil rights activities and found that it was not. The court's evaluation of the rule is not wholly convincing, but it does suggest that the court took the matter into consideration.

The specific problem presented in these cases, that is, whether university regulations providing for the expulsion of students who are convicted of crimes while participating in civil rights activity are reasonable, has seemingly become moot. As a general policy, it is not unreasonable for the university to expel a student convicted of violating a law. In most cases, such action is definitely desirable. However, when the laws violated are those generally regarded as unjust, for example, laws used to perpetuate racial discrimination, the matter is not so easily determined. Protest movements are part and parcel of contemporary student political expression. Frequently they result in arrests. A regulation automatically providing for expulsion of a student convicted of violating any law is, as Judge Miller pointed out, unreasonable. Yet, in this area, university administrators must be given broad discretion to balance the seriousness of the crime against the legitimate interests of the university.

Freedom of religion: A recent Florida case involved a graduate student enrolled at the University of Miami where he was working to secure a teaching certificate in secondary education. When he enrolled he listed himself as an atheist. Arrangements had been made for him to do intern teaching at a public school when the principal of that school called the attention of the university to a letter which the student had written to the editor of a local newspaper dealing with the subject of atheism. A university committee met with the student, and as a result of that meeting determined that he was "fanatical" in his beliefs on the subject of atheism and was likely to communicate those beliefs to his students. The committee, therefore, recommended that the university cause the student to withdraw from the education program. The recommendation was adopted and the student was dismissed. He was, however, allowed to enroll in other courses at the university.

A university regulation provided that the school reserved the right to ask a student to withdraw at any time. The court held that under these circumstances the university could dismiss him without furnishing a reason or cause so long as it acted in good faith and not arbitrarily or from malice. The court did not, however, rely solely upon this rule of law. It considered the substantive merits of the student's case, concluding that "it must not be overlooked that the appellant was a student who was being prepared by the university to become a teacher in our public schools. It seems obvious that a university should consider itself under a duty and obligation not to graduate, and release with the stamp of its academic approval, a new teacher having attitudes or fanatical ideas, such as with refer-

ence to atheism, which if imposed on impressionable minds of the young with whom he must come in contact, would be calculated to operate to their detriment and injury."

With deference to the Florida court, it appears to this writer that the legitimacy of the university's action is not quite so obvious. The appellant in his testimony stated that he would not teach atheism, but that if he were asked questions regarding the subject, he would be required to answer truthfully, meaning in accordance with his beliefs, and that he would not be willing to limit his after-school activities with reference to public statements and writings relating to atheism.

It is true that teachers have no right to work for the State in the school system on their own terms. It is equally true that there is no requirement in the Federal Constitution that a teacher's classroom conduct must be the sole basis for determining his fitness. Yet, to say that a person does not have a constitutional right to employment as a teacher is only to say that he must comply with reasonable, lawful, and nondiscriminatory terms laid down by the proper authorities. Although fitness for teaching depends on a broad range of factors, these factors must be reasonable and may not impinge upon the protected rights of the individual seeking to teach in the public school system.

In an important series of cases the Supreme Court has held that no person can be punished for entertaining or professing religious beliefs or disbeliefs, for church attendance or nonattendance. The free exercise clause of the first amendment protects the right of the individual to refuse to practice religion as well as the right of the individual to enjoy his religious convictions. There must not be any discrimination by civil authorities on the basis of religion. The Supreme Court recognized over two decades ago the right of the individual to possess unpopular religious views and to be free from discrimination because of them: "* * * freedom to differ is not limited to things that do not matter much. That would be a mere shadow of freedom. The test of its substance is the right to differ as to the things that touch the heart of the existing order.

"If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein."

The action of the university in excluding a student from a course which would have enabled him to teach in the public school system solely because of his beliefs seems to this writer to violate the standard established by the Supreme Court and required by the first amendment of the Constitution. The university's action was more than a mere exercise of discretion by a private corporation. It was intimately linked with action by the civil authorities of Dade County, Fla., that is, the board of public instruction. Its consequence was to deny the appellant the opportunity to teach in the public school system, solely because he possessed unpopular religious ideas which the university and public school officials were afraid he might communicate to impressionable young students. Such a fear, however sincerely felt, is nevertheless an unconstitutional basis for excluding an individual from qualifying for a position as a teacher in the public school system. The student is entitled to his own views on matters of religion, regardless of their unorthodoxy. To exclude him from the university, or a division of it because officials of the State do not like his religious views is to deny him a constitutional right of incalculable value. The Federal courts should not hesitate to intervene to prohibit such action.

A more difficult case is *Carr v. St. John's University*. There the petitioners had been dismissed for participating in a civil marriage ceremony contrary to the canon law of the Roman Catholic Church. Although admission to St. John's was open to qualified applicants regardless of religious faith, the school was operated by the Catholic Church and 94 percent of the student body was of the Catholic faith.

The university had a regulation which provided that "in conformity with the ideals of the Christian education and conduct, the university reserves the right to dismiss a student at any time on whatever grounds the university judges advisable. Each student by his admission to the university recognizes this right." The university officials decided that the actions of the students, all members of the Roman Catholic faith, were contrary to ecclesiastical law, making it gravely sinful and a source of public scandal, and thus subject to the regulation regarding grounds for student dismissal.

The New York Supreme Court conceded the university's right to adopt regulations to effectuate a particular religious faith. The court noted, however, that the rule of reasonableness requires that regulations be certain as to their meaning; i.e., they must be sufficiently explicit to inform those who are subject to them what conduct on their part will render them liable to its penalties. The court held that the provision regarding "the ideals of Christian education and conduct" was so vague and indefinite that men of common intelligence must necessarily conjecture as to its meaning and differ as to its application. Such a regulation in the view of the court could not rightly be used as a basis for dismissing the students.

On appeal, the appellate division held that to the Catholic students and authorities at the university, "Christian education and conduct" meant "Catholic education and conduct." The court pointed out that the students had not claimed that they understood it to mean anything else, nor did they claim that they did not understand then what they were doing or the consequences of their act in the eyes of their church. The Court reversed the decision of the supreme court and upheld the dismissal of the students.

In a dissenting opinion, two justices argued that the university was a public institution, chartered by the State, open to persons of all religious faiths, and engaged in providing a secular learning leading to a general academic degree. In the dissenters' opinion, such a university may not enforce against a student an ecclesiastical law, the breach of which is not immoral according to the standards of society in general, or which the university does not enforce equally against all students at the university, whether Catholic or non-Catholic.

It is the human element and not the law which makes the Carr case difficult. The judge in the lower court was obviously attempting to stretch the latter to accommodate the former, and the appellate court was doubtless correct in reversing. The argument of the dissenting justices of the appellate court regarding the public character of the university is not convincing, and was expressly rejected in the landmark Dartmouth College decision and in the recent Tulane University case. The equal protection argument appears to have some merit, yet the precedents are against it also. It is the opinion of this writer that a student in a private, church-related university must accept the rules and regulations of the school, including those embodying the religious doctrines of the church. The same amendment to the Constitution which limits the power of the State or its administrative adjuncts to require religious conformity, guarantees to private groups and institutions the free exercise of religion. If the student does not wish to participate in that religious exercise, or be bound by the rules promulgated as a corrollary to that exercise, he may enroll in a public university where he will be free to do as he chooses with regard to religion.

CONCLUSION

The student in a public institution should not be required to waive his rights under the first amendment of the Constitution. He should be free to engage in off-campus political activity, as long as his activities do not interrupt the affairs of the university. He should be free to speak, to associate, and to practice or refuse to practice religion. The authority of the university, broad as it is, should be exercised with restraint. The university should extend to the student more liberty than the courts could require. Education in our time is more than an exercise in rote-learning; among its essential purposes is preparation for more effective participation in the life of the community. The student of this generation is seeking more and more education, which means that he spends more years in residence at the academic institution. Although he is in training, that is, he is there to learn, not to teach, he is not there to isolate himself from the world.

Student political activity has become increasingly significant during the past decade. The contribution which students have made to the betterment of our society and the realization of its highest ideals is obvious. It is incumbent upon the universities to encourage students to think for themselves and to give free expression to their thoughts. Where university administrators insist upon acting as censors of the thoughts and deeds of the student body, the courts must move to guarantee that the first amendment rights of the student as a citizen are protected. Freedom of speech, of religion, of association, and of assembly are too valuable to be held in escrow by the university. There is no suitable trustee for the political liberties of the citizen, whether student or teacher. Freedom is indivisible, and it is incumbent upon the courts to insure that a high standard of substantive due process is required before a university may discipline a student for exercising those rights to which he is entitled by his birthright.

Senate Joint Resolution 110: Freedom Sunday and Freedom Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILWARD L. SIMPSON

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I have received a resolution adopted by the District of Columbia Legal Secretaries Association, a chapter of the International Legal Secretaries Association, stating its support for the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 110) introduced by Senator BENNETT and myself.

I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolved, That the District of Columbia Legal Secretaries Association adopt and support the resolution, further identified as

"Senate Joint Resolution 110," introduced by Senator BENNETT of Utah, and supported by Senator SIMPSON, of Wyoming, wherein a Freedom Sunday and Freedom Week, occurring in the calendar date of February 22, immediately preceding, be proclaimed by the President of the United States annually.

Wall Street Journal Sharply Criticizes Federal Banking Agencies in 1965 Failure of $54 Million San Francisco National Bank; Depositors Stand To Lose $30 Million

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, in a feature article on the front page of the Wall Street Journal written by Mr. Donald Moffitt, it is asserted that the activities of the Federal banking agencies in protecting the banking public leave much to be desired.

I am glad that a financial newspaper with the excellent news gathering reputation of the Wall Street Journal is echoing what I have been saying for years.

What is so shocking in this case is disclosure that the Comptroller of the Currency, James J. Saxon, knowing that San Francisco National was insolvent, took possibly illegal steps to keep the bank open and kept knowledge of its true condition from the public.

This is a very serious charge against Comptroller Saxon because it worked a deception on new customers making deposits in a failing institution.

These startling revelations raise the question of Mr. Saxon's fitness to hold such a high public office as administrator of all our national banks and the custodian of almost all the Nation's circulating currency.

The article follows in its entirety:

BANK-FAILURE IMPACT—EVIDENCE MAY PUT NEW LIGHT ON FEDERAL ROLE IN CALIFORNIA CLOSING—BIG DEPOSITORS LAY LOSSES TO FAILURE OF REGULATIONS TO BARE BANK'S TROUBLES—$30 MILLION-PLUS MAY BE LOST

(By Donald Moffett)

SAN FRANCISCO.—The controversy stirred early this year by the San Francisco National Bank's sudden failure may prove mild compared with what's to come.

It's not that the furor created by the bank's collapse hasn't been in the news. Last January abrupt closing of the bank—opened only 3 years before—already has touched off a Senate investigation and led to indictment of the bank's president on 79 counts of criminal violation of national banking laws. But new evidence, likely to be made public in bits and pieces in the weeks ahead, may point up these startling and hitherto unpublicized facets of the failure:

One, the enormity of the failure and of potential losses to depositors. Over the past 30 years, depositors in banks that were closed on the average recouped 95 percent of their funds from the assets of the closed banks. But private indications from Government sources are that more than $30 million, or 56 percent, of San Francisco National's assets—valued at $54 million on paper—may have been improperly used, mistakenly loaned, or otherwise placed beyond immediate chance of recovery by creditors.

Two, the extent of Uncle Sam's role in the unsuccessful effort to keep the faltering bank alive. It is finally becoming clear that Government officials took an active part in attempting to secure large deposits from the bank and otherwise tried to compensate for mismanagement—in one case, allegedly going so far as to withhold from the Justice Department evidence of criminal violations of Federal law.

Even if the activities of the Government officials prove legally justified—and they are being tested in court—the situation is casting considerable doubt about the effectiveness of the Nation's bank regulatory system. Many San Francisco National depositors question in just whose interest this regulatory authority was being used. They charge that it was directed at helping allegedly fraudulent management out of a tight spot, rather than at informing and protecting depositors and the general public.

NO REPORT YET FROM FDIC

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Government agency that is liquidating the bank, has yet to make a public report on its progress, 10 months after the closing, and it may not make one before the end of the year, if at all. But figures made available show that the FDIC has been able to raise no more than $20,500,000 in cash or Government bonds from bank assets that, on paper at least, were valued at $54 million.

Of that amount, about $15 million already is pledged to secured creditors principally the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, which had advanced the ailing institution $9,260,000 and taken its higher quality loans as collateral, and the State of California and the city of San Francisco, which together had $7,785,000 on deposit. That leaves, at the moment, $5,500,000 in cash and Government bonds to satisfy some $30 million in claims against the bank.

Says an FDIC official: "This has been the most difficult liquidation we've ever experienced."

The major difficulty, these sources say, is that most of the cash attracted as deposits to the bank was lent to borrowers now either unwilling or unable to pay it back. Some of these borrowers have gone into bankruptcy. Others have simply moved, often to an unknown place. Still others are seeking court orders annulling their debts because they claim they were defrauded by Don C. Silverthorne, the bank's cheerful founder and president. Such charges brought Mr. Silverthorne's indictment by a Federal grand jury on the 79 counts of criminal violations of national banking laws, charges that he vigorously denies.

Some of these borrowers contend that part of the money they received in loans from the bank was given back to Mr. Silverthorne as a form of kickback. They allege that other funds they borrowed were used, at Mr. Silverthorne's suggestion, to purchase San Francisco National stock, often at inflated prices. This stock is now selling at 25 cents a share after once hitting 94. Whatever the case, as much as 80 percent of the loans may be unsecured by collateral that Government liquidators could seize or sell when borrowers fail to pay.

DEPOSITORS FILE A SUIT

With the prospect of losses so staggering, 41 unhappy institutional depositors of the bank, mainly California savings and loan associations but also eastern credit unions and other investors, are trying to get first crack at the bank's dwindling assets in order to cut their losses. It's this legal fight that is raising all the questions about the role of Government regulators in the failure.

In a Federal court case, these depositors charge that Federal bank regulatory agencies, knowing San Francisco National was "insolvent or in imminent danger of insolvency," took unusual steps "to keep the bank open and to avoid disclosure of its true condition to the public." Consequently, the depositors complain, they were lulled into keeping in the bank deposits of some $9 million, much of which they currently stand to lose.

In ordinary bank failures, noninsured depositors and other unsecured creditors, including the FDIC, have equal claims to the remaining assets. The leftover cash is prorated among the claimants in proportion to the amounts owed them. But if San Francisco National's institutional depositors win their case, the FDIC stands to lose all of the $8 million claim it holds against the bank's assets. This represents payments by the FDIC to insured depositors after the bank closed.

Among other things, the institutional depositors maintain that neither the dismal loan picture nor the bank's dependence on large cash advances from the Federal Reserve was reflected in the bank's published financial statements. The Federal agencies, the depositors say, permitted the bank to publish these statements, which convinced the depositors that the bank was a safe place to put their money. In addition, the depositors say, the Comptroller of the Currency encouraged them to deposit funds in the bank in a vain effort to prevent its failure; and Federal agencies, it's further claimed generally, silently acquiesced to solicitation of time deposits for the bank by outside brokers.

The institutional depositors are pinning their case partly on sworn depositions taken by lawyers in pretrial discovery proceedings over the past weeks.

"We're finding out everything that went on in that bank," says a lawyer closely connected with the proceedings, "and it's utterly beyond belief." Privately, both sides agree the disclosures reach far beyond those elicited by the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee that probed San Francisco National's failure last spring. The subcommittee's report, due out early next year, is expected to be critical of the U.S. Currency Comptroller's office.

Testimony in the Senate hearings, and additional disclosures that have already been filed in the current litigation, spell out much of the Government effort to save San Francisco National.

The Comptroller's office so far has refused repeated requests for comment on the situation.

FDIC'S COUNTERCOMPLAINT

The charges of the suing depositors actually come as a countercomplaint to an FDIC suit that further complicates the tangled litigation. The FDIC suit claims it doesn't owe the usual $10,000 in insurance to each of these depositors because the bank paid them, through money brokers, for making the deposits. The broker payments themselves aren't illegal, but combined with ordinary interest, the FDIC contends they exceeded legally permissible rates that banks can pay on deposits; so the deposits, according to the FDIC, must be classed as unfinished loans or investments.

The depositors, however, not only question the legality of the FDIC position, but also insist that the Government cooperated with bank management to lure their depositors into the bank.

The agency, with major regulatory responsibility over the affairs of San Francisco National before it failed, was the office of the U.S. Comptroller of the Currency, headed by James J. Saxon. Arnold E. Larsen, regional comptroller of the currency in San Francisco, dealt directly with San Francisco National during most of its brief history.

There's no argument that Mr. Saxon and his subordinates tried energetically to pre-

vent San Francisco National from failing. From May 1964, when Mr. Saxon first learned of the true seriousness of the bank's affairs, until it closed 8 months later on January 22, 1965, the Comptroller's office was involved continually in efforts to shore it up. "By saving it," Mr. Saxon explained in testimony last spring before Senator McCLELLAN's investigating committee, "a lot of people who otherwise would have been hurt would have been protected."

A DIRECTORS' MEETING

A look at some of the efforts the Comptroller allegedly took suggest just how desperate the situation was. For example, the minutes of a San Francisco national directors' meeting held on December 14, 1964—only 39 days before the bank closed its doors—indicated that the Comptroller had approved the use of bank funds to buy time deposits through money brokers to boost the bank's badly depleted reserves.

In part, the minutes read, "Chairman J. W. Ehrlich reported to the board that verbal approval had been received from the Comptroller of the Currency which, if approved by the board, would permit the bank to withdraw funds from the bank's undivided profit account for the purpose of purchasing time deposits for the bank in order to strengthen the reserve position."

Mr. Silverthorne was permitted to remain as president for 5 months after bank examiners allegedly found that portions of the proceeds of some loans to bank borrowers were winding up in his personal bank account. "He (Silverthorne) did have a following," Mr. Larsen explained to the Senate subcommittee. "If a man of his stature, at the time, at least, were to be summarily removed, there is always the risk of a run on the bank which, of course, could hasten its demise."

Victor del Tredici, a national bank examiner working under Messrs. Saxon and Larsen, wrote a report June 22, 1964, detailing apparent violations of national banking laws by Mr. Silverthorne. The report, addressed to the Justice Department, was sent first to Mr. Larsen, then to Mr. Saxon. Not until February 26, 1965, was it submitted to the Justice Department.

Directors of the bank itself weren't told, either, that Mr. Silverthorne was "receiving commissions in connection with loans" made by the bank, according to a deposition by Regional Comptroller Larsen. Asked why, Mr. Larsen replied: "Well, I think we were concerned that anything like this might have resulted in the immediate ouster of Mr. Silverthorne. We felt at the time he was probably in a better position to collect these sticky loans than anyone else."

DROPPED FROM REPORT

The Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco claims it was kept equally uninformed. The portion of Mr. Del Tredici's bank examination report containing the startling information about the management was omitted from the examination reports regularly given to the Fed by the Comptroller; officials told the Senate subcommittee it was omitted because it actually was a work paper not properly part of a bank examination report.

Unaware of the information in the work paper the Federal Reserve bank in August 1964 made the first of a long series of multimillion-dollar advances to the bank to help tide it over what Fed officials thought then was only a temporary cash squeeze.

Despite daily doses of cash from the Fed, though, the bank's affairs worsened steadily during the late summer and autumn of 1964. The Comptroller's Office began to search for another way to ease the bank's predicament—merger. "Ultimately, as time wore on," Mr. Saxon testified, "and we had the examiner in there every day, day in and day out, to check the developments in this institution, we sought to see if a merger of this bank could not be arranged with one of the more substantial institutions in that area."

A QUICK REJECTION

None of the four banks approached was as sanguine about the prospect as the Comptroller's Office, though. In one case, the directors of Central Valley National Bank, Oakland, signed a letter of intent to merge with San Francisco National; but Central Valley officers, after spending only half a day poring over the bank's lending records, quickly backed out of the deal.

Right up to the bank's final dramatic day of existence, January 22, the Comptroller's Office was still pressing hard to save it. Lytton Savings & Loan Association had previously notified the bank it wouldn't renew a $1,500,000 time deposit in the bank maturing that day. U.S. Regional Comptroller Larsen, aware that the withdrawal would affect the liquidity of the bank substantially, called Lytton's chairman, Bart Lytton, and asked him to renew the deposit. Mr. Lytton refused.

In a deposition, Regional Comptroller Larsen said that earlier the same day, A. B. Merritt, vice president of the San Francisco Federal Reserve Bank, was asked whether the Fed could extend further credit to the bank. "He said as matters stood then, he did not think so," Mr. Larsen asserted. Within several hours, however, the Fed did make an advance to the bank of $1.3 million, he said. He added that he couldn't say why the Fed apparently reversed itself. Asked whether the bank could have paid off Lytton's $1.5 million deposit without funds from the Fed, Mr. Larsen responded, "No."

Lytton's withdrawal dealt a severe blow to Mr. Saxon's hopes of keeping the bank open. Figures that bank examiners worked up that afternoon showed the bank—if it opened the next Monday—would fall short by more than $1 million the amount of cash it needed to pay maturing time deposits and other obligations. So Mr. Saxon ordered it closed.

Summary of Activities of Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, 1st Session, 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, pursuant to permission granted on Friday, October 22, I submit for printing in the RECORD a summary of activities of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, 1st session, 89th Congress:

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES OF COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE, 1ST SESSION, 89TH CONGRESS

The Committee on Post Office and Civil Service lost the services of its distinguished chairman, the senior Senator from South Carolina, Olin D. Johnston, on April 18, 1965. Senator Johnston presided over the committee during the 81st, 82d, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, and 89th Congresses. He served as a Member of the Senate for more than 20 years and was one of its most distinguished and respected Members.

Senator Johnston's illness and untimely death delayed the committee in its performance of legislative activity. Senator A. S. MIKE MONRONEY was appointed chairman of the committee on April 22, 1965. Senator DONALD S. RUSSELL, of South Carolina, was appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Johnston.

COMMITTEE BUSINESS

Nominations

The committee held hearings on the nominations of four persons to hold high offices in the executive branch. All nominations were reported favorably to the Senate and all were confirmed. The Honorable John A. Gronouski was nominated to continue as Postmaster General on February 17, 1965; the Honorable John W. Macy, Jr., was nominated for a full 6-year term as Chairman of the U.S. Civil Service Commission on March 1, 1965; the Honorable A. Ross Eckler was nominated to be Director of the Bureau of the Census on July 14, 1965; and the Honorable Lawrence Francis O'Brien was nominated to be Postmaster General on August 30, 1965.

The committee received 1,456 postmaster nominations for consideration during the session. Of these, 1,288 were favorably reported to the Senate and were confirmed; 11 were withdrawn by the President; and 157 were pending at the time of adjournment.

Legislative activity

During the session, 89 Senate bills, 2 Senate resolutions, 2 Senate joint resolutions, and 25 House bills were referred to the committee.

The committee reported to the Senate five Senate bills and nine House bills. Ten bills reported by the committee were passed by both Houses of Congress and became public law. Four Senate bills are pending before the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

Public hearings on 12 legislative subjects were held by the committee and its subcommittees on 20 different days. These included hearings before an ad hoc subcommittee on railway postal service. All hearings were printed by the committee and are available for public distribution. The full committee held 13 executive sessions and its subcommittees 5 executive sessions.

The most outstanding achievement of the committee in 1965 was the consideration of H.R. 10281, the Federal Employees Salary Act of 1965 (Public Law 89-301). The full committee held 8 days of public hearings on this bill and met in executive session on six occasions. The bill as reported by the committee and approved by Congress resulted in a 3.6-percent increase in Federal employees' salaries, a new severance pay program for separated employees, and new overtime pay provisions for postal employees.

A second major legislative achievement was the enactment of a substantial increase in the annuities of retired Federal employees. H.R. 8469 (Public Law 89-205) provided for more than a 6-percent increase in annuities for persons retired since 1956 and 11 percent for those who retired prior to the 1956 Retirement Act.

Other measures favorably considered by the committee, each of which has been signed into law by the President, include the following:

1. H.R. 1732, amending the Advance Pay and Allotment Act of 1961 to include the Government Printing Office (Public Law 89-47).

2. H.R. 1771, establishing a 5-day workweek for Postmasters (Public Law 89-116).

3. H.R. 1782, amending the Retired Federal Employees Health Benefits Act with respect to Government contribution for expenses incurred in the administration of the act (Public Law 89-45).

4. H.R. 2594, clarifying the application of certain annuity increase legislation (Public Law 89-17).

5. H.R. 6165, repealing obsolete statute relating to the appointment of women to clerk-

ships in the executive departments (Public Law 89-261).

6. H.R. 6622, exempting the postal field service from the numerical restrictions on permanent employee positions of the Whitten amendment (Public Law 89-114).

7. H.R. 11420, providing free mailing privileges for members of the Armed Forces in combat areas (Public Law 89-315).

8. S. 2572, extending the cutoff date of this year's retirement annuity increase. (The Senate passed H.R. 11303 in lieu of S. 2572.) (Public Law 89-314.)

The following are the four bills favorably reported by the committee which were passed by the Senate but are still pending before the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service:

1. S. 390, extending second- and third-class bulk mailing rates to volunteer fire companies.

2. S. 1495, permitting variation of the 40-hour workweek for Federal employees for educational purposes.

3. S. 1496, repealing the provisions which prohibit the detailing of employees from field positions into the District of Columbia except for the performance of duties in connection with their respective field offices.

4. S. 2393, authorizing additional GS-16, GS-17, and GS-18 positions for use in agencies or functions created or substantially expanded after June 30, 1965.

The Case of Edward Partin, a Government Witness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, I have just completed the reading and study of the remarks made by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GRAY] on October 22, 1965. I must commend my friend and colleague for bringing these facts, unknown to me, to the attention of the House.

It is difficult for me to comprehend the reason and extent of the action of the Justice Department in the case of Edward Partin, a Government witness. Certainly, the seriousness of these charges made by the gentleman from Illinois concerning the arrest records and the favored treatment of Partin by the Justice Department should be a matter of interest to every Member of Congress. It, undoubtedly, gives emphasis to the action of the House Committee on the Judiciary to look into the matter of procedure by our Justice Department.

I am not concerned with the particular defendant in this case. I question only the reliability of the testimony of the witness, Partin.

Assuming that my friend, the gentleman from Illinois, is correct in his assertion before the House, then such witnesses could be used to either convict or acquit a wrongdoer. Or in a more reprehensible sense, a witness so motivated could be used as an instrument to convict one entirely innocent of charges.

Our great judicial system depends on availability of witnesses, this I must admit. However, the reliability of those available to testify is of equal importance.

A Special Report to Constituents of the 1st Session, 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ODIN LANGEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I would like to include in the RECORD a special report of the 1st session of the 89th Congress which will be forwarded to my constituency.

The report follows:

YOUR OFFICE IN WASHINGTON

(By Congressman ODIN LANGEN, Seventh District, Minnesota)

As this session of Congress comes to a close, I am completing my seventh year as your Representative in Washington. For this privilege, I am deeply grateful. I feel that one of my responsibilities to the people is to give them factual information as to the affairs of their Congress. For that reason I am submitting this brief report of actions and concerns expressed during this session. Because of space limitations, it is in the form of a factual account rather than a personal analysis or expression of opinion.

The bunting was barely down from January's reviewing stand when we received the first of many messages from the President on the goals of his administration, followed by the actual bills to implement them. Over 15,000 bills and resolutions were dropped into the legislative hopper this year. All did not receive action, but most major ones did.

This Congress enacted major changes in our social security system, including a health plan that provides hospital care and nursing home care. A supplementary, voluntary health plan requires the payment of a small premium. Regular social security benefits were increased by 7 percent, and new programs for child health care were added. These additional benefits require additional deductions from pay checks. A pamphlet outlining the benefits is available by writing to my Washington office. (Caution: Do not cancel your existing private medical insurance. The new Federal programs do not go into effect until next July.)

Cost-of-living increases were approved for civil service retirees and salaries were increased for postal and other Federal workers. Pay increases were approved for our men in military service and a group life insurance plan was approved to give servicemen a chance to carry insurance without war exclusion clauses.

NEW ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

This Congress enacted legislation to provide Federal assistance to State, area, and local governments to a degree never before attempted. For instance, an Appalachian assistance program was enacted to help 11 Eastern States. The Economic Opportunity Act was then passed to provide similar assistance for other areas of the Nation. Incorporated into this legislation were the old Area Redevelopment Administration and accelerated public works programs.

As program after program rolled through Congress, many Members came to the conclusion that too much was being attempted in too short a time. The feeling developed in both political parties that hastily enacted programs too often resulted in waste and poor administration. The poverty program perhaps received the most public criticism. You undoubtedly noted news reports of $20,000 salaries, $100 a day fees, money for flowers, tuxedo rentals and expensive motel rooms at plush resorts where the planners relaxed in comfort while contemplating the problems of the poor. Such public criticism points up the need for greater planning if programs designed to help the poor are to really accomplish their objectives.

WHERE'S THE MONEY COMING FROM?

When many new programs become law, money is needed to pay for them. Just before adjournment, the Congress approved more than $4.6 billion for new programs and expenditures, and we expect to get a request for at least another $4 billion in January. And we don't even know how many billions the Defense Department will need to finance the war in Vietnam. All of this occurs after we have already appropriated over $100 billion this year. The House Appropriations Committee on which I serve, trimmed budget requests by over $2.4 billion, but even this may be wiped out when pay raises and added personnel for new programs are included in the budget.

This session of Congress also saw enactment of a voting rights bill, and the first major changes in our immigration laws, and a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. A billboard and junkyard control bill was passed. Legislation was enacted to control water and air pollution. Rural communities will be aided in setting up adequate sanitation and water facilities.

This Congress also created a new Cabinet post, that of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. A housing bill estimated to cost $7.8 billion was passed, including a section that some have termed a "rent-a-care" program to provide Federal funds with which to help middle- and low-income families pay their rent.

EXCISE TAX REDUCTIONS

These temporary, wartime taxes on products and services were a nuisance and should have been taken off the books years ago. I was naturally pleased that the final bill incorporated most of the suggestions I made in my own excise tax repeal bill.

MILITARY AND OTHER INSTALLATIONS

We were successful in amending the military installations bill to include a clause that will give Congress advance notice when military or other Federal installations are to be closed. The amendment was aimed at preventing situations such as the one early this year that almost saw the Fargo regional Veterans' Administration office closed. This badly needed office will now remain open after a number of us from the area vigorously protested.

A foreign aid bill was passed with a $3 billion plus price tag. The bill to increase minimum wages, and extend coverage to farmworkers and small businesses was laid over until next year, as was the bill to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Labor Act.

AGRICULTURE, NOW AND IN THE FUTURE

This was a session that found your Congressman faced with additional responsibilities. I served as usual on the Agriculture and Legislative Subcommittees of the Appropriations Committee, and was honored to have been chosen by my colleagues to serve as chairman of the minority task force on agriculture and as a member of the minority task force on budget reduction.

The agriculture task force found us deep in research on the problems facing the farmer and the consumer. We heard many prominent people in the field from all over the

Nation and have benefited greatly from their views. We have made a number of recommendations, including a new look at agricultural trade policies with the rest of the world. Recently, we recommended and introduced a bill to set up a bipartisan U.S. World Food Study Commission to plan the future U.S. role in the approaching world food crisis. The plan, which has received widespread support, is aimed at bringing a new health and economic vitality to American agriculture while putting food into the hungry mouths of the world.

FARM BILL PASSES

A new farm bill was agreed upon that extends the National Wool Act, removes the necessity for dairymen to produce surplus milk in order to preserve their individual participation in the markets for milk for fluid consumption, extends the authority for leasing tobacco acreage, and institutes a new acreage reserve program.

The bill continues the feed grains program and the one-price cotton program. It also provides for full parity for wheat used for food here at home, or about $2.57 a bushel at current prices, on about 45 percent of the crop. Another 35 percent of normal wheat production would be under export certificates of an unknown value and the remaining 20 percent would get the going price, or $1.25 a bushel. For those participating, the program is expected to establish a national average blend price of $1.84½ a bushel. This compares to a blend price this year of $1.69.

NEW SUGAR BILL

Congress passed a sugar bill that increases the domestic quota by 580,000 tons so that stocks now on hand can be marketed. This was sugare our growers raised at the request of the Government when there was a world sugar shortage. This increase does not provide any opportunity for our U.S. sugar-beet farmers to increase production or for new growers to enter the field. This again favors the foreign sugar interests.

EDUCATION BILLS

The National Defense Education Act was implemented with a bill to permit classroom construction, help universities buy books, assist extension programs, help new schools strengthen facilities and faculties, and set up a new Federal scholarship plan. Another bill assists medical schools and other helath schools, along with student assistance. Vocational rehabilitation was added to the present vocational school programs. Perhaps the most far-reaching assistance program in education was the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which puts the Federal Government in direct contact with local school systems for the first time. It provides for around a billion dollars for assistance to schools with children of low-income families. The method for distributing these funds has already come under fire by a number of Minnesota educators who say funds are going to schools that don't need them while the needy schools fail to get what they require. My own bill to allow personal income tax deductions or credits to parents with children in college is still under consideration and hopefully will be favorably reported next year.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

I have spent considerable time this year in protesting the curtailment of needed postal services in rural America and the apparent waste of money in the Department. We have already seen one positive result of our probings in that the Post Office Department will now use competitive bids in contracting for the printing of stamped envelopes. The saving to the taxpayers will be about $6 million.

MRS. LANGEN'S CORNER

Lillian spent a long and busy year in Washington, as you've noticed if you receive our monthly newsletter. She lists as highlights her work this year on the Congressional Wives' Prayer Breakfast, the luncheons she helped arrange for the First Lady and the wife of the Vice President, the thrill of greeting our visiting astronauts, and the annual Congressional Wives' Club Bazaar where she again extolled the virtues of Seventh District products.

Her church work has gone on as usual, a most rewarding experience for her.

In her club work, she was chairman of the ways and means committee, the group that has to think up ways of raising money. And they are not allowed to tap the Federal Treasury.

She was honored this year by the executive board at the Wives' Club, which voted to add her name to a plaque listing the names of members who have contributed outstanding service.

Daughter Lois visited in Washington between quarters at the University of Minnesota last spring, which is always an event for both of us, and our few trips home this year provided us with those rare opportunities to see Lynden and Wayne and their families as well as many others of you throughout the district.

Accompanying me to various functions in the Capital City, including the White House, completed Lillian's social season as we met many interesting people including the Crown Prince of Norway, Madam Chiang Kai-shek, and other world-famous personalities. Lillian's only regret is that she never runs across a lutefish dinner or a smorgasbord here in Washington.

CONCLUSION

As we face the next session of Congress, one thought comes to mind—that we must strive to analyze the maze of programs that have already been enacted, try to improve upon them, and move with the utmost caution if we are to avert a tragic upheaval of our entire fiscal system.

It will be a year of continued problems in our international balance-of-payments account. It also will be a year when the patience of America will be sorely tried on both the international and domestic scenes. But whatever the future holds, we face it as free Americans.

As Lillian and I travel across our vast Seventh District, it is hoped that we get to visit with most of you. But since there is such a short time before we have to be back on the job of serving you in Washington, perhaps this brief report to you will suffice for those we do not see. May the coming holiday season and the new year be happy and fruitful for each of you.

Kenya's Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, the Congress will have adjourned when Kenya celebrates the anniversary of her independence on December 12. We wish to take this opportunity therefore, to extend warm felicitations in advance to His Excellency Jomo Kenyata, President of the Republic of Kenya; and to Kenya's Ambassador to the United States, His Excellency Burudi Nabwere.

Kenya with its vicissitudes and triumphs, its variations in recent political history, and its more hopeful future is symbolized, in a way, by its topography. Its soaring mountain peaks, beautiful Mount Kenya and Mount Elgon with their permanent patches of ice and snow, furnish a northern backdrop to the land of contrasts which is Kenya. The wasteland stretching from Uganda and the Sudan to the low-lying plain along the seacoast lined with coconut palms and noble mango trees and pleasant conditions for villas and hotels for holiday makers, the magnificent natural harbor which makes possible the great port of Mombasa, the rise to the inland plateau which is broken by the Great Rift Valley with volcanoes rising from its floor, the westward stretch of land dropping down to the shores of enormous, magnificent Lake Victoria—hill and valley, plain, and plateau, farmland, parkland, and desert—with these may be compared the ups and downs, the struggles and successes, the periods of stress and of relative calm, the violence and the victories along Kenya's road to independence.

The second anniversary of that independence we hail this December 12, 1965.

The fact of that independence and the adoption of the Constitution are the more remarkable because the population of Kenya, like the landscape and the fauna—the most varied in the world—is not only multiracial, among the races there are very considerable differences. While the Europeans, Asians, and Arabs constitute only 3 percent of the population, their presence and their activities have been and are of great importance; and among the 97 percent Africans there are over 40 tribes, each with its own culture, customs, and prejudices—as in all societies—leading to rivalries and suspicion. Largely because of the suspicion between tribe and tribe, the 1962 constitution was drawn up so as to allow considerable local autonomy to the regional authorities. Since the country became independent on December 12, 1963, it has gone far to allay that suspicion and build a Kenyan society in which the different tribes and communities will live together with no need, and no wish, for safeguards against the domination of any of them by any others.

The country of Kenya today, multiracial and multitribal as it is, is not the country of strata that it used to be. The people show their determination to live together in friendliness and mutual helpfulness, each group adding its significant contribution toward the forging of a strong and prosperous country.

And progress they have made. Education is expanding. More and more Africans are able to speak and write English, the official language.

Transportation by road, rail, and air is being developed at a rapid rate. Nairobi's new international airport is a major continental terminus for international services from Europe, Asia, and other parts of Africa. The principal towns of Kenya and other east African centers are linked by internal scheduled services operated by East African Airways Corp.

Growing communications provide a comprehensive range of postal, telegraph, and telephone facilities. Radio and tele-

vision are operated by the Kenya Broadcasting Service, which is responsible for all English, Asian, and African broadcasts, and has a potential audience of 1½ million.

There is a growing and valuable tourist trade and a rapidly increasing industrial development, including the refining of sugar, the milling of flour, and the making of clothing from imported fabrics.

Agriculture is, however, of the utmost importance to Kenya's economy. Agricultural production accounts for some 90 percent of Kenya's exports. Scientific study and planning are increasing the yield, particularly for forest products. The World Health Organization is lending a hand in this as well as in Kenya's efforts to improve the health of her people. And Kenya is also fighting ignorance and poverty with comparable determination.

On this second anniversary we congratulate this young and promising country and wish it well.

Federal Money for Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the September 1965 issue of the publication American Education contains an article entitled "Federal Money for Education." The tables incorporated in this article, covering as they do many facets of activities pursued under the various authorities administered by the Office of Education, will, in my judgment, be of great interest to many of my colleagues. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the article and tables to which I have alluded be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article and tables were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERAL MONEY FOR EDUCATION

One way in which the Federal Government promotes better education is through programs aimed at improving teaching.

Last year, for instance, the U.S. Congress amended the National Defense Education Act of 1958 to include another title—title XI—which authorizes the U.S. Office of Education to make grants to or contracts with colleges and universities for short-term or regular-session institutes for advanced study for teachers, supervisors of teachers, school library employees, and educational media specialists. Most of the subjects of the secondary school curriculum are affected; history, geography, modern foreign languages, reading, English, and English as a foreign language. Because French and Spanish are the foreign languages most often offered in U.S. secondary schools, many of the first programs sponsored by title XI for language teachers are in these languages.

The National Defense Education Act also supports the improvement of language instruction through centers for language and area studies and research and studies. The centers provide for instruction in languages not usually taught in U.S. schools and for area studies; that is, the geography, history, politics, and customs of the countries or the countries or areas in which the languages are spoken—Asia for instance.

Language and area centers, which are conducted at both graduate and undergraduate levels in colleges and universities, are supplying the Nation—government, the professions, business, and industry—with badly needed talent. Today American students are learning some 80 non-Western languages, and at least some of these students will become teachers of foreign language in U.S. schools and colleges, which will further increase the supply. In the meantime the centers are cooperating with secondary schools by lending professors of rarely taught languages for off-hour instruction.

The Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Health Centers Construction Act of 1963 authorizes a program to improve the teaching of handicapped children. The program supports short-term and regular-session institutes to train teachers of the handicapped and supervisors of teachers of the handicapped. The Office of Education has allocated about $3.5 million for the program for academic year 1965–66.

Sometimes a program aims more at preventing the deterioration of education than at improving it; for instance, the program known as school assistance in federally impacted areas. Under this program, the Office of Education gives financial aid to local school districts to compensate for an undue strain placed on the district by a Federal activity. About 30 percent of all pupils in public schools since the law went into effect over 15 years ago have attended schools assisted by the program.

For teachers and supervisors of teachers of handicapped children: Academic year 1965–66

	Grant
Alabama	$76,250
Alaska	30,000
Arizona	61,465
Arkansas	64,900
California	109,700
Colorado	66,014
Connecticut	$72,085
Delaware	37,700
Florida	86,905
Georgia	80,500
Hawaii	45,300
Idaho	45,795
Illinois	98,673
Indiana	83,522
Iowa	72,933
Kansas	68,519
Kentucky	75,063
Louisiana	75,200
Maine	52,100
Maryland	75,500
Massachusetts	84,800
Michigan	94,180
Minnesota	77,500
Mississippi	67,440
Missouri	81,713
Montana	45,700
Nebraska	60,130
Nevada	31,083
New Hampshire	43,403
New Jersey	89,265
New Mexico	52,800
New York	110,000
North Carolina	83,496
North Dakota	43,623
Ohio	98,360
Oklahoma	70,672
Oregon	64,600
Pennsylvania	100,000
Rhode Island	50,237
South Carolina	70,650
South Dakota	46,400
Tennessee	78,572
Texas	98,944
Utah	52,320
Vermont	33,700
Virginia	81,100
Washington	73,200
West Virginia	64,072
Wisconsin	80,450
Wyoming	30,800
Total	3,437,334

For the construction of schools in federally affected areas—Public Law 815, fiscal years 1955–64

Fiscal year	Projects reserved		Classrooms provided		Pupils housed		Appropriations [1]
	Cumulative total	Annual increase	Cumulative total	Annual increase	Cumulative total	Annual increase	
1955	2,996	450	26,190	3,662	767,312	123,473	$118,500,000
1956	3,215	329	28,535	2,345	811,576	44,264	33,900,000
1957	3,720	505	34,379	5,844	998,893	187,317	108,508,000
1958	4,067	347	41,946	7,567	1,225,467	226,574	98,650,000
1959	4,462	395	47,671	5,725	1,381,478	156,011	75,400,000
1960	4,670	208	49,489	1,818	1,444,517	63,039	61,135,000
1961	4,988	318	53,409	3,920	1,554,755	110,238	63,392,000
1962	5,269	281	56,299	2,890	1,639,294	84,539	54,850,000
1963	5,454	185	58,167	1,868	1,694,049	54,755	70,778,000
1964	5,525	71	58,874	707	1,714,657	20,608	23,740,000

[1] Since some projects are not started in the same fiscal years as the funds are appropriated and others not completed in the same year as they are begun, the appropriations column is only a general indicator of the amount of activity the Congress intended.

For the maintenance of schools in federally affected areas—Public Law 874, fiscal years 1955 to 1964

Fiscal year	Applicant districts			Percent of total expenditures financed by Public Law 874 funds
	Number of eligible districts	Net entitlement	Total current expenditures	
1955	2,683	$71,606,560	$1,450,700,000	4.9
1956	2,825	80,874,345	1,754,530,000	4.6
1957	3,321	106,051,520	2,156,450,000	4.9
1958	3,343	116,641,127	2,578,486,000	4.5
1959	3,757	156,870,444	3,083,668,609	5.1
1960	3,797	184,840,145	3,534,582,784	5.2
1961	3,926	208,291,465	3,999,469,697	5.2
1962	3,998	238,876,792	4,419,718,387	5.4
1963	4,182	259,095,492	4,940,646,390	5.2
1964	4,076	283,700,000	5,314,625,139	5.3

For African and Asian language and area centers in U.S. colleges and universities—Academic year 1965–66

State and institution	Language and area center	Grant
Arizona: University of Arizona	Oriental	$40,000
California:		
University of California—Berkeley	South Asian	88,510
University of California—Los Angeles	African	90,000
University of Southern California—Los Angeles.	Asian-Slavic	44,311
Stanford University	Chinese; Japanese	87,200
Connecticut:		
Yale	East Asian	44,000
Do	Southeast Asian	63,999
District of Columbia:		
The American University	South and southeast Asian.	22,000
Howard University	African	11,999
Florida: University of Florida	African	17,652
Hawaii: University of Hawaii	Asian	69,999
Illinois:		
Northwestern University	Sub-Sahara African	35,000
University of Chicago	South Asian	121,368
University of Illinois	Asian	25,000
Indiana:		
Earlham College	East Asian	25,257
Indiana University	African	35,079
Iowa: State University of Iowa	Far Eastern	34,947
Kansas: University of Kansas	East Asian	50,000
Massachusetts: Harvard University	do	129,072
Michigan:		
Michigan State University	South Asian	25,015
Do	African	65,000
Michigan—Continued		
University of Michigan	Far Eastern	$41,872
Do	South and southeast Asian.	34,974
Oakland University	East Asian	20,000
Missouri: University of Missouri	South Asian	22,000
New Hampshire: Dartmouth College	East Asian	25,000
New Jersey: Princeton University	do	35,717
New York:		
Columbia University	do	129,000
Do	African	42,000
Cornell University	East Asian	59,000
Do	Southeast Asian	97,000
Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart	East Asian	15,163
University of Rochester	South Asian	19,950
North Carolina: Duke University	do	36,112
Ohio:		
Oberlin College	East Asian	22,007
Ohio University	African	20,000
Pennsylvania:		
University of Pennsylvania	South Asian	119,917
Bucknell University	Japanese	16,981
Duquesne University	African	34,999
Lincoln University	do	15,733
University of Pittsburgh	East Asian	38,970
Rhode Island: Brown University	do	22,000
Texas: University of Texas	Asian	35,908
Washington: University of Washington	Far Eastern; Russian	111,000
Wisconsin:		
University of Wisconsin	African	34,944
Do	South Asian	75,000

For NDEA institutes for advanced study of French and Spanish—Summer 1965

State and institution	Language	Grant
Alaska: University of Alaska	French	$83,374
California:		
Chapman College	Spanish	86,330
Pomona College	do	79,159
Sacramento State College	do	73,948
San Jose State College	do	80,034
University of the Pacific	do	81,789
University of Southern California	do	101,396
Colorado:		
Colorado State University	French	67,291
University of Colorado	Spanish	154,308
Connecticut: Central Connecticut State College	French	80,976
District of Columbia: Howard University	French; Spanish	97,238
Florida:		
Florida State University	French	81,579
University of Florida	Spanish	77,615
Georgia: Woman's College of Georgia	French; Spanish	89,532
Illinois: Knox College	Spanish	120,648
Iowa: Coe College	French	75,909
Kansas: Kansas State Teachers College	do	62,456
Kentucky: University of Kentucky	do	79,341
Maine: University of Maine	do	77,830
Maryland: Goucher College	do	70,884
Massachusetts:		
Assumption College	do	63,786
Tufts University	do	73,360
Michigan: Kalamazoo College	Spanish	99,239
Missouri: Webster College	French	64,046
Montana: Montana State University	do	79,495
Nevada: University of Nevada	do	73,563
New Hampshire: St. Anselm's College	do	89,411
New Jersey: Rutgers—The State University	French; Spanish	116,543
New York:		
Colgate University	do	91,946
New York—Continued		
Elmira College	French	$67,896
Hamilton College	do	81,249
Iona College	French; Spanish	94,129
College of New Paltz (SUNY)	Spanish	89,505
St. Lawrence University	French; Spanish	92,810
Wells College	French	73,236
North Carolina:		
Appalachian State Teachers College	do	88,734
East Carolina College	Spanish	62,588
Ohio:		
Kent State University	do	79,225
University of Akron	French	74,933
Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma	French; Spanish	119,254
Oregon: Lewis and Clark College	French	83,281
Pennsylvania:		
Bucknell University	French; Spanish	69,812
Gannon College	Spanish	59,168
University of Pittsburgh	French	66,750
South Carolina: Furman University	Spanish	64,845
Tennessee: University of Tennessee	French	73,581
Texas:		
Our Lady of the Lake College	Spanish	59,308
Rice University	do	84,058
Texas Southern University	French; Spanish	80,670
University of Texas	Spanish	76,118
Vermont: University of Vermont	French	63,663
Virginia:		
Hampton Institute	do	72,837
Washington and Lee University	French; Spanish	105,598
Washington: University of Puget Sound	Spanish	83,925
West Virginia: West Virginia University	French; Spanish	106,596
Wyoming: University of Wyoming	Spanish	72,951

DISCRIMINATION PROHIBITED

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 states: "No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subject to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance." Therefore all programs cited in this article, like every other program or activity receiving financial assistance from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, operate in compliance with this law.

Twenty Years After

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, in a few days we will pause to remember the signing of the armistice that marked the end of the First World War. The occasion is one of joy at the peace which followed this agreement, and one of sadness at the thought of the Americans who lost their lives in that war and in the subsequent conflicts in which the United States has been engaged.

In fact, this year is the 20th anniversary of the conclusion of the Second World War. The minister of my church in Rye, N.Y., spoke eloquently and mean-

ingfully to mark that occasion on Memorial Day last May. As we remember on this Veterans Day the men who have done battle to preserve our peace in the past and those who are fighting today to keep our peace for the future, I would like to share with my colleagues the enlightening and pertinent thoughts of the Reverend Joseph N. Bishop, of the Rye Presbyterian Church. His address follows:

TWENTY YEARS AFTER

Twenty years ago this summer we came to the conclusion of the Second World War. On this Memorial Day of 1965 it would seem not inappropriate for us to ponder very briefly the main strands which compose the pattern of our period as it has evolved in these past two decades and to search out together the insights of the Christian faith which help us to understand our time.

It will be apparent at once that no consideration of the forties, fifties, or the sixties can fail at the outset to recognize the development of a technological competence which has given to contemporary man a mastery of nature as well as a fantastic efficiency in the arts of communication and transportation. By the aid of science, time has conquered space, with the consequence that ours is a shrunken globe both in space and in time. This greater intimacy and interdependence has not, however, created a world community. Instead it has created the possibility of enlarging every area of conflict which exists.

In short, our supersonic flights, our explorations of matter, our Early Bird satellite have provided us with new dimensions of human togetherness, but at the same time they have provided us with the possibility of new dimensions of manipulation and tyranny. Whatever the future holds, we may be sure that it will unfold against the background of a fantastically successful technological culture in which more and more peoples of the earth will participate.

History has a way of surprising men and making their judgments foolish. I can remember the day not too long ago in the past couple of decades when everyone thought that an armament race on the level of nuclear weapons would lead inevitably to war, even though such a war would mean almost total annihilation. But in recent years it has become apparent that this grim and ironic community of power has become the only real source of hope that war may be prevented. The old dogma that armament races would inevitably lead to war has been challenged, and the hope of the scientist, Nobel, the inventor of dynamite, that the destructiveness of modern weapons would prevent war seems to have been belatedly justified, after history almost seemed to make sport of such a hope. We have lived, it would seem, in Sir Winston Churchill's phrase, amidst "a security which is the child of terror and a survival which is the twin brother of annihilation."

Another reality we cannot ignore in reviewing these two decades is the unmistakable development of international communism. Since the conclusion of the Second World War we have seen the fall of two Soviet dictators and the outlines of power in the Soviet Union at the moment are still obscure. But the overall fact about international communism is that it has managed to combine national ambitions with the ancient immemorial dream in the human heart for equality and decency in such a way as to have fastened with tenacious power upon the imaginations of millions of people on the face of this globe. It would be almost impossible to determine the proportions of illusion and cynicism which are combined in the Communist imperialism. Not a little of Communist power is due to the fact that we are confronted with an enemy which avails itself of every possible political and economic as well as military weapon in order to obscure the unscrupulous quality of its methods and to espouse the idealistic pretentions of its dogma.

The single new fact about communism to emerge recently is that it can no longer be dealt with as a single monolithic enemy, but that it has many heads and must be approached differently in Asia than we approach it in Europe; differently in Latin America than we approach it in southeast Asia. Its methods of conspiracy and insurrection and subversion and outright attack may be everywhere observed, but it employs these methods differently in different parts of the world. And we have begun to realize, as time has given us the opportunity to do so, that these differences may be exploited to the advantage of the Western World.

There is another reality we must recognize and it is that since the conclusion of the Second World War American influence has risen from the ground like a giant casting his influence across the entire globe. At the end of the Second World War we were the only nation with sufficient economic power to sustain the military force that was required to police the world and at the same time help the impoverished economies of Europe so that they would not fall prey to the virus of communism. History probably records no more rapid transformation of a national attitude than that which took place among us during the Second World War and in the decades that followed. There is no responsible thinking person of my acquaintance who advocates an isolationism which bears even the vaguest resemblance to the isolationism to which most of us in this congregation clung in the 1930's.

The rise of mature American leadership in the facing of our global responsibilities is a fact of immense importance in the history of the world. When the books are written about the period in which you and I have lived you may be sure that one of the truly outstanding observations which will be made is that we went into the Second World War propelled largely by what the President then called "an act of infamy" at Pearl Harbor and we came out of the war a colossus prepared to accept responsibility commensurate with our power. To be sure this was not accomplished without immense leadership and effort, but it was accomplished largely through the cooperation of the vast majority of the American people.

There is a last observation that we must make about our period in the last two decades and it is that these decades have seen the development of revolutionary ferments of an unprecedented character in the Asian and African continents. One has only to think of the proliferation of membership of the United Nations in the last decade to get some idea of the scope of what has happened in South America, Asia, and Africa.

But as the African leviathan rouses from his slumber to shout his resentment against the tyranny of his former colonial masters and of the white man, he knows that at the same time he is overwhelmed by the necessity of striding—in a mere decade—from a condition of primitive illiteracy into a technological culture which is unbelievably complex and sophisticated. He has neither the time nor the desire to develop the political institutions on which government, or the consent of the governed, can be based. Regardless of the time or the complexity involved, however, he is determined—be he Asian or African—to take his place under the sun.

Every reflective person knows that this general situation we now face is one in which there will be no clear-cut victory for our cause, no immediate fulfillment of our fondest wishes, nor any release, for many decades to come, from the burdens as well as the anxieties which we must bear. It is a measure of our growing maturity as a people and as a Nation that by and large the majority of us have come to recognize this harsh reality.

In such a condition we need desperately the resources of our religion. It is a sobering and strengthening thing to realize that our faith has always taught us to know that man is a creature whose freedom is always hedged and limited, and whose actions are always mixed, but who must, nevertheless, act and decide. Our faith has taught us to know ourselves as creatures of sin as well as of innonence, of hope as well as of despair. Such a realization inevitably teaches us that human ends can never be fulfilled as we would wish them to be. Our faith has taught us to know that responsibility and guilt are always intermixed.

It is one of the sources of the Communist evil that communism represents a secular faith which attempts to complete itself in history. When utopianism is made the basis of a political program it becomes extremely dangerous for it is a demonic expression of man's pretensions to be something more than a creature.

We who count ourselves in the company of the Judaeo-Christian tradition believe that faith in a sovereign God "who bringeth princes to naught and maketh the judges of the earth as vanity" is a source of immense and incalcuable wisdom. A nation which knows that there is a Lord whose majesty dwarfs the pretensions of even the most powerful nation is a nation which may not be destroyed by its own vanity. The most perennial problem in the light of mankind is the worship of the nation as if it were God. The history of Babylon, Rome, Egypt, Nazi Germany, and Fascist Italy are eloquent with witness as to what happened to a nation when its people make partriotism into a religion.

Foster Dulles once wrote, "To great masses of mankind the personification of the state is in effect their god. It represents the surpreme object of their devotion. Its power and dominion are to them sacred and to subtract therefrom is akin to sacrilege. Years ago in New England a group of Christains, comprising the Massachusetts Peace Society, appointed a committee to study the causes and results of war. They found, among other causes, what they referred to as an infatuation and a delusion by which individuals identify themselves with the nation to which they belong and invest this personified entity with god-like attributes. With respect to this cause of war, they said, should the increase of mortal light in the ages to come be in the ratio of that in the past, we predict that this attitude will be regarded by posterity as one of the most childish and absurd of the present age." "Unhappily," concluded Foster Dulles, "it would appear that moral light has not increased as expected. A delusion which they expected would be quickly dissipated has on the contrary grown, until today it is the most powerful and dangerous force in the world."

There is a last insight that I want to mention which the Christian faith offers to our time and it relates to the impressive wealth which American society enjoys. Our opulence, our standard of living, is due primarily to the high degree of efficiency which American industry has developed with the advantage of an economy contained within a continent permitting mass production and lowered costs on an unprecedented scale. The world abroad looks at us, especially from South America, Africa, and Asia, and the parable of Abraham and Lazarus becomes at once vividly meaningful.

We must learn to use our wealth—as we have sought to do in the last two decades—for the benefit of the world community, but in a way which is frank to recognize that our obligations to the world around us arise

not only out of our impulses of generosity and responsibility but also out of our recognition that it is in our own national interest to raise the standards of the world in which we live. We must be generous, not in the sense of sharing our wealth, but in the sense of supporting a community of nations which is designed to preserve the health and the growing influence of freedom and justice. Let us be mature enough, not to make claims to generosity, nor to expect gratitude from any quarter. Anything we offer to Asia or to Africa will not seem like generosity to them, when the chasm between our societies is so great.

The plain truth is that the complexities of our wealth and the world's poverty are so immense that all simple moral judgments are almost irrelevant. However, in a society of such affluence as our own, we need to be reminded of our obligations as a nation of tremendous wealth and we need to be worried over and over again that the more intensely we concentrate upon the goods of life the more rapidly will we forget about the goals of life. Let us hope that our wealth can be dedicated to the task of giving strength to the free community of nations and to the expansion of that community everywhere. Our heavy burdens under considerable taxation simply provide our country with an opportunity to make our wealth at least sufferable to our consciences and perhaps tolerable to our friends.

On this Memorial Day 20 years after 1945, let us remind ourselves of the Christian understanding of our creatureliness as well as our obligation to God from whom all things are given as sacred trusts.

Let me conclude by telling you a favorite story of mine which I have told once before. In the Connecticut Legislature in colonial times there occurred the following episode: The legislature was in session on a hot summer day. A severe electrical storm began to gather and the heavens became so dark that it became impossible to read in the legislative chamber. Many of those present feared that the end of the world might be at hand. Some even knelt to pray. It was suggested that the legislature be adjourned. It was then that the speaker arose and pronounced himself as follows: "Gentlemen," he said, "either this is the end of the world or it is not. If it is not, I see no reason to interrupt our labors. If it is, I prefer to be found doing my duty. I order that the candles may be brought at once."

That, it seems to me, is the attitude which any Christian must take who is faced with the dimensions of our period. No matter what happens, let us be found doing our duty and it may be that just such quiet reflection as we have engaged in, even so feebly and inadequately this morning, is that which provides the candles.

Travesty of Justice—I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the recent miscarriage of justice in a Hayneville, Ala., courtroom has brought an outpouring of condemnation by the editors of many newspapers around the Nation. I ask unanimous consent that a cross-section of southern editorial opinion on this tragic event be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Nashville (Tenn.) Tennessean, Oct. 1, 1965]

HAYNEVILLE, ALA., TELLS THE WORLD

Under the American system of justice a jury is charged with the responsibility of determining the guilt or innocence of those charged with crimes.

And a jury of 12 white men in Hayneville, Ala., has judged Special Deputy Sheriff Thomas L. Coleman not guilty of manslaughter in the death of Mr. Jonathan M. Daniels, a ministerial student who was doing civil rights work in Hayneville at the time he was slain.

The jury cleared Special Deputy Coleman but across the land the system of justice in Alabama stands indicted and convicted of maladministration in the minds of those who have hoped for reason and decency to prevail in areas of the deep South.

The sentiment is strengthened by the words of Mr. Richmond Flowers, Alabama attorney general who sought to have the trial postponed because his chief witness—a priest wounded when Mr. Daniels was killed—was still in a Chicago hospital.

The attorney general believed—as did many others in Alabama and across the Nation—that the feeling of the people of Hayneville was "slanted" against the prosecution and in favor of the defendant. Mr. Flowers had tried to get an indictment for murder, rather than manslaughter. But the grand jury indicted on the lesser charge and the trial jury deliberated only 2 hours before clearing the special deputy.

Two witnesses came to testify they saw—or thought they saw—a knife in the hand of the young victim and a gun in the hand of the priest who was wounded. This testimony apparently was reason enough for the jury to excuse Special Deputy Coleman for firing two shotgun blasts which cut the men down in front of a grocery store.

And so Alabama has succeeded again in telling the world that those who come to that State to promote equal justice for all citizens do so at the risk of their lives. There are those in Hayneville who may be laughing tonight. But those who hope for decency to prevail—in Alabama and across the land—weep for the cause of justice.

[From the Lakeland (Fla.) Ledger, Oct. 3, 1965]

THE FRIENDLY ALABAMIANS

Perhaps Gov. George Wallace was right when he insisted that Alabamians are a friendly people. Events in Haynesville, Ala., on Thursday would tend to bear out his contention. John Herbers, writing for the New York Times wire service, told of the testimony of Leon W. Crocker, a domino-playing companion, who had been called as a witness in behalf of Thomas Coleman.

Coleman, a 55-year-old member of the local white gentry, was accused of gunning down a ministerial student and a Roman Catholic priest, killing one and wounding the other, on August 29.

But the defense testimony of Crocker made it appear that the two men of the cloth were actually armed and dangerous troublemakers. He said the slain student, Jonathan Daniels, was carrying a knife and that the Chicago priest, Father Morrisroe, critically wounded and still in the hospital, was brandishing a gun. The reason no weapons were found on the bodies, Crocker explained, was because some unidentified Negroes quickly removed and made off with them.

The two civil rights workers were gunned down by Coleman as they emerged from a little grocery store in Haynesville. They had been buying soft drinks. Prosecution witnesses said the ministers both were empty-handed except for the priest, who had a dime in his right hand.

Ah, but one question remains unanswered, and probably will be unanswered for all eternity. If Thomas Coleman did fire in self-defense against two armed and desperate clergymen, why is it that the priest was shot in the back as he sought to run? That would indicate Coleman had engaged in a most cowardly act of shooting a defenseless person in the back.

Oh well, those little mistakes will happen, even in the friendliest of communities, such as Alabama. The real character of Thomas Coleman is revealed in the description of him by his lawyer, Joe Phelps, in the closing argument to the jury. The priests, Phelps said, were merely "false prophets in sheep's clothing," and he went on to say that "We ought to thank Almighty God we have got a man such as Tom Coleman in our midst."

And as the jurors filed out of the courtroom to begin considering the evidence, one of them, in the words of the New York Times reporter, "winked at the defendant."

To nobody's surprise, the jury brought in a verdict of acquittal Thursday morning.

This is further evidence of the friendliness of Alabamians who are quick to show that they bear no grudge against anyone—except, perhaps, the evil troublemakers who come heavily armed and try to buy soft drinks at a grocery store.

[From the Roanoke (Va.) Times, Oct. 2, 1965]

THE SHAME OF LOWNDES COUNTY

In the same Alabama courthouse where a few months ago a jury failed to reach a verdict in the slaying of a woman civil rights worker, another jury has acquitted a part-time deputy sheriff of killing Jonathan Daniels, the New Hampshire seminarian who was also engaged in civil rights activities. Alabama's Attorney General Richmond Flowers calls the acquittal of Thomas L. Coleman in Lowndes County "a mockery of law and order." Certainly he has sound basis for this judgment of a case which reflects sadly upon the quality of justice in Alabama.

Mr. Flowers sought to delay the trial long enough to obtain an indictment for murder and assumed personal direction of the State's case. A continuance would have permitted appearance as a prosecution witness of the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, not yet recovered from the shotgun wound suffered at the time of the killing of Mr. Daniels. But the trial judge refused to grant a delay and removed Mr. Flowers and his staff from the case where they refused to prosecute the defendant on the lesser charge.

And so in a community where "outside agitators" are hardly regarded as entitled to protection of the law the victims rather than the defendant appeared to be on trial. Defense lawyers made a travesty of the affair with introduction of extraneous matters aimed at prejudicing the jury. The jury chose to believe the vague references of defense witnesses about weapons in the hands of the clergymen although no weapons were ever found, and prosecution witnesses denied the clergymen were armed.

The proceedings and the verdict were shocking. For the real verdict is that in an American community it is possible for justice to be so callously thwarted.

[From the Huntsville (Ala.) Times, Oct. 1, 1965]

THE REAL VERDICT

The verdict is in. And it reads that in Lowndes County there has been mistrial, that there has been contempt of the American system of justice.

The verdict comes, of course, from the conscience of men and women across the breadth of a Nation.

The statement of the 12 Lowndes County inhabitants which was read in a courtroom in Hayneville yesterday was not verdict. That more closely amounted to an attempt to license men to take the lives of other men without penalty.

For days to come, the voice of outrage understandably will continue to reverberate, and none in Alabama can do anything more for Lowndes County that plead nolo contendere.

The Times feels that the greatest single block placed in the path of the State's honest and hampered attempt at prosecution resulted when the State was forced to go into court without its major witness, who lay at death's door. Furthermore, it was required to proceed without time to establish whether there was or was not evidence to indicate that the victims of the tragic assault possessed even token weapons.

The hearing at Hayneville was conducted in a vacuum. The facts necessary for rendering a considered judgment were missing—even if the temper and desire for considered justice had existed there.

[From the Dallas (Tex.) Times Herald, Oct. 4, 1965]

JURY SYSTEM

From indictment to verdict, the case of the special deputy charged with manslaughter in Alabama was shocking to most Americans. The entire handling of the procedure and the manner in which the case was rushed along repelled our sense of justice. We must, however, measure our reaction to the situation.

This type of trial is one price we pay for the jury system. The system has failings, but it is basic to our democracy. We must not scrap the system in reaction to a case such as this.

The Alabama case was a setback for justice. The verdict will always be questioned because of the way the trial was handled. Something must be done to more fully guarantee justice in these cases, to guarantee a fair trial for both sides. Justice may have to be forced on some States, but we must be careful we do not destroy more than we create.

[From the Anniston (Ala.) Star, Oct. 1, 1965]

THE PATTERN CONTINUES

The jury in Lowndes County has given its verdict in the slaying of Jonathan Daniels, and, by the book, the judicial process has been followed—arrest, indictment, trial by jury of peers, and acquittal.

It remains, however, a part of a pattern in Alabama and the Deep South that somehow doesn't leave a convincing picture of justice, equal justice for all in the American tradition.

In bombings, midnight slayings, the toll in the conflict that covers the South has been a gruesome one, and there have been in some cases arrests and indictments and trials.

But—the pattern again—no one yet has had to pay seriously for the death of one of those people. It is a sad commentary, too, that so many think that justice reserved for only a portion of us is true justice, and that justice denied any one of us does not erode justice for all.

[From the Durham (N.C.) Herald, Oct. 4, 1965]

CONTEMPT FOR A VITAL SAFEGUARD

Alabama has delivered another blow to the proud traditions of American justice.

That a special deputy sheriff was found not guilty in Lowndes County court of slaying a young civil rights worker is not surprising. In Lowndes County, Ala., people may have convinced themselves that this man armed with an automatic shotgun did kill the young seminarian and wound a priest in self-defense.

What is shameful and sickening about this case is not the expected verdict of innocent but the air of travesty that marked the case throughout. There was no prosecution, there was no trial worthy of the name.

The only visible purpose of the proceedings was to provide the defendant with a quick acquittal on the least onerous charge possible. In what must stand as an astonishing development even in the selective justice common to racial cases in the Deep South, the State attorney general's attempts to provide the trappings of a genuine trial were thwarted by the trial judge.

Reasonable motions on behalf of the attorney general for a delay in the proceedings were denied. Warnings against perjury and connivance by prosecution witnesses to aid the defendant were ignored. And finally the attorney general was ordered out of the case.

Perhaps there is some solace in the fact that Alabama's Attorney General Richmond Flowers at least tried to have a serious trial on a serious charge. But this is cold solace at best. One brave man alone cannot uphold the ideals of justice when he is so clearly alone as was Mr. Flowers in Lowndes County.

A whole county and its legal system readily warped the entire process of justice to fit a base prejudice. The result was not just another example of the double standard in southern justice but of an open contempt for the even-handed justice essential in protecting men of all races and persuasions from tyranny.

[From the Dallas (Tex.) News, Oct. 6, 1965]

RESPECT FOR LAW

The Alabama man who killed a seminary student and wounded a priest has been acquitted on a manslaughter charge by his fellow townsmen. Defense attorneys conceded that he had shot the men, but claimed that the churchmen were armed with a knife and a pistol.

It is but the latest southern court case in which men who have been charged with killing civil rights workers have been freed under questionable circumstances. Such cases bring not only the South, but the concept of law and justice, into disrepute.

Civil rights advocates have used deliberate disobedience of the law as a weapon and the News has deplored the tactic, for we feel that it strikes at the very core of civilized society. But even more reprehensible is the use of law itself as a weapon of vengeance, or to condone or excuse acts of brutality.

Law enables us to live together in America in peace only if it has the respect of those who are ruled by it. If it is to have that respect, it must not only be obeyed, it must be administered with justice and without regard to the race, creed, or causes of the persons involved.

If these verdicts have been reached by the juries in sincere belief that the evidence dictated them, then they are not to be faulted. But if they have made their decisions because they did not have the courage or the honesty to say that a crime against a hated outsider is nevertheless a crime, then they have dishonored the law of man and sinned against the law of God.

[From the Newport News (Va.) Press, Oct. 2, 1965]

THE VERDICT OF HAYNEVILLE

According to Alabama's attorney general, Richmond Flowers, the acquittal of Tom Coleman at Hayneville on Thursday represented "the democratic process going down the drain of irrationality, bigotry, and improper enforcement of the law."

That was the comment of a frustrated public official, one who had been balked at every turn in an attempt to see that Alabama's name should not be besmirched by improper handling of this case involving the slaying of a civil rights worker. He objected to Coleman's having been charged with first-degree manslaughter instead of first-degree murder; he sought a postponement until the State's chief witness could be in condition to testify, and he protested that the atmosphere in the town would not permit a fair trial. In addition it was argued that the Alabama public safety director had refused to cooperate in the State's case against Coleman.

But the judge refused to postpone the trial, and the upshot of it all was (1) that Flowers and his assistant were removed from the case, and (2) Coleman was acquitted in short order.

Now it may be that the self-defense plea entered for Coleman in the slaying of a young Episcopal seminarian would have stood up if the State's chief witness had been permitted to testify, and if the trial had been removed to other surroundings. But the important fact is that the authorities in Hayneville did not do everything within their power to provide for a full hearing of this case, and that the atmosphere was, by all accounts, most favorable to the defendant.

The reaction of Alabama's attorney general indicates he, as well as a great many other Alabamians, are just as aghast at the way this case was handled as are those who have written columns of critical comment for newspapers, north and south. It was a high-handed example of how not to serve the cause of justice.

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, Oct. 7, 1965]

HAYNEVILLE VERDICT REINFORCES DEMANDS TO CHANGE JURISDICTION IN SUCH CASES

All across the land have come reverberations of shock, even horror, over the outcome of the trial last week in Hayneville, Ala., which grew out of the killing of the Reverend Jonathan Daniels. As shown on this page today, cartoonists, editorial writers, and columnists almost as one have registered indignation, disappointment, and shame based on the known facts of the case and the trial.

Columnist Max Freedman today concludes his article on a note which can be described as the consensus of most comments.

"Jonathan Daniels will not be forgotten," Freedman writes. "The memory of his death, and of this contemptible trial, will stir and stimulate many people in all parts of the country to see to it that equal justice shall never again be so easily mocked and its principles outraged by courtrooms that have degraded themselves deliberately into temples of injustice."

These words are echoed in an editorial in the Birmingham News which declared in part:

"It would be foolish not to recognize that with other cases in this and other Southern States a pattern has emerged which is certain to stimulate new demand for Federal power of trial in deaths of civil rights workers."

It is not necessary to define the pattern since everyone knows it. A double standard of justice is not new to the southern scene but recent evidences of it, never more dramatically demonstrated than in the Hayneville episode, have indeed brought on growing clamor for Federal courts to take civil rights criminal cases out of State courts. As with the Civil Rights Act and other Federal legislation disliked by the South, our own failures to exercise responsibility make such measures inevitable. The Nation cannot survive unless standards of justice apply equally to all.

Already a strong move is underway for passage of such legislation by Congress in

1966. The National Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, an organization representing more than 100 church, union, and civil rights groups, is pushing for a Personal Security Act in 1966. Following a meeting shortly after the Hayneville verdict, its counsel, Joseph L. Rauh, declared that passage of such an act "should be the major legislative goal of the leadership drive in 1966." He added that the legislation would, in effect, take civil-rights-connected cases out of the States hands and into Federal courtroom.

"If we cannot assume that the police and courts are going to look out for us," another spokesman is quoted, "you and I are going to go around with guns. * * * It isn't a question any more of a person getting a vote, it's a question of whether he lives or not."

There will be outraged cries against more "Federal encroachment," but the weight of evidence is on the side of those demanding such legislation.

[From the Raleigh (N.C.) News and Observer, Oct. 8, 1965]

BY REQUEST

Hayneville, Ala., possibly asked for it in the recent acquittal of the killer of the young ministerial student there. Still neither civil rights nor anything else would be well served by a proposal that all civil rights-connected criminal cases be taken out of the hands of State courts and put into the Federal courts.

The Haynevilles, however, are responsible for advancing demands in the civil rights field. Indeed, no people have so served the swiftening pace of change in racial relations as those who angrily and violently offered stubborn defiance.

Those who resisted the rights of Negroes at lunch counters in stores where Negroes were invited to spend for everything else, were chiefly responsible for the Public Accommodations Act of 1964. The flagrant discrimination in voting rights brought the voting rights bill in 1965.

Evident disregard of justice in Alabama courts could—and does—create support for Federal court trial of every affray involving whites and Negroes. That would put the processes of local justice into courts over which there would be little local control. Of course, where local courts are controlled by local prejudices this might seem preferable to some. It would constitute nevertheless such a danger of distant justice as that against which Americans protested when they set up their rights.

This proposal should be promptly rejected. Also the Haynevilles and the Hayneville kind of justice should be recognized as responsible for its suggestion.

[From the Tampa (Fla.) Times, Oct. 1, 1965]

JUSTICE WAS THE THIRD CASUALTY

Tom Coleman, so they say, comes from one of the best families in Lowndes County, Ala.

Members of the jury which absolved him yesterday from charges of manslaughter aren't classified.

But today there is very little difference between Coleman and his peers insofar as the rest of the country is concerned.

He killed; they condoned it.

Technically, he was freed following a plea of self-defense.

Coleman is the "special deputy" who last August turned a shotgun upon two civil rights workers—Father Richard Morrisroe, a Roman Catholic priest, and Jonathan Daniels, an Episcopal seminary student. Daniels was slain. Morrisroe is recuperating in a Chicago hospital from his wounds.

It was obvious from the beginning that justice might be the third casualty in this incident. First, a Lowndes grand jury refused to indict Coleman for murder. He was charged with the lesser crime of manslaughter. Second, trial judge, T. Werth Thagard, rejected a motion by the attorney general of Alabama to delay the trial because of the absence of key witnesses and threats to others.

The trial went on as scheduled with the attorney general and his staff removed as prosecutors by Thagard when they refused to go to court under existing conditions. The county solicitor took over the State's case which was made all the easier by a defense admission that Coleman pulled the trigger of the murder weapon.

But, in the eyes of the defense, Coleman was the victim, not the aggressor. The priest "was running toward him" and the seminary student "reaching for a knife" when Coleman shot.

Defense attorneys even produced one witness who thought he saw a "bright, shiny object that resembled a knife" in Daniels' right hand.

And where was the alleged weapon? A Negro grabbed it right after the shooting and ran off, said the defense.

Apparently, this explanation could not be swallowed even by all members of the jury. It deliberated for 1 hour and 43 minutes before bringing in a verdict of acquittal. The delay, slight as it was, suggested the presence of at least one "doubting Thomas." Or was it simply a matter of form that an immediate verdict of acquittal was not returned?

We may never know. But it doesn't matter. The damage is done. And all those who love the South must apologize for Lowndes County, Ala. The shabby charade of a trial certainly fooled no one. This is not justice; rather it is a clear and deliberate announcement that dual standards of law and morality exist in Lowndes. The stamp of approval has been placed on murder when it is committed against outsiders who espouse locally unpopular causes.

This attitude is no different from that of the agitator, Martin Luther King, who insists upon the right to reject all laws he regards as improper or unjust. Lowndes County cannot suspend the statutes against murder without similarly placing itself above the law.

It isn't enough to argue that the civil rights workers invited violence by enflamin local opinion. We have yet to hear of a law of man or of God in which simple anger justifies the taking of a human life.

Lowndes County has produced one more incident which the decent, honorable South must overcome in its fight to retain rights of local determination and freedom from the stifling domination of federalism.

But who can argue for local determination when the Tom Colemans of the South are granted license to kill? Where is the bedrock of responsibility upon which local determination can be anchored?

Fortunately, Lowndes County is not typical of the entire South. It is a backwater, a stagnant pond, murky and dark, but shallow, too. Still, it is there. And the South will be judged by its presence while more noble achievements go unnoticed.

[From the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, Oct. 13, 1965]

FOR FAIRER JURIES

The outcome of the trial at Hayneville, Ala., of Thomas Coleman for the slaying of Jonathan Daniels, a civil rights worker, has aroused more heated and emotional reaction than reasoned consideration.

The Chronicle, after the trial, pointed to the always present difficulty of judgment without access to all facts presented during a trial, yet expressed "bewilderment and complete disapprobation" as to the not guilty verdict. The information carried by press service reports was such as to indicate to us "a gross miscarriage of justice. It strains credulity to the breaking point to accept the jury's findings."

Since that time, other—and in our opinion emotional—responses have been heard from some quarters. This has run the gamut from northern tendencies to indict the entire citizenship of the fine State of Alabama for the actions of a few, and demands for Federal intervention, to one reader's letter expressing "disgust" with the defense of Daniels' character by U.S. Senator NORRIS COTTON, Republican, of New Hampshire, a close friend of the Daniels family. The letter unrealistically suggested Senator COTTON was "out for the Negro vote" (in New Hampshire?) or that he might "have Communist leanings."

In between these extremes have come a number of thoughtful comments. Among them is a reminder from Marvin Wall, of the Atlanta Constitution, that too many counties by their procedures disregard an 1875 Federal law which provides that neither Federal nor State courts may disqualify an otherwise qualified citizen from grand jury or petit jury duty on the basis of race. The Chronicle, while never wavering in its insistence on the right of freedom of association in any private area of life, has consistently championed the equal rights of all Americans in public affairs controlled by the laws. The selection of juries is such an area, and to the degree that counties fail to provide an approach to jury selection free of discrimination, to that extent does the county penalize its own citizens and provide an incitement to complaints.

Interesting but less valid is the plea by the Right Reverend John E. Hines for a change in the method of jury selection. Bishop Hines proposes, as an alternative to Federal intervention, "the mounting of a jury selection process which reduces to an absolute minimum the cultural and emotional pressures in localized areas."

Exactly what the presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church has in mind we do not know. What we do know, however, is that if his proposal involves a screening of lists so as to limit prospective veniremen to only those whom someone else thinks will act as they should act, then a weapon is introduced by which all justice may be perverted. A man given the power to tamper with the jury list may, in his own mind, operate from the purest of motives. This does not prevent the possibility that from other people's viewpoint he is stacking the deck against their best interests. It does not prevent, furthermore, the establishment of a system whereby other less high-minded arbiters of jury eligibility may gain an upper hand and overtly make juries a completely factional tool.

The present system is subject to abuse, but it is the abuse and not the system which is at fault. Every trial attorney has the right to question, challenge, and have discarded those potential jurors whom he believes would be prejudiced.

If, in spite of this precaution, prejudice still enters the jury box as a thirteenth member, the fault may be charged to the institutions of a society which has fallen short in its duty to educate all citizens to the high responsibilities of the courts and the juries.

Let's not stack the juries in any mistaken notion that justice will automatically be protected. Let us, rather, seek to make every qualified citizen a good potential member of any jury on which he may be called to serve.

[From the Norfolk (Va.) Journal and Guide, Oct. 16, 1965]

SELMA, AND NOW HAYNEVILLE

Decent white people the Nation over—and there are millions of them—must have sickened at the stomach upon reading about the travesty on justice concluded last week in Hayneville, Ala.

It is beyond the comprehension of those who respect law and order, who pay even token allegiance to the precepts of justice and fair play, that almost the whole white popu-

lation of Lowndes County would not only permit, but would participate in or encourage others actually involved in such a performance.

We like to think and we often say that ours is a Government of laws, not of men. But in the final analysis the task of administering the laws devolves upon men. If they lack the decency to uphold the system on which our democracy rests, then injustices are certain to follow.

Perhaps the Hayneville mockery was necessary to arouse the conscience of America and spotlight the cesspool of inhumanity that still exists in some States. Perhaps Jonathan Daniels, the 26-year-old Episcopal seminary student, had to die to create a groundswell of revulsion.

Bear in mind that there had to be a Selma, Ala., before Congress would pass a voting rights law. Maybe now it is possible to get some new laws to protect the lives of those who protest the established order of the Old South. Perhaps now is the time.

[From the Spartanburg (S.C.) Herald, Oct. 5, 1965]

BLINDNESS OF JUSTICE GETS ANOTHER TEST

Justice, they say, is blind.

Which means its due is meted out to all alike. The ideal is rarely reached to perfection, but it should be forever sought.

The acquittal last week of a man in Alabama, charged with shooting down a crusading seminary student, has brought assorted cries of accusation.

Civil rights leaders, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the like charge corruption of justice. The latest to join the chorus is a representative of the National Council of Churches, who declared it an obscene miscarriage.

Indeed, the manner of the trial has caused disturbance in many of us.

Another case of an entirely different nature now goes before the court to test the impartial blindness of justice.

One wonders whether these same champions of legal fairness will speak out for it now.

South Carolina is challenging the constitutionality of the new voter registration law. It requires this State to register illiterates for voting, but does not so require any State outside the South.

Ironically, a citizen of New York is magnifying the South Carolina position in his challenge of a special section of the same law. He is asking the Federal courts to throw out a provision which grants voting privilege to Spanish-speaking people.

New York State has a law disqualifying anyone who cannot speak English and that law has never been tested in the court. Under this statute, New York has denied the ballot to many thousands of Puerto Ricans with high school education.

Now that Congress has taken care of the Puerto Ricans in New York, one wonders whether the court will take under its wing the illiterates of the North.

An the advocates of pure justice will be put to the test themselves. Will they be as fervent in demanding the protection of New York illiterates as they are for those in the South?

[From the Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times, Oct. 20, 1965]

MATTERS OF JUSTICE

The Daniels murder verdict in Hayneville, Ala., and the current second trial in the Liuzzo case make especially timely the report issued Monday by the Southern Regional Council and the Atlanta office of the Civil Liberties Union.

The report well documents the fact of double standards in the courts of too many Southern communities.

With the example of the Whitmore case in New York City, other areas could do their own studies indicating definite needs along this line as well. But in Chattanooga, where there is a relatively sharp contrast with some other Southern areas, the issue nevertheless commends itself insistently to the people.

The bar associations of the South all should be concerned, for instance, when a Warren Fortson in Americus, a Charles Morgan or a Paul Johnston in Birmingham actually lose their law practices with respected firms because they undertook to defend Negroes in civil rights cases.

Or when a Richmond Flowers, attorney general of Alabama, is placed in fear of his life for his courageous attempts to get justice in the Daniels and Liuzzo cases.

The report urges refinements in the selection of juries; a broader public defender system to assure Negroes of fair trials; more attention to the racial attitudes of those named judges; correction of cash register justice wherein poor Negroes are sent to jail for want of money to pay the minor fines whites often can afford; more presentencing reports so that judges have more time to consider cases in their full perspective.

The civil rights movement has brought sustained trouble and even agony to the South. But it is yet a fair question the report asks: "Why is it possible under the American judicial system for a white man to murder a Negro without fear of serious retribution?" We put aside the question at the expense of despair and increased radicalism by Negroes. These are trying days, and the report touches a truth when it says, "White people sometimes complain that they are weary of being constantly reminded of the Negro revolution." But it adds: "Their weariness is nothing compared to the Negro's."

First National City Bank Files Questionable Application With Securities and Exchange Commission for Exemption From Conflict of Interest Provisions for Its Mutual Fund Operation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Federal bank regulatory agencies have gone wild all of a sudden, permitting commercial banks to engage in all sorts of nonbanking businesses. Just a few examples are: equipment leasing, credit cards, insurance, travel services, and mortgage and real estate brokerage. Wherever a dollar is to be made, let the banks make it, so say our Federal agencies, regardless of the harmful effect of unfair competition on small, independent businessmen.

The latest gimmick that the big banks have come up with is to move into the mutual fund business. Mutual fund shares are investment securities and commercial banks have been kept out of investment banking by a law we passed in 1933, growing out of abuses and other misconduct leading up to the 1929 stock market crash. The big banks have been jealous of the growth in the mutual fund industry just as they are jealous of the growth in the savings and loan industry. They want it all to themselves and the Federal banking agencies are going all out to help them get it.

On October 18, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I criticized an almost unbelievable ruling by the Federal Reserve Board approving the proposal by First National City Bank of New York, a $14 billion banking giant, to set up a mutual fund. Sections 21 and 32 of the Banking Act of 1933 are crystal clear that Congress wants commercial banks out of securities operations and investment bankers out of commercial banking. The Federal Reserve Board's Vice Chairman, in testifying this year before our Banking and Currency Committee, of which I have the privilege of being chairman, strongly opposed a bill to expand bank underwriting of State and local bonds—H.R. 7539. Vice Chairman Balderston forcefully stated that such a move would turn the clock back over 30 years and raise again the question of conflicts of interest, self-dealing, and abuse of trust which characterized bank operations in the securities field. The Federal Reserve's flip-flop on this question is indeed mystifying, and my request for an explanation is still unanswered, including the reason why the Federal Reserve kept its approval secret for 6 months.

But, Mr. Speaker, regardless of the Federal Reserve's green light, Comptroller Saxon's willing acquiescence to FNCB's wishes, not to mention the FDIC's go-along attitude, there is just a little bit more to the story.

First National City Bank plans to register its mutual fund with the Securities and Exchange Commission under the Investment Company Act of 1940, just like all other funds must do. However, this financial titan is asking the Commission to excuse it from the conflict-of-interest prohibitions contained in that act. This exemption would be an extremely drastic decision for the Commission to make, both with respect to the best interests of the investing public, as well as the matter of fundamental fairness to other mutual funds not enjoying such special treatment.

Although FNCB calls its proposed mutual fund a "commingled investment account" to be registered as a "diversified, open-end management investment company" with the SEC, it would actually amount to the very first collective "managing agency account" permitted under Comptroller Saxon's regulation 9 which sets out national bank trust powers as permitted by a bill before my committee and which became Public Law 87–822 in 1962. That law permits national banks "when not in contravention of State or local law to act as trustee, executor, administrator, or in any other fiduciary capacity in which State banks, trust companies are permitted to act." So it is clear that this law permits national banks to maintain investment accounts only in a true fiduciary capacity as a bona fide trustee.

Furthermore, Comptroller Saxon's applicable regulation under that law (12 CFR 9.18(a)(3)) permits, among other things, collective investment, where not

in contravention of local law, of funds held by a national bank as fiduciary under a managing agency agreement expressly providing that such moneys are received by the bank in trust.

Yet, contrary to the clear requirements of both law and regulation that collective investment funds may only be received in trust, FNCB has not the slightest intention of operating its "commingled investment account" as a trust. Not only are ordinary mutual funds not fiduciary accounts under traditional trust law, but in its application to the Federal Reserve for an opinion on possible violations of the Banking Act of 1933, FNCB affirmatively stated that investors contributions to the fund would not be received "in trust."

To put it simply, FNCB is just not permitted by law or regulation to operate a collective investment fund except in a fiduciary capacity. What the bank is proposing to do in registering the account as an investment company is clearly illegal—entirely apart from the serious question of violating sections 21 and 32 of the Banking Act of 1933 flatly prohibiting securities operations. To submit to the Securities and Exchange Commission a proposal clearly illegal under other statutes is possibly a fraud upon the Commission. The application appears to be tainted and illegitimate.

The question is: Will Comptroller Saxon conveniently publish a new ruling just in time to bail out FNCB, reversing his rule that a bona fide trust is necessary, at the same time subverting the will of Congress as expressed in the 1962 trust law?

Travesty of Justice—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the recent miscarriage of justice in a Hayneville, Ala., courtroom has brought an outpouring of condemnation by the editors of many newspapers around the Nation. I ask unanimous consent that a cross-section of Southern editorial opinion on this tragic event be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) World, Oct. 13, 1965]

ALABAMA'S "NOT GUILTY" VERDICT

In Lowndes County, Ala., an all-white male jury has returned a "not guilty" verdict in favor of a defendant accused of a serious crime. The circumstances surrounding the incident are now of international magnitude and universal moral discussion.

The activities which led up to the tragic event are worth reviewing. Some white religious leaders from the East were in several Alabama Black Belt counties helping Negro citizens to find solutions for their problems and support for their cause. It was an uncommon thing to see persons of such quality and concern working with distressed, deprived, and disadvantaged citizens.

In a number of the Alabama Negro-disfranchisement counties, negativist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Council and the John Birch Society seem to have set the moral tone, polluted the political streams, and befouled the atmosphere. The negativist spirit breeds negative fruits.

The trial worked through the machinery of justice and the processes of democracy. Yet such machinery and such a process depend for their success upon those who administer them. It is in the administration of the law and its process, in particular instances, where the foul would seem to be. There could be those who are surprised by the "not guilty" verdict and others who would applaud it.

What has happened in Lowndes County tends to light up the task facing up in this State and Nation. The helping power of publicity, the cleansing influence of discussion, the forcing out into the open this question of justice, morality, and fairplay, all are to the good. No jury can release a man from his conscience.

The jury which heard the case has rendered its decision, regardless how one may feel about it. But no jury can say how long and strong what they did will be discussed and evaluated by mankind generally. There is a cosmic process of justice beyond the power of man to weigh or direct.

What has now occurred in Lowndes County should serve to awaken anew the conscience of good men and women. It should serve to spur voter registration, to what the desire for education and to build a determination to get into politics to help provide the kind of leadership needed. There is no punishment as harsh as man's conscience. It is written in the Golden Book that one should not kill.

[From the Tampa (Fla.) Tribune, Oct. 1, 1965]

ALABAMA PHENOMENA

The acquittal of Thomas Coleman in the Hayneville, Ala., slaying of a white civil rights worker suggests it's time for Gov. George Wallace to sponsor another guided tour of his State, or at least Lowndes County.

At his invitation, 49 editors and reporters from across the Nation spent several days last June (at their own expense except for State-provided buses) seeing the "true Alabama," whose "image," the Governor said, had been badly distorted in news accounts of civil rights disturbances and the slaying of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, of Detroit, in that same Lowndes County.

Those who made the trip came away impressed with Alabama's industrial and education gains and the material progress of its Negroes, but largely unconvinced that Wallace and the white power structure were committed to granting Negroes equal rights or equal justice.

Coleman's acquittal, although expected, leaves Alabama's image worse than it was last spring.

A new tour, however, might be better made by representatives of the Nation's courts and bar associations interested in the processes of justice, or by scientists competent to study visual phenomena.

Justice should be a two-way channel, protecting the rights of victim, defendant, and society as a whole. In Hayneville it was society that suffered the greatest injustice.

State Attorney General Richmond Flowers, a moderate who has aroused Wallace's ire with public statements that "segregation, as we know it, is gone," had tried to get Coleman's trial postponed.

For one thing, the principal witness, the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, a Catholic priest shot down at the same time Episcopalian seminarian Jonathan Daniels was slain, was still hospitalized in Chicago and unable to testify. For another, Flowers was convinced the grand jury which had indicted Coleman only for manslaughter had acted on the basis of perjured testimony, and he wanted to present the case anew in hopes of obtaining a first degree murder indictment.

But Circuit Judge T. Werth Thagard not only refused the delay, he threw Flowers and his assistant out of the case and turned it over to local prosecutors.

So Coleman was tried, without the Reverend Morrisroe's presence, by a jury of 12 men openly described by the defense as "his friends and neighbors" and reminded in closing argument that they had thought enough of the defendant to name the local high school football field for him.

The defense argument was that Coleman had fired at the seminarian and the priest in self-defense. Witnesses, one a cousin and another the lifelong friend of Coleman, testified that Daniels advanced on the defendant with a "switchblade knife" open in his hand, and the Reverend Morrisroe (who was shot in the back as he fled) with "something shiny that looked like a pistol."

The weapons were not put in evidence; two witnesses told of seeing a pair of unidentified Negroes slip up and remove the knife and pistol from the hands of the shooting victims as they lay bleeding on the ground.

So, the defense argued, Coleman "did what he had to do * * * what you and I would have done * * * he defended himself and he defended that lady in the store"—the building to which Father Morrisroe said he and Daniels and a group of Negroes just released from jail with them were going to try to buy food.

Alabama's image, it occurs to us, would benefit from a study by outsiders of what exists there that could move an Episcopal seminarian to carry an open switchblade and a Catholic priest to advance, gun in hand, on a public street—or what it is in the atmosphere there that could so distort the vision of a number of witnesses that they would testify, and 12 jurors would believe, that such was the case.

Governor Wallace should invite studies of these phenomena. And the American bar, so often concerned with circumstances which it fears might prejudice the right of a defendant to a fair trial in his own community, should initiate its own study of the matter of granting society, where circumstances are prejudicial to the prosecution's case, the same right to change of venue that a defendant has.

[From the Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial Appeal, Oct. 1, 1965]

AN ALABAMA VERDICT

"He did what he had to do," the defense attorney pleaded and the jury at Hayneville, Ala., agreed.

And so the case has ended for now, with no one adjudged guilty of the slaying of a New England seminary student who died on the doorstep of a country store from the charge of a shotgun fired at short range.

For the people of Lowndes County in Alabama, this verdict may seem to have closed the case. They have gone back to doing the things they were doing before this "incident" focused attention upon their community, and thinking the same self-righteous thoughts they had been thinking.

But the Nation and the world have not forgotten what happened there last August 20, and will not forget what happened in the courtroom at Hayneville this week. For the shame of Alabama now is not alone what was done by one man to another, but that none in that community had the honesty, the courage, the common decency to admit that a wrong had been done.

The verdict in the court room was "not guilty"—not guilty of even lesser charges than murder. But if the perpetrator of that crime thinks that he walks free, if those people of Lowndes County who condone this decision think their consciences now are free, they are mistaken. They are caught now in the confines of moral judgment which will weigh more heavily upon them each day as time passes for by their failures they have violated more than mere laws of man.

[From the Birmingham (Ala.) News, Oct. 5 1965]

CLERGY ON HAYNEVILLE

Over the past weekend several clergymen spoke on a subject profoundly disturbing some Alabamians. Perhaps many are disturbed; it is difficult to determine. But the outspoken clergymen apparently believe that there is a need to emphasize the basis for concern. This newspaper underscores such need.

Bishop C. C. J. Carpenter and Bishop Coadjutor George M. Murray, of the Episcopal Church, issued a joint statement in which they said in part:

"We * * * call upon all Christian people in Alabama to get on their knees and pray earnestly that the whole process of indictment and trial in the case of Jonathan Daniels shall in no wise be interpreted as a license to kill or injure those with whom we disagree or whose behavior we disapprove and that the importance of the Christian doctrine of the infinite worth of human life shall not be diminished."

They pointed out an especial cause for concern: "We are deeply disturbed to have heard all too many church members condoning the slaying or beating of civil rights workers, saying such things as 'they had it coming to them,' or 'they had no business being here.'"

Bishops Carpenter and Murray warned of the dangers in "the widespread impression that there is a failure in the administration of justice within our State."

In a sermon Sunday the Rev. Julian L. McPhillips of St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Mountain Brook reminded that "the very fact that for years we have allowed so much flagrant injustice and discrimination against some of our people is the very thing which has brought so much trouble and interference into our State."

He said that "we seem to be caught in a trap," that we resent interference, we resist outsiders trying to change conditions, we tend to place blame elsewhere at the same time that we want things fair and just. He said that in our troubles, we "try to rationalize and find excuses."

Men of God are supposed to emphasize to their congregations, and to the people generally, dangers in our confusions and our sometimes misguided efforts—or failures to take correct action. The cloth is and must be concerned with the lay life, for spirituality is not a once a week matter.

Alabama has suffered before. The many good things in this State seem at times to be lost as particular events occur.

But we shall always, in a finality, be judged by how much each of us individually addressed himself to the reality of shortcomings.

One should not need to spell this out. Every thinking man or woman—and some even younger—has experienced recent shock. Will we allow it to fade away while we busy ourselves with temporal avenues of escape?

Love among and regard for mankind has a price. It is repetitively uncertain how many truly are willing to pay it.

[From the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times, Oct. 1, 1965]

DISGRACING THE BENCH

No realistic person was surprised at the verdict of acquittal in the Hayneville, Ala., civil rights manslaughter case.

Not after the way the stage had been set by Circuit Judge T. Werth Thagard.

Tom Coleman, a prominent Hayneville citizen, was on trial for the slaying on August 20 of Jonathan Daniels, an Episcopal seminarian earlier engaged in a civil rights demonstration.

At the same time Mr. Daniels was killed, Father Richard Morrisroe, a Catholic priest, was shot in the back and is still hospitalized from the wound.

Attorney General Richmond Flowers of Alabama was so incensed at the grand jury indictment charging only manslaughter rather than murder that he personally assumed charge of the prosecution.

The State's principal witness was to be Father Morrisroe. Because his serious condition made it impossible to be present at this time, the State requested a postponement of the trial.

This Judge Thagard refused. The State then moved to nol pros (dismiss) the case, intending to seek a new indictment later when its key witness would be able to testify.

Judge Thagard not only refused this also, but in a high-handed action unprecedented in Alabama's history he removed the State's highest legal officer as prosecutor and ordered the circuit court solicitor to proceed with the case.

Forty minutes later an all-white, male jury had been seated, without any of the jurors having been questioned as to their prejudices or other possible disqualifying factors.

Two white witnesses, one Coleman's cousin and the other his longtime friend, testified that the seminarian and the priest had things in their hands which "resembled" a knife and a gun. On cross-examination they admitted they could not say positively that either was armed, and Negro witnesses flatly denied that either had a weapon. No weapons were found.

Nevertheless, although he admitted shooting Daniels, on a plea of "self-defense," Coleman was acquitted.

The jurors, of course, were parties to this farce. But in accepting the shaky evidence of a white man favoring another white man as against much more potent testimony of Negroes against the white man, they were simply reacting in accordance with attitudes bred of a blighted environment.

It is the judge's conduct which was scandalous.

Although jurists in Alabama, as in most States, are political creatures elected to their posts, one expects elevation to the bench to endow judges with higher ethical and moral standards than are demanded of other officeholders.

But Judge Thagard's refusal of a perfectly reasonable request by the prosecution, and his arrogant treatment of Alabama's attorney general, leave no doubt as to the bias and prejudice with which he approached this case.

If there ever were a perfect example of why judges should be removed from the political arena, and insulated against the pressures of having to be vote seekers, the trial at Hayneville has provided it.

[From the Raleigh (N.C.) News and Observer, Oct. 1, 1965]

INCREASING CONVICTION

Alabama justice has turned a killer loose and added to the conviction of the world that perjury is approved in that State to justify murder.

This may be unjust to the people of Alabama. In the courthouse in Lowndes County the defense presented an oily smooth case. It undertook to show that the murdered Episcopal ministerial student, and his Catholic priest companion, attempted to enter a small store after they had been told it was closed. They seemed, so a defense witness said, to be armed. They were killed, glib witnesses said, when they approached the store in which the killer had no property interest.

Despite other testimony that the two clergymen were unarmed and despite the showing that the wounded priest was shot in the back, the Alabama jury accepted the defense story. The killer goes free. But Alabama does not. Millions of people everywhere will be convinced that there in aftermath and cold blood in a jury room perjury was accepted to protect murder.

Once again, this may be unjust to Alabama. Possibly in the furies of that State, fears have been so aroused that citizens are ready to believe that religious men come as robbers. Certainly that presumption was pressed upon a jury apparently eager to find a plausible excuse for a not guilty verdict. Significantly, however, Alabama does not come into the court of public opinion as a frightened defender of its doors but as a State in which unpunished killings in the dark have more than once taken place. And unpopular as may have been there the cause of the dead young man and his wounded associate, all know that they were religious men incapable of violence and crime. They were the last men to go armed with anything but their faith and convictions.

The defendant in this case as in others goes free. But in the minds of millions of people the verdict like the crime will pile up the conviction of Alabama's guilt. The view will grow that there are dark areas in the South ready to throw away honor after humanity. Far from a victory for "white supremacy," the not-guilty verdict in this case will be widely taken as evidence that not merely white discrimination but white barbarism, even in its courts of supposed justice, prevails in Alabama.

[From the Anniston (Ala.) Star, Sept. 16, 1965]

CITIZENS VIEW HAYNEVILLE

Now, Hayneville is the scene. A raging man steps outside and fires his shotgun, leveled at the stomachs of the two men who represent something he rejects. One dies. The miracle of surgery saves the other.

In this case, both of the victims are young. One is a Catholic priest. The other, had he lived, would have been an Episcopal minister.

The scene had shifted throughout this dreadful summer. It has been the main street of Anniston, where two men were wounded. It has been a quite side street where a prominent Anniston man was beaten. It has been Highway 202 where a simple working man was murdered on his way home from work by a shotgun blast in the back of the neck.

It does not matter where it happens. The scene is not important.

It is important that it happened. And, it is of crucial importance how Alabama citizenship responds.

It is important because each citizen in a very important way is the custodian of the law.

If the citizen in his role as a member of a grand jury or as a part of the panel which tries a criminal case fails to apply the law out of prejudice or fear, then the law means little in that part of America.

Without trying the case and, admittedly from some distance, we can make the qualified judgment that the law means little in Lowndes County.

Special Sheriff Tom Coleman, member of a family prominent in the county, was seen by several witnesses firing what has been described as unprovoked shots into the stomachs of the two men.

Yet a Lowndes County grand jury Wednesday indicted him for manslaughter. Manslaughter.

We do not believe in vigilante justice. We reject the idea. But when the facts speak so plainly, the act is witnessed by so many,

how can a grand jury bring in an indictment less than murder?

We are attempting to make no social point any deeper than this:

A life has been taken. A miracle saved the second. Justice demands the villain, no matter how prominent, be made accountable.

If he is not, as is apparently the case in Hayneville, the law means nothing. Anyone can gun down any other person as long as public opinion is on his side.

Can we say the so-called outsiders are misguided when they call this savagery?

One wonders what charge the grand jury would have returned had the "outsider" slain the "insider."

[From the San Antonio (Tex.) Light, Oct. 5, 1965]

ALABAMA ON TRIAL

Last August 20 two shotgun blasts shattered the rural calm of Hayneville, Ala. One killed Jonathan Daniels, a white seminarian and civil rights worker from Keene, N.H. The other seriously wounded Father Richard Morrisroe, a Roman Catholic priest from Chicago.

The man placed on trial for the slaying was Thomas L. Coleman, a prominent citizen of Hayneville with deep roots in the community. He was acquitted on grounds of self-defense.

These are the bare facts of what is probably one of the most horrifying episodes in the history of racial violence in the South. For the Coleman trial was patently a trial in name only, and bore little or no resemblance to a genuine legal proceeding.

Coleman was judged by an all-white jury in a county where Negroes far outnumber whites. The attorney general of Alabama was barred from prosecuting the case because he insisted on postponing the trial to await the testimony of Father Morrisroe, now in hospital.

The testimony of Negroes that no weapons were carried by the slain and wounded men was ignored. The testimony of white men that such weapons were carried was admitted, though no weapons were submitted as defense exhibits.

To describe the trial as a travesty is to understate its shocking nature. Its record, according to press reports, is replete with so many mockeries of the judicial process that it is difficult to believe it actually occurred the way it did.

But what must be believed is this: The Hayneville community, from which the trial jury was drawn, saw no wrong in the slayer's deed. It therefore freed him.

The inescapable conclusion to be drawn is that in some areas of the Nation civil rights workers must proceed at their own risk, denied the protection of law, and must be conscious that, if they are slain, their killers will go unpunished.

This is the lesson of Hayneville. It was the lesson of Philadelphia, Miss., last summer. It is the lesson taught by still other communities since the Negro began his struggle for equal citizenship.

It is a lesson the Nation cannot tolerate, and a means must be found to achieve a legislative way out of this ghastly impasse.

[From the Tuscaloosa (Ala.) News, Sept. 17, 1965]

GRAND JURY RESPONSIBILITY

Action of a grand jury in Hayneville in indicting a local man for manslaughter and assault and battery in an attack on two white civil rights workers from other States raises extremely serious questions.

Was the action of the grand jury proper, under the circumstances? Or did members of the jury let prejudice against "outsiders" affect their action?

We cannot answer those questions with certainty now because little information has been given on the double shooting at Hayneville last August 20. And we do not know, of course, what testimony the members of the grand jury heard from witnesses testifying under oath.

But we do know that a young seminary student from another State was shot down and killed at Hayneville, and that a Catholic priest with him was wounded seriously. Thomas L. Coleman, of Hayneville, has been indicted by a grand jury of neighbors for manslaughter and assault and battery.

If the crimes of murder and assault with intent to murder were committed, no action by a grand jury or a trial jury can wipe out that fact. If testimony given to the grand jury demanded indictments for murder and for assault with intent to murder, the grand jury at Hayneville has weakened our judicial system by its action.

A grand jury does not convict or acquit. Its function is to establish, usually by hearing only testimony for the State, the probability or improbability of a crime having been committed by an accused. Its indictment of a person is a formal charging of some specific offense.

But if a grand jury deliberately indicts a person probably guilty of murder on a lesser offense; and if a grand jury deliberately indicts a person probably guilty of assault with intent to murder of a lesser offense, members are usurping authority they do not have. And they are tearing down confidence in our jury system.

Attorney General Richmond Flowers has shown much courage, and has acted within his duty and responsibility, in saying that the finding of the jury was not proper. We hope he succeeds in having the case considered by another grand jury.

The indictments certainly indicate the urgency of State attorneys considering the need for a change of venue in the Coleman case and in the case of three Klansmen indicted for killing another civil rights worker in the same county. Does any one now believe that just verdicts are likely to be returned by trial juries in Lowndes County?

[From the Birmingham (Ala.) News, Oct. 1, 1965]

THE SOUTH HAS A NEW CONCERN

It is difficult for anyone to comment responsibly about a trial in which judicial procedure has been observed, and yet proceedings and outcome may be disturbing to many.

A grand jury returned an indictment in the Hayneville shooting of a young seminarian from the East. A jury was selected. The jury acquitted. No jury has to explain its basis of judgment.

Yet a man was certainly killed and another wounded in Hayneville, and it cannot matter in law that they were civil rights workers.

This much now is a matter of record: That once again a civil rights worker has been killed in the Deep South and there has been an acquittal.

It is not this newspaper's place to render judgment on the Hayneville case. A jury empaneled to do so has reached the only verdict which counts.

But it would be foolish not to recognize that with other cases in this and other Southern States a pattern has emerged which is certain to stimulate new demand for Federal power of trial in deaths of civil rights workers. Such demand will be offered on a claim that when such an individual is killed in the Deep South, there is little chance of a State court conviction following.

Southerners must concede that this is a claim which from the record cannot be readily rebuked or dismissed and they surely cannot help but be concerned.

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Journal, Oct. 5, 1965]

AFTER HAYNEVILLE

In the aftermath of the irregular handling and swift acquittal in the killing of the Reverend Jonathan Daniels at Hayneville, Ala., that State's Episcopal leadership has issued strong words about the implications.

Such words, too often not forthcoming in the past, add a little toward establishing a climate of responsibility.

It will take much more, of course. But on such an occasion we are glad to see this much take place, and we say so while remaining aware that the same words need to be heard by many in Georgia as well.

"We are deeply disturbed to have heard all too many church members condoning the slaying or beating of civil rights workers, saying such things as 'they had it coming to them' or 'they had no business being there,'" said Episcopal Bishops C. C. J. Carpenter and George M. Murray, of Alabama.

They said they hope all Christian people in Alabama will pray that "the whole process of indictment and trial in the case of Jonathan Daniels shall in no wise be interpreted as a license to kill or injure those with whom we disagree or whose behavior we disapprove.* * *"

The tragic fact is that, without regard to the jury's verdict in this case, many people will interpret the handling of it and the atmosphere as evidence they have just such a license.

Fortunately there are other voices in the South besides the one heard in Hayneville;

The Nashville Tennessean has commented that "Alabama has succeeded again in telling the world that those who come to that State to promote equal justice for all citizens do so at the risk of their lives."

The Louisville Courier-Journal said: "Nothing in the whole proceeding was more shameful than the appearance of local clergymen who gave absolution to the affair, fatally qualifying one of the great commandments."

And within Alabama, these words came from the Birmingham News:

"It would be foolish not to recognize that with other cases in this and other Southern States a pattern has emerged which is certain to stimulate new demands for Federal power of trial in deaths of civil rights workers. * * *

"Such demand will be offered on a claim that when such an individual is killed in the Deep South there is little chance of a State court conviction following. Southerners must concede that this is a claim which from the record cannot be readily rebuked or dismissed and they surely cannot help but be concerned."

We think many southerners are and will be concerned about this, and more must be.

[From the Norfolk (Va.) Virginian-Pilot, Oct. 1, 1965]

A FREE MAN?

Maybe Attorney General Richmond Flowers, of Alabama, will get a whack at Tom Coleman, whose trial and acquittal he deplores, and maybe he won't. It is possible, but less than likely, that Coleman, having come clear in the shotgun slaying of an Episcopal seminarian, will experience a harder accounting to justice in the wounding of a Catholic priest.

Whatever the State of Alabama and the good Lord have in store for Tom Coleman, he may not be as free a man as the headlines from Hayneville say.

He's a member of the aristocracy, or what passes for it, down there. A part-time deputy sheriff and the father of a State trooper, he's also a highway engineer and the son of a school superintendent. There have been Colemans of note in Alabama. This one presumably is familiar with the class and re-

gional code of how a gentleman regards a lie and how he deports himself in an argument.

There was uncertain testimony in the Coleman trial about the priest having a pistol and the seminarian having a knife. If the jury was satisfied on the score, the attorney general was not, and it's difficult to side with the jury.

Tom Coleman knows whether the two were armed. He knows whether he has sly with the trigger and the truth, whether he fired in honor or as a coward. He knows whether he lived up to the old standard or whether he behaved like a sawmill hand gone wild on a full-moon Saturday night.

Having escaped what the Alabama statutes say is a killer's dues, Tom Coleman will live, and he must live with himself. Maybe Lex Talionis—the law that fits the punishment to the crime—will prevail after all.

[From the Corpus Christi (Tex.) Caller-Times, Oct. 8, 1965]

JURY SYSTEM STILL BEST GUARANTEE FOR JUSTICE

An apparent miscarriage of justice in Alabama has cast doubts on one of our most ancient protections against tyranny, the jury system.

A Hayneville, Ala., jury acquitted Thomas L. Coleman, a part-time deputy sheriff, for the August 20 shotgun slaying of a seminary student, Jonathan M. Daniels, 27, of Keene, N.H. A storm of protest has arisen. Remedies have been proposed, including one that would give Federal courts jurisdiction in cases arising from civil rights disturbances.

It is almost impossible at this distance to judge the merits of the case against Coleman. He readily admitted that he killed Daniels, but he claimed that Daniels had a knife in his hand. One defense witness, a cousin of the defendant, testified that Daniels had "an open pocket knife" in his hand when he was shot.

There is at least a presumption that the jury had "reasonable doubts" as to the guilt of Coleman, resolving the doubt in his favor on a finding of self-defense. In all criminal cases, of course, the State assumes the burden of proving guilt "beyond a reasonable doubt." The State may have failed to do so. Or the jury may have required, because of sympathy for the accused, a native of the county, a greater burden of proof than the law actually requires. If so, a miscarriage of justice is plain.

Nevertheless, the result in the Alabama case should not be used as an argument against the jury system, as some are doing. With very few exceptions the atmosphere of the courtroom and the mood of a jury cannot be re-created in newspaper accounts of the trial. Especially important to jurors is the demeanor of witnesses. Is he telling the truth? They must ask themselves, or is he just telling part of the truth or an outright lie? Jurors, not the judge, the audience, or the opposing attorneys, are charged with determining the truth or falsity of testimony given. They have made mistakes in the past. They will likely make mistakes in the future. Yet the function of juries remains vital to the democratic process.

If jurors in the Coleman case can be rightly charged with favoritism to the defendant, then they must answer to their conscience. But this is certainly not to say that every jury chosen in Alabama will ignore the law and the evidence in favor of sympathy for the accused. The jury system in Alabama and the 49 other States must not stand or fall on the outcome of a single case.

[From the El Paso (Tex.) Herald-Post, Oct. 9, 1965]

IT'S NOT THE SYSTEM

Such miscarriages of justice as the freeing of the part-time deputy sheriff who killed the young Episcopal minister in Hayneville, Ala., have raised some doubts about the jury system.

There's nothing wrong with the principle of trial by jury—even in Hayneville.

The fault lies not with the system but with the men who run it.

The jury system presupposes there will be a judge who conducts the trial with fairness and firmness. The jury system cannot carry the burden of a judge who allows a lawyer to rant and rave in an unbridled appeal to race prejudice, anti-Semitism, and anti-Catholicism as the late Matt Murphy did in the earlier Hayneville trial of the Klansman charged with the slaying of a woman civil rights worker.

The jury system cannot operate fairly under the handicap of a judge so patently misguided as to refuse to delay the trial of the minister's slayer until such a key witness as the priest gravely wounded in the same shooting could testify.

The jury system cannot work as our Founding Fathers intended unless law officers operate without bias. No one believes that law enforcement agencies—such as the Alabama State Police—were as diligent in running down evidence against this slayer as they would have been had the case been reversed and the civil rights worker had gunned down the deputy.

But there was a more fundamental handicap to the jury system in Hayneville—a handicap in the makeup of the jury itself.

Juries in Alabama are run by a jury commission. Alabama State law says—except in some counties where local laws supersede it—that jury commissioners are named by the Governor and hold office only until the next Governor appoints their successors. This makes the jury commissioners the Governor's patronage—an open invitation to the perversion of the complete fairness a jury system must have.

The jury system in this country also presupposes juries will be a true cross section of the community.

Juries in Hayneville are not a cross section of the community. Nor are they in many counties in Alabama and elsewhere in the Nation.

No women serve on juries in Alabama—an insult to the intellect of women in today's world and anything but democracy.

Then the population of Lowndes County, of which Hayneville is the county seat, is more than 75 percent Negro. Yet the only Negroes put on jury panels are 1 to 2 out of 100—just enough to pay lipservice to Supreme Court rulings. And to many in Hayneville it would be unthinkable for Negroes actually to serve on juries in important cases.

Alabama has a good State law barring certain people from serving on juries—persons convicted of crimes of moral turpitude, habitual drunkards and other reasonable limitations.

But the law does not say that all in the county who are not barred by law must be given an equal chance for jury duty. The jury commission can virtually handpick any panel. Link it up with the political appointment of jury commissioners and the possibilities are evident.

But forgetting about Alabama—forgetting about the race question—too long in too many places in this country jury panels have been picked on a "father knows best" philosophy. Hayneville is simply the ultimate flowering of such a misuse of the jury machinery.

It would be tragic if what has happened in Hayneville—and in other places in the South and the Nation—made any sizable number of Americans doubt the effectiveness of the jury system.

What has happened in Hayneville should make us all determined to blot out the abuses of the jury system so it can be what it really is—our one best hope of justice for all men.

[From the Abilene (Tex.) Reporter News, Oct. 10, 1965]

JURY SYSTEM HAS FLAWS, BUT STILL VITAL TO JUSTICE

What many feel was a miscarriage of justice in Alabama has cast doubts on one of our most ancient protections against tyranny, the jury system.

A Hayneville, Ala., jury acquitted Thomas L. Coleman, a part-time deputy sheriff, for the August 20 shotgun slaying of a seminary student, Jonathan M. Daniels, 27, of Keene, N.H. A storm of protest has arisen. Remedies have been proposed, including one that would give Federal courts jurisdiction in cases arising from civil rights disturbances.

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Nevertheless, the result in the Alabama case should not be used as an argument against the jury system, as some are doing. With very few exceptions the atmosphere of the courtroom and the mood of a jury cannot be re-created in newspaper accounts of the trial. Especially important to jurors is the demeanor of witnesses. Is he telling the truth? They must ask themselves, or is he just telling part of the truth or an outright lie? Jurors, not the judge, the audience or the opposing attorneys, are charged with determining the truth or falsity of testimony given. They have made mistakes in the past. They will likely make mistakes in the future. Yet the function of juries remains vital to the democratic process.

If jurors in the Coleman case can be rightly charged with favoritism to the defendant, then they must answer to their conscience. But this is certainly not to say that every jury chosen in Alabama will ignore the law and the evidence in favor of sympathy for the accused. The jury system in Alabama and the 49 other States must not stand or fall on the outcome of a single case.

[From the Newark (N.J.) News, Sept. 30, 1965]

ALABAMA JUSTICE

A grand jury sitting in Lowndes County, Ala., indicted the man accused of killing an Episcopalian seminarian and critically wounding a Catholic priest, not for murder, but for the lesser charge of manslaughter.

The grand jurors acted on testimony to the effect that the seminarian and the priest, both volunteer civil rights workers, were armed—one with a 6-inch knife; the other with a pistol.

In the opinion of Alabama's attorney general, such testimony was perjured. No weapons have been produced. The nearest to an accounting comes from Col. Al Lingo, Governor Wallace's deputy in charge of public safety, who says, "a Negro was seen running away with them."

That's one of the reasons Attorney General Flowers took over the case from local prosecutors. That's also why Mr. Flowers asked that the trial be delayed, at least until the

priest, Father Richard Morrisroe, was able to testify.

In the interest of justice, judges normally grant such requests, especially when they come from the State's highest legal officer. In this case Circuit Judge Thagard acted with dispatch. He summarily removed the attorney general from the case. He turned it back to the local prosecutor and those who produced what Attorney General Flowers regards as perjured testimony. He ordered the trial to proceed forthwith.

Thus was justice foreclosed in Lowndes County, Ala.

[From the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, Oct. 2, 1965]

JUSTICE TAKES A BEATING

To sit in judgment without being completely knowledgeable of facts may be to reflect opinion that is without substance.

Yet it is difficult not to view with utter bewilderment and complete disapprobation the verdict of the Lowndes County, Ala., jury which exonerated special deputy sheriff Tom Coleman in the shotgun slaying of a civil rights worker.

No one with a sense of right can help but be outraged by what certainly seems to be a gross miscarriage of justice. It strains credulity virtually to the breaking point to accept the jury's findings—as one must on the basis of the deputy's plea of self-defense—that, af all people, an Episcopal seminary student and a Roman Catholic priest would be so menacing that the law enforcement officer would fear for his life when he cut them down with shotgun blasts killing the student and wounding the priest.

Such seeming lack of regard for human life by the Alabama jury does a disservice to every white resident of Alabama—and the South—who believes in human dignity and justice under the law.

And while it hardly represents the feelings of the large majority of white Alabamians, the verdict, as was pointed out by that State's Attorney General Richmond Flowers, "again places the good name of Alabama and her people on the bigoted stake of racism."

[From the Charlotte (N.C.) News, Oct. 1, 1965]

TRAVESTY IN ALABAMA

Once again travesty on justice has been perpetrated in Alabama.

The trial of Deputy Sheriff Thomas L. Coleman for the killing of a clergyman can only be described as farce of the lowest order. Arrested for murder, Coleman was indicted for manslaughter. He was tried over the protests of the State's attorney general in the absence of the key state witness. He was tried for the killing of a civil rights worker by an all-white jury. In two hours this jury freed Coleman.

Perhaps the atmosphere in which this trial was conducted was best described in the words of one prospective juror who said he had a fixed opinion in the matter: He thought the defendant was innocent. Lowndes County did not give this defendant a fair trial: It had a fixed opinion that he was innocent.

In a few short years Alabama has supplanted Mississippi as the State in which a fair trial is least likely when race is at issue. In 1963 a Baltimore postman named William L. Moore was shot down on an Alabama highway and the man arrested for shooting him freed by a grand jury. Earlier this year an Alabama Klansman was freed on a charge of slaying Mrs. Viola Liuzzo in Lowndes County when a jury deadlocked. Now the scene once again is Lowndes and once again the outcome could have been predicted ahead of time with the greatest ease.

None of this has happened in a political vacuum. In the background has been the attitude of Gov. George Wallace, whose rabble-rousing speeches and blatant race hatred have contributed mightily to his State's descent in the esteem of the Nation. Governor Wallace talks about improving Alabama's "image," yet his own actions have done most to create an atmosphere in which liberty is alien and justice is absent.

This atmosphere will linger until the State's political leadership matures. It will linger as long as that leadership is willing to trade off everything—even including the respect a State should have from its sister States—in an effort to maintain its popularity.

That is what is wrong in Alabama: Its leadership has refused to lead.

[From the Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times, Oct. 1, 1965]

TRAVESTY IN ALABAMA

Tom Coleman, the Alabama deputy sheriff who gunned down a young ministerial student active in the civil rights movement, has been acquitted. He wasn't even being tried for murder, but for manslaughter; his trial proceeded despite the absence of a key prosecution witness hospitalized from wounds inflicted by the same deputy.

This is white man's justice in Alabama. It highlights the fate threatened for any who attempt to protest its inequities or protect its victims.

The death of Jonathan M. Daniels, 27-year-old seminarian, was a tragedy—the ultimate cost of his willingness to witness a belief in human rights and a faith in their triumph anywhere in the United States.

The acquittal of Deputy Coleman is a travesty, an addition to the bill of injustices being run up in Alabama by its race haters and their decent fellow travelers.

This is no indictment of a whole State or an entire people. It is one more brushstroke, blood red, in the nightmarish picture of a readiness to kill, and to condone it, if the victim can be identified with the campaign for extension and protection of lawful rights.

Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers did his best to prevent this blot on the escutcheon of the State. He may have committed political suicide but he tried. He entered the case when the Lowndes County grand jury returned the manslaughter indictment; he complained publicly of the inadequacy of the official investigation and preparation; he tried to delay the trial when the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, wounded when Mr. Daniels was slain, was unable to appear. His insistence on these obviously justified points resulted in his removal from prosecution of the case by the trial judge in an unprecedented action.

The defense produced two witnesses who said they saw a knife held by Mr. Daniels and what looked like the barrel of a pistol in Father Morrisroe's hand. Neither weapon was exhibited; other witnesses and a sworn statement from Father Morrisroe denied they ever existed. The two young men may have been hated for their acceptance of the brotherhood of man; they could not have been known as men of violence who went about armed.

But this was the basis on which Tom Coleman was acquitted. He was the beneficiary of a legal system which we accept because it errs so seldom, sometimes in honesty, sometimes when abused. Mr. Daniels was the victim of a social system which can hold the law in its hand and mold its local decisions, no matter how unjust.

Mr. Daniels died for his beliefs; Deputy Coleman must live with his conscience.

[From the Charlotte (N.C.) Observer, Sept. 30, 1965]

ALABAMA JUSTICE IS CHANGING

The significant thing about the trial of the part-time Alabama deputy accused of slaying an Episcopal seminary student is that it is no longer an example of Alabama justice but rather an example of Lowndes County justice.

That they are no longer the same thing is testimony to the change that must occur in many areas of the South before justice can become a commonly understood term.

The respected attorney general of Alabama, Richmond Flowers, says that the prosecution cannot get a fair trial in Lowndes County. He wants to wait, not only for a better time, but also for what he feels is a proper indictment—murder, not merely manslaughter.

Thomas L. Coleman, 55, a prominent Hayneville citizen, part-time deputy, and Alabama Highway Department engineer, was arrested for the fatal shooting of Jonathan M. Daniels, 27, outside a grocery store near Hayneville.

The State says Coleman also shot and seriously wounded the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, a Catholic priest from Chicago. Both men were there—Daniels from Keene, N.H.—aiding and participating in civil rights demonstrations.

Police charged Coleman with murder, but the Lowndes County grand jury, acting on the request of Solicitor Arthur E. Gamble, Jr., indicted him for manslaughter.

Flowers was sharply critical of the solicitor's effort from the start. The attorney general wants to delay proceedings until the wounded Morrisroe can come from a Chicago hospital to testify, and avoid prosecution on the manslaughter charge while trying to get an indictment for murder.

If the trial continues on the manslaughter charge—as the presiding judge insists—it will be impossible to indict for murder later. The double jeopardy rule will prevent it.

But Judge T. Werth Thagard, in a move reported to be unprecedented in Alabama court procedure, has ordered the attorney general out of the case and told the Lowndes County solicitor to proceed.

Lowndes County already has an unenviable reputation. It was there that Mrs. Viola Liuzzo was killed by klansmen as an aftermath of the Selma-to-Montgomery march. The citizens of Lowndes haven't brought themselves to an impartial judgment of the perpetrators of that act yet.

Now, as the Nation again watches Alabama, those in Alabama who used to turn such a nearly monolithic face to the Nation are themselves looking at Lowndes County.

The hopeful note is that men like Flowers are making it clearer every day that the acts of men like Coleman are not to be condoned, even in Alabama.

And, someday, we'll be able to say, even in Lowndes County.

The Record of the 89th Congress, 1st Session: Report to the People of the Fourth District of Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, a historic session of Congress is ending. Since January, this 1st session of the 89th Congress has worked unceasingly and has compiled a record of legislative achievement seldom equaled in American history.

Now the time has come to review the accomplishments of the past few months.

As has been my custom since my first election to Congress, I wish to report

to the people of my district—the Fourth District of Wisconsin—on the work of the session and, in particular, on my votes and actions as their Representative.

In a sense, a Member of Congress builds his reputation with each vote taken in this body. No piece of legislation is universally popular and no man can hope, or indeed should try, to please everyone.

At the same time, it has been my desire to advance the interests and promote the well-being of the people of my district and the Nation.

THE 89TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION; AN OVERALL VIEW

Historians almost certainly will view the legislative results of the 1st session of the 89th Congress as the most important and far reaching of any peacetime session.

If the 2d session proves as fruitful as the 1st—which appears likely—the 89th Congress may go down as the Nation's most productive and significant of all times.

During the session a number of lofty social welfare goals were achieved which had long been stymied.

I refer, of course, to Federal aid for elementary and secondary schools, medical care for the aged under social security, and the revision of the outmoded national origins quota system of immigration.

These programs and others enacted during the session had been unsuccessfully pressed by other Democratic administrations, including those of Presidents Truman and Kennedy.

President Johnson succeeded where they had been frustrated because of the Democratic landslide in the 1964 elections. The people of the United States—through their action at the ballot box—indicated their trust in President Johnson and the Democratic Party.

The voters were not merely voting for President Johnson on the basis of his personality; they were delivering a mandate in favor of the Great Society platform and the principles on which it is based.

This they proved by electing many new Democrats to Congress to help speed needed legislation to enactment. In a very real sense, a pact was concluded between the American people and the Democratic Party last fall.

To ascertain how well the party kept its side of the bargain it is instructive to place side by side the promises made by the Democratic platform of 1964 and the fulfillment of these promises in 1965 by a Democratic administration and a Democratic Congress.

MEDICARE AND AID TO OLDER AMERICANS

The 1964 platform promised:

> We will continue to fight until we have succeeded in including hospital care for older Americans in the social security program.

A medicare bill was enacted. It established a program of hospital and medical insurance for the aged which is, in my opinion, one of the best, most comprehensive, and most practical ever proposed.

Perhaps the most sweeping piece of social legislation enacted in the United States, the medicare act provides two basic health care programs.

There is a basic hospital insurance program which provides up to 60 days of hospitalization—over the first $40—100 days of posthospital care, and 100 visits by a home nurse. This is financed through social security contributions and covers almost everyone over 65 years old.

The second program is a voluntary one costing citizens over 65 $3 a month. It provides physicians' services—over the first $50—60 days of care in a psychiatric or tuberculosis hospital, and additional 100 home health visits, and other medical and health services, including diagnostic tests and rental of medical equipment.

The medicare program will aid more than 18 million men and women in the United States who are over 65.

It will free the lives of these senior citizens from fears that ill health may rob them of the savings of a lifetime. It will help insure that no elderly person—no matter how poor—will languish and suffer without needed medical care.

The same bill which established medicare also provided a 7-percent increase in social security benefits, retroactive to January 1, 1965, and expanded medical programs for the blind, disabled, and dependent children.

Further, the 1964 Democratic platform promised that—

> We will enhance the security of older Americans by * * * offering opportunities like those provided for the young under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The 89th Congress enacted the Older Americans Act, which authorizes $17.5 million in fiscal 1966 and 1967 for grants to States and public or private nonprofit organizations for developing programs for the aged.

The act also established a new Administration on the Aging in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to administer the grants, to serve as a clearinghouse of ideas and information, and to do research into the subject of aging.

As an original cosponsor of the Older Americans Act, I believe it is a long step in the direction of making the lives of our senior citizens richer and more satisfying.

AID TO EDUCATION

On the important subject of education, the platform was explicit:

> The demands on the already inadequate sources of State and local revenues place a serious limitation on education. New methods of financing aid must be explored including the channeling of federally collected revenues to all levels of education.

Not only were new methods of providing aid to education explored during the 1st session of the 89th Congress, new methods were enacted in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

The first general school aid bill became law. This measure aids approximately 5 million educationally deprived children from low-income families and authorizes grants to school districts in 95 percent of the Nation's counties. The total first year cost of the bill is estimated at $1.1 billion.

The act provides direct grants to poor school districts, gives grants to States to purchase library and text books, establishes supplementary education programs and regional educational laboratories, and strengthens State departments of education.

This bill confirms that the administration and Congress recognized that the youth of America is the best hope for a better world tomorrow and is our greatest natural resource. What is more, all eligible schoolchildren are being assisted, regardless of the kind of school—public or parochial—which they attend.

Of higher education, the platform said:

> In order to insure that all students who can meet the requirement for college entrance can continue their education, we propose an expanded program of public scholarships, guaranteed loans, and work-study programs.

The Higher Education Act passed by the 89th Congress expanded and improved existing programs designed to provide the university facilities and scholarships so necessary to the full education of American youth. It also initiated a program of low-interest Government-insured loans to undergraduate and graduate students.

Congress also has moved to meet problems caused by school dropouts and juvenile delinquents. The sad fact is that almost 1 million young people quit school each year.

Today the dropouts have several programs through which they can direct their energies productively. Some 12,000 have enrolled in the Job Corps. Another 200,000 youngsters are participating in Neighborhood Youth Corps projects. And 80,000 other eager young people are finding new opportunities in the work-study program.

The 89th Congress also extended and expanded a program in which the Federal Government has become an active partner with States and communities fighting juvenile delinquency through special education, recreation, employment and social work projects.

EXCISE TAX REDUCTION—THE ECONOMY

In accord with the admonition in the Democratic platform that "we should carefully review all our excise taxes and eliminate those that are obsolete," the 89th Congress repealed or reduced excise taxes on hundreds of items.

By January 1, 1967, the reductions will total $4.6 billion on automobiles, kitchen appliances, telephone calls, cosmetics, and gift items. This results in savings to consumers and a boost to family budgets.

For example, a new $300 washing machine costs $15 less than it did; a $15 suitcase or handbag, $1.50 less; a $1 tube of lipstick 10 cents less.

The repeal of the excise taxes has produced more sales for many retailers. They also are spared the paperwork required by these Federal excises.

Tax reduction, according to the economists, has had a healthy impact on the national economy. The monetary and fiscal policies of the administration have been an important factor in sustaining the longest peacetime economic expan-

sion in history; it is now in its 57th month.

In recent months, the unemployment rate has dropped to a nationwide 7-year low. In Milwaukee County the unemployment rate is about the lowest of any major urban area in the country.

Put in human terms, more people have jobs—more people know the security, self-satisfaction, and confidence of steady employment.

ANTIPOVERTY AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In order to spread the abundance of our affluent society to all our citizens and thus insure continued growth and expansion of the American economy, Congress took action during 1965 to continue the war on poverty and to aid the development of depressed areas within our borders.

To aid in this task an Economic Development Administration has been created. This new agency is charged with the responsibility of assisting the development of new jobs and new industries in economically distressed regions.

To Appalachia, the most poverty stricken of distressed regions, Congress directed special attention. A 6-year, $1 billion economic program was enacted for the 12-State Appalachia area.

The war on poverty program was extended through June of 1968 in an expanded form, and $1.8 billion was authorized for the 1966 fiscal year.

Also extended and expanded was the Manpower Development and Training Act. This legislation will provide an opportunity for another one-half million unemployed Americans to be retrained in new and needed job skills.

HOUSING AND URBAN AFFAIRS

Just as economic development measures were specifically called for by the Democratic 1964 platform, so too was legislation affecting housing and urban affairs. It said:

> We believe a department devoted to urban affairs should be added to the President's Cabinet.

Congress, recognizing the problems caused by the swift urbanization of the Nation, created a Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development to administer Federal programs which affect city dwellers.

Also approved was an expanded housing program, including rent supplements for low-income families, housing rehabilitation grants and public housing for handicapped persons.

HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENT

In the area of health and environmental safety and improvement, it is remarkable to compare the promise of the platform with the performance of the 89th Congress:

> We will further expand our health facilities * * * especially * * * research laboratories.

Congress enacted a 5-year program of project grants to develop some 25 multipurpose regional medical centers to fight heart disease, cancer, stroke, and other diseases. It is hoped that one of the first of these grants will go to the Milwaukee metropolitan area.

> We will * * * continue to insist that our drugs and medicines are safe and effective.

Stricter controls were placed on the possession, distribution, and disposal of depressing barbiturates and stimulating amphetamines.

> We shall * * * continue the attack * * * on eliminating the pollution of our rivers and streams.

Passed was a 4-year, $80 million program to combat water pollution in interstate waters and increased Federal grants for research and construction of water pollution control projects.

> We shall * * * continue the attack we have launched on the polluted air that envelopes our cities.

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare was authorized by Congress to recommend means to control pollution from automobile exhausts. Also authorized was the construction of a Federal air pollution control laboratory.

> We shall intensify our efforts to solve the critical water problems of many sections of this country by desalinization.

The authorization for the Federal saline water program was extended through 1972 and its funds increased to $185 million.

OTHER IMPORTANT ACTIONS

Among other important actions, the first session of the 89th Congress approved legislation to:

Replace the discriminatory national origins quota system in our immigration laws with a system of preferential admissions for immigrants with needed skills or training, or close relatives in the United States;

Authorize Federal registrars to undertake voter registration in those areas where local officials discriminate against Negro voters;

Establish a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities and provide $63 million through fiscal 1968 for endowments in creative and performing arts and scholarships in humanities;

Restrict unsightly billboards along interstate and primary highways, and undertake the removal or screening of junkyards;

Propose a constitutional amendment establishing procedures for the Vice President to exercise Presidential powers when the President is unable to do so and for filling vice-presidential vacancies.

Three bills in which I was particularly interested passed this session. One established a commission to organize the celebration of the 300th anniversary of the arrival of Pere Jacques Marquette in North America. The second authorized the domestic showing of the USIA film on the life of President Kennedy, "Years of Lightning—Day of Drums." A third bill, repealing the so-called cabaret tax was included in the general excise tax repeal.

NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN POLICY

Although the reputation of the 89th Congress rests mainly on the important domestic legislation it has enacted, Congress also has taken some significant actions in national security and foreign affairs.

Approved were appropriations to make possible the expanded Armed Forces necessary for the war effort in Vietnam. The overwhelming majorities by which military appropriations bills passed both the House and the Senate were proof of the strong bipartisan support in Congress for President Johnson's policies for halting Communist aggression in southeast Asia.

Other funds approved by Congress will allow the pursuit of major new developments in strategic weapons systems, insure the continued progress of America's atomic energy program and help the United States to a first place in space.

In order to help other nations remain strong against Communist aggression and to develop stable, progressive societies, Congress approved $1.2 billion in military assistance and $2 billion for economic aid. It also appropriated funds to continue the highly successful Peace Corps, increased the contribution to the Inter-American Development Bank, and continued programs in arms control and disarmament.

WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE

Although the accomplishments of the 1st session of the 89th Congress were many much remains to be done in the 2d session which will convene in January 1966.

Among the essential bills are two of particular interest to the workingman: the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act and the extension of the minimum wage laws.

The House voted to repeal section 14(b) way back in July 1965. But the bill was obstructed in the Senate by a Republican filibuster. Minimum wage legislation has been considered by committees of the House and Senate and should be acted upon early in the next session.

I am hopeful of action on bills which I have introduced into Congress, particularly the Adoption Opportunity Act, which provides tax deduction for adoption expenses, and the bill to curb the traffic in obscene literature through the mails by regulating the use of mailing lists.

VOTING RECORD

Mr. Speaker, at this point, I place in the RECORD a table which lists the major legislative bills considered during the 1st session of the 89th Congress, my position and vote on each of them, and their present status or ultimate disposition:

	Issue	Action
	INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	
Voted for	$115,000,000 authorization for Peace Corps activities	Became law.
Voted for	Abolishing the national origins quota system of immigration	Became law.
Voted for	$3,360,000,000 authorization for foreign economic and military aid	Became law.
Voted for	3-year extension of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency	Became law.
Sponsored	Allowing the USIA film on President Kennedy to be shown in the United States	Became law.
Sponsored	Creation of an Academy of Foreign Affairs to train Government employees for overseas assignments	Pending in House.
Sponsored	Creation of Byrd Commission to coordinate U.S. activities in Antarctica	Approved by subcommittee.
Sponsored	Congressional consent for a Great Lakes Basin compact	Pending in House.
Voted for	Increased U.S. participation in Inter-American Development Bank activities	Became law.
Voted for	$1,000,000 construction authorization for a new embassy in Saigon	Became law.
Sponsored	Creation of an Atlantic Union delegation to meet with similar NATO country delegations regarding a federal Atlantic Union	Pending in House.
Voted for	Congressional censure of Soviet Russia for acts of religious persecution	Approved by Congress.
Voted for	Resolution urging world attention to the subjugation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania	Approved by House.
Sponsored	Special postage stamps to commemorate Poland's 1,000th anniversary as a Christian nation	Pending in House.
	NATIONAL DEFENSE AND INTERNAL SECURITY	
Voted for	$15,400,000,000 authorization for aircraft, missile, and naval vessel procurement	Became law.
Voted for	Additional $700,000,000 appropriation for U.S. efforts in Vietnam	Became law.
Voted for	$5,180,000,000 authorization for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, including research on a solid fuel rocket and a nuclear solid-powered system spaceship.	Became law.
Voted for	$2,550,000,000 authorization for the Atomic Energy Commission, including $2,500,000 for a merchant ship reactor program	Became law.
Voted for	$1,780,000,000 authorization for military construction at domestic and foreign installations	Became law.
Voted for	Federal penalties for destruction or mutilation of draft cards	Became law.
Voted for	Federal penalties for assassination, kidnaping, or assault of the President or Vice President	Became Law
Sponsored	Prohibition of political contributions or lobbying by agents of foreign interests	Pending in House.
	SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH, AND WELFARE	
Voted for	Health insurance for the aged, 7 percent increase in social security benefits, and other amendments to the Social Security Act	Became law.
Voted for	$1,300,000,000 program to improve the quality of elementary and secondary education, including provision of textbooks and library resources in schools, both public and private.	Became law.
Voted for	5-year program to help construct needed college facilities, strengthen school libraries, and aid needy students	Became law.
Sponsored	Regulation of mailing lists to curb the flow of pornography	Pending in House.
Voted for	3-year program to help State and local authorities improve law enforcement, prevent crime	Became law.
Voted for	Standards to control pollution from gas and diesel-powered vehicles; funds for research to improve solid waste disposal methods	Became law.
Sponsored	Extension of certain National Defense Education Act benefits to private schools	Pending in House.
Voted for	Aid to community mental health centers and to train teachers of the handicapped and retarded	Became law.
Voted for	Expansion of health professions educational assistance program to alleviate the shortage of doctors, other health personnel	Became law.
Sponsored	Deduction from gross taxable income of expenses involved in adopting a child	Pending in House.
Voted for	Regional medical centers to combat heart disease, cancer, and stroke	Became law.
Voted for	Insured low-interest loans to students attending vocational schools beyond the secondary level	Became law.
Voted for	Expansion of health research facilities program of matching grants for construction	Became law.
Voted for	Cost-of-living increases in annuities for retired Government employees	Became law.
Sponsored	National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities; 3-year $30,000,000 program of matching grants in the arts and scholarships in the humanities.	Became law.
Sponsored	Reduction of social security retirement age to 60	Pending in House.
Sponsored	Establishment of a Capitol pages' residence	Pending in House.
Voted for	Authorizing special controls over sale, distribution of depressant and stimulant drugs; strict penalties for offenses involving those under 21.	Became law.
Voted for	2-year extension of the Juvenile Delinquency Act	Became law.
	VETERANS AND ARMED SERVICES	
Voted for	Pay increases of about 10.4 percent for enlisted members and officers of the uniformed services	Became law.
Voted for	Increased allowances and training periods for disabled veterans pursuing vocational rehabilitation	Became law.
Support	Educational and housing benefits for cold war veterans similar to those granted under the GI bill of rights	Hearings in House.
Sponsored	Veterans' medical benefits for American citizens who fought with allied armies in World Wars I and II	Pending in House.
Voted for	Providing $10,000 special indemnity insurance for servicemen in combat zones	Became law.
Voted for	Increased allowances under the War Orphans' Educational Assistance Act	Became law.
Voted for	Increasing veterans' disability compensation to reflect the rise in living costs	Became law.
	NATIONAL ECONOMY	
Voted for	$4,600,000,000 a year reduction of wartime-imposed excise taxes	Became law.
Voted for	Commission to coordinate economic development in the Appalachian region	Became law.
Sponsored	Restricting the use of tax-exempt bonds by one locality in luring away industry from another	Pending in House.
Voted for	$3,300,000,000 program of public works to develop industries and create jobs in economically depressed areas	Became law.
Voted for	Repeal of sec. 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which allows States to outlaw the union shop	Passed by House.
Voted for	Extension of the training, counseling, and placement activities of the Manpower Development and Training Act	Became law.
Support	Extension of minimum wage and overtime provisions to an additional 7,200,000 persons; increase in the minimum wage	Pending in House.
Sponsored	Removal of the antitrust exemption from organized professional baseball	Pending in House.
Sponsored	An increase in the personal income tax exemption from $600 to $800	Pending in House.
Sponsored	Small Business Conservation Act to preserve opportunity for free competition in business	Pending in House.
Voted for	Increased Federal aid for the Interstate and Defense Highway System	Became law.
Voted for	$1,800,000,000 for antipoverty programs in fiscal 1966, including training of the chronically unemployed and work among the aged poor.	Became law.
Voted for	3-year $60,000,000 program of matching funds to disseminate findings of science and technology to industry and commerce	Became law.
Sponsored	Authorizing the sale of certain surplus Government property to local governments	Pending in House.
	GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION	
Voted for	Voting Rights Act to enforce the 15th amendment, authorize Federal voting registrars in areas of discrimination, bar literacy tests, direct elimination of poll taxes.	Became law.
Voted for	Proposed constitutional amendment fixing procedures for Vice Presidential succession in case of Presidential disability, choice of new Vice President.	Approved for ratification.
Sponsored	Creation of a Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress to study recommended changes in legislative procedures	Approved.
Voted for	Home rule referendum for the District of Columbia	Passed by House.
Sponsored	Creation of an Administration on Aging to coordinate information and services to State and local governments and promote research in the field of aging.	Became law.
Voted for	Creation of a Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development	Became law.
Voted for	Pay increase for Federal employees making their salaries comparable with those in private industry	Became law.
Sponsored	Creation of a Tercentenary Commission commemorating the work of Father Marquette in North America	Became law.
Voted for	Federal standards for apportionment of congressional districts	Passed by House.
Sponsored	Allocation of an additional Federal judgeship for Wisconsin	Pending in House.
Voted for	Amendment of the House rules to permit House consideration of a bill held more than 21 legislative days by the Rules Committee without action.	Approved.
Sponsored	Creation of a Joint Congressional Committee on Central Intelligence	Pending in House.
Sponsored	Creation of a Joint Congressional Committee on Consumer Interests	Pending in House.

	Issue	Action
	AGRICULTURE AND NATURAL RESOURCES	
Opposed	Continued level of agriculture price support programs	Became law.
Voted for	Increased aid to communities in their effort to combat water pollution	Became law.
Voted for	$1,990,000,000 program of navigation improvement, flood and beach erosion control, and hydroelectric power projects in 38 States, including Wisconsin.	Became law.
Voted for	Expanded program of oceanographic research and development of the resources of the seas and the Great Lakes	Passed by House.
Voted for	Expanded desalinization research and development program	Became law.
Voted for	Continued study of effects of insecticides, pesticides on fish and wildlife	Became law.
Voted for	Program of roadside beautification through control of billboards and auto junkyards	Became law.

Rollcall record of Congressman Clement J. Zablocki, 89th Cong., 1st sess.

Total roll and quorum calls	383
Rollcalls	201
Not voting	15
Quorum calls	182
Absent on quorum [1]	11

[1] Absence on quorum call does not necessarily mean a legislative day's absence.

Travesty of Justice—III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a sampling of editorials from newspapers east of the Mississippi commenting on the recent miscarriage of justice in a Hayneville, Ala., courtroom.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Weekly Defender, Oct. 22, 1965]

TRAVESTY OF JUSTICE

Editorial condemnations in the white press of the jury's verdict at Lowndes County, Ala., have been few and aggravatingly mild in tone. The jury found Tom Coleman, a part-time deputy sheriff who admittedly killed a young Episcopal seminarian, not guilty of manslaughter. The victim was Jonathan Daniels, felled by a shotgun at close range.

The silence of some of the Nation's most powerful dailies on so grave a miscarriage of justice is just as dispiriting and distressing as the jury's verdict. One is thereupon left with the desperate feeling that criminal offenses of this character have the sanction of a goodly number of American people.

If the findings of the Lowndes County jury were an isolated instance in the dispensation of justice below the Mason-Dixie line, these would be some mitigation of our distress. But the verdict in the Daniels case is merely one of a repetitious series in the long catalog of southern injustice. In quick succession there followed the cases of Evers in Mississippi, Penn in Georgia, Liuzzo in Alabama, and Chaney, Schwerner, Goodman in Mississippi again—and others in which the killers were set free.

With the exception of Penn, who was a retired Army officer and assistant regional supervisor in the public schools of the District of Columbia, all the others were peacefully pursuing their labor in the field of civil rights. They wanted to see human dignity and equality raised to meet the requirements of full citizenship in a democracy .

In the light of these tragedies one is constrained to inquire whether the American people are becoming so callous as to be frigid and indifferent to the indefensible slaughter of human beings.

In the Daniels case, Alabama's attorney general contended that Coleman should have been tried for murder rather than manslaughter. It would have made no difference; Lowndes County was not conducive to a fair trial. It is very well to say that the county made a spectacle of itself before the civilized world. The tragedy of the situation is that the people there don't care. Their sense of justice does not extend to civil rights workers and Negroes. Since this attitude is common to many other communities, it leaves the country with a grave question of whether equal justice can be imposed in Dixie without Federal intervention.

The question suggests the advisability of congressional intervention. It should be obvious to everyone that unless moral enlightenment can be brought to the communities below the line, rivers of blood will flow in reprisals all over the South.

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal, Oct. 2, 1965]

ANOTHER TRAVESTY

Once again, white justice in darkest Alabama has made a mockery of the meaning and process of justice and cast another cloud on our claim to be a civilized nation.

On August 20 a man named Thomas Coleman, of prominent family in Hayneville, Lowndes County, shot and killed an Episcopal seminarian at pointblank range and nearly killed a Roman Catholic priest with a shot in the back. Both victims were on a civil rights mission.

State Attorney General Richmond Flowers undertook the prosecution himself, at some personal risk and against the odds in a white community, with an all-white jury, inflamed against the law and order that he represented.

Local judges refused to postpone the trial on every ground, however valid—that Negroes were kept off the jury; that the key prosecution witness, the wounded priest, was not recovered enough to testify, and other witnesses were afraid; that the charge should have been murder instead of merely manslaughter; that official State investigators had refused to report to Flowers. Then the trial judge threw Flowers himself and his staff out of court altogether.

Defense counsel reminded the jury: "All of you know Tom Coleman. You know his mother, and you knew his father." The plea was self-defense. The claim was that the civil rights workers were armed with a gun and a knife, but the defense couldn't produce the alleged weapons. Coleman was described as having done a service to the community. If you haven't heard what the verdict was, you are only allowed one guess.

Flowers had said that the trial, in the circumstances, would be a travesty. He did not overstate.

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Press and News, Oct. 1, 1965]

A JURY OF HIS—PALS

The right of an accused to trial by a jury of his peers is part of our great heritage from English law. It is probably the best safeguard devised against injustices.

But trial by jury, like any institution created by man, can be perverted to evil ends.

In Hayneville, Ala., Thomas Coleman has been acquitted by an all-white jury, composed of his friends and neighbors, in the shotgun slaying of Jonathan Daniels, an Episcopalian seminarian from New Hampshire.

Daniels was a civil rights worker. Coleman is a member of a prominent Hayneville family. That's about all the jurors needed to know.

The jurors believed Coleman's story, backed by white witnesses, that he shot in self-defense, that the young churchman was toting a knife and that a Roman Catholic priest companion was packing a gun. They disbelieved Negro witnesses who denied this. They ignored the fact that no such weapons ever were found.

Significantly, the judge in the case refused to delay the trial until the priest, obviously an important witness, has sufficiently recovered from wounds inflicted on him by Coleman to testify.

Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers has denounced the verdict as a triumph of "irrationality, bigotry and improper enforcement of the law."

"Now those who feel they have a license to kill, destroy and cripple have been issued that license," Flowers said.

Flowers is looking for a way to keep the case alive. He hasn't much chance. The prosecution, under our law, cannot appeal an acquittal no matter how unfair the trial may have been.

This Nation is going to have to consider what other means are at hand to insure fair and impartial justice in cases such as this. It was trial by jury itself which was on trial at Hayneville.

[From the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Press, Oct. 10, 1965]

HAYNEVILLE AND JURIES

Such miscarriages of justice as the freeing of the part-time deputy sheriff who killed the young Episcopal minister in Hayneville, Ala., have raised some doubts about the jury system.

There's nothing wrong with the principle of trial by jury—even in Hayneville.

The fault lies not with the system but with the men who run it.

The jury system presupposes there will be a judge who conducts the trial with fairness and firmness. It cannot operate fairly under the handicap of a judge so patiently misguided as to refuse to delay the trial of the minister's slayer until such a key witness as the priest gravely wounded in the same shooting could testify.

Juries in Alabama are run by a jury commission. Alabama State law says—except in some counties where local laws supersede it—that jury commissioners are named by the Governor and hold office only until the next Governor appoints their successors. This makes the jury commissioners the Governor's patronage—an open invitation to the perversion of the complete fairness a jury system must have.

Juries in Hayneville are not a cross-section of the community. Nor are they in many counties in Alabama and elsewhere in the Nation. No women serve on juries in Ala-

bama—an insult to the intellect of women in today's world and anything but democracy. The only Negroes put on jury panels are 1 or 2 out of 100—just enough to pay lipservice to Supreme Court rulings.

The jury commission can virtually handpick any panel. Link it up with the political appointment of jury commissioners and the possibilities are evident.

But forgetting about Alabama—forgetting about the race question—too long in too many places in this country jury panels have been picked on a "father-knows-best" philosophy. Hayneville is simply the ultimate flowering of such a misuse of the jury machinery.

It would be tragic if what has happened in Hayneville—and in other places in the South and the Nation—made any sizable number of Americans doubt the effectiveness of the jury system.

What has happened in Hayneville should make us all determined to blot out the abuses of the jury system so it can be what it really is—our one best hope of justice for all men.

[From the Elmira (N.Y.) Star-Gazette (Sunday Telegram), Oct. 6, 1965]

TRAGEDY AT HAYNEVILLE IN COURTROOM TRAVESTY

A tragedy, in the classical definition, is a story in which human beings act out a hopeless drama against the background of an inexorable and inevitable fate.

The trial in Hayneville, Ala., fits this category. Even though a farce through and through, it was basically a tragedy. Its outcome, like that of all other similar trials in the South, was a foregone conclusion.

It does not really matter whether the man accused of killing a civil rights worker was guilty of murder or not. It does not matter that the charge was arbitrarily reduced to manslaughter nor that the prosecution was not permitted time to produce its key witness.

The verdict would have been the same in any event.

What matters is that there will be more such cases in the future, and that the rest of the Nation outside the South will no more expect justice in them than it has learned to expect it in the past.

It would be useless for others to condemn those involved in the Hayneville trial for betraying one of the fundamental principles on which the strength and integrity of America depends—that of equality before the law. Caught as they are in their inherited prejudices, it is obvious that they are entirely ignorant of the meaning of this principle.

This trial, and the hundreds that preceded it of the same ilk, alone are the answer to all those southerners who claim that treatment of the Negro in Dixie is no different than it is in the North.

By their own verdict they have condemned themselves.

[From the Lancaster (Pa.) New Era, Oct. 1, 1965]

JUSTICE IN ALABAMA

An Alabama jury's acquittal of a special deputy sheriff, accused of manslaughter in the killing of a civil rights worker, is just what you would expect in a case such as this.

It is a travesty of justice—an appalling show of ridicule for the role of the court.

The defense claimed that the deputy, Thomas L. Coleman, shot and killed one man, and seriously wounded another, because he thought they were armed and he was acting in self-defense.

The man he killed was an Episcopal seminary student. The man he injured was a Catholic priest. Defense witnesses claimed that no weapons were found on the two because other civil rights workers spirited the weapons away.

This was an all-white jury of 12 men, hearing the case of a white man who shot two white victims.

The verdict blares forth that prejudice still rides in Alabama, no matter what the administration in Washington claims it has done to further the cause of civil rights.

With all the laws, no one has legislated morality for Thomas Coleman, or for the 12 men who set him free.

[From the Alliance (Ohio) Review, Oct. 5, 1965]

IT'S A BLACK MARK ON AMERICAN JUSTICE

The case of Thomas L. Coleman, sometime deputy sheriff, in Hayneville, Ala., has come to its foreordained conclusion: Coleman was not indicted for the murder of Jonathan Daniels, New Hampshire seminarian, whom he shot down on August 20—and he now stands acquitted even of the lesser charge of manslaughter.

What he did, according to his defense counsel, was the same "as any of us would have had to do"—kill a man approaching a grocery stores' front door with (or more likely without) something in his hand that "looked like" a knife (which mysteriously disappeared at once and never was found).

Of course, the fact that Coleman was a "home boy" and Daniels a civil rights worker trying to help Alabama Negroes to register and vote had nothing to do with the verdict. Of course.

Nevertheless, that decision by the 12 white men on the jury has once again blackened the name of American justice before the eyes of the world.

Even the State's attorney general was dissatisfied by the manslaughter indictment and was tossed out of the case by the local circuit judge.

The ancient form of trial of a defendant by a jury of his peers cannot function if the peers, in effect, admit they would have committed the same senseless criminal act as the defendant if they had had the opportunity.

We trust that Mr. Coleman may yet be tried for his similar atrocious assault on the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, of Chicago, in the same incident. Father Morrisroe at least survived to tell the story.

[From the Easton (Pa.) Express, Oct. 7, 1965]

SOUTHERN JUSTICE

No one needed a crystal ball to forecast the jury verdict in the Hayneville, Ala., manslaughter trial of Special Deputy Sheriff Thomas L. Coleman. The defense conceded that Coleman killed civil rights worker Jonathan M. Daniels, white seminary student from New Hampshire, and critically wounded Daniels' companion, a Chicago minister.

But Lowndes County justice is Alabama-Mississippi justice: 12 white men on the jury and a community atmosphere charged with race hate that has proved time and again its readiness to excuse the most brutal of murders and other violence against Negroes and their white rights supporters.

The Lowndes County jury's acquittal of Coleman on the lesser charge—a grand jury earlier had refused to indict him for murder—is being interpreted widely as another dark stain on the white robe of American justice. It shames America before the eyes of the world. Propagandists make much of this sort thing—of sectional murder, maiming, and incendiarism unpunished—to create ill feeling against the Nation in other societies.

But it is, indeed, a damning commentary on the moral values of a sectional community in which the State's attorney general must retire from prosecution of a case because he fears for his life. Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers is one of the few voices of reason speaking publicly in that State today, but his appeal for law, justice, and commonsense has gone unheeded.

The Coleman acquittal, part of the long, shameful pattern of injustice which has characterized the conduct of the southern courts and enforcement processes, may serve the purpose of the bigots temporarily. But it gives new impetus to demands that capital crimes associated with civil rights issues be moved under Federal jurisdiction, with venue changes to give justice a fair chance of functioning.

Certainly the kind of justice which has characterized the Daniels, Violet Liuzzo, and other murders in a long chain of KKK-racist violence cannot be permitted to continue.

[From the Rutland (Vt.) Herald, Oct. 2, 1965]

ALABAMA JUSTICE

A wave of revulsion is spreading throughout the country at the news that an Alabama jury, after less than two hours of deliberation, acquitted a special deputy sheriff of shooting down a theological student from New Hampshire in the town of Hayneville.

Still alive, but in critical condition in a Chicago hospital, Father Morrisroe is the second victim of the two shotgun blasts fired by the special officer. Jonathan Daniels, in training for Episcopal ministry, and Father Morrisroe were both in the town of Hayneville to assist the Negro community to obtain their civil rights.

Although the suggestion is ridiculous that a student for the ministry was carrying a switchblade knife and that a Catholic priest was armed with a .38-caliber revolver, that was the tenuous defense although no such weapons were put in evidence at the trial. In any event it was enough for a jury, composed of the defendant's fellow townsmen, to find him not guilty. It was in the same court room that a mistrial was won by a nightrider accused of killing another civil rights worker from Detroit, the victim of that killing being a woman.

The cruel facts are that there has yet to be a conviction by a jury in the Deep South in any case involving the killing of those working for civil rights. The inescapable conclusion is that those engaged in the civil rights struggle, black or white, can be murdered with impunity in certain sections of the South.

The attorney general of Alabama, Richmond Flowers, from all accounts did his best to seek an impartial administration of justice in the case. But his request to postpone the trial so that Father Morrisroe could testify, as well as for a change of venue, was met by his removal from the prosecution of the case by the presiding judge, a resident of the county where the shooting occurred.

The statement of Attorney General Flowers after the verdict of acquittal that it represented "the democratic process going down the drain of irrationality, bigotry, and improper enforcement of the law" well states the situation as most of the country views it.

Possibly the only hope for the future of impartial justice in many parts of the South is that these words were spoken by a high southern official, rather than by one from another section of the country.

If the rule of law and impartial justice is to be restored in those sections of the South where it has seemingly vanished, it must be through the leadership and influence exerted by those southerners like Flowers who are indignant and appalled at the present travesty of justice.

[From the Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) Times-Leader, News, Oct. 5, 1965]

ALABAMA OUTRAGED BY JURY'S VERDICT

The attorney general of the State of Alabama had something true and sharp to say about the judicial procedures which led to acquittal of Thomas J. Coleman on charges

of manslaughter in connection with the fatal shooting of Jonathan M. Daniels. The jury's finding, he said, "again places the good name of Alabama and her people on the bigoted stake of racism."

State's Attorney General Richmond Flowers also said something else that is pertinent:

"I firmly believe that the great majority of Alabamians are outraged by this callous disregard for the taking of a human life."

One cannot but agree with this judgment. To do otherwise would be to suggest that the people of Alabama are so bent on thwarting the civil rights struggle that they will condone any crime. We do not believe that to be true.

A callous disregard for the taking of a human life, however, was evident.

The jury, which had not a single Negro member although many Negroes reside in Lowndes County, deliberated only a short time before exonerating the defendant on a plea of self-defense.

So goes justice in Alabama. Let us hope Attorney General Flowers is right in his conclusion that "the great majority of Alabamians are outraged."

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal, Oct 17, 1965]

WHAT JURY SYSTEM?

When the all-white jury in Hayneville, Ala., predictably found Tom Coleman, a part-time deputy sheriff, not guilty of killing a civil rights worker there were loud laments about the jury system.

Attorney General Katzenbach called the outrageous outcome of the trial "the price you have to pay for the jury system." Why? Federal statutes clearly say that Americans must not be excluded from jury duty because of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Yet in Hayneville no Negro can sit on a jury. In fact, the courtroom itself is segregated.

Charles Morgan, Jr., American Civil Liberties Union official in the South, says that he is willing to pay almost any price for the jury system and he thinks places like Hayneville should try it. He adds: "The jury system says the jury is supposed to be selected from a cross section of the population—and 81 percent of Lowndes County citizens are Negroes."

The Reporter magazine says civil rights groups are seeking ways of getting around the discrimination on juries in many parts of the South. One way might be to place civil rights cases under Federal instead of State courts. Another might be to make civil rights murders a Federal crime. But, as the magazine points out, that does not face up to needed reforms in the application of the jury system. Federal action is needed to enforce the Federal statute. The Civil Liberties Union has itself filed a series of motions in Federal court to enjoin trial proceedings in several counties where Negroes are barred from proportional service on juries. The moves deserve the assistance of the Justice Department which needs to do more in this matter than wring its hands.

[From the Waukegan (Ill.) News-Sun, Oct. 2, 1965]

TWO SETBACKS FOR JUSTICE

Our judicial system took a beating in two different sections of the country this week.

The acquittal, in Alabama, of Thomas L. Coleman, the part-time deputy sheriff accused of shooting in the back Jonathon M. Daniels, an Episcopalian seminarian, leaves one speechless. To call the trial a travesty or mockery seems inadequate.

The charge against Coleman was not even murder, but manslaughter, which legally implies there was no malice. All efforts failed to delay the trial until the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, a Roman Catholic priest from Chicago who was wounded when Daniels was killed, could return to testify. Coleman pleaded self-defense and testimony was divided on whether Daniels was carrying a knife as the defense claimed. Apparently the jury chose to believe that a young seminary student was walking around a strange town, wielding a knife and looking for trouble.

There are those who charge that the fault lies with trying the case in a State court; that if somehow the Federal courts were allowed to try such cases, the result would have been different.

However, without minimizing the outrage in Alabama, it is well to note the blow to the Federal judiciary struck by President Johnson in his appointment of Francis X. Morrissey to the Federal bench in Massachusetts. It can only be viewed as a political payoff.

Morrissey is a longtime friend of Joseph Kennedy, whose son, while President, steadfastly refused to nominate him to the court. TED KENNEDY, however, has been crusading for the Morrissey appointment and, Kennedy-Johnson relationships being what they are, this probably seemed a good place to do some fence mending.

Yet one must consider Morrissey's qualifications: He twice failed the Massachusetts bar examination and finally won admittance with difficulty in 1944 after 12 years of trying; he has not practiced law and seldom appeared in a courtroom until he became a Boston municipal court judge. Chief Judge Charles Wyzanski, who would be Morrissey's superior if his nomination were confirmed, rated the appointee at "the bottom" as a student, lawyer, and judge.

Political appointments are nothing new; they are indulged in by both political parties. Yet the appointment of a man like Morrissey is a disservice to our judicial system.

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Courant, Oct. 12, 1965]

EXTENDING FEDERAL POWER IN SOME MURDER CASES

It is not surprising that a move is now on foot to extend the civil rights powers of the Federal Government into areas of local justice hitherto considered strictly within the powers of the States. The farcical trials that have been held in several Southern States, in which the weight of evidence clearly indicated murder in cold blood by white defendants, has shown that the ordinary machinery of justice in those States has broken down.

One thinks not only of the Coleman case in Hayneville, Ala., but the murder of the Detroit housewife, the murder of the head of a local NAACP to mention just a few of the more glaring instances when justice was really blind. Indeed, there is no record of any white person found guilty of murdering a Negro. Now the invisible shield that protects these psychopathic killers has been extended to white persons who are active in the civil rights movement.

One of the great difficulties in this evolving problem is the peculiar combination of Federal and State sovereignty. Those who view the present power and majesty of the Federal structure are not likely to remember that it is a Government of powers granted to it by the States. At least that was the original concept. But this concept is slowly eroding in the face of the practical facts of life.

There is no Federal police force, and for this reason murder, even such a one as President Kennedy's assassination, is exclusively the problem of the local police departments. The murder of a President has now been made a Federal offense, so that never again will it be put in the province of bumbling police and stupid judges. And now comes the proposal to extend that Federal power so that murder involving civil rights workers will also become a Federal offense.

If that is done the Federal Government will take jurisdiction, and the sickening spectacle of judge, jury, prosecution, and defense all working together to defeat justice will no longer be possible. It is disturbing to see the Federal Government moving into such local matters. But there has been a virtual breakdown in the machinery of justice in some Southern States. With the alternative of Federal prosecution, perhaps the situation can be improved.

[From the Marion (Ohio) Star, Oct. 12, 1965]

SHOWDOWN ON FEDERALISM

If a legislative drive to take civil rights criminal cases out of State courts materializes in Congress next year, as proposed by a conference of civil rights leaders, this country will face one of its grimmest moments of truth.

There will be a showdown not only with irreconcilable Southern States rightists but with defenders of States rights from all other sections of the Republic.

The rancor that grew out of the legislative apportionment issue will be multiplied by what States rightists will call another invasion by federalism.

Bitterness will be deepened by the realization that it would be an invasion even more penetrating than apportionment of State legislatures or assumption of Federal jurisdiction over election procedures.

But it must be kept in mind if the showdown happens that Federal invasions of States rights were more than whims of a power-mad Federal Government. There has been provacation.

This would be the culmination of an issue opened in the Constitutional Convention and never closed.

It will be another passage in the struggle between federalism and nationalism in the evolution of government in the United States.

The hard fact is that the rights guaranteed to all citizens by the Constitution of the United States have not been honored under the procedures of many States.

Citizens have not had equal protection of the laws. Local administrative officials and State courts have obeyed their prejudices and passions in flagrant violation of constitutional protection.

In the most recent affront to the guarantees of the Constitution, a defendant in an Alabama court was acquitted of manslaughter in connection with the slaying of an out-of-State civil rights worker. There was no question about what the defendant did. But before a local jury in a trial presided over by a local judge, there was no question about the outcome of his trial. He was to be acquitted one way or another, as defendants in criminal cases of this kind are accustomed to expect in States like Alabama.

This is the problem—whether States rightists who mock the guarantees of the U.S. Constitution have used up the patience of Americans who believe no more leeway should be allowed.

States rights have been abused.

It was not the intent of federalism to let localities, regions, even whole States ignore the guarantees on which American freedom depends.

[From the Springfield (Ohio) Sun, Oct. 11, 1965]

MURDER TRIAL INVITES FEDERAL ACTION

From all across the land have come reverberations of shock, even horror, over the outcome of the recent trial in Hayneville, Ala., which grew out of the killing of the Reverend Jonathan Daniels. Cartoonists, editorial writers, and columnists almost as one have registered indignation, disappoint-

ment, and shame based on the known facts of the case and the trial.

An editorial in the Birmingham News declared in part: "It would be foolish not to recognize that with other cases in this and other Southern States a pattern has emerged which is certain to stimulate new demand for Federal power of trial in deaths of civil rights workers."

It is not necessary to define the pattern since everyone knows it. A double standard of justice is not new to the southern scene but recent evidences of it, never more dramatically demonstrated than in the Hayneville episode, have indeed brought on growing clamor for Federal courts to take civil rights criminal cases out of State courts. As with the Civil Rights Act and similar Federal legislation, the South's failures to exercise responsibility make such measures inevitable. The Nation cannot survive unless standards of justice apply equally to all.

Already a strong move is underway for passage of such legislation by Congress in 1966. The National Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, an organization representing more than 100 church, union, and civil rights groups, is pushing for a Personal Security Act in 1966. Following a meeting shortly after the Hayneville verdict, its counsel, Joseph L. Rauh, declared that passage of such an act "should be the major legislative goal of the leadership drive in 1966." He added that the legislation would, in effect, take civil-rights-connected cases out of the States hands and into Federal courtroom.

"If we cannot assume that the police and courts are going to look out for us," another spokesman is quoted, "you and I are going to go around with guns. It isn't a question anymore of a person getting a vote, it's a question of whether he lives or not."

There will be outraged cries against more Federal encroachment, but the weight of evidence is on the side of those demanding such legislation.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Oct. 18, 1965]

JURY ON TRIAL

In the eyes of many, jury trials themselves, are on trial in Hayneville, Ala., this week, as much as the Ku Klux Klansman accused of murder. The klansman, Collie Leroy Wilkins, was tried once before in the same case. A jury deadlocked 10 to 2 in favor of finding him guilty of manslaughter. But since then, another Hayneville jury acquitted a local man, Thomas Coleman, in another civil rights murder case. World censure of the community followed that. The community, in turn, reacted to the censure. It has stiffened its back and the outcome of this week's trial is perhaps predictable. Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers has said the trial should be held elsewhere. He believes the climate is that bad. (He believes it to be so bad that State troopers will be used to guard him and his staff while in Hayneville.)

Whatever the outcome, those who would jettison the jury trial because of its isolated failures should review the history of the idea of a jury—and the safeguards it offers any minority from the tyranny of unrepresentative authority. If the Hayneville jury cannot provide justice, it is not the system that is at fault, but rather the perversion of the principle that a free man must be judged by his equals. The county there is 80 percent Negro. The venire is 6 percent Negro. Correct that and the situation that invites assault on the system will correct itself.

[From the Newark (N.J.) Star-Ledger, Oct. 11, 1965]

A DELICATE BALANCE

The judiciary's concern that pretrial publicity may adversely affect legal rights of a defendant in a criminal proceeding continues to be a subject of exacting study and scrutiny.

Attorney General Sills has addressed himself to this sensitive area and has probed deeply into the complexities of this problem. He raises some pertinent points and more questions on the intricate subtleties of this admittedly difficult problem.

At issue is the delicate balance that must be maintained—by the judiciary and by the news media, for they are influenced by disparate responsibilities.

The judiciary's prime concern must be the meticulous observance of the defendant's legal rights, to make certain they are not prejudiced by influences outside the courtroom. The news media's basic responsibility must be society, to maintain the open flow of information it is entitled to have. In this area, reporting of crime news has vital import, for without it there is a vacuum that creates a false impression and gives comfort to the criminal element.

The attorney general recognizes this responsibility and the problems attending it. He notes as a possible exception the trial of an Alabama engineer charged with the shotgun slaying of a white seminarian. In fully disclosing the facts of the civil rights slaying, the news media are generally credited with performing a public service.

The Alabama case has broad significance, for it points up the continuing need of the American press and other media to function in a free atmosphere so that they may expose conditions detrimental to the public interest.

If this case is widely regarded as a travesty of justice, it only came about because the press was able to lay bare the events leading up to the trial and to report fully the court proceedings.

Newspapers provide a definitive social study on the civil rights struggle and its frustrations in attempting to gain impartial judgment by southern juries and judges. The traditional system of trial by a jury of peers is being sorely tried in the South, but the day may be hastened when all men will have a fair day in court because the press has exercised maximum vigilance in reporting these proceedings.

[From the Portsmouth (Ohio) Times, Oct. 9, 1965]

SHOWDOWN ON FEDERALISM

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This is the problem—whether States rightists who mock the guarantees of the U.S. Constitution have used up the patience of Americans who believe no more leeway should be allowed.

States rights have been abused.

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[From the Lewiston (Maine) Sun, Sept. 30, 1965]

HURRIED JUSTICE, SOUTHERN STYLE

The right to a speedy trial is recognized in American law, and it is important to all citizens. But there is a difference between a speedy trial and a hurried one.

Currently, in Hayneville, Ala., the southern style of hurried trial by jury is being demonstrated. Two judges have refused to delay the trial of a man who killed a young seminarian civil rights worker with a shotgun blast, and wounded a Roman Catholic priest at the same time, even though the State's attorney general had a valid reason for a delay.

Behind the scenes the cause of the rush can be discerned. The all-white grand jury which considered the civil rights killing and attack refused to indict Thomas L. Coleman for murder. Instead, they indicted him for manslaughter and assault.

Attorney General Richmond Flowers was so incensed at the grand jury action that he said he would seek a new indictment for murder. But that takes time.

The insistence of Alabama courts on an immediate trial, even though a vital State witness, the wounded priest, is not available at this time, assures that the attorney general will not have the time to get the new indictment he wants. Moreover, whatever the finding in the manslaughter case, Coleman will be protected against any new prosecution in the killing, because it would involve double jeopardy.

Attorney General Flowers went as far as he could legally. He refused to prosecute and promptly was ordered removed from the case by the presiding judge.

Hurried justice, southern style, is riding high in Alabama. The end result of the Coleman trial is not hard to guess.

[From the Utica (N.Y.) Press, Sept. 29, 1965]

ALABAMA JUSTICE AND MR. COLEMAN

Alabama justice moves strangely. A circuit court judge has refused to delay the trial of Thomas L. Coleman, accused of the murder of Jonathan M. Daniels, the Keene, N.H., seminary student who was a civil rights shooting victim in Hayneville, Ala., on August 20.

The attorney general of Alabama requested delay because the State's star witness, the young Catholic priest, who was at the scene, is still hospitalized from wounds from the same gun that killed Mr. Daniels.

Yesterday, because the attorney general persisted in his opposition to immediate trial, the circuit judge removed him and his

staff from the case and told the regular prosecutor to go ahead.

What seems likely to happen now is clear. The prosecution, seeking to convict Mr. Coleman, moves without unprejudiced witnesses. Those who saw the assaults on Mr. Daniels and his companion, Rev. Richard Morrisroe, either are friends of Mr. Coleman and, therefore, hostile, or are Negroes, afraid to make an appearance because of death threats against them.

This is a rerun of an old story in civil rights murder cases. The defendant, Mr. Coleman, is a member of an old, firmly entrenched Alabama family. The investigation of the shooting was in the hands of his friends. No one who can speak freely and fully is available. Mr. Coleman was not jailed. His bail was $2,500, raised in a matter of minutes by cronies.

This is a travesty on justice, not only in the Deep South but in the United States. Mr. Coleman should have an honest, open trial. Those who know what happened should have a chance to speak. As matters are moving in Lowndes County, Ala., neither will occur.

[From the Allentown (Pa.) Call, Oct. 1, 1965]

ALABAMA JUSTICE

No one is particularly surprised, but millions of Americans are disgusted with the decision of the Hayneville, Ala., jury to acquit Deputy Sheriff Thomas Coleman of killing an Episcopal seminarian, a white civil rights worker. This is par for the course in Alabama.

The cue was given when the grand jury refused to indict him for murder in the first place but did indict him on the lesser charge of manslaughter. The jury was all-white, of course. A cousin of the defendant by marriage was clerk of the court who read the verdict.

The defense claimed both the seminarian and his companion, who was wounded, were armed, one with a switch knife and the other with a pistol.

Very few believe this from this distance any more than they believe justice has been done. The pattern is too clear in Alabama: Acquit any white man charged with shooting a Negro or a civil rights worker. Always convict a Negro.

These States, which continually scream about interference by the Federal Government into their affairs, are simply inviting more interference by their apparently blatant disregard of elemental justice.

[From the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Post-Gazette, Oct. 2, 1965]

ALABAMA JUSTICE

In Hayneville, Ala., a jury has in effect given its approval to lynch law.

The jury of 12 white men acquitted Thomas L. Coleman, who had been charged with first degree manslaughter after he shot down two civil rights workers in cold blood. One of the victims was Jonathan M. Daniels, a white seminary student who died from Coleman's shotgun blast. The other was Father Richard Morrisroe, a white Catholic priest who was seriously wounded but survived. The manslaughter charges were filed in connection with Daniels' death.

Though there was no doubt as to Coleman's responsibility for the deliberate, wanton slaying, Alabama nevertheless prosecuted the offender for manslaughter instead of murder. And an attempt by State Attorney General Richmond Flowers to have the defendant tried on the more serious charge was blocked by the trial judge.

In acquitting Coleman, a highway engineer and special sheriff's deputy, the jury accepted the baldly lawless argument of the defense that "he did what he had to do." What Coleman apparently had to do was to give vent in homicidal fashion to the violently anti-Negro feelings of Lowndes County, Ala. In the eyes of a white jury, this was justice.

And Alabama wonders why it has a bad image in the eyes of the Nation.

[From the Burlington (Vt.) Free Press, Oct. 2, 1965]

JUSTICE IN ALABAMA

When Attorney General Richmond Flowers, of the State of Alabama, characterizes the trial of Thomas Coleman at Hayneville, Ala., as "a mockery of law and order," he is expressing what most thinking people in the United States must be feeling.

An all-white, all-male jury brought in a not-guilty verdict in the trial of Coleman for manslaughter in the death of Jonathan M. Daniels, an Episcopal Seminary student from Keene, N.H., on August 20.

Coleman did not take the witness stand. Defense counsel admitted that Coleman fired the shot that killed Daniels, according to the news report, but claimed self-defense. This claim was based on the disputed testimony that Daniels was carrying a knife.

Officers found no other weapon at the scene of the shooting except the shotgun used by Coleman, it was reported.

Coleman has also been indicted by a grand jury on an assault and battery charge for the wounding of another civil rights volunteer, the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, a Roman Catholic priest from Chicago. He was critically wounded by a second shotgun blast and is under treatment in a Chicago hospital.

From this distance, it appears that Attorney General Flowers is correct in his conclusion about this case.

If the purpose of this verdict is to warn northern civil rights workers that they have no legal rights in Alabama, it may have accomplished that purpose. But it is likely to do much more than that. It almost certainly will give people in the other States of this Nation the lasting impression that there is no real justice in Alabama, if this is a typical sample of it.

A More Beautiful Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, it would appear that almost everyone is interested in making our country a better and more beautiful place in which to live and since that is the objective of S. 2084, it would naturally commend itself to the interest and approval of an overwhelming number of the American people.

There is widespread need for the type of program proposed by this bill, which is truly a sound conservation, as well as a beautification measure.

But like everything else, our success in eliminating ugliness and the unfavorable images which exist in very many places throughout the Nation is a task that requires the application of sound concepts and the most discriminating, administrative skills after Congress passes and provides funds for this legislation.

For example, we must be careful in our quest for beauty not to disturb or disrupt many business activities, large and small, which may be adversely affected by the program provided for by this bill.

It is not the billboard industry alone which is involved, although this is a very important business—far flung in its operations, representing huge investment and performing very useful functions and providing valuable services for the American public; in fairness, we must exert every effort to try to reconcile and balance the interests of this business with our esthetic goals concerning the natural beauty of our communities and the Nation of not allowing ugly, unsightly structures or conditions to impair or debase what Mother Nature has so bountifully given us.

There are many other industries involved—the motel industry, retail stores, restaurants, and businesses of all kinds, including service stations for automobile and motor truck transportation and many other private business units that are common to American economic and social activity along our main highways in urban communities and the hinterlands.

Between the extremes of the esthetes who want all beauty, and those functionalists, who want none, there is, I believe, a common denominator—a moderate, middle ground position which the Congress should take on this vital issue, and I believe that the committee has labored diligently, considerately, and efficiently in seeking out this middle ground.

I think it is to be very much deplored, when farsighted, capable, congressional committees hammer out legislation after extensive hearings and mature consideration, to see last minute shifts and changes in the form legislation takes which converts it from an acceptable to a questionable category.

This kind of procedure does not make for sound results and it leaves the House in the unfortunate position of having to consider and act upon some last minute proposals without having adequate justification or evidence justifying them. Such action militates against sound, constructive legislation.

We should remember also that everything cannot be beautiful. We cannot make a purse or a Rembrandt out of a sow's ear. No matter what the Congress does, we do not have the power, which is indeed a power only Providence has, to eliminate every ugly thing in nature, or indeed in human nature.

Moreover, it is necessary to keep this bill in proper financial perspective and not allow its cost to mount into stratospheric proportions and impose undue heavy tax burdens upon our taxpayers.

Many of the programs which Congress has adopted this session call for huge expenditures. On the whole, with some few exceptions these expenditures can be well justified in the results achieved by many of these programs, the new social needs that they meet, the great social good they will permit, the evils they will abolish or minimize, the overall gains they will work for the health, security, safety, education, and the general well-being of the people of this Nation.

We cannot be pedestrian and look backward to dote upon what we did, or

did not do, in the past, even though we must keep in mind the worthwhile values, principles and experiences of the past which have served our Nation so well. Above all, we cannot discard the lessons of the past, in fact it is imperative for us to keep in mind and adequately utilize many of the values of the past which contributed so invaluably to the greatness, power, and unequalled blessings of this country.

In a word, in the jet age, in the age of fabulous invention, scientific advancement and social readjustment, the age of exploring space, rapid transport, unbelievable gadgetry and the miracles of modern day living, we simply must adapt the Government and the Nation to the demands of progress.

Medical science has given us many new techniques, many new wonder drugs, new advances in hospital construction, administration, and the diagnosis, treatment and care of human beings in modern American society.

The cost of these innovations is startling and far beyond the reach of the ordinary citizen. It is in this sense that the Government must come into health, into education, into social development and progress to make the Nation truly a better place in which to live.

There would be those, I know, who will not agree with this premise, who seek the sheltered comfort and ivory-tower security of past days. But in my judgment this Nation cannot remain static. It must be dynamic. It must move forward in the stream of history and progress, or it will soon forfeit its claim to greatness, and in time it will fall behind, wallowing in the morass of ignorance, fear, poverty, indecision, and maladjustment to modern conditions that would bar us from keeping pace with what is happening in the country and the world around us.

Much benefit can be derived for our people and the stability of our Government from the programs which enlightened executive and legislative leadership have developed.

We cannot claim that these programs will produce miracles, because that will not be the case.

The human mind, as well as the human body, is limited and so are the political and social organisms with which we have to deal. Yet these programs will enable us to reach higher plateaus of betterment for our Nation and our people and will accomplish these results under the fundamental framework of our great Constitution and upon the immutable principles that have developed and guarded the values and encouraged the progress which we have achieved in every field in making possible the unprecedented advancement that this great Nation has enjoyed.

I repeat that with respect to all these programs, and others like them designed to adapt ourselves and our great Nation to the modern world and to the world of the future, whose problems will reach into distant space, it is imperative that we should keep our feet on the ground as we look to the stars to view new horizons of man's destiny.

We must be reminded constantly that while there may be some new things under the sun, it is always desirable for us to approach these problems with reference to the basic truths and principles which have guided us throughout the years, so that whatever our action may be, whatever subject we treat of, we will be able to retain our basic freedoms, including our great free enterprise system, which in these days of turmoil, strife, and radical doctrine is one of the principle characteristics of our Government that differentiates it from communism and Fascist totalitarian states, the great foundation stone of an unequalled, productive economy.

In our quest for beautification, we must not overlook the bread and butter issues of every day life that must continue to be the deep concern of representatives of the people. But let no one doubt that man does not live by bread alone, vital though it be. The things of the spirit rule the world.

Independence of Mauritania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, when the Islamic Republic of Mauritania celebrates its fifth anniversary of independence on November 28, the 1st session of the 89th Congress will have come to a close. We wish to take note of this great occasion at this time, therefore, by ex-ident of Mauritania; and to His Excellency Moktar Ould Daddah, the President of Manuritania; and to His Excellency Ahmed-Baba Miske, the Mauritanian Ambassador to the United States.

It is with pleasure that I rise to congratulate this young and prosperous country which touches the Atlantic Ocean in northwest Africa on its fifth birthday.

A young nation, Mauritania is not well known to the American people, but I suspect that will not be the situation for very long. Mauritania, in terms of size alone, is about 418,000 square miles, the approximate size of California and Texas together, but its population is only about 1 million persons, or the approximate size of the city of Baltimore, Md.

The people of Mauritania, which incidentally are nationally biracial being 80 percent Moorish and 20 percent African Negro, are understandably proud of their capital Nouakchott which is presently being built in the desert about 4 miles inland from the ocean. Construction of this beautiful, new, rapidly growing city began in 1958. The city somehow signifies the vigor and vitality of this new nation, and the role it will play in emerging Africa.

French penetration of the area now known as Mauritania began in the early part of the 20th century with a protectorate established in 1903, but it was not until about 1920 that the area could be said to be under French control. The French had a profound influence on the development of the country, abolishing slavery, establishing the French language, reducing or eliminating the payment of tribute, and relying on the administration and authority of the customary chiefs.

By 1957 Mauritania had elected its own officials who enjoyed wide authority, and in 1958 the country entered the French community as an autonomous but not fully sovereign nation. The Islamic Republic was proclaimed in November 1958, and for the next 2 years the country was geared to eventual and early independence as a sovereign member of the community of nations.

Mauritania finally reached its goal of complete independence on November 28, 1960, and 1 year later, in November 1961, Mauritania became an equal among nations when it joined the United Nations.

Mr. Speaker, I admire the Mauritanians for their social and governmental integrity, a characteristic both old and new nations need if they are to be respected in the court of world politics and opinion. The virtue of integrity is the virtue of excellence and merits our closest consideration and admiration. I hope that all of us will encourage this young country in its pursuit of morality and decency, as it tries desperately hard to provide its citizens with political stability and social justice.

I wish the government and every one of its 1 million inhabitants congratulations and best wishes in the years ahead.

One Bank Merger Leads to Another As the Trend to Super Concentration in Finance and Industry Continues Unabated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, starting soon after World War II we in Congress became very much alarmed over the trend toward rapid concentration and centralization of economic power in America.

In 1950 we amended the Clayton Act to apply to mergers, rendering unlawful those which tended toward monopolies.

In 1960 we passed a Bank Merger Act intended to slow a tremendous acceleration in bank mergers.

Recent testimony before your Banking and Currency Committee by experienced bankers as well as public officials strongly opposed any congressional action that would weaken our laws against super-concentration. The thrust of these expert opinions was that not only are individual bank mergers harmful in themselves but carry the additional evil of

encouraging other competing institutions to merge so that they will not be pushed out of their markets by the original merger.

A situation in St. Louis, Mo., which has developed just in the last 4 months, is conclusive proof that these witnesses were dead right. On July 6 in St. Louis, the Mercantile Trust Co. and the Security Trust Co. merged with the resulting bank having assets of close to $1 billion. This merger was strongly opposed by both the Attorney General and the Federal Reserve Board, but Comptroller of the Currency Saxon approved it anyway.

The Justice Department went to court and now the case is pending. If a bill presently before your committee, S. 1698, becomes law, this merger will be forgiven from the antitrust laws even though the banks knew that the antitrust laws applied to them as well as the fact that the Justice Department intended to bring suit.

But, Mr. Speaker, what is more to my present point is the fact that in the same city of St. Louis where concentration in the local banking community is already quite serious, I have just been informed that the second largest bank in St. Louis, the $600 million First National Bank, plans to form a new bank holding company system which would also include the fourth largest bank in St. Louis as well as a large trust company. If this transaction goes through, the new holding company will control over $900 million of bank deposits and St. Louis banking will be firmly in the grip of these $2 billion giants. The same pattern can be expected to be repeated all over the country. Bank mergers lead to additional bank mergers, just as night follows day. It has also been shown that concentration in banking leads to concentration and diminution of competition in other industries. The threat to free competition in banking and to our free enterprise system is serious indeed.

We need to strengthen our antimerger laws and not weaken them. We are at the crossroads and the future of American capitalism is at stake.

Congressman Wolff Again Protests Against Consideration of Any Further Aid to the United Arab Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD a letter to the President about American aid to Nasser:

OCTOBER 1965.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: It is with considerable concern that I have noted recent news reports that President Nasser of the United Arab Republic is again requesting substantial assistance from the United States for fiscal year 1966.

I know you will understand the reasons why I am again bringing to your attention a matter of great concern to myself and my constituents.

I would like to reaffirm, Mr. President, my steadfast opposition to any further aid to the United Arab Republic unless such aid is absolutely essential to the security of our Nation. I know you will recall that I was one of the Members of Congress who voted last March to place within your sole discretion the power to make such a decision. I remember your assurances at that time that our own national interest and our own national security would be the guide in the event such a decision would have to be made.

May I respectfully submit that, given the limitations of my own knowledge of all the factors involved, further aid to Nasser is not warranted at this time. The Middle East continues to be in turmoil, tension remains high in the area, because of Nasser's intrigues and belligerence. I believe, Mr. President, that we must do what we can to reduce tensions, and must not provide support to those who are a threat to peace.

Respectfully,

LESTER L. WOLFF,
Member of Congress.

Water Problem Truly Urgent—A Crash Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, the new awareness in official circles throughout the Nation of the importance of water, even though it comes quite late, is somewhat reassuring.

Unfortunately, in the past, we have allowed our conservation efforts in almost every field to lag very seriously, and this has been true of our great water resources, which have been neglected for so long that now we must make gigantic efforts to make up for lost time. In some areas and respects, it may be too late, but I hope not.

It will be necessary, not only to conserve the water we have, but to seek out new sources to make up for falling water tables in so many areas of the country, and to insure an adequate supply of wholesome, fresh water for the people, not to speak of the needs of water in industry, agriculture and related activities, and of course the urgent need for eliminating horrid pollution, as it affects our water sources, endangers the public health, and offends our sense of decency.

It has been a long, hard struggle to try to arouse the Nation to the importance and the need of adequate water supply, a war on pollution and the development of new sources and additional controls over water on the rampage, so to speak, in the form of floods and natural disasters.

We have so long delayed effective action to conserve water, to develop new sources for water, to provide for its proper use and utilization, and to protect our country against the baneful ravages of water that our efforts now are long overdue, and we will require virtually a crash program, if we expect to catch up with our needs in this tremendously vital field.

I can only point to my own efforts to expose the needs and stimulate action which began long ago and have continued.

Because of scarcities and shortages of water that we have in many parts of the country, much thought is now being given to desalination of sea water, and we have plans already in operation utilizing various techniques to transmute salt water from the ocean into good fresh water for industrial, domestic, and general use.

We have tried distilling, freezing, complex filtration, and electrolysis to desalinate sea water. More than 10 year's work on these processes in several nations has brought the cost of desalination of water down close to $1 a thousand gallons, a price that, as pointed out by Gladwin Hill in his recent article in the New York Times, is far more than natural fresh water costs in most places where it is available, and still too high, but it can be further reduced.

But we must be concerned when water is not available, because then its cost is plainly, of course, a secondary consideration for a liquid that is really more essential than food.

Desalination plants are very costly, but there are many of them in the world and costs are being steadily reduced, and this is all to the good.

However, I think there are still many natural sources of fresh water that we have not yet explored or tapped, and we must have a massive program to develop many new sources of fresh water.

If this is not done, it will lead to a desperate situation in the future, requiring this Nation to take drastic, costly emergency measures to develop satisfactory water supplies to sustain human life and the economic activity of man.

I think we are making some headway, but I greatly fear that we are not doing enough. Our current efforts are meager indeed, as compared with the need, and I hope that the Government agencies concerned with the subject of water will intensify their planning and streamline their policy making, so that we may develop a massive program implemented with a sense of urgency to try to secure a truly adequate and pure water supply in this country.

Congress and its committees must lead and organize the great effort and program that is needed. There should be a crash program of large scope, depth, and magnitude, if this crucial job is to be undertaken before it is entirely too late, and the Nation will have to pay a high price for its failure to act.

Under unanimous consent, I insert as part of my remarks a very thoughtful article by the noted writer, Gladwin Hill, of the New York Times news service:

THE GLOBE HAS PLENTY OF WATER, BUT NOT OF THE RIGHT KIND

(By Gladwin Hill, the New York Times News Service)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The United States has assumed the lead in an international water-

for-peace effort that has a potential for profound changes in the lives of people in many parts of the world.

The basic fact of this inchoate campaign is that there is scarcely a nation that has not experienced some sort of water shortage in recent years.

One reason for this is that while the supply of fresh water has not increased since the beginning of mankind, world population has soared to more than 3 billion persons. The uses to which they put water have grown and ramified at a far more rapid rate. A typical steel mill, for instance, uses more than 200 million gallons of water a day—one-fifth as much as the entire city of New York.

POPULATION PRESSURES

Demographic and economic urgings are creating population centers where none existed before—as in the oil-rich kingdom of Kuwait, which has little natural water. In the United States, population pressures, in combination with vagaries of nature, have brought water shortages all the way from New York to Coalinga, Calif. Mexican fishermen, Israel farmers, and Hong Kong shopkeepers alike are feeling the pinch.

With world population increasing by more than 1 million persons a month, failure to resolve water supply problems could acutely aggravate economic and political pressures.

These considerations plainly were in President Johnson's mind when he called last week for a "massive cooperative international effort" to improve the worldwide water situation. His concept for a water-for-peace program was an obvious derivative of the U.S. inspired Atoms-for-Peace program which in a decade has helped propagate the benefits of nuclear energy among 40 nations.

A thousand representatives of 60 nations met in Washington all last week to discuss one of the most promising ways of creating or amplifying water supplies: desalting sea water.

SEVERAL METHODS

This can be done by distilling, freezing, complex filtration, or electrolysis. More than a decade's work on these processes in several nations has brought the cost down close to $1 a thousand gallons. This is far more than natural fresh water costs in most places—where it is available. But where water isn't available, cost plainly is a secondary consideration for a commodity that is more essential even than food. So desalination plants already are operating at some 300 points around the globe.

The scientists, engineers, and industrialists who assembled here concentrated on technological improvements that would cut desalting costs further and permit the construction of large-scale plants. The present basic unit is one with a capacity of a million gallons a day—the supply for a typical American community of 7,000—and costs several million dollars.

Desalination costs much less with water that is less salty than sea water, making plants economically feasible already for communities whose water is only brackish. Coalinga, Calif., and Buckeye, Ariz., have installed such plants. The Department of Interior's Office of Saline Water, established in 1952, has sponsored the construction of demonstration plants in Webster, S. Dak.; Roswell, N. Mex.; Freeport, Tex.; Wrightsville Beach, N.C., and San Diego, Calif.

HUGE PLANT

The Department, in collaboration with the Atomic Energy Commission and southern California's metropolitan water district, is developing plans for an atomic-powered 150-million-gallon-a-day plant near Los Angeles.

British, French, German, Dutch, Greek, Indian, Japanese, Israel, Australian, and Russian engineers and companies have been active in desalination research and construction. The British claim credit for construction of two-thirds of the current world desalination capacity of 53 million gallons a day. A score of American industrial concerns are in the field.

Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall outlined to the first international water desalination symposium a six-point program of U.S. assistance in research, technology, and training, available to any nation on a reciprocal basis.

Enlarging upon this, President Johnson said that within a year the United States would convoke a sequel conference, to consider world water problems of all kinds.

Credit Unions and the War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, ever since the goals of President Johnson's antipoverty program were first enunciated, I have called for the use of credit unions as perhaps the best weapon to rid the evils and dangers that lurk in urban poverty. Next to the churches, credit unions have helped more families of lower income to adjust to the financial and psychological problems of urban living.

In recent correspondence with R. Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, I reiterated my call for increased participation of credit unions in the Johnson administration's antipoverty program. Mr. Shriver informed me that the increased use of credit unions in the community development program has and continues to prove an extremely valuable role in the war on poverty. Credit unions are now a vital link in the programs of large cities, such as Washington, San Francisco, Providence, and Tucson, Ariz., and in rural areas such as Clarksdale, Miss., and Delano, Calif. Programs are now underway to begin credit unions in Chicago, New York, Detroit, and Cincinnati. In Los Angeles an energetic effort is underway to establish credit unions in the Watts area, which had been plagued by loan sharks and sharp practicing exploiters. I am happy to report that officials of CUNA—the Credit Union National Association—are actively participating in the antipoverty program providing technical assistance to communities interested in organizing credit unions.

Recently in the Washington Evening Star there appeared an article on the operations of credit unions in the community development program here in Washington. The United Planning Organization, a local antipoverty group, considers the three Federal credit unions established under the antipoverty program to be the best investment the UPO has made to date in Washington. They rightfully claim credit unions to be the best protection against the unscrupulous merchants and high interest money lenders that plague the poor. These credit unions provide much needed consumer education and debt management. They are offering hope to those whom financial problems have caused nothing but despair.

The credit union movement is meeting the elementary questions and causes of urban poverty head on, promoting thrift by accepting any amount, but more important they are providing a place where needed money is obtained at easy and low rates. At the present, there are 400 Federal credit unions in poverty areas throughout the country, out of the 11,000 Federal credit unions in the country. I believe that until there are 4,000 such credit unions in poverty areas where they are most needed will there be enough in this country.

What I believe is most vital in this program is the fact that credit unions are run by people in their own neighborhoods, those who know the needs of their areas best. As the following article states, credit unions are indeed "a school against scoundrels."

Consumer education, honest debt consolidation advice, shopping advice, and most important the hope that is offered, hope in the honesty and integrity of a man. Here the credit union provides a guide and hope for those who are less fortunate.

Mr. Speaker, I highly commend this article on the success of the credit union in the Washington antipoverty effort to my colleagues:

CREDIT UNIONS SPEARHEAD FIGHT TO WIPE OUT PROFITEERS

(By Betty James)

The best protection against unscrupulous merchants and high-interest money lenders is an alternative that makes dealing with them unnecessary.

The United Planning Organization is trying to provide that alternative for the poor.

Consumer education, of which credit unions in poor neighborhoods are a vital component, and neighborhood law offices are the weapons.

Those who thought some bilking merchants actually would be put out of business during the first year of the poverty war say consumer education has been too tame—too much emphasis on food and shopping, not enough on meeting the enemy head on.

Indeed, the name of the program has been changed to consumer action, and there are indications that more pressures are to be put on unscrupulous merchants.

But the victory really will come when people know when they're being taken or served badly, and know that they don't have to depend on gouging creditors to fill their larders and furnish their homes. There is a difference between the kind of credit the public encounters in reputable firms and lending agencies, and the kind encountered by the poor.

Considering the modest amount put up for staff, the best investment the UPO has made may be the three Federal credit unions in low-income neighborhoods.

They promote thrift—credit unions accept pennies and nickels—but most important for people living in needy areas right now is that they provide a place where shareholders can borrow on reasonable terms.

Loans are made at 1 percent of the unpaid balance per month. This is 12 percent a year.

Contrast this with the 3 percent per month that many small loan firms charge, which comes to 36 percent a year, or even with the best rate a reputable merchant charges in

town—1.5 percent a month for carrying charges, or 18 percent a year.

Or contrast it was this fantastic case. A man signed a note for $175, for which he was charged $104.80 interest. The money was paid off after 2 months and 2 days. No interest was refunded. The rate was 600 percent per annum.

Credit union members have insurance on their loans, which guarantees payment in case of death or disability and doesn't burden the borrower's family. They also may purchase group insurance on the amount of their savings, not to exceed $2,000.

The law forbids credit unions to make any charges in connection with a loan other than interest. The credit union buys the insurance as a corporation. Some of the many ways in which poor people are hurt by lenders are in charges for insurance, credit investigations, and so forth that are tacked on to the interest rate.

EXAMINED ANNUALLY

The three unions launched by UPO are chartered by the Bureau of Federal Credit Unions and examined annually. They are among about 400 credit unions in poor neighborhoods that are included in more than 11,000 Federal credit unions in the country.

The Bureau of Federal Credit Unions doesn't provide money for a kitty, and neither does the UPO. The money must come from the people themselves. The UPO has provided about $22,000 for each credit union to hire staff members. Although it's a long way in the future, the goal is to become self-supporting.

It costs 25 cents to join, and $5 to buy a share, which carries the right to borrow and the right to vote at membership meetings.

The credit unions are run by the people in their neighborhoods, and can function as a school against scoundrels.

DEBT CONSOLIDATION

Take the field of debt consolidation, a serious problem for poor people, who too often pay over and over again for the merchandise they buy in the first place through overcharging and excessive carrying charges. They often overextend themselves if the wife also works. But should the wife have to quit, or should the husband lose his job or have a temporary layoff, the family is in deep trouble.

They may try to borrow from someone or they may turn to a firm that specializes in debt consolidation.

If they choose the latter, they pay the firm a fee for its service, then send the firm a monthly payment.

The debtors usually are under the illusion that the firm pays off all of their debts right away, but this is not the case. Generally, the firm talks to the creditors, tries to get them to cut the amount in return for a guarantee of payment, and then sends the money along each month as the creditor sends it to them.

The credit unions make loans for debt consolidation at their regular rate of interest and also negotiate with companies on behalf of their clients to see if the companies will take less money to close out long-standing debts. There is no charge for this or any other service.

James Williams, manager at the Anacostia-Southeast Federal Credit Union at 1918 Nichols Avenue SE., said several $500 loans have been made to members for debt consolidation. This credit union, which is tied into the neighborhood development program at Southeast House, had made $25,027.28 in loans by the end of September, after 7 months of operation. Of these, $17,607.94 are still outstanding. There were 541 members in the credit union, which has $19,315.78 in shares. It had made 240 loans.

The Friendship House Community Federal Credit Union at 520 8th Street SE., tied into the antipoverty program at Friendship House, made loans of $14,894.66 by September 30, at the end of 7 months of operation. The credit union has 421 members, and its shares total $12,873.80. It had made 182 loans. Warren A. Morris, manager of the Friendship House credit union, said loans for bill consolidation had come to $3,650.

Fides Community Federal Credit Union, at 1554 8th Street NW., was founded several years ago at Fides House by Father Cletus Gillson. It was expanded by the UPO, and is tied into Neighborhood Development Center No. 1. As of September 30, it had loaned $30,103.98, and had $26,244.75 outstanding. Shares total $29,956.26. This credit union had made 257 loans. Together, the three have loaned $70,025.92.

NEW CREDIT UNION

George Bates, a neighborhood worker, organized a credit union at Neighborhood Development Center No. 3 at 14th Street and Park Road NW., on his own time. This brand new credit union also has won a charter from the Bureau of Federal Credit Unions.

With a reporter sitting in on a meeting of the loan committee at Friendship House, it was understood that because of the confidentiality of applications no names would be mentioned, nor would we see any applications.

Two of the three members of the loan committee were serving that night. They are volunteers elected by the members, as is the board that runs the credit union.

"We just don't throw the money over the counter," Mrs. M. Lucille Pugh said. She and William Lunsford, Sr., were anxious to help their neighbors but also were acutely conscious of their stewardship.

One of the loans approved was for $200 so a man with seven children, who must find a new place to live, could pay one month's rent in advance on new house. The man earns $106 a week. The rent will be $115.

Mrs. Pugh and Lunsford observed that he couldn't hope to get housing for less with seven children. He had no outstanding bills, although this wouldn't necessarily have disqualified him. But the committee checks each applicant's record with the credit bureau to evaluate the risk.

The man had offered to repay $20 a month, but both Mrs. Pugh and Lunsford felt $10 a month was realistic. They agreed to make the loan on that basis. "We'll be more sure of getting our money that way," Mrs. Pugh said. "That $20 can come awful hard."

Mrs. Pugh and Lunsford felt the man may have offered to repay $20 a month to impress them.

HEAR SEVEN CASES

The committee considered seven cases that night. Dissatisfied applicants may discuss the committee's decisions "at length," Mrs. Pugh said. This has happened three times, and in all three cases the loan committee reversed itself.

"You get a better picture by talking to someone," Mrs. Pugh said. "And sometimes they hold out information in the beginning. But if they're rejected, they're ready to put their cards on the table."

Credit union and consumer education staff members give advice on buying and suggest stores where people will get the best deals.

They and the neighborhood lawyers work closely together and all three refer cases to the special office set up by the Federal Trade Commission to handle District consumer complaints as part of the drive to protect the poor.

This office has referred 35 complaints to a FTC field office for investigation of possible law violations. It has received more than 200 complaints, but not all are within the FTC's jurisdiction.

KEPT CONFIDENTIAL

The FTC has jurisdiction in cases that involve unfair or deceptive business practices. FTC can go after the firms, but can't get the money back for the individual. However, the special office in turn refers people to the lawyers in the neighborhood law offices, which are run by the Neighborhood Legal Services Project of the UPO.

Complaints to the FTC office are kept confidential. The office is in room 7714 of the old Star Building at 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue NW.

Consumer rights are one of the major reasons people come to see the neighborhood lawyers. Tales of fraud, trickery, gross overcharging and excessive carrying charges are so common they sound like a litany.

One of the recent cases deals with debt consolidation. A lawyer is trying to get legal redress for a client whose car was repossessed after a debt consolidation firm didn't make payment.

Another lawyer is going to bat for a client who had an acquaintance who volunteered to get her a loan to consolidate debts. She signed a contract for $1,750 and got the check.

Then a few weeks later a payment book for $5,200 arrived from a suburban bank. The acquaintance presumably sold the note, and somewhere along the line the note had tripled.

Usury, fraud, and lending money without a license are possible grounds for action.

Food and clothing banks are being set up as part of the consumer action program. Aside from meeting a very real need, they are a magnet that draws people and gives the consumer specialists and their aids, drawn from the neighborhoods, a chance to preach the gospel of wise consumption.

Mrs. Eurie Purvis is the consumer aid in charge of the food and clothing bank at 3321 18th Street SE., one of the branches of the Southeast House antipoverty program.

NOTHING EMBARRASSING

One day recently a grandmother, referred by the schools to Mrs. Lois Wilson, a neighborhood worker at Southeast House, who sent her to Mrs. Purvis, came to see about some clothes for her grandson. The family is on public assistance.

"He has only one pair of pants—it's embarrassing," the grandmother said.

"Nothing embarrassing about it," Mrs. Purvis replied. Eyeing the sweater the woman wore on a cool, rainy day, she added, "How about a coat for you?"

Mrs. Purvis produced the coat and clothing for the grandson.

The woman knew she had a sympathetic listener in Mrs. Purvis. She began to unburden.

She had two other problems. One was her husband's life insurance policy, which looked worthless. The other was money to pay the balance on her husband's funeral. The funeral cost about $700.

"We got him in the ground, but I still owe $123," the woman said.

Mrs. Purvis arranged for her to get in touch with the neighborhood law office on the life insurance policy, and with the credit union for money for the funeral.

The women demurred when Mrs. Purvis offered bus tokens for her and her grandson so they would not have to walk home in the rain. "No, no. You gave me the clothes. I'll walk back. I'm not complaining," she said.

Without the slightest suggestion of charity, Mrs. Purvis assured her that the tokens were part of the service.

In reply to a question, the woman said she had never heard of the United Planning Organization.

Nor had she ever heard of the war on poverty.

Health Check

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker I would like to bring to the attention of the Members of the Congress and to the general public a most noteworthy program dedicated to preserving the health, and extending the lives, of our people. It is called Health Check, and is the creation of the National Capitol Life Insurance Co., who have their home offices in Pennsylvania.

For many, many months now, this Congress has labored to introduce and to pass legislation that has had a greater effect on the health and welfare of the American people than ever before in our history. Among the many programs benefiting the American public are now such health protective features as medicare and other public health grants.

I have been very pleased to notice that the National Capitol Life Insurance Co., a company indicating the firm objectives toward insurance programs that act as public services, has introduced their new Health Check program, which benefits the individual with a significant monetary savings if he takes a physical examination each year.

I take this opportunity to introduce into the RECORD of this Congress the fact that National Capitol Life Insurance Co. is offering the American public the notable remittance of 10 percent of their insurance premiums each year with the presentation of proof that the person has taken a physical examination within the past 6 months.

From the information I have gathered, this is the first time that such a beneficial program, so pertinent to the health and welfare of the people of this Nation, has been put forward by an insurance company within the United States.

In addition, I would like to point out the tremendous efforts upon the part of all our governmental agencies directed toward obtaining the support, cooperation, and assistance of American industry and business in carrying out their many programs upon the part of the public's well-being. Yet, here is a life insurance company that has taken a giant step forward in this area without any solicitation whatever, and has developed a program of communication to the public concerning the necessity for, and the benefits deriving from, an annual physical examination. Moreover, they have taken a major step in seeing to it that the public benefits in his pocketbook immediately, by virtue of an annual physical examination, with their 10-percent discount on life insurance premiums.

This is but a sample of the tremendous effort being put forth by the National Capitol Life Insurance Co., and its president and chairman of the board, Mr. Joseph Dillinger. This company is currently mailing materials, advertising in various media, and seeking support of a multitude of organization to spread the word about the benefits derived from taking an annual physical examination. I am particularly pleased that National Capitol Life Insurance Co. has shown the good sense and the bright creativity to offer an incentive to the public where it makes sense. How often we receive messages concerning our welfare that we ignore for some reason or other: we are too busy; we do not wish to expend the effort to read about the material; it is an inconvenience to visit the doctor or the dentist; or, we simply are careless.

However, when we discover that we are going to profit by a significant amount of dollars, then we somehow find the necessary time. And, National Capitol Life Insurance Co., realizing this fact about people, has overcome this obstacle by simply offering them a dollars and cents incentive—even though it means that they may earn less on their premium income.

They claim that this program, in reality, will earn them even more premium income. This is a fact. They astutely point out that the concept of preventative medicine has been a boon to the insurance industry since it has increased the longevity of their insureds, and, thus, increasing the premium longevity of the companies. Here, too, National Capitol will benefit financially, in the long run, by taking a very positive step in keeping their insureds alive and well for a longer period of time. It is this simple: If the insured goes to the doctor and discovers he has the initial signs of either heart disease, cancer, or diabetes, he will surely move immediately to arrest or correct this condition—thus, increasing his chances of living years longer. This, in turn, will increase the premium income of the company, for the additional years the insured will gain over what he might have lost if he had not discovered his malady in time.

I should also like to point out that we here in the Congress are not the only ones who are delighted with this new program on the part of National Capitol Life Insurance Co. For example, Dr. Carl C. Kuehn, director of the Pennsylvania Department of Health, has spoken before the personnel and field force of National Capitol Life Insurance Co., praising them for their efforts on behalf of the public welfare. Members of the Pennsylvania Legislature have gone on record in praise of Mr. Dillinger and the National Capitol Life Insurance Co. for their efforts to increase the longevity and to preserve the health of our citizenry. I should like to quote at this time from a message delivered to National Capitol Life Insurance Co. by Dr. Samuel S. Leiter, member of the Philadelphia Medical Society, where he calls this new Health Check program, and its concomitant 10-percent premium discount for submitting proof of annual physical examination—a positive public service that should receive the encouragement of all members of the medical and public health professions."

On behalf of myself and those particularly interested in the public health and welfare, I take this opportunity to congratulate National Capitol Life Insurance Co., and its president and chairman of the board, Mr. Joseph Dillinger, for their exemplary Health Check program, and to wish them great success in their efforts to benefit the American public.

John Kenneth Galbraith, Noted Harvard Economist, Author, and Diplomat, Puts the Lie to High Interest Rate Theorists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, John Kenneth Galbraith, the highly respected economist, author, and former diplomat, in a recent speech in New York City gave credit for the current high levels of prosperity to low interest rates and other developments increasing the purchasing power of the average citizen.

High interest rates during recent years, he stated, would have kept America in a state of semidepression.

America should be fully aware of the fact that right now interest rates are the highest they have been in the last 5 years, since the last recession in 1960. Credit is expensive and scarce. If the Federal Reserve System fails to increase our money supply, business and the general economy will slump as our unprecedented prosperity comes to an end.

An account of Mr. Galbraith's address which appears in the current issue of the American Banker follows:

GALBRAITH NEEDLES ECONOMIC THEORISTS

NEW YORK.—John Kenneth Galbraith gave the credit for high levels of prosperity to spontaneous forces, operating without regard for orthodox economic theory, and charged both politicians and his economist colleagues with generally lagging behind the times in their understanding of these forces.

The assertions were made by Mr. Galbraith, Paul M. Warburg, professor of economics at Harvard University, in delivering the annual Arthur K. Salomon lecture at New York University's Graduate School of Business Administration.

Low interest rates have been a major factor in the current prosperity, Dr. Galbraith said. Yet, "had one sought out the men with widely acknowledged credentials in economic matters in 1944 there would have been near unanimity in their recommendations," citing the "dangers of low interest rates," he continued.

The secret of prosperity in developed countries is to yield to the aspirations of the public, Dr. Galbraith maintained. In addition to low interest rates, the economist also praised unbalanced budgets, the strengthening of trade unions, farm subsidies, and deficits in international accounts.

Twenty years ago economists were almost unanimous in their condemnation of such developments, but "with remarkable unanimity all western countries rejected the advice of authority on these matters and even more remarkable, they rejected it in all particulars," Dr. Galbraith continued.

"In all countries it has been the vanity of politicians, and of the economists who advised them, that high employment and economic growth have been the result of the uniquely admirable economic policies adopted by that particular country. Unfortunately, in their formal ideological billing, the policies have differed by as much as 180 degress," he said.

Prosperity is easier to achieve than theorists would have the public believe, Dr. Galbraith went on. In part, he said, once a given level of income and well-being is reached, economic problems solve themselves.

"Arrangements develop so that saving is not in competition with consumption. In the planned economies the State intercepts income and plows it back into capital formation. In the capitalist countries, as they are called, the great corporation performs the same function," he said.

Even the liberal Keynesian economic theories were described by Dr. Galbraith as only an added ingredient in the development of prosperity. But even in countries such as France and Germany, where Keynes had little influence, popular aspirations and demands have led to prosperity, he asserted.

"What we have learned is that above a certain level of economic development, popular pressures are strongly on the side of economic progress," Dr. Galbraith said.

"There has, one judges, been no harder truth for conservative authority to accept than the logic of low interest rates. In financial circles no other argument has ever rivaled in inventiveness, and versatility, the case that is made for higher interest rates. They are needed, depending on the season, to prevent inflation, to insure orderly expansion, to discourage excessive expansion, to protect the balance of payments, to strengthen the financial system, to promote sound enterprise. The case for lower rates, alas, arouses no comparable passion. Yet, in recent years, if we had yielded to authoritative opinion on interest rates we would have been much of the time in a state of semidepression."

Gonzalez Scores 100 Percent Voting Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, it has been my practice to keep my constituents in the 20th Congressional District of Texas fully informed as to my activities in Congress and as to matters in which they may be interested or concerned. I am therefore inserting in the RECORD today my complete voting record for 1965 in the 89th Congress, 1st session. This record includes every one of the 383 rollcalls including the 201 yea-and-nay calls and the 182 quorum calls.

I am recorded as voting on each of the 201 yea-and-nay calls. My voting record this year is a particular source of pride to me, both as to my attendance and the substance of my votes. There were, of course, too many votes this year to allow a detailed discussion of them at this time. Included in this record, however, are my votes in support of the New Frontier and Great Society programs of the past 5 years under the leadership of the Democratic Party in the executive branch and in Congress. After 8 years, 1953 through 1960, of stagnation and backsliding, the Democratic Party has gotten America moving again. We began to move, as President Kennedy promised we would, in 1961, 1962, and 1963, and we have continued to move forward, as President Johnson promised, in 1964 and 1965. We are now experiencing the longest period of uninterrupted economic growth and expansion in the history of this Nation. I have no doubt that this growth and the increasing prosperity of America will continue under the leadership of the Johnson administration and under the leadership of Speaker JOHN MCCORMACK and Majority Leader MIKE MANSFIELD.

"Ye shall know them by their fruits," says the Bible. The fruits of the labors of Congress during 1965 include medicare, the Voting Rights Act, an updated housing program, a strengthtened and improved war against poverty, the Appalachian program, the Public Works and Economic Development Act, the Older Americans Act, new regional medical programs to combat heart disease, cancer, stroke and related diseases, an improved mental health program, substantial increases for veterans' rehabilitation, new drug controls, the elimination or reduction of numerous excise taxes, the extension, and expansion of the manpower development and training program, a new program of Federal aid for elementary and secondary education, the Higher Education Act, the Highway Beautification Act, an expanded air pollution program, establishment of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities, and a research and development program for high-speed transportation.

I shall be forever grateful to have been given the opportunity to represent the people of San Antonio in the Congress of the United States and to work in the 89th Congress. We have brought in a rich harvest for the American people.

No. and date (1965)	Issue	Vote
1. Jan. 4	Call of the House	Present.
2. Jan. 4	Election of the Speaker. (McCormack, 289; Ford, 139.)	McC.
3. Jan. 4	H. Res. 1: Motion to cut off debate of resolution to seat Mississippi delegation. (Passed 276 to 148.)	No.
4. Jan. 4	H. Res. 8: Resolution to adopt rules of the House including 3 changes. (Passed 224 to 201.)	Yes.
5. Jan. 19	Quorum call	Present.
6. Jan. 19	H. Res. 126: Resolution dismissing contest of election of Representative Ottinger, of New York. (Passed 245 to 102.)	Yes.
7. Jan. 26	H. J. Res. 234: Motion to recommit supplemental appropriation for Department of Agriculture. (Passed 204 to 177.)	No.
8. Feb. 4	Quorum call	Present.
9. Feb. 8	Quorum call	Present.
10. Feb. 8	H. J. Res. 234: Motion to instruct House conferees to insist on prohibition of sale of surplus food to the United Arab Republic. (Failed 165 to 241.)	No.
11. Feb. 9	Quorum call	Present.
12. Feb. 9	H.R. 3818: Motion to recommit bill providing for elimination of requirement that Federal Reserve banks maintain certain reserves in gold certificates against deposit liabilities. (Failed 93 to 289.)	No.
13. Feb. 9	H.R. 3818: Final passage of bill to eliminate the requirement that Federal Reserve banks maintain certain reserves in gold certificates against deposit liabilities. (Passed 300 to 82.)	Yes.
14. Feb. 10	Quorum call	Present.
15. Feb. 17	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
16. Feb. 17	H.R. 2998: Final passage of bill authorizing appropriation for Arms Control and Disarmament Agency for 3 years in amount of $40,000,000. (Passed 302 to 63.)	NV.[2]
17. Feb. 18	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
18. Feb. 18	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
19. Feb. 18	H.R. 45: Motion to recommit bill to amend Inter-American Development Bank Act authorizing increase in U.S. participation. (Failed 142 to 237.)	No.
20. Feb. 18	H.R. 45: Final passage of bill to amend Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize increase in U.S. participation. (Passed 288 to 93.)	Yes.
21. Feb. 24	Quorum call	Absent.
22. Feb. 25	Quorum call	Present.
23. Feb. 25	H. Res. 188: Motion to recommit resolution authorizing funds for HUAC in order to hold public hearings on justification of the funds. (Failed 58 to 333.)	Yes.
24. Feb. 25	H. Res. 188: Final passage of resolution authorizing $370,000 for HUAC. (Passed 360 to 29)	Yes.
25. Mar. 1	Quorum call	Absent.
26. Mar. 2	Quorum call	Present.
27. Mar. 3	Quorum call	Present.
28. Mar. 3	S. 3: Motion to recommit Appalachian Redevelopment Act in order to substitute a new bill. (Failed 100 to 323.)	No.
29. Mar. 3	S. 3: Final passage of Appalachian Redevelopment Act of 1965. (Passed 257 to 165.)	Yes.
30. Mar. 9	Quorum call	Present.
31. Mar. 10	H.R. 2: Final passage of bill to amend Food and Drug Act to establish special controls for depressant and stimulant drugs. (Passed 402 to 0.)	Yes.
32. Mar. 11	Quorum call	Present.
33. Mar. 15	H.R. 4714: Motion to suspend rules and pass bill authorizing an appropriation of $150,000 per year for Advisory Council on the Arts. (Failed 217 to 113; a ⅔ majority required to suspend the rules.)	Yes.
34. Mar. 16	Quorum call	Present.
35. Mar. 16	H.R. 5505: Motion to amend the bill requiring the establishment of congressional districts composed of contiguous and compact territory. (Amendment failed 147 to 255.)	No.
36. Mar. 17	Quorum call	Present.
37. Mar. 17	Quorum call	Present.

Footnotes at end of table.

No. and date (1965)	Issue	Vote
38. Mar. 17	H. Res. 276: Resolution to take up for consideration the bill, H.R. 5374, to increase the salaries of the Chief Justice and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court. (Passed 202 to 183.)	Yes.
39. Mar. 17	H.R. 5374: Final passage of bill to increase the salaries of the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court. (Failed 178 to 202.)	Yes.
40. Mar. 18	Quorum call	Present.
41. Mar. 22	Quorum call	Present.
42. Mar. 22	H.R. 5688: Motion to recommit bill relating to criminal procedure in the District of Columbia in order to hold public hearings. (Failed 166 to 216.)	Yes.
43. Mar. 22	H.R. 5688: Final passage of bill relating to criminal procedure in the District of Columbia. (Passed 251 to 131.)	No.
44. Mar. 23	Quorum call	Present.
45. Mar. 23	H.R. 5721: Final passage of bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act to provide for acreage-poundage marketing quotas for tobacco. (Passed 206 to 170.)	Yes.
46. Mar. 24	Quorum call	Present.
47. Mar. 24	Quorum call	Present.
48. Mar. 25	Quorum call	Present.
49. Mar. 25	Quorum call	Present.
50. Mar. 26	Quorum call	Present.
51. Mar. 26	Motion calling for a vote to approve the House Journal as read. (Passed 274 to 119.)	Yes.
52. Mar. 26	H.R. 2362: Motion to recommit the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 in order to change the formula for the allocation of funds. (Failed 149 to 267.)	No.
53. Mar. 26	H.R. 2362: Final passage of Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. (Passed 263 to 153.)	Yes.
54. Mar. 29	Quorum call	Present.
55. Mar. 30	Quorum call	Present.
56. Mar. 31	Quorum call	Present.
57. Mar. 31	H.R. 3708: Final passage of the Older Americans Act of 1965. (Passed 396 to 1.)	Yes.
58. Mar. 31	H.R. 1111: Final passage of Water Resources Planning Act. (Passed 384 to 0.)	Yes.
59. Apr. 1	Quorum call	Present.
60. Apr. 1	H.R. 4257: Final passage of bill to amend the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) of 1962. (Passed 395 to 0.)	Yes.
61. Apr. 5	Quorum call	Present.
62. Apr. 5	H.R. 980: Motion to suspend rules and pass bill to provide for the return of obscene mail matter. (Passed 360 to 21.)	Yes.
63. Apr. 5	H.R. 7064: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill authorizing the appropriation of $1,000,000 for construction of a U.S. Embassy building in Saigon. (Passed 378 to 0.)	Yes.
64. Apr. 5	H.R. 7060: Final passage of bill appropriating $6,600,000,000 for the Departments of the Treasury and Post Office, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies. (Passed 347 to 7.)	Yes.
65. Apr. 6	Quorum call	Present.
66. Apr. 6	H.R. 7091: Final passage of supplemental appropriation bill. (Passed 348 to 62.)	Yes.
67. Apr. 7	Quorum call	Present.
68. Apr. 7	Quorum call	Present.
69. Apr. 8	Quorum call	Present.
70. Apr. 8	H.R. 6675: Motion to recommit the bill providing for an increase in social security benefits and establishing medicare for the purpose of crippling the program. (Failed 191 to 236.)	No.
71. Apr. 8	H.R. 6675: Final passage of bill providing for increase in social security benefits and establishing medicare. (Passed 313 to 115.)	Yes.
72. Apr. 13	H.R. 2998: Motion to adopt conference report on bill to increase the authorization for appropriations to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. (Passed 316 to 65.)	Yes.
73. Apr. 13	Quorum call	Present.
74. Apr. 13	H.J. Res. 1: Final passage of proposed amendment to the Constitution relating to succession to the Presidency and Vice-Presidency and cases of Presidential disability. (Passed 368 to 29.)	No.
75. Apr. 14	Quorum call	Present.
76. Apr. 14	H. Res. 310: Resolution authorizing the expenditure of an additional $50,000 by HUAC for an investigation of the Ku Klux Klan. (Passed 313 to 43.)	No.
77. Apr. 27	Quorum call	Present.
78. Apr. 27	H.R. 6497: Motion to recommit bill to amend the Bretton Woods Agreements Act to authorize an increase in the U.S. quota for the International Monetary Fund. (Failed 113 to 275.)	No.
79. Apr. 27	H.R. 6497: Final passage of bill authorizing an increase in the U.S. quota for the International Monetary Fund. (Passed 301 to 88.)	Yes.
80. Apr. 28	Quorum call	Present.
81. Apr. 28	Quorum call	Present.
82. Apr. 28	S. 4: Final passage of Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1965. (Passed 396 to 0.)	Yes.
83. Apr. 29	Quorum call	Present.
84. Apr. 29	H.R. 7091: Adoption of conference report on supplemental appropriation bill. (Passed 316 to 55.)	Yes.
85. Apr. 29	H.R. 7091: Motion to agree to Senate amendment to supplemental appropriation bill providing funds to continue the Federal subsidy for helicopter service at New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. (Failed 144 to 228.)	No.
86. Apr. 29	H.R. 4714: Final passage of bill authorizing an appropriation of $150,000 per year for the Advisory Council on the Arts. (Passed 239 to 116.)	Yes.
87. May 3	H.R. 2986: Final passage of bill to extend the Community Health Services Act and to launch a nationwide immunization program against measles. (Passed 347 to 0.)	Yes.
88. May 4	Quorum call	Present.
89. May 4	Quorum call	Present.
90. May 4	H.R. 2985: Final passage of bill authorizing the appropriation of $172,000,000 during the next 4 years to help pay the cost of professional and technical personnel at community mental health centers. (Passed 389 to 0.)	Yes.
91. May 5	Quorum call	Present.
92. May 5	H.J. Res. 447: Final passage of joint resolution appropriating $700,000,000 to the Department of Defense for use in connection with military activities in southeast Asia. (Passed 408 to 7.)	Yes.
93. May 5	Quorum call	Present.
94. May 5	H.R. 7657: Final passage of bill authorizing appropriation of $15,300,000,000 for military functions of the Department of Defense. (Passed 396 to 0.)	Yes.
95. May 6	Quorum call	Present.
96. May 6	H. Res. 366: Motion to take up for consideration the bill (H.R. 7717) to authorize appropriations for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. (Passed 389 to 0.)	Yes.
97. May 6	H.R. 7717: Final passage of bill authorizing appropriation of $5,100,000,000 for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. (Passed 389 to 11.)	Yes.
98. May 10	Quorum call	Present.
99. May 10	H.R. 2984: Final passage of bill extending the Public Health Service program of construction of health research facilities, and authorizing 3 additional Assistant Secretaries of Health, Education, and Welfare. (Passed 334 to 4.)	Yes.
100. May 12	Quorum call	Present.
101. May 12	S. 701: Final passage of bill enabling the United States to carry out its obligations under the International Coffee Agreement. (Passed 300 to 97.)	Yes.
102. May 18	Quorum call	Present.
103. May 20	Quorum call	Present.
104. May 20	H.R. 8122: Motion to recommit the bill authorizing appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in order to delete funds for construction of a reactor in cooperation with the State of California. (Failed 43 to 313.)	No.
105. May 20	H.R. 8122: Final passage of bill authorizing appropriation of $2,500,000,000 for the Atomic Energy Commission. (Passed 352 to 1.)	Yes.
106. May 24	Quorum call	Present.
107. May 24	Quorum call	Present.
108. May 25	Quorum call	Present.
109. May 25	H.R. 7750: Motion to recommit foreign aid bill in order to cripple it. (Failed 178 to 219.)	No.
110. May 25	H.R. 7750: Final passage of foreign aid bill. (Passed 249 to 148.)	Yes.
111. May 26	Quorum call	Present.
112. May 26	H.R. 8370: Motion to recommit appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture in order to prohibit exports of food to the United Arab Republic or Indonesia under title I of Public Law 83-480. (Failed 197 to 208.)	No.
113. May 26	H.R. 8370: Final passage of appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture appropriating $5,700,000,000	Yes.
114. May 27	Quorum call	Present.
115. June 1	Quorum call	Present.
116. June 1	H.R. 6639: Final passage of $2,000,000,000 appropriation bill for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, and the Judiciary and related agencies. (Passed 322 to 60.)	Yes.
117. June 1	H.R. 3584: Final passage of bill amending the Federal Coal Mine Safety Act to further provide for the prevention of accidents in coal mines. (Passed 336 to 42.)	Yes.
118. June 2	Quorum call	Present.
119. June 2	H.R. 8371: Final passage of bill eliminating or reducing certain Federal excise taxes. (Passed 401 to 6.)	Yes.
120. June 3	Quorum call	Present.
121. June 3	H.R. 7777: Final passage of bill authorizing the President to appoint Gen. William F. McKee (U.S. Air Force, retired) as Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency. (Passed 228 to 137.)	Yes.
122. June 7	Quorum call	Present.

No. and date (1965)	Issue	Vote
123. June 7	H.R. 3157: Motion to suspend the rules and pass a bill to permit the spouse of a railroad employee to receive a spouse's annuity under the Railroad Retirement Act and to also receive social security benefits or railroad retirement benefits earned in her own right. (Passed 323 to 0.)	Yes.
124. June 8	Quorum call	Present.
125. June 8	Quorum call	Present.
126. June 8	H.R. 8775: Motion to recommit appropriation bill for the legislative branch in order to delete funds for certain employees. (Failed 149 to 244.)	No.
127. June 8	H.R. 7105: Final passage of bill extending the Export Control Act with an amendment protecting American businessmen from the Arab anti-Israeli and anti-Jewish boycott. (Passed 388 to 1.)	Yes.
128. June 9	Quorum call	Present.
129. June 9	H. Res. 413: Motion to take up for consideration the bill, H.R. 8464, to increase the national debt limit. (Passed 273 to 109)	Yes.
130. June 9	H.R. 8464: Final passage of bill increasing the national debt limit. (Passed 229 to 165)	Yes.
131. June 9	H. Con. Res. 285: Motion to amend concurrent resolution to allow the showing in the United States of the USIA film, "John F. Kennedy—Years of Lightening, Day of Drums." (Failed 174 to 216.)	No.
132. June 9	H. Con. Res. 285: Final passage of resolution to allow the showing in the United States of the USIA film, "John F. Kennedy—Years of Lightning, Day of Drums." (Passed 311 to 75.)	Yes.
133. June 10	Quorum call	Present.
134. June 10	Quorum call	Present.
135. June 10	Quorum call	Present.
136. June 14	Quorum call	Present.
137. June 15	Quorum call	Present.
138. June 15	Quorum call	Present.
139. June 15	Quorum call	Present.
140. June 16	Quorum call	Present.
141. June 16	H.R. 6927: Motion to recommit bill establishing the Department of Housing and Urban Development, in order to cripple it. (Failed 141 to 259.)	No.
142. June 16	H.R. 6927: Final passage of bill establishing the Department of Housing and Urban Development. (Passed 217 to 184.)	Yes.
143. June 16	H. Res. 416: Final passage of resolution to authorize each Member of the House to employ a student congressional intern annually on a temporary basis. (Passed 229 to 153.)	Yes.
144. June 21	Quorum call	Present.
145. June 21	H.R. 7743: Motion to suspend rules and pass the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965 providing a system of loan insurance to assist students to attend postsecondary business, trade, technical, and other vocational schools. (Passed 300 to 0.)	Yes.
146. June 21	H.R. 8620 Motion to suspend rules and pass the bill to amend the Agriculture Act to take into consideration floods and other natural disasters in reference to the feed grains, cotton, and wheat programs for 1965. (Passed 297 to 2.)	Yes.
147. June 21	H. Con. Res. 416: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the resolution requesting the President to urge certain actions in behalf of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. (Passed 298 to 0.)	Yes.
148. June 22	Quorum call	Present.
149. June 22	Quorum call	Present.
150. June 22	Quorum call	Present.
151. June 23	Quorum call	Present.
152. June 23	Quorum call	Present.
153. June 23	H.R. 9221: Final passage of $45,000,000,000 appropriation bill for the Department of Defense. (Passed 407 to 0)	Yes.
154. June 24	Quorum call	Present.
155. June 24	H.J. Res. 541: Final passage of bill extending the Area Redevelopment Act for 2 months. (Passed 224 to 167)	Yes.
156. June 28	Quorum call	Present.
157. June 28	H. Res. 425: Motion to take up for consideration the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. (Passed 230 to 115)	Yes.
158. June 28	Quorum call	Present.
159. June 29	Quorum call	Present.
160. June 29	Quorum call	Present.
161. June 30	Quorum call	Present.
162. June 30	H.R. 7984: Motion to amend the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. (Passed 240 to 179.)	Yes.
163. June 30	H.R. 7984: Motion to recommit the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. (Failed 202 to 206.)	No.
164. June 30	H.R. 7984: Final passage of Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. (Passed 245 to 169.)	Yes.
165. July 1	Quorum call	Present.
166. July 6	Quorum call	Present.
167. July 6	H. Res. 440: Motion to take up for consideration the Voting Rights Act of 1965. (Passed 308 to 55.)	Yes.
168. July 6	Quorum call	Present.
169. July 7	Quorum call	Present.
170. July 7	Quorum call	Present.
171. July 8	Quorum call	Present.
172. July 8	Quorum call	Present.
173. July 8	Quorum call	Present.
174. July 9	Quorum call	Present.
175. July 9	H.R. 6400: Motion to amend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 in order to provide criminal penalties for giving false information on voting eligibility status, or for paying or accepting money to register to vote. (Passed 253 to 165.)	No.
176. July 9	H.R. 6400: Motion to amend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 in order to remove Federal examiners in a county if 50 percent of the Negroes of voting age are registered to vote. (Failed 155 to 262.)	No.
177. July 9	H.R. 6400: Motion to amend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 in order to allow people illiterate in English to vote if they have completed the 6th grade in Spanish language schools. (Failed 202 to 216.)	Yes.
178. July 9	H.R. 6400: Motion to recommit the Voting Rights Act of 1965 in order to substitute new language. (Failed 171 to 248)	No.
179. July 9	H.R. 6400: Final passage of Voting Rights Act of 1965. (Passed 333 to 85)	Yes.
180. July 12	Quorum call	Present.
181. July 12	H.R. 8856: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill clarifying the language of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 so as to reaffirm the intent of Congress that the activities of the Atomic Energy Commission may not be limited by the regulations of local authorities with respect to the generation, sale, or transmission of electric power. (Failed 216 to 139.)	Yes.
182. July 12	H.R. 242: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill requiring that appointments to fill temporary summer jobs with the Federal Government in the Washington, D.C. area be apportioned among the States. (Passed 336 to 22.)	Yes.
183. July 12	Quorum call	Present.
184. July 13	Quorum call	Present.
185. July 13	S. 559: Motion to adopt the conference report on the bill requiring a "caution" statement on cigarette packages and limiting further action in connection with the health hazards related to the use of tobacco. (Passed 286 to 103.)	No.
186. July 14	Quorum call	Present.
187. July 14	Quorum call	Present.
188. July 14	H.R. 8926: Motion to amend the Coinage Act of 1965. (Failed 187 to 218.)	No.
189. July 14	H.R. 8926: Final passage of Coinage Act of 1965 reducing the silver content of coins. (Passed 255 to 151.)	Yes.
190. July 15	Quorum call	Present.
191. July 15	Quorum call	Present.
192. July 19	Quorum call	Present.
193. July 20	H.R. 9075: Final passage of the Military Pay Increase Act of 1965. (Passed 410 to 0.)	Yes.
194. July 21	Quorum call	Present.
195. July 22	Quorum call	Present.
196. July 22	H.R. 8283: Motion to amend the bill expanding the war against poverty in order to reinstate the Governor's veto and reduce the authorization for funds. (Failed 178 to 227.)	No.
197. July 22	H.R. 8283: Final passage of bill expanding the war against poverty. (Passed 245 to 158.)	Yes.
198. July 26	Quorum call	Present.
199. July 26	H. Res. 437: Motion to take up for consideration the bill (H.R. 77) to repeal sec. 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. (Passed 248 to 171.)	Yes.
200. July 26	Quorum call	Present.
201. July 26	Quorum call	Present.
202. July 27	Quorum call	Present.
203. July 27	H.R. 6675: Motion to adopt conference report on the bill increasing social security benefits and establishing medicare. (Passed 307 to 116.)	Yes.
204. July 27	H.R. 7984: Motion to adopt conference report on the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. (Passed 251 to 168.)	Yes.
205. July 27	H.R. 2985: Motion to adopt conference report on the bill authorizing the appropriation of $172,000,000 during the next 4 years to help pay the cost of professional and technical personnel at community mental health centers. (Passed 414 to 0.)	Yes.
206. July 28	Quorum call	Present.
207. July 28	Quorum call	Present.
208. July 28	H.R. 77: Motion to recommit bill to repeal sec. 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. (Failed 200 to 223.)	No.
209. July 28	H.R. 77: Final passage of bill to repeal sec. 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. (Passed 221 to 203.)	Yes.
210. July 29	Quorum call	Present.
211. July 29	Quorum call	Present.

No. and date (1965)	Issue	Vote
212. July 29	H.R. 8856: Final passage of bill clarifying the language of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 so as to reaffirm the intent of Congress that the activities of the Atomic Energy Commission may not be limited by the regulations of local authorities with respect to the generation, sale or transmission of electric power. (Passed 275 to 126.)	Yes.
213. Aug. 2	Quorum call	Present.
214. Aug. 2	S.J. Res. 81: Motion to suspend rules and pass the resolution authorizing an increase in the amount of funds for the Interstate Highway System for fiscal year 1967 from $2,900,000,000 to $3,000,000,000 and authorizing the apportionment of those funds to the States. (Passed 314 to 11.)	Yes.
215. Aug. 2	H.R. 8027: Motion to suspend rules and pass the bill to provide assistance in training State and local law enforcement officers and to improve local law enforcement practices. (Passed 326 to 0.)	Yes.
216. Aug. 2	H.R. 6964: Motion to suspend rules and pass the bill authorizing the Attorney General to transfer certain prisoners to residential community treatment centers, to grant them leave, and to permit them to work in private employment. (Passed 325 to 0.)	Yes.
217. Aug. 3	Quorum call	Present.
218. Aug. 3	S. 1564: Motion to recommit the conference report on the Voting Rights Act of 1965 for the purpose of crippling it. (Failed 118 to 284.)	No.
219. Aug. 3	S. 1564: Motion to adopt conference report on the Voting Rights Act of 1965. (Passed 328 to 74.)	Yes.
220. Aug. 3	H.R. 8469: Final passage of bill to increase certain annuities payable from the civil service retirement and disability fund. (Passed 396 to 0.)	Yes.
221. Aug. 4	H.R. 8439: Motion to adopt conference report on $1,700,000,000 military construction authorization bill. (Passed 389 to 0.)	Yes.
222. Aug. 4	S. 1742: Final passage of bill authorizing the U.S. Governor to agree to amendments to the articles of agreements of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Finance Corporation in order to permit the World Bank to make loans to the IFC. (Passed 331 to 54.)	Yes.
223. Aug. 5	Quorum call	Present.
224. Aug. 5	H. Res. 498: Motion to take up for consideration the bill, H.R. 4750, providing for a 2-year extension of the interest equalization tax. (Passed 329 to 44.)	Yes.
225. Aug. 5	H.R. 4750: Final passage of bill providing for a 2-year extension of the interest equalization tax. (Passed 274 to 97.)	Yes.
226. Aug. 9	Quorum call	Present.
227. Aug. 9	Quorum call	Present.
228. Aug. 9	H.R. 9918: Motion to adopt substitute language for the bill relative to motor vehicle insurance in the District of Columbia, the substitute requiring all insured drivers to cover protection against uninsured drivers and requiring uninsured drivers to pay at least $40 per year into an unsatisfied judgments fund. (Passed 173 to 156.)	Yes.
229. Aug. 10	Quorum call	Present.
230. Aug. 10	H.R. 10306: Final passage of bill to make it a crime to knowlingly destroy or mutilate a draft card. (Passed 393 to 1.)	Yes.
231. Aug. 11	Quorum call	Present.
232. Aug. 11	Quorum call	Present.
233. Aug. 12	Quorum call	Present.
234. Aug. 12	S. 1648: Motion to amend the Public Works and Economic Development Act in order to make more areas eligible for grants and to increase the authorization from $400,000,000 to $500,000,000. (Passed 196 to 194.)	Yes.
235. Aug. 12	S. 1648: Motion to recommit Public Works and Economic Development Act. (Failed 163 to 224.)	No.
236. Aug. 12	S. 1648: Final passage of Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 providing grants for public works and development facilities and assistance for the planning and coordination needed to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment in economically distressed areas. (Passed 246 to 138.)	Yes.
237. Aug. 16	Quorum call	Present.
238. Aug. 16	H.R. 6431: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to allow certain forms of nickel to be imported without a tariff duty. (Passed 298 to 48.)	Yes.
239. Aug. 16	H.R. 8635: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to establish a Federal Boxing Commission. (Passed 346 to 4.)	Yes.
240. Aug. 17	Quorum call	Present.
241. Aug. 18	Quorum call	Present.
242. Aug. 19	H.R. 7750: Motion to adopt conference report on foreign aid bill. (Passed 244 to 150.)	Yes.
243. Aug. 19	H.R. 9811: Motion to recommit the omnibus farm bill. (Failed 169 to 224.)	No.
244. Aug. 19	H.R. 9811: Final passage of omnibus farm bill. (Passed 221 to 172.)	Yes.
245. Aug. 24	Quorum call	Present.
246. Aug. 24	H.R. 10586: Motion to recommit $1,200,000,000 supplemental appropriation for the Departments of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Labor. (Failed 39 to 263.)	No.
247. Aug. 25	Quorum call	Present.
248. Aug. 25	H.R. 2580: Motion to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 in order to put a numerical ceiling on immigration from the Western Hemisphere. (Failed 189 to 218.)	No.
249. Aug. 25	H.R. 2580: Final passage of Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 abolishing the national origins quota system. (Passed 318 to 95.)	Yes.
250. Aug. 26	Quorum call	Present.
251. Aug. 26	Quorum call	Present.
252. Aug. 26	H.R. 9567: Final passage of Higher Education Act of 1965 providing financial assistance for students in postsecondary and higher education. (Passed 368 to 22.)	Yes.
253. Aug. 30	H.R. 9022: Final passage of the bill providing Federal assistance for elementary and secondary schools in areas affected by a major disaster and to make uniform eligibility requirements for schools in impacted areas. (Passed 305 to 37.)	Yes.
254. Aug. 31	H. Res. 551: Motion to take up for consideration the bill (H.R. 9042) providing for implementation of the Agreement Concerning Automotive Products Between the United States and Canada. (Passed 363 to 23.)	Yes.
255. Aug. 31	H.R. 9042: Final passage of bill providing for implementation of Agreement Concerning Automotive Products Between the United States and Canada. (Passed 280 to 113.)	No.
256. Sept. 1	Quorum call	Present.
257. Sept. 1	H.R. 3141: Final passage of bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to authorize grants to schools of medicine, dentistry, and osteopathy for the awarding of scholarships to needy students, to extend provisions of the act for student loans and for aid in construction of teaching facilities for students in schools for the health professions. (Passed 340 to 47.)	Yes.
258. Sept. 2	Quorum call	Present.
259. Sept. 2	H.R. 5863: Final passage of bill authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to undertake research and development in high-speed ground transportation. (Passed 317 to 24.)	Yes.
260. Sept. 2	Quorum call	Present.
261. Sept. 7	Quorum call	Present.
262. Sept. 7	H.R. 8439: Motion to table a motion to discharge the House Armed Services Committee from further consideration of the military construction bill vetoed by the President. (Passed 323 to 19.)	Yes.
263. Sept. 7	H.R. 10775: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to authorize military construction, in lie of the bill H.R. 8439, voted by the President. (Passed 347 to 0.)	Yes.
264. Sept. 7	H.R. 168: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill increasing the rates of service-connected compensation for veterans. (Passed 348 to 0.)	Yes.
265. Sept. 7	S.J. Res. 102: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the resolution authorizing $1,500,000 for the Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice and the District of Columbia Commission on Crime and Law Enforcement. (Passed 339 to 0.)	Yes.
266. Sept. 8	Quorum call	Present.
267. Sept. 8	Quorum call	Present.
268. Sept. 8	Quorum call	Present.
269. Sept. 8	H.R. 10871: Final passage of $3,400,000,000 foreign aid appropriation bill. (Passed 239 to 143.)	Yes.
270. Sept. 9	Quorum call	Present.
271. Sept. 9	Quorum call	Present.
272. Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
273. Sept. 13	Motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call on rollcall No. 272. (Passed 226 to 126.)	NV.[3]
274. Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
275. Sept. 13	Motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call on rollcall No. 274. (Passed 244 to 127.)	Yes.
276. Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
277. Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
278. Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
279. Sept. 13	Motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call on rollcall No. 278. (Passed 256 to 124.)	Yes.
280. Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
281. Sept. 13	Motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call on rollcall No. 280. (Passed 255 to 121.)	Yes.
282. Sept. 13	Motion to table the motion that the Journal be approved as read. (Failed 138 to 245.)	No.
283. Sept. 13	Motion to terminate debate on the motion to approve the Journal. (Passed 257 to 126.)	Yes.
284. Sept. 13	Motion to approve the Journal. (Passed 265 to 119.)	Yes.
285. Sept. 13	Motion to adjourn. (Failed 175 to 204.)	No.
286. Sept. 13	H. Res. 506: Motion to discharge the Rules Committee from further consideration of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1965 in order that it might be brought up on the floor of the House for debate. (Passed 259 to 121.)	Yes.
287. Sept. 13	H. Res. 506: Motion to table the motion that the note on roll No. 286 be reconsidered. (Passed 194 to 181.)	Yes.
288. Sept. 13	Motion to adjourn. (Failed 174 to 202.)	No.
289. Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
290. Sept. 13	Motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call on rollcall No. 289. (Passed 243 to 136)	Yes.
291. Sept. 13	H. Res. 499: Motion to discharge the Rules Committee from further consideration of the bill to amend the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 so that it might be brought up on the floor of the House for debate. (Passed 201 to 171.)	Yes.
292. Sept. 13	H. Res. 478: Motion to discharge the Rules Committee from further consideration of the bill establishing the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. (Passed 260 to 114.)	Yes.

Footnote at end of table.

No. and date (1965)	Issue	Vote
293. Sept. 13	H. Res. 536: Motion to discharge the Rules Committee from further consideration of the Federal employees pay raise bill. (Passed 289 to 84.)	Yes.
294. Sept. 14	Quorum call	Present.
295. Sept. 14	Quorum call	Present.
296. Sept. 14	H.R. 2091: Motion to recommit the bill establishing concession policies in the areas administered by the National Park Service. (Failed 73 to 298.)	No.
297. Sept. 15	Quorum call	Present.
298. Sept. 15	Quorum call	Present.
299. Sept. 15	H.R. 8283: Motion to recommit conference report on the bill expanding the war against poverty in order to retain the veto power of the State Governors in the form approved by the House. (Passed 209 to 180.)	No.
300. Sept. 15	Quorum call	Present.
301. Sept. 15	H.R. 9460: Motion to recommit bill establishing the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. (Failed 158 to 251.)	No.
302. Sept. 16	Quorum call	Present.
303. Sept. 16	H. Res. 574: Motion to table the resolution to compel the Postmaster General to furnish the names of temporary employees employed during the summer of 1965. (Passed 185 to 181.)	Yes.
304. Sept. 16	S. 2042: Final passage of bill extending the authority of the Atomic Energy Commission to indemnify licensees and contractors for public liability. (Passed 338 to 30.)	Yes.
305. Sept. 17	Quorum call	Present.
306. Sept. 17	H.R. 9221: Motion to adopt conference report on the $46,800,000,000 Defense Department appropriation. (Passed 382 to 0.)	Yes.
307. Sept. 17	H. Res. 585: Motion to adopt the resolution as amended dismissing the 5 Mississippi election contests. (Passed 228 to 143.)	Yes.
308. Sept. 20	Quorum call	Present.
309. Sept. 20	H.R. 10873: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill establishing a program of group life insurance which shall be provided by private insurance companies for members of the uniformed services on active duty. (Passed 362 to 0.)	Yes.
310. Sept. 20	H. Res. 560: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives on the issue of intervention of the international communistic movement in the Western Hemisphere. (Passed 312 to 52.)	Yes.
311. Sept. 20	Quorum call	Present.
312. Sept. 21	Quorum call	Present.
313. Sept. 21	S. 4: Motion to adopt conference report on the Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1965. (Passed 381 to 0.)	Yes.
314. Sept. 22	Quorum call	Present.
315. Sept. 22	S. 2300: Motion to amend the Rivers, Harbors, and Flood Control Act of 1965 to delete the authorization for the Dickey-Lincoln school project in Maine. (Passed 207 to 185.)	No.
316. Sept. 22	H.R. 30: Final passage of bill providing for U.S. participation in Interama. (Passed 255 to 112)	Yes.
317. Sept. 22	Quorum call	Present.
318. Sept. 22	Motion to adjourn. (Failed 90 to 204)	No.
319. Sept. 23	Quorum call	Present.
320. Sept. 23	H.R. 7371: Motion to amend the bill closing a loophole in the Bank Holding Act of 1956. (Passed 199 to 178)	No.
321. Sept. 23	H. Res. 580: Motion to cut off debate on the question of taking up for consideration the bill, H.R. 10232, the bill to provide Federal assistance to rural communities for the construction of water and sanitation systems. (Passed 280 to 70.)	Yes.
322. Sept. 23	H.R. 10232: Final passage of bill to provide Federal assistance to rural communities for the construction of water and sanitation systems	
323. Sept. 24	Quorum call	Present.
324. Sept. 24	S. 306: Crippling motion to recommit the Clean Air and Solid Waste Disposal Act of 1965	No.
325. Sept. 24	S. 306: Final passage of Clean Air and Solid Waste Disposal Act of 1965. (Passed 294 to 4.)	Yes.
326. Sept. 27	Quorum call	Present.
327. Sept. 27	H. Res. 515: Motion to discharge the Rules Committee from further consideration of the District of Columbia home rule bill. (Passed 213 to 183.)	Yes.
328. Sept. 27	H. Res. 515: Motion to take up for consideration the bill providing for home rule for the District of Columbia. (Passed 223 to 179.)	Yes.
329. Sept. 27	Quorum call	Present.
330. Sept. 27	H.R. 4644: Motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for consideration of the District of Columbia home rule bill. (Passed 234 to 155.)	Yes.
331. Sept. 27	Quorum call	Present.
332. Sept. 28	Quorum call	Present.
333. Sept. 28	Quorum call	Present.
334. Sept. 28	Quorum call	Present.
335. Sept. 29	Quorum call	Present.
336. Sept. 29	H.R. 4644: Motion to kill the District of Columbia home rull bill. (Failed 179 to 219.)	No.
337. Sept. 29	H.R. 4644: Motion to adopt the language of the Sisk amendment to the District of Columbia home rule bill providing for a referendum in the District of Columbia on the question of home rule. (Passed 227 to 174.)	No.
338. Sept. 29	H.R. 4644: Crippling motion to recommit the District of Columbia home rule bill as amended. (Failed 134 to 267.)	No.
339. Sept. 29	H.R. 4644: Final passage of the District of Columbia home rule bill as amended. (Passed 283 to 117.)	Yes.
340. Sept. 30	Quorum call	Present.
341. Sept. 30	H.R. 2580: Motion to adopt conference report on the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 providing for a limitation on immigration from the Western Hemisphere. (Passed 320 to 69.).	No.
342. Sept. 30	H.R. 10281: Motion to recommit Federal employees pay raise bill in order to delete provisions for automatic pay increases for Members of of Congress, the executive branch, and judges. (Passed 238 to 140.)	No.
343. Sept. 30	H.R. 10281: Final passage of Federal employees pay raise bill. (Passed 370 to 7.)	Yes.
344. Oct. 1	Quorum call	Present.
345. Oct. 1	H.J. Res. 642: Motion to recommit the bill authorizing the Architect of the Capitol to construct the 3d Library of Congress Building. (Failed 17 to 321.)	No.
346. Oct. 1	H.J. Res. 642: Final passage of bill authorizing the Architect of the Capitol to construct the third Library of Congress Building. (Passed 328 to 5.).	Yes.
347. Oct. 1	H.R. 10871: Motion to recommit conference report on the foreign aid bill of 1965. (Failed 164 to 174.)	No.
348. Oct. 1	H.R. 10871: Motion to adopt the conference report on the foreign aid bill of 1965. (Passed 204 to 127.)	Yes.
349. Oct. 1	H.R. 3142: Final passage of bill to amend the Public Service Act to provide grants to aid medical library services and facilities. (Passed 256 to 3.).	Yes.
350. Oct. 1	H.R. 6519: Final passage of bill authorizing construction of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis, Mo. (Passed 250 to 12.)	Yes.
351. Oct. 5	Quorum call	Present.
352. Oct. 6	Quorum call	Present.
353. Oct. 7	S.J. Res. 32: Final passage of resolution authorizing compensation for certain inhabitants of the Ryukyu Islands for deaths and injuries as a result of acts of the U.S. Armed Forces from 1945 to 1952. (Passed 312 to 5.)	Yes.
354. Oct. 7	H.R. 2020: Final passage of bill authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the southern Nevada water project. (Passed 240 to 134.)	Yes.
355. Oct. 7	Quorum call	Present.
356. Oct. 7	S. 2084: Motion to amend the Highway Beautification Act of 1965. (Failed 153 to 230.)	No.
357. Oct. 7	S. 2084: Final passage of Highway Beautification Act of 1965. (Passed 245 to 138.)	Yes.
358. Oct. 8	Quorum call	Present.
359. Oct. 8	H.R. 9811: Motion to adopt conference report on the omnibus farm bill of 1965. (Passed 219 to 150.)	Yes.
360. Oct. 11	Quorum call	Present.
361. Oct. 12	Quorum call	Present.
362. Oct. 12	Quorum call	Present.
363. Oct. 12	H. Res. 598: Motion to take up for consideration the bill, H.R. 11135, to amend the Sugar Act of 1948. (Passed 253 to 80.)	Yes.
364. Oct. 12	Quorum call	Present.
365. Oct. 13	Quorum call	Present.
366. Oct. 13	H.R. 11135: Motion to recommit the bill to amend the Sugar Act of 1948. (Failed 160 to 230.)	No.
367. Oct. 13	H.R. 11135: Final passage of bill to amend the Sugar Act of 1948. (Passed 246 to 147.)	Yes.
368. Oct. 14	Quorum call	Present.
369. Oct. 14	H.R. 11588: Motion to amend the supplemental appropriation bill to delete the funds for the rent supplement program. (Passed 185 to 162.)	No.
370. Oct. 14	H.R. 11588: Final passage of supplemental appropriation bill. (Passed 242 to 100.)	Yes.
371. Oct. 18	Quorum call	Present.
372. Oct. 19	Quorum call	Present.
373. Oct. 20	Quorum call	Present.
374. Oct. 20	Quorum call	Present.
375. Oct. 20	Quorum call	Present.
376. Oct. 20	H.R. 9567: Motion to recommit the Higher Education Act of 1965 in order to delete the provisions for the National Teacher Corps. (Failed 152 to 226.)	No.
377. Oct. 20	H.R. 9567: Motion to adopt the conference report on the Higher Education Act of 1965. (Passed 313 to 63.)	Yes.
378. Oct. 20	S. 2300: Motion to adopt the conference report on the Rivers, Harbors, and Flood Control Act of 1965. (Passed 221 to 39.)	Yes.

No. and date (1965)	Issue	Vote
379. Oct. 21	Quorum call	Present.
380. Oct. 21	H.R. 11588: Motion to adopt the conference report on the supplemental appropriation bill including an appropriation of $125,000 for the Hemis-Fair planning study. (Passed 250 to 84.)	Yes.
381. Oct. 21	H.R. 11588: Motion to accept the Senate amendment to the supplemental appropriation bill providing for the Dickey-Lincoln project in Maine. (Passed 166 to 162.)	Yes.
382. Oct. 22	Quorum call	Present.
383. Oct. 22	H.R. 11135: Motion to adopt conference report on the bill to amend the Sugar Act of 1948. (Passed 174 to 88.)	Yes.

[1] Official leave obtained because of House business.
[2] Not voting. Official leave obtained because of House business.
[3] Not voting, but present while vote in progress.

Yearend Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HARVEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the RECORD a report to my constituents on the activities of the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

The headline read: "Congress, Go Home." Finally the advice was taken. The 1st session of the 89th Congress has written its record. Without a doubt, it will be cited as a busy session. But whether the work of Congress in these last 10 months will be recorded as good is another matter. Only the future holds the answer.

Briefly, we have seen this Congress approve major legislation including excise tax cuts, medicare, Appalachia aid, voting rights, education aid for both elementary and high schools as well as colleges, immigration, and the creation of the first new Department of Cabinet rank since 1953—the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Approximately 300 public laws were enacted. This, of course, does not include the number of private bills for the relief of constituents.

One Capitol wag has questioned, "What can the second session—which convenes on January 10—do for an encore?" Perhaps it would be best that it do nothing.

Last April, in speaking engagements in both Port Huron and Saginaw, I commented on the then legislative rush as follows:

> All of this legislation, however, has this single thread in common—that it involves the Federal Government more and more deeply each day in the lives of the ordinary citizen. Life will never be the same again.

In having this opportunity to bring to you this special message on the 1st session of the 89th Congress, I have recalled those words—"life will never be the same again." Certainly, changes are inevitable. And, it should be expected that it would entail some expension and growth of government, be it local, State, or national. But the trend these days is that the Federal Government has to assume practically all of the burdens. Is it a healthy trend? I think not.

Nor do I believe it is a healthy situation when Senate Majority Leader MIKE MANSFIELD candidly admits that Congress next year—1966—should spend less time on new legislation and more time correcting oversights in legislation we have just passed. Senator MANSFIELD was quoted as saying:

> We have passed a lot of major bills at this session, some of them very hastily, and they stand in extreme need of a going over for loopholes, rough corners, and particularly for an assessment of current and ultimate costs in the framework of our capacity to meet it.

This, I believe, is a high cost to pay for an eager, try-to-please-everyone administration. Now that it has been forecasted that 1966 will be a year of digestion and consolidation, it is good to know that these new laws, so hastily enacted, will be read, even if tardily. How much better, however, if some of the bills could have been more thoroughly examined, debated, and digested while rocketing through Congress.

It also has been said that the 89th Congress will probably go down in history as the "Puppet Congress." The President, with a two-to-one Democrat majority in the U.S. House of Representatives, and an even greater three-to-one edge in the U.S. Senate, encountered no difficulty, to speak of, in pressing administration programs.

Any self-appraisal of the 1st session of the 89th Congress would have to also include, therefore, the diminishing role of the legislative branch of our Government. In effect, Congress has been reduced to an annex of the White House. Whether you believe that some of this legislation is good legislation or bad legislation, the idea of some major bills going through without a single change or amendment not only reduces the stature of Congress, but it alters its meaning and significance as an independent branch of Government.

This, then, may be the real question the American people will have to answer in the future. It is not whether the goals of the Great Society are laudable goals—because we all share many of them—but whether we shall continue to have representative government in America.

Thus, this 89th Congress may not eventually be recalled for its greatness, but as the one which surrendered, without a struggle, its responsibility and its place in the representative government that we have known in the past.

ON THE DOMESTIC SCENE

Nearly 400 rollcalls and quorum calls were recorded in the House during the first session, breaking the old record of 305 set in 1950. It would be impossible to list, in the limited space, each single vote. I would be delighted to discuss with you any votes or provide you with available information on legislation which was enacted.

Throughout this session there have been differences between the political parties on many major issues. This is as it should be. As a recent newspaper editorial stated:

> The partisan spirit is not alien to the American spirit; rather it is through the debates that result from the partisan spirit that we arrive at the best means with which to govern ourselves.

SPECIAL LEGISLATION

As your Congressman, I also introduced 35 bills and 5 private bills. It is interesting to note the results on a few:

H.R. 4395: social security amendments increasing benefits; lowering age of eligibility; increasing earning limitations—action approved.

H.R. 6826: special housing loans for veterans under FHA—action approved.

H.R. 5295: to increase and adjust annuities for retired civil service employees—action approved.

H.R. 6694: free first-class postage for military. Permitted now for personnel stationed in danger areas.

H.R. 5294 and H.R. 7258: and voting rights legislation calling for the appointment of Federal registrars—action approved.

H.R. 5296 and H.R. 6931: repeal excise tax on passenger cars and on jewelry, luggage, handbags et cetera—action approved.

H.R. 2433: release surplus copper from national stockpile to alleviate serious economic threat to the Port Huron area—action approved.

Assistance also was rendered for the Harbor Beach area's biggest employer, Hercules Powder Co., in pressing for approval of a special food definition in the farm bill. Dredging work was approved for the Bay Port project, while congressional authorization was granted for the Lexington Harbor project. We will be pressing for the appropriation for Lexington next year. For Port Austin Harbor, the Corps of Engineers agreed to remove shoaling. In addition, a Black River feasibility study in the Port Huron area has been finalized.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Our Nation's world problems and commitments are not restricted to southeast Asia, and particularly South Vietnam. The Dominican Republic intervention this year cost many American lives. Danger still lurks in the Southern Hemisphere, where Cuba's Castro is fermenting strife. In Europe the split city of Berlin remains a potential threat.

The struggle for peace is a difficult one, but a task that must be relentlessly pursued.

I have supported President Johnson's firmness in Vietnam, for I believe it is the only course of action at this time. It is my hope, however, that through the United Nations or other negotiations the war can be ended. As the late President John F. Kennedy stated so eloquently in his inaugural address:

Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES

With the legislative production at such a high pitch, my committee schedule and responsibilities were just that much greater. I feel privileged to serve on two major committees—Banking and Currency and Interstate and Foreign Commerce. It has been said that "Congress in committee is Congress at work." This is so often the case. I would be glad to share the details of these committee activities with those I represent. Should you have questions or want information, please let me hear from you.

ACADEMY APPOINTMENTS

One of the real pleasures I have as your Congressman and a great responsibility is the privileges of appointing young men from the Eighth District to the various service academies—Naval, Military, Air Force, and Merchant Marine. My final selections are based strictly on a competitive basis. No other factors are considered in the selections except the ability, both physically and mentally, of each applicant.

It was a proud moment to announce earlier this year the appointments of Blaine S. Ball, of Unionville, and Gary Peckham, of Bad Axe, to the Military Academy; Mark Fischer, of Saginaw, to the Air Force Academy; Daniel Jones, of Saginaw, to the Naval Academy; and Philip Steele, of Chesaning, to the Merchant Marine Academy.

SERVICE TO THE DISTRICT

My principal function as your Congressman is to be your legislative spokesman. In that role, representing the interests of the nearly 410,000 people in our Eighth District, it is important to know how you think and feel. I welcome your letters and the opportunity to be of service.

Dealing with the Government is often complicated. If you have business with a department of the Federal Government, or some problem with one of the governmental agencies, I would be happy to be of help in expediting your case.

Over the years, I have also attempted to create greater interest in the policies and workings of our Government. Our annual questionnaire mailing has attracted thousands of voters. It is an activity we shall always present.

BACK TO THE DISTRICT

The extended session of Congress this year has prevented me from returning to the district as frequently as I have in past years. I did manage to work in nine trips for office hours and speaking engagements. An extended visit in November, stopping in more than 30 communities for office hours and speeches, was on the agenda. I am confident that all will agree that my presence in Washington for the work of Congress must take top priority.

Through our Washington newsletter, the questionnaire, public meetings, correspondence, news releases to radio, television and all newspapers, I will continue to make every effort to help you keep abreast of fast-moving events here in Washington.

Cambodia's Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, the Congress will have adjourned when Cambodia celebrates the anniversary of its independence, November 9. We wish to take this opportunity therefore, to extend warm felicitations to his excellency, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and to the people of Cambodia.

This small, fiercely independent nation which is celebrating its sovereignty is the modern embodiment of the ancient and distinguished Khmer Empire. Even the word "Cambodia," so familiar an appellative on the tongues of those who discuss the fortunes of Asia, is the Europeanized Kambuja, a name derived from that of the legendary founder of the Khmer Kingdom. Between the 10th and the 14th centuries much of what is now South Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand, as well as Cambodia, was the domain of the Khmer kings. The empire was a prosperous and highly cultured one; a sophisticated Sanskrit literature emerged, and a vigorous trade with India developed both in material goods and ideas. While Europe was groping toward a distant Renaissance and much of east and central Asia smoldered and wept in the wake of the Mongol Horde, the Khmer kings were building the magnificent complex at Angkor. Angkor Wat remains today, a stone testimonial in a dripping jungle to the ancient brilliance.

The past half millenium has not been kind to the Khmer people in terms of wealth, war, territory, and influence. Cambodia, between Vietnam and the Thai Kingdom of Siam, has fared no better than did Poland between Austria-Germany and Russia. Such was the imbalance of powers in southeast Asia by the middle of the 19th century that it can be convincingly argued in hindsight that French colonial intervention prevented the piecemeal conquest and assimilation of the Khmer people by their larger neighbors. The French are gone now and there can be no doubt of the full exercise of Cambodian independence but, in the eye of the nation's leader, Prince Sihanouk, foreign policy has once more become the central issue of state, directly and immediately affecting the continued survival of the Cambodian nation.

If the fortunes of Asian war and politics have not gone well for the linear descendants of the Khmer Kingdom, there have also been desirable compensating developments. Cambodia is not haunted by the specter of starvation; in southeast Asia it is uniquely blessed with a low population density. The soil is rich and only a quarter of the nation's arable land produces rice sufficient to amply feed Cambodia's 5½ million people. The abundance of land permits a substantial and growing livestock industry; extensive inland lakes and rivers provide great yearly fish catches; thus the protein deficiency that saps the vitality of many underdeveloped nations does not plague Cambodia. Further, Cambodia's society is unusually homogeneous and integrated in comparison to those of other southeast Asian countries and, although there are some problems with small minority groups, notably the Chinese and Vietnamese, Cambodia's difficulties on this score are relatively small in scope and intensity.

Prince Sihanouk has long been the principal figure in the Cambodian polity; for his people he appears to embody the national spirit, dignity, aspiration, and identity in the world at large much as does Charles de Gaulle for the French. He is a vital, colorful, sensitive man convinced that his nation is in danger and that a policy of alert, flexible neutrality holds the greatest promise of national survival. He spares neither voice nor energy in pursuing that policy.

We of the United States share the chief hope of Prince Sihanouk and his people that the world shall come to accept diversity among states and that in this milieu Cambodia will long prosper in that freedom and independence to which we direct our congratulations today.

Travesty of Justice—IV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a sampling of editorial from newspapers east of the Mississippi commenting on the recent miscarriage of justice in a Hayneville, Ala., courtroom.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Detroit (Mich.) Catholic Weekly, Oct. 1, 1965]

SOUTHERN INJUSTICE GOES UNCHALLENGED

About the only remaining puzzle in the maze of southern civil injustice is whether a southern conscience is really bothered by it all.

Not since the last Roman lion licked his chops over the final martyred Christian has there been a series of more blatant miscarriages of justice. On Aug. 20, Thomas Coleman, of Hayneville, Ala., killed Jonathan Daniels and wounded Fr. Richard Morrisroe, one a seminarian, the other a priest, both civil rights workers.

He was acquitted by a sympathetic jury on grounds of self defense. His defense produced eyewitnesses who testified that Daniels carried a knife, which was never found, and Father Morrisroe held something that looked like a pistol, which turned out to be a dime. Father Morrisroe was running toward Coleman but, somehow, he was shot in the back.

Coleman should have been charged with first degree murder and assault with intent to kill. But he was acquitted of a lesser manslaughter charge and faces only a simple assault trial for Father Morrisroe.

This is southern justice if it concerns a Negro or a "nigger-lover." It really is.

U.S. Attorney General Katzenbach flicked it away with, "This kind of result is expected from time to time." Come now. Every time? It is not that southern prosecutors are incapable of winning convictions, but in civil rights cases they lose with the inevitability of Perry Mason opponents.

Through it all comes the memory of Gov. George Wallace's mellifluous voice in last summer's radio commercial, inviting us to come on down to beautiful Alabama for vacation. You're kidding.

Some have opined that the cold blooded killers of the South, even if they escape conviction must live in the prison of their conscience. On the surface that is an understandable punishment.

But Tom Coleman says, "I'm happy," and we believe him.

It never has been demonstrated that southern murders have been more disturbed over the death of a pesky Negro than we are over the swatting of a fly. By corollary, they cannot be overly distraught over the death of a Negro's friend.

Surely not all citizens of the South fit into this category. Some, perhaps most, probably are deeply shocked as justice disappears from their States. But, where are they? With rare exception not in local government. Evidently not in any position of effective influence. And clearly, not in civil rights jury boxes.

[From the Newark (N.J.) News, Oct. 6, 1965]

THE FURTHER NEED

A White House conference next month will explore means of fulfilling the extensive civil rights legislation enacted in the last 2 years.

This, of course, will be the difficult, but the only really meaningful, part of rectifying the handicaps which the Negro has suffered over the last century. It will require, in President Johnson's words, "a national effort to insure that all Americans participate fully in the benefits and responsibilities of this most prosperous Nation."

The need for implementation is evident. Negroes do not share in the opportunities for education, employment, and decent housing to which their numbers and abilities entitle them. To this deficiency the Nation's best minds and ardent energies must be turned.

One other need—made all too evident by the lamentable Coleman case in Hayneville, Ala.—exists in the field of civil rights. That is the need for more adequately safeguarding the security of those who are trying to help Negroes attain their rights.

Twenty-six civil rights workers have suffered violent deaths in the South during the last 4 years. The number of persons convicted for these crimes can be counted on the fingers of one hand. In parts of the South the right to be tried by a jury of one's peers continues to be frightfully abused, for the benefit of the accused.

The belief is thereby strengthened that capital crimes connected with civil rights should be made Federal cases to be tried in Federal courts. At the very least, a change of venue should be made mandatory in cases of this kind.

Eminent lawyers and jurists will be participating in the White House conference on civil rights. This certainly is a problem worthy of their attention.

[From the Dayton (Ohio) News, Oct. 1, 1965]

NATION'S CONSCIENCE THROBS AS ALABAMA KILLER IS FREED

The State of Alabama couldn't even get a manslaughter conviction against Thomas L. Coleman, the 55-year-old part-time deputy sheriff who gunned down a New Hampshire seminary student outside a Hayneville country store. Justice is defiled again in the South and the Nation is shamed.

A cousin of the accused testified that Jonathan M. Daniels, 27, of Keene, N.H., carried a knife in his hand and his priest companion, the Reverend Richard Morrisroe of Chicago, held something that looked like a pistol. Another defense witness said two Negroes removed something from the fallen pair and that he heard the critically wounded priest inquire about his gun.

It didn't matter to the white, male jury that no gun or knife ever turned up. That witnesses said the seminary student was unarmed. That the priest was shot as he turnd to leave the scene. Self defense.

The deputy was preserving law and order. (Of course.) The clerics were looking for trouble. (They were civil rights workers, weren't they?) "A man has a right to defend himself and his lady." (A touch of southern gallantry.) And don't forget, the defense attorney claimed, the seminary student had kissed a Negro girl just prior to this death. (That for the clincher.)

Killer Thomas L. Coleman was acquitted. But not the jurors. Not Hayneville. Not Alabama. Not the South. Not the Nation that let seeds of racial hate grow undisturbed for a century. That indictment will remain as long as men deny brotherhood and their responsibility to serve its cause.

[From the Wellsville (N.Y.) Reporter, Oct. 5, 1965]

MAN TRAP FOR ANYBODY

The distance from New York State to Alabama could make the acquittal at Hayneville, Ala., seem like somebody else's business. The fact—and it does appear to be a fact—that any American can't go anywhere in his own country, under protection of law, should make it apparent that it is our business, indeed.

What happened to the New Hampshire seminarian who was shot and killed, and the Chicago priest who was wounded, could happen at any time and the man who pulled the trigger could be set free again. As long as the trigger is pulled by an Alabaman, and the victims are from other States, Alabama courts may be more dangerous than the courts of any backward, foreign nation. To the extent this is true, it is an affront against all Americans for whom justice must be at least a presumed right in all American courts. After the Hayneville fiasco it's difficult to pretend such presumption of rights for out-of-staters.

Credit must be given the Alabama attorney general, who sought a decision which would delay the trial until the dead man's companion could appear as a witness, and which also would give the attorney general an opportunity to seek a murder indictment, instead of the manslaughter charge which was before the court. Conversely, it is difficult to see why the judge refused his request and replaced the attorney general with a solicitor in the circuit court's own department.

If anyone outside Alabama (and perhaps Mississippi) is tempted to take seriously Alabama Governor Wallace's presidential aspirations, let it be recalled the kind of civilization he represents is represented also by Hayneville justice.

[From the Boston (Mass.) Globe, Oct. 14, 1965]

AS YE SOW

Another Selma may be in the making in the Deep South. Unless enough responsible moderates can cool things off soon, the tensions building up may erupt into blind violence that will again shame the Nation.

The potential ingredients are at hand. There was the shocking acquittal in Alabama of Thomas Coleman in the killing of Jonathan M. Daniels, the seminarian from New Hampshire, and the obvious conspiracy, now being challenged in a Federal court suit, to thwart school desegregation orders in Crawfordville, Ga.

There is Nazi-type barbarity in Mississippi. Hundreds of civil rights demonstrators from Natchez were forced to sleep nearly naked on cold cement floors at the notorious Parchman State Penitentiary, and to take laxatives under outrageously unsanitary conditions.

Are the memories of the racists so short?

[From the Rochester (N.Y.) Times-Union, Oct. 4, 1965]

WILL SOUTH ACCEPT THIS JUSTICE?

Following Deputy Thomas Coleman's acquittal in the fatal shooting of a New England civil rights worker in Hayneville, Ala., the State's attorney general, Richmond Flowers, declared:

"What has happened is appalling."

Hayneville justice is different from justice in most of the country. Hayneville justice barred Attorney General Flowers and his assistants from prosecuting the case. Hayneville justice required the trial to go on although Rev. Richard Morrisroe, still recovering from wounds inflicted by Coleman's shotgun, could not appear in court.

Hayneville justice called the shooting of Jonathan Daniels and the wounding of Reverend Morrisroe self-defense, despite Reverend Morrisroe's written statement that he carried (as a weapon?) only a dime to buy a soft drink. Hayneville justice subordinated truth to prejudice.

As long as Hayneville justice exists, there can be little faith in the justice of Alabama. Indeed, it makes all of the South suspect.

Attorney General Flower courageously said:

"I firmly believe that the great majority of Alabamians are outraged by this calloused disregard for the taking of a human life. Now those who feel they have a license to kill, destroy, and cripple have been issued that license. It is our duty to do what is necessary to retrieve it."

Here is the hope of Hayneville, that southerners like Flowers will spark a drive which will eventually eliminate Hayneville justice and will establish true justice in its place.

[From the Albany (N.Y.) Knickerbocker News, Oct. 2, 1965]

INNOCENCE AND GUILT

The jury that acquitted Thomas L. Coleman of manslaughter in the killing of a young civil defense worker has convicted the sovereign State of Alabama.

It has convicted it of hatred and hypocrisy, of disdain for justice, of parochialism and of prejudice. It has demeaned the judicial process.

If one were to agree with this jury in its acquittal of a part-time deputy sheriff who admittedly shot down an Episcopal seminary student, killing him, and a Roman Catholic priest, critically wounding him, one would have to believe that one of the two clergymen was armed with a knife and the other armed with a gun.

One would have to believe that the shotgun-carrying Coleman fired on the two young clergymen in self-defense.

One would have to believe that subsequent to the shooting other civil defense workers spirited away the knife and the gun that

the defense contended they were carrying. Neither weapon was found at the scene.

That jury in Alabama chose to believe these things.

Or did it?

Did it, rather, ignore the facts and acquit Coleman in defense of Alabama's cult of ignorance, its bigotry, its determination to stay stupid, its resistance to human rights.

Whether it did the one or the other, the shame remains.

Alabama stands convicted.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) News American, Oct. 4, 1965]

ALABAMA ON TRIAL

Last August 20 two shotgun blasts shattered the rural calm at Hayneville, Ala. One killed Jonathan Daniels, a white seminarian and civil rights worker from Keene, N.H. The other seriously wounded Rev. Richard Morrisroe, a Roman Catholic priest from Chicago.

The man placed on trial for the slaying was Thomas L. Coleman, a prominent citizen of Hayneville with deep roots in the community. He was acquitted on grounds of self-defense.

These are the bare facts of what is probably one of the most horrifying episodes in the history of racial violence in the South. For the Coleman trial was patently a trial in name only, and bore little or no resemblance to a genuine legal proceeding.

Coleman was judged by an all-white jury in a county where Negroes far outnumber whites. The attorney general of Alabama was barred from prosecuting the case because he insisted on postponing the trial to await the testimony of Father Morrisroe, now in hospital. The testimony of Negroes that no weapons were carried by the slain and wounded men was ignored. The testimony of white men that such weapons were carried was admitted, though no weapons were submitted as defense exhibits.

To describe the trial as a traversty is to understate its shocking nature. Its record, according to press reports, is replete with so many mockeries of the judicial process that it is difficult to believe it actually occurred the way it did.

But what must be believed is this: The Hayneville community, from which the trial jury was drawn, saw no wrong in the slayer's deed. It therefore freed him. The inescapable conclusion to be drawn is that in some areas of the Nation civil rights workers must proceed at their own risk, denied the protection of law, and be conscious that, if they are slain, their killers will go unpunished.

This is the lesson of Hayneville. It was the lesson of Philadelphia, Miss., last summer. It is the lesson taught by still other communities since the Negro began his struggle for equal citizenship.

It is a lesson the Nation cannot tolerate, and a means must be found to achieve a legislative way out of this ghastly impasse.

[From the Meadville (Pa.) Tribune, Oct. 2, 1965]

JUSTICE TWISTED AGAIN

Because of the consistently sordid record of justice in some States of the Deep South, acquittal of a deputy sheriff charged with manslaughter in the Alabama death of a civil rights worker may not be surprising. Yet such a travesty on justice shocks the majority of Americans who have faith and confidence in this Nation's judicial system.

Judgment of Thomas Coleman is impossible without access to the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Maybe he would have been found innocent by any jury in the land, although this seems unlikely in view of factual reports on the death of Jonathan Daniels, an Episcopal seminarian from New Hampshire, and the wounding of the Reverend Father Thomas Morrisroe, a Chicago priest.

But the cards were stacked in Coleman's favor. First, is Lowndes County's reputation for failure to place guilt on those involved in civil rights offenses. Only recently a jury was unable to agree on a verdict in the trial of Collie Leroy Wilkins, Jr., one of the three Ku Klux Klansmen accused of the murder of a woman civil rights worker.

The original charge was reduced from murder to manslaughter by the grand jury and then the presiding judge refused petitions for postponement of the trial until Father Morrisroe had recovered sufficiently to appear as a witness. Since he was involved in the fracas, his testimony would be most relevant. The jury apparently was impressed with the plea of self-defense, placing more credence on testimony that the two shooting victims were armed than on statements that they were not. It made little difference that no weapons ever were found.

The outcome of the court proceedings was deeply disturbing to the sense of justice of State Attorney General Richmond Flowers, who was ordered removed as prosecutor by the court. A southerner, he called the trial a "mockery of law and order."

The fact that Coleman has been freed of all accountability for the death of a human being is less disturbing than the stain placed directly on the Alabama system of justice and indirectly on the American system. Coleman must live with his own conscience. But what can be done to assure that society as well as the accused may expect justice in an Alabama courtroom when a civil rights trial is being heard?

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) News, Oct. 1, 1965]

QUICK JUSTICE IN ALABAMA

The most significant reaction to the acquittal of Thomas Coleman in the shotgun slaying of a white seminarian is the almost total lack of surprise.

As one member of the prosecution staff in the civil rights case observed, "What could you expect in this county?"

In Lowndes County, Ala., no one could have hoped for justice. Not when the attorney general who criticized the manslaughter finding of a grand jury was banished from the courtroom and the case by a circuit judge. And certainly not when the all-white jury deliberated a grand total of 1 hour and 43 minutes before finding the defendant not guilty.

Observers can only wonder what took them so long.

[From the Sunbury (Pa.) Item, Oct. 2, 1965]

Justice again wept in a courtroom at Hayneville, Ala., Thursday when a jury of white men—women and Negroes are not permitted to serve on Alabama juries—returned a verdict of "not guilty" in the case of Thomas L. Coleman, part-time deputy sheriff, in the killing of a white civil rights worker, Jonathan M. Daniels. The State's attorney general, Richmond Flowers, whom the presiding judge relieved of his duties after Flowers had objected to proceeding with the trial in the absence of an important witness, expressed the sentiment of observers across the Nation when he termed the outcome of the trial "a mockery of law and order."

In light of the fact that the defendant was an acknowledged killer and that his conviction or acquittal hinged on whether or not he acted in self-defense, the testimony of a single witness to the actual shooting was vital. And this is so even though the jury's findings were in the twisted format so common in relation to racial relations cases in Dixie courts.

A system of justice which affords virtually no protection for the rights of Negroes, including their right to life, could hardly be expected to exact a penalty for the killing of a white man with a passion for basic human rights regardless of race, color or creed.

[From the Allentown (Pa.) Chronicle, Oct. 1, 1965]

ANOTHER MOCKERY OF JUSTICE

The blindness of justice, Alabama style, was dramatically demonstrated by a Lowndes County jury in its acquittal of Thomas L. Coleman, a part-time deputy sheriff, in the killing of an Episcopal seminarian. He still faces charges of wounding a Roman Catholic priest.

Coleman is white. So are the 12 jurors who tried him.

Jonathan M. Daniels, 27, of Keene, N.H., also was white. So, too, is the Reverend Richard Morrisroe of Chicago.

But they were working in the cause of Negroes seeking the rights to which they are legally and constitutionally entitled. Some people in Alabama regard that as a crime subject to punishment without trial.

Now the future Episcopal clergyman is dead. The Catholic priest is recovering from critical wounds received at the time of the slaying. And Coleman has been freed.

These events are typical in States like Alabama, where any act committed by a white against a Negro is likely to go unpunished, and a Negro accused by a white stands literally no chance of acquittal.

A hint of things to come could be found in the action of the grand jury which indicted Coleman for manslaughter instead of murder. So it is hardly a surprise that the jury swallowed the unlikely defense claim of self-defense, based on questions indicating the slain man was armed with a switch blade knife, the priest with a pistol.

The decent people of Alabama—and there are substantial numbers of them—must be sickened by the whole business.

They must agree with the State's attorney general, who said, "What has happened this week in Hayneville does not do justice to Alabama.

And they can see as only another mockery of justice the statement by the defense attorney after the verdict, in which he spoke in glowing terms about a trial in a temple of justice and a verdict that was fair and just.

[From the Boston (Mass.) Herald, Sept. 29, 1965]

OUT ON A LIMB

Alabama Attorney General Richmond A. Flowers is out on a limb.

As Alabama's chief law enforcement officer, he is refused information by the police. As the State's chief criminal prosecutor he hears his motives, sincerity, and honestly impugned in an Alabama court of law. As a private citizen of the State he fears for his life.

And yet through all his seemingly hopeless efforts to make sure that justice is served in the trials of two men, accused in separate cases of the murders of two civil rights workers, he persists in the belief that there are enough good men in Alabama to save it from the racists and Klansmen who are silently supported by Gov. George Wallace.

Flowers has burned his bridges behind him by going to U.S. Attorney Genedal Katzenbach and asking for a crash Negro voter registration drive in Alabama. He feels that if he can get enough Negroes registered, they can combine with white moderates to elect him Governor.

Flowers admits he is a segregationist. Yet he publicly deplores Wallace's demagoguery and says Alabama must face up to gradual integration or perish in a sea of racial violence.

But the abruptness with which Circuit Judge T. Werth Thagard refused Flowers' motion to postpone the trial until a wounded State witness, a Catholic priest, had recovered, makes one wonder where these good men are in whom Flowers has placed his trust.

Evil persists when good men do nothing. But one good man is not enough.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Oct. 21, 1965]

STRUGGLE FOR FAIR JURORS

The struggle in Hayneville, Ala., to get an unprejudiced jury for the trial of Klansman Collie Leroy Wilkins, Jr., for the murder of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, civil rights worker, brings into sharp focus one of the most critical weaknesses in our judicial system. Last May the first Wilkins trial ended with the jury in deadlock. In many other cases Klansmen and other extremists accused of crimes against civil rights workers have been exonerated with seemingly little regard for the evidence. In some areas law enforcement seems to be impossible because prejudiced local juries approve the use of violence against Negroes and advocates of civil rights.

At Hayneville a courageous attorney general, Richmond Flowers, temporarily suspended the selection of a jury in the Wilkins case so that he could carry his challenge to 11 prospective jurors to the State supreme court. These potential jurors have confessed that they believe Negroes and white people who help them to desegregate schools and churches to be inferior. That view, strongly held, will make it extremely difficult for such a jury to reach an unbiased conclusion in the trial of a Klansman for the slaying of a civil rights worker. Yet Mr. Flowers effort failed yesterday.

Another disquieting aspect of the jury-selecting process in Lowndes County may be seen in the fact that the venue was composed of 280 whites and 20 Negroes, although the population of the county is 81 percent colored. Three Negroes were on the list of 30 from which the jury was to be chosen, but since the defense had the right to strike out 12 of those 30 names, no Negroes remained on the jury.

The Supreme Court long ago ruled that the systematic exclusion of Negroes from jury duty was a denial of due process in the trial of Negro defendants. But this has made only a small dent on the general policy of discrimination in the selection of jurors in the South. In some cases it may be literally impossible to find unprejudiced local jurors. Nevertheless, a vast improvement in the methods of jury selection could be devised. Although the problem lies chiefly in the State courts, the Federal Government ought to be pointing the way toward reforms. This is an area in which Senator TYDINGS' Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery could do some useful work.

[From the Oil City (Pa.) Derrick, Oct. 12, 1965]

SHOULD INCLUDE ALL CITIZENS

A lot of people in both the South and North have been disturbed by an Alabama jury's finding that Thomas L. Coleman was innocent in the fatal shooting of Jonathan M. Daniels, a seminarian who had been engaged in civil rights work.

The people who are disturbed, naturally, are those who believe in the concept of justice for everyone.

Among the many objections fair-minded people have raised against the proceedings is that the jury which freed Coleman was composed entirely of whites, even though there has been a large Negro population in the county.

And this situation has occurred in numerous other trials.

There is reason to believe, however, that barring Negroes from jury duty may be coming to an end. An indication of this was revealed when a Federal district court in Mississippi reversed two death penalties on the grounds that Negroes had been systematically excluded from the juries. Many have looked upon these reversals as a major advance for due process and equal protection under the law.

[From the Trenton (N.J.) Times, Oct. 5, 1965]

ALABAMA TRAGEDY

That trial in Hayneville, Ala., billed as farce, was more properly a tragedy.

It does not really matter whether the man accused of killing a civil rights worker was guilty of murder or not. It does not matter that the charge was arbitrarily reduced to manslaughter, nor that the prosecution was not permitted time to produce its key witness.

The verdict would have been the same in any event.

What matters is that there will be more such cases in the future, and that the rest of the Nation outside the South will no more expect justice in them than it has learned to expect it in the past.

It would be useless for others to condemn those involved in the Hayneville trial for betraying one of the fundamental principles on which the strength and integrity of America depends—that of equality before the law. Caught as they are in their inherited bias, it is plain that they don't even know the meaning of this principle.

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Press and News, Oct 23, 1965]

ACQUITTAL IN HAYNEVILLE

Twice within the past month rabid white supremacy juries acquitted their pals of murder. Both juries sat in Hayneville, Ala., and the facts surrounding both trials are nauseating to anyone who believes in due process of law.

On September 30, 12 white jurors found Thomas Coleman not guilty of shooting to death Jonathan Daniels, an Episcopal seminarian from New Hampshire.

Yesterday the second trial of Collie Leroy Wilkins ended in acquittal. This outrageous verdict in the fact of incontestable facts, was reached by 12 more white jurors. Six of them admitted at the start of the trial that the slain woman, Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, was a lower order of human being because she believed in—and worked for Negro rights.

Shamefully, it was U.S. Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach who said after the Coleman acquittal that this is the price that the United States must pay for its jury system.

The United States cannot afford this price. Rather than offer flabby excuses, Katzenbach should make it his most important order of business to find legal ways to end this shocking subversion of human justice.

Another attorney general—a southerner, Richmond Flowers of Alabama—said it all in his summation yesterday—the summation that was callously ignored by the white supremacy jury:

"If you do not convict this man you might as well lock up the courthouse, open up the jail and throw away the keys. And you can take 'true verdict' and just tear it out of the book and throw it away, because it won't mean a thing."

That two such verdicts should come within 1 month in the United States of America is a national disgrace.

Part I—East-West Trade Developments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, East-West trade is a subject which has captured the interest of students of relations between the Western countries and the Communist bloc in recent years. This was one of the subjects studied by the Subcommittee on Europe of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs under the leadership of the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. KELLY]. Members may be familiar with the hearings and report of this subcommittee on this subject.

Since the subject is one which is constantly changing, it is a matter of national interest to follow developments from day to day on this question. I am pleased to include with my remarks the text of an article "Proprietary Rights and East-West Trade" by Herschel F. Clesner, specialist on Soviet bloc studies with the Research Institute; inventions coordinator, U.S. Public Health Service which appeared in the spring 1965 issue of the Patent, Trademark, & Copyright Journal of Research and Education, George Washington University.

Mr. Clesner points out the increase in trading by other western industrial nations with the East and clearly defines the type of restricted and specialized trade in which the East is interested. Among other things he highlights the tendency toward liberalization of some Communist economies, particularly that of Czechoslovakia. He emphasizes the technical difficulties in trade as well as the restrictive legislation, particularly in this country, which affects trade with the Eastern countries, sometimes to the disadvantage of U.S. producers in permitting Communist countries to obtain counterpart products from European producers.

Mr. Clesner does not discuss the political questions underlying possible changes of trade policies but he does provide the basis of fact upon which such questions can be considered if and when the executive branch deems it advisable.

The first part of the article follows:

PROPRIETARY RIGHTS AND EAST-WEST TRADE

(By Herschel F. Clesner)

SUMMARY

Statesmen and businessmen around the world continue to seek a positive approach to United States East-West trade despite the continuing political and military crises between the two camps. Regardless of the violent clash in Vietnam, there are signs that the Berlin Wall may be brought down.

In the past decade, there has been considerable improvement in the relations between the market-oriented trading nations of the West (hereafter referred to briefly as the West), and the Communist countries of Eastern Europe (hereafter referred to as bloc countries).

The trend toward increased trade with the bloc countries appears to be inevitable and, in the opinion of many, desirable. Willy Brandt, mayor of West Berlin and chairman of the West German Social Democratic Party, proposed that the West consider East-West economic cooperation in financing joint projects including the expansion of road, canal and power networks of Europe. Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has urged East-West experiments in "practical cooperation" on specific joint ventures for "cooperation, like conflict, tends to feed itself." He further suggested normal trade relations with Russia in nonstrategic goods "involving neither special favors nor special discrimination" as "one of the preconditions for active cooperation." This has been followed by statements by Vice Chancellor Erich Mende and Franz Joseph Strauss of the German Federal Republic urging full diplomatic relations with the bloc states. Past efforts, recent and prospective changes, as well as persisting impediments to trade are described in the following essay. The role of patented inventions, technical know-how and assistance, still confronted by a set of unfamiliar conditions in the exchange of intangibles, are explored. Evidence is developed that despite economic, political and philosophic differences, it has become possible for the West and the bloc to do business with each other for their mutual advantage.

The past

Trade may serve either as a political weapon—embargo or boycott—in international relations or as a channel for the exchange of goods and/or services on a mutually profitable basis.

Today, the United States leads the Western industrialized nations while the U.S.S.R. dominates the Communist countries of Eastern Europe. Because of the deep-seated ideological gulf between them, a basic division exists in both the Western and Eastern blocs regarding the other side, its goals and motives, and whether to treat each other as a hostile enemy seeking world domination or as a political equal deserving of better relations through trade and negotiation.

During the past 20 years the U.S. foreign trade and balance of payments have been extremely favorable enabling us to trade with whom we wished and as we desired. Our practices disclosed the assumption of a hard line toward trading with the bloc countries. Yet, representatives of many Western governments, political groups, privately owned businesses, and individuals have taken both sides of the argument with, in many instances, self-interest serving largely to determine which side to back. The U.S. position has not stopped other Western industrial countries from trading with the East.

East-West trade received impetus in June 1958, with Khrushchev's assertion that the Soviet Union could carry on a broad trade program, based on mutual advantage, with the United States. This was an intended follow-up of the cultural exchange program undertaken by the United States and the Soviet Union, and received with enthusiasm by the peoples of both countries. The later suggestion that the U.S.S.R. and the United States exchange professional economists to study and acquire a better appreciation of each other's economic system was successfully implemented.

Trade statistics

In 1959 free world exports to the Soviet bloc came to $3 billion, with imports of $3.04 billion. In 1963 free world exports to the Soviet bloc came to $4.5 billion, with imports of $4.6 billion.

Western Europe exported $3 billion and imported $3.6 billion from the Sino-Soviet bloc. West Germany was the heaviest trader with $669 million in exports and $750 million in imports in 1963 of which a good one-third were with East Germany under the special interzonal arrangement for exchange of goods. Britain was next with $412 million in sales and purchases of $534 million in 1963. Italy's trade with the area ranked third with $292 in exports and $444 in imports.

In 1963, U.S. exports to the Soviet-bloc countries of Eastern Europe came to $167 million of which $109 million ($45 million Public Law 480 shipments) were to Poland. Imports from the bloc in 1963 came to $85 million with $43 million coming from Poland.

In 1963, for example, about half of all the total value of goods imported from the industrial West by the U.S.S.R. consisted of machinery and transport equipment: $589 million out of a total import value of $1,389 million. Under the Rumanian state plan for 1965 more than 90 percent of their imports, with machinery and equipment of the highest technological level as the major items, are earmarked for production investment. As a result, a high proportion of the import requirements of East Europe from the West consists of machinery, of new technology, of new design, or assembled into engineered industrial plants.

Trade needs—Technology

Imports of equipment from the West loom large in the plans of all the Communist countries of Eastern Europe. Each of these countries is committed to its own program of rapid industrialization and finds itself from time to time confronted either by a physical shortage of specific types of machinery within the bloc, or by a lack of equipment with the latest engineering advances, efficiency, and production capacity.

In recent years the purchasing agents for the Soviet-bloc countries have been turning regularly toward the West for machinery and processes embodying the latest concepts of operational efficiency. The director of the Department of the Circulation of Goods of the Rumanian State Planning Commission has asserted: "We put great emphasis on modern techniques. We do not purchase equipment from abroad unless we are convinced that it is at the top of the world in technology. We find that the United States, West Germany, France, and Great Britain make the finest equipment and we want to procure it. This accounts for the increase in our trade with the West."

The bloc countries possess numerous successful research and development programs of their own and can obtain, in addition, a large amount of their needs as a result of intrabloc trade. Despite the fact that intrabloc trade rose 5½ times within the 1952–62 period, there still remains a large net deficit of technology, advanced plants, and know-how required within the bloc to fulfill desired immediate needs. The frequent reshuffling of their economic planning apparatus, with added emphasis on the development of the chemical process industry to meet newly revised agricultural goals and consumer items, has impelled many bloc industries to look to the West for relief in such cases where the planning commissions had not originally recognized the need for, or received the mandate to develop, new models of equipment.

Intrabloc trade—CEME

Intrabloc trade is aided and stimulated by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA). The bloc nations formed CEMA (COMENCON) as their answer to Western Europe's economic unions and as a means to promote the integration of their long-term economic planning and production.

CEMA, not a supranational planning unit directing the allocation and development of each member's national economy, makes recommendations and attempts to coordinate common efforts respecting the principle of the equal sovereign rights and interests of the participating countries. Each recommendation must, before it can go into effect, have the agreement of each member nation.

Each bloc nation has its own planning unit which arbitrarily formulates its own retail and wholesale prices based on their own fiscal objectives and preferences, rather than on market considerations. In bargaining with one another the bloc state finds that the other bloc nations set high prices on their sale items and low prices on purchase products. So, to create a firm basis of competitive exchanges among themselves the bloc countries presently seek a more realistic pricing system. At the same time they also seek Western buyers and sellers to achieve a greater degree of economic advantage.

Opening the 19th CEMA session in Prague on January 28, 1965, Czechoslovakian Deputy Premier Simunek emphasized the guiding principles of the policy of CEMA members as peaceful coexistence and intensification of economic ties with states which have different economic systems. The CEMA meeting led to limited multilateral agreements on the production of diverse equipment which the member states thus far have not manufactured and which otherwise would have to be acquired as imports from the West. The desire of the CEMA members to expand trade with each other and with other nations is very evident. Rumanian Premier Ion G. Maurer asserted to the Rumanian National Assembly, while giving details of the state plan for 1965, that his Communist country is determined to extend economic ties with other countries "irrespective of their social system" and "on the basis of advantage" as the modernization of their production equipment calls for the import of the best machines, equipment and technological installations.

Developmental and cost engineering lag

Despite their organized monitoring of the world's scientific and industrial literature, the Soviet Union and the bloc countries cannot, in the case of many rapidly changing civilian industries, rely on ultimately developing engineering capability to attain current goals.

The Soviet technical community has learned, at great cost in time and resources, that the laboratory discovery of a chemical process is not by itself sufficient to enable the domestic industry to apply such knowledge economically or to market an innovation embodying this knowledge. For example, Soviet technicians devised certain laboratory processes in making a form of nylon. The Soviets, though the advance was promptly published in a technical journal, were not successful in moving the process through pilot stages to ultimate production. However, a governmental research institute for the textile industry in Japan was able to push this process successfully through the pilot stages. The Japanese are undertaking feasibility studies to determine whether their engineering efficiency is sufficient to use this new process in world market competition.

Czechoslovakian Minister Cernik, addressing the Czechoslovak legislative assembly regarding the state economic plan for 1965, asserted that in certain instances the quality, standards, and development of their products lag, in contrast to other countries. He cited the example of an auxiliary radio receiver that took 3½ years from development to production. In the interim, Japan had overtaken them by 3 years, even though the item was a Czechoslovakian invention.

The Chief of the International Department of the Czechoslovakian State Commission for the Development and Coordination of Science and Technology asserted that millions have been granted for the development of items

which had already been developed elsewhere. The resulting product did not raise the level of economic performance in that country.

Some examples of varying scope are cited regularly by the Soviets in their technical press as examples of Western piracy of Soviet technology or the failure of Soviet technologists to recognize the economic potential of their own work.

Experience has shown that innovation development in the Soviet Union and other Communist bloc countries has not been sharpened either (1) to compete with other commercial processes or products for a portion of the market within the planned economy or (2) to compete pricewise in a sustained manner for world markets. The present economic planning system simply won't allow it, for it calls for allegedly planned, fixed allocation and orderly (meaning: centrally established) distribution of goods based on existing technology.

The economic planning system of the Communist nations has not been geared, as the economies of the countries of the West are, either to respond to demand or to cope with the stern necessities of competitive trade and the marketing of products and processes. Nor do such economies seem to have been sharpened to higher efficiency or lower price by the force of "profit motivation." The present Communist price system, retail and wholesale, has been based on considerations and objectives of the economic planning and management operation. In the military and space development sectors where the market purchaser-user can make demands of the research, engineering and manufacturing facilities, and with the aid of other special "drive" factors, the lead time, quality, research, and engineering factors are more advanced than those in the regular planned sector of the Soviet economy.

Far-reaching economic changes to update technology

After great loss in years and resources, the bloc countries are introducing profit motivation, advertising, cost accounting, price adjustment, installment buying, market demand and acceptance, collective ownership with profit sharing, and less centralized planning into their national economic systems. Mounting inventories of certain consumer items have forced the economic planners to adopt price cutting, advertising, and installment buying practices. Together with previous changes as varying wage scales for the different professions and disciplines, they have proven the practical irrelevance of theoretical Marxism as a workable doctrine for an operable and competing industrial economy.

Czechoslovakia occupies a special position among the bloc countries because it possesses a highly developed industrial economy made in rapid gains during the 1930's. At present, it has the greatest foreign trade turnover on a per capita basis—300 rubles compared with 250 in East Germany, 220 in Hungary, 110 in Poland, and 60 in the Soviet Union.

In the early 1960's Czechoslovakian industrial production and national income slowed down. Unusable inventories grew and by 1964 reached approximately one-fourth of the national income. Revisions of the targets of the 35-year plan were necessary. Despite the imposition of new controls, the economic downturn worsened, and Czechoslovakian economists became critical of the orthodox Communist system of planning and management.

Encouraged by expressions advanced by Soviet, Polish, Rumanian, Hungarian, and Yugoslav colleagues, greater changes to meet the existing economic realities were sought. Finally, in January 1964, strong measures were approved for strengthening the economy.

The Czechoslovakians realize that their own sources of raw materials are relatively limited and that their market is much too small to sustain an extremely wide range of industrial production. In contrast to the Rumanians they believe that the present high degree of diversification of industry requires a sustaining research effort overtaxing the resources of a country as small as Czechoslovakia. Their economic limitations restrict their research capability to providing a technological level for highly specialized industries that produce a limited variety of high quality goods. These considerations have become their guides in maintaining an expanding economy since they must obtain raw materials and products on optimum terms from foreign sources and in turn have foreign market outlets. They have invested jointly with CEMA members to construct a mine in the Soviet Union for a share of the production output. They have attempted to purchase licenses to inventions and know-how of the highest technological level in the world. They must, however, to achieve their goals and market outlets, be competitive in price and quality.

The reforms

Czechoslovakian leaders, at Khrushchev's removal, hesitated only long enough to receive the assent of new Kremlin power structure. The Soviet Union, with its 225 million people, apparently realized that it would be simpler for Czechoslovakia, a nation of but 14 million population with a short history as a Communist state and with a well-planned economy, to break trail in making drastic changes.

The policy, adopted in January 1965, amounts to a far-reaching reform of the entire Marxist system of economic planning and management. It goes further than anything previously attempted in Eastern Europe and places Czechoslovakia in the forefront of Communist economic changes along with Yugoslavia. This is revisionism of the highest degree when compared with the Chinese.

When contrasted wtih the present Communist system whereby everything is centrally planned, allocated, managed, and distributed, the new policy is revolutionary. To those accustomed to Western economic practices, it is nothing more, however, than an attempt to stimulate Czechoslovakia's ailing economy by common Western management and business practices. Other bloc countries have sent official delegations to observe and study the fundamental reevaluation of their system.

Future bloc economic structure

It is now an accepted bloc thesis that the present system of economic management is no longer in line with growing demands and that without basic changes the economic directives cannot be met. The profitability of production based on costs and changing technology plus the use of individual incentive benefit must be considered.

Central planning agencies will eventually deal only with questions of the basic direction of price and wage policy, finance and loan policy, material incentives for obtaining foreign currency, long-term projections and production ratios, and international economic and trade agreements. The implementation of the short-term plans are to be left to the respective branch enterprises which are, now, presumed to be in a better position to choose the methods befitting their capabilities, production experience.

Future development must be decided on the basis of costs, saving, comparison to the highest level of similar products in world markets, and the results achieved.

Major developmental investments will come from the state budget and all other necessary investments will be financed by the enterprises themselves from their own resources or by borrowing. Interest for all loans will be paid by the enterprises.

In place of long-range unchangeable prices a realistic and flexible price system will be gradually introduced to take into consideration production cost, world prices, and relation of supply to demand. Fixed prices for basic raw materials and some basic necessities will be set by the central planners. Prices will be at first fixed after agreement between suppliers and consignees, but in time the enterprises will set free prices according to supply and demand. Prices and items are to be exposed to competition with foreign goods and with those produced within the different production systems such as cooperatives and State enterprises. Export products, as far as value and standards, must be equal to the best in the world. Sector enterprise in foreign trade activities will be taken over from the foreign trade organization wherever it is possible to experiment, and when it can be carried out better and more economically.

The merits of individual enterprises and plants, in order to make the enterprises more competitive, more cost-conscious, and more responsive to consumer wishes, will be measured by profits resulting from actual sales to customers. Control activities will be directed to correction of abuses, including the abuse of the monopoly status of producers, and to the development of prices and wages.

Each enterprise must earn its own way. After production cost deductions and tax levies (fulfillment of obligations to society) to the state, each enterprise must pay wages, costs for plant modernization, development, and other business obligations. State subsidization will cease for those enterprises unable to earn their way, after a transition period of grace to allow for adaptation.

Wages, according to individual merit and the enterprise's profits, are to be based on the quantity, quality, and importance of the work performed. Successful enterprises may institute profit sharing and investment undertakings.

Labor law regulations are to be amended to allow the enterprise executive to have increased powers to select, transfer, and release subordinate workers.

Wholesale prices are to be reorganized in accordance with firm and free prices. Extensive retail price changes will not occur until 1966 as trade enterprises, before this time period, will not acquire the major part of their supplies through direct contacts with production enterprises.

The prime purposes of this program are to provide a realistic pricing system, material incentives, incentive to introduce new technology into production, hight quality and attractively designed products, a greater volume of foreign trade, and an improved balance of payments.

Dedication of O'Reilly Bridge

SPEECH

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, October 17, a new bridge that spans the Merrimack River between Lawrence and North Andover, Mass., on Interstate Route No. 495 was dedicated to the memory of the late Reverend James T. O'Reilly, O.S.A. Father O'Reilly, who

served as pastor of St. Mary's Church in Lawrence from 1886 to 1925, was both priest and patriot; for it was his courage and inspiration, more than any other single factor, which mobilized the good people of Greater Lawrence to resist the forces of evil organized by the Industrial Workers of the World to bring anarchy to the city 52 years ago.

Arrangements for the dedication were handled by the Reverend James T. O'Reilly Division of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, whose president is our former colleague Thomas J. Lane, now a Governor's councilor in Massachusetts. Mr. Lane served as master of ceremonies for the dedication.

The principal address was delivered by Most Rev. Jeremiah F. Minihan, Roman Catholic auxiliary bishop of Boston, who extended the greetings of Cardinal Cushing and paid tribute to Father O'Reilly's outstanding pastorate in Lawrence.

Among the other speakers were Gov. John A. Volpe, Lawrence Mayor John J. Buckley, Very Rev. Vincent A. McQuade, O.S.A., president of Merrimack College in North Andover, and Very Rev. Edward J. Carney, O.S.A., pastor of St. Augustine's Church in Lawrence, who originally proposed the naming of the bridge in Father O'Reilly's honor, and State Senator William Wall whose resolution in the Great and General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts provided legislative authority for the naming of the bridge. The Right Reverend Malcolm E. Peabody, retired Episcopal bishop of Boston, delivered the invocation.

The Lawrence Eagle-Tribune on October 18 carried a full account of the dedication ceremonies, which I was pleased to attend, and I would like to include it at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Lawrence (Mass.) Eagle-Tribune, Oct. 18, 1965]

SEVEN HUNDRED AT DEDICATION OF O'REILLY BRIDGE AT ROUTE 495

A great new bridge built to span the Merrimack River between North Andover and Lawrence as part of the Route 495 complex at a cost of $3,930,000 was officially dedicated Sunday afternoon to the memory of the late Reverend James T. O'Reilly, OSA.

Linking, as it does, local communities on the lower level and the cities of the Nation on the upper level of its double deck, the bridge is built to serve mankind.

Speakers found it most appropriate, therefore, that the name of the former pastor of St. Mary's Church, as zealously dedicated to serve the people as he was to his priestly duties, be used to designate the new span.

The exercises, sponsored by the Reverend James T. O'Reilly Division of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, were held at 3 p.m., on the north end of the northbound lane of the lower or local level following a motorcade of more than 30 cars which transported participating leaders of the clergy and State.

More than 700 persons attended the dedication, marred only by chill winds.

William J. Donovan, program director, opened the affair with a welcome and the master of ceremonies was Governor's Counselor Thomas J. Lane, president of the division. The invocation was delivered by Rt. Rev. Malcolm E. Peabody, retired Episcopal bishop of Boston and former rector of Grace Episcopal Church, during which time he was closely associated with Father O'Reilly in local civic matters.

THE SPEAKERS

The principal address was delivered by Most Rev. Jeremiah F. Minihan, D.D., V.F., LL.D., Roman Catholic auxiliary bishop of Boston, who represented Richard Cardinal Cushing and also officiated at the blessing of the bridge.

Others were: Mayor John J. Buckley, Rt. Rev. Joseph P. Burke, division chaplain and pastor of St. Patrick's parish; Katherine A. Fitzpatrick, auxiliary president; Very Rev. Edward J. Carney, OSA, pastor of St. Augustine's parish; former Gov. Endicott Peabody, Hon. John E. Fenton, past national president of the AOH and president of Suffolk University; former Attorney General Edward J. McCormack, Jr., who represented the Speaker of the House of Representatives, JOHN W. MCCORMACK; Gov. John A. Volpe; Very Rev. James Sherman, OSA, provincial of the Augustinian Order from Villanova; Congressman F. BRADFORD MORSE, Very Rev. Vincent A. McQuade, OSA, Ph. D., president of Merrimack College; Very Rev. James M. Hurley, OSA, pastor of St. Mary's Church; State Commissioner of Public Works Francis W. Sargent and Senator William X Wall.

The program was brought to a close by the singing of the National Anthem by Mrs. Mark A. McComiskey, soloist, Benediction was given by Father Carney.

Organ music for the exercises was played by Joseph M. Walsh.

In his address, Bishop Minihan brought the blessing and cordial best wishes of Cardinal Cushing and termed it "a privilege to have a part in this historic occasion which will be indelibly inscribed in the history of the great city of Lawrence and in the hearts and minds of all its citizens who take just pride in their city and in the name and undying fame of the great priest."

As a native of Haverhill, the bishop said, he many times as a youngster came to Lawrence to view the famous annual May procession. He said he still remembers the impression made upon him by the figure and reputation of the illustrious pastor who dominated even that spectacle as priest and as an outstanding citizen among the civic leaders of his adopted city of Lawrence.

As a close associate of the late Cardinal O'Connell, a native of Lowell, during the first 15 years of his priesthood, Bishop Minihan said he heard Father O'Reilly spoken of often in words of highest esteem, regard, and affection.

"A NEW ERA"

He quoted also from the history of the archdiocese of Boston, published in 1944, which notes: "A new era dawned for the churches of Lawrence with the coming of Father O'Reilly as pastor of St. Mary's, a position he was to hold from 1886 to his death in 1925. He was a priest of marvelous versatility, a great executive and organizer, an indefatigable worker, an eloquent preacher, a model pastor, a moral reformer, and a man of strong civic spirit, infusing new life into every Catholic activity and coming to be universally recognized as the first citizen of Lawrence.

"He was faced with almost overwhelming debts, but made many improvements in St. Mary's and the Immaculate Conception Churches, adding to the latter its handsome spire. He built the convent for the Sisters of Notre Dame and brought in the Xaverian Brothers to teach the boys' school.

"Nearly all the foreign-language congregations of Lawrence owe him a great debt for having brought them together at one or another of his churches and trained and shepherded them until they were strong enough to have pastors of their own.

"He took a strong and active part in public affairs, seeking always, tirelessly and zealously, the good of all the citizens of Lawrence. He exerted himself strenuously and decisively for the no license cause. He campaigned with equal fervor for civic honesty and assailed crooked politicians who took refuge behind the Catholic label; and he rendered noble patriotic service during the Spanish-American War."

Bishop Minihan told the gathering, "The history of this city must record in equally laudatory terms the impact and the influence of this great man of God on the community which he served with the same devotion and fervor that he served his God and his church. Lawrence is a city today because of the foresight, the prudence, and the courage of Father O'Reilly and all those who joined with him during its darkest and stormiest days of 1912 when the Industrial Workers of the World sought to sow the seeds of discord, rebellion, and anarchy under the banner of 'No God, no master.'"

"The effort might have succeeded were it not for the intrepid, valorous, and courageous leader who rallied the support of 40,000 marchers each carrying an American flag under the banner of 'For God and Country.'

"TRUE ECUMENIST"

"Father O'Reilly, to my mind was a true ecumenist 60 years before the movement so active today. He made no distinction between color, race or creed. He was equally at home with the highly placed or the lowly, the poor or the rich who sought his counsel, and labor and management who found in him a sincere, understanding friend, and a wise and prudent counselor."

Mayor Buckley told the gathering that the bridge, as part of Route 495, is important to all in Greater Lawrence, providing swift travel and opening up new lands for development in the community. In paying tribute to Father O'Reilly, he said, we also pay tribute to all Augustinian priests.

Monsignor Burke expressed the hope that "this bridge will stand always as a reminder to us of the inspiration, leadership and nobility of character that the great pastor presented us and urged we be inspired to emulate those virtues."

Father Carney said the thought occurred to him to name the bridge after the beloved former pastor years ago when he served as pastor of St. Mary's. He thanked Senator William X. Wall who filed the bill making this possible, with the approval of the then Governor, Endicott Peabody.

Peabody, who was born on Prospect Hill, said he was proud to be the son of parents who were close friends of Father O'Reilly. He said his father and Father O'Reilly served in the ministry together many years ago and as the son of the former Episcopal bishop he was glad to have played a part in the laying out and construction of the bridge. One of his last acts as Governor, he said, was to sign the bill making the naming of the bridge possible.

Former chief justice of the Massachusetts Land Court, John E. Fenton, congratulated all who had anything to do with naming the bridge. He described Father O'Reilly as a strong man, physically, spiritually, and intellectually.

Former Attorney General McCormack said he did not know Father O'Reilly but had heard so much of his work that he recognized him as a truly inspired servant of God who, perhaps, was decades ahead of his times in the ecumenical spirit interested in better working, and living conditions of his people.

Father Hurley told his listeners they were revolving about in the orbit of a man who went before them. "He was a complete pastor, so his heart went out to everyone, his sheep, in the city and its environs."

Very Reverend Father Sherman urged the group to dedicate themselves "by this example, to the building of bridges of understanding, kindness, charity, and patriotism which are so necessary today."

The part Father O'Reilly played by his dynamic leadership in the 1912 threat of

chaos by the IWW, was detailed by Father McQuade, who said it was fitting to dedicate this bridge in memory of the late pastor because the route will serve to bring in new industry needed in this area.

Senator Wall told how the first bill was filed by Representative Thomas J. Barry, former Hibernian president, to build a bridge across the river and how he (Senator Wall) filed a bill in December 1962 to designate this bridge for Father O'Reilly, at the suggestion of Father Carney. He said that Councilor Lane, then Congressman, aided in getting a Federal restriction removed to make the naming possible, together with Judge Fenton, Monsignor Burke, Attorney Vincent A. O'Sullivan, Rev. John V. Casey, OSA, and how Irving E. Rogers kept Lawrencians informed on the progress of the legislation.

Governor Volpe said that standing on the bridge brought back memories of the State legislature in 1954 when the highway plan for Massachusetts was being laid out. At the time, someone remarked that a bridge over the Merrimack River would not be built in 40 years. It was as a result of the great highway program that the bridge is now completed, he said. Citizens of Lawrence and the entire Merrimack Valley, he said, can now look forward to a great industrial future. He said the bridge stands today as a bridge between man and man, as Father O'Reilly was a bridge between man and God.

Part II—East-West Trade Developments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, in submitting the second part of this very important article on "Proprietary Rights and East-West Trade," written by Herschel F. Clesner, I am hopeful that it will be observed that the continuity of the second part with the first entry develops the importance of the entire theme with its conclusion:

TO TRADE OR NOT TO TRADE

Convertible currencies for trade

To trade one must have goods to barter, funds to purchase other people's products, and desirable products of one's own for sale. For purchase funds the Soviet Union uses the gain from tourism, concerts, the sale of armaments, and the manganese, chromium, gold, platinum, and other rare metals that it mines; but these meet only a portion of that country's needs. The bloc countries pay for their purchases through cash payment in convertible currencies, debiting and crediting bilateral agreement clearing accounts, barter—with or without foreign exchange transactions, or credit.

The bloc countries are struggling to achieve a more diversified industrial economy at home, and do not appear to have many specialized products that are salable in the United States. Their exports are substantially raw materials, food, fuel, and finished natural products, while their imports consist chiefly of highly developed finished products. In many countries of the West, other than the United States, there is some need for such raw materials as are exported by the bloc countries, and so an exchange basis for trade exists. For example, in 1963, Great Britain bought 91 million pounds from the Soviets and sold 55.4 million pounds of goods to them. This favorable balance to the Soviets was used to make purchases in other sterling currency countries.

The economic planners of the Communist countries have often asserted that, given the opportunity to trade, plus the will and time to explore practical problems, they can plan, create, and develop products specifically for Western markets.

Though this is easily said, it is not as easily done since the quality, design, and efficiency of each product must have market appeal and must be priced competitively in the world market.

In striving to obtain sales and to be competitive foreign marketplaces such as the United States, the bloc members assert that the elimination, in the economic sphere, of cold war instruments, i.e., embargo, boycott, quota limitations, and tariff favoritism, would be welcome. In the meantime, long-term Western credit for expanding purchases must be sought. To this end, the bloc countries are willing to pay what they consider a high interest rate for such credit in order to create an immediate inflow into their industrial economy.

Bloc countries trading mechanism

Various specialized foreign trading organizations utilized by the Communist bloc countries are involved in the negotiation of foreign purchases as well as in sales. These foreign trading organizations in most instances are, at present, each particular country's sole agent to purchase and sell specific categories of equipment, processes, and products for all national enterprises. The foreign trade organization conducts export and import operations within the framework of the state foreign plan, a part of the overall national economic plan. The short-term import plan is based on orders received, after necessary clearance and approval, from enterprises and distributing organizations. The plan takes into account organized and existing bilateral and multilateral agreements, national production, other phases of the overall planning apparatus, currency available for purchase, and the amount of funds allocated for such use. Export responsibilities are to meet obligations under existing bilateral agreements, barter agreeagreements, and to earn foreign exchange to meet import payments.

The organization may, in some instances, use certain Western business organizations, for a limited area or purpose, as a sales, distribution, purchasing, or patent licensing agent. Remington Rand, Ltd., a British subsidiary of Sperry Rand Corp., is offering British customers an electronic invoicing machine made in East Germany and priced below competing machines. Remington Rand, Ltd., announced that it doesn't market other Communist manufactured items, but that its competitors sell typewriters, accounting machines, and calculating machines made in East Germany, as well as typewriters made in Czechoslovakia. A fairly sizable amount of exports from the United States and imports from the Soviet Union have in the past been handled by specialized brokers such as M. Golodetz, Intertex, Primary International, and Greg-Gary of New York. Hungary intends to utilize, for trading purposes, the services of Tower International, a firm created by the Eaton interests of Cleveland, Ohio. Novasider SpA of Turin, Italy, maintains a Moscow branch to promote and negotiate sales with Soviet foreign trading organizations, for products and processes of such Italian companies as Edison, Fiat, Ansaldo, Pirelli, European subsidiaries of United States Carborundum, and others, on a commission basis.

Trading difficulties

In addition to difficulties created by governmental policy, Western business executives have found that negotiations and transactions with the trading organization have their own difficulties. Western companies may not understand the methodology of the foreign trading organization and the operation of a planned economy. So, many United States and Western firms, for example—Kaiser Industries, Union Carbide, Pfizer, National Steel, Dow, Westinghouse, Schering, General Electric, Blaw Knox, Imperial Chemical Industries, Montecatini, Fried. Krupp, Dalmine, Asami, Ataka, and others, have sent top executives to Moscow in order to establish and improve relations with Soviet trading organizations.

However, not only the organization, but also the procedure, is usually slow moving, bureaucratic, and difficult to assess. The equipment or product for sale must come to the attention of the enterprise manager or chief engineer. The Soviet factory manager or chief engineer must demonstrate the need for the sale item as well as prove that the desired equipment or product will improve his productivity over similar domestically produced items. Clearances must be obtained and conformance with the economic plan must be achieved through the regional and national Sovnarkhoz (economic council) and planning commission. The organization and its personnel may not possess extensive trading experience. The organization is geared to the sale and purchase of essentially natured product items, refined natural products, and manufactured items, and the direction and thinking is along the lines of bulk commodity procurement and sale. In many instances, it may not be knowledgeable as to marketing and purchasing procedures, especially proprietary rights and data, as well as other Western business practices.

The methodology of the trading organization is, wherever possible, through purchase in a package deal to obtain new technology, plant engineering know-how, and data. A negative decision of the trade monopoly organization may foreclose sales to an entire national market. The organization's modus operandi may include unlimited negotiation time, worldwide purchase search, use of alternative new technology, and other bargaining practices. The laws and regulations of the Communist state possess peculiarities uncommon to Western commercial practice. In some instances the Western executive had thought he had achieved a contractual meeting of the minds, only to find that a management planner vetoed a practical result. As a result, quite a few Western business executives have spent many fruitless years "visiting and talking" with officials of various bloc organizations without the benefit of a single successful negotiation. Considerations such as these obviously were taken under study and played a role in bringing about the changes being introduced into the bloc economic planning and management systems.

Not all of the trade pitfalls and problems have their origin with the East. Many Western businesses have, because of national or self-interest, feared selling to bloc nations new technology, plants, and equipment. One fear is that the Communist country's overall economic production and marketing power might be utilized to compete in world markets in a manner to constitute dumping or regularly pricing products at a loss, in order to disrupt or to capture markets. Such acts would force either the original seller or his regular customers to lose profit margins, or bread and butter markets, with potentially dangerous results.

Another drawback is the fact that the Soviet Union does not provide foreign firms with copyright or design protection. Consequently many companies are wary of forwarding descriptive material to the Soviet Union. Many Western firms have complained that the bloc countries pirate new technology and do not respect patent rights.

Also, most individual Western enterprises do not possess the sum total of the new technology and engineering plant desired by bloc planners and purchasers as a package deal. In some instances essential know-how and technology may have been acquired under license from another Western firm. The license may be limited to use, or even manufacture and use, but may not include sale. The license may be derived from a U.S. company which might have limited the licensee's use to either its own country or the countries of the West because particular technology might be listed as a strategic item under the U.S. export control program. Another deterrent to package deals is that the patent and know-how pooling agreements may constitute a cartel in violation of the antitrust and monopoly laws of the United States. As a result of recent negotiation experiences, Soviet and bloc trading officials recoginze that the capability of Western business enterprises—selling a complete package of new technology, advanced plant, know-how and data—can be affected by existing patent licenses and arrangements with U.S. enterprises.

Resolution of difficulties and trade

Where the parties desire to trade (and there is a will) as well as to resolve difficulties, it is usually possible to do business. Despite limitations and complaints, competent Western companies have been able to deal successfully with bloc trade organizations by concentrating on the unique features of selling to a planned economy and attempting to understand the operation of their bargaining methodology. In turn, the bloc countries, for their part, are also willing to make important concessions, even to the degree of evolving revolutionary changes in their economic and management systems.

Foreign trade organizations have gradually, as a result of the impact of experience and relevant adjustment, made efforts to understand the whys and wherefores of the purchase and sale mechanisms of the West, Negotiations have been completed, in certain instances, with little or no delay when the trading organization had firm orders from their enterprises and purchase clearances from the economic planning agency. Japanese, British and other Western traders have been able to conclude significant contracts with bloc countries that incorporate a antidumping guarantee clause, as well as favorable modifications of the standard clauses regarding contract disputes and arbitartion procedures. Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland have provided the British Board of Trade with guarantees not to engage in any uneconomic (dumping) and restrictive practices in marketing in Great Britain. Their products now are no longer restricted to the quota limitations of their bilateral agreements in Great Britain, but are only subject on an explicit list of exceptions. The adjustment of other issues appears to be possible and may even have been accomplished, but would most likely be incorporated in the unpublished sections of the negotiated agreements.

Rumanian Premier Ion Maurer asserted that his Communist country favors removing any kind of artificial barriers limiting or hindering international commercial exchanges. Similar statements have been made by East German Premier Walter Ulbricht, Soviet Chairman of the Council of Ministers Kosygin, as well as by other bloc spokesmen.

While the bloc trading organizations have been negotiating intensively for the purchase and installation of entire plants, they have also been purchasing obtainable instruments, machinery, components and parts.

Developments such as international conventions

Except for Albania, the Communist countries of Eastern Europe have signed the International Union for the Protection of Industrial Property which grants the same patent rights to nationals of cosigners to the Convention as it allows its own nationals. The Convention also grants inventors, who file a patent application in their own country, a year to file the same application, with the priority of the original date of filing in other member countries.

East Germany purports to belong to the Convention, though this state is not recognized, in the West, as having sovereign status. The Soviet Union, in turn, since the 1958 Lisbon Conference, has sent observers to the recent meetings held by the Convention members and has given notice of its intent to join. A Vice Chairman of the State Committee of Inventions and Discoveries of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. informed the March 16, 1965, meeting of the signatories of the Paris Convention of this intent to ratify the agreement. Convention members considered the Soviet author's certificates as well as patents as a basis for reciprocal priority rights. This is not a problem as the bloc members of the Convention also issue author's certificates which are granted reciprocal priority rights. The Soviet Union is now officially an accepted cosigner of the Convention.

In 1964, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and the U.S.S.R. ratified and became members of the European Arbitration Convention together with Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, West Germany, Italy, Spain, and Turkey. The Convention applies to contract arbitration clauses and arbitration agreements. There are also other international agreements at the international level relating to commercial arbitration, but they have not been generally ratified. General ratification of these agreements which have proven acceptable to both East and West would be a helpful expedient in furthering trade.

Indicative of significant Soviet development, the State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries recently submitted a draft proposal for a new law covering the protection of designs, models, and drawings to the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. It is believed that such a law will be ratified and adopted.

Technological consortium or cartel

Business enterprises of one or more countries of the West have banded together to deal collectively with particular bloc organizations to overcome the difficulty of providing the sum total of desired new technology, engineering know-how and data, plant and equipment. The British began this innovation in trading method. British industry has, in the recent past, entered into several contracts in this manner; for example, the previously referred to contract signed by Polyspinners, Ltd. This practice is no longer unique to the British inasmuch as Dutch, United States, Italian, and Japanese chemical processing equipment manufacturers have come together as national units in the same fashion and for the same end.

The development of this trading method has progressed to the extent that a West German company, Fried, Krupp, has joined with an Austrian company in sale negotiations. Simon-Carves of Britain has contracted to build a $7.3 million ammonia plant in Hungary using steam reforming and ammonia synthesis processes developed by Haldor Topsoe of Copenhagen, Denmark. French and Belgian companies have combined to provide Bulgaria with ammonia and nitrogen fertilizer plants. A West German firm has contracted to supply Rumania with a liquid ammonia plant to be built in cooperation with and using process technology of a Danish company; and a urea plant will be built under a license from Stamicarbon, N. V. of the Netherlands. Simon-Carves, Ltd., in conjunction with Danish and Austrian chemical process firms, is negotiating for the sale and construction of plants involving new technology. The British High Polymer and Petro-Chemical Engineering Ltd. will build a $5.6 million nylon plant in Yugoslavia using Hans J. Zimmer A. G., Frankfurt, West Germany's design and process know-how. Last summer, Occidental Petroleum Co., a U.S. firm, disclosed that it, along with British Associates, is involved in negotiations with the Soviet Union to build fertilizer plants. Other U.S. companies are involved with companies of other countries in similar negotiations, but they have not made public announcements.

All Western nations, except the United States, offer the bloc countries the most favored nation treatment. When Hungary and Canada concluded a 3-year trade in 1964, they mutually guaranteed each other the principles of the most favored nation treatment. Thus U.S. firms find it advantageous to join with a firm in another Western nation or utilize a subsidiary so situated in order to have the benefit of this trading advantage.

The export consortium, elimination of tariff discrimination, longer-term credits backed by government guarantees, the understanding of the bargaining methodology, common membership in international arbitration and proprietary rights organizations, good will, and the resolution of other difficulties have all resulted in increased East-West trade for the particular countries concerned. In contrast with other countries of the West, the United States, despite the interest of some companies, has been far less interested in pursuing difficult East-West trade negotiations or in attempting to evolve new methods in conducting East-West trade.

Drawbacks to U.S. East-West trade

United States East-West trade is subjected to legislative restrictions such as the Trade Agreements Extension Act, Johnson Act, Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act, Export Control Act, Foreign Aid Related Agencies Act, Trade Expansion Act, Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act and other acts.

A major drawback to U.S. trade with the Soviet Union is that the lend-lease debt has not been settled. A settlement would be a solution to the prohibitions of the Johnson Act. Past negotiations to settle existing differences became the victim of the cold war. The U.S. policy is that this outstanding debt must be settled prior to trade negotiations, further U.S. credit, or even longer term credits.

The Johnson Act of 1934 (18 U.S.C., sec. 955) prohibits private persons and firms in the United States from granting credit to, making of loans to, selling or purchasing bonds or assuming other obligations of a foreign government or agency in default on their debts on the U.S. Government. All the bloc countries except Bulgaria are in default of their World War II obligations to the United States. The act was originally devised as a blow to France, Britain, and other United States World War I Allies who stopped paying their World War I debts to the United States. Devices have been created for these nations to avoid the design of the act, such as membership in the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Yugoslavia is the only Eastern European state that is a member of these financial units.

In 1951 the United States withdrew the most-favored-nation benefits on tariffs from the bloc nations. The United States now extends the most-favored-nation treatment only to Yugoslavia and Poland. Thus, the Soviet Union imports as well as other bloc imports flowing into the highly competitive U.S. market must pay the full 1930 U.S. tariff

rate. This is a serious competitive disadvantage.

Other drawbacks are the absence of U.S. guarantees to help the countries of Eastern Europe obtain permissible short- and medium-term credit or financing and also the export control program. So, in order to trade, some U.S. companies have used either a foreign trading company or broker who is able to get guarantees or financing from his sources, or the U.S. company has supplied the purchase order from a foreign contracting and manufacturing subsidiary, situated in a Western country, that does extend either export credit guarantees or credits to bloc countries.

The Export-Import Bank of Washington is authorized to guarantee, insure, coinsure, and reinsure U.S. exporters. It conducts an export guarantee program to facilitate U.S. exports, and participates with the Foreign Credit Insurance Association, an unincorporated association of U.S. insurance companies, in a program of credit insurance covering U.S. export transactions. These activities are not considered public assistance to countries that purchase U.S. exports and are not prohibited by the Mutual Defense Assistance Act. However, the Foreign Aid and Related Agencies Appropriation Acts of recent years have limitations on the authority of the Export-Import Bank to participate in financing U.S. exports to Communist countries. But the President has made determinations allowable under the act to insure export sales of U.S. products to Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, and the Soviet Union. Such a waiver was exercised in the Rumanian-Firestone and Universal Oil Products contract.

Export control program

With the Department of Commerce lies the enforcement and the licensing of items and technical data which fall under the export control program. On April 1, 1964, Commerce took over from the Treasury Department the responsibility of licensing exports of technical data.

The department's licensing pattern in carrying out these responsibilities is hard to comprehend. The administration is difficult, if not impossible, in view of the guidelines and the expanded trade relations of the bloc countries with other countries of the West, with close economic and technological interrelationships with the United States. The definition of what is strategic may vary with the direction of the wind. On July 14, 1964, the Department eased its licensing policy toward Rumania by granting it the benefit of the same export control procedures accorded to Poland. Exports to Rumania are now permitted under general license for all commodities except for those on the exception list.

Although many items and data classed as strategic materials have theoretically been barred from shipment to the bloc countries by the Coordinating Committee for International Controls of the North Atlantic Treaty Organizaion countries, the Coordinating Committee's list has been applied differently by its member countries and it is not as extensive as the United States list with the result that the Soviets have received, from our NATO partners, many things that the United States would consider clearly strategic. In many instances, foreign NATO licensees of U.S. companies may not be able to export certain items to the bloc countries. Licensees in neutral countries (i.e., Sweden, Switzerland) are not subject to such legal restrictions by their governments. In many instances, where items all restricted for sale to the bloc, there is no doubt that when, in time, they try to produce the item they may then achieve a greater degree of self-sufficiency and economic strength. But time is of the essence in producing items for strategic purposes and also, in today's industrial production, for capturing markets, or fulfilling urgent user needs. In a few instances, the planning apparatus or even the actual economy might be disrupted until either purchase can be made elsewhere or adjustments are made to provide for the development and production of the item.

The use of Swiss subsidiaries or patent licensees to achieve similar unintentional or intentional results has been utilized by companies of other countries to carry on trade exchanges with the East. It is possible for patent technology licensed by U.S. companies to be sold to bloc countries even though our export control program does not allow such sales. Further, it may have resulted, in some instances, in the denial to U.S. firms of the opportunities to sell U.S. produced items which the bloc nations can obtain in other countries of the West.

Need for evaluation

Based on the past years of operating experience, an evaluation should be made of the Export Control Act and the program regarding both the export of technical data and the licensing of export equipment. Does it serve its intended purpose? In its present format and operation, is it an unnecessary impediment on the U.S. participation in East-West trade? Is it an embargo that is effective in denying the Communist bloc countries the use of either United States or Western technology and know-how to enhance themselves technologically and in over-all worldwide influence? The study should legitimately be directed to determine what actual effect or impact the export control program does have upon subsidiaries of U.S. companies manufacturing and doing business as an operating entity in other nations of the West. It should determine what occurs when independent business entities in other countries of the West (NATO or neutral) are provided with new technology, advanced engineering know-how and data under license for royalty payments from U.S. business entities. Other important queries that should be answered are whether there is a significant loss of capital funds and job opportunities when U.S. firms are not permitted to sell bloc nations items produced in the United States and technology developed in the United States which can be produced and purchased from other countries of the West and, in turn, if the sale of plants, know-how and proprietary rights would adversely affect the U.S. economy. Such a study is needed to aid in formulating legislation and policy affecting East-West trade.

Justice Department Investigation

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GRAY] earlier today disclosed what appear to be certain grave irregularities in the administration of justice by the Federal Government.

I do not presume to judge the innocence or guilt of James R. Hoffa, the president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, on the various charges of wrongdoing made against him by the Department of Justice. Personally, I have strongly disapproved of Mr. Hoffa's conduct of his office and long ago asked him to resign his position because I felt some of his actions have reflected unfairly on the integrity of the American labor movement.

While my appraisal of Mr. Hoffa's role as a union leader has not changed, I have become increasingly alarmed over certain aspects of the Federal Government's prosecution of Mr. Hoffa. To the lay observer it seems as though there is a determination by some officials in the U.S. Department of Justice to "get Hoffa" regardless of price, even if the integrity of Federal justice is compromised.

The gentleman from Illinois has listed a number of amazing irregularities in the consideration of a Government witness which amount to illegal immunity of an informer from prosecution for his many alleged misdoings. The obvious conclusion is that a witness is cooperating fully with the Federal Government to save himself from prosecution on various serious charges.

Any fairminded person who has cherished the tradition that American justice is administered through impartial law should be concerned at the charges which have arisen out of the conduct of the U.S. Department of Justice's cases against Mr. Hoffa. If public sentiment is not generally favorable to Mr. Hoffa it is all the more important an extraordinary effort be made by the Federal Government to curb any tendency toward overzealousness in making its case against him.

It is a perversion of justice, surely, to use highly questionable, if not illegal means to win convictions. It is doubly so, in my opinion, when the majesty of Federal justice stoops to such measures. I am concerned that should we cynically tolerate abuses in the administration of Federal justice wherever unpopular individuals, groups, or causes are involved we will indeed face a serious crisis in our democracy.

Because the gentleman from Illinois has made serious charges, I feel compelled to join my colleagues in urging the House Committee on the Judiciary to implement a resolution adopted in 1964 which authorized an investigation in the operations of the Justice Department. Certainly the committee needs to take the initiative in reviewing the charges and countercharges of wrongdoing so that this serious problem can be settled.

Congress Takes on a New Look

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to be a Member of the 89th Congress. It is my feeling that this Congress will go down in history as the most productive and forward-looking Congress of all time.

I am happy to note that the "rubber-stamp" allegation has just about run its course. Too many people have examined the facts, so now the opposition has to search for a new point to harp on. The Honorable CARL ALBERT covered the matter quite completely when he pointed out that the things the President wanted were the very issues on which the new Members were elected, and the older Members reelected. It would be rather inconsistent to oppose the issues we campaigned for and won on.

It is true that President Johnson has had great success in the enactment of his proposed legislation. He has achieved this success by presenting the facts to the people and gaining their support. Then, too, many times he has found it necessary to accept changes proposed by legislative leaders in order to achieve a consensus on important pieces of legislation.

The October 23d issue of Business Week contained an interesting article on the 89th Congress. As you know, Business Week is not particularly known for its support of administration measures. Still, with the exception of the analysis of the Senate postponement of 14(b), I found this article to be generally straight-forward and unbiased.

I would like to present this article for the perusal of my colleagues as a tribute to their membership in the "do plenty" 89th Congress. The article follows:

CONGRESS TAKES ON A NEW LOOK

Without any question, the session of Congress that now is coming to a close will go into the recordbooks as one of the most productive in modern times. Even a brief list of the major legislation that it passed is impressive: sweeping exise tax reductions; a revolutionary medicare program attached to a broad liberalization of social security pension benefits; new Federal funds for elementary schools, high schools, and colleges; the Appalachia program; voting rights, legislation for Negroes; immigration reform; tougher controls over pollution of streams and the atmosphere.

Two things have accounted for this sudden explosion of congressional productivity. One was the waning power of the conservative coalition that for years had managed to block legislation that it opposed without being able to pass measures of its own. The other was the emergence of really effective leadership from the White House.

No matter what the theorists say, Congress under the American system of government cannot supply the initiative in putting through broad new programs. That function falls to the executive branch, and when the President is uncertain of his role or inept in his performance, the result is stalemate.

Lyndon B. Johnson has shown himself not only a strong leader but a skillful one. He and his aids have not stopped with proposing the programs they wanted. They have applied the pressure necessary to get the bills out of committee, rounded up the marginal votes, underwritten the compromises that are essential to secure majority approval.

Inevitably, a Congress so responsive to a President's will is accused of being a mere rubberstamp. And, in some cases, it must be conceded that this Congress would have done well to look a bit longer before it leaped so obligingly. The record as a whole, however, affords ample evidence that Congress has not surrendered its treasured independence.

The medicare bill, for example, was extensively modified as the legislative process went forward, and the House took the lead in adding voluntary insurance to pay doctor's bills. The House also took President Johnson's rather modest excise tax reduction proposals and expanded them into a program for eliminating most excises entirely. This may or may not have been wise, but it certainly was not rubberstamping.

In spite of all sorts of pressure, the Senate refused to rush through repeal of the Taft-Hartley section that permits State right-to-work laws. This was a case where labor leaders had become entranced with a symbolic goal of their own and had lost touch with their constituencies. Congress sensed the facts of the situation and in this case refused to follow the White House lead.

The record has its flaws, but it is the record of a vigorous, effective branch of the U. S. Government. Congress, as it disbands, is entitled to feel that it has done its job well.

The Farm Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEC G. OLSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. OLSON of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, in view of the interest of the Congress and the Nation in the omnibus farm bill, I would like to call attention to the observations of the Grain Terminal Association contained in a recent release:

President Johnson has signed the farm bill, and in the process of announcing this news, we couldn't help but be sensitive to the emphasis put on the cost of this legislation by press, radio, and TV. A few billion dollars does sound like a lot of money, and it is a lot of money. Yet those who complain about farm programs fail to understand the importance of agriculture to this Nation, or any nation. The simple, historical fact is that a healthy, productive farm industry is the very basis of national prosperity, even in a nation as advanced industrially as the United States.

Just look at what is happening over in Eastern Europe. Most of those countries, including Russia, cannot grow enough food. They have to sell hundreds of millions of dollars worth of gold to buy wheat. Those countries have neglected and bled their farmers for scores of years, and they are paying the price now.

Farmers in the United States have one tractor for every 66 acres of cultivated land. In Russia there is one tractor for every 360 acres. The U.S. farmer can use this machinery to squeeze planting, cultivating, and harvesting into a few short weeks and get good crops. The Eastern European farmer is at the mercy of the weather because the bureaucrats have failed to invest enough money in mechanization.

The bureaucrats over there have been even more niggardly with the men who operate what farm machines they do have. The income and standard of living available to Eastern European farmers lags far behind that of industrial workers. Incentive and initiative on the land have been discouraged, if not destroyed.

As one national news magazine describes it, "the farmer has been expected to make do with the loose change left over from industrial development." In Russia under Stalin only 6 percent of the state budget went into agriculture. Even under Khrushchev, who increased farm spending, the investment in agriculture was only one-half the investment in heavy industrial machinery alone.

The bureaucrats over in Eastern Europe have been prisoners of this tendency to "think city." As the national news magazine we mentioned puts it, "the result of this sort of singlemindedness is that for 48 years they have treated the Soviet farmer as a kind of milk cow whose prime purpose is to create the capital needed for industrial development, and who must be fed just enough to keep him functioning."

So now Russia comes to the time of truth. It has failed to feed the agricultural cow properly. It has milked the beast until it is down to skin and bones. It suffers from flabby udder. And what to do about it? Where will the money come from to put that cow back in production?

Students of Russian economics say that if the money is to be found at all, it must come from the industrial sector of the economy. The policy that the Soviet bureaucrats have followed since the 1917 revolution must be reversed, and they must begin to milk the cities to build up the countryside.

That is the penalty for neglect of the land and the people who till it.

Those who understand this will hail the new farm bill just signed by President Johnson, because they know that progress and prosperity in this Nation rests upon the efficiency, economic health, and abundant production of its farmers.

Independence Anniversary of Algeria

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, the House will not be in session when the Algerian nation will celebrate the third anniversary of her independence. We wish to take this opportunity therefore to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Colonel Houri Boumedienne, President of the Republic of Algeria; and to His Excellency Cheris Guellala, the Algerian Ambassador to the United States.

On the first of November in 1954, the people of Algeria launched the long and bloody struggle against French rule that finally won them their independence on July 3, 1962. Few nations have cherished their independence so dearly; fewer still have paid such a high price for its attainment. After 8 years of fighting and the subsequent departure of 300,000 highly trained French personnel, the problems which have faced Algeria have been staggering.

In view of the social and economic challenges which stand before this young nation, the recent efforts by the Algerian Government to look to the solution of domestic problems as their most important task is most encouraging.

The economic problems alone offer a challenge which tests the resourcefulness of the most enterprising of men. The great desert in the neighboring Sahara is filled with the riches of untapped oil and gas, while the heavily populated fertile areas and cities along the Mediterranean coastal belt are filled with poverty.

Fortunately, the Algerian people appear to be equal to the giant tasks which

lie before them. The disastrous departure of trained Frenchmen after the revolution was cushioned by the fact that thousands of Algerians who were equally skilled and capable remained distributed throughout the Government and economy. The recent emphasis the Algerian Government has placed on bolstering the domestic economy as its first and foremost goal along with the recent encouragement of foreign investment capital and renewed Algerian-French cooperation add to the possibilities of realizing the wealth of the Sahara, not to mention the possibilities for tourism on Algeria's beautiful Mediterranean beaches.

Throughout its long relationship with France, Algeria has had a long-standing reputation as one of the most western of all the north African nations. Since independence, the free spirit of the Algerian people has blossomed and the appearances of a modern Western nation are even more striking. Nevertheless, the Algerian people retain the quiet dignity and religious awareness that is associated with the Islamic culture.

Great challenges and long-standing problems still stretch before Algeria. Nonetheless, the courage and determination that have marked the history of this proud nation offer encouragement to those who look forward to its future as a leader among the Moslem nations of the East.

It is a pleasure for me to extend my congratulations to the people of Algeria as they celebrate their hard-won independence.

Acceptance Speech of the Honorable Ramsey Clark, the Deputy Attorney General of the United States, at Testimonial Dinner in His Honor, Given by the Colonel Francis Vigo Post No. 1093, American Legion, at the Waldorf-Astoria, New York City, October 2, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday evening, October 2, last, I had the privilege of attending a testimonial dinner in honor of the Honorable Ramsey Clark, the Deputy Attorney General of the United States, given by the Colonel Francis Vigo Post No. 1093, American Legion, at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York City.

Under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the following acceptance speech delivered by the Deputy Attorney General of the United States on this occasion, together with the evening's program and a list of the guests of honor:

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH OF THE HONORABLE RAMSEY CLARK, THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, AT COLONEL FRANCIS VIGO POST NO. 1093, AMERICAN LEGION, AT THE WALDORF-ASTORIA, NEW YORK CITY

Tomorrow is an historic day for the Nation and for our greatest port of entry, New York City. For on Liberty Island, President Johnson will sign the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 and decades of injustice will end.

In 1902, Mr. Dooley observed: "As a pilgrim father that missed the first boat, I must raise one clarion voice against the invasion iv this fair land by the paupers and anarchists of Europe. Ye bet I must—because I'm here first. In them days America was their refuge as the oppressed in all the world * * * but as I tell ye, 'tis different now. I don't know why tis different, but tis different. Tis time we put our back against the open door and keep out the savage horde."

Even today we sense the presence of old fears. Irrational, they ignore the fact so forcefully demonstrated by President Kennedy that we are a nation of immigrants. When we speak of the great contributions made by the foreign born in this country, we obscure the truth—the foreign born are only the more recent immigrants. This Nation, a melting pot of the peoples of the world, is comprised of the foreign born and their children. There is not one in a hundred among us who can say with Will Rogers that his ancestors were at the dock to meet the *Mayflower*.

But more pertinent is the ignorance illustrated by such fear. Immigration today is a fundamentally different phenomena than in days gone by.

From 1880 to 1920 more than 23 million foreigners came to this country. Today, immigration is by comparison, a trickle. Thus, more than a million new Americans arrived on these shores in 1905, 1906, 1907, 1910, 1913, and in 1914; years when our total population was less than one-half the present. Years when only 2 million births were recorded including babies of the foreign born.

Today, quota immigration is only 160,000 people while more than 4 million infants are born each year and California alone increases its population by more than one-half million annually.

There were as many foreign born living in the United States in 1890, 9½ million, as there are today, but then they comprised 15 percent of the total population, while today they are only 5 percent. In 1910, there were nearly 4 million more foreign born living in this country than there are today.

The needs of the Nation in immigration are essentially different and our policy must recognize this fact and fulfill these needs. As Vice President HUMPHREY has pointed out: "The present system is cruel, unworkable, discriminatory and illogical." It is absolutely incompatible with the ideals of our system of government and as such threatens great injury to our image, our institutions and ourselves.

This Nation was brought forth with the declaration that all men are created equal. Listed as grievances against the King in that declaration were his cruel policies which "* * * Endeavored to prevent the population of these States; refusing to pass others (or) to encourage their immigration hither."

Yet, for decades we have fostered an immigration policy harmful to the Nation, that discriminates on the basis of national origin. President Truman told us in 1952: "The idea behind this discriminatory policy was, to put it boldly, that Americans with English or Irish names were better people and better citizens than Americans with Italian or Greek or Polish names * * * such a concept is utterly unworthy of our traditions and our ideals."

To see the senseless injury caused by this policy we need only consider Italy. Remember that between 1890 and 1910, 20 percent of the immigrants to this country came from Italy. Remember that only one nation has contributed more immigrants than Italy. Remember that in 1960, New York City had more people of Italian birth than did Rome. Remember the thousands of Italian families that are separated by our immigration laws. Remember that Italy, the freedom loving people of Italy and the Government of Italy are our strong and loyal ally and that a strong and vital Italy is absolutely essential to the free nations of the world. Remember the immense scientific and intellectual capacity of Italy in these days when brainpower and the drain of brainpower determines the course of nations.

Then look at our national origins system which expires today. Fewer than 6,000 quota immigrants from Italy a year. A backlog of 132,000 applications for immigration. Compare this to Ireland which has used barely one-third of its quota annually.

The loser has been the American people, our Nation and our ideals. We might remember the sad irony of Mr. Dooley who saw how to keep the savage horde away: "They'se wan sure way to keep them out," he said.

"Whats that?" asked Mr. Hennessy.

"Teach them all about our institutions before they come," said Mr. Dooley.

For surely this is the moral of our immigration laws. If they were understood to reflect the ideals of America, few would care to join us.

We cannot fear to face the world or the needs of our times. We must invite to this land of freedom the peoples of all nations and all races equally. We must offer equal justice to the people of all nations and be sufficiently flexible to conduct our international affairs in the best interest of the Nation. We must not permit our laws to cause that most tragic occurrence—the separation of families, of husband and wife, parent and child, of loved ones. We must have laws that afford the country a preeminent position in the search for brain power, for human skills and imagination. We must have a policy which enables this Nation to harbor and save the refugee from natural and political disaster, from persecution and dictatorship. We must have a policy which causes a constant inquiry, study, and consultation into the current needs of the Nation in immigration. We must have a system which is guided, intelligent, effective and, above all, just.

Tomorrow, President Johnson at the Statue of Liberty, a great moment in American history, will sign into law a bill to achieve these ends.

Then we can square our ideals with our acts, for as President Johnson said when he asked the Congress for this new law, "No move could more effectively reaffirm our fundamental belief that a man is to be judged, and judged exclusively, on his worth as a human being."

PROGRAM

National anthem: Roe De Jon and his orchestra.

Invocation by the Most Reverend James E. McManus, C.S.S.R., D.D., representing His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman, archbishop of New York.

Greetings by the Honorable Paul R. Rao, Jr., tax commissioner of the city of New York.

Presentation of the toastmaster, commissioner of water supply, gas, and electricity, the Honorable Armand D'Angelo, by the Honorable Paul P. Rao, Jr.

Interlude: Harry Hershfield (Mr. New Yorker), noted humorist, columnist, radio, and television personality.

Presentation of a past commander's pin to Comdr. Frank P. Costa by the Honorable Abraham D. Beame, comptroller, city of New York.

Presentation of scholarships to John F. Pipia, Fordham University School of Law; Stephen A. Russo, New York University School of Law; William F. Tueting, Columbia University School of Law; by the Honorable JOHN J. ROONEY, U.S. Congressman, New York.

Presentation of the Kenneth P. Steinreich Memorial Award to Simon Peter Gourdine, graduate of Fordham University School of Law, by the Honorable Tom C. Clark, Associate Justice, U.S. Supreme Court.

Presentation of American Legion Award to the Honorable Ramsey Clark, the Deputy Attorney General of the United States, by the Honorable Robert F. Wagner, mayor of the city of New York.

Acceptance by the Honorable Ramsey Clark, the Deputy Attorney General of the United States.

Benediction by Capt. Joshua L. Goldberg, Chaplains' Corps, USN (retired).

GUESTS OF HONOR

Col. Paul Akst, the New York City Director of Selective Service.

Hon. James J. Andrews, former superintendent, U.S. Assay Office.

Mr. Kenneth Arnold, vice president and general manager, Treadway Inns.

Hon. Thomas A. Aurelio, justice of the supreme court, New York.

Hon. Lawrence H. Baer, regional director, U.S. Civil Service Commission, New York region.

Mr. Francis J. Barry, president, Circle Line.

Hon. Howard Basler, clerk, U.S. Customs Court.

Hon. Abraham D. Beame, comptroller, city of New York.

Comdr. Charles Becker, United Spanish War Veteran.

Hon. Carmine S. Bellino, former Special Consultant to the President.

Dr. Benedict Benigno, prominent New York physician.

Dr. G. Bonaccolto, professor of ophthalmology, New York University.

Hon. William E. Boyland, president of the Tax Commission, city of New York.

Hon. George M. Bragalini, vice president, Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co.

Mr. Harry Brandt, president, Brandt Theaters.

Comdr. Alfonso A. Calabrese, New York County commander, American Legion.

Hon. John M. Cannella, judge, U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York.

Hon. David F. Cardoza, supervising customs agent, region 1, U.S. Treasury Department.

Past Cmdr. Michael J. Caslin, New York County Council, V.F.W.

Hon. Bradford N. Clark, commissioner of public works, city of New York.

Hon. Tom C. Clark, Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Dr. John V. Connorton, deputy mayor-city administrator, city of New York.

Dr. Alexander J. Conte, director of tumor clinic and associate attending surgeon, St. Vincent's Hospital.

Hon. Albert Conway, former chief judge of the New York State Court of Appeals.

Hon. James Corines, executive assistant to the commissioner of licenses.

Mr. Frank P. Costa, past commander, Colonel Francis Vigo Post No. 1093, American Legion.

Hon. Armand D'Angelo, commissioner of water supply, gas, and electricity, city of New York.

Hon. William True Davis, Jr., assistant secretary of the treasury.

Hon. Robert J. de Sanctis, deputy commissioner, department of welfare, New York City.

Hon. Mary H. Donlon, judge, U.S. Customs Court.

Hon. John W. Douglas, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, Civil Division.

Hon. Frank D. Doyle, special assistant to the mayor.

Hon. David N. Edelstein, judge U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York.

Mr. Frank Farrell, columnist, New York World Telegram and Sun.

Hon. Raymond F. Farrell, Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization.

Hon. Lawrence Fleishman, Deputy Commissioner of Customs.

Hon. Morgan Ford, judge, U.S. Customs Court.

Hon. Harry B. Frank, judge of the civil court, city of New York.

Hon. Ernest C. Friesen, Jr., Assistant Deputy Attorney General of the United States.

Mr. Irving Geist, chairman of the board, Horizon Land Corp.

Capt. Joshua L. Goldberg, Chaplains' Corps, U.S.N. (retired).

Hon. Harry E. Gould, chairman of the board, Universal American Corp.

The Reverend brother Gregory, F.S.C. president, Manhattan College.

Mr. Harold Harris, reporter, New York Journal American.

Hon. George P. Hennessy, assistant corporation counsel, chief tort division.

Mr. Harry Hershfield, humorist and columnist.

Mr. Mark F. Hughes, president, New York County Lawyers Association.

Mr. Frank N. Ikard, president, American Petroleum Institute.

Mr. Jimmy Jemail, columnist, New York Daily News.

Mr. Paul S. Kerr, president, National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum, Inc.

Mr. Vincent Lacapria, vice president, A.C.W. of A.

Mr. Henry L. Lambert, chairman of the board, Lambert Bros. Jewelers, Inc.

Hon. Charles D. Lawrence, judge, U.S. Customs Court (retired).

Mr. Francis S. Levien, president, Universal American Foundation.

Mr. Paul E. Lockwood, vice president, Schenley Industries, Inc.

Col. Joseph Love, past commander, New York City 505, VFW.

Hon. John F. Malone, Assistant Director in Charge, F.B.I.

Dr. Herman P. Mantell, special duty comptroller, city of New York.

Rev. Nicola Marinacci, pastor, Church of Our Lady of Peace.

Hon. Owen McGivern, justice of the supreme court, New York.

Hon. James McGurrin, county clerk, New York County.

Hon. Ivan C. McLeod, regional director, National Labor Relations Board, second region.

The Most Reverend James E. McManus, C.SS.R., D.D. auxiliary bishop and pastor of St. Cecilia's Church.

Hon. James B. M. McNally, justice of the appellate division of the supreme court, first department.

Dr. William B. McVeigh, North Atlantic regional medical officer, Internal Revenue Service.

Hon. Frank B. Mercurio, regional director, U.S. Department of Labor.

Hon. Michael J. Merkin, senior vice president, Federation Bank & Trust Co.

Hon. Arthur Miller, regional administrator, GSA.

Brig. Gen. A. J. Montgomery, commanding general, U.S. Army Terminal Command.

Hon. Robert M. Morgenthau, U.S. attorney, southern district of New York.

Hon. John M. Murtagh, administrative judge, criminal court, city of New York.

Comdr. Max Newman, United Spanish War veterans.

Mr. Salvatore J. Nigrone, executive director, United Italian American League.

Dr. Joseph Nitti, vice consul of Italy.

Hon. Mario T. Noto, Associate Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Hon. Frank D. O'Connor, district attorney, Queens County.

Mr. Sylvan Oestreicher, director of the Los Angeles Dodgers.

Hon. Webster J. Oliver, judge, U.S. Customs Court.

Mr. Edward J. O'Neill, columnist, New York Daily News.

Mr. Michael E. Orofino, executive city and State chairman, Citizens' Forum of the City and State of New York, Inc.

Mr. Louis J. Paley, president, Customs Bar Association.

Mr. Peter Panagkos, president, Hellenic American Association.

Hon. Joseph E. Parisi, deputy general clerk, Supreme Court, Kings County.

Comdr. Peter A. Pascarelli, commander, Colonel Francis Vigo Post No. 1093, American Legion.

Col. C. Michael Paul, chairman of the board, Connecticut Railway & Lighting Co.

Hon. Joseph F. Periconi, president of the Borough of the Bronx.

Mr. Fortune R. Pope, editor and publisher of Il Progresso.

Hon. Mario A. Procaccino, former judge of the civil court, city of New York.

Hon. Paul P. Rao, chief judge, U.S. Customs Court.

Hon. Paul P. Rao, Jr., tax commissioner, city of New York.

Maj. Mario G. Remo, vice president, J. W. Mays, Inc.

Hon. Scovel Richardson, judge, U.S. Customs Court.

Hon. Dante A. Robilotti, marshal, U.S. Customs Court.

Hon. Huga E. Rogers, former president of the Borough of Manhattan.

Hon. John J. Rooney, U.S. Congressman, New York.

Mr. Samuel Rudin, president, Rudin Management Co.

Hon. Robert V. Santangelo, judge of the civil court, city of New York.

Hon. Emanuele Scammacca, legation secretary, Italian Embassy.

Maj. Gen. Frank R. Schwengel, chairman of the board, House of Seagram.

Hon. Paul R. Screvane, president of the city council.

Maj. Max L. Shulman, chairman of the board, J. W. Mays, Inc.

Hon. Charles H. Silver, executive assistant to the mayor for education and industrial development.

Mr. Marvin Sleeper, columnist, New York Journal American.

Rear Adm. Irvin J. Stephens, commander, Third Coast Guard District.

Hon. Michael Stramiello, U.S. appraiser of merchandise, port of New York.

Hon. Joseph T. P. Sullivan, foreman, second panel sheriff's jury.

Hon. William R. Sweeney, assistant director, U.S. courts.

Hon. Edward Thompson, justice of the supreme court, New York.

Hon. Frank H. Tuohy, comptroller of customs, port of New York.

Hon. John A. Vaccaro, surveyor of customs, port of New York.

Hon. Charles J. Vallone, judge of the civil court, city of New York.

Mr. Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., president, New York City Central Labor Council, AFL–CIO.

Hon. Andrew P. Vance, Chief, Customs Section, Civil Division, U.S. Department of Justice.

Hon. Fred M. Vinson, Jr., Assistant Attorney General of the United States.

Mr. Daniel E. Wade, foreman, first panel sheriff's jury.

Hon. Robert F. Wagner, the mayor, city of New York.

Hon. Edwin L. Weisl, Jr., Assistant Attorney General of the U.S. Lands Division.

Mr. Edwin L. Weisl, Sr., Democratic national committeeman, State of New York.

Hon. Meyer F. Wiles, deputy commissioner of public works, city of New York.

Hon. David J. Wilson, judge, U.S. Customs Court.

Comdr. Joseph B. Wilson, United Spanish War Veteran.

Hon. Eugene Worley, chief judge, U.S. Court of Customs and Patent Appeals.

The Truth About the Bank Merger Bill

SPEECH

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to express my deep concern over a widening attack on the Nation's antitrust laws. As you know, the Banking and Currency Committee has before it S. 1698, a bank merger bill, which would in effect wipe out the antitrust laws for the banking industry. This far-reaching legislation is almost certain to be a major item of controversy in the 2d session of the 89th Congress.

The bill, on its face, goes only to the question of the application of antitrust laws to banks. However, the legislation is unquestionably an opening wedge in a general weakening of the antitrust statutes under which our American competitive free enterprise system operates.

I know that many groups throughout the country are greatly disturbed about this bank merger bill and its effect on the business community and the public generally.

The antitrust laws traditionally have been the bulwark protecting small business and preventing the domination of our economy by a few big businesses. Even with our present antitrust laws, we still find widespread instances of price fixing, anticompetitive practices, and a steady wave of mergers leading to bigger and bigger monopolies. Free enterprise cannot exist without strong antitrust laws fairly and thoroughly administered.

Congressional intent in favor of these antitrust laws has been plain ever since the passage of the Sherman Act in 1890. This policy was reemphasized with the passage of the Clayton Act in 1914, and has been strengthened by the passage of many amendments and laws since that time. In addition, the enforcement of antitrust laws is a bipartisan belief. Strong antitrust laws that would protect our economic system from domination by undue concentrations of power have long been the goals of all political parties.

Now, proponents of S. 1698 and similar bank merger bills propose that the Congress turn its back on this longstanding policy and return the banking industry and eventually the whole business community to the law of the jungle.

Without question, the banking industry has tremendous impact on all businesses. Therefore, the question of antitrust application to banks takes on added meaning in this field. Since all business is vitally dependent on the commercial banking system, a competitive marketplace in which the bank customer can choose the institution which best fits his needs is imperative. But if a small group of big banks dominates the availability of credit to businessmen, then freedom of choice is destroyed and, in effect, the bank can control the entire business community. Already in this country 100 of the Nation's 14,000 banks control approximately half of all commerical bank deposits, and those huge institutions also have interlocking directors with the Nation's largest nonbanking corporations.

In addition, there is an illegal but growing trend among the larger banks to enter into an ever-increasing number of nonbanking businesses, such as the selling of insurance, automobile and other equipment rental, travel agencies, credit card business, computer services, and securities underwriting, to name only a few. The list of nonbanking services being provided by banks grows longer every year. All of the nonbanking services which banks now offer are also performed by independent businessmen. The businesses providing these nonbanking services are subject to the full force of the antitrust laws. If S. 1698 were passed, it would clearly put these competitors of banks at a further disadvantage because the antitrust laws would not apply equally to all. Is this equal justice under law?

Elimination of the antitrust laws is also a big threat to the small independent banks. Enactment of the bank merger bill would, of course, provide a field day for the large banks, which seem to have an endless appetite for swallowing up their smaller competitors.

As banks disappear in these mergers, the sources of credit for small businesses and the consumer shrink. Unlike big businesses, the consumer and the small business must usually depend on sources of money close to their home areas. Concentration of banking facilities eliminates competition, raises the cost of money, and limits the supply of credit for these small borrowers. It is an unfortunate fact that big banks prefer to deal with big customers.

Passage of S. 1698, effectively exempting banks from the antitrust laws, could lead ultimately to the end of antitrust application to all businesses and finally the demise of our American free enterprise system.

During the closing days of the first session of this Congress, a group of members of your Banking and Currency Committee met in an illegal rump session. Following this rump session, they illegally reported a bank merger bill, S. 1698, and without properly informing this body sent the bill and an alleged committee report to the Rules Committee.

If an attempt is made to obtain a rule on this illegally reported bill, S. 1698, from the House Rules Committee when the Congress meets in January, I shall request an appearance before that body and state that this legislation was not legally reported from the Banking and Currency Committee. In addition, if S. 1698 should reach the floor of the House, I shall make a point of order against this bill and show that the conduct leading to the presentation of this bill to the House constitutes violations of a number of rules of the House and of the Banking and Currency Committee.

I know that this body shares my concern over this bill and its long-range implications in the antitrust area. What the Members of this 89th Congress do about this legislation undoubtedly will affect the American people and the American economy for years to come.

To inform the House of the real impact of this legislation—indicating how far it goes in eliminating the antitrust laws—I am inserting in the RECORD at this point a series of questions and answers concerning S. 1698 and related bills:

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BANK MERGER BILL—66 QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

I. How S. 1698 would exempt bank mergers from the antitrust laws.

II. Why the antitrust laws should continue to apply to the banking industry.

III. The real reason why the banking lobby wants to amend the bank merger laws.

IV. What would happen to all of our antitrust laws if S. 1698 became law?

V. Can the Federal bank supervisory agencies be counted on to protect the public interest in supervising the banks?

I. HOW S. 1698 WOULD EXEMPT BANK MERGERS FROM THE ANTITRUST LAWS

1. What is a bank merger?

A merger is a transaction whereby two or more banks combine or consolidate so that only one bank remains, thus reducing competition.

2. What is S. 1698?

S. 1698 is a very important bank merger bill that passed the Senate on June 11, 1965, and was sent over to the House of Representatives where it was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

3. How would S. 1698 change the law if enacted in the next session of Congress starting in January?

S. 1698 would excuse from the application of the antitrust laws more than 2,200 bank mergers since 1950, even including illegal mergers reducing competition and leading to monopoly.

4. Would S. 1698 affect bank mergers already in the courts, even cases where the mergers have actually been found illegal by the judge?

Yes, it would. S. 1698 as it passed the Senate and as now under consideration in the House Committee on Banking and Currency excuses even those bank mergers adjudged illegal, except where final action undoing the merger has already taken place.

5. Would S. 1698 change the antitrust laws as to future bank mergers?

Yes, the bill as it passed the Senate would give the Attorney General only 30 days in which to file an antitrust suit following banking agency approval of a merger.

6. If S. 1698 becomes law, who will have the primary responsibility for approving bank mergers?

The authority will rest with the three Federal bank supervisory agencies, the Federal Reserve Board for State banks which are members of the Federal Reserve System; the Comptroller of the Currency for national banks; and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation for State-chartered banks which are not members of the Federal Reserve System.

7. Can the public expect its interests to be protected by the three banking agencies in approving bank mergers?

There is little evidence to show that the three bank supervisory agencies are presently operating in the public interest or that they will operate in the public interest in the future unless Congress changes certain laws to make them more susceptible to control by the executive and legislative branches of Government. The bank supervisory agencies do not come to Congress for appropriated funds, but obtain their funds from the banks, the institutions they are supposed to supervise. There have been numerous cases in the past in which the bank supervisory agencies have placed the interests of the bankers ahead of the public interest.

8. Will the passage of S. 1698 preclude the possibility of private antitrust suits brought against a bank merger?

Yes. S. 1698 states that no action, public or private, may be brought under the antitrust laws to overturn a bank merger after a 30-day period.

9. If S. 1698 became law would all future mergers be protected against antitrust attack by the Justice Department forever?

Yes. If the Justice Department does not bring an action against a merger within 30 days of the time the merger is approved by the appropriate bank supervisory agency, an attack on that merger would be barred forever regardless of the anticompetitive effects which were an outgrowth of that merger.

10. Since there would be no possibility of rectifying a merger which did, in fact, violate the antitrust laws, but had been approved by the bank regulatory agencies, will there be a provision for public hearings before these agencies prior to approval of the merger?

No. No adversary-type hearings are required under the legislation nor are they contemplated by the bank regulatory agencies, which traditionally have conducted their affairs in secret.

11. Would passage of S. 1698 increase merger trends in banking?

Most probably, yes, because S. 1698 would give greater weight to the judgment of the bank supervisory agencies, which have approved over 90 percent of all bank merger applications since 1960, and less weight to the judgment of the Justice Department which traditionally has responsibility for enforcement of the antitrust laws.

12. If S. 1698 makes bank mergers easier, will this create an incentive for other banks to merge?

It is true that mergers of banks in particular communities have encouraged other banks in the same community to merge in order to keep up with the larger bank created by the original merger. Thus, concentration in banking becomes greater and greater until only a few banks in the community control the entire banking business.

13. Will S. 1698 set precedent for further bank legislation to remove that industry from all forms of governmental safeguards?

Definitely. Once banks have been excused from prosecution under the antitrust laws in the area of mergers, there is every reason to believe that the next step would be to remove banks from all coverage of the antitrust laws. For example, such a move would allow banks to conspire to fix service charges and interest rates, and to determine among themselves who would obtain loans and who would not.

14. What other adverse effects would ensue if banks were exempted from all antitrust laws?

One very important effect would be to put nonbanking businesses which compete with banks at a disadvantage. There has been a growing trend among banks to enter into an ever-increasing number of nonbanking businesses, such as the selling of insurance, automobile and other equipment rental, travel agent services, the credit card business, computer services, and investment management. Nonbanking competitors which compete with banks would clearly be at a disadvantage because the antitrust laws would not apply equally to all competitors.

15. May a national bank own any amount of nonbanking corporate stock, including a controlling interest? May a national bank own other banks in foreign states? May a national bank own investment banking or brokerage corporations? May a national bank own finance companies? May a national bank, either directly or indirectly, own automobile dealerships? May a national bank own savings and loan companies? May a national bank own a chain of drugstores? May a national bank own a chain of gasoline stations?

According to a ruling of the Comptroller of the Currency, a national bank may own any amount of corporate stock—including a controlling interest—"or purposes properly incident to its banking business." Moreover, the Comptroller claims that "what is 'properly incident' to banking would be determined by the 'Comptroller in light of developments of banking and banking services.'"

Based on the Comptroller's ruling, justification can be found for any business as being incidental to banking if that business uses or borrows money. The Comptroller's rulings have put banks in the insurance business, in the automobile and equipment rental business, in the travel agent business, in the credit card business, in the computer services business, and in the investment management business, among many others.

16. If banks were exempt from the application of the antitrust laws, would nonbanking companies which are controlled by a bank be exempt from the antitrust laws? For example, if the Chase Manhattan Bank acquired control of Esso and the First National City Bank of New York acquired control of Texaco and the two banks merged could these oil companies violate the Sherman and Clayton Acts without fear of prosecution?

Under the proposed legislation, the possibility of obtaining such an exemption from the antitrust laws for nonbanking businesses certainly exists.

II. WHY THE ANTITRUST LAWS SHOULD CONTINUE TO APPLY TO THE BANKING INDUSTRY

17. How do bank mergers harm the public and why are the antitrust laws important to protect the public?

Bank mergers harm the public by permitting big banks to gobble up smaller competing banks. Without effective competition, banks can charge higher interest rates on loans, and higher service charges and other fees; they can also pay lower interest rates on savings and time deposits. The antitrust laws are the only protection the public has to assure sound and healthy competition between banks so that the public is not "gouged."

18. Have banks gouged the public through secret agreements or by otherwise eliminating competition in recent years?

Yes. In 1964 about one dozen banks in Minnesota were found guilty of a criminal conspiracy to fix interest rates, service charges, and loan conditions, in violation of the antitrust laws, and were fined hundreds of thousands of dollars.

19. How serious has the merger trend been in the banking industry in this country?

This is a very serious problem. Since 1950 there have been over 2,200 bank mergers. Because of this Congress passed the Bank Merger Act of 1960, which was intended to stem the steadily rising tide of bank mergers. Because of the lack of effective administration of this law by the Federal bank supervisory agencies the trend in bank mergers has continued virtually unabated. These agencies have approved over 700 bank mergers in the last 5 years. Commercial bank mergers averaged 166 a year in the 4 years 1956 through 1959, and 151 a year from 1961 through 1965.

In addition, it should be noted that 5 banks control over 50 percent of the deposits in each of 23 States; 5 banks control over 70 percent of the deposits in each of 11 States; and 5 banks control over 90 percent of the deposits in each of 5 States. Thus, in each of 39 States 50 percent or more of the commercial bank deposits are controlled by only 5 banks.

20. What is a specific example of increased concentration of banking since World War II?

One of the most important examples is what has taken place in New York City, probably the most important banking market in the world. In 1946 there were 25 banks in New York City which were members of the bank clearinghouse. Through more than a dozen mergers over the last 20 years this figure has been cut by more than half. Today there are only 10 banks in New York City that are members of the clearinghouse.

Another example is the fact that the Bank of America alone holds 38.6 percent of the deposits of all commercial banks in the State of California, the largest and fastest growing State in the Union.

21. Why should the consumer be concerned over bank mergers and concentration of banking in the hands of a few institutions?

The whole reason for our antitrust laws is the protection of the consumer, the American public, from all unfair and anticompetitive practices. Concentration in any industry, including banking, inevitably causes rise in prices, increasingly poor quality of goods and services, the concentration of economic and political power in the hands of a few, and exorbitant profits made at the expense of the consuming public.

22. What about farmers—how does the increasing concentration of banking affect the farming community?

One of the trends in bank mergers has been that city banks have been rapidly absorbing rural and smalltown independent banks. Therefore, the alternative credit sources which are essential to the farmers have shrunk tremendously in the face of the large number of bank mergers which have taken place in the last 15 years. Thus, the farmer is today more than ever at the mercy of the big city banker, who traditionally has never been responsive to the farmer's needs.

23. What other groups should be concerned about the weakening of the antitrust laws as they apply to banking?

Among others, those who would be adversely affected by weakening the application of the antitrust laws to banking include small businessmen, wage earners, savings and loan associations, credit unions, and all other financial institutions.

24. Can the antitrust laws stem the tide of bank mergers?

Yes, if enforced vigorously by the Justice Department. The only bulwark against this trend has been the Department of Justice's action against eight bank mergers under the antitrust laws. Even though the Justice Department has been extremely cautious in bringing such cases, it has brought cases against the most outrageous bank mergers, those which created undue concentrations in such large banking centers as New York, Chicago, the State of California, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and Lexington, Ky. The bank supervisory agencies responsible for passing on these mergers had previously approved each one of them.

25. Is it important to the public interest that the antitrust laws be applied to the banking industry?

There is no better answer to this question than that given by the U.S. Supreme Court in the Philadelphia National Bank case when the Court said: "We reject the position that commercial banking, because it is subject to

a high degree of governmental regulation, or because it deals in the intangibles of credit and services rather than in the manufacture or sale of tangible commodities, is somehow immune from the anticompetitive effects of undue concentration. * * * There is no reason to think that concentration is less inimical to the free play of competition in banking than in other service industries. On the contrary, it is in all probability more inimical. For example, banks compete to fill the credit needs of businessmen. Small businessmen especially are, as a practical matter, confined to their locality for the satisfaction of their credit needs. If the number of banks in their locality is reduced, the vigor of competition for filling the marginal small business borrowers' needs is likely to diminish. At the same time, the concomitantly greater difficulty in obtaining credit is likely to put him at a disadvantage vis-a-vis larger businesses with which he competes. In this fashion, concentration in banking accelerates concentration generally."

26. How much concentration actually exists in the commercial banking industry in this country today?

The banking industry is one of the most highly concentrated industries in the United States. As a matter of fact, only 14 commercial banks in this country control approximately 25 percent of all commercial bank deposits, and only 100 commercial banks control 50 percent of all commercial bank deposits in the United States. Therefore, it is important that further concentration within the banking industry be prevented.

27. Is there any evidence of tangible adverse effects to the public when mergers create a concentration of banking in a particular community?

Yes. A recent study of bank concentration in various communities across the country shows that in areas where competition is lacking, interest rates on savings and time deposits are lower and interest charges on loans higher than in areas where there is healthy competition among banks. In addition, it was shown in the Philadelphia National Bank case, in which the Supreme Court ruled that the merger of two large Philadelphia banks violated the antitrust laws, that subsequent to the merger the merged bank in every case chose to charge its customers the highest of the rates and service charges charged by the separate banks before the banks merged. There have been similar complaints after other recent mergers such as one in St. Louis, Mo., in June of 1965.

28. What about the argument that, because banks are strictly regulated by both Federal and State agencies, they need not be subject to the antitrust laws?

This arguments is not valid. Banking is a supervised industry, not a strictly regulated industry. There is no similarity at all between bank supervision, which is carried out to insure the financial soundness of banking institutions, and the strict governmental regulation of public utilities, such as telephone companies and electric power companies. Government agencies do not set bank charges, interest rate charges, or other fees. Neither do they determine the quality or the quantity of banking services that must be offered the public. Furthermore, banks are perfectly free to choose with whom they wish to do business. These choices are not available to fully regulated industries, which in return have a territorial franchise, must charge rates fixed by the Government, provide services determined by the Government, and serve all comers. The strictly regulated industries are to some extent relieved from the application of the antitrust laws, but the price they must pay is a fixed rate of return on their capital investment and a semigovernmental status. On the other hand, banking is a competitive free enterprise industry with no such restrictions.

29. When applying the antimerger provisions of the antitrust laws to banks, have the Justice Department and the courts only considered the narrow economic impact of a reduction in competition in an area or have they taken a broader view, considering such matters as the effect of the merger on the convenience and needs of the community?

The Justice Department and the courts have always viewed the application of the antitrust laws broadly and have considered the convenience and needs of the community as one aspect of the overall impact of a proposed merger on competition. Therefore, when a court rules that a merger violates the antitrust laws, it does so after carefully considering all aspects of the public interest involved.

30. What about the problem of divestiture? Isn't it very difficult to split up a bank, creating much hardship for the investors, depositors, and the public?

There is no doubt that divestiture creates serious problems, but this is true in all antitrust cases in which a court orders the breaking up of a business enterprise, not only in the case of banks. In order to eliminate the need for divestiture there have been proposals to permit the Justice Department to obtain automatic injunctions against mergers pending completion of litigation in antitrust cases. The banks have opposed these proposals. It should also be noted that divestiture is not a new remedy but is a traditional and well-established one in the field of antitrust. Without the power to order divestiture, the antitrust laws would be useless because there would be no effective way to enforce statutes which restrict mergers and prohibit tendencies toward monopoly.

31. Are the banks which are presently involved in litigation over the legality of their mergers being treated unfairly?

These banks most definitely are not being treated unfairly. When the Justice Department brought action against these six mergers the banks argued against the Court granting an injunction which would prevent the banks from merging pending final determination by the Court. The banks argued that the proper and feasible remedy for the Government if the mergers were found illegal was divestiture. Therefore, the banks themselves agreed to divest if they lost the cases. As Attorney General Katzenbach stated in his testimony before a subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee, it ill behooves these banks now to claim that divestiture is impossible when at the time the cases were brought they themselves stated that this was a suitable remedy. Thus, there is no question that these banks are being treated fairly in every way.

32. Has the Justice Department used the antitrust laws to unduly handicap legitimate mergers in the bank industry?

Definitely not. Since 1950 there have been 2,200 bank mergers. The Justice Department has taken action against only eight of these mergers. If the mergers challenged had involved small banks, there would have been no great lobbying campaign for this legislation. However, the six mergers now under challenge involve some of the most powerful banks in the country.

33. Who opposes S. 1698?

Some of the strongest opposition to S. 1698 has come from objective observers such as professors of law and economics at universities around the country. A number of them testified against S. 1698 before the Domestic Finance Subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee. In addition, a special subcommittee of the American Bar Association, after carefully studying S. 1698, wrote a report strongly opposing all aspects of S. 1698, as well as any attempt to weaken the antitrust laws as they apply to banking. The Independent Bankers Association of America, the largest association representing small banks in this country, has also strongly opposed the adoption of S. 1698. Others opposing the passage of S. 1698 include the AFL–CIO, the Industrial Union Department of the AFL–CIO, small business groups, and the National Farmers Union.

34. Was the Attorney General of the United States invited to testify on S. 1698 before the House Committee on Banking and Currency?

He certainly was and his testimony was in strong opposition to all the provisions of S. 1698. Also, several prominent Senators testified in opposition to S. 1698.

III. THE REAL REASON WHY THE BANKING LOBBY WANTS TO AMEND THE BANK MERGER LAWS

35. What is the real reason behind the tremendous pressure for the adoption of S. 1698?

The Justice Department has six cases pending against bank mergers for violations of the antitrust laws. In two of these cases, the Manufacturers Hanover merger in New York City and the Lexington Bank merger in Lexington, Ky., Federal courts have already found that the mergers violated the antitrust laws. These six banks are trying to obtain special treatment; that is, forgiveness for themselves for violations of Federal law that everyone else must obey.

36. Is S. 1698 essentially private or special interest legislation for the benefit of six banks?

This is correct. As a matter of fact, Congressman TODD, Democrat, of Michigan, who opposes S. 1698, has introduced six private bills for relief of these banks for consideration as private legislation before the House Judiciary Committee.

37. Is it unusual for private businesses to come to Congress seeking special exemption from Federal laws which are already on the books?

This is, indeed, an unusual request. A number of witnesses before the House Banking and Currency Subcommittee, including Attorney General Katzenbach, Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, and Federal Reserve Governor Robertson deplored such a blatant attempt to obtain special treatment. As Governor Robertson pointed out, such action breeds disrespect for our laws and for the judicial system, which is supposed to provide under our Constitution equal protection of the laws for all, not special tratment.

38. Is there any legitimate need for S. 1698?

The hearings held by the Domestic Finance Subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, indicate that there is no legitimate need for amending the Bank Merger Act of 1960.

39. What are the arguments used by the banks respecting their need for this legislation?

The proponents of S. 1698 claim that the law is confused and that the banks are uncertain as to the application of the antitrust laws to banking.

40. Is this a legitimate claim?

Not at all. It is only a smokescreen. In plain fact, since the Supreme Court decision in the Philadelphia National Bank case in June of 1963, it has been clearly understood that the antimerger provisions of section 7 of the Clayton Antitrust Act do apply to banking. It has always been understood that the Sherman Antitrust Act applies to banking. Therefore, the plain truth is that it is not lack of clarity that the big banks are really complaining of. What disturbs the big banks is the fact that the Supreme Court has clearly stated that all the major antitrust laws can be brought to bear against the banking industry as it does to other industries. What the big banks really want is to obtain special treatment; that is, exemption from the antitrust laws.

41. Did the Attorney General of the United States testify on S. 1698 before the Senate?

Although the Attorney General has the responsibility to enforce our antitrust laws, the Senate Banking and Currency Committee did not have the Attorney General testify on S. 1698. His views were, therefore, not made known to the Senate.

42. Is not the American Bankers Association lobbying vigorously for enactment of S. 1698?

Yes, the American Bankers Association, dominated as it is by the large, big city banks, is lobbying vigorously for S. 1698. They and individual member banks have spent large sums of money and distributed thousands of pamphlets in support of S. 1698.

43. What other forms has the lobbying pressure in favor of S. 1698 taken?

The Continental Illinois National Bank, one of the banks whose merger would be forgiven under S. 1698, reported that it spent over $5,000 in lobbying expenses in support of S. 1698. There have also been reports that businesses which have received loans from some of the banks seeking forgiveness for violation of antitrust laws were requested to pressure their Congressmen to support S. 1698. Attorneys for five of the six banks seeking forgiveness attempted to suppress a report of a special subcommittee of the American Bar Association by unfairly attacking the members of this subcommittee as having conflicts of interest or being biased. This American Bar Association subcommittee had recommended unanimously that Congress defeat S. 1698.

44. Why is the American Bankers Association so interested in bank merger legislation such as S. 1698?

The Supreme Court case nailing down the application of the antitrust laws to bank mergers was decided back in June 1963, over 2 years ago. The ABA annual resolutions adopted in convention in 1963 did not even mention bank mergers. In early 1964, another bank merger was held illegal by the courts, yet the 1964 ABA convention still did not adopt a resolution calling for changes in the antitrust laws. Furthermore, on February 3, 1965, the executive manager of the ABA, speaking in Dallas, Tex., predicted, "Not much major banking legislation, whether good or bad from the industry's point of view, is to be expected from Congress this year." What happened to make the ABA change its mind concerning major banking legislation in 1965?

On March 10, 1965, a U.S. district court in New York rendered its decision that the merger creating the Manufacturers Hanover Trust, a $6 billion Wall Street bank and the Nation's fourth largest, violated the antitrust laws.

45. Would S. 1698 excuse Manufacturers Hanover from this court ruling?

Yes, S. 1698 would forgive all past mergers where "unmerging" has not yet been accomplished, which includes Manufacturers Hanover.

46. When was S. 1698 introduced in the Senate, and who introduced it?

S. 1698 was introduced in the Senate by the chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee on April 5, less than 1 month after the Manufacturers Hanover decision, but approximately 2 years after the famous Supreme Court case holding that the Bank Merger Act of 1960 did not exempt banks from the antitrust laws.

IV. WHAT WOULD HAPPEN TO ALL OF OUR ANTITRUST LAWS IF S. 1698 BECAME LAW?

47. Are strong antitrust laws important in industries other than banking?

Yes, the antitrust laws protect the public against unfair and anticompetitive practices in all other industries, not just banking, and it can truthfully be said that our free enterprise system depends on the survival of the antitrust laws.

48. What would happen if S. 1698 becomes law and all the other powerful industry groups, such as automobiles, steel, rubber, petroleum, as well as service industries, succeeded in repealing the antitrust laws?

Without question the ultimate result of repealing the antitrust laws would be the total monopolization and control of the entire economy by a few giant financial and industrial corporations and the men who run them. It should be as true today as it was in 1914 when President Wilson stated in support of the antitrust laws: "We are all agreed that 'private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable.'" The repeal of the antitrust laws would result, as President Wilson put it, "* * * in making those who borrow and those who lend practically one and the same, those who sell and those who buy but the same persons trading with one another under different names and in different combinations, and those who affect to compete in fact partners and masters of some whole field of business."

49. How important is the banking industry to the rest of the American economy?

Since all business is vitally dependent on the commercial banking system, a competitive marketplace in which the bank customer can choose the institution which best fits his needs is imperative. But if a small group of big banks dominates the availability of credit to businessmen, then freedom of choice is destroyed and, in effect, the bank can control the entire business community. Therefore, banking is one of the most important, powerful, and pervasive elements in our entire economy.

50. What could ultimately happen to the antitrust laws of this country if banks are granted an exemption from antitrust laws as envisaged by S. 1698?

Passage of S. 1698 could ultimately lead to the repeal of all antitrust laws to the ruination of small business, the consuming public, and the free enterprise system. This is true for two reasons. One, banks are going into an ever-increasing number of nonbanking businesses in competition with other businessmen. If S. 1698 were passed, it would clearly put these competitors of banks at a disadvantage because the antitrust laws would not apply equally to all competitors. Secondly, once one industry gains immunity from the antitrust laws, every industry will immediately seek similar consideration. There can be no question that this will soon lead to an erosion, if not elimination, of our antitrust laws, and, as a result, the death of our American free enterprise system.

51. Does concentration in banking foster concentration in other industries, thus causing concentration of economic power in the hands of a few?

Yes. This is done in large part by establishing interlocking directorates between the large banks and large business concerns. As mergers mount both in banking and in other industries this trend is accentuated.

52. Do large commercial banks already have a voice or position of authority in other large financial institutions, such as insurance companies?

Although insurance companies and banks are in direct competition as far as credit extension is concerned, a recent study disclosed that the 10 largest life insurance companies had more than 195 direct interlocks with banks and that the 10 largest fire and casualty companies had more than 160 direct interlocks with commercial banks.

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., the largest life insurance company in the United States with assets of over $20 billion, had four direct interlocks with the Chase Manhattan Bank, the second largest bank in the United States with assets of over $14 billion. Metropolitan had two interlocking directorates with First National City Bank of New York, the third largest bank in the United States with assets of $14 billion.

The Prudential Life Insurance Co. of America with assets of $19 billion had direct interlocks with First National City Bank, Manufacturers Hanover, Chemical Bank New York Trust, Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., and Bankers Trust Co. The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, the third largest life insurance company with assets of over $12 billion, had three direct interlocks with Chase Manhattan, one with Manufacturers Hanover, three with Chemical Bank New York Trust, and one with Republic National Bank of Dallas.

The fourth largest insurance company, New York Life Insurance Co., assets of $9 billion, had direct interlocks with Chase Manhattan, First National City Bank, Manufacturers Hanover, three with Chemical Bank New York Trust, and two with Morgan Guaranty Bank.

These are just a few of dozens of examples of such interlocks between two industries that control the use of billions of dollars of credit in this country.

53. What about corporate interlocks between large commercial banks and industrial and commercial corporations—how extensive is this and does this also concentrate tremendous economic power in the hands of a few?

This practice is quite widespread and serious. A recent study made by the House Judiciary Committee shows that there are more than 1,200 management ties between the 15 largest commercial banks in this country and large industrial and commercial concerns. For example, interlocks exist between these 15 huge banks and such corporate giants as General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, A.T. & T., B. F. Goodrich, Sears-Roebuck, International Harvester, Swift & Co., Inland Steel, and Commonwealth Edison, just to name a few. Such practices indeed place fantastic economic power in the hands of a very few groups.

54. What would happen to our competitive free enterprise system if the antitrust laws, including restrictions on mergers, were weakened or repealed, the ever-increasing trend toward mergers continued, and the pattern of interlocking control of large industrial, commercial, and financial institutions were allowed to stand uncontested?

The inevitable result would be the complete control of the entire American economy by virtually a handful of bank and industrial corporation presidents and directors. This in turn, would spell the death knell of the American competitive economic system as we know it today.

55. What is the position of the Democratic Party as to the antitrust laws?

The 1964 Democratic Party platform stated, "The antitrust laws must be vigorously enforced."

56. What is the position of the Republican Party as to the antitrust laws?

The 1964 Republican Party platform called for "improvement, and full and fair enforcement of the antitrust statutes * * *" and "constant opposition to any form of unregulated monopoly."

57. What has the President's Council of Economic Advisers had to say about the importance of competition and the antitrust laws, and the dangers of concentrations of economic power in our economy?

The annual report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, made in January of 1965, stated: "Decentralization of economic power has long been considered desirable for social and political reasons, as well as for its contribution to an efficient economy. Absence of active competition tends to resut in higher prices and lower output, and thus in a less efficient allocation of resources." "Legislative, judicial, and enforcement activities have all contributed to the strengthening and clarification of our antitrust policies in the postwar period. Enforcement activity has been vigorous during each of the postwar administrations, attesting to the

bipartisan nature of the Nation's belief in maintaining maximum competition consistent with a productive and efficient economy."

V. CAN THE FEDERAL BANK SUPERVISORY AGENCIES BE COUNTED ON TO PROTECT THE PUBLIC INTEREST IN SUPERVISING THE BANKS?

58. What was the purpose of the Bank Merger Act of 1960?

Congress had become alarmed at the great trend toward centralization of banking from mergers starting in the 1950's, which threatened to destroy competition in that very important industry. The Bank Merger Act of 1960 was the culmination of 5 years of work by Congress on the bank merger problem.

59. What was the intent of Congress in passing the Bank Merger Act of 1960?

The intent of Congress in passing the Bank Merger Act of 1960 was clearly to make bank mergers more difficult. This was stated by the sponsors of the bill, as well as others.

60. Have the Federal bank supervisory agencies successfully carried out the intent of Congress in enforcing this act?

Not at all. The Bank Merger Act of 1960 gave the three Federal banking agencies, the Federal Reserve Board, the Bureau of the Comptroller of the Currency, and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation the responsibility to screen mergers of banks under their jurisdiction and to deny mergers clearly not in the public interest, including those that adversely affected competition. Since 1960, the banking agencies have considered approximately 700 bank mergers and have approved over 90 percent, including a number of mergers now being challenged in the courts as in violation of antitrust laws. If anything, the trend toward concentration in the banking industry has quickened since 1960, not diminished.

61. Do the Federal bank supervisory agencies actually regulate banks in the same way that Government regulatory agencies regulate public utilities?

No. Banks are not regulated at all in the same sense that public utilities are regulated. There are no restrictions governing the charges that banks make on their customers for services or regulations on the amount of interest that banks can charge on loans. In truly regulated industries all charges must be approved by the regulatory agencies. Furthermore, banks are not obligated as public utilities are to serve all who desire service on a nondiscriminatory basis.

62. Do the three Federal banking agencies have close, intimate ties to the commercial banking industry?

Yes, unfortunately. Both the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation receive their financial support from the commercial banks. Also, the Federal Reserve Board's interest rate committee is dominated by representatives of the large commercial banks when it meets in secret every 3 weeks to fix interest rates and the availability of credit for all borrowers. Furthermore, the Federal Reserve System's banks are dues-paying members in good standing of the American Bankers Association, paying $50,000 a year of the taxpayers' money in dues to the ABA, thus helping to finance the ABA lobbying effort to pass S. 1698.

63. Are these Government agencies required to appear each year before the Congress to seek appropriation of funds and to submit themselves to an official Government audit by the General Accounting Office?

Not at all. None of the three agencies must justify their expenditures before the Congress or seek their money from Congress. Neither the Federal Reserve System nor the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency are audited by the General Accounting Office, the official Government auditor.

64. Does the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, which supervises savings and loan associations, appear before Congress each year to justify its expenditures of funds, and is not that agency audited by the General Accounting Office?

Yes; the Federal Home Loan Bank Board appears before Congress annually to justify its expenditures, and it is also audited by the General Acounting Office.

Needless to say, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board's ability to do its regulatory job has not been impaired by these restrictions.

Most competent analysts of banking agree that the same rules would have no adverse effect on the operations of the Federal Reserve System, the Comptroller of the Currency, and the FDIC.

65. Can the bank supervisory agencies be relied upon to protect the public interest in enforcing the antitrust laws?

No. Because of the close relationship between the bank supervisory agencies and the banks, we must rely on an agency that takes a broad view of the public interest, is not tied in with the banks, and has experience with enforcing the antitrust laws. This job can only be done by the Justice Department, the chief law enforcement agency of the U.S. Government.

66. Would S. 1698 severely limit the applicability of the antitrust laws to banking? Would it place the authority to approve bank mergers in the bank supervisory agencies rather than in the Justice Department and the courts of law?

Yes, and that would be like sending the goose to guard the shelled corn.

The Independence of Libya

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, Congress will have adjourned by the time Libya celebrates the anniversary of her independence. We wish to extend warm felicitations at this time therefore to His Excellency Mahmud Muntasir, the Prime Minister of Libya; and to His Excellency Fathi Abidia, the Libyan Ambassador to the United States.

This year marks the 14th anniversary of Libyan independence. Libya is located in the center of north Africa, with a coastline which extends 1,000 miles along the Mediterranean between Tunisia and the United Arab Republic. Libya has an area roughly one-fourth the size of the United States and a population of 1.2 million. The majority of the population is of Arab origin.

In ancient times western Libya was ruled by the Phoenicians. The eastern section of the country, known as Cyrenaica, was colonized by the Greeks. In 1911 Libya was invaded by Italy. It is a tribute to the spirit of this great people that the Italians were never able to consolidate their rule beyond the coastal strip. During World War II Italy's control of Libya came to an end. The problem of Libya's political future was taken up at the United Nations, which voted to grant Libya its independence not later than January 1, 1952. On December 24, 1951, Libyan independence was proclaimed at Benghazi.

Libya is a constitutional monarchy with a senate and a house of representatives. The Libyan Government is dedicated to improving the economic and social welfare of the Libyan people. Seventy percent of the country's oil revenues are earmarked for economic development. In fact, the results of the recent discovery of oil are already evident. Roads now cross the vast Western Desert. El Sider and Mersa Brega are now important oil ports. Within 2 years Tobruk will become the third port. Libyans know that economic development must include the development of human resources. Accordingly, a large percent of the oil revenues are being spent on education and public health.

The Libyan Government has also recognized that tourism could become an extremely important source of revenue in the future. Tourists are already being attracted to Libya's magnificent Roman ruins and equally magnificent beaches. New hotels and access roads are being constructed to facilitate the expansion of tourism.

The economy of Libya is largely agricultural and pastoral. Barley, wheat, dates, esparto grass, citrus fruits, and olive oil are the principal products, which now meet domestic requirements and provide some exportable surpluses as well. Livestock, wool, and hides are also exported. Coastal fishing, which provides tuna, sardines, and sponges, is being encouraged and expanded by the Government. But there are also a growing number of small manufacturing establishments engaged in processing agricultural and fishery products, as well as handicraft industries producing textiles, footwear, leather goods, and carpets.

The United States is aiding Libya both directly and through the United Nations. I am confident that through international cooperation and domestic dedication, Libya will achieve her desire to better the lives of her people.

Travesty of Justice—V

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a sampling of editorials from newspapers east of the Mississippi commenting on the recent miscarriage of justice in a Hayneville, Ala., courtroom.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Greensburg (Pa.) Tribune-Review, Oct. 16, 1965]

UNFAIR JURY PRACTICE

A lot of people in both South and North who cherish the concept of justice have been disturbed by an Alabama jury's finding that Thomas L. Coleman was innocent of manslaughter in the fatal shooting of Jonathan M. Daniels, a seminarian who had been engaged in civil rights work. They have been

disturbed, indeed, by many things about the case. One of the points raised by those who object to the proceedings is that the jury which freed the defendant was composed entirely of whites, though there is a large Negro population in the county. This is a point germane to numerous trials in the South.

Happily, there is reason to believe that the practice of barring Negroes from jury service is coming to the end of the road. A strong indication of this was evident when a Federal district court in Mississippi reversed two death penalty sentences on the grounds that Negroes had been systematically excluded from the juries. These reversals were properly hailed by the American Civil Liberties Union as a major advance for due process and equal protection under the law.

Denial of these American rights was cited by Judge Claude F. Clayton in his opinions reversing the convictions of George A. Gordon and William Smith, Jr., both Negroes. "With respect to the allegation of racial exclusion from the jury system," his opinion in the Smith case stated, "the parties agree that in the year of the trial only three Negroes were on the jury list and in 10 years preceding the trial only five Negroes were on the jury list, which contained approximately 300 names each year." This, he noted, though Negroes constituted more than 62 percent of persons available for jury service. There is no place for such discriminatory practices in the American system of justice.

[From the White Plains (N.Y.) Reporter Dispatch, Sept. 30, 1965]

A TRIAL IN ALABAMA

The course of justice in Alabama appears to be taking its predictable path in the trial of Thomas Coleman charged with the shotgun slaying of a civil rights worker.

In a set of circumstances that would have been incredible elsewhere, the judge has refused a postponement to permit testimony by the wounded and still hospitalized companion of the victim and has ousted the State attorney general and his staff as prosecutors.

Coleman, who has been indicted on a manslaughter count, thus has been granted safeguards both from an aggressive prosecution and from the possibility of damaging testimony by a hostile witness.

The voice of the victim, Jonathan Daniels, 26, an Episcopal ministerial student, has, of course, been stilled forever. His companion, the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, a Catholic priest, will have no opportunity to tell his version of the shooting.

The situation was summed up by Assistant Attorney General Joe Breck Gantt who told the court, presided over by Circuit Judge T. Werth Thagard:

"Until the State of Alabama can present Father Morrisroe as a witness, the State has no case against Coleman. I, therefore, refuse to proceed. I cannot present testimony which I know to be perjured."

Judge Thagard accused him of "trifling" with the case, superseded him and turned the prosecution over to the circuit and county solicitors who had presented to the grand jury the testimony which Gantt calls perjured. This seems an exaggerated protection for the rights of the accused.

Whether evidence will be offered to support published reports that Coleman had threatened both Attorney General Richard Flowers and Mr. Daniels and Father Morrisroe prior to the actual shooting is not clear, but it seems certain that allegations that the two victims, who had just been released from detention in jail, had somehow been armed will be used to support the defense.

A short trial is expected.

Who has any doubt about the verdict?

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Bulletin, Oct. 25, 1965]

A STAIN UPON THE SOIL

One almost wearies of outrage over perversions of justice in Lowndes County, Ala. First came the incredible courtroom demagoguery of the initial Collie Leroy Wilkins trial, then the equally unbelievable acquittal of Thomas L. Coleman 3 weeks ago, and now the acquittal of Wilkins.

Inevitably pressure will mount to make civil rights slayings a Federal offense, like kidnaping, with trials mandated, perhaps, in Washington, D.C. This would be a grave step, not to be taken lightly. But the perversion of justice is not just a black eye for Lowndes County or Alabama, but for the whole Nation.

Of the 24 civil rights slayings since 1960, one-half have been in Alabama and in no case has anyone gone to jail.

Only two bright spots relieved the otherwise dark picture of the latest trial. One was the effort of State Attorney General Richmond Flowers to have racist veniermen excluded. He failed, as one might have expected. But he took the case to the Alabama supreme court and the entire State is on warning that this is an issue that can and will be raised again in civil rights cases.

The second heartening feature was Mr. Flowers' performance itself. This is the second civil rights murder trial he has personally entered; the judge threw him out of the Coleman trial. Undoubtedly, he knows that he has the support of many partisans of real justice in Alabama. He acts nonetheless, with high courage; not only is his political future jeopardized, his very life probably is in great danger.

Lowndes County has now become a dark symbol. Indeed, as Mr. Flowers has said, its soil is stained.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Amsterdam News, Oct. 9, 1965]

A MOCKERY

If there is anyone anywhere in the world outside of Alabama who can say that he saw two priests, one with a gun and one with a knife, attack an innocent man we wish they would come forward with the information.

And if it has never happened anywhere else in the world, why all of a sudden did it happen at Hayneville, Ala.? Or to put it another way, does anyone in his right mind believe that it happened at Hayneville, Ala.?

Yet, according to a jury of Hayneville citizens, it did happen and it happened to the extent that these citizens saw enough justice in this happening to acquit a special deputy who shot down these two priests who it is alleged went after him with a gun and a knife.

This is truly a mockery of justice and it seems to us that it is high time that the Federal Government stepped in and stopped these people from making a mockery of our laws.

[From the New City (N.Y.) Country Citizen, Oct. 6, 1965]

LUNACY RAMPANT

Another example of southern justice was resolved when a deputy sheriff on trial for manslaughter in the death of a clergyman was exonerated by a jury of his peers last week.

With this came protestations that the responsible citizenry of the South are horrified at this burlesque, which included charges that both a priest and minister carried a knife and gun and the sheriff was forced to use his shotgun to defend himself.

But the responsible citizenry of the South cannot assuage their conscience so easily because the guilt still must remain theirs, very much like the Republican Party crying out against the Birch Society.

In both instances the lily-white behavior of silence has been their policy.

It is true that in the instance of the Birch Society we are dealing with an incredible collection of lunatics—but it is also true that the next step from lunacy is the kind of beastiality practiced by these murderers in the South.

In the political area the slight twinge of humor connected with the Birch problem is the image of DIRKSEN and FORD—through the looking glass—screaming out against the political gooks, tolerated in the past by them.

The new line is "Off with their heads—or it will be off with ours."

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Afro-American, Oct. 16, 1965]

THE PRICE IS TOO HIGH

Attorney General Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach could not have given the matter too much thought, before commenting on the shocking Hayneville murder case.

Either that or he felt compelled to soften his remarks for Texas consumption before making a scheduled speech in Houston.

"This kind of result is expected from time to time," he said. "This is the price you have to pay for the jury system, but I don't think it is too high a price to pay. The situation has changed a great deal already."

This is a most disappointing statement coming from the Nation's highest law enforcement officer.

Is it possible that Mr. Katzenbach is unaware that 81 percent of the county's population was illegally barred, because of race, from the panel from which the Hayneville jury was drawn?

We submit this is indeed too high a price to pay for such gross injustice.

Moreover, if the situation is changed, Mr. Katzenbach is the only person to perceive it.

Twenty-six racial murders have scarred the South since the drive for equal rights began.

The score is still zero. Not a single one of the killers has been convicted.

Instead of callously brushing off the horrifying travesty on justice that was the Hayneville case, Mr. Katzenbach should be launching a determined assault on the perverted jury practices common in so many areas of the old Confederacy.

Moreover, he should be throwing the full force of his office behind passage of legislation to place the strong arm of Federal protection around courageous Freedom Fighters in Dixie.

This Nation simply cannot stand any repeat doses of Hayneville justice.

[From the Hackensack (N.J.) Record, Oct. 6, 1965]

COLLABORATION IN A MOCKERY

Attorney General Katzenbach's comment on the latest miscarriage of justice in Alabama deserves to be remembered only as evidence that imperturbability can be carried too far. After all, he said of the Hayneville travesty, things like this are a part of the price we must pay for having the jury system—you just have to expect from time to time a little rape of justice.

It is a high price for fair, and let Medger Evers, Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner, James Chaney, and Violet Liuzzo be called as witnesses. Call Jimmy Lee Jackson. Call the Reverend James Reeb. Call now the name of young Jonathan Daniels. It is impossible to agree with Mr. Katzenbach that to be expected from time to time is murder

with impunity. It is impossible to disagree with the dogged attorney general of Alabama, who declines to give up with a philosophic shrug. Said Attorney General Flowers:

"Now (in consequence of the acquittal at Hayneville) those who feel they have a right to kill, destroy, and cripple have been assured that license. It is our duty to do what is necessary to retrieve it."

The Federal Government can and should write and enforce law effectively forbidding interference, violent or passive, with any citizen's enjoyment of a right federally guaranteed. In ways that cannot be deprecated, the failure at Hayneville was a failure of the Federal establishment. To attribute it to the jury system and thus to weaken what should be a guardian of people's rights and liberties is merely to heighten the shrillness of the Hayneville mockery.

[From the Springfield (Ohio) News, Oct. 13, 1965]

DEFILED JUSTICE

Joseph L. Rauh, counsel for the National Leadership Council on Civil Rights, said aloud what some people must have been thinking after justice was defiled in Hayneville, Ala.

Mr. Rauh suggested that Congress dissolve the authority of State courts to try criminal cases involving civil rights matters. He wants Federal courts to handle them. He said civil rights leaders may take the request to Congress next session.

Sure, the Nation is incensed over the "not guilty" verdict for Thomas L. Coleman, the man who fatally shot a seminary student working in the rights movement. Too, this isn't the first person freed by juries filled with the same hate and bigotry as the accused. There is great temptation to nail the guilty with any means available.

However, it is serious business tampering with the American system of justice. By putting Federal courts in charge of civil rights cases, all States would have legitimate complaints about usurped rights. Their traditional sphere of jurisdiction in criminal actions would be destroyed. Through knee-jerk reaction to remedy a sick situation in the South, more harm than good would result.

Justice will come to the Haynevilles of the Nation when men are made to see the folly of their prejudicies, when brotherhood is more than a pious slogan. It's a longer way than by forcing justice through the Federal courts, but it's a surer way—despite the wear on grieving consciences.

[From the Brattleboro (Vt.) Reformer, Oct. 2, 1965]

HE WAS ACQUITTED

The slaying trial of a part-time Alabama deputy sheriff is over. He was acquitted. The defense admitted he shot Keene, N.H., seminarian Jonathan Daniels, who later died. But, the all-male (by Alabama law) all-white jury heard a white man's testimony that Daniels was armed. Colored witnesses said Daniels was not armed. The question became one of self-defense shooting or manslaughter. The court clerk, who is the defendant's cousin, read the jury's verdict. Innocent. It may have boiled down to the word of whites versus the word of Negroes. Now listen to the reverberations. They are getting loud, as expected.

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Courant, Oct. 15, 1965]

HOW FIERCE THE FIRES OF HATRED ARE

As readers of the People's Forum must now be aware, any newspaper that attempts to take a rational view of the civil rights turmoil in the South is bound to hear from readers in that region. In recent weeks the torrent of abuse and defiance sent from the South to the Courant has grown loud. Although some of these letters have been printed in the Forum, others because of their incredible intemperance and length, have not been used. But they serve a purpose in giving New England people an inside glimpse into the minds of the extreme racists.

It is without doubt a manifestation of psychopathology and hatred, blended with an intolerance of strangers. Through most of these letters runs the theme that if outsiders would stay home and stop trying to change things, all would be well in the South. This is the kind of thinking that permeated the recent Coleman trial which resulted in the acquittal of a man who shot two clergymen in cold blood.

The same fevered irrationality was manifested again this week when two individuals who had been charged with the murder of a Negro teacher, Lemuel Penn, were again involved in violence without being arrested. These two Klansmen, Howard Sims and Cecil Myers, violently assaulted a Negro photographer in Crawfordville, Ga. They were released from custody with no charge filed against them.

One might suppose that after the murder of an innocent Negro educator as he drove along the highway minding his own business, the lust for blood would have been satisfied. But evidently it was not. Messrs. Sims and Myers have evidently merely had their appetites whetted. They had found that southern justice is colorblind, and protects the master race. The sad thing about this cult of violence is that it reflects the thinking of a great many southern people who do not realize that the winds of change are blowing violently, and that the hands of time cannot be held back by violence or even murder. Fortunately, for the South, there are those who recognize that fact. If it were not so, the backward parts of the South would be even bloodier than they are now. How marvelous the Negro has been in facing this violence with dignity and courage, and with Gandhi-like passivity.

[From the Detroit (Mich.) Free Press, Oct. 5, 1965]

NEW BLOT ON ALABAMA

When a jury in Alabama's Lowndes County found Tom Coleman innocent of murdering a civil rights worker whom he had gunned down, his wife said, "I knew it all the time."

So did everyone else even remotely familiar with Lowndes County's bigotry, predilection for bloodshed, and the primitives who rule it.

There was no more prospect that Coleman would be convicted than that President Johnson would appoint him to be Attorney General. For in Lowndes County murder isn't murder if the victim has a colored skin or believes that those who do have rights.

Frustration and outrage are the natural reactions among those who have been touched by civilization. But while voicing them can be a release for churning emotions, it does nothing to change things in Lowndes County and other enclaves like it.

Neither is there any useful effect in assuring that time will be the great healer, that at long last enlightenment must come even to such backwaters of prejudice and ignorance as Lowndes County.

Lowndes County hasn't changed in 100 years and if left to itself there is no cause to suppose it will change in another 100. Asking decent people to outwait its evils is asking too much of patience.

The Lowndes Counties must be made to feel pressures too uncomfortable to be borne. And there is no use talking about moral pressure. If Lowndes County were susceptible to feelings of morality, murder wouldn't be encouraged there.

What these pressures could be must be left to the devisings of Alabama and the Federal Government—preferably just Alabama. And that may be possible.

Deep South as Alabama is, it still has an abhorrence of the depths which Lowndes County represents. The first official reaction from the State was an assertion by Alabama's Attorney General Richmond Flowers that Coleman's acquittal represented "democratic process going down the drain of irrationality, bigotry, and improper enforcement of the law."

Flowers says he isn't through with the case yet and will search to discover whether "any further legal routes are available." We hope there are, and that Coleman can't get away with murder after all. But the prospect isn't bright. There is the guarantee against double jeopardy—and that must be preserved no matter how extreme the provocation for public wrath.

The cure will have to lie in what are called sanctions when they are applied among nations. What these might be we're not in a position to suggest. But if Alabama wants to erase its Lowndes County blot, it plainly is going to have to find effective sanctions and employ them rigorously.

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer, Sept. 30, 1965]

SETBACK FOR JUSTICE IN SOUTH

Banishment of the Alabama attorney general and his staff from the prosecution of a sheriff's deputy accused of killing a civil rights worker is a sharp setback for hopes that justice can prevail in southern rights cases.

Attorney General Richmond Flowers twice had been denied requests for delays in the trial so he could seek a murder indictment against the deputy instead of the manslaughter charge on which he is being tried.

When request for delay was renewed because a key witness is still in a hospital recovering from wounds inflicted in the shooting, Circuit Judge T. Werth Thagard ordered Flowers and his aids to withdraw from the prosecution, an order believed unprecedented in the State.

The case is proceeding without the key witness, the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, a Catholic priest who was with Jonathan M. Daniels, an Episcopal seminary student, when the latter was slain after a demonstration in Lowndes County.

Flowers, who has been making determined efforts to have rights cases tried on their merits, had contended that the evidence supports a more serious charge, that the injured priest is one of the State's principal witnesses and that the State cannot get a fair trial in Lowndes County.

There is no question about the unavailability of the key witness and an attorney general should be permitted to put his case for a murder indictment before a grand jury.

That he not only was blocked by the court on both appeals but was then barred from the trial reflects no credit on Judge Thagard or Alabama courts.

Circumvention of justice, with bench authority or acquiescence, should be a matter of the deepest concern to all persons of all races. Its condonement can boomerang against all segments of society, in Alabama and wherever laws exist.

[From the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Catholic, Oct. 7, 1965]

SOUTHERN JUSTICE TRIUMPHS AGAIN

Tom Coleman is a free man today in Lowndes County, Ala., and the citizens are rejoicing. He will soon be signing autographs at Ku Klux Klan meetings, and, no doubt, will shortly be back at his part-time deputy sheriff's job, guarding the highways and byways and protecting the people from the depredations of priests and seminarians trying to shoot their way into grocery stores.

Circuit Judge T. Werth Thagard, stalwart symbol of impartial justice, is modestly tak-

ing credit for having outfoxed the prosecution by dismissing the attorney general's staff after it attempted to delay the Jonathan Daniels case until the only close eyewitness to the affair, Father Richard Morrisroe, was able to appear. A frivolous and "trifling" reason, Thagard called it.

Happiest of all, probably, is Col. Al Lingo, State police chief. His record remains unblemished, not a single conviction in a civil rights murder case.

In fact, the only unhappy man in Alabama today would appear to be Attorney General Richmond Flowers, who did his job with commendable skill, fought step by step through that incomprehensible maze of Lowndes County intractability in an effort to establish law, instead of Colonel Lingo, as the arbiter in the case, and who found himself dismissed and branded an outsider in his own State. In the Alabamian natural order of things, this designation makes him an approved target for violence. It was his own fault, of course. He sided with outsiders.

Alabama, it would seem, has rejected Richmond Flowers and claimed Coleman, Lingo, and Thagard for its own. God help them if it is really so.

How does Alabama feel? Does it really believe these two men of God, Daniels and Morrisroe, after being released (unarmed) from jail, walked over to a grocery store and began (now mysteriously armed) "looking for trouble?" Under the impact of what weird, perverted mystique does Alabama spring to the defense of a man who was seen to shoot down two men for no legally established reason other than hatred and resentment?

We cannot but feel that, excepting the attorney general's staff, the behavior of Alabama officials during the Daniels case was from beginning to end inexcusable, disreputable, and downright shady. It will come back to haunt that State even after, God willing, Alabama has rejected the persecution paranoia of Lowndes County for the sanity of Richmond Flowers.

As for the civil rights workers in the South: well, we realize it was cold comfort at best to believe that, should the ultimate price be required of them, the justice required by law would be done. Now that the jungle law that rules there has been again exposed, the temptation may arise to call a jungle a jungle and prepare accordingly. We feel confident that the workers will continue to resist the temptation.

It is a tragic dilemma that presents itself in Alabama and Mississippi: even to appear to be armed, it seems, invites murder; to remain defenseless also invites murder. As the old ironic saying goes, "Heads I win, tails you lose."

The whole business is the kind of thing that takes place in a nightmare—or in broad daylight on the streets of Lowndes County, Ala.

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Times, Oct. 2, 1965]

COLLAPSE OF CONSCIENCE

The outcome of the Coleman case confirms the law of the jungle in Alabama. Anyone who doesn't fit in can be murdered with impunity.

This outrage against elemental morality, this corruption of basic justice, this deadly enthronement of bigotry, are past damning.

In the collapse of Alabama's conscience one feels the deepest pity.

If the defense story is to be believed, two churchmen, Jonathan Daniels, an Episcopal seminary student from Keene, N.H., and a Catholic priest, the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, of Chicago, were shot at because one "was carrying a bright, shiny object that resembled a knife blade" and the other "something—a round object that looked like a gun barrel."

Neither object was found, however; no one could verify that he actually saw what he said he thought he saw; and there were witnesses who denied that either clergyman, one of whom was killed and the other badly wounded, had any such arms or anything that remotely resembled arms.

They wouldn't hold up the trial until the living victim, Father Morrisroe, could appear to testify. They wouldn't indict for murder, as Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers demanded.

The defendant, who had fired the killing and wounding shotgun blast was freed of a charge of manslaughter, his Alabama character considerably enhanced.

Defense counsel explained that the accused "had to do what he did * * * now these people come into our community, these agitators—where do we draw the line? We've got a right to protect ourselves. I think you all ought to thank Almighty God that you have a man like Tom Coleman in our country."

The procedure was as outrageous as it was maudlin.

Amidst the moral and legal chaos, one brave and responsible official, Attorney General Flowers, stands out. He tried to secure a proper indictment and a proper trial in the case, but his efforts were dismissed. His life has been threatened.

Maybe he will end up like the two clergymen, and some friend of the defendant will testify he saw "something like a knife in his hand," and it will never be found, but Alabamians will believe the story because, at their present level, they do not prefer the truth or even a search for the truth.

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Courant, Oct. 1, 1965]

AN UNHOLY SPECTACLE IN ALABAMA

There was only one bright spot in the somber, perjury-ridden murder trial now concluded in Hayneville, Ala. That was the vigorous but futile fight of the State's attorney general to introduce an element of decency and justice to the proceedings. He appeared in court with an armed guard, and said frankly that his life had been threatened because he insisted on an attempt to delay the trial until the principal accusing witness, a Catholic priest, had recovered sufficiently from gunshot wounds to testify against the defendant, a man with a drunken, brawling reputation.

The familiar name of Al Lingo ran through this pseudo trial, as it has through many sordid happenings in that unhappy State. Mr. Lingo personally rounded up witnesses to testify that the slain theological student and the grievously wounded priest had carried knife and pistol in their hands. Hence, according to the local folk, this killing was a sheer case of self-defense. The weapons, incidentally, were said to have been carried off by a nearby Negro right after the shooting.

If it were not for past performances this would be the most outlandish trial in history. For the judge, obviously committed to the defense, was unwilling to postpone the case despite the absence of the eyewitness who was himself shot. Said the assistant attorney general, Joe Breck Gantt: "Until the State of Alabama can present Father Morrisroe as a witness, the State has no case against Coleman. I therefore refuse to proceed. I cannot present testimony which I know to be perjured."

The judicial response by Circuit Judge T. Werth Taggard was to accuse the State official of "trifling with the court." He ordered Mr. Gantt from the court and turned the prosecution over to county solicitors. The outcome was never in doubt. Once again a jury has found that murder in the South can and does go unpunished. This trial is a disgrace to Alabama. Even worse, it holds the United States up to the contempt of the civilized world. Seldom in modern history has the machinery of justice been so perverted to serve depraved ends as in the acquittal of Tom Coleman of Hayneville. It is a name that should be long remembered, as symbolic of the inner sickness that afflicts this unhappy State.

[From the Newburgh (N.Y.) News, Oct. 1, 1965]

SOUTHERN JUSTICE

Acquittal of Thomas L. Coleman by an Alabama jury in the slaying of Jonathan M. Daniels, a white seminary student and civil rights worker, is the worst blot yet on the escutcheon of southern justice.

Alabama's attorney general refused to prosecute a manslaughter indictment returned against Coleman, because he said some testimony was perjured and because he was denied time in which to get vital evidence. Daniels and a Catholic priest, the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, carried weapons when they were shot by Coleman, two witnesses contended, although both men had been released from jail only moments before the shootings.

The Alabama State official wanted an adjournment to permit Father Morrisroe to recover from his wound and appear as a witness.

Circuit Judge T. Werth Thagard refused the postponement, although the slaying occurred only 15 weeks ago, and ordered presentation of the people's case by the same solicitor who had offered it to the grand jury.

Writing in the New York Herald Tribune, William Bradford Huie said the community of Hayneville was on trial in the case. Reports do indicate the community was virtually united in defense of Coleman, including both officials and citizens.

Defense attorneys admitted Coleman had shot the two civil rights workers, but contended he had shot in self-defense, because Daniels carried a knife and Father Morrisroe a pistol. Neither weapon was found afterward, but the defense claimed both had been spirited away by an unidentified Negro. Alabama's attorney general refused to believe this.

There can be no question this was an outrageous miscarriage of justice. There also can be no question that it is possible for it to happen again, unless the United States is to deny to States, counties, and communities the authority to dispose of criminal matters such as murder and manslaughter.

There have been similar miscarriages everywhere under our system of justice, due usually to success of the defense in drawing attention of the jurors to some other factor than the evidence. Prejudice and emotional fervor frequently have thwarted reason in the jury room, and as long as the South is obsessed by racial discrimination, this is the factor most likely to pop up there.

Meanwhile, civil rights workers must accept the fact that in the Deep South they are entering territory controlled by fanatics with a broad base of popular support.

It is open season on citizens of all races who try to help the southern Negro gain the same rights of citizenship enjoyed by whites.

They must carry on their fight, prepared to suffer and die for their convictions. Fortunately, the history of man shows that such risks never have been able to deter men and women of principle.

Within the pattern of law and reason, the Nation must continue to move toward fair treatment of Negroes and other minority groups. Sound legislation must be sought and enforced, with extremes of all kinds avoided, whatever the provocation.

This will be the most difficult thing of all to do.

[From the Gary (Ind.) Post-Tribune, Oct. 3, 1965]

SHOTGUN JUSTICE

There was no suspense at all in the trial of Thomas Coleman, charged with killing a white civil rights worker in Alabama.

When the Lowndes County jury acquitted him, after short deliberations, his wife said "I knew it all the time."

A member of the prosecution staff said, "What could you expect in this county?"

That pretty well sums up the story.

Coleman's victim was Jonathan Daniels, a young seminarian from New Hampshire, whose companion, the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, a Catholic priest from Chicago, was severely wounded by a shotgun blast. Morrisroe had not recovered sufficiently to be able to testify, but of course, the trial couldn't wait for a key witness.

Coleman's lawyers maintained that "he did what he had to do" when he shot the two men in front of a store. It would be hard for a fiction writer to dream up a more ominous statement than that.

Coleman was not denied any of his rights—trial by jury and all the rest, which is proper. Shooting people with a shotgun, however, seems to be stretching one's rights a bit far, especially when it can be done with apparent immunity.

The Alabama attorney general and some others have expressed anger at the verdict. We agree with them that the majority of Alabama residents probably do not condone coldblooded killings. That doesn't change the fact that justice in Alabama is more fiction than fact.

Shotgun justice has no place in our system. It seems shockingly out of place, even in Alabama.

[From the Little Rock (Ark.) Arkansas Gazette, Oct. 2, 1965]

COLLAPSE OF JUSTICE A NATIONAL CONCERN

Two trials in civil rights killings have now been held at Hayneville, Ala., with a mistrial declared in one case and a verdict for the defendant returned in the other. In the first case defense counsel was permitted to make one of the most obscene summations ever heard in an American courtroom; in the second, concluded this week, the whole conduct of the court dirtied and disfigured the American system of justice.

Thomas L. Coleman, a prominent personality in Hayneville, was indicted for manslaughter in the slaying of an Episcopal ministerial student—the recommendation of the Alabama attorney general for a murder indictment notwithstanding. The case was hurried to trial as the judge refused a postponement and even ordered the attorney general, Richmond Flowers, out of the case. Mr. Flowers had sought a stay so that the State's key witness, a priest who was shot at the same time the student was killed, could recover from his wounds and testify.

This, then, is what the custodians of justice at Hayneville managed to do: Bring a minimal charge for which the maximum sentence would be 10 years; rush the case so it couldn't be adequately prosecuted; gain an acquittal that forever precludes, under the double-jeopardy prohibition, another prosecution in the killing.

Tom Coleman is free after pleading self-defense on the implausible grounds that he was threatened by his victim, a ministerial student, with a weapon that was never found. The acquittal in effect issues what Attorney General Flowers bitterly describes as "a license to kill." And in all the violent deaths attending the civil rights movement in the South, not a single killer has yet been tried and convicted.

The total failure of deep South justice in the racial murder cases testifies obviously to an inherent weakness in the concept of trial by jury. All of us have known that the jury system is no better than the people who make up the juries; where a community or State is afflicted with a moral sickness, as Hayneville and Alabama are afflicted, the system can and demonstrably does break down. Yet we are all aware, too, as U.S. Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach remarked in reference to the Coleman trial, that "this is the price you have to pay for the jury system, but it is not too high a price to pay."

Mr. Katzenbach's response was, however, a little too philosophical for our taste in the circumstances. There was a new element in the Coleman case—the systematic ordering of the processes of justice to make the proceedings not a trial but a travesty.

An expansion of the Federal jurisdiction in civil rights killings might bring a partial remedy. It is entirely possible that there is no remedy, as Mr. Katzenbach implies, but at the least it is the job of the Justice Department and the President himself to try to find one. The most exhaustive search for answers is demanded, for when the enforcement of law and justice collapses anywhere in the country it becomes a national problem of the gravest proportion.

Mrs. Marjorie Merriweather Post

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I am told that next month, Life magazine plans an article about one of the outstanding citizens of today's world, Mrs. Marjorie Merriweather Post. My wife and I have been privileged to count Marjorie Post as a friend, and we well know the care and sensitivity which she has brought to a great variety of interests and activities throughout her life.

Marjorie Merriweather Post is quietly known to many people for many different accomplishments in many different parts of the world. As a woman of substantial means, she has worked to apply her resources in ways that might benefit this generation and those that follow it. In this regard, I think it important to note that the thought which is said to have guided her in the use of her means is that of her father: "Do good with it."

In addition to the attention and the assistance she has given to education and to institutions of learning, Mrs. Post has also given of herself and her substance to the arts and to their encouragement. In the Nation's Capital, where Mrs. Post resides much of the year, she has worked to provide new advantages and opportunities for the youth of the city; and among her many endeavors in Washington, she has had special concern for the National Symphony Orchestra, the National Ballet, and from the outset, the National Cultural Center, later named the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

Though widely known for her warmth and charm, as well as for her taste and hospitality, Mrs. Post has never allowed the numerous benefactions and philanthropies for which she has been responsible to be made public. The list of citations she has received is indeed lengthy, and it covers works which range over several continents. These works span a half century of service to mankind, and they have encompassed diverse needs such as those growing out of the wars of this century, those which resulted from the depression of a generation ago, and those which have accompanied the new expansion of the arts in recent years.

I understand that the forthcoming issue of Life magazine, in which many of the possessions and items collected by Mrs. Post will be discussed, will also give attention to the homes she maintains. In that connection, I do not believe that many people know that though she has three homes, she has made provision for the 24 acres of her Washington residence to go eventually to the Smithsonian Institution, already the recipient of many treasures from her collections, and she has arranged for her mountain place in the Adirondacks eventually to be permanently available for the use of the C. W. Post College, named in honor of her father and located in New York.

In like manner, she has been working to insure that her Mar-A-Lago estate near Palm Beach will go to the State of Florida as a gift for use by the public. In appreciation, Mrs. Post was recognized last summer by the State of Florida for her efforts and for her generosity, and a public ceremony was held in the State capital of Tallahassee.

My distinguished colleagues from the State of Florida, Senator HOLLAND and Senator SMATHERS, join me in calling the attention of the Senate to the accomplishments and contributions made by Marjorie Merriweather Post over a long and full life. Their State has honored a woman who has served the Nation, and under unanimous consent I place a listing of citations and decorations and organizations reflecting the good works for which she has been responsible following my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

I also place the letter which Senator SMATHERS wrote me with his high regard for Mrs. Post, and in which he called attention to this listing, in the Appendix of the RECORD for today at the conclusion of my remarks. I know that Senator HOLLAND has a personal statement which he wants to make, and I will yield to him for it.

The material follows:

CITATIONS

American Museum of Natural History, life member, 1923.

Award of Merit for "Figurehead Design," Yacht *Sea Cloud*, 1932 (Italy).

U.S. Navy for use of *Sea Cloud* World War II, awarded 1948.

American Symphony Orchestra League Award for sponsorship of "Music for Young America," presentation, Providence, R.I., 1956.

Washngton Board of Trade Award for Music in Nation's Capital, 1957.

South Plains Council of Boy Scouts of America, in appreciation for gift of Scout camp near Post, Tex., 1957.

The people of Garza County, Tex., Golden Jubilee Award, 1957.

American National Red Cross, certificate of appreciation, 1957.

District of Columbia Education Association, for notable services in the field of education, 1958.

American National Red Cross for services fund campaign, 1960.

National Society, Children American Revolution, for practical realism, 1960.

American National Red Cross, volunteer service certificate for staff assistance Palm Beach County Chapter, issued Washington, D.C., 1942.

C. W. Post College, Long Island, N.Y., patroness and benefactress, 1960.

Golden Anniversary Award, National Capital Area Council and Boy Scouts of America, 1960.

Federation of Women's Clubs for Philanthropic Achievement, 1958.

Variety Club, Tent No. 1, for interest in seven lively arts, Pittsburgh, 1961.

American National Red Cross, in appreciation of volunteer service, 1962.

Life member, Greater Southeast Community Hospital Foundation, 1962.

Trustees of Washington Ballet Guild, American Ballet Theater, 1962.

Smithsonian Institution for the presentation of the Napoleon-Marie Louise neckless, 1962.

American National Red Cross in appreciation for volunteer services in World War I, presented Washington, D.C., 1963.

Metropolitan Police Boys Club, member of the year, 1963.

National Federation of Music Clubs, citation award for contribution to musical, cultural, and artistic life, Pittsburgh convention, April 1963.

American Federation of Musicians for distinguished service in behalf of live music and musicians, April 1963.

Brotherhood Award, National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1963.

Friends of American University Award, patron 1963–64.

American National Red Cross, District of Columbia chapter, for loyalty and devotion, 1964.

Honorary Fellow, Smithsonian Institution, 1964.

Honor list, National Society of Interior Designers, for distinguished design (international award), May 1965.

Honorary citizen of Florida, resolution passed by Florida State Legislature, June 1965.

PHILANTHROPIES

Equipped No. 8 base hospital (2,000) beds Savenay, France, World War I.

Maintained food kitchens in the slums of New York, operated by Salvation Army, 1929–35.

Vice chairman, emergency unemployment drive, New York City, 1929–35.

Honorary chairman, Parcels for Belgian Prisoners & Parcels for Belgium, 1940–44.

Benefactress, District of Columbia chapter, Boy Scouts of America, building fund, August 1955, etc.

Sponsorship of "Music for Young America," since 1956.

Coparticipant with post division, General Foods Corp., et al., in building C. W. Post athletic field, Battle Creek, 1961.

Benefactress, Merriwether Post Boy Scout campsite, Woodrow Wilson Reservation, Lorton, Va.

Benefactress, C. W. Post College, Long Island University.

Private and personal educational and assistance funds.

DECORATIONS BY FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

Cross of Honor, Order of Adolph de Nassau, Luxemburg, November 27, 1939.

Chevalier of the Order of Leopold, Belgium, November 29, 1939.

Commander of the Order of Juan Puablo Duarte, Dominican Republic, February 1946.

Officer of the Order of the Crown, Belgium, June 28, 1947.

Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, France, April 7, 1957.

Chevalier, Order of the Southern Cross, Brazil, December 12, 1958.

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE,
October 12, 1965.

Hon. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR COOPER: It has come to my attention that Life magazine intends to honor Mrs. Marjorie Merriweather Post, a distinguished American and an honorary citizen of my home State of Florida, in a forthcoming edition.

I believe such an article would be particularly appropriate because Mrs. Post has, through her philanthropies and other civic endeavors, made a substantial contribution toward building a better life in America and many nations around the world.

When the Legislature of the State of Florida last June passed a resolution naming Mrs. Post an honorary citizen of Florida, they expressed gratitude for Mrs. Post's offer to offer her estate, Mar-A-Lago, to Florida.

But the legislature also paid homage to a lady whose citations number a total of 30, who has used her personal resources to assistant worthwhile projects of lasting value. Music, art, history, youth groups and humanitarian assistance projects have benefited because of Mrs. Post's interest.

She has been decorated by no less than six foreign governments. Her philanthropies have ranged from equipping a 2,000-bed overseas hospital during World War I to providing food kitchens in New York City during the depression days. During World War II, she was a leading benefactor of beleaguered Belgium.

Domestically, Mrs. Post's assistance has helped the scouting movement, the Red Cross, music and the arts.

Because I believe Mrs. Post had made contributions to society which have often gone unheralded, I am taking the liberty of bringing to your attention a list of the citations which she has received, the decorations awarded her by foreign governments and the philanthropies in which she has engaged.

I am sure that you will agree with me that the record of public service which Mrs. Post has achieved is indeed a most noteworthy one.

With kindest personal regards, I am
Sincerely yours,
GEORGE A. SMATHERS,
U.S. Senator.

Mrs. Marjorie Merriweather Post

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, any enumeration of the great women of our time would necessarily include the name of Mrs. Marjorie Merriweather Post. I understand that Life magazine will, in a November issue, depict some of the highlights of the life and work of this remarkable American woman and I look forward with pleasure to viewing and reading the story.

For many years my State of Florida was privileged to claim Mrs. Post as a citizen and resident. Although this legal relationship was severed by Mrs. Post for personal business reasons, we still claim her as one of our own since she maintains a fabulous winter home at Palm Beach and has done so since the 1920's. Additionally, the Governor and the Legislature of the State of Florida, in June of this year, conferred honorary citizenship upon Mrs. Post in a formal ceremony at the State capitol in Tallahassee.

It is one thing to be the head of a great financial empire but quite another for one so situated to use for the good of mankind the power conferred by such a position. As heir to the fabulous cereal fortune, Mrs. Post has lived a glamorous and a luxurious life. However, if there could be a basis for measure, her philanthropies far exceed and outweigh her personal expenditures.

As one example, Mrs. Post has offered as a gift to the State of Florida her beautiful and expensive home at Palm Beach. Her purpose, although no particular strings were attached, is that the 100-room house, beautifully landscaped grounds and the 9-hole golf course would be used for the public benefit. An embarrassing oddity here is that the State cannot afford, under present authority vested in its board of parks and historic memorials, the high cost of maintenance of the vast property, much as it wants to accept it.

This is just one small incident of the generosity of this great lady. Space here will not permit a listing of the many, many things she has done for the betterment of our country and the brightening of the lives of thousands of people less fortunate than herself.

Florida is grateful to Mrs. Marjorie Post and exceedingly proud to have her even as an honorary citizen. We shall hope that she may soon see the advantage in again becoming one of our legal residents. The State would welcome her with open hearts and arms.

Congress Leads the Way

SPEECH
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, another session of Congress draws to a close. I am proud to have had the privilege to serve under you as our distinguished Speaker, while Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY presided over the Senate and with our great President, Lyndon B. Johnson, showing the way.

The march of history is uncertain and unpredictable and, while we may speculate about the reasons for momentous events and movements in the affairs of a people, we rarely know the subtleties which give birth to them at a particular time and place.

I will not speculate on why this session of Congress was the place and our generation the time for the making of so much important American history. Suffice it to say it happened and we are all grateful.

For too many, the great war, the pitched battle, the devastation of the land, the enslavement of the people and the destruction of their homes is the

march of history. For us this is the backward slide of history to primeval time, when man lived in the dark cave with his club as his constant companion and dared to venture forth only in daylight. For me, history is the story of man, his emergence from ignorance to enlightenment and his forward stride toward social responsibility. In terms of these values, this session of Congress is America on the move.

I shall not detail all the things this Congress did, rather will I paint its accomplishments in broad strokes.

Since its first and foremost consideration was the people, the story of this Congress is the story of its concern for people, all people. We have proved that we are our brother's keeper.

This Congress gave us medicare, not merely as originally conceived, but improved and broadened as proposed by the best minds available. For the first time hospitalization and voluntary medical care are provided for our older people. All social security payments as well as payments under assistance programs for the dependent children, blind, and disabled were increased.

We remembered to care for our children. This Congress authorized $1.3 billion to improve elementary and secondary grade school education. It set up a 3-year program to aid school districts on the basis of the percentage of pupils from lower income families attending school in these districts. It also set up a 5-year program for supplemental educational centers, textbook and testing aid purchases, research in education, and help for State education departments.

Higher education was provided for our children. The Higher Education Act is a 5-year $5.5 billion program to help States support community service programs of colleges and universities, for grants to their libraries for training, research, and acquisition of materials, for teaching fellowships to raise the quality of instruction at smaller colleges and for scholarship grants and low interest loans to graduate and undergraduate students.

Without an educated electorate, democracy perishes—the victim of demagogs and other self-seekers. Educated children mean educated adults able to live finer lives as better citizens.

We improved our laws to get decent housing for our people; $7.5 billion is authorized for a 4-year housing program. The program includes urban renewal, housing for the elderly, college housing, 60,000 new units of public housing annually, and matching grants to communities for water and sewer facilities. A new program is initiated for rent subsidies for some of our elderly, handicapped and displaced low-income families. No down payments are required of veterans buying homes.

Decent housing for our people is essential. If democracy requires respect for the individual and opportunity for fulfillment of his aims in life, he must have the privilege to acquire a decent home. Hovels, squalor, and overcrowding in impoverished quarters are not the soil in which respect and fulfillment are attained. These are signs of democracy's decay and unless corrected threaten its survival.

A new Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development will give us better administration of housing matters and closer cooperation with our cities in relieving distressful conditions.

A healthy mind needs a healthy body. This Congress authorized special controls over depressant and stimulant drugs with strict penalties for offenses involving young people. Every package of cigarettes must carry the statement "cigarette smoking may be hazardous to your health."

While we like to see our business community earning healthy profits, the health of our people is more important.

Grants have been authorized to our communities for mass immunization programs against polio, diptheria, whooping cough, tetanus, and measles. Provision was made for a national technical institute to educate our deaf people. Grants were authorized for community mental health centers and for training of teachers for our mentally retarded and otherwise handicapped children. Regional medical centers, research laboratories, and health facilities to combat heart disease, cancer, and other maladies will be established with Federal money.

We have helped to continue prosperity for our people. We are in the midst of the longest continuous period of peacetime prosperity in our country's history. This, I believe, is the result of our better understanding of our economy and the enactment of appropriate measures to insure its continued expansion.

Among the things this Congress did to insure continued prosperity for our people was to reduce excise taxes by $4.6 billion a year. I have been urging such enactments in every Congress since 1947. Levies on such items as furs, jewelry, radios, TV sets, cameras, household appliances, musical instruments, and on cabarets and general admissions were repealed. The 10-percent tax on automobiles is to be gradually reduced.

One billion one hundred million dollars was authorized to institute and coordinate public works and other programs among the Federal, State and local authorities to revive the economy and improve the skills and health of Appalachian area residents.

To help meet our gold outflow problem, the Congress repealed the requirement that Federal Reserve deposits shall be backed by 25 percent gold reserves. This freed our gold to meet foreign demands and served notice on the world that we intend to honor our commitments without resorting to devaluing the dollar.

The Manpower Development and Training Act was extended for 3 years and the training period was extended from 52 weeks to 104 weeks.

A 4-year $3.3 billion program of public works by loans and grants to local governments and other public or private groups in economically deprived communities to develop industries, facilities and to create jobs was authorized. Additional millions were authorized for the Small Business Administration revolving fund to assist those struck by floods, tornadoes, and other disasters.

One billion eight hundred million dollars was authorized for antipoverty programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. This will help the less fortunate to become productive citizens.

Our natural resources will be preserved. Nature has been good to our land with its bountiful blessings. In the past we have been careless with them. We should remember that they do not belong to us. We are only trustees who are privileged to enjoy them during our lives and are responsible for their preservation so that they may be turned over to our children and those who come after them for their enjoyment.

The Congress implemented this principle by establishing a Federal Water Resources Council and River Basin Commission to coordinate planning for maximum use of resources and to assist the States in such planning. It fixed uniform policies for recreation facilities, fish and wildlife preserves and also for multipurpose water-resource projects. Nine hundred forty-four million dollars was authorized for flood control and navigation improvement projects in 13 river basins.

It expanded and extended for 5 years research and development programs for conversion of saline water; it extended loan programs to commercial fisheries; it increased aid to communities to combat water pollution and established a Water Pollution Control Administration.

All of those matters were important but more important were the laws enacted which dealt with human rights rather than material privileges.

The improved voting rights law and the new immigration law that does away with the obnoxious and inhumane quota system were among the high spots of the accomplishments of this Congress.

Some will argue that all this impoverishes initiative and makes for a listless and dependent citizenry. The reverse is true. Relieved of the threat of an unfriendly and overpowering fate, man is freed to contribute his talent and effort to the community to make it a better place for him and his family, and to strive toward self-fulfillment and for meaning in his life, secure in the knowledge that his community stands with him in his fight against the common enemies, disease, poverty, ignorance, natural and man-made disasters, and other calamities to which he may fall prey.

In foreign affairs, the Congress had steadfastly supported the President. The anti-Arab boycott legislation, which I sponsored, was enacted. The foreign aid program was strengthened. Our participation in the World Bank and its affiliates was increased.

Our involvement in southeast Asia, while unfortunate, was not of our doing. Our national security, indeed that of the free world demands that we succesfully fulfill our commitments there and everywhere. We can and will do no less.

I have outlined some of the more important legislation that has been enacted by Congress to improve the well-being of the Nation.

The well-being of our people is a proper concern of our Government. Our older citizens remember the depression of the 1930's when our Nation was gripped by despair, its banks shut, its industrial machine creaking along at a fraction of its capacity. Our people dreaded the day and feared the future. There are still some who argue that our free enterprise system should be free of Government interference. These people object to legislation which seeks to eliminate poverty, squalor, ignorance, disease, and all the other indicia of a malfunctioning economy.

I disagree with them. Whenever our economy develops these symptoms, remedial action must be taken to eliminate their causes. Such action does not interfere with the system, rather it insures its survival. To ignore them could be fatal. We must care less for profits and more for the survival of a truly free enterprise system that creates those profits and gives to all of us the highest standard of living the world has ever seen.

When individuals cannot or will not do what is necessary and essential, government must step in and do it.

No one, I am certain, agrees with every last detail of all the laws we enacted. In fact, some even disagree with the principles involved. This right to disagree and to express that disagreement is what makes our country strong and so powerful.

But I daresay, that all of these laws initiated by the Congress and by the President will serve and serve well the too long neglected needs of our country.

The job is not done. It probably never will be. God willing, we will continue to strive forward next year in the best interest of the greatest number of our great country.

I must conclude this statement on a personal note and with a well deserved tribute to our Speaker, a truly wonderful Christian gentleman, a devoutly religious man who does not wear his religiosity on his sleeve but practices its highest moral principles in his daily life.

Since I came to Congress in 1947, I have had the finest cooperation from our Speakers and from the leadership of both major parties in arranging to accommodate my coreligionists of the Jewish faith so that we have never had a rollcall on a Jewish holiday that coincided with a legislative day.

This year the Rosh Hashana holidays—the Jewish New Year—fell on legislative days. Unfortunately, the parliamentary situation was such that it was impossible to extend the courtesy to the Jewish Members—15 of them—of forgoing rollcalls on those 2 days.

If we attended religious services either in our places of worship in our home districts or in the temples and synagogues which welcomed us in Washington, D.C., we could not possibly get to the floor of the House on time each day without violating our traditional practices.

With the warmly sincere and hearty cooperation of our distinguished Speaker, JOHN W. MCCORMACK, we were permitted to temporarily convert the nondemoninational congressional prayer room in the Capitol to a synagogue for our prayer services. We were then enabled to attend to our religious duties as well as our governmental obligations, serving both and doing violence to neither.

While keeping church and state completely separate, each gave the other full respect and obeisance.

Finally, I extend sincere thanks to my constitutents for having elected me to the 89th Congress, which President Johnson named "the greatest in American history."

Postal Efficiency Hurts Rail Passenger Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the Post Office Department is no longer making as great a use of passenger trains in delivering the mail as it once did. As a result of the Department's increased reliance on highway trucks and rail-truck service, many passenger trains throughout the Nation are being forced to discontinue their services for financial reasons.

As the U.S. Representative from rural southwest Iowa, I have noted the ever-increasing flow of complaints from my constituents concerning the deterioration in the service of the Post Office Department. This would seem to indicate that the Department is not actually achieving its asserted "better service" in the movement of the mail through highway rather than railway transportation.

The Department's recent practices aid in developing a chain reaction which is extremely detrimental to the welfare of trade and commerce in southwest Iowa as well as rural communities across the Nation.

A recent article in the Des Moines Register describes this disturbing turn of events in a most efficient and complete manner. I offer this article for the benefit of my colleagues. The article follows:

POSTAL EFFICIENCY HURTS RAIL PASSENGER SERVICE

The action of the Post Office Department in reducing its reliance on railroads for the movement of mail is having a side-effect of hastening the abandonment of rail passenger service, according to a Dow Jones survey.

According to the survey, published by the Wall Street Journal, the difference between a profitable passenger train service and a loss operation, or between a moderate loss and a severe loss is accounted for often by the mail moving contract.

TRUCKS—PIGGYBACK

The result is that passenger runs in many parts of the Nation are receiving a financial death blow as the Post Office Department diverts mail from passenger trains to highway trucks and to piggyback rail-truck service.

Postal officials contend they have "no legal right to continue transportation on trains" if better service "can be provided at less cost by highway transportation."

The locating of many of the 553 sectional postal centers in suburban centers, near important highways but away from downtown rail centers, has been a factor also in accelerating the postal department trend away from the use of train service.

The survey indicates that loss of mail revenues often pushes a train operation deep enough into the red for the road to convince State regulatory bodies or the Interstate Commerce Commission that it must be discontinued.

IOWA RUN

An example was the ICC permission to the Milwaukee Railroad to discontinue its trains Nos. 219 and 220, running 181 miles daily between Sioux Falls, S. Dak., and Manilla, Iowa, with connections to Chicago.

Both trains averaged about 40 coach and Pullman passengers per trip in 1964 and produced an out-of-pocket loss of $188,000. When the postal department, acting last March, removed mail worth about $102,000 annually in revenues, the Milwaukee acted to drop the runs.

For the year ended last June 30, the Post Office Department counts 61 passenger trains nationwide that lost their railway post office service. Railway men estimate 75 percent of the affected trains will be discontinued because of the revenue loss.

Intercity passenger trains now number less than 1,100 on all U.S. railroads, it's estimated, compared with some 3,400 as recently as the early 1950's.

Much of the loss has been blamed on increased use of the automobile, but with the shift of mail from train to truck accelerating, the Association of American Railroads forecasts the doom now for over two-thirds of existing runs, should they lose mail revenues.

In Washington, D.C., Postmaster General John A. Gronouski pointed out that railroads now operate only 11 percent of the trains (a drop from 10,000 to 1,100) which ran before World War II. At the same time, the annual volume of mail has increased from 29 to 72 billion pieces.

Federal Reserve Chairman Martin's Mumbo-Jumbo Fails To Disguise His Tight Money Policies That Threaten Continued Prosperity and Great Society Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, William McChesney Martin, Jr., occupies a very high office, one of the most important positions in the Government. He is Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board which determines the cost and availability of money to every man, woman, and child in America.

Adequate money and credit are vital to a strong and prosperous America. Credit at reasonable interest rates is the oil without which the wheels of business and commerce would stand still. When money is tight and interest rates high, experience shows that serious economic recession is always the result. Falling

employment, falling production, falling incomes are what is reaped when the Federal Reserve sows tight money.

Since Mr. Martin has been Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, we have had three serious recessions, all of which were during Mr. Eisenhower's administration. Due to the wise and sound policies of the Democratic administrations beginning in 1961, we have had unprecedented prosperity, but Mr. Martin and his all-powerful open market committee can bring an untimely end to that prosperity at any time.

At present there is very indication that Mr. Martin is doing just that. Interest rates on both short-term and long-term Government securities are at the highest since 1960, the year of our last tight money recession. Our banks do not have adequate reserves to finance the legitimate needs of businessmen, particularly as the busy Christmas season gets underway. Mr. Martin lives in an ivory tower. He does not understand the needs of the small businessman, the consumer, and the ordinary citizen. There are nearly 200 million Americans, yet Mr. Martin's policies reflect the interests of only a half dozen big Wall Street money market banks. Mr. Martin is far removed from the realities that face the American people.

On the front page of the Wall Street Journal of October 22, the following article appears:

Mysterious Martin sounds more Delphic than usual in fending off questions about Federal Reserve credit policies. Apparently to hint he isn't moving boldly to lift interest rates, the Reserve Board chairman recites Homer's line: "Ajax retreated, but so slowly and with such a firm and severe visage that the Trojans thought he was advancing."

It is indeed a national tragedy, even scandalous, that such an important Government official tries to make a joke out of the current monetary crisis which the Nation faces. I do not believe the American people take kindly to being fed poetic quips instead of reassurances that the Federal Reserve's monetary policies will not run counter to Government programs for prosperity backed by their elected officials.

Converse Rubber Co.: A David Among Goliaths

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, recently, one of the leading and most progressive manufacturing firms in New England, the Converse Rubber Co. of Malden, Mass., had its record of splendid accomplishment and progress recognized in the lead financial article in the Boston Globe.

I want to recommend this account of the Converse story to my colleagues here in the House, for I feel that it presents an outstanding example of American business success—a success won through hard work and imaginative planning, through solid, responsible management and through a sincere cultivation of good relations between employer and employee.

Converse Rubber operates in a field, Mr. Speaker, where it faces not only heavy domestic competition, but increasingly heavy foreign competition as well. As Mr. Stephen Stone, general manager and treasurer for the company, points out, one Far Eastern country alone has captured in recent years over one-third of our domestic protective footwear market and almost one-fifth of the canvas footwear business.

The Converse Rubber Co. is to be cited and warmly congratulated, Mr. Speaker, on her successes despite such competition, as well as for the solid contribution she has made to the economy of Massachusetts and New England. I know that many small- and medium-size manufacturing firms around the country will draw inspiration from the fine example Converse continues to set, and I welcome this opportunity to bring this example to the attention of the Congress:

CONVERSE RUBBER: DAVID THRIVES AMID THE GIANTS

(By Peter B. Greenough)

How, in an era when companies continally get bigger and brasher, does the industrial David survive? And even thrive in a throng of Goliaths?

"Because there are some holes an elephant can't squeeze through."

Stephen A. Stone, general manager and treasurer of Malden's Converse Rubber Co., speaking. Much less a rubber elephant, since Stone heads one of the largest processors of rubber in New England.

Sneakers, basketball shoes, sports footwear of every shape, rubber boots, overshoes, industrial clothing, foul-weather sailing gear, sou'westers, hockey pucks, skate scabbards—you name it, Converse makes it.

In the process of fashioning a wide range of sporting goods equipment, Converse keeps at work in Malden, 750 more at an Andover operation, plus another 1,000 up in Berlin, N.H. Toss in a Puerto Rican works and the company hires over 3,000.

While Stone cheerfully admits to being "almost paranoid" about giving actual sales figures (the company is closely held privately), a trained eye could gage output at about $30 million annually and not be far off.

Against such giants as Hood Division of B. F. Goodrich and United States Rubber Co., this is topflight performance. Especially in an area where foreign competition, notably from Japan and West Germany, has become excruciating.

Things weren't always so bouncy at Converse.

During the early thirties the company went through receivership. Every now and then someone up country digs stock certificates in the old company "out of mattress," says Stone, "and they aren't worth a darn."

In the post-World War II era, though, Converse has become a highly active participant in the zooming sports and recreation field, where annual growth runs at least 5 percent or more without signs of easing.

"The thing we've done that sets us apart from major competitors is attempt to carve out special manufacturing areas—we try to pick our own battlefield—and a prime example in the athletic field is basketball shoes," he says.

All the top pros, including the Celtics, wear Converse products. A fast man will wear out three pairs a season.

For several years Converse has had its operations linked by computer (the company is just in the process of installing its third different IBM model). They have a nationwide sales force, which leans heavily on retired basketball stars and sports figures (who also help design products).

Ordinarily soft-spoken, Stone becomes quite noisy on the subject of Japanese competition and the need, as he sees it, for "flexible tariffs."

The business, Stone points out, is a labor-intensive one where labor is 45 to 50 percent of costs (opposed to 3 percent in the petroleum business).

Automatically this puts him under the gun of low-wage industries. Since there already are 90 domestic concerns in this field (turning out 200 million pairs of rubber-soled sports shoes yearly), the "only controls we have is in allowing access to the American market," Stone insists.

How much has outside competition hurt?

Through 1964 the Japanese had captured 35 percent of our domestic protective footwear market and 18 percent of the canvas footwear business.

Admittedly Stone has mixed emotions over the whole question since "we're all consumers."

"But God knows, we have no right to demand $5 an hour as a producer and then demand 50 cents worth of goods when wearing our consumer's hat. This makes no sense."

Stone concedes that it is hard to take a protectionist position these days, especially when they blow a short fuse in Washington over the matter of flexible tariffs or the so-called American selling price arrangement.

Under the circumstances, his firm shows an enormous capacity for "making do" in a rugged field. To which he responds with a short story:

A woman goes into a grocery store and asks, "How much are your bananas?"

"Fourteen cents, lady."

"But they're only 12 cents across the street."

"Has he got any?"

"No."

"Well, I'll tell you, lady, when I haven't got any, my price'll be 12 cents too."

Stone hopes America's freer trading policy will let him stay in the 14-cent banana business. For now, at least, he's top banana.

Travesty of Justice—VI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a sampling of editorials from newspapers west of the Mississippi commenting on the recent miscarriage of justice in a Hayneville, Ala., courtroom.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register, Oct. 1, 1965]

TRAVESTY OF JUSTICE

An Alabama jury has acquitted Thomas Coleman in the fatal shooting of a minis-

terial student who had made the unpardonable error of urging Alabama Negroes to vote. Although the verdict was expected, even the most cynical observer of southern courts must be shocked and nauseated by the travesty of justice in this case.

The Lowndes County jury deliberated just 2 hours. It freed Coleman even though the defense conceded he had done the shooting. The defense claimed self-defense, but no weapon was found on the victim and several eyewitnesses refuted the self-defense claim.

The conduct of the trial judge was as appalling as the jury's verdict. The judge refused to grant the Alabama attorney general's request for postponement to permit a key witness—a Chicago priest who was also shot by Coleman—to recuperate sufficiently to testify. The judge proceeded to kick the attorney general out of the case and order immediate trial despite the State's protest that it was not ready.

No amount of preparation and testimony would have made much difference in this case. The result was foretold when the grand jury would indict only for manslaughter. The unpleasant truth is that all-white Alabama jurors preferred to violate their oaths as jurors than to punish a hometown boy for crimes against civil rights workers.

The result of the Alabama trial might well be to incite and encourage further violence against Negroes and civil rights advocates. Congress should take note of the Alabama case and give serious consideration to strengthening Federal civil rights law so that crimes such as this come under Federal jurisdiction. If Alabama is incapable of living up to its responsibility to safeguard the rights of individuals and administer justice, it leaves the Federal Government no choice but to attempt to see that justice is done.

[From the Whittier (Calif.) News, Oct. 8, 1965]

A TRAVESTY ON U.S. LAW

One of several facts arising out of the recent trial of an Alabama special deputy sheriff for shooting down a divinity student and a priest, one of whom died, was that in some parts of this country Federal laws still do not apply.

The trial occurred in a State court before a jury of local people. It acquitted the defendant on the basis of self-defense, even though witnesses testified that the slain man and the priest had no weapons on them.

As such, the trial was a travesty on justice. Yet no one acquainted with life in the rural South over the past few decades has ever had any doubt that justice for the Negro has been a travesty there. Now it turns out that justice for even a Negro's helper or friend also is a travesty.

The jury that acquitted the white man was one of white people. The courtroom was segregated during the trial. Federal laws may provide that no such occurrences are legal—but Federal laws still do not apply in some areas.

They will not apply so long as local officials can get away with not applying them. In some cases this has been the accepted standard of procedure for 100 years. There will be no voluntary change overnight.

[From the Bakersfield (Calif.) Californian, Oct. 4, 1965]

TRAVESTY IN ALABAMA

To say that justice has broken down in Deep South courts is a delicate and dishonest way of putting it. There never has been any in Alabama and Mississippi for Negroes or the Caucasians who dare to go to bat for them.

Last week's travesty of a trial in Hayneville, Ala.—a vulgar humbug which affronted the Nation—points up the need to resolve this intolerable situation—and soon. If it isn't resolved, these two States will remain what they've been in the past—shooting galleries for wool hats and buckras with Negroes and their Caucasian sympathizers as targets.

Moreover, these bawdy miscarriages of justice increase riot threats by encouraging people to take things in their own hands. The U.S. Government, backed by a mighty propaganda machine, hasn't made any efforts to combat Deep South hooliganism with education. No leaflets emphasizing the need to end bloodshed have been showered on these two States.

But Washington is moving against the Ku Klux Klan in an investigation triggered by the slaying of Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo, another victim of cowardly night riders.

It will be conducted by a subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and, according to the Christian Science Monitor, promises to be the year's stormiest inquiry.

Brutal murders and an impassioned call from President Johnson made history's first full-scale investigation of the Klan inevitable.

Robert M. Shelton, Jr., of Tuscaloosa, Ala., imperial wizard of the United Klans, Knights of the KKK, has charged the murder was part of a "trumped up Communist plot to destroy the right wing in America."

If the inquiry is run the way it should be run. Shelton will get his chance to document that charge. And other witnesses will also get their chance to back their contentions that the Klan is a secret terror organization able to thwart the law and spread fear.

The box score of killings that triggered this investigation reads: Five murders within a few short months—13 alleged members of the KKK said to be involved in the killings, and no convictions.

President Johnson has already had his say about the death of Mrs. Liuzzo. "Mrs. Liuzzo went to Alabama to serve the struggle for justice," the President said. "She was murdered by the enemies of justice who for decades have used the rope and the gun and the tar and the feathers to terrorize their neighbors." He blamed the Klan for what he called "a horrible crime."

An inquiry into the machinations of this hooded organization appears long overdue.

[From the Minot (N. Dak.) News, Oct. 12, 1965]

UNFAIR JURY PRACTICE

A lot of people in both South and North who cherish the concept of justice have been disturbed by an Alabama jury's finding that Thomas L. Coleman was innocent of manslaughter in the fatal shooting of Jonathan M. Daniels, a seminarian who had been engaged in civil rights work. They have been disturbed, indeed, by many things about the case. One of the points raised by those who object to the proceedings is that the jury which freed the defendant was composed of whites, though there is a large Negro population in the county. This is a point germane to numerous trails in the South.

Happily, there is reason to believe that the practice of barring Negroes from jury service is coming to the end of the road. A strong indication of this was evident when a Federal district court in Mississippi reversed two death penalty sentences on the ground that Negroes had been systematically excluded from the juries. These reversals were properly hailed by the American Civil Liberties Union as a major advance for due process and equal protection under the law.

Denial of these American rights was cited by Judge Claude F. Clayton in his opinions reversing th convictions of George A. Gordon and William Smith, Jr., both Negroes. "With respect to the allegation of racial exclusion from the jury system," his opinion in the Smith case stated, "the parties agree that in the year of the trial only 3 Negroes were on the jury list and in the 10 years preceding the trial only 5 Negroes were on the jury list, which contained approximately 300 names each year." This, he noted, though Negroes constituted more than 62 percent of persons available for jury service. There is no place for such discriminatory practices in the American system of justice.

[From the Ogden (Utah) Standard-Examiner, Oct. 2, 1965]

ALABAMA JUSTICE

The acquittal of Thomas L. Coleman on manslaughter charges by a jury in Hayneville, Ala., has brought new criticism throughout the country of the way justice is administered in Alabama.

There's good reason for this skepticism about the propriety of the trial of the part-time deputy sheriff who was accused of killing a young civil rights worker.

A State's attorny had been assigned to prosecute the case. He asked for a postponement on the grounds a companion of the victim, also wounded by Coleman, had not recovered enough to testify.

Instead of granting the delay, the court threw the State's attorney out and proceeded with a local prosecutor. Coleman claimed self-defense, insisting both Jonathan M. Daniels, the slain youth, and the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, a Roman Catholic priest from Chicago, were armd.

Since the Reverend Morrisroe couldn't appear there was no one to challenge Coleman's claim. The jury deliberated only 90 minutes before freeing the defendant.

Gov. John W. King of New Hampshire, where Daniels lived, called the Hayneville trial a "travesty of justice." We agree.

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Spokesman, Oct. 7, 1965]

CONGRESS MAY HAVE TO ENACT LEGISLATION AGAINST RACIAL KILLERS

The Hayneville fiasco, in which an all-white Alabama jury turned loose the admitted killer of a white civil rights worker, serves to remind us that there are some serious flaws in our jury system, that may have to be corrected by Federal legislation.

That Hayneville jury was not a jury in the sense that we understand the term in the North. That is, it was not drawn from a panel picked by lot from lists of qualified electors. It was picked up off the street, from among persons hanging around the courthouse evidently without anything more pressing to do.

This is the kind of jury that will turn loose admitted killers, if they are white, and throw the book at innocents and minor offenders, if they are Negro.

The problem inherent in this situation is recognized by reasonable southerners, and in some communities steps have been taken to correct it. One important step which many communities have taken, has been to set up an orderly system of drawing juries, by putting all qualified electors on jury lists and calling up panels from which jurors are selected by lot, just as we do here. An important aspect of this plan is an agreement by leading citizens not to beg off when called for such duty. That such an agreement is needed in order to maintain proper dignity and integrity indicates how bad the jury problem is in the South.

A related problem, of course, is judges. The judiciary in the Hayneville case was shockingly biased. The attorney general, who planned to conduct the prosecution, was undercut by the circuit court. A murder charge was discarded, and the killer was prosecuted on the lesser charge of manslaughter. The trial was rushed so that the principal witness could not testify. He is hospitalized with wounds inflicted by the

killer at the time his companion was shot to death.

Judges like these will disappear from the courts as Negroes begin to exercise their right to vote, and join up with decent white southerners to elect better qualified men to the bench.

This is what will happen in the long run. In the short run, men like the Hayneville killer are running loose. They have been given every encouragement to believe that it is open season on civil rights workers and Negroes. The killings, we expect, will continue, unless Congress and the Federal administration take steps to protect our citizens.

[From the Fullerton (Calif.) News-Tribune, Oct. 12, 1965]

THE FINAL ASSESSMENT

The odor that arises from Hayneville, Ala., is not a new scent.

Tom Coleman, his friends, and neighbors say, is not guilty of killing the young Episcopalian seminarian who sought to put his beliefs into action. In fact, Tom Coleman was not charged with the crime of murder, but merely with manslaughter, which may also be accidental.

The death of young Daniels was not accidental, the world knows that. The world suspects that the acquittal of Tom Coleman was not accidental, either.

Alabama's attorney general is outraged. His words are strong, for a prosecutor. One does not normally indict the judge.

If post mortem justice has been denied Coleman, for the time, a lesson has been reiterated. Justice may never be administered in the midst of passion, and it would appear that the Coleman verdict, whether right or wrong, was thus administered.

Alabama is a State sorely tried by cruel social pressures. Whether a man be white or black, if he is now in Alabama he is wrestling with situations that may break him.

And yet through all the mistakes and the heartaches, there comes a great knowledge of what has been done and what must be done. Through the years we struggle to reason and righteousness, and often stumble on the way. If the young Mr. Daniels' friends need comfort, it may be remembered that those who burned Joan of Arc were also exonerated. When the final assessment was made, the Maid of Orleans was triumphant.

[From the Anchorage (Alaska) News, Oct. 2, 1965]

JUSTICE IN THE SOUTHERN COURTROOM

It's entirely possible that the Catholic priest and Episcopal seminary student did approach the Hayneville, Ala., deputy sheriff with a gun and open pocketknife, as was claimed at the trial. It's entirely possible that the deputy had to blast away in self-defense to protect himself from these men of God.

At least the jury that acquitted the deputy of killing the student and critically wounding the priest evidentally was convinced that these were the circumstances.

We certainly have no intention of questioning the judgment of a trial court and jury in Alabama from as far away as Alaska. All we have to go on are press accounts of the testimony and the original statements made by the deputy after the shooting. The statements were widely publicized and hardly expresesd remorse. But, of course, he could have been misquoted.

To the best of our recollection, no white southern jury has yet convicted any white southerner in any of the most notable civil rights slayings in recent years—whether the victim was a Negro or white civil rights worker. But then, all of those brought to trial could very well have been innocent.

It has been said that until recent years it was rather rare to have any kind of trial at all in such cases. Personally, we are not sure which is best. If a trial is to be held then it should result in justice. Perhaps justice is being served. But it's hard to tell at this distance.

[From the Redwood City (Calif.) Tribune, Oct. 4, 1965]

WAS THIS JUSTICE, ALABAMA STYLE?

It was to demonstrate their belief in the Negro civil rights cause that Jonathan Daniels, an Episcopal ministerial student from New Hampshire, and the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, a Roman Catholic priest from Chicago, went to Hayneville, Ala., in August.

As it turned out, they bore witness to the mockery of Alabama justice instead.

The two young men were released from a civil rights demonstration lockup in the Hayneville jail on August 20. They walked one block, and were felled by a shotgun blast. Mr. Daniels was slain, Father Morrisroe severely wounded.

Thomas L. Coleman, 55, a volunteer deputy sheriff, was arrested and accused of first-degree murder. The Lowndes County grand jury refused to support that charge, however, and indicted him for manslaughter instead. For shooting the priest, Coleman was charged with assault and battery, a misdemeanor.

The trial lasted 1 day. A prosecution witness, who turned out to be a buddy of Coleman's, testified that the victims brandished a knife and a gun before Coleman mowed them down. Two defense witnesses said they saw Negroes hover over the bleeding men and remove the weapons. But they couldn't identify the Negroes.

Four other prosecution witnesses, all Negroes, testified that the ministers were emptyhanded when Coleman shot. A statement by one of the victims denying the existence of a weapon also was read.

The jury was composed of Tom Coleman's peers—his friends and neighbors, all white. They heard eight prominent Alabamians testify that he had the highest reputation in the community. One reporter saw a juror, filing out of the courtroom, wink at Coleman.

The verdict? Acquittal. Justice was done in Alabama. Done indeed.

[From the San Jose (Calif.) Mercury, Oct. 1, 1965]

ALL THE HAYNEVILLES BUILDING TROUBLE

It is impossible to escape the conclusion that some areas of the South are buying a large measure of future trouble for themselves.

A jury of 12 white men in Hayneville, Ala., this week acquitted Thomas L. Coleman, a special deputy sheriff, of murder in the shotgun slaying of a ministerial student. He also wounded a priest. The clergymen were engaged in civil rights activities in Lowndes County.

Coleman's defense was that he acted in self-defense, that the clergymen threatened him with knife and a gun. It was an incredible story, but the jury believed it because it wanted to believe it.

And herein lies the danger for communities such as Hayneville.

The rule of law breaks down when citizens believe that those entrusted with the law's power will not or cannot wield that power for the protection of all. Persons who believe, in short, that the law cannot or will not protect them no longer respect the law. They will not obey it, and they will, if pressed hard enough, resort to violence to achieve release of frustration—since the redress of grievances is foreclosed to them.

This state of mind can spell nothing but trouble for Hayneville and communities like it. This is the tragedy of subverting the rule of law.

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Tribune, Oct. 1, 1965]

THE SAD STATE OF ALABAMA JUSTICE

That old horse, which can be led to water but can't be made to drink, is galloping through some Alabama courtrooms again.

The latest antics came when Circuit Judge T. Werth Thagard probably made Alabama history by kicking the State attorney general from the prosecution side of a manslaughter case against a part-time deputy sheriff and when a jury acquitted the deputy Thursday. With all due respect for judicial discretion, the plain reason behind the judge's maneuver was that Attorney General Richmond Flowers thinks that Alabama's record in civil-rights slaying prosecution stinks, but too many Alabamans want to keep it that way.

The right to a fair trial usually is thought of in terms of the defendant. Yet, Flowers rightly contended that the State didn't have a chance in Lowndes County, which has the dubious distinction of being the death place of Jonathan M. Daniels, a civil-rights worker who allegedly was slain by Deputy Sheriff Thomas L. Coleman, and of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, a civil rights worker from Detroit.

Down there, as Flowers has noted, too many judges and juries look upon a civil-rights slaying as a community service. That feeling has meant that, since 1960, not a single white person has been convicted in more than two dozen civil rights slayings from North Carolina to Mississippi. Hopefully, this situation will change when the Voting Rights Act gives southern Negroes and moderates enough political power to convince judges, regular prosecutors and juries that they are required to enforce the law and not community prejudices.

Justice is given a lot of credit for being blind, but it is a national shame when a few judges and juries are, too.

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, Oct. 1, 1965]

HAYNEVILLE'S PARODY OF JUSTICE

An obscene judicial travesty has just concluded in a courtroom in Hayneville, Ala., and the stench and shame of this proceeding hover over the entire Nation.

The so-called trial and predictable acquittal of Thomas L. Coleman, accused of the shotgun killing of a young Episcopal seminarian and civil rights worker, cannot be forgotten or shrugged off as simply another example of what we have come to expect of southern justice. To do so would be to give tacit acceptance to a system that is an outrage and a peril.

For what happened in Hayneville was far more than a local or a State or a regional matter. What happened in Hayneville was a blatant assault on the American legal process as a whole, an attack on values and responsibilities which we, as a people, claim to hold sacred. Whether we know it or not, whether we like it or not, Hayneville has touched all our lives.

The verdict of the Coleman trial jury can't be appealed. But surely the conduct of the hearing, a ludicrous and frightful parody of the rules of evidence and of proper courtroom procedure, does provide ample incentive for action aimed at the root causes of this grotesque business.

For what kind of trial is it, after all, when the prosecutor introduces unsupported claims to the jury in the defendant's behalf which not even defense witnesses had testified to?

What kind of trial is it when the gun and the knife allegedly carried by Coleman's two victims, the slain seminarian and the seriously wounded Roman Catholic priest, are not produced?

What kind of trial is it when the chief prosecution witness, the priest who was shot in the back, is too ill to testify and the judge orders the trial to proceed anyway?

This dreary catalog of legal absurdities could be repeated at length, as it was in the courtroom, but to little purpose. And so the judge cracked his jokes, the jurors and Klansmen present laughed, and in less than 2 hours, Tom Coleman was found not guilty by a panel of men who were, in every sense, his peers.

Can anything now be done? To all purposes the Coleman case is closed. But what was represented by it remains an open matter, demanding action.

Action first from the Justice Department and its agencies, in registering the Negro voters of Lowndes County, in vigorously enforcing the 1875 Federal law prohibiting discrimination in jury selection, in being present in every courtroom where a case involving civil rights is being tried.

Action by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, to look into the Coleman case and others like it, and to make recommendations for corrective measures.

Action finally by the American Bar Association, which by its notable silence on Jim Crow justice has failed in a major duty.

We repeat: the distortion of justice which has just taken place in Hayneville, Ala., is no local matter alone. It is a national disgrace, and until it is dealt with its corruption will infect us all.

[From the Phoenix (Ariz.) Gazette, Oct. 6, 1965]

OUR IMPERFECT GODSEND

To assume that Thomas Coleman acted in self-defense in the killing of Jonathan M. Daniels, a seminary student gunned down last August during civil rights disturbances at Hayneville, Ala., is to stretch human credulity to the breaking point. Coleman's jury so ruled last week, however, and it must be recorded as a blot on both Alabama and, to some extent, on the American jury system.

Predictably, the breakdown in justice at Hayneville has flushed out the more virulent civil rightists who now trumpet that the Federal Government must "involve" itself in the trial of persons accused of felonies in connection with the civil rights movement. They imply the need for constitutional changes that would permit—we assume—non-jury trials, or venue changes in civil rights cases to assure the seating of juries not unduly sympathetic with the motives of the accused.

Unfortunately for their ambitions, the Constitution is crystal clear on this point and we should all offer up a fervent prayer of thanks that it is. The sixth amendment bars, unequivocably, the sort of trial by Federal commissar, or by star chamber proceedings, that they hint at and that has terrorized one civilization after another since the dawn of time.

We can froth at obvious miscarriages of justice and belabor the occasional stupidity, vindictiveness, and unreasoning prejudice of juries, but the guarantee of the accused to be tried by a jury of his peers "in the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed," is too priceless to be compromised for any cause. For every bigoted jury, happily, there are 100 wise and courageous ones.

Civil rights leaders have every right in the world to be furious at the Hayneville decision. But no one should know better than they that the very freedoms they seek for the Negro will never be attained if the American people are persuaded to trade off one freedom for another.

[From the Portland (Oreg.) Oregon Journal, Oct. 2, 1965]

THE THINGS NEGROES KNOW

The reasons Negroes riot in blind rage and abandon, as in Los Angeles' Watts district, are complex. But incontrovertibly wrong as such rioting is, knowledge of verdicts like the one just returned in Hayneville, Ala., can be seized upon by dissidents to attempt justification of their illegal violence.

An all-white jury acquitted an influential white man, Tom Coleman, of manslaughter. Coleman had admitted killing one white civil rights worker with a shotgun and wounding another, but claimed he acted in self-defense. To return the "not guilty" verdict, the jury had to endorse the defense's claim that the civil rights workers, an Episcopal divinity student and a Roman Catholic priest, threatened to attack Coleman with a gun and a knife.

Well, maybe so, maybe so. But it strains belief. Even Alabama's own attorney general denounced the unfairness of the court atmosphere against the prosecution so violently before the trial opened that the judge threw him out of the case. The subsequent verdict maintains the sickening evidence that in certain parts of the South a white man accused of killing a Negro or a Negro's friend cannot be convicted.

[From the Hanford (Calif.) Sentinel, Oct. 4, 1965]

JIM CROW JUSTICE

Last week, in the same Hayneville, Ala., courthouse where Mrs. Viola Liuzzio's murder went unprosecuted, a jury acquitted Thomas L. Coleman of the shotgun slaying of a young Episcopal seminarian and civil rights worker.

It was, said the Los Angeles Times in an excellent editorial, "an obscene judicial travesty."

Can anything be done about the lack of law enforcement and prosecution in the South, or is it, as some have said, one of the few penalties of the prized American jury system?

Murder is a crime by an individual in most cases. But murder unprosecuted is a crime by a community, a county or a whole State. In a sense, such an unprosecuted killing becomes a murder by the Nation. And most certainly it is a national disgrace.

Although the Coleman case is now most likely closed, the situation that permitted this abortion of justice continues in the South. Can anything be done about it?

The Times offers three suggestions:

"Action first from the Justice Department and its agencies, in registering the Negro voters of Lowndes County, in vigorously enforcing the 1875 Federal law prohibiting discrimination in jury selection, in being present in every courtroom where a case involving civil rights is being tried.

"Action by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, to look into the Coleman case and others like it, and to make recommendations for corrective measures.

"Action finally by the American Bar Association, which by its notable silence on Jim Crow justice has failed in a major duty."

Each of these suggestions, we believe, is worthy. In the long view, the granting of voting rights to the Negroes of the county offers the most hope. Lowndes County's Negro population is more than 80 percent. If these people were proportionately represented, official civil rights oppression against them would not be possible.

Another source of hope is the pending investigation of the Ku Klux Klan by a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee, under the chairmanship of Representative EDWIN E. WILLIS, of Louisiana.

In a few short months in the South there have been five civil rights murders. Thirteen alleged members of the Klan are said to be involved in these killings. Certainly there is grist for the investigative mill in these criminal deaths, and the national publicity resulting from the investigation should help to repudiate everything the Klan stands for.

We may continue to hope, too, that the good people of the South, the great majority of the people, will eventually bring about changes in government and law enforcement. There is much evidence that the good people are prevailing in many areas, that integration is being accomplished with a minimum of trouble.

[From the Seattle (Wash.) Post-Intelligencer, Oct. 6, 1965]

ALABAMA ON TRIAL

Last August 20 two shotgun blasts shattered the rural calm of Hayneville, Ala. One killed Jonathan Daniels, a white seminarian and civil rights worker from Keene, N.H. The other seriously wounded Rev. Richard Morrisroe, a Roman Catholic priest from Chicago.

The man placed on trial for the slaying was Thomas L. Coleman, a prominent citizen of Hayneville with deep roots in the community. He was acquitted on grounds of self-defense.

These are the bare facts of what is probably one of the most horrifying episodes in the history of racial violence in the South. For the Coleman trial was patently a trial in name only, and bore little or no resemblance to a genuine legal proceeding.

Coleman was judged by an all-white jury in a county where Negroes far outnumber whites. The attorney general of Alabama was barred from prosecuting the case because he insisted on postponing the trial to await the testimony of Father Morrisroe, now in a hospital. The testimony of Negroes that no weapons were carried by the slain and wounded men was ignored. The testimony of white men that such weapons were carried was admitted, though no weapons were submitted as defense exhibits.

To describe the trial as a travesty is to understate its shocking nature. Its record, according to press reports, is replete with so many mockeries of the judicial process that it is difficult to believe it actually occurred the way it did.

But what must be believed is this: The Hayneville community, from which the trial jury was drawn, saw no wrong in the slayer's deed. It therefore freed him. The inescapable conclusion to be drawn is that in some areas of the Nation civil rights workers must proceed at their own risk, denied the protection of law and be conscious that, if they are slain, their killers will go unpunished.

This is the lesson of Hayneville. It was the lesson of Philadelphia, Miss., last summer. It is the lesson taught by still other communities since the Negro began his struggle for equal citizenship.

It is a lesson the Nation cannot tolerate, and a means must be found to achieve a legislative way out of this ghastly impasse.

[From the Salem (Oreg.) Oregon Statesman, Oct. 4, 1965]

NEVER VERSUS SOME DAY

The acquittal of a white part-time deputy sheriff in Alabama in the slaying of a civil rights worker is not surprising. Whites simply do not convict whites in the South for killing Negroes, and a white civil rights worker would receive less consideration than a Negro.

This instance of a "callous disregard for the taking of a human life," to quote Alabama's moderate Attorney General Richmond Flowers, is more flagrant than most, however. In this case there was no question as to who did the shooting. In order to return a "not guilty" verdict, the jurors had to assert that a seminary student and a priest would go armed and would threaten to attack a man armed with a shotgun on the streets of an Alabama town.

The surprising thing about this verdict and so many like it is that the Negroes in the South accept it without civil disorder.

The Federal civil rights legislation has been a great step forward, but the Negro knows that most of the laws which govern his day-by-day life are passed by southern legislatures and administered by southern sheriffs. This is "white man's law."

It takes tremendous reservoirs of patience to submit to this lopsided law in the hopes that some day it may be changed. The change is coming, but at a slow pace. Not too long ago, a white man wouldn't have been brought to trial at all in the killing of a Negro.

Perhaps next month or next year, Negroes will be allowed on juries. Perhaps some day a white juror will accept the word of a Negro witness without fear of recrimination from the other members of the white community.

That the Negro, after being told "never" by the southern whites, can still say "some day" is a great tribute to these patient people.

[From the Tulsa (Okla.) World, Oct. 10, 1965]

THE STATES' RESPONSIBILITY

A group called the National Leadership Conference on Civil Rights has determined to seek a new law in Congress next year—taking all civil rights criminal cases out of State courts and placing them before Federal Judges.

The conference is composed of more than 100 church, union, and civil rights organizations. Its goal would be ridiculous if it were not so precisely in step with the current trend of national legislation.

We cannot condone this further move in the direction of Federal takeover of States' rights and prerogatives. We intend to protest and resist the trend, along with all others who see more and more freedom and individual rights being trampled with each passing month.

But our case is weakened by events such as those that took place recently in the county courthouse of Hayneville, Ala. In that courthouse a local white man was acquitted by an all-white jury of manslaughter in the death of an Episcopal seminarian from New Hampshire.

We have to agree with many critics who say idealitsic northerners who head South to reform a century-old way of life are asking for trouble. We have to say they are foolish in their idealism. But this in no way excuses the brutal assaults and outright murders that have been perpetrated on these misguided crusaders.

We will not go into the details of the trial at Hayneville. It is sufficient to say that civil rightists are calling it a "travesty," a "judicial farce" and "an obscene caricature of justice." And on the basis of the reports we have seen, both the crime and the verdict are impossible to defend.

But the larger damage of this kind of judgment from southern courts is to provide the foes of States' rights exactly the kind of ammunition they need.

The trial at Hayneville is the springboard the Conference on Civil Rights is using to press its demand for taking all civil rights cases out of State courts.

One travesty in Alabama does not mean that no southern court is able to serve justice. But the Haynevilles of the South can pile up into an indictment that will smother the most avid defenders of States' rights.

If the States are going to escape complete domination by the Federal Government they will have to act responsibly. In the field of human rights this means they cannot allow outsiders to be attacked and murdered, no matter how unpopular their causes may be—nor permit civil rights trials to make a mockery of justice.

[From the Salt Lake City (Utah) Tribune, Oct. 5, 1965]

ALABAMA NIGHTMARE

Painful confusion and despair must mark the feelings of most responsible Americans, of both the North and South, in the wake of the jury performance last week at Hayneville, Ala.

One cannot say at this distance that the jury there should have convicted Tom Coleman of murder in the shotgun killing of Jonathan Daniels, civil rights worker. Nobody who did not sit with the jury can say with complete certainty whether the jury rendered a just decision. But in view of the published facts about this case and similar ones involving Negroes and white civil rights workers in the Deep South, one cannot suppress a sense of revulsion and sorrow. Another severe blow has been dealt the jury system which lies at the root of our traditional rights. The alternative to calm deliberate court decision is mob action and the emotionalism of mob action smothers justice.

Hayneville takes its place alongside Philadelphia, Miss., where the code of the hills is supreme. And the ugly ramifications build up against the South particularly, and to some degree against the United States, in the world court of public opinion.

[From the Lincoln (Nebr.) Star, Oct. 1, 1965]

ANOTHER WRONG UNANSWERED

A jury has acquitted Thomas L. Coleman of manslaughter in the death last summer in Alabama of a young civil rights worker. The situation, at best, leaves one wondering if the scales of justice still are in balance.

The civil rights worker killed was an Episcopal seminarian who was working alongside a Catholic priest, now in a Chicago hospital as a result of gunshot wounds received when his companion was killed. Both men were fired upon by Coleman, a part-time deputy sheriff, as they got out of a car to enter a place to eat.

Coleman's defense was that he fired in self-defense. Despite the character of the man killed and his companion and the testimony of witnesses that neither man was armed, the jury apparently bought the self-defense plea.

News accounts show hardly anything but sketchy testimony to support the contention that either of the men shot had any weapons on him, much less in his hand. Nor is the story a very plausible one for an Episcopal seminarian and a Catholic priest.

In total the defense claim was a weak one and one that carried little supporting evidence. The prosecution, on the other hand, seemed to leave little doubt that the death of the civil rights worker was completely without cause.

The pattern of acquittal is one that has held true in a great many such cases in the bitter civil rights struggle in the South. When men can kill without fear of public indignation and with virtual assurance of no legal accountability, our society has been infected with a most lethal germ.

[From the Sioux City (Iowa) Journal, Oct. 4, 1965]

ALABAMA TRIAL

Public opinion is bound to change, sometimes quickly, with the racial-connected goings-on in the South, especially in those States where resistance to civil rights has been militant.

There was no question but what there was a substantial public opinion against the white South when the first civil rights protests disclosed discriminations previously unknown to many.

There was no question but what there was a swing in public opinion as civil rights advocates put on the pressure for action now in civil rights matters, this time against the demonstrators in the belief that the proposed changes were too fast for many communities.

It swung back again when the whites, and by implication the Klan, began shooting civil rights people. It continued against the whites when Alabama refused to indict a suspected slayer for murder, but brought in a manslaughter charge instead. It continued again when the State attorney general was tossed out of the manslaughter trial. It grew sharply greater when an all-white jury returned a rapid fire verdict of "not guilty" in the case.

The defendant may have been just as innocent of the crime as the jury said he was. Like it or not, that is the official disposition of the case and is what the record will show. But the State of Alabama is nevertheless indicted in public opinion because the trial was too close to a familiar southern pattern in which a white defendant is quickly cleared by an all-white jury of a crime against Negroes or whites who sympathize with, and try to help, the civil rights cause.

The State attorney general's castigation of the trial and verdict suggests the probable fact: Rightly or wrongly, no single incident could cement the civil rights people more solidly than this case will; rightly or wrongly, the case and verdict will hurt the State of Alabama more than any other single incident for many years to come.

Presentation of William Paca Awards to the Honorable Anthony F. Crissalli, Acting U.S. Commissioner of Jurors, the Honorable John A. Volpe, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the Honorable John P. Lomenzo, Secretary of State, New York, at the New York Hilton Hotel on Saturday Evening, October 2, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday evening, October 2, at the New York Hilton Hotel in New York City, the Italian Executives of America, Inc., paid tribute to the Honorable Anthony F. Crissalli, Acting U.S. Commissioner of Jurors, Hon. John A. Volpe, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and Hon. John P. Lomenzo, secretary of state, New York, by presenting them with William Paca Awards. As you know, William Paca, of Maryland, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a descendant of the noble Paca and Aquila families of southern Italy. He served as a distinguished jurist and Governor of the State of Maryland.

Under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the program on this

occasion as well as the modest remarks of my close friend for many, many years, the Honorable Anthony F. Crissalli. Commissioner Crissalli is a fine, unassuming gentleman and I believe his brief humble remarks prove this. His remarks follow:

REMARKS BY MR. CRISSALLI

Mr. Chairman, Reverend Father, honored guests, friends, thank you, Mr. Chairman, for those precious remarks. You are either a diplomat or a fabricator of the truth. I know you are not a diplomat.

Really, I don't know what to say. I am not a speaker and I am too emotional right now.

This is a great honor. I don't know what I have done to deserve it. I shall never forget it.

I am twice honored to be here with such distinguished gentlemen—the Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the secretary of state of New York.

I want to thank this outstanding Italian-American organization, its officers, and its members for this honor. I wish the Italian Executives of America, Inc. lots of success.

I want to thank you all for being here. In honoring me, you honor my family and my name and I thank you.

What's more important, you honor good citizenship, the thousands of immigrants who come here from all parts of the world and who do some good every day for our great country, God bless it.

For them, for my family, for myself—from the bottom of my heart, thank you very much.

PROGRAM

National Anthem.

Invocation: Very Rev. Charles E. Divinney, St. Charles Church, Brooklyn, N.Y.

Welcome: Hon. Anthony M. Salvati, chairman; William Paca, Dinner Committee.

Presiding officer: Hon. Sylvester J. Garamella, national president, Italian Executives of America, Inc.

Presentation of William Paca Awards "for outstanding service in government by an American of Italian heritage."

Recipients: Hon. Anthony F. Crissalli, Acting U.S. Commissioner of Jurors; Hon. John P. Lomenzo, secretary of state, State of New York; Hon. John A. Volpe, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Guest speaker: Hon. Michael A. Musmanno, justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

Arthur V. Wynne, Jr., Partner of Burrelle's Press Clipping Bureau, Livingson, N.J., Elected President of World Clipping Bureau Federation at West Berlin Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, each of us in the Senate, I think, is well aware of the value of clippings from newspapers and other publications. The "clips," as they are called, provide much useful information as well as an indication of how our individual Senate performances are being received back home.

Clipping services have grown into big business as Government officials, corporations, and other organizations and individuals have found it in their interest to maintain increasingly closer touch with public opinion.

Today clipping services operate in many cities and several even span the Nation. They also are in business in foreign countries. In 1953, the clipping services organized into a World Clipping Bureau Federation.

A few weeks back, the Federation held its 13th annual congress in West Berlin and, I am glad to say, chose a constituent of mine as its president. He is Arthur V. Wynne, Jr., partner of Burrelle's Press Clipping Bureau in Livingston, N.J. It is, I am told, one of only three press clipping services with nationwide operations. Mr. Wynne succeeds Count Gerard de Chambure, proprietor of L'Argus de la Presse, in Paris, who has served as president of the federation since its founding.

Two years ago, Mr. Wynne became the first American to serve as an officer of the federation when he was elected vice president at a congress in Geneva. His election to the presidency this year was unanimous among the 75 members of the federation from more than 40 countries around the world.

As president of the world federation, Mr. Wynne will preside over a program that includes improving the standards of the press clipping profession, prevention of infringements and illegal practices and development of business and friendly relations among all press clipping bureaus throughout the world.

That Prolific Writer, Ex-Ambassador Henry S. Villard

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, in the January 1964 issue of Harper's magazine, Ex-Ambassador Henry S. Villard wrote an open letter to me, published in that issue. Shortly after its publication, I received a letter under date January 8, 1964, addressed to me by Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration William J. Crockett. I have never released this letter, which has been in my files since that date, and would not do so now were it not for the fact that the ex-Ambassador's literary talents have been expanded to the point where he has now written a book, "Affairs at State," which does a great disservice to the men and women of the American Foreign Service.

The letter addressed to me by Secretary Crockett reads as follows:

DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, January 8, 1964.

DEAR MR. ROONEY: The Department appreciates the opportunity to comment on the article by former Ambassador Henry S. Villard in the January issue of Harper's magazine.

It is a helter-skelter piece of literary fantasy.

The former Ambassador's story of the bathroom windows at Dakar illustrates the point. The "picture window" he refers to is, in fact, a pair of French doors leading onto a small balcony extending the length of the master suite. These doors match those of the master bedroom and are an integral part of the architectural treatment of the exterior of the official residence. Both openings have full-length louvered shutters which can be closed to prevent visibility from the outside.

The absurdity of the situation is that an Ambassador, earning at least $20,000 a year, and having a representation allowance, a Government-furnished chauffeur-driven car, a Government-furnished house, filled with Government furniture, Government china, Government glassware and silverware, and staffed with Government-paid servants, would find it necessary to ask the Department for funds to buy a set of bathroom curtains, even if the Department failed to furnish them in the first place.

The Ambassador's treatment of the problems of the Foreign Service and the management complexities within the State Department follows this pattern throughout the article.

Certainly no one would quarrel with the statement that the Department has grown in size since Cordell Hull became Secretary of State in 1933. This is because its functions and responsibilities have increased—enormously so since World War II as the United States assumed leadership of a free world beset by a multiplicity of problems alien to Mr. Hull's era.

There is no denying the fact that the world's problems are a great deal more complex today than they were in the days of "Old State," and no matter how nostalgically former Ambassador Villard or anyone else longs for those days, they won't return. The world is what it is and that is the way the State Department and the rest of the U.S. Government must deal with it.

Going back just 10 years ago, the United States had representation in 73 countries and operated 227 posts abroad. In 1954, we issued 434,644 passports and operated the Department in Washington with an authorized strength of 3,691 officers and clerks. Now we have representation in 109 countries with operations at 274 posts. In 1963, we issued 1,018,488 passports. In 1964, our authorized employment in the Department is 4,404 positions or an increase over the 10-year period of about 20 percent in staff to handle operational increases of more than 50 percent in the case of countries with which the United States maintains diplomatic relations, and of over 100 percent in passport issuances. These two statistics are representative of the overall increase in workload that has been achieved with minimal increases in Washington staffing.

The Ambassador points to the African Bureau as an example of "that bureaucratic behemoth on the banks of the Potomac." As a matter of fact, not literary fancy, the African Bureau now has responsibility for policy with respect to U.S. operations in 39 countries. We are represented in these countries by 34 embassies, 7 consulates general, 14 consulates, one consular agency, and 2 branch offices for a total of 58 locations. The total number of officers and clerks in the African Bureau backstopping this operation in Washington at the present time is 148. In addition to supervising and supporting the 540 Americans running our overseas establishments in that part of the world, the African Bureau must coordinate and furnish policy guidance to 10 other U.S. agencies that have operations in Africa. These other programs have a total of more than 3,300 American employees in Africa.

The African Bureau, in addition to conducting its own operations, must consult

frequently with other agencies. And this is true of other geographical bureaus. Virtually every agency of Government has a legitimate interest in some aspect of foreign affairs, and a vital concern in foreign policy decisions. The Department is not the sole dispenser of foreign policy; it is the coordinator of an ever-increasingly complicated set of multiagency operations. Under these circumstances decisions do take more time. Many also require difficult interagency clearances, but the State Departments' affairs are not conducted by committee consultation and decision.

By and large, the Department's work in relation to U.S. operations in the field is expeditiously handled, partially because we have, to the maximum extent possible, decentralized operations and management to the field. But, of course, there are occasions when Washington and only Washington can make a final decision because of the interagency complexities of a problem.

The Department of State has been a good manager in the utilization of the funds and positions granted to it by Congress. We have always endeavored to put whatever is necessary of our money and people on the front lines of our farflung activities in the field. At the same time, we must insure that field activities are adequately supported by Washington staff.

The 1965 submission of our budget will represent the fourth year in which the Department has not requested (or received) a net increase in staff.

Certainly there have been times when we have been forced to curtail travel and to give overseas operations less than our people have requested, but the essential needs of the Department and the Foreign Service have been met over the years.

Insofar as the personnel of the Foreign Service are concerned, they have fared well at the hands of Congress. We have received a fair hearing for our legislative proposals and to illustrate our budgetary support there is enclosed a 10-year table showing the increase of differentials and allowances paid to the Foreign Service from 1955 to 1964. There is more than a 100-percent increase in these allowances, while total American employment abroad on State Department rolls increased from 3,443 Americans in 1955 to 4,735 in 1964 or about a 40-percent increase in personnel staffing. This speaks rather well, I believe, for the support we have sought, and that Congress has provided, for Foreign Service personnel stationed abroad.

Mr. Villard's description of congressional travel is as absurd as the rest of his article. We in the Department believe that it is vitally important to the national interest for Members of Congress to travel abroad as extensively as possible, both during and after the sessions of Congress. We also believe that it is right and proper that members of the Foreign Service meet, greet, and entertain Members of Congress. In this way, Members of Congress see and evaluate the men and women of the Foreign Service who are representing America abroad.

Ambassador Villard's complaint that Foreign Service officers must occasionally personally pay for this kind of hospitality is, to my mind, uncalled for. A Foreign Service officer does not decline an overseas assignment because he cannot afford to serve. Nor do most Foreign Service officers feel they must be reimbursed for every act of hospitality.

We fully support the case for larger representational allowances, but a look at other allowances and differentials paid to the American Foreign Service today would convince almost anyone that our most essential needs are covered and that an officer might well afford an occasional act of hospitality—cocktails, lunch, or even a dinner—for a visiting Congressman or an official of the local government without expecting U.S. reimbursement. I am certain most of the responsible officers of the Foreign Service share this feeling.

In closing, we assure you that the problems of organization, operation, and staffing in the Department have our constant attention. We don't know all the answers—perhaps we don't even know all the problems—but we are making consistent progress in reducing staff and in cutting costs at every opportunity. There are places where aditional improvement can be made, and we need both the understanding and support of the Congress, of the press, and of the public, rather than irresponsible attacks such as the line taken in the Villard article.

We enclose for your further information a list of management improvements made in the past year in the operation of the Department, with an estimated saving for each of these items.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM J. CROCKETT.

(Enclosures: Summary of Overseas American Differential and Allowances. List of Management Improvements. Statement on Dakar Residence.)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Summary of overseas American differentials and allowances, fiscal years 1955 through 1964

Allowances	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Post	$772,143	$814,623	$858,774	$709,346	$706,967	$727,885	$775,096	$882,195	$1,029,212	$1,101,300
Quarters	2,100,943	2,230,380	2,527,528	3,249,128	3,246,278	3,319,129	3,633,309	3,628,220	3,805,054	4,008,300
Temporay lodging	259,614	254,051	340,098	384,794	356,672	374,159	377,625	386,373	520,908	544,100
Supplementary post			13,302	18,082	25,950	47,721	50,735	64,795	90,726	98,600
Separate maintenance	22,141	18,038	21,450	16,397	12,660	9,806	20,454	58,540	34,194	35,400
Marine guard	560,534	568,658	642,657	676,104	584,116	513,180	491,687	488,855	449,331	464,700
Transfer	75,890	63,768	295,387	75,105	75,000	70,403	81,768	98,943	89,746	92,300
Education		234,200	306,750	397,650	398,000	486,628	700,866	651,200	875,263	920,300
Home service transfer		40,145	139,425	61,880	62,000	63,028	64,228	57,662	76,665	77,000
Subtotal, allowances	3,791,265	4,223,863	5,145,371	5,588,486	5,467,643	5,611,939	6,195,768	6,316,783	6,971,099	7,342,000
Differentials	504,151	932,774	1,192,973	1,541,461	1,510,288	1,539,045	1,854,743	2,277,915	2,367,757	2,456,000
Representation	503,720	606,698	794,191	598,909	748,590	823,103	867,985	925,000	949,660	973,000
Official residence	421,873	433,331	506,279	498,208	545,460	572,415	611,003	695,957	885,751	929,595
Total	5,221,009	6,196,666	7,638,814	8,227,064	8,271,981	8,546,502	9,529,499	10,215,655	11,174,267	11,700,595
Overseas medical costs for Foreign Service personnel	189,489	226,916	310,800	316,370	516,784	546,408	660,876	494,393	744,744	757,612
Rest and recuperation travel									52,874	260,900

DECEMBER 11, 1963.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: COST REDUCTIONS

Your memorandum of November 30 to the heads of departments asks for a report of major cost reduction actions taken during the past year and the steps proposed for next year to tighten operations and effect savings. This memorandum deals with the regular operations of the Department of State. Separate reports are being submitted to you on the operations of the Agency for International Development, the Peace Corps, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

The appropriations for this Department, as is the case with all Government agencies, are continually increasing. Although I see no prospect of overall reductions in our expenditures, we have made substantial progress in reducing costs and effecting economies to assure that the Government receives a dollar's value for every dollar spent. In this rapidly changing world, we need to constantly assess priorities—to eliminate the marginal to provide for the essential—to hold expenses to reasonable limits.

During the past 2 years, the Department has conducted diplomatic and consular activities throughout the world without any increase in manpower. To achieve this, we have streamlined procedures, reduced reporting requirements, closed marginal consulates, and eliminated low-priority functions. The manpower reductions achieved by these actions have enabled us to assign additional personnel to the crises areas of the world, to new or expanding activities, to staff new consulates and embassies, and to meet increased consular and other workloads.

The following are examples of major actions taken during the past year to reduce costs:

1. Thirteen consular posts have been closed, reducing costs by $500,000 a year.

2. Regulations requiring the use of economy air travel have been applied, reducing costs substantially.

3. Political and economic reports of marginal utility have been eliminated. In Germany alone reductions in political reporting have resulted in reductions totaling $113,000 a year.

4. Administrative staffs of State, AID, and USIA have been consolidated in six countries in Africa, resulting in substantial economies. In the Sudan, reductions total $200,000 a year; in Ivory Coast, $78,000.

5. In 13 countries in Africa, the responsibility for administering the AID program has been assigned to the Ambassador, eliminating the need for a separate AID country program director. This action has made it unnecessary to establish AID positions, resulting in economies totaling $240,000.

6. Regional offices of our security and foreign buildings' programs, as well as certain attachés with regional responsibilities, have been consolidated or moved to excess currency countries, with the combined objective of reducing costs and dollar outflow.

7. Intensive efforts have been made to increase the use of foreign currencies in our educational exchange programs. These efforts have resulted in increased use of excess currencies, by conversion to hard currencies and by other special arrangements. In fiscal year 1963 more than $29 million—about 50 percent of the total educational exchange program—was spent in foreign currencies. This was $10 million more than

in any preceding fiscal year. About $11 million was in excess currencies.

These actions are illustrative of the Department's efforts to reduce the costs and effect economies. A more detailed listing has been included in our reports to the Bureau of the Budget on the manpower utilization program and the special balance-of-payments review.

Our plans for the coming year center primarily on continuing the efforts of the past year. Responsible officials of the Department and our missions abroad have been instructed to be constantly on the alert for ways of carrying on their operations with prudence and effectiveness.

Several actions we are planning are especially significant:

1. The Department, in close cooperation with Treasury, is working out plans to centralize in Washington or at regional Treasury offices overseas the disbursing now performed by 66 individual embassies. We expect that cost reductions totaling $376,000 will result.

2. We plan to extend the use of economy air travel. Our current estimate of additional cost reduction is $450,000 annually.

The attachment to this memorandum gives other examples of actions the Department has taken in the past year, as well as those planned for the coming year.

I assure you of my full support in conducting the business of the Department of State in the spirit of prudence and economy which you have pledged to the Congress and the American people.

(Enclosures: (1) List of actions taken in the past year to reduce costs, (2) steps to be taken in the coming year.

Department of State—List of actions taken in the past year to reduce costs

	Reduction in costs (annually)
1. 13 consulates closed (Europe: Salzburg, Austria; Edmonton, Canada; Manchester, England; LeHavre, France; Cork, Ireland; Venice, Italy; Basel, Switzerland; Geneva, Switzerland;* Cardiff, Wales; Sarajevo, Yugoslavia; Latin America: Santos, Brazil; Near East: Haifa, Israel; Far East: Penang, Malaya)	$500,000
2. 6 consolidated administrative management organizations (CAMO) established: Abidjan, Ivory Coast; Freetown, Sierra Leone; Khartoum, Sudan; Libreville, Gabon; Yaounde, Cameroon; Léopoldville Congo (cost reductions estimated for Abidjan and Khartoum. Other estimates of reduction being developed)	278,000
3. Responsibility for AID programs assigned to Ambassadors in 13 countries, eliminating need for AID country director. The countries are: Chad, Central African Republic, Congo (Brazzaville) Upper Volta, Niger, Dahomey, Togo, Malagasy Republic, Senegal, Algeria, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Cameroon	240,000
4. Regulations requiring economy air travel applied. All domestic flights and all overseas flights of less than 6 hours duration are made economy class	(1)

*U.S. Mission remains in Geneva.

[1] No estimate.

Department of State—List of actions taken in the past year to reduce costs—Continued

	Reduction in costs (annually)
4. Regulations—Continued	
5. Office of protocol handled increased work (created by expanding diplomatic missions in Washington and more visits of foreign officials) without increased staff, by simplifying procedures	(1)
6. The Office of Public Affairs reassigned personnel from functions of lower priority to meet new needs in the Department's public information program	(1)
7. The historical office, by new procedures, reduced the premium costs of handling classified documents in compilation printing of foreign relations volumes	(1)
8. The foreign reporting staff in the Bureau of Economic Affairs has eliminated 1,000 marginal economic and commercial reports per month. This means 1,000,000 less documents a year coming into Washington from missions abroad	(1)
9. The manpower devoted to the Cuba visa waiver program was reduced because of declining workload	$50,000
10. Paperwork reduced by reducing the number of mandatory visa opinions referred to Washington by posts abroad	(1)
11. Paperwork reduced by delegating to posts abroad authority to seek routine waivers direct from INS field offices, rather than through the Department in Washington	(1)
12. The visa lookout books of the Department and INS have been merged into a single reference book for posts abroad, using automatic data processing methods. This simplifies the name check of visa applicants by visa officers abroad	(1)
13. Consular reports from posts abroad reduced by 30,000 documents annually	--------
14. Passport issuances were further decentralized to U.S. field offices	(1)
15. Surplus equipment of the Department used in passport agencies	--------
16. The Bureau of African Affairs reorganized, abolishing one office and redistributing functions. This action permitted meeting new demands for manpower devoted to southern Africa (totaling $100,000) without increasing total personnel	(1)
17. The Bureau of African Affairs eliminated lower priority positions abroad to provide personnel for new posts at Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, and Blantyre, Nyasaland; and for establishing an Embassy in newly independent Zanzibar	(1)
18. Fiscal work for 7 African posts centralized in Nairobi, Kenya	18,000
19. Twelve local national positions eliminated from other African posts to provide new needs of the Embassy in Léopoldville	(1)

Department of State—List of actions taken in the past year to reduce costs—Continued

	Reduction in costs (annually)
20. The Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs abolished 33 lower priority positions to meet urgent new requirements at posts in the Far East	(1)
21. A regional supply center in Tokyo serviced nearby posts, with reductions in commodity and shipping costs	$15,000
22. Marginal political reporting eliminated in posts in Germany	113,000
23. Personnel reduced in the Bureau of Administration by streamlining procedures and improving manpower utilization	314,000
24. Improvements in routings effected in the worldwide courier service. Even with cost reductions service was provided to 4 new posts and services improved to 6 others	40,000
25. Improved operating procedures have made it possible for the board of examiners to process an 81 percent increase in applications for Foreign Service appointments without increasing personnel	(1)
26. Format of biographic register and foreign service list revised to achieve reductions in publication costs	50,000
27. Methods of handling truck and ocean freight shipments unaccompanied baggage and shipment of household effects improved	82,000
28. The library increased borrowing from other libraries and arranged for free acquisition of telephone directories for distribution to overseas posts	35,000
29. Old furniture refinished and 9 pieces of switchboard equipment removed	30,000
30. New supply system established for U.S.-manufactured office machines for posts abroad	30,000
31. Exhaustive operational appraisals to assure maximum efficiency were made of the following offices: Reproduction and distribution, publications, library, budget and finance, and security	(1)
32. Travel cost of the security program reduced by improving itineraries of investigators, eliminating team-travel abroad to the full extent possible, realinement of geographic areas served by regional offices	(1)
33. Realinement consolidation or elimination of regional foreign buildings offices, field service engineers and interior design functions	200,000
34. The Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs abolished 18 lower priority positions (costing $148,000) to meet urgent needs at other posts in the area	(1)
35. Cost-sharing agreements have been negotiated with Austria, Germany and Sweden under which these countries contribute to the exchange of persons program	750,000

Department of State—List of actions taken in the past year to reduce costs—Continued

	Reduction in costs (annually)
36. The passport office issued or renewed 1,018,000 passports in fiscal year 1963, compared with 867,000 last year. Issuances per man-year increased from 2,286 in 1962 to 2,605 in 1963	(1)

[1] No estimate.

Department of State—Steps to be taken in the coming year

ACTION

	Estimated reduction in annual costs
1. Centralized disbursing by Treasury for 66 Embassies	$376.000
2. Extension of economy class air travel	450,000
3. Extensive review of consular operations in Mexico to determine whether consular offices there should be eliminated or consolidated	(1)
4. Continued application of automated data processing facilities—11 projects now under way	(1)
5. Elimination of the microfilming of telegrams	(1)
6. Completion of extensive surveys now underway jointly with AID and USIA to reduce or halt the continuing rise of joint administrative costs abroad	(1)
7. Continued alertness by all officials to ways of economizing in day-to-day operations	(1)

[1] No estimate.

DAKAR RESIDENCE

The residence in Dakar was completed in 1960 at a cost of $260,095; the land was a gift.

The picture window referred to in the article is in fact a pair of French doors leading onto a small balcony which extends the length of the master suite. The doors match those of the master bedroom and are part of the architectural treatment of the residence. Both openings have full length louvered shutters which can be closed to prevent visibility if desired.

In addition, curtain material was purchased and shipped to Dakar to adequately provide coverage for all window and door openings. The actual making of the curtains was performed at Dakar to insure proper fitting. It appears that the material was not economically used and the bathroom opening was not originally curtained. This was subsequently corrected.

The present Ambassador has found the house most satisfactory both from a personal point of view as well as for his official entertainment purposes.

Mr. Speaker, now as the result of some recent impartial reviews of "Affairs at State," written by the same Henry S. Villard, I have asked a highly cultured American Ambassador to review this book using his professional knowledge as a basis. The following is his unedited report:

"Affairs at State," a new book by former Ambassador Henry Serrano Villard, has been described as "a career diplomat's candid appraisal of the U.S. Foreign Service."

A reader who knows the facts closes the covers of that book with sadness and disappointment.

Everyone can agree with Villard's premise that "the hard core Foreign Service officer would like nothing better than to see the quality of the service he performs for his fellow Americans improved by adequate funds, by the elimination of politics, by a high standard of entrance requirements, and by a topnotch organization in which the human equation in his profession is not sacrificed to the Moloch of bureaucracy" (p. 240). But Villard, in his own inimitable fashion, cannot escape many distorted statements of fact and many half-truths.

They cry for correction.

Villard uses his book to attack members of the House Subcommittee on State Department Appropriations—and veteran Chairman JOHN J. ROONEY.

Villard denounces that group for its appropriations for the State Department and for funds for official representation—which, he asserts, "ROONEY and his associates find as hard to swallow as a cup of hemlock." (p. 107).

He further alleges that "the Rooney rulings on how the State Department spends its money—and how much it gets—are absolute. None of his colleagues cares to cross him; there is no appeal from his decisions; and no one actively connected with the Foreign Service would dare to offend him for fear that the State Department's budgetary request might be adversely affected" (p. 108).

He attacks ROONEY's Irish immigrant background; denounces a "representative" Foreign Service; scores minority groups, such as Negroes, Indians, and Puerto Ricans; flays administrators and managers; and wants to turn the clock back to a Foreign Service comprised of an Ivy League "elite."

Now, many people are devoted to the Foreign Service of the United States. "Of the United States" means just that—not the Foreign Service of the Eastern seaboard; not of the west coast; not of the Southwest.

The record will show that ROONEY and his colleagues regard the Foreign Service of the United States as the first point of contact with other nations of the world; that it must represent the United States at its best.

ROONEY's experience with the Department of State and the Foreign Service spans a period of more than 20 years. During this time he has observed innumerable members of the Department and the Foreign Service in Washington and at posts throughout the world.

As chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee for the Department of State and the Foreign Service, he has participated in scores of congressional actions involving foreign affairs operations.

"We in the Congress, like our constituents, want capable men and women running our foreign affairs," he has said. "We want only the best—loyal, diligent, patriotic Americans with ability and skill.

"I have seen the great strides which have been made over the years to attain this goal. As a Congressman and as a citizen I salute this progress.

"I salute the dedicated men and women of the Foreign Service who serve our Nation around the world."

Obviously, there is, and will continue to be, resentment of Villard's unfounded charges.

Let's take up a few of his misstatements:

The author asserts that "congressional niggardliness in the annual appropriations for the Foreign Service is notorious. Despite the most painstaking estimates of the minimum amounts it considers necessary, the State Department is regularly denied what it asks for. Its supporters and defenders, wherever one looks, seem always absent" (p. 2).

Let's look at the record for the past 10 years:

In fiscal year 1956 the regular State Department appropriation was $147,200,000. In fiscal year 1966 the estimate had jumped to $396,400,000—or almost $400 million.

And during that same year the item on "Salaries and expenses"—the lifeblood of the budget—had jumped from $79 million in fiscal year 1956 to an estimated $182 million in fiscal year 1966.

A net increase, it should be noted, of $103 million. Hardly "niggardly."

Then there is the author's charge that the Department's "representation allowance" has been wholly inadequate (p. 109). That representation allowance—which runs to almost $1 million a year—is for official, foreign representation, not for entertaining visiting Americans or former college classmates junketing abroad. The House Appropriations Subcommittee has increased the amount year after year.

It is the view of ROONEY and his colleagues that a million dollars or so should buy quite a few drinks and quite a few dinners. It might be added that no Member of the Congress receives any official representation funds for entertaining visiting constituents who come to Washington.

The State Department is allowed this item in the budget because it reimburses in part those expenditures authorized by law which Foreign Service officers incur. Incur, it should be pointed out, in establishing and maintaining contacts with local government officials and prominent members of local groups.

In 1956 the Department was allowed a total of $575,000.

The House Appropriation Subcommittee has increased those representation allowances over the years.

In 1961 it had jumped to $872,000.

In 1965 it had jumped to $993,000.

And it was estimated that the representation allowances for 1966 will be well over a million dollars—or $1,050,000.

No American taxpayer considers these sums "niggardly." Nor does the State Department consider theim "niggardly."

The State Department's official representa- the fund should be used sparingly. Its purpose is not to "wine and dine" the world.

It will be a sad day indeed—and a sad commentary on America's bountiful generosity to peoples everywhere—when, as Villard contends, "the day may come when the battle was lost for the free world for want of a caviar canape" (p. 115).

Despite Villard's contemptuous "niggardliness" statement, the Department proceeded to do its business. Of course, it has tightened its belt, but it has operated with millions of dollars from the taxpayers' pockets. Let's see how well it managed:

The distinguished Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, told members of the House Appropriations Committee how the Department got along each year on nearly $400 million:

"During the past 4 years," he told the chairman and members of the committee in February 1965, "we have succeeded in making significant improvement in the management of the Department both at home and abroad. We have streamlined many activities. We have eliminated marginal functions. We have made economies. We have strengthened our organization, and improved our facilities and the quality of our personnel. * * *

"We have met our many problems and heavy workload without increases in personnel," the Secretary continued. "The number of people in the Department today is approximately the same as it was 4 years ago—indeed 12 years ago. This has been possible because we—with the help and understanding of this committee—have improved the management of the Department. It has also been due to the hard work of our personnel.

"I am satisfied that we have pursued a hard-hitting and consistent attack on inefficient, out-dated and marginal operations. We have increased productivity in passport and consular activities, closed marginal posts, automated routine work, trimmed publications and reporting requirements. We estimate that improvements of this kind have made it possible to reprogram some $4.5 mil-

lion to new or higher priority work. Most of these actions have been reported to this committee previously. We will continue to improve our operations and increase efficiency. * * *"

Secretary Rusk told members of the House subcommittee:

"Mr. Chairman, I am proud of what we have accomplished in the past 4 years. I am proud also of the personnel of the Department, both at home and abroad. They have willingly assumed greater individual workloads. They have maintained a high degree of morale and esprit de corps. They have unstintingly served our Nation and the cause of peace.

"I am also greatly appreciative of the support we have received from you and other members of this committee. * * * In summary, Mr. Chairman, with the sympathetic understanding and cooperation of this committee, we have made solid progress. We are—to use the President's inaugural words—'always trying and always gaining'."

The State Department apparently got along very well with the money the committee allowed. The Secretary wasn't complaining.

Now, let's take another charge in Villard's book:

The former Ambassador asserts, on page 6, that "from the moment a young Foreign Service officer enters the confines of bureaucracy, he feels the disciplines of caution and conformity. * * *"

Villard conveys a totally false impression of the dedicated men and women of the Foreign Service.

The Director General of the Foreign Service of the United States, Ambassador Joseph Palmer II, recently told the distinguished members of the 19th selection boards, who are now reviewing the records of 5,200 officers that the Service is "staffed * * * by men and women of the highest standards of excellence. * * *"

"We need only to look at the recent examples of Mike Hoyt and the members of the Stanleyville staff who, despite the mental and physical strains to which they were subjected for months on end, put service above self with dignity, courage and professional skill.

"Or take John Clingerman who, without thought for himself (the Director General continued), volunteered to go into Stanleyville in the first waves of airborne forces to contribute his unique knowledge of the local scene to the effectiveness of the rescue operation. Or think about the young officers in the Vietnam village program who daily risk their lives for the opportunity to apply their professional competence to the solution of the dangerous and stubborn problems of that explosive situation. * * *"

Caution and conformity indeed.

Or, let's take another of Villard's half-truths about today's State Department—this one on page 12: " * * * its top posts bartered away for political purposes, its career men ignored in ambassadorial appointments."

At the present time, there are 79 career officers serving as Ambassadors, or 74 percent of the total. This is an alltime high.

Director General Palmer has drawn attention to the fact that it has been a long time since Foreign Service officers have served simultaneously as Chiefs of Mission in Paris, Rome, Moscow, Mexico City, and a considerable number of other missions around the world.

President Johnson himself has declared—at his press conference on March 19 this year—that "I believe the quality of the talent and capacity in the top positions of the Federal service, and in the other positions as well, is without parallel in modern times. This high level of quality is going to be maintained. I am determined that the American people shall be served by the very best talent available, chosen on the basis of principles and performance—not politics or speculation."

But Villard maintains that the "ultimate prizes" of the career service are "carried off by politicians." (P. 15.)

He also discusses "the lengthy, unwieldy administrative tail, which, to the detriment of efficient operations, threatens to wag the politico-geographic dog." (P. 19.)

Now, it can be said, based on the record, that some highly capable administrative people in State have played a vital role in attempting to eliminate duplication and inefficiency, and to reduce costs.

Director General Palmer has said that the business of foreign affairs is not the sole responsibility of the professional diplomat.

"Let me be specific," Ambassador Palmer says. "We all—or most of us—instinctively recognize and accept that knowledge of the art of managing a post overseas—or a unit at home—is essential to the successful accomplishment of our mission. And yet I sense that many of us are uncomfortable with modern management concepts, primarily because we have difficulty in understanding them."

Villard decries the "watering down" of the Foreign Service by hiring Negroes and other minority groups to staff the posts at home and abroad.

His apparent prejudice is showing when he contends (p. 29), "But padding the rolls with Negroes under the impetus of civil rights is another matter * * *." "Even the Puerto Rican and Indian minorities now have their claimants for a place in the sun of foreign affairs, and if room must be made for them, somebody else must move over." (P. 30.)

Thank God this is a democracy, where everyone—regardless of his race or the color of his skin—can have an opportunity to represent the United States abroad.

And thank God that even though ROONEY's parents were immigrants, and even though he was born in Brooklyn, he has been given the opportunity to represent millions of constituents in the great Halls of Congress.

The author reports that "The old service of the Rogers Act was frankly an elite corps." (p. 152). He laments the fact that "the Department instead of searching for candidates trained only in political science, wants men and women with 'broad' training who can fill positions in administrative, consular and economic affairs." (p. 157).

Well, what's wrong with that?

Mr. Palmer, the Director General of the Foreign Service, hits the nail on the head when he says that some of the members of that Service "are so substantively oriented in the field of foreign affairs, that we have difficulty in comprehending, absorbing, and adapting new ideas and concepts in other fields that may be of great value—and even essential—to use in the conduct of our business."

Villard is nostalgic for the good, old days. So are many of us. But they are gone forever.

He wistfully says that "of late the rich old blood has been further diluted" (p. 175) by opening the Foreign Service to other groups, such as personnel from the U.S. Information Agency, and to civil service personnel in foreign affairs agencies.

It is difficult to buy the statements by the author (p. 200) that "dispossessed career men roam the corridors looking for employment commensurate with their rank and experience" and (p. 202) that "* * * on leaving the Department's payroll, an Ambassador is consigned to oblivion."

Only recently Secretary Rusk invited more than 1,000 retired Foreign Service officers to attend a Foreign Service Day conference on November 12 to map plans for utilizing the services of retired personnel. Many distinguished officers have been called back for special assignments.

Who would want to subscribe to the author's recommendation that we should "look for candidates among the qualified few rather than the geographically distributed thousands" (p. 221)? Let us not turn this great Nation into a "silk stocking district."

The Foreign Service should be strengthened and supported to meet the challenge of our times. But it must be built on the foundations of democracy.

Dr. Charles P. Covino Receives Awards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, on April 14, 1965, at the Overseas Club in New York City, the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma of the Eloy International Foundation of the Republic of Panama was awarded to Dr. Charles P. Covino, of Belleville, N.J. This is the highest honor of the foundation. Dr. Covino, president of the General Magnaplate Corp., is an outstanding engineer who has worked to advance public safety in travel. Under unanimous consent I place the highlights of the proceedings of the award ceremony at the Overseas Club on April 14, 1965, in the Appendix of the RECORD:

(After the invocation, Dr. Lester Beacher read from a letter by Omego Alfaro, secretary-general of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama, and grandson of the man in whose memory the foundation has been established. The letter said, in part:)

"Mr. Charles P. Covino * * * richly deserves our top honor, the Grand Cross * * *. Our best wishes (are with him and his family)."

(Dr. Beacher introduced Maj. Gen. Robert E. Condon.)

General CONDON. My tribute is that as we honor this young man, who has achieved some eight or nine degrees, whose whole attention is given to the betterment of opportunity through science, who is a recognized scientist in our beloved country and in the countries of the world, we honor ourselves. We contribute in a small measure to the example he has set. Our tribute today is to a fine young man, Mr. Charles P. Covino.

(Dr. Beacher then introduced American Provost Dr. Herman A. Bayern:)

Dr. BAYERN. We are gathered here this evening to honor a great humanitarian, educator, scientist, inventor, engineer, and industrialist. Mr. Charles P. Covino, you have been awarded the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross by the unanimous vote of the board of dignitaries of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation in recognition of your outstanding contribution to mankind in the field of science through the introduction of reliable construction materials, and through the techniques you have devised in nondestructive testing; of your invention of space-age lubricants, now used throughout American industry; of your service as a volunteer engineering consultant to Columbus Hospital in Newark, N.J.; of your efforts to assist the physically disabled; of your response to the Pope's appeal to help the poor of South America, and of your work with the Association of International Exchange Students of Economics. Your accomplishments

rest squarely within the framework of the aims and purposes of this foundation. The Eloy Alfaro International Foundation, named for Equadors martyred soldier, statesman, and patriot, seeks the perpetuation of the principles of justice, truth, and friendship among the peoples and nations of the world. The philosophy of General Alfaro was based on service to his fellow human beings, and to the cause of international peace. Your activities, Mr. Covino, both public and private, come within the framework of this philosophy. In recognition of this, the ruling body of this foundation grants you its highest honor, the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma.

Mr. Covino, with this honor you join a most distinguished group of Americans including Presidents Johnson, Kennedy, Eisenhower, Truman, and Roosevelt, Generals MacArthur and McAuliffe, Governor Rockefeller and former Governor Harriman, and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

It now gives me great pleasure to call on Dr. John Maurice Keesing, barrister and international provost, to honor Mr. Covino by making the investiture at this time.

(Dr. Keesing spoke of the inter-American family of nations, discussing the excess of political activity and the nature of Marxism in Latin America. He concluded:)

Dr. KEESING. Let the nations of the Americas assist each other. These nations are greatly in need of men who will actively seek amelioration in inter-American relationships. Such a man is the recipient of our highest award, Mr. Charles Covino.

Mr. Covino, there are so many people of distinction who have been granted this high award that I would like to take the opportunity of having one of my distinguished colleagues, one of the great legal representatives of the State of New York, present this Diploma to you.

I call on the Honorable Henry E. Alexander.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Covino, I will now translate for you the contents of this Diploma as a part of your award. The Eloy Alfaro International Foundation recognize the special value of the services rendered by Charles P. Covino in support of the objectives of this institution. He has been awarded the Cross of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation. This diploma with the seal of the foundation is presented in the city of Panama, Republic of Panama on the 28th day of January, 1965, and is signed by the officers of this foundation, the three sons of the late Ambassador Coron Alfaro and the grandsons of Gen. Eloy Alfaro.

Dr. BEACHER. At this point, without further ado, I present to you Mr. Charles Covino.

Mr. COVINO. Dr. Keesing, Dr. Bayern, General Condon, Dr. Beacher, friends, ladies and gentlemen, I am deeply moved by the honor you have conferred upon me today. By the gracious statements of your American Provost, and by the compliment you all pay me by your presence.

I shall continue to dedicate my time to the cause of vehicular and construction safety and to those humanitarian causes that require my attention. It is with great interest and satisfaction that I note the action by some physicians to urge automobile manufacturers to engineer for safety rather than for style. When we realize that every day millions entrust their lives and well-being to the safety of aircraft and automobiles, showing full faith in our technology, it is a clear call to our manufacturers to justify that faith. Advances in technology combined with new materials and plastics can reduce the chance of accidents through material failure or faulty engineering. The safety of such vehicles is as important to our welfare as the purity of the drugs that we buy. Let us hope that all automobile manufacturers will eventually place safety ahead of style and profit.

Again, I thank you for this honor and send my compliments to the board of dignitaries of the Eloy Alfaro Foundation of Panama. I shall regard the decoration as a constant reminder of the debt that each of us owes to his fellow man, and endeavor to honor that debt all the days of my life.

Thank you very much.

Eight-Year-Old William T. Euker Asks Approval of World Record for Mile and 1,500 Meters Run by Young Boy Category, and U.S. Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I do not believe that the U.S. Senate has the authority to recognize world records for a boy of 8 running the mile and the 1,500 meters in an amazing fast time but we can extend congratulations to William T. Euker, 310 West Fremont Street, Arlington Heights, Ill., and his parents, Mr. and Mrs. William F. Euker, for the perseverance of child and parent, and the physical abilities and stamina of young William T. Euker. For the information of those who desire to read of accomplishments by juveniles instead of headlines by juvenile delinquents, I submit the letter of William F. Euker to Mr. Clifford H. Buck, president of the AAU, and the reply of Stephen Archer, secretary of the AAU to me pertaining to the claim of a world's record for William T. Euker as noted above, also, apropos to the high honor above, I submit a recent press release from the AAU which notes a high honor for St. Peter School of Skokie, Ill., which became the first elementary school in history to have 100 percent of the boys and girls in the 8 grades to qualify for the AAU achievement certificates, plus other pertinent data on youth achievement:

AMATEUR ATHLETIC UNION OF THE UNITED STATES,

New York, N.Y.

Hon. EVERETT McK. DIRKSEN,
The Capitol,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank you for your interest in the recent athletic accomplishments of 8-year-old William T. Euker who ran 1,500 meters in 6:00.2 and then completed a mile in 6:25.7. This achievement is certainly outstanding.

There are no age group world records listed by the International Amateur Athletic Federation, world governing body for track and field and for which the AAU is the U.S. member. Although the AAU does have national records for the regular events on its AAU Junior Olympics program, the 1,500-meter run and the 1-mile run are longer distances than we prescribe in this program for youngsters. Mr. Euker did send a complete copy of all information to the AAU track and field records committee chairman, Mr. A. R. Post. I am certain that Mr. Post will consider this an outstanding achievement although there may be some difficulty in obtaining official recognition for the run.

We are proud of the athletic achievements of our young boys and girls who have had an opportunity to run, jump, and throw in the junior programs provided by the AAU. I can assure you that in the past year over 2 million boys and girls participated in the AAU junior programs in seven sports.

In our physical fitness testing program we have just compiled statistics for the academic year 1964–65. You will be interested to know that the St. Peter School in Skokie, Ill., under physical education instructor Fred Batista, had the first perfect record in history for an elementary school. The boys and girls, grades one through eight, all passed the AAU test, a total of 1,187 in all. This is a significant achievement.

Sincerely,

STEPHEN M. ARCHER,
Secretary.

OCTOBER 20, 1965.

Mr. CLIFFORD H. BUCK,
President, Amateur Athletic Union of the United States, Amateur Athletic House, New York, N.Y.

GENTLEMEN: We are herewith submitting for your consideration and approval for a world record and U.S. citizens' record, the times shown in the attached certification. The certifications cover the mile run and the 1,500 meters by an 8-year-old boy. The claimant's name is William T. Buker, 310 West Fremont Street, Arlington Heights, Ill., birthday, September 7, 1957.

The times as indicated are 6:25.7 for the mile and 6:00.2 for the 1,500 meters.

We have conscientiously endeavored to follow all the applicable rules and regulations found in the AAU's official 1965 general rules, in this attempt to establish our claim.

As you might expect, we encountered some difficulty in establishing the conditions by which this record attempt could be made; however, a bona fide effort has been made to scrupulously follow the procedures laid down by your organization. Consequently, we sincerely hope your sports committee and/or record committee will give this request their special consideration and ultimate approval.

Needless to say, we would encourage any investigation of this claim you feel is necessary to establish its validity and will cooperate completely with any individual or group you care to designate to accomplish this purpose.

You undoubtedly understand and appreciate the fact that the development of this boy as a distance runner occurred over a period of years—4, to be exact—and it has been necessary to give him some outside incentive to continue his daily practice sessions. Incidentally, those practice sessions have been carefully regulated and supervised. Unfortunately, however, there are no competitive distance races sponsored for boys of this age; consequently, his development is left to the individual parent or an interested coach. (I have chronicled this development, and it is available for inspection.) It is with the idea of creating a further incentive for development that we are hopeful you will recognize and approve the attached claim. In this way, the needed stimulus for instituting and conducting such programs in the future will become manifest.

It is an American tradition to strive to be the best, and it is in this tradition we acknowledge championship achievements. Hence, the development of all youngsters and acknowledging their achievements must surely be a primary responsibility of the organization which claims preemption in the Government and control of this sport.

We thank you in advance for your time and attentive evaluation of our claim.

Respectfully submitted in behalf of William T. Buker,

WILLIAM F. BUKER.

NEW YORK.—More than three-quarters of a million boys and girls attained the standards of the Amateur Athletic Union physical fitness test in the last 12 months, according to John S. Nagy, AAU physical fitness chairman.

Mr. Nagy pointed out, "This has been the most productive year since the AAU testing program was inaugurated in 1948 with 1.3 million youngsters between the ages of 6 and 18 participating. We are proud that 57 percent of these boys and girls attained the standards, representing a slight increase from the previous record of 56.1 percent a year ago."

The Quaker Oats Co., a food company, is now the national sponsor of this program which is conducted locally by schools, municipal recreation departments, summer camps, as well as by the CYO, YMCA, and YMHA in every State in the Nation.

The St. Peter School of Skokie, Ill., became the first elementary school in history to have 100 percent of the boys and girls in the eight grades qualify for the AAU achievement certificates.

Nagy commended the physical education program at the school conducted by Fred Batista, saying, "He's the physical education man of the year in my book. Fred worked personally with many of the 1,187 students to help them strengthen their weaknesses in order to pass each of the 5 required and 1 optional skill test devised to measure speed, strength, agility, and endurance."

In the final tabulation of figures for the year, the State of Ohio with 66,615 qualified boys and girls earned No. 1 rating in the Nation displacing Texas which dropped to second with 62,735. Rounding the top 6 States in number of physically fit youngsters were Illinois, 49,436; New York, 46,444; California, 36,938; and Massachusetts, 33,847.

On the basis of percentage of youngsters attaining the standards, Texas boys and girls proved themselves most physically fit in the AAU national program as 64 percent of those participating earned AAU achievement certificates. In line with the national trend, the girls compiled a slightly better record than the boys in the Lone Star State, Nagy who is also commissioner of recreation for Cleveland noted.

Among the other States, the leaders were Ohio, 62.7; Massachusetts, 63.5; Florida, 63.0; Pennsylvania, 62.7; New York, 62.1; Illinois, 61.8; and Indiana, 61.3 percent, respectively.

Based on the percentage of youngsters passing the tests, the following schools and organizations with over 90 percent attaining the standards, were named 1964–65 national leaders in the following categories:

High school, girls: Kodiak, Alaska.

High school, boys: East Providence, R.I.

Junior high school, girls: Pentucket Regional, West Newbury, Mass.

Elementary schools, boys and girls: Rose Hill Kans.

Preparatory schools, boys: Episcopal Academy, Philadelphia, Pa.

Foreign schools: American High School, Heidelberg, Germany.

School system: elementary and junior high schools of Abilene, Tex.

Recreation departments: Brooklyn, Minn. and Joseph Lee Playfield, Baltimore.

Camps, boys and girls: Kehoe-France Camps, Metairie, La.

Camps, boys: Anglewood Camp, Elkins Park, Pa.

Camps, girls: Camp Fay-Gah, Liberty, N.Y.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON THE NATIONAL LEADERS

Kodiak Senior High School: Miss Tootsie Alford, physical education teacher at the school, has been cited for the fourth straight year for her work where 209 out of 220 met the standards this year.

East Providence, R.I. Senior High School: 143 out of 151 boys earned AAU achievement certificates. Head of the department of physical education is Orlando L. Savastane.

Pentucket Regional Junior High School, West Newbury, Mass.: 175 out of 190 girls earned AAU achievement certificates. The physical education instructor is Miss Alta B. Herron.

Rose Hill Elementary School, Kansas: In the 8 grades 219 out of 228 boys and 165 out of 175 girls met the standards. William L. Tolliver is principal of the school.

St. Peter Elementary School, Skokie, Ill.: 100 percent was achieved among 562 boys and 625 girls achieving the AAU standards. This is the first elementary school to reach 100 percent. The physical education teacher is Fred Batista.

The Episcopal Academy in Philadelphia topped the boys' prep school list for the third time in the last 4 years. For grades 4 through 12, 508 out of 547 met the AAU standards. The director of physical education is Dick Borkowski; the headmaster is James H. McK. Quinn.

Abilene, Tex.: "Shorty" Lawson is the director of physical education for a system which includes 23 elementary and junior high schools participating in the program. Overall, the passing percentage was between 85 and 90 percent, but the system was included as outstanding for the third straight year.

Joseph Lee Playfield in Baltimore, youngsters between 6 and 15 participating found 489 out of 500 boys and 517 out of 527 girls achieving the AAU standards. The director of the recreation center is Adam E. Murdock. The tests were administered during December and January 1964–65.

Brooklyn Park Recreation Department, Brooklyn Park, Minn.: Boys and girls between 6 and 15 participated. 980 out of 1076 boys and 279 out of 312 girls earned AAU achievement certificates. Dennis C. Palm is the recreation director.

Heidelberg (Germany) American High School: 188 out of 213 girls in grade 8 through 12 met the standards. Miss Jean Hanson is physical education teacher in charge of the program.

Anglewood Day Camp, Elkins, Park, Pa.: 450 out of 463 boys between 6 and 11 met the AAU standards. The physical fitness instructor at the camp was Robert W. Bunch.

Camp Fay-Gah, Liberty, N.Y.: 125 out of 130 girls between 6 and 15 met the AAU standards. The head counselor is Mrs. Blanche Kahn.

Kehoe-France Camp, Metairie, La.: 122 out of 135 boys and 90 out of 93 girls met the standards. The directors of the camp are Frank A. and Patricia Kehoe France.

Note.—In the other categories none of the leaders achieved the 90 percent rating required for selection as a national leader.

Eulogy to Joseph F. Barr

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP A. HART

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HART. Mr. President, last June 25 a great patriot and inspiring leader in the veterans community passed away. Joseph F. Barr, former national executive director and a past national commander of the Jewish War Veterans, died in Washington following a lifetime of service to his fellow veterans as well as the entire American Jewish community.

In October 1954, he retired from his post as assistant associate general counsel to the Veterans' Administration to assume office as the Jewish War Veterans national commander for the year 1954–55. For the next decade he gave of himself unstintingly in a large variety of community activities.

An Army veteran of World War I, Joe Barr served as chairman of the Armed Services Committee of the Jewish Welfare Board for more than 20 years. He was the first vice president of the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington. As national executive director of the Jewish War Veterans and as a life long member of other national veterans organizations he played a leading role in presenting forcefully the veteran's point of view to the legislative and executive branches of the Government. To many of us he was adviser and confidant.

Surviving Mr. Barr are his wife, Beatrice, his sons, Martin and John, and three grandchildren.

In a special memorial service during the 70th annual national convention of the Jewish War Veterans this past September two of Joe Barr's lifetime comrades, outstanding members of the bar and veterans leaders in their own community, rendered moving eulogies which crystallized the very essence of Joe Barr's long service to his fellow man. I was so impressed by these statements regarding a man who had performed valuable service as a public servant and as a community leader that I place them in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Eulogy by Mr. Henry Albert, past national commander of the Jewish War Veterans from Jamaica, N.Y.:

The pages of the Jewish War Veterans' history are emblazoned with great figures, giants in stature, standing out because of their service and dedication to the ideals and objectives of the oldest war veterans organization in the United States. Their achievements and sacrifices have been far and above the call of duty.

Of course, there were and are other great leaders in Jewish War Veterans' but tonight I have been given the privilege to speak of only one—past national commander, Joseph F. Barr.

I deeply appreciate this honor, especially since Joe's beloved Hilda is here with us. She contributed so much to Joe's success. She was the traditional good wife who so often is found behind the successful man.

I worked side by side with Joe for more than a quarter of a century. I knew him. I respected him for his loyalty. I admired him for his intellect and his honesty. I revered him for his dedication to those principles of life so many of us shared with him. I knew him as a comrade. I loved him as a friend.

Joe's contribution to the veteran shall never be forgotten as long as the Jewish War Veterans exists. His love of this country was boundless. Yet his patriotism in no way lessened or conflicted with his devotion to the ancient faith of his forefathers. Nor did it in any way weaken his determination to fight for his coreligionists whenever their rights were threatened. He was living proof of the postulate that "love of God and love of country" go hand in hand.

For almost half a century after he had served this country in the time of war, Joe gave without stint the very essence of his life in the never-ending struggle to preserve those rights and liberties given to us by the laws and Constitution of the United States. He knew well how these are not to be taken

for granted but have to be defended at all costs. For this reason he found in the objectives of the Jewish War Veterans a credo entirely in keeping with his personal philosophy of life, as an American and as a Jew: To combat the powers of bigotry and darkness wherever originating and whatever their target, and to uphold the fair name of the Jew and to fight his battle whenever justly assailed.

Joe Barr left an indelible mark on the history of the veterans' movement in this country during the years he was allowed to dwell among us. He also made his imprint on the archives of the national Jewish organizations comprising the NCRAC. His work and contributions in connection with the Jewish Welfare Board and various other unselfish activities in and around Washington are well known. Permit me, therefore, to close my brief remarks by recalling the beautiful and immortal stanza, so appropriate, when the Persian poet wrote:

"The moving finger writes; and, having writ,
Moves on: nor all thy piety nor wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all thy tears wash out a word of it."
RUBAIYAT OF OMAR KHAYYAM.

Eulogy by Mr. Frederick S. Harris, past national commander of the Jewish War Veterans from Meriden, Conn.:

As Henry Albert has so admirably stated, Joseph F. Barr throughout his illustrious and brilliant career left monumental milestones as he traveled the road of life. You will find the recorded pages in the history of the Jewish War Veterans and in the history of our national shrine. But his accomplishments and achievements stand reflected also in the life of the Nation, in the life of the Jewish community and in the records of mankind. The world was a better place to live in because he had lived in it.

There existed between Joe Barr and me a sort of Damon and Pythias friendship. I should like to take from that friendship a few moments to speak of Joe Barr the man.

His parents brought him at an early age to these shores and settled in Boston. There he grew into manhood. As a youth he had the usual refinements of Jewish education, studying the Talmud and the works of our learned sages. He was an excellent student. Such was his admiration for our great teachers and sages that he soon dedicated his life and efforts in following their precepts. In addition to his studies of Jewish traditions and justice he was an avid student of history and the New Testament. He soon became an authority of these subjects. He was able to quote chapter and verse from either the Old or New Testaments and could give any historical fact with accuracy.

Often our families would vacation together and I recall even now his patient explanation to his sons and mine the precepts of religious wisdom and the meaning and significance of historical events that shaped the destinies of mankind and nations.

Blessed with a keen mind and the ability to put thoughts into understandable speech, touched with humor when the same was suggested, Joe's services were constantly sought after and were readily and graciously extended.

As most of you know, Joe studied law and soon after World War I became a member of the staff of the Legal Department of the then Veterans Bureau. In these duties he used his legal knowledge to assist in the interpretation of the laws passed by the Congress for the benefit of veterans and their dependents, becoming one of the outstanding lawyers of that agency.

In his warmth as a man, his counsel was sought by his fellow employees who brought their personal problems to him for solution and advice and to whom he always lent a most willing ear.

He spent hours and days in championing the causes of humanity such as civil rights, the dignity of his fellow Jews and fighting their battles wherever assailed in the true concept of the purposes of the Jewish War Veterans.

His dedication of service to his fellow man was always on the broad base of human rights without regard to ethnic or color lines. To him a man was first God's greatest creation, a human being, and as such was entitled to the rights and dignities vouchsafed for him by the laws of God and the Constitution of the United States. For these things Joe gave his knowledge, his energies and his life.

To put it succinctly, Joe Barr, of blessed memory, was a man among men, a devoted and beloved husband and father and a devoted advocate of human dignity.

This is the image of a friend, for to all of us he was a friend, whose memory we cherish. We could hold him in no higher reverence than to dedicate ourselves to those godly precepts which he so humanly exemplified.

Credit Union Loans Cost Less

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the September issue of the Camp Pendleton, Calif., Federal Credit Union Newsletter advises marines stationed at that base, that by borrowing money from the credit union, they can achieve great savings as opposed to borrowing from a national mail-order finance company.

To prove the point, the newsletter carries an easy-to-read chart which shows the amount of loan, the cost of the loan if obtained from the finance company, the cost of the loan if obtained from the credit union, and the total savings. As an example, a loan of $530 would cost the marine $166 in interest if the loan were made from the finance company. However, if the same loan were obtained at the credit union, the marine would pay only $64.72 in interest, a saving of $101.28. Comparable savings would be made on all loans obtained from the credit union regardless of the amount borrowed.

Mr. Speaker, military credit unions have been operating in the United States for many years, but only in the past months have they received a long overdue blessing from the Department of Defense. It is easy to see, after glancing at the Camp Pendleton chart, why credit unions perform such a vital service to members of our Armed Forces. It is my fondest wish and hope that the Department of Defense will soon provide the machinery for establishing credit unions on military bases overseas. There is no reason, either in law or logic, why servicemen in the United States should be able to use the facilities of a credit union, while the same service is denied to servicemen on duty in a foreign country.

I am including in my remarks a copy of the chart prepared by the Camp Pendleton Federal Credit Union.

CREDIT UNION LOANS COST LESS

Can you use an extra $25 to $116? These are the actual savings that you get when borrowing from your credit union rather than from ——— Finance, a national mail order loan company. ———'s rates are typical of many other loan companies that direct their advertising to military personnel through Navy Times and other publications. Compare the amount that you are interested in borrowing and note the savings through the credit union.

Cash you receive	Finance company		Camp Pendleton FCU		Total savings
	24 monthly payments	Interest cost	24 monthly payments	Interest cost	
$107	$6	$37	$4.95	$11.80	$25.20
$305	17	105	14.37	39.88	63.12
$530	29	166	24.78	64.72	101.28
$812	43	220	38.35	108.40	111.60
$1,212	62	276	57.15	159.60	116.40

The above loan chart is furnished for cost comparison only. The repayment terms are those used by ——— Finance, but would be adjusted by the credit union to fit our member's particular need and ability to repay.

Rotten Tomatoes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE MURPHY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, during this year, I repeatedly called to the attention of the Congress and the Nation the disastrous consequences of the Secretary of Labor's refusal to allow the entrance of sufficient supplemental labor to meet the needs of California agriculture.

As the Wall Street Journal editorial points out, the Secretary of Labor's experiment "clearly has not had the desired effect." The Secretary's actions again show what happens when Washington bureaucrats substitute their ivory tower brainstorms for the experience of our citizens in the field and at the local levels. Again the myth that meddling by Washington will solve our problems is exploded.

I commend this Wall Street Journal editorial to the attention of my colleagues, Mr. President.

ROTTEN TOMATOES

The U.S. decision to bar Mexican harvest workers from California this year, although intended to provide more jobs for Americans, clearly hasn't had the desired effect. In fact,

there are indications it may have exactly the opposite result.

Labor unions were disturbed because the Mexicans, accustomed to skimpy pay rates at home, eagerly accepted the strenuous field jobs at wages that were low by U.S. standards. California's growers, however, steadily maintained that American were either "too soft" for the work or were just unwilling to accept it, even at considerably higher wages. Not surprisingly, Washington bowed to the unions' view.

Now it appears that the growers knew what they were talking about. Take the tomato crop. With the 37,000 Mexicans that helped out last year barred from the country, did U.S. workers rush to fill the gap? At first, yes. But many soon gave up. As Robert L. Gibson, president of Libby, McNeill & Libby, says, "We took many such men by bus to our fields. Some would last an hour, some a day."

Nor is the situation improving. The Agriculture Department recently reported that the September farm-labor force was a record low for the month, mostly because the foreigners were absent. The shortage exists, the report said, despite sharp wage increases as employers seek to lure domestic workers as replacements.

Consequently there weren't enough hands to harvest this year's tomato crop, and Labor Secretary Wirtz—under pressure from growers and from California officials—had to hedge a bit. First he agreed to admit 8,000 Mexicans and, later, 10,000 more. Despite these stopgap measures part of the perishable crop couldn't be picked and some tomatoes were left to rot. The ensuing shortage is, of course, being reflected in higher consumer prices for tomatoes and tomato products.

Naturally enough the growers and packers are looking for a way out of this mess, and the search could take them clear out of the country. According to Libby's Mr. Gibson, his company "is looking very deeply" into establishing a canning operation in Mexico. If that happens it may drain not only field jobs from California but many others as well.

So perhaps Congress would do well to reconsider its decision—before this particular union-dictated effort to rearrange the economy produces results worse than a few rotten tomatoes.

The Wild Rivers Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the newly created Idaho Water Resource Board met last month in Lewiston, Idaho, to conduct a 2-day hearing on the future of the Salmon and Clearwater Rivers. These are two of the streams to be included in the proposed national wild rivers system which would be established by S. 1446, the bill which I introduced, and which has been favorably reported by the Senate Interior Committee.

I personally appeared and testified on behalf of the bill at the Lewiston hearing. I place my statement at this point in the Appendix of the RECORD:

THE WILD RIVERS BILL

(Statement of Senator FRANK CHURCH, Democrat, of Idaho, chairman of the Public Lands Subcommitee of the U.S. Senate Interior Committee, before the Idaho Water Resources Board held in Lewiston, Idaho, relative to S. 1446)

Gentlemen, I am happy to appear before you to testify on behalf of the wild rivers bill. I am the sponsor of this bill. Eight months ago, on March 8, 1965, I introduced the measure in the U.S. Senate. Thirty-one Senators joined me in cosponsorship.

This is the second public hearing to be held in Idaho on the wild rivers bill. The first was held in Boise, on May 18, by a special Senate subcommittee, on which I served as chairman. My colleague, Senator LEN JORDAN, was also a member of this subcommittee, as was Senator MILWARD SIMPSON, of Wyoming. Fifty-four witneses testified at the Boise hearing. Written statements were submitted by 119 others who were unable to appear personally. Of those who took a position, 141 generally favored enactment of the will rivers bill, while 26 either opposed it, or objected to certain of its provisions. Altogether, 129 printed pages of testimony were taken at the Boise hearing. This testimony has been published in full, forming part of the public record of the extensive hearings conducted in each State requesting them, as well as in Washington, D.C. I have asked that a set of these published hearings be sent to each member of this board, so that you may review all of the evidence before the Senate Interior Committee, when it devoted 6 days of executive sessions to the markup of the bill, and then, by a vote of 11 to 5, reported the bill favorably to the Senate itself.

A week ago today, the wild rivers bill was scheduled by the leadership to be taken up in the Senate. I have no doubt it would have passed by a lopsided majority, with strong support coming from both sides of the aisle.

However, in deference to this board, and in order that every possible opportunity might be extended to Idahoans desiring to be heard, I asked Senate majority leader MIKE MANSFIELD to defer action on the bill. He consented to my request. As a consequence, it will not be possible for the Senate to consider the wild rivers bill until it reconvenes next year.

The record, then, on the question of timing, is quite incontrovertible. The supporters of this measure have never urged hasty or ill-considered action. By the time the bill comes to a vote on its merits in the Senate, it will have been scrutinized by the Senate Interior Committee for nearly a full year. A series of public hearings will have been held, at which a total of 156 witnesses will have personally testified, with a record compiled of some 611 printed pages. In Idaho itself, two full-dress public hearings will have been completed, one under the auspices of the Senate committee having jurisdiction, and the other under the direction of this Board. To my recollection, this in itself is unprecedented.

I, myself, welcome all the attention that can be focused on the wild rivers bill. I am glad that this board is placing its sights on the "ultimate uses of the Salmon and Clearwater Rivers." Ultimate is the right word, for it suggests that we adhere to a common purpose: assigning these two magnificent mountain rivers to a use most beneficial to the economy of Idaho and the general well-being of her people.

We in Idaho are blessed with an abundance of water, much of which we shall want to harness behind dams. Fortunately, we are also favored with a great many potential damsites. If all of them, on each and every river, remain open for dam building, we shall have relinquished our entire river system to this particular use. Other public uses, equally important to our economy and to the preservation of a wholesome outdoor life for our people, will be left without statutory protection. In this situation, since the licensing of dams is left up to public agencies which exist for this purpose, the end result is perfectly evident: Ultimately, in the absence of a national wild rivers system, which the bill in question would create, every feasible site will eventually be used for dam construction. The past 50 years offers no evidence whatever that dam builders will voluntarily stop building dams. Unless laws are enacted to save some of our remaining free-flowing rivers in their natural, untamed state, wild rivers shall vanish from our land.

I recognize that it is the purpose of this Board to plan for the utilization of Idaho water. Necessarily, you have become a part of the dam building business, even though the money to finance future dams in Idaho will continue to come—owing to the lack of adequate local means—mainly from Federal rather than State, revenues.

I say this because we must be candid with one another. In no sense do I deprecate the importance of dams. I have been a devoted advocate of dams for Idaho, throughout my tenure in the Senate. When the Hells Canyon Dam was made a scare word in southern Idaho, I fought for its authorization, because it seemed to me inexcusable to squander so monumental a site on an insufficient development.

In the same manner, I worked doggedly for congressional approval of the Dworshak Dam, threatening a one-man filibuster in the Senate in the closing hours of the session. This $200 million dam, the highest in the Northwest, which we renamed in memory of my former colleague, the late Senator Henry Dworshak, is now a building on the North Fork of the Clearwater.

Coming up the Snake, like mighty steps on a giant's staircase, is a whole set of Federal dams—Ice Harbor, Lower Monumental, Little Goose, Lower Granite, and Asotin—for which I have sought appropriations in the Senate each year. We have kept the building of this massive network on schedule, with the result that Lewiston, Idaho, will become a port, with direct access to the Pacific, by the end of the decade.

Other dams I have favored will soon be built in this great region, High Mountain Sheep to the south of us, and Libby Dam to the north. Bills which I sponsored to authorize the Fremont Dam, the Lower Teton Dam, and the Ririe Dam in southern Idaho, have been approved by Congress and signed into law by the President. Just a few weeks ago, Congressman COMPTON I. WHITE and I announced a joint plan to seek authorization of a southwest Idaho water development project, the largest in the history of the State, which would ultimately reclaim 500,000 acres of desert land, and generate more than half a million kilowatts of electricity.

This plan calls for an unprecedented half-billion dollar investment in Idaho's future development. I urge you, as members of this board, to give the same measure of interest to this vast dam-building program, as you have evidenced in your immediate concern over the wild rivers bill.

The record speaks for itself. I am anything but an enemy of dams. In the face of the most determined opposition of Idaho sportsmen, and fish and wildlife groups, I fought for the construction of Bruces Eddy, now the Dworshak Dam. Wherever the evidence shows that a proposed dam will do

more good than harm, I shall work for it. But, by the same token, wherever the evidence shows that a dam will do more harm than good, I shall work against it—with equal fervor.

This brings me back to the wild rivers bill and the reasons why I so strongly endorse it. Insofar as Idaho is concerned, the case for the wild rivers bill is simply the case against the building of the dams which are projected for construction on the Salmon and the Middle Fork of the Clearwater River. These dams has been planned, the sites for them have been designated; their dimensions, storage capacity, and the high and lower water elevations of their respective reservoirs, have been carefully calculated. We know how much electricity they will generate, for, apart from what they may contribute to flood control, these are single-purpose dams, designed to produce hydroelectric power. The dams are as follows:

ON THE CLEARWATER

Penny Cliffs: to be located 4 miles upstream on the Middle Fork above Kooskia. Its reservoir would extend 19 miles up the Middle Fork to the junction of the Selway and Lochsa, then 29 miles on up the Selway, and 20 miles on up the Lochsa. The height of the dam: 620 feet.

ON THE SALMON

Lower Canyon: to be located on the Salmon half a mile above its confluence with the Snake. The reservoir would extend upstream about 70 miles to the site of the proposed Freedom Dam. The height of the dam: 665 feet.

Freedom Dam: this would be about 17 miles downstream from Riggins and 3 miles above White Bird. At normal pool elevation, the reservoir would extend 24 miles up the Salmon to a point 7 miles above Riggins. The height of the dam: 300 feet.

Crevice Dam: to be located on the Salmon about 13 miles above Riggins, Idaho. The reservoir would extend 65 miles up the Salmon, and 10 miles up the South Fork of the Salmon. The height of the dam: 725 feet.

These specifications are the most authoritative available. They are taken from the Water Resource Development, Columbia River Basin Report of the Army Corps of Engineers, dated June 1958.

Under the law, as it now stands, the Federal Power Commission could license the construction of any or all of these dams, upon application of a private power company, or a combination of companies, just as the FPC recently issued a license to the Pacific Northwest Power Co., for construction of the High Mountain Sheep Dam on the Snake River.

There are those who believe that hydroelectric dams should be built wherever application is made to build them, and I would expect these people to oppose the enactment of a wild rivers bill. Certain private power companies (I am pleased to say that the Washington Water Power Co. is not among them) may prefer to see the damsites on the Clearwater and Salmon Rivers left open for their future use. The same may be true for certain public power groups.

On this question, we must simply choose sides. I have chosen mine. I think the weight of the evidence, in terms of what best serves the general public good, overwhelmingly favors saving, unobstructed, these particular rivers so that we might preserve and promote their great recreational value, now and in the years ahead. If we oppose giving these magnificent rivers, which are assets of unique and incomparable value to Idaho, statutory protection now, while there is still time, we shall have only ourselves to blame later, when time has run out. It is not enough to say, as some have contended, that we can settle whether or not to build the dams when the question arises, that is, when the application is filed.

Gentlemen, once an application is filed, who will do the deciding? Not the people of Idaho; there will be no public referendum. Not the members of this board, for you lack the jurisdiction to decide. Not the Idaho delegation in Congress, for we lack the numbers to guarantee the outcome of any vote. Not, indeed, the Congress itself, for it has yet to wrest jurisdiction from the Federal Power Commission, once an application for a license has been duly brought before it.

Let's not fool ourselves. The wild river bill is necessary, if jurisdiction is to be taken from the Federal Power Commission to license dams within the system the legislation creates. Without the bill, once an application has been filled to construct a power dam on the Salmon or Clearwater rivers, the decision will rest with the Federal Power Commission, and with that Commission alone. You may be satisfied to leave it that way. I am not.

Nor am I impressed with the argument that further study is needed before any judgment can be reached for or against the inclusion of the designated parts of the Salmon and Clearwater rivers in a national wild rivers systems. What additional information, not now available, will more delay furnish? What facts are now lacking? For 50 years, we have been accumulating exhaustive data on the whole Columbia-Snake River drainage. We have the complete record of the river flows year by year, of the salmon runs, the flood cycles, and the navigational, irrigational, and hydroelectric potential of every river and tributary in the Northwest.

We have all the necessary information at hand. The issue should not be dodged on the flimsy pretext that more facts are needed. The question is simply whether we want to take timely action to give statutory protection to these segments of the Salmon and Clearwater Rivers, or whether we do not. Placing these rivers in the study category of the bill, without any valid reason, would cut the heart out of the proposed wild river system, and leave the bill a shambles. This is why the Senate Interior Committee rejected the proposal, when it was offered as an amendment in the markup session.

I do not contend that the wild rivers bill will cost us nothnig. Everything worth having has its price. In the case of this legislation, the price would entail some loss in optimum flood control, particularly as it might affect certain downstream areas in Oregon and Washington. There would also be the loss of the hydroelectric power potential at the sites I have mentioned. Again, the principal impact would be borne by Oregon and Washington, since most of the electricity generated at these dams would be siphoned off to meet the needs of these more highly industrialized and more densely populated neighbor States. In any event, we have scores of damsites on other Idaho rivers to meet our future power needs for as many years ahead as hydroproduced electricty is ever likely to remain competitive with power generated at nuclear plants, where efficiency of operation steadily improves and costs continue to decline.

So the price we must pay for a wild rivers bill can hardly be regarded as onerous. The benefits, however, loading the opposite side of the scale, are very important indeed.

First of all, there is the preservation of the fishery itself, a perpetual source of wealth and pleasure, unless we permit its destruction, either through the erection of high dams, past which the fingerling salmon cannot successfully maneuver, or through our failure to properly regulate the capture of the parent fish on their upstream migration to the spawning beds in Idaho.

You have asked experts to testify on the fish problem, and they can best give you the impressive figures as to the value of this resource. My concern is that appropriate action be taken by the States, acting in concert with the Federal Government, to nourish and protect the migratory fish run mothered by the Salmon and Clearwater Rivers. To this end, very recently, I sought and obtained funds in the Senate to commence construction of a Federal salmon hatchery near Kooskia—a million dollar project.

I am advised by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service that, if present plans for such hatcheries and other protective measures are fully implemented, the migratory runs on the Salmon and Clearwater can be doubled, provided, of course, that the rivers remain free-flowing. This is the basic reason why the wild rivers bill has received such a positive endorsement by the Idaho Fish and Game Commission.

Other departments of the State government also join in support of this proposed legislation. Governor Robert E. Smylie, who urges the enactment of the wild rivers bill, tells us that he conferred with the State forestry and reclamation agencies, which joined with the Idaho Fish and Game Commission in the preparation of the Governor's statement on behalf of the bill. Thus a Republican State administration has acted to demonstrate the broad, bipartisan support which the wild rivers proposal enjoys in Idaho.

No doubt this has been occasioned, in part, by a realization of the growing importance of outdoor recreation to the economy of Idaho. Tourism—the discovery of Idaho by the Nation, hunting, fishing, the confinement of megalopolist—this is the most dynamic force at work in creating new income for the people of our State. The figures are startling. Ten years ago, tourism was a $48 million annual business in Idaho. Last year, according to the figures of the Idaho Department of Commerce and Development, tourism accounted for $160 million in earned income for Idaho. This year, the figure is expected to rise above $175 million. In two handfuls of years, tourism has plunged upward to become Idaho's third most important source of revenue.

And the expansion has just begun. In the next 35 years, the population of this country will double. The demand for outdoor recreation will triple. The great majority of Americans will be more affluent and have more time for recreation. Projections indicate that they will have more than twice as much disposable per capita income and paid vacation time as in 1960. Their average work week will have decreased from 39 hours to 32 hours. Idaho's future as a vactionland is filled with promise.

What we make of it depends upon how well we husband our scenic and recreational resources. It depends, in short, upon how farsighted we are in insisting upon a wisely balanced development of our natural endowment. In places, where the terrain permits, we shall want to use unappropriated water for new reclamation projects; in other places, on rivers already obstructed, we shall want to build new power dams; but in still other places, in areas of mountain-locked grandeur where the water still runs fast, pure and free, we should seek to preserve our finest untamed streams by including them within a national wild rivers system.

Nowhere in America are there left such jewels, among our remaining wild rivers, as the Salmon and the Clearwater systems. An extensive survey by study teams substantiates that claim. Naturally, these should be the lead-off rivers in the bill. Anyone who has come to know the pristine mystique of the Selway, or the rampaging white waters of the Salmon, must appreciate how supremely these rivers qualify as the core for any wild rivers bill. To them, in the initial system established by the bill, we add segments of the Rogue in Oregon, the Rio Grande in New Mexico, and the Eleven Point in Missouri.

As the bill is now drawn, it includes the Salmon from the town of North Fork down-

stream to its confluence with the Snake, and the entire Middle Fork; the Middle Fork of the Clearwater from Kooskia upstream to Lowell; the Lochsa from Lowell to Powell Ranger Station, and the Selway from Lowell upstream to its origin.

Precaution has been taken to fully protect established water rights, and to make certain that State water laws are not infringed in any way. The Senate Interior Committee hammered out amendments to the original language to make doubly sure that the status quo with respect to water law remains unchanged. These amendments are in section 5 of the bill, and are spelled out in the committee report which urges enactment.

Although S. 1446 might be regarded as a corollary to the Wilderness Act, it is very different in concept and application. A limited area along the banks of the river would be included in the system, which would be administered to promote maximum public use and enjoyment. Unlike the restrictions on use in a wilderness area, this bill recognizes and adopts the multiple-use principle. Timber harvesting and livestock grazing which do not substantially interfere with the use and enjoyment of the river will continue along the banklands. Mining would also be allowed, although claims on the banklands located after the effective date of the act would be subject to reasonable regulation to protect the river against pollution. The bill also contains no prohibition against the construction of needed roads or bridges.

Except for the acquisition of scenic easements, the bill confers no power of condemnation of private property along the Salmon or Clearwater rivers. An amendment I offered, prohibits condemnation where 75 percent or more of the acreage within the wild river area is publicly owned. Both Idaho rivers would fall in this category. The bill does allow for condemnation for scenic easements, where these may be needed.

Nothing in the bill affects the jurisdiction or administration authority of the States with respect to fish and wildlife.

Obstruction of wild rivers by damming normally accomplished through construction or licensing by Federal agencies would be prohibited, except as expressly authorized by Congress.

In addition to these several safeguards, there is also the amendment adopted in the closing session of the Interior Committee which would establish a National Wild Rivers Review Commission to inform the Congress if changing public needs dictate that wild river status should be altered. This amendment was proposed by my colleague, Senator JORDAN, and I supported it.

The Interior Committee, in its report to the Senate, pointed to this amendment as one which would allow a river to be removed from the system, if a greater public need for another use should later develop. However, even without the amendment, it would always be open to Congress to remove rivers from the system, should changing conditions make this desirable. In brief, we can place these segments of the Salmon and Clearwater rivers within the protection of the bill now, and still admit to the possibility that a higher public need for turning them to some other use might conceivably emerge in the future. But we can't have it the other way around. Once a dam is built, a wild river is lost forevermore.

The cause I plead for is not mine alone. It is that of the President of the United States, who has urged the enactment of this measure; it is that of the foremost conservationists of this country; it is that of the people of Idaho, the large majority of whom, I am persuaded, earnestly favor this bill.

But, I cannot say, with conviction, that the cause finds much support on this board. Before these hearings were called, before any of this testimony was given, I read in the newspapers that an informal poll had been taken among the members of this board on the Wild Rivers Bill. The chairman, George L. Crookham, was reported to have disclosed that six members of the board opposed the bill, one member favored it, and one member took no position. Frankly, gentlemen, if I were accused of murder, and six of my eight judges had announced to the press, prior to my trial, that they believed me guilty, I wouldn't be very optimistic about my chances of being acquitted in their court.

Yet, I have come here to bear witness to my belief in your integrity and good faith. I recognize the importance which attaches to the responsibility you hold. I trust you will act with broad vision so that, in this State, conservation may be the companion of development. In the utilization of our water, I hope you will advocate a balanced program, where no one interest will dominate to the exclusion of others, neither the farmers' spade, the anglers' hook, nor "Reddy-Kilowatt's" switch.

A few months ago, Burton J. Rowles, a writer, movie producer, and lover of the great outdoors, spent some time on the Clearwater and the Salmon. He said they only ask "freedom to flow and to retain purity, in return for supporting life and providing pleasure." The defenses of such a river, he said, "are no stronger than man's concern for its vitality, expressed in his guardianship."

To guard the Salmon and the Clearwater, I am confident we shall find the needed sentinels, here in Idaho, and in the Halls of Congress.

Human Investment Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. PEARSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, it is heartening to many of us and, particularly, I am sure, to the distinguished Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], to note the continually increasing support for the Human Investment Act. This support is being expressed not only in Congress, but by individuals and organizations across the Nation who are concerned about our manpower problems.

Looking beyond the latest official jobless rate of 4.4 percent, we can discount, to a degree, that segment of these approximately 3 million Americans who may be idle of their own accord, or who are not breadwinners, or who are between jobs. Yet, there still remains what has come to be known as our hard-core unemployed.

Recent in depth studies of our manpower problems indicate the existence of well over 2 million job openings going begging. The conclusion must be drawn, then, that our problem arises from the lack of skills—not the lack of jobs.

The jobless are not statistics. The jobless are men and women, each a human being with dignity and worth. Welfare rolls are not their goal in life. Many of the highly publicized Federal training programs are not supplying the proper and sufficient answers either.

S. 2509 does provide a constructive approach toward meeting this skills shortage and thus alleviating the unemployment problem. This legislation would encourage the private sector of our economy to place increased emphasis on already existing job-training programs by providing a tax credit incentive. Certainly both labor and management have excellent records of long standing in the field of job training. Is it necessary for the Federal Government to go into this area in which it cannot possibly match the effectiveness of private programs? I think not.

However, it is both just and necessary that the Federal Government encourage the private sector to increase its efforts. We give tax credits for investments in machines and equipment. Can we do less for investments in human beings?

It is a privilege, then, for me to join with the many who have commended Senator PROUTY here in the Senate and a number of Representatives in the House for this thoughtful approach to this area of concern and I would be honored if, at the next printing, Senator PROUTY will add my name to the many other Senators who are cosponsoring S. 2509, the Human Investment Act.

"Lou Johnson of the Los Angeles Dodgers"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, in the October 15, 1965, Louisville Courier-Journal appears an article on a famous Kentuckian who played a primary role in the Los Angeles Dodgers' recent winning of the world championship of baseball. Earl Ruby, sports editor of the Courier-Journal, wrote that the White House would be surprised to learn that "L.B.J." also was responsible for winning the world series, but the "L.B.J." about which he wrote was Louis Brown "Lou" Johnson, who hails from Lexington, Ky. I ask unanimous consent that this news article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD for today.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal, Oct. 15, 1965]

"L.B.J." SHOWS THE WAY TO WORLD CHAMPIONSHIP

(By Earl Ruby)

The White House will be surprised to learn that "L.B.J." won the world baseball championship yesterday for the Los Angeles Dodgers.

The win is credited—and most rightly so—to Sandy Koufax, one of the greatest portside pitchers of modern times.

But a pitcher can't win, no matter how far he goes, without a run by his mates. And that's what Louis Brown Johnson (L.B.J.) provided in the seventh and last game of the World Series at Minneapolis-St. Paul.

The lanky athlete from Lexington, Ky., waited 13 years for this moment. Nobody could have been more ready.

The Dodgers and Twins were tied at three games each and deadlocked 0-0 going into the fourth inning of the deciding game when Johnson came to bat. Then, on a one-and-one pitch, Lou connected solidly and the ball sailed out over left field so high the fielders didn't even bother to chase it. The ball hit the foul pole, which is in fair territory, and bounced into the stands for a home run.

Another run was scored later in that inning by Ron Fairly, but it was just icing on the cake.

After the game, the Kentuckian grabbed Koufax and yelled, "Sandy, you're the greatest." Asked by writers how he felt, coming out of the minors to win the world championship, he said, "I feel like crying, but it won't come out."

CHANCE BY ACCIDENT

Injury: Johnson received his big opportunity as the result of an accident. The accident happened on May 1, when star outfielder Tommy Davis suffered a broken ankle sliding into second base.

When manager Walt Alston began looking around for a replacement, two coaches—Preston Gomez and Danny Ozard—both recommended Johnson, who was pastiming with the Dodger farm at Spokane. Alston called up the skinny fellow, and Lou joined the team at Cincinnati on May 4.

Lou exceeded all expectations of the coaches as a daring, fearless player. He provided the punch that put the Dodgers in the Series and the drive that brought them out of it a winner.

Although known more for his basketball than his baseball when a student at Dunbar High in Lexington, Lou was signed by the Yankees in 1953.

"Why did you sign that contract instead of continuing with basketball?" he was asked. * * * "Man, that's simple," he replied "They gave me $500 in cash, and cash was what my family needed most. The money lasted just three hours—just long enough to pay up the bill to keep my kid brothers and sisters in school."

The Yanks turned him loose after one miserable season, and Zeke Bonura, manager of the Lexington team in the Mountain States League, grabbed him for the season of 1954. The club collapsed in midseason, up to its ears in debt.

Under baseball law, Lou had to be made a free agent again, but Zeke confided to Ed Ashford, the team president, "If we could sell Johnson for what he's worth, we could pay every bill we've got."

WHISTLESTOP A YEAR

Choo Choo: From that day until he joined the Dodgers, Johnson averaged more than one whistlestop a year—at about $450 a month. Seventeen clubs held his contract at various times over 13 years.

How much of an impression he made on anyone was indicated by the fact that, at the mature age of 32 and after 12 long seasons of play, he came to the big team at a salary of only $11,000. Buzzie Bavasi immediately gave him a $2,000 raise, and Johnson went to work to show he was worth it.

"My wife, Doris, and I had just about decided that we had spent our last year in baseball when the call came from Los Angeles," he said yesterday. "I' sure glad we hung on."

He did so well during the regular season that Koufax himself said after the pennant had been clinched, "Johnsons the guy. If it hadn't been for the job he did, we wouldn't be here today."

Johnson fought so fearlessly that he frequently crowded the plate like Frank Robinson and wouldn't budge an inch. He dared 'em to hit him. They obliged. He was hit in the head and he was hit in the hip and the arm.

It wasn't enough that he was being brained on the field. On one of his early overnight hops, the team station wagon blew a tire, threw him out on the road and sliced off a part of his right ear. But, scars and all, he came through when the Dodgers needed him—and his homer yesterday brought his total for the year to 14—the most hit by any member of the team.

Lou's father died several years ago, but his mother, Mrs. Sidney Bell Johnson, still lives in Lexington. Lou was one of four brothers who starred at Dunbar High. George and David played football. Calvin played baseball and Lou played baseball, basketball and football.

Lou made All-State in basketball twice—in 1950 and 1951—and helped his team place third in the National Negro High School Championships at Nashville in 1950.

He has been married twice. His first son, George, lives in Lexington with his first wife. A second son, Lou, lives with the star in Los Angeles.

S. P. Roach, Lou's coach at Dunbar, summed him up yesterday in this way:

"He's a tremendous competitor, who never knows when he's whipped. I guess that's why he was still fighting for recognition when the Dodgers called for him."

Working Toward President Johnson's Great Society: A Report to the People of Alaska on the Accomplishments of the 1st Session of the 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ERNEST GRUENING

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, I include my statement summarizing for the people of Alaska the major accomplishments of the 1st session of the 89th Congress:

CONGRESS AND THE GREAT SOCIETY

Throughout the country, and properly so, there is praise for the magnificent manner in which President Lyndon Johnson is working with the Congress to obtain enactment of a domestic legislative program designed to make the Great Society a reality.

The 1st session of the 89th Congress has responded positively to his inspired leadership, enacting one piece of major legislation after another in a workmanlike manner.

But withal it should be noted that given the determined and dedicated leadership of President Johnson—given the will to achieve of this session of the Congress—these accomplishment could not have occurred if they had not reflected the belief of the vast majority of Americans that the time had come to translate some of the dreams of a better life for all into actualities.

Perhaps for Alaska and Alaskans no Congress will ever equal the 85th Congress which voted for Statehood for Alaska.

And, from the standpoint of Alaska and Alaskans, it will take some doing for any Congress to equal the performance of the 88th Congress which provided so promptly and so generously urgently needed disaster relief for Alaska when it suffered the ravages of the Good Friday earthquake.

But in its own right, the 89th Congress in its 1st session has set a record on the domestic scene unequaled since the memorable first 100 days of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. President Johnson's domestic program has emphasized social progress.

It has insured the voting rights of all people; provided hospital care for the elderly; made sweeping reductions in excise taxes; enlarged the scope of educational assistance; attacked the problem of air and water pollution; and made strides in reducing poverty and improving education and training for the unemployed. Let me list the positive examples.

HOSPITAL CARE—SOCIAL SECURITY

While former President Truman, one of the original sponsors of Government-supported medical care looked on in Independence, Mo., the President signed into Public Law—Public Law 89-97—the administration-backed Hospital Care—Social Security Act.

The legislation has long been misnamed "medicare." It provides hospital care and should be known as "hospicare."

Alaska, a young State, has a young population, but many Alaskans are supporting aged parents in the lower 48 and are confronted with ever-mounting expenses for their hospital and nursing home care. The long-awaited Federal health insurance program will ease this problem.

The measure provides a health care insurance program for persons 65 or older, increases social security cash benefits, and expands the Kerr-Mills program of medical assistance to the indigent aged, child health care programs, and other Federal-State public assistance programs. Many of the social security benefits took effect in September 1965, when some 20 million persons started receiving retroactive social security cash benefits totaling about $1 billion. The basic hospital plan which becomes effective July 1, 1966, will benefit about 19 million aged, providing up to 90 days of hospital care, 100 days of nursing home care, and 100 home health-care visits. The supplementary health plan will benefit about 16.9 million aged. Social security cash benefits affecting about 20 million persons provided a 7-percent across-the-board increase in old-age survivors and disability insurance benefits, retroactive to January 1, 1965.

Also included in the Social Security Act was my amendment, cosponsored by my able colleague, Senator E. L. (Bob) BARTLETT, validating social security coverage agreements with Alaska school districts previously determined not to be "political subdivisions" within the meaning of section 218.

To my knowledge, I have known many men and women who have completed successful work careers and who have retired with savings and pensions apparently ample to live in comparative comfort for the rest of their lives. Then these individuals have been struck by

severe illnesses and in a very brief period have seen their life's savings drained away in paying for the high costs of medical and hospital care and drugs.

For people in such circumstances, this legislation marks a milestone and will go far to enable them to meet the overwhelming burden of hospital expenses—and some medical expenses—attendant all too often on old age.

REGIONAL MEDICAL PROGRAMS—PUBLIC LAW 89-239

This act authorizes a 3-year $340 million grant program to assist in establishing and operating an estimated 25 regionally coordinated medical complexes for the study of heart disease, cancer, stroke, and related diseases.

VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965—PUBLIC LAW 89-110

And of course the piece of "monumental legislation," as the President has termed it, was the Voting Rights Act of 1965, Public Law 89-110, to prevent denial of voting rights because of race or color. It suspends the use of literacy tests or similar voter qualification devices, and authorizes Federal examiners to register all eligible voters when there is evidence of continued discrimination by the States. It contains a declaration that if State poll taxes deny or abridge the right to vote the Attorney General is directed to institute court action immediately against the enforcement of poll taxes which do in fact deny or abridge a person's right to vote. I cosponsored this bill which, when implemented, will make our Nation stronger and more free.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT—PUBLIC LAW 89-117

A monumental piece of legislation for which President Johnson can claim credit is the Housing Act of 1965. It authorizes a 4-year, $7.8-billion housing program, extends existing programs, and provides for a new supplementary rent program for low-income families limited to $150 million in total new contract authority for fiscal years 1966-69. Regrettably, funds for the supplementary rent program were not appropriated.

This is the most comprehensive housing act ever passed. It should lead us ever closed to realization of the goal of decent housing for every American.

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT—PUBLIC LAW 89-174

Another measure of importance which I cosponsored in the Senate is an act which establishes a Department of Housing and Urban Development. Such a Department will make possible greatly improved administration of the principal Federal assistance programs for housing and development of the Nation's communities. It will further cooperation with State and local governments and agencies in assisting urban planning and development. It consolidates the functions, powers, and duties of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the Federal Housing Administration, and the Federal National Mortgage Association.

We are an urban nation. More than two-thirds of our population today, more than 130 million persons, live in urban areas. These urban areas cross city, county, and State lines.

Anyone who doubts the untoward aspects of the increasing urban sprawl need not go far to find it. On the east coast, the population lives nearly house to house, door to door from the north of Boston to the south of Washington, D.C.

The President has reminded us:

> In the remainder of this century—in less than 40 years—urban population will double, city land will double, and we will have to build in our cities as much as all that we have built since the first colonist arrived on these shores. It is as if we had 40 years to rebuild the entire urban United States.

The challenge is staggering, but I am convinced that we can meet it.

We of Alaska live in a vast area where the facilities of the Department of Housing and Urban Development will be useful. We have cities which have grown fast and often haphazardly and the growth is only begun in Alaska. We can use constructively the aids proposed.

EXCISE TAX REDUCTION—PUBLIC LAW 89-44

The Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1965 is a sweeping measure which ends approximately $4.7 billion in Federal wartime excise taxes on jewelry, handbags, television sets, appliances, luggage, toilet articles, furs, cameras, musical instruments, phonograph records, playing cards, and sporting goods except fishing equipment. The 10-percent automobile tax will be reduced in stages decreasing to 1 percent by January 1, 1969. This measure will result in increased purchasing power and a resultant expansion in the economy which in the long run will mean an increase in total Federal revenues at lower tax rates.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT—PUBLIC LAW 89-10

Long debated in the Congress, Federal aid to education at last has received congressional approval. The receptive mood of the Congress, the country, and the administration have been important motivating factors leading to passage of H.R. 2362. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act authorizes $1.344 billion in Federal aid for elementary and secondary schools for fiscal 1966; a 3-year program of Federal grants to States for allocation to school districts with large numbers of children from low-income families; a 5-year program of grants for books and library materials; a 5-year program of grants for supplementary educational centers and services; a 5-year $100 million authorization for construction and operation of regional facilities for educational research; a 5-year program for grants to stimulate and assist States in strengthening the leadership resources of their State educational agencies and a 2-year extension of Federal aid to impacted areas.

America urgently needs the tools embodied in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Education and democracy are one and inseparable. The foundation of a democratic society is a citizenry able to think for itself—and not merely willing, but determined to do so.

In 1810 Thomas Jefferson wrote:

> The information of the people at large can alone make them the safe, as they are the sole, depository of our political and religious freedom.

Thomas Jefferson said many times that education was the most effective weapon men had against tyranny.

He wrote in 1818:

> If the children * * * are untaught, their ignorance and vices will, in future life, cost us much dearer in their consequences, than it would have done, in their correction, by a good education.

We know he was right.

I supported and cosponsored this bill. Aid to education long has been needed. The goals of the Great Society cannot be implemented until the educational need for all of our Nation's children is met fully. This act will strengthen Alaska's educational system by $1,989,422 annually.

HIGHER EDUCATION ACT

Public Law 89-329 authorizes a 3-year, $2.3 billion higher education program. It will provide Federal scholarships for needy students, funds to strengthen colleges, and establishes a 2-year National Teacher Corps whose members would serve in poverty-stricken areas to improve educational opportunities for disadvantaged youngsters. Funding must still be obtained for the Teachers Corp.

Included in the law is my amendment which permits federally chartered credit unions to participate in making loans to students.

In his January 12, 1965, education message to the Congress, President Johnson documented the need to encourage every child to get as much education as he has the ability to take. The President traced the development of educational opportunities in this country from the time of the Northwest Ordinance of the Continental Congress in 1787 which proclaimed that schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.

Times change. What was adequate becomes obsolete. What was once progressive no longer is adequate to meet the challenges of the Great Society.

This act is designed to make available to all children, regardless of environment or parental income, the opportunity to learn.

AID TO APPALACHIA—PUBLIC LAW 89-4

A great achievement of the administration and the Congress is the authorization of $1.1 billion to help Appalachia. It aids the economically underdeveloped 11-State Appalachian region by establishing the Appalachia Regional Commission. Of the $1.1 billion to be spent, $840 million is for Federal grants to help pay for a 5-year highway construction program. A 2-year authorization of $252.4 million will be used to finance various economic development projects. I was a cosponsor of this legislation which will go a long way toward eliminating poverty and putting back to work some of the human resources that are presently being wasted. The Great Society cannot afford this tragic loss of its most valuable resource—its people.

EXTENSION OF MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT ACT—PUBLIC LAW 89-15

Another administration bill that received approval of the Congress is the act extending the Manpower Development and Training Act to June 30, 1969,

which authorizes $454 million for fiscal 1966 and provides up to 2 years training in classrooms or on the job for persons unemployed because of lack of education or skills.

Inserted was the amendment proposed by the Alaska congressional delegation which permits the Secretary of Labor to provide subsistence and travel allowances beyond the maximum ordinarily specified because higher costs in Alaska create an unnecessary financial hardship on trainees. The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 was designed to train workers to equip them to fill available jobs. It was oriented primarily toward experienced workers who had lost their jobs because of technological change. As an indication of the success of the program, employment for 72 percent of those completing institutional training and 94 percent of those completing on-the-job training had been found as of December 31, 1964. All 50 States are participating in the program.

PRESIDENTIAL CONTINUITY

Congress also acted to insure adequate succession procedures in proposing a constitutional amendment which fixes conditions and procedures for succession of the Vice President to the Presidency in the event of the Chief Executive's disability, and which provides for filling a vacancy in the Vice Presidency subject to congressional confirmation. I was a cosponsor of this amendment of article II, section 1, clause 5 of the Constitution which must be ratified now by 38 States within 7 years.

WATER POLLUTION CONTROL—PUBLIC LAW 89-234

The administration properly has taken a positive stand on conservation and protection of our natural resources. I was a cosponsor of S. 4 which gives the Federal Government authority to establish purity standards for interstate streams if the States through which the waters flow fail to establish approved standards by June of 1967. The act increases the authorizations for sewage treatment grants, including an increase to $150 million a year for the next 2 years in the total authorization and an increase to $1,200,000 individual projects and to $4,800,000 for multicommunity projects.

SALINE WATER

Public Law 89-118 extends for 5 years to June 30, 1972, an expanded research and development program for conversion of saline water. One hundred and eighty five million dollars have been authorized for this project. Already our fresh water resources are dangerously low in many parts of the Nation.

FEDERAL WATER PROJECT RECREATION ACT

Public Law 89-72 establishes prospective standard guidelines on the allocation and reimbursability of recreation, fish, and wildlife costs on Federal multiple-purpose water resource projects.

AIR POLLUTION CONTROL—PUBLIC LAW 89-272

Another bill, S. 306, which is important insofar as clean air is concerned, and of which I was a cosponsor, requires standards and proposed regulations to control pollution from gasoline and diesel powered vehicles. Approved by Congress, the act establishes a Federal air pollution control laboratory and authorizes grants for research to improve methods for disposal of solid waste.

DISASTER RELIEF—SBA—PUBLIC LAW 89-59

A matter of considerable consequence to Alaskans is an amendment to the Small Business Act, Public Law 89-59, providing for an increase in the maturity of Small Business Administration disaster loans from 20 to 30 years, suspending for up to 5 years on the payment of principal and interest on disaster loans at the discretion of the Administrator; and for increasing the Small Business Administration's revolving fund by $50 million.

INDIAN ADULT EDUCATION—PUBLIC LAW 89-14

Of special importance to Alaskans is Public Law 89-14 which increases the authorization for Indian adult vocational education by $3 million thereby raising it to $15 million annually.

TLINGIT AND HAIDA INDIANS—PUBLIC LAW 89-130

I sponsored this measure which was cosponsored by Senators BARTLETT and MANSFIELD. Public Law 89-130 amends the act of June 19, 1935—49 Stat. 388, as amended, relating to the Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska. It amends the definition of Tlingit and Haida Indians and recognizes a central council which would have authority to make plans for use of judgment funds expected to be awarded the tribes in the very near future. It authorizes the advancement and expenditure of any appropriation to satisfy the judgment for any purpose authorized by the official central council, including per capita payments, and for the preparation of a current roll of all Tlingit and Haida Indians. Under the law it is required that following appropriation of funds to satisfy the award, Tlingit and Haida Indians shall submit an additional legislative proposal providing for the use of their money based upon approved plans and recommendations.

ADMINISTRATION ON AGING

Congress also created an Administration on Aging, in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to coordinate information and service for State and local governments, to administer grants and promote research on problems of the aging. This is just one facet of the many-pronged attack that is being launched to bring relief to the problems of the elderly.

EXTENSION OF COMMUNITY HEALTH SERVICES—PUBLIC LAW 89-109

The Congress acted favorably on the administration's health program by extending for 3 fiscal years, 1966-68, authority for grants to States and communities for mass immunization programs against polio, diphtheria, whooping cough, and tetanus. Measles was included in the immunization program. The new public law extends for 1 year general and special health services, including those for migratory workers, chronically ill and aged, and grants for research to improve such services.

NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS AND HUMANITIES—PUBLIC LAW 89-209

Public Law 89-209 establishes a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities to develop and promote a broadly conceived national policy of support for the arts and humanities throughout the United States. This is long overdue legislation.

When I introduced the humanities bill, S. 111, at the start of this Congress, I said that humanities encompass the study of the past to create a rewarding future. I pointed out that while we have some splendid blocks upon which to build because learned men of past centuries and vanished civilizations have left us their contributions, some of which we have found, that we dare not be content. The search for knowledge, for quality, must continue.

As the sponsor of S. 111, I am especially pleased that President Johnson endorsed the concept of a national foundation to aid the humanities and arts. This act will help develop the cultural achievements of the Great Society.

ALASKA PUBLIC WORKS

Public works projects in Alaska will be funded by more than $3.3 million provided in the public works appropriation bill, Public Law 89-299. The bill as agreed upon by Senate and House conferees includes $800,000 for preconstruction planning of the Snettishham hydroelectric project near Juneau.

Eliminated in conference was $250,000 added by the Senate to expedite completion of the Snettishham project. I hope the amount can be included in the first supplemental appropriation bill to be considered when Congress reconvenes in January. If the added funding can be approved, power will be produced at Snetishham by 1970.

No funds could be requested for the proposed Rampart Dam project on the Yukon River since that work first must be authorized by the Congress. Studies now under way should be completed when Congress reconvenes so the Alaska congressional delegation can work for authorization and the start of funding of the biggest hydroelectric project in North America, a project long needed in Alaska.

Also included in Public Law 89-299 was $7,000 for flood control study on the Kuskokwim River at Bethel, which had not been in the President's budget as submitted to Congress. Other items were $7,000 for a navigation study of Humboldt Harbor at Sand Point and $6,000 for a navigations study of the harbor at Metlakatla.

Funding for Alaska includes $400,000 to start work on the Anchorage Harbor based on a study made by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. The corps estimates the total cost of dredging the harbor to a 35-foot-deep water depth and building two jetties will be $5,722,000.

Other items are: $1,170,000 for the construction and rehabilitation of the Eklutna project and these general investigations for navigation: Auke Bay, $15,000; Dry Straits-Wrangell Narrows, $50,000; Gastineau Channel, $75,000; Knik and Turnagain Arms, $12,000;

Kobuk River, $25,000; Kodiak Harbor, small boat basin, $20,000; Naknek Harbor, $5,000; and Sergius Narrows, $23,000.

HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION

Public Law 89–285 provides for scenic development and road beautification of the Federal-aid highway systems. This law brings increased meaning to the phrase "America the beautiful."

Great credit for pointing up the need for this highway beautification act goes to our President and his lovely wife, Lady Bird. Mrs. Johnson is an activist. By her action and support of this legislation, she has truly shown how much more beautiful the countryside of America can be when it is properly cared for.

It should be noted that Alaska has no billboard problem. As Governor of the Territory in 1945, I urged adoption of proposed legislation forbidding erection of billboards on the highways. This was done, and later further safeguards were added to the law.

We know that our population increase has made it necessary to change some of America the beautiful. But necessary changes need not be repudiations of America the beautiful.

ASSATEAGUE ISLAND NATIONAL SEASHORE—PUBLIC LAW 89–195

This act provides for the establishment of the Assateague Island National Seashore in the States of Maryland and Virginia. It is another positive step to preserve for future generations some of our beautiful scenic areas.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965 PUBLIC LAW 89–253

Public Law 89–253 extends all economic opportunity programs to June 30, 1968. It authorizes appropriations totaling $1,785 billion for fiscal 1966.

PACIFIC NORTHWEST DISASTER RELIEF—PUBLIC LAW 89–41

Remembering the Good Friday earthquake and the Federal assistance that we received, Alaskans can well appreciate the humane purposes of this act, which provides assistance to residents of Oregon, Washington, California, Nevada, and Idaho for the reconstruction of areas damaged by the catastrophic floods of December 1964 and January and February 1965.

IMMIGRATION REFORM—PUBLIC LAW 89–236

Public Law 89–236 abolishes the national origins quota system in immigration effective July 1, 1968. It provides for admission of immediate relatives of American citizens and fixes the annual limit of 170,000 from all former quota countries, and 120,000 from Western Hemisphere, giving preference to persons with skills and professional abilities.

DRUG CONTROL—PUBLIC LAW 89–74

Public Law 89–74 provides for regulation and control of manufacturers of depressant and stimulant drugs.

MILITARY PAY INCREASE—PUBLIC LAW 89–132

Public Law 89–132 provides an average 10.4 percent basic pay increase for officers and enlisted members of the uniformed services; total $1 billion.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION—PUBLIC LAW 89–188

Public Law 89–188 provides construction and other related authority for the military departments, and the office of the Secretary of Defense, within and outside the United States. It also includes authority for construction of facilities for the Reserve components in the total amount of $1,780,062,000 consisting of $1,739,749,000 in new authority, an increase in prior years' authorization of $9,823,000; and $30,490,000 for Reserve components.

This year's act authorizes the following construction projects in Alaska: $580,000 for an addition to the sewage treatment plant at Fort Greely; $289,000 for alteration of the command post war room at Fort Richardson; $177,000 for an information data systems center at Fort Richardson; $368,000 for range facilities at Fort Richardson, and $411,000 for a command and control center at Fort Wainwright.

Navy projects include $5 million at the Adak Naval Station; $303,000 at the Adak Communication Station and $1,185,000 at the Mount Moffett Radio Station at Adak. The Air Force construction includes $601,000 at Eielson Air Force Base; $4,540,000 at Elmendorf Air Force Base; $374,000 at Galena Airport; $288,000 at King Salmon Airport and $7,837,000 at various locations in Alaska.

These remote base projects include: Barter Island Air Force Station, $1,108,000; Bethel Air Force Station, $116,000; Cape Lisburne Air Force Station, $138,000; Cold Bay Communications Station, $36,000; Delta Junction, $137,000; Duncan Canal Radio Relay Station, $39,000; Glenallen Communications Station, $246,000; Indian Mountain Air Force Base, $157,000; Kotzebue Air Force Station, $91,000; Murphy Dome Air Force Station, $294,000; Neklason Lake Radio Relay, $71,000; North River Radio Relay Link, $135,000; Ocean Cape Radio Relay Link, $90,000; Pillar Mountain Radio Relay Station, $80,000; Shemya Air Force Base, $1,132,000; Soldotna Radio Relay Site, $60,000; Sparrevohn Air Force Station, $301,000; Tin City Radio Relay Link, $4,579,000, and Tok Radio Relay Link, $135,000.

Included will be 200 units of military family housing at Eielson and a like number at Elmendorf. Except for Elmendorf Air Force Base, which was appropriated $3,640,000 instead of the $4,540,000 authorized, all other funds authorized for military construction projects in Alaska received requested appropriations.

COMBAT SERVICEMEN INSURANCE

Public Law 89–214 provides an automatic insurance plan of $10,000 or $5,000 for all members of the uniformed services on active duty on and after the effective date designated by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs.

MILITARY DEPENDENTS—MEDICAL CARE

Public Law 89–140 authorizes transportation at Government expense for dependents of members of the uniformed services who are accompanying members at posts of duty outside the United States where required medical care is not available locally.

MILITARY DEPENDENTS—LANGUAGE TRAINING

Public Law 89–160 authorizes language training for dependents of members of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps in anticipation of assignment to permanent duty outside the United States.

MILITARY INCENTIVE PAY

Public Law 89–149 authorizes incentive pay for personnel who perform hazardous duty on the flight decks of aircraft carriers.

MILITARY PRIVILEGES (PUBLIC LAW 89–315)

Public Law 89–315 provides free airmail service for first-class letter mail, including cards, for members of the Armed Forces in an overseas combat area as designated by the President, or hospitalized as a result of such service.

A SELECTIVE SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR LEGISLATION PENDING IN CONGRESS

Certainly visionary and far-reaching laws have been enacted in this session of Congress, but much more must be accomplished. Following are a few of the measures introduced in this session of Congress the passage of which I consider essential to the realization of our goals in Alaska.

MINING TAX RELIEF BILL

Long regarded by the mining industry as essential to stimulate exploration for minerals and increased mining activity is H.R. 4665, a companion bill to my bill (S. 338) which would remove existing restrictions on deductions allowable to mining companies for exploration expenditures, which was ordered reported by the House Ways and Means Committee during the closing days of the first session. Tax measures originate in the House of Representatives.

ESTABLISHMENT OF 12-MILE FISHING LIMIT

During the 88th Congress I introduced S. 1816, a bill designed to conserve the offshore fishery resources of the United States by authorizing the extension of the territorial waters of our Nation and its territories to 12 miles. I introduced an identical measure, S. 49, in this session of Congress. It has been referred to the Commerce Committee. Our once great fishing industry is in trouble. The 88th Congress wisely took a long-overdue first step to help U.S. fishermen when it approved a bill introduced by Senator BOB BARTLETT which makes it possible to fine or imprison violators of our coastal waters who come inside our 3-mile limit. But the need persists to extend our territorial waters and give to our fishermen a wider area in which to fish unmolested by foreign competition.

CENTENNIAL BILL PASSED SENATE

The bill to authorize Federal financial participation in the 1967 observance of the centennial of the Alaska Purchase, S. 2614, passed the Senate by voice vote in the closing hours of the session.

The Senate bill authorizes the appropriation of $3 million for programs contributing to the long-range economic development of Alaska. These projects or facilities would be industrial, agricultural, educational, research, or commercial, which would contribute to the purpose of the centennial celebration and be enduring symbols of the significance to the United States of its purchase of Alaska in 1867 by providing permanent

contributions to the economy. The State of Alaska, which with local groups would match or surpass any Federal contribution, would have the basic responsibility for planning and executing these programs. In addition, the Federal Government would be authorized to spend $600,000 for preparation of Federal exhibits during the centennial celebration.

If there is one event in our history that deserves the fullest kind of appreciation, applause, and celebration, it is the centennial of this purchase which made possible the inclusion of an area one-fifth as large as the 48 older States in our free society and definitively removed the incubus of totalitarianism from the Western World. Alaska—but for William Henry Seward—might well be a police state.

We propose to celebrate one of the great achievements of American history. It shows that the American people when they went through with the purchase of Alaska, and 6 years ago achieved statehood for our 49th State, proved that they were not declining, but that they were still young, still vigorous and on the march, and that our cherished principle of government by consent of the governed was still in full effect.

The purchase of Alaska has altered the course of history—and it is scarcely arguable that it has not been altered for the better.

Meanwhile, the House Public Works Committee has reported a companion bill, H.R. 9963, introduced by able, hard working Representative RALPH J. RIVERS. His bill would appropriate $5 million for Federal support of the Alaska centennial. No action was taken in the House before adjournment. I am hopeful that positive action can be taken early in the second session to enable Alaska to make the best possible use of its building season.

ASSISTANCE FOR AREAS STRUCK BY MAJOR DISASTERS

I am a cosponsor of a bill (S. 1861) which would authorize the Secretary of Agriculture, the Housing and Home Finance Administrator, and the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to refinance loans in areas struck by major disasters and to waive payment of principal and interest in certain hardship cases. This measure has passed the Senate and is pending before the House Public Works Committee.

ASSISTANCE IN HOUSING FOR ALASKA NATIVES

I am cosponsor of a bill that would authorize $10 million to the Housing and Home Finance Administrator for a program of grants and loans to Alaska to provide housing and related facilities for persons who are unable to finance such facilities on terms and conditions they can afford. This bill has been referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

COLD WAR VETERANS ACT

Once again I am a cosponsor of a bill to extend the GI bill of rights to cold war veterans. The bill, S. 9, passed the Senate and is pending before the House Veterans' Affairs Committee.

INDIANA DUNES NATIONAL LAKESHORE

Since my first term as a Member of the Senate, I have consistently cosponsored and supported legislation that would establish a national park and recreation area on the Indiana Dunes which would preserve their scenic beauty and natural splendor. During this session of Congress a bill (S. 360) to establish a national park and recreation area on the Indiana Dunes passed the Senate and was referred to the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

The preservation of beauty in the midst of urban blight is as much a necessity for the people of this country as the economic progress which brings with it increasing realization of human requirements for this natural resource. As one who has always been a fervent conservationist, I have applauded the wise proposals to preserve and, where necessary, acquire land to satisfy the need of humans for enjoyment of outdoor recreation. This is a form of conservation which truly meets the needs of people, and this is, I believe, the purpose of successful conservation.

A BILL TO FACILITATE USE OF LAND GRANTED UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA

I am the sponsor of a bill (S. 2366) to facilitate the use of land granted to the University of Alaska. The bill has been referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

EKLUTNA POWER PROJECT

Legislation providing that funds used to prepare the Eklutna project near Anchorage would not be counted against the project's revenue, was introduced by Senator BARTLETT and cosponsored by me. The Good Friday earthquake requires permanent repair to the project estimated at about $3.1 million to be budgeted over a 3-year period. The bill number is S. 104.

THE POPULATION CRISIS

On April 1, 1965, I introduced S. 1676, a bill to coordinate and disseminate birth control information upon request. The bill also authorizes the President to call a White House Conference on Population in 1967. Seven Senators joined as cosponsors and identical legislation was introduced in the House of Representatives.

The bill was referred to the Subcommittee on Foreign Aid Expenditures, of which I am chairman, and hearings started June 22. Fifteen hearings were held this session and they will resume in 1966. More than 50 witnesses testified as to the various problems created by the population explosion.

By October 1, five more Senators and joined as cosponsors of S. 1676. The bill has bipartisan support and one cosponsor is a member of the Catholic Church.

A BIGGER STATE?

If the inhabitants of the State of Hawaii and the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands so desire, they could become a single State if Senate Concurrent Resolution 50 is enacted. I am a cosponsor of this resolution.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON FOREIGN EXPENDITURES

This Congress I have served as chairman of the recently created Government Operations Subcommittee on Foreign Aid Expenditures. The subcommittee has held 15 hearings on domestic and international population problems and has heard 56 witnesses thus far.

The subcommittee also initiated hearings related to the processing of the Pribiloff fur sealskins which is carried out pursuant to an international treaty signed by the United States, Japan, Canada, and Russia to restrict pelagic sealing in the northern Pacific Ocean.

The subcommittee has initiated a review of the multimillion dollar foreign participant training programs of the Federal Government to ascertain the efficiency and economy with which the training of foreign nationals is being carried out by the multitude of Federal departments and agencies involved. Information compiled by the subcommittee indicates that hearings may have to be held early in the next session of Congress on this subject.

Another subject presently under investigation by the subcommittee concerns a review of the coordination, efficiency and economy of the policies of the Department of State, the Treasury Department, Agency for International Development, and the Department of Agriculture in regard to U.S. holdings of foreign currencies.

The subcommittee has also held hearings on the disposition of Government surplus property. These hearings will continue when Congress is adjourned.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON MINERALS, MATERIALS, AND FUELS

I serve as chairman of the Interior Subcommittee on Minerals, Materials, and Fuels. This subcommittee has initial responsibility for measures referred to it concerning "mineral interests generally," in the words of the Legislative Reorganization Act, the mineral resources of the public lands, and mineral land laws and claims and entries thereunder.

During this 1st session of the 89th Congress, the subcommittee has devoted a considerable amount of time and effort to finding ways and means to stimulate domestic production of gold, reopen closed mines, and put gold miners back to work.

Three measures dealing directly with gold mining were referred to the subcommittee. S. 2562 was referred by Senator MCGOVERN, Senate Resolution 83 was referred by Senator BARTLETT, and S. 1377 was referred by me. All three measures have bipartisan cosponsorship.

S. 1377, which is based on my bill (S. 2125) of the 88th Congress as reported favorably to the Senate, provides for payment to domestic gold producers on an individual basis of amounts predicated on the differences between their cost of producing gold in the last quarter of 1939, our last period of normal production, and average costs of the last quarter of 1963.

The measure carefully refrains from any suggestion for any increase in the $35 an ounce price for gold established as a depression measure in 1934.

Introduced by Senator MCGOVERN with seven cosigners S. 2562 would aid and

stabilize the gold-mining industry of the United States by maintaining the rate of gold production from currently operating gold mines and by stimulating increased gold production through the reopening of mining properties which have ceased operations prior to January 1, 1965. It would encourage exploration, development, and commencement of new gold mining operations through the Gold Mines Assistance Commission which would be directed to provide financial assistance to domestic producers of gold. It is the intent of this bill that financial assistance payments to domestic gold producers hereunder shall have no relation to the monetary price of gold paid by the Treasury Department of the United States.

Senate Resolution 83 introduced by Senator BARTLETT would create a select committee of the Senate on gold production to study the problem in its entirety and report back to the Senate with recommendations.

While the subcommittee took no formla action on these measures directly, they formed the background for a series of informal conferences and discussions with Treasury officials held from time to time throughout the session. There is reason to hope that out of these conferences may come legislation which will have the acquiescence, at least, of the administration to ameliorate the plight of domestic gold producers, who have been put out of business, in a great number of instances, by the direct action of the Federal Government.

Other legislation considered and acted upon by the subcommittee included:

S. 1378, by Senator Moss and five other Senators, to amend the Lead-Zinc Small Producers Stabilization Act of 1961. The House companion measure, H.R. 5842, as amended was substituted, and became Public Law 89-238. The law extends the lead-zinc small producers program for an additional 4 years, broadens the base for participation, and clarifies certain provisions of the parent act.

S. 1674, by Senator BIBLE, to authorize leasing by the Secretary of the Interior of geothermal steam and associated geothermal resources on the public lands, was favorably reported, with amendments, by me and passed the Senate on September 7, 1965. The bill opens the way to development of a new natural resource of our publicly owned lands. The steam itself has been proven valuable for production of electric energy. In a number of localities the superheated brines or gases contain mineral required by industry and agriculture. The proposed legislation is a leasing act, providing the Secretary with authority, which he does not now have, to permit development by private enterprise of geothermal deposits, and setting forth conditions and standards of leasing.

S. 2358, introduced by Senator HOLLAND, authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to sell reserved phosphate interests in certain lands in Florida to the surface owners of said lands. The submittee held a hearing, in conjunction with consideration of H.R. 7378.

H.R. 7378, introduced by Congressman HALEY, proposes selling reserved phosphate rights in certain lands in Florida to the surface owners thereof. This measure and S. 2358 cover different tracts of land. At the hearing, the Department of the Interior urged amendment to require the surface owner to pay the costs of mineral survey, instead of the flat $200 fee provided in the bill as it passed the House. Since such a survey could be very costly, the proposed amendment met with objection and both measures have been set aside for further study by the subcommittee early in the second session.

In addition to its consideration of the gold problem and action on specific bills, the subcommittee conducted a study and held hearings, in Butte, Mont., and in Washington, D.C., on the administration and interpretation of Public Law 167, 84th Congress. This measure is popularly known as the Common Varieties Act or the Materials Act. It provides that common varieties of sand, gravel, stone, and the like shall no longer be locatable under the mining law of 1872, but instead shall be subject to leasing by the Secretary of the Interior, on a competitive basis for limited periods of time. It also provides that the holder of a mining claim can use only as much of the surface, and surface resources, as are necessary for him to conduct actual mining operations.

Over the past several years the subcommittee has received vigorous protests from mine operators on the public lands that the act was being interpreted by the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management in a manner inconsistent with the original intent of the bill, and that its administration was so harsh as to be inequitable and to discourage mineral development. At the Butte hearings, spokesmen for the mine operators cited specific instances to support such allegations. In the next session the subcommittee will pursue this matter further in an attempt to remedy the situation.

His Holiness Pope Paul VI Offers Vatican Support to Ecumenical Patriarch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, the serious problems confronting the ecumenical patriarchate of the Eastern Greek Orthodox faith are the subjects of several articles from two Chicago, Ill., newspapers—the Greek Star and the Greek Press.

I believe the Members of Congress would be interested in reading the following articles "Pope Paul Offers Vatican Support to Ecumenical Patriarch," "Ambassador Alexis S. Liatis Protest to the United Nations," and "Mission and Status of the Ecumenical Patriachate of Constantinople":

[From the Greek Star]

POPE PAUL OFFERS VATICAN SUPPORT TO ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH—MEETS ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS

During his historic 1-day visit here on October 4 Pope Paul VI granted a 15-minute private audience to Archbishop Iakovos, primate of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, who discussed with the pontiff the worsening situation of the ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople in Istanbul and the Greek Orthodox minority in Turkey, against whom new oppressive measures have been taken recently.

Archbishop Iakovos asked Pope Paul to use his good offices to render assistance to the ecumenical patriarchate, which had two of its churches seized recently by the cohorts of the so-called "Turkish Orthodox" movement that has the support of the Turkish Government. In reply, Pope Paul gave assurances to Archbishop Iakovos, who is the representative fo the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the Americas, of his deep personal esteem and sympathy for Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras I, with whom he met in a historic encounter in Jerusalem in January of 1964, and of the willingness of the Vatican to offer all possible help to the First See of Orthodoxy in its present predicament.

Archbishop Iakovos issued the following statement on his audience with the Pope:

"It was a great privilege for me to be received by His Holiness Pope Paul VI during his crowded and epic-making day in New York. I feel very moved that the spiritual leader of Roman Catholicism showed such deep concern at the present day sad situation confronting the ecumenical patriachate and our Greek Orthodox brethren in Turkey, and of his desire to help His Holiness Athenagoras I and his flock in their present trials.

"This sincere profession of care of Pope Paul for his Orthodox brethren in the midst of his great peace mission here reveals again his greatness and his true Christian embrace and I shall always cherish in my heart and my thoughts the Lord's Prayer, at the conclusion of our meeting, which we recited together—he in Latin and I in Greek—an entreaty offered, at his suggestion, for the deliverance of the ecumenical patriarchate and its faithful from their present plight."

Turkish measures against the ecumenical patriarchate and the Greek Orthodox minority in Istanbul now includes "control" of Patriarchal finances and activities; the seizure of two churches of the ecumenical patriarchate in Constantinople by followers of the "Turkish Orthodox" movement the expulsion of thousands of Greek nationals; the closing of schools and philanthropic institutions of the patriarchate, refusal to allow students of the Greek Orthodox parochial schools to participate in commemorations of religious holidays; the closing of the printing plant of the patriarchate; and the arbitrary ousting from Turkey of Prelates of the Holy Synod of the ecumenical patriarchate.

[From the Greek Star]

AMBASSADOR ALEXIS S. LIATIS' PROTEST TO THE UNITED NATIONS

The permanent representative of Greece to the United Nations, Ambassador Alexis S. Liatis, lodged a strong protest to the President of the Security Council, warning that the Turkish pressure on ecumenical patriarchate has been intensified with the obvious intention of forcing Patriarch Athenagoras to abandon his ecumenical functions.

The Greek mission's protest is as follows:

Since April 1964 the Greek mission brought to the attention of the Security Council measures taken by the Turkish authorities against the ecumenical patriarchate with the obvious intent to intimidate the patri-

arch and the bishops and priests of his church.

In reply, the permanent representative of Turkey stated that "The patriarchate and the person of the ecumenical patriarch and other personnel will enjoy the traditional reverence and the protection of the law accorded to all citizens."

It must be pointed out that when the Turkish Government is bent on eroding the position and the ecumenical character of the Christian Orthodox Patriarchiate, as a matter of longstanding policy periodically reactivated according to international conjectures, and uses to this effect the police and administrative machinery of the state "the protection of the law accorded to all citizens" affords scant comfort indeed.

The campaign against the ecumenical patriarchate as it seems is now intensified especially ever since the patriarch met His Holiness Pope Paul VI in Jerusalem, in January 1964, and was aimed precisely at the ecumenical, that is, universal, character of the institution, which was enhanced by this historical event.

Statements to that effect by Turkish spokesmen in April last raised a wave of indignant rebuttal from churches and religious leaders all over the world. Thereupon, the pressure has been turned against the immediate rights and authority of the patriarch and his diocese of Istanbul. The patriarchate, for obvious reasons, is reluctant to raise its voice in public protest.

In the pursuit of its unholy ends, the Turkish Government has used a self-ordained priest self-styled head of the so-called Turkish-Orthodox Church. Lacking a congregation outside his immediate family but enjoying subsidies and support of the Turkish Government Papaefthym Eronol—as the impostor was named—on his deathbed ordained his son, Turgut, as "bishop of the Turkish-Orthodox." This man and his brother, Seljuk, laid claim to several churches which since time immemorial have been under undisputed jurisdiction of the ecumenical patriarchate.

On September 1, 1965, they bodily forced their way into the churches of St. Nicholas and St. John of Galata. When the deacons of the churches and the patriarchate protested and sought the protection of the authorities, the latter ordered the churches closed and prohibited the celebration of mass. Later in the month, police protection was withdrawn from the churches and agents of the Eronol brothers were allowed to enter the premises, whereupon police protection was restored, this time against the patriarchate and the lawful owners.

The story of Papaefthym is well known to those who have any knowledge of the affairs of the Greek community in Turkey and government policy toward it. His son now calls himself Papaefthym II, archbishop of the Turkish-Orthodox and ecumenical patriarch and openly threatens the real ecumenical patriarch with ex-communication.

Protest and demarches have been to no avail. Petitioners are told to apply to the courts. But with the usurpers in occupancy and legal titles being granted on recommendations of administrative authorities, the outcome is a foregone conclusion, unless the Turkish Government comes to realize how damaging to its prestige such high-handed, strong-arm tactics, against a venerable church enjoying worldwide respect are bound to be.

(Signed) ALEXIS S. LIATIS,
Ambassador of Greece to the United Nations.

[From the Greek Press]

MISSION AND STATUS OF THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

The ecumenical patriarchate coming into existence as it did within the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, later the Byzantine Empire, from the start constituted an independent religious and ecclesiastical center. Because of its universally important position and its enjoyment of a wholly nonpolitical integrity of status, it gradually became the center and source of moral, cultural, and religious enlightenment for the whole Eastern World, which embraced within itself a number of different nations, languages, and ethnic groups.

The patriarchate played a leading role in the propagation of the Gospel in Asia, Africa, and Europe. It played a vital part in the summoning of the great ecumenical synods.

Through its church fathers and other outstanding theologians, it contributed to the formulation of those creeds and confessions of faith which enshrine the essential truths of Christianity, and which still unite all Christendom today. It developed an effective system of discipline and canon law still valid at the present time.

At a later period, its influence was of crucial importance in shaping the eastern orthodox traditions, and in preserving the integrity of orthodoxy with eastern Christendom. In its capacity as mother church, having evangelized and founded national churches in a number of countries, it constantly endeavored to preserve church unity and to maintain the peace between the nations. It has now pursued this policy of reconciliation, combined with full respect for individual national groups, for a period of more than 16 centuries. The first Ottoman conquerors found the ecumenical patriarchate with this status. The recognized the major importance of its task and guaranteed both its status and the free exercise of its prerogatives. They approved the specific regulations which governed the Orthodox Church and its institutions, and ratified them in the form of written legislation.

The patriarchate is purely spiritual and pastoral, both in its function and in its exercise of that function, whether at home or abroad. Endowed with a strictly spiritual mission it does not interfere in secular affairs and has consistently given evidence of its nonpolitical character.

Today, in accordance with its centuries-long tradition, it makes every effort to foster a better climate of spiritual and human understanding between East and West and to bring about reconciliation between men, between religions, and between nations. From the juridicial point of view, it is not a national church. Its character is specifically supranational, and is precisely this fact that accounts for the use of the word "ecumenical" in its title, and that leads other Orthodox churches still to call it to the ecumenical patriarchate and to treat it as such. The patriarchate in fact is called by this term precisely to convey that it has spiritual responsibilities toward and relationships with the churches of all nations.

Its contemporary significance in the Pan-Orthodox field is manifest in its bringing together of the Orthodox churches of different nationalities: in Constantinople in 1923, on Mount Athos in 1930, and in Rhodes in 1961 and 1963, for Pan-Orthodox discussions. In the ecumenical field, the role of the patriarchate has been of equal importance especially since the courageous initiative taken in the encyclical letter of 1920. For this letter was one of the major factors leading to the foundation of the World Council of Churches and has been leading all the other Orthodox churches into becoming active members of this great fellowship. The participation of Constantinople convinced them all that they should join in the great event of the ecumenical movement that was at work within Christendom and leading all Christians toward unity in work and prayer.

The spiritual supremacy of the patriarchate and the importance of its community witness in its natural see, are universally recognized both in the East and the West. First, of course, by the autocephalous ethnic, Orthodox churches, and second, by such states, as following the ancient custom of the past, have in the present applied to the patriarchate so that the right to autocephaly might be granted to their natural churches (for example, Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, etc.), and third by all Christian churches throughout the world.

From the point of view of the sister Orthodox churches, and in view of their canonical dependence on the Mother Church of Constantinople, it is of absolute importance that the patriarchate should be guaranteed not only in theory, but allowed in practice, all the rights, powers, and facilities necessary to enable it to fulfill its high task.

And among these rights should be that to summon and to hold without interference of hindrance, such purely religious conferences as may desire, that of full freedom to participate in those held by others abroad, that of freely being able to welcome visits from foreign religious leaders and Christian representatives, and that of freely being able to visit foreign religious leaders outside. But further, when all efforts today are turned toward the fostering of European unity and fellowship, it would be grievous if the spiritual element in this hoped-for unity should be allowed to be lacking. Any blow then to the present functioning of the patriarchate would be in direct opposition to the spirit of today and of man's noblest values.

The ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople, headed by Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras I, has ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, which is the largest of the Eastern Orthodox bodies here with an estimated 2 million communicants. Patriarch Athenogoras, 78, is generally acknowledged to be the spiritual leader of the world's 200 million Orthodox. For years a leading proponent of the ecumenical movement, he was archbishop of the Americas from 1931 to 1949.

In the past 2 years 9,000 of the 12,500 Greek nationals living in Turkey have been systematically ousted.

Since those who are deported are often heads of families, their dependents who are Turkish citizens are in many cases also forced to leave. The Greek Orthodox community in Constantinople, which a few years ago counted over 100,000 members, now is reduced to half that number, or less, as a result of the systematic campaign to drive hellenism out of Turkey.

The ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople is being subjected to severe restrictions as a part of the same campaign. Its books have been "examined" and its activities "supervised." Patriarchal schools and philanthropic institutions have been closed or curtailed and publications of the patriarchate have been suspended.

Turkey claims that the measures taken are in retaliation for maltreatment of Turkish Cypriots by Greek Cypriots, but this obvious political pretext is untenable because neither the Greeks of Turkey nor the ecumenical patriarchate is a party of the Cyprus dispute, and because anti-Greek acts antedate the Cypriot issue and go back, in recent years, to the night of terror of September 6–7, 1955, when Greek shops were destroyed, churches burned, and Greek cemeteries desecrated.

Concern for the ecumenical patriarchate and for the Greek Orthodox minority in Turkey and protests against their treatment by the Turks have been voiced by the World Council of Churches in Geneva; the U.S. Conference of the World Council of Churches; the Vatican radio; Augustin Cardinal Bea, chairman of the Vatican Secretariat for Christian Unity; Lawrence Cardinal Shehan, archbishop of Baltimore and chairman of the U.S. Bishops' Commission for Ecumenical Affairs; Bishop John Hines,

presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church in America; Bishop Reuban H. Mueller, president of the National Council of Churches; Representative JOHN LINDSAY, of New York; Mayor Robert Wagner, Jr., of New York; Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, of Illinois; Senator JOHN SPARKMAN, of Alabama; Senators LEVERETT SALTONSTALL and EDWARD KENNEDY, of Massachusetts; Senator STUART SYMINGTON, of Missouri; and many more ecclesiastical and civil leaders and organizations here and abroad.

On May 14, 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson wrote personally to Patriarch Athenagoras to let him know of "my unceasing concern for your welfare and my deep interest in the spiritual flock which you shepherd as the archbishop of Constantinople and as the ecumenical patriarch." In this letter the President stated that "the ecumenical patriarchate continues to be a great bulwark of spiritual strength and religious leadership and we value its contribution to world peace and stability."

Recently the ecumenical patriarchate has taken a new initiative toward opening the way leading to reconciliation with the Roman Church; and it can justifiably be expected that in this field it will be called upon to play a very important role in further reconciliation work in the years ahead.

Libraries and the Inquiring Mind

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, Mr. Robert Vosper, who is president of the American Library Association, has written a most thoughtful and informative presentation. In view of the information contained in it which I know will be of interest to my colleagues, I place at this point in my remarks:

LIBRARIES AND THE INQUIRING MIND

One remarkable phenomenon of our times, especially of the last two decades, is the increasingly high value American society has placed on knowledge—its production, acquisition, and dissemination—and thus on the inquiring mind. This refreshing new value judgment is apparent on many levels. On the one hand there is the popular respect paid to, or at least the public acceptance of matters intellectual and academic. For the pejorative phrase "egghead" one can today substitute as a touchstone the respectful, if slightly crass phrase "the knowledge business." That very phrase "the knowledge business" is evidence of another and impressive level of concern, the heavy investment of both public and private funds in research, in education, and in the newer automated information processes. And on the highest level there is the painful evolution of Federal policy deeply concerned with these same matters. Thus we are, I think, witnessing, or involved in a fundamental shift in social values and one that is, of course, of central concern to librarians.

One apt indication of the significance and persistence of this new trend was the decision of a prominent economist, Prof. Fritz Machlup of Princeton, to produce what he terms an "overdue * * * economic analysis" of the production and distribution of knowledge in the United States (Princeton 1962), a book which contains a quarry of pertinent statistics and analyses.

From a library podium this evening I propose to touch on but three facets of this multiplex phenomenon:

(a) The driving Federal emphasis on scientific and particularly industrial research.

(b) The global scope of contemporary university involvement in behalf of the national effort, together with changing emphases in social science research.

(c) The emerging recognition at the Federal level of the importance of humanistic research.

In discussing these aspects of the new search for knowledge I will suggest that consistently and shortsightedly we have failed to undergird this major social effort with proper library support for the inquiring mind, that unless we soon alter public policy we will only compound an already crippling deficit of reference and research library resources and services, and finally that the Federal Government has both a fundamental stake in and a direct responsibility for the present frustrating state of library affairs. At this point, I conclude, the effective resolution of the library and information problems faced by research can come only through the proper development of a wise and forceful national policy in generous support of overall library service to research and inquiry.

Fortunately the picture is not entirely bleak, for there have been some recent indications, albeit not concerted ones, of increasing understanding and concern within the Federal community, as well as of a determination on the part of the library community to press its case at high levels. These days in Washington one can discuss cataloging as cataloging and gain the thoughtful attention that this significant intellectual problem deserves. Moreover, one senses the gradual disappearance of the cavalier and callow intention to write off traditional research libraries as dying dinosaurs, a recently very popular sport. What was once thought to be a dinosaur is perhaps more comparable to the precursors of Homo Sapiens, in reasonably rapid evolution.

For this evening's audience I need not dwell long on the amount and significance of our postwar involvement in scientific and industrial research, but let me remind you of the patterns and the implications for libraries. Professor Machlup concludes that: "Even if it may not be true that no industry or economic activity has ever grown as fast as R. & D., this growth has certainly been phenomenal." He presents figures indicating a growth of 3,714 percent in the 20 years from 1940 to 1960. Although consolidated figures on library growth for the same 20 years are not readily available, it is demonstrable that expenditures for libraries in higher education rose only 765 percent and income for public libraries only 522 percent. Thus we could suggest an overall annual library growth rate in that vicinity, and I think commonsense experience would bear out this great discrepancy with investment in research.

Although one might not reasonably postulate a 1-to-1 relationship between investment in R. & D. and in support of library or information services, one can reasonably sugegst that this degree of discrepancy is ludicrous and that in this discrepancy were sown the dragon seeds of the present widespread discontent with the quality of library service in behalf of scientific and industrial research.

The Federal Government's part in this total R. & D. effort, as a source of funds, can be shown to have increased from nearly 40 percent in 1940 to almost 60 percent in 1959–60. Although over these years industry has been by far the major performer of R. & D., and although in absolute dollars industry's appropriations for R. & D. have risen steadily, yet industry's share in the total cost has apparently not varied significantly as a percentage of the total. However imprecise the figures, it is clear that as promoter, producer, and purchaser of research the Federal Government is increasingly the prime mover. This is why, I argue, that Federal policy, or, to be more precise, lack of Federal policy, must bear a heavy burden of guilt for the present inability of the library community—both public and academic— adequately to respond to the needs of research. The plain and cruel fact is that research library and information services have fundamentally been left dependent on local and inadequate financial resources at a time when these immense injections of Federal funds into academic and industrial research have produced a staggering increase in demands for library services. Local finances including those of State government could not and cannot cover the deficit, and probably should not be expected to under the circumstances.

Underfinanced libraries have simply been unable, in the face of these pressures, to respond with the requisite speed and quality of service, not to speak of expensive retooling in an age of automation. And yet ironically enough, the finger of blame has continually been pointed at these local academic and public libraries by too many influential and, I would say in this context, irresponsible spokesmen for the Federal R. & D. effort. It is high time we redress the balance and through a responsible and broadly based Federal policy begin to underwrite the library deficit in support of the national need for research and inquiry.

The position of colleges and universities in all this research activity may not bulk large in actual dollars, but it is in fact of the highest significance and notably with reference to the need for and provision of extensive library collections. Although much of the debate over basic versus applied research may be oratorical rather than useful, it is generally agreed that colleges and universities are the producers of by far the greatest proportion of theoretical research. And there is general agreement that theoretical or academic research is fundmental to the continuing vitality of the overall national effort. In fact many scientists have protested the niggardly percentage of total R. & D. support that goes into academic research. Prof. Willard Libby, of UCLA, formerly of the AEC, has typically urged that the health of the space effort depends upon more intensive university research, coupled with training. Certainly it is at the critical point of highly sophisticated training integrated with frontline research that our colleges and universities are the only available social instrumentality. In this contest Professor Machlup says forthrightly, but with admitted embarrassment, that "the phenomenal growth of R. & D. in the United States has on balance probably harmed the development of basic research. I insist that this R. & D. growth has equally harmed the development of research library services across the country.

Let me now take a few moments to remind you of the powerful effect of this postwar Federal development on the very structure of universities and their libraries. U.S. Office of Education figures reveal that in 1930, expenditures for organized research were about 8 percent of expenditures for resident instruction; by 1958 this had risen to almost 50 percent. This shift in emphasis is striking enough, but consider next the fact that concurrently expenditures for libraries as a percentage of expenditures for resident instruction rose only from about 4 percent to a mere 8 percent.

One major State university, in reporting on the impressive growth in the amount of its sponsored research, indicates a rise of from $700,000 in 1943–44 to nearly $42 mil-

lion in 1963–64. While external research support was thus increasing sixtyfold over 20 years, total library support increased only sixfold, from $450,000 to $2.7 million. At my own university extramural research funds rose from $3.3 million in 1953–54 to $30.4 million in 1963–64, or a tenfold increase in a decade when concurrent library support increased only three times, rising from $1.2 to $3.8 million.

Dr. Allen M. Cartter, of the American Council on Education, has stated that Federal support of academic research has approximately doubled every 4 years since the war. If I read the available figures correctly, total support for academic libraries has been doubling about every 7 years, not every 4, since before the war, and the rate has not changed markedly in the postwar years.

Dr. C. V. Kidd, longtime chief of research planning the National Institutes of Health, when discussing American Universities and Federal Research (Harvard, 1959), reminds us of the three inseparable goals of the university—the preservation, transmission, and the creation of knowledge. "The maintenance of a normal balance among the three is of major importance to every university," he states, but "the Government's concern with research to the virtual exclusion of the other two functions of universities is the source of an inherent problem in the relation between the Federal Government and universities." More recently through NDEA and the anticipated Higher Education Act of 1965, the Government is expressing a measure of concern for teaching, or the transmission of knowledge. The third element, preservation, which is essentially the library function, has, however, been largely ignored, scorned, or misunderstood.

Here again, then, I urge, is the crux of the library problem, this clear discrepancy between the burgeoning support of academic research and the grudging support of academic libraries. And here again Federal policy is to blame for having left the whole vexing library problem basically dependent on local support. At my own university, for example, 88 percent of extramural research is based on Federal funding while the library is given short shrift, under Federal policy, as a mere part of overhead costs in the same category with dormitories and office services. This was where the error lay, in viewing libraries as a kind of static housekeeping service rather than as a vital phenomenon related more nearly in kind and in growth implications to the phenomenon of research itself.

Furthermore, there has been a slow and grudging recognition that the library phenomenon itself requires a massive application of research and development effort. For far too long alterations in library techniques were dealt with by the rule-of-thumb procedures of the oldtime mariner. More recently, through both Federal and private foundations, there has been some attention to research into library problems. Unfortunately, in my personal judgment, this new effort has been too much at the level of puting out small brush fires when we should have been attacking a major conflagration. At this point I can't help expressing some pride in the recent establishment in the University of California of an interdisciplinary Institute of Library Research, which hopefully will be in a position to attack some fundamental library questions on a broad base, with proper attention to the necessary developmental work. In equal measure there is remarkable news from MIT. It should not be overlooked, however, that by no means all of the urgent library problems deserving investigation are technological in nature; there are fundamental questions of economic and social values to be faced as well.

I have laid the blame on the Federal doorstep, and I think logically so. However, I am also firmly of the opinion that for too long our university presidents as a group have shamefully held their heads in the sand and failed to give concerted and statesmanlike attention to this major aspect of their responsibilities.

It is obvious, I am sure, that thus far I have been concerned almost solely with scientific and industrial research, including the health sciences, for the Federal Government has been the prime mover, and the national defense complex of the Federal Government when it thinks of research and education is by now a truism. Let me only underscore this statement by once again using my own university as a typically unhappy example and then again by quoting Professor Machlup on the generality. At UCLA we report, with some distress, that of extramural research funds (which are dominantly Federal, you will recall) 66 percent were available for the life sciences and health professions, 28 percent for the physical sciences and engineering, 5 percent for the social sciences, and 1 percent for the humanities. As Professor Machlup says of this situation in general: "This one-sidedness, this disregard for the social sciences and the humanities, is easy to explain but hard to justify * * *. With all the unsolved social, economic, political, racial, and international problems * * * these attitudes (which overlook social science and humanistic research) must be fought. A nation cannot live merely on victuals, comforts, games, and weapons (and, he might have added, good health); a concern with ideas and values is essential, for without them life becomes meaningless."

Thus the Nation's postwar R. & D. effort has seriously harmed the development of research libraries by starving them while at the same time intensifying the demands upon them in a lopsided way. Of those who might claim that the survival of the general research library is of little importance to modern scientific and technical research, one can properly ask: Why then all the hue and cry about its failures and inadequacies? The general research library is not passive and is not old fashioned; it is simply poverty stricken in the modern world.

Too much of the most vocal Federal complaint about libraries has come from officials stricken with the technical reports syndrome, a syndrome based in a narrowly technical conception of research, a syndrome that underestimates the importance and methods of theoretical and academic research, a syndrome that has no place for social science or humanistic research, a syndrome that is concerned only with information and not with knowledge, a syndrome that has no conception therefore of the responsibilities and services of a general research library. The librarian of any large public library or any university library can readily demonstrate the insistent and mounting demands placed upon his scientific collections and services by the industrial research that has been supported by massive Federal contracts, not to speak of the urgent library requests of academic research itself. The result has been an extreme dislocation of functions, often to the clear disadvantage of the library's direct clientele in the case of university libraries. In a few instances, as at Stanford and MIT, separate library service entities have been set up on a fee basis to handle the industrial service workload. In public universities this approach has generally seemed infeasible, however, and in any event competition for access to reading space and to available journal files, at a time when academic populations are doubling, has raised serious policy questions. As a result most libraries have been forced to restrict the activity of their services at a time when more expansive or active services are demanded by all comers, and our interlibrary loan activities are crippled.

In a commendable effort to meet the need and spread the burden of service demands, the libraries of New York State and Pennsylvania are seeking State aid for a coordinated public and academic library service to research. This approach clearly recognizes the importance of libraries to modern industrial research as well as the importance of industry to the State economy. I doubt, however, that even this fine effort will resolve the whole problem, especially that beyond the level of local industrial library needs. Fundamentally we are dealing with a national problem.

If the Federal Government over the past 20 years had supported reference and research libraries as generously and imaginatively as it supported research, I venture to say we would not today be facing the library and information crisis of which we hear so much. A federally financed library and information effort equivalent to and concurrent with the AEC and NASA scientific research efforts would have assured us of a forceful, imaginative, experimental, and automated library economy. The lack of such support is the source of our ills.

Fortunately, as I indicated earlier, the picture is not enteirly bleak. The National Library of Medicine by way of its Medlars program and the Medical Library Assistance Act of 1965, which will hopefully be approved by the Congress, reveals a wise and generous understanding of the forces at issue. It proposes to strengthen and extend the existing medical library structure with funds for resources, for buildings, for staff training, and for automation with relationship to a nationally developed store of bibliographical information. Let us hope that the President's Office of Science and Technology proceeds with equal wisdom, for the same weaknesses occur throughout the research library structure.

Mr. Scott Adams has declared for NLM, "that the key to the problem is the modernization and revitalization of the medical library network. We believe further that any national planning which ignores the investment society has already made in existing library resources, is unrealistic. The objective should be to strengthen these resources and to employ new technologies to enable them to meet interdisciplinary needs, not to permit them to wither by attrition." In response to this I can offer only gratitude for superb insights, assurance that this is a Federal responsibility in light of the Federal research effort, and hope that these insights will be adopted by other Federal agencies concerned with knowledge and information. I would also add three other comments. In the first place the passivity of the research library, of which Mr. Adams complains, is the consequence of starvation imposed by the Federal Government, and not the consequence of the nature of libraries or librarians. Moreover, it is imprecise to imply that only modern interdisciplinary research requires active library services; all research does, in all disciplines, and this has long been the case; libraries have simply been too impoverished to respond with alacrity. In the third place, I trust the NLM will have the high courage to recognize the full implications of Mr. Adams' comments on interdisciplinary research. Those implications are that the general research library has been farsighted and wise in refusing, in the face of insistent suggestions, to scorn its responsibilities to historical and humanistic research, and furthermore that the NLM, in these days of space medicine and medicare, must carefully correlate its efforts with total research and library activity and must not overbalance things in favor of a limited research sector. Interdisciplinary research important to medicine is already moving beyond the borders of medicine or biomedicine. Thus, neither NLM nor OST should proceed without concern for and consultation

with other components of the research library economy.

I particularly mention OST because of the recent public announcement from that Office that the System Development Corp. is under contract to assist the Federal Council for Science and Technology (through its Committee on Scientific and Technical Information) in developing by early fall "a long-range plan for further improvement of national scientific and technical information systems." The task group will study specifically: "the functions and relations of major components of the document handling system, such as the National Libraries, university and other research libraries, abstracting, indexing, and alerting services.* * * Another major area of interest will be the impact of advanced technologies on the information transfer network."

As I have said, I trust that this OST analysis proceeds with the sophistication and generosity of spirit that this age-old problem merits in its modern environment. There is no simple mechanical answer, although in recent years a number of ex-cathedra blue-sky plans have irresponsibly raised public hopes with simplistic solutions to a complex social phenomenon. In its own way this approach is as cruel as offering panaceas for cancer or the common cold. Moreover, I hope that the OST analysis does not focus only on industrial research and proceed in isolation from other research sectors, for the inquiring mind knows no artificial limits as between science and nonscience, and this is the point at which the general research library is still a unique and powerful tool. As more than one thoughtful observed has stated: "The library is the only place that still aspires to universality." In the modern world that is a resource which must be strengthened, not weakened or abandoned.

The time has come, I think, for the open development of a national library program in support of the total research effort, not merely a series of unrelated and expedient programs for the several sectors of research based on the purely artificial organization of Federal agencies at this stage in history. We need something far more than a Federal Library Committee, important as that body can be; we need a national research library council in which the several great national library organizations should openly and forcefully play a part with the relevant Federal libraries and other national agencies in developing an integrated, not a monolithic national library and information network.

Now that I have dwelt at some length on the library aspects of Federal science and technology, let me speak briefly on my other two points, since they follow logically I think from what I have already discussed.

If we think the scientific information explosion has been noisy for libraries, the social sciences are in the process of detonating one many megatons more powerful. And again the Federal Government has build the bomb and set it right in our laps. This time I hope the Federal Government realizes its library responsibilities before we bumble into another frustrating crisis in the national research effort.

I refer here particularly to the mushroming foreign area study and research programs instituted by colleges and universities in support of the Nation's postwar global responsibilities. This phenomenon has altered not only academic curricula and the pace of academic life but even the very structure of universities quite as fundamentally as did the postwar scientific development I have been discussing. And I think no thoughtful person would protest but that this intensive application of the inquiring mind to the social, political, and economic problems of other nations and peoples around the world is equally as important to our national survival as is scientific and industrial research. Yet this remarkable phenomenon has received relatively little public attention. Moreover, this global scope of contemporary university involvement has library implications far more shatering than those posed by the technological revolution. Yet most of the forceful public and Federal attention has been directed to the admittedly important but actually lesser library problems of scientific and industrial research. As a British commentator in the Listener said recently: "Paradoxically, the obstacles (to effective library development) are not so high (in the physical sciences) where the propagandists insist the greatest urgency lies."

Before the Second World War university libraries, reflecting the aims of their universities, so limited their acquisitions to the Anglo-American tradition that the national intelligence was crippled when we were cut off from European libraries and book markets. The shock of this discovery led to the postwar Library of Congress Mission to Europe and subsequently to the Farmington plan with its initial emphasis on bringing scholarly European books into American libraries. More recently, and for obvious reasons, universities have moved onto the worldwide scene so that hardly any university or college can avoid an intensive concern with non-Western cultures. Before World War II a few universities, but only a few, taught Rusian language, literature and history; even a lesser number did something with Chinese and Japanese; and here and there a Latin Americanist turned up as an exotic adornment in the Spanish department. But today, research and teaching programs or institutes for African studies, Middle Eastern studies, and southeast Asian studies are an accepted, in fact a requisite part of university activity. Where once Russian was taught, there is now intensive concern with Polish, Czech, and Serbocroation, not to mention the Finno-Ugric and Ural-Altaic languages that border the Slavic world. Arabic, Persian, and Hebrew scholars were once rare birds on the American scene, but today we are urgently training specialists in Berber, Ethiopic, and Swahili, not to mention Xhosa and Twi. Indic studies in all their multilingual complexity were once left to the British, but not today; and a Tibetan dictionary has been complied in an American university.

But language, of course, is but one of the tools or insights used by the mind that would inquire into the ways of other people. I am sure, though, that an audience of librarians can already begin to perceive something of the modern cataloging problem posed just by these languages. Oh, for those halcyon days when a smattering of two modern West European languages would suffice for a catalog department. What the modern research library must serve is a variety of experts and students in Nigerian economics, Moslem legal institutions, Latin American high education, nationalism in southeast Asia, social stratification in the Middle East, peasant and tribal cultures of India, and the emerging literature of the French-speaking countries of Africa. And these experts are not ivory-tower academics leading a leisurely life of reflection as in the 1930's. They are advisers to NATO, to the Ethiopian Ministry of Education, and to the Bank of Ghana. They require ready access to newspapers, government documents and antigovernment documents, economic and demographic information, maps, and recent vernacular novels from countries where there are no neatly organized publishing and bookselling facilities and where local libraries are only struggling to emerge, not to speak of handling extensive exchange arrangements. The pace and urgency of research and analysis are ever so much as hot and heavy as in the modern scientific laboratory, and the need for current information equally pressing.

Here then is a library and information problem far tougher than that of science and technology, of equal importance to the national welfare, and posed in equal measure by national policy. But here we have no chemical abstracts and no medlars to guide us. Here we are dealing not with the patterned secondary literature which reports on research; we are dealing with the raw, laboratory material that is essential to research. And here we are dealing with problems in locating, selecting, acquiring, and organizing research library materials that are many orders greater than were even dreamed of in a purely scientific library. With all the best will in the world and despite the voluntary cooperative efforts of the Farmington plan, our research libraries, dependent almost entirely on local support, are stumbling under the load.

Without question what is needed is a coordinated procurement and cataloging effort, global in scope and geared to the national need for research. Anything else is socially wasteful. Happily in 1958 an amendment to Public Law 480 permitted the use of U.S. credits abroad for the purchase of foreign books for a selected group of university libraries. Symbolically this was a remarkable event, because for the first time the Federal Government provided actual support for research library resources. Unhappily, this noble gesture is seriously flawed: it is limited to a small number of countries where and when appropriate credits exist; the Congress unwisely required each recipient library to make a token payment for the intake of books; and the participating libraries have been faced with oppressive cataloging costs even though a cooperative program of sorts was born of desperation.

An early and massive Federal attack on this total problem is in the national interest and is essential if we are not to fail. In this instance the responsible agency is certainly the Library of Congress, and in the face of scholarly requirements of this order it seems increasingly evident to me that the Library of Congress quite soon must not merely be named as the National Library of the United States, but also given that mission and appropriate funding in order to exert the leadership that modern scholarship requires.

I won't this evening dwell on other significant changes in the social sciences, except to remind you that the forces which propose a national ministry of urban affairs are already generating, with Federal research support, an urgent need for complex library and information services that we are ill prepared to handle. This again is the kind of intensive interdisciplinary research that Mr. Scott Adams has discussed in the biomedical field.

I will, however, come toward my conclusion by reminding you that foreign area research, although heavily involved in economic and political studies, is significantly humanistic in its bent. And this leads us directly to the President's welcome support of the enlightened efforts to establish a National Humanities Foundation. The case for such a long-overdue Foundation, as made in the report of the National Commission on the Humanities, indicated clearly the essentiality of library enrichment. The necessary library statement appeared specifically in earlier versions of the bill but then disappeared from the administration's version that is now before the Congress. For this disappearance I fear that we in the ALA must bear a share of the blame; and so must the academic officials who worked closely on the bill, for they will be among the first to express vexation when their librarians describe the inevitable library cost. This omission of direct library support strikes me as a stunning mistake when we have directly before us the evidence of the slippage in scientific library and information services that resulted from library depend-

ence on local financial resources while research was being stimulated with massive Federal grants. In the case of the humanities, the library deficit will be incalculably greater because in most instances the scholar will immediately and necessarily place greater demands upon his primary research tool, the already overburdened research library.

As Mr. Irving Dilliard said in reviewing the Commission's report: "The librarians more than any other cultural professional group face both the necessities of the humanities and the requirements of new mechanized techniques." The double burden may well be too great unless the Federal Government will bear its fair share of the load. I should specifically interpolate here that with all its enlightenment with regard to education and to libraries, the Higher Education Act of 1965 does not deal specifically with the problem I am laying before you except in terms of the cataloging amendment, nor does the Library Services and Construction Act. Service to research, by both academic and public libraries, is a forgotten orphan.

However, in the imaginative proposals of the National Library of Medicine, in the hard questions posed by the President's Office of Science and Technology, in the sweeping proposals of the Library of Congress automation study, in the halting steps of the Public Law 480 program, and in the centralized cataloging amendment to the Higher Education Act we do see clear and optimistic indications of the Federal conscience at work on several aspects of the problem. As I said at the beginning, the picture is not entirely bleak. But what is clearly needed now is a concerted effort to focus on the whole problem of organized library resources for research, because the inquiring mind that the Nation has stimulated so effectively is not limited by the artificial boundaries that separate Federal agencies or fields of knowledge. The inquiring mind approaches knowledge as a seamless whole.

Given the powerful forces and complex problems I have described, it is no wonder, in my considered judgment, that the research library structure of the country is creaking at the joints and stumbling and many of our users frustrated. The wonder is that things are not far worse. Society has simply laid to heavy a burden on that library structure; or, to put it in another way, society has tried to fill a gallon jug with a quart of water. Under these circumstances the quality of reference and research library service has been remarkably high. I am fully convinced that by imagination, determination, and a distinguished level of voluntary cooperation our research libraries, public and academic, have served the Nation well. It is time the Nation recognizes the fact by providing the tools necessary to the job we have been given.

To be sure each of us in perhaps no paragon of efficiency. My forthright colleague Ralph Ellsworth has posed some of the problems of definition with which we must grapple. However, the fundamental issues are no longer usefully amenable to local tinkering. In the field of cataloging, for example, at this stage in history, only such a centralized program as is so wisely stated in the amended Higher Education Act can effectively produce economies while improving service. In most instances today local economies are more likely to result in reduced quality of service. Librarians have been, I am certain, remarkably responsible public officials in such matters.

Recently, Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF had this to say about the Federal Government and education: "We have drifted too long. Federal policy on education must not be based on pure and simple expediency. Federal policy on education must be geared to a massive assault on ignorance and its evils. Only if this policy is wisely formed, and expertly administered, can education achieve its star role in the Great Society." Substitute "the research library" for "education" and you have my case.

The time has come then for responsible Government officials and academic officials to sit down in candid discussion with informed and hard-pressed librarians in order frankly to assay the situation in the national interest. They need to discuss not just automation but the national need for library and information services. Star chamber proceedings are not defensible. By way of the New York conference and other devices I propose to offer the good offices of the ALA in developing such an open forum, because I believe that ALA's responsibility in this field is clear. The ALA has done a suberb job of laying the proper national groundwork for improved public libraries, rural and urban, for improved school libraries, and hopefully for improved college libraries.

As I see it, there are two major streams of library activity flowing strongly in this country today. One, that I have just now mentioned, is concerned with public and educational library services, services which while increasingly requiring Federal support, are yet fundamentally local in the orientation of their responsibilities. In this regard, as I say, the ALA has given yeoman service. The other great stream, however, is the one I have been wetting your feet in this evening, that involving access to extensive library collections and intensive information service in support of research. And this latter stream is increasingly national in the orientation of its responsibilities, rather than local, and looks toward some greater measure of an interrelated network. In this regard the ALA has not yet become a sufficiently knowledgeable and persuasive voice. But without slackening in any way its support of public and educational library services, the ALA must at this time, I urge, begin to lend a full measure of support toward solving the serious national library problem I have been discussing this evening.

In approaching a problem of this type, we in this country suffer to a degree, I fear, from the lack of a single national library as well as the lack of a single national library association. Even the very organizational structure of ALA itself poses difficulties in dealing with such a problem. However, I fully believe that as our largest national library association, the ALA must not opt out on this question. It is morally and urgently incumbent on all of us to work closely and openly together in behalf of a truly national library need. I trust the ALA will do its share, perhaps even more than its share, with force, wisdom, and generosity.

First Naval District Wins Trophy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I am very proud that the First Naval District Reserves this year won the Navy League's Richards Memorial Trophy for outstanding achievement in administration and training of the U.S. Naval Reserve in competition with all other naval districts for the fiscal year ending in June 1965.

Rear Admiral Sieglaff, Commandant, First Naval District, accepted the trophy in Washington on October 14 on behalf of all New England naval reservists. This is the second time the First Naval District has won this trophy. The first time was in 1963.

Mr. President, Massachusetts has always been proud of its participation in naval affairs. We are proud of the First Naval District and the fact that it has carried on this tradition. I ask unanimous consent that Admiral Sieglaff's speech be included in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY REAR ADM. WILLIAM B. SIEGLAFF, U.S. NAVY COMMANDANT, FIRST NAVAL DISTRICT

Mr. President, honored guests, distinguished officers, ladies and gentlemen of the Navy League, the First Naval District Reserves are delighted and proud to have the Navy League's Richards Memorial Trophy return to New England.

Speaking frankly and unabashed, I expected it.

If that has a ring of Cassius Clay, please let me explain our assets or advantages in order that our keen competitors may realize that equal opportunity is still not universal throughout the land.

Of course, a year ago, we felt that the rules were "rigged" but this year—no complaint from the Northeast.

May I hasten to add that our splendid relationships with Admiral Ward, Captain Davis, and the staff at Omaha, and with Admiral Kefauver and the Reserve branch, and with Admirals Semmes and Hughes at Bupers in no way influenced the outcome.

Back to our advantages.

First advantage—the weather: We were never a disaster area. We had a clear, cool summer last year and this year; a clear fall and spring, and a clear winter; no rain, no snow. Mr. Jay Lerner has just written a new show "On A Clear Day You Can See Forever." It will be a Broadway hit so, naturally, it opened in Boston. The theme song goes something like this—give or take a few words, and apologies to Jay Lerner.

"On a clear day, stop and look around you
and you'll see the Naval Reserves as
they are.
On a clear day, it will astound you
That the glow of our Naval Reserve exceeds
every star
You'll feel part of every drill at sea or shore
And you can hear from far and near
Reserves you've never heard before
So on a clear day, on that clear day
You see Reserves forever and evermore."

Our second advantage: By heritage and history, the Navy is an honored, respected, and understood calling in New England. Our elected officials, Governors for example, are ex-Navy or Marine Corps. Our Reserves operate in a friendly, cooperative atmosphere in industry, in our great educational institutions, in State and city government and in our churches. Our Naval Reserves are often leaders and fine examples of citizens in our civilian community.

A third advantage: The headquarters in Boston is ideal. It is accessible by sea, air, and land—by ship, plane, helicopter, railroad, rapid transit, tunnel, throughway, and sidewalk. And why not? Boston is the hub of the universe. It is a comparatively short trip or cheap phone call to 22 training centers, with the busiest training center in the headquarters building itself. A Reserve minesweeper, a reserve destroyer and a reserve submarine are in sight of the headquarters building. The headquarters staff is in easy, constant touch with all units and all reserves in the First Naval District.

Fourth advantage: The reserve supplement at the headquarters, led last year by Deputy Chief of Staff for Naval Reserve, Captain Cleaves, and Assistant Chief of Staff for Naval Reserve and now the Deputy Chief of Staff as well, the indefatigable Capt. Charles Sewall. Will Captain Sewall, recently honored by RIA for his achievements, please rise and take a bow?

Perhaps it was the clear days, but more probably the vision of Captain Sewall who concentrated on the essentials. The staff refused to be bogged down in the tons of paper that flow in and out daily, but rather with commonsense attended to recruiting, advancement in rating, training schools, active duty assignments, retention and attendance at drills.

Fifth, and final advanatge: The Reserves who capitalized on their advantages won the trophy. I can't say enough good things about them. One of the joys of being a commandant, besides being treated as an admiral, living as an admiral, and being respected in the community as an admiral, is getting to meet, know, and appreciate our Naval Reserves. They are the Navy's real bridge to the civilian community, supporting us in hundreds of ways, denying themselves much of the joys of our affluent society to help give us a stronger Navy and a better Nation. In the First Naval District, we were blessed with a wonderful set of unit commanding officers.

My hat is off to all Reserves, and especially those in the First Naval District.

While we look forward to water in our reservoirs and snow on our mountains, we also look forward to continued clear days ahead for the Naval Reserve, for the Navy League, and for our Navy.

San Francisco Pioneers in Rapid Transit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, we must sooner or later face the fact that the continued building of many-laned highways is not the sole solution to our urban transportation crisis. Indeed, the overbuilding of freeways is itself a pressing problem in some areas. Unless we begin to develop and improve our mass transit system, our great cities are in danger of drowning under mounting waves of vehicular traffic.

The residents of the San Francisco Bay area have embarked upon an ambitious rail rapid transit program which has become the focus of national attention. Bay area rapid transit—Bart—is being constructed to tie together city center, urban fringe and suburbia with a fast, efficient, transportation network.

I should like to bring to the attention of my colleagues some excerpts from the summer issue of the Record, the magazine of the fireman's fund of San Francisco, concerning the progress and the prospects of bay area rapid transit. I hope that its bold vision will be emulated in other metropolitan areas.

Mr. President, under unanimous consent I include in the RECORD at this point excerpts from this publication:

THIS IS BEST

In the gold rush days of California, as stage coaches rattled 'round the dusty bends of Whiskey Creek, the name of one man would strike terror into the hearts of passengers. That was the name of the notorious highwayman—Black Bart.

How times have changed, even though names have not.

Today it's Golden BART, benefactor of a whole community of great cities in the San Francisco Bay area. Thanks to the present-day BART, long, sleek, comfortable electric trains soon will be speeding over a network of gleaming rails—and helping to solve one of the Nation's worst transportation dilemmas.

The BART system—bay area rapid transit—officially got underway at ground breaking ceremonies in Concord, Calif., last summer. Officially at this historic event was President Lyndon B. Johnson. He said:

"Those who believe the frontiers of America are closed should be here today. The dreams and deeds represented by this ceremony prove that the era of pioneers is not over—only the era of pioneering has changed.

"Yesterday's frontiers were vast, empty lands waiting to be claimed and cultivated by settlers who crossed a continent to start a new life.

"Yesterday's frontiers were crisscrossed by wagon trains. Today's frontiers are clogged by automobiles.

"There are more than 80 million motor vehicles on our roads today. By 1980 there will be 120 million—almost one vehicle for every two people.

"There are almost 1.5 million registered vehicles in the bay area alone. If they were lined up bumper to bumper, they would stretch from California to Maine.

"We must develop adequate alternative means of transportation or the coming crisis of congestion may do more to frustrate the growth and development of America than all the burning deserts and barren mountains which stood in the path of our ancestors a century ago.

"You are doing something about that crisis here. The mass transit system is a victory of vision for men who started 12 years ago to make it a reality."

Since the President spoke, work has gone steadily forward on the Diablo test track in central Contra Costa County—a 4½ mile stretch of the bay area rapid transit system where the latest developments in rapid transit equipment and techniques are now being tested. Inasmuch as it has been over half a century since a complete transit design has been possible from the ground up, the builders will be able to take advantage of the technologies made in all industries through the years.

The rapid transit district, which is made up of three counties—Alameda, Contra Costa, and San Francisco—faces a clear-cut mandate: Solve the bay area's traffic congestion problem by building the fastest, safest, most modern rapid transit system in the world. To accomplish this purpose, the district's directors have established a set of high criteria calculated to lure an estimated 50 to 60 percent of the weekday commuters from their autos and onto the trains.

These criteria include such things as: trains running at all times on exclusive, grade-separated rights-of-way, top speeds of up to 80 miles an hour, average speeds of 50 miles an hour including station stops, headways as short as 90 seconds, a capacity of at least 30,000 seated passengers an hour in one direction on a single line, a seat for every passenger, cars with comfortable interiors, low noise level inside and out, pleasing interior and exterior appearance.

The 75-mile system, penetrating the population centers of the three counties, will have 12½ miles of subways in downtown San Francisco, Oakland, and Berkeley; 3½ mile twin tunnels through the Berkeley Hills; 31 miles of aerial lines; 24 miles of surface lines; and a 4-mile tube under the bay, the longest in the world.

Thirty-seven stations will be located at strategic spots along the lines. Twenty-three of the stations will have parking lots with a total initial capacity of 30,000 cars, and parking will be free. The other stations, in more central areas, will be designed to handle volumes of feeder traffic from buses and from persons being delivered by auto.

The trains will be fully automatic, controlled from a central computer operating on fail-safe principles.

Fare collection also will be automatic, utilizing ticket dispensers, machine-readable tickets, coin changers, and possibly even some form of ride-on-credit operation.

A joint venture of three of the world's foremost engineering firms—Parsons Brinckerhoff-Tudor-Bechtel—has been given the responsibility of developing and designing all elements of the great network. Chief architectural consultant is Donn Emmons, of Wurster, Bernardi & Emmons. Consultant on underground station architecture is Ernest Born.

The entire 7-year project will involve a total of more than 80 major construction contracts. It is anticipated that, including subcontractors, well over 1,000 firms will be involved in the billion-dollar project. At the height of construction in 1966, a labor force of more than 8,000 persons will be employed on the massive undertaking.

DIABLO TEST TRACK

On a 4½-mile stretch of open ground in the pleasant Ygnacio Valley area of Contra Costa County, some 30 miles east of San Francisco, tests for the largest rapid transit system to be built in this country since the turn of the century are about to begin.

By midsummer 1965, when temperatures in this suburban-rural setting rise into the high 90's, some of the best engineering experts of the Nation will be spending most of their waking hours here running continuous tests aboard specially equipped laboratory trains.

What they learn here will vitally affect the entire bay area rapid transit system complex, for this unique test track represents a capsule preview of the final billion-dollar job, with the exception of tunnels, subway, and underwater tube. All other elements are included: surface roadbed, aerial structures, grades, overpasses, power supply, automatic train control, even landscaping and esthetics.

We came here to see what it looked like during construction, how work was progressing, and what was being planned. If you follow us along for the next several pages, you will see what we saw and learn what we learned about this beginning of a marvel, this Diablo test track of the 75-mile, tri-county bay area rapid transit system.

The test track gets its rather foreboding name from a nearby mountain which early Spanish settlers called Mount Diablo (devil mountain), a 3,849-foot peak which can be seen from San Francisco on a clear day.

Rails for this track, each the length of 4½ football fields, were delivered to the site in a seemingly unending pile, like flexible metal spaghetti draped over the beds of 27 flatcars lined up in a row. These long strips of rail have since been alined to the roadbed by section crews, fastened down to the surface over special hard rubber cushions, then welded end to end into even greater lengths by a unique heat-pressure system.

The resulting single-length surface of uninterrupted rail is intended to eliminate the usual clickity-clack noise of trains passing

over the more common type of rail line which is bolted together at frequent intervals.

Different kinds of ties and roadbeds are being employed, also, to determine which is best suited to the BART trains. The common wooden tie over crushed rock has been placed down in some sections; in others, various kinds of cement and composition ties, including an unusual divided tie of Swedish design.

At some points the roadbed shifts from crushed rock to a solid layer of cement with the rails fastened directly onto it through an underpadding of hard rubber. This eliminates ties altogether.

Electronic route control units have been located at varying intervals alongside the track to govern movement of trains, acceleration, deceleration, and running speed. A block system in the master control center performs a similar function and is able to override all other forms of control in case of emergency. As in the final BART system itself, all trains will be fail-safe.

Third-rail direct-current carriers line one side of the wide gage test track, alternating-current distribution units the other. Combination a.c. and d.c. propulsion systems will be evaluated throughout the length of the test period, which is expected to continue for approximately 4 years. At that time the track will be converted into an integral part of the BART system.

New transportation concepts evolved during this period will be made available to the U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency which has granted $4,880,000 to BART for its test program. The valuable lessons learned here will thus be made available to other communities planning rapid transit systems of their own for the future.

A NEW DIMENSION

In Paris, it's the metro. They call it the underground in London, and in New York, the subway.

The names are interchangeable, but the image is clear: fast trains coursing underneath the heart of a major city, speeding people to their destinations without interference from surface traffic.

Transport this concept, if you will, to the the major cities girdling San Francisco Bay, the cities at the very heart of the Bay Area Rapid Transit system—Oakland, Berkeley, and San Francisco.

Picture for a moment hustling, bustling, hurly-burly Market Street, cutting its long, broad diagonal path through the heart of San Francisco, beginning at the historic Ferry Building on the bay, continuing in a westward slant on past the largest financial district in the West, up through the cacophonous hubbub of department store crowds, motion picture patrons, shouting newsboys, and the occasional flower kiosk punctuating the drab gray of business suits with sparkles of color. Following it further along, beyond the civic center and up toward the residential areas to where it disappears into the base of lofty Twin Peaks.

This is one of the major traffic-choked arteries of the Western World. Clogged night and day by autos, buses, taxis, space-gobbling streetcars, it threatens more and more each day to split the city rather than connect it, as was the intention when the famous street was built.

But a new dimension is coming to Market Street, an underground dimension. Two-level tunnels, extending from the westward terminus of the Bay Area Rapid Transit system's trans-bay tube up Market Street to where it crosses Van Ness Avenue, will soon be under construction. A single level tunnel will continue along the remainder of the street to Twin Peaks.

Streetcars that now divide the street along the center will be shifted to underground tracks on the upper of the two tunnel levels. BART trains will run directly underneath them, in the lower level.

Trains that come across the bay (through the trans-Bay tube) from Oakland, Berkeley, and outlying areas, will rush their comfortable, seated passengers up the first half mile of Market Street without a stop. Not until they approach the first San Francisco station—the financial district station at Market and Montgomery—will they slacken the 50-mile-per-hour average speed they have maintained since leaving stations on the other side of the bay.

Montgomery Street passengers will alight onto pleasant, spacious platforms with escalators leading to the upper level where they may board streetcars for local stops, or if time permits, ascend to the mezzanine level to stroll past attractive shops, stop for coffee, or just settle down and relax for a moment in one of the comfortable public lobbies.

This will represent rejuvenation, a reawakening, a resurgence, not only of Market Street in downtown San Francisco, but across the bay, also, on Broadway in downtown Oakland, and on Shattuck Avenue in downtown Berkeley.

The Oak Street complex in downtown Oakland, which will include the permanent rapid transit headquarters, will be a showpiece of the east bay, matched only by the beauty and importance of the downtown subway area itself and by the spacious new park now being planned to front Oakland city hall, with a grand entrance leading into the main subway mezzanine, designed in the tradition of the European urban square.

Subway construction will also soon be underway in downtown Berkeley, along Shattuck Avenue. Here, too, will be constructed a magnificant plaza of the type that will come to typify BART central station stops, new kinds of transportation oases, attractively designed, with landscaped entrances, air conditioned and comfortable.

Constructing tunnels for these underground BART routes in the central city areas will not be an easy task, by any means, but it will help keep the entire 75-mile system attractive, smooth running, and efficient—from Concord and Walnut Creek, through the twin tunnels, under the bay, and all the way to Daly City.

A MATTER OF APPEARANCE

"It's practical. But is it pretty?" That question has been asked time and again. Will BART's 31 miles of aerial structure be attractive and in good taste, or simply a high "elevated," a monstrosity blocking light and air and blighting the land? What will stations be like? Is attention being paid the esthetic?

The answer is that some of the Nation's foremost authorities on such matters have been retained to see that all visible elements of BART will enhance the countryside rather than disfigure it.

In referring to the aerial structures, B. R. Stokes, general manager of the transit system, says:

"It has always been our position that these are aerial structures and not elevated. We think there is a difference between aerial and elevated. We deliberately use these different words to illustrate that we are going to provide the bay area with structures that will be esthetically pleasing and assets to the communities through which they pass."

Dr. John E. Burchard, dean emeritus, School of Humanities and Social Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a BART consultant on aerial structure, believes that the existence of long horizontal lines of aerial structures not previously existing introduce a new and strong element into the earlier urban landscape.

"The first esthetic question," he continues, "is whether to state its presence very strongly, even brutally, or let it be as modest an element as possible. In our case the structure goes on and on; it is not only extensive but necessarily repetitive. In such circumstances we are left with the necessity to find a design which is modest and compatible, but not a piece of camouflage."

The structure will be as low as practical circumstances permit and will appear as thin as practical considerations permit. To achieve this, the tracks will be banked separately on curves, since this will reduce the total rise of the platform part of the structure by one-half. Thus, Dr. Burchard explains, this solution is highly desirable from a visual point of view, independent of any engineering advantage it may have.

The structure will be as simple and direct as possible. Dramatic forms of an elaborate sort are often effective when appearing in isolation, but when multiplied as they must be in this system they would become boring.

Efforts to achieve "grace" by rounding surfaces that have no good reason to be rounded or even good reason not to be rounded, will achieve nothing but an impression of weakness, Dr. Burchard says. The planned sharpness of outline produced by firm edges, sharp corners, sensitive setbacks with their corresponding clear shadows are expected to yield the impression of grace. The tracks will descend gracefully into tunnels and abutments.

While it is desirable to achieve variety and liveliness, the way to do this, in Dr. Burchard's opinion, will be by keeping the main design simple and by punctuating it at appropriate points, such as at stations, by using all the devices available to an imaginative designer—color, texture, planting, and so on.

In recommending against coloring the whole structure, Dr. Burchard says that color should be used vivaciously at key points, in considerable variety, and "with a definitely gay hand" so that locales might be identified by their colors. "Color," he says, "should not be looked at moreover merely as pigmentation or painting of the concrete; rather the palette should embrace mosaics, murals, pavements, signs, street, and station furniture. The combinations should be bold and brilliant, using primary colors, for example, in preference to pastel shades.

"I am convinced that the success or failure of the system to provide a visual component of urban delight is going to depend seriously on how well the District does the stations and station plazas, and how skillfully it uses color at the nodal points, how well and generously it plants the land beneath."

Under the deft touch of Lawrence Halprin, BART landscape architect, surroundings for the aerial structures promise to be things of beauty, allowing for "breathing space" and promising certain amenities in the communities through which the structures pass—such amenities as parks, playgrounds, riding paths, and other devices which many cities badly need.

SALVATION OF THE CITIES

The lifesaving promise of BART cheers the heart of Iver C. Larson, executive vice president of the San Francisco Chapter, National Safety Council. He says:

"The only salvation for this city or any metropolitan area in the Nation is a rapid transit system. Right now, at peak hours, cars are bumper to bumper here. We in San Francisco are hit especially hard since our daytime car population per square mile is the greatest of any city in the United States. In fact, our highways into and out of San Francisco are rapidly nearing the absolute saturation point.

"In future years, when people reach San Francisco over the BART system, highway accidents in this area will be cut at least in half. It is difficult to estimate, at this point, how many lives will be saved and in-

juries prevented annually, but there will be a great many. BART is certain to improve safety."

A SLICE OF THE FUTURE

Joe Williams, boarding the electric train in his hometown of Concord for the 30-mile run to his San Francisco office, settled back comfortably in the wide coach seat. He took the morning paper from under his arm, hesitated before unfolding it.

Silently the train slid out from the loading platform and within seconds was zipping across the countryside. But so silently did the coaches move, so smoothly did they round the curves, they sacrcely imparted a sense of motion.

Other stations appeared and other stops were made—but all without changing this same feeling of quietude. Joe realized that the wide-gage tracks—9½ inches wider than standard gage—and that the specially made, welded rails contributed greatly to his sensation of ease and comfort, as did the filtered air and glare-free lighting. Nothing to do but relax.

Even the motorman up front, he realized, had precious little to do, for the train was electronically operated, controlled almost magically from a central computer. Even if something went wrong, there'd be no need for worry. If the train came to an unscheduled stop, the trains behind, following as close as 90 seconds, would stop also. No danger of a pileup.

Joe closed his eyes and listened to the almost whispered sound of motion. His mind turned to the "old days"—to the not-so-good old days. He remembered when he and his neighbors shared in a car pool for the arduous journey to the city. He recalled the bumper-to-bumper traffic, the blasting of horns, the cursing and yelling of other motorists, the reek of exhaust fumes, and the long, all-too-frequent traffic delays. Why, they'd be lucky then to make the 30-mile jaunt in an hour.

Joe opened his eyes and grinned. How different times had become. How utterly fantastic would his forebears have thought this ride. For Joe, too, it was difficult to realize that he was often moving at 80 miles an hour.

Before he realized it, the train had plunged into the tube that would take it across the floor of San Francisco Bay. And almost before he knew it—34 minutes after leaving Concord—the train was stopping at the first station in San Francisco itself. Within seconds, that interesting mall under Market Street was left behind, and here came the next station—Joe's station at Powell Street. He refolded his paper, tucked it under an arm, and left.

"Good morning, Mr. Williams," said his secretary as he entered his office. And he couldn't help but hear her whispered comment to a coworker: "Mr. Williams looks real rested and happy today—for a change." Joe swung round, grinning. "Sure," he said, "why not? Isn't this the Blessed Age of Rail Therapy?"

But his secretary, usually quick to catch on, couldn't figure that one out—anyway, not at first.

Campers and Hikers Meet in Kentucky

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, the National Campers & Hikers Association held its annual meeting this summer in the charming city of Bowling Green, Ky. Some 20,000 persons gathered from all over the country, and it was said that the vast array of tents presented a scene recalling a medieval army encampment.

Among local leaders who greeted this host of outdoor enthusiasts was one of the senior citizens of the city and State, a wise and articulate man of patriotism, Mr. A. M. Causey. The Park City Daily News of Bowling Green printed Mr. Causey's words of welcome, which included quotations from the eulogy on Abraham Lincoln by a great former editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal and conservationist, "Marse Henry" Watterson.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter from Mr. Causey be included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Bowling Green (Ky.) Park City Daily News, July 13, 1965]

EDITOR, DAILY NEWS:

In my opinion the National Campers & Hikers Association choosing Beech Bend Park for their annual meeting is about the greatest compliment that has ever come to Kentucky.

The campers undoubtedly represent an element of the best class of loyal and patriotic citizens of our Republic. The 15,000 to 20,000 visitors are unprecedented.

It is to be hoped they are accorded a typical Kentucky welcome by everyone. Let's call to their attention that Kentucky is the glamour State in the Union, more places of national interest than any other State.

It has Mammoth Cave, a national park, one of the seven wonders of the world. Lincoln's birthplace is only 60 miles from Bowling Green, near Hodgensville, and the log cabin in which he was born is enclosed in a white marble memorial. The shaft in honor of Jefferson Davis is only 50 miles away, and is the tallest one in the United States except the Washington monument.

Kentucky has more running streams and fresh water than any State, and the largest man-made lakes. Audubon, the naturalist, said Kentucky is the leafiest State in the Union. It was the home of Henry Clay, one of our greatest statesmen. The above are just a few things that make Kentucky great.

Speaking of Lincoln, it might be well to quote for the visitors a portion of the late Col. Henry Watterson's lecture on Lincoln, probably the greatest tribute ever paid to man.

"Born as lowly as the Son of God, in a hovel, reared in penury, squallor, with no gleam of light or fair surroundings, without graces, actual or acquired; without name or fame or official training; it was reserved for this strange being, late in life to be snatched from obscurity, raised to supreme command at a supreme moment, and trusted with the destiny of a nation.

"The great leaders of his party, the most experienced and accomplished public men of the day, were made to stand aside; were sent to the rear, whilst that fantastic figure was led by unseen hands to the front and given the reins of power. Where did Shakespeare get his genius? Where did Mozart get his music? Whose hand smote the lyre of the Scotish plowman? God, and God alone; and as surely as these were raised up by God, and inspired by God, was Abraham Lincoln; and a thousand years hence, no drama, no tragedy, no epic poem will be filled with greater wonder, or be followed by mankind with deeper feeling that that which tells the story of his life and death."

A. M. CAUSEY.

BOWLING GREEN.

The Choice Americans Must Make

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE MURPHY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, the American free enterprise system was born 200 years ago, triggered by the imposition of the Stamp Act. One of the first efforts of the liberty-loving colonists to void the act and overthrow the oppression of a foreign power was the Boston Tea Party. From the hearts of the colonists there flowed the Declaration of Independence. They fought and won a bloody war to establish and preserve a government under which they could walk in freedom.

The concepts of freedom established so firmly 2 centuries ago have encouraged the advances of science, art, and the humanities, resulting in the greatest and most progressive economic system the world has ever known.

To commemorate and perpetuate this event, a number of prominent California citizens banded together under the chairmanship of former California Gov. Goodwin J. Knight in the Committee for Observance of the Bicentennial of American Free Enterprise and designated October 4, 1965, as Free Enterprise Day.

A significant number of business enterprises, large and small, joined in observing this day as Free Enterprise Day, and the Daughters of the American Revolution, in their convention in Washington, D.C., entertained a resolution to "dramatize the free enterprise system by declaring an annual Free Enterprise Day."

In view of the reawakened consciousness of the virtues of the American free enterprise system as an integral and indispensable element to the growth of our economy, I join in saluting the system that manufactures, grows, ships, stores, and sells goods and services totaling more than $625 billion a year—this "way of life" deserved a special day of acclamation.

Former President Eisenhower, whose administration evidenced its faith in the free enterprise system, not only by words but also in its actions, made some important observations regarding this "way of life" and the choice Americans must make. In view of the Great Society's insistence on interfering and tinkering with the free enterprise system, President Eisenhower's remarks regarding this choice are most timely and should be carefully studied by all Americans.

Mr. President, under unanimous consent I place an interview which Nation's Business had with the former President in the RECORD at this point:

EISENHOWER ON THE CHOICE AMERICANS MUST MAKE

Question. General Eisenhower, in the dedication to your new book, "The White House Years: Waging Peace," you express the hope that your grandchildren will enjoy the freedoms that we have now and that these will not be lost when they are adults. Many of

our readers also have grandchildren, and are concerned, too, about maintaining freedoms. Do you see any real danger that Americans may lose some of the freedoms they have today?

Answer. Well, just as a matter of history, we must take note of what happens to a nation when it becomes affluent after a long period of work and adventurous activity have brought it to a position of great prominence and prosperity.

Thereafter, you begin to have a different atmosphere in a society. As long as the Roman nation made patriotism almost the basis of its whole philosophy, as long as each citizen took great pride in the fact that he had served in the army and had done his duty as a soldier, as long—in other words—as citizens were carrying on the work of pushing for the greater strength and glory of Rome, they were a great nation. They ruled practically all of the known territory of the earth.

But when they got rich and began to be more concerned with circuses than with their duties, and when they found that they could let the nation collect the taxes from abroad or wherever it wanted to, pretty soon they got to the point of dissolution. And Gibbon's history was written of a tragedy rather than of a great and construction accomplishment.

Today the United States has gotten to the highest point up to this moment in prosperity and general income, expressed in terms of the conveniences and all the comforts and things that individuals like; excelling in this regard any nation in history. But we should not assume that we are not prey to the same kind of deterioration that has afflicted other societies.

So what I am really concerned with is this: Are we getting so used to riches in the United States that we are losing some of those great qualities that did so much to bring us to the place where we are now? The initiative? The sense of self-assurance? Self-confidence? The ambition to do for oneself and one's family and one's locality?

Are we losing some of these qualities and, therefore, risking the loss of the liberties that will come about when some centralized government begins to perform more and more things for us?

Question. A big part of it is the increased reliance on centralized government?

Answer. That is correct. More reliance because we are offered so many things. And the bill gets bigger and bigger and is reaching more and more people. Finally, everybody is told, "Well, just leave your problems to us. We are the bright boys, and we will do it for you. Don't worry."

Well, if we are going to lose our kind of personal ambition and individualism, that kind of citizenship responsibility, then the future begins to look dark indeed.

Question. It is often argued, because of our fast-moving and complex age, that only the Federal Government is sufficiently big and well equipped to handle our problems. How do you answer this argument, General?

Answer. Well, I'd put it this way: I think that the millions of economic and social and political decisions that are made each day by a whole nation, if respected and properly applied by the several echelons of government, as envisioned and set up under our Constitution, give us a much greater assurance of continued prosperity and progress and the attainments of our basic aspirations and objectives than do the opinions and decisions of a few political figures in Washington, D.C.

Question. How can this idea of individual responsibility be gotten across to people at a time when politicians are able to argue so persuasively in favor of Federal programs of one kind or another?

Answer. Human nature seems to be the only unchanging thing in this whole world. Even terrain changes. But go back to the time of Pericles, and study the history of his time, and you find that human nature is still the most stable or most rigid in its basic characteristics.

It would be foolish to think that we are now going to change human nature. But if we take the history of this country and show that free government is still under test, that it is not a completely proved philosophy for the long term, then maybe we can appeal to self-interest, as well as to any other higher instincts of man, to get him to do the things he should do. It is his choice.

I am perfectly certain myself that the best answer to overcentralized government is better local and State government. Strangely enough, it seems that in local and State government more malfeasance and more crookedness have come to light than in the Federal Government.

Here and there, you hear of some of it at the Federal level, like the Teapot Dome scandal and a few others. But by and large, that part of it that has become visible has been in local government.

The real answer is, in my opinion, for these local governments to perform better. And that must come from the education of their citizens—better information and participation.

And I think, among other things, we have got to make the words "patriotism," "sacrifice," "citizenship"—these terms—mean more, as they once did.

When I was a boy, any Fourth of July orator who didn't get up and talk about at least the Civil War and the Revolutionary War—as we used to say, "Pull a few feathers out of the eagle's tail"—we didn't think anything of him.

Now, today, you are considered sort of a square if you say that we ought to talk about patriotic instincts. And this is part of what I am talking about—the softening of the character of the individual, which means in the long run the softening of the Nation. We have got to be tougher with ourselves.

Question. The Federal Government seems to be more and more involved in activities that pertain to local problems. Do you feel that citizens can really solve their problems if they show more initiative at the community level?

Answer. Let me say this: The Federal Government doesn't get any revenue that doesn't come from the localities. It gets its money from taxes.

Now, they do get a little more by printing a little money and through their borrowing capacity and the authority of the Federal Government. But by and large, the money Washington gets, it takes away from us.

Why do they know more about local problems than we do ourselves? Let's take a little town like this one—Gettysburg. Why does the Federal Government have greater wisdom in finding solutions for its problems than the people living here?

I think it's a false assumption that the wisdom of the United States is centered in Washington. And I think it is on that assumption that we are so ready to give up our own responsibilities and powers of decision. Let the money go there, and then some of it will come back to us under schemes and plans and programs that the bureaucrats say are proper and justified.

I think there ought to be more local pride. Our schools and the private local organizations that we have should indoctrinate our people by stressing local pride and local responsibility and authority. In the long run I simply don't believe it is possible to make laws centrally that can completely and wisely govern a nation as big as ours.

The conditions in the State of Washington are very different from conditions in Florida. All across the way, when you go to the desert, the mountains or the agricultural regions or the great industrial centers, conditions are different. I just don't believe that we should have laws that assume complete conformity across the board.

Question. One of our great American principles is free collective bargaining. Is the Federal Government moving too deeply into labor-management relations?

Answer. Well, they give guidelines, and I think that governing our economy by guidelines is false and bad. I believe that when the Federal Government throws its whole weight, its political weight, and every kind of influence it can bring to bear to dictate the prices of this country, it is going outside its province.

I do think the Federal Government has a right to call attention to such things as wage-price spirals, the danger of inflation and the risks that we run with an inflation trend. All of that kind of thing is perfectly proper, but it should be done in terms of dialog or debate. When they definitely intervene in these things with a so-called constitutional responsibility, then I think it is wrong, very wrong.

Question. There seems to be quite a widespread feeling now that Uncle Sam has to keep things booming. Is this one of the jobs of government?

Answer. The Government should keep political and economic conditions in this country so that every man feels free to fulfill his own ambitions as long as he doesn't trample on the similar rights of others or ignore his obligations as a citizen.

Now, I think that the effort to keep a boom going when maybe a boom is not called for always, this is a matter of a few people saying they know better what is good for all of us than we do ourselves.

I do not want to appear as criticizing the need for national decisions affecting our currency, the value of our dollar, protecting it abroad and all the rest of it. All these things have to be done because no individual can do them. But I think they ought to be done with the greatest concern for the mass of economic opinion—plain commonsense.

I don't think we should follow any one school of thought. We should strive here and see what every professional believes about these things. I flatly disagree with all those economists who say that it should be a deliberate policy of Government to have unbalanced budgets, that we need to spend more money in the economy through the Federal Government than we take in. In the long run, this is a certain route to inflation. Creeping inflation, you see, has a tendency finally to become galloping inflation. That's the thing we should remember.

We have never had experience with a completely "out-of-hand" inflation, even though I believe that in the 7 years from 1945 to 1952, the cost of living went up about 47 percent. That was quite a heavy rise. And we seem to have a little bit now right along that line.

The policy of our Government should be to sustain the value of the dollar.

One reason is that we have become very dependent in our economy on pensions, insurance policies, on savings deposits, on the purchase of Government bonds, and so forth.

Now, if we are going constantly to find that when we put money into bonds, insurance policies, savings banks and so on, we are going to get back in our old age only half of what we put in, sooner or later there is going to be a loss of confidence. And this is going to bring about a disastrous situation. You just can't do that.

Someone told me, although I never looked it up, that everybody who bought E bonds in World War II was told he was going to get back $1,000 for whatever he put in—$750, I think—that this was a very fine investment. Well, I was told that no one got back, in real purchasing power, as much as he put in. This is, to my mind, the Government fooling its people.

Question. Well, General, what do you think is the wisest economic policy right now? We have had an unbalanced budget and we havent seemed to have had much inflation.

Answer. As a matter of fact, we seem to be in a sustained rise in economic productivity and general prosperity that has lasted longer than in any similar period in our history. Some are saying it is because of our policies of reducing taxes. Well, this is just wonderful except for this: If it is true, why don't we reduce taxes to zero? So if you reduce this argument to the absurd, you begin to say somewhere along the line, "There must be a proper level."

Another thing, why in the first place did taxes have to go so very high? Why did our debt have to get so big? The costs of the war, of course, are one great answer. And the fact is that even during the war, our prices went up rapidly, in spite of OPA and all of its activities. Not only did you have black markets here and there, but the second you took all those controls off, you found out what your dollar would really purchase.

What we have to watch out for in coming years is some very real inflation. Certainly, unless our productivity grows continuously at a rate that is exceptionally rapid, we are bound to have—with the supply of money becoming more and more excessive—we are bound to have inflation.

Question. And the unbalanced budget?

Answer. Well, I think an unbalanced budget also hurts us a bit abroad. While we now have this imbalance of payments, a lot of countries still believe we are capable of paying our debts. Therefore, they have faith in the dollar. This is an international faith that is distinguished from our domestic faith in the dollar. If others lose faith and begin to cash their dollars, goodness knows what would happen.

Question. Would you say, then, that we need a more guarded policy toward protecting the value of the dollar than we have?

Answer. I think this: Whenever you have got high costs of government—and remember, our costs are not all reflected in just our administrative budget alone, there are trust funds and so on—cash expenditures are on the order of $120 billion—we should take up the domestic problems in cautious steps insofar as new Government programs are concerned. If we initiate a vast number of programs that make the expenses go up and up, outside of our great defense costs, then we are asking for trouble.

Question. In other words, Federal Government activities have proliferated out of proportion to our real needs?

Answer. That's right. That's exactly what I mean.

Question. General, do you feel that the American people, the people at large, really want a paternalistic government?

Answer. No, I think if you put it in those terms they would say "no." But everybody who gets something out of it, well, he says, "Everybody should be curtailed except me."

For example, when I was President I once went down before several thousand representatives of the rural electric cooperatives. And I told them, "Look, the job for which you were set up was not only a necessary one, the idea was a good one, and you were given money at 2 percent. Out of the Treasury you borrowed this money at 2 percent."

By that time, 95 percent or more of the farms in the United States had been electrified. I told them: "Today you ought to be ashamed of yourselves to take money from the Federal Government at 2 percent that we have to pay 4¼ for. This just doesn't make sense."

Well, they listened, and they were polite. I got polite applause because I came down to see them and because of my office. But the next day, an opposing political figure got up and suggested that if anyone came into their areas to propose that they should lose their 2 percent money they ought to drive him out of the region with beer bottles.

Now this is the kind of thing that to my mind makes no sense. And the REA today needs 2 percent money just about like a dog needs a new flea. I don't see how anyone can defend it except as a way to keep some votes on his side.

Question. General, in your forthcoming book, "The White House Years: Waging Peace," at several points you mentioned the farm economy of this country.

Answer. Yes.

Question. Do you think we can ever get the American farm economy back on a free-market basis?

Answer. Well, of course, I took as my purpose, in my 8 years as President, not to do anything so abruptly that farmers would be ruined. But I found this from men experienced in this thing: The big farmer, the fellow who went into commercial farming on a big basis, was getting rich under our farm policies. I knew at least one such farmer intimately. And he told me what he had done and how he made himself a few million dollars.

But the little farmer, for whom all these things are presumably established, has been helped very little. He doesn't sell very much. What is the use of his going and selling a few hundred bushels of wheat or a few bushels of corn?

He consumes many of the things he grows on his farm. And then, he sells a few head of livestock that are fed from it. And there is very little that the program does for this fellow; he has to secure an additional part-time job.

What we tried to do was this: To get policies that would work gradually to get the Government out of these programs except on the basis of insurance against great disaster, because we found that the big commercial farms were profitable and the little fellow profited little.

As long as the little farm is no longer profitable except when run on a part-time or a garden basis, as in New Jersey, well, then, if we try to keep that kind of program going forever just by Federal handouts, then we are indeed foolish.

We have to bring farming back gradually to dependence upon a free market. If we don't, we will have an unbalanced economy, because we don't need that many men producing food and fiber today for us.

If we insist on keeping them there just on subsidy, I think we are being foolish.

We have gotten so used to the idea that when you get into trouble economically, either by class or by area, you just run to the Government and get a new law.

I would say that the more we can reduce Federal subsidies and use them only where we have national human problems that can't be solved completely locally, the better off we'll be. We have gone overboard with subsidies.

Question. General, do you feel that businessmen can help to reeducate people to the economic realities you have discussed here? To the realization of the choices Americans must make to keep our freedoms?

Answer. Of course. But the businessman, when he sees everything booming, often says, "Maybe we should just let things alone."

Remember this: No longer are as many businesses owned by a family or is there as much ownership management. We have a professional managerial class now that is in a position of great influence for a short time.

Therefore, instead of looking down the road at what is going to happen to business, they tend to take the short view, maybe looking at when they can cash their stock options and all the rest of it. They are more interested in the short term than they are in the long term.

We have talked about human nature. It seems that most of us prefer a bird in the hand rather than several in the bush.

Are we not more interested in the present dollar, the one that is now given us, then we are in the hope and expectation and the planning of a better climate in the future to earn more dollars for the increased population we are bound to have?

Now, the businessman is less concerned about the future that if he and his family owned the business like they did before the times of the heavy death taxes and income taxes. It was then possible to pass businesses along pretty well.

Now, I believe in the graduated income tax. And I believe in reasonable death duties. But I do think that this has had a tendency to produce short-term rather than long-term ambitions.

Question. General, do you think it is feasible for some of the money-gathering and spending power of this country to be returned from Washington to the States and localities?

Answer. I'd like to, but let me tell you of one instance when I was in the White House. I had worked on this idea and talked to the Governors about it. We set up a plan under which we were going to give back one or two functions to the States, and had a particular tax we were going to give back to them.

Finally, a little group of Governors came to me and said, "Look, Mr. President, this is a very fine idea; we will take it on, except for this: Don't reduce that tax. Just give it back to us in our proper share."

I said, "Why?"

They said, "We don't want the burden of going and asking for taxes from our own people."

You see, they found that if the Federal Government would give them the money, this was easy for them. This is another reason why we have this constant magnet of Washington drawing in, not only money, but responsibility. And, finally, authority.

Question. General, do you see your administration—in retrospect—as just a brief respite in the march toward more Federal involvement in people's lives?

Answer. Well, I'll tell you, a "respite" is the way you'd have to look at it now. I desperately tried to do this: To give the United States a chance to think, to take a look and see that there were different economic and governmental philosophies. You see, no one denies that there are problems. But it is just irresponsible to take money, give it to Washington and say that solves that one.

When the time comes that we in the United States cease to think of the individual as the most important factor in our whole governmental system, then we are going down the road of one-party government and centralized government.

In my case, I said, "Look, let's read the Constitution," and I talked to my Cabinet very seriously on this. "It is going to take a lot of courage to avoid doing some of the things that have seemed so popular in the past. Let us try to get back to the proper division of powers, between the Legislature and the President and all the rest. Let us get back and look at the patterns given us by the Constitution for dispersing power, first geographically through the States and functionally among the judiciary, legislative, and the executive."

I think a lot of things have been happening. We have got too many and too powerful regulatory commissions that really have judicial, executive, and legislative powers. And I think it is bad unless they are properly controlled and made definitely responsible to the Congress and the President.

The effort of my administration, I should say, was to create an atmosphere of self-reliance and self-confidence among the people, to encourage them to make more of their

decisions. I wanted localities and States to do more, so that we might halt the trend toward centralization that I thought to be unhealthy.

Of course, for 6 of my 8 years in the Presidency, Congress was controlled by the opposition. It was a difficult situation. I could do many things by persuasion because in certain fields there wasn't any great political advantage to be gained by the opposition. And so I had to use persuasion. It would have been crazy for me to get up and use the methods of a general running an army or a President with a large majority in the Congress.

But the fact is we continued to try to give individuals and localities larger responsibilities. In one thing for which I guess I was almost personally responsible—the highway construction program—it took me a long time to persuade Congress, but we finally got this great interstate system of roads. I felt strongly about the matter, partly because I had seen the great autobahns of Germany. But we had to settle for 90 percent Federal money and only 10 percent of State funds. I thought that was really unfair. I thought that at the very least it should have been 75–25. At first I wanted them to be paid for on a toll basis, but I was persuaded that tolls were impractical.

Finally, we got the money by a tax on gasoline, oil, and so on. But I would really have preferred to have made them toll roads and, as they paid for themselves, abolished the tolls.

The highways are not paid for yet. Our plan was to get them built in 10 years, paid in 13 years, because I was certain that by the time we got them built, we would need some more.

Incidentally, I think the building of those highway systems is one of the reasons for our great increase in automobile sale.

But in all these various activities, local responsibility usually provides the best solution.

Statement of Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, unfortunately there continues to be a mistaken impression both here and abroad, that the greater part of the American intellectual community opposes President Johnson's policy concerning Vietnam.

I believe this to be a wholly false impression, and one which needs correcting. As evidence, I cite an eloquent statement of support for this Nation's present policy in Vietnam, issued by the trustees of Freedom House in New York some weeks ago.

This statement has been endorsed by more than 130 distinguished members of the American academic community. Such eminent scholars and intellectuals as Dr. Eugene V. Rostow of Yale and Dr. Daniel Bell of Columbia University and Mr. Page Keeton, dean of the University of Texas Law School, have affixed their signatures to this endorsement of the administration's effort to help the South Vietnamese people preserve their freedom.

I think it important that all Members of this body and every concerned citizen in the Nation be aware of this statement, and I am happy to offer a press release describing it for inclusion in the RECORD:

NEW YORK, August 23.—More than 130 members of the American academic community have publicly backed the position of the U.S. Government in South Vietnam. Their action was taken in endorsing a Freedom House statement, which declares that the present policy of the United States "deserves the wholehearted support of the American people."

Faculty members at 70 colleges, universities, and other institutions of higher eductaion in the United States are among those expressing their agreement. Although a majority are in the fields of political science and international relations, the group includes scholars from a wide range of academic disciplines. A professor of economics at Cornell University, however, withheld his signature although he agreed with the statement and has "written various public officials to this effect." He expressed the feeling that "it is inappropriate for individuals with expertise in one field to use their position to attempt to influence the public."

The endorsements are in response to a letter mailed to a selected list of persons in academic life by Leo Cherne, chairman of the Freedom House Executive Committee. Writing on behalf of Freedom House, Mr. Cherne declared: "Too long, we feel, those with opposing views have been left a clear field to present themselves to the world as the single voice of American intellectuals."

In addition to the faculty members, hundreds of Americans in all walks of life have written to declare their agreement with the Freedom House statement on Vietnam. Most of them backed up their declaration with a contribution to permit the statement to be disseminated more widely. They overwhelmingly endorsed the view that if the "aggression against South Vietnam—disguised as a 'war of liberation'—is not successfully resisted, more aggression and perhaps even larger scale war will follow."

The Freedom House statement included a credo of support, which declared that withdrawal from Vietnam under present circumstances would be morally indefensible and that the decision to halt Communist aggression is clearly in the interest of the free world nations. At the same time the statement noted that the United States is "not embarked on a military crusade against Communist nations" and that American military operations are "only part of the substantial U.S. program to enlarge the economic, social, and political future of the Vietnamese people."

The Freedom House effort to enlist support for our Government's Vietnam policy was welcomed by President Johnson in a letter to the organization's public affairs committee, dated July 19, as follows:

"I believe your statement in support of the policy of the United States toward Vietnam reflects the strong opinion of most Americans. What you say takes increased importance from your long and courageous record of opposition to all forms of tyranny.

"I am grateful for the position stated in your credo of support and I hope that others who feel as you do may be willing to join in this expression. Effective public support of our national purpose in Vietnam will hasten the coming of the peace which is our common purpose."

The members of the academic community who have endorsed the administration's policy in Vietnam are part of a growing list of faculty members who are communicating their views to Freedom House. New sponsors are adding their names daily; the list to date is attached:

SPONSORS OF FREEDOM HOUSE STATEMENT

American International College: C. S. Samra.

The American University: Ernest S. Griffith, dean, School of International Service; Loy W. Henderson, director, Center for Diplomacy and Foreign Relations.

Bowling Green State University: Emanuel Solon, department of chemistry.

Brandeis University: Max Lerner, professor of American Civilization.

Brooklyn College: Harry D. Gideonse, president; Hyman Kublin, department of history; Ivan D. London, department of psychology.

Brown University: William T. Hastings, professor of English emeritus.

Bryn Mawr College: Angeline H. Lograsso.

Carleton College: Reginald D. Lang, department of government and international relations.

The Catholic University of America: B. S. Browzin.

Claremont Graduate School: George S. Blair.

Claremont Men's College: William S. Stokes, senior professor of comparative political institutions.

The College of Idaho: George V. Wolfe, professor of political science.

Columbia University: Daniel Bell, professor of sociology; Zbygniew Brzezinski, director, Research Institute on Communist Affairs; William K. Jones, professor of law; Willis L. M. Reese, director, Parker School of Foreign and Comparative Law; Joseph H. Smith, professor of law.

Cornell University: Charles Ackerman, department of sociology; George H. Hildebrand, department of economics; Jacob Wolfowitz, department of mathematics.

Dartmouth College: John W. Masland, department of government.

Drew University: Will Herberg.

Elmhurst College: Royal J. Schmidt, professor of political science and history.

Fairfield University: John Norman, department of history.

Gallaudet College: Kurt Beermann, professor of history and political science.

George Washington University: Franz Michael, associate director, Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies.

Georgetown University: James D. Atkinson, department of government; Walter W. Wilkinson, department of history; Rev. Gerard F. Yates, S.J. International Student Programs.

Harvard University: Robert Braucher, professor of law; Cary J. Friedrich, professor of government, Littauer Center; Morton H. Halperin, Center for International Affairs; George C. Homans, department of social relations; Samuel P. Huntington, professor of government; William L. Langer, professor of history: Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr., department of government; George H. Quester, Center for International Affairs; George C. Shattuck, Medical School; Roland W. Thorwaldsen, Center for the Study of World Religions.

Hofstra University: Robert A. Christie; John C. Moore, department of history.

Hollins College: Victor Zitta.

Indiana University: Robert F. Byrnes, director, Russian and East European Institute; John E. Stoner, department of government.

Lehigh University: H. S. Braddick, department of international relations; Aurie N. Dunlap, department of international relations; A. Roy Eckardt, department of religion.

Macalester College: Arthur Upgren, department of economics.

Marquette University: Arthur C. Marlow, chairman, political science; Quentin L. Quade, department of political science; Eric Waldman, department of political science.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Lincoln P. Bloomfield, department of politi-

cal science; Ithiel de Sola Pool, department of political science; Lucian W. Pye, department of political science.

Miami University: Dan N. Jacobs, professor of government.

Michigan State University: Charles R. Adrian, chairman, department of political science; Wesley R. Fishel, department of political science; J. Oliver Hall, department of social science.

New York University: Sidney Hook, department of philosophy; Frank N. Trager, professor of international affairs.

Ohio State University: James A. Robinson.

Princeton University: Rowland Egger, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs; Brooks Emeny, Advisory Council, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs; William W. Lockwood, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

Ripon College: William Fleming, chairman, department of political science.

Rutgers—The State University: Donald G. Herzberg, executive director, the Eagleton Institute of Politics.

Sacramento State College: George Tokmakoff, department of history.

St. Louis University: Francis J. Corley, department of history.

Smith College: M. Salvadori, department of history.

Southern Illinois University: William Goodman, chairman, faculty of government.

Stanford University: Stefan T. Possony, director, international political studies program, Hoover Institution.

State College, Shippensburg, Pa.: Benjamin Nispel, dean of arts and sciences.

Texas A. & M. University: Daniel Russell, professor emeritus of sociology.

Texas Christian University: Charles W. Procter, department of government.

Texas Western College: S. D. Myres, department of government; Roland I. Perusse, department of government.

Tulane University: Henry L. Mason, professor of political science.

University of Bridgeport: Victor E. Muniec; Justus M. van der Kroef, department of political science.

University of California, Berkeley: Eric C. Bellquist, department of political science; Joseph P. Harris, department of political science; Seymour Martin Lipset, director, institute of international studies; Frederick C. Mosher, department of political science; William Petersen, department of sociology; Robert A. Scalapino, department of political science; Raymond J. Sontag, department of history; Aaron Wildavsky, department of political science.

University of California, Los Angeles: J. A. C. Grant; Robert G. Neumann, department of political science.

University of Chicago: Morton A. Kaplan.

University of Cincinnati: Paul F. Power, department of political science.

University of Colorado: James L. Busey, department of political science; Edward J. Rozek, department of political science.

University of Connecticut: Arthur Bronwell, dean of engineering.

University of Maryland: Walter Darnell Jacobs, department of government and politics.

University of Michigan: Russell Fifield, department of political science.

University of Minnesota: Carl A. Auerbach, professor of law; Harold C. Deutsch, chairman, department of history; Samuel Krislov; C. H. McLaughlin, department of political science; Arnold M. Rose, professor of sociology.

University of Montana: Thomas Payne.

University of Pennsylvania: William R. Kintner, deputy director, Foreign Policy Research Institute; Robert Strausz-Hupe, director, Foreign Policy Research Institute.

University of Pittsburgh: Daniel S. Cheever, graduate school of public and international affairs; John O. Hall, director, overseas programs, graduate school of public and international affairs; Donald C. Stone, dean, graduate school of public and international affairs.

University of Richmond: Spencer D. Albright.

University of South Carolina: Robert W. Foster, professor of law; James E. Larson, professor of political science.

University of Tennessee: Douglas Carlisle, department of political science.

University of Texas: Page Keeton, dean, school of law.

University of Washington: Imre Boba, Far Eastern and Russian Institute; Karl A. Wittfogel.

Upper Iowa University: Charles B. Clark.

Utah State University: Jay M. Bagley, civil engineering department; Carlton Culmsee dean, college of humanities and arts; Elliot Rich, civil engineering department.

Wabash College: George A. Lipsky, political science and geography department; Warren W. Shearer, economics department.

Western Washington State College: Manfred C. Vernon, department of political science.

Yale University: Eugene V. Rostow, professor of law; Walter R. Sharp, professor emeritus of international relations; Alexander von Graevenitz, department of microbiology.

Yeshiva University: Joseph Dunner; Roman Vishniac, professor of biology.

Additional listings: Robert A. Goldwin, director, Public Affairs Conference Center, University of Chicago; William V. O'Brien, chairman, Institute of World Polity, Georgetown University; Robert Sobel, Department of History, Hofstra University.

Justice Reed Turns 80

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, shortly after the 89th Congress convened, Justice Stanley F. Reed celebrated his birthday in Washington on January 29 of this year. I remember that the Louisville Courier-Journal of January 30 had an article about Justice Reed, who came to Washington from Kentucky 35 years ago and served 27 years as Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

I ask unanimous consent that the article on Justice Reed be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUSTICE REED TURNS 80 IN WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON.—Stanley F. Reed, who came to Washington from Kentucky 35 years ago to spend 12 months, yesterday celebrated his 80th birthday and his 27 years as an associate justice of the Supreme Court with a reception in the Court.

The Justice and Mrs. Reed, who still maintain their farm near Maysville, Ky., received other members of the Court, Cabinet officers, and other high-ranking government officials from 5 to 7.

It is 8 years since Reed retired from active service on the bench, but during that time he has been on call for special judicial assignments. The only Justice still on the Court who was there when Reed was appointed is Hugo Black. Justice Black was the first appointed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Reed was the second.

Reed was a counsel for the Burley Tobacco Growers Cooperative Association when James C. Stone, Vice Chairman of the Hoover Farm Board, brought him to Washington in 1929. Stone was a former president of the co-op. Planning to stay only a year, the Reeds rented an apartment in the Mayflower Hotel. They still occupy it.

In 1932 Reed became General Counsel for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Roosevelt made him Solicitor General, in which post he argued before the Supreme Court on behalf of much of the New Deal's controversial legislation.

When he went to the Supreme Court, January 31, 1938, the atmosphere still was tense as a result of Roosevelt's unsuccessful attempt to "pack" the Court. Before he retired 19 years later, Reed had gravitated to the Court's conservative wing.

Jack Beidler Interviewed on Dirksen Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, during the course of the battle over Senator DIRKSEN's reapportionment amendment, I had the great pleasure of getting to know Mr. Jack Beidler, legislative director of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL–CIO. He was a constant source of information, sound judgment and assistance to those of us who opposed the rotten-borough amendment. The entire labor movement can be proud of the effective role he played in helping to defeat that proposal.

On September 12, Mr. Beidler was interviewed on a Mutual Broadcasting System news conference. In that broadcast, Mr. Beidler clearly and forcefully expressed the reasons he opposed all efforts to dilute the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decisions. In so doing he showed why all of us were proud to be associated with him in this fight. I ask unanimous consent that the transcript of this news conference be reprinted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the transcript was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE, MUTUAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Subject: One man, one vote—Basic democracy.

Guest: Jack Beidler, legislative director, AFL–CIO's industrial union department.

Panel: E. W. Kenworthy, the New York Times; Cecil Holland, the Washington Evening Star.

Moderator: Harry W. Flannery.

Mr. FLANNERY. Welcome to another edition of Labor News Conference, a public affairs production of the AFL–CIO. Labor News Conference brings together leading AFL–CIO representatives and ranking members of the press. Today's guest is Jack Beidler, legislative director of the AFL–CIO's industrial union department.

Most Americans take it for granted that, as individual citizens, they each have an equal voice in the affairs of their State's government. That, of course, is what the Constitution of the United States provides and guarantees. But for generations, that principle of democracy has been ignored by many State legislatures in apportioning legislative seats. As a result, one or both Houses are often dominated by representatives and senators who reflect the interests of only a small proportion of the citizens. The U.S. Supreme Court has ordered an end to that situation with its historic one-man, one-vote decisions. Some States have complied voluntarily—some have complied under Court order—and in others, the principle of majority rule remains meaningless. At the same time, there have been continuing efforts to nullify the Supreme Court's decision. The most widely publicized of these is known as the Dirksen amendment. Although recently rejected by the U.S. Senate, Senator DIRKSEN's proposal remains a live issue in Congress, and therefore, a threat to every citizen's right to an equal voice in his State's legislature. Organized labor has long been in the forefront of the fight for fair apportionment of State legislatures. Here to question Mr. Beidler about the AFL-CIO's position regarding one man, one vote—the effects of malapportioned State legislatures—and how he views efforts now underway to strike down this constitutional guarantee are E. W. Kenworthy, of the New York Times, and Cecil Holland, of the Washington Evening Star. Your moderator, Harry W. Flannery.

And now, Mr. Holland, I believe you have the first question?

Mr. HOLLAND. Well, just as a starter, Mr. Beidler, would you spell out in more detail why labor is so opposed to the Dirksen amendment? What is labor's interest, if any, in this issue?

Mr. BEIDLER. Well, as I'm sure you know, we're opposed to the amendment proposed by Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, generally, on the grounds that we think the U.S. Supreme Court is right—that the one-man, one-vote principle is right. I guess what you are asking is, do we have any close interest in this, and we do have a close interest in it. We feel the State legislatures, being badly malapportioned, misrepresent the needs of the people of their States. We are interested in a great variety of social legislation and we have found that in the States, social legislation often goes down the drain, solely, because the legislature is malapportioned.

Now, for example, on March 2 of this year, in the State of Missouri, an attempt was made to pass a minimum wage bill setting a $1 hourly minimum wage for certain workers in that State—that's 25 cents below the Federal minimum wage. That bill was defeated in the State house of representatives by a vote of 68 to 83. But the 68 who were on the losing side of that vote represented 2,600,000 people, while the 83, a majority in the State house, represented only 1,300,000 people—less than half of the people of the State. So, we feel very strongly that the needs of the people are not met by unrepresentative legislatures. The Missouri example is just one of many similar instances in a number of States—but it illustrates the point.

Mr. KENWORTHY. Mr. Beidler, obviously, the urban constituencies have had a longtime grievance on malapportionment—but the argument has been made that with one-man, one-vote apportionment the rural constituencies would also have probably a justifiable grievance because they would be so severely outvoted. Now there have been three legislatures that have had one session now since the Supreme Court ruling of July 1964—Colorado, Michigan, and Delaware. Now, what has happened in those three sessions? Has there been legislation that in any way disadvantaged the rural constituencies?

Mr. BEIDLER. Well, of course, I haven't been in those States, but it did occur to me to inquire as to what had happened in one of the States you mentioned—Michigan. The information I received was that the representatives of farm groups in the rural areas in the State of Michigan feel that this has been one of the more beneficial legislative sessions for them, and that they have had no cause for complaint as a result of the one-man, one-vote principle being applied to their State's legislature.

Mr. KENWORTHY. That is, you're saying, Mr. Beidler, that there has been no kind of retribution on the part of the urban representatives against the rural counties?

Mr. BEIDLER. That's right, Mr. Kenworthy—no retribution.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Beidler, the Dirksen bill was defeated a few weeks ago in the Senate by a vote, I believe, of 57 to 39—it fell short of the constitutional requirement on an amendment—it's now pending in the Senate Judiciary Committee. What is going to be the fate of this bill in this session of Congress?

Mr. BEIDLER. Well, when you say "this session," you mean, in effect, this year, for all practical purposes. This is now the second go-round for it in the Senate Judiciary Committee. It was rejected the first time by a vote of 8 to 8, and Senator DIRKSEN had to bring it to the floor by attaching it as an amendment to another bill. Now, as you know, Mr. HOLLAND, just the other day the amendment was reported. Now actually, the same committee members who opposed the proposal during other attempts to get it to the floor were still against DIRKSEN's amendment. But what happened was that DIRKSEN had blocked approval of the immigration reform bill by the Judiciary Committee, and held this out as ransom for his amendment. That, in my opinion, was out-and-out blackmail—but I don't think he helped his case any. As far as I'm concerned, I'd like to see it come up again this year. Senator DIRKSEN has indicated that he just wants to get it on the calendar and call it up next January. I think if it were brought up again this year, it would be defeated by an even greater margin than it was on August 4.

Mr. HOLLAND. Well, may I just ask one more question there, Mr. Beidler? If it should come up and be defeated again, would this be the end of it, or would it come up again next year?

Mr. BEIDLER. Well, you're asking me to analyze the inner recesses of Senator DIRKSEN's mind—and I can't do that.

Mr. KENWORTHY. Mr. Beidler, there have been a lot of complaints for a great many years about the overcentralization in the Federal Government here in Washington, and the answer to that has been that problems have been taken to the Federal Government simply because the State legislatures have not responded to their responsibilities, largely because the representatives of the farm and smalltown communities wouldn't face up to these problems. Is there a possibility that with reapportionment, those people who have been complaining about overcentralization of the Federal Government, might find that the responsibilities are now turned back to the local communities and the State legislatures? What I am asking, Mr. Beidler, is whether those very people who are most opposed to reapportionment are the same people who have always complained about the centralization in Washington?

Mr. BEIDLER. I think that is quite true. I think the heart of the States' rights, conservative movement in America has been rural smalltown areas. Because life has progressed more rapidly—perhaps not progressed more rapidly, but changed more rapidly—in the urban communities, they have failed to recognize urban problems, thereby forcing a shift in power from the State capital to Washington. I think these people are deluding themselves. If they really do believe in States' rights, they are deluding themselves by opposing one man, one vote because States would certainly gain much power, I believe, simply by exercising it.

Mr. KENWORTHY. You really think that the problems—some of the problems—which have been sloughed off by the State legislatures onto the Federal Government, might be taken back to the States again?

Mr. BEIDLER. Yes, I believe that very firmly. I think malapportionment has been the major reason for the decline of power of the State governments, simply because they haven't exercised their responsibilities, and haven't met the needs of their people. If they are given the power, through a more representative government, to exercise that responsibility and meet those needs, then the States will become more powerful, relative to the Central Government.

Mr. KENWORTHY. Do you think this would probably be a desirable thing? A good deal of the legislation that has been passed in this session of Congress—some of the antipoverty legislation, some parts of the education bill—tend to take some of the responsibility back to the local communities and States. Do you think that is probably a welcome trend?

Mr. BEIDLER. Well, I think the more you can interest people in their immediate governments, the better off we all are. I have never been one of those who felt that the Federal Government—the expansion of the powers or authority of the Federal Government—has been a threat to our freedom. Certainly there has been nothing to indicate that. Perhaps I'm too young to remember a time—when State governments had more influence on our lives than the National Government. But the power of the Federal Government has been increasing for many years, and I don't think any of our freedoms have been lost. I think perhaps a few of them might have been enhanced.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Beidler, we are a country where the majority rules. As rewritten by Senator DIRKSEN, his latest version provides for a statewide referendum. Why doesn't this meet your objections to the bill?

Mr. BEIDLER. Well, as a matter of fact, all three of the versions of his amendment appear to require that the people have an opportunity to vote it up or down. I don't know that this is a valid thing to submit to a referendum of the people. I think there are a number of objections to that. The first and foremost objection is that the right to equal representation in a legislature, Mr. HOLLAND, is a fundamental—shall we say "inalienable"—democratic right. I wouldn't submit the question of trial by jury to a referendum of the people. That's not a proper thing for them to decide.

Furthermore, referendums in this country are notorious for the lack of interest that people give to them. In many cases, when National or State officers are being voted on in the same referendum—in the same election as a referendum on an issue such as this—a minority of those who vote for the top office, such as governor, for example—a minority of those who vote for top office will vote for the referendum, on the referendum issue. I think this is the kind of thing which a legislative body should decide and, because of its complications, should not be submitted to the people.

Mr. KENWORTHY. Mr. Beidler, there is one thing that puzzles me, and I am not sure that I understand it. In the latest version of the Dirksen amendment, he says that a plan may be submitted on a one-man one-vote basis, so that all, not only parties but groupings within a State, shall be represented. It would seem to me that if you get into this, it would be particularly devisive—that you would get into all sorts of religious questions, and racial questions, and questions of national origins. As we know, there is a

tendency to have an "Italian vote," an "Irish vote," and a "Polish vote" in some places. But it seems to me, this would be exaggerated by Senator DIRKSEN's amendment. How does it seem to you?

Mr. BEIDLER. Mr. Kenworthy, I certainly agree with you on that. How many representatives should the doctors have in the State legislature? How many representatives should labor union members have in the State legislature? How many representatives should mayors in cities between 25,000 and 50,000 have in the State legislature? It opens up immense complications.

Mr. KENWORTHY. You think this is a real "can of worms"?

Mr. BEIDLER. It's a real opportunity for all kinds of logrolling, which those who could afford the most lobbyists perhaps would achieve the most, and many of the people would go perhaps even more unrepresented than they are now in many of our legislatures.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Beidler, some of those who support the Dirksen amendment have warned that if the Congress doesn't approve of this, the States themselves might move in and initiate action on it—might make the arrangements, or take action toward calling a constitutional convention—apart from the Congress. And, as one said, this would open a "Pandora's box," because they would not be restricted as to what such a convention could do. Do you see any threat in that?

Mr. BEIDLER. Well, I see a very definite threat, as you suggest. If you call a constitutional convention, it probably cannot be limited as to the action it could take. It could eliminate from the Constitution, freedom of speech, freedom of religion—whatever it might have a mind to do.

What you are referring to, of course, is the effort by the Council of State Governments to petition the Congress to call a constitutional convention. They claim that 27 States have adopted such a resolution, which may or may not be so. But certainly, it is true that 27 such resolutions have not been filed with the Judiciary Committee of either the House or the Senate. Thirty-four such resolutions would have to be filed before that provision of the Constitution would become operative. I doubt very much that they can ever get close to 34.

Mr. KENWORTHY. This method of amending the Constitution has never been restorted to?

Mr. BEIDLER. That's correct. It's never happened before—and I doubt very much that it will happen now.

Mr. KENWORTHY. There was one occasion which came very close, I believe, on the direct election of Senators, where there were something like 31 petitions, and they needed at that time, I think, 32. But, that is the closest it has ever come, and I don't think that this is really a very serious threat because isn't time, Mr. Beidler, really working against Mr. Dirksen on this? The more legislatures that become reapportioned, and the less that happens when they are reapportioned to excite the population, and considering a general disinterest anyway—isn't the whole thing likely to pass over in another year?

Mr. BEIDLER. Well, of course, time is working against Senator DIRKSEN. More and more of the State legislatures are becoming—one house at a time perhaps—are becoming reapportioned on a one-man, one-vote basis. His latest effort, at a mater of fact, would require that at least one house of the State legislature be apportioned on a one-man, one-vote basis before it could propose a malapportioned legislature. This, of course, gives the opportunity for a great deal of logrolling between one house and the other, Mr. Kenworthy.

I'm sure you are familiar with State legislatures, and even in the Congress, where one house will, in a sense, blackmail the other—"if you'll do this, I'll do that"—and if you have a State senate that is malapportioned, it can have considerable influence on reapportionment plans that are submitted to the people.

Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, describes, as a matter of fact, the Illinois situation where the lower house is in effect, a "one-man, one-vote" house, because it was elected at-large, which is an unwieldy thing whereas the senate is as malapportioned as it was before. So in order for the lower house to get a one-half cent increase in the city sales tax for Chicago, in order for Chicago to meet its revenue needs, they had to agree to the reapportionment plan submitted by the senate which was actually a malapportioned plan.

Mr. KENWORTHY. I have heard, Mr. Beidler, that in Delaware, this last session, which now has a reapportioned State legislature, an unemployment compensation law was finally put through, after 15 years of futile effort. Do you know anything about this?

Mr. BEIDLER. That's some good news that I hadn't heard about, Mr. Kenworthy.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Beidler, one of the alarms that has ben raised about this bill and the possible failure of Congress to pass it, is that this may lead eventually to reapportionment of the U.S. Senate. I think one Senator suggested that New York would be given nine Senators and four or five States in the West, for example, would have only one or two. What's the answer to this? Do you see any danger of that happening?

Mr. BEIDLER. The answer to that, Mr. HOLLAND, is quite simple, and the Constitution itself provides it. There is only one section of the Constitution that cannot be amended except by unanimous consent, and that section says very simply that no State may be deprived of its equal representation in the U.S. Senate except with its consent. So you would have to have unanimous consent in order to change the apportionment of the U.S. Senate. I'm sure that obviates any such danger. That's only another false alarm sounded by the Dirksen forces.

Mr. KENWORTHY. Why do you think, Mr. Beidler, that Mr. DIRKSEN has gone through such effort for over a year? He began a year ago this summer, you remember, first with a piece of legislation which would stay any further court orders until there was a chance to act upon a constitutional amendment. Then gradually, after defeat on that piece of legislation, since last January, he has fought from one fallback position after another. What do you think is his particularly great interest in this?

Mr. BEIDLER. Well, I suspect, Mr. Kenworthy, it has a good deal to do with Senator DIRKSEN's origins. He comes from a small town in a rural area of Illinois.

This fight, although it ought not to be that, has largely taken on the coloration of rural interests versus urban interests. I suspect that those who have supported him for office—his friends and those with whom he confers, those with whom he shares opinions, who give him advice, who criticize his ideas and so forth—are people who feel basically that the Supreme Court should never have gotten into this issue—that the status quo is to be preferred over change. That's, I think, very interesting, Mr. Kenworthy.

Perhaps one of you gentlemen wrote the article I read suggesting that the leader of the opposition to Senator DIRKSEN is Senator DOUGLAS. And Senator DOUGLAS, also of Illinois, as a Democrat, is going to lose seats to the Republicans in Illinois as a result of "one man, one vote." Senator DIRKSEN's party is going to pick up seats in the Illinois Legislature.

Mr. KENWORTHY. That raises an interesting question. Isn't it perhaps a question simply of picking up seats for urban communities or losing seats for rural communities? Perhaps the rural population is not so vitally interested in this as in being represented. Could it possibly be that other interests are more interested than the rural communities, because they know that if they can control one House of the State legislature, they have, in effect, veto power on taxation, on bond bills and so on?

Mr. BEIDLER. Oh, I think that is quite right. I think you underestimates the economic power of rural communities—the local banker, the local store owner, and so forth. As a union representative, I have witnessed that those gentlemen have a great deal of power in the Congress, and they have much more power in the State legislatures. I think economic interests have a great deal of influence on this question.

Mr. KENWORTHY. Well, the railroads, for example?

Mr. BEIDLER. Well, of course, the railroads are powerful in these communities. They exert a great interest, and their interest is in transporting freight at reasonable—at what they think is reasonable—prices. Their interest is against full-crew laws—against safety laws in the State legislatures. They prefer to run their own operations without interference from a legislature. That's quite understandable—but it is manifestly against the best public interests.

Mr. FLANNERY. Thank you, gentlemen. Today's Labor News Conference guest was Jack Beidler, legislative director of the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department. Representing the press were Cecil Holland, of the Washington Evening Star, and E. W. Kenworthy, of the New York Times. This is your modertaor, Harry W. Flannery, who invites you to listen again next week. Labor News Conference is a public affairs production of the AFL-CIO, in cooperation with the Mutual Broadcasting System.

Hon. T. A. Thompson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, the sudden and tragic death of T. A. Thompson has taken from the House a warm, spirited gentleman and most distinguished public servant. We shall sorely miss the pleasure of his companionship and the privilege of his counsel.

Ashton Thompson epitomized the hightest ideals of public service, in which, to the profit of his community, his State, and his country, he spent his entire life. He rose to become one of the outstanding budgetary and fiscal authorities of Louisiana—a brilliant career interrupted only by his country's call to military service during World War II. His many achievements well merited the esteem of his fellow citizens, who so wisely chose him as their Representative in Washington. In their loss may they be consoled by the knowledge that he served them to the very limit of his boundless resources of energy and devotion. Yet his duty to his constituents never made him parochial to their interests; like all great Congressmen, he knew that the welfare of the Nation is paramount.

We who are the poorer for his untimely passing shall remember him, too, for his kind and generous character: A man

whose great frame held a great heart. To his widow, his family, and his many friends, I sincerely extend my deepest sympathies.

Allegations and Charges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN DOWDY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, the allegations and charges laid before the House by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GRAY], on October 22, regarding the multiple offenses of one Edward Grady Partin, and the handling thereof by the Justice Department, should give concern to all of us. Surely the matters spread before us call for an investigation by the committee having authority in such cases.

Congress enacted the Landrum-Griffin Act several years ago, to protect union members from union officials who misuse union funds, and who falsify certain union records. It is alleged that more than 3 years ago, this Edward Grady Partin was duly indicted and charged, as an official in a local Teamster union, with 13 separate and distinct embezzlements of union funds, and 13 separate and distinct cases of falsification of union accounts, and that the Justice Department has not prosecuted these cases, and the inference is left that there is no intention so to do.

An investigation should develop the reason therefor, and this is particularly called for in view of the further allegation by the gentlemen from Illinois that two of the witnesses who first exposed the alleged embezzlement were attacked and severely beaten in retaliation; that the local union's books and records disappeared; and one of the said Partin's critics was killed in an unusual accident.

Other allegations in the address by the gentlemen from Illinois further aggravate the case, and are of such gravity as to emphasize the need for an investigation. These include charges that the said Partin, for more than 3 years, has also been under indictment for forgery and for kidnapping, that he was also under indictments for first degree manslaughter and for leaving the scene in the State of Alabama, which indictments were dismissed. If it inferred that such dismissals were at the instance of the Justice Department, and, if so, why? An investigation would give the answer to this.

Our colleague further set forth a long criminal record sported by the said Partin, including a conviction for burglary, for which he was awarded a 15-year sentence by the State of Washington, and an FBI record showing 15 arrest on charges including burglary, robbery, automobile theft, larceny, theft, robbery with firearms, and others.

As I gather from the remarks of the gentleman from Illinois, he feels the tender solicitude shown to the said Partin was in the nature of a consideration or bribe to reward him for testimony in a case concerning one Jimmy Hoffa, who was Partin's superior in the Teamster Union. I certainly have no brief for Mr. Hoffa. He ought to be duly punished for the crimes he may have committed. Neither do I object to the granting of immunity to make available testimony which would otherwise be denied to the prosecution. I was a district attorney in the State courts for four terms before I came to Congress, and I used that procedure on occasion, albeit sparingly. I never found it necessary to grant complete immunity to a person with a record such as carried by the said Partin, nor did I find it necessary to sweeten the immunity by monetary payments to the person or members of his family. I would doubt the ethics or propriety of such.

I do hope and trust the investigation will be made of the matters of fact alleged by Mr. GRAY. The seriousness of the allegations seemingly demand this action. If the investigation sustains the allegations, it would warrant the prosecution of the said Partin on the multiplicity of offenses for which he has been indicted. Otherwise, the act of Congress intended to protect union members from having their dues money embezzled by union officials will have been in vain.

Illinois Banker Hits Concentration in Banking From Mergers and Holding Companies—Scores Saxon as Enemy of Dual Banking System and Small Bankers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. G. R. Lockard, president of the Bank of West Frankfort, West Frankfort, Ill., typifies the growing resentment of independent bankers all across America against moves by the giants in their industry to completely take over banking.

Mr. Lockard singles out the pending bank merger bill S. 1698 as dangerous legislation. He also cites violations of State laws by holding companies and the extreme attitudes of Comptroller Saxon as leading to monopoly and the death of dual banking.

No doubt Mr. Lockard is correct; there is a real possibility that dual banking, characterized by the thriving, small, independent bank, is on the way out in America. Mr. Lockard's letter follows:

THE BANK OF WEST FRANKFORT,
West Frankfort, Ill.

Hon. WRIGHT W. PATMAN,
Chairman, Committee on Banking and Currency, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I have read much of the debate and discussion on the bank merger bill and I am enclosing an announcement from the Wall Street Journal concerning the First National Bank in St. Louis, St. Louis Union Trust Co., and General Bancshares Corp. of St. Louis.

This will constitute one of the greatest monopolies and control of banking that has ever happened in this area since banking began in the States of Missouri and Illinois. I have been a banker for over 40 years and just a few years ago the General Bancshares Corp. entered Illinois, in violation of our State laws, and bought control of three banks, two of which are in this county, Franklin County, Ill. At the time they made these purchases they boasted that they were going to buy other banks all over Illinois and Missouri. However, our banking association got busy and the State of Illinois passed a holding company law prohibiting holding companies in Illinois and this stopped the racket.

From all indications and information that I have been able to gain from Comptroller Saxon's actions, there is no limit to what he wants to do in the matter of banking and holding companies. It is my opinion that he would find a reason for a merger of a bank in New York City with one in California or take over the banks of an entire State if he could get it through. His talk of the dual banking system is merely lip service and is only a camouflage to his intentions. He is a protege of the First National Bank of Chicago and they, with the Continental, 2 of the 10 largest banks in America, continually keep the thing boiling in Illinois for branch banking and cost all of us small bankers a lot of money to fight them. I think every effort should be made to stop this merger of the St. Louis banks.

Yours truly,

G. R. LOCKARD,
President.

Senator Robertson Addresses Kentucky Bankers Association at Louisville, Ky.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, our colleague, the distinguished Senator from Virginia, A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, is to address the Kentucky Bankers Association at the Brown Hotel in Louisville next Monday, October 25, 1965. I have talked with Senator ROBERTSON, and I hope to be in Louisville to hear him, particularly as he has been kind enough to show me the address he has prepared for the occasion.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the address as prepared by Senator ROBERTSON appear in the Appendix of the RECORD for today.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CURRENT FISCAL TRENDS

(By Senator A. WILLIS ROBERTSON)

It is a cherished privilege to address a State bankers' association in any State, but especially so, when I can call you cousin. Daniel Webster said that no vigor of youth nor maturity of manhood would cause our Nation to forget those early spots that cradled and defended the infancy of our Republic. By the same token, I shall never forget

that during our revolutionary fight for freedom, my hometown of Lexington, Va., and the entire State of Kentucky were within the same Augusta County, Va. Therefore, when I was in the House, what a joy it was to me to serve on the Ways and Means Committee with a man like Noble Gregory of Kentucky and later in the Senate with a man like Virgil Chapman. If Virginia could have claimed three men in the Senate, I would have asked for Chapman of Kentucky as our third Member—a patriot, statesman, orator, and a southern gentleman.

So, gentlemen of this great association, I am your Virginia cousin from the Blue Ridge Mountains of West Augusta, sharing your pride in your lovely women; in your rolling blue grass hills, and your determination to pass on to generations yet unborn, those priceless principles of political and economic freedom that were born of the brain and purchased with the blood of our Founding Fathers.

In these hectic days that try men's souls when the fundamental principles of private enterprise and States rights, which we have heretofore taken for granted, are being openly flouted by a politically oriented Court on the one hand and a vote-seeking Congress on the other, I often think of the strong man of mythology whose strength was renewed every time he touched Mother Earth. By the same token, my strength is renewed and my courage to go forward, strengthened, when I am privileged to make contact with a splendid group of bankers who share my views on fiscal policies.

At this season of the year, when the Midas hand of fall has touched the greenery of our mountainsides and the maples, gums, and dogwoods are bidding farewell to summer in a riotous flame of color, it would please me to be able to fill the role of the messenger of whom Isaiah said: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings." But, I would not be intellectually honest if I did not frankly say that, in my opinion, buried deep in an unprecedented boom are two latent troublemakers—inflation and Federal domination of the States.

On a dollar basis, production in this country is at an alltime high, produced national income at an alltime high, personal income after taxes, at an alltime high, and the quoted values of stocks, listed on the major exchanges, at an alltime high. In fact, the once-exciting event of a 9 million share day when the buying and selling orders were placed faster than they could be recorded, has now become commonplace and many are beginning to take for granted that the only direction in which our economy can move in the future is up. My personal viewpoint is that many of the new laws, passed to promote what is called the Great Society, involving the spending of billions of borrowed money, are inherently inflationary is either not shared by many or else is discounted as the price of progress.

I doubt if much attention was attracted by the item in last week's issue of U.S. News & World Report that the new programs undertaken this year will cost us $75 billion over the next 5 years and by 1970 these programs will be costing us about $20 billion a year.

The tremendous increase in Federal spending is illustrated by appropriations for education. I believe in education and would be glad to see our State and local governments spend more on education at every level. But education is not the responsibility of the Federal Government. Incidentally, in the Constitutional Convention in 1787, Jefferson's proposal presented by Madison to authorize a national university, was overwhelmingly defeated. In my opinion, there is no authority in the Constitution for either a national university or for Federal contribution to public schools. When a bill was pending to commence Federal contributions to public schools, I predicted that the 1 billion plus then proposed, would soon be accelerated to $3 billion and that in a few years a program that directly reached so many voters would be measurably accelerated. Those predictions have been fully confirmed because for the current calendar year, Federal spending for education will come to $6.8 billion and for next year, it will move up to $8.7 billion. And, it is anybody's guess as to how fast it will move after that.

In that program alone, are the seeds of inflation on the one hand, and Federal control on the other, because the time is not far distant when the Federal Government will fix standards for teachers just as they now fix standards for Federal aid highways; standardize the curricula for accredited schools and then they will wind up by furnishing the textbooks that all schools which receive Federal aid must use.

It is difficult to know what the actual spending in the current fiscal year will be because no one knows how much may be spent on the war in South Vietnam.

We already have added $2.4 billion to the regular military budget and we expect a supplemental request next January for $2 or $3 billion more. Of course, the President can withhold some of the funds being authorized for domestic programs, but if the military spending is of the nature now anticipated and the domestic authorizations are implemented as now anticipated, the spending in the current fiscal year, exclusive of social security, will range from $107 to $110 billion. Without supplementals next year for war purposes, Congress has authorized new spending for the current budget which is $13 billion above the previous year. While the current boom—which most economists think will continue well into 1966—will probably increase the revenue over the Treasury estimate last June of $95.5 billion, unless the increase exceeds my present guess of $2 or $3 billion we could still wind up the fiscal year with twice the deficit predicted last January in the President's budget message. The economists of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce are of the opinion that the contemplated spending program will be inflationary and I understand that the National Planning Association will soon release a 2-year study in which the same prediction will be made. Therefore, if it becomes established by the end of the fiscal year that we can look for inflation of 2 percent a year or more for a considerable period of time, what prudent investor will want to buy a 20-year 4 or 4¼ percent Government bond, which as maturity will be worth only 60 percent of what it had cost? Should my assumption that much of the borrowing must be from commercial banks be correct, two inflationary factors will be involved:

1. Banks will have a tendency to offer less than par for long term Government bonds, thus advancing interest rates, and,

2. For every dollar of Government bonds that a commercial bank buys, $6 of new credit money is potentially created.

Since the framers of his guidelines have told our President that his Great Society can be financed without inflation, he may be counted upon to bring pressure against any industrial unit that starts the inflationary parade. The makers of aluminum, steel and automobiles already know what I mean. The bankers' turn will probably come next. My advice to bankers is not to have the odium of creating inflation—by increasing interest rates—unloaded on them, even if it may mean a temporary foregoing of a profit which they could easily earn because money is getting tighter. But, the months that lie ahead should be prosperous ones for our banks and it is the function of the Federal Reserve Board, and not our commercial banks to regulate the money supply and fix its value.

Most of the Nation's economic experts have looked into their crystal balls and seen indications that our economy will continue on a high plateau for the remainder of this year and, perhaps, well into 1966, if the war in South Vietnam continues.

Although I do not claim to be an economist, I agree with that forecast. But, in view of the fact that a substantial part of the current boom will be financed by borrowed money, and a considerable part of current production will be war material, slated to be chewed up rapidly in the jungles of southeast Asia, we need not expect a continuation of the present price structure.

In the matter of inflation we have been more fortunate than any other major nation in the world during the past 2 years. But we have now reached the point of relative full employment. A major part of those now unemployed are composed of those who never had a full-time job, and don't want one, and by high school students without the ambition to get an education, and without a willingness to do the type of hard labor which their lack of skill would demand.

Already there are shortages in various categories of skilled workers and those shortages will be accentuated as the draft is stepped up, and as units of the National Guard and Army Reserve are called to active duty and many plants are enjoying full production.

Dr. Gardner Ackley says we will finance the Great Society without inflation. He is a college professor who holds a Ph. D. degree from the University of Michigan, and is relying on his 3.2 guideline concept to prevent a wage-price spiral, which he thinks would automatically cause inflation. However, "It is the Government," says the Wall Street Journal, "in the first instance which inflates the money supply, as this Government has been doing for some time. If a wage-price spiral in due course ensues, it is a result of that basic inflation. Were the authorities doing less inflating, they would not have to worry so much about preserving noninflationary wage and price movements." With respect to the theories of theorists, I recall hearing the late Bernard Baruch tell our Senate Banking and Currency Committee, when a group of college professors had said that the stock market was too high: "If they knew what was going to happen they would have all the money and we would have none." The "we" referred to by Baruch have driven the Dow-Jones industrial average to the alltime high of 945.82. That's their answer to the threat of inflation and I would prefer it to a similar group of Ph. D.'s because I have heard of Ph. D.'s with a Phi Beta Kappa key at one end of their watch chain and no watch at the other.

In recent years of price stability, much of the stimulus for expansion has come from the private sectors of the economy. In the past 5 years, Federal Government purchases of goods and services have increased by a little over 20 percent, while gross national product increased by 30 percent. Personal consumption spending increased almost 30 percent. The largest relative increases have occurred in State and local government expenditures for goods and services (45 percent and in business expenditures for plant and equipment (over a third).

Expansion in consumption, in total output and in productive capacity has been facilitated by credit expansion—both bank and nonbank. Outstanding debt of all kinds—public and private—net of duplications, has tripled in the two decades since the war.

In the past 5 years total debt has increased by close to 40 percent—somewhat more than the 30-percent increase shown for gross national product. Federal Government debt, which at the end of the war comprised three-fifths of all debt outstanding, increased by only 10 percent in the past

5 years and now comprises less than a quarter of total debt of all kinds. In the same 5-year period, State and local governments, businesses in the aggregate, and consumers have each increased their indebedteness by around 50 percent or more.

But, we should not be lulled into a false sense of tolerance toward constant deficit spending by the Government merely because the Federal debt has become a smaller percentage of all debt than it was 20 years ago.

We must bear in mind that there is one big difference between Government and private debt. When you and I borrow money we must be prepared to pay back principal and interest within a specified time.

But because the Government is expected to go no indefinitely, it is only compelled to pay the interest. When one bond issue falls due the Government can simply refinance it with new obligations, and the size of the debt goes on, and up.

You have no doubt heard the familiar line of the free spenders, who brush off a Federal debt which may go up to $328 billion this year, by saying, "Why worry about it, we only owe it to ourselves."

But, even if we take that advice and go on indefinitely without paying off any of the principal, we should worry about the interest, because that must be paid, and it is steadily becoming a bigger slice of the annual Federal budget.

For the current fiscal year interest on the national debt is $11.6 billion. Except for national defense, which takes about half of the budget, interest on the debt has become one of the largest recurring obligations.

Although increases in Federal expenditures and debt have been less in recent years than the increases in private spending and debt, it is not certain that these relationships can be maintained. The war in Vietnam is beginning to boost military spending and no one can tell how much it will cost, or how long it will last.

Moreover, many domestic programs being started in Congress this year undoubtedly will increase as time goes on. As I have said, 5 years from now they may amount to $20 billion per year.

We cannot complacently rely on the hope that growth in the economy will automatically provide the increased tax revenues that will be needed to cover all the expenditures that might be requested.

We now have a new philosophy that taxes must be continually reduced to avoid imposing an unduly restrictive burden on the economy. Unquestionably, reductions in war tax rates were desirable, but not as a permanent policy. Tax cuts can't be justified if such reductions, along with increased expenditures, result in larger budgetary deficits.

You will observe that my comments have dealt primarily with the spending program of the biggest spending Congress in the history of the Nation. Few measures directly affecting bankers have been passed at this session. They include S. 1309, the one check payroll bill; S. 2080, the coinage bill, H.R. 3818, amending the gold reserve requirements, and H.R. 5306, to authorize domestic banks to pay higher interest on deposits of foreign governments.

Sometimes the Congress is more to be commended for what it refuses to do rather than for what it does do. A striking example of that political maxim is to be found in the action of the Senate last Monday, when a majority of those present voted against placing a limitation upon the pending debate on the bill to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. That action killed that bill for this session and I hope for all time to come. Personally, I will never deem any society a great society which can merely boast of an increase in the material things of life. In any event, no great society can be created if it results in the killing of a free society. In my opinion, the keystone of the arch of our representative democracy is what Daniel Webster described as that "skillful architecture which unites national sovereignty with States rights, individual security, and public prosperity." Madison and others who were members of the Philadelphia Convention felt that the rights of the States had been fully preserved in the instrument that they prepared, but under the prodding of George Mason, Patrick Henry and others, in the Virginia Ratifying Convention, he promised to spell it out in a new amendment which became the 10th amendment. The trend of both the Supreme Court and the Congress in recent years has been to erode, and ultimately destroy, that amendment. If we destroy the 10th amendment, we have struck a vital blow at the greatest bulwark against dictatorship; namely, the independence and sovereignty of the States that compose the Union. With the loss of State sovereignty and the complete dominaiton of the Federal Government we will lose our personal freedom. As Shakespeare said in "The Merchant of Venice":

"You take my house when you do take the prop
That doth sustain my house; you take my life
When you do take the means whereby I live."

May you never falter in your determination to preserve our system of private enterprise within the framework of constitutional liberty.

Something for the Special Child

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the September 1965 issue of the publication American Education contains an article written by Dr. Marvin A. Wirtz entitled "Something for the Special Child" which sets forth lucidly and cogently the scope of the program for handicapped children. Because of the nature of the article, I feel sure it is one which will be of great interest to many of my colleagues. I therefore place the article to which I have alluded in the RECORD at this point in my remarks:

SOMETHING FOR THE SPECIAL CHILD

(By Marvin A. Wirtz)

Joe McIntyre was a familiar sight, navigating around Ypsilanti, Mich., in his electric wheelchair. Many a summer noon I would meet him downtown and spend half an hour shooting the breeze with him—Joe carrying on his end of the conversation by pointing out letters on his portable spelling board.

Joe was severely handicapped with cerebral palsy; he could not walk, his speech was unintelligible, and the only part of his body he could use with any degree of sureness was one hand. Yet, because of his own tremendous native ability, he managed to make a living and a life for himself with a little greeting card shop.

When he was a child it didn't occur to anyone that Joe should be given an education. It wasn't until he was in his early teens that a special-education administrator allowed him to attend school. But the simple problems of getting around the building proved so great that Joe's formal education was given up after less than 2 years.

Today there are nearly 5 million handicapped children such as Joe who are missing their opportunity to receive a proper education because there are still no adequate school facilities for them. This fact is doubly tragic, since educators have tried to give special care and training to handicapped youngsters for the past century (the first such class was started in 1866). But throughout the years their work was too often shunted into makeshift quarters. I remember one of the classrooms where I taught educable mentally retarded youngsters back in 1946—it was a miserable basement room with rock walls.

School construction takes money; money comes from local and State governments and through public support. Most school boards have to justify their expenditures on the basis of "the greatest good for the greatest number." Consequently, facilities for the relatively few children who need special education are pushed out of the budget.

On a pure dollars-and-cents basis, however, it is in the best economic interests to build facilities in which handicapped persons can learn to be productive citizens. A moderately retarded child—one with an IQ of around 55—can be educated to become at least partly self-supporting. It might take $1,000 a year to give such a youngster special education in a properly designed public school facility. Over his 12-year educational span, the cost to the public could be about $12,000. But the chances are fairly good that this would be the end of public support and the beginning of self support. But without an opportunity to learn basic educational and vocational skills, the same child may be sent to a State residential institution by the time he is 15 years old. Cost to the taxpayers—$2,000 a year. Fifty years later he will have cost the State some $100,000; this is a difference of $88,000 for one person. Add the loss to the State of his potential as a wage earner and taxpayer, and you have an impressive amount.

It takes more than money, however, to provide the handicapped child with the learning environment he needs. It takes careful planning, which means close coordination among architect, educator, administator, and taxpayer. Too often, handsome school buildings are conceived and constructed without sufficient attention to the needs of exceptional children.

In a community where I once lived, $6 million was spent on a new high school. The building was to include classrooms for the physically handicapped from that community and, on a tuition basis, from a neighboring community also. When the first handicapped students enrolled, it became evident that the planners should have consulted the special educators about the specific needs of the physically handicapped. This gorgeous, multilevel building had no elevators and no ramps. There were two steps here, three steps there, forming impossible barriers for children in wheelchairs. As a result of this poor planning, many youngsters remained on home instruction—a costly affair.

Even on the short-term basis, the original cost of architectural studies and careful planning quickly pays for itself. When I was superintendent of the special school district of St. Louis County, Mo., I figured out that we saved enough money to educate 1,200 retarded students a year by having four physically handicapped youngsters attend public schools rather than a State boarding institution.

A few enlightened school districts have seen the logic of good planning. In these communities there is an understanding school administration backed up by a sympathetic school board and an enlightened citizenry. Without all three of these elements a district has little hope of providing

appropriate school facilities for the handicapped.

It is difficult to persuade citizens to give financial support to these programs. Even though there is growing public awareness of mental retardation and handicapping diseases, few people understand the effect of these conditions on a child's life and educational needs. Nor do most people realize the immensity of the problem.

One out of every ten school age children in the United States has some mental or physical condition that makes it necessary for him to be given special education services. There are 1,701,000 youngsters with speech handicaps; 1,117,800 are mentally retarded; 972,000 are emotionally disturbed; at least 486,000 have major learning disabilities because of minimal brain damage; 243,000 are hard of hearing; 36,450 are deaf; 48,600 are either blind or partially sighted; and 243,000 are crippled. In all, there are 4,847,850 American children who need special facilities.

The number of handicapped youngsters eligible for special education has been growing by approximately 80,000 a year. There are varied reasons for the increase. First, medical and psychiatric diagnoses have become more exact, so that many children are today recognized as handicapped who yesterday would have been called behavior problems. Second, compulsory school attendance laws are bringing out into the open many handicapped children who once would have been hidden away at home. Third, there is a trend toward bringing into regular classroom situations even those children who are very severely handicapped.

Until the last few years many special education people thought of letting only the moderately handicapped attend classes. I ran into a school about 10 years ago where the only handicapped children being taught were those who were completely ambulatory—only three or four even crutches. I asked the teacher and the physical therapist, "Where are the rest of the kids?"

"What other kids?"

I said, "Well, in a school district this size you probably have at least half a dozen cerebral palsied children, and I don't see any of them here in school."

"Oh, they can't go to school," said the teacher. "They're too handicapped."

But more and more of these handicapped youngsters are coming into our schools, and this has produced a vital need for adequate architectural planning. Unfortunately, such planning is still very rare.

The fault lies not solely with the architect. Educators must also share the blame because they have not stated their needs. Surely it is a tragic waste of opportunity for architects to be designing schools without a clear awareness of the problems and needs.

One of the most useful and enlightening attempts made so far to get a dialog started between architects and educators was made last May by the American Institute of Architects (AIA) in Washington, D.C. Thirty experts in the fields of architecture and special education spent 2 days discussing the problems and some possible solutions in the design of facilities for educating the handicapped. More questions than answers came out of the workshop. But it was a promising beginning.

Despite a lack of clear guidelines for constructing school facilities for the handicapped, some useful hints can be drawn from the practical experience of special educators.

Basic principles of design are most obvious when providing facilities for the crippled. Mobility and safety are the prime objectives for children who wear cumbersome braces or use walkers, wheelchairs, or crutches. Most of these children are mentally alert and of normal (some above normal) intelligence. They would be at ease in a regular classroom if they could be freed from hazards and barriers such as stairways. Any variations in floor level throughout a building should be ramped. Where there is more than one floor, elevators should be used, and they should be large enough to accommodate a wheelchair.

Doors should be of the 48-inch-wide hospital type with handles rather than knobs. A child who has only partial use of his hands and arms and cannot turn a knob can usually manage to hook his arm over the pull-handle on the hospital type of door and open it. Door closers are available that keep the door open as long as 90 seconds, a blessing of time for a child who must move slowly. Some automatic doors open and close by treadle or electronic eye.

Classrooms should be closer to square-shaped than to the usual rectangular shaped rooms and should be large enough to enable from 12 to 15 children with bulky equipment to have freedom of movement. The classroom should also have running water, with a bubbler placed in the sink in such a way that a child in a wheelchair can get a drink or wash his hands without help. Any undersink plumbing should be recessed so as not to interfere with the use of a wheelchair.

Chalkboards should be low enough to be reached by a youngster in a wheelchair. Several types of adjustable chalkboards are available. One of these can be brought to within 30 inches of the floor and can be pulled away from the wall on parallel arms and literally placed over the lap of a child in a wheelchair. Hooks and a holding bar enable a youngster to hang his crutches and free one hand for writing on the chalkboard.

A child who is on crutches or confined to a wheelchair obviously cannot use standard toilets. A washroom should be fairly close to the special class or classes used by crippled children. Toilet stools of varying heights should be set off center in the booths, which should have enough room for a wheelchair. A canvas curtain should be used instead of swinging doors, making it easier for the youngster to wheel through in a chair. Holding bars should be within reach around wash basins and urinals; wash basins should be set low enough to permit a child in a wheelchair to wash his hands. Provision should be included for changing and tending children whose physical condition makes them incontinent.

Moving long distances—from class to class, to the cafeteria, to the library, to the auditorium, or other common areas—is exhausting and time consuming for most crippled children. Buildings designed with this fact in mind provide outside exits for each classroom and locate special classrooms for convenience to other facilities.

It has been considered traditional to put handrails along the halls of facilities for the physically handicapped. I do not believe handrails are necessary. Once children are trained to use crutches properly, they should use them. But I have seen children come into a school corridor, hang their crutches over their arm, and go shuffling down the hall relying on the railing.

It would be better to eliminate the handrails and widen the corridor by an extra 2 feet so that children would have room to use their crutches or chairs properly. It should be our intention to help these children learn to live as normal a life as possible.

At the AIA workshop meeting, Frank Gentile of Abilities, Inc., described his group's new Human Resources School in Nassau County, N.Y. It is a school for severely physically disabled children of average or above-average intelligence, who were previously on home-bound instruction or a limited in-school program.

Mr. Gentile explained that there were 47 such children in the school last year; there will be 100 this fall, from kindergarten to 12th grade.

The school tries to provide a total academic program and to deemphasize rehabilitation. Health and medical facilities are included only as they would be in any school: a full-time nurse and a visiting doctor. The youngsters are given opportunity for as broad an educational experience as possible, including physical education. "We've built an adapted swimming pool which children in wheelchairs can use. We have a bowling alley. We have an all-purpose gymnasium," Mr. Gentile said. "We have emphasized that these are children, and not that they are disabled." The Human Resources School was built for less than $20 per square foot, including fixed equipment.

In some cases a school district's facility for crippled youngsters needs to be a special school. A special wing may be built onto a regular school. In small school districts there may be only a handful of youngsters in this category and a need for only one or two special classrooms.

Whether the facility is a special wing or a special school, the commonly used facilities should be located in the special wing of the school. Proximity to the cafeteria or multipurpose room, the cluster of classrooms, or to the therapy room must be carefully worked out. If the children are to be integrated into regular class activities for any purpose, the facility should be put between other kinds of classrooms so that the less mobile of the crippled youngsters do not waste time and energy.

The National Society for Crippled Children and Adults (NSCCA) has been campaigning to eliminate architectural barriers and hazards in all public buildings. The society's published standards should be consulted by school administrators and architects planning a school, whether it is to be used only by physically handicapped children or by the general public (which may include physically handicapped adults). Eighteen States require that all public buildings be built in accordance with NSCCA standards.

Children with other types of handicaps can also be brought into normal school situations. The largest single group of handicapped children are those with speech difficulties. These youngsters need the part-time services of a speech therapist and a room designed for special instruction.

Youngsters who are hard of hearing can also spend most of the day in regular classes and part of the day in a special facility. Their primary need is for a space where the itinerant staff can work. Too frequently this is "leftover space," such as a converted storage closet in some remote corner of the school plant. But, again, the special room should be centrally located, with enough electrical outlets for audio equipment and storage space for a variety of other equipment and supplies.

Facilities for teaching the deaf also present some distinct design problems. The average classroom is far too large for them, although flexibility in room size can be obtained with folding doors and cabinet partitions. Again, provision must be made for electrical wires and outlets. Facilities for projectors, a screen, and other visual aids should be an integral part of the classroom plan.

Ten percent of all children needing special education are those who are visually handicapped. This category includes both the partially sighted and the totally blind. The trend is toward sending these children into regular classrooms after the careful development of their four rmaining senses. More than half the blind children going to public schools are in regular classrooms for some part of their education. Once oriented to the building, most of the blind youngsters can go off in any direction without help. For their safety, however, some precautions need to be taken. Projections (water foun-

tains, fire extinguishers, display cases) should be eliminated from hallways and class aisles. School doors opening into the corridor can be a hazard. Sliding doors have been used in some facilities for the blind, although they are not practical for general use.

Perhaps the most serious problem faced by blind and partially sighted children is caused by steps. Although we are training blind children to be more mobile in their school environment, they still depend upon auditory cues for their reaction to the space around them. Added cues can be built in. For example, strips of acoustic tile can be put on walls, or flooring of a different texture can be placed near obstructions.

Since some blind and all partially sighted children can distinguish differences of light and dark, doors and steps could be painted in colors that contrast sharply with surrounding walls.

Blind children in the same classes with normal youngsters do need more space. Braille books and other equipment (typewriters, braille writers, talking books, record players) require extensive space, both in use and in storage. Booths can sometimes be provided so that the blind student may use his individual listening devices or noisy writing equipment without distracting others in the room.

One of the most prevalent handicaps today is mental retardation. This year there are more than a million mentally retarded children needing special instruction.

The mentally retarded are traditionally classified as either educable (those with IQ's of 50 to 75 or 80) or trainable (those with IQ's of 25 to 50). Recent research has shown that the instructional program should be organized according to three groups of retarded children, however. A middle group whose IQ's range from 40 to 60 is termed "moderately dependent"; they can be given instruction at a slightly higher level than the trainable group.

The trainable are capable of performing the most rudimentary tasks for themselves. The middle group can achieve perhaps up to the second or third grade in a very specialized setting. The great majority of the mentally retarded, however, are in the educable group and can gradually be worked into regular elementary and secondary public school classrooms for at least part of the day.

For the higher level, educable mentally retarded children the physical surroundings for learning can be pretty much standard—in fact, this is desirable because the object is to prepare them not only to participate in the general school program but to be accepted by other children. The less they are isolated in a special facility, the better.

For the middle and trainable groups, however, separate facilities appear to be more satisfactory. For middle-group children space should be provided for music and physical educaton as well as for academic courses. But perhaps more important are facilities for homemaking and occupational readiness. If adequately educated, many of them can eventually hold a job in a sheltered environment.

Trainable mentally retarded children can participate in many of the activities of the middle group. For the younger trainable children, however, some modifications are necessary.

Both the trainable and the middle groups need to be near a play area where they can "let off steam." Much of their training necessarily involves broad physical movements. This calls for classrooms that open directly into an inside or outside play area. Proximity to the play areas is important because the children's attention span is short; their learning activities need to be interspersed with some physical activity, perhaps as often as every 15 or 20 minutes.

At least another 10 percent of all handicapped children are those with major learning disabilities. These children are sometimes known as "brain injured" or "hyperkinetic." Sometimes they are confused with the emotionally disturbed. They have been called the "children with too many names" because their conditions are difficult to diagnose accurately. There are, in fact, so many variations that each child is a problem.

Certain techniques used in teaching these children present a challenge to the school designer. The major need is to control auditory and visual stimulation: acoustically treating the walls and ceiling, carpeting the floor, opaquing a window, visually shielding one classmate from another.

The most common solution is portable or built-in booths along a wall. This means, however, that the children face the wall and must turn around to communicate with the teacher. A circular arrangement of booths can be more effective. The teacher stands in the center; the children can see the teacher but not each other.

This year 972,000 school-age youngsters have been identified as emotionally disturbed.

Emotionally disturbed children usually have normal intelligence, but cannot get along with other children or with their teachers. There is a pervasive mood of depression among them; they lack any joy in living, they retreat into a dream-world of their own, they cry easily, they act out their frustrations violently, striking out at the teacher, breaking anything in sight, and even inflicting hurt on themselves.

In order to free the teacher and the pupil from the consequences of violent outbreaks thought must be given to durability and maintenance. I have seen facilities made of destructible material almost ruined in a short time. The concern for maintenance has been carried to the extreme in some places, with chilling ceramic tile on floors and walls. Newer plastic sprays over cinder block give less of a clinical appearance and yet are washable. The architectural challenge is to coordinate practicality of construction and maintenance without eliminating the warmth and beauty so much needed by disturbed children.

Even with the most skilled teacher, these youngsters can become uncontrollable. A "quiet place" is needed where the unmanageable child can be isolated until he regains control.

A classroom for the emotionally disturbed can be very distracting to other classrooms nearby. The need to isolate these youngsters is, therefore, understandable. However, the question of isolating all types of handicapped children from normal children draws heated debate among special educators. One school of thought would integrate all types of handicapped children into the general schoolroom atmosphere as much as possible. Another theory maintains that the child will receive the best education in a separate facility.

Integration seems to be the general trend, however. In Pennsylvania, 55 percent of the children who were in residential institutions for the blind and deaf 10 years ago are now in public school classes. Of the mentally retarded youngsters in that State, 15 percent are no longer in institutions but have moved into public schools.

Educators are striving to help handicapped youngsters acquire self-sufficiency and social adequacy so that they will grow up to participate as citizens in the community. These goals are reached not only through good teaching but through proper school environment.

Some educators point out that normal children gain in experience and understanding by association with handicapped children. Parents of handicapped children also emphasize the need for their youngsters to be with normal children. The answer to the argument probably lies in the need for variety. There must be a broad range of programs fitted to the needs of the groups with common handicaps, with consideration for the geographic distribution of these children. A major problem is bringing together enough children with a common need to justify the expense of building and equipping a facility.

Smaller school districts usually set up a cooperative school and transport youngsters from a wide area to it. But how far can you transport a handicapped child? Most educators believe that a youngster should not spend more than a half hour each way on a school bus. This is not a hard-and-fast rule, however: in Philadelphia, brain-injured children ride 40 miles through congested suburban sections to a special facility southeast of that city. Contrary to the administrators' fears, the children are thriving on the experience. An assistant teacher rides with them and has taught them to sing as they go. They have learned to sit still and pay attention to the outside. The bus ride is actually an extension of their classroom program.

Except in the large metropolitan areas, however, it may take as much as a 200-mile radius to find enough children to justify a school in which a variety of special facilities can be provided. For the handicapped child, a normal home environment may be far less important than being put in a situation in which he can be educated, learn to cope with his handicap, and become economically and socially self-sufficient.

The answer may be a residential boarding school. It may be an isolated day school exclusively for the handicapped, or a wing or cluster of classrooms within a regular public school. It may be simply the modification of a normal school building so that crippled children can get around easily. The location and type of school are directed by what is appropriate for the circumstances and the community.

Whatever the facility, the image presented physically should be distinctly that of school. It should look like a school and not like a hospital or a library or a country club. Handicapped children have an overriding desire to rise above their handicap and, as much as possible, to be like their brothers and sisters and neighbors. To them, much more than to the normal child, school is an intensely important part of life.

I know of a young girl who for 14 years was confined to a single room on the second floor of her home because it was too difficult for her parents to get her up and down. For her, the sight of a bus or a car or children playing was a marvel. When we can make it possible for such youngsters to get out of their confinement and into classrooms, we owe them pleasant surroundings.

I have had many an argument over the construction of buildings with windows high in a wall so that children cannot see out. I personally think the stimulation of an outside view as well as the educational possibilities inherent in the outside world far outweighs the distraction a view may cause.

I like to see plants or pictures or other decorative accents in a lobby. An artist gave my old St. Louis Special School District a beautiful terra cotta statue. It was placed on a table and moved from school to school. One of the delights of my life was to watch small crippled children and mentally retarded children come by and touch the statue.

Obviously, that statue was doing something very important for those children. I'm afraid that school planners seldom give these youngsters credit for noticing beauty.

Tragically little has been done to provide the kind of atmosphere, teaching, and facilities handicapped youngsters need. There has been no opportunity for really conclusive research by either the architects or the special educators. Such research is costly and few localities have been able to justify expendi-

tures for it. Thus, the many and often conflicting theories held by educators are based on scanty evidence.

Situations need to be created in which teaching methods, physical environment, and specific handicapped groups can be put together and studied. Once a solid base of evidence is produced, educators and architects will be better able to design good facilities, and special educators will be in a better position to convince school boards and the community of the scope of the need.

Two relatively new pieces of Federal legislation administered by the Office of Education include provisions which may be of tremendous help in supporting some solidly based research.

Title III, section 302 of Public Law 88-164, the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act of 1963 (as amended by Public Law 89-105), provides specifically for research and demonstration projects for improvement of education of handicapped children. The relationship of the school environment to the teaching process is an appropriate area for consideration under the provisions of this law. Some 50 research and demonstration projects have been supported thus far under this act.

Information on the policies and procedures as well as the means of applying for grants under this act may be obtained from the Bureau of Educational Research of the U.S. Office of Education.

The new Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Public Law 89-10, authorizes programs that will benefit handicapped children. This act authorizes support for research and demonstration in all phases of education.

Hon. Ludwig Teller

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, on October 4, a former colleague of ours, Ludwig Teller, of New York, passed away.

Lou Teller served but one term in the House, but to that brief service he brought a truly remarkable background and a most distinguished record of achievements. Indeed, few men are privileged to serve their community in as many varied and eminent ways as Dr. Teller did.

He was a prominent labor lawyer, one of the foremost in the country. He had been a lecturer at New York University Law School and a professor of law at New York Law School. He was a committee chairman in both the American Bar and American Arbitration Associations. He was a conscientious and respected political leader in Manhattan and served three terms in the New York State Assembly before coming to Congress. And he was the author of a dozen books, including what is still the leading authority on labor-management negotiations, "The Law Governing Labor Disputes and Collective Bargaining," first published in 1940.

It was hardly surprising that with this prestigious background he became one of the outstanding freshmen Members of the 85th Congress. In fact, he was credited with being the first freshman in over 100 years to be appointed chairman of a subcommittee.

Nor was it surprising that such a man, who had risen from humble origins by the will of his own self-determination, should be a persistent champion of legislation for the greater welfare of the workingman. It is an extraordinary tribute to the prescience of his brilliant mind that many of the programs he advocated, such as increased social security payments, medicare, and Federal aid to education, have since been passed by the Congress and signed into law.

Lou Teller was a fine American and, had the fortunes of politics been kinder to him, he would without doubt have carved a memorable and productive career in Congress of which not only his constituents, but the entire Nation, would have been justly proud. He possessed that rare synthesis of scholarly insight and practical experience that is the hallmark of great public service. He was truly a man whose counsel I valued.

And he was, equally so, a man whose fellowship I cherished and whose friendship I prized. His untimely death has saddened all of us who were so fortunate to know him intimately. To his widow, Clarice, and his family, I extend my deepest condolences.

Congress Gears Up for Action on Dual Distribution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSSELL B. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, shortly before the excellent and very welcome hearings of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly on my dual distribution bills—S. 1842, S. 1843, and S. 1844—last September, there appeared in the September issue of 33/The Magazine of Metals Producing, a helpful and informative article, entitled "Congress Gears Up for Action on Dual Distribution." While the article is not signed, it is my understanding that it was written for 33 by Mr. Harold V. Semling, Jr., of Washington.

I ask unanimous consent to include this article in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGRESS GEARS UP FOR ACTION ON DUAL DISTRIBUTION

"Dual distribution occurs when an independent businessman's supplier is also his competitor. Competition from suppliers is most common at the retail level but also frequently occurs in wholesaling and manufacturing," said Representative JAMES ROOSEVELT, chairman, Subcommittee on Distribution Problems, House Select Committee on Small Business.

Pressure is building in Congress for legislative action to curb dual distribution; i.e., supplier competition. The legislation, following extensive investigation by both the House and Senate Small Business Committees is being given formal hearing this month by the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee.

Dual distribution legislation is sponsored by two leaders of the current Johnson administration: Senator RUSSELL LONG, Democrat, of Louisiana, the majority whip, and Representative JAMES ROOSEVELT, Democrat, of California, who is the administration's leader in the fight for double time for overtime and a higher minimum wage.

"Dual distribution appears to be permeating more and more industries each day," according to Representative JOE L. EVINS, Democrat, of Tennessee, chairman of the House Small Business Committee. "More and more manufacturers are distributing through dealers whom they control," he asserts.

Senator PHILIP A. HART, chairman of the relevant Senate subcommittee, will hold consolidated hearings on all three dual distribution bills this year.

Senator LONG told 33, "I am delighted that Senator HART's subcommittee is holding hearings on my bills this fall. I think a good case can be made that the time has come for Congress to enact legislation to cure some of the ills dual distribution has produced in our commerce and industry. Hearings are the only way we can find out whether my bills are the right legislation. They may be, or others, not yet written, may be. Of course, the hearings themselves will have an impact. Whether or not the bills pass, their introduction alone, and their progress to the hearing stage, may clear up some of the worst abuses."

The congressional finger, as it has in the past, will likely be pointed at the integrated primary metal manufacturer at the hearings.

EMBATTLED DUAL DISTRIBUTION

The dual distribution problem arises in those situations where the supplier of the independent firm is also his competitor—manufacturing the same products and competing for the same customers.

"Optimism is currently very prevalent in Washington, D.C., that something can and will be done about the problems of dual distribution," according to Max Rogel, executive secretary of the Conference on Dual Distribution. Rogel says, however, that remedies will be legislated in the 90th and 91st Congresses—not the 89th—although he hopes for speed.

The Conference on Dual Distribution is a group of independent businessmen and their associations organized to fight for legislation to curb dual distribution and vertical integration abuses. The bulk of the group is composed of businessmen in the metal field.

A multipronged campaign by the conference will include letter writing and wires to Congress; appearances at hearings, plus expert testimony backed up by reports of nationally known economists; and articles for the Nation's press to acquaint the American public with the evils inherent in dual distribution.

The membership of the Conference of Dual Distribution includes individual companies and trade associations covering the steel (fabricating, wholesale, distribution), aluminum, culvert pipe, construction, paint, wallpaper, glass, warehousing and electric construction industries.

Lawrence Schacht, president of the Schacht Steel Corp., Hillside, N.J., and G. F. Beall, vice president, Beall Pipe & Tank Corp., independent steel fabricators, Portland, Ore., are cochairmen of the conference. The conference's treasurer is Harry L. Jacobson, Dempsey Associates, Cleveland, Ohio, a steel wholesaler. Norman Geller, Independent Wire Drawers Association, Washington, is national affairs chairman. Leo Goldner, president, Parker Steel Co., Toledo, a steel distributor, is membership chairman.

BILLS BEFORE CONGRESS

Three bills dealing with dual distribution or supplier competition are under consideration in Congress. Two of the bills are reintroductions of measures in earlier Congresses.

The first bill, formally titled the "Antitrust Vertical Integration Amendments" or equality of supplies bill, would require companies engaged in dual distribution to charge the same prices to company-owned establishments that they charge to independent competitor-customers. The bill (S. 1842 and H.R. 7705) would also require fair allocation of supplies to independents in shortage situations.

The second bill, the Dual Distribution Reporting Act or reporting bill would require dual distributors to publish separate annual profit-and-loss statements for each of their company-owned plants and distribution outlets that compete directly with independent customers. Disclosure of financial data on products distributed in dual distribution would be required. The bills are S. 1843 and H.R. 1578.

A new bill introduced this year in the Senate and House is formally entitled the "Antitrust Dual Distribution Amendment." The bill (S. 1844 and H.R. 7706) has been nicknamed the "adequate differential bill." It would require dual distributors to maintain a fair and adequate differential between the prices they charge as suppliers and the prices they charge as competitors, whenever the effect of failure to maintain such differentials or price spreads might be to substantially lessen competition or to tend to create a monopoly.

The adequate differential bill was developed jointly by the Senate and House Small Business Committee staffs to carry out the principal legislative recommendations ensuing from the lengthy study of Representative Roosevelt's subcommittee in 1963–64.

When he introduced his proposals Roosevelt said he did "not regard them as necessarily the final or best answer to the very difficult, or complex" dual distribution problem. The question of their adequacy and need, he says, should be carefully studied in public hearing by a committee having power to report bills to the floor. Neither of the Small Business Committees has the power to report any legislation to the floor of Congress.

Dr. Richard H. Holton, former Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Economic Affairs, has spelled out the meaning of dual distribution in several ways.

"Dual distribution exists when a vertically integrated firm operates in two successive stages of production and/or distribution of goods but also sells some of its output from the first stage to independent firms who then sell in competition with the supplying firms' second stage operations. Thus, the independent is in competition with his supplier.

Dual distribution exists when the manufacturer of a branded good sells that brand through two or more competing distribution channels.

Dual distribution exists when the manufacturer sells two brands of basically the same product through two or more competing kinds of distribution networks.

ACTION TO DATE

The House Small Business Subcommittee on Distribution late last year made a comprehensive report on its investigation of the impact on small business of a dual distribution and related vertical integration.

Based on its extensive study, the group, under the chairmanship of Representative Roosevelt, concluded that dual distribution was practiced in each of the more than 40 industries studied. While dual distribution standing alone does not adversely affect small business, when coupled with either predatory conduct or substantial market power, it creates detrimental effects, he says.

Specifically the House Small Business Committee recommended:

Application of section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act, which prohibits unfair competitive practices, to dual distribution.

Increased collection of economic data by FTC concerning dual distribution and vertical integration and the keeping of records by firms engaged in dual distribution in a manner compatible with this objective.

A comprehensive study of the antitrust laws to determine what changes are needed to assure small business equal opportunity to complete.

Increased use of industrywide approaches to competitive problems.

The committee concluded that "it is most important to note that large, integrated firms engaged in dual distribution could conduct certain levels of their operations at a loss" in contrast to other nonintegrated businesses.

WHERE ARE THE ABUSES?

Dual distribution abuses were found by the Roosevelt investigation to prevail in the aluminum industry. Specifically, abuses were found in aluminum-clad redraw rod, polyethylene covered wire, and culvert pipe.

William H. Orrick, former Assistant Attorney General for Antitrust, gave a Congressional hearing an analysis of the Alcoa case and the Reynolds Metals Co. "Florist Foil" case as examples of dual distribution price squeezes. Alcoa, Kaiser (which feels that its business operations are proper in all respects and that no legislation is required at this time) and Reynolds were mentioned in testimony.

Eugene P. Foley, Administrator of the Small Business Administration, believes that dual distribution can be of benefit to small business. He proposes a concrete system of liaison between the Commission and SBA to help facilitate the exchange, on a continuing basis at the staff level, of information and of views on policy matters which are of importance to both agencies. "The value of such a system, as a means of furthering the purposes of the antitrust laws and of fostering the interests of small business, needs no elaboration," Foley says. "We have already established this type of liaison with the Antitrust Division. Thus, without reference to their superiors, SBA's General Counsel and the Division's Director of Policy Planning can deal directly with each other in the consideration of policy matters. Similarly, information can be exchanged between SBA's Assistant Administrator for Economics and the Chief of the Division's Economic Section."

He points out that Alcoa's use of independent distributors helped nurture and develop public acceptance of aluminum and paved the way for many small businessmen to enter aluminum fabricating. It was also noted that dual distribution may result in an improved profit outlook for the manufacturer. Supposedly, greater efficiency and higher national product might result from the manufacturer's expansion into new channels of distribution.

THE SQUEEZE PLAY

There are a number of types of actions an integrated steel giant with great economic power can take to "discipline" nonintegrated fabricators, according to Dr. Walter Adams, professor of economics at Michigan State University. These actions can include either refusing to furnish them the necessary supplies of the raw material from which they fabricate their product or manipulate the margin between the price of the raw material and that of the object manufactured to impose a price squeeze. The first of these practices, Dr. Adams explains, is often prevalent in times of steel shortage.

A simple price squeeze results when the price of the raw material is raised while the price of the finished fabricated product remains the same; conversely when the price of the finished product is lowered with no accompanying change in the price of the raw material. When the price of the raw material is raised at the same time that the price of the finished product is lowered, a double squeeze results.

Dr. Adams used the price squeeze on nonintegrated fabricators of wire products as a specific example. The economist documented a number of other examples both past and present. He traced the problem to "the broadening size and power of the vertically integrated steel trust." Adams indicated that prices in the steel industry have had no relation to the demand for its products, since "it has priced its products with oligopolistic and monopolistic insensitivity to demand conditions in the marketplace."

THE DEFENSE

United States Steel replied to Dr. Adams' statement by asserting that dual distribution in the steel industry is not new, having existed since 1900. Many of the problems encountered by the independent fabricating firms result, said United States Steel, from the fact that the prices of each product, are determined independently, with respect to the condition of the market for that particular item.

In many cases, the market situation for the raw material purchased by a fabricating firm will be quite different from that for the finished product. One example: a large demand for rope wire has caused the price of that product to increase, while a lagging market for wire rope and other fabricated wire products made from rope wire has kept their prices down. As a result, according to United States Steel, integrated firms, which have no power to maintain an artificially high price for a product, suffer from the price squeeze as well as the independents.

The chief reason for the recent deterioration of prices for fabricated wire products was attributed to foreign competition.

United States Steel also stated that "prices for each semifinished product, basic steel product, and end product necessarily must reflect the competitive strengths and weaknesses of each of the separate markets in which each is sold." It was also pointed out that "a strong and growing domestic market for this product (wire rods) outside of the wire products has made it possible for United States Steel to continue to attempt to sell this product at its 1958 price."

According to the congressional report of last December "the company appeared to be saying that the forces of competition in the market determined the price and that its present price structure consisted of the lowest price for each commodity consistent with these factors."

SOME PARTICULARS

Specific steel products subject to investigation by the Roosevelt subcommittee included baling ties, chain link fence, culvert pipe, structural steel, wire rope.

Companies named by the witnesses as abusing dual distribution, in addition to United States Steel, were Bethlehem Steel Co., Colorado Fuel & Iron, Armco Steel Corp., Republic Steel, Kaiser Steel, and Wheeling Steel. While none of the companies sent representatives to the Roosevelt hearings, many responded for the record.

Armco in its statement for the record noted that "since 1945 the number of companies engaged in the manufacture and sale of corrugated metal pipe in the area under discussion has increased by almost 60 percent, and the independents by their own admission are operating profitably.

Another industry already named in connection with dual distribution is copper magnet wire manufacturing. Magnet wire is a covered copper wire used in making magnetic coils used in motors and trans-

formers. It is produced by about 50 companies—both independent and subsidiary.

The National Electrical Manufacturers Association says the chief problem in the industry is a substantial surplusage of capacity which arises from the relatively static demand for the product which is unlikely to increase.

Several independent magnet wire manufacturers told how they were more flexible than the integrated firms and that they were able to provide special services. During the past few years, it was noted, both small and integrated producers were having an increasingly difficult time making enough money to keep their plants running.

Witnesses agreed that the price of copper rods were almost identical no matter from where they were purchased. Any price increase for the product usually resulted in a loss of business, forcing a return to the lower price. The point was made that, although all magnetic wire producing companies were suffering from the price squeeze, the integrated firms were in a better position, because it was not necessary for them to make a profit on a product in order to continue in operation. One witness expressed the view that a large firm whose magnet wire subsidiary was a substantial customer for its copper would not be particularly concerned whether the subsidiary made a profit as long as the sales of copper to the subsidiary continued profitable.

A representative of the Inca Manufacturing Division of Phelps Dodge Copper Products Co. replied to these charges.

Phelps Dodge supplies copper rods to its subsidiary, Inca, as well as to independent fabricators of magnet wire which compete with Inca. All those supplied with copper rod pay the same price.

It was pointed out that the Inca Division maintains a highly specialized product research and development department. Many firms in the field, it was reported, have benefited from Incas research.

Inca's sales have increased over the past 10 years in proportion to total industry sales. The witness expressed the belief that Phelps Dodge and its division had in no way interfered with the opportunity of competitors, large or small, to get their fair share of the market.

The witnesses appearing at previous hearings and those who will appear at the forthcoming Senate Antitrust Committee point to problems which are most real to them whether they are explainable economically or legally.

There would seem a good chance that the Senate will act on dual distribution early next year. If so, look for some new laws on the books by this time next year.

Annual Report of Senator Joseph D. Tydings for 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, with the 1st session of the 89th Congress now complete, it is appropriate that I report to the people of Maryland upon the accomplishments of this Congress and of my role in helping to write that record.

I. THE OVERALL RECORD

This has been rightly called the fabulous 89th Congress. We have enacted more significant legislation in more fields than any other Congress in memory, possibly than any Congress in history.

Much of this legislation had been on the drawing boards for years. Most of it was first proposed by Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, or John Kennedy. But this Congress, under the skillful leadership of President Johnson, deserves the credit for enacting these much discussed and long-overdue measures into law.

As a Member of this Congress I was proud to support, with my vote and my voice, pioneering legislation in the following fields:

Elementary and secondary education: The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 recognizes the Federal responsibility for improving the quality of education which our children receive. The act provides large scale Federal aid to schools with a high percentage of children from low-income families. Maryland will receive up to $18.8 million. This will do much to increase educational opportunities for all of our children.

Higher education: The Higher Education Act provides significant new programs to aid colleges and college students: Federal scholarships and guaranteed loans for needy college and graduate students, aid to struggling small colleges, and grants for college libraries and training. In addition, this legislation authorizes a Teachers' Corps whose volunteer members would augment school programs in slums and other impoverished areas. The President has promised to request funds for this program early next year.

Health: The medicare provisions in the Social Security Amendments of 1965 mark a new departure in American society. From now on, working people will contribute to an insurance fund that will enable them to meet health care needs in their later years. The yoke of staggering medical bills will thus be lifted from the backs of the elderly and their families.

Equal opportunity: The Voting Rights Act of 1965 is a far-reaching step on the road to full equality for all Americans. Under its provisions some 183,000 Negro citizens in 5 Southern States have already been registered to vote for the first time.

Immigration: The Immigration Reform Act eliminates the undemocratic national origins quotas and regulates future immigration on the basis of family need and an individual's ability to make a contribution to our society, rather than color or ancestry.

Housing: The housing amendments of 1965 significantly strengthen existing programs to build houses for low- and middle-income families and for the elderly, and to assist urban renewal. The legislation also authorizes new programs to construct neighborhood centers and to beautify city parks and streets. In addition, the Congress pioneered with a bold program of rent supplements, which, when funded, should dramatically increase the housing opportunities open to the very poor.

Water and air pollution: The Water Pollution Control Act establishes Federal water quality standards and provides increased financial assistance for the construction of commuity sewage facilities. The Air Pollution Control Act will establish minimum Federal standards for exhaust fumes emitted by new automobiles.

Tax reform: The elimination of most Federal excise taxes will help to keep the economy functioning at its present high level, in addition to removing these burdensome and annoying taxes.

Maryland, Assateague and Appalachia: The Assateague Island National Seashore will preserve the only stretch of virgin seashore between Cape Hatteras and Cape Cod for the benefit of all Americans. Maryland will undoubtedly receive significant economic benefits from increased tourism which the Assateague Seashore will generate.

Garrett, Allegany, and Washington Counties in western Maryland will all be receiving funds under the Appalachia bill, the first Great Society measure passed by the 89th Congress. The legislation will finance a substantial road construction program, plus construction of health facilities, vocational schools, and land improvement.

The foregoing are just the highlights. In addition, the Congress enacted significant new legislation to promote regional economic planning and development, to encourage the arts and humanities and to submit for ratification a constitutional amendment to deal with the problems of a vacancy in the office of Vice President and a disabled President.

Other measures extended and revised the manpower training and antipoverty laws; encouraged regional medical centers for research and treatment benefiting victims of heart disease, cancer, and stroke; raised social security benefits, established a program to clean up the appearance of Federal-aid highways by screening junkyards, controlling placement of billboards and landscaping roads; removed silver from coins and gold backing from Federal Reserve deposits; combated the balance-of-payments deficit; expanded controls over sales of depressant and stimulant drugs; required a health warning on cigarette packages; and created an interurban rapid transit system from Baltimore to Washington.

II. COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

Of course, no Senator, least of all a freshman, could play a leading role in shaping all or any significant portion of this legislative program. The Senate operates through its committee system. The most significant work is done in committees. It was, indeed, fortunate to be assigned to three important committees.

The Judiciary Committee is one of the most important and prestigious committees in the Senate. More legislation is assigned to it than to any other committee.

The Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee is responsible for review of our multibillion dollar space program and for charting our space objectives after we reach the moon. Maryland is an important center for space research and development.

The District of Columbia Committee presents opportunities to implement model programs in almost all fields of interest to urban communities. The operation of the District of Columbia government is of direct concern to the nearly one million Marylanders who live in the Greater Washington area.

It was primarily through these committee assignments that I was able to play some role in shaping legislation of concern to Maryland and to the Nation.

III. REAPPORTIONMENT

I was fortunate—some call it beginner's luck—in having an opportunity during my first term to play a major leadership role on a national issue of great importance. This opportunity arose because of my assignment to the Senate Judiciary Committee and to the Constitutional Amendments Subcommittee, which had for consideration the controversial reapportionment amendment sponsored by Senator DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, and 37 other Senators.

I found that at the opening of the hearings I was the only member of the subcommittee who fully supported the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision. At the outset I presented a statement in which I analyzed the weaknesses of the Dirksen amendment. Shortly thereafter I met with Senators DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, and PROXMIRE, Democrat, of Wisconsin, who had led the successful fight against Senator DIRKSEN's reapportionment efforts in the closing months of the 88th Congress.

The three of us developed a strategy to fight the Dirksen amendment. This strategy included:

First. Taking every reasonable and legitimate opportunity to insure full and complete hearings and to stimulate interested Senators, mayors, law professors, and citizens to present testimony in opposition to this amendment.

Second. A major address on the weaknesses of the Dirksen amendment, to be widely distributed and used as the principal vehicle of public education on the issue. I was chosen to make this speech. It was well received and I have been told that it was a vital ingredient in the defeat of the Dirksen amendment.

Third. Meetings with columnists and reporters and with the leadership of interested groups and organizations, particularly labor, civil rights, religious and civic organizations. These groups mobilized for an extraordinarily effective job of public education and political persuasion.

By the conclusion of the hearings, Senator DOUGLAS, Senator PROXMIRE, and I found, somewhat to our surprise, that our efforts had been surprisingly effective. The Judiciary Committee, which we had originally expected to report the Dirksen amendment by a comfortable majority, was now split 8 to 8, and would not report the amendment. We also found that there were more than enough Senators now opposed to the amendment to assure its defeat on the Senate floor.

When Senator DIRKSEN bypassed the Judiciary Committee and brought his amendment to the floor, as an amendment to a routine bill, I joined my colleagues in several days of debate. During this time we checked and double-checked the list of Senators who had told us they opposed the amendment to be certain that their opposition was firm. As soon as this was done, we were ready to vote.

The result—39 Senators opposed—was 5 more votes than the one-third needed to block a constitutional amendment.

Since the vote on the original Dirksen amendment last August, Senator DIRKSEN has introduced a new and revised amendment to accomplish the same basic purpose. In concert with Senators DOUGLAS and PROXMIRE, I have spoken out against the new amendment and have begun to take steps to insure its defeat next year.

IV. CIVIL RIGHTS

In this area, too, my membership on the Judiciary Committee enabled me to play a significant role in shaping a major piece of legislation.

The voting rights bill came to the Congress a few days after the President's dramatic speech calling for voting rights legislation. The bill was, of necessity, hastily drawn.

During the hearings, it became apparent to me and to several of my colleagues on the Judiciary Committee that significant improvements were possible. Those of us on the committee who supported voting rights legislation caucused on an almost daily basis, and gradually reached consensus among ourselves on the amendments we would collectively support. Among these was the controversial poll tax amendment, sponsored by Senator EDWARD KENNEDY, Democrat, of Massachusetts.

I played an active role in these deliberations and several of the amendments I recommended were incorporated in the bill at the committee stage. Subsequently, when the bill came to the floor, I served as an assistant floor manager to Senator PHILIP HART, Democrat, of Michigan, and played an active role in the debate.

I sponsored on the Senate floor, with Senator HIRAM FONG, Republican, of Hawaii, an amendment, which the Senate adopted and which was incorporated in the final bill, to authorize the appointment of Federal poll watchers. This is a most important provision. It will insure that Negroes who are registered under the act are, in fact, allowed to vote on election day.

V. OTHER PUBLIC ISSUES

During the first session I spoke out in the Senate and elsewhere on a wide range of public issues. Some of my statements dealt with the following subjects:

Peace: I spoke in favor of adequate appropriations for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, for Senator CLARK's, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, planning for peace resolution, for a permanent U.N. peacekeeping force, and for an end to nuclear proliferation.

Gun control: I advocated effective Federal gun control legislation. At the American Bar Association's annual convention in August, I debated this issue with a representative of the National Rifle Association. At the conclusion of the debate, the House of Delegates voted 186 to 21 to support firearms control legislation.

Population control: I was one of the original cosponsors of Senator GRUENING's, Democrat, of Alaska, population control bill, and have spoken in support of Government-financed clinics, both here and abroad, to dispense birth control information to indigent families that desire such assistance.

Mass transit: I introduced two bills dealing with mass transit. One would authorize Federal highway trust funds earmarked for urban areas to be expended, at the option of local officials, for mass transit as well as highways. The second bill would provide appropriations for research into new and imaginative techniques for moving people into and through our congested cities.

Auto safety: I spoke in favor of legislation to improve highway safety, to require the manufacture of safe automobiles and tires and to help States eliminate unsafe drivers and automobiles from their roads.

Law enforcement assistance: As a member of a special subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, I helped shape new legislation to provide Federal assistance to States and local governments that desire to improve the quality of their law-enforcement agencies. In speeches supporting the bill I stressed the need first, to provide adequate compensation, education and equipment for our police officers, second, to develop better scientific techniques to aid the police and third, to improve communications and relations between the police and the Negro communities in our large cities.

VI. DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AFFAIRS

As a member of the District of Columbia Committee, and chairman of its Business and Commerce Subcommittee, I was able to play a role in the affairs of the District of Columbia.

Home rule: I cosponsored and vigorously supported home rule for the District of Columbia. I proposed several amendments to the administration's bill that were adopted by the committee and the Senate. These amendments included a provision for a chief administrative officer, to relieve the mayor of day-to-day details; and terms of 4 years rather than 2 for councilmen. Unfortunately, home rule was defeated in the House.

Rail rapid transit: I cosponsored and testified in favor of a subway for our Nation's Capital. Legislation to create the subway was enacted during this session.

District of Columbia budget: I played an active role as an ex officio member of the District of Columbia Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee. In a lengthy and detailed memorandum which I circulated among my colleagues on the committee, I pointed out where and how the District of Columbia budget should be increased to meet the health, welfare, and educational needs of the citizens of the District. Many of these suggestions were adopted by the Committee and ultimately enacted into law.

Welfare: In the area of assistance to the dependent children of unemployed parents, the Senate Appropriations Committee refused to take action that I, and others, deemed essential to the welfare of disadvantaged children. I joined actively in bringing this matter to the floor of the Senate where, after spirited debate, a compromise was reached that substantially met my objections.

VII. MARYLAND INTERESTS

Maryland fared well in the 1st session of the 89th Congress. After many years of discussion and consideration, lovely Assateague Island was made a national seashore park. In addition to preserving a spot of great beauty for Maryland residents, the park should provide a substantial source of tourist income. I worked closely with Senator BREWSTER, the principal sponsor of the bill, and testified on behalf of Assateague Island before both House and Senate Committees.

I was largely responsible for suggesting an important innovation in the work of the Maryland congressional delegation. For the first time in 20 years, the entire delegation—House and Senate, Democrats and Republicans—began to work together as a team. Since early summer, the delegation has held weekly luncheon meetings.

As a result of this coordination at least four concrete results have been achieved:

First. The Assateague Island bill was enacted.

Second. After unsuccessful attempts since 1958, the delegation succeeded in enacting a bill which would return to the University of Maryland several acres of vitally needed land that had been donated to the U.S. Government 30 years ago.

Third. The President's original proposal to place the port of Baltimore under a new regional customs office in Miami was reversed, and Baltimore was made a separate regional headquarters with jurisdiction over the mid-Atlantic seaports.

Fourth. The Housing Act was amended on the floor of the Senate to provide additional assistance to cities which carry on extensive urban renewal projects that stress rehabilitation rather than demolition. This amendment, which was retained in the final bill, will provide Baltimore with an additional $500,000 each year.

Finally, I spoke out about the problems confronting our State. In a series of graduation addresses, I discussed the decline of State government generally, and the need in Maryland, and elsewhere, for fair apportionment of State legislatures and constitutional reform. I also focused upon some of the specific problems facing Maryland in the fields of elementary and secondary education, higher education, urban development, water pollution, election reform and judicial reform. While these speeches provoked some criticism, I intend to continue to discuss the problems of Maryland, particularly as they relate to my responsibilities as a U.S. Senator.

VIII. SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMPROVEMENTS IN JUDICIAL MACHINERY

Following the death of Senator Olin D. Johnston, Democrat, of South Carolina, I was appointed to the chairmanship of the Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery of the Senate Judiciary Committee. I thus became one of the youngest Senators, in terms of both age and seniority, to chair a major standing subcommittee of the Senate. Senate insiders report that they know of no other instance in which a first year Senator has been appointed chairman of such a subcommittee. Four members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, all senior to me, waived their seniority to enable me to assume the chairmanship.

The subcommittee's jurisdiction encompasses the organization and operation of the Federal judicial system. In the 6 months since I became chairman, I have—

Guided through the Senate the omnibus judgeship bill, which would create 44 additional district and circuit court judgeships throughout the country to alleviate the currently overloaded Federal dockets.

Conducted joint hearings on the omnibus bail reform bill of 1965 with Senator ERVIN'S—Democrat, of North Carolina—Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. This bill, which updates Federal bail practices, passed the Senate in September.

Conducted hearings, again with Senator ERVIN'S subcommittee, on the sensitive problem of assuring defendants a fair trial, free from the prejudice of damaging publicity, while at the same time enabling the press to perform its constitutionally guaranteed responsibility of keeping the public fully informed.

Outlined future activities of the subcommittee, which include an intensive investigation of both the U.S. Commissioner system and the problem of judicial fitness. The U.S. Commissioners are the front line of Federal justice. There is urgent need for drastic overhaul of a system which has not been altered fundamentally in more than 70 years. Our investigation of judicial fitness will emphasize the sensitive but vital questions of the selection, tenure, and removal of Federal judges.

IX. CONCLUSION

This has been an eventful session of Congress for the country. The record of legislative accomplishment we have written will soon be felt in every home, school, hospital, and business establishment in Maryland.

For myself, this session of Congress has been a source of deep personal satisfaction. It was a thrill to take a seat in the same chamber whose walls echoed the voices of such men as Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Robert LaFollette, and my late father, Millard Tydings. It has also been a great privilege to have an opportunity to work with the present giants of the Senate. Such men as MIKE MANSFIELD, Democrat, of Montana; RUSSEL LONG, Democrat, of Louisiana; RICHARD RUSSELL, Democrat, of Georgia; EVERETT DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois; and many others have been most generous in sharing with me their invaluable knowledge of the workings of the Senate.

They have also been generous in permitting me and my freshmen colleagues an opportunity to be heard as well as seen. I am told that not many years ago a freshman Senator's lot was not a happy one. Whatever may have been the case previously, I can say without qualification that I have been given every opportunity to participate fully in the work of the Senate. I will always be grateful to the majority leader, MIKE MANSFIELD; to ALAN BIBLE, Democrat, of Nevada, chairman of the District of Columbia Committee; to CLINTON ANDERSON, Democrat, of New Mexico, chairman of the Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee; and especially to JAMES EASTLAND, Democrat, of Mississippi, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, for allowing me to take an active role in Senate business.

Finally, I am most grateful to the people of Maryland for giving me the opportunity to serve in the Senate. The longer I am here, the more I come to know and appreciate the wonderful people of our State. With the continued support of the people of Maryland, I will be able to serve more effectively.

Counsel for 6,200-Member Independent Bankers Association Submits Convincing Memorandum That To Weaken Antitrust Laws To Please Big Banks Threatens Preservation of Free Competition in Banking and All Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, in October, before adjournment, I received a memorandum of law and policy authored by Mr. Horace R. Hansen, a practicing lawyer in St. Paul, Minn., who represents the Independent Bankers Association of America.

Independent bankers are among America's greatest defenders of the free enterprise system. As independent small businessmen numbering in the many thousands in every nook and cranny of our land, these men have a vital stake in the wise and prudent application of the antitrust laws to banking.

Naturally, the association is strongly opposed to S. 1698, a bill before the Congress which would forgive thousands of past bank mergers without regard to their monopolistic effects. More importantly, it would all but destroy future application of the antitrust laws in this very important industry.

Mr. Hansen's very informative statement follows:

STATEMENT OF MR. HORACE R. HANSEN

This memorandum is directed to the question of why the Justice Department should remain in the bank merger field, and the basic antitrust laws embodied in the Sherman and Clayton Antitrust Acts continue to apply without modification.

It should be noted initially that there has been of late an excessive amount of unfounded publicity and fallacious propaganda to the effect that the antitrust laws in the bank merger field have thrown the entire banking industry into utter consternation and confusion. This simply is not so. The record well demonstrates that the Justice Department has been circumspect in its exercise of its enforcement authority and has given due regard to the factors which may often justify bank mergers. Of the some 800 merger applications approved by the banking agencies since the passage of the Bank Merger Act in May of 1960, for example, in only 8 has Justice brought suit. Interestingly enough, one-half of these were instituted against giant banks with deposits in excess of $1 billion which were involved in significant and substantial acquisitions of competitors; i.e., Manufacturers-Hanover, Continental-Illinois, Crocker-Anglo, and Philadelphia National Bank.

Of the over 13,000 banks in the United States, there are only 34 of this size category (American Banker, Jan. 15, 1965), and of them Manufacturers-Hanover is the fourth largest, Continental-Illinois 8th, Crocker-Citizens 16th, and Philadelphia National Bank the 27th largest. The remaining four banks whose mergers were brought before the courts for antitrust scrutiny, while smaller in size, were in each instance dominant leaders, and had undertaken to eliminate through acquisition substantial competitive factors in their respective service areas. It can scarcely be said that institution by Justice of antitrust proceedings in these 8 out of 800, a mere 1 percent, of the bank mergers consummated since the passage of the Bank Merger Act constitutes disruptive and inequitable antitrust enforcement.

The following are the bank merger prosecutions instituted subsequent to their approval by the banking agencies:

Philadelphia National Bank.

Continental Illinois National Bank & Trust Co. of Chicago.

Manufacturers-Hanover, New York.

Crocker-Anglo National Bank, San Francisco.

First National Bank & Trust Co. of Lexington.

Calumet National Bank of Hammond, Ind.

Third National Bank in Nashville.

Mercantile Trust Co. of St. Louis.

This list of litigated cases, though modest, does not alter the fact that the very existence of the antitrust laws constitutes a meaningful and effective safeguard against the inherent weaknesses and possible abuses to which the Bank Merger Act is subject. The act, of course, was originally passed for the purpose of cutting down on the bank merger movement and its resultant increase in banking concentration. As we note in more detail below, however, administration of the act has fallen far short of that purpose. If anything, its provisions have been utilized, particularly by the Comptroller of the Currency, to facilitate rather than deter bank mergers, particularly among the giant banks. In this environment, the institution of antitrust proceedings by the Department of Justice, and application by the courts of the principles of the Sherman and Clayton Acts as they have been developed by many years of judicial experience, can and do provide a check based on the antitrust laws, on banking agency approvals of bank mergers. To alter or remove the application of the antitrust laws from the bank merger field would destroy this safeguard. It would leave to the banking agencies full discretion to approve mergers, despite their otherwise monopolistic or anticompetitive effects, merely because such agencies might deem them to be desirable in other respects. We find it difficult to understand how a merger can possibly be in the public interest, or should be permitted, when it raises serious questions under the antitrust laws.

Antitrust decisions in important and notable bank merger cases manifestly provide guidelines for the industry. There are few who are not now familiar with the essential principles laid down in the Philadelphia and Lexington decisions, or would rapidly become familiar with them should they come into contact with merger problems. Thus the mere presence of antimonopoly responsibilities in the bank merger field necessarily has an informative as well as a deterrent effect upon further unbridled concentration and competitive dislocation in the industry. There are, indeed, several instances in which banks seeking to merge under the Bank Merger Act subsequently abandoned their plans because of a realization that they were subject to possible antitrust action.

In the Calumet National Bank of Hammond, Indiana case, for example, the merging institutions withdrew their application for permission to merge shortly after Justice filed suit. Two Oregon banks, the United States National Bank of Oregon in Portland, and the Citizens National Bank of Oregon in Lake Oswego, after they had filed their application under the Bank Merger Act, abandoned their plans when they were advised by Justice that their proposed consolidation raised serious antitrust questions and that the Division contemplated bringing suit. In a similar manner two banks in Williamsport, Pa., i.e., the Williamsport National Bank and the First National Bank of Williamsport, and the Comptroller of the Currency as well, were advised while their merger application was pending that Justice intended to institute suit should the application be approved. The Comptroller thereupon disapproved the application. A public statement issued by the banks thereafter indicated that the Comptroller's disapproval was based on his unwillingness to subject the banks to the burden of an antitrust suit.

While on this subject, mention might also be made that in 1959, prior to the enactment of the Bank Merger Act, two banks in New Haven, Conn., the Union Bank and Trust Co. and the First New Haven National Bank, abandoned their merger plans after receiving notice from Justice that their merger would constitute a probable violation of the antitrust laws.

In addition, of course, it is reasonable to assume, and we have reason to conclude, that numerous other banks contemplating mergers of questionable legality under the antitrust laws have been deterred from filing applications with the banking agencies in the first place, or pursued their plans no further, by virtue of the very existence of the antitrust laws and the probability of prosecution under them. This of course is a direct result of Justice's enforcement program. Removal or modification of this salutary deterrent can only encourage the already snowballing merger movement and ever-intensifying concentration trend in the banking industry.

The presence of the antitrust laws in the banking field has also had a salutary effect in deterring destructive and noncompetitive trade practices in the industry. In 1961, for example, suit was brought against three banks in Hunterdon County, N.J., for an allegal price-fixing arrangement for service charges which had been in existence for some 4 years. In 1963 a series of criminal indictments were brought against various large banks in Minnesota for the illegal fixing of service charges, as well as for the fixing of interest rates charged to correspondent banks for loans, and various other agreements aimed at reducing competition among the large city banks for the business of small correspondent banks.

Investigation and institution of these cases brought to the attention of the industry as a whole as well as the regulatory authorities the fact that such practices among larger banks were more prevalent than had been realized. On the basis of information coming to our attention since, we have every reason to believe that others engaged in similar illegal activities have discontinued such practices or been deterred from indulging in them, all to the competitive good.

THE STATISTICAL RECORD ON MERGERS

We have already noted that the dominant purpose of the Bank Merger Act was to curb, not to facilitate, the rising tide of concentration in commercial banking in the United States. Congress reiterated that concern, with special attention to the field of banking, when it enacted the Bank Merger Act of 1960. As part of the legislative history of the Act, it was pointed out that 1,332 banks with resources of $26.4 billion had been absorbed through mergers in the 9 years from 1950 through 1958 [1] and that 472 banks with resources of $7.8 billion had disappeared through mergers in the 3 years 1957–59.[2]

In the face of this wave of bank mergers, the House and Senate Committees on Banking and Currency both stated: [3]

"The large numbers of mergers in recent years, the vast resources involved in these mergers, and the increases in the size of the largest banks, particularly those which have grown through mergers, all give rise to concern for the maintenance of vigorous competition in the banking system and in the industry and commerce served by the banking system. The reduction in the number of banks and the loss of competition between merged banks also give rise to concern. There are differing views about the effect and the significance of the mergers which have taken place. But there is general agreement that legislation providing for uniform and effective regulation of mergers is required for the future."

Both congressional committees further observed: [4]

"Vigorous competition between strong, aggressive, and sound banks is highly desirable. Competition in banking takes many forms—competition for deposits by individuals and corporations and by personal and business depositors; competition for individual, business, and governmental loans; competition for services of various sorts. Competition for deposits increases the amounts available for loans for the development and growth of the Nation's industry and commerce. Competition for loans gives the borrowers better terms and better service and furthers the development of industry and commerce. Vigorous competition in banking stimulates competition in the entire economy, in industry, commerce, and trade. There is no question that competition is desirable in banking, and that competitive factors should be considered in all aspects of the supervision and regulation of banks."

However, despite enactment of the Bank Merger Act, which was designed to curb and regulate bank mergers, the tide of bank mergers has not abated. As compared with the 472 mergers which had taken place during the 3 years prior to the Bank Merger Act,

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[1] S. Rept. No. 196, p. 12.

[2] H. Rept. No. 1416, p. 6.

[3] Id. at p. 8; S. Rept. No. 196, p. 8.

[4] H. Rept. No. 1416, p. 3; S. Rept. No. 196, p. 16.

441 were consummated during the 3 years following its passage. During the period from May 13, 1960, to December 31, 1964, 715 banks with resources of $15.7 billion were absorbed through mergers[5] approved by the banking agencies under the Bank Merger Act.[6]

During this same period, of the 770 applications which the Antitrust Division reported upon to the banking agencies under the act, the Antitrust Division reported no adverse competitive effects in 300 of the applications (39 percent of the total) and reported adverse competitive effects in 470 of the applications (61 percent of the total). Of the total of 675 applications acted upon by the banking agencies during this period, however, 644 applications (or 95 percent of the total) were approved and 31 (or less than 5 percent of the total) were disapproved.

It is obvious that the Bank Merger Act alone, would not be an effective instrument to halt the engulfing tide of bank mergers. If bank mergers are to receive antitrust exemption, or modification as now proposed by some, the bank merger movement, with its attendant threat to competition in the banking field and the economy generally will probably assume even more serious proportions. And it should be observed that concentration in the field of banking, due in substantial part to past mergers, had already reached the point in 1962 where the 100 largest commercial banks and bank groups, representing 0.77 percent of the total number, had 49.4 percent of the total deposits of all the commercial banks in the United States.[7]

THE "DUAL PROCEEDING" ARGUMENT

Much unfounded propaganda has been disseminated by those seeking to remove the antitrust laws from the bank merger field to the effect that because of the existence of the Bank Merger Act and the antitrust laws side by side, the banking industry is thrown into endless confusion and uncertainty. Merger applicants, it is said, are thus subjected to two successive and allegedly unrelated proceedings.

This argument which is as mechanical as it is untrue, asserts that banks contemplating a merger must first go through all the trouble and expense of obtaining banking agency approval under the Bank Merger Act. Then, once having cleared that hurdle and obtained appropriate approval, they thereafter find themselves, much to their consternation and surprise, face to face with an antitrust proceeding.

This, however, is simply not the case. The Justice Department plays an integral part in the proceedings from the very beginning since under the Bank Merger Act, all applications must be referred to it for a report as to the competitive factors involved. Because of this fundamental and very practical fact, the "Bank Merger Act issues" and the "Antitrust issues" have consistently been matters of concurrent rather than consecutive significance.

The record well shows that in all of the prosecutions instituted by Justice, the banking agencies as well as the defendant banks were advised, well prior to banking agency approval, that the proposed merger, in the view of the Department, raised serious questions under the antitrust laws and that serious consideration was being given to the possibility of filing suit in the event the merger were approved by the banking agency. Indeed in several instances, counsel for the defendant banks, prior to the filing of the complaint, discussed with the Antitrust Division its views on the merger and its intention regarding possible suit.

The House Banking Subcommittee which held extensive hearings on proposed bank merger legislation during the last term of Congress looked into this matter in detail. Its record clearly shows that the banks involved in current litigation undertook their mergers knowing full well that they would be putting themselves in jeopardy of antitrust action.

Nor is there any justification in the propaganda distributed by those supporting currently proposed bank merger legislation to the effect that Justice was alone in its judgment of antitrust issues in the pending cases. On the contrary in most instances where suits were instituted, the Antitrust Division's views on the competitive effects were supported by one or both of the bank agencies making reports to the agency before which the matter was pending.

Nor does the suggestion that the present applicability of the antitrust laws gives to Justice some sort of a "veto" power over bank merger questions. This is ridiculous on its face for the only recourse available to Justice if it does not like a merger is to bring suit in the courts. In this the Department stands in no better position than any other litigant. It is the Court, after trying the case and hearing the evidence, that determines the validity or the nonvalidity of the transaction in quetsion. Therein lies the ultimate protection of our free society and our competitive system.

CONCLUSION

Since May 1960, the Department has filed eight suits attacking agency approved bank mergers under the antitrust laws. Although court action has been resorted to only sparingly, the fact that under present law bank mergers may be challenged in the courts under the antitrust laws, despite agency approval, no doubt acts as some restraining influence to stem the bank merger tide.

Mergers and acquisitions in other regulated industries have not been exempted from the antitrust laws despite agency approval. See, for example, radio and television broadcasting (*U.S.* v. *RCA*, 358 U.S. 334); gas pipeline companies (*California* v. *Fed. Power Commission*, 369 U.S. 482). And the fact that banking is a supervised industry does not mean that bank mergers should receive antitrust exemption. "Competition among banks exists at every level * * * and it is keen. There is no reason to think that concentration is less inimical to the free play of competition in banking than in other service industries. On the contrary, it is more inimical * * * concentration in banking accelerates concentration generally" (*U.S.* v. *Philadelphia Nat. Bank*, 371 U.S. at 369–370).

Competition in banking is vital. It would be unwise to reserve to the banking agencies, to the exclusion of the courts, the protection and preservation of competition in the field of banking. The tide of bank mergers with agency approval since enactment of the Bank Merger Act of 1960, shows that the Justice Department should not be dismissed from its responsibility or the courts ousted from their antitrust jurisdiction.

[5] Source: Annual Reports of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, 1960–63, table 4; data for 1964 not yet published.

[6] In addition, other bank acquisitions were approved under the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956.

[7] Annual Report of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation for 1962, table 23, p. 53.

Ralph Roberts, Clerk of the National House of Representatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following article by newspaper correspondent John V. Wilson appeared in the Evansville, Ind., press recently. It recalls some events in the long Government experience of our efficient and able Clerk of the House, Ralph Roberts:

HOUSE'S ROBERTS REMINISCES

(By John V. Wilson)

WASHINGTON.—Hoosier-born Ralph Roberts swims for relaxation, and his athletic ability has served him well as Clerk of the House of Representatives.

For Roberts has frequently found himself in hot water in recent years but he has successfully paddled to shore every time.

A native of the Ohio River town of Rockport, Roberts has spent some 42 years in the political swim of Capitol Hill and bows to few Congressmen in seniority.

In a rare interview recently, Roberts, who just turned 68, reminisced about his life in Washington and the fortunes of Indiana politics since World War I.

As housekeeper of the House, Roberts and his staff occupy a spacious suite of offices on the ground floor of the Capitol. His private office is filled with Washington memorabilia.

Seated at his desk, he faces arr oil painting of the U.S. *Constitution*. On the walls are portraits of Presidents Harry S. Truman and John F. Kennedy. Behind him is a massive mahogany breakfront secretary.

Roberts is a tall, well-groomed man, with little gray in his hair. He wears a well-cut blue business suit with vest and looks more like a Congressman than some of the lawmakers.

As he talks, assistants bring him House bills and resolutions to sign. He pens his name with a flourish in inch-high script.

"Any bill the President signs, I have to sign twice," he explains.

This year, he has affixed his signature to the more than 255 public laws Congress enacted.

In his $26,000-a-year post, Roberts wears many hats. He presides over the opening session of Congress every 2 years until the Speaker is formally elected.

Moreover, he makes up the House budget ($76 million this year), supervises House purchasing ($700,000 a year), serves as paymaster ($11.9 million a month) and has a variety of legislative functions.

He has a staff of some 200 workers.

His staff keeps the House Journal and voting records. Lobbyists register with him. Congressmen file their campaign reports with him. And contested elections of House Members wind up on his desk.

The contested election of Mississippi's delegation got him in hot water most recently. The challengers, the Mississippi Democratic Freedom Party, accused him of foot dragging in preparing the record of the hearings.

"I didn't have any particular feelings about the case," Roberts says. "But I know the law and precedents I knew they had no case when they came in here, and I told them so."

As a young lawyer, Roberts came to Washington in 1923 as secretary to Congressman William E. Wilson, Democrat, of Evansville. With Wilson's defeat the next year, Roberts became executive secretary of the House Democratic campaign committee.

A few years later, he moved on to assistant doorkeeper of the House and was elected doorkeeper in 1943. He has been Clerk since 1949, except for the 2 years the Republicans controlled the House during the Eisenhower administration.

During his doorkeeping days, Roberts particularly recalls a young man "who worked for me in a way"—Lyndon B. Johnson. The President's late sister, Mrs. Josefa White, also worked for Roberts in the House stationery room.

Roberts has known so many of the Nation's leaders and seen so much history in the making he has a hard time singling out memorable events.

But he says "something you never forget" is the time he presented Winston Churchill to a joint session of Congress and was privileged to attend a private luncheon for Churchill later.

"He discussed the invasion of Italy," Roberts recalls. "And talking about De Gaulle, he said, 'I raised him up from a pup and he bit me.' "

The assassination of President Kennedy in 1963 was a double blow to Roberts, for the day before he had buried his wife of 23 years, the widow of Congressman Sam Nicholls, Democrat, of South Carolina.

Roberts lives alone now in an apartment in the Sheraton-Park Hotel, a few miles from the Capitol. His spare time is devoted to swimming and walking.

He has weathered bleeding ulcers, requiring 17 blood transfusions, and a 1964 heart attack, and says he feels "pretty good" these days.

Any thought of retiring?

"I don't know if I'd be satisfied or not," he answers. "Most of my friends and associates are around the Capitol."

Report on 1st Session, 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I would like to include in the RECORD my report to my constituency upon the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

The report follows:

DEAR FRIEND AND FELLOW AMERICAN: The 1st session of the 89th Congress has now passed into history. The record made by this Congress during 10 short months will have the most far-reaching effect, ultimately touching the life of every American, of any Congress since the formation of the Union. It was a Congress which turned out more legislation than any in the last 30 years, in response to administration demands—and in such volume that much of it will need thorough congressional review and revision.

The cost of the new administration program has received little mention. It has been estimated that appropriations for this session will reach some $118 billion—about $12 billion more than last year's total, and this is only the beginning. No one has any idea as to the eventual cost of these programs as they expand and multiply in future years. And there have been reports that the President has a task force hard at work preparing more new and expensive programs to present to the second session of this Congress.

I opposed much of this legislation because I believe that many of the needs of the people may be met by constructive and progressive plograms planned and carried forward at the State and local level with Federal subsidy and control held to a minimum. Other needs can be met through the independent action of churches, foundations and private citizens. There are new and pressing problems we face as a Nation because of social and economic changes coupled with our constantly expanding population, but we can meet this challenge and solve these problems without substituting our American constitutional system of government for a "welfare state" presided over by a vast, all-powerful bureaucracy in Washington.

There follows my first annual report to the people of the Sixth District of Alabama. May I send with it my gratitude for the privilege of being your Congressman. Rest assured that inasmuch as in me is, I shall continue to do my best for you and for our country.

Sincerely,

JOHN H. BUCHANAN, Jr.,
Member of Congress.

LEGISLATION

Medicare: The first year's cost of this program is estimated at about $3.5 billion to be paid by increased payroll taxes. Also approved: an increase in social security annuities. Medicare and other social security payments will take from the salary of a wage earner, based upon a $6,600 income, a yearly slice of $277.20 as compared with $198 previously. By 1987 medicare cost to the wage earner will have increased by 100 percent. Many of us felt there were other, better ways to meet this need and solve this problem.

Education: For the first time in history, Congress passed legislation to authorize funds for general use in elementary and secondary schools. Under this law approximately 95 percent of the Nation's counties, including some of the wealthiest, can receive grants to assist in the education of children from low-income families. The first year's cost—$1.3 billion. Projected 5-year cost—$6.5 billion. The higher education program was also renewed and revised with a cost of approximately $643 million a year for the next 4 years. This also includes a provision for a National Federal Teachers Corps, members to be recruited, trained, and fully paid by the Federal Government. The student loan program was expanded.

Appalachia and antipoverty: The administration's antipoverty program was expanded with passage of the Appalachia program which provided $1.1 billion to be used in 12 "Appalachia" States. The Congress also set up an omnibus regional development program to include areas designated as "economically distressed" with an additional $3.3 billion to be expended over a 5-year period, the program to be handled by an expended Area Redevelopment Administration. The antipoverty program (OEO) also included authorization for an additional $1.8 billion, in spite of the report that 1 in every 19 employees of the Office of Economic Opportunity makes over $19,000 a year.

Department of housing and urban development: This new Cabinet level department will deal with the problems of cities which will have an estimated increase of 100 percent in the next 35 years. During the House debate, predictions were made that the new department will grow more quickly than the cities. It begins with 13,000 employees and an annual budget of $4 billion.

Housing: The omnibus housing bill includes authorization for an additional 60,000 units a year for several years for low-rent public housing, and additional housing for the elderly, college students, and others. The cost for new and expanded housing programs—$7.8 billion. The public housing bill included the controversial $150 million rent subsidy plan submitted by the President. The Congress later declined to appropriate funds for this purpose.

Money change: This legislation removes the silver content from quarters and dimes, and reduces the silver in half dollars to 40 percent. All of these coins previously contained 90 percent silver. By Christmastime, the new "token" coins are scheduled to be in circulation, and the proverbial adage "not worth a red cent or a plug nickel" can be extended to our quarters and dimes.

Veterans: An increase in the rate of disability compensation for our veterans was passed, with my support, as well as several other measures extending veterans benefits.

Excise tax reduction: Reduction of excise taxes imposed as a wartime measure 20 years ago during World War II—long overdue—was voted to total about $4.8 billion by 1966 and included items ranging from telephone service to refrigerators.

Section 14(b) of Taft-Hartley Act: Repeal of section 14(b) of the act was passed by the House by a narrow margin. Passage was blocked in the Senate. This bill, if passed, would have outlawed State right-to-work laws such as the current Alabama State law.

Voting rights: This measure was one of the most controversial and far reaching enacted during this session of the 89th Congress. In its final form, it set up a double standard of Federal law plus curtailing the right of the States, including our own State of Alabama, to set the standards for eligibility under which qualification of voters would be established.

Other legislation included highway beautification; a liberalization of the immigration laws; and raising the debt limit to $328 billion. The clean elections amendment was approved, making vote buying in Federal elections a Federal offense. Annuity increases were approved for Federal retirees, and pay increases were approved for Federal employees (Congressmen excluded). A pay increase was voted for members of the armed services, and funds were appropriated for the conduct of the military action in Vietnam. New library funds were authorized. By the end of the session, a total of 769 bills and 360 resolutions were passed by the House, of which 444 bills were enacted into law. The total number of measures introduced was 16,882.

COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

As a member of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, I have been assigned to the Subcommittee on Manpower; Retirement, Insurance, and Health Benefits; and Census and Statistics, of which I am ranking minority member.

The effective operation of the Federal Government is dependent on the efficient utilization and performance of Federal employees. My committee has continuing responsibility to evaluate this work, and to take legislative action whenever necessary to assure the highest degree of efficiency in the operation of all Government departments.

The committee is also responsible for legislation which regulates the operation of the Post Office Department and the U.S. Census Bureau.

During the 1st session of the 89th Congress, 579 bills were referred to this committee. Twenty-nine have been reported favorably to the House. Of these, 25 have thus far been passed by the House and 9 have become law.

Of the major reports printed as official reports of the House of Representatives, all five were developed by subcommittees of which I am a member: three by the Subcommitee on Manpower and two by the Subcommittee on Census and Statistics.

H.R. 980, one of the bills reported to the House by the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, and a bill which I vigorously supported, is aimed at curbing the transport of obscence literature through the U.S. mails. This bill passed the House and is now pending before the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

As a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, I have participated in hearings of the committee including the continuation of the Cuba travel hearing from the 88th Congress. During the most recent hearings Juanita Castro, sister of Fidel Castro, appeared along with other witnesses.

Investigations of the committee are continuing in areas where there has been evidence of the possibility of Communist infiltration, and I have attended extensive closed and executive hearings concerning subversive activities in our country which are receiving committee attention. The investigation of the Ku Klux Klan is currently in progress.

Legislatively, the committee has reported out of committee a bill providing for the creation of a Freedom Academy, of which I am a cosponsor, and the bill is currently pending before the House Rules Committee, and is expected to come before the House for consideration early next year.

This committee is the congressional guardian of our internal security. Rest assured that we shall not be deterred from our continued surveillance of Communist subversion as long as our Nation's security and the world's freedom are threatened by this tyranny.

IN CLOSING

The President's on Senate leader, Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, recently admitted, "It is hardly possible to set in legislative motion so many new Federal approaches to the Nation's problems, as we have done in recent years, without leaving a number of gaps and any number of rough edges, overextensions, and overlaps."

This sums up surprisingly well my own reaction to the first session of the 89th Congress.

Tax Sharing for Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, it is encouraging to discover the interest and support for my bill H.R. 10696, which would provide a regular system of financial support for education by having the Federal Government share up to 5 percent of its revenues with the States for the purpose of improving education.

An editorial supporting my tax-sharing bill, from the October 12 Richmond Times Dispatch, follows:

THIRTY MILLION DOLLAR BOMBSHELL

It was lucky, in a way, that U.S. Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel dropped his $30 million bombshell in Chicago. His patently illegal power play, designed to establish unprecedented new Federal controls over local education, nearly succeeded in the Windy City, and perhaps might have, if attempted anywhere else.

If Keppel had made his bid for power by withholding Federal school funds from any major city in the South, he no doubt would have been widely applauded for administering another whack at the old scapegoat. And the precedent for using the blackjack of withholding school funds elsewhere would have been established.

It is highly likely, too, that he might have succeeded in almost any Northern city which didn't have a good political pipeline to the White House. But Chicago has the unbeatable combination of Mayor Daley and Senator DIRKSEN—who put up such a loud, bipartisan fuss that the Washington edict was quickly withdrawn, and the Federal school funds were promptly restored.

Had the Keppel bombshell been dropped elsewhere and achieved its purpose, the valuable lesson provided by the Chicago episode—which has served as a warning to all American cities, pointing up the limits to which Washington will go to control local education—would have been lost or come too late.

But this whole disgraceful episode need not have occurred at all. It certainly wouldn't have, if Congress had acted promptly on a bill introduced last August by Representative WILLIAM BROCK, Republican, of Tennessee.

A major aim of the Brock bill, still resting in a House subcommittee, is to take Federal school funds out of the hands of Keppel's Office of Education and set up a new system of distributing them under closer congressional scrutiny. The Tennessee Congressman proposes that the Comptroller General, who answers to Congress, be given responsibility for handing out Federal school money, though it would be deposited in a trust fund administered by the Secretary of the Treasury. This might go a long way toward removing political and bureaucratic strings from Washington's school aid program and insuring that the will of Congress, which appropriates these aid funds, is heeded.

But the Brock bill would also set up a new system by which 5 percent of Federal income taxes would be returned to State and local governments for educational purposes. Half of this money would be returned on the basis of public school enrollment. The other half would be allocated under an incentive scheme—somewhat similar to the plan proposed by Alan Donnahoe, of the Richmond newspapers for distributing Virginia sales tax receipts within Virginia. BROCK's system, on a national basis, would reward those States and localities which are making the greatest educational effort, those spending the largest percentage of their income for educational purposes.

Two years of work went into the preparation of BROCK's bill. Working with the Brookings Institution, the Tennessee Congressman studied Canada's tax rebate system, conferred with leading educators, and communicated with the Governors of every State. Most of the response, to date, he says, has been favorable, and the bill is attracting new interest in the wake of Francis Keppel's near-successful power play in Chicago.

"Know Your District of Columbia Government"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a long-needed booklet entitled "Know Your District of Columbia Government," designed to help residents and visitors alike to obtain a better understanding of the government of the District of Columbia.

This booklet, which is now available, has been compiled from a recent newspaper series coauthored by Calvin W. Rolark, editor and publisher of "The Washington Informer" and Truman J. Keesey, public information officer of the District government.

It includes pictures of District of Columbia government officials, a detailed list of public library branches and their locations, as well as fire and police stations and their locations.

I am sure that citizens and government officials alike will find it an informative and useful guide to District of Columbia government.

Increased Dental Insurance Programs Urged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, increased dental insurance provided by the private sector of the economy and through professional associations demands immediate consideration and action. The dentists and their associations have made commendable progress on their own and with insurance companies, and yet I warn that they and their associations should learn from medicare and prepare a comprehensive program which covers our Nation and is available to individuals and families in their own communities and States. This is far preferable and more effective than just another expensive Federal program. The private sector of our economy could best handle this, and I urge the dentists to move promptly during the next 2 months in advancing comprehensive dental programs.

The dental insurance programs that I have in mind could be handled directly by the American Dental Association, tied into Blue Cross and Blue Shield, individual and groups of insurance companies, or some new method. I also would like to mention and praise the role certain unions have played in advancing dental insurance for their members and their families. For example, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters have inaugurated a plan which provides coverage for eligible recipients on an indemnity basis, with the patient to pay personally to his dentist all charges above those specified in a table of allowance within the policy. Also, each member in the plan will have freedom of choice in selecting his dentist, and no dentist will be asked to sign any particular agreements or contracts.

It would be advantageous for the American Dental Association to hold meetings in all 50 States before January, as well as regional meetings for the Northeast, Midwest, South, and Western areas, so that the best thinking of the dental profession and their associates could be brought to bear on these problems. I favor at the beginning varied approaches in different parts of our country and in individual States, tailored to meet the needs of these areas. I am a great believer in the laboratory system. We will get new good ideas in some places and be able to drop ideas that do not work in others. Though trying out a variety of approaches in the marketplace, we should be able to come up with national program alternatives that have been tested in the field. Generally I am

pleased with the good work that is being done on this problem and I hope for a major constructive breakthrough, based on scholarship and practical approaches of meeting the dental care needs of American families. We must make progress promptly in developing a sound dental care insurance program and unless this is done professionally there will be a vacuum that the Federal Government will try to fill. In this effort I welcome ideas from all sources as to the best way to serve these needs.

Cooking for Profit: Material for High School Vocational Training

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, it has been brought to my attention that there are 17,000 vocational guidance counselors in the Nation's school system. The attached letter from Cooking for Profit magazine and a reprint from one of its articles will be of value to high school students interested in an exciting vocation.

The excerpts from the letter and article follows:

COOKING FOR PROFIT MAGAZINE,
Madison, Wis., July 15, 1965.

Hon. EVERETT DIRKSEN,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR DIRKSEN: First of all, all of us are warmly appreciative of your positive reaction to our editorial crusade to interest bright young people in the career opportunities in the food service industry.

We were pleased to discover your own background includes experience as a baker; certainly you are in a position to appreciate some of the critical personnel problems of this $28 billion industry.

The "Famous Food Artists in America" series is committed to at least 24 months. Each professional profile will be four pages in length, and each will include one full page illustration in full color.

There are hundreds of food positions within this industry, and consequently it is our plan to acquaint young people with as many opportunities that food service has to offer. In this series we want to include:

Chefs, dietitians, maitre d's, corporate executives with food background, food managers in the military services, top Oriental, Jewish, and Negro professionals, distinguished nuns in institutions, outstanding dietitians in VA hospitals and other Government facilities.

We understand that there is a network of 17,000 vocational guidance counselors in the Nation's school system. They are in need of material on various vocations and professions to present to high school students.

We would like to interest some organization in helping us do this job with reprints from this series. It should be a group with regular channels of communication with the high schools, and several Government agencies do have this advantage.

With about 4 to 5 million high school seniors in the public schools, we would like to see a million of them exposed to this series.

Once again, we are encouraged and happy at your expression of interest and concern.

Cordially,

JAMES R. MYERS,
Associate Publisher and
Editorial Director.

PAUL BRUNET, EXECUTIVE CHEF, THE PALMER HOUSE, CHICAGO

(NOTE.—A love of people, and flair for food have given Chef Paul Brunet a lifework that is rewarding and satisfying to him as it has been to the millions of people who have enjoyed his culinary artistry.)

Few people work harder, or receive such personal satisfaction as does a top chef in a distinguished hotel, great restaurant, or prestige luxury resort.

The culinary arts is one of the last remaining professions where imposing university degrees are not a requirement for personal advancement of success. Qualifications for even the topmost positions in this field are a love for food and people, and a dedication that overshadows long hours and hard work.

Such a man is Paul Brunet, executive chef, Palmer House, Chicago.

Chef Brunet heads a staff of 160 professionals in his vast kitchen who prepare an average of 8,000 meals a day in the hotel's 8 public dining rooms and 23 private dining rooms. In the average year, he has the responsibility for planning, buying supplies, cooking, and serving a prodigious total of 3 million meals involving $10 million in sales for the hotel. Certainly a man to be reckoned with.

With one ambition firing him on these many years, Paul Brunet has advanced through the ranks from his first menial culinary tasks of cleaning vegetables, poultry, butchering, and pot washing, to his present position and goal in one of the world's largest hotels, the Palmer House.

Born in 1906 of French-Canadian parents in Montreal, Canada, Chef Brunet received his early training at various clubs and hotels in Montreal, advancing from apprentice to fry, roast, second cook and assistant cook. After 4 years of steady advancement, in 1923 he moved on to the famous Mount Royal Hotel where he served for 15 months as assistant cook. Other club and hotel experience furthered his knowledge and proficiency.

Continually striving for advancement, he arrived in Chicago in 1928. He eventually moved to the Palmer House where he held varied positions until 1935 when he was made assistant to the executive chef. After two years in the Armed Forces, Brunet returned to his duties and in 1947 donned the executive chef's hat at the Palmer House, a hat which he has worn with distinction and honor. Brunet's air-conditioned office is right in the center of the huge, busy kitchen that sweeps from the elegant Empire Room to the Victorian Room. Through attractively draped windows, he is in close visual touch with his kitchen staff.

IBM typewriters, files of recipes, books, industry publications, clipboards, work schedules, professional certificates, plaques and awards, food samples, and a wide assortment of other objects combine to reflect the wide and varied interest of one of the world's great executive chefs.

One wall reveals a few of the profesisonal and industry testimonials to his culinary proficiency:

A first prize certificate from the National Food, Cookery and Allied Trades Exposition and the Salon of Culinary Art for an ancient castle, an ice sculpture creation. Another first prize in the same competition is for a "buffet practical."

In 1960, the Chefs de Cuisine Association of Chicago presented Chef Brunet with a plaque on his 25th anniversary at the Palmer House saying, "for leadership and distinguished service rendered for the elevation and progress of the Culinary Arts & Chefs Profession in America."

The National Restaurant Association gave him an award of appreciation in 1961.

In 1957 Chef Brunet was named a "Distinguished Culinary Artist" by the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union.

In March of 1965, he won the coveted first prize (and a trip to Japan) from the National Turkey Federation for his sweet sour turkey mignons in competition with chefs throughout North America.

In 1961 Brunet was given the rank of Chef Rotisseur by Confrerie de La Chaine des Rotisseurs.

A handsome plaque presented in 1964 by the Chefs de Cusine Association of Chicago is inscribed: "To cultivate among its membership the best ethical educational, moral and fraternal sentiment, to strive for their social and economic recognition as professionals by the employer and all constituted authority."

For 2 years, Paul Brunet was president of the Chef's de Cuisine of Chicago. It was during this time that he headed the committee to plan the great dinner for Queen Elizabeth of England on her visit to Chicago. One hundred of Chicago's distinguished chefs served on this committee.

Chef Paul is often presented to distinguished guests who stay or are entertained at the Palmer House. The listing of such persons reads like "Who's Who" and includes presidents, foreign royalty, artists and entertainers, and great business leaders. He was especially pleased with the visit of President Truman who was "a very nice gentleman."

CHEF BRUNET'S PRIZE-WINNING RECIPE: SWEET SOUR TURKEY MIGNONS

(Yield: 6 to 8 servings)

Ingredients: 36 pieces turkey mignon—1 ounce each (white meat); 2 cups carrots, slices; 1 head Chinese cabbage, shredded; 2 cups onions, diced in 1-inch squares; 2 cups green peppers, diced in 1-inch squares; 2 cups celery, shredded; 2 cups pineapple chunks; 1 cup green onions, split in 4—cut in 1-inch length (4) bunches; ½ cup salad oil; 2 cups pineapple juice; 5 cups turkey broth; ½ cup soy sauce; ½ cup vinegar; 1 tablespoon salt; 1 tablespoon cornstarch; 1 teaspoon pepper—black; 2 tablespoons M.S.G.; 1 12-ounce jar Macadamia nuts.

Direction for putting turkey recipe together: Boil the sliced carrots in turkey broth for 10 minutes, add the celery, onions and green peppers, cook for another 5 minutes and drain, save the broth. Add the pineapple juice and vinegar to the broth; dissolve the cornstarch in the soy sauce and add to the boiling broth. Season the turkey mignons with M.S.G., salt and pepper and then saute in oil until they are brown on both sides. In the same frying pan saute the vegetables and pineapple chunks and the shredded Chinese cabbage. Arrange turkey mignons over the cooked vegetables and pour over the thickened broth and let simmer for 10 minutes. Suggestions for serving turkey recipe: Serve in casserole. Saute the green onions and sprinkle over the turkey mignons and finish off by sprinkling the roughly cut Macadamia nuts over the top. Serve accompanied with hot steamed rice. May be served on a plate with the rice on same plate.

The recipe for the hot rice is as follows: 2 cups raw rice, 3 cups water.

Directions for rice: Wash rice several times in cold water and soak for 2 hours in cold water. Drain, place in a heavy cooking utensil and cover with the water and bring to a fast boiling point over a high flame and boil for 15 minutes. Take off flame, let set for 15 minutes. Serve hot.

Asked if he would repeat his vocation and profession if he had to do it over again,

Chef Paul doesn't hesitate with his "most certainly." What's more, he means it.

BROWSING THROUGH CHEF BRUNET'S PROFESSIONAL LIBRARY

Chef Paul Brunet has hundreds of volumes in his personal library; including a wide range of culinary subjects, books of every culture and in every language, his collection contains some rare editions on the culinary arts.

A quick survey of the professional library in his Palmer House office revealed these books on the shelves:

"L'Art Culinaire Moderne."

"Nuestra Cocina," by Jose Sarrau.

"The Gourmet Cook Book."

"Larousse Gastronomique."

"The Complete American Jewish Cook Book," by London and Bishop.

"La Cuisine Raisonomnee."

"La Cuisine Classique," by Urbain-Dubois and Bernard (a 19th century classic).

"Dictionary of Cuisine," by Alexander Dumas.

"The Encyclopedia of Food," by Artemas Ward.

"Apicus," the Roman Cook Book.

"La Grand Cuisine," Selection Raisonnes de 1221 Recettes de Cuisine Transcendonte par Prosper Salles et Prosper Montagne.

Among his other volumes, Chef Brunet has Greek, Chinese, Japanese, Italian, English, Mexican, German, Swiss and many other books reflecting his interest in the universality of food.

A special magazine rack in his office contains virtually all foodservice periodicals published throughout the world. Cooking for Profit is one of the well-read magazines on this display which is available to the entire kitchen staff of the Palmer House.

Hon. Clarence J. Brown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, the passing of that noble gentleman from Ohio, Clarence Brown, has taken from us yet another of those great veterans whose loss we have felt so keenly these past few years. His death particularly seemed to echo the end of an age—an age when the simple virtues and native common sense of Main Street America were the guideposts of the Nation. Clarence Brown called to mind a way of life we shall always fondly remember, though it be gone forever.

My differences with Clarence Brown on legislative matters never tarnished my abiding respect for him. He was proud to be a Member of Congress, proud to be a Republican, proud to be a conservative, and he symbolized the finest traditions and highest ideals of all three. His loyalty to the principles he held so deeply made him formidable in debate, perseverent in the fact of adversity, steadfast without pretense. Yet he was not less constructive for the tenacity of his convictions; his sponsorship of, and service on, the pioneering Hoover Commissions amply demonstrated his responsiveness to the continual challenge of new problems.

Above all, his service here was one of complete dedication, for he viewed such service, not as a stepping stone for other aspirations, but as a career of the greatest honor. Like Sam Rayburn, Clarence Brown proudly believed election to the House to be, in the late Speaker's words, "high enough for any man's ambition." Indeed, Clarence Brown exemplified the truly professional type of Representative—the one who keeps the legislative process functioning, day in and day out, and thereby keeps democracy vibrant at its most fundamental core.

The great esteem I held for Clarence Brown is the measure of my deep sorrow at his passing and the wellspring of the heartfelt compassion I extend to his grieving family.

Poems Descriptive of Our National Parks by an Outstanding Conservationist—Maurice H. Thatcher

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, one of our country's strongest conservationists is the former Representative from the Kentucky congressional district which includes Louisville, the Honorable Maurice H. Thatcher.

It has been my great privilege to know Governor Thatcher over a period of many years. Respected and admired by his many friends in Kentucky, in Washington, and in the Congress, he is known by all for his love of natural beauty, his courtly humor, his creativity, constructive hard work and steadfast devotion to conservation. It is always a pleasure to visit again with Governor Thatcher, and I wish to take this opportunity to refer to some of his works which deserve to be better known.

The congressional tenure of Maurice H. Thatcher covered the five terms from 1923 to 1933. During that period he introduced and secured enactment of legislation for the establishment of the Mammoth Cave National Park in Kentucky, and for the permanent improvement, maintenance, and operation of the Lincoln Birthplace Farm, near Hodgenville, Ky., now officially designated as the "Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site."

Mr. Thatcher was also author of the acts creating the Zachary Taylor National Cemetery, located on the outskirts of Louisville and encompassing the old burial site of the Taylor family where a handsome mausoleum was built under the legislation as the final resting place of our 12th President, "Old Rough and Ready" of Mexican War fame, and his beloved spouse. The National Cemetery also embraces acreage from the Taylor homestead, purchased by the State of Kentucky and donated to the national cemetery.

While in Congress, Mr. Thatcher was also instrumental in the conversion of Camp Knox to Fort Knox, one of the greatest military establishments in the Nation, as well as the site for the custodial deposit of the Nation's gold reserves.

Throughout his congressional tenure, Mr. Thatcher served as an able member of the House committee whose work is vital to effective and efficient Government—the Committee on Appropriations. Both in Congress and in the following years he has encouraged and worked for the fuller development of national parks and a national parkway system.

In August 1964, upon the invitation of the Governor of the Canal Zone, he participated in the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the formal opening on August 15, 1914, of the Panama Canal to traffic. Mr. Thatcher has told me that he appreciated especially being assigned to unveil the memorial on Balboa Heights to the builders of the great isthmian waterway, the mightiest enterprise of the age.

During his visit last year both in the zone and in the Republic of Panama, Mr. Thatcher was received with affection and esteem, and an interesting account of the celebration was later given to the House by the gentleman from Wisconsin, Representative MELVIN R. LAIRD, and appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for June 23, 1965. Among the honors accorded Mr. Thatcher—now the only surviving member of the Isthmian Canal Commission which supervised construction of the canal—was the award of the "Golden Key to the Locks," and his designation as an honorary pilot of the Panama Canal.

A biography containing a fuller account of Mr. Thatcher's achievements appeared in the October 1964 issue of the National Park Courier, a periodical published under the auspices of the National Park Service, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the National Park Courier, October 1964]

MAURICE H. THATCHER, STATEMAN-POET

We have received a number of queries concerning Maurice H. Thatcher, author of the poems which have appeared in the last two issues of the National Park Courier. Following through on these queries we learn that he not only writes poetry about these areas, but in several instances he was instrumental in helping to pass laws establishing these areas for preservation of future generations, so we pass along what we know about him.

Maurice R. Thatcher grew to maturity in western Kentucky, on Green River, in Butler County. He received his education in the public and private schools; elected clerk of the Butler circuit court; later, in Frankfort, the State capital, he continued his law studies, and was, by the court of appeals, licensed to practice. He served as assistant attorney general for the State (1898–1900); removed to Louisville, was assistant U.S. district attorney for the western district of Kentucky (1901–06); returned to private practice in Louisville; served as State inspector and examiner (1908–10), resigning that post to accept appointment, made April

12, 1912, as member of the Isthmian Canal Commission, which had supervision of the construction of the Panama Canal, and in that capacity, served also as civil Governor of the Canal Zone (1910–13). Returning to the practice of law in Louisville, he also held the office of member of the board of public safety (1918–19), and department counsel for the city (1919–23). He was elected to Congress from the Louisville district at the November election, 1922; and was reelected four times, serving 10 years in the Congress (1923–33).

In Congress Representative Thatcher was the author of various beneficial acts for the Panama Canal enterprise, and its employees, and for the isthmus, including legislation for the establishment for a free ferry across the canal, Pacific entrance, and the construction of a connecting highway—both officially named in his honor; also legislation for the establishment, maintenance, and operation of the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory in the city of Panama, which has now become one of the outstanding institutions of the world engaged in research touching the cause and prevention of tropical disease.

Also, he was author of much impotrant and beneficial legislation for his district and State, including the acts for the creation of the Mammoth Cave National Park; the permanent improvement and perpetual maintenance and operation of the Lincoln Birthplace Farm in Kentucky—now designated the Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Site in the National Park family; the Zachary Taylor National Cemetery; the construction of the George Rogers Clark Memorial Bridge across the Ohio River, at Louisville; and for the bridge construction program of Kentucky (pioneer legislation). Also, he obtained congressional legislation for the building of three Federal hospitals in the State, one of which was the veterans hospital at Lexington; also for the construction of a new Federal building in Louisville. In addition he was the author of legislation for Federal appropriations for providing Braille books and apparatus for the blind pupils of the Nation; and he effectively aided in the obtention of funds for Ohio River improvements, and for the development of domestic and foreign air mails.

Always, in and out of the Congress, he has actively served the national park cause; and organized, in 1931, the Eastern National Park-to-Park Highway Association, and was then elected, and has ever since served, as its president. In recent years he has been very active in his advocacy of the construction of a national parkway from the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, via the Mammoth Cave National Park, to the Natchez Trace Parkway near Nashville, Tenn.; and which would provide a national parkway of 1,400 miles, continuous, beginning at Front Royal, Va., and ending at Natchez, Miss.

Mr. Thatcher holds several orders and decorations from Latin American governments because of his services in behalf of Pan Americanism. In recognition of such services and those rendered by him with respect to the Panama Canal, its employees, and the Isthmus, the Congress, by unanimous action, named for him, the new $20 million bridge across the canal on the site of the Thatcher ferry, which it supplants, the designation of the structure being Thatcher Ferry Bridge.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, in a life filled with activity for the public good, Mr. Thatcher has found time to exercise his literary talents by composing a considerable body of noteworthy poetry, some of which has been published in newspapers, magazines, anthologies and the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I would like to call attention today to his fine series of verses descriptive of most of our major national park units, a number of which have already appeared in the National Park Courier beginning with the August 1964 issue, with the others expected to follow. The poems enable us to share the generous spirit and noble vision of a great and good person, and I hope others may enjoy them as much as I have.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the poems be included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the poems were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL PARK POEMS BY MAURICE H. THATCHER

YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

The scientific folk may claim to know
  The wherefore and the why of all we see
  In this Empire of Wonders: ah, but we
Have learned the truth; to you the truth we'll show.
Consider what we say: you'll find it so.
  This is the gods' own pleasure-ground; and they,
  And all their imps, are always here at play,
Invisible, as they scamper to and fro.
Old faithful and the other geysers spout
  From hidden founts, by hidden hands controlled;
    And bubbling pool, and vent, and waterfall—
Are tricks and stunts, beyond the slightest doubt.
  These forests, lakes, streams, heights, and charms, behold!
    This choice the gods have made, we urge for all.

THE GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS NATIONAL PARK

The glories here are verdured master-peaks,
  And forests deep, and endless blossomings;
And waterfalls and rills, and crystal creeks,
  And gray-blue haze which to the mountain clings.
In opulence, scarce-equaled anywhere,
  Hardwoods and conifers their arms expand;
Bird-song and fragrance rise upon the air:
  And the collective whole is "Smoky Land,"
Rich in the legend of the Indian lore;
  Of healing strength, and by the heavens blest—
The region bids you to enjoy its store
  Of gracious worths, and find a place of rest.
Come hither, all who love dear Nature's art,
And know the peace and beauty of her heart!

OUR NATIONAL PARKS

Our national parks are bits of Paradise,
  Created by the hand of God, to be
What man, at lenght, has come to realize
  As Nature's richest realms, untamed and free,
And full-designed to serve his need and pleasure:
  And therefore set apart. The terrains vast,
Of awesome majesty in matchless measure,
  Are vested with a beauty unsurpassed.
These mountains, hills, streams, lakes, and sea-washed zone;
  These mighty chasms and buttes, all iris-hued;
These boundless, sculptured caverns, deep and lone;
  Woods, groves, and monarchs with deathless life endued,—
Combine into a wondrous, magic whole
Of healing for the body, mind, and soul.

MAMMOTH CAVE NATIONAL PARK [1]

Caverns immense, wrought through the endless ages:
  What lessons for the human soul and mind!
The great Lord God, in these arresting pages,
  Hath writ a matchless story for mankind—
A story of His purpose, never-failing,
  However slow unto its mark it moves;
Here, in the sable hushes, 'ere prevailing,
  The skill and power of His law he proves.
Through water's urge this realm of rock was hollowed;
  By drop and drip these decorations grew;
From simplest process largest sequence followed—
  Until, at last, they came to mortal view.
Yet nothing here is finished, and may not be
Till bounds be fixed for Time's eternity!

GRAND CANYON NATIONAL PARK

Only the Lord could apt describe the scene
  Which here, behold! His mighty hand hath made!
  Man's puny mind by awe is overweighed
Within the presence of this vast demesne
Of matchless form, and colors, opaline,
  In massive masonries bewrought and laid,
  And in abysmal, cosmic depths displayed—
Superlative in all the Earth's terrene.
Upon the Canyon's lofty Rim we stand,
  And on the wondrous world below we gaze:
The countless pyramids and temples rise;
The River gleams—a distant yellow band;
  All is kaleidoscopic, in light and haze—
And we are lost in rapture and surprise.

YOSEMITE NATIONAL PARK

The Valley, with its verges, is the gem
  Of this vast scope of mountain, grove, and glade;
Afar there winds the rugged outer hem
  Which Man, to bind the wonder-zone hath made.
El Capitan salutes each dome and peak;
  In endless leaps the cascades plunge below;
The deathless trees, of dateiss ages speak;
  And evening crowns the heights with alpen glow,
Let science tell the all-absorbing story
  Of how the whole, with each detail, was wrought—
Within the presence of such wealths of glory
  We dare not pause to grasp what thus is taught.
Another time we'll ponder what is told;
But now we can but sense what we behold!

CAPE COD NATIONAL SEASHORE

This stretch betwixt the sea shores of Cape Cod
  Was rendered sacred by the early tread
Of Pilgrim feet—guided by a trust in God—
  In searching for a site, untenanted,
Whereon to found a State, in truth and name,
  To civic-religious freedom consecrate;
And which, on sister shores, was fixed—whose fame
  Lives on to bless, inspire, and elevate.
Here, beach and dune, cliff, isle, marsh, pool, and lake,
  Wild-life, wild-bloom, forests, and lands unique,
Unite, a historic-scenic place to make.
  Hither will come the multitudes that seek
Change and repose; here they will also find
The Pilgrim spirit brooding—to lift and bind.

INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

Lo! here it stands, ancient and immutable—
  Indeed, the noblest structure of them all!
The ways of destiny are inscrutable—
  But here, within this sacred, precious hall,
The fearless Founders wrought the Documents
  That brought about the Nation's hallowed birth;
And made provision, in matchless excellence,
  To guarantee our freedom and our worth.
Washington, Jefferson, and Hamilton,
  Adams, Franklin, Madison, and others live
Forever in this Shrine: their work, well done,
  Became our heritage—to guard and give
To all who rise in sequence. Let all be sure
To keep it—so that the Nation may endure!

[1] The writer, while a Member of Congress (from Kentucky), was the author of the legislation providing for the establishment of this national park.

MOUNT RAINIER NATIONAL PARK

The Nation's noblest mountain, lone it stands,
A monument to God; for man, a boon.
Its mighty walls by cosmic strokes were hewn
And its great crest in ice and snow expands
Eternally. Its majesty commands
The distant eye, on land, or sea, or dune.
Its meads and slopes with blossoms are bestrewn,
And fern and forest deck its wonderlands.
What hath been wrought through unrecorded time.
By molten thrust and Nature's healing art—
Came to its own at last. This matchless worth,
This royal beauty, and these traits sublime
Were, in their sum, forever set apart—
A Jovian rendezvous atop the earth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN BIRTHPLACE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE [2]

Here is the natal spot of one whose birth
Was like to that of the lowly Nazarene;
Destined he was to rise to noblest worth.
And so the scion of this scant demesne
Beat out a page of history unsurpassed
In all the tragic, fateful course of time;
And which—so long as liberty may last—
Shall be the story of what is most sublime.
This templed hut where dawned his infant sight,
This little farm, the spring, and rolling mead—
Bring to the mind the truth that right is might,
And must prevail. Thus, all who look may read
The chronicle of one who found the light,
Through sacrifice, and served the Nation's need.

CUMBERLAND GAP NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

From eastern parts they came, and thru this Pass,
Thermopylaean, westward moved the Pioneers—
Their goal the regions and the far frontiers
Of Kain-tuck-ee's forests, streams, and famed bluegrass,
And fertile soils—all of primal class.
In this new realm were wrought—of hopes and fears,
And strife and sacrifice, thru tragic years—
Peace, law, and breed unique—singly or en masse.
Three States [3] have joined, a nation's park to form;
And here the epic past survives, with mem'ries
Of those brave venturers, led thru stress and storm
By the immortal Boone. This Gap and these
Peaks, verdures and vales combine as in a norm—
To stir the generations, and to please.

SHENANDOAH NATIONAL PARK

A hundred miles or more, the bourne extends—
The Blue Ridge heart within its ample fold;
The Skyline Drive looks down on regions old
In history. Younder the river [4] wends
Its northward way in endless loops and bends
The Valley's [5] panorama is unrolled;
The Sun flings down his precious stores of gold;
And azured range with heaven's azure blends.
Hawk Bill and Stony Man surmount the rest;
High roads cut thru the gaps in transverse bars;
The Massanutten looms upon the West;
Naught dims the whole, nor its proud beauty mars.
Fits well the realm—by man and nature blest—
Its lengendary name, "Daughter of the Stars."

FORT M'HENRY NATIONAL MONUMENT AND HISTORIC SHRINE

The Muse of History hath written here
One of her richest and most noble pages;
Here, Armistead and Key—each in his sphere—
Wrought that which makes us debtors through the ages.
The first, with skill, led the courageous forces—
The Fort's defenders in those fateful hours;
Who with compatriots—all with scant resources—
Drove back to sea the invading powers.
As for the last, bent on friendship's mission high,
He was in hostile hands throughout the night;
At dawn his country's flag [6] yet graced the sky,
And he was moved his deathless song to write.
These battlements, grounds, and sculptures are preserved,
So that the cause of freedom may be served.

ISLE ROYALE NATIONAL PARK

An emerald huge set in an inland sea
Of azured beauty and with depths supreme;
With forests thick, and moods of serenity—
This is a place to linger and to dream.
Here nature's at her best; in the season's span
The air is clean and crisp; vast herds of moose
Range everywhere unharmed; all is Arcadian,
And well-designed for recreative use.
All those who wish new pleasures to derive,
May hither come by craft from any strand
That marks the waters of the famous Five,
And find the voyage filled with interest and delight. The isle waves welcome unto all those who wish to find a Haven of Repose.

PETRIFIED FOREST NATIONAL PARK

A miracle, behold! One that required
Age on the endless ages to consummate.
When giant trees were in their fallen state,
And in vast waters steeped, there had transpired
A show of Nature's magic, as she desired
Thru some strange whim: trunks large and smooth and straight,
In form remained; but chemic agents ate
The wood away, leaving stone with color fired.
The Painted Desert came, and this wonderland
Presents a scene all-baffling and unique;
It has no like: alone its marvels stand
In proof of Nature's varied works antique.
Search as ye may, with all at your command—
A match ye cannot find—in vain you seek!

HAWAII VOLCANOES NATIONAL PARK

From lovely Hilo and the opal sea,
Thru tree-fern growths and fairy scenes we climb
To Kilauea's crest. Awful, sublime,
Mad Halemaumau seems to be
The pit of hell itself, striving to free
An endless urge of lava and of fire.
Here Mauna Loa lifts her lofty spire
To unmatched volcanic immensity.
O Pelee, fabled Goddess of the Flame,
Are these thy sacrificial altars here?
Dost thou, indeed, demand—as fits thy fame—
The precious lives of those who live a-near?
Or, in these dread processes, is thine aim
Some good, unguessed, to make thy name more dear?

CUMBERLAND GAP NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

From eastern parts they came, and thru this Pass,
Thermopylaean, westward moved the Pioneers—
Their goal the regions and the far frontiers
Of Kain-tuck-ee's forests, streams, and famed bluegrass,
And fertile, virgin soils—all of primal class.
In this new realm were wrought—of hopes and fears,
And strife and sacrifice, thru tragic years—
Peace, law—and breed unique, singly or en masse.
Three States [7] have joined, a nation's park to form;
And here the epic past survives, with mem'ries
Of those brave adventurers, led thru stress and storm,
By the immortal Boone. This gap and these peaks, verdures, and vales combine, as in a norm,
To stir the generations, and to please.

ISLE ROYALE NATIONAL PARK

An emerald huge set in an inland sea
Of azured beauty and with depths supreme;
With forests thick, and moods of serenity—
This is a place to linger and to dream.
Here Nature's at her best; in the season's span
The air is clean and crisp; wast herds of moose
Range everywhere unharmed; all is Arcadian,
And well-designed for recreative use.
All those who wish new pleasures to derive,
May hither come by craft from any strand
That marks the waters of the famous Five,
And find the voyage filled with interests and Delight. The Isle waves welcome unto all those
Who wish to find a Haven of Repose.

[2] The writer was the author, in Congress, of the legislation for the permanent improvement, maintenance, and operation of this sacred shrine, located near Hodgenville, Larue County, Ky.

[3] Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia.

[4] Shenandoah River.

[5] Shenandoah River Valley.

[6] The "Star-Spangled Banner" of our national anthem.

[7] Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia.

Problems of Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, prior to leaving on the overseas schools investigation trip I have spent a few days visiting friends in Carthage, Mo.

While there I ran across an editorial in the Carthage Evening Press on the problem of Vietnam. I believe this to be one of the best expressions I have seen in print on the real deep and logical significance of the Vietnam struggle.

I would suggest it be read by all of the Members of Congress to reorient those amongst us who are losing sight of the issue involved.

The editorial follows:

A CARTHAGENIAN VIEW

All Carthagenians are in some personal way involved in the action in Vietnam or affected by it. Its importance, its nature, and the necessity of citizen understanding of the American commitment are emphasized in this series of editorial features.

There's a war in progress in faroff Vietnam.

It's not a worldwide holocaust, to be sure. But it is a major, bloody, bitter, ugly, angry war, as brutal and dirty as war ever has been.

What's more, it's a war which is making a painful impact upon thousands of American homes and families, some of them in the Carthage community.

To some it seems a forgotten war being fought by forgotten men for forgotten principles. But if any of this is true, it should not be. If any of this is true, then the horror of the whole affair is much greater than the usual horror of war and those who have forgotten soon may find themselves among the forgotten.

It's a different war than man has known before. The stakes are the minds and emotions of a people who are as confused as man ever could be concerning what the bloodletting is all about.

Communism, a political theology which seeks world domination through a series of patient, progressive steps, is trying to take its most recent forward step in Vietnam. The United States, which is communism's arch enemy because it believes in the dignity of individual man, the importance of individual initiative even in the shaping of state economy and the final authority of a Divine Creator, stands in the way.

Uncle Sam, true to his traditional image, has determined that in Vietnam the line shall be drawn, that in that faroff region of jungles, swamps and rice paddies the issue of freedom shall be decided and the question of whether the free individual or the all-consuming state shall be the supreme authority shall be answered.

With the incomprehensible exception of a few noisy "peace demonstrators," most Americans agree the decision of their elected Representatives in the Congress and the White House is a correct one. They agree the line is better drawn in Vietnam than in California, that so long as such choice remains it is better to hear the bombs explode in the streets of Saigon than to feel them burst in the streets of St. Louis, that for that matter even the amount of blood to be spilled can be lessened by drawing the line now in Vietnam instead of waiting until the hammer and sickle flag is being waived at the approaches to Jefferson City or even Carthage.

That's what the struggle is all about. In the jungles of Vietnam, with the image of home and its security never forgotten, Uncle Sam has confronted world communism with a firm declaration, "This is where you stop."

The line drawn by freedom's spokesman is manned by America's finest young men and the sacrifice of many of their lives is the risk deliberately taken in order to avoid the sacrifice of many more lives in an eventual world-rending thermonuclear holocaust which would blacken the face of America and bury forever this Nation's tremendous ideal, freedom for all men.

Uncle Sam is fighting with all the strength and determination which traditionally has been applied to the task of gaining and preserving human freedoms, the task for which America was created. This fact is in no way lessened by the necessary careful action being undertaken to prevent this brush-fire war from blazing up into a worldwide contest.

It is an uncomfortable war, being fought under miserable conditions. The enemy lurks behind every tree and is not easily identified. New weapons and new techniques are being created on the field. The horse cavalry of the Civil War and the Spanish-American War and the tank cavalry of World Wars I and II and Korea have been replaced by very similar but far speedier and more potent helicopter units. Nights are being illuminated with the brilliance of the sun through the use of new equipment which has made after-dusk operations totally different than those the veterans among us remember.

But death strikes just as quickly and just as permanently and the brutality of battle has not changed.

The men engaged, particularly those from the Carthage community, have not been forgotten, nor the ideals of freedom for which they have totally committed themselves.

This fact will be publicly demonstrated Thursday, November 11, when Carthage marks Veterans' Day with a special salute to the men in Vietnam and a reaffirmation of community approval of the national policy of containment of communism.

The observance, which will couple emphasis on the Vietnam crisis with a renewal of the memory of the sacrifices of earlier wars, is being planned by the local American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars posts.

It will open at 10 a.m. with a big downtown parade, followed by solemn patriotic ceremonies at memorial hall. Postmaster Glynn Evans will serve as master of ceremonies. Pastor August Jarus of Faith Lutheran Church will deliver prayer and State Senator Richard M. Webster will speak.

It is of the utmost importance that community awareness of the necessary sacrifices in Vietnam be demonstrated through unanimous attendance at the parade and the memorial hall ceremonies.

There are other ways of expressing support for our men in Vietnam. Personal letters are among the finest means to alert them to the fact they have not been forgotten. At this season, Christmas packages also are important.

For the benefit of those who wish to send such remembrances, the Press is eager to publish the names and addresses of all men of this community who are serving in Vietnam. We invite and urge their relatives to send us their names and addresses for publication, so that all concerned citizens may forward letters, cards, and gifts.

Please do so at once, since Christmas messages in particular must be mailed immediately if they are to be delivered in time for the holiday observance.

A war of the utmost significance is being fought in Vietnam.

Its purposes is to halt the aggressive forward movement of godless, enslaving communism.

All of us have a basic responsibility to support our men at the front—through the public observance of Veterans' Day, through letters to the men, and in every other possible way.

Humane Treatment for Laboratory Animals: Washington Post Endorses Cleveland Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, it was with great pleasure that I read the editorial endorsement given by the Washington Post to my bill to provide humane standards of care for laboratory animals used in conducting federally financed research.

The Post thus joins many other influential newspapers and thousands of concerned citizens throughout the country in support of this legislation. I am deeply grateful for this important backing. It comes at a key moment; public hearings have been held on the bill and we anxiously await further action by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. I hope the Congress will have an early opportunity to enact good legislation in this important field. The Post's fine editorial follows:

PROTECTING ANIMALS

Usually, if you ask a man engaged in medical research to comment on proposals to promote the humane treatment of experimental animals, you will get a Pavlovian sputtering. The medical practitioners—as least those speaking in their name—automatically hurl the epithet "socialized medicine" at any suggestion of mandatory preparation for the hazards of old age; the medical researchers mutter "antivivisectionism" at any suggestion that a dog be given a drink of water before undergoing an operation in the name of science.

It was therefore, a welcome novelty to hear Assistant Surgeon General James A Shannon of the National Institutes of Health answer a question before the House Commerce Committee recently regarding the operation of the British law insuring humane treatment of experimental animals. Quite clamly, Dr. Shannon declared: "I actually worked in the University of Cambridge in the mid-thirties under the British system operated by the then Home Office relative to the experimental use of animals. I found no difficulty in obtaining, in a period of about 10 days, the licenses necessary, and I had no problem in explaining the purposes for which the research was done, and it went on with no bureaucratic interference whatsoever."

We congratulate Dr. Shannon on his candor, his calm and his commonsense. What a healthy attitude he takes toward experimentation, either scientific or political. The essential principles of the British system are embodied in the Clark and Cleveland bills which have administrative procedures adapted to conditions in the United States. We hope that Congress will consider these bills with the same sort of healthy calm when it returns in January.

The Way Back

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the challenges of political leadership in this decade have been summarized well in a recent report by the research division of the Republican National Committee. In two articles in the Baltimore Sun, Thomas O'Neill and Gerald Griffin commented on this report and its implications. I would like to call their views to the attention of my colleagues.

The articles follow:

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun]

THE WAY BACK

(By Thomas O'Neill)

WASHINGTON.—An eye-popping preview of what actually happened in this month's scattering of odd-year elections turns up in a survey completed before the elections for the Republican National Committee on where the party went wrong a year ago, accompa-

nied by implicit directions for getting back into the national contention.

The survey could have been a battle plan for JOHN LINDSAY's conquest of the New York mayoralty in the focal election, but this turns out to have been coincidence only.

Off that lesson, however, it is reasonable to anticipate that the 75-page study will get minute examination from the party generally en route to the 1966 State and congressional elections. It is already in the class of essential handbook at national headquarters, where its factual findings agree in detail with the convictions of Ray C. Bliss, the national GOP chairman.

It is the most comprehensive analysis yet made of the shattering defeat of a year ago. The work of the headquarters research division, it is an unimpassioned inquiry into what was done and with what result, and its criticisms are implicit rather than stated. They are sufficiently plain to serve as a danger signal for future campaigners, the more so when set side by side with the history of the triangular battle for election as mayor of New York.

In effect:

1. There are simply too few Republicans (28 percent of all voters) to win elections on their own, but most of these vote the party ticket regardless (80 percent for Mr. Goldwater). Mr. LINDSAY appears to have held a similar party proportion in New York, although he made no party appeal and set out to win liberal independents and Democrats.

2. The white backlash as a means of winning urban and suburban areas is a false hope. In the New York campaign the spoiler candidate running solely to try to trip the liberal LINDSAY, William Buckley, summoned this vote with every device he could muster. About two-thirds of his total came from that quarter, but he was left far behind.

3. Myth alone maintains the existence of a great silent vote of conservatives who will turn out at the polls only to vote for a fellow spirit. Contrary to the notion that these would swell the voting rolls, the researchers found that the proportion of adults voting in fact fell off in 1964 from the level of 4 years earlier. Mr. Buckley, running as a true Goldwater conservative, clung to the delusion and campaigned so, again without result.

4. Negro voters are important in urban elections, and "obviously much work must be done in this field" to improve upon the meager 6 percent of Negroes nationally who voted for Goldwater. Mr. LINDSAY, who had an important hand in framing the latest civil rights statute, fared well in Negro neighborhoods, even against the opposition of the demagogic racial hero, ADAM CLAYTON POWELL.

Other conclusions appear inferentially rather than in cold type. One is that Republicans should rid themselves of their terror of the dogmatic rightwing and its reprisal threats.

Since Republicans are so few, party candidates can hope to win in most cases only if they offer an across-the-board appeal embracing all elements, Republican, Democrats, independents. The hollowness of the reprisals available to recalcitrants are amply exposed by the Buckley miscarriage in New York. The kooks who began in May to plot a third party for 1968 can safely be ignored.

Independently of the report, the party has summoned the courage to enter a bill of divorcement from the radical right, and its allied ideological purists. It started with the John Birch Society disavowed, has moved to include all extremists of whatever splinter affiliation.

Mr. Bliss cautions Republican State chairmen against all the far outs. Senator DIRKSEN pulled back hurriedly from an engagement to speak to a Connecticut rightwing outfit whose favorite previous orators were California pets of the extremists, Senator GEORGE MURPHY and actor Ronald Reagan, who wants to be the Republican nominee for Governor of California next year. Senator KUCHEL, of California, declines to back the Reagan candidacy in the absence of a repudiation of the radicals as a hazard to the party. Mr. LINDSAY makes it possible to say, "who needs them?"

It is the opinion of the national chairman, Mr. Bliss, that recovery is a long-term task, and that Republicans must look two or three elections ahead and be ready with attractive, able candidates.

It is expected that in time he will recommend a new set of slogans for campaigners, abandoning the tired shibboleths "creeping socialism" and "State rights." They have no meaning for a newer generation of voters, and at best were always wishful nonsense. The big Republican needs are a broader base and a new approach.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun]

A THEORY TAKES A BEATING

(By Gerald Griffin)

The theory that many Americans do not vote in our elections because the candidates are not sufficiently conservative is being badly battered. Some authorities, in the light of a sizable body of evidence, prefer to call it a myth rather than a theory. But the theory dies hard, among conservatives who want to believe in it.

Last month the research division of the Republican National Committee undertook to give the theory a decent burial. In a study of the 1964 election, in which Senator Goldwater was the Republican presidential nominee, the research division concluded that the belief in a huge, silent vote, which would turn out under the right conditions, was proved false.

Last week in New York the theory took another drubbing after William F. Buckley, Jr., a Goldwater-style Republican running for mayor as the candidate of the Conservative Party, tried to revive it. Buckley's theory was that New York Conservatives—who couldn't support the liberal Republican, JOHN V. LINDSAY, for mayor—would vote for a conservative candidate (Buckley) in such numbers that LINDSAY would be defeated and the Democratic candidate, Abraham D. Beame, would win.

LINDSAY won, of course, Buckley got about 13 percent of the total vote. Beame complained, with some statistical justification, that he himself had been defeated by Buckley's efforts. Beame's point was that Buckley had drawn off Democratic votes which he otherwise would have obtained.

This bit of comedy, picturing Buckley shooting at LINDSAY and hitting Beame, does not obscure the point that the theory of a big, sleeping conservative vote, waiting to spring to the balloting booths at the beckoning wave of a candidate labeled conservative, was borne out no more by the New York election, with the articulate Buckley as the conservative, than it was a year ago by the presidential election in which Goldwater wore the conservative label.

The late Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio believed strongly in the theory of the latent conservative, and thought he had demonstrated its validity. Looking back, it now seems more likely that what Taft demonstrated was his own special quality. Taft believed—as do many Americans—that a majority of our citizens are basically conservative, as opposed to liberal. That is, he thought they would support sound practical government (of which he was a notable exponent) in preference to a doctrinaire spread of Federal direction and control.

Taft used the 1948 presidential election to develop the theory. Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, a New York Republican running a confident campaign in the middle of the road, was defeated by President Truman. Taft thought many voters stayed home on election day who would have voted Republican if an appeal had been made to their conservatism. In 1950 Taft was reelected to the Senate by a large majority, and he thought his own success in Ohio proved his point.

Yet in 1952 the Republican National Convention nominated Eisenhower for the Presidency and rejected Taft. Eisenhower had the backing of the Dewey forces and party liberals and moderates, plus the support of many other Republican leaders who, despite their ideological affection for Taft as a conservative, thought Eisenhower would be the stronger candidate.

It should be noted, too, that Taft's concept of conservatism was less doctrinaire than that represented by the ultraconservatives who made Goldwater their hero. Taft's political theory was based on traditional Republicanism along with a sound, thorough knowledge of government, and an acceptance of changes that were steadily taking place in this country. The support and practical help he gave President Eisenhower in 1953, before cancer overtook him, were noteworthy.

In any case, the Taft theory was reshaped later to suit the aspirations of Goldwater and his followers, who were critical of Nixon's 1960 campaign for the Presidency. They thought Nixon would have won if he had campaigned as a conservative and they demanded that Goldwater be given a chance to demonstrate conservative strength.

But, says the analysis made by the Republican National Committee's research division, "The belief held by some political observers that an enormous number of citizens who had never voted in previous elections would do so in 1964, favoring Senator Goldwater in the process, was not borne out by the results of the elections. Although the actual number of voters topped 70 million and set a new national record, the percentage of Americans of voting age who actually voted dropped slightly compared to 1960 and was smaller than the percentage voting in 1952."

This need not be taken to mean that there no longer are many conservatives, and that conservatism is to be disregarded. But there are degrees of conservatism in America; one man's conservative is another man's radical. The Republican research division seems to be suggesting that Republicans should give more attention to facts than to theories.

Secretary of the Treasury Fowler Tells the Economic Club of New York That a Further Rise in Interest Rates Is Like "the Dog Chasing Its Tail," Threatening Prosperity and Risking Recession

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of the Treasury Henry H. Fowler, speaking before the Economic Club of New York, minced no words in attacking the views of those who find tight money and high interest rates as the only solution to whatever problems, either real or imaginary, that plague our economy. Secretary Fowler pointed out that interest rates have been substantially raised in the last few years and that in-

stead of helping, higher rates will only harm.

The Secretary cautioned against any inflationary panic with the reminder that we have a serious unemployment problem yet to be solved and warned that any substantial change in our monetary and fiscal policies of the last 5 years could be ruinous.

He insists that it would be irresponsible to abandon tried and proven policies, particularly in favor of the drastic, stringent money tightening urged by those who habitually insist that inflation is lurking around every corner and behind every tree. The Secretary wisely pointed out to his audience that it makes no sense to raise interest rates to a point of conflict with domestic expansion and yet not provide a real solution to our balance-of-payments problem. On the inflation question, the Secretary cautioned against any price increases and urged continued cooperative effort of business, labor, and government, stating, however, that there is no sufficient evidence to justify higher interest rates because of any threat of inflation.

This is one of the most forceful and clearly reasoned statements I have read on the subject of monetary policies and interest rates. I commend it to my colleagues for careful study. There is little doubt that the wise and prudent policies counseled by Mr. Fowler, if followed, will assure us, barring international catastrophe, of indefinite continuation of our unprecedented prosperity.

His remarks before the Economic Club follow in their entirety:

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE HENRY H. FOWLER, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, BEFORE THE ECONOMIC CLUB OF NEW YORK, WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL, NEW YORK, N.Y.

It has been said that "the Great Society is the one in which businessmen think greatly of their function." The author of that statement was not President Johnson, but Alfred North Whitehead, the great philosopher, speaking more than half a century ago.

A more contemporary American, speaking of our present-day economy said: "It is an economy where the health of business benefits all the people. It is an economy where the prosperity of the people benefits the health of business. It is an economy where, in large measure, the fortunes of each are tied to the fortunes of all."

Gentlemen, that speaker was not the head of our giant corporations—it was the President of the United States. Incidentally, in the spate of economic statistics which confuse us daily, one thing emerges loud and clear: namely, what is good for the country is certainly proving good for General Motors. And the same is true of virtually every business represented here tonight.

Instead of fortifying that last statement with a barrage of statistics about what has happened in the last 2 or 5 years to profits before taxes, profits after taxes, cash flow, gross national product, personal disposable income, consumption, weekly pay, employment, and numerous other indexes; let me be one speaker out of Washington who spared you a glorious statistical recital. There is no need to belabor the statistics, when to paraphrase one well-known commentator: "In your heart you know I'm right." And, I might add, in your annual report, too.

Behind all those heartwarming statistics you are being spared, there is an important fact of life in this good year 1965—you in business and we in government are a partnership for progress. We are bound by a common conviction that the right answer to our problems on both the domestic and international economic fronts must be based on a dynamic private sector as the prime mover in the achievement of our economic goals. Business, labor, and government have learned that by pulling together we can all achieve much more than by pulling apart.

It is against this background of a fruitful, working partnership between business and government that I would speak to you tonight about the most important task of that partnership—sustaining the greatest, longest, and best balanced economic advance in the Nation's history as it moves through its 57th month.

You will forgive me for speaking frankly and in a more personal vein than is customary. This is a very personal subject to you, and both this partnership and the economic advance are a personal and public thing to me. Much of the last 4½ years of my life have been given to promoting both—because it is good business for the Treasury and the country.

My personal credentials for a deep and demonstrated conviction that we must enable the private sector to play the prime and dynamic role in our national economy, include scars and bruises incurred in helping to secure the development, adoption, and execution of the liberalization of depreciation allowances—the investment tax credit in 1962—the corporate tax cut and further improvement of the investment credit in 1964—individual tax reductions of 1964 that included top-to-bottom rate reductions—and excise tax reductions this year.

But my most important credential by far is that I serve under a President of the United States who has done more and worked harder than any man in our long national history to bring about the better understanding that is essential to a fruitful working partnership between business, labor, and government. Night after night, day after day, as no President before him, President Johnson has brought together leaders of business, finance, and labor to meet with him, his Cabinet, and White House staff members—seeking advice, swapping ideas on what each could do separately and all could do together for a better America. He has made, "let us reason together", a national slogan as well as his personal expression of heart and mind.

It is in that spirit that we turn to our task—sustaining the economic advance.

Debate is raging on how best to keep it rolling. A number of my friends have engaged publicly in this debate. An even larger number are debating privately. There are those who are fearful of "overheating" or inflation. There are those who feel that the economy may run out of power and lose its upward thrust. Some of my friends see the exapnsion exploding with a boom and a bang because it is being excessively stimulated. And some of my friends see the expansion running out of gas unless there is more stimulus. My own position on this issue is frank and forthright. I am for my friends.

Since I am a mere lawyer by profession, I am not eligible to join either of these economic schools. So I have been thinking of starting my own new school of economics. To be a member you must have the capacity to worry about both inflation and deflation at the same time. Students in this school, when they read each morning's ration of glowing economic statistics, will not know whether to laugh or cry. They must be aware of the dangers of unbridled optimism either as a strategy for successful performance or as a medium for successful prophecy. They must also not be inclined to surrender to pessimism. In my school, neither Cassandra nor Pollyanna will be eligible as coeds.

The curriculum will be simple. It will consist of persistent study of the policies which have been employed to sustain the present expansion and the adjustments, adaptations, and changing emphasis appropriate to new problems, new needs, or new facts.

The unprecedented economic expansion we are seeking to sustain has consistently confounded those who have failed to discern its true course and character—those, often, who have also failed to comprehend the policies that have supported and sustained its progress.

And those policies have amply proven their worth. While they have not—and I would not dare to claim they have—eliminated the business cycle, it has been demonstrated that the cycle does not move by the calendar but by our private and public policies.

In considering the future of the current economic expansion and my views of the policies necessary to sustain it, my thoughts instinctively go back to the summer and fall of 1961. The views I held then—and hold now—were perhaps best expressed in my response to a request by the late President Kennedy at a Cabinet meeting in mid-November 1961—just 4 years ago to the week—for suggestions with reference to the coming year's legislative and administrative program. It was entitled: "A Recommended Program To Avoid Recession in 1963-64 or Minimize Period of Decline." Sparing you the analysis and commentary and much of the detail of the program recommended, let me outline the policies to which it was directed:

First, a steady and healthy increase in the rate of business investment in modernized plant and equipment, providing the capacity and efficient facilities essential to support more rapid growth at stable prices but without encouraging an unsustainable burst of investment activity;

Second, coordination of monetary and fiscal policies to promote this growth by providing new investment incentives in our tax structure, while maintaining the availability of ample credit for investment, homebuilding, and State and local construction at reasonable rates of interest;

Third, an early attack on structural problems potentially constricting our growth potential, including especially the training of additional supplies of manpower equipped to play a useful role in modernized industry or expanded services, private and public, and enactment of a Federal aid to education bill;

Fourth, the avoidance of destabilizing price, wage, inventory, and budgetary policies, including action to avoid a violent shift back and forth between large deficits and large surpluses in the Federal budget, to develop productivity measures and guidelines, and to encourage labor-management-Government understanding of appropriate price and wage changes;

Fifth, improvement of countercyclical tools through the enactment of automatic or discretionary countercyclical tax and expenditure devices that could be promptly brought to bear, in coordination with monetary policy, when desirable to counter actual or reasonably forecast sharp changes in demand.

What stands out, as we look back upon the expansion of the 4 years that have ensued since that early analysis, is how far we have come forward those goals, and how smooth the ride has been. For this expansion has remained remarkably free from the excesses and imbalances that too often in the past have upset our periods of prosperity.

There were tests that might easily have tripped up a less solidly based expansion—but that we have met and mastered, avoiding recession on the one hand and inflation on the other, as business, labor and Government have worked together in a climate of mutual cooperation and confidence.

I am not here tonight to contend that there is no need for flexibility in the public and private policy mix we have so successfully lived by for nearly 5 prosperous years.

Of course, new facts and new circumstances may call for a reexamination of policies. Policies must be adjusted and adapted to new problems and new needs as they emerge. And we must not airily dismiss potential new dangers. But there are dangers, too, in acting prematurely in response to fears for the future that are not grounded in hard facts and hard analysis.

A few months ago, many were concerned that the expansion might sputter and fail—particularly after the turn of the year, when the large rise in payroll taxes to finance medicare and increased social security payments would take effect. We took steps to meet the legitimate problem that did exist. Now that fear has largely receded and the principal concern seems to be that there will be inflation entailing risks to the expansion. This position must be examined and dealt with frankly. Are there solid grounds for these fears or, as Fortune magazine recently put it, has "the curve of business activity and the curve of sentiment about it parted company"?

In amassing the gains from our expansion, the Nation has brought unemployment down from 6.8 to 4.3 percent. We have raised industry operating rates from about 78 percent to some 90 percent of capacity in recent months. In so doing, we have brought our economic performance far closer to our rising economic potential. These welcome developments are the fruits of efforts which have been zealously pursued. Are they to become bitter fruit, giving rise to inflation and the loss of our expansion?

What is the situation?

The situation is that private demand is increasing at a healthy rate and defense expenditures are rising because of Vietnam at a time when the gap between demand and the availability of manpower and unused capacity has narrowed to the lowest point in this 57-month expansion.

Defense Department spending currently accounts for less than 8 percent of our total output, and the current levels of the buildup will mean no appreciable change in that percentage. During the Korean war period, by contrast, military spending necessarily zoomed from 5 to 13 percent of a much smaller gross national product.

There is still some room to absorb that spending through the fuller use of our current resources. For instance, unemployment is still significantly above the levels that we feel represent a realistic noninflationary target for our economy.

Much larger elbowroom is assured by the growth in our productive capacity. There is the prospect of large annual net additions to the labor force averaging 1.5 million each year. There is under way in both the public and private sector the most massive effort ever undertaken to attack the problem of structural unemployment, involving the training and retraining of young and old and those whose skills have been outmoded or never properly developed to take a more useful and efficient role in our economic society.

Furthermore, industry is already adding to capacity at a rapid rate, and most industries are ready and able to expand production substantially, even with present facilities. The McGraw-Hill reports last week of projected plans for 1966 expenditures for plant and equipment were reassuring. In no sense do they add up to a nonsustainable rate of expansion or modernization or an inflationary strain on the capital goods industry such as characterized 1956–57. The bulk of the new capacity seems to be going to the right places—to those industries where operating rates are highest.

Thanks to rigid Federal expenditure control in fiscal 1965 and 1966, our budgetary deficit position was rapidly approaching a balanced condition until the additional expenditures of the conflict in Vietnam intervened. At present tax rates, we can look forward to a revenue growth of some $6 to $7 billion or so a year as the economy grows in line with its potential—revenues which can be allocated to meeting increased budget requirements.

There are also several restraining factors on the economic horizon—including not only the rise in payroll taxes I mentioned earlier, but the runoff of steel inventories and the less than exuberant outlook for housing.

In the price sector, some disturbing signs have appeared. The last year has seen more of a tendency for price increases to outweigh declines than any year since 1958. Industrial wholesale prices have risen by 1.5 percent in twelve months after 6 years of comparative flatness. Consumer prices are 1.7 percent above a year ago, as compared with yearly increases averaging 1.3 percent since 1958.

In summary, the situation calls for confidence in our capacity to adjust to increased demands upon our economy. But, at the same time the situation requires us—both in the public and in the private sector— to recognize that the margin for error is much smaller and the need for responsible action is much greater.

What are some of the elements of responsible action? The situation requires that we forego further tax cuts until some more opportune time when the stimulation that would result from increased private consumption and investment will be more appropriate. Fiscal dividends from our economic growth in the form of tax cuts seem, for the present, to be a casualty of the increasing requirements for the defense of freedom in Vietnam. A favorable change in that situation might call for a review.

Responsibility also requires a budget that will enable us both to meet our domestic objectives and our international commitments without fostering inflationary pressures. It require a budget that, without neglecting national needs, seeks to finance new programs from savings on old ones to the maximum extent possible. It requires a budget that achieves all possible savings to offset greater defense needs by eliminating or reducing low priority civilian programs, and by stretching out or deferring the impact on spending of some of the new and proposed civilian programs—without delaying basic authorizing legislation or otherwise unduly impairing important, but longer-run objectives.

It requires, in short, the kind of budget that President Johnson is going to give us—a budget that reflects both the most stringent kind of fiscal discipline and the most effective response to essential national needs.

Some are not content to tackle any present or potential risks of inflation with that responsible kind of fiscal policy. They advocate abrupt restrictions on the expansion of money and credit to restrain the growth of demand, and would invite sharply higher long-term interest rates. This would be a substantial change in our policy mix of the last five years and amount to a new ball game. It would raise in the minds of our producers and consumers serious questions about whether or not to continue to buy and expand in the light of increased cost of money and tightness of credit.

The important point is that no sufficient evidence has yet developed to justify this kind of treatment of the price situation or of the supply-demand relationship by cutting back on demand rather than emphasizing efforts to expand supply. To restrain demand at this time would be to admit that the continued growth of the U.S. economy in amounts comparable to the advances of the last 2 years is beyond our resources. In those years our pluses and minuses have added up to a generally smooth and well-phased expansion of about ten and a half billion dollars a quarter in our gross national product. The pluses and minuses that are in prospect, according to the analyses of most of our economic forecasters, public and private, do not suggest a marked deviation from that pattern in the next year—either upward or downward. Is it too much? I believe the answer is, and should be, "no."

I would urge that from here on our priority objective should be to achieve that growth without increasing pressure unduly on reserve capacity. To do so we must increase our efforts to provide the capacity to absorb that growth so that the risks of pressure on prices and of aggregate demand on productive capacity are minimized by increases in supply rather than restrain of demand.

We must intensify our attack on structural causes of unemployment by more job training and retraining, a better organization of the labor market, and the decasualization of many types of seasonal or part-time employment. We must use every effort to increase productivity and hold down costs. In that effort, we must not forget the lessons of the 1950's—that the steady gains in productivity required to absorb increases in wages and other costs rest on steady growth and output—that the investment required to enhance efficiency, cut costs, and assure ample capacity over the longer run is dependent on the combination of steadily expanding markets and profits.

And to digress for a moment, we hear again a refrain that a solution to the balance-of-payments problem can be found in tight money and higher interest rates. Presumably proponents of this approach must be referring to rather drastic measures since that is what would be necessary to bring into equilibrium the interest rate levels that characterize the U.S. economy and other capital markets.

Let me also remind you that twice before the Federal Reserve has raised its discount rates—one half percent in the summer of 1963 and one half percent in the fall of 1964—to deal with balance-of-payments problems. We have clearly not overlooked this instrument. But our rises were followed by rises abroad and the gap remained—and in some important areas widened. Only a few months after the second increase it was necessary to request voluntary action to restrain and accelerating outflow of capital from our banks and nonbank financial institutions. As my predecessor, Douglas Dillion, several times pointed out—as early as Rome in 1962—the problem of disparity between interest rates and capital availability here and abroad is rooted in rates abroad that are far too high, and in the woeful inadequacies of foreign capital markets. This kind of substantial disequilibrium cannot be eliminated or reduced to manageable proportions under present circumstances by any monetary action at all consistent with our domestic needs.

May I suggest that the zealous exponents of the use of monetary policy to achieve a better balance among international interest rates have a fertile field for missionary work in Western Europe. We should not play the game of the dog chasing its tail to the point of severely damaging our economy and risking a recession. It makes no sense to raise persistently our interest rates to a point where they may conflict with the maintenance of our domestic expansion and yet not provide a real solution to our balance-of-payments problem.

But in no sense is this the end of the discussion. In any marriage or partnership, there comes a time for frank talk. That time has now arrived in the partnership between business and government—if we are to maintain our excellent record of price stability, which must continue to be a key element in sustaining the current expansion, as well as in bringing our balance-of-payments deficits to an end.

There is a particular danger today—when we are engaged in war in Vietnam at a time when margins between supply and demand

have narrowed, in hasty and ill-considered action in wages and prices—a misguided effort to exploit present markets for short term individual advantage at the inevitable expense of damaging the prospects for future markets and for healthy growth for all.

I would like every single businessman who is now contemplating or who may be contemplating in the future an increase in price to stop, look, and listen. Do changes in his unit costs and profit trends justify that action or permit him to hold steady? Or do gains in productivity and lower costs offer an opportunity to lower prices, broaden markets, and increase sales?

The wage-price guideposts of the Council of Economic Advisers point out the kinds of policies that serve the public interest in this sphere, but they can do no more than point out. It is business and labor that must carry the burden of responsibility.

The man who unnecessarily raises prices today or fails to take advantage of opportunities to cut costs and reduce prices will only add to other producers' costs tomorrow. That is a cycle that we must stop before it starts.

Everyone in the business and financial community, and in labor organizations, and everyone concerned with wages or prices, should look beyond their own personal and professional responsibilities to their very real—and much broader—common responsibility toward the economy at large.

That standard would be true in any season or year. But the need for responsible action of this nature is particularly acute in the period ahead against the background of smaller margins of unutilized labor and production capacity and the especial responsibility that the situation in Vietnam places on every American.

Today's prosperity reflects a combination of sound fiscal and monetary policies, intelligent business planning, and responsible restrain by business and labor in making wage and price decisions.

The future is in our hands—government, business, labor, and the public. It is not in the private interest and it is contrary to the public interest to gamble with that future for the sake of immediate—and very possibly temporary—gain.

In conclusion, I do not see before us any economic problems in sustaining our economic advance which we cannot handle—and without abandoning the essentials of the policy mix that has served us so well thus far.

Our task is simply to prove that we can stand prosperity. I have no doubt that we can and will—if we remember that the one thing which prosperity cannot stand is to be taken for granted. It must, on the contrary, be earned anew every day, every week, every year—earned by the continued cooperative effort of business, labor and government. For it is that effort—and not some phantom force—that determines how well our economy performs.

Once again we are approaching a crossroads of national decision. There are those in the private sector—in both business and labor—who would abandon this time-tested policy mix which has served so well as the basis of the working partnership between business, labor, and government and has given the Nation 57 months of uninterrupted and unparalleled prosperity. If it should be abandoned, what is to be used as a replacement? Old formulas that have not worked? New formulas that have not been thought through or grounded on a new consensus? Or the chaos of divergent policies that add up to no policy at all? The real question is: Why give up a winning combination? My answer is: Let's not throw it away.

Congressman Jacobs States Opposition to Reapportionment Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, because so much public attention has been focused upon the fight over Senator DIRKSEN's reapportionment amendment here in the Senate, it is sometimes forgotten that any constitutional amendment must pass the House of Representatives, as well as the Senate, by a two-thirds vote. We who opposed the Dirksen amendment always believed that there was a better chance of beating the amendment in the House than in the Senate.

The original rotten borough amendment, Senate Joint Resolution 2, was defeated in the Senate last August 4, while its stepchild, Senate Joint Resolution 103, appears to have little chance of passage in the Senate next year. I find it heartening to know there is continued opposition in the House of Representatives. One dynamic and outspoken young Congressman, ANDREW JACOBS, of the 11th District of Indiana, has written an effective and hard-hitting statement of what reapportionment means to the voters of Marion County, Ind.

I ask unanimous consent that his letter for the October 1965 issue of the Marion County Democratic Central Committee Newsletter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT IT MEANS TO YOU

(By Andy Jacobs, Jr.)

We hear a lot these days about reapportionment and equality of representation in the legislature.

Most people, who don't have an extremely dull ax to grind, would agree that it only makes sense in a free country to allow no more and no less than one vote to each citizen. In America it only makes sense that all citizens are equal politically and that no one is "more equal than another."

If this were not so, then a lot of men have wasted their time, and, far more tragically, their lives and limbs, crawling in muddy foreign soil to defend America and its way of life.

We know that some Americans have found it possible to say, with faces as straight as Senator DIRKSEN's, that if you live in or near a city you don't deserve to have your vote count for as much as that of your country cousin.

These people say that Indiana's 50 State senate seats should not be divided equally among the citizens of Indiana. They say that "interests," rather than people, should be represented in the State senate.

Thus, if only 1 man owned all the farms in Indiana, under the Dirksen theory, that 1 man should be given 26 State senators while the other 24 senate seats would be divided among the other 4.6 million citizens of Indiana.

Of course, there's nothing new about the Dirksen position. It's the sort of thinking that led some in our history to advocate allowing the right to vote only to the landowner, the so-called town voter.

"But," one asks, "why at this late date would a man like Senator DIRKSEN advocate a system so alien to the American belief in political freedom and equality?" Senator DIRKSEN, the man who placed Senator Goldwater's name in nomination at San Francisco, believes that property and money should speak louder than people in the State senate?

What does all this mean to the people who live in Marion County?

Consider this: In the 1963 legislature, by a one-man, one-vote system, Marion County would have had two more State Senators representing us.

The State Senate that year passed a sales tax which in many instances applied to the city dweller but not the farmer. And, that tax passed the State Senate by one vote.

Thus, we started by being cheated out of two votes and then lost the battle for fair and equal taxation by one vote. That's what it means to you.

And, that's what it meant to America when she fought the Revolutionary War over the trespass of taxation without representation.

Senator DIRKSEN says we should have a referendum on whether each citizen should have an equal vote and voice in the State legislature. Your Congressman says that there are some things too basic even to vote on.

We don't take a vote on whether an innocent citizen has a right to life or liberty. And we don't need to take a vote on whether a citizen has a right to vote and have his vote count for as much as the next fellow's.

Your Congressman believes it to be self-evident that a citizen is endowed by the "Creator with certain inalienable rights and among these is life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" and an equal vote to protect them.

The 1st Session of the 89th Congress—A Record of Accomplishment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, for many months, newspapers throughout the Nation have vied with one another to find new adjectives to describe the 1st session of the 89th Congress. We have heard nicknames ranging from "The Action Congress," the "Do-It-All Congress," and the "Fabulous 89th." Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY has labeled it "The Education Congress." Senator PAT MCNAMARA calls it, appropriately, "The Congress That Kept Its Promise to the American People."

There is no question that this Congress has compiled an outstanding record of accomplishment. As a Member of Congress, and as a member of the Democratic majority which carried through this tremendous program, I am well aware of this record, and I am proud of it. Every American family will be af-

fected and benefit directly from these legislative achievements, and Americans for many generations to come will continue to benefit from new programs now undertaken by the Congress.

President Johnson has called this session of Congress the greatest in American history and described our work as "the greatest outpouring of creative legislation in the history of this Nation."

I should perhaps, be more restrained in my remarks, lest I be accused of immodesty. But it is difficult to restrain the enthusiasm I feel when I look back on our record. We have built the foundation to fulfill goals first sought more than 30 years ago by Franklin D. Roosevelt, and advocated since then by Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson.

Let me review for a moment some of the highlights of our legislative accomplishments:

MEDICARE AND SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS

The medicare law will enable every American to enjoy his retirement years without the constant fear that illness may wipe out his savings and make him a burden upon his loved ones. The law provides hospitalization, surgical, and nursing-home care for persons 65 and older, financed through the social security system. It also offers an optional, low-cost insurance program to help pay physicians' fees, with half the cost of the premiums paid by the Government. Pension benefits for all social security retirees were increased by 7 percent, retroactive to last January 1, and the first checks for this increase have already reached the people.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT

This landmark law provides, for the first time in the history of our Nation, direct Federal aid to improve the quality of elementary and secondary education. It authorizes $1.3 billion for the first year of a 3-year program designed specifically to raise the quality of education and reach every American child with a real opportunity to learn. Although the bulk of the money is earmarked to help children from low-income families, all school districts will share in the benefits. I was proud, indeed, to serve on the House Education and Labor Committee, and its General Education Subcommittee, which drafted this legislation and guided it through hearings and debate until its final passage by Congress.

HIGHER EDUCATION ACT

This legislation provides a five-year program of assistance on the college and university level, with a first-year authorization of $250 million. The bulk of the money will aid needy students, through an undergraduate scholarship program. As a member of the Education and Labor Committee, and the General Education Subcommittee, I also helped to draft this legislation, and worked for its adoption. In a day when a college education is as vital as a high school education was a generation ago, this act should make it possible for any qualified high school graduate to continue his education. This measure will be especially helpful to the children of middle-class workingmen's families who wish to continue their education beyond high school.

IMMIGRATION REFORM

President Johnson signed the immigration bill into law at the Statue of Liberty. This was a truly significant location, for the nationality quota provisions of our Nation's immigration policy had stood for many years as a contradiction to the "open door" policy symbolized by the famous statue. The new immigration bill abolishes the old national origins system, which set the immigration quota for any nation at one-sixth of 1 percent of the persons of that national origin who lived in the United States in 1920. This system, which discriminated heavily against the nations of southern Europe, is replaced with a first-come, first-served system of preferential admissions for immigrants with special skills, education or training, or those with close relatives in the United States. Immediate family members may join parents or children from whom they have been separated for years by the old law.

WAR ON POVERTY PROGRAM

Congress extended the Economic Opportunity Act through 1968, and authorized nearly $1.9 billion for antipoverty programs in the coming year. This major assault on poverty throughout the Nation is being carried out through a series of programs including the community action program, Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, adult basic education, and small business loans. This many-pronged attack is designed to train both youngsters and older persons in new fields of employment, and to encourage local citizen particiation in antipoverty campaigns.

HEART DISEASE, CANCER, AND STROKE PROGRAM

This far-reaching legislation allocates $340 million for a 3-year program of research into the cause and treatment of heart disease, cancer, and strokes—the three leading causes of death in the United States. Its goal, as outlined by President Johnson, is "to speed the miracles of medical research from the laboratory to the bedside." By this act we are finally bringing the tremendous resources of the Government into the fight against these killer diseases.

OLDER AMERICANS ACT

Congress, for the first time, has taken special notice of the growing number of older Americans, and their unique problems. This act creates an Administration on Aging, within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Funds are authorized to make extensive studies into the problems of the aged, including income, health care, housing, employment, retirement, and recreation.

VOTING RIGHTS ACT

This law strengthens the machinery for guaranteeing the right to vote for all citizens, by prohibiting poll taxes and literacy tests. It also provides for Federal registrars in States where less than 50 percent of the eligible electors are registered.

HOUSING AND URBAN AFFAIRS

Taking note of the fact that 70 percent of our population now lives in metropolitan areas, Congress established a new Cabinet-level Department to administer programs affecting cities. The new Department will take over the functions now in the Housing and Home Finance Agency and its constituent departments, and gives the problems of our cities and their growing suburbs, special attention.

OMNIBUS HOUSING ACT

This law extends the current urban renewal and public housing programs; continues the FHA loan insurance program, and encourages urban planning and beautification.

AID TO DISASTER AREAS

I was particularly pleased with the passage of this bill, since I was its original sponsor. It authorizes Federal funds to assist school districts which are hit by natural disasters such as tornadoes hurricanes, earthquakes, and floods. Money is available both for repair and rebuilding of school facilities, and for operational purposes. The bill also provides for Federal aid to State-operated or State-supported institutions which offer free training to handicapped children, and eases the requirements for large cities to qualify for Federal aid under the impacted-area program.

These are only some of the highlights of the first session. We also adopted a new farm program, water pollution and air pollution control, military pay increases, drug controls, highway beautification, water resources development, and an arts and humanities program.

REDUCTION IN TAXES

With such a tremendous list of programs to help assure a better life for all Americans, it is particularly noteworthy that we have been able to reduce Federal taxes. Many persons are inclined to think that the Federal Government is responsible for the continuing upward spiral of taxes. The excise tax reductions of 1965 are proof that this is not so. This act slashes nearly $5 billion from the Nation's annual excise taxes. This is a savings to citizen-taxpayers and a healthy boost for the Nation's businessmen. It completely eliminated excises on jewelry, furs, luggage, appliances, and scores of other items, and it authorized a gradual reduction in excise taxes on automobiles and telephone bills. Many businesses burdened by the so-called emergency or wartime taxes are given a new lease on life.

This action followed on the heels of the income tax cuts of 1964, which made the largest Federal tax reduction in U.S. history—some $11.5 billion in income and corporate taxes.

What these figures mean, in effect, is that Federal taxes will have been slashed by nearly $16.5 billion as a result of income and excise tax cuts signed into law in the past 2 years:

In Michigan, it is estimated that the income and excise tax reductions will give taxpayers $666 million more money to spend each year. Citizens in the Detroit metropolitan area will have an extra $272 million.

In 1966, Michigan residents will benefit to the extent of $54 million in lower automobile taxes, $33 million in lower telephone and telegraph taxes, and $73 million on such items as handbags, luggage, jewelry, furs, and cosmetics. These annual savings will be even higher in following years, when further tax cuts go into effect on automobiles and telephone service.

Let us look at the revenue side of the Federal financial picture. Despite the massive tax reductions, President Johnson announced last March that gross collections of Federal taxes had hit an all-time high of $114.4 billion for fiscal year 1965. That represents an increase of $2.2 billion over the previous fiscal year.

On the spending side, the picture is bright. Twenty years ago, the Federal budget amounted to 45 percent of the gross national product, which was then $218.3 billion. Today, the Federal budget is only 15 percent of the gross national product, which has reached the $650 billion figure. And this, despite the fact that defense and war-related spending accounts for about 75 percent of our current Federal expenditures.

In relation to gross national product, our Federal public debt also has decreased. In 1945, it was 118.7 percent; today the national debt is only 49.5 percent of the gross national product.

As the 89th Congress completes its 1st session, I think we can take considerable satisfaction in our work, and in the state of the Nation. Despite the grave and vexing problems that we face today, both at home and abroad, Americans can be proud of our great strides toward making this land a better place in which to live, and a model for the entire world to follow.

I repeat, I am proud to be a Member of the 89th Congress; I am proud of the accomplishments that we have made, and I look forward to another fruitful session when we return in January.

Americans in Vietnam Are Fighting Poverty as Well as Communist Troops

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, two newsmen of channel 3, Hartford, a station operated by the Travelers Broadcasting Service Corp., recently were sent to Vietnam to cover the activities of Americans engaged in combat there.

Paul Kuntz and Bob O'Dwyer of WTIC–TV secured both films and radio reports on the action involving our men. Centering on Connecticut men, they reported regularly on the way these men were carrying out their mission. When they returned, the Hartford Courant asked Paul Kuntz to describe their activities and their impressions for publication in that newspaper.

Paul's account highlights the dual mission of American forces, to protect the areas of civil authority and to help guide the Vietnamese on their own course toward freedom and democracy. I believe his account deserves wide distribution and I offer it for the RECORD:

AMERICANS IN VIETNAM ARE FIGHTING POVERTY AS WELL AS COMMUNIST TROOPS

(By Paul G. Kuntz)

(NOTE.—Paul Kuntz of Windsor Locks is in Vietnam interviewing Connecticut men for WTIC. The following is a report written especially for the Courant.)

DA NANG, SOUTH VIETNAM.—People keep saying the war in Vietnam is a different kind of war, and we are finding that statement is more than true.

Photographer Bob Dwyer and I saw how different it is when we spent 4 days with the Marine amphibious force in the Da Nang area. Veterans of World War II and Korea would probably consider some of the tasks being performed by today's fighting men as nearly impossible.

For example, one battalion of marines, guarding a section of the Da Nang perimeter, has an area of responsibility that covers approximately 152 square miles. This means Lt. Col. Verle E. Ludwig and the estimated 1,000 marines under his command must do their best to physically control this vast area.

It obviously cannot be done in the old style in which each company had an average frontage to cover of maybe 300 yards, and a battalion covered a frontline position of perhaps 1,000 yards. Patrolling is the only answer in this guerrilla warfare; patrolling and development of a civic action program.

Colonel Ludwig said his unit averages 14 to 20 patrols in each 24-hour period. These patrols are moving out through the steaming hot, or extremely wet jungle for periods varying all the way from 3 to 4 hours to 3 to 4 days. Most of the patrols are strictly on their own. They cannot expect resupply once they leave their company defensive area.

The colonel noted if a patrol leaves his command post it can take them as long as 4 days just to reach the edge of his tactical area of responsibility and return.

En route a patrol like this will first have to wade through waist-deep water in the rice fields, then try to dry off in the dank shadows of heavy jungle trees that sometimes reach 60 to 70 feet into the sky. A good many of these patrols draw Vietcong sniper fire, but boobytraps of every type imaginable are just as much feared by the patrolling Marines as are the Vietcong sniper bullets.

Most of the Marine patrols are small. One front-line battalion commander told me if he sends out a company or even a platoon on a patrol they will draw very little, if any, fire. The Red guerrillas do not appear to be willing to tangle with any large-size Marine unit. A 12-man squad-size patrol, and some even smaller are most effective in seeking out and destroying the enemy.

Tanks are not always useful on the patrols, but in some of the Da Nang areas near the coast they are. Gunnery Sgt. Edmund Robitalle, of 33 Julius Street, Hartford, told us of two incidents involving his tank company which probably have taught the guerrillas a good deal of respect for the heavy, noisy, lumbering tanks. In one case a Marine tank hit a Vietcong mine that had been laid to stop it. The tank just kept rolling along.

In the other incident, Sgt. Robitalle said the guerrillas fired three shots from an antitank gun. The tank took all three shots. One man was wounded, but the big vehicle just kept moving. As a result, the Vietcong have learned that firing on our tanks is just a waste of ammunition, Robitalle said.

The area around Da Nang is under constant surveillance from the air. These aerial observers have the job of spotting any buildup of Vietcong forces and bring them under immediate air or artillery fire.

That afternoon we talked with artillery officers who said they frequently fire at pinpoint targets, but also fire at night what are known as harassment and interdiction missions. On an irregular schedule, through the night, the Marine gunners lob in a half dozen shells at areas picked almost at random. The artillery shell might just drop into their area.

Tearing down the morale of the Vietcong, and building up the confidence of the Vietnamese people in their own Government is the dual role of all American military men. Most units are doing their best to assist the buildup side of this mission with a civic affairs program.

Lt. Jim Keeley, of Providence, a civic affairs officer with one Marine unit, said the Vietnamese citizens in his particular sector had an average annual income of $8 per person. "You can see we have our own little pocket of poverty right here in our battalion area," he said.

Keeley had just returned from a visit to a nearby village when we talked with him. He, a couple of Navy medical corpsmen and several marines who accompanied him had spent the morning handing out candy, clothing, and soap to the natives. Most of the clothing is supplied by a number of charitable groups across the United States. The corpsmen provide first aid type medical treatment for the natives, and a Navy doctor is also available on many such civic development missions to handle the more serious cases.

Lieutenant Keeley also told us proudly that his civic affairs program also has begun to show military results. He said on a recent trip to one village he and the Navy doctor were asked to assist a woman who had a miscarriage. They did since there was no doctor in the community. The next day one resident told the lieutenant the village was used as a headquarters for a Vietcong platoon each night. A Marine platoon surrounded the village that night and killed a number of guerrillas.

The war in Vietnam is strange to us Americans. It is a war of no front lines, no safe rear areas, constant sniper fire and boobytraps. The morale of the men we have met and interviewed is sky high. They know why they are here and what is expected of them. They know they must carry a rifle in one hand to destroy the Communist guerrillas, and use the other hand to direct the citizens of Vietnam toward the road to freedom and democracy.

Report to the People of the Second Congressional District of Nebraska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a report to my people in the Second Congressional District of Nebraska on my voting and attendance record for the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

The purpose of this report is to collect in one place and in concise form information which is scattered through thousands of pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The description of bills is for the purpose of identification only; no at-

tempt has been made to describe the bills completely or to elaborate upon the issues involved.

This report includes all rollcall votes. As you know, rollcall votes are those upon which a Congressman is publicly recorded for or against an issue. However, the 201 votes listed in this report represent only about one-third of the bills acted upon by the House. Rollcall votes are not taken on the majority of the bills. The majority of the laws are decided by voice vote. In addition to the rollcall votes listed, there were 182 quorum calls—attendance checks—taken in the House which are omitted here to conserve space. This accounts for the nonconsecutive numbering of the rollcalls listed in this report.

Based upon the total of 1,129 measures passed by the House of Representatives, I had a voting and attendance record of 96 percent.

The report follows:

Rollcall No.	Date 1965	Measure, question, and result	Vote
2	Jan. 4	Election of Speaker. (McCormack 289, Ford 139.)	Ford.
3	Jan. 4	H. Res. 1, authorizing seating of Mississippi delegation: On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Agreed to 276 to 149.)	Yes.
4	Jan. 4	H. Res. 8, adopting the rules of House with an amendment giving additional authority to Speaker: On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Agreed to 224 to 202.)	No.
6	Jan. 19	H. Res. 126, dismissing contest of election of Representative Ottinger, of New York: On resolution. (Adopted 245 to 102.)	No.
7	Jan. 26	H.J. Res. 234, making supplemental appropriations for Department of Agriculture for fiscal 1965: On motion to recommit with instructions to bar export of farm commodities to United Arab Republic. (Adopted 204 to 177.)	Yes.
10	Feb. 8	H.J. Res. 234, making supplemental appropriations for Department of Agriculture for fiscal 1965: On motion to instruct House conferees to disagree to Senate amendment allowing aid to United Arab Republic at President's discretion. (Rejected 165 to 241.)	Yes.
12	Feb. 9	H.R. 3818, eliminating 25-percent gold cover in Federal Reserve banks: On motion to recommit. (Rejected 93 to 289.)	Yes.
13	Feb. 9	On passage. (Passed 300 to 82.)	No.
16	Feb. 17	H.R. 2998, extending Arms Control and Disarmament Agency: On passage. (Passed 302 to 63.)	Yes.
19	Feb. 18	H.R. 45, increasing U.S. participation in the Inter-American Development Bank: On motion to recommit with instructions to reduce funds from $750,000,000 to $725,000,000. (Rejected 142 to 237.)	Yes.
20	Feb. 18	On passage. (Passed 288 to 93.)	No.
23	Feb. 25	H. Res. 188, providing funds for expenses of Committee on Un-American Activities: On motion to recommit to Committee on House Administration with instructions to hold hearings. (Rejected 58 to 333.)	No.
24	Feb. 25	On resolution. (Agreed to 360 to 29.)	Yes.
28	Mar. 3	S. 3, authorizing $1,092,400,000 for public works and development programs in the Appalachian region: On motion to recommit with instructions to substitute bill authorizing $995,000,000 for 2-year economic development program for all depressed areas in United States. (Rejected 100 to 323.).	Yes.
29	Mar. 3	On passage. (Passed 257 to 165)	No.
31	Mar. 10	H.R. 2, expanding Federal controls over depressant and stimulant drugs: On passage. (Passed 402 to 0.)	Yes.
33	Mar. 15	H.R. 4714, authorizing annual appropriations of $150.000 for National Council on Arts: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Rejected 217 to 113, a ⅔ majority being required.)	No.
35	Mar. 16	H.R. 5505, establishing standards for congressional districts: On amendment permitting at-large elections of Representatives. (Rejected 147 to 255.)	Yes.
38	Mar. 17	H. Res. 276, providing for consideration of H.R. 5374, Supreme Court pay bill: On resolution. (Agreed to 202 to 183.)	No.
39	Mar. 17	H.R. 5374, restoring the differential between Supreme Court and lower court salaries existing prior to 1964 Federal pay bill: On passage. (Rejected 178 to 202.)	No.
42	Mar. 22	H.R. 5688, amending crime laws of District of Columbia: On motion to recommit with instructions to hold hearings. (Rejected 166 to 216.)	No.
43	Mar. 22	On passage. (Passed 250 to 131.)	Yes.
45	Mar. 23	H.R. 5721, providing for acreage-poundage marketing quotas for tobacco: On passage. (Passed 206 to 170.)	No.
51	Mar. 26	Motion to approve House Journal without further reading: On ordering previous question (ending debate) on motion. (Agreed to 274 to 119.)	No.
52	Mar. 26	H.R. 2362, providing grants to States for elementary and secondary education: On motion to recommit with instructions to change formula so that the grant for each child from low-income families would be equal. (Rejected 194 to 267.)	Yes.
53	Mar. 26	On passage. (Passed 263 to 153.)	No.
57	Mar. 31	H.R. 3708, Older Americans Act of 1965, providing for development of programs for the aging: On passage. (Passed 396 to 1.)	Yes.
58	Mar. 31	H.R. 1111, Water Resources Planning Act, authorizing funds for Federal-State water resources development programs: On passage. (Passed 384 to 0.)	Yes.
60	Apr. 1	H.R. 4257, extending and expanding Manpower Development and Training Act programs: On passage. (Passed 395 to 0.)	Yes
62	Apr. 5	H.R. 980, providing for return of obscene mail matter: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 360 to 21.)	Yes.
63	Apr. 5	H.R. 7064, authorizing construction of U.S. Embassy building in Saigon, South Vietnam: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 378 to 0.)	Yes.
64	Apr. 5	H.R. 7060, making appropriations for Treasury and Post Office Departments, Executive Office of the President, and 4 independent agencies: On passage. (Passed 347 to 7.)	Yes.
66	Apr. 6	H.R. 7091, making supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1965 including $344,328,000 for Appalachia programs to be available beyond fiscal 1965 but to be charged against 1965 authorization: On passage. (Passed 348 to 62.)	Yes.
70	Apr. 8	H.R. 6675, Social Security Amendments of 1965, increasing social security benefits and taxes, and providing medical care benefits for aged: On Byrnes' motion to recommit with instructions to substitute Byrnes bill, H.R. 7057, providing a voluntary comprehensive health insurance program for the aged financed by general revenue and contributions from participants. (Rejected 191 to 236.)	Yes.
71	Apr. 8	On passage. (Passed 313 to 115.)	Yes.
72	Apr. 13	H.R. 2998, authorizing appropriations for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency: On conference report. (Agreed to 316 to 65.)	Yes.
74	Apr. 13	H. J. Res. 1, proposing a constitutional amendment relating to presidential inability and succession: On passage. (Passed 368 to 29.)	Yes.
76	Apr. 14	H. Res. 310, authorizing ($50,000 for investigation of Ku Klux Klan by Committee on Un-American Activities: On resolution. (Agreed to 313 to 43.)	Not voting.
78	Apr. 27	H.R. 6497, authorizing increase of $1,000,000,000 in the U.S. quota in the International Monetary Fund: On motion to recommit. (Rejected 113 to 275.)	Yes.
79	Apr. 27	On passage. (Passed 301 to 88.)	No.
82	Apr. 28	S. 4, Water Quality Act, expanding Federal assistance for water pollution control: On passage. (Passed 396 to 0.)	Yes.
84	Apr. 29	H.R. 7091, making supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1965: On conference report $109,000,000 higher than House-approved bill and including Appalachia funds for use beyond fiscal 1965 but to be charged to 1965 authorization. (Agreed to 316 to 55.)	No.
85	Apr. 29	On motion that House concur with Senate amendments adding funds for helicopter subsidies in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. (Rejected 114 to 228.)	No.
86	Apr. 29	H.R. 4714, authorizing annual appropriations of $150,000 for National Council on the Arts: On passage. (Passed 239 to 116.)	No.
87	May 3	H.R. 2986, extending and amending certain provisions of the Public Health Service Act: On passage. (Passed 347 to 0.)	Yes.
90	May 4	H.R. 2985, authorizing Federal grants for initial cost of professional and technical personnel for community mental health centers: On passage. (Passed 389 to 0.)	Yes.
92	May 5	H.J. Res. 447, providing $700,000,000 in fiscal 1965 supplemental appropriations for U.S. military operations in southeast Asia: On passage. (Passed 408 to 7.)	Yes.

Roll-call No.	Date 1965	Measure, question, and result	Vote
		H.R. 7657, authorizing $15,300,000,000 for military equipment procurement and research:	
94	May 5	On passage. (Passed 396 to 0.)	Yes.
		H. Res. 366, providing for consideration of H.R. 7717, National Aeronautics and Space Administration:	
96	May 6	On resolution. (Agreed to 389 to 0.)	Yes.
		H.R. 7717, authorizing fiscal 1966 appropriations for National Aeronautics and Space Administration:	
97	May 6	On passage. (Passed 389 to 11.)	Yes.
		H.R. 2984, extending and expanding Federal grants for construction of health research facilities:	
99	May 10	On passage. (Passed 334 to 4.)	Yes.
		S. 701, implementing the International Coffee Agreement of 1962:	
101	May 12	On passage. (Passed 300 to 97.)	No.
		H.R. 8122, authorizing $2,555,521,000 for the Atomic Energy Commission in fiscal 1966:	
104	May 20	On motion to recommit with instructions to delete authority for cooperative arrangement establishing a nuclear reactor. (Rejected 43 to 313.)	No.
105	May 20	On passage of bill. (Passed 352 to 1.)	Yes.
		H.R. 7750, authorizing appropriations for foreign aid in fiscal 1966:	
109	May 25	On motion to recommit with instructions to reduce development funds by $131,000,000 and stipulate that labor unions participating in Latin American housing projects be "non-Communist dominated." (Rejected 178 to 219.)	Yes.
110	May 25	On passage of bill. (Passed 249 to 148.)	No.
		H.R. 8370, making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for fiscal 1966:	
112	May 26	On motion to recommit with instructions to bar use of any funds to finance export of farm commodities to United Arab Republic or Indonesia. (Rejected 187 to 208.)	Yes.
113	May 26	On passage of bill. (Passed 354 to 41.)	Yes.
		H.R. 8639, making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, and the judiciary:	
116	June 1	On passage. (Passed 332 to 60.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 3584, extending Federal inspection and safety requirements to small coal mines:	
117	June 1	On passage. (Passed 336 to 42.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 8371, reducing Federal excise taxes:	
119	June 2	On passage. (Passed 401 to 6.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 7777, authorizing appointment of Gen. William F. McKee as FAA Administrator without affecting his status as retired Air Force officer:	
121	June 3	On passage. (Passed 228 to 137.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 3157, permitting spouses of railroad employees to receive both railroad retirement and earned social security benefits:	
123	June 7	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 323 to 0.)	Yes.
		H.R. 8775, making appropriations for the legislative branch for fiscal 1966:	
126	June 8	On motion to recommit with instructions to delete funds to provide operators for automatic elevators. (Rejected 149 to 244.)	Yes.
		H.R. 7105, amending and extending the Export Control Act:	
127	June 8	On passage. (Passed 388 to 1.)	Yes.
		H. Res. 413, providing for consideration of H.R. 8464, increasing the temporary national debt limit:	
129	June 9	On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Agreed to 273 to 109.)	No.
		H.R. 8464, increasing the temporary national debt limit:	
130	June 9	On passage. (Passed 229 to 165.)	No.
		H.Con. Res. 285, suspending the rule against USIA domestic propaganda so that the President Kennedy film could be distributed in United States:	
131	June 9	On amendment requiring that film be shown without charge. (Rejected 174 to 216.)	Yes.
132	June 9	On resolution. (Agreed to 311 to 75.)	Yes.
		H.R. 6927, establishing a Department of Housing and Urban Development:	
141	June 16	On motion to recommit with instructions to substitute bill establishing an Office of Urban Affairs and Community Development in the Executive office of the President. (Rejected 141 to 259.)	Yes.
142	June 16	On passage of bill. (Passed 217 to 184.)	No.
		H. Res. 416, providing funds for each Representative to hire a student intern:	
143	June 16	On resolution. (Agreed to 229 to 153.)	No.
		H.R. 7743, providing loans and loan insurance for students attending vocational schools:	
145	June 21	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 300 to 0.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 8620, providing price support payments for wheat, feed grain, and cotton growers affected by 1965 floods and other natural disasters:	
146	June 21	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 297 to 2.)	Not voting.
		H. Con. Res. 416, requesting the President to direct attention of United Nations and others to the denial of the rights of self-determination for the peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania:	
147	June 23	On motion to suspend rules and agree to resolution. (Agreed to 298 to 0.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 9221, making appropriations for the Department of Defense for fiscal 1966:	
153	June 23	On passage. (Passed 407 to 0.)	Yes.
		H.J. Res. 541, extending the Area Redevelopment Act for 2 months:	
155	June 24	On passage. (Passed 224 to 167.)	No.
		H. Res. 425, providing for consideration of H.R. 7984, providing rent subsidies and expanding public housing, urban renewal, and community facilities programs:	
157	June 28	On resolution. (Agreed to 230 to 115.)	No.
		H.R. 7984, providing rent subsidies and expanding public housing, urban renewal, and community facilities programs:	
162	June 30	On amendment modifying rent subsidy provisions. (Adopted 240 to 179.)	No.
163	June 30	On motion to recommit with instructions to delete rent subsidies and other provisions. (Rejected 202 to 208.)	Yes.
164	June 30	On passage of bill. (Passed 245 to 169.)	No.
		H. Res. 440, providing for consideration of H.R. 6400, Voting Rights Act of 1965:	
167	July 6	On resolution. (Agreed to 308 to 58.)	Yes.
		H.R. 6400, Voting Rights Act of 1965:	
175	July 9	On amendment providing penalties for falsifying voting or registration information or buying votes in Federal elections. (Adopted 253 to 165.)	Yes.
176	July 9	H.R. 6400, Voting Rights Act of 1965: On amendment allowing political subdivisions with more than 50 percent of voting age Negroes registered to free themselves from coverage. (Rejected 155 to 262.)	No.
177	July 9	On amendment waiving English literacy requirements. (Rejected 202 to 216.)	No.
178	July 9	On motion to recommit with instructions to substitute more comprehensive bill. (Rejected 171 to 248.)	Yes.
179	July 9	On passage. (Passed 333 to 85.)	Yes.
		H.R. 8356, permitting the Atomic Energy Commission to condemn land for overhead power transmission lines notwithstanding local ordinances prohibiting overhead lines:	
181	July 12	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Rejected 216 to 139, a ⅔ majority being required.)	No.
		H.R. 242, requiring Government summer jobs in Washington, D.C., to be apportioned among residents of all States:	
182	July 12	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 336 to 22.)	Yes.
		S. 559, requiring warning labels on cigarette packages:	
185	July 13	On conference report. (Agreed to 285 to 103.)	Yes.
		H.R. 8926, removing silver from coinage except for 40 percent in half dollars:	
188	July 14	On amendment retaining 40 percent silver in dimes and quarters. (Rejected 187 to 218.)	Yes.
189	July 14	On passage. (Passed 255 to 151.)	No.
		H.R. 9075, increasing military pay:	
193	July 20	On passage. (Passed 410 to 0.)	Yes.
		H.R. 8283, authorizing increase in "poverty" program funds to $1,900,000,000 in fiscal 1966:	
196	July 22	On motion to recommit with instructions to maintain Governors' veto and fiscal 1965 level of spending ($947,500,000). (Rejected 178 to 227.)	Yes.
197	July 22	On passage. (Passed 245 to 158.)	No.
		H. Res. 437, providing for consideration of H.R. 77, repealing sec 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act permitting State right-to-work laws, under procedure bypassing Rules Committee:	
199	July 26	On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Agreed to 248 to 171.)	No.
		H.R. 6675, Social Security Amendments of 1965, increasing social security benefits and providing medical care benefits to the aged:	
203	July 27	On conference report. (Agreed to 307 to 116.)	Yes.
		H.R. 7984, providing rent subsidies and expanding public housing, urban renewal, and community facilities programs:	
204	July 27	On conference report. (Agreed to 251 to 168.)	No.
		H.R. 2985, authorizing Federal grants for initial cost of professional and technical personnel for community mental health centers:	
205	July 27	On conference report. (Agreed to 414 to 0.)	Yes.
		H.R. 77, repealing sec. 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act permitting State right-to-work laws:	
208	July 28	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 200 to 223.)	Yes.
209	July 28	On passage. (Passed 221 to 203.)	No.

Roll-call No.	Date 1965	Measure, question, and result	Vote
		H.R. 8856, permitting the Atomic Energy Commission to condemn land for overhead power transmission lines notwithstanding local ordinances prohibiting overhead lines:	
212	July 29	On passage. (Passed 275 to 125.)	No.
		S.J. Res. 81, authorizing increase in funds for Interstate Highway System in fiscal 1967:	
214	Aug. 2	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 313 to 11.)	Yes.
		H.R. 8027, providing assistance in training State and local law-enforcement officers:	
215	Aug. 2	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 326 to 0.)	Yes.
		H.R. 6964, authorizing certain rehabilitation practices for Federal prisoners:	
216	Aug. 2	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 323 to 0.)	Yes.
		S. 1564, Voting Rights Act of 1965:	
218	Aug. 3	On motion to recommit conference report with instructions to disagree to Senate language allowing political subdivisions with more than 50 percent of voting-age Negroes registered to free themselves from coverage. (Rejected 118 to 284.)	Yes.
219	Aug. 3	On conference report. (Agreed to 328 to 74.)	Yes.
		H.R. 8469, increasing civil service retirement annuities:	
220	Aug. 3	On passage. (Passed 394 to 0.)	Yes.
		H.R. 8439, authorizing certain military construction:	
221	Aug. 4	On conference report. (Agreed to 389 to 0.)	Yes.
		S. 1742, authorizing certain changes in World Bank Charter:	
222	Aug. 4	On passage. (Passed 330 to 54.)	Yes.
		H. Res. 498, providing for consideration of H.R. 4750, extending interest equalization tax:	
224	Aug. 5	On resolution. (Agreed to 329 to 44.)	Yes.
		H.R. 4750, extending interest equalization tax:	
225	Aug. 5	On passage. (Passed 274 to 97.)	No.
		H.R. 9918, strengthening motor vehicle financial responsibility laws of the District of Columbia:	
228	Aug. 9	On amendment substituting unsatisfied judgment fund plan. (Adopted 173 to 156.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 10306, making it a crime to knowingly destroy or mutilate a draft card:	
230	Aug. 10	On passage. (Passed 393 to 1.)	Not voting.
		S. 1648, Public Works and Economic Development Act, authorizing $3,250,000,000 in grants and loans for regional development:	
234	Aug. 12	On amendment further expanding public works and development facilities grants. (Agreed to 196 to 194.)	Not voting.
235	Aug. 12	On motion to recommit with instructions to delete loans, provide for annual congressional review, and require use of American-made products. (Rejected 163 to 224.)	Not voting.
236	Aug. 12	On passage. Passed 246 to 138.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 6431, providing that certain forms of nickel be admitted duty free:	
238	Aug. 16	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 297 to 48.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 8635, establishing a Federal Boxing Commission:	
239	Aug. 16	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 346 to 4.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 7750, authorizing $3,360,000,000 for foreign aid in fiscal 1966:	
242	Aug. 19	On conference report. (Agreed to 244 to 150.)	No.
		H.R. 9811, omnibus farm bill of 1966:	
243	Aug. 19	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 169 to 224.)	Yes.
244	Aug. 19	On passage of bill. (Passed 221 to 172.)	No.
		H.R. 10586, making supplemental appropriations of $1,200,000,000 for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for fiscal 1966 including $1,000,000,000 for elementary and secondary education:	
246	Aug. 24	On motion to recommit so that all supplemental requests can be considered at the same time. (Rejected 139 to 263.)	No.
		H.R. 2580, eliminating national origins quota system in immigration, providing for admission of Western Hemisphere immigrants and relatives of U.S. citizens without limitation, establishing priorities, and fixing annual limit of 170,000 for all others:	
248	Aug. 25	On amendment placing Western Hemisphere under numerical limitation. (Rejected 189 to 218.)	Yes.
249	Aug. 25	On passage. (Passed 318 to 95.)	Yes.
		H.R. 9567, authorizing a 5-year program of assistance to institutions of higher education and to students attending such institutions:	
252	Aug. 26	On passage. (Passed 367 to 22.)	Yes.
		H.R. 9022, authorizing disaster assistance to elementary and secondary schools and making more cities eligible for "impacted" school aid:	
253	Aug. 30	On passage. (Passed 304 to 37.)	Yes.
		H. Res. 551, providing for consideration of H.R. 9042, authorizing agreement with Canada on duty-free treatment of automobiles and parts:	
254	Aug. 31	On resolution. (Agreed to 364 to 23.)	Yes.
		H.R. 9042, authorizing agreement with Canada on duty-free treatment of automobiles and parts:	
255	Aug. 31	On passage. (Passed 280 to 113.)	Yes.
		H.R. 3141, expanding the health professions educational assistance program:	
257	Sept. 1	On passage. (Passed 340 to 47.)	Yes.
		H.R. 5863, authorizing research into high-speed ground transportation:	
259	Sept. 2	On passage. (Passed 317 to 24.)	Yes.
		H.R. 8439, authorizing certain military construction in fiscal 1966:	
262	Sept. 7	On motion to table motion to discharge Committee on Armed Services from further consideration of H.R. 8439. (Agreed to 320 to 19.)	Yes.
		H.R. 10775, authorizing certain military construction in fiscal 1966:	
263	Sept. 7	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 347 to 0.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 168, increasing veterans' disability compensation:	
264	Sept. 7	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 348 to 0.)	Not voting.
		S.J. Res. 102, authorizing funds for the President's Crime Commission:	
265	Sept. 7	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 338 to 0.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 10871, making appropriations of $4,001,453,000 for foreign aid and Export-Import Bank in fiscal 1966:	
269	Sept. 8	On passage. (Passed 239 to 143.)	No.
273	Sept. 13	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under rollcall No. 272. (Agreed to 225 to 126.)	Yes.
275	Sept. 13	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under rollcall No. 274. (Agreed to 241 to 127.)	Yes.
279	Sept. 13	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under rollcall No. 278. (Agreed to 256 to 123.)	Yes.
281	Sept. 13	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under rollcall No. 280. (Agreed to 255 to 120.)	Yes.
282	Sept. 13	On motion to table motion to order previous question (end debate) on motion that Journal of Sept. 9 be approved as read. (Rejected 138 to 244.)	No.
283	Sept. 13	On ordering previous question (ending debate) on motion to approve Journal. (Agreed to 257 to 126.)	Yes.
284	Sept. 13	On motion that Journal stand approved as read. (Agreed to 264 to 119.)	Yes.
285	Sept. 13	On motion to adjourn. (Rejected 175 to 204.)	No.
		H. Res. 506, providing for consideration of H.R. 10065, Equal Employment Opportunity Act, under procedure of bypassing Rules Committee:	
286	Sept. 13	On resolution. (Agreed to 259 to 121.)	Yes.
287	Sept. 13	On motion to table motion to reconsider vote on rollcall No. 286. (Agreed to 193 to 181.)	No.
288	Sept. 13	On motion to adjourn. (Rejected 173 to 201.)	Yes.
290	Sept. 13	On motion to dispense with further proceeding under rollcall No. 289. (Agreed to 243 to 136.)	Not voting.
		H. Res. 499, providing for consideration of H.R. 7371, repealing an exemption from the Bank Holding Company Act under procedure of bypassing Rules Committee:	
291	Sept. 13	On resolution. (Agreed to 201 to 171.)	No.
		H. Res. 478, providing for consideration of H.R. 9460, providing for establishment of National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities under procedure bypassing Rules Committee:	
292	Sept. 13	On resolution. (Agreed to 260 to 114.)	Yes.
		H. Res. 536, providing for consideration of H.R. 10281, increasing pay of Federal employees, under procedure bypassing Rules Committee:	
293	Sept. 13	On resolution. (Agreed to 288 to 84.)	Yes.
		H.R. 2091, establishing concession policies in National Park Service areas:	
296	Sept. 14	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 73 to 298.)	No.
		H.R. 8283, authorizing increase in poverty program funds to $1,800,000,000 in fiscal 1966:	
299	Sept. 15	On motion to recommit conference report with instructions to insist on House provision maintaining Governors' veto. (Agreed to 209 to 180.)	Yes.
		H.R. 9460, establishing a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities:	
301	Sept. 15	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 128 to 250.)	No.
		H. Res. 574, directing Postmaster General to provide names of 1965 summer employees:	
303	Sept. 16	On motion to table resolution. (Adopted 186 to 180.)	No.
		S. 2042, extending indemnity provisions of Atomic Energy Act:	
304	Sept. 16	On passage. (Passed 337 to 30.)	Yes.
		H.R. 9221, making appropriations for Department of Defense for fiscal 1966:	
306	Sept. 17	On conference report. (Agreed to 350 to 0.)	Yes.

Roll-call No.	Date 1965	Measure, question, and result	Vote
		H. Res. 585, dismissing election contests of 5 Mississippi Representatives:	
307	Sept. 17	On resolution. (Agreed to 228 to 143.)	Yes.
		H. R. 10873, establishing program of group life insurance for members of armed services on active duty:	
309	Sept. 20	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Agreed to 360 to 0.)	Yes.
		H. Res. 460, expressing sense of House of Representatives that the United States and other American States take whatever steps necessary to prevent communistic aggression in Western Hemisphere:	
310	Sept. 20	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Agreed to 312 to 52.)	Yes.
		S. 4, Water Quality Act, expanding Federal assistance for water pollution control:	
313	Sept. 21	On conference report. (Agreed to 379 to 0.)	Yes.
		S. 2300, authorizing construction and repair of certain public works on rivers and harbors:	
315	Sept. 22	On amendment deleting $277,000,000 Dickey-Lincoln power project in Maine. (Adopted 207 to 185.)	Yes.
		H.R. 30, providing for participation of United States in Inter-American Cultural Center in Florida and authorizing $15,000,000 for U.S. exhibit:	
316	Sept. 22	On passage. (Passed 254 to 113.)	Yes.
318	Sept. 22	On motion to adjourn. (Rejected 89 to 204.)	Yes.
		H.R. 7371, repealing an exemption from the Bank Holding Company Act:	
320	Sept. 23	On amendment repealing all major exemptions from act. (Adopted 199 to 178.)	No.
		H. Res. 580, providing for consideration of H.R. 10232, authorizing matching grants for rural water and sanitation facilities:	
321	Sept. 23	On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Agreed to 279 to 70.)	Yes.
		H.R. 10232, authorizing matching grants for rural water and sanitation facilities:	
322	Sept. 23	On passage. (Passed 325 to 10.)	Yes.
		S. 306, authorizing standards to control air pollution from automobiles and a research and development program on solid waste disposal:	
324	Sept. 24	On motion to recommit with instructions to delete solid waste disposal provisions. (Rejected 80 to 220.)	No.
325	Sept. 24	On passage of bill. (Passed 294 to 4.)	Yes.
372	Sept. 27	On motion to discharge Committee on Rules from further consideration of H. Res. 515, providing for consideration of H.R. 4644, home rule for the District of Columbia. (Adopted 213 to 183.)	No.
		H. Res. 515, providing for consideration of H.R. 4644, home rule for the District of Columbia:	
328	Sept. 27	On resolution. (Agreed to 222 to 179.)	No.
330	Sept. 27	On motion that House immediately consider H.R. 4644, home rule for the District of Columbia. (Agreed to 234 to 155.)	No.
		H.R. 4644, providing home rule for the District of Columbia:	
336	Sept. 29	On motion to strike the enacting clause. (Rejected 179 to 219.)	Yes.
337	Sept. 29	On amendment substituting Charter Board home rule plan. (Adopted 227 to 174.)	Yes.
338	Sept. 29	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 134 to 266.)	No.
339	Sept. 29	On passage. (Passed 283 to 117.)	Yes.
		H.R. 2580, eliminating national origins quota system in immigration, providing for admission of relatives of U.S. citizens without limitation, establishing priorities, and fixing annual limitations:	
341	Sept. 30	On conference report. (Agreed to 320 to 69.)	Yes.
		H.R. 10281, increasing pay of Federal employees:	
342	Sept. 30	On motion to recommit with instructions to remove automatic future increases for judges, executives, and Members of Congress and the Cabinet. (Agreed to 238 to 140.)	Yes.
343	Sept. 30	On passage. (Passed 370 to 7.)	Yes.
		H.J. Res. 642, authorizing an additional Library of Congress building to be named James Madison Memorial Building:	
345	Oct. 1	On motion to recommit with instructions to create visitors center. (Rejected 17 to 321.)	No.
346	Oct. 1	On passage. (Passed 328 to 5.)	Yes.
		H.R. 10871, making appropriations for foreign aid:	
347	Oct. 1	On motion to recommit conference report with instructions to insist upon retention of provision prohibiting aid to countries that furnish aid to North Vietnam. (Rejected 164 to 174.)	Yes.
348	Oct. 1	On conference report. (Agreed to 204 to 127.)	No.
		H.R. 3142, providing Federal grants for medical library services and facilities:	
349	Oct. 1	On passage. (Passed 296 to 3.)	Yes.
		H.R. 6519, providing for completion of Jefferson National Memorial, St. Louis:	
350	Oct. 1	On passage. (Passed 250 to 12.)	Yes.
		S.J. Res. 32, authorizing compensation to Ryukyu Islands for use and damage by U.S. Armed Forces:	
353	Oct. 7	On resolution. (Agreed to 312 to 55.)	Yes.
		H.R. 2020, authorizing $20,000,000 for construction of southern Nevada water project:	
354	Oct. 7	On passage. (Passed 239 to 134.)	Yes.
		S. 2084, authorizing $325,000,000 for highway beautification:	
356	Oct. 7	On motion to recommit with instructions to give States authority to determine areas in which outdoor advertising and junkyards would be permitted. (Rejected 153 to 230.)	Yes.
357	Oct. 7	On passage of bill. (Passed 245 to 138.)	No.
		H.R. 9811, omnibus farm bill:	
359	Oct. 8	On conference report. (Adopted 219 to 150.)	Not voting.
		H. Res. 598, providing for consideration of H.R. 11135, allocating sugar quotas:	
363	Oct. 12	On resolution. (Agreed to 253 to 80.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 11135, allocating sugar quotas:	
366	Oct. 13	On motion to recommit with instructions to add special fee on imports. (Rejected 160 to 230.)	Yes.
367	Oct. 13	On passage. (Passed 246 to 147.)	No.
		H.R. 11588, making supplemental appropriations $4,200,000,000 for fiscal 1966:	
369	Oct. 14	On amendment deleting funds for rent subsidies. (Adopted 185 to 162.)	Yes.
370	Oct. 14	On passage. (Passed 242 to 100.)	No.
		H.R. 9567, authorizing a 5-year program of assistance to institutions of higher education and to students attending such institutions:	
376	Oct. 20	On motion to recommit conference report with instructions to disagree to Senate language providing for a National Teachers Corps. (Rejected 152 to 226.)	Yes.
377	Oct. 20	On conference report. (Agreed to 313 to 63.)	Yes.
		S. 2300, authorizing construction and repair of certain public works on rivers and harbors, including $277,000,000 for Dickey-Lincoln power project in Maine:	
378	Oct. 20	On conference report. (Agreed to 221 to 139.)	No.
		H.R. 11588, making supplemental appropriations of $4,700,000,000 for fiscal 1966:	
380	Oct. 21	On conference report. (Agreed to 251 to 84.)	No.
381	Oct. 21	On motion to agree to amendment providing $800,000 for preliminary planning of Dickey-Lincoln power project in Maine. (Agreed to 165 to 162.)	No.
		H.R. 11135, allocating sugar quotas:	
383	Oct. 22	On conference report. (Agreed to 174 to 88.)	No.

Air Transport Profit and Lower Fares

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the United States stands today as the greatest example of the success which can be achieved through a capitalistic system. Our system and our profit motive have produced the highest standard of living in the history of the world.

Our economic progress has been such that it staggers the imagination. The credit for this progress must go to the capitalistic system and to the ingenuity and efficiency of the American businessman.

Recently William A. Patterson, the chairman of the board of United Air Lines, spoke on the subject of profit before the Economics Club of Detroit. Mr. Patterson was concerned mostly with his own business, of course, and dealt mainly with the air transport industry. But his comments can be applied to all American industries, and I am therefore presenting this copy of his speech for insertion into the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues:

AIR TRANSPORT PROFIT AND LOWER FARES

(By William A. Patterson)

After 37 years in air transportation—pioneering years with triumphs and disappointments, large and small—I'm beginning to near the end of the long flight. Next April, except for responsibilities as chairman of the board and chairman of our company's executive committee, I plan to become inactive. And the irony of the situation is that my inactivity will begin when the industry is attaining its greatest activity and greatest success.

Now, success is always welcomed but I'm a little concerned about its interpretation. I'm sure that some persons—well intentioned but totally unfamiliar with the trials of the past—will view airline profits with an unsympathetic eye. If they had invested toil and time in the development of the air transport industry, they would view its success in a different light.

I've found that time is the great teacher of truth.

We had an unusual illustration of this fact last month when the rulers of Russia decided to place Soviet industry on a profit basis. Repeated failure, want and waste compelled them to repudiate a fundamental part of Marxist doctrine. And the long proclaimed ideal of "production for use and not for profit" became just another slogan on the scrap heap of history.

Time has forced even the Russian commissars to recognize that profits are essential to progress. Yet, in our country—the world's prime example of economic progress—there are those who regard profits with hostility. They seem to believe that normal healthy returns are rather sinful and that large returns are downright immoral. In their lexicon, as someone has said, profit is a dirty word.

If we could peer into their minds, I think we'd see an outmoded picture of the greedy fat man created by cartoonists some years ago. You may recall, he wore a high silk hat, a cutaway coat and spats. The vest over his ample midsection was decorated with dollar signs and his pudgy fingers glittered with gems. Depending on the times, he was identified as a capitalist, the trusts, profiteer, monopolist, and economic royalist.

This fellow became a myth in past years but he can be invoked for many merely by mentioning the word "profit." They immediately think of price gouging, cornered markets, and sand in the sugar. Their vision of silk-hatted swindlers blinds them to the fact that profit is the all-important fuel of our economic engine. Lean out the profit and the engine sputters. Given adequate fuel, it surges ahead over every kind of roadway.

Before condemning any profit, it would seem fair to inquire as to how it was derived and to what use it is put. No right-thinking individual would defend the profit that comes from unethical products and procedures; from grossly underpaid sweat-shop labor; or from contrived scarcities and the manipulations of privately controlled cartels and monopolies.

On the other hand, profit based on good personnel practices, efficient production of a quality product or service, and successful competition in an open market is an accomplishment that society should reward in full. Criticism of such profit as "too big" or "excessive" has the flavor of sour grapes.

Now as for the use of profit, it is important to consider dividend distribution. Is the payout reasonable in terms of technological advances, the company's present condition and its future competitive position? What part of profits is plowed back into the business for research, refurbishment, modernization, and expansion? How much, if any, is diverted for purposes that serve community and Nation?

On this last point, I believe that many who have the fat man complex would be surprised by the various end-uses of profit. They can begin their education by examining reports of foundations and philanthropic organizations. A survey of 465 companies several years ago disclosed that their contributions to health and welfare agencies, education, religious causes, and for civic and cultural purposes amounted to $154 million annually. And that total did not include the donations made by company executives as private individuals.

There are more than 5,000 foundations in this country and, in one way or another, they owe their existence to profit. They bear the names of large and small enterprises, business leaders, and industrialists—Ford, for example, Carnegie, Rockefeller, Alfred P. Sloan.

Not millions but billions in foundation funds have been expended for hospitals, schools, scholarships, medical research, mental health, science, the humanities and arts. Some of us who complain when government enters social areas that have been neglected can be thankful that part of the slack is taken up by the work of foundations.

In touching on the derivation of profit a few moments ago, I reserved a special type for fuller discussion—the type that includes an element of government subsidy. Now some may immediately classify such profit as objectionable and I can appreciate their point of view. However, let's examine a particular case, one I'm familiar with—the air transport industry.

The industry had its origin in the mid-1920's, after pilots employed by the U.S. Post Office had demonstrated the feasibility of air mail service. Congress wisely decided to entrust private enterprise with the task of developing a nationwide air transport system. An Air Mail Act, approved in 1925, authorized the Post Office to transfer its routes to private contractors on the basis of competitive bids.

Three obligations were placed on successful bidders. They were charged with the necessity to develop the art of flying; to establish a market for commercial air transportation; and to attain economic self-sufficiency.

The rates for hauling air mail were sweetened with subsidy, or perhaps I should say seasoned with subsidy, because the dish was not always nourishing. The maximum rate was $3 a pound but, to win their contract, most operators bid below the maximum and some found out there wasn't enough mail to pay expenses.

One of our predecessor companies, Varney Air Lines, began operations in April 1926. The Varney fleet consisted of six Swallow biplanes. They cruised at 90 miles an hour and, compared with jetliners that cost $4 to $6 million, the Swallow could be purchased for $4,500. Pilots were paid $250 a month and even this modest salary was sometimes in question because at the outset the Varney route failed to produce enough air mail revenue.

Pacific Air Transport, another of our predecessor companies, also began service in 1926 and also found it hard to make ends meet. The combined revenues of Varney and Pacific Air Transport for 1926 amounted to $230,000 in mail payments and $1,530 for carrying passengers.

Coast-to-coast air travel became possible in 1927 but it called for a strong back, an adventurous spirit, and $400 to pay the fare. The trip took about 32 hours—at least, on paper—and there weren't any in-flight movies to pass the time.

Today, you can travel by jet from one coast to the other at a fare 63 percent lower than in 1927 and at a speed increase of well over 500 percent. If the advance in safety, comfort, and other intangibles could be expressed mathematically, it would exceed that 500 percent. And as for mail, United now flies a ton of letters a thousand miles for about one-twentieth of what the Post Office paid in the early years.

Seldom have obligations been so abundantly fulfilled. The art of flying has been advanced from propeller planes of wood and canvas to subsonic turbine-powered aircraft that are triumphs of sophisticated technology. In developing a market, the airlines have reached the point where their share of domestic intercity common carrier traffic is greater than the combined portion of rail and bus.

United became self-sufficient in the late 1940's and the Civil Aeronautics Board certified that fact in January 1951. With only one exception, mail payments of the Nation's 11 trunklines have not included a dime of subsidy in the last 8 years.

It's a different story for the local service airlines. They operate over routes of lower traffic density, serving smaller cities. Congress and the Civil Aeronautics Board believe air transportation stimulates the economic growth of these communities, and that in all likelihood they'll eventually develop satisfactory traffic volumes. In that expectation, mail subsidy is paid.

When compared with other business operations, the airlines are unique in several ways. They're Government regulated, for example, but intensely competitive. They use very expensive machines to provide a service that's extremely perishable in the sense that a seat unsold when a flight depart cannot be stored and put up for sale again. But the most unusual feature of our business is that from time to time we deliberately render our machines obsolete.

Since World War II, we've gone through round after round of aircraft purchases, advancing from the DC-3 to the jets. Each round has been spurred by competition and the urgency to improve, rather than the necessity to replace something worn out. And each round has resulted in greater safety, speed and comfort.

In the opening stage of the transition to jet operations, the industry invested $3½ billion on new aircraft and supporting equipment. This was followed by an outlay of about $2½ billion for additional planes, including short-haul jets. These expenditures and the industry's great appetite for supplies and materials have created work for an estimated 5,000 factories and jobs for 100,000 manufacturing employees. Since 1960 the Nation's airlines have added 25,000 to their payrolls and the prospect is that 50,000 more will be hired over the next 5 years.

Earnings in the transitional period have been a source of both gloom and encouragement. In 1961 the return on the total trunkline capital investment was a piddling 1½ percent. That was the low point and the outlook brightened thereafter. Last year the trunkline return was 9½ percent. That's an overall average, incidentally, and it doesn't mean that each company did that well. United's return was around 8 percent—somewhat lower than the 10¼ percent established by the Civil Aeronautics Board as fair and reasonable for the major carriers.

In the first 5 years of the jet age, 1959 through 1964, our company invested $677,569,000 in jets and supporting equipment. Net earnings for those 5 years totaled $78,400,000, of which 31 percent was paid out in dividends. The remaining 69 percent was retained to improve the business. Earnings accounted for approximately 10 percent of the funds necessary to finance the crucial first step from piston to turbine power. Huge additional sums had to be raised through sale of debentures and other securities, augmented by depreciation and amortization charges against earnings.

Last April we announced a $750 million program, covering the purchase, lease, and option of 144 more aircraft. They're required to phase out our remaining propeller planes and convert to all-jet operations within 4 years from now. By that time our fleet of 308 jetliners will represent an investment of $1.6 billion.

That's part of an improvement program unparalleled in the history of transportation or, so far as I know, in general industry. And it's being accomplished without presenting higher and higher bills to the public.

Since 1962 the trunk line average fare per passenger mile has declined by 6 percent. In our company's case, the downtrend is even greater. In the last 2 years the average cost per mile to the passengers on United has

gone from about 6.4 to 5.7 cents, a decrease of 12 percent. In view of the extensive upgrading of service and the tremendous costs of equipment, I believe the industry's achievement in containing fares is little short of extraordinary.

To give specific items, United's fare reductions last year for passengers on certain long-haul routes amounted to almost $6 million. Reductions in the current year, including a change in the family group discount, will save the traveling public approximately $8 million over a 12-month period.

Apart from fares, our airmail rate was reduced 3 cents per ton-mile last June and in August the basis for determining excess baggage charges was liberalized. A full year of the revised mail rate will save the Post Office about $2 million. And the new free baggage allowance means that an extra $3.6 million will be retained annually in the pockets of customers.

The airlines are entering the harvest time of their past efforts to advance and improve. Unquestionably, 1965 will be the industry's best year on every count. United, for example, expects to achieve total operating revenues of approximately $785 million, as compared with $669 million in 1964. Passenger revenues should top out around $705 million, an increase of perhaps 18 percent.

For an industry that was legislated into existence, so to speak, and then nurtured on subsidy until it could stand on its own feet, I think the record is very impressive. Congress, the Department of Commerce, and the Civil Aeronautics Board can be justifiably proud of a philosophy of government that has encouraged private enterprise to create the best air transport system in the world.

It's one of the outstanding success stories of modern times but it would be misleading to tell you the airlines are going to live happily ever after. There are further challenges to meet, further improvements to undertake. The one that looms largest is the supersonic transport plane.

So far as I can detect, the traveling public isn't clamoring for supersonic speed—at least, domestically—but it nevertheless looks as though our decision will have to be made in the next 18 months. There's a question of national prestige involved and, on the economic level, there's the necessity to maintain this country's leadership in aircraft manufacturing.

Unlike previous types of commercial transports, development of the supersonic plane will not come as a byproduct of military aircraft design and construction. The total expenditure will be astronomical. In terms of the cost per aircraft, each seat on a supersonic plane could well represent an investment of up to $200,000. In comparison, cost per seat for the finest and fastest piston-engine plane was $34,000. For the Boeing 707 and the DC-8, it amounted to $46,000.

But the supersonic is in the future and, meanwhile, as I've said, we have a record year coming up. We've already had indications that before the black ink dries on our statements—before we have time to analyze and reflect on the year's results—there will be hints, suggestions, and perhaps demands that we go further in lowering fares.

That brings us back to the dirty word, profit. Those who will be heard suggesting reductions in this or that fare will actually be disturbed by the industry's profit.

My question is, Would we have a better air transport system if there were no profits? Would it be better if the airlines made just a little profit, enough to keep them alive but feeble? Or is the industry entitled to a healthy profit that will permit it to pay ample dividends, liquidate debt expeditiously, and accumulate financial strength for further advances?

Airline earnings for 1965 should be viewed from the standpoint of past striving, present accomplishments and the demands of the future. But I know that visions of the fat man wearing a silk hat will prevent some from seeing the facts. They will not regard the success of this year as well earned, well deserved. They will regard it as pure gravy.

Well, I've been associated with air transportation since 1929 and I can assure you there have been years of bread and butter and years of bread without butter. But the only airline gravy I've seen is in the casseroles stewardesses serve at mealtime.

One final thought on our economic system: It has various names—free enterprise, mixed capitalism, and so on—but it's essentially a system of rewards and penalties, of profit and loss. President Johnson knows the advantages of that system and he is aware of the importance of business as a prime constructive force in the Nation's destiny.

You may have noted that one of the programs of his administration is designed to make unemployables employable. I think this is an indication of the President's philosophy that social improvement inevitably rests on the resources, profits, and productivity of private enterprise. I don't believe there is major disagreement with most of his objectives but I'm convinced that his philosophy has not percolated through all levels of government.

And, in this, as in other matters, time will be the teacher.

Dr. Edwin Bancroft Henderson—Community Leader and Civil Rights Hero

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. DAWSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DAWSON. Mr. Speaker, it is a heartwarming privilege to say a few words about my friend, Dr. Edwin Bancroft Henderson, who has devoted his life to improving the education and human rights of the people in the District of Columbia and Fairfax County, Va. Few people epitomize so well the selflessness and dedication which give vitality to the principles of equality that are the backbone of this great Nation. Now, at age 82, Dr. Henderson and his lovely wife, Mary, are moving to Tuskegee, Ala., to live with their son's family and to enjoy the pleasant company of their grandchildren.

Thousands of persons, spanning three generations, have been inspired by Dr. and Mrs. Henderson in their tireless fight fof the civil rights for all citizens.

Dr. Henderson was born in Southwest Washington, but has lived for the past 55 years in Washington's suburb of Falls Church, Va. In his youth, "E. B."—as we all call him—was a champion athlete. He sparred with professional boxers and led his Washington YMCA basketball team to a national championship. His interest in young people led him to become a teacher of physical education in the District of Columbia public schools, where he eventually rose to be the director of physical education for the Negro division of the school system. It is a fitting coincidence that 1954, the year of his retirement from the District of Columbia schools, was the year the Supreme Court issued its historic decision in Brown against Board of Education invalidating racial segregation in our country's public schools.

During his years with the District of Columbia school system, Dr. Henderson worked vigorously and constantly to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination. He fought racial segregation all his life. He was the major leader of the Committee Against Segregation in Recreation, which fought so valiantly against the soul-shattering racism which formerly pervaded the District's recreation program. His continued interest in athletics and the Negro's achievements in sports is reflected in his fine book, "The Negro in Sports." He did more than any other person I know to encourage Negro athletes and to end the debasing practice of white-only sport and athletic contests. It was largely as a result of his indefatigible work that the old Uline Arena—now the Washington Coliseum—was desegrated.

He led the long fight to end segregation at the National Theater.

His constant flow of acute and trenchant letters to the newspapers contained some of the most perceptive comments on local, State, and National politics that have ever been printed. They were an important factor, especially during the 1940's and 1950's, in educating the public into awareness of the evil of segregated facilities. His vast knowledge of civil rights and his keen intellect made him one of the foremost consultants to citizens fighting against racial discrimination.

Dr. Henderson's first major battle against racism came in 1912 when the Town Council of Falls Church proposed an ordinance to confine Negro residences to a small ghetto section. Dr. Henderson organized the opposition to that proposal and it was defeated. The group he organized eventually became the Fairfax County branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This branch recently celebrated its 50th anniversary at a banquet honoring Dr. and Mrs. Henderson as its founding members.

Dr. Henderson had a leading role, also, in the fight against racial segregation on buses traveling between the District of Columbia and Virginia, a practice which the Supreme Court held unconstitutional in 1946. He fought against the Ku Klux Klan which paraded regularly in Fairfax County and committed frequent acts of violence and malicious mischief.

His struggle against great odds to improve the educational facilities in the "separate-but-equal" schools of Fairfax County—which were indeed separate, but surely not equal—was a saga that could fill a book.

Dr. Henderson's contribution to the human rights struggle in the District and Fairfax County was aided in fullest measure by his wife. Enthusiastic, conscientious, young in heart, full of the joy of life, Mrs. Henderson was for many years principal of the James Lee Elementary School in Falls Church. She was a charter member and the first Negro in the 10th District Women's Democratic Club. She was outstanding and

indefatigable in bringing hundreds of new members into the Fairfax County NAACP. She has been, I know, a source of great support to her husband during the more than a half-century of their marriage.

Their sons are carrying on the Henderson tradition of community service. One, Dr. Edwin Meriwether Henderson, is a dentist; the other, Dr. James Henry Meriwether Henderson, is engaged in cancer research at the famed Tuskegee Institute. E. B. and his wife are justly proud of them.

The Nation's Capital and Fairfax County, Va., are better places for all people because Dr. and Mrs. Henderson worked and lived there. Theirs is a lasting contribution, to be long remembered by all who believe in decency and goodness. As they leave the area to begin a new life in Alabama, I say to these generous and gentle folk: "Godspeed, good health, long life, and our heartfelt thanks to you, for your deeds, your inspiring selflessness, your humanitarian example, and the gift of optimism and hope you have given to us all."

Department of Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, several days ago I listened to Congressman GRAY reveal an amazing list of facts concerning the Department of Justice and its use of Edward Grady Partin, an alleged embezzler, under indictment, as a Federal undercover man in the Hoffa case in Chattanooga. As the Congressman continued to document his remarks, the more amazed I became.

During the interim I thought quite a bit about his statement and I then read it very carefully in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Seeing it in black and white and systematically listed in chronological order almost made me ill—at least it made me sick at heart.

It is hard to believe—and it is something I do not want to believe—that an agency of our Government would utilize such tactics in an effort to secure a conviction of an individual regardless of who he may be or what his profession might be. If this is an accepted practice of the Department of Justice and one which is often used by its representatives, any individual could be convicted on trumped up charges and accusations.

There is little doubt in my mind but that the Judiciary Committee should carry out the orders of the resolution it passed last year and investigate the operations of the Department of Justice. Let it find out—and report to the Congress—if the statements made by Congressman GRAY are correct or not. Let it look into the charges made and confirm or dismiss them.

All my life I have been a firm believer in fairplay and I always expected true justice to be available to all. This is what I would like to see right now, Mr. Speaker, and I join with my colleagues in requesting an investigation by the Judiciary Committee.

Nice Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, for over 4 years, the astonishing boom in U.S. business has continued to climb in an almost unbroken arc. Early reports for the third quarter indicate that corporate profits rose to a new postwar peak of nearly $45 billion after taxes. In addition, the return on manufacturing investments reached its highest level since the Korean war—13.8 percent.

Thanks to an even larger than expected third quarter growth in the total output of U.S. goods and services—$11 billion versus the anticipated $9.5 billion, nearly every segment of the Nation's business shared in this great advance.

Business is, in fact, so good that we now have to deal with some unforeseen problems.

A recent editorial in the Carroll Daily Times Herald examined the problems of our great prosperity. I would like to present this editorial for the benefit of my colleagues.

The editorial follows:

NICE PROBLEM

One of the problems confronting American business today is how to cope with prosperity.

There is, in some instances, too much business.

Not for everyone, of course—including, perhaps, you and some of the rest of us.

But try and get something in a hurry that you feel you just have to have right now, and you're likely to run into delays that will have you talking to yourself—and to the people you're dealing with.

Paradoxically, most companies that find themselves overloaded with orders are acutely embarrassed, genuinely sorry for the delays and trying desperately to catch up.

For one thing, a reputable company doesn't like to project an image of indifference or inefficiency. For another, almost everyone would rather be thanked than cussed.

Reasons for the delays in filling orders vary. Management points to the difficulty in obtaining enough skilled labor—to long waits in getting parts for the products a company manufactures, to breakdown of key machinery through postponement of repair and maintenance work that has been put off to enable the factory to keep going at top speed, to longer vacations by skilled workers.

And some delay is due to insistence by proud management that quality for which the product is famous shall not be lowered one whit, no matter how long it may take to fill an order.

If American business runs true to form, it will lick this problem as it has others. And the way no one wants it to be solved is by a recession from the current high levels of consumer demand.

Most of us will agree that if we have to have a business problem, let it be that business is too good. This kind of trouble we can stand, even if some of us do have to wait a little longer for something we think we needed yesterday.

At least most of us are able to buy what we need. And some of us can remember when this wasn't the case.

James A. Reed, Former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury—An Appreciation by Congressman James C. Cleveland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, on September 1 Mr. James A. Reed left his post as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury to return to private life after 4 years' service.

His departure is a loss to the Government. During his tenure, Secretary Reed had responsibility for administration of the Coast Guard, the Bureau of Customs and the Bureau of Narcotics. Administrative procedures in each of these areas were improved and reorganized with resultant increases in efficiency and substantial savings to the taxpayer.

During Mr. Reed's tenure, long-range plans for the procurement, development and maintenance of Coast Guard vessels, shore stations and aircraft were finally developed. As a result of this planning and foresight, Congress appropriated more money for the Coast Guard than ever before. In the 1950's the average annual appropriation for acquisition, construction and improvement of Coast Guard facilities was only $5 million. Greatly underfinanced, this service also lacked firm goals and was threatening to drift aimlessly. Under Mr. Reed, there has been rapid improvement.

For fiscal year 1966, Congress saw fit to appropriate $116 million for acquisition, construction and improvements. For the next 8 years, annual appropriations of close to $200 million will be needed to complete this modernization program. By the mid-1970's, because of the careful groundwork laid by Mr. Reed, his office, and the Congress, the Coast Guard will have a modern fleet, modern shore stations and modern aircraft. It will be more efficient and more economical to the Government; better able to carry out the critical missions assigned to it day in and day out.

Another noteworthy accomplishment of Mr. Reed's work with the Coast Guard is that for the first time a separate authorization bill for the Coast Guard was enacted 2 years ago. For the first time the Coast Guard has thus been given the opportunity to present its programs

to the Congress in an orderly manner, first to a legislative committee and then to the Appropriations Committee. This has had an excellent effect on the morale and efficiency of the Coast Guard as, indeed, has the modernization program. In connection with this morale problem, which had been reaching critical dimensions in the opinion of many informed authorities, money now has been appropriated to provide an official residence in the Washington area for the commandant of the Coast Guard, hitherto the only head of a military service without such a residence.

Similar modernization of the Customs Service took place under Secretary Reed's direction. Complaints from passengers concerning Customs personnel which once flooded the Bureau are now virtually zero because of the increased courtesy and service to the traveling public being given by Customs personnel.

Mr. Reed early recognized the imperative need for modernizing the procedures of the Customs Bureau, which was operating under an administrative structure dating back to 1789. After intensive study conducted with the aid of outside consultants, improvements were embodied in Reorganization Plan No. 1 presented to the Congress by the President this year and approved. This should provide the public with much more efficient service and save millions of dollars each year.

Developments within the Bureau of Narcotics, while not so dramatic, have resulted in a marked improvement of operations under Mr. Reed's direction. The groundwork has been laid for further improvements. This is particularly true of the Bureau's overseas operations. Until 3 years ago, responsibility for suppressing the manufacture and exportation of illicit drugs overseas was divided between the Bureau of Narcotics and the Bureau of Customs. A certain amount of friction existed between the agencies because of this. As a result, it was decided to assign responsibility for all overseas operations relating to illicit drugs to the Narcotics Bureau and that Customs should be concerned with smuggling alone. Cooperation between the two agencies has improved markedly since the change and the cases developed by each agency have increased.

These are only some of the main highlights of the accomplishments of former Secretary Reed. I think the House will agree that they have been of great value to the Nation and will join me in this expression of appreciation to Mr. Reed.

Interregional Water Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the past year has been a year in which the importance of one of our most strategic resources—water—has been forcefully brought to our attention at a national level. Devastating floods within my State and in the Midwest, the continuation of drought conditions in the Northeastern States, the Florida Everglades, and the Pacific Southwest, and the wasteful and tragic pollution of our waters have all caused us to be more thoughtful and concerned about our water supplies than ever before.

Our increasing awareness of this need and our research for devices and programs to assist in overcoming our water crisis have caused a number of us to recognize many similarities in the problems of each region, indicating that a sharing of experiences on an interregional scale would be valuable. While the specific solutions to drought in New England may vary considerably from that in the arid Southwest, the vehicles for their solution may have much in common.

This becomes of increasing importance when answers are being sought and solutions developed at the Federal level. And it is encouraging to know that we are abandoning more and more localized short-term projects and looking toward regional development of our natural resources to meet the accelerating needs of people. A most important step in this direction and indicative of this thinking was taken this year when Congress passed the Water Resources Planning Act.

We have also seen enacted this year the new water pollution control law, a new program for rural water systems, acceleration of the saline water program and enhanced criteria for development of recreational opportunities in connection with our water resources. It is becoming evident that the success of these programs will depend upon a more adequate understanding of the legislative objectives of each region and area in developing and supporting these legislative efforts.

With these thoughts in mind, I am pleased to note that the Southern California Water Conference, an informal group of water leaders, has called for an interregional conference on "Water Problems and Their Solutions." Various responsible officials from New York, the Delaware River Basin States, and the Colorado River Basin States have been invited to participate, to probe and examine each other's problems with the hope that it might be productive of new ideas and approaches.

James Krieger, chairman of the conference, has called the meeting for November 15 in Los Angeles and the exchange of ideas should be most productive and serve as a guide for further conferences.

It is imperative that we intensify our efforts to coordinate Federal programs and enlarge the role of local government in seeking answers to local problems while serving the best interests of the Nation. I feel exchanges of this type can be very beneficial and I look forward to a better understanding of the crisis in our national water picture as a result.

Forty Billion Dollars of U.S. Government Bonds Held by Federal Reserve System Have Already Been Paid for Once, as Chairman Martin Has Admitted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Federal Reserve System holds in its open market account approximately $40 billion in interest-bearing U.S. Government securities acquired overtime pursuant to purchases in the bond market. These securities were acquired from private holders and resulted in a credit to the total reserves of the commercial banking system. The seller of the bonds would receive either a demand deposit in his favor upon the books of his bank or receive cash. In the event cash is desired, the commercial bank would make demand upon its Federal Reserve bank in an amount equal to the credit to its reserve account. Thus, upon issuance of the Federal Reserve notes in the amount of the bond purchase, the Federal Reserve is thus acquiring an interest-bearing obligation of the Government in exchange for a non-interest-bearing obligation—currency in the form of Federal Reserve notes which are legal tender. Thus, at this point, the bonds have been paid for once and logically should be canceled.

This was admitted to be true by Mr. William McChesney Martin, Jr., Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, on December 11, 1956, testifying before the Joint Economic Committee. The colloquy, appearing on pages 117–118 of the printed hearings, proceeded as follows:

Chairman PATMAN. In practice, it is a bookkeeping operation. But the truth is, all the bonds that you have—and you have about $25 billion worth of bonds, do you not?

Mr. ROUSE. Something less than that; yes, sir.

Chairman PATMAN. About 24 or 25?

Mr. ROUSE. About 24.

Chairman PATMAN. Every one of those bonds have been bought, not on the resources of the Federal Reserve banks, but on the credit of the Nation by exchanging Federal Reserve notes for them, have they not?

Mr. ROUSE. Yes; they are bought by the—out of Federal Reserve funds.

Chairman PATMAN. No; you are mistaken there, are you not? You do not say that they are bought with Federal Reserve funds. The money is created by those bonds. Do you not understand that?

Mr. ROUSE. It is created—yes, indirectly.

Chairman PATMAN. Well, directly.

In other words, if you buy bonds, you must pay for them, and those $24 billion worth of bonds were paid for, but not by Federal Reserve bank funds; they were paid for by Federal Reserve notes.

Now, I will not insist on your answering that. I will ask Mr. Martin to answer that.

Is that not correct, Mr. Martin?

Mr. MARTIN. It would be the same thing, sir.

Chairman PATMAN. In other words, that is where the power to create money comes in through the Federal Reserve.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Chairman PATMAN. You create the money. In other words, the money is printed, it is paid for by the bonds, the $24 billion worth of bonds.

Mr. MARTIN. We have the power to create money.

Chairman PATMAN. And you did do it to buy these bonds?

Mr. MARTIN. In the purchase of bonds, we ease the money market; in sales of bonds——

Chairman PATMAN. I am not talking about the reasons or arguments. I am just asking.

Mr. MARTIN. I was just talking about the process. The purchase of bonds would ease the money market, and the sale of bonds would contract it.

Chairman PATMAN. Let's divorce it from any argument about any market, easy or hard, and confine it to the bonds that you already have. You have $24 billion worth of bonds. Now, those bonds were bought by giving of Federal Reserve notes in exchange for the bonds, were they not?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, Federal Reserve credit.

Chairman PATMAN. What is that?

Mr. MARTIN. Federal Reserve credit. They were not specific——

Chairman PATMAN. That is what I mean. But every one of them is an obligation of the U.S. Government, is it not?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

Chairman PATMAN. And every one of those notes that you trade for those bonds of the Government says on its face that it is an obligation of the U.S. Government?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

Chairman PATMAN. And that is what makes it good.

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

Chairman PATMAN. Now then, whenever you take that Government obligation from the Bureau of Engraving and Printing and you trade it for $24 billion worth of bonds which you have, and you have those bonds now, you draw interest on those bonds, do you not?

Mr. MARTIN. We do.

Furthermore, in hearings on H.R. 7601, before the Banking and Currency Committee of the House, July 7, 1965, to retire $30 billion of U.S. Government bonds held by the Federal Reserve System, Chairman Martin on pages 79 and 80 of the printed testimony again admitted that these bonds had already been paid for once:

Mr. MARTIN. The bonds were paid for in the normal course of business.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. MARTIN. And that is the only time they were paid for.

The CHAIRMAN. Just like we pay debts with checks and credits.

Mr. MARTIN. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. In the normal course of business they were paid for once, you will admit that, will you not?

Mr. MARTIN. They were paid for once and that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Reliance on Foreign Ships and Foreign Seamen for Tonnage Essential to American Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on September 29 last, Thomas W. Gleason, president of the International Longshoremen's Association and chairman, Joint Maritime Labor Committee issued a statement in behalf of that committee with regard to the U.S. Government placing dominant reliance on foreign ships and foreign seamen for tonnage essential to our defense.

Under the permission heretofore granted me, I include the statement of the Joint Maritime Labor Committee:

STATEMENT BY THE JOINT MARITIME LABOR COMMITTEE

The Joint Maritime Labor Committee met today to consider the effects of, and take action on, the U.S. Government policy of placing dominant reliance on foreign ships and foreign seamen for tonnage essential to our defense.

The Defense Department under its unworkable "effective control" theory actually counts as part of America's defense potential, American-owned ships manned by seamen picked up anywhere in the world with no effective security clearance on ships flying Liberian, Panamanian and Honduran flags. In many cases, seamen for these "effective control" ships are recruited in Hong Kong which is notorious as an outlet for Communist Chinese agents.

The danger of these policies has been demonstrated beyond question in the months since the American buildup in South Vietnam began.

Efforts of the Defense Department to use foreign ships and foreign seamen to carry American military cargo to South Vietnam have resulted in repeated delays of essential military supplies, increased hazards and hardships for American troops in the combat zone and severe embarrassment to the United States.

In Long Beach, Calif., last month a 9,000-ton military cargo was delayed at least 3 weeks while efforts were made unsuccessfully to load it, first abroad a Mexican ship, and then aboard a Greek ship.

In the case of the Mexican ship, the Mexican Government advised its owners not to sail to South Vietnam after loading began. In the case of the Greek ship, members of the crew refused to sail when they learned of the mission and ringleaders among them denounced American purposes in South Vietnam.

In Tacoma, Wash., a few weeks later, another Greek crew refused to sail with military cargo for South Vietnam.

In all these cases, it was not until American-flag ships finally were brought in that the military cargo was successfully loaded and started on its way.

There have been many other instances here and abroad involving many ships and seamen of many nationalities where shipments to South Vietnam have been disrupted.

In spite of these clear-cut incidents, the Defense Department has not altered its policy on use of foreign flag ships and seamen and continues the dangerous effective control theory in full force.

On October 3, a ship now called *Australis* and flying the Greek flag will arrive in Port Everglades, Fla. This ship is a symbol of the resignation of the United States from maritime leadership and the resulting damage to our national security, economy, and prestige.

The *Australis* was formerly the SS *America*, owned by an American company, under the American flag with American officers and crew. She now flies the Greek flag and is crewed by Greek and other seamen who owe no allegiance to the United States.

The *America* proudly served our country in peace and war for 25 years. Built originally for the passenger trade, she was ready for commercial service at the start of World War II and went instead immediately into the vital task of troop transportation.

After 5 years of monumental service to our war effort, she was restored at the end of the war as the Nation's principal passenger liner. For some 20 years after that, she served the country proudly adding to its prestige, providing thousands of jobs to American citizens, millions of dollars to American communities and contributing to a favorable balance of payments.

Like all American passenger ships, the *America* was constructed and operated in accordance with the highest safety standards in the world, unmatched by any ships under any other flag. Like all American passenger ships, she was built with national defense features that would permit her immediate conversion to troop transportation service in an emergency.

The *America* was retired last year with no provision for a new replacement. Congress had authorized the building of a replacement vessel 6 years before but construction was blocked by the Bureau of the Budget and other agencies. The Maritime Administration had said that she would be kept as part of the American reserve fleet ready for any emergency. But again within a very short time the Maritime Administration reversed itself and announced that it had approved sale of the *America* to Greek interests.

We charged then that this sale violated the Merchant Marine Act and endangered American security. The Maritime Administration ignored our protests and claimed that the sale agreement contained provisions for retaining effective control of the ship. This effective control was based on the Greek owners agreeing that they would "make the ship available if needed" by the United States in an emergency.

The agreement of sale also contained a provision, the Maritime Administration said, which assured that the *America* would not operate in competition with American-flag shipping for a period of at least 5 years. Her scheduled arrival in Port Everglades demonstrates the falsity of the claim. The incidents in Long Beach and Tacoma demonstrate the stupidity of any claim of effective control over ships flying foreign flags and manned by foreign crews.

Our unions represent seamen, officers, longshoremen, shipyard workers, and other maritime workers whose livelihoods are endangered by these shortsighted maritime policies. Our members dedicate their strength and skills every day to our country's present effort in South Vietnam and they are prepared to do whatever is required in the defense of our country in any emergency at any time.

As citizens, our members are deeply concerned about the danger that has been presented to our country by maritime policies which the fate of the *America* symbolizes. As workers, they are deeply concerned about the wasting of their skills and dedication and the threat to their future.

The Joint Maritime Committee, therefore, has decided today to establish machinery for bringing home to Congress and the American people all the facts of the deplorable situation. We will make our protests known and felt in every port of this country. The action will begin with the arrival of the *Australis* on October 3.

Hawaii To Have Foreign-Trade Zone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the establishment in Hawaii of a foreign-

trade zone has generated considerable interest, among other things, in the possible development of petrochemical production facilities in the Island State. The foreign-trade zone concept, which is relatively new in the United States, is particularly suited to Hawaii because of its unique central Pacific location.

A very helpful statement on foreign-trade zones in the United States, with emphasis on petroleum imports and petrochemical production, is furnished by Mr. Richard H. Lake, Executive Secretary of the Foreign-Trade Zones Board, an independent Federal agency. Mr. Lake's statement, which was released for publication in the Oil Daily, follows:

PERSPECTIVE: U.S. FOREIGN-TRADE ZONES

(By Richard H. Lake)

The opportunity to manufacture at a foreign-trade zone in the United States combines the advantages of a domestic operation with those advantages usually attributed to an overseas production site. This accounts for most of the current interest now focused on foreign-trade zones. A relatively new idea here, the zone approach has proven itself abroad for several centuries in the form of free-trade zones and free ports.

The Foreign-Trade Zones Act of 1934, as amended, established the Foreign-Trade Zones Board to administer the act which provides for the establishment and operation of foreign-trade zones "to expedite and encourage foreign commerce." The board consists of the Secretary of Commerce, as chairman, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Secretary of the Army, and is headquartered at the U.S. Department of Commerce in Washington.

A foreign-trade zone is best described as: an isolated, enclosed, and policed area, in or adjacent to a port of entry, operated as a public untility by a public or private corporation, and furnished with facilities for receiving, handling, storing, processing, manufacturing, and exhibiting goods, and for reshipping them to world markets by land, water, or air. Any foreign and domestic merchandise, unless prohibited by law or classed as detrimental to the public interest, health, or safety, may be brought into a zone without being subject to the customs laws of the United States governing the entry of goods or the payment of duty thereon.

In the zone this merchandise may be stored, handled, processed, and used in the production of various products and, in original form or otherwise, may be shipped from the zone to foreign and domestic markets. Merchandise is subject to prevailing import controls and duties if sent into the customs territory of the United States, but not if shipped abroad.

Subject to these limitations, the only merchandise permitted to enter U.S. customs territory from a foreign-trade zone is merchandise which could otherwise be imported from abroad. In either case it would be subject to the payment of customs duties. This assures maintenance of safeguards without subjecting domestic industry to unwarranted restrictions which would provide production and marketing advantages to producers located abroad.

Many business and economic plus factors are derived from features of the foreign-trade zone concept which permit:

1. Duty-free and quota-free manufacturing for export using foreign as well as domestic components.

2. Employment of labor, machinery, technology, and management in the United States at zone sites outside of U.S. customs territory.

3. Manufacturing in the United States with no need to outlay working capital for payment of customs duties unless and until output enters U.S. customs territory for consumption. In effect, even certain "imports" could be "Made in the U.S.A."

4. Determination of customs duties on zone-produced goods entering U.S. customs territory based upon duty rates applicable to foreign components, rather than duty rates applicable to the overall product.

5. Access to quota-restricted production components under the same competitive conditions available to producers located abroad.

6. Capital investment opportunities in the United States as an alternative to similar investments abroad.

7. U.S. products, competitively produced and competitively priced for world markets.

8. Economic utilization of unused domestic production capacity.

Foreign-trade zones have been in continuous operation since 1937 when the first zone was established in New York City. Development of additional zones was slow, due to the interruption of commerce occasioned by World War II and a limiting feature of the Foreign-Trade Zones Act which prohibited manufacturing in zones. An amendment in 1950 enlarged the features of the act, including provisions for manufacturing.

In addition to six zones currently established in New York, New Orleans, San Francisco, Seattle, Toledo, and Mayaguez, P.R., subzones for manufacturing are operated in San Francisco, Calif., and at Penuelas, P.R. A new general-purpose zone is scheduled to open early next year as part of the State of Hawaii's economic development program.

The San Francisco subzone, opened in 1963, houses women's apparel production facilities operated by Lilli Ann Corp. of California. The Penuelas subzone, opened in May 1962, contains a petrochemical production plant operated by Union Carbide Caribe, Inc. The latter subzone was the first zone site established solely for manufacturing.

At the present time two applications for new zone sites are pending before the Foreign-Trade Zones Board. One application, from the port of New Orleans, proposes establishment of a subzone at Taft, La., where Union Carbide Corp. would erect and operate petrochemical production facilities. The second application, from the board of supervisors of Bay County, Mich., proposes establishment of a foreign-trade zone and two subzones in Bay County. These subzones would house feedstock storage and petrochemical facilities operated by Dow Chemical Co., Midland, Mich.

The current moves to establish new zone sites for petrochemical production facilities employing foreign feedstocks have precipitated considerable controversy. On one hand, zone proponents view the zone approach as a means of providing domestic chemical producers sorely needed access to competitively priced feedstocks from abroad, thereby reducing present inequities which limit their procurement to the higher priced domestic feedstocks. They point to the zone approach as an effective alternative to relocating abroad and one way to reduce an increasing flow to the United States of petrochemicals produced abroad.

Zone opponents, on the other hand, object to the zone approach as a "loophole" which, if used extensively, would subvert the objectives of the oil import control program which they feel must be maintained in the national interest.

These and related questions are being studied by industry and by various Government agencies responsible for this commodity area and will probably be considered in future developments affecting petroleum import policies. Whatever the outcome, the foreign-trade zone idea has and will continue to sharpen Government and industry focus on vital national issues with respect to petroleum imports and petrochemical production.

The Hour Grows Late

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Deseret News of Monday, September 13, 1965:

WHITHER AMERICA? THE HOUR GROWS LATE

Next to his family, his job, and his religion, one of the biggest influences on the life of the average American is that of government.

Awake or asleep, at work or at play, government touches just about everything we do. The food we eat is regulated by pure food and drug laws. The air we breathe is subject to antipollution control laws. The clothes we wear are taxed. The place where we work is governed by minimum wage, social security, and workmen's compensation laws. The mattress we sleep on bears a tag attesting that its manufacture was subject to government regulations.

As the population increases, the role the government plays in our lives is bound to increase. More people need more government workers to serve them. As people live in closer proximity to each other, the danger of a man's infringing on his neighbor's rights increase; hence, more laws result.

The trouble is that government also can infringe on our rights, that it can grow faster than conditions warrant, and that in solving some problems its solutions create even worse problems.

For example:

From 1954 to 1964 the U.S. population increased 18 percent—but the number of Americans on relief increased 42 percent. This despite record prosperity.

In 13 years the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has increased its spending more than 300 percent, more than doubled its personnel force, and almost quadrupled its payroll costs.

During the past decade, Federal aid payments to State and local governments have more than tripled. With Federal aid, of course, goes Federal control.

The tax burden has grown to the point where the average citizen must work more than 3 months of each year to support the government before beginning to earn money to spend as he wishes.

Over the years, most experts agree, the executive branch of the Federal Government has become progressively stronger at the expense of the legislative branch, weakening the system of checks and balances that helps safeguard our individual liberties.

One of every five dollars spent in the United States and one of every eight jobs comes from the Federal Government, making us highly dependent on a single source for our income.

The rise and fall of a nation has been traced by one scholar through the following steps:

From bondage to spiritual faith.
From spiritual faith to courage.
From courage to liberty.
From liberty to abundance.
From abundance to selfishness.
From selfishness to complacency.
From complacency to apathy.
From apathy to dependency.
From dependency back again into bondage.

In this country, the hour is late.

We have precious little time in which to replot our course. For when government

starts stunting the growth of the human spirit instead of fostering qualities like initiative and self-reliance, the time may not be far off when challenges start mastering us instead of the other way around.

Northeast Power Failure Causes Delay in Clearing of Checks, Temporarily Relieving Tight Money Situation in New York—Wall Street Journal Quotes Financier That "The Good Lord Has Reversed the Federal Reserve's Monetary Policy"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, in addition to alerting America to weaknesses in our communications and power transmission systems, the recent Northeast power failure has had other interesting side effects, particularly on the financial and securities market.

For many months now, I have stood on the floor of this House denouncing the dangerous and unjustified high interest, tight-money policies of the Federal Reserve System. I have repeatedly emphasized the Federal Reserve's illegal, but nonetheless effective independence from the rest of the Government in directing our vital monetary affairs. We in Congress have failed to act, thus permitting the Federal Reserve's chronic tight-money bias to cause recession after recession.

The Wall Street Journal carries in some detail the effects of the power failure on banking and money market activities in Wall Street. I particularly draw attention to the delay in check collections caused by the power failure which had the effect of temporarily adding to bank reserves which the Federal Reserve has refused to do in doggedly pursuing its tight-money course. The result of this delay was welcome relief from the Fed-sponsored credit starvation.

So what we in Congress have failed to do was, nevertheless, accomplished by an act of God, if only for a day.

The relevant portion of the Wall Street Journal article follows, including a quoted statement by a Wall Street specialist that "The good Lord has reversed the Federal Reserve's monetary policy":

The district Federal Reserve bank in New York similarly gave some relief to member commercial banks whose normal accounting operations were stalled by the power breakdown. The Reserve bank announced that institutions that failed to meet reserve requirements by the close of the statement week, which ended yesterday, wouldn't have to pay penalty interest rates usually assessed for such deficiencies. The Boston Federal Reserve bank was similarly authorized by the Federal Reserve Board in Washington to grant such a waiver.

At the end of each statement week, larger member banks have to have on deposit at Federal Reserve banks enough cash to cover, on a daily average basis, at least 16½ percent of their customers' checking deposits and 4 percent of savings-type deposits; without the waiver, banks falling short of their daily-average reserve requirement would have to pay a penalty at an annual rate of 6 percent, 2 percentage points above the "discount rate," currently 4 percent.

The New York Federal Reserve bank, which operates a large-scale check-clearing operation, planned, as in the case of commercial banks, to have a sizable crew in today to catch up with its check-processing backlog.

The delay in check clearance, Federal Reserve officials noted, was almost sure to distort the System's weekly statistics. The figures, especially on the reserve positions of banks, are watched closely by economists and businessmen as an indication of any change in monetary policy. A sharp increase in the "float" of checks in the process of collection would add to the banks' reserves, unless offset by other factors, because they automatically receive Federal Reserve credit for the amount of those checks.

The Federal Reserve, in carrying out its function of regulating the supply of credit in the banking system, in recent months has sought to keep a moderately tight rein on the availability of such credit. The expansionary influence of the rise in "float" resulting from the developments of the past 2 days could counter that tighter tendency, at least temporarily.

This prompted a money-market specialist to observe: "The good Lord has reversed the Federal Reserve's monetary policy."

Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the foreign aid policies of the United States have been under fire since their very conception. It is indeed unfortunate that the great majority of the critics are totally unaware of some of the more basic facts concerning the program.

For example, most people do not realize that most of our aid dollars are spent in the United States. Over 85 percent of all foreign aid appropriations are spent in this country. It is our policy to send American goods and services overseas rather than dollars.

The current foreign aid bill amounts to one-half of 1 percent of our gross national product today. Compare this with the 2 percent we were spending on aid in 1949 at the peak of the Marshall plan.

The major objective of our foreign aid program is to bolster the ultimate security of the United States and to help others so that they can help themselves. As a measure of its success, foreign aid has ended in 26 countries, all of which are now economically stable and self-supporting nations.

The Carroll Daily Times Herald recently printed an article which pointed out the great success achieved in Austria through our foreign aid program. I would like to offer this article for the benefit of my colleagues. The article follows:

AUSTRIA: BOOMING EXAMPLE OF EFFICACY OF FOREIGN AID

(By Bruce Biossat)

GRAZ, AUSTRIA.—The Austrian industrial landscape in many places sprouts the marks of strong postwar American influence. Our help saved basic enterprises from near disaster.

In the United States, the confirmed anti-foreign-aid contingent manages regularly to suggest that American assistance—no matter how labeled and where directed—has been virtually a total waste from its Marshall plan beginnings in 1948.

This is, of course, a cross misrepresentation, since our first sweeping air efforts rescued almost the whole of Western Europe from the brink. Austria is a stunning exhibit.

Many miles northwest of here heavy trucks groan up the terraced slopes of Austria's famous Erzberg, a mountain of iron supplying its steel industry. "The trucks are a Marshall plan contribution," says a mining company official.

The big steel mill at Donawitz off to the southeast was one of the first enterprises in Austria to get such aid. The new equipment was vital in restoring a plant stripped of 10,000 tons of machinery by the rapacious Russians.

In a village much closer to Graz, the same story is heard at the huge Elin-Union Co., makers of generators, transformers, electrical motors of many kinds. The Soviets carted off 180 truckloads of machinery and tools. Our aid in tools and other materials set the now thriving industry off on its recovery course.

The Steyr-Daimler-Puch Co. here, suppliers of half the bicycles sold by America's leading mail-order house, lost 3,000 machines to the Russians after the war. Allied bombers already had wiped out half the plant. Once again, U.S. assistance provided crucial machines needed for rebuilding.

At war's end in 1945, Austria's bombed and ravaged industry was down to one-third of prewar levels. Twelve years later, thanks largely to U.S. help but also to some British effort, the once enemy land was producing at two and a half times the prewar 1937 rate.

When the Marshall plan ended 10 years ago, America had poured in almost $1 billion in aid. Austria, landlocked and ribbed with mountains, was embarked on a hard struggle—thus far just partly rewarded—to find a place for its 7 million people in the world's industrial sun.

Like the Dutch, the Austrians are warmly, convincing in their expressions of appreciation for this help.

But, from the purely selfish viewpoint, we Americans have more than Austria's gratitude to show for our efforts. Much of the aid money was spent with U.S. suppliers.

Wandering through a steel mill, an electric motor plant, an automobile-motorcycle-bicycle factory, a gunmaker's shop, you see on machines of all sizes the nameplates of familiar American manufacturers and their cities: Detroit, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Fond du Lac, Wis.

At Vienna's international trade fair, some 2,200 Austrian machinery makers now exhibit their wares. Yet the Austrians go on buying substantial amounts of U.S. equipment. Last year their total imports from America came to $100 million.

These obvious, direct rewards are not, however, the best ones.

The real satisfaction has to be that we had an important part, sharply visible to anyone who will come and take a look, in putting a free, spirited nation back on its feet. That is just about as far from "pouring money down a rathole" as you can get.

Congressman Cleveland Evaluates the 1st Session of the 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, in keeping with my practice of past years, I offer at this time an assessment of the 1st session of the 89th Congress, including an accounting of my own stewardship as U.S. Representative from the Second District of New Hampshire.

This Congress, now at its half-way point, has been called variously the greatest in history and a mere rubber stamp on the road to socialism. I do not subscribe fully to either statement. Some good laws were passed, a few bad ones were defeated, and a large number of measures were enacted which will require skillful administration and may require revisions by Congress.

The Congress appropriated more money than any other in peacetime history—more than $119 billion. The national debt increased sharply and $11.5 billion of the appropriations was to pay the yearly interest on these obligations.

MANY CRITICAL PROBLEMS IGNORED

In spite of these enormous activities and appropriations Congress failed to deal with numerous critical areas such as crime, inflation, the rising cost of living, tax refunds to the States, congressional reform, foreign aid reform, labor law reform, modernization of the social security system, reform of agricultural programs and, of course, balancing the budget.

New directions, however, were taken in such major fields as medical care to the aged, voting rights, aid to education, special Federal assistance to particular disadvantaged areas, immigration, air and water pollution, public mass transportation, Presidential succession, highway development, public health, the coinage and taxes.

GREAT SOCIETY TIDAL WAVE

A tidal wave of Great Society legislation swept over the Congress and the country. Effective discussion and reasoned criticism were well nigh obliterated. The minority party, overwhelmed more than 2 to 1 by the majority party, could do little to stem the flow or gain consideration for its views. Denied a fair share of professional staff and laboring against such heavy odds, the minority party did well to create as many proposals and offer as many alternatives it did. Time and again—on the Appalachian bill, on voting rights, on medicare, on education, on tax reform, on highway beautification, and others—the minority was shouted down and shunted aside, in some instances, without ever being given an opportunity even to explain its proposals. The decision had been made; our opponents were not interested in dissent.

This mass production of complex, poorly drafted, Presidential "must" bills has resulted in programs that will take a long time to assess. Even some of the top leaders of the majority have called for a "go slow" second session of Congress next year to give Congress time to plug the loopholes and tighten the programs established so hastily.

"COME, LET US REASON TOGETHER"

This Congress bowed to the wishes of the executive branch to a degree perhaps unequaled in American history. The traditional balance, decreed by the Constitution, between the legislative and executive branches, seemed suspended in tribute to a very powerful Chief Executive.

The White House exerted unprecedented pressure upon the Congress, cloaking its action under the name of reason and consensus. The President, himself, frequently referred to his favorite Biblical text: "Come now, and let us reason together," as authority for his methods. The citation is Isaiah, chapter 1, verse 18. The session had operated only a month under Johnsonian techniques when I felt constrained to point out in the House the two verses of Isaiah which follow and which describe what was actually happening. The 19th and 20th verses read:

> If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land: But if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

NEW MINORITIES?

During my tenure in Washington, in particular during this session, I have been disturbed by the accelerating transfer of power to large special-interest blocs and by the accompanying trend to concentrate decisionmaking in Washington. Big business, big labor, big politics, big corporate agriculture, and, indeed, big government itself, exercise a disproportionate power. Small farmers, small businessmen, small communities and the millions of individual and unorganized citizens throughout the country who are not immediately part of a special interest still have rights but are increasingly less able to exercise them.

This is not a new phenomenon on the American scene. Throughout our history we have seen groupings of excessive power in the hands of one or another combination of interests. It is, however, rising again in a new form and ought to be guarded against with vigilance. The small farmer, businessman and the small communities and States must be protected if our country is to continue to foster individual initiative and enterprise, which are still the mainsprings of our Nation's greatness. Under present conditions they are rapidly becoming the new minorities.

KEEPING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

In the following paragraphs, I shall set forth the major issues on which votes were recorded and state my position on them. I want this record crystal clear. In my last campaign I was dismayed by the misrepresentation of my voting record. I was accused of voting against bills which I voted for . One glaring example was the charge that I opposed the higher education bill when, in fact, I voted for it. This charge was based on the ground that I had voted for a motion to recommit the bill to committee with instructions to amend it. The motion to recommit with instructions—really a vote to amend—for which I voted in this instance would have added a nondiscrimination clause to the higher education bill. This was before the Civil Rights Act and it would have helped greatly to counteract racial discrimination in a most important area. Most Republicans and many Democrats voted for it. Yet, my vote for this motion to recommit was taken up and presented to the people of my district as a vote against the education bill. This sort of distortion leaves a bitter memory and I am determined to do everything I can to see that it will not happen again.

MINORITY AND SUPPLEMENTAL VIEWS

An important function of the minority party is to criticize the majority's programs and to offer counterproposals where indicated. Republicans, being in the minority, presented their positions in minority and supplemental views filed with many of the committee reports on major legislation. The views of the minority thus became part of the official record of legislation, help determine the party's record and, very often, form the basis for future legislation. In the research and scholarship which goes into each of these, it is important for the minority to have adequate professional staff. Even if Members of Congress were all scientists, engineers, economists, lawyers, educators, and military experts, the demands on their time would never permit them an opportunity to make the meticulous probings and investigations required in drafting valid proposals. Adequate professional staffing is essential to the formulation of sound laws.

Following is my record on the major issues in the 89th Congress to date, not necessarily in order of importance.

In a year which further tested this country's resolve to defend freedom, I supported the President's foreign policy moves, particularly his efforts to stem the Communist conquest of South Vietnam and to break the attempted Communist coup in the Dominican Republic. I reserve the right to criticize the administration, however, when I believe it is making mistakes. I believe that had we made our determination to resist aggression clearer at the beginning we might have averted much of our present difficulties both in Latin America and in southeast Asia.

DEFENSE

In line with our foreign policy, which requires us to maintain a constant state of powerful readiness to meet any military challenge, I voted for the President's defense requests.

FOREIGN AID

I continued my support for the foreign aid program, while voting for cuts in the program and urging far tighter administration of it. I voted to eliminate Egypt and Indonesia from the program and joined those who believe that the military and economic aspects of the program should be separated.

CIVIL RIGHTS

I voted for the administration's voting rights bill after first supporting a Republican bill that was broader in application. I voted against the dismissal of the challenge brought against Representatives elected from Mississippi. This matter should have been heard in public hearings. While defending every citizen's right to protest injustice, I strongly deplore taking to the streets in destructive riots.

FISCAL POLICY

I voted for repeal of the wartime excise taxes but fought for reductions in Federal spending. Prosperity based on deficit spending and taxcuts is temporary. When inflation, which is underway again, waters down the value of the dollar and prices rise, pay raises and increased Government benefits are eaten away. In an effort to impose a measure of discipline on Federal spending, I voted against raising the national debt limit to $328 billion.

EDUCATION

I voted for both the Higher Education Act and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. I voted against providing funds for the National Teachers Corps at this time because the subject needs more examination by the Congress. I was one of the sponsors of the National Arts and Humanities Act which will help restore the balance between the arts and sciences, which are so heavily endowed with Federal funds.

I also authored a bill by which parents of college students would receive income-tax credits to ease the burden of tuition costs. Another bill of mine proposes a massive Federal program to expand and upgrade the Nation's educational radio and television network. The electronic media are superb teaching tools and not nearly enough has been done to exploit them.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

My Committee on Public Works was deeply involved in this area. From the committee this year came the Appalachian Regional Development Act, the Public Works and Economic Development Act, the Highway Beautification Act, and the Omnibus Public Works Act. I helped draft the Republican alternative to the Appalachian bill, the National Resources Development Act, which would have aided every eligible disadvantaged area in the country. I voted against the Appalachian bill which concentrates special aid on an 11-State area to the exclusion of all other areas of the country where the need is just as great, northern New Hampshire among them. I supported the Public Works and Economic Development Act, which combined the former area development and accelerated public works programs. My vote for the bill came after I was able to get the bill amended so that every State would qualify for at least one project and so that Federal funds cannot be used to set up businesses producing goods already in oversupply. I opposed the Highway Beautification Act, nominally written in the committee but in fact dictated by the White House, whose aids actually sat in closed committee sessions to direct the writing of the bill. I am for a good program but this bill is so vaguely written that no one could say how broad its effect will be. Its loose provisions fall heaviest on the small businessman and the bill has rightly been called a lawyer's bill because of the costly litigation it is certain to generate. I vigorously opposed the Lincoln-Dickey hydroelectric project on the St. John River in northern Maine. This $300 million affair was included in the Omnibus Public Works Act and represented about 10 percent of the entire bill. This project is really part of the Passamaquoddy tidal power project that has been rejected time and again as technically unfeasible. The Lincoln-Dickey project would build an old-fashioned facility to produce electric power that will be duplicated by the private utilities for about $71 million over the next few years. This costly project will consume tax money while the private utilities will pay taxes.

HOUSING

I voted for the Housing Act but opposed the proposal to subsidize rent payments because it seemed wrong to provide tax money for families whose incomes could be as high as $11,200 in some places. This was supposed to be a program for the needy. I voted against creation of the new Cabinet post of Housing and Urban Development, proposing instead the creation of a new Office of Urban Affairs in the Executive Office of the President.

HEALTH

I voted for the administration's program to provide medical care for the aged after first voting for the Republican counterproposal, which, in my opinion, offered a much better, broader range of benefits for those truly in need. The chief trouble with the compulsory program is that it will either cost too much by carrying those who do not need it, or there won't be enough money to provide proper help for those who do. The need for a Federal program was clearly demonstrated, however. The medicare bill also carried in it much-needed, long overdue increases in social security benefits.

In other health legislation, I voted for the Drug Control Act, programs establishing or increasing aid to community health research centers, mental health centers, and centers to conduct research into major diseases. I voted for continuing the Health Professions Assistance Act and authored a successful amendment by which doctors and dentists will be encouraged to locate in rural areas lacking proper medical care. I also sponsored a bill to provide humane treatment for laboratory animals used in federally financed research. It gained wide support across the Nation and public hearings were held, which, hopefully, will lead to a good law

IMMIGRATION

I voted for the Immigration Act, which ends the outmoded national origins quota system, and will make it easier to reunite separated families and obtain those persons whose skills are needed in this country.

FARM LEGISLATION

I voted against the massive farm bill which continues to favor the big corporate farmer at the expense of the small farmer. It also continues an infamous wheat program which amounts to a bread tax. I voted against the administration's sugar bill, which is loaded with unwarranted sweetmeats for special interests. The benefits of generous subsidies to foreign countries line the pockets of the big sugar owners and dealers and do not reach the people. I also opposed the International Coffee Agreement as against consumer interest.

RIGHT-TO-WORK

I voted against repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Labor Act, which would have invalidated so-called right-to-work laws in 19 States. This is a matter properly left to the States to decide for themselves and, in any event, should be considered as part of general reform of labor laws, not as a separate issue. If the right-to-work option is destroyed, Congress ought to take steps to guarantee greater democracy in unions.

PRESIDENTIAL CONTINUITY

I voted for the Presidential continuity resolution, now awaiting approval by the States to become part of our Constitution. It fills a serious governmental gap by providing for the Vice President to take over if the President is unable to carry out his duties. It also provides for filling a vacancy in the Vice Presidency. Another bill I supported makes the assassination of the President a Federal crime.

HOUSE RULES

I opposed the changes in the rules of the House by which nearly total control over the flow of legislation is concentrated in the hands of the Speaker of the House. With these changes, the House reverted almost to the days of Speaker Cannon who ruled with such an iron hand that his grip had to be broken with rules changes voted in 1912. Memories are short.

MILITARY CIVILIAN PAY

I supported pay raises for both the Armed Services and the civilian employees of the Federal Government. The civilian pay increase won my support only after another increase in Congressmen's salaries, provided in the original bill, was taken out, along with raises for certain other high Government officials. These were adequately taken care of by the last Congress.

WAR ON POVERTY

I opposed continuing the present course of this program which has become so involved with politics as to negate much of its value. The whole program should be revamped.

VETERANS

I supported measures to increase compensation to veterans with service-connected disabilities and their dependents, and which increased assistance for disabled veterans receiving vocational rehabilitation training. I introduced a bill which would provide a GI bill of rights for combat veterans of the cold war. I joined the vigorous, successful protests against Veterans' Administration plans

to move the main functions of its offices in Manchester and White River junction to Boston.

CANADIAN AUTO AGREEMENT

Illustrating the tremendous power of big business, this measure permits the removal of United States and Canadian tariffs in auto parts. I voted against it. It is special-interest legislation of the first order and is a direct threat to American jobs.

AIR AND WATER POLLUTION

I voted for all measures to aid the fight against air and water pollution and supported the Water Resources Planning Act. In addition, I voted for measures creating new national parks in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, and California.

SILVER AND GOLD

With the greatest reluctance, I voted for the bill removing silver from dimes and quarters and dropping the silver content of half dollars to 40 percent. I did so only when it was clearly demonstrated that there simply was not enough silver left to meet the demands of coinage and industry. However, I voted against repeal of the requirement that Federal Reserve banks maintain a 25 percent "gold cover" to back their deposits. The repeal represents further relaxation of fiscal discipline, which is so badly needed.

COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS

At the end of the session, I was designated ranking Republican member of the newly created Subcommittee on Public Works which will act as watchdog over Federal programs to assist development of disadvantaged areas. These consist of the Economic Development Act programs and the Appalachian regional development program. In January, I was named chairman of the Republican Task Force on Congressional Reform and Minority Staffing. The task force participated in and closely followed the public hearing conducted by the Joint Committee on Congressional Reform, and engaged extensively in research and preparation of proposals that will be advanced for public and congressional consideration next year.

During this busy year, I attempted to keep my constituents informed through regular newspaper columns and radio and television reports. All postal patrons in the district received a questionnaire as well as the results, which included my own answers.

I visited as many communities in my district as time allowed and welcomed numerous New Hampshire visitors to Washington. My district office remains open year round in Concord to receive constituents.

Hawaii's New Rum Hailed as the Best

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the intoxicating charm of our "valley island" of Maui in the Hawaiian archipelago is world famous. It is not surprising, then, that Maui should be the birthplace of what Mr. Edgar M. Bronfman, president of Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, calls the best rum made anywhere. The rum, which is already being used in Calvert's popular "bottled daiquiri" and Mai Tai, a local rum drink, was officially introduced in Hawaii as the "Leilani Hawaiian Rum" by Mr. Bronfman and Mr. Arthur F. Murphy, executive vice president of Calvert Distillers Co.

Started as an idea by the Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co. in 1962, the rum which is made with cane molasses at the Seagram distillery in Puunene, is being acclaimed as the best rum Seagram & Co. makes anywhere. In a recent interview with Mr. Shurei Hirozawa, business and labor editor of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Mr. Bronfman said, "It is the soil and climatic conditions on Maui that gives the molasses the ingredients that make good rum." The light golden rum not only has a distinctive flavor but is sweeter and has a good aroma.

Seagram has made plans to double the capacity of their distillery in Puunene as the aromatic island rum is expected to become a national and international favorite when it is introduced to the rest of the country and the world.

I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Mr. Hirozawa's article on Seagram's "Leilani Hawaiian rum" which appeared in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin of September 30, 1965:

DISTILLER DELIGHTED—HAWAII'S NEW RUM HAILED AS THE BEST

(By Shurei Hirozawa)

The makers of Hawaii's first commercial rum are so pleased with their product that they are sure it will become a national and international favorite.

They are so keen about it that plans are already underway to double the capacity of the distillery on Maui.

"We were delighted to discover that the rum is the best we make anywhere," Edgar M. Bronfman, president of Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, said in an interview yesterday. Seagram makes rum in six countries.

Bronfman, a youthful 37, and Arthur F. Murphy, executive vice president of Calvert Distillers Co., Seagram's marketing subsidiary, are here to officially introduce the rum—to be known as Leilani Hawaiian Rum—at sunset festivities today at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel.

Calvert will market the rum, with distribution in Hawaii to be handled by McKesson & Robbins. Local sales will start immediately.

IDEA CAME FROM ISLAND FIRM

Bronfman said the idea of a Hawaiian rum came from Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co., which needed a market for its large production of molasses.

C. C. Cadagan, president of Alexander & Baldwin which owns Hawaiian Commercial, approached the Seagram firm through a San Francisco banker to see if the venerable distiller was interested.

"That was 3½ or 4 years ago," Bronfman said, "and we expressed some interest.

"We took some cane molasses from Maui to our laboratory in Louisville, Ky., and our chemists took it from there."

Meanwhile, Bronfman came to Honolulu in May 1962, and discussed the offer with Cadagan at lunch.

The raw rum produced in the Louisville laboratory looked good enough, he said, to make Seagram decide to go ahead with the program.

And Hawaiian Commercial made such a fine offer that this was another attraction to Puunene, Maui, he said. Seagram leased the land and built the distillery.

Now after 3 years of aging, the rum is the best, Bronfman said. And Seagram makes rum in Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Mexico, Canada, Venezuela, and Argentina.

"It's the soil and climatic conditions on Maui that give the molasses the ingredients that make good rum," he said. "As far as we know, no one knew previously that Hawaiian molasses made such a good rum."

THERE'S A SHORTAGE ALREADY

Bronfman said Calvert has been using Hawaiian rum in its bottled daiquiri, which has become one of Calvert's most popular products.

This is causing a shortage and Bronfman said plans are being made to double the 320,000 cases a year capacity at Puunene. Construction may begin in 3 months, he said.

The rum made on Maui is of a natural, light golden hue, and has a good aroma. It is sweeter and has a character all its own, the executives said.

In comparison, Puerto Rican rum has almost no flavor, they said.

The world rum market has been growing from 6 to 7 percent annually but the U.S. market growth has been less than that, absorbing 2.5 million cases annually.

Seagram's general wine and spirits subsidiary has 10 percent of the U.S. market and 50 percent of the world market. It has a smaller share of the U.S. market because it entered it only 10 years ago.

"We feel our Hawaiian rum can take a good part of the U.S. market," Bronfman said.

After its introduction in Florida in January, California in March, New York in April and the rest of the Nation after that, distribution will begin in Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and Europe.

The island market has been expanding faster than the national market, mainly because of tourists and the Mai Tai, a rum drink. Annual sales of 7,500 cases is three times what it was 5 years ago.

The name Leilani was chosen because Bronfman said that is the only Hawaiian song he knew and it made him happy every time he heard it.

Alfred Hayes, of New York Federal Reserve Bank, Undermines Administration Efforts for International Monetary Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, international monetary problems are a common topic of conversation these days. There are many reasons for this, probably the most important of which are free world security as well as our own balance-of-payments situation.

Very recently, Secretary of the Treasury Fowler went abroad to represent our best interests in solving the shortage in international liquidity. The time has come for action, and this is an area in which the administration, under the President's leadership, is working ably and hard. An increase in international reserves is necessary to insure growth in world trade which is very profitable to

America, and it is time some hard work was done at the conference table toward this goal.

Negotiations with foreign central bankers and other monetary officials are hazardous at best and are characterized by many of the difficulties one associates with complex international diplomacy.

So, it is deplorable indeed that, while these ticklish negotiations are in progress, a high government official, Mr. Alfred Hayes, president of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, should undercut the administration's efforts for a conference to discuss the problem. Mr. Hayes is selected for his $75,000 a year job, plus liberal expenses, by the big money market bankers on Wall Street. He has no direct responsibility at all to the American public who support him in fine style. Mr. Hayes claims, although his bank holds $40 billion of Government securities which are public property, that his bank and he himself are not really part of the Government. But, in any case, there is no excuse for his recent sounding off to financial men in New York on a subject which is certainly not his responsibility as fixed by Congress during a time when the administration is struggling to bring some order out of the international monetary situation. Mr. Hayes is against reform, but for higher and higher interest rates as his pet cure-all.

Mr. Hayes sits up in a walnut-paneled ivory tower in New York City calmly sabotaging his own Goverment by shaking the confidence of the people in the efforts of their elected officials. If Mr. Hayes feels compelled to dissent from official administration policy, then he should do so with care and discretion. But if he feels unable to resist a public outburst against the administration, then at least he should have the decency to wait until the Government's views have had a fair chance to take hold toward a successful solution to the problem. If a vitally needed conference on this problem falls through, one of the individuals the American public can thank is Al Hayes.

Activities and Accomplishments of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy in the 89th Congress, 1st Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, it is generally acknowledged, and with justification, in my opinion, that the 1st session of the 89th Congress was one of the most productive legislative sessions in the history of our Nation. I am proud to have served in this body during this crucial period. The past session has been similarly fruitful for the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. As chairman of the Committee, I have had the staff prepare a brief report highlighting the committee's activities and accomplishments during that time.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this report shows that the Joint Committee has contributed significantly to the continued preeminence of the United States in the peaceful and military applications of atomic energy. Moreover, I believe the activities of the committee bring credit to Congress—and to our system of Government as a whole—by demonstrating the ability of a representative democracy to cope with the increasingly complex technological problems of our day.

I wish to thank all the members of the committee, from the majority and minority sides and from both Houses, for their devotion to duty and close cooperation in the Committee's work. In order that Members of Congress and the public may be better informed, I include in the RECORD at this point the report on the activities and accomplishments of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy during the 89th Congress, 1st session.

ACTIVITIES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY IN THE 89TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

Foreword

The following report on the activities of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy during the 1st session of the 89th Congress (1965) has been prepared at the direction of the chairman for the information of the Congress, the executive branch, and the public.

The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy was first organized on August 2, 1946 and is a House-Senate Committee consisting of nine members from each body, of which no more than five from each body can be members of the same party. Following is a listing of the present membership:

CHET HOLIFIELD, California, chairman.
JOHN O. PASTORE, Rhode Island, vice chairman.
MELVIN PRICE, Illinois.
WAYNE N. ASPINALL, Colorado.
ALBERT THOMAS, Texas.
THOMAS G. MORRIS, New Mexico.
CRAIG HOSMER, California.
WILLIAM H. BATES, Massachusetts.
JOHN B. ANDERSON, Illinois.
WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH, Ohio.
RICHARD B. RUSSELL, Georgia.
CLINTON P. ANDERSON, New Mexico.
ALBERT GORE, Tennessee.
HENRY M. JACKSON, Washington.
BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, Iowa.
GEORGE D. AIKEN, Vermont.
WALLACE F. BENNETT, Utah.
CARL T. CURTIS, Nebraska.

The Joint Committee is one of the few committees established by statute, rather than by rule of each House, and is unique in several respects. For example, it is the only joint committee of the Congress with legislative functions, including the initiation and reporting of legislative proposals. The committee is also charged by law with legislative responsibility as "watchdog" of the national atomic energy program. It follows closely the classified activities of executive agencies, including the Atomic Energy Commission and the Departments of Defense and State concerning the military applications of atomic energy.

Of equal importance, the committee plays a major role in stimulating the peaceful applications of the atom. For example, the committee has encouraged such programs as the development of civilian nuclear power, the preservation of food through irradiation and the application of nuclear power in space.

In all these activities, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, as the representative of Congress and the public, seeks to assure the implementation of the following statutory policy expressed in the Atomic Energy Act of 1954:

"* * * the development, use, and control of atomic energy shall be directed so as to make the maximum contribution to the general welfare, subject at all times to the paramount objective of making the maximum contribution to the common defense and security * * *."

During the 89th Congress, 1st session, the Joint Committee conducted a total of 86 hearings and other sessions, 52 of which were public and 34 of which were executive. These sessions occupied a total of 185 hours. In addition to the three Joint Committee reports which were filed on pending legislation, a total of 16 publications consisting of hearings and committee prints were published or are in the process of printing by the Joint Committee in the first session of the 89th Congress. These publications include a number of records of hearings in executive session, with classified material deleted. A list of these publications follows:

AEC authorizing legislation, fiscal year 1966: part 1, hearings January 27, February 2, 3, 4, 10, 16 and March 10, 1965; part 2, hearings February 8, 9, 10 and April 8, 1965; part 3, hearings March 11, 18, 19, 24 and April 13, 1965.

International agreements for cooperation (hearings April 22 and June 30, 1964).

Current membership, publications, and other pertinent information on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, committee print (February 1965).

High energy physics program: Report on national policy and background information, committee print (February 1965).

High energy physics research, hearings March 2, 3, 4, and 5, 1965.

Peaceful applications of nuclear explosives —Plowshares, hearings January 5, 1965.

Proposed amendment to section 271 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, hearings May 27 and June 2, 1965.

Selected materials on atomic energy indemnity legislation, committee print (June 1965).

Proposed extension of AEC indemnity legislation, hearings June 22 to 24, 1965.

Space nuclear power generators, hearings August 6, 1965.

Radiation processing of foods, hearings June 9 and 10, 1965.

Federal radiation council protective action guides, hearings June 29 and 30, 1965.

Development, growth, and state of the atomic energy industry, hearings August 10 and 11, September 8, 1965.

International agreements for cooperation, hearings April 29, June 4 and 17, July 13 and 27, 1965.

I. LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES

A. AEC Fiscal Year 1966 Authorization Act (Public Law 89-32)

In accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended in 1963, the Joint Commitee reviewed the authorization for all appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission, including both operating and construction funds.

The committee held extensive hearings on the AEC recommended fiscal year 1966 authorization bill over a period of 11 weeks beginning January 27, 1965, and reviewed each major atomic energy program in considerable detail. The complete hearings, including unclassified portions of the classified executive sessions, were published in three volumes under the title "AEC Authorizing Legislation, Fiscal Year 1966."

The hearings culminated in the introduction of "clean bills" by Chairman HOLIFIELD (H.R. 8122) and by Vice Chairman PASTORE (S. 1957). These bills were reported in the House on May 13, 1965 (H. Rept. No. 349) and in the Senate on May 14, 1965 (S. Rept. No. 191). The report included comprehensive statements by the committee on virtually every major atomic energy activity.

The bill, which was passed without substantive amendment by the House and

Senate, authorized appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission for fiscal year 1966 in the amount of $2,555,521,000, as follows:

Operating expenses	$2,260,776,000
Plant and capital equipment	294,745,000
Total authorization	2,555,521,000

In addition, the bill authorized the AEC to enter into two new cooperative arrangements for the construction and operation of civilian nuclear power reactors.

Operating expenses: The authorization bill provided approximately $2.3 billion for "Operating expenses" for the AEC's program The joint committee's report broke this sum down among the AEC's principal programs. Among the highlights of the operating budget authorization are the following:

1. In the civilian power reactor program, the committee bill authorized a total of $70.8 million—1 million less than the amount requested by the Atomic Energy Commission. The committee noted that the AEC program is characterized by a continued shift in emphasis from development of low conversion ratio light water reactors to the more advanced breeder-type reactors which hold the promise of a more effective utilization of our nuclear fuel resources. Although the committee strongly indorses a Government supported program directed toward development of advanced converter and self-sustaining breeder reactors, and ultimately high-gain breeders, it believes that continual vigilance must be exercised to phase the Government out of further developments of types of reactors which are commercially available, which efforts should be carried forward by private industry. In this connection the committee recommended that AEC accelerate its withdrawal from the basic superheat program, in which field additional developments should be supported by private industry.

2. In the cooperative power reactor demonstration program, the AEC requested new authorization in fiscal year 1966 of $91.5 million for the 525,000 kilowatt large seed-blanket reactor (LSBR) and $40.8 million for the 330,000 kilowatt high-temperature gas-cooled power reactor (HTGR). The LSBR is under consideration for construction by the State of California to supply power to pump water for the State's water supply project. The Public Service Co. of Colorado plans to build and operate the HTGR on its electric utility system.

(a) LSBR—The committee approved the requested authorization of $91.5 million for this project. The basic objective of this project is the development of a power reactor utilizing ordinary water reactor technology which will generate or breed as much nuclear fuel as it burns. The committee believes the LSBR project will produce valuable information which will be of significant benefit to the entire utility industry in the United States.

The AEC'S proposed authorization bill limited the AEC to a cooperative arrangement with the State of California. However, the committee recommended that the authorization for the project be broadened to include potential participants other than the State. The committee further believed that research and development in the seed and blanket technology should be continued without interruption, and accordingly included a provision in the authorization bill which permitted the AEC to utilize not in excess of $25 million appropriated to the AEC pursuant to the bill, for performing research and development work on the LSBR prior to execution of a contract for this project.

(b) HTGR—The committee recommended that the $40.8 million requested for this project be approved. Like the large seed-blanket reactor, the high-temperature gas-cooled reactor is expected to offer significant advantages over commercial reactors available today. Moreover, as in the case of the LSBR, this reactor system is aimed at developing a means for making extensive utilization of another energy source—thorium.

In recommending approval of this project the committee made a change in AEC's recommended authorization bill to provide that the cooperative arrangement must be in accordance with the basis for an arrangement described in the program justification data sheet submitted by the AEC in support of the fiscal year 1966 authorization, consistent with previous authorizations for cooperative projects.

3. In the merchant ship reactor program, the committee recommended an increase of $1.1 million in the authorization for operating funds requested by the AEC, bringing the total program to $2.5 million for fiscal year 1966. The committee recommended this increase because it believes this application of nuclear energy has the potential of contributing significantly both to our national security and to the commercial posture of the United States.

The committee noted its dissatisfaction with the lack of direction which has been provided within the executive branch for this country's nuclear merchant ship program. In addition, the committee strongly urged the AEC to proceed expeditiously in the setting forth of a maritime reactor program and then in carrying out the critical research and development work needed to make this application of nuclear energy a success.

4. In the SNAP (Systems for Nuclear Auxiliary Power) program, the AEC requested $70.5 million which included $22 million for development of an Advanced Space Power System (SNAP 50).

The SNAP 50 project, which was started in 1962, was originally designed to develop an advanced reactor for use in space capable of generating electric power in the 300–1,000 kilowatt range. The project was started in 1962 and experienced a series of cutbacks in its objectives in each of its 3 years of existence. The changes in SNAP 50 included the cancellation of the original flight test objective, the cancellation of an experimental reactor test and the cancellation of the objective of developing a complete SNAP reactor system for ground test.

These actions taken by the executive branch in the last 3 years all pointed to the fact that work on the SNAP 50 was in the advanced technology phase and that SNAP 50 was not seriously considered as a project with significant development objectives.

Accordingly the committee recommended a $10 million reduction in the level of effort for this program, from the requested $22 million to $12 million. In line with its general conclusions concerning the SNAP 50 program, the committee reduced AEC's plant and capital equipment request by a total of $2.2 million, and recommended that the AEC consider transferring the SNAP 50 work from the CANEL research and development laboratory. The AEC subsequently transferred this development program to another laboratory and declared the CANEL facility excess to its needs.

Another development in the SNAP program of considerable importance was the flight test of the SNAP 10A device. This device which consisted of a reactor and associated thermoelectric conversion system producing 500 electrical watts, mounted on an Agena rocket, was placed in orbit on April 3, 1965, and operated continuously for 43 days. SNAP 10A thus demonstrated the ability safely to launch, start up, and operate a reactor in space and established an important first in the U.S. space effort. The orbiting of the SNAP 10A was the result of the insistence of the committee and Congress that the United States complete the development and flight test of the world's first nuclear reactor for space.

5. In the physical research program, the committee recommended a total of $239 million in operating funds. While the total amount recommended by the committee was equal to that requested by the AEC, the committee made a number of significant changes in individual subprograms.

(a) High-energy physics—At the committee's request, the AEC submitted to the President in January a report on policy for national action in the field of high-energy physics. This report, which was submitted by the President to the Joint Committee, clearly made the point that the high-energy physics research program is a national one and not solely the mission of any one agency.

Included within the AEC's request for high-energy physics was $1.9 million for advanced accelerator design studies on a 100 to 300 billion electron volt proton accelerator. In its report to the President and Congress, the Commission recommended that such a machine be authorized for design in fiscal year 1967, and for construction in fiscal year 1968.

While no final decision has been made to build the accelerator, the committee believes that any consideration in the next fiscal year of funds for engineering design of the proposed large accelerator will necessitate prior selection of an appropriate site. Site selection activities are currently underway be the Commission, and by the National Academy of Sciences under an AEC contract.

(b) Medium-energy physics—Among the highlights of the committee's recommendations for this subprogram was the allocation to it of $500,000 from the high-energy physics subprogram, to be utilized with other available funds for research and development and advanced design studies for a proposed meson physics research facility to be constructed at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory. In supporting work on this facility the committee noted that the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, which has a special interest and competence in medium-energy physics, had already developed a preliminary design for the meson facility, which would be the highest intensity proton accelerator of hundreds of Mev energy in the world. When built, this accelerator will permit scientists from the entire country to perform unique research on the atom's nucleus; and scientists from the Rocky Mountain States will have available to them in their region a research tool of outstanding merit. The committee also authorized funds in the amount of $1.2 million for partial architect-engineering for the meson facility.

(c) Controlled thermonuclear research—The committee reduced AEC's $22.5 million request for the controlled thermonuclear research program by $1 million. In this connection the committee has required that the AEC lay before the committee prior to the fiscal year 1967 authorization hearings a thorough study as to where this program is going and what the probabilities of practical success may be for controlled fusion.

Plant and capital equipment: The authorization bill also provided $294.7 million for "plant and capital equipment" for the AEC program for fiscal year 1966.

Final Action on Bill

On May 20, 1965, the authorization bill was debated and passed in the House of Representatives by a rollcall vote of 350 to 1. On May 24, 1965, the Senate considered and passed the bill by a voice vote. The authorization bill was then forwarded to the President and approved by him on June 2, 1965, as Public Law 89–32.

B. Extension and amendment of the Price-Anderson legislation (Public Law 89–210)

The Price-Anderson Act (so-called in recognition of its sponsorship by two members of the Joint Committee, Congressman MELVIN PRICE, and Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON) was enacted in 1957 as an amendment to the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, and has

often been referred to as one of the cornerstones of our national atomic energy program.

The Price-Anderson Act affords protection to the public, and to AEC's licenses and contractors, from the risks associated with atomic energy by providing for a program of private insurance and governmental indemnity amounting to a maximum of $560 million to cover damages that conceivably could arise from a nuclear incident. The act further provides for a limitation of liability of all persons indemnified in the event of a catastrophic nuclear incident resulting in damages which exceed the total amount of private insurance and governmental indemnity, subject, of course, to further congressional action in light of the particular circumstances.

As originally enacted, the Price-Anderson Act was limited by its terms to AEC licenses and contracts which became effective on or before August 1, 1967. It was understood that a comprehensive review would be undertaken by the Joint Committee toward the end of the act's 10-year term in order to determine whether the need which originally prompted Congress to approve this legislation still existed.

On May 26, 1965, Congressman MELVIN PRICE and Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON introduced H.R. 8496 and S. 2042, respectively, identical bills to amend and extend the Price-Anderson Act. The introduction of these bills followed many months of informal meetings and discussions among members of the Joint Committee, the Atomic Energy Commission, and their staffs, and representatives of private industry. On May 27, 1965, the Joint Committee announced that public hearings would be held on these bills. In announcing these hearings, Chairman HOLIFIELD and Vice Chairman PASTORE identified the following policy questions to which the Joint Committee expected to address itself:

1. Will there still be a need for Price-Anderson type legislation after August 1967?
2. Will additional nuclear liability insurance be available from commercial sources in the immediate future, and, if so, in what amounts? Will increasing amounts of such insurance become available over the next several years?
3. If Price-Anderson type legislation should be extended, what should be the period of the extension?
4. If an extension of a governmental indemnity program in the nuclear field is warranted, what changes, if any, should be made in the Price-Anderson legislation?
5. Should the amount of the governmental indemnity available under the Price-Anderson legislation be reduced as more commercial nuclear liability insurance becomes available?

Public hearings on these bills were held June 22–24, 1965, before the Subcommittee on Legislation. Every individual and organization that requested permission to testify was invited to appear before the committee. Among the points identified during these hearings was the willingness of the commercial nuclear liability insurance pools to increase the amount of liability insurance available to the nuclear industry from $60 to $74 million as of January 1966. Under the amendments to the Price-Anderson Act contained in H.R. 8496 and S. 2042 this would reduce the amount of governmental indemnity available for large power reactors from $500 to $486 million. The total protection available to the public would, however, be unchanged. The hearings, with extensive supporting data, were printed by the Joint Committee under the title "Proposed Extension of AEC Indemnity Legislation."

On August 26, 1965, the Subcommitee on Legislation met in an executive session and after full discussion voted without dissent to approve the bills, H.R. 8496 and S. 2042, with two technical amendments. The full committee met on the same date to consider these bills and after careful consideration voted unanimously to report them out with the technical amendments approved by the Subcommittee on Legislation (H. Rept. No. 833; S. Rept. No. 650).

Following are the highlights of the legislation as reported by the Joint Committee:

1. The legislation would extend the effective period of the Price-Anderson indemnity provisions of the Atomic Energy Act for an additional 10 years, from August 1, 1967, to August 1, 1977;

2. The legislation would require a decrease in the $500 million governmental indemnity afforded under the Price-Anderson indemnity provisions corresponding to the amount whereby the financial protection required of an AEC licensee or contractor exceeds the amount of commercial nuclear liability insurance currently available; i.e., $60 million. In this respect, the bills reported by the Joint Committee differed from the recommendation of the AEC, which had proposed a simple extension of the Price-Anderson Act for 10 years;

3. The legislation would provide that in no event would be liability of all persons who might be liable for public liability arising from a single nuclear incident exceed $560 million; i.e., the maximum amount of governmental indemnity which could be afforded under the Price-Anderson indemnity provisions, as they would be amended by the legislation, together with the maximum amount of financial protection required in accordance with these indemnity provisions.

The extension and amendment of the Price-Anderson Act recommended by the committee (S. 2042) was considered and passed in the Senate on August 31, by voice vote, and by the House of Representatives on September 16 by a rollcall vote of 337 to 30. The bill was signed into law (Public Law 89–210) by President Johnson on September 29, 1965.

C. Amendment to Section 271 of the Atomic Energy Act (Public Law 89–135)

In 1961, Congress authorized construction by AEC of a $114 million linear accelerator facility on the property of Stanford University, in California. In order to obtain electrical power for this facility, the AEC attempted to arrange with the local public utility for construction of the necessary high voltage transmission line. Two local governmental authorities in the State of California thereafter refused to permit this power line to be constructed unless it were placed underground.

The AEC was eventually compelled to institute condemnation proceedings to obtain an easement for this line. These proceedings were contested and after an initial U.S. District Court ruling favorable to the Government, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit reversed the lower court's decision and held that section 271 of the Atomic Energy Act subjected the AEC to the authority of these local governments with respect to their ordinances prohibiting overhead transmission lines.

On May 25, 1965, identical bills were introduced by Chairman HOLIFIELD, Mr. HOSMER, Vice Chairman PASTORE, and Senator HICKENLOOPER for the purpose of reiterating the intent of Congress underlying section 271 and clarifying the meaning of the section to show that it in no way limited the sovereign immunity possessed by the AEC by virtue of the supremacy clause of article VI of the U.S. Constitution. The bills accordingly would make it clear that section 271 did not prevent the AEC from constructing and maintaining an overhead transmission line for the Standard linear accelerator, notwithstanding the authority or regulations of local governmental authorities.

Public hearings were held on these bills before the Subcommittee on Legislation on May 27 and June 2, 1965. These hearings were printed under the title "Proposed Amendment to Section 271 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954."

On June 8, 1965, the Subcommittee on Legislation met and after careful deliberation voted without dissent to adopt certain amendments to these bills which had been suggested as a result of informal conferences between the staff of the committee and representatives of the Department of Justice and the AEC. The subcommittee also voted to file identical "clean bills," which were introduced on June 8, 1965, by Chairman HOLIFIELD (as H.R. 8856), and by Mr. HOSMER, Vice Chairman PASTORE and Senator HICKENLOOPER.

The full committee met to consider these bills on June 16 and 29, 1965. After full discussion, the committee voted unanimously on June 29, 1965, to report out the bills as approved by the Subcommittee on Legislation, without amendment, and to adopt a committee report on the bills (H. Rept. No. 567; S. Rept. No. 390).

The bill (H.R. 8856) was considered in the House on July 12 and July 29, 1965, and passed on the latter date by a rollcall vote of 275 to 125. The bill was considered and passed in the Senate by a voice vote on August 10, 1965.

On August 24, 1965, H.R. 8856 was signed into law by President Johnson as Public Law 89–135.

II. AGREEMENTS FOR COOPERATION

Section 123 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 provides that no cooperation with foreign nations concerning the peaceful uses of atomic energy shall be undertaken until the proposed agreement for cooperation has been submitted to and lain before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy for a prescribed period of time. Pursuant to that requirement a proposed agreement for cooperation with one nation and amendments to existing agreements with five other nations were submitted to the committee by the Department of State and the Atomic Energy Commission during 1965. Each of these proposals was the subject of a hearing before the Subcommittee on Agreements for Cooperation.

The lone new agreement was with the Government of Brazil and superseded the existing agreement with that country. This agreement, like the amendments to the agreements with the Republic of Korea and the Government of Israel, authorizes a 10-year period of cooperation and provides that the International Atomic Energy Agency will be promptly requested to assume responsibility for safeguards inspections to insure against the diversion of fissionable materials to military purposes. In this connection the Subcommittee on Agreements for Cooperation in April held a hearing at which the U.S. representatives to the IAEA and various representatives of the Department of State and the AEC gave testimony relating to the current activities of the Agency. Pursuant to the policy of transferring safeguards responsibilities to the IAEA—a policy which the Joint Committee vigorously supports—arrangements thus far have been made for the assumption by the international organization of the responsibility for applying safeguards under 13 agreements for cooperation. Five additional countries that have received U.S. nuclear materials and equipment through the IAEA in connection with IAEA projects have agreed to the application of Agency safeguards. Two other countries with advanced nuclear development programs—the United Kingdom and Canada—have also concluded safeguards agreements with the IAEA and other nations with which they are cooperating in the civil uses of nuclear energy.

Two agreements for cooperation—with Turkey and the United Kingdom—were

amended in 1965 to extend their effective period for 1 year. The agreement with Austria was also amended to permit the AEC to transfer to that country uranium more highly enriched than that which the AEC was previously furnishing the Austrian Government.

Several of the amendatory agreements submitted during the year were not submitted to the Joint Committee at a date which would allow the full statutory period (30 days) to elapse before the existing agreements expired. As a result the committee on June 28, 1965, wrote to the Secretary of State and the Chairman of the AEC requesting that henceforth any proposed extension to an agreement for cooperation be submitted at least 2 to 3 months in advance of the existing agreement's expiration date.

No agreements for cooperation for mutual defense purposes, which under section 123 of the act must also lie before the Joint Committee, were submitted during 1965.

III. INFORMATIONAL HEARINGS

As noted in section I of this report the Joint Committee during the 1st session of the 89th Congress, held extensive hearings as part of its legislative activities. In addition, the committee conducted a number of informational hearings in both public and executive session on a wide range of subjects. Highlights of the committee's information hearings follow.

A. Plowshare program

The committee held its first hearing of the 89th Congress on January 5, 1965, to receive public testimony on the AEC's program for the development of peaceful applications of nuclear explosives, commonly known as the Plowshare program. The Commission provided the committee with a progress report on recent underground nuclear detonations devoted to advancing Plowshare technology for excavation, industrial, and scientific uses. The AEC also outlined plans for future developments in the Plowshare program, including possible use of completely contained underground nuclear explosions to stimulate the production of gas and oil. In addition to AEC witnesses, Dr. Gerald Johnson, Associate Director (for Plowshare) of the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Livermore, Calif., testified.

B. Guaranteed purchase prices for plutonium and U-233

On February 10, 1965, the committee received public testimony from the AEC concerning AEC's proposed guaranteed purchase prices for plutonium and U-233 produced in licensed reactors, which were submitted to the committee on January 18. These prices would be established pursuant to authority contained in section 56 of the Atomic Energy Act, and would apply to material delivered to AEC before January 1, 1971. By law, proposed guaranteed purchase prices must lie before the committee for a statutory 45-day period before becoming effective. Subsequent to the committee's hearing, the AEC published these guaranteed purchase prices in the Federal Register. This constituted the first formal step to implement the legislation, enacted in 1964, authorizing private ownership of special nuclear materials.

C. High energy physics program

The Joint Committee received from President Johnson on January 26, 1965, a report on Policy for National Action in the Field of High Energy Physics, prepared by the Atomic Energy Commission in collaboration with other executive agencies, in response to the committee's 1964 request. The committee printed this report together with other background information in early February 1965 in preparation for its hearings on the U.S. high energy physics programs.

On March 2, 3, 4, and 5, 1965, the Subcommittee on Research, Development and Radiation held intensive open hearings on the objectives and needs of high energy physics. The leaders of high energy physics research—theoretical and experimental—testified before this committee during those hearings. In addition the committee heard a panel chaired by Dr. Frederick Seitz, President of the National Academy of Sciences, and including other eminent scientists from diverse field discuss the Relation of High Energy Physics to Other Sciences, Education and Technology. One of the seven sessions of the high energy physics hearings was devoted to a discussion with Government witnesses on the organization for Management of Proposed Large Accelerators. Dr. Leland Haworth, Director, National Science Foundation; Dr. Donald F. Hornig, the President's Science Adviser; Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman, AEC; and Dr. Gerald F. Tape, a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, participated in this discussion.

D. Radiation processing of food

On June 9, and 10, 1965, the Subcommittee on Research, Development, and Radiation held open hearings on radiation processing of food. The committee received information on the Government's research program being carried out by the Atomic Energy Commission and the Department of Defense (U.S. Army). Special attention was directed toward the future program extending through the next 5-year period. In addition, representatives of industry testified concerning present and expected future applications of radiation processing of food products.

E. Federal Radiation Council protective action guides

On June 29 and 30, 1965 the Subcommittee on Research, Development, and Radiation held open hearings on the protective action guides published by the Federal Radiation Council. Guides for iodine 131 were made public in August of 1964 and those for strontium 89, strontium 90, and cesium 137 were made public in May of this year. The technical bases for the guides were presented by a representative of the Federal Radiation Council and advisers who had assisted in the formulation of the guides. Testimony was reecived from Federal agencies which would become involved in the use of the guides should a contaminating situation develop. In addition, invited witnesses and those who had specifically requested an opportunity to appear presented their individual views on the usefulness of the Federal Radiation Council's protective action guides.

F. Development, growth, and state of the atomic energy industry

On August 10 and 11, 1965, the committee held open hearings on the development, growth, and state of the atomic energy industry, often referred to as the "202" hearings. Prior to 1964, annual hearings on this subject were required by law. As a result of an amendment to the Atomic Energy Act in that year, the holding of these hearings is now permissive and at the discretion of the committee. The last such hearings were held in 1963.

This year there was special emphasis placed on the civilian nuclear power program and the plans by private industry for expansion of the Nation's nuclear electric capacity. In addition industry representatives presented views on licensing procedures, plutonium technology, toll enrichment services, oceanographic applications, and the nuclear merchant ship program.

In a second phase of these hearings, on September 8, representatives of the Atomic Energy Commission provided their views on comments expressed by the industrial representatives during the earlier phase.

G. Confirmation of Presidential appointees

The Senate section of the Joint Committee met in public session on July 13, 1965, to consider the nomination of Mr. Verne B. Lewis to be Deputy U.S. Representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency. Mr. Lewis was nominated by the President on June 7, 1965 to fill the vacancy created by the transfer of Mr. Frank Hefner to other State Department duties. Mr. Lewis' nomination was reported favorably on July 13 by the Joint Committee and approved by the Senate on July 15, 1965.

The Senate section also confirmed Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, to be the representative of the United States of America to the Ninth General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The following-named persons were designated to be alternate representatives to the conference: Henry DeWolf Smyth, John Gorham Palfrey, James T. Ramey, Verne B. Lewis, and Kenneth Holum. These executive nominations were confirmed by the Senate on September 14, 1965.

IV. CLASSIFIED ACTIVITIES

In addition to the open hearings described in previous sections of this report, the Joint Committee conducted an extensive number of hearings in executive session on classified matters. These hearings covered a broad range of subjects related to the relationship of nuclear energy to the worldwide national defense and security interests of the United States. Highlights of the committee's executive hearings, and other classified activities, follow.

A. Intelligence briefings

On January 28, February 4, and June 16, 1965, the Joint Committee received intelligence briefings on recent developments affecting the field of atomic energy from Mr. John A. McCone, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and Adm. William F. Raborn, his successor.

These meetings were a continuation of the regular practice of committee briefings by the CIA on vital matters affecting the security of the United States.

B. Weapons program and nuclear test ban treaty safeguards

The Atomic Energy Act of 1954 requires that the development of the U.S. nuclear program be organized so at all times to make the maximum contribution to national security and the common defense. In pursuing this paramount objective, the Joint Committee has consistently paid utmost attention to the Commission's weapons program, the Department of Defense's activities in the nuclear weapons area and to all activities of the Federal Government relating to the limited nuclear test ban treaty safeguards.

On January 13, 1965, the Military Applications Subcommittee of the committee held executive sessions to receive testimony from the AEC and its weapons laboratories on U.S. nuclear weapons research, development, production, and test readiness programs. Among the witnesses heard were Commissioner Gerald Tape; General Delmar Crowson, AEC's Director of Military Applications; Dr. Norris Bradbury, Director, Los Alamos Weapons Laboratory; Dr. John Foster, Director, Lawrence Radiation Laboratory-Livermore, and Mrs. S. P. Schwartz, president, Sandia Corp.

In connection with its authorization hearings the committee held executive hearings February 3 and 4 on the AEC's weapons program and the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty safeguards. In addition to AEC witnesses, the committee received testimony from Mr. W. J. Howard, Assistant to the Secretary of Defense (Atomic Energy); Lt. Gen. J. Donnelly, Director, Defense Atomic Support Agency; Dr. Robert Sproull and Dr. Robert Frosch, Director and Deputy Director, respectively, of the DOD's Advanced Research Projects Agency; and Maj. Gen. Jermain Rodenhauser, Director, Air Force Tactical Applications Center.

The four Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty safeguards proposed by the Joint Chiefs of Staff in connection with U.S. ratification of the treaty are so important to our national

security that a yearly review by the Congress of their implementation is in order. This year combined executive hearings of the Joint Committee's Military Applications Subcommittee and the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee's Special Committee on Nuclear Safeguards were held on August 16, 17, 23, and September 2, 1965. The hearings were chaired by Senator HENRY M. JACKSON. Testimony was received from the AEC, the Directors of the AEC weapons laboratories, the Department of Defense, the Director, Central Intelligence Agency, and the Deputy Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. While the staffs monitor the implementation of the safeguards on a continuing basis, it is the intent of the committee to hold periodic hearings to review these safeguards.

In summary, during the 1st session of the 89th Congress, the committee held 11 executive hearings on the weapons program and the related Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty safeguards.

C. Safeguarding naval nuclear propulsion information

The Subcommittee on Security held executive hearings on January 26, 1965, to investigate the possible transfer of naval nuclear propulsion information and technology to foreign nations under commercial agreements with U.S. industrial firms concerning maritime nuclear propulsion technology. As a consequence of these hearings a special procedure for the review by the Atomic Energy Commission and the Departments of State and Defense of each such prospective commercial arrangements was instituted to assure that naval nuclear propulsion information and technology is not transferred under such commercial arrangements.

D. Special nuclear materials production

The production of enriched uranium, plutonium, and other nuclides for use in our Nation's military and civilian nuclear energy program represents a continuing and important national effort. The Joint Committee held three executive hearing sessions on February 3 and 4, in connection with the AEC's authorization bill, on the special nuclear materials production program. In addition to Chairman Seaborg and other AEC witnesses, testimony was received from Mr. W. J. Howard, Assistant to the Secretary of Defense (Atomic Energy) on weapons requirements and their relationships to needs for nuclear materials.

E. SNAP program

During an executive information hearing on August 6, 1965, on the Systems for Nuclear Auxiliary Power (SNAP) program, the committee received an up-to-date assessment of plans of the AEC, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and the Defense Department for utilization of SNAP units in space applications, including the lunar probe. There was discussion of the potential uses of SNAP devices for the performance of DOD classified missions. Applications of isotopic heat, reactor heat (including thermionics), solar heat, and thermoelectric conversion systems were compared from the standpoint of efficiency, cost, and practicality.

F. Review of practices and procedures for proetcting classified information by Government contractors

The Joint Committee staff has undertaken a study to review practices and procedures used to protect classified information by Government contractor personnel handling restricted data and formerly restricted data. The results of these studies will be published. This study, upon its completion in the latter part of 1965, will be used as a basis for providing the exceutive department with suggestions for improving security methods used for the protection of restricted data and formerly restricted data.

G. NATO agreement for cooperation regarding atomic information

On March 12, 1965, a NATO agreement for cooperation regarding atomic information, which superseded a 1955 NATO agreement, entered into force. During 1965 the Joint Committee followed progress in implementing this agreement quite closely. Several classified letters involving policy considerations concerning this new NATO agreement were exchanged with the Departments of Defense and State, as well as with the Atomic Energy Commission. Committee members and staff visited NATO installations in connection with this new agreement during April, August, and October 1965. Committee staff also visited NATO Headquarters and SHAPE (Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe) in Paris, France, in connection with NATO matters.

H. NATO multilateral force

The committee has closely followed developments in NATO with particular attention to the multilateral force (MLF) and the allied nuclear force (ANF) concepts. In this connection the chairman of the committee met with newly designated U.S. Ambassador to NATO, Harlan Cleveland, and Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer during a committee visit to NATO Headquarters and SHAPE in October. During this visit committee members and staff received a thorough briefing on the current U.S. position and projected planning regarding the possible creation of a multilateral entity within the NATO complex. Throughout the year the committee staff has held meetings with the State Department, Defense Department, and AEC on this subject.

V. OTHER ACTIVITIES

A. International Atomic Energy Agency Ninth General Conference

Four members of the committee, including Chairman HOLIFIELD, participated as official congressional advisers and observers in the Ninth General Conference of the IAEA, which was held in Tokyo, Japan, on September 21–28. This was the first year since the IAEA was founded in 1957 that a general conference was held away from the organization's headquarters in Vienna, Austria. The change in location was especially fitting in light of the increasingly worldwide responsibilities of the organization.

The development of an effective international safeguards system has been a major objective of U.S. policy in the international atomic energy field since the initiation of the atoms for peace program. This country, therefore, has been and continues to be a principal supporter of the International Atomic Energy Agency, one of whose major functions is to administer a system of inspections to guard against the diversion of fissionable materials for nonpeaceful purposes. In February of 1965 the Agency's Board of Governors adopted a resolution whereby it provisionally approved a revision of the IAEA safeguards system. This improved system, which is applicable to power reactors as well as research reactors, was endorsed by the Ninth General Conference.

Desalination is another field in which the IAEA is expected to make a significant contribution. The Ninth General Conference of the organization supported a move to initiate a study of means whereby the Agency might play an increasingly useful role in desalting.

B. International atomic energy conference on plasma physics and controlled nuclear fusion research

A staff member of the committee participated as a member of the U.S. delegation to the IAEA's Conference on Plasma Physics and Controlled Nuclear Fusion Research. This Conference was held at the Culham Laboratory in the United Kingdom during the period September 6–10, 1965. The multinational conference was devoted to the technical aspects of experiments designed to study the behavior of plasma (ionized gases) at temperatures and densities approaching that necessary to achieve controlled and sustainable thermonuclear power. Progress is being made in the understanding of the problems associated with the confinements of very hot plasmas.

C. Disarmament negotiations

On May 10 and September 2, 1965, the Joint Committee held hearings on activities under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. The September 2 session dealt principally with negotiations which were in progress at that time at the 18-Nation Disarmament Conference in Geneva.

Committee members and staff attended several of the sessions of the 18-Nation Disarmament Conference held in Geneva during August. For additional information relating to the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty safeguards program, see section IV B., above.

D. Inspection visits

1. The committee members and staff continued their practice of obtaining firsthand information by visiting various Atomic Energy Commission, Department of Defense, and U.S. Government contractor installations in the United States. During the first session, 89th Congress, visits were made to the following facilities, among others:

Argonne National Laboratory, Lemont, Ill.

Bendix Corp., Washington, D.C.

Brookhaven National Laboratory, Upton (Long Island), N.Y.

Cambridge Electron Accelerator, Cambridge, Mass.

Connecticut Advanced Nuclear Engineering Laboratory, Middletown, Conn.

Hudson Institute, New York, N.Y.

Large Aperture Seismic Array, Billings, Mont.

Lawrence Radiation Laboratory, Berkeley and Livermore, Calif.

Lockheed Space Systems Division, Sunnyvale, Calif.

Nevada Test Site, Nevada.

Pacific Northwest Laboratory, Richland, Wash.

Punta Higuera, Puerto Rico.

Research Analysis Corp., McLean, Va.

Stanford Linear Accelerator Center, Palo Alto, Calif.

Vandenberg Air Force Base, Calif.

In addition, committee staff observed reactor licensing hearings conducted by Atomic Safety and Licensing Boards of the Atomic Energy Commission at Los Angeles, Calif. and Oswego, N.Y. in the following proceedings:

In the matter of Department of Water and Power, City of Los Angeles (Malibu Reactor).

In the matter of Niagara Mohawk Power Corp. (Nine Mile Point reactor).

2. Committee members and staff visited the following installations abroad involving atomic energy activities:

Government of India atomic energy establishment facilities, Trombay, India.

National Tsing Hua University, Institute of Nuclear Science, Hsin Chu, Taiwan, Republic of China.

Soreq research establishment, Nahal Soreq, Israel.

Tarapur atomic power project, Tarapur, India.

Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, India.

United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority installations at Calder Hall, Windscale, Aldermaston, Culham, Harwell, and Foulness in England. Other United Kingdom research establishments visited were: Daresbury Nuclear Physics Laboratory, Lancashire; Royal Aircraft Establishment, Farnborough; and Rutherford High Energy Laboratory, Berkshire.

Visits to a number of classified sites abroad were also made by committee members and staff, including NATO installations and the Holy Loch nuclear submarine base in Scotland.

Ralph L. Zaun, President of the Independent Bankers Association of America, Appeals to Congress That Application of Antitrust Laws to Bank Mergers Be Retained

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, in an issue of the Independent Banker, official publication of the 6,200-strong Independent Bankers Association of America, there appears a feature article written in the first part of October by the association's president, Ralph L. Zaun, who is also executive vice president of the Grafton State Bank, Grafton, Wis.

Mr. Zaun's strong opposition to removing bank mergers from the antitrust laws should be known and carefully considered by the Congress and the American public. Otherwise, the strong lobbying by a few huge multibillion-dollar banks which dominate the American Bankers Association may succeed in destroying free competition in banking and, ultimately, in all industry as well.

Mr. Zaun directs his appeal to the House Banking and Currency Committee which is currently considering bank merger legislation. His statement follows:

THE BANK MERGER REPEAL BILL AND THE PRESERVATION OF BANKING COMPETITION

(By Ralph L. Zaun)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Ralph L. Zaun is president of the Independent Bankers Association of America and executive vice president of the Grafton State Bank, Grafton, Wis. This article is adapted from his address at the fourth annual convention of the Independent Bankers of Minnesota in St. Paul.)

Perhaps the biggest news story in the banking field this year is the Robertson-Proxmire bill, Senate 1698, to amend the Bank Merger Act of 1960.

In its original form, the Robertson-Proxmire bill would have exempted banking totally and completely from antitrust prosecution. This would be an inexcusable example of special interest privilege that would not only be embarrassing to our banking industry but would invite other groups to crowd into Congress with clamors for legislation favoring their particular interests.

IBAA STANDS ALONE

The movement to win quick approval by Congress of the original S. 1698 and to remove banking once and for all from antitrust was exceedingly well organized, and it had gained great momentum by the time the Independent Bankers Association of America came upon the scene.

Our stand had been clearly defined by our 1965 convention which resolved that the IBAA opposed any bill that would exempt banking mergers from the provisions of existing antitrust statutes.

My own Wisconsin Senator BILL PROXMIRE asked me at this crucial moment whether any other groups were standing in the wings with us, waiting to testify in opposition to the bill. Literally, as we have done many times in other years, we stood alone against the onrushing express.

This time it would have lifted banks out of reach of antitrust. We warned that this exemption would offer a blank check to bank merger negotiation regardless of the fading of competition. A great protection of the people in a democratic society would be withdrawn.

MIND YOUR P'S AND C'S

You know, bankers not only have to mind their P's and Q's. They also watch their P's and C's: they strive to preserve competition and prevent concentration.

Independent bankers and the banking committees of Congress have for many years shared a common concern to keep banking competitive and to bar concentration of banking power. We believe that effective Federal and State controls are required to curb concentration.

We have seen bank mergers reduce banking competition in many communities across the Nation. Mergers have been canceling out an average of 150 banks as separate institutions each year. The total number of commercial banks has gone down steadily in spite of hundreds of new charters, and while demand for banking services has greatly increased. Merger applications are approved at the rate of 22 for every one denied.

MERGERS RUNNING WILD

What do we propose should be done about this?

We recommend a tighter primary screening of merger applications, and retention of the application of antitrust laws to bank mergers as the final deterrent.

We believe the fact that the Department of Justice can and does apply the Clayton and Sherman Acts to outlaw excessive concentration of banking power has been a very real restraint. Without this check, bank mergers might have run wild.

Our association supports S. 1698 in its retaining the application of antitrust laws to bank mergers. And in our testimony upon this bill, which was passed by the Senate and is presently before the House Committee we recommended the principle that a bank merger should not be consummated until a short period of time elapses after agency approval.

If, within this period of a few days, an antitrust action is brought, the merger could not be consummated until after a favorable final decision by the court. And if no such suit challenges the merger within this limited time, the merger can then go forward, secure in the knowledge that it is henceforth immune from antitrust upset.

We believe this is a just and proper procedure, and we hope the House Banking Committee approves. This procedure clearly shows that bank supervisory agencies have primary jurisdiction, and the courts under antitrust laws have secondary jurisdiction.

The principle of primary and secondary screening makes for orderly and responsible government scrutiny of proposed bank mergers, and it stops a proposed merger from being consummated if it is challenged under antitrust.

Further, we recommend that this bill tighten up the administrative screening of proposed mergers. Regulatory agencies which ponder merger proposals need explicit standards for maximum effectiveness.

MERGER ACT A FAILURE

The purpose of the 1960 Bank Merger Act was to measure merger applications more carefully under such standards as maintenance of competition and consideration of the public interest.

Statistics show us this act has failed to regulate mergers uniformly and effectively. A total 675 merger applications were received during the 5-year period ended last year, and of these, all but 31 were approved. And only seven of the mergers were challenged by the Attorney General.

It is the lack of explicit administrative procedures in the screening process that has failed to slow the merger rate. The act here needs strengthening and clarification, and as soon as possible.

As president of your national association, I have appeared before both the Senate and House committees to testify in behalf of the Robertson-Proxmire bill.

And recently, I sent a message to Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN of the House committee, respectfully urging that his Subcommittee on Domestic Finance act on this bill with all possible speed so that the muddled bank merger picture might be cleared of the uncertainty that now fogs it.

RECONCILING THE UNRECONCILABLE

Because our asociation has strength of membership, and has been friendly for many years with the two banking committee chairmen, Representative WRIGHT PATMAN and Senator A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, we are able to keep them informed of your views, and to follow this up with impact at the one place where major decisions are forged—in Washington, D.C.

We have pointed out to Congress where we believe the Bank Merger Act should be fortified for maximum effectiveness.

First, the three regulatory agencies, the Comptroller, the Federal Reserve Board, and the FDIC, differ on the purpose and application of the Bank Merger Act. They split on most applications, agree on very few, and there is no way to reconcile them. What usually happens: the approving agency simply ignores the recommendations of the others.

BARING THE FACTS

Second, there is no provision for hearings in the Bank Merger Act. We believe that when agency opinions differ on a merger application, a hearing should be held in the county where the resulting bank is to be located. A public hearing would enable objecting banks to become parties to the proceedings and to air their views effectively, thus giving the agency the benefit of information it might not otherwise have.

And the written record would make it necessary, under administrative procedure law, to furnish complete findings of fact, definite conclusions of law, and a specific decision. This would bare the facts and the reasoning on which a decision was based.

At present, proceedings are secret, the fact of the merger often is not publicly known until it has been consummated, and there is no written record on which to base an appeal to the court.

The hearing record would guard against hasty or capricious decision because it would open the door to review by the court. Without hearing and a record, there is nothing for the court to review.

We have recommended that Federal law require a public hearing whenever advising agency opinions differ on a proposed merger. And that when both of the advising supervisory agencies report unfavorably, the merger application be denied automatically.

THE SUMMING UP

To sum up: First, we must concentrate on our first line of defense by tightening agency screening procedure.

Second, we cannot afford to discard the ultimate weapon of antitrust laws against concentration and monopoly.

The Sherman and Clayton Acts protect the interest of the American people, and distinguish our free enterprise system from the

big bank systems of West Europe. Antitrust blocks the road to monopoly.

Now to touch briefly upon two other legislative attitudes of our association:

We believe the Comptroller of the Currency should heed State banking laws and regulations, especially in the area of branching. Several years ago, we had Congressman STEPHENS of Georgia introduce for us a bill that would insure this. And now, in cooperation with the ABA and the NASSB, we are trying to obtain agreement on a bill that would accomplish the same purpose.

Also, we want to plug legislative loopholes by which bank holding companies have managed to expand across State lines.

Observance of the Millennium of Poland as a Christian Nation

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, in our rush and preoccupation to accomplish so much in such a short time, I feel it is highly important for all of us not to lose sight of certain significant events which will transpire in the coming months.

I am particularly concerned that this U.S. House of Representatives assume convincing leadership in stimulating the people of our country to recognize and participate in the worldwide observance of the millennium of Poland as a Christian nation. Therefore, I hope that as we reconvene on January 10, 1966, exactly 1,000 years after the birth of the Polish nation, we will enact appropriate legislation in recognition of this historic event.

The millennium observances have great meaning not only for the more than 8 million loyal Americans who pride themselves in their Polish ancestry, but for all who enjoy independence and liberty today. No American can but recognize the importance of his debt to the many generations of Polish patriots who for a full 1,000 years have kept the torch of freedom burning and the banners of the Christian church flying.

It is important that all of us of every faith and creed—Americans of all racial and ethnic backgrounds, join with the people everywhere throughout the world in commemorating this great event.

It is important for this country to attribute the same significance to this event which His Holiness Pope Paul VI does in planning the building of a new church in Rome and a possible visit next year to Poland as a part of the millennium observance.

It would be my hope, Mr. Speaker, that the members of this body, joined by the members of the other body would take whatever action is necessary to use the millennium to demonstrate our love for the Polish people by supporting fully the efforts of our President, Lyndon B. Johnson, in "building bridges" between ourselves and these people who now observe under restrictive Communist conditions their 1,000th anniversary. As a matter of fact the dedication of the new American Research Hospital for Children in Krakow, Poland, should properly take place during the year of the millennium of Poland, next spring, when it should be fully completed, with as many Members of the Congress present as wish to attend.

As we return to our own homes and abide a short time among old friends and relatives may we prepare ourselves for our return to our duties here to expedite proposals and give support to essential measures which will assure America's full participation in the millennium observances.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE SUBSEQUENT TO ADJOURNMENT

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS APPROVED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The President, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, notified the Clerk of the House that on the following dates he had approved and signed bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

On November 7, 1965:

H.R. 1778. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to create a Board for the Condemnation of Insanitary Buildings in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," approved May 1, 1906, as amended;

H.R. 3079. An act for the relief of Mrs. Eleni Bocola Ciacco, doctor of medicine;

H.R. 5026. An act to authorize the Burt County Bridge Commission, a public body politic and corporate in the county of Burt and State of Nebraska, to refund the outstanding revenue bonds of said Burt County Bridge Commission heretofore issued to finance the cost of the construction of a bridge, together with the necessary approaches and appurtenances therefor, from a point located in the city of Decatur, Burt County, Nebr., across the Missouri River to a point located in Monona County, Iowa;

H.R. 8353. An act for the relief of Becky Jo and Charles R. Smith;

H.J. Res. 641. Joint resolution authorizing Father Flanagan's Boys' Home to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs; and

H.J. Res. 671. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim the month of November as "Water Conservation Month."

On November 8, 1965:

H.R. 227. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to entitle the children of certain veterans who served in the Armed Forces prior to September 16, 1940, to benefit under the war orphans educational assistance program;

H.R. 797. An act to establish the Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area in the State of California, and for other purposes;

H.R. 2303. An act for the relief of Ernest J. Carlin;

H.R. 2571. An act for the relief of Ralph S. DeSocio, Jr.;

H.R. 4421. An act authorizing the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey certain property to the city of Cheyenne, Wyo.;

H.R. 5493. An act to provide that the flag of the United States of America may be flown for 24 hours of each day in Lexington, Mass.;

H.R. 5597. An act to relieve physicians of liability for negligent medical treatment at the scene of an accident in the District of Columbia;

H.R. 6666. An act to provide for the free entry of a 90-centimeter split-pole magnetic spectrograph system with orange-peel internal conversion spectrometer attached for the use of the University of Pittsburgh;

H.R. 7475. An act to name the authorized lock and dam No. 6 on the Arkansas River in Arkansas and the lake created thereby for David D. Terry;

H.R. 8310. An act to amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to assist in providing more flexibility in the financing and administration of State rehabilitation programs, and to assist in the expansion and improvement of services and facilities provided under such programs, particularly for the mentally retarded and other groups presenting special vocational rehabilitation problems, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9567. An act to strengthen the educational resources of our colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in postsecondary and higher education;

H.R. 9830. An act to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Service Act of 1949, as amended, to authorize reimbursement to a State or political subdivision thereof for sidewalk repair and replacement or to make other arrangements therefor;

H.R. 9903. An act to provide for the free entry of certain scientific instruments for the use of certain universities;

H.R. 10097. An act for the relief of North Counties Hydroelectric Co.;

H.R. 10878. An act for the relief of Anderson G. Matsler, senior master sergeant, U.S. Air Force, retired;

H.R. 11135. An act to amend and extend the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended;

H.R. 11267. An act to amend the joint resolution of March 25, 1953, relating to electrical and mechanical office equipment for the use of Members, officers, and committees of the House of Representatives, to remove certain limitations;

H.R. 11539. An act to provide assistance to the States of Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi for the reconstruction of areas damaged by the recent hurricane; and

H.J. Res. 788. Joint resolution establishing that the 2d regular session of the 89th Congress convene at noon on Monday, January 10, 1966.

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Appendix

On the NATO Parliamentarians Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIBORNE PELL

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, last month, on October 4–11, I had the honor and privilege of serving as chairman of the U.S. congressional delegation to the 11th annual NATO Parliamentarians Conference in New York City. It was a busy and memorable week, notable for its coincidence with the visit of Pope Paul to the United Nations, and significant as another milestone in the history of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Indeed, the recent Parliamentarians Conference may be regarded as one of NATO's most significant because of the new light which it shed on new devisive forces within NATO on the one hand, and imaginative new ideas to give the Organization continuity and unity, on the other.

One of the most perceptive commentaries on the meeting was written by Prof. Elliott R. Goodman, associate professor of political science at Brown University, who served as a consultant to the U.S. delegation. Professor Goodman is an exceptionally well qualified NATO scholar and we were most fortunate to have his services. I ask unanimous consent that his excellent article, which appeared on the editorial page of the Providence Evening Bulletin of Thursday, October 21, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY—THE NATO PARLIAMENTARIANS HEAR A PROPOSAL FOR AN OFFICIAL CONSULTATIVE ORGANIZATION

(Mr. Goodman, an associate professor of political science at Brown University, was a consultant attached to the U.S. delegation at the recent conference of NATO parliamentarians in New York. He has attended similar meetings in the past in Europe where he was a research fellow for a year at NATO headquartrers in Paris. Following are his observations on the highlights of this year's meeting.)

(By Elliot R. Goodman)

Sometimes a visual glimpse can speak volumes. I glanced around the crowded ballroom as Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY concluded his October 5 speech to one of the opening sessions of the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference in New York. Everyone in the room was rising in warm tribute to the Vice President—it would have been impossible to have remained seated—and everyone, it seemed, was applauding. But then my eyes fell on the prominent Gaullist deputy, Boscher.

A LOGICAL OUTCOME

He could not be overlooked because he stands well over 6 feet tall. He is also prominent since he had become the center of controversy by using his position as rapporteur of the Parliamentarians' Political Committee to write a bitter Gaullist indictment of NATO policies. While everyone was applauding, M. Boscher and several of his Gaullist colleagues stood erect with hands clapsed firmly behind their backs.

This is the logical outcome of De Gaulle's politics. Rudeness and selfishness have been legitimated by the head of state and elevated into national principles. Throughout the political debates, one could hear nationalistic phrases from the Gaullist deputies to the effect that no one is willing to fight except for himself and that France can only be counted upon to defend France.

Aside from the deplorable effect this has upon allied unity, it reflects a basic misconception about modern history. The member states of NATO can hope to prevail in the struggle for the world, not only against the Communists, but also in the contest for the uncommitted and underdeveloped countries, only by aggregating a preponderance of power, and then applying that power in a positive manner against the great problems that face mankind.

No country, not even the United States as the most powerful and prosperous Western state, can adequately provide for its own defense without Europe or formulate successful programs toward the third world without intimate European collaboration. What the Gaullists fail to concede is the basic principle, expressed by all the other delegations, that the best possible way to defend one's own country is by defending the collective strength of the Western community of nations as a whole.

It is one thing for allied diplomats to say this quietly to the French Foreign Office, and it is another matter for elected members of the various NATO Parliaments to arise one after another and say this to the face of the Gaullist deputies. And this is what happened at the New York Conference. The simple fact is that in the political debates the Gaullists were completely isolated. Not that one could count on this having a salutary effect, or indeed any effect, on De Gaulle himself, but it is still a useful warning for those French political figures who will survive De Gaulle and inherit his mantle.

The Conference was comprised of a large number of eminent political figures from all the NATO countries. We fielded a strong 18-member team, half drawn from the Senate, half from the House. By virtue of his membership on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Rhode Island's Senator CLAIBORNE PELL was accorded the considerable honor and heavy responsibility of being the head of the entire U.S. delegation. This turned out to be a demanding job, since throughout the week of deliberations, both House and Senate Members were obliged to shuttle back and forth from New York to Washington to meet quorum calls and rollcall votes on unfinished items of President Johnson's legislative program.

Watching this process at firsthand gives one a deepened sense of respect for the dedication and energy required of a Member of Congress. It should be noted that, in addition to Senator PELL as chairman, the Senate delegation was composed of Senators CLIFFORD CASE and HARRISON WILLIAMS, JR. of New Jersey; Senators JACOB JAVITS and ROBERT KENNEDY, of New York; Senator BIRCH BAYH, of Indiana; Senator KARL MUNDT, of South Dakota; Senator MAURINE NEUBERGER, of Oregon; and Senator LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, of Massachusetts. Among the more articulate Members of the House delegation were WILLIAM BATES, of Massachusetts; PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois; WAYNE HAYS, of Ohio; and CHARLES CHAMBERLAIN, of Michigan.

STARTLING FIGURES

Congressman CHAMBERLAIN used the occasion of a plenary debate to bring to light some rather startling figures about commercial shipping going to North Vietnam. At a time when the United States is heavily engaged in a war with the Vietnamese Communists, unclassified data for 1964 showed that 401 ships flying the flags of non-Communist countries called at North Vietnamese ports. Of these, 284 ships came from NATO countries, primarily of British, Greek, and Norwegian origin. During the first 8 months of 1965, published commercial sources reported 88 such ships, 81 of which were from NATO countries. Congressman CHAMBERLAIN indicated that the classified documents to which he had access showed a considerably larger number of Allied ships making regular runs to North Vietnam. While he told me that the situation had improved somewhat, the forum of the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference was certainly an appropriate and useful place to raise a public complaint with the hope of choking off this trade completely.

These annual conferences, of which this was the 11th already have proved their worth in ways too numerous to record. In passing one should note that while the fire of debate is usually centered in the Political Committee, there are other committees of parliamentarians devoted to military, economic, cultural and educational, and scientific and technical problems. In addition, a most useful and promising committee has been in operation under Senator JAVITS to take the sting out of Greek-Turkish relations over Cyprus by creating joint Greek-Turkish development projects that will run into the hundreds of millions of dollars, financed from many sources including private American foundations.

ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY

Because of its worth, but also because of its uncertain and unofficial status, proposals have been advanced in the past several years for transforming the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference into some sort of an official Atlantic Parliamentary Assembly.

One of the major difficulties in the past has always turned about the role of those states that are, broadly speaking, members of the Western community of nations, but not members of the Western military alliance of NATO. Austria, Ireland, Sweden, and Switzerland, each for its own historical reasons, are committed to a policy of military neutrality. Several years ago, when it was proposed to create a single Atlantic Consultative Assembly, the problem of the neutrals proved to be insurmountable. The neutrals were not even willing to meet with parliamentarians from the NATO countries to discuss nonmilitary affairs, so long as this same assembly would discuss military matters with the neutrals absent.

At this session of the Conference, the head of the British delegation, Sir Geoffrey de Freitas, formulated a resolution, adopted by

the Conference as a whole, which was designed to solve this difficulty. He acted upon an understanding that the informal contacts established in the past year between a U.S. congressional delegation, led by Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT and Congressman WAYNE HAYS, would continue to be pursued with the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, in which the neutrals are included. Presumably, members of the Canadian Parliament will also be brought into these annual meetings, which will be devoted to nonmilitary topics on an Atlantic scope.

Having cleared the deck of the neutralists, Sir Geoffreys resolution called for "concrete proposals for the constitution of an Atlantic Consultative Assembly, based initially on the membership of NATO, and evolving out of the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference." The political committee was specifically instructed to prepare a report "on the possibility of converting the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference into a Consultative Assembly of NATO, in an official relationship to the North Atlantic Council."

Should this come to pass, it would prove to be an enormously useful step. It is important to give NATO an official assembly, since NATO is now so seriously threatened and the addition of a permanent parliamentary body could be a way of reinforcing its structure. If an assembly could be adequately financed, in contrast to the present shoestring operation, this could provide for adequate staffing by a secretariat, which could develop committee documents to make debate more pointed and more productive. With an official status, the various governments would be obliged to pay greater attention to the deliberations, and public opinion in the different countries could be made more sharply aware of the crucial issues that confront the alliance. Finally, if the assembly gained official status, and had the right to enter an official dialog with the NATO Council, this added prestige would assure continued high-level participation by leading parliamentarians on both sides of the Atlantic.

There is very wide support for this move from almost every national delegation. Furthermore, speaking for the administration, Vice President HUMPHREY said in his speech to the conference that he approved of the "intimate and continuing concert of action * * * fostered by parliamentary meetings such as this and your committees and subcommittees. The proposal for an Atlantic Assembly which has been approved by this group looks to the same end. I think it is needed and I hope that it can be fulfilled."

THE FRENCH OBJECT

So far as could be ascertained, the only opposition came from the Gaullists on the French delegation. This is to be expected, since De Gaulle's nationalism makes him positively hostile toward any constructive move that might strengthen the Atlantic Community. The response to this would appear to be simple: If De Gaulle wants to isolate himself from an initiative that had widespread support among the member NATO countries, then let him. Why should one intractable obstructionist be allowed to hold up the forward motion of all the rest? Indeed, if all the other countries decided to move ahead, could De Gaulle afford to stay outside? Would not the force of circumstances compel him to raise his voice inside the newly created assembly chambers?

On matters of this kind one can only afford to tolerate a limited amount of obstructionism that seeks to frustrate the majority will. Here is clearly an opportunity for constructive statesmanship, and the fate of this project lies first and foremost with the parliamentary members of the most powerful NATO country, namely in the hands of the interested Members of the U.S. Congress. Rhode Island should feel fortunate that this undertaking has already received the sympathetic attention of Senator PELL.

Profiles in Wyoming Greatness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, in commemoration of Wyoming's 75th anniversary of statehood, I am happy to present the capstone in my series of profiles of Wyoming citizens.

TRACY S. M'CRAKEN

Wyoming's most successful newspaperman, a classic example of the best of the Horatio Alger tradition, builder of a publishing empire and a dominant figure of the Democratic Party of his State for nearly three decades—such was Tracy Stephenson McCraken. He was the youngest of six children born to a family of modest means. His father was well into the fifties when Tracy was born, March 11, 1894, in Evanston, Ill. He graduated from high school in Belvidere, Ill. Determined to earn a college education, he worked through the summer months to save the fare for a train ride to Laramie, Wyo., where he was met at the railroad station by a few other transplanted Illinois natives including his older brother, Harry.

Many of the stories surrounding McCraken's 30 years at the University of Wyoming are now so apocryphal that to separate fiction from fact must be left to less partial and more leisurely students than I. Suffice to say, he managed to stay in school by working at odd jobs around the campus, including a part-time stint as a reporter for the Laramie Boomerang.

In 1917, he was graduated from the university and then joined the Army as a private in an infantry division. Later he attended officers candidate school and was discharged as a first lieutenant. Returning to Laramie following World War I, he was named manager of the Laramie newspaper, a position he held until he left to join the staff of Wyoming's Gov. William B. Ross as executive secretary. He left Wyoming for Washington and a new job as secretary to the late Senator John B. Kendrick.

In 1919 in Laramie, he married the former Lillian Davis, a native of Ohio, who also had attended the University of Wyoming and then was teaching school in Rawlins. The couple had two sons, Robert and William.

THE "M-O-M"

During these years he also formed the first friendships with a young Boston Irish transplant to Wyoming, Joseph C. O'Mahoney, and with a native Wyomingite, Leslie A. Miller, all of whom were the "young men in a hurry" of their generation. O'Mahoney was later to become one of Wyoming's most distinguished Senators and Miller one of its most able Governors.

McCraken paid a visit to Cheyenne in 1925 at the suggestion of Senator Kendrick in order to look at a sick weekly newspaper in Cheyenne, which was at the time the only newspaper in the State with a Democratic editorial policy. In order to keep it alive, he borrowed $3,000 from the late John D. Clark. This served as his base capital investment in the weekly Eagle. McCraken himself told the story of his first month as a publisher. To meet the overhead, he sold advertising at a furious clip. How pleased he was to gather a handful of statements and go out collecting what promised to be a healthy gross. Instead of money he found most businessmen had in their cash registers "advertising script" which, completely unknown to him, had been passed out by his predecessor. Thus, in place of cash after his first month's operation, Tracy had a pocketful of useless paper.

THE EARLY EAGLE

Located in a small office above what is Roedel's Drugstore in Cheyenne, McCraken and one printer worked feverishly through 18-hour days to nurse the sick publication into the State's dominant weekly. Often the tiny press literally had to be held together with paper clips and bailing wire. With the help of a vital and dedicated assistant, O. D. Koerfer, he turned the weekly into a 5-day-a-week daily during the depression's darkest hours. Five years later, in 1937, he merged the Eagle with the opposition evening paper, the Wyoming State Tribune, which he acquired that year.

His other publishing interests included associations to publish a daily at Rock Springs in 1931, at Worland in 1938, at Laramie in the 1930's, and at Rawlins in 1946. He had also been a partner in various other weeklies throughout Wyoming in the early 1930's. In addition to six daily newspapers and a monthly farm magazine, the Wyoming Stockman Farmer, McCraken pioneered television in Wyoming and was also the owner of several of its early radio stations.

A LEADER IN EDUCATION

McCraken's outstanding contribution to the young people of Wyoming was his lifetime dedication to the University of Wyoming. He served for nearly two decades on the university's board of trustees and was at one time its president. He founded scholarships for worthy students. He received the university alumnus award for outstanding and original achievements in 1956 and was awarded the University of Wyoming's highest honor—an honorary doctor of law degree in 1960.

A WISE AND PRACTICAL POLITICAL LEADER

McCraken succeeded the late Joseph C. O'Mahoney as secretary to Senator Kendrick. He was State Democratic national committeeman from 1942 to 1960. His last year in that post brought him one of his great triumphs. At the Los Angeles Democratic National Convention in July of 1960, as chairman of the Wyoming delegation he cast Wyoming's votes which nominated the late John F. Kennedy for President. During the last days of his life he was offered an appointment to the U.S. Senate which he declined saying:

I would rather be a newspaperman.

Often the object of inevitable backlash to one of his means, power, and talent, he was nevertheless deeply ad-

mired by his associates and most of his adversaries for his acumen, for his dynamic personality, for his delightful sense of humor, and for his dedicated love of the State of Wyoming and its economic well-being.

This latter affair, I believe, he put ahead of all else, for he felt his responsibility to his fellow citizens of Wyoming was a preservation of a healthy climate in which to live, a business community in which to prosper, and a State of which all could be proud.

During the last 30 years he was a close personal acquaintance and a confidant of several Presidents of the United States, of many prominent business and professional leaders, and of nationally prominent politicians from both parties.

MY BOSS AT 14

Tracy was intensely loyal to those who reached positions of importance in his own organization and also proud of the fact that many of his top employees started well down the ladder. He was on a first-name basis with everyone he knew and his door was always open to workers, visitors, salesmen, and to anyone else with the ambition and drive to improve their lot in life. For several decades he wrote a weekly column for the Wyoming Eagle, and I am in hopes a collection of his writings someday will be published.

I was honored and privileged to be an employee in his organization from time to time from my 14th year on earth. This association, which meant so much to me and helped shape my career, lasted until his death on December 26, 1960.

Pvt. Thomas H. Platt Proud of His Draft Card

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, in recent weeks, we have been fed a steady diet of the headline-hunting activities of draft-card burners. Naturally the press seizes upon and gives publicity to the unusual. And that is just what these actions are, unusual.

The real American spirit is represented by those who quietly go about the real business of doing the ofttimes distasteful work of making this a better world. A case in point is that of Pvt. Thomas H. Platt, of Maplewood, La., a young man who is no crusader or battler, but who possesses a strong conviction that he has an obligation to defend his country and the democratic way of life, and was determined not to take the easy way out by allowing an administrative error to excuse him from his military service.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article of Private Platt by Kenneth Dixon from the October 13 Dallas Times Herald under the title "Proud of Draft Card," be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CHANGING SCENE—PROUD OF DRAFT CARD

(By Kenneth Dixon)

MAPLEWOOD, LA.—At a time when there is talk across the country of youngsters tearing up their draft cards, and other youngsters rioting, looting, raiding, maiming, and even murdering, it is a pleasure to tell the story of Pvt. Thomas H. Platt.

Tom may well be on his way to the fighting in southeast Asia by the time you read this. He seems to be aimed in that direction.

Tom is not exactly the type they'd pick for a picture of a fighting man to use on a recruiting poster. He's only 5 feet, 5 inches tall, weighs about 145 pounds, has dark hair and quiet brown eyes. He's 21 years old.

FORMER BOY SCOUT

He'd been a Boy Scout and had been a Scout instructor for the past 3 years. He was going to a trade school to learn to be a welder and auto mechanic when he got his greetings from Uncle Sam.

He reported to the local draft board and they sent him up to Shreveport where, among other examinations, he was given physical tests. That was a little more than a year ago.

When his card came back, it was marked the equivalent of the World War II 4-F cards. He was listed as physically unfit for military service. But it didn't say why.

All he had to do at this point was put that card in his wallet and stay home and continue training for his vocation.

WANTED TO KNOW

Instead, he went back to the local draft board and wanted to know why he was physically unfit. They told him that the physical exam had showed he had diabetes.

Again, he could have stopped right there. His own father, Carl W. Platt, admits with a grin that that's what he might have done—and so, undoubtedly, would a few million other people. After all, his conscience certainly could have been perfectly clear.

But Tom wasn't satisfied. He went to the family doctor and asked to be given all the tests for diabetes. They all came out negative.

At Tom's request, the doctor wrote a letter, saying in effect that he was not now, and probably never would be, a diabetic.

Armed with the letter and the reports on the tests, Tom went back to the local draft board. They bucked him up to Shreveport again. This time, extensive physical examinations were made.

FIT FOR DUTY

Sure enough, within a week, another card came through, certifying him as physically OK and fit for active duty.

That would seem to have been the end of it, but it wasn't. Two months went by and nothing happened. Tom, waiting to be called up so he could serve his hitch, got impatient. Finally, he just went downtown and volunteered.

That's for 3 years, and he also volunteered for one of those special outfits which are doing most of the fighting in Vietnam. And since he's an avid hunter—including stalking deer with bow and arrow—they probably could use him in the particular type of war they're fighting over there.

And that's where he'll probably go. Each transfer from fort to fort has taken him farther west and each new training routine has been more specialized in jungle fighting.

Tom is no crusader or battler. He didn't even play football when he went to nearby Sulpher High School. All he wanted to do was become a good welder and auto mechanic.

But the only draft card he discarded was the one which said he was physically unfit for military service—and then only after he was issued a new one saying that he was fit to fight.

Communists Use U.S. Peace Movement in Psychological Warfare Offensive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the Communist plan to defeat the United States in Vietnam has been well documented by Maj. Gen. Song Hao, the political head of Ho Chi Minh's army. In an article in a North Vietnamese journal General Hao says that when the going gets tough U.S. public clamor will force Washington to give up. Hao says:

> The movement (in America) to protest the war in Vietnam is growing in size and intensity.

Communist hopes for victory follow a plan in which Judas goats would lead those who are free to defect from freedom. So-called students and Communist stooges here and abroad would lead the lambs in anti-American demonstrations; they would downgrade the United States in the eyes of the world and would shake the confidence and faith of our own citizens in our democratic way of life.

China's Communist overlords make no secret of their aims and strategies. Lin Piao vice chairman of the Communist Party Central Committee and Minister of National Defense in a recent speech, says:

> The struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is now the focus of the struggle of the people of the world against U.S. aggression * * *. Like a vicious wolf, it is bullying and enslaving various peoples * * *. At present the main battlefield of the fierce struggle between the people of the world on the one side and the U.S. imperialism and its lackeys is the vast area of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

These demonstrations are fiendishly clever facets in the Communist technique of launching a campaign of subversion and fear, both mental and physical, hoping to gain by this method a victory unobtainable by their economic or military strength. Fear is being used in South Vietnam where Communists have murdered about half of the village mayors. They also have murdered 14 of the village mayors in Thailand. It is the same in the Congo, where there is a concerted effort to murder all people who have sufficient ability and education to build a free society. These actions are reminiscent of the murder of 5 million Kulaks, the educated and the economic and political leaders, in the Ukraine by Lenin, and of the Katyn Forest massacre of the cream of the Polish Army in World War II.

For the Communist Vietcong to achieve their goals of a complete takeover of

southeast Asia, and particularly Vietnam, it has become necessary for them to defeat the U.S. forces in that area. At the earlier stages of the war, the Vietcong boasted of their victories and of their military successes against both the Vietnamese and the United States. When the United States commenced air attacks on North Vietnam in February 1965, the Communist propaganda began changing from the accounts of military successes to bragging about antiwar protests and marches within the United States.

Just 48 hours after the first air attack on North Vietnam by the United States on February 9, 1965, the great anti-American propaganda riots were launched against the American Embassy in Moscow. In this riot, students under the direction of the Government threw bricks and ink against the Embassy, and destroyed several Embassy cars. It was rather ludicrous, however, that before this spontaneous riot, the Embassy was called and told to keep personnel away from the Embassy windows, so that no one would be hurt.

This is reminiscent of an experience a few years ago in Bucharest, Rumania, where a similar but small scale anti-American riot was staged. Government trucks hauled up stone and bricks and dumped them near the American Embassy and the next day returned, hauling the spontaneous student demonstrators to throw the stones.

After the Moscow anti-American demonstrations, similar riots were staged in other Communist countries and by Communist groups in other countries in Asia and Africa. The United States did not react to these riots as the Communists may have expected, but accelerated its attacks against the Vietcong. Russia and China and other Communist countries made many threats of violence against the United States unless it withdrew, but we kept up our military pressure on the Vietcong.

Then the so-called American student demonstrations began for the same avowed purpose as the Moscow demonstrations; namely, to force the United States to withdraw from Vietnam. To try to accomplish this, some American professors and student groups have publicly expressed their desires that the Vietcong should win over American forces. They have sent money to the Vietcong, and have attempted to stop American troop trains; they have held teach-ins at which our foreign policy and our leaders are held up to scorn and ridicule; they have burned their draft cards, and have held in the past and plan for the future, protest marches on Washington.

These demonstrators apparently fail to realize that their actions indicate a weakness and breakdown in the United States which in reality is not the case, but which may encourage the Communists to believe the United States will capitulate. These demonstrations could lead to a vast expansion of the war which they say they are attempting to stop.

These demonstrators express little interest in or sympathy for the South Vietnamese who have been murdered, tortured, and displaced by the invading Vietcong; nor for those Americans killed in combat at a time when it appeared we were losing the war. Now that we are returning blow for blow, these riots abroad and the demonstrations at home are being waged at an increasing tempo seeking to frighten and deter the United States and to cause us to capitulate to the Communists, giving them a victory which they could never hope to gain by military strength.

We hear the constant refrain, "We should negotiate, not fight" and that we must have a "political instead of a military solution for Vietnam." Both of these suggestions, if they were possible and could be achieved with justice, are infinitely preferable to war. However, even the most naive should realize that such solutions are dependent upon the willingness of the Communist nations backing the Vietcong to negotiate and the degree of dependence we can put in the outcome of any negotiations. The Vietcong absolutely refuses to negotiate, relying on the belief that the United States will capitulate. These so-called peace demonstrators who are demanding U.S. withdrawal and then a second Geneva conference disregard the fact that if the Vietcong would obey the Geneva conference of 1954 and withdraw north of the 17th parallel as they agreed, then the war would be ended.

On my desk are translations from official publications of the Red Chinese and North Vietnamese Communist Parties. These translations clearly indicate that, as the United States increases its forces in Vietnam and moves from the defensive to the offensive, the press in North Vietnam discusses the actual military operation less and less but increases its forebodings of the discontent and breakdown of the war effort within the United States itself.

Two newspapers, Peoples Daily of Peiping, China, and Nhan Dan of North Vietnam, carry the same propaganda line as does the Communist mouthpiece in the United States, the Worker—formerly the Daily Worker. Peoples World—the Communist publication of the Pacific coast; Pravda, the New China News Agency International Service, and the Hanoi radio publicize American teach-ins and antiwar demonstrations almost simultaneous with their happening.

To those who have had little experience with Russia or China and know little of their history and people, these happenings seem frightening and confusing. However, after a close scrutiny of the patterns of aggression of Russia and China, even for centuries before Lenin and Stalin were born, their current actions would cause no surprise.

In the extensive study and research which I did for the writing of "Russian Frontier: From Muscovy to Khrushchev," I traced the pattern of aggression through the centuries as Russia grew from the small principality of Muscovy to the tremendous empire that it is today. Time after time I saw Russia win by threats, broken promises, chicanery, and subversion when their armies could not accomplish the goal. Russia, China, and Japan have made great use of the military strategy set out by Sun Tzu, a Chinese military writer and general of 25 centuries ago. Typical statements of Sun Tzu are:

> All warfare is based on deception. Hence, when able to attack we must seem unable. When using our forces we must seem inactive. When near, we must make them believe that we are far away; when far away, we must make them believe that we are near.
>
> As the water avoids the high and seeks the low, so should you avoid the strong and strike the weak.

Deceit and duplicity are considered with pride by the Communists, as suggested in statements from Stalin:

> Words must have no relation to action—otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, actions another. Good words are a mask of concealment of bad deeds.

Lenin is reputed to have said:

> Push out your bayonets. If you strike steel, pull back. If you strike soft flesh, push, push hard.

Truong Chinh, a North Vietnamese leader, wrote "A Primer for Revolt," in 1946, which is probably the best treatise on the theory of guerrilla warfare that has ever been written. It is far superior to the relatively unimaginative works by Mao Tse-tung on the same subject. The teachings of this book clearly were used by Gen. Nguyen Giap, the North Vietnamese general who, in 1954, captured Dienbienphu. Perhaps if the French military leaders had studied "A Primer for Revolt," the results of the fiasco at Dienbienphu would have been different. General Giap, who at one time was a French history professor, is today in overall command of the Vietcong forces and is still following the philosophy so well depicted in "A Primer for Revolt."

Perhaps one of the most constructive things our leaders can do is to study "A Primer for Revolt" and all such works that set out the philosophy, military techniques, and historical background of our enemies and our potential enemies. We do have military teams making such studies, but they need to be done in greater detail and depth. In addition it behooves the American public to acquaint themselves with the philosophies and the methodology of our enemies. Then we would understand the happenings and would not allow a few loud-mouthed students and professors to shake our faith in democracy and the American way of life.

The United States, Britain, and France refused to believe "Mein Kampf," in which Hitler clearly explained his plans, and thereby allowed him to almost destroy the world. Our failure to understand Stalin's designs during and after World War II, of which only a casual study would have alerted us, allowed Russia to take over all of Eastern and much of Central Europe during the conferences at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam.

We need to keep ever in mind, however, that when we win in Vietnam, the Communists will still cause us trouble in Berlin, in Cuba, in the Dominican Republic, in the Congo, and scores of other places at home and abroad. And we should keep in mind that when communism is gone, the oncoming would-be

tyrants will devise other methods to enslave men. We must realize that we are still engaged in a cold war that will go on. We do not like the cold war; but we can rise above it in strength and courage and fortitude. One of our great daily papers expressed it thus:

> Americans must realize that the Soviet method is to confuse, divide, and frighten us into accepting their aims and claims when there is no real reason why we should do so. Step by step, year by year, they try to wear down our nerves until we will finally say wearily, "All right, we have had enough. Go ahead and do with us as you will." The slogan will become, "I'd rather be Red than dead."

Unless the American people can understand the real reasons and the goals of our enemy, they will find it all most confusing and upsetting. The weak-hearted may be willing to yield to Communist demands and surrender the freedom of ourselves and our friends, when such surrender is totally unnecessary.

If the United States were willing to bow to the will of the Communist design, we could at least temporarily stop anti-American demonstrations and fighting. If we were willing to pay the price that such activities would entail, we could surrender freedom to Communist aggression on behalf of ourselves, our friends, and our allies. That is the action that the Kremlin and Peiping are planning for us to take. Surrender has been the escape for countless peoples throughout the ages, but thinking Americans know that no civilization has gained by surrender to the tyrant who would "climb on human hearts to reach thrones" whether Nazi, Fascist, Communist, or the thousands of tyrants or would-be tyrants who lived centuries before such names were invented.

We must keep ever before us the lessons of history. There have been only brief periods in history when tryants, either by force or honeyed promises, were not destroying or attempting to destroy the freedom of man. It also is true that all civilizations that were destroyed were probably lost because of a weakness and decay from within that allowed the tryant to destroy their freedom.

Freedom is the priceless heritage of man, but it can be enjoyed only by the brave and strong of heart who are willing to maintain a constant vigil and who are ready to fight for freedom if the need arises.

Insurance Industry: The States Are Acting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, the continuing erosion of our system of dual-federalism is exemplified by attacks on the ability of the States to regulate insurance. Here is an area which Congress, in 1945, judged to be particularly appropriate for State control.

Nevertheless, failures of some high-risk automobile insurers have served as the platform for those who favor more and more centralized control of our country to raise their voices in that immodest and terribly inaccurate cry that "We can do it better."

The premise must be that a Federal system of control would provide more knowledgeable and more dedicated administrators than can be provided by the States. The premise is a false one. And it is demonstrably false.

It is true that companies have failed. It is true that failures in the insurance industry have far-reaching effects.

It is not true that the number of failures is disproportionately high. It is not true that failures can be attributed to State laxity.

It is simply not true that failures would not continue to occur if regulation were in the hands of a central bureaucracy. What of the banks subject to Federal control? Have none of them failed? Of course, they have. And under our free enterprise system, conducted by people subject to the weaknesses of the flesh, this is to be expected.

The fact is that the States have not been remiss. They have done and are doing their job. There is room for improvement. There is always room for improvement. But the record shows that the States have responded.

My point is that this vital and important industry with the tremendous dollar volume and risk element involved is far from being sick. Its successes and concomitant service to the public are so overwhelming when compared with its failures that the investigators stand in awe. State governments deserve their share of the credit. State insurance commissioners and their departments, sensitive and quick to meet the needs of their areas, are to be applauded.

What is the nature of this urge to tinker with a system proven sound, this tendency to damn the whole because of the few?

The insurance industry is unquestionably one of the most important segments of our national economy. Both its social and economic effects have made it an integral part of the foundation for our free enterprise economy.

The insurance companies, as coordinating institutions engaged in allocation and distribution of capital funds, relieve a part of the burden of numerous risks from the shoulders of those who take advantage of the service. In so spreading the risk, not only are third parties protected, but also private funds are released for productive investment.

Due to the great public concern that each component part of the industry remains fiscally sound, it has been accepted that some form of regulation is required. Originally, such regulatory authority vested in the individual States by virtue of the fact that insurance was not considered commerce and therefore not under Federal jurisdiction.

The Supreme Court, in *United States* v. *South-Eastern Underwriters Association*, 322 U.S. 533 (1944), changed this by holding that insurance is interstate commerce and therefore subject to Federal jurisdiction. In 1945, the McCarran-Ferguson Act was passed by the 79th Congress to restore the power to the States. This act was founded on the sound principle that the States were in a better position to regulate the insurance industry than was the Federal Government. That principle is equally appropriate and applicable today.

State legislatures, State commissioners of insurance, and the industry have joined in devising stringent regulations. Operating within the framework of State regulation, appropriate authorities were able to adopt rules to fit local needs. Under this arrangement utilizing the joint judgment and accumulated wisdom of local authorities and industry leaders, reliable systems of laws and regulations have been established which lend themselves to efficacious solutions of problems which are often inevitable and which vary in different States and districts.

It is true that not all of the failures in the insurance industry have been inevitable. Some were the direct result of fraudulent misrepresentations by predators bent on public bilking and milking. But indictments have been issued in cases where mismanagement has been discovered.

The States are taking swift action where required. Steps are being taken to assure full and accurate disclosure of company finances and realistic levels for expected loss reserves. Proper capitalization for high risk insurers is the object of further State regulatory efforts to protect the public.

Failures have not been covered up or ignored. States are adopting measures to allow for immediate action by State officials to move in for the protection of the public when the failure of a company is imminent. In many States, these provisions have long existed and have been vigorously enforced.

While some States may not have adequately regulated insurance or effectively enforced existing regulations, it is equally obvious that great efforts are being made to strengthen the local laws and to achieve proper enforcement. The testimony of the commissioners of insurance from Illinois, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina, before the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee in May of 1965, attested to the continual efforts of those States to keep up to date and to strengthen insurance codes to reach troubled areas and to obtain more funds for better enforcement.

The National Association of Insurance Commissioners is an effective agency for opening channels of communication between the various States to facilitate coordinated action where necessary. Senator THOMAS J. DODD, of Connecticut, in a speech before a group of insurance agents and executives in October of this year, complimented the insurance commissioners for establishing a special committee "to address the problem of the gaps in communication and cooperation among the insurance commissioners of the several States."

The concerted efforts of such a coordinating body and of the various States themselves demonstrate most profoundly that the regulation of the insurance industry is properly vested in the individual States.

In the course of the hearings conducted by the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee on high-risk automobile insurance, the insurance commission of the State of Illinois stated succinctly:

It is my conviction that the tremendous growth of the insurance industry since 1945 has resulted in large part from the careful decision of the Congress of the United States in 1945 in approving the McCarran Act.

Under this assignment to the States of basic responsibilities for policing an industry which grosses close to $40 billion annually, State regulators have been compelled to live closely with the companies doing business within their jurisdictions.

That is as it should be. The insurance industry reaches so intimately into the economy of every home that its most effective regulation must, perforce, come at a level close to the home—and the State regulator is closest to the problems involved.

It is also interesting to note that in reports of this subcommittee in the past the belief has been affirmed "that the regulation of insurance by the States is in the public interest," and that there is no appeal for Federal regulation arising from "any of the important segments of the industry."

In 1963, at a time when a particular bill, S. 1705, was introduced to amend the McCarran-Ferguson Act, I said in a speech before the National Association of Insurance Commissioners:

Since the McCarran-Ferguson Act is sound law today, a heavy burden rests upon those who now advocate revision. A clear case for such amendment must be made. It must be demonstrated that any resulting advantage which any new law might bring will outweigh the loss suffered by impairment of the system and its principles. Included in such a showing must be substantial evidence that there is no other non-Federal way of accomplishing the desired purpose.

There are grave dangers in adopting any amendment to this law, however, nominal, disarming, limited in character or meritorious it may appear on the surface.

Certainly, that burden must be great indeed when it is remembered that under the present law the industry has flourished for the past 20 years with resulting benefit to the economy and to the public.

The basic principles of our Republic dictate that regulation should come from that political unit more closely associated with local operation. Here, it is the States.

Any amendment to the present law must be extensively debated. The initial amendment, no matter how innocent appearing, can open the gates. Again, allow me to quote from the speech delivered to the National Association of Insurance Commissioners:

No well-established concept of freedom can be destroyed by an open, all-inclusive attack. Rather, it is eroded and eventually lost by a series of movements, no single one of which seems of sufficient size to warrant resistance or to raise any suspicion.

The unwary will be caught by surprise and soon dismayed at the tardiness of their attempts to preserve their liberties.

Certainly an industry which serves our economy so well must not be exposed unthinkingly and unnecessarily to the stifling effect of Federal control.

The States are doing their job. Let them continue to do so.

Report to My Constituents on 89th Congress, 1st Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, now that the first session of this Congress is preparing to adjourn, it is time to take a breath and reflect on some of these far-ranging decisions made during the last 9½ months. This session has established a new record for quorum calls and rollcall votes. It has produced many new programs which will have an effect on the lives of every one of us. There are many who feel it has been longer on quantity than on quality.

One of the most disturbing aspects of the session has been the tendency of the administration to pressure measures through without adequate deliberation on the part of the Congress. For example, one of the most important measures in 30 years—the so-called medicare bill, a complex bill containing nearly 300 pages—was rushed through the House in its "three-layer cage" form without public hearings on the part of the Ways and Means Committee. The $1.3 billion Federal aid to education bill was rushed through Congress with one minor amendment in the House and none in the Senate. The Appalachia aid bill was approved by the Senate Public Works Committee after only 2 days of public hearings, shutting off witnesses who wanted to testify. Republican proposals to apply the Appalachian formula to other depressed areas of the country were beaten.

We must remember that we cannot create new Federal programs without considering the impact upon the pocketbook of the already hard-pressed taxpayers. The new domestic programs will require about 33,000 new Federal employees next year. The much publicized $99.7 billion budget submitted by the President last January is likely to exceed $115 billion after passage of supplemental appropriation bills. At the same time substantial requests for more money to meet the costs of the war in Vietnam can be expected in January.

The administration's majority leader in the Senate, Senator MANSFIELD, has predicted that Congress may spend much of its time next session overhauling some of the hastily enacted legislation of this first session. He said:

We have passed a lot of major bills at this session, some of them very hastily, and they stand in extreme need of a going over for loopholes, rough corners, and particularly for an assessment of current and ultimate cost of the framework of our capacity to meet it.

ESTIMATED COST OF PROGRAMS

To illustrate the scope and depth of the new programs passed in this session, here are some examples by categories of estimated authorizations for appropriations, showing first-year costs and cumulative costs:

Example of legislation	1st year cost	Term of authorization
Education	$3,063,500,000	$15,916,750,000
Housing	935,000,000	7,400,000,000
Health	6,729,200,000	33,850,200,000
Welfare	3,390,300,000	11,625,500,000
Conservation-recreation	3,407,100,000	3,833,600,000
Federal employees-military personnel pay increases	1,763,500,000	12,620,645,000
Space programs	5,190,000,000	26,000,000,000
Transportation	575,900,000	645,900,000
Peace Corps-international programs	275,000,000	525,000,000
Total	25,329,500,000	112,417,595,000

The estimated costs above would certainly seem reason enough why Senator MANSFIELD came to the conclusion that we will spend much time next session going over the recently enacted programs "particularly for an assessment of current and ultimate cost in the framework of our capacity to meet it."

While it is impossible to list all legislation considered in this first session, here are some of the major issues and a summary comment on them.

APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT—PUBLIC LAW 89-4

This is a massive public works program—initial cost $1,092,400,000. While I could not do less than favor governmental efforts to promote the economic well-being of our less fortunate citizens, I believe that those efforts should be consistent with the basic concept that private enterprise and self-help are the keystone of national strength, and that massive Federal intervention should be resorted to only as a last and unavoidable measure. The administration bill is objectionable for three major reasons: it is patently discriminatory in offering special Federal assistance in one region only, despite the known existence of equally depressed areas in other parts of the Nation; it would create a new regional supergovernment with absolute veto authority over State and local decisions and thus establish dictatorial power in the person of a single Federal representative on the Appalachian Regional Commission. An alternative Republican proposal, the Resources Development Act, was offered by Representative CRAMER, ranking Republican member of the House Public Works Committee, which would give asisstance to all areas eligible under the accelerated public works program. I voted for the Cramer substitute but could not support the administration bill for the above reasons.

DRUG ABUSE CONTROL AMENDMENTS OF 1965—PUBLIC LAW 89-74

This bill established greater control over the manufacture and distribution of depressant and stimulant drugs, including barbiturates and amphetamines. Prior to reporting this bill to the House,

the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce held lengthy and complete hearings. Testimony presented at the hearing indicates that over 9 billion barbiturate and amphetamine tablets are produced annually in the United States. Of this amount over 50 percent, or 4½ million tablets, are distributed illegally through illicit channels. This is a shocking situation, reaching not just the large cities, but every community and town in the country.

Bartiturates and amphetamines, like most drugs, when used properly under medical prescription and direction, can be effective in the alleviation of illness and suffering. However, when misused they become a social and legal problem which is of grave public concern. Drug abuse is associated with crime, juvenile delinquency, and highway accidents.

There is clearly an urgent need for more effective control over the manufacture and distribution of barbiturates and amphetamines. I strongly supported this legislation.

FEDERAL AID TO ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION—PUBLIC LAW 89-10

Total first-year cost of this program is $1.3 billion. The expressed purpose of this bill is to meet the needs of educationally and economically deprived children, but in addition, it establishes a far-reaching Federal aid to education program which of necessity will provide more and more Federal control of our educational systems in this country. Title I, the heart of the bill, provides some $1.06 billion in aid to local school districts. An examination of the table showing how the funds will be allocated indicates that whoever devised the formula was not advised that the alleged purpose of the bill was to aid the needy: far more money goes to the wealthier counties with very small percentages of deprived children than to the poorest counties with much higher percentages of children from low-income families. Thus, the inequities that currently exist among the various States in terms of how much they can afford to spend on education is perpetuated by the Johnson administration bill.

Under title I the bill appears to leave approval of local programs for educationally deprived children to the State education agency, where such power belongs. However, almost hidden in the language of the bill is the power of the U.S. Commissioner of Education to require that such approval be consistent with the basic criteria established by him. This centralization of power runs throughout the entire bill. For example, under title II, which authorizes $100 million for purchase of textbooks and library materials, the Federal Government will purchase the textbooks and library materials for the States. While the material is to be selected by the States, there is no language to guard against subsequent Federal controls. Under title III, which authorizes $100 million for supplementary education centers, we have separate Federal-local schools teaching youth, training teachers, and responsible only to the U.S. Commissioner of Education.

Under title IV—$100 million over a 5-year period for cooperative research—the Commissioner will select research areas and be involved with curricula, tests, and course content fed into schools from the laboratories and through the Federal-local schools. And under title V—$24 million to "strengthen" State departments of education—the Commissioner will be authorized to assign employees from his office to the State Department of education and vice versa.

Every effort of the Republican minority to amend the legislation in order to clarify its vague language and make clear that local and State control of education should prevail was beaten back. Indeed, there was every effort to shut off all discussion completely. It was, as one Member put it, a case of: "My mind is made up; don't bother me with the facts."

One of the Republican proposals was to give those bearing the major part of school expenses certain credits toward their Federal income tax—included would be tuition expense for higher education. This type of assistance would be free from Federal control over educational policies. Moreover, there would be no need to expand the Federal bureaucracy to administer such a program. It would provide a new and powerful incentive for educational development at the local level where it belongs.

The Federal Government can obtain money to subsidize education only by borrowing, thus adding to the national debt, or by taking it away from taxpayers in the States. Would not the people be much better off to keep their money at home, for programs which local taxpayers themselves approve? The administration bill actually sets up a formidable Federal education system. I doubt very much if that is what the American people want.

SOCIAL SECURITY, MEDICARE—PUBLIC LAW 89-97

There were nearly 300 pages in this complex measure which makes numerous changes in the social security program. Briefly, the major provisions are as follows: For the first time, effective July 1, 1966, there would be established a medicare program for those over 65. This would consist of:

First. A compulsory plan providing for hospital and nursing home care through increased social security payroll taxes on both employee and employer. The patient must pay the first $40 of the hospital bill for the first 60 days, and $10 per day from the 60th to the 90th day.

Second. A voluntary supplementary plan providing payments for physicians and other medical and health services financed through monthly premiums of approximately $3 per person and matched by the Government through general revenues. This is similar to the general voluntary plan offered by Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee.

Third. A greatly expanded medical assistance program through Kerr-Mills Act for needy persons financed through Federal-State matching funds.

In addition to the medical program, the bill makes the following revisions and improvements in the benefit and coverage provisions of the Social Security Act:

First. A 7-percent increase in cash benefits with a minimum of at least $4 per month.

Second. Those persons over 72 with at least 3 quarters coverage—instead of 6 as under present law—to be made eligible for minimum benefits of $35 per month.

Third. Age for dependent children receiving benefits extended from 18 to 22 so long as they remain in school. This is the subject matter of a bill I introduced this year—H.R. 417—as well as in previous years.

Fourth. Widows would be permitted to receive benefits at age 60 with reduced annuity.

Fifth. The Amish and other religious sects which conscientiously object to social security would be exempt from payment of social security taxes.

Sixth. Earnings limitation would be slightly liberalized. A person would be permitted to earn up to $1,200 a year without loss of benefits, from $1,200 to $2,400 there would be $1 lost for every $2 earned and after $2,400 there would be loss of $1 for each $1 earned. My bill, H.R. 415, would permit unlimited earnings.

This legislation came to us under a closed rule, which meant that no amendments could be offered during the course of the debate, and there could be only one motion to recommit in order to substitute provisions. This meant there could be no separate vote on the various alternative medicare plans. A recommittal motion to substitute a Republican voluntary medicare program—which would have offered more benefits—failed.

By including medicare under social security, the whole social security program may be jeopardized because of the high payroll tax which must come from workers and employers. The earnings base for taxes goes from $4,800 to $6,600. An employee earning $6,600 will pay $277.20 in 1966; in 1967 he will pay $290.40. The employer must pay a like amount. This hits hardest those in the lower income levels—especially the young people—some of whom will be paying for many years before they become entitled to any benefits at age 65. Initially the social security-medicare bill carries a price tag of between $6 billion and $7 billion. This will soon escalate to $11 billion or $12 billion. Without a doubt there will have to be even greater social security taxes in the future.

There is a possibility that such a program could lead to a lower quality of medical care for all concerned. We simply do not have enough doctors, nurses, and other personnel to meet the needs. One of the benefits under the bill—post-hospital care in skilled nursing homes—will be very difficult to obtain because very few of such facilities are now in existence. I am afraid the law will be a disappointment to many who look upon it as the solution to their difficulties. In some cases the limits of care imposed will result in inadequate relief for catastrophic illnesses. It will be necessary to

undertake large hospital and nursing home construction projects before the program can really meet the needs expected as well as training of personnel to staff such facilities.

While I generally supported most sections of the social security bill, I preferred the voluntary medicare proposal and its method of financing rather than the compulsory approach financed through increased social security taxes. Therefore, regretfully I could not support the bill on final passage.

WATER QUALITY ACT OF 1965—PUBLIC LAW 89-234

No more important single issue faces our country today than the problem of good water. The steadily increasing pollution of the once-clean waters of the United States has been a problem of immediate concern to all citizens. The magnitude of this problem is so great that a solution must be found in short order, and such a solution will require the concentrated action of all levels of government. We Clevelanders are, perhaps, more aware of this than others because of the condition of our own Lake Erie and Cuyahoga River. In a rare show of unanimity the House passed by a vote of 396-0 a bill—S. 4—aimed at reducing the pollution of our waterways. Under the new program a Federal Water Pollution Control Administration will be established in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. An increase in Federal assistance—on a matching basis—will make possible an acceleration in the construction of municipal waste treatment plants. A new 4-year program of Federal research grants is also authorized to demonstrate ways of controlling wastes from storm and sanitary sewers.

With the continuing increase in our pollution and the growing demands of our industries, Ohio needs more water, and water of high quality. Increased participation by the Federal Government along with State and local cooperation—made possible under this bill—should facilitate further progress in this area, in a partnership in which responsibility is shared. I strongly supported this legislation.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1965—PUBLIC LAW 89-171

The Foreign Assistance Act of 1965, caused a great furor of debate but, as predicted, it emerged with few changes as reported from the committee.

As I pointed out in my speech on the floor, those of us who over the years have been in the battle for foreign aid are suffering from combat fatigue—not because we weary of a long fight but because the program has grown confused and disordered. First things seem to come first except in foreign aid, where first things come second or third—or not at all. For example, through the sale of our surplus commodities we help the underdeveloped feed their ever-growing populations today, but little has been done to help them establish their own agricultural economy to cope with tomorrow's needs.

Instead we disperse our manpower and money in fields of industry, transportation, and multiudes of very costly projects. The result is that we contribute to the growing gap between the agricultural sector and the urban sector of those countries.

After participating in the hearings and studying the testimony before the committee, I was disappointed that the reductions made were so small—just $12.7 million out of the request for $2,004,195,000 of new money. Only two items were cut—one for administrative expenses, which could well be cut, and the other for programs in the field of international organization. In the latter instance, the administration reported that it could not use the money it had originally requested.

In view of these circumstances I voted for the motion to recommit designed to reduce the Development Loan Fund authorization by $131 million. Unfortunately, this failed by a vote of 178 yeas to 219 nays. On final passage—249 to 148—I voted for H.R. 7750 but with more than usual reluctance. Our country has undertaken grave responsibilities and I felt compelled to support our commitments to carry them out. My concern for the program and my vote to reduce it is not an attack on the principles behind it but a protest over the manner in which it is being carried out. It is my hope that the critcisms pointed out during committee hearings and debate will be taken by the executive branch in the constructive manner they were intended, and that we will see an improvement in the administration of programs as a result.

PEACE CORPS—PUBLIC LAW 89-134

The Congress approved a bill authorizing $115 million to finance the operation of the Peace Corps during the next fiscal year. A little more than 4 years ago when the Peace Corps was set up a pilot basis, many of us were quite honestly skeptical that it would fulfill its stated purpose, "to help foreign countries meet their urgent needs for skilled manpower." I was one of those who was skeptical. Today, I consider the Peace Corps one of our better efforts. In these few years, our volunteers have made a real impact. Each of the 45 countries in which the Peace Corps now operates has asked for more volunteers, and there are two dozen additional countries which have asked for the Corps. Since the Peace Corps began, 13,725 volunteers have been sent overseas. Our State of Ohio has produced the fourth largest number of volunteers of any State—654 in all.

The Peace Corps is a wonderful outlet for the earnest, honest spirit of American youth and its deep need to serve others. It appeals to all races and creeds. It provides our young people, and some of our senior citizens as well—70 people over 60 years of age are serving with the Corps—with their enthusiasm and their selflessness, a unique opportunity to do what needs to be done if America—the real America—is going to be understood across the world. It provides an opportunity for dedicated citizens to demonstrate the American dream to million of people in other lands who will never have the opportunity to visit us here.

Our Committee on Foreign Affairs has explored the costs, ratio of staff members to volunteers, and so forth, very carefully. The study indicates the Peace Corps has made a good record in handling its money. The average annual cost per volunteer has gone down consistently, from $9,074 in fiscal 1963 to $7,927 for fiscal 1966. Unlike some Government agencies, the Peace Corps has never shown any tendency to put on a last minute drive to make sure that all of its funds are obligated before the end of the fiscal year. The Peace Corps, it seems, is the least expensive of our foreign assistance projects, and I was happy to add my support to its continuation.

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT—PUBLIC LAW 89-174

The Congress passed H.R. 6927, to establish a Department of Housing and Urban Development. This is not a new idea—you will recall that it was a little more than 3 years ago that the House decisively rejected a similar bill.

Both Democrats and Republicans agreed that urban programs, scattered through many departments and agencies, need a coordinating hand, but there was disagreement on how to achieve this objective. Certainly the administration bill to expand the Federal bureaucracy through establishment of a new Cabinet-level department is not the answer. H.R. 6927 will not include all housing programs nor will it encompass all those programs dealing with our urban areas. However, it will create a new Cabinet member, a new Under Secretary, four Assistant Secretaries, a General Counsel, and an Administrative Assistant Secretary plus more redtape for the municipal governments in cities across the country.

Minority members of the House Government Operations Committee, who considered this legislation, wisely included in their report:

> Bureaucracies once established have a way of growing not only in size but in power. This is especially true with bureaucracies which handle vast sums of public funds.

Although the present programs of the Housing and Home Finance Agency will be included in the proposed Department of Housing, these represent less than one-third of the Federal Government's housing activities. The Veterans' Administration has guaranteed over 5 million home loans and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board as of January 1, 1964, had advanced members $27.1 billion and been repaid $22.3 billion. These two agencies, not included in the new Department, account for two-thirds of the housing financing activities of the Federal Government. Other activities of interest to our urban areas will remain outside the jurisdiction of the new Department. For example, welfare and poverty programs, water pollution, sewage disposal, vocational education, public health activities, the Federal highway program—all would remain under their present jurisdictions in other departments and agencies.

While I could not support the administration bill, I did vote for the motion to recommit, designed to substitute a Republican proposal to establish an Office of Community Development in the Exec-

utive Office of the President. This plan would have provided the coordination and assistance needed by our local and State governments in their relationship with the Federal Government. However, it would avoid the creation of a huge, new Government bureau. Unfortunately, the recommittal motion was defeated 149 to 259.

HOUSING ACT OF 1965—PUBLIC LAW 89-117

The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 was passed by a vote of 245 to 169. Prior to this the very controversial section providing rent subsidies won its place in the bill by a narrow margin of 6 votes—208 to 202. Although there are some good points in the housing program, I voted against the rent supplements and could not support the bill on final passage with such a provision in it. On June 20 I spoke on the floor:

Mr. Chairman, I feel that this bill, instead of just dealing with superficial things, serious as they may be—the housing of our people—deals with something infinitely deeper and more serious.

I finished with these words:

I am wondering if you are at all aware of the dangers of this new doctrine? Are you quite certain that when you make it possible for a man to feel little if any responsibility for his home, you are not endangering the very foundation stones of our free land? I am wondering also whether such an attitude can hold a real woman's love and earn the respect of children.

Other speakers emphasized the duplications with public housing and the fact that whereas public housing is financed through bond issues carrying an interest rate of 3¼ percent, the rent supplement housing must be constructed under FHA rates of 5¾ percent. Thus it reflects a surrender to high mortgage interest rates.

It is claimed that this Federal rent subsidy program is designed to help low-income families meet their monthly rent payments. But it will do far more than that. The power given the Housing Administrator to determine income limits, and so forth, is supreme. Eligibility income limits could run over $11,000 a year in some localities. Is this low income? Let me point out a few of its obvious results. Basically the family is the keystone of the arch of the nation. It has been our dream that each family would own its own home. But H.R. 7984 shoves that dream out the window. All incentives for homeownership are abandoned.

Even the most ardent supporters of the rent supplement proposal admit that it is definitely an experiment. But can we afford a $6 billion experiment which could well undermine the moral fiber of our people? How long will it take to change us from a nation of homeowners to a nation of subsidized renters? At a time when we need to renew our moral strength and spiritual fiber, is it not tragic for us to take from even a part of our people the consuming need to be responsible? What a way we have come from the time our forefathers carved their homes out of the wilderness with little more than an ax.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT AMENDMENTS—PUBLIC LAW 89-253

A total of $785.4 million was appropriated last year for the poverty program and as of the end of May 1965, about $650 million had to be obligated. Most of the funds were hurriedly committed during the closing month of the fiscal year.

Although it was admitted by administration spokesmen that it was not possible to judge some of the programs as they were only in the initial stages of operation, this year's bill more than doubles last year's authorization. It is interesting to note that the Office of Economic Opportunity had asked for $1.5 billion for fiscal 1966, but it was increased by the majority of the committee to $1.895 billion. This is broken down as follows: Title I, Job Corps, work training and work-study programs, $825 million; title II, urban and rural community action programs, $680 million; title III, special programs for rural areas, migrant workers, $70 million; title V, work experience and training—adults—$300 million; title VI, VISTA volunteers—volunteers in service to American or Domestic Peace Corps—$20 million.

This year's legislation follows closely the bill passed last year with the exception of asking for more money and with the seriously objected to major change removing the only effective State control over Federal poverty programs, to wit: the veto power of the Governor. It gives authority to the Poverty Director to veto the veto of a Governor. This action has been strongly opposed by Governors of both parties inasmuch as it takes away from them their only check on the Federal Government and its determination as to what is good for a State.

The brief hearings by the Committee on Education and Labor on the community action program were shut off abruptly over the protests of committee Republicans. The Republicans then set up a task force, holding hearings in various parts of the country, in an attempt to get a true evaluation of the various programs.

As a result, a number of constructive proposals were made—all of which were turned down by the administration. A recommittal motion was offered to restore the veto power of the Governors and reduce the authorization of funds to the current level. I supported this motion but it was defeated 178 to 227. Therefore, I voted against final passage. It does not seem wise nor businesslike to double our country's financial commitment in a venture that has been initiated so recently and its usefulness has not yet been proven and which is little more than 50 percent operational—a venture that is entirely novel and which from its very inception raises very many practical questions. As was predicted in the debate last year, great administrative and substantive problems have arisen in the program—as worthy as its goals may be. It was my hope that these problems would receive close attention in this session by the committee, and I am sorry to say that they have not.

THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT PUBLIC LAW 89-110

Debate on this important voting rights measure was spirited for 4 days. While there was general agreement that some Federal measure should be enacted, there was a sharp division between backers of the administration bill, introduced by Representative EMANUEL CELLER, of New York, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, and the Republican substitute, by Congressman WILLIAM MCCULLOCH, of Ohio. Incidentally, the Republican task force on voting rights, under the leadership of Mr. MCCULLOCH, called for voting rights legislation long before any proposal was advanced by the administration.

The most outstanding difference between the approaches of the two bills was in the triggering provisions which bring the Federal law into play. The automatic trigger in the Celler bill provides that Federal examiners shall be sent into States in which less than 50 percent of the voting-age population was registered or voted in the 1964 general election and in which certain literacy tests and devices were used to determine qualifications for voting. At present, this applies only to seven States and a few counties in other States even though hard-core discrimination exists in many other areas of the country. On the other hand, the McCulloch bill called for action whenever the Attorney General certified to the Civil Service Commission that he had received valid complaints from 25 or more persons who allege they could meet the voting requirements but had been denied the vote on account of race or color. An examiner would be appointed and if he determined that in fact 25 or more of the complaints were valid, those found qualified would be placed on the voting rolls as eligible voters. Thus, the Republican substitute would have applied equitably throughout our Nation.

The McCulloch bill also attempted to set Federal penalties for election fraud aside from racial discrimination, to insure not only the voting rights of all Americans, but to wipe out the practice of illegal voting, such as votes cast by those who have already voted in other precincts or voters who are no longer even alive. Fortunately, an amendment, sponsored by Representative CRAMER, Republican, of Florida, which attempts to get at such practices, was adopted.

I voted for H.R. 6400 on final passage after the McCulloch bill failed on the recommittal motion. The 15th amendment provides that the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged by any State on account of race or color and authorizes the Congress to enforce this amendment by appropriate legislation. The right to cast a meaningful vote lies at the very heart of our republican form of government.

PUBLIC WORKS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT—PUBLIC LAW 89-136

This legislation is basically a pump-priming measure, which means that it should be used when the status of our economy shows clear evidence that this kind of approach is necessary. It au-

thorizes $3.3 billion to be spent over the next 5 years in grants and loans for various public works projects and to aid establishment of industries in areas of substantial unemployment. The definition of eligible areas is vague, leaving much discretion to the Secretary of Commerce.

The administration repeatedly in the last few months, through statements and news releases, has called attention to the fact that it expects this year will set many new records from the standpoint of the height of our economy. In this case, should we be passing a $3.3 billion pump-priming bill at this time?

We have a deficit that we incurred in the fiscal year just completed, ending June 30, 1965, of approximately $3.5 billion. The Treasury Department has estimated the deficit for the next fiscal year will be $5.3 billion. Under such circumstances, it does not seem logical to saddle the taxpayers with this additional spending program.

The General Accounting Office has submitted 17 adverse reports on the administration of the Area Redevelopment Act as it has existed to the present time. In each of these reports, the Comptroller General has stated he feels this program should be tightened up. Yet the recommendations of the administration as incorporated in this bill loosens the program even further. In recent years we have had a whole series of programs brought to the floor of the House and in each case the argument has been made that if that particular program was passed, we would be able to solve the problems of unemployment. Among the programs passed in this Congress alone are: the $1.9 billion antipoverty bill, the $1 billion Appalachian Development bill, and a $7.5 billion housing bill. Now we add a $3.3 billion public works bill.

With our actual national debt over $318 billion and the debt limit set at $328 billion with the President calling for ever-increasing expenditures on the Vietnam conflict, this did not seem the appropriate time to pass a $3.3 billion loosely drawn, pump-priming measure. Therefore, I voted against this bill.

OMNIBUS FARM BILL—PUBLIC LAW 89-321

I opposed the omnibus farm bill which is largely an extension of existing subsidy programs which have failed in the past, and the establishment of several new programs—cotton subsidy and increased wheat subsidy—that will necessarily result in the spending of billions of dollars in the next 4 years. An amendment was adopted, largely through Republican efforts, to eliminate the bread tax by financing the wheat subsidy through general revenues rather than increasing the price of bread and other wheat products. Nevertheless, the programs have not proven to be good for either farmers, consumers, or taxpayers. Ten years ago the farmer received 42 cents from each consumer food dollar. Today he receives only 37 cents, less than in the depression days of 1935. Retail food prices have increased 29 percent in the last 16 years, while the net income of agriculture has gone down 29 percent.

Even though the cost-price squeeze has forced more and more farmers off the land, the cost of running the Department of Agriculture has increased. In 1933 there was 1 USDA employee for every 203 farms. In 1961 the ratio was 1 to 37, and today there is 1 USDA employee for every 32 farms. In spite of substantial increases in Government payments to farmers—estimated at $2.4 billion in 1965—net farm income has not been materially improved. Government investment in surplus farm crops still stands at $7 billion. H.R. 9811 only perpetuates this unfortunate record. It will make more difficult constructive efforts to establish a sound and workable farm program that serves the best interests of farmers, consumers, and taxpayers. Just as the problems of our urban areas cannot be solved by transferring them to Washington, the farm problem will not be solved by making a "czar" of the Secretary of Agriculture.

A NEW IMMIGRATION ACT—PUBLIC LAW 89-236

Effective July 1, 1968, the bill repeals the national origins quota system, which has regulated only one-third of our total immigration in the last 10 years but has been harmful in the conduct of our diplomatic affairs. From December 1, 1965, until July 1, 1968, unused quota numbers will be pooled and reallocated among the countries with heavily oversubscribed registration lists. Under this procedure those intending immigrants who have already satisfied the qualitative tests for admission but whose admission has been delayed by reason of present quotas, may be admitted. Overall immigration is limited to 170,000 annually, exclusive of the Western Hemisphere, but this number includes provision for 10,200 refugees so that the net figure represents a very slight increase over the present quota of 158,561.

The system of preferences has been revised so that hereafter primary emphasis will be upon the reuniting of families. A program for conditional admission of refugees from communism and totalitarianism will be incorporated into our immigration law and the fair share law repealed. This means that hereafter selection of refugees and control of the number to be admitted will no longer be subject to an international organization. The new bill provides for a far more restrictive policy with respect to the admission of persons to enter our labor market. Under its terms, petitions must be filed by those coming for employment and, more particularly, by all immigrants from the Western Hemisphere, and the Secretary of Labor must make an affirmative determination in each individual case that the immigrant does not preempt a resident of the United States from a job opportunity or upset competitive wage scales. There are a number of other tightening-up provisions in the bill, including a requirement for a report from the President to the Congress if immigration from the Western Hemisphere should increase substantially.

In my judgment this bill, providing for a selective immigration program which places first emphasis upon the reuniting of families, the need of our country and the protection of our economy, is constructive legislation. I voted for it and supported it.

EXCISE TAX RELIEF—PUBLIC LAW 89-44

One of the more constructive actions of this session was passage of legislation to repeal or reduce most excise taxes. For years I have sought to repeal these taxes because they have been discriminatory and unfair. Most of them were enacted as special temporary wartime measures, but they lingered on for all these years. As a sponsor of bills calling for repeal, I strongly supported this legislation.

PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION AND INABILITY—SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 1

The recent, and happily successful, removal of President Johnson's gall bladder underlined the wisdom of the approval by this Congress of an amendment to our Constitution which will insure continuity should the Chief Executive be incapacitated. Before the amendment can take effect it must be ratified by 38 States. It will permit the President to nominate a Vice President, should that office become vacant, who would take office if the President's choice is approved by a majority of both Houses of Congress. In case of Presidential incapacity, the Vice President and a majority of the Cabinet could make a determination of inability. In the event of a disagreement with the President on this point, the Congress would render the final judgment. I supported this amendment.

HIGHER EDUCATION ACT OF 1965—PUBLIC LAW 89-329

This bill, which I supported when it initially passed the House, as well as the final action on the House-Senate conference report authorizes a $2.6 billion program to aid State support of community service programs of colleges, grants to their libraries for training and research, acquisition of materials, and teaching fellowships and scholarships. Unfortunately, the Senate attached a Federal Teacher Corps program to this bill. Under this program, the U.S. Commissioner of Education would recruit, train, and assign teachers to teach in local school districts. The Federal Government would pay the full cost of training and salaries. I opposed this provision as it would seem there is nothing which would better promote Federal control of education than Federal subsidization of teachers' salaries. Also there was no real opportunity for House debate and consideration. The operation of the Federal Teacher Corps has been temporarily delayed because funds were denied by a joint House-Senate conference committee on appropriations. However, the administration certainly will be back requesting money for the Corps next January.

MY OWN BILLS

Among my bills I have sponsored this session have been the following: H.R. 415, to amend the Social Security Act so as to remove the amount of outside income which an individual may earn while receiving benefits; H.R. 416, to make educational benefits available to peacetime veterans; H.R. 417, to amend the Social

Security Act to make it possible for a dependent child to continue receiving benefits to age 22—included in Public Law 89-97; H.R. 420, to authorize the commissioning of male persons in the Regular Army in the Army Nurse Corps and the Army Medical Specialist Corps, and the Regular Air Force; H.R. 421, to make the fraudulent use of credit cards in interstate commerce a Federal offense; H.R. 4226, to repeal excise taxes—similar bill passed, Public Law 89-44; H.R. 7204, to guarantee the right to vote under the 15th amendment to the Constitution; H.R. 11320, to allow a credit against income tax for college tuition expense; H.R. 11320, to allow a credit against income tax to employers for the expense of providing training programs for employees and prospective employers.

CONCLUSION

These are exciting times and it is a very great privilege to serve the 22d Ohio District in the many areas of national life that grow increasingly important all the time. May I express my appreciation to each of you for the support given me during this present session of the Congress.

Peace Corps Report From Nigeria

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIBORNE PELL

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, all of us I know are proud and pleased with the good work being done in the far-off corners of the world by our fine young men and women in the Peace Corps. They are the true frontiersmen of our time, translating the restless zeal of their generation into positive and constructive action, at no great material gain to themselves.

As a Senator, I find that one of the most rewarding features of the Peace Corps program is the fact that we occasionally receive firsthand reports from these energetic young people. Their observations, coming as they do through fresh and idealistic eyes, are often most cogent and stimulating.

A recent letter I received from Nigeria is a good case in point. It was written by David C. Woolman, of Providence, R.I., who has been serving as a Peace Corps volunteer in a teacher-training college in northern Nigeria. His letter was most interesting, both for its details about Nigeria and for his views on the role of the Peace Corps in Africa. Under unanimous consent I place Mr. Woolman's letter in the RECORD at this point:

TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE,
Mubi, Sardauna Province,
Nigeria, West Africa.

The HONORABLE CLAIBORNE PELL,
Senator from Rhode Island,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PELL: I am teaching 30 hours a week in a teacher training college in northern Nigeria. This institution is chiefly concerned with preparing teachers to instruct school children at the primary level. The curriculum most nearly approximates that encountered in the fifth and sixth grades and junior high school in the United States. In teaching we emphasize instructional methods through classroom demonstration and varied presentation of content. In their final year the students do mostly observed practice teaching in local primary schools. Graduates of the training college are required to teach for 2 years in the primary schools of their particular region. It is the hope of the Government that they will continue primary school teaching as a career, for this is the most neglected area of Nigerian education. Unfortunately the monetary incentives are too meager and the urge for personal advancement too pressing to justify such a career for most Nigerians who have tasted advanced education. Nevertheless these training colleges are working directly to fill a trained-manpower shortage; as such, the concrete nature of this work is most satisfying to me.

The training college has a student body of about 200 and a staff of 10. The students come from as far away as 600 miles and reside in compounds of two-man circular thatched huts (the traditional West African architectural unit). The great distances these students have to travel are a result of the limited educational facilities of Sardauna Province which was formerly the area of German Kameroons and which, after World War I, was mandated to Britain by the League of Nations. After Nigeria's independence in 1960, the area's fate was decided by a United Nations supervised plebiscite in which the population elected to join Nigeria. This region is now Nigeria's most underdeveloped area, and, because of its lateness in appending itself to Nigeria, it has not been included in the nation's first 10-year development plan. The staff of the college consists of five Nigerians, three British expatriates and two U.S. Peace Corps volunteers.

I am teaching English, English literature, history, and physical education. There are times when the teacher learns more English than the students, and, when it comes to African history which is a totally new field for a European history major, I am keeping one lesson ahead of the class, but on the whole the work is so new and fast-breaking that it can't help but be stimulating. Upon my arrival the principal for some strange reason decided that I looked like a physical education specialist. Shrugging aside my own lacklustre efforts in track, I decided to undertake coaching the track team which faced a zonal meet in 3 weeks and was in miserable shape even to my untrained eyes. I soon rationalized that any victory would be one of spirit and not preparation, for two-thirds of the team were Moslems who were in the midst of their month of fasting or Ramadan. Allah was with us, and we took third in a field of six by edging out two Christian missionary schools. Following this my appetite for coaching was whetted; in searching for new potential I developed a junior team from the lower grades which overwhelmed strong opposition in its first dual meet. We are now busy building for next year's zonal competition. I am finding coaching to be a creative and self-sustaining activity, for in athletics the person-to-person communication and the sense of working toward and attaining concrete goals brings satisfaction which is not often possible in the classroom where the labors of teaching seem at times to take place in a vacuum.

I have always suspected and am beginning to be convinced that much of the success of an idea such as Peace Corps depends more upon the extent of relationships which the volunteer can enter into with people than upon the actual job to which he is assigned. Ideally the work should and often does lead to meaningful friendships, but often a job is pursued to the exclusion of equally vital personal circulation.

It would be naive to assume that Peace Corps is not met with mixed emotions. Part of these negative reactions may stem from the British system of expatriate settlement which still seems to govern relations between African and European in northern Nigeria. The segregating nature of this setup results in barriers which can complicate free movement in society for the non-African. These barriers are not created by the African but exist more as a feeling of estrangement, a type of conditioned separation, which has become traditional. The person who elects to go between the two societies if often met by surprise, misunderstanding, and even suspicion; this is a natural reaction of a traditional system to actions that are not within its logic. Feelings of being ill at ease or out of place are normal and must be seen as a result of one's strangeness to the situation rather than of any African inhospitality. Indeed, hospitality is probably far more deeply indigenous to African society than to our own, but the mannerisms are so different that one is not immediately aware of it. The present social caste was not an African but a European concept which was happily married to the rigid conservatism of an Islamic political state in northern Nigeria; as such any judgments about society must be made with extreme caution, for so much of the true African personality has been altered or distorted by long years of colonialism and the rapid onset of modernity.

In working side by side with expatriates, who are on contract which includes normal salary and annual leaves and who live insulated from the African community in government residential areas, the volunteer is naturally identified as just another European. Some Nigerians find the position of the volunteer difficult to understand and even suspicious by contrast to the salaried European teacher. I have talked with university educated and intellectually inclined Nigerians who resent the charity implications of Peace Corps and distrust the presence of people who, they feel, come with an avowed goal or mission. The key to these problems lies in the issues of volunteerism. These negative interpretations of Peace Corps may partially result from a misassociation of volunteers with the philosophy and practice of missionary activity which is in growing disrepute among certain classes of Nigerians; in a broader context this problem is illustrative of the dilemma of foreign aid whereby any act of giving offends the will to be self-sufficient. This noxious aspect of foreign aid is a reality which has long plagued our foreign policy, but it is disappointing to learn that it can be applied to human as well as to financial aid. Suspicion of the possible ulterior motivation of the volunteer, a logical deduction from his lack of monetary incentives, is a problem peculiar to the Peace Corps approach.

In view of our position in the world today, existence without ulterior motivation is an impossibility, for that is the essence of taking a stand as opposed to being neutral. I feel we should look to the Peace Corps to sidetrack the traditional weaknesses of our foreign aid program through the vehicle of personal friendships contracted for their own sake. The volunteer must project himself into the society within which he is working; it is a task which demands involvement rather than aloofness and puts a greater priority upon personality than upon job competence. There is nothing herculean about this task, for usually if you just go about your normal pattern of living you come upon acquaintances naturally. I can say of my own experiences thus far that there has never been a dull moment, and I find the whole thing is going by too quickly for my liking.

Sincerely,

DAVID WOOLMAN.

The Record the Administration Doesn't Talk About

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, we hear a great deal about the accomplishments of this administration and the 89th Congress. There were many accomplishments and I was happy to do my part in writing a record which could be classified as great in the field of conservation, air and water pollution, and other areas. Yet, an honest look at the 89th Congress and the Johnson administration gives some cause for thought. I am reminded of a statement Mark Twain made at one time. He said that the Bible gave him some concern and doubts. He added that his real problem came from the fact that these doubts came from the part he understood and not from those he did not understand. When you understand what this administration is trying to accomplish with the virtual "yes, sir" approval of a rubberstamp suppliant Congress, you can well have cause for concern and doubt.

There was little real effort to get to the root of our many problems but instead this Democrat administration and Congress persist in their traditional approach of setting up bureaucratic agencies, delegating broad authority, and furnishing billions of the taxpayers' dollars. Poverty, unemployment, agriculture, and metropolitan areas are but a few of the areas of legislative concern where we see the same patchwork quilt approach which did little but add to the problem. In the case of the poverty program, for example, no area in recent years has been shown to be so poorly administered, so politically inspired, and so top heavy with bureaucracy and yet the Congress continued this travesty on commonsense and doubled the appropriation to almost $2 billion. In the area of farm legislation, no real effort was made to correct the many problems facing the farm family. Instead, the same bureaucractic approach of forcing programs on the backs of the farmers and taxpayers—programs that the farmers had rejected in their referendum—was continued. Controls have been extended in sugar and coffee legislation and the consumer and taxpayer must pay for it.

One of the prime areas where we see this administration and rubberstamp Congress turning a deaf ear is in the vital area of trade balances, foreign imports, and dumping of foreign products in the United States of America. Our distressing trade policy is a hodge-podge of inconsistencies, fumbling, and generosity which again must be paid for by the businessman, the worker, the farmer, and the taxpayer. President Johnson and his Congress act as if this is no problem and increase the quotas for the dumping of residual oil into the country, thus depriving thousands of coal miners of their jobs and bestowing an economic bonanza on foreign nations who often desert us when we fight the Communists in Vietnam or the United Nations.

All in all, the approach of this administration and Congress has been one which should cause grave concern and doubts. In the face of economic difficulties they voted to increase the national debt ceiling, spent at unprecedented levels, stretched the arm of bureaucratic control over more and more of the private and free sector of our economy, started us on the road to devaluing our currency, added tens of thousands to the Federal payroll and forwarded the concept of a socialistic federal government to answer all of mankind's ills.

A LOOK AT THE RECORDS

It is usual for the administration spokesmen to point out the record prosperity that we have with figures citing the gross national product, profits, employment, and so forth. No one would argue with the fact that many of these records do indicate unprecedented prosperity. However, there is the expedient standard utilized which points out only the good side and minimizes the other factors which should be taken into consideration. Basic to all of these considerations is the fact that this administration is hopelessly embarked on an uncharted course into fiscal irresponsibility with mounting deficits and an increased inability to constitutionally balance the Federal budget. Appropriations this year passed the $119 billion mark and in many cases multibillion dollar programs have gotten only meager appropriations now which will explode like a time bomb in mushrooming the budget in the future. Let us look at a few of the records which the Johnson administration does not care to talk about:

The national debt reached a record high, standing at $317.6 billion at the end of fiscal year 1965.

The 1st session of the 89th Congress has appropriated more money than any earlier Congress, except in time of world war. Appropriations this year total $119.3 billion, $36 billion more than the last Eisenhower Congress in 1960.

The gold holdings of the Federal Government reached a record low in August 1965 when they amounted to $13.9 billion, down $1.5 billion since the end of 1964.

The cost of living reached a record high in July 1965, when the Consumers' Price Index was 110.2—1957–59=100.

During the second quarter of 1965 total spending by the Federal Government reached a record high except in time of world war, rising to $120.8 billion at an annual rate.

The wholesale price index hit a record high in September 1965, rising to 103.7—1957–59=100—3 percent above the level of December 1964.

Consumer debt reached a record high in July of 1965 at a level of almost $81 billion.

Nonfarm mortgage debt stands at a record high, in excess of $200 billion.

Nonfarm mortgage foreclosures at more than 108,000 homes in 1964 were at a record high since 1938. Nineteen hundred and sixty-five foreclosures are higher. The second quarter of 1965 was 6 percent above the second quarter of 1964.

Strikes in August 1965 idled 220,000 workers who lost 2.3 million man-days of employment, the highest record since 1959.

Crime keeps setting new records, rising 5 percent above the 1964 rate for the first half of 1965. In 1964 serious crimes were 13 percent higher than 1963. Since 1958 serious crime has increased 6 times as fast as the growth of population.

Farm debt, up nearly 50 percent since 1961, stands at a record high. Expenditures of the Department of Agriculture are at a record high. The number of employees of the Department is at a record high.

Public assistance payments by Government reached an all-time high of $5.1 billion in 1964.

Columnist David Lawrence hit the nail on the head in his recent column when he wrote:

> It's natural for an administration which has behind it a rubberstamp Congress to try to brainwash the public by boasting about the quantity of bills passed. But it's not the quantity of laws enacted or the vast amounts of taxpayers' money spent that counts—it's the quality of the legislation and what the American people will get in return. The principal fault of the Congress which has just completed its first session was the indifference shown to waste and to the need for safeguarding the people's interest against political corruption.

Mr. Lawrence went on to point out that one of the persistent mistakes of the 89th Congres was to hastily enact programs in the field of welfare—medicare, poverty, education—and choose the wrong way rather than the right way to solve the problem. As he put it:

> Haste is too often rationalized as at least getting a start on reforms which, it is argued, have too long been neglected.

This is the usual liberal argument that the ends justify the means and pork barrel tactics pour so much money out that the shortcomings of the program are not seen right away. Take medicare for example. A course was chosen which will bring compulsory medical control and will foster dependency rather than encourage self-reliance. I was one of those who advocated programs which would be far more successful and comprehensive while at the same time avoiding big government and the socialistic concept of dependency. By simply spending billions of dollars, however, some good will result and the flaws will not be seen until we are well down the road that the Federal bureaucrats are taking us.

A DO-NOTHING CONGRESS?

Mr. Lawrence went on to sum up this Congress by saying it might just as aptly be called a do-nothing Congress as those generous descriptions affixed by the advocates of big government and deficit spending. Some of the areas where the Congress failed are:

Congress did nothing to curb or stop the rise of serious crime in America.

Congress did nothing to stop the irresponsible spending of billions of dollars of taxpayers' money as the purchasing power of the dollar steadily weakened.

Congress did nothing to halt the reckless misuse of union power in the industrial field.

Congress did nothing to stop the use of the strike weapon as a means of demoralizing an industry, forcing higher prices and causing the shutdown of factories and plants because of artificially imposed costs by labor organizations.

Congress did nothing to protect the rights of companies in the free-enterprise system to carry out management functions. It permitted instead the use of boycotts and picket lines to paralyze many a business which did not conform to union demands.

Congress did nothing to curtail the abuses that are going on abroad in the foreign aid program.

Congress did nothing about trading with the enemy. Although Congress has the power to make war in Vietnam, it did not insist that all countries aiding the Communists in southeast Asia should not be given the benefits of world trade.

Congress did nothing to prevent injustices against public school systems which are punished because they do not obey arbitrarily phrased edicts of the Federal Government.

Congress did nothing to straighten out the long-overdue overlapping in tax systems between the Federal and local governments.

Congress, although it investigated the Ku Klux Klan, did nothing about investigating the activities on the campuses of many colleges and universities where Communist subversion has appeared in incipient stages.

Congress did nothing about a code of ethics that should govern all Federal employees.

Congress did nothing to curb the power of labor unions to stop American ships from going to foreign countries, to halt railroad trains and to paralyze the operations of our major industries.

I might add that the Congress did nothing to aid wheat farmers in Ohio who are still unjustly treated by lumping our Soft Red Winter wheat in with the quotas of Western wheat. Our wheat is not and has not been in surplus, but the Department of Agriculture continues the arbitrary controls which adversely affect our farmers.

Congress did nothing about Communist Cuba which is a threat to the Western Hemisphere. Despite all evidence to the contrary, this administration insists that Cuba is not a base for subversion.

Congress and the administration did nothing about establishing a freedom academy to direct our efforts toward developing effective world leadership to challenge Communist political and ideological advances throughout the world.

The Congress did not take action on an issue which evinced tremendous public interest this year; namely, apportionment. As of early November of this year 30 State legislatures had requested a constitutional amendment to reverse the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision requiring both houses of a State legislature to be apportioned by population only. In contrast, not one entire legislature of any State approved the Supreme Court's ruling, with one house only in both the Illinois and New York Legislatures in agreement with the Supreme Court. In the face of such public interest in this issue, pressure maneuvers from the White House were curiously missing.

States such as my own State of Ohio have been forced to reapportion because of a failure to act on Republican proposals such as the Dirksen amendment. I sponsored such a proposal. The Democrat platforms at the national level and in Ohio expressed their support of the Supreme Court decision, and thus many counties in my State will lose their own representative because of this failure to act and restore to States their constitutional right to determine the composition of their own legislative bodies.

Congress failed to act on legislation which would have removed the cloud which currently hangs over the entire matter of prayer in public schools. It can readily be seen that we failed to act in about as many areas as we acted. This was due in large part to reverse arm twisting. Not only is this accomplished to achieve the passage of desired legislation, it is also used to block reforms which are badly needed but are not desired by the White House.

This administration has not satisfied school officials that national legislation affecting primary and secondary schools will not increase Federal jurisdiction over local schools. Dr. William Elena, associate secretary of the American Association of School Administrators, who has talked to at least 5,000 school superintendents in the past 4 months, described their reaction to the new law as "troubled and uncertain." According to Dr. Elena some school administrators seeking information at the U.S. Office of Education here in Washington "have been treated very shabbily," and the new people at USOE delegated to write the new rules and regulations are "people who have never had a day's experience in school administration." In addition, Dr. Elena stated the school administrators are concerned lest Federal funds for textbooks and library materials, provided in the new law, lead to federally dictated content.

ATTITUDE IS EXAMINED

Yes, you can readily see that there is another side to the story. As much as anything else, the attitude of our leaders is one which should cause concern. Constitutional checks and balances are scoffed at and this administration believes that it has a mandate to rewrite any of our basic concepts that it chooses. U.S. Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel has embarked on a massive Federal control of education and has asserted that education is too important to leave to the educators or local boards of education. Probably the best indication of this attitude was the announcement by President Johnson at the end of the session that he didn't like a law passed by the Congress and although he signed it he would not observe it. We passed a bill authorizing $2 billion for public works projects but stipulated that no money should be used to construct, operate, or maintain future water-resource projects costing under $10 million without specific approval of the Public Works Committees in the House and the Senate. Most leaders would have said they wanted it changed by the next Congress or request a court test. Mr. Johnson simply said he would pay no attention to it.

If this was the attitude of the Executive, the attitude of the Congress was one of subservience to the President. From the first major issue in January when the Congress retreated from its position of cutting off aid to Nasser after Presidential arm twisting to one of the last measures in the session when we junked comparability for Federal employee compensation after White House pressure, the story was the same. What Lyndon wanted, Lyndon got. Public opinion was against the repeal of 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law but it was rammed through the House of Representatives anyway. Only the unlimited debate rules in the Senate have staved off this payoff to the labor bosses who played such an important part in the election of the rubberstamp Congress in 1964. A Representative is supposed to have as his first interest, the public interest and that of his own constituency in particular. This is an outmoded concept in the Great Society where the first interest is to "Amen" every Presidential request.

This attitude which has developed is a serious one. Politics is treated not as a vehicle for public service or statesmanship but as a mechanism to gain power. When power is achieved, the public interest counts for naught. Cronyism is the first rule—reward your own. We saw this attitude very clearly in the appointment of Abe Fortas to the Supreme Court. Mr. Fortas was known in Washington not for his legal ability but as the President's fixer. Francis X. Morrissey was nominated for one of the most important positions which can be bestowed on a citizen, that of Federal district judge. The judiciary committee of the American Bar Association described Morrissey's fitness for the office as the "worst qualified judicial candidate" it had ever encountered. He had little to offer except the devotion of a political hack to his sponsors. This was one of the most brazen efforts to cram a political appointee down the throats of the American people that has ever been witnessed.

INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS SCOFFED

The attitude of big, benevolent government has its other side, too. The people's individual rights count for less all of the time. We see the Post Office Department using mail cover to open first-class mail and inspect its contents; wiretapping and even eavesdropping on the privileged conversations between a lawyer and his client; polygraph tests administered to applicants for Federal positions; brainpicking tests which are given without parental consent to our schoolchildren under Federal directive. All of these encroachments are the inevitable consequence of power hungry bureaucrats and a Federal Government which now believes it is the master and not the servant of the people. Congress did little to challenge these intrusions into individual privacy and right.

Secretary McNamara continued his heavyhanded treatment of National Guard and Reserve units. His policies brought the resignation of two of our most outstanding admirals, William A. Brockett and Charles A. Curtze, who opposed his arbitrary policies. The morale in the services has come to the worst stage that military men can remember in the history of the 20th century. Rubberstamp Congressmen are easier to find than rubberstamp admirals and generals, and we see a struggle in the Defense Department which jeopardizes our national preparedness.

Yes, this Congress had some noteworthy accomplishments. We should be thankful for these. At the same time it embarked on the uncharted course of increased reliance on deficit spending, cheapened currency and more bureaucracy. As usual the liberal Democrats place an overreliance on Federal controls and overspending. It should be our goal to think more about the future of our Nation than the next election. Spending and giveaway programs have wide public appeal and there is little glamor in working to preserve our constitutional system and achieve fiscal sanity. Again, David Lawrence puts the question well. He noted:

> Congress must go before the people again in just a year. Will the American people be sufficiently informed by that time to repudiate those Members of the National Legislature who have been profligate with the people's money? That's the billion-dollar question.

The outcome of this election, Mr. Speaker, is far more than a billion-dollar question. The outcome is the future of this country and whether we will have checks and balances, our free enterprise system and a limited government responsive to the needs of the people. Clearly, we need to examine what we are doing and where we are heading.

Job Corps Graduates Are Offered Opportunity for Executive Careers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, a recent article in the Washington, D.C., Sunday Star written by Larry A. Still, tells of the fervent hope for the future of Cosme Arriola, of San Antonio, Tex., and Lawrence Harkless, of Port Arthur, Tex.

The article is headlined "Three Job Corps Graduates Win Chance at Executive Careers." The story is a true story of Americana—give American youth a chance and it will strive to pursue constructive goals.

There is another saga of Americana in the story. This is the report of W. C. Hobbs, vice president in charge of the Washington, D.C., based firm giving jobs to Job Corps graduates—the Management and Engineering Services Division of Consolidated American Services, Inc. Mr. Hobbs was himself a dropout—he left school in 1931, but returned to get a B.S. in science and engineering.

I think it is interesting to quote what Mr. Hobbs had to say to the Job Corps graduates he employed:

> I want these fellows to know they won't get any preferential treatment. They'll have to work like everybody else. At the end of the 90 days they will be just one of the workers and advance on merit and ability. It's entirely up to them.

Mr. Hobbs is also quoted as stating that he hired "the youths from the Job Corps program because the camps offered greater selectivity, better character and higher quality of potential workers than any other single source."

It should be remembered that the Job Corps is under the Office of Economic Opportunity and is part of the war on poverty of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

It is a success story. We see some stories in the newspapers about problems at Job Corps camps, but it should be remembered that these are the exception rather than the rule. The real story of the Job Corps is a success story.

Mr. President, under unanimous consent I place the article from the September 26, 1965, Washington, D.C., Sunday Star at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Sunday Star]

THREE JOB CORPS GRADUATES WIN CHANCE AT EXECUTIVE CAREERS

(By Larry A. Still)

Three graduates of the Office of Economic Opportunity's Job Corps training program were given new jobs in Washington and a chance of executive training yesterday by two former dropouts who already have succeeded.

The trainees are Cosme Arriola, 21, of San Antonio, Tex.; O'Neil Leroy Costley, 18, of Baltimore, and Lawrence Harkless, 21 of Port Arthur, Tex., all members of the first graduating class of the Camp Kilmer, N.J., Urban Center.

Camp Kilmer is one of 100 training centers being established in the antipoverty program for 40,000 young men and women, aged 16 to 21, "who need a change of environment and individual help to develop talent, self-confidence and motivation to improve themselves."

FIRST EXECUTIVE TRAINEES

The three Kilmer grads started work as the Job Corps' first executive trainees at the Management and Engineering Service Division of Consolidated American Services, Inc.

Consolidated operates management and maintenance services for major industries throughout the Nation and on Wake Island, in Thailand, and Vietnam.

"I never thought I would be here," said Arriola at the firm's plush Washington office in the Madison Bank Building. "My mother didn't want me to be far from home, but she says it's for my benefit," said Harkless.

"My family is proud of me. They hope I stick it out," said Costley.

W. C. Hobbs, vice president of Consolidated, said he hired the youths from the Job Corps program because the camps offered "greater selectivity, better character, and higher quality" of potential workers than any other single source.

"We are going to adjust their working hours so they can go to college if they wish," Hobbs said. "We can always use a good mechanical engineer. It may take 6 or 7 years, but we're in no hurry."

The trainees will begin at a minimum starting salary of $1.75 to $2.25 an hour during a 90-day training period, according to John Rollo, manager of the division's logistic and social science department.

The firm found each youth housing in the district, established separate checking accounts for them, purchased clothing so they could go to work and return to school.

Hobbs recalled that he dropped out of school in 1931, but returned to get a B.S. degree in science and engineering. He is general manager of Consolidated's management and engineering services division which includes three other dropouts among the 105 employees.

Dr. David Gottlieb, director of program development and job evaluation for the Office of Economic Opportunity, agreed that the executive training program could provide new inspiration for the 13,000 youths presently in 44 camps.

"These fellows have already demonstrated more on the ball then I had at their age," Gottlieb said.

EARNED PH. D.

Gottlieb also quit school when he was in the 10th grade and never returned to get a high school diploma.

He enrolled at Wayne State University in Detroit as an unclassified student and received a Ph. D. from the University of Chicago after the graduate school waived all entrance requirements. Today Gottlieb is a member of the Michigan State University faculty.

There are 800 graduates of Job Corps training programs, including many who have entered military service and 8 who are attending college on scholarship, Gottlieb said.

Arriola was graduated from high school in San Antonio, but dropped all hopes of studying architectural drafting to find a job that would help support five brothers and two sisters.

He was recommended for the Job Corps and became president of the student council at Camp Kilmer and valedictorian of his class. He was hired as a property control clerk at Consolidated and plans to study data processing at night.

Costley will work in the firm's administrative group as a reproduction clerk and Harkless as a junior draftsman in the engineering department. Costley dropped out of high school in his senior year when his mother, father, 10 brothers and 3 sisters moved to Tuskegee Institute, Ala., where his father took a job at the Veterans' Administration hospital.

"I didn't have to drop out," Costley said, "but I was too bullheaded. The Job Corps has given me a wonderful chance."

Harkless said he quit school in the 9th grade because "I was losing interest and it was getting to be a bore." He added, "I didn't want to go back to school and I was too young to go in the service, so the Job Corps was right in between."

Hobbs had one final word for his new trainees. "I want these fellows to know they won't get any preferential treatment," he emphasized. "They'll have to work like everybody else. At the end of the 90 days they will be just one of the workers and advance on merit and ability. It's entirely up to them."

Treatment Afforded Edward Partin by Justice Department

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I have read with interest and concern the statement

of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GRAY] concerning the treatment afforded Edward Grady Partin by the Justice Department in connection with Partin's testimony against James Hoffa.

The statements are shocking and I agree that the Congress should investigate the matter thoroughly. Public confidence in the administration of justice in this country will be seriously undermined if we fail to do so.

The Great Aluminum Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK R. MILLER

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, a recent lead editorial in the Wall Street Journal makes some perceptive and timely comments on the current proposed increase in prices of some aluminum products. I believe it merits the attention of the readers of the RECORD and ask unanimous consent that it be printed.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GREAT ALUMINUM CRISIS

If President Johnson was, as reported, "sputtering mad" when he learned of the aluminum price increases, he had every right to feel that way and say so. It is another matter, however, for the Government to use one of its heaviest bludgeons in an attempt to compel a rollback.

The club in this case is the Government's stockpile of strategic materials, including aluminum; by dumping large quantities of the commodity the officials can glut the market and hope to bring about price reductions. After a Washington meeting yesterday, attended by three Cabinet officers and others, a spokesman said the session was concerned with attempts to reduce stockpiled aluminum as an alternative to bigger imports. While he declined to disclose whether price increases were discussed, the Government has nonetheless shown the aluminum industry, like others before it, that it has powerful weapons for getting recision of price rises.

There are several things wrong, we suggest, with the administration's approach to the aluminum "crisis."

It may be asked in the first place whether the increases justify all the commotion. A few companies announced boosts of half a cent a pound on primary or fabricated products or both. Yet the new ingot price would still be a full cent below that prevailing in 1961, which doesn't make the companies' current action sound especially extreme.

Moreover, the industry's condition has been described as one of profitless prosperity because of overcapacity and pricecutting over the years. Besides competition within the industry, aluminum most compete with other products like steel and copper; incidentally or not, copper prices have recently been edging up. One aluminum executive says increases are needed to improve the return of the heavy investment required in the industry.

In any event, the next question concerns the appropriateness of using the stockpile for punishing private business. Certainly it was not intended for that purpose but rather to provide a store of strategic materials the Nation might need in time of war.

Inevitably the stockpile (there are actually more than one, governed by differing and confusing sets of rules) has become something of a political plaything over the years; additions and disposals become matters of intense concern not only to industry but to politicians from affected States. But the fact that original purposes have been to some degree lost sight of hardly justifies going further and considering turning the stockpile into an instrument of coercion.

Equally disquieting, it seems to us, is that the aluminum confrontation hints again of the Government's penchant for fixing prices one way or another. For industry in general it has set up the so-called noninflationary wage and price guideposts which, effective or not, are symptomatic of a control mentality. More and more it also puts the heat on specific industries; one day steel, another day autos, now perhaps aluminum.

The question, then, is where the meddling is to stop. Is the Nation heading step by step to outright controls? It ought to be manifest by now that an economy subject to direct or indirect price-setting by the authorities is not only less than entirely free but prone to rigidity—unable to respond as it should to changing market forces.

The Government does indeed have a legitimate interest in a trend of rising prices, and enough increases are taking place to cause plenty of worry in Washington. Unfortunately the officials refuse to acknowledge that the trend is in part a consequence of their own years-long inflationary policies. Worse, at a time when evidence of shortages of efficient plant and skilled labor is accumulating, they persist in pursuing policies of expansion, which too often in Federal parlance is just a euphemism for inflation.

For our part we don't like rising prices any better than the Government or the housewife does; still less do we like the underlying inflation of the money supply with its potential for economic trouble. It would be a healthy change if the Government ever conceded the connection between the two instead of spending so much thought on ways to chastise private industry.

Veterans' Day in Gary, Ind.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues the following Veterans' Day speech to be delivered by Mr. Harold Moody, principal of the Hobart Senior High School in Hobart, Ind., at a dinner sponsored by the Gary Exchange Club to be held in the Gary Hotel on Veterans' Day.

I expect to be in attendance and participate in the ceremonies honoring our war dead on this national holiday.

The speech follows:

ADDRESS BY MR. HAROLD MOODY

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, gentlemen of the Gary Exchange Club, thank you for your applause. It reminds me of the three meaningful words: faith, hope, and charity. Many speakers consider applause at the outset to be an expression of faith, applause during the course of a speech to be an expression of hope, and applause at the conclusion of a speech to be purely an act of charity.

But regardless, I am glad to be here. I will talk for just a few moments on the subject of Americanism, about which Gary has expressed itself so wonderfully this morning with its parade and ceremonies.

It would have been better, I know, had you selected Hon. Judge Richard Kaplan, a tremendous speaker and worker for Americanism, to have been your speaker. Mr. Kaplan, in my opinion, is one of Gary's finest citizens and your choice of him for the Americanism Award several years ago was a perfect choice.

Unfortunately the expression "ism" connotes something unpleasant in this day and time. Communism, extremism, nazism, fascism, socialism—all are words which usually mean something anti-American, something repugnant to our standards and our beliefs and our traditions. Regrettably this connotation has wrongfully extended itself in the minds of some people to include such words as capitalism, patriotism, and Americanism. Some people, hearing the term "ism" attached to a word, automatically and thoughtlessly brand some fine American traditions and beliefs as wrong, outdated, or insignificant. That is why, I am sure, that many outward manifestations of patriotism are stymied or ignored in the era in which we now live.

Capitalism, to me, means the economic system of freedom of enterprise, the system responsible for all the greatness of our wealth and economic blessings. We need not be ashamed of this, especially when we realize that since World War II we have shared over $100 billion of goods, money, and supplies with other nations throughout the world. No country in the whole history of mankind has even approached the enormous economic growth and prosperity possessed by the United States of America.

Capitalism gives, simply, the right of free men to buy and sell and to realize a reasonable profit therefrom. Capitalism gives, furthermore, the right to choose one's job if he feels capable. Capitalism gives the liberty to quit a job if one feels so inclined. Capitalism embraces the teamwork of employer and employee in the production and distribution of goods. Capitalism gives the right to expand, to invest, to grow, to develop without interference or harassment unjustifiably. Capitalism feeds the mouths of the hungry throughout the world. Capitalism means America, as she has been and as she is: the world's most free country. Not perfect, mind you, but the best yet on this globe, past or present.

Patriotism and Americanism are words which, to me, means the same: love and respect for one's own country. I love America. I love her for many reasons. I love America because I may speak freely. I love America because I may write freely. I love America because I may seek whatever job I wish. I love this country because I may choose my companions, my neighbors, my friends, my associates. I love this land because I may drive whatever I can afford. I love America because I may sleep as late as I choose on Saturday morning. I love America because I may purchase a color television set if I can pay for it, and if I cannot pay for it, I have the right to work until I can. I love this wonderful Nation because I may shop in any store anywhere. I love her because I may move about without harassment. I may leave Indiana and go into Illinois or Kentucky, or Ohio or Michigan—or into any other of the States—and no one will stop me and ask questions. I love America because I may march in a parade, or I may not march in a parade. I love America because I have no fear of officials entering my home without my permission. I love America because I may go to church, any church, on Sunday

morning, or I may remain away if I choose. I love our Nation because I may criticize or praise my neighbor, my employer, my mayor, my minister, my club president, my Governor, my Congressman, my President without fear.

These are but a tiny part of the many freedoms which I have because I was blessed by being born an American.

Not all Americans have these freedoms to the same degree. That is not good. But America is moving ahead to the time when everyone will have equal liberties and equal opportunities. But even so, more freedoms exist in the United States of America for more people than in any land elsewhere in the knowledge of mankind. Let us never forget that. Let us not take that lightly.

For the wonderful opportunities and blessings America gives to me, I owe her certain responsibilities and loyalties.

I feel I should say the Pledge of Allegiance, not because I have to, but because I want to. I would feel myself to be an ingrate otherwise.

I feel I should be willing to express my loyalty, not because I have to, but because it would be a pleasure and an expression of my love for my America.

I feel I should support my country in South Vietnam because to do otherwise would give solace and comfort to an enemy who has long avowed that it is really you and me whom he seeks to dominate or destroy.

I feel I should support my Government's foreign policy because it is fighting for the cause of freedom, and if any country falls to slavery, we ourselves become a bit less free than before.

I feel I should salute the flag because I am in truth saying a prayer for and a word of gratitude to the hundreds of thousands who have died for that flag, from Yorktown to Saigon, in order that it could yet unfurl over this wonderful land of liberty.

I feel I should speak out freely and without restraint in defense of our Nation and our heritages because if all citizens remain mute, our Nation might succumb in silent apathy.

I feel I should obey the laws of our land—laws of our cities, our States, and our Nation—because to do less is to invite the seeds of anarchy, disaster, and eventual destruction.

America the beautiful, so she is. Let us remember that, always. Let us never sell her short. Let us never degrade her. Let us never hishonor her. She may not be perfect, but she is mighty fine, and no one in his right mind can truthfully deny that fact. Certainly the thousands who seek to flee from Cuba to America will testify to the wonders of this great land which is ours. Certainly the thousands who flee via Hong Kong from Red China can testify to that fact. Certainly the thousands who have escaped or attempted to escape via the ugly wall in Berlin can give proof to what we say.

The last line of the National Anthem says:

"Oh say does that Star Spangled Banner yet wave,
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?"

As I have often noted to audiences, that line is in the form of a question. Does the flag still wave over a land of free and brave people?

I believe it does. I believe it will for a long, long time. This is in spite of pacifists, card burners, beatniks, fellow travelers, yellow travelers, and demented persons who fail to see the goodness and beauty of America and who fail to understand that freedom is the greatest gift which civilized man can inherit.

We who love America are in the vast majority, and we will see to it.

Address by Senator Hartke

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL B. BREWSTER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, when the Congress enacts broad legislation for the benefit of the country as a whole, the laws often bear heavily on individuals and small segments of society.

One of the most important tasks of a legislator, therefore, is to foresee the impact of proposed legislation on all groups of society—and guard against inequities and severe disruptions.

One of the leading Members of Congress in this respect has long been the distinguished Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE]. The Senator recently gave another indication of his concern in this area in a speech to the Associated Third Class Mail Users, dealing with the impact of mandatory adoption of ZIP code numbers at an early date. Because I feel that the issues he raised are worthy of careful consideration, I ask unanimous consent that his speech be reprinted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR VANCE HARTKE, INDIANA ASSOCIATED THIRD CLASS MAIL USERS

Ladies and gentlemen, I come to you as a member of the Senate Committee on Commerce, the Senate Finance Committee, and a relative newcomer to the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

It would be easier for me to talk with you about the International Monetary Fund, the balance-of-payments question, or free trade and the Kennedy round.

Among my major concerns today is the runaway importation of foreign steel which threatens American jobs and corporate profitability. Another is a special agreement negotiated by the State Department with Canada which could undermine U.S. employment with a part of the auto industry moving to Canada.

But I don't suppose this would interest you, except in the very real possibility that a segment of the population would lose purchasing power. We are now in the 56th consecutive month of an unprecedented economic upturn. The continued growth of business generated by direct mail and specifically by third class mail users depends upon consumer disposable income.

Your business growth also depends upon a cooperative postal system, and I intend to address myself to postal matters today.

First, I would like to add my greetings to those of mailers everywhere in welcoming my great and good friend, Lawrence F. O'Brien to the Office of Postmaster General. I know that he will receive your cooperation as he will mine in the very difficult and demanding management job facing him. He succeeds two very able and dedicated Postmaster Generals, each of whom contributed much in bringing the postal establishment into position where it can cope with today's astronomical mail volume and still remain within cost guidelines.

Nevertheless, there are some questions I should like to introduce today in our discussion of the relationship of a cooperative mail service with business mailers.

I believe that the business mail industry is an essential cog in the economic machinery of our Nation. Your industry has played a significant role in stimulating the flow of consumer capital throughout the bloodstream of our economy.

I am convinced that an industry generating a quarter of all U.S. mail is a vital part of this monetary transfusion process.

It is estimated by the Department of Commerce that this industry generates more than $30 billion a year in the sale of goods and services. That's a noteworthy contribution to a rising gross national product.

Back in 1959 and 1960, I twice addressed the Brookings Institution on the proposition that a general tax cut would stimulate business and jobs, and results in greater rather than less Federal tax revenues. The favorable results of the 1964 tax cut proved me correct in this hypothesis.

When I introduced no fewer than three bills to end excise taxes, this also was on the assumption that new money would enter the economic bloodstream. It has.

This is why I cannot now believe in the broad-brush approach to postage rates expressed in the special panel report. Should business users of the mails be charged with rate increases to absorb the many nonmail functions of the post office? I think not, unless we are deliberately attempting to slow down business generated by mail.

Should special rates for nonprofit organizations be abolished?

Why? As an attorney, I'm pretty good at asking why. My colleagues know me as probusiness. Mail users will find me consistently in favor of removing rather than creating obstacles to business expansion.

I believe that the policy making authority for the postal service should remain where the Constitution places it—in the the Congress of the United States.

I believe that the Congress is interested in improving and extending mail services so that it shall produce the maximum benefits for the maximum number of our citizens, at prices they can afford to pay.

I believe absolutely in the congressional philosophy. I feel the benefits of the postal service should be physical and financially available to the most humble and the most distant of our citizens.

I also believe that the so-called postal deficit establishes misleading guidelines when it is used as a means of service curtailment. I feel the Postal Policy Act of 1958 should be broadened in scope and brought up to date. I also feel that the so-called income gap—the difference between revenues and expenditures—which the Post Office Department sustains each year is an investment in the prosperity of the Nation, in the social well-being of the populace, in the education and cultural development of the people, and it pays enormous dividends in human happiness, human welfare, human security.

I believe that reasonably low rates for books and similar materials have been a major factor in the creation of the tremendous culture explosion that has swept the Nation in recent years.

I go further than this. Now that the phonograph recording companies have developed the long-playing, unbreakable, high-fidelity records—phonograph records are just as important, in their way, to the cultural well-being of the Nation as are books. They should receive the same intelligent treatment by the Post Office Department.

You may not realize it, but my State of Indiana is one of the major centers in the world for the production of phonograph records. There are some 6,000 Hoosiers permanently employed in this industry. One Indiana firm mails some 2 million a month. I am not only proud of that fact, but I intend to do everything in my power to protect the jobs of these people.

From a cultural point of view, let's consider this for a moment: what would a serious student of the drama or of English literature give to hear David Garrick, let us say, playing Hamlet? Or to hear Mozart playing his own compositions on the harpsichord? Or to hear Shakespeare read his own sonnets? Or to hear Charles Dickens read from his novels? The boom would be beyond all price.

Unfortunately, we shall never be able, this side of eternity, to hear such marvels. But all future generations from now until the crack of doom will be able to hear the greatest writers of our own time read from their writings—and they will also be able to listen to the greatest actors and actresses of our age interpret the world's greatest dramatic works, and hear the greatest musicians of our day perform, and be able to compare the standards of our day with the standards of their day. The phonograph recording industry is not only contributing mightily to the cultural explosion of today—it is making an enormous contribution to the cultural life of countless generations to come.

And now I would like to question Post Office Department wisdom in another area—that of mandatory compliance with ZIP code requirements by January 1, 1967.

Again, I shall ask "why?"

There are some 300,000 third_class permit holders in this country. As people move and addresses change, some 20 to 25 percent of their lists have to be updated annually in any event. It seems to me that it would be a much more orderly process—and considerably less expensive to business mailers in all classifications—to accomplish the transfer to ZIP code in the 4 or 5 years of normal list updating.

I question the wisdom of the postal administration in setting the January 1, 1967, from another standpoint. Computerized major mailers have already incurred substantial costs in coding their lists. Thousands of smaller mailers are striving to catch up. And the post office is still tinkering with and rearranging the numbers in multicoded cities.

Again, why? If it has become necessary to announce that extensions will be granted, why the haste of the original order?

I shall be asking a lot of such questions in my service on the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

Perhaps the Third Class Mailers can help us find the right answers. Your comments will always be welcome to me. Thank you.

The Edward Partin Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, on the eve of adjournment of the 1st session of the 89th Congress, one of my esteemed colleagues, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GRAY], brought a very serious matter to the attention of the House.

This pertained to the protective cloak in which the Department of Justice has wrapped Edward Grady Partin, a self-confessed informer who was faced with three lifetime jail sentences at the time he volunteered to help the Department of Justice "get" the president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

The information we have been given leaves little doubt that the Justice Department, in its drive to nail Mr. Hoffa, is sacrificing the public interest by supporting and defending its anti-Hoffa witness, Edward Partin. In return for the extensive testimony furnished by Partin, it appears the Department is shielding him and absolving him of his wrongdoings. Are we to infer from this that a criminal can avoid prosecution by turning himself in as a Government witness?

Mr. Speaker, the questions raised in connection with the handling of the Partin matter are very serious indeed, and immediate action should be taken by the responsible congressional committee to investigate the charges of favoritism and privileged treatment by the Justice Department in cases of criminal offenders who are under indictment.

The guilt or innocence of Mr. Hoffa, on the various charges of wrongdoing, is not for me to judge. But if he is found guilty of wrongdoing, he should not be exonerated. Why, then, should a witness who has been under indictment on 26 counts of violation of the provisions of the Landrum-Griffin Act, be exonerated? Why should the taxpayers foot the bill for the expense of U.S. marshals who must constantly attend Edward Partin while he is free to carry on his private and perhaps questionable pursuits in Alabama? Does Partin's role as an informant and anti-Hoffa witness absolve his crimes? Apparently, the Justice Department thinks so, and it is time the Congress probed into the policies and procedures of the Department in these matters.

Thanksgiving Day Proclamation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, each Thanksgiving Day seems to me to bring a more acute awareness of the great gifts bestowed upon us as Americans.

This year, as we express our gratitude and devotion to the Lord for His special blessing on this bountiful land, we rededicate the strength of our bodies, hearts, and souls to the fulfillment of the purpose of America, and we seek His great wisdom and continued guidance in pursuing this course in the future.

As this very important day approaches, I ask unanimous consent to include the words of the Governor of Connecticut, the Honorable John Dempsey, formally proclaiming November 25, 1965, as a day of public thanksgiving.

There being no objection, the proclamation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROCLAMATION BY HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN DEMPSEY, GOVERNOR, STATE OF CONNECTICUT

"Gratitude" has been appropriately defined as the homage of the heart rendered to God for His goodness. An attribute of men of good will, it has inspired the tradition of observing in our land an annual day of thanksgiving.

The autumn season invariably brings to mind thoughts of the initial observance of a formal thanksgiving by the Pilgrim fathers who, as we know, reverently acknowledged their dependence upon the Creator, sought His guidance for the future and humbly offered prayers in gratitude for a harvest barely sufficient to sustain them in a new and strange country.

We, too, must be mindful of the divine source of our many blessings and voice our thanks to almighty God who has seen us through another year.

In accordance, therefore, with the statutes of Connecticut, and with longstanding custom in our State, I designate Thursday, November 25, 1965, as a day of public thanksgiving.

Let us, on this day, in private meditation, and in gatherings in our homes and places of worship, render due homage to our Creator. Let us thank Him for the abundance that is ours and for the privilege of living in a free, and strong, and prosperous nation.

Let us also, as we offer our prayers of thanksgiving, give thought to the needs of others in lands overseas and resolve to do our part to support the charitable efforts of the Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and Orthodox denominations who seek to relieve this great want and suffering.

JOHN DEMPSEY.

By His Excellency's command:

ELLA T. GRASSO,
Secretary of State.

Pittsfield (Mass.) to Pittsfield (Ohio)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, too often we hear of man's inhumanity to man, too often we hear of man's selfishness, too often we hear of man's lack of concern for others. I am proud today to tell this great body of a man who cares for more than just himself, but who worked many hours so that others might be able to return to normalcy after a catastrophe.

The incident began early on the morning of Palm Sunday when a tornado cut through Lorain County in Ohio leaving 18 persons dead and 141 injured. In the small town of Pittsfield, Ohio, the twister caused the death of 8 persons and injured 82 while it was leveling the town.

Settlers of this small town originally came from Pittsfield, Mass., my hometown, Mr. Speaker. After discovering this fact through some research, Edward L. Dobbins, a counselor at law, and also a member of the Pittsfield (Mass.) City Council, decided on a Pittsfield-to-Pittsfield fundraising drive to assist the rural Ohio town in rebuilding.

With the assistance of the Berkshire (Mass.) Eagle which worked with the Chronicle-Telegram in Elyria, Ohio, Mr. Dobbins raised a substantial sum to aid in the rebuilding. In addition, the Pittsfield Council of Churches gave additional funds to help in the rebuilding of a church in Pittsfield, Ohio, which will serve the congregations formerly served

by two churches—a Methodist and a Congregational.

Mr. Dobbins is to be commended, as is his wife, for originating this worthwhile project and for contributing the time and energy necessary to make it a success. The people of the city of Pittsfield and the Berkshire Eagle are to be commended for supporting this project.

I now insert an article which appeared in the Berkshire Eagle telling of the Pittsfield-to-Pittsfield project:

(By Thomas O. Morton)

A suggestion that Pittsfield, Mass., come to the aid of the residents of the town of Pittsfield, Ohio, was advanced today by Edward L. Dobbins.

The small Ohio community was leveled by a tornado early Palm Sunday morning. All 12 homes and the 2 churches in the town were destroyed, and 9 of the town's 50 residents were killed.

Mr. Dobbins, a member of the Pittsfield City Council, made the suggestion for a Pittsfield-to-Pittsfield aid project after he learned that the Ohio community was founded by Milton Whitney, who was born here and migrated to Ohio in the early 1800's. The first settlers were all New Englanders.

HISTORICAL RESPONSIBILITY

"I think a lot of people will agree that we present residents of Pittsfield, Mass., have a historical responsibility to these people who have ties to us through the years," Mr. Dobbins said.

Mr. Dobbins plans no formal fund drive. To enable people to contribute he has arranged for the Pittsfield National Bank to serve as a depository for contributions.

He said checks should be made out to "Pittsfield, Ohio, Fund." They should be sent to Warren Clark, trust officer, Pittsfield National Bank.

The first contribution already has been pledged and will come from Mrs. Linwood E. Gregory of Glens Falls, N.Y. Mrs. Gregory, the former Virginia Whitney, is a distant relative of the founder of Pittsfield, Ohio. She is the daughter of Mrs. Laurence H. Whitney of 30 East Housatonic Street.

NEWSPAPERS TO HELP

The Chronicle-Telegram of Elyria, Ohio, which is 10 miles north of Pittsfield, will accept the funds and hold them for use in a community project in the rebuilding of the town.

Everett C. Whitham of the Elyria newspaper staff said construction of a united church may be the most important community project in the rebuilding.

Before the tornado there were two churches in the town. The Methodist and Congregational churches were situated on opposite sides of the crossroads around which the 12 houses are clustered.

The first community event after the Palm Sunday tornado was a combined Easter service in a "borrowed" church in a nearby community. According to the township history, the Methodist Church was formed in 1824 and the Congregational Church in 1836.

The Ohio town was settled in 1812. Although Milton Whitney is listed as the founder, he did not move there permanently until 1830, according to a family history kept by Mrs. Gregory.

One of the Pittsfield, Ohio, residents who escaped injury in the tornado was Harold T. Brandt, who, according to the Elyria paper, says he is a great-great grandson of Whitney.

Mr. Brandt expressed confidence that each of the 12 families who lost their homes in the tornado will rebuild in Pittsfield. Some already have started. Others are still recovering from injuries they suffered in the storm.

Among those killed in the tornado was the Reverend R. J. Gay, pastor of the Congregational Church.

The lay pastor of the Methodist Church, Frank N. Everard, lives in nearby Sheffield Lake, was not injured in the tornado. It was he who preached at the combined service.

A FAMILY IDEA

Mr. Dobbins said the idea of the Pittsfield-to-Pittsfield aid project came out of a discussion he and his wife were having after they first heard of the plight of the Ohio community. Mrs. Dobbins, a native of England, was a Red Cross staff worker in World War II and presently is a volunteer leader in the Berkshire County chapter.

"We just felt that here is a chance for us and anyone else who feels this way to have a personal reason for giving," Mr. Dobbins said. "We don't know these people personally, but we have common roots in history."

The family history kept by Mrs. Gregory shows that Milton Whitney was born in Pittsfield, Mass., April 7, 1786, and died in Pittsfield, Ohio, Sept. 4, 1839.

That was the year, according to Mrs. Gregory's sources, that the Ohio, town was formally named Pittsfield. Her family records show that one Col. Asa Watrous Whitney, oldest of Milton's eight children, officiated at the naming.

Mr. Brandt says, according to the Elyria paper, his records indicate that the early citizens of the Ohio hamlet for some time couldn't decide whether to call their town Pittsfield or Whitneyville. The question was decided by vote.

Mr. Brandt expressed confidence that all of the families who lived in Pittsfield before the tornado will return and rebuild.

"It's the spirit of Pittsfield that will keep them from being defeated," Mr. Brandt declared.

"Such spirit should be helped," Mr. Dobbins said.

He asked that Pittsfield churches, civic, and social organizations, as well as individuals, consider giving to the Pittsfield, Ohio, fund.

Bombs as Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, many Americans have been disturbed by some of our military tactics in Vietnam. They feel that bombing Vietnamese villages, with the attendant loss of civilian lives, not only has grave moral implications, but is also detrimental to our simple objective of winning the war.

Dr. Maurice Visscher, of the University of Minnesota, has expressed his concern about the Vietnam situation in the May–June, 1965, issue of the Humanist. He has written a thoughtful article, and I wish to place an excerpt from it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

BOMBS AS POLICY

(Excerpt from article written by Dr. Maurice Visscher, University of Minnesota)

As I write this, our Government is bombing cities and killing civilians. We claim that we are doing it to impress North Vietnam and China with the need for them to stop aiding and abetting the Vietcong's attempt to control South Vietnam. What level of understanding of human nature exists in the councils of the U.S. Government which are responsible for these policies? The Western Powers and Russia used conventional TNT bombs through 4 years of World War II and never broke the morale of the Italian or German people. We had to invade and conquer. The London blitz not only did not weaken British morale but to the contrary it undoubedtly strengthened it, because the British could see that their adversaries were willing to use the most brutal methods to achieve their ends. Until atom bombs were used on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Japanese did not sue for peace although with conventional bombs we had killed hundreds of thousands of their civilians and disrupted their civilian economy. As to their military situation, our blockade, which shut off oil and other necessities, apparently did more to weaken them than did our bombs.

Conventional bombing influenced the outcome of World War II, to be sure, but did not by itself determine it. One thing it surely did on both sides was to stir up hatred for the enemy. The Dutch and the British will never forget or forgive the gutting of their cities. What reason do we have to think that U.S. bombing of cities in North Vietnam, South Vietnam, or Laos will not simply strengthen the belief of those people and hundreds of millions more in China, Malaysia, Indonesia, and even in India, that we do actually consider them as cheap, expendable pawns in the chess game of world power?

The orientals have not forgotten the ruthlessness of Western Powers in subjugating Indochina, India, and the whole of southeast Asia in the 19th century, the imposition by force of extraterritorial rights, so-called, in China, and the forcible entry into Japan. Their experience with Western morality in international affairs is not such as to give them any confidence that we are there today primarily to protect their interests.

And indeed if we are candid we should have to admit that we are not. We are there because our current leaders think that our interests are at stake. When President Eisenhower explained to the Congress why we should move into South Vietnam after the French debacle and abandonment he was quite candid in mentioning the vital stake we have in tungsten and other strategic goods for which we must depend upon southeast Asia. It may make sense to some Westerners to kill men, women, and children with fire bombs and high explosives in order to protect our interests in those metals that we think we need, or even to prevent southeast Asia from falling to communist politics and economics, but one can be absolutely sure that such actions do not endear us to a billion or so oriental people, nor does it convince them that we are actuated by the highest motives. It is our interests and our preferences that motivate us. We have never asked the South Vietnamese what they would prefer. Perhaps even worse we brutalize ourselves.

Roy Bennett has recently written: "In any international crises the first casualties are morality and legality. Power and its uses—which some call diplomacy—move on to center stage. This is where we are today in southeast Asia." The U.S. Department of State issues a white paper on southeast Asia at the very moment that it unleashes the military to spill more red blood there. Of course, most of the blood, it presumably hopes, will be that of yellow races, but blood it remains, and it is blood not simply of Vietcong rebels and North Vietnamese or Chinese soldiers, but of South Vietnamese soldiers, and of women, children and men who are largely if not entirely bystanders in the fight. A white paper explaining our high motives does not excuse the United

States from becoming a signatory to the Geneva Agreement on southeast Asia, for not carrying out a plebescite in South Vietnam.

One need not believe that President Johnson, his Secretaries of State and Defense, and their advisers are either fools or knaves in order to disagree with them sharply. Actually, I personally believe that they are not vicious, not stupid, and not totally insensitive to the terrible harm they are doing to innocent human beings. I also think that they are convinced that they are acting in the best interests of the United States, and that they probably believe—like Charlie Wilson, who said "what is good for General Motors is good for the country"—that what is good for the United States is good for the world.

However, the evidence indicates that these gentlemen are at this turn of history sadly, tragically, and dangerously neglecting history itself and some characteristics of human nature.

I am not a political scientist, and I am not about to apologize for it. I am speaking, however, as a person accustomed to using the scientific method, and as a medical scientist. I furthermore believe that just as war is too important to leave to the generals, peace is too important to every citizen to leave to the Department of State.

SCIENTIFIC REASON

The first requirement in utilizing the scientific method is to assemble all of the facts relative to a situation. One must evaluate the reliability of observations reported to be facts. This is a most difficult matter in any case, but it presents perhaps the greatest problems when one deals with human behavior. It is difficult enough in any area of biology, medicine not excepted. Once facts are at hand one can formulate a reasonable hypothesis to account for the facts and check predictions from the hypothesis with other facts at hand or obtained in the future. When future action is to be based upon a scientific hypothesis, as when a physician prescribes a potentially dangerous drug or advises a surgical procedure which is hazardous, disfiguring, or disabling, one must either have a high degree of assurance that the hypothesis is correct, or one must in all candor present the patient with the facts, tell him that he is the subject of an experiment and let him decide in full knowledge of the facts whether he wants to take the risks. In medicine, we call any other procedure criminal malpractice.

Political science is not a field in which verifiable hypotheses on which practical policy can be based are easy to establish. This does not exempt its practitioners from the necessity for rigorous attempts to establish such hypotheses. Nor does it exempt them from the moral imperative comparable to the physician's moral necessity to avoid criminal malpractice. In these dangerous days of medical miracles it has become especially important for a physician to inform his patients of all the hazards as well as the possible benefits of a new procedure. In these dangerous days of political and military innovations it is equally important that politicians let the people decide what risks they are willing to take.

Administrators must have some latitude in decisions implementing policy, but basic policy itself must rightfully be decided at the ballot box—not in the White House, the Pentagon, and the Department of State. The U.S. Constitution reserves to the Congress the right to declare war. The Congress is presumably sensitive to public opinion. The Congress has in effect abdicated the right, which in reality is also a duty, to reserve to itself decisions regarding initiating a war, by several actions which have delegated to the President, powers to deploy our Armed Forces so that a war is actually underway today without it ever having been declared.

To subject patients to hazardous medical procedures without their full knowledge and consent is medical malpractice. To subject citizens to hazardous political procedures without their full knowledge and consent through their legislative representatives is comparable political malpractice. War and military actions are instruments of political practice, just as drugs and surgery are instruments of medical practice. In dealing with infants or imbeciles, physicians cannot obtain informed consent for their actions, but in political situations one would hope that our elected leaders would not act as though they were dealing with infants and imbeciles.

One reason for the dazed and uninformed condition of the general public in the United States today is the fact that much supposedly relevant information is shrouded in secrecy. How much of this information really needs to be kept secret for any good reason? And more especially, is this shroud of secrecy being maintained to a large extent by a jealous military and diplomatic clique in order to prevent the voting public from feeling that it could and should have a greater voice in the making of policy?

Assuredly there are technical data which for national security reasons, should be kept secret. For example, during the time that the United States had a monopoly on the production of atomic bombs, it made sense to keep the technical details of manufacture secret, especially so long as there was hope that an international control program could be set up before any other nation perfected the technology.

Actually, there is a great deal of humbug connected with secret information, especially as to the competence of persons who are and are not privy to such information to make judgments about most policy matters. One does not need to know exactly how many megatons of nuclear bombs we or the Soviets have to know roughly what sort of damage each of us could do. One does not need to know the CIA reports on the psychological effects of our bombing raids on the Vietnamese in order to know that those raids will not make Orientals love us. In fact, unless the CIA is somewhat more reliable in this case than it has been earlier in Vietnam or in Cuba, we might only be misled.

Record of Committee on Public Works in the 89th Congress, 1st Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. FALLON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the following summary of public works legislation reported by the Committee on Public Works during the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

GENERAL STATEMENT

First, I wish to express my appreciation for the efforts of the Committee on Public Works for the first year that I have been chairman. I particularly want to say that the members of the minority, as well as those of the majority, have been helpful in the passage of legislation which has been of great value to the country as a whole.

The committee had 488 bills referred to it during the first session. These dealt with such subjects as authorization for additional appropriations for prosecution of projects in certain comprehensive river basin plans for flood control, navigation, and other purposes; navigation improvements, flood control, and beach erosion; extension of authority to construct facilities for the enforcement of customs and immigration laws to Guam and the Virgin Islands; amended the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956 to increase the amount authorized for the Interstate System for fiscal year 1967, and authorized the apportionment of such amount, as well as studies of future highway needs and highway safety programs; the cooperative development of the physical resources of 360 counties in the 11 State Appalachian Mountain region of our Nation—Appalachian Regional Development Act; the establishment of a Federal Water Pollution Control Administration to provide grants for research and development, to increase grants for construction of sewage treatment works, and to require establishment of water quality criteria—Water Quality Act of 1965; a program of Federal financial and technical assistance for citizens of depressed areas in the Nation to carry out effective programs for economic betterment of citizens—Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965; civil works authorizations for 150 flood control, navigation, water conservation and other water resources projects, having an estimated Federal cost of $1,985,785,000—omnibus rivers and harbors and flood control bill for 1965; highway beautification legislation, which provides for an all-out attack on the forces of ugliness which threaten to deprive present and future generations of Americans from knowing and appreciating the finery of nature with which we have been abundantly endowed—Highway Beautification Act of 1965.

The committee adopted 50 navigation, flood control, and beach erosion resolutions proposed by individual Members of Congress, which require only committee action. The civil works resolutions authorized review survey studies by the Corps of Engineers, Department of the Army, that will ultimately result in the submission of project reports to Congress if the projects are found feasible and are approved by the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors and the Chief of Engineers. The committee adopted 37 watershed resolutions, approved pursuant to the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act—Public Law 566, 83d Congress, as amended—which requires major watershed projects having not more than 12,500 acre-feet of flood control capacity to be approved by the Committee on Public Works.

The committee approved 81 public building projects under the Public Buildings Act of 1959. These included Federal office buildings, courthouses, post offices, customhouses, immigration quarters, and warehouses throughout the Nation. Five lease construction projects proposed under the Independent Offices Appropriation Act of 1965 were also approved by the committee. While most of these were for new construction, some of them represent repair and remodeling of existing structures.

In addition, subcommittees made special inspection trips to areas affected by floods in California, Oregon, and adjacent States in the Northwest, as well as the upper Mississippi River area, following the devastation which occurred from unprecedented floods in that area.

Subcommittees were also appointed to inspect the floods in San Antonio, Tex., the disastrous floods in the South Platte River Basin in Colorado and Kansas, and the tremendous devastation which occurred from Hurricane Betsy in Louisiana, Florida, and Mississippi. As a result of such inspection trips, the committee held extensive hearings on legislation to provide assistance to the States of California, Oregon, Washington, Nevada, and Idaho for the reconstruction of areas damaged by floods and high waters during December 1964, and January and February 1965, after which a bill was reported to the House, was passed by both Houses, and was signed into law by the President—Public Law 89–41. Also, extensive hearings were held on legislation authorizing Federal aid to Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi to repair public facilities damaged by Hurricane Betsy in October 1965. A bill which authorized $70 million in Federal aid to the three States named above, as well as Federal loan adjustment assistance and a study of alternative Federal relief programs, was reported out and approved by both Houses and signed by the President—Public Law 89–339.

The committee also acted on legislation which would authorize the construction of the third Library of Congress building in the District of Columbia to be named the James Madison Memorial Building and to contain a Madison Memorial Hall, and for other purposes. This was acted on by both Houses and signed into law by the President—Public Law 89–260.

The committee has held hearings and executive sessions almost continuously since the beginning of the session, in addition to the inspection trips of special subcommittees, and every member has contributed in great part to the accomplishments of this past year.

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAY PROGRAM

The Special Subcommittee on the Federal-Aid Highway Program conducted public hearings on March 30, 31, April 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, May 24, 25, and June 1 and 2, 1965, on highway construction practices in the State of Louisiana and related matters. The hearings followed many months of intensive investigation by the subcommittee staff. Printed transcripts of the testimony are available under the designation of "Committee Document No. 89–10."

Although construction practices in Louisiana was the main topic of the hearing, the scope was broadened to include such related aspects as the record sampling program, unrealistic construction specifications and the manner in which the Federal-aid secondary road program has been administered.

At the hearings, witnesses disclosed how unrealistic construction specifications coupled with inadequate external and internal controls helped bring about irregularities including substandard construction, counterfeited samples of material, fraudulent haul tickets, "faked" test reports and other abuses. These revelations followed the subcommittee's previous disclosures of inadequacy of construction controls in Oklahoma, House Report No. 364, 87th Congress, 1st session; New Mexico, House Report No. 1819, 87th Congress, 2d session; and Arizona, House Report No. 1494, 88th Congress, 2d session. Although the conditions found in Louisiana followed the same general pattern of operational deficiencies which had been revealed in the other three States, certain inadequacies of internal controls had been corrected by the State by the time the subcommittee held the hearing.

Despite the picture of woefully inadequate controls over construction painted by the Louisiana witnesses, an encouraging note was offered in testimony by officials of the Arizona and New Mexico Highway Departments. It was particularly gratifying to the subcommittee to learn of the general upgrading of techniques and internal controls over construction practices that followed its hearings on practices in those States.

Testimony by Bureau of Public Roads officials, as well as that by State highway officials, indicated that the lessons learned from the Louisiana investigation will result in positive improvements in both State and Bureau controls, even as previous hearings before the subcommittee helped bring about such upgraded techniques as the record sampling program and the Bureau's intensified system of inspections in depth.

The subcommittee's ninth interim report, based on the Louisiana hearings, is currently being prepared.

In addition to the public hearing on Louisiana, the subcommittee took testimony in executive session on July 12, 13, and 14, 1965, on Federal-State highway management practices and procedures. Staff inquiry into this area is continuing.

The effectiveness of the audit function is currently under review, with particular reference to the application of audit procedures to Federal-aid projects at both the Federal and State levels.

The staff is also continuing to review and study other matters, with emphasis on the particular areas described below, in expectation that public hearings may subsequently be held.

The impact of toll roads upon the interstate program is one of the matters currently under study by the staff. The incorporation of toll roads, bridges, and tunnels into the Interstate System, and the location of toll facilities between free sections of Federal-aid highways are among the problems under consideration.

Policies, practices, and procedures in a number of States with reference to right-of-way acquisition is the subject of another staff study which is continuing. This involves the question of the effectiveness of controls over State practices and procedures in the general acquisition of land for Federal-aid highway purposes. A companion study in the right-of-way field involves the advisability of broadening the existing provisions of title 23, United States Code, relative to the advance acquisition of right-of-way.

Following is a more detailed listing of the specific major bills and items which the committee has considered or approved:

BASIN AUTHORIZATION FOR 1966 AND 1967—PUBLIC LAW 89–42

The bill authorizing additional appropriations for the prosecution of comprehensive plans for certain river basins, now Public Law 89–42, provided funds for the fiscal years 1966 and 1967 for 11 river basins, totaling $908 million, as follows: Alabama-Coosa, $38 million; Arkansas River, $290 million; Brazos River, $14 million; Central and Southern Florida, $30 million; Columbia River, $223 million; Lower Mississippi, $53 million; Missouri River, $116 million; Ohio River, $89 million; Ouachita River, $11 million; Upper Mississippi River, $27 million, and West Branch Susquehanna River, $17 million. This act also authorizes the completion of the Great Lakes to Hudson River Waterway, New York, project, approved in the River and Harbor Act of August 30, 1935, as amended, at an estimated cost of $5 million. It also authorizes the completion of the comprehensive plan for flood control and other purposes in the Los Angeles River Basin, approved by the Flood Control Act of August 18, 1941, as amended and supplemented, at an estimated cost of $31 million.

FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAY ACT OF 1956, AMENDMENT—PUBLIC LAW 89–139

This amendment to the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956 provides an increase in the amount of funds authorized for the Interstate System for fiscal year 1967 from $2.9 billion to $3 billion, and authorizes the apportionment of these funds for fiscal year 1967, using the apportionment factors contained in the 1965 Interstate System Cost Estimate—House Document No. 42, 89th Congress—but reserves the right of Congress to disapprove the cost estimate for completion of such national system by the Secretary of Commerce.

This act also authorizes the Secretary of Commerce to make a comprehensive study of certain future highway needs. It also creates a new section 135 of title 23 of the United States Code, to provide for highway safety programs within the several States.

APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965—PUBLIC LAW 89–4

The Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 provides public works and economic development programs and the planning and coordination needed to assist in development of the 11-State Appalachian Mountain region of our Nation.

It was found that the Appalachian region of the United States, while abundant in natural resources and rich in potential, lags behind the rest of the Nation in its economic growth and that its people have not shared properly in the Nation's prosperity. The region's uneven past development, with its historical reliance on a few basic industries and a marginal agriculture, has failed to provide the economic base that is a vital

prerequisite for vigorous, self-sustaining growth. The State and local governments and the people of the region understand their problems and have been working and will continue to work purposefully toward their solution. Congress recognized the comprehensive report of the President's Appalachian Regional Commission documenting these findings and concluded that regionwide development is feasible, desirable, and urgently needed.

The purpose of this act is to assist the region in meeting its special problems, to promote its economic development, and to establish a framework for joint Federal and State efforts toward providing the basic facilities essential to its growth and attacking its common problems and meeting its common needs on a coordinated and concerted regional basis. The public investments made in the region under this act shall be concentrated in areas where there is a significant potential for future growth, and where the expected return on public dollars invested will be the greatest. The States will be responsible for recommending local and State projects within their borders which will receive assistance under this act.

As the region obtains the needed physical and transportation facilities and develops its human resources, the Congress expects that the region will generate a diversified industry and that the region will then be able to support itself, through the workings of a strengthened, free enterprise economy.

Following is a section-by-section highlight analysis of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965:

Highlights of Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965

Section	Description	Authorization (millions)	Duration of authorization
101	Creates an Appalachian Regional Commission to plan the expenditure of the funds authorized by the bill. The Commission is composed of representatives of the 11 States and 1 Federal member who speaks for the entire Federal Government. To take action a majority of the States and the Federal member must vote in the affirmative.	$2.4	27 months.
201	Provides for the construction of 2,350 miles of major arterial roads and 1,000 miles of access roads. (Department of Commerce.) [1]	840.0	6 years.
202(b)	Provides for the construction of comprehensive health centers to serve multicounty areas. (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.)	41.0	6 years.
202(c)	Provides grants to local organizations to administer and operate the hospitals constructed under sec. 202(b). (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.)	28.0	27 months.
203	Provides a series of grants for land treatment to prevent erosion and to promote soil conservation. These grants may finance 80 percent of the cost of such treatment for 50 acres of land. (Department of Agriculture.)	17.0	27 months.
204	Provides, 1st, a series of grants for technical assistance to small landowners to improve their timber stands. Provides, 2d, loans to assist in the formation of timber development organizations for better management of small timber holdings. (Department of Agriculture.)	5.0	27 months.
205	Expands present programs to fill in underground mines, to extinguish fires, and to remove burning and nonburning refuse piles. Also permits the reclamation of strip-mined public land. Establishes a study to recommend long-range programs for strip-mine reclamation. (Department of the Interior.)	36.5	27 months.
206	Establishes a comprehensive water resource survey for the entire Appalachian region. The study will be coordinated by the Secretary of the Army assisted by all interested agencies. (Department of the Army.)	5.0	27 months.
211	Enables the acceleration of vocational education facilities construction. (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.)	16.0	27 months.
212	Enables the acceleration of sewage treatment facilities under the Water Pollution Control Act. (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.)	6.0	27 months.
214	Provides a series of grants to ease the burden on local communities in matching existing Federal grant-in-aid construction and equipment programs. These grants are to be used to provide the difference between the normal Federal contribution to such a Federal project and 80 percent of the total cost of the project. Examples of programs eligible for supplementation: Airport construction, college and junior college construction, hospital construction, and others. (Department of Commerce.)	90.0	27 months.
302(a)	Establishes a program to finance 75 percent of the administrative costs of State or local development organizations for the 1st 3 years of their existence. (Department of Commerce.)	5.5	27 months.
302(b)	Provides grants for research and demonstration projects, leading to better economic development of the Appalachian region. (Department of Commerce.)		
	Total	1,092.4	

[1] Following the description of each section of the bill is the name of the agency which will allocate the funds under each program.

WATER QUALITY ACT OF 1965—PUBLIC LAW 89-234

This act amends the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to establish a Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, to provide grants for research and development, to increase grants for construction of sewage treatment works, to require establishment of water quality criteria, and for other purposes.

The purpose of this act is to enhance the quality and value of our water resources and to establish a national policy for the prevention, control, and abatement of water pollution.

In this legislation, in connection with the exercise of jurisdiction over the waterways of the Nation and in consequence of the benefits resulting to the public health and welfare by the prevention and control of water pollution, it is the intention of Congress to recognize, preserve, and protect the primary responsibilities and rights of the States in preventing and controlling water pollution, to support and aid technical research relating to the prevention and control of water pollution, and to provide Federal technical services and financial aid to State and interstate agencies and to municipalities in connection with the prevention and control of water pollution.

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall administer this act through the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration created by this act, and with the assistance of an Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare designated by him, shall supervise and direct, first, the head of such Administration in administering this act; and second, the administration of all other functions of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare related to water pollution, and such other additional functions as the Secretary may prescribe.

The Secretary shall, after careful investigation, and in cooperation with other Federal agencies, with State water pollution control agencies and interstate agencies, and with the municipalities and industries involved, prepare or develop comprehensive programs for eliminating or reducing the pollution of interstate waters and tributaries thereof and improving the sanitary condition of surface and underground waters. In the development of such comprehensive programs due regard shall be given to the improvements which are necessary to conserve such waters for public water supplies, propagation of fish and aquatic life and wildlife, recreational purposes, and agricultural, industrial, and other legitimate uses. The Secretary is authorized to make joint investigations with any such agencies of the condition of any waters in any State or States, and of the discharges of any sewage, industrial wastes, or substance which may adversely affect such waters.

The Secretary shall encourage cooperative activities by the States for the prevention and control of water pollution; encourage the enactment of improved and, so far as practicable, uniform State laws relating to the prevention and control of water pollution; and encourage compacts between States for the prevention and control of water pollution.

The Secretary shall conduct in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and encourage, cooperate with, and render assistance to other appropriate public—whether Federal, State, interstate, or local—authorities, agencies, and institutions, private agencies and institutions, and individuals in the conduct of, and promote the coordination of, research, investigations, experiments, demonstrations, and studies relating to the causes, control, and prevention of water pollution.

The Secretary is authorized to make grants to any State, municipality, or intermunicipal or interstate agency for the purpose of assisting in the development of any project which will demonstrate a new or improved method of controlling the discharge into any waters of untreated or inadequately treated sewage or other waste from sewers which carry storm water or both storm water and sewage or other wastes, and for the purpose of reports, plans, and specifications

in connection therewith. The Secretary is authorized to provide for the conduct of research and demonstrations relating to new or improved methods of controlling the discharge into any waters of untreated or inadequately treated sewage or other waste from sewers which carry storm water or both storm water and sewage or other wastes, by contract with public or private agencies and institutions and with individuals without regard to sections 3648 and 3709 of the Revised Statutes, except that not to exceed 25 percent of the total amount appropriated under authority of this section for any fiscal year may be expended under authority of this sentence during such fiscal year.

The act authorizes to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for each succeeding fiscal year to and including the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961, $3 million, and for each succeeding fiscal year to and including the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, $5 million for grants to States and to interstate agencies to assist them in meeting the costs of establishing and maintaining adequate measures for the prevention and control of water pollution.

The Secretary is authorized to make grants to any State, municipality, or intermunicipal or interstate agency for the construction of necessary treatment works to prevent the discharge of untreated or inadequately treated sewage or other waste into any waters and for the purpose of reports, plans, and specifications in connection therewith.

There is established by this act in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, a Water Pollution Control Advisory Board, composed of the Secretary or his designee, who shall be chairman, and nine members appointed by the President, none of whom shall be Federal officers or employees. The appointed members, having due regard for the purposes of this act, shall be selected from among representatives of various State, interstate, and local governmental agencies, of public or private interests contributing to, affected by, or concerned with water pollution, and of other public and private agencies, organizations, or groups demonstrating an active interest in the field of water pollution prevention and control, as well as other individuals who are expert in this field.

The pollution of interstate or navigable waters in or adjacent to any State or States—whether the matter causing or contributing to such pollution is discharged directly into such waters or reaches such waters after discharge into a tributary of such waters—which endangers the health or welfare of any persons, shall be subject to abatement as provided in this act.

Consistent with the policy declaration of this act, State and interstate action to abate pollution of interstate or navigable waters shall be encouraged and shall not, except as otherwise provided by or pursuant to court order under provisions of this act, be displaced by Federal enforcement action.

PUBLIC WORKS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965—PUBLIC LAW 89-136

The Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 is designed to provide new industry and permanent jobs in areas where they are most needed. Its main emphasis is on long-range economic development and programing for areas or communities that are burdened with persistent unemployment and low family incomes. The new act is based upon a combination of proven ingredients—the area redevelopment and accelerated public works programs—and incorporates the regional planning concepts of the Appalachian Regional Development Act.

The act recognizes that economic development of distressed areas, districts, and regions is an enormously complex process, requiring the full cooperation of both public officials and private enterprise. It also requires partnership among officials at every level of government—local, county, State, and Federal.

The new act has a single primary objective: to create a climate conducive to the development of private enterprise in America's economically distressed communities. It does this by insisting upon local initiative to design and implement community redevelopment in partnership with Government, in order to harness the economic potential of areas that have too long been outside the mainstream of the Nation's prosperity.

The Economic Development Act provides some of the tools necessary to alleviate the conditions of our depressed areas. These tools include needed public works, industrial and commercial loans, and a wide variety of technical assistance to remove obstacles to sound and sustained economic progress.

The act does not automatically provide funds for the program. Projects may not be approved until funds are appropriated by the Congress.

KEY PROVISIONS OF THE ACT

First, public works: More than two-thirds of the funds authorized by Congress for the new program—$500 million annually for 4 years—will be used for public works and development facility grants. Loans of up to 100 percent are also authorized for these projects in areas where funds are not otherwise available. Public works provide such facilities as water and sewage systems, access roads, and the like, to encourage industrial development that will result in long-term employment. These development facilities will be constructed by providing direct grants of up to 50 percent of the cost of eligible projects and supplementary grants which can bring the Federal share as high as 80 percent in the neediest areas.

Second, business loans: To encourage private investment, the Economic Development Act provides low-interest, long-term loans to businesses expanding or establishing plants in designated redevelopment areas. Loans of up to 65 percent of the total project cost—including land, buildings, machinery, and equipment—may be made for up to 25 years at a rate of interest based on Federal borrowing costs. These loans will be made for projects which cannot be accomplished by financing solely through banks or other lending institutions. Federal guarantees for working capital loans made by private institutions in connection with these projects are also available.

Third, technical assistance: To help distressed areas understand the scope of their problems as well as their economic potential, the Economic Development Act provides an extensive program of technical assistance. This assistance may be in the form of studies to identify area needs or to find solutions to industrial and economic development problems. It also takes the form of grants-in-aid of 75 percent of the cost of planning and administering local economic development programs. It may also include management and operational assistance to private firms.

Fourth, research and information: Funds are provided under the act to develop a continuing program of study, training, and research into the causes of unemployment, underemployment, and chronic depression, and to devise programs and projects to help raise income levels. The act also authorizes the providing of information to areas whenever such information would be useful in alleviating or preventing conditions of excessive unemployment or underemployment.

Following is a section-by-section highlight analysis of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965:

Highlights of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965

TITLE I—GRANTS FOR PUBLIC WORKS AND DEVELOPMENT FACILITIES

Section	Description	Annual authorization (millions)
101	Provides direct grants (up to 50 percent) and supplementary grants (up to a Federal maximum of 80 percent) for public works and development facilities	
102	Authorizes the designation of areas as eligible for grants under title I if the Secretary of Labor finds that they have been areas of substantial unemployment for the preceding calendar year	
103	Establishes a 15-percent limitation on the amount of total authorization that may be expended in any 1 State	
104	Prohibits the duplication of assistance for projects which have been approved under the Appalachian Regional Development Act	
105	Authorizes the appropriation of $500,000,000 annually until June 30, 1969, for grants under this title	$500
106	Requires the Secretary to obtain a certification from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare that proposed waste disposal facilities meet applicable standards	

Highlights of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965—Continued

TITLE II—OTHER FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

Section	Description	Annual authorization (millions)
201	Authorizes loans (up to 100 percent) to assist in financing public works or development facilities	
202(a)(1)	Authorizes loans (up to 65 percent) for the purchase or development of land and facilities for industrial or commercial usage	
202(a)(2)	Provides for guarantees (up to 90 percent) of private working capital loans made in connection with direct loan projects	
202(b)	Sets forth standard loan provisions	
201(c)	Authorizes $170,000,000 annually for secs. 201 and 202 loans and guarantees until June 30, 1970	$170
203	Establishes an economic development revolving fund in the U.S. Treasury to receive collections and repayments and to extend financial assistance under secs. 201, 202, and 403	
	TITLE III—TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, RESEARCH, AND INFORMATION	
301(a)	Provides for technical assistance studies in designated areas or other areas that have a substantial need for assistance	
301(b)	Provides grants (up to 75 percent) to defray the planning and administrative expenses of qualified organizations	
301(c)	Provides for a continuing program of study and research	
301(d)	Authorizes the Secretary to provide redevelopment and other areas with information or advice which would be useful in alleviating or preventing conditions of excessive unemployment	
301(e)	Provides for the establishment of an independent study board to investigate effects of Government procurement and other programs on economic development	
302	Provides an appropriation authorization of $25,000,000 annually until June 30, 1970, for this title	25
	TITLE IV—AREA AND DISTRICT ELIGIBILITY	
401	Establishes standards for the designation of redevelopment areas on the basis of unemployment and low family income. Authorizes the continued designation for a period of approximately 1 year of areas which were eligible under the Area Redevelopment Act as of Mar. 1, 1965. Insures that every State will have at least 1 redevelopment area	
402	Provides for an annual review of area eligibility	
403	Provides for the designation of multicounty economic development districts containing 2 or more redevelopment areas and at least 1 development center. Provides for 10 percent bonuses on grants to redevelopment areas within designated districts and for loan and grant assistance to centers for district projects. Provides an appropriation authorization of $50,000,000 annually after June 30, 1966, until June 30, 1970	50
	TITLE V—REGIONAL ACTION PLANNING COMMISSION	
501	Provides for the designation of appropriate economic development regions	
502	Provides for the establishment of regional commissions	
503	Sets forth the functions of the regional commissions	
504	Establishes program development criteria for the guidance of the regional commissions	
505	Provides Federal technical and planning assistance (100 percent for first 2 years, 50 percent thereafter) to the regional commissions in the development of regional programs. Authorizes an annual appropriation of $15,000,000 for such purposes until June 30, 1970	15
506	Establishes the administrative powers of the commission	
507	Authorizes the commissions to obtain information necessary to carry out their responsibilities	
508	Prohibits conflicts of interest in connection with commission activities	
509	Provides for comprehensive and detailed annual reports with respect to the commission's activities and recommendations for programs	
	TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION	
601	Affixes responsiblity for administering the act with the Secretary of Commerce and provides for the appointment of an Assistant Secretary in addition to the Administrator	
602	Authorizes the appointment of a National Public Advisory Committee on Regional Economic Development composed of 25 members	
603	Provides for the Secretary to consult with other persons and agencies which can assist in meeting the problems of area and regional unemployment	
	TITLE VII—TECHNICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS	
701	Sets forth the powers of the Secretary necessary to the administration of a loan program	
702	Prohibits assistance to projects in industries which have excess efficient capacity	
703	Sets forth "savings provisions" relating ARA program to new program	
704	Provides for transfer of functions for Area Redevelopment Administration to the Secretary of Commerce	
705	Declaration of "separability" as to provisions of the act	
706	Defines the term "State" for the purposes of the act	
707	Provides for an annual report to be made to Congress for each fiscal year beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966	
708	Authorizes the use of the facilities and services of other agencies in carrying out the provisions of the act	
709	Authorizes appropriations to carry out those provisions of the act for which no specific authorization is provided	
710	Provides penalties for falsifying applications	
711	Establishes restrictions on use of expediters and administrative employees under the act	
712	Requires the payment of prevailing wages in the construction of projects receiving assistance under the act	
713	Requires the maintenance of a permanent record of all approved applications for financial assistance which shall be kept available for public inspection	
714	Requires the keeping of sufficient records for the purpose of audit	
715	Provides that benefits extended under other programs to redevelopment areas designated under the Area Redevelopment Act will also be made available to areas designated under this act	
716	Requires all financial and technical assistance under this act to be in addition to Federal assistance authorized under other legislation, so that there is no reduction in funds allocated under other programs to areas designated under this act	
	Total	760

OMNIBUS RIVERS AND HARBORS AND FLOOD CONTROL ACT OF 1965—PUBLIC LAW 89-298

The Omnibus Rivers and Harbors and Flood Control Act of 1965—Public Law 89-298—which authorizes the Army Corps of Engineers to construct, modify, or otherwise participate in the provision of 150 flood control, navigation, water conservation and other water resources projects, has an estimated Federal cost of $1,985,785,000. This includes 91 flood control—including multiple purpose—projects at a cost of $1,635,766,000; 50 navigation projects at an estimated Federal cost of $343,338,000; and 9 beach erosion projects at an estimated Federal cost of $6,681,000. This act also authorizes 33 surveys for flood control and allied purposes and 18 surveys in the interest of navigation and beach erosion control.

The new law also—

First, authorizes the Secretary of Commerce to purchase evidence of indebtedness and make loans to enable local interests to meet the requirements of local cooperation in connection with Corps of Engineers projects in areas eligible for financial assistance under the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965.

Second, raises the yearly limit of $1 million authorized by the Flood Control Act of 1960 for flood plain information studies to $2,500,000.

Third, raises the cost limits of small navigation and beach erosion projects as follows:

Navigation: From the $200,000 present limit per project to $500,000; and the present overall yearly amount from $2 to $10 million.

Beach erosion: From the $400,000 present limit per project to $500,000; and the present overall yearly amount from $3 to $10 million.

Fourth, authorizes the Secretary of the Army to transmit to the Committees on Public Works suggested legislation revising and codifying the laws relating to Corps of Engineers civil works projects.

Fifth, authorizes a study by the Corps of Engineers of the need for and feasibility of reimbursing States and other local interests for expenditures incurred by them in connection with Corps of Engineers authorized projects.

The bill contains a number of other minor provisions aimed at dealing with local situations or details of previous acts.

HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION ACT OF 1965—PUBLIC LAW 89-285

The Highway Beautification Act of 1965 provides for scenic development and road beautification of the Federal-aid highway systems.

Following is a section-by-section summary of the Highway Beautification Act of 1965:

TITLE I

Section 101 amends section 131 of title 23, United States Code, as follows:

Subsection (a) is a declaration of policy with respect to the erection and maintenance of outdoor advertising signs, displays, and devices in areas adjacent to the interstate and primary systems.

Subsection (b) provides for a 10-percent reduction in all Federal-aid highway apportionments to any State that has not made provision for "effective control" of outdoor advertising within 660 feet of the right-of-way of a highway on the Interstate and Federal-aid primary systems on or after January 1, 1968, until such time as the State shall provide for "effective control." The Secretary may, when deemed in the public interest, suspend the application of this subsection to a State. Any amount withheld shall be reapportioned to the other States.

Subsection (c) defines "effective control" and states that outdoor signs, displays, and devices shall be limited to directional and other official signs, including signs and notices pertaining to natural wonders and scenic and historical attractions. These signs shall conform to national standards which the Secretary is authorized to promulgate. Signs advertising the sale or lease of property upon which they are located and signs advertising activities upon the property on which they are located would be permitted.

Subsection (d) provides that signs, displays, and devices may be erected and maintained in areas which are zoned industrial or commercial under State law, or in unzoned industrial or commercial areas as may be determined by agreement between the several States and the Secretary. Size, lighting, and spacing of such signs, consistent with customary use, is to be determined by agreement between the several States and the Secretary. The States retain authority to zone areas for commercial or industrial purposes under their own zoning laws and their action in this regard will be accepted for the purposes of this act. Signs advertising on-premise activities are exempt from this subsection.

Subsection (e) provides that signs, displays, and devices, lawfully in existence on September 1, 1965, that do not conform to this section shall not be required to be removed until July 1, 1970. Any other sign, display, or device lawfully erected which does not conform shall not be required to be removed until the end of the fifth year after it becomes nonconforming.

Subsection (f) provides for the erection of signs, displays, and devices, in consultation with the States, within the right-of-way on the Interstate System, at appropriate distances from interchanges, giving specific information in the interest of the traveling public. These signs, displays, and devices shall conform to national standards promulgated by the Secretary.

Subsection (g) provides for the payment of just compensation upon removal of outdoor advertising signs, displays, and devices which were lawfully in existence on the date of enactment of this subsection; those lawfully on any highway made a part of the Interstate or primary system on or after the enactment of this subsection and before January 1, 1968; and those lawfully erected after January 1, 1968. The Federal share of just compensation is 75 percent. Compensation is to be paid to the owner of the sign, display, or device, and to the owner of the real property on which the sign, display, or device is located.

Subsection (h) provides for the control, by national standards, of all public lands or reservations of the United States which are adjacent to any portion of the interstate or primary system.

Subsection (i) authorizes the State highway departments to maintain maps and to permit informational directories and advertising pamphlets to be made available at safety rest areas for the traveling public. Subject to the approval of the Secretary, the States may also establish information centers at these safety rest areas.

Subsection (j) provides for the continuation of bonus payments to States which entered into agreements to control outdoor advertising signs, displays, and devices in areas adjacent to the Interstate System provided they continue to control under the terms of their agreement or this section, whichever is stricter. This subsection also states that the continuance of these agreements shall not be construed as exempting any State from controlling outdoor advertising as provided in this section.

Subsection (k) provides that a State may impose stricter limitations with respect to signs, displays and devices on the Federal-aid highway systems than those established under this section.

Subsection (l) provides for written notice, a statement of reasons, and an opportunity for a hearing whenever the Secretary determines to withhold funds from a State under the provisions of this Act. After the hearing, the Secretary shall issue a written order and the State may appeal such order to any United States district court for such State. The judgment of the district court is made subject to review by the U.S. appellate courts.

Subsection (m) authorizes to be appropriated out of the general fund of the Treasury not to exceed $20 million for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1966, and June 30, 1967. The use of the highway trust fund is prohibited.

Section 102 amends the heading of section 131 in the title of sections of chapter 1 of title 23.

TITLE II

Section 201 adds a new section 136 to title 23, United States Code, as follows:

Subsection (a) is a declaration of policy with respect to the establishment, use and maintenance of junkyards in areas adjacent to the Interstate and primary systems.

Subsection (b) provides for a 10-percent reduction in all Federal-aid highway apportionments to any State that has not made provision for "effective control" of junkyards within 1,000 feet of the right-of-way and visible from the main traveled way of such systems on or after January 1, 1968. The Secretary may, when deemed in the public interest, suspend the application of this subsection to a State. Any amount withheld shall be reapportioned to the other States.

Subsection (c) defines "effective control" as screening junkyards so as not to be visible from the main traveled way of the highway or removal from sight.

Subsection (d) defines the term "junk."

Subsection (e) defines the term "automobile graveyard."

Subsection (f) defines the term "junkyard."

Subsection (g) provides that notwithstanding the provisions of this section, junkyards, auto graveyards, and scrap metal processing facilities may be operated in areas zoned industrial by State law or in areas which are not zoned by State law but which are used for industrial activities, as determined by the States subject to approval by the Secretary.

Subsection (h) provides that any junkyard in existence on the enactment date of this section which does not conform to the requirements of this section and which the Secretary finds cannot be screened is not required to be removed until July 1, 1970.

Subsection (i) provides that the Federal share of landscaping and screening costs is 75 percent.

Subsection (j) provides that just compensation be paid the owner for the relocation, removal, or disposal of those junkyards lawfully in existence on the enactment date of this subsection, those junkyards lawfully along any highway made a part of the interstate or primary system on or after the enactment of this subsection and before January 1, 1968, and those lawfully established on or after January 1, 1968. The Federal share of such compensation is 75 percent.

Subsection (k) provides that all public lands or reservation of the United States, adjacent to the interstate and primary systems shall also be controlled in accordance with this section.

Subsection (l) permits a State to impose stricter limitations with respect to junkyards than those provided under this section.

Subsection (m) authorizes to be appropriated out of the general fund of the Treasury not to exceed $20 million for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1966, and June 30, 1967. The use of the highway trust fund is prohibited.

Section 202 amends the table of section of chapter 1, title 23, United States Code, by adding section 136.

TITLE III

Section 301(a) amends section 319 of title 23, United States Code, as follows:

Subsection (a) of section 319 provides the Secretary may approve the costs of landscape and roadside development as part of the construction costs of Federal-aid highways.

Subsection (b) of section 319 provides for an allocation out of funds appropriated under authority of this subsection equivalent to 3 percent of Federal-aid highway funds apportioned to a State, for landscape and roadside development within the highway right-of-way and for the acquisition of interests in and improvement of strips of land necessary for the restoration, preservation, and enhancement of scenic beauty adjacent to such highways and for the acquisition and development of publicly owned rest and recreation areas and sanitary and other facilities within or adjacent to the highway right-of-way. These funds are not to be matched by the States. The Secretary is authorized to make exceptions to this requirement where a State shown the amount is in excess of its

needs for these purposes. Any funds not so used shall lapse. This subsection authorizes an appropriation out of the general fund of the Treasury of $120 million for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1966, and June 30, 1967. The use of the highway trust fund is prohibited.

Subsection (b) redesignates the heading of section 319 in the table of sections of chapter 3 of title 23, United States Code.

Section 302 provides for a detailed estimate to be made of the cost of carrying out the provision of this act including the economic impact of these programs, their effectiveness, and the public and private benefits derived therefrom. This detailed estimate, to be made by the Secretary in cooperation with the States, must be submitted to the Congress not later than January 10, 1967.

Section 303(a) provides for public hearings in each State before the promulgation of standards, criteria, and rules and regulations by the Secretary of Commerce.

Subsection (b) requires the Secretary of Commerce to report to the Congress not later than January 10, 1967, the standards, criteria, and rules and regulations to be applied in carrying out the provisions of sections 131 and 136 of title 23, United States Code.

Section 304 authorizes an appropriation of $500,000 to enable the Secretary of Commerce to carry out his functions under section 135 of title 23, United States Code (highway safety programs).

Section 305 provides that the act shall not be construed to authorize the use of eminent domain to acquire any dwelling.

TITLE IV

Section 401 provides that the act shall not be construed to authorize the taking of private property or restricting its existing use without compensation as provided in the act.

Section 402 authorizes an appropriation from the general fund of the Treasury not to exceed $5 million for administrative expenses in carrying out this act.

DEATH OF COMMITTEE MEMBER

One of the most sorrowful events the committee experienced was the loss of one of its ablest members, Congressman T. A. Thompson, of Louisiana, chairman of the Public Buildings and Grounds Subcommittee. His death was a tragic thing for one so vital and active. He contributed over the many years he served on the committee a great deal to the work of the committee, and all of us, as well as our colleagues in the House and his many friends, mourn his passing. We shall miss him.

SUBCOMMITTEE AND STAFF WORK

I want here to express my sincere appreciation for the splendid cooperation of the committee members, particularly the subcommittee chairmen, Congressman JOHN A. BLATNIK, chairman of the Rivers and Harbors Subcommittee as well as the Federal-Aid Highway Program Subcommittee; Congressman ROBERT E. JONES, chairman of the Flood Control Subcommittee; Congressman JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI, chairman of the Roads Subcommittee; Congressman KENNETH J. GRAY, chairman of the Public Buildings and Grounds Subcommittee who succeeded T. A. Thompson; and Congressman JIM WRIGHT, chairman of the Watershed Development Subcommittee.

My deep and sincere appreciation also goes to Congressman WILLIAM C. CRAMER, of Florida, the ranking minority member of the committee, as well as the other able members of the minority side who have done so much to further the work of the committee.

Again, Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation for the work which the members of the committee have done, and this includes work of the staff of the committee, in carrying forward one of the most tremendous public works programs in the history of the country.

SUMMARY

Following is a summary of the bills and resolutions acted upon by the committee in the first session:

Bills and resolutions enacted into law

Public Law No.	Bill No.	Date approved	Title
4	S. 3	Mar. 9, 1965	Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965.
41	S. 2089	June 17, 1965	Pacific Northwest Disaster Relief Act of 1965.
42	H.R. 6755	June 18, 1965	Additional monetary authorizations for certain river basin plans (1966-67).
87	S. 956	July 24, 1965	Extend authority to construct facilities for enforcement of customs and immigration laws to Guam and the Virgin Islands.
136	S. 1648	Aug. 26, 1965	Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965.
139	S.J. Res. 81	Aug. 28, 1965	Amend Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956 to increase amount authorized for the Interstate System for fiscal year 1967; apportionment of such amount; future highway needs study; highway safety programs.
177	H.R. 496	Sept. 10, 1065	Designate lock and dam No. 3, Cape Fear River, N.C., as the William O. Huske lock and dam.
234	S. 4	Oct. 2, 1965	Water Quality Act of 1965.
260	H.J. Res. 642 (S.J. Res. 69).	Oct. 19, 1965	3d Library of Congress building, to be named James Madison Memorial Building.
285	S. 2084	Oct. 22, 1965	Highway Beautification Act of 1965.
298	S. 2300	Oct. 27, 1965	River and harbor and flood control omnibus bill, 1965.
328	H.R. 5026	Nov. 7, 1965	Authorize Burt County Bridge Commission to refinance toll bridge across Missouri River, from Decatur, Nebr., to a point in Monona County, Iowa.
338	H.R. 7475	Nov. 8, 1965	Designate lock and dam No. 6, Arkansas River, Ark., as the David D. Terry lock and dam.
339	H.R. 11539	do	Southeast Hurricane Disaster Relief Act of 1965.

Bill vetoed by the President

Bill No.	Date vetoed	Title
H.R. 7303 (S. 327)	June 5, 1965	Pacific Northwest Disaster Relief Act of 1965.

Bills passed by the House and pending in Senate committee

Bill No.	Passed House	Title
H.R. 790	Aug. 2, 1965	Rename Silver Springs lock of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal as the R. N. Bert Dosh lock.
H.R. 2208 [1]	Mar. 1, 1965	Modify flood control project for the Scioto River, Ohio.
H.R. 3788	July 19, 1965	City of Clinton Bridge Commission, revive and extend time for construction of a bridge or bridges across Mississippi River, vicinity of Clinton, Iowa, and Fulton, Ill.
H.R. 3976	May 17, 1965	Muscatine Bridge Commission, extend time for construction of a bridge across Mississippi River, vicinity of Muscatine, Iowa, and Drury Ill.
H.R. 4606	Mar. 1, 1965	Modify flood control project for Four River Basins, Fla.
H.R. 6790 [2]	July 19, 1965	Emergency relief for repair or reconstruction of highways under sec. 125 of title 23, United States Code.

[1] Included in Public Law 89-298. [2] See Public Law 89-41.

Bill reported by the committee and pending on the House Union Calendar

Bill No.	Date reported	Title
H.R. 9963	Oct. 21, 1965	U.S. participation in the 1967 statewide celebration of the centennial of the Alaska Purchase.

Water and the West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, policies for full and comprehensive use of Western States' water resources have involved Members of the Senate for decades. Critical water shortages will accelerate that involvement in future years, I am sure. It will require statesmanship of high order to balance the available supply against the growing demand and protect various regional, State and local interests at the same time.

Some guidelines for formulation of future policy have been laid down by the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON]. As chairman of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, he speaks with the authority of extensive knowledge concerning water uses. In an address to water leaders of California and the Nation on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the first delivery of water from the Central Valley project, he also spoke as a water statesman. Senator JACKSON's views warrant the attention of everyone concerned with proper use of water resources in the West. I ask consent to include in the Appendix of the RECORD, with my remarks, the text of the address by Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, of Washington entitled, "Water and the West."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WATER AND THE WEST

(By Senator HENRY M. JACKSON)

I am with you today as a friend and neighbor. I share your pride at this anniversary celebration as one who has supported your efforts in behalf of the Central Valley project during 25 years in the Congress of the United States.

The year you first received delivery of water from the Central Valley project—1940—is the year I was first elected to the House of Representatives. Since then I have had the privilege of working with the many fine people who have represented your area and California in the Congress.

We have fought many battles together on behalf of the Central Valley project. I can recall, particularly, the struggle to secure appropriations during the period 1948 to 1952, when I was a member of the Interior Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee. Close to $190 million was appropriated for the CVP during that period. I was convinced that the project would prove to be a worthwhile investment, and indeed it has.

Since 1953 I have been a Member of the Senate and its Interior Committee. We have authorized the Trinity River division and the San Luis unit. This year, after some struggle, we finally authorized the Auburn-Folsom South unit. Just 2 weeks ago, I brought before my committee a bill authorizing the Whiskeytown-Shasta national recreation area, which will mean so much to this area. We reported this bill from committee, and the next day passed it on the floor of the Senate and sent it to the President for signature.

I am glad to have had these and other opportunities to work with the California congressional delegation on legislation of importance to California. Let me hasten to add that I have been pleased—at least equally—to have them work with me on matters of importance to the State of Washington.

In 1940 the economy of this area was based largely on irrigated agriculture; now deliveries of water from the Contra Costa County Water District facilities are primarily for industrial and municipal purposes. This transformation is a dramatic example of the change taking place in American life.

The Southwest has experienced more of this change than any other part of the country—the growth of population, the shift from rural to urban living, and the transformation of the landscape. As you well know, this can be a burden as well as a boon. What you have done in California to meet the inevitable problems presented by this transition is an almost unbelievable record of accomplishment. The success of your efforts is demonstrated by the excellence of your educational system, the strength of your great arteries of transportation and commerce, and the richness of your economy.

What you have done in water resource development is a landmark achievement. The great Central Valley project itself is only a part of the vast program you have undertaken to meet the water needs of your State—a program which enlists the best efforts of State, local, and private agencies along with the Federal Government.

The people of California and the other States of the Southwest are very water conscious. In many parts of the Southwest, people have always had to live with and deal with the problems of a limited water supply.

In this year 1965, more than ever before, Americans all over the country have personally experienced the water crisis that faces the Nation. In the Northeast air conditioning was limited, salt water moved perilously close to municipal water intakes, and industries had to curtail production in a formerly water-rich area. In the Midwest people looked with despair at the lowering level and rising pollution of the Great Lakes.

This year we saw the spectacle of our Nation's largest city perilously close to running out of water. New York had to impose regulations prohibiting watering lawns, filling of pools, and carwashing. They stopped serving water in restaurants unless it was demanded, and restricted the use of water for cleaning streets and public buildings.

All of this in a city which delivers unmetered water to most of its consumers and loses large quantities of water from an archaic, leaky distribution system. Furthermore, New York must bring its water from reservoirs high in the upland area of the Delaware and Hudson River Basins because the Hudson River, with plenty of water flowing past its front door, is polluted.

All over the country we are learning, through bitter experience, the problems of water supply. We try, sometimes, to explain the problem by pointing to our growing population and tremendous increase in per capita water consumption. But this is not getting at the root of the problem. In most cases, water problems are really of our own making. They are not the inevitable result of population growth or technological change. They are created by pollution, waste, and mismanagement of water resources. This is a matter of very great concern to me as chairman of the Senate committee which serves a major responsibility for dealing with these problems.

The water problems I particularly wish to discuss with you are those of the West—though we must, of course, always remember that our problems are only one aspect of a great national problem. My purpose is to talk candidly and openly with you about a subject which threatens to divide the West—the proposals for importing water into the Colorado River.

It is important that there be no misunderstanding on this matter—and understanding may not come easily. Already there has been a considerable escalation in the war of words. I will speak frankly in the best tradition of one westerner talking to another. Our text for today might well come from a remark of the late President John F. Kennedy, who said, "Anybody who can solve the problem of water will be worthy of two Nobel prizes—one for peace and one for science."

The Southwest is concerned that there is not enough water in the Colorado River to satisfy all the demands predicted for that river. For some years, the fact that there is a limited supply of water in the Colorado has caused dispute and discord among the States concerned. A number of attempts have been made to come up with a plan for providing the water everyone wants at reasonable cost and without exciting objections within the Southwest itself. Most of the efforts have failed on the last point.

You may recall the united western investigation of the Bureau of Reclamation which studied what was called the northern California diversion. This study, in 1950, contemplated making the Klamath River a major source of supply for central and southern California and, by discontinuing the Colorado River aqueduct diversion, make more water available in the Colorado Basin by displacement. This report, which was called an interim reconnaissance report, also suggested a great many other sources for future investigation, including the Columbia River.

More recently, you may recall, the Southwest water plan was put together under the auspices of Secretary of the Interior Udall. It also contemplated developing northern California rivers as a source of water for the Southwest.

The Southwest water plan did not enjoy the support of all concerned in the Southwest, so this year a new plan was conceived and introduced in the Congress as the Lower Colorado River Basin project. Bills to authorize this project were the subject of hearings before the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. A key provision of these bills is a guarantee to California of 4.4 million acre-feet of water from the Colorado River. This guarantee is to endure until such time as the President has proclaimed that works have been completed and are in operation capable, in his judgment, of delivering annually not less than 2.5 million acre-feet of water into the Colorado River from sources outside the Colorado River Basin.

Even this latest plan has not been universally accepted in the Southwest, and I understand a new one will be proposed next year which will identify a considerably larger volume of water to be imported. The claim has been made that speedy action must be taken to get water importation works underway so they will be in existence when needed.

I want to tell you why, as one who is concerned with the welfare of his State and his country, I am disturbed by the demands for hasty commitment to a massive program for transporting vast quantities of water over long distances at great expense.

Let me talk first about the reaction in the Northwest to proposals for diverting water from the Columbia River—this being the most apparent goal of any studies or plans to import water into the Colorado.

It should come as no shock to anyone here that the immediate reaction of the Northwest is considerably less than enthusiastic.

It occurs to me that some of you may have experienced similar emotions when confronted with a proposal for taking water from an area in which you reside and shipping it to another area. Some people in the Northwest have charged that the diversion proposals amount to an attempted raid or steal of Northwest resources. Some people in the Southwest have responded that the attitude of the Northwest is selfish or an example of regional chauvinism.

It is natural for you to ask: What is the Northwest really concerned about? After all—it has been suggested—what is wanted is only a small quantity of water, which the Northwest obviously does not need, taken from a point where it could not possibly hurt any existing or future uses; and the Northwest can have the water back at any time it needs it. What could be more reasonable than that?

Let me take these points one by one and tell you why they have not been entirely persuasive to Northwesterners.

Point No. 1: Only a small amount of water is wanted. I believe that illusion is somewhat shattered. When the Lower Colorado River project bills were introduced, people talked about 2.5 million acre-feet of water. The actual language in the bill said a minimum of 2.5 million and this raised a suspicion that, perhaps, more was intended. The latest proposal, I understand, suggests an additional 2 million acre-feet for the wants of the Upper Colorado River Basin, 2 million more for the lower basin, and another 2 million for areas along the course of the new riverbed which would have to be constructed between the Columbia and the Colorado. This makes a grand total of 8.5 million acre-feet per year, plus whatever allowances must be made for evaporation and other losses en route. Eight and a half million acre-feet is more than half of the average amount of water that annually flows through Hell's Canyon of the Snake River.

Point No. 2: Only water that the Northwest does not need will be taken. This requires definition of the word "need." If consuming uses are meant—domestic, agricultural, and industrial—then the Northwest is a long way from using up the Columbia River and I hope we always will be. But considerable volumes of water are required on the Columbia for such nonconsuming uses as power, recreation, navigation, dilution, and fish. Studies are now underway by States in the Northwest with the objective of predicting water requirements.

Life on the Columbia, as we know it, cannot go forward if the river is committed to consumptive uses in the same way the Colorado is. Studies by the Bonneville Power Administration have already indicated that by 1990, 99.6 percent of the entire average annual streamflow at the Dalles Dam will be usable for power production. The same will be true at Bonneville Dam with the addition of a second powerhouse.

The Columbia is a mighty river which discharges a large volume of water into the sea. But that water is not necessarily "wasted," and the loss of the amount of water being discussed could not possibly go unnoticed.

Point No. 3: The water will be taken where its loss will not hurt uses in the Northwest. The place usually suggested is below Bonneville Dam. I think I should point out parenthetically that Bonneville Dam is more than 100 miles upstream from the mouth of the Columbia, because a few people seem to have the impression that one place is about the same as the other. On the Columbia River, below Bonneville Dam, are the largest city in Oregon, several of the principal cities of Washington, and many industrial plants.

It is true that if water were taken below Bonneville Dam, there would be no interference with power generation. However, this premise arouses some skepticism. In order to deliver water from the Columbia River to the Colorado, a lift of 4,000 to 6,000 feet would be required, even if extensive tunneling were undertaken along the route. Would it make sense to take the water at the lowest elevation in order to achieve the maximum generation of electricity, and then have to use a good deal more electric power, and construct expensive works, to pump it back up again? Would not a study reveal that it would be far more economical to Southwest water users to take the water out at a higher elevation even if that does do damage to downstream uses? In any event, if the principle of a diversion were once accepted by the Northwest, would not the water users of the Southwest, who would pay for at least part of the cost of pumping, naturally make such an argument?

Point No. 4: Finally, it is said, iron-clad guarantees can be written so that the Northwest can cut off water deliveries to the Southwest at any time in the future when we need the water. Quite frankly, current history must discount the value of such a guarantee. People in my area expenses the fear that long before the Southwest's water would be cut off, it might use its great power and influence in an effort to make certain that the Northwest develops no need for the water. The diversion of Colorado waters to southern California is the case they cite. The Supreme Court of the United States, after a decade of litigation, held that Arizona is entitled to a larger share of the Colorado water than it now gets. But Arizona cannot use this larger share unless it first secures from Congress the authorization of what was formerly called the central Arizona project to build the necessary diversion works and canals from the Colorado River to central Arizona. I need not remind you how long Arizona has been trying to secure authorization of the central Arizona project. This is a project needed to maintain an agricultural economy in Arizona presently sustained by large overdrafts of ground water. But California fears the central Arizona project could threaten its supply of water from the Colorado. It is unwilling to share with Arizona the risk of loss in a short water year. People in the Northwest can understand that point of view, but it is of no comfort to them when they contemplate a diversion of water from the Columbia.

Parenthetically, the solution of the problem of regional protection of hydroelectric resources, as provided in the Northwest-Southwest intertie legislation, does not reassure northwesterners in this matter of diverting the waters of the Columbia. The intertie program, which I sponsored at a time when the proposal was not altogether popular in the Northwest, is different from a program to divert the Columbia. Electric energy flows in two directions, and with the cooperation of many members of your congressional delegations, and carefully drawn legislative safeguards, we were able to prove that a high voltage intertie will benefit both the Northwest and the Southwest. Because of seasonal load diversities, it will increase the power resources of both regions. But a diversion of the Columbia, unlike a power intertie, would always be a one-way street. We have no plans to bring Central Valley project water northward, and I am sure you would not want us to make any such plans.

Does all of this mean that the Northwest wants to hoard its water while other areas of the country are thirsty? I do not think so. What it means is that the Northwest is not going to be lulled into a false sense of security about a proposal which casts such a long and dark shadow on its future.

Why, you ask, does the Northwest object even to studies of diversion? Such studies, from the point of view of people in the Northwest, would not put first things first. The people of the Northwest deeply believe that before any other region asks for a study of the diversion of the Columbia River, such region first must establish that it actually needs additional water and that it cannot obtain additional water by any reasonable means except diverting the Columbia.

To confuse the question of water need with that of water diversion inevitably will make it difficult to reach an objective decision on the question of need. The temptation will be great for those conducting the study to sidestep, or least postpone, hard decisions of water management and conservation by recommending the importation of water from another region. If the study is being conducted by an agency with a large staff of engineers eager to build the biggest ditch in the world, the temptation may be irresistible. To ask an agency whose business is to construct water projects whether it is necessary to divert the Columbia is something like asking an automobile salesman's advice on whether you should purchase a new car.

The people of the Northwest are generous and goodhearted, but not profligate. Perhaps you have heard about a tribe of Northwest Indians who observed a quaint custom called the potlatch. The objective of the potlatch was to give away all of one's worldly possessions. He who gave away the most enjoyed the highest status. This tribe and its custom no longer flourish in the Northwest.

So much for the concerns of the Northwest.

I hope you will give these comments thoughtful and friendly consideration just as the people of the Northwest will give the same consideration to your needs and desires. The fates of our regions are bound together. The Northwest will not prosper unless you do. You will not flourish if the Northwest's economy withers. It is absolutely essential that a problem which involves the vital interests of both regions be solved by mutual agreement. To solve it, we must assemble the facts that are relevant to the problem.

The country as well as the West must seek answers to many questions: Does the Southwest need more water? What does it need it for? How is it using existing supplies? Can sufficient water be secured through conservation and reuse to satisfy its needs? To what exent and under what criteria should the Federal Government assist local water conservation measures? What are the prospects for improving water supplies within the Southwest by desalinization, weather modifications, or other means? Are present irrigation practices wasteful? Does it make sense to transport water 800 to 1,000 miles for irrigation?

Many question must be asked about the Northwest, for example: What are the needs of the Northwest? Is there water to spare? How will the economy of the Northwest be affected if large quantities of water are taken away? What are potential benefits and liabilities?

These are all questions which, I believe, have not been fully and carefully explored, but must be answered before a decision is reached as to whether or not water must be imported into the Colorado River. To answer these questions requires study. A study for this purpose will have my full and immediate support. It should get underway as soon as possible. It must be authorized by the Congress.

I have reached no final conclusions in my own mind as to how this study should be performed, except that it must be under auspices of maximum independence and objectivity. The findings of this study, to be useful, must command the respect of all.

The Bureau of the Budget, in reporting to the Congress on the lower Colorado River project bills, recommended the establishment of a National Water Commission to be composed of distinguished citizens outside of Government. In testifying before my committee in hearings on the Northeast

water crisis, Elmer Staats, Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget, said, "Establishment of a National Water Commission has strong administration support. * * *"

He said that "a national commission, drawing on the expertise available outside the Federal Government, would complement and enhance the effectiveness of existing sources of information and advice available within the executive branch, including the Water Resources Council. A national commission would take full advantage of work accomplished by the Kerr committee, updating projections and exploiting data not available to the committee. Thus, the specific reason for a commission is that, in view of the urgent timing for a definitive study, all the intellectual resources of the country—in and out of Government—must be marshaled and brought to bear on our water resources development problems. The future of this country will be determined in large measure upon the soundness of the decisions we make today in this area."

He went on to say: "In addition to developing projections of water supply and requirements and identifying alternative ways of meeting future water demand—including conservation and more efficient use of existing supplies, steps to encourage the highest economic use of water, and the impact of such techniques as water importation and large-scale desalting—the National Water Commission would advise the President and the Water Resources Council on such specific water resources matters as may be referred to it. The Commission, as envisioned by the administration, would consist of about five to seven members, be adequately staffed and financed, and terminate not later than 5 years from the date of its establishment."

This is a proposal which, in my opinion, has considerable merit. However, I realize that distinguished representatives of the Southwest have expressed reservations about it. Whatever is done should have the blessings of all concerned. Therefore, I am not pressing for this as the only way to approach the problem.

The task outlined by the administration is one which must be performed. I am open to any alternative suggestions as to how best we can do the job.

Whatever we do, we must do it together. With reason and good will we can find answers that will serve the best interests of us all.

Tribute to Sam Romer, Authority on Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a eulogy to the late Sam Romer. Mr. Romer had a long career of service to the labor movement and the cause of democracy.

In 1937 he enlisted as a private in the Spanish Republican Army to fight against the Fascist forces of General Franco. After being captured and imprisoned, he was released in exchange for a Franco partisan in 1938. He then joined the staff of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

From 1942 to 1945, he served in the U.S. Army. Following the war, he was appointed copy editor of the Minneapolis Tribune. In 1948 he took time out to serve as Chief of Labor Relations for the Labor Division of the Supreme Commander, Allied Powers, Tokyo.

In 1949 Sam Romer was named assistant news editor of the Minneapolis Tribune, and in 1951 he was assigned to labor news. In addition to his work for the Tribune, he gave many lectures, and wrote numerous pamphlets and articles. In 1962 he published a book "The International Brotherhood of Teamsters." He died in April of this year, survived by his wife and daughter.

These are the facts of his life. But these facts do not tell of the real contributions of the man, of his character, of his courage, of his personality. As one indication of the respect in which he was held, at the memorial service on May 21, sponsored by a committee of his friends, over 400 people were in attendance. Sam Romer was held in high regard not only in Minnesota but throughout the Nation.

The eulogy to Mr. Romer, given by John Herling, Washington correspondent for the National Newspaper Syndicate, at the memorial service is an outstanding one, and enables one to gain some understanding for the esteem which Sam Romer commanded.

In tribute to the late Sam Romer, the eulogy follows:

EULOGY TO THE LATE SAM ROMER

When a friend dies, as has often been said, we ourselves die a little. When death comes so suddenly, so almost without preparation, as it came to Sam Romer, we must proceed as we can, with a heightened appreciation for the life he lived.

Sam Romer was a newspaperman and terribly proud of being one. For him it was not only a way of making a living, but it was also an art form. He was, in fact, a one-man labor international, with friendships and acquaintances and interests that crossed the continent and spanned both oceans. He was an instinctive cosmopolite with his home base Minnesota and more particularly Minneapolis whose civic virtue he would loyally defend sometimes even before it was attacked. He could make his own wry criticism of his adopted hometown but that was a strictly intramural exercise in which those beyond the walls had no license to participate.

He was concerned with the standards of competence and technique and with the organization of our newspapers and their people. Beyond that he cared deeply about the substance of the labor assignment. His purpose was nothing less than to cover the labor movement in all its ramifications. He dedicated himself to the understanding of workers problems and of labor management relations and he viewed them both as a job for a reporter and for a social critic. But while he always strove for accuracy and candor, he was seldom a harsh critic.

You can't understand what struggle and suffering mean unless you have felt the wet and cold through the holes in your own shoes. With his mind and his heart Sam understood the meanning of suffering. He was no poet so that he could never recollect such emotions in tranquility, although he had in recent years acquired a sort of mellow way of telling stories about people he knew and things he had seen, and a considerable part of which he was in New York or Detroit or Tokyo, or Mena, Ark.

He had a casual way about him, but not trivial. I don't think he ever consciously tried to pronounce a hierarchy of values. But he lived by them and implemented them. He certainly didn't care about clothes and never undertook to cultivate external appearances. His eyes were warm, and sometimes hot, reflectors of a deeply earnest soul. He seemed sometimes to display a sense of amazement and surprise and a shock of reluctant recognition about things in life that many took for granted. He had a keen, sometimes a self-deprecating pride, with having been a child and then a man of the city streets. I learned that he was made somewhat uncomfortable by nature in its larger, impersonal aspects, as if he saw danger of being overwhelmed by it. But by the forces of humanity he was not panicked. He could grasp them and grapple with them. But nature as distinct from people was a little too much. I remember once when we participated in a seminar of the Political Science Association out at Grand Teton National Park. He said he would much rather sit around, drink a little and talk a lot with fellow newspapermen there, and not bother to go out to look at the mountains. "Naw," said Sam in mock disdain, "when you've seen one mountain, you've seen them all." He didn't mean to say exactly that, of course, but rather what interested him and stimulated him most was the variety in people, the differences among human beings, and, if you please, the separateness of individuals.

We can't talk about Sam without talking about Edna. When they were kids—nearly 30 years ago—they were caught up with each other and in this adventure and the fierce fun of remaking America, of making America the beautiful society. Almost children still, they proceeded hand in hand, having dedicated themselves to nothing less than the achievement of the brotherhood of man at home and abroad. So they sailed away to help the Spanish Loyalists—she as a nurse, he as a soldier. I imagine there was never a less military looking man than Sam. But he was persistent and alert and determined and, in that context became politically wise quite early. He never really thought much of his soldering—then, or even later on, when the United States itself went directly and officially to war and he resumed the hand-to-hand encounter against Fascist and Nazi forces. Out of his Spanish experience he had come with the almost unnerving clarity that the fight for a better world was not a simple one. It could break your heart if you didn't watch out. A child of the depression, he came easily to political and economic sophistication. He became wise and wary. He learned the difference—the basic difference—between democratic socialism and totalitarian communism. He had personally confronted the brutal fact of Communist betrayal. Instead of this frustrating him it heightened his determination to push on. This was no abstract, quasi-intellectual exercise. What Communist imperialism had perpetrated on the Spanish Republicans he found also in its counterpart activity inside the American labor movement. He sought and fought to establish clear ideas in other people's minds—or at least ideas that he had found clear. But it's a tough job to transmit one's experience, in any sector, to the next generation. Tom Paine once said, "When we are planning for posterity, we ought to remember that virtue is not hereditary." But Sam was also concerned that the political sins of one generation should not be visited upon the next. So Sam never desisted from benevolent intervention to lessen the burden of transference.

Because, as I said, what he cared about was people. This is what made a reporter of competence and a man of consequence. This is what made friendship with him easy as well as durable. He displayed great compassion even about people whose skullduggery he was relentlessly exposing. He moved with an effortless, matter of fact, bread and butter courage with no side or braggadocio, in the face of threats. He became ac-

customed but not hardened to the spectacle of people betraying good causes. But he never faltered in his concern for those causes. He cared for and won the confidence of leaders in the trade union movement and of the rank and file. He did not exaggerate the trade union movement into an all-purpose vehicle of social reform. Rather he saw it as a challenge to reality, the primary self-help operation in the war against poverty, through which perhaps life could be made less short, less brutish, less nasty. He felt a commitment to the ordinary person—to the nonhero, to the sort of plain American who made this country. The trade union movement—like our Nation—was created by people who pressed on not because they considered themselves heroic, but because they were too scared to stop.

I think Sam also saw his job as an educational one. He felt he had to talk as well as write about the labor movement, to establish its place in the community and to educate his associates in the process. It is always difficult to persuade or reassure employers that trade unions are here to stay. Sam helped convey the facts of trade union life both to management and to the unions themselves. Perhaps it is self-serving to say that the labor assignment is one of the toughest in the news world, with a special quality of its own. But rather than emphasize the particular nature of the labor movement or imply the need for a sort of secret expertise to appreciate it, he was always ready to explain the situation at considerable length, with great patience and with flashes of insight and with little raisins of stories about labor personalities, about past strikes and near strikes—about the fire beneath the smoke. He was always ready to lend a fact to a friend or even to save him from error. He would even admit his own errors—which is in itself a rare sort of grace. He loved his work in all its aspects. He was a professional. He lived in and through his job. For nearly 20 years he achieved here in Minneapolis a happy integration of life and labor. Out of this combination he brought credit to his city and his newspaper, pride to his friends, and happiness to his family. He was still on his way. He just shouldn't have died so soon.

Three Job Corps Graduates Win Chance at Executive Careers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL B. BREWSTER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, a recent article in the Washington, D.C., Sunday Star, written by Larry A. Still, tells of the fervent hope for the future of O'Neil Leroy Costley, of Baltimore, Md.

The article is headlined "Three Job Corps Graduates Win Chance at Executive Careers." The story is a true story of Americana—give American youth a chance and it will strive to pursue constructive goals.

There is another saga of Americana in the story. This is the report of W. C. Hobbs, vice president in charge of the Washington, D.C., based firm giving jobs to Job Corps graduates—the management and engineering services division of Consolidated American Services, Inc. Mr. Hobbs was himself a dropout—he left school in 1931, but returned to get a B.S. in science and engineering.

I think it is interesting to quote what Mr. Hobbs had to say to the Job Corps graduates he employed:

I want these fellows to know they won't get any preferential treatment. They'll have to work like everybody else. At the end of the 90 days they will be just one of the workers and advance on merit and ability. It's entirely up to them.

Mr. Hobbs is also quoted as stating that he hired "the youths from the Job Corps program because the camps offered greater selectivity, better character, and higher quality of potential workers than any other single source.

Mr. President, I believe this account merits the attention of my colleagues and I ask that the article be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THREE JOB CORPS GRADUATES WIN CHANCE AT EXECUTIVE CAREERS

(By Larry A. Still)

Three graduates of the Office of Economic Opportunity's Job Corps training program were given new jobs in Washington and a chance of executive training yesterday by two former dropouts who already have succeeded.

The trainees are Cosme Arriola, 21, of San Antonio, Tex.; O'Neal Leroy Costley, 18, of Baltimore, and Lawrence Harkless, 21, of Port Arthur, Tex., all members of the first graduating class of the Camp Kilmer, N.J., Urban Center.

Camp Kilmer is one of 100 training centers being established in the antipoverty program for 40,000 young men and women, aged 16 to 21, "who need a change of environment and individual help to develop talents, self-confidence and motivation to improve themselves."

FIRST EXECUTIVE TRAINEES

The three Kilmer grads started work as the Job Corps' first executive trainees at the management and engineering service division of Consolidated American Services, Inc.

Consolidated operates management and maintenance services for major industries throughout the Nation and on Wake Island, in Thailand and Vietnam.

"I never thought I would be here," said Arriola at the firm's plus Washington office in the Madison Bank Building. "My mother didn't want me to be far from home, but she says it's for my benefit," said Harkless.

"My family is proud of me. They hope I stick it out," said Costley.

W. C. Hobbs, vice president of Consolidated, said he hired the youths from the Job Corps program because the camps offered "greater selectivity, better character and higher quality" of potential workers than any other single source.

"We are going to adjust their working hours so they can go to college if they wish," Hobbs said. "We can always use a good mechanical engineer. It may take 6 or 7 years but we're in no hurry."

The trainees will begin at a minimum starting salary of $1.75 to $2.25 an hour during a 90-day training period, according to John Rollo, manager of the division's logistic and social science department.

The firm found each youth housing in the District, established separate checking accounts for them, purchased clothing so they could go to work and return to school.

Hobbs recalled that he dropped out of school in 1931, but returned to get a B.S. degree in science and engineering. He is general manager of Consolidated's management and engineering services division which includes three other dropouts among the 105 employees.

Dr. David Gottlieb, director of program development and job evaluation for the Office of Economic Opportunity, agreed that the executive training program could provide new inspiration for the 13,000 youths presently in 44 camps.

"These fellows have already demonstrated more on the ball than I had at their age," Gottlieb said.

EARNED PH. D.

Gottlieb also quitted school when he was in the 10th grade and never returned to get a high school diploma.

He enrolled at Wayne State University in Detroit as an unclassified student and received a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago after the graduate school waived all entrance requirements. Today Gottlieb is a member of the Michigan State University faculty.

There are 800 graduates of Job Corps training programs, including many who have entered military service and 8 who are attending college on scholarships, Gottlieb said.

Arriola was graduated from high school in San Antonio, but dropped all hopes of studying architectural drafting to find a job that would help support five brothers and two sisters.

He was recommended for the Job Corps and became president of the student council at Camp Kilmer and valedictorian of his class. He was hired as a property control clerk at Consolidated and plans to study data processing at night.

Costley will work in the firm's administrative group as a reproduction clerk and Harkless as a junior draftsman in the engineering department. Costley dropped out of high school in his senior year when his mother, father, 10 brothers and 3 sisters moved to Tuskegee Institute, Ala., where his father took a job at the Veterans' Administration hospital.

"I didn't have to drop out," Costley said, "but I was too bullheaded. The Job Corps has given me a wonderful chance."

Harkless said he quit school in the ninth grade because "I was losing interest and it was getting to be a bore." He added, "I didn't want to go back to school and I was too young to go in the service, so the Job Corps was right in between."

Hobbs had one final word for his new trainees. "I want these fellows to know they won't get any preferential treatment," he emphasized. "They'll have to work like everybody else. At the end of the 90 days they will be just one of the workers and advance on merit and ability. It's entirely up to them."

Estimated Cost of Each New Law Enacted in the 1st Session, 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the minority staff of the Appropriations Committee has been answering many requests for information concerning the amounts authorized in the long list of new legislative enactments of this session, and I have had prepared the following tabulation, indicating the estimated cost of

each new law, when an estimate was available, or the amount stated in the legislation.

In very many instances, there is little information available. In many cases, an estimate is available for the first year only, with future years "open." This points up the need for legislation, such as I have proposed, that the administration send to Congress in the budget a tabulation of estimated 5-year costs of new legislation, and that such estimates be included in the legislative reports of the committees.

The tabulation follows:

Public law	Bill No.	Subject	Cost estimate
89-1	S.J. Res. 3	Date for transmission of Budget and Economic Reports	
89-2	H.J. Res. 234	Supplemental appropriation, Agriculture	Appropriation.
89-3	H.R. 3818	Eliminate requirement that Federal Reserve banks maintain certain reserves in gold certificates.	
89-4	S. 3	Appalachian Regional Development Act	$1,092,400,000.
89-5	S. 301	Astronautics, Goddard Day, ceremonies	
89-6	H.R. 45	Inter-American Development Bank	1965, $250,000,000; 1966, $250,000,000; 1967, $250,000,000.
89-7	S.J. Res. 48	Bennett Place Commemoration	
89-8	S.J. Res. 47	Professional Photography Week	
89 9	H.R. 1496	Release amounts of zinc, lead, and copper from stockpile	
89-10	H.R. 2362	Elementary and Secondary Education Act	1966, $1,344,700,000; 1967, $1,861,400,000; 1968, $2,431,500,000; 1969, $479,000,000; 1970, $543,500,000; total, $6,660,100,000.
89-11	S. 307	Consent of Congress to a compact relating to taxation of motor fuels consumed by interstate buses between 5 States and the District of Columbia.	
89-12	H.R. 5721	Acreage-poundage marketing quotas for tobacco	
89-13	H.R. 4527	Coast Guard, 1966, authorization for appropriations	$114,250,000.
89-14	H.R. 4778	$3,000,000 increase in annual appropriations authorized for Indian adult vocational training program, from $12,000,000 to $15,000,000.	$3,000,000 annually.
89-15	S. 974	Manpower Act of 1965	1966, $454,000,000; open annually thereafter until June 30, 1969.
89-16	H.R. 7091	2d Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1965	Appropriation.
89-17	H.R. 2894	Civil service retirement annuities	$65,000,000.
89-18	H.J. Res. 447	Defense supplemental appropriation bill ($700,000,000, southeast Asia)	Appropriation.
89-19	S. 60	Nez Perce National Historical Park, Idaho	$1,967,000.
89-20	H.R. 5702	National Commission on Food Marketing, 1-year extension for report	$1,000,000 additional.
89-21	H.R. 7855	Procurement, 17 small patrol cutters, U.S. Coast Guard, fiscal 1966	$6,260,000.
89-22	H.R. 7064	Foreign Service buildings, Vietnam	$1,000,000.
89-23	S. 701	International Coffee Agreement Act of 1965	$150,000 annually (until Oct 1, 1968).
89-24	H.R. 66	District of Columbia Parole Board authority to discharge parolees	
89-25	H.J. Res. 195	American Legion National Convention, District of Columbia	
89-26	H.R. 5043	Evacuation, Armed Forces dependents	Estimate, $220,000 Vietnam dependents; for others (?).
89-27	H.R. 2998	Arms Control and Disarmament Act	1966 through 1968, $30,000,000.
89-28	S. 702	Disposition judgment funds on deposit to credit of Quinaielt Tribe of Indians	
89-29	H.J. Res. 436	Tobacco acreage allotments, filing of lease	
89-30	H.R. 3995	Functions of Secretary of Treasury	
89-31	H.R. 6497	U.S. quota, International Monetary Fund	$1,035,000,000.
89-32	H.R. 8122	Atomic Energy Commission, 1966 authorization for appropriations, rescission of $5,455,000.	$2,555,521,000.
89-33	S. 339	Agate Fossil Beds National Monument, Nebr	$2,143,150.
89-34	H.R. 6691	Validate payments to National Forest Service employees, 1961, 1962, 1963	
89-35	H.R. 806	Amend Textile Fiber Products Identification Act	
89-36	H.R. 7031	National Technical Institute for the Deaf	Estimate, 1966 planning $200,000; costs of construction, equipping, and operating over 1st 4 years, $13,500,000; annual operation and maintenance after 4 years, $2,000,000.
89-37	S. 800	Annual Armed Forces research and procurement authorization, $105,600,000 above President's request.	$15,402,800,000. (1966).
89-38	H.R. 821	Relief, Kure Beach, N.C	$100,000.
89-39	S. 435	Extend boundaries, Kanisksu National Forest, Idaho	$500,000 from land and water conservation fund.
89-40	H.R. 7597	Veterans' insurance fund reopened (transfer from veterans' special term insurance fund to veterans' reopened insurance fund, to be repaid).	$1,650,000.
89-41	S. 2089	Pacific Northwest Disaster Relief Act	$111,875,000. ($50,000,000, 1965 appropriation; $20,000,000, 1966 appropriation; $38,000,000, 1965 continuous authorization, $3,875,000, appropriation.)
89-42	H.R. 6755	Authorize appropriations for river basin projects	$944,000,000.
89-43	S. 1135	Extend termination date of authority for President to submit reorganization plans.	
89-44	H.R. 8371	Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1965	
89-45	H.R. 1782	Retired Federal employees health benefits, Government contributions	
89-46	H.R. 7777	Federal Aviation Agency, appointment of Gen. William F. McKee, Administrator.	
89-47	H.R. 1732	Government Printing Office, civilian employees' pay	
89-48	S. 1000	Movable property, title transfer	
89-49	H.R. 8464	Increase in public debt limit (to $328,000,000,000 during 1966)	
89-50	H.R. 214	Veterans' benefits mustering-out payments (not more than 200 Army and Air Force officers eligible, DOD said could be absorbed).	
89-51	H.R. 7762	Reserve Officers' Training Corps, Naval Reserve; correct technicalities, no added cost.	
89-52	H.R. 6767	Interior Appropriation Act	Appropriation.
89-53	H.R. 7717	Annual NASA Authorization Act	$5,190,396,200.
89-54	H.R. 3165	Pecos National Monument, N. Mex	$500,000.
89-55	H. J. Res. 541	Area Redevelopment Act extension, 2 months	$12,300,000.
89-56	H.R. 5988	Federal Maritime Commission, term of Commissioners	
89-57	H.R. 7060	Treasury-Post Office Appropriation Act	Appropriation.
89-58	H. J. Res. 553	Continuing appropriations for fiscal 1966 until July 31, 1965	
89-59	S. 1796	Amends Small Business Act to provide increase in maturity of SBA disaster loans from 20 to 30 years; suspension of up to 5 years on payment of principal and interest on disaster loans at discretion of Administration, and increase in SBA's revolving fund by $50,000,000.	Increase in revolving fund, $50,000,000.
89-60	H.R. 6032	Mann Creek reclamation project, Idaho	$690,000.
89-61	H.R. 4493	Metal scrap, 2-year suspension of duties	
89-62	H.R. 8147	Tariffs, returning residents	
89-63	H.R. 7105	Regulation exports	
89-64	H.R. 6848	Crime, conveying false information	
89-65	H.R. 3994	Air Force, 1 claim	
89-66	H.R. 4525	Merchant marine, mobile trade fairs, June 30, 1965, to June 30, 1968	$500,000 annually for 3 years, 1966 through 1968.
89-67	H.R. 3996	Admiralty claims settlement	
89-68	H.R. 6507	Interstate crimes, arson	
89-69	H.R. 8131	Extend Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act	1966, $6,500,000; 1967, $10,000,000.
89-70	H.R. 5283	District judges, service time, Alaska	
89-71	H.R. 3415	Intercoastal shipping rates, penalties	
89-72	S. 1229	Federal Water Project Recreation Act; a general policy bill, funds to come under projects in regular legislative process.	
89-73	H.R. 3708	Older Americans Act of 1965	1966, $6,500,000; 1967, $11,000,000; 1968, 1969, 1970, open.
89-74	H.R. 2	Drug Abuse Control Amendments of 1965	$10,000,000 annually.
89-75	H.R. 6453	District of Columbia Appropriation Act	Appropriation.
89-76	H.R. 5184	Claim, port of Portland, Oreg	$6,226.80.
89-77	H.R. 5874	Amend Public Law 815, school construction, Puerto Rico, Wake, Guam and Virgin Islands.	$2,000,000 and $100,000, annually.
89-78	H.R. 7847	Small Business Act, revolving fund increased from $341,000,000 to $461,000,000	Revolving fund increased $120,000,000.

Public law	Bill No.	Subject	Cost estimate
89-79	H.R. 5306	Banks, foreign government deposits	
89-80	S. 21	Water Resources Planning Act	$11,700,000 (title III, 10-year authorization, $5,000,000 annually).
89-81	S. 2080	Coinage Act of 1965, increases amount authorized to be appropriated from $30,000,000 to $45,000,000. However, it is estimated that the seigniorage from the additional coins produced will result in increased Treasury receipts of $900,000,000 in 1966, $1,000,000,000 annually).	
89-82	H.R. 9497	Wheat-marketing-quota referendum, extension of time	
89-83	H.R. 4185	Patent fees, estimated in Senate report to increase receipts from $8,900,000 to $23,461,000, against costs of operation of $31,451,000.	Reduction in expenditures.
89-84	S. 2154	Puerto Rico Commission on Status (increases authorization to $465,000)	$215,000.
89-85	S. 998	Fishing vessels and gear, loans (revolving fund would expire June 30, 1965, extension to June 30, 1970).	$20,000,000.
89-86	H.R. 5246	Common carriers, securities	
89-87	S. 956	Construction, immigration and customs facilities, Guam and Virgin Islands	$100,000 each project.
89-88	H.R. 225	Presidential memorial certificate	$35,000 annually.
89-89	H.R. 4526	Merchant marine war risk insurance, 5-year extension	No added cost.
89-90	H.R. 8775	Legislative Branch Appropriation Act	Appropriation.
89-91	S.J. Res. 71	South Pacific Commission	$200,000 annually, U.S. share of expenses.
89-92	S. 559	Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act	$2,000,000.
89-93	H.R. 5242	Consolidations, common carriers	No appreciable difference in ICC administrative costs.
89-94	S. 1462	Pueblo Indian lands, conservancy district	
89-95	H.R. 5041	Common carriers, regulations	
89-96	H.J. Res. 591	Continuing 1966 appropriations, extension from July 31 to Aug. 31	
89-97	H.R. 6675	Social security amendments: The fiscal year table was presented during House Appropriations Committee hearings this year. The actuarial data was printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in connection with the conference report and reflects 1st year costs as estimated at that time, and includes 1st year of various segments of the program which actually are in different years.	[In millions of dollars]

	Fiscal years		
	1966	1967	1968
Trust funds	2,627	5,690	6,228
General funds	312	916	1,017
Total	2,939	6,606	7,245

E. ACTUARIAL DATA RELATING TO BILL

TABLE 1.—*Summary of 1st year costs under H.R. 6675*

[In millions of dollars]

	Conference	
	Trust funds	General Treasury
Health care programs:		
Basic hospital insurance	2,210	290
Voluntary supplementary medical	[1] 600	600
MAA liberalization		200
Total	2,810	1,090
OASDI:		
7-percent benefit increase	1,470	
Child school benefit	195	
Broader definition of child	10	
Child disabled at 18 to 21		
Blind disability	5	
Reduced benefits at 60	165	
Transitional benefits at 72	140	
Disability definition	40	
Retirement test	295	
Total	2,320	
Public assistance and child health:		
Increase in formula		150
TB and mental exclusion		75
Coverage of MA		40
Maternal and child health		61
Miscellaneous		13
Total		339
Income tax changes		−97
Total, all programs	5,130	1,332
Conference	6,462	

[1] Contributions of participants.

89-98	H.R. 8721	Legislative expenses, government of Virgin Islands	
89-99	S. 627	Exempt oceanographic research vessels from certain laws	
89-100	H.R. 8720	Payment legislative salaries, government of Guam	
89-101	H.R. 8484	Transportation at Government expense of automobiles of military personnel	$80,000 annually.
89-102	S. 26	Golden Spike National Monument, Utah	$1,168,000
89-103	S.J. Res. 83	Proclamation, authorization, founding of Coast Guard	
89-104	H.R. 8862	Increase annual contribution to International Council of Scientific Unions & Associations from $65,000 to $100,000.	$35,000 annually.
89-105	H.R. 2985	Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act Amendment (initial grants included).	1966, $45,000,000; 1967, $62,500,000; 1968, $76,000,000; 1969; $51,500,000; plus continuing grants 1967 through 1972, $150,000,000; total, $385,500,000.
89-106	H.R. 5508	Facilitate work of Agriculture Department	
89-107	H.R. 5860	Disposition assets of Choctaw Tribe	
89-108	H.R. 237	Missouri River Basin project, Garrison division	$207,000,000 plus fluctuations in cost plus operation and maintenance.
89-109	S. 510	Community health services, extension	1966, $18,000,000; 1967, $79,000,000; 1968, $20,000,000; total, $117,000,000.
89-110	S. 1564	Enforce right to vote	Depends on number of examiners, etc.
89-111	H.R. 903	Add 5,620 acres to Kings Canyon National Park, Calif.	
89-112	H.R. 8620	Take into consideration natural disasters in reference to feed grains, cotton, and wheat programs in 1965	

Public law	Bill No.	Subject	Cost estimate
89-113	S. 1321	District of Columbia bond property attachments	
89-114	H.R. 6622	Eliminate limitation on number of permanent employees, postal field service, convert estimated 20,000 temporary employees to career status.	$3,200,000 annually.
89-115	H.R. 2984	Public health services extension	$280,000,000 over 3 years, 1967, 1968, 1969.
89-116	H.R. 1771	5-day week for postmasters	$19,000,000.
89-117	H.R. 7984	Housing and Urban Development Act	$8,200,000,000 (table attached).
89-118	S. 24	5-year extension, 1968-72, saline water conversion program, increase authorized by.	$185,000,000.
89-119	H.R. 8111	Herbert Hoover National Monument, Iowa	$1,650,000.
89-120	S. 579	Relief, State of New Hampshire	$23,292.50.
89-121	H.R. 7954	Implement provisions London Convention Safety of Life at Sea	
89-122	H.J. Res. 481	Expand types of equipment and number of electric typewriters for House Members.	
89-123	H.J. Res 324	Reappointment, Robert Fleming, Smithsonian Board	
89-124	S.J. Res. 56	Bicentennial celebration, birth of James Smithson	
89-125	H.R. 4714	National arts and cultural development	$150,000 per annum.
89-126	S. 1742	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and International Finance Corporation.	
89-127	H.R. 4346	Merchant marine subsidy, construction differential extension, June 30, 1965, to June 30, 1966, 55 percent new merchant vessels, 60 percent reconstruction passenger ships: Construction differential subsidy—1961, $102,118,519; 1962, $136,858,263; 1963, $97,715,325; 1964, $79,987,066. Reconstruction differential subsidy—1961, $657,379; 1962, $3,906,765; 1963, $3,550,308; 1964, $2,349,230.	1 year around $100,000,000.
89-128	H.R. 7997	Independent Offices Appropriation Act	Appropriation.
89-128	H.J. Res. 454	Statue of Liberty, National Monument, development, Ellis Island	Authorizes $6,000,000; limits to $3,000,000 during 1st 5 years.
89-130	S. 893	Define Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska	
89-131	H.R. 10139	20 percent increase in telephone and telegraph service of House Members	$480,000 annually.
89-132	H.R. 9075	Increase military basic pay	$996,000,000, ($1,048,029,000 annually).
89-133	S.J. Res. 100	National American Legion Baseball Week	
89-134	S. 2054	Amend Peace Corps Act	$115,000,000 for fiscal 1966.
89-135	H.R. 8856	Amend Atomic Energy Act re electric power produced through use of licensed nuclear facilities (without this authority AEC would be forced to build power-lines underground costing well over $4,000,000).	
89-136	S. 1648	Public Works and Economic Development Act	1966, $710,000,000; 1967, $760,000,000; 1968, $760,000,000; 1969, $760,000,000; 1970, $260,000,000; total, $3,250,000,000.
89-137	H.R. 206	Increase subsistence allowance, disabled veterans pursuing vocational education	1966, $2,200,000; 1967, $1,800,600; 1968, $1,600,000; 1969, $1,300,000; 1970, $1,200,000; total, $8,100,000.
89-138	H.R. 208	Extend time limitations, totally disabled veterans pursuing vocational education	$1,400,000, 1966 and $16,000,000 1st 5 years.
89-139	S.J. Res. 81	Increases by $100,000,000 sum authorized for National System of Interstate and Defense Highways and authorizes apportionment for 1967 based on revised cost estimate increase of $3,000,000,000 over the 1965 estimate (which does not include highway beautification of $600,000,000, plus cost of control of outdoor advertising and elimination of junkyards). The law authorizes apportionment for fiscal year 1967 based on the new estimate but "Congress reserves the right to disapprove" that cost estimate. Inasmuch as that may never happen, attention should now be called to the increase, under which the highway will proceed under the 1967 apportionment this law authorizes.	$3,000,000,000.
89-140	H.R. 7595	Transportation dependents requiring medical care who accompany members of uniformed services overseas. DOD expected this authority to be used infrequently, cannot estimate cost, but expects it to be "relatively small."	
89-141	H.R. 6097	Federal crime, assassinate or assault President or Vice President	
89-142	H.J. Res. 431	Extend duration copyright protection pending enactment of copyright revision law.	
89-143	H.R. 5034	Facilitate disposition unclaimed personal property at Defense or Treasury, estimated to save $35,000 annually plus administrative expenses.	
89-144	H.R. 546	Retrocede to Wisconsin concurrent jurisdiction of rights-of-way of certain highways.	
89-145	S. 1309	Authorize Federal checks to be drawn in favor of banking organization for credit of person's account in instances of more than 1 person designating same bank: may result in savings, smaller number of checks written.	
89-146	H.R. 2176	Conveyance of land in Dare County to State of North Carolina	
89-147	H.R. 9947	Reimbursement for transportation expenses of House Members and clerks	$400,000 annually.
89-148	H.R. 3320	Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, Ariz	$1,000,000.
89-149	H.R. 3044	Incentive pay hazardous duty on flight decks of aircraft carriers	$5,326,000 annually.
89-150	H.R. 3037	Payment of transportation for remains of deceased dependents, members of Armed Forces.	$670,000 annually.
89-151	H.R. 7843	Authorize survivor member of Armed Forces who dies while on active duty to to be paid unused accrued leave.	$2,000,000 annually.
89-152	H.R. 10306	Mutilation or destruction of a draft card a criminal offense	
89-153	H.J. Res. 95	Name "Lake Meredith"	
89-154	H.R. 881	Alibates Flint Quarries and Texas Panhandle, Pueblo Culture National Monument.	$265,000.
89-155	H.R. 7181	Commemoration of historical events in Kansas with appropriate markers	$305,700.
89-156	H.R. 7765	Labor-HEW appropriation bill	Appropriation.
89-157	H.R. 7596	Increase number of officers on active duty in grades of colonel or lieutenant colonel, Air Force.	
89-158	H.R. 89	Tocks Island National Recreation Area in Pennsylvania and New Jersey	$55,600,000.
89-159	H.J. Res. 639	Continuing 1966 appropriations to Sept. 30, 1965	
89-160	H.R. 5519	Armed Forces, dependents, language training	$200,000 annually.
89-161	H.R. 485	Auburn Folsom south unit, Central Valley project, California	$425,000,000 (1965 prices) adjusted to fluctuations in construction costs.
89-162	H.R. 1763	Payment of witness' fees in habeas corpus cases, etc	
89-163	H.R. 3997	Recording U.S. district court proceedings by electronic equipment	No additional expense.
89-164	H.R. 8639	State, Justice, Commerce, USIA appropriation act	Appropriation.
89-165	H.R. 3990	Increase in per diem and allowances for Federal jurors	$1,400,000 annually.
89-166	H.R. 5497	Require filing fees to be paid in full before court may discharge bankrupt; estimated annual savings between $150,000 and $200,000.	
89-167	H.R. 3992	Federal district court trial manuscripts	$10,000 annually.
89-168	H.R. 9544	Authorize disposal of 620,000 long tons of rubber from national stockpile	
89-169	H.J. Res. 632	Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Archival Depository, agreement with University of Texas.	
89-170	H.R. 5401	Federal-State cooperation in enforcement and administration national transportation system.	
89-171	H.R. 7750	Authorize funds for foreign aid, 1966	$3,360,000,000 (1966).
89-172	H.R. 6007	Authority for promotion of qualified Air Force Reserve officers to Reserve grades of brigadier and major general; Department of Defense said no increase in budget but did not indicate cost.	
89-173	H.R. 4822	National Capital Transportation Act of 1965, construction, exclusive of $52,000,000 in interest, $431,000,000 of which $50,000,000 will come from District of Columbia general fund.	$100,000,000 Federal funds. $50,000,000 borrowing authority.
89-174	H.R. 6927	Create Department of Housing and Urban Development	
89-175	H.R. 5280	Exemption from antitrust laws, to assist balance-of-payments position of United States.	
89-176	H.R. 6964	Rehabilitation of U.S. prisoners	
89-177	H.R. 496	Name lock and dam for William O. Huske	
89-178	H.R. 2263	Correctional Rehabilitation Study Act of 1965	1966, $500,000; 1967, $800,000; 1968, $800,000.
89-179	H.R. 1044	Exchange of land, Norfolk, Va	
89-180	H.R. 4905	Real property conveyance, Florida	
89-181	S. 511	Increase authorization for permanent annual appropriation for Gorgas Memorial Laboratory, Canal Zone (increase from $250,000 to $500,000 annually).	$250,000 annually.

Public law	Bill No.	Subject	Cost estimate
89-182	S. 949	State Technical Services Act of 1965	1966, $10,000,000; 1967, $20,000,000; 1968, $30,000,000.
89-183	H.R. 4465	District of Columbia Code, pt. III—Decedents Estates and Fiduciary Relations	
89-184	H.R. 9570	Federal Firearms Act Amendments	
89-185	H.R. 5024	Claims settlement, uniformed services and civilian employees, Federal Government authorizes Federal agencies to settle claims up to $10,000 for damages to or loss of personal property.	$327,126 for reconsideration of old claims; amount of future claims (?).
89-186	S. 2420	Continuing authority for protection of former Presidents and their wives or widows.	
89-187	S.J. Res. 53	Father Marquette Tercentenary Commission	
89-188	H.R. 10775	Military Construction Authorization Act	$1,780,062,000.
89-189	H.R. 727	Administration of Coast Guard Band	
89-190	S. 795	Lummi Indian Reservation, Wash.; land assessments within diking projects	
89-191	H.R. 725	Clarify responsibility for making obstructions in navigable waters	No new cost.
89-192	S.J. Res. 89	2-year extension of existing authority for erection in District of Columbia of memorial to Mary McLeod Bethune.	
89-193	H.R. 3039	Armed Forces, early payday authorization before a Saturday, Sunday, or legal holiday.	Cost "negligible" and to be absorbed by Defense Department.
89-194	H.R. 5989	Transportation empty cargo vans in vessels	No added Federal cost.
89-195	S. 20	Assateague Island National Seashore, Md.-Va	$16,250,000 for land acquisition.
89-196	S.J. Res. 102	Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice and District of Columbia Commission on Crime and Law Enforcement.	$1,500,000.
89-197	H.R. 8027	Law Enforcement Assistance Act of 1965	$10,000,000 1966; open for 1967 and 1968.
89-198	H.R. 8333	Armed Forces cash award program—for Coast Guard when not operating as part of the Navy—estimated annual savings of $186,091,000 against expenditure of $6,680,000.	
89-199	H.R. 10586	Labor-Health, Education, and Welfare Supplemental Appropriation Act	Appropriation.
89-200	H.R. 7779	Retirement of enlisted members, Coast Guard Reserve	Cost to increase gradually from $2,400 in 1965 to $26,400 in 1985 and level off.
89-201	H.R. 8761	6.5-percent increase, retired pay, Lighthouse Service (as of May 31, 1965, the Service had 546 retirees with 82 still on active duty).	
89-202	H.R. 10323	Military Construction Appropriation Act	Appropriation.
89-203	S.J. Res. 5	Name Washington Channel bridge Francis Case Memorial Bridge	
89-204	H.R. 6431	Permit duty-free importation of certain forms of nickel	
89-205	H.R. 8469	Cost-of-living increases in annuities payable from civil service retirement and disability fund, increase 11 percent of all annuities having commencing date prior to Oct. 1, 1956, and a 6-percent increase for all having commencing date after Oct. 1, 1956.	1st year cost $103,200,000; the total cost of the increase until the oldest retiree expires will be $1,054,000,000.
89-206	S. 1903	U.S. participation in United Nations	
89-207	S. 7	Establish Spruce Knob-Seneca Rocks National Recreation Area, W. Va	Purchase 6,000 acres under act, have other authority for purchase of 54,000 acres, will come out of land and water conservation fund, $3,500,000.
89-208	S. 1317	Authorize District of Columbia Commissioners to prescribe penalties for handling and collection of dishonored checks and money orders.	
89-209	S. 1438	National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities	Major portion of law: (1) 1966, $10,000,000; 1967, $10,000,000; 1968, $10,000,000; 1969 and after, open; (2) $7,250,000 annually, (3) $2,750,000 annually, plus authority for administrative costs. Financial assistance for strengthening instruction in humanities and the arts: 1966, $500,000; 1967, $500,000; 1968, $500,000; open thereafter. Teacher training institutes: 1966, $500,000; 1967, $500,000; 1968, $500,000; 1969 and after, open.
89-210	S. 2042	Extend authority of Atomic Energy Commission to indemnify licensees and contractors under Atomic Energy Act for public liability.	This is a contingent liability of $500,000,000 for each nuclear incident. This is expected it would be reduced by private insurance coverage. Authority runs until Aug. 1, 1977.
89-211	H.R. 10014	Additional office space in districts for Members of House of Representatives	$267,600.
89-212	H.R. 10874	Amend Railroad Retirement Act and Railroad Retirement Tax Act by eliminating provisions reducing annuities of spouses of retired employees by the amount of monthly benefits payable under OASI.	
89-213	H.R. 9221	Defense Department Appropriation Act	Appropriation.
89-214	S. 2127	Special indemnity insurance for members of Armed Forces serving in combat zones.	All costs traceable to extra hazards of servicemen will be borne by the Government; premium rates are expected to be $2 a month on $10,000 and $1 on $5,000, deducted from pay.
89-215	H.R. 3989	30-day extension of time for filing petitions for removal of civil actions from State to Federal courts.	
89-216	H.R. 5883	Requiring bond under Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act to provide protection from loss from acts of fraud or dishonesty.	
89-217	H.R. 948	Amend District of Columbia laws relating to divorce, legal separation, and annulment of marriage.	
89-218	H.R. 6294	Power of arrest extension for Secret Service agents	
89-219	S. 906	Provide measurement of gross and net tonnages for seagoing vessels having 2 or more decks.	
89-220	S. 1588	Authorize funds for research and development in high-speed ground transportation.	1966, $20,000,000; 1967, $35,000,000; 1968, $35,000,000; total, $90,000,000.
89-221	H.J. Res. 673	Continuing 1966 appropriations from Sept. 30 through Oct. 15, 1965	
89-222	H.R. 205	Amend War Orphans' Educational Assistant Act	1966, $5,704,000; 1967, $5,892,000; 1968, $6,392,000; 1969, $6,629,000; 1970, $5,690,000.
89-223	S. 1190	Authorize land disposition, Alaska	
89-224	S. 664	Disposition judgment funds, Klamath and Modoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians.	
89-225	H.R. 5252	Validating subsistence payments made to enlisted personnel stationed at Tainan Air Force Station in Taiwan Oct. 1, 1960, to June 30, 1962.	
89-226	S. 1764	Land acquisition, Uinta National Forest, Utah	
89-227	S. 1988	Real property conveyance to State of Maryland, University of Maryland campus	
89-228	H.R. 2414	Land conveyance, Roseburg, Oreg	
89-229	H.R. 5768	Extension of duty suspension, silk yarn	
89-230	H.R. 8715	Contribution to International Committee of the Red Cross	$50,000 annually.
89-231	H.R. 9877	Remove restriction on value of property which may be owned by the American Hospital of Paris.	
89-232	S. 1623	Extension of study of effects of insecticides on fish and wildlife	1966, $3,200,000; 1967, $5,000,000; 1968, $5,000,000; total, $13,200,000.
89-233	S. 1975	Provide facilities for International Pacific Halibut Commission	$500,000.
89-234	S. 4	Water Quality Act of 1965	Increase in construction grants: 1966, from $100,000,000 to $150,000,000; 1967, from $100,000,000 to $150,000,000. Grants for R. & D.: 1966, $20,000,000; 1967, $20,000,000; 1968, $20,000,000; 1969, $20,000,000; (total increase, $180,000,000).
89-235	S.J. Res. 98	Requesting President to extend proclamation "See the United States"	
89-236	H.R. 2580	Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments	
89-237	H.R. 4152	Loans to production credit associations by Federal intermediate credit banks without necessity of collateral.	Increases by $560,000,000 limit on amount of obligations Federal intermediate credit banks may have outstanding to aid producers and reduce need of Government capital.
89-238	H.R. 5842	Extend Lead-Zinc Small Producers Stabilization Act	
89-239	S. 596	Authorize funds for combating heart disease, cancer, stroke, and other major diseases.	1966, $50,000,000; 1967, $90,000,000; 1968, $200,000,000; total, $340,000,000.
89-240	S. 1766	Authorize Secretary of Agriculture to make loans to public agencies and nonprofit corporations for development of water systems serving rural areas.	Provides for grants and increased loans for water facilities in rural agricultural areas; expands Farmers Home Administration-insured loan authorized from $200,000,000 to $450,000,000.

Public law	Bill No.	Subject	Cost estimate
89-241	H.R. 7969	Amend tariff schedules of United States	
89-242	S. 1620	Consolidate 2 judicial districts in South Carolina	
89-243	H.R. 4750	Interest Equalization Tax Extension Act	
89-244	H.R. 8035	Accept donation of additional land, Fire Island National Seashore, N.Y.	
89-245	H.R. 10516	Disposal of vegetable tannin extracts from national stockpile	
89-246	H.R. 10714	Disposal of colemanite from stockpile	
89-247	H.R. 10715	Disposal of chemical grade chromite from stockpile	
89-248	H.J. Res. 309	Increase number of electric typewriters furnished Members of House of Representatives.	
89-249	H.R. 2091	National Park Service concession policies	
89-250	H.R. 9417	Revise boundary of Jewel Cave National Monument in State of South Dakota	
89-251	H.R. 10748	Authorize transfer of copper from the national stockpile to Bureau of the Mint	
89-252	H.J. Res. 330	Disposal of chromium metal, acid-grade fluorspar, and silicon carbide from stockpile.	
89-253	H.R. 8283	Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965, expand war on poverty	Extends all economic programs to June 30, 1968, and authorizes appropriations of $1,785,000,000 for fiscal 1966.
89-254	H.R. 728	Broaden and extend vessel exchange provisions of Merchant Marine Act	
89-255	S. 1065	Land exchange, Great Falls property, Virginia; connection with George Washington Memorial Parkway.	$1,000,000 for land acquisition.
89-256	H.J. Res. 695	Continuing 1966 appropriations from Oct. 15 through Oct. 23, 1965	
89-257	H.R. 3045	Authority for military personnel who have served in Vietnam since 1961 to accept decorations from the Government of Vietnam or its allies.	
89-258	S. 2232	Loan service of captioned films and educational media for deaf persons	1966, $3,000,000; 1967, $3,000,000; 1968, $5,000,000; 1969, $5,000,000; 1970 and annually thereafter, $7,000,000.
89-259	S. 2273	Exempt from seizure under judicial process certain objects of cultural significance imported for temporary display.	
89-260	S.J. Res. 69	Authorize construction of James Madison Memorial Bldg. to serve as 3d Library of Congress building.	75,010,000.
89-261	H.R. 6165	Repeal statutory provision specifically authorizing appointment of women to clerkships in the Federal Government.	
89-262	H.R. 9336	Amend International Claims Settlement Act regarding claims against the Government of Cuba.	Amount necessary.
89-263	H.R. 7329	Convey land owned by the Navy to the city of San Diego.	
89-264	H.R. 10234	Eliminate requirements for reimbursement among military departments for medical care furnished a member of another department.	
89-265	H.R. 5665	Authorize advance of funds to disbursing officers for members of armed forces of friendly foreign nations.	
89-266	S. 1856	Authorize purchase of naval uniforms by members of Naval Sea Cadet Corps without expense to the Government.	
89-267	H.R. 724	Authorize transfer to the custody of the Attorney General of certain prisoners of the Canal Zone who are U.S. citizens.	
89-268	S. 903	Relating to the painting, illumination, and dismantlement of radio towers	
89-269	S. 1576	Construction of Jefferson National Expansion Memorial at the site of old St. Louis, Mo.	Increase $5,990,000 (from $17,260,000 to $23,250,000).
89-270	S. 1689	Relating to hiring or rental of private property by the Forest Service	
89-271	H.R. 9975	Authorize shipment of vehicles owned by deceased or missing military personnel	
89-272	S. 306	Provide research programs relative to controlling air pollution resulting from fumes from gasoline- and diesel-powered vehicles.	1966, $10,470,000; 1967, $20,845,000; 1968, $31,185,000; 1969, $33,970,000.
89-273	H.R. 10871	Foreign Aid Appropriation Act	Appropriation.
89-274	S.J. Res. 106	Allow showing to the public of the film "John F. Kennedy—Years of Lightning, Day of Drums".	
89-275	H.R. 1805	Authority for promotion of below-the-zone Naval Reserve captains to grade of rear admiral.	
89-276	S. 1516	Authorize GSA Administrator to enter into contracts not to exceed 3 years for servicing equipment in Federal buildings.	
89-277	S. 1715	Extend penalty for assault on District of Columbia police to employees of institutions for confinement of juveniles.	
89-278	H.R. 5571	Clarification of incentive pay for submarine duty to personnel qualified in submarines who are attached to staffs of submarine operational commanders.	No increase cost.
89-279	H.R. 6852	Disposal of abaca from national stockpile	
89-280	H.R. 7059	Increase authorization for Smithsonian Institution	Authorize $350,000 annually.
89-281	H.R. 7707	Authorize appointment of crier-law clerks by district judges	
89-282	S. 1719	Authorize overtime pay for Metropolitan Police, District of Columbia Fire Department, U.S. Park Police, and White House Police.	$885,000 annually (of which $741,000 would be annual recurring cost to District of Columbia).
89-283	H.R. 9042	Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965	
89-284	H.R. 9247	Participation of the United States in the HemisFair 1968 exposition to be held at San Antonio.	$125,000.
89-285	S. 2084	Promoting more effective control of outdoor advertising and junkyards near Federal highways, highway beautification.	1966, $160,000,000; 1967, $160,000,000; administrative expenses, $5,000,000; administration of safety program, $500,000; total, $325,500,000.
89-286	H.R. 10238	Labor standards for certain persons employed by Federal contractors to furnish services to Federal agencies.	
89-287	H.R. 7743	National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act	Sec. 2 authorized appropriation, $2,125,000 and sums necessary; $75,000,000, contingent liability; sec. 10, 1966 through 1970, $1,000,000 annually for direct loans. Authorized to borrow from Treasury if vocational student loan fund balance not sufficient to cover defaults in payments. Also, provision for Federal payment to reduce student interest costs.
89-288	H.R. 7484	Provide rank of lieutenant general or vice admiral for military officers serving as Surgeons General.	
89-289	H.R. 7169	Increase fees for filing registration statements under the Securities Act	
89-290	H.R. 3141	Health Professions Educational Assistance Amendments of 1965	1966, $23,353,000; 1967, $231,972,000; 1968, $254,832,000; 1969, $787,504,000; total, $1,297,661,000; plus 1970, 1971, 1972 continuation.
89-291	S. 597	Authorize funds, medical library	1966, $11,000,000; 1967, $21,000,000; 1968, $21,000,000; 1969, $21,000,000; 1970, $21,000,000; total, $95,000,000.
89-292	S. 32	Construction, water project, southern Nevada	$81,003,000 plus construction cost fluctuation.
89-293	H.R. 7919	Establish Roger Williams National Memorial, R.I.	$700,000.
89-294	H.J. Res. 571	Designate week of Oct. 25 as National Parkinson Week	
89-295	H.R. 7888	Designate, patent, United American Veterans of U.S.A.	
89-296	S.J. Res. 32	Contribution to Ryukyu Islands arising from acts of U.S. military forces, from Aug. 15, 1945, to Apr. 28, 1952.	$22,000,000.
89-297	H.R. 2853	Increase in copyright fees	
89-298	S. 2300	Rivers and harbors and flood control	$2,000,000,000.
89-299	H.R. 9220	Public Works Appropriation Act	
89-300	H.R. 5167	Settlement of tort claims by Veterans' Administration	
89-301	H.R. 10281	Government Employees Salary Comparability Act	3.6-percent increase, $488,175,000; fringe benefits, $53,300,000 annually; total, $641,475,000.
89-302	S. 1735	Marine laboratory, University of California use of	
89-303	H.R. 10198	Tariff, lumber, Shipping Act requirements	
89-304	H.R 23	Conservation and development, fish, anadromous	Authorization until June 30, 1970, $25,000,000.
89-305	H.R. 9495	FDR Commission	
89-306	H.R. 4845	Provide for economic purchase, lease maintenance automatic data processing equipment. Estimated to save $60,000,000 to $100,000,000.	
89-307	S. 516	Extend St. Augustine Quadricentennial Commission	
89-308	H.R. 4170	Foreign Service Annuity Adjustment Act	For the 1st fiscal year $94,900 increase to high of $208,900 in 1976 and thereafter diminishing.
89-309	H.R. 11588	Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1966	Appropriation.
89-310	H.R. 11096	Disposal from stockpile of graphite, quartz, and lump talc	

Public law	Bill No.	Subject	Cost estimate
89-311	H.R. 168	Increase compensation for service-connected veterans	$178,000,000.
89-312	H.R. 10369	Bus taxation proration compacts, Connecticut	
89-313	H.R. 9022	Construction of schools in areas affected by disasters	
89-314	H.R. 11303	Extension of retirement annuities for Federal employees	
89-315	H.R. 11420	Certain mailing privileges to members of Armed Forces	
89-316	H.R. 8370	Agriculture appropriation act	Appropriation.
89-317	H.J. Res. 397	District of Columbia, lands, transfer to United States	
89-318	H.R. 9545	Preservation of evidence pertaining to the assassination of John F. Kennedy	
89-319	H.R. 1781	District courts to be held in Clinton, N.C	
89-320	H.J. Res. 597	Memorial to Dr. R. H. Goddard	
89-321	H.R. 9811	Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, other estimates have been reported of $4,500,000,000 annually, amounting to $18,000,000,000 for 4 years.	Latest estimate of Agriculture Department is $4,000,000,000 a year for 4 years, $16,000,000,000.
89-322	H.R. 9047	Disposal of zinc from stockpile	
89-323	H.R. 10305	Disposal of nickel from stockpile	
89-324	H.R. 7812	Loan naval vessels to foreign countries	
89-325	H.J. Res. 641	Authorize Father Flanagan's Boys' Home to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia.	
89-326	H.R. 1778	Condemnation of insanitary buildings, District of Columbia	
89-327	H.J. Res. 671	Authorize President to proclaim month of November as Water Conservation Month.	
89-328	H.R. 5026	Authorize Burt County Bridge Commission to refund bonds	
89-329	H.R. 9567	Higher Education Act, estimates of $4,700,000,000 apparently include continuing authorizations not included in these specific figures show in the law.	1966, $845,350,000; 1967, $786,280,000; 1968, $953,020,000; total, $2,584,650,000. For 1969 and succeeding years such sums as authorized.
89-330	S. 2092	Permit agricultural marketing orders applicable to celery, sweet corn, limes, or avocados to provide for paid advertising.	
89-331	H.R. 11135	Sugar Act Amendments, subsidies run $90,000,000 a year and will continue at that level 6 years; excise tax collected brings into the Treasury general fund about $95,000,000 annually; in addition there is a tariff.	
89-332	S. 1758	Representation by attorneys before Federal agencies	
89-333	H.R. 8310	Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments; 1969 and thereafter such sums as Congress may authorize.	1966, $385,000,000; 1967, $461,000,000; 1968, $526,000,000; total, $1,372,000,000.
89-334	S. 2542	Increase small business revolving fund	$120,000,000 increase in revolving fund.
89-335	H.R. 5493	Flag to be flown 24 hours each day in Lexington, Mass	
89-336	H.R. 797	Establish Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area, Calif	$44,300,000.
89-337	S. 2679	Amend Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, increase watershed authority, build dams ranging up to 12,500 acre-feet instead of 5,000 acre-feet.	
89-338	H.R. 7475	Name lock and dam No. 6 on Arkansas River for D.D. Terry	
89-339	H.R. 11539	Assistance to Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi for reconstruction of areas damaged by recent hurricane.	
89-340	H.J. Res. 788	Jan. 10, 1966, meeting date for 89th Cong., 2d sess	
89-341	H.R. 5597	Relieve physicians of liability for negligence in treatment at scene of accidents in District of Columbia.	
89-342	H.R. 11267	Remove certain limitations relating to electrical equipment and mechanical office equipment, House of Representatives.	
89-343	S. 1004	Government property and services procurement	
89-344	H.R. 9830	Amend Federal Property and Administrative Services Act, authorize reimbursements to State or political subdivision for sidewalk repair.	$50,000 annually.
89-345	H.R. 4421	Land transfer, Cheyenne, Wyo	
89-346	S. 2118	Validating certain ship mortgage bonds on American-flag vessels	
89-347	S. 1320	Clarify criminal laws of District of Columbia	
89-348	S. 2150	Eliminate certain reports and other publications prepared by executive departments and agencies.	
89-349	H.R. 227	Entitle certain war orphans (of veterans) benefits	$400,000.

A Trip to the Big Thicket: A National Park Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, as this session of Congress draws to a close and as the Members of this body disperse to all parts of the country, I know that many of us will in the coming months venture into the fields and forests which still abound in many parts of our land. From this communion with nature will come a refreshing stimulus which will aid us in the days ahead.

Unfortunately, more of this wilderness land falls victim each day to the destroying force of an expanding society. There are many things we can do to control unnecessary spoilization of the American landscape; one thing is to place more of our few remaining suitable wild areas under the protection of the national park system.

The Big Thicket in east Texas is an irreplacable treasure which must be preserved. I recently spent one of the most memorable days of my life there, and I ask unanimous consent that an article written by Louis Hofferbert and appearing in the Houston Chronicle, of October 21, be printed at this point in the RECORD. Mr. Hofferbert is one of the ablest columnists writing for any newspaper in America, and he has written a most entertaining account of my trip to the Big Thicket.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Houston (Tex.) Chronicle, Oct. 21, 1965]

TEXAS NOTEBOOK—YARBOROUGH VISIT GOOD BREAK FOR THICKET

(By Louis Hofferbert)

There used to be an old vaudeville joke about the man who was tired of working for a living, so he got himself elected to Congress. That was always good for a laugh on the two-a-day circuit, and likely still is on whatever passes for vaudeville now.

Those who find it funny, and plenty who don't, would have enjoyed seeing Senator YARBOROUGH a few days ago when he took a closeup look at our Big Thicket.

The Senator really worked on that trip. He worked like a field hand, and he raised a proper sweat. He may not have liked it, but he did not have much choice. He was so deep in the brush it was a case of working or Texas coming up one Senator short on the next rollcall.

It was plain the Senator was impressed, and not only because he had to swing a machete to help clear the way for the four-wheel-drive cars that nearly did not make it even with his help. Those who went with him could tell he was impressed by everything from the beauty of Menard Creek to the wahoo berries bustin' out of their crimson burrs.

I was impressed, too. During the last few years I have made a lot of trips into parts of the thicket, and I had the idea I knew the whole place pretty well. But suddenly I learned I had never really been into the thicket at all, only prowled a little around the edges. The big middle of that wilderness is nothing like what you see from the outside, and I am telling you it is out of this world.

Senator YARBOROUGH does not suffer from any shortage of words. He can discuss everything from Anahuac to Zanzibar without stopping for breath. But there were times that day when he stood there beneath the big oak and beeches, listening to the knock-knocking of a woodpecker off in the distance, and not saying a word. He seemed to think, as I have so often, that no words can tell how you feel in such a place.

One of the best things about Senator YARBOROUGH's trip was that he plainly did not make it just for fun or to shake hands with some voters. He took along some top experts to tell him what they thought about the thicket, and from what I heard I think they were as impressed as much as anybody else.

It was my good luck to ride in a Jeep with Dr. Don Correll, Dr. Clarence Cottam, Bill Bowen, Jack McElroy, and Lance Rosier. All of the names may not be familiar to everybody, since they specialize in different things, but put them together and you have all the knowledge of Texas wildlife you could get into one Jeep without cracking the windows.

Those men are not speechmakers. They did not wave their hats or shout about the

beauty or importance of what they saw. But you could tell they were not missing much, and that every one was wishing he had the time to see more. My guess is that they will be back more than once, and that the thicket has made some valuable friends.

In fact that balmy October day may turn out to be the most important day in the whole history of the big thicket.

Summary of Record and Accomplishments of the Committee on Ways and Means During the 1st Session, 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILBUR D. MILLS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, during the 1st session of the 89th Congress, just completed, the Committee on Ways and Means has again continued its record of diligent attention to the legislation falling within its jurisdiction. As Members will recall, the jurisdiction of this committee is exceedingly broad and complex, including matters which affect the day-to-day activities of all of our citizens. In this 1st session of the 89th Congress, the committee has considered and reported legislation in each of its major areas of jurisdiction.

Three major bills were reported to the Congress by the committee and have now become public law. In addition, a large number of minor bills were reported, passed, and have now become public law. Two of the three major bills were of extraordinary significance, and serve as good examples of the important part which the Committee on Ways and Means plays in the economic life of the Nation and of its citizens. The first of these measures was the Social Security Amendments of 1965, which included the hospital insurance program and the voluntary supplementary medical plan, in addition to an across-the-board increase in social security benefits and many major changes in practically all titles of the Social Security Act.

The second of these measures was the Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1965, which repealed and thus eliminated the vast majority of excise taxes imposed at the Federal level. Each of these measures has far-reaching and significant ramifications not only with respect to the immediate present but also with regard to the years to come. At a later point in this summary, there is a detailed explanation of each of these major measures.

In addition to the foregoing two principal examples of the work of the committee, mention should also be made at this point of the important technical changes which were made in the tariff schedules of the United States by the Tariff Schedules Technical Amendments Act of 1965. This bill made changes and modifications with respect to more than 85 items in the tariff schedules of the United States.

As I have pointed out in the past, and can again state without reservation, the members of the Committee on Ways and Means have devoted themselves diligently and conscientiously to the quite heavy work of the committee. The members have been assiduous in pursuing their responsibilities and in the attendance of meetings of the committee almost daily throughout this session of the 89th Congress. While individual members of the committee have of course not always agreed on all the measures considered by the committee, clearly each Member can be justly proud of the work which has been accomplished and the record which has been established.

During the course of this session, the Committee on Ways and Means has held public or executive hearings on a total of 58 days, exclusive of executive sessions, and has directly received testimony from more than 364 individuals during those hearings. In addition, comments, recommendations, and statements of views were received for the printed record from many hundreds of other interested persons and organizations. A detailed review of the subjects covered by the public hearings may be found in the calendar of the Committee on Ways and Means, which is available to the public.

In addition to the public hearings, during the first session of the 89th Congress the full Committee on Ways and Means met in executive session 102 times, covering 74 days. This included approximately 48 sessions, covering 31 days, on the subject of medical care for the aged and social security.

Of the 13,791 public and private bills and resolutions introduced in the House during the course of this session, there was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means a total of 1,952 bills and resolutions, in addition to 30 executive communications. Of this total, there were 1,072 tax bills, 450 social security bills, 337 tariff bills, and 93 miscellaneous bills. This total represents approximately one-sixth of all the public bills and resolutions introduced in the House of Representatives during this session.

During this session of the 89th Congress, the committee favorably reported to the House of Representatives a total of 44 bills, which includes 8 tax bills, 1 social security bill, 30 tariff bills, and 5 bills of a miscellaneous character. Of the 44 bills reported to the House, 40 bills have passed the House, which includes 8 tax bills, 1 social security bill, 27 tariff bills and 4 miscellaneous bills. The table which follows gives a further detailed history of the action of the Congress with respect to these measures:

Bills and resolutions referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, 89th Cong., 1st sess., by category (as of adjournment)

	Tax	Social security	Tariff	Miscellaneous	Total
Bills referred to committee	1,072	450	337	93	1,952
Bills reported to House	8	1	[1] 30	[1] 5	[2] 44
Bills passed House	8	1	[1] 27	4	[1] 40
Bills reported to Senate	2	1	[1] 21	[1] 3	[2] 27
Bills passed Senate	2	1	[1] 21	[1] 3	[2] 27
Bills enacted into law	2	1	[1] 7	2	[1] 12

[1] Including 1 Senate bill.
[2] Including 2 Senate bills.

Mr. Speaker, for the further information of the Members, I submit a summary of the legislation reported to the House of Representatives by the Committee on Ways and Means during the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

PUBLIC BILLS

H.R. 6675—Mr. MILLS—Public Law 89-97, approved July 30, 1965. Following is a brief summary of the provisions of this legislation, the Social Security Amendments of 1965:

A. HEALTH INSURANCE AND MEDICAL CARE

The legislation provides three programs for health insurance and medical care for the aged under the Social Security Act by establishing—

First. A basic hospital insurance plan providing inpatient services, related post-hospital care (skilled nursing home and home health visits), and outpatient diagnostic services for individuals 65 or older who are eligible for social security or railroad retirement benefits. These benefits are financed through a separate payroll tax and separate trust fund, except that the benefits for railroad retirement eligibles will be financed through their payroll tax system, if certain financing conditions are met.

Also, benefits are provided to currently aged people who are not social security or railroad retirement beneficiaries. They are financed from general revenues. Effective date: Benefits are first effective on July 1, 1966, except for skilled nursing services in extended care facilities which are effective on January 1, 1967.

Second. A voluntary supplementary medical insurance plan providing physicians' and other medical and health services financed through monthly premiums of $3 initially by individuals 65 years or older matched equally by Federal general revenue contributions. Effective date: Benefits are first effective July 1, 1966.

Third. An expanded Kerr-Mills medical care program for the needy and medically needy combining all the vendor medical provisions for the aged, blind, disabled, and families with dependent children, now in five titles of the Social Security Act, under a uniform program (with an increase in the Federal share matching formula) in a single new title with certain prescribed Federal standards. Effective date: Matching under new title—XIX—will be available January 1, 1966.

B. CHILD HEALTH AND WELFARE AMENDMENTS

First. Maternal and child health, crippled children, and child welfare authorization: The amount authorized for the maternal and child health and crippled children's programs over current authorizations will be increased by $5 million for each program for fiscal 1966 and by $10 million in each succeeding fiscal years as follows:

Fiscal year	Prior law	Under new law
1966	$40,000,000	$45,000,000
1967	40,000,000	50,000,000
1968	45,000,000	55,000,000
1969	45,000,000	55,000,000
1970 and after	50,000,000	60,000,000

The somewhat different authorizations for child welfare services under prior law are revised to bring them in line with those for the other two programs, so that authorizations for all three programs are identical.

Second. Training personnel for the health care of crippled children: Grants are provided to institutions of higher learning for training professional personnel for health and related care for crippled children, particularly children who are mentally retarded or have multiple handicaps. Authorizes $5 million for fiscal 1967, $10 million for fiscal 1968, and $17.5 million for each succeeding fiscal year.

Third. Health care for needy children: The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is authorized to carry out a 5-year program of special project grants to provide comprehensive health care and services for preschool or school-age children, particularly in areas with concentrations of low-income families. An appropriation of $15 million is authorized for fiscal 1966; $35 million for fiscal 1967, and an additional $5 million for each succeeding year rising to $50 million for fiscal 1970. An authorization of $500,000 for fiscal 1966 and 1967 is made for grants to study the prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of emotionally disturbed children.

Fourth. Mental retardation planning: Grants totaling $2,750,000 for each of 2 fiscal years (1966 and 1967) are authorized for the purpose of assisting States to implement and follow up on planning for treatment of mental retardation authorized under section 1701 of the Social Security Act.

C. PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

First. Increased assistance payments: The Federal share of payments under all State public assistance programs is increased a little more than an average of $2.50 a month for the needy aged, blind, and disabled and an average of about $1.25 for needy children, effective January 1, 1966. This is brought about by revising the matching formula for the needy aged, blind, and disabled—and for the adult categories in combined program in title XVI—to provide a Federal share of $31 out of the first $37—formerly $29 out of the first $35—with matching above this amount varying according to State per capita income up to a maximum of $75—formerly $70—per month per individual on an average basis. The law revises matching formula for aid to families with dependent children so as to provide a Federal share of five-sixths of the first $18—formerly fourteen-seventeenths of the first $17—with matching above this amount varying according to State per capita income up to a maximum of $32—formerly $30. A provision is included so that States will not receive additional Federal funds except to the extent they pass them on to individual recipients. Effective January 1, 1966.

Second. Tubercular and mental patients: The exclusion from Federal matching in old-age assistance and medical assistance for the aged programs—and for combined program, title XVI—is removed as to aged individuals who are patients in institutions for tuberculosis or mental diseases or who have been diagnosed as having tuberculosis or psychosis and, as a result, are patients in a medical institution. As a condition of Federal participation in such payments to, or for, mental patients it is required that certain agreements and arrangements assure that better care results from the additional Federal money. States will receive no more in Federal funds under this provision than they increase their expenditures for mental health purposes under public health and public welfare programs. Also restrictions as to Federal matching for needy blind and disabled who are tubercular or psychotic and are in general medical institutions are removed. Effective January 1, 1966.

Third. Protective payments: A provision is added for protective payments to third persons on behalf of old-age assistance recipients—and recipients on combined title XVI program—recipients of aid to the blind, and recipients of aid to the permanently and totally disabled unable to manage their money because of physical or mental incapacity. Effective January 1, 1966.

Fourth. Aid to families with dependent children in school: The optional provision in present law allowing States to continue making payments to dependent children up to age 21 if they are in regular attendance at a high school or vocational school is extended to include attendance at a school, college, or university.

Fifth. Income exemptions under public assistance: The following income exemptions are provided:

(a) Old-age assistance: The earnings exemption under the old-age assistance program—and aged in combined programs—is increased so that a State may, at its option, exempt the first $20—formerly $10—and one-half of the next $60—formerly $40—of a recipient's monthly earnings. Effective October 1, 1965.

(b) Aid to families with dependent children: At their option, States are allowed to disregard up to $50 per month of earned income of any dependent child under the age of 18 but not more than $150 of earnings may be exempted in the same home. Effective July 1, 1965.

(c) Aid to the permanently and totally disabled: States, at their option, may exempt earnings of recipients of aid to the permanently and totally disabled. As in the case of the aged, the first $20 per month of earnings and one-half of the next $60 could be exempted. In addition, any additional income and resources could be exempted as part of an approved plan to achieve self-support during the time the recipient was undergoing vocational rehabilitation. Effective October 1, 1965.

(d) Income exemption for all public assistance programs: States, at their option, may disregard not more than $5 per month per recipient of any income in all five public assistance programs. Effective October 1, 1965.

(e) Old-age and survivors insurance—retroactive increase: States, at their option, may disregard so much of the OASDI benefit increase—including the children in school after age 18 modification—as is attributable to its retroactive effective date.

(f) Economic Opportunity Act earning exemption: A grace period is provided for action by States that have not had regular legislative sessions, whose public assistance statutes now prevent them from disregarding earnings of recipients received under titles I and II of the Economic Opportunity Act.

(g) Income exempt under another assistance program: A provision is added stipulating that any amount of income which is disregarded in determining eligibility for a person under one of the public assistance programs shall not be considered in determining the eligibility of another individual under any other public assistance program.

Sixth. Definition of medical assistance for aged: The definition of medical assistance for the aged is modified so as to allow Federal sharing as to old-age assistance recipients for the month they are admitted to or discharged from a medical institution.

Seventh. Judicial review of State plan denials: The law provides for judicial review of the denial of approval by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare of State public assistance plans and of his action under such programs for noncompliance with conditions in the Federal law.

Eighth. Uniform matching: The new law permits a State that has a medical assistance program under title XIX to claim Federal sharing in total expenditures for money payments under other titles, under the same formula used for determining the Federal share for medical assistance under title XIX.

D. OLD-AGE, SURVIVORS, AND DISABILITY INSURANCE

1. BENEFIT CHANGES

(a) 7-percent across-the-board increase in old-age, survivors, and disability insurance benefits.

A 7-percent across-the-board benefit increase is provided, effective retroactively beginning with benefits for January 1965, for the 20 million social security beneficiaries on the rolls—with a guaranteed $4 a month minimum increase for retired workers who are age

65 or over in the first month for which they are paid the increased benefit.

Monthly benefits for workers who retire at or after 65 are increased to a new minimum of $44—formerly $40—and to a new mamixum of $135.90—formerly $127—on average earnings up to $4,800. In the future, creditable earnings under the increase in the contribution and benefit base to $6,600 a year would make possible a maximum benefit of $168.

The maximum amount of benefits payable to a family on the basis of a single earnings record will be related to the worker's average monthly earnings at all earnings levels. Under prior law, there was a $254 limit on family benefits which operated over a wide range of average monthly earnings. Under the legislation the highest family maximum would be $368.

(b) Payment of child's insurance benefits to children attending school or college after attainment of age 18 and up to age 22: A provision is included which will continue to pay a child's insurance benefit until the child reaches age 22, provided the child is attending a public or an accredited school, including a vocational school or a college, as a full-time student after he reaches age 18. Children of deceased, retired, or disabled workers will be included. No mother's or wife's benefits will be payable if the only child in the mother's care is one who has attained age 18 but is getting benefits on the basis of school attendance.

This provision is effective retroactively to January 1, 1965. It is estimated that 295,000 children will be eligible for benefits for September 1965, when the school year begins.

(c) Benefits for widows at age 60: An option to widows of receiving benefits beginning at age 60, is provided with the benefits payable to those who claim them before age 62 being actuarially reduced to take account of the longer period over which they will be paid. Full widow's benefits are payable at age 62.

This provision is effective beginning with monthly benefits payable for September 1965. It is estimated that 185,000 widows will claim benefits during the first year of operation.

(d) Amendment of disability program:

(i) Definition of disability: The requirement that a worker's disability must be expected to be of long continued and indefinite duration is eliminated and instead an insured worker will be eligible for disability benefits if he has been under a disability which can be expected to result in death or which has lasted or can be expected to last for a continuous period of not less than 12 calendar months. Benefits payable by reason of this change will be paid beginning with benefits for September 1965. An estimated 60,000 persons—disabled workers and their dependents—become immediately eligible for benefits as a result of this change.

(ii) Disability benefits offset provision: The social security disability benefit for any month for which a worker is receiving a workmen's compensation benefit will be reduced to the extent that the total benefits payable to him and his dependents under both programs exceed 80 percent of his average monthly earnings covered by social security prior to the onset of disability, but with the reduction periodically adjusted to take account of changes in national average earnings levels. The offset provision will be applicable with respect to benefits payable for months after December 1965 based on disabilities commencing after June 1, 1965.

(iii) Blindness as a disability factor: (a) Young workers who are blind and disabled: Establishes alternative insured status requirement for workers disabled before age 31 of one-half of the quarters elapsing after age 21 up to the point of disability—with a minimum of six quarters—or, in the case of individuals disabled before age 24, at least one-half of the quarters in the 3-year period ending with the onset of the disability. To qualify for this alternative the worker will have to meet the statutory definition of blindness for the disability "freeze." Workers will, however, have to meet the other regular requirements for entitlement to disability benefits, including inability to engage in any substantial gainful activity.

(b) Older workers who are blind and disabled: Provides that those individuals age 55 or over who meet the statutory definition of blindness for the disability "freeze" could qualify for cash benefits on the basis of their inability to engage in their past occupation or occupations. However, their benefits will not be paid for any month which they are actually engaging in any substantial gainful activity.

(iv) Rehabilitation services: State vocational rehabilitation agencies will be reimbursed from the social security trust funds for the cost of rehabilitation services furnished to individuals who are entitled to disability insurance benefits or to a disabled child's benefits. The total amount of the funds that could be made available from the trust funds for purposes of reimbursing State agencies for such services cannot, in any year, exceed 1 percent of the social security disability benefits paid in the previous year.

(v) Entitlement to disability benefits after entitlement to benefit payable on account of age: A person who becomes entitled before age 65 to a benefit payable on account of old age could later, before he reaches age 65, become entitled to disability insurance benefits.

(vi) Allocation of contribution income between OASI and DI trust funds: An additional 0.20 percent of taxable wages and 0.15 percent of taxable self-employment income is allocated to the disability insurance trust fund bringing the total allocation to 0.70 percent and 0.525 percent, respectively, beginning in 1966.

(e) Benefits to certain persons at age 72 or over: Eligibility requirements are liberalized by providing a basic benefit of $35 at age 72 or over to certain persons with as few as three quarters of coverage acquired at any time since the beginning of the program in 1937. To accomplish this, a new concept of transitional insured status is provided. Prior law required a minimum of six quarters of coverage.

Effective for monthly benefits for September 1965, at which time an estimated 355,000 people will be able to start receiving benefits.

(f) Wife's and widow's benefits for divorced women: Payments of wife's or widow's benefits are authorized to the divorced wife of a retired, deceased, or disabled worker if she had been married to the worker for at least 20 years before the date of the divorce and if her divorced husband was making (or was obligated by a court to make) a substantial contribution to her support when he became entitled to benefits, became disabled, or died. The legislation also provides that a wife's benefits will not terminate when the woman and her husband are divorced if the marriage has been in effect for 20 years. Provision is also made for the reestablishment of benefit rights for a divorced wife, a widow, a surviving divorced wife, or a surviving divorced mother who remarries and the subsequent marriage ends in divorce, annulment, or in the death of the husband. Effective in September 1965.

(g) Retirement test: The amendments liberalize the retirement test so that a beneficiary under age 72 may have annual earnings of $1,500—instead of $1,200 as in prior law—and still get full benefits for the year. If a beneficiary earnings exceed $1,500 for a year, $1 in benefits is withheld for each $2 of annual earnings between $1,500 and $2,700 and for each $1 of earnings thereafter—under prior law the $1 for $2 adjustment applied to annual earnings between $1,200 and $1,700. A beneficiary will nevertheless get full benefits, regardless of his annual earnings, for any month in which he earns wages of $125 or less (rather than $100 as in prior law), and does not render substantial services in self-employment. These changes are effective for taxable years ending after 1965.

Also, certain royalties received in or after the year in which a person reaches age 65, from copyrights and patents obtained before age 65, are exempted from being counted as earnings for purposes of the retirement test, effective for taxable years beginning after 1964.

For 1966, an estimated 750,000 persons—workers and their dependents or survivors—either will get more benefits under the new law than they would have gotten under prior law, or will get some benefits where they would have gotten no benefits under prior law.

(h) Continuation of widow's and widower's insurance benefits after remarriage: Under prior law, a widow's and widower's benefits based on a deceased worker's social security earnings record generally terminated when the survivor remarried. The new legislation provides that benefits would be payable to widows age 60 or over and to widowers age 62 or over who remarry. The amount of the remarried widow's or widower's benefit will be equal to 50 percent of the primary insurance amount of the deceased spouse rather than 82½ percent of that amount, which is payable to widows and widowers who are not remarried.

(i) Adoption of child by retired worker: The provisions relating to the payment of benefits to children who are adopted by old-age insurance beneficiaries are changed to require that, where the child is adopted after the worker becomes entitled to an old-age benefit, first, the child must be living with the worker in the month when application for old-age benefits is filed or adoption proceedings have begun in or before that month; second, the child must be receiving one-half of his support from the worker for the entire year before the worker's entitlement; and third, the adoption must be completed within 2 years after the worker's application for benefits.

(j) Definition of child:

(i) A child will be paid benefits based on his father's earnings without regard to whether he has the status of a child under State inheritance laws if the father was supporting the child or had a legal obligation to do so. Under prior law, whether a child met the definition for the pupose of getting child's insurance benefits based on his father's earnings depended on the laws applied in determining the devolution of intestate personal property in the State in which the worker was domiciled. It is estimated that 20,000 individuals (children and their mothers) became immediately eligible for benefits under this provision.

(ii) Also an exception is provided so that child's benefits will not terminate if child is adopted by his brother or sister after the death of the worker on whose earnings record he is getting benefits. Under prior law benefits terminated upon adoption unless he was adopted by his stepparent, grandparent, uncle, or aunt.

2. COVERAGE CHANGES

The following coverage provisions were included:

(a) Physicians and interns: Self-employed physicians are covered for taxable years ending on or after December 31, 1965. Interns are covered beginning on January 1, 1966, on the same basis as other employees working for the same employer.

(b) Farmers: Under the new law, farm operators whose annual gross earnings are $2,400 or less will be permitted to report either their actual net earnings or 66⅔ percent of their gross earnings, for taxable years beginning after December 31, 1965. Farmers whose annual gross earnings are over $2,400 will be required to report their actual net earnings if $1,600 or more but if actual net earnings are less than $1,600, they will be permitted to report either their actual net earnings or $1,600.

(c) Cash tips: Cash tips received after 1965 by an employee in the course of his employment are covered as wages for social security and income-tax withholding purposes, except that employers are not required to pay the social security employer tax. The employee is required to give his employer a written report of his tips within 10 days after the end of the month in which the tips are received. To the extent that the employer does not have sufficient wage payments—or funds turned over to him by the employee—to offset the required withholding, he notifies the employee and the employee reports this amount to the Government directly.

(d) State and local government employees: Several changes would facilitate social security coverage of additional employees of State and local governments.

(e) Exemption of certain religious sects: Members of certain religious sects who have conscientious objections to insurance (including social security) by reason of their adherence to the established tenets or teachings of such sects could be exempt from the social security tax on self-employment income upon application accompanied by a waiver of benefit rights.

(f) Nonprofit organizations: Nonprofit organizations, and their employees who concur, may elect social security coverage effective retroactively for a period up to 5 years (rather than 1 year, as under prior law). Also, wage credit may be given for the earnings of certain employees of nonprofit organizations who were erroneously reported for social security purposes.

(g) District of Columbia employees: The legislation provides for social security coverage of certain employees of the District of Columbia (primarily substitute schoolteachers).

(h) Ministers: The deadline for electing social security coverage by ministers who have been in the ministry at least 2 years since 1954 is extended 2 years. Also, social security credit may be obtained for the earnings of certain ministers, which were reported but which cannot be credited under prior law.

3. MISCELLANEOUS

(a) Filing of proof: The period of filing of proof of support for dependent husband's, widower's, and parent's benefits, and for filing application for lump-sum death payments where good cause exists for failure to file within the initial 2-year period, is extended indefinitely.

(b) Automatic recomputation of benefits: The benefits of people on the rolls will be recomputed automatically each year to take account of any covered earnings that the worker might have had in the previous year and that would increase his benefit amount. Under prior law there are various requirements that must be met in order to have benefits recomputed, including filing of an application and earnings of over $1,200 a year after entitlement.

(c) Military wage credits: The provision authorizing reimbursement of the trust funds out of general revenue for gratuitious social security wage credits for servicemen is revised so that such payments will be spread over the next 50 years.

(d) Extension of life of applications: The new law liberalizes the requirement that an application for monthly insurance benefits be valid for only 3 months after the date of filing, and for disability benefits 3 months before the beginning of the waiting period. The new law allows an application to remain valid up until the time the Secretary makes a final decision on the application.

(e) Underpayments: The new law provides specific authority, lacking in prior law, for the Secretary to settle certain underpayments of benefits.

(f) Authorization for one spouse to cash a joint check: The Secretary of the Treasury would be authorized, under a new provision, to issue regulations so as to permit a surviving spouse (or other surviving payee) to cash a benefit check issued jointly to a husband and wife if one of them dies before the check is negotiated; any overpayment resulting from the cashing of the joint check would be recovered.

(g) Social security records—deserting parents: The new law provides that, under certain specfied conditions, the address of a deserting parent of a child applying for or receiving public assistance may be given to a welfare agency or a court through a welfare agency.

(h) Attorney's fees: A provision is incorporated which permits a court that renders a judgment favorable to a claimant in an action arising under the social security program to set a reasonable fee—not in excess of 25 percent of past due benefits which become payable by reason of the judgment—for an attorney who successfully represented the claimant. The Secretary is permitted to certify payment of the fee to the attorney out of such past due benefits.

(i) Waiver of 1-year marriage requirement: The legislation provides an exception to the 1-year duration of marriage requirement for social security benefits for any widow, wife, husband, or widower who was, in the month before marriage, actually or potentially entitled to railroad retirement benefits as a widow, widower, parent, or disabled adult child.

E. SCOPE, COSTS AND FINANCING

1. HEALTH INSURANCE AND MEDICAL CARE FOR THE NEEDY

The scope of the protection provided is broadly as follows:

Basic plan: It is estimated that approximately 17 million insured individuals and 2 million uninsured will qualify on July 1, 1966.

Voluntary supplementary plan: It is estimated that of the total eligible aged of 19 million, from 80 to 95 percent will participate, which will mean approximately 15.2 to 18 million individuals will be involved.

Medical assistance for needy: The expanded medical assistance—Kerr-Mills—program is estimated to provide new or increased medical assistance to about 8 million needy persons during an early year of operation. States could, in the future, provide aid to as many as twice this number who need help with medical costs.

The costs and financing are as follows:

Basic plan: Benefits and administrative expenses under the basic plan would be about $1 billion for the 6-month period in 1966 and about $2.3 billion in 1967. Contribution income for those years would be about $1.6 and $2.8 billion, respectively. The costs for the uninsured—

paid from general funds—would be about $280 million for the first full year.

The level-premium—long range—cost of the hospital insurance program is 1.23 percent of payroll broken down as follows:

	Percent
Hospital and extended care facility benefits	1.19
Posthospital home health	.03
Outpatient diagnostic	.01
Total	1.23

Separate payroll taxes to finance the basic plan, paid by employers, employees, and self-employed persons, would be earmarked in a separate hospital insurance trust fund established in the Treasury. The same contribution rate would apply equally to employers, employees, and self-employed persons.

The tax rate, base, and tax amount for future years is shown in the following table:

TABLE 1.—*Tax rate, tax base, and tax amount applicable to employers, employees, and self-employed persons under the basic hospital insurance program of the Social Security Amendments of 1965 (Public Law 89–97), 1965–87 and after*

Year	Tax on employer, employee, and self-employed (each)		
	Tax rate (percent)	Tax base	Tax amount [1]
1965			
1966	0.35	$6,600	$23.10
1967	.50	6,600	33.00
1968	.50	6,600	33.00
1969–72	.50	6,600	33.00
1973–75	.55	6,600	36.30
1976–79	.60	6,600	39.60
1980–86	.70	6,600	46.20
1987 and after	.80	6,600	52.80

[1] For each self-employed person and employee with earnings or wage equal to or in excess of the tax base; employers pay same amount on behalf of such employees.

Source: Staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation.

The benefit provisions of the law are financed by first, an increase in the earnings base from $4,800 to $6,600 effective January 1, 1966; and, second, a revised tax rate schedule.

The tax rate schedule under prior law and the revised schedule under the new legislation for the OASDI program is shown by the two tables which follow:

TABLE 7.—*Tax rate, tax base, and tax amount applicable to employers and employees (each) under the Social Security Amendments of 1965 (Public Law 89–97) and under prior law, old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program, 1965–87 and after*

Year	Tax rate employer and employee (each)		Tax base		Tax per employee with base wage under Public Law 89-97 [1]			
					Amount of tax		Increase under Public Law 89-97	
	Under prior law	Under Public Law 89-97	Under prior law	Under Public Law 89-97	Under prior law	Under Public Law 89-97	Over prior law	Over 1965
	Percent	*Percent*						
1965	3.625	3.625	$4,800	$4,800	$174	$174.00		
1966	4.125	3.850	4,800	6,600	198	254.10	$56.10	$80.10
1967	4.125	3.900	4,800	6,600	198	257.40	59.40	83.40
1968	4.625	3.900	4,800	6,600	222	257.40	35.40	83.40
1969–72	4.625	4.400	4,800	6,600	222	290.40	68.40	116.40
1973–75	4.625	4.850	4,800	6,600	222	320.10	98.10	146.10
1976–79	4.625	4.850	4,800	6,600	222	320.10	98.10	146.10
1980–86	4.625	4.850	4,800	6,600	222	320.10	98.10	146.10
1987 and after	4.625	4.850	4,800	6,600	222	320.10	98.10	146.10

[1] Employers pay same amount on behalf of such employees.

Source: Staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation.

TABLE 8.—*Tax rate, tax base, and tax amount applicable to self-employed persons under the Social Security Amendments of 1965 (Public Law 89–97) and under prior law, old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program, 1965–87 and after*

Year	Tax rate		Tax base		Tax per self-employed with base earnings under Public Law 89-97			
					Amount of tax		Increase under Public Law 89-97	
	Under prior law	Under Public Law 89-97	Under prior law	Under Public Law 89-97	Under prior law	Under Public Law 89-97	Over prior law	Over 1965
	Percent	*Percent*						
1965	5.4	5.4	$4,800	$4,800	$259.20	$259.20		
1966	6.2	5.8	4,800	6,600	297.60	382.80	$85.20	$123.60
1967	6.2	5.9	4,800	6,600	297.60	389.40	91.80	130.20
1968	6.9	5.9	4,800	6,600	331.20	389.40	58.20	130.20
1969–72	6.9	6.6	4,800	6,600	331.20	435.60	104.40	176.40
1973–75	6.9	7.0	4,800	6,600	331.20	462.00	130.80	202.80
1976–79	6.9	7.0	4,800	6,600	331.20	462.00	130.80	202.80
1980–86	6.9	7.0	4,800	6,600	331.20	462.00	130.80	202.80
1987 and after	6.9	7.0	4,800	6,600	331.20	462.00	130.80	202.80

Source: Staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation.

TABLE 10.—*Combined tax rate on employer and employee under the Social Security Amendments of 1965 (Public Law 89-97) and under prior law, old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program and basic hospital insurance program, 1965-87 and after*

[In percent]

Year	Combined tax rate on employer and employee							
	Old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program		Basic hospital insurance program		Old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program and basic hospital insurance program			
	Under prior law	Under Public Law 89-97	Under prior law	Under Public Law 89-97	Under prior law	Under Public Law 89-97	Change under Public Law 89-97	
							Over prior law	Over 1965
1965	7.25	7.25			7.25	7.25		
1966	8.25	7.70		0.70	8.25	8.40	+0.15	+1.15
1967	8.25	7.80		1.00	8.25	8.80	+.55	+1.55
1968	9.25	7.80		1.00	9.25	8.80	−.45	+1.55
1969-72	9.25	8.80		1.00	9.25	9.80	+.55	+2.55
1973-75	9.25	9.70		1.10	9.25	10.80	+1.55	+3.55
1976-79	9.25	9.70		1.20	9.25	10.90	+1.65	+3.65
1980-86	9.25	9.70		1.40	9.25	11.10	+1.85	+3.85
1987 and after	9.25	9.70		1.60	9.25	11.30	+2.05	+4.05

Source: Staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation.

H.R. 8371—Mr. MILLS—Public Law 89-44, approved June 21, 1965. Following is a brief outline of the provisions of this legislation, the Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1965:

Item	Prior law		Public Law 89-44	Effective date
	Base	Rate		
A. RETAILERS				
Furs	Retail price	10 percent	Repealed entirely	June 22, 1965.
Jewelry	do	do	do	Do.
Luggage and handbags	do	do	do	Do.
Toilet preparations	do	do	do	Do.
B. MANUFACTURERS				
Passenger automobiles [1] (refunds as to sales after May 14, 1965)	Manufacturers' price	do	Reduced to 7 percent on June 22, 1965, 6 percent on Jan. 1, 1966, 4 percent on Jan. 1, 1967, 2 percent on Jan. 1, 1968, 1 percent on Jan. 1, 1969.	
Schoolbuses	do	do	Exempted	Do.
Camper coaches and bodies and self-propelled mobile homes	do	do	do	Do.
Farm feed, seed, and fertilizer equipment	do	8 or 10 percent	do	Do.
Small 3-wheeled motor vehicles	do	10 percent	do	Do.
Auto parts and accessories [1] (except parts primarily used for trucks and buses).	do	8 percent	Repealed entirely	Jan. 1, 1966.
Used parts incorporated in new trucks	Value	10 percent	Value of parts exempted from tax on new trucks.	June 22, 1965.
Casinghead and natural gasoline	Gallon	4 cents	Taxable only when used as motor fuel.	July 1, 1965.
Gasoline	do	do	Taxable only when suitable for use as a motor fuel.	Do.
Lubricating oil [1]	do	6 cents	Repeals tax on cutting oil and on other lubricating oil used otherwise than in a highway motor vehicle. Tax on oil used for a highway motor vehicle to be allocated to the highway trust fund.	Jan. 1, 1966.
Cutting oil [1]	do	3 cents		
Refrigerators [1]	Manufacturer's price	5 percent	Repealed entirely	June 22, 1965.
Freezers [1]	do	do	do	Do.
Airconditioners [1] (refunds as to sales after May 14, 1965)	do	10 percent	do	Do.
Electric, gas, and oil appliances [1]	do	5 percent	do	Do.
Electric light, bulbs [1]	do	10 percent	Repealed entirely on Jan. 1, 1966, except tax on bulbs used in previously taxable items repealed on June 22, 1965.	
Radios and phonographs [1]	do	do	Repealed entirely	Do.
Television sets [1]	do	do	do	Do.
Phonograph records [1]	do	do	do	Do.
Musical instruments [1]	do	do	do	Do.
Sporting goods [1] (except fishing equipment)	do	do	do	Do.
Cameras and film [1]	do	do	do	Do.
Projectors [1]	do	5 percent	do	Do.
Business machines [1]	do	10 percent	do	Do.
Pens and mechanical pencils	do	do	do	Do.
Lighters	Each (but not more than 10 percent of manufacturer's price).	10 cents	do	Do.
Matches:				
Plain	2 cents per 1,000, but not more than 10 percent of manufacturer's price.		do	Do.
Fancy	5½ cents per 1,000		do	Do.
Playing cards [1]	Pack	13 cents	do	Do.

[1] Provision is made for floor stock refund.

Item	Prior law		Public Law 89-44	Effective date
	Base	Rate		
C. FACILITIES AND SERVICES				
General admissions	Amounts exceeding $1	10 percent	Repealed entirely	Noon, Dec. 31, 1965.
Horse and dog races	Amount	20 percent	do	Do.
Cabarets	Bill	10 percent	do	Do.
Club dues	Annual dues, if exceeding $10.	20 percent	Repealed entirely on Jan. 1, 1966, except the tax in the case of initiation fees for new clubs which is repealed on July 1, 1965.	
Airtravel	Amount	5 percent	Exempts certain travel of Armed Forces personnel by redefining uninterrupted international air travel.	July 1, 1965.
Safe deposit boxes	Rent	10 percent	Repealed entirely	Do.
D. COMMUNICATIONS				
Local and long-distance telephone and teletypewriter service	Bill	do	Reduced to 3 percent on Jan. 1, 1966, 2 percent on Jan. 1, 1967, 1 percent on Jan. 1, 1968, 0 on Jan. 1, 1969.	
Certain private line and PBX service	do	do	Exempted	Jan. 1, 1966.
Telegraph service	do	do	Repealed entirely	Do.
Wire and equipment service	do	8 percent	do	Do.
E. DOCUMENTARY STAMP TAXES				
1. Bond and stock issues:				
Stock	$100 value	10 cents	do	Do.
Mutual funds	do	4 cents	do	Do.
Bonds	do	11 cents	do	Do.
2. Bond and stock transfers:				
Stock	$100 value (but no more than 8 cents per share nor less than 4 cents per sale).	4 cents	do	Do.
Bonds	$100 value	5 cents	do	Do.
3. Conveyances (deeds, instruments, or writing conveying realty).	$500 value	55 cents	do	Jan. 1, 1968.
Wagering taxes (State sweepstakes, pools, and lotteries)	Amount of wager	10 percent	Exempted wagers placed after Mar. 10, 1964.	
F. OTHER TAXES				
Coin-operated amusement devices (not including gaming devices).	Machine	$10 per machine per year.	Repealed entirely	July 1, 1965.
Bowling alleys and billiard and pool tables	Alley or table	$20 per alley or table per year.	do	Do.
Distilled spirits	Gallon	Varying	Redefines term "export" to exempt from tax shipments to Wake and Midway Islands.	Do.
Manufactured tobacco (chewing, smoking, snuff)	Pound	10 percent	Repealed entirely	Jan. 1, 1966.
Poultry exchanges	Exempts certain poultry exchanges from income tax for taxable years beginning after Dec. 31, 1953, and ending after Aug. 16, 1954, which begin before Jan. 1, 1966.			

H.R. 318—Mr. JENNINGS—passed House October 7, 1965: The purpose of this bill is to provide that the manufacturers' excise tax on tires and inner tubes in the case of manufacturer-owned (or importer owned) retail stores is to be imposed at the time of delivery to these stores, rather than at the time these tubes or tires are sold. Under present law, a tax of 10 cents a pound is imposed on a highway-type tires and 5 cents a pound on other tires, and a tax of 10 cents a pound is imposed with respect to inner tubes, at the time they are sold by the manufacturer, producer, or importer. In the case of tire and inner tube manufacturers—or importers—maintaining their own retail stores or retail outlets, this means that no tax is imposed until the manufacturer makes a retail sale. As a result, where a manufacturer has his own retail store, this means that no tax is paid on his retail inventory. On the other hand, the independent tire dealer, because the sale by the manufacturer, producer, or importer occurred prior to or at the time of his acquisition of the tires and tubes, can have only tax-paid inventory.

H.R. 318 would remove this competitive discrimination against independent tire dealers by providing for the imposition of the tire or inner tube tax at the time the tire or inner tube is delivered to a retail store or retail outlet of the manufacturer, producer, or importer.

The bill was reported unanimously by the Committee on Ways and Means and was passed by voice vote under suspension of the rules.

H.R. 327—Mr. KEOGH—passed House October 21, 1965: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, the purpose of this bill is to exempt from income taxation mutual, nonprofit organizations organized before September 1, 1957, and operated to provide reserves for building and loan associations, cooperative banks, and mutual savings banks, if at least 85 percent of their income is attributable to providing such reserve funds and to investments. The bill extends this tax-exempt status to organizations which are similar in essential respects to those already exempt. Present law, however, exempts such organizations only if they provide both reserves for, and insurance of shares and deposits of, member associations.

The bill also provides that net income derived by such organizations—both that of the organizations exempted by this bill and that of the similar organizations already exempt—which is not related to the provision of reserves or insurance will be taxed as unrelated business income thus confining the privilege of tax exemption to income derived from the specific services upon which that exemption is based.

H.R. 4260—Mr. KEOGH—passed House June 17, 1965: As reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, this bill amends the real estate investment trust provisions of present law to provide that the term "real estate investment trust" means a corporation as well as an unincorporated trust or unincorporated association. Real estate investment corporations which meet the conditions specified in the statute now applicable to real estate investment trusts would be eligible for the "pass through" type of tax treatment, where 90 percent or more of their income is distributed, in substantially the same manner as regulated investment companies. Thus, where the specified conditions are met, the distributed income would be taxed to the shareholder in the real estate corporation and not to the corporation itself. The income taxed to the shareholder, as presently provided in the case of real estate investment trusts, would be treated as ordinary income—not eligible for the dividend exclusion—except in the case of capital gains, which would be treated in the same manner as is presently provided for real estate investment trusts.

H.R. 4493—Mrs. GRIFFITHS—Public Law 89-61, approved June 30, 1965: The purpose of this bill, which was enacted into law in the form reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, was to continue for 2 years, to the close of June 30, 1967, the existing suspension of duties on

scrap of various metals. Favorable departmental reports were received on this legislation, and the committee was advised that the conditions which prompted the initial suspension of the duty on metal scrap, and the continuations thereof to the present time, have not changed. The committee was unanimous in recommending enactment of the bill.

H.R. 4750—Mr. MILLS—Public Law 89-243, approved October 9, 1965: This bill extended to July 31, 1967, the interest equalization tax which, in the absence of legislation, would have terminated on December 31, 1965, and broadened its application to include debt obligations having a maturity of 1 or more years—instead of 3 years or more. The tax, originally enacted as a part of the overall program to improve our balance-of-payments position, increases the cost of foreign borrowing in the case of securities and debt obligations in this country by approximately 1 percent. The Committee on Ways and Means was of the opinion that the tax had proven to be useful in our efforts to counter the deficit in our balance of payments, and its extension was urged by the administration.

H.R. 5768—Mr. HERLONG—Public Law 89-229, approved October 1, 1965: As unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, the purpose of this bill was to continue for 3 years, until the close of November 7, 1968, the existing suspension of duties on certain classifications of spun silk yarn. This suspension of duty, which has been in effect continuously since November 1959 was originally enacted in order to enable domestic producers to import fine silk yarns free of duty so as to make it more economical for them to produce fine-yarn fabrics in competition with imported similar fabrics. The committee was advised that the continuation of the suspension is justified on the basis of the same reasons that prompted the original suspension. Favorable departmental reports were received on the bill. The Senate added a provision to the bill creating a specific tariff category for certain textured yarn composed of continuous manmade fibers and providing a rate of duty for this product of 25 cents per pound plus 30 percent ad valorem. This provision was not included in the conference agreement and as the bill became law, but the President was requested to cause a study to be made of this matter with a report, including recommendations as to the appropriate rate of duty for such yarns, to be made to the Congress not later than February 1, 1966.

H.R. 6319—Mr. BOGGS—passed House October 21, 1965: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, the purpose of this bill is to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide, in the case of recoveries of foreign expropriation losses, a new set of rules generally limiting the tax on the recovery to the benefit previously received in deducting the loss (but applying current tax rates). In hardship situations the bill also makes provision for payment of the tax on recoveries in 10 equal annual installments bearing interest at 4 percent. A special rule is provided in the case of life insurance companies, and the bill also makes provision for taxing recoveries with respect to foreign expropriation losses where a benefit from a tax deduction was received by one corporation holding securities in another whose property was expropriated.

H.R. 6431—Mr. SCHNEEBELI—Public Law 89-204, approved September 27, 1965: As unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means and subsequently enacted into law, this legislation provided for the suspension, through June 30, 1967, of the duty on certain forms of nickel, and authorized the President to proclaim the continuance of of such duty-free treatment after June 30, 1967, in order to carry out a trade agreement entered into under the authority of section 201 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. The committee was advised that the United States is heavily dependent upon imports for its supplies of nickel, and that the duty on these products constitutes a significant cost burden on U.S. manufacturers, particularly producers of stainless steel and alloy steels, and that removal of the duty would help to improve the competitive position in the domestic as well as the export market of U.S. products manufactured from imported nickel-bearing raw materials. Favorable departmental reports were received on the legislation.

H.R. 6568—Mr. KEOGH—passed House October 18, 1965: As reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, this bill would, first, repeal the 3-cent processing tax on coconut oil, which has been suspended by temporary enactments continuously since 1957, as well as the duties of palmnut kernels and palmnuts; second, increase the duty-free quota of Philippine coconut oil from 120,000 to 160,000 long tons for the years 1965, 1966, and 1967; third, condition the duty-free quota increase for 1966 and 1967 and suspension of reduced duties on copra upon the Philippine Government having waived its existing 1¼-cent preference on copra.

This legislation was reported by the committee after full public hearings and careful consideration of all sides of the issue involved, and represents the unanimous view of the committee as to the most equitable treatment of the situation.

H.R. 7502—Mr. ULLMAN—passed House August 3, 1965: The purpose of this bill as unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House is to amend the provisions of existing law relating to the income tax treatment of casualty losses to provide that if property is destroyed or damaged by a storm, flood, or other casualty which is designated by the President of the United States as a major disaster then, if the losses exceed the gains, both the losses and the gains will be treated as ordinary for tax purposes.

Under present law, uninsured business losses—or those from property held for the production of income—arising from a fire or other casualty are treated as ordinary losses without regard to any gains the taxpayer may have. This rule is not changed by the bill. In the case of major disasters, the bill supplements this rule of existing law to provide substantially similar loss treatment for partially insured business property—or property held for the production of income. This loss treatment also is provided in the case of major disasters for losses of personal assets held for over 6 months (such as a personal residence—whether or not it is covered by any insurance.

The Treasury Department has indicated that it has no objection to the enactment of this legislation.

H.R. 7621—Mr. DOW—passed House June 9, 1965—Public Law 89-241: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, the purpose of this bill was to close a tariff loophole by amending the Tariff Schedules of the United States to limit the term "button blanks" to raw or crude blanks suitable for manufacture into buttons. The substance of this bill was adopted by the Senate as an amendment to H.R. 7969, the Tariff Schedules Technical Amendments Act of 1965, and it became law as a part of that legislation.

H.R. 7723—Mr. KING of California—passed House October 21, 1965: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, the purpose of this bill is to suspend the duties on certain tropical hardwood lumbers until January 1, 1968, and to authorize the President to proclaim the continuance beyond that date of the duty-free treatment of such lumbers in connection with a trade agreement which may be entered into under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 as though such temporary duty-free treatment were permanent treatment under the tariff laws. The products covered by the bill are hardwood lumbers, rough, dressed, or worked, which the Tariff Commission has determined to be tropical forestry commodities of kinds not produced in significant quantities in the United States. Although the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 provides for the elimination of duties on such lumber under the trade agreements procedure, this cannot be accomplished until after the conclusion of the Kennedy Round negotiations, and the Committee on Ways and Means is of the opinion that the U.S. foreign economic interests would be served by the immediate temporary suspension of these duties.

Favorable departmental reports were received on the bill, and the Department of Commerce advised that it knows of no objection on the part of domestic industry to its enactment.

H.R. 7969—Mr. MILLS—Public Law 89-241, approved October 7, 1965: The purpose of this legislation, the Tariff Schedules Technical Amendments Act of 1965, was to provide for the correction of certain errors which, through oversight, inadvertence, or lack of adequate information, had been made by the Tariff Commission in preparing the tariff schedules of the United States—TSUS.

TSUS was the product of many years of work by the Tariff Commission under legislative directive to compile a revision

and consolidation of the laws prescribing the tariff status of imported articles with a view to their simplification. Duty changes were to be avoided except where required as an incident to the accomplishment of the purposes of the legislation. The result of the Tariff Commission efforts was a revised set of tariff schedules which the Congress ultimately adopted by the Tariff Classification Act of 1962. After some revision under legislative criteria, the new schedules became effective on August 31, 1963.

Since the adoption of the new schedules, a number of errors had come to light, and the purpose of H.R. 7969 was to gather these errors together and make corrections in one bill, rather than deal with them piecemeal.

H.R. 8147—Mr. MILLS—Public Law 89-62, approved June 30, 1965: As enacted into law, this legislation made permanent the previously temporary reduction to $100 in the exemption from duty that a returning resident of the United States may bring back into this country free of duty and changed the basis of valuation from wholesale value to fair retail value. The bill also contained provisions which, among other things, first, reduced the quantity of alcoholic beverages that may be included in the exemption from 1 wine gallon to 1 quart—except in the case of persons returning from the Virgin Islands, Guam, or American Samoa—and limited the exercise of this privilege to persons age 21 or over; second, reestablished and made permanent with certain changes the special temporary exemption provisions which had previously applied to U.S. residents returning from the Virgin Islands and extended those provisions to also include persons returning from American Samoa or Guam; and, third, limited the exemption to articles accompanying the individual on his return to the United States.

The legislation was recommended by the administration as one of several steps proposed by the President to deal with the continuing deficit in our balance of payments. The Secretary of the Treasury advised the Committee on Ways and Means that the reduction in duty-free exemption had been effective in bringing about balance-of-payments savings, and the committee concluded that this action was warranted.

H.R. 8210—Mr. MILLER—passed House October 21, 1965: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, this bill provides that at the discretion of the President the European Space Research Organization—ESRO—an organization of 11 Western European countries engaged in the planning of scientific activities in the peaceful use of outer space which is interested in establishing a small satellite telemetry command station near Fairbanks, Alaska, may be designated by the President as an international organization for purposes of the International Organizations Immunities Act. Upon such a designation, the organization, to the extent provided by the President, will be exempt from customs duties on property imported for the activities it engages in, from income taxes, from withholding taxes on wages, and from excise taxes on services and facilities. In addition, the employees of the international organization—other than nationals of the United States—may not be subject to U.S. income tax on the income they receive from ESRO. Favorable departmental reports were received on this legislation.

H.R. 8436—Mr. MILLS—passed House October 21, 1965: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, this bill would amend those provisions of the Tariff Schedules of the United States granting exemption from duty to articles produced in insular possessions of the United States with use of foreign materials so that such exemption will no longer be allowed in the case of certain timing devices so produced in any of such possessions other than in the Virgin Islands of the United States.

The need for the legislation arose out of the rapid development of a watch assembly industry in the Virgin Islands which was threatening to assume such proportions as to constitute primarily a tariff-avoidance scheme. This threat was avoided by the recent action of the Virgin Islands Legislature in enacting legislation establishing what are, in effect, quotas on shipments of watch movements to the United States. Following close on this action, however, rumors have spread that some U.S. firms and possibly others are planning to establish watch-assembly operations on Guam and American Samoa and thus defeat the effect of the action of the Virgin Islands Legislature. The bill would frustrate any such action by withdrawing the special exemption privilege with respect to timing devices produced in those possessions.

H.R. 8445—Mr. MILLS—passed House October 21, 1965: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, the purpose of this bill is to eliminate an inequity in the provisions of existing law which prescribe the formula for computing retired pay for judges of the Tax Court of the United States. Under present law the retired pay of a judge of the Tax Court, unlike the retired pay of judges of other Federal courts, is based on the salary payable to him as judge "at the time he ceases to be a judge" rather than on the salary of the office, the normal basis utilized in computing retired pay for judges of the U.S. district courts and of the U.S. Court of Claims.

H.R. 8445 would eliminate this disparate treatment in the law by providing for the calculation of retired pay of Tax Court judges in a manner similar to that presently provided for judges of the other Federal tribunals.

H.R. 8464—Mr. MILLS—Public Law 89-49, approved June 24, 1965: This legislation, which was enacted into law without amendment, provided a temporary increase in the public debt limit to $328 billion for the period beginning July 1, 1965, and ending on June 30, 1966. In the absence of legislation, the debt limitation would have reverted on July 1, 1965, to the permanent limit of $285 billion.

In the report of the Committee on Ways and Means on this bill, it was noted that the committee had requested the Treasury Department and the Bureau of the Budget to determine whether in their view there are guidelines for establishing a new permanent debt ceiling which would be realistic in light of the present level of the debt, and to report back to the committee on this subject.

H.R. 9042—Mr. MILLS—Public Law No. 89-283, approved October 21, 1965: This legislation, the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965, provided for the implementation of the Agreement Concerning Automotive Products Between the Government of the United States and the Government of Canada, signed by President Johnson and Prime Minister Pearson on January 16, 1965.

The legislation marks a milestone in the trade relations of the United States and her greatest trading partner, Canada. H.R. 9042 provides authority to the President to carry out the U.S. undertaking under the Automotive Products Agreement to remove the U.S. duties on imports of Canadian motor vehicles and original equipment for new motor vehicles. Canada removed its duties from U.S. imports on January 18, 1965. The agreement was the culmination of the efforts of representatives of both Governments to solve a problem which had led to actions that threatened a trade war between the two countries. The problem arose out of the desire of Canada to increase its share in the North American automotive market.

H.R. 9570—Mr. JENNINGS—Public Law 89-184, approved September 15, 1965: The purpose of this bill, which was reported to the House unanimously by the Committee on Ways and Means and was enacted into law without amendment, was to amend the Federal Firearms Act to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to relieve applicants from certain provisions of the act if he determines that the granting of relief would not be contrary to the public interest, and that the applicant would not be likely to conduct his operations in an unlawful manner. The committee concluded, after examination of a situation which had been brought to its attention, that under certain circumstances it would be desirable to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to grant relief from the disabilities imposed under the Federal Firearms Act in the case of felony convictions, where the felony concerned did not involve the use of firearms or other weapons or any violation under the Federal or National Firearms Act. The Departments of the Treasury and Justice submitted reports interposing no objection to the enactment of this legislation.

H.R. 10625—Mr. MILLS—passed House October 21, 1965: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, this bill would make a series of amendments to the Internal Revenue Code designed to provide essentially the same tax treatment under the retired serviceman's family protection plan where provision is made for annuities for surviving spouses or certain child beneficiaries as already is provided in the case of the

civil service retirement program and other qualified pension plans. Both the Department of the Treasury and the Department of Defense favor this legislation.

H.R. 11029—Mr. KEOGH—passed House October 5, 1965: H.R. 11029, as unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, aims at closing certain loopholes in the U.S. Tariff Schedules which enable foreign manufacturers to so manipulate the manufacture of certain fabrics as to avoid higher duties that would apply in the absence of such manipulation. Like other legislation designed to frustrate tariff avoidance practices, the purpose of this bill is to assure the full payment of the duty actually intended to apply to particular products.

H.R. 11216—Mr. MILLS—passed House October 21, 1965: The purpose of this bill, as unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, is to eliminate an impediment to allowance in duty under item 807.00 of the tariff schedules of the United States with respect to U.S. products previously exported and returned to this country as components of articles assembled abroad. A clause in item 807.00 denies the benefit afforded unless the particular U.S. products contained in the returned assembled article are prior to their exportation identified to the U.S. Customs as being intended for assembly abroad and returned to the United States as components of particular articles. This requirement has proven to be onerous both to the U.S. exporters and to the customs authorities. The bill would eliminate the requirement, which was not a feature of the law prior to the adoption of the new tariff schedules.

S. 701—Senator MANSFIELD, by request—Public Law 89-23, approved May 22, 1965: As amended by the Committee on Ways and Means and enacted into law, the purpose of this legislation was to grant the President the authority that would permit the United States to carry out its obligations under the International Coffee Agreement of 1962, which had previously been signed by the United States and ratified by the Senate.

S. 1760—Senator FULBRIGHT—reported to House October 8, 1965: The purpose of the bill, S. 1760, as unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, is to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to conclude the settlement of a debt arising from a loan by the United States to Greece in 1929, on which no payments have been made since the early years of World War II. Under the terms of the settlement, Greece will repay at interest $13,155,921 in 82 annual installments; the latter with one exception will each amount to approximately $329,000, and the payments thus will total $26.7 million. The bill provides that the sums so paid by Greece shall be deposited in the Treasury of the United States, and it authorizes the appropriation of amounts equivalent to the sums so deposited for use in financing educational and cultural exchange programs authorized by the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961 in relation to Greece and the people of Greece.

Both the Department of Labor and the Department of State have recommended this legislation and requested its prompt enactment.

PRIVATE BILLS

Seventeen private bills were reported by the Committee on Ways and Means during the past session of the Congress. Most of these bills provided for the duty-free entry of certain scientific instruments for the use of specified educational institutions. A listing of the private bills reported by the committee, noted as to the items covered by each and the status of the bill at adjournment, follows:

Private bill number and author	Status at adjournment or last action	Item for which duty-free entry provided	Institution involved
H.R. 1317, Mr. Gubser	Private Law 89-198 (approved Nov. 2, 1965)	Mass spectrometer	Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.
H.R. 1386, Mr. Lipscomb	Private Law 89-172 (approved Oct. 30, 1965)	do	Pomona College, Claremont, Calif.
H.R. 2565, Mr. O'Hara, Illinois	Private Law 89-199 (approved Nov. 2, 1965)	do	University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
H.R. 3126, Mr. Pelly	Private Law 89-181 (approved Oct. 31, 1965)	do	University of Washington.
H.R. 4599, Mr. Rogers, Colorado	Reported to House Oct. 19, 1965	Stained glass	Congregation Emanuel, Denver, Colo.
H.R. 4832, Mr. Karsten	Private Law 89-174 (approved Oct. 30, 1965)	Mass spectrometer	St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo.
H.R. 5831, Mr. O'Brien	Reported to House Oct. 19, 1965	Stained glass and cement windows.	Our Lady of the Angels Seminary, Glenmont, N.Y.
H.R. 6906, Mr. Stratton	Private Law 89-193 (approved Nov. 1, 1965)	Mass spectrometer and split-pole spectrograph.	University of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y.
H.R. 6666, Mr. Stratton	Private Law 89-208 (approved Nov. 8, 1965)	Spectrograph system	University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
H.R. 7608, Mr. Jarman	Private Law 89-187 (approved Oct. 31, 1965)	Distribution machine	University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.
H.R. 8232, Mr. Steed	Private Law 89-195 (approved Nov. 1, 1965)	Mass spectrometer-gas chromatograph.	Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Okla.
H.R. 8272, Mr. Thompson, New Jersey	Private Law 89-175 (approved Oct. 30, 1965)	Isotope separator	Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.
H.R. 9351, Mr. Reifel	Private Law 89-196 (approved Nov. 1, 1965)	Shadomaster measuring projector.	University of South Dakota.
H.R. 9587, Mr. Aspinall	Private Law 89-197 (approved Nov. 1, 1965)	Craig countercurrent distribution apparatus.	Colorado State University, Fort Collins, Colo.
H.R. 9588, Mr. Boggs	Private Law 89-177 (approved Oct. 31, 1965)	Rotating chair	Louisiana State University Medical Center, New Orleans, La.
H.R. 9903, Mr. Giaimo	Private Law 89-209 (approved Nov. 8, 1965)	Multigap magnetic spectrografh; and Senate amendments as follows:	
		(1) Mass spectrometer	Yale University.
		(2) Mass spectrometer	Ohio State University.
		(3) Digital polarimeter.	Smith College.
		(4) Photomicroscope	Utah State Training School.
		(5) Rheogoniometer	Catholic University of America.
H.R. 8647, Mr. Irwin	Reported to House Oct. 19, 1965	Authentic troubador uniforms.	Troubadors Drum & Bugle Corps, Bridgeport, Conn.

WAVZ Editorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, WAVZ, in New Haven, Conn., has carried a number of fine editorials on Vietnam and the "misguided students who have been giving a false impression of where Americans stand by their agitation against our efforts in Vietnam."

As my colleagues know, I too have expressed dismay and concern over some of the activities of students and other young people who have been so active and so vocal for the United States to pull out of Vietnam.

What I found especially interesting was the suggestion in one of the editorials that students and others who want to help out write to some of the individual American soldiers in Vietnam.

The student mentioned in the WAVZ editorial "has been telling them something very simple—that be believes in what they are doing there."

And not surprisingly at all, he has been receiving answers from these servicemen, saying that his letters have helped.

I commend Daniel Kops, the president of WAVZ, for his editorials, for his suggestion that people write to individual soldiers in Vietnam and for his offer to forward as many of these letters as he receives to Vietnam.

Under unanimous consent I place these WAVZ editorials printed in the RECORD at this point:

(We take you now to the editorial room of WAVZ, for a statement of opinion by this station. Here is Daniel W. Kops, president of WAVZ, to bring you that statement.)

"Thank you.

"A high school student in Hamden wrote a letter a few weeks ago to be delivered to some soldiers in South Vietnam.

"He did it without any fanfare and has never sought personal publicity. He just wanted to do something to assure a few of our fighting men that there are young people at home * * * probably a majority of our young people * * * who believe in what we're fighting for and understand why American troops need to be there.

To us at WAVZ, this is a gratifying contrast with the hordes of naive demonstrators who are presently undermining our war effort. They seem to be demanding a great deal of attention for their antics of tearing up draft cards, marches on Washington and banner waving.

"No doubt they need an emotional outlet, but this particular one is serving no purpose, but the interest of the Communists.

"Congressman GIAIMO states it well—that the question of U.S. involvement Vietnam was once debatable, but we are now committed to fight a successful war to halt Communist aggression there and bring about a peaceful settlement. This is not a time to undermine that effort.

"With this we heartily agree. We think it's time these students went back to their classrooms for some concentrated study of what's happening in the world. Until they do there's always the danger that our allies and opponents might think they represent serious American thinking.

"Thank you for your attention."

(You have been listening to a WAVZ editorial, a statement of opinion by this station.)

(We take you now to the editorial room of WAVZ, for a statement of opinion by this station. Here is Daniel W. Kops, president of WAVZ, to bring you that statement.)

"Thank you.

"In our last editorial we talked about the misguided students who have been giving a false impression of where Americans stand by agitation against our efforts in Vietnam—an impression which undermines us in the minds of our allies, our opponents, and worst of all, our own troops.

"We talked, too, about a student who wanted to do something to help. He has been writing letters to be given to individual American soldiers stationed in Vietnam. He has been telling them something very simple—that he believes in what they are doing there.

"And you will be glad to know he has helped. He has been getting answers from the soldiers, saying so.

"Today we want to talk about what you can do for your country, because we don't think it's corny to be patriotic, and your help is needed.

"We would like to ask that you write letters, too, letters that tell an individual soldier in your own way that you appreciate his risks and you believe in what he is doing.

"If you are a parent, if you're an ex-serviceman, or have ever been away from home, you know the value of a letter. If you are a student, talk about it in a classroom and you'll be able to write what your friends are thinking, too.

"Write as many letters as you want, and we'll take care of forwarding them. Just address them to Commanding General, American Forces, care of Radio Station WAVZ, New Haven.

"Yes, this is a way you can do something for your country.

"Thank you for your attention."

(You have been listening to a WAVZ editorial, a statement of opinion by this station.)

The Wonderful World of Paper

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, just as surely as it can be said that the paper and paperboard industry begins in the woodlands of the United States, it can be said to have found its home in western Massachusetts. I am privileged to number among my constituents, one of the largest number of paper companies of any Member of the Congress. These 26 companies serve the needs of all of us for the many paper products that are a part of the "wonderful world of paper."

Recently, a supplement to the New York Times was devoted to the paper industry. This able and attractive presentation covered all facets of an industry upon which every one of us depend to a degree few of us realize. Our use of paper has become so much a habit that an awareness of the impact its absence would have serves as a timely reminder of the contributions to the orderly transaction of business and the virtual necessities of a day's routine made by this industry in the form of paper products.

The introductory remarks to this supplement were devoted to just such a supposition: "Can You Imagine a World Without Paper?" I have included the full text of this introduction below.

An industry having roots deep in the heritage of New England, the paper companies might easily take their position there for granted, just as we, the user of their products, take those products for granted. However, the paper companies of Massachusetts' First Congressional District are a source of pride for me and for everyone making their home there. Active participation in community affairs and leadership for the progress and development of their home communities have been the hallmark of these companies.

I am also including an excerpt from this supplement devoted to a topic which occupied the time and thoughts of all of us in the Congress during the 1st session of the 89th Congress; that is, the topic of water pollution. The remarks, "Water Management—Progress and Promise," amply illustrate the dependence of the paper industry on water resources, one of western Massachusetts' most important natural resources, as well as the awareness of this industry to the need and desire to work for the abatement and control of the impairment of water quality.

I urge my colleagues to read the complete story of the paper industry presented in this supplement:

CAN YOU IMAGINE—A WORLD WITHOUT PAPER?

Suppose, as you slept last night, some evil genie had withdrawn paper from the earth and, to insure the permanency of his mischief, blighted the forests which are the primary source of paper.

It is not an easy supposition. Not even an Alfred Hitchcock film has ever imagined the walking nightmare that would then descend upon the world.

The sunlight would glare through shadeless windows and bounce off empty picture frames on paperless walls. You could reach for the morning newspaper to find out what had happened only to discover that there was no morning newspaper. Nor an evening newspaper from the day before. And it, at this point, you should decide that your salvation lay in prayer, then the prayer had better be well memorized, for not even a Bible would have survived to help you.

Need a cigarette? There remains only a pile of loose tobacco on the floor. Breakfast? Orange juice and milk spill out of the refrigerator door. Loose cereal tumbles from the cupboard shelf. A radio or television newscast to help straighten out all this confusion? Important radio and television components are made of paper, too, and even Huntley and Brinkley work from a script. Well, at least you can get the kids off to school. School? Why bother? What is a school without books and paper and lunchbags?

What, for that matter, is civilization as we know it today without the thousands of varied paper products that separate us, as much as anything else, from the upper Pleistocene? Without paper there would be no commerce, no industry, no banks, not even a government, which does not really run on redtape, but on tons of paper.

We, in fact, use more paper than any other nation, some 92 billion pounds of it a year, or roughly 479 pounds per person. Compared to our phenomenal consumption, Sweden and Canada have an annual per capital consumption of over 300 pounds. Russia uses about 42 pounds per person. As for China, where it all began with the discovery of the elementary papermaking process in the first century, the average consumption is estimated at no more than 6 pounds of paper per person each year.

Fortunately, we are in no danger of having to do without the industry's 100,000 and more paper and paperboard products because paper companies manage their forest lands on a sustained yield basis, and in fact grow more trees than they use.

Through research and experimentation and at a cost of more than $1 billion a year in new mills and equipment, the American paper industry is serving the growing paper and paperboard needs of our Nation.

WATER MANAGEMENT: PROGRESS AND PROMISE—BOTH A SUPPLIER AND A USER OF ENORMOUS QUANTITIES OF WATER, THE PAPER INDUSTRY CONTINUES TO ACCELERATE ITS RESEARCH ACTIVITIES AS IT SEEKS TO CONTROL ITS ORGANIC WASTES

The paper industry, perhaps more than any other industry, is dependent upon large quantities of water for the production of its many products. Because of this, the industry has been acutely aware of the need for water quality and is today grappling more forcefully than ever with one of the greatest problems it has encountered in its long history: that of eliminating—or, at least, controlling—the wastes from the effluents produced in the manufacture of pulp, paper, and paperboard.

This is a problem involving mill managements of every paper company in the Nation, a problem affecting all segments of our society. And because of industry efforts today and in the past, considerable progress

has been made in the field of water conservation and stream improvement.

Everyone contributes to the pollution problem: industry and government, shipping, utilities, farmers, even every American family that uses our highways and waterways.

Pollution has been around for a long time. It was present in its natural form (as rotting vegetation) when the first settlers arrived in this land. They built on or near the sources of water and discarded their wastes into the streams and rivers without a care because the streams could easily assimilate the wastes. Even as the population of the land multiplied and towns and cities and industries sprang up along the rivers and streams, our waterways continued to digest the growing wastes of a new nation. Civilized man, industrialized man, failed to recognize that even nature was limited in what it could do.

The rude awakening came some 20 years ago, when burgeoning suburban communities and new industrial complexes realized they were overloading the rivers and streams and killing plant and aquatic life with wastes. Finally, an aroused public clamored for strict controls and Congress passed legislation to halt the abuses.

Seventeen years ago, a Federal Water Pollution Control Act was passed, providing financial and technical assistance for the construction of water facilities for municipalities, and making research grants available. Many States created their own commissions, or joined with other States to form interstate agencies and compacts. Industry, on an individual basis, moved ahead to study the nature of its industrial wastes and worked closely with local and State authorities on the processing and control of waste materials, with much being accomplished over the years.

Some basic research revealed that the amount of water needed by the Nation was impressive. Every day 300 to 350 billion gallons of water is used by the homeowner, industry, utilities, and the farmer. Of this amount, some 48 percent is used by the manufacturing industries and the utilities. These 145 to 170 billion gallons of water are utilized in two distinct ways—a nonconsuming use and a consuming use. The first method means that the water is used in the manufacturing process but is returned to the source; the second indicates that the water is used or dissipated away. Currently 98 percent of industry's utilization of water is nonconsuming. Only 2 percent is unrecoverable.

Paper industry concern reaches back almost 44 years to 1922, when an association established a committee to collect data on research activities of the industry and other organizations.

In 1938, the Sulphite Pulp Manufacturers' Research League was formed and charged with the responsibility of improving stream conditions. Its first year's budget was $18,000; today it is more than 10 times that. Just a few years later—in 1943—the pulp and paper industry created the National Council for Stream Improvement, an organization that was nationwide in scope. With headquarters in New York and five regional groups located throughout the country, the council carries out basic research seeking solutions to the industry's waste problems and makes these findings available to members for introduction in their mills. A staff of 22 NCSI engineers are engaged in this activity. And numerous research projects have been carried out with some 21 colleges, universities, and other nationally recognized research institutions.

During the past 20 years the industry has made substantial headway in reclaiming fibers and other solids and, equally important, considerable progress in maintaining oxygen supply in streams serving the industry. Additionally, great strides have been made in the conservation of water through the development of new techniques.

In the area of fiber reclamation, losses have been reduced from 5 to 2 percent (a saving of 1 million tons of fiber a year) through the introduction of fiber recovery systems which allow the water to be recycled into the papermaking process. Other solids are recovered by using a variety of techniques including sedimentation, flotation, and filtration.

A major effort has been conducted to replenish the water with oxygen that is dissipated during its use in the mill. Several methods are currently in use, such as aeration basins, artificial weirs, surface aeration equipment, activated sludge plants and trickling filter installations, all of which allow time for bacteria to consume the oxygen-using substances. The total organic pollution load from the average ton of pulp and paper produced by the industry, as measured by biochemical oxygen demand (BOD) has been reduced by 65 percent, even though the industry's tonnage has more than doubled over a 20-year period.

Great emphasis has been placed on conserving water. Industry water use per ton over a 30-year period has decreased by almost 66 percent. In 1935, 100,000 gallons were needed to make a ton of paper; today, an average of a 35,000 gallons is used. And in many mills, the average gallon of water is used more than three times.

Despite this progress, there are problems facing the industry, problems which must be understood by all interested in pollution control and abatement. For example, a particularly acute situation can arise when a community, faced with a pollution problem, demands that it be eliminated. The public desires clean water in its streams; yet it also needs adequate employment in the community. Mill management is faced with the reality that the mill may not be able to afford the investment necessary to provide complete water treatment facilities, and must therefore consider the alternative—closing the facility. Problems such as these demand foresight and cooperation by all parties involved.

These are problems, of course, which relate to existing manufacturing facilities. In designing a new mill, companies make every effort to take water and effluent problems into consideration to insure an acceptable profitability on their capital investment. They determine not only the supply of water but also the assimilative capacity of the stream involved. They agree to State standards and regulations and obtain the States permission to use the stream. The type of in-plant equipment necessary and the type of external waste treatment is determined. The cost of such waste treatment equipment, plant and land will determine the capital investment necessary.

Pulp and paper mills fully accept the responsibility that is theirs to help clean up the streams and rivers of the land. But, they should not be expected to proceed at a pace and at a cost that would cripple one of the country's largest industries.

As a paper company executive declared recently before a special congressional subcommittee on air and water pollution. "The industry will continue to carry out its water pollution abatement efforts to the fullest extent consistent with the needs of our society and within our economic capabilities."

Why the United States Should Not Resume Aid to Egypt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, currently, we are faced with a decision as to whether it is in the best interests of the United States to resume aid to Egypt. Once again, we must decide whether to bail President Nasser out of an economic crisis. The quandary is not a new one. The crisis is of Egypt's own making. The very conditions which caused it—foreign adventure, domestic neglect—have been familiar to us for a decade.

We made this decision twice before, in 1956 and in 1959. Each time we were told that we must provide Nasser with an alternative to the Soviet Union, and each time Egypt undercut the pro-Western position and with renewed strength undermined the United States and its allies. It seems strange, but true, that when Nasser is down he leans on us and when he is up he praises others.

Any realistic appraisal of the Egyptian leader argues against resumption of unconditional aid to Egypt. Furthermore, such an appraisal indicates that now is the time when we can place those conditions with greatest hope of making them stick.

We are told that Egypt has forsaken foreign adventure. The Congo is cited; so is the withdrawal from Yemen. We should not be impressed with these examples. The cause of the Congo rebels was a losing cause; and Nasser cut his losses. The settlement in Yemen was not a voluntary peace. Nasser went to Jidda because a fanatic group had pinned down 60,000 of his best troops, far from home, in a bloody war of attrition.

I do not see any reason for us to believe that his original motivation—to gain a foothold on the Arabian Peninsula from which he could menace Saudi-American oil, British-south Arabia, and the east coast of Africa—has been altered.

We are told that Egypt is loosening its internal restrictions—that Premier Mohieddin was appointed precisely to effect reforms that would encourage foreign investment and spur economic development. We should await developments to see if Nasser has really recognized his mistakes. The costly Yemen adventure was not popular with the people, who are more concerned about their own poverty than Arabia's wealth. If he needed proof of the unpopularity of his policies, he had only to count the turnout for the funeral of a former royalist in Cairo—or count the guns that the Moslem brotherhood had stacked away, waiting for their target, in secret cells.

We are told that the new face of a chastened Nasser bodes well for those he has threatened in the past. But we must judge this man by his words and deeds, not his smile. Genocidal war against Israel, our ally, is still threatened, albeit for 4 years hence. The delay encourages our diplomats to think that 4 years means never. I believe we might in the next 4 years see a Palestine Liberation Organization composed of ill-used refugees, men who are not free to work in Egypt but who are unleashed by Egypt to fight Israel, growing into a dangerous army: an army honed on Egyptian propaganda, supported by increasingly militant Arab States because of Egyptian pressure, paid for by wealthy Arab States such as Kuwait because of Egyptian blackmail.

The reason given to encourage optimism is not good enough. For the first time in too long, we have a clear chance to exercise that influence which we have been told we have over Nasser. He needs our food. He cannot acquire it elsewhere. If we give it to him without conditions, we may be feeding him while he prepares for this war he has always spoken of—the war against Israel.

If we make resumption of our aid conditional on the fulfillment of Egypt's commitment under the U.N. Charter to negotiate a settlement with her neighbors, to stop this exhausting arms buildup toward the military ultimate, then we may be able to effect a lasting peace.

World Peace Through Law Conference Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Charles S. Rhyne, president of the World Peace Through Law Center and former president of the American Bar Association, has prepared an excellent report on the recent Washington Conference on World Peace Through Law.

This very successful conference had participation by many Members of Congress. The report deserves to be set out in full in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THE WASHINGTON WORLD CONFERENCE ON WORLD PEACE THROUGH LAW

In a magnificent demonstration of capacity to agree on a worldwide basis, more than 3,200 of the leading jurists, lawyers, and law teachers from 121 countries worked together for a week, September 12–18, 1965, at the Washington World Conference, considered over 200 proposals, and approved nearly 100 of these as parts of a mammoth work program to strengthen international law rules and international legal institutions to advance the cause of world peace. That so many law leaders from all parts of the world representing nearly all creeds, languages, forms of government, traditions and customs could sit down at such a world conference and agree upon what must be done to make law a major factor for world peace demonstrates the commitment and dedication of the legal profession to the rule of law for the world community.

The parade of plans and hopes, ideas, and institutions which were presented at the conference by participants from all over the world and then considered, approved or rejected, indicates how many are the agreements and how few the disagreements on what must be done to build a world ruled by law.

WORLD JUDICIAL SYSTEM

The conference approved many towering ideas, but at the same time it decided to start at the bottom and build upward rather than from the top down. For example, the conference approved the idea of a world judicial system but it then concretely approved a treaty creating neighborhood courts for the decision of minor disputes between two or more nations as the best, and a modest, beginning toward that world judicial system. The thought of the participants was that by creating the habit of going to court on minor matters on a neighborhood basis the habit of using courts instead of force to decided disputes would become established as a habit of nations and they would be encouraged to submit their major disputes to the courts under the rule of law.

Another major advance was the approval of the idea of a world law code. But here again in the more modest action was approval of the first of many volumes of the code. The first volume is to contain those treaties which have the most worldwide acceptance as of now. Another concrete proposal which was approved was the World Bank's Convention setting up conciliation and arbitration rules and procedures for a world dispute center on foreign investments.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON ADDRESSED CONFERENCE

At plenary sessions, luncheons, and the banquet some 150 distinguished speakers, addressing large audiences, emphasized the imperative need of action by the legal profession to advance the rule of law internationally. These speakers included the President of the United States, the Chief Justice of the United States, the President of the International Court of Justice, the President of the United Nations General Assembly, and chief justices, judges and ministers of justice from 59 nations. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, Richard M. Nixon, Edward W. Kuhn, president of the American Bar Association, Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Senator JOSEPH CLARK, Henry R. Luce, Gen. David Sarnoff, and many other great leaders addressed the conference.

Prime Minister Wilson, of England, King Constantine, of Greece, and most of the other heads of state sent messages of greeting and support to the conference. The opening day was observed throughout the world as the first World Law Day. At special conference World Law Day ceremonies, addresses were delivered by the honorary chairman, Chief Justice Kisaburo Yokota, of Japan, the chairman, Harold E. Stassen, and Lord Denning of England.

"OUR GENERATION CAN TRANSLATE A DREAM TO A REALITY"

The Chief Justice of the United States, Earl Warren, in a landmark inaugural address laid before the conference an excellent summary of the facts which indicate to him that we of our generation have the capacity to create enough new law and new legal institutions to make law a major factor in world affairs. The Chief Justice said:

"Achieving and maintaining a rule of law strong enough to regulate action of nations and individuals in the world community is no more dreamy, impossible or impracticable than was the idea of splitting the atom, or putting a man on the Moon, or sending a missile to Mars a few years ago. I believe we of our generation can translate the centuries-old dream of a world ruled by law from dream into reality. In part, my belief is based upon the imperatives of our day which make this a necessity to save mankind from nuclear holocaust. In part, my belief is based upon the fact that there is more law and judicial institutions today, nationally and internationally, than ever before in the history of mankind. Given this knowledge and reliance and taking note of the necessity that we succeed in order to survive, I would like to comment upon factors we possess which should enable us to move forward in our quest for a world ruled by law."

He then cited the following: (1) We know more about law internationally and nationally than any other generation; (2) more and better law exists today within each nation; (3) more international law exists; (4) international judicial bodies have grown in number and usefulness; (5) extension of international law to the individual has developed a larger number of defenders and supporters of world law; (6) traditional international law concepts are being altered to encompass the history, traditions, customs and needs of newly independent nations; (7) heads of state are increasingly using world law in their dialog and contacts in their conduct of foreign relations; (8) the peoples of the world are increasingly aware of what law can do for peace; (9) the legal profession is becoming organized to work cooperatively on a worldwide basis; and (10) the growing cooperation among judges.

President Johnson reaffirmed our Nation's "continuing dedication to the rule of law" saying:

"We believe that is the surest road to a fruitful and secure peace."

He also said:

"Law is the greatest human invention. All the rest give him mastery over his world. Law gives him mastery over himself."

Commending the jurists and lawyers at the conference for their initiative and leadership, he concluded:

"If others join us, then the time may yet come when you and your colleagues will be honored as pathfinders toward the final armistice in man's war against himself."

PANEL SESSIONS

The substantive work of the program was carried on primarily in panel sessions which discussed the following topics: Existing and proposed international courts, space law, international law in domestic courts, international communications, international trade and investment, arbitral tribunals, human rights, international judicial cooperation, disarmament, industrial and intellectual property (i.e., patents, copyrights, and trademarks), creative research, education in international law, and the expanding structure of international law: Peacekeeping, general principles, and international organizations.

For each of these topics a work paper summary was prepared by one of the world's leading experts in which basic problems and trends were described and recommendations made for research and action. After the work paper had been presented other panelists summarized prepared papers or commented informally on the topic. Participants were given the opportunity to speak from the floor after scheduled speakers had made their remarks.

At these work sessions the role of adjudication in the resolution of international disputes was delineated; suggestions were made for the improvement and expansion of international law and international legal institutions; and recommendations were made to continue studies on the possible usefulness of regional and specialized courts. Panelists on international law in the domestic courts emphasized the contribution that domestic courts could make to international law and dealt with the fundamental principle that international law is part of the

law of the land. Speakers on international communications stressed the need for law to govern an expanded global satellite system.

The transnational trade panel urged the development and adoption of procedures for the effective resolution of investment disputes; a model international code was recommended. Work paper summaries were written for both commercial arbitration and arbitration between States, with emphasis on the improvement of procedures. Panelists on human rights pointed out the need to improve procedural machinery and protect rights by substantive declarations, agreements, laws, and treaties. The panel on creative research in international law stressed the importance of viewing international law from a universal rather than a national viewpoint and endorsed the International Law Manual project of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. And the panel on the expanding structure of international laws emphasized the need to strengthen the United Nations.

Cooperation between high courts Chief Justice Warren presided over special sessions attended by the 254 high court judges from 103 nations and other justices of the U.S. Supreme Court. They discussed cooperation among members of the high courts of the world to further world peace under law, future exchanges of opinions and the need for a World Judicial Conference at which judges could get to know each other and exchange ideas and experience. They stressed that the Washington conference was the first worldwide meeting ever held of national high court judges and urged further meetings as most beneficial for the rule of law nationally and internationally.

The above is but a brief sketch of a few of the outstanding suggestions, ideas and proposals which emerged from the speeches, panel papers, and discussions in which distinguished jurists, lawyers, and legal scholars made so many valuable recommendations for advancement of the rule of law. In addition, some of the center's committees presented reports and held meetings to discuss their future programs. The center plans to publish a volume which will include the papers, addresses, and summaries of some of the informal comments presented at the panel sessions.

WORLD LAW DAY

Worldwide attention was focused upon the Washington World Conference through celebration of the first World Law Day in more than 100 nations. World Law Day was proclaimed by President Johnson, and other heads of state, Governors of States, and more than 700 mayors and city councils. Some of the latter proclamations were done jointly by U.S. cities and their so-called "sister" cities abroad. The holding of the first world exhibit of law codes and historic documents was a rather unique "first" for the conference.

Heading the historical documents on display in this exhibit was the original of the 1225 Magna Carta from England and the originals of the Declarations of the Rights of Man from France. Many other originals of ancient law documents were also forwarded by other nations for display. The originals of these great law instruments of other nations were displayed at the National Archives of the United States along with the originals of our Declaration of Independence, Constitution, and other great law instruments.

Never in all history had so many of the great law instruments from all over the world been displayed at one time under one sponsorship. The leading law book publishers and suppliers of services to lawyers participated by displaying their books and services. This unprecedented display of the instruments of mankind's great law heritage gave great inspiration to those working through the conference to develop a program to substitute law for force as a decision mechanism internationally. Many expressed the hope that a similar exhibit would take place at future world conferences.

The outbreak of war between Pakistan and India seemed to lend urgency and emphasis to the quest at the conference for a sound path to world peace through law. Throughout the week leading jurists and lawyers conferred and labored to reach common ground on how to fill in the gaps that exist in the world's law structure. And these law leaders did achieve much common ground. It is accurate to report, however, that they were chiefly interested in developing concrete and specific plans and programs to advance the rule of law for the world community. Over and over again, speakers said all agree that a world ruled by law would be peaceful but what is needed most is plans to get beyond that idea to specific law rules and legal institutions so such a world will come into being quickly before nuclear holocaust becomes humankind's fate.

WORK PAPER DRAFTED

A 292-page work paper summarizing international law and experience with international legal institutions was given to all delegates. An 850-page looseleaf document, entitled "Law and Judicial Systems of Nations," was also given to many of the participants. This volume summarized the facts about law, lawyers, judicial systems, and legal education in 110 countries. It also contains a partial directory of leading members of the legal profession of these countries, bar associations and law schools. Due to the great expense of preparing and printing this volume it was released at the conference to foreign registrants, charter and sustaining members of the center only. Both of these documents are unique in that such information has never been compiled in this form before.

In essence, those attending the Washington conference had the most complete summary of law in the world ever presented to any group at such a meeting. This enabled them to take an overview of law in the world, its strengths and weaknesses nationally and internationally, and gave them a background from which they could move forward with confidence in approving or disapproving the many ideas and proposals laid before them. This looseleaf volume will be constantly updated as a basic work document of the World Peace Through Law Center and as a directory of leading jurists and lawyers of each nation.

ALL ELEMENTS OF WORLD COMMUNITY

That so large and diverse a group of outstanding jurists from the four corners of the earth could meet and agree on a program to advance world law is in and of itself a tremendous accomplishment. In essence the conference delegates represented all elements of the world community. That they agreed on so many specifics should enable rapid advances to be achieved on many aspects of world law. The importance of the conference participants as leading jurists within their own nations should cause the conference agreements to have a great impact upon public opinion and leaders of nations.

PLANNING AND EXECUTING THE PROGRAM

The program, planning, and coordinating committees are entitled to tremendous credit in so planning and executing the program as to lead to so much agreement. Many have inquired about the manpower which carried out this mammoth conference. Above all the conference was a joint enterprise of the lawyers of the United States. It indicates what they can do when they get organized to do a job well. Some 400 lawyers served on 50 conference committees. The planning committee of 60 bore the main brunt of the work for it met monthly for over 1 year to hammer out policies, programs, and details and met daily throughout the conference. These lawyers came from all over the United States to these planning meetings at their own expense. In fact, no lawyer from the United States received any expense reimbursement at or prior to the conference.

The many compliments on how all parts of the program operated smoothly, and on time, are properly received by members of the coordinating committee who saw to it that all speakers were present, all equipment working, and all arrangements were properly carried out. In fact, they have developed a system that is a marvel to behold as it really works. There were 352 law students from 58 law schools who served as escorts or interpreters and aids to the distinguished jurists from abroad. Some 150 U.S. lawyers (and in many instances their wives) also acted as interpreters in nearly every language and dialect. In many instances, U.S. lawyers and judges arranged special events such as dinners and receptions for the jurists and lawyers of other nations.

There were 209 newspaper, radio, and TV reporters who registered in the pressroom of the conference, not counting the more than 100 reporters who accompanied President Johnson when he delivered his address. The paid staff of translators, interpreters, typists, and other employees for the conference numbered over 100. Of the 3,200 registrants over 1,000 were from abroad. While Congress was in session Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY and more than 200 Senators and Members of the Congress and their assistants registered as participants and attended one or more functions of the conference.

Many of the distinguished visitors were guests of their country's ambassador during their stay in Washington, and most of the ambassadors attended the conference. Nearly every embassy had a reception in honor of their guests. The president of the Bar Association of the District of Columbia and Mrs. Paul F. McArdle gave a reception for all delegates. The president of the American Bar Association and Mrs. Edward W. Kuhn gave a reception at historic Anderson House. The Chief Justice of the United States and Mrs. Earl Warren gave a reception at the U.S. Supreme Court at which they were assisted by the other Justices and their wives. The attendance for this reception was so great that the receiving line filled the many front steps of the beautiful Supreme Court building and extended out to the street. The Secretary of State and Mrs. Dean Rusk and the Attorney General and Mrs. Nicholas deB. Katzenbach gave a reception at the State Department. The Association Society of International Law and the American Association of Law Schools gave a reception for teachers of law. Many other social events took place. Those arranged by the ladies committee included a boat trip to Mount Vernon, a tour of the White House, an evening at the National Gallery of Art, sightseeing tours of Washington, and coffee hours each morning.

FINANCING THE CONFERENCE

Another important fact is that the lawyers of the United States financed this conference by raising over $500,000 from foundations, corporations and individuals, the latter including some 250 law firms who gave from $50 to $5,000 toward this budget. Ford Foundation gave $150,000 toward expenses of foreign judges. Major expenditures were for simultaneous translation equipment (all sessions were in Spanish, French, and English) and conference personnel, traveling and hotel expenses of foreign judges unable to pay their own way (so as to insure that all nations could be represented), expenses of experts, printing and mailing. It is good to report that the conference ended up in the black financially.

NEW HEADQUARTERS IN GENEVA

The announcement by the Executive Committee of its decision to set up headquarters of the World Peace Through Law Center in Geneva and maintain there a "world law library" and a "world law information clearinghouse" for Center members is a giant step forward toward making law more available and thus more used and usable throughout the world.

At the final plenary session of the conference a "Work Program To Advance a World Rule of Law" was adopted. This document identified and recommended research projects which should be made and encouraged the support of certain principles, institutions, and educational action. It also pointed out significant developments in world law since the Athens World Peace Through Law Conference in 1963. As stated above, over 200 proposals were presented and about one-half of these are incorporated in the work program. Others requiring further study were noted for future consideration.

The proposals with respect to such things as courts of human rights on continents other than Europe, where they already have one, a multilingual legal dictionary and scores of other law subjects should focus enough public and legal attention on these needs to force essential progress toward fruition of ideas into concrete law rules and institutions.

SCHOLARS TO TAKE INITIATIVE

The World Peace Through Law Center hopes that scholars the world over will take the initiative in making these needed studies. It hopes to aid and encourage this essential research, particularly in the law schools of all nations. The Center itself will urge its committees to make useful studies and reports and will seek other means to finance and carry out these research proposals. Already many world law projects are being sent to the Center from all over the world.

DECLARATION OF FAITH

The conference closed with a "Declaration of Faith in World Order Under Law" which proclaimed the ties between universal concern over war and effective procedures for the peaceful decision of disputes, the responsibility of members of the legal profession to improve the means of settling disputes; recognition of the critical nature of many current disputes; and urged that only by the application of the rule of law can these objectives be achieved. In this declaration of faith the participants declared that they:

"1. Reaffirm the Declaration of General Principles for a World Rule of Law adopted by the first World Conference on World Peace Through Law in Athens, Greece;

"2. Pledge our continuing active support of the World Peace Through Law Center, created at Athens, and its global work program;

"3. Pledge our continuing, devoted effort with each other and within our respective nations and legal organizations, to achieve the objectives of strengthening and expanding world law rules and world, as well as regional, legal and judicial institutions; and

"4. Declare our unshakable faith that, whatever transient disputes there may be, a just world order under law can be achieved, and that, with patient determination and hard work, it will be achieved."

By every yardstick of measurement the Washington World Conference was a tremendous success. It had inspiration, information, participation and hospitality in abundance. Its "firsts" include World Law Day, World Exhibit of Law Codes and Historic Law Instruments and the World Judicial Conference. It was by far the largest world conference of the legal profession in all history. Another world conference will be held in 1967 probably in Geneva due to conditions making the first site, New Delhi, difficult. In the meantime the great emphasis by the World Peace Through Law Center will be upon concrete progress on the global work program and the next conference.

Membership in the World Peace Through Law Center is open to all members of the legal profession. Regular membership in the World Peace Through Law Center is only $10 per year, charter membership is $50, and sustaining membership is $100. Members receive a monthly bulletin, can serve on one of the Center's 95 committees, receive research pamphlets and, if charter or sustaining members, receive the "Law and Lawyers of Nations," the looseleaf directory which will be kept up to date on a rather constant basis by the appointment of editors in each nation. All members are listed in the directory along with their addresses.

The foregoing demonstrates that the legal profession is indeed organizing itself to make a major contribution to mankind's future. This very successful program to strengthen law rules and legal institutions should indeed in time succeed in speeding the day when law will replace force as the controlling factor in the fate of humanity.

Above all the worldwide dialog and friendships generated among law leaders of nations makes this program a tremendous factor for world peace. These leaders agree with Chief Justice Warren that the dream of a world rule of law is within man's capacity to achieve. They are moving realistically to translate that dream into concrete reality.

Aid to the United Arab Republic?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I am disturbed by reports that the administration is considering the resumption of aid to the United Arab Republic, in the form of sales of surplus commodities for Egyptian currency.

The Congress has made very clear its opposition to such a step by prohibiting aid to the United Arab Republic unless the President explicitly determines that it is "essential to the national interest."

It is difficult for me to see how that determination could be reached in the case of the United Arab Republic at the present time. On the contrary, President Nasser's actions and policies in the Middle East would seem to point to the opposite conclusion.

The United Arab Republic today remains the fountainhead of Arab efforts to subdue Israel. Nasser has only delayed, not disavowed, his plans to launch a war of extermination against Israel, which meanwhile remains the target of vicious propaganda and economic warfare directed from Cairo.

Elsewhere, the United Arab Republic continues its efforts to undermine American policies and positions, from Libya to Vietnam, from Cyprus to the Congo. But it is in the Middle East that Nasser's will to power poses the greatest threat to peace and stability, and where any aid he received from us could only strengthen his position and capacity for mischief.

I do not dismiss the possibility that, under certain circumstances, aid may have a salutary effect on the national policies of the recipient. But the United States so far has funneled more than one billion dollars into Egypt with no discernible effect on Nasser's adventurism. If aid is to be resumed, surely the American people have every reason to demand some iron-clad assurances that Nasser will order a "cease-fire" in the United Arab Republic's aggressive external policies.

The War in Vietnam: A Picket Line or a Job To Be Done?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, the daily reports from the battlefields of Vietnam call out for our attention from the pages of every newspaper day after day. Those reports, of advances and setbacks, of gallantry and the valiant efforts of the Americans fulfilling our commitment to the people of this beleaguered country weigh heavily in the hearts and minds of every American. The world watches and waits—with its attention focused on the American role in this struggle for freedom, freedom from oppression and hopelessness for the people of South Vietnam.

The American role has, however, taken on a new dimension with the activities of groups who would seek to replace the voice of the American people, honoring the commitment which has been made, with the chants of protest and the irreverent slogans of the placards they bear. And the world watches.

What is the American role and who speaks for the American people? Some may call it a question of conscience or of patriotism. Perhaps no one can know it more precisely nor speak of it more eloquently than the American soldier in Vietnam.

To him the war is not an afternoon rally, a picket line in front of the White House, or a coffeehouse discussion on the philosophy of war. To him it is a job that has to be done, a personal commitment he honors daily and which encompasses every moment of every hour of his days.

I believe we all should listen to what he has to say, no matter what our personal views on this conflict may be.

I recently received a letter from a young soldier whose home is in the First Congressional District—Pfc. William J. Broderick, of Dalton, in Berkshire County, Mass. Bill is fighting in Vietnam and speaks of that fight in his letter. I want to share his thoughts with you. His words are few but their message is clear and sincere and, yes, eloquent.

DEAR MR. CONTE: I would like to thank you and the other Congressmen for what

you have done to aid us soldiers in Vietnam. We are all doing our best to spread the American policy in Vietnam.

I'm glad to hear there are no protest groups in the Berkshires. Being from Dalton, I'm glad to fight for the people of the Berkshires.

The fight is not over yet, but the Vietcong are finding the going a lot harder now that American troops are here. And the troops are not leaving no matter what the cost.

Thank you.

BILL BRODERICK.

Veterans' Day Proclamation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, on November 11 of each year, the entire Nation honors its servicemen, past and present, expressing heartfelt gratitude for the many sacrifices they have made and for the freedoms which they have preserved.

Since the founding of the Republic, the people of Connecticut have served their country with courage, dedication, and distinction both in time of peace and in time of war.

We in Connecticut are proud of our veterans. In this connection, I would like to bring to the attention of Congress the proclamation issued by the Honorable John Dempsey, Governor of Connecticut, on the occasion of this Veterans' Day, 1965.

There being no objection, the proclamation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROCLAMATION OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

The people of Connecticut are conscious of their deep and lasting debt to the hundreds of thousands of veterans from our State who have served their country with honor in time of war.

Connecticut men were in the vanguard of the Colonial troops who bravely entered battle to bring this Nation into being. In every war since that time, Connecticut men willingly made whatever sacrifices were necessary in order to preserve our security and to defend the cause of freedom.

Once each year a day is set aside to honor those who answered the call to arms in our behalf. Therefore, in accordance with the general statutes of Connecticut, I hereby proclaim Thursday, November 11, 1965, to be Veterans' Day.

As we recall the heroic war service of veterans let us also give thought to the present day servicemen who are guarding the interests of free people and striving to preserve the peace.

Let us also make Veterans' Day an occasion for renewal of our determination that the permanent world peace we earnestly seek will become a reality.

I urge, in connection with the observance of Veterans' Day, that State and National flags be flown on public and private buildings and that appropriate commemorative exercises be held in communities throughout Connecticut.

JOHN DEMPSEY.

By his excellency's command:

ELLA T. GRASSO,
Secretary of State.

New Dimensions of Deterrence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, in a recent address Maj. Gen. Jerry D. Page, Deputy Chief of Staff for the Air Force Systems Command, made some significant remarks concerning areas in which we may expect in the next few years some new dimensions in Communist activities.

Because the content of his remarks is a real contribution to our thinking concerning our international efforts, I ask unanimous consent that the text may appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the text was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW DIMENSIONS OF DETERRENCE

(By Maj. Gen. Jerry D. Page)

Since the technical subjects of the symposium should be adequately covered at the panel sessions, I thought that my remarks this noon might appropriately deal with some of the broader issues which will affect the decisions concerning technology and systems.

It is obvious that the direction of our national defense program is affected not only by the current world situation but also by the nature of the anticipated threat 5, 10, and 15 years into the future. For this reason it is relevant to consider some of the new dimensions where Communist activities will likely be on the increase in coming years.

One of these new dimensions, of course, is space. I think that subject was well covered in this morning's panel, and there is no need to cover this ground again. With regard to the technical aspects of space, you are far better qualified than I. With regard to the potential implications of space for our continuing national security, no one at this point can regard himself as really an expert. There are still too many unknown factors. But the interest in space shown by others makes it clear that space adds a new dimension to our thinking about national defense.

At the same time there is a second new dimension to our long-range thinking about national security. It seems far away from space, but it demands the same hard thinking and calls for the same urgency. The importance of this dimension was pointed out last month by Deputy Secretary of Defense Cyrus Vance in a speech in Washington. Because of the significance of his remarks, I think it is worthwhile to begin by reviewing some of the main points he made.

Secretary Vance's speech dealt with the Lin Piao statement and our national response to it. Lin Piao is the vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and is also Communist China's Minister of National Defense. His statement, which was issued just 2 months ago, is a very revealing declaration of Peiping's plans for the expansion of world communism. As the Secretary of State noted recently, it is as candid a warning to us today as Hitler's "Mein Kampf" was in the 1930's. Many people ignored that earlier warning. It would be a serious mistake to ignore this one.

Basically, the Lin Piao statement analyzes the strategy employed by Mao Tse-tung to take over the Chinese mainland, and then applies this strategy, by extension, to the Communist conquest of the entire world. In Lin Piao's words, "It must be emphasized that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the establishment of rural revolutionary base areas and the encirclement of cities from the countryside is of outstanding and universal importance for the present revolutionary struggles."

In contrast to the Russian revolution, which began in the cities and spread to the countryside, the Chinese revolution began in the countryside, encircled the cities, and finally captured them. This, asserts Lin Piao, is to be the worldwide strategy for communism. North America and Western Europe, which he describes as "the cities of the world," are to be encircled and conquered through the Communist capture of the so-called "rural areas of the world"—Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The present "focus" of this revolutionary effort, Lin Piao announces, is the struggle in South Vietnam. This should make it clear beyond doubt the importance of our commitment to that country. The Communist aggression against South Vietnam is no more a "local" issue than the aggressive moves against Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland were local issues in the 1930's. Now, as then, the attack on one small nation can reasonably be interpreted as merely a part of a pattern of continuing aggression—and we have been clearly warned what to expect in the future.

Our response to this warning can be clearly seen in southeast Asia. We are standing firmly by our commitment to the people of South Vietnam.

We will continue to help them resist aggression and assist them in their efforts to create a better life. Our continued efforts should make it unmistakably clear to Hanoi and Peiping that terrorism, murder, subversion, and infiltration from the north will not succeed.

The President has repeatedly made our intentions and our objectives clear. As he has pointed out, we are in Vietnam "to strengthen world order. Around the globe from Berlin to Thailand are people whose well-being rests in part on the belief that they can count on us if they are attacked. To leave Vietnam to its fate would shake the confidence of all these people in the value of an American commitment and in the value of America's word. The result would be increased unrest and instability, and even wider war."

To carry out our commitment to free peoples who are threatened by aggression, we are actively developing the equipment and techniques to conduct counterinsurgency and limited war operations. The Air Force, along with the other services, has important responsibilities in this regard—on both a short-term and long-term basis.

The urgency of our responsibilities in the limited war area in no way diminishes the importance of our efforts in other areas, such as space, ballistic missiles, or aeronautical systems. The fact is that developments in all of these areas should naturally support and complement each other. For it should be clear that the most advanced counterinsurgency techniques would avail us very little if our opponents should achieve a decisive military breakthrough in space. Likewise, advanced space or missile capabilities alone would not enable us to deal with outbreaks of insurgency, terrorism, and subversion which we may encounter in the years ahead. We must continue to maintain the proper balance in our development programs, so that our Nation maintains adequate strength across the entire spectrum of deterrence.

To do this we must place proper emphasis on technology, which is directly relevant to the entire range of our responsibilities. Thus, a third dimension of deterrence might be called "technological momentum." In recent years it has been increasingly recog-

nized that a nation's military strength and economic growth both depend heavily on its achievements in science and technology. This fact means that our rate of technical progress should be sufficient to allow us to respond in a timely fashion to technological breakthroughs which may be achieved by other nations.

In a fast-moving world we can no longer afford to wait until other nations have demonstrated a new military capability before we begin the research which may enable us to meet a new threat. On the contrary, we should maintain at all times the technological momentum which provides the best guarantee of a timely and adequate response to unexpected developments.

Our ability to stay technologically prepared is a product of a number of factors. These include, first, how much money is being spent for research and development? Second, how many trained people do we have working in the research and development area? Third, how much freedom do they have in pursuing their experiments? Fourth, how good are our technical facilities—laboratories, test chambers, wind tunnels, and so forth? Fifth, to what extent do allied research and development activities complement our own? And sixth, do we have the industrial base to produce the new systems which may incorporate new technology?

One way of providing technological momentum is through the creation of "technological building blocks," which then may form the basis of new systems when the need arises. The employment of this "building block" approach calls for adequate attention to all the factors I have mentioned.

One of the basic requirements is for an increasing supply of highly competent technical people. Both scientific and engineering skills will continue to be in heavy demand. How well this demand is met depends on the educational system, particularly in the scientific and technical areas. Judging by the interest that has been generated in recent years, I believe that our schools will meet the challenge.

There is one further point which should be mentioned, because it has a vital bearing on the way we meet the threat posed by Lin Piao's strategy of world revolution. This is the fact that this dimension of conflict is not merely geographical, but is ideological as well.

By this I mean that the crucial question facing the peoples involved is what set of ideas will govern them. Will it be the outmoded belief that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," as Mao Tse-tung proclaims? Or will it be the idea that political power grows only out of the people themselves, as the experience of our Nation confirms?

This is a fundamental question, because it is a matter of individual and national decision. As we truly live out our heritage, then we—not the Communists—are the true revolutionaries. The aims of our revolution are implicit in our history. They were restated by President Johnson when he said, "Our own freedom and growth have never been the final goal of the American dream. We were never meant to be an oasis of liberty and abundance in a worldwide desert of disappointed dreams. Our Nation was created to help strike away the chains of ignorance and misery and tyranny wherever they keep man less than God means him to be."

Our firm commitment to this aim is the necessary response to Lin Piao and is relevant to all the dimensions of deterrence. This is a task and a challenge for all of us in the months and years ahead.

Thank you.

Urgent Need To Expand Higher Education Facilities Act and Raise Federal Share

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, fall 1965 enrollment figures at colleges throughout the country again prove the urgent need to expand the Higher Education Facilities Act and change the matching ratio to raise the Federal share to 75 percent on academic facilities.

I have introduced H.R. 11790 that would double the authorization for grants and change the matching ratio to 75–25 percent.

I believe the following press quotes on college attendance this fall will illustrate the national scope of this problem:

EXCERPTS FROM NEWPAPERS ACROSS THE COUNTRY

BLOOMINGTON, IND.—Indiana University today reported record enrollments of 23,612 on the Bloomington campus and 2,830 in the Indianapolis professional divisions, reflecting both the growing number of young Hoosiers graduating from high school and the declining numbers of dropouts after beginning college work.

Indiana University's share of this statewide growth moved the Bloomington total 12.69 percent above the last fall enrollment of 20,953.

EAST LANSING, MICH.—Fall term enrollment at Michigan State University totaled 41,782 with 35,580 on the campus at East Lansing, Dr. Horace C. King, registrar, reported as classes began Thursday (September 30).

The grand total figure of 41,782 was up 15 percent from last year's 36,235.

The University of Tennessee's increase in enrollment this fall is equal to the establishment of four new colleges, University of Tennessee President Andrew Holt pointed out.

The average enrollment of colleges and universities in the nation is about 700. With an increase of nearly 3,000 for all of University of Tennessee campuses, this is the equivalent of four new colleges.

A total of 38,592 students are attending the 9 Wisconsin State universities this fall, Eugene R. McPhee, Madison, director of State universities, said Wednesday (October 6).

Final reports just received from the universities show an increase of 8,528 students, or 28 percent, over last fall.

MADISON, WIS.—University of Wisconsin student enrollment has soared to a new record total of 46,710. President Fred Harvey Harrington reported to the university board of regents at its meeting in Madison Friday.

Enrollment already exceeds the total expected for the fall semester by more than 100 students, and is up 13.8 percent over the total of a year ago of 41,033.

For the first time in its history, the University of Delaware has more than 10,000 students under instruction at one time.

Last year's total registration was 9,442. The 1965–66 figures represent an increase of 6.2 percent, with undergraduate enrollment up 17.5 percent.

Moorhead State College has enrolled 3,347 students for the fall quarter of this year, a new record high for the eighth consecutive year.

The percentage gain for this year is reported at 18.8 percent, slightly higher than the average gain for the past few years. Off-campus enrollments are not included in the figures listed above.

OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY.—A 32-percent increase in the size of the freshman class has jumped Oregon State University's enrollment to a record 11,885 this fall and set the stage for more new records in coming years.

IOWA CITY, IOWA.—There are 84,085 students enrolled in 51 colleges, universities, and junior colleges in Iowa, a 15.3-percent increase over the 1964 total, according to a report prepared here for the Association of Iowa College Presidents (AICP).

LAFAYETTE, IND.—Purdue University has an alltime high total of 27,793 students enrolled this fall.

The total announced by Registrar Nelson M. Parkhurst represented an increase of almost 12 percent over last fall's 24,932.

Kent State University began fall classes with 21,305 students—a record enrollment for the 11th consecutive year, it was announced today.

Ohio's third largest university, Kent showed a 13-percent student increase compared with last year as the war babies moved to the Nation's campuses in full force.

BROOKINGS, S. DAK.—A record enrollment of 4,637 students has been reported for the fall semester at South Dakota State University.

A gain of 447 students from the former high of 4,190 last fall was noted in the report from James O. Pedersen, director of admissions and records. The increase is 10.7 percent more than last year's figure.

TALLAHASSEE, FLA.—A record enrollment of 3,588 students has been set at Florida A. & M. University for the first semester of the 1965–66 school term.

BOULDER, COLO.—Final enrollment on the Boulder campus of the University of Colorado this fall totals a record 14,693 students, up 1,313 or 9.8 percent from last year, David B. Muirhead, dean of admission and records, announced today.

MINNEAPOLIS.—University of Minnesota attendance has reached a new alltime high with 42,178 students enrolled in fall quarter daytime classes, an increase of 3,775 or 10 percent over the 38,403 previous high figure of 1 year ago, True E. Pettengill, university recorder, reported today (Wednesday, October 13).

AUBURN.—Auburn University has registered a record of 11,853 students thus far for the fall quarter of 1965, a 10-percent increase over the same period a year ago.

UNIVERSITY, ALA.—An overall University of Alabama enrollment increase of 8.3 percent this fall compared to last brings the current Capstone student population to 17,177, reports Dr. Hubert E. Mate, dean, admissions, and records.

People-to-People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GALE W. McGEE

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, recently I was privileged to address a national meeting of an organization known as People-to-People. This organization is dedicated to the very worthwhile purpose of promoting international understanding. Indeed, this aim represents an essential ingredient to the restoration of peace to this troubled world.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this address be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF SENATOR GALE MCGEE BEFORE THE PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE NATIONAL CONFERENCE, OCTOBER 7, 1965, KANSAS CITY, MO.

It is a privilege to be here in Kansas City tonight to speak to this first national meeting of People-to-People. That there are representatives from nearly half the States of the Union speaks well for the dedication of those who are so generously giving of their time and effort in furthering the cause of personal diplomacy.

The purposes of People-to-People I readily salute, for in their belief that individuals all have the same fundamental aspirations, hopes, and dreams, they capture the one universal language of all nations and all individuals.

It is true of nations as of persons, as Emerson said, that "there can never be deep peace between two spirits, never mutual respect, until, in their dialog, each stands for the whole world."

It is easy to say that we must stand for the whole world; the concept of universal brotherhood and understanding is not difficult to grasp. What is difficult is to put it into practice, even upon the most elementary scale. For as individuals differ in tastes and viewpoint, so do cultures differ and the variety of outlooks and customs that make up a culture have been strengthened and solidified by centuries of separation by distance or terrain. But now man's ingenuity has eliminated those distances and bridged those physical obstacles that once separated one people from another. In a matter of hours we can transport ourselves to the most remote spot on the earth where until now the people did not know we exist, much less comprehend who we are and what we stand for.

The marvels of communication and transportation, however, have not been accompanied by similar marvels of understanding and mutual respect. To go to a foreign land is easy; to bring a foreigner here requires some money and a little time. But to understand how that person thinks or why his culture honors and esteems that which we consider worthless or even repugnant is not a process of a few hours, a few days, or even a few years. To be accomplished on a nationwide scale it will require generations.

Too often, when faced with a task of this magnitude, the human tendency is to say it cannot be done. I am proud to be addressing a group that not only thinks it can be done, but has gotten off to a very good start doing it. The people-to-people program has been in operation only 9 years, yet it has chalked up a remarkable record of achievement in bringing together the peoples of the world so that they might begin the process of mutual understanding.

What is needed, however, is a direct person-to-person approach that will help to strip away the facade of government stereotypes in every capital of the world and to expose the inaccuracies of the hasty generalization of national images around the world. Too often have we tended to judge the people of another country through the image of their national leader or some outspoken critic in their ranks. Thus, in the 1930's, all Germans were Hitlers. In the 1940's all Russians were Stalins. And in the 1950's all Indians were Krishna Mennons. Or even now, all Egyptians are Nassers, or Cubans Castros, and all Indonesians are Sukarnos.

Or to frame this same projection oppositely through the eyes of our international neighbors, there is an equally facile tendency to judge the United States through the headlinemakers of the news. Thus, any sharp criticism from a Member of Congress or from a spokesman in any other public group is headlined around the globe and quickly produces an image of the typical American. Our own countrymen sometimes fail to understand how a foreigner does equate congressional statements. In other capitals of the world, any statement from any member of the government would be regarded as official policy since many areas are not as freely accustomed to open criticism within their administrations. But, when a U.S. Senator sounds off, foreigners fail to understand that this is merely his personal view and tend to equate it instead as reflecting official policy or typical public attitudes toward whatever nation was the object of that particular Senator's attack that day.

In short, a part of the problem of misjudgment around the world stems from the fact that we all are headline hunters and tend to formulate generalizations about strangers whom we do not know. The nub of our difficulty is, therefore, that we tend to judge each other by the excesses of our most outspoken or more extreme public figures.

This is the reason why People-to-People becomes so important. So for the next few minutes that we have here together, I would like to suggest to you first some general attributes about people of the rest of the world which all Americans should come better to understand and to make allowances for as we seek to judge others. Then I would suggest secondly certain stereotypes regarding Americans that foreigners seem to accept too readily and to indicate how desperately important I feel it is that we not contribute to the deepening of these impressions in this latter category of so-called American traits. All of these factors, as you will soon gather, have long since been obvious to you as individuals because of your leadership in this program which we are meeting here to discuss this evening. But I beseech you to take up the cudgels of the cause of which these factors are but a part and carry the message person to person here at home.

For those of us who live in America, it behooves us all to work a little harder at understanding other people. There are several qualities about the rest of the human race which it is important for us to grasp if we are to project realistic and intelligent foreign policies in our national interest. I shall mention four in particular.

First, it is important to remember that most of the rest of the world is nonwhite. At least until the civil rights questions reached their current peaks, many of our countrymen tended to think of the rest of the world in their own image, including the color of their skin. Very few indeed pondered seriously the makeup of the human race either geographically or racially. To put it as sharply as possible, let us assume for a moment that we could place 100 people here at the front of the room that would accurately represent in proper proportion a cross-section of the populations of the globe. Who would they include? What would they look like? Well, 1 would be from Australia, New Zealand, or the South Pacific; 5 would be from the United States and Canada; 6 would be from the Soviet Union; 8 would be from Africa; 9 would be from Latin America; 14 or 15 would be from Western Europe; and 56 would be from Asia.

A world that is already 3 billion and racing toward 5 in the predictable future thus has to be viewed in something other than white skins or residing within the 3-mile limit of the coast lines of the United States. Either we can choose to shrink from this prospect in fear because of its immensity, or we can strive to understand it and realistically plan toward it as the kind of world in which we hope to survive.

Second, the people of the world are desperately poor. Poverty is currently a very common word in the American vernacular. But what it means to the typical resident of the United States is quite something else again in contrast to what it may mean to a Montagnard tribesman in Vietnam or a Congolese medicine man in Kivu. Much as some of us recall even the desperate plight of millions of Americans in the depths of the depression in the 1930's, we still ought to appreciate that in Asiatic terms our countrymen have never know poverty in its harshest form. When we recall that two-thirds of the world lives in some measure of hunger and sickness, is ill-clothed and ill-housed in ways too primitive for us to comprehend, we can only then begin to measure the meaning of poverty for hundreds of millions of individuals. One young man I talked to who was driving a water buffalo in a rice paddy in Thailand explained to me as best he could that, for a full day—dawn to dark—wading in mud above his knees, he could expect to receive the equivalent of four American pennies.

In the center of the Congo a chieftain explained that he and the half dozen young males in his clan could expect to earn in an entire year all added together about the equivalent of one American workingman's wage for one 8-hour day. Unless we can grasp the appalling gap between American affluence and the desperation of most of the rest of the people of the earth, we may miss the point.

Former President Eisenhower once noted that an even greater threat to the peace of the world than communism was the ever-widening gap between the very rich and the very poor nations. That's why it is increasingly imperative that in ways as constructive and as reasoned as we know how we should continue to share our affluence with those who are less fortunate than we. To do so only increases the chances that we may some day have an opportunity to live in peace.

As the late President John F. Kennedy put it, "If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich."

Third, the people of the world are in a hurry. In much of the world the citizens are discovering for the first time, and understandably with shock, how much they have been cheated. World War II did as much as anything else to open the eyes of Asians and Africans in particular to the extent to which their colonial subservience had denied them their fair share of the fruits of the earth. And now in the wake of the war they seem united in their determination to make up for lost time—to take every short cut possible into the future.

The Russians afford an interesting example. About 10 years ago when I first landed in a small Russian plane at the airport in Stalingrad, we taxied alongside a large two-wheeled cart pulled by a pair of oxen. The cart was being loaded with bundles of hay by a group of women. The

idyllic setting of rural Russia could just as well have been set in medieval times were it not for the presence of the aircraft. But here indeed was a capsule of modern Russia—a nation in a hurry, from the oxcart to the airplane—indeed to the space age—in a single generation; a nation very much in a hurry.

Or in another instance as recently as the Bolshevik revolution in 1917, a majority of the people of Russia were illiterate. Today—scarcely a generation later—we have reason to believe that there is no measurable illiteracy in the Soviet Union. Russia is in a hurry.

I still recall with some surprise my first experience landing in a 707 jet on a modern airstrip near Leopoldville in the Congo and on what was represented as being, in those years, the longest jet airstrip in the world. Yet, from the edge of that same strip I viewed a Congolese village that still lived somewhat under the spell and magic of its witch doctor. Here again was a microcosm of people in a hurry. Indeed, Africa may be likened to an impatient man grasping the hand of a witch doctor on one side and the tail of a jet plane on the other and somehow in a simple way trying to have the best of both but nonetheless determined to close the gap separating his past from his future.

The same impatience characterizes the quest of millions of souls for the dignity of national independence. To be sure, most of them may not be ready for the responsibilities of self-rule by our terms; but who is to say who is ready for independence? I can even yet recall as a graduate student at the University of Chicago reading the debates in Parliament and the correspondence of public figures in England relating to the brewing restlessness in the American Colonies in 1776, and how in innumerable instances the suggestion was made by the British, "Don't worry about an explosion in America. They are not ready for independence." Obviously, a few impatient souls like Tom Jefferson, or Sam Adams, or Patrick Henry didn't agree. Readiness is really a state of mind rather than a material condition which can be easily defined.

Since the beginning of World War II, we have witnessed the birth of more new independent nations than existed in the world up to that time in modern history. In our Nation's Capital where I live and work, a majority of the foreign ambassadors were born as subjects of a colonial power. This reflects the driving impatience that also unites the peoples of many skins and cultures and philosophies. It behooves us as the people who more than any other have inspired this drive for independence to at least understand what it means to them even as it did to our own Founding Fathers nearly 200 years ago. Instead of looking down our noses at these people as though we resented their rocking the boat, we ought to understand what their new status means to them and encourage and inspire them to rise to its emerging responsibilities. The revolution of human expectations is a fact of our time. We either roll with it and seek to channel it constructively, or we will be swept away by it. President Kennedy put it much better when he said, "Unless we make peaceful revolution possible, we shall make violent revolution inevitable."

Fourth, people are different. On this front we may be slowly learning. After the experience of nearly 12 million young men and women in the Armed Forces scattered all over the world, we have acquired a nucleus of people who understand that people are different and that those differences can even be enriching rather than troublesome. There are rich cultures in the world much older than ours, and at least as rewarding as ours. Some of them may, in the course of time, be more enduring. None of us here can say—yet. But what we can say is that differences among nationalities and races and cultures can and must be respected. It would be a commonplace to suggest that the good Lord gave no monopoly of truth to any one color of skin, no special insight into all wisdom to any one nationality, nor the ultimate in values to any one culture.

An old college chum of mine once weut to Paris to study at the Sorbonne. He spent several days in locating a simple room which he might call home for the year of his study in France. Somewhere along the Left Bank, he climbed the stairs to a cold-water flat, rapped on the door, and was greeted by the lady of the house. When asked if there might be room, she replied that there were four members of her family and that they had only three rooms and a bath as it was, but that to come back the next day and she would see if she might be helpful. On returning the following day, he was notified that they had decided to close out their simple bathroom, and convert it into a sleeping room for this new face from America. Even as he protested that they should not, indeed, could not, do such a thing as that just for him, she patiently explained there were public toilet facilities just down the block that would serve their purposes and that it was worth it to them to have a visitor from America that they might get to know and through him they might come to understand better a foreign land. He was overwhelmed by their standards. "Imagine," as he expressed to me later, "an American family giving up their bathroom in order to house a foreign visitor for a year." Well, people are different.

Or better still an experience Mrs. McGee and I had in Italy while leading a group of schoolteachers around Western Europe in the summer of 1954. In those days, as some of you here will appreciate, the plumbing facilities in Italy were none too good and even downright primitive in the rural areas. One evening our bus load of 43 schoolteachers stopped in a little coastal town on the west side of Italy to stay all night. It had been a long, hard day—dusty, dirty, and hot. Tempers were short, patience was conspicuous by its absence. In the small, third-rate inn, which teachers then had to afford, there was only one bathroom. The resulting shuffling and juggling for seniority rights and priority position was something to behold. Needless to say, more than one of the school marms let the innkeeper have a piece of her mind. In desperation the poor fellow came to me and said, "Professor McGee, what's the matter with your ladies. They all complain about my toilet facilities. Tell me, sir," he said, "other Americans who stop here always seem to complain about the plumbing. May I ask you a very serious question about your country?" Then he put the question as he asked, "Does everything that's important in America take place in your bathrooms?"

The more I reflected on this question, the more I realized how the typical American tourist must invite that kind of inquiry. Well, people are different.

No incident illustrates cultural difference with quite as much warmth as the story related by James Michener during the seige of the capital city of Seoul during the Korean conflict a few years ago. As the city was under attack by the Communists, a quick decision had to be made as to the evacuation at least of the VIP's from the area. The means, however, were limited. The American commander notified the city officials that one small barge would be available, and its capacity was limited to 100 people. The decision the city fathers needed to make naturally was who were the 100 most important people in the town. They did not hesitate. On the barge they placed the 100 members of the Seoul Symphony Orchestra. The American commander was reported to have exploded with an expletive which reflected more amazement and lack of understanding than it did one of indictment. But people are different.

Even as we seek to understand others, so we should strive to have them understand us. Much as we might say to our friends of other lands that you should allow for our differences as we allow for yours, we should also strive to project the best face of America rather than some of our less favorable attributes that occasionally pop out in headlines. It is not without point that some foreigners look upon us as too materialistic, as more obsessed with dollar values than with human values, or that in our present role in the world we appear to be a nation of militarists or that we appear to be a frightened people bent only upon destroying communism, or a jittery people who lack so much confidence in ourselves that we see only the hobgoblins of the enemy behind every change that takes place elsewhere.

In a very large sense, the harsh demands of the cold war have forced upon the United States a negative image around the world. Even though we attempted to travel the other route—namely, the nonmilitary, the Soviets refused to permit us that alternative. Not only did we dismantle most of our 12-million-man military force at the end of World War II, but we offered to share with the Russians what was then our monopoly on atomic power. In addition, we extended to the Reds an offer of Marshall plan assistance to help them rebuild from the devastation of the war—no strings attached. But the answer was always the same—"no." History surely will judge that each of these proposals in turn was sincere and magnanimous, if not realistic. The hard fact remains, however, that the flagrant disregard of treaties and the determination of the Russians to expand their influence around the world wherever possible required that the only other big power in the world capable of thwarting their ambitions—namely, the United States—meet its responsibilities. This we have done. Soviet expansionism has been curbed, world communism has been stopped, and the balance of political power around the globe has been reconstituted in more favorable terms. These have been the result of a long, tortuous, and costly cold war diplomacy.

Having mostly succeeded in the cold war phase, however, is not enough. We should constantly remind ourselves that it represents only a beginning rather than the end which we seek. For necessary as it was, it has still left our country with a negative profile in the eyes of other nations. As a young college girl in Saigon put it to me during an interrogation while I was there inspecting American positions, "Mr. Senator, I'm on your side. I understand that you must halt the Russians, that you must stop the Chinese, and that uncontrolled communism is a threat to us all. My people also have gotten the message. They know that you're against Communists, and Chinese, and Russians. But they continue to ask me, and in their heart ask you, 'America, what are you for?' "

We have to work harder at telling the rest of the world what we are for as well as revealing through our actions what we are against. We must get through to them loudly and clearly that we are for people, that we are for human dignity, that we are for freedom, that we are for national independence. It is time to accentuate the positive.

Sometimes as we stress our nonmilitary qualities, we tend to stress the wrong thing. Many times I have heard travelers from the United States describing in glowing terms the skyscrapers of Manhattan or the speed of our automobiles, or the conveniences of our supermarkets. These are materialistic qualities an dtend to underscore the opinion held by many foreigners that the Americans are too materialistic. When Mr. Nehru was

the Prime Minister of India, I had the occasion to visit with him at length with another Senator about some of the difficulties our two countries were having. In the course of our conversation that great Indian statesman and philosopher passed along a significant observation. He said, "You know, sometimes you people in America miss the real point of your greatness. You talk too much about the speed of your jets, the number of your automobiles, and the luxury of your homes. But these are not your great qualities. They simply reflect the consequences of your ingenuity. Your truly great qualities are contained in the great philosophies of Thomas Jefferson, or Abraham Lincoln, or Franklin Roosevelt. They are reflected in the conscience of your people, in your respect for the dignity of the individual person, in your humanitarian impulses to help others, in your dedication to religious beliefs, in your tolerance of religious and political differences, in your respect for national independence. These are your deep-running marks of greatness." He concluded, "You should talk about them more and your material successes less, for it's your great qualities that inspire my people—indeed all people who look to you for leadership."

Finally, we have to accept the differences among people. We cannot make little Americans out of everybody. We should not if we wished; we could not if we tried. What works for us may not work in Pakistan. What benefits us may boomerang in Africa.

We must accommodate ourselves to change—rapid change. History teaches nothing if not the inevitability of change. Our capacity to change fast enough and in time will be the ultimate measure of our ability to survive in this generation. It requires that we adjust and think about what's taking place in the world. The time is at hand when we quit blaming everything on the Communists, that we stop attributing every convulsion, or revolution, or adjustment to their sinister plotting. While I do not intend to suggest that the Communists can be taken lightly, neither should they be made 10 feet tall. And in the very nature of the changes which now threaten to engulf us everywhere around the world we are distressed by certain sweeping tides of change that may in fact have little if any connection with Communists at all. To put it another way, if the Russians should disappear overnight and if the Chinese were to drop into the bowels of the earth tomorrow, most of the same bewildering problems of peoples and nations would still be plaguing us and challenging us to come up with the right answers. Anticommunism as a cliche or a slogan can become very dangerous. It can lull us into the acceptance of oversimplified causation for problems to which we would then only come up with the wrong answers. Anticommunism is a mighty poor substitute for thinking. It becomes desperately important, therefore, that we construct an American policy toward the world that is motivated more by a sense of being right than by a sense of being afraid. Fear can produce great deeds, but fear is also the brother to panic. And panic can lead to disaster.

We have every reason in these times to be confident and reasonably sure of ourselves if only we do not permit bigotry and narrowness and fear to blind us to the realities of the world around us. The American example can be one of both challenge and inspiration to other nations, and most of all to the people within those nations. Tom Paine once observed during the great revolution that produced American freedom, "the cause of America is the cause of all mankind." But it was President John F. Kennedy who reminded us of the importance of updating Tom Paine's thoughts. "Now," said President Kennedy, "in the great world revolutions, the cause of all mankind is the cause of America."

Summary of Veterans' Legislation Reported, 89th Congress, 1st Session—Summary of Veterans' Affairs Committee Action—Bills and Resolutions Referred and Hearings-Executive Sessions Conducted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, during the 1st session of the 89th Congress, 450 bills and resolutions were referred to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. Testimony taken in hearings conducted in the 38 open sessions consisted of 3,093 printed pages. There were 21 executive sessions, resulting in the reporting of 18 bills. Of this number, 10 have been enacted into law; 7 passed the House and were pending in Senate committees at adjournment; and 1 bill reported by the committee, was left on the House Calendar at adjournment:

Summary of Veterans' Affairs Committee action in 81st Cong. through 89th Cong.—Bills and resolutions referred and hearings-executive sessions conducted

	Congress								
	81st	82d	83d	84th	85th	86th	87th	88th	89th, 1st sess.
Bills and resolutions referred	619	436	402	537	491	628	592	508	450
Hearings sessions	64	50	46	71	69	55	45	50	38
Hearings, printed pages	2,355	2,562	5,337	4,271	4,834	3,472	3,055	3,927	3,093
Executive sessions	34	27	55	37	28	21	15	21	21
Bills reported	44	36	36	48	44	42	52	41	18
Bills in House	1		14	1	5	2	[1] 8	[5] 5	[6] 1
Pending in Senate committees	16	14	2	17	11	6	[2] 13	7	[6] 7
Bills on Senate Calendar or in Senate	1	1	2			1	[3] 2	0	0
Recommitted	1	1			1				0
Bills vetoed	2	4			1				0
Bills passed over veto	1	2							0
Laws enacted	24	22	25	30	26	33	[4] 32	29	10

[1] Including 4 bills enacted as amendment to other legislation; 1 left in House when similar Senate bill returned to Senate; and 1 similar to another bill enacted (Public Law 87-645).
[2] Includes 2 bills enacted as amendments to other bills.
[3] Includes 1 bill enacted as amendment to another bill.
[4] Some laws included the substance of more than 1 bill reported separately. 39 separately reported bills were enacted, 7 as amendments to other legislation.
[5] Provisions of 3 of these bills were passed by the House as a separate bill, and the provisions of 1 bill were included as an amendment to another bill which was enacted.
[6] Purpose of 1 bill in Senate committee accomplished administratively; 2 other bills in Senate enacted as sections of another bill; and portions of 1 bill left in House enacted as sections of another bill.

LAWS ENACTED—1ST SESSION, 89TH CONGRESS

Public Law 89-40 (H.R. 7597)—Funding of national service life insurance reopening provisions of Public Law 88-664: This law provided funds to meet initial administrative and operating costs for the national service life insurance reopening program authorized by Public Law 88-664, by authorizing transfer of $1,650,000 from the veterans' special term insurance fund—a nonparticipating fund, no dividends—to the veterans' reopened insurance fund established by this law, such funds to be repaid to the Treasury, with interest.

Public Law 89-50 (H.R. 214)—Repeal of obsolete provisions of law relating to mustering-out payments for Korean conflict veterans: Mustering-out payments of between $100 and $300 for Korean conflict veterans repealed effective July 1, 1966, the date following date of expiration of other benefits provided by the Korean GI bill.

Public Law 89-88 (H.R. 225)—Memorial certificates: Provides statutory authority for Veterans' Administration to assist the President in a program of honoring the memory of deceased veterans by means of a certificate to be sent to the next of kin or other close relative or friend.

Public Law 89-137 (H.R. 206)—Vocational rehabilitation allowance increase: Public Law 16 of the 78th Congress, enacted in 1943, authorized vocational rehabilitation for veterans who have a service-connected disability. Under this program, the Veterans' Administration pays the full academic or training cost, and in addition, pays a subsistence allowance, which varies generally from $115 to $135 per month, depending on the degree of the veteran's disability and his dependency status. This law eliminates the old method of determining the amount of subsistence paid veterans receiving vocational rehabilitation training, and provides for payment of the following amounts:

Type of training	No dependents	1 dependent	2 or more dependents
Full-time institutional training	$110	$150	$175
Institutional on-farm, apprentice, or other on-job training	95	125	150

Public Law 89-138 (H.R. 208)—Vocational rehabilitation, extension of time for training: Under provisions of earlier law, vocational rehabilitation training is provided for service-connected disabled veterans of World War II, the Korean conflict, or veterans of subsequent service. Generally speaking, vocational rehabilitation may not be afforded after 9 years following the date of the veteran's discharge or release from active service. Blinded veterans are permitted training until June 30, 1975, or 10 years after general termination date, when it is determined that the veteran has not been previously rehabilitated or where his disability has worsened to such a degree that he requires retraining. This new law extends the time limitations for seriously disabled veterans who require retraining in the same manner as that previously available for blinded veterans.

Public Law 89-214 (S. 2127 and H.R. 10873)—Life insurance for member of Armed Forces:

Servicemen's group life insurance program—

First. Provides a group life insurance program for all member of the uniformed services who are on active duty, effective after midnight, September 28, 1965.

Second. Coverage is automatic, with the serviceman required to take affirmative action to take himself out of the program. The coverage provided is in $10,000 or $5,000, no other amounts. If the serviceman elects out of the program after the automatic coverage and later applies for readmission, he must pass a physical examination to show good health.

Third. Premium rates, for servicemen, are expected to be $2 a month for $10,000 of group insurance and $1 per month for $5,000 of group insurance, including claim and administrative costs. This cost may be adjusted, hopefully downward, as experience dictates.

Fourth. Servicemen's premiums will be deducted from their pay by the Department of Defense and remitted to the Veterans' Administration.

Fifth. The deductions from the pay will cover administrative expenses of the Veterans' Administration.

Sixth. The extra hazard cost of insuring servicemen will be paid by the United States after determination on an actuarial basis, with the total payment for extra hazard cost estimated at $4 million a year during periods when casualties are at present levels. Peacetime costs will not entail any extra hazard contribution, or at most a very small one.

Seventh. Mode of settlement, to be determined by the beneficiary or beneficiaries in the absence of instruction of the serviceman, is limited to a lump-sum payment or settlement over a 36-month period in equal monthly installments. The serviceman may designate any person as a beneficiary. If an affirmative designation is not made, the insurance will be paid in the following order: Widow or widower; child or children; parents; if none of the above, to the executor or administrator of the estate; if none of the above, to the next of kin of such member or former member under the laws of domicile of such member at the time of his death.

Eighth. Upon discharge from the services, the individual is protected in the full amount of his policy for 120 days, the cost for this being borne by premiums paid during the period of his active service.

Ninth. While covered by insurance under this program an individual will have the right to obtain from a private insurance company an insurance policy without medical examination in an amount equal to the group insurance policy under which he was protected during the period of service.

Tenth. If the man has a service-connected disability, he will be eligible for a commercial policy without medical examination under this program and, in addition, will be eligible for a $10,000 service disabled veteran's insurance policy administered by the Veterans' Administration.

Eleventh. The number of participating companies is to be determined by the Administrator, the expectation being that the number of participants will at least equal or closely approximate the number under the Federal employees group life insurance program. The primary insurer or insurers will be required to be eligible to do insurance business in all 50 States and the District of Columbia, while reinsurers will not be so limited.

Twelfth. Group life insurance coverage under this program will be in addition to any U.S. Government life insurance or national service life insurance which the serviceman might hold.

Death gratuity program—

First. Covers death incurred in the active military, naval, or air service during the period from January 1, 1957, to the effective date of the servicemen's group life insurance program—midnight, September 28, 1965. The death must have resulted from first, action of hostile forces; second, an accident involving a military or naval aircraft; third, as a direct result of the extra hazard of military or naval service, as such hazard is determined by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs; or fourth, the performance of service for which certain incentive or special pay for hazardous duty is authorized.

Second. Death gratuity payments will be made to the widow of the veteran; if no widow is living, then to his child or children; and if no widow or child is living, then to his living parent or parents. No other persons are eligible.

Third. Recipients of death gratuity payments will have to waive all future death compensation or dependency and indemnity compensation on account of the death of the veteran with respect to whom the death gratuity is paid.

Fourth. The amount of death gratuity payment will be $5,000, reduced by the amount of U.S. Government life insurance or national service life insurance paid or payable on account of the death of the veteran and any death compensation or dependency and indemnity compensation received on account of the death of such veteran by the recipient of the death gratuity.

Public Law 89-222 (H.R. 205)—War orphans' educational allowance increase: Authorizes an increase in the amount of educational assistance allowance paid to the sons and daughters of deceased or permanently and totally disabled service-connected veterans pursuing a program of education, or special restorative training, under the war orphans' educational assistance programs, as follows:

Type of training	Old monthly rate	New monthly rate
Institutional:		
Full time	$110	$130
Three-quarters time	80	95
Half time	50	75
Institutional combined with training in business or industrial establishment	90	105
Restorative	[1] 110	[1] 130

[1] Earlier law permitted increase in restorative allowance where monthly charges exceed $35 per month by the amount of charges in excess of $35, with period of entitlement for training reduced by 1 day for each additional $3.60 expended. This law increases the $35 per month to $41 per month, and the $3.60 to $4.25.

In addition, the law changes eligibility requirements for children of veterans with service beginning from September 16, 1940, and continuing so long as the draft exists by removing the requirements that the veterans' death or disability occurred as a result of first, armed conflict; or second, from injury or disease while engaged in extrahazardous service, thus placing these children in the same status as children of veterans whose disabilities or deaths occurred during a period of war.

Public Law 89-228 (H.R. 2414)—Land conveyance, Roseburg, Oreg.: Authorizes the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey to the city of Roseburg, Oreg., without consideration, approximately 47 acres of land situated in the reservation of the Veterans' Administration hospital, Roseburg, Oreg.

Public Law 89-311 (H.R. 168)—Compensation increase for service-connected disabled veterans: Provides for an increase in compensation payments averaging approximately 10 percent, effective December 1, 1965, with the larger increases going to the most seriously disabled, as outlined below:

Degree and paragraph	Wartime cases	Old wartime rates	New wartime rates	Monthly increase above old rates	Peacetime cases	Old peacetime rates	New peacetime rates	Monthly increase above old rates
10(a)	743,516	$20	$21	$1	62,975	$16	$17	$1
20(b)	280,665	38	40	2	21,097	30	32	2
30(c)	256,529	58	60	2	19,775	46	48	2
40(d)	152,352	77	82	5	8,900	62	65	3
50(e)	95,348	107	113	6	7,500	86	90	4
60(f)	83,980	128	136	8	5,700	102	109	7
70(g)	44,216	149	161	12	3,400	119	129	10
80(h)	25,790	170	186	16	1,400	136	149	13
90(i)	8,237	191	209	18	400	153	167	14
100(j)	72,971	250	300	50	11,379	200	240	40
(l)	3,563	340	400	60	368	272	320	48
(m)	2,599	390	450	60	306	312	360	48
(n)	378	440	525	85	27	352	420	68
(o)	30	525	600	75	10	420	480	60
(p)	3,192	525	600	75	290	420	480	60
(r)	4,965	200(+525)	250(+600)	50(+75)	1,100	160(+420)	200(+480)	40(+60)
(s)	4,582	290	350	60	520	232	280	48
Total	1,782,913				145,147			

In addition to increase in basic rates of compensation, provides increases in dependency allowances paid to veterans 50 percent through 100 percent disabled; permits payment of an educational allowance for children of these veterans—or a widow receiving dependency and indemnity compensation payments—between the ages of 18 and 23, in lieu of the dependence allowance otherwise payable; and permits payment of either dependency allowance or educational allowance, where the child is pursuing a course of instruction at an approved educational institution, until attainment of age 23. The educational allowance for the child of a 100-percent-disabled veteran is $40. Educational allowances or dependency allowances are computed in the same manner for those 50 percent through 90 percent disabled. Lesser amounts are paid based on degree of disability with, as an example, a 50-percent-disabled veteran receiving 50 percent of the rate payable to 100 percent disabled. A comparison of dependency allowances for 100 percent disabled under previous law and that made available by this new law follows:

Dependencey status	Old allowance	New allowance
Veteran totally disabled and has—		
(A) a wife but no child living	$23	$25
(B) a wife and 1 child living	39	43
(C) a wife and 2 children living	50	55
(D) a wife and 3 or more children living	[1] 62	[2] 68
(E) no wife but 1 child living	15	17
(F) no wife but 2 children living	27	30
(G) no wife but 3 or more children living	[1] 39	[2] 43
(H) 1 or 2 parents dependent upon him for support	[3] 19	[3] 21

[1] Plus $12 for each living child in excess of 3.
[2] Plus $13 for each living child in excess of 3.
[3] Payable in addition to other dependency allowance to which veteran is entitled.

The law also permits payment of compensation, in the case of a veteran who suffers from bilateral deafness of both ears, if service connection is established for deafness in one ear but not the other, as though deafness in both ears were service connected.

In addition, the law contains the following provisions not related to compensation: First, extends veterans' preference to veterans injured en route to report for active duty in the military service; second, removes the requirement that a holder of the Congressional Medal of Honor must attain the age of 40 years in order to be eligible to receive a special pension of $100 per month; third, removes certain restrictions on utilization of funds provided States for assistance in construction of nursing care beds; fourth, permits the Attorney General to defend civil actions brought against physicians, dentists, nurses, and paramedical personnel in malpractice or negligence suits, and if decision is made in favor of plaintiff, permits the Government to bear the cost of meeting the claim; and fifth, makes statutory a 125,000 hospital bed ceiling in VA hospitals, and specifies that the 4,000 nursing care beds provided by Public Law 88–450 are in addition to that maximum.

Public Law 89–349 (H.R. 227)—Extension of eligibility to war orphans' education to certain children: Makes war orphans' educational assistance available to the sons and daughters of those veterans who died or were totally and permanently disabled from a service-connected disability during peacetime periods after the Spanish-American War and prior to September 16, 1940, on the same basis as though the disability or death occurred because of service during a period of war.

BILLS PASSED BY THE HOUSE, PENDING IN SENATE COMMITTEES

H.R. 203—Research in spinal cord injuries and diseases: Would require that in each fiscal year during the 6-year period beginning July 1, 1965, and ending June 30, 1971, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs set aside $100,000 in funds appropriated for use of the Veterans' Administration for the conduct of research into spinal cord injuries and diseases, and other disabilities that lead to paralysis of the lower extremities. Reported in House, January 28, 1965; House Report No. 4. Passed House, February 2, 1965. Referred to Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, February 3, 1965.

H.R. 228—Statutory awards for anatomical losses: Authorizes payment of the statutory award of $47 per month for each anatomical loss or loss of use specified in the law in addition to the basic rates of disability compensation and the rate payable to those who are permanently housebound. Reported in House, with amendment, January 28, 1965; House Report No. 6. Passed House February 2, 1965. Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, February 4, 1965.

H.R. 235—Repeal of obsolete law, education of Korean conflict veterans: All education and training under the subject provision of law was terminated on January 31, 1965, and this bill would repeal chapter 33 of title 38, United States Code in its entirety, except that disposition of claims and liabilities accrued or incurred under that chapter prior to February 1, 1965, would be permitted. Reported in House, with amendments, June 8, 1965, House Report No. 455. Passed House, June 14, 1965. Referred to Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, June 15, 1965.

H.R. 2656—Burial flags, size prescribed: Would require that the flag furnished by Veterans' Administration to drape the casket of deceased veterans be 5 feet in width and 9½ feet in length. Reported in House, June 8, 1965, House Report No. 456. Passed House, June 14, 1965. Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, June 15, 1965. The purpose of this bill was accomplished administratively.

H.R. 3413—Veterans' preference for persons receiving compensation for injuries incurred en route for induction: Would extend veterans' preference to individuals injured while en route for induction into active duty in the Armed Forces. Reported in House, April 1, 1965, House Report No. 216. Passed House, May 17, 1965. Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, May 18, 1965. Rereferred to Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, May 19, 1965. A section having this same purpose was included as a part of H.R. 168, enacted as Public Law 89–311.

H.R. 4421—Land conveyance, Cheyenne, Wyo.: Would authorize conveyance to the city of Cheyenne, Wyo., without monetary consideration, for park and recreational purposes, of 27 acres of land, more or less, a portion of the reservation of the Veterans' Administration Center in Cheyenne. Reported in House, May 5, 1965, House Report No. 289. Passed House, May 17, 1965. Referred to Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, May 18, 1965.

H.R. 7571—Veterans' Administration housing program, collections of indebtedness: Prohibits the withholding by the Veterans' Administration of veterans' benefits due a veteran or his widow in order to satisfy an indebtedness arising from a loss suffered under the Veterans' Administration loan programs, unless the individual consents in writing to such withholding. Agencies of Government other than Veterans' Administration would be prohibited from withholding any payment due the veteran or his widow arising from such an indebtedness without the consent of the individual or in the absence of a judgment. Reported in House, with amendments, August 12, 1965, House Report No. 783. Passed House, September 20, 1965. Referred to Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, September 21, 1965.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS, NOT CONSIDERED ON HOUSE FLOOR

H.R. 202—Construction, alteration, or closure of Veterans' Administration hospitals and domiciliaries: Would provide that in the case of any new construction or acquisition of a hospital or domiciliary involving an expenditure in excess of $100,000, or alteration of an existing hospital or domiciliary which involves the expenditure of in excess of $500,000, such construction, alteration or acquisition may not proceed until it has been approved by a resolution of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. In the case of alteration of an existing hospital or domiciliary which involves an expenditure in excess of $200,000, but equal to or less than $500,000, a prospectus giving full details on this proposal would be filed with the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, and such alteration could proceed 60 days thereafter unless the committee adopts a resolution stating that it does not favor such proposal. Also provides that no hospital or domiciliary over which the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs has direct jurisdiction and which is in operation on the date of enactment of the proposal shall be closed until such closing is approved by a resolution adopted by the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

Provides statutory authority for operation of not less than 125,000 hospital beds and 17,000 domiciliary beds in the Veterans' Administration hospital and medical system, in addition to the 4,000 nursing care beds authorized by Public Law 88-450.

Provide protection for physicians, dentists, and nurses in the Veterans' Administration, in the event a malpractice suit is brought against them, by permitting the Attorney General to defend any civil action against such medical personnel, and if the Attorney General is unsuccessful and decision is made in favor of the plaintiff, then the Government would bear the cost of meeting this claim. Sections with similiar purposes to paragraphs 2 and 3 above were included as a part of H.R. 168, which was enacted as Public Law 89-311. Reported in House, with amendments, June 8, 1965, House Report No. 450.

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION APPROPRIATIONS

Bills providing for appropriations for the Veterans' Administration are under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Appropriations and are included as a part of the Independent Offices Appropriation Acts. A summary of legislation pertaining to veterans could not be considered complete, however, without reference to the large appropriations which the Congress annually provides for operation of the vast system of veterans' benefit programs.

The chart which appears below will provide a comparison of appropriations for Veterans' Administration for fiscal years 1963 through 1966.

Comparison of appropriations, fiscal years 1963 through 1966

	1963 appropriation [1]	1964 appropriation, Public Law 88-215 approved Dec. 19, 1963	1965 appropriation, Public Law 88-507 approved Aug. 30, 1964	1966 appropriation, Public Law 89-128 approved Aug. 16, 1965
General operating expenses	[4] $161,279,950	$159,750,000	$155,125,000	$160,238,000
Medical administration and miscellaneous operating expenses [2]	13,981,950	14,800,000	14,200,000	13,496,000
Medical and prosthetic research [2]	30,500,000	33,742,000	37,000,000	40,893,000
Medical care [3]	1,048,172,300	1,081,186,000	1,115,935,000	1,191,956,000
Compensation and pensions	3,874,000,000	3,921,000,000	3,963,000,000	4,142,000,000
Readjustment benefits	95,800,000	67,000,000	37,100,000	36,500,000
Veterans insurance and indemnities	32,000,000	30,200,000	13,700,000	9,900,000
Construction of hospital and domiciliary facilities	77,000,000	76,796,000	98,103,000	90,511,600
Construction of Corregidor-Bataan memorial				
Grants for construction of State nursing homes				2,500,000
Grants to the Republic of the Philippines	[4] 350,000	310,000	310,000	386,000
Soldiers' and sailors' civil relief				25,000
Total	5,333,084,200	5,384,784,000	5,423,973,000	5,688,405,600

[1] Includes supplementals.
[2] Separate appropriation for "Medical and prosthetic research" in 1963.
[3] "Inpatient care" and "Outpatient care" consolidated into "Medical care" in 1962.
[4] $150,000 transferred from "Grants to the Republic of the Philippines" to "General operating expenses."

Direct Investments Overseas and Our Balance-of-Payments Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a speech made by Mr. Richard C. Fenton, president of Pfizer International, at the International Economic Affairs Meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers held at the Plaza Hotel in New York City on October 11.

Mr. Fenton pointed out that further expansion of American business activities abroad, particularly with foreign financing, could greatly improve the Nation's balance of payments.

At the same time he warned that the business community may be faced with mandatory controls over its overseas investments unless it cooperates fully with the President's voluntary balance-of-payments program.

One way, "possibly the only way, to solve the balance-of-payments problem in the long run is to actively encourage more American manufacturing companies to venture abroad, minimizing their use of dollars," stated Mr. Fenton.

We should exercise care not to confuse direct investments abroad and the expansion of these investments with the method of financing them. As Mr. Fenton pointed out, U.S. industry may find it necessary to substantially expand its plants abroad in order to remain competitive, but this does not necessarily mean a need for comparable dollar outflow.

Mandatory controls, as Mr. Fenton points out, would be unfortunate because they would tend to hamper business activities abroad.

Let us hope that the voluntary program will prove effective, because in the long run direct American investments are important to the eventual solution of our balance-of-payments problem.

I hope my colleagues will take the time to read Mr. Fenton's discussion of this important problem. It is a most interesting statement.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DIRECT INVESTMENTS ABROAD AND THE U.S. BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

(By Richard C. Fenton, president, Pfizer International)

In the time allotted to me this morning I am going to try to do four things. First, I am going to make a plea to the senior executives of the other 500-odd companies which, like Pfizer, have large investments abroad to make certain that their companies are fully cooperating with the President's voluntary balance of payments program. Secondly, I am going to try to clarify some misunderstandings which I believe have arisen about the meaning and purpose of this program and, in particular, to make clear that direct investments are not the same as dollar outflow. Thirdly, I am going to try to show the true contribution which direct investments are already making to the balance of payments. Finally, I shall urge the importance of increasing and diversifying direct investments abroad while, at the same time, reducing the dollar outflow at least in the next year or so.

First my plea. We all know that during the first quarter there was a very large outflow of dollars in connection with direct investments—and the amount is now estimated at $1.1 billion. This, however, was largely before the announcement of the President's program and much of the outflow was doubtless stimulated by fears and rumors of what was going to be announced. Everyone looked to the second quarter to see the effect

of the program. Unfortunately, since the second quarter figures were announced most of the attention in the press has been devoted to the total of the first half instead of to the second quarter itself. In fact, many of the figures for the second quarter are not too bad. Much short term funds were brought home as had been requested—about $400 million. As regards capital outflow, it appears that the total was below the first quarter's figure, although it is still estimated at a surprisingly large $950 million. Apparently, however, this figure is inflated by two special circumstances, large tax payments in Africa and Asia by oil companies and a special transaction in Canada—totalling together close to $200 million. A clearer picture emerges if we just look at the developed countries, which are the real object of attention in the President's program. Secretary of Commerce Connor announced on September 23, that the data from companies participating in the program showed a decline in outflow to developed countries of $224 million from the first to the second quarter, which is a decrease of 30 percent. On October 4, Assistant Secretary of Commerce Brimmer gave further details which showed that for Western Europe alone the decline from first quarter to second quarter was about $170 million, or one third. Information separately released by the Commerce Department showed a second quarter outflow to Western Europe a little below the same quarter of 1964. It also showed that the inflow of dividends from Western Europe is moderately up this year. Secretary Connor and Dr. Brimmer also gave figures showing that the participating companies achieved a more rapid repatriation of income earned abroad and raised more funds abroad in connection with their foreign investments in the second quarter than in the first. Secretary Connor concluded that "the participating companies have already made important contributions to the improvement we have seen" and Dr. Brimmer that "the results (with regard to direct investments) do indicate that the program is taking hold."

Furthermore, from the point of view of a participating company, I doubt that the second quarter's results are indicative of what we can and will do. In Pfizer's case, after the President's program was announced, we found it very difficult at first to get a grip on our balance of payments on a day-to-day and quarter-to-quarter basis. We knew where we were year-to-year but we had very little control on a short term basis and we had to set up special controls. Some things slipped through in the second quarter which we did not intend and which we have since corrected. Because of our new controls, which were only properly set up towards the end of the second quarter, we have improved our performance in the third quarter and will improve it more in the future. I suspect that many, if not most, companies were in a similar position.

Furthermore, I must say that from my personal discussions with several major companies participating in the program I have received a very definite impression that most companies are cooperating with the program. They are trying to send less dollars abroad, to raise more funds abroad, to export more, to repatriate more income earned abroad; and they have repatriated short term funds. They do intend to make a substantial increase in their overall credit to the balance of payments, which is the basic objective of the program.

Why then am I making a plea? Obviously the reason is that I cannot help being a little nervous about the sheer size of the second quarter's dollar outflows—whatever the explanations may be. Also, I am disturbed by the voices, here and abroad, who still say that the program is not going to work. I have always believed that the program was brilliantly conceived—conceived with an insight on how industry works, which is not too common in government circles. I have always believed that the program would work. Indeed, gentlemen, it must work. The alternatives are not pleasant to contemplate. In the first place, I believe we are very fortunate to have a Secretary of Commerce with such a good understanding of industry and of how we operate abroad. It is already being suggested that the knives are being sharpened for Mr. Connor. We must not let them be used. Secondly, if a voluntary program will not work, a mandatory program will eventually be imposed and I fear it may be one devised with much less understanding of our interests. It might be based on the same misconceptions about our businesses abroad as the 1962 Revenue Act.

Here I would like to make the point that I do not share the view expressed by some that the solution to our balance-of-payments problems is simply to cut Government overseas expenditures for military and economic aid. It may well be that these assistance and security programs require revamping or up-dating but I cannot believe that the interests of the United States and the world will be served by our refusing to continue at least the present level of aid in some form or another. My impression is that the majority of the American people accept the necessity for this financial burden and that it will coninue to be a fact of our economic lives for many years to come.

This being the case, we need policies which will improve our private surplus in the balance of payments, not only in the short run, which was the original intent of the voluntary program, but in the long run as well.

Before I suggest what these policies should be, I must try to remove some misunderstandings. In the first place, in referring to direct investments, I am using these words, I believe correctly, to refer to the total investments of U.S. corporations in their operations abroad. These investments are not entries in a bank ledger and they are not portfolio stocks but they are subsidiary companies, buildings, machinery, inventories, receivables, people, research and development—in short, direct investments are our operating businesses abroad. Secretary Connor has made it very clear many times that we are not being asked to curtail the normal growth of these businesses. We are asked to postpone or cancel what are called "marginal" projects in developed countries—which are presumably those whose payout in balance-of-payments terms is likely to be excessively long—but otherwise the whole emphasis is on reducing the dollar outflow, and enhancing the dollar inflow in connection with direct investments, that is to say in connection with our businesses abroad. We are asked to export more, to borrow more abroad, and to bring more money home, all so that in total we increase our individual contributions to the balance of payments by, hopefully, 15 to 20 percent. Yet, even in statements by some officials and very often in the press, there is reference to a restriction on investments. This is not the point. The restriction is on the dollar outflows in connection with direct investments. For example, in the last weeks much has been made of the estimate by the reporting companies that they may have to increase their capital expenditure abroad by 20 percent in 1965. But this does not necessarily mean that dollar outflows will increase to the same extent. Obviously, much of the increase can be met from local cash flows and local borrowing and this is precisely what the program intends. We need not increase dollar outflows, and we must not do so. Certainly Pfizer will not do so.

Let me give a few illustrations of what I mean from Pfizer's own experience. We have just finished expanding a plant in Italy, a developed country. The total cost of the expansion was over $1 million. All of this investment was financed by our Italian company with no use of dollars. On the other hand, we ordered from other U.S. companies and shipped to our Italian plant about a quarter of a million dollars worth of equipment for the expansion. Furthermore, we calculate that the expansion enabled us immediately to begin shipping additional bulk materials at the rate of over $2 million per year. Here the result of the expansion in the investment is a total plus for the balance of payments.

In another type of case, we are in the process of building a new finishing plant in Portugal, another developed country. Here the local authorities are making it increasingly difficult for us to run our business on the basis of imported finished goods and we face the prospect of either our business being stifled or making the investment in the plant. We have been sending finished goods into Portugal at the rate of about $1½ million per year. Once the plant is completed, we expect to ship about $1 million per year on the average during the first 5 years, in the form of bulk materials. If we did not build the plant at an estimated cost of about $1 million, of which $500,000 will have to be provided from outside Portugal, our finished-goods imports would gradually die and we would have no imports of bulk materials. In this particular case it is hard to say how long the payback is but, assuming our finished-goods imports would be cut by half over a 5-year period, the payback in balance-of-payment terms on the exports alone works out to about 2 years, even if all of the $500,000 required comes from a dollar source—which we shall certainly avoid.

Again, a slightly different case in Britain. There we have just approved the construction of a plant to make one of our chemical products. We have been supplying the market from one of our U.S. plants. Three-fourths of our business is with one customer in Britain and he recently gave us an ultimatum that if we did not manufacture in Britain, he would manufacture the chemical himself or get someone else to manufacture it for him because he wanted to have a complete guarantee of supply within Britain. Again, we are financing the investment entirely without the aid of dollars. On the other hand, our imports of dollars from the investment will come in the form of dividends on the additional profits. Since we would lose most of our exports anyway if we did not invest and since we are financing the investment locally, the extra dividends which result from the increased investment will all be a plus to the balance of payments.

In short, I would like to ask everyone concerned in the government, the press, and in industry to make certain when they write or speak on this subject that they make a clear distinction between the direct investments abroad and the method of financing them—whether by generated cash flow, borrowing abroad or by outflow of dollars.

Now I will try to clarify the very important role that direct investments are already playing in helping the balance of payments. The most important point I want to make is that in measuring the effect which direct investments abroad have on the balance of payments you must include the exports which are generated by these investments. Let me illustrate by talking for a moment again about my own company, Pfizer.

Our range of products extends from prescription drugs to agricultural and animal health products, consumer cosmetics and toiletries, and bulk chemicals required by other industries, sold all over the world where permitted by U.S. law and policy.

We have 24 plants in the United States and 56 abroad in 29 countries. Some of our products are wholly manufactured in a few of our plants in the largest countries abroad, but in no country do we wholly

manufacture everything we sell, and there is always at least some intermediate of some product which has to be imported from one of our U.S. plants. This arises because we undertake production in a country only to the extent that we have to for any one or a combination of different reasons, such as heavy duties on imports or threatened or actual bans on imports or uneconomically high freight costs, or the need to produce somewhat different products from our U.S. products, and so on. Our U.S. international board is a hardheaded one, and they make sure that we invest in facilities only when we have to in order to assure ourselves of the supplies that we can sell at an economic cost. Much of the equipment in our plants has been purchased from U.S. equipment manufacturers; many of the materials we use which are not made by ourselves are imported from other U.S. suppliers. As a result of our business operations abroad, we make profits and out of these profits we pay royalties, service fees and/or dividends depending on the economic or other advantages of choosing a particular route to bring money out of the particular country. From time to time, we make new capital investments to build new warehouses or plants or to expand existing ones, or purchase new equipment in order to become more efficient or to expand output. From time to time we may purchase other companies where to do so fits into our expansion plans. Many of these investment needs can be met from our resources in the same country, depreciation, profits, borrowing from local banks, and so on. In other cases, we have to send the money from outside the country. When this happens, we use other currencies including dollars, and when it is dollars it is because we keep excess cash in dollars. These are dollars which have arisen in the first place from our exports or receipt of dividends, royalties, service fees, and so on. In other words, our operations abroad result today and have resulted for many years in a surplus for the balance of payments of the United States. Since we started in 1951, Pfizer operations abroad have made a net contribution to the plus side of the U.S. balance of payments of about $370 million in spite of building up our substantial assets and operations around the world. Our net contribution in 1964 alone was over $40 million. The major portion of this inflow, that is to say, $270 million out of the $370 million, has come from our exports of U.S. goods and equipment to our overseas plants, most of which exports—and I underline this—would not have been possible without our prior direct investments in those installations. We cannot import finished goods into most countries even today and, even if we could, the finished products required by many countries differ from those we make and sell in the United States. If we do not invest in a finishing plant, we do not export anything from the United States. Similarly, if a plant is filled up to capacity and we can sell more than we can produce, and assuming we cannot import the product into the country, if we fail to expand that plant by new investment we put a ceiling on further exports from the United States of the materials to supply that plant—not to speak of the tremendous morale problem which would be involved. In a case like this, we cannot stop or postpone an investment without losing out to the competition—which may well be local competition or competition from some country other than the United States.

The largest part of Pfizer's contribution to the plus side of the balance of payments is derived from our investments in the developed countries, although our investments in the underdeveloped countries are almost as large as in the developed. This is mainly because we can export more to the developed countries than to the underdeveloped and also because we make more profits in the developed countries and we can repatriate more of these profits. The underdeveloped countries simply do not have enough dollars to pay for all we would like to export to them, so we have to manufacture there more than the markets really justify in order to support our businesses. Furthermore, the underdeveloped countries simply do not have the dollars to pay for the profit remittances we would like to make—when our profits are not eaten up by currency devaluations and inflation. Much of our exports to underdeveloped countries and much of the profits that we do bring home are financed directly or indirectly by AID and do not help the U.S. balance of payments. The plain fact is that if we had to rely for our international business on the underdeveloped countries and did not have the developed countries in which to grow and prosper, our enthusiasm for international business would be considerably diminished. To quite an extent, our business in the underdeveloped countries is justified and even financed by our success in the developed countries.

Now the important point is that we are rather typical of companies operating abroad. The Department of Commerce now recognizes that most companies operating abroad are in credit in their balance of payments. In his statement before a Senate committee on August 3, Secretary Connor noted that the 475 reporting companies alone accounted for nearly half of all U.S. merchandise exports during 1964. Obviously we have to include at least the part of these exports which goes to the direct investments when we consider the balance-of-payments effect of direct investments, just as I did in describing Pfizer's situation. To be fair, we should also include imports into the United States from the direct investments. Unfortunately, the official statistics do not group exports and imports with the direct investments to which they relate. This is probably the reason why the importance of direct investments and their contribution to the balance of payments has until recently been consistently underestimated.

The first of the attached charts [not included in the RECORD] indicates the apparent net effect of direct investments according to the traditional method of grouping the figures, including only repatriated earnings and new dollars for overseas investment. Note that the net inflow shown is $1.1 billion for 1963.

However, it is possible to regroup the figures to show the effects of exports, imports and royalties and fees as well.

Chart 2 [not included in the RECORD], shows the figures for the same year as chart 1 [not included in the RECORD], that is for 1963, because this is the most recent year for which complete data are so far available.

Inflow, comprising earnings, royalties and fees, and exports are shown in the left-hand bar, while outflows, comprising new dollars for direct invesement and imports are in the right-hand bar. Note that chart 2 reflects a much larger balance-of-payments inflow, of $2.7 billion, than does chart 1.

Chart 3 [not included in the RECORD] indicates the balance-of-payments situation as it relates to manufacturing and distributive direct investments only—omitting oil, foodstuffs, minerals, and so forth. This chart is very significant.

As you can see in chart 3 the left-hand bar, comprising earnings, royalties and fees and exports towers $3.7 billion above the outflow bar on the right, which contains new dollars for direct investments and imports.

All the figures I have quoted are from published Department of Commerce statistics with the single exception of the estimate for imports from non-manufacturing direct investments. I do not believe any error on this single point will invalidate the basic conclusions.

Charts for 1962 show similar relationships. Furthermore, there is every reason to presume that a similar situation existed in 1964. Now, if you will note the relatively small proportion of new dollars for direct investment which were required by manufacturing affiliates of American companies in 1963 and remember that many companies, like Pfizer, have found ways to reduce the number of dollars required by their subsidiaries, I think you will agree that the annual return on such new dollars for direct investment is very great indeed.

Manufacturing direct investment in Western Europe alone, which so many people have implied contributes a deficit to the balance of payments, can be analyzed in the same way. Figures taken exclusively from Department of Commerce statistics show that there is, in fact, a balance of payments surplus of $1.2 billion in 1962 and again in 1963.

Now, I would like to deal with one final question. It is clear that if Government expenditure abroad cannot be significantly reduced, the private surplus must be significantly increased if our international payments are to be balanced. How can this be done? It seems to me that the huge contribution which direct investments abroad are already making points the way.

You will remember that only about 500 companies are involved in the reporting system under the voluntary program and this means that only about this number have significant direct investments abroad. I understand, however, that there are about 300,000 manufacturing companies in the United States. It seems to me that one way, and possibly the only way, to solve the balance of payments problem in the long run is not only to give the widest possible publicity to the true meaning of the voluntary program, but in a much more positive way to actively encourage more of these manufacturing companies to venture abroad while they try at the same time to minimize their use of dollars. I would find it hard to believe that there is not at least 1 percent of all manufacturing companies with proven products and know-how which could do a good job of operating abroad, if they knew it was in the national interest that they should go abroad in a serious way. Of course, any initial dollar outflows would be a drain on the balance of payments. But if you include the exports that most of them would probably generate immediately after their installation abroad, I would guess that the turnaround time on these outflows would be very rapid. But the turnaround time must be calculated on the total effect including the exports, and not simply in terms of the profits and dividends. In fact, my suggestion would be that, as a contribution to the long term solution to the balance-of-payments problem, a real effort should be made to find the successful companies in all branches of industry and enlist the support of groups such as the National Association of Manufacturers, the American Marketing and American Management Associations to show them how to establish themselves abroad. Here I am speaking not of 500 nor 1,000 nor 2,000 companies but of perhaps 10,000, not a very large number out of the 300,000 manufacturing enterprises.

We would be on much safer ground for the future of our balance of payments if our investments abroad were spread through a much larger number of companies, products, and industries. To get more and perhaps more medium-sized companies interested, however, there would have to be a much clearer and more positive lead from the administration, and an attempt would have to be made to get all interested departments to accept this concept of the total contribution of direct investments to the balance of payments. Furthermore, all the talk of the undesirability of direct investments in

the developed countries of Western Europe and Japan should cease. It has got to be clear to everyone that it is in the national interest that direct investments in Europe and Japan should be encouraged (while minimizing the use of dollars) for the positive contribution that they make to the balance of payments as well as for other reasons. It may be more important in the long run for the United States that the lines should be kept open to direct investment in the European Common Market, including France, than that tariffs should be reduced.

In conclusion, I believe that the achievement of a balance in our balance of payments is absolutely vital as well as urgent. It can be achieved in the short term if all of us cooperate with the President and Secretary Connor in their current program. It can be achieved in the longer term if those of us who already operate abroad develop our businesses more efficiently, constantly bearing in mind the interests of the balance of payments and, further, if more companies who are successful and efficient here at home, who at present do little or nothing abroad, will venture and invest and go abroad to operate, particularly in the competitive developed world. For balanced the international payments of the United States must be, if we want to continue, as I believe we do, as the leader of the free world. To be a leader we must be financially strong internationally as well as domestically.

Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1965

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 29, 1965

The Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 8310) to amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to assist in providing more flexibility in the financing and administration of State rehabilitation programs, and to assist in the expansion and improvement of services and facilities provided under such programs, particularly for the mentally retarded and other groups presenting special vocational rehabilitation problems, and for other purposes.

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentlewoman from Oregon for her kind comments. It has always been a pleasure to work with her, and I am sure that all of us are grateful for her leadership and vision.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in enthusiastic support of this bill. It represents the culmination of many years of effort, in which I have been proud to participate, and in which I have been proud to follow the leadership of our colleague from Oregon.

The many reasons for the adoptions of this legislation have been advanced by its principal sponsors and I wish only to utilize this time to urge its adoption and to congratulate the committee for its work. This legislation represents much needed extension and expansion of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, whose contributions are familiar to all of us and worthy of our continued support and enthusiasm.

We cannot take pride in our national goals unless we implement provisions which will take care of those who, for many and varied reasons, are unable to compete with their fellows. This is not to say that they cannot—if given help, and it is for this reason that we should support the bill before us today.

Again, I am proud to support this legislation and to urge its passage.

Activities of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, 1st Session, 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALAN BIBLE

OF NEVADA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I submit to the Senate a report of the activities of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia during the 1st session of the 89th Congress. This presentation provides in full a report in detail of the committee's activities for that period of time.

However, before I do this, may I extend to my colleagues on this committee my appreciation for their helpfulness and assistance in our work. I believe that they are deserving of the gratitude of the entire Congress, the people of the District of Columbia, and the people of the entire country for the hours they spend in tending to the business of the Nation's Capital City while carrying on their other major activities incident to their service in the Congress. May I further express my deep appreciation to my subcommittee chairmen who gave of their time and energy; namely, the very effective and hardworking senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], who is chairman of the Public Health, Education, Welfare, and Safety Subcommittee; the distinguished junior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MCINTYRE], whose energies and devotion to committee matters have been invaluable to our committee as chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee; and the capable junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS], who has served as the committee's chairman of the Business and Commerce Subcommittee, during his first year as a Member of the Senate. To the other committee members, the junior Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], whose service as former Attorney General for the United States made his work most valuable to the committee; the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], whose long and effective service was particularly useful to the committee; and to the junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], whose experience in the House of Representatives and in the legislature of his home State has done much to assist the committee with its many problems. I wish to express my sincere thanks for the hours they gave to our committee.

I would also like to express my deep appreciation for the cooperation I received personally as committee chairman from the Honorable JOHN MCMILLAN, chairman of the House Committee on the District of Columbia, and the individual members of his committee. Likewise, I wish to commend the cooperation and assistance that the staff members of the House District Committee have extended to the staff members of my committee during this session of Congress.

During this session of this Congress, the full committee considered a number of important bills. As in the 88th Congress, the committee continued to push legislation that would provide more effective law enforcement in the Nation's Capital. As part of the committee's overall study of the crime problem, the committee gave careful and thorough consideration to the House-passed crime bill, H.R. 5688, which proposed changes in the complex and controversial Mallory and Durham rules.

The increased crime upsurge in the District of Columbia, pushed by a trend that, at its present rate, will make 1965 a record crime year, resulted in a call by the committee for emergency measures. The District of Columbia Commissioners responded by putting into operation police saturation patrol techniques, additional scout cars, and investigators, an increase in nonpolice school crossing guards leaving regular duty men for crime prevention work, a review of present assignments of police officers to administrative, clerical, and technical duties, looking to a possible takeover of some of these positions by nonpolice personnel, implementation of two-way radio communication for footmen, and Senate and House passage of S. 1719, authorizing overtime pay for members of the Washington Metropolitan Police Department, the White House Police, and the U.S. Park Police, in addition to the Washington Fire Department.

Additionally, the committee, believing that crime represented the District's foremost local problem, continued its in-depth examination of the need for strengthening the District of Columbia Criminal Code in 9 days of hearings in April, May, July, and August 1965. It heard 36 witnesses update hearings held in the general field of a District of Columbia omnibus crime bill, such hearings having been started in the 87th and 88th Congresses.

After careful study of various crime measures before the committee, H.R. 5688, as it passed the House, was amended substantially and reported to the Senate where it passed with a minor amendment. Title I of the Senate-passed version of H.R. 5688 dealt with the modification of the Mallory rule. Under its provisions, standards and safeguards were written in for in-custody interrogation of persons arrested on probable cause. In addition to providing these safeguards for an accused during a period of detention, the Senate version also spelled out the aggregate period of time that law enforcement officers would be able to legally detain an accused for interrogation.

In addition to making this change in existing law, the Senate amendments to H.R. 5688 also included the following:

Title II amended existing law so as to require an accused in a criminal case to give notice of an insanity defense.

Title III expanded existing law so as to provide more extensive procedures for the detention of material witnesses to criminal offenses.

Title V made certain changes in the maximum and minimum sentences for crimes of violence and other criminal offenses in the District of Columbia. Also, this title amended the law relating to indecent publications. At adjournment of Congress, this bill was pending before a Senate-House conference.

S. 1719, authorized overtime pay for members of the Metropolitan, White House and U.S. Park Police Departments for additional hours worked in excess of the basic 40-hour workweek. The Washington Fire Department was also included.

Under the provisions of S. 1719, now Public Law 89-282, members would be paid overtime when working first, on special designated assignments; second, during off-duty days; and, third, on second and subsequent court appearances.

In reporting this legislation, the committee felt that paying overtime for hours worked in excess of a 40-hour week would make more police officers available for duty on the streets during periods when street crimes are at their highest peak.

S. 1320, another crime bill, was favorably reported by the full committee to the Senate. S. 1320 clarifies, as well as strengthens, certain of the criminal laws of the District of Columbia; also, it broadens and conforms to the Federal immunity statutes the immunity statute of the District of Columbia which is applicable to certain civil proceedings relating to disorderly houses. The bill provides for the corporation counsel of the District of Columbia to represent the District in prosecutions involving violations of acts relating to licensing and regulation of certain professions—Public Law 89-347.

As another important legislative measure, the committee provided extensive study of a home rule bill for the District of Columbia. In the 89th Congress two home rule bills were introduced in the Senate—S. 268 and S. 1118. The committee updated previous hearings on both of these legislative proposals and heard from numerous witnesses. S. 1118 was reported by the committee in amended form, and was passed subsequently by the Senate. Such bill provided in some measure for self-government for the citizens of the District of Columbia. The bill as it was approved by the Senate made provision for the election of the following: a city mayor; a city council of 19 members—5 to be elected at large; a school board consisting of 14 members; and a nonvoting delegate to the House of Representatives.

The bill also provided that the Congress would retain full residual, ultimate and exclusive legislative jurisdiction over the District of Columbia. In addition, the bill empowered the President to veto any act of the local government where such act adversely affects a Federal interest.

In order to meet the fiscal requirements of the city government the bill provides authority for a regular annual payment by the Federal Government to the District of Columbia to be computed by means of a flexible formula. It was the committee's view that a formula method would provide a more equitable basis for measuring the Federal responsibility to the Nation's Capital as it would provide a built-in incentive to utilize local taxes to meet local needs. At the same time, local residents are assured that the Federal Government will automatically recognize its obligation to provide additional revenues that are needed to meet legitimate increased expenditure requirements. At adjournment, the Senate had before it a House-passed charter commission version of the Senate home rule bill.

Also in the 89th Congress the committee continued to meet its obligation to develop a comprehensive and effective transportation system for the National Capital region. The committee, after careful study, reported H.R. 4822. This legislation as it was reported by the committee became Public Law 89-173. Such legislation provided for the development of a transit program for the National Capital region, in furtherance of the objectives of the National Capital Transportation Act of 1960. The bill authorized the National Capital Transportation Agency to design, engineer, construct, equip, and to take such other actions necessary to provide for the establishment of a system of rail rapid transit lines and related facilities for the mass transportation of persons within the District of Columbia and between the District and points in Montgomery County, Md., and Arlington County, Va.

The proposed rapid rail system would be limited largely to the District of Columbia. However, there would be one extension into Arlington County, Va., to serve the heavy Federal employment concentration at the Pentagon, and a short extension into Montgomery County, Md., in order to reach a suitable terminal location. The total system would be 24.9 miles long, with double track throughout, and would include 20 stations. Approximately one-half—13.1 miles—would be in subway, 7.5 miles would utilize a portion of existing railroad rights-of-way, and the balance would occupy other exclusive rights-of-way.

The estimated capital cost of constructing this system is $431 million, exclusive of interest requirements, and would be financed as follows:

	Million
Federal contribution	$100
District of Columbia contribution	50
Public sale of revenue bonds	281
Total system cost	431

The system would be designed and constructed by private engineering firms under contract with the Federal Government.

The system will be operated by private transit companies, or other private parties under contracts with the Agency. The Federal Government would retain control over essential matters such as fares and safety standards but would not be involved in day-to-day transit operations.

The full committee, during this session, also provided careful study to the increasing backlog of cases in the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions. In order to help the court remedy the backlog problem, the committee favorably reported S. 2263. Under the provisions of S. 2263 the number of judges assigned to the court of general sessions was increased from 15 to 20. In addition the bill provides that two of the judges in the court of general sessions would serve on a full-time basis in the traffic branch of such court. The Senate passed S. 2263, but during this session no action was taken on the bill by the House.

H.R. 11487, a major District of Columbia revenue-producing bill, was considered by the full committee during the last days of this Congress but there was insufficient time to provide the consideration it required. The bill would first, increase District of Columbia income tax revenues; second, increase the District of Columbia tax on motor vehicle fuels from 6 to 7 cents per gallon; third, increase the borrowing authority of the District for highway construction from $50,250,000 to $85,250,000, an increase of $35 million; fourth, authorize the District of Columbia Commissioners to abate the unpaid portion of any tax when, in their judgment, the amount of money involved would not warrant the cost of collection; and, fifth, authorize the District of Columbia Board of Commissioners to participate with Maryland and Virginia authorities in comprehensive planning for transportation facilities for the National Capital region.

The District Commissioners advised the committee that if the major highway building program was to continue in the Disrtict of Columbia, additional revenues, the earmarked gasoline tax increase and loan authority for highway construction, would be essential.

Additional consideration of this broad measure by this committee will continue in the early stages of the 2d session of the 89th Congress.

The 1st session of the 89th Congress was a busy one for the Judiciary Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia.

The subcommittee favorably reported and the Senate passed S. 1611, a bill designed to transfer from the U.S. district court certain administrative functions of a local nature and convey such functions to the court of general sessions or appropriate District of Columbia agencies. The functions transferred from the jurisdiction of the district court relate generally to docketing judgments, recording liens, filing trademarks, trade names, and issuing marriage licenses.

In the domestic relations field the subcommittee reported H.R. 948, which eventually became Public Law 89-217. This bill had the beneficial purpose of liberalizing the District of Columbia law relating to divorce, legal separation, and

annulment of marriage. The bill as it was finally enacted into law brings the District's divorce and annulment laws into closer conformity with the laws of Virginia and Maryland.

The Judiciary Subcommittee also acted on several other legislative proposals, all of which had the intended purpose of assisting the various law-enforcement agencies of the District of Columbia. These bills were passed by the Senate and are as follows:

First. S. 1319 authorizes a work release program for defendants sentenced by the courts of the District of Columbia. Under this legislation, selected offenders will be eligible for release from prison confinement at specified times to enable them to obtain or engage in gainful employment.

Second. S. 1715 made it a felony criminal offense for inmates of penal and correctional institutions to assault the employees of such institutions. The effect of this legislation will be to provide District correctional and juvenile confinement employees the same felony statutory coverage with regard to assaults on their persons as Federal penal and correcttional officers are provided under U.S. law—Public Law 89-277.

Third. H.R. 66 provides authority for the Board of Parole of the District of Columbia to discharge a parolee from supervision prior to the expiration of the maximum term for which he was sentenced. The authority of H.R. 66 permits the Board of Parole to terminate supervision of a parolee where the Parole Board in its discretion determines that a parolee has made a proper adjustment in the community and no longer is in need of supervision—Public Law 89-24.

S. 1317 and H.R. 647 were also reported by the subcommittee. S. 1317 authorizes the District Commissioners to impose monetary penalties for the handling and collection of dishonored checks and money orders—Public Law 89-208.

H.R. 647 provides for the substitution of trustees under deeds of trust in the District of Columbia by means of a written instrument entered into by all parties or their successors in interest, notwithstanding any provision of the deed of trust to the contrary.

The bill provides that before any such instrument is valid, notice of the appointment of the new trustee, bearing the signatures under seal of the parties, and acknowledged by them, shall be recorded in the Office of the Recorder of Deeds.

The subcommittee reported to the Senate S. 1321. This bill amends section 501(e) of title 16 of the District of Columbia Code so that a plaintiff, in a civil action which allows for attachment of the defendant's property before judgment, may be allowed by the court, when the property has less value than the claim against the defendant, to post bond in an amount equal to twice the value of the property attached rather than twice the amount of the claim. When this provision is invoked, only that specific property may be levied upon instead of the general property of the defendant—Public Law 89-113.

This session of the Congress was also an important one for the Business and Commerce Subcommittee of the Senate District Committee.

The subcommittee held hearings and reported two measures dealing with urban renewal in the Southwest redevelopment area.

The first, S. 1314, which passed the Senate on September 30, 1965, grants the District of Columbia the right to close streets in urban renewal areas upon the written consent of the private owners of the remainder of the property. This bill has the purpose of simplifying street-closing procedures in connection with urban renewal activities. Under existing law, two separate hearings are required to be held on proposed street closings, the first when an urban renewal plan for a particular area is taken up for public consideration, and the second when the specific street is proposed to be closed. The provisions of S. 1314 dispense with the necessity of the second street closing hearing when a street closing is embodied in an urban renewal plan, and there has been a public hearing on such plan.

House Joint Resolution 397 passed the Senate on October 18. This resolution was designed to clear title to certain properties in the Southwest redevelopment area used by a number of railroads under the Union Station Act of 1903. The resolution settled outstanding ownership questions by authorizing the District of Columbia to convey title to the Redevelopment Land Agency so that these parcels could be developed. Additionally, that portion of the Southwest Freeway which utilized rights-of-way across designated redevelopment land was conveyed to the District of Columbia Government for $82,000—Public Law 89-317.

The Business and Commerce Subcommittee also held hearings on S. 1316, a bill which would permit the District of Columbia to enter into joint contracts with other local governments in the National Capital region for the purchase of supplies and services. This measure passed the Senate on October 1, 1965. The committee, in favorably acting on such legislation, felt that substantial savings in procurement, production, and service costs might be effected through the increased purchasing power of the various governments acting cooperatively. Under the procedures of this bill the District of Columbia Government would be the clearinghouse and purchasing office under the joint contracts, but the participating jurisdictions would share the additional administrative costs.

Hearings were held but no final action was taken by the committee in two additional important and significant legislative proposals.

The Business and Commerce Subcommittee held 4 full days of hearings on various pieces of legislation concerned with amending the Safety Responsibility Act of the District of Columbia, and also providing coverage of uninsured motorists. Four bills dealing with this broad and difficult subject were considered by the subcommittee and one bill, H.R. 9918, was reported favorably to the full committee.

Under H.R. 9918 a motorist registering his automobile in the District must include uninsured motorist coverage in his insurance policy, or, in lieu of this coverage, pay into an unsatisfied judgment fund. The latter provides the source through which District residents not having a registered motor vehicle in the District of Columbia may obtain compensation when injured by an uninsured motorist. H.R. 9918 is essentially a combination of the approach to uninsured motorist coverage now in effect in Maryland and Virginia.

Finally, the Business and Commerce Subcommittee held hearings on H.R. 10274, a bill to amend the Chancery Act of 1964, to permit chancery uses in low density residential areas in buildings used for chanceries between 1958 and 1964, even if such chancery use was then contrary to District of Columbia law or regulations if the property owner had no notice that such use was unlawful. Considered late in the session, this matter was still under consideration at adjournment.

The Fiscal Affairs Subcommittee acted upon a number of measures as follows:

First. Senate Joint Resolution 5, a resolution naming the bridge across the Washington channel of the Potomac River on Interstate Route 95 the "Francis Case Memorial Bridge"—Public Law 89-203.

Second. House Joint Resolution 195, authorizing the District Commissioners to promulgate special regulations for the American Legion National Convention to be held in the District of Columbia during the summer of 1966—Public Law 89-25.

Third. H.R. 4338, authorizes the Veterans of Foreign Wars to rent or lease any part of their Memorial Building at 200 Maryland Avenue NE., for office purposes only, to any agency of the Federal or District of Columbia Governments, or to any nonprofit organization, and would require the VFW to pay real estate taxes on that portion of the building so rented or leased—Private Law 89-1.

During this session, a number of bills were considered by the Subcommittee on Public Health, Education, Welfare, and Safety. The committee, after holding extensive hearings, reported H.R. 8126 to the Senate. This bill amends the minimum wage law of the District of Columbia which became operative in 1918, to provide a minimum wage of $1.25 an hour for all persons employed in the District of Columbia with the exception of employees employed in a bona fide executive, administrative or professional capacity or in the capacity of outside salesmen—as such terms are defined and delimited by regulations or the Commissioners—and employees engaged in the delivery of newspapers to the home of the consumer. Provision is made for adjustment in such minimum wage rate to make allowances for special conditions, circumstances, such as the existence of facilities and services customarily furnished by em-

ployers and of gratuities customarily received by employees. Wage adjustments may also be made in the case of learners, apprentices, handicapped workers, and students.

Several other bills were considered by the subcommittee and are as follows:

First. H.R. 1778, amending the act to create a Board for the Condemnation of Insanitary Buildings in the District of Columbia relating to taxes resulting from such condemnation—Public Law 89-326.

Second. H.R. 5597, relieving physicians of liability for negligent medical treatment at the scene of an accident in the District of Columbia—Public Law 89-341.

Third. S. 1817, amends the District of Columbia public assistance law to clarify the categories of federally aided assistance recipients.

Fourth. S. 2212 authorizes the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to establish and administer a plan to provide for the care and protection of children through public day care services, and to provide public assistance in the form of foster home care to certain dependent children.

Fifth. H.R. 3314, a bill to protect the health and safety of the people of the District of Columbia and the welfare of their issue by requiring a laboratory test for syphilis before the issuance of a marriage license.

Statistical data of action by the Senate District of Columbia Committee during the 1st session of the 89th Congress

Number of bills, acts, resolutions, and nominations referred to committee	110
Number of bills, acts, resolutions, and nominations reported to Senate	33
Number of bills, acts, and resolutions on which hearings were held	47
Number of hearings held by subcommittees on Senate bills	49
Number of hearings held by subcommittees on House bills	18
Number of hearings held by full committee on bills and nominations	47
Number of hearings held by full committee in joint session with House committee	0
Number of bills which have passed both Houses and are still awaiting President's signature	0
Number of bills which have become public law	14
Number of studies and investigations	1

Annual Report of Your Congressman, Lloyd Meeds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LLOYD MEEDS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, as the Congressman from Washington's Second District, I am privileged to work for constructive legislation that will benefit the Nation and my State.

The creative programs we have passed into law this year take their inspiration from our traditions, from the complexity of the problems facing us, and from the hearts and hopes of Americans everywhere. We will soon adjourn this dynamic 1st session of the 89th Congress. Now I would like to talk with my constituents about the enacted legislation of particular importance to the Second District of Washington State.

EDUCATION

As a member of the Education and Labor Committee, I work in the development of all education legislation. The accomplishments of 1965 have been widely recognized as the most significant since Congress first established land-grant colleges in 1862.

First. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act provides funds for programs which are developed and administered by our local schools. The central purpose of this act is to improve the quality of schooling in low-income areas where children are often educationally disadvantaged. In this way, we are investing in our children's potential so that as adults they will be able to give their best to America.

All public schools can receive assistance for textbooks and library materials. The Elementary and Secondary Act also encourages local schools to establish special programs. For example, if the Edmonds School District wanted to create a children's remedial reading course, Federal funds might help to promote such a project.

Second. When we were working for the Higher Education Act, we were helping to make college a reality for all qualified high school graduates. This act offers loans, scholarships of $200 to $1,000, and Government backing of private loans to students and parents. Lack of money should not prevent a qualified student from securing a college education. In addition, we have expanded the highly successful job programs which help students to work their way through college.

The Higher Education Act will assist colleges in meeting the classroom shortage and in furnishing public services, such as adult education and speech and hearing centers. The act also contains a provision for graduate fellowships to supplement the abilities of those now teaching or planning to teach in our grade schools and high schools.

Third. Our April 29 earthquake was but one of several major disasters crippling the United States during 1965. The School Disaster Assistance Act, similar to a bill I sponsored, will help our schools to meet future emergency expenses.

Fourth. As one of the sponsors of the National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities, I hope that this new endowment can be useful to groups in our area. The Anacortes Summer Arts Festival, the Snohomish County Little Theater, the Port Townsend Summer School of the Arts, and others could perhaps share in the funds that will be administered by the Washington State Arts Commission.

SOCIAL SECURITY AND SENIOR CITIZENS

First. When Congress enacted the Social Security Amendments of 1965, we were responding to a basic fact of life: our elderly people have more frequent and more expensive medical costs than any other group in the United States. And older citizens must often live on low fixed incomes. Medicare provides a certain amount of hospitalization, and a second program of voluntary medical insurance can be secured for $3 a month. The act also includes a 7-percent increase in social security benefits.

Second. The Older Americans Act recognizes that 18 million citizens in the United States are past 65 years of age and have special problems. This constructive legislation creates a new Administration on Aging; $50,000 has been authorized for Washington programs for our elderly people, and these funds could be of use to such local programs as the Bellingham and Everett Senior Activity Centers.

NATURAL RESOURCES

First. Washington State is famed throughout America for our lakes, rivers, and Puget Sound. But now we face the threat of pollution. The Water Quality Act underwrites State-Federal action to promote local pollution control and to establish adequate clean water standards.

Second. Senator JACKSON and I cosponsored a bill to remove the legal obstacles which for many years have blocked equitable financial participation in the Lummi diking project near Bellingham. This bill is now law.

Third. We all remember the bad floods last winter. Congress has made $21 million available for rebuilding Pacific Northwest highways and forest roads which were damaged by those floods.

Fourth. New legislation calls for the creation of clean air standards. We are moving now to control industrial smoke and automobile exhausts which injure our health.

Fifth. In 1961 the Washington State Legislature passed a law regulating billboards. The Federal Highway Beautification Act of 1965 is not as strong as our 1961 State measure. Before the House voted on the Beautification Act, I made sure that it would not weaken or overturn Washington's stricter regulations. The new national law insures effective control of billboards near interstate and primary highways in rural areas. It also seeks to have junkyards near these highways moved or screened from sight.

FISHERIES

First. The Anadromous Fisheries Act will invest $25 million to help conserve salmon and other fish that swim upstream to spawn. It is my feeling that fish farms need a proving ground. This legislation, combined with State of Washington action, could provide such an experimental farm in the Second District.

Second. The International Pacific Halibut Commission is located in Seattle, but it is housed in a very old building. Senator MAGNUSON, Representative ADAMS, Representative PELLY, and I successfully sponsored legislation that will modernize the Commission's facilities and promote more efficient conservation of our halibut resources.

Third. Since 1956 over 150 loans to commercial fishermen in Washington

State have been made to help replace or repair fishing vessels. Senator MAGNUSON's bill has extended the authority of the Secretary of the Interior to make these loans.

BUSINESS AND LABOR

First. We are now in the 53d month of continuous economic expansion, and the excise tax cut, passed this year, is helping to sustain this momentum. Taxes which are being repealed on household appliances, TV sets, cameras, entertainment, sporting goods, and other items will amount to nearly $54 million in Washington State during the next year. Both consumers and business will benefit, especially by the reduction of excise taxes on automobiles and telephone calls.

Second. Today there is a demand for skilled workers. Shipbuilders, for example, are badly needed in Washington State. Congress has extended and expanded the Manpower Act, legislation which stimulates local job retraining and specialized skills programs, such as the excellent project at Peninsula Junior College. In addition, we have acted to provide Government insurance for private loans made to vocational students.

Third. There has been a lack of comparability between private industry wages and civil service salaries. A new pay raise for postal workers and other Federal employees will help remedy this condition. I voted for this pay raise, but voted against any salary increase for Members of Congress.

Fourth. Our small businesses are vital to the national economy. This year Congress approved extra funds to help small firms hit by floods, storms, and other disasters. Action was also taken to increase by 300 percent the amount the Small Business Administration can lend to "local development corporations."

FARM

First. The Omnibus Farm Act seeks to insure our dairymen of a fair return for their investments. Another beneficial feature of this act contains a cropland retirement section that will reduce farm surpluses. This provision seeks to retire 40 million acres of farmland so that it can be converted into other uses, such as wildlife refuges, forests, and water storage areas. I am enthusiastic about the provision which compensates farmers for land they release for hunting and fishing.

Second. New legislation provides matching grants for rural water and sewage facilities and increases by $250 million the amount of loans insurable by the Farmers Home Administration. Recently, for example, the FHA made a $544,000 loan to the Cross-Valley Water Association in Snohomish County.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

First. The overwhelming majority of Americans back our firm policy in Vietnam. This year Congress on two occasions voted funds to finance our commitments in southeast Asia. In recent months, the Communists have suffered military and diplomatic setbacks. I agree with President Johnson that an honorable peace settlement must uphold freedom in Vietnam.

Second. One of the brightest moments came this year when we voted funds for the Peace Corps. Two hundred and eighty-two volunteers from Washington State are serving overseas in the cause of good will, progress, and freedom. One young man, Vern Hild of Marysville, was among several Peace Corpsmen receiving special commendation for a rescue at sea during a violent Philippine storm.

Third. In the West we have always admired the man who could do a good job, regardless of whether he or his parents came from Sweden, Norway, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, or wherever. The Immigration Reform Act allows highly trained people with skills we need to make their home in America. Reuniting families is another object of this humanitarian legislation. This act contributes to a stronger United States while, at the same time, protects the jobs of our workers.

VETERANS AND SERVICEMEN

First. Congress has approved an increase in service-connected disability payments, and the amount varies from $1 to $50 with the degree of disability. This act also authorizes the Veterans' Administration to construct more hospital beds, and it offers greater benefits to disabled veterans with children in school.

Second. A long-overdue measure will now provide an average 10.4-percent increase in military pay. The largest increase, 17.3 percent, goes to enlisted men with less than 2 years' active duty. For soldiers in combat zones this act provides free first-class postage and higher pay.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

First. With the Voting Rights Act of 1965 we will be able to enforce more effectively the 15th amendment to our Constitution. The freedom to choose our representatives and other officials is fundamental to democracy. But without the right to vote there is little freedom of choice. The Voting Rights Act honors the American belief that citizenship is founded on natural rights.

Second. To prevent crime we need more efficient law enforcement. Recognizing this need, Congress has passed the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, a measure which authorizes grants to our local police to undertake special projects, such as police academies and scientific detection studies.

Third. Congress has moved to control the illegal traffic in "goof balls" and other depressant-stimulant drugs, over 50 percent of which, in the past, have been manufactured and sold illicitly. The new law allows only doctors, pharmacists, and companies to handle these drugs.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

In 1965 Congress has enacted additional legislation that will make our communities a better place in which to live. In order that our local Government agencies have information and assistance about these programs, we have arranged a Community Development Conference to be held in Everett on November 6, 1965. The conference will be attended by local officials from throughout the Second Congressional District.

First. In my August newsletter, I reported how the Housing and Urban Development Act will strengthen our communities and reinforce our prosperity. Appropriations have been made for college housing, FHA home loan insurance, water and sewer facilities, and other features. Earlier this year, for example, a large Federal loan was made to Western Washington State College to construct a new dormitory.

Second. The purpose of the Economic Development Act is to promote the national interest by encouraging free enterprise. This act will invest public funds in areas of high unemployment and will lead to efficient planning and use of economic resources. In this way, the counties with higher than average unemployment can attract industry and jobs. The city of Port Angeles, now planning water and sewage facilities, could make use of this act as well as the Housing and Urban Development Act. These measures may also assist the urban renewal plans of Anacortes.

Third. In recent years, Washington State has mounted a determined effort to combat mental illness. Congress has adopted legislation underwriting some of the costs of staffing our community mental health centers and of training teachers to educate handicapped and retarded children.

LOOKING AHEAD—WHAT IS TO BE DONE

First. An inconsistent and outmoded policy faces pilots and boaters who cross the Canadian border on weekends and holidays. They often have to pay as high as $60 in customs fees. I have introduced legislation to abolish these unfair charges, and the response from the Second District has been heartening.

Second. The Senate has passed, and the House is considering, a bill to construct a third powerhouse at Grand Coulee Dam. We need this powerhouse if we are to assure the continued industrial growth of Washington State.

Third. We hope to get final House approval for the legislation sponsored by Senator JACKSON and myself to establish a national historical park on San Juan Island at the site of the famous Pig War.

Fourth. Northwest industries are facing a crisis that has been getting worse for 20 years. Washington does not have enough railroad freight cars to ship our products—particularly plywood—to markets throughout the United States. Legislation to overcome the boxcar shortage has been blocked repeatedly. But now, only final House action is needed on a bill cosponsored by Senator MAGNUSON and myself. This legislation will encourage the railroads to purchase new boxcars and to speed the return of existing empty cars to the Northwest.

Fifth. Congress will be considering a measure to extend the GI bill of rights to our cold war veterans. The original GI bill helped me and thousands of others to get through college. This opportunity should be offered to servicemen who may be called upon to sacrifice their jobs, to leave their families, and even to give their lives for our country.

Sixth. We must assure the jobs and profits of small mills. I am continuing

to meet with officials of the Small Business Administration and the Forest Service and with local businessmen in order to find new ways of assuring an adequate supply of raw materials for our forest products industries.

Seventh. A project on which there is a "must" priority is the North Cross-State Highway. Senator MAGNUSON, Senator JACKSON, and I are working to get the necessary funds to complete this vital and scenic road.

MY RECORD AND OUR RESPONSIBILITY

The key to effective representation is attendance and participation during the debates and voting. In 1965 the House of Representatives had 201 rollcalls. I was present and voting at 199, an attendance record of 99 percent.

The honor of working for you in Congress demands more than just being present and voting. There must be a partnership in public affairs. This year I have made 11 trips home and have met with people in every county of the Second Congressional District. It is always a pleasure and a great help for me to confer here and at home with businessmen, labor officials, workers, veterans, educators, mayors, county officials, dairymen, students, loggers, fishermen, and interested citizens. Your letters are greatly appreciated, and I trust you have found my reports to be informative.

Reporter Bill Prochnau, of the Seattle Times, has termed the 1st session of the 89th Congress as "the most productive in decades." This enacted legislation will benefit people in Washington State. We have made these accomplishments because we all share the responsibility for a stronger and wiser America. With your help, I am continuing to work for the United States, for the Second District, and for you.

Tribute to Karol Hommon—Miss Alaska 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ERNEST GRUENING

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, earlier this year, on October 11, Miss Karol Hommon, Miss Alaska for 1964, lost her life in a tragic accident when she slipped and fell to her death from Mount Sugarloaf, which is near North Hampton, Mass.

Karol's untimely demise shocked her fellow Alaskans. Her warm and vibrant personality will be missed by all who came to know and to love her. She brought honor to Alaska when she competed in the 1964 Miss America Pageant. This year she had just begun her college career at Smith College.

A tribute to Karol has been written by Mr. Robert A. Adams, a resident of Anchorage.

Under unanimous consent I place this poem, entitled "Karol Hommon—1964 Miss Alaska," in the RECORD at this point in my remarks:

KAROL HOMMON (1964 MISS ALASKA)

I

Karol Hommon, Alaska's queen,
Through winter's snow and summer's green
Brought everyone delight.
Her smile was radiant as a clear day's
Most expansive sky,
And her sweet voice—Ah.
(The mem'ry of it lingers on
To become the echo of a song
Within our hearts.)
An angel walked among us for awhile.

II

I do believe she walks with God.
And if our jealous God permits a queen
To reign over one of "His many mansions,"
One day, perhaps, we'll meet again—
To see our dear sweet Karol, and hear
From her own sweet lips how happy she is,
And how happy she has always been.

—ROBERT A. ADAMS.

U.N. Has Grassroots Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, there are those who would argue that the U.N. does not have the support of the American people, that the people distrust international cooperation through the U.N.

Nothing could be further from the truth, and the visit of Pope Paul to the United Nations served as an occasion to show the support for the U.N. among American people.

One such responsive expression is the following editorial by Bernard Casserly and news article from the Catholic Bulletin, the newspaper of the archdiocese of St. Paul, which I insert under leave to extend my remarks:

PAPAL U.N. PRAISE UNIQUE

Was there ever such an occasion?

The earthly head of a church almost 20 centuries old stood before the diplomatic representatives of more than 100 of the sovereign nations of the world in the great assembly hall of the United Nations. His purpose: to speak for all the people of the world who seek peace in praise of the work of the 20-year-old world organization, and to urge the nations represented there on to greater efforts to secure that peace.

We do not discount the drama and importance of the rest of Pope Paul VI's visit—the first by any reigning pontiff to the Western Hemisphere—but it all must take second place to the pontiff's ardent plea for peace. Journalists and historians will analyze the effects of the papal plea in the journals of today and the histories of tomorrow. But no one can deny the expressions of admiration and expectation voiced by the head of the largest religious body on earth for the world organization, of which he said: "The peoples of the earth turn to the United Nations as the last hope of concord and peace."

Pope Paul's panegyric reached its peak when he described aspects of the U.N. as the "reflection of the loving and transcendent design of God for the progress of the human family on earth." Speaking of the U.N.'s efforts to organize the brotherly collaboration of peoples, he said, "in this way a system of solidarity is set up, and its lofty civilized aims win the orderly and unanimous support of all the family of peoples for the common good and for the good of each individual.

"This aspect of the organization of the United Nations," he said, "is the most beautiful; it is its most truly human visage; it is the ideal of which mankind dreams on its pilgrimage through time; it is the world's greatest hope; it is, we presume to say, the reflection of the loving and transcendent design of God for the progress of the human family on earth—a reflection in which we see the message of the Gospel which is heavenly become earthly."

As one of many Catholic publications which has never hesitated to express its convictions that the United Nations—despite its weaknesses—is man's chief hope for peace, we cannot help rejoicing at the Holy Father's fulsome praise. But we fear his generous words will not change the hearts of that vocal American minority which dreads the exchange of ideas in the world parliament on New York's East River.

We expect to see no public bonfires of those little seals of suspicion which appear so often on our mail—the stickers which read: "Get the U.N. Out of the United States." But we hope that avowedly Catholic spokesmen will temper their opposition to the U.N. in the light of Pope Paul's historic address on Monday.

If they follow their usual lines of attack, these die-hard opponents will claim the Holy Father was not really praising the U.N. but what it ought to be. Admitting that the Pope seeks always to improve man and his organizations, we wonder how the bitter-end antagonists will explain away these words of the Holy Father to the U.N.:

"We bring to this organization the suffrage of our recent predecessors, that of the entire Catholic episcopate and our own, convinced as we are that this organization represents the obligatory path of modern civilization and of world peace.

"We would almost say that your chief characteristic is a reflection, as it were, in the temporal field, of what our Catholic Church aspires to be in the spiritual field: unique and universal. In the ideological construction of mankind, there is on the natural level nothing superior to this.

"Gratitude to you, glory to you, who for 20 years have labored for peace. Gratitude and glory to you for the conflicts which you have prevented or brought to an end."

What more can an editorialist add? Little, perhaps, except to recommend that you take time to read the full text of Pope Paul's remarks as they appear elsewhere in this issue. Do not let the memory of the Holy Father's spectacular visit to our shores fade until you have digested his address to the United Nations General Assembly. Those words, after all, were the main purpose of his remarkable journey.

POPE PAUL HAILS U.N. AS SOLE GROUP CAPABLE OF UNIVERSAL COMMON GOOD

VATICAN CITY.—Pope Paul VI in a formal letter complementing his peace address to the United Nations said that the U.N. is the sole organization capable of providing for the universal common good.

The Pope presented the letter to United Nations Secretary General U Thant at the U.N. reception following his October 4 address to the General Assembly. The letter is an apostolic brief, the name given a formal letter of lesser weight than a papal bull but bearing the imprint of the seal of the Pope's ring. It bears the date October 4.

An Italian version of the Latin text of the apostolic brief was made public here by L'Osservatore Romano, the Vatican City daily. Following is an English translation:

A messenger of the gospel of peace, we crossed the ocean for the meeting we so strongly desired with this distinguished gathering of the United Nations. Through others and in a different way we could well have addressed ourselves to you, members of this organization, and unfolded our thoughts to you.

But we harbored the desire to see you and speak to you personally in order to express with the reality of our actual presence that esteem, deeply rooted in our soil, which we have both for you and for that work to which you dedicate your activities.

You constitute an assembly of peace with the objective of promoting and protecting among the nations which you represent, with equal rights of voting, harmony in peace, security and mutual collaboration—and these against the menaces and dangers of violence and war which threaten constantly.

No system other than yours can exist which is capable of providing for the public well-being, in fact of concern to the entire human race; a system founded on respect for law, for just liberty, for the dignity of the person, [dedicated to] the abolition of the tragic folly of war and the injurious furor of abusive power. The structural form of so great an edifice erected by you could certainly be improved, but never could it be destroyed without a resulting danger of the most serious damage.

"So lofty is the gift of peace that even within the limit of earthly and transistory things nothing can be regarded better" [St. Augustine, "The City of God," 19, 11].

Continue with your activity, diligence, and patience to work for such an inestimable good of human society, for the progressive growth of so useful an enterprise worthy of loving and diligent care. We are not unaware of the fact that your path, directed toward such high peaks, frequently passes through difficult and bitter ways. All these efforts are well worthy of our affectionate attention, our applause, of our encouragement.

In the name also of the Fathers of the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council gathered together in Rome, we bring you a message of peace, of good and comforting words. Be sure that in your activities to promote peace with justice, the Catholic Church, wishing you well, is close to you with its heartfelt understanding, with its spiritual help and unceasing concern for the desired successful achievements. Nothing is closer to her heart than to light the flame of brotherly love in the hearts of men and to feed that flame with all the support of which she is capable.

May the God of peace keep you and the noble work to success of which you devote your generous efforts under His continual protection.

Washington World Conference on World Peace Through Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, during the week of September 12 to September 18, 1965, more than 3,000 jurists, lawyers, and law teachers from 121 countries gathered in Washington to take part in the Washington World Conference on World Peace Through Law. As a result of this historic conference, in which it was my privilege to participate, members of the legal profession from all over the world have committed themselves to increase their efforts to bring about the rule of law in the international community.

In order that readers of the RECORD may be better informed about the achievements of this conference, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an informal report on the Washington World Conference on World Peace Through Law.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WASHINGTON WORLD CONFERENCE ON WORLD PEACE THROUGH LAW

In a magnificent demonstration of capacity to agree on a worldwide basis, more than 3,200 of the leading jurists, lawyers, and law teachers from 121 countries worked together for a week, September 12–18, 1965, at the Washington World Conference, considered over 200 proposals, and approved nearly 100 of these as parts of a mammoth work program to strengthen international law rules and international legal institutions to advance the cause of world peace. That so many law leaders from all parts of the world representing nearly all creeds, languages, forms of government, traditions, and customs could sit down at such a world conference and agree upon what must be done to make law a major factor for world peace demonstrates the commitment and dedication of the legal profession to the rule of law for the world community. The parade of plans and hopes, ideas and institutions which were presented at the Conference by participants from all over the world and then considered, approved or rejected, indicates how many are the agreements and how few the disagreements on what must be done to build a world ruled by law.

The Conference approved many towering ideas, but at the same time it decided to start at the bottom and build upward rather than from the top down. For example, the Conference approved the idea of a world judicial system but it then concretely approved a treaty creating neighborhood courts for the decision of minor disputes between two or more nations as the best, and a modest, beginning toward that world judicial system. The thought of the participants was that by creating the habit of going to court on minor matters on a neighborhood basis the habit of using courts instead of force to decide disputes would become established as a habit of nations and they would be encouraged to submit their major disputes to the courts under the rule of law. Another major advance was the approval of the idea of a world law code. But here again in the more modest action was approval of the first of many volumes of the code. The first volume is to contain those treaties which have the most worldwide acceptance as of now. Another concrete proposal which was approved was the World Bank's Convention setting up conciliation and arbitration rules and procedures for a world dispute center on foreign investments.

At plenary sessions, luncheons, and the banquet some 150 distinguished speakers, addressing large audiences, emphasized the imperative need of action by the legal profession to advance the rule of law internationally. These speakers included the President of the United States, the Chief Justice of the United States, the President of the International Court of Justice, the President of the United Nations General Assembly, and chief justices, judges, and ministers of justice from 59 nations. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, Richard M. Nixon, Edward W. Kuhn, president of the American Bar Association, Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Senator JOSEPH CLARK, Henry R. Luce, Gen. David Sarnoff, and many other great leaders addressed the Conference. Prime Minister Wilson, of England, King Constantine, of Greece, and most of the other heads of state sent messages of greeting and support to the Conference. The opening day was observed throughout the world as the first World Law Day. At special Conference World Law Day ceremonies, addresses were delivered by the Honorary Chairman, Chief Justice Kisaburo Yokota, of Japan, the Chairman, Harold E. Stassen, and Lord Denning of England.

The Chief Justice of the United States, Earl Warren, in a landmark inaugural address laid before the Conference an excellent summary of the facts which indicate to him that we of our generation have the capacity to create enough new law and new legal institutions to make law a major factor in world affairs. The Chief Justice said:

"Achieving and maintaining a rule of law strong enough to regulate action of nations and individuals in the world community is no more dreamy, impossible or impracticable than was the idea of splitting the atom, or putting a man on the moon, or sending a missile to Mars a few years ago. I believe we of our generation can translate the centuries-old dream of a world ruled by law from dream into reality. In part, my belief is based upon the imperatives of our day which make this a necessity to save mankind from nuclear holocaust. In part, my belief is based upon the fact that there is more law and judicial institutions today, nationally and internationally, than ever before in the history of mankind. Given this knowledge and reliance and taking note of the necessity that we succeed in order to survive, I would like to comment upon factors we possess which should enable us to move forward in our quest for a world ruled by law."

He then cited the following: (1) We know more about law internationally and nationally than any other generation; (2) more and better law exists today within each nation; (3) more international law exists; (4) international judicial bodies have grown in number and usefulness; (5) extension of international law to the individual has developed a larger number of defenders and supporters of world law; (6) traditional international law concepts are being altered to encompass the history, traditions, customs and needs of newly independent nations; (7) heads of state are increasingly using world law in their dialogue and contacts in their conduct of foreign relations; (8) the peoples of the world are increasingly aware of what law can do for peace; (9) the legal profession is becoming organized to work cooperatively on a worldwide basis; and (10) the growing cooperation among judges.

President Johnson reaffirmed our Nation's "continuing dedication to the rule of law" saying: "We believe that is the surest road to a fruitful and secure peace."

He also said: "Law is the greatest human invention. All the rest give him mastery over his world. Law gives him mastery over himself."

Commending the jurists and lawyers at the Conference for their initiative and leadership, he concluded: "If others join us, then the time may yet come when you and your colleagues will be honored as pathfinders toward the final armistice in man's war against himself."

The substantive work of the program was carried on primarily in panel sessions which discussed the following topics: "Existing and Proposed International Courts," "Space Law," "International Law in Domestic Courts," "International Communications," "International Trade and Investment," "Arbitral Tribunals," "Human Rights," "International Judicial Cooperation," "Disarma-

ment," "Industrial and Intellectual Property" (i.e., patents, copyrights, and trademarks), "Creative Research," "Education in International Law," and "Expanding Structure of International Law: Peacekeeping, General Principles, and International Organizations." For each of these topics a work paper summary was prepared by one of the world's leading experts in which basic problems and trends were described and recommendations made for research and action. After the work paper had been presented other panelists summarized prepared papers or commented informally on the topic. Participants were given the opportunity to speak from the floor after scheduled speakers had made their remarks.

At these work sessions the role of adjudication in the resolution of international disputes was delineated; suggestions were made for the improvement and expansion of international law and international legal institutions; and recommendations were made to continue studies on the possible usefulness of regional and specialized courts. Panelists on international law in the domestic courts emphasized the contribution that domestic courts could make to international law and dealt with the fundamental principle that international law is part of the law of the land. Speakers on international communications stressed the need for law to govern an expanded global satellite system. The transnational trade panel urged the development and adoption of procedures for the effective resolution of investment disputes; a model international code was recommended. Work paper summaries were written for both commercial arbitration and arbitration between states, with emphasis on the improvement of procedures. Panelists on human rights pointed out the need to improve procedural machinery and protect rights by substantive declarations, agreements, laws and treaties. The panel on creative research in international law stressed the importance of viewing international law from a universal rather than a national viewpoint and endorsed the International Law Manual project of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. And the panel on the expanding structure of international law emphasized the need to strengthen the United Nations. Chief Justice Warren presided over special sessions attended by the 254 high court judges from 103 nations and other Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court. They discussed cooperation among members of the high courts of the world to further world peace under law, future exchanges of opinions and the need for a World Judicial Conference at which judges could get to know each other and exchange ideas and experience. They stressed that the Washington Conference was the first worldwide meeting ever held of national high court judges and urged further meetings as most beneficial for the rule of law nationally and internationally.

The above is but a brief sketch of a few of the outstanding suggestions, ideas and proposals which emerged from the speeches, panel papers and discussions in which distinguished jurists, lawyers, and legal scholars made so many valuable recommendations for advancement of the rule of law. In addition, some of the center's committees presented reports and held meetings to discuss their future programs. The center plans to publish a volume which will include the papers, addresses and summaries of some of the informal comments presented at the panel sessions.

Worldwide attention was focused upon the Washington World Conference through celebration of the first World Law Day in more than 100 nations. World Law Day was proclaimed by President Johnson, and other heads of state, Governors of States, and more than 700 mayors and city councils. Some of the latter proclamations were done jointly by the U.S. cities and their so-called sister cities abroad. The holding of the first World Exhibit of Law Codes and Historic Documents was a rather unique first for the Conference. Heading the historical documents on display in this exhibit was the original of the 1225 Magna Carta from England and the originals of the Declarations of the Rights of Man from France. Many other originals of ancient law documents were also forwarded by other nations for display. The originals of these great law instruments of other nations were displayed at the National Archives of the United States along with the originals of our Declaration of Independence, Constitution, and other great law instruments. Never in all history had so many of the great law instruments from all over the world been displayed at one time under one sponsorship. The leading law book publishers and suppliers of services to lawyers participated by displaying their books and services. This unprecedented display of the instruments of mankind's great law heritage gave great inspiration to those working through the Conference to develop a program to substitute law for force as a decision mechanism internationally. Many expressed the hope that a similar exhibit would take place at future world conferences.

The outbreak of war between Pakistan and India seemed to lend urgency and emphasis to the quest at the Conference for a sound path to world peace through law. Throughout the week leading jurists and lawyers conferred and labored to reach common ground on how to fill in the gaps that exist in the world's law structure. And these law leaders did achieve much common ground. It is accurate to report, however, that they were chiefly interested in developing concrete and specific plans and programs to advance the rule of law for the world community. Over and over again, speakers said all agree that a world ruled by law would be peaceful but what is needed most is plans to get beyond that idea to specific law rules and legal institutions so such a world will come into being quickly before nuclear holocaust becomes humankind's fate.

A 292-page work paper summarizing international law and experience with international legal institutions was given to all delegates. An 850-page looseleaf document entitled "Law and Judicial Systems of Nations" was also given to many of the participants. This volume summarized the facts about law, lawyers, judicials systems, and legal education in 110 countries. It also contains a partial directory of leading members of the legal profession of these countries, bar associations, and law schools. Due to the great expense of preparing and printing this volume it was released at the Conference to foreign registrants, charter and sustaining members of the Center only. Both of these documents are unique in that such information has never been compiled in this form before. In essence, those attending the Washington Conference had the most complete summary of law in the world ever presented to any group at such a meeting. This enabled them to take an overview of law in the world, its strengths and weaknesses nationally and internationally, and gave them a background from which they could move forward with confidence in approving or disapproving the many ideas and proposals laid before them. This looseleaf volume will be constantly updated as a basic work document of the World Peace Through Law Center and as a directory of leading jurists and lawyers of each nation.

That so large and diverse a group of outstanding jurists from the four corners of the earth could meet and agree on a program to advance world law is in and of itself a tremendous accomplishment. In essence the Conference delegates represented all elements of the world community. That they agreed on so many specifics should enable rapid advances to be achieved on many aspects of world law. The importance of the Conference participants as leading jurists within their own nations should cause the Conference agreements to have a great impact upon public opinion and leaders of nations.

The program, planning, and coordinating committees are entitled to tremendous credit in so planning and executing the program as to lead to so much agreement. Many have inquired about the manpower which carried out this mammoth Conference. Above all the Conference was a joint enterprise of the lawyers of the United States. It indicates what they can do when they get organized to do a job well. Some 400 lawyers served on 50 Conference committees. The planning committee of 60 bore the main brunt of the work for it met monthly for over 1 year to hammer out policies, program, and details and met daily throughout the Conference. These lawyers came from all over the United States to these planning meetings at their own expense. In fact, no lawyer from the United States received any expense reimbursement at or prior to the Conference.

The many compliments on how all parts of the program operated smoothly, and on time, are properly received by members of the coordinating committee who saw to it that all speakers were present, all equipment working and all arrangements were properly carried out. In fact, they have developed a system that is a marvel to behold as it really works. There were 352 law students from 58 law schools who served as escorts or interpreters and aids to the distingished jurists from abroad. Some 150 U.S. lawyers (and in many instances their wives) also acted as interpreters in nearly every language and dialect. In many instances, U.S. lawyers and judges arranged special events such as dinners and receptions for the jurists and lawyers of other nations. There were 209 newspaper, radio, and TV reporters who registered in the press room of the Conference, not counting the more than 100 reporters who accompanied President Johnson when he delivered his address. The paid staff of translators, interpreters, typists and other employees for the Conference numbered over 100. Of the 3,200 registrants over 1,000 were from abroad. While Congress was in session Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY and more than 200 Senators, Members of the Congress, and their assistants registered as participants and attended one or more functions of the Conference.

Many of the distinguished visitors were guests of their country's ambassador during their stay in Washington, and most of the ambassadors attended the Conference. Nearly every embassy had a reception in honor of their guests. The president of the Bar Association of the District of Columbia and Mrs. Paul F. McArdle gave a reception for all delegates. The president of the American Bar Association and Mrs. Edward W. Kuhn gave a reception at historic Anderson House. The Chief Justice of the United States and Mrs. Earl Warren gave a reception at the U.S. Supreme Court at which they were assisted by the other Justices and their wives. The attendance for this reception was so great that the receiving line filled the many front steps of the beautiful Supreme Court building and extended out to the street. The Secretary of State and Mrs. Dean Rusk and the Attorney General and Mrs. Nicholas deB. Katzenbach gave a reception at the State Department. The American Society of International Law and the American Association of Law Schools gave a reception for teachers of law. Many other social events took place. Those arranged by the ladies committee included a boat trip to Mount Vernon, a tour of the White House, an

evening at the National Gallery of Art, sightseeing tours of Washington, and coffee hours each morning.

Another important fact is that the lawyers of the United States financed this Conference by raising over $500,000 from foundations, corporations, and individuals, the latter including some 250 law firms who gave from $50 to $5,000 toward this budget. Ford Foundation gave $150,000 toward expenses of foreign judges. Major expenditures were for simultaneous translation equipment (all sessions were in Spanish, French, and English) and Conference personnel, traveling and hotel expenses of foreign judges unable to pay their own way (so as to insure that all nations could be represented), expenses of experts, printing, and mailing. It is good to report that the Conference ended up in the black financially.

The announcement by the executive committee of its decision to set up headquarters of the World Peace Through Law Center in Geneva and maintain there a world law library and a world law information clearinghouse for Center members is a giant step forward toward making law more available and thus more used and usable throughout the world.

At the final plenary session of the Conference a work program to advance a world rule of law was adopted. This document identified and recommended research projects which should be made and encouraged the support of certain principles, institutions, and educational action. It also pointed out significant developments in world law since the Athens World Peace Through Law Conference in 1963. As stated above, over 200 proposals were presented and about one-half of these are incorporated in the work program. Others requiring further study were noted for future consideration.

The proposals with respect to such things as courts of human rights on continents other than Europe, where they already have one, a multilingual legal dictionary and scores of other law subjects should focus enough public and legal attention on these needs to force essential progress toward fruition of ideas into concrete law rules and institutions.

The World Peace Through Law Center hopes that scholars the world over will take the initiative in making these needed studies. It hopes to aid and encourage this essential research, particularly in the law schools of all nations. The Center itself will urge its committees to make useful studies and reports and will seek other means to finance and carry out these research proposals. Already many world law projects are being sent to the Center from all over the world.

The Conference closed with a declaration of faith in world order under law which proclaimed the ties between universal concern over war and effective procedures for the peaceful decision of disputes, the responsibility of members of the legal profession to improve the means of settling disputes; recognition of the critical nature of many current disputes; and urged that only by the application of the rule of law can these objectives be achieved. In this declaration of faith the participants declare that they—

"1. Reaffirm the Declaration of General Principles for a World Rule of Law adopted by the first World Conference on World Peace Through Law in Athens, Greece;

"2. Pledge our continuing active support of the World Peace Through Law Center, created at Athens, and its global work program;

"3. Pledge our continuing, devoted effort with each other and within our respective nations and legal organizations, to achieve the objectives of strengthening and expanding world law rules and world, as well as regional, legal and judicial institutions; and

"4. Declare our unshakable faith that, whatever transient disputes there may be, a just world order under law can be achieved, and that, with patient determination and hard work, it will be achieved."

By every yardstick of measurement the Washington World Conference was a tremendous success. It had inspiration, information, participation, and hospitality in abundance. Its firsts include World Law Day, World Exhibit of Law Codes and Historic Law Instruments, and the World Judicial Conference. It was by far the largest world conference of the legal profession in all history. Another World Conference will be held in 1967 probably in Geneva due to conditions making the first site, New Delhi, difficult. In the meantime the great emphasis by the World Peace Through Law Center will be upon concrete progress on the global work program and the next Conference. Membership in the World Peace Through Law Center is open to all members of the legal profession. Regular membership in the World Peace Through Law Center is only $10 per year, charter membership is $50, and sustaining membership is $100. Members receive a monthly bulletin, can serve on one of the Center's 95 committees, receive research pamphlets and, if charter or sustaining members, receive the "Law and Lawyers of Nations," the looseleaf directory which will be kept up to date on a rather constant basis by the appointment of editors in each nation. All members are listed in the directory along with their addresses.

The foregoing demonstrates that the legal profession is indeed organizing itself to make a major contribution to mankind's future. This very successful program to strengthen law rules and legal institutions should indeed in time succeed in speeding the day when law will replace force as the controlling factor in the fate of humanity.

Above all the worldwide dialog and friendships generated among law leaders of nations makes this program a tremendous factor for world peace. These leaders agree with Chief Justice Warren that the dream of a world rule of law is within man's capacity to achieve. They are moving realistically to translate that dream into concrete reality.

Outlook: Hunger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNN E. STALBAUM

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, there is an increasing awareness that we are facing a critical world situation because of inadequate food supplies in the less developed countries. The Washington Post has published an outstanding editorial on this subject. They rightly point out that if this crisis is to be averted the major effort will have to come from the less developed countries themselves, although American agricultural production can play a vital part.

An attack on the world hunger problem has strong bipartisan support and interest. Therefore, I place the Washington Post's fine editorial in the RECORD:

OUTLOOK: HUNGER

Concern over the effect of the diminution of American farm surpluses upon mounting world food needs is causing a welcome and overdue reexamination of national policy. Whatever the future availability of additional food from the United States, patently there must be very much greater emphasis upon expanded local food production in the needy countries themselves.

World needs are staggering. Half the world's people now suffer from some degree of hunger, according to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. Merely to maintain present inadequate dietary levels will require the doubling of food supplies by the year 2000, when population is expected to reach 6 billion. In critical areas population is outstripping food, as Malthus predicted. Per capita food production in Latin America has declined 5 percent in the last 5 years. Population growth there is 3 percent annually.

In dietary terms needs are even starker. Research now shows a correlation between protein deficiency and mental development. Damage sustained during the critical 1–6 age span is irreparable later. There is reason to think that this factor alone may account for much of the lethargy observed in some underdeveloped countries.

If there is to be any real improvement, a first requirement will be to persuade food-deficit countries to abandon their infatuation with industrialization as a quick and exclusive formula for development. Thanks in part to Marxist notions there has been a tendency in some countries to regard a steel mill as more important than adequate investment in agriculture. That is part of the difficulty in India as well as in many Communist countries.

For their part, Americans will have to recognize that shipment of their own surpluses abroad is only a partial and temporary answer to the problem. This realization may come hard to persons whose charitable instincts are affronted by the paradox of superabundance here and empty bellies elsewhere. Even though the gift or sale of food for local currency helps solve an American economic problem and may relieve some immediate hunger, it seldom contributes much productive capacity in the needy countries. In the absence of expanded local storage and distribution facilities, it sometimes merely aggravates the overall problem of postponing the reckoning.

So long as surpluses have dominated our consideration it has been difficult to focus on the more basic problem. In 1965–66 some $3.5 billion is appropriated for the food-for-peace program; but this year only $212 million is available for all forms of aid to agricultural production abroad, including technical assistance and loans from local currency. Happily, the emphasis is changing to encourage far more attention to farm technology in Latin America and now in India.

In this connection Senator GEORGE MCGOVERN, first director of the food-for-peace program, recently introduced a bill that deserves widespread support. His International Food and Nutrition Act would provide funds to purchase food for shipment abroad but, more important, to improve storage and distribution facilities and strengthen productive capacity in needy countries. This would be a useful complement to President Johnson's suggestion for a national strategic food reserve. Lord Boyd-Orr's idea of a world food bank also could well be looked at anew.

Whatever is done, American production obviously will play a vital part. Soybeans and fish meal, produced either here or abroad, are among the cheapest sources of proteins. With new hybrid wheat and corn the capacity for expanded American production is enormous, and balance will be imperative to avoid the creation of embarrassing new surpluses. We shall have to continue to donate large quantities of food for children's programs abroad while assisting other countries to increase their domestic

production and finding better means of helping them bridge the gap between need and ability to pay.

Stress on agriculture alone will not suffice. Birth control, education, rural development and industrialization all are necessary counterparts of more attention to farm technology and local food production. But the lesson of this century is that none of these other measures will succeed without primary stress on expanded food supplies. To meet the food needs now looming will necessitate changes in thinking and direction of effort altogether as radical as any revolution the world has ever known.

American Society of Traffic and Transportation, Inc., Memorializing Capt. A. C. Ingersoll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, on August 30, 1965, the tragic passing in the prime of his career of Capt. A. C. Ingersoll took away from the inland water carriers and, indeed, from the whole transportation industry one of its most articulate and forceful spokesmen. I considered "Connie" Ingersoll a personal friend as did almost all others concerned with the long-range needs of this country in transportation. For we knew him not as a partisan advocate but as a man who took the broad view of what was best for the public. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution of the Missouri Chapter of the American Society of Traffic and Transportation, Inc., memorializing Captain Ingersoll be printed in the RECORD. This is a fitting tribute to a true transportation leader.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF TRAFFIC AND TRANSPORTATION, INC., MISSOURI CHAPTER

Whereas Capt. A. C. Ingersoll, Jr., a valued founder member of the American Society of Traffic and Transportation and a member of the Board of Governors of the Missouri Chapter, was called to his eternal reward on August 30, 1965; and

Whereas Captain Ingersoll recognized the need for the establishment of high standards of knowledge, technical training, experience, conduct, and ethics required in the performance of our duties in the field of transportation and distribution; and

Whereas Captain Ingersoll contributed unselfishly of his time and resources in promoting the American Society of Traffic and Transportation, both nationally and statewide; and

Whereas our society and our chapter have suffered the loss of his counsel, courage, and inspiration: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Missouri Chapter, American Society of Traffic and Transportation, in annual meeting assembled at Columbia, Mo., this 23d day of October 1965, hereby extends to his bereaved family our deepest and sincere sympathy in their loss; and be it further

Resolved, That this, our first annual meeting and seminar, be designated "The Captain A. C. Ingersoll Conference" in his memory; and be it further

Resolved, That these resolutions be made a part of the minutes of our proceedings and that copies be forwarded to his widow, Mrs. Carolyn Ingersoll, the Honorable OREN HARRIS, chairman, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, U.S. House of Representatives, and the Honorable WARREN G. MAGNUSON, chairman, Committee on Commerce, U.S. Senate.

Respectfully submitted,

_____, _____,

CHARLES J. BRITTAIN,
GEORGE K. BENNETT,
Committee.

This Land of Plenty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMIE L. WHITTEN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech:

THIS LAND OF PLENTY

(Speech by Congressman JAMIE L. WHITTEN, Democrat, of Mississippi, to the Mississippi Poultry Improvement Association Convention, Biloxi, Miss.)

It is a real pleasure for me to be here with you today. One of nine members of the committee which handles all defense appropriations, I could talk of Vietnam, of Panama, and the Dominican Republic. One of the few members who handles appropriations for domestic public works, I could repeat the argument I made several years ago in successfully overriding the President's veto of the public works appropriation bill on the second try, the only time this has ever been done. Instead, I shall talk about labor and industry's biggest customer, the people's best and most economical supplier, our greatest dollar earner in world trade, the key to continuing prosperity and—when neglected—cause of depression, American agriculture.

Born and reared on the farm, my ambition was to practice law. With a 1-year detour to teach school, I was in the Mississippi Legislature at 21, was licensed to practice law, began practice as the junior member of the law firm of Denman, Breland & Whitten, and was elected district attorney of the 17th District (five counties) when 23. I served in that position and practiced law until elected to Congress in 1941.

You may well ask how I got back so close to agriculture. That is easy. In 1944 my successor as district attorney ran against me for Congress and told the truth on me. He said I had served 2½ years in Congress and had not made a single speech for the farmer. Though I had voted consistently for fair treatment of agriculture, I had not spoken for I felt others knew more about the subject than I.

After this campaign, in which I was victorious, I set out to get on the Appropriations Subcommittee for Agriculture. This I did and have now served 15 years as chairman of that subcommittee. Though I also serve on the Appropriations Subcommittee for National Defense and the one for domestic public works, my greatest challenge comes from the fight each year to get over to an urban Congress, and to an urban-oriented public, the importance of a sound, healthy agriculture to the rest of our economy.

AGRICULTURE IS OUR BASIC STRENGTH

During this period, I have witnessed one of the greatest paradoxes of modern history. I have seen the increasing contribution made by the American farmer to prosperity in the United States and to the abundant supply of food for a hungry world. At the same time, I have seen decreasing public understanding of agricultural problems and less and less public appreciation of the role of American agriculture in our economy. I have seen better fed, better clothed, and better housed people questioning whether the American farmer should participate in the "good life" which he has had a major part in creating. I have seen organized efforts to weaken and even eliminate those farm programs which have made possible the major contribution of agriculture to the American economy. I have seen the American consumer "bite the hand that feeds him" time and time again without ever realizing that he was thereby endangering the basis for his own well-being.

Yet our farmers have written one of the greatest sucecss stories in history. The efficiency of American agriculture has become the envy of the rest of the world and has helped to place the United States in the forefront of international affairs. The abundance of food and fiber provided by American agriculture has made this country the largest contributor of food and economic assistance to the less fortunate nations of the world; and our agricultural producers have made possible the highest standard of living in the United States of any nation in history.

We have consistently increased the quantity and the availability of the good things of life, while our life expectancy has constantly increased. As machines, electricity, fertilizers, pesticides, and other chemicals have replaced manpower on our farms, 92 percent of our people have been freed from farm labor to provide the 1,000 and 1 things which make for our high standard of living.

In 1962 we had approximately 78 million automobiles and commercial vehicles and, of course, we have many more now; the rest of the world had an estimated 62 million. We had an estimated 60 million television sets; the rest of the world had around 69 million. We now have approximately 2.6 million miles of paved and surfaced highways; the rest of the world, exclusive of the U.S.S.R., has 1.4 million miles; and so it goes.

Ours is the only nation where the cost of food averages only 18 percent of individual income. United Nations reports show the average for certain other countries as follows:

	Percent
Russia (estimated)	50
Ceylon	50
Great Britain	28
Italy	43
Nigeria	70
South Korea	54
Japan	44
France	31
Yugoslavia	45

A few months ago, desiring to compare farm costs under law with those which labor obtains under various laws, I requested the Library of Congress to supply me with information on "the gross increase in cost of living due to minimum wage laws and the right of labor to organize and to strike."

I received a nine-page reply. The information supplied in the nine pages, however, was contained in the second sentence, which read as follows: "Unfortunately we find it impossible to reduce these phenomena to measurable terms."

Thus, I cannot provide you with facts and figures. However, you know and I know that

as long as we have minimum wages and the right of labor to organize and to strike, to increase their share of the consumer dollar, as long as industry has the right and ability to set its margin above cost, just so long must we have support prices for agricultural commodities, our basic raw materials, the basic requirement of life.

It is equally important that we oppose any policy, the results of which would be to break up sizable and economic farm operations into small and uneconomic units which would result in higher cost of essential commodities to the consumer, and possibly their elimination. Such a course would result in a drastic lowering of our standard of living. If we should take such action it would be just about as sound as to require the manufacturing of automobiles by hand.

Department of Agriculture reports indicate that about 27 percent of the Nation's producers (those with annual gross sales of $10,000 or more) account for some 80 percent of the U.S. agricultural production. These nearly 1 million commercial farmers are the ones to which the consumers must look for the dependable and plentiful supply of high quality and low cost food and fiber.

Within the next decade or two, unless we continue to increase the efficiency of our farm production and provide the economic incentive to induce young and efficient producers to remain on the farm, food surpluses in the United States will likely disappear and the consumer will be faced with possible food shortages and much higher food costs. The 1959 census shows that some 17 percent of all farmers in the United States were 65 or older. An additional 22 percent were 55 to 64 years of age. By 1970, nearly half of the farmers will be 55 years of age or over.

Despite the fact that surplus quantities of certain commodities have been produced in recent years because of the efficiency of agricultural production, it is important to note that supplies on hand are sufficient to meet domestic needs for only a short period of time in the event of a national emergency. For example, the 900 million bushels of wheat now on hand would meet domestic needs and dollar exports for about 1 year or, if necessary, they would meet domestic needs alone for nearly 2 years if exports were discontinued. The 1.2 billion bushels of corn on hand represent only a 3- to 4-month supply for domestic use and export. The 13.6 million bales of cotton in stock would meet the normal annual domestic demand of 9 million bales, plus 1 year's export supply. For dairy products, the 5.2 billion pounds is only 5 percent of a full year's supply.

My friends, with so few people on the farm, our job in the Congress and in other legislative bodies is to get over to all Americans that it is their supply of food and fiber that we deal with; it is their market we must protect. We must not advocate any program of scarcity either for ourselves or for our neighbors.

If we are to help the underprivileged peoples of the world, we will keep producing our bountiful supply of food and fiber and keep them offered, for dollars, on the counters of markets of the world for what they will bring.

With the fire which could upset the world already burning in Vietnam, it is unsound for the U.S. Department of Agriculture to pay American farmers not to produce food and fiber; to hold U.S. cotton off world markets; to cut down U.S. acreage, thus promoting increased foreign production at a time when we need dollars so badly; to advocate programs which would tend to break up large, economic farming operations into small and high-cost ones.

I pointed out to the House during its recent consideration of the 1965 farm bill the fallacy of creating scarcity by paying farmers not to produce. At that time I stated:

"Now is a poor time for this Congress to come in with a bill the purpose of which is to pay the producer not to produce, to cut down supplies on hand when the world may be on fire. May I say, at this time, when you are perhaps on the ragged edge of a downturn in our financial condition, by this bill, you are likely to be setting off not a recession but an actual depression. Price is one thing and volume is another; and if you cut down the farm volume, you are cutting down the farm producers' purchasing power to purchase from you folks and your constituents in the cities who manufacture machinery and equipment.

"Let me give you a little homely illustration. There is a story told about the good king who had the welfare of everybody at heart and it hurt him to see anyone do without what he wanted because of lack of money. So this kind king, knowing little about economics, decreed that plenty of money should be printed and everybody should be given all the money that they wanted. With all this money from the king in their pockets the people all quit work; no one produced; and in 2 years everyone was ragged and hungry.

"Mere money may look all right for the farmer—but neither he nor the rest of us can forgo production, distribution, supply and business activity.

"Money may take care of the farmer's immediate problem but it is not going to put groceries on your tables."

THE NATION'S STAKE IN AGRICULTURE

According to recent figures, our gross national income is approximately $491 billion per year, of which $89.4 billion goes for food. Just think what would be our situation if an additional $49.1 billion of our gross income had to go for food, leaving that much less with which to purchase the products of industry and labor—as would be the case if it took 28 percent of our income for food as it does in Great Britain. And if it took 50 percent of our average income for food as it does in Russia, we would have $157.1 billion less for purchasing industrial and other goods and services.

As I recently told the American Society of Agricultural Engineers at Cornell University. Agriculture is our largest industry. It employs 12 times the number of people in the steel industry, 9 times the number in our automobile industry, and twice the number in the transportation and public utility industries. In addition, it supports directly another 10 percent of our nonfarm population which supplies the farmer with his needs, and processes and markets his products.

It is interesting to note that three times as many people are engaged in the processing and marketing of farm products as in the production of commodities.

Agriculture is a major dollar earner in world markets and, despite the fact that the Department of Agriculture has ignored the law requiring us to sell cotton at competitive prices to maintain our foreign markets, the sale of farm products plays an important role in solving our balance-of-payments problems.

Agriculture is one of the major markets for the products of labor and industry. It uses more steel in a year than is used for a year's output of passenger cars. Agriculture uses more petroleum products than any other industry in the country. It uses more rubber each year than is required to produce tires for 6 million automobiles. The inventory of machinery and equipment for the farms of our country exceeds the assets of the steel industry. Agriculture uses enough electricity to power the six New England States.

Urban workers benefit directly from this rural demand for machinery, equipment, supplies, and the other items used on the Nation's farms. Significant changes in this demand, therefore, have a direct effect on business and employment in urban areas. According to the new input-output study recently completed by the Office of Business Economics, every dollar of agricultural products that is delivered for final demand requires about 78 cents in the products and services of nonagricultural industries.

Agriculture is the principal source of our new wealth. It is the main supplier of basic raw materials which support all segments of business and industry; about 65 percent of the basic raw materials used in industry come from the farm. Reliable estimates indicate that each dollar of wealth taken from the soil generates $7 of income throughout the rest of our economy.

THE WORLD'S STAKE IN AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

Aside from the possibility of nuclear conflict, probably the foremost problem in the world today is hunger. Approximately half of the world's 3 billion people suffer from malnutrition and the World Food Congress was told in 1963 that around 10,000 persons die every day from starvation.

India had a food crisis in 1963. I should say an accentuated food crisis since that vast subcontinent has a year-round hunger problem; so do many other areas in the world, mostly the underdeveloped ones. Moreover, hunger probably will grow more and more intense with the passage of time. The world's population increase is almost unbelievable. Each year births exceed deaths by almost 60 million.

As Senator GRUENING, of Alaska, said in a speech in 1963:

"Two grim specters beckon mankind toward oblivion today. One offers instant and wholesale death by nuclear means. The alternative guarantees eventual starvation when the human population exceeds the food supply."

American agriculture will become increasingly vital in the future as the world's population explosion creates even larger demands for food and fiber. This alarming population expansion can be fully appreciated when it is realized that the population of the world, which reached the first billion by the year 1830, took only 100 years, 1830 to 1930, to reach 2 billion and only 30 years, 1930 to 1960, to reach 3 billion. It is expected to exceed 6 billion people by the turn of the century. The population growth in the United States is more than keeping pace with world expansion. U.S. population increased from 13 million in 1830 to 123 million in 1930 and 179 million in 1960. It is expected to reach 340 million by the year 2000.

Also, the efficiency of American agriculture is a most important and practical weapon in the struggle with communism. The failure of Communist agriculture, a failure which is chronic and deep-seated, has tremendous implications to the hundreds of millions constantly plagued by hunger. The Communist inability to produce efficiently and abundantly plainly tells them—if they get the message—that there is little hope along the Communist road. If they follow this path, as they are being urged to do every day, all they have to look forward to is more starvation and misery.

In my opinion, this contrast between our systems, the contrasts in agriculture, should be used to the fullest. I cannot think of any better answer to Communist propaganda. As Don Paarlberg, of Purdue University, in his book "American Farm Policy," said:

"Agriculture represents our greatest absolute advantage over the Communist world."

OUR FUTURE IS BRIGHT

Recently, in addressing the Mississippi Rivers and Harbors Conference at Jackson, I pointed out that Mississippi can and does look forward to a prosperous future. A few years ago the executive vice president of the

American Bell Telephone Co. told me that in a speech to a large civic club in New York City he said that if he were a young man he would move to Mississippi or South Carolina, for he believed those States had the brightest prospects for economic development of any States in the Union. I truly believe him to be right. We all take pride in our industrial development, largely initiated under that outstanding Mississippi Governor, the late Honorable Hugh White, and carried forward by each succeeding Governor on down to our present Governor, the Honorable Paul B. Johnson, who is doing a splendid job. However, with all of this development, I believe all will agree that we have only scratched the surface.

I sometimes wonder if we Mississippians fully appreciate our many assets. We are prone to compare our standing and influence in national affairs with Illinois, California, New York, and other States far more populous and wealthy. In fact, we do compare favorably, notwithstanding our relatively limited wealth and few people, about 2 million, or approximately as many as South Chicago. No State has made more rapid advancement or can look forward to more complete development; nor have the people anywhere applied themselves to a greater degree to meeting their problems. We all regret some unfortunate occurrences—few though they be—which we have had in some sections of our State. The sum total of all these unfortunate occurrences in our State over a period of years, however, is less than the number which have occurred in many sections of the country on one weekend.

We have only 5 Members, a little over 1 percent of the total of 435 Members of the U.S. House of Representatives, as compared to the 38 Members from California, 24 from Illinois, and 41 from New York. Our Senators have 2 votes of the 100 in the Senate, or 2 percent of the membership there. However, because of your continuing support through the years, both our Senators and my colleagues in the House, with their long length of service, are most influential on the Committees on Appropriations, Judiciary, Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Armed Services, Agriculture, Rules, and others. As I stated before, I am right at the top of the House Committee on Appropriations, where I serve on the Subcommittee on Public Works, the Subcommittee for Defense. In addition, I have served for many years as chairman of the Agriculture Subcommittee on Appropriations. These assignments, certainly, have been a great help in securing the cotton and poultry laboratories at Mississippi State; the weed control, ginning, chemical, and physiological labs at Stoneville; and the sedimentation laboratory at Ole Miss. They have helped, too, in getting special attention to our watershed programs, which are so important to the hill areas of our State, to flood control in the Mississippi Delta, to Jackson and East Jackson. They have resulted in needed attention to the Meridian area, and to harbor development at Greenville, Pascagoula, and Vicksburg, not to mention their worth in funds for rivers and harbor development and for soil conservation.

Although Mississippi's 4 or 5 Members out of the total of 435 in the House of Representatives cannot run the country, do not discount our influence in nearly all areas, which, because of our positions, exceeds our numbers many, many times over.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR FLOOD CONTROL

Agriculture's claims and responsibilities for the use of water are second to none, for agriculture provides our food, clothing, and shelter, the basic necessities for life.

This year our Committee on Appropriations recommended and the House of Representatives approved the following amounts for projects of the Corps of Engineers in Mississippi:

Jackson and East Jackson	$1,500,000
Okatibbee Creek Reservoir	2,400,000
Tombigbee River and tributaries, Alabama and Mississippi	400,000
Sardis Reservoir	70,000
Enid Reservoir	80,000
Arkabutla Reservoir	70,000
Grenada Reservoir	80,000
Greenwood	300,000
Upper auxiliary channels	50,000
Main stem	500,000
Tributaries	950,000
Big Sunflower River, etc	700,000
Yazoo backwater	2,400,000

The following funds will be provided for studies by the Corps of Engineers:

Big Black River	$87,000
Pascagoula River Basin	230,000
Pearl River Basin, Miss. and La	230,000
Tombigbee River at Columbus, including Luxapalila Creek	50,000
Town Creek at Jackson	26,000
Total	623,000

WATER FOR INDUSTRY—WONDERFUL MISSISSIPPI

Today, where other sections of the country are literally crying out for water, while they almost pray for rain, we in Mississippi are spending our time and our efforts on projects for flood control, for watershed protection and for flood prevention.

There are some 4¼ million acres in the Yazoo Valley protected by the main line Mississippi River levee system, extending from the hills near Memphis to above Vicksburg, a distance of 272 miles. These levees, which are to grade and section, and the Mississippi River channel improvement program which insures the integrity of the levee system, have permitted rapid development of this vast area.

On the Mississippi River proper, navigation continues to increase, with the port of Greenville reporting 1,233,197 tons of traffic in 1964, and the port of Vicksburg reporting 1,382,785 tons for the same year.

The so-called Yazoo headwater project, extending from the vicinity of Yazoo City northward along the Yazoo-Tallahatchie-Coldwater system, is about 68 percent complete. The regulation provided by the Arkabutla Reservoir on the Coldwater River, the Sardis Reservoir on the Little Tallahatchie River, the Enid Reservoir on the Yocona River, and the Grenada Reservoir on the Yalobusha River, supplemented by extensive downstream improvements, provides major benefits to about 1,200,000 acres of land. These four reservoirs also are providing major recreational opportunities at a very large rate, with total attendance in 1964 reported at 4,321,030.

Construction is underway, and will be continued, on levees along the main stem of the Yazoo River and along its tributaries. The program of protection from the various smaller hill tributaries entering the delta is coordinated with the work of the Soil Conservation Service in the adjacent hill area.

The Yazoo backwater project, designed to benefit about 600,000 acres of land from Mississippi River overflow, is moving well along, with some 10 miles of levees either complete or under construction, and with a flood gate, costing about $3.1 million, under construction at the mouth of Steele Bayou. The Sunflower River and tributaries project, as envisioned and originally authorized in 1944, is essentially complete. This involves some 600 miles of channel improvement. The further improvement of 110 miles of Steele Bayou and its tributaries, as found justified by studies for the Mississippi River and tributaries report, is now under construction.

The survey report to determine the feasibility of 9-foot navigation on the Yazoo River, from its mouth to the vicinity of Greenwood, has been completed by the Vicksburg district and is now under review by higher authority in Washington.

There is no comprehensive interagency basin study underway in the Tombigbee River Basin, but there are two projects of great interest in that area.

One is an extensive channel improvement project intended to protect agricultural lands against the small but frequent localized floods which do a great deal of damage to crops on tributaries of the upper Tombigbee. The improvement will consist of clearing and snagging, channel enlargement, and the construction of new channels and cutoffs for a total of 466 miles along 22 tributary streams in 9 counties in northeast Mississippi and several counties in northwest Alabama. It is estimated that the overall project will cost approximately $27,500,000 and that the total annual benefits will amount to over $2,500,000. Since benefits from this project will be felt largely in the vicinity of the streams improved, local citizens are required by the authorizing legislation to pay a part of the cost of construction as well as to comply with other conditions of local cooperation.

The other project of widespread interest in the upper Tombigbee basin is the much-discussed Tennessee-Tombigbee waterway, which would extend from Demopolis at the junction of the Tombigbee and Black Warrior Rivers in Alabama up the Tombigbee River and through the divide between the Tombigbee and Tennessee basins to the Pickwick Reservoir on the Tennessee River, an overall distance of 253 miles. Joining the Tennessee River with the Tombigbee River would create an entirely new transportation artery connecting much of the interior of the United States with the eastern gulf coast, cutting waterway distances dramatically between many points. The waterway would stimulate business and industry along its course through northeast Mississippi as well as along the waterways it connects and would benefit all area producers and consumers of commodities suitable for movement by barge.

Construction of the waterway would be a tremendous undertaking, involving improving 168 miles of the Tombigbee River by dredging and constructing four dams, building a 45-mile-long canal with five locks, building a high dam with a lock at the end of the canal, and making a 27-mile-long cut through the dividing ridge. The latest approved estimate of the cost, based on 1958 prices, is $281 million. Because of the magnitude of the project, it has been studied and restudied both before and after its authorization in 1946. The District Engineer at Mobile is now studying it again to determine its economic feasibility on the basis of present-day construction costs, interest rates, and savings in transportation costs. The study should be completed early next summer.

Mississippi is greatly blessed in the richness of her water resources. Much has been done to control and develop them and much more is being done. It is up to us, her citizens to see that the development progresses in a wise and timely fashion so as to contribute most to the wealth and beauty of our great State.

CONCLUSION

During my years in the Congress I have seen the position of agriculture in the legislative halls grow weaker and weaker as the rural population has declined; and I have learned how much more difficult it has been to pass sound farm legislation with a decreasing number of Representatives of rural areas in Congress. I have continuously faced the difficulties involved in providing adequate appropriations to finance our agricultural programs, with a national policy of giving less attention to agriculture while expanding appropriations for urban programs of all types.

In a recent speech to the National Agricultural Chemicals Association, I pointed out that farm purchasing power is probably more

essential to the national economy than is that of labor and industry, since it is the supplier of raw materials. A breakdown in income from agricultural production and the resulting decline in farm purchasing power could set off another depression, just as it has triggered other depressions in the past.

As I said earlier, aside from the possibility of nuclear conflict, the world's foremost problem today is hunger. Certainly we should never promote a program of scarcity. It is unsound to pay American farmers not to produce food and fiber; to limit American commodities offered in world markets; to reduce our reserves on hand and cut U.S. acreage while promoting increased foreign production at a time when we need dollars so badly. Cash instead of labor, cost and risk may look good to the farmer, but neither he nor the rest of us can forego the production, supply, distribution, and the business activity resulting from American farm production. The maintenance of agricultural efficiency, including the incentives to keep young and able people on the land, is necessary to prevent possible food shortages and much higher food costs in the next decade or two.

With so few people on the farm, our job in the Congress and in other legislative bodies is to get over to all Americans that it is their supply of food and fiber that we deal with; it is their market we must protect. It is up to all of us to get these facts over to the American people, that our Nation may continue to enjoy the highest standard of living ever known to man, that we may truly remain the land of plenty.

Carl Albert

SPEECH

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, we can be justly proud of our majority leader, CARL ALBERT. During this session of the Congress, he has been one of the busiest men in the free world. Though weighted down with the tremendous burdens, CARL ALBERT has always been attentive to the wishes of his colleagues. A whisper in the ear during debate, a phone call from those at the bottom of the seniority ladder on either side of the aisle has always received his earnest attention. CARL ALBERT has never been too busy to meet the constituents of colleagues or friends. CARL ALBERT is a leader of great understanding and deeply humility. In his leadership role, he has been sustained by dignity, a sense of humor, devotion to this great institution of Congress and an abiding faith in the destiny of our country. CARL ALBERT is completely devoted to the principles and ideals that made this Nation great. CARL ALBERT has played a leading role in our Nation's economic, educational, spiritual, and military growth.

Some years ago Khrushchev, of Soviet Russia, boasted that he would bury America in the field of economic competition. Khrushchev has been buried politically forever by his own Government because he failed in his feeble effort to outproduce the United States. Under the leadership of men like CARL ALBERT we are winning the economic war. We are in the 57th month of a continued increase in our gross national product. We have created 6 million new jobs. We are winning in Vietnam and our space program is advancing rapidly. His lovely wife, Mary, has sustained and encouraged CARL during this momentous and historic session as always. She is a South Carolinian of whom we are proud. Until next session of this Congress, Mrs. Dorn joins me in wishing for them some rest and the very best always.

Polish Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, on November 11, 1918, an armistice was signed which formally ended World War I. On this day 47 years ago, the German occupation forces were expelled from Poland and the Polish Government reinstated in Warsaw.

This important date in history is remembered by Polish-Americans and free Poles the world over as Polish Independence Day. It is a time when we should all stop and remember the courage displayed by the people of this beleaguered nation, the strength they have shown, and the suffering they have endured since 1918.

In terms of change, the years since World War I seem to us to be an eternity. Another and even greater war shook Poland and the very foundations of the world, strengthening those forces which were set in motion by the first war and which have shaped the world of 1965. Freedom and tyranny, democracy and totalitarianism emerged as the two great opposing forces.

The annals of modern Polish history record the struggle for independence and the devotion to freedom of a strong and courageous people. Because of her strategic geographical location, Poland has necessarily been involved in the great power struggles and has had to endure onslaughts from both sides. And because she has resisted and refused to submit easily to foreign domination, her people have been subjected to greater suffering beyond the battlefield.

Invaded and occupied by German Nazi forces, the battles waged by freedom-loving Poles in Warsaw and elsewhere remain an inspiration to opponents of oppression. Those who protested the postwar occupation by the Red army and the establishment of a Soviet puppet regime were brutally silenced, but they were not forgotten.

Only the sudden arrival in Warsaw of Moscow's highest officials and the threatening advance of Soviet troops prevented an upheaval in 1956 as dramatic and tragic as that which took place in Hungary a few weeks later. Since then, any slight relaxation of Government control has resulted in great rumblings of protest and dissatisfaction with the existing order and an expressed desire for freedom from Kremlin control.

Thus, this day is doubly significant for our Polish-American population—on the same day that the United States pays highest tribute to the thousands of American veterans who have given their lives for the cause of democracy and freedom, we also think of freedom for the captive nations of Europe.

Although this date of Polish independence cannot be celebrated in Poland itself, we in America can rededicate ourselves to the goal of a free Poland and a free world.

Let us never forget that the desire for liberty, freedom of choice, and self-determination is a spark not easily extinguished. We must remember and commemorate November 11, 1918, with the faith that Polish freedom will not become a thing of the forgotten past.

National Security Seminar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, recently I was asked to give the keynote address before the National Security Seminar in Duluth, Minn., sponsored by the Duluth Chamber of Commerce and conducted by the Industrial College of the Armed Forces. The objective of this seminar, as with similar meetings, is best stated by Lt. Gen. August Schomburg, Commandant of the Industrial College. He says:

> The objective of these seminars supports the thesis that the people of the United States have a right to know all the information about our military economic posture that is consistent with national security; a right to know and understand national and international issues; a right to receive an up-to-date, factual analysis of the threats to our security and the security of the rest of the free world; a right to understand communism, its meaning, objectives and techniques in the basis ideological conflict.

I am inserting my address to the seminar at this point in the RECORD:

ADDRESS TO NATIONAL SECURITY SEMINAR, DULUTH, MINN.

The United States today is embarked on a unique and challenging mission. To preserve individual freedom we are developing ways and means of arresting the Communist goal of world domination through subversion. In the sixties, the new aggression is called wars of national liberation. We see this threat to our national security in two forms:

In the Moscow version, the Communist goal can be attained either by wars of liberation, which Kremlin leaders have stated they will continue to support, or by peaceful revolution.

In the more militant Peiping version, violence is the only means. It is this Peiping version, subversion terrorism, which now involves us in our first and foremost case—South Vietnam. But despite their differ-

ences, the end goal of these methods is the same, and the threat is real and it is widespread.

Meeting this challenge of lower spectrum warfare, and on a worldwide basis, is something relatively new for the military services and the other executive branches of our Government. Admittedly the United States does not know all of the answers, but we are making a tremendous effort to find them and to put together a team of political, economic, psychological, and military specialists to cope with this subversion. Our rightful aim is to give the people of the countries plagued by revolutionary subversion, and especially the Vietnamese, the opportunity to determine their own future or to find their own place in the sun.

The leaders of our country have made it unmistakably clear that we will not be pushed out of South Vietnam. I fully agree with this resolve, but, for your sake, I would like to express it in a somewhat different manner.

I have spent some time in the Orient with over 2 years in Burma and adjoining countries in World War II. My Army assignment was intelligence and guerrilla work with native forces. I like these people, and I do not think there is anyone who has the right to force his form of government or economic system upon them. To my mind, as freedom-loving people, it is our responsibility to insure that they, too, are free; free to determine their own form of government, their economic system, their destiny. We should not try to recreate them in our own image, but to resolve to assist them to the extent that they can determine their own future and establish a secure society of free people.

We should bear in mind that all of the military services consider the first and fundamental objective is for them, working with other U.S. executive agencies such as the State Department, the Agency for International Development, and the U.S. Information Agency, to assist friendly nations in preventing subversive insurgency or in suppressing it at a low stage; that is to say, before it gets to the advanced or active state of insurgency such as is evidenced today in South Vietnam. This is being done in many countries around the world, but it does not make many headlines. I will confine my remarks to Vietnam, rather than recite examples of these successes. Vietnam is the spearpoint, the testing ground, the full-blown pilot project of the new Communist aggression.

The implementation of our overseas internal defense policy there is coordinated through the mechanism of the country team. This simply means that the Ambassador or senior State Department representative is charged with coordinating the activities of all other U.S. agencies in the country. The nature of insurgency is such that it requires counteractions based not only on military means, but fully coordinated actions pertaining to economics, politics, psychology, and the entire social structure.

As a matter of logic, it can be said that because of the landbased nature of counterinsurgency, the Army must furnish the predominant number of people and skills to carry out this task. Counterinsurgency is a responsibility of every man, unit, and activity in our Army.

The Army philosophy has been very well stated by Gen. Harold K. Johnson, the Chief of Staff. He has on many occasions emphasized three basic facts:

"1. We will most likely be involved in this type of warfare for a long time to come.

"2. These missions aren't exceptional, or something outside the real task of the Army, and they are not to be reserved for a small group of specialists.

"3. In consideration of these facts, counterinsurgency, or 'stability operations,' has become a third principal mission of the Army, going hand in hand with the mission of being prepared for conventional or nuclear warfare."

Counterinsurgency is the whole range of military, political, economic, and psychological actions taken to prevent or defeat subversive insurgency. Its ultimate aim is to create a free and secure society under a popularly responsive and stable government. Counterinsurgency is a form of war and not a technique of war, as are psychological operations and unconventional warfare.

We have now found it necessary to supplement our basic advisory structure with large numbers of ground forces. I emphasize supplement, as these additional resources do not substitute for our advisers with all elements of the South Vietnamese military. Our advisory efforts with the Republic of Vietnam Armed Forces, RVNAF, must go on.

Militarily, South Vietnam is divided into four tactical corps zones. With each of these corps headquarters of the ARVN, or Army of Vietnam, there is an American advisory team which includes advisers to the commanders and various staff sections—intelligence, personnel, operations, logistics, etc. These people live and work with their Vietnamese counterparts assisting and advising them in their job of pacification and in the elimination of the Vietcong underground, guerrilla and hard-core units.

In each of these corps areas, there will be two or three ARVN divisions which also have U.S. advisory teams assigned to work with them. Additional advisory teams are working with the regiments and so on down to the battalion level.

There are also separate battalions of rangers, airborne, and Marines which likewise have advisory teams working wtih them. The U.S. Navy is similarly working with the Vietnamese Navy, the junk fleet, and river patrol to assist and advise them. The Air Force is doing a comparable job wtih the Vietnamese Air Force. Thus, the principal job of U.S. personnel in Vietnam has been, and still is, that of an adviser. That is, to help them fight their own war.

Politically, South Vietnam is further subdivided into provinces of which there are a total of 45. On the military side, the province chief is referred to as the sector commander. As the sector commander, he also has a group of American advisory personnel working with him on such problems as intelligence and counterintelligence to identify and eliminate the Vietcong internal structure, also on such matters as psychological operations, public safety, education, health, and sanitation, and other problems related to the psychological and sociological well-being of the people in the province. Obviously, in addition to their military background, these advisers must be qualified in a wide and varied field of activities. On the military side, the sector chief also directs the operations of the regional forces and popular forces in his area, and in some parts of the country may also command regional Army of Vietnam units. It is therefore quite apparent that the advisers to the province chief, or sector commander, must be a "Jack of all trades."

Each of the provinces, or sectors, is further subdivided into districts, or subsectors. Some provinces have as few as 2 districts while some have as many as 11. All told, there are 242 districts. Since last spring, specially organized teams have been assigned to work on this level. Today, about 180 have such advisory teams. Their activities are comparable to those of the sector advisers, but they are often located in remote areas, bringing them into even closer association with the people of the area, which is really the heart of the problem. It is often said that the job of counterinsurgency is to win the hearts and minds of the people. The assignment of subsector advisory groups is a relatively recent innovation, but these advisors are down at the grassroots levels working and living with the people. Here lies the salvation of South Vietnam; it is considered by all concerned that it will pay extremely high dividends.

Operationally, the Government of Vietnam carries out its pacification program or rural reconstruction, by what is referred to as the "oil spot" concept. This is the utilization of Army of Vietnam units to clear an area of Vietcong, that is generally a city or urban area, then the clearing operation spreads into surrounding areas. Meanwhile, other Government and military forces will move into the previously cleared area to continue security operations by developing intelligence and counterintelligence to indentify the Vietcong organization, to establish law and order, conduct civic-action type activities, and improve the living conditions of the people. As the clearing and securing operations spread out into additional areas, other governmental agencies are moved into the secured area to assist in the development of sound government, improve the economic conditions, and generally win over the people to the Government of South Vietnam.

We are putting into practice many of the lessons learned in the successful campaigns to defeat Communist-supported subversive terrorism in the Philippines and in Malaya. An essential element in each of these campaigns was a decentralization of the central government, a program of giving villagers and lesser government officials throughout the countryside a greater voice in the decisionmaking process by which they were governed.

While we preach the advantages of decentralization abroad, we are stressing a tendency toward increased centralization of the decisionmaking process in our own government. This centralization has a great many virtues in that it makes any organization absolutely controllable from the top. As long as the decisions made at the top are sound, and as long as the methods of execution are left to subordinates, things will go well. The weakness of such a system is due to the frailty of individuals—any individual. Those decisions are orders and to an increasing degree, people below do not question those orders. As a result, there is no real check on the correctness of the decision at the top. This eventually has the result of the top echelon believing itself to be omniscient, and the people below losing their ability to think for themselves.

In any large organization, governmental or private, the creative ability of the organization is dependent upon disciplined imagination of all the individuals in the organization and organized effort, rather than on the inspiration of a small group. We live in an era of rapidly changing technology, and it is impossible for any one person or even any one group to keep abreast of all the possibilities of these changes. In large organizations, particularly, it is necessary for the majority of the people in the organization to be able to innovate and create new methods of doing new things, based on knowledge and the opportunity for subordinates to develop and use new tools, new methods, and new ideas. Policy should be centralized at the top, but the people below must feel that their imagination, their ideas, the techniques they develop to carry out the policy, must be up to them. Otherwise, there will be stultification, blind obedience, lack of interest, and all the other evils that go with an organization of people who are not permitted to think for themselves.

It is very difficult for a top echelon to lay out a sound policy, the goals and the objectives of the organization, and encourage and inspire subordinates to carry out those policies. It too often happens that the top people want to direct the execution of their own policy, and this kills the initiative below. This results in a slow death of the effectiveness of the organization.

Since the continuing strength of any organization rests upon free exercise of individual initiative and ingenuity, we must not stifle the voice of dissent. It is never easy to draw a proper line between the legitimate exercise of the right to disagree and the unlawful act of undermining an organization or a government. The recent rash of draft card burnings may offer a case in point.

Unfortunately, agitators who have inspired draft card burning in colleges will soon shift their attention to high schools. Their plan is to dissuade high school students from registering from the draft when they reach draft age. You must remember that burning or otherwise destroying a draft card is a Federal crime. You may think it should not be a crime. Or you may think that the penalty of up to 5 years in jail or a fine of up to $10,000 for committing this crime is unnecessarily severe. It is your right to disagree, but not to disobey. It is even your civic duty to act on your convictions in trying to repeal or change the law, but not to participate in or encourage its violation.

It is a healthy sign when youth disagrees with its elders, but survival often means trusting people you don't agree with. I didn't always agree with my commanding officer in World War II, but luckily I reserved my right to express my disagreement until a time when my life and those of my fellow soldiers was not in danger.

You may believe the draft law to be unnecessary, unwise, or unjust. But the U.S. Supreme Court in 1918 declared the Selective Service System to be constitutional. Of equal importance is the 1919 decision of the Supreme Court on the matter of agitation. At that time, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes said: "When a nation is at war, many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its efforts that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight, and that no court could regard them as protected by a constitutional right." Of course, we are not formally at war with the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese, but formal declarations of war appear to be passé. What is important today is the spirit of these Supreme Court decisions.

We have had too many people in high office imply that there is something inherently and constitutionally right about unlawful activities. There are those in leading academic institutions and in highly placed positions in the civil rights movement who argue that progress can only come through a flaunting of the law. They sincerely believe that you must shock people to effectively call attention to injustice. They cite as historical examples of their thesis the French Revolution and the American suffragette movement.

But the French citizens revolted against an oppressive, unfeeling, dictatorial government. There is no analogy to our present Government of and by the people. And we have established by law the equality of both sexes. We have legislatively pronounced and enhanced the dignity and equal worth of each individual, regardless of the circumstances or location of his birth.

In short, we are a self-governing society, enjoying the fruits of freedom under law, and prospering under a system of justice according to law. The exercise of the right of freedom of speech, and the right to peaceably assemble and to petition the Government, must not be subverted into a license to undermine that very Government.

I have been deeply interested in civil rights and individual liberties. As a Congressman, I have taken pride in my role in the draftsmanship and passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The first amendment to the U.S. Constitution prevents Congress from making any law abridging the freedom of speech. In addition, it guarantees "right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." Those who would speak out freely in bitter dissent of our policy in Vietnam should consider the degree to which they are prolonging the conflict and increasing the casualty lists by giving encouragement to the Communist-supported forces who oppose us. Those who assemble to advertise their grievances must remember the constitutional limitation on their rights; an exhibitionary demonstration which adversely affects the rights of others at a point far removed from the seat of government does not clothe any exhibitionist in a first amendment right. We must be vigilant to protect and preserve the legitimate exercise of constitutionally guaranteed freedoms, but equally, we must reject the subverted use of these privileges.

Human progress is based on a combination of rebellion of thought and obedience to authority, and we must guard against a blind extreme of either. The main function of active dissent is to keep the people in power at the top from getting arrogant or soft and complacent. The main function of respect for law is to pull together to get things done once we have decided what to do. It is clear that the United States has decided to stay in Vietnam until the job is done.

Fifth Annual Meeting of Episcopal Society for Cultural & Racial Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, the Episcopal Society for Cultural & Racial Unity, a nationwide organization of bishops, priests, and laity of the Episcopal Church, headquartered at 5 Forsyth Street NW., Atlanta, Ga., recently held its fifth annual meeting in Jackson, Miss. In view of the gunning down of the Selma, Ala., based ESCRU field representative, Jonathan M. Daniels, on August 20, and the serious injury sustained by a Roman Catholic priest, the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, I was deeply concerned at the time that adequate steps be taken to insure the safety of the participants in the meeting. I urged the Department of Justice to take all appropriate measures to this end, and I am happy to report that the conference proceeded without incident.

Among their activities were firsthand inspection in the delta of church work and voter registration projects. ESCRU has made a fine record in encouraging progress in the field of civil rights and all human rights for all Americans. The executive director of ESCRU, the Reverend John B. Morris, is one of the most respected priests of the Episcopal Church. The assistant director, the Reverend Albert Dreiseach, Jr.; one of the field representatives, the Reverend Malcolm Boyd; and the director of the southern field service, the Reverend Henri A. Stines, are all experienced priests of the Episcopal Church with full-time responsibility in the field of civil rights and in bringing about cultural and racial unity.

Mr. Frederick H. Sontag of Montclair, N.J., who has since been named consultant to the national board of ESCRU in recognition of his long-time work in the field of civil rights, has called to my attention the fact that originally the conference program included a talk entitled, "Selma, a Continuing Ministry of Presence," by Jonathan Daniels. Before the conference was held, the tragedy at Selma occurred. In a sense the conference became a living memorial to Jonathan Daniels. I am glad that New Jersey Episcopal priests, laymen, and laywomen had a share in these sessions.

Record of the 1st Session of the 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, it is my honor to serve in Congress as the Representative of more than 500,000 persons who live in the Third Congressional District of New Jersey which is comprised of Monmouth and Ocean Counties.

As a former schoolteacher and school principal, I am a strong believer in homework and report cards. For that reason I plan to contact almost every person in my district through the mails and ask them to write me and grade the work we have done in the 1st session of the 89th Congress. The people who have given us the privilege of serving them in Congress certainly should be provided with a full report of our activities.

The 89th Congress has been referred to as the "Education Congress" because of its legislation in this field. Basic to our democratic way of life and to our national future is the principle that every American child is entitled to as much education as he wants and can usefully absorb. I am sure most of my colleagues will agree that ability to learn, rather than ability to pay, must be the standard of educational opportunity.

As a freshman Member of the House, it was my good fortune to be assigned to the House Committee on Public Works as well as several of its important subcommittees. I say fortunate because this committee assignment is not only extremely important for my district but it also has given me the opportunity to learn under some of the most able men in this great body.

I sought an assignment to the Public Works Committee because its scope of operations, I felt, deals most directly with the needs of my district. For instance, the Water Quality Act of 1965, which I was proud to cosponsor, is aimed at ending pollution in the streams and rivers throughout the Nation. The people of my district are vitally concerned about water pollution and they have expressed overwhelming support of this measure.

Another measure which was sponsored by the House Public Works Committee

and approved by the Congress was the omnibus rivers and harbors bill. This bill included approval of a $8 million inlet across the Sandy Hook Peninsula. Another item included in this bill should help alleviate the problems of the obnoxious weeds along the Metedeconk River in Ocean County. Congress voted a $5 million study of this problem which has harmed fishing, swimming, and other outdoor sports in many areas of the Nation.

Those residents of the shore area who suffered financial damage during the 1962 storm can attest to the importance of an insurance program which would cover losses caused by such a disaster. I introduced a bill in the House which instructs the Federal Government to investigate how such an insurance program can be operated. That bill is now law. My bill will determine whether the Federal Government can assist private insurance companies in providing such insurance protection at a reasonable cost.

Mr. Speaker, the first session of the 89th Congress has accomplished much. As the New York Times said in a recent editorial:

> The 89th Congress, nearing the end of its 1st session, has been the best Congress since World War II.

President Johnson, in describing this first session of the Congress, said:

> From your committees and both your Houses have come the greatest outpouring of creative legislation in the history of this Nation.

From those who oppose the work of the Congress we hear the term "rubberstamp." Mr. Speaker, if these people mean we were rubberstamps when we approved such legislation as medicare, then I urge all of my colleagues to plead guilty. This legislation affects more than 61,000 people in my district and I was glad to give it my support.

I might add, Mr. Speaker, that those who hurl the rubberstamp charges must disagree with other legislation we passed such as the excise tax cut, the Immigration Act amendments and the voting rights bill. I, for one, feel confident that the people who elected me to office would be greatly disappointed if I became sensitive to rubberstamp charges and opposed these worthwhile and necessary programs.

At this point I place in the RECORD a list of major bills which I supported and which were approved by the 1st session of the 89th Congress. In doing so I feel it will give my more than half million constituents an opportunity to study the legislation we have passed and comment on what they feel also should be done in the 2d session of the 89th Congress:

Medicare and social security amendments: Provides hospitalization, surgical, and nursing home care for persons 65 years and older, financed through the social security system: increases social security benefits, retroactive to January 1, 1965, and makes other liberalizing changes in social security law.

Elementary-secondary education: Provides Federal grant program to improve elementary and secondary education under local control, with bulk of aid for school districts where there are large numbers of children from poverty-stricken families.

Excise tax reduction: Provides excise tax cuts totaling $4.7 billion on various consumer items such as appliances, telephone service, autos, and so forth; eliminates most Federal exises by 1969.

Omnibus Housing Act: Expands current urban renewal, public housing programs, extends FHA loan insurance program, encourages urban planning and beautification in housing; provides new rent supplement program for certain low- and moderate-income families.

Voting rights: Strengthens machinery for guaranteeing right to vote to all citizens by prohibiting poll taxes, literacy tests; provides for Federal registrars in States where less than 50 percent of potential voters are registered or voted.

Public works and ecoonmic development: Provides expanded program of grants and loans to communities for public works, development facilities, and other projects intended to aid economically depressed areas.

Water pollution control: Expands water pollution control program, grants for waste treatment plant consrtuction; strengthens Federal enforcement authority to clean up our rivers and streams.

Department of Housing and Urban Affairs: Establishes a new Cabinet-level department to administer programs affecting the 70 percent of our population that now resides in metropolitan areas.

Omnibus farm program: Improves and extends feed grain, wheat, dairy, and cotton programs, encourages cropland retirement, bolsters farm income.

Immigration Act amendments: Abolishes discriminatory national origins quota system over 3-year period; establishes a 170,000 annual limit on immigrants, special preferences given to relatives of American citizens.

Appalachian regional development: Authorizes comprehensive State-Federal program to assist in the development of the economically depressed, 11-State Appalachian region.

Manpower development and training: Extends and expands manpower training program to assist unemployed in learning new skills to qualify them for better jobs.

Higher education: Authorizes expanded 5-year program to assist colleges and universities to improve educational opportunities; provides student loan and scholarship to aid needy students.

Economic opportunity program: Increases authorization for antipoverty program, makes other improvements in the operation of various parts of the war on poverty.

Military pay increase: Provides an average 10.4-percent pay increase for some 4.2 million uniformed personnel of the Armed Forces, effective September 1, 1965—2.7 million on active duty, 1 million reservists, 500,000 retired.

Regional medical centers: Authorizes 3-year program of Federal grants to plan and develop a series of regional medical programs to fight heart disease, cancer, and stroke.

Arts and humanities: Creates a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities to assist and foster broad cultural programs in art, music, films, ballet, and so forth.

Health professions education: Extends and expands program of construction grants to medical, dental, and other similar educational institutions; establishes new program of scholarship grants for needy students, increases student loan program.

Presidential continuity: Adopted proposed amendment to the Constitution to establish procedure to permit Vice President to become Acting President if the President is unable to perform his duties; provides for filling the vacancy of the office of Vice President.

Congressional organization: Created a joint committee to study the organization and operation of Congress and to make recommendations to improve and streamline the work of Congress.

Health research facilities: Provides for extension of program to construct health research facilities; establishes three new Assistant Secretaries of Health, Education, and Welfare to administer expanded programs in this area.

Community health services: Extends programs for public health services providing vaccinations, immunization, other preventive treatment of diseases, migrant health clinics, and grants to States for general health services.

Mental health services: Provides for initial staffing grants for personnel serving in community mental health centers.

Drug controls: Expands Federal control over certain depressant and stimulant drugs to reduce the illegal use of these dangerous drugs that affect the central nervous system.

Older Americans: Establishes new Administration on Aging in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to develop programs to assist the aged.

Juvenile delinquency: Extends present law to assist communities in the development of new programs to prevent or control juvenile delinquency and youth crime.

Water resources development: Extends and broadens research program of converting saline water; another new law provides grants to States for the coordination of water resources planning and development; another new law establishes a grant program to assist in development of water supply and sewage disposal facilities in rural areas; a separate program was authorized to plan a water supply system for the northeastern part of the country.

Air pollution: Establishes machinery for controlling motor vehicle air polluants, accelerates air pollution research program, creates new program to find methods of disposing of solid wastes.

Highway beautification: Provides for gradual control over billboards, signs, and so forth, along Federal-aided highways of the interstate and primary systems; offers incentive grants for improvement of scenic areas along such highways.

Federal pay: Provides salary increase for Federal classified and postal employees, attempting to achieve more equitable relationship with pay of employees in private industry; makes other fringe benefits in pay and overtime allowances.

High-speed rapid transit: Authorizes 3-year program of research and demonstration projects for development of high-speed intercity railroad transportation.

State technical services: Establishes new 3-year program of Federal-State-local-technical cooperation to provide technical service centers to disseminate findings of scientific and technological importance to commerce and industry.

Retired Government employees: Provides for cost-of-living increases in annuities to retired employees of Federal Government.

Vocational training: Expands vocational rehabilitation program to aid disabled persons; another new program provides Federal loan insurance to high school graduates to finance tuition at business, trade, technical, and other vocational schools.

The Sale of Wheat to the Soviet Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, some of the proponents of increased East-West trade have been busy urging that we sell wheat to the Soviet Union without any

political strings attached. Among other things, they have argued that the Soviet Union has been displaying a much more moderate attitude, which would be further encouraged by a show of generosity on our part.

Mr. President, under unanimous consent I insert into the RECORD three items bearing on this subject.

The first item is an article captioned "Kosygin Admits Bread Shortage," in the New York Herald Tribune for October 1, 1965. The second item is an excerpt from a broadcast on Vietnam by Radio Moscow on October 13, 1965. The third item is an article, captioned "North Vietnam Leads Cuba in Missile Bases," which appeared in the Washington Star on October 21, 1965:

KOSYGIN ADMITS BREAD SHORTAGE

(By Stuart H. Loory)

MOSCOW.—Bread, the food which is more important than practically any other in this country, may be in short supply here this year, Communist Party chief, Leonid Brezhnev, has hinted.

In an unexpected lecture on the state of agriculture, Mr. Brezhnev told the party's policymaking Central Committee Wednesday the party and government "envisage further improvement in supplying the population with bread both qualitatively and quantitatively."

This was the first indication this year that the admittedly disastrous grain harvest would result in any need to improve the bread supply. It had been widely thought that with the 9 million tons of wheat purchased abroad during the summer, the successors to former Premier Khrushchev had taken adequate steps to guarantee an uninterrupted supply of bread to the population.

In 1963, Mr. Khrushchev had to buy about 12 million tons of wheat abroad, and he moved too late in the year. As a result, bread was in short supply during the winter of 1963–64. It now appears that his successors may have to buy almost as much wheat as he did.

Mr. Brezhnev's statement was a hint that this summer's wheat-purchasing efforts had already failed to meet the goal of enough bread for the population during the coming year.

The indication came in a somewhat pessimistic progress report on the results of the sweeping new farm program adopted at the last Central Committee meeting in March.

The one factor neither the party nor the state planners could do anything about—the weather—ruined harvests in the virgin lands of central Asia, Siberia, and in some Volga River areas.

At the same time, the party chief charged, bureaucrats continued to starve agriculture in an attempt to meet plan goals in industry.

"The tendency has not been overcome to improve other affairs, to 'balance' the figures at the expense of agriculture, to infringe on the interests of the collective and state farms," he said. "And this happens despite the absolutely clearcut decisions of the March plenum of the Central Committee.

FURTHER AID PLEDGED IN ANTI-IMPERIALIST FIGHT

(NOTE.—Excerpt of radio broadcast, Moscow in English to South Asia (Aleksandr Kushnir commentary) Oct. 13, 1965.)

[Soviet Union] not only denounces America's dirty war in Vietnam but also effectively helps the Democratic Republic of Vietnam's Government to build up its defensive capacity. Soviet weapons are being used against the piratical American aircraft which bomb North Vietnam and they will continue to be used for this purpose.

[From the Washington Evening Star, Oct. 21, 1965]

NORTH VIETNAM LEADS CUBA IN MISSILE BASES

(By L. Edgar Prina)

There are now more Soviet-built surface-to-air missile installations of the so-called permanent type in North Vietnam than there are in Cuba, according to lastest U.S. intelligence estimates.

About 30 SAM bases are operational or nearly so in North Vietnam compared with 25 in Communist Cuba.

Most of the sites in Vietnam ring the capital city of Hanoi. A smaller number defend Haiphong, the big port through which, it is believed, the big missiles, their radars and other equipment pass after their arrival by sea aboard Soviet-bloc ships.

Some military sources believe it is unlikely that the buildup of missile sites in North Vietnam, which has been taking an increasingly heavy pounding from U.S. Navy and Air Force planes, has been completed.

In addition to the 30 "permanent" SAM sites, an undetermined number of mobile surface-to-air rocket launchers are operating against our pilots.

The United States has acknowledged publicly the loss of five aircraft to missiles from these mobile launchers. U.S. forces claim to have knocked out two launchers—called "mobile" because they can be moved and set up at a new site within 24 hours. The latest success was scored on Sunday by five Navy jetplanes flying off the carrier *Independence* in the South China Sea.

It is believed that Soviet technicians probably work at the mobile launcher sites as well as at the SAM bases. Because it is the policy of the Johnson administration to downplay the extent of the military aid Moscow is giving to Hanoi and the reluctance to kill Russians lest the war expand, official information on U.S. attacks on such targets has been skimpy. There was no mention of any personnel on the ground being killed or wounded in Sunday's strike which demolished a missile launcher 52 miles northeast of Hanoi.

Meanwhile, American aircraft losses to enemy ground fire appear to be increasing. Earlier this week, the total since the U.S. air campaign began last February was put at 111. The Communist Chinese claim that more than 600 have been shot down.

Gen. John P. McConnell, U.S. Air Force Chief of Staff, said recently that our losses were proportionately greater in Vietnam than they were during World War II but less than in the Korean War.

The Record of the 1st Session of the 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, it has been a great privilege to have served as a Member of the 89th Congress. It is no exaggeration to say that this Congress has made for itself a notable place in American history. Resting to a very large degree upon the consensus established by President Johnson and the Democratic Party this Congress has been able to pass legislation, both foreign and domestic, which has been long overdue. In a great sense this has been a "housekeeping Congress."

Since the end of World War II of necessity, a large share of our productive capacity and national energy has been poured into the cold war—the defense of the free world. As a consequence we put aside many domestic needs. We delayed many programs in education, urban renewal, transportation, housing, cultural affairs, communications, health, and conservation. Now we are able to turn our attention toward the Great Society.

In this session we enacted legislation in the broad area of social security. We increased the benefits themselves. We passed medicare, and we extended additional funds to medical research and medical and dental education.

In the field of education we passed for the first time in history, aid to elementary and secondary education. We broadened Federal assistance to higher education and we made a striking contribution to our cultural development by creating the National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities. This Foundation will redress the balance with the development of the sciences which has been a necessary part of our national defense posture.

In many ways this Congress will be remembered as the "Urban Congress." We took formal recognition of the fact that the United States has moved from the agrarian society of Thomas Jefferson to the urban society of Lyndon Johnson. We raised to Cabinet status a new department of the Government—the Department of Housing and Urban Development. In this same field we passed an Omnibus Housing Act. We also took action in one of the most vital areas of our needs: mass transportation. Despite a well developed highway program we are well aware that one of the most pressing needs of our urban society is the development of an extensive, fast moving, safe, efficient, and low fare system of public transportation. To those of who live in the vast megalopolis developing between Rhode Island and Virginia this is of greatest urgency.

Our hard-working First Lady, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, nudged us into taking a good look at the Nation's growing ugliness. Under her inspiration we passed the Highway Beautification Act. We also took a hard look at our growing problem of water pollution. The rivers, the streams, the lakes of America have been a part of our national heritage. But in an industrialized society we have allowed them to be filled with refuse. The Water Resources Act and the numerous conservation acts we passed will, within 10 years, restore their pristine beauty.

Yet this Congress was realistic. Despite overall prosperity and the expansion of our gross national product we took a hard look at the "Other America." We now recognize that an affluent society unfortunately creates its own poor. There are those who simply fall below the net of economic well being. The reasons why are many, varied, and complex.

Our War on Poverty may well be but a beginning, but it is a good beginning.

Two pieces of legislation can be called "Acts of Conscience." One is the historic Voting Rights Act. In this we offered the power of the Federal Government and the authority of the Constitution to guarantee that every American may exercise his birth right—to cast freely a secret ballot. Secondly, in the amendments to the Immigration Act we returned to this country's proud, traditional role as the haven of the oppressed. Because of this the Statue of Liberty stands a bit taller.

Let us bear in mind that we were able to appropriate the moneys for these extensive housekeeping tasks, and yet reduce taxes. We will pay the bills of the Great Society out of the growing abundance of an expanding gross national product.

In foreign policy we have worked toward strengthening the U.N. as an effective forum for world opinion and as a peacekeeping agency that rises above East-West conflict. The Congress has authorized the funds to be contributed to the U.N.'s subsidiary agencies which are devoted to international economic and social development such as the World Health Organization, the World Bank, the Food and Agricultural Organization, and the U.N. Special Fund. We have consistently upheld President Johnson's hand in his threefold program:

First. To contain Communist aggression.

Second. To assist the economic and social development of other free nations.

Third. And to foster organizations of international cooperation among sovereign nations of the world.

In Vietnam we face the naked sword of Communist aggression, this Congress has provided the sinews of war.

It has been my privilege to place before this House a number of pieces of legislation. These include legislation to provide for orderly succession to the Presidency when the President is disabled; a bill to provide for a bipartisan committee to study our election system at every level; a bill to provide an exemption from the draft for persons serving in the Peace Corps, and Volunteers in Service to America; a bill to provide that teachers may deduct additional educational expenses from their Federal income taxes; a bill to provide the benefits of the GI bill to veterans of the cold war. I have also offered a concurrent resolution asking the five States which border on New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont to restrict the sale of alcoholic beverages to those persons 21 years or older.

As the New York Times put it, the "89th Congress has been the best Congress since World War II." At last the Nation has had the benefit of the work of a modern-minded Congress that addressed itself to the needs of a complicated society entering the last third of the 20th century.

The Colorado River: An Invaluable Water, Power, Recreation, and Conservation Resource for the Entire Pacific Southwest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD two letters to the editor of the Los Angeles Times which have appeared in recent editions of that southern California metropolitan newspaper.

These letters illustrate the vitally important role that the Colorado River has come to play as a water, power, recreation, and conservation resource for the millions of citizens who live in America's great Pacific Southwest region.

The letters follow:

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, Oct. 11, 1965]

BRIDGE AND MARBLE CANYON DAMS ON COLORADO FAVORED BY READER

The proposal to build Bridge and Marble Canyon Dams along the Colorado River has been attacked on several occasions in the letters to the Times column by well-intentioned individuals who have not reached bedrock in their grasp of the facts.

Highways have made it possible for millions of us to see the Grand Canyon because they were built despite similar objections that they would desecrate the beauty of the canyon. The dignity of my soul and the rejuvenation of my spirit have been enhanced because these roads were built.

These dams and the lakes they create will not "violate" the Grand Canyon. True, impounded water will border a portion of the national park. Rather than to destroy or pervert, however, this lake will provide access for millions to a beautiful area of the park which is now almost totally inaccessible.

A recent 2-day symposium at UCLA on ground water developed the theme that storage capacity in surface reservoirs has less value than underground storage. Fissure and sandstone storage at Lake Powell actually add to the value of that reservoir. The Colorado River water percolating into the walls of Glen Canyon will be retrieved whenever the water level in the lake drops to the point where it will flow back out again.

Statements from opponents of progress regarding the price of power completely miss the point about the value of hydroelectric power for peaking purposes.

There is an economy in avoiding the construction of coal fired or atomic reactor steam generation capacity. Steam generators do produce low-cost power but only if they are utilized at a high load factor (practically all of the time). The hydroelectric power generated by these two dams would command a supplementary power peaking price.

In the economy of the Southwest, there is a need for more hydroelectric generating capacity to couple with the advantages of steam power generation.

If Bridge and Marble Canyon Dams existed today and some group were to propose that they be unwatered, you can be sure the fishing and recreation groups would not be sitting on their hands.

RICHARD A. SMITH.

FALLBROOK.

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times]

RANGE OF ELECTRIC NEEDS CITED IN SUPPORT OF DAMS ON COLORADO

Because southern California depends so heavily upon the Colorado River and because our ability to earn a living will require continued development of that stream's natural resources, I should like to support the opinion of Richard Smith, of Fallbrook, in his recent letter to the Times that dams at Bridge and Marble Canyons are needed. The need for low-cost energy increases as the demand for electric service by industries, food producers, and homes increases.

Low-cost energy can be obtained by the combinaiton of large baseload steam-electric plants which are being built today, using oil, gas, coal and nuclear fuels, and by peaking plants such as the hydroplants on the Colorado River.

The demand for electrical energy on large utility systems varies from a low, during the early morning hours, to a high around 6 p.m. of about 2½ times the low. This large variation in electrical demand cannot be supplied economically by steam-electric generators alone. The use of hydroelectric peaking plants to meet the large variation in electrical loads is essential to optimize the benefits from a well engineered power system.

The Bridge and Marble Canyon Dams, with their low-cost hydroelectric power, will be a tremendous asset to the Southwest. The influence of these new installations to hold down power bills will create more jobs. Money saved on industrial electrical bills lowers product prices, permits higher salaries and, of course, reduces living costs all round.

In addition to these practical, economic advantages, the new dams will smooth out the now uncontrolled and almost inaccessible streambed of the Colorado River at those locations and create lovely lakes which millions of average American families can enjoy on summer weekend vacations.

PHILIP CORRIN,
President, Colorado River Association.

October 28, 1918: Czechoslovakian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, 47 years ago, on October 28, 1918, the independent Republic of Czechoslovakia, comprising Bohemia, Slovakia, and Ruthenia, was established by the peace treaties which ended World War I. The creation of Czechoslovakia freed the Czech people from foreign domination for the first time in 300 years.

Under the outstanding leadership of Thomas Masaryk and Eduard Benes, the new Czechoslovak Republic built a liberal and progressive democracy and instituted far-reaching land reforms, a system of social insurance, special guar-

antees to protect the rights of minority groups, unionization and rapid industrialization.

Then came the betrayal of the Czech people and their nation in the cowardly appeasement at Munich.

The young Czech Republic fell under the heel of Nazi totalitarianism and soon became an important and tragic victim of the Soviet Communists.

On June 7, 1948, after a bloodless coup and sham elections had cemented Communist control, Eduard Benes resigned his position as the second President of the Czechoslovak Republic.

The Republic was dead.

October 28 will mark the anniversary of the proudest, happiest day in Czech history.

It is indeed tragic that while people of Czechoslovak descent in America commemorate this independence day, it is not observed in Czechoslovakia.

It is tragic that Czechoslovakia, which enjoyed a brief but vital period of freedom, remains under Communist domination and has even become a Communist showcase and model satellite.

I believe, nonetheless, that within the hearts of the captive Czech people there still beats the same love of freedom and liberty which inspired and charted the early course of the Czechoslovak Republic.

I join all Czechoslovak-Americans today in paying tribute to the indominatable Czech spirit of freedom.

In observing this independence day, we reaffirm our trust that the Republic of Czechoslovakia may again take its place among the free nations of the world.

Jerry Ford

SPEECH

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, this is a great Congress. The 80th Congress was a great Congress. Future leaders abounded in the 80th Congress. President Johnson, the late President Kennedy, former Vice President Nixon, and many others served in that Congress with honor and distinction. A young man who served in that illustrious group—and also marked for leadership—was JERRY FORD, the distinguished and able minority leader of this House.

JERRY FORD, in this Congress, has been the epitome of statesmanship. He has fought as an American and has placed the welfare of his country ahead of partisanship and personal ambition. He has offered constructive opposition and has made possible, by his cooperation, some of the greatest achievements of this Congress.

JERRY FORD could have stayed on the sidelines and criticized when America's destiny was being shaped in southeast Asia. Mr. Speaker, JERRY FORD supported our Vietnam policy and helped mold the united backing necessary for a winning team which has halted Communist aggression.

Minneapolis Urban Renewal Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, while many cities across the country are experiencing serious problems with their redevelopment projects, Minneapolis Gateway Center is a remarkable success. Although less than a quarter of the project was finished in 1964, that part paid more taxes in that year than the entire Gateway area did in 1958.

Metropolitan magazine, a publication for city administrators and planners, has recognized this success and devoted four articles in its July 1965 issue to describing Minneapolis. Knowing that my colleagues are also interested in studying successful renewal efforts, I am inserting an excerpt from one of these articles:

CITIZENS ARE CITY SHAREHOLDERS

Each citizen of Minneapolis is a city shareholder because the city is his business; he owns it through his voting privilege, and through common ownership of all the city's facilities.

The concept of citizens as investors in the city is a worthy analysis based on investigation of the Minneapolis case. In urban renewal, urban design, culture, and pleasant living, private money has teamed with public funds to make an investment for the corporate good.

During the last decade, $235 million in private investment was made to rebuild the city's heart.

Northstar Center is an outstanding example. Described as a downtown superblock, it is a privately developed $25 million complex of three buildings connected by ramps with two other blocks of buildings. One of these, the 180-room Northstar Inn, has parking for 1,000 cars.

Property for Northstar was acquired and the complex developed wholly with private funds by Baker Properties which manages it.

Parking garages downtown with over 6,000 stalls are privately operated for a profit. Most are owned by Downtown Auto Park, a corporation set up by downtown businessmen because they felt they could do the job more cheaply than the city could.

Lyman Wakefield, vice president of the First National Bank, who also serves as Auto Park president without pay, says they have proved it. One example: Auto Park recently acquired land for a parking garage, paying $23 per foot. Fifteen years before, the city recommended a garage at the same site and proposed to pay $45 a foot.

This is in sharp contrast to the experience in acquiring Northstar Center land. Without powers of eminent domain, Baker Properties paid dearly to the last holdout for the final parcel. Significantly enough, Baker's current project, Capital Center in St. Paul, is being built on land acquired by the Government through urban renewal channels. Leslie Park, spokesman for Baker, admits the difficulties of land acquisition are the reasons why.

Don Knutson, president of Kuntson Enterprises, developers of Gateway Center, says categorically, "It can't be done privately. Gateway involved 201 separate parcels—1 small piece had 23 owners."

The housing and redevelopment authority acquired and cleared the land at Gateway for $360,000. Private enterprise already has invested $45.5 million and projects a total investment of over $80 million. According to Bob Jorvig, dedicated director of the authority, "Though development of the cleared land is in the hands of a private corporation (Knutson Enterprises), they had to bid for it, guaranteeing at least 50 percent development."

Gateway is Minneapolis' well-publicized success. More quietly the city is pioneering a new kind of in-town commercial renewal.

"It is a self-help program for local commercial areas that are not physically gone but economically obsolute," explains Larry Irwin, director of the Minneapolis Planning Commission.

"The program is an experiment in urban design, ala the Kevin Lynch studies at Harvard," he says. "It's based on what the people of the city want; what they relate to. It may be something gaudy instead of pastoral."

The city makes certain promises for public works improvements, offers design services and a market analysis of population of the area, spendable income and shopping habits. Any action is up to local merchants.

Whether this approach will work or not, remains to be seen. Lately, on an evening, Mr. Irwin has found himself at neighborhood luaus and German beer festivals plying his line of friendly persuasion.

Downtown Minneapolis has one unique example of private investors becoming overenthusiastic and the need for public funds, constructively applied to "bail them out."

Several years ago a real estate research study showed that 1,400 additional hotel rooms would be necessary in the core of Minneapolis by 1970. Private money rushed in and built 2,400 rooms. Now the city is adding a convention hall annex to the old auditorium which is undergoing complete remodeling.

These facilities will vie for convention business to fill up the hotel rooms and bring in "foreign" capital from other cities and help maintain Minneapolis' favorable balance of payments.

Minneapolis has a penchant for culture. Compared to the city's midwestern surroundings it seems almost too self-conscious. The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, in celebrating its 50th anniversary this year, claims to be, "more than a museum * * * a truly meaningful part of the community."

If rival cities knew the drawing card of the city-built $2.5 million Tyrone Guthrie Theater, they would quickly invest in a similar home for a live or repertory theater in their communities.

Public Works Director Hugo Erickson calls the University of Minnesota, now spilling over to the west bank of the river, "an integral part of the life of the city."

Henry Rutledge, of the Northwestern National, calls it a "large and growing business. Dr. Wilson, its president, is keenly aware of the University's part in the whole community."

With such a glowing picture of life in Minneapolis and the sweetness-and-light cooperation of the diverse sectors of the community, diagnosticians and market pundits may well advise citizen shareholders to keep all their eggs in the Minneapolis basket.

The 89th Congress—A Republican View: Was Rational Debate Possible?

SPEECH

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, in reporting to my constitutents at the close of this 1st session of the 89th Congress, I must say that after the major defeat which occurred in the last election, my primary task both as a member of the minority and as chairman of the conference of all 141 minority party members has been to battle to keep two party government alive and the Congress independent. I hope the battle has not been lost.

Certainly it is clear that the battle was and continues to be necessary. The President's majority leader of the Senate, MIKE MANSFIELD, Democrat, of Montana, acknowledged the deep need for such a battle when he confessed the serious deficiencies contained in the laws passed by the Congress during this first session. He called on the second session to "spend less time on new legislation and more time correcting oversights in legislation we have just passed."

Speaking to a Democratic caucus of his Senate colleagues recently, Senator MANSFIELD said that the Congress "must tighten up the hasty enactments" and that it must eliminate from these recently enacted laws "a number of gaps and any number of rough edges, overextensions and overlaps."

This is a startling admission from the lips of the President's majority leader in the U.S. Senate. But the implications to be drawn from this statement and, more importantly, from the record that gave rise to this remarkable confession go much deeper that the spectacle of a Congress that has acted too hastily and too much as a satellite of the President.

In essence, Mr. Speaker, this is just one more symptom of an affliction that is becoming widespread in our society. This affliction stems in large measure but not exclusively from the overwhelming dominance of one political party both in its control of all key governmental units and in its ability through the sheer power it controls to dominate all facets of the communications media.

This has led, wittingly or unwittingly, to a situation in this country where much more than the Republican Party is the loser—the real loser is the fundamental underpinnings of representative government—in short, the process of rational debate on public issues. I intend to demonstrate that this is fast becoming the rule rather than the exception through example after example of what went on during the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

But, before that, Mr. Speaker, I would like to develop exactly what I mean in a little more detailed examination.

Under our representative government, it has been traditionally the practice that the people adhere to the laws that they, in effect, have given themselves. The process through which the people evolve their own laws is a twofold process: they elect Representatives to Congress to represent their interests and to evolve in a formal sense the laws that will govern the people, but the people themselves also participate directly and indirectly in this evolution through communications with their Representatives, through public statements, letterwriting campaigns, and a host of other activities.

The elements contained in this twofold process can, in the final analysis, all be lumped together under the heading of "public discussion."

This process is faltering in America.

Meaningful discussion and public debate are losing ground to superficial but effective appeals to emotion and passion. Yes, we use more words than ever in what appears to be public discussion. But, in many instances, the profusion of words tends to hide rather than reveal the truth. The unfortunate tendency, fanned by a too-powerful Central Government, is to label particular positions "good" or "evil" even before public debate on their merits has begun.

A good example of this is the recently enacted medicare legislation. There was little tolerance displayed for discussing the prudence of the particular solution proposed. Anyone who attempted to debate the specific aspects of the solution were automatically classed as calloused, reactionary, and, in general, against old people.

Nothing could be further from the truth as evidenced by the fact that a substantial portion of the legislation that was finally enacted was in fact the Republican alternative advanced and developed by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES].

Yet the general impression conveyed to the great majority of citizens, was that Republicans in seeking to debate the provisions of medicare were in fact opposed to the enactment of any form of aid to our elder citizens for medical and hospital costs. This, of course, was not the case. Republicans sought to provide a solution that would not penalize young people and low income people through an oppressive payroll tax that taxed the first dollar of earnings. We recognized what Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, Democrat, of New York, later voiced as reported in the New York Times, that "we'll have to go to the general revenue for funds; we can't raise social security taxes." He pointed out:

> Social security benefits are inadequate and they should be doubled.

But he apparently recognized what Republicans have attempted to convey for a long time, that the oppressive payroll tax penalizes those who can afford it least. Social security was meant to be a retirement fund and, if confined to that, the system could handle its obligations without undue stress. Whether it can also handle other exceedingly costly benefits such as hospital care without imposing intolerable burdens on low income citizens is highly doubtful.

In an atmosphere of rational discussions, this would have been recognized and a more equitable and workable solution than finnacing hospital costs through a regressive payroll tax would most probably have been found.

The same kind of atmosphere prevailed in the evolution of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Unlike the other party, Republicans in their 1964 platform recognized that voting rights is the key to all other civil rights. The platform called for "such additional administrative or legislative actions as may be required to end the denial, for whatever unlawful reason, of the right to vote."

The other platform made no mention of voting rights.

Republicans in the House and the Senate introduced voting rights legislation in the last session before the administration even decided to present a bill.

The administration bill, when presented, provided a remedy for discrimination only in 6 Southern States and Alaska and in 37 counties in certain other States—including 1 county each in Arizona, Idaho, and Maine—a clear substitution of one form of discrimination for another.

Recognizing this, Republicans attempted to improve the administration legislation by providing a remedy for unconstitutional discrimination wherever it occurs and regardless of the device used to achieve discrimination.

The result? Loud charges and denunciations of Republicans as being against voting rights legislation.

Even the highest officeholder in the land contributed directly to this process when he said, on July 10, that the Republican substitute "would have seriously damaged and diluted the guarantee of the right to vote for all Americans."

No debate on its merits; just a flat denunciation.

The process I have described of labeling positions good or evil without any meaningful public debate on their merits often leads to a reluctance on the part of responsible citizens to engage in rational and meaningful debate on controversial issues.

Obviously, Mr. Speaker, no one likes to place himself in the position of debating whether to adopt an evil policy.

The consequence is that the evil policy is automatically excluded from the discussion process.

And whole segments of opinion are systematically suppressed.

The respected columnist, William S. White, writing in the Washington Post deplored the atmosphere that is beginning to pervade this country. He deserves quoting:

> In short, a widely pervasive rhetoric among chic politicians and commentators is evolving a geometrically impossible figure. In their view of politics there is a right line—which, of course, is bad. There is then a central area in this absurd parallelogram—but there isn't any left line at all. In this wonderfully simplified arrangement everybody who is not a bad fellow on the bad right is simply a good fellow at the center; a "moderate," as the saying goes. Nobody remains to be on the left; because, like the right, the left is a term toward which the national mood is not kind.

White said that the Republican Party "in an institutional sense" is the principal victim of "this distortion of semantics and of definition, simply because it shelters more true conservatives and relatively more ultraconservatives than does the Democratic Party."

He goes on:

> But if the situation is unfair to the great bulk of the Republicans as men and women innocent of the slightest taint of far-right extremism—not to mention to millions of conservative Democrats—it is much more unfair to something more basic. This something which is being victimized is the inherent right of the people to a system of political discussion which at least in its definition of terms is intellectually just to all the participants, and not merely overly kind to one set of them.

A political dialog based upon oversimplified rubbish is not worthy of adult minds. Nor will it in the long run foster wise and grownup decisions on men and issues.

Mr. Speaker, the atmosphere which Mr. White describes is becoming more rather than less prevalent in this country. And it is evident not only in public policy areas dealing with domestic matters but in foreign policy considerations as well.

A particularly flagrant example occurred earlier in the year with regard to our actions in Vietnam.

In the example to which I refer, the majority leader of the U.S. Senate was quoted by the UP as having charged GOP leaders with "demanding an alternative more suitable to Genghis Khan or to the Communists than to the United States."

One would expect, Mr. Speaker, that the minority leader of the House had called on the President to launch a preemptive nuclear attack on the Soviet Union or Red China rather than to call merely for a better use of our air and sea power against more significant military targets in North Vietnam.

Because this example would serve as a useful case study of the kind of suppression of rational debate to which I refer, under unanimous consent it will be included in the RECORD at the end of my remarks. This case study will include my initial statements of June 14 and June 21, early statements by Minority Leader GERALD FORD, the intemperate remarks of Senator MANSFIELD and Senator CHURCH on the floor of the Senate, and my reply of July 16 to the Senate majority leader.

Mr. Speaker, an isolated instance of this kind could be overlooked if it were merely an isolated instance. But it is much more than that. It is merely one of the countless examples one could cite of the studied refusal of an overwhelmingly dominant party to engage in rational debate on the important issues of our time.

Subsequent events have vindicated the House minority leader's call for rendering the SAM missile sites ineffective before they became operational and before American pilots were lost.

Yet, the mere suggestion by the House minority leader that this country take certain actions—which as a matter of fact it later was compelled to take—called forth, not reasoned discussion of his proposal but abuse and denunciation.

Mr. Speaker, this is one aspect in the foreign policy area of the suppression of rational debate. There are certainly others. And, as we have seen they abound on the domestic level as well.

My remarks today in my report to my constituents was meant to deal primarily with the domestic issues that were hastily enacted by the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

It has been said that this Congress will go down in history as the outstanding example so far of a Congress that has wilfully given up its power to the Executive and that performed almost exclusively as a rubberstamp for the Executive.

In my remarks to this body on March 1, 1965, I said:

> The Congress of the United States exists to serve the citizens of the United States—not the executive branch of the U.S. Government. This body is a full partner in the process, not a poor relation.
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> * * * * *
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> I do not say that Congress should, or Republicans should automatically oppose every request of the Executive. I do say that Congress should, and I pledge you that every Republican will carefully weigh every such request.
>
> We have heard the Chief Executive speak to the Congress and tell us of his plans and programs for the Nation. We know that many of his party in the Congress will support all of these as a matter of course. We know that the sheer mathematics of political reality means that most will pass.
>
> We also know, however, that there is danger that it will be only mathematics, and not political morality, that will guide many of these passages.

And so it was, Mr. Speaker. Sheer mathematics and an abrogation of its duties and responsibilities in this first session led to the passage of so many pieces of legislation without due reflection, without full hearings in committee and without sufficient debate on the floor that the President's own majority leader in the Senate was moved to call for a slowdown and a reevaluation of what had been hastily enacted.

What were some of these hastily enacted pieces of legislation that were steamrollered throughout the Congress?

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act, of which Democratic Congresswoman EDITH GREEN, of Oregon, said during debate on the floor of the House:

> Today it seems to me we have in the House a determined effort to silence those who are in disagreement.

The bill was faulty, among other reasons, because it was reported out of committee in great haste. The Wall Street Journal noted that the committee "under prodding from an impatient White House * * * deliberated all of 20 minutes." The handling of this piece of legislation was called a mockery of the legislative process by Democratic Congressman PUCINSKI, of Illinois. At least 10 of 25 amendments were rejected on the floor without discussion due to the gag-rule limitation on debate.

The bill to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act was railroaded through a cowed and subservient Congress. No amendments were permitted on the floor of the House. An amendment which the Senate committee later adopted as germane—the religious conscience clause—was excluded from consideration in the House because it was said to be nongermane as were several other amendments designed to protect the rights of individual workers.

The Appalachia regional development bill was railroaded through the House without so much as a comma being changed because the word from downtown was to enact it without change.

The arts and humanities bill was forced through the Education and Labor Committee after about 15 minutes of consideration, reporting a bill the minority members had seen for the first time that day after the majority railroaded several significant amendments with no deliberation through the committee.

The Highway Beautification Act was considered by the Public Works Committee on July 20, 21 and 22. The hearings were then adjourned with the understanding that the complex proposals should be studied further and acted upon early next year. With no warnings, hearings were reopened on September 3 and 7, while the committee and its staff were absorbed with the Omnibus Rivers and Harbors and Flood Control Act. The act was debated and passed by the House on October 7 with the final vote being taken well after midnight. At one point in the proceedings the House voted 121 to 84 to allow but 8 minutes of debate on five separate amendments.

The voting rights bill was considered by the Judiciary Committee. Administration forces on that committee methodically rejected all significant amendments offered by Republicans. On the House floor the same general attitude prevailed. With the exception of the Cramer amendment to prevent election irregularities, any significant amendment offered by a Republican was blindly voted down.

Mr. Speaker, these are some examples. There are many more. Again, referring to my March 1 remarks when the handwriting on the wall could already be seen, I emphasized:

> We Republicans stand ready to work with all of our colleagues in the Congress to assure that the voice of the American people still may be heard at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue.
>
> And we warn all of our colleagues that, unless the legislative branch stands for something more than a rubber stamp, it is not Republicans who will be a minority—it will be the entire Congress, dwarfed and dragooned by a great and overbearing executive branch.

And so it is the Congress that is becoming, as one political scientist tells us, something like the House of Lords in the British system with little intrinsic importance and even less real power.

We have heard a great deal, Mr. Speaker, in this last session of Congress about the great American consensus that is being fashioned at the hands of our President. But our experience in the past 12 months should make clear to everyone that the great consensus of the great planned society really boils down to a great conformity.

And conformity precludes the exercise of rational debate which is one of the basic ingredients not only of a free society but of a representative government.

By precluding rational debate on measures which are to be enacted into law one obvious byproduct is that many inequities and defects will result because majority Members fall into the habit of taking everything the administration proposes on faith and by direction and because minority Members lack the votes to effect any changes or to force real deliberation.

It has been said that it is better to debate a problem without resolving it than to resolve a problem without debating it.

One obvious example which illustrates the results of resolving a problem without debating its ramifications fully flowed from the legislation which increased benefits for social security recipients. By not exploring all of the ramifications of its actions, the Congress inadvertently caused the termination or reduction of the pensions of tens of thousands of veterans.

The added social security payment meant a reduction of the income of these veterans. One hard-pressed constituent, for example, wrote:

> It just isn't right to increase his (her husband's) social security $73.68 a year and cut his (veterans) pension $300 a year.

No, it is not right but that is the price the little guy pays for a Congress that lets itself become a subservient arm of the executive.

And that is by no means the whole bill. That particular veteran and thousands like him are paying a lot more than the visible cut in his pension.

He is paying a national sales tax that will all but wipe out his 7-percent increase in social security benefits even if his veterans's pension is restored to full value.

That sales tax is inflation.

Inflation cuts the purchasing power of the dollar and for those, like this veteran, who are on fixed incomes, a few cents knocked out of the buying power of the few dollars he receives each month means a great deal.

And inflation is caused, among other things, by ill-advised Government policies that pump huge amounts of borrowed dollars into the economy.

Appropriations in this last session alone amounted to $119 billion. And the war in Vietnam has not been adequately financed yet.

This is $36 billion more than was appropriated by the last session of Congress under the Eisenhower administration. Add to the $119 billion, $7 billion in backdoor spending authorized by this Congress already and $5 to $7 billion still needed for the war in Vietnam which will be requested next January, and a more realistic picture of what this Congress has spent unfolds.

Where do we go from here, Mr. Speaker?

Some have said that this was a "do everything Congress."

Well, in terms of outspending every other Congress in history, it was.

In terms of injecting itself into practically every aspect of our citizen's lives, it was.

In terms of encroaching on the rights of the States and localities, it was.

In terms of a hundred other areas and actions of the Federal Government, it was.

But one major columnist has pointed out that in another sense the 89th Congress so far has been a "do-nothing Congress."

It did nothing to curb or stop the rise of serious crime in America.

It did nothing to stop the irresponsible spending of billions of dollars of taxpayer's money as the purchasing power of the dollar steadily weakened.

It did nothing to halt the reckless misuse of union power in the industrial field.

It did nothing to curtail the abuses that are going on abroad in the foreign-aid program.

It did nothing about trading with the enemy.

It did nothing about a lot of other top priority items in the domestic field and in foreign policy.

Mr. Speaker, the record I have outlined of the 1st session of the 89th Congress which only treats selected highlights demonstrates, in my view, clearly and unequivocally the ill effects of a representative system of government that is heavily out of balance.

The traditional checks and balances of our system of government—the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government—were designed to serve as the brake system which would prevent the unchecked use or abuse of power under our system of government.

But as the historical record indicates, the brake system can only work when it is vitalized with the brake fluid of two strong and independent political parties.

When a heavy imbalance exists as is the case today, the whole system begins to break down.

All Americans, Democrats, Republicans, and independents have a vital stake in a restoration of a strong two-party system in this country.

Mr. Speaker, even with no chance of countering the mathematical superiority that faced us in this first session, Republicans were not idle.

Alternative proposals were offered to major bills proposed by the administration and although systematically rejected in most instances, a cohesive effort was made by Republicans to institute a public dialog and present their case in meaningful and rational terms.

The distinguished minority leader (Mr. GERALD R. FORD) has made an outstanding contribution in outlining much of the Republican record in his observations on the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

Republicans offered sound proposals, had some impact on legislation and executive actions, presented a cohesive front, reorganized the Republican conference, issued timely position papers and always attempted to be constructive in their alternatives. Their own initiated proposals and their criticism.

REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVES

For six of the major bills proposed by the administration and passed in this session, there were alternative proposals supported by a majority of the House Republicans. In every case the Republican alternative dealt more adequately with the problem without unnecessary extension of Federal power.

VOTING RIGHTS

The administration's bill on voting rights (H.R. 6400), as originally introduced, provided as we have seen, a remedy for discrimination only in six southern States and Alaska, and in 37 counties in certain other States, including one county each in Arizona, Idaho, and Maine. These strange results were achieved by language which limited the application of the bill to places which used literacy tests or tests of moral character for voters and in which fewer than 50 percent of the voting-age population voted in the 1964 election.

Republican House members and Republican Senators introduced voting rights legislation before the administration got around to deciding to present a bill.

The basic difference between the administration proposal and the major Republican alternative, the Ford-McCulloch bill (H.R. 7896), lay in the fact that the Republican bill provided a remedy for unconstitutional discrimination wherever it occurs and regardless of the device used to achieve discrimination.

The administration bill wiped out literacy and other tests wherever fewer than 50 percent of the voting-age population voted in 1964. The Ford-McCulloch bill did not disturb nondiscriminatory qualifications for voting established by States.

The administration bill required Federal court approval of any new voting laws passed by the States to which it applied. The Ford-McCulloch bill did not restrict State authority to enact new nondiscriminatory voting laws.

The administration bill, as originally introduced, approved of the poll tax, providing that Federal examiners would collect it in areas in which they operated to register voters. The Ford-McCulloch bill directed the Attorney General to initiate a speedy court test of the constitutionality of the poll tax.

MEDICARE

The medicare bill, included in the Social Security Amendments of 1965, is an amalgamation of the administration proposal and a Republican alternative offered by Representative JOHN BYRNES, of Wisconsin (H.R. 7057).

In contrast to the bill originally proposed by the administration early in the session, the Byrnes bill provided a system of insurance for the elderly.

First. Covering all medical expenses, not just hospitalization.

Second. Offering voluntary rather than compulsory coverage.

Third. Financed by a combination of general tax revenues and premium payments by the insured, avoiding the regressive social security tax.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL AID

The administration's bill to aid elementary and secondary schools (H.R. 2362), presented as a measure to assist poverty stricken children, is in fact the first general aid to primary and second-

ary schools passed by the Congress. Under this bill, $2.1 million will be granted by the Federal Government to Westchester County, the wealthiest in New York State, for the education of children from poor families. Sunflower County, Miss., with median family income only one-fifth that of Westchester County, will receive only $745,000 for the education of children from poor families.

Republicans sought to make it a bill which would do what it professed to do: aid poor children without undue Federal control of State, local, and private schools.

The Republican effort was directed toward, first, channeling Federal funds only into areas of need within each State; second, recognizing differences in financial ability and need among States; third, concentrating the program upon the needs of deprived children; and fourth, reducing the discretionary authority of the U.S. Commissioner of Education.

A Republican approach to the problem of expanding and improving elementary and secondary schools was incorporated in H.R. 6349, offered by Representatives WILLIAM AYRES, of Ohio, and THOMAS CURTIS, of Missouri, and others. This bill relied chiefly on the device of tax credits for individuals who pay for schools through State and local taxes directly or indirectly as well as for those who incur expenses for students in higher education. This bill would have diverted $3 to $5 billion annually from the Federal Treasury and made it available for additional support for education at the State and local level.

In addition, H.R. 6349 provided $300 million annually to the States for the education of deprived children aged 3 to 7. Unlike Project Head Start under the poverty program, which provides uneven summer schooling for some deprived children, this bill proposed a systematic national effort to give preschool education to children who need it.

APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT

The administration bill (S. 3), which became law, provided for an Appalachian Regional Commission with authority in 360 counties in 10 States to plan the expenditure of funds for various public works, particularly highway construction, in a region that includes many severely depressed areas.

The Republican alternative, offered by Representative WILLIAM C. CRAMER, of Florida (H.R. 4466), would have extended Federal assistance to all economically depressed areas throughout the Nation instead of to a single region. Unlike the administration bill, which provides aid to prosperous as well as depressed areas in the region to which it applies, the Cramer bill proposed to limit aid to places suffering economic distress and high unemployment.

The Public Works and Development Act of 1965—Public Law 89-136—is, like the Cramer bill, a measure intended to assist depressed areas throughout the Nation. It raises serious problems of duplication and conflict with the Appalachian Regional Development Act.

CABINET DEPARTMENT DEALING WITH URBAN AFFAIRS

The administration bill establishing a new Cabinet agency, the Department of Housing and Community Affairs (H.R. 6927), was defective in many respects. It did no more than confer a more prestigious title on certain existing agencies. It brought together in the new department less than one-third of the Federal Government's housing activities and only a minor fraction of Federal activities and funds aimed at assisting States and municipalities to solve the problems of metropolitan areas. As passed by the House of Representatives, it made no provision for the continued existence of the Federal Housing Administration, a defect which Republicans sought to correct and which was finally remedied in conference.

The Republican alternative, offered by the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. DWYER] (H.R. 5173), and several other Republicans, would have created an agency in the Executive Office of the President to deal with metropolitan area problems. This agency would have been a center of coordination and information for all Federal programs and activities relating to urban areas.

HOUSING

The administration's housing bill (H.R. 5840), as originally presented, offered a scheme of rent supplements for families whose incomes were above the levels set for public housing tenants. Under this plan, some families with an income of more than $11,000 in some places would be eligible to have a part of their rent paid by the Federal Government. Beyond this, the bill provided largely for a continuance of existing Federal housing programs.

A Republican substitute, offered by Representative WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, of New Jersey (H.R. 9501), sought to modify existing housing policy in several important respects:

First. By giving residential redevelopment in urban renewal a higher priority.

Second. By stimulating rehabilitation of existing sound housing.

Third. By utilizing existing privately owned rental housing for low-income tenants.

Fourth. By lower interest rates on loans for college housing and housing for the elderly.

Fifth. By providing new FHA mortgage financing for veterans.

Many of the features of the Widnall bill were incorporated in the measure which was enacted.

REPUBLICAN IMPACT ON LEGISLATION

In spite of the fact that Republicans in this Congress hold only one-third of the seats, there were occasions when the Republican minority exerted an important influence on legislation.

A 7-percent increase in social security benefits was approved—a proposal which Republicans made in 1964, but which was voted down in the last Congress by Democrats acting on White House orders.

The repeal of Federal excise taxes—a step which Republicans have advocated for many years and which was called for in the Republican platform of 1964—was accomplished this session. In 1964, a Republican proposal to repeal retail excise taxes was defeated by Democratic votes.

Other changes made in the social security system were influenced by Republican initiatives and conform to longstanding Republican policy. One was the liberalization of the earnings limitation beyond which elderly pople become ineligible to collect their social security benefits. The other was the liberalization of coverage requirements for people over the age of 72 in order to qualify for benefits.

Similarly, Republicans took the lead in advocating changes in tax policy to lighten the burden of medical expenses. The Congress repealed maximum limitations on income tax deductions for medical care insurance and authorized a deduction of one-half the cost of medical care insurance up to $150.

The medicare bill passed by the Congress incorporates in its provisions much of the Republican bill offered by Representative JOHN W. BYRNES, of Wisconsin. This bill is not limited to hospital care as the administration recommended. In its final version it covers doctors' bills and other medical costs in provisions borrowed from the Byrnes bill.

The Housing Act passed by Congress contains six significant features from the Republican substitute proposed by Representative WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, of New Jersey:

First. Low-income private housing: This new program will provide immediate relief to low-income families who have been living in substandard housing in those areas where there is a long waiting list for public housing. It will use any adequate existing housing on a voluntary basis at a cost not exceeding present public housing rental levels, without the gigantic expense of constructing new public housing units.

Second. Veterans housing program: The first major veterans' benefits legislation affecting so-called cold war veterans ever to be enacted by the Congress, this will also apply to an estimated 21 million veterans who have failed to use or qualify for VA home loan benefits. Comprehensive benefits include no down payments for homes costing up to $15,000, with as little as $500 down on a $20,000 home.

Third. Low-interest-rate college housing: Conferees accepted this proposal, despite the firm opposition of the Johnson administration. It will provide $1.2 billion in lower rent college housing, avoiding an expensive Federal grant program.

Fourth. Low-interest elderly housing: To prevent the phasing out of a highly successful program administered by churches and other nonprofit organizations, a program with rents at a level they can afford will be available to elderly people of low income.

Fifth. Compensation for condemnees: This provides, for the first time, prompt and equitable compensation for homeowners and small businessmen displaced

by urban renewal and other housing programs.

Sixth. Rehabilitation loan program: Sponsored by Republicans in the 1964 Housing Act, the low-interest loan program for tenants, homeowners and small businessmen in urban renewal areas received a $400 million authorization. This was not requested by the administration.

A notable improvement in the housing bill was made with the adoption of an amendment offered by Representative JOHN C. KUNKEL, of Pennsylvania, aiding homeowners who became unemployed because of the closing of Federal installations. It placed a moratorium on FHA-insured loan payments of such persons and authorized the Secretary of Defense to acquire their properties for FHA disposal when the owners were unable to dispose of them on reasonable terms.

The Voting Rights Act as passed contains at least two provisions of Republican origin. One was the clean elections provision proposed by Representative WILLIAM CRAMER, of Florida, inserted in the bill over the opposition of a majority of the Democrats in the House of Representatives. The bill as finally passed dealt with the question of the poll tax by directing the Attorney General to secure a speedy court test of the constitutionality of the tax—the approach used in the Ford-McCulloch bill.

The immigration bill contains a ceiling on immigrants from the Western Hemisphere because of Republican effort. Because of opposition from the White House and the State Department, an amendment to bring such immigration under control, presented by Representative CLARK MACGREGOR, of Minnesota, was voted down by Democrats in the House. This provision prevailed in the Senate, however, and was incorporated in the final version of the law.

Republican initiative and solid Republican support saved for State Governors some power of veto over projects under the poverty program within their States in opposition to the effort of most Democrats to eliminate any vestige of State control over this program.

Republican initiative and solid Republican support led to the denial of funds for the rent supplement program under the Housing Act until guidelines in keeping with the intent of Congress are drafted by the Housing Administrator.

Republican initiative and solid Republican support led to the denial of funds for a federally directed National Teacher Corps because no hearings had been held in the House on this proposal.

On the other hand, an initial Republican success—the prohibition of the use of agricultural funds for aid to Nasser voted by the House at the motion of Representative ROBERT MICHEL, of Illinois, on January 26—was reversed under severe administration pressure on February 8.

REPUBLICAN INFLUENCE ON EXECUTION ACTION

In some instances the policy of the President and other executive agencies responded to Republican proposals.

On April 30, the House Republican leadership proposed the creation of an inter-American police force to restore peace and order in the Dominican Republic. On May 3, the administration offered this proposal to the Organization of American States.

The appropriation of an additional $700 million for defense as a means of emphasizing national unity and national resolve in the face of Communist aggression on two continents was suggested by Minority Leader GERALD R. FORD at a White House Conference on Vietnam problems. The administration subsequently requested the increased appropriation. It was granted with the unanimous support of Republican Members of both House and Senate.

Since mid-1963, Republicans in Congress have been urging the administration to take the lead in convening an international monetary conference to deal with the urgent balance-of-payments problem. In 1965, the urging was renewed by Representative ROBERT ELLSWORTH, of Kansas, and by the joint Republican leadership on July 1. On July 10, Secretary of the Treasury Henry Fowler announced that the U.S. Government would issue a call for such a conference.

Representative GLENARD LIPSCOMB, of California, WILLIAM MINSHALL, of Ohio; and I as members of the Defense Appropriations Committee brought to public attention the inadequacy of the administration's defense budget for the prosecution of the war in Vietnam. In order to give the appearance of holding Federal expenditure below the level of $100 billion in the fiscal year and to leave room for Great Society legislation, the administration devised its defense budget on guidelines set in 1963, which did not take account of the involvement of 150,000 and more American troops in a shooting war in Asia. The result, as the Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee under Senator STENNIS has found, is a dangerous drain on personnel, equipment, and ammunition in other parts of the world.

REPUBLICAN SOLIDITY

Republican ranks in the House of Representatives held fast on important votes throughout the session. On the 26 rollcall votes in which a party position was formulated by the House Republican Policy Committee headed by Representative JOHN RHODES of Arizona, 87 percent of the votes cast by Republican Members were in support of the party position and only 13 percent in opposition.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PARTIES

During this past session of the Congress, there were 93 rollcall votes on which a majority of the Republican Members of the House voted in opposition to a majority of the Democrats. On these votes in the aggregate, 81.4 percent of the Republican votes were on the side of the majority of their party and 80.2 percent of the Democratic votes were in agreement with the majority of their party.

These 93 votes reveal some significant differences between Republicans and Democrats.

The general conclusions to be drawn from these votes is a Republican preference for a more discriminating approach to national problems. Republicans opposed and sought to modify the loosely drawn, ambiguous, blank check approach of the Democratic majority.

Republicans showed themselves more concerned than most Democrats about such things as prudent use of tax dollars, the danger of inflation fired by big increases in Government spending and unending deficits, the stifling of State, local, and private initiative by the spread of an overweening Central Government, the peril of runaway bureaucracy, and the application of the commonsense principles of good management in Federal programs.

For all of these reasons, a majority of Republicans in the House of Representatives, in contrast to a majority of the Democrats, voted against such things as—

Doubling the authorization for the poverty program at a time when loose administration prompted the Committee on Education and Labor to launch a full investigation of the program.

A rent supplement program whereby taxpayers would help to pay the rent of families earning in some areas more than $8,000 a year and possessing assets of as much as $25,000.

A foreign aid program of $3.2 billion which all agree needs dractic overhauling.

A farm bill which will mean that Government payments in 1966 will equal one-third of realized net farm income but will not solve the farm problem.

A Public Works and Redevelopment Act modeled after the discredited Area Redevelopment Act and the Advanced Public Works Act.

A Highway Beautification Act rushed through the House without adequate deliberation.

Republican Members even voted against a pay raise for themselves, again unlike a majority of the Democrats.

In order to provide a more consistent and vigorous foreign policy, Republicans unsuccessfully attempted to place restrictions of foreign aid funds so that the American taxpayer would not be financing anti-American regimes or assisting nations that are helping North Vietnam in the war in which 150,000 American fighting men are now engaged. For these reasons most Republicans supported a prohibition against American aid to nations engaged in supplying North Vietnam and against further shipment of agricultural commodities to Egypt's Nasser and Indonesia's Sukarno.

In order to preserve the integrity of State and local governments, most Republicans sought to—

Retain the veto power of State governors over poverty program projects.

Maintain the power of the States to forbid compulsory unionism.

Permit the people of each State to decide the basis of representation in one house of their State legislature.

Defeat appropriations for a federally controlled National Teachers Corp.

Secure legislative recognition of the rights of States to set standards of water purity in rivers instead of trans-

ferring this authority to the Federal Government,

Maintain State authority to determine the use to be made of areas adjoining highways.

Maintain the right of States to deny the suffrage to people unable to read or write the English language.

PLANNING AND RESEARCH COMMITTEE

Early in the session the Planning and Research Committee was established as an organ of the Republican Conference of the House of Representatives. This new agency was created to help mobilize activity toward the development of long-term solutions to national problems.

The Planning and Research Committee issued in August a report entitled, Vietnam: Some Neglected Aspects of the Historical Record." Columnist Roscoe Drummond said of this report:

This is loyal opposition at its best.

Headed by Representative CHARLES E. GOODELL, of New York, this committee supervises the activities of 13 task forces, each of which has spent this year in the study of major public policy problems in its field of jurisdiction.

Several of the task forces have made reports containing constructive proposals in 1965. All will make a substantial contribution to the positive Republican program in 1966.

The task forces and their chairmen are:

Agriculture, ODIN LANGEN, of Minnesota.

Congressional reform and minority staffing, JAMES CLEVELAND, of New Hampshire.

Economic opportunity, PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey.

Education, ALBERT H. QUIE, of Minnesota.

Federal civil service, ANCHER NELSEN, of Minnesota.

Latin America, cochairman F. BRADFORD MORSE, of Massachusetts, cochairman DONALD RUMSFELD, of Illinois.

NATO and Atlantic Community, PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois.

Nuclear affairs, CRAIG HOSMER, of California.

Platform implementation, JAMES BATTIN, of Montana.

Unemployment compensation system, JOHN W. BYRNES of Wisconsin.

United Nations, JOHN B. ANDERSON of Illinois.

Urban and suburban affairs, CLARK MACGREGOR, of Minnesota.

Voting rights, WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH, of Ohio.

REPUBLICAN SUPPORT OF ADMINISTRATION BILLS

Several enactments of the past session received strong Republican support. Republican House Members judged each bill on its merits and gave approval to administration measures that served the public interest.

Among the bills that were given strong Republican support on final passage were the following: The higher education bill; vocational training loan bill; the immigration bill; the Export Control Act; constitutional amendment on Presidential succession; the Older Americans Act of 1965; various bills in the field of health; excise tax cuts; manpower development and training bill; expansion of veterans' benefits; various anticrime bills; pay raises for military and civilian personnel; legislation for the control of air and water pollution and water resources planning; and the voting rights bill.

A SAMPLING OF REPUBLICAN LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS

Republican Members of the House of Representatives introduced bills which comprise a comprehensive, broad-gaged, and constructive legislative program.

At least 256 bills expanding and liberalizing social security were offered by Republicans. These bills dealt with such matters as reduction of the age requirements for beneficiaries, increasing the maximum age for eligibility of children, expansion of the system to groups not presently covered, and increasing the amount of earnings permissible without sacrifice of benefits.

At least 61 Repubican bills were introduced for the reduction or repeal of excise taxes.

At least 59 Republicans introduced voting rights legislation, generally patterned after the Ford-McCulloch bill.

At least 54 Republicans introduced bills providing for a new program of medical care for the aged. The three major approaches were typified in the proposals of Representatives THOMAS B. CURTIS (H.R. 3728); Representative FRANK T. BOW (H.R. 21), and Representative JOHN W. BYRNES (H.R. 7057).

At least 46 Republicans proposed a constitutional amendment to permit the people to employ factors in addition to population in the apportionment of one house of State legislatures.

At least 27 Republicans introduced bills to establish a coordinating office concerned with urban area affairs in the Executive Office of the President.

At least 28 Republicans introduced bills establishing a Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government to do the job which two Hoover Commissions did in the past.

Nine Republicans introduced a freedom of information bill defining the authority of Federal agencies and officials to withhold information in order to make available a maximum of information to citizens and taxpayers.

The House Republican Conference adopted the recommendation of its task force on education, headed by Representative ALBERT QUIE, of Minnesota, for legislation granting a tax credit against the costs of higher education. A large number of Members have sponsored bills like Mr. QUIE's which permits a credit up to an amount of $325 per student annually.

At least 78 Republicans have now introduced the Human Investment Act, a bill granting credits against the Federal income tax to business for the expenses of retraining present or prospective employees to upgrade their skills.

At least 60 Republicans have introduced legislation of the type recommended by the House Republican task force on agriculture, headed by Representative ODIN LANGEN, of Minnesota, to establish a World Food Study Commission to determine population trends and food needs for the future.

This list could be extended indefinitely. It is meant to be illustrative, not exhaustive.

Mr. Speaker, it is clear that in the face of overwhelming odds Republicans gave a good accounting of themselves in the session just ended. But it is also clear that the future of the two-party system in this country and the restoration of meaningful public dialogue in the hammering out of programs and solutions hinges most directly on the early return in this country to two strong and independent political parties.

The material referred to above follows:

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE LAIRD, JUNE 14, 1965

We may be dangerously close to ending Republican support of our present Vietnam policy. This possibility exists because the American people do not know how far the administration is prepared to go with large-scale use of ground forces in order to save face in Vietnam.

The American people deserve an answer to this question. The Republican Party should base its future support on the nature of that answer.

In the absence of this answer, we can only conclude that present policy is aimed not at victory over the Communist insurgency nor at driving Communists out of South Vietnam but rather at some sort of negotiated settlement which would include Communist elements in a coalition government.

If such is the objective of the Johnson administration, then the charge can be leveled that this administration is overcommitting ground forces in this area of the world and needlessly exposing the lives of thousands of American boys.

In several public utterances, administration spokesmen have implied that the ground force buildup in Vietnam is Eisenhower or Republican policy. Such an implication is just the opposite of the truth.

The Eisenhower-Dulles policy scrupulously avoided a large-scale use of conventional ground forces in southeast Asia. As a matter of fact, at the time President Eisenhower left office, there were only 773 members of the U.S. military mission in Vietnam, and the situation at that time was much less critical than it is now, although we have more than 50,000 American troops there today. Indications are that the American troop buildup in Vietnam could go as high as 100,000 American boys.

Well over 2 years ago, interested free world Asian countries offered to assist U.S. efforts in that area of the world. This aid included the offer of ground troops and other assistance from such countries as South Korea, Formosa, and Thailand. This aid was rejected by the United States at that time.

Today, thousands of American boys are fighting a war and many are losing their lives because the U.S. Government has failed on occasion after occasion to make the right decision at the right time.

If our objective is a negotiated settlement, it is time to use other means than the needless sacrifice of American lives to attain that objective. Once American troops are committed in any situation, a top priority objective must be to take those steps necessary to protect American lives and minimize the number of casualties.

One such step, already long overdue, is to retarget our bombing raids on more significant targets in North Vietnam. A major transportation and supply area is the port city of Haiphong. To continue to allow the unhindered flow of war materials in and out of that area only insures greater American

casualties in future Vietcong offensive actions.

Republicans will continue to support President Johnson when his actions in the Vietnamese situation serve American and free world interests and when they do not needlessly waste or endanger American lives.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD STATEMENT BY MR. LAIRD, JUNE 21, 1965

As can be seen from a reading of the (June 14) statement, my principal objective was to question sincerely and seriously the large-scale commitment of American lives to bring about a political settlement of the war.

Many have interpreted by remarks as a call for a total military victory in Vietnam. In point of fact, my statement did not address itself to the wisdom or folly of the President's stated objectives in Vietnam. It merely stated what seems to be an obvious conclusion that the President's policy is to obtain some sort of a negotiated settlement and it questioned the means the President appears to be taking to bring about negotiations.

To place this in perspective, let me make clear that it is my conviction that prior to the President's Baltimore speech of April 7, 1965, there were three options available to the United States in Vietnam: First, a military victory; second, a negotiated settlement; and third, withdrawal.

Since the President's very clear implications in his Baltimore speech in which he called for unconditional discussions, the options available to the United States have been reduced to two: a negotiated settlement or withdrawal.

This reduction to two options with its consequent ruling out of the option of a military victory is clearly deductible from the stated position of the President of the United States. My statement of June 14 did not address itself to the merits of the President's decision to rule out military victory as one of the options available to the United States. Rather, it concerned itself solely with the wisdom of the means the President is using to bring about his own stated objective of negotiations.

My statement of June 14 merely sought to question the wisdom of the large-scale use of American troops to bring about a political end when other means are clearly available.

It is my firm conviction that since we are bearing the brunt of world criticism anyway because of the President's decision to go north with air strikes, logic would seem to dictate that we make more effective use of these air strikes than we have to date in order to bring about the political objectives of the administration. I find it extremely difficult—as I am sure the American people do—to justify sacrificing American lives to attain political objectives when other means are available.

As suggested in my statement, it would seem far more logical to hit more significant military targets in our attempts to convince the Communists that it would be in their best interests to sit down with us at the conference table.

Mr. Speaker, on the morning of June 17, I participated in an interview on NBC's "Today" show, with Sander Vanocur, in which my views on the Vietnamese situation were again discussed.

Under unanimous consent, I place the interview on the "Today" show in the RECORD at this point.

The interview referred to follows:

"CONGRESSMAN MELVIN LAIRD IS INTERVIEWED

"Mr. HUGH DOWNS. In Washington, Congressman MELVIN LAIRD, chairman of the Republican conference in the House, said that he doubts the wisdom of giving full Republican support with no questions asked, to President Johnson's Vietnam policy. LAIRD suggests the Republicans should come up with their own policy for Vietnam, rather than following the administration down the line.

"Congressman LAIRD is in our Washington studios this morning with 'Today' program's Washington correspondent, Sander Vanocur. Gentlemen:

"(Congressman MELVIN LAIRD and Sander Vanocur are seen on TV screen, seated in studio.)

"Mr. VANOCUR. Good morning, Hugh. Congressman LAIRD, why have you come to this position now where you suggest that the Republicans who have supported the President on Vietnam are now, as you put it, perilously close to giving up that support?

"Congressman LAIRD. Well, Sander, I'd just like to say that we in the Republican Party in the House of Representatives, I think, have gone the extra step to support the President of the United States as far as the southeast Asia war is concerned. GERRY FORD, LES ARENDS, myself, and the other leaders of the House of Representatives on the minority side, have always gone the extra step to support the President of the United States, and we still support the firm action of the President in Vietnam. There are serious questions, however, as to whether we are fighting the proper kind of war, and there are questions about the future, and I believe that we in the minority party have a responsibility and duty to address to the President of the United States, and discuss from one end of this country to the other.

"The President chose, back late last year, to escalate the war as he has done to the use of bombing raids to the north, using air power. Now, the President is choosing to escalate the war on the ground in Vietnam. Personally, I think that this is the poorest choice of escalation that the President could possibly make, because we are choosing the very area where the Red Chinese, whom we are confronted with, and we have a confrontation with them in southeast Asia at the present time, are the strongest. And to imply that this is the policy of the former Republican administration, as a high administration spokesman did this past week, to accelerate and to escalate the ground war in Vietnam, is not the case, just because the Eisenhower-Dulles policy was just the opposite, that we should not tie down large-scale ground forces in southeast Asia.

"Mr. VANOCUR. Well, Congressman LAIRD, your statement of Monday seemed to suggest that the administration was remiss in not seeking total victory. Do you believe there is such a thing as total victory in that kind of a war?

"Mr. LAIRD. Well, first I'd like to say that there were three alternatives available to the United States prior to the Baltimore speech of the President. One of them was military victory, the win policy that Secretary McNamara outlined to the Defense Appropriations Committee on which I serve, in March. And this was the objective and the policy of the United States in March in the testimony of the Secretary of Defense.

"Mr. VANOCUR. May I interrupt you just a second?

"Mr. LAIRD. Yes.

"Mr. VANOCUR. Did he say in that testimony that the United States could win the war?

"Mr. LAIRD. Yes, and that was the objective of the United States in southeast Asia and Vietnam. The second alternative, of course, was a negotiated settlement, and the third alternative was to withdraw. But after the Baltimore speech of President Johnson, in which he said our objective was to negotiate a settlement, he gave that implied implication to the world that that was our objective as far as Vietnam was concerned, then there were only two alternatives left to us: a negotiated settlement or withdrawal. You cannot talk about military victory in Vietnam when you already have established your policy objective as a negotiated settlement, and this is the objective now of the administration, if they have an objective. It seems to me that they have not been fair with the American people, or fair with even those of us in Congress, by not clearly setting forth their short-term aims, and long-term objectives as far as Vietnam is concerned.

"Mr. VANOCUR. What would be the aims of a Republican administration; what would be your aims in Vietnam?

"Mr. LAIRD. Well, I personally think that we cannot go back on the established policy set forth by the President of the United States as far as his Baltimore speech is concerned. So we cannot repudiate this position that has been taken by the leader of our country, and I do not want to be in a position at any time where I will cause the Red Chinese or the Soviet Union to miscalculate the intentions of the United States of America to defend freedom throughout the world. Now, our objective as stated by the President in his Baltimore speech now is for a negotiated settlement. It seems to me that the North Vienamese are not interested in negotiations today, because they feel that they are winning the war. Now if we choose, as the President has chosen, to escalate the war along the ground, I believe we are choosing the area in which the North Vietnamese and the Red Chinese are the strongest, and I do not feel that that is the best way to bring about this objective that has been set forth by the President. Since the President decided to escalate the war in the air back late last year, we have not hit any significant military targets in North Vietnam. We have gotten the criticism throughout the world for our bombing raids that we knew we would get, and we expect this from certain quarters, but we have not hit any significant military targets. We have allowed the Soviet Union to bring military personnel into North Vietnam to establish SAM sites; we have the Haipong port in which large scale military shipments are coming in at this very time, and we have not done anything about stopping these particular shipments, either by a sea blockade of this particular port, or by using any of the raids to knock out this very great movement of military supplies and equipment.

"Mr. VANOCUR. But let's be candid. Doesn't this put you in a very enviable position for 1966, that if the war escalates on the ground, you can say, 'We in the Republican Party were against escalating the war, we didn't want American boys killed, and yet we were firmer than President Johnson about opposing the North Vietnamese?'

"Mr. LAIRD. Well, first I'd like to say that when I talk about these matters, I'm speaking as a member, a minority member, of the Defense Appropriations Committee. I do not know what the policy of my party will be in 1966's political campaign as far as this is concerned. But I'm sure that Republicans will be responsible in this area; they will put their country first and their party second, regardless of how that affects the political election. But I believe that discussion and dissent is important today in this area of foreign policy, particularly as we go forward and set future policies as far as it affects southeast Asia.

"Mr. VANOCUR. Now, what does this do to your position vis-a-vis the Senate Republican block. Now, is Senator DIRKSEN following the policies which you have advocated, have you discussed them with him?

"Mr. LAIRD. I do not believe that there is any difference between my position and that of a majority of the Republicans in the House and in the U.S. Senate. I know that I talked with my leader in the House of Representatives, Congressman GERRY FORD, who's doing an outstanding job as our new leader in the House of Representatives, and

there is no disagreement between Congressman FORD and myself. As a matter of fact, we work together in this particular area, and I have been in constant touch with Congressman FORD. Today we're filing the Defense appropriation report on the appropriation bill for 1966. We do not feel that the administration has faced up to its responsibilities even in this area. They have cut back on the amount of Defense requests, money requested for fiscal year 1966, so they could fund some other programs and come in with a budget under $100 billion. I know, as a member of this committee, that they'll have to come with supplemental appropriations during this year, to fund this Vietnam situation. They've already had to come with one for $700 million in 1965. They will have to come after January for further supplemental requests. They got the public reaction of a budget under $100 billion, they knew that Congress couldn't refuse to give them the funds to carry on the Vietnam war and we will give them these funds. But I think the American people should be advised of the fact that these supplemental requests for defense expenditures are forthcoming and the $100 billion budget figure was really a phony when it was submitted in January.

"Mr. VANOCUR. Congressman, at what point will the Republican Party in Congress, at what point in commitment of men to Vietnam, do you think the Republican Party will say, we can no longer support this? Will this eventuality come to pass?

"Mr. LAIRD. Well, this is a very difficult question, Sander, to answer, because when it comes to the point, now is the time to question the commitment of ground forces in South Vietnam. I do not believe we want to be in a position if the President goes forward and commits several hundred thousand men to Vietnam—and it looks now like we're already programing a hundred thousand men there—I do not believe we want to be in the position at any time to cause any miscalculation on the part of the Soviet Union or the Red Chinese as to the intentions of the United States of America. This is important. So, to give you a time element in this area, I think it would be a grave mistake, as far as I'm concerned.

"Mr. VANOCUR. Thank you very much, Congressman MELVIN LAIRD, of Wisconsin, a very powerful member of the House Republican group."

Mr. Speaker, it is my sincere hope that this discussion has served to clarify exactly what I was talking about in my attempts to discharge my responsibility as a member of the minority party. It is, after all, the duty of the minority party to insure that legitimate public discussion of administration policies—both foreign and domestic—take place on a continuing basis in the interests of keeping the American people fully informed about public and important issues.

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE GERALD R. FORD, REPUBLICAN LEADER, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ON VIETNAM, JULY 1, 1965

Republicans will continue to disregard partisan considerations in foreign policy. We will be guided by the national interest.

Like Senator Arthur Vandenberg at the time of the Yalta agreement, we will criticize administration policy when it fails to serve the national interest. We will make constructive recommendations that will bolster the President's firmness. No Republican has called this McNamara's war.

Several House Republicans, including myself, recently made the following points about Vietnam.

1. The objectives of our Nation's policy must be the establishment of conditions under which the people of South Vietnam may live in peace and freedom. This means a government of their own choosing. This means freedom from aggression—from within and from without.

2. We hope for negotiations to end the fighting—to assure the freedom and independence of South Vietnam. Let me clarify one point—the Communists are escalating the war. No American is. Moreover, Peiping and Hanoi spurn the negotiating table.

3. The United States cannot, without violating its word, agree to settlement which involves a coalition government with Communists. Such government makes a larger war inevitable at a later date. History proves a coalition government with Communists gives them unlimited veto power. Veto power scuttles any hope for permanent peace.

4. The administration must not sacrifice the freedom and independence of South Vietnam. To do so makes the loss of American lives purposeless. Some Democrats would abandon the free people of South Vietnam. The President must not yield to them.

5. In this crisis, some Republican leaders believe American air and sea power must be used more effectively in North Vietnam against significant military targets. We advocate greater Allied participation. We question the logic of committing U.S. ground forces on a large scale to fight a war in southeast Asia.

STATEMENT BY GERALD R. FORD, HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER, ON COMMUNIST MISSILE SITES IN NORTH VIETNAM, JULY 7, 1965

A dangerous buildup of enemy missile strength in North Vietnam demands immediate, effective U.S. air attacks against these significant military targets.

The construction of the missile sites is clear evidence of Communist escalation of the conflict.

Sites designed for firing surface-to-air missiles should be knocked out by U.S. air superiority before the enemy uses the weapons against the side of freedom. The sites are a threat to the lives of American military personnel.

I reaffirm my support of President Johnson's stand-firm policy against Communist aggression. However, the State Department's report of an enemy missile buildup indicates need for more effective air action against these significant military targets as quickly as possible.

REPUBLICAN SUPPORT OF PRESIDENT IN VIETNAM CRISIS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, until recently, leaders of the Republican Party—particularly those in the Congress—have given the President exceptional support in the Vietnamese crisis. I know the President is grateful for that support, and the Nation, similarly, has reason to be.

That is why I am somewhat confused by the rash of recent Republican statements hinting that continuance of Republican support is contingent on the President following a course which conforms to a particular course of policy which they advocate.

Now, Mr. President, leaving aside the nature of the course which is advocated for a moment—whether it is a good one or a bad one—the fact remains that support of the President is hardly support when the threat is made to withdraw it in midstream unless—a question arises at once as to who is supporting whom. Who is the Commander in Chief? Have we installed G-1 in a command post on Capitol Hill?

It may be that I have misunderstood what has been said to the press and radio and TV in the last few days by various Republican spokesmen. It may be that I have interpreted a vigorous and an appropriate contribution to the debate and discussion of the Vietnamese situation as the opening wedge of a political broadside against policies which the President has pursued or is trying to pursue to bring about a peace with some rational meaning in Vietnam. I hope that my own misinterpretation is all that is involved. I know that the distinguished minority leader—and I mean this without any qualification—has no other aim than to help the President in this critical national situation. But certain of the expressions of others continue to disturb me.

I am somewhat at a loss to understand public expressions from Republicans in which it is advocated, in view of the extent of the air and naval activity already pursued against legitimate military targets, what can only amount to an indiscriminate slaughter of Vietnamese by air and naval bombardment—a slaughter of combatants and noncombatants alike, of friend and foe alike. Now can one advocate the course of the bombing of Hanoi or Peiping or even Moscow and with or without nuclear weapons for that matter—in short, a course of virtually unrestricted violence as a suitable way for the United States to achieve some worthwhile end in Vietnam? If that course is advanced as a debatable proposition, as a contribution to public discussion, it is one thing; but it is another matter to say that unless the President adopts a military course more suitable to Genghis Khan or to the Communists in this situation than to the United States, he is not going to be supported.

And one can say, too, I suppose, that we want a total victory in Vietnam, but we want it at bargain basement rates in American lives. We want it by fire bombs or nuclear bombs and lead and steel or whatever but we do not want any talk about paying a bitter price in American lives on the ground. To advocate that course, too, may be a contribution to the debate and to public understanding of what is really involved in Vietnam, if the definition of contribution is stretched far enough. But it is one thing to say to the President: "Consider this course." It is another to say, "you get us a total victory in Vietnam and you get it cheap and with only a little American pain or else."

And I suppose, finally, Mr. President, one can say that negotiations are bad; that you cannot make peace by talking with the Vietcong or the North Vietnamese or anyone else for that matter; you can only make peace by war and more war. You can give the Vietnamese people freedom, but you had better dictate to them the terms of it and the forms of government which may emerge under it. That, too, is a debatable proposition. Mr. President, and I would see no objection to anyone arguing it. But I do see objection to requiring as the price of continued support, the foreclosing of any, repeat, any, possibility which the President may seek to explore to bring about a peaceful and constructive solution to this problem as soon as possible. I had thought that our purpose was to help the Vietnamese people themselves to find their way to peace and freedom, but not to decimate, destroy, and dominate them in the name of peace and freedom.

So, Mr. President, I repeat, I hope my interpretation of some of these recent statements by Republican leaders is faulty. I hope that I have misconstrued the vigor of their participation in the discussion of Vietnam as something more ominous.

But, at the moment, I must say that I do find in these recent statements a suggestion of something more ominous. Is it not a warning to the President that he play the game their way or they will not play? And, most unfortunate, that game, as I see it, whatever its intention may be, leads in the end to anything but a peace with meaning in 20th-century Asia or, indeed, in a 20th-century world. I hope I am wrong. I hope that as good Americans, which these leaders are, they will not seek to

divide this Nation at a critical time. I hope that their support will be as warm for the President in November as it was in May. I hope that all that is involved is vigorous advocacy and not partisan politics because there is no room for partisan politics in this situation. With the familiar words being heard again, it is time to point out that the margin for catastrophic error has been cut sharply since Korea and, drastically, since China.

That may be ancient history, Mr. President, but the scars of partisan politics are still with us years afterward. Let no one doubt that we have paid a massive price for the politics of foreign policy of an earlier day. We have paid for its divisiveness with lives and with billions of dollars of foreign aid—much of which has vanished without a constructive trace into the maw of Asia—and I hope we are not now beginning to pay for it, once again, in many lives. So while we are concerned, as we must be, with what we do now, day to day, in Vietnam, some historic perspective is in order, recognizing with Santayana:

"Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

I repeat to the minority leader that I know that his concern is with the welfare of the Nation and that, insofar as differences may arise on this question, they are the differences of opinion and view—entirely to be expected in a complex situation of this kind. But I know that he subscribes fully to the principle that the interests of the Nation come first and that, in the end, the course by which these interests are safeguarded is set by the President. He needs advice and counsel from Congress. But he is not likely to win the fight for an effective peace in Vietnam with one hand tied behind his back by partisan politics.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR MIKE MANSFIELD, DEMOCRAT, OF MONTANA, ON FLOOR OF SENATE, JULY 8, 1965

Mr. President, at first glance, it seems logical to say, there are missile sites around the Hanoi-Haiphong complex; we are fighting North Vietnamese; we have planes and missiles that can reach the sites and destroy them. Go ahead and bomb. Then there will be no more missile sites. Indeed, one might add: why not go the whole hog and use nuclear bombs to make doubly sure there will be no more missile sites in the Hanoi-Haiphong area. That, too, may have a certain logic.

But on second glance, it is also to be noted that there are missile sites in China and in Russia and the Chinese and Russians are helping the North Vietnamese who are helping the Vietcong in the South where Americans are fighting on the ground. Our planes and missiles can reach those more distant targets. Why not go ahead and bomb them to, with or without nuclear weapons? That has, in some ways, a greater logic because the Russian missile sites are a far greater threat than those clustered in the Hanoi-Haiphong complex. The Russian sites are zeroed in on the United States itself, whereas those in North Vietnam, so far as I am aware, cannot even reach our forces in South Vietnam and are not, in themselves, causing any casualties among American forces in Vietnam. The Hanoi-Haiphong missile sites becomes a threat to our forces, in short, only if it is intended to spread the war further and change its nature by massive air attacks on the civilian populations of the Hanoi-Haiphong complex, for, then, presumably the sites would be used against our planes. They become a threat, in short, if it is intended to deepen and expand the war.

If that is what is wanted, then the proposal makes sense. But I do not believe it was offered in that sense. As I understand it, the proposal was offered as a war-shortener, as an American casualty-reducer and, in that sense, it does not make sense. On the contrary, if it were followed it is more likely, by raising the level of the conflict another notch, to bring on larger American casualties and a much broader and deeper United States involvement in Asia. It may be that it will come to that. Circumstances may eventually compel such an action. But let there be no illusion about what the proposal implies. And speaking for myself I cannot understand the urgency in some quarters—the anxiety to speed up the process of a deeper American involvement which can only induce greater American casualties in this Asian war.

But if that is what is sought, this probable consequense of the proposal ought to be recognized outright. Otherwise the proposal is misleading and hardly constructive in its oversimplification of a complex problem. If for no other reason, it tends to stimulate false hopes and unwarranted expectation in this Nation. It implies great results at not too painful a cost.

Simple logic is not often as simple as it seems at first glance in critical international situations such as Vietnam. This situation lies in the shadows of all-out world conflict. The effort is being made by the President, in the interests of this Nation as well as the world, to prevent such a conflict. And I would hope that those who mount the civilian ramparts and cry: "Charge!" would bear that in mind.

The proposal which prompted this statement was, undoubtedly, intended to be helpful to the President, for, as stated by the distinguished minority leader of the House on July 1: "Republicans will continue to disregard partisan considerations in foreign policy. We will be guided by the national interest."

Whatever its intention, however, the issue raised by this undoubtedly innocent and nonpolitical proposal is far larger than whether to bomb or not bomb certain missile sites in the Hanoi-Haiphong complex. From an armchair, it is possible to outline a military strategy in an isolated situation of this kind and then pass on to other problems while the consequences unfold in a deepening crisis. The President does not have that luxury. He must continue to live every minute with the ticking clock of an overwhelming catastrophe, and it is brought closer to midnight with each proposal of this kind, if it is followed, whether it originates here or in Peiping or Moscow or wherever. The fact is that the President cannot afford to be either armchair general or politician in a situation of this kind. He can only be President. He cannot make a decision without a continuing awareness of other decisions which may flow from it. He cannot speak "only for himself." He cannot speak even for his party alone. In each decision, he speaks for the entire Nation. This is one reality which all of us ought to bear in mind at all times if we wish debate on this most difficult and delicate situation to be helpful.

BOMB NOW, PAY LATER?

(By Senator FRANK CHURCH, Democrat, of Idaho)

The pressure is on in Washington to further expand the war in southeast Asia. "Bomb Hanoi." "Bomb Haiphong" the air hawks cry. Plaster North Vietnam from the skies, they say, and in the same breath criticize the sending of more American ground troops into South Vietnam, where the guerrilla war is being fought. The air hawks' prescription makes little sense, but it is cleverly designed to feed an underlying public demand for a quick, cheap victory in Vietnam. The truth is that no such easy solution exists.

The war in the south will never be won by a bigger bombing of the north. As Dean Rusk has correctly pointed out, "The basic problem, the central problem, is in South Vietnam * * *. No miracle in the north can suddenly transform or eliminate the problem in South Vietnam."

Accelerating the war northward through the air, however, could greatly aggravate the problem we face on the ground in South Vietnam. Indiscriminate bombing of the population centers of North Vietnam would almost certainly force Hanoi to launch some form of massive retaliation. Since we command the air, Hanoi's counterattack would have to come on the ground. The Saigon Government is up against the ropes now, desperately hanging on against the jabbing attacks of the Vietcong irregulars. If the disciplined armies of Hoi Chi Minh were to invade the south, Saigon's survival would hinge entirely upon an immediate and unlimited American intervention on the ground. It is not unlikely that a half million American troops would then be required to occupy and hold South Vietnam, while the remainder of Indochina would soon be overrun by Communist armies.

Even in open terrain, like that in Korea, bombing alone never stopped an army on the march. What chance would our planes have against vast numbers of trained troops advancing beneath jungle cover? Obviously, bigger bombing of North Vietnam won't extricate us from the jungle fighting in the south, but it could easily lead to an immense intensification of the ground war, and a precipitous rise in American troop casualties to the tens of thousands.

If this happens, the stage will be set for our Korean war experience to be repeated. Vietnam will soon be dubbed "Mr. Johnson's war," and, as the taste of it turns sour in the mouths of the people, there may come again a Republican candidate for President who will promise, as Eisenhower did in Korea, to bring an end to the attrition by accepting the stalemate and arranging a truce. By then, as the St. Louis Post-Dispatch recently observed, "The United States could destroy the North Vietnamese economy from the air, but to what end? It would only make it easier for China to pick the Vietnamese plum."

So, when Congressmen FORD and LAIRD, the Republican leaders in the House of Representatives, call for expanded bombing of North Vietnam, even while they position themselves to wash their hands of a spreading land war in southeast Asia, I hope that President Johnson continues to ignore them. He will be better advised to listen to the wise words of GEORGE AIKEN, the Republican dean of the Senate, who recently warned: "I too have been somewhat disturbed over reported statements of certain Republican leaders in recent days and weeks which might be interpreted as urging the President to broaden and intensify the war in Asia * * *. I hope that my own party, the Republican party will not acquire the title of 'War party' * * *. I hope the President will have the courage not to be needled into precipitating a great war."

I agree with GEORGE AIKEN, a man who steadfastly refuses to seek any partisan advantage from the war in Vietnam. Those who urge an expansion of aerial attacks on the north are actually inviting an expansion of the ground fighting in the south. The only country which will benefit from a widening war in southeast Asia is Communist China, not the United States, or South Vietnam.

The struggle against the Vietcong insurrection within South Vietnam itself may be long and frustrating, but it is preferable to a major American war on the Asian mainland. The clamor of the air hawks should be ignored.

REPLY BY REPRESENTATIVE MELVIN R. LAIRD, REPUBLICAN, OF WISCONSIN

Has critical bipartisan discussion about our policies in Vietnam been abandoned? It would seem so but I would hope not.

Certainly rational debate and reasonable discussion have been abandoned—not by Republicans, but by the leader of the President's majority in the U.S. Senate.

This fact is inescapable, and the situation it creates is deplorable.

The first attempt to scuttle bipartisan debate occurred on June 30, 1965. It was ignored by Republicans in the hope that the intemperate remarks in that speech were a mere lapse, an accident, and not a deliberate attempt to silence the dialog, impose conformity, and obliterate efforts to arrive at an informed and broadly supported policy toward Vietnam.

It was not a mere lapse.

Any doubt that it was was erased on July 8, 1965 when the majority leader of the Senate again launched a vituperative attack on the minority leader of the House of Representatives.

The natural reaction to the tone and innuendo of the majority leader's two recent speeches would be to reply in kind. This would be the natural reaction—and it would be fully justified.

But it would not be constructive.

Republicans could adopt similar tactics and join personalities rather than issues. We could attempt, for example, to impugn this particular spokeman's credentials to question criticism of foreign and military policy. For the Senate Democratic leader has himself contributed to the dialog—though not always in support of the President—and has himself participated rather fully in publicly questioning some of the actions taken in southeast Asia.

I suspect that the President may have wished at times that his majority leader had kept to himself such suggestions as the neutralization of all of southeast Asia.

The Senator's more recent statements concerning Republican contributions to the debate on Vietnam are confusing.

It would seem from the Senator's remarks that the distinction between statesmanship and political chicanery goes no further than the difference in party labels of those making the remarks.

If a Republican advocates a particular course, it is politics and irresponsible politics at that. If a Democratic President subsequently adopts that course, it is instantly transformed into statesmanship.

The President's decision last February to go north must have shocked and alarmed the Senator, for on "Meet the Press" just 1 month before (January 3), the Senator said: "I feel just as strongly that we cannot carry the war into North Vietnam because if you carry the consequences of that action to its ultimate conclusion, it means war with Communist China, and a situation will be created which will be worse than it was in Korea."

It should be remembered that at that time the suggestion to go north had been made by some Republicans. It was, in short, politics then. Only later did it become statesmanship.

The natural and certainly justifiable reaction to the Senator's recent statements could proceed along these lines.

But Republicans have proceeded in a reasonable and responsible manner. They have shown a spirit of fairness in standing up for administration policy against Democratic critics of that policy. In this spirit, I want to correct the blatant distortions which the President's majority leader of the Senate has given to Republican pronouncements:

Senator MANSFIELD. "I am somewhat at a loss to understand public expressions from Republicans in which it is advocated, in view of the extent of the air and naval activity already pursued against legitimate military targets, what can only amount to an indiscriminate slaughter of Vietnamese by air and naval bombardment—a slaughter of combatants and noncombatants alike, of friend and foe alike."

The truth: No Republican has advocated the "indiscriminate slaughter of Vietnamese." Some Republicans have suggested and still suggest the more effective use of our air and naval power against more significant military targets in North Vietnam in order to bring about the President's stated objective of bringing the Communists to the conference table. Our suggestions were designed to minimize the possibility of the slaughter of American soldiers when other steps are still available.

Senator MANSFIELD. "Now one can advocate the course of the bombing of Hanoi or Peiping or even Moscow and with or without nuclear weapons for that matter—in short, a course of virtually unrestricted violence as a suitable way for the United States to achieve some worthwhile end in Vietnam."

The truth: Any resemblance between this innuendo and the public statements of any elected national official in either party is so remote as to be totally nonexistent. Such a distortion could be expected from an overzealous freshman assemblyman in the heat of a bitter political campaign, but surely not from the majority leader of the greatest deliberative body in the world in a discussion concerning a situation that contains within it the gravest consequences for the entire world.

Senator MANSFIELD. "And one can say, too, I suppose, that we want a total victory in Vietnam, but we want it at bargain basement rates in American lives. We want it by firebombs or nuclear bombs and lead and steel or whatever but we don't want any talk about paying a bitter price in American lives on the ground."

The truth: No Republican since the President's Baltimore speech of April 7, 1965 has spoken of total victory in Vietnam. None has proposed using nuclear bombs. Many Republicans have hoped for victory there, as did President Kennedy when he said on September 12, 1963, "we want the war to be won * * *" as did President Johnson when he wrote on December 31, 1963 to Gen. Duong Van Minh, "We shall maintain in Vietnam American personnel and material as needed to assist you in achieving victory * * *" as did Secretary Rusk when he said on April 29, 1963, "* * * we have no doubt of ultimate victory." By victory, Republicans and these Democrats meant—not the military conquest of Vietnam—but the establishment of conditions of peace and security in South Vietnam and an end to aggression against it. Republicans do want to attain the national objective in South Vietnam with a minimum loss of American lives. Call this "bargain basement rates in American lives," if you will.

Senator MANSFIELD. "And I suppose, finally, Mr. President, one can say that negotiations are bad; that you can't make peace by talking with the Vietcong or the North Vietnamese or anyone else for that matter; you can only make peace by war and more war."

The truth: Every Republican statement to which the Senator's remarks refer were uttered in the context of the pursuit of negotiations. The Senator did not in either statement—nor could he—directly quote any Republican leader as having called for "total victory" as having said "negotiations are bad;" as having stated or implied that "you can only make peace by war and more war." This Republican would be very interested in seeing any quote that the Senator used upon which he based his gravely serious implications and charges.

The Senator's statements which I have quoted were all contained in his first speech, that of June 30, 1965.

They were met by Republican silence.

It was sincerely hoped that by ignoring this fantastically distorted presentation of the Republican position by the President's majority leader, responsible discussion could be resumed and bipartisanship in foreign policy could be restored.

These hopes received a setback on July 8, 1965 when the majority leader spoke out again—taking up where he had left off—with the same inattention to what had actually been said, thus making efforts at reasonable discussion impossible.

It would serve no useful purpose to respond, point by point and item by item, to be charges and innuendoes contained in the second speech for they are cut from the same artificial cloth as the first statement.

I have been listening in vain since the speeches of the majority leader for some voice of moderation from someone in his party—for calm and objective discussion of proposals made by some members of the minority party.

The stakes in southeast Asia are too high for any responsible official to seek partisan advantage from the situation there. Republicans who speak out on Vietnam are pointing out the course of action which they believe will promote the security of our Nation. If they were motivated by considerations of political gain, they would offer no suggestions. They would simply criticize the consequences of administration policy.

I still hope that someone in the administration will recognize the value of debate and discussion of foreign policy problems, and that Members of Congress again accord to each other the respectful hearing and the reasoned response without which debate cannot be conducted.

Greek Resistance Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, there are many occasions when we join with the people of Greece to commemorate milestones in man's search for freedom. But none is more significant to us than Greek Resistance Day, which many believe may have turned the tide of World War II.

At 3 a.m., on October 28, 1940, Mussolini's Ambassador handed an ultimatum to General Metaxas demanding that Greece give Italy ports and other strategic areas in Greece.

A resolute "no" was the Prime Minister's reply as he coldly showed the Fascist representative to the door.

Three hours later Italy attacked Greece.

The greatly outnumbered Greek Army, under the brilliant leadership of Gen. Alexandros Papagos, met the Fascist legions and defeated them.

This was the first Allied victory of World War II, and one of the most important of the entire war.

It took Hitler's best forces to finally conquer Greece temporarily after the Germans came to Italy's rescue in April 1941.

Many historians believe that in resisting Mussolini's army so effectively, the Greeks actually dealt a decisive blow to the entire Nazi cause, for the diversion of Hitler's forces into the Greek peninsula seriously impaired the timing and strength of his Russian invasion.

The Greek nation has, throughout the centuries, opposed the forces of tyranny time and time again in defense of liberty, freedom, and self-determination.

The entire world is indebted to these stalwart and gallant people.

We say of the modern Greek nation what Pericles said of the ancient Greek defenders of liberty:

Choosing to die rather than to live submitting, they fled only from dishonor, but met danger face to face, and, after one brief moment, while at the summit of their fortune, escaped, not from their fear, but from their glory.

Southern Students Support Our Vietnam Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the Southern Association of Student Councils meeting at their 31st annual convention at Patrick Henry High School, Roanoke, Va., adopted a splendid resolution supporting U.S. policy to oppose Communist aggression in Vietnam and throughout the world.

Almost 1,000 delegates representing the high schools of the entire South unanimously adopted this resolution, which is encouraging to the President, the Congress, and to our Armed Forces actively engaged in the defense of freedom.

It was my honor to address this convention of young, southern student leaders. It has never been my privilege to appear before a more dedicated and devoted group of young men and women. Dedicated to the ideals and principles which made this Nation great.

Mr. Speaker, I do not know of one single incident on the campuses of our Southland where any student group has opposed U.S. policy to contain Communist aggression. I have not received one letter from a student or professor in the South in opposition to our established policy of opposing Red aggression.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this timely and splendid resolution to the attention of the Congress and the people of the free world:

RESOLUTIONS OF THE SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION OF STUDENT COUNCILS

(Presented by Malcolm Tammy Mathews, North Caddo High School, Vivian, La.)

I

Whereas certain rebellious acts such as burning of draft cards and other illegal acts against the declared policies of the United States of America have been committed by some citizens of the United States of America; and

Whereas these acts, as stated above, weaken the position of the United States of America and Americans who are daily dying in defense of Liberty: Be it

Resolved, That this is the 31st Annual Conference of the Southern Association of Student Councils with resolute firmness support, bolster, and defend the policies of the United States of America in its efforts to protect the liberties of free peoples against aggression.

II

Whereas the educational system is set up to prepare youth through intelligent apprenticeship in the democratic processes; and

Whereas these democratic processes provide for the expression of all citizens through clearly defined legal procedures; and

Whereas mass demonstration by youth against the expressed will of the majority preempts the democratic processes: Be it

Resolved, That this the 31st Annual Conference of the Southern Association of Student Councils encourage youth to prepare itself to assume its responsibilities in a free society and to express itself through recognized legal and traditional channels.

This resolution prepared by the following:

Dickie Ethridge, Greenville High School, Greenville, Miss.

Kay Parham, High Point Central High School, High Point, N.C.

Mary Anne Graves, Lafayette High School, Lafayette, La.

Malcolmn T. Matthews, North Caddo High School, Vivian, La.

Heyward Madison Coker, Jr., University High School, Columbia, S.C.

Laura Anne Greer, Whiteville High School, Whiteville, N.C.

Randy Tabb, president, Southern Association of Student Councils.

Chairman school, Whiteville High School.

Adviser: Carthon Dewey Hinson, Whiteville High School, Whiteville, N.C.

Cooperation and Law in International Communications

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the Washington World Conference on World Peace Through Law was a notable gathering of jurists and other people from all over the world who are concerned with international cooperation and law.

I would like to call to the attention of the Members of the House a statement by Commissioner Lee Loevinger of the Federal Communications Commission presented to the conference on September 14.

The paper was entitled "Cooperation and Law in International Communications." I consider it to be an excellent statement of the direction in which this country should move. Extracts follow:

COOPERATION AND LAW IN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS

(By Lee Loevinger, Commissioner, Federal Communications Commission, Sept. 14, 1965)

In the international sphere, as in the domestic sphere, there is a significant difference between cooperation and law. But, there is also a significant relationship between the two. Law originates in cooperation among the members of a community and it is a kind of formal and institutionalized cooperation. Logically, social cooperation tends to merge into law and historically it tends to develop into law. These observations are illustrated by the field of international communications. It is not yet the case that we have developed true international law in the field of international communications, but international cooperation has been embodied in numerous international agreements and has developed into such a formal and institutional arrangement that it appears to be evolving into a kind of international law.

International communications require international cooperation. This is almost self-evident as communication implies someone to send a message and someone to receive it. However, there are other technical reasons involved.

Since there is only one radio spectrum, it must be used by all nations. Hence, international agreements are necessary on the allocation of frequencies for the multitude of established radio services, as well as for uniform operating practices.

Bands allocated for public radiotelephone and radiotelegraph services have to be used by stations of all nations; marine and aviation bands must likewise be shared, and so must broadcast bands. A French plane over New York City, for example, must be able to communicate with the local airport on the same frequency that an American plane over Paris contacts the airport there. By the same token, ships the world over communicate on frequencies common to marine use.

The international aspects of radio have developed to such an extent that almost no major frequency allocation can be made anywhere without considering its worldwide usage. In consequence, the primary allocation of frequency bands is now determined by international treaty or other agreement between nations, and assignment of individual channels within those bands to designated services is made by individual nations. This now applies to frequencies for new developments such as satellite relay and astronomy observation as well as to the older services.

Even the alphabet must be shared by nations to distinguished the calls of stations in different countries. These calls have a triple purpose. First, they identify the nationality of the station. Then they identify the type of station. Finally, they identify the individual station. They are, in effect, the license plates for communication traffic on the radio highways. Under international agreement, the alphabet has since 1927 been apportioned among the nations for basic call use.

In addition, and for a more obvious reason, there is world agreement on the use of special calls for ships and aircraft to send when in distress. The familiar letters "S O S" have been used for that purpose by marine radiotelegraphy since 1906. The spoken word "Mayday" has been employed to summon aid for both ships and aircraft using radiotelephony since 1927.

Although the allocation of frequency bands for stated purposes furthers the orderly use of the radio spectrum by nations generally, it is also necessary to employ other jointly agreed means to curb harmful interference to radio operations throughout the world. In general, this is accomplished by international procedures for coordinating frequency assignments by the different nations and for resolving cases of interference and other violations when they occur. There is also continuing cooperation to promote better technical standards and more efficient use of the now crowded spectrum.

A conclusion and a summary view of the matter seems to me to be best presented in

the words of the Vice President of the United States. Speaking to a group engaged in making preparations for a White House conference on international cooperation, the Vice President said:

"It is not just the big projects that count—not just the glamorous ones—and not just the ones involving some form of assistance from the rich to the not-so-rich of this world.

"What also counts—and in the end may count more—is cooperation among nations on that vast, pervasive range of activities in which human beings get their business done on a day-to-day basis. Most of this is functional and technical. Often it is grubby work in which people get their hands dirty working at the nuts and bolts business of community life. And it almost never makes the papers because it is nonviolent and therefore not newsworthy.

"But this is where cooperation assumes breadth and depth—and takes on continuity. This is where the habit of cooperation is learned and becomes ingrained. This is how cooperation becomes so patently valuable, so manifestly in the national interests of all participants that they may learn to put aside their political quarrels as irrelevant obstacles to more important goals.

"And this is not just wishful thinking. There are good, practical, and inherent reasons why nations can get together and cooperate on functional tasks even while they continue their political quarrels.

"You do not have to reconcile conflicting ideologies to agree that aerial navigation requires the adoption of international safety standards.

"You do not need compatible social systems to perceive a common interest in agreeing to the international allocation and use of radio frequencies.

"You do not have to eliminate the Berlin Wall to agree to create a global weather reporting system.

"When the technology exists to make international cooperation a sensible affair—when national leaders perceive the existence of a common interest in working together—and when international institutions exist or can be designed—you have all the necessary elements for another step forward in international organization for some definable, limited purpose.

"This, I suspect, is how world community ultimately will be achieved—and with it world order and world peace."

Hale Boggs

SPEECH

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished and illustrious whip, HALE BOGGS, has been the fullback on the greatest legislative team in the history of the world. He drove across many scores from the 1-yard line where the opposition was the toughest. He drew the defense in close in the middle of the field making possible the touchdown passes and long runs of fantastic legislative achievement.

This House experienced more rollcalls and quorum calls than any legislative body in 1 year in all history. It has been a trying and challenging session for our leadership. HALE BOGGS has taken his rightful place in the legislative hall of fame through outstanding and distinguished legislative leadership.

HALE BOGGS played a major role in adopting a great program which will make it possible for the United States to come alive and meet the challenges of the space age.

Congressman Stratton's Report on the Accomplishments of the 1st Session of the 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, as this 1st session of the 89th Congress draws to a close it is clear that this has been a tremendously productive session, for the Nation and for the people of New York's 35th Congressional District whom I have the honor to represent. In keeping with a tradition I have followed each year I would like to review this record briefly for the information of the people of my district.

MAJOR LEGISLATION ENACTED

Rarely has a single session of Congress seen the enactment of so many pieces of legislation with such far-reaching implications. And rarely too have so many measures been of such direct benefit to the people of upstate New York. Here are some of the highlights.

A $4.5 billion excise tax cut: Coming on top of last year's $11.2 billion cut in Federal income taxes, this measure provided a further stimulus to the Nation's economy that has been plainly felt in the developing boom across much of upstate New York, and has reduced our unemployment to the lowest level in more than 10 years.

Medicare and social security boost: As finally enacted, this program represented a successful compromise between the original medicare proposal of President Kennedy and the eldercare plan put forward by the AMA. Some subsequent amendments may be needed, however, to correct the adverse effect which the 7-percent boost in social security benefits is having on pensions now being paid to disabled veterans.

Aid for elementary and secondary schools: A measure that has been discussed for years, this bill was finally enacted in a form that avoided earlier constitutional problems. It did this by gearing its help primarily toward improving the education of children from poorer families. Its help has been welcomed by school boards across upstate New York as a means of easing the burdens of local school taxes.

Aid for colleges: In a district which includes 10 colleges, this bill can help us with expansion programs already underway. It sets up a new system of Federal college scholarships to help deserving students. The bill contains special aids for new, developing colleges, like Eisenhower College in Seneca Falls, of which I was honored to be named a trustee.

Immigration without discrimination: After years of trying unsuccessfully, Congress finally enacted a law removing discrimination in our immigration laws against people from countries such as Italy, Greece, and Poland. I was invited by President Johnson to be on hand at the Statue of Liberty for the signing of this bill, and received one of the pens he used.

Upstate Appalachia: 13 New York State counties, including Cortland, Chenango, and Otsego, are eligible for assistance under this program. This money, for roads and needed public works, will enable communities in these counties to become growth centers within the overall 11-State mountain region.

Economic Development Act: This law continues the help in attracting new industries which the Area Redevelopment Act provided, plus the stimulus in public works and hospital expansion under accelerated public work. Montgomery, Cayuga and, to some extent, Otsego Counties are now eligible for this help. I have also proposed that Yates, Ontario, and Seneca Counties be made eligible as part of a five-county Finger Lakes planning region.

Water and sewer construction: Congress passed a number of laws to help local communities pay for needed water and sewer facilities. One was the 1965 Housing Act, with help for water lines in city areas. Another was the 1965 Antipollution Act, which finances sewage treatment plants. A third was a law to help with water and sewer facilities in rural areas, a bill which I cosponsored. Every community in our district is vitally affected by these bills, for example, communities like Bainbridge, Sherburne, Greene, Branchport, and Dundee.

Antipoverty extension: Despite continuing problems in administration, the antipoverty program has proved of value to our district and its assistance has now been extended. Many communities, from Geneva through to Amsterdam, have set up Neighborhood Youth Corps, with dramatic results like the construction of an Olympic-sized swimming pool in Amsterdam, or have found the Head Start program for pre-school children helpful, as in Geneva.

Manpower training: This valuable program was also continued. Its help in training people for paying jobs has been demonstrated and praised in such cities as Cortland, Geneva, Amsterdam, Auburn, and Oneonta.

Housing legislation: The 1965 Housing Act continued funds for urban renewal projects, such as those already underway in Penn Yan, Auburn, Norwich, Cortland, Geneva, Oneonta, and Amsterdam, and for senior citizens housing in Cortland and Geneva.

Voting rights law: A new bill was enacted to enforce the provisions of the 15th amendment, ending discrimination in voting by race or color.

Presidential disability: Congress passed and sent to the States a proposed new constitutional amendment plugging a serious gap in the law governing periods of Presidential disability or when we are without a Vice President.

Military pay raise: Both Houses of Congress unanimously passed a 10.7 percent pay raise for the Nation's Armed Forces.

Postal and civil service pay raise: Also enacted was a 3.6 percent raise for postal and civil service employees. I joined in the successful fight against extending this boost to Members of Congress, who had received a pay boost last year.

1965 Sugar Act: This new bill embodied a 14-percent quota increase for upstate New York's only sugar plant in Cayuga County. This boost will mean an increase in income of up to $400,000 for farmers growing sugarbeets over a 16-county area.

Reorganizing Congress: I joined in sponsoring legislation to create a joint committee to streamline Congress. Their report should make Congress a more efficient agency of the Government and a more effective servant of our people.

Veterans legislation: Several key bills of benefit to veterans were passed, including a boost in pensions for those with service-connected disabilities.

NO RUBBERSTAMP

In the 7 years I have had the honor of serving in Congress I have always called the shots as I saw them, without regard to partisanship. I have never regarded my duties as requiring by being a rubber-stamp for anyone. This year was no exception. While I supported administration programs I believed to be right and of benefit to our district, I did not hesitate to oppose those I believed to be harmful or clearly opposed by our people. Three examples stand out.

Omnibus farm bill: I voted against the administration's farm bill. Though it contained several provisions beneficial to dairy farmers, which I supported, sections dealing with wheat and cotton were harmful to our district and had been strongly opposed by our farmers. I did lead a successful fight to prevent inclusion of an amendment that would have undermined the Federal milk order under which most of our dairymen operate.

Highway beautification: While I support the goal of highway beauty I do believe it can be carried out without harm to upstate New York's tourist industry. I opposed the administration's bill because it was too loosely drawn and would harm small businessmen in the tourist field. I will work for amendments to protect the interests of these small businessmen.

Aid to Nasser: Though the administration made it a party issue, I opposed sending wheat and other aid to Nasser's Egypt at a time when Nasser was openly working to undermine our security and that of our allies in the Middle East.

Canadian auto parts agreement: I voted against an agreement providing for unlimited shipment of auto parts into this country from Canada, believing it would be harmful to auto parts manufacturers in our district like the General Products Corp. of Union Springs.

OTHER PROJECTS BENEFICIAL TO OUR DISTRICT

Besides these achievements, the past session has seen a number of other activities of benefit to our district.

Our fight against big dams: Once again we have blocked an effort to disrupt our villages and flood out much valuable farmland by construction of big dams whose contribution to flood control and water conservation would be dubious, as at Genegantslet in Chenango County. At the same time we passed other legislation which could come up with a plan that could handle flood threats without the need for costly big dams.

Finger Lakes weeds: Also included in this year's rivers and harbors bill were funds to begin work towards dealing with weeds in places like our Finger Lakes. As a result of my action authority was also included to permit the Army Engineers to work with State conservation officials in water studies helpful to our Finger Lakes area.

Maple sugar, mink, and chafer research: Following strong protests from myself and other, Congress voted to nullify the Department of Agriculture order closing agricultural research projects of benefit to our district—maple products, fur-bearing animals, and the European chafer project now underway at the experimental station in Geneva.

VA hospitals: As a result of strong protests by Congress, in which I took part, the VA backed down on an earlier decision to close hospitals at Bath and Castle Point, N.Y.

Three hundred and forty-eight million dollar atomic accelerator project: I was delighted to take the lead in presenting to AEC the proposal of the Cayuga County development group to locate the Government's new 200-billion-electron-volt accelerator—with its 2000 new, top-level scientific jobs in our district, just east of Cayuga Lake.

Clean bill of health for Canandaigua: As a result of my intervention the U.S. Public Health Service issued a strong statement completely repudiating distorted and misleading press accounts regarding Canandaigua.

Keymark Co. loan: I was glad to help in obtaining an ARA loan to assist in the growth of this important new Montgomery County industry at Fonda.

STRATTON BILLS ENACTED INTO LAW

Any Congressman is naturally proud to see his bills enacted into law. In this session the following bills I introduced or cosponsored were adopted:

Voting rights legislation.

Rural water and sewer facilities bill.

Law allowing showing the USIA film on President Kennedy, "Years of Lightning, Day of Drums," within the United States.

A bill for the relief of the estate of the late Dr. Moffett, former president of State University College at Cortland.

A bill to permit entry of a spectrograph for atomic research purposes at the University of Rochester.

A bill permitting the Army Engineers to cooperate on water studies in New York State.

A bill extending the accelerated public works program.

A resolution to create a joint committee to streamline Congress.

Also my bill to raise the pay of teachers in defense schools abroad passed the House and is pending in the Senate.

And a resolution urging freedom for the Baltic nations of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia passed the House and is pending in the Senate.

In short, of 39 bills I introduced 8 have been enacted and 2 have passed the House and are in the Senate. This gives me an overall legislative batting average of .220, compared with a general average on House bills of only .003.

IMPORTANT COMMITTEE ACTIONS

A Congressman's service on his own committee is one of his most important functions. This year I moved up to ninth place on the Armed Services Committee. In that position I led a successful fight to retain $500 million in vital military research funds in the budget. I supported the President's action in seeking an emergency appropriation for carrying out our policy in Vietnam, and was on hand at the White House and received one of the pens used when that legislation was signed into law. I served as a member of the Board of Visitors at the U.S. Naval Academy. And I was one of the leaders in the not entirely successful fight to give Congress a more decisive say in closing down such important defense bases as the Rome Air Force Base, the Schenectady Army Depot, and the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

Since the first session has been so productive, one may wonder what is left for next year. I am sure will will have other measures to consider. But we will have plenty to do anyway. First, we must see that the many programs we have enacted this year are efficiently administered. Second, we must make sure that with all the built-in costs which these programs entail, we still live within our budget in a period of such substantial prosperity.

OPEN-AIR CONGRESSIONAL OFFICE HOURS

In keeping with my usual practice, as soon as Congress adjourns I shall schedule a series of open-air office hours at post offices throughout the eight counties of our district, so as to be available in every part of our district to any who may need help, or may wish to express their views and recommendations on legislation we have enacted or will be considering next year.

In closing, let me express again my deep appreciation to all of you, regardless of party affiliation, for giving me the opportunity to serve you in the immensely exciting and challenging responsibility of your Representative in the Congress of the United States.

The Nuclear Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, in the October 18, 1965, issue of the Nation, Milton Viorst, journalist and author of "Hostile Allies: F.D.R. and De Gaulle," has written a penetrating analysis of some of the questions posed by the threat of nuclear proliferation and nuclear use. He points out:

If the nuclear powers could agree upon terms governing the use of their weapons, the nonnuclear powers would be relieved of much of the incentive for joining the nuclear club.

I hope my colleagues and the administration will heed Milton Viorst's call for meaningful steps to reduce the nuclear threat.

[From The Nation, Oct. 18, 1965]

THE NUCLEAR CLUB: WHY THE OUTS WANT IN

(By Milton Viorst)

WASHINGTON.—There was surely oversimplification, if not a touch of hyprocrisy, in President Johnson's statement last August that the proliferation of nuclear weapons is the "gravest of all unresolved human issues." It is not the spread but the use of nuclear weapons that can wipe out the world; and while the United States has been pious in the cause of limiting nuclear spread, it has been strangely silent on the subject of limiting nuclear use.

By ignoring the problem of nuclear use, the treaty on proliferation proposed by the American representatives at the disarmament conference in Geneva would affect only the nonnuclear powers. It contains no suggestion that halting nuclear proliferation might somehow be linked to restraining nuclear use. The American proposal, said the President, "demonstrates that a treaty can be drawn which meets the legitimate interests of nuclear and nonnuclear powers alike," but to an outsider the draft treaty looks like an offer by one state to give away the prerogatives of others. It could have no conceivable impact on American policies and practices. There is little reason for surprise, then, that the President's statement, along with the proposal itself, was received around the world with stony silence.

By proposing limitations on proliferation before reaching agreement on use, the United States puts the cart before the horse. If the nuclear powers could agree upon terms governing the use of their weapons, the nonnuclear powers would be relieved of much of the incentive for joining the nuclear club. The United States, however, has shown no inclination to make any agreement that would replace total anarchy with a set of rules, even very limited rules. As long as Washington persists in this position, it seems delusive to believe that other nations of the world will voluntarily forswear all opportunity for nuclear weaponry.

The American differences with France illustrate most vividly the national confusion of cause and effect on the subject of nuclear proliferation. Senator JOHN PASTORE, of Rhode Island, commenting on Senator ROBERT KENNEDY's June speech on proliferation, declared that "much of our trouble with De Gaulle today is due to the fact that he is trying to become a prominent member of the nuclear club." But PASTORE had the situation precisely reversed. De Gaulle is trying to become a prominent member of the nuclear club because we have had trouble with him. He wants his own nuclear force because French and American interests in certain vital areas are so different that he feels unable to depend on American weapons when he thinks France may need them.

As PASTORE's statement indicates, America attributes De Gaulle's position to an excess of French nationalist ardor, to a quest for national prestige. It finds no merit in France's reluctance to put its fate in American hands. It regards as unreasonable the French Government's demands to make—or, at least, to share fully in making—its own life and death decisions. It recognizes no legitimacy to the argument that a nation cannot surrender to another nation the power to determine its own interests. Americans largely believe that a country need only rely on the United States to be assured of security. De Gaule does not so much doubt America's integrity as its willingness to violate its own national interests when those of France are at stake.

The draft treaty submitted at Geneva says nothing about American guarantees to the nonnuclear powers. Senator KENNEDY proposed that the United States put all countries which agree to withdraw from the nuclear race under an American "nuclear umbrella." KENNEDY would have the United States say to the nonnuclear states: "You give up your right to acquire your own nuclear weapons and we will take care of you with ours." But Ambassador Goldberg, in a speech to the U.N. on September 23, did not go nearly that far. He promised simply that the United States would support the General Assembly in devising means to prevent nuclear blackmail. Goldberg's statement seemed to make quite clear that the United States is not willing to mortgage its own security in return for another government's consent to forswear nuclear arms.

But assuming American adoption, at some future date, of the Kennedy concept of a "nuclear umbrella," there is no certainty that it would attract the nonnuclear powers. Kennedy stipulated American guarantees would apply only to cases of "nuclear aggression." He declared that "such an umbrella * * * must be divorced from and superior to the other policy aims of the nations involved." But how can a sovereign, self-respecting nation accept a control over its fate that is "divorced from and superior to" its policy aims? One of its policy aims might be to save itself from nuclear blackmail, such as Hitler, for example, practiced with less sophisticated instruments on the Czechs in 1938. Another of its policy aims might be to save itself from a force that is not armed with nuclear weapons but otherwise vastly superior. Under such circumstances, would the American "nuclear umbrella" be of any service? Presumably, it would be up to the United States to decide.

The very premise of the American proposal is that the United States is morally and intellectually, as well as militarily, competent to look after the well-being of the rest of the world. The rest of the world is not persuaded that the premise is valid.

India is a classic example of a country that is not unfriendly to the United States, has philosophical objections to nuclear weapons, does not want to go to the expense of building or buying them, but might, nonetheless, be forced by considerations of national security to seek membership in the nuclear club. Under an American "nuclear umbrella," India would be reasonably certain that the United States would retaliate in kind if Communist China exploded a nuclear bomb over New Delhi. But if Chinese hordes—to say nothing of Pakistanis—begin pouring over the frontier, the United States will not start a nuclear war in India's defense. Since the recent border fighting, domestic pressure on the Shastri government to initiate a nuclear-weapons program has been almost irresistible. India's dilemma illustrates the problem of the nuclear bomb as deterrent against "conventional" war. India would feel far more secure against Chinese attack, nuclear or nonnuclear, if it had its own nuclear weapons to rattle. They would have far greater general utility than any conceivable American guarantee.

The situation governing the defense of Western Europe is at once more simple and more complicated. It is more simple because the United States has already pledged itself under the NATO treaty to defend Western Europe, with nuclear weapons if necessary. But it is complicated by American statements on strategic planning which suggest that the response to a nonnuclear Soviet attack would be a nonnuclear defense. After 20 years of peace and prosperity, Western Europe appears less than satisfied with this arrangement. France and Germany, the countries best able to influence strategy, see little generosity in America's willingness to save the world—and the United States—from nuclear destruction by submitting Europe to "conventional" destruction. They indicate that they would rather gamble on a lightning nuclear war than acquiesce in an extended bloodletting such as they suffered in the two most recent conflicts. De Gaulle's force de frappe strategy is founded on this gamble. To many Europeans, a nuclear arsenal is more important as a deterrent to conventional than to nuclear war.

The Western European situation is further complicated by Bonn's interest in German reunification, which is, presumably, the most important of its "policy aims." In the past, Germany has indicated that it would not seek nuclear weapons in order to achieve it; more recently, government officials have said that Germany would agree to remain a nonnuclear power only if tangible progress was made toward reunification. Since De Gaulle undertook his nuclear-weapons program, the United States has accepted the view that Germany could not be kept indefinitely in a state of nuclear inferiority. To forestall a national nuclear force, Washington invented the Multilateral Nuclear Force (MLF). It was designed to give Germany some theoretical access to nuclear decisions but would, in reality, retain American control. Nevertheless, MLF has become the Russians' bête noire; they see in it a German finger on the NATO nuclear trigger. The Germans are willing to accept the MLF compromise but other major powers in NATO are not. Meanwhile, Bonn recognizes the anxiety it can create and has quietly begun a game of nuclear blackmail with the avowed aim of unifying Germany.

India and West Germany are 2 of the 12 countries named in a 1960 study as being capable of manufacturing nuclear weapons. Two of the remaining ten countries—France and China—have already become members of the club. All that they needed was an incentive to make the effort. The Israelis, whose incentive is defense against the Arabs, may have the capacity and may be using it. The Swiss, in a 1962 referendum, instructed their Government not to make an antinuclear pledge. Indonesia's Sukarno insists, in the face of much skepticism, that his country will explode a nuclear device by the end of the year. The United States may invoke the virtue of abstinence in perfect sincerity, but as matters stand it has little chance of talking countries such as these out of manufacturing their own bombs.

The United States is awkwardly placed to mount an antiproliferation campaign because of its own use of the nuclear threat. A country that will not accept temperance for itself can scarcely urge prohibition on others. The United States has never gone even as far as China or Russia in swearing never to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Washington has never consented to any of

the nuclear inhibitions that it now asks others to accept.

On its own, the United States brought the world to the threshhold of nuclear war during the Cuban crisis of 1962. It was, to be sure, severely provoked by the Soviet Union. Perhaps Russia was even guilty, by some definition, of that "nuclear aggression" which Senator KENNEDY regards as justifying a nuclear response. Still, it was President Kennedy's decision, made unilaterally, that the Soviet missiles upset the international balance of power. Many who were friends of the United States thought, even while backing Kennedy, that the missiles merely subjected this country to the same dangers that its allies had long experienced. Kennedy's decision, while it may have been correct for the entire West, was made in the national interest of the United States. As Sorensen wrote, President Kennedy had determined upon "going ahead, regardless of how the allies reacted." Millions who live within range of hostile missiles had a right to wonder if the circumstances justified the risks to them.

The tacit American threat to employ nuclear weapons in Vietnam raises even more serious questions. There, the United States does not rattle its bombs openly. Instead, it declares a policy of escalation, then declines to renounce the nuclear ultimate in escalation. The American role in the Vietnamese war, unlike the Cuban crisis, has not won widespread sympathy. Washington's allies are, at best, cool to it, and the government cannot claim that it acts for the non-Communist world. "Nuclear aggression" is not involved. But the United States nonetheless employs the threat of nuclear war as an instrument of its own diplomacy. It can scarcely ask other countries to abjure such weapons while it makes use of their power, real or potential, for its own "policy aims."

The Soviet Union has already rejected the American draft treaty at Geneva, although Moscow opposes proliferation at least as strongly as does Washington. Since their first bomb was exploded shortly after World War II, the Russians have pursued a policy of sharing their knowledge of nuclear weaponry with no one. If they are angry about the American draft, it is not because they object to its goals but because they mistrust its proponent, who has left in its provisions a conspicuous loophole to permit Germany and other NATO countries to participate in a Multilateral Force.

The remaining nuclear powers appear to bring somewhat different approaches to Washington's draft treaty. Great Britain is as committed as the United States and the Soviet Union to restricting membership in the nuclear club, but it is not convinced that it should replace its own nuclear force with that of MLF. The French and the Chinese claim no aversion to proliferation as acute as that of the other nuclear powers. Neither, of course, signed the test ban treaty. However, there is no evidence that either France or China has provided information on nuclear weaponry to any would-be nuclear powers. It is conceivable, though not considered likely, that Peiping is somehow behind Sukarno's nuclear boasts. It is far more probable that all five nuclear powers want to halt nuclear spread, even if they cannot, for various political reasons, agree on a treaty that would ban the dissemination of weapons technology.

More than any other, it is the nonnuclear powers—friendly, neutral, and enemy—that stand in the way of an antiproliferation treaty. What the United States has asked them to accept at Geneva is not a bargain, in which some quid pro quo would be involved, but a self-denying ordinance. It is true that these same nonnuclear powers voluntarily limited their capacity to develop weapons by signing the test-ban treaty in 1962. But under that treaty, it was not they alone who accepted limitations. All the signatories, nuclear and nonnuclear, agreed to refrain from further tests in the atmosphere. The treaty not only retarded weapons development among the signers but saved the atmosphere from further fallout. The draft treaty on proliferation burdens only one group of signers, without any demonstrable benefit to all.

Goldberg sketched areas in the September 23 speech on which the United States might be willing to compromise. In terms hedged with limitations, he avowed that the United States was interested in freezing the manufacture of delivery vehicles, halting the production of fissionable materials for weapons use, and dismantling, on a one-for-one basis with the Soviet Union, a reasonable number of nuclear weapons. Goldberg sounded pious enough but it is no secret that the United States is already far ahead of the rest of the world—the Soviet Union possibly excepted—in its stockpile of delivery vehicles and fissionable materials. As for the weapons themselves, even the Pentagon acknowledges the possession of a substantial "overkill" capacity. Once again, the nonnuclear powers might legitimately ask of the American overtures, what's in it for them?

It is not impossible to think of concessions that the nuclear powers might offer to make an antiproliferation treaty more palatable to the nonnuclear powers. The concessions, presumably, would have to take the form either of increasing the access of nonnuclear powers or decreasing the access of nuclear powers to existing nuclear arsenals. Certainly no agreement can be completely satisfactory to all nations and probably none can be devised that might not, under certain circumstances, actually increase the chances of war. Nuclear weapons are credited by some with having thus far prevented world war III. They may, at this point, be more a mixed blessing than an unmitigated curse. Nevertheless, it is hard to imagine a riskier way to preserve civilization than to place bets on its obliteration. Few sane citizens of the earth would not feel safer if agreement could be reached for reducing the possibilities of nuclear war. Few believe that the present anarchic system is the best that can be devised.

The nuclear powers could, of course, go all the way and agree to scrap their bombs. Nuclear disarmament, quite apart from general disarmament, would certainly make persuasive argument against proliferation. It may ultimately prove to be the only argument. But would the Western Powers, fearful of being outnumbered by the Eastern hordes, ever agree to surrender their most potent defense? A strong argument could be made that the nuclear weapon is the West's last line of defense. Even if the argument is refuted, the mutual distrust of the nuclear powers appears to preclude any meaningful disarmament agreement in the predictable future.

As an alternative concession, the United States could make some provision to extend the concept of the "nuclear umbrella" to the very "policy aims" that Senator KENNEDY would divorce from it. The institutional technique would, at best, be complicated. It would require that a mechanism be established by which potential nuclear powers could influence decisions that affect their fate. There must, of course, be safeguards against the deployment of nuclear weapons for "policy aims" that are in any way aggressive, but countries such as India or Israel must be permitted to share in decisions on which their defense depends. Such countries might agree to step under an American "nuclear umbrella," if they could be assured that the United States would not walk off to leave them standing in the rain.

The institutional mechanism could take a variety of forms. The nonnuclear power might make a bilateral arrangement with the United States, the Soviet Union or, conceivably, both. A multilateral system might be devised, within or apart from existing diplomatic instrumentalities. Careful organization and established rules could avoid the paralysis that consultation normally generates. Above all, the mechanism must provide the means whereby a nonnuclear power need not throw itself upon the mercy of a nuclear power if it believes that a threat to its integrity requires some sort of nuclear response. The way must be open for a government to plead its national interest prior to any nuclear decision.

Perhaps Moscow's deep hostility to MLF signifies that any arrangement to "democratize" nuclear decisions will be regarded as a form of proliferation. The Soviet fear is not groundless, but a carefully constructed mechanism need not mean more fingers to pull the trigger; it could mean more fingers to stop it from being pulled. At its best, such an arrangement could produce a greater spread of the nuclear veto.

The system would, necessarily, deprive the United States of complete nuclear independence. On its own, the United States would no longer be free to drop a bomb whether in the defense of Europe or South Vietnam. In more practical terms, Washington would be required to give up the threat of nuclear war as an instrument of national diplomacy. But this would probably be the most convincing demonstration it could make.

Still another alternative available to the nuclear powers to retard proliferation would be to limit the use of their weapons to certain very specific circumstances. The least that the nuclear powers could give, in return for an antiproliferation agreement from a nonnuclear power, would be a pledge never to use nuclear weapons on that power. Each of the nuclear powers could go a step further in the cause of nonproliferation by pledging to refrain from being first to use their bombs. These pledges would have the overwhelming advantage of simplicity. The would require no inspection. They would not impose disarmament on suspicious nuclear powers. To be sure, they would not satisfy a nonnuclear power that looked to nuclear weapons as deterrents to conventional attack, but they would reduce the nuclear have-not's fear of nuclear neighbors and thereby eliminate a strong incentive to proliferation. Such pledges would have the additional advantage of applying to weapons that already exist and not simply to those which might exist at some uncertain time in the future.

It is clear, above all, that the current system possesses the very lively dangers of both nuclear proliferation and nuclear use. "The threat to peace—and to human life itself"—said President Johnson, in submitting his treaty, "is universal. If the response is universal, the threat can be met." But the draft treaty that he proposed represents no significant step to meet that threat. Surely the United States can come up with a plan that is not so singularly self-serving, that contains some suggestion of understanding, that will genuinely reduce the possibility of nuclear war. The seriousness of the situation demands further reflection.

The CAB's Role in Promoting Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, many of us in Congress are concerned about Civil Aeronautics Board efforts to curtail airline service to small communities. The

CAB is following a policy of permitting local service airlines to drop cities which enplane less than five passengers daily.

Congress never intended that the CAB should set up any such arbitrary criteria for making decisions about local service. Three factors should be taken into consideration by the Board.

First, local service airlines are necessary to the financial well-being of trunk carriers. They help to generate the large volumes of traffic necessary for efficient trunkline operation.

Second, airline service to smaller cities is necessary for the commercial success of the community. Modern companies demand airline service and they seldom locate in towns which cannot provide it. The CAB should act consistently with other agencies, such as the Office of Economic Development, which are attempting to preserve the prosperity of smaller cities.

Third, local service airlines are essential to strong postal and national defense systems.

Mr. Speaker, my district, the city of Minneapolis, is not threatened by the direct loss of service. However, taking airline service away from several cities in the upper Midwest will have a strong adverse effect on Minneapolis. Businessmen who travel to these towns will find other methods more expensive and less convenient. It will become more difficult for Minneapolis to serve as a commercial center for the area.

Mr. Speaker, the Bureau of the Budget and the CAB should not fear that Federal support for air transportation will be too costly. Government subsidies are decreasing as a percentage of local service airline revenue. As the volume of air travel continues to grow, we can look forward to further decline in this ratio. The CAB should consider the maintenance of airline service to every section of the country its primary duty. Congress will continue to support a strong system of air transportation for our Nation.

Clemson University Students Support United States in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, we are proud of Clemson University in my congressional district. Clemson was second only to Texas A. & M. in the number of officers serving in World War II.

Clemson, located on the old plantation of John C. Calhoun, is steeped in the traditions of patriotism, love of country, and individual liberty. Clemson students and faculty members are unanimous in opposition to Red Communist aggression. They know that the academic community is the opposite of Communist tyranny, enslavement, book burnings and a state curriculum.

The following resolution was adopted by the Clemson University Senate, which represents the student body. I commend this resolution to the Members of the Congress and to the American people:

Whereas college students are understandably affected by and concerned with the involvement of the United States in Vietnam; and

Whereas the United States of America is committed to the support of the South Vietnamese people in the preservation of their right of political self-determination; and

Whereas this policy of the United States has been determined by the constitutionally authorized executive and legislative branches of this Government based upon the most reliable and comprehensive sources of information available to them; and

Whereas many American citizens are making immeasurable sacrifices in the service of their country to prevent the imposition of communism on the people of South Vietnam: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Clemson University Student Senate (in regular session assembled), That

1. We, the duly elected representatives of the Clemson University student body, do support the U.S. Government in its announced foreign policy to utilize such force as necessary to assist the South Vietnamese Government in the protection of its freedom from external political and ideological domination.

2. We proclaim our support of and recognize our indebtedness to the men of the U.S. Armed Forces serving in Vietnam.

CHARLES E. FOSTER,
President of the Senate.
SUSAN R. MOORE,
Secretary of the Senate.

VFW Presents MacArthur Memorial Tablet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, a memorial tablet honoring the late Gen. Douglas A. MacArthur and his father Lt. Gen. Arthur MacArthur as "heroic military leaders in the most critical periods of the history of the Republic" was presented to the MacArthur Memorial at Norfolk, Va. recently by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

The main speaker at the ceremonies was Mr. Andy Borg, national commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign War. Mayor Roy Martin accepted the tablet on behalf of the MacArthur Memorial and Gen. Courtney Whitney, U.S. Army, retired, a longtime aide to the late five-star general also spoke.

Immediately following the program, VFW Commander in Chief Borg and party placed the memorial tablet in the MacArthur Memorial and also placed a wreath on the tomb of General MacArthur.

Mr. Speaker, Commander Borg's address is a moving tribute to one of our country's greatest patriots, and under unanimous consent I insert it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

Your honor, the mayor, distinguished guests from our military, city officials, my comrades and sisters of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, ladies and gentlemen, the late General MacArthur when accepting the national chairmanship of the U.S. Flag Foundation in 1942 stated that "throughout the history of mankind symbols have exerted an impelling influence upon the lives of man." He then spoke of how the cross and the flag embodied ideals that taught men "not only how to live but how to die." It may be said 23 years after his statement that Douglas MacArthur has passed into military and national history as a symbol of duty, patriotism, and accomplishment that will exist as long as our Armed Forces defend the flag and the republican principles it symbolizes.

I cannot but think how fitting it is that this memorial we present and dedicate today represents 1,300,000 members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. Many served in MacArthur's command, others were near him in other services; and all are cognizant of his superb leadership and his deep respect for the courage and tenacity of the American fighting man. He never failed to pay tribute to the men. All recall the last eloquent reference in his "I bid you farewell" spoken at West Point in 1962, however, a part bears repetition: Speaking of the American man-at-arms, MacArthur said: "His name and fame are the birthright of every American citizen. In his youth and strength, his love and loyalty, he gave all that mortality can give. He needs no eulogy from me or any other man. He had written his own history and written it in red on his enemy's breast. * * * In 20 campaigns, on a hundred battlefields, around a thousand campfires, I have witnessed that enduring fortitude, that patriotic self-abnegation, and that invincible determination, which have carved his statue in the hearts of the people."

At the conclusion of this sincere tribute of a fighting general to his fighting men, the old soldier said with emotion: "I do not know the dignity of their birth, but I do know the glory of their death. They died unquestioning, uncomplaining, with faith in their hearts, and on their lips the hopes that we would go on to victory." This he knew was true of our men in uniform, irrespective of race, creed, or color.

Fellow Americans, how is it that with great traditions such as ours, the monumental, military, naval, and air victories that stud our history, the profound fact that these victories kept us free—military might and resistance to aggressors still keep us free—why is it that young men burn draft cards, march protesting our military policies, and shout invectives against our Government? This—all at a time when we are trying to honor our treaty obligations and prevent the ruthless tryanny of communism from sweeping over the emergent, smaller nations. Never in our history has it been more vital that the veterans organizations, the patriotic societies, the civic fraternities, yes, the churches and synagogues stress the need of greater understanding of the ideology that made us great; a knowledge of the principles and traditions that make the United States the beacon of hope for freemen everywhere. A young man, Bruce Espy by name, said in a youth address that won a Freedoms Foundation Award: "Why do I love our great American traditions? Why is our American way of life dear to me? Because it was paid for with the blood of guys like my brother."

The great leader, General MacArthur, never forgot his fighting men or those who fell in battle. Before leaving Australia and

following through on the leapfrog campaign that was most successful, the general was given, in celebration of his second anniversary in Australia, a state dinner by the Prime Minister at Canberra. It was a lovely affair having all the Australian Parliament in attendance. With warmth and emotion MacArthur thanked the people of Australia for their friendship and magnificent support, but as usual never forgetting his and their men said: "On such an occasion as this my thoughts go back to those men who were sent on their last crusade in the jungle thickness to the north where they made the fight that saved this continent. With faith in their hearts and hope on their lips they passed beyond the mists that blind us here. Their yesterday makes possible our tomorrow."

And in the supreme moment of victory when the Japanese and Allied commanders attested to the Articles of Surrender on the quarter deck of the battleship *Missouri*, MacArthur made one of his most stirring addresses. It was directed to the American people as a report. The senior Allied officer said: "I speak for the thousand of silent lips, forever stilled among the jungles and the beaches and in the deep waters in the Pacific which marked the way. I speak for the unnamed brave millions homeward bound to take up the challenge of that future which they did so much to salvage from the brink of disaster." Again, at the conclusion of this terse and moving report to our people—he (speaking in low voice charged with emotion) referred to the men of the Armed Forces: "They are homeward bound—take care of them." That today is the most important thing that we of the veterans organizations feel duty bound to do—take care of hospitalized, disabled, and the aged, the widow, and the orphan.

We of the Veterans of Foreign Wars have many reasons to feel close to the general. He was a life member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. His father, Gen. Arthur MacArthur, was in 1906 commander in chief of one of the early Spanish War veterans organizations that merged to form the Veterans of Foreign Wars: we shall ever call the distinguished Civil War MacArthur one of our founders. It is an interesting fact that MacArthur, one of the most highly decorated men ever in all American military service, was—as was his father—a holder of the Medal of Honor—the only father and son holders in the history of this highest award.

We also remember the detailed, long message that he sent on the request of Clyde Lewis, then commander in chief at the 51st annual convention at Chicago. President Truman ordered the message withdrawn and canceled; although not read or publicized at the convention it leaked and was widely published. It dealt both with appeasement and what the loss of Formosa would mean in the overall strategy of the Pacific, this just prior to daring and successful Inchon landings in Korea.

Regarding the Inchon operation, the British operation, the British Chiefs of Staff sent MacArthur a message complimenting him on his "inspiring and indefatigable" leadership in that operation. It concluded: "We believe that the brilliant conception and masterful execution of the Inchon counterstroke, which you planned and launched while holding the enemy at bay in the south, will rank among the finest strategic achievements in military history." Signed by the British Chiefs of Staff. We shall leave to politicians and military historians the pros and the cons of the general's relief from all active duty. It created a tempest to say the least.

At this stormy stage of human history, at a time when some who call themselves Americans no longer believe in the execution of the responsibilities that their birthright requires or appreciate the principles that give them and gave their immigrant forebears freedom and opportunity, we are proud at such a time to rededicate ourselves, to reaffirm our faith in the lofty ideals of General MacArthur, to pay homage to his name, to give thanks for his chivalrous military service, and we hope that his personal motto and that of his beloved U.S. Military Academy, "Duty, honor, country," will long remind us that men do not live by bread alone. No one knew better than the great general that a society wedded to material things or lost to a sense of history and worthy tradition may be perilously close to what is known in the vernacular as "the way out."

We know that neither men nor nations can live in the past; that both pass down the inevitable road of time; that both leave records and milestones. It is our high honor to place at this revered sarcophagus a memorial, a remembrance in order that future generations may know how deep a regard we had for his patriotism and his fame—he made worthy traditions that will never die. In the words of a French leader, we feel, that "To honor tradition is not to gather ashes, but to keep a flame burning." And may that spiritual flame ever remind the hearts of Americans, that freedom is our heritage, that freedom is not to be taken for granted, that to safeguard freedom is the responsibility of each citizen, and that freedom may require great sacrifice, even life itself. These were basic and fundamental directives in the credo of the great patriot that we this day so proudly honor.

Another Veterans Organization Joins the Fight Against Loan Sharks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, the Jewish War Veterans, one of the Nation's oldest veteran organizations, is the latest veterans group to join the fight against loan sharks who prey on members of our Armed Forces.

At its recent annual convention in September, the Jewish War Veterans adopted a strong resolution which "urges the Department of Defense to take necessary actions to police the operations of consumer finance companies that do not operate in the best interests of the servicemen." The resolution adds that such companies be placed off limits if they do not meet minimal acceptable standards of conduct.

Mr. Speaker, the resolution is a true tribute to the members of the Domestic Finance Subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee and its distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Texas, WRIGHT PATMAN. It was the Patman subcommittee that exposed the operations of these unscrupulous loan shark companies that are dedicated to the sole purpose of getting as much of the soldiers' paychecks as possible. To lend creditability to their operations, these companies place retired high ranking military officers on their boards of directors and adopt other ruses to lull the serviceman into a sense of security.

Mr. Speaker, I applaud the efforts of the Domestic Finance Subcommittee and I also applaud the strong resolution adopted by the Jewish War Veterans.

The resolution is as follows:

RESOLUTION OF JEWISH WAR VETERANS ON LOAN COMPANIES AND SERVICEMEN

Whereas American servicemen pay an estimated $50 million a year in exorbitant interests and excess charges in the area of consumer credit; and

Whereas loan companies dealing primarily with military personnel have hired former high-ranking military officers to serve on the board of directors of the companies or as officers of the firm; and

Whereas such second-class treatment to American servicemen is bound to affect his performance in the line of duty: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America in 70th annual national convention assembled at Kiamesha Lake, N.Y., September 12–19, 1965, urges the Department of Defense to take necessary actions to police the operations of consumer finance companies that do not operate in the best interests of the serviceman; and be it further

Resolved, That such companies be placed off limits where a minimal acceptable standard of conduct is not maintained; and be it further

Resolved, That the executive branch, i.e., Department of Defense, cooperate with the Domestic Finance Subcommittee of the House Committee on Banking and Currency in exposing the sharp practices of consumer finance companies specializing in loans to armed services personnel.

Reid of Riegel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, William E. Reid, president of Riegel Textile Corp. and immediate past president of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute, is a dynamic business leader who is dedicated to his employees, to the private enterprise system and to those principles and ideals which have made our Nation great.

Mr. Speaker, it has been my pleasure to be associated closely with Mr. Reid in his successful fight to save our American textile industry and the jobs of its employees. I know of his superb efforts in behalf of the textile industry and its employees—an industry so essential to the economic well-being and the security of our great country.

Mr. Speaker, the following tribute to Mr. Reid appeared in the October issue of the Textile Bulletin and was reprinted in the Ware Shoals Life on October 21, 1965. I commend this splendid tribute to the attention of Congress and to the American people:

A YEAR OF OUTSTANDING LEADERSHIP

From time to time, there comes the establishment of a certain debt which will never be repaid. The debt is not one in the conventional sense of a loan having been made. Rather, it is a debt of unique service ren-

dered. Whatever its definition, it is an honest debt, contracted in sincerity but without hope of due satisfaction.

Such is the debt the textile industry owes to William E. Reid who has completed a year of truly outstanding leadership as president of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute.

Mr. Reid is but one of a long list of gifted men who have led ATMI and its predecessors. He has been succeeded by still another great ability and there are others yet to come.

It remains, however, that his term has the rare mark of distinction that comes only when a man's fullest potential for an office is fulfilled.

In the first place, Mr. Reid has been an intelligent and articulate spokesman for the industry, at home and abroad. He has been an aggressive but prudent advocate of the industry's rights while, at the same time, expressing himself forthrightly—and, at times, bluntly—on the obligations of the industry and its individual members.

From this basic position, his range of interest and understanding has been striking.

He can very properly be called one of the fathers—perhaps the father—of the present Geneva arrangement for cotton textiles and the subsequent bilateral arrangements which have served to restore order and a sense of balance to the cotton textile import situation. When the cotton textile arrangement's trade principle is extended to other textile products regardless of fiber content, much of the credit can be traced to Mr. Reid's determined seeking for such action.

He was the prime mover in the recent massive (and successful) effort to renew the one-price cotton program—and, in fact, to get the two-price system removed in the first instance. One of the memorable statements of textile industry position was Mr. Reid's eloquent speech from the floor of the 1964 National Cotton Council meeting in Biloxi, Miss., in which he laid out the industry's position and the reasons for it.

He has insisted at every turn that the textile industry take its depreciation allowances and its tax adjustments, and combine them with a generous portion of its profits to build for the years ahead. His own company has set an admirable record in capital spending, and it should not be regarded as coincidence the industry's capital spending commitments for 1965 are expected to go over a billion dollars for the first time in history.

We say it should not be regarded as a coincidence because we believe Mr. Reid has done one thing more for the industry. He has told the industry's story in practically every corner of the world since moving into the line of succession that carried him to the ATMI presidency. In those speeches he has set a tone of aggressive, progressive acceptance of a great moral responsibility to act as well as to react.

"The times and their forces have propelled us into an increasing involvement with the world around us," he said in a recent speech.

We shall be eternally in his debt for his willingness to make involvement a total commitment.

Report of Minority on Activities of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, during the 1st session of the 89th Congress the Republican members of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee made a significant and constructive contribution to the extensive legislative work of the committee, of which I am the ranking minority member. The following report supplements from this point of view the report printed in the RECORD of October 22, which cataloged the major legislative items considered by the committee. Included are the principal minority contributions to those measures finally enacted into law:

Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, H.R. 2362, Public Law 89–10. No amendments to the bill were entertained in the Senate as a matter of administration policy, but a number of minority proposals were adopted in the committee report, Senate Report 146:

1. Including handicappel children within title I as educationally deprived, in addition to poverty-related children (Senator PROUTY);

2. Including parents of handicapped children under title III (Senator JAVITS);

3. Avoiding overlapping, duplication, and conflict with the Office of Economic Opportunity by giving precedence to the Office of Education on programs contemplated by titles I and III (Senator JAVITS);

4. Requiring State consultation under section 203(b) of title II, providing library resources for the use of children and teachers who cannot be served by a State; and under section 2(a)(1) of title IV, authorizing grants for educational research within a State (Senator JAVITS);

5. Restricting criteria which the Commissioner may require State agencies to impose upon local school districts' applications, beyond those stipulated in the bill (Senator PROUTY);

6. Requiring continuous monitoring of open-ended authorization for stipends to researchers under section 2(b) of title IV (Senator PROUTY);

7. Including academically gifted and creatively talented children under section 503(a) of title V (Senator JAVITS);

8. Clarifying church-state relationships, especially regarding nonsegregation by religious affiliation of dual enrollment classes, and the availability of judicial review (Senator JAVITS);

9. Restating the applicability of title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, precluding discrimination on the ground of race, color, or national origin, to all programs carried on under this act (Senator JAVITS);

10. Requiring equitable distribution of research facilities grants under title IV to all regions (Senator PROUTY).

Manpower Act of 1965, S. 974, Senate Report 123, Public Law 89–15. Minority amendments adopted:

1. Modifying the new 90 percent Federal, 10 percent non-Federal matching requirement to make it workable, by exempting private training institutions, authorizing matching in kind as well as in cash, and deferring the matching requirement for one additional planning year (Senators PROUTY, JAVITS, and MURPHY);

2. Authorizing delegation to State authorities of approval of projects not exceeding $75,000, in order to speed up implementation of the act (Senator JAVITS);

3. Limiting reapportionment of funds allocated to a State but not yet spent (Senator JAVITS);

4. Authorizing refresher or reorientation courses for professional employees who are unemployed because of defense cutbacks (Senators JAVITS and PROUTY);

5. Avoiding overlap of authorizations by repealing the training provisions of the Area Redevelopment Act simultaneously with the enactment of the bill, which transfers such training to the Labor Department (Senator JAVITS);

6. Continuing training allowances for trainees who become 22 years old during training (Senator PROUTY);

7. Authorizing increased use of private training institutions (Senator PROUTY);

Minority report language adopted:

1. Insuring that training allowances authorized by the bill will be added to existing training allowances (Senator JAVITS);

2. Directing greater emphasis on the on-the-job training program and on promoting its use (Senators PROUTY and JAVITS).

National Technical Institute for the Deaf Act, H.R. 7031, Senate Report 245, Public Law 89–36: Minority report language adopted urging the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to evaluate and implement the report submitted by the Advisory Committee on the Education of the Deaf (the Babbidge committee) pursuant to an authorization contained in the 1965 appropriation for the Department. The Secretary has since responded with implementation and recommendations (Senators JAVITS and MURPHY).

Extension of the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961, H.R. 8131, Senate Report 318, Public Law 89–69: Minority amendment adopted increasing the authorization for fiscal year 1966 by $1.5 million over the administration request in order to emphasize training of youth workers and other much-needed personnel (Senator JAVITS).

Older Americans Act of 1965, H.R. 3708, Senate Report 247, Public Law 89–73: Minority amendment adopted requiring State consultation for grants under title IV, research and development projects, and title V, training projects (Senator JAVITS).

Community Health Services Extension Amendments of 1965, S. 510, Senate Report 117, Public Law 89–109.

Minority amendments (Senator JAVITS) adopted:

1. Easing burdensome paperwork requirements in the expanded national immunization program;

2. Doubling the subceiling on appropriations for schools of public health.

National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965, S. 1483, Senate Report 300, Public Law 89–209: Based upon four bills previously introduced in the Senate, including one, S. 310, introduced by Senator JAVITS.

Minority amendments (Senator JAVITS):

1. Earmarking $2.75 million to help support and stimulate arts programs by the States;

2. Emphasizing the need for standards of professional excellence in the arts;

3. Authorizing the National Endowment for the Arts to support research;

4. Making clear that the prevailing wage provision does not preclude use of volunteers and amateurs.

Heart Disease, Cancer, and Stroke Amendments of 1965, S. 596, Senate Report 368, Public Law 89–209. Minority amendments adopted:

1. Limiting centers to the named diseases and those related to them (Senator DOMINICK);

2. Requiring a report of the Surgeon General on or before June 30, 1967, rather than waiting until 1969 (Senator JAVITS).

Captioned films for the deaf, S. 2232, Senate Report 649, Public Law 89–258: Minority amendment adopted establishing a permanent National Advisory Committee on the Deaf (Senators MURPHY and JAVITS).

Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965, H.R. 8283, Senate Report 599, Public Law 89–253. Minority amendments adopted:

1. Requiring regulations to prevent Job Corps from displacing presently employed workers or the impairment of existing contracts for services (Senators SIMPSON and DOMINICK);

2. Prohibiting payments solely as compensation for referring candidates for the Job Corps (Senator DOMINICK);

3. Requiring maximum public disclosure about developing community action programs, including public hearings and open books and records (Senator JAVITS);

4. Requiring consultation with State agencies on the development, conduct, and administration of community action programs (Senator JAVITS);

5. Authorizing direct community action grants where citywide "umbrella" agencies bypass a local private nonprofit group (Senator JAVITS);

6. Requiring notification of the Governor of a State in which a local private nonprofit group applies for a direct grant (Senator SALTONSTALL);

7. Restoring the voluntary assistance program for needy children (Senator JAVITS).

The Senate-House conference report (H. Rept. 1061) included language proposed by the minority (Senator JAVITS) requiring informal hearings before the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity will override the veto of the Governor of a State. The conference report also included language insuring that consumer credit education and consumer debt counseling programs will continue to be parts of the community action program; a minority amendment had been adopted by the Senate to this effect (Senator FANNIN).

The conferees rejected two significant minority amendments which had been adopted by the Senate:

1. Extending the Hatch Act prohibitions against political activity to those employees of community action programs paid in principal part from Federal funds, and to VISTA volunteers (Senators MURPHY and PROUTY);

2. Making the National Advisory Council an independent and meaningful entity (Senator PROUTY).

The Senate committee report adopted minority (Senator JAVITS) proposals:

1. Directing the Office of Economic Opportunity and local and State officials to enforce the act's requirement that community action programs are to be developed, conducted, and administered "to the maximum extent feasible" by the poor themselves, to avoid domination of citywide "umbrella" agencies by political officials, and to take the necessary action to correct any program failing in these respects;

2. Urging that announcements of project approvals be made by the Office of Economic Opportunity and not by political officials;

3. Urging the establishment of a system of regional offices to deal with local problems;

4. Directing the implementation of the provision in the act for a center at the Office of Economic Opportunity to coordinate information about the status of applications in all Federal agencies and departments under the act.

At Senator JAVITS' request, the minority staff conducted an inquiry into the New York City antipoverty controversy and filed a report, which was printed at pages 19 through 25 of the hearing record on H.R. 8283 and upon which a number of minority proposals were based.

Medical Library Assistance Act of 1965, S. 597, Senate Report 756, Public Law 89–291: Minority (Senator JAVITS) amendment adopted giving priority to libraries having the greatest potential for fulfilling the needs for regional health science libraries.

Service Contract Act of 1965, H.R. 10238, Senate Report 798, Public Law 89–286. Minority (Senator JAVITS) proposals adopted in Committee report:

1. Requiring the Secretary of Labor, in determining the prevailing rate in the locality, to consider the compensation paid in similar service work in the locality;

2. Urging the Department of Defense and other Federal agencies to afford any employees not covered by any of the acts or by this bill the minimum wage coverage provided by the bill.

National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965, H.R. 7743, Senate Report 758, Public Law 89–287. Minority (Senator JAVITS) amendment adopted:

1. Encouraging States and nonprofit private institutions and organizations to establish adequate loan insurance programs for students in eligible institutions;

2. Establishing a Federal program of student loan insurance for students who deserve reasonable access to State or private nonprofit programs of student loan insurance.

Health Professions Educational Assistance Amendments of 1965, H.R. 3141, Senate Report 789, Public Law 89–290. Minority (Senator JAVITS) amendments adopted:

1. Including students of pharmacy in the scholarship program;

2. Clarifying the accreditation of schools of nursing.

The bill included the provisions of S. 576, introduced by Senator COTTON and earlier passed by the Senate, permitting the canceling of a portion of the unpaid balance of a student loan to a physician, dentist, or optometrist who practices in a shortage area.

Higher Education Act of 1965, H.R. 9567, Senate Report 621, Public Law 89–329. Minority amendments adopted:

1. Adding National Defense Education Act loan forgiveness for those who teach in poverty-impacted areas (Senator PROUTY);

2. Recognizing outstanding students by making available an additional $200 scholarship per annum grant for those students ranking in the upper half of their class (Senator JAVITS);

3. Postponing the cutoff of the Institutes for School Librarians established by the National Defense Education Act to permit a phaseout rather than a sudden disruption (Senator DOMINICK);

4. Broadening the scope of the Higher Education Facilities Act to include arts and humanities (Senator PROUTY);

5. Reducing to 3 percent of the maximum interest rates for construction loans under title III of the Higher Education Facilities Act (Senator JAVITS);

6. Authorizing a college to transfer 25 percent of its scholarship fund to its National Defense Education Act student loan fund (Senator DOMINICK);

7. Broadening the title VI equipment grant provisions to include the arts and humanities, in addition to other areas of instruction (Senator PROUTY);

8. Enhancing the role of State and private, nonprofit institutions in guaranteeing low-cost student loans (Senator JAVITS);

9. Increasing the authorization for fiscal year 1966 of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 (Senator CASE);

10. Broadening the title V fellowship program to include nonpublic school teachers (Senator PROUTY);

11. Streamlining and reforming National Defense Education Act loan procedures (Senators JAVITS, PROUTY, and DOMINICK);

12. Making more flexible the use of funds for construction grants to public community colleges and public technical institutes under the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 (Senators CASE and TOWER);

13. Adding "industrial arts" of title XI of the National Defense Education Act (Senators PROUTY and JAVITS);

14. Authorizing payment in kind by colleges under the work-study program (Senator JAVITS);

15. Adding "economics" to titles III and XI of the National Defense Education Act (Senator PROUTY);

16. Adding "civics" to title XI of the National Defense Education Act (Senator JAVITS);

17. Emphasizing high-quality substantial courses in the title V teacher fellowship program rather than on the so-called educational method courses (Senator PROUTY);

18. Broadening title II so that institutions with modest resources can obtain maximum library assistance without a matching requirement and requiring institutions with resources to match Federal funds (Senator JAVITS);

19. Training of college administrators for developing institutions (Senator JAVITS);

20. Barring title I extension course funds from use for sectarian instruction, religious worship, or divinity school courses (Senator JAVITS);

21. Moderately decreasing Federal matching contribution under title I to encourage greater college participation in accord with recommendations of land-grant colleges (Senator JAVITS);

22. Limiting the section exempting sororities and fraternities from title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, regarding cutoff of Federal funds from discriminatory activities, to those financed exclusively by funds derived from private sources (Senators DIRKSEN and JAVITS).

Minority provisions (Senator JAVITS) adopted in committee report:

1. Urging that moneys allocated to colleges for purchases of library materials under title II not be eroded by unwarranted increases in the already very high cost of books and periodicals;

2. While recognizing the importance of research, encouraging college teachers to devote more time to the classrooms and the student.

The conference report adopted language proposed by the minority (Senator JAVITS) making it clear that the 1963 Higher Education Facilities Act provisions for construction of graduate schools includes all graduate schools, including those offering programs leading to a first degree in law.

School construction assistance in disaster areas, H.R. 9022, Senate Report No. 783, Public Law 89–313: Minority amendment adopted authorizing aid in the form of a repayable advance to financially capable school districts which are in need of immediate funds (Senator JAVITS).

Minority report language adopted precluding, to the extent feasible, the segregation of classes by religious affiliation where services are provided to non-public-school students (Senator JAVITS).

Banking System One of the Great Strengths of This Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, one of the great strengths of this Nation is its unique system of banking, with its large number of locally owned banks serving the public in all walks of life. And one of the basic reasons this system of banking works as well as it does is the excellent multilevel supervisory structures which has been developed within the States and on the Federal level.

The ability of the various State banking supervisors to work closely with the

Federal banking agencies is one of the outstanding examples of Federal and State cooperation.

Recently the National Association of Supervisors of State Banks, an organization representing the banking supervisors in all the 50 States, held their annual convention in Detroit. As one of the official acts of that convention, NASSB adopted a resolution highly praising the record, abilities, and cooperativeness of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, a Federal agency created by the Congress some 32 years ago.

The warm recommendation of the NASSB for the service the FDIC has provided to the Nation is well deserved. FDIC's record of service to the public in preserving a sound banking system, and in protecting depositors against loss when banks close, is well known to all of us. The strong cooperation between the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and the State banking authorities may not be so well known, but it is just as important in preserving a sound banking structure to serve the public.

The full resolution is as follows:

OCTOBER 8, 1965.

RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SUPERVISORS OF STATE BANKS CONCERNING FDIC

The following resolution was unanimously endorsed by the members of the National Association of Supervisors of State Banks assembled in Detroit, Mich., at NASSB's 64th annual convention:

"Whereas the supervisors of State banks are of the opinion that one of the important factors which has contributed to the growth of a vital banking system in the United States has been the availability of Federal deposit insurance;

"Whereas Congress has established the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation as the agency of the U.S. Government to administer this all-important program for the protection of depositors;

"Whereas the supervisors of State banks and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation have a mutual goal in maintaining the present strength of the State banking system and the high level of service which it provides;

"Whereas in achieving this goal of the supervisors of State banks and the members and staff of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation work harmoniously and closely together;

"Whereas the supervisors of State banks have had ample occasion to have firsthand knowledge of the efficiency, thoroughness, and vigor with which the members and staff of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation perform their duties; of the examination reports of the highest quality which are issued by the Corporation; and of the willingness and availability of the members and staff of the Corporation to join with the supervisors in solving problems and reaching goals of mutual interest: Now, therefore, be it unanimously

"*Resolved by the National Association of Supervisors of State Banks, assembled in Detroit, Mich., for its 64th annual convention,* That the Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Honorable K. A. Randall, and its immediate past Chairman, the Honorable Joseph W. Barr, along with the dedicated staff of the Corporation, are to be highly commended for their faithful performance of the trust committee to them by Congress; for the efficient and thorough manner in which they guard the public interest; and for their cooperation with supervisors of State banks in advancing their common goal of assuring the continuance of a strong and vigorous State banking system."

The National Conference on Sea Grant Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIBORNE PELL

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, recently my home city of Newport, R.I., was host to a National Conference on Sea-Grant Colleges. It was an extremely successful gathering, bringing together 240 distinguished scholars and experts in the field of oceanography and related fields. They represented institutions in 35 States.

The conference had special meaning and significance for me personally because it was convened for the specific purpose of considering a concept which I have submitted to the Senate in legislative form. My bill, S. 2439, provides for a Federal program of sea grant colleges supported by revenues, rents, and royalties from offshore oil properties on the ocean floor.

In order to examine the concept and explore its possibilities, the University of Rhode Island and the Southern New England Marine Sciences Association joined in sponsoring the 2-day conference at Newport.

The highlight of the conference, to my mind, was the keynote address delivered by Dr. Athelstan Spilhaus, dean of the Institute of Technology at the University of Minnesota, who is the true originator and "father" of the sea grant college concept. It was a tribute to him that the conference voted to endorse the general concepts incorporated in my bill, and appointed a committee of distinguished scientists and scholars to maintain continuing support for the plan.

Dean Spilhaus' speech, reflecting as it did his years of study and experience, describes in detail the present discrepancy between oceanographic science and applied engineering and explored in detail the steps we could and should take to make better use of the vast resources of the seas. His speech should be part of the official RECORD of Congress in view of the growing public concern in this field and also in view of the hopeful prospects for congressional action on this legislation next year. I ask unanimous consent that Dean Spilhaus' speech may be inserted in the RECORD at this point, along with my own address to the same conference.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CONCEPT OF A SEA-GRANT UNIVERSITY

(By Dr. Athelstan Spilhaus)

President Horn, Senator PELL, Dean Knause, and friends, I don't suppose that many people have the pleasure and honor that I feel today on this occasion when at this wonderful place on the sea under the auspices of a fine university and with so many of those who've contributed much to the science of the ocean—that I feel on being invited to explore and develop with your help my own sea-grant-university idea.

My friend, Dr. Chapman, wrote me about a year ago to ask whether the sea grant university sprang full blown from my mind. I would say, rather, that it resulted from the recognition of a need, a conception, a period of labor, delivery at the right time, gradual acceptance of the young infant and I now hope that its sponsors here may make it have a productive and useful life.

When Harrison Brown formed the National Committee on Oceanography in 1957, some of us jokingly yet with much truth stated that our first objective would be to get our public leaders to at least be able to pronounce the word "oceanography." Harrison not only managed this but with his fellows on the committee succeeded in stirring an amazing public and legislative awareness of the importance of knowing about the sea.

Early on, we recognized the need to use engineering in support of the study of the sea. We had a panel of the National Academy Committee which devoted itself to special engineering devices, vehicles, instruments, and the like. When I became chairman in 1961, I was already beginning to see that engineering in support of oceanographic research, while important, was not enough. And I recall on being asked, in a joint meeting with the governmental interagency committee on oceanography, what the task of the Academy group should be over the next 5 years, that I said that marine science and oceanography were going strong but that the real gap was between our excellent science and the pitiful state of the U.S. performance in the exploitation of the sea. Our pitiful fishery effort—our poor merchant marine—the fact that when we needed a bathyscaphe we purchased it in Europe—all symptoms of a lack of purpose and a failure to apply our science through ocean engineering and biological engineering or aquaculture.

In 1963, in a keynote address to a national meeting on fisheries, I voiced my unhappiness and recalled that just about a hundred years before, a positive purposeful action had been taken by Congress to stimulate "the mechanic arts and agriculture"—the act that established land-grant colleges. There can be no question that the Morrell Act establishing a land-grant fund for the support of such colleges, passed by Congress in 1859 but vetoed by President Buchanan and subsequently signed by Lincoln in 1862 contributed mightily, through the mechanic arts to lead to our national preeminence in the mass production of things that people need—including agricultural products.

Why not then provide a focus, a commitment and continuing support in the context of sea-grant universities today to bring the United States to a position of leadership in ocean engineering and aquaculture.

After this talk, I received many letters expressing interest in the concept. One was from Professor Saila, of Rhode Island. As a result of his expressed interest I wrote to President Horn and Dean Knauss and received inspiring and heartening responses. They wanted to do something to explore the idea. Dean Knauss suggested early in 1964 that a conference be held—this is the conference.

Senator PELL, with a long interest in the sea, its contribution to his State and its potential, talked with me. I remember quipping to the Senator that Rhode Island would be a fine launching place for a sea grant university in connection with its land grant university—after all, I said, you have very little land.

So, you see, it is most appropriate that this first national conference on the sea grant

university concept should be held here where the original interest was sparked.

What is ocean engineering? From time to time we give names to assemblages of our different scientific disciplines for no better reason—and for the very good reason—that they apply and suit our principal current preoccupations. So polar science is all the good science that is done relating to the Arctic and the Antarctic. Space science is all good science that relates to space, or more facetiously any science that the National Aeronautics and Space Administration will pay for. Similarly, oceanography and marine science comprises the work of any scientist in any discipline who chooses to use the sea as focus for his intellectual endeavors.

On the other hand, in engineering the qualifying nouns become even more meaningful. The engineering problems of the polar regions are quite special and unique. How do you get rid of sewage when everything is frozen. How do you build foundations that sink in permafrost? How do you build structures in slowly flowing ice? Engineering for space, too, has its special problems. Metals can cold weld themselves together in the vacuum of space. Special lubricants are needed, and vacuum tubes may not need an outside cover. So it is in ocean engineering. Materials behave quite differently at the 7-ton-per-square-inch pressures encountered in the abyss. Structures must be built to resist the onslaught of marine borers and other living organisms that attack them and they must withstand entirely different catastrophic forces—earthquakes, currents, wave forces, and underwater landslides.

We must recall that where science aims at finding out enough about our environment to describe it and then to find common truths, engineering intervenes, alters, and uses the environment. The uses and controls that are found good—ones that society wants or can grow to want—industry repeats so that they can be used by as many people as possible. There are two kinds of ocean engineering: there is that kind that has gone on for centuries, like the building of ships to get from one point of land to another, the building of dikes to keep the sea from encroaching on the land, but these are merely in support of peripheral activities of land based and oriented people not using the sea but withstanding its abuse of the land. There is another kind of ocean engineering, and that is the ocean engineering which must come about when we decide to intervene in the marine environment with the ultimate objective of using it, occupying it, and enjoying it.

When you occupy a place whether it be an enemy country, uninhabited polar or desert wastes, the moon, the planets, or the depths of the sea, essentially you have to start by worrying about the five basic things for people to live; a way to get there and back, shelter while you're there, power, water, and food.

Of course, it's not necessary to occupy the ocean right now. We could wait, but somebody else would occupy it. Or, we can make the decision that we will occupy the ocean. We can choose freely to expend part of our efforts and apply our marine, scientific, and oceanographic knowledge toward the peaceful exploitation and colonization of the sea.

A way to get there and back, shelter, power, water, and food—to these five basics that we need for the occupation of land on earth must be added a sixth shared by the environments of space and the sea. We can live quite a while without food and water, but you could not have heard my last few sentences without breathing. The most fundamental ocean engineering that is going on today is the medical engineering on breathing at high pressures supported by the physiological science related to mammals breathing with their lungs full of water. The latter science may point to engineering developments way in the future, but at the present time men are spending weeks below hundreds of feet of water breathing mixtures mostly of inert helium, with just the right small percentage of oxygen so that at those depths it's compressed to about the oxygen pressure in the normal atmosphere.

Ocean medicine has found that helium does not give the narcotic effects "rapture of the deep" that comes from the great solubility of nitrogen in fatty nerve cells. Ocean medicine, by studying decompression, is beginning to overcome the dangers when the aquanaut comes up and reduces his pressure too quickly. If he does, the gases expand in bubbles blocking arteries, attacking joints, and giving him the fatal "bends."

Of the other five basics, three deal mainly with physical engineering—the provision of new surface and submarine vehicles, structures under the sea, and power generators. But ocean engineering also includes food and water—fishing, fish farming, hybridizing marine plants, and even water divining in the sea, the search for undersea fresh water springs. In the meantime, we can, of course, desalt sea water, but this is a clumsy interim method. Ocean engineers must face problems quite different from usual engineering experience on land. Electrolysis dictates a different choice of metals. The mechanical stresses of current, waves, and undersea earthquakes are quite different from their counterparts on land. Biological activity can bore, excavate, and undermine undersea structures, and other organisms can create unwanted noise. Thus, biological engineering is a necessary adjunct even to the physical engineering in the oceans. Biological engineering will play a far greater part in the oceans than it has in the physical engineering of the land. I do not mean to imply that the ocean engineer must be any more competent than the most competent land engineers. He must have a different mix of the basic sciences and, even more important, a different focus. The focus of the land engineer is to prevent the encroachment of the sea, to concrete up coastlines, to fill estuaries for land habitations. The ocean engineer will consider it more important that beaches and estuaries be retained or that even new ones be built, because they are the habitat of many valuable shellfish and the nursery of many fishes of the deep sea.

For many years while being engrossed in oceanography and marine science, and while being active in contributing engineering devices in support of this science, I recognized the gap that exists between the scientists and oceanographers who have made such great strides in describing and understanding the ocean environment—its shores, its bottom, its physical and living contents—between these scientists and the fishermen, navigators, sea captains, sailors who use the sea. The missing link is ocean engineering which will pull out many useful scientific findings and translate them into better ways of using the sea.

Up to now the main uses of the sea were for surface ships and fishing. Surface ships operate at the worst possible level—on the surface of the sea. At this interface they are plagued by wind, waves, and ice. If they go a little way up or a little way down, they're better off. The harvesting and husbandry of the food we take from the sea is utterly primitive and has not in any sense kept pace with the magnificent progress in fertilizers, farm machinery, cross-breeding and hybridizing that has developed on the land.

It is worthwhile to catalog some more immediate and some more distant exciting and potentially useful things, we can do in and with the oceans. If some seem like irresponsible dreaming, remember we live in days where purposeful dreaming becomes reality so rapidly that it's almost regarded as respectable. If some seem like "stunts," it is worthwhile to remember that such spectaculars that form milestones of human achievement contribute honestly to people's self esteem. They are the necessary steps to give us the confidence to go on to even greater achievements. Yesterday's "stunt" is tomorrow's useful routine.

Remember, we are inventing the future, not merely predicting it. When people asked, "What will the new deep research submarines look for?" the best answer was: "For things we don't yet know." To survive in a new environment, true readiness is to be ready for the unexpected.

Let us start at the coastline. Instead of smoothing and concreting coastlines, we may scallop them to build as many harbors and estuaries as we can and to lengthen the total coastline of the earth. There is a snowflake figure in mathematics which shows that any area, however small, can be enclosed by a line of infinite length. The smaller the scallops or harbors we build, the longer will be the coastline. But if our purpose is to provide seashore not only for the organisms in the sea but for peoples' recreation, the theoretical concept of infinity becomes finite in terms of the quantum of people size.

Next, perhaps, we should heat up some coastal waters not only so that you can swim in them but also to make suitable warm water habitats for transplanting useful fishes that previously could not multiply there. With the coming rash of large nuclear reactors, waste heat is regarded by the land engineers as a problem because when it is introduced into cooling water, it produces profound ecological effects.

Many conventional conservationists consider any changes of this kind with the environment to be bad. But if we go about it in a sound engineering way, we can introduce waste heat into the sea in a number of different ways and find those effects on the ecology which are beneficial. Thereafter, this heat would no longer be waste but be useful.

Because land engineering with its parochial focus in conserving our land and preventing it being washed into the sea and because of the almost total use and reuse of fresh waters so that rivers will no longer flow into the sea, the sand that maintains beaches along the shorelines no longer simply comes down from the land. Beaches are not just there. Sand is continually being taken away to accumulate in the canyons on the continental shelves or even in the deep sea. We'll need to dredge the sand back and remake the beaches. The beaches will still be in dynamic equilibrium but one link in the cycle will be provided by man's intervention through ocean engineering. When we leave the shoreline, we will need vehicles to supplement the conventional ones which are so limited by the wind and wave at the air-sea interface. We need increasingly to go down in submarines or up in true air seacraft. Present seaplanes can only make emergency landings in the sea. We need the kind of air seacraft that can fly out, settle, do its work in a high sea, take-off—vertically, perhaps, and move on to the next job.

The present factory ships with their catchers that catch and process whales and fish will grow into floating oceanic cities. We are beginning to get inklings of how to quiet waves by punching holes in harbor walls, much the same as we punch holes in acoustical tile to absorb sound energy. With these elements as a beginning, floating artificial harbors or wave-stemming walls of the floating cities become possible. Or, more comfortable dwelling quarters may be floating stably a hundred feet or so below the surface where any wave motion is so damped out as to be unnoticeable. The artificial harbors and other mother ship platforms must be arranged to retrieve small submersibles, to retrieve them underwater so that

a rendezvous in the high seas—a much more difficult job than a rendezvous in space—becomes unnecessary.

After surface cities, habitations floating under the water, the next step toward widespread structures on the bottom of the sea necessitates some ocean bottom engineering surveys. We'll need to develop bottom vehicles to travel between the ocean cities. But even before this, we'll have to develop a whole body of knowledge on submarine soil mechanics. How will the ocean sediments support foundations and crawling vehicles? How stable will be the natural slopes or the embankments we construct on the ocean bottom? How does the bottom erode? And how well will it hold moorings? We need an expedition across the bottom of the Atlantic and the Pacific in crawling vehicles containing men to survey the terrain—a Lewis and Clark transocean bottom expedition. Until then we will not know how currents, erosion, and sediments will affect our engineering works. We do know from broken submarine cables that there are catastrophic phenomena much stronger than our concept of the "quiet in the deeps" would lead us to believe.

Also in advance of the widespread use of bottom structures we need to study the properties of materials at very high pressures. Materials suffer effects at these pressures which are quite outside the domain of ordinary land engineering. Glass apparently becomes less brittle. The analytical mechanics of thick shell structures must be tackled without the simplifications which are satisfactory for the thin shells we use on land.

Already, thanks to the work of the physiologists, divers can live and work a few hundred feet down. There seems every prospect that a thousand feet is now not out of the question. This refers to living at the ambient pressures. In the greater depths the structure to which we have referred, which will withstand the pressures, will be necessary. Once people can work and live at a thousand feet, the whole of the Continental Shelf, an area of 10 million square miles, larger than North America, is opened up as a new continent for our use. Oil drilling, mining, salvage, and even fish farming can be done by people down there and not, as now, on the end of the string from a wobbly surface.

So far I haven't mentioned power. And we are becoming accustomed to think that the potential of nuclear power is so great that we can dismiss other sources of power. The ocean is such a source, but it is termed a low-grade source because you need to imprison, or otherwise use, a great deal of sea water to get a usable quantity of power. So that in general the power of the sea has been regarded as a nuisance rather than a potential to be tapped. Usually when people think about the ocean's power, they think of tidal power and, indeed, there are several tidal powerplants operating; in fact, tidal power was used to mill grain a century ago in places like Maine.

But many times the tidal power potential exists in the difference in temperature between the top and the bottom of the ocean—the thermal gradient power. There are many places in the sea where differences of 10° occur over very short horizontal or vertical distances. So far, there is only one small thermal gradient plant in operation. With huge structures at sea, wave power becomes a possibility. It's not easy to harness the up-and-down motion of the waves in any practical or efficient way when we have small objects bobbing on the surface even though the wave energy withstood by a ship's hull may be many times that required to propel the ship. But with the size structure we envision—huge artificial harbors, and stable platforms, wave power becomes a possibility.

The ocean engineering in support of what we may call conventional fishing is already here. The behaviorial scientists have a wealth of information on the response of fish to sonic, chemical, and electronic stimuli that may take the place of ordinary bait. And floating chemical engineering factories can take the whole catch, sort the fish automatically—trash fish for meal, more valuable fish for canning or freezing, and more importantly, count the species to keep a check on what is the renewable harvest.

Where existing advanced methods have been used in fishing, there is already the danger of overfishing—of making the whales become extinct—and this implies the urgent need, before we go much further in harvesting the living resources of the sea, to have a way of keeping an inventory of all the species we take from the sea so that we may be sure that they are renewed each year. And also to get an idea of how much we can increase the sustained yield when we itervene.

In gathering the living things of the ocean, ocean engineers should consider whether other living things themselves, may do our building and collecting more efficiently than mechanical machines that we can devise. It would be very expensive to collect enough euphausid shrimp, but whales collect and convert them very efficiently. Perhaps we should be breeding whales instead of exterminating them. Can we accelerate the coral animal to build reefs? Can we use shellfish to concentrate minerals? Can we plant seaweed to stabilize beaches? Can be hybridize the plants that grown in sea water, the seaweeds, and use them much more extensively as sea fruits and vegetables? Perhaps we can even contribute to the land by using the wealth of information on halophytes—salty habitat plants—not only to grow useful food in sea or brackish water but actually to desalinize water by the use of plants which concentrate salts within them. Seaweed is a good source of iodine, for instance.

These are the beginnings of farming the plants of the sea, but what about the animals? Plants are easier to farm and harvest because they may be rooted or even if they are floating they are easy to control. Shellfish, which are indeed farmed, are the next easiest for the same reason. Oysters, clams, and shrimp are cultured to a greater or lesser extent in ponds and semienclosed arms of sea. Next it is not much of a step to conceive of lobster traps on the bottom of the Continental Shelf acres in extent—in fact, bottom fishes in general would seem to be most easily susceptible to fencing. Then how do we fertilize the sea? There are two ways in land farming; namely, plowing and adding nutrients. The counterpart of plowing in the sea is upwelling that brings nutrients from deeper water to the euphotic zone. The idea of doing this artificially by heating up the ocean with a nuclear reactor at the bottom has been thought of, but on analysis does not seem economical. But the waste heat from nuclear reactors for other purposes may well be used in this way. The motions of the sea itself, which indeed cause upwelling notably in such productive waters of the Humboldt Current, may be studied and ocean engineering intervention may devise ways of making the sea plow itself more efficiently.

How can we fertilize the sea? It is manifestly impossible to add sufficient of the basic nutrients to open sea water, although this is possible in estuarine or pond water. In the sea it's stirred and mixed away, unlike the use of fertilizer on land. It does seem possible, however, to add the trace substances once we know which are most important to growth. The study of trace elements, too, will lead us to more successful transplantation of useful fishes from one area of the world to another. Then, too, by using what the marine scientists know about the food chain, we can eliminate some of the unnecessary and less useful species, that is, intervene in way that might be called "weeding the sea."

One other aspect of the use of the sea which is already with us and may grow even faster and stimulate ocean engineering more than these "more serious" uses of the sea is the important part the sea can play in recreation of the people in an increasingly crowded land world. Already you can purchase a small sporting submarine for not much more than the cost of an automible. Thousands of people go down in the sea in aqualungs. Millions of dollars are spent on boats, elaborate fishing equipment and underwater cameras for people's recreation at sea.

Perhaps some of the first underwater structures will be for recreation. As mass-produced underwater vehicles come within the reach of many, underwater resorts will develop where people will drive their submobiles and visit reefs, watch the oceanic wildlife in its natural habitat much the way we do in the wilderness and park areas on land.

These examples give you something of a vista of what ocean engineering can do in the sea and show you how engineering and technology can bring everyone close to the oceans and develop the sea's resources for everyone's use just as on land. Engineering has provided us with our dams, our fuels, our skyscrapers, highways, planes, ships, satellites, and the biological engineering which we call agriculture has supplied us with our abundance of good food. I have said that ocean engineering will fill the gap between marine scientists and those who use the sea. But we need a way of bringing the vast body of scientific knowledge about the sea to the people who use it. We need to bring knowledge of the ocean to people other than the scientists who develop it, and not only to the engineers but to all the professions that must be related in a vast world development of this kind. We need an educational plan far broader than the existing ones that produce excellent marine scientists. There is not a single activity of people that would not be affected by our man-in-the-sea program and there is hardly any facet of man's knowledge and experience that will not be needed to complement the ocean engineering effort.

Under the land-grant-college program, scholars did not disdain to tackle hard practical engineering and biological engineering—that is, farming—problems in parallel with basic scientific work. In fact, often the arts of engineering and agriculture outstripped the sciences by building things and growing things better before physics, botany, or zoology quite understood why. Working in parallel, discoveries in the basic sciences were quickly put to use. So successful was this idea that we would be remiss if we did not use it as a blueprint for our ocean venture.

The sea-grant colleges not only would concentrate on applications of science to the sea, such as prospecting underwater, mining, developing the food resources, marine pharmacology and medicined shipping and navigation, weather and climate, but they would relate these to the natural sciences which underlie them; to the social sciences, economics, sociology, psychology, politics and law, as they are affected by and, in turn, affect the occupation of the sea. They would also be associated with the liberal arts—literature, art, and history—which describe man's relation to the sea and enhance his enjoyment of it.

Just as the land-grant colleges were given in perpetuity grants of land for their experimental plots, in some cases lands in which mineral resources were found or that grew to be otherwise useful and served to provide income for the ongoing of the total enterprise, so sea-grant colleges should ge given grants of seashore or lakeshore, seawater and bottom

within territorial limits as their experimental plots to stimulate the development of aquaculture in the waters and the prospecting and ways of exploiting the natural resources of the sea bed. These watery grants would serve the additional purpose of preserving tracts of seashore and open waters from the fiercely competitive pressures due to increase of population and industrialization—preserve them not only as natural habitats for ecological studies but as the important nursery areas for high sea fish and residences for in-shore food fish and shell fish. The sea-grant college, to do its job, will also need its county agents in hip boots—an Aquacultural Extension Service that takes the findings of the college or university onto the trawlers, drilling rigs, merchant ships, and down to the submotels. The sea-grant college to do its job in aquaculture and ocean engineering will need sea home economics, too. Even if we had abundant protein from the sea today, a selling job would need to be done to remove taste prejudices and taboos, and this is done by such a down-to-earth service, yet one which touches more people than the erudite things we do in universities, home economics. As we breed and farm fish, we will need to have fish vets, fish pathologists, and experts on the diseases and parasites that may plague our flocks in the sea or our plants. We will no longer be able to tolerate epidemics like the blooming of a red tide of dynaflagellates that make widespread fish kills and are concentrated by mollusks so that these poison people.

Law is an utterly important adjunct to any widespread exploitation of the sea. We need a clarification of the law of the sea and a way of, on the one hand, being able to grant rights so that a group investing capital in vast projects may be assured of some stability toward a reasonable return and, on the other hand, better legal controls to prevent overfishing. Economics, too, must play a major role. The reason that nobody pays attention to preserving the inventory of whales in the sea and that nobody confines himself to a catch that is calculated to build up the stock and take the renewable amount as harvest, is an economic one. The whales in the sea are not on anyone's books as an economic asset. Public administration, with due regard to national and international politics, must find a way out of the dilemma that is posed that when nobody owns what's in the sea, and when nobody feels responsible for its controlled exploitation.

The marine engineer who emerges from our sea grant institutions will be as different from the old-fashioned marine engineer as the satellite engineer is from the one who operates a heating plant. The aquaculturist will be as different from the conventional fisherman. Oceanic engineering and aquaculture, the control of the sea for man's purposes, will take all our imagination and inventiveness as a magnificent challenge.

The oceans will offer us military, recreational, economic, artistic, and intellectual outlets of unlimited scope. Thus they'll offer us more space than space itself in which to remain human. The sea—beautiful and dangerous, elegant and strong, bountiful and whimsical—not only challenges us but offers to every "man in the street" the exciting participation of being a "man in the sea." Like a military operation where a war is not won until the area is occupied, we will master the sea only when we occupy it.

But to do this we must have sea grant universities and colleges that focus with commitment on the sea—that seek to impinge all our intellectual disciplines on the mastery, exploitation, and preservation of the sea. Just as the scholars in the land grant colleges developed a passion for the land and led not only, in ways to benefit by it, but also in the ways to preserve it—we must seek through a welding together of science, art, literature, engineering, medicine, law, public administration, and politics to develop a public which will not only homestead our new spaces in the sea but colonize and civilize them through an integrated interdisciplinary education in the sea grant universities.

SPEECH BY SENATOR CLAIBORNE PELL BEFORE THE NATIONAL SEA-GRANT CONFERENCE, SPONSORED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND AND THE SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND MARINE SCIENCES ASSOCIATION AT NEWPORT, R.I.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am delighted to have this opportunity of sharing in this national conference to develop plans and ideas for implementing the concept of sea-grant colleges.

Under the sponsorship of the University of Rhode Island and the Southern New England Marine Sciences Association, this conference is of great meaning to our own State and to the goals we seek for advancing, in the best possible fashion, our knowledge of oceanography and education in the marine sciences. Such increasing knowledge and education can bring highly important benefits to Rhode Island and to the United States in the years ahead.

I am particularly delighted to participate in this conference with so many leaders distinguished in the broad area of oceanography. Dr. Horn, as president of the university, and Dean Knauss, as head of its graduate school of oceanography, have brought the University of Rhode Island to a position of not only State but national prominence. I have long admired the imaginative and pioneering programs established at the University of Rhode Island. And it is also a singular pleasure for me to share in this conference with Dr. Athelstan Spilhaus, dean of the institute of technology at the University of Minnesota. Dr. Spilhaus is a pioneer of the sea-grant college concept—which I have sought as a Senator to implement within the framework of new legislation.

As you may know, I have recently introduced in the Senate proposals for national sea-grant colleges and for a program of education aimed at making maximum use of our country's marine resources. They are an asset which we have only begun to explore. The legislation, I believe, can be of benefit to this university, to Rhode Islanders, and to our country as a whole.

Rhode Island has had a long and historic association with the sea. Eighty-eight years ago, Alexander Agassiz, a resident of this very city of Newport, organized the three cruises of the Coast Guard vessel *Blake*, voyages which marked the first major effort of the United States in oceanographic exploration. Until the end of the last century, the Alexander Agassiz laboratory in Newport, stemming from a concept originated by his father, Louis—was our Nation's historic center of early research into the mysteries of the marine environment.

Thus Rhode Island can lay rightful claim to the beginnings of oceanographic studies which this university has so well expanded. History combines fittingly in this respect with continuing and improving purpose. A great deal more needs to be done, however, if we are to make full use of our potentials and develop the skills and understandings we will need for the future.

The oceans and their deeps constitute a last physical frontier here on earth which man has by no means fully investigated.

Until recent times, as President Johnson has pointed out, the oceans have been looked upon chiefly as barriers to invasion. "We must now see them as links," the President has stated, "not only between peoples, but to a vast new untapped resource. It is becoming increasingly clear that there are large mineral deposits under the oceans. But before this treasure becomes useful, we must first locate it and develop the technology to increase it economically. We must also learn more about marine biology, if we are to tap the great potential food resources of the seas."

President Kennedy in a message to Congress said that our very survival may hinge upon the development of our knowledge of the oceans and the resources they contain.

Emphasizing the growing concern of Members of the Congress in oceanography is the number of legislative proposals in this area made during the 1st session of the 89th Congress. Let me pay tribute, at this point, to the oceanographic pioneer of the Congress—Senator WARREN MAGNUSON, whose bill, as I have said in the Senate, provides for the first time a clear statement of our Nation's goals in oceanography, and a means to determine how the Federal program can be organized most effectively to meet these goals.

My proposals, I believe, would serve to augment Senator MAGNUSON's concept of a well-coordinated National Council for Marine Resources and Engineering Development. Specifically, my proposals would help engender the skilled manpower and technology for the many important facets of evolving work in which the Council, envisioned by Senator MAGNUSON, would be engaged.

Under my bill, sea-grant colleges would be those supported by the act, either in part or in whole. The bill would provide immediate assistance to already existing institutions, enabling them to expand established programs and to develop corollary programs—as, for example, the university's creation of a 2-year school to train fisheries technicians.

As it is in so many other areas relating to our country's future accomplishments, education, I believe, is a key factor to the beneficial harvesting of the seas. We need more young scientists skilled in oceanography; but, just as importantly, we need the technicians to translate into practical results scitific theories and discoveries. We need more young engineers accomplished in the marine sciences, and we need the facilities and the equipment which imaginative and educated minds can help us produce.

In the past we have made tremendous strides forward in agriculture. Now we need to concentrate with equil zeal on aquaculture.

There is a close parallel between the National Sea Grant College and Program Act I have introduced in the Senate and the legislation, originating almost 100 years ago, to establish the land-grant colleges which provided such a great stimulus to the development of agriculture. Modern methods of contour plowing, crop rotation, the development of hybrid plants and modern farm machinery and equipment, all testify to the inceasing advances in agriculture which continue to benefit our country and its land.

Before the advent of the land-grant colleges, the average American farmer produced enough food to feed himself and four other people. Today 1 American farmer produces food for 37 people, including 5 in foreign countries. In other words, the American farmer has increased his productivity sevenfold.

Contrast this 700 percent productive increase with that of the average individual American fisherman—which stands at only 33 percent on a comparable basis over the same period of time—and we can conclude that today's farmer has increased his efficiency twentyfold over today's fisherman.

To further pinpoint these factors, statistics from the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries show that the average medium-sized U.S. trawler fishing the North Atlantic is 24 years old, that smaller trawlers have an average age of 27 years, and that a large percentage

of our American fishing fleet is 50 years old. A man may be in the prime of life at these ages—but not a fishing vessel. Obsoleteness in this case accompanies age—and, you might say, Neptune cruises the seas along with Davy Jones.

Our fishing industry employs today approximately half a million people whose catch is estimated as worth a billion dollars to our national economy. Imports, however, provide more than half our country's supply of fishery products. The old days of American preeminence in the harvesting of the seas—the days, for instance, when the world whaling industry was dominated by American skills—have been washed back into the history books. We cannot, like King Canute, expect to turn back the waves, or reverse the tides of history, by mere demand or edict. But we can create new channels for our ingenuity to follow; and, just as we have made the land more and more valuable to us, so can we make the seas of ever-increasing advantage.

Already our country is receiving a substantial amount of revenues from the ocean deeps, chiefly from rents, royalties and bonuses from off-shore oil properties under governmental lease. Over the past 10 years these revenues have amounted to over $1.5 billion. My proposals envisage using 10 percent of these revenues annually for the sea-grant college program.

Not all the revenues are immediately available—a proportion is held normally in escrow. However, it can be predicted that by the means I suggest an annual sum of at least $10 million would be available to finance the program. And we can also forecast that this amount would grow as the program itself made possible the expanded useful exploitation of marine resources. Thus, a cumulative and evolving process would be established. What better investment could we make from revenues which come from the seas? The same concept applied to the land-grant colleges; and that investment has been returned many, many times over.

In recent years our off-shore revenues have varied considerably. Last year they amounted to approximately $100 million, and this amount is expected to increase during the current year. So that there can be appropriate funding for the program I envision, my bill calls for the deposit of 10 percent of these revenues in a special account in the Treasury. They would then be available for appropriations on a stable annual basis.

The legislation I have introduced calls for administration of the sea-great college program by the National Science Foundation. Although I remain open minded on this subject and there may well be other proposals we will wish to consider, the National Science Foundation would seem a logical and appropriate choice. It is already engaged in helping support oceanographic undertakings in some 18 institutions of higher education, including the University of Rhode Island. The Foundation has achieved a reputation of excellence and has contributed substantially to scientific advancement in a great many areas which inviove our national interest and our future goals. And these—both our national interest and the goals we seek for our Nation—are basically involved in the concepts we are discussing at this conference.

It has been suggested that we consider how best to orient our existing institutions within the concept of greater and more meaningful emphasis on oceanography—whether a sea-grant college should be constituted so as to focus entirely on studies in the marine sciences, or whether it should be oriented so as to offer a variety of education in other subjects. Dr. Leland J. Haworth, director of the NSF has pointed out that "the outstanding characteristic of modern oceanography is the extent to which the fundamental sciences—physics, chemistry, and biology—are being used to develop understanding of the subject."

It would seem to me best, for our long range interests, to utilize our existing universities insofar as possible. I am a great believer in a broad-based education as an antidote to an age of increasing specialization. That is one of the prime reasons why I have worked during three Congresses toward the establishment of a National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities—and let me say how very pleased I was when this legislation finally came to fruition a few weeks ago. I believe it can strengthen the whole fabric of our society in future years, in sharpening our awareness of excellence, in giving us a greater ability to evaluate the past in terms of the present and future. Dr. Haworth—in a statement submitted to our Senate Special Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities, under my chairmanship, said he was convinced that the new Foundation would "ultimately bring added strength and vitality to our science and technology," and Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, in testimony before the subcommittee on the legislation, said that "in a democracy it is essential that science and the humanities be firmly united in a creative partnership."

Thus, it would seem to me that the university with a balanced program of education, with opportunities for expanding man's knowledge in diverse fields, would be the ideal home for the sea grant college concept—in a word, it would afford the opportunity to specialize in a relatively new and immensely exciting scientific area, within the framework of broad-based higher education.

A sea-grant college, as I visualize it, would have, of course, special facilities, a special curriculum. Ideally, as in the case of the University of Rhode Island, it would be located on the sea itself, so that its students could have access to the kinds of technical equipment and facilities we will need increasingly to develop if we are to harvest the full potentials of the seas. Such facilities could include experimental stations, as adjuncts to the college, to develop new techniques in underwater mining, in ship design, in the numbers of devices which will allow man to explore the ocean depths. And we will also need to experiment in methods of conservation, and in developing the crops which the seas are now known to afford, and in seeking out new harvests and the means of making them most beneficial. In this connection, it is estimated that man derives only 1 percent of his present food requirements from the salt-water environment. It would be hard, indeed, to underestimate the beneficial food potential of the seas—particularly in view of the rapidly expanding population.

I do not believe that a sea-grant college need necessarily be based on the oceans themselves—in States bordered, for example, by the Atlantic or Pacific or the Gulf of Mexico—although as I have pointed out such locations would have certain advantages, and I believe these States could properly take the head in the sea-grant college program. I would envision a national effort evolving with courses in oceanography offered at universities in our inland States, and of course in those bordering on the Great Lakes.

However, a national effort of this magnitude needs to begin in the right manner. At the outset it would seem best to utilize the resources of institutions which have already established a reputation of leadership in oceanography, such as the University of Rhode Island, to provide them with adequate funding so that they can become the nuclei around which a national effort and program can evolve. In a new and pioneering field, let us recognize the pioneers and provide them with the necessary facilities to lead us forward.

As our knowledge in oceanography grows, and indeed as integral to its development and beneficial uses, I can foresee great new opportunities opening up for the business community in our own State of Rhode Island and throughout the country. In fact, many businesses are now making plans to develop the type of special equipment we will require to explore the deeps—where pressures are intense, where the environment is hostile to the human being, where man needs skillfully tooled devices made of noncorrosive materials to act as his arms and fingers to extract samples from the ocean floors.

It is interesting to note that some of the equipment we are developing for the exploration of outer space can also apply to our deep sea explorations. Sophisticated electronic devices that will help chart the topography and content of the ocean floors, as well as having the applicability to the realms of outer space, are within the reach of our ingenuity. Here is where industrial research and development and the sea-grant college concept go hand in hand—for the trained technician helps the industry find new avenues for expansion, and these in turn create a demand for the greater skills which our educational process can provide.

Not long ago we celebrated Columbus Day. We thought in terms of discoveries made almost five centuries ago, and of man's quest across an ocean which men once thought flat and demon-surrounded, of watery abysses and plunges into a limitless unknown. We may have exercised the demons and the myths; but we are still only on the threshold of plunging into that unknown. The great White Whale of Herman Melville's imagination, the image of mystery and fascination, continues to travel the deeps. We know only that the plunge can be richly rewarding—in terms of man's increasing knowledge, in terms of the tangible benefits to our society.

We can estimate with considerable exactness for example, that with modernized vessels, equipment and gear, the harvest of our off-shore fisheries can be increased tenfold.

We know that our petroleum engineers and geologists believe we have only commenced to tap the vast submarine oil reserves which lie along portions of our coasts where the water is relatively shallow—and that vast additional oil reserves can be predicted at greater depths, and that their economic benefits simply await the development of our technology.

We know that gold is being mined off the Alaskan coast, and phosphorite for fertilizers off the coast of California.

We know that glauconite, used as a soil conditioner and water softener and as a source of potash, has been discovered off the east coast of our country.

We know that platinum, iron, chromium, tin and tungsten are among other valuable minerals to be mined from the ocean floors.

These are among the "known" factors in the great unknown area of the seas. And in a fashion we are like Columbus, on the threshold of new discoveries. We travel on different vessels in a different time—but let us make sure that we don't "miss the boat"—that we voyage forward in the best possible way. That is really what this conference is all about—and why I am so pleased to have had this opportunity of sharing with you my own views.

Public Sentiment on the War in Vietnam and the Student Left Movement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILWARD L. SIMPSON

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, the vast majority of the fine Americans who are the students of our universities fully understand and unashamedly support America's policy in Vietnam. It is an unfortunate shibboleth of our free press that good news is no news. If the various media properly reflected the prevailing sentiment on the war in southeast Asia, there would be graphic evidence for all to see attesting to the overwhelming measure of public support our fighting men have.

There is, however, on many universities a disenchanted elements of dischord and despair which is either manipulated by Communist causes or which is naive enough to think that the right of students to dissent does not carry with it a commensurate responsibility.

I can inform the Senate with no small measure of pride that the student body at the University of Wyoming has rejected the confused counsel of the Vietnam dissenters. Many students have signed up for the blood drive which opens November 13. They, like thousands of other students across our Nation, will be shedding blood for their country and their fighting men in support of the battle for individual liberty underway in southeast Asia.

On numerous occasions I have commented on this philosophy of dissent; as well as on the war in Vietnam, and much has been said and written about both. I ask at this time that a resolution passed by Wyoming's Floyd Minch Post No. 44, American Legion, and a number of newspaper articles; speeches; and items which have emanated from my office; be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION BY FLOYD MINCH POST NO. 44, AMERICAN LEGION, WORLAND, WYO.

Whereas the Armed Forces of the United States are currently engaged in conflict in southeast Asia; the purposes of which are to stem the flow of insidious communism and to allow freedom and self determination for the peoples of South Vietnam; and

Whereas, adjunct to this national endeavor, some people in the United States, by various means, are undermining this undertaking by open defiance of our laws and ridicule of those who are supporting or participating in the conflict, most notably by draft card burning, "sit-ins," "lay-ins," "teach-ins," various "hate" programs and by objecting to military service on religious, moral, or psychological grounds when no such grounds actually exist; and

Whereas no nation, no matter how conceived, nor how strong, can long endure in an atmosphere of fraud, deceit, and criminal or civil disobedience: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Floyd Minch Post No. 44, American Legion, at a meeting regularly convened this 4th day of November 1965 does hereby deplore, decry, and chastise those American citizens—

Who, while accepting the benefits and blessings of this great Nation, are openly and actively defying the law of the land;

Who cry "freedom" and yet are undermining our national effort to insure this freedom;

Who under the guise of civil liberties or moral compulsion are giving aid and succor to an enemy whose foundations are the antithesis of morality and liberty of any kind;

Who, in insisting on free speech and expression, are raising their voices in ridicule of those Americans who are fighting; and be it further

Resolved, That the Floyd Minch Post No. 44, American Legion, strongly urges each and every American to do his duty; that he be honest with himself, his neighbor, and his country; that he accept, not only the multitudinous benefits of being an American, but that he also embrace its obligations; that he recognize that in times of distress, individual motives, feelings, and even convictions, must be subordinated to the constitutional "General Welfare"; that he ascribe to the philosophy of the patriot, Patrick Henry, when he said: "Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistence by lying supinely on our backs?"

J. W. SEAWRIGHT,
Commander.

Attest:

A. R. GUSTAFSON,
Adjutant.

[From the Laramie Daily Boomerang, Oct. 20, 1965]

WE'RE PROUD OF UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING STUDENTS

We're proud of University of Wyoming students.

We're proud they were mature enough and sensible enough to see through the so-called peace demonstrations sweeping the Nation.

We're proud they turned a deaf ear to bearded beatniks who are unwilling to defend the Bill of Rights and who cry long and loud about rights being violated.

We're proud it wasn't a University of Wyoming student pictured burning what may have been his draft card.

We're proud of the students who were not caught up in action which would have been called treason in 1941.

We hope the students from other campuses who went along with the organized demonstrations against U.S. involvement in Vietnam will someday have second thoughts.

We hope they come to realize the war, they say no one is winning can't be won if there's widespread dissention on the homefront.

We hope they come to understand that the very Government they're trying to undermine makes it possible for them to speak and demonstrate freely. America's one of the few countries in the world where the right of the individual is protected to the extent he can criticize governmental actions without fear of reprisals.

We hope demonstrators talk with their fathers about freedoms fought for on two fronts two decades ago and with older brothers about rights protected in the snows of Korea.

We hope they come to recognize the "give-an-inch, take-a-mile" philosophy of the Communists and the need to take a decisive stand in Vietnam to stop the cancerous spread of Communist ideals.

We hope they come to emulate students at the University of Wyoming who don't rush blindly into anything.

[From the Wyoming State Tribune]

CALL IT WHAT YOU MAY

It is very well to suggest, in an atmosphere of intellectual asepsis and far from any direct personal involvement, that the activities of the anti-Vietnam marchers must be afforded all the sanctity of the free speech guarantee.

But that should not at the same time prevent critics of the demonstrators and protesters from inquiring into their purposes, motives and aims; from raising questions about their activities; from calling them to the public's attention, or even from denouncing them.

There are several salient points to remember about the current situation that makes it more than just a simple matter of ordinary citizens expressing an opinion on a given subject.

This country is at war. It is a war against a vicious and grimly determined enemy of indeterminate capability to conduct military operations, and of resources whose limitations are not immediately apparent to us.

Even though the Government of the United States has not officially declared this a war, for its own good reasons; the indisputable fact is that it is one anyway.

It is a war, because already we have 145,000 American military troops of various categories committed to this action, and there are uncontroverted predictions that by the first of this coming year, only 2 months away, this figure will have exceeded 200,000. The military buildup is rapid. It also is large.

We were committed to war when President Johnson sent the first American troops to Vietnam earlier this year to serve not as advisers to the South Vietnamese Government, but as direct interventionists in that conflict.

Constitutionalists argue that the President lacked authority to do this; but arguments against flouting of the basic law of the land have been raging for decades without any visible lessening of the encroachment on constitutional authority. Furthermore some of those who have been most vociferous in their contentions that the President of the United States had exceeded his power in a foreign matter, have been altogether willing to overlook such actions in domestic issues, so their arguments cannot be considered as advanced in good faith.

It must be accepted as fact, therefore, that the United States now is committed to a conflict no different, except as to scope, from any of the military engagements of its history to which it has been a party.

From numbers of personnel engaged, it is the fifth biggest such military action—larger than the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Indian Wars or the Spanish-American War; and next only after World War II, World War I, the Civil War, and the Korean war in that order.

Either as an extension of politics, or as a consequence of the failure of politics, whichever viewpoint one accepts, war does not admit of argument where political action may do so. It is a whole, unified, effort to prevail by means of arms instead of by reason or logic. It therefore does not admit of debate and never has.

With this as the background, then, it would seem perfectly understandable for citizens of this country to be aroused and disturbed by the activities of various groups seeking to thwart the national purpose that not only has been expressed, but now is being carried out, in Vietnam.

Such activities offer aid and comfort to our enemy in many ways, not the least of which is boosting his own morale. This is important in the present situation because there are indications that the nominal enemy we face in Vietnam has begun to suffer major losses. He now is losing a war that up until a few months ago he had been winning for years, with this development having occurred only through the U.S. military intervention that was effected this year.

The activities of the anti-Vietnam marchers plainly encourage the North Vietnamese Communists to persevere in their fight against us and the South Vietnamese. This is the great wrong that is being committed

against our country by the anti-Vietnam demonstrators.

Further, they seek to thwart the military effort of the United States by defeating the recruitment, through the draft or by enlistment, of its military forces to combat this enemy. At the same time they either deliberately or consequentially work against the United States by adversely affecting the morale of our servicemen who are committed to action in Vietnam, and who daily must face the threat of death, wounds, illness or even capture by a relentless and remorseless enemy.

No one has denied these demonstrators against a national military effort by this country the right to publicly dissent.

But in the estimation of many, including ours, theirs is a treasonable activity.

If this should therefore make us superpatriots or "extremist busybodies," then we shall gladly suffer the label.

[Release from the office of U.S. Senator MILWARD SIMPSON, May 20, 1965]

SIMPSON ADDRESSES ALBIN GRADUATES

ALBIN, WYO., May 20, 1965.—U.S. Senator MILWARD SIMPSON zeros in on "radical leftwing student groups on college campuses" as he urges high school graduates here to "work as hard as you want to effect changes in our social system, but work within the system to help it, not outside of it to hurt it."

In remarks prepared for delivery tonight, Senator SIMPSON says many of today's high school graduates must enter universities which are influenced by students who form the second generation of Communists and radical leftists.

The Wyoming lawmaker will say the strength of the leftwing campus influence is the strongest today of any time since the 1930's. "Organizations such as Progressive Labor, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the W.E.D. Dubois Clubs, the Trotskyite Young Socialist Alliance, Students for a Democratic Society, and more than 200 others are setting the pace on many campuses." He says the students are being joined by a small, but loud minority of leftwing professors in forcing control of our universities out of the hands of their administrations. He says university life today on many campuses centers more around student radicalism than academic excellence.

SIMPSON is sharply critical of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He says it is recognized by friend and foe alike as the most radical of the civil rights groups. He says it is a major influence on the campuses of more than 100 universities, has a paid permanent staff of 230 members and more than 150 chapters throughout the Nation. He says SNCC is by far the biggest student movement of the left and he quotes a Government investigator as saying that SNCC has been "thoroughly infiltrated by Communists."

"One great tragedy and danger of the student left is that it appeals to many sincere student nonconformists who have a genuine interest in changing what they consider inequities in our society. As a Republican form of government, we can never oppose such legitimate change. At the same time, we must realize that our basic constitutional system of government is the oldest enduring form of government in the world, the most emulated in the world, and the only system that has ever been able to bring a significant and substantial measure of freedom, progress, and material comforts to those it governs. Our system has enabled us to produce one-third of the world's wealth even though we are only one-sixth of the world's population. The student left on many of our campuses today is seeking, not to better the faults of our system, but to change the system itself. This by their own admission is what they seek, whether they be disciples of the Chinese or Soviet version of leftism. A measure of their success can be seen in the inordinate influence they are exerting in the Vietnam dialog. They continuously whine that they live in a dangerous world that they didn't make. I can only say: thank God they didn't make it," Senator SIMPSON says.

The Wyoming Republican acknowledges many faults of the American system. He says Negroes in many Southern States do not have the right to vote, nor do they have equal protection under law. Both of these faults can be corrected by working within our Constitutional system and by a greater public awareness of conditions that need correction. SIMPSON urges the Albin students to "jump into the middle of adult life and participate. To really have lived life, you must participate in it, but take care that your participation does not tear and torture the basic system of government from which all our freedoms and privileges, our benefits and responsibilities are derived."

Senator SIMPSON says that almost every American who is today a leader in business, politics, and society will within two decades have been eclipsed by a student who is graduating or about to graduate. He said there is nothing so temporary as political leadership. The man at the wheel is constantly being changed as new, aggressive, and competent leaders arise from the student ranks.

Senator SIMPSON will tell the graduates the two most important words in their adult lives will be decision and responsibility. He says that today's students will be faced with responsibilities which were unknown to the students of earlier eras. Your decisions must be quicker, tougher, and of unerring accuracy, for many of you will take positions in government, business, and science, and be in a position to chart the future progress of our State, our Nation, and the world.

[Release from the office of U.S. Senator MILWARD SIMPSON, May 18, 1965]

THE STUDENT LEFT

KINNEAR, WYO., May 18, 1965.—U.S. Senator MILWARD SIMPSON in a speech prepared for Morton High School graduation ceremonies says students "must take a long and profound look at their values and standards before leaving their homes to enter business or university life." He says the contest for the minds and allegiances of today's students is the sharpest in history and he urges the graduates to never underestimate the seriousness of the responsibilities they must assume as they leave the environment of their homes.

Noting that the graduates represent part of the first generation of Americans to live entirely in the cold war era, SIMPSON says the students face problems and decisions unknown to earlier generations.

"I believe Wyoming has an educational system which is more adequate than most in preparing you for the challenges that await you. As a graduate and long-time devotee of the University of Wyoming, I can enthusiastically recommend that campus which ranks in the top 10 percent of all American univeristies. However, there exists in many universities a challenge to your convictions and consciences that is only beginning to exist at our own school in Laramie."

Senator SIMPSON says the political left spawned on campuses throughout the country is reasserting itself in its strongest form since the depression. He cited a recent article in the Saturday Evening Post ("The Explosive Revival of the Far Left") together with speeches by the president of Howard University, in pointing out the danger to the American social and political system represented by the "unthinking, unconcerned, and Communist-oriented student left.

Senator SIMPSON will tell the Morton graduates that the influence of the student left on enlightened debate is being magnified and blown completely beyond its credibility by the Nation's press. He says the vast majority of students in our universities, their professors, and the overwhelming majority of Americans outside of academic circles favor President Johnson's Vietnam policy, but he says, "A vocal and violent minority playing on our constitutional guarantee that every minority can be heard has captured enough headlines and enough TV newscasts to create the false impression that theirs is the popular opinion in this country. As they work assiduously to oppose American policy, the hundreds of thousands of students who support the President and defend our social and political system but who neither sit-in nor riot, are made to appear in the minority."

Senator SIMPSON draws a comparison between the "fine young officers" at Cherry Point Marine Air Station, N.C., and the "unwashed and beer-soaked kooks and beatniks who were allowed to parade about the Nation's Capital last month in protest of America's policy in Vietnam." He says the clean-cut, clear-thinking young men and women in our Armed Forces, who fight for our country and not for pay, represent the vital consensus of American opinion. "This consensus must not be drowned out in the frantic clamor of the far left."

[From the Wyoming State Tribune]

THE CAMPUS COMMUNISTS

On May 18, 1965, Wyoming's Senator MILWARD SIMPSON in a speech delivered at a high school commencement exercise at Morton, Wyo., expressed alarm over the growth of leftwing political strength on the Nation's college campuses. He also called attention to the apparent development by which students involved with the Progressive Labor Party, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the WEB Dubois Clubs, and the like, were being joined by a small percentage of their professors.

At the time he drew some barbs from the political opposition for these statements, but occurrences across the country and particularly within the past few weeks have tended to not only bear him out but also to bring out the distressing fact that if Mr. SIMPSON erred in any respect, it was on understatement rather than exaggeration.

One of the calmest, most professional but most disturbing views of the campus Communists came yesterday from Dr. Stefan Possony an international authority on Communists and their techniques. Possony is director of the program of international political studies at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

Dr. Possony says the Communist infiltration of the campuses is nothing to be lightly regarded; that while this trend does not necessarily represent the efforts of the orthodox Communist Party of the United States, which is Moscow oriented, that it is one of Communist ties nevertheless. Possony made his comments in a copyrighted interview published by U.S. News & World Report.

The CPUSA is relatively weak, says Possony, and weaker than it has been in years; but the Communist agencies making the most gains are those which are Peiping rather than Moscow oriented. "They have been making considerable progress," he says.

Among working people? Among Negroes? None with the former, says Dr. Possony, and there is little evidence with the latter.

"But I am quite certain," he says, "that they are making progress with the college youth. In fact, the directive which was issued by the Communist Party several years ago was aimed precisely at that particular group. This is the most vulnerable group in the United States, and I would enlarge this group to include some of the college and university teachers, as well as the students."

In terms of total enrollment, the Communist following in the Nation's institutions of higher learning is small. Most students are not actively interested in politics, he says; but the Communist game is not one of numbers but of influence. Neither is it one of seeking to overthrow the United States by revolution, according to this authority; but rather of exercising a fundamental Communist principle of war and revolution through a technique known as revolutionary antimilitarism.

"The idea is to cut down the power of the military," says Possony. "It really doesn't make any difference whether the Communists disarm the military or whether they just make it impossible for the military to function efficiently as a security organ of the United States. The same idea applies to the police or to other vital institutions." Possony says the pacifism the student demonstrations are trying to promote is known as revolutionary pacifism.

The Vietnam war can be debated on a genuine, honest basis, but not with the Communists, says Possony, observing: "A true pacifist is against war—any war. A Communist is only against a war that does not serve communism. He is not against a war if it's a Communist war."

"To a Communist, pacifism is just a means to an end," he says. "He is pacifist in the United States today because he wants us to lose in Vietnam. Obviously, the same Communist is a 'bellicist,' or warmonger in North Vietnam because he wants his side to win this round."

If the situation changed where it were to the Communists' best interests to get the United States into a war, the Communists would become militarists just as they did in 1941 when the Reds switched suddenly from pacifism to advocating war when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. "The line changed within 24 hours," says Possony. "The slogans changed but the demonstrators remained the same."

"Vietnam Hearings: Voices From the Grass Roots"—Reports Congressman Kastenmeier's Hearings in Madison

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the transcript of hearings on Vietnam held in Madison by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KASTENMEIER] is now available at bookstores as a small paperback called "Vietnam Hearings: Voices From the Grass Roots."

The hearings come to life as we read the calm, reasoned statement of an expert on southeast Asia, the more dramatic quotation from Dr. Dooley's book "Deliver Us From Evil," and the measured logic of an historian. Fifty witnesses testified to their own ideas or the positions of the organizations they represented.

His constituents are clearly proud to have the opportunity to discuss with their Congressman this vital topic. His own feelings are reflected in a postscript:

Those having concern for the vitality of democracy should be encouraged by the hearings as I was. Government by discussion has provided the strength needed to meet past crises and new means, whether in the form of these hearings or some other, will be developed to bring this strength to bear on future challenges and crises.

An editorial quoted on the back cover of the pocket book deserves repeating:

New York Times, August 14, 1965: "The notion that free discussion must be a casualty of the Vietnamese war impresses us as much more destructive of American values than any viewpoint that might be set forth at the hearings. We hope more Congressmen will hold them as a demonstration of democratic vitality."

Congressman KASTENMEIER is to be congratulated for letting us share his experience through the pages of this book.

Congressman Peter W. Rodino, Jr., Reports to the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, once again I have the privilege of reporting to my neighbors and constituents in the 10th District on accomplishments of this past session of Congress and on my work as their Representative.

This has been a unique year, and in fact the most productive session since I came to Congress in 1949. We have implemented approximately 85 percent of the specific legislative goals of the Democratic platform which the people of the Nation so overwhelmingly endorsed in the 1964 election. This Congress has thus kept faith with the American people and has responded amply to President Johnson's call for a Great Society. I am proud to have had a part in achieving what the President has called "the greatest outpouring of creative legislation in the history of the Nation." For in my assignment as assistant majority whip and a member of the House Steering Committee which works with the Speaker and the White House on legislative programs, I have had a heavy responsibility in participating in decisions of our House leadership on legislative prospects and scheduling.

It has always been my policy to weigh every issue with care and objectivity, for I consider myself the representative of all the people of the 10th district, regardless of political affiliation. And this I have adhered to in considering legislation during this session. I have had differences of opinion on some measures, on their provisions, priority or procedure. But in the end, I believe the bills I supported constitute constructive approaches to solving the myriad problems, many so long neglected that they are matters of crisis, which now confront us all.

THE INTERNATIONAL AREA: FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE

During this 1st session of the 89th Congress we have had foreign policy problems of considerable concern. Throughout this time of world turmoil, however, we were able to carry on our basic policy of seeking world peace while maintaining our strength. We have fulfilled our commitments to free nations seeking to resist Communist aggression; we have worked for an end to the arms race and proliferation of nuclear weapons; and we have sustained efforts of the United Nations to prevent conflicts and achieve diplomatic settlements of disputes. The cease-fire in the India-Pakistan conflict which threatened world peace is a cogent example. In the Caribbean, Castro's Cuba has been increasingly isolated. And the success of our policy is evidenced by the exodus of so many Cubans. In Santo Domingo, our initiative, together with forces of the Organization of American States, has prevented the spread of communism in this hemisphere.

Vietnam is, of course, still our major crisis in the international area. Faced by the growing threat of the Vietcong and heavy infiltration of North Vietnamese troops, we supported an increased U.S. role in the struggle. The wisdom of this decision has been sustained by the course of events.

Our actions in Vietnam serve notice that we intend to stand by our commitments to liberty and prevent the spread of communism in this area of key importance. But at the same time, as President Johnson has firmly and repeatedly stated, we are constantly seeking a negotiated solution leading to a workable peace beneficial for all southeast Asia.

To support our effort in Vietnam and our servicemen there, specific legislative measures were enacted: First, a $700 million appropriation for essential construction and materiel; second, an automatic insurance plan for servicemen on active duty, the bulk of which will be underwritten by the Prudential Insurance Co. centered in Newark; and third, free mailing privileges for servicemen in combat areas. And the military pay bill, providing an average increase of 10.4 percent will benefit all members of our armed services. These were all measures I strongly supported, and they have in my judgment increased both the scope and effectiveness of our military capability.

This Congress, while fulfilling its proper role in matters affecting our national security and foreign relations, has also compiled a magnificent record in meeting the challenges at home.

As a senior member of the Judiciary Committee I have been privileged to take an active role in winning approval of two major measures of importance to the Nation which have also been issues of long concern to me.

VOTING RIGHTS

Since 1960 we have made notable progress in the area of civil rights. But it remained for this Congress to pass the basic legislation necessary to guarantee for all our people the right to vote. This landmark measure will wipe out the century-old obstacles to exercise of the franchise promised our Negro citizens in the 15th amendment to the Constitution. I again had the rewarding task of authoring the report on this vital bill,

which should enable Negro Americans to walk openly and without fear to the polling booth.

IMMIGRATION REFORM

Ever since I came to Congress I have sought to improve our outdated and discriminatory immigration system, and with passage of the administration bill, which I cosponsored, we have at long last done justice to American humanity and conscience. We have abolished the odious national origins quota system. Now we will have an enlightened and fair policy placing emphasis on the reunification of families and on the admission of immigrants with special skills beneficial to our economy or who can fill labor shortages. The bill at the same time includes protective provisions to ensure that immigration will not jeopardize the jobs of American workers. Finally we have an immigration policy in keeping with our Nation's ideals and traditions, one which does not ask "where do you come from?" but "what can you bring to America?"

Other significant measures which our Judiciary Committee developed are the bills: First, providing a method to deal with the difficult problem of Presidential inability and succession. This measure, ending more than 176 years of uncertainty, now awaits ratification by the States; second, making it a Federal crime to kill, kidnap or assault the President. This has become law; and third, establishing Federal standards for congressional redistricting, to carry out the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision. This measure has passed the House but still needs Senate action.

Our committee also had a heavy burden of other measures. For of the approximately 14,000 legislative proposals introduced in the House, or referred by the Senate, my committee received 38.5 percent for consideration, a very heavy proportion when one realizes there are 20 standing House committees. A number of these were private bills for the relief of individuals who suffered hardships under present law through no fault of their own.

MEDICARE AND OTHER MEASURES FOR OUR SENIOR CITIZENS

After long years of effort, this Congress enacted the medicare bill for our older Americans. As a cosponsor of the original bill, I was pleased that we not only approved the basic provisions for hospital and related benefits through the social security system, but also developed a supplementary voluntary program to cover doctor bills and certain other medical expenses. The struggle for this program was long arduous and often bitter. But the final result is a sound system by which Americans, during their working years, can assure themselves of dignity and security during their retirement years.

Another important step toward recognition of the role of our older citizens in our society was approval of a bill I had long sponsored to create a separate governmental agency devoted to the problems of our senior citizens. With establishment of the administration on aging we will have one agency where all programs affecting our older people can be effectively guided, coordinated and implemented.

The medicare bill also included an essential 7 percent increase in social security benefits and other provisions to help the indigent aged, needy children, the disabled and the blind. Other measures approved to aid many of our older people increase Federal retirement annuities and eliminate the restriction on dual spouse benefits under the Railroad Retirement Act.

EDUCATION: INVESTMENT IN THE FUTURE

Giant strides in education were made in the last session. At all levels we enacted legislation to meet the urgent needs of our youth and the Nation in our increasingly complex and technological society.

The Elementary and Secondary Act authorizes over a billion dollars for the first year of a grant program to improve schools, with the bulk of this aid going to local school districts with large concentrations of poverty-stricken children.

The Higher Education Act builds upon existing programs by authorizing Federal scholarships for needy students, guarantees for loans and expansion of the work-study program. It also establishes a National Teachers Corps to help improve educational opportunities for disadvantaged children. To make sure facilities will be available, the bill doubles authorized funds for construction and provides special help for college libraries and less developed colleges.

Vocational school loans is a fine new program providing insured low-interest loans to students entering post-high school business, trade, technical, and other vocational education schools.

The National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities was approved to provide aid for individuals and groups to stimulate and support the creative talent of our Nation, and I am proud to be a cosponsor of this bill.

HEALTH

Accomplishments of this session in the field of health are widespread, with help for Americans from the cradle to the sunset of life. In addition to the medicare bill, we approved a number of major and minor bills to meet our Nation's complex and growing health needs.

Water and air pollution control: These problems are especially acute in New Jersey, the most urbanized State in the Union, and for years I have sponsored and strongly advocated legislation to solve them. The Clean Air Act will require standards and regulations to control motor vehicle pollution and also establish a grant research program to develop improved solid waste disposal methods. The Water Quality Act, which I introduced, provides for establishing purity standards and for their enforcement on interstate waters and expands the program of grants for sewage treatment plant construction. To implement the program, the act also creates a new Water Pollution Control Administration.

Another major health bill which I sponsored will extend the construction and student loan programs for medical and other health professions and expand them by authorizing a scholarship program for needy students and aid to improve the quality of teaching in health professional schools.

Of importance to all Americans is the bold new program of grants to institutions to plan, establish, and operate regional medical programs to fight the major killing and crippling diseases—heart, cancer, and stroke. Another major bill authorizes grants for the initial personnel needed to staff the vitally essential community mental health centers approved in the 88th Congress.

In addition to these major new programs we enacted a number of other health bills, ranging from that improving controls over depressant and stimulant drugs to extension of the vaccination program.

ECONOMIC GROWTH AND THE FIGHT AGAINST POVERTY

This Congress has approved several measures which will, I believe, improve the lives of literally millions of people in the Nation and contribute to the health and growth of our economy.

The antipoverty program was doubled to create new and to expand existing opportunities for young people to obtain work, education, and training and to provide community action and adult education programs.

Also approved was a comprehensive 5-year program of grants and loans for public works and development/technical aid for economically depressed areas throughout the country. The bill includes authority for multicounty and multistate planning through regional commissions. And we also approved the essential bill geared specifically to rehabilitation of the long-depressed Appalachian region.

I was particularly heartened by the extension and improvement of the manpower development and training program, which has been of such value to New Jersey. I anticipate it will continue to benefit our State, with its highly varied and complex industrial structure.

TAXATION AND AID TO SMALL BUSINESS

One of the long proposed moves to stimulate our economy and aid business was the bill eliminating excise taxes. Most were eliminated last July, while the remaining few will be completely wiped out by 1969.

This and other measures I have already mentioned will help to create the kind of dynamic climate needed to help business and industry flourish. In addition, some specific measures became law to aid small business: the maturity of SBA disaster loans is increased from 20 to 30 years, with discretionary authority to suspend for up to 5 years payment of the principal and interest; the SBA revolving fund was increased by $120 million; and the portion of the revolving fund which may be on loan to small business investment corporations was also increased by this amount.

I had the privilege of presiding when the House debated another important bill, the State Technical Services Act. Under this act, $60 million over a 3-year period is authorized for matching grants to States which establish technical serv-

ice programs to provide business and industry with the latest scientific and technological information.

As ranking member of the Judiciary Special Subcommittee on State Taxation of Interstate Commerce, I had the opportunity to expedite and introduce legislation developed as a result of our 4-year study of this complex problem. It was introduced on the last day of the session so all interested individuals and governments can study it before the hearings I will press for early next session. The bill should achieve a more orderly and equitable method for States taxing businesses which sell across State lines, and I believe it will benefit both business and the States.

NATURAL RESOURCES AND THEIR CONSERVATION

In the last several years we have made great progress in preserving our dwindling natural resources throughout the Nation. I am particularly glad to report that three new bills will create recreational and historic areas close to people in northeastern New Jersey. Across from Jersey City, the Liberty National Monument will be developed on Ellis Island, with special attention to its role as the threshold to America for so many immigrants. Within a day's drive, there will be developed around the Tocks Island Dam a magnificent recreational asset in the Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area. Down the Atlantic coast, off Maryland and Virginia, the Assateague National Seashore will be available to residents of the Northeast. And the new highway beautification bill, providing for control of billboards and junkyards and aid for landscaping, will transform many ugly highways into roadsides of charm and beauty.

Water: Beyond a doubt, this priceless resource loomed greatest among resource conservation needs for the 10th district and the entire Northeastern United States. We faced, and will in the future, a water shortage problem. But several vital measures enacted in the last session will bring all feasible efforts of the Federal Government to bear on the problem.

When the crisis developed, as dean of the New Jersey congressional delegation I called a bipartisan meeting, and as chairman of an ad hoc committee formed we investigated all possible sources of relief. As a result of our study, and fine cooperation from governmental agencies and the White House, I developed an amendment which was approved as part of the omnibus public works bill. This will authorize a system of reservoirs and conveyance facilities in the Northeast.

In addition to the Water Quality Act, which should help make now unusable water fit for varied uses, we also expanded and extended the saline water conversion program. This is a promising effort which I have advocated for some time, both here and also internationally, as a member of the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference Scientific and Technical Committee.

URBAN AFFAIRS AND DEVELOPMENT

Many measures I have previously mentioned, ranging from air pollution control to manpower retraining, are, of course, of special interest to urban areas, such as our heavily congested 10th district. There are in addition several of immediate impact.

We have now established a Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development, a bill I have introduced and long advocated. For the first time we have recognized that America is rapidly becoming an urban society. With concentration of urban problems in one department, we can begin to effectively attack and solve the mounting problems of our cities and suburbs.

The omnibus housing bill expands the urban renewal, elderly and public housing programs and extends the FHA loan insurance program, all of which have meant so much to our district and State. It also assists urban planning and open-space preservation and authorizes community facility grants for basic needs such as sewage treatment works. The bill also provides an imaginative new program for rent supplements for certain low-income families. These programs, coordinated by the new Department, should help turn back the tide and revitalize our decaying older cities.

Mass transportation has been a chronic problem for our State, and with passage of a new rapid transit research bill we hope to develop an effective solution to this problem which plagues the entire Northeast.

VETERANS

Measures of importance to our veterans were approved last session. One measure increases service-connected disability compensation benefits and the related additional allowances an average of 10 percent, another provides for a realistic cost-of-living increase in subsistence allowances paid to disabled veterans pursuing vocational rehabilitation training.

Two issues of special interest to New Jersey veterans are the need for expansion of the Beverly National Cemetery and veterans' hospital facilities. I will continue to work closely with the State in seeking from the Army Department a feasible solution to the Beverly Cemetery situation. Earlier I introduced a bill requiring that additional beds be made available at the East Orange hospital, and I am glad to say Congress approved this session a resolution urging an increased bed capacity for all veterans hospitals.

THE WORK AHEAD

Despite the phenomenal record of this past session, there is still work to be done. In the labor area, still pending are the measures to increase and expand the minimum wage, to improve the unemployment compensation program and repeal section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, which has been used to lure industry to move from New Jersey. Home rule for the District of Columbia, revision of our copyright laws, and a fair but effective firearms control bill still remain to be acted upon.

I shall also continue to work for several bills of my own. Particularly, I shall press for my bill to establish a Foreign Service Academy to give us a pool of highly skilled and trained talent to represent us abroad; for income tax deductions for the disabled for expenses of transportation to work; and a tax deduction for expenses of higher education. Also urgently needed is action to combat the narcotics problem and to curb the dissemination of obscene literature. I have introduced legislation to provide aid for hospital facilities for the rehabilitation of narcotic addicts and to increase the penalties for mailing and distribution of obscene materials. These will be of high priority on my legislative program next session.

This recital of legislative activity is necessarily restricted to a summary of the most important actions of the last session. But it indicates without doubt an extraordinary record of solid achievement by an industrious Congress working with an energetic President for the national benefit.

As in previous years, the Speaker appointed me a representative of the House to two international bodies, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration and the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference. The former deals with problems of refugees and their resettlement, as well as ordinary immigration among free world nations. The NATO group deals with policy matters affecting the security and economic and political progress and development not only of the NATO nations themselves, but also that of the emerging nations of the world.

Despite the heavy burden of legislative work, I also spent considerable time providing assistance whenever possible to residents of the 10th district in expediting or clarifying personal problems they encountered in dealing with governmental agencies. It continues to be my desire to be of all possible service and help to people, either through my district office in Newark or my Washington office. So please call upon me whenever I can be of help or whenever you have views or suggestions on legislative issues.

Jimmy Roosevelt

SPEECH

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, it is an honor and a pleasure for me to join my colleagues in paying tribute to our beloved friend, JIMMY ROOSEVELT.

In my 17 years in the Congress, I have never known a more affable, hardworking, and dedicated Member of the Congress. JIMMY ROOSEVELT's warm smile and sense of humor have become a tradition in this great institution. It is always refreshing to meet JIMMY ROOSEVELT in the corridors and on the floor of this House. He always had a relaxing influence on us during debate and times of tension.

JIMMY ROOSEVELT represented his district with dedication, devotion, and ability. The United States and the free world are fortunate that JIMMY ROOSE-

VELT will now help carry the banner of freedom in the United Nations. While we will miss him here and hope for his return, nonetheless we will gladly share his talents in the cause of world freedom.

What About Creeping Socialism?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the 89th has been a remarkable Congress, but as many observers have pointed out it has been involved primarily in fulfilling the unmet promises of the New Deal. This Congress has helped America catch up on a tremendous backlog of needs, such as the plight of the forgotten fifth of our population, and the need to expand educational opportunity. But much remains to be done.

Still the cries of "creeping socialism" and "the welfare state" fill the air as a shorthand way of criticizing the work of the Congress. How much truth is there in the charge? How close are we to socialism?

I discussed this question in the Gaston lecture at Georgetown University April 7. I attempted to provide some sense of perspective on such questions as the size of the Federal debt, the number of Federal employees and the role of State governments. I ask that the lecture be included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objecion, the lecture was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LECTURE BY MR. CHURCH

Ever since I can remember, I have been hearing about "creeping socialism" in the United States. After all these years, I am prepared to admit there is something to the argument. Since the end of the Second World War, socialism has been creeping, not into, but out of, our national life.

"Socialism" is defined by Webster as "the collective or governmental ownership * * * of essential means of production of goods." Just how does our Government stack up against that definition?

Immediately following the war, the Federal Government commenced to divest itself of manufacturing plants, food processing establishments, warehouses, and other holdings of a business character. Many of these properties had been built at public expense for wartime needs. They were sold, often for a few cents on the dollar, in order to place this productive potential in private hands. The program of divestment, under both Democratic and Republican administrations, has been a direct repudiation of socialism, and a deliberate endeavor to bolster and enlarge the private sector of our economy.

After World War II, the Government gave away or sold at a fraction of its cost $40 billion worth of factories and other real and personal property. In 1954, total proceeds from sales had dropped to only $8.6 million. Since then, however, the acceleration of the Government divestment program has been consistent and impressive. In the years since 1960, sales proceeds from real property have never fallen below $70 million a year. In 1964, the Federal Government disposed of over $90 million worth of its realty. Since 1955, the Government has sold personal property worth $261 million and given away $3,075 million in personal property.

Indeed, we are now engaged in an effort to close down Government-owned Navy years—Socialist operations going back nearly a hundred years—for the purpose of strengthening the private shipbuilding industry.

With a similar intent, the Kennedy administration opted against putting the Federal Government into the telestar business, out of preference for private enterprise. Even though the research had been almost entirely financed by the Government, the satellite communication business was turned over to a special corporation, created by an act of Congress. The Federal Government now leases facilities back from the corporation.

Under the present administration, the Office of Economic Opportunity is letting contracts to private business to render social services exactly as the Pentagon lets contracts to produce missiles, putting a profit motive even into the war on poverty. Already four private corporations have contracts totaling $44 million to run Job Corps camps, and there are more to come.

Creeping socialism? Pierre Salinger was asked about it at an Idaho Press Association meeting last year. His reply was: "I've spent a lot of time around the White House, and believe me, none of it is creeping around there."

There was a time when socialism was a living force in American politics. A few years before I was born, Eugene Debs, running for President on the Socialist ticket from a jail cell, collected nearly a million votes. During the depression years, many Americans still considered socialism as the only answer to chronic unemployment, spreading poverty, and general misery.

The industrial societies of Western Europe turned increasingly to socialism as a solution to the problems brought on by the sweatshop, the factory town, the inequitable distribution of wealth, and the excessive concentration of economic power in the hands of the few. The movement toward socialism carried many a European country far down the road, but the momentum is waning at last. It now appears, more and more, to be a spent force, except in the underdeveloped regions of Africa and Asia, where the lack of private capital makes socialism the only choice.

To be sure, we have been living through a time of ferment, marked by rapid political, economic, and social change. In the least fortunate lands, this upheaval has led to the extremes of the right and left—to fascism or to communism. But nowhere have these changes been better contained, or more restrained, than in the United States.

The New Deal harnessed the wild horses of revolution to the wagon of measured reform. Roosevelt sought to build, upon the foundation of free enterprise, a system of stability truly responsive to the needs of the Nation, a peoples' capitalism of wealth widely shared. For four-fifths of our people, that goal has now been achieved.

Look, for example, at how we are solving the problems created by our massive urban population: the need for housing, for old-age protection, and for electrical energy:

1. While other industrialized countries put the Government in the business of building most of the housing, we chose a system of tax incentives and an FHA program of low-interest loan guarantees, which left the vast majority of building and lending in private hands. The Federal Government now finances housing projects almost exclusively in those areas of low income where private capital cannot, or will not, venture.

2. Other industrialized countries, such as West Germany, spend as much as 20 percent of the gross national product on social security, 24 of them spending a larger part of their national budgets on the program than do we. The United States has maintained a relatively modest social security program, while encouraging private retirement plans to assume the bulk of the load.

3. While other countries have nationalized their power systems in the United States, 76 percent of our power is today generated by private industry, with only 13 percent generated by the Federal Government. Since John F. Kennedy—one of those so frequently accused of promoting creeping socialism—became President, private power companies have each year obtained a larger share of the market, while that of public power has steadily declined. Now, President Johnson is joining private and public power agencies in compacts to build joint transmission lines, with the benefit going to both sides, and to the consumer.

It is true that our economy is a mixture of things. There is a certain amount of Government ownership, particularly at the State and local level. We also have our farm cooperatives, our REA's, and our nonprofit associations. But the essential character of our economy has been sturdily preserved. Even public transportation—railroads, airlines, buses, steamships—and public communications—telephones, telegrams, radio, television—all have remained largely in private hands.

In fact, the privately owned and operated sector of our economy has been experiencing unprecedented growth. Never has new investment been greater, or earnings higher, or employment larger, than in recent years. By any standard of measurement, free enterprise in America is just doing fine.

This is not to say that all our problems are solved, not by any means. Nor is it to say that our present affluence, enjoyed by 80 percent of the American people, just happened that way. It didn't. What we have today is, in large measure, the result of what we have learned in the art of government over the past 30 years, the assured retirement income we have provided the aged, the unemployment compensation for between-job grocery money, and the minimum wage standards we have written into law. Also noteworthy are the tools for fiscal management of the economy that we have perfected, such as the control of interest rates to stimulate or contract capital investment, or the resort to public works in order to stem a downward turn in the business cycle.

More recently, we have been learning about the dramatic growth that can be achieved from a calculated tax cut. Contradicting every orthodox preachment that taxes must not be reduced during a period of deficit spending, three consecutive tax cuts for business, with a fourth coming this year, have resulted in a business expansion so pronounced that unemployment has fallen to the lowest level in 84 months. The resultant increase in overall revenue to the Federal Government now promises the prospect of a balanced budget 2 years hence. Henry Ford's discovery that more money could be made by selling a cheaper car has finally been recognized on the banks of the Potomac.

But if it be true that the United States is moving away from socialism, what about those other charges—the ones about the welfare state—which have become so familiar, and which go something like this:

The do-gooders have taken over. They want the Federal Government to act as wet nurse for the whole population, from the cradle to the grave, insuring that every want is uniformly satisfied. They are extracting, through high taxes, the good citizen's money, and doling it out to shiftless, improvident citizens. In the process, the Government is becoming insolvent, and a

monstrous bureaucracy has arisen which stretches its tenacles around the 50 States, slowly squeezing them to death. Our traditional system of checks and balances is thus being undermined, and the liberties of the people eroded away.

For those more interested in pulling the sheets off hobgoblins than quailing before them, just what are the facts about this somber indictment?

To begin, what accounts for the big government we have in Washington today, and the relatively high level of Federal taxation needed to support it? A look at recent Federal budgets will make the answer at once evident. Big government on the Potomac is chiefly the product of the warfare state, not the welfare state.

More than half of the Federal budget goes directly to the Armed Forces. Nearly $10 billion a year goes to pay the $269 billion portion of the national debt accumulated in World War II. More than $5 billion goes to the space budget. Other expenses, such as those for the Atomic Energy and Central Intelligence agencies, and the swollen costs of diplomacy and foreign aid, including military assistance to our allies, all relate directly to the security requirements of the United States.

Add these up and the total amounts to about three-quarters of the entire budget. Of your Federal tax dollar this year, the Government will spend about 11 cents on all of its programs for health, housing, and welfare.

Far from strangling the States, the Federal Government is assisting the States to finance their programs of public assistance, roads, and education. Here, for example, are three measures either recently enacted or awaiting congressional action:

1. Appalachia, which provides slightly more than a billion dollars to promote the recovery of a chronically depressed area. It will actually be subject to the control of the Governors of the 11 affected States.

2. The much-discussed war on poverty program, which is basically a community action approach. Local communities draw up their own plans for needed social services, retraining courses, or new industry, and come to the Federal Government for seed money and technical assistance. All begins and ends at the local level.

3. The aid-to-education bill, now before the Senate. Again, the money will go directly to the States and local school districts for use within general categories, but administered entirely by local people. Even with passage of this bill, less than 2 percent of the Federal budget will be spent for education.

Everyone recognizes that public relief, as carried on by most State and local governments, merely perpetuates poverty. The new programs approved by Congress, such as area redevelopment, Appalachia, and the so-called war against poverty, are directed toward job training and the building of new industry. They are calculated to get people off the relief rolls and onto payrolls. I don't see anything wrong with that.

As to the next hobgiobin—the alleged growth of the Federal bureaucracy—let's compare it with that of the States. Actually, Federal employment no longer keeps pace with the growth of the country. Twenty years ago, there were 16 Federal employees for every 1,000 inhabitants. Today there are only 12. In the same period, the number of State and local government employees rose from 24 to 37 per thousand. Since 1946, Federal employment has increased by only 4.2 percent, while State and local government employment has gone up 114 percent.

And what of the Federal debt? Most of it was accumulated in wartime. Since 1947, it has risen by 16 percent. In the same period, private debt held by individual citizens increased 586 percent, that of corporations by 323 percent, and that of State and local government by a whopping 578 percent. If debt accumulation is the measure of fiscal irresponsibility, the self-styled sentinels would do better if they stationed themselves closer to home.

This brings us to an examination of the last hobgoblin in the spook-show version of the welfare state to which I earlier referred, the familiar assertion that the huge Federal octopus is crushing our basic freedom. This question ought to be paramount in any appraisal of the larger role the Federal Government has come to play in our society.

The expanded scope of Federal activity has naturally engendered suspicion. The Founding Fathers assigned a very limited role to the National Government, one suited to the life of a rural and sparsely populated colonial America. They could not foresee the sweeping changes the future held in store for their infant country. They could not possibly have envisioned how our lives would be transformed by stampeding science, by mammoth industries, and by the burgeoning growth and urbanization of America.

Our own history furnishes the evidence that the Federal Government has been extended, not because anyone planned it that way, not in pursuit of any conspiracy to concentrate power in Washington, not, indeed, because any body of doctrine required it, but simply because the country grew and changed, new problems arose which existing machinery could not solve, and new ways were worked out, usually on a trial-and-error basis, to meet them.

Has this expanded role of the Federal Government infringed upon our freedom? If by freedom, one means the bundle of individual rights guaranteed to each citizen by the Federal Constitution, then there is no evidence to support the charge. The whole movement of our history has been in the direction of enlarging the bundle: Slavery has been abolished, women's suffrage has been won, the many restrictions that once made voting the privilege of the propertied few have been steadily sluffed away.

And the process continues. This very day, Negro citizens are engaged in an heroic endeavor to secure for themselves, in practice, the equality which the Constitution promises them in principle. Their racial revolution is further extending the frontiers of freedom in America.

Our political ancestors did not bestow upon us a system of freedom, finished and fine. Rather, they set us upon the road that leads toward freedom; they lighted a lamp for us, and they gave us a Constitution as a vehicle; but it has been up to those Americans who came after them to make the long journey. The history of the United States has been one of steady progress along the road. As long as we continue the march, so long shall we keep the faith of our fathers—so long shall we be able to share an honest pride in the greatness of our country.

A Republican editor from my State has written some wise words recently about this historical course:

"We would do our children a favor—seeing to it that so many of them do not remain children politically all their lives—if we taught them not merely the greatness of a few men dead but also of the relative lack of dignity in which our recent ancestors lived.

"At this country's birth you could not vote it were you female, if you owned no land (as most did not), if you were indentured or a slave. Most children didn't go to school as we know school; they were chattel.

"In mills and factories and mines, tens upon tens of thousands of children worked for as little as 50 cents a week paid to their parents or to owners-by-indenture.

"Many Birchers are at most the great-grandsons of Irishmen who died for no greater offense than being Irish; Calvinists, Catholics, Jews, and then Mormons, lost life or property or citizenship because of their religion or nationality.

"A hundred years ago our American ancestors were slaughtering each other; less than half that long ago real warfare was waged in the mining camps and railroad yards and in the streets and docks of industrial cities.

"In hundreds of communities it was only in the schools, as education became a birthright, that children of different ancestry met—and by no means unanimously, and by no means is the process over—and learned however grudgingly, to believe that persons reared differently from themselves might be entitled to the same rights and opportunities as themselves in a free society.

"We have come a long, long way. We are freer, happier, healthier, and more knowledgeable and peaceable than any generation of our ancestors. The difference is phenomenal. Many an extremist is simply a child who never learned this, and so remains a child."

In concluding, I do not want to leave any impression that we Americans can be either smug or satisfied with our past achievements. A fifth of our people still live in squalor and ignorance. Slums fester like open sores in every major city. Our rivers are contaminated, and our air is befouled. Millions of our people are still denied fundamental rights. There is much to be done.

But there is much to which has been done—accomplishments in which we can take a rightful pride. The federal system has been preserved, excessive concentration of political power has been averted, our private economy has been made to flourish for the many instead of a few. Ours is a great and free land, rich beyond dreaming, powerful beyond belief; a land still striving to reach the goals of personal liberty, equality and opportunity to which we pledged our Nation in the days of its infancy.

God only knows what our fate is to be, but on this earth we can shape our destiny. We can best prepare for it by facing the future, instead of the past, and by recognizing that our society, as we know it today, has been fashioned by the effort of freemen to regulate their affairs in the response to the needs of the changing times.

Let the process continue, for it cannot be stopped. And let us pray that it will be directed in the future as it has in the past, by unbigoted and pragmatic men, who have no fear of hobgoblins, and who are dedicated to the everlasting quest of keeping our society open and free.

Speaker John McCormack

SPEECH

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, our beloved Speaker, JOHN W. MCCORMACK, is one of the very ablest Speakers in the history of the U.S. Congress. As Speaker, he has guided us through the most momentous and historic session in the history of Congress. This session will largely determine the course of history in the Western World for the next 100 years.

Speaker MCCORMACK has presided over this House with a dignity, dedication, and loyalty so reminiscent of the Found-

ing Fathers of our country. He has presided over the House as Washington presided over the Constitutional Convention, as John Hancock over the Continental Congress, and as the late Sam Rayburn. I believe that history will record JOHN W. MCCORMACK's name alongside these illustrious leaders.

May I remind my collegaues that for 14 months our distinguished Speaker was next in line for succession to the Presidency. During this period he was a tower of strength and reassurance to the American people during a trying and tragic hour. Speaker MCCORMACK sustained and supported the President and earned the gratitude of all those who love freedom throughout the world.

American prestige, economic growth, and U.S. military strength is now at an alltime peak. This alltime high is due largely to the illustrious leadership of our beloved Speaker, JOHN W. MCCORMACK.

The Poverty Battle—Welfare or Warfare?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Sun-Times, in a recent edition, carried two excellent articles by Mr. Thomas Day and Mr. Tom Littlewood about the war on poverty.

We in Chicago are extremely proud of the fact that, under the leadership of Mayor Daley, our antipoverty program is further advanced than any other community in the United States. We are the first to admit our problems involved in such a huge effort, but the article by Mr. Day clearly illustrates how effectively Chicago has undertaken this vast task.

I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to these two articles because in them I believe they can find many excellent suggestions for their own communities.

Mr. Speaker, the articles follow:

THE POVERTY BATTLE—WELFARE OR WARFARE?

(NOTE.—Depending on the viewpoint, the war on poverty in its first year was a mere slogan, an inspired crusade, an overdue economic program, a bureaucratic boondoggle. But nearly all agree that it was an ambitious concept, introducing novel approaches to some age-old problems. On balance, how has the campaign progressed and what are the prospects?

(By Thomas Day)

Viewed candidly, it's an impossible problem—this business of wiping out poverty.

No solution can come fast enough for the poor people of Chicago. They want a better life, and they want it soon.

But there are no quick or easy victories in the war on poverty. It is a conflict dominated by economic trench warfare—a long battle that must be won family-by-family and ghetto-block-by-ghetto-block.

Dollars are all important in this endless war. It hasn't happened yet, but the time may come when the battle plan is reduced to this simple equation: *X* numbers of dollars will cure *X* cases of poverty.

This is a war that is certain to grow rapidly in Chicago in years to come. Already mystifying to most persons, it will become more and more difficult to follow. Comprehensive evaluation will become nearly impossible.

Asked how the war is going, officials gingerly sidestep, saying it is too early to tell.

The only test I can make is a relative one, said Dr. Deton J. Brooks, Jr., who directs the Chicago effort. We've tooled up fast in Chicago.

This would be the test: If the program were to be withdrawn in 3 or 5 or 10 years, would the people be reinforced enough to be somewhat self-directed?

One thing is certain: Huge sums of Federal cash now are becoming available for the effort toward self-direction here. Funds approved for the city now total $17 million. Next year the Federal budget here will be at least $30 million.

If you are one of the poverty stricken—and in a family of four this means an income of not more than $3,140 a year—there is a good chance that some of this money will be used for your benefit.

Chicago has spent much of the money received so far to expand and decentralize public and private services. The city administration has kept tight control over all funds, including those allotted private agencies.

Antipoverty officials contend their control assures responsible handling of the cash. Moreover, they assert, if Chicago residents don't approve of the way the money is spent, they can always throw out their elected representatives.

Critics say the program is designed to benefit the Democratic Party machinery more than the poor. The poor, they point out, have been allowed little say in planning the programs that are supposed to help them.

Some community leaders have contended that they—not the city administration—truly "represent the poor."

Mayor Daley himself gave ammunition to the critics of the poverty war when he said last December that Chicago's urban progress centers would be like neighborhood city halls. Daley's detractors promptly replied that one downtown city hall is as much as the people can bear.

The urban progress centers mentioned by Daley are a crucial part of Brooks' plan to reinforce the poor.

Six centers have been established so far, at 4622 South South Park, 1935 South Halsted, 839 West 64th, and 1030 East 63d on the South Side; at 3138 West Roosevelt on the West Side; and at 901 West Montrose for the North Side's uptown and lakeview areas.

A seventh center will open shortly at the Garfield Park Fieldhouse, 100 North Central Park. Several more centers will be opened in coming months, plus a number of substations.

Fully staffed, a center employs between 160 and 170 persons.

Housed in the centers are representatives of public and private agencies such as Cook County Department of Public Aid, Chicago Housing Authority, Illinois State Employment Service, the building, fire, and health departments, Small Business Administration, and the Legal Aid Bureau of United Charities of Chicago.

The antipoverty planners hope to cut away some of the red tape and frustration at central offices by setting up these branches. The branch offices are also easier to approach than downtown offices, which frighten many Chicagoans.

Each little city hall has an advisory council of anywhere from 65 to 80 persons to help chart policy. The council must approve all poverty programs in the neighborhood.

Repeated criticism of the poverty program by the Woodlawn Organization on the South Side resulted in all of its 21 nominees being appointed to the Woodlawn council.

TWO's president, Rev. Lynward Stevenson, had charged that the poor, whom he claimed to represent, had not been given a voice in the expenditure of antipoverty funds.

The appointments announced by Brooks did not end the running battle between TWO and the antipoverty officials. The Reverend Mr. Stevenson claimed that Mayor Daly had promised TWO a majority voice on the council of the Woodlawn center, at 1030 East 63d.

The council was the fourth to be selected, and its membership of 75 was about average in size.

Brooks asserts that the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity, which directs the city's efforts, is beseiged by so many groups which claim to represent the poor that it sometimes cannot push past them and reach the persons who really need help.

One of the CCUO's chief means of reaching them is certain to erupt in controversy.

The eyes and ears of each progress center, in the words of the CCUO, will be at least 50 community representatives. More than 200 have been hired already. They are persons living in the neighborhood who are defined as poor and are either unemployed or underemployed.

An underemployed person is a laborer, for example, who has the intelligence and ambition for a white-collar job.

The community representatives, according to a CCUO spokesman, are expected to "let the people know what we have to offer, find out what they want, and recruit people for the war on poverty."

The community representatives, it is hoped, will include persons with "leadership ability," even if they cannot read or write. The annual salary is $4,074.

To blunt criticism—one observer warned the jobs could be used to buy off potential troublemakers—the CCUO hired the management consulting firm of Daniel D. Howard Associates, Inc., at 307 North Michigan, to screen and train applicants. Final selection of the community representatives is up to a panel composed of a representative of the consultant firm, of the CCUO office at 1 North Wacker, and of the urban progress center.

Another 60 or so neighborhood residents will be hired by each center as program representatives. These employees will act as aids in various neighborhood centers such as libraries, day camps, social agencies, and recreation programs.

In the controversy over the "maximum feasible participation" of the poor required by the Office of Economic Opportunity, which oversees the Nation's war on poverty, CCUO points, among other things, to these 110 jobs or so at each center.

Moreover, it says, the director of each center and its advisory council are selected at 1 North Wacker from residents of the neighborhood.

Hiring neighborhood residents without social work training as, in effect, social workers, is one of the poverty war's radical departures from the traditional government welfare approach. It is not confined to the urban centers. Huge grants have been approved for private social agencies to hire persons from the neighborhood for informal social work.

The Chicago Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers got one of the largest grants, for $583,396.

Explaining its use, the federation's executive director, Clarence W. Boebel, noted that "there has been a lot of talk in recent months about self-determination. The talk is that people in need of help should determine what they need."

Each of 16 agencies in the organization will hire 12 persons—a project director who has experience in the field; 3 persons from the neighborhood who are unemployed

or who could handle a better job, for full-time work; 4 part-time workers from the neighborhood, and 4 part-time specialists, such as psychiatrists, carpenters, or seamstresses.

Among agencies involved are Erie House, Marcy Center, Henry Booth House, Hyde Park Neighborhood Club, Firman House, and Association House.

What will all the workers do? Boebel illustrated the hopes of the project by relating an experience at Marcy Center, 1539 South Springfield, on the West Side.

Two years ago, with a grant from the United Settlement Appeal, the center "sent people into block clubs," Boebel recalled. "They asked what the people wanted, and they said a day care program. The center said its program was filled up."

The parents in the neighborhood raised $100 and the settlement house put up $200. Marcy Center assigned some of its staff to watch over the children 2 days a week and take them on trips to museums and the beach.

Before long, Boebel said, the mothers were running the program by themselves. There are now four groups in the neighborhood with day care programs.

When the federation submitted its proposal for Federal funds under the war on poverty, it ran into a problem, however.

"You submit a proposal like this," according to Boebel, "saying you want to do what the people in the neighborhood want, and the first thing you're asked is, 'What are you going to do with the money?' "

After rewriting the proposal five times, the federation got a green light. Officials of the federation had told the poverty war authorities, Boebel said, that it knew of "35 areas, which, on the basis of 60 years experience, will be of concern."

They included financial help, possibly through credit unions: educational assistance, such as organizing a group of mothers to spend part of 1 day a week watching over neighborhood children while they do their schoolwork, and consumer education programs, with the neighborhood stores the scope of the study.

Brooks, Boebel recalled, had "ruled that any agency named in a proposal had to be ready to move instantly," and this was one criterion for choosing the particular 16 from the federation's membership of 27.

Another community-action grant went to the Department of Public Aid to hire 20 housing consultants and 60 nonprofessionals to check complaints and gather information about substandard housing.

The nonspecialists, who are being hired from the relief rolls, will help the welfare institution expand its tactic of withholding rent from landlords who persist in violating housing codes.

In the West Side, the American Friends Service Committee has a grant of $65,446 to bring together interracial groups of children for work, play, and field trips.

The funds will help pay for a small administrative staff, several counselors, a secretary and a bookkeeper, and the expenses of an expected 120 volunteers.

Groups of four to six children of elementary school age will meet under supervision of a counselor. Half the children in a gathering will be from the Negro areas of Garfield Park and half from the Old Town Boys Club, American Indian Center on Chicago's North Side, or similar agencies.

Another of the more than 30 grants—with Federal funds approaching a total of $5 million—was given to the Chicago Small Business Administration, a branch of the Small Business Administration.

Agencies, whether public or private, must come up with 10 percent of the Federal cost. The payment may be either in cash or in kind, or in a combination of the two. Payments in kind would include the fair rental price of a room that has not been in use, plus the maintenance costs and depreciation.

In an effort to guard against waste and deception, the CCUO does not dish out the cash and hope for the best, but instead reimburses agencies for money already spent. This policy, the CCUO has discovered, is hard on the poorer agencies. It could discourage their participation. A system of advances of funds is being considered.

Indicative of the poverty war's emphasis on young people is Project Head Start, an effort to give children between 4 and 6 a taste of school.

More than 23,000 children, the second largest number in any single city in the Nation, took the 7-week course. CCUO officials do not claim it has benefited all of them.

The project—to give children who could not attend nursery school a head start on regular schooling—has been widely hailed as a real help to thousands of young children.

With support from many sides, including public, private, and Roman Catholic schools, Head Start is commonly recognized as an honest, if somewhat hastily put together, effort.

The project has also taught hundreds of volunteers a good deal about children from poor neighborhoods.

Through the Neighborhood Youth Corps, about 9,500 Chicagoans between 16 and 22 have taken full- or part-time jobs with public and private organizations.

This is one of several antipoverty programs that has aroused controversy.

Alderman Edward T. Scholl (41st) and Alderman John J. Hoellen (47th) have demanded a city council investigation of the project, contending it is wasting tax funds "on a grand scale." The aldermen charge the youths are engaging in made-work assignments duplicating those of employees already on public payrolls.

But leaders of the poverty program deny the charges, insisting the aldermen don't understand the project.

Under the Neighborhood Youth Corps program, more than $5 million is being spent to give full- and part-time jobs to young Chicagoans.

Students work 15 hours a week at the NYC uniform rate of $1.25 an hour. The $18.75 weekly gross income will keep impoverished youths from dropping out of school to take a job, it is hoped.

Out-of-school youths, some of whom have not been graduated from high school, work 30 hours a week at the same rate. NYC jobs are at 32 public and private institutions, including the Chicago Park District, the city department of streets and sanitation, Chicago Board of Health, Chicago Board of Education, and the YMCA.

Another $3 million is being spent on jobs in the Summer Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Available under the two programs were 11,000 jobs. Some 9,500 were filled.

The YMCA hired 258 persons under the NYC.

Seventy-eight were terminated, according to an official. About 10 went back to school or another job, 5 or 6 left for medical reasons, including pregnancy, and the rest either quit, were jailed, or simply didn't work out.

Here are a few extracts from reports on youngsters:

A young man, who worked in a cafeteria, did a good and honest job. He finally went back to school.

A young woman's IQ was too low, and the "Y" was "running out of things she can do."

A young man, hired as a janitor, has been hired full time by the "Y" from the Youth Corps.

Another boy "has no concept of authority."

Another is sitting down on his maintenance job.

But a young woman "has shown an eagerness to learn and has taken a typing course."

Of the young men and women who are still on the payroll, the "Y" has found them to work, on the average, just about as well as other employees.

The NYC, according to a CCUO spokesman, "is not designed primarily to give anyone a specific skill, but to put them in a job so they can get good job attitudes and learn how to work for somebody.

"A lot of them have never had a boss. And we hope that a school dropout, for instance, will learn from experience that education is necessary. You can't tell him that."

The CCUO hopes to expand the NYC to about 13,000 persons next year.

Of the many antipoverty programs now getting underway here, perhaps the most unique is one aimed at reuniting deserting fathers with their families.

A $719,000 grant has been authorized for this experimental program, which will be administered by the Cook County Department of Public Aid.

Under the project, the public aid agency will seek out 300 deserting fathers with the help of courts and caseworkers. Because the agency has found that unemployment is a key cause of desertion, efforts will be made to train the fathers for steady work.

A big percentage of the trainees will be Negroes.

If the program is successful, it could point the way for a national assault on a problem outlined in a recent confidential report of the U.S. Department of Labor—the breakdown of Negro family life.

The Labor Department report noted that almost one-fourth of all Negro families now are headed by females—more than double the percentage for whites. High rates of desertion, separation, and divorce were blamed for the trend toward a matriarchal Negro society.

The antidesertion program is indicative of the widening scope of the poverty war. And as the war grows, so does the controversy surrounding it.

Underlying the arguments in the first year of the war are both political and intellectual conflicts.

The threat of independent organizations armed with Federal funds to the established structures has been noted by many.

A $500,000 proposal by the interreligious council on urban affairs to train neighborhood leaders is an example. The proposal is under discussion by the ICUA and the staff of the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity after its initial rejection by poverty war officials.

Rabbi Robert J. Marx, chairman of the religious council, explains the proposal this way:

"Basically what we hope to do is to help them (West Side residents) handle the real problems of their area—housing, jobs, the businesses of the area and their responsibility, and the political structure, for example," he said.

Asked if the new leaders would pose a threat to the existing political organization, Rabbi Marx replied:

"This may be a fear of some people out there. But I feel the important thing is that the people in the area learn to be responsible leaders. This is a legitimate function of the Federal Government."

Brooks disagrees, though he noted that the proposal has not been turned down by the CCUO.

"They could establish their own precinct programs on Government funds without the representation of the people.

"If we fund it, we would have no way of knowing if the people on the West Side wanted it," he remarked.

Also involved in the hassle are the methods of Organizer Saul Alinsky, head of the Industrial Areas Foundation, which founded the Woodlawn Organization.

The West Side Federation, which helped prepare the $500,000 proposal, has discussed retaining Alinsky's services.

Alinsky is a highly controversial grassroots organizer known for his belief in agitation and conflict to bring about social change. He does not believe that the existing political, social, and economic structure will accommodate itself to the needs of the poor unless forced.

Brooks disagrees, asserting that conflict is unnecessary because city hall is committed to directing its efforts to help the poor—a claim that many have disputed.

Representative ROMAN C. PUCINSKI, Democrat, of Illinois, a strong supporter of the Democratic organization in Chicago and Illinois, maintained recently that Alinsky is the hero of the Washington staff of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Alinsky's writings, he claimed, are studied carefully and set the intellectual tone for some of the OEO kingpins.

Brooks has had a good deal of difficulty with this staff. He is known to believe that OEO head, R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., should get rid of some of his aids.

The composition of the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity has come under fire from some quarters, including the Woodlawn Organization and Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, Democrat, of New York, for its failure to include "the poor."

Dr. Brooks has named the directors of the urban progress centers to the citywide policy committee.

The committee also includes alderman, heads of some of the private agencies that will administer funds, heads of large government agencies, such as the Cook County Department of Public Aid, Edwin C. Berry, executive director of the Chicago Urban League, businessmen such as John D. deButts, president of Illinois Bell Telephone Co., and labor leaders.

Most, though not all, of Chicago's battles in the war on poverty are in Negro areas. The Uptown-Lakeview area is an exception.

Indicating the limits of the antipoverty effort, Economist Leon Keyserling has said that, even if it were 100-percent successful, it still could not do more than 5 percent of what would constitute a war on poverty.

Also containing the implication that the war on poverty has been unrealistically named was a statement by Raymond M. Hilliard, director of the Cook County Department of Public Aid and a supporter of the nationwide effort.

The funds allotted for the war, he stated, are "only a drop in the bucket compared to the education and training programs needed to alleviate deprivation and misery."

POLITICAL RIVALRY OVER THE POOR

(By Tom Littlewood)

WASHINGTON.—The turbulence through which the antipoverty program is groping becomes more discernible when one reminds himself what it is: the investment of tax funds to subsidize a social revolution.

"We're finding out," an astute Democratic Congressman observed recently, "what everyone should have expected all along, that when you try to bring the poor into the democratic process you shake the power structure, you stir things up plenty."

The war on poverty is the expenditure of large sums of Federal money to create economic opportunities for the poor in the hope that some will be able to earn their way out of poverty.

The Federal Office of Economic Opportunity, which thought originally it would need a staff of 300 to 700, and now has nearly 1,000, was set up last October 8. The first disbursements were not made until the day after the November election. In 10 months slightly less than $700 million has been allocated—a pretty fair initial injection for an untried program, even in Washington.

Congress is in the closing stages now of more than doubling the second-year allowance to $1.8 billion. The administration had asked for only $1.5 billion.

Largest of the several parts of the operation is the community action program.

About $170 million in grants has been distributed to public or private groups in 530 communities, directed, the Government estimates rather vaguely, at some 600,000 people.

Political struggles have unfolded in the larger cities for control of these projects—also for quite logical reasons.

The money is intended, fundamentally, to organize poor neighborhoods for self-improvement.

Authorized already are 24,000 jobs—"nonprofessional aids"—enlisted from the community and paid to help their neighbors. These field workers are expected to assist their neighbors in pressing for correction of housing code violations, obtaining more reasonable rents, expediting public assistance payments, finding employment, and solving their consumer credit complications.

Many of these workers obviously can be expected to achieve status and influence in the neighborhood. In other words, sort of like a good big city precinct captain ought to be—if all precinct captains thought and acted like social workers.

Such a bounteous setup titilates the ordinary ward committeeman.

Director R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., who is in charge of a worldwide enterprise, the Peace Corps, too, has discovered that the fellows whose opinion commands attention all the way to the White House may not care who is battling beri-beri in Brazil but they darn well care who snatches a neat package of nonprofessional jobs in the 24th ward.

So the relevant question seems to be: Who owns the poor? Will the community action grants be used to reinforce the entrenched big city political organizations under the mayors? Or might they go to rival independent groups who might have bold new ideas about tackling poverty but might also use the resources to try to overthrow city hall?

Several weeks ago Shriver was summoned to a gripe session of the House Education and Labor Committee Democrats which must have perplexed even the fast-talking wonder worker of Washington.

Chairman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, who would like to run the New York City program, complained again because the city agency had not sufficiently involved the poor.

Democrats from the big cities protested because of "kooks" and other social worker types on Shriver's staff were imposing their will on the city agencies and holding up the cash unnecessarily.

Two from Los Angeles, Augustus F. Hawkins and James Roosevelt took violent exception to the planning committee finally assembled after Federal nudging by Mayor Samuel Yorty following the recent riot.

The upshot of it all was that POWELL's committee now has an extra $100,000 with which to carry on a continuing investigation of the poverty program and further complicate Shriver's busy life.

It is Shriver's belief that, local administration being preferable to total Federal control, local conflict is inevitable; that the various local pressure points were anticipated in the law; and that some local unity is necessary under the city agency so that "just like in the Confederate States before the Constitution, soldiers don't go home when it snows."

Next to community action, the Job Corps has been a target of criticism. About 12,000 youths, school dropouts at home, have been placed in 59 job training centers at a contracted cost of $96 million. About 13 percent of the enrollees have dropped out and returned home.

Other aspects of the program:

Neighborhood Youth Corps: Summer and part-time jobs in hospitals, libraries and other public facilities for 300,000 underprivileged youths age 16 to 21. Cost so far: $154,500,000.

The goal is to encourage the youths to stay in school by making it possible for them to contribute something to the family income and, hopefully, to gain some self-respect. Their jobs tend to be the janitorial and other maintenance chores that have to be done in any public facility, rather than those which would require learning of technical skills.

In some communities, the level of poverty of the Government-subsidized workers has been open to question.

"See that lad over there sweeping the floor?" pointed out an airport terminal employee in Evansville, Ind., "Youth Corps. His dad drives him to work every morning in a new Buick."

Operation Head Start: Prekindergarten training this summer for 561,000 youngsters, many of them so unexposed to wholesome family and neighborhood living that they would begin school with little chance of success.

VISTA: Volunteers in Service to America, Shriver's version of the homefront Peace Corps. About 1,000 volunteers now working for $50 a month in slums, migrant farm labor camps, Indian reservations.

Almost 25,000 applications from volunteers 18 and over have been received, according to OEO. Applications averaged 2,350 a month during the first 6 months. Requests for 2,600 volunteers have been submitted from 218 different local antipoverty programs. Future enrollments will depend on requests received and approved. About 200 volunteers are now engaged in the required 6 weeks' training.

College work study: This fall, 115,000 students in dire financial straits will have part-time jobs subsidized by the Government at a cost of $30,400,000.

Work experience: Similar jobs and training for 91,400 unemployed heads of families with dependents. Cost: $114,500,000. Side benefit: Aid to dependent children costs are sliced in many of the States.

It is too early for any accurate evaluation of the program and how much is stolen or wasted. Washington is handing out the money so fast that it can't really know how it is being spent.

In any program of such enormous scale there are both good and bad examples—of youths who are working and might otherwise be in jail; of the 16-year-old who stuck with his woodworking class and school janitorial job in Paw Paw, Mich., only long enough to make a downpayment on a black leather jacket and a motorcycle.

Administrative chaos has typified much of the Washington operation so far and both Shriver and the program are under steady attack.

Academic Support for Our Vietnam Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, in a column which he wrote in the New York Post on April 30, 1965, the distinguished writer and historian, Mr. Max Lerner, said that he had traveled on many campuses, and he found that scholars close to Asian studies support the President, because

they know what would happen in Asia if America were to withdraw from Vietnam. He said that there was an inverse relationship between militancy or hostility to the President's policy and closeness to the subject matter.

I think it is noteworthy that of the 10,000 political scientists teaching in American universities, only 65 were listed as sponsors of the National Teach-In Committee, and the great majority of these were completely unknown juniors. And the several thousand academic names that have thus far been printed on public petitions opposing our Vietnam policy included only a bare handful that can claim any expertise on Vietnam and southeast Asia.

I ask unanimous consent to insert into the RECORD a remarkable letter to the editor signed by 20 scholars and specialists who have devoted much of their adult lives to study and work in southeast Asian affairs.

The letter strongly supports the administration policy. It says:

The surest guarantee of peace in Asia is what it has always been everywhere: recognition by all that our commitments to our allies will be honored.

This letter has already been printed in the New York Journal American and several other papers. I hope that all my colleagues will find the time to read it, because the men who signed this letter are not amateurs but the most knowledgeable professionals in the free world.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To the EDITOR:

We, the undersigned, write as scholars and specialists most of whom have devoted much of their adult lives to study and work in southeast Asian affairs. Included in our number are most of this Nation's small nucleus of specialists on Vietnam. Many of us have lived in Vietnam itself.

We feel compelled to write in response to what we consider the distortions of fact and the emotional allegations of a small but vociferous group of fellow university teachers regarding the war in Vietnam. We must first observe that those who have signed advertisements and petitions represent a very small proportion of all university professors. Further, the petition signers include disproportionally fewer scholars in the fields of government, international relations, and Asian studies. To our knowledge, no acknowledged expert on Vietnam itself has signed the advertisements appearing in the New York Times protesting U.S. policy in Vietnam. A mere handful of scholars with Far East credentials identified themselves with these protests.

Quite apart from the merits of American policy—past or present—we believe the manner in which the petitions and many "teach-ins" have been presented is a discredit to those who would call themselves scholars. The Vietnamese war and its related political context are enormously complex. Even the most qualified experts disagree on important facts or the meaning of those facts. It is no surprise that they also disagree on alternative courses of action.

It serves no useful purpose, therefore, to engage in namecalling, distortion, emotionalism, and gross oversimplification. Many of our fellow scholars, no doubt eminently qualified in their own fields, are in our view guilty of unacademic behavior in their protests of Vietnam policy.

For the record, therefore, we feel compelled to make the following assertions of fact:

1. The Vietcong initiated the present war in South Vietnam. They did so in gradual stages, beginning with assassination, terror, and bellicose propaganda. This was followed by sabotage, subversion, and small-scale guerrilla attacks; in later stages, large-scale frontal assaults were employed. Only in the last stage did the U.S. Government feel compelled to increase its military involvement substantially.

2. The Vietcong is a Communist-led and Communist-controlled political movement. Its aim is to establish, by any available means, a Communist rule in South Vietnam.

3. It is false to compare the war now being fought in Vietnam with that which was fought by the French between 1946 and 1954. That was a colonial war, fought by Vietnamese of every variety of political complexions to achieve national independence. The Government of Vietnam since 1954 has been a truly Vietnamese national regime, and it is fighting now to maintain its independence. That it is not without faults goes without saying. This, however, is not the issue. Surely it is of some significance that not one prominent nationalist of all the thousands of such men in South Vietnam has defected to the Communists since 1954.

4. The People's Revolutionary Party, which leads the Vietcong, is a segment of the Lao Dong (Communist) party of North Vietnam. The Vietcong itself was organized by the North Vietnamese, armed by the North Vietnamese, and trained by the North Vietnamese. This is not to deny the fact that many of its cadres were originally born in South Vietnam, and later trained or indoctrinated in the North. Nor is it to deny that thousands of South Vietnemese were persuaded or forced to join the Vietcong in the South.

5. The Vietcong have employed methods of terror, torture, and outright murder that, on a smaller scale, rival the atrocities of the Axis powers in World War II. Thousands of innocent people (including women and children) have been deliberately slaughtered by the Vietcong as "examples for the other South Vietnamese. Beheading and mutilation are not uncommon. For American academics to bemoan the "brutality" of the South Vietnamese response, without the slightest comment on the initiators of the brutality, is the epitoms of bias.

6. The Communist regime in North Vietnam is among the harshest and most brutal in Asia. All opposition has been exterminated. The society is organized into cells of mutual surveillance. No free elections of any kind have been permitted. The living standards of the people are low even by Asian standards.

7. In contrast, the people of South Vietnam, until the stepped-up Vietcong attack, were enjoying a far better living standard. Hunger was virtually eliminated. Industries were expanding. Schools, clinics, and social welfare services were proliferating rapidly. Between 1954 and 1961, there were four elections, conducted with varying degrees of freedom.

8. The Geneva Accords were broken first and repeatedly by the Communists, as documented by the records of the International Controls Commission.

9. The President has offered to hold unconditional peace talks with Hanoi and has been rejected repeatedly by Hanoi, Peiping, and Moscow. The burden of proof is now on the Communists.

10. Communist conquest of South Vietnam would, in our view, lead inevitably to a deterioration of resolve throughout South and southeast Asia. While the non-Communist states in the region are not likely to fall in actual geographical sequence (i.e., the "domino" theory), we believe these nations would eventually succumb politically and/or militarily to Chinese expansionism following an American withdrawal from Vietnam. We further believe that Chinese hegemony over southeast Asia would be disastrous to American national interest and will severly compromise the capacity of Japan, the Philippines, India, and Pakistan to survive as independent nations.

If there is any lesson that should have been learned by us since 1919, it is that collective security is the only effective means to deal with totalitarianism on the march. Our negotiations and agreements must not be "Munichs." Rather they must be backed by clear evidence of our determination to maintain the arrangements agreed to as the conditions for peace. Men who prize liberty are unwilling to settle for peace at any price. Nor does negotiation from weakness and without conditions serve to placate imperial ambitions. The surest guarantee of peace in Asia is what it has always been everywhere: recognition by all that our commitments to our allies will be honored. And we shall use the peace thus secured as Americans used it in postwar Europe, and as President Johnson has pledged to use it for Asia. The basis for a lasting settlement in Asia will be built as we create the conditions for freedom through social and economic programs no less than through military means.

SIGNERS

(Organizational affiliations listed for identification purposes only)

Dr. Wesley R. Fishel, Michigan State University.
Prof. P. J. Honey, University of London.
William P. Maddox, New York City.
Prof. Ralph L. Turner, Michigan State University.
Dr. Charles Wolf, Jr., the Rand Corp.
Dr. George E. Taylor, University of Washington.
Prof. William B. Dunn, University of the State of New York.
Prof John D. Montgomery, Harvard University.
Dr. Frank N. Trager, New York University.
Rev. Francis J. Corley, S.J., St. Louis University.
Dr. Chester L. Hunt, Western Michigan University.
Dr. Lucian Pye, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
Dr. David A. Wilson, University of California.
Dr. Amrom H. Katz, the Rand Corp.
Dr. John T. Dorsey, Vanderbilt University.
Dr. I. Milton Sacks, Brandeis University.
Dr. Charles A. Joiner, Temple University.
William Henderson, Socony Mobil Oil Co.
Dr. Ralph H. Smuckler, Michigan State University.
George K. Tanham, the Rand Corp.

Skydiving Has a Right To Share in the Safe Use of the Airspace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, many young men and women in Minneapolis and throughout the Nation are engaging in the fast-growing sport of skydiving.

They should be encouraged.

This can be a safe sport that can share the airspace with other users.

Because of the current discussion of possible changes to Federal Aviation Agency regulations, I wish to set out a few of the excellent letters I have received from skydivers in Minnesota. In addition, the following excerpts are given to show the views of the Defense Department, the Aircraft Owners & Pilots Association, and the Air Transport Association in this discussion.

Letter from Mrs. David F. Turner, 4247 Cedar Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minn.:

My husband is president of the University of Minnesota Skydiving Club. The attempt by the ATA to amend the FAA regulations, if effective, will eliminate sport parachuting throughout the country. The complaint they present involves the possibility of an airliner-parachutist collision due to sport parachuting in controlled airspace.

My husband's club jumps in the vicinity of Monticello and I feel there is no danger of such an accident occurring. Before each day of jumping he phones the FAA to notify them that there will be parachuting in the area and this information is passed on to planes. The novice jumpers are thoroughly instructed before they are allowed to make their first jump. My husband served in both the 82d and 101st Airborne Divisions and is very safety conscious. He takes his responsibility of jumpmaster seriously and conveys these feelings to the other members. The club is made up of university students (and not a draft card burner among them). They enjoy a break from the books and part-time jobs by sport parachuting. Should these people be denied recreation because of problems developing in other parts of the country?

Letter from Michael A. Dolan, 3815 18th Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minn.:

I am a member of Riverside Parachute Center which conducts regular jump activities at River Falls, Wis. We have made a total of 300 parachute jumps during the past 6 months, none of which involved a close call or a near miss with an airliner or any other type of aircraft. Our operations are closely coordinated with the Aviation Agency, Minneapolis-St. Paul International Airport.

All the members of our club are required to become members of the Parachute Club of America and follow closely the basic safety regulations of the national body. All our parachuting activities are conducted with one paramount objective: Safety. Our record speaks for itself, no fatalities, no incidents, only one minor accident (broken leg), and, as mentioned above, no close calls with airliners.

Parachuting is an integral part of general aviation and parachutists are airmen just as are private pilots, glider pilots, and airline pilots. We constantly strive to improve the sport of parachuting in all its facets and have made a large financial contribution to general aviation.

Letter from James A. Hovda, 4701 Elliott Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minn.:

Here in Minnesota, sport jumping has been very safe. I belong to the Minn Sky Divers, Inc. Our club was organized in 1958, and since that time we have logged over 7,000 sport jumps to date, with no serious injuries to date. At no time have we ever had a near miss with any aircraft.

Minnesota is one of the few States that has its own laws governing jumping. Minnesota has had an excellent safety record to stand on. To eliminate jumping in this State would be a shame.

I sincerely hope that you will look into the matter and give it careful thought as I sincerely believe that with proper safety regulations and observing the safety of others I have just as much right in the airspace as anyone else.

Thank you very much for your time in this matter.

Letter from Phil Halper, president, the Minnesota Skydivers Club, Inc., 1076 Wakefield, St. Paul, Minn.:

The Minnesota Skydivers Club is composed of 85 members and we hold our jumping activities at Stanton, Minn., which is 20 miles south of the St. Paul-Minneapolis International Airport. Since its organization in 1958, our club has made 4,500 jumps with no incidence of a near miss or a close call with an airliner or any other type of aircraft. Our operations are closely coordinated with the FAA tower at international airport, where our notams are filed.

Members of our club are required to strictly adhere to the basic safety regulations of the national body. We must also comply with the regulations of the Minnesota Aeronautics Board. All our parachuting activities are conducted with one paramount objective: safety. The current regulations (FAR pt. 105) are sufficient, and when enforced, regulate parachuting with all the necessary controls. Our present regulations are more than adequate to provide safe operations for parachutists and pilots alike.

Mr. Speaker, following are various statements regarding parachute jumping:

STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

I am Col. John Marr, and I am presently assigned to the Aviation Directorate, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Force Development, Department of the Army.

I have been designated to appear in this proceeding as the spokesman for the Department of Defense.

The Air Transport Association petition to the Federal Aviation Agency seeking amendment to part 105 of the Federal Aviation Regulations in regard to nonemergency parachute jumping has been carefully reviewed by each military department. Although many of the proposals would not interfere with military operations and training because of the military waiver clause, there are portions of the petition that are not desirable.

The proposal to prohibit military jumps in or into an approved off-airway route is unduly restrictive and imposes an unnecessary administrative onus on military parachutists. Off-airways routes are not depicted or contained in publications normally available to parachutists and it would be difficult for them to determine in advance the location of such routes. It is proposed that 6-hour notification, as contained in part 105.25 of the FAR, be applicable to all uncontrolled airspace.

By this procedure, FAA could notify aircraft and advise parachutists of the pending utilization of these off-airways routes. The infrequent aircraft usage of off-airways routes makes elimination of parachuting an unnecessary restriction.

The proposal to prohibit jumps that conflict with the flow of air traffic is vague and subject to diverse interpretation. The requirement for some control is recognized; however, this proposal cannot be fully analyzed without further explanation of its intent. It is recommended that the existing regulation be retained.

The proposal to prohibit parachute jumps into controlled airspace would deny a rightful user of the airspace a privilege that is extended to other users. It is recognized that if parachutists are to use controlled airspace, it should be accomplished under the same control as other users of the airspace. It appears that the proposed 105.19 should be revised to permit authorization for parachute jumps but require that all users be controlled by the same agency and under the same rules.

STATEMENT OF THE AIRCRAFT OWNERS & PILOTS ASSOCIATION ON PARACHUTE JUMPING RESTRICTIONS

We hold that sport parachuting is a legitimate use of the airspace and that reasonable and adequate provision for its requirements must be made and in places reasonably proximate to the participants. We cannot and will not support any proposal which has as its central theme, "Let's get those guys out of our sky." We have had to fight this concept vigorously in previous years to enable our own segment of aviation to grow and we will not take a self-serving, "dog in the manger" attitude about it now that general aviation is beginning to receive the consideration it properly deserves.

The proposal would prohibit sport jumps in any controlled airspace or scheduled carrier off-airway route. Designated airways and off-airway routes lace the country to such an extent that only in the sparsely populated portions of the country would it be reasonably easy to find a jumping site. Lacking people, it would be of little use or value.

What do we know about sky diving and sport parachuting? We know that there are approximately 500 parachute clubs in the country and perhaps 30,000 to 40,000 jumpers making at the most something like an average of 50 or so jumps each during the year. We know that divers can control the vertical component of their speed between about 120 and 220 miles per hour (or 176 to 322 feet per second) and the horizontal component between zero and 60 miles per hour (or 0 to 88 feet per second). This means that in a free fall it takes a diver only 1 to 2½ seconds to pass through the cruising altitude strata normally occupied by an individual aircraft. And in five seconds he can travel half the span of most large aircraft.

We know that with the canopy open the parachutist descends at the rate of 10 to 12 miles per hour (or 15 to 18 feet per second) and therefore it takes him between 22 and 27 seconds to transmit the cruising altitude strata normally occupied by a particular aircraft.

We know that most parachute training jumps occur about 2,500 feet above ground since this is the preferred altitude to open a chute and permit reasonable maneuvering for accuracy landings after a free fall.

We find that most jumps involving diving occur from about 7,500 feet above terrain because that permits a 30-second free fall and still provides for opening the chute at 2,500 feet. Another favorite jumping altitude is about 12,500 feet above terrain since that permits a one minute free fall. There seems to be relatively little jumping from altitudes above 14,500 feet. Thus even with the maximum possible horizontal speed component and a free fall lasting one minute, in a no-wind condition the diver can travel no further than 1½ miles from the point over which he jumped and he is in the air for only 3½ minutes altogether. Jumping activity apparently falls off rapidly as winds go above 10 miles per hour and ceases almost entirely above 18 miles per hour.

So far as we have been able to learn there has never been a midair collision between a diver or chutist and an airplane. The variants of time and space and frequency appear to make the probability of one very, very small. Certainly, they do not appear great enough to warrant severe restrictions to the development of this sport. In the only roughly comparable situation that we know of, MIT calculated that the probability of a collision, between a free balloon and an aircraft anywhere in the United States, was 800 million to 1.

What then is the proper course? There is a problem of some kind and it has generated some degree of real fear, otherwise we would not be here now engaged.

In AOPA's view the present proposal should be discarded—but the problem which generated it should be taken under study to determine what its true nature is and what practical and reasonable solutions are available.

It may turn out to be the kind of problem that requires enforcement, educational and procedural, as well as regulatory responses. Perhaps some of these responses should come from the sport or the aviation industry rather than the Agency.

As a part of this study, we think that the following things, among others, should be involved. The list is by no means intended to be exhaustive.

What is the record of validated or bona fide near collisions?

Is it feasible to conduct simultaneous jumping and flying operations at an airport without undue penalty to either? Would this increase stability of jump site location and activity? Would it create more control problems than it solves? Or would it minimize them?

What is the actual volume of jump activity? At night? Through scattered, broken or overcast clouds?

Is it practical to light parachute canopies with a flashlight anchored to the harness much as is done with sailboats operating at night? Is a battery operated flashing light on the jumper's helmet feasible?

Would it be more useful to modify the present notification procedures so that FSS and centers, or towers if appropriate, were notified only 5 or 10 minutes before a jump as to location, altitude, and duration of a jump or jump series so that advisories reflecting the current situation can be issued?

Should jump sites be charted? Are suitable criteria available or devisable to prevent the charting of stale, misleading or unused information?

To what extent do carrier and private operators modify their flight operations as a consequence of the jumping information now available?

Would it be worthwhile to try to enhance parachute visibility by using alternate or periodic gores of cloth in colors such as international orange?

These and other questions, properly studied, might well reveal a need for only minor regulatory action and point out avenues of other action which will help parachute jumping participants to do what they want to do, safely and with little adverse impact on themselves or other users of the airspace.

STATEMENT OF AIR TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

The airline concern with the potential hazards of uncontrolled sport parachute jumping is not a selfish attempt to eliminate a sport enjoyed by thousands of red-blooded Americans. But this concern does reflect the obligation of the airlines to focus attention on an air safety problem that exists and potentially affects the safety of airline passengers in the United States each year. In our bringing this matter before the Agency, the airlines have no intent to ban the sport of parachute jumping or "put it out of business." As a former jumper, I know that it is a great sport. But for such a sport to operate safely in the busy airspace activity of today, it needs better control. Drag racing is also a recognized sport, but it is conducted under controls and at places set aside specifically for it. These controls do not allow drag racing on our busy freeways and turnpikes, at any time of day or night, merely by a general public notification of intent to race.

We recognize that there are many professional and expert parachute jumpers who are equally dedicated to safety in the pursuit of their sport. But our obligation to strive for the highest possible degree of safety compels us to seek more comprehensive controls over this activity. This control is considered essential before a catastrophe might occur. We would be remiss in our obligation to the American traveling public, the millions of passengers carried by the airlines each year, if we were to ignore the existence of this potential threat to safety.

That there is a real and present danger of possible collision between aircraft and those engaged in uncontrolled parachute activity, we submit, cannot be denied. In the ATA petition, we outlined the development of the regulatory history leading to the adoption of FAR part 105. We indicated our understanding of the great and immense growth of nonemergency parachute jumping as a sport in this country in the past few years and our understanding that it is on the upswing. In the petition we cited but two of the many recorded incidents involving parachute activity near air carrier aircraft. For example, Northwest flight 77 on March 6, 1965—while being vectored under IFR for a final approach descending from 5,500 feet to 4,500 feet MSL in controlled airspace, the report says, a "red-ball-like object was observed falling vertically in close proximity (no more than 300 yards and possibly less) to the flight. The skydiver's proximity was close enough not only to observe his manner of dress but to see that his legs were drawn against his chest and that arms were outstretched in a clawlike gesture."

We are not here to deliberate the definition of a near miss or a close call. A review of the docket on this notice shows that advocates of the sport of parachute jumping, practically to the person, indicate they are not aware of any near misses or close calls between a parachutist and an aircraft such as those we have cited. However, if an airline pilot with many hours of experience in the air becomes greatly concerned because of coming too close to a parachutist, it is a close call. If evasive action is required, and this occurs in locations such as over the outer marker to runway 1-R Dulles International Airport, then for this pilot the incident is a near miss regardless of any technical definition that we in this room could put together.

We haven't hit a parachutist and hope that something constructive can be done before such an event occurs.

We recognize that a parachutist is in control of himself and that his maneuverability is such that he should be able to avoid a compromising situation provided he has sufficient warning. We do not believe, however, that every parachutist jumping on the airways can see every aircraft that may be approaching in time for evasive action. Much of the sport parachutist's attention must be focused on the ground. In anq event, under the provisions of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, a parachutist who can navigate in mid air should be considered an airman, and as such, like other airmen he should be properly licensed and controlled by the Federal Government.

The issue here is clearly one of assuring an adequate level of safety. If, as we contend, a parachutist cannot with certainty maneuver out of the path of an approaching airplane traveling at speeds of 150 to 250 miles per hour, then controls must be applied so that he does not jump at random into the airplane's path. If as the parachutists contend, they are able to navigate, then they should be required to live up to the certification requirements imposed on other airmen. The present FAR 105 requires neither controls—as the first case suggests—nor certification, as the second case suggests. We submit that this compromises safety and should be corrected.

Address of Postmaster Lawrence F. O'Brien

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following:

ADDRESS BY LAWRENCE F. O'BRIEN, POSTMASTER GENERAL, TO POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEES

I have asked you to assemble here today—my first working day as Postmaster General—to make a commitment to you:

A promise that beginning here and now, I join with you to devote all of my energies toward providing the best possible postal service for the Nation.

Better service to the American people will be the overriding goal of my administration.

We will spend the taxpayers' money wisely, frugally, while fulfilling our mission to deliver the mail on time and in good condition.

We will consider each one of our 600,000 employees as a partner in improving the postal service and with our employee organizations we will strive for the best working conditions and salaries.

I ask those of you in this hall today and those of you who have joined us across the country in our regional offices to carry that message from me to every member of the postal family.

When President Johnson gave me this assignment, he told me that I would be moving from an 18-hour-a-day job of searching for votes to a 24-hour-a-day job of delivering the mail.

My responsibilities are clear.

A responsibility to administer the Post Office Department in the most progressive, most efficient, most economical way possible.

And a responsibility to give our citizens the quality of service they need and deserve.

The President insists that we strive for excellence in the postal service—nothing less.

After I leave this office, I want to look back upon my term as Postmaster General with a sense of satisfaction in having applied the best business practices to one of the most vital Government services.

To do this, I need your cooperation and I need your loyalty.

My predecessor, John Gronouski and Ed Day, have accomplished a great deal in the last 5 years and we can be proud of the really significant contributions they made.

Ambassador Gronouski, who now goes from delivering the mail to delivering the peace, has told me that I am joining one of the finest organizations in the land and I know he is right. He has told me of the excellence of the managers we have here in Washington, in our regions, and in our local post offices. He has told me of the great army of workers in our nearly 40,000 installations.

Wherever I go in the United States, he said, I will have friends, because there will always be a post office close by.

I take great comfort in this and in turn I want you to know that you have a friend in Washington.

You have a friend who wants your ideas and your suggestions on how we can make our service better than it has even been. You are the people who will make my administration successful. You have the experience and the know-how.

I know that the problems we face are great and that our mission is important. The postal service touches the lives of every one

of our citizens. It has a profound effect upon the economy of our Nation. And it is experiencing an incomparable rate of growth.

The fact that mail volume is increasing at an unprecedented rate is something we should welcome because it means that the economy of the Nation is strong. I need not tell you that 80 percent of the 72 billion pieces of mail this year is generated by business.

The unprecedented period of prosperity our Nation is experiencing has given the postal service its greatest challenge. The old ways of moving the mail will no longer suffice. The traditional concepts must give way to modern technology and we must plan today for even greater challenges 10 or 20 or even 50 years from now.

Since 1961, under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, the postal service has made amazing progress. While I was in the White House, I had a close working relationship with the Department. I know that the last 5 years have been filled with change and innovation. But there were many prior years of indecision and aimless drifting to overcome.

Recently, I noted an article in the October issue of the Postal Record, the magazine of the National Association of Letter Carriers. The article discussed our ZIP code program and the new network of sectional centers.

"The Post Office Department is the largest business * * * in the world," it said. "Every change in its operation affects every business and every individual in the country in one way or another. The responsibility involved in effecting major changes is enormous. For this reason, postal administrations for many decades were absolutely resistant to even the most obvious improvements."

And then the article concluded:

"The administration of the past 5 years must be congratulated on its courage and imagination in undertaking such massive programs aimed at improving the service. Time will tell whether or not these changes accomplish what is hoped for them."

Ladies and gentlemen of the postal service, I ask you to join with me in proving that we can innovate, that we can modernize, that we can administer this vast organization with efficiency and skill.

We will not allow any special interest groups to turn back the clock on progress in the Post Office Department. We will always be guided by what is best for the American public and not by what is best for individuals or groups with axes to grind.

I want and I need the continued cooperation of the business mailers. We are well aware that many mailers in recent years have made sacrifices of time and money in behalf of better postal service. The investment will bring dividends for all of us.

I want and I need both the loyalty and the constructive criticism of our employee organizations. Our employees have benefited greatly since President Kennedy's Executive order provided for recognition of postal unions and I am totally committed to that policy.

I want and I need the continued friendship and the help of our friends in Congress—in both Houses and on both sides of the aisle. We will work together and I will consult frequently with them on legislation and other matters that are important to their constituents and important to the postal service.

One of the most satisfying thoughts to me as I take on this assignment is that I need not start from the beginning. The framework is already built.

The ZIP code program and the 552 sectional centers give us the opportunity to make dramatic improvements in mail service. With the cooperation of the public and the business mailers, we will have the most modern, most efficient method of routing and distributing mail of any postal system in the world.

With the optical scanner and other advances in mechanization, we will be able to keep pace with the continually growing volume of mail.

With proper planning and with the necessary legislation, we will be able to provide a new class of priority mail that will be delivered overnight almost anywhere in the country. The artificial distinctions between first class and air mail will be abandoned.

With real dedication to the cause of equal employment, we will make certain that no one is denied a job or a promotion in the postal service because of his race, his creed, or the color of his skin.

With proper direction and emphasis from headquarters, we can make use of all of the talents of our 34,000 postmasters to be managers in a real sense.

We can achieve these goals. We can take pride in working for one of the finest service organizations anywhere. Let us continue our effort to do the best possible job for the people we serve.

You have the blueprint for the future. Together, we will make it a reality.

Thank you.

Perspective: U.S. Foreign-Trade Zones

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to insert a recent statement by Richard H. Lake, Executive Secretary of the Foreign-Trade Zones Board:

PERSPECTIVE: U.S. FOREIGN-TRADE ZONES

(By Richard H. Lake)

The opportunity to manufacture at a foreign-trade zone in the United States combines the advantages of a domestic operation with those advantages usually attributed to an overseas production site. This accounts for most of the current interest now focused on foreign-trade zones. A relatively new idea here, the zone approach has proven itself abroad for several centuries in the form of free-trade zones and free ports.

The Celler Foreign-Trade Zones Act of 1934, as amended, established the Foreign-Trade Zones Board to administer the act which provides for the establishment and operation of the foreign-trade zones "to expedite and encourage foreign commerce." The Board consists of the Secretary of Commerce, as chairman, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Secretary of the Army, and is headquartered at the U.S. Department of Comemrce in Washington.

A foreign-trade zone is best described as: an isolated, enclosed, and policed area, in or adjacent to a port of entry, operated as a public utility by a public or private corporation, and furnished with facilities for receiving, handling, storing, processing, manufacturing, and exhibiting goods, and for reshipping them to world markets by land, water, or air. Any foreign and domestic merchandise, unless prohibited by law or classed as deterimental to the public interest, health, or safety, may be brought into a zone without being subject to the customs laws of the United States governing the entry of goods or the payment of duty thereon.

In the zone this merchandise may be stored, handled, processed, and used in the production of various products and, in original form or otherwise, may be shipped from the zone to foreign and domestic markets. Merchandise is subject to prevailing import controls and duties if sent into the customs territory of the United States, but not if shipped abroad.

Subject to these limitations, the only merchandise permitted to enter U.S. customs territory from a foreign-trade zone is merchandise which could otherwise be imported from abroad. In either case it would be subject to the payment of customs duties. This assures maintenance of safeguards without subjecting domestic industry to unwarranted restrictions which would provide production and marketing advantages to producers located abroad.

Many business and economic plus factors are derived from features of the foreign-trade zone concept which permit:

1. Duty-free and quota-free manufacturing for export using foreign as well as domestic components.
2. Employment of labor, machinery, technology and management in the United States at zone sites outside of U.S. customs territory.
3. Manufacturing in the United States with no need to outlay working capital for payment of customs duties unless and until output enters U.S. customs territory for consumption. In effect, even certain "imports" could be "Made in the U.S.A."
4. Determination of customs duties on zone-produced goods entering U.S. customs territory based upon duty rates applicable to foreign components, rather than duty rates applicable to the overall product.
5. Access to quota-restricted production components under the same competitive conditions available to producers located abroad.
6. Capital investment opportunities in the United States as an alternative to similar investments abroad.
7. U.S. products, competitively produced and competitively priced for world markets.
8. Economic utilization of unused domestic production capacity.

Foreign-trade zones have been in continuous operation since 1937 when the first zone was established in New York City. Development of additional zones was slow, due to the interruption of commerce occasioned by World War II and a limiting feature of the Foreign-Trade Zones Act which prohibited manufacturing in zones. An amendment in 1950 enlarged the features of the act, including provisions for manufacturing.

In addition to six zones currently established in New York, New Orleans, San Francisco, Seattle, Toledo, and Mayaguez, P.R., subzones for manufacturing are operated in San Francisco, Calif., and at Penuelas, P.R. A new general-purpose zone is schedule to open early next year as part of the State of Hawaii's economic development program.

The San Francisco subzone, opened in 1963, houses women's apparel production facilities operated by Lilli Ann Corp. of California. The Penuelas subzone, opened in May 1962, contains a petrochemical production plant operated by Union Carbide Caribe, Inc. The latter subzone was the first zone site established solely for manufacturing.

At the present time two applications for new zone sites are pending before the Foreign-Trade Zones Board. One application, from the Port of New Orleans, proposes establishment of a subzone at Taft, La., where Union Carbide Corp. would erect and operate petrochemical production facilities. The second application, from the Board of Supervisors of Bay County, Mich., proposes establishment of a foreign-trade zone and two subzones in Bay County. These subzones would house fedstock storage and petrochemical facilities operated by Dow Chemical Co., Midland, Mich.

The current moves to establish new zone sites for petrochemical production facilities employing foreign feedstocks have precipitated considerable controversy. On one hand, zone proponents view the zone approach as a means of providing domestic chemical producers sorely needed access to competitively priced feedstocks from abroad, thereby reducing present inequities which limit their procurement to the higher priced domesitc feedstocks. They point to the zone approach as an effective alternative to relocating abroad and one way to reduce an increasing flow to the United States of petrochemicals produced abroad.

Zone opponents, on the other hand, object to the zone approach as a "loophole" which, if used extensively, would subvert the objectives of the oil import control program which they feel must be maintained in the national interest.

These and related questions are being studied by industry and by various government agencies responsible for this commodity area and will probably be considered in future developments affecting petroleum import policies. Whatever the outcome, the foreign-trade zone idea has and will continue to sharpen government and industry focus on vital national issues with respect to petroleum imports and petrochemical production.

NCEC Recommendations for a More Effective Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, among the many groups and individuals who have testified before the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress, few can equal the National Committee for an Effective Congress in terms of their continuing interest and informed concern about the functioning of the legislative branch of the Federal Government.

The statement presented earlier this year to the joint committee by Mr. George E. Agree, executive director of the NCEC, reflects both a broad understanding of the essential role of Congress and a practical awareness of the opportunities as well as limitations of congressional reform. It is imaginative and restrained and constitutes one of the most constructive presentations I have yet seen. It is also genuinely nonpartisan.

I am especially impressed with Mr. Agree's proposal to encourage and support independent efforts by small groups of House and Senate Members who wish to undertake special studies of important public problems outside, but not in conflict with, the formal committee structure. I welcome, too, his emphasis on the need to protect fully the rights of the minority in Congress as an essential means of assuring adequate consideration of the issues before it.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following excerpts from Mr. Agree's thought-provoking statement:

EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENT BY GEORGE E. AGREE, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR AN EFFECTIVE CONGRESS

We support your objective, not out of a feeling that this institution has failed to live up to its responsibilities—on the whole, it has discharged them extremely well—but because, as at intervals in the past, the changing times require that the Congress make as effective an adjustment to future needs as present circumstances allow. There is a fundamental and organic relationship between progress and freedom. As even the Russians are beginning to learn, the complexity and the interdependence of the new world we are creating impose great and, in the long run, insupportable difficulties on governments whose decisionmaking institutions are not responsive to all information and sensitive to all interests in a society.

It is important to recognize that to attempt to alter Congress merely in the name of efficiency might be to destroy it altogether. The most efficient instrument for processing legislation would be a rubber stamp. What really is needed is to enhance the sensitivity and responsiveness of the Congress—for this is its genius.

The present condition of Members who want to pursue some subject that may not be on the legislative agenda, or to make an independent study of a subject that is on, is one of almost complete frustration. The few task forces or study groups that are organized for such purposes too frequently founder for lack of staff and facilities.

My own proposal is that any time a group of Members wishes to undertake a particular study, the Congress itself should provide them with the facilities to do so. This would not be very expensive. And it would be relatively easy to insure that such study enterprises did not conflict with or disrupt current legislative processes, and that the public funds involved would not be misused for strictly partisan or frivolous purposes.

(a) Before a study group could qualify for assistance, a minimum number of Members would have to affiliate with it—say 15 in the House, or 5 in the Senate. No Member could be counted toward meeting this minimum for more than one study group in any 2-year period. Perhaps it should be required that no more than 75 or 80 percent of the Members comprising a group could be of the same party.

(b) The Speaker and the minority leader in the House, or the majority leader and the minority leader in the Senate, would have to approve the purpose and scope of any projected inquiry.

(c) Upon receipt of this approval, the study group would be given office space and facilities, and funds for the employment of one researcher and one secretary. It would also receive funds to cover the expenses of experts it might wish to invite to Washington for consultation, and possibly for a minimum of travel by group members and staff.

(d) The study group would have no legislative or political authority, but would exist only for the purpose of informing its own members. It could not subpena witnesses, or hear them under oath. Its session would be private; and it could issue no statements and publish no reports. Any report which a group or part of a group might prepare would be submitted to, and become the property of, the standing committee of most nearly related jurisdiction.

I would stress that the work of the study groups would be collateral to that of the committees. The study groups would introduce a helpful and needed resilience into the congressional posture—and mitigate the rigidity imposed by the need to process legislation in orderly fashion. They would permit contact with ideas and problems the committees may be too preoccupied to pursue. They would provide a meeting ground for common consideration of matters of mutual and bipartisan interest by members of different committees. And, while the results may not always prove to be important, the determination of their importance and their use would always reside in the committees.

II. The National Committee for an Effective Congress is urgently interested in the improvement and strengthening of the laws governing campaign financing. We feel that any approach to this problem must be based on two facts: (1) that maintenance of a free society requires a minimum of regulation of political activity, and (2) that maintenance of a free society requires a maximum of light shed upon political activity. Present laws seem amply consistent with the first requirement. Therefore, I suggest that efforts be concentrated upon procedural clarifications which would, incidentally, provide a better informed and more realistic basis for ultimate consideration of substantive changes, if they should be desired in the future. I refer, of course, to tightening and regularizing the reporting requirements.

Several relatively minor changes could accomplish much in this regard:

(a) No political committee, as presently defined, should be permitted to solicit or disburse campaign contributions without first, and thereafter annually, filing a formal registration of its intention to do so.

(b) Each such committee should be instructed in the reporting requirements and provided with standardized forms on which to file its reports.

(c) These forms should require the listing of the full name and address of all donors of $100 or more.

(d) The names of committees which fail to file on the due dates should be given to the press immediately.

(e) Each committee should be required to publish an exact copy of each of its reports in a paid notice in a newspaper of record in the city in which it is headquartered within 24 hours of the due date.

(f) Finally, it would be desirable to extend the reporting requirements to include committees acting in primary elections, without also extending the other requirements of the law to include such committees.

These proposals would not in any way limit the activities presently permitted by our laws. They would, however, assure the electorate of a basis for making a more informed—and therefore, more free—choice between candidates.

III. We have the impression that there is wide support for (technical and other) changes in both Houses, and within both parties, and this is very encouraging. Some with which we agree:

(a) Much can and should be done to relieve individual Members of their time-slavery to nonlegislative obligations—by the way of increased staff, automated mailhandling and other facilities, more office money and greater latitude in its deployment, larger travel allowances for Members and staff, and so forth. Also, there should be some experimentation with Congressman REUSS' ombudsman idea for handling routine constituent casework. It may prove to be inappropriate to our political circumstances, but it must be tested before this can be known. Perhaps it would be possible to set up such an administrative counsel on a delegation basis, and try it out with only those delegations that are willing to conduct the experiment. Since many problems have a regional character, this might add a certain relevance to the procedure.

(b) In any free institution, the rights of the minority must be fully protected—to the point of erring, if necessary, on the side of

overprotection. This is particularly true in a time of consensus politics—to insure that the consensus is real and not just apparent. Responsible consideration of public problems requires a fixed and generous provision for minority staff on all committees. Additionally, there should be formal assurance of equitable minority time in debate on conference reports.

(c) The virtue of the seniority system is that its operation is rigid and preordained—in an unstable institution in which almost every other power feature is negotiable and uncertain. But this very rigidity is also the system's greatest vice. Its errors cannot be corrected. Some one or combination of the proposals for introducing a measure of flexibility in the operation of the seniority system should be adopted.

The rules changes accomplished in the House with bipartisan support at the beginning of this session should encourage this committee to approach these and other problems with confidence in the receptivity of the Congress and the country to many of the improvements suggested in your hearings.

Why Do So Many Americans Apologize for Their Country?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILWARD L. SIMPSON

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, the question of why there seems to be a penchant in some quarters of American society to apologize for the affluence, which our system of personal liberty and incentive has given us, was commented on recently by an unnamed contributor to the Pinedale, Wyo., Roundup.

The article looks incisively and candidly at this phenomenon and deserves the attention of the Senate and readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I ask that it be printed with my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY DO SO MANY AMERICANS APOLOGIZE FOR THEIR COUNTRY?

(Contributed)

When I arrived in America in 1908, there were few automobiles and no TV sets. Mechanically and industrially the country had barely begun to advance beyond the civilized lands of Western Europe. But there was one important characteristic that distinguished all Americans, whether native or foreign born. It was intense pride in their political institutions and economic achievements. They had taken a vast, undeveloped continent and turned it into a major power by the sweat of their brows and the genius of their brains. Further, they had given the world a working model of a state where national power was reconciled with maximum freedom for the individual. Americans were justifiably proud to be Americans.

In that horse-and-buggy America there was no trace of the apologetic undertone that has of late become the vogue in certain circles. We, as Americans, did not feel we had to offer excuses for the prosperity we had built with our own hands, to people who lived in nations perhaps less fortunate—but perhaps also less energetic. We did not feel we had to present apologies for the few minor defects in our social and economic structure, because a great many of us knew, from firsthand experience, that far graver defects existed everywhere else. The country's mood was one of intense, patriotic pride in what it had done and was doing. There may even have been a little touch of defiance in that pride.

There had been wars in our history, but they were in the main just wars, fought for independence, unity, and the liberation of others. If our Mexican and Indian wars contained elements of what would today be described as imperialism or colonialism, they went unnoticed in the world where colonialism and imperialism of a far more objectionable nature were rampant, as indeed they are today. If our economic expansion carried our products and methods to other lands, we felt—in the main, rightly—that the advantages to those lands at least equaled those accruing to us.

Today the mood of many Americans is one of contrition. They tell us that, far from expecting gratitude from those we help, we must make amends for the fact that we are in a position to help them. The obligation, it seems, is on our side, not theirs. We must close our eyes to their patent internal injustices, their caste systems, their ironbound social classes, their massacre of political opponents, their trampling and deporting of national and racial minorities, while at the same time we magnify every mote in our own national eye until it becomes a beam.

In the sphere of international policy it matters little that we have voluntarily rid ourselves of colonial possessions, granted independence to the Philippines, offered freedom—and had it refused—to Puerto Rico, respected the sovereign rights of smaller nations in our sphere of influence to the point of tolerating the insults and expropriations of a Fidel Castro. It matters little that the three wars which we have waged since 1908 have all had as their precise purpose to help and liberate the victims of aggression and oppression.

Had we behaved like that great apostle of anti-imperialism, the Soviet Union, we would by this time have swallowed up the Western Hemisphere equivalents of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Albania, East Germany, and part of Finland and forcibly deported to other areas 1,000,000 or so members of recalcitrant minorities.

Following the example of that other great leader in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism Communist China, we could have taken over the equivalent of Tibet, North Korea and North Vietnam, and put the squeeze on the equivalent of India, Cambodia, Laos and Indonesia.

All this we have failed to do. Yet some people abroad charge us with imperialism, and other people at home, without exactly echoing the charge, advise us to beat our breasts.

Others want us to be apologetic for so-called act of espionage. Even granting that any nation has a right to consider as territorial air space what is 60,000 feet above ground, the American of 1908 vintage would have been quick to reply that we would apologize only when, as and if other nations apologized for their countless acts of espionage on land and sea and in the air.

Most galling of all is the suggestion that we should be apoligetically humble for having achieved, by our own efforts, the highest standard of living in history, one for which other nations envy us and one that, incidentally, permits us to extend to them aid of all kinds. This suggestion reminds us of the schnorrers, or professional beggars, of the old Hebrew tradition, who claimed that those who gave them charity should be grateful to them because they, the beggars, afforded the donors the opportunity to carry out the religious obligation to give alms.

We can be sincerely humble and thankful to the God that many of our critics deny, both for our prosperity and for the ability to help others. But this emphatically does not mean that we must apologize for our wealth in the very act of giving it away.

Let us not abdicate that just pride in deference to those who would like to see us humble ourselves before nations that are, and will continue to be, unable to humble us, much as they would like to.

Cleanup Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, of late we have heard considerable criticism about some of the projects being carried on under the antipoverty program and difficulties of the Office of Economic Opportunity in getting into operation some of the vitally needed programs it is authorized to undertake. But it is easier to find flaws in any new effort than to seek out successes.

For this reason, I am particularly delighted that the Newark Sunday News of September 19, 1965, published a fine article describing a very positive accomplishment under the antipoverty program in Essex County, N.Y. Under the able and creative direction of Martin Lordi, director of the Essex County Youth and Economic Rehabilitation Commission, a most effective summer conservation program has been completed in which 300 boys participated in rehabilitation of several Essex County park sites. This was not a "make work" project, but essential conservation work which would otherwise have languished for lack of manpower. The work was especially meaningful for the young men involved, for they learned tool usage, appreciation of wildlife and forestry, and the program resulted in the return to school of some of the boys who had been dropouts. Under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD the article describing this outstanding example of success in one of the areas on which our struggle to eliminate poverty is focused:

CLEANUP CORPS—REHABILITATION OF ESSEX COUNTY PARK SITES PROVIDES LONG-LASTING BENEFITS FOR COMMUNITY AND YOUTHS

(By Laurie Frank)

Three hundred boys from Newark and surrounding towns stormed into the Essex County parks in the beginning of the summer and began ripping up tree stumps, tearing down shrubbery and gathering broken pieces of glass and metal cans from the paths.

The boys, ages 18 to 21, were not simply working out their aggressions. Instead they were cleaning up South Mountain and Eagle Rock Reservation and Weequahic and Branch Brook Parks during a new summer conservation program conducted by the Essex County Youth and Economic Rehabilitation Committee. Working under President Johnson's Economic Opportunity (antipoverty) Act,

the boys received $1.25 an hour for a 30-hour week.

During the 10-week program, the boys were mainly occupied with conservation work. This included digging drainage ditches to prevent soil erosion, clearing overgrown areas, chopping wood, blazing new or poorly defined trails, removing tree stumps and improving the general appearance of bridle trails.

But this project was more than just a working experience. Divided into groups of 15 and supervised by a high school teacher or a college student, the youths also learned tool usage and an appreciation of wildlife and forestry.

Before the program's inception, Gene Fields, horticulturist at the Essex County Park Commission, talked to both the boys and their supervisors about safety factors and general forestry while Jack Hayes, park supervisor at Eagle Rock, explained how and why each particular job was done.

The program accomplished a dual purpose by being meaningful for both the boys and the community. According to Mr. Fields, the work in the parks would normally not be accomplished by the park commission because it does not have the manpower to handle those tasks in the scope of its daily acivities.

"We had the facilities and the needs but if it were not for these boys, the work never would have been done," Mr. Fields explained. "We also tried to instill the idea into the group that they were working for a real reason—not just to take up idle time."

Being a federally supported plan, the summer conservation program also fulfilled the objectives set forth by President Johnson: to keep the boys off the city streets and simultaneously give them guidance and direction in life. Out of the 300 high school and precollege youths enrolled, 17 were high school dropouts. By the time the program ended, eight decided to finish their schooling in the fall.

At first, many boys approached the project with the idea that "this was going to be lots of fun," according to Crew Supervisor Philip Parker of Newark. "We sometimes had to push them hard, split up cliques and make them realize they came here to work."

But once the program got underway, the boys perpetuated its ideals by themselves. Those going to college encouraged others to continue their education. Crewmembers were generally tolerant and understanding of one another's personal problems and often offered to help when others were unable to accomplish a job.

After personal talks with Crew Supervisor Jerry Simons of Livingston, one dropout quit the program to enroll in summer school so he could reenter high school. Another youth, extremely shy and uncoordinated at the program's beginning, decided to finish school after his friends helped him play softball and convinced him he could do the work if he tried.

"For some of these boys it was their first working experience," commented Paul Svem, project director. "They experienced the feeling of doing a job properly and the sense of accomplishment that goes with it."

Standing in the park after carting out a load of excess shrubbery, four of the youths agreed that the conservation plan was an excellent opportunity "to learn something so we can go somewhere in life."

One young man, George Barberi of Newark, said he was a high school dropout "going nowhere" before he joined the summer employment program. "But now I want my high school diploma," he said. "You aren't anybody these days without one. Talking to other kids who are planning on college brought my mind down to work."

Another dropout returning to school in the fall said he left because "the guys called me dumb at school. But now I'm going back because my friends here called me dumb for dropping out."

Martin Lordi, director of the program, encouraged individual moral and group enthusiasm by organizing daily softball games played at the conclusion of the working day. A championship game of the two leading crews highlighted a picnic honoring the boys at the end of the summer.

Mr. Svem pointed out that not only has response among boys and their parents been good but other members of the community have praised the work of the Summer Conservation Program. People can now ride the bridle paths without bumping into low branches or slipping in mud-filled ditches. Cars can travel through the park without the danger of the roads being obstructed with foliage. And the public can appreciate the scenery without dead trees blocking the view.

"At first we were a little leery of the program," said forestry foreman Edward Yacabone, "but now we support it all the way. The boys have done a terrific job cleaning up our parks and helping one another find a direction in life. Personally, I'd like to see this program continued 12 months a year."

Labor-Management Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, when it is closely analyzed, the debate over 14(b) is almost like a tempest in a teapot.

So far as the people of our great State of Massachusetts are concerned, the issue could be defined as quite academic, because the right-to-work law does not prevail in our State, and in general we enjoy markedly favorable, friendly relations between labor and management.

One of the most priceless and precious possessions of our American society is, of course, that the humblest citizen of our land has the right to be respected in his person and in his contractual agreements.

If there were truly a right to work and a right to a job, it would be a great boon to the many who are unable to find suitable jobs even in times of prosperity.

In the more ideal society toward which we are aspiring, perhaps this right to work in the true sense may be guaranteed, but this right certainly has no reference to and certainly should not be confused with the claim urged by the opponents that any worker on his own motion and for his own reasons should have the right to interfere with or break up a valid existing contract freely and voluntarily entered into between an overwhelming majority of workers and their employers outlining the wages, hours, and conditions of work of millions of faithful, hardworking Americans, simply because they do not want to join with their fellow workers unions and in collective bargaining agreements.

There are few things more important to the maintenance of our free enterprise system than amicable, constructive relations between labor and management and fairness and a spirit of harmony and good will between those who toil and those who employ and manage.

In fact, industrial peace is essential to the proper functioning of our great system. It is a condition precedent to our prosperity.

For Congress to encourage and bring about a situation where an individual would be legally allowed, in effect, to reach in and set aside existing contracts in the labor field and gain for himself the advantage of these contracts without assuming the obligations and responsibilities entailed by them, and inherent in them, would inevitably substitute bitterness and strife for harmony and cooperation between workers and their employers, and this is one of the last things we would want to see in our economy and the Nation.

Both labor and management must realize it, and the American people must realize it. There should be less emphasis on misconceived slogans, generalities, recriminations, and more stress upon pursuing the real interests of the working people, the business managers and the stability and prosperity of the country as a whole.

Our own State is not a right-to-work State, so-called, so here again our people, in viewing this legislation, should be mindful of the fact that we have never given our approval to so-called right-to-work laws.

At the same time, we cannot blind our eyes to the fact that our industrial strength and vitality has been and is being sapped and weakened by the loss of industries we have sustained at the hands of 19 right-to-work States where wages, conditions of work, and other labor standards are not on a par with our own and thus permit these States to pirate our industries and thus harm our economy and prosperity.

It is a plain and disconcerting fact that the right-to-work States, so-called, have been and are in a position to attract some of our industries, and this they have done and are doing today to our detriment, since they are underbidding us out of both the national and Government markets.

Do we want to see this situation get worse by impairing the stability and amicability of our labor-management relations and turning the industries of our State into hotbeds of labor-management controversy.

We do not seek to hammer others into a senseless uniformity, nor to produce blind conformity in the Nation, either politically, educationally, socially, industrially, or to permit individuals or minorities to trample upon the contractual rights of labor and management.

The soundness and perpetuity of the free enterprise system, is and must be, one of our greatest aims. The system is under fierce attack these days from many sources, and it is being weakened to no inconsiderable extent by some current trends in government and business that are narrowing the area of operations of small business and militating against the continued existence, as well as the growth of free incentives.

It should be recognized that small business is the very keystone of the free enterprise system. It is the area where personal initiative, ambition, enterprise, ability, creativity and success through individual effort, and the spirit of venture, find their easiest expression and fulfillment. It is the place in our economy where free opportunity is open for those who seek it.

Since that is so, government at every level should be doing its utmost to safeguard and encourage small business. Yet I fear that in the light of many things that are happening today in government, that is not being done.

To the contrary, taxes, costly government regulations, destructive, private competition by large monopolistic units, the impact of so-called new innovations and government programs on local economies and mercantile units have been responsible for the serious decline in the number, vigor, and strength of small business in this country.

I make this observation in connection with my remarks on 14(b) merely to show the presence of harmful trends in our industrial and economic life being prompted and augmented by some governmental policies to encourage mass assault upon collective bargaining and contractual agreements stemming therefrom, could be just as harmful to the economy and free enterprise as various discriminations against small business.

Both would militate against true cooperation between different parts of our economy, both would engender bitterness and discord where amity should exist, and both would have the effect of weakening the sources of good will, mutual aid and wholehearted cooperation which our governmental and economic systems need today to carry out the great work that lies ahead of us of adapting the American way of life, under ordered personal liberty, stability, and opportunity to the rapidly changing patterns which modern science, explosive population growth and the demands of progress have imposed upon us.

It should be noted that in the discussion of 14(b), several States have already repealed the so-called right-to-work laws, after trial periods proved they had created new and serious problems for both management and labor and the various communities of the States concerned, and when it was clearly demonstrated that the people were overwhelmingly opposed to them.

It should also be noted, as I have suggested above, that millions of workers are now covered under employment security clauses in two party contracts, and that efforts to disturb present amicable contractual relationships would undoubtedly result in more confusion, dissension, resentment, bitterness, and trouble that the Nation can ill afford at this or any other time.

With due and respectful deference to those who feel otherwise about this matter, I would like to point out that in my humble judgment Congress must assiduously and continually search for solutions to great social and economic questions that will minimize conflict and bring desirable results for labor and management and every other group, and in our endeavors do the best we can as legislators to promote industrial peace, prosperity, and the true well-being of the Nation.

The Harassment of Vietnam Servicemen's Families

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, in the month of June, I introduced S. 2351, a bill making it a Federal crime to use the telephone or the mail for the purpose of harassing servicemen or servicemen's families, in connection with their service in the U.S. Armed Forces.

The bill was prompted by a series of articles which had appeared in the press, reporting on the ghoulish harassment by anonymous callers of Vietnam servicemen's families.

This bill was favorably reported by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, and is now pending on the agenda of the full Judiciary Committee.

It is my hope that action can be taken on this measure shortly after Congress convenes, because there is mounting evidence of an organized campaign of telephone harassment.

An article in the Washington News of recent date, made reference to six recent cases. Sometimes the anonymous caller would inform the serviceman's family that he had been critically wounded or had been killed, when there was no substance to the report. Sometimes the anonymous caller would say that he was glad that the Vietnam serviceman had got what was coming to him.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert into the RECORD the article captioned "Wired for Cruelty" which appeared in the Washington News recently and an article entitled "A Hero Comes Home," which appeared in the Reader's Digest. This last article tells the story of Christopher O'Sullivan, whose family was subjected to a campaign of telephone harassment after his death in Vietnam.

I also ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD an article captioned "Hatred for Heroes," by Michael Iachetta, which appeared in the New York Sunday News recently.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News]

TELEPHONE CALLS IN THE NIGHT: WIRED FOR CRUELTY

(By Thomas Talburt)

In Lookout Heights, Ky., Mrs. Pat Fort answered her phone one afternoon last week, and a voice on the other end of the line said:

"Mrs. Fort, I'm a sergeant from the Department of the Army. It is my deep regret to tell you that your son, Charles, has been killed in Vietnam."

Mrs. Fort collapsed. She later learned from military officials that her son, 24, had been neither killed nor wounded.

In Columbus, Ohio, police were told of a family that got a similar call.

LOCALLY

In McLean, Va., a mother received a call saying her son had been "critically wounded" in Vietnam. The caller said he was glad. The mother, whose only child is a 4-year-old daughter, is still unnerved by the experience.

A New York newspaper refused to print the home address of the wife of a marine in Vietnam, who had written a letter criticizing demonstrators, for fear it would subject her to abuse.

In two cases, involving phone calls made late at night to widows of Air Force personnel killed in Vietnam earlier this year, the Pentagon forwarded information to the FBI.

Nothing came of it because there was no evidence of a Federal law violation. For the FBI to enter such cases there must be a distinct threat made and evidence the call was interstate.

Neither the FBI nor the Pentagon knows how many of these cruel and harassing calls are being made to servicemen's families.

INCREASE

Defense officials say the calls—always anonymous—appear to be increasing again after a number were reported early last summer. Thus far no clear-cut pattern has evolved showing they are part of an organized campaign.

These officials stress that families of military men killed or critically injured are notified by in-person visits from local military officers at their home, or more often, by telegrams delivered to their homes.

If no one is at home to receive the telegram, Western Union has been instructed to leave word that a telegram is awaiting the family. It is to be read over the phone only if a family member insists on it.

Even in this instance, Western Union has been urged by the Defense Department to try to read such news only to a male member of the family.

[From the Reader's Digest]

A HERO COMES HOME—A STORY FOR EVERY AMERICAN TO READ AND PONDER

(By Kenneth O. Gilmore)

This is a story of one brave soldier who has come home from Vietnam. His name: Christopher J. O'Sullivan. He was born and brought up in the outskirts of New York City, but he could have been from anywhere across our land.

Chris was 10 when the family moved to a third-floor walk-up in Astoria near La Guardia Airport, in 1946. "We'll be living above a candy store," his father, William O'Sullivan, announced grandly to Chris and his 3-year-old sister, Hanora. Actually, it was a soda fountain and newsstand, but everyone called it the "candy store."

The family's piano was hoisted up outside the building, and into the small front parlor. Bill O'Sullivan and his wife Anna both loved music, and over the years they had many a session around the piano, the whole family singing. In Ireland, Bill had learned a hundred ditties, including "An Irish Soldier Boy" with its woeful words: "Good-bye, God bless you, Mother dear, I hope your heart won't pain, but pray to God your soldier boy, your son, you'll see again."

Chris loved the lore of Ireland, but what fascinated him most was a snapshot in the family album of a 12-year-old boy standing, rifle in hand. It was Bill O'Sullivan, who during the First World War ran away

from home to join the Royal Munster Fusiliers.

"I was big for my age," Bill explained. "I wore my father's pants."

"Gee, that must have been something," Chris said.

"What was something, lad," his father replied, "was coming to America when I was just 14."

He meant it. Bill had an unblushing love affair with the U.S.A. "What a fantastic heritage this country has given us," he said. "What a responsibility to live up to it."

"REMEMBER AND PRESERVE"

In the New York Police Department Bill O'Sullivan worked up from a rookie to detective. He helped a young prosecutor named Thomas Dewey convict some of the Nation's worst racketeers. But more than anything he yearned to show a son that "heritage" he spoke about. With World War II over and no more gas rationing, he grabbed every free moment for "our weekend rides"—to Albany, to Gettysburg's battlefields, to Valley Forge, and time and again to Williamsburg, the restored capital of the Virginia colony. "This is the most valuable investment we can make," Bill told Anna.

That investment earned one of its countless dividends the winter night when Chris emerged from his room and recited some verses he had written:

"Long years ago our forefathers fought.
Let not their gallant battles go for naught.
They left a heritage, a land that was free.
Remember and preserve that liberty."

Chris went to Xavier High, a military school run by the Jesuits. There, between athletics and lifting barbells at night, he grew into lean muscular manhood. At graduation in 1954 he earned not only a silver medal for class excellence but also the American Legion award for the best essay on Americanism.

"Why is it," he wrote, "that some citizens do not seem to realize that one of the greatest goals in life is the fight for the safety of our democracy and free way of life?"

A MILITARY CAREER

He believed it so deeply that he passed up a 4-year scholarship elsewhere to enroll at Fordham University; its ROTC program offered him an opportunity to become a U.S. Army officer. After graduation he went through a grueling special-service course to become an airborne ranger—Bill O'Sullivan eagerly read the reports his son sent back from Fort Benning, Ga. Then it was off to Hawaii for Chris, where he was commissioned a second lieutenant. There too he was joined by a bride, petite blue-eyed Eleanor Scott, who had grown up three blocks from the candy store.

En route back to Fort Dix, N.J., after 6 month's service in Thailand, Christ in 1962 took a 30-day observation tour in Vietnam. He was staggered by the Communist terrorism he saw and kept insisting that he be allowed to go back. Finally he got his way. Now the father of two boys—Michael, 3, and Stevie, 2—Christ drew Bill aside at the airport when he left for Vietnam in September 1964. "Please take over for me," he said. "The boys need a father, and I may be away a long time. And if you can, take them for those weekend rides."

"I SLEEP IN UNIFORM"

And so, as before, but now with Eleanor and the grandchildren, Bill and Anna went to the places Chris had loved. Meanwhile, above the candy store, Anna O'Sullivan's ear became keenly attuned for the rattle of the front door whenever the postman dropped a letter into the box.

"DEAREST MOM AND DAD: Snipers fire a thousand and one shots a day. At night the Vietcong control Vietnam, and soldiers and advisers alike pray for the dawn.

"Yesterday a mortar round landed 10 feet from my jeep. Bullets, mortars, mines, boobytraps, and strafing planes are all as accepted as the sound of the BMT subway. I am an adviser to the Vietnamese 39th Ranger Battalion. We are now encamped in a small village. If you have a map * * *."

They already had bought the map, a large one, just to keep track. Bill would spread it out on the dining-room table and try to imagine what was happening at a pinpoint called Duc Pho.

If Eleanor had received a letter, she would bring it when she came every day with the boys to visit.

"DEAREST ELEANOR: This morning a mother approached us carrying a scalded baby. But the Vietcong had controlled this village so long that their tales of American advisers eating children were totally believed. The mother screamed and ran away from me."

On the newspaper rack outside the candy store, headlines told of a worsening war—the bloody ambushes; the wholesale slaughter of the South Vietnamese; the mounting toll of Americans slain; Washington's painful efforts for a negotiated peace. Late in November an airmail envelope came to Bill O'Sullivan at work. It contained an insurance policy and a message which tightened his stomach:

"I'm sending this additional insurance coverage to you because I don't want either Eleanor or Mother to know unless the need arises. The Vietcong now outnumber as well as outgun us. We are surrounded here. The Vietcong ambushed me once, killing my driver. I sleep in uniform and socks."

At the candy store, neighbors asked Bill O'Sullivan about Chris. "He's doing just fine." His voice rang with pride. But whenever the postman rattled the front door, his heartbeat quickened. Once a tape came. Bill put the recording machine on the dining-room table. They listened to a familiar deep voice while jungle birds squawked in the background.

MOST DANGEROUS TIME

Bill O'Sullivan tried to make it a merry Christmas. He and the boys decorated a tree at the apartment. And in Vietnam Captain O'Sullivan with an armed escort drove 20 miles from Duc Pho to attend Mass and to post a letter.

"MY DEAR SONS: Tonight is Christmas Eve, and the lonesomeness may be eased if I talk to you. Through your short lives you have brought your mother and me wonderful moments of love and happiness, moments not measured in hours but in heartbeats. I cannot protect you from all the hurts of the world, but I can try to protect you from one of its major dangers. And that is why tonight we are thousands of miles apart."

Bill O'Sullivan suffered a heart attack in January. "I don't want Chris to be told," he said. "He has enough on his mind." At Columbus Hospital, Anna tried to control her voice as she read to her husband: "Over here a good fighting unit is used until ts soldiers become battleweary and exhausted. It is a tragedy that has only one ending. This battalion will some day be bled dry."

Bled dry * * * Bill's hand reached out and met Anna's.

In March Chris wrote to Eleanor:

"Here away from the phony atmosphere of the hotel heroes there is little sham. I've been afraid many times, but I can think, advise and command in spite of it. But I now have fear as a constant companion. As my time with the battalion is closing, I'm afraid of being afraid. There's an axiom here that the first and last months are the most dangerous for a field adviser."

April was the month that Chris was supposed to end his 6 months' combat duty and take a desk job. But his Vietnamese counterpart asked him to remain. "As you trained me, Dad, there was only one decision. My duty was to remain." So Chris stayed on. He had a fungus infection on his hands, intestinal disorders and dysentery. His blond hair had turned gray, and he'd dropped from 186 to 156 pounds.

"I FIRMLY BELIEVE"

On Easter weekend in Washington at a gigantic "Get Out of Vietnam" rally, one speaker compared a Vietcong terrorist with Jesus Christ. And the crowd cheered. "It's a strange thing," Bill O'Sullivan told Anna. "Isn't there any cheering for our soldiers who are helping hold off the Communists?"

Two days later, on April 19, a ferocious Vietcong force struck the 39th Battalion. For 2 hours, under murderous fire, Captain O'Sullivan darted from one gun position to another to direct a counterbarrage. He hit 15 Vietcong and saved 75 of his own men trapped by the enemy. His 6-foot-2-inch frame was so often out in the open that shouts of "Shoot the American." could be heard above the roar of battle. From that day on, the Vietcong put up a $500 reward for O'Sullivan's head.

In America, at college and university campuses across the land, the fad for denouncing the war in Vietnam mounted. Was the war merely a maneuver to reach a meaningless settlement? Bill O'Sullivan studied again an oft-read special letter:

"I firmly believe in the fight. No solution is so damning as to allow the Communists to seize more men, women, and children here. Those Vietnamese who care don't want a neutral slavery. They want the free choice of their future. And this can occur only if you and I see a purpose for the fighting—to help these people live and grow free.

"This country, like our own in 1776, must receive help."

TO THE LAST MAN

As May 1965 drew to a close, Captain O'Sullivan at last was ordered to Saigon and rest. On his way he checked into Quang Ngai. But on Saturday the 29th, a hundred Vietnamese and three Americans were trapped by the Vietcong in a nearby hamlet. All were believed lost. One was Lt. Donald Robison, who had served with Chris virtually the entire time he had been in Vietnam.

Sick with worry, Chris waited at the small Quang Ngai airport for word on Robison. Late that night he wrote a letter to Eleanor, and next morning he led a ranger counterattack. Suddenly his 300-man force was in grave trouble. More than 800 Vietcong sprang from hidden jungle tunnels. In a field of death, Chris helped carry off the wounded and, by radio, directed air strikes. He warned that ammunition was running dangerously low.

Then it happened.

Charging up a hill with Sgt. Willie D. Tyrone, he was hit by shrapnel. The sergeant carried him to the hilltop and radioed back news of his death. When helicopter relief arrived, they also found Tyrone's riddled body. Around them lay more than a hundred South Vietnamese rangers, all disemboweled. They had fought to the last man.

"ALL THAT IS NECESSARY"

It was Memorial Day in America. Bill and Anna had taken Eleanor and the children to the Catskills. On Monday they returned to Astoria and dropped Eleanor and the boys off at their home. Only minutes later Eleanor was at the candy store running up the stairs clutching the telegram. Her red eyes told the old detective: his son was gone.

Tuesday morning the tragedy was a squib in the New York papers. At Eleanor's home the phone rang with condolences. One voice, however, was unfamiliar:

"Is this Mrs. O'Sullivan? I'd just like to say how glad I am your husband is dead. He got what he deserved. He shouldn't have been in Vietnam. He should have died in a worse way." A sharp click.

Eleanor O'Sullivan stared at the phone, then crumpled to the floor, unconscious.

Next morning the phone carried another gloating taunt. "It was a good thing he was killed," a different voice told Eleanor.

On Wednesday afternoon Maj. Reginald Grier, who had served with Chris in Hawaii, came by. Once more the phone rang, and Major Grier grabbed the receiver.

"I just called to tell Mrs. O'Sullivan how happy I am that her husband was killed in Vietnam." It was a man's voice, well modulated, controlled, almost as if the caller were reading professionally from a script. "I want you to know this: the Communists will eventually win in Vietnam." Then he hung up.[1]

Thursday morning a final letter arrived in Chris' handwriting:

"DEAREST ELEANOR: Tonight my heart is sadder than it has ever been. Tomorrow we are going to look for Don and his two sergeants. I can only ask your forgiveness because in this operation I am going to do all that is necessary to find Don or his body.

"I promised you I would be overly cautious now that I am rotating so soon. I cannot keep that promise. Don has a young wife and a 3-year-old daughter. If he was looking for me, you would want him to do the best job he could. By the time you receive this letter, it will be all over one way or another. Tonight I pray it will be for the best. God have mercy on both of us. Love, Chris."

TAPS FOR A HERO

June 9 dawned clear in New York. Christopher O'Sullivan had come home to be buried. An Army honor guard formed a corridor as the flag-draped coffin was carried 50 feet along Ditmars Boulevard, through the overflow crowd, from funeral home to the packed Immaculate Conception Church for solemn requiem mass. Prowl cars cruised a 2-block area, and riot vans parked nearby. New York Police Commissioner Vincent Broderick personally commanded a 30-man security force on the scene. For it was feared the services might be turned into a demonstratoin against the U.S. role in Vietnam.

At sunset August 11 on a parade ground at Governors Island, across from Manhattan, Eleanor O'Sullivan, her children by her side, stepped forward. In behalf of her husband she accepted six medals, including the Distinguished Service Cross for "extraordinary heroism" last April 19, the Silver Star for "gallantry in action" on May 30, the Purple Heart for his mortal wounds. Bill and Anna stood by.

A cannon boomed. The clear notes of taps echoed across the field. As the 1st Army Band played "The Star-Spangled Banner" Stevie and Michael saluted with the soldiers. And Bill could almost hear Chris speaking the words he had written in a recent letter:

"Here is a country—Vietnam—with people like you and me, with families like ours, fighting for the right to determine its existence. As long as you and I believe we should be free, we must treat that feeling in others as important. So if God wills I die here, there is no finer cause today for which a man must die than the cause of these people."

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[1] In at least five other cases, the wives and relatives of soldiers killed in Vietnam have reported similar calls—apparently not crank calls but ideologically motivated harassment. The family of one dead soldier got a postcard demanding that his insurance money be donated to the Vietcong.

[From the New York News]

HATRED FOR HEROES—CRUEL NEW RED PROPAGANDA WEAPON TORMENTS FAMILIES OF SERVICEMEN WITH THREATS, ABUSE AND RIDICULE

(By Michael Iachetta)

"I'm happy your husband was killed. He didn't belong in Vietnam in the first place. He got what he deserved and I'm glad. It serves you both right."

That was one—just one—of the many anonymous hate calls that tormented Mrs. Eleanor O'Sullivan within hours after the newspapers reported that her husband, infantry Capt. Christopher O'Sullivan, had been killed in action in Vietnam.

The same callers did their best to reach Mrs. Frances Anderson, mother of three small children, when her husband, John, a marine sergeant, was cited for gallantry leading his squad in beating off a heavy Vietcong attack.

But Mrs. Anderson had an unlisted number. So the callers resourcefully reached her neighbors and demanded that they relay the cruel and callous message to the bewildered and frightened young mother.

Then came the letters * * * abusive, venomous, and threatening.

PARROT RED LINE

The calls and letters are remarkably similar, and obviously inspired by Red or Red-leaning groups with two ideas in mind: to upset the families of U.S. servicemen and, in doing it, to erode the morale of the servicemen themselves.

Though Mrs. O'Sullivan and Mrs. Anderson live in New York City, the hate corps that has badgered them seems to be national in scope.

In Chicago, Mrs. Melba Strachan's phone began ringing in less than an hour after a newspaper published an interview with her West Pointer son, James, an adviser with the South Vietnamese forces.

One caller identified herself to Mrs. Strachan as a member of a women's peace group.

"Won't you help us to get our men out of Vietnam?" she asked.

Mrs. Strachan replied with a firm "No," and the caller became abusive.

"If that's the way you feel," she shrilled, "we hope your son is killed over there."

In Oklahoma City, Mrs. Jane Sides was still in shock from the news that her paratrooper husband was missing in action in Vietnam when the hate campaign began against her.

"I know you are alone in the house," said one caller. "You will not live through the night."

These calls, many of them obscene, and the poison-pen letters are coming with such frequency that Senator THOMAS J. DODD, Democrat, of Connecticut, has introduced a bill to impose a 15-year prison term or a $10,000 fine, or both, for threatening or harassing servicemen or their families.

"There is mounting evidence that the Communist fifth column in this country is seeking to undermine the morale of our forces in Vietnam through a campaign of threats and harassment directed against the families of American servicemen in Vietnam," DODD says.

Mrs. O'Sullivan agrees.

She still closes her eyes when she thinks about the calls and letters she has received.

"They weren't the calls of crackpots or mentally ill persons," she said the other day. "They were intentional, ideologically motivated and well-thought-out calls—and not from subhumans, either. I have this quirk—names and voices stick with me. These callers were between 25 and 30 and well educated."

Speaking of the first call she received, Mrs. O'Sullivan said:

"I remember stepping away from the phone afterward and saying: 'God. How could there be such people?' Then I fainted."

One call came when Maj. Reginald Grier was with her as a "survivor officer" to help with the funeral. She remembers handing the phone to Grier as soon as the caller started pouring his hate into her ear.

Grier tried to question the anonymous caller. He got no answers. The hate monger just continued his monolog as if reading from a script: "I want you to know this—the Communists will eventually win in Vietnam."

Across the country, at least five other wives and relatives of soldiers killed in Vietnam have received similar calls. The survivors of one soldier got a postcard demanding that his insurance money be donated to the Vietcong.

Even the brass in the Defense Department in Washington has been bugged by youthful callers pouring out their hate over the phone. "I reported the calls to the telephone company," said one high-ranking officer. "I was told that it was a matter for the local law enforcement agency to handle."

"Just what can the Army do?" asked a New York military spokesman when questioned about the propaganda harassment of Eleanor O'Sullivan. "We can't police domestic domain. After you suggest that she move and get an unlisted phone number, what can you do? Sure, I'd like to get my hands on those callers, but * * *."

FBI IS POWERLESS

The Federal Bureau of Investigation can't step in because harassing phone calls don't violate Federal law. There must be an interstate angle or a threatening call before the FBI can act. This leaves it up to local police. Understandably, they are not too expansive about their methods of tracking down "sick" callers.

In Eleanor O'Sullivan's case, verbatim accounts of the harassing calls and letters have been given to the Criminal Investigation Division, which functions as the FBI of the Army. The CID is at work on the hate callers and letter writers, but they are not talking for publication.

A postal official explained that a hate letter sent in a sealed envelope does not violate postal laws unless it contains obscenity. A postcard is a different matter because the defamatory statement is exposed to public view.

Right now, New York City postal authorities are checking postcard writers who have overstepped the bounds of decency in writing to wives and families of servicemen in Vietnam.

Eleanor O'Sullivan leafed through a scrapbook filled with letters and pictures of her husband the other day and talked freely about hate calls, letters * * * and her husband.

"This must be painful," an interviewer said, apologetically.

"I want to talk about it," she said. "Maybe it will make the draft card burners stop and think that if they were in Vietnam they couldn't burn draft cards because they wouldn't have any. The Vietcong would simply tell them to fight or else they would kill their father, mother, wife, child or loved one.

"Maybe it will make the sick callers and letter writers stop and think that freedom is something you have to fight for or you won't have it any more. If we let the Reds get their way in Vietnam now, we won't have freedom any more."

Mrs. O'Sullivan pointed to a picture of Chris in a friendly pose with Viet children. "It was the children that really got Chris," she said. "Their unsmiling faces that were old before their time. He said he would give his life to be able to help them."

She read a letter Chris wrote to his sons, Michael, 5, and Stephen, 3.

"Tonight is Christmas Eve and the lonesomeness may be eased if I talked to you. Through your short lives you have brought your mother and me wonderful moments of love and happiness, moments not measured in hours but in heartbeats. I cannot protect you from all the hurts of the world but I can try to protect you from one of its major dangers. And that is why tonight we are thousands of miles apart."

As she read, Stephen awoke from his nap and walked into the living room, twirling a cap pistol. Michael was at school. Stephen saw his mother looking at a picture of Chris. "That's my father," he said. "He was brave." Stephen stared out onto a nearby hill. He began firing his cap pistol at an unseen enemy.

Christopher O'Sullivan died on a jungle hill in Vietnam, far from the third floor walkup in which he grew up over a candy store in Astoria near LaGuardia Airport. Two days after his death, Eleanor received a letter from him. "By the time you receive this * * * it will be all over one way or another. Tonight I pray it will be for the best. God have mercy on both of us. Love, Chris."

"At first, I couldn't believe he was dead," said Eleanor. "Now time passes—October 17 would have been our sixth wedding anniversary—and it's beginning to sink in. But we had almost five good years together. Now my sons have the heritage of patriotism and heroism Chris left them. And I have my memories of him."

As Eleanor Scott, Mrs. O'Sullivan grew up 3 blocks from where Chris lived. They sat next to each other in class at Immaculate Conception School on Ditmars Boulevard. Chris shot paper clips at her when he wasn't ignoring her.

Chris' father, Bill, a New York City detective, wanted Chris to understand "the fantastic heritage this country has given to us." As a teenager in Ireland, Bill had joined the Royal Munster Fusiliers in World War I. His son always had his heart set on becoming a soldier. Chris went to Xavier High School, a Jesuit-run military school in Manhattan. At graduation, he won the American Legion award for the best essay on Americanism.

He wrote: "Why is it that some citizens do not seem to realize that one of the greatest goals in life is the fight for the safety of our democracy and free way of life."

Chris turned down a 4-year college scholarship to St. Peter's and paid his way through Fordham because of a better chance to get a regular Army commission through the ROTC there.

WANTED ARMY CAREER

He learned about guns in the ROTC. He joined the Pershing Rifles, an outfit that went in for extra soldiering after school. And he began to date Eleanor. At graduation in 1958, they both knew they would soon be married. Chris, with a regular Army commission, pushed his military career. He received airborne and Ranger training in a crack Special Forces outfit. Then he was off for duty in Hawaii.

Eleanor joined him there to be married. "We almost had our first fight after the ceremony," she recalls. "Chris' Battle Group [Company C, 35th Brigade] had arranged to have a tank waiting outside for us instead of a limousine. And, wedding gown and all, I had to ride on it."

Next came a 6-month tour in Thailand. On his way back to duty at Fort Dix, N.J., in 1962, Chris took a 30-day observation tour in Vietnam. He swore to himself that he would go back there someday to help out. He finally got his wish, in September 1964.

Chris wrote his family frequently so they could follow his movements around Duc Pho on a map they used to spread out on the dining room table.

Chris soon began having premonitions of death. "This battalion will some day be bled dry," he wrote to his mother, Anna. He sent an extra insurance policy to his father that he didn't want Anna or Eleanor to know about.

Chris wrote Eleanor: "As my time with the battalion is closing, I'm afraid of being afraid. There's an axiom here that the first and last months are the most dangerous for a field adviser."

But Chris made it the hard way and was scheduled for desk duty after his 6 months of combat. At 28, his blonde hair was shot with gray. He was wracked with dysentery. A fungus infection spread across his hands. His athlete's body had shrunk from 186 to 150 pounds.

His Vietnamese counterpart asked him to stay on with the 39th Ranger Battalion. Chris felt it was his duty to stay. Soon the Vietcong had a $500 price on his head.

Chris dodged death until he was almost through his second combat tour. His next assignment was already set for Fort Benning, Ga. And he had been ordered back to Saigon for a rest.

Then he learned that one of his buddies—Lt. Don Robison—was trapped by the Vietcong. Chris stopped at Quang Ngai and waited for word of Robison and the two other Americans and 100 Vietnamese with him. When no word came, Chris led a Ranger counterattack that was trapped by more than 800 Vietcong. Chris tried to fight his way out by leading an uphill charge. He was cut down by shrapnel. Sgt. Willie D. Tyrone carried him up the hill. Chris died at the top of the hill. Tyrone radioed for help. By the time helicopters arrived, every man in the outfit was dead.

Robison later walked out of the jungle alive.

The night before Chris died, he wrote Eleanor:

"Dearest * * * Tonight my heart is sadder than it has ever been. Tomorrow we are going to look for Don and his two sergeants. I can only ask your forgiveness because in this operation I am going to do all that is necessary to find Don or his body. I promised you I would be overly cautious now that I am 'rotating' (coming home) so soon. I cannot keep that promise. Don has a young wife and a 3-year-old daughter. If he was looking for me, you would want him to do the best job he could."

Eleanor got that letter at just about the time the hate calls and letters had reached a peak. "Funny, how God works things out," she said. "I never had to tell the children their father was dead. Major Grier was with me working out the funeral details just before Chris came home * * * to be buried. Mike was sitting in the dark at the top of the stairs listening to us.

"The next morning he came down and said 'Mommy, daddy is dead, isn't he?' I nodded. He said, 'It's OK because now he is in heaven watching over us. I told Stevie and it's OK with him too.' "

At about the same time Chris' body was passing through a contract mortuary in San Francisco—the first stop for every dead U.S. soldier returning from Vietnam—anonymous phone callers renewed their psychological warfare across the country.

"Are you Mrs. ———, whose son (or husband) is serving in Vietnam?" the callers asked. "Did you know he'd been killed in action."

Such calls have prompted frantic messages to the Casualty Branch at the Pentagon. The callers haven't been right yet. Officially, the military dismisses the ghoulish callers and letter writers as "cranks."

But New York Police Commissioner Vincent Broderick has other ideas. He was so concerned that Chris' funeral services might be turned into a demonstration against the U.S. role in Vietnam that he personally commanded a 30-man security force that surrounded Immaculate Conception Church as Chris' flag-draped casket was carried from the funeral home for a solemn requiem mass.

Police cars prowled the area. There were no incidents.

Not too long ago, Eleanor O'Sullivan went to Governors Island, across from Manhattan, with her two sons so the Army could honor her husband in a sunset ceremony. For Chris, she received the Distinguished Service Cross—the Nation's second highest decoration—for extraordinary heroism, the Silver Star for gallantry in action, the Purple Heart for his mortal wounds, the Army Medal of Commendation and—from the Vietnamese Government—the Gallantry Cross and the National Order.

There are many service widows like Mrs. O'Sullivan. Bereavement, it seems, is not enough. They must also take abuse.

The Church and Mental Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert in the RECORD a recent sermon by Rev. William R. Snyder, pastor of St. Johns Lutheran Church in Minneapolis, Minn. Reverend Snyder's topic was "The Church and Mental Health," a subject of great interest to all Americans today when we find that somewhat over one-half million of our citizens are in mental institutions. I feel that Reverend Snyder's sermon contains some serious food for thought for all of us.

The sermon follows:

THE CHURCH AND MENTAL HEALTH

(By Rev. William R. Snyder, senior pastor)

Last week was Mental Health Week. The purpose of this week is to encourage more and more of our citizens to become interested in what is fast becoming our Nation's No. 1 health problem. The promoters of this week have, for the last few years, set forth the provocative slogan: "Mental Health Is Everyone's Business."

With well over one-half million of our citizens in mental hospitals, mental health should become everyone's business. With an estimated one out of every four workers in America having a personality disturbance, mental health should become everyone's business. With an estimated 50 to 70 percent of the men and women in doctors' offices being ill emotionally—not physically—mental health should be everyone's business. With more and more of our Nation's universities adding psychiatric sections to their student hospitals because more and more of our students are having mental breakdowns—mental health should become everyone's business.

Certainly the Church of Christ should be concerned about the mental health of our people. It is a fact that in all cultures the health problem is fused with religion. This is true in our western culture. Early Christianity was concerned with health. Jesus referred to Himself as the "Great Physician" who came to heal those who were sick. The word "salvation" means "to be healed" and the word "holy" means "to be made whole." Thus from the very beginning the Christian church was concerned about

healing or saving the whole person. Certainly the contemporary church cannot do otherwise.

I believe that the greatest psychiatrist the world has ever known was not Sigmund Freud, Erich Fromm, or Carl Jung, but Jesus Christ. In Holy Scripture we read that Jesus: "Knew what was in man." He thoroughly understood human personality. Because He knew what was in men and women, much of what contemporary psychiatrists proclaim was proclaimed by our Master. Thus, much of contemporary psychiatry is compatible with Christianity. What are some of these Christian concepts that are compatible with current psychological concepts?

Psychiatrists tell us that one of the chief causes of mental illness is guilt. Our Saviour perceived that guilt made men and women sick mentally. Guilt comes when we break God's law. Someone has said that we really don't break God's law, instead God's law breaks us. Guilt comes when we break the standards of the society in which we live. Guilt comes when we do those things that our parents taught us not to do, or fail to do those things our parents taught us to do. Guilt comes from feelings and thoughts which we know are unacceptable to our loved ones and other members of society. Thus guilt comes when we feel hostile toward our parents—when we hate brothers and sisters. Guilt comes when fail to reach certain professional, vocational, or scholastic goals we have set for ourselves, or goals that others have set for us. Guilt comes when we are overly assertive with others, when we manipulate them, treat them like objects, push them around to their detriment.

This guilt resides not only in our conscious mind, it also resides in our subconscious mind. The guilt in our subconscious is lost to our conscious mind. But it is quite real; it is quite detrimental to us; it makes us diseased. It makes us defensive. It fills us with hostility. It drives us to despair. It may destroy us if it is permitted to go unresolved. Knowing what was in man, Jesus Christ perceived that guilt makes us diseased. The Saviour saw that guilt drives us to despair; drives us down to destruction.

One of the best known examples of guilt destroying a man took place during the years following World War II. One of the men who dropped the first atomic bomb in human history was overwhelmed with guilt over his participation in this awful act. He was in and out of one psychiatric hospital after another. He attempted to commit suicide several times. He could not perform any work effectively. This man's guilt drove him to destruction. Our Saviour saw the destructiveness of guilt 20 centuries ago.

A second concept of contemporary psychitary that is compatible with Christianity has to do with our sercets. Psychiatrists tell us that we should not attempt to hide the things that cause our guilt. We should not try to hide our despicable deeds; we should not try to hide our terrible thoughts; we should not try to hide our festered feelings. We should make these things known to an analyst. If we hide these things we will make ourselves sick.

One psychiatrist makes the thought-provoking declaration: "You are your secrets." "You are your secrets"—if you have saturated yourself with sick secrets you will be sick—you thus must get rid of them. We must air our awful actions. We must eject our festered feelings—our leperous thoughts. We dare not saturate our subconscious or our conscious mind with sick secrets.

Our Saviour perceived this profound truth regarding man. Twenty centuries ago He urged men and women to repent. Christ called men and women to confess. In fact He warned people that everything hidden in their hearts would be revealed; everything about them that was unknown would be made known. Our secret sins which we file away in our subconscious mind will not only be revealed to us by God in the moment that He judges us but psychosomatic symptoms will show that we have stored such secret sins in our subconscious. Present day psychiatrists have thousands of case histories supporting this statement of our Saviour. Case histories of people who showed symptoms in their bodies because of secret sins stored in the subconscious. Yes, we should not saturate our subconscious mind with such secrets which only serve to make us mentally ill.

We should open up regarding our awful acts. We should open up regarding our festered feelings. We should open up regarding our terrible thoughts. We should speak up straightforwardly about our secret sins. We should not try to hide the truth about ourselves as Adam and Eve tried to hide the truth about themselves. Such efforts to hypocritically hide our heinous hearts only leads to a horrible heartache. Such attempts to be secretive regarding our sins leads to a sin-sick soul. Such deceptions lead to our destruction. Such dishonesty drives us to despair. The fear of being found out leads to acidic anxiety. How much better to heed Christ's call to confess.

A third concept of contemporary psychiatry that is compatible with Christianity has to do with acceptance. Psychiatrists declare that all men and women need to live in an atmosphere of acceptance. Especially those men and women who are filled with guilt need to live in a fellowship of forgiveness. Men and women who have saturated their subconscious with secret sins need to keep company with the compassionate children or our Creator. Jesus Christ was the quintessence of such compassion. It is in Christ, who was God's Son, that we see the Almighty accepting men and women who were considered to be awful in the eyes of others. It is on Golgotha's hill that we see the finest forgiveness ever recorded in human history. Christ accepted men and women who rejected themselves. He loved men and women who hated themselves. Yea, it was in accepting them that they came to accept themselves; it was in our Lord's loving them they came to love themselves.

When they knew that God accepted them—just as they were—despite their secret sins—then they accepted themselves just as they were despite their secret sins. When they knew that the Lord loved them just as they were—despite their sick secrets then they loved themselves just as they were despite their sick secrets. When they loved themselves with the Lord's love their guilt was gone. When they accepted themselves with the Almighty's acceptance their guilt was absolved. The Lord's love; the Almighty's acceptance liquidated their guilt—abolished their guilt.

Since the Church is the "body of Christ" it is the role of the church to be a colony of compassion. A colony of compassion where the children of the Creator can come to confess. Since the Church is the "body of Christ" the church should be an arsenal of acceptance. An arsenal of acceptance where those wretched men and women who are weak from guilt may receive strength to stand up after being knocked so very low. As the "body of Christ" the church should be going out to the rejected with redemption and release. As the "body of Christ" the church should be looking for the lost with love.

But all too frequently, as Dietrich Bonhoeffer declares, the Church is: "The pious fellowship (that) permits no one to be a sinner. So everybody must conceal his sin from himself and from the fellowship. We dare not be sinners. Many Christians are unthinkably horrified when a real sinner is suddenly discovered among the righteous." Because there is so much truth in Bonhoeffer's charge levelled against the church there are colonies of compassion being formed outside the church. An example of such a colony of compassion outside the church is Alcholics Anonymous. The members of Alcoholics Anonymous did not find the compassion, acceptance, and love they needed in the Church of Christ. What a scandal. Bonhoeffer charges that church members have fellowship with one another as believers and devout people but they do not have fellowship with one another as sinners and the undevout.

Because this is true there is very little if any real healing taking place in our contemporary churches. There is very little salvation occurring in our sanctuaries. Every congregation should have small groups deliberately engaged in the ministry of accepting the rejected; loving the lost; having compassion for those who need to confess. Every congregation should have small groups that are permeated with acceptance so that men and women may be encouraged to reveal the sick secrets of their subconscious so that they no longer need to be sick unto death. Yea, there should not only have been a balm in Gilead that heals the sin-sick soul—which we like to sing about in our churches—but there should be a balm in St. John's and in every congregation that heals the sin-sick soul.

A fourth concept of contemporary psychiatry that is compatible with Christianity has to do with moral law. Psychiatrists tell us that we should not be slaves to moral law. They hold that such slavery to moral law causes guilt when the individual fails to live up to moral law. This guilt leads to mental illness. This is not a new message—our Master said the same thing. Christ called us away from slavery to the Ten Commandments or any other moral code. He called such a code a burden too difficult to bear.

At the present time there is a ferment in the world of psychiatry concerning moral law. Sigmund Freud and his followers feel that such codes should be eliminated from society altogether. It is their thesis that since such moral codes cause guilt when people fail to live up to them the way to get rid of guilt is to get rid of all such codes of conduct in our culture. This thinking has dominated our American culture for the last generation. Indeed so-called permissive psychiatry has permeated even religion. In religion it comes out as "cheap grace" which means "live as you please God always loves you anyway—do what you please because the Creator always condones your conduct."

But another group of psychiatrists presently holds that getting rid of codes of conduct has not produced the expected and desired result. They declare that getting rid of codes of conduct has not been good for our culture. They declare that the mental health of our citizens is no better today than it was a generation ago. Therefore they have started a movement to restore codes of conduct.

But while these two groups of psychiatrists debate the role of moral law and codes of conduct Christ has already given us the truth regarding this matter. Many church members do not understand what Christ teaches relative to the moral law. Christ and Freud are in agreement on the point that man should not be a slave to moral law. But Christ and Freud part company on the point of scrapping moral law. Jesus did not teach the abolishment of the law.

Instead God's Son tells us to keep the Ten Commandments in their proper place. That is, we should not make the Ten Commandments God; we should not relate to them. We are to let God be God. We are called by Christ to come into relationship with God, the Father, who gives us the power to live

beyond the Ten Commandments. The Ten Commandments are powerless—they do not give us the power to fulfill them—they are merely words written upon paper. But God is powerful. Therefore when we relate to God we receive from Him the power to live beyond the Ten Commandments. Thus when we relate to God through Christ we are free from slavery to the commandments; we are free from the guilt that those men and women experience who relate to the commandments.

A final concept of contemporary psychiatry that is compatible with Christianity has to do with our inner choice. Psychiatrists tell us that mental illness comes from our inner division. They tell us we become dis-eased when we are divided internally. Jesus said the same thing on several occasions. Our Master warns us that a house divided against itself cannot stand. In the Sermon on the Mount Christ tells us to let our conversation be "yes" and "no." By this he meant: make a clear cut commitment. Make a clear cut commitment: don't vacillate between a life lived for the Lord and a life lived of oneself; don't oscillate in the gray area. Kierkegaard echoes the teaching of Jesus when he declares that we should will one thing.

The one thing Christ calls us to will is to let Him draw us into relationship with Himself. It is when we will this one thing that we come out of isolation—isolation which breeds mental illness. It is when we will this one thing of letting the Lord thus draw us out of isolation and into fellowship with Him that we know his peace. Yea, it is when we will this one thing of letting the Lord draw us into relationship with Him that we are truly healthy, truly whole.

Dag Hammarskjold writes these words: "It is not enough to place yourself daily under God. What really matters is to be only under God: the slightest division of allegiance opens the door to * * * the death-instinct." Yea, we must choose God only because only God can heal us.

Dr. H. Guford Stever Inaugurated President of Carnegie Tech—Text of His Inaugural Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, a new president of the famed Carnegie Institute of Technology was formally inaugurated this month in ceremonies on the university campus in Pittsburgh, Pa. He is Dr. H. Guford Stever, one of the Nation's leading authorities on aeronautical science and engineering. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of both Colgate University and the California Institute of Technology, Dr. Stever has been a member of the faculty of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and has served for 10 years as a chief scientist for the U.S. Air Force and is a member of the USAF Science Advisory Board. He also serves as chairman of the Advisory Committee on Missile and Spacecraft Aerodynamics of the National Aeronautical and Space Administration and, in addition, has held various advisory and administrative posts in other fields of great importance to the Nation. With this brief background, I believe it is of considerable interest to the country as to his views contained in his inaugural address and ask unanimous consent that Dr. Stever's speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

All of us associated with Carnegie Institute of Technology are especially appreciative of the honor which is done to our institution today by others. Trustees, faculty, administration, students, staff, alumni, and friends of Carnegie Tech are here in a dual role—both to honor the institution and to be honored for the part each has played in the past and is continuing to play in a developing future.

After spending most of my professional life in education, and in this time of increasing awareness of the need for vitality in our higher education system, I am particularly honored to be selected as president of Carnegie Institute of Technology. And I am further honored by your appearance here at this ceremony of my inauguration. I would single out for particular welcome to Carnegie Tech and Pittsburgh, those presidents of other academic institutions who seem to take such special delight when another falls into the pit with them. Though you presidents from out of town are welcomed today, my fellow university and college presidents here in this city have sharply instructed me never again to invite so many outside college presidents to town on a day when the banks are open.

NO CENTENARY CELEBRATION

Carnegie Tech has had a proud past, though a relatively short one. It has not yet been able to celebrate a centenary occasion since it was founded in 1900. I find that for fundraising purposes the next conveniently titled year is some time off, unless some of my Latin scholar colleagues can come up with the proper word for two-thirds of a century, which is only about a year away.

Carnegie Institute of Technology was not conceived by professional educators. The idea came directly from Andrew Carnegie. Its formal existence began with a letter of remarkable clarity and vision, written by him in November of 1900, offering to build and endow a technical school for the city of Pittsburgh. I wish all of you could read that remarkable letter, for it shows you much of what was in his mind.

He mentioned reading an article "Handication versus Headication," an essay written by his grandfather. He showed his admiration for those people who began their lives as laborers and went on to achieve great things when he wrote, "It is really astonishing how many of the world's foremost men have begun as manual laborers. The greatest of all, Shakespeare, was a woolcarder; Burns, a plowman; Columbus, a sailor; Hannibal, a blacksmith; Lincoln, a railsplitter; Grant, a tanner," and he went on to mention George Westinghouse, a mechanic, and Professor Brashear, a millwright of Pittsburgh. He could have added Andrew Carnegie, bobbin-boy. And in the letter he mentioned the deep impressions made on him by the technical institutes in Boston, Worcester, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, and Chicago, and particularly two British institutes, Keighley Institute and Halifax Institute.

SERVICE TO INDUSTRIAL PITTSBURGH

Carnegie conceived a technical school as opposed to a liberal arts college of which there were many in the country, and he conceived of a school that would give, by the production of trained young men and women, primary service to Pittsburgh, hard-working, industrial, free-enterprise-based Pittsburgh. He was just completing a half century as one of the leaders who made the names of Pittsburgh and America synonymous with industrial production. He knew the needs of industry.

Service to the community was a prime theme in his founding this school. During the discussions yesterday, many of you noted that this theme of service to the community is still ever present in the minds of the staff of this institution, though the concept of the community has broadened far beyond the boundaries of Pittsburgh to include State, Nation, indeed society as a whole; and it now includes not only the production of educated professional men and women, but also research and scholarly work and direct service of faculty in important affairs other than educational.

Andrew Carnegie once wrote, some time after the founding, to William McConway, the chairman of the trustees committee, "No school can be a creation but an evolution." Each of my four predecessors here at Carnegie Institute of Technology has put his personal stamp on that evolution, though it is clear to all of you that some of the original threads have indeed remained part of the present fabric.

THE EVOLUTION

The first president, Dr. Hamerschlag, built the nucleus of the campus and set up the technical schools. The second, Dr. Baker, built up the academic activities and standards to change its character from an almost purely technical school to a more broadly based university centered on technical professions. The third, Dr. Doherty, established modern engineering and science education and put a stamp on Carnegie Tech of liberal general education, to make it a leader among technical institutes in devoting as much as 25 percent of the curriculum time to education in the humanities and social sciences. My immediate predecessor, Dr. Warner, built the facilities and faculty strength needed for graduate education so important in the modern professions of engineering, science, and industrial management; and he reawakened the long dormant drive to build and improve the campus. None of these trends has reached its final state; the evolution is continuing.

All of this discussion of the foundations of Carnegie Institute of Technology may appear to some of you as the struggle of a new president to find something to characterize his administration. To others it may appear to be an explanation for the make-up on this campus of an institute of technology, with not only the normal components of such an institute (namely, engineering, science, industrial management and the humanities and social sciences), but also a college for women's education and a college of fine arts, a curious combination.

I have dwelt on this history for quite different reasons. Actually, this institution's heritage is one ingredient in the many needed to continue the development and strengthening of its character; it can be proud of both its original practical heritage from which comes its strong professional orientation, and its ready acceptance of some of the best from another aspect of education, the liberal arts.

And finally, there is a grouping which has come to the foreground in recent years—aggressive, nonconforming, interested in events in the larger world; each of its members is rather hard on everyone around him—students, faculty, and administration, but nevertheless each is trying to find out what the truly important issues of life are. This group is usually an interested and aroused and often involved group.

This group knows that, in spite of the surface stability of our government, our country is in the midst of a social and economic revolution of shattering proportions; they want those of us in education to help them study the issues and shape their stand-

ards, lest some less responsible leaders capture their imagination and drive.

WIDESPREAD AGREEMENT

There are many comments on the wide diversity of American higher education. We have descriptions for educational institutions which immediately conjure images of quite different kinds of education—liberal arts, State university, liberal professional, private university, church school, urban university, and so on.

Actually, from a curriculum content point of view, there is widespread agreement on what goes into higher education. Most schemes involve professional work, needed by the student to earn his way through life, and to serve society with his special talents. Most have a fair sprinkling of general education—about what man has been, what he is, and what he can be, the physical world about him and his place in it, the evolving of his ideas, morally, philosophically, his institutions, his great works of art, science, government, how he can solve his problems and what problems are most important to solve. And almost all pay attention to the development of the individual as an individual, socially, culturally, physically, and as a responsible contributing citizen of a community. Carnegie Tech's program, as an example, has each of these elements.

Institutions differ a great deal, however, in two ways: first in the quality and standards of the faculty teaching the curriculum, and the interest and capability of the students studying the curriculum; and second in the environment provided for learning, for research, for scholarly activity, and for service to the community. And it is this environmental factor and the faculty and student quality factor which most clearly characterize the institution, which implicity establish the observable goals of the institution, which sreve to attract its student body to study and faculty members to teach and pursue their professional work, as well as to attract the needed monetary and spiritual help from many individuals and organizations.

It behooves us to examine our institution, what it is, what it can be, to know our quality and environment for learning, not for purposes of comparisons with other types or specific institutions, but so we can strengthen its character, make it grow better in today's and tomorrow's world.

START WITH THE STUDENT

As in all things educational, I like to start with the student as an individual, and the student body as an important segment of our academic community. Our students at the graduate level are attracted here almost solely to further their professional drives; at the undergraduate level for the mixture of professional and liberal arts education. The undergraduates are not all well rounded as individuals, but as a group they are; there is a variety in race, creed, color, in cultural, social and economic background, in geographical distribution. Though they are a reasonably selected group, there is a considerable range of academic ability and creative talent as well as elan and professional drive.

When they become members of our undergraduate student body, various of them show, fortunately I believe, interest in all of the student groupings as identified recently by Louis Mayhew, and some truly mix these groupings. One grouping is collegiate, emphasizing fraternities, sororities, social functions, athletic life, campus parties, campus organizations, campus high jinks. This group may resist some attempts of the faculty to lead them too deeply into academic affairs, though at the same time each remains a reasonably acceptable student; moreover this group is one of the strongest university—and community-minded groups of all those supporting the university while in school and throughout later life.

A second grouping of students is vocational or professional, particularly flourishing on urban campuses and professional campuses, interested primarily in the job or profession each is preparing for, and with relatively poor campus loyalties; still each member of this group has drive to master his professional field, even at the expense of broadening experiences.

The next grouping is academic, concentrating on academic issues, closely involved with faculty activity, and espousing many faculty ideas, associated not with the full spectrum of university campus life, but purely with its academic program; from this group come the best prospects for graduate students in professional programs and for future teachers.

It is my belief that this campus will be healthiest with an admixture of all of these groupings, not expecting that any given student can or will participate in all, but giving richness in individual selection for each student to find his own way. And the presence of each grouping has a remarkable broadening effect on those students who tend to concentrate in one. Carnegie Tech's problem is to remain first rate in its professional educational environment without suppressing any of these worthwhile students rallying points.

BROADENING EFFECT

A great university climate to which we aspire comes not from an all pervasive galaxy of schools, one for every activity known to man, nor in fact within each school from a covering of every subject possible. It comes from the depth of kinds of work done at the institution: graduate study in the professions, in which the standard is simply top rank; research associated with that graduate work, and with the development of the professional careers of the faculty of a quality recognized by fellow professionals around the world; service to society in many ways both institutional and by individual student development.

Its faculty must be dedicated to the educational process itself, with an eagerness to innovate, experiment, test, and judge the various parts of the process. Its administration develops its campus, educational buildings, research facilities, and living and playing areas to enhance all these objectives. And all its member understand and enhance the differences in the professions it furthers.

And may I make a parenthetical remark about the particular combination of professional fields on this campus—technology and the fine arts. Carnegie Tech has always been closely coupled to industrial, building America. And today, with the ever growing recognition of the need for more beauty in the growth of our technologically spawned cities, and for the spiritual uplift of the performing and cerative arts in our daily lives, so permeated with technology, there can be no better combination of professional fields than the fine arts and technology.

DEEPER REASON

But there is a deeper, far more significant educational reason for this combination of professional fields to be on the campus. Mankind has found several quite different ways to express his noble thoughts, his emotions, his creative ideas, and his great works. The interrelationships of the physical world are expressed in the law of the scientists; auditory and visual form, substance and abstraction in music, painting, design, and sculpture; perfection of thinking in mathematical logic; human emotion in drama endeavor in the organizations of the social scientist and industrialist.

The glory of having a creative college of fine arts on the same campus as a college of engineering and science is not so the engineer and scientist can relax at a good show or concert or exhibit in the evening, though that is pleasant, but so that faculty and students are exposed to quite different forms of human thought, expression, and action.

And there is another remark about why we are fortunate in our campus for its contribution to the learning environment. Located in an urban area, where we can take advantage of all the social, commercial, and cultural activities of the city, we, nevertheless, have a campus which is focused, cohesive, and an entity unto itself, with living, working, and playing facilities close to one another. As we meet our future building needs, we must never change the cohesive, focused nature of our campus.

TO CONTINUE THE EVOLUTION

The highest standards for research and scholarship in our professions we inherit from our past. Our problem is to continue the evolution, recognizing the importance of the newly emergent, and discontinuing the areas which have served their purpose. The past has shown we can. Carnegie Tech has led or been among the leaders in the establishment of fields recognized as important throughout the land-applied and industrial psychology, drama, industrial management, computer science, metallurgy, solid state physics, and a number of others. For this important portion of our evolution we depend upon our strong faculty, and its professional leadership at the departmental and college level. They are the wellheads for such change.

No president or administrator can have all these ideas, but for illustration of my point, let me mention my own professional field, engineering, where there is needed a further maturing to face the large scale technological problems of our time such as cleaning the air, land, and water; designing transportation systems instead of vehicles and ways; combining architecture, city planning, and engineering to solve our urban building programs. In my brief stay on this campus, I have been pleased to note many other currents of change as well.

In the field of general education, the tradition at Carnegie Tech has long been that of furnishing it for those who study primarily in a profession, or one of the practical arts. Today, however, this is changing. Margaret Morrison Carnegie College is rapidly becoming a liberal arts college for women. The problem is to provide the resources and the faculty needed, a group in humanities and social studies to handle the ever-increasing load of those who take a more traditional educational course. There are some missing areas of coverage—philosophy for one.

But while we have areas of comparatively shallow coverage which must be given depth, we can call upon our great strengths in our professional schools for certain of the liberal arts—the basic sciences, fine arts, and some of the social sciences so strongly developed in the professional school of business management, such social sciences as psychology and economics. And as we strengthen ourselves, I believe that we must help our faculty in this area on the side of the liberal arts, the humanities, and social sciences, to develop a great depth not only in the education given to the majors but also in their own professional work which furthers their own professional aims.

If we can succeed over the years in the development of a first class full liberal arts

education for the women of Margaret Morrison Carnegie College, and those men who want and need a more equal mixture of the liberal arts and professions, in the undergraduate years, we will again have led Carnegie Tech to greater educational fulfillment.

EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION

It has been interesting to me to discover that Carnegie Tech has developed innovation in the field of education per se that has been both strong and creative. This work, led in many cases by faculty involved in the general education of the non-degree-granting division, has been widely recognized. Our people are deeply involved with the public school system of Pittsburgh, helping both the gifted students and the underprivileged; with the Negro colleges in the South, helping to upgrade the professors; with higher educational institutions overseas to introduce professional education in the sciences and their application. Groups in history, social studies, English, and in engineering throughout the university have developed curricula for secondary schools. Our teacher education is rapidly becoming stronger. Carnegie Tech must focus and synthesize these activities.

Educational innovation, whether it is practiced on one's own college class or done to help secondary education or other colleges, has a very transient nature. The innovator, being an enthusiast, can usually make it work. Students respond to extra attention. But when the idea is passed on as a routine mater for later generations, it often has no impact at all.

Furthermore, very little attention has been paid to the evaluation of educational innovation. In fact, the great research universities and colleges of this country, sharp as they are in evaluating progress in other professional fields, have done very little to evaluate their own educational ideas. Focus and evaluation in our educational innovation are most important. And especially we must reserve some of our abounding energy for innovation in teaching our own classes, because every college and university in the country is on trial on this charge of neglect of teaching. Moreover, the arena of educational innovation is a rich one for the interaction of many professions.

A BALANCED UNIVERSITY

A great university is a balanced one. This institution can achieve its greatest potential when all of its professional work is first class, so that its graduates can walk in the front ranks of professionals throughout the world; when it recognizes that it is not here to stamp out a standardized product, but to enable each of its students to search for and determine his own path for service to society; when it can select only the best of the newly emerging fields and not destroy the best of the old as it progresses; when each professor and professional field is enhanced by the presence of quality work in other fields on the campus, and when students can benefit from quite different types of students working with them; when the impact of the leading minds on the campus is felt across the entire spectrum of education from freshman year to graduate degree; when teachers in all the professions and fields of learning at the institution are given full opportunity for professional development.

Carnegie Tech has already developed a strong institutional character. If we build widely, it will become much greater. Each of the individual goals will be closer when all of the Carnegie family work toward the institutional goals as well. And finally, I hope you can detect my great enthusiasm for my part of that task. I am sure that each of you will share that job with me.

Thank you.

Additional Aid to Egypt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD a letter which I have sent to the Secretary of State protesting the possible grant of surplus foods to Egypt.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C.

Hon. DEAN RUSK,
Secretary of State,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: In view of recurring reports that our Government contemplates granting Egypt's request for surplus foods, I would like to add my voice to those who feel that an affirmative decision at this time would be most unwise.

The proponents of food sales to Egypt maintain that it increases our influence in the Middle East. According to their theory, we acquire more "leverage" in Cairo by making the Egyptian Government dependent on or, at least, appreciative of our good will. But history makes clear that the theory is faulty. After years and years of dealing with the Egyptians, it appears incontrovertible that the more generous we are to them the more hostile they become to us and to our Middle Eastern policies.

By selling food to Egypt for soft currency, we allow the Cairo government to divert its resources to stir up trouble. It uses its arable land to grow not food for its people but cotton which it sells to the Russians and rice which it sells to the Chinese. It then uses the hard currency it acquires to buy arms with which to threaten peaceful neighbors. Our aid enhances Nasser's strength and his prestige at home and abroad. Our programs have clearly helped to perpetuate his power. Since it now seems at its lowest ebb since Suez, I feel it would be particularly shortsighted to renew our assistance program at the current juncture.

I, of course, have no desire to see Egyptians starve. But Egypt has substantial resources for raising its own food which go unused. I would not object if the money it acquired through our largess were diverted to raising living standards at home, helping to resolve the Arab refugee program, or on other peaceful and constructive projects.

I would suggest that if we must, for humanitarian reasons, extend aid to Egypt, it should be clearly contingent on their accepting such conditions as the following:

1. Initiation of peace talks with Israel.
2. Halting of arms purchases from the U.S.S.R.
3. Embarcation on a regional program of controlled disarmament.
4. Ending discrimination in the use of the Suez Canal.
5. Development of a program to resettle Arab refugees in Arab lands.
6. Restriction of trade with China to nonstrategic items.

I propose, as you see, that we use our food shipments as an instrument for the promotion of peace. They are now being used to increase Egypt's power to wage war.

As you know, Congress has expressed itself forthrightly against aid to Egypt. The President has been empowered to overrule Congress by demonstrating a compelling reason for resuming the aid program. You have not thus far given any such reason. In the absence of new data to indicate that Egypt has adopted a peace program, I feel it would be ludicrous to acquiesce in the Egyption request. I heartily recommend its rejection.

With kind regards, I am
Sincerely yours,

LEONARD FARBSTEIN,
Member of Congress.

Is a New Revolution Brewing in the U.S.S.R.?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, the winds of freedom are blowing with increasing strength, not merely in the satellite countries of Central Europe, but in the territory of the Soviet Union itself.

The evidences of this are so many that more than one authority on communism has reached the conclusion that revolution is possible and even probable in the Communist empire.

This was the theme of an interview by a French expert on the Soviet Union that appeared recently in U.S. News & World Report.

It is the theme, as well, of an article by Mr. Eugene Lyons, distinguished editor of Readers Digest, and an expert for almost four decades on the Soviet Union, which appeared in the October issue of the Digest.

It is the theme, in addition, of an increasing number of articles that are appearing in our daily press. Thus, the Christian Science Monitor carries an article by Soviet expert Paul Wohl under the caption "Critical Clamor Increases Among Soviet Youth."

Mr. Wohl quotes a signed letter from a young Soviet engineer published earlier this year in the official Soviet cultural newspaper:

> Do not creep into my soul. Do not spit me in the face when my view is different from yours. * * * I want to have my own taste, my own opinion of art. * * * I want to think for myself, examine things myself, appreciate them myself. And I believe this is my right.

Mr. Wohl also quotes from items in the Soviet press dealing with the distribution of "antistate and anti-Communist leaflets" by young hotheads; with a clampdown by the secret police on a group of young people in Georgia who had turned out illegal handbills containing an "appeal to the American people"; and with illegal broadcasts that are becoming increasingly more frequent in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Lyons quotes extensively from Dr. Mihajlo Mihajlov, the 30-year-old Yugoslav college teacher, who ran into trouble with the Tito regime because of what he said about the Soviet Union.

"There is a growing spirit of defiance among the people" says Mr. Lyons. "The postwar generation refuses to be intimidated. Dr. Mihajlov heard young people in the corridors of Moscow University singing loudly, defiantly, the prison and concentration-camp songs frowned upon by the regime. * * * Not one genuine Russian intellectual today considers himself a Marxist-Leninist, Dr. Mihajlov reported."

The Communist bureaucrats are caught up in a dilemma. If they attempt to return to a Stalinist type of dictatorship, they risk an explosion. And if they seek to purchase survival by making concessions to popular pressures, they also risk an explosion.

In this connection I think it pertinent to quote the words of that exceedingly wise and farsighted Frenchman, Alexis de Tocqueville.

It is not always by going from bad to worse that a nation is driven to revolution. It often happens that a nation which has suffered without complaint, almost as if it were insensible to the most oppressive of laws, will suddenly reject them with violence at the first sign of alleviation. A regime which a revolution has destroyed is often much better than the one which preceded it, and experience suggests that the most dangerous moment for an evil government is usually when it begins to reform itself. Only great ingenuity can save a prince who undertakes to give relief to his subjects after long oppression. The sufferings that are endured patiently, as being inevitable, become intolerable the moment it appears that there might be an escape. Reform then only serves to reveal more clearly what still remains oppressive and now all the more unbearable; the suffering, it is true, has been reduced, but one's sensitivity has become more acute.

Mr. Lyons argues that a Hungarian-type revolution is possible in the Soviet Union. And he asked whether it is in our national interest and in the interest of the cause of freedom to help the Moscow dictatorship against its subjects. This, he says, is what we are, in effect, doing when we soften our propaganda to the U.S.S.R. so as not to "irritate" the Kremlin bosses; when we extend aid and trade; or when we talk of "areas of overlapping interest" with the Kremlin, instead of exploiting the growing popular discontent with the Kremlin regime.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert into the RECORD the article entitled "Is a New Revolution Brewing in the U.S.S.R.?" by Mr. Eugene Lyons, which appeared in the October 1965 issue of Reader's Digest, and the article captioned "Critical Clamor Increases Among Soviet Youth," by Mr. Paul Wohl, which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Reader's Digest, October 1965]

IS A NEW REVOLUTION BREWING IN THE U.S.S.R.?

(By Eugene Lyons [1])

Two recent headlines provoked exceptional interest among people who follow closely developments in the Communist orbit. One, over a column by C. L. Sulzberger in the New York Times, read: "A Third Revolution in Russia?" and the other, in U.S. News & World Report: "Revolt Coming in Russia?"

Such references to possible overthrow of the Communist regime in the U.S.S.R. have an edge of the sensational. The premise that Communist rule in Russia in permanent has been, at least since 1956, the basis of American and free world policy, which has therefore set a detente or accommodation with the Kremlin as its maxmium goal. Yet the doubts rest on testimony from quite different but equally impressive sources.

The Sulzberger column was based on the findings of a 30-year-old Yugoslav college teacher, Dr. Mihajlo Mihajlov, after intensive investigation in Soviet Russia in the summer of 1964. Mihajlov, the Yugoslav-born son of Russian emigrees, was not handicapped by a language barrier and was able to penetrate deeply into Soviet life and thought.

The country, he concluded, is "on the threshold of grandiose changes" amounting to a "third revolution." (The first two were in March and November 1917.) "The party and state bureaucracy"—in short, the Communist regime—will probably be unable to survive the mounting pressures from many directions for political and intellectual freedom. "The Soviet Union at this moment is making an exit from Asia, attaching itself to Europe and moving toward democracy."

U.S. News & World Report presented a detailed interview with a noted French expert on Russia, Col. Michel Garder, supported by dispatches from its correspondents in European capitals. Garder works with the French Institute of Strategic Studies, lectures in the French War College, and is the author of histories of the Soviet Red Army and the Soviet-German war. He not only is convinced that the demise of the Moscow oligarchy is in the cards but ventures to set a date: "around 1970."

"What we're seeing in Russia," Garder declared, "is a process which I can best describe by comparing it to a generalized cancer in the human body. Ever since Stalin's death we have seen symptoms of this fatal illness, but most people did not pay much attention. Now we have what I call the death throes of the Lenin-Marx regime in Russia."

EVOLUTIONARY COLLISION

While the forecasts represent a minority view, the fact that two authorities of such different backgrounds see a coming revolution is significant. The comments of other European experts collected by its correspondents are summed up by U.S. News & World Report in one terse sentence: "A head of steam is said to be building up that can only lead to explosion at some point."

In efforts to reduce the pressures, Communist rulers have resorted to various measures, such as the injection of free-market methods and incentives into their planned economy and some erratic loosening of official controls on art and thought. But these are proving insufficient. They tend, indeed, to aggravate the problems by showing up the inherent fallacies of communism. Even a little freedom can be intoxicating; far from being grateful for small favors, people demand more and more.

The Kremlin has swung between "thaw" and "freeze," between tough and soft methods. But its space for maneuvering is strictly limited by its ideology and its need to maintain a monopoly of power. All attempts to reform agriculture, for instance, are frustrated as long as the kolkhoz or collective-farming system remains. After 37 years of it, the peasants—almost 50 percent of the population—continue openly hostile to this state feudalism. They work diligently on their tiny "private plots," providing the country with about half of its dairy and meat products, fruits and vegetables; but they do as little as they can get away with on the collective farms.

In the miscalled "liberalization" of recent years, not an iota of power has been turned over to the people. The Soviet citizenry, especially the better-educated young people, are aware that their limited new freedom of speech is meaningless when the dictatorship monopolizes all newspapers, magazines, radio and television facilities and, of course, the entire educational system.

Any hope for a slow, peaceful evolution of the Soviet system into something closer to a normal society would thus seem doomed. The hope rests on a sad misunderstanding of the nature of totalitarianism. Sooner or later the evolutionary process must collide with the stone wall of the power monopoly. This wall can be breached only by giving the people a free choice of rulers—through elections or other techniques—and that would mark the end of the present autocracy.

FLAMMABLE STUFFS

Predictions of the collapse of the Soviet regime, no matter how logically argued, have to be taken with a grain of salt, of course. History is not logical. Neither, however, can they be dismissed out of hand. Revolutions have always appeared "impossible" until they happened.

The most that a Mihajlov, a Garder, any student, can attest is that there is a potential for revolution. In my own book on the subject—"Our Secret Allies: the Peoples of Russia," [2] published soon after the passing of Stalin—I wrote: "There is no fire, but the inflammable stuffs for a conflagration are piled high against the time when internal or external events may apply the match."

The thesis of the book was that Soviet Russia since 1917 has been in a state of permanent civil war between the rulers and the ruled. The forced collectivization in which millions perished, the terrible blood purges, the wartime and postwar liquidations of hordes of alleged enemies of the regime were all battles in that war.

Since then the civil war, in ever new shapes, has become sharper and more visible, the pile of inflammable stuffs has grown bigger. The cruder types of terror have been abandoned, but the terror machine remains intact. The old-style concentration camps have been dismantled but mass exiles to work colonies in Siberia and elsewhere continue. The economic situation remains unhealthy and at points disastrous. The long familiar Soviet boasts of overtaking America in consumer goods and production generally are no longer heard. Instead, the Kremlin eagerly seeks trade with the West to make up for grave deficiencies in industry. The country is still mired in agricultural crises.

Moreover, there is a growing spirit of defiance among the people. The postwar generation refuses to be intimidated. Dr. Mihajlov heard young people in the corridors of Moscow University singing loudly, defiantly, the prison and concentration-camp songs frowned upon by the regime. "In spite of constant threats that they will be sent to 'work colonies' for a year or two, the students discuss everything openly," he wrote. There is ample evidence of a new boldness, of risk taking, to assert individuality.

In the face of repeated official appeals laced with threats, Soviet writers persist in producing works which, directly or indirectly, challenge Communist dogmas and indict the regime. The popularity of writers is in almost direct ratio to their political courage. One of the leading figures in contemporary Soviet literature, Aleksandr Solzhenitsin, gained great popularity when he wrote frankly about the horrors of Soviet concentration camps.

Not one genuine Russian intellectual today considers himself a Marxist-Leninist, Dr.

[1] Eugene Lyons, a senior editor of the Reader's Digest, was a newspaper correspondent in the U.S.S.R. for 6 years. He is the author of "Assignment in Utopia"; "Our Secret Allies"; and other notable books on Soviet Russia and world communism.

[2] Condensed in the Reader's Digest, March 1954.

Mihajlov reported. The mutinous mood of the intelligentsia should not be underestimated. "The literary ferment exists below the surface but it is not therefore any less significant than the economic," Max Frankel, an old Moscow hand, wrote in the New York Times after a visit to Russia 2 years ago. "It is in fact a political stir whose leaders happen to be writers and poets."

LOST MAGIC

The Soviet dictatorship has never achieved what political scientists call "legitimacy"; that is, it cannot count on the automatic allegiance of its subjects. The government is forever promoting what normal societies take for granted: loyalty to the existing system. Nearing the end of its fifth decade of absolute power, the regime must still employ a million full-time "agitators" to "sell" its system to the people. And these agitators are increasingly on the defensive, cringing under the scorn of their audiences.

Moreover, the Communist ideology, the "heretofore connective tissue has disintegrated," writes Dr. Mihajlov. Where once there was enthusiasm, now there is boredom. Where once there were goals of idealism, now there is only the desire to live better.

Lacking popular acceptance a despotism can survive only through the application of raw physical and mental terror. This is how Soviet communism survived in the Stalin era. Now the new rulers themselves admit that indoctrination has lost its magic, and, as for a return to old style police terror, they appear fearful of risking it. They doubt the nation will take the old medicine again without fighting back.

BALANCING ACT

The Kremlin dictatorship can only temporize by concessions and reforms that invariably prove inadequate and may even sharpen the discontent and resistance. At the same time it must contend with opposition to Moscow dictation in satellite countries, proliferating heresies among Communists both within and outside the Russian orbit, and a deadly struggle for primacy in world communism carried on by Red China. How long it can maintain its balancing act without a major upset remains to be seen.

If there is a new revolution—and the "if" must be emphasized—What form will it take?

Colonel Garder expects a revolution from above: a palace uprising in which elements representing the technocrats and managerial class will get rid of the Communist politicians.

To me the most likely kind of revolution would be a popular uprising on the model of Hungary in 1956. True, there are probably no organized antiregime forces, no old style "undergrounds," no leadership waiting to take over. But none of these things existed in Hungary either.

The Hungarian revolt began with moderate protests, then flared into a full-scale insurrection. It was a species of spontaneous combustion. All the pent-up hatreds and hopes burst to the surface. Leaders arose from the ranks of the armed forces, from among the liberated political prisoners, from the Communist Party itself. And this explosive revolution was quickly and fully successful within the country. It was crushed only from the outside.

Hungary probably set the pattern for revolutions against modern totalitarian police states. When the moment is ripe, the size of the army becomes irrelevant. The troops and even the officers cease to be soldiers; they become part of the general population and turn their weapons against the regime.

The assumption that men like Mihajlov and Garder are right, and that there is indeed a revolutionary potential in Soviet Russia, raises grave questions about the policies of the United States and other democratic powers. Is it in our national interest, and in the interest of the cause of freedom, to help the beleaguered Moscow dictatorship against its rebellious subjects?

Yet that is what we do when we pull the teeth from propaganda beamed to the U.S.S.R. so as not to "irritate" the Kremlin bosses. That is what we do when we extend aid and trade. In making our grain available we are acting to defeat the peasants in their historic struggle against state feudalism. The same logic applies every time we rush to save the Kremlin from other consequences of its Communist fallacies.

If there is a "permanent civil war," can we afford to remain neutral—or worse, to side with the masters against the slaves? In recent years American statesmanship has been determined to exploit "areas of overlapping interest" with the Kremlin. Given a credible revolutionary potential, however, there are already vast areas of common interest open to exploitation—not with the Kremlin but with its restive subjects.

[From the Christian Science Monitor]

CRITICAL CLAMOR INCREASES AMONG SOVIET YOUTHS

(By Paul Wohl)

Moscow is harassed by a new wave of internal criticism. It originates among youth. It does to the core of things and probes into the future.

The new criticism has many voices. It is mostly literary or philosophical. But it also comes from the man in the street. Seldom political, but always poignantly truthful, it expresses the urge of the young generation to be themselves.

"Do not creep into my soul. Do not spit me in the face when my view is different from yours. * * * I want to have my own taste, my own opinion of art. * * * I want to think for myself, examine things myself, appreciate them myself. And I believe this is my right."

The above is from a signed letter by a young engineer, published this spring in the newspaper Sovetskaya Kultura. There must have been many such letters for the daily of the Ministry of Culture to pick up the gauntlet and attempt a refutation.

CONTROLLED CRITICISM

Letters to the editor are only one vehicle of the new criticism. The regime welcomes them, because they allow critics to let off steam. Since the party has the monopoly of the printed word, it decides how many of these letters are to be published and how to deal with them.

Three other vehicles of internal criticism usually elude the regime: Literary works illicity sent abroad; underground publications, mostly secret student periodicals and leaflets; the many private radio stations sending alternately jazz, jokes, poems, and obscenities. These last are the most bothersome for the regime.

LITERATURE ABROAD STRESSED

The recently reported arrest of literary critic Andrei D. Sinyavsky, who is believed to be author of several critical books published abroad under the name of Abram Tertz, has called attention to the first of these three vehicles.

The case of Abram Tertz is one of many. Even more bitingly critical are the books of Valery Tarsis, who sends them abroad insisting that they be published under his real name.

Author Tarsis, a decorated war veteran, was temporarily confined to an insame asylum, but now lives once again freely in a Moscow suburb in the apartment of his daughter. There he repeatedly has been visited by Western correspondents.

The treatment meted out to him would seem to indicate that the Soviets do not take this kind of criticism to seriously, because works published abroad reach home audiences only through Western broadcasts. It is different with periodicals and leaflets published in the Soviet Union and with unlicensed radio programs. The greater effectiveness of these means of mass communications is the price which the Soviets have had to pay for technological progress.

Printing and reproduction processes always have been on a fairly high level. Presses and reproduction machines cannot be privately owned. But the control of their use apparently no longer is as tight as it used to be.

Several cases have become known where printers in cooperation with their bosses worked overtime to turn out unplanned literature for private sale.

The press usually mentions only illegal printing for profit. Prayer books and religious pamphlets have been printed illegally, and also obscene postcards.

LEAFLETS HANDED OUT

Much more serious are young hotheads like a young machinist named Alexander Golik who, according to Komsomolskaya Pravda, produced and distributed last fall in Kuibyshev "antistate and anti-Communist leaflets." He was, wrote the newspaper, deluded by Western broadcasts and "mentally disturbed."

Another more recent and also more ominous case mentioned in Komsomolskaya Pravda was the closing this summer by the security police of a group of young people in Tbilisi, Georgia, who had turned out handbills and an "appeal to the American people."

Another group in Moscow, ironically referred to as the youngest society of geniuses, issued a manifesto. The initials of this society stood for "courage, thought, image, depth."

Komsomolskaya Pravda sought to ridicule the society's purposes, but enough seeped through to convey an idea of these young peoples' thoughts.

POETS QUESTION FUTURE

In contrast to the illegal student magazines and collections of essays and poems published toward the end of the 1950's, the underground writers of today no longer probe into the Stalin era, how their elders could bow to it, and such topics.

Les Arends

SPEECH

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, LES ARENDS himself is an institution in this the greatest legislative institution in the world.

From the day I entered this body, LES ARENDS has stood out in appearance, in ability, and leadership. I wish to commend the people of his district in Illinois for their good judgment to send him to the Congress where he has ably represented his country and his State.

LES ARENDS is first a great American, loyal to the ideals and principles that made this Nation great. Then he is a great Republican who has earned the respect, admiration, and esteem of all of us in the Democratic Party.

This House is a better House because of LES ARENDS. LES ARENDS' name will be listed with those outstanding leaders

who have made this House the greatest legislative body in the history of the world. I am proud to call LES ARENDS my colleague and friend.

Activities of Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, it is my sincere pleasure to call to the attention of the House the accomplishments of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries during the 1st session of the 89th Congress. The committee has produced a record of activity which is outstanding in comparison with those of most others in recent years.

This past year has brought many challenges to the committee, especially with the illness of our beloved chairman, HERBERT C. BONNER, early in the session. However, accepting its responsibility, the members through their cooperative efforts, carried on magnificently and I, as acting chairman, am delighted to point to a solid record of real accomplishment. I sincerely feel that the work done by this important committee has been most constructive.

During the first session, the Subcommittee on Merchant Marine carried on its traditional role of striving to strengthen the American Merchant Marine better to enable it to serve the national interests in its dual capacity as a vital link in our transportation system and as a military and naval auxiliary in readiness for emergencies.

Perhaps one of the most significant pieces of leigslation reported out of the committee was the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1965, considered by the Subcommittee on Oceanography. This legislation would provide for the first time the development, encouragement and maintenance of a comprehensive, long-range and coordinated national program in marine sciences. Similar legislation providing for a national oceanographic program passed the House in the last Congress, but failed to receive action in the Senate.

Other matters of considerable importance were considered by the Subcommittees on Panama Canal, Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation, and Coast Guard, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and Navigation.

In the close of the committee's activities, forcible attention has been brought to the needs of reviewing the effectiveness of the present maritime education institutions in meeting the manning problems of the merchant marine and the curriculum designed to keep pace with industry technology, such as automation. Accordingly, a Special Subcommittee on Marine Education and Training was appointed and the subcommittee is expected to commence its investigation and study early in the second session of this Congress.

I have attempted to mention only some of the highlights of the constructive record of the first session. A detailed activity report is now being prepared by the committee staff and will be printed later.

Finally, I wish to take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to all of the members of the committee on both sides who gave so generously of their time to carry forth the committee's programs.

Youth Will Prove Itself

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a very thoughtful letter to the editor of the Worcester Telegram, forwarded by my esteemed constituent, Mr. Norman Shattuck, 36 Spring Street, Winchendon, Mass., entitled "The Be Somebody Generation."

This article sets forth a very appealing and optimistic point of view for which there is ample proof in our homes and colleges.

I think we all believe with Mr. Shattuck that our younger generation is working to preserve our heritage, uphold our great traditions and enhance the prestige of America.

If there are those who for one reason or another are willing to discard their heritage and traditions and demean the prestige of the Nation in word and in action this would be most regrettable, but these elements are certainly only a small minority.

I believe that Mr. Shattuck's optimism is justified, and that his appraisal of the purpose and high aims of the present young generation is realistic.

In this country where majority rules, it is only logical to believe that the overwhelming majority of young people will, by their example, ideals, dedication, and hard work, finally triumph over the dissident minority.

To be sure, the present generation has its work cut out for it and must, like its predecessors, develop the toughness necessary to survive in this age of doubt, challenge, and danger. These problems and tasks are for the young generation to meet and conquer. In this sense, the boys and girls of today are the hopes and guardians of tomorrow. I have faith that they will live up to their role as future leaders of the Nation and bring added lustre to our free way of life.

The article follows:

THE BE SOMEBODY GENERATION

To the EDITOR:

So much deplorable defamation of character has been written about juvenile delinquency and the so-called hopeless generation that many people jumped to the erroneous conclusion that this is an age of unprecedented decadence in which integrity is a lost art and scoffed at as old fashioned and sissified.

Pessimists wail that the younger generation is motivated by a warped sense of values and dedicated to incredible corruption which ruins them beyond redemption.

Being an inveterate optimist, I challenge this outrageous distortion of facts.

MINORITY GUILTY

To champion the cause of justice and fair play, I assert emphatically that only an insignificant minority of our youth are guilty of moral turpitude.

To confirm my contention, I shall present conclusive evidence.

Our splendid colleges are filled to capacity with ambitious youth aspiring to be somebody. his unquenchable thirst for knowledge and the ambition to be somebody seems to be the motto of the younger generation.

Historians will probably acclaim this generation as the "Be Somebody Generation," motivated by a commedable ambition to outshine their parents in professional achievements, financial status, and social prestige.

Consequently, it's an outrageous injustice and deplorably degrading to denounce our youth as discourteous, irresponsible, lazy, and immoral.

Our admirable youth will preserve our heritage, promote our splendid traditions, and enhance the prestige of America.

Thanks to exemplary youth, America is destined to skyrocket to unprecedented plateaus of grandeur.

NORMAN SHATTUCK.

Government Should Guard Constitutional Rights of Accused

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, recently there have been questions raised about certain aspects of the Justice Department's case against James Hoffa, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Specifically, concern has been voiced about the apparent cloak of immunity that has been draped over Edward Grady Partin, admitted informer in the case, who, according to reports, has been granted several considerations that go beyond what is expected in the normal administration of justice.

Without commenting on the substantive issue of Mr. Hoffa's guilt or innocence, concern has centered around the Government's action toward and relationship with Mr. Partin. Surely, it is reasonable to expect the Government to conduct itself in the highest manner so there is no question about the infringement of constitutional rights. If guilt is proven it should be done so in a way which is consistent with our legal precepts and constitutional framework.

In any event, our system of justice should not be deprecated for the sake of the Government obtaining a conviction against an individual, no matter how controversial that person may be.

Automation and Collective Bargaining

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, A. H. Raskin, assistant editor of the editorial page of the New York Times has written an excellent analysis of the impact of automation on collective bargaining, and particularly on strikes in basic industries. Under unanimous consent I place the article, entitled "Automation Has Made Strikes Senseless," which recently appeared in the New York Times magazine in the RECORD:

AUTOMATION HAS MADE STRIKES SENSELESS

(By A. H. Raskin)

A dozen of the country's foremost industrial peacemakers met under the auspices of the American Arbitration Association recently to consider how the public interest could be better protected against crippling strikes and inflationary wage settlements.

The most ingenious suggestion was for an economic ombudsman, whose mission would be to sound the alarm whenever he felt a union was pressing too hard for too much or an industry was unfairly blaming higher wages for an extortionate price increase. For all its novelty, the idea won little support. The assembled experts feared the effect of spotlighting an immoderate union chief would be to make him an object of envy and emulation, rather than of reproach, in the eyes of other unionists. They had scant optimism that the story would be much different if a greedy employer came under fire.

The perverse reaction to the proposal for an impartial economic sentinel indicates some of the complexities in finding a tidy answer to the question that arises every time a labor-management struggle shuts down a vital industry: Why can't these fights be resolved without strikes? Surely, in a period when nations are asked to surrender some of their sovereignty to outlaw war, employers and unions in our interdependent economy do not enjoy rights of battle so sacrosanct they transcend those of 190 million Americans.

My own conviction after a quarter-century as an industrial war correspondent is that the onrush of automation, with the intricate new problems it has dumped onto the bargaining table, has made strikes senseless as solutions for labor disputes. This belief is reinforced by the fact that the chief sufferers in most industrywide conflicts are not the warring parties but the total community.

When all the people have to pay the price for the willfulness or incompetence of labor and management power blocs, it is no denial of democracy to insist the blocs create more dependable machinery for keeping the peace. If they fail, government must do it for them. For though strike statistics seem negligible—1 day out of 500 is lost in shutdowns, less time than is drained off by coffee breaks—it is the frequency of strikes and strike threats in a few fields that necessitates finding a more rational way. Especially so, since relations are worst in the very industries in which the public's stake is greatest.

The railroads have been in a state of almost perpetual turmoil for more than 5 years. The classic conflict was the fight over "featherbedding" among locomotive firemen, whose jobs had been made superfluous by the diesel engine. After a series of Presidential boards had given up in defeat, a disgusted Congress in 1963 passed the first compulsory arbitration law in the country's peacetime history. Even that drastic move was no solution, however, and President Johnson last year did everything short of locking up the negotiators to keep the trains moving. Now a new crisis threatens because the compulsory arbitration statute expires next March 31. Once again the country will hold its breath while the controversy drags through another interminable round of mediation, litigation, intimidation, and improvisation.

The record in shipping is just as sterile. The merchant marine has edged ever closer to extinction as the powerful maritime unions alternate between battling the ship owners and one another. Every year or two another peace plan is heralded as a "triumph of free collective bargaining." But even though Uncle Sam pays three-quarters of every wage dollar on the subsidized lines, the strikes recur; the last round of tie-ups a few months ago kept the United States and other queens of the sealines tied up for 11 weeks. Currently, hope for lasting peace is pinned on Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz and George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO. They are supposed to come up with an overall arbitration plan to end manning disputes on automated ships, putting a damper on "me too" rivalry among the feuding deep-sea unions.

The steel industry, basic to the economy, has traveled backward full circle after an extended experiment in peaceful coexistence. The 116-day steel strike of 1959 convinced both companies and union that neither could bring the other to its knees by the old tactics of siege and squeeze. Accordingly, they established a Human Relations Committee in which they discussed problems on a year-round basis without the countdown tensions of strike deadlines.

The plan worked so well that most analysts began pointing to steel as an example of civilized industrial relations—an industry in which voluntary disarmament allowed both sides to resolve the complex challenges of changing technology through reason rather than muscle.

But the strength of the new setup proved to be its weakness. The committee worked in secrecy to permit its members freedom to exchange views without making eternal public obeisance to institutional shibboleths. The technique produced agreements a good deal more moderate than workers had grown accustomed to in the immediate postwar years, when every wage increase was the jumping-off point for an even bigger price increase. But though steel remained in the front rank of the industrial wage parade, the committee's secretive atmosphere and the comparatively modest benefits it delivered made the panel an easy target in the union's quadrennial election last February.

The new union high command downgraded the committee and went back to collective bludgeoning. The end of the trail in this year's industrywide negotiations was that familiar roadside rest of precommittee days: the White House. The President rescued the Nation from a strike by dictating generous settlement terms, then congratulated the parties for their fidelity to—guess what—the principles of free collective bargaining.

The automobile industry's fantastic profits make it relatively easy to agree on a fat money package for the union. Yet a major strike headache arises from thousands of local plant issues that explode at contract time. Such outbursts are the more baffling for both union leaders and employers since causes are not merely economic, but stem largely from the individual worker's sense of obliteration in a huge, mechanized society. At General Motors, the pileup of unresolved local problems forced a month-long shutdown of all operations last year despite full agreement on a national master contract. Ford experienced a similar paralysis, only shorter.

In a field where stoppages were once rare and brief, union-management conflicts have blacked out daily newspapers in New York, Cleveland, Detroit, Baltimore, and other large cities, depriving millions of their principal source of informaton about world, national, and local affairs. New York's 114-day strike in 1962–63 was followed by a 24-day tieup this fall and fear is strong that another bitter struggle will accompany the next contract round in less than a year and a half. The problem then will be essentially the same one accounting for most of the recent strife: How to automate with adequate protection for workers whose jobs and skills may be menaced by new machines.

Automation and its human consequences are factors in virtually all major strikes these days. Ironically, however, in some industries automation has eliminated strikes, not caused them. Computerized operations, pushbuttons and other advanced technology have made some plants and services almost invulnerable to union shutdown. The Bell telephone system is now so automatic that nothing short of sabotage or mechanical failure could disrupt its operations during a strike. Most electric utilities are similarly independent of strike pressure. The giant oil refinery and chemical plant of the Shell Oil Co. in Houston maintained normal operations for a full year despite a walkout by 2,000 unionized employees.

Unquestionably, the roster of "strikeproof" industries will grow with the spread of manless machinery. But it would be foolhardy and costly for the community or labor itself to wait until technology makes strikes obsolete; the pointlessness of periodic economic bloodletting is already obvious enough.

The puzzle in a year when Congress has expanded the boundaries of Government responsibilities in every direction from medicare to highway beautification is why no architect of the Great Society has manifested the slightest interest in making sure the public will not wind up the only loser in strikes that halt essential services.

More than 3 years ago the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy sent the White House a report urging that the national emergency strike provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act be made stronger. Stressing the joint obligation of employers and unions to society, the report diagnosed frequent strikes in an industry as a sign of unimaginativeness and irresponsible inflexibility. Nothing has ever come of the report.

The only real move for more public protection this year came from New York's Republican Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, who introduced a bill embodying the proposals of the Presidential advisers and adding some novel touches of his own. Nothing ever came of this bill, either, but it is worth more attention than it got from either the White House or Congress.

The foundation of the Javits bill is the 80-day injunction the President is now empowered to get under Taft-Hartley whenever he feels an industrial dispute menaces the national health or safety. Under the present law the board of inquiry that certifies the existence of an emergency has no authority to recommend settlement terms. Almost everyone agrees this makes no sense, and the Javits bill would give the board the power it needs.

The President would be authorized to order an additional 30-day freeze during which both parties bargained on the settlement recommendations. If they still could not agree, a special receiver would be appointed to seize the struck facilities and operate them to the extent necessary to protect the public interest.

This proposal has the virtue of leaving untouched the ultimate freedom of the employer and the union to make their own decision on contract terms. At the same time, it is flawed by the high degree of authoritarianism embodied in making Federal seizure and operation a standard alternative to strikes. My own preference for a way to avoid the scylla of too little public protection and the Charybdis of too great a restriction on economic freedom lies in a combination of factfinding and compulsory arbitration.

I would favor a narrowly drawn emergency statute applying to transportation, steel and other specified industries Congress decided were vital. It would go into effect, as Taft-Hartley now does, with the President obtaining an 80-day emergency no-strike order. During the truce period a Presidential board would attempt to mediate the dispute. If it got nowhere in the first month, it would submit its own ideas—synthesized from the proposals and arguments of the parties—for a fair settlement. If negotiations on the board's recommendations proved futile after 80 days, it would have the same authority as a court to make a final and binding decision.

Arbitrators already have this conclusive authority, bestowed voluntarily by both sides, to decide grievances arising during the life of labor agreements—an area of turmoil that once caused thousands of wasting strikes. Given a climate of general public support, there is no reason why the arbitration principle could not work as well in settling basic contract disputes in essential industries.

Obviously, the procedure should include penalties for defiance, but these ought not take the form of such patently impractical remedies as mass dismissal or arrest of strikers. Fines against recalcitrant unions or employers, with the amount increased for each day of defiance, would be a more realistic means of enforcement. In extreme cases, revocation of a union's bargaining certification or seizure of a balky employer's plants might be in order.

Basic reliance, however, would not be on penalties, but on the acceptance by labor and management of a realization that the community cannot be made the victim of their incapacity to agree. Without such acceptance no control system will be truly effective.

It is fatuous to pretend that the peace machinery I propose would not cause some atrophy in the will of disputants to reach an independent solution to their problems. The extent to which collective bargaining went out the window when the War Labor Board was passing on virtually all contracts in World War II or when the Wage Stabilization Board performed a similar function in the Korean conflict is a dreary reminder of how prone both sides are to surrender their duties under true collective bargaining. The history of the Railway Labor Act with its steady erosion of labor-management responsibility, represents another warning signal that our dynamic economy can be crippled by excessive reliance on a Government crutch.

Nevertheless, a good deal of cant tends to creep into the extension of such arguments to a point where any arbitration machinery is made to appear the inevitable prelude to Government czardom over both industry and unions.

In the first place, Government is already so heavily involved in every aspect of the American economy that it is nonsense to call it an intruder in labor relations. Ten million workers—one-sixth of the total nonfarm labor force—work directly for Federal, State, and local agencies. Government spending is roughly $180 billion a year, or well over one-quarter of the gross national product. In industries like aerospace, Washington is often the only customer and the American flag would disappear from commercial ship lanes without Federal subsidies and cargo preference guarantees to the biggest of the ship operators.

In dozens of other industries the border between public and private enterprise has become so blurred it is hard to tell whether we have a mixed economy or a mixed-up one. And the line becomes even harder to detect when the test is whether the public or the parties are more severely damaged by an economic power struggle.

Sophistry also obscures a clear view of how different a governmental arbitration award would be from what now passes for free collective bargaining in key industries where the Government almost always ends up by playing a dominant role in restoring peace.

The realities of the present process of "free" decisionmaking were well summed up by Senator JAVITS in commenting on the outcome of the 1965 steel negotiations.

"Let no one believe for a minute that it was real collective bargaining which achieved this settlement," he said. "The President wrote the contract for the parties, and they signed on the dotted line. It may be a good contract this time, but it may be a bad one the next time—whatever it is, once the President is forced to put the prestige of his office on the line, the settlement has been made for the parties, whether they like its terms or not."

In urging a more reliable peace plan for the panic-born expedients produced in every bargaining crisis, I do not delude myself with the expectation that we will eliminate all strikes. Our experience with New York's Condon-Wadlin Act, which outlaws strikes by civil service employees, makes it evident that a strike-free society is a mirage. A democracy must expect less than total compliance even when Draconian penalties are written into the law. In fact, the very severity of the penalties often delays getting strikers back to work.

Australia has had a system of labor courts dating back to the formation of the Commonwealth in 1901. It still has strikes; the latest and the worst was a 7-month walkout of copper miners in Queensland that disrupted the entire economy. But in general the system works well, holds strike losses to insignificant totals and has not reduced the country to totalitarianism.

The challenge in this country is to devise a limited system of compulsory arbitration in some vital industries that will not interfere with the independent inventiveness of unions and employers in trying to develop their own peace machinery. The most notable such instrument now in operation is the committee set up 4 years ago by the United Steelworkers of America and the Kaiser Steel Corp.

The committee, consisting of an equal number of union, company and public representatives, has devised the most ingenious program yet for giving workers a stake in facilitating automation and helping to make company plants more efficient. Under the Kaiser formula, the workers have been getting all the benefits other steel companies give their unionized employees, plus a "progress-sharing" bonus of better than 25 cents an hour. If more unions and more managements showed the same enterprise in approaching technological change, no one would have to worry about statutory safeguards against strikes.

In the absence of any such universal enlightenment, an arbitration law makes more sense than industry's favorite answer: Destroy the "monopoly" power of labor by breaking big unions into little ones. The prescription ignores the fact that much of the present trouble stems from the fragmentation of unions in many key industries, not their excessive concentration. In the railroads, the merchant marine and the newspapers, for example, negotiations would be far less sticky if employers bargained with one industrywide union instead of a multitude of contentious units representing various parts of their work force. Now each union looks over the others' shoulders to determine whether somebody else is getting more.

Quite apart from this consideration, it is obviously unfair to cut unions into small pieces while General Motors, General Electric, United States Steel and other titans keep getting more titanic. Bigness, for better or worse, is the hallmark of our economy and every attempt to reverse the trend creates more problems than it solves. Employers themselves have learned that divide-and-conquer tactics are often a union's most powerful weapon, which is why they usually protest to the National Labor Relations Board over any union move to split up the employers' bargaining unit so that one company can be struck while competitors are left free to profit from its misery.

Clearly, pigmy unions would have no effectiveness at all as a counterweight to either big government or big business. My arguments rest on the basic proposition that both sides at the bargaining table in most major industries have now demonstrated they cannot be exhausted by a strike, however protracted. They have also demonstrated that the severest pinch is on the total economy, not themselves. In these circumstances, when negotiators are too stubborn or too stupid to agree, the Nation needs some one representing all the people to say, "This is it."

The need is particularly urgent when the only rational solution to a controversy would force a union leader or corporate chieftain to commit professional suicide by publicly accepting "impossible" terms he privately conceded were just. In the railroad featherbedding controversy, for example, the most sensible suggestion for peace went so far toward annihilating a craft that a unionist who agreed with the recommendation would soon find himself out in the cold.

An arbitration award, on the other hand, would force the union rank and file or a corporation's board of directors to face unpalatable truths the bargainers could not espouse on their own. Most big strikes these days end in agreement on almost precisely the terms an arbitrator or factfinder would have proposed without the siege of a strike. And when the terms don't match, it is often because the union has used its power to get so much more than the difference comes out of the consumer's pocketbook.

The details of a workable antistrike law—one that would give maximum consideration to the twin need for freedom and responsibility—would be infinitely complex. I believe the best way to get a nonpolitical consensus on what such a law should contain lies in a suggestion made by one of the Nation's ablest industrial relations counselors Dr. George W. Taylor, former chairman of the National War Labor Board.

He rightly fears that the normal routine of congressional hearings would simply evoke polarized statements of age-old positions from all the familiar experts. As an alternative, he would have the President appoint a counterpart of a British royal commission to appraise the entire problem and recommend a new public policy. It should be made up of people who, in the Quakers' term, "have a concern" and not just the old standbys from labor, management and the colleges. Originality of idea, not restatement of the tired reasons why nothing can be done, would be the objective.

There is no end of approaches the Presidential panel might explore in addition to factfinding and compulsory arbitration. A highly successful apparatus for composing disputes through a blend of mediation and arbitration has worked for years in the missile sites construction and atomic energy fields. United Nations Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, who was a whiz at defusing in-

dustrial timebombs before he went to the Supreme Court and the United Nations, believes something similar would prove useful in the newspaper industry and other key trouble spots.

Walter P. Reuther has a plan akin to the one for an economic ombudsman. He wants a governmental review board, before which unions and employers in industries with highly concentrated economic control would have to justify their positions whenever management insisted that union wage pressure was forcing it to boost prices. Dozens of other proposals deserve study. All that is lacking is any apparent will in Washington to do the studying.

Three strikes and you're out is the rule in baseball. Shouldn't some comparable limit be established to prevent the community from becoming a recurrent hostage to labor-management intransigency?

A Protest Against Actions of the Turkish Government Against the Ecumenical Patriarchate of the Greek Orthodox Church in Istanbul

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, many members of the Greek Orthodox Church in the United States as well as many other Americans have expressed their grave concern about the measures taken by the Government of Turkey against the ecumenical patriarchate of the Orthodox Church in Instanbul.

Under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD a copy of a resolution on this matter which was unanimously adopted by the St. Andrew's Greek Orthodox Church community of South Bend, Ind., in my own congressional district and sent to me.

I also insert the text of my reply to the presbyter of the church, the Reverend George C. Massouras, and the church president, Mr. Andrew P. Poledor:

RESOLUTION

The Greek Orthodox Church of America, through its exarch and representative of the ecumenical patriarchate in the Americas, Archbishop Iakovos, has made known and has strongly denounced the present situation in Turkey, to President Johnson, to the United Nations Secretary General U Thant, and to other civic and religious leaders. In the past few months, we have been gratified at the deep concern voiced by these leaders. Following an audience with Pope Paul VI during his historic 1-day visit to the United States on October 4, 1965, Archbishop Iakovos issued the following statement:

"It was a great privilege for me to be received by His Holiness Pope Paul VI during his crowded and epochal day in New York. I feel very moved that the spiritual leader of the Roman Catholic Church showed such deep concern at the present day sad situation confronting the ecumenical patriarchate and our Greek Orthodox brethren in Turkey, and at his desire to help His Holiness Athenagoras I and his flock in their present trials."

But the oppressive measures of the Turkish Government against the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople in Instanbul, and the Greek Orthodox minority there continue unceasingly. It therefore behooves us to bring to your attention the fact that these measures by the Turkish Government include: "control" of patriarchal finances and activities; the seizure of two churches of the ecumenical patriarchate in Instanbul by followers of the "Turkish Pseudo-Orthodox" movement; the expulsion of thousands of Greek nationals; the closing of schools and philanthropic institutions of the patriarchate; refusal to allow students of the Greek Orthodox parochial schools to participate in commemorations of religious holidays; the forceful closing of the printing plant of the patriarchate; and the arbitrary ousting from Turkey of Prelates of the Holy Synod of the ecumenical patriarchate.

Having just commemorated the 25th anniversary of the historic day of October 28, 1940, when the people of Greece said "No"—the famous "OXI" in Greek—to the Italian demands for surrender and successfully resisted the invaders, and thus thwarted the Axis powers' plans for a speedy overthrow of Europe, we, as members of the second largest Christian religious body in the world, emphatically say "No" in protest against the trampling upon of religious freedom, by the nation of Turkey, which does not comprehend the meaning of freedom and which does indeed scorn its existence.

We beseech you to examine the atrocities of late in Turkey against the ecumenical patriarchate and the Greek Orthodox minority, and then join with us in protesting the unacceptable religious persecution in Turkey; unacceptable not only to us, but to the age in which we live and to the entire civilized world, but above all to America, the greatness of which has been blessed by its freedom of religion.

We thank you for the consideration given our plea. We are confident that through your efforts and the prayers of freemen everywhere, that the day will soon come, when religious persecutions will be no more.

Respectfully,

THE GREEK ORTHODOX CONGREGATION OF ST. ANDREW'S GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH OF SOUTH BEND, IND.

LETTER FROM CONGRESSMAN BRADEMAS

The Reverend GEORGE C. MASSOURAS,
Presbyter.

Mr. ANDREW P. POLEDOR,
President, St. Andrew's Greek Orthodox Church, South Bend, Ind.

DEAR FATHER MASSOURAS AND MR. POLEDOR: Thank you very much for sending me the text of the resolution which was adopted unanimously by the St. Andrew's Greek Orthodox Church community in general assembly.

I am pleased indeed to have the opportunity to express my own deep concern about the recent reports I have been receiving of the harassment and expulsion of the Greek subjects in Turkey. Ever since the conflict erupted between the Greeks and the Turks on the island of Cyprus, retaliation against the Greek nationals in Istanbul has been "an open policy" of the Turkish Government.

It is true that the recent crises in the Greek Government have complicated any moves designed to reach a solution to the Cyprus situation. Yet methods such as those being used by the Turks will do nothing more than complicate this situation even further and diminish the possibility of effective negotiations.

The Greek minority community in Turkey has lived there for generations. As of this summer, 5,000 of the 11,000 Greek nationals living in Turkey had been expelled and the remainder are being systematically ousted. Since those who are deported are often heads of families, their dependents, who are Turkish citizens, are in many cases forced to leave. The Greek Orthodox community in Istanbul, which a few years ago numbered 100,000 members, has now dropped to half that number and is being further reduced every day as a result of the systematic campaign to drive Hellenism out of Turkey. Unless a solution is soon found, the Greeks in Istanbul fear their community will soon be entirely dispersed. As of September 15, an agreement under which Greeks have been privileged to live in Turkey has been canceled. And recently the Turkish Government has been enforcing a long-overlooked law barring Greek nationals from 30 professions and occupations. Greeks are not permitted, for example, to be doctors, nurses, architects, shoemakers, cooks, guides, or tailors.

Greeks scan the Istanbul newspapers for published lists, fearing they will find their names. When they do they are given a week to leave the country and police escorts insure that they make the deadline. Many of those deported are small shopkeepers or craftsmen, priests, teachers, students, and housewives. All have to leave Turkey with almost no money following preventive seizure of their property against alleged nonpayment of taxes. Turkish officials contend that all Greeks deported are guilty of subversive activities. That the list of deportees is drawn up at random is clear from the fact that such lists have included the names of several persons long dead. All were described as "major security risks."

There is fear now in the hearts of 60,000 Turks of Greek descent.

The ecumenical patriarchate of Istanbul, headed by Athenagoras I, is the patriarchate which has jurisdiction over the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, which is the largest of the Eastern Orthodox bodies in America, with an estimated 2 million communicants. Much as Rome is the center of Roman Catholicism, the patriarch is the primate of the approximately 200 million Eastern Orthodox Christians and his See in Istanbul is Orthodoxy's center. Because of the patriarchate's universally important position, it is particularly unfortunate that the Turks should persist in these humiliating measures. The patriarchate has maintained its spiritual role for more than 16 centuries. Yet in the last few months the patriarch has been a virtual hostage of the Turkish Government and even the orphanage of the patriarchate has been shut down.

Turkey claims that these measures have been adopted in retaliation for maltreatment of Turkish Cypriots by Greek Cypriots but this pretext is senseless because neither the Greeks of Turkey nor the ecumenical patriarchate are a party to the Cyprus dispute.

I sincerely hope that the Turkish Government will not persist in this policy which is not only harmful to the Turks as a bargaining counter in the Cyprus dispute but which violates internationally accepted covenants and principles of law and morality expressed in the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, which established the rights of non-Moslem minorities in Turkey to religious and cultural freedom—all of which agreements have been solemnly subscribed to by Turkey.

I do not want to believe that what is going on in Turkey today will become a full-force anti-Greek persecution policy. With deep respect for the Greek people and the independent nation which their courage has created, I wish to add my voice to the hundreds of ecclesiastical and civic leaders and organizations both here and abroad protesting this tragic situation in the hope that we might penetrate the conscience of the Turkish Government—that they will cease this merciless persection of a minority unable to defend itself.

In order to give further voice to the concern which you and members of St. Andrew's

Greek Orthodox Church and I share about this matter, I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of your resolution and my response to President Johnson and Secretary of State Rusk, and I shall also have the text of both your resolution and my letter printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN BRADEMAS,
Member of Congress.

Interagency Maritime Task Force: What Should We Do About the American Merchant Marine?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, in recent years, as indeed for many other years, there has been an urge in the several administrations to ask "What's wrong with the American Merchant Marine?" And then to authorize a study, upon which all action must wait.

We are in one of those phases now.

Four years ago a series of these studies was started. It didn't start out as a series, but that is the way it has developed. In the meantime all action has waited. And the vacuum has been filled by foreign competition.

But now perhaps we are getting somewhere. A new but highly controversial study has come to light in recent weeks which should not and cannot be ignored.

In the next session of this Congress we will have to face the issues firmly presented by the so-called Interagency Task Force on the American Merchant Marine. The report has been widely released and we have been asked to review it and work cooperatively toward a satisfactory resolution of our maritime problems. This request was embodied in a speech by the very able new Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation, the Honorable Alan Boyd, at the annual Merchant Marine Conference in Galveston, Tex., on October 15, 1965.

We can do no less than heed this sincere request to appraise the proposals and react to them objectively so they may be fully understood and freely discussed in the next session of the Congress.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD at this point the speech of Under Secretary Boyd which sets forth his views as chairman of the task force group. While I disagree thoroughly with many of his views, it is well that we know the Government's position now, so that all who are concerned may have an opportunity to analyze them before the beginning of the next session of Congress in January 1966:

THE INTERAGENCY MARITIME TASK FORCE REPORT

(Transcript of extemporaneous remarks of Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation Alan S. Boyd, luncheon meeting, American Merchant Marine Conference and National Convention of the Propeller Club of the United States, Galveston, Tex., Oct. 14, 1965)

Congressman THOMPSON, Mr. President, distinguished guests, members of this convention—who I hope in time I will be able to address as friends all. I very much appreciate the opportunity to be here with you today.

I feel a little bit ashamed as a result of some of the things Congressman THOMPSON said in his introduction—about me taking time off from my busy duties to come down here. The fact of the matter is this was a very selfish trip on my part, to have the pleasure of being in Houston and walking on the beach under the Texas sunshine alongside the Gulf of Mexico. It's awful to characterize that as any sacrifice at all. I'm delighted to be here. And I just hope that I have another chance "to take the time out of my busy schedule" to get back to Galveston.

I bring you the greetings of Secretary Connor, who is extremely sorry that it was not possible for him to be here today, and to express his interest and concern on the future of a strong U.S. merchant marine—a message that he would have brought had he been able to be here personally.

I would like to talk to you today about the Interagency Maritime Task Force report, and if I may paraphrase Mark Anthony, I am not here to either praise the merchant marine or to bury it. I'm here to talk about what we did and why we did it. And I should say in all candor that if you feel that I have over-reacted in any way you may be right, because very frankly I was quite disappointed at the acton of the Maritime Advisory Committee last week when the task force report was submitted to it. It seemed to me that it was worthy of some study and some discussion. I formed that conclusion at the time the committee refused to accept it, I hold to that conclusion today. So if I do seem to overreact a little bit, I hope you forgive me.

I think that this is a rather strange sort of paper. It's one that has no parallel in the maritime area to my knowledge. But then we're involved in what we call progress, and progress takes many forms. We think, those of us who worked on the task force, think that this paper represents a form of progress.

And I should say in this connection, that when I talk about those of us who worked on the paper, the members from the Department of Labor who worked on the paper did not and do not agree with some of the basic premises in the paper. This is by way of indicating that there's differences of opinion in the Government as well as, I understand, in the industry.

One of the things I think we should deal with first and foremost is that of the whipping boy. Everybody's got a whipping boy in this merchant marine. I have talked to people in management who tell me that if the union situation and labor could only be straightened out the merchant marine would be in sort of a state of nirvana. They also then say, under their breath, "however we need to get the Government straightened out at the same time." The union people to whom I have talked indicate that if we had 100-percent cargo preference, and everything moved on American bottoms that came in and out of the United States, we'd have no further problems. Some of the Government people I have talked to have the feeling that if the management and labor interests would exercise a little commonsense we'd have no further problems. I have heard criticism of my good friend, Nick Johnson, who has come in and attempted to torpedo the industry in the views of some people. Much to my surprise I have even heard criticism of Alan Boyd, who has come in without any knowledge of the maritime industry and is now attempting to tell the people in the industry how they ought to run their business.

And I want to say first and foremost I accept all of these criticisms—on behalf of Nick. Seriously, the reason I point this out is that I think it's fairly well agreed, for whatever reason, the U.S. merchant marine is not of the quality, of the quantity, or exercising the capability, that it could if we had the ideal U.S. merchant marine. Now there are several ways to try to improve the situation. To my mind one of the ways is not to say, "this is Nick Johnson's program," or "this is Alan Boyd's program," or "this is the fault of labor," or "this is the fault of management," or "if the Government, that anonymous body, would only follow the policies of the 1936 Maritime Act everything would be all right." I think this is an utter, complete waste of time. There is no point in pointing the finger.

What we need to do is to decide how can we best develop a strong, competitive, U.S. merchant marine. The paper to which I have referred is our effort to do that.

The paper, the programs which are set forth in the paper, are based on a number of premises. These premises obviously are based on judgment. There's a very broad judgment area involved here. Now since there is a judgment factor, I accept that we may be wrong. We may be completely wrong in the premises on which the policy and program were adopted. And what I am asking for, what the members of the task force are interested in, is developing a policy for a strong merchant marine. We want criticism of the paper. We do not want people to tell us that we are stupid. I'm willing to accept that, but it's completely irrelevant to what we have in the paper. What I want people to do who object to any or all portions of this paper is to say, "Gentlemen, you are wrong for these reasons: A, B, C, D. Now let's sit down and figure out what is the right thing to do." We want to do the right thing, and we will. But we are not going to be steered from any course on the basis of insults. It will not make for a strong U.S. merchant marine. The issues are here. The issues will not go away. If we're going to improve our situation, we should address ourselves to the issues. We should bring them to the administration, and then to the Congress, where, in the best tradition of American Government they can be debated and voted on and then the stamp of public interest will have been placed on whatever is done, and we will move forward with a consensus.

Now what are the premises? First of all, one premise is that it is in the interest of the U.S. Government; the people of the United States, to have a strong, competitive U.S. merchant marine. The second premise is that the United States utilizing taxpayers' dollars cannot logically support a merchant marine, through dollar subsidy, for any other basis than the national defense requirements. The national defense requirements are divided into two parts: The military requirements and the essential civilian requirements.

We considered other premises for subsidy. One, prestige; two, employment; three, trade leverage.

We feel that to the extent one may argue that a U.S.-subsidized merchant marine has any effect on trade leverage, that it can be accomplished by those ships that will be built and operated within the purview of the policy which has been set forth. I should say that we have grave question in our own mind that the operation of the American subsidized merchant marine in ocean trading conferences is of any benefit whatsoever to the U.S. shipper in terms of trade leverage.

On the question of prestige, this is a very appealing argument, and one that appeals to me, and I must say with some surprise that I was shocked to find that I was willing, at the final stages of this paper, to accept the concept of no more subsidized passenger ships. Its almost unthinkable, that the United States shouldn't have a number of fine passenger ships sailing the major trade routes of the world. But then we looked at it from another point of view. The United States of America has its troops, its military forces in many countries of the world. The U.S. Government, the taxpayers, you folks, are spending over three and a half billion dollars a year in aid programs throughout the free world. The U.S. Government is the single major supporter of all of the free world international organizations: the United Nations, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the World Health Organization, and you can just go down the line. The United States is the major contributor and supporter of these organizations. A full 85 percent of the commercial airline planes flying in the free world today are manufactured in the United States. The United States with increasing success, and increasing regularity is putting men and equipment into space, taking photographs of Venus and Mars, rotating around the world with the weather satellites and various other military watch satellites, with Comsat. The United States has provided and does provide the necessary hope and idealism for hundreds of millions of peoples in the world who yearn for a democratic form of government, and you can go on and on and talk these things up. And then, can one really say that 13 passenger ships or 12 passenger ships, or 20 passenger ships, are necessary for the United States of America to have prestige in this world? I don't think so.

The other point was the provision of employment. Now when you start dealing with statistics, you can come out with any sort of figure you want. I'm sure you all remember Mark Twain's saying about "there are lies, damned lies, and statistics." Well, there's a great deal of truth about that. One statistic we can throw out is that the Government is paying today about $8,000 per job per year for employment on the subsidized merchant marine. This is an accurate statistic. I don't know whether it's a valid statistic. But assuming that it is valid, if it is a matter of providing employment, it can be done much more cheaply, much more easily, on the shore, in the domestic markets of the United States, at much less cost to the U.S. Government. We could not accept this premise as a requirement for subsidizing a U.S. merchant marine.

One point I would like to make on labor. My background in the recent past has been in aviation, and I tend to relate things to what I know. I mentioned earlier that 85 percent of the commercial airliners flying in the free world were American manufactured. Here is a situation where the United States has exported its technology. The very latest developments are going to our foreign competitors. The flight crews, the ground crews, and the managements of the U.S.-flag airlines and foreign operations are paid more than twice the salaries—total, fringe benefits and everything—of their foreign competition.

We're flying the same planes, and our U.S. airlines are beating the pants off their competition. Now this raises an interesting question. What is the ingredient? The point I want to make, however, is that I cannot accept a statement that it's all a problem of labor. Certainly, I think there need to be some changes and we've suggested some in this paper.

This does raise another point, however, and this is technology. If we're going to be competitive, we've got to have the most advanced technology, and we've got to take advantage of it. That means to me automated ships, and there is no point in automating ships, spending vast amounts of capital and then putting an army of employees on board who dilute completely the benefit of automation.

Now these are areas where I understand those of us in government should tread very warily. We're not supposed to have ideas in labor-management relations. I don't accept that for one minute.

We're not any smarter, we're not as smart, as the people involved. But we are objective. And we're faced with a situation where there is very little progress being made. It seems to me in this area of labor management relations, as well as in the area of basic maritime policy, it is a function and a responsibility of those of us in government to say what we think. I do not believe that any issue has been resolved by people dodging it. I do think the future of the U.S. merchant marine is far too important for us to wander around on the periphery of the problems without engaging ourselves in a straight-forward, unemotional discussion of how do we resolve the situation so that we can have the strongest, the most competitive, the most profitable merchant marine of any free world country. And that's why we have developed what seems to be a controversial report.

What I hope for is that those of you who are involved in this business will look at such things as the incentive subsidy program, and see the benefits you see you can gain from it and point out the errors you see in it. And I would like to say on the incentive subsidy idea, it's something that gives management a great deal of freedom, something that makes the less efficient operators either become more efficient or get out of the game. And it is a formula which undoubtedly has a lot of bugs in it. But that should not mean that the idea is bad. What it should mean is that where we find bugs we ought to adjust them, so that they will be in the common interest of the operators and of the Government.

The construction subsidy program has pretty much the same set of premises, exactly the same set of premises, related to it as does the operating subsidy. We cannot justify, other than for national defense purposes, the maintenance of subsidized U.S. shipyards. We are not the enemies of U.S. shipyards. We want them to prosper.

But in all of these areas where we are talking about the expenditure of Federal funds for subsidy of the merchant marine it must be borne in mind the Maritime Administration, the Department of Commerce, must first of all within the Department of Commerce relate its requests for funds to the other programs of the Department of Commerce. Then we go to the Bureau of the Budget where we must justify what we seek for the merchant marine, including the shipyards, in a contest for funds with all the other agencies of the Government. This includes the Department of Defense, the Post Office Department, social legislation, conservation legislation, everything you can think of—Agriculture. And a decision is made, based on the judgment of the President, as to how he can best allocate the limited funds. So it's not just a matter of a few more dollars or a few less dollars. This is a continuing annual battle that must be justified. Now if we can obtain information to help us better justify, or to justify more money for these programs, we'll be delighted. But in our own thinking, what we have stated is that we can justify subsidy only for the national defense requirements.

We hope that we will have a strong merchant marine. Part of it is up to the Government, part of it is up to the industry.

One of the things we bear down on very heavily in this report is research and development. I think personally, and I'm sure Nick feels, we should be spending a great deal more money in research and development. None of us think for a moment we can stand up here before a podium and say, "you should be more competitive and you should have have better ships," and we have done our part of the job. That's not true at all. We've got to provide more technology. We've got to assist in the research area. Yesterday there was a discussion of nuclear shipping, nuclear power. I strongly favor a nuclear power program. I do not favor the concept of those who say we should put all our eggs in the nuclear power basket. The merchant marine has so many avenues open to it in the field of technology that we would be taking a very narrow view if we decided we were going to put all our eggs in the nuclear power basket. There is so much more to be done and it can be done intelligently and quickly if we work cooperatively.

We may have, we shall have, the merchant marine policy which will provide for a strengthened U.S. merchant marine only if we work cooperatively in all areas. I would ask that everyone who is involved, who is interested in the future of the U.S. merchant marine, study the task force paper. Give it serious, thoughtful—I might even say prayerful—consideration. And then let us sit down and talk about not what is wrong, but what is right, and how to achieve it. Thank you very much.

Oren Harris

SPEECH

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, this House is a better House because OREN HARRIS served here for a quarter of a century. This Nation is a stronger and a better country because OREN HARRIS was a Member of Congress. The free world and Western civilization is stronger and more secure because of OREN HARRIS' dedication to the great principles and ideals of individual liberty.

Mr. Speaker, this is an age of public relations, advertising, and salesmanship. OREN HARRIS has been a great salesman for our private enterprise system, for our form of Government and for the image of America. As chairman of the great Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, OREN HARRIS has improved commerce, foreign and domestic. He has improved broadcasting and resisted any monopoly or censorship of news.

OREN HARRIS has been one of the outstanding leaders not only in this historic Congress but a great leader in an important and crucial era of world history.

OREN HARRIS is a devoted Christian. He dedicated much of his time and talent to the Vaughn Bible class at Calvary Baptist Church in Washington.

He ranks as one of the greatest teachers in the history of this great class which is one of the oldest and largest in the world. We are going to miss OREN HARRIS at the Vaughn Bible class where he was always an inspiration to me. I am going to miss him here in the House. Our loss here is Arkansas' gain. He will grace the U.S. district court with dignity, with ability, and integrity. Mrs. Dorn joins me in wishing for OREN HARRIS a long and distinguished career on the bench and our love and best wishes always.

Financial General's Olmsted Predicts That Stockholders Will Benefit From Divestiture Under Holding Company Law—His Statement Puts Lie to Argument That Illegal Bank Mergers Must Be Forgiven

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, Financial General Corp. is a $1 billion-plus financial holding company owning, among many other companies, 26 banks with 104 main offices and branches in 6 States and the District of Columbia.

In 1956, Congress enacted the Bank Holding Company Act because of the apparent necessity to control the quickening pace of concentration in banking through expansion of holding companies as well as through mergers. Unfortunately, a House-passed bill to tighten up provisions in the antitrust laws applying to asset acquisitions by banks died in the Senate. Furthermore, although the holding company law was a broadly supported, bipartisan measure, it was shot through with serious loopholes. President Eisenhower in signing the 1956 act stated that removing the exemptions would require the further attention of Congress.

Included among the exemptions was the loophole enjoyed by Financial General all these years, permitting it to escape meeting standards and abiding by the same rules applicable to other bank holding companies.

The Banking and Currency Committee, of which I have the privilege of being chairman, conducted hearings during the summer on H.R. 7372, a bill part of a legislative package to plug the important loopholes in the act. H.R. 7372 would remove the exemption of Financial General as well as approximately 275 other investment companies. H.R. 7371 which passed the House on September 23, included a provision having the same effect as H.R. 7372.

In testifying against H.R. 7372 before our Domestic Finance Subcommittee last July, Mr. George Olmsted, of Financial General, claimed that the bill was punitive legislation aimed at Financial General's stockholders, policyholders, depositors, and customers. He stated that requiring Financial General to become a bank holding company and divest itself of its nonbanking enterprises would have a "harsh effect upon innocent investors."

Personally, I never agreed with this argument and I am glad to see that upon further study, Mr. Olmsted no longer feels that his stockholders will suffer from divestiture. A recent issue of Investors Reader, published by a large investment firm, quoted Olmsted as explaining that "several tickets will be worth more than one." He predicted that the "breakup value" of the company will be $35 per share whereas the firm's stock is now traded on the exchange at about $14 per share.

Although the broad public interest must always be Congress' first consideration, I am glad that Financial General's stockholders will not be harmed by plugging this serious loophole in the law. Mr. Olmsted's prediction would also seem to be applicable to several illegal bank mergers which the courts have ordered dissolved. In fact, it is purobably a much more simple matter to sell off a number of small branches as has been ordered in the Manufacturers-Hanover merger decision than it would be for Financial General to divest itself of entire companies. Furthermore, it would be no more of an inconvenience to the stockholders, depositors, and customers of Manufacturers-Hanover for that bank to "demerge" as it was in 1961, when the two banks merged in the first place. Certainly, such alleged inconveniences are not grounds for enactment of S. 1698, a very unwise and even dangerous bill to weaken our antimerger laws.

Kenya's Second Anniversary of Independence—December 11

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to extend my congratulations and best wishes to the people and leaders of Kenya as they prepare to celebrate, on this coming December 11, their second anniversary as an independent nation. To the people of Kenya and to His Excellency, the Prime Minister, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, and to His Excellency, the Kenyan Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Burudi Nabwera, I wish to express my best wishes for a joyous celebration.

Like other new nations, Kenya is faced with many difficult problems. Even the most affluent states are still struggling with the ancient evils of poverty, ignorance, and disease. Just as the United States seeks to solve this problem through the war on poverty, Kenya too has assumed responsibility for these monumental tasks. In addition Kenya must also overcome a tradition of tribal rivalries and a narrow economic base. The population of Kenya is almost 9 million people of many diverse backgrounds. Each group has a tradition and culture of its own, with the main ones being the Kikuyu, Luo, Baluhya, Kamba, and Meru. In addition there are a significant number of Kenyans of Somalian, Asian, and Arabian descent. Under the leadership of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya has initiated a strong governmental program to unify the country and accelerate economic development in every region of the country. An article in a recent edition of the Sunday New York Times magazine, which I will insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD immediately following my remarks, details the very interesting story of Prime Minister Kenyatta and the long struggle for Kenyan independence. One of the most interesting statements of Jomo Kenyatta's is from a speech he gave shortly before Kenya gained its independence in which he explained the importance for Kenya of national unity and vigorous economic development:

> Where there has been tribal animosity, it will be finished. Let us not dwell upon the bitterness of the past. I would rather look to the future, to the good new Kenya, not the bad old days. If we can create this sense of national direction and identity, we shall have gone a long way toward solving our economic problems. We hold out no empty promises of achieving utopia overnight. What we hold out to every citizen is the prospect of work, justly rewarded.

Kenya's road to independence and democratic government was a long and difficult one. It was not until 1944 that the first African was nominated to the Legislative Council. Prior to that time Africans had no direct participation in governmental affairs. In the years ranging from October 1952 to December 1959 the country was in a state of emergency arising out of the Mau Mau rebellion. This emergency and the power of the European settlers contributed to the slow pace of constitutional development in Kenya. In 1960 a constitutional conference in London finally gave the Africans a majority in the Legislative Council. Constitutional talks in 1962 were complicated by differences between the Kenya African National Union—KANU—which has the support of the larger tribes and the Kenya African Democratic Union—KADU—representing the smaller tribes. The complex constitution written at that time established a quasi-federal system providing regional and local governments with considerable powers. A Council of Ministers holds executive power while legislative power lies in a two-chamber parliament consisting of a House of Representatives and Senate. After victory in the 1963 elections, KANU, under the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta, established the first government.

Kenya has been quite active in the international trade union movement. One of Kenya's main labor leaders is the young and energetic Tom Mboya whose visits to the United States have made him quite well known here. As someone who was born and raised in the labor

movement and who has been deeply involved in union affairs, I am very aware of the crucial role which a free and vigorous labor movement can have in developing a strong and growing economy. The members and officers of the Kenyan labor movement can be proud of the great progress they have made in such a short time in building an outstanding trade union organization.

Relations between the United States and Kenya are quite good. The United States has extended technical assistance and other development aid to Kenya—particularly in the areas of agriculture, education, community development, and public administration. Also the Peace Corps has been quite active in Kenya. Each year a great number of young Kenyans come to study in the United States. In fact, except for Nigeria, Kenya sends more students to the United States than any other African country. These Kenyan students have been excellent ambassadors of good will for their country and we are proud to have them with us.

Mr. Speaker, the United States is proud to have the friendship of Kenya. I would like to extend my congratulations to the people and leaders of Kenya for their past achievements, and best wishes for further successes in their upcoming third year of independence in establishing a unified and prosperous nation which will make Kenya one of the oustanding new countries in Africa and in the world.

The article is as follows:

"HARAMBEE," SAYS KENYATTA—"LET'S ALL PULL TOGETHER"

(By Lawrence Fellows)

NAIROBI.—When Jomo Kenyatta was a boy in Ichaweri, he used to herd cattle on the pasture around Mogumo-wa-njathi, the only sacred tree left in his neighborhood. There were other trees around, but no sacred ones, for the British settlers, in clearing their newly acquired plots for cultivation had cut down all the sacred ones except Mogumo-wa-njathi. It was the only tree left around Ichaweri where the Kikuyu could make sacrifices for rain, or where communion of any sort could be had with Ngai, the Divider of the Universe.

People would come to the tree and lament: "Gikuyu harea keari kianoimaho." (The Kikuyu are no longer where they used to be.) The restless, hot-tempered little cowherder would sometimes run from the pasture in anger and shame for his tribe, and wonder how long Ngai, sitting up there on his resting place atop Mount Kenya, would put up with the intruding whites.

The land was eventually to be handed back, but not until after Jomo Kenyatta had developed a fearsome, somewhat overstated reputation as the evil-eyed leader of Mau Mau, a wenching, hard-drinking, bloodletting terrorist bent on plunging Kenya back into the abyss of primitive and debased tribalism. Sir Patrick Renison, a British Governor of Kenya in Mau Mau days, accused Jomo Kenyatta of leading his people into darkness and death.

Yet, as though some splendid Kikuyu magician had filled his horn with the secret ingredients of the love potion they call monyenye and spread it around the world—at least around the Western part of the world—Kenyatta, now President of independent Kenya, has become the image of stability and sweet reasonableness in a continent sorely in need of just those virtues.

And Kenya, as much as any place in black Africa, holds out the prospect of a stable, more prosperous future. On vast dun-colored plains and in hot valleys scoured deep in the earth's crust, primitive tribesmen still herd their tiny humpbacked cattle as they have for centuries, but more and more of their children are being lured into school. On red, eroded hillsides, smoke rises through the thatch of clustered mud-and-wattle huts, but roads now wind up to some of them. And some of the farmers are beginning to plant not just enough corn and beans to keep alive but crops to sell as well.

In Nairobi, tall hotels and modern office buildings have sprouted from an underbrush of close-packed Indian shops and tin-roofed shacks, and African policemen direct the choking traffic with cool efficiency. Gradually, Africans are taking over jobs in the banks, the shops, customs, the post office, and elsewhere. But Kenyatta is holding back the impatient tide of envious Africans wanting the jobs that white men still hold, and is thereby keeping a modicum of efficiency that other newly independent African countries might well envy.

In the cool, rolling hills of the Highlands, Africans have been settled on more than 1,000 farms that used to belong to white men. The farms were bought by the Kenya Government, with the help of loans and grants from the British Government, and in most cases broken into smaller units and resold to Africans with generous loans to get them started. On some of these farms, what used to be lawns and flower gardens are now planted with corn; what used to be smooth meadows or rich fields of grain are now reverting tragically to bush. But more often the farms are being run as well by the Africans as they ever were before.

Perhaps 500 white farmers have found buyers on the open market, but close to 1,000 remain, many of them beset by problems of thieving and drunken vandalism and by squatters inching in on the edges of the fields. There is no official pressure on the farmers to leave. Indeed, Kenyatta wants the process to be gradual, so that the inevitable temporary dislocations in food supply will not cause his people to go hungry, or seriously crimp Kenya's earnings from agricultural exports. Lesser politicians than Kenyatta are telling the squatters that the land is theirs by right, but the President is firm in his insistence that none of the farms will be had unless they are paid for.

In a basic policy statement on Kenya's brand of African socialism, Kenyatta has moralized on how public ownership is as prone to abuses as is private ownership. He has also said that nationalization does not always lead to additional resources, and that there will be no nationalization in Kenya without full compensation.

He has faced up to the political extremists in his country, and taken steps to cut off their supplies of Chinese and Russian money. He has suppressed the Lumumba Institute, a political training center established this year mainly through the efforts of Vice President Jaramogi Oginga, with help from the Soviet Union. It had a faculty of two Russians and eight Moscow-trained Africans, and a student body drawn from branches of the Kenya African National Union, the country's only political party; Kenyatta reckoned it would be only a matter of time before the party machinery was in the hands of Communists and their sympathizers.

When a team of Russian military advisers wanted to stay in Kenya longer than Kenyatta deemed appropriate, he sent them packing. When Chou En-lai resurrected his famous remark about how Africa was ripe for revolution, Kenyatta replied sharply: "Kenya intends to avert all revolutions irrespective of their origins."

He has taken his campaign against communism—and against all he thinks threatens to undermine the country—through the ranks of the politicians, to the elders of all the tribes, and to the people. Not long ago, before tens of thousands of his countrymen who had gathered in Nairobi to hear him, Kenyatta declared that there was no place for communism in Kenya, that communism represented no less a threat to the freedom of Africans than did imperialism in its heyday. "It is naive to think that there is no danger of imperialism from the East . . ." he said. "This is why we reject communism. It is, in fact, the reason why we have chosen for ourselves the policy of nonalignment and African socialism."

"It is a sad mistake to think that you can get more food, more hospitals, or schools by crying 'communism.'" Kenyatta went on. On the platform, shifting the weight of his elephantine frame from one foot to the other, waving his fly whisk lazily to emphasize a point, he seemed huge, relaxed, powerful. This was Mzee—the old man—as the people call him with all the respect that accrues to age in this part of the world. (Kenyatta himself is not sure of his age; he thinks that "about 75" is close.) His bleary, slow-moving eyes went back and forth over the audience, and the crowd hung on every word.

His target was those who have been building a following for themselves by preaching that all the things the people want will be theirs if they just hold out for communism. "There is no room here for the lazy or idle," Kenyatta said. "There is no room for those who wait for things to be given for nothing. There is no place for leaders who hope to build a nation on slogans."

He also was after those in Kenya who seek to follow more closely the examples set by Tanzania and Uganda. To Kenyatta's way of thinking, the union of Tanganyika with Zanzibar, and Tanzania's commitment to the various liberation movements she harbors, reflect a preoccupation with the old perils of imperialism and opened new lines of Chinese penetration—just as Uganda's dispute with the Congo led to the shipment of Chinese weapons into Uganda. While Tanzania and Uganda made overtures to the East, Kenyatta did his best to tighten Kenya's connections with the West. He does not see nonalignment achieved best by breaking all the old bonds.

"I must warn those in our country who seek to create confusion," he said. "It is true that we have passed through many years of Western imperialism. It is natural that we should detest Western colonialism, and associate the word 'imperialism' with the West. But if we are truly nonalined we must not avoid making friends with those Western countries which extend an honest field of cooperation and trade. To do this is just to prove that we are not free and cannot separate good from bad. It proves that we still suffer from a colonial mentality."

Kenyatta had been up that morning since 6 o'clock, pulling weeds out of a field of corn by his new house in Ichaweri. As usual, one of his aids had to get up early, too, and talk to the President about his program for that day. "I know about communism," Kenyatta said. "I've seen it, and cannot be fooled." By 8:15 his aids and his five bodyguards were ready to start the 30-mile trip they make every morning down to Nairobi, and Kenyatta was still on the subject of communism. "I know how it works," he insisted.

He had been exposed to it only marginally at first soon after he landed a job in Nairobi in 1921, as an inspector of water supplies. He was burning with ambition to do something about emancipating his people. He began promoting the idea of independent schools for the Kikuyu (he himself had attended a Church of Scotland mission school), and was brushed almost immediately into the turmoil of politics.

By 1928, Kenyatta was general secretary of the Kikuyu Central Association, and emerging as the real leader of the first nationalist movement in Kenya.

A group of Indians with Communist connections put up the money and legal help Kenyatta needed to go off to London and plead the Kikuyu case with Britain's Colonial Secretary. The Indians, with a larger community in Kenya than the British, calculated that if Kenyatta could wangle some advantages for his people, they were bound to benefit as well.

Kenyatta never got to see the Colonial Secretary, but fell in with the League Against Imperialism, a Communist group with headquarters in London. He paid a quick trip to Moscow, was given a handful of introductions to Communists whom he looked up in Berlin, and went to Hamburg to play a minor role at the Communist-sponsored International Negro Workers' Congress. After 18 months, Kenyatta's Indian backers tired of supporting him. He returned to Kenya in 1930, but only to bounce back to London again the following year.

This time he stayed away from his homeland for 15 years, presenting petitions to the Colonial Office, writing letters to the newspapers, ventilating African grievances in Trafalgar Square to anyone who would listen. In 1933 he spent 4 months in the Soviet Union absorbing a little more about the tactics of revolution, meeting new friends.

For a while, in London, he shared a flat near Charing Cross with Paul Robeson, the American singer and actor, and even appeared with him in a film version of Edgar Wallace's "Sanders of the River." Kenyatta played the part of a native chief, and before long he discovered that his African robes were good not only for film work, but for invitations to cocktail parties. It seemed just the thing for a man who had to scratch around both for jobs and for people to hear out his grievances against colonial rule.

Kenyatta lectured on the Workers' Educational Association circuit, and landed a job on the faculty of a Quaker college in Birmingham. Although he never got an undergraduate degree, he completed a graduate course in anthropology at the London School of Economics, and wrote a book, "Facing Mount Kenya," a pioneering study of the customs of his people.

When the war broke out, Kenyatta took a job as a farm laborer in Sussex, and was promptly given the nickname "Jumbo" because of his bulk. He is remembered there as a good-natured chap, given to reciting verses from Rudyard Kipling—of all people—and to reading from Shakespeare's "Othello."

Kenyatta had left two wives behind in Kenya, where polygamy is an accepted practice, and he took another while he was working in Sussex. She was Edna Grace Clark, whom he had met when they were on the same lecture circuit, and who was working then at a school in the neighborhood. She bore Kenyatta a son, but both wife and child stayed behind when Kenyatta returned to his homeland in 1946 to get back into the swim of politics. He took a fourth wife, Ngina, soon after his return.

His devotion to Ngina is almost legend. He hurries out of his office each day by 4 p.m., unless there is a real crisis to keep him longer, and he does not take his work home with him. He has no really close friends outside his family, and spends all his affection on Ngina and their four children, though he has not forsaken his other wives and keeps in close touch with them and with his other children.

During his long absence in England, Kenyatta had become established as a symbol of African nationalism. Tens of thousands of Kikuyu came to know the name of the man who was the champion of their cause and gave what money they could to keep the struggle alive. Now, upon his return, he led the demand for elected African representation in the Legislative Council. He wanted African voters on the electoral rolls. He wanted all manifestations of color discrimination abolished, and he wanted Africans back in the Highland preserves of the white farmers.

But the Colonial Government was making no concessions, and while Kenyatta was talking of constitutional change, many of his followers were taking gruesome oaths to kill the white man, or terrify him into leaving the country. Inevitably, Kenyatta was singled out by the Government as the mastermind of Mau Mau, the terrorist movement that engulfed Kenya in the early 1950's. In the predawn hours of October 20, 1952, the police, thinking to surprise him in his sleep, found him fully dressed and waiting stoically to be arrested. They bundled him off by airplane to Lokitaung, a tiny, desert post in the contorted, lifeless landscape of Kenya's north.

To hear him tell of his 7 years of imprisonment at Lokitaung, they must have been the most harrowing of his life. When their frustrations piled up, he and his fellow prisoners brawled until the sun burned the energy from them. Then they would sink into apathy. Kenyatta lived in fear that he would be poisoned by the British. At night he would lie in terror, watching for scorpions or snakes, finally drifting off to sleep, as he puts it now, "hoping for the best." The worst terror, as he often recalls, was having to dig what he was told was to be his own grave.

When his sentence was completed, he was moved to Lodwar, still in the remote north, and given a little cottage and even an allowance with which to buy approved newspapers and books. From Lodwar he was eventually flown to Maralal, a mountain oasis closer to Nairobi, and then to Kiambu, which is his home district.

On August 15, 1961, when he was finally released, he was a personality towering above all others. A whole generation had grown to manhood without ever seeing Jomo Kenyatta, but they accepted him as the leader of the country, the symbol of an emerging nation. His home at Ichaweri had been razed, and turned by the British into an experimental farm, but it remained a shrine the whole time. Thousands of Kikuyu cheered his return, and brought him gifts of goats, pigs, sheep, cows, and baskets of corn. The British speeded the transfer of power to the Africans and on independence day, December 11, 1963, the man who had gone to jail before the Mau Mau committed their first white murder was able to say to a mass of cheering people: "I have snatched you out of the lion's belly."

Since then, he has striven to keep his people from falling into anyone else's clutches. He has created a one-party state to transcend tribalism, to build a national unity that would offer security and opportunity to Africans of whatever tribe, to Indians, Arabs, even to Englishmen who are prepared to identify themselves with Kenya. He wants a nation impervious to the divisions which foreigners from East or West might be tempted to exploit.

He has taken on a monumental task, for the mass of Africans in Kenya have little in common beyond poverty, ignorance, and disease—the three things Kenyatta describes as the greatest enemies of the country.

There are probably close to 9 million Africans in Kenya of diverse origin, tradition, even language. There are Bantu, like the Kikuyu, who wandered into Kenya from West and Central Africa centuries ago. But the Bantu vary from the tall, proud Baluhya near Lake Victoria to the short, introverted Nyika of the coast. The Nilotic tribesmen who came up the Nile Valley from the Sudan are spread through Kenya from Uganda to Tanzania. Hamitic tribes like the Somali have penetrated deep into the country from the rugged northern desert. The Wanderobo, unrelated to any of the others, are the hapless indigenous remnant of Kenya's forest hunters.

In all the years the British were here, their language never penetrated deeper than the houseboys and a thin veneer of officialdom. Swahili, a Bantu-based language laced with Arabic, English and half a dozen other tongues come closer to being a generally used language. Not everyone speaks Swahili, but in nearly every village there is someone who understands it.

Kenyatta is using these two languages to forge unity of a sort in his country. Now even a Kikuyu boy who lapses into his own language in a classroom is likely to get his knuckles rapped by a Kikuyu teacher.

As proud as Kenyatta is of his own tribal heritage, he feels that eventually it will have to be trampled on if the old tribal arguments are to be forgotten, and if feelings or insecurity are not going to be aroused among the country's 49,000 Europeans, or among the 183,000 Asians whose forebears came from the Indian subcontinent at the beginning of the century to help build the railway, or among the 36,000 Arabs whose ancestors had been traders and merchants along the coast for centuries. The services of these people are still needed in Kenya. For the Asians and Arabs, at least, there is really nowhere else to go.

"Where there has been racial hatred, it must be ended," Kenyatta said in a broadcast before independence. "Where there has been tribal animosity, it will be finished. Let us not dwell upon the bitterness of the past. I would rather look to the future, to the good new Kenya, not to the bad old days. If we can create this sense of national direction and identity, we shall have gone a long way toward solving our economic problems. We hold out no empty promises of achieving Utopia overnight. What we hold out to every citizen is the prospect of work, justly rewarded.

The call for hard work is a main brace in Kenyatta's domestic program. It is his answer to the whisperings of other politicians that there are still some splendid properties that could be had from the Europeans and Asians for the taking. Hard work, according to the President, is the way to keep the people out of the clutches of the young radicals. It is the way to political stability, which is prerequisite to attracting foreign investment. It is necessary medicine in a country still too full of subsistence farmers, too close in memory to the time when outsiders initiated all progress.

On his weekend tours of the country, Kenyatta makes a point of visiting village "self-help" projects for schools, clinics, roads, and the like, renewing the demand for greater effort, lecturing pointedly to the crowds on the particular sins of the neighborhood, whether drinking, cattle thieving, fighting between tribes or whatever. They come from miles around for a glimpse of Mzee, and to be caught up in his spellbinding oratory. "Harambee," he always shouts at the end of his talks. This is Kenyatta's slogan, drawn from the loggers' Swahili word for "Let's all pull together." "Harambee," the crowd invariably shouts back.

His position at home is unassailable, in spite of some setbacks. He had to call in the British last year to help him suppress a rebellious army, an act that hurt his standing in the rest of Africa. The American-Belgian rescue mission at Stanleyville last year was carried out when Kenyatta thought he still had a chance to persuade the Congolese rebels to release their hostages, and that hurt his pride. His dream of an East African political federation has slipped into oblivion.

Kenyatta's idea of nonalinement is not, as it is elsewhere in Africa, to court the East,

either to make up for the old injustices of the West, or to balance a preponderance of Western influence. His idea is to keep his nose out of sensitive points in the cold war where they do not affect Kenya. Thus, he would not be likely to make quick, unsolicited pronouncements on the American involvement in Vietnam or the Dominican Republic.

Yet he does demand stronger measures from the British against Rhodesia. He offers his support to the "freedom fighters" picking at Mozambique. He may be disillusioned with the Congolese rebels, but he is still unreconciled to the use of white mercenaries by the Congolese Government, or to the help the American Government gives it. Still, taking all his problems into consideration, Jomo Kenyatta would seem to be as good a man to be holding the reins of power in Kenya as any westerner could hope to see.

Some of his Western admirers would like to see him step more firmly on what would appear to be the almost contemptuously insubordinate activities of Vice President Odinga. But their differences are more tribal and personal than ideological, in spite of the friendship Odinga professes for the Russians and Chinese, in spite of his statement that communism is "food" to him. The Vice President is first and foremost a Luo, the leader of Kenya's second biggest tribe. If Kenyatta were to step on him, he would risk bringing to life the ogre of tribalism he is working so hard to destroy. Instead, he has worked assiduously to isolate Odinga and to pull the rug from under his supporters in other tribes.

Kenyatta has not had to worry much about Parliament, which is elected only once in 5 years, and where support for him is overwhelming. Only once did Odinga make some inroads into Kenyatta's majority, when the President was asking for support for an East African Federation. As soon as Kenyatta saw the danger signs he began an enormous personal effort to win over the back benchers, and did so with amazing success.

Odinga can now hardly work up the nerve to attend Cabinet meetings, where the President leans heavily toward the ministers most suspicious of communism, and shows most demonstratively his desire to rise above tribalism. Tom Mboya, his Minister for Economic Development, is a Luo. James Gichuru, the Finance Minister, is a Kikuyu, as are Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, the Minister for Commerce, and Attorney General Charles Njonjo. Lawrence Sagini, the Minister for Local Government, is a Kisii, Dr. Njoroge Mungal, the Defense Minister, is a Kikuyu. Daniel Arap Moi, the Home Affairs Minister, is a Kipsigis.

Among them they have built what would appear to be an interest in the West in investing in Kenya, and an interest in Kenya in looking to the West for security. Since the army mutiny, Kenyatta has built up a paramilitary police force far more formidable than the army, and he feels surer of the loyalty of the police. The United States is equipping this force with its own air transport so that it will be independently mobile.

Curiously, even the reasons Kenyatta gave last year for wanting a one-party state had a ring of friendliness to the West. "We reject a blueprint of the Western model of a two-party system of government," he said, "because we do not subscribe to the notion of the government and the governed being in opposition to one another, one clamoring for duties and the other crying for rights.

"Nor are we prepared to justify our predilection for a one-party system of government by using the fragile argument that parties are the expression of social classes and that therefore there must be only one party. The theory of class struggle has no relevance to our particular situation here. In a one-party state such as we envisage, we hold that politics is a potent instrument: it is through our political institutions that we influence economic trends, and not the other way around.

"Don't be fooled," a member of his Cabinet said a while ago. "Mzee was an African nationalist in the days of Mau Mau and he still is. He does not stand in East or West, even if it seems that way. He stands in Africa with both feet, and he cares for the people of Africa as he does for his own children."

Support for the Connecticut River National Parkway and Recreation Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, since mid-August, when I introduced my bill—S. 2460—to establish a Connecticut River National Parkway and Recreation Area, many newspapers in my home State of Connecticut and throughout New England have published editorials concerning the project. The editorials have been unanimous in their support for the proposal, and indicate the basic need for a park of this kind in New England.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further editorials be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Deep River (Conn.) New Era]

COMPLETELY IN CHARACTER

The legislation and Senator RIBICOFF's comments in the Halls of Congress in support of his bill are completely in character. The former Governor of Connecticut and member of President Kennedy's Cabinet has long been one of America's most powerful and eloquent voices in the field of conservation.

We well remember his statement, at the time of the dedication of the restored Goodspeed Opera House in East Haddam, that this lovely spot on the bank of the Connecticut River should always be a place where people can sit quietly, enjoy the view, and "listen to the grass grow."

He has been a consistent advocate of measures to fight pollution, both of the water and of the air. Toward this end, he persuaded the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to arrange an interstate pollution conference in December of 1963—over the objections of both Connecticut and Massachusetts officials—in an effort to speed up the clean up of the Connecticut River. Toward this end, too, he asked the U.S. Public Health Service, just about a year ago, to make a thorough study to determine what effect, if any, the discharge of heated water into the Connecticut River from the Connecticut Yankee Atomic Power Co. plant at Haddam Neck would have upon the water in the river, and the air above. The U.S. Public Health Service agreed to make the study, but Connecticut officials rejected it, saying they already had all the information they needed. Ten months later, however, Governor Dempsey announced that he would appoint a "task force" to study pollution problems in the State.

Politics being what it is, we know some Republicans will charge that Senator RIBICOFF's actions are politically motivated, that he is merely trying to win votes for the next election. Maybe so; we wouldn't know. We do know that the Senator doesn't come up for reelection until 1968, which is still 3 years off and pretty remote at this time, so far as lining up votes is concerned.

Our own belief is that Senator RIBICOFF is being honest and sincere in wanting to do everything possible to help preserve that natural beauty which still remains in the Connecticut River Valley. And even if his bill were politically motivated, our reaction would be: Fine. If this is the type of legislation produced by political motivation, let's have more of it.

[From the Manchester Herald]

RIVER PARKWAY MERITS STUDY

There are now two kinds of highways in southern New England, the Connecticut River Parkway proposed by U.S. Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF would be a third, designed purely for pleasure.

First we have our older roads, originally built to move traffic, and some of it was horse drawn when the roads were first built, but now pockmarked by gas stations, honky-tonk restaurants, and poorly thought out intersections and access points. And in this group we also have some beautiful stretches of road, which generally are protected by nothing except chance.

Then we have our superhighways, stretching out as far as the eye can see, and all the time confronting the eye with essentially the same nursery-manufactured view. The Federal interstate highways can hardly be distinguished from one another, be the locale outside of Billings, Mont., or Hartford, Conn. Monotony is their watchword; one is generally assured that nothing except more concrete can be seen from them. They are often landscaped and sometimes lit—but they are a plastic world.

The Connecticut River Parkway would be solely designed for that old-fashioned pastime, pleasure driving. It would be the first in the Nation to combine park-like scenic roads, a river, and a recreation area. Its concept would not be to move traffic, but to move people to a greater appreciation of this great river. As defined by the National Park Service, a national parkway is "a federally owned elongated park featuring a road designed for pleasure travel and embracing scenic, recreational, or historic features of national significance."

The National Park Service does not go in for multilane highways—indeed the main thoroughfares in Yellowstone Park, our single most popular park, are merely two lanes, with turnoffs, observation points, and parking areas, and moderate speed limits. They do not cut great swaths into the countryside such as is required by the new Route 9, nor go in for sweeping access and egress points.

The finest existing example of a national parkway is the 500-mile Blue Ridge Parkway in the Smokies, a project started in 1933. Others include the Colonial Parkway (22 miles) conecting Jamestown, Williamsburg, and Yorktown, Va., and the George Washington Memorial Parkway (47 miles) along both sides of the Potomac near Washington. The United States currently has 819 miles of parkway planned in other U.S. locations, with two-thirds of it built or under construction, mainly in existing national parks.

A national parkway has a specific meaning quite apart from a national park, which is the highest or most restrictive type of Federal preservation. A national parkway is almost the lowest or least restricted, and could probably be used to purchase relatively narrow areas, or large areas (such as the ridgetops of the Connecticut) with large degree of flexibility as to usage.

Senator RIBICOFF's proposal is a staggering, sweeping concept, but that is not to say that it could not be brought to fruition

without commercial disruption to the county. As the Senator said, "The Connecticut River and its valleys are priceless assets. They have been placed in this generation's care—and we are the stewards for the future." The Ribicoff proposal envisions a study. The study should be made so that we may see how a world of scenic preservation for future generations meets the demands and the inherent rights of property for this generation.

—MIDDLETOWN PRESS.

[From the New London (Conn.) Day]

SAVING THE VALLEY

Senator ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF, Democrat, of Connecticut, is right, of course, when he says that any effort to save the natural beauty of the Connecticut River Valley from despoiling can scarcely start too soon.

His proposal to the Federal Government to implement this program may meet a few cynical views. For it does seem that time is short, prospects of arousing enough official enthusiasm dim, before there is much more exploitation of the valley.

The Senator, a New London resident now, proposes an initial study by the Secretary of the Interior, a review of his findings, hearings on possible parkway boundaries, establishment of an authority to carry out and administer the program and parkway, etc. Fact is that the magnificent scenery, recreational assets, etc., of this region have been publicized by several organizations for years without arousing any real Federal interest.

The recreational values of the valley are obvious, supposing that some means may be found eventually of ending pollution of the water. The Senator proposes parkway roads along the banks, not expressways. That also touches a matter on which there is little time. High-speed roads right now are quite common along the riverbanks.

Meanwhile the patient, plodding work necessary to win sufficient support to get Federal acceptance of this whole concept may well be beyond ordinary belief. It will surely take a long, continuing effort.

There is, as the Senator says, little time to dally on this matter, with present steady encroachment of new installations, some of which will destroy natural beauty for all time.

[From the New Britain (Conn.) Herald]

RIVER VALLEY PARKWAY

In one grand move, Senator ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF has formulated a proposal which would, when accepted, control the future development of the Connecticut River Valley.

His bill asking Congress to establish a Connecticut River National Parkway is a carefully drafted plan aimed principally at assuring recreation facilities but also helping to control against blight and water pollution.

The bill is a practical one. In asking that a full-scale study be made by the Department of the Interior, with heavy reliance on the assistance of representatives of the four States involved (Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire), RIBICOFF assure that this will not be a haphazard, impractical development.

Further, he outlines for the project a sensible scheme of evolution, suggesting that in all likelihood only portions of the land in the river valley would ever come under the National Parkway, not all of it. But that portion which would be so designated would be developed with scenic roads (not superhighways), and with recreational facilities for walking, hiking, bicycling, picnicking, fish and wildlife management, fishing, hunting, boating, camping, and winter sports.

Sensibly, he suggests that the study would "be required to make due allowance for necessary economic use of the river area."

Of this bill we shall certainly hear again and again, for it has a basic, clear-cut appeal. It is consistent with the President's general approach to land conservation, beautification, pollution prevention and recreation development. Finally, it is authored by a man who is something of an expert in the handling of such domestic legislation. It merits careful consideration and planning.

[From the Ansonia (Conn.) Sentinel]

THE SENSE OF LOSING SOMETHING

Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF'S proposal for the preservation of the natural beauty of the Connecticut River Valley would have Uncle Sam build parkway roads—not expressways—along the banks, as a means of guarding those banks against uncontrolled intrusion.

There is magnificent scenery along the Connecticut all the way from Saybrook to the border of Canada—excepting where it has become industrialized.

But that valley is in a period of swift transition, and so are the green banks of other Connecticut streams including the Housatonic.

As Connecticut's population grows, the banks of its streams are no longer remote areas where wooded hills and pleasant meadows are broken only by farmhouses and agriculture.

Unless some urgent effort is made systematically to spare what remains of this natural beauty we shall have seen, known, and taken for granted stretches of inspiring scenery our grandchildren shall never know, excepting in old pictures.

The pace is much faster now than during the interval between our grandfathers' days and our own.

With careful planning, two things could happen—large areas of riparian scenery could be preserved, and in the places where the other needs of man must encroach, there could be supervision that would make the intrusion attractive, not ugly.

This is but one other aspect of the feeling that America in growing is losing something it need not lose.

The open spaces program, recognition of the need for city and town parks and outdoor recreation areas, efforts to end vandalism, campaign to prevent our country's scenic beauty from being outraged by ridiculous billboards, laws to control of landscape scars, pressures to modify industrial wastes so that our waters are not changed for the worse forever are all symptoms of the uneasy popular feeling that is growing in our time that vision coupled with action is needed if scenic beauty that was passed on to us without even asking is not to be transformed into irreparable ugliness.

There are certain kinds of encroachment which, once achieved, destroys natural beauty for all time.

We are a growing Nation and a growing State but greater thought and action are required if we are not to grow into disordered ugliness.

[From the Middletown (Conn.) Press]

THE PARKWAY'S ROUTE

When Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall, Senator RIBICOFF, Governor Dempsey, and assorted dignitaries set sail up the Connecticut River to view it as a potential national parkway, the question that will be in most minds is simply this: Is it practical?

Although a great many studies would have to be made, a portion of the route is obvious. From Maromas to Deep River, the virtually never used railroad tracks of the Valley line provide an existing right-of-way which would be ideal for the purpose. A national parkway, as we have said earlier, is not a superhighway, and as a consequence the parkway itself would not have to be much wider than a railroad right-of-way. It would also provide a drive of unparalleled scenic beauty because the road would be on the very edge of the river.

In the main, there is little to be said for putting roadways along a shoreline or riverbank unless the purpose of such roadways is scenic. Turnpikes, although often placed in such locations, do not belong in such areas because the shoreline is merely destroyed, and because the high protective railings and high speeds by the vehicles, combine to vitiate the chance to see the view.

A national parkway is different, here the point is scenery. From Maromas, going north, a parkway could either temporarily join Route 9, swinging across a new bridge at the narrows near Middletown which has been discussed to carry traffic from a newly located 6A. It could then proceed up along the Shenipsit Trail, or in its general vicinity, through Meshomasic State Forest so that the grand view from above Great Hill Pond, Portland, could be seen by all.

From Deep River south, the choice would have to be made as to whether the railroad tracks should be followed, or whether the parkway should wing across the river in the vicinity of Selden Neck State Park to incorporate a view from the great bluff above Hamburg Cove, called Joshuatown.

No doubt there will be many potential routes that could be considered. Provision should also be made to protect as many of the ridge lines along the river as possible as was recommended by the old Whyte report prepared for Governor Dempsey. But at first glance it would seem possible to preserve much of the Connecticut while at the same time enhancing the value of property owners.

Fortunately, a certain amount of the spadework on such a project has been done by the old Saybrook-Middletown Scenic Highway Commission which in 1953 studied a possible route. Although the commission recommended a new Route 9 for the purpose of moving traffic, it made a study of possible scenic routes—and delinerated a route next to the railroad tracks for approximately the same distance that we have discussed here. Today, the railroad tracks are not being used to any substantial extent and parts of the trackage could be taken over.

From the standpoint of Middlesex County, finding a route for a national parkway would not be inordinately difficult, and it would, of course, increase the recreational potential of the area.

[From the Middletown (Conn.) Press]

RIVER PARKWAY MERITS STUDY

There are now two kinds of highways in southern New England; the Connecticut River Parkway proposed by U.S. Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF would be a third, designed purely for pleasure.

First we have our older roads, originally built to move traffic, and some of it was horse drawn when the roads were first built, but now pockmarked by gas stations, honky-tonk restaurants, and poorly thought out intersections and access points. And in this group we also have some beautiful stretches of road, which generally are protected by nothing except chance.

Then we have our superhighways, stretching out as far as the eye can see, and all the time confronting the eye with essentially the same nursery-manufactured view. The Federal interstate highways can hardly be distinguished from one another, be the locale outside of Billings, Mont., or Hartford, Conn. Monotony is their watchword; one is generally assured that nothing except more concrete can be seen from them. They are often landscaped and sometimes lit—but they are a plastic world.

The Connecticut River Parkway would be solely designed for that old-fashioned pas-

time, pleasure driving. It would be the first in the Nation to combine park-like scenic roads, a river, and a recreation area. Its concept would not be to move traffic, but to move people to a greater appreciation of this great river. As defined by the National Park Service, a national parkway is "a federally owned elongated park featuring a road designed for pleasure travel and embracing scenic, recreational, or historic features of national significance."

The National Park Service does not go in for multilane highways—indeed the main thoroughfares in Yellowstone Park, our single most popular park, are merely two lanes, with turnoffs, observation points, and parking areas, and moderate speed limits. They do not cut great swaths into the countryside such as is required by the new Route 9, nor go in for sweeping access and egress points.

The finest existing example of a national parkway is the 500-mile Blue Ridge Parkway in the Smokies, a project started in 1933. Others include the Colonial Parkway (22 miles) connecting Jamestown, Williamsburg, and Yorktown, Va., and the George Washington Memorial Parkway (47 miles) along both sides of the Potomac near Washington. The United States currently has 819 miles of parkway planned in other U.S. locations, with two-thirds of it built or under construction, mainly in existing national parks.

A national parkway has a specific meaning quite apart from a national park which is the highest or most restrictive type of Federal preservation. A national parkway is almost the lowest or least restricted, and could probably be used to purchase relatively narrow areas, or large areas (such as the ridgetops of the Connecticut) with a large degree of flexibility as to usage.

Senator RIBICOFF's proposal is a staggering, sweeping concept, but that is not to say that it could not be brought to fruition without commercial disruption to the county. As the Senator said, "The Connecticut River and its valley are priceless assets. They have been placed in this generation's care—and we are the stewards for the future." The Ribicoff proposal envisions a study. The study should be made so that we may see how a world of scenic preservation for future generations meets the demands and the inherent rights of property for this generation.

[From the Bridgeport (Conn.) Post]

THE RIVER AND VALLEY

A panoramic glimpse of Connecticut River history was presented recently by Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF when he asked Congress to set up a Connecticut River National Parkway and a new recreation area in the river valley.

Since 1914, when the Dutch mariner Adriaen Block first sailed up the river, the touch of man's hand on nature has been heavy, the Senator declared in an eloquent statement on the Senate floor.

At first, the river valley was a route for commerce. By the 1790's, Middletown, then the principal river port, was the largest community in Connecticut. The river carried freight, not only in ships but in great log drives. It carried up to 24,000 passengers a year at Hartford, arriving in 2,500 vessels.

Roads, railways and air travel have long since eclipsed the slow river boat and now the river is becoming a sewer—running befouled to the sea, asserted Senator RIBICOFF.

One recent observer called the Connecticut River the "world's most beautifully landscaped cesspool."

Having traced the history of the river, Senator RIBICOFF made an appeal for action to clean it up and to preserve the beauty of its banks. He declared:

"The Connecticut River and its valley are priceless assets. They have been placed in this generation's care—and we are stewards for the future. Should we allow the inevitable decline to continue? Should we give free rein to all those impulses and forces which would destroy quiet—tear down solitude and uproot the beauty of nature?

"The process has already started. It is difficult to reverse—and it will be almost impossible to reclaim what we have lost. But we must make a start. We must preserve what we have before it is too late—before we have lost our heritage and failed in our task as trustees."

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Times]

A PARKWAY FOR THE VALLEY

Senator RIBICOFF's proposal in Congress that the Federal Government, acting jointly with this State, Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire, set up a Connecticut River National Parkway draws wide interest.

For several years concerned residents of this region have watched regretfully as the natural beauties of the valley have been endangered by our very prosperity, with its accompaniment of population and industrial growth.

We have already gone far toward conquering the threat of flood damage; the drive to erase pollution has gained support. Now Senator RIBICOFF seeks to retain unspoiled, at most notable points, the character of the landscape. He wishes to have historic landmarks preserved.

With this purpose we are in full accord.

Support for details of the perfected planning, of course, will depend on the sort of parkway establishment the Secretary of the Interior drafts under terms of the Ribicoff bill.

The idea is not to foreclose the river from its necessary economic use, as the Senator explains in his measure. And the well-coordinated study that is sought must be accommodated to regional development plans already in existence as the Secretary of the Interior determines the most appropriate portions of the valley, from source to mouth of the river, to preserve against encroachment.

That is the large-scale commitment that the valley has needed. It will be protected against haphazard ruin of its character, and the effort doubtless will help in purification of the waters and general conservation work without withdrawing the river and adjacent acreage from its economic and industrial functions.

The Ribicoff bill does not seem to intend any sudden large acquisitions of land by eminent domain. Rather, it provides for acceptance of donations and for gradual purchases in a manner that will make a minimum impact on private property owners.

There will be difficulty in this built-up area in preserving the beauty on both sides of the river. And since the parkway need not be continuous and it is intended to adapt it to all necessities, the problem of choice will be extensive.

By definition the parkway is not a highway project. Rather, it is an elongated landstrip of park featuring traffic facilities but not high speed routes.

The benefits listed contain such items as driving for pleasure, hiking, picnicking, fish and wildlife management, boating, camping and historic site preservation. Scenic roads, and not necessarily one roadway alone, are contemplated. Administration would be a responsibility of the Department of the Interior.

There are now nine national parkways projected or in existence including such locations as the Natchez Trace, the Colonial Parkway at Williamsburg and the George Washington National Parkway leading to Mount Vernon.

By every test of history and attractiveness the inclusion of the Connecticut River Valley in the national program certainly is appropriate.

The Ribicoff proposal comes at a time when decision is a matter of urgency. We must act now to preserve our heritage of beauty and historical interest or risk forfeiting most of it to the disorderly pressures of expanding development.

The initial comprehensive study will define the several sorts of values to be considered. Public hearings will aid in that determination.

As Senator RIBICOFF says, we are the trustees of an inheritance that, once disfigured and squandered, cannot be reclaimed. It is a responsibility that requires full public assistance, and we should give it.

Memorial to Dr. Goddard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I wish at this time to commend once again the distinguished members of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics in moving so quickly in this session of the Congress in approving House Joint Resolution 597, to authorize the erection of a memorial in honor of the late Dr. Robert Hutchins Goddard, the Nation's pioneer of space whose epochal achievements have opened the way to the stars.

I am thankful also to my colleagues in this House and Members of the Senate for their prompt approval of this significant resolution, which gives expression to the Nation's pride and honor to the great Dr. Goddard, first inaugurated by the adoption of my bill of some few years ago to provide for the issuance of a gold medal in his honor.

Surely, there is no man whose monumental contributions to the space age are more deserving of concrete and everlasting recognition than those of Dr. Goddard. I have personally witnessed Dr. Goddard's early experiments and have direct knowledge of his long struggle to reach the ears and minds of the scientific world of his time, which I regret to say in some quarters all too often regarded his most significant theories and work with derision and scorn.

At long last, the Nation has become aware of the fabulous Dr. Goddard. The great space center in nearby Greenbelt, Md., is named after him. The issuance of a gold medal and later on a commemorative postage stamp marked his tremendously vital and memorable achievements. The erection of a plaque at Fort Devens, Mass., gave recognition to his early experiments. The bill passed by this Congress calling for the erection of a memorial to Dr. Goddard on the campus of Clark University in Worcester, Mass., is further recognition of this great genius of our times. It also marks his association with this outstanding university where he spent so much of his time and gave so much of his great talents.

In view of the recent action on House Joint Resolution 597, I consider it espe-

cially timely to bring to the attention of my colleagues the outstanding commencement address delivered by Dr. Edward C. Welsh, Executive Director of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, to this year's graduating class at Clark University this past June. I find Dr. Welsh's remarks very pertinent, particularly those which cite our lack of foresight in failing to recognize Dr. Goddard's contributions at a time when they might have helped to eliminate the regrettable lag in our early space effort.

If the Nation will give credence and effect to the principles and objectives outlined by Dr. Welsh, this country will be all the stronger for it, and if the fraternity of public speakers will but follow his advice to keep their speeches short, the country will be better for that also.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD the partial text of Dr. Welsh's speech, as printed in the esteemed Worcester, Mass., Telegram:

As you might expect from one in my official position, I shall have a few things to say about our national space program. At Clark, I would speak of space anyway, even if I were in some other line of endeavor, in view of the rich memory on this campus of that great space pioneer, Robert Hutchins Goddard. His life and his works epitomize the virtues of imagination, faith, energy, and the ability to learn from the mistakes and failures of one experiment to gain the successess of the next.

We learn more—much more—from Dr. Goddard's rocket experiments than the technology of liquid propulsion for launching spacecraft. We learn of the advantages that flow from research, when such research does not have to be justified in advance by specific requirements. Said a bit differently, the Goddard type of research is an outstanding example of what can be accomplished when ability and determination are released on a problem, even if we cannot judge in advance what will be gained specifically if the problem is solved. Both the public and private sectors of our Nation have much to learn from this basic principle of seeking knowledge for the sake of knowledge, of obtaining solutions so as to avoid being mastered by the problem. Surely we want research which is tied to a specific mission, but we also want the imagination, the abilities, the perseverance, and the luck, if you will, of men to be applied to the tasks of discovering new truths.

Another lesson to be learned from the Goddard research is that great losses result when we do not put to good use a new technology, once it has been discovered. If we do not use what we know, how can we expect the judgment of history to be that we were other than lazy, or blind, or short-sighted?

But surely we are not lazy. Who produces more different models of cars, or more brands of soap, or more cosmetics, or more TV programs? Who spends several times as much on recreation alone as our Government spends on anything except national defense? Oh, no, we are not lazy; and surely the color schemes of women's hair alone attest to the fact that, though our sense of color may not be good, at least we are not blind. But we are sometimes very short-sighted. History offers repeated examples of scientific breakthroughs which were only belatedly put to mankind's use. For example, we cannot be proud that we did not recognize the value of Dr. Goddard's accomplishments in rocketry until our enemies used the technology to create a reign of terror over London.

We cannot be proud of this oversight, but we can learn from it. Moreover, how could a country with our resources and our average national income—far superior to that of any other country in the world—how could we let the Soviets get ahead of us in space? To permit such an occurrence was overwhelming evidence of shortsightedness. Perhaps if we had not been more interested in today's stock market than in tomorrow's production, or in today's comfort instead of the future preeminence of our country, we might have done differently. We had all the means but seemed in this case to lack the wisdom to stimulate us to invest in our future.

Even after Sputnik I, some parts of your Government—from which leadership was expected—treated space accomplishments as being relatively unimportant. Otherwise, we would not have fallen so far behind the Soviets in the space race. But fall behind we did. Our recent efforts have helped us make up somewhat for our earlier bad judgment, but the job is difficult since our competition pushes its program so vigorously. Surely one should not have needed to call upon the judgment of Solomon to decide that second place is too low a rating for this country in such a vital field.

The national space program is a dynamic and constructive element in building a Great Society. Through effective cooperation between our Government and the private sectors of our economy, the space program enriches our Nation in many ways. Some of these benefits are more obvious and more immediate than others, but those whose impact comes primarily in the future are nonetheless vital.

Every responsible citizen sees a real need for improved educational staffs and facilities, for the eradication of slums and the construction of decent housing, for the elimination of pockets of poverty and their substitution by patterns of prosperity. There are many deficiencies in our economy for which solutions are possible and desirable. We should move vigorously to mend these weaknesses in our society. However, the way to improve is not to cut from one constructive activity to bolster another.

It is impracticable, unreasonable, and misleading to argue that we should curtail space research and development, limit space exploration and performance, in order that we may have better schools, better housing, and less poverty. The fact is that our expanding economy can afford to carry on all of these activities. What is more, curtailment of spending on education, for example, does not automatically increase the funds available for space exploration or vice versa. Funds, people, facilities, and know-how are not readily transferable from one such activity to the other. I would be particularly suspicious of an individual who favored cutting space funds because he thought more money was needed for education, and then opposed action to increase education funds because he thought it better to balance the budget. This country has already suffered from such poor judgment. We do not plan to repeat our errors.

Your country has wisely although belatedly made a firm decision to conduct a vigorous national space program. It is a clear responsibility of each of us to learn what we can of that program, find out what it means to the country as a whole and to the individuals who live here. We do not need to be in the aerospace business or in the space agencies of the Government to justify our curiosity about the program. As taxpayers, we should know about it and as patriotic citizens we should know about it. Moreover, since it is so vital to our country's future, we should explain the program to others.

As we attempt to carry out our responsibilities in educating the general public about space, there are a few concepts which need particular emphasis:

1. Education: The space program has been a catalyst, a stimulus to education at all levels, with particular attention to science and engineering. How much is it worth to have raised the educational sights of our young people and at the same time to have increased the wealth of knowledge with which to condition them? I cannot put a price on it, but I believe the value will exceed the total cost of the space program.

2. National security: The contribution of our space program to our national security is already considerable and will be even greater in the future. How much more secure are we, due to improved communications, more accurate navigation, and more complete weather information? How much is it worth to be better informed about potential sources of danger? How can we assess the advantage of developing competence to detect and offset possible aggression from space? How important is it to know that we intend to keep peace and freedom in space so that all who would go there with peaceful intentions are free to do so. I cannot judge the worth of this national security dimension, but I am confident that its value also exceeds the total cost of the space program.

3. Innovations: The space program stimulates the development of new materials, new products, new productive processes, and new managerial techniques. I cannot place a precise value upon such innovations, but I would estimate that the investment will repay itself many times over.

4. International status: A substantial difference in influence in world affairs evolves from whether a country is in a first position or a second position in power. In many respects, a nation's relative position depends on how it stands in advanced technology. Power and influence in world affairs depend to a great degree upon the technological capability of a nation. International prestige is not a mantle to be weighed lightly or be worn carelessly. We should be concerned with the image that people of other nations have of the United States. The ideal picture is that of a nation strong in ideas, in technology, in freedom, in standard of living, and in military power to protect the viability of the other prestige ingredients. The space program, effectively and imaginatively conducted, contributes positively to all of those ingredients. Of even greater importance is the potential impact the space program can have on world peace through substituting competence in space exploration for competence in building implements of aggression. If sanity prevails, the path to the stars can be the path to peace. How should we determine the value of such a contribution to our country? I do not know, but I am confident that if we fail to strive for it, we will be making it clear to the world that we no longer value our freedom highly.

5. Economics: Combining the best talents in management, in engineering, and in science, with the most modern facilities available, the net result of the space program is the production of progress. A program which stimulates education, expands research and development, augments total productivity, increases employment, and improves our international relations is a program of the greatest economic significance. The space program has clearly revealed that we do not have to be threatened with the ravages of war to cause us to organize a mighty industrial Government team; that we can do so in the interest of peaceful expansion. By increasing our total national income, and gross national product, the na-

tional space program expands to a significant degree the size of the base on which our taxes are levied. It increases the profitability—yes, the constructive profitability—of the private sector of our economy.

It is customary, I believe, to use an opportunity such as I have today to give some advice, whether it is needed or not. I do not want to neglect my responsibilities in this regard, and hence I suggest:

1. Have faith in the future of this country and particularly in its democratic processes.

2. Have confidence in this country's capabilities. Do not accept the negative attitude that a difficult job cannot be done, but rather just go ahead and do it.

3. Support freedom of speech and freedom of expression, not just to make a noise but because democracy cannot live without these rights.

4. Do not believe that the country owes you a living. Moreover, do not believe that you can be secure or materially successful without a strong and active Government.

5. Cherish the advantages of education. Do not insist that everyone be educated to the same degree, but do try to create opportunities for all so that they may be educated up to their abilities. And, finally,

6. If you are asked to give a speech, make it short.

Raymond P. Harold, International Businessman and Humanitarian, Speaks With Authority on One of the Most Challenging Problems of Today and Tomorrow

SPEECH

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to include, at this point, a most timely and instructive article, explaining the role and the results of savings and loan activity in aiding the developing countries of the world, particularly in the field of homeownership, that appeared in the October 1965 issue of the Savings and Loan News magazine. In this article an SLN representative reports, in question and answer form, the result of his interview with Mr. Raymond P. Harold, one of the foremost authorities in the world, on the promotion and encouragement of practical programs of effective self-help to developing nations, with special concern for the Latin American countries.

Raymond P. Harold is also the dynamic and prophetic president of the Worcester, Mass., Federal Savings & Loan Association; the trusted counseler to two Presidents of the United States, and a most respected advisor to several committees of the Congress in this challenging area of international assistance for home financing.

Because of his interest in and dedication to this work he was requested, by our late President John F. Kennedy, to serve as special ambassador at the inauguration of the President of Peru in 1963. Because of the worldwide recognition and acclaim of his unique knowledge and unparallelled efforts in promoting the understanding and acceptance of the economic and social benefits of basic thrift and homeownership he was elected, last month, in London, England, president of the International Union of Building Societies & Savings Associations. Mr. Harold is unquestionably the "voice of authority" in this complex field and his words and projections well merit the widest reading and review. The article follows:

INTERVIEW BY SAVINGS AND LOAN NEWS—SLN

SLN. How did you first become involved in Latin America?

Mr. HAROLD. In 1958, the State Department asked me and several other savings and loan officials to go to Peru to study matters relating to home financing and the general problems of housing and new capital formation.

SLN. Was this the first study of this type?

Mr. HAROLD. Yes. And it represented a significant change in State Department policy on foreign assistance. Previously, the State Department looked on housing as strictly a social, not an economic, problem. They thought it was a bottomless pit that didn't lend itself to solution.

SLN. What changed their mind?

Mr. HAROLD. I think a primary reason was recognition of the need to reach the people directly with our foreign aid programs. Our money has built dams, factories and other big projects that turned out to be little more than monuments to the dictator in power. After construction jobs ended, most people weren't any better off. They couldn't use electricity, they didn't get jobs in the factory, and few had cars to drive on the new highways.

It was the Government, not the people, that wanted these things. The people want a home, clothing, food, and medical attention. We had to get our foreign aid plans down to earth to deal with the fundamental survival of man.

SLN. What were the other reasons?

Mr. HAROLD. The day is done, or should be, when we hand out the American taxpayers' money without getting a return. In Latin America our foreign aid policies are now based on the program known as the Alliance for Progress, initiated by President Kennedy. The Alliance has been misunderstood and it's had failures, but the basic idea is to stop the giveaway program and start helping these people help themselves. We're only beginning to understand the real spirit of the program as envisioned by the President.

SLN. How do savings and loan associations fit into this concept?

Mr. HAROLD. President Johnson has since divided Alliance emphasis into three areas: Cooperation, self-help, and social justice. He specifically mentioned savings and loan institutions, primarily in the area of cooperation. We belong there, of course, but I think we belong even more to his second area—self-help. This is where the savings and loan concept works like a charm, because self-help is the foundation of our whole movement.

Ours is a real people-to-people business, not government-to-government. It's so basic, so down to earth, it can't help but succeed if you plant the seed the right way. And when we loan money to get the business started, we can get every cent back.

SLN. What's the ultimate objective?

Mr. HAROLD. We can give these people hope, hope that they can own something. The Communists have won people over by making promises, and it's amazing how much hardship can be endured for a promise. We can use the same psychology but back up our promises with actual results. We have a system that can convince them private enterprise will work in their countries.

SLN: Did you report these observations to the State Department after your first trip to Peru?

Mr. HAROLD. Most of them. We strongly urged that the creation of savings and loan associations be encouraged in every way possible. We recommended that private U.S. capital be piped into the home financing process of these countries to serve both as modest seed capital and also as encouragement to local depositors who are always impressed by the basic soundness of U.S. investments.

We asked that contacts and technical advice be continued and suggested establishing a personnel training program, possibly as a joint effort by our Government and the U.S. savings and loan business.

At the same time, we made clear that our recommendations did not deal specifically with needs of the very poor, despite the appalling number of such families.

SLN. You mean the savings and loan business wouldn't attempt to solve this part of the problem?

Mr. HAROLD. No. In Lima alone half a million Indians have moved down from the mountains into the city. And this is happening in every big city in South America. They don't have jobs, they don't have money, so they build shacks out of crates, squat on the grounds of the big estates, and even live on rooftops. Your senses of sight and sound and smell will tell you more than statistics ever will about the immense housing need. But private financing can't supply the answer to this problem; only public housing can support these families.

The role for the savings and loan business is the same as it has been in this country—to help build a strong, independent middle class who can live in dignity because they have a chance to own their own homes.

But the miracle of middle-class home ownership is that its benefits filter both up and down. Like a sandwich, the flavor permeates both pieces of bread.

SLN. Can't middle-class people get mortgages?

Mr. HAROLD. It's the same old story; the only people who can get loans don't need the money. The old established banks won't even talk to a butcher, a factory worker, or even a small businessman.

We were amazed at the number of so-called rich people who couldn't afford to own their own homes because of prohibitive terms and interest rates of 25 to 50 percent charged by the traditional moneylenders of the country.

SLN. How big a market are you talking about?

Mr. HAROLD. Grant that Peru alone needs 1 million homes—and this is a conservative guess. Figure that each shelter will cost a modest $2,000 or $3,000 and your multiplication will give you a staggering total of more than $2 billion.

For the moment, forget that each year Peru will continue to need 50,000 additional homes. And forget the housing developments financed from public funds for the poorest families. And forget all the other countries that have the same problem.

It's obvious that the economy of Peru can't provide all the money. Neither can the United States with Government loans. Certainly the Indians can't save it.

SLN. Then where's the money going to come from?

Mr. HAROLD. By combining these three resources with the proper mixture of private revenue, we can get the job done. The wealth of the people in the United States evolved from just such a mixture, from just such a phenomenon of a little money breeding more money, of a little effort producing massive effort.

SLN. What do you mean by private revenue?

Mr. HAROLD. Let's talk about the possible resources one by one. First, take the savings of the Peruvian people.

I'll never forget watching Father Dan McLellan, an American Maryknoll missionary in Peru, with Morton Bodfish and Stan Baruch, then with the Inter-American Development Bank, as he started a small savings and loan in an hour or two, late one night about 5 years ago. You know the pattern—a few volunteers band together, adopt a set of rules, pool their resources, and the idea catches on.

When I visited Father Dan 2 years later, his association, El Pueblo, already had 5,678 members. Today, the assets are more than $5 million. If there were nothing other than this one example, it gives sufficient evidence that Peruvians are willing and eager to save. But this is happening all over Peru and other Latin American countries.

SLN. These are the middle-class people?

Mr. HAROLD. All kinds—doctors, laborers, school teachers, government workers. Some of them might come in with only 20 soles—that's about 75 cents—but it adds up. Most of these people never put money in savings before because they didn't trust the institution or they weren't welcome.

But there are other sources of money—the Government and the wealthy landowners. In Peru the Government has allocated several million dollars seed capital to various credit institutions with the condition that it be drawn upon as the system grows and savings increase.

The wealthy probably won't release their funds until they can see how they themselves will be benefited. It's going to be necessary to educate the aristocracy that their only hope for continued prosperity is in the development of an economically sound and prosperous country.

SLN. Are these funds substantial?

Mr. HAROLD. Part of the problem is that much of the wealth has been moved out of the country into Swiss banks or other places. If the rich could be persuaded to retain their funds in South America, they alone would produce a vast amount of capital.

SLN. What about U.S. aid?

Mr. HAROLD. That's the third resource. U.S. Government loans have already provided more than $500 million for housing alone. This includes some $70 million in "seed" capital loans for organizing savings and loan associations.

These associations have made a spectacular showing. Today, there are 87 institutions in seven Latin American countries. In 1958, there were none. Total savings has more than doubled in just the last year to $75 million with more than 250,000 savers and about 30,000 homes financed. This is a good beginning.

But we don't have 100 years to develop the savings and loan business in Latin America as we did in this country. As former Treasury Secretary Dillon said, "History is in a hurry."

As a result, the housing situation in Latin America will probably never be remedied in time unless another ingredient is added to savings, public funds and U.S. aid. I refer, of course, to the resources of private business in the United States, and, specifically, the savings and loan business—in other words, private revenue.

SLN. Why the savings and loan business specifically?

Mr. HAROLD. We are the logical source for this kind of capital. As I said before, loans by U.S. associations will give these people tremendous encouragement because they have always been impressed by the soundness of our investment decisions. This is a business arrangement for a fair return to many people.

South American people don't want a handout. They say, "We're socialized enough; let's have private enterprise." Certainly, the savings and loan business can't do it all, but it's one form of economics the Communists can't accept.

We've gone a long way with our system; it's been a terrific benefit to mankind. We owe a duty to the world to show them how the job can be done. If we can, we will be a tremendous help to the State Department. And if we can do it without spending the taxpayers' money, the Treasury Department will know about it too.

SLN. Is this to be done with the new 1 percent of assets investment authority in Latin American mortgages?

Mr. HAROLD. That's a help. It's a wedge. One percent of the assets of this business would produce $1.2 billion. Any part of that would provide a needed impetus to the development of Latin American associations.

SLN. Do you think my associations will do it?

Mr. HAROLD. Yes, some will. These investments, remember, will be guaranteed by our Government. First National City Bank of New York and Chase Manhattan have already made large guaranteed loans in South America. The mortgage bankers are becoming active and West Germany is getting involved. If it's OK for them, it should be OK for us.

As in other businesses, we have got to start looking beyond our national frontiers. South America represents one of the greatest markets we have ever had the opportunity to serve.

But direct investment is only one of the tools. We need to establish a system to discount notes in order to provide the necessary capital to countries which need it.

SLN. Do you mean we should establish an international type of home loan bank?

Mr. HAROLD. We have got to have the International Home Loan Bank. In every session of Congress since 1960, bills have been introduced to create such a bank. Now, with the U.S. League's support, I think we can get this legislation enacted next year.

I have talked to scores of men from almost every Latin American country. This is the peg on which they are hanging their hopes, the incentive for which they have been waiting.

SLN. How would the IHLB operate?

Mr. HAROLD. In many ways just like our own Federal Home Loan Bank System. U.S. associations would purchase stock or debentures or some type of money instrument from the IHLB to provide the funds.

Many Latin American countries have already created their own "federal home loan banks" to operate as a central bank. The IHLB would then lend money to these banks which, in turn, would advance funds to individual associations. Or, if no home loan bank existed in the country, the IHLB could make advances directly to associations.

SLN. What yield would U.S. associations receive on their investments in the International Home Loan Bank?

Mr. HAROLD. That would be determined by the Treasury Department. The balance-of-payments problem and other public debt management problems have to be considered.

IHLB loans would also be guaranteed by the State Department, and they might have something to say about yield.

SLN. Then two Government agencies would be involved?

Mr. HAROLD. Three. The Federal Home Loan Bank Board would want a voice since their member associations are involved. One of the problems in getting IHLB legislation through Congress has been the difficulty in agreeing on how these three groups—and the business itself—should be represented on the IHLB's board of directors.

SLN. Would the FHLBB classify association investments in the international bank as legal liquidity?

Mr. HAROLD. If they want the program to be a success they will. Even after the bill is passed, we'll need plenty of hard work to sell the business on the concept of the International Home Loan Bank. But it was the same situation when the Federal Home Loan Bank was organized; 90 percent of the people thought it would never be a success.

SLN. Getting back to your first trip to South America, what action was taken on your recommendation?

Mr. HAROLD. The State Department contracted for additional studies in other countries and started a program to actively organize associations.

I've been back every year since then. Other savings and loan leaders became active; men like Arthur Courshon and Jack Gordon of Washington Federal in Miami Beach, who started the savings and loan movement in Chile; Oscar Kreutz of St. Petersburg, who worked in Argentina; Harry Greep, Gerrit Vander Ende and many others.

In quick succession came the Alliance for Progress and then the Agency for International Development, its implementing organization to assist agriculture, industry, and housing. The National League soon announced a cooperative plan for giving technical and advisory help. The YMCA World Service and then the Peace Corps included housing among their objectives.

SLN. How did you and these other savings and loan officials get the business started?

Mr. HAROLD. The first step is to find the right political and government support to create the legal framework necessary for a savings and loan business to operate. Working through our State Department mission and their contacts, we helped write and enact chartering laws, central bank legislation and a housing act.

SLN. Did you have any difficulty getting government leaders to go along?

Mr. HAROLD. Sometimes. Because the economic structure in Latin American countries is outmoded and chaotic, there has been much resistance to change. The wealthy landowners who control the economy must be convinced that a change will benefit, not hurt them, just as we must learn that developing prosperity in Latin America is in our own best interest.

SLN. How did you overcome this resistance?

Mr. HAROLD. We tried two approaches. First, we would explain the multiplying effect of housing on a nation's economy. In the United States, for example, we know that each housing unit represents about 3 years of employment—1 man-year on the job, 1 man-year in factories producing materials, and 1 man-year in related fields.

We tried to show how housing would broaden and stabilize the economy by creating new skills, new industries, and more jobs. Then we would talk about the role of savings associations in mobilizing the resources of small savers to make it all possible.

SLN. Was this argument effective?

Mr. HAROLD. To a point. But you must remember that even in this country we were very slow to recognize housing to be anything more than a social problem. Not until 1945 was housing listed as a major factor in the economy or politics.

There's another problem. The aristocratic landowners are very wealthy; they don't need more money. As a result, economic arguments were not always effective.

In these cases, fear psychology seemed to be the only answer. We would point to the thousands of Indians moving down from the mountains and the poor housing conditions for the middle class. These people can see the big estates and the mansions and want decent housing for themselves. If they

couldn't get it by working and saving, we emphasized, someday they would take it by whatever method they could get it.

Communism withers in a vigorous economy where private enterprise is free to provide decent housing and good living standards, and those other benefits which give the individual self-respect and a sense of personal significance. We told them the encouragement of private homeownership is not mere humanitarianism but an urgent essential for their own survival. It usually worked.

SLN. Have any U.S. association officials actually organized individual associations, and how did they do it?

Mr. HAROLD. Many of the existing associations were organized with the help of our people. On these visits we interviewed a wide range of leading individuals including national and local government officials, church leaders, college officials, YMCA directors, bankers, professional people, industrialists, proprietors of mines and the big farms, and the chamber of commerce.

The objective, of course, is to find people who not only have the courage, skill and willingness to do the job, but also have the trust and respect of the community.

The right man, a Father Dan, for example, can work wonders. I watched incredulously that evening he organized his institution with a few telephone calls. Twenty-three persons pledged moral and financial support, and only the formal agreements waited until morning for completion.

We were extremely fortunate in our first visit to make contact with Pedro Beltran, publisher of the leading morning newspaper in Lima. He pushed through the necessary legislation and then formed the first association. Later, quite significantly, he became prime minister of Peru.

People like Beltran understand the problem and the need as well as we do. I have quoted a statement of his in many of my speeches to illustrate this point. He said: "To be quite candid, the U.S. Government with the best of intentions without any question does not seem to have always acted to achieve the best results. Housing today is a pressing need—whatever is done in housing will be more appreciated than anything else. * * * Therefore what your government does should, above all, have in mind bringing the family together."

SLN. Aside from growth statistics, do you think these new associations are well operated and successful?

Mr. HAROLD. The status of the savings and loan business in Latin America is roughly equivalent to what ours was in 1831 when it was founded. If you audit it by 1965 U.S. standards, you wouldn't call it great, but it's certainly reasonably successful. If you audit it by 1831 standards, they're far ahead of where we were.

SLN. What's the biggest problem in continuing the progress already underway?

Mr. HAROLD. We need more of our own people to do down there and spend some time. We have the tools, ambition and the know-how to pass on to them. We must provide the technical knowledge so the common, middle-class people can run the business themselves.

We need technicians, but we need the old-timers, too, to tell the story and sell it.

SLN. How can this be done?

Mr. HAROLD. The U.S. League's decision to support the program will be a tremendous help. It has the staff, the organization, and the membership we need to get the job done. The training program developed by the American Savings & Loan Institute will take over much of the work that has been performed on a purely voluntary basis by a few farsighted savings and loan managers.

Continued effort by the National League is also vital. But forget leagues, we're talking savings and loan. If you're concerned about what's good for the savings and loan business, this is an ace. There's room for everyone.

SLN. What contribution can be made by the International Union of Building Societies & Savings Association?

Mr. HAROLD. The Union must revive the worldwide savings and loan movement. The United States has started the ball rolling, but we can't do it all.

Even now, in Greece, if a man buys a home, he has to pay 40 percent down with 3 years' grace to pay the rest. You may be sure few people in Greece can afford to own a home.

In Jamaica the demand for mortgages far exceeds the funds. In Ghana there has been such a demand for home loans that the building societies have had to turn away hundreds of applicants.

The savings and loans of France, Germany, and Great Britain should share the load. We in the Union have got to be missionaries.

SLN. Do you think these foreign development programs will become a permanent fixture in the savings and loan business?

Mr. HAROLD. All over the world middle-class people are emerging in great numbers and are demanding the same things we do. The nesting instinct is far stronger than economists or politicians had ever suspected.

Within 10 years, we'll have requests to make mortgages in Africa. We should go to Congress for authority to establish associations in Vietnam, Malaysia, Pakistan, and India.

I have seen what can happen to self-dignity and community prosperity when the savings and loan concept is allowed to be introduced. The social and economic benefits which accrue are unbelievable. And I have come to believe that we have in our hands one of the most potent instruments in the world for the betterment of mankind.

Saxon Claim That Banking Is a Closely Regulated Industry Is Wide of the Mark

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, Comptroller of the Currency James J. Saxon has often asserted that no industry is more completely regulated by Government than banking. Based upon this dubious premise, Mr. Saxon insists that banking is somehow different from other businesses and thus deserving of special treatment under the laws.

The constant goal of the big bankers is exemption from the jurisdiction of all Government agencies except the Federal banking agencies, which they themselves dominate. Frequently they have succeeded; for instance, the amendments to the Federal Securities Acts in 1964 for the first time applying disclosure standards to the larger banks contained a provision insisted upon by the bankers that the banking agencies, and not the Securities and Exchange Commission, administer the new law with respect to banks. It is just as logical to let the Federal Power Commission administer the securities laws as to Consolidated Edison or the Federal Communications Commission as to A.T. & T. The truth is there is no real logic to this, but the big bankers like it because the banking agencies will always go easy on them. Of the agency officials, only Hon. J. L. Robertson, Governor of the Federal Reserve, has spoken out in firm opposition to the "competition in laxity" that characterizes Federal bank regulation. Witness the pathetically weak "disclosure" regulations issued by Comptroller Saxon. Even a spokesman for the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation could not resist recently taking a poke at the lack of adequate disclosure that Saxon is permitting. Obviously, bank stockholders are the ones who suffer.

More recently, the big banks are spearheading a drive they hope will, in effect, excuse them from the merger curbs in the antitrust laws. S. 1698, if passed, would forgive 2,200 past bank mergers, even including mergers adjudged illegal by the courts. More importantly, it would take the traditional antitrust laws out of bank mergers and instead of the Justice Department, bank mergers would be regulated hereafter only by the merger-minded banking agencies. These agencies tend more to be supertrade associations for the banking industry, rather than guardians of the public interest, and Congress would be most unwise to once again give special treatment to banking.

The American Bankers Association and the big-bank fat cats who support it claim that banking is unique and already overregulated. In the first place, all industries are unique from one another. In the second place, banking is definitely not a highly regulated industry, particularly from the public service standpoint. Banking is supervised from the standpoint of soundness and solvency through the examination process. And even this area of Federal oversight has shown alarming weaknesses. Witness the recent failure of the San Francisco National Bank where uninsured losses to the public may exceed $30 million. If this is what Mr. Saxon means by close regulation, then we certainly should consider a shakeup among our bank regulators. If banking is so well supervised and regulated why is it that so many hoodlums are discovered in the banking business?

In testifying on S. 1698, the bank merger forgiveness bill, Mr. Wallace Kirkpatrick, speaking on behalf of the 6,200 strong Independent Bankers Association of America, had this to say, and I quote from page 164 of the Senate hearings:

> Moreover, although commercial banking is subject to a variety of governmental controls, the regulatory scheme does not cover many areas of banking and particularly is largely absent from the area of interrelation of bank and customer.
>
> There is no banking control over interest rates a bank may charge; charges for banking services are free of governmental regulations.
>
> Unlike certain other of the so-called regulated industries, banking is left free of control in numerous vital areas, such as the availability of loans and the rates charged for them.
>
> Competition regulates the market forces in those areas, and that competition must be guaranteed its freedom by the protection

of the antitrust laws so that it may perform its function.

The Supreme Court in the Philadelphia Bank case has described the extent of banking regulation in these words:

"Moreover, bank regulation is in most respects less complete than public utility regulations, to which interstate rail and air carriers, among others, are subject.

"Rate regulation in the banking industry is limited and largely indirect; banks are under no duty not to discriminate in their services; and though the location of bank offices is regulated, banks may do business, place loans, and solicit deposits where they please.

"The fact that the banking agencies maintain a close surveillance of the industry with a view toward preventing unsound practices that might impair liquidity or lead to insolvency does not make Federal banking regulation all pervasive, although it does minimize the hazard of intense competition" (374 U.S. at 352).

If banking were to be immunized from the antitrust laws, there would have to be, in the public interest, far more direct and pervasive Federal regulation than has been proposed.

Although it is true that the presently proposed bill would exempt from the antitrust laws only mergers approved under the Bank Merger Act, still this novel legislation might easily be the first step to more extensive and complete regulation of the industry.

What the ABA and the big bankers fail to realize, as Mr. Kirkpatrick so clearly pinpoints, is that when an industry succeeds in an antitrust exemption, it is flirting with even more restrictive types of Government regulation, such as price controls, and even the possibility of nationalization. I am personally unalterably opposed to any change from a sound dual banking system where effective competition and free enterprise prevail.

Frankly, I do not believe that Mr. Saxon and other spokesmen for the big banks want public-utility type regulation in banking anymore than I. But in their haste to get what the big bankers think they want today, they have lost sight of the really important considerations—what will American banking be like in the 21st century, competitive free enterprise? Or will we, instead, find ourselves at the loan window at the local U.S. post office for our borrowing needs? Its not an impossibility at all, and certainly demands consideration by those who shout that only they have the best interests of banking and the banking public at heart. It is a short step from monopoly to socialism.

Plight of the Elderly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, in a recent very thoughtful article the distinguished commentator, Sylvia Porter, raised the following very pertinent questions: How would you manage if you suddenly had to live on an income of $25 a week? How would you budget that amount among rent, clothing, food, doctor's bills, transportation and other needs?

The writer alluded to a 76-year-old person who answered these questions in a revealing letter.

With an income of $107.31 a month or about $25 per week, it was made very clear that this total must stretch to include everything from food to postage stamps and there is no surplus of any kind.

The article showed in all its stark nakedness the very meager budget upon which millions of elderly Americans are now required to live.

With 79 percent of the total going for basic necessities of food, clothing and shelter as compared with 52 percent for our population as a whole, it can be seen that many of our elderly are having a fierce struggle for survival at standards which would normally be considered below the line of adequate subsistence.

For example, $4.50 a month for transportation which rules out owning a car, no real allotment possible for medical expenses, no provision for travel, investment, or savings; no entertainment, no allowance for literature or reading.

This budget seems to paint a very dismal picture, yet it can be said to be typical of a great many other elderly people in the country, whose annual income of $1,287.75 is within $10 of the nationwide average income of elderly citizens living alone. This income is also well above the average of $81 for retired workers, and certainly could be considered as being well below the poverty line of about $1,500 for an individual, as well as being one-third below the $1,800 income level which the Bureau of Labor Statistics calculates would provide a modest but adequate living standard for retired individuals.

Under the standard a person could have less than one egg a day, a new coat every 9 years, two bus fares a week, a movie once a month and virtually no money for special diets or special medical care.

Yet additional taxes are regularly levied to step up these paltry allowances by a few dollars. While medical programs adopted by the Congress this session are expected to be very helpful, it is clear that most of the current social security benefits are woefully inadequate and need to be supplemented by other forms of public support which many individuals may not feel disposed to apply for. Fortunately, however, most States and communities make special provisions for those who do wish to apply and in that way raise the general level of support.

The thing that impressed me particularly about this article and the serious plight of the elderly in the Great Society was that at the present time, notwithstanding the efforts of Congress, social security benefits in a very large number of cases do not begin to meet the requirements and demands of a decent standard of living, indeed they do not meet ordinary requirements and are just as I described them, meager, paltry, and inadequate in every respect.

Many of the beneficiaries have been covered under the social security system since the beginning in 1937, but they worked for many years at relatively low wages or had relatively low incomes, and hence they do not have much accumulated in the pool and therefore are entitled only to meager benefits. If these people had been in a position where they could have retained even half of the withholding taxes and other taxes levied against them in the interim and had saved or invested this money, they would be far better off than they are receiving social security benefits.

I recognize that the theory of social security is that many people would not save the money for their retirement and that is true without a doubt. But there are a great many prudent, industrious, hard-working people who are careful in handling their funds, who would have saved their money and hence would have been much better off than they are under current meager social security benefits.

I am not implying that this means in any sense that social security has not fulfilled a good role in American life, because it has. I am merely asserting that at present standards, very many people in this country receive social security benefits that are entirely and woefully inadequate.

This all adds up to one thing: that the Congress should promote studies at an early date to try to find some better answer for enabling our elderly—the veterans of industry, trade, commerce, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, and the people who make the wheels of industry click, and contribute immeasurably to the strength of our country, that they may be assured in their retirement of at least sufficient income in the form of benefits, for which they have contributed, that would be well above the subsistence line, and not just a meagre handout for bare survival.

I realize fully the difficulty of the problems of raising social security rates, but under present circumstances, this is a question that will have to be faced, and faced soon by the Congress, and I hope that our special committees will soon institute extensive and intensive studies to try to come up with some solutions in this area that will eliminate or lighten the struggles and sacrifices of the elderly people who, in their declining years, after their labors and vicissitudes and great contributions to the Nation, are entitled to something more than a mere subsistence budget.

The Congress has done a great deal to try to eliminate poverty in the country and this is a very fine development in our national life which has been needed for years, and must be followed up so as to banish the spectres of ignorance, poverty and fear from the country.

But it is of great importance, too, in my opinion, that we should turn our minds to those who have worked, labored and slaved all their lives to bring up and educate their families, and who gave their last measure of devotion to the country in terms of doing their best in their work and in their homes and as good citizens in their communities, and should be considered when it comes to the question of developing changes and

modification of the social security system that will more truly and more effectively provide adequate income for them in their declining years.

In this great country, we must have deep concern for the rights of every American citizen and and special concern for those who humbly and loyally toil, and we must never leave them abandoned and stranded in their declining years and required to live in privation and stark denial.

The article is as follows:

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH: RETIREE'S LEAN BUDGET SHOWS PLIGHT OF ELDERLY

(By Sylvia Porter)

How would you manage if you suddenly had to live on an income of $25 a week? How would you budget that amount among rent, clothes, food, doctor bills, transportation, other needs?

A 76-year-old Seattle reader answers these questions in a revealing letter. The letter includes T. G.'s personal budget for his annual income of $1,287.75—$1,212 in social security benefits and $75.75 in gifts and wages for part-time work. This works out to an income of $107.31 a month or about $25 a week. The total must be stretched to include everything from food to postage stamps. Every penny he receives goes out.

DOWN-TO-EARTH TESTIMONY

T. G.'s budget, which follows, is down-to-earth, dollars-and-cents testimony to the economic plight of millions of elderly citizens today—particularly those living alone.

Item	Annual	Monthly average
Rent and telephone	$582.43	$48.50
Food	403.78	33.65
Gifts, church, charity	112.49	9.37
Transportation	54.35	4.50
Household and miscellaneous	40.64	3.40
Medical	28.85	2.40
Clothing	27.12	2.30
Postage	19.22	1.60
Recreation and education	18.86	1.57

Above and beyond its overall leanness, several glaring points emerge from a study of this budget.

Fully 79 percent of the total, for example, goes for the basic necessities of food, clothing, and shelter. This compares with 52 percent for our population as a whole.

The share for transportation—$4.50 a month—clearly rules out owning a car, a possession the vast majority of younger people take for granted. The allotment for medical expenses assumes excellent health—a dangerous assumption at this age level.

The budget makes no provision for travel, investment, and, of course, savings. Moreover, writes T.G., "Entertainment of any kind is out of the question. I thank God for our wonderful libraries and my ability to read." Millions of less fortunate elderly citizens cannot read and entertain themselves with books.

CASE NOT UNUSUAL

T.G.'s case is not unusual. His $1,287.75 annual income is within $10 of the nationwide average income of elderly citizens living alone. The average $1,297 a year for these individuals is about two-fifths of the average income of younger people.

T.G.'s $101 a month in social security benefits also is well above the average $81 for retired workers until last month. You well may wonder about the living conditions of the millions who are depending entirely on social security benefits for every need.

T.G.'s average annual income is not only well below the poverty line of about $1,500 for an individual. It also is one-third below the $1,800 income level which the Bureau of Labor Statistics calculates would provide a modest but adequate living standard for retired individuals. This standard would allow for less than one egg a day, a new coat every 9 years, 2 bus fares a week, a movie once a month—and virtually no money for special diet or special medical care.

WILL BE HIT HARD

On January 1 you and I will be hit hard by a new round of social security tax hikes. If you are an employee earning $6,600 or more, your 1966 tax increase will be $103.20—and your employer's increase will match this. If you are self-employed, your tax hike will be $146.70 and your new maximum tax will be $405.90.

But for T.G. these tax hikes have just translated into a monthly benefit raise of $7.10 and, as of next July, will mean relative freedom from the nightmare of budget-shattering hospital bills in the event of serious illness. A gain of $7.10 a month may seem modest to many of you—but to T.G. and millions of elderly citizens like him, the $7.10 is a major financial blessing.

A Report To the People by Congressman George M. Rhodes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in the 1st session of the 89th Congress, the Johnson administration and the Democratic majority of Congress have honored the pledges given to the American people in the Democratic platform of 1964.

As a member of the House Ways and Means Committee, I was closely associated with the writing of two pieces of major legislation: the expansion of the social security program to include medical care for the aged, and the excise tax cuts which acted as a boost to our already booming economy.

The progressive and humanitarian programs enacted this session have been championed by the Democrats since 1933. Opponents of these programs have leveled charges that this Congress has acted hastily and has rubberstamped President Johnson's legislative requests.

President Johnson's Great Society measures are extensions of reforms that emerged from the New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Fair Deal of Harry Truman, and the New Frontier under the late President Kennedy.

Eight years under a Republican administration slowed the pace of social and economic reforms. The American people by electing John F. Kennedy reaffirmed their desire to meet necessary public and human needs and President Johnson has been faithful to this commitment. In my 17 years as a Member of Congress, I have supported these programs which provide hope and opportunity for all Americans.

They are made necessary by the complex technological and social changes which are taking place in this country. The advance of automation and the population explosion have brought changes which must be dealt with by intelligence and foresight. We must expand our economy fast enough to offset the effects of automation. The Federal Government must cooperate with State and local governments in solving the problems caused by increased population such as the need for adequate schools, housing, care for the aged, and providing necessary social services.

The funds used to solve these problems are an investment in our country's most valuable resource—people. The Democratic Party has consistently promoted legislation which meets this Nation's human and public needs. The Johnson administration gives further evidence of that historical fact. The 1st session of the 89th Congress has been described by competent and impartial observers as one of the most constructive in the annals of American history. It has enacted more legislation, met more national needs, than any Congress of this century.

I am thankful for the privilege to have participated in the work of a Congress which has made a significant contribution toward the creation of a truly Great Society.

The list of accomplishments includes some 70 pieces of major legislation. This report will outline briefly those which are most important to the citizens of our Sixth District.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Passage of the social security-medicare bill marked a real breakthrough for America's senior citizens. I am sure I convey the sentiments of my Democratic colleagues on the Ways and Means Committee when I say that having helped write this humane and progressive legislation has been the most rewarding experience of my 17 years of congressional service.

The law now provides hospital care insurance for citizens 65 and over, optional insurance to help meet other medical expenses, and an across-the-board increase of 7 percent in monthly social security cash benefits.

Our Sixth District which is successfully fighting unemployment and economic distress will benefit substantially as a result of this act. Residents of our district will receive an increase of more than $13 million in benefit payments as a result of the added 7 percent.

Total social security payments to citizens in our district will rise to $94 million per year by 1967. This money will be spent for food, shelter, and services. It will provide an additional boost to the economies of our local communities.

In addition to supporting this legislation, I introduced bills to further expand and liberalize the social security system. It is my firm belief that expansion is necessary if we are to have a better and more fair distribution of our national wealth and prosperity.

One of my bills calls for the Federal Government to pay one-third of the contributions to the social security fund, matching the amount paid by employees and employers. The one-third Federal contribution would increase social security fund reserves by 50 percent. This

would strengthen the fund and make possible badly needed improvements without an additional unjust tax burden on low-income wage earners. It would finance a needed increase in benefits, a reduction of retirement age to 60, and disability benefits after 1 year of coverage.

I was privileged to have flown with President Johnson and other Democratic leaders to Independence, Mo. The signing of the Social Security bill took place in the Truman Memorial Library in the presence of Harry Truman who like myself has been a longtime advocate of legislation to quiet the anxieties and ease the ills of old age.

STATE OF THE ECONOMY

November marks the 58th month of uninterrupted economic expansion that began under the leadership of the late President John F. Kennedy. Employment rates in our sixth district have risen to a record high due largely to the foresighted economic policy of the Kennedy-Johnson administrations.

A combination of enlightened Federal policies and prudent business and labor cooperation have enabled production and income to grow without the danger of inflation. The $4.7 billion excise tax cut passed by this Congress has proved to be an important factor in securing our economic growth. It was a high honor for me to have been invited to the White House by President Johnson to participate in the ceremony when this legislation was signed into law.

It is my belief that the buying power of lower and middle income groups should be increased. This will prove an added stimulus to the economy. To this end I have introduced legislation to increase income tax exemptions for individuals and dependents by $200, from the present $600 to $800.

EDUCATION

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the Higher Education Act passed by this Congress will form the foundation of a renewed effort to build an educational system in this country unparalleled in the history of man.

The funds appropriated to carry out this effort are investments in our children and the future of the Nation. The materials and funds provided by this legislation will be used to enhance the educational opportunities of all American schoolchildren regardless of race, creed, or color. This Nation cannot afford the loss of talented youngsters. Our schools must have the financial support necessary to educate every child to his fullest potential. Over $2.7 million in Federal aid will flow into Sixth District schools. The money will be distributed through the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction and will be allotted on the basis of the number of low-income families within each school district. It has been estimated that Berks County will receive $913,000; Schuylkill County, $1,289,000; and Northumberland County, $800,000.

The success of this aid will depend entirely on how the local school boards use these funds. The Federal Government will not dictate how they are to be used. I am working closely with local school districts in their efforts to bring the full benefit of these programs to all the schoolchildren of our sixth district.

The Higher Education Act will provide similar aid to our Nation's colleges and universities. The law will make possible scholarship and loan assistance to help needy college students finance their educations. In addition, Federal matching grants will be made available for the construction of classrooms, laboratories and libraries. This program is necessary if we are going to provide the young people of the next generation with the educational opportunities necesssary to lead productive and fruitful lives.

WAR ON POVERTY

Programs under the Economic Opportunity Act designed to fight the war on poverty have been favorably received by the residents of our Sixth District.

I have been heartened by the progress we have made and I feel sure that narrow political interests will not slow the pace of these programs. Berks, Schuylkill, and Northumberland Counties have formed community organizations to fight the local antipoverty campaigns in both urban and rural areas. The Federal Government will pay 90 percent of the cost of these local projects. The response to the Economic Opportunity Act is evidence that citizens in urban and rural America share many common objectives. These objectives include more employment, better education opportunities for our young, and improved health facilities. The war on poverty has each of these as its objectives.

Grants by the Federal Government totaling close to $1 million have already been approved for our district in the short time that the Economic Opportunity Act has been in existence. One of the most successful programs in our district has been the Neighborhood Youth Corps. This component of the poverty program provides worthwhile jobs for young students who need financial assistance in order to continue their high school educations. The Neighborhood Youth Corps is now in operation in Sunbury schools, Berks County, Shenandoah, Mahanoy City, the Reading school district, the Reading and Pottsville YMCA's, and the Pottsville school district.

In addition, grants have been approved which provide training for the unemployed who have dependent children, for preschool medical and educational services for children who come from families stricken by economic misfortune.

It is not going to be the Federal Government's fault if our communities do not benefit fully from the Economic Opportunity Act. It will be the responsibility of local communities to select capable and dedicated administrators who are interested in the success of the war on poverty. Throughout this session of Congress, I have worked closely with every local group which has contacted me and requested assistance. I will keep fully advised of every facet of the economic opportunity program so that the residents of our Sixth District can avail themselves of the opportunities which it affords.

These and many other programs reflect the objectivity of the Johnson administration in seeking to meet human and public needs and in building a stronger and more prosperous America.

Dr. James E. Mooney

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, an illustrious career of Government service will come to an end on December 31 with the retirement of Dr. James E. Mooney, assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Antarctic Matters.

When Dr. Mooney began his outstanding work as an associate of Adm. Richard E. Byrd in the Department of Defense in 1950, he had already distinguished himself as an editor, author, and educator. Besides serving as a university president and in other important capacities, he studied aeronautics in England and France and wrote such books as "Knight Without Armor," "Ernie Pyle," "French in Florida," "Each Tomorrow," "Wheels Up," and "Roaring Wheels and Shining Rails." His works before 1950 also included "Airport Area Planning" and "Flights to Nature's Wonderlands."

As Special Assistant for Antarctic Matters, Dr. Mooney has been a highly respected and effective member of the Department of Defense. His knowledge and experience came to be especially appreciated during the International Geophysical Year in 1958, when he convincingly advocated full U.S. participation. Having visited Antarctica at that time, I found Dr. Mooney's advice and cooperation to be invaluable.

The most important focal point of great interest at this time, scientifically, is in the Antarctic, where the United States is participating in the scientific work at seven different locations. The scientific disciplines studied include the following: auroras, cosmic rays, geomagnetism, glaciers, gravity, geodesy, ionosphere, meteorology, oceanography, seismology, and solar activity. The United States has a considerable stake in the Antarctic and has been exploring in that area since 1820, the most extensive explorations having been carried on by U.S. citizens and the Navy since 1925. Well-known figures who have participated as leaders are widely known and have included such names as Byrd, Dufek, Ellsworth, and Ronne.

The United States has seen more Antarctic territory than all other nations combined. What natural resources are hidden in this vast area twice the size of the United States and what the future holds—scientifically—in this area, yet to be revealed, is largely a matter of time and evaluation of the scientific, economic, and geographic factors. This is especially true in this new space age.

Mr. Speaker, it is regrettable that Dr. Mooney will no longer be an active component of the scientific effort that is delving into the mysteries of Antarctica, but none of us would deny him the opportunity to retire after so many years of tireless dedication to his duties in Govern-

ment service. He was one of nine persons to make the first flights over the North and South Poles in continued flight plans, and he insisted upon resuming his work after a severe operation as a result of an aircraft accident while flying toward Antarctica. He has more than earned very honor bestowed upon him.

Dr. Mooney was recipient of the American Polar Explorers Award in 1938. Five years later he received the Award of Merit, U.S. Navy. A mountain in the Queen Maude Range of Antarctica was named for him. He has received commendations from the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Chief of Naval Operations in addition to the Government's Distinguished Service Award. His latest honor was the Belgian Government's award of the Order of the Crown.

Dr. Mooney's contributions will continue to be recognized long after his retirement. And history will record his name among the few outstanding figures who have been prominent in the scientific development of Antarctica.

To All U.S. Servicemen in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, we in Kings County, N.Y., have never been divided on our country's policy toward communism. Thirteen thousand miles away communism has decided to test the strength of America and the resolve of the free world. Kings County, N.Y., has given more men to the effort to defeat tyranny and preserve peace than any county in the United States of America. It is thrilling to me that in that tradition the students of this county have expressed themselves in the message to President Johnson, which I now insert in the RECORD at this point. This message bore the signatures, by way of petitions, of thousands of our New York citizens and not one of those who knew of this wide circulation for signatures in any way refused to add his name:

To All U.S. Servicemen in Vietnam:

We, the undersigned, students and faculty of St. Francis College, Brooklyn, N.Y., wish to bring to your attention the fact that a great majority of the American people deeply appreciate your sacrifices for the cause of freedom in Vietnam. We fully understand that the war in which you are now engaged is one that must be fought, for it is in Vietnam that the Communists have chosen to test American strength and determination. We further realize that it is imperative that America thwart Communist military ambitions wherever they are manifest.

Recent demonstrations by college students, against the Viet war, which have taken place throughout the United States are, we would have you know, the doings of a minute and misguided minority. Please do not become discouraged and feel that this is the thinking of all college students. We are behind you 100 percent and, in due time, if the war should continue, many of us will be fighting beside you.

You are, in the long run, fighting for the preservation of world peace. We pray that your labors will not be in vain.

God bless you all.

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God bless you all.

Health Insurance for the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, this session of Congress has been very fruitful in terms of constructive legislation but few measures have been more vital, or will be more helpful to very many Americans, than health insurance for the aged and the social security amendments of 1965.

Health insurance is divided into two branches: hospital insurance and medical insurance.

HOSPITAL INSURANCE

Hospital insurance will help pay the bills when covered individuals are hospitalized, and provides for skilled, nursing care and other services in an extended care facility after hospitalization, outpatient, hospital diagnostic services, and home health services.

This insurance is financed out of special contributions paid by people while they work, with matching contributions from employers, so that people will not have to pay for this protection, when they are old and not working.

MEDICAL INSURANCE

Medical insurance will help pay the bills for doctor's services, and for a number of other medical items and services not covered under the hospital insurance program. This program is voluntary, and every individual can decide whether to choose this important, added protection at the low cost of $3 monthly, the Government paying an equal amount toward the cost.

A word on how these programs work.

First, most people will not have to go to the social security office to qualify for protection under the hospital and medical insurance programs.

If you are getting social security or railroad retirement benefits, you qualify automatically for hospital insurance, and an application card for medical insurance benefits will be mailed to you by December 1965 with a leaflet explaining both these programs.

If you are receiving a Federal Civil Service retirement annuity, you will get further information by mail and will be told if it is necessary to go to the social security office later.

If you are receiving public assistance payments, in most cases, the Public Assistance Agency will assist you in applying for hospital insurance and will advise you about enrolling for medical insurance.

If you are not receiving any of the above payments, and you have worked under social security, but have never applied for benefits, the people in your social security office will help you apply for hospital insurance and will also advise you how you can enroll in the medical insurance program.

If you have never worked under social security, get in touch with your social security office between September 1, 1965, and March 31, 1966. Nearly every American, 65 or over, will be protected under the hospital insurance program when it starts in July 1966. If you qualify, these are the benefits for which you will be eligible:

First. Hospitalization for up to 90 days in a "spell of illness"—the program pays for covered services during 60 days of care in a participating hospital, except for the first $40, during a "spell of illness."

If you are hospitalized for more than 60 days during your "spell of illness," the program will pay all but $10 daily for covered services during an additional 30 days of care.

Second. Outpatient, hospital, diagnostic services—the program will pay 80 percent of the cost for diagnostic services you receive as an outpatient of a participating hospital during a 20-day period, except for the first $20 for each 20-day period.

Third. Posthospital extended care in a qualified, skilled nursing home, or part of a hospital after a hospital stay of at least 3 days—the program pays for 20 days of extended care during a "spell of illness." If you need this care for more than 20 days during a "spell of illness," the program will pay all but $5 daily for an additional 80 days.

Fourth. Posthospital home health care services—the program will pay the cost of up to 100 visits in the 365 days after your discharge from the hospital after a stay of 3 days or more, or from an extended care facility, if these services are furnished under an approved plan. Services of visiting nurses, physical therapists and other health workers—but not doctors—who come to your home to furnish health care services are covered. Doctor's visits are covered only under the voluntary, medical insurance plan.

Fifth. Covered services in a hospital or extended care facility—benefit payments will cover, except for the deduct-

ible amounts, the cost of your room and board in semiprivate accommodations, ordinary nursing services, and the cost of drugs, supplies, and most other items of service you receive which are customarily furnished for the care of patients by the hospital or extended care facility.

Effective dates—the benefits described above will become payable beginning July 1, 1966, except for posthospital or extended care benefits which start on January 1, 1967.

Under supplementary medical insurance you can provide in advance toward paying your doctor bills by signing up for medical insurance. The hospital insurance program will not help you pay your doctor's bills.

The medical insurance program pays 80 percent of the reasonable charges for covered services, except for the first $50 in a calendar year.

Services covered under medical insurance include:

Physician's and surgeon's services wherever you receive them.

Home health visits—up to 100 home health visits under an approved plan each year with no need for prior hospitalization. This is in addition to the 100 visits you get under hospital insurance.

Other medical and health services regardless of where rendered including diagnostic tests, X-rays, laboratory services or radium treatments, surgical dressings, splints, casts, certain ambulance services, braces, artificial legs, arms, and eyes, rental of medical equipment such as iron lungs and many other medical items and services.

The voluntary medical insurance plan becomes effective starting July 1, 1966. If you enroll in the plan, your medical coverage will start on that day. This program will not pay for goods or services received before July 1, 1966.

If you are 65 or older on January 1, 1966, you must sign up during the first enrollment period September 1, 1965 to March 31, 1966.

If your 65th birthday occurs after January 1, 1966, your first enrollment period runs for 7 months beginning with the third month immediately before the month you reach 65 and ending 3 months after the month you are 65. For example, you reach 65 in February, you may sign up anytime between the preceding November 1 and the following May 31.

You will have protection as soon as you reach 65 only if you apply during the 3-month period just before the month in which you reach 65. Your medical insurance will not take effect before July 1, 1966.

You must enroll in timely fashion, or you may have to pay a higher premium for the same protection, and your coverage will not begin until 6 to 9 months after you enroll.

It is important for individuals to enroll at the times specified. When you qualify for the hospital insurance program you will receive a health insurance card by mail. If you enroll in the medical insurance program, your card will show that you have both medical and hospital insurance.

Some items and services are not covered under either plan: routine physical checkups, eyeglasses, hearing aids, private duty nurses, custodial care, and personal services such as telephone or television in your hospital room.

The foregoing outlines the major features of the health insurance plan for the aged made available by the bill which is indeed a historic, new health charter for the American people.

Social Security Amendments of 1965 made many important changes in the social security program, including making nearly all Americans 65 and over eligible for hospital insurance and additional voluntary, medical insurance for those who choose to take it.

If you are receiving social security benefits the amount will be increased by 7 percent under the bill and payments of the increase being made for January 1965 and following months.

Very salutary is the increased social security cash benefits and the benefits that may be paid to students up to the age of 22 for unmarried sons or daughters of persons receiving old-age or disability insurance benefits or a person who has died. These new student benefits are retroactive to January 1965 and your social security office will give full information about individual cases.

Another very desirable provision of this law is benefits for widows at age 60 under reduced monthly amounts. The closer the beneficiary is to age 62 when they start receiving benefits, the smaller the reduction will be. On the average, a widow who accepts benefits before age 62 will collect about the same value in total benefits over the years, but in smaller installments to take account of the longer period during which she will be paid. Social security offices will also have full information about this new provision.

Still another helpful change in social security laws is in the reduction of the amount of social security credit required for people 72 or over to qualify for benefits.

If you are 72 or over and have not been able to qualify for social security benefits because you (or your husband) have not worked long enough under social security, you may now be eligible for payments up to $35 a month. Although some social security credit is still required, the amount of work required under the new law is less for certain people 72 and over than it has ever been in the past.

If you are 72 or over and are not receiving social security benefits, you should check with your social security office if you—or your husband—ever received social security credit for work. Payments under this provision can begin for September 1965.

It is also very important to know that if you work after you apply for benefits after 1965, if you earn no more than $1,500 per year, you may receive benefits for all months of the year. Under the law in effect through 1965, the payments you receive are reduced if you work and earn more than $1,200 in a year.

After 1965, if you earn more than $1,500 a year, the general rule is that $1 in benefits will be withheld for each $2 of earnings over $1,500 and up to $2,700. In addition, $1 in benefits will be withheld for each $1 of earnings over $2,700.

There are two exceptions to this rule—if in any month you neither earn more than $125 working for someone else nor do substantial work in a business of your own, there will be no deduction from your benefits for that month no matter how much you earn the rest of the year.

For months after you are 72, there will be no deduction from the benefits because of work after you reached 72.

Another important change for people 65 or over who receive royalties from copyrights or patents obtained before they reached 65, after 1965, this income may be excluded in figuring your earnings.

If you work after applying for old-age-insurance benefits, your additional earnings may increase the amount of your monthly payment.

There are also certain benefits for divorced women to receive benefits from her former husband's account. To do so she must have been married to him at least 20 years before the divorce and he must have been contributing voluntarily or under court order to her support when he became entitled to social security benefits or died.

Under the new law disability provisions have been changed and this is in large part, the results of long, intensive work, interest, and efforts which I made in pressing with the very distinguished, able chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Mr. MILLS, and his associated very able, distinguished colleagues on that committee, to change the limited, inadequate, disability standard heretofore in effect.

The new law provides that an insured worker whose disability is expected to last for at least 12 months may qualify for disability benefits beginning with the seventh month of his disability. The first month for which payments can be made under this change is September 1965.

Workers whose applications for disability insurance benefits have been denied because their disability was not expected to continue indefinitely, but who are severely disabled, should get in touch with their social security office.

The new law also liberalizes requirements affecting people who are disabled by blindness and this is indeed a blessing.

For more information about the changes in disability benefits, get in touch with your social security office.

The new law also provides social security for doctors and medical and dental interns and this also is a great advance because these groups are obviously entitled to such benefits.

Cash tips you receive in your work for one employer provided they amount to $20 or more a month, will now count toward social security benefits for you and your family.

Beginning in 1966 you will be required to report in writing to your employer the amount of tips you receive and to pay social security contributions on the tips. Your employer will include your tips in his social security tax reports and Form W-2 along with your wages, but he will not have to match your social security contribution on the tips.

The law requires that you report to your employer the amount of your tips

within 10 days after the month you receive them. Your social security office can give you full details concerning this provision.

I recognize that there is a great deal of opposition on the part of waiters and others who receive tips and I am impressed with the fact that many of them have good reasons to be disturbed.

It can be said, however, that the requirement enabling them to put additional money in their social security pool will in many cases add very materially to their ultimate social security benefits.

Under the new law, all clergymen have at least until April 15, 1966, to elect to be covered by social security. The time allowed for the decision had expired for many ministers of the Gospel. Now they have another opportunity to become covered.

There has been a change also in the coverage for farmers. If you are a self-employed farmer and your gross earnings from farming in a year after 1965 are $2,400 or less you may report two-thirds of your gross earnings instead of your net earnings for social security purposes. If your gross income from farming is more than $2,400 and your net earnings are less than $1,600, you may report $1,600 for social security purposes.

Financing the new benefit provisions has also been provided for in the bill by increasing the earning base on which social security contributions are based from $4,800 to $6,600 on January 1, 1966.

In addition, the law establishes a separate payroll contribution to finance the program of hospital insurance for the aged. These contributions are going into a separate trust fund in the U.S. Treasury.

I recognize that these new health and social security programs are not perfect. I also realize that in some respects bitter controversy exists in some areas concerning new health programs. However, it is my feeling, that an overwhelming number of the American people not only desire, but will be greatly benefited, by these new programs, and I am sure that those who for good reasons of their own, have opposed them in the past will realize now that they have become the law, that they must be implemented, and I hope and believe that these groups, good Americans that they are, will now lend their great influence and best efforts to make these enlightened new programs for the benefit of the people work effectively to promote better health, more adequate security and more abundant well-being for all Americans.

Support for the United Nations on Rhodesia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, the Rhodesian question is now before the Security Council of the United Nations. That is the most appropriate place for it.

The civilized world is virtually unanimous in condemning the Rhodesian Government's act of rebellion, engaged in solely for the purpose of perpetuating an indefensible racism.

I regard this as an excellent opportunity for the United Nations to demonstrate its capacity to react against evil influences, the kind that offends the decent opinions of mankind. The United States, standing forthrightly as a member of the world community, will certainly be guided by the Security Council's action.

I urge the United Nations to act with prudence but with firmness.

I urge the United States to give its full support to whatever course the United Nations decides upon.

This is an opportunity for us to stand up simultaneously for the cause of human equality and the cause of world order.

Congressman Dingell's Bill To Expand Water Pollution Control Deserves Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the excellent bill introduced by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL], H.R. 11734, deserves support from all of us interested in preserving and reclaiming our Nation's water resources.

This bill raises to $500 million the authorized Federal grants for municipal sewage treatment works.

Recently, Mr. Raymond A. Haik, a prominent Minneapolis attorney and member of the President's Water Pollution Control Advisory Board, voiced concern about the need for cooperation between the public and industry to restore clean water in America.

Mr. Haik said:

The magnitude of effort required for controlling water pollution must be comparable to the type of effort put into building our Interstate Highway System.

Excerpts from his speech follow:

THE PUBLIC AND INDUSTRY—A COOPERATIVE PROGRAM FOR WATER POLLUTION CONTROL

(By Raymond A. Haik)

How, then, have we and do we meet the threat of these pollutants caused by our changing environmental conditions? Except for a few brief years in the 1930's, this country has never spent enough money on public works to do an adequate job of collecting and treating its municipal waste. In the early 1950's, our cities were spending about $220 million a year to build sewage treatment works. This was entirely insufficient, especially at a time when the country was enjoying its biggest building boom and the rush to the suburbs was underway. The first effort to attack the problem on a national scale was the Water Pollution Control Act of 1956. This act authorized grants of up to $250,000 to cities to help them build sewage treatment plants. Over the next 5 years, this raised the level of construction from the previous $220 million to an annual level of approximately $460 million. While this was better, it was still not enough, and in 1961, amendments to the Water Pollution Control Act doubled the funds authorized for construction grants from $50 to $100 million a year and increased the maximum permissible amount for a single project to $600,000. Amendments to the 1961 act now being considered by the Congress authorize $150 million annually for construction grants and $1.2 million for individual projects. A special incentive to encourage area-wide metropolitan projects allows $4.8 million for such projects and an additional 10 percent for metropolitan systems conforming to a comprehensive plan.

Even with these programs providing an incentive to the States, we probably will be doing little more than holding our own in the field of municipal water treatment facilities.

ESTIMATED $20 TO $30 BILLION NEEDED

The total cost for pollution abatement and control will cost billions. Twenty to thirty billion is the cost estimated merely for separating wastes in combined sewer systems. The magnitude of effort required for controlling water pollution must be comparable to the type of effort put into building our Interstate Highway System.

I do not believe it is an established principle that industry has a right to expect to use our rivers as a self-purifier, with the idea being that only the minimum amount of treatment need be given industrial wastes before they are discharged into the receiving waters. Such a notion strikes me as being a double standard in terms of construction practices and a betrayal of the code of the professional engineer or scientist responsible for the design of an industrial plant. The same safeguards that are a part of the cost of construction to insure that a building will not fall under heavy stresses or that a bridge will be able to withstand loads far in excess of what might be expected should be the rule of thumb to guide the engineer and architect in the design of facilities needed to treat the wastes that emanate from an industrial plant. If we are to supply future water needs, the concept of using our streams as open sewers without too much regard to the type of waste being discharged into them is one that no longer can be afforded in this country.

To many of you this public demand for a better quality of water for recreational and other esthetic purposes may come as quite a shock. But the growing attitude in the Nation is that we can no longer pollute our waters and still have the economy we want, the public health standards we want, or the beautiful country we want. Too often the public has looked the other way while our cities, our industries, and our farms have been dumping waste into our waters, or applying chemicals to our lands without regard to the effect on the water quality. There was a time when we could afford to do this, but cities were smaller and our industry and agriculture were not as complex as today's. Yet it is obvious to all, especially to members of your profession, that that time is now past.

This drive for clean water will require that all those who are interested in preserving our water resources must reject the notion that the highest and best use of our waters is as a conveyor of domestic and industrial wastes. We must insist that everyone who uses water return the water to the stream as clean as modern science and technology will permit. This will require new attitudes and opinions by industry, yet in the long run, the industrial user as our major water user will be the principal benefactor.

Water quality is not just a problem for the conservationist, the hunter, and the fisher-

man. Clean water is everyone's problem. It cannot be solved by one neighborhood, by one city, by one county, by one State, or by the Federal Government acting alone. One man's sanitation project is the solution to his neighbor's pollution problem. If we are to be successful in attaining our goal for good water quality in all of our Nation's streams and lakes, we must have the help of industry.

Legislative Accomplishments of the 1st Session of the 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, it is my frank opinion that the 1st session of the 89th Congress will go down in history as one of the greatest in deed and accomplishment. Its legislative accomplishments will affect the lives of every American citizen and future generations. It has laid a foundation for a better world and an improved way of life for the entire world. In this day and age we hear restless youth, misguided adults, foreign elements, some friendly, and domestic groups who have prospered under our system, clamor for a change in our form of government. Smears and accusations were commonplace and used as a tactic by agitators in attempts to influence congressional action. Even the Halls of Congress were invaded by irresponsible elements in an attempt to influence and intimidate Members of Congress.

All these actions were futile and Congress progressed along the steady course of our national interest. Our governmental system is the best the world has ever known. Evidence of this is clear and can be seen at every turn. Under our constitutional form of government the American people have prospered beyond the greatest expectations of our forefathers. Congress fully realized this situation; therefore, instead of changing our form of government, it wisely accepted its responsibilities and worked diligently to improve our system.

This is the course I chose, not a change of our institutions and Government, but a wise and calculated improvement which would enrich and advance the quality of our civilization and improve the lot of every citizen of this great country. I am most proud to be a Member of the 89th Congress and especially the contributions I was able to make to the 1st session of this great Congress. I had the responsibility of being chairman of the Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality of the House Judiciary Committee. Through arduous work and the cooperation of members of the subcommittee, we were able, after many delays and interruptions, to get an immigration bill passed which was in the best interest of our country.

IMMIGRATION

On January 27, 1965, soon after the 89th Congress convened, I announced that hearings on immigration legislation would begin on February 16, 1965. Members of Congress, the executive branch of Government, private organizations, and interested citizens were invited to testify.

I directed the hearings toward the realities of our immigration policy. The complexities of the law had led to a great deal of confusion and misunderstandings. Both the theories and actual practices had to be clarified and simplified. The first and foremost issue to be examined was the national origins quota system and the motives and meaning behind this system of admitting immigrants.

However, before full scale hearings began, I decided to hear the views of my constituents. On Saturday, February 20, 1965, I provided an opportunity for interested organizations and individuals in Greater Cleveland to express their views on the major issues related to the pending immigration legislation. The results of that hearing and the enthusiastic response to a questionnaire I had prepared were both revealing and encouraging. Results of these hearings provided a sound basis for the hearings before Congress.

The hearings before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality opened in March 3, 1965. As a direct result of testimony given before the subcommittee, on June 1, 1965, I introduced H.R. 8662, a bill to establish a selective immigration system. This bill was introduced after several conferences with President Johnson during which we examined the full range of problems involved. The provisions of my bill established a new selective immigration system, with qualitative and quantitative controls consistent with our domestic needs and our international commitments.

On October 3, 1965, the new immigration legislation, Public Law 89–236 was signed by President Johnson. The bill, H.R. 2580, as amended, was truly and genuinely bipartisan. In all respects it serves the national interest. Its bipartisanship is reflected in the unanimity by which its basic provisions passed my House subcommittee and the strong vote of confidence given to it by the full Judiciary Committee.

The effective date of the immigration legislation is December 1, 1965. Repeal of the national origins quota system and conditional limitation in Western Hemisphere immigration becomes effective July 1, 1968. As chairman of the House Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality, I prepared 25 questions couched in the nontechnical language of the man in the street who wishes to know more about the law. These questions were printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of October 7, 1965.

PRIVATE BILLS

During the first session of the 89th Congress, the Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality held a total of 16 meetings devoted solely to the consideration of private bills introduced during the session. These included 3,014 private bills introduced in the House, and 151 private bills introduced in the Senate which were subsequently referred to the subcommittee. Of this total of 3,165 private bills considered, final action on 2,792 is still pending. Of the total of 373 bills on which final action was taken, 183 were tabled, 135 became private law, and the remainder of 55 bills are awaiting further action by the House or the Senate.

In addition to the private bills considered above, the subcommittee also took final action on 1,027 suspension of deportation cases referred to the Congress under 244(a)(1) and (2) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, denying suspension for 42 of these cases.

The remaining 27 of the total of 46 meetings held by the subcommittee were devoted to hearings and executive sessions concerning H.R. 2580 in amending the Immigration and Nationality Act. H.R. 2580 became Public Law 89–236 on October 3, 1965.

MEDICARE

I introduced in Congress a bill to provide health insurance and medical care for the aged. I supported and voted for H.R. 6675, which legislation provided for this long awaited action by Congress. The bill in addition to medicare, provided for medical assistance programs for the needy, blind, disabled, and families with dependent children. The bill also provided for changes for which I introduced legislation to: First, increase widow's benefits and benefits to surviving children of deceased insured workers; second, permit payments of child's insurance benefits after the age of 18 years in the case of a child attending school; third, increase allowable earned income by retired workers; fourth, increase old-age survivors and disability insurance benefits.

H.R. 6675 incorporated these changes which I sponsored. It provides for an across-the-board increase of 7 percent in benefits to widows and surviving children and to old-age survivors and disabled persons. It is estimated that 20 million Americans will be the beneficiaries of this increase in monthly payments. The change authorizing payments of child's insurance benefits after 18 years and up to the 22d year, for those attending school, is expected to help 295,000 surviving children of deceased workers. By raising the ceiling on allowable earned income of retired workers, conditions of life for many of our aged citizens will be substantially improved.

VOTING RIGHTS

I supported this all important legislation because I believe that every citizen, regardless of his economic status, his color or his race, should be permitted to exercise the right of franchise. I firmly believed that the Congress of the United States should express itself clearly on this vital issue. In so doing we assured every citizen of his constitutional rights and that we would support his efforts to achieve this goal which is rightfully his.

ELLIS ISLAND

On May 11, 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson requested my presence at the White House to witness the signing of a proclamation adding Ellis Island to the Liberty Island National Monument. This was a moment of great personal satisfaction to me, because the day was exactly 6 years to the day, May 11, 1959, that I introduced H.R. 7054 in the 86th Congress, 1st session, a bill to provide for the establishment of the Ellis Island National Shrine.

WAR ON POVERTY

I supported this legislation because I believe that Congress could do no less than support and strengthen the mobilization of our resources in the war on poverty. On July 21, 1965, and again on September 23, 1965, I called for our local community to galvanize into action and stand for the principle of equal justice under law. Under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 plans were developed in many communities throughout the Nation to provide adequate legal aid to the indigent for all their legal problems.

I am making every effort to see that my home city, with its great tradition and civic pride, would move forward at an accelerated pace in providing legal assistance for the needy.

H.R. 10518—MINIMUM WAGE

On November 2, 1965, I presented to the Congress a petition signed by thousands of Greater Clevelanders, in which they expressed themselves clearly that the present Federal minimum wage law is inadequate to meet the needs of our time. I urged the leadership to schedule this bill for floor debate as early as possible in the next session of Congress.

PORNOGRAPHIC MATERIAL

On October 21, 1965, I introduced House Joint Resolution 781, which proposes that the U.S. Constitution be amended to permit Congress to regulate and control the distribution of pornographic material. I intend to pursue this action most forcibly in the next session, since I believe curbs should be placed on these materials, otherwise their production and distribution will continue to increase in alarming proportions.

DEFENSE

I supported all measures which increased the strength of our armed forces. I supported strong measures in Vietnam and protested the communistic, inhumane treatment of prisoners and civilians. In a major address, I described the reason for, and extent of Communist atrocities and terrorism in South Vietnam. On April 5, 1965, I strongly protested to the Secretary of Defense the "death" of our proud 37th "Buckeye" Division in the proposed reorganization of U.S. Army reserve components.

CLEVELAND AREA PROJECTS

On June 22, 1965, I commended my able colleague, the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. KIRWAN], for the favorable action taken on my request for an authorization of special funds to continue the work of the Corps of Army Engineers in cleaning up debris in the Cuyahoga River and Cleveland Harbor. I will continue to do all in my power to control pollution of our fresh-water sources in the Cleveland area.

I took the lead in having the Crile Hospital site become a Greater Cleveland educational center. Within weeks the Broadview Heights Veterans' Administration Hospital will be turned over to the Ohio Department of Hygiene and Corrections for use as a diagnostic treatment, training, and educational facility for the mentally retarded. Both of these worthy projects were for the good of the community and will provide needed services for our citizens.

On April 8, 1965, I announced that the Cleveland Army Tank Plant was assured employment until October 1969 by award of a multimillion-dollar contract. This award was made after numerous meetings with Department of Defense officials.

Jobs for the people of Cleveland are of primary interest. Numerous meetings have been arranged on the Ravenna Arsenal project to bring the National Accelerator Laboratory to our area. This $280 million plant will employ over 3,000 people. I intend to pursue this project with increased determination and vigor this coming session of Congress.

RAPID TRANSIT EXTENSION

On April 15, 1965, I accompanied Mayor Locher and party to the office of Housing and Home Finance Agency Administrator, Robert C. Weaver, where a presentation was made of the final application for $9,215,000 in Federal funds for the extension of the existing rapid transit to Cleveland's Hopkins International Airport. This effort came to a successful conclusion and the grant was made to the city of Cleveland. I look forward to working with Mayor Locher and the Cleveland City Council to extend the rapid transit eastward.

COMMEMORATIONS TO FREEDOM

I have made it a firm policy throughout the years to encourage freedom and expose the machinations of the Communist tyrants. Free peoples should fight to retain their freedoms and those peoples behind the iron and bamboo curtains should be given hope. As the strongest and most powerful Nation in the world we have a solemn duty to assure them that they are not forgotten and their resistance is not in vain. To this end the following tributes have been made by me, as an official part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

On January 25, 1965, the 47th anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the Ukrainian nation; February 16, 1965, the 714th anniversary of the founding of the Lithuanian state; March 11, 1965, Slovak Independence Day; March 24, 1965, Greek Independence Day; April 28, 1965, Special House Committee on Captive Nations; May 3, 1965, Polish Constitution Day; May 10, 1965, Rumanian Independence Day; June 15, 1965, Red army invasion of Lithuania; September 3, 1965, Captive Nations Week; October 22, 1965, Hungarian Freedom Fighters Day.

"Big Red"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I include herewith an address by Lawrence Mehren, chairman of the Central Arizona Project Association, before the National Reclamation Association, Kansas City:

"BIG RED"

(Address by Mr. Mehren)

This is the story of "Big Red," an affectionate nickname given to the swirling, silt-laden Colorado River by men who stand in respect of its might and its bounties. The river has been much in the news and will continue to be until the sound and the fury over rights to its use one day give way to understanding and peace among the seven States which comprise its great basin.

Congress has before it a series of bills dealing with the Colorado. Another has been in the drafting stage this fall as a suggested alternate, reflecting further progress in the tortuous process of men and political entities coming closer to an appreciation of the problems, rights, and aspirations of others. All of these pieces of prospective legislation, although they revolve around the Colorado, envision a magnificent regional planning concept for the ultimate solution of the water scarcities of the Southwest.

The genesis of this program is most interesting and of vital importance. Today I want to organize the pieces of information you may have acquired from time to time, so that they fall into place and emerge in a cohesive pattern. An important part of the story concerns the central Arizona project, for it has been the irritant, the grain of sand, around which has laminated what I hope will become a major pearl in reclamation history.

Before we examine the developments of recent months, it is essential that we sketch the history of the river, then pinpoint the extent of Arizona's critical problem, and also recognize the water needs of other areas in the basin.

The Colorado and its tributaries drain one-twelfth of the area of the United States and dominate the economy of the Southwest and southern California. Rising in Wyoming and Colorado, "Big Red" marches in varied mood and erratic strides across broad alluvial plains and through some of the most desolate yet fascinating canyon country in the world for a total run of 1,400 miles.

Despite its mysteries, moods, and meanderings the Colorado is indispensable to life in our part of the world. Without it and its tributaries there would be no irrigated wonderland in the Salt River Valley where Phoenix booms, no adequate water supply for Los Angeles and San Diego, no hydroelectric power to turn a million wheels of industry from Tucson to Torrance.

Full well realizing the enormous potential of Big Red, men long ago began contending for its use. With an average annual water yield of something between 14 and 18 million acre-feet, and a tremendous drop from 9,300 feet to sea level for generating energy, the river is an economic gold mine. Almost as if aware of its destiny, the Colorado back in the mists of antiquity set forth on a patient process of erosion, which now, millions of years later, has resulted in a perfect series of canyons and gorges for reservoir and powersite purposes.

Modern history of the controversy over rights to the river dates back to 1922 when the basic and most famous document was formulated. This Santa Fe compact established two divisions of the total basin, made a lump sum allocation of water to each, leaving final determination of individual State amounts to the upper basin (Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming), and to the lower basin (Arizona, California, and Nevada).

The drafters at Santa Fe allocated to each of the two basins 7,500,000 acre-feet of water per annum for beneficial consumptive use. Remember, there are losses from reservoir evaporation and seepage to consider before water can be put to such beneficial and consumptive use. Estimates are that when all the contemplated projects in the two basins are built, these losses could conceivably run to a total of 1,500,000 acre-feet per year.

The compact also recognized that Mexico is entitled to some of the waters of the Colorado. In 1944, an international treaty set this annual quantity at 1,500,000 acre-feet.

Let us recapitulate for a moment, for here is a cardinal point that will recur later in our discussion. The Santa Fe compact thus envisioned a basic 15 million acre-feet for the seven States—7,500,000 for each basin if both eventually claim their full entitlement—to which must be added potential river losses of possibly up to 1,500,000, and another 1,500,000 acre-feet for the Mexican obligation. And so, a minimum annual average of somewhere around 18 million acre-feet must be available to make the Colorado whole, and today's hydrologists, 40-some years later, insist that such a quantity just isn't there.

Perhaps these few figures oversimplify a complex situation, but I have no intention of tangling with the technicians at this point, and confusing you—and me.

The next basic document is the Boulder Canyon Project Act, passed by Congress in 1928. Aside from providing for the construction of Hoover Dam, the act took on the vital job of apportioning the 7,500,000 acre-feet awarded to the lower basin by the Santa Fe compact. The legislators earmarked 4,400,000 acre-feet for California, 2,800,000 acre-feet for Arizona, and 300,000 acre-feet for Nevada.

The final basic document on the river is the agreement reached in 1948 between the four upper basin States for the division of their 7,500,000 acre-feet.

After the Boulder Canyon Project Act, California progressively completed the projects to consume its agreed-upon 4,400,000 acre-feet—and more, from what was believed at the time to be surplus water, until its current use has reached the 5,100,000-acre-foot figure.

Arizona, too, was anxious to put its share of the river to use, and in the late 1940's the central Arizona project crystallized, envisioning the diversion of 1,200,000 acre-feet for the great central basing of the State. It should be pointed out that this project has always been planned as a rescue program to provide supplemental water for existing acreage and municipalities, and not a single acre of new land is to be brought into cultivation.

We have found, to our sorrow, that planning our central Arizona project and realizing it are two vastly different things. The authorization bill passed the Senate twice in the early 1950's, but met an impassable roadblock in the House because of the determined opposition of California, who insisted that the rights on the river had never been properly adjudicated. We had our own interpretation of the Santa Fe compact and the Boulder Canyon Project Act, Californians had theirs. The House committee agreed that adjudication was necessary, and we then began, in 1952, the long, arduous process of a major suit in the Supreme Court of the United States.

It serves no useful purpose to try that case again today. Suffice it to say that Arizona emerged with clear title to 2,800,000 acre-feet of main-stream water. The day after the Supreme Court opinion was handed down, the Arizona delegation in Congress reintroduced the original central Arizona project bills.

Let us examine now the water predicament in Arizona. In its vast central sector, stretching from the Phoenix area east and south through Tucson, and including the Safford area on the Gila live almost 80 percent of Arizona's people. We consume in that basin about 4,500,000 acre-feet per year.

Our intrastate surface streams yield an average of about 1 million acre-feet a year. The Geological Survey tells us that the ground-water recharge of the basin from rains and streamflow amounts to about 1,250,000 acre-feet. Thus the total yearly water harvest comes to 2,250,000 acre-feet.

Apply this to the water budget of 4,500,000 acre-feet and the simple arithmetic says that there is a deficit of 2,250,000 acre-feet to be met from somewhere. At the moment it is being done by mining residual underground water that has accumulated over centuries. This supply is obviously limited; there inevitably comes the day of atonement. Just when it will be, I can't tell you; but I can tell you from personal experience on my own farm that the underground water level has dropped 373 feet since we wrested the land from desert in 1930. I can tell you that over 350,000 acres of prime agricultural land in our basin have already gone out of cultivation because of insufficient water supply. Our personal problem becomes, "can we possibly hold out for 10 years more, until relief comes via the central Arizona project?"

I can tell you that Arizona metropolitan centers, like Tucson, which has groundwater as its only supply, are equally concerned over their future.

This is an area of meager rainfall which has known water shortage from time immemorial, where the grim struggle to conserve water is part of our daily lives; where the entire basin has progressively been declared a critical area under State law, thus preventing the drilling of wells to bring new land into cultivation; where the lining of canals, laterals and ditches, the installation of pump-back systems, programs of watershed modification, intensive studies of sewage effluent reuse, a brackish water conversion plant for the city of Buckeye, all fit into the pattern of save water.

This is a State where the copper mines, acutely conscious of conservation, reclaim water from their tailings dumps and in some cases reuse it as much as seven times before it eludes them in evaporation or seepage.

Aside from actual conservation practices, economics forces the husbanding of water; with an eye on highly competitive agricultural markets, an Arizona farmer does not go to the tremendous expense of equipping big irrigation wells to pump from depths of over 450 feet in many cases and then pay heavy energy costs to waste groundwater by willy-nilly pumping.

To round out the Arizona water picture, I should point out that against the annual overdraft of 2,250,000 acre-feet on dwindling underground supplies, the central Arizona project envisions providing only slightly more than 1 million acre-feet from the mainstream of Big Red. Obviously this is no complete solution for Arizona's water problem. It would still leave us over 1 million acre-feet short of balancing the water books for our present economy. On top of that, we must look to water requirements for an ever-expanding population in the future. Do you wonder at the intensity of our plea in Washington?

We do not have a corner on water problems. Added to our own concern is the situation in southern California, where the population even with the Owens River Aqueduct, even with the substantial quantity in prospect from the California State water plan, the area still must look to additional supplies for the future.

As a final facet in the problems of the Colorado River States, the upper basin is acutely conscious of its own population growth, its needs for the future, its plans for orderly, uninterrupted development.

This, then, is the great backdrop against which the current drama in Washington is being played. The actors in the central Arizona project affair had long been just Arizona and California. Suddenly, the cast of characters has grown substantially, the stage has broadened tremendously. Let's develop that story.

Flushed with its success in the Supreme Court suit 2 years ago, Arizona confidently looked forward to speedy congressional endorsement of its project. But in the intervening years, Californians had increased their uses of the Colorado, the second tube of the metropolitan aqueduct for the myriad of communities of southern California had been built and was running at capacity. They were understandably no happier over the central Arizona project and the prospect of a cutback to 4,400,000 acre-feet than they had been years before. With a big congressional delegation and considerable influence, their reluctance was a major deterrent.

Into this murky stalemate came a ray of light in the form of Secretary Stewart Udall's Pacific Southwest water plan. It created an uproar, was soundly condemned by many, but without question it was the catalyst that forced us to think, and think big on water problems.

From that seed emerged water statesmanship contrasted to water selfishness. A Lower Colorado River Basin bill began to crystallize, built around several cardinal features. The central Arizona project is to be constructed as the first works. Then a lower basin account is established, to roll into one pot the power revenues from Hoover, Davis, Parker, and the proposed Bridge and Marble Canyon Dams after construction payout periods, the joint fund to be used for the benefit of the entire lower basin.

The bill moves on to recognize that the Colorado alone can never meet the water requirements of the Southwest. Remember, even with the approximately 1 million acre-feet from the central Arizona project, my State would still be short each year over 1 million acre-feet of enough water to maintain its present economy, to say nothing of the future. California's needs are magnified proportionately. With this in mind, the bill directs the Secretary of the Interior to immediately begin intensive investigations of sources of supplemental water from outside the basin to make the Colorado whole.

The proposal then assures California that in years when the main stream is short of water, her right to 4,400,000 acre-feet is to be considered senior to the requirements of the central Arizona project, until a minimum of 2,500,000 acre-feet is actually delivered into the river from sources outside the basin.

This has been a tough one for many Arizonans to swallow. Their agonizing and understandably angry plea has been, "Why do we have to negotiate and give? Why don't we just take our share through a State water plan?"

On the west bank of the river, the cry, although perhaps not openly expressed, has undoubtedly been, "Why give in to a central Arizona project? It will cut us back to 4,400,000 acre-feet and eliminate half the current supply for Los Angeles from the Colorado, and almost the entire supply of the city of San Diego. Why don't we just sit

tight, and try to defeat any projects on Big Red? Then, we can continue to use 5,100,000 acre-feet for a long time to come."

Negative attitudes don't solve anything. I have likened the situation in talks before Arizona audiences to the case of a man who may have bought a 10-acre piece of desert way north of Phoenix 4 years ago. Under basic law and human rights it's his property to do with as he wishes. Suddenly, today, after a lovely residential area of the city has engulfed his property, he decides to build an oil refinery on it. I have news for my mythical friend: he isn't about to build the oil refinery. The rights of his neighbors would definitely be in jeopardy, and he would be hauled into court so fast it would make his head swim.

"No man is an island" to exercise his rights to the disregard of others in modern society, and certainly no State is an island either.

So we had to go through the painful process of growing up on water matters on both sides of the Colorado and achieving a degree of maturity. Each had to give—California had to abandon its traditional opposition to any central Arizona project; Arizona had to recognize certain basic uses and needs in our sister State.

I am proud of the new alliance between California and Arizona. I am proud of the statesmanlike way in which the water leaders of both States have finally settled their problems.

After the lion and the lamb had bedded down together last spring, Arizona's hopes soared once more. But now onto the stage stalked another group of players—the upper basin States. They were as determined in their opposition to the joint plan as California had once been to the original central Arizona project bill. Why?

The answer lies in the figures I sketched for you earlier on riverflow. The Santa Fe Compact confidently envisioned 18 million acre-feet or better. Although only the Almighty knows the future flow, hydrologists are pretty well agreed that, based on performance, we probably have a 14,900,000-foot river—over 3 million acre-feet short of what is needed to take care of all the claimants.

Understandably, the upper basin States have said, in effect, "Hey, wait a minute, fellows; if you build the central Arizona project, and the lower basin puts to use the full 7,500,000-acre-foot entitlement, where do we come in when we want to build all our projects; there won't be enough water; don't forget, we have rights, too, under the Santa Fe Compact, and our rights are valid, too." We in the lower basin are full well aware of these rights and certainly we intend to recognize and respect them.

So back to the conference table again. Out of the discussions this fall has emerged the draft of a new bill, not yet formally before the House committee. But its provisions, hammered out by earnest men from all the basin States—upper and lower—could well bring peace at long last to Big Red.

Without going into all of its provisions, the draft is far broader in scope than the compromise legislation agreed upon by California and Arizona. It retains the key features of the lower basin bill currently before Congress—the central Arizona project, the lower basin account to pool revenues, the assurance of priority for California's 4,400,000 in case of shortage until import water is available, the provision for import water studies.

The draft bill adds several very important things of vital concern to the upper basin States. The import studies contemplate an additional supply of 8,500,000 acre-feet, 2.5 million of which would be used to satisfy the Mexican Treaty obligation and attendant losses, 2 million for lower basin use, 2 million for upper basin use, and 2 million for areas en route from the importation source. Assuming that the import water would be delivered to Lake Mead, the 2 million acre-feet for the upper basin would obviously be handled by the exchange mechanism, allowing greater retention of virgin waters above Lee's Ferry than provided for in the Santa Fe compact. The target date for the planning of this program is set for 1970.

The Mexican Treaty requirements are declared to be a broad national obligation and the Colorado River Basin States are relieved from the burdens imposed on them by the compact. This is an eminently fair provision, since you well remember, for instance, that the requirements of Texas from the lower Rio Grande entered heavily into the negotiations for the Mexican Treaty on the Colorado.

The draft then authorizes a series of upper basin projects upon findings of feasibility by the Secretary of the Interior, so that these works may take their rightful place in the total scheme for the Colorado.

It also involves the determination to build on the lower river not only Marble Canyon Dam, but also Bridge Canyon Dam, which has been suggested for deferment by the Bureau of the Budget. Bridge is vital to the success of the whole program as a revenue producer to make a water import program possible.

This new draft has been approved in principle by California and Arizona. It is the subject of considerable study and debate in the upper basin at this moment. I have only this comment to the water statesmen of these four States: I feel for you, because I know the difficult process you are going through to bring your people to the degree of understanding of "the big picture" which we in Arizona and California have had to reach in the last few years. Compromise is a give-and-take situation, and a negative status quo position will solve no problems nor produce a drop of water to slake the thirst of any of the seven basin States. The moment for greatness is upon us. May we not let it slip away.

Of course we do not know how the House committee or the Congress as a whole will view this new draft bill. But I would venture that if the seven basin States came as a united group to present their plea for the solution of the entire water problem of this vast area, Congress could not help but turn an attentive ear.

One would think that this greatly expended case of characters and stage for the drama of Big Red were big enough as things now stand. But in the wings, poised for their cues, are two other players—the Pacific Northwest States and various outdoor groups opposed to any dams on the Colorado.

With regard to the latter groups, they have been referred to many times as "conservationists," but I don't think this is precisely descriptive. "Conservation" implies wise use, rather than nonuse. You men of reclamation are thus the true conservationists. Perhaps the more accurate designation for these groups is "primitivists"—they want nothing touched.

I do not question the sincerity of the primitivists. But I do deplore the deliberately misleading propaganda which has been pouring from their various headquarters. In an appeal to emotions rather than to reason, they continue to loosely bandy about the charge that we plan to "flood the Grand Canyon" with the Bridge Canyon Dam. The inference to the public is that the reservoir will submerge the great temples of that vast canyon, and that in a high wind the waves will lap over El Tovar. How preposterous can one get?

We are talking about a dam 80 miles downstream from the Grand Canyon you and I know, a structure so insignificant in the majesty of that gorge, and so buried in the inner recess of the chasm, that one couldn't find it even from an airplane unless he know exactly what he was looking for and where it was.

True, the reservoir would reach a very few miles along the western boundary of the national park, it its most inaccessible area. But this was very frankly envisioned by Congress in 1919 in creating the park, for it specifically authorized the Secretary of the Interior to utilize such area for a reclamation project.

Bridge Canyon's reservoir would provide a waterway for hundreds of thousands of Americans to enjoy this fascinating canyon area. Herein lines the real motive of the primitivists. They want to reserve to themselves the exclusive use of this part of America, and other parts as well, and "the public be damned."

In the Phoenix paper a month ago, a primitivist exulted in the former 100-mile boat trip or 13-mile hike over rugged mountains necessary to reach Rainbow Bridge before Lake Powell came into being. He is outraged at the many tourists who now find the trip an easy one, their conduct and litter, their relative lack of reverence for the great arch. He longs for the "good old days."

Something, I suppose, like a trip to Washington this summer to take my young children for their first view of the Nation's Capital. The Washington Monument, Lincoln Memorial, Capitol, Supreme Court Building, Archives, Arlington Cemetery, all were swarming with thousands of Americans. I was swept with nostalgia for my old college days in Washington 35 years ago when the city was a leisurely southern town, without mob scenes. But then I told myself that these Americans had as much right to the halls of Washington as I did, and that if I thought there were too many people in this country, it was just too bad about me.

Nonetheless, the primitivists will raise a powerful cry in Congress, preaching the fallacious doctrine of desecration, and brushing aside the thirst and economy of the basin States. As reclamationists and conservationists we must meet their challenge.

We turn, last, to the concerns of the Pacific Northwest States. Although none of the current bills indicate to the Secretary of the Interior the areas he is to study as possible sources for import water for the Colorado Basin, one obvious potential is the Columbia River. Here a vast quantity of unused water flows into the sea, and the suggestion has been made that a minor portion of this surplus be diverted near the month of the river, after it has flown past any area of possible use.

It is quite natural that any proposal of this sort raises questions, doubts, and fears. I think I can unequivocally state the position of the Colorado Basin States on this matter. First, we fully realize that exhaustive studies must be made of every potential use of the Columbia and its tributaries in the Northwest, and that those uses must be adequately provided for, looking far into the future.

Second, the draft bill itself sets forth the provision that any uses, now or in the future, in those States shall have a perpetual priority of right over any uses of water delivered by exportation works.

The proposal is not an unreasonable one, provided, of course, the studies indicate there is a surplus of water in the Columbia system. The history of our Nation has been that when there is distress in one area, the country musters its resources to help. When a hurricane deals a savage blow to New Orleans and the Federal Government steps in, where does the tax money come from to sustain the effort? Just from Louisiana? Obviously not. When help is needed in Appalachia, where do the Federal funds come from? Just from sources within Appalachia? Certainly not. In exactly the same way, it is

entirely logical to suggest that surplus resources of water in one area be considered to relieve a desperate situation in another.

It is our hope that we may work with the Northwest, or other areas, on this matter of import water in the spirit of full cooperation, fairplay to all concerned, and as water statesmen jointly seeking the solution to difficult national problems.

This, then, is the story of Big Red. It churns and tosses along much of its length, just as have its peoples in their quest for the solution of their problems. Our great river finally achieves peace as it slides serenely into the lakes behind its dams. May the tranquility of those quiet waters be symbolic of the not too distant future as we seek to calm the turbulence along its banks.

Support for the Connecticut River National Parkway and Recreation Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, since mid-August, when I introduced my bill, S. 2460, to establish a Connecticut River National Parkway and Recreation Area, many newspapers in my home State of Connecticut and throughout New England have published editorials concerning the project. The editorials have been unanimous in their support for the proposal, and indicate the basic need for a park of this kind in New England.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorials be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New Haven Journal-Courier, Sept. 8, 1965]

A CONNECTICUT RIVER PARKWAY

Many rivers of America are larger or more famous than the Connecticut, but few, particularly its lower reaches as it flows through Rhine-like scenery between Middletown and the open waters of Long Island Sound at Old Saybrook, are more beautiful.

It is in this region of rural countryside and Yankee villages, the rolling wooded hills of the Seven Sisters of Haddam, Gillette's Castle, and Goodspeed's Opera House, and the bustling river towns of Deep River and Essex on the west bank and Lyme and Old Lyme on the other side, that U.S. Senator RIBICOFF has proposed congressional legislation for a national parkway and recreational area.

Under the bill, the Secretary of the Interior would make a comprehensive study of the valley, recommend a plan for a parkway, and administrate the area once it has been established. It is a proposal that has much merit at a time when preservation of the Nation's natural scenic attractions is being given wide support.

As an initial step toward furthering interest in the project Senator RIBICOFF is inviting Interior Secretary Stewart Udall, Governor Dempsey, U.S. Senator DODD, the Congressmen whose districts border on the river, as well as State and local officials from the river towns for a cruise of the Connecticut that will extend from the Sound to the head of navigation at Harford.

The field trip, scheduled for next Monday will not only give the Secretary of the Interior an opportunity to look closely at the river valley but it should show Connecticut officials at firsthand the beauty that lies at their very doorstep.

[From the Willimantic Chronicle, Sept. 20, 1965]

CHRONICLE COMMENTARY—MOST BEAUTIFUL CESSPOOL

"The world's most beautiful cesspool" is the way Katherine Hepburn described the Connecticut River on channel 3 the other night in the documentary "The Long Tidal River," produced by Ellsworth Grant of West Hartford, and narrated by Miss Hepburn, his sister-in-law. The beautifully done film was originally shown earlier this summer and deserved to be repeated.

The film blended the historical with the present, showing the river's once great place in the economy of Connecticut and the low state to which it has been permitted to sink through the stupidity and callousness of human beings. The 407-mile-long river rises in New Hampshire and cuts through Massachusetts and Connecticut on its journey to the sea. The waste of three States is discharged into the river before it enters Connecticut. Then Connecticut dumps its share of every conceivable kind of sewage, industrial waste, heated water, pesticides.

Now there is slowly growing consciousness that the river is one of our great potentials for beautification, recreation, and perhaps someday as a needed water supply for riparian cities and towns. This realization was given impetus last week by the visit of Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall who toured the river at the invitation of Senator RIBICOFF and Governor Dempsey. Udall proclaimed its potential for conservation and recreation "greater than almost any other river in the Nation." And he implied his support of bills introduced in the Senate by Senator RIBICOFF and now in the House by Congressman ST. ONGE to establish the Connecticut River National Parkway and Recreation Area. Long stretches of the river in Connecticut are still in relatively natural condition. The idea is to preserve these areas and set aside an appropriate area along the river banks as a national parkway, an unspoiled picturesque roadway to carry more leisurely visitors.

Any plans to make it a national parkway must put pollution at the top of the list of problems. And any plan for ending the pollution (and for a national parkway) must be a cooperative effort between all the States involved.

[From the Bridgeport Sunday Post, Sept. 19, 1965]

THE CONNECTICUT CRUISE

The Connecticut River apparently has sold itself to Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall. It did not take long for his practiced eye to discern the possibilities for a national park when he sailed the river with Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF and Gov. John Dempsey.

Words could not have been as convincing as the dramatic inspection cruise that unfolded a long strentch of unspoiled country. The desired effect was obtained. After making the trip from Old Saybrook to Hartford, Mr. Udall made it perfectly clear that he feels the national park proposal should be given serious consideration.

The river park proposal made by Senator RIBICOFF is an exciting one. Think of the enormous potential there is in this beautiful river that runs nearly 400 miles from Long Island Sound to near the Canadian border. There is scenic beauty, historical interest, wildlife, varied recreation resources.

The urgency of the project must have impressed the Secretary of the Interior as well as the scenes of beauty. Here and there, the riverbank was spoiled by car graveyards. The time has come, it was apparent, to decide which areas lend themselves to park use.

Mr. Udall is aware of the pressing need for developing national recreation areas in the crowded Northeast. The cruise gave him a good idea of how to fill the need.

[From the Bristol Press, Sept. 16, 1965]

SPLENDID PROPOSAL

Connecticut's Senator A. A. RIBICOFF has taken up the cause of water conservation in particular, as well as conservation of natural resources in general. Monday afternoon, during the first real downpour in a long time, he and Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall and Gov. John Dempsey, among others, sailed the Connecticut River from Saybrook to Hartford.

The purpose of the trip was to show Secretary Udall the beauties of the Connecticut River and to enlist his support in behalf of Senator RIBICOFF's proposal to set aside certain areas along the riverbank as part of the national park system.

The proposal has genuine merit, and it is to Senator RIBICOFF's credit that he has advanced it, and is pressing it so vigorously.

[From the Springfield (Mass.) Union, Sept. 16, 1965]

HOW BEST TO SAVE THE RIVER?

If the Connecticut River were easily navigable north of Hartford, Secretary Udall's trip up from Long Island Sound aboard the *Dolly Madison* might have been a more genuinely interior affair, proceeding through Massachusetts and perhaps into the two upstream riparian States.

But the invitation to join Mr. Udall and Senator RIBICOFF in their Connecticut River national parkway plan is by no means limited to the portions of the Nutmeg State they viewed from a rain-washed deck last Monday. If the plan is to be meaningful, all four States will have a part to play in the joint State-Federal enterprise.

While details are still lacking, the objective goes far beyond securing the still unspoiled sections of the riverbank against commercial encroachment and exploitation, although that is an important part of it. New England's mighty stream, and the conservationists' fond hopes for it, present a more complicated problem than, say, preserving forever the lovely dunes of the Outer Cape, soon to be dedicated as the Cape Cod National Seashore.

Senator RIBICOFF and Mr. Udall are talking in terms of reclamation as well as preservation. It is one thing to seal off the remaining stretches of natural scenic beauty. It is quite another to bring the water itself back from a state of near uselessness so that fish can flourish and swimmers bathe.

Putting it quite simply, the river is filthy despite some significant forward steps in pollution control. Articulate efforts of conservation groups, interstate compacts, State and Federal aid with sewage-treatment costs—all have helped, but not enough. Unless pollution is (1) brought under control and (2) gradually reduced, a national parkway and recreation area would be more of a national disgrace than a national asset.

The clean-water bill finally breaking out of Congress, designed to strengthen (though not make invincible) the Federal hand in curbing sources of pollution, is a big step in a necessary direction. But the fact that its full impact will not be felt for 2 years is just one example of the preliminary character of the Udall-Ribicoff approach as it affects the Connecticut.

Nevertheless, now is the time for Massachusetts to examine itself and the river. Shall we leave the pristine shoreline footage to town zoning decisions or welcome a sort

of perpetualization by nationalization? Would our lovely valley—not just the river but the State parks and reservations already established on the hills beside it—be better publicized as a tourist attraction if it had national status? Would we enjoy it more or less ourselves if some Federal program got the water laundered where other programs have failed?

We have nothing to lose by finding out just what a national parkway would mean. It could mean gaining a lot.

[From the Hartford Times, Sept. 15, 1965]

VIEW, STUDY, ACT

The fact that so large a proportion of the Connecticut valley in this State remains unspoiled is a strong point in argument for the preservation of its natural setting and character. A wrecked valley would be difficult to restore. Ours is still in condition worth saving.

That was evident this week as Secretary of the Interior Udall viewed the river lands as a preliminary to a study aimed at the establishment of a Federal parkway that would include considerable riverfront area.

Secretary Udall, the guest of Senator RIBICOFF who has introduced the parkway legislation in Congress, commented that it would be unfortunate to have the wonderful river region, the appearance of which surprised and attracted him, degraded.

The purpose of a Federal parkway establishment is not primarily connected with highways, though access is one of the features. Essentially, the idea of a parkway is related to a preserve of land, some of which may be private, some publicly owned; in certain places easements for public use may be employed instead of purchase. And the parkway might leapfrog certain sections deemed essential for industrial development.

The aims are to retain and improve the attractive natural characteristics of the region claimed for the parkway and to prevent its decline in attractiveness through speculation or disorderly growth.

While the program and much of the financing stem from the Federal Government, success demands zoning and planning cooperation of towns and cities and coordination with the State government and its natural resources agencies and with the Federal Government.

Until formal survey of the river region is asked by Secretary Udall and a firm proposal is drafted, the dimensions of the project cannot be known. It will be the first one of its sort in the Nation, and evidently great care will be taken to sift over each problem and difficulty seen in prospect.

Impressive to the Secretary is the interest in the river already evidenced by efforts to end pollution, to safeguard its adjacent lands to public use by the establishment along its course in this State of eight State parks, numerous boat launching sites, spots of historic interest and wildlife sanctuaries, together with thorough research on the river and its related values.

He did not need to be persuaded of the public interest in retaining the river region unspoiled.

Senator RIBICOFF and Connecticut are acting just in time. For while our beautiful valley still holds its attractions in larger part, the coming 10 years of population and industrial surge certainly would give rise to encroachments. Signs of them already are to be seen.

Perhaps the upper New England States are not yet interested in going along with the Ribicoff measure for a parkway down the entire Connecticut River Valley.

This State, then, can initiate the plan which, incidentally would become strong leverage for interstate action to clear upstream pollution that flows our way.

Development of the parkway idea is going to take much time. It will have to be explained in detail after details are worked out. It will pose many complicated problems.

But the valley region will support it, for already our people have strongly and repeatedly shown that what they most certainly do not want is deterioration of this part of our natural heritage.

[From the Deep River New Era, Sept. 2, 1965]

CLEAN UP THE CESSPOOL

In his statement on the Senate floor, RIBICOFF briefly traced the history of the Connecticut River. He said:

"Mr. President, since 1614, when the Dutch marine Adriaen Block first sailed up the river, the touch of man's hand on nature has been heavy. At first, the river valley was a route for commerce. Until in the late 1790's, Middletown, then the principal river port, was the largest community in Connecticut. The river carried freight, not only in ships but in great log drives. And it carried passengers—up to 24,000 a year at Hartford, arriving in 2,500 vessels.

"Those days are gone now. Roads, railways, and air travel have long since eclipsed the slow river boat. Now the river is becoming a sewer, running befouled to the sea. One recent observer called the Connecticut River 'the world's most beautifully landscaped cesspool.'

"We must clean the Connecticut River up—but we must also preserve the beauty of its banks, the stillness of its quiet coves, its majesty as it winds through wooded hills.

"The Connecticut River and its valley are priceless assets. They have been placed in this generation's care—and we are the stewards for the future. Should we allow the inevitable decline to continue? Should we give free rein to all those impulses and forces which would destroy quiet, tear down solitude, and uproot the beauty of nature?

"The process has already started. It is difficult to reverse—and it will be almost impossible to reclaim what we have lost. But we must make a start. We must preserve what we have before it is too late—before we have lost our heritage and failed in our task as trustees."

[From the Deep River New Era, Sept. 2, 1965]

CONNECTICUT RIVER PARKWAY

We congratulate U.S. Senator ABE RIBICOFF, Democrat, of Connecticut, for having the foresight to introduce legislation in the Congress which would establish a Connecticut River National Parkway and Recreation Area for all the people of the Connecticut River Valley and the Nation. Legislation of this sort is badly needed.

RIBICOFF's bill would create a recreation area for the public in the Connecticut River Valley in four States: Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire, the four States that share the tremendous natural resource that the Connecticut River can, and should, be.

In a statement on the Senate floor a few days ago, the Connecticut Senator and former Governor said that the river is "for the most part still a thing of beauty but, unless we act soon, it will not be a joy forever." He pointed out that the Connecticut River Valley, "like so many other beautiful parts of our Nation, is slowly but surely being eaten away. The developers are moving in, carving out great chunks of landscape. The junkyards are moving in, the oil tank farms, the powerplants, and all the countless hallmarks of our modern society.

"We are rapidly reaching the point," he continued, "where it will no longer be possible to ask the question 'Should the Connecticut River Valley be saved?' Far too soon we shall be seriously wondering whether any action at all will be able to save what's left."

Designed to preserve the Connecticut River area and appropriate segments of land adjoining it for the public benefit—and for outdoor recreation generally—Senator RIBICOFF's bill would provide for:

"Initial comprehensive study of the Connecticut River and adjacent lands by the Secretary of the Interior;

"A comprehensive review of the study's findings. Public and private officials and groups in the State concerned would be consulted; public hearings on the parkway boundaries could be requested by any of the Governors of the affected States;

"The establishment of the parkway and recreation area;

"Administration of the area, geared to protect natural values. For example, the parkway could include scenic roads, but not high-speed highways. Pleasure driving, walking, and hiking, fishing, riding, picnicking—all could be enjoyed in the new area. Under the bill, the procedures for acquiring land would be flexible and reasonable, with a minimum impact on property owners.

"My bill can give to New England," Senator RIBICOFF concluded, "what the great Western States of our Nation have so long enjoyed—breathing space, protected lands, and a place where man can seek refuge from the crowded city streets.

"As our people become more mobile, and as our population crowds together in growing metropolitan areas, the need for park and recreation space grows. Will we consign our children and grandchildren to a life spent in asphalt playgrounds lit by neon signs? Do we really want a society bounded by concrete highways and filled to the horizon with the debris of an industrial civilization?

"Man needs cities, but man also needs breathing space—peace, quiet—the view of a majestic river, and open skies."

Consumer Protection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, consumer legislation has received preliminary consideration in the first session of this Congress.

Extensive hearings were held by the Senate Commerce Committee on the truth-in-packaging bill. Anyone who has tried his hand at comparison shopping should be encouraged by the testimony before that committee which shows the great need for truth-in-packaging legislation designed to cope with the nonprice competitive factors involved in the retail sale of packaged goods.

The House Domestic Finance Subcommittee, under the dedicated leadership of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] threw great light on the myriad of practices by finance companies dealing with our servicemen. These hearings resulted in the Department of Defense issuing a directive aimed at finance companies seeking to deal with servicemen setting forth disclosure requirements similar to those of the truth-in-lending bill.

With this beginning and with the Presidential support that is taken note of in a recent editorial in the Milwaukee Journal, I, as a sponsor of both truth-in-

lending and truth-in-packaging legislation, am encouraged to believe these consumer bills will be enacted in the next session of this Congress.

I commend this editorial to my colleagues and under unanimous consent place in the RECORD at this point:

PROTECT CONSUMERS

One glaring flaw in President Johnson's amazing legislative record is in the field of consumer protection. Several major proposals, all designed to shield the buying public from unscrupulous predators, are stalled and blocked in congressional committees.

The President has just criticized this inaction and has promised to push for passage of his program.

The basic trouble, according to supporters of the measures, is that the voice of the consumer is too weak and unorganized to make itself heard or heeded. At the State level, a few Governors—notably of California, Massachusetts and Connecticut—have appointed boards or special assistants to help consumers. Here in Wisconsin, Attorney Geenral La Follette has been carrying the ball. The other day, the State Assembly passed a bill to give the attorney general new authority in dealing with consumer fraud.

In Washington, however, the story is different. The so-called truth proposals—truth in lending and truth in packaging—have been tied up for years. Basically, the former would require that anyone who lends money or extends credit must supply the would-be borrower or credit user with a statement of the total finance charge in dollars and cents. The latter would forbid deceptions in the size and fill of packages and establish standards so that the buyer could make a reasonable comparison of competing products. Other measures, which would step up enforcement of food and drug protection, also appear to be stymied.

A market economy provides an automatic kind of surveillance against consumer fraud, of course. And, in most instances, buyers' interests are well served. But exceptions and deficiences do creep into the system. It is against these that most of the proposed Federal measures are aimed.

Perhaps, with the President's revived interest, the cause of consumer protection will receive the strengthening it deserves.

Senator Hugh Scott Honored by American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania in the other body, U.S. Senator HUGH SCOTT, was recently commended by the American Legion, Department of Pennsylvania, for his "cooperation with and interest in the youth of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania who attend Keystone Boys State and Boys Nation." Under unanimous consent I place in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of the Legion's resolution commending Senator SCOTT:

(Submitted by: Dr. Joseph P. Gavenonis, director, Keystone Boys State)

Whereas Keystone Boys State affords to the youth of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania the opportunity to gain additional knowledge to aid him in achieving responsible and mature citizenship and to further his leadership capabilities and,

Whereas two of the boys attending Keystone Boys State are chosen to attend Boys Nation where additional knowledge about government and politics is experienced and,

Whereas the American Legion seeks the aid and cooperation of elected officials, government employees and professional people in bringing this knowledge to the youth of our Commonwealth and,

Whereas U.S. Senator HUGH SCOTT has congratulated, by letter, each boy who has attended Keystone Boys State and has given his personal attention to our representatives at Boys Nation; Now, therefore, be it.

Resolved, That the American Legion, Department of Pennsylvania, executive committee, meeting in Harrisburg, Pa., August 13 and 14, 1965, express its deep appreciation to the Honorable HUGH SCOTT, U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania, for his cooperation with and interest in the youth of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania who attend Keystone Boys State and Boys Nation and, be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution, prepared suitably for display purposes, be transmitted to Senator SCOTT.

An Experimental Program of Job Development by Private Industry To Employ Disadvantaged Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, we recognize that making maximum use of our human resources is one of our Nation's greatest challenges. President Johnson has stated our goal in these words:

Each individual must have a fair chance to develop his abilities and to engage in productive and rewarding activity. In the Great Society, all men must have the self-respect and economic security that flow from full use of their talents.

For that part of our labor force with the least opportunity, skill, and education, we continue to develop programs which help match the man and the job. But still there are quite a number not reached by these programs, largely because our effort is directed at a special age group or type of disability or is of limited size.

For example, on-the-job training under the Manpower Training and Development Act, the work experience program under title V of the Economic Opportunity Act, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, private operation of sheltered workshops, and other programs, have built-in limitations.

By introducing H.R. 11815, I have proposed greater involvement of private enterprise in the task of job development. This would be an experimental program of payroll assistance payments to make economically possible the employment of workers unable to meet the standards of the existing labor market.

Designing the job to fit the abilities of the worker is a sensible and necessary approach to employment of a portion of our potential work force. The conventional approach of designing jobs to match technology or tradition or according to efficient layout alone must be supplemented by a willingness to create a certain number of positions that can be handled by persons who do not possess otherwise marketable skills. To a large extent this means jobs for the unskilled laborer who cannot be, or is not likely to be converted to a semiskilled or skilled status.

I do not suggest that plants should not use modern efficient procedures and techniques that increase the productivity of their workforce. But I do believe that with a payroll assistance program, many companies could afford to have work done which is not now being done because it is uneconomical for the firm to hire anyone to do it.

It seems to me that the vast resources of private enterprise could be harnessed in this way to absorb thousands of men, women, and youth who are willing to work but find themselves unwanted in today's labor market.

The text of H.R. 11815 follows:

H.R. 11815

A bill to establish an experimental program for employment of workers unemployable in existing labor markets

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

PURPOSE

SECTION 1. It is the purpose of this Act to increase opportunities for long-term gainful employment in private or public establishments by providing payroll assistance payments to employers of workers whose productivity at the time they are hired will be less than the minimum required to meet the standards of the market.

ESTABLISHMENT OF PROGRAM

SEC. 2. To carry out the purposes of this Act, the Secretary is authorized to establish a program for—

(1) contracting with employers for their employment of individuals referred as eligible under the program,

(2) selecting, counseling, and referring individuals for employment under the program,

(3) reimbursing employers for any excess of wages and other designated costs of employing workers under this program over the fair value of goods and services estimated to have been produced by these workers,

and to prescribe rules and regulations and make necessary arrangements for administration of the program.

STATE AGREEMENTS

SEC. 3. (a) The Secretary is authorized to enter into an agreement with each State, or with the appropriate agency of each State, pursuant to which the Secretary may, for the purpose of carrying out his functions and duties under this Act, utilize the services of the appropriate State agency and, notwithstanding any other provision of law, may make payments to such State or appropriate agency for expenses incurred for such purposes.

(b) Any agreement under this section may contain such provisions as will promote

effective administration, protect the United States against loss and insure that the functions and duties to be carried out by the appropriate State agency are performed in a manner satisfactory to the Secretary.

(c) Each agreement under this section shall require counseling interviews and on-the-job inspections by competent personnel of the State agency at least once during each three months of employment of each individual employed under the program. Interviews and inspections shall be directed to ascertaining whether each individual under the program is being employed properly, productively, efficiently, and effectively in a suitable occupation and at an appropriate and reasonable rate of pay; whether the employer is providing adequate supervision, on-the-job instruction, safe and suitable working conditions, and is endeavoring to prepare each individual for continuing employment in a suitable occupation; whether the employer and the worker are complying with requirements of this Act and of rules and regulations applicable thereunder; and other pertinent facts.

(d) Each agreement under this section shall provide for a quarterly report to be filed with the Secretary by the participating State agency not later than forty-five days after the close of the calendar quarter covered in the report. Each report shall contain information about the operation of the program in the State in such detail as the Secretary may prescribe. Each report for the quarter ending with June of each year shall be accompanied by an annual report covering the full year in such detail as the Secretary may prescribe. The annual report may include recommendations from the participating State agency relating to future conduct of the program.

SELECTION OF ELIGIBLE INDIVIDUALS

SEC. 4. (a) The Secretary shall formulate, and the appropriate agency of each State which has entered into an agreement shall administer, a program for identifying, counseling, and selecting for employment under this Act those unemployed or underemployed persons who cannot reasonably be expected to secure continuing full-time employment without payroll assistance payments to employers.

(b) Priority in selection shall be extended to unemployed persons who have been unemployed for six months or longer at the time of selection or have exhausted their entitlement to unemployment compensation benefits. Persons in families with less than $1,200 net family income in the preceding year shall be considered to have been unemployed for six months or longer.

(c) Participation in the program shall be limited to permanent residents of the United States who have attained age eighteen at the time of selection.

(d) Employment subject to payroll assistance payments under the program shall ordinarily be limited to eighteen months for any one individual. The Secretary may prescribe in uniform rules and regulations that a State agency referring individuals for employment under the program shall give preference to persons who have not previously held employment under the program. Such rules and regulations may specify terms and conditions under which renewed eligibility may be accorded to an individual who has completed eighteen months of employment subject to payroll assistance payments under this Act or to an individual who, under the rules and regulations promulgated by the Secretary, has been discharged with cause before completing eighteen months of such employment.

CONTRACTS WITH EMPLOYERS

SEC. 5. (a) Under the agreements with the Secretary, the participating State agency in each State may enter into contracts with cooperating employers. Cooperating employers shall undertake to employ in their usual and customary commercial, industrial, a specified number of individuals selected service, or other activities within the State from those referred for employment under this program.

(b) The number of persons concurrently employed under this program in any single establishment or by any employer shall not ordinarily exceed one person in each establishment plus one additional person for each fifty persons regularly employed in the establishment or by the employer on the average during the six months preceding the date of the contract. The Secretary may, however, provide by regulation for exceptional cases in which the number of persons employed under this program may exceed this allowance.

(c) Contracts with cooperating employers may provide for payroll assistance payments measured by the excess of the sum of wage payments and other direct expenses incurred by the employer in employing individuals under the program over the estimated fair value of goods and services produced by these workers. Contracts with employers may specify procedures for determining and revising the amount of payroll assistance payments to which each employer will be entitled, subject to regulations promulgated by the Secretary.

(d) Each contract shall be for a term of not to exceed eighteen months, subject to renewal during continuance of this program upon a determination by the participating State agency that the employer has cooperated effectively and the program has resulted in useful gainful employment for one or more persons who otherwise might not have been employed.

(e) A contract under this Act shall not operate to exempt an employer from requirements of any other Federal, State, or local law or of any collective bargaining agreements. However, under proper safeguards established by the regulations and with agreement by representatives of the union affected, a contract may provide that individuals employed under this program may be compensated at rates below those established by a collective bargaining agreement for similar employment in the same participating establishment, business firm, or place of employment.

(f) A contract may not provide for payroll assistance payments with respect to employees covered by special certificates (for waiver of minimum wage restrictions) under section 14 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938.

(g) Contracts may provide that payroll assistance payments may be made monthly or quarterly on the basis of claims submitted by the cooperating employer to the participating State agency and reviewed by that agency.

(h) Each contract shall provide assurances that (1) employment of individuals under this program will not result in the displacement of any employed worker or impairment of any existing contract for services, (2) rates of pay and other conditions of employment will be appropriate and reasonable in the light of such factors as the type of work performed, geographical location, and prevailing rates of wages and other conditions of employment in the establishment, business firm, or place of employment, and (3) the employer will make all reasonable efforts to prepare individuals hired under this program for regular employment and to retain them in such employment after the period for which payroll assistance payments are applicable with respect to any such persons.

(i) Each contract shall provide for on-the-job visits and inspections to be made by personnel of the State agency to the place of employment of each individual placed in employment under the program, and for time off, if necessary, for a periodic counseling interview with personnel of the State agency.

(j) Each contract shall include such other provisions as the Secretary deems necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this Act.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

SEC. 6. In planning and supervising the program under this Act, the Secretary shall seek recommendations and suggestions from the National Advisory Committee appointed under section 205 of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (Public Law 87-415, section 205; 42 U.S.C. 2585), as amended. The Secretary may, to the extent that he deems appropriate, utilize any labor-management-public committees and similar groups organized under that section, or other existing groups organized for similar purposes.

APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED

SEC. 7. (a) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for payments to States $20,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, $30,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and $50,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 3, 1968, to be available for payroll assistance payments to contracting employers and for administrative expenses of participating State agencies under agreements entered into with the Secretary. Amounts appropriated for any fiscal year shall remain available beyond the end of that fiscal year to pay obligations incurred under contracts and agreements entered into prior to the end of that fiscal year.

(b) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for administrative expenses of the Secretary in administering the program authorized by this Act $300,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, $400,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and $500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968.

ALLOTMENTS TO STATES

SEC. 8. (a) From the amount appropriated for payments to States, the Secretary shall make available to each State agency which has entered into an agreement under this Act such sum for administrative expenses as may be necessary to provide an average of 25 cents monthly for each one thousand inhabitants of the State, but in any event not less than $1,000 monthly for any State agency.

(b) From the remainder of the amount appropriated for payments to States, the Secretary shall make payments to each State agency as required to make payroll assistance payments to employers under contracts in effect within the State. The amount payable for this purpose to any one State agency in any fiscal year shall not exceed 12½ per centum of the total sum available for payments to all States in that fiscal year.

ANNUAL REPORTS

SEC. 9. Within ninety days following the close of each fiscal year, the Secretary shall make a report to the President, for transmittal to the Congress, reviewing and evaluating the operation of the program under this Act. Each annual report shall list the States which have entered into agreements and name the participating State agencies and shall also report for each State the number of contracts entered into or in effect during the fiscal year, the number of individuals who applied for employment in the program, the number referred to cooperating employers, and the number actually employed, together with State, industry, and occupational totals of their man-hours of employment, remuneration paid to them by employers, other direct expenses of their employment as reported by employers, and the amount of payroll assistance payments to employers; the amount paid to each State for administrative expenses of the program; frequency distributions of hourly or other rates of remuneration paid to such employees and of hourly or other

rates of payroll assistance payments; and other pertinent information about the program. The first annual report may and subsequent annual reports shall include the Secretary's findings respecting the efficacy of the program and his recommendations for legislation or other measures for termination, continuance, or improvement of the program.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 10. As used in this Act—

(1) The term "State" means a State or the District of Columbia. It does not include Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and the Virgin Islands.

(2) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Labor.

Support for the Connecticut River National Parkway and Recreation Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, since mid-August, when I introduced my bill—S. 2460—to establish a Connecticut River National Parkway and Recreation Area, many newspapers in my home State of Connecticut and throughout New England have published editorials concerning the project. The editorials have been unanimous in their support for the proposal, and indicate the basic need for a park of this kind in New England.

Mr. President, under unanimous consent I place the editorials at this point in the RECORD:

[From the New Britain Herald]

INTEREST IN THE RIVER

Some day, in the not too distant future, the sewage of New Britain, Berlin, and Cromwell will be discharged in the Connecticut River—but it will not pollute anything.

Indeed, the planning that has gone into the Mattabassett Sewer District could well serve as a model for other communities and even private firms which have turned the beautiful Connecticut into the "best-landscaped cesspool" in America.

Secretary of Interior Udall was deeply impressed with what he saw along the Connecticut on Monday. His visit, at the invitation of Senator RIBICOFF, might well be a turning point in the long fight to clean up the Connecticut. Indeed, so much attention has now been focused on the future development of the river that it would be foolish not to take advantage of it.

Udall's visit was in connection with Senator RIBICOFF's bills to make portions of the Connecticut River Valley, along its 160 mile, four State length, part of the national park system.

It is a splendid idea. One need not have wandered away from his TV set on Tuesday night to see the virtue of the proposal. First on TV that night was Katharine Hepburn's narration of the marvelous film, "The Long Tidal River." It told about the Connecticut River in a fair, beautiful, inspired way. And it made the very sensible point that there must be "balance" in the development of the river—balance between progress and retention of beauty.

Interestingly, immediately after the film on the Connecticut, a network program discussed the encroachment of man on his natural environment. Secretary Udall was quoted on that program as saying that there must be more parks or the ones which we already have will be destroyed simply from overuse.

Well, Secretary Udall said that. And he also saw "The Long Tidal River" during his Connecticut visit. Perhaps the combination will provide the best possible incentive for the Interior Department to look to the Connecticut River as part of the national park system.

[From the Meriden Record]

THE SENATOR, THE SECRETARY, AND THE RIVER

Connecticut's Senator A. A. RIBICOFF has taken up the cause of water conservation in particular, as well as conservation of natural resources in general. Monday afternoon, during the first real downpour in a long time, he and Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall and Gov. John Dempsey, among others, sailed the Connecticut River from Saybrook to Hartford.

The purpose of the trip was to show Secretary Udall the beauties of the Connecticut River and to enlist his support in behalf of Senator RIBICOFF's proposal to set aside certain areas along the river bank as part of the national park system.

The proposal has genuine merit, and it is to Senator RIBICOFF's credit that he has advanced it, and is pressing it so vigorously. The eastern United States has few national parks, but it has the greatest concentration of people, and the population is increasing. More national parks are needed.

True, such parks as Senator RIBICOFF has proposed will not embrace the acreage which is usually associated with national parks, but what such tracts lack in size, they more than make up for in beauty. The Connecticut River is still one of the most beautiful rivers of its size anywhere, and it is still unspoiled for long stretches. But this unspoiled condition will not last long. Within the last few years industrial and commercial enterprises have encroached upon its banks, installations ranging from an atomic powerplant to an increasing number of marinas, useful in their way, but certainly no additions to the beauty of the shoreline: quite the contrary, in fact.

Senator RIBICOFF's proposal to incorporate areas along the river into the national park system has much to commend it, as does his companion proposal to increase the Federal Government's support of research into water conservation primarily through developing new methods of water reuse. With a boost from Secretary Udall, water conservation in Connecticut may go forward hand in hand with the preservation of the Connecticut River. Both objectives are worthy of support, not only for immediate purposes, but for the long-range advantage of future generations for whom we now hold these resources in trust.

[From the New London Day]

THE RIVER TRIP

When Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall was piloted along the Connecticut River to Hartford on an inspection tour Monday, the weather was uncooperative. In fact for this time of year it would be hard to imagine a more unpleasant day. But the Secretary, here at the suggestion of Senator ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF, of New London, and Governor Dempsey, was nevertheless greatly impressed by the conservation and recreational potential of what he saw.

Pollution, of course, has long been a problem in the river, although Connecticut has made considerable strides toward halting it, correcting some of the contributing conditions. With it, though, there is always the obvious fact—that long stretches of the river in Connecticut are still in relatively natural condition, and definitely unspoiled.

The Senator's proposal is not only to preserve these areas but to end the pollution, develop the recreational potential of the river, and to open the banks to appreciative citizens not by high-speed dual highways but by picturesque roadways to carry more leisurely visitors.

Involved in this program—the hope that the Federal Government will set aside an appropriate area along the river banks as a national parkway—is necessary similar enthusiastic response in the other four States involved. For the Connecticut River rises in the Connecticut lakes system in upper New Hampshire, divides New Hampshire and Vermont the full length of these abutting States, and passes through western Massachusetts before it reaches Connecticut. A cooperative effort to save and develop the river would doubtless be called for if the Federal parkway idea is to get anywhere.

Secretary Udall seemed very favorably impressed, so much so that false hope may be raised when actually far more earnest effort in Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire is what the project urgently needs at this stage. A tremendously valuable asset is at stake and the time to get in on the effort and help is right now.

[From the Springfield (Mass.) News]

CONNECTICUT RIVER, EVERYWHERE SALUBRIOUS?

The Connecticut River, about which, in the last century, Timothy Dwight, president of Yale University, wrote that it was "everywhere pure, potable, everywhere salubrious," just isn't that any more, but it may be again. And if this objective is attained, in which we here are keenly interested, U.S. Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, of Connecticut, can, in large measure, be thanked for it.

The junior Senator of the Nutmeg State has embarked on a personal crusade to restore the Connecticut River to its one-time splendor, to erase pollution, to retain unspoiled at most notable points the character of the landscape and to preserve historic landmarks. To this end, Senator RIBICOFF has filed in the Congress two bills: One to establish a national parkway and recreation area along the shoreline, preferably as a four-State project, with the Federal Government acting jointly with Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire; and the second bill to increase the Federal contribution to antipollution programs. Under the legislation proposed, a study of the Connecticut River Valley as a national parkway would be authorized with Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall enabled to move ahead if the study justifies action. U.S. Representative WILLIAM ST. ONGE, of Connecticut, plans to introduce similar bills in the House later this week and has indicated he expects strong support in the lower Chamber.

Senator RIBICOFF moved his program a long step forward Monday by conducting Secretary Udall on a 60-mile cruise along the Connecticut River to give the latter a firsthand look at what some have called "the world's most beautifully landscaped, cesspool." It was not the best day, weatherwise, for the cruise, which began with showers at the winding river's mouth at Saybrook, and proceeded north in pouring rain to Hartford, but Secretary Udall was impressed, nevertheless. He disembarked from the river boat *Dolly Madison*, saying, "I come off this boat with a feeling of enthusiasm." He went on to note that the conservation idea is moving eastward and that Connecticut is one of the few States in which the Federal Government has not taken a part in project developments. "It makes the Ribicoff project most timely," Secretary Udall said. The long streches of the river relatively unspoiled, came as a surprise to him. "There is an opportunity to do a model job with the river—to make it a scenic centerpiece," he observed. He praised the leadership in Connecticut and declared: "You have a running start. This is a great opportunity for Connecticut to set an example for the East in terms of con-

servation. But population is crowding in and time is running out. What we do in the next decade will be decisive for the river's future."

With this encouragement, the Ribicoff bills and the matching House bills by Representative ST. ONGE, merit wide support in Congress and, especially from the Massachusetts delegation. For this is something in which we have a vital stake. Although Connecticut dominated the scene Monday, we have a strong interest and should be counted in on any national parkway program. There are now nine national parkways projected or in existence, including such locations as the Natchez Trace, the Colonial Parkway at Williamsburg and the George Washington National Parkway leading to Mount Vernon. By every test of history and attractiveness, the inclusion of the Connecticut River Valley in the national program certainly seems appropriate.

[From the Hartford Courant]

A GRAND RIVER

The slowly growing consciousness among the people of Connecticut that in its principal river we have an immensely valuable resource, was given impetus this week by the visit of Secretary of Interior Stewart L. Udall. At the invitation of Senator RIBICOFF, Mr. Udall made the trip from Saybrook to Hartford, and was suitably impressed. He saw its potential for conservation as greater than almost any other river in the Nation."

According to Mr. Udall, the conservation idea is moving eastward, and Connecticut is one of the few States in which the Federal Government has not taken part in project development. He implied strongly that the Government would be happy to collaborate in plans for the rehabilitation of the Connecticut River. "There is an opportunity to do a model job with the river to make it a scenic centerpiece," he said.

The bills introduced by Senator RIBICOFF are steps toward having the river declared a national parkway by the Secretary of the Interior, as a prelude to its joint development by State and Federal Government. To be fully effective, however, in the fight against pollution, it must be a four-State effort. There are great stretches of the river that are still scenically unspoiled; and Mr. Udall was impressed by its beauty. But the river is dirty, so dirty in fact that it will not support the fish that once swarmed its length.

It has already been described as the best landscaped cesspool in America. Any plan to make it a national parkway must put pollution at the top of the list of problems. The river must be cleaned up so that it can be used fully by the people as a recreation facility. Fortunately the people are again looking to the river, after having turned their backs on it for so long. In the earliest days people settled along the river because it offered not only a water supply but a good source of food. But later the river receded in importance, and industries, located on it, used it as a conduit for carrying off waste materials.

Let us hope that this visit by Secretary Udall marks the turning point and that the river will once more be given back to the people in usable condition. An American essayist, Russell Conwell, once wrote a famous treatise: "Acres of diamonds in your own backyard." This could be aptly applied to the Connecticut River as a potential source of pleasure, recreation, and beauty.

[From the Waterbury Republican]

THE STATE'S RIVER

Even in the rain Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall could see the possibilities of developing parts of the Connecticut River as a national park.

It poured all during the boat trip from Saybrook to Hartford Monday, but the excursion arranged by Senator ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF was still profitable, and ultimately may prove successful in the Federal annexation of river land as a national park.

Senator RIBICOFF is the author of a bill to set aside parts of the Connecticut River throughout its interstate length for conservation and recreation purposes. Secretary Udall would be one of the key men to make the decision, and if the idea wins the support of the Johnson administration it would be Mr. Udall who would go to Congress for the funds.

The Connecticut River has been neglected, polluted, and ignored. But its potential for boating, and fishing; as a wildlife preserve; as an open-spaces asset can be realized. It would, as Senator RIBICOFF sees it, be a patchy development. Existing industry and towns would not be affected, but unspoiled stretches would be protected.

Secretary Udall seems receptive to the idea, and it was especially reassuring to hear that the executive branch is in favor of developing more national recreational areas in the East, such as the Cape Cod National Seashore. Hitherto the Government has bent its efforts toward the vast, and usually virgin territories in the West, where there is plenty of nature, but not too many people. Densely populated areas in the East neither possess large areas for such purposes, nor can the majority of working people in the Eastern States afford to travel to the open skies country in the rest of the Nation.

A national recreation area doesn't have to be 50 miles long; enclose 70,000 bison, or be 100 miles from a major city. Connecticut has more people than many of the States with the most parks, and Connecticut pays more than its share of Federal taxes, but Connecticut is one of the few States which does not have national conservation or recreational project.

If Senator RIBICOFF prevails on Secretary Udall, we may.

[From the New Haven Register]

OUR CONNECTICUT RIVER, POTENTIALS, REALITIES

The Connecticut River, as it flows through our State, has been called by no less a personage than Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF as still a thing of beauty.

It also has been called the world's most beautifully landscaped cesspool.

It must therefore be clear that somewhere between the river's potentials and its realities must lie its future.

Perhaps its potentials were best described as this week began by Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, in a VIP river tour party, in these words:

"We have a chance here to do a model job of conservation. You already have a running start (eight State parks along the shores). But population is crowding in and time is running out."

In this last sentence the clash of the potential and the practical is all too discernible.

Time is running out. A further drain upon it is certain to come in the action or, more properly, inaction of the current Congress.

Senator RIBICOFF is author of a bill to establish a national parkway and recreation area along the river's shoreline, possibly as a four-State project with the Federal Government. It is much to be doubted that this bill will come to any committee hearing this session.

Secretary Udall, after the river excursion-inspection, commented that "What we do in the next decade will be decisive for the river's future."

It took no prophet to so state. But the immensity of the corrective needs becomes staggering on consideration. For some 50 years, because of industrial waste and human waste swimming in the river was deemed unwise. Today it stands as sheer folly. Yet the cause for conservation is not a lost cause in its entirety. Steps, kept within 20th century bounds of practicality, can be taken. There are places and parts of the river's shores where virgin beauty remains, or could rather readily be restored. There are other parts where the task of restoration would take on fantastically costly proportions, if not the proportions of impossibility.

But the firt step of the proposed bill calls for a comprehensive study of the four-State river area involved. Such a study, if made by men of vision who are not visionaries, might well chart a way for preserving stretches of the waterway's adjacent land areas, if not for purifying its waters.

[From the Deep River New Era]

WELCOME, SECRETARY UDALL

We join with Senator RIBICOFF, Governor Dempsey, and others in welcoming U.S. Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall to Connecticut next Monday, the day on which Udall is scheduled to make a personal inspection trip up the Connecticut River, from Old Saybrook to Middletown, to see for himself why Senator RIBICOFF has proposed that the Connecticut River and adjoining land be designated a national parkway and recreation area.

Secretary Udall, we understand, has never sailed on the Connecticut River before. We believe the trip will, for the most part at least, be a pleasant surprise to him. Although the river is no longer as "unspoiled" as it was a century or even a decade ago, there is still much natural beauty here, especially below Middletown, and the Secretary will have to agree, we believe, that the beauty that is left is well worth saving.

Stewart Udall is a busy man and it is another feather in ABE RIBICOFF's senatorial cap that he was able to persuade the Secretary to make this personal inspection tour. There can be no question but that Senator RIBICOFF's bill will have a much better chance of success, if Secretary Udall, as the official spokesman for the Johnson administration on such matters, can be convinced of its merits. And what better way to convince him than to show him in person and on the spot, what the Ribicoff bill is all about?

Incidentally, we know that Secretary Udall is an avid mountain climber, having scaled Mount Fujiyama, in Japan, and other major peaks. We can't, unfortunately, offer him any mountain-climbing challenges on his visit to Connecticut, but the boat that takes him up the Connecticut River might pause for a "climbing break" at Hadlyme to let the Secretary climb up to Gillette Castle, if he so desires. The climb itself probably wouldn't take his breath away, but we'll wager that the view from the top of the castle would.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE SUBSEQUENT TO ADJOURNMENT

BILLS APPROVED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The President, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, notified the Clerk of the House that on the following date he had approved and signed bills of the House of the following titles:

On October 28, 1965:

H.R. 1409. An act for the relief of Louis W. Hamm;

H.R. 5167. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to authorize the administrative settlement of tort claims arising

in foreign countries, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 9220. An act making appropriations for certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, the Panama Canal, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Delaware River Basin Commission, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes.

TRANSACTION OF SENATE BUSINESS SUBSEQUENT TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

APPROVAL OF SENATE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The President of the United States, subsequent to sine die adjournment, notified the Secretary of the Senate that on the following dates, he had approved and signed the following Senate bills and joint resolution:

On October 20, 1965:

S. 306. An act to amend the Clean Air Act to require standards for controlling the emission of pollutants from certain motor vehicles, to authorize a research and development program with respent to solid-waste disposal, and for other purposes.

On October 22, 1965:

S. 32. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the southern Nevada water project, Nevada, and for other purposes.

On October 27, 1965:

S. 2300. An act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes; and

S.J. Res. 32. Joint resolution to authorize a contribution to certain inhabitants of the Ryukyu Islands for death and injury to persons, and for use of and damage to private property, arising from acts and omissions of the U.S. Armed Forces, or members thereof, after August 15, 1945, and before April 28, 1952.

On October 30, 1965:

S. 337. An act for the relief of F. F. Hintze;

S. 343. An act for the relief of Paride Marchesan;

S. 374. An act for the relief of Dr. Guillermo Castrillo (Fernandez);

S. 516. An act to amend the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution to establish the St. Augustine Quadricentennial Commission, and for other purposes," approved August 14, 1962 (76 Stat. 386), to provide that eight members of such Commission shall be appointed by the President, and that such Commission may continue in existence until December 31, 1966.

S. 711. An act for the relief of Mrs. Hertha L. Wohlmuth;

S. 1735. An act relating to the use by the Secretary of the Interior of land at La Jolla, Calif., donated by the University of California for a marine biological research laboratory, and for other purposes; and

S. 2039. An act for the relief of Den Allen Keene (Yasuo Tsukikawa).

On November 7, 1965:

S. 619. An act for the relief of Nora Isabella Samuelli.

On November 8, 1965:

S. 149. An act for the relief of Benjamin A. Rameib;

S. 919. An act for the relief of Lt. Col. William T. Schuster, U.S. Air Force (retired);

S. 1004. An act to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, to make ttile III thereof directly applicable to procurement of property and services by executive agencies, and for other purposes;

S. 1320. An act to amend certain criminal laws applicable to the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

S. 1647. An act for the relief of Kim Sung Jin;

S. 1758. An act to provide for the right of persons to be represented in matters before Federal agencies;

S. 2092. An act to amend the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937 to permit marketing orders applicable to various fruits and vegetables to provide for paid advertising;

S. 2118. An act to amend sections 9 and 37 of the Shipping Act, 1916, and subsection O of the Ship Mortgage Act, 1920;

S. 2150. An act to discontinue or modify certain reporting requirements of law;

S. 2542. An act to amend the Small Business Act; and

S. 2679. An act to amend the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, as amended.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

Pursuant to the provisions of Senate Resolution 161, agreed to October 23, 1965, the Vice President, on November 15, 1965, announced the appointment of the following Senators to be members of the Select Commission on Western Hemisphere Immigration: Senators EASTLAND, HART, KENNEDY of Massachusetts, HRUSKA, and DIRKSEN.

To attend the Second Special Inter-American Conference in Rio de Janeiro, convening on November 17, 1965: Senators CHURCH and SCOTT;

To be members of the Parliamentary Conference in Tokyo and New Delhi, convening on November 24–December 21, 1965: Senator HARTKE;

To attend the Council of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) to be held in Geneva, Switzerland, from November 23 to December 3, 1965: Senator KENNEDY of Massachusetts.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.